THE DAILY WORKER

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VICTORY EDITION

The Ohio Socialist

VICTO EDITIO

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To Our Russian Comrades

By Eugene V. Debs

When the Revolution in Russia occured a year ago and the actual toiling and producing masses came into power under the leadership and inspiration of Lenine and Trotzky, all the ruling class powers on earth, the United States not excepted, instinctively arrayed themselves against the new-born working class Republic and predicted freely that the new regime would not last one week. From that time to this these powers of imperialism and capitalism and their corrupt politicians, their slimy priests and their whole vast brood of mercenaries and sycophants, including their filthy and venomous press, have gone to every extreme of falsehood, calumny and personal vituperation to discredit the leadership of the Russian revolutionaries, the first real attempt at actual democratic administration in the history of the world.

But in spite of all these stupendous reactionary and destructive forces the Soviet has survived and the Russian proletariat, thanks to its heroic and uncompromising leadership and its own inflexible determination, is still in power, defiantly challenging its ruling class of fraternity and good will to the proletariat of the world.

Comrades of the Russian Soviet and the Bolshevik Republic, we salute and honor you on this first anniversary of your great revolutionary triumph, the greatest in point of historic significance and far-reaching influence in the annals of the race. You have set the star of hope for all the world in the eastern skies. You have suffered untold persecution, exile and misery and you have shed your blood freely all these years in the great struggle for emancipation, not only of your own oppressed people, but the oppressed of all the earth. On this historic anniversary we extend our proletarian hand to you from all directions and across the spaces and assure you of our loyalty and our love.

The chief glory of your revolutionary triumph is that you have preserved inviolate the fundamental principles of international socialism and refused to compromise. It will be to your everlasting honor that you would rather have seen the Revolution perish and the Soviet with it than to prostitute either one by betraying the workers to alleged progressive reforms which would mean to them an extension of their servitude under a fresh aggregation of exploiters and parasites.

You, Russian Comrade of the Soviet and of the Bolsheviki you represent, are resolved that for once in history the working-class, which fights the battles, sheds its blood and makes all other sacrifices to achieve a revolution, shall itself receive and enjoy the full fruitage of such a revolution: that it shall not allow itself to be used, as dumb driven cattle, to install some intermediate class into power and perpetuate its own slavery and degredation.

On this anniversary day we pledge you, brave and unflinching comrades of the Soviet Republic, not only to protest against our government meddling with your affairs and interfering with your plans, but to summon to your aid all the progressive forces of our proletariat and render you freely all assistance in our power.

We pledge you, moreover, as we grasp your hands in comradely congratulations on this eventful day, to strive with all our energy to emulate your inspiring example by abolishing our imperialistic capitalism, driving our plutocratic exploiters and oppressors from power and establishing the working-class Republic, the Commonwealth of Comrades.

Piqua Socialists Victorious

ALLEGED CAPITALIST FRAME-UP ON PIQUA SOCIALISTS FAILS—FEDERAL GRAND JURY ON ADVICE FROM ATTORNEY-GENERAL GREGORY DROPS CHARGES—LEONARD AND HIS TOOLS DISCREDITED

The Federal grand jury sitting at Cincinnati, Ohio, for the Western Division of the Southern District of Ohio, brought in a report Friday, December 20, stating that the sedition cases against Socialist Mayor Frank B. Hamilton, Safety Director Herman Grunert, Councilman L. H. Neff and Socialist party members J. D. Wagner, Frank Glass and Isaac Schuhcat, all of Piqua, Ohio, had been dropped: that this had been done because Attorney General Gregory, at Washington, D. C., as the result of voluminous correspondence with District Attorney Stuart R. Bolin, had advised him and through him the jurors themselves that the facts in these cases do not warrant further prosecution.

At once a remarkable scene ensued in the court room. District Judge Hollister, a superpatriot during the war, flew into a passion, saying it was not within the province of the attorney general's office or the district attorney to lay down the law to the grand jurors. He was about to order them to reassemble and take up the sedition cases, when District Attorney Bolin explained that the jurors had also had a summary of all the testimony which would have been presented, had the witnesses appeared before them. Thereupon the judge decided to let the report stand.

Thus the effort to imprison the Socialist administration of Piqua and discredit them with the public, has fizzled out.

Frame-Up Broke Down on Cross-Examination.

A short statement of the testimony as developed at the preliminary examination of these cases at Dayton, O., before U. S. Commissioner Howell, at which time they were bound over under $10,000 bail, will make clear why the Attorney General at Washington, after "voluminous correspondence," advised the dropping of the charges.

It should be stated first, that Attorney Joseph W. Sharts, for the accused Socialists, assisted by Attorney Frank W. Krehbiel, had to fight against the impatience and prejudice of the commissioner to conduct his cross-examination along the lines he saw fit. He cross-examined upon the theory that these cases were a "frame-up" for political effect. He connected them with W. K. Leonard, chairman of the finance committee of the Piqua City Council, a manufacturer and member of the Chamber of Commerce. The witnesses attempted for a while to hide Leonard's participation in the matter, but they broke down under cross-examination.

The government's witnesses in each of the six cases were two professional spies. They gave their names as Harry E. Barnes and Fred P. Kohet. An account of these spies may be interesting to Socialists.

Barnes, a short, thickset, commonplace-looking man of 42 years, testified that he came to Piqua about September 8, and represented himself as a phonograph salesman. He gave his present residence as Norwood, Ohio, saying he had been living there about five years, had been in the Norwood police department, and also had been doing business with a partner under the firm name of James & Barnes, and engaging in hotel and real estate matters. He said his office had been in Cincinnati, and he formerly had had charge of the dining room service at the Queen City Club and of the

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Liebknecht's Appeal to German Workers

The manifesto circulated in Germany by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Frank Mehring of the German revolutionary Socialists, the torch which spread revolt over the German empire that was, has reached here.

The answer of the German people to the appeal to rise and seize the reins of government has been told in dispatches. The manifesto follows:

Dear Comrades—More than four years ago our rulers embarked on their campaign of robbery to subdue our neighbors. During the last ten or twelve years these same rulers of ours have been propagating the evil doctrine of the "Slav peril." They were successful.

They sowed the fear of Slavs in our hearts. But this was only a disguise for their still more imperialistic aggressions. As though the road to St. Petersburg lay across Belgium and the north of France they gave the order and let loose our armies.

In a little more than four years our rulers caused the killing and incapacitating of over 25,000,000 men and women.

Think of it, comrades. Millions of souls, soldiers and civilians; men women and children fell victims to the ideals of our unbridled imperialists!

During these four years the peoples of the world bled until they could bleed no longer. And what did we gain? Did we gain even one hundredth of what we and our rulers had started to win for us? Instead we lost until we could lose no longer.

Humanity's Hatred Only Thing Won.

We won one thing—the hatred of humanity. Disaster, starvation, disease, millions of dead, and the undying hatred of all the free peoples of the world—these are the rewards you have received under the leadership of our pan-German imperialists.

And now we have asked peace at the hands of our enemies through the President of America. Comrades, now comes your greatest opportunity! Unite! Stand together!

It is not you who have occasion to feel humiliated. It never was your war. You were driven to the world butchery by your rulers. You have received your deserts.

Now is your chance to humiliate your masters. The deeper and more thorough is their humiliation the more assured are your liberties.

Do not for another instant permit your leaders to misrepresent the German working men as slavish, supine to their will. Act at once. It is your only chance.

Strike the tyrant with a mighty blow and lay him prostrate at your feet. He is tottering. A well directed blow at this time will win your liberty and partly compensate for all the blood that has been shed during these four dreary years.

Your freedom is dependent upon the complete and unmistakable de-

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KARL LIEBKNECHT——REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST

AMNESTY FREES THOUSANDS IN ITALY

Thousands of syndalists and Socialists have been liberated under a general amnesty declared by the Italian government for persons imprisoned during the war. Release of all political and military offenders and abolition of the censorship are being vigorously demanded.—By a close working agreement between the General Confederation of Labor and the Italian Socialist Party, both agree to give full support to any general strike called by [illegible] international conference of revolutionary labor and Socialist organizations is soon to be held in Rome.—The revolutionary wing of the Socialist Party is in complete control and has condemned the action of the right wing in supporting the government during the war.

MOSCOW SOVIET SHOWS INTERNATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The recent Soviet Congress at Moscow showed its international class consciousness by electing as its honorary presidents, Lenine, Liebknecht and the Austrian [illegible]

Canadian Labor Victory

The organized workers of Canada have just given an exhibition of their power through mass effort to redress a vital wrong. Not many weeks ago the Canadian government issued a sweeping order in council prohibiting strikes during the war and ordering dissolution of the many working class organizations. The progressive organizations of western Canada were the first to challenge this attack, and the agitation swept to the eastern provinces. In four western provinces preparations were being made for an inter-provincial convention, with the view of calling a general strike. In Toronto workers called a meeting to consider the situation, and by the time the members assembled news arrived that the anti-strike order had been rescinded.

The meeting proceeded, however, and during its progress calls for a Socialist government in Canada and the release of political prisoners were repeatedly applauded. Further attacks will be made upon the restrictive Orders in Council, which have destroyed a number of publications, declared a number of organizations illegal, and placed a number of representatives of the workers in prison. The organ of the Great War Veterans also is concentrating its attacks upon the Orders in Council, declaring them "autocratic" and comparing them with the late German and Austrian autocracies.

The fraternizing of veterans of the war with the radical wing of the labor movement on this issue is a symptom of the draft of opinion in Canada. Already these combined forces have won an important victory. Others probably will fall to them as they push their crusade for the complete restoration of civil liberties in Canada.

The movement there is affected by the division that appears in this country, also; only the modern, thinking, progressive elements are much more numerous and powerful in Canada than here. Considering the progress being made by the organized forces of labor in all countries, it is probable that the movement in this country is the least progressive of all. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have recently conducted a survey of the State Federations of Labor. This has revealed the fact that not one state federation has adopted any comprehensive program to meet the problems that are now rushing upon the organized workers of the country. Less than a half dozen have given the matter some consideration, but no comprehensive report has yet been made by any of them. If the rank and file suffer, as they certainly will, it may bring an awakening that will bring them abreast at least with their brothers across the northern border.—Union Record.

Nickolas Lenine—Soci Premier of Russia

By LOUIS C. FRAINA.

Lenine sent a message to the United States by Albert Rhys Williams as he was leaving for America. Lenine said: "Carry back all the enthusiasm our Russian revolution ha put into your heart. Remember, your country is not Russia. You have different conditions. You cannot transplant from one country to another the same methods and forms. What you have to do is to lay broad and deep the foundation of an intelligent working class consciousness, without which working class action is impossible."

Marx was the master of the Revolution in theory. Lenin is the master of the Revolution in action. But as Marx, the man of theory, had great capacity for action, so Lenin.

In fact, the dominant form of the activity of Marx and Lenin is determined, not by peculiar talent or characteristics, but by the historic milieu conditioning their activity. This is precisely the mark of the great rebel—that he concentrates upon the fundamental revolutionary task of his day.

If I were asked what particular phase of Lenin appears to me as decisive, I would answer: His dynamic capacity to unite theory and practice. This is not as simple a thing as it may appear. Usually, the Socialist is an opportunist, who casts aside every real opportunity for immediate revolutionary action, becoming an adept in bourgeois liberal activity and social-reformism, accepting theory in the facile fashion of an average Christian accepting his religion—repudiating the revolutionary tasks of Socialism; or a "revolutionist" becomes an adept in using formulae, whose action is hampered by the silken cord of obstract theory, absorbed so much in the Revolution that the requirements of the immediate revolutionary struggle are allowed to pass into the years of wasted opportunity—paltering with the revolutionary tasks of Socialism. Each of these two types of Socialists evade all actual problems of the Revolution. Action must be directed by theory, and theory must become action. An uncompromising revolutionist, Lenin has an overwhelming sense of reality. The Revolution to him is not a dress parade of amicable transformation, of the pacific "penetration of Capitalism by Socialism; nor is it the conquest of Capitalism by the formulation of "revolutionary" theory and formulae, much as a bourgeois "idealist" sees in general principles of human action the means for the emancipation of the world. No; Lenin conceives the Revolution as a series of implacable, brutal class struggles; as a process in which theory and action are inseparably united; as a dynamic movement in which every opportunity, every crisis, every strength, weakness and peculiarity of the social alignment

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British Workers Gain In House of Commons

British Laborites show growing strength in recent elections. Nearly double former representation. Soldier vote is recorded. Sinn Feiners will establish separate Irish parliament.

First incomplete returns of the British elections to the House of Commons, which occurred Dec. 14, show that the Laborites have made great inroads upon the seats formerly occupied by their opponents.

The returns of the elections have been delayed until the vote of the men in service was recorded.

The new House of Commons will have 707 members. To date the Laborites are credited with having gained 74 seats, the Sinn Feiners with 70. The coalition forces, headed by Premier Lloyd George, winning a majority.

It is conceded that the Laborites will be the second strongest party in the house. The Sinn Feiners refuse to attend at Westminster. They plan to establish a separate Irish parliament.

The Sinn Feiners refusal to sit at Westminster is in protest against the government for its stand on the question of Irish independence.

It is conceded that the Laborites will be the second strongest party in the empire, having about doubled their representation. English labor is not to be left behind in the march of the workers to freedom as these elections indicate. They have caught the spirit of the times.

JAPANESE WORKERS THREATEN CAPITALIST REGIME

Toshio Fujiwara, a "leading business man" of Tokio, complains that agitators are stirring up the Japanese working class, that the latter are acquiring the ideas of their western fellow workers, "unfortunately in a wrong sense," and that, "if the general discontent of the working class is left without a remedy, we may have serious outbursts that may bring about a catastrophe to the empire."

BOLSHEVISTS ARRESTED.

Several hundred revolutionists have been arrested on the charge of [illegible]

Good News!

Washington, Dec. 26.—Attorney General Gregory has "authorized" American Protective League, [illegible] conducted "draft evader [illegible]" combatted alleged German [illegible] propaganda during the war, [illegible] band by February 1.

The league is an auxiliary [illegible] tion to the Department [illegible] consisting of voluntary [illegible] bulletin has been [illegible]

[illegible]

BY DAVID KARSNER

[illegible] Frank P. Walsh, former [illegible] of the National War Labor [illegible] witness for the five Socialists on trial here for over an hour [illegible] the Burleson bureaucracy [illegible] which scores of Socialist and radical newspapers and magazines have been crippled if not put out of [illegible] running entirely, for telling the truth as they saw it.

Walsh was the star witness for the five Socialist Party officials on trial before Judge K. M. Landis in the United States District Court here, charged with conspiring against the government's war program. The [illegible] City lawyer and editor answered all questions in a direct and [illegible] manner, and when District [illegible] Clyne began to cross-examine Walsh on his opinions about the [illegible] everybody in the court room sat [illegible] took notice.

“[illegible] you believe in this war?” be[illegible] Clyne.

“[illegible] do not believe in war at all,” [illegible] Walsh, “but when this country got into the war I felt that it was my duty to do what I could to see that justice was done to our people at home while our soldiers abroad were fighting for freedom and democracy.”

Walsh said he did not believe in the theory or the practice of conscription, and hinted that he hoped the time would come when young men would not have to be dragged from their homes to fight for an ideal. He said he thought the ideal should be so inviting that it would command people to adhere to it without compulsion or intimidation.

“Are you a Socialist?” asked Seymour Stedman, chief of counsel for the Socialists.

“No, sir, I am an anti-Socialist,” replied Walsh.

The labor liberalist told of his chairmanship of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, and of the various fights he has made in recent years for the rights of labor and minority political parties.

Both of the prosecutors fought his testimony, but it all got to the jury. Holding up several copies of the American Socialist, of which J. Louis Engdahl, defendant, was editor before Burleson suppressed it, Clyne asked Walsh if he believed such and such an article would inspire patriotism or encourage enlistment and recruiting. The district attorney then read portions from the Socialist Party war proclamation, and Irwin St. John Tucker's “The Price We Pay.”

Walsh replied that he may not agree with the subject matter of the articles quoted, but he disagreed with the reactionary policy of suppressing papers because they printed what they thought was the truth. He said he thought the true test of strength of a nation was its ability to carry the weight of dissenting opinion. He declared he thought it infinitely more important to uphold the constitutional guarantees of free speech and free press even though those prerogatives might in some instances be abused by individuals.

Walsh told how, on July 16, 1917, he, with Morris Hillquit, Clarence S. Darrow, Fannie Witherspoon, Seymour Stedman, Amos Pinchot, Engdahl and others went to Washington and formed a committee to protest against the suppression of Socialist and radical papers. He said the fight was made before the Department of Justice and the Postoffice Department. He said the committee represented the “American Socialist,” The New York Call, The Four Lights Magazine, the Rebel of Halletsville, Texas, and other publications.

The committee was received by Judge Herron, assistant attorney general in charge of the enforcement of the espionage act.

Walsh brought out the friction between the Department of Justice and the Postoffice Department on the matter of suppressing radical papers. He said that Judge Herron stated that the Department of Justice would be willing to draft a statement on its attitude toward Socialist papers that might guide them in their editorial policy. The statement was never forthcoming despite many requests.

In the afternoon of the same day Walsh said the committee was received by Albert Sidney Burleson, postmaster general, and the whole problem was laid before that official. The committee vigorously protested against Burleson's action of placing the responsibility of suppression in the hands of the solicitor of the Postoffice Department, William H. Lamar. He said that papers with a free political message were being handled in the same manner as though they contained obscene matter. The whole matter was bound up with red tape, he said.

Walsh read a letter which he sent to Burleson on July 24, 1917, a few days after the conference. He told Burleson that he thought the postmaster general had not taken the conference seriously and that he did not seem to understand that the free press of the nation was involved in the controversy.

Burleson replied to this letter resenting Walsh's inference, and said he was sorry he had ever granted the interview with the free press pilgrims.

Engdahl continuing his testimony, told how he had submitted proof sheets of the American Socialist to the superintendent of second-class mail in Chicago for several weeks after the paper was first barred from the mails on June 30, 1917. That official, M. J. O'Malley, read the proof sheets, but gave Engdahl little satisfaction. He told him what he could not print, Engdahl said, but did not say what he could print.

Engdahl submitted one set of proof sheets in which he had left several columns blank. O'Malley objected to the blank spaces as that would give proof that the paper had been censored. He advised Engdahl to fill up the columns with some regular propaganda matter.

At the Washington conference on the date mentioned, Engdahl said that Judge Herron of the Department of Justice, thought that Socialist papers would have the right to discuss International Socialism, while the postoffice violently objected to such discussion.

Telling of the conference with Burleson, Engdahl said that worthy had stated to the committee: “There is the law. If you don't like the law change it.” He did promise a statement from National Thought Controller, Lamar, Burleson's lieutenant, but the statement was never made, and the Socialist and radical press proceeded along the uneven tenor of their ways until most of them foundered in a sea of indictments.

Several witnesses testified in behalf of Congressman-elect Victor L. Berger. One of these was Edmund T. Melms, former Socialist president, Milwaukee common council, and later sheriff. Melms denied that Berger is the political boss of Milwaukee.

“He certainly is not my boss,” said Melms, “and I don't think any Socialist in Milwaukee regards Berger as the ‘boss.’” The congressman enjoyed the banter.

“The people of my ward elected me alderman,” said Melms, “and the people of the city elected me sheriff. I don't think Berger could have held recognition from me if he wanted to.” Berger nodded his head in agreement.

Melms denied that Berger's influence had led Carl Haessler of the Milwaukee Leader editorial staff, into the latter's attitude as a conscientious objector. Haessler is at Leavenworth for his refusal to don a uniform.

State Senator Louis A. Arnold, Socialist of Milwaukee, and Secretary Wisconsin Socialist Party, also denied Berger was “the boss.”

Denial that Berger had attempted to force a pro-German news policy on the Leader was made by Leo Wolfsohn, telegraph editor of the Leader. This testimony was offered as a rebuttal to that of J. E. Harris, formerly managing editor of the Leader.

“Berger told me the policy of the paper was primarily for peace and against kings and kaisers,” said Wolfsohn. “Berger said that since we were fighting the German kaiser we should give him an extra kick.”

The Hook for U. S. Labor

Labor in the United States presented a solid front in favor of every step and method adopted to forward the war from the time Samuel Gompers and the presidents of the international unions issued their famous declaration of support for a war for democracy before war was declared until now. Canadian labor fought valiantly every attempt to limit freedom of speech, freedom of press and all attempts at fastening vicious espionage and sedition laws upon their nation. Labor in the United States sees the delegation to the Peace Conference go without a single representative from its ranks. Labor in Canada has the satisfaction of having the secretary of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress named as one of that country's peace commissioners. Let history write the answer.

BRITISH LABOR, VICTORS IN FIGHT FOR SHORTER HOURS

At a recent conference in London the Miners Federation of Great Britain, presided over by Robert Smillie, demanded the shortening of the working day to six hours.—The government has been obliged to grant the eight-hour day to railway employes. Half a million workers will benefit, the white-collar clerks being left out in the cold.—Discharged women munition workers recently marched through the streets of London and raised a big rumpus when the Prime Minister said he was “too busy to see them” in regard to re-employment.

BOURGOEIS ATTEMPT THE IMPOSSIBLE

An amnesty has been granted to 10,000 revolutionists.—A middle class government has been formed and is going to attempt the impossible task of “stemming the tide of Bolshevist propaganda from Russia.” This is the latest news from Finland.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIST ACTION HAMPERED

Inquiries in official circles lead to the conclusion that in reality the situation in Russia and eastern Germany is giving the authorities a good deal more anxiety than the public imagines.

Anti-Bolshevist action is hampered by three factors:

First—The difficulty of the allies agreeing among themselves on exactly how and to what extent it is to be carried out.

Second—The reluctance of the troops and the French people generally to engage in a winter campaign in Russia, fraught with the ominus memory of the Crimea and of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow.

Third—The fear that such action, if carried out, might defeat its own object by causing Bolshevist ideas to spread and be disseminated more widely through the advertisement, or appeal to public attention, thus afforded them.

Private advices from a Swiss source, which have been always found reliable indicate that the extremist party in Germany is gaining ground and that capitalist minded people both in Germany and Switzerland are already looking forward with horror to an alliance between Russian and German “reds” against the rest of the world.

And then comes Comrade John A. Rehm of Springfield, with a list of ten. Comrade Rehm has the sub-getting habit. He couldn't stop even if he wanted to.

“Inclosed find my check for ten dollars for which send me ten yearly sub cards. I have no hesitation in recommending your paper to anyone.” Thus writes Comrade Allen Cook, a Canton live sub-hustler. Not only has he no hesitation but he gets the subs.

OBITUARY

We the Jewish S. P. Local of Youngstown regret the untimely death of our beloved comrade, Yale Bradyin, who was killed in action, Nov. 1, 1918.

RESOLUTION COMMITTEE.

The Great Work Ahead

By

Marguerite Prevey

A year of tremendous historic upheaval is closing; another of unparalleled opportunity is opening.

The old world of triumphant and unchallenged capitalism is gone forever, and capitalism itself, with all its crimes upon its bloody hands, stands convicted and condemned at the bar of an outraged and aroused civilization.

Now strikes the hour, the long awaited, dreamed of hour of the workers of the world. Now is the time for them to rise to the opportunity of the ages and take possession of the earth and the fullness and fatness thereof in the name of an emancipated race.

It is indeed an inspiring vision, a glorious outlook.

The war of capitalist nations is ended, and now begins the war of the workers of these nations for emancipation. In this war the forces of education and organization will win and every worker with a glimmer of vision and a spark of manhood will have his part.

Everywhere the field is rotten ripe for the proletariat and if they will only unite industrially and politically and act together in a class-conscious body, the day of the social revolution is at hand, and the new world now in the making will be the beautiful free world of the triumphant and emancipated workers.

In Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy, England, France and other nations of Europe the workers are storming the ramparts of capitalism, resolved to overthrow its brutal power and inaugurate industrial and political democracy.

Let us not fail in our support of this international uprising that threatens every citadel of exploitation and oppression and gives promise of establishing real democracy throughout the world.

Comrades, let us to our task with eager hearts and willing hands; let us unite our forces and set to work with an energy and determination that brook no hesitancy and knows no defeat.

Organization is the first and the supreme demand of the present situation. Let us put forth all our energies to get the workers industrially organized and enrolled as members in the Socialist Party.

Let us rally to the support of the Ohio Socialist and roll up a circulation that will give it commanding power in the movement.

We all rejoice to see our comrades, Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht and Baker, liberated from their prison cell. They come back to us with new enthusiasm. With our State Secretary back on the job, reinforced by the work of his heroic wife and comrade, the work should progress as never before.

And now, comrades, to work: each of us is in duty bound to do our share to make the year 1919 spell emancipation for the workers of the world.

The Coming Struggle

By MARY E. MARCY

To my mind the ultimate triumph of Socialism is as inevitable as the coming of the spring. The capitalist financial system is already crumbling. The spirit of revolution is already spreading beyond the boundaries of Russia into Germany, Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and down into Roumania and far into Sweden and Finland.

But nowhere is capitalism going to resign without a life and death struggle. Nowhere is Labor going to triumph without standing united against a rapidly uniting and desperate foe.

Nationalism and national governments are rapidly being swallowed up in the new crisis and everywhere the capitalist class, the junker class, are joining themselves in a real alliance against the workers of all countries.

Marx said that the governments of the various countries were merely committees for administering the affairs, protecting the property interests, of the whole capitalist class of these countries. He said that all social institutions reflect the changes that take place in the economic life of a nation and that these institutions foster, and protect the economic owners of society in their private ownership and control.

But capital today has become so absolutely international that the allied governments are unable to demand large indemnities of what was once the central empires for the simple reason that the payment by them of large sums to the allies would utterly ruin their already collapsing financial system and throw Germany and Austria-Hungary into such utter financial chaos as would render these countries utterly incapable of consuming the surplus products of the allied nations, or of sending their own products to other nations, or of buying raw material from any country.

Capitalism has become so international that the allied powers cannot crush the “central empires” without killing off a future customer and future profits. To expose the financial bankruptcy of the defeated nations would mean the jeopardy of their own shaky banking institutions.

And so the allied governments will need to become generous to their stricken foes; to ally themselves with the capitalist classes of Germany and Austria-Hungary, to assist instead of crushing their old enemies.

And for this, declare the great French bankers, we need an international banking system, an international central bank; we need a world capital, a great coercive power that shall protect the interests of international capital. And so, in one form or another, but undoubtedly as some great world-wide police force, we shall soon see the great international state evolving. It may take the form of a League of Nations.

Then, comrades, be very sure that wherever small working class revolts raise their heads, the international government, the international capitalist police force will rush to endeavor to crush it out.

Opposed to such power as the world has never seen, the gains made by Socialism in small elections will seem very small and very inadequate. What can even a whole nation in the hands of triumphant labor do against the capitalist world state and world power? To be effective Socialism must become more and more international. We must array the labor Internationale against the capitalist international.

Into the coming conflicts that are going to rock every nation we must throw and dissolve ourselves. We must be ever on the field of battle, sounding the class call of Socialism; teaching the workers that Socialism means shop-control by the workers, real, practical, bread-and-butter, industrial democracy!

Socialism is coming but whether it be soon or late depends upon us! The greed of the capitalist class, the collapsing financial system upon which it is built, the enforced rebellion of the workers will be our opportunity. We must organize this rebellious force and we must educate it in the meaning of Socialism.

If we say to the worker striking for higher wages in the face of steadily rising prices that Socialism means voting for the party candidate next year, we will be rightly pushed aside in the midst of real class war.

We must remember that every class conflict is our gfiht; we must use these struggles to explain the purpose of Industrial Socialism, shop-control by the workers—Socialism.

We must have industrial, shop propaganda and we must jump into every conflict and organize the workers for the only kind of Socialism that will free and save the working class.

As Marx said: **Socialism proposes not the governing of peoples but the administration of industry by the working class.**

On this platform we can gain the working class; on this platform we will soon become invincible!

FREEDOM FOR WAR OBJECTORS DEMANDED

A group of about 20 persons, among whom were Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. Brent Allinson of Chicago and Dr. John L. Elliott, left New York for Washington, with a petition signed by more than 15,000 people. This document seeks the release of conscientious objectors, now in the disciplinary barracks at Fort Leavenworth. It will be presented this morning to Secretary of War Baker by the delegation, which will plead for the 3[illegible] men who are serving sentences of from ten to thirty years.

More than half of the delegation are the near relatives of some war objector who is now in what is called the solitary confinement “hole” in the military prison, of whom there are about thirty. These men, until relieved of this torture by the recent War Department order, were forced to stand nine hours each working day, manacled by the wrists to the doors of their cells. They are still on a bread and water diet for periods of 14 days at a time.

A couple of girls engaged to Leavenworth prisoners, will be among this group to plead for them. There will be also several men in uniform.

The remainder of those to visit the Secretary are men and women who feel the time has come, now the war is over, for generous action on the part of the government toward the objectors. Among these is Mrs. Henry Villard of the suffrage movement, the daughter of William Lloyd Garrison.

Comrade E. B. Floding of Lisbon subscribes and sends another for company.

Victory Certain

“Onward to Victory” is the watchword of the Red Hundred, which is the name we give our subscription hustlers, that hard-working, self-sacrificing and invincible group of ‘Jimmy Higginses’ in our great cause. Ever alert for an opportunity to add to the circulation of the Ohio Socialist and the spread of Revolutionary Socialism, their efforts are proving of tremendous benefit to the Socialist movement. We take pleasure in recording here the results of their efforts during the past week.

* * *

That Local Canton has its eye firmly fixed upon victory is certain. Just lately the local bought forty dollars worth of subscription cards. To prove that they are not lying idle they sent in 12 yearlies and 22 half-yearlies this week. When a local gets all its members on the sub lists of the O. S. and then sets out to place a copy in the hands of the workers in its city, then we know it is laying the foundation for a greater local and a more efficient one. This seems to be Local Canton's policy.

Warren is another local that has seen the rays of victory piercing the gloom. Seven new subscribers Comrade Swope corrals this week. Local Warren is gathering momentum. Watch it.

* * *

Some booster, is our exclamation when we receive nine three-months' and one yearly from Comrade Edwin Blank of Lima. And to think that Comrade Blank has been keeping this pace for weeks ought to make others speed up a bit. What do you think?

* * *

Ten half-yearlies and seven yearlies Comrade A. Kutther of Akron mails in. Akron too, has seen the new day adawning and wants to keep in the lead.

* * *

Two yearlies from Comrade Allen Cook of Canton shows he's still selling them.

* * *

Comrade T. H. Davies of Hubbard takes another step toward victory by sending in seven subscriptions. Comrade Davies is among the live wires in that part of the world.

* * *

Local Montpelier heard from again. Four subs from Comrade Fickle means they're still kicking. Comrade Fickle says they will have more to report next week.

* * *

A new booster at Columbus is Comrade Georgie Crook. He sends us four subs as a start.

Comrade S. G. Gregory of South Tunnel, Tenn., is continuing his work for the emancipation of the workers in spite of an indictment hanging over his head. Four subscriptions from him this week attests his loyalty to the workers.

* * *

Two yearlies and a promise of more soon is what Comrade E. J. Heint of Ashtabula sends in. Good work comrade. Come again.

* * *

To keep his weekly pledge Comrade Norman Simons of Sawyerwood mails us one new one.

* * *

From Paris, Mo., hails Comrade E. H. Sladek bearing his own sub and two more yearlies. Who said we had no friends outside of Ohio?

Comrade Pinkus of Davenport, Ia., hustles two subs for us.

* * *

Comrade Perry Shipman of Rock Island is interested in establishing a national circulation for the O. S. He adds two more to the list which is appreciated. He also orders 100 of this Victory Edition.

* * *

Five dollars for a bunch of sub cards, one-fifty for subs and one-fifty for the Victory Edition, together with two dollars for General Fund and two dollars for two two-year subs as Xmas presents to two friends, all from Comrade J. H. Sims of Bethel. Can you beat that?

* * *

Three more from Lawndale keeps their record bright.

* * *

Comrade P. Blau of Covington, Ky., sends in one more from Kentucky.

* * *

Local Barberton is selling press stamps. Three yearlies and four half-yearlies this week.

* * *

Local Columbus treads the path to victory by placing the names of ten subscribers on the list. The comrades of Columbus certainly keep their record bright.

* * *

As we have said before Mansfield local is on the map. Five subs from there proves it.

* * *

Comrade Wilnecker of Toledo mails in two more.

* * *

State Executive Committeeman Scott Wilkins is still on the job, as one more from him proves.

* * *

Comrade W. F. Werner of Canton is still boosting. One from him and also one from Comrade Markert of Mt. Healthy.

* * *

Comrade W. E. Reynolds of Battle Creek, Mich., who is a constant contributor to our columns has found another way to help us. Four half-yearlies and two yearlies he secures.

* * *

J. H. Fries of Columbus comes boosting with two. Every one is getting the habit.

* * *

Comrade C. B. Zaiser of Atwater is on the job. His own and three others is a worthy contribution.

* * *

Comrade Clarence Case of Hamilton greets us with three more yearlies. The comrades are well pleased with the Ohio Socialist he says.

* * *

Our weekly visitor, Comrade Wm. Schultz of Napoleon sends in three yearlies and orders a hundred of the victory edition.

* * *

Down at Pine Bluff, Ark., is a bunch of live wires whom we are certain to hear from soon. Comrade W. A. Wright, the local secretary sends us his subscription and asks for samples with which to awaken his comrades. He says the comrades there are looking for a real Socialist paper.

[illegible] Ohio Locals

1—Charles Baker is ready to fill all speaking engagements [illegible] may be assigned. Does your local want him for a meeting? Decide at once. Don't delay the routine. Address State Office.

2—Hearing of the Debs appeal by the U. S. Supreme Court has been postponed until Jan. 27. Comrade Debs will gladly fill speaking engagements between now and that date, in northern Ohio. Locals desiring him should apply at once.

FORCES OF BOLSHEVIKI PENETRATE ESTHONIA

Bolshevik forces are advancing into Esthonia at the rate of six miles a day, and the fall of the city of Reval is momentarily expected, according to a Swedish press dispatch to the State Department.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT BACKS UP

“Hon.” F. B. Carvell, a labor “leader,” who went over to the enemy in return for a fat official job, declares that I. W. W. propaganda is disturbing conditions in the labor unions of Canada, except among what he calls “properly conducted unions,” such as the locomotive engineers and, of course, the Typographical Union. The Imperial Munitions Board is advising all workers in munitions plants to hustle for other jobs.—Democracy is re-appearing in Canada. Faced with the threat of a general strike, the government has rescinded its “war emergency” order making the use of enemy languages a crime and outlawing the Socialist Party. The I. W. W. is doubtless still under the ban.—Canadian labor councils are insisting on the withdrawal of Canadian troops from Russia.

[illegible] On Appeal Postponed

The hearing on the appeal of Eugene V. Debs case before the [illegible] Supreme Court, which was scheduled to be heard Jan. 6, has been postponed to Jan. 27. The brief, which [illegible] been filed by Attorney Seymour Stedman of Chicago, declares that Debs' conviction “rests squarely upon [illegible] ‘seditious temper,’” the brief arraigns the courts of the country [illegible] cause of their attitude toward [illegible] espionage act.

“Practically all cases since the adoption of the espionage act, in dealing with the right of free speech,” [illegible] the brief, “while giving some measure of verbal recognition to that right have abruptly swept aside any consideration of such a right in conflict with the general war purposes of the government. We earnestly submit that such interpretation of the right of free speech is a careless sweeping aside of the most vital principle of American freedom.”

Another comrade we are glad to hear from is A. J. Totten of Alliance. He sends in ten dollars worth of subscriptions and says we shall hear from him again. We are sure that we shall.

* * *

Four half-yearlies is what Comrade W. P. Williams of Englewood, Colo., secured in spite of the flu. He says there is nothing like giving the workers something to think about. He's right, isn't he?

* * *

Comrade Mrs. W. E. Riley renews her subscription and sends in three more. What an example! Just think what that would mean if each comrade would do as well.

* * *

Two more lined up for victory as a result of the efforts of Comrade A. [illegible] F. Steckel of Tiffin.

Lenine—An Appreciation

(Continued from Page One)

becomes the subject of study and appropriate action.

Let it not appear from this that Lenin is an opportunist wavering with each new shift of the social wind; Lenin has the utmost scorn, and justly, for the miserable opportunist who shifts and wavers, hesitates and compromises, and uses “reality” as a justification. Adapting one's self to temporarily dominant facts, compromising with issues and forces fundamentally contrary to Socialism on the specious plea of “necessary action,” is not to adapt one's self to reality, but to accept forms instead of substance, the appearance of reality for reality itself. Reality is infinitely deceptive. At the moment when the war and Czarism constituted the “reality” in Russia, a new reality appeared and burst forth, the action of the revolutionary proletariat, the reality of revolutionary Socialism. Life is consistent in spite of apparent inconsistency. There must be consistency in theory and in action, based upon adapting each to the fundamental facts of the forces and tendency of Capitalism and the revolutionary proletariat. Consistency that is flexible, and flexibility that is consistent, are instruments of the Revolution. When the moment for “necessary action” comes—revolutionary action—the opportunist will waver and oppose this necessary revolutionary action, as did the majority Socialists in Europe, the “men of action”; while the man who was accused of not being “in action,” who rejected participation in certain action as contrary to Socialism and the class struggle, becomes the director and inspiration of the greatest of all revolutions.

It might make one cynical, if life itself didn't suppress cynicism in the revolutionary Socialist, to consider certain reactions toward Lenin. There are many who consider Lenin a sort of bolt from the blue, a miraculous product of the Russian Revolution; there are others who bitterly attacked Lenin, now singing his praises, while they try to compress Lenin's policy into the small space of their petty purposes and corrupt idelogy; and there are still others who invoke Lenin and the proletarian revolution in Russia while pursuing the petty bourgeois, opportunistic policy of moderate Socialism which they have always pursued, and which Lenin condemned, condems and will continue to condemn. * * * And Lenin serenely, uncompromisingly, adheres to the revolutionary theory and action comprising his fundamental policy for twenty years, disaster and success alike emphasizing his revolutionary energy and initiative. * * *

During the course of years Lenin labored in comparative obscurity, forging the concepts that have become the thunderbolts of the Russian Revolution. Lenin represented the minority, that minority of revolutionary Socialism which in all nations actively represents the Revolution and is the hope of the proletariat. The world of Socialism—that is to say, the world comprised in the petty bourgeois Socialism of the Second International—rendering homage to clay idols, to Karl Kaut-Guesde, all of whom collapsed miserably under the test of the revolutionary crisis produced by the war. The world of petty bourgeois Socialism invoked the German Social-Democracy, the British Labor Party, the French Labor Party, the dominant Socialism in Russia, while it ignored, condemned or knew nothing of the Bolsheviki and other groups of the revolutionary minority, the policy of which conquers in Russia, and will conquer everywhere by means of the New International of the final struggle and victory. But Lenin was not swerved from his course by apparent failure, no more than he has been swerved from his course by success. In these years of preparation for the Revolution, in these bitter years of momentary triumph of a Socialism essentially counter-revolutionary, Lenin developed the fundamentals of his policy, which his revolutionary integrity and mastery of theory convinced him were in accord with the fundamental facts and tendency of Capitalism and the proletariat, and which would necessarily conquer under the impulse of the universal crisis generated by Imperialism, which introduces the new revolutionary epoch of the proletarian class struggle.

The courage and initiative of the man, his integrity and devotion to the fundamental tasks of Socialism, his refusal to temporize with revolutionary consistency, policy and honor for the sake of meretricious popularity, are marvels of character and vision, an inspiration to the Socialist and the rebel.

It is impossible to chronicle here the achievements of Lenin. But there is one achievement, I think, which is characteristic. I was discussing Lenin with a comrade the other day, and he said: “It rather tires me to read so much in which Lenin repeatedly insists, as against Karl Kautsky, that Marx said this or meant that. A man who has accomplished what Lenin has in Russia doesn't have to worry about Marx.” But Marxism is the theoretical instrument of the proletarian revolution; it is upon the basis of Marxism that Lenin builds. And a great achievement of Lenin is the restoration of Marxism to its real character as an instrument of revolutionary action. During the past twenty-five years, Marxism has experienced a transformation, becoming the means of interpreting history and a fetish of controversy, instead of a maker of history and an instrument of revolutionary action. This degrading conception of Marxism was dominant in the old International. The “Marxist,” instead of using Marxism to interpret new revolutionary developments, used their atrophied Marxism as a means of crushing new revolutionary ideas or compressing them into the stultifying limits of the old tactics, and justifying or explaining away every abandonment of revolutionary Socialism by the dominant petty bourgeois Socialism. Lenin used Marx against these pseudo-Marxists, insisted on making Marxism an instrument of revolutionary action, built upon the basis of Marxism and amplified its scope. Marx is again the rebel, and not the slave of the Socialist pedant. Lenin used Marxism to interpret the new social alignments of imperialism, the new forms of the class struggle, and to forge the concepts of theory and action corresponding to the new revolutionary epoch.

Lenin's theoretical activity bulks large. His “Development of Capitalism in Russia” is considered a master work, as is his “Agrarian Problem in Russia;” his “Imperialism: the Final Stage of Capitalism,” is a splendid analysis of the prevailing epoch, a brilliant unity of theory and action of Socialist interpretation. Then there is Lenin's pamphlet, “The State and the Revolution,” a discussion of the determining problem of the proletarian revolution; and his numerous pamphlets and other works issued during the Revolution, and which are classics of the application of fundamental Socialism to the problems of immediate, dynamic action during a revolutionary crisis. This theoretical work of Lenin will yet become a source of inspiration in the coming reconstruction of Socialism, supplemented by the accomplishments of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

It is not in any sense a concession to the Carlylean theory of “the Great Man” to admit that each great epoch of history expresses [illegible] focuses itself, in a great individual. Marat individualized the proletarian tendency of the French Revolution; Marx individualized the theoretical coming-of-age of the revolutionary proletariat; and Lenin individualizes the proletarian revolution in Russia.

Greetings, men and women of the proletarian revolution in Russia! Greetings, Lenin, symbol of the coming revolutionary Socialism that will conquer in spite of all!—The Class Struggle.

Victory of the Working Class at the polls and in industry means a gladder, brighter, better world for every soul in it.

[illegible]
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of [illegible]

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WITH OUR EDITORS

What is Victory Anyway?

No matter how young or how old you are and no matter how old you feel in your youth or how young you feel in your old age—you've still some life to live.

AND HOW ARE YOU GOING TO LIVE IT?

Are you going to waste it? Are you going to give it to some panderer whose lust for sheckles is his predominant passion and give it without reserve or protest? Are you going to carelessly throw it about and around, not caring where it lights nor what it does?

Here then, is a story. And a true story it is.

We learned to know a man last summer whose permanent residence was a county infirmary. This man arose each morning, dressed himself in slimy, greasy clothes, walked as fast as the filth upon him would allow to the garbage can, took a seat close to it and well within reach of its foul smell, spit upon his hand to dampen the filth upon his trousers and waited for the flies to light. The flies did light and as they feasted upon his knee he killed them with a dirty-ragged-edged newspaper.

This he did day after day. This was his life's work.

And you'll say that his brain needed adjusting and right you are.

BUT HOW ABOUT YOU? WHAT DO YOU DO ALL DAY LONG?

What do you really do that's worth mentioning? What do you really do that's worth a second thought? What do you do day after day that is even as beneficial to mankind as the service rendered by the filthy fly killer of the infirmary?

You arise every morning and go to work and you work your life away. When you meet a friend you talk about YOUR JOB. When you open your mouth at home you talk about YOUR JOB. You think about YOUR JOB all day long. Do you ever raise a finger in protest against being jobbed in this manner? Do you ever stop to think that you are being jobbed to death?

You play up the small things in life. You're a very little fellow. You can't see further than over your neighbor's fence and you can't think deeper than to follow a Charlie Chaplin comic.

When your life is done you might discover that life has done you and again you might not. You might not have the brains. But your life will have been so well wasted that you will not even be given the privilege of saying you helped mankind by helping to exterminate flies. Your life will have been good for nothing but to provide a feast for the over-fed.

BUT THERE IS ANOTHER WAY!

You can make your life a block of granite in the monument which today is building for tomorrow. It's the monument of Industrial Democracy, humanity happy, the world free from slavery of any brand.

You can quit thinking small thoughts and acting small acts and you can embrace mankind and consecrate your life to its emancipation. You can quit grumbling about foolish trifles and begin proclaiming freedom for the workers. You can quit feeling lonesome and non-essential and you can begin to feel worthy and mighty. You can quit living alone and begin living with millions who are marching onward to a better world.

You can quit swating flies and begin to hit injustice, inequality, inhumanity sledge hammer blows.

YOU CAN DO THIS RIGHT NOW!

You can be more than you are today; you can be more than the ragged, filthy, fly killer; you can be everything if you will join the hosts of revolutionary labor in the joyous labor of making labor supreme.

AND THAT'S VICTORY!

Victory for you begins when you begin to give your heart and mind to the trampled and the cramped. Victory for you begins when you consecrate your every day to the abolition of wage slavery. For the day you so begin you begin to labor for your own emancipation.

YES—THAT'S VICTORY.

And no matter what the obstacles nor the cost, with it the Socialist is always crowned. He lives in a world he is winning.

JUMP IN! HELP WIN!

GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN WAR-TIME

By ANISE, Union Record.

(Facts taken from Labor Year Book, issued by Rand School; and "German Social Democracy During the War," by Edwin Bevan, published by George Allen and Unwin Co., London).

II. WHEN WAR WAS DECLARED

On the first of August, 1914, when the German empire was already on a war footing, the French parliamentary Socialists were in session in Paris, when into their midst, like a bolt from the blue dropped a German comrade, Herman Muller, accompanied by two Belgians, one of whom, Henri de Man, we have learned to know here in Seattle.

Already both French and German Socialists were discussing the voting of war credits. Muller was sent to make connections in France. He told the French Socialists that there were two lines of opinion among the German Socialists: one group wanted to vote against all war credits, the other wished to withdraw from voting. As for voting for the war credits, that was "out of the question," declared Muller.

The French Socialists said that if France was attacked, there would be two opinions in their party; either to vote for the war credits or not to vote at all; but that they would not consider voting against them. It seemed, then, that to keep from voting at all was the only line of action that offered a chance of common action in both countries, although Muller was of the opinion that most of the German Socialists would prefer voting against all war credits.

Events move fast in war time. Muller explained that he could only speak for the mind of the party when he left, two days before. No binding agreements were made on either side. But the incident shows how, up to the moment of actual war, the Socialists thought as Internationalists; with the declaration of war, the greater number became, in all countries, nationalists.

"To Help Our Own."

What caused the change? Do you remember, you of the labor movement, how the leaders in our group who had been most outspoken against the war and against conscription, began to change their attitude as soon as their own comrades were in the trenches. You heard the argument.—"Our own trades unionists are over there fighting; we must vote the money to give them food and supplies."

The same motive worked in Germany. Socialists on their way to the party meeting tell of seeing their old comrades bound for the front, and hearing them say: "See to it, comrade, that we have all we need. Don't be stingy in voting money, you in the reichstag."

The Russian Menace.

Then, too, the Russian Menace loomed large in the minds of Germans. Chancellor Hollweg called together representatives of all parties. The same day the Social Democrats of the reichstag met to discuss their future action. Austria and Serbia were forgotten. The one fact that eclipsed everything was that the Fatherland was already invaded—by Russia.

Tsardom, according to all Socialist traditions, was the darkest of horrors. Would the Socialists stand still and let German towns and villages be overrun by semi-savage hordes? It was believed universally in Germany that Russia and France had opened hostilities without necessity.

And so, under the stress of the hour, here was the German Social Democratic Party, doing on August 3 what had seemed out of the question two days before—voting for war credits. Seventy-eight were for voting the credits unconditionally; 17 wished to vote against, or make some conditions.

Haase, president of the group, was against voting the credits, yet to him fell the unpleasant task of reading out the affirmative vote on the following day. And it did not yet occur, even to Liebknecht, to break with the party. No sign was shown the public of the sharp discussion that had been held behind closed doors.

In a talk with Eduard Bernstein, Haase deplored the voting of war credits. "What I am most afraid of," he said, "is the after effect it will have on the development of the party." His words were prophetic.

Peace With the Government.

The first result from the action of the Socialists was a great sense of unity and joy throughout the country. All groups were working as one; those who had denounced the Socialists for lack of patriotism ceased their criticism. The boycott of locals by the military ceased; the ban on Socialist literature in the army was withdrawn; permission was given for Vorwaerts to be sold in the stations of the government railways.

All the legal proceedings already started against trades unions were dropped: the government promised to reform the Prussian electoral system. And in return, the trade unions put an end to all the strikes then in progress. In fact, the same sort of getting together and surface solution of all old difficulties occurred in Germany that happened here and in all countries at war.

Victory First, Then Reform.

The German people were in a state of unnatural exaltation, expecting a quick victorious peace. The effect on the minds of the working class is described by Strobel in Die Neue Zeit. "History was taking this course, it was folly to resist the brazen tramp of history. Moreover, the war would create an economic boom, which would hasten the rise of the workers. Also, it was thought, the more 'patriotic' the working class had shown itself during the war the easier it would be to get round the governing classes after the war, the less able they would be to refuse the demands of the working class."

Sound or unsound, we have heard those arguments before. They have been heard, and have been effective, in all the warring countries.

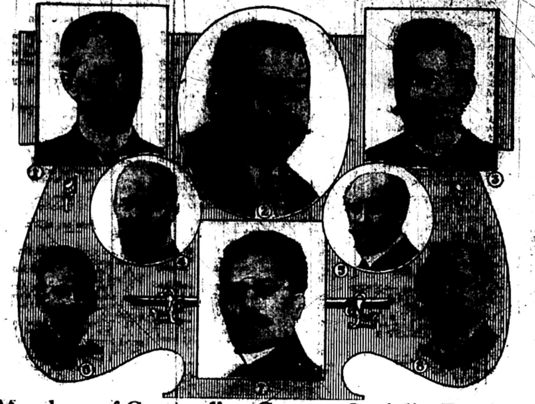
Next Week—The Opposition Begins

THE MOST
IMPORTANT
THING YOU
CAN DO
(See Other Side)

[illegible]

There are three distinct groups of Socialists contesting for supremacy in the land where Wm. Hohenzollern used to get free board. The so-called majority Socialists, the Scheidemann group, who supported the kaiser in the war, at present believe in a policy of co-operating as much as possible with the German business class to stabilize production and distribution. The Independent Socialists who toward the end of the war refused to further vote for war credits assume a more radical stand, wanting to socialize industry as fast as it can be taken over by the government. The [illegible] group of Socialists [illegible] favor the [illegible]. This group demands the working class control, through soldiers and workmen's councils, of all industry, demands that the workers and the workers alone shall rule Germany and seeks to establish an industrial democracy with the capitalist class dispossessed rather than a political democracy with its slow and ineffective program of government ownership of a few principle industries.

If the Liebknecht Socialists are [illegible] in Germany [illegible] with the Bolsheviki of Russia. This will double the [illegible] for [illegible] the red terror. Although [illegible] plute press when he opposed the kaiser and went to jail, we will soon hear him as heartily condemned by these same bought and paid for newspapers. It becomes the duty of every honest thinking worker to reserve judgement upon the German situation until the Socialist press can get and print the truth.



Members of Contending German Socialist Factions

1—GEORGE LEDEBOUR, one of the principal characters in the German Revolution, born March 7, 1850, a Journalist by occupation. M. P. since 1900. Editor of "Vorwaerts" 1895-96. Chief editor of "Saxony Arbeiter-Zeitung." 1896-1900.

2—FREDERICH EBERT, President, Minister of the Interior and Military Affairs, born Feb. 4, 1871, at Heidelberg. A harnessmaker by trade. Since Oct. 1, 1913, Chairman of the Party in Berlin. Chairman of Young Socialist Federation. Editor of "Bremen Buerger-Zeitung." 1892. Party Secretary in Bremen 1900-1905. Secretary of Party Executive 1905-1913. M. P. since 1914.

3—KARL LEGIEN, Labor Official, born December 1, 1861, at Marienberg, West Prussia. Occupation, wood turner. M. P. President of International Federation of Trade Unions. Since 1891, Chairman of General Commission of Labor Unions. Chairman Central Sick Benefit Fund of the Woodworkers' Union. Author of numerous trade union pamphlets and tactics and the right to organize.

4—OTTO LANSBERG, Minister of Propaganda, Art and Literature, born December 4, 1869, in Rybnik. A Lawyer. M. P. Alderman in Magdeburg, 1904-1910.

5—PHILLIP SCHEIDEMANN, Minister of Finance and the Colonies, born July 26, 1865, a printer by occupation. Secretary of the Party Executive Committee since 1911. An editor in Giessen, 1895; in Nurenberg, 1900; later in Offenbach and Kassel.

6—WILLIAM DITTMANN, Minister of Demobilization, Transport, Justice and Health, born November 13, 1874, in Luebeck. Cabinetmaker by trade. Editor, since 1909, of the "Bergischen Arbeiterstimme." Editor, 1899-1902 "Nordischen Volksstimme" in Bremerhaven; editor, 1902-1904, "Bergischen Arbeiterstimme" in Solingen. Party Secretary, 1904-1909 Frankfurt A. M. election district, and elected alderman. Recently freed from prison where he was serving a five-year sentence as punishment for his alleged connection with the naval mutiny at Kiel, 1917.

7—DR. KARL LIEBKNECHT, leader of the so-called Spartacus group of Socialists, born August 13, 1871, in Leipzig, M. P., of the Prussian Legislature, and Berlin City Council, Attorney by profession. Recently freed from prison where he was serving a 40-month sentence for opposition to war and his views on internationalism. Author of numerous books and pamphlets, among them being, "Militarism," (an address to the Young Socialist convention). Also a collaborator on "Die Neue Zeit."

8—HUGO HAASE, Minister of foreign affairs, born June 29, 1863, at Allenstein, Attorney by profession. Chairman of the Party Executive. Member of Parliament. Leader of the Independent group of Socialists.

Restore Our Rights!

Our rights must be restored.

Is it not true that before a just peace can be concluded the Constitutional rights of American citizens, abrogated by the espionage law must be restored? Have we not the right to demand that the freedom to speak our honest convictions on the world problems must be given back to us?

Must we not make sure that the peace that has come shall be a peace that will safeguard human progress and make secure human freedom? Dare we forget that though the war is over now, all of the oppressive laws enacted during the war are still in force?

Is it not our duty to remind President Wilson that ere he stands before the peace council demanding democracy for Europe, we should be assured of real democracy at home; and before he can ask for freedom for the oppressed peoples of other nations, he should remember that here in the United States thousands of men and women are behind prison bars, and many more soon will be, whose only crime was that of expressing their deepest convictions; that before he asks that mercy should temper justice in Germany, he should make sure that justice is done to his own?

We may grant for sake of argument that the espionage law, with all its drastice irresponsible power might have been a grim necessity of war, but can we not ask in all sincerity if under its tyrannical oppression a just peace can be concluded?

Is it not necessary, now, that the armistice has been signed, that the terms of peace be fully and frankly discussed? And can it be honestly discussed while the espionage law absolutely throttles the voice of the common people, and the workers' press is shut out from the mails?

Must we not continually remind President Wilson that the anti-free press, anti-free speech and anti-free assemblage edicts of America's war time dictatorship are still in force, and that those who think, and attempt to voice their thoughts on the world problems of peace and life, still risk the felon's fate and the dungeon cell?

Dare we forget for a moment, that in the United States alone, of all civilized countries, are political prisoners dealt with as ordinary criminals; that those who speak for their concept of democracy and freedom are classed with common harlots, thieves and murderers?

Is it logical for us to send our president across the sea to grace the peace table and battle for world democracy, freedom of nations and justice to all peoples, while democracy, justice and freedom are endangered at home, by wartime's drastic laws?

Will not all real lovers of democracy, freedom and justice ask why it is, that in the United States alone, Socialism's and liberty's most prominent and best loved spokesmen are in prison, and the bastile gates still snarl in a hungry menace for any citizen who expresses on opinion contrary to the opinion of the political party in power? Will not our allies realize that whatever reasons may have been advanced for jailing radicals during the war, that these reasons are now demolished by the coming of peace?

How much harmony of action and co-operation in rebuilding the world can we hope to establish between the United States and the new Socialistic republics that are being born, when they know that four of the fifteen members of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party are in prison, and three others are in grave danger of going there? What explanation can be offered for the fact that strenuous efforts are made by the administration to send the national secretary of the party, the editor of the party's official publication, the head of the Young People's Socialist League, and the former head of the party literature department to prison?

Can the great, powerful British Labor Party have faith in our nation's declaration of loyalty to the ideals of democracy, freedom and justice, when they know that Kate Richards O'Hare has been sent to prison for five years? The labor party of Great Britain knows Kate O'Hare, she met with them in council, she was honored by its leaders, she lectured under their auspices and spoke from their platform. What must these men decide who know Kate O'Hare, and that by every word she spoke or wrote, while in Great Britain, she proved her love and loyalty to her country.

What must the great statesmen of Europe feel when they know that Eugene V. Debs, four times the presidential candidate and the most prominent and best loved spokesman of American Socialism has been sentenced to ten years in prison because he expressed the sacred convictions of his great, loving heart?

What will be the reaction of the millions of Jews in Europe who have been taught to look to America as their star of hope, when they know that Rose Pastor Stokes, one of the most prominent and best loved Jewish women in America has been sentenced to serve ten years in prison for declaring her allegiance to the cause of the workers as against the war profiteers?

Against these conditions the Socialist Party has protested unceasingly, for we want the United States to go into the peace conference, so secure in her position that no question of doubt can be raised. We know that such security can only be ours when our truly democratic institutions and free government are safeguarded through the unrestricted rights of freedom of speech, press and assemblage.

By the weight and power of American arms and material resources outside of the German empire, and the strength of the Socialist Party organization within, kaiserism has been overthrown and the nations of Europe are struggling to establish themselves on a basis of democracy and peace. Karl Liebknecht and all who waged war on kaiserism in Germany are free, and the voice of the common people is heard throughout Germany commanding those who have been placed in power.

Can America approach the peace table while the American people are less free? Has not the time come for all Americans to unite in demanding that the wartime censorship of free expression be abolished;

That all political prisoners be immediately freed?

That all prosecution of American radicals because of their opinions be stopped?

No pardons are asked, only that right and justice be done to those who have suffered for [illegible]

The national [illegible] assembled on Monday, Dec. [illegible] the voice of the [illegible] hold meetings [illegible] at our command [illegible] ple with the [illegible] to action. We [illegible] in the critical [illegible] and they [illegible] must win back [illegible] our constitutional [illegible] speak [illegible] own lives [illegible] ours, safe [illegible] up our [illegible] free [illegible]

([illegible] Order [illegible] Party [illegible] Ill. [illegible])

[illegible]

[illegible] No, we haven't open diplomacy yet.

[illegible]

[illegible] by any means. [illegible] as Bernard Shaw says, [illegible] as usual."

Liebknecht's Appeal

(Continued from Page One)

feat of your rulers. Make that defeat telling.

How? Lay down your arms, you soldiers at the front. Lay down your tools, you workers at home. Do not let your rulers, the fly patriots and munition profiteers, deceive you longer.

So long as you are willing to continue the fighting, so long will these classes let you sacrifice your lives and the lives of your precious ones to save their faces. Lay down your arms and lay down your tools.

Other Nationalities Not Enemies.

Your neighboring nationalities are not your enemies. Your real enemies are at home.

The soldiers whom you face on the battlefields are not your enemies; they are fighting for your liberties.

Arise mightily and seize the reins of the government. Yours is the power. Yours is the right to rule. Respond to the call of liberty and win the war for yourselves.

For more than four years they have used you as pawns in their attempt to fill their purses. For four years they sacrificed your sons, fathers, brothers, and starved the millions to the end that they reap profits out of your blood.

If they had won the war you would have remained helpless slaves. Your liberty lay in their defeat; they are defeated. Victory is yours. It is for you to grasp it, to master it.

Comrades! Soldiers! Sailors! and you, workers! Rise by regiments and rise by shops.

Disarm your officers whose sympathies and ideas are of the ruling classes. Seize your foremen who side with the old order of things. Proclaim the overthrow of your masters and establish yourselves in one accord.

Soldiers, sailors, working men and citizens! do not permit your masters to make peace with the world in your name. Cast off these worthless masters of the fatherland and make peace with the world YOURSELVES!

Have you not suffered enough? Have you not dared death and torture in those four long and tragic years? So why fear anything? If you shed for your own liberty one-thousandth part of the blood you so freely shed on the battlefield for your masters you will win the immediate victory, not only for yourselves and your fellow men but even for the whole world.

More than five millions of Germans fell on the bloody battlefield for our pan-German imperialists. The sacrifice of no more than one thousand Germans can now win lasting freedom for our land. Then, comrades, rise and strike the last blow for freedom and civilization!

Proclaims Against Bloodshed.

And in order that our revolution shall not degenerate to that of the Russian bloodpool, we, the committee of the Revolutionary Socialists of Germany, make these suggestions to all the true Socialists throughout Germany:

Ascertain at once how many true Socialists there are in your company or regiment. Attack the quarters of your officers; disarm them at once. Make sure that your officers are in sympathy with you. If so, permit yourselves to be led by them. Shoot them at once in case they betray you after having professed to be partisans of your cause.

Do not kill your fellow soldiers who only disagree with you if they do not take the side of the government; they may be actuated through fear. After thoroughly disarming them and making sure that they are no longer dangerous to the cause of the revolution organize yourselves at once and report your numbers immediately to the central committee and await instructions meantime seizing all food and munition depots in your neighborhood.

Do not destroy or set fire to depots containing food or other wearing materials. It is permissible to set fire to barracks and other munition depots if they are so situated that the fires starting from these places could not spread to other localities, resulting in damage to materials other than arms and munitions. It should be kept in mind that the setting fire to barracks and munition depots should be resorted to after attempts to capture them for the revolution fails.

The temporary seizure of such buildings does not, however, mean that they will remain in our hands. In [illegible] such soldiers are [illegible] government partisans or [illegible] must be detailed [illegible] and guarded as hostages. [illegible] later by the loyal [illegible] should occasion a firm [illegible] fire to such building [illegible]

Sailors and marines! [illegible] Seize your ships. First [illegible] your officers. Communicate [illegible] with your comrades on shore [illegible] co-operation with [illegible] and harbor authorities and, if necessary open fire on loyal [illegible]

Appeal to Raze Military [illegible]

In extreme cases it is [illegible] to open fire on cities where [illegible] tioned numerous government [illegible] However, such firing must be [illegible] at once when the object is [illegible]

The immediate and [illegible] waste of all unmistakable [illegible] buildings, like forts and [illegible] harbors, is not only permissible but even essential.

Sabotage on fighting ships—if their seizure is not possible—is also essential. When mutiny on board a fighting ship is found a failure the ship's water compartments and valves may be opened.

Working men in munition factories! You are the sole masters of the situation! Stop work at once. From this moment you are only making bullets to be used against yourselves and against your own kind. The bullets you are now making will never reach the firing front. They are being made by your own hands to be aimed at you.

Stop making bayonets that will be thrust into your own bowels by the servants of the government. Rise, organize, and seize the arms and throw them against those who are planning to end the war and in return to enslave you. End the war yourselves and turn the weapons against them yourselves.

Never again will you bow the neck to these rulers.

Down with the kaiser and down with those from whom he derives his power to rule you.

Down with the capitalistic pan-German imperialists!

Down with the government as it is today!

Socialists Meet in International Conference January 6

First International Parleys Since War to be Held in Lausanne, Switzerland.

If the proposed International Socialist Conference in Lausanne, Switzerland, is held on Janu. 6, as [illegible] by Camille Huysman, the [illegible] Socialist leader, and various [illegible] Socialist groups, delegates of the American Socialists would have to leave at once to take part.

Socialist party officials here have not yet received any information that the State Department has seen fit to permit the three delegates chosen by referendum vote of the party membership to leave. Passports for them have been refused twice.

LATEST NEWS FROM GERMANY.

Dispatches dated Dec. [illegible] state that the Scheidemann Socialists are still in control but that the Independent Socialists, more radical than the former, and represented by Haase, Barth and Dittman in the cabinet, have resigned.

The impression now is that the Scheidemann Socialists will form a new government with the assistance of the liberal bourgeoisie. The revolution in Germany [illegible] to travel the Kerensky road toward proletarian control.

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWING.

The supply of labor is [illegible] approaching the point where it will exceed the demand, Department of Labor reports show. [illegible] has issued a warning that, unless remedied at once, the situation may become serious during the winter.

No artist, no photographer, no sculptor can be a Christian. [illegible] Bible for it: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above or that is in the earth beneath or that is in the water under the earth."—Ex. 20:4.

You'll score a Victory when you cease your political acrobatics in jumping from [illegible] old party into the other. Join the new party—your party.

[illegible] Of the Bavarian Republic

By S. ZIMAND, in the Nation.

It is not an accident that the first blows of the revolution in Germany came from Bavaria. The feeling among the masses of the people in Bavaria was very strongly anti-war. According to different press reports repeated mutinies broke during the course of the war in the Bavarian regiments. Even the Royal Guard regiment refused obedience a few months ago. Anti-war feeling was displayed also by the attitude of the Bavarian press, which in the last months carried on a continual propaganda against the kaiser. It should also be mentioned that the working people of Bavaria resigned in great numbers from the Majority Socialist party, on account of its pro-war policy, and the Independent Socialist Party increased considerably. As far back as October, 1917, the constituency of Hof in northern Bavaria, which country had hitherto been solid for the old party, went over to the Independents. The immediate accomplishment of the revolution must be considered as the work of the leaders of the Independent Socialists. But it cannot be said that it was their work alone. The revolution in Bavaria is the work of the war-tired, hungry people of Bavaria, stimulated by the Independent Socialists.

It is very significant that the first dynasty to fall at the beginning of the revolution was that of Bavaria. "The Kingdom of Bavaria was one of the oldest dynasties of Germany, if not of Europe, and it was more deep-rooted in the minds of the people than any other. The fall of the Bavarian dynasty was the beginning of the twilight of the gods, for the Oldsburg, Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties.

It was a monster demonstration at Munich, where 400,000 people were said to have been present, that Kurt Eisner proclaimed the Bavarian republic. On the night of November 8 the representatives of working men, soldiers and peasants gathered in the Assembly Building of Bavaria, organized the Workingmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Council and issued the following appeal to the population of Munich and Bavaria:

"The terrible calamity which came to the German people led to this movement of working people and soldiers of Munich. A tentative Council of Working men, Soldiers and Peasants was formed on the night of November 8 in the building of the Bavarian Assembly. A people's government which has the confidence of the masses shall be established very soon. A constituent national assembly for which all men and women may vote will be called as soon as possible. Bavaria wants to prepare Germany for the League of Nations. The democratic and Social republic of Bavaria has the moral power to get for Germany a peace which will save Germany from the worst catastrophe. The present change was necessary in order to make pkossible the development of conditions for the self-government of the people without too much destruction, and before the armies of the enemy should overflow our frontiers, or the demobilized German armies bring about chaotic conditions. The Workingmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Council will assure strict order. Personal security and the security of property will be completely guaranteed. The soldiers in the cantonments will govern themselves through soldier's councils and maintain strict discipline. All officials shall remain in their positions. Fundamental social and political reforms will be brought about without delay. The peasants will guarantee the provisioning of the cities with the necessary means of living."

The appeal finished with cheers for the Bavarian Republic and "Long live peace! Long live the productive work of all workers!"

With reference to the freedom of the press, the following statement issued by the people's government of Bavaria is of interest.

"According to our repeated statements issued with reference to freedom of the press, we can state again that the press is completely free, and no censorship should be exercised. The telephone and telegraph service will also function without any kind of censorship. The only official press organ of the government of the People's State of Bavaria is the South German Correspondence Bureau (Suddeutsche Korrespondens Bureau). The government of the People's State of Bavaria; Kurt Eisner."

Kurt Eisner, who presided at this meeting of the Council, was born in 1867. He became known first for his esthetic critical writings. From 1890 to 1895 he was contributing editor to the Frankfurter Zeitung. On account of one article written against the kaiser he was sentenced to nine months in prison. He left the radical press and become a contributor to Socialist papers. After the death of William Liebknecht, the father of Karl Liebknecht, he became editor-in-chief of the Vorwaerts, the central organ of the Socialist Party in Germany. As editor-in-chief of Vorwaerts, he inclined more to the tendencies of the so-called "Revolutionist" of the Socialist Party. On account of those—tendencies he was forced by the Socialist organization of Berlin, which was Marxian, to resign from the paper with five other editors. But in the field of international politics he was always very radical. Witness for that is his book, "Der Sultan des Weltkrieges," written twelve years ago, which gives a good picture of German diplomacy. The ethical, esthetic Eisner transformed himself in this book into a sharp critic of the Oriental policy of William the Second. Very interesting is his "Das Ende Des Reiches," which tells the story of the fall of the old German empire. From Berlin Kurt Eisner went to Nuremberg, where he became, in 1907, the editor-in-chief of the Frankische Tagepost. Again he became involved in a controversy and left this paper in 1910. A few years before the war he was active as a freelance writer for various southern Socialist papers.

The war has changed him, just as the war has changed many other German Socialists; but Kurt Eisner changed in the sense that he adopted a very strong anti-war attitude. This was the reason why he published very little during the war. But the less he wrote, the more active he was in the field of anti-war propaganda. He wrote a few pamphlets disclosing German people about the instigators of this war. Very soon he went even farther than the Independent Socialists in their anti-war propaganda, sympathizing more largely with the Liebknecht group. When the majority Socialist leader, Von Vollmar, resigned from the Reichstag on account of ill health, Eisner was put up as a candidate by the Independent Socialists.

The revolution brought Eisner to the foremost position of leadership in the Bavarian republic. The future will show his capacity for that constructive statesmanship so much needed in Germany now.

[illegible] Thank You

By ANISE, in Seattle Union Record.

I notice that
The GENTLEMEN'S Home Journal
(Alias, the
Saturday Evening Post)
Tells us
How VERY BADLY
The Bolsheviki are doing
In Russia
And quotes some figures
From the Department of Labor
In Washington.
It seems that
Carpenter's WAGES
ROSE in Moscow
From ONE dollar a day
To more than FOUR dollars,
Between the beginning of war
And now.
BUT
The COST OF LIVING
KEPT RISING FASTER.
And so,
On an AVERAGE,
In a long list of occupations,
WAGES went up
Five hundred and fifteen
Per cent;
While the cost of FOOD
Went up five hundred
And SIXTY-SIX per cent.
And THEREFORE
The Gentlemen's Journal
Concludes
The GOVERNMENT of Russia
Is a FAILURE!
Of course, we know
That in OTHER countries
Like OURS
The cost of living
STAYS DOWN
In war-time
And if we should find
By ANY CHANCE
That FOOD had gone up MORE
Than the rise in WAGES
The Post would call
OUR GOVERNMENT a failure,
And then Clarence Reames
Would have to ARREST it
For SEDITION.
But it seems to me
If we had been at war
FOUR YEARS
And LOST
Seven million men.
And had our RAILROADS
Worn out,
And been BETRAYED by
A CZAR
And a WHOLE BUNCH
Of nobles.
And THEN
If we were in the midst
Of CIVIL WAR,
With all our BUSINESS INTERESTS
STRIKING
And SABOTAGING,
And STILL
The price of FOOD
Had gone up
ONLY A LITTLE MORE
Than the rise in WAGES,
I should consider
Our government was doing
PRETTY WELL,
Thank you!

The Woman's Cause

A DEPARTMENT FOR WOMEN WHO THINK.

The Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS
(Written for The Ohio Socialist)
PART II.

Among the assemblage of women, awaiting the verdict of the Law Givers to their demand, "Vote for Women," there came among them an Unseen One, who acted as one accustomed to being in the Hall of the Law Givers. It was none other than the original bachelor-girl, the beautiful and charming Mistress Margaret Brent.

When Lord Baltimore was given the grant of land known as Maryland he sent his brother, Leonard Calvert, to govern the colony and act as his attorney.

A few years later Mistress Margaret arrived with brothers and sisters to the cheerful shores of the colony and built themselves elaborate homes and engaged in business. Margaret's skillful handling of her own and her brother's lands, her keen knowledge of the laws regarding estates, besides her activity in the colony's affairs made her famous.

History does not tell us whether Margaret was Leonard Calvert's kinswoman, friend or sweetheart. All we know is that he held her in high esteem and as he was dying he pointed to her and said, "Take all and pay all."

To the astonishment of the colonists she, who was never so happy as when directing her own and other's affairs, occupied the governor's manor and took charge of all his and Lord Baltimore's estates.

Some said this was irregular. Margaret, knowing that possession is nine-tenths of the law, persuaded the Provincial Court to give her the other tenth.

As Lord Baltimore's attorney and the hostess of the governor's mansion she was the most powerful person in the colony.

But the energetic Margaret was [illegible] satisfied. In those days, men fig[illegible] votes on property qualifications [illegible] conceived the brilliant idea [illegible] his lordship's attorney she [illegible]led to a vote and a seat in [illegible]ture. She further reasoned [illegible]utrix of Calvert's estate [illegible] have another vote. [illegible] startling in demand[illegible] for a man who did not know she was his attorney and for another who was dead, Mistress Margaret asked the General Assembly for a seat and two votes!

When those worthy gentlemen had recovered from the shock, and with the eloquence of her logic still ringing in their ears, they were about to acquiesce when Governor Green hurriedly brought them to order and ruled against women voting. Mistress Margaret fought hard for those two cherished votes, but Governor Green, fearing that if she were in the assembly, her forceful and pleasing personality would inveigle the susceptible assembly to declare her ruler of Maryland, remained obdurate.

She continued, when a crisis arose, to help the assemblymen and several times quieted the mutinous army.

When Lord Baltimore heard of Margaret, he wrote demanding to know what kind of an assembly they were to permit a woman to meddle with his affairs. Though they refused this first suffragist two votes, they promptly informed his lordship that they would not allow anyone to show disrespect to Mistress Margaret and to be thankful that he had so capable an agent.

If America's first business woman could ask for two votes based on property qualifications, surely women now may demand one vote based on human qualifications.

A few paces behind the stately Margaret, came the dainty figure of one whose rogish eyes disclosed their owner's identity as that of the pioneer champion of women and children, Abigail Smith Adams.

When Abigail Smith, of a family of noted divines, married the poor farmer's son, John Adams, she could not forsee in the days to come the active part her husband would take in the forming of a new republic, nor that she would some day plead for women and children.

In her father's home she had heard many learned discussions by the eminent people who came to Harvard college and her letters show that she studied the literature in her father's large library. Though better informed than the women of her day, she keenly felt the lack of education when teaching her children.

While her husband was attending the Continental Congress, in Philadelphia, she wrote to him that some action should be taken to open the schools to all girls. She argued that if the daughters were not well educated the new republic could not have the kind of mothers that are the strong bulwark of a nation. In her day of masculine rule, she cleverly wrote, "If we mean to have heroes, statesmen and philosophers we should have learned women." Mrs. Adams was firmly convinced that an ignorant motherhood would rear a stupid citizenry.

During her husband's absence she took care of the farm and taught their children. It was during the rounds of the manifold tasks of weaving, soap-making and dairying, that she pondered, what would be the fate of woman under the new laws. When the Declaration of Independence was being written, she wrote to her husband regarding this in the following manner:

"I long to hear you have declared an independency, and, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice nor representation."

The progressive views of Mrs. Adams were ahead of those of the average colonial woman, so she failed to gather a host large enough to, as she playfully put it, "foment a rebellion."

If the ideas of the men of this era continue to be those of their ancestors regarding citizenship of women, they need not be surprised if the modern women, a whole host of Abigals, shall seriously "foment a rebellion."

(To be Continued)

MANY BRITISH SOLDIERS REFUSE TO VOTE

Epigrams written by the British citizen soldiery in foreign service on ballots returned without casting votes for anyone, include:

"Demobilization first, election afterward. No voice, no vote. The candidates' views are unknown. Hurry up with demobilization; then we will vote. What parties do the candidates represent? What about getting the boys back? We have no information. With present conditions we prefer to abstain from voting. Demobilize and give us a chance to understand the game you're playing. No news of the candidates and their principles—therefore no vote."

FARMS

Best soil in U. S. 75 to 90 bushel corn per acre; grand location. Club now forming to open up new colony in North Carolina. Farmers club helps each member develop and work land. Call or write.

N. G. Marlatt - - 235 Detroit St.
Hammond, Indiana.
(Adv.)

Pay Your Dues Today

[illegible] Do it now. [illegible] R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.

SOCIALISM, THE VICTOR.

Editor Villard of the Nation, in an address to the City Club of Cleveland, said:

"Socialism has gained more by the war than anything else. We in the United States do not understand the strength of the Socialists in Europe. I am not a Socialist, I am simply telling you facts."

And now we hear that Ignace Jan Paderewski is scheduled for president of the Polish people. His main duty as mapped out is to stay the tide of Bolshevism. It might be well for this great piano player to keep hands off. He's very liable to get his fingers burned playing with the "red terror." And then he'd have to quit playing the keys.

Piqua Socialists Victorious

Continued From Page One.

grill room at the Hotel Havlin. Before that he had worked in the Shinley Hotel at Pittsburg.

Fred P. Kohet, the other of these precious birds, a Bohemian Jew, short, dark and thin, with a decided foreign brogue, said he had lived at Akron and Cleveland before going to Piqua, and had been in secret service work at both places, 16 months at Akron, a year and a half at Cleveland. Before that he had lived in New York City 24 years as a music teacher, at 1536 Second Ave.

Kohet had joined the Socialist Local at Akron. He transferred to the Piqua Local about two weeks after arriving there. He introduced Barnes and Barnes was admitted to membership. They at once became active in Socialist work.

The Spies Were the Only Witnesses.

Their testimony implicated Mayor Hamilton as having remarked to them in conversation, while walking home from the local, the seditious statements charged against him. Nobody else was around.

In the same way they got seditious utterances out of each of the others, and in each instance there happened to be nobody else around, except in the case of Councilman Neff, who was accused of violating the espionage act in a short speech at Socialist headquarters.

SOCIALIST MAYOR HAMILTON

The cross-examination by Attorney Sharts brought out the "nigger in the woodpile" as follows:

(In the Wagner case):

Cross-Examination of Barnes

Q. Were you and Kohet receiving your money from the same source?

A. As to that, I don't know anything where Mr. Kohet received his money.

Q. Who signed your checks?

A. It was signed by W. K. Leonard.

Q. Mr. Leonard?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You knew he was the member of the City Council who was fighting the Socialist administration, didn't you?

A. I have had that remarked to me.

Q. You knew that?

A. I had it remarked to me!

Q. You had that knowledge?

A. From what I heard—hearsay.

Q. Did you ever investigate Mr. Leonard?

A. Never had any occasion to investigate Mr. Leonard.

Q. Did you go after anybody in the city of Piqua except the city officials and members of the local?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You couldn't find anything wrong with any of them?

A. You will probably hear about it later on.

Q. After election?

A. Possibly so, yes."

Again, at another stage of the cross-examination:

Q. Was Mr. Leonard with you?

A. Mr. —Who?

Q. Mr. Leonard.

A. Never in the man's company on the street.

Q. Ever meet him at any place?

A. Seen him—knew him to see him on the street.

Q. Is that the only time you have ever encountered Mr. Leonard?

A. To the best of my knowledge, yes.

Q. You have no recollection of ever meeting and talking with Mr. Leonard?

A. I believe I have stopped him in the postoffice one evening and said, "How to do."

Q. And that was all? You knew each other by sight?

A. We knew each other by sight.

Q. Had you met up at Columbus?

A. No; never seen him at Columbus.

Q. How did you know him by sight?

A. Through my instructions from Columbus.

Objected to by counsel for government.

The Commissioner: Just go on; drift along.

By Mr. Sharts:

Q. You had been told from Columbus that Mr. Leonard was the one that you were to get in contact with?

A. Yes; Mr. Pfeiffer instructed me—Mr. Smith—the District Attorney's office in general."

In the cross-examination of Kohet, in the Hamilton case, the following occurred:

Spied at Akron and Cleveland.

Q. You say that after you came to Piqua you joined the local?

A. No, I was a member of the party before.

Q. Where did you join?

A. In Akron, Ohio.

Q. For the same purpose as at Piqua?

A. Oh, no: not for the same purpose. Well, it was for the same purpose; of course, I was led to believe I could gain more information in this way.

Q. About the people you were looking up?

A. Yes.

Q. And when you came to Piqua, you produced your card?

A. Not right away.

Q. What?

A. Not immediately.

Q. When you went to join the Piqua local you produced your card?

A. No, I showed my card to Mayor Hamilton and he invited me to come to the local.

Q. And you attended the local then as a bona fide Socialist?

A. Yes.

Q. And you are still a member of the party?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you believe in the principles of the party?

A. Not after what I have seen. I believed at Akron.

Q. You did believe in Akron?

A. Oh, yes. But the Akron Socialists were not as disloyal as the Piqua Socialists.

Q. Whom did you meet in Akron?

A. Mr. Holloway and Mrs. Margaret Prevey. They are all good Socialists, but not disloyal.

Q. I believe Margaret Prevey has spoken at Piqua too, hasn't she?

A. That I don't know.

Q. You don't know about that?

A. No.

Q. You didn't show yourself to her when she was there?

A. I wasn't in Piqua when she was there.

Q. Now, Mr. Kohet, you were a member of the Piqua local for about four or five weeks, weren't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Before this occurred?

A. Yes.

Q. And in joining the local you had in mind particularly observing the Socialist officials, didn't you?

A. Oh, no; oh, no.

Q. You did not?

A. Oh, no.

Q. What was your object in joining the local?

A. Looking into the situation in general.

Q. Did you join everything? Did you join the Chamber of Commerce up there?

A. No; but if I found something in the Chamber of Commerce, I would report it the same as anything else.

Q. You found something about the local before you joined it?

A. Oh, no.

Q. What caused you to come to the local and join it?

A. Just investigating conditions there.

Q. Yes, but had something occurred that caused you to believe that there was disloyalty in the local?

A. Oh, no; I didn't know anything

COUNCILMAN NEFF

then.

Q. Why didn't you go and join the Chamber of Commerce for the same reason?

A. I had no reasons to join the chamber.

Q. You had your mind set on getting the Socialists, hadn't you?

A. Oh, no; not at all.

Q. You had come to the city of Piqua for that purpose, hadn't you?

A. Oh, no; oh, no.

Q. What political organization did you belong to before you joined the Socialist Party?

A. The Republican.

Q. You are sure you were not a democrat?

A. No.

Q. And so two weeks after you got to Piqua you joined this local?

A. Yes.

Q. Entirely in pursuit of information in general?

A. Yes.

Q. But you didn't go near the Chamber of Commerce. Did you ever meet Councilman Leonard?

A. Councilman Leonard. Yes.

Q. Have a conversation with him?

A. Yes.

Q. On what occasion?

A. Only when he gave me the money.

After some further examination along the same lines:

Q. Didn't you meet Mr. Leonard before you joined the local?

A. No, oh, no.

Q. Didn't you get your money before you joined the local?

A. No, I was two weeks in Piqua before I got my first money.

Q. Well, two weeks was the time you gave as to joining the local. Immediately after you got your money did you join the local or immediately before?

A. I always had money with me.

Q. Which did you do first?

A. I believe I joined the local first.

Q. On what day?

A. I can't tell you.

O. On what day did you get your money?

A. On Saturday.

The Commissioner: I don't propose to tolerate this one minute more.

Mr. Sharts: We have some rights. We have found the political motive. If your honor wants to stop me here now, well and good."

Night Prowler Leaves Trade Mark.

An interesting incident of these cases occurred after the Socialists had been released on bonds furnished by Dayton comrades and sympathizers and had returned to Piqua. Theatening messages were sent to the mayor that he and the others had better stay away from town, as the "patriots" would not tolerate their presence. As a precautionary measure a number of Socialists slept that night at the mayor's home. During the evening Mrs. Hamilton said she heard a stealthy noise outside in the rear yard. The Socialists opened the door and there was a scurrying as some night prowler scrambled over the back fence. The next morning there was a watch with a peculiar watch-charm attached hanging on the fence, caught on a nail. The watch-charm was recognized as having adorned the abdomen of one of the personages prominent in the cases. It was turned over to Attorney Sharts, and can be obtained by the owner if he will call and claim it, at Room 7, Lowe Building, Dayton, Ohio.

The freeing of the Piqua Socialist administration and members of the Piqua local of the Socialist Party marks a signal victory for the workers in general. The attempt to oust Mayor Hamilton and his co-workers has fallen flat. The tide has turned in Piqua and the 1919 municipal elections will return the Socialists to power, will, in fact, oust the remnant of capitalist class hangers-on [illegible] still adorns some of the councilmanic chairs and other minor offices. [illegible] would-be ousters will be dumped [illegible] righteous and indignant electorate[illegible]

The Internationale

This is the song that is sung by victorious Socialists of all lands.

By EUGENE POTTIER.
(Translated by Charles H. Kerr)

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

REFRAIN.

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The Industrial Union
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors,
To rule us from a judgement hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
Wage systems drain our blood;
The rich are free from obligations,
The laws the poor delude.
Too long we've languished in subjection,
Equality has other laws;
"No rights," says she, "without their duties,
No claims on equals without cause."

Behind them seated in their glory,
The kings of mine and rail and soil!
What have you read in all their story,
But how they plundered toil?
Fruits of the workers' toil are buried
In the strong coffers of a few;
In working for their restitution
The men will only ask their due.

Toilers from shops and fields united,
The union we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the workers,
No room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fattened!
But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
The blessed sunlight still will stay.

The Working Class and its Press

Thousands of working men unfamiliar with the workers' press, are with this issue, reading this paper for the first time. Every worker's life, whether he realizes it or not, is bound up in a common cause with the great working class. The interests of his class are his interests. Its failings and failures are his concern, its successes and victories are his happiness and well being. He is inseparable from his class. They are one. Bound to a common cause by the simple fact of the same means of earning a livelihood—his power to labor, the advancement of labor's cause becomes his cause.

The advance of labor as a class means the advancement of the individual worker, in fact, of the entire race. The advance of the workers' cause to victory is in great part dependent upon the establishment of a strong and well supported workers' press. Without a press to voice the hopes, plans and ambitions of labor, to reveal the truth of its economic conditions the workers' advance can be but a slow and heartbreaking one at best.

No labor movement can hope to succeed until it first establishes a strong and truthful daily and weekly press. The workers' press is the Royal Road to Power. There is no other. Slavery's chains shall bind us until we ourselves strike them from our minds through intelligent thinking and discussion. We must educate the workers to consciousness of their class interests before we can hope to build a workers organization with the knowledge and power to act in harmony with the dictates of its own interests.

The workers are as strong as their press. Its size and strength is a fitting gauge with which to measure the intelligence and militancy of the workers. We appeal to every reader of this Victory Edition of the Ohio Socialist to support with their efforts and finances the revolutionary press of the workers.

And here we wish to say a word about the Ohio Socialist. Being the official organ of the Socialist Party of Ohio it is not owned by private individuals nor run for profit. Every dollar that comes to the paper goes to make it a better one. Its policy is not determined by wishy-washy individuals whose sails are set with each varying political or economic breeze. Its purpose and reason for publication is to enlighten the workers and to organize them into a class conscious body for the purpose of making the world safe for the working class through the establishment of industrial democracy. That's the foundation upon which we stand and upon which we intend to continue to stand until the last worker has passed through the gates of victory into the land of United Labor.

Nothing shall swerve us from this determination to stand by the hosts of labor through all that the future holds, and that we may hasten the day of victory, we ask that every reader give us his support. We need you and you need us. If you are not a subscriber, become one. If you are already a reader get another to subscribe. Distribute the Ohio Socialist among your shopmates and associates. Add the strength of your efforts and dollars to the upbuilding of a press owned and controlled by the workers. Use the subscription blank below.

OHIO SOCIALIST SUBSCRIPTION BLANK.

I, ... recognizing that the establishment of a workers' revolutionary press is most necessary to the cause of Industrial Democracy have secured the following subscriptions to The Ohio Socialist, for which I enclose $.........

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Address .... City ....
Name ....
Address .... City ....
Name ....
Address .... City ....

[illegible]y time you win with the Republicans or Democrats you lose! All you win is the right [illegible] to be further fleeced by the same old gang of Profiteers.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio and Kentucky

No. 50. Published at Cleveland, Ohio WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1919 Address all mail to R. D. 2, Breckville, Ohio $1.00 A Year

Ohio State Executive Committee Meets in Quarterly Session

DEMANDS REPEAL OF ESPIONAGE LAW, AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS, WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS FROM RUSSIA AND PARDON FOR MOONEY IN STRONG RESOLUTIONS

Ringing resolutions, which are to be placed before the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the Mooney National Defense conference at Chicago for adoption, and which will be sent to the administration at Washington, were passed by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio at its quarterly meeting, held December 28 and 29 at the headquarters of Local Cuyahoga County.

The four resolutions passed places the Socialist Party of Ohio as officially opposed to further intervention in Russia and demand the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Siberia. Demand amnesty for all political prisoners. Demand freedom for Mooney and demand the restoration of the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage. The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTIONS.

RESOLVED—By the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio, in session, Dec. 29, 1918:

FIRST: That the foundation of all liberty is in the freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assemblage; that to safeguard the liberty of the people, so hardly won against a king and a privileged class, our fathers placed the first amendment in the constitution of the United States so that the people of this government would not need to fear uttering their honest convictions freely; that the first open encroachment by tyranny and autocracy, ruling without the people's consent and by force and fear, is denoted by the effort to shackle the tongue of criticism; that we view the espionage act and all governmental activities thereunder as the annullment of the constitution, and an intolerable insult and injury to the people by their public servants. Our fathers rose in fury when the king touched their pockets. What shall we do when our public servants place their gag upon our lips? We demand the immediate repeal of this infamous statute.

SECOND: That the filling of the jails and prisons of the land with thousands of political prisoners, for the crime of expressing their thought upon public affairs which concern all the people—because their thought has not coincided with that of the political majority at Washington—is a betrayal of the inmost spirit of American institutions, a reverting to the dark ages, a renewal of the Spanish inquisition, a renunciation of democracy; that we demand the immediate release of all such prisoners and the quashing of all further criminal process.

THIRD: That armed intervention was begun in Russia upon the excuse that it was necessary to re-establish an eastern front in the war against the German Imperial Government; that it was begun with the express promise there would be no interference with internal affairs of the Russian people or their right of self-determination; that despite the fact that the German Imperial government has vanished and that war has been ended for many weeks, the armed intervention of the allies and the United States continues in Russia, and active aid and encouragement is being given to the disgruntled aristocracy and bourgeoisie who have fled from Russia rather than obey the Socialist Soviet government's order to go to work and who are constantly organizing fillibustering expeditions and trying to kindle counter-revolutions; that we recognize in the Bolshevist administration of Russia an expression of the political will of the overwhelming majority of the United States; and we demand its immediate recognition, the withdrawal of armed forces from Russian territory and the stopping of the present lending of aid and encouragement to the Russian traitors and conspirators who plot murder, assassination and other outlawry on our shores and in the so-called Russian embassy.

FOURTH: That we express our profound indignation at the spectacle presented by the Mooney case on the Pacific coast, where a political prostitute of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, elected district attorney for the purpose of annulling the indictments against the United Railway officials, which had been procured by such men as Francis J. Heney, has been able by use of perjured testimony to convict labor leaders, such as Mooney and Billings; and even after the perjuries have been exposed, even after the district attorney's own corrupt connections have been exposed by the Densmore report and even after the stink of this corrupt misuse of the machinery of justice has pervaded the whole world and protests and appeals have come from all corners of the earth, the utmost that could be obtained was a commutation of Mooney's sentence from death to life imprisonment; therefore we demand for Tom Mooney either a new trial or his immediate pardon; and for District Attorney Fickert his immediate dismissal from office and his indictment.

Official Minutes of the Meeting.

Morning session of Dec. 28. Present, Lotta Burke, Tom Clifford, Jos W. Sharts, Wm. Patterson and J. P Baker.

Wm. Patterson elected chairman.

Tom Clifford elected State Chairman of the party.

Reading of the minutes of the meeting dispensed with.

By agreement the report of the State Secretary was laid over for the afternoon meeting.

Charters for a Hungarian local at Rhodesdale and for a South Slavic local at Canton were granted. The following applicants were admitted as members-at-large; J. M. Swinehart, Floyd E. Rusk, H. H. Fishbaum, Hyacinth Blawat, K. Tamkus.

Communications: From the director of the Socialist Party Defense Fund requesting further donations and a division of funds more favorable to the National Office.

Motion carried that all locals in the state be requested to take collections at their meetings for the defense fund and that 60 per cent of such collections be sent the National Office and 40 per cent retained by the State office.

Motion carried that a certificate be issued, same to be sold at $1 each that these certificates be sold to all party members and the proceeds used to sustain families of imprisoned comrades, provide comforts for prisoners, agitate for amnesty for political prisoners and for the re-establishment of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

From Local Hamilton, communication in form of resolution.

Motion carried that resolution be referred to a sub-committee composed of Jos. W. Sharts and Tom Clifford for revision and that this committee draft resolutions covering the stand of the party upon free speech, press and assemblage, amnesty for political prisoners, withdrawal of U. S. troops from Russia and freedom for Mooney.

From Kentucky, requesting the State Office of Ohio to take charge of dues stamp sales and organization work in that state.

Motion carried that definite action be postponed until after the meeting of the National Executive Committee.

From the State Secretary of Virginia, stating his willingness to use bulletin and informing the Ohio State Office that question is now before the Virginia state committee. Filed awaiting action of Virginia state committee.

Motion carried to adjourn until 1:30 p. m.

Continued on Page Two.

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RAILROAD EMPLOYES FOR RETENTION OF RAILROADS BY THE GOVERNMENT

The Pennsylvania railroad employes at Mt. Vernon are circulating the following petition:

"We, the undersigned employes of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company [illegible] do hereby petition [illegible] trict and the senators of Ohio to put forth their greatest effort and influence of their office for the governmental or collective ownership and democratic control of all railroads, express and subsidiary companies."

Mind? The emanations expressed, made by the impressions upon the [illegible]

Attempt Coercion in Socialists' Trial

Chicago.—Coercion and attempted bribery of witnesses by the government in the prosecution of Socialist officials was indicated when Richard O. Handwerk, former organizer for the Twenty-Seventh Ward Branch, Socialist Party, testified Thursday afternoon that Milroy, one of the "investigators" employed by Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Joseph B. Fleming, had offered to "fix up" Handwerks debts if he would swear to whatever Milroy and Fleming told him.

This bombshell dropped into the camp of the federal prosecution at a few minutes before six Thursday afternoon. Fleming tried wildly to break down Handwerk's testimony but only brought fresh disaster upon his own head. He insisted on trying to tell what Mr. Clyne had said to Handwerk.

"Perhaps you had better put Mr. Clyne on the stand," suggested Stedman mildly.

"Mr. Clyne will take the stand and I will take the stand," replied Fleming heatedly.

And then Attorney William A. Cunnea stood up, with a quizzical grin. "Might I suggest," he offered, with Irish suavity, "that all three of you take the stand, and call in counsel from somewhere to conduct the case?"

It was the hardest blow Fleming has yet sustained. Adjournment came in a few moments later as a welcome relief.

Arnold Schiller Is Discredited.

Earlier in the day a disastrous raid on the government's case had been led by William Bross Lloyd, who testified that Arnold Schiller, the chief witness for the government, had told him in his own office, "I'll get Kruse. A fellow has to save his own hide, and I'll get Kruse to save mine. He left a lot of my letters lying around on his desk, and the government's got it on me several ways." Three other witnesses, one of them a girl, testified that Schiller on several occasions loudly proclaimed that he would "do anything to send Kruse to jail," that Kruse was a "dirty dog," and that he had the opportunity to send Kruse to jail and he would do it to get even.

Bottom Drops Out of Case.

On this, the fifteenth day of the trial, it looks as though the bottom had dropped out of the government's case. Clarence Darrow testified that as a representative for the Socialist Party he had gone all the way up to the president and had asked him to give some indication as to where the line of free speech should be drawn, and that the president said: "I do not know where the line should be drawn."

Emanuel Deutsch repeated his testimony in regard to the attempt of the government persecutors to chase him out of town because he refused to testify as they wanted him to do, in disregard of the facts in the case.

District Attorney Clyne seems to have retired from active participation leaving the whole weight of the case on the shoulders of Fleming, who acts like a school girl, blushing to the roots of his hair when a reference is made to him.

Darrow was asked by Stedman if he believed that Socialists should have the right to express their views about the war. Darrow said he certainly was strong for that idea.

His testimony related chiefly to the formation of a committee of prominent liberals who journeyed to Washington in the summer of 1917 to inquire about the rights of the press after many Socialist and radical publications had been barred from the mails by Postmaster General Burleson. This phase of the case was reported in more or less detail a few days ago through the testimony of Frank P. Walsh and Louis Engdahl, defendant in the trial with Victor L. Berger, William F. Kruse, Irwin St. John Tucker and Adolph Germer.

The court room was crowded today. Scores of persons were turned away by deputy marshals. The appearance of Darrow on the witness stand created a mild sensation.

The battle scarred barrister spoke very slowly, and clasped and unclasped his hands as he spoke. Once, when handed a copy of the American Socialist by Fleming, he arose from his chair and stood under Judge Landis' student lamp reading from the paper.

"I disagreed with the opinions of most of those persons who were agitated because their papers had been barred from the mails," said Darrow, "but in spite of my personal disagreement with them I felt that America was big and strong enough to abide by the constitutional guarantee of free speech and free press."

Lloyd is a Star Witness.

William Bross Lloyd, son of the late Henry Demarest Lloyd, author of "Wealth and Commonwealth," took the stand after Darrow's testimony. Lloyd was Socialist candidate for United States senator at the fall election. He wore a Bolsheviki button on the side toward the jury as he took the stand.

His testimony concerned chiefly in rebutting the testimony of Arnold Schiller, former Yipsel, and office boy at the National Office. Lloyd gave his occupation as "lawyer and trustee," and said that he and his three brothers owned 25 per cent. of the stock of the Chicago Tribune, a corporation which is said to earn a million and a half dollars a year.

Press Distorts News of Trial of Five Socialists at Chicago

By DAVID KARSHNER.

There is absolutely no such thing as a free and untrammeled press in America at the present time.

Whatever there was of it prior to and during the war has disappeared since the signing of the armistice on November 11 last. American newspapers now are openly and brazenly hostile to the slightest hint and suggestion of any radical tendencies in the United States.

I do not claim to have made any discovery in this connection, except in so far as the attitude of the American press is reflected by the manner and the treatment given the Socialist party officials' trial before Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis.

Press Prejudiced at Socialists.

The six daily papers in Chicago are printing long stories daily about this trial, and to say that every line contained in these stories is colored in a manner calculated to prejudice the reader against the five defendants in particular, and Socialism in general, is to make but a mild observation.

The testimony offered by prosecution witnesses is played up and distorted and twisted beyond all proportion to its actual significance to the case itself.

Statements such as those of Arnold Schiller, the young soldier witness and former Yipsel, that the Y. P. S. L. seriously considered building an underground railroad into Mexico for the benefit of draft evaders and conscientious objectors have been set forth by the Chicago papers as gospel truths.

Alleged "German Code" Played Up.

The constitution of the prosecution that a so-called "German secret code" was used by William F. Kruse, secretary of the Y. P. S. L. and other Yipsels in connection with the underground railroad to Mexico, is accepted by the press as a solemn fact. The defendants, themselves, are pictured as wild men from Borneo, deep in crime, and guilty of every effense in the criminal calendar.

The old American tradition, that defendants are supposed to be innocent until proven guilty "beyond all reasonable doubt," has been completely swept off the boards.

A Socialist or any radical going on trial these days is supposed to be guilty by the press and a gullible public until proven innocent. A man accused of murder or burglary has more chance today of "a fair and impartial trial," as far as the press is concerned than a Socialist, accused of having an idea and conveying it to somebody else. The latter is the great and heinous crime, according to the press.

Death Tale Invented.

After exhausting every possible means to prejudice the public against the Socialists on trial here, the malicious manikins who work for a pauper's pay from a prostituted press, deliberately invented the fiction that Judge Landis, District Attorney Clyne [illegible] assistant, John F. Fleming, had received death treats "from Socialist sympathizers."

This malicious fiction was carried by all the evening newspapers and the morning papers. However, the stuff was too raw for Judge Landis. He called up the local reporters and asked each separately where he got his "information."

They all hung their heads like poodle dogs chastised by their masters. The judge then proceeded to bawl the reporters out, individually and collectively, but the fiction was not retracted, except in one paper, which merely stated that Judge Landis had said he did not receive a letter threatening him with death.

Artist Sees "Red."

Young woman artist employed by Arthur Brisbane's paper, Herold-Examiner, came to draw sketches of Congressman-elect Victor L. Berger. She asked me if I would point out the "celebrities" in the court room. Then she espied a woman wearing red headgear.

"Do you suppose all these red hats and red ties are a deliberate attempt of the Socialists to show their colors?" she asked me.

Of course, I smiled. I looked about the rows of spectators. There was one consecutive red hat worn by a young girl, a garnet cape thrown about the shoulders of another, and not a red tie in sight. Yet, the paper played up the "fact" that red was the predominant color in the court room.

There is absolutely no other way by which this manufactured prejudice can be met, except by the workers themselves throwing their full weight behind the few papers that actually print the truth, or that part of the truth that Burleson will allow to be printed, and which truly represents the interests of the workers.

Press Bitter at Socialists.

The animus of the press against the Socialists in this trial is even bitterer than it was toward the I. W. W. case here last summer. Their practice and policy in the latter trial was to ignore it. The combined forces of reaction see in the Socialist Party of America, a formidable foe, having a constructive program capable of immediate usage, and they are fearful lest a larger number of people turn to Socialism as a means of escape from the present social, political and industrial quagmires.

The Socialists in this trial contend the issue is over a free press. They say they have a right, written in the constitution, to disagree with actions of the government. The prosecution contends the Espionage law modified, if it did not entirely set aside, that right during war time.

But Socialists contend that back of this there are deeper inferences to be drawn from this trial. They say it is the clash of two [illegible]

Over-Flow Meetings Greet Debs in Three Cities

SPEAKER SCORES INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA & CALLS UPON WORKERS TO SHOW SOLID FRONT IN DEMANDING WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS

Eugene V. Debs said at Cleveland last Sunday that the time used to be when the smallest halls were too large for Socialist meetings but that now the largest halls were too small. And, well, the Debs meetings of Jan. 3, 4 and 5 bear out this fact.

Wm. H. Fox, secretary of the Socialist Party of Ashtabula reports that the Debs' meeting held in Finnish Socialist hall on Jan. 4, was the largest meeting of its kind ever held in Ashtabula. Every piece of literature on hand was sold, the demand far exceeding the supply.

At Youngstown the Socialists offered $250 cash for the largest hall in town. They met with refusal. The largest hall that could be secured was obtained and hundreds of people had to be turned away. Frank R. Field, Youngstown Socialist, says of this meeting:

"Diamond hall was crowded to its capacity. The people, instead of taking their seats, stood up, tossing the chairs to one side so that more people could get into the hall to hear the "tiger" of the revolution, Eugene V. Debs. A hall that normally holds 400 seats packed, was in this way crowded with an enthusiastic throng of 1,000—and all this in a city that has prohibited the display of the red flag!

"Debs was at his best, vitrolic and tense. With thunderbolts of condemnation he lashed the capitalist class. No velvet incased hands were his as he "skated on the edge" of his parole, as he termed it, tearing the cloak of hypocrisy from the profiteers. Not his to recant in the face of a prison sentence.

"Methings, comrades, more of us should be threatened with prison sentences if that is what it takes to make us as fearless as Debs.

"At the conclusion of the speech Debs was presented with a large bouquet of red roses, to which he responded as only Debs can, and then we all went home feeling sure that "Socialism was almost ours, to reach out and grasp."

Cleveland Holds Two Meetings.

People streamed into Moose hall last Sunday until the police had to interfere in behalf of safety in case of fire. Every available seat was occupied and several hundred stood at the rear of the hall, long before the meeting was opened. And then fully 500 tardy, but hopeful, men and women, crowded the sidewalk at the hall door, begging for admission, but the police were obdurate. Eventually Walter Bronstrup, who had charge of the meeting for the Cleveland Socialists, ordered the headquarters of the Socialists, at 1222 Prospect Ave., thrown open and announced that an overflow meeting would be held there, addressed by both Charles Baker and Debs as soon as they finished speaking in Moose hall.

Charles Baker, who spoke first, was given an ovation by both audiences. This was his first appearance before Cleveland Socialists since his release from the Canton workhouse. He said in part that if any one thought that jail sentences for Socialists made them cowards, subdued their ardor and enthusiasm, then they who so thought still had much to learn. The exact opposite was the case. Debs bore out this statement by Baker later when he said that the jails and prisons are the Socialists' college, that he went to jail blind and came forth with his eyes wide open.

Baker made a plea for constant activity on the part of all workers to secure amnesty for all political prisoners, whether they be Socialists, Christian pacifists, anarchists or Inddstrial Workers. "The sun will not shine for me, flowers will not bloom nor birds sing until every prison door opens to freedom for every man and woman incarcerated because of his or her conscientious beliefs," he said.

Debs As Young As Ever.

It was not a Debs of 63 that walked upon the stage amid shouts and cheers. His light springy step, and his every gesture and attitude as well as his forcefulness in speech, made him, last Sunday appear the youngest of all. He secured the sympathy of the audience from the very beginning. It was four or five minutes before he could utter a word, so prolonged was the enthusiasm of those gathered to hear him.

Mention of the Russian Socialist Soviet republic elicited the most applause on the part of his hearers. The building shook with the stamping of feet, hand clapps and cheers when he said, "Some people are against the Bolsheviki. They don't know what it is. That's the reason they are against it. Every worker who is against the Bolsheviki, stands in his own light, spits in his own face. There are other people against the Bolsheviki. And if they were for the Bolsheviki I would be against them. It is because they are against them that I am for them. Every drop of blood in my veins is Bolshevik."

"There is not a plutocrat in America who is not for 'democracy,' the kind that keeps him a plute and you a slave. There is not a plutocrat in America who is not against the kind of demdcracy which abolishes slavery and makes all men free. That's the Russian kind."

He referred to his boyhood days, saying that "at 14 I had to go to work. I had no chance for an education. It seems thoough, that in later years the capitalist class took pity on me. It sent me to jail. There I received my education. The jail is the Socialists' college . I went in blind and came out with my eyes open."

Debs told his audience that he had received a letter from one of the stenographers, employed by the government to take his speeches. In this letter the writer stated that although he took the speech, the speech had now "taken him." "And so, even those who are employed to help jail us are converted by our message," said Debs.

"I feel very sorry for Rockefeller. We Socialists hate no one, not even those who persecute and prosecute us. But I do feel sorry for Rockefeller. He lives in a poor house. He has a life sentence. And there are no pardoning powers either. He is all alone, a lost soul. A billion dollars and not a comrade!"

Literature and subscription cards were sold at the meeting, nearly a thousand ten-cent pamphlets being disposed of. A large collection was taken to defray the expenses of making public the details of the conviction and unjust imprisonment of A. L. Hitchcock, former Socialist member of the Cleveland school board. Resolutions were adopted by the audience demanding amnesty for all political prisoners with special reference to the Hitchcock case.

DEBS AVAILABLE FOR MEETINGS.

Owing to the postponement of the hearing of his case by the U. S. Supreme Court until January 27th, Debs will be available for a few more speaking engagements between now and that date. Debs is allowed to speak only within jurisdiction of the Cleveland Federal Court. Locals in Ashland, Ashtabula, Carroll, Columbiana, Crawford, Cuyahoga, Geauga, Holmes, Lake, Lorain, Mahoning, Medina, Portage, Richland, Summit, Stark, Tuscarawas, Trumbull, Wayne, Allen, Auglaize, Defiance, Erie, Fulton, Hancock, Hardin, Henry, Huron, Lucas, Marion, Mercer, Ottawa, Paulding, Putnam, Sandusky, Seneca, Van Wert, Williams, Wood and Wyandot counties are asked to wire the state office of the Socialist Party AT ONCE if they desire to secure Eugene V. Debs for a meeting.

DEMAND WITHDRAWAL FROM RUSSIA.

Local Bay City, Michigan, has passed the following resolutions demanding the withdrawal of troops from Russia. The resolutions have been circulated by that local for signatures and the signed petitions will be presented to the Mooney Defense conference, which is to meet in Chicago, Jan. 14.

Resolved, That we, the undersigned workers of America, demand that the Mooney Defense conference go on record as demanding the withdrawal of American and allied troops from Russia, and make it clear that the working class of America will use every means in its power to enforce such withdrawal.

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES ELECTED.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, by preferential voting, has elected Algernon Lee, John Work and James Oneal as delegates to the International Socialist Conference to be held at Luzerne, Switzerland. The vote stood as follows:

J. Mahlon Barnes	55
Bernard Berlyn	77
Algernon Lee	36
James H. Maurer	41
Scott Nearing	54
James Oneal	42
C. E. Ruthenberg	60
Seymour Stedman	43
John M. Work	42

The three receiving the lowest vote were elected. James Maurer telegraphed the National Office that he would be unable to serve. This settled the tie vote between Work and Oneal and elected both together with Lee.

Those who are expecting the stand-pat congressmen to help the soldiers and common people in the coming reconstruction, might also watch the [illegible]

CANTON SOCIALIST PARTY STIRS UP PROFITEERS

First page, first column space was accorded the Socialist Party of Canton in the Canton capitalist dailies last week. Screaming headlines that "Socialists Demand U. S. Prisoners be Freed" and "Espionage Act Denounced," decorated the front page of the Canton Daily News and through its columns we are informed that "the United States Department of Justice will give consideration to the manifesto made public Saturday night by Canton Socialists."

If the Department of Justice were to stand attention every time a daily paper screamed, it would have been worked to death long ago. As matters stand, the Canton Socialists feel that they still have the right, under that kind of democracy for which we are making the world safe, to pass resolutions demanding freedom for political prisoners and to ask that the espionage law be rescinded, now that the war is over.

Britain to Inform Wilson.

London.—The British government will lay before President Wilson all information it has gathered respecting the Russian situation, which is the cause of considerable [illegible], in some circles here.

Dispatches from Archangel point out that the Bolshevik forces there are well supplied and that they include good fighting material.

Any serious reverse to the allies in northern Russia, who have an enormous front to guard, would result, it is said, in the territory being overrun by the Bolsheviki and probably the massacre of those Russians, who have been friendly to the allies.

It has been suggested that more seasoned troops should be sent to Russia. Sections of public opinion here and in France, however, are opposed to entering into a further [illegible]

Russia and the American Press

Russia has always been a land of mystery, a terra incognita, to us. During the reign of the czars our knowledge of that country was limited to stories of bureaucratic corruption, brutal oppression and Jewish massacres. Occasionally Stephen Grah[illegible] of British fame, treated us to a [illegible]logy of the autocratic regime whi[illegible] he maintained, was best calculated to keep in proper place the m[illegible] "millions of ignorant and vodka drinking peasants who worshiped their "Little Father," the God-appointed head of state and church

When the Russian Revolution broke out, and the selfsame peasants, garbed in soldiers' and sailors' uniforms, raised a heavy hand against their "beloved" czar and with one mighty stroke swept out all vestige of his malevolent rule, we were told tales of anarchy and chaos, of the mistreatment of "innocent" army officers in the prisons of Kronstadt, of the burning of manor houses by infuriated peasants, and were constantly impressed with the belief that the Russian people were not ripe for self-government. The Bolshevik propaganda among the army, which met with great success because of the blunders of allied diplomacy, the weakness of the provisional government, the general disorganization in the country, and the war-weariness of the masses (who are not interested in the acquisition of the Dardanelles or the freedo[illegible] of the seas), was conveniently a[illegible] thoughtlessly branded as German; and this prevented any true understanding of the whole movement. The very word "Bolshevik" sounded mysterious and threatening, but no one saw fit to explain its meaning. And when these same Bolsheviks came into power, and in spite of the frequent prophesies about their imminent downfall continued in power—much to the disappointment and chagrin of the false prophets—our newspapers became a sort of clearing-house for abuse, calumny, falsehood and other attributes of impotent rage, lavishl[illegible] heaped upon them by their consciou[illegible] and unconscious enemies.

For, really, what do we know ab[illegible] present-day Russia, her form of g[illegible]ernment, and the purposes of her ru[illegible]ers? Barring advance informatio[illegible] about massacres of the bourgeoisie, which somehow do not come off, and repeated predictions that millions are going to die for lack of food and fuel, which prediction the millions stubbornly refuse to bear out, what news do we get from that country? Practically none. Our correspondents in Russia, with one or two exceptions, do not speak the language of the people, either in the literal or in the figurative sense, do not understand their psychology, do not know their history and their heroic struggle for freedom. They come there with a mental equipment sufficient perhaps for a breezy account of a divorce trial or an enthusiastic report about a smashing home-run, but utterly and sadly inadequate for the comprehension of so tremendous an upheaval. Unable to grasp the significance of the great social phenomenon, they dwell of necessity upon the minor details, the discordant and petty elements, which they pick up on the fringes of the revolution. Thus it happens that a murder or a plain hold-up is magnified to the proportions of anarchy and terror, and the tearful recital of a dispossessed aristocrat is taken as a proof of the country's lawless state. To the total lack of intelligent understanding on the part of some is added the prejudice and bigotry of others who strenuously oppose any and all radical innovations which tend to undermine the citadel of conservatism. These are constitutionally unable to see any good in the Russian Revolution which does not work out in accord with the editorial views of their respective papers. Some of them hav[illegible] spent years in Russia, hobnobbin[illegible] with the czar's officials and receivin[illegible] their Russian news while sipping champagne in the cozy atmosphere of a well-appointed room, and they were shocked beyond the hope of recovery when the unshaven and noisy Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies demanded a public statement of allied war aims and declared for "peace without annexations or indemnities, and self-definition of peoples." The advent of the Bolsheviks completed their mental derangement, so that since November, 1917 they have been able to see nothing bu[illegible] red. Their optic sense has been [illegible] perverted that a political amnesty they view as a general massacre; [illegible] their loss of reasoning capacity is [illegible]denced by their readiness to c[illegible] any rumor, no matter how wild [illegible] improbable, if only it is in line [illegible] their sad delusion.

There are also those, of the [illegible] kind, who in order to please the [illegible]tor or to satisfy their own cra[illegible] for the sensational send grossly [illegible]aggerated or deliberately lying [illegible]ies. As an illustration the fo[illegible] may serve. Some time ago [illegible] York daily published a story [illegible] Russian correspondent about a ce[illegible] Peters, the president of the Mosc[illegible] Commission for the Suppression of Counter-Revolution, who, as the story ran, "signed death warrants day and night until he dropped from sheer physical exhaustion." The story was embellished with a few personal characteristics which portrayed the unfortunate victim of the correspondent as a most blood-thirsty monster in human form. Diligent inquiry has disclosed that the Bolsheviks have a grim habit of publishing the lists of people executed for state and other offenses, and that at the time the correspondent above referred to was in Russia the greatest number of persons executed in a single day in Moscow was twenty-three. While this number may be large enough to [illegible] press anyone with the seriousness [illegible] the anti-Bolshevik [illegible]

LETTERS

From the Land of Devil-May-Care

Written for the Ohio Socialist by W. E. Reynolds.

DELAYED IN TRANSIT.

Mammonville, Awrwan,
Devil-May-Care-Land, Dec. 22, 1918.
Editor Ohio Socialist:

Dear Sir: Mammonville is the capital city of Devil-May-Care-Land. It is one huge mass of cliffs and canyons. The buildings scrape the sky and the place where the people walk between them is just like a canyon in a mountain country.

The cliffs are buildings used for purposes of trade and barter and chicanry and fraud. Great man-made caves 40 and 50 stories high and five to 15 stories deep. The people who dwell therein are modern cliff dwellers.

Running between these cliffs in the canyons are two parallel lines of tracks with cages upon them for the conveyance of those who wish to ride. A fee is charged for each ride and the guard who goes with each car to see that the driver brings it back has a little box where the passenger deposits his rattlemonies. The guard then pulls a lever or string and another little box sings out, "See, the guard is honest and your rattlemonies shall go to the Ketchum, Holdum, Packum and Skinem Transportation Company and not be kept by the common Gog in uniform." The guards do not have any names but like all the rest of the tribe of Gog simply has a number like a criminal. This number is worn in plain sight so that all may see he is just a common working Gog and not a Magog on dress parade.

There are parallel tracks running up inside the great cliffs and these too have a cage to carry passengers up and down, but here no fee of rattlemoney is charged. It must be harder to pull a cage up and down than it would be to run it on the level but these phunny Allfools charge for a level ride and give you a free ride up and down.

If you should visit this burg you would think land was very scarce or they wouldn't build their buildings so high—but you would be mistaken—there is plenty of land but it is mostly in the hands of Devilment Sharks who keep it away from the people. There is plenty of land but most of it grows nothing but a crop of ashes, tin cans, billboards and keep off the grass signs.

These Mammonites in Mammonville claim to be Christians—in fact all the Land-of-Devil-May-Care is said to be a Christian nation. They even cut each other's throats in the name of their Christ, who according to the legends firmly believed by most Allfools, was of doubtful parentage. His father was reported to be a hovering ghost and his mother a virgin and very beautiful.

Hovering Ghosts must still be very plentiful in Allfools land as there are yearly many beautiful virgins giving birth to fatherless babies, but they no longer call the babies Christ, but speak of them as though they were undesirable intruders and the great books of the law givers speak disapprovingly of them and call them foul names and disinherit them and make outcasts of them and their mothers.

This week the Allfools, who so roundly berate the modern virgin, who gives birth to a holyghostling are celebrating the birth of the baby born of a union of a ghost and virgin two thousand years ago. The patron saint of this week is a mythical character called Saint Nick, and this week in all the great cities of the Land of Devil-May-Care one can see people made up to look like the patron saint, who, according to legend drives a team of reindeer across the skies and comes down the chimney places and leaves gorgeous toys to the Magog children and cheap toys to the children of the Gogs.

It is quite amusing to see the Christian women teach their children not to lie and then set them an example by lying to them about Saint Nick. It is all a part of their national trait, the love of lying, deceit and humbuggery.

These people lie to their children about Gods and about the beginning and age of the earth. They lie about their families and the origin of life. They lie about death and use the dead to frighten the living. They lie about the making of wealth and the taking of wealth. They lie about their financial condition. They lie about each other and to each other. They lie about the state and the state in turn lies to them. In short the lives of the dwellers of Devil-May-Care-Land may be summed up in the words, lies, deceit and hypocrisy.

All the Gogs are pauperized. They have to be because their wages only cover the cost of their living, yet the newssuppressors lie to them and try to make them believe they are the most prosperous of nations. It is a prosperous nation because the nation belongs to the Magogs who are prosperous out of the values created by the Gogs and seized by the Magogs, but the majority of people in the nation are Gogs and they couldn't live till the new year without a job serving the Magogs.

The bogus Saint Nick's on the canyon corners are there begging dinero from the passersby to feed the hungry Gog children so when they grow up they will not be discontented agitators but contented wage slaves to the Magogs.

The Allfools do not allow beggags to beg openly on the streets unless they do it in the name of God. There is an organization here by the name of Starvation Army and as they beg in the name of God they are not molested, but place their begging outfits on the streets, obstructing the free passage thereof without molestation. This week they have kettles out, guarded by these bogus Nicks and signs telling the populace to give to the Starvation Army because it gives a part of it back to hungry Gog kids. They also claim to help fallen women.

I nearly got in trouble here because I wanted to put up a sign telling these Allfools not to support the Starvation Army because it supports the lie which makes fallen women and hungry children. These Allfools never look for causes, but waste all their lives chasing effects.

The streets at night are row upon row of bright lights and the show windows of the market places are full of cheap toys such as wooden cannon, tin swords and revolvers, tin soldiers [illegible] like trucks which the parents are [illegible] to put in [illegible] for their [illegible] to their children in the name of the peaceful Jesus' birthday and their lovable Saint Nick.

The Gogs do not make many purchases. They haven't the dinero but they walk and walk and look and look at the pretty windows and wish and wish for the pretty things—but alas—most Gogs have a wishbone where their backbone ought to be. When they come home they say they have been shopping, but everybody knows they were only window shopping. In a land where everybody lies, nobody is expected to tell the truth.

This business of lying is reduced here to a science and a fine art. It is said here that one could not tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, for twenty-four hours and live. The clerks in the market place lie to the patrons about the quality and quantity of the merchandise. The teachers knowingly lie to the school children or what is worse, knowingly hold back the truth to hold their jobs.

In the court rooms, which are called the Halls of Justice, the judges, who are men dressed in gowns like womenfolk, make the witnesses swear to tell the truth and then listens to both sides lie about their case and then instead of punishing them for lying, passes the case on to a jury, which awards the verdict to the side which had the most accomplished liars.

They have two great political parties here, the Repubocrats and the Demogogs. The control of both parties is kept by the Magogs and both parties hire the most accomplished liars they can get. The Magogs allow the male Gogs to go to the polling places and cast a vote for whichever Magog candidate succeeded in telling the most convincing lies—all they decide by their vote is which set of Magog politicians were the smoothest liars.

I have heard rumors that there is a far country where the Gogs have risen in revolt and taken the land and the machines away from the Magogs and made the Magogs go to work, whereupon a great howl arises from the Magogs at having to work like the Gogs do. In that far off land they say the lying politician whangeth his delusive harp no more, but nobody here seems to know much about it.

I have also heard rumors that in places here in Devil-May-Care-Land there is a strange set of people called Soak-the-Magogists, who believe in telling the truth instead of the customary conventional lies. They are rumored to believe in dividing up the work of the world. I haven't found any of them so far in my travels. Those who told me about them called them Wobblies and Leftwings and warned me against them, saying they were of the rabble and not respectable.

Judging from what I have seen of the Gogs and Magogs here who call themselves respectable, if ever I do find any members of this strange tribe I know I shall take to them like a kitten to a warm brick.

Hoping you are the same, I am,
ICHABOD SKYGAC JONES.

Socialists Must Lead The Revolution

By JESSIE JASON RUFNER.

"Every dog has his day," and the militarists and profiteers are just now enjoying theirs. The world is seething with hatred and unrest. The common people by the millions are mourning their dead. The profit mongering interests are still controlling those avenues to public opinion, the daily newspapers, and verily the end is not yet.

All over the country we have watched the destruction of the kaiser in effigy. We have seen him shot, burned alive and buried—in effigy—which is a fitting crisis to other fits of imaginative effigies which of late have held us in helpless thralldom.

We Socialists have been silent spectators at all the mad orgies inspired by class hatred and a morbid public, but we, relentless students of cause and effect, know that the kaiser spirit still lives and is rampant among us. The controlling factors in the kaiser's character were greed and power, and when we destroyed the kaiser in effigy we did not destroy or pretend to destroy those factors which made him.

Yea, we have the fair beginnings of several kaisers right here in America. In fact we are slaves held in a more ignoble bondage than were the black men of the south, for their slavery was of the body alone and was compulsory, while ours is a slavery of intellect bound by chains which are forged in Wall Street and are sent out in installments in the interest-controlled press, and we ourselves wrap those chains around our better judgment and bind down our inalienable right to think for ourselves.

We, the working class, what there is left of us, will again settle down to factory routine or endless job hunting. Once more, as always will we cringe before the masters and kiss the hand that smites us. Men will again line up at the factory doors elbowing, pushing and fighting for jobs. Of course not so many, for the war relieved us of a few million who were not needed in modern production, and still we will go on endeavoring to buy back with our one-fifth the five-fifths that must be disposed of before we can hope to keep to work. Making things as cheaply and fraudulently as possible so they will sooner need to be replaced, thus giving us work and the profit to the capitalists, and in spite of all, filling storehouses to overflowing and forcing our country to vie with other nations for markets, and ports and rights. Oh, yes, we will all get in on the game and produce, produce, produce until we are ready for the next world clash which will be inevitable, for there will be wars until we get collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, and the cause of war is forever removed.

Over in Europe, the real people, the working people, are counting the cost of this terrible capitalist system. They are tearing down the bulwarks of capitalism and greed and re-organizing under the red flag of human brotherhood.

The interest controlled press is howling like wolves all over this country. We have great head lines concerning the "Red Terror" and well may they sit on their haunches and howl, for the "Red Terror" is the only real enemy that ever fought the kaiser spirit to the bitter end. The only thing on earth that can't be bought off, for it is the spirit incarnate of outraged humanity; the spirit of ages of human oppression; an awful spirit born of exile, dungeons and tears. A spirit of sorrow as profound as life. A spirit of travail of the birth of a new order. The spirit of the dumb victim of imperialism and capitalism, the united spirits of the oppressed of every age and country.

That spirit once abject, is now all powerful. The Liebknechts are coming into their own and the people's day is at hand.

The revolution is on. When it strikes America as it inevitably will, will it come in Socialist order, with the proper respect for life and property, or will it come with the mad riot of mobs and wholesale destruction of the remaining resources which rightfully belong to the whole people? Will the people, the producers, take what is rightfully theirs, quietly and peaceably, or will capitalism continue its short-sightedness until we have the Armageddon foretold by the ancient prophets? Looking through the Bible I run on to these passages, which after all, are singularly appropriate:

"Woe unto ye Pharisees, hypocrites, full of extortion and of excess, ye devour widow's houses, make a prey of the fatherless, crush my people, grind the faces of the poor; ye have eaten up their vineyards, filled your own houses with the spoil of the poor by fraudulently keeping back their wages, joining house unto house, laying field unto field, binding on men's shoulders, burdens heavy and grievous to be borne, therefore they have become great and waxen rich. Oh, ye generation of vipers, ye serpents, ye that call evil, good and good, evil, ye makers of unrighteous decrees, ye writers of perverseness, ye takers of brides, ye forgetters of the hungry, the thirsty, the strangers, naked, sick and in prison; ye makers of long prayers for a pretence, straining out gnats and swallowing camels, how shall ye escape the damnation of hell?"

Indeed it would not take such a wide stretch of the imagination for a Christian to believe that the capitalists and profi[illegible] were about to get their hell ri[illegible] ere on earth and at the hands [illegible] the "Red Terror" who might be God's own avenging angels. As for the Socialists we know that the ruling classes have produced the causes and must abide by the effect.

The Brotherhood of Man is marching on with the red flag of brotherhood at the fore and the "Red Terror" which has pledged itself to give back the earth to the race, flanking him on all sides. Verily, after all the years of misery, crime and oppression, evolution is marching on, and we shall be obliged to follow, willingly or no, the red specter born of ages of human misery and oppression.

Socialists must point the way and be ready to step in at the proper time and restore order out of chaos; bind together the cords of existence and peacefully steer the world out of the terrible hell the capitalists and imperialists have wrought.

The true Socialist, long suffering and patient, he who has stood firmly by what he knows is right, through all this terrible nightmare shall step like Liebknecht into a greater freedom than he had ever dreamed.

Let us by all means circulate our literature, get subscriptions to our papers and get into the fight in earnest, the fight of intellect versus greed which is convulsing the world.

Be proud that you are Socialists. Oh, my comrades, for to you will be delegated the task of leading labor's hosts to the land of promise. For verily you are a collective Moses. The War God has parted the waters of the modern Red Sea of private monopoly and you shall march unhindered into the promised land forever free from the modern Pharoah's capitalistic hordes. There "every man shall sit under his own vine and his own fig tree and none shall make them afraid."

The Situation in Ohio

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

To be under the parole of a Federal Court and to be enjoined from speaking outside of its jurisdiction and inside of it only on condition of saying nothing "unlawful" i. e., nothing that grates on the ears of the ruling class, is not entirely an unmixed evil as I have found since my activities as an agitator have been confined to Judge Westenhaver's district. The order of the court has certainly had a great advertising effect for the meetings in northeastern Ohio have been largely attended by sympathetic and enthusiastice audiences, notwithstanding all the cheap political trickery resorted to by the minions of capitalism to render futile the results of these meetings.

It is quite evident that the industrial captains of capitalism, blind and stupid as they are to all things other than chicane, fraud and exploitation, gauge accurately the temper of the thousands who attend these meetings and fear the effect thereof on the working class and the general public. For they have attempted in every way their malignity could conceive to thwart the purpose of these meetings. The petty court officials have been especially active along this line, aided or abetted by the newspapers in hinting at possible trouble and spreading false and malicious reports. At each point the speech has been "taken down" for the local court or to be forwarded to Washington, as if the repeated announcement to the effect could deter any other than a coward from filling his engagements.

At Cleveland for the second time the house was packed to overflowing, the same was true at Toledo, where the whole police force surrounded the building and every entrance and exit was guarded to prevent the possible catastrophe the evil conscience of the craven bourgeoisie bosses had conjured up out of their fetid imagination. It must have been a great surprise to them that Comrade Prevey and myself appeared upon the stage unormed and that no attempt was made to blow up the city.

Oh, what cowards and poltroons the capitalist exploiters are; the faintest whisper of revolt upon the part of their slaves falls like a roar of doom upon their startled ears and strikes terror to their cowardly hearts. It is not only the head that wears the crown that lies uneasy in the still watches of the night but the head of every robber of honest toil and every drinker of the blood of innocent children.

But whatever the pirates of capitalism may do and whatever their mercenaries and hangers on may threaten, we shall hold our colors defiantly aloft and go forward with our work without apology and without fear, knowing as we do that capitalism is criminal, corrupt and festering with every evil, and that Socialism and Socialism alone, can avert the upheaval which threatens, and restore peace and sanity to the world.

The situation in Ohio as I view it and as intimate contact and personal observation confirms it, is extremely favorable at the close of the old and the beginning of the new year. The comrades at the various points I have visited are uniformly enthusiastic over the outlook for 1919. They sense the possibilities within the grasp of the workers and have set about to prepare for organized action throughout the state, and this is as it should be. The Buckeye State has a central and commanding position in the class struggle in America. It is highly industrialized and ought to be a very stronghold of the forces of industrial liberation.

The call goes out to every local in the state to get into action, thousands are now ready to join the party and each local should strive to secure it full share of the fresh enrollment.

There was never a time when the state was so ripe for Socialist agitation and organization. Let me be a temporary sojourner among you Ohio comrades, bid you take advantage of the present favorable situation and combine all your energies to organize thoroughly the class-conscious forces of labor for the mighty task which now confronts it.

With all my heart I rejoice at seeing the prison doors swing open and Comrades Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht and Baker walk forth, once more into the sunlight. These comrades have been consecrated behind prison bars and will now rise to their full stature in the service of the revolutionary movement.

The comrades of Ohio are entitled to my lasting gratitude for their fidelity and devotion during the past few months and I shall gladly avail myself of every opportunity to work hand in hand with them to build up the party, to organize the workers with revolutionary efficiency, fire them with the lofty ideals of their great cause, and speed the glorious day of their industrial emancipation.

A Word of Protest

We have noticed in several of our Socialist papers, our state paper not excepted, somewhat of a tendency to discredit anything and everything pertaining to the Bible and the churches. Now our own church affiliation will clear us of any charge of being anything but very liberal. However, we believe we should remember that, though the Bible does contain some things we can't quite swallow, it also contains the story of the life, teachings, and persecution to death of a master radical—the Christ. And though the churches about invariably have been the most conservative of organizations, still it must be said to their credit that recent developments are hopeful. Though the "powers that be" in the various churches for the most part still stick to the old order of things, many members and some few leaders are beginning to see conditions as they actually exist. Harry F. Ward, for instance, whom we have met personally, is a big man in his church, and in inter-church affairs. At the same time he is widely known and supported by the laboring class. To be sure, we are prone to divide people into just two classes: Those that are for us and those that are against us. But, really, attitudes and ideals are not always changed suddenly; many of us were not always Socialists, and it is no doubt true that the most of us did not become Socialists "all of a sudden." It certainly is the part of wisdom, then, not to antagonize those who are beginning to see things clearly—by knocking them because they do not altogether agree with us—but rather to encourage them in their new way of thinking and even to take some precaution not to antagonize them. We do not care to have this bit of protest answered nor to carry the discussion further. We believe only that it is up to us to give all the "square deal" which we are demanding for ourselves.

B. S. B.

Very Important Announcement

Beginning with next issue of the Ohio Socialist we will publish weekly the foreign and domestic labor and Socialist news as compiled by the able staff of the International Labor News Service. This news service will be edited by Louis P. Lochner, Scott Nearing, Santeri Nuorteva and Alexander Trachtenberg. The editorial committee consists of Crystal Eastman, Ludwig Lore, Judah L. Magnes, James Oneal, Joseph Schlossberg, Norman Thomas, B. Charney Vlodek and the service will have correspondents at The Hague, Holland; London, England; Montreal, Canada; Paris, France; Sydney, Australia, and Toronto, Canada.

The International News Service will provide each week a concise summary of the most important labor and Socialist news of the world. Besides items sent the service direct by correspondents the editors will cover metropolitan daily papers, the Christian Science Monitor, which paper is said to have the best foreign service in America, and such papers as can be secured from Mexico, South America, Japan, China, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, England, Russia, Holland, Spain and the Scandinavian countries. Special state and government reports will also be covered.

This will give readers of the Ohio Socialist world-wide news of the labor movement. It will give Socialist Party members an opportunity to become more thorough internationalists. It is not sufficient that Socialists merely pay attention to local affairs. What happens any place on earth to the working class, happens to us no matter what city we live in. We, therefore, recommend a persistent weekly reading of the news notes provided by the International Labor News Service.

Continued From Page One

Afternoon session of Dec. 28.

Scott Wilkins arrived for the meeting.

Reading of communications continued.

From Wm. M. Brown, requesting designations of various units of the Socialist Party. Report by the State Secretary upon visit to home of Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Brown at Galion together with Debs.

Motion carried that Joseph W. Sharts and the State Secretary comply with the request of Wm. M. Brown to visit him.

New Business.

Motion carried that as an election for an additional member of the State Executive Committee, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Geo. Bundy, could not be held much before the issuance of the call for the election of an entirely new committee and as it is desirous to save the expense such a referendum will cost that therefore we ask all locals making nominations for an additional member of the State Executive Committee to withdraw their naminations and that M. J. Beery, the next highest upon the last ballot, act as additional committeeman until the next election.

Motion carried that State Secretary be instructed to work out arrangement with locals in regard to press stamps as best he can until such time as a revision of the constitutional amendment concerning press stamps can be made.

Motion carried that the State Office, for the time being, be granted the use of the automobile owned by the party.

Motion carried that beginning next month the State Office pay a total of $20 per month for rent, heat and light.

Motion carried that the State Secretary be reimbursed in the sum of $200 for extra labor incidental to conducting the State Office while he was imprisoned.

Motion carried that the report be considered seriatim.

Motion carried that we do not tour W. E. Reynolds at this time.

Motion carried that the State Executive Committee ratify action taken by the State Office in assisting state organizer Chas. Baker and that such disbursements as may be necessary preparatory to his being routed be made in return for employment as assistant in the State Office.

Motion carried that the routing of W. R. Snow and Tom Lewis be left to the discretion of the State Office.

Motion carried that all locals be informed that when speakers are engaged through the State Office that all financial obligations must be met.

Motion carried that State Secretary write inactive locals requesting that they hold a meeting by engaging their nearest district organizer and that in event the local does not reply that the State Secretary request the district organizer to visit the local upon his own initiative and report back to the State Office.

Motion carried that all funds excepting the organization and mileage funds be merged into the general fund beginning with the first of the year.

Motion carried that J. P. Baker, Lotta Burke and Scott Wilkins be elected to audit the books of the State Office for the last quarter.

Motion that adjournment be had until 9 a. m.

Sunday, Dec. 29, morning session.

Motion carried that Tom Clifford act as chairman.

Auditing committee's report heard, received and filed.

Motion carried that a professional audit of the State Office books be made for 1918 and that Fred Neubauer take charge of same.

Resolutions committee reported resolutions as printed above.

Motion carried that the four resolutions be adopted and that copies be sent to the Mooney Defense conference at Chicago, to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, to congress and to the national administration heads.

Communication which arrived in last mail from the director of the Socialist Party Defense Fund was read. It requested that the state make use of such literature as is being issued by the National Office for additional defense fund collections.

Motion carried that a new call for defense funds be issued, that National Office literature and letters be used for this purpose, but that all literature and letters bear the address of the State Office and that all money collected in this state be remitted to the State Office to be divided upon the basis of 60 per cent to the National Office and 40 per cent to the State Office.

Motion carried that previous motion requesting locals to take up collections at their meetings for the defense fund be rescinded.

Motion carried that a letter be addressed to Local Warren informing that local that Edward Smith had appeared before members of the State Executive Committee, had admitted that he was in error in joining the Social Democratic League and in supporting the national administration, that he desired to again become a member of the Socialist Party and not knowing how to approach the local in the matter had asked the State Executive Committee to write Local Warren informing it of his desire; that the State Executive Committee hopes the local will give due and earnest consideration of his application to rejoin the party.

Motion carried that the wages of E. T. Allisen, editor of Ohio Socialist be increased to $30 per week.

After a lengthy discussion upon methods of organization for the state a motion was passed that the State Secretary get in touch with an organizer whose duty shall be to inspect books and activity of locals, assist locals in getting new members and in collecting dues from those in arrears, assist officers of the locals in their duties and in other ways help in the organization work, and that as soon as such an organizer is located the State Secretary propose his employment to the State Executive Committee.

Motion carried to adjourn.

A. WAGENKNECHT,
State Secretary.

The following report was made by the State Secretary:

Report of the State Secretary.

To the State Executive Committee and Members, Socialist Party of Ohio:

Comrades:

The general routine duties of the State Office have kept me so constantly employed since my return from prison that it has not been possible for me to investigate the records for the purpose of making a complete report for the year now ended. The daily mail of the office is exceedingly heavy and requires the greater part of the day in answering. The time is at hand when an office clerk or two could be of immense service, but the office income does not permit of the employment of additional help, and probably never will so long as dues to the membership are as low as at present. A membership of 6,000, half of which are foreign speaking members, gives us a dues stamp profit of $240 a month. This just about pays the wages bill and leaves nothing for the many other incidental expenses. My first recommendation would, therefore, be that the dues as well as the initiation fee be increased at the first opportunity so that the time may come when new work may be undertaken for the party without first requesting contributions for such work from the members.

Membership for 1918 Shows Increase.

It may surprise you as it did the office force to learn that the state membership for 1918 shows an increase of 81 over that of 1917. Dues stamp sales for 1917 and for the first eleven months of 1918 follow:

	1917	1918
January	4428	7341
February	3974	7281
March	4731	7219
April	4441	6971
May	4698	519
June	6227	5095
July	6273	4408
August	6414	6206
September	6057	2690
October	7661	5328
November	7665	4720
December	5698	

The total dues stamp sales for 1917 was 68,267 and for the first eleven months of 1918, 63,451. The average dues stamp sales per month, which also denotes the average monthly membership, was 5,689 for 1917 and 5,770 for 1918. The Socialist Party of this state has then weathered the war with colors flying. We feel safe in saying that had the epidemic of influenza not closed local meetings all over the state, our increase for 1918 over that of 1917 would have been far greater. However, every party member will, we are sure, feel gratified to learn that an increase in membership has taken place despite the intense opposition the organization has had to suffer.

Interesting to the member who makes a study of organization work will be the figures which tell of the number of new members admitted for the two years past. It seems unbelievable, but the State Office sold 6,154 initiation stamps in 1917. And this is approximately the number of new members admitted into the party during that year. The question arises—where are they all? And further—what can be done to retain the many members admitted to party membership in the course of every year? Here is a problem that must be solved, for had we been in a position to retain all the new members admitted, our membership today would be nearer 12,000 than 6,000. The initiation stamps sold for the first eleven months of 1918 amounted to 2,096.

The Ohio Socialist.

The Ohio Socialist is meeting with national favor. About ten of the most active state secretaries are co-operating with us in securing subscribers for our state organ and the readers of the paper are supporting it so generously and working for its success so diligently that right now half the work of the State Office consists in attending to the vast amount of business incidental to the receipt of subscriptions. The paper has at present a circulation of about 5,000 including the bundle subscription.

Since we began publishing weekly and to Dec. 1, the total receipts of the Ohio Socialist have been $1,28[illegible].08. The total expenses have been $1,862.54. This shows a deficit of about $100 for the six months. This deficit accrued mainly during the first three months of publication; the receipts for the last three months have equalled and exceeded the expenses. If the paper is as liberally supported from now on as it has been this last month, then deficits will be no more and we may soon begin to earnestly agitate for a bi-weekly paper.

The last meeting of your committee agreed to give part to the other neighboring states for state Socialist Party news. Since then both Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico have taken space in the paper, and although New Mexico is by no means a neighboring state, Comrade Dillon, the State Secretary, insists that ours is the paper through which his official bulletin should reach the New Mexico membership. Besides the three states named, Virginia is also contemplating using the columns of our paper for its official party news.

The weekly contents of our paper has met with general favor. Letters of praise are very numerous and although we admit that there is much room for improvement, we at the same time believe that the paper is doing a very good work. Comrade E. T. Allison, who is in general charge of both the editorial and circulation departments, has been untiring in his efforts for the success of the Ohio Socialist, and the press stamp also as well as the co-operation we are getting from other states are due in the main to his good work.

Organization and Propaganda.

The State Office intended to tour Comrade Tom Lewis steadily for the entire winter season, but the influenza epidemic interfered. The epidemic is still prevalent in many of the smaller towns and the ban against meetings is still on. The entire tour, which the State Office had mapped out for Comrade E. V. Debs and which was to take place the month before election, had to be abandoned on account of the epidemic, and a whole week's dates secured for the same speaker this month had to be cancelled for the same cause, together with the denial of halls to Socialist locals for speakers. Just when consecutive routing of speakers can be undertaken we can not tell. Many locals, some of the most active, have written us that all halls have been denied them and that no speakers can be engaged because of this. And yet, the calls for speakers are as numerous as before the war. The dates are mostly Sunday dates, however, more and more locals having seen the advisability of establishing regular Sunday forum meetings.

Comrade Tom Lewis is at present engaged by Local Cuyahoga County to address its branches. Besides this comrade there are three others who are ready for routings in Ohio. They are Charles Baker, our state organizer, W. E. Reynolds and W. R. Snow. Comrade Reynolds has been employed [illegible] in Illinois and has established a [illegible] ord for real organization work [illegible] securing of new members and the collecting of dues from those in good standing. He is [illegible] agandist. It would be well for the committee to canvass the [illegible] the state at this meeting so that they may arrive at some conclusion [illegible] the field work. Comrade Baker reported himself ready for work [illegible] it is his application and the necessity of employing him which should receive your first consideration.

The Sustaining Fund.

We are still paying out of the state treasury five dollars per week for the support of several families of our imprisoned Socialists. Besides, we are remitting certain amounts each week for comforts for all Socialist Party members still serving prison sentences. These payments cause quite a drain on party finances and we would like to have the committee decide whether it would be wise for at this time petition the membership to again purchase sustaining fund stamps. About a thousand dollars was received from the first sustaining fund stamp sale. There is still in the sustaining fund a total of $252.28. More than this will be needed if we are to meet our obligations to the families of our imprisoned comrades.

Finances.

As will be seen by the November financial report, the general fund deficit within the year amounts to $2,971.54. This means that money had to be supplied from other funds to meet the general running expenses of the State Office in the amount named. Were it not for the liberal donations made by members and sympathizers to other party funds, we would have been faced with financial embarrassment many times during the year. In order that the general fund deficit may be eliminated we would suggest that all other funds except the mileage fund be merged into the general fund beginning with the first of the year.

We also desire to direct attention to the fact that our balance appears larger than it is, due to the fact that we owe the national office several remittances upon the Debs Defense Fund. December will show a gain in receipts over November and we feel assured that now that the war is over, the financial condition of the party will better itself from month to month.

The Outlook.

The outlook for 1919 is exceptionally bright. If the mail which reaches the State Office is an indication, we feel safe in saying that the locals in the state will be better equipped in entering the municipal elections this coming fall than ever in their history. War time has seasoned the membership, has tempered it and from this day on it will cut into capitalism like a keen-edged tool. Many letters are being received which tell of the renewed activity and increased enthusiasm of the members. Many locals have instituted a membership campaign and others have organized their good standing members into detachments whose duty it is to collect dues from members in bad standing. Comrades have learned to brave the arrogant opposition of those who assumed authority in matters that had to do with the activities of our party and the result has been that we now have a membership better developed to undertake the mission to emancipate the workers, a membership made of finer steel and more capable to perform the work that lies before us.

With the inspiration gained from the successes of our European comrades, we shall march forward and battle as never before to win this state and the nation for industrial democracy.

Fraternally submitted,
A. WAGENKNECHT,
State Secretary.

Thomas Erskine—The press must be free; if government finds itself annoyed by it, let it examine its own conduct and it will find the cause.

In choosing the flags for their new countries, the people across the water seem to act on the old principle, "Any color, so it's red."

NEVER DO THIS

Never write the names of subscribers you get for this paper into a letter or mix them in any way with other business you may have to transact with the State Office.

ALWAYS write the names of subscribers upon a separate sheet of paper or better yet, upon one of our subscription blanks, any number of which will be mailed you upon request.

We will thank you for complying with this request. You will save us much work if you will always do as we here ask you to do.

TAKE NOTE OF THIS

Subscription cards for the Ohio Socialist are sold for cash only. The possession of a subscription card represents a paid subscription for the card reads that it is "good for one year's subscription or one-half year's subscription to the Ohio Socialist" as the case may be.

Then, also, the State Office does not desire to begin a credit business. We are making an effort to keep State Office running expenses at a minimum and starting credit accounts with consequent billing and added bookkeeping would mean the employing of more help.

We ask all locals and members therefore to remit cash with all orders for dues stamps, supplies or subscription cards.

SPRINGFIELD ATTENTION!

In sending in $6.50 for nine new subs, John Rehm, says: "Here's something to start the new year with a good push. Let's keep right on pushing for 52 weeks in 1919 and then see what results will show.

"To the comrades of Springfield I want to say that if you know of anyone you want landed as an Ohio Socialist subscriber, and if you cannot do the landing yourself, just phone 2563-B, Home phone, and I will try my hand at it."

And by the way John Rehm is landing them, trying his [illegible] at it does not spell failure.

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES $1.00 Per Hundred | Six Months 50c

Address all Mail to R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio

Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Post-office at Cleveland, Ohio, Under Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, JAN. 8, 1919. 106

WITH OUR EDITORS

PEGGY HULL REPORTS ON THE TERROR

Peggy Hull is the truly, true representative of the Cleveland Press in Russia. Peggy's first report of The Terror is illuminating in its sharply drawn contrasts of real American civilization and the "savagery" of the Russians.

"Vladivostok, Siberia, the gateway to The Terror," are the opening words of this first enlightening report. And then Peggy tells us of the terrors she finds just within the gateway. "I came to penetrate the blackness which surrounds Russia," she says. "Surrounds" is good, Peggy. We are trying to penetrate that same blackness here and we assure you that it is fully as hard a job as any you shall find in far away Siberlia. "Savagery and civilization rub elbows here," she goes on to say. "Fifth reeks amid wealth." That's just terrible. So different from America where we have reached the appex of civilization. Walk a dozen blocks in any direction in any American city and you will meet with the identical conditions which seem so horrible in Russia.

The next indictment of Russian conditions is a hummer. "Human wrecks huddle on stone floors among vermin infested rags—others drowsy, stare with vacant eyes—beings, hardly a step removed from extreme savagery drag their way thru the crowds." We don't doubt your word for a moment, Peggy. Having seen the same thing hundreds of times in many American cities we have learned to believe that such conditions are prevalent throughout the world. We'd certainly hate to believe America had a monopoly on derelicts. "We could see from the boat that abject misery gripped many in Vladivostok." Yes, Peggy, and the same can be seen from the rail of every ship that lands in any American port.

Peggy's next experience with The Terror taps the font of our sympathies. If possible we would reach out a detaining hand to draw Peggy back from a horrible fate. An AWFUL SMELL greets her nostrils. It sends her reeling for fresh air. We are not informed what this evidence of The Terror is so we must conclude from our experience of bad odors that a slaughter house is in the vicinity of that wharf in Vladivostok. We are led to this conclusion because we have experienced with thousands of Cleveland citizens that same slaughter house smell. All because our CIVILIZATION allows a meat packing corporation to set aside the wishes and legal procedure instigated by the citizenry of the free city of Cleveland.

"Autos speed thru the streets at 30 miles an hour," presumably driven by these same savages. This fact alone undoubtedly proves intervention necessary. She finds the people very rude. They jostle each other off the walks without apology and 'glare' at one another. This is indeed horrible. We have observed that in America, and especially in Peggy's home town, Cleveland, that pedestrians are more than polite in this regard, especially during the rush hours.

Our conclusion after reading this report is that we've got some "Terror" to combat right here at home and that if Peggy and the Press desire to serve American civilization they will get busy right here unearthing some of the sources of the violent smells from the decaying social evils that infest this land instead of searching for the moat in the eye of a sister Republic.

But while you are over there Peggy, we hope you will find out what American soldiers are doing in Russia. No one ever here seems to be able to find out and there are many thousands over here who are asking. In fact, the question: What are we doing in Russia, is being supplanted with: Are American soldiers in Russia because Russia has instituted a government by, of and for the working class? Please find out, Peggy, we want to know.

A Little Talk on Circulation

"A rolling stone gathers no moss" is an old and well-worn adage containing some truth. But here is a bigger truth, a Socialist paper that stops rolling will gather nothing but moss and moss means death. Since our business is to publish a LIVE Socialist paper we are not very strong for moss though it may be all right for a stone. Moss for us means death. Therefore, let's keep rolling so that our days may be long and free of moss.

Circulation! Circulation is the highroad to success. Without it a Socialist paper is a failure and gets nowhere. To become well known, to be talked about wherever workingmen congregate, to be distributed far and wide, to make new and many acquaintances daily is the coveted goal.

A Socialist paper's influence is in proportion to its circulation. Without circulation it can have no influence. It's light is hidden, it's purpose remains unaccomplished. Therefore, comrades, the problem of circulation as a means of achieving our goal, must always receive our earnest consideration.

Circulation is what the Ohio Socialist has lacked. Happily, that situation is rapidly passing. We are beginning to spread into many states and that means growth. The wider we are distributed, the bigger we grow for we create new friends at every step.

There are many individual comrades who have accomplished wonders in adding to our circulation. Their untiring efforts have ever been a spur to us and their work and words a constant source of inspiration.

There is one phase of the work of widening our circulation, however, that has been neglected. It is a work which really belongs to the locals. It is a work which should be made a part of the local's regular propaganda work. We mean the regular, systematic distribution of the Ohio Socialist. It appears that many comrades have been able to see but one side of this problem, the expense side. Let us take a look at the other side and see which is the brighter.

A house to house distribution of a few hundred copies of the Ohio Socialist will stir up more interest and discussions of Socialism for a week than half a dozen meetings. Why? Because the people sit down and rest and read on Sunday. The other six days they are too busy to think, but on Sunday they do a little contemplating. The fact that several hundred people find an Ohio Socialist on their front porch on Sunday morning proves to them that there is a LIVE local in that town. An interest is created that keeps alive and if repeated often soon gets its reward. The readers begin to want the Ohio Socialist, they subscribe and that means that very soon they will be hunting up your local headquarters. A new comrade joins his enthusiasm with yours. He enters the fight and thus the good work continues. Every dollar your local invests in the Ohio Socialist comes back to you in dues.

Another thing, comrades. Every local in an industrial city should have the Ohio Socialist on sale at the factory gates. Some one of your comrades (no one can excell women comrades in factory gate sales) should undertake this work. Order a bundle. Go to the same place on the same day at the same hour every week. The workers will soon look for you. Soon you will have a good sales established of both papers and subscription cards. Try this method. Your local will profit by it. It is a success elsewhere. It can be made so in your town.

In every city where the comrades are on the job distributing the Ohio Socialist the local is growing and the Ohio Socialist is gaining in subscribers. Local Youngstown is the latest local to take up this work in a thoroughgoing manner. Two hundred to five hundred a week is its order. Results are beginning to show, too. Watch Youngstown! If Local Youngstown can do so well so can your local. Our strength is in our press. Let's add to it. Get busy. Order a bundle.

Another Answer to Dr. Clark

By M. B. DUTTON,

State Secretary of Virginia

I have read Dr. Clarks onslaught with a deal of interest and no little amusement. He falls easily into that class of scientists who would dogmatize science and then prostitute it to serve the ends of the master class as was religion. The arguments he adduces are utterly fallacious, and from the standpoint of true science, are absolutely worthless.

In the first place nature never "experiments." Her works are infinite in variety and each follows channels of development immutably conditioned by the laws of its environment. The possibility of each is limited strictly by its innate potentiality. Man has one potentiality and the ant another. In the very nature of things an ant could never have paralleled man in his achievements any more than man could have rivaled the ant in his.

Then again, taking each in its peculiar sphere, comparison is just as impossible as it is unscientific and egotistical. We know no generic standards by which to judge the ant, and any standards that we might set up would be hopelessly anthropomorphic and egotistic. Possibly the ant in his sphere is jsut as highly developed as is man. There is only one common standard that could possibly serve as a legitimate test of highness even if we could apply it, that is which has [illegible]ined a system that secures the greatest happiness to the greatest number? There is positively no other legitimate end in sentient life, be it man or spider. Taking this as a test, most likely proud man would fall very low.

Again, Dr. Clark commits a grievous sin against true science when he sets up a premise as a generalization with no attempt to prove its generality. In this case any such attempt would have put him in the ridiculous attitude of refuting his own argument, since if communism has kept the ant an ant, why has not individualism made the cannibal spider a man?

We will forgive Dr. Clark for jumbling Socialism and communism, he may have done this through lack of knowledge, but we cannot overlook his garbling the accepted facts of evolution, since he is posing as an expert expounder of its workings. Mans superiority, from a purely anthropomorphic viewpoint, arises purely from the fact that he is a tool-using animal. His use of tools and his consequent mastery of nature alone give him his

(Continued on Page Four)

OUR PARTY PAGE

Live News of Interest to all Party Members

BOASTING IS NOT BOOSTING

ADVERTISE YOUR LOCAL MEETINGS

Conduct your local in a businesslike manner. First, see to it that every local member is a subscriber to THE OHIO SOCIALIST. Every member MUST be to be in good standing in the party.

Then advertise the date and place of your local meetings in the OHIO SOCIALIST. We will insert this single column advertisement for $1.25 a quarter year; $2.50 for the first half of 1919. This is a very moderate charge, and will be subject to change after July 1, 1919.

Placing notice of your local meeting place and date in the OHIO SOCIALIST will be a constant reminder to your local membership to attend meetings. Look for the meeting notice of Local Akron in this issue. This local is the first to respond. Will your local be next?

A WEEKS WORK OF THE RED 100

The Red Hundred has grown into a "Red Army," they have become so numerous. Recruits are joining the ranks daily and doing heroic service from the first jump. This past week's work shows the greatest results of any yet in the history of the Ohio Socialist. Over three hundred subscriptions were entered upon the mailing list. Two weeks ago all former records were broken with a total of two hundred and sixty subscriptions, and now that high mark has been exceeded. Can we establish a new record every two weeks comrades? I think I can hear a chorus of "we can" from many loyal comrades. There was never a time like the present for getting subscriptions for a good Socialist paper such as the Ohio Socialist. Keep them coming comrades. The faster they come the bigger we shall grow and the quicker we shall accomplish our task.

• • •

With wishes for a happy New Year Comrade Max Boehm of Conneaut sends in three subscriptions. We know that Comrade Boehm's wishes are sincere when he proves it this way. Thanks for both Comrade Boehm.

• • •

Press stamp sales in Dayton are looking up. Eight from Secretary Rogers is an indication of activity.

• • •

Two renewels and two new ones from Comrade A. B. Hollenbaugh of Fostoria is a welcome list.

• • •

Comrade A. M. Meads of Convoy makes a real New Year resolution and then goes right out and puts it into execution by gathering in four subscriptions, all yearlies but one. It takes a real Red to keep a resolution these days.

• • •

Comrade B. L. Kisor of Montpelier sends in three new ones.

• • •

Local Massillon sends in through Secretary Weltlich four dollars representing press stamp sales and six dollars for subscriptions for non-members. When we learn a better way to make the locals grow than to push the Ohio Socialist among non-members we shall let everybody know it at once. It will be worth knowing.

• • •

Four dollars for subscriptions and six dollars for sub cards is an order from Comrade B. T. Smith of Toledo. Orders for sub cards are increasing. We hope that more comrades will see the advisability of ordering cards to aid them in securing subscriptions.

• • •

Three renewals from Comrade Rodgers of Lawndale testifies to the popularity of the Ohio Socialist among the comrades there.

• • •

Comrade T. H. Davies of Hubbard has become a weekly booster. Five is his contribution this week.

• • •

Seventy-one new subscriptions from Local Cuyahoga County proves that local is gaining in membership.

• • •

Local Portage County is still gaining in membership too. They have the growing habit and like it. Eight subscribers from Comrade McVay keeps eight members in good standing.

• • •

Comrade Mrs. A. Jones of Youngstown adds two more to her record this week.

• • •

Comrade Allen Cook of Canton continues the good work. Two yearlies attest his activity.

• • •

The list of Martins Ferry is growing through the efforts of Comrade F. A. Habig. Three yearlies he adds to his record.

• • •

Comrade R. Calkins of Lima sends us a letter of good suggestions and two subscriptions. We are very fond of both and use them constantly in our business and are always glad when a comrade takes the time to send them in.

• • •

Comrade George W. Markert of Mt. Healthy starts the new year exactly right by mailing in two more yearlies.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

Comrade R. A. Huebner of Springfield doesn't like to see the comrades' subscriptions expire. He sends in two renewals this week.

• • •

Three more yearlies from Comrade Soukup of Neffs shows he is keeping his gait.

• • •

Local Marion is keeping its members in good standing as three subscriptions from them show. Don't let your members get in arrears. Keep them paid up for both dues and press stamps. The nearest thing to no members are members in arrears.

• • •

Comrade Eubanks of Columbus sends in eight more.

• • •

Local Portsmouth sets an example that is worthy the consideration of every comrade and local in the state. All subscriptions received from this local are for one year. Fourteen were sent in this week—all yearlies. We would be more than glad if more comrades and locals would do likewise. The expense of placing a name on the mailing list is about five cents. To place a name on list four times a year means a direct loss of fifteen cents on that subscription. Multiply 15 cents by several thousand and you will see what a large loss it is to sell three months' subscriptions.

Many comrades say it is just as easy to get a yearly subscription as to get one for three months. However, that may be, we hope that as many comrades as possible will subscribe for a year at a time. It means much less work in the State Office and less expense too. What we save belongs to the party members.

• • •

Comrade Frank Bender of Pleasant City mails in two yearlies.

• • •

Two yearlies from Camrade W. Lowery of Canton testifies to the fact that Local Canton is fortunate in having so many live wires among its members.

• • •

Comrade Blank of Lima mails us four more. Comrade Blank gets a few every week.

• • •

Two each were sent in by Comrades J. H. Sims of Bethel and Comrade A. J. Totten of Alliance.

• • •

The following comrades secure one sub each week. W. A. Jenkins, Ernest Gerlach, Geo. Althouser, J. Robinson, Wm. G. Schultz, R. W. Jenny, Thos. Zeelo, Scott Wilkin, G. F. Schnaufer, Edwin Peterson, Roy Searlott, R. J. Dixon, F. C. Priller, E. D. Orr, Frank B. Hamilton, Frank Baker, John E. Steiger, Hattie W. Meyers, Jesse Pettit, J. M. Swinehart, J. J. Anderson, C. H. Werner, E. E. McClain, two.

• • •

Our boosters from other states were very active of late. Their activities indicate the growing popularity of the Ohio Socialist among the comrades of other states.

• • •

Here's a letter from Comrade G. M. Crocker of Sheridan, Ind. "Last week I visited the Indiana State Office and saw for the first time a copy of your paper, so here's my dollar and for God's sake start the paper quick. I am starving for real news."

• • •

Three subscriptions from Louisville, Ky., this week means the Kentucky comrades are with us.

• • •

Another letter from Comrade J. D. Reedy of Bickmore, W. Va. "I am enclosing one dollar for subscription, would be glad to help your valuable paper. I was one of the Appeal army until that paper went wrong." Which shows that an appeal to reactionism doesn't appeal to this comrade no more than to many others.

• • •

Ben Bloomenburg, State Secretary of Michigan, sends in two yearlies.

• • •

Comrade D. H. Bevis of Lutts, Tenn., sends in three yearlies. This is not Comrade Bevis' first boost. We hope to receive more from him.

• • •

Dr. E. L. Smith, secretary of Local Martinsburg, W. Va., mails us three yearlies and an order for party buttons and also fifty copies of the Ohio Socialist.

• • •

The Ohio Socialist is now meeting the workers at the Workers Reading Room, at Sistersville, W. Va. This is through the efforts of Comrade G. W. Kirkendall, who sends in one-fifty for subs.

• • •

A big boost came in this week from Comrade L. K. England of Moline, Ill. He sends in eighteen three-month subscriptions. Comrade England says that when the readers once read the paper they will subscribe for a longer time.

• • •

From Wendell, W. Va., comes four yearlies. Comrade M. Mesich is responsible.

• • •

Five dollars for eight, received this week from Comrade Perry Shipman of Rock Island, Ill. He sends us the name of another comrade who will, he says, help put the Ohio Socialist on the map to stay. We are willing.

• • •

Three half yearlies are received from Comrade G. F. Willis of Adairsville, Ga.

• • •

One subscription each was received by these comrades: W. T. Talley, Bristol, Va.; A. Labash, Kansas City, Kans.; W. G. Dillon, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

BAKER TO SPEAK IN NILES.

Chas. Baker, state organizer of the Socialist Party and one of the three state Socialist officials just released from the Stark County Workhouse, will speak at Masonic hall, 164 Chestnut St., Niles, Ohio, in the evening of Jan. 15. All readers of the Ohio Socialist are invited to attend.

Victory Letters

We publish below a few extracts from the many "victory" letters, which have reached the State Office of the Socialist Party within the last few days. These letters are fairly alive with the spirit of comradeship and the will to proceed immediately with the many tasks at hand to improve our organization and to increase our educational propaganda.

If the stacks of mail which have been received at the State Office lately are any indication, the locals and comrades all over the state, yes, and the nation—are awakening to the immediate need of intensifying Socialist activity. We print these letters in the hope that they will appeal to those locals and comrades who as yet seem to be peacefully slumbering, unaware of what these times portend.

TO MAKE 1919 A HUMMER.

"We had a VERY GOOD meeting last Friday. Took in two new members and everybody present seemed to have the "get-together" spirit. All seemed full of pep. The comrades of Kenmore are ready to make a harder fight than ever before and you can look for very good returns from now on from here. We are all determined to make 1919 a hummer."

FRED W. SEIBERT,
Ohio Socialist Correspondent for Local Kenmore.

• • •

HAIL THE NEW ERA.

"We are in need of application cards. Send us 200 at once. Our members are recovering from the war anasthesia. We had a rousing meeting at our local yesterday. Three new members and three new applications. All hail to the New Era which is now rapidly approaching. We are glad some of our fearless comrades are again free to help direct affairs."

EDWIN BLANK, Lima.

• • •

HOLDS BIG MEETING.

"Have just been elected literature agent for Local Hamilton. Want 300 copies of Victory Edition. Also send me a list of literature you have on sale.

"Comrade Baker attended our last meeting and was received with a hearty welcome. He gave us a very good talk. We had the largest local meeting we have had in the last two years or more. We are going to hold our city convention, Jan. 5. This is earlier than usual, but things in the world are moving faster than usual, too, so we are for an early start."

JOHN M. CAHALANE, Hamilton.

• • •

GOING TO BREAK ALL RECORDS.

"We are glad you are back on the job. We here in Mansfield intend getting back on the job, too. Both the party and the Y. P. S. L. We are organizing into a county local to be known as Local Richmond County. We hape your office passes upon our county constitution favorably. We are anxious to begin the new year right and intend breaking all records for organization and educational work in Mansfield and the county."

E. C. SHOWERS.

• • •

IT'S COMING.

"I wish on behalf of Local Hubbard to congratulate you on your being allowed again by the powers that be to assume your duties as State Secretary and I would like to encourage you and all the comrades of Ohio and America with this thought—the world is being made safe for democracy, not by the bourgeois statesmen and politicians, but by the forces of evolution, working through the proletarian masses the world over, and while I am not a prophet, or the son of a prophet, I can see in the near future these forces confounding the efforts, and upsetting the plans of the ruling classes, and ushering in the co-operative commonwealth.

"For a' that, for a' that,
It's coming yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that."

T. H. DAVIES.

• • •

WARREN AWAKENS.

Enclosed find list of new subs and money order for $9.60 for which to pay for the seven new subs and 60 dues stamps.

"We had our first meeting last Sunday since the flu ban was lifted, last meeting before the flu ban was on, was in September.

"Since Comrade Bundy left Warren I was made Financial Secretary and will make a report the first of each month. We are going to do a little missionary work and see if we can't get a few ex-Socialists back in the harness. If everything goes as I expect, will send for more stamps in about two weeks, as I am going to try the year in advance stunt."

C. R. SWOPE, Warren.

• • •

"Although I have always voted the Socialist ticket and am subscriber to your paper, I have never been a member of the Socialist Party. I am now writing for information as to how to join. I sure have missed a lot in not knowing of your paper before it was called to my attention by my brother."

CHARLES D. HIRST.

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BATTLE CREEK, MICH., LEADS THE WAY.

Local Battle Creek, Mich., is conducting a course of lectures. It's a "proletarian course and the subjects are: "Truth About Bolshevism," "Autocracy, Democracy, Mob Rule?" "Shall Brains or Muscle Rule?" The price of each ticket is 50 cents and with each ticket goes a three months' subscription to the Ohio Socialist.

This means that the lectures will not stop when the course ends. All who attend the course will be lectured for three months by the Ohio Socialist. The first remittance for three months' subs from this source was sent in by Laura Reynolds the other day.

Is there a local in Ohio that will follow Battle Creek in its laudable undertaking?

• • •

PORTSMOUTH STRIKES HARD.

A fifty dollar remittance from Local Portsmouth only proves that we have said of that local before, namely, that it does everything in a BIG way. "We want to get the comrades to pay up for 1919," writes Wm. L. Mauntel.

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BACK AGAIN.

Local Opperman is back in the ranks. Frank Bender, its secretary, who is also secretary of Local 2449 of the United Mine Workers, writes: "Shortly after we organized most all of our comrades were taken into service. Now that the war is over and the flu crisis past, we are going to put Local Opperman on the map again. When you route Charles Baker remember we want an opportunity to hear him. Send dues stamps. Am sending you some Ohio Socialist subs. Will send more in a few days."

• • •

Here is advice for all locals. A comrade from Akron who signs himself, "A Coen Truth" for reasons, claims that locals do not get all the good out of their public meetings that they should. Besides the speaking and the sale of literature, every public meeting should be solicited for Ohio Socialist subscriptions, for applications for membership, and the meeting should also provide an opportunity for members to pay their dues, he writes in effect.

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DO AS THIS LOCAL DOES

Word comes from F. J. Catlin of Local Youngstown that the local, realizing that the Ohio Socialist subscription list for the city was far too small for credit, elected an Ohio Socialist booster in the person of Comrade H. P. Thumm. His duty will be to solicit all meetings for Ohio Socialist subs. The local also elected a "delinquent committee" composed of Comrades Mrs. Jones, Wm. Richards, Sam Frank, F. J. Catlin, Daniel Dull. Financial Secretary Frow will superintend the work of this committee.

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COLUMBUS NEWS NOTES.

On Dec. 26, Local Columbus passed a motion to place at least two names of non-Socialists upon the Ohio Socialist mailing list every week, and that cost of same be paid out of the local treasury.

The committee on Sunday afternoon meeting reported its inability to secure C. E. Ruthenberg for a meeting on Jan. 5. Local talent was substituted in the person of J. L. Backman. The meeting was one of the best ever had. Three applications for membership were secured and eight subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist. Quite a number of members paid their back dues, too.

Propaganda meeting, every second and fourth Sunday of the month, will continue during the winter months.

E. B. EUBANKS, Reporter.

• • •

"I think the events across the sea are having their effect upon the comrades here. Some had faint hearts and had concluded that ours was a lost cause. In shop and on street corners I have worked hard to make the idea prevail that we would come out of it all victorious. Have now called a meeting for Jan. 10. And here is our monthly report."

E. P. McDEVITT, Steubenville.

• • •

THE ONLY WAY.

The letter was a short one. All it contained was "Find enclosed money order for $8.80 for dues stamps. ALL MEMBERS PAID UP FOR THE YEAR 1919." Local North Star is the local and A. G. Deeren is the secretary.

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NEW PHILADELPHIA IN A "COME BACK."

"We have been closed up in this city on account of the flu but the ban is off now and I will try to call a meeting and get the members back into good standing." E. C. Glatfelter. And the question arises, are you as good a secretary as Comrade Glatfelter? Are you attending to your business, calling a meeting of your local, collecting back dues?

• • •

FROM OUR KNOX COUNTY REPORTER.

P. B. Stroble, our Mt. Vernon and Knox county reporter, sends the State Office the compliments of the season, congratulates the office force upon the great work that has been accomplished in the last year and commends the Ohio Socialist as "the most excellent paper."

"It is the duty of every laboring man, be he factory employe or farmer, to get into the Socialist movement to help overthrow this exploiting system that creates hundreds of millionaires most every year. Why don't millionaires vote the Socialist ticket? Why do workers vote the millionaires ticket?" So writes Comrade Stroble. And the questions he asks are most pertinent.

He also gives his promise to co-operate with the State Office to help in the organization work, not only in Knox county, but also in the adjoining counties.

• • •

"An Ohio Socialist daily paper is an imperative necessity. This necessity grows day by day. A little systematic work by the comrades and it can be accomplished. Here is my plan. I will be one of 200 to give $5 each. This thousand dollars will constitute a "nest egg" and will hasten the hatching of a daily." This from Charles Bonsall of Salem. What do you think about it?

• • •

REGULAR FROM NOW ON.

"It has been quite a while since Local Marion reported, but we hope to send in our report regularly from now on. The times have been [illegible] for this local and for a [illegible] I almost feared we had [illegible] bottom. But life is springing [illegible] in the almost dead body and from now we WILL DO THINGS. The Ohio Socialist is getting better every issue."

J. C. SCHEI[illegible]

• • •

Local Ashtabula sends an order for 80 dues stamps. That's enough to tell the story.

• • •

RED HUNDRED NOT THROUGH

Now that the Red Hundred has completed their work according to their pledge, let every one of the members step forward, renew his [illegible] and be ready and willing to continue their duties in the new year.

Let the Red Hundred not think that the work is done, but rather that the members have just prepared for a great year ahead. Why should we falter when the comrades of Kentucky, Virginia and West Virginia and many other states work so earnestly for the Ohio Socialist?

It is inspiring to know that we are at last GETTING TOGETHER. Comrades, one and all—down from the north, up from the south, in from the east and west—in one great army—Workers of the World, Unite!

GEO. W. MARKERT.

• • •

"I am sure Local Massillon will [illegible] up fast now that we had such a successful Debs' meeting. We cleared expenses and will have a little left for our treasury. More comrades are showing up at our hall and we expect to get busy getting new members."

NICK WELTLICH.

• • •

JUST COMMENTS—BUT

The letter is from L. L. Anliker of Mansfield. He just comments, but his praises are so vociferous that we must pass them on. Says he: "The Ohio Socialist certainly is the best Socialist paper on the market. No other paper has stuck to its principles through the storm as it has. The "Gleanings" and "Letters from the Land of Devil-May-Care," by Reynolds are GREAT. The rapid growth in circulation and pledged support from other states of the Union show the opinion of all thinking Socialists.

"The O. S. surely deserves the support it is receiving. More comrades should awaken to the opportunity before our state paper and give it all their support.

Stand SOLID. Solidarity counts. Look at Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary and other counties. How did they win out? Only through organization, education and solidarity.

THE CALL

Fellow Workers, for your gain,
Stand united, comrades all.
With red banners high a-floating
Listen to your comrades call.

They are calling you to battle,
Come! In solid ranks array!
And with mighty hosts advancing
Drive plutocracy away.

• • •

"Each one present agreed to try hard to get another attendant for the next meeting. When we got a little enthusiasm worked up we wanted Tom Lewis." That's the "go" spirit. We found it in a letter from J. [illegible] Denison of Local Warren.

• • •

Perry Crites writes: "Some of our comrades were afraid our Debs meeting might not be a success. [illegible] that its success exceeded the [illegible] expectations of our most [illegible] comrades, is putting it mildly. [illegible] hall, one of the largest in [illegible] was packed to the doors. [illegible] paid and more than [illegible] ceeds." This, from Al[illegible]

Just $33 for dues stamps [illegible] Belmont County, and [illegible] by, Alois Havelka, [illegible] as Financial Secretary.

MEETINGS IN [illegible]

Locals in Ohio are [illegible] ings for the following [illegible]

CHARLES BAKER: [illegible] 16, 17, 18; Niles, Jan. 1[illegible] Jan. 2[illegible]; Akron, Feb. 2[illegible]

TOM LEWIS: Youngstown [illegible]

THURBER LEWIS: A[illegible]

Locals that desire to have [illegible] meetings announced, even [illegible] time of day and [illegible] asked to send notice [illegible] Socialist. This paper [illegible] circulation is [illegible] and many [illegible] attend these [illegible] apprised of the [illegible]

James [illegible] They are [illegible]

The Woman's Cause

A DEPARTMENT FOR WOMEN WHO THINK.

The Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS
(Written for The Ohio Socialist)
PART III.

The spectators, who had marched into the Hall of the Law Givers awaited the decision of one satisfied sex toward a dissatisfied sex, on the question, "Votes for Women." They were animatedly conversing in low tones, when the strange figure who seemed all in herself, yet a part of each spectator, stirred like one awakening from a dream. There clung to her the air of one with a vague far-off ancestry and of an ever onward flow of life.

As she drew her hands across her ofttimes sad and sometimes glad eyes her gaze wandered from the living to the Unseen Ones, resting on a serious face framed in dark curls. Her eyes brightened with fond recollection. It was the firm face of the intrepid Frances Wright, who, when a maid of sixteen, heard in her Scottish home, of a land across the ocean where political justice and equality reigned.

She felt a longing to go to that glorious country.

Six years later her longing was gratified, when, in 1820, she set out to see the land of the free.

Alas! that distance lends enchantment to the view. She found one race murdered and driven from its native heath, another race in chattle slavery, and, a third whose men were "people" but whose women were something inferior.

The young visitor was puzzled that "the laws of nature and nature's god did not entitle a decent respect to the opinions" of Eve's daughters, whereas, "nature's god" was on the side of Adam's sons, who held "these truths to be self-evident." Her feminine brain was greatly perplexed that while "all men are created equal." the mothers of men, like Topsy, "just growed."

Of the three races, that Frances Wright found in the land of the free, the men of one race were "endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights," which positively "their creator" did not give to the mothers who gave their vitality and many times their lives that those "endowed by their creator," might be born.

Among these "certain and inalienable rights," were "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," for that race of men "endowed by their creator."

The women had the right to a life of weaving, candle making, giving birth to baby people and others, sewing, mending, staying on a pedestal, washing, soapmaking, cooking and similar rounds of gay life.

They also had the liberty of obeying their husbands, "the people."

In pursuit of happiness the progressive women banded together in a "woman's rights" movement.

Not daunted by the disillusioning facts forced on her, Frances Wright bravely remained to help make real the righ sounding phrases of equality.

Through a forest of prejudice, she broke the path for the woman lecturer on political questions. Hers was not an easy task. Custom and the church beset her path with many hardships and perils. Though women before her had insisted on public utterances regarding religious beliefs, she was the first woman to travel from state to state denouncing black slavery and the social status of the white women.

The lack of schooling for girls and the stay-at-home work of the women deprived that part of the race, who were not people, from the opportunity of learning how to think and shut them off from new ideas. This uneducated womanhood, giving the clergy unquestioned obedience, was an easy victim to the superstitions and false beliefs exhorted from the pulpits.

Had it not been for the vigilance of free thinkers, like the maid from Scotland, this republic would have paid dearly for not heeding Abigail Adam's cry, "Send the girls to school."

The keenness of Frances Wright's perception was shown in 1828, when the churchmen to make secure the already failing power of the church by uniting it with the state, flaunted "The Christian Party in Politics."

Though her life was continually endangered by the church fanatics she resolutely fought this great menace. Never did her voice ring so clear and loud as when traveling through the middle and western states, she pointed out the rock upon which the ship of state might be wrecked.

She explained how the church was using the uneducated and therefore pliable woman. The enraged clergy hurled their time-worn invectives of "infidel," "unbeliever," and she, ninety years ago, in words that ring true today, replied:

"The injury and inconvenience of every kind and every hour to which, in these days, a really consistent reformer stands exposed, none can conceive but those who experience them. Such become, as it were, excommunicated after the fashion of the old Catholic Mother Church, removed even from the protection of law, such as it is, and from the sympathy of Society, for whose sake they consent to be crucified."

In the gladness of her heart she beheld the many educated women who were not only lecturers on the public platform but pioneers of the "silent forum" from which they held aloft their purple and white banners, inscribed, "Votes for Women."

(To be Continued)

BRAIN TEASERS

By State Organizer Tom J. Lewis.

Be careful and don't agitate or predict the possibilities of unemployment or hard times, when the soldiers and sailors are demobilized. Because, should it happen that many may suffer hunger and unlooked for hardships they won't know it if some agitator or busybody doesn't tell them.

• • •

"Let well enough alone," is a suggestion oft heard, when a person makes a kick or a complaint, but it is those who are well enough fixed, that generally say it. At times a cheap, ignorant and satisfied slave parrots the saying, little realizing the kick is made because conditions are such for the workers. Well enough is impossible.

• • •

It is a common suggestion in daily papers now a days that when the soldiers get back to go back to the land. They must be taken care of, so they can take care of themselves. They fought to save the country, it belongs to them; consequently they should take what they want and not allow politicians, profiteers and business interests to dictate, having neglected to prepare a proper reconstruction while the boys were fighting to make the world safe for democracy.

Common news, robbery, thefts and holdups, and not one Socialist among all the captured criminals; yet the A. P. L.'s are continually watching us. Why not help the police department and do some good for the country?

• • •

Don't wear a red necktie or red underwear, and for goodness sake don't blush out loud, or somebody may charge you with being a Bolshevist.

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Laws are being passed against displaying the red flag. We hope they won't forget to remove them from behind wagons and trucks, also where ditches are being dug, further, stop it being waved at wailroad crossings, and at blasting places. Autos should not be allowed to display red lights and all the red light districts should be closed. In fact, red should be eliminated as a color. You know red is an accepted color to denote there's danger near. That's the reason some don't want to see it, until something hoppens, then they'll have the same excuse as the ostrict, which sticks his head in the sand. Prohibiting the red flag will not make the workers contented, flags don't make or unmake conditions; they are but symbolic.

A "Thank You" from Hitchcock

A. L. Hitchcock sends a "thank you" to the many comrades who remembered him Christmas day. Wahlstedts, L., Strombergs, Linker, S. and E., Jensens, C. A. Hoocker, Ruthenbergs, J. M. Cahalane of Hamilton, Jessie J. Rufner, John A. Rehm of Springfield, Beatrict Sedgewick of Delaware are all included. He writes that he received three boxes of cigars, and that he only knows the sender of one, and that is Stromberg. We have a suspicion that as soon as Hitchcock learns that John Rehm is a cigar maker he will know who sent another box, and as for the third box—who is guilty?

Hitchcock's letter to his wife reads [illegible]rt as follows:

"[illegible] will have to send or bring the [illegible]s home as silk socks are not [illegible] thing to wear in the shoes [illegible]ere. These shoes are made to [illegible]body's feet, and I am fortunate [illegible] to have feet that fit anybody's [illegible], so it is 50-50, but silk socks—[illegible]y will not fit. Had many beautiful cards from the comrades.

"We bought extra stuff and my cell mate received a box with oranges, apples and nuts, also a big nut cake and we have had a time to dispose of all of it. I stick out so far in front that I cannot close my belt any more. I shall have to get a long rope to reach around me. Sent my Christmas letter to Scott Nearing, so he will hear direct. He has been very faithful in writing. We had a very good dinner Christmas. Since Georgia is a great oyster shipping state we had Chicago turkey. You know the birds that made Chicago famous. But these were raised here on the farm. So pork sausage, mashed potatoes with gravy, apple sauce, banana, apple and stewed corn, lots of good bread and [illegible] and a big piece of cake with [illegible] on it. You know when I say a big piece of cake it was big. The bread is always good. The best I ever had away from home. We have had ice here in the mornings since Christmas, but it warms up during the day. Fine sap weather and one morning a suspicion of snow. The first Tom had seen in fifteen years, but the least I had seen in more than that long. However, I never have to go down cellar to look after the furnace either at night or in the morning, so there are some compensations here. Also no stove pipes to put up or take down. I went shopping the other day for shoes. No asking the price or looking for an hour over his stock, just got the nearest fit and best he had, and go out. No window shopping here, so it would not be popular with the ladies. At present I am at work on a new addition to the altar in the chapel. I find cabinetwork in demand here, and though I am not an A-1 cabinet maker I get along very well and like it. It is nearly all bench work.

Again I am not elated with the elections in England. I had hoped for something big, and perhaps it is bigger than I think, but it don't look big to a man up a tree or in —— However, I am glad to know that people are awakening all over the world. The reports from all over seem to be that work is very slack. Detroit is warning even soldiers away. Quite a change of front is it not? And very significant, too. I guess this will be a good place for a while, at least I have a job and eats, clean bed, clothes, etc. If it was not for you I would not have a care in the world.

Again many thanks for all the lovely remembrances and letters from the many friends.

A. L. HITCHCOCK.

How will the preachers square themselves with their congregation now that the war is over and Christmas so near? "Peace on earth, good will toward men." What about the women, are not they counted in the deal?

LYING ABOUT THE BOLSHEVIKI

The Cleveland Press is smoother and shrewder in its service to the exploiting class than most of the kept newspapers of the country. Such papers as the Plain Dealer, which boldly lie about and denounce working class measures and movements are not a serious danger to the workers' cause. The reason for their spleen is apparent.

The "Press," however, poses as a radical newspaper and at times publishes harmless radical news articles and editorials. It adopts an attitude of seeming fairness toward the working class movement. All this, in order to more efficiently serve the exploiting class, through deluding the workers.

A fine example of these tactics was presented in the "Press" article, published last week, making a survey of the meaning of Bolshevism. While pretending fairness and candor in dealing with the subject, this article subtly injected the poison of misrepresentation in the minds of the readers of the "Press."

The following questions and answers from the article mentioned will serve to illustrate its tactics:

What is their program (the Bolsheviki)?

They propose to abolish private property and private profits. They would not only seize the railroads, telegraph and mines, etc., but also the farms, homes and personal property of all the people—in the name of the state.

The answer contains some truth, and poison, too. In stating that Bolsheviki have seized "the farms, homes and personal property" the "Press" endeavors to arouse the prejudice of the farmer and home owner against the Bolsheviki. It doesn't say that the "farms" that have been seized are the great estates of the land owners and that the purpose of such seizure is to apportion the land among the peasants of Russia. It doesn't say, that while land cannot be bought, sold or mortgaged in Russia, the Soviet government has guaranteed every person who wishes to till the soil the opportunity to do so, and that each person who produces wealth upon the soil by his own labor is given secure possession of the land which he tills.

Are the Soviets democratic?

In theory, yes; but not in practice. Only those who favor the Soviet form of government can vote. Opponents to the Soviets have no say in the government. The men in control of the Soviets wants everything owned by the government. The Soviets have voted to abolish private property. Even a workman who owns his home or small farm can be dispossessed.

"Only those who favor the Soviet form of government can vote," we are told, and this is supposed to be an argument against the Soviet government. That is equivalent to saying about the United States that only those who favor the republican form of government can vote. The republican form of government is established in this country. Those who want to vote must vote in accordance with the rules of the republican government. If a person doesn't like the republican form of government and therefore refuses to conform to the conditions it prescribes and thus secure the right to participate in it, that is his lookout. In Russia the Soviet form of government is established and those who won't conform to its rules because they don't like it, can't vote.

"The Soviets have voted to abolish all private property" is an out and out lie. For instance, the decree of the Soviet government repudiating internal and foreign debts of the old regime particularly specifies that provision shall be made to safeguard against loss those persons who hold 10,000 rubles, (about $5,000 before the war), or less of the bonds of Russia, provided that the sum invested in these bonds was earned through their own labor, and the decree in regard to the nationalization of banks is emphatic in specifying that saving bank deposits shall remain inviolate.

Are the Bolsheviki in majority?

No. They are merely a majority faction of one party, and in Russia, there are half a dozen parties. The Social Democrats were not even the largest party; but the extremists in this party and in the Social-Revolutionary party, together swung the votes to overthrow the old style congress and put the Soviets in power.

They are not in the majority but they swung enough votes (which means a majority of the voters) to put themselves in power! What sort of reasoning is that? According to that kind of reasoning the followers of Lloyd George, who swung enough votes to elect a majority of the English parliament are not in a majority in England. And the followers of Harry L. Davis, who secured the support of a majority of the voters of Cleveland, are not in the majority in Cleveland. That is mud, pure and simple.

What gives the Soviets strength?

Terrorism. The Bolsheviki have invoked the "red terror" against those who plot to overthrow the Soviet government. The Bolsheviki machine rules with an iron hand over great masses of unorganized workers and peasants.

A lie, disproven by the "Press's" own acknowledgment that the Bolsheviki swung a majority of the voters. The power of the Soviet government rests upon the support of the great masses of Russian workers and peasants, who see in it the only hope of better things for them. The so-called "red terror" did not begin until the Allies began their invasion of Russia, and is nothing more than the legal execution of plotters against the Soviet government, such as England carried out in Ireland, for instance, after the Easter Rebellion, and such as every government in the world has resorted to under similar circumstances.

Are the Bolsheviki pro-German?

There is no doubt that the Bolsheviki, whether purposely or not, played into the hands of German imperialism when they signed the separate peace of Brest-Litovsk.

The "Press" knows as well as we know that the Soviet government signed the peace of Brest Litovsk only because it had no alternate course. The Russian army had broken down and was in the process of disintegration because of the betrayal of the officials of the czar and the work of the Kerensky government. The Soviet government, according to a responsible authority (the statement has not been denied by the government of the United States, although the State Department has been asked directly whether it was true), offered to continue the war against Germany before signing the Brest Litovsk treaty, if the United States would furnish supplies and technical help. It asked that the transportation system of Russia be taken over by American engineers, so that Russian artillery might be saved from falling in the hands of Germany. But to these offers it did not even receive a reply. It offered to turn the Black Sea fleet over to British officers, because it could not trust the officers of the old regime in command and did not want the fleet to fall in the hands of the Germans, but England took no action in regard to this offer. Lenine and other officials of the Soviet government have consistently denounced the Brest Litovsk treaty as a "robber's peace." The statement that the Bolsheviki were at any time pro-German in their leaning is a bald-faced falsehood circulated by the kept press in order to prejudice the people of this country against them.

Thus does the apparent fairness of the "Press" appear when analyzed.

Another Answer to Dr. Clark

(Continued from page three)

unique position in the animal kingdom. Neither his individualism nor his communism fitted him as a tool manipulating animal. Mans erect position and the mechanical adaptation of his hands fitted him peculiarly as a toolusing animal. How he came by his erect posture, and the perfection of his hands, or rather forefeet, is most likely due to the fortuity of his environment.

Had he not been chased up the trees by his more powerful neighbors, and thus compelled to develop his fore limbs in grappling and had it not been for the fact that his stature among the limbs of the trees peculiarly suited him to assume an erect posture, from which the erect posture in time became a natural one, the race might have yet been in the monkey stage, notwithstanding man, to start with, had within him the peculiar generic possibility of reaching his present plane of development, a potentiality which most probably even his cousin monkies do not possess. When man learned, and was by development fitted to wield a club, he came down from the trees and batted the very devil out of his old enemies.

He now became a cave dweller, but was not yet much of a man. He had the physique but he lacked brain development. He had the muscle but his mind had been kept starved to attain it. He had conquered his large enemies, but the little enemies who inhabited his hair and the microbes that fed on his vitals he could not get at with his club. It was only after man had discovered the use of fire, which discovery was most probably purely accidental, that man could conserve the necessary energy to devote to mental development. Nature preserves the organism at all cost, and in an environment in which there is a dearth of nutriment to feed all faculties, those faculties are first starved that contribute least to the preservation of life.

Later on, when many of the race had rid themselves of their body parasites (some jailors have not learned this yet), man started on his conquering career in full swing. During savagery his communal instincts were ascendent, and he lived happy. Later on when the cunning and unscrupulous of the race had evolved barbarism, and slavery, prostitution and war for spoils were introduced, individualism as we know it had its rise. Its despotism, and its wanton and unfeeling disregard for the subject classes no doubt has driven the race forward along the lines of purely material achievement, but it has starved and thwarted man's ethical and moral sensibilities.

And now that the mechanical problems of life have been solved, by whatsoever means, and man, after long ages of despotism and oppression at the hands of the cunning and unscrupulous of his kind is beginning to see the dawn, he is rising in his might and rending his fetters, which after all were only fetters of the mind, and now he proposes to regain his lost heritage, enriched by the fruits of his age long pain and re-establish the dominion of peace on earth and industrial equity and democracy by a scientific blending of the communal and individual principals, summed up as "Socialism."

And Dr. Clark and his kind would stop this epochal consummation and turn back the clock of progress with his little moonbeam labeled "science." He had as well try to stop a freight train with a horse-hair!

Russia and the American Press

Continued From Page One.

class), it can readily be seen that Peters scarcely dropped from "physican exhaustion" after affixing his signature twenty-three times. On other days he was required to sign twelve, or eight, or five death warrants, which to a revolutionist who has experienced the "discomforts" of the czar's prison regime and who is fighting against its restoration is a mere bagatelle. He has risked his life in the battle against autocratic tyranny and he rightly considers that its champions must either win or perish. The following, which is reprinted from the official Moscow Izvestia of July 13, is a typical announcement of the sort that one occasionally reads in the Russian press:

"During the night of July 12, by order of the Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of the Counter-Revolution, ten leaders of the counter-revolutionary organization, the Union for the Salvation of the Fatherland and the Revolution, were shot. The reasons for this execution is that recent reports from the provinces state that agents to the abovenamed organization instigated partial armed outbreaks against the Soviet government. These reports, combined with the fact, recently established, that the chief staff of this organization was working out a plan for a general armed uprising, have extremely aggravated the situation, especially in view of the latest events.

"Experience has shown that the imprisonment of members of this criminal society does not attain the purpose, as, possessing an enormous amount of money, this society organizes their escape from the prisons, and they continue their criminal activity. The armed mutiny which was in the process of preparation threatened also the lives of many people among the peaceful population, and, therefore, the Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of the Counter-Revolution decided to exterminate the counter-revolutionary organization at the very root and treat the leaders as open enemies caught with arms in their hands. The following persons, all former officers, have been executed: 1, General Popoff; 2, B. Pokrovsky; 3, Sidoroff (alias Aveyeff); 4, Dushak; 5, Kolenko; 6, Rosenfeld (alias Rosanoff); 7, Algin (alias Gertzik); 8, Ilvovsky; 9, Belooussoff; 10, Floroff."

In justice to the Bolsheviks it must be said that they do not show partiality in the matter of executions, and accord similar treatment to their own comrades when the latter commit crimes which, according to the Bolshevik legal code, are just as heinous as treason. Hans Vorst, the Moscow correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt, whose description of the activity of the Extraordinary Commission was reprinted in the New York Times of Dec. 1, says:

"It should be mentioned that the Extraordinary Commissions proceed with the same severity as against the bourgeoisie against the abuses and dishonesty among the Soviet officials themselves. Among the lists of those shot one occasionally runs across reports like this: 'Commissary X. Y. Z., for drunkenness and misconduct," or "Y. Z., member of such and such Soviet, for drunkenness and other crimes.' This list is already lengthy of the Soviet officials who have been shot for bribery and extortion."

Our total ignorance of conditions in Russia and our hunger for news from that country explain the aviditw with which we swallow all interviews with former generals, erstphile princes, and British merchants who "escape" from Petrograd or Moscow in a first-class compartment of the wagons-lits and vie with one another in their recitals of the blood-curdling deeds of the murderous Bolsheviks. One of these fortunate individuals was asked in the midst of his narrative for a definition of Bolshevik, and he replied that the root of the word meant "chaos." The reporter was much satisfied with this learned definition and recorded it for the public's information.

May one suggest that in this era of reconstruction, when various policies are put forward—from the radical program of the British Labor Party to the very conservative proposal of the American Manufacturers' Association to lower wages and extend working hours—the American press would be greatly benefited by the abilition of yellow journalism and a slight change in the personnel of its foreign correspondents? Europe is shaken by a succession of revolutions. Empires and dynasties are crumbling to the dust. In place of autocracy and feudalism democracies are set up. Great mass movements are shaking the very foundations of the modern political and economic order. Intelligent observation and fair discrimination are essential to a proper understanding of the developments in the Old World, so that the New World may learn the lesson of history and not repeat the mistakes of the past. And the raising of the intellectual level of our correspondents in Europe, particularly in Russia, would be an important step in the educational reconstruction of this country.

[illegible] The Dial.

THE STATISTICIAN.

Youngstown, O., Dec. 23, '18

To the Local Secretaries and the "class-conscious" members of the Socialist Party of Ohio:

The world awakening of the proletaire is now going on all about us. Let us hope that this awakening will permeate our own locals to an increased activity throughout the next year—1919—the year that will eclipse that of 1918 for "surprises" and "proletarian advances."

Propaganda and a lot of it, will increase membership and Socialistic education of the working class. Certain locals must again increase their activities to hold an equal share in the class struggle now going on. Locals reveal their class-conscious nature by the amount of propaganda distribution.

The Socialist Party locals are primarily organized for this purpose and those locals that do not distribute literature, hold lecture meetings, etc., have no excuse for existence. A local is guaged by the "new spirit" it instills into the workers of its own city. A member of the Socialist Party, that helps finance the movement, takes an active part in each and every question of the day, in his local, is worth five Socialist Party ticket voters, unquestionably.

The Ohio Local Secretaries please call the attention of your various locals to the following figures:

Local New Bremen has one duespaying member to every 42 inhabitants in its city. WHAT DOES IT MEAN? Other locals line up as follows, and it tells its own story:

Hubbard has one to every 50 population; Niles has one to every 112 population; Continental has one to every 180 population; Hamilton has one to every 120 population; Mt. Healthy has one to every 140 population; Wadsworth has one to every 220 population; Mansfield has one to every 280 population; Conneaut has one to every 260 population; Youngstown has one to every 2[illegible] population; Cleveland has one to every 2[illegible] population; Akron has one to every 310 population; Toledo has one to every 420 population; Sandusky has one to every 500 population; Mt. Vernon has one to every 505 population; East Liverpool has one to every 670 population; Zanesville has one to every 700 population; Barberton has one to every 910 population; Columbus has one to every 1,210 population.

Those locals at the bottom of this list should take heed and increase their work according to the demands of their vicinity.

Increase number of lecture meetings, distribute your quota of the Ohio Socialist and take your place in the World Revolution.

There is one censor the party should believe in and that is to discourage the "riff-raff" journals that are asking financial aid and distribution throughout our locals. **The Literature of the Social Revolution must of necessity measure up to the standard or be disregarded by every Revolutionary Socialist.**

Financiers of the Socialist Party.

How many has your local? The reports for November gives 1,509 good standing members of a roll of 2,594. Only 27 locals reported.

An efficiency of .582.

Is your local numerated among them? If not, inquire the reason why, from your financial secretary at the next meeting!

Good Standing Membership.

Local Portage County is the month's model local. It has attained a 1.000 in paid-up membership and .333 in increase of membership. The monthly test is only 5 per cent., or one new member to every 20 in good standing. **Can your local equal Portage County's record?**

Name of Local.	Good Standing.	Pct. of Roll
CLASS AA		
(Locals with 500 or over)		
None.		
CLASS A		
(Locals with 400 or over)		
None.		
CLASS B		
(Locals with 300 or over)		
Cincinnati	340	.519
(Local Cincinnati, what you need is a delinquent squad!)		
CLASS C		
(Locals with 200 or more)		
None.		
CLASS D		
(Locals with 100 or more)		
Akron	172	.782
(You're doing fine, Local Akron! Keep it up).		
Hamilton	143	.524
Toledo	176	.460
(Locals Toledo and Hamilton! The Dues Collecting Squad must be urged to go to work. Rouse 'em up).		
CLASS E		
(Locals with 50 or more)		
Portage Co.	69	1.000
Belmont Co.	94	.810
Mansfield	52	.591
Youngstown	88	.392
(Secretary of the City Central Committee of Youngstown, please make your monthly reports).		
Youngstown, English	75	.904
(Keep it up. That's a boy!)		
Youngstown, Scand.	13	.765
(Here's old standby again!)		
CLASS F		
(Locals with 25 or more)		
Zanesville	33	.805
Massillon	46	.622
Sandusky	25	.595
Seneca Co.	41	.547
Niles	33	.445
(Get a doctor, Local Niles! You've got the inactiphobia! My! How you've changed).		
Columbus	42	.280
(Local Columbus! Election time is here. Renovate your house! Your financial secretary can't do it all. Elect a Delinquent Squad to help him).		
CLASS G		
(Locals with 1 or more)		
Mt. Vernon	18	1.000
Mt. Healthy	10	1.000
Grover Hill	10	1.0[illegible]
Lorain, German	10	1.[illegible]00
(Please report to Local Secretary, also).		
Continental	6	1.000
Wadsworth	11	.785
Hubbard	23	.676
East Liverpool	16	.533
Derwent	12	.545
New Bremen	19	.500
Barberton	2	.250
(Get a move on, please).		
Conneaut	7	.219
(Local Conneaut! Whatsamatter).		

Increase in Membership.

Twenty-seven locals of 120 report 44 new dues-paying members. **What has your local done in this respect last month? How many new members have you brought in?**

The test is 5 per cent. of good standing membership:

Local Portage Co. reports 18 new ones or a 33 per centage. Conneaut, with one, reaches 17 per cent. Local Niles, that ever active one, reports 4, an efficiency of 14 per cent. Zanesville, with 3, has 10 per cent. to its credit. Hubbard, with 2, comes next with a 9 1-2 per cent. increase. East Liverpool, with one, manages to climb the hill with 6 per cent. Others worth mentioning, locals that have tried but barely missed the goal are: Belmont Co., 4; Columbus, 1; Mansfield, 2; Sandusky, 1; Seneca Co., 1; Toledo, 5.

Let us hear from you locals that never report, by next month.

A Revolutionary Local never beats a retreat, in its increase of membership, amount of propaganda work and other essential activity. WHERE DOES YOUR LOCAL STAND?

With hopes of a hearty response from the locals for these efforts to instill life in them, I remain,

Yours for the Social Revolution,
FELIX J. CATLIN,
Sec. English Br., Local Youngstown.

We Want to Sell
AND
You Want to Buy
1000 COPIES
"Think or Surrender"
You Must Buy It and Read It
10c A COPY
How Many Shall We Mail You?

This large booklet by Geo. R. Kirkpatrick is the best piece of Socialist literature produced in recent years...It is a booklet every Socialist should read at least once a month...It is a book every Socialist should get others to read...Chucked full of Kirkpatrick's snappy, thought-provoking epigrams; it is a book you just cannot lay aside after once having begun to read it.

YOU MUST BUY SEVERAL COPIES FOR OTHERS TO READ—
A 10c BOOK AT [illegible]

The Ohio Socialist

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Free Speech Hit by "Guilty" Verdict Against Socialists

By DAVID KARSNER.

Free speech, free press and free assemblage received the worst blow they have ever suffered in America, Wednesday afternoon, when a jury before Judge Londis, in the federal court, returned a "guilty" verdict against the five national Socialist officials, Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker and William F. Kruse.

"Guilty!" of carrying on the work of the American Socialist movement, through speeches and written articles, that is the verdict of the jury in the trial of the five national officials of the Socialist Party of the United States, who had placed faith in the first article of the bill of rights of the American constitution.

The jury deliberated the case four hours and fifty minutes, after listening to testimony and argument for nearly five weeks.

Shortly before 5 o'clock, with the corridors packed with hundreds of persons, the bailiff moved from his chair. He called for the defendants and their attorneys. There was a rustle among the crowd as the five Socialists and their lawyers pushed their way through the throng.

These men stand today convicted in the United States district court of struggling to bring Socialism to America, the technical charge being that they conspired to thwart energies of the government in its war with the Imperial German government.

Make Motion for New Trial.

The penalty for violation of the Espionage Law is from one to twenty years' imprisonment at the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, and a fine not to exceed ten thousand dollars.

Immediately after the verdict was read by Joseph O'Sullivan, clerk to Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, a motion for a new trial was made by Seymour Stedman, chief counsel for the convicted Socialists.

Judge Landis set January 23 as the date for hearing motions, and continued the bail of the five convicted men.

The Verdict is Given.

When the bailiff indicated that the jury was ready to report the throng pushed forward. Reporters were admitted after the attorneys and defendants had taken their seats.

The bailiff walked briskly to the door of the jury room. The talesmen strolled in. Several walked with heads bent, eyes looking toward the ground, and their hands clasped behind them. There was no mistake what their decision was. It was written upon the face of each man. They did not look at either the defendants or their lawyers.

Judge Landis was called from the chambers. He mounted the bench. His voice was husky as he asked the jury if they had agreed upon a verdict. There was a unanimous "we have."

Hendee is Foreman.

"Read the verdict, Mr. Clerk," snapped Judge Landis.

H. L. Hendee, 70 years old, retired fruit dealer of Waukegan, Ill., handed a slip of paper to the clerk.

"We the jury find Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse and Irwin St. John Tucker guilty as charged in the indictment," read O'Sullivan.

Reporters dashed for the door, but were halted by the marshal. The judge was speaking. Attorney Stedman asked that the jury be polled. Each rose in his seat and declared that the verdict just read was his.

Landis Thanks Jurors.

Judge Landis then offered the usual thanks to the jurors for the service which they had rendered.

The jury then filed out of the room. As they marched down the aisle they must have heard the sobbing of a few women who could not restrain their tears.

Berger, Germen, Engdahl, Kruse and Tucker took the verdict calmly and with dignity. Not a word escaped their lips when their fate was sealed by the reading of a scrap of paper.,

Yet, I know that several of them were dealt a shocking blow. They had not expected a conviction. A few moments before the jury came in Berger said to me, "The jury cannot convict me of this charge." Kruse thought there would be a disagreement.

I did not hear the personal opinions of either Germer or Tucker, but Engdahl was not greatly surprised.

A few moments after the motions were made, the convicted men left the courtroom accompanied by their wives. The great marbled court room once more became the tomb that contained the ghost of the spirits that had held common counsel and fellowship therein for five weeks.

It was the same court room that seemed to be haunted by the memory of the great trial of the Industrial Workers of the World whose conviction was secured only a few short months ago.

The doors slammed, a key turned in the lock, and it seemed that something intangible, something big and brave had been locked in that judicial sepulchre.

Flying the Red Flag

Editorial from the Australian Worker

There are more ways than one of flying the Red Flag.

Over in Europe it is streaming on every breeze, and the sun and the moon shine upon it, and it is wet with the rain and the dew.

It floats above palaces that once housed the pride of kings, and from the masts of battleships that were the instruments or despotism.

In those lands the Red Flag is the symbol of **DEMOCRACY'S TRIUMPH** and the multitudes salute it with glad hearts, for it means that the **TYRANNY OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM DRAWS TO A CLOSE**, and that the hour of the Fraternal Commonwealth has arrived.

It is easy to fly the Red Flag in that part of the world for two hundred millions acclaim it as their own, and it is surrounded with the sanction of the only law that matters—the consent of the common people.

But even in Australia the Red Flag can be flown. Willy Watt (Acting Prime Minister) has said it shall not be done. He has made it an offence to raise it over any building or display it in any public place.

I am not sure whether you can be hanged or shot for it; but anyhow, to fly the Red Flag is a crime by the will of Watt, and should you dare to do it, look out for the dire consequences of his displeasure.

All the same, **THE RED FLAG FLIES IN AUSTRALIA AT THE PRESENT MOMENT!**

And what is more, if there were ten thousand Willy Watts, armed with ten thousand War Precautions Acts, they could not tear it down or punish those who fly it!

It is in the **HEARTS** and **MINDS OF THE WORKERS** that the Red Flag is flying. It is safe there. The jingoes may put up their noses and howl, but they cannot touch it; it is out of reach of their defiling paws.

Serene and splendid it is unfurled in the thoughts and aspirations of the working class; and when the dust blows over the political graves of the little tyrants who now misgovern Australia, the Red Flag will still be fyling, for it symbolizes two great and indestructable forces—Labor and Liberty.

Socialism Invades Brittany

For the first time in French history big Socialist meetings are being held in Brittany, the stronghold of the monarchists, according to a special correspondent of the New York Call.

This correspondent adds that "the signing of the armistice was the signal for huge demonstrations in the labor centers of Perigueux, Saint Etienne and Clermont-Ferrand."

Paul Wallace Hanna, sent to Europe by the New York Call to report the peace conference at Versailles, writes under date of December 15, regarding the program of the French Socialist movement:

"Jean Lonquet is today the principal speaker at a great mass meeting held at Clermont-Ferrand to demand the release of the May strikers and of all political prisoners in the republic. This demand, coupled with that for immediate demobilization, withdrawal of French troops from Russia, open diplomacy and no economic war after the war, constitute the immediate activities of the French Socialist movement.

Swedish Labor Divides on Bolshevism

"Common Sense," a radical London organ, contains the following news item regarding Sweden in an issue just received:

In Sweden, though wages are fairly high, the food shortage has been and still is severe; and it has been much more continuously "exposed" to Bolshevik propaganda than any other Scandinavian country. The extreme left of the Labor party is now more or less openly republican and revolutionary; but the program of the majority Socialists and Labor Unions, led by Hjalmar Branting, is strictly reformist. Apparently the real division is between the town workers who are republican, and the agricultural voters, who are not.

Unemployment Crisis Growing

Reports from 115 industrial communities received by the Department of Labor by telegraph on December 24 show unemployment in 36 large cities, equality of supply and demand in 58, and employers seeking help in only 21. A month ago similar telegrams from 106 of these cities showed unemployment in only 11 cases, supply and demand approximately equal in 68, and marked labor shortage in 27.

Two months ago the Department of Labor estimated the labor shortage of the nation at the stupendous figure of 1,000,000 workers. In eight weeks time this shortage has disappeared entirely. Conservative estimates give the number of wage earners in war occupations who are yet to be "cast loose on the labor market" at 3,000,000.

U. S. Labor Says —Keep Roads

Every indication points to the labor unions as the leaders in the movement for having the government retain the railroads. Members of the House Interstate Commerce Committee at Washington are receiving government ownership petitions daily from unions throughout the country.

North Dakota to Establish State Market

By majorities ranging from 15,000 to 30,000, ten amendments, voted up on in connection with the recent gubernatorial elections, have just been declared carried by the State Canvassing Board. The Legislature is now empowered to issue bonds guaranteed by the state for the erection of public-owned terminal elevators and warehouses and other facilities calculated to give North Dakota a public market for farm products controlled by the people. The state can also now establish a state rural credit bank and state hail insurance. Liberal provision is made for the initiative and referendum in connection with these measures, so that North Dakota can in effect not carry out any program of state owned and operated marketing facilities and utilities without each step being approved by a majority of the people.

New Child Labor Bill Proposed

Senate opponents of Child Labor, whose efforts were temporarily frustrated by the act of the Supreme Court in declaring the Federal Anti-Child Labor Law of 1916 unconstitutional, have secured the approval of the Senate for an amendment to the Revenue bill which places an extra tax of 10 per cent. on profits made from child labor. The vote stood 50 to 12, the opposition coming almost entirely from representatives of the Southern cotton milling states. This fact is interesting when taken in connection with a recent assertion of the National Child Labor Committee, to the effect that child labor has increased considerably in the south since the law of 1916 was declared unconstitutional. That the increase of child labor is not confined, however, to the southern state, appears from figures compiled by the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association, according to which the number of children in industry in Pennsylvania [illegible]

International Labor News

EDITORS: Louis P. Lochner, Scott Nearing, Santeri Nuorteva, Alexander Trachtenberg

ONE BIG UNION FOR AUSTRALIA

A gigantic project for uniting the 600 unions of Australia in one big union has recently been carried as a result of labor congresses in New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria. The new combination will bear the name "Workers' Industrial Union of Australia." There will be six departments: Manufacture and General Production, Building and Construction, Mining, Transportation and Communication, Civil Service and Public Utilities and Agricultural, Land and Fisheries. According to the Christian Science Monitor, "each department is to consist of as many divisions as may be necessary to meet industrial requirements. There will also be subdivisions consisting of those engaged in kindred or closely allied occupations. Continuing the classification, the scheme provides that there shall be sections and mixed sections, the former for persons following the same industry, and the latter for persons engaged in various industries or occupations of the same locality where there are not sufficient of any one calling to form a subdivision or section."

Under the new scheme the highest governing body consists of two delegates from each of the six departments and a president and general secretary, who together constitute the grand council. Similarly there is a provincial council for each state. Then there are further divisional councils and trade sectional committees. Each of the six departments is again subdivided under a thoroughly worked out grouping system. Provision is made for practically every grade of workers in the community, whether he be a worker with his hand or brain.

The initial proposal for the One-Big-Union plan came from the Labor Council of Sydney, N. S. W., which set forth that under the existing craft system there were 237,714 organized workers in the state and 472,198 unorganized workers.

The Sydney laborites scored their first victory in August last, when the Trades Union Congress of New South Wales adopted the scheme for the One-Big-Union.

Considerable doubt was expressed as to whether the Congress of Victoria Unions would follow in the lead of New South Wales. But here, too, the proponents of the One-Big-Union idea scored an overwhelming victory, the resolution being agreed to by a vote of 111 to 24. The oldest craft unions were opposed to the idea, but they were completely swept aside by such large aggregations as the building trades, the railway workers and the Australian Workers Union.

CANADA

Labor Demands Withdrawal From Russia.

As a result of an appeal to the labor movement of Canada, initiated by the Trades and Labor Council of Vancouver, B. C., a resolution against intervention by Canada in Russia's internal affairs has been passed by Canada's three largest central labor bodies of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., viz., the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, the Toronto District Labor Council, and the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council. A demand for a withdrawal of troops was made at a largely attended convention of the Quebec section of the Labor Party of Canada, in Montreal.

BRAZIL

Cotton Workers Gain Right to Unite.

The labor movement of Brazil has gone beyond the propaganda stage. The textile industry, the basis of the garment industry, centers in and around Rio Janeiro, some of the largest textile mills in the world being located there. The workers, who are banded together in the "Union of Operatives," sent their demands to the manufacturers organized in the Centro Industrial de Brazil. The terms were accepted after some parleying, and the industry became organized. While wages are not mentioned, the principle of union recognition is definitely established, and thus an entering wedge secured. A weekly schedule of 56 hours is agreed to.

URUGUAY

General Strike Threatened.

As a part of the epidemic of labor disturbances now sweeping over Central and South America, news comes from Montevideo that a general strike is threatening. This fact has resulted in the government's calling upon the military forces under date of December 27 to be prepared for mobilization at any time against the strikers.

ARGENTINA

Socialist Conferees Chosen.

Juan Justo, Socialist leader in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, and his colleague, Detomasso, have been appointed by the Socialist Party to attend the coming International Socialist Congress in Europe.

CUBA

Workers on Political General Strike.

A general strike is on in Cuba. It was precipitated as a sympathetic walkout to aid the railroad workers on the Cuba railroad. Although the railroad workers won, the general strike continues, the demands being largely of a political and not of an economic nature. The abolition of compulsory military service, and the abrogation of laws permitting the deportation of "foreigners" who are "agitators" are demanded. The employers now threaten American intervention.

(Continued on Page Two)

French Socialists and the International Situation

The central organ of the French Socialists, l'Humaniste, writes as follows on the threatened allied military campaign against Russia:

"All those who contributed to provoke and prolong the war are alarmed at the awakening of the masses * * * and demand that the centers of the people's revolution should be promptly suppressed. Their anxiety is no longer to conquer the enemy, but to preserve from the revolutionary peril the capitalist bourgeoisies of all countries. They know that the Russian Bolsheviks have destroyed monarchic and capitalist privileges, have placed their hands upon the property of social parasites. Anything sooner than that! Their hatred of the enemy is giving place to the desire of coming to an understanding with him, so as to bar the advance of this scourge, which is worse, in their eyes, than war or pestilence. * * * That a new war * * * should be undertaken tomorrow—a war waged by the international counter-revolution, a crusade against the peoples who are progressing toward political and economic enfranchisement—this is possible; but surprises await the initiators of such an adventure. They will no longer be able to plead the necessities of national defense, and the necessities of capitalist defense are not of a nature to rouse the enthusiasm of the masses. On the contrary, the workers will perceive clearly that they are being thrown against one another only in order that their chains may be riveted, and the domination of their masters consolidated."

Le Populaire, the organ of the majority Socialists, reflects as follows on the prevalent policy toward Germany:

"The French press is divided between its hatred of Kaiserism and its animosity to Socialism. Between a Kaiserism which would destroy all liberties and a Socialism which would ruin all privileges, their choice is made in advance. They are discovering latent sympathies with the deposed monarchs who, after all, maintained a certain social order—or disorder—and there are too many points of resemblance between German absolutism and the Czarism which our greater journals have—not without credit—extolled, for them to deny to the former all the respect they gave to the latter. How keep the Austrian and German revolutions within the boundary which divides a [illegible]

Lima Socialsts Win Legal Battle

Judge Upholds Freedom of Speech

Because the Socialists Party of Lima, was twice refused the use of Memorial Hall (which was built for public use by public funds) for meetings for Eugene V. Debs, because they were Socialist meetings, the local, through Attorney Edwin Blank, carried the case into court.

The case was tried in the Court of Common Pleas of Allen County before Judge J. Klinger, who in his decision upheld the rights of the Socialists to the use of the hall upon the same conditions as others. His remarks from the bench upholding the rights of Free Speech and Free Press are especially significant at this time, because halls have been denied Socialists at so many other points. The Socialist Party of Lima is justified in feeling elated at its victory over the politicians and liberty killers of Allen County.

We quote excerpts from the decision of Judge Klinger as follows:

* * * Our country, our government, is based upon broad philosophy of Free Speech and Free Press; and, regardless of the individual harm they may do, to general welfare, the public welfare, is best served by permitting and indulging in Free Speech and Free Press. * * *

There are innumerable institutions that are honestly and faithfully preaching their gospel or their faith and are diligently engaged in the practices of spreading it abroad and increasing their following, believing that it is essential for the welfare of humanity, for the betterment of humanity, for the perpetuity of the liberties that all now enjoy,—even though they may be the very destruction of them,—but they honestly believe that they are necessary for their perpetuity.

Now, you can see how impossible it is to say to one, you may carry on your idea, and suppress the other. It is impossible. Hence, the only safe course to pursue is to permit Free Speech, a Free Press, and rest assured that the remedy is always in the utterance itself.

Whenever the Socialists indulge in language that is in fact harmful to our country, it does not hurt our country, but it hurts the Socialist and his cause.

I do not think that anything has ever happened to Socialism—as harmful to it, I mean,—as the reckless utterance of some of its members.

I have no doubt the fundamental philosophy of Socialism is that justice, in the universal acceptance of that term, be universally administered. I think that is the real philosophy of Socialism. That is what they aim to. They want to overcome this practice that we all recognize is in existence the world over, THAT MANY LABOR BUT FEW, ONLY, HARVEST.

Now, I realize in the preachings of Socialism that is the real grievance; that is the real thing they are fighting. * * *

Hence I come back to my original premise, that we must indulge in Free Speech, the right of the press to say

(Continued on Page Two)

Albert Hall Affair Still Agitates

The Albert Hall incident of the early days of December still continues to agitate the conservative journals of England. Albert Hall, it will be remembered, is the Madison Square Garden of England—an enormous edifice in which mass meeting of first importance are held. The owners of Albert Hall had tried to prevent a meeting of British laborites in connection with the campaign preceding the general elections, on the ground that incendiary and revolutionary disturbances might result. The Electrical Trades Union forced the issue by cutting off the lights of Albert Hall for other events scheduled, and by threatening to cut off the electric current in entire Kensington. Thereupon the managers of Albert Hall permitted the meeting to be held.

The conservative Saturday Review, in commenting upon the incident asks hysterically, "Have we escaped from the frying pan of the German war into the fire of domestic revolution? Is the nation which has conquered a brace of kaisers going to be beaten by Webb and Lansbury? Hardly."

IT'S COMING

[illegible] FREEDOM

Pan — American Congress at Buenos Aires

A Socialist and Labor Conference has been called to meet at Buenos Aires, Argentina, for January 30, to consider the peaceful solution of labor problems, wages, salaries, and freedom of labor, an exchange of views on arbitration and disarmament, and conditions governing labor in foreign owned public service companies. The conference is to be Pan-American in scope and among the labor and Socialist movements invited to be represented are those of the United States, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Canada, Mexico, Panama, Cuba and Porto Rico.

In this connection, it is recalled how Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives, in an address before the Southern Commercial Congress at Charleston, South Carolina, on December 9, called attention to the importance of Pan-American relations from the American business man's point of view in these words:

"Our best hunting grounds for trade will be Central and South America—right at our doors. * * * These amazingly rich countries are our neighbors and our friends. They now contain about 50,000,000 of population and illimitable resources. They are growing by leaps and bounds."

The conference assumes added significance when one considers that two South American Republics, Chile and Peru, are at swords' point with each other, the issue being the question of who shall own two certain rich provinces, Tacna and Arica. One feature of the situation is the fact that the war mongers in Chile are busily engaged in fostering sentiment for the deportation of 18,000 Peruvian workers in Chilean nitrate fields.

The conference is also regarded as highly important in view of the efforts of American imperialists to stir up sentiment in this country in favor of

ASK ABOUT [illegible]

INDUSTRIAL [illegible]

Foreign Policy of Irish Labor

After considerable delay, a copy of the statement on International Aims, presented by the National Executive of the Irish Labor Party, and unanimously endorsed by the special congress of the Irish Trade Unions held in November, has reached America. The statement is addressed to the Internationale. Excerpts and summaries of the principal points follow:

"In welcoming peace, Irish Labor again proclaims its adherence to the Russian formula of a peace of the peoples on the basis of genuine democracy, the real self-determination of all peoples, and no annexations, no indemnities, and no undemocratic or secret treaties. * * * From such a settlement Irish Labor would exclude no people, no matter to which of the two sets of billigerents this people has been, or is now, subject. * * * Real self-determination must be by free, equal, adult and secret suffrage without any military, political or economic pressure from outside, without reservation or restriction imposed by capitalist or imperialist governments, and uninfluenced and untrammeled by the power of any force of occupation."

The manifesto then congratulates such peoples as the Jugo-Slavs, the Poles, Ukrainians and others upon having been accorded self-determination, but adds that that same right must be given to the peoples of Ireland, India, Egypt and others who have not yet been assured this inherent right.

"Irish Labor, within its own nation, asserts its right that upon any delegation which shall make the claim of the Irish nation, with the authority of the Irish people, the workers of Ireland shall be directly represented by a duly accredited labor section."

The manifesto next calls for an early convocation of the Socialist Internationale and declares the readiness of Irish labor to attend such a conference whenever and wherever held.

Finally Irish Labor "utters its vehement protest against the capitalist outlawry of the Soviet Republic of Russia," demands the withdrawal of troops from Russia, and congratulates the Russian workers upon having for twelve months "exercised that political, social and economic freedom for which Irish workers, in common with their fellows in other lands, still strive and aspire."

YOU'LL WANT ONE
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
CERTIFICATE

New Alberta Party to be Formed

The question of forming an independent political party in Alberta, Canada, of which the labor forces will constitute a unit, will be the chief subject of discussion at the convention of the Alberta Federation of Labor in Medicine Hat early in 1919. It is expected that the farmers will also take part in this movement.

Workers Victorious in Ontario Elections

Two significant features of the municipal nominations and elections throughout Ontario during the first days of January were the nomination, in Toronto, of Arthur Skidmore, who was in jail serving a month's imprisonment for having two copies of a prohibited Socialist paper in his possession, as a public utilities commissioner, and the election in Hamilton, of Gordon Nelson as hydro-electric commissioner. Nelson is the editor of the Hamilton Labor News. He defeated T. J. Stewart, member of Parliament and prominent member of the Unionist government, by a majority of more than 800 votes. Other Hamilton Labor Party candidates were elected as controllers, aldermen and board of education members. As for Skidmore, the fear of his possible election forces the Dominion government to release him and cancel the fine of $500 imposed upon him.

Nationalization of Railways in Great Britain

According to an interview given by Emil Davies, chairman of the Railway Nationalization Society of Great Britain, to a representative of the Central News, railway nationalization is bound to come in Great Britain, no matter what government may be in power. "It is the only possible solution," he said, "of the labor unrest which became dangerous before the war. Furthermore, the public will not stand any further rise in rates and fares merely to enable a number of separate and unequal companies to continue to distribute dividends." It is interesting to note that while only one Chamber of Commerce has identified itself with the Railway Nationalization Society, the membership of the organization includes approximately 800 trade unions, co-operative societies, trade councils, etc., representing over 4,000,000 electors.

Labor Opposition to Intervention Growing

Central labor bodies throughout the Dominion of Canada are adopting strong resolutions calling upon the government to withdraw troops from Russia. Reference to the leaders of the Soviet Government always calls out enthusiastic applause at labor meetings. The sympathetic attitude to the workers' government of Russia is also spreading among Canadian soldiers. Thus a Canadian expeditionary force stationed at Vancouver, B. C., on [illegible]

LETTERS

From the Land of Devil-May-Care

Written for the Ohio Socialist by W. E. Reynolds

Under the Doublecross, Devils-Own
Province, Devil-May-Care-Land,
Jan. 6, 1919.

Mr. Henry Dubb,
Liberty Center, U. S. A.
Care of Editor O. S.

Dear Henry: You need not be afraid to write to me and tell me what you honestly think, because you have a right to utter your honest convictions. Your revolutionary forefathers died in 1776 to give you a free country and nobody there dare to censure your letters or stop your papers. The same flag that stands guard over the battlefields of those who died that liberty might be born in America, flies over you and protects you from all demagogs and scoundrels who would steal away your liberties. Didn't you learn this in school?

You wrote as though you expected your letter to be censored. You surely must have been joking when you told me that there were thousands of men and women in your jails just for daring to tell the truth and being honest with themselves. I refuse to believe that the people of America would disgrace their heroic dead by allowing anything like that to happen.

Here amongst the Allfools such things are common, but these folks are fools and not the wisest nation on earth like your America.

Since the last time I wrote to you I have been soliciting business for a large gambling house here. They have very strict laws here about gambling and any Gog found gambling with cards or dice for dinero is immediately arrested and taken before a chief dignitary who looks very solemcholy and fines the Gogs many pieces of dinero and also many days of enforced idleness in what is locally known as the Can.

Not being allowed to gamble with cards or dice, these Allfools gamble on each other's life. Large gambling companies, called Assurance Companies, bet the Allfools huge sums of dinero that they can not live long enough to collect the bet. The Gogs do not have much dinero but they take out small bets and pay a small sum weekly. It really is buying a funeral on the installment plan.

The Magogs would of course, have to bury or otherwise dispose of the Gogs who die but the Gogs here in life assume all the work and worry of existence leaving the Magogs nothing to do and nothing to worry about and in following this policy it is but natural that the Gogs, while alive, should strive by means of Assurance to save the Magogs any trouble or worry over them when they die.

You wouldn't think you could get anybody to make a bet they would have to die to win, but the practice is very common here. One person out of every three that dies here is buried out of Assurance funds. The people who take care of the dead are called Overtakers and the Overtaker's trust has grown very wealthy just by collecting Assurance funds.

Nobody is allowed to kill anybody in Devil-May-Care-Land unless he is hired to do so by the state.

The people who are hired by the state for killers are of two kinds. Those who kill their fellow humans inside the jails here by shooting or hanging the victim, and those who are sent by the state on killing expeditions.

It is quite a custom here to raise huge armies of Gogs and send them out of the state to kill off the men of other tribes so that the owners of mills and factories in Devil-May-Care-Land may have a market for the vast amount of commodities these industrious Gogs produce.

All the young Scissorines here are easily captivated by anything that looks like a uniform and it is quite amusing to hear the piffletalkers try to justify the brand of morality they have been teaching the Gogs with the results of the infatuation of the girls for the uniform. No one is supposed to mate here in Allfools land without first getting the sanction of the state and the piffletalkers.

The piffletalkers sanction the tribal wars and encourage the young men to go. They get the Scissorines to aid in every way possible by teaching them that such aid is a duty they owe to the Piffletalker's God and state.

The girls cannot resist the uniform and youth cannot resist the girls. Nature has her way and babies born without the sanction of either church or state is the result. These babies are called tribalwar babies and just now the dignitaries here are much worried over the question. Maternity homes are full of them and their mothers have to eat! And the morals of the Allfools are sadly twisted!

These wonderful Gogs are so industrious and have improved and invented so much machinery that the Magogs have more food and fuel and clothing than they can dispose of anywhere. While some of the Gogs were gone to the last tribalwar the Scissorines took their places in the workshops and now they refuse to go out of them, and the factories do not have jobs enough to give employment to all who seek it.

So we are on the verge of a panic here in Devil-May-Care-Land. The Gogs have worked so much that now there is no work to do. They have made so much food that now they must go hungry. They have made so much clothing that now they must go naked. They have made so many homes that now they must go homeless. They have dug so much coal that now they must freeze! They have created so much wealth that now they must be paupers.

Oh a wonderful land is Devil-May-Care,
A land of most wonderful tools,
Wonderful factories and wonderful mines,
But mostly, most wonderful fools.

Hoping you are the same, I am
Yours truly,
Ichabod Skygac Jones.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN WAR-TIME

By ANISE, Union Record.

(Facts taken from Labor Year Book, issued by Rand School; and "German Social Democracy During the War," by Edwin Bevan, published by George Allen and Unwin Co., London).

III. THE OPPOSITION FINDS VOICE

As the weeks wore on, the first enthusiasm of the German people, swept off their feet by the apparent ease of victory began to die away. The reality of a long and wearing war appeared through the mists of illusion. The 14 members of the Social Democratic group in the Reichstag, who had opposed the voting of war credits in the party caucus, but had obeyed the voice of the majority on the following day, began to recover breath.

Some of the prominent Socialist writers spoke of the policy of "the Fourth of August" as an "apostacy." Among these were Karl Kautsky, the dominant literary mind in German Social Democracy in recent years. Kautsky is now in power as under secretary of foreign affairs. No one has expounded the principles of Socialism with such authority and such extensive knowledge. It told heavily against the official leaders that Kautsky condemned their action. Yet at first he also held that maintenance of party unity was superior to all other considerations, though gradually events led him to change this belief.

Hugo Haase, president both of the reichstag group and of the party as a whole, threw his weight into the scale for the opposition. More extreme anti-militarists, Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, started a new periodical which was promptly suppressed. Fights began within the party for the control of the party press. In Wurtemburg the directorate of the party threw out of office the entire editorial staff of the party organ, which, like Vorwarts, had sided with the opposition.

Bernstein Converted to Minority.

Membership of various groups began to shift. Some extreme radicals became infected with military fever and passed into the ranks of the imperialists. Others who had previously belonged to the conservative wing of the party, favoring co-operation with bourgeois parties, became disgusted with Germany's case in the war and swung to the left.

Most notable among these last was Edward Bernstein, leader of the revisionists, or gradual reform group. In the autumn of 1914 he approached Haase: "You were right," he said. "Our party is indeed in the thick of a crisis; for myself I cannot go any farther along this road."

Two reasons were given by Bernstein for his change of heart. The true history of the days before the war, and of Germany's part in them, began to filter through into Germany and destroy confidence in the righteousness of the war. And the thinking Socialists could not be blind to the gradual corrupting of Socialist morale which was taking place through the favors of the government. (Bernstein is now under-secretary of finance in the Ebert government.)

And Still War Credits Come.

Again in December, 1914, the government asked for war credits. Now there were 17 against them instead of 14; but again when the meeting of the reichstag occurred, the party stood before the world as a unit. All except one member—Liebknecht. This was his now famous stand, one man against the world! He voted alone. He was censured almost unanimously by the entire party for his breach of party discipline, but a motion to deprive him of the privilege of membership failed to carry.

Again in March the government asked for war credits. The demands kept coming as fast as liberty loan drives. And this time there were 30 Socialists against it. No longer did they conform their actions to those of the majority and present an unbroken front to the world. George Ledebur, an elderly, clean-shaven Hanoverian, cast away reticence and told the reichstag what the minority thought. When the time for voting came, Liebknecht and Ruhle voted against the credits, and 30 other members publicly withdrew from voting.

Scheidemann Becomes Majority Spokesman.

Haase, the president of the group, went with the minority. Scheidemann, a man of 54 years, printer by trade, who had risen less through eminence of mind or character than through a good presence and by being "a good parliamentary hand," spoke on that day for the majority. Scheidemann is an effective and ready speaker, conscious of his audience, and, like vain people, easily swayed by currents of opinion.

A week later the official spokesman in the reichstag was Ebert. He reported the assurances that the Social Democrats would stand by the country, but added that they desired a peace "not embittered by fresh annexations."

The burning question of annexations first came up at this time. Pan-German circles were agitating for vast new territories. This gave the majority Socialists a new issue. They could save their face; they could still claim that their attitude was one of protest against imperialism. They were no longer, it is true, "against the government." but they were against the Pan-Germans. They wanted a just and democratic peace.

Suppression of Free Speech Grows.

Before a year of war was over the rift between the government and the minority Socialists was apparent. The old antagonisms and suppressions, drowned against the majority of the Socialists because of their conspicuous "loyalty," appeared again, as in all warring countries against those Socialists who opposed the war. Vo- [illegible]

had his house searched and was put under arrest.

Groups of Socialists got out manifestos. One of these, published in Vorwartz, reading "the people want no annexations, the people want peace," led to the suppression of that paper, for five days. But one looks in vain through the records of German prosecutions of this time to discover anything like the rigor of suppression practiced in our own country. Papers were suppressed, temporarily, and allowed to begin again after brief punishment.

Trade Unions Pro-War.

During all this time the official group of the trade unions stood strongly for the war. Legien, president of their general committee (recently added to the imperial cabinet as one of the redical members in an attempt to stave off the revolution), took the lead in motions to thrust offenders out of the group.

And yet, in spite of violent discussions in the party press, the party still considered itself one group. War credits were again voted in August, 1915, and again a protesting group left the chamber. The party as a whole carried on a campaign against high prices and profiteering and against the censorship, behaving exactly as our own large labor groups have done in the first year of war.

But on December 31, 1915, the split in the party was manifest to the world. Forty-four were now against the war credits; 66 in favor. When the vote came twenty voted against the credits according to their convictions; 22 left the room; the others supported the government. Hugo Haase definitely resigned as president [illegible]

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Victor Berger Te

BERGER ADMITS HE IS "YELLOW" IF THAT TERM IMPLIES "CONTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM"

(By David Karsner.)

The last defendant to take the stand in the trial of five Socialist officials at Chicago was Victor Berger, congressman-elect, and editor of The Milwaukee Leader.

"I believe in absolute obedience to the law, whether it is good or bad," he declared. "The best way to get rid of an odius law is to obey it," he said.

No Patience With I. W. W.

"I knew Mr. Burleson very well," he said. "We sat in the House of Representatives together, and Mr. Burleson and I were the antidotes of Haywoodism." Berger seemed to be anxious to let the jury know that he was a constructive socialist who approved of orderly methods of accomplishing socialist principles. He confessed he personally was the author of Article two, section six adopted by the Socialist Party convention in 1912, by the terms of which Haywood and the I. W. W. were read out of the Socialist Party.

"I have no patience with them," he announced on the witness stand, referring directly to the I. W. W.

Berger said he did approve of the spirit of the St. Louis war statement of the party, but not the letter. "The report did not speak my language," he said, "although it did express my sentiments. I wrote my own statement as to what I thought the position of the Socialist Party should be," said Berger. It has never been recorded that Berger's statement was ever submitted to the St. Louis convention.

Coming down to the St. Louis convention April 6, 1917, Berger said that its purpose was to put the Socialist Party of America on record in relation to the war. "The party did not have a definite position," he said, "although the International Socialist movement was always opposed to wars. The convention was intended to be held before Congress met to consider the war declaration, but the President pushed up the date for congress to meet. It was not to assemble until about April 20, but it actually passed the war declaration the same time the Socialists were holding their convention. He could not help that."

"The convention was controlled largely by delegates from the west and the south," said Berger, believing that from the west "came the impossibilists who wanted to do everything in a hurry."

Asked if he believed in the Young People's Socialist League, Berger declared that he "never had much time for it."

"I am opposed to artificial methods being used to effect the growth of the Socialist Party. Socialism is the next phase of civilization. It cannot be taught. It must be lived."

Berger said he thought that only "mature minds" were fit to understand Socialist philosophy."

Read Spargo Article to Jury.

The attitude of John Spargo to the Socialist Party at present was brought up by Attorney Cochems. An article which Spargo wrote for The New York Call, January 9, 1916, entitled "The Truth About Preparedness" in which he vigorously criticised the preparedness campaign, and blamed the capitalists for stirring up the nation to war hysteria, was read to the jury.

"How long has Spargo been a citizen of the United States?"

"Three years," replied Berger.

"How long have you been a citizen?"

"Thirty-four years."

Berger declared that Tucker's pamphlet entitled "The Price We Pay," which is one of the overt acts in the indictment, "might have become a classic of the war if it had only been blue penciled." He called Tucker "an impossibilist." The Socialist cleric, sitting at the press table, denied the allegation.

"Did you ever hear anything about the underground railroad stuff that has been brought into the case by the government?" asked Cochems. Berger held up both hands, declaring:

"I have no time to read dime novels." Judge Landis instructed the stenographer to strike out Berger's answer.

[illegible] as the Bolshevik crowd in Russia.

"Lenine is the head and brains of the Bolshevik movement in Russia," said Berger, "but I think it can be said that the real constructive brains reside in the Mensheviki." Berger said that "it is a historic fact that in all countries that have gone through a revolution the extreme party gets on top for a little while."

"Bolshevism is not in harmony with my views," said Berger answering a direct question of his attorney. He said he thought that perhaps the majority Socialist opinion in America was not Bolshevik.

Some Striking Featur es in Berger's Testimony

The continued testimony of Victor L. Berger in the Socialist trial before Judge Landis developed three striking features:

First: That Berger says the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World have absolutely nothing in common.

Second: That Berger supported and signed the St. Louis Majority Report because he feared the convention might adopt a more radical war proclamation.

Third: That Berger took Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee to task because he was "neither fish nor flesh," on the St. Louis war proclamation.

Henry Cochems personal attorney for Berger, read to the jury several newspaper interviews with the Socialist congressman-elect in which he severely criticized the I. W. W. Berger supplemented the printed statement by declaring:

"I suppose the I. W. W. hates me more than any other man in the country. They have a right to because I have fought them from the beginning and am fighting them yet on their principles. I have always taught Socialism, not revolution."

Later on in the inquiry when the prosecutor brought to Berger's attention a letter which he had written last May to the secretary of the I. W. W. in Milwaukee, and enclosed his check for ten dollars to the defense fund of the Wobblies, Berger said that he believed the I. W. W. was more virile than the American Federation of Labor whom Berger characterized as "the tail of the capitlist kite."

He said he believed in industrial unionism and indorsed the I. W. W. that far, but pounding his first on the end of Judge Laidis' polished bench and squarely facing the jury, Victor Berger denounced "the impossibilists," the reds "as they style themselves in the working class movement."

He again claimed authorship of the amendment to the Socialist Party constitution in 1912 which read the I. W. W. element out of the party.

A moment later Berger was telling the jury that he had never refused a line of patriotic advertising in support of the war, but said it was hard to get. He tried to get into the record some figures showing that Milwaukee and Wisconsin "had gone over the top" as he phrased it, in all of the nation's war activities.

"Is it not a fact that you and Morris Hillquit controlled the St. Louis convention?" asked Fleming.

"No, sir. The reds and impossiblists controlled the convention. I was the fourteenth man chosen for the resolutions committee. There were fifteen on the committee. In former years I would have been the first chosen."

Berger said that when he went to St. Louis on April 6, 1917, he "hardly recognized the convention as a Socialist gathering."

"Did you hear Hillquit make a speech on the floor of the convention?"

"Yes, of course."

"Did you approve of it?"

"I approved of it in spirit. In its general statement, yes."

Berger said he did not speak at the convention, but stated that he did write a war statement but did not present it to the convention "because he did not think it stood any chance of being adopted."

Berger steadfastly denied that he had ever advocated force or violence in any manner or means of accomplishing the rights of the workers.

Prosecutor Fleming promptly fished out of a pile of documents the file of The Social-Democratic Herald for 1909, and made Berger read to the jury an article under his signature in which the defendant predicted "a bloody revolution if the capitalists continue to push the workers downward." In the same signed editorial appeared a statement to the effect that the workers might have to back up their ballot with bullets. Berger tried in vain to explain what he meant.

While Berger was on the witness stand for the third day his attorney, Henry Cochems, a Progressive of the Rooseveltian stripe, read to the jury in Berger's defense an article which Berger wrote Jan. 15, 1916, favoring the preparedness campaign then being waged.

"The public schools should be the center of national defense," the article read, "and boys should know how to hit a target." The rest of the article

"Labor Will Win the War"

(Written Before the Armistice)

"Ships will win the war." "Steel, coal and food will win the war." "Labor will win the war." Just so. At last comes the admission that Labor is "it." Labor, crystallized labor power will win this war.

Time was, to quote Mr. Dooley, when the capitalist said, "Me min, your brawn coupled with me brains have enabled me to accumulate a million dollars during the past year." (Cheers).

The production of ships, steel, coal, food, etc., depends not on the brains of the profit-takers, but upon the skill and strength of the wealthmakers.

It's a far cry, as the word wallopers are fond of saying, when seas of ink were spilled to prove that the buddies, capital and labor, working hand in mitt, were the source of all wealth.

They build our railroads, mined our coal, smelted our ore, constructed our autos and harvested our crops. Oh, those were the happy days when the pals, capital and labor had the Gold-dust Twins looking like star boarders at a rest cure.

"Labor will win the war," eh? To alter slightly the words of a thriller manufactured for the ethical and artistic uplift by the party of the second part by the party of the first part, 'Thems fine words Cap, but that puts no oligenious by-products upon my bread. Your generous admission may warm the cockles of your heart and suffuse your being with a wave of generosity. In recognition of our services you may decide to do something for us. Your welfare workers may be ordered by you to unpack their satchel of sociological tricks—and 'Come on boys; step up and have a shot in the arm.' Prizes for those turning out the most work; prizes for the largest head-of cabbage grown in your home garden; savings banks for your heirs; domestic science for the wife; a mutual benefit society—we, the party of the first part seeing to it that we keep from your wages the money which would otherwise be squandered in paying union and Socialist Party dues. In return for the trouble we are put to in holding out, you are to receive a wreath, "Always Faithful," when you go to your reward.

O tempora! O mores! (Roughly, oh very roughly, translated from the Latin, meaning, O Henry, Wilhelm) pulled that same stuff when the Poetess of Passion was putting them across with both mitts long before Bull Durham was fenced in. (Ask grand-dad. He knows). Cap, it's no use. You're about as original as a mummy and as funny as a display of Painless Yanker's skill.

We recall that it was only a few months before this country entered the world war that the Employers' Association of the U. S. advised that WE adopt the German industrial efficiency system. It didn't look good to us then and you're not going to be able to pull that capitalistic-imperialistic - militaristic - feudalistic - paternalistic - efficiency hodge-podge, when "Johnny Comes Marching Home."

Labor is not only going to win the war. Labor is going to have a voice in the making of peace terms. It should be no more difficult for you to realize that fact than it was for us to believe in the past that some humans came into the world booted and spurred to ride on the backs of those who toiled.

The advancing hosts of labor have a conception of democracy that you cannot conceive of, the democracy of industry, self-determination of labor, as it were, a condition under which those who will win the war, the workers, will win the world for peace, plenty and brotherhood.

Yesterday only a few caught a vision of that time; today millions are dreaming of it; tomorrow their ranks will be augmented by millions more.

Yes, labor will win the war. Labor will also build upon the ruins of an industrial system that has run its historic course an Industrial Democracy under which its interests, ideals and aspirations will reflect the interest of all mankind.

Why Irish Labor Withdrew Candidates

A recent issue of "The Voice of Labor," the organ of the Irish Labor Party, just received in this country, explains why it was that the Irish Labor Party, though having put into the field candidates for the general election, withdrew them later. This was done "in the hope that the democratic demand for self-determination * * * will thereby obtain the greatest chance of expression at the polls. * * * We shall also thereby demonstrate to the peoples of all nations, as emphatically as peaceful means allow, that at this hour, when other small nations of Europe are asserting their freedom, Ireland, too, demands all rights of a free nation." In other words, the Labor Party refrained from putting a ticket in the field, lest the votes of those who stood for Irish independence be split.

The following comrades sent in one sub each last week: Victor Carlson, Youngstown; Wm. F. Mohr, Canton; G. H. Hulse, Bucyrus; Ernest Sykes, Canton; [illegible]

LENINE'S APPEAL TO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN

(Continued from Page One)

Nicholai Lenine, Premier of the Russian Soviet Republic, has addressed an open letter to American working men, which is published in the December issue of "The Class Struggle." A short summary of the document follows:

"Had the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie accepted the Soviet invitation to participate in peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of leaving Russia to the mercy of brutal Germany, a just peace, without annexations and indemnities, a peace based upon complete equality, could have been forced upon Germany and millions of lives might have been saved."

But though the bourgeoisie deserted the Soviet Republic, the workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with the Russian workers. They understand that Russia had to come to terms with German militarism in order to save the revolution.

As for the mistakes in methods and in technical execution made by the Soviet government, these Lenine frankly admits. "It is not to be expected that the working classes who have been exploited and forcibly held down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay."

Lenine closes with an appeal to the American working men to rally to the support of their Russian fellow workers: "We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American working men, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity. * * * We know full well that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we count upon its coming at some definite, nearby date."

GREAT BRITAIN

British Labor Faces a Crisis.

The British labor movement faces a serious crisis, in the opinion of G. D. H. Cole, one of the leading experts on British labor problems. Writing in a recent number of The Dial, Mr. Cole states that the war has brought into existence a new element, the shop steward movement, which threatens to revolutionize the old standards of trade union organization.

The shop steward movement, in the opinion of Mr. Cole, provides a machinery "through which trade unionists can hope, by gradual extensions of their power, to assume control in the workshops." Mr. Cole tells that the trade unions are very barely prepared to take this step. However, he insists that wherever the movement has gained strength, "the same far-seeing stewards are beginning to work out the immediate problems of control."

SWITZERLAND

The General Strike of November 11-13.

A detailed account of the general strike in Switzerland, in which 900,000 workers participated, and in the course of which postal, telegraph and transportation service were entirely interrupted, has reached the editorial offices of the New Yorker Volkszeitung. It appears that the strikers demanded new elections to the Parliament on the basis of proportional representation, woman suffrage, popular reorganization of the army, guarantee of food supply in co-operation with agricultural producers, a 46-hour week, general obligatory labor, state monopoly of importation and exportation, old-age and invalidity insurance, and payment of the public debt by the propertied classes. After three days, however, the strike committee was persuaded to call off the strike.

ITALY

Important Agreement Between Laborites and Socialists.

An important conference has been held between the representatives of the Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor. An agreement has been reached by which the Confederation yields to the party the absolute right to call any general, local or national strike for a political reason. On the other hand, the Socialist Party pledges itself to give all the support it is able to give to any economic strike called by the Confederation.

FRANCE

Labor United in Opposing Imperialism.

The General Federation of Labor, the League of the Rights of Man, the Republican Coalition and the Socialist Party have signed a joint manifesto setting forth that these organizations are resolutely opposed to any policy of imperialism in the coming peace settlement.

Labor Clauses to be Demanded in Peace Treaty.

The labor committee of the Chamber of Deputies has adopted a report on clauses relative to international labor legislation to be inserted in the peace treaty. These include: Prohibitions against night work for young industrial workers and a 10-hour day for women and youths in factories or mines, with half a day's rest weekly; the institution of periodic international labor conferences.

Lima Wins Legal Fight

(Continued from Page One)

what it pleases, accountable only to the individual that they may injure, accountable only to the State, in the proper tribunal, charged in a proper way, for the wrong that their utterances or their writings have done.
t ?fluhave HT HT HT HT HT HT P

I feel that nothing causes ideas, whether they be religious, political or Socialistic, to grow more than under unfair persecution and suppression.

I never saw an idea grow as fast as it does when everybody is trying to keep it suppressed. You will never cause Socialism to die by denying it the same privileges that everything else is permitted to enjoy. If you want Socialism to perish in this country, or in any other country, you must submit it to free discussion; both upon the pulpit or from the stump, or through the press.

It must be able to stand criticism, it must be able to stand the test. If it fails to do that on a fair trial, the people will turn it down and refuse it. On the other hand, if you try to suppress it, many virtues will be attributed to it that it never possesses and no one claims for it, and it will grow.

That is just as true of religious ideas, and all political ideas, and, while I am not a Socialist I feel as deeply as any one can feel that Socialism will grow and continue to grow if we try to forbid it to grow by denying them the right to discuss it wherever they wish, by denying them the right to use the press. * * *

I think many of the things that many Socialists are advocating are accepted by thousands of people as being practical because they feel that if the press and the public permitted them to explain them as others are permitted to explain their ideas, they could convince the public that they are practical and feasible.

On the other hand, I believe that many of their ideas, if they were submitted to public discussion, through the press and, from the stump,—my ideas in general are they would be able to convince the general public of their Utopion character.

Again, on the other hand, I think that there are many ideas in the Socialist philosophy that not only are practical, beneficial to the human family but they will be accepted by the world as axiomatic principals. * * *

I think I heard no less conservative a man than William McKinley say that the ideals of yesterday are the truths of to-day. The ideals of today will be the accepted philosophy of tomorrow. And so, you can realize the danger that lies in any course of practice that has the tendency to suppress any man's voice or pen because [illegible]

demic of the Influenza at this time, and as long as that exists, I will not compel the Commissioners to grant the use of the hall to Mr. Blank, secretary of the Lima Socialist Party, providing they are not permitting others to use it. But as soon as they permit others to use it, Mr. Blank is to have the same privileges that they have.

LIMA WINS ANOTHER CASE.

In the summer of 1917 a street car strike was declared in Lima, during which the mayor prohibited street speaking. Because Attorney Blank attempted to read the U. S. Constitution upon a street corner he found himself in jail with bail denied.

A writ of habeas corpus was secured and Comrade Blank was taken before Judge Klinger, who ordered that bail be accepted or an immediate trial be given. Comrade Blank was released on $50 bail. He was tried and found guilty of speaking without permission of the mayor and fined $25. The case was then carried to the Court of Appeals and reversed and the defendant ordered discharged.

Attorney Blank then instituted suits for damage for false imprisonment against the Director of Public Safety and the Chief of Police. The first case was tried and the jury awarded damages in the sum of $600. The second case has not yet been tried but a similar verdict is practically certain.

Thus the plutes of Lima are learning with whom they are dealing in their fight against the legal rights of those with whom they differ in opinion.

Soldiers and Workers Join Forces

The idea of working out a means of better understanding between the organizations of returned soldiers and the trade unions took definite shape recently, when it was decided at Vancouver, B. C., to form a Returned Men's Association to act with delegates from the Central Labor bodies. A joint committee was appointed, consisting of twelve representatives of the Returned Men's Association and six each from the Trade and Labor Council and the Metal Trades Council. A platform was submitted and discussed which called, among other things, for the nationalization of natural resources, government operation of the basic industries, substantial reduction of the working day to six hours, [illegible]

OUR PARTY PAGE

Live News of Interest to all Party Members

BOASTING IS NOT BOOSTING

WITH OUR EDITORS

GENTLEMEN—WE THANK YOU

[illegible] the "Piqua Daily Press" waxes angry [illegible] made so bold as to visit every home in Piqua, Ohio, [illegible].

[illegible] Debs, Liebknecht and Lenin the "three greatest arch-trai[illegible] law and order that have breathed since the time of Judas [illegible] it goes on to give advice, free gratis, by telling Socialist Mayor [illegible] of Piqua that he and his comrades made a mistake in having their [illegible] in the same issue of the Ohio Socialist which contains the [illegible].

[illegible] according to the Piqua Daily Press, is after all "Provi[illegible] it awakens the people of Piqua to a full understanding of what [illegible] says the daily. The taint of Socialism is upon that [illegible] Socialism gained its victory in Piqua because of gang domination. [illegible] All this the daily admits.

[illegible] forward with a brand new scheme, now about an old [illegible] neither of the old political parties is strong enough to beat [illegible] in Piqua, therefore a "fair, clean, non-political" control must [illegible]. That is, as both of the old parties in Piqua have proven [illegible], unfair, gangsters and false leaders, therefore a combination of the two rotten old parties is to be effected, and—presto change, [illegible] will be a pure, sweet, wholesome, non-political aggregation of poli[illegible] will lead Piqua—where?

[illegible], isn't it? This trying to fool the workers!

[illegible] the case stands like this: The Piqua Press, itself a false [illegible] that the old party leaders are false leaders, asks for a combi[illegible] false leaders to win Piqua back for the false leaders and in [illegible] calls the new party, the Socialist Party and its officials false.

Figure it out for yourselves, folks. It's easy!

Anyway, Gentlemen, we thank you for letting us know what kind of a [illegible] you are going to try to play on the Piqua voters this fall.

We shall be on the spot to expose it.

AGAIN—WE THANK YOU GENTLEMEN

It's not at all fair to always print just one side of a story. The other [illegible] is often much more amusing. So squat down upon the mat folks, pick up your chop sticks and enjoy the following bit of chop suey prepared for your [illegible] edification by the Cincinnati Enquirer:

STAMP OUT THE RED FLAG!

The red flag has no place in America. It is a symbol of danger, a warning to keep aloof from impending peril. Its presence in gatherings or processions marks plague patches, seats of diseased thinking, areas of mental pestilence that organized society should eradicate and extirpate no matter how radical the operation.

Little groups of malcontents, grumblers, loafers and dead beats must not be permitted to poison and infect the minds of America's teeming, contented millions each with his full share in the control of public affairs, and with a complete opportunity to exercise his political rights. * * *

In Ohio this week at Canton, led by Debs and Wagenknecht, convicted of treason, the Socialists called upon the proletariats to rise and demand amnesty for political prisoners. The Philadelphia dynamiters declared that it was the refusal to grant this freedom that caused the hurling of their bombs into homes where innocent women and children slept. Knowing the terms of this war upon society let the fight be carried sternly forward. For every man, woman or child slain by the murderous carriers of the red flag let there be summarily strung up in reprisal an instigator of anarchy and treason. Let dynamite be met with the drumhead court-martial.

Rich junk, eh folks? First the poor red flag is again maligned until it [illegible] redder red than its usual red!

Then the poor Socialist is dished up to us as a malcontent, grumbler, loafer and deadbeat. These loafers and deadbeats must not be permitted to poison and infect the minds of America's teeming, contented millions. And [illegible], what's the matter, gentlemen? Is there any danger of these dead[illegible] Socialists working the trick? We thought a deadbeat was something [illegible] that a loafer loafed and that neither would ever think of stirring up [illegible]! "America's teeming, contented millions," however, is a real choice [illegible]. The printer must have made an error. "America's steaming millions" would have been better. Steaming under the yoke of the gang of [illegible] of which the daily we quote is a much respected member.

Real spice is added by the attempt to scramble the demand of the Socialists for amnesty for political prisoners with the Philadelphia dynamiting. And we eat the last savory morsel with a grin, for once more a "law and order" daily advocates violence and murder while pretending to preach [illegible] it.

Really, it's too rich. It's so rich it's nauseating.

Pass the red pepper!

It is said that great men live longest after they are dead. Somebody died last week. Gee whiz—we've forgotten who it was!

"Vessels under the red flag will be sunk without warning," read an order supposed to have originated with the British government. Now we know what is meant by "freedom of the seas."

THE WRECKING CREW

C. G. McVay, secretary of Local Portage County, says they are organizing a wrecking crew of paid up one year in advance members. Wreck and ruin for capitalism if all other locals do likewise, say we.

• • •

A remittance of $24.00 by S. W. Kain for Local Canton for literature [illegible] from the State Office places [illegible] first in literature purchases [illegible] week.

• • •

NILES ADMITS 14

Local Niles admitted 14 applicants [illegible] December. Workers are anxious to [illegible] our party. Every local that has [illegible] a campaign for membership has [illegible] phenomenal results.

• • •

GALION ADMITS 10

[illegible] you so. All it takes is a [illegible] on the part of the mem[illegible]. If Galion can admit ten [illegible] in a month, so can your [illegible]

• • •

[illegible]HOGA COUNTY [illegible]

[illegible]

YOUNGSTOWN NOTES

Ruthenberg made a hit Jan. 5. He took extra pains to go into details so as to carry real socialism to the audience. Hall was too small. Nearly a hundred had to stand. Collection $85.

In the evening of the same date we held an entertainment and luncheon. The entertainment was by our Social Science School, composed of children. Comrades Coope and Margaret Thum are to be congratulated upon their ability to supervise the "Sunday School" of ours. Little eleven-year-old Sophia Ulansky made the hit of the evening by singing the new song, "Hearts of the World."

• • •

"At our last meeting ten members paid their dues in advance for 1919. Send me more dues stamps at once." Chas. Litz, Sandusky.

• • •

A total of $27.50, of which $23.75 is for the Debs' Fund and $3.75 for sustaining fund stamps was received from S. Zizic, secretary of the South Slavic Branch, Barberton.

• • •

WE SAY THIS TO YOU.

If your local has not met regularly for some time it becomes your duty to call a meeting and get back into action. If there is no local of the Socialist Party in your city or town [illegible]

Official Notices to Locals of Ohio

Notices which appear under this heading should receive the attention of the [illegible] at the next business meeting.

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS: A call for nominations for three members of the National Executive Committee, four International Delegates and one International Secretary was mailed locals and branches on Jan. 8. If your local or branch has not received a nomination blank, notify the State Office at once.

NEW LOCAL OFFICERS: Every local must send the State Office AT ONCE and upon a separate sheet of paper, a full list of the local officers elected to serve for the first half of 1919. If the State Office has not the name and correct address of your local secretary, mail is bound to go astray.

REMEMBER: The State Office is trying to keep expenses at a minimum. We are getting along with as little help as possible. The help that is employed HAS NO TIME TO UNRAVEL LETTERS. This means that we again ask you to PLEASE not write an order for dues stamps, for supplies, Ohio Socialist subscriptions, news for insertion in the Ohio Socialist and a half dozen other matters into one and the same letter.

When you order dues stamps and supplies use an order blank. When you send in subscriptions use a subscription blank. When you write local news for insertion into the paper, write upon a separate sheet of paper. This will facilitate the work of the State Office and make it possible for us to avoid mistakes.

WANTED: Even if your local does not decide to insert an advertisement in the Ohio Socialist, making public its meeting date, time and place (and it really should at $2.50 a year) at least have the local secretary send to the State Office immediately the time and place of your local's business meetings so that we may have this information to refer to when needed.

SPEAKERS ATTENTION: The state constitution specifies that all speakers accepting engagements in this state must notify the State Office of dates and places of meetings. This is necessary so as to avoid confusing dates when State Office makes routing.

MISSING: We still miss a number of Debs' Defense Fund lists. Whether money has been collected upon the lists sent you or not, return them at once to the State Office. Monies collected should be remitted to the State Office THIS WEEK.

TO J. W. F., CRESTON.

Thank you for your invitation. We shall remember the stop. But at present we are far too busy for a visit. We have read your letter carefully. We get your point. Paragraph you refer to in the Ohio Socialist was written by one of our correspondents and should have appeared with other matter under his name, making him responsible for it.

• • •

New Socialist Sunday School.

On Jan. 5 Local Akron opened its Socialist Sunday School. The value of such a school to teach the children the bad of today and the good to come seems to be taking hold of many locals. Organize a Socialist Sunday School.

• • •

HUBBARD ELECTS PRESS AGENT

Laurence Williams was elected Press Agent for Local Hubbard at its recent meeting. Comrade Williams will have full charge of securing subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist, selling press stamps and securing renewals. "We now have over 50 subscribers in Hubbard and we intend to make it 100 before spring," writes T. H. Davies. Other officers elected are: E. B. Patterson, organizer; T. H. Davies, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Hazel Miller, financial secretary; T. J. Stalnaker, literature agent.

• • •

COLUMBUS NOTES.

Local Columbus began the new year in a most encouraging manner. The local met on the second Thursday in the month and took in five new members.

Financial Secretary Wiekers reported that many members had paid dues in advance for the year 1919, and that others had expressed their intention of doing so in the very near future.

A goodly number of bad standing members have paid their arrearagess up to Jan. 1.

Propaganda meetings upon the second and fourth Sundays of the month, in the afternoon, will continue during the winter months.

Charles Baker will be the speaker on Sunday, Feb. 9, and C. E. Ruthenberg will address the audience on Feb. 23.

Jos. Sharts will address the Sunday afternoon meeting of Jan. 26.

• • •

Members-at-large are still insistent upon paying dues in advance for the entire year. Chas. Boydelatour and W. E. Riley were heard from this week with three dollars each.

Local's Monthly Reports

December 1918

Here are the reports of the locals which have complied with the State Constitution provision requiring locals to report each month. If the name of your local does not occur here your Local Secretary has not fulfilled his duties. Please see that he does so in the future.

Local.	New Members.	Good Stand'g.	On Rolls
Ashland	0	8	11
Barberton	2	14	23
Cincinnati	14	300	605
Grover Hill	0	10	10
Columbus	7	59	157
Cuyahoga Co.	134	1,804	2,578
Derwent	0	11	19
E. Liverpool	0	21	30
Fairview	0	13	18
Galion	10	16	16
Hamilton	1	161	278
Kenmore	3	60	70
Massillon	1	46	.74
Marion	0	7	21
Mt. Healthy	0	10	13
Mt. Vernon	6	21	23
New England	0	6	6
Niles	14	65	87
North Star	0	5	5
Piqua	0	57	121
Portage Co.	9	52	78
Richland Co.	1	58	58
Sandusky	1	28	42
Seneca Co.	2	45	78
Steubenville	0	9	15
Toledo	14	200	382
Wadsworth	0	9	14
Warren	1	10	12
Youngstown	8	80	90
Zanesville	0	33	41
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Doings of the Red Army

Local Galion is another local which sells press stamps four at a time. A list of names of seven new members all of whom subscribe for a year is good proof that the comrades are in to stay.

• • •

Comrade Ruthenberg's meeting at Youngstown was a success in many ways. Especially so in the number of subscriptions secured. Thirteen being the number Comrade Thum sends in.

• • •

Comrade Edward Dulli is another new recruit from Hamilton. Ten half yearlies is the number on his first list. If Comrade Dulli can do so well the first time how many can he get when he is in good training?

• • •

Comrade Anton Soukup of Neffs orders nine dollars worth of subscription cards and sends in two half yearlies. The subscription card orders continue to grow which proves how good that method is in securing readers. Try it.

• • •

New Bremen local is placing its members in good standing with press stamp sales. Four received from Comrade Secretary Heil means that the comrades are in fighting trim.

• • •

With an order for 100 dues stamps Local Dayton sends in two yearlies.

• • •

Six more are added to the Columbus list this week through the efforts of Comrade E. B. Eubanks.

• • •

Comrade Catlin of Youngstown shines up his record this week with two added to it.

• • •

Comrade A. Ammeter of Mansfield is a comrade who sees the necessity of the workers building up the worker's press. He sends in two new yearlies.

• • •

"Do you think I could belong to the Red Hundred," writes Comrade Ralph Horbert of Salem. Six dollars for as many subscribers proves he is eligible doesn't it, comrades? This is the spirit that is winning.

• • •

Comrade John Rehm of Springfield is with us again this week. He comes strong this week in order to make up for his absence last week. $6.25 for nine subs is his bit.

• • •

"Anyone who really reads our paper is compelled to admit it is the best ever published and I have proof that it is doing great work." This praise comes from Comrade F. W. Goll of Lorain. He encloses six dollars to prove he means it.

• • •

Local Massillon's list of readers is growing fast. Eight subs sent in by Comrade Weltlich will help to keep the fires a glowing.

• • •

"Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to pick up a new subscriber for our paper, which I consider the best little paper printed." So writes Comrade Wm. G. Schultz of Napoleon, one of our very best members of the Red Army. Comrade Schultz sends six dollars for nine subs.

• • •

Ten subscriptions from Local Cincinnati this week shows the comrades are busy as ever.

• • •

Local Cuyahoga County sends in 26 subs secured through press stamp sales.

• • •

Comrade G. L. Artz, M. A. L. at Wayland, renews his subscription and sends another for company.

• • •

Local East Liverpool is keeping its members on the right side of the fence. Six subscriptions Comrade Shepp mails us.

• • •

Six subscriptions Comrade Joseph Wilnecker sends in this week with an order to increase Local Toledo's bundle order to 150 copies a week. What is your local doing in the matter of distributing the Ohio Socialist at meetings and factory gates? This is important. Give it your attention.

• • •

From Mt. Vernon comes three subscriptions. Comrade Wolfe is the responsible party. He is one of those who believes in doing a little more for Socialism each week.

• • •

Five more subscriptions from Local Hubbard this week. The comrades of Hubbard are establishing a record that is bound to count big for the future growth of Socialist sentiment.

• • •

Local Hamilton comes to bat with 23 more. Have you noticed the regularity with which the comrades of Hamilton appear on the job?

• • •

Comrade T. J. Eiler of Defiance renews his sub and also locates another new reader.

• • •

Two half-yearlies are received from Comrades F. Straus of Piqua and S. Silberman of Canton.

• • •

Elmwood Place is scheduled for a bright place on the Socialist map if Comrade F. J. Theil keeps up the gait he is following at present. Six subscriptions from him proves he has the right idea.

• • •

Comrade Wm. E. Lange of Mantua says the farmers of Portage Co. are eager to learn more of the meaning of socialism and its relation to the farmer's problems.

What Do You Think Of It?

Increase in Ohio Membership Must be a Surprise to Those Who Thought Otherwise.

The increase in the membership of the Socialist Party of Ohio for 1918 over the membership for the year 1917 surprised many. After making computations for the year, we find that the gain in membership for 1918 was 128. This will be a surprise to many Socialists in the state, for what with prosecution, persecution and a general campaign to discourage Socialist activity, most Socialists thought that the 1918 membership of the party would show a falling off.

The total dues stamp sales for 1917 were 68,267. The sales for 1918 were 69,789. The average monthly membership for 1917 was 5,689 and for 1918, 5,817.

Again we say, "kill us some more." Renegade Socialists and politicians, who were so elated over the death of the Socialist Party, because of its "erroneous" stand upon the question of war, and who have been preaching funeral sermons for the party for the last year, are now invited to a seat in the rear to watch the party do its 1919 business. For 1919 is to be THE BANNER YEAR.

YOUR LOCA

When and Where it Me

NOTICE: The Ohio Socialist is publishing a directory of locals, their time and place of meetings. This directory will keep your local members constantly informed and reminded of your local meetings, will result in better attended meetings and greater interest in your organization. Rates, $2.50 for weekly insertions until July 1, 1919.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

NEXT?

GOOD RETURNS FROM OUT OF STATE

The comrades in other states are securing excellent returns from their efforts in boosting the O. S. West Virginia comrades must be especially recommended for their hearty co-operation in extending the scope of usefulness of our paper in that state. Subscriptions were received from the following cities in West Virginia this week. Fairmount, 11; Weirton, 5; Cedar Grove, 16; Ward, 3; Glasgow, 2; Charleston, 1; Gayford, 4.

Kentucky comrades are also busy making the O. S. reach a larger number of comrades. Twelve subs sent in by Comrade Goodman of Louisville tells the story of that local's activities in this regard.

Comrade Sladek of Paris, Mo., mails us two more subs. Comrade Paul Dasovich of Wyandotte, Mich., subscribes for a friend. Comrade Perry Shipman of Rock Island, Ill., is to hand with a list of four. Comrade W. B. Dillon of Albuquerque, N. M., sends in three and Comrade N. B. Davidson of Monroeville, Ind, three.

We quote from a letter from a comrade in Cheyenne, Wyo., which shows a prevalent sentiment among a large portion of the former readers of the New Appeal. "I want to do all I can for the Socialist papers that have stood true to the cause of Socialism and the principles that were enunciated long before Grandma Benson and the New Appeal was born." Alex Van Gundy. Comrade Van Gundy has two sons and four grandsons over there and he says there will be six more Socialist votes when they get back.

ATTEND THESE MEETINGS

Readers of the OHIO SOCIALIST are invited to attend the following Socialist meetings, to be held in Ohio within the next two weeks.

CHARLES BAKER

State organizer Chas. Baker will visit the following cities to hold meetings beginning January 16th: Lorain, Jan. 16, 17, 18; Niles, Jan. 19, Mason's Hall; Steubenville, Jan. 20; Bellaire, Jan. 21; Cambridge, Jan. 22; Opperman, Jan. 23; Marietta, Jan. 24; Portsmouth, Jan. 25; Cincinnati, Jan. 26, Socialist Hall, 1314 Vine St.; Norwood, Jan. 27; Hamilton, Jan. 28; Dayton, Jan. 29; Springfield, Jan. 30; Marion, Jan. 31; Mansfield, Feb. 1; Akron, Feb. 2, G. A. R. Hall, 50 S. Howard St.

THURBER LEWIS

Akron, Feb. 26, G. A. R. Hall, 50 S. Howard St.

EUGENE V. DEBS

Akron, Jan. 19, Music Hall, East Exchange St., afternoon; Youngstown, Jan. 19, evening meeting; Toledo, Jan. 21; Lima, Jan. 22; Cleveland, East Side, Jan. 23; New Bremen, Jan. 24; Warren, Jan. 26.

Meetings already booked for the early part of February are: Kirkpatrick: Akron, Feb. 8; Cleveland, Feb. 9; Youngstown, probably, Feb. 10.

Nearing: Canton, probably, Feb 13; Dayton, Feb. 14; Cleveland, Feb. 16, afternoon and probably Youngstown in the evening.

Katterfeld: Belmont county, Feb. 5, 6, 7; Guernsey county, Feb. 8, 9; Piqua, Feb. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.

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Monster Socialist Meetings Scheduled for Ohio

Socialist meetings at which audiences will be larger than ever before are scheduled for Ohio for the last of this month and the first of next. Dates and places for these meetings will be found in another column. The speakers who are to address these meetings are known nationally, not only to Socialists but to the public in general.

Eugene V. Debs will fill a few more speaking engagements before his case is finally decided by the Supreme Court on Jan. 27th. Scott Nearing, new resident of New York is booked for four or five meetings. George R. Kirkpatrick former candidate for vice president, will fill three or four dates. L. E. Katterfield, member of the national executive committee, an experienced organizer will work in Piqua, Guernsey county and Belmont counties from Feb. 5 to 14 inclusive. And Chas. Baker, state organizer will begin his tour of the state at Lorain, Feb. 16th and will continue at work all through the winter months.

Locals who desire to put new life into their membership should lose no time in holding a public Socialist meeting. Write to the state office of the party and place your application for a speaker. One will be assigned your local as soon after the application is received as possible.

YOU'LL WANT ONE
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
CERTIFICATE

Financial Report

Socialist Party of Ohio

DECEMBER RECEIPTS	
Dues regular	$ 348.00
Members at large	36.50
Foreign branch dues	128.90
Initiation stamps	86.25
Organization fund	50.34
Ohio Socialist	740.86
Local supplies	20.80
Literature	36.11
Debs' Defense fund	216.45
Sustaining stamps	75.50
Miscellaneous	530.49
Total	$2,300.20
DECEMBER EXPENDITURES.	
Dues regular	$ 200.00
Foreign branch	68.27
Ohio Socialist	533.87
Sustaining fund	43.75
Postage	33.71
Literature	.50
Local Supplies	17.50
Telegrams	7.40
Printing	24.50
Salaries	440.00
Miscellaneous	530.45
Auto expenses	21.32
Office supplies	54.00
Total	$1,975.27
Balance on hand Dec. 1	$1,635.75
December receipts	2,300.20
Total	$3,935.95
December expenditures	1,975.27
Balance Jan. 1, 1919	$1,960.68
Add to cash acct. corrections by auditors	76.90
Total	$2,037.58
IN THE FUNDS.	
Organization	$ 921.07
Defense	491.62
Mileage	165.63
Sustaining	283.98
Debs' Defense	2,093.83
Total	$3,956.13
General fund deficit	1,918.55
Bal. Jan. 1, 1919	$2,037.58

IT'S COMING
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
CERTIFICATE

Congratulates Piqua

W. M. Farris, formerly of Piqua and now of Toledo, writes The Ohio Socialist, congratulating the Piqua Socialist Party upon its victory over the disgruntled politicians. He says in part: "I see you pulled one over on Mr. Leonard and a few of the Piqua upper four. I say—go to it. I lost my job because I changed my political views when I was at the Farrington Elevator. Comrade Grunert is a stayer, surely. I know personally that he has suffered financially and in other ways on account of the stand he took for the workers.

"I hope that at the next election the Piqua Socialists will make a clean sweep of the old parties, for Piqua needs a thorough housecleaning. Hit while the iron is [illegible]. Piqua comrades, and make every [illegible] count one more councilman."

[illegible]

Constitution of Socialist Russia

(Continued from Page Four)

81. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets or the All-Russian Central Executive Committee determine what matters of income and taxation shall go to the state budget and what shall go to the local Soviets; they also set the limits of taxes.

82. The Soviets levy taxes only for the local needs. The state needs are covered by the funds of the state treasury.

83. No expenditure out of the state treasury not set forth in the budget of income and expense shall be made without a special order of the central power.

84. The local Soviets shall receive credits from the proper People's Commissars out of the state treasury, for the purpose of making expenditures for general state needs.

85. All credits allotted to the Soviets from the state treasury, and also credits approved for local needs, must be expended according to the estimates, and cannot be used for any other purposes without a special order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars.

86. Local Soviets draw up semi-annual and annual estimates of income and expenditure for local needs. The estimates of urban and rural Soviets participating in county congresses, and also the estimates of the county organs of the Soviet power, are to be approved by provincial and regional congresses or by their executive committees; the estimates of the urban, provincial, and regional organs of the Soviets are to be approved by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars.

87. [illegible] expenditures not set forth in the estimate, or where the allotted sum is insufficient.

88. In case of an insufficiency of local funds for local needs, the necessary subsidy may be obtained from the state treasury by applying to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or the Council of People's Commissars.

Article Six

The Coat of Arms and Flag of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic

Chapter Seventeen.

89. The coat of arms of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic consists of a red background on which a golden scythe and a hammer are placed (crosswise, handles downward) in sun-rays and surrounded by a wreath, inscribed,

Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.
Workers of the World, Unite!

90. The commercial, naval, and army flag of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic consists of a red cloth, in the left hand corner of which (on top, near the pole) there are in golden characters the letters R. S. F. S. R., or the inscription: Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Chairman of the fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets and of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—J. Sverdloff.

Executive Officers—All-Russian Central Executive Committee: T. I. Teodorowitch, F. A. Rosin, A. P. Rosenholz, A. C. Mitrofanoff, K. G. Maximoff.

[illegible]

[illegible]NSTITUTION OF SOCIALIST RUSSIA

[illegible] Federated Soviet Republic was translated by "The Nation" from an official printed text embodying the latest revisions. It is re[illegible] to be posted in all public places in Russia. We reprint it for two purposes. First, to give our readers first hand knowledge of the fundamental law of the first Social[illegible] the Workers. Second, to make it possible for our readers, thru this knowledge, to combat and disprove the many lies printed daily in the capitalist papers about the Rus[illegible]. Edicts and laws may be passed by the Soviet Power in extenuation of the constitution, but hereafter when you read of any order supposed to have been promulgated [illegible] "Forced" which negates or contradicts this fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Republic, you will know it for what it is—a lie of the blackest kind.

[illegible]STITUTION

([illegible] Law)

[illegible] Socialist Federated Soviet Republic

[illegible]sions of the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, adopted on July 10, 1918

The declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people (approved by the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918), together with the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, approved by the 5th Congress, constitutes a single fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

This fundamental law becomes effective upon the publication of the same in its entirety in the "Izvestia of the All-Russian General Executive Committee." It must be published by all organs of the Soviet government and must be posted in a prominent place in every Soviet institution.

The 5th Congress instructs the People's Commissariat of Education to introduce in all schools and educational institutions of the Russian Republic the study and explanation of the basic principles of this Constitution.

Article One

Declaration of Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People

Chapter One.

1. Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is organized on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national Republics.

Chapter Two.

3. Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society, and the victory of socialism in all lands, the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies further resolves:

a. For the purpose of realizing the socialization of land, all private property in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared to be national property and is to be apportioned among husbandmen without any compensation to the former owners, in the measure of each one's ability to till it.

b. All forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public utility, all implements whether animate or inanimate, model farms and agricultural enterprises are declared to be national property.

c. As a first step toward complete transfer of ownership to the Soviet Republic of all factories, mills, mines, railways and other means of production and transportation, the Soviet law for the control by workmen and the establishment of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy is hereby confirmed, so as to assure the power of the workers over the exploiters.

d. With reference to international banking and finance, the third Congress of Soviets is discussing the Soviet decree regarding the annulment of loans made by the Government of the Czar, by landowners and the bourgeoisie, and it trusts that the Soviet government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers' revolt against the oppression of capital.

e. The transfer of all banks into the ownership of the Workers' and Peasants' government, as one of the conditions of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is confirmed.

f. Universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country.

g. For the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of the complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the explaiters, it is decreed that all toilers be armed, and that a Socialist Red Army be organized and the propertied class be disarmed.

Chapter Three.

4. Expressing its absolute resolve to liberate mankind from the grip of capital and imperialism, which flooded the earth with blood in this present most criminal of all wars, the third Congress of Soviets fully agrees with the Soviet Government in its policy of breaking secret treaties, of organizing on a wide scale the fraternization of the workers and peasants of the belligerent armies, and of making all efforts to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free determination of the people.

5. It is also to this end that the third Congress of Soviets insists upon putting an end to the barbarous policy of the bourgeois civilization which enables the exploiters of a few chosen nations to enslave hundreds of millions of the toiling population of Asia, of the colonies and of small countries generally.

6. The third Congress of Soviets hails the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in proclaiming the full independence of Finland, in withdrawing troops from Persia, and in proclaiming the right of Armenia to self-determination.

Chapter Four.

7. The third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies believes that now, during the progress of the decisive battle between the proletariat and its exploiters, the exploiters can not hold a position in any branch of the Soviet government. The power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

8. In its effort to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the third Congress of Soviets merely establishes the fundamental principles of the federation of [illegible] Soviet Republics, leaving to the workers and [illegible] of every people to decide the following [illegible] at their plenary sessions of their [illegible] whether or not they desire to participate, and [illegible] in the federal government and [illegible]

Article Two

General Provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federatel Soviet Republic

Chapter Five.

9. The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of introducing Socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy.

10. The Russian Republic is a free Socialist society of all the working people of Russia. The entire power, within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, belongs to all the working people of Russia, united in urban and rural Soviets.

11. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character may unite in autonomous regional unions, ruled by the local Congress of the Soviets and their executive organs.

These autonomous regional unions participate in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic upon the basis of a federation.

12. The supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and, in periods between the convocation of the Congress, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

13. For the purpose of securing to the toilers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen.

14. For the purpose of securing the freedom of expression to the toiling masses, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic abolishes all dependence of the press upon capital, and turns over to the working people and the poorest peasantry all technical and material means of publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country.

15. For the purpose of enabling the workers to hold free meetings, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers to the working class and to the poorest peasantry furnished halls, and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances.

16. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, having crushed the economic and political power of the propertied classes and having thus abolished all obstacles which interfered with the freedom of organization and action of the workers and peasants, offers assistance, material and other, to the workers and the poorest peasantry in their effort to unite and organize.

17. For the purpose of guaranteeing to the workers real access to knowledge, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic sets itself the task of furnishing full and general free education to the workers and the poorest peasantry.

18. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work."

19. For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defence of their Socialist Fatherland, and it, therefore, introduces universal military training. The honor of defending the revolution with arms is given only to the toilers, and the non-toiling elements are charged with the performance of other military duties.

20. In consequence of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic grants all political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners who live in the territory of the Russian Republic and are engaged in toil and who belong to the toiling class. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic also recognizes the right of local Soviets to grant citizenship to such foreigners without complicated formality.

21. The Russian Socialist Federatod Soviet Republic offers shelter to all foreigners who seek refuge from political or religious persecution.

22. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, recognizing equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of their racial or national connections, proclaims all privileges on this ground, as well as oppression of national minorities, to be in contradiction with the fundamental laws of the Republic.

23. Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

Article Three

Construction of the Soviet Power

A. Organization of the Central Power

Chapter Six.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Cossacks' and Red Army Deputies.

24. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is the supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

25. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of urban Soviets (one delegate for 25,000 voters), and of representatives of the provincial (Gubernia) congresses of Soviets (one delegate for 125,000 inhabitants).

Note 1. In case the Provincial Congress is not called before the All-Russian Congress is convoked, delegates for the latter are sent directly from the county (Ouezd) Congress.

Note 2. In case the Regional (Oblast) Congress is convoked indirectly, previous to the convocation of the All-Russian Congress, delegates for the latter may be sent by the Regional Congress.

26. The All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year.

27. A special All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of local Soviets having not less than one-third of the entire population of the Republic.

28. The All-Russian Congress elects an All-Russian Central Executive Committee of not more than 200 members.

29. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

30. In the periods between the convocation of the Congresses, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme power of the Republic.

Chapter Seven.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

31. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme legislative, executive, and controlling organ of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

32. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee directs in a general way the activity of the workers and peasants' government and of all organs of the Soviet authority in the country, and it co-ordinates and regulates the operation of the Soviet Constitution and of the resolutions of the All-Russian Congresses and of the central organs of the Soviet power.

33. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee considers and enacts all measures and proposals introduced by the Soviet of People's Commissars or by the various departments, and it also issues its own decrees and regulations.

34. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee convokes the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, at which time the Executive Committee reports on its activity and on general questions.

35. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee forms a Council of People's Commissars for the purpose of general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it also forms departments (People's Commissariats) for the purpose of conducting various branches.

36. The members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee work in the various departments (People's Commissariats) or execute special orders of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Chapter Eight.

The Council of People's Commissars.

37. The Council of People's Commissars is entrusted with the general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

38. For the accomplishment of this task the Council of People's Commissars issues decrees, resolutions, orders, and, in general, takes all steps necessary for the proper and rapid conduct of government affairs.

39. The Council of People's Commissars notifies immediately the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of all its orders and resolutions.

40. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has the right to revoke or suspend all orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars.

41. All orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars of great political significance are turned over for consideration and final approval to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Note: Measures requiring immediate execution may be enacted directly by the Council of People's Commissars.

42. The members of the Council of People's Commissars stand at the head of the various People's Commissariats.

43. There are seventeen People's Commissars:

a. Foreign Affairs.
b. Army.
c. Navy.
d. Interior.
e. Justice.
f. Labor.
g. Social Welfare.
h. Education.
i. Post and Telegraph.
j. National Affairs.
k. Finances.
l. Ways of Communication.
m. Agriculture.
n. Commerce and Industry.
o. National Supplies.
p. State Control.
q. Supreme Soviet of National Economy.
r. Public Health.

44. Every Commissar has a College (Committee) of which he is the President, and the members of which are appointed by the Council of People's Commissars.

45. A People's Commissar has the individual right to decide on all questions under the jurisdiction of his Commissariat, and he is to report on his decision to the College. If the College does not agree with the Commissar on some decisions, the former may, without stopping the execution of the decision, complain of it to the executive members of the Council of People's Commissars or to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Individual members of the College have this right also.

46. The Council of People's Commissars is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All Russian Central Executive Committee.

47. The People's Commissars and the Colleges of the People's Commissariats are entirely responsible to the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

48. The title of People's Commissar belongs only to the members of the Council of People's Commissars, which is in charge of general affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it cannot be used by any other representative of the Soviet power, either central or local.

Chapter Nine.

Affairs in the Jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

49. The All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee deal with questions of state, such as:

a. Ratification and amendment of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

b. General direction of the entire interior and foreign policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

c. Establishing and changing boundaries, also ceding territory belonging to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

d. Establishing boundaries for regional Soviet unions belonging to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, also settling disputes among them.

e. Admission of new members to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and recognition of the secession of any part of it.

f. The general administrative division of the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the approval of regional unions.

g. Establishing and changing of weights, measures and money denominations in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

h. Foreign relations, declaration of war, and ratification of peace treaties.

i. Making loans, signing commercial treaties, and financial agreements.

j. Working out a basis and a general plan for the national economy and for various branches in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

k. Approval of the budget of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

l. Levying taxes and establishing the duties of citizens to the state.

m. Establishing the bases for the organization of armed forces.

n. State legislation, judicial organization and procedure, civil and criminal legislation, etc.

o. Appointment and dismissal of the individual People's Commissars or the entire Council; also approval of the President of the Council of People's Commissars.

p. Granting and canceling Russian citizenship and fixing rights of foreigners.

q. The right to declare individual and general amnesty.

50. Besides the above-mentioned questions, the All-Russian Congress of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee have charge of all other affairs which according to their decision, require their attention.

51. The following questions are solely under the jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress:

a. Ratification and amendment of the fundamental principles of the Soviet Constitution.

b. Ratification of peace treaties.

52. The decision of questions indicated in Items c and h of Paragraph 49 may be made by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee only in case it is impossible to convoke the Congress.

B. Organization of the Local Soviets

Chapter Ten.

The Congresses of the Soviets.

53. Congresses of Soviets are composed as follows:

a. Regional: Of representatives of the urban and county Soviets, one representative for 25,000 inhabitants of the county, and one representative for 5,000 voters of the cities—but not more than 500 representatives for the entire region—or of representatives of the provincial Congresses, chosen on the same basis, if such a Congress meets before the regional Congress.

b. Provincial (Gubernia): Of representatives of urban and rural (Volost) Soviets, one representative for 10,000 inhabitants from the rural districts, and one representative for 2,000 voters in the city; altogether not more than 300 representatives for the entire province. In case the county Congress meets before the provincial, election takes place on the same basis, but by the county Congress instead of the rural.

c. County: Of representatives of rural Soviets, one delegate for each 1,000 inhabitants, but not more more than 300 delegates for the entire county.

d. Rural! (Volost): Of representatives of all village Soviets in the Volost one delegate for ten members of the Soviet.

Note 1. Representatives of urban Soviet which have a population of not more than 10.000 persons participate in the county Congress; village Soviets of districts of less than 1,000 inhabitants unite for the purpose of electing delegates to the county Congress.

Note 2. Rural Soviets of less than ten members send one delegate to the rural (Volost) Congress.

54. Congresses of the Soviets are convoked by the respective Executive Committees upon their own initiative, or upon request of local Soviets comprising not less than one-third of the entire population of the given district. In any case they are convoked at least twice a year for regions, every three months for provinces and counties, and once a month for rural districts.

55. Every Congress of Soviets (regional, provincial, county and rural) elects its Executive organ—an Executive Committee the membership of which shall not exceed:

(a) For regions and provinces, 25; (b) for a county, 20; (c) for a rural district, 10. The Executive Committee is responsible to the congress which elected it.

56. In the boundaries of the respective territories the Congress is the supreme power; during intervals between the convocations of the Congress, the executive Committee is the supreme power.

Chapter Eleven.

The Soviet of Deputies.

57. Soviets of Deputies are formed:

a. In cities, one deputy for each 1,000 inhabitants; the total to be not less than 50 and not more than 1,000 members.

b. All other settlements (towns, villages, hamlets, etc.) of less than 10,000 inhabitants, one deputy for each 100 inhabitants; the total to be not less than 3 and not more than 50 deputies for each settlement.

Term of the deputy, three months.

Note: In small rural sections, whenever possible, all questions shall be decided at general meetings of voters.

58. The Soviet of Deputies elects an Executive Committee to deal with current affairs; not more than 5 members for rural districts, one for every 50 members of the Soviets of cities, but not more than 15 and not less than 3 in the aggregate (Petrograd and Moscow not more than 40). The Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the Soviet which elected it.

59. The Soviet of Deputies is convoked by the Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of not less than one-half of the membership of the Soviet; in any case at least once a week in cities, and twice a week in rural sections.

60. Within its jurisdiction the Soviet, and in cases mentioned in Paragraph 57. Note, the meeting of the voters, is the supreme power in the given district.

Chapter Twelve.

Jurisdiction of the Local Organs of the Soviets.

61. Regional, provincial, county, and rural [illegible]gans of the Soviet power and also the Soviets of Deputies have to perform the following duties:

a. Carry out all orders of the respective higher organs of the Soviet power.

b. Take all steps towards raising the cultural and economic standards of the given territory.

c. Decide all questions of local importance within their respective territory.

d. Co-ordinate all Soviet activity in their respective territory.

62. The Congresses of Soviets and their Executive Committees have the right to control the activity of the local Soviets (i. e., the regional Congress controls all Soviets of the respective regions; the provincial of the respective province, with the exception of the urban Soviets, etc.); and the regional and provincial Congresses and their Executive Committees in addition have the right to overrule the decisions of the Soviets of their districts, giving notice in important cases to the central Soviet authority.

63. For the purpose of performing their duties, the local Soviets, rural and urban, and the Executive Committees form sections respectively.

Article Four

The Right to Vote

Chapter Thirteen

64. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens, irrespective of religion, nationality, domicile, etc., of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, of both sexes, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

a. All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in housekeeping, which enables the former to do productive work, i. e., laborers and employees of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, agriculture, etc., and peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who employ no help for the purpose of making profits.

b. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

c. Citizens of the two preceding categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

Note. 1: Local Soviets may, upon approval of the central power, lower the age standard mentioned herein.

Note 2: Non-citizens mentioned in Paragraph 20 (Article Two, Chapter 5) have the right to vote.

65. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

a. Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

b. Persons who have an income without being any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.

c. Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.

d. Monks and clergy of all denominations.

e. Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarme corps, and the Okhrana (Czar's secret service), also members of the former reigning dynasty.

f. Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship.

g. Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offences, for the period fixed by the sentence.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

Elections.

66. Elections are conducted according to custom on days fixed by the local Soviets.

67. Election takes place in the presence of an electing committee and the representative of the local Soviet.

68. In case the representative of the Soviet cannot be present for valid causes, the chairman of the electing committee takes his place, and in case the latter is absent, the chairman of the election meeting replaces him.

69. Minutes of the proceedings and results of elections are to be compiled and signed by the members of the electing committee and the representative of the Soviet.

70. Detailed instructions regarding the election proceedings and the participation in them of professional and other workers' organizations are to be issued by the local Soviets, according to the instructions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Checking and Cancellation of Elections and Recall of the Deputies.

71. The respective Soviets receive all the records of the proceedings of the election.

72. The Soviet appoints a commission to verify the elections.

73. This commission reports on the results to the Soviets.

74. The Soviet decides the question when there is doubt as to which candidate is elected.

75. The Soviet announces a new election if the election of one candidate or another cannot be determined.

76. If an election was irregularly carried on in its entirety, it may be declared void by a higher Soviet authority.

77. The highest authority in relation to questions of elections is the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

78. Voters who have sent a deputy to the Soviet have the right to recall him, and to have a new election, according to general provision.

Article Five

The Budget

Chapter Sixteen

79. The financial policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic in the present transition period of dictatorship of the proletariet, facilitates the fundamental purpose of expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the preparation of conditions necessary for the equality of all citizens of Russia in the production and distribution of wealth. To this end it sets forth as its task the supplying of the organs of the Soviet power with all necessary funds for local and state needs of the Soviet Republic, without regard to private property rights.

80. The state expenditures and income of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic are combined in the state budget.

(C[illegible]

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Reds Ousted But Red Prevails

Mooney Congress the Most Momentous in History of U. S. Labor— Radicals in A. F. of L. at Last Assert Themselves—Gompers Will Now Have to Speed Up Or Shut Up.

(Special to Ohio Socialist)

The officialdom of the American Federation of Labor and the conservatives and reactionaries in that organization were shell-shocked in Chicago last week and if indications foretell, will have to spend the balance of their unprogressive lives in hospitals and die a lonely death unless they mend their ways.

It happened at the Mooney Congress which convened Jan. 14 in the North Side Turner Hall, windy city. A thousand delegates from all parts of the United States and some from Canada met in five days' sessions and every day saw the breaking of some hard and fast A. F. of L. precedent or idol. Labor is setting its face toward the rising sun, toward the east where the crimson of the new day greets mankind with the new message. Labor has thundered its ultimatum in foreign lands and its lightening has blasted the chains of wage slavery. The storm clouds were seen at the Mooney Conference and lightening will flash and thunder will crash in the camp of the profiteers in this country before many more moons grace the sky.

The first day of the congress was a blue day for the "crimson-red-cerise gang," as the Chicago wielders of the poisoned pens called those delegates who represented Socialist locals and the I. W. W. By methods not quite in harmony with democratic practices, these "reds" were ruled out of the convention, it being contended that only A. F. of L. organizations were invited to take part. But those who thought that this would keep the Mooney Congress "within bounds of reason" reckoned without an eye upon the new spirit which has given labor a new life. Also, they did not remember, for the minute, that it was the radicals within the A. F. of L. who alone stood up for Mooney, who were first to come to his rescue and that the conservatives still fail to grasp the deep injustice to labor involved in the Mooney frame-up, and that it was, in most instances, only the radicals who cared to spend time at such a conference.

Turns a Real Red.

It was, after all, a very significant diplomatic stroke, this ousting of the Socialist delegates. All the credit can now be assumed by the A. F. of L. delegates. Ed Nolan, treasurer of the Mooney Defense Fund, who was the [illegible] and permanent chairman of the conference, complained after the first day's session that there were delegates present "who wanted to consider everything from Mooney to Russia." He was right, but this was nothing to complain about and the second day saw the chairman gradually changing his position in an attempt to get nearer the heart of the delegates present so that he could use this influence in holding them in leash.

Two "awful" deeds were perpetrated by the delegates upon this second day. The first was to invite Eugene V. Debs to address them, and the second was to deny seats in the convention to representatives of the Italian labor mission, a mission repudiated by Italian labor, yet welcomed by Gompers—a mission appointed by the government of Imperial Italy.

Besides telegraphing Debs to come to the convention, E. B. Ault, secretary of the conference and editor of the Seattle Daily Union Record, also wired Judge Westenhaver to permit Debs to leave the jurisdiction of his court for a period long enough to speak to the delegates. The judge answered that such permission would have to be obtained in open court with both sides represented. The open court hearing was had the next day, but as all Socialists prophesied, the judge refused to grant Debs the privilege to visit Chicago.

The few conservatives among the delegates, seeing the trend of events upon this second day, attempted by caucuses, to swing delegations from various states and organizations back into line. Quinlivan of the Toledo Central Labor body attempted this with the Ohio delegates, but to no avail. The conference had turned red without the reds and the Socialists who were denied seats—yes, even those delegates who carried red cards, sat tight and watched the march forward.

"It's Going My Way."

Remarks made in an impassioned speech by a Socialist delegate told the story. "Labor has advanced a hundred years here today. Sit tight. I'm satisfied. It's going my way," said he. And then the reply of Debs to the invitation extended him by the conference was read and the convention went wild, ending the demonstration with three cheers for the invincible peer of labor.

Debs' Telegram.

Terre Haute, Ind., Jan. 15, 1919.

E. B. Ault, Secretary Mooney National Labor Congress, Chicago, Ill.:

A thousand thanks to the convention for its kind invitation. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to appeal to the delegates in behalf of Mooney and Billings, but I am in the custody of federal court officials and not permitted to go to Chicago. Free speech prevails in Russia but is dead in the United States since the world has been made safe for democracy. This morning I wired Delegate Wag-[illegible] respecting the purpose of the convention. The conservative element has the unqualified approval and support of the capitalist press, which can only mean that the conservative element is true to the capitalist class and false to the working class. I am with and for the radicals. The hour has struck for action. Long winded resolutions and humble petitions to corporation tools in public office and corrupt po-

(Continued on Page Two)

Capitalist Interests Prepare for Invasion of Mexico

The American investors in Mexico are uniting for a joint move against the efforts of the Carranza government, to take the full value of the natural resources for the use of the Mexican people. "Curb News," published by the Jones & Baker Securities Co., New York, January 6, 1919, carries a front page story which gives full details of the organization of "The National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico."

The Association has two objects—the rapid development of Mexico's great natural wealth and the protection of American rights in this development. It is planned that the Association shall include in its membership "all corporations operating in Mexico as well as every holder of Mexican securities."

One of the leaders of this powerful Association is quoted as saying: "We feel that the Peace Conference should take up the subject of Mexico and that one of the first steps of the League of Nations, if it is formed, should be to save Mexico and its great mineral and oil wealth from the bandits and others who are ravaging the country. The world sorely needs Mexico's raw materials. Mexico must settle her own internal difficulties or expect the League of Nations to step in and settle them for her."

According to the reports carried by "Curb News," "Eager, restless, two-fisted men are thronging the sun-baked streets of El Paso, Texas. * * * Engineers, miners, prospectors, drillers and other trail-blazers are only waiting the word before swarming across the border to assist in a more rapid development of the fabulous riches of old Mexico. All of which is believed to foreshadow an early satisfactory settlement of the vexing Mexican problem, which has simmered and boiled for years.

The writers of the article note that "coming events cast their shadows before." The trading in securities of companies having Mexican holdings has been particularly active of late. The price trend has been upwards. In some cases the rise has been extremely rapid. This is held to be an indication that the newly formed organization will be able to make itself felt in re-establishing [illegible] operating conditions."

The article contains a glowing description of the gold, copper, oil and other Mexican resources, all of which [illegible] waiting for the establishment [illegible] government. [illegible] of the Ameri- [illegible]

government is aiming to lay a heavy tax upon all natural resources for the purpose of securing to the people of Mexico the full benefit of their own rich possessions. It is this taxing proposal that is meeting with the chief opposition from the American vested interests.

The situation lends new importance to the recent Pan-American Labor Conference, held at Laredo, in the course of which the workers of Mexico, Central America and the United States pledged their united support to a movement that would safeguard the American's against the menace of financial imperialism.

General Strike Convulses Argentine

The acute labor unrest which has been convulsing Argentina for months came to a climax on January 8, when a general strike was declared throughout the Republic. It resulted in a complete tie-up of all industries. Even the police, the firemen, the street-cleaners, and other municipal employes in Buenos Aires joined the strikers. The center of the disturbances was the Vasena Ironworks, where some twenty thousand men did picket duty. The government finally broke the strike, after various street battles had taken place, on January 11 by declaring martial law and appointing General Dellepaine as military dictator. In congress the Socialist deputies demanded an explanation of the government's use of force in the strike. The session broke up in wild disorder, fist fights being one of the attendant circumstances.

The labor movement of Argentina is overwhelmingly under Socialist control. The only paper circulating during the strike was La Vanquardia, the Socialist organ. The other papers were seized by the strikers as fast as they appeared, who pointed to the fact that the only paper supporting them was La Vanguardia. No authentic news has as yet come through from Argentina to indicate whether the strikers won any of their demands.

The Argentina labor troubles are but a part of the series of strikes that has taken place throughout Latin America in recent months. The Pan-American Socialist Conference, therefore, which has been called to meet in Buenos Aires late in January, bids fair to be of historic importance.

WHEN YOU SEE IT
YOU'LL WANT IT
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
CERTIFICATE

GOOD TO BUY
GOOD TO KEEP
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
[illegible]

Now is Time for Labor to Rebuke Capitalist Crime and Strike Blow for Industrial Freedom

Debs Telegraphs Mooney Conference

Telegram

Greetings to the radicals, the true friends of Mooney and the real representatives of the American Labor movement. Stand by your program. The organized workers must now show that they are men and women to be respected and not sycophants and slaves to be spat upon with contempt.

The capitalist press is full of praise for the conservative element. This of itself is proof of the cowardice or treason of that element.

Down with the cowads and traitors who in the name of union labor would crucify Mooney and betray the labor movement! They wear union badges but they are even lower and viler than the plutocratic pirates and their servile tools who framed up Mooney and his associates.

Mooney's worst enemies are the treacherous union men who have their thirty pieces for their perfidy and would now make a farce and failure of this conference.

Mooney and Billings are innocent and we know it. The whole world knows it. That is enough. Let the conference issue its ultimatum. Waste no time on capitalist courts, legislation or politicians. Give the capitalist conspirators so many days. Unconditional release or general strike. No compromise. Upon that issue we can face the world. If the capitalists must have war let it come. The people are with us. We have all to gain, and nothing to lose but our chains.

Do not crawl and beg but stand erect and command. The honest workers of the nation will back you up to the finish. All they ask is bold and fearless leadership. Now is the time for labor to rebuke capitalist crime and strike a historic blow for industrial freedom and social justice in the United States.

Eugene V. Debs.

Arrogant Parasites Roll in Wealth While Useful Workers Starve

A more glaring instance of arrogant brutality on the part of members of the capitalist class was never instanced than in that of the wearing of a sable coat costing $75,000 by the wife of W. E. Cory, the steel magnate. According to the daily press the fur centers of the world were searched to find the most costly and perfect materials for this garment which clothes a parasite who never expended an ounce of energy in earning a penny of this huge sum. To outdo in extravagance and vain show the titled nobility (what the Bolsheviks have left of that bunch of useless junk) of Europe seems to be the highest ambition of the industrial autocrats of democratic (?) America.

Fattened on the enormous profits of war the steel kings and their consorts may now flaunt their arrogance before a nation of jobless and impoverished workers. While American workers were giving their lives on the battle fields of France and at home were laboring night and day in self-denial that democracy might rule the world, the manufacturers of steel were piling up millions in profits greater than at any previous time. The new millionaires produced by the war and the miseries of mankind, can well afford to squander in shameless follies their unearned wealth while the producers, the rightful owners, tramp the streets in search of a master to further exploit them.

From the sweat and blood and toil of the workers is derived every cent of this huge sum that is lavished upon the back of a useless social drone. From their denial and that of their wives and children comes every particle of comfort and elegance that is in this garment. The cries of starving babies, the agonized weepings of broken hearted mothers, the despair of fathers is muffled in its rich folds. The very blood of the workers drips from its hem.

The brutality, the fiendish and criminal immorality of a robbing and ruling class is examplified in this outrageous assault upon decency and the higher precepts of moral teachings and was never mirrored in a more illuminating instance than this. At the hour when poverty, grief, disease, sadness and death holds millions of Americans in the grip of despair, the exploiters, the profit-takers, the social parasites roll in undreamed of luxuries and flaunt before their victims the evidence of their thievery.

Seventy-five thousand dollars for a fur coat for a social parasite whose usefulness to the world is nil, while the babies of the useful and necessary workers die like flies of disease and starvation and have not even rags with which to cover their nakedness!

The whole monstrosity is a crime against social justice and cries aloud for a readjustment of the distribution of the products of labor. Could evidence of the basic wrongs of the present industrial system be plainer? Is it nto evident in this latest debauch of a fatted parasite that the problem of problems before the American workers is a juster distribution of the wealth they create?

This is the problem before us today and the hour of its solution draws near.

The workers alone have the right and the power to settle it justly. The beneficiaries of this system, the $75,000 coat wearing parasites who fatten on the labor of the exploited millions are not going to even attempt to solve it. Indeed, why should they? It is not their concern. Their concern is but to keep astride the bent backs of the workers and as long as the workers prefer to be ridden they certainly will be content to do the riding. What think you, workers?

Bread Line for Heroes and Workers

Washington, Jan. 16.—"When the men in the army are demobilized," said Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, today before the house immigration commission, "we are going to have bread lines in every industrial center by May 1. After that date it is hoped that building will pick up and take some of the men."

Surveys of industrial conditions in many cities were presented by Mr. Morrison, who urged legislation prohibiting immigration for four years. The estimated number of unemployed given by the survey included: Cleveland, 40,000; Clifton, Ariz., 650; Los Angeles, 8,000; New Britain, Conn., 2,000; Chicago, 75,000; Rockford, Ill., 200; Fort Wayne, Ind., 350; Louisville, 2,900; New Orleans, 20,000; Boston, 10,000; Grand Rapids, 5,000; St. Paul, 8,000; St. Louis, 15,000; Kansas City, 2,000; Paterson, N. J., 1,200; Trenton, 2,500; New York City, 20,000; Cincinnati, 5,000; Portland, Ore., 9,000; Toledo, 17,000; Youngstown, 5,000; McKeesport, Pa., 600; Scranton, Pa., 200; Aberdeen, Wash., 3,000; Wheeling, 750; Wilwaukee, 7,000; Superior, Wis., 750.

Jersey City said there was "no noticeable distress because of unemployment."

Newark, N. J., reported "five men for every job." Jacksonville, Fla., said that supply and demand were equal.

McDonald, Socialist, Heads Illinois Labor Federation

Chicago, Ill.—Duncan McDonald of Springfield, Ill., one of the veterans of the Socialist movement of this state, has been elected president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, according to the results of the referendum just completed. He succeeds John H. Walker, a national figure in the labor movement, and former Socialist.

McDonald is a member of the Coal Miner's Union, having served for many years as secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of Illinois. He was a member for several years of the Socialist Party national committee from Illinois.

McDonald's election as head of the Illinois labor movement, and with James H. Maurer having occupied a similar position for years in the Pennsylvania labor movement, places Socialists in command of two of the strongest state labor federations in the country.

Other officials of the Illinois Labor Federation were elected as follows: Victor A. Olander, Seamen's union, secretary-treasurer; J. P. McGrath, vice president; Edward Carbine, second vice president; Michael Whalen, third vice president; Thomas Kelly, fourth vice president; Joseph W. Mor- fifth vice president; Al Towers, sixth vice president; Emil Reinhold, seventh vice president; Joseph B. Connors, eighth vice president, and Waldo Cross, ninth vice president, these constituting the executive board; the auditors being William Jampel, Jerry Kain and Bert Gray.

Unemployment Among Discharged Soldiers.

There has been unemployment among discharged soldiers for many months past. The Monthly Labor Review issued by the United States Department of Labor shows that in April, May and June of 1918 more than a third of all the soldiers interviewed by the investigators of the department were "seeking employment." Apparently the situation was acute in the summer. How much more difficult must it have become now that the winter months have decreased the demand for labor, while the system is [illegible]

Striking Features of Meeting of National Executive Committee

Special Wire.

A monster free speech and amnesty for political prisoners' convention to be held at Chicago on International Labor Day, May 1st has been called by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in meeting at Chicago, Jan. 18-19-20. All radical and liberal organizations of the nation are invited to take part.

Among other matters of pressing importance upon which the committee acted was that of stating the position of the Socialist Party of America in relation to the so-called labor party that has been organized at Chicago and a few other cities. "No fusion, no compromise," is the keynote sounded. Socialist Party members are prohibited joining it the same as other political parties.

Instructions to the party's delegates to the International Socialist Conference at Luzerne, Switzerland, were that they maintain the party's expressed position upon international questions and work for the upbuilding of the Revolutionary International of the working-class of the world.

James A. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor was chosen as delegate to represent the Socialist Party at the South American Labor Conference which convenes at Buenes Aires, in April.

A national weekly paper under party control was one of the decisions of the committe which makes this meeting one ofthe most momentous in history. A department of Organization and Propaganda under direction of Alfred Wagenknecht, State Secretary of Ohio was established as one of the principal features connected with the new weekly.

Among important resolutions were those demanding withdrawal of American troops from Russia.

British Unemployed Parade

"Everyman" of London calls attention to the fact that processions of unemployed workers through Trafalgar Square and down Whitehall have been on the increase in recent weeks [illegible]

strations," says "Everyman," "that every revolution in history has sprung. * * * Representing the discharged war workers of the nation they present an extraordinary varied range of classes; and old and young march together in a startling contrast. Yet these demonstrations are highly significant, and their frequency must be an unhealthy sign."

How our Comrades on Trial Viewed Verdict of "Guilty"

By ADOLPH GERMER, Nat'l Sec'y.

The verdict of the jury is, of course, disappointing though not in the least surprising. The venire from which we had to choose was made up of men who are instinctively hostile to us. The prosecution was extremely careful to keep from the jury anyone who, at any time or in any way came in contact with, or had the slightest knowledge of the labor movement. Men who had a glimmering of the economic and political forces that are at work were not wanted on the jury by the prosecution. Men with opinions and prejudices against us were needed to convict. Retired farmers, retired business men and insurance and real estate men, whose income is derived from the profit system, were given to us and we were obliged to submit our fate in their hands. I am not in the least questioning the honesty of the jury but it is true as Marx says, "The way a person makes his living determines his mode of thinking."

Much as the prosecution might deny it, it stood out as clear as the noonday sun that it was not the five defendants who were on trial but the Socialist Party and its principles. The war hysteria was carried into every phase of the case to add to the natural prejudices of the jury. Had the jury carefully followed one phase of the judge's instructions, only one verdict could have been returned and that is, "Not Guilty."

The jury was instructed in substance that we had the right to hold and express our political and economic views; that we had a right to discuss the causes and the effects of the war and if they found that our object was to improve the conditions of society, they were to return a verdict of "Not Guilty."

There was abundance of evidence to show that we carried on similar propaganda before the war and that what we did during the war was consistent with the traditional principles of the Socialist Party.

Personally speaking, and I am sure I am expressing the sentiment of my colleagues, I have nothing to regret and nothing for which to apologize. If the democracy of which we heard so much and for which we were told we entered this war can be had only through prison cells, I am willing to take my place with countless others who have been denied their liberties because of a conviction.

The Socialist movement will not suffer from the verdict rendered against us. Quite to the contrary, it will be vitalized. The unpardonable crime of sending men to prison for having an opinion has never destroyed any movement. Bismarck sought by oppression and persecution to destroy the Socialist movement of Germany but instead of destroying it, he gave it life and determination. Postmaster General Burleson may exclude our papers from the mails and thus seek to destroy our press. Attorney General Gregory may order prosecutions by the wholesale and send our faithful comrades to prison by the thousands, their acts of infamy will serve to enlighten the masses to the growing despotism of the American plutocracy. In European countries political prisoners are released. In this country alleged political offenders are sent to prison."

* * *

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

"The old order sat in judgment on the new, and the verdict would not have been different. Eleven Republicans and Democrats, and one Prohibitionist, returned a verdict of guilty against five Socialists because they carried on the work of the Socialist movement in the United States. In no other country, in or out of the war, with the exception of Russia under the czar, has the established government sought to stop progress by such an insane attack upon the rising Socialist movement as we are witnessing here in the United States. The reverse of the Chicago proceeding would be a trial with twelve Socialists sitting in judgment on the capitalist system. This verdict, that capitalism must pass, is being written, not in court records, but in the minds of the workers of the world. Capitalism's effect to save itself in this country by the conviction of a few Socialists in Chicago, speaking for American Socialism, will only hasten its own doom."

* * *

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

"The verdict of guilty against myself and my four comrades for alleged conspiracy to interfere with the armed forces of the United States is

(Continued on Page Four)

International Labor News

EDITORS: Louis P. Lochner, Scott Nearing, Santeri Nuorteva, Alexander Trachtenberg

SWITZERLAND

Bank Clerks Strike and Win Demands.

That even "white-collar slaves" are beginning to see the value of united action, is seen from the fact that the bank clerks of Zurich recently conducted a successful strike for higher pay and other concessions. Their wages are now from $50 to $60 a month instead of $16 to $20 a month, the pitiful wages given them before the strike. The general public was in hearty sympathy with the strike, and persuaded the women who were offered the bank clerks' places, not to accept the offers.

Furthermore, cafes, taxis, stores, restaurants, cafes and public offices went on strike in order that the bank clerks might win their demands.

CANADA

Western Labor Preparing for Conference.

A western inter-provincial conference of labor is to be called early in March, the city of Calgary, B. C., having been tentatively agreed upon as the seat of the conference. The labor movements of British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan have already expressed their sympathy with the project. It is intended that the annual convention of the British Columbia Federation of Labor be held during the first three days of the week, and that the balance of the week be given over to the Western Conference.

FRANCE

What to Do With Munitions Plants.

The national conference of workers in the chemical powder mills, recently held in Paris, went on record against the proposal raised in many quarters to close the munition plants erected by the government at great cost, and to sell them to private companies for industrial purposes. The conference points out that experts have testified that these plants can easily be turned over into government-owned chemical fertilizer plants, or into dye works, or into establishments for the manufacture of other articles now imported from foreign countries. It demands the appointment of a mixed commission of parliamentarians and representatives of the labor unions for immediate investigation of and action on this problem.

Reconstruction Program of Syndicalists.

The Central Federation of Labor of France has issued a reconstruction program which calls, among other things, for the constitution for a League of Nations through the free co-operation of all the people for the abolition of economic protectionism and the doing away with an economic war after this war, for disarmament, for the establishment of an international bureau of transportation and reparation of raw material, for the internationalization of colonies, and punitive indemnities, and self-determination for all peoples.

Other features of the manifesto [illegible] of labor in the peace conference, greetings to the Russian, Austrian, Hungarian and German workers, demands for the restoration of free speech and assemblage, amnesty for civil and military war prisoners, the recognition of syndical rights for all workers, and an eight-hour day.

New Elections Postponed.

For months the Socialists of France have demanded that new elections take place at the earliest possible moment, and that these elections be preceded by a change in the electoral system. The French government has decided, however, to postpone the elections until after the signing of the peace treaty and then to conduct them according to the old electoral system. Electoral reform is to be left to the new chamber.

GERMANY

Abolition of Night Work.

It is an interesting fact that on the third day after the Socialists took hold of the government of Germany, night work and Sunday work was abolished in all bakeries and confectioneries throughout Germany. The abolition of night work has been a Socialist demand throughout the world, and the Socialists of Germany proceeded at once to put this part of their program into operation in various industries, notably the ones above mentioned.

RUSSIA

Co-Operation in Archangel.

A recent report of the Archangel Co-Operative Union shows that practically the whole population of the Archangel province is united in various co-operative societies. There are over 500 consumers' societies with a membership of 127,000 persons. Besides these, other than consumers, such as credit societies, societies for timber felling, for producing tar, creameries, etc. The report estimates that the members together with their families thus linked up in various co-operative enterprises aggregate 500,000 persons, which is almost equal to the whole population of the province.

Great Britain

Labor Strong in British Election.

Abraham Cohan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, of New York, has cabled the following interesting data concerning the British elections:

"The latest report of the results of the elections in England are very interesting. The figures show that the Union Party, which had a tremendous victory in the elections, received 3,700,000 votes, and elected 359 members of parliament. The Labor Party received 2,700,000 votes and elected only 65 members of parliament. While the Union Party elected one member to every 10,000 of its votes, the Labor Party elected one member to every 41,000 of its votes.

"This fact has made a tremendous impression in England. Even in the districts where the Labor candidates were not elected [illegible]

The Mother of [illegible]

By [illegible]

[illegible] was to be a collective age of [illegible].

Immediately following Frances [illegible] came the brilliant Polish [illegible] Ernestine Rose, who for fifty years carried messages of religious and political freedom. Coming here in 1836 this handsome orator, starting out alone, paying her own expenses, arguing in legislative halls, lecturing in all large cities, in hamlets, in the back woods of Ohio and Indiana and in negro churches, encouraging [illegible] bravely in their fight for liberty, soon found many other women marching along the path of Human Progress.

The path was often hard. At the convention of 1853, while advocating the same rights of guardianship of children for mothers that fathers had, the "respectable" citizens of antediluvian ideas yelled, "Oh dry up! Bow-wow-wow! Waugh; Hiss-is-is! Get out!"

Gazing on the Law Givers did Ernestine Rose recall the innumerable petitions she had sent to legislatures? Was she recalling how, before large and small audiences her melodious voice had rung out against the social evil?

"It is a shame to talk about licensing a social evil. It is a shame to the republic. It is a violation of woman's nature. It is an insult to womanhood, and if a woman has one drop of pure blood stirring in her heart she must revolt against it. At the same time, I say to the legislature that, if you enact laws against social evils, whatever those laws are, let them be alike for man and for woman. If you want to derive a revenue from the corruption of the community, let it be drawn alike from both sexes. The social evil belongs to both, the social remedy must belong to both. Do not degrade woman any more than she is degraded. Perchance, she is driven, through your injustice, to that step to maintain her wretched existence, because every office of emolument is barred against her. Let woman have the franchise, let all the avenues of society be thrown open before her, according to her powers and her capacities and there will be no need to talk about social evils."

And even today there are men who refuse woman the right to work!

Ever the champion of the oppressed she attacked all wrongs. That she knew times changed and with them customs, is shown in her speech defending the widow where she wittily said:

"As to personal property: after all debts and liabilities are discharged, the widow receives one-half of it and, in addition, the law kindly allows her her own wearing apparel, her own ornaments, proper to her station, one bed, with appurtenances for the same, a stove, the Bible, the family pictures, and all the school books; also, all spinning wheels and weaving looms, one table, six chairs, tea cups and spoons. But the law does not inform us whether they are to be tea or table spoons, nor does the law make any provision for kettles, saucepans and all such necessary things. But the presumption seems to be that the spoons meant are teaspoons, for, as ladies are generally considered very delicate, the law presumed that a widow might live on tea only, but spinning wheels and weaving looms are very necessary articles for ladies nowadays. (Hissing and great confusion). Why, you need not hiss, for I am expounding the law. These wise lawmakers, who seem to have lived somewhere about the time of the flood, did not dream of spinning and weaving by steampower.

"When our great-great-grandmothers had to weave every article of apparel worn by the family, it was, no doubt, considered a very good law to allow the widow the possession of the spinning wheels and the weaving looms.

"But, unfortunately for some laws, man is a progressive being, his beliefs opinions, habits, manners and customs change, and so do spinning wheels and weaving looms, and, with men and things, law must change too, for what is the value of a law when man has outgrown it? As well might you bring him to the use of his baby clothes, because they once filled him, as to keep him to such a law. No. Laws, when man has outgrown them, are fit only to be cast aside among the things that were."

* * *

Two sisters from the south were in one of the groups. They were Angelina and Sara Grimke.

They had left home and friends to venture north in search of ways to aid in securing human freedom for the black slaves. They knew that any kind of slavery was a stumbling block on the highway of progress.

Many times the gifted Angelina had courageously faced the mobs, as she pled the negro's cause. While the mob threw stones at the windows, howled and hooted and attempted to wreck the building in their rage, she calmly told of the suffering of the chattel slaves. Was it any wonder that woman retaliated by demanding equal privileges and that hourly the woman's rights movement grew?

The men in the mobs, because of [illegible] by all right [illegible]

"What shall we do? Here is an opportunity. Every man and every woman, [illegible] by [illegible] and in the [illegible] threatenings, [illegible] of those who are ready to [illegible]. Let me urge everyone to buy the books written on the subject, read them and lend them to your neighbor."

* * *

Stepping out from the group of Unseen Workers, a Quakeress surveyed the Law Givers. She beckoned to one of her friends, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who came to the side of the enthusiastic, impulsive, energetic Quakeress, Lucretia Moll. The twain smiled knowingly to each other in remembrance of another time when men passed judgment on women.

They remembered the days when the nation's conscience began to awaken many to espouse the cause of the down trodden slave. The womanhood of the north entered the lists by the side of the men. When the English, in 1840, called a world wide anti-slavery convention, many American anti-slavery societies sent as their delegates women who had responded nobly and dared to face mobs and rioting that the cause of the negro might be heard.

But alack a day! They did not know that this was not a convention wanting to free all slaves. Great was the consternation and commotion among the "liberal" minded men when the American women delegates arrived. Lucretia Moll, one of the delegates, was deemed as especially strong-minded and undesirable. The discussions about the seating of the women delegates were heated. The clergy were so bitter in their denunciation and so positive of "woman's place" that they whipped the other men in line to refuse to seat the women.

As a special bit of sarcastic salve the women were permitted to view the work of the convention from a screen, where they could not be seen and thus entice the "holy men" from their "duty" of "saving the world."

Little did these ministers realize what a storm they had provoked, nor did they foresee that they had taught the women that while they were working to free the black slaves they would also have to take a stand for the equality of women.

Lucretia Moll meeting the young and beautiful bride of one of the delegates, Henry Stanton, discussed with her not only the bigoted action of the convention but human rights. Man's injustice to woman spurred these two to work for the emancipation of woman as well as the abolition of chattel slavery. Out of the struggle to help the black race, the women defending themselves as human beings entitled to free speech and free assemblage were driven into the woman's rights movement asking citizenship for themselves.

(To be Continued)

Pan-Hellenic Labor Federates

A few weeks ago, a national convention of all the labor unions of Greece was held in Athens, according to Greek newspapers just received in this country. There was formed the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Labor, and for almost a month the 800 delegates sat to perfect the news organization. Two cardinal points in the constitution of the Federation are: 1, the recognition of the class struggle, and 2, a relationship of co-operation with the Socialist movement. The government tried to interfere with the publication of the minutes of the convention in the Socialist press, but so strong was the protest of the representatives of 200,000 workers assembled against this attempt to suppress free expression in the press, that the government yielded. Among the resolutions adopted was one of congratulations to the Soviet government of Russia, another demanding the restoration of free press, speech and assemblage, and a third calling for the release of the many Greek radicals who have been imprisoned during the war. The newspaper accounts further add that the government offered to send two laborites of its own choosing to attend the Interallied Labor and Socialist Conference, but the federation declined, stating that it would either send its own delegation and not a hand-picked government one, or else, failing to receive passports for them, would abstain from participation in the conference.

In this connection it is of interest to note that a mass meeting of Greek Socialists and workers was held in New York during the first week of January which cabled strong resolutions of protest to the Greek prime minister against the reported intention of the Greek government to send troops to Russia to intervene in the affairs of the Russian Soviet republic.

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By [illegible]

[illegible] to equal the splendor of its diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, opals and pearls.

Yet in spite of the richness of their country the people of Wherisit were shockingly poor.

And do what they would they were unable to discover the reason for this anomalous state of affairs.

The fact itself was so obvious that the most careless observer could not fail to note it. It was the theme of constant discussion among every section of the community, and some of the explanations offered were as fantastic as they were futile.

The drought was blamed, though it happened but once in twenty years, and during the other nineteen the rain was permitted to run to waste. The flood was blamed, though it came along rarely, and left behind it abundant compensation for the temporary damage that it did.

Prayers were offered up to God to turn on the rain, and prayers were offered up to him to turn it off; and God, who dearly loved a joke, enjoyed these silly supplications very much.

Neither drought nor flood was the cause of the people's poverty, for the fat years were many times more numerous than the lean, and in the bureau of statistics prosperity was chronicled in ever swelling figures.

But the higher the national wealth was piled the deeper in poverty the people sank. And nobody could understand why it was so.

* * *

"IT'S DRINK!" cried the Whiskered Wiseacre. "If you saved what you spent on booze you could give yourselves and families more to eat and better clothes to wear."

[illegible]

"It's Improvidence," a Professor of Political Economy declared. "You squander your wages instead of practicing thrift and learning the art of Doing Without."

But this made no appeal to the people either, for they already did without so much that life was one long struggle with [illegible].

"It's Irreligion!" stormed the Very Reverend Dr. Pomp, D. D., High Priest of Wherisit, shaking his fist from the great altar. "You are wicked. You do not come to church. You put nothing in the collection plate for the clergy, and the curse of God is on you."

The people read this in their evening papers and it impressed them not a bit, for if God cursed them for not supporting the clergy, he would curse the clergy for not supporting them.

"It's Slowing Down!" shouted the Moneylord, orating at the annual dinner of the Ancient Order of Unconvicted Swindlers. "You don't produce enough. Increase your output 50 per cent. and I'll get one of my judges to raise the living wage 25 cents a week."

But the people know that already their lives were shortened by excessive toil, and that whenever the judge raised the living wage the Moneylord reduced it again by the simple expedient of putting up prices. So they read the speech in the evening papers with a dull unconcern.

Then WHY were they always poor? Why were the wolves of want continually scratching at their doors? Why were they shabbily dressed, and meanly housed, and sparsely fed, and not half educated?

They looked at the land. It was golden and green with plenty. They looked at the stores. They were crammed with all that the heart of man desired. They looked at the heavens. There were no signs there of a malevolent destiny. They looked at their hands. They were thickened and calloused with labor. They looked at their faces. They were seamed with anxiety and effort.

And yet their poverty was an incessant evil, afflicting them relentlessly [illegible] it all, and [illegible]

[illegible] "it [illegible]. It has been so since the memory of man; and in my opinion 'twill continue so to the end."

"It's in the nature o' things, if you ask me," said the [illegible]. "Somebody must work, d'you see, an' if there wasn't no poverty no one would work at all."

"It's good to be poor," said the Abject Crawler. "It makes yer 'umble and chastens yer pride. Bear it patiently an' you'll be rewarded in the next world."

These were the prevalent views among the people of Wherisit. They summed up the philosophy of the crowd, and ignorant and hunger could reason no further.

* * *

BUT ONE DAY there rose up from among the workers a young man who spake Strange Things.

"I can tell you why you are poor," said he.

"Tell us!" they cried.

"You are poor," said the young man, "because you are robbed!"

And he proceeded to paint out to them that the Ruling Class of Wherisit took so much of the products of their labor that there was not enough left for them to live upon in decency and comfort.

"They produce nothing themselves," he said, "and they take what is justly yours. It is for them you glean in the fields. It is for them you delve in the mines. It is for them you fell the forests and drain the marshes and wrest from the wilderness a wonder of wealth. For them you build palaces, and the hovels in which you and your children dwell are death traps for the body and soul. You gather for them the choicest fruits, and weave for them the costliest raiment, and the food YOU eat is coarse, and the clothes YOU wear are shoddy. Keep what is yours, and poverty you shall know no more. God is not to blame for your sufferings. The land is not to blame. Drink is not to blame. Improvidence is not to blame. Irreligion is not to blame. YOU only are to blame, for you are plundered and do honor to the thieves."

Now this speech caused a great commotion among the people. They had never heard anything like it before, and the idea that they were robbed by their rulers was one that staggered and bewildered them.

Every instinct of their being revolted from the thought, and yet at the same time it stirred them like a revelation.

They hated to believe it—and KNEW IT WAS TRUE.

"Who are you?" they cried.

And the young man answered:

"I am the voice of your secret soul. I am the wisdom of the ignorant. I am the courage of the cowardly. I am the pride of the meek. I am the Rebel."

And the people brooded over what he had told them. And wheresoever the Rebel went in the land, uttering his astonishing words, vast crowds followed him, and the excitement grew and deepened, till the very air seemed tremulous with tempestuous possibilities.

Reds Ousted but Red Rules

(Continued from Page One)

liticians are worse than useless. Mooney is innocent and the world knows it. This is enough. The convention can do no less than demand his unconditional release and issue an ultimatum to that effect giving due notice that if that fails a general strike will follow at a specified time and industry paralyzed throughout the land. Appeal has been made to their conscience in vain and now let the batteries of labor be opened on their profits. There is no half way ground. Every expedient has been tried and failed and now the working class must courageously proclaim its purpose and assert its power if the American labor movement is not to stand convicted of cowardice and treason before the world. The capitalist class and their official hirelings have utterly forfeited their right to counsel obedience to law. They, themselves, have trampled the law in the mire in their cold blooded determination to murder labor leaders too rigidly honest to sell out and too courageous and self-respecting to be browbeaten and intimidated. Let the ultimatum be the unconditional release of our fellow workers or a general strike. If the silk hat conspirators and would be lynchers out on the Pacific coast and elsewhere insist upon war, let it come. We have nothing to lose but the gags upon our lips and the chains on our bodies. Now is the time to prove the solidarity of our class. The people are with us in this fight and will stand by us from coast to coast in our determination to rebuke capitalist criminals and maintain our rights as American citizens.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

After receipt of this message from Debs many delegates proposed to again wire Judge Westenhaver expressing their dissatisfaction with his decision, in not granting Debs permission to come to Chicago, and making further demands upon the judge, but it was soon realized that this procedure would be waste of time.

Weinberg Testifies

Isreal Weinberg, now a resident of Cleveland, and one of Mooney's co-defendants, gave a graphic description of the attempt to bribe him to testify against Mooney. The first bribe was one of $5,000 and four times that amount was offered him later on. He told that "the bomb which did its deadly work upon preparedness day in San Francisco was filled with bullets of various sizes by those who were framing up the case so as to be able to prove that, because bullets of the same size were found in homes of defendants, that therefore these defendants had made the bomb. And what fool would fill a bomb with an assortment of bullets in various calibres?" he asked. He ended his speech with the assertion that if it had not been for the reds, Mooney and all defendants would have been hung long ago.

Another Bomb.

Another kind of bomb exploded in the camp of the A. F. of L. officials when G. T. Yoshihara, reprepresenting the Japanese railroad workers of Japan and the United States mounted the platform. Cheers, applause and loud calls of approval were given the statements of this Japanese delegate.

"The Japs in this country are now acquainted with the English language and they can not be used as scabs in any great number as here-to-fore," he said. "But the white men will have to learn that we must all unite as a class, no matter what our nationality. We must unite into an industrial union so that our strength will multiply. America is backward but Japan is the most backward country as far as organization among the workers is concerned. Yet, since the rice riots things have changed a bit and let me suggest to you not to wait so long that the Japs will have to come and tell how to do it."

A negro delegate received an equal ovation, and to both these classes of workers the A. F. of L. has been particularly indifferent, refusing to grant charters to Japanese unions and refusing to organize them.

International Officers Criticized

[illegible]

tional A. F. of L. unions as well as from the A. F. of L. officials themselves. This proved the repeated assertion made upon the floor ofthe convention that the heads of the American labor movement were luke-warm in this matter of freedom for Mooney.

The Chicago press, to make its lying record good, kept up a steady fire of invectives against the "Bolsheviki of the convention". Most papers reiterated day after day that "the reds were making a desperate effort to control the conference", and this is undoubtedly the color of the lie flashed broadcast. But every mention of the soviets of Russia brought cheers and applause and when a telegram was read by the Soldiers and Workers' Council of Seattle, an organization of the metal trades which is attempting to find jobs for returned soldiers and which is supporting them so that they do not beat down wages, the conference showed its true color. Telegrams were read from all corners of the country, many advising that resolutions for withdrawel of troops from Russia and for amnesty for political and class war prisoners be passed. And it was only resolutions of this nature that received the applause of the delegates.

The resolutions

Resolutions day came and the delegates, all of them, were in a mood most tense. That the Mooney case would be properly covered by the appointed resolutions committee was admitted, but what would this committee do about Russia and other prisoners?

Some debate ensued upon the Mooney resolution proposed. It covered three main methods of effort, first, to again make a trial for federal intervention. Second, to secure a change in the laws of California so that miscarriages of justice would be less probable. And third, that if these methods fail, that then a general strike be called upon July 4th, 1919.

Many of the delegates opposed what they termed "again crawling upon their bellies to Washington to beg" and others claimed it futile to try for a change in California laws, claiming the state too corupt for any good. July 4th as the day upon which the general strike should take place was also criticized as "the day when we are laid off and that therefore striking on that day was farcial." But the majority passed the resolution as reported by the committee.

One other resolution was reported upon this, the last day of the convention, and that was one demanding amnesty for all political and industrial prisoners; self determination for nations and withdrawel of troops from Russia.

The conference then, made its mark. It aimed high and will pass into history as the begining of a new labor movement in this country—a labor movement charged with class feeling and class duties. Never before in the life of the A. F. of L. has a general strike been encouraged. Every delegate present at the Mooney conference is now pledged to secure the support of his union for the declaration of such a strike. And while Gompers, at the Pan-American Labor Conference, defeated the efforts of the southern delegates to declare for amnesty for industrial and political prisoners, the rank and file of the A. F. of L. have now declared for such freedom despite their "leader".

No less a victory for justice is the demand of the conference for the immediate withdrawel of troops from Russia. American labor is recognizing with a clearer vision day by day, that intervention in Russia is unmoral and not at all compatible with any kind of democracy, whether it be the Wilson kind or that of the most extreme revolutionist.

Many other resolutions, such as demands for shorter workday; program for reconstruction; endorsement of industrial unionism were placed before the resolutions committee, which committee at a late hour Friday afternoon brought a report that "all other resolutions are not germane to the purpose of this convention." Whereupon the chairman, Ed Nolan, by use of [illegible]

The Chameleon

By NORA GILLESPIE.
Huntington, W. Va.

With the passing of Roosevelt, Socialists and radicals the world over heave a sigh of relief. Imbued with the ideas and beliefs of the stone age he was a menace to all progressive thought and action.

Any new idea for the benefit of the race was ignored until it waxed mighty, when it would be adopted as the child of his brain.

Only a few years ago he very distinctly told the women their place was at home, bearing children; that the best women were the ones who had the most children. The men understood what the women wanted or needed better than they did themselves. But when something like six million women were given the ballot he decided it was good for them and when he held his little pet convention in Chicago, one of the prominent planks was for woman suffrage. It seems that women's memory was better than most men's, as Roosevelt was still a private citizen after election.

Under his administration millions of dollars were appropriated to study diseases of hogs and something like fifty thousand dollars were spent for the children. The idea that it is a crime to bring children into the world without provision being made for their care and education never occurred to him.

Only the other day he asked to have the school books of New York changed because in them he endorsed the president's position on the neutrality question, but had changed his mind in sixty days!

In his book on the Spanish American War, the first edition contained a lengthy account of how he shot a Spanish boy in the back as he was running away. After Socialists held this page up to the world in ridicule, the type was changed and the other editions did not carry these glad tidings.

With almost his dying breath he attacked the red flag as the cause of all wars. It is strange, to say the least, that followers of the red flag all over the world have served or faced prison sentences for opposing war. The kings, kaisers and czars of Europe hated the red flag as much as Roosevelt did and with a lot more reason. The followers of the red flag have rid the world of more despots than any group of people in history. Today the red flag waves over great nations, and although the once privileged classes are struggling to maintain the old established order, they will soon hear the "Voice of the people which is the voice of God."

As a lifelong politician he has fed at the public crib. The growth of the Socialist movement has threatened his meal ticket. The red flag stands for equal opportunity to all and he stood for special privileges for a few.

DENMARK

An Effort to Reduce Unemployment

The parliamentary group of the Socialist Party of Denmark has made representations to the Danish Cabinet asking that employment on public work be provided by the government in order to reduce the number of unemployed within the kingdom. This [illegible]

Virginia Bulletin

Official Organization News

B. M. DUTTON, State Secretary.

Virginia Comrades:

The Ohio Socialist has kindly consented to publish our monthly bulletin. This will be of vital advantage to us as it will keep our movement co-ordinated and our membership in touch and interested. For this favor we must all get behind the Ohio Socialist and boost. In so doing we will not only be discharging our obligation to the Ohio Socialist, but promoting our own organization interests at the same time. No radical movement can long remain virile without efficient press support. It is human nature to follow off after strange gods if the voice of "the one god" remains silent too long.

This truth has been well demonstrated, to our sorrow, during the war, while our own press was silenced by official "frightfulness," and the voice of "The New Appeal" kept on "patriotically" singing its sireen song into ears at first reluctant. That "The New Appeal" has printed and yet continues to print much good matter cannot be denied, but this only makes the thing the more dangerous, considering the fact that its mission is to build up a new and conservative "socialistic" party and disrupt the old radical and "impossiblest" Socialist Party—our party.

The voice of "The New Appeal" falls as a singular anachronism in these stirring times when thrones and dynastics are falling, and as the old and corrupted institutions of imperialism and wage slavery are being discredited the world over, the storm of revolution sweeps more and more strongly to the left. Radicalism is always generated by reaction. During the war a reactionary force was developed by imperialism and capitalism the world over, more drastic and intolerant than the world has ever known. This in turn has induced a radicalism more potent and virile than the world has yet seen. Besides this new and potent radicalism the French Syndicalism, the German, English and American bourgeoisie Socialism, looks pale and sickly.

The American Socialist movement finds itself in singular harmony with the new spirit, because at the outbreak of the war the "impossibilist" element in the party got in the lead. The conservatives who bolted and at once tried "patriotically" to break up the party by organizing a "practical and patriotic" imitation, now find themselves without a mission. They are out of harmony with the times and their activities will result only in giving aid and comfort to capitalism and imperialism. Though they may temporarily weaken and embarrass the real Socialist Party, the strength they gain thereby will only add to the might of the masters, who in turn will use it only to pile up more fuel unto the day of wrath.

The very worst type of reactionaries are in the saddle, both in England and America. That they will recklessly use their power to stamp out "Bolshevikism" in these countries is a foregone conclusion. In their zeal these worthies will not only frown down all reforms, but will in fact move backward by uprooting such reform legislation as has already been enacted. Reconstruction in the hands of reactionaries who have no social vision and who will turn deaf ea[illegible] to all advise as to the necessity [illegible] constructive legislation in averting [illegible]dustrial panic and widespread u[illegible]ployment, misery and unrest, ca[illegible] fail to draw down an acute crisis [illegible] which the iron hand of governmental power will be recklessly used.

Drastic action invites reprisal in kind, and in the political warfare that this state of affairs will engender the summer agitator and the sunshine revolutionist can have no part.

Intelligent action and organization, if taken NOW, may do marvels in softening the rigors of the times that await us. The stronger and more perfect our organization the sooner may the workers of this nation arrive at the final consummation in which PEACE AND PROSPERITY may be ours through economic justice and industrial democracy.

I hope our Virginia comrades wi[illegible] realize the futility of all conserva[illegible]tive dreams, and at once fall in line with us and help make our movement here what it should be.

Next month we shall get out a more detailed and "newsy" bulletin and we want all locals to get busy and report their notes.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.
December, 1918.
RECEIPTS.

Dec. 3, T. R. McBraver	$ 2.00
Dec. 4, Local Norfolk Co.	15.00
Dec. 5, John Reichle	2.00
Dec. 12, Local Strasburg on Machine Fund	3.00
Dec. 13, Dutton on same	10.00
Dec. 13, F. D. Lowe on same	3.50
Total	$35.50

EXPENDITURES.

Dec. 5, Literature	$ 1.00
Dec. 9, Express	.45
Dec. 9, Dues stamps, etc.	10.00
Dec. 10, Dutton fare to committee meeting	8.66
Dec. 10, F. D. Lowe, same	3.50
Dec. 31, Postage for month	1.50
Total	$25.11
Gain for month	$10.39

B. M. DUTTON.
State Secretary of Virginia.

BRAIN TEASERS

By TOM J. LEWIS.

HURRAH! Food has been released. But money is tied up. There is plenty of food out of reach. Now the question is, how to get it? There is an excuse for hunger and starvation in the countries where a famine exists but its a shame and a disgrace in the land of plenty.

* * *

UNEMPLOYMENT is already here. where is that predicted prosperity we were to get when the war had terminated? It has gone where the woodbine twineth. Like all the commercial and political promises.

* * *

MENSHEVIKI? The minority party that stands for compromise and reform of capitalism.

* * *

BOLSHEVIKI? The majority party uncompromising, controlled by the workers intent upon abolishing capitalism. Berger belongs to the former. What a representative of the working class! He is also a National Executive Committeeman. Comrades, America has its Scheidemann's also.

* * *

THE SPARTACUS party of Germany, is the same as the Bolsheviki of Russia. Two chips from the same block, whose aim and motive is the world for the workers.

* * *

SOVIETS. A form of government adopted, controlled and operated by the workers of Russia. Representation through delegates elected by the producers and distributors, election every three months. But no capitalist landlord or any one who lives on an uncarned increment is allowed to vote. One must do useful work to be a citizen in the Soviet republic.

Around the peace table, with only a piece of the globe represented in an attempt to dictate a peace that will go all to pieces.

* * *

Any news from Russia? Oh yes, the Bolsheviki have met with some ad defeats, they have taken eighteen more towns and have captured Riga and are within a few miles of Reval.

Do you favor the Bolsheviki? Sh! You're in a democracy. Well how do you like the democracy? Will tell you better when I get a job.

Well Bill, how do you like the change from war to peace? Say, where do you think you are, in Russia? There everybody can work who wants to and its the only country where the workers are respected. While the war was on we fought the Germans, and now that it is over, we must fight each other for jobs.

* * *

IN A DEMOCRACY the factories and shops take the workers and exploit them. In the Soviet Republic the workers take the shops and factories and exploit them. Where would you rather be?

* * *

THE SOVIETS are conducted from the bottom up. Democracies in general are conducted from the top down. What end are you on?

A valuable New Year's resolution! Decide to do your own thinking.

* * *

The world is changing, are you? Or are you like long standing water, creating a bad odor? That aids in breeding disease, that must weaken and possibly destroy. Inspect yourself and see if all is well.

Some Liberties We Have—Not

By THURBER LEWIS.

As a humorous offering to his auditors the following was ventured by a well known vaudevillian: "We took this country from the Indians and if it goes dry we are going to give it back"—a witty but meaningless statement to the shallow minded theatergoer. But to those of a more progressive turn of mind there may be discerned in the inferrence of the quotation a truth worth considering.

It is well understood that no bourgeois minded comedian consciously inferred that this country in Caucasian hands has been a failure. Nevertheless this does not prevent the gathering and assimilation of certain facts.

In our argument, the mention of a possible liquor prohibition in the United States is only valuable insofar as it expresses constraint of personal freedom. Consider for a moment the personal liberty our red friends in the pure and natural democracy of their primitive, yet contented, communism. (It may be expedient if at this point to remark about the similar but move advanced freedom of our red friends in Russia). But the prohibiting of indulgence in alcoholic liquors is but one of the numerous and vicious attacks on the freedom we are now enjoying in our "democracy."

Surely we have not yet forgotten the autocratic actions of our Bourbon [illegible] at German spies and hit free speech. Even now, after we have won democracy in Europe (failing of course to start at home first) we are unable to assemble peacefully together. These are only a few of the political curtailments on our liberties, think of what constraint exists in industry.

It is true that it is a foolish thing to continue ad infinitum on what liberties we do not enjoy. But what, may I ask, can be written on what liberties we do enjoy?

In the three hundred years that we white folks have existed in this continent as a social unit, instead of creating a system surpassing that of the "barbarous aborigenes," we have built up a government composed of institutions, the sole purpose of which seems to be the repression, if not the destruction, of all freedom. We were not content with corrupting ourselves in this manner, but we went further and contaminated the innocent natives with the "glories of civilization."

Yes, we have truly been a failure. The quotation might have read: We took this country from the Indians and we should be willing to admit that since we have been a social failure we should not have disturbed the peaceful communistic domains of the [illegible] man in the first place. But the [illegible]nal quotation in the red [illegible]

[illegible]

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Entered as Second Class Matter, February [illegible], at the Post-office at Cleveland, Ohio, Under Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORS .... [illegible]

Published Weekly by The Socialist Party of Ohio at Cleveland, O.

WEDNESDAY, JAN 22, 1919. [illegible]

OUR PARTY PAGE

Live News of Interest to all Party Members

WITH OUR EDITORS

THEIR REWARD

The hero's reward is not always in proportion to his heroism. This is being realized by an ever-increasing number of returned soldiers. The boys who doffed overalls to don the khaki carrying with them the promises of their employers of a job when they returned are now walking the streets while they ruminate upon the value of the masters' promises. The job does not materialize. And their last month's pay swiftly vanishing.

Labor, too. A few short weeks ago labor was [illegible], extolled, made to feel itself a necessary and worthy part of the social scheme. No longer so. Labor is now a drag on the market, there being now no great market for the products of labors' hand and brain. Factories and mills are closing, throwing upon this already filled to overflowing labor market hundreds of thousands of workers. Labor is no longer profitable to the masters, hence the [illegible] cessation of fulsome eulogies and praise.

Labor is not only at the present time not to be profitably employed but for the same reason is become a potential menace; liable to become infatuated with the germs of Bolshevism, exceedingly dangerous to the existing system of exploitation and for which there has been discovered an antidote.

Such are the conditions confronting the workers of America at the close of a great war won for democracy—but not Democracy in Industry. The same old scheme of robbery of the many by the few, the same subjugation of the great masses of the world to the will, the knavery and the exploitation by a small class of autocrats still continues and all the powers of the capitalist state are in league with them, in fact are their tools and instruments to make their autocracies more secure.

While the capitalists of America decide upon the future course of their industries, look over the chances for future exploitation of labor at home and abroad, lay plans for conquests of world markets and frame a course of procedure best calculated to serve the interests of capital, labor is being fed promises of a rosy future—in a few months the dinner pails will be filled —if American capital succeeds in getting a strangle hold upon markets wrested from former competitors.

In the meantime American workers are advised to not think of shortening the hours of labor for the purpose of employing more workers in this crisis, a dangerous precedent! Workers are not to consider the advisability of operating the industries of the nation for the benefit of the workers—for use instead of for profit, a still more dangerous precedent. And all the time are the workers admonished to remain loyal to their country during this reconstruction period, which means remaining in servile obedience to those who exploit them and to lend themselves to every scheme of robbery imposed or proposed by the financial and industrial free booters of this country.

What will be labor's answer?

NEEDED RECONSTRUCTION IN PARTY PROPAGANDA

Now that war time restrictions upon the use of print paper are removed, numerous Socialist publications of various degrees of usefulness to the movement are being launched by individual party members in all parts of the country. Without questioning in the slightest degree the sincerity or well meaning of these comrades in their desire to serve the great cause to the utmost of their ability we wish to reiterate our oft-repeated statement that PRIVATE CONTROL OF THE PARTY'S PROPAGANDA IS DEAD WRONG.

If there ever was a time when the welfare of the Socialist movement demanded party control of every avenue of propaganda, well organized, well financed and heartily supported by every member, that time is now. The welfare of the party, the course it must pursue in the great events of the immediate future, the questions it must meet and answer, the problems it must solve, all, demand unquestionably a party controlled press.

The Socialist movement should seek to establish enough activities to absorb the energies of every comrade who desires to serve the revolution. It should establish itself so firmly and formidably in the various propaganda and organization measures as to leave no room for individual and ofttimes injurious enterprises.

The acquisition of party owned daily, weekly and monthly publications of various types that will cover all the different phases of our propaganda are vitally necessary. This is the problem of the immediate future. Every comrade should give his earnest support to this forward movement.. Let us prepare to take this step.

OTHER EDITOR'S SAY

The other day daily papers carried a headline—clear across the first page —"31,000 Bolsheviki Captured in Siberia." That only leaves a trifle like one hundred and sixty millions yet to be "captured." Measured by the time taken to accomplish what has so far been done, the job will take only 50,000 years. —Union Record.

According to the New York Tribune the Bolsheviki have been in the habit of giving the peasants 10 cents for every military officer killed. It, however, omits to tell how the peasants can collect the money; but we suppose a Bureau of Scalps has been appointed to attend to this matter.—Revolutionary Age.

"Even now drafts of British troops, men who volunteered to fight the German and defend liberty, are being ordered to Siberia to fight the battles of Kolchak and Semenoff. If the British government does not stop this disgraceful adventure of its own accord, it will find it will soon be stopped for it."—The Manchester Guardian.

Let's see, if we understand the situation correctly, the Russian revolt was caused by German money and now the German revolution is caused by Russian money. This sum of money is causing a whole lot of trouble and unless it gets settled somewhere there may be no end of revolutions.—The Proletarian.

Let's see, how many German spies did the A. P. L.'s catch? Oh, come, don't accuse them of doing real work.

And daily the list of crimes and robberies grows in Cleveland and still the A. P. L.'s are bravely staying away from dark corners.

One is almost persuaded that that delectable organization is passing up the greatest opportunity ever offered for a career in real men's work.

Figures Show Renewed Activity

To the National Executive Committee.

Dear Comrades:

With the ending of the war also [illegible] of activity in the Socialist [illegible] as shown by the increase [illegible]

[illegible] the statement [illegible] November and December of 1918 and of January of 1919.

October, 1918, first 11 days..	$ 605.00
November, 1918, first 11 days	510.50
December, 1918, first 11 days	742.00
January, 1919, first 11 days.	1,138.05

I am also giving you herewith the dues stamps sold for the last three months of last year:

October, 1918, full month.....	57,157
November, 1918, full month.....	64,204
December, 1918, full month....	78,400

I will give you a more complete report at the meeting of your committee on Jan. 1[illegible].

Fraternally submitted,

ADOLPH GERMER.

ATTEND THESE MEETINGS

Readers of the OHIO SOCIALIST are invited to attend the following Socialist meetings to be held in Ohio within the next two weeks.

CHARLES BAKER.

State Organizer Charles Baker will visit the following cities to hold meetings: Marietta, Jan. 24; Portsmouth, Jan. 25; Cincinnati, Jan. 26, Socialist Hall, 1216 Vine St.; Norwood, Jan. 27; Hamilton, Jan. 28; Dayton, Jan. 29; Springfield, Jan. 30; Marion, Jan. 31; Mansfield, Feb. 1; Akron, Feb. 2, G. A. R. Hall, 50 S. Howard St.

THURBER LEWIS.

Akron, Jan. 26, G. A. R. Hall, 50 S. Howard St.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Cleveland, East Side, Jan. 23; New Bremen, Jan. 24; Warren, Jan. 26, afternoon, Youngstown evening.

Meetings already booker for the early part of February are: Kirkpatrick: Akron, Feb. 8; Cleveland, Feb. 9; Youngstown, probably, Feb. 10.

Scott Nearing: Canton, probably, Feb. 13; Dayton, Feb. 14; Cleveland, Feb. 16, afternoon and probably Youngstown in the evening.

Katterfeld: Belmont county, Feb. 5, 6, 7; Guernsey county, Feb. 8, 9; Piqua, Feb. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.

WINTER SOCIALS

Now is the time of year, comrades, when socials and indoor entertainments are most productive of good. Arrange one for your local members and the public. Put more pep and sociability in your local movement by getting together in a social way to advance the cause. We are informed that Local Tiffin will enjoy a "Hard Time" social on the 22d of anuary.

DAILY LIARS CHANGE TACTICS

We are informed that the Socialist meetings of Cincinnati are receiving special attention at the hands of the mouthpieces of the capitalist class in that fair city of exploitation. Whereas our meetings were formerly ignored or given scant attention and the numbers attending reduced about two-thirds in the accounts given, now the audiences are augmented to such a degree that even the most optimistic Socialist would not recognize them. The change merely means that the slimy ladies of the kept press are attempting to frighten the citizens with the growth and portent of "Bolshevism." The local comrades are onto the game.

FROM A LIVE WIRE

With a list of five subscriptions Comrade Chas. D. Hirst of Salineville writes: "It is my first attempt, but I hope not my last. I have also sent my card into the East Liverpool local and hope that I am now a member. Had no trouble at all in getting the subscription." What do you think of that from a new worker, comrades? Doesn't it take some of the discouragement out of your bones, you old timers? We should say so.

FOR THAT DAILY

Another five dollars is pledged by Comrade Walter Conradi of New Bremen to help make the Ohio Socialist a daily. A word is due the comrades on this matter at this time. At the rate subscriptions are being gathered by the comrades from many states the time is not far distant when the Ohio Socialist can be issued twice a week. That is the next objective for which we must now bend every effort. In the last few weeks the comrades have placed the party paper upon a self-sustaining basis. From creating a deficit each week it is now paying its way with a surplus over. The next step toward victory is to make is possible to publish twice a week. What is your answer?

HE IS ONE OF US

In a note from Comrade Debs to the State Office concerning party work in Ohio, in which Comrade Debs is greatly interested and for which he is giving many valuable suggestions he says, "I feel myself one of you 'Buckeye Bolsheviks'." Comrades will appreciate theso words of comradeship from "our 'Gene."

DECKS CLEARED FOR ACTION

Local Mt. Healthy has cleared her dacks for action throughout the New Year. Books were audited. Officers elected for the first six months, the comrades re-dedicated themselves to the cause. So says Comrade Geo. W. Markert.

MIDVALE TAKES A PLUNGE

Local Midvale took a decided plunge in renewed activities last week when the comrades awoke to the necessities of the present hour and paid up their dues. Secretary Rex Wolfe remitted for 21 yearly and 26 six-month subs and ordered $18.80 worth of dues stamps. He promises more subscriptions in the near future.

This is the spirit that is animating every local in the state. The last few weeks have changed the whole situation in the party in Ohio and the nation too if reports signify anything. Read the report on this page from National Secretary Germer as an indication of the party's upward climb.

It is a fact that the Socialist Party of Ohio and the nation is now taking the first step in the greatest [illegible]

WEST VIRGINIA

Official Organization News

H. L. Franklin, Acting State Secretary, 1353 Adams Ave.,
Huntington, West Virginia.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Executive Committeemen Marked Ex.

State Committeeman-at-Large, C. W. Kirkendall, Sistersville.

First District.

(Ex) Howard Boston, 1114 10th St., Moundsville.

J. M. Snyder, 1405 8th St., Fairmont.

J. B. West, Mannington.

Second District.

R. S. Dayton, Bellington.

(Ex) E. L. Smith, Martinsburg.

Third District.

P. R. Garrett, Harrisville.

(Ex) J. W. Wright, Weston, (chairman).

J. W. Flint, Weston.

Fourth District.

(Ex) H. F. Oberholtzer, Huntington.

H. L. Franklin, Huntington.

Sixth District.

George E. Glass, Heizer.

G. W. Harper, Charleston.

(Ex) 35. F. Link, Ronceverte.

A WORD TO NEW MEMBERS

The splendid response from Socialists all over the state to an appeal for contributions to the "Firth Defense Fund" indicates either that Comrade Firth, in his conduct of the office of State Secretary, endeared himself to the comrades, or that the Socialists of West Virginia are so devoted as to come gratefully forward to the relief of one who has given himself so enthusiastically in service to their cause. Be that as it may. West Virginia Socialists will be glad to know that Comrade Firth came out of confinement unbroken in spirit or health. On account of the impairment of his finances and loss of time incurred by the ordeal through which he has passed, he was compelled to resign his office and give his undivided attention to business; but he has not forgotten us or our cause. Mrs. Firth has just undergone a serious surgical operation, but am glad to be able to report that she is doing well, at this writing.

Socialism in Huntington has lost an enthusiastic proponent and tireless worker, in the removal of Comrade H. L. Franklin, who has been Acting State Secretary since Comrade Firth began to serve his sentence. He will locate at some point up state, probably at Fairmount or in that vicinity. What is the Fourth District's loss will be the First District's gain. Comrades, give Comrade Franklin a royal welcome and receive him with open arms—you will find him a true "Red" and a self-respecting gentleman.

Until the State Committee has time to fill the vacancy in the office of State Secretary, I have consented to take care of the affairs of that office, and while I have the opportunity I feel like introducing myself to the membership of the Socialist Party of West Virginia. Since my coming into the party organization here, three years ago, I have become acquainted with so many good people among the Huntington Socialists that I would like to meet more West Virginia comrades.

As a closing word to this bulletin, I urge that every local have a Literary Agent or committee to solicit subscriptions. "The Ohio Socialist," which contains our bulletin, I consider one of our strongest going papers. It not only gives us the most reliable Socialist news in this country and Europe, but its editorial staff is able and radical, furnishing the best propaganda obtainable for the advance of our movement.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.
December, 1918.
RECEIPTS.

Elkins	$ 6.00
Finnish Federation	7.50
Hungarian Federation	1.00
Moundsville	3.00
Elizabeth	1.85
Huntington	3.00
Finnish Federation	3.00
Hungarian Federation	.70
Total	$ 26.05

EXPENDITURES.

Dues Stamps	$ 15.00
Postage	4.45
Publishing Bulletin	8.00
Circulars	1.00
Secretary's Com.	10.70
Total	$ 39.15

RESOURCES.

Dues Stamps	$ 57.90
1,000 State Constitutions	48.25
3 Sets Local Sec'y Books	9.00
50 "Think or Surrender"	5.00
1,000 Application Cards	2.00
500 "How to Organize a Local"	2.00
50 "How to Conduct a Local"	1.00
Miscellaneous Books	5.00
Total	$100.15
December Deficit	$ 13.10
Bal. in Treasury Dec. 1	12.60
Deficit Jan. 1	$ .50

H. F. OBERHOLTZER,
Acting State Secretary.

Piqua News

By ROBERT JOHNSON.

The old party council at its first meeting of the new year was compelled to cat crow. It was with very bad grace that the chairman of the finance committee announced the inclusion of the back salary of Comrade Priller, service director, in the appropriations for the first half of the present year. Last July this bunch of fossilized remnants of the stone age tried to reduce the service director's salary from $1,200 per annum to $200 per annum. Comrade Priller promptly brought suit to collect his former salary with interest and attorneys fees added. The case was heard by Judge Jones of the common pleas court, who rendered a decision upholding Comrade Priller's contention that a service director's salary could not be reduced during his term of office and ordering the city council to pay arrearages due Comrade Priller.

• • •

G. W. Berry, Republican city solicitor of Piqua, erstwhile known as "Lindsey's office boy" is the goat for all the city council's blunders. Poor "Gawge." Before a Socialist administration appeared on the scene George by looking wise and studying wreaths of cigar smoke above his head had accumulated a reputation for much wisdom. But alas nothing remains of said reputation. George's advice to council these days is given in fear and trembling for he knows not what moment some evil-minded Socialist will arise and puncture his rulings on law. George's career as a politician will cease with his present term of office. He can't deliver the goods for his bourgeoise master. The local press is demanding the selection of men of exceptional ability for the next campaign in order to defeat the Socialists, so George's triumphal march to the presidency of the U. S. A. will come to an early end.

• • •

One of the greatest of seeming mysteries is the inability of capitalists and their henchmen to grasp the processes of evolution in today's world. They will admit that evolution wrought the mighty changes of the past but that this same force is at work in human progress in our day is inconceivable, so they propose in all seriousness to keep back the incoming tide with a broom. The jailing of Socialist officials and leaders, the suppression of free press, free speech and assemblage is the last form of opposition that can be originated by a decadent capitalist mind. Such measures for upholding the profit system are doomed to failure. Suppression of progress and the bolstering of a worn out order was tried to the utmost in Russia.

They propped it here, they propped
it there,
They propped old Capitalism every-
where,
And when one day the storm began
The working slave stood forth a man,
[illegible]

Socialists are not concerned about the perpetuation of capitalist law.

1718 6th Ave., Huntington, W. Va.

They propose to establish justice and equity and, as capitalist law contains neither of these elements it must perish with the system that gave it birth. Elected Socialist officials must enforce and abide by the laws on the statute books, but, written law must be interpreted and all depends on the interpreter. Let a Socialist interpret the laws and he cares not who makes them. The Socialist administration of Piqua interprets every law in favor of the working class and further, never has there been a better administration of city affairs from the executive side, our enemies being the judges. Here is a passage from the state examiner's report, the said examiner being an old line Democrat: "The present occupant of the mayor's office has been in authority less than six months but during that time we believe, from what we have observed during the audit, that he has fully demonstrated that he is conscientious as to the performance of his official duties and that he has no hesitancy in enforcing the law, both statutory and ordinance, impartially and without fear or favor. We are convinced that he is desirous of conserving the best interests of the city and, in this laudable purpose, he should have the full support and hearty co-operation of every citizen, with such support we have no doubt as to the success of his administration."

• • •

Councilman Leonard and his gang of old partyites are very sore over their failure to oust Mayor Hamilton and his associates through arrest on charges of sedition. One of the gangs' spies was a member of the local for months and was unable to find anything on which to base a charge and finally gave up in disgust.

• • •

Members of Local Piqua will nominate their city ticket at their hall Sunday, Jan. 19, 2 p. m. Every member of the party should be present and take active part. The campaign this year will be the most important in the local's history. We propose to whip the two old parties to a finish. Our motto is, "Lay on Macduff and damned be he who cries, 'Hold, enough.'"

• • •

Holman, the "Texas cyclone," made a short address at the last meeting of the local. He is one of the old war horses of the movement and the comrades were glad to greet him once more. The local has secured a number of copies of Holman's latest book, "How to Organize Society." Everybody should secure a copy and read up on this most important subject.

Huntington Will Boost.

Comrade Oberholtzer, Acting State Secretary of West Virginia, says Local Huntington intends making a campaign for subs for the O. S. That sounds good to us, comrade. We are glad that the West Virginia comrades have caught the spirit that [illegible]

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday Evening
at 8 p. m., 50 1-2 W. Gay St.

KENTUCKY

Official Organization News

J. L. BELL, Acting State Secretary
530 Market Street, Louisville, Ky.

Kentucky Socialist Party Financial Report, December, 1918.
RECEIPTS.

Newport dues	$ 4.75
Six O. S. Subs.	1.50
Livermore, O., Soc. Subs.	2.00
Mr. and Mrs. Fred G. Strickland dues	1.50
Alex T. Wilson dues	1.50
M. L. Ament dues	1.00
P. N. Woodruff dues	1.00
I. Patterson dues	1.00
Three O. S. subs	.75
Literature fund	2.00
Total	$17.00

EXPENDITURES.

Rehm Printing Co.	$ 8.50
National dues	5.00
1,000 Application cards, Louisville local	2.00
Three Ohio subs	.75
Total	$16.25
November balance	$10.33
December receipts	17.00
Total	$27.33
December expense	16.25
Balance	$11.08

Fraternally submitted,
J. J. BOSEMER,
FRED E. STEVENS,
Auditing Committee.

State Executive Committee Meeting.

State Executive Committee met on Jan. 3, 1919. Members present, J. J. Bosemer, Rasmussen and Stevens. Absent, Noe and Goodman.

Minutes of last meeting approved.

Upon report being made by Acting State Secretary that ballots had been sent out in the election of a State Secretary and Treasurer and members of the State Committee, same was approved.

The following were reported as nominees without opposition:

Fred E. Stevens, Louisville, Ky., for State Secretary-Treasurer.

For State Committee: A. H. Lee, Livia, Ky., Second District; M. L. Ament, Beaver Dam, Ky., Fourth District; R. M. Rasmussen, Louisville, Ky., Fifth District; H. Plaggenburg, Covington, Ky., Sixth District.

Vote closes Jan. 20.

State Executive Committee voted unanimously to ask that dues be increased for state and local.

It was decided that owing to increased living expenses and a higher rate of wages being paid, that it was absolutely necessary to ask for an equal increase in membership dues. A basis of 25c for state dues (dual dues 30c) and locals should increase their dues to at least 50c per month.

The following facts were offered as a reason for increased dues: The present rate was not sufficient to do any kind of work and pay for having some one to devote their time to this work. It was argued that only by making dues high enough to make possible a salaried State Secretary could there be any practical work transacted in the state. That the haphazard manner of having the State Office handled as charity by comrades doing the work when they could and making their living at some other trade, could not get any lasting results and now that the time was ripe for a general awakening and a great national campaign being launched that Kentucky should get in line and put a competent State Secretary and organizer on the job to devote all his time to this work.

Every party member and sympathizer who reads this report in our official organ, The Ohio Socialist, should at once either join a local, or take steps to organize one, or become a member-at-large. Members-at-large would also pay 50c per month dues or if paid in advance and for one year, their dues will be $5.00. This will apply also to all local members. It was argued that if 100 members would pay one year's dues in advance at $5.00 each that this would give the State Office $500 to start a big paign with and new members added would soon make a stron ganization in the state. Who w the first to start the 1919 cam by paying $5.00 for a year's Then after that let us see how will pay six months, $2.50, in vance?

PROPOSED AMENDMENT STATE CONSTITUTION

Proposed amendment to State stitution: Shall Art. XIV, Sec. amended to read as follows:

State dues shall be 25c per ber per month; dual dues shall per month; dues for members-at- shall be 50c per month or $5 per if paid in advance, $2.50 per months if paid in advance. Committee Referendum No. 1.

Yes. No

Signed ....

Member of ....

Or member at large..........

The vote in this referendum close 20 days after published in Ohio Socialist. To become effecti upon its adoption. All members Kentucky in good standing will out above. Mark X under yes or and mail to State Secretary.

Fraternally submitted,
J. L. BELL,
Acting State Secretary
428 W. Market St., Louisville.

KENTUCKY NEWS NOTES.

Local Louisville at its last meetin adopted unanimously recomm tions of State Executive Committe to increase dues and same is now fective. They also seconded the tion for increased state dues asked that same be referred to ref endum.

• • •

Big Meeting Planned.

Local Louisville started the ba rolling by securing for the first er in the 1919 campaign, Comr Tom Lewis, pioneer Socialist of Clev land, O., who will speak at Karl M hall, local headquarters, Sunday, Ja 26, 8 p. m. His subject will be "Soci Reconstruction." Hand bills have bee distributed among all labor unions the city and a big crowd is expec

• • •

Labor Activities in Kentucky.

Five thousand railroad men ha organized a railroad central body a have launched a nation wide campai for continuation of government co trol and ultimate government own ship. Ten unions, consisting of c men, machinists, blacksmiths, bo makers, sheet metal workers, elec cal workers, Brotherhood of Tr men, Brotherhood of Railway Cle National Association of Express have united in a common cause held a meeting at the largest thea on Jan. 12, with Carl D. Thompso Chicago, principal speaker, with audience of 2,000 people. They also launched a labor paper in porated for $50,000 and have st in their constitution that only sentatives elected by labor unions be eligible as members of the B of Directors, thus placing contro the paper in the hands of labo is also announced that Carl D. Th son's plans of public ownership non-partisan movement will be st ed in Louisville and all unions join as a body.

As an evidence of the class-c sciousness of the railroad men of L. & N. R. R. strong resolutions w adopted by the central body and se to Former Director General McAd asking that guns now stacked on top floor of main building of the L. N. R. R., which had been purchased prevent the establishment of eight-hour day, be removed as government now has charge of railroads.

"DEMOCRACY" IN LORAIN

Local Lorain is up against real capitalist democracy. A hall large enough for a Debs' meeting could not be obtained because the chief of police advised the hall owners not to rent to the Socialists—though he has nothing against the Socialists. Well, the time is coming when the workers of Lorain will be compelled to resort to the use of their economic and political power to place their own representatives in public office for the purpose of eradicating such discrimination and just such dirty acts as these are driving them to it—and worse.

The Thurber Lewis meeting at Akron, Sunday afternoon, January 26, will be held at 50 S. Howard St. Free admission. Everybody come and hear this young worker. Bring a friend. [illegible]

Every Reader of the "Ohio Soc
SHOULD READ
"The Revolutionary Age."
BUT READ ON—READ
"The Revolutionary Age" pub weekly by the Socialist Party of ton, is a "chronicle and interp of events in Europe." The "O cialist" recognizes the need of paper and commends it to every er desiring knowledge of the tionary movement in Europe by ers who sympathize and suppo radical factions of Socialists European countries.
BUT—In advising you to and subscribe for "The Revolution Age" we do not mean for you neglect your whole-souled and support of the "Ohio Socialist." want you to increase your activ and share it with "The Revolution Age." The "Ohio Socialist" cover widely different field. It is a tion of organization and prop paper and does not claim to specialty of foreign Socialist "The Revolutionary Age" doe a specialty of foreign Socialist and because of that, because plements rather than takes the of the "Ohio Socialist," we ask reader of this paper to for it.
Address
THE REVOLUTIONARY A
[illegible]

[illegible] of Tomorrow—Says Debs

[illegible] day—gray and cold. [illegible] little office—warm. [illegible] very plain.

[illegible] placed side by side. [illegible] They seemed a part [illegible] the office part of them [illegible] of the other. The effect [illegible] atmosphere of [illegible].

[illegible] stood out as it [illegible] from the office, the [illegible] the other man. 'Gene Debs.

"[illegible] the crown of my head to the [illegible] of my feet I am Bolsheviki," [illegible] Eugene Debs, Socialist leader, "[illegible] is the only real Socialism."

[illegible] eyes, very kindly, and very [illegible] and that sinister-sounding word, "Bolsheviki," seemed every- [illegible] apart from him.

"[illegible] of the leaders of any great [illegible] have of necessity been Bolsheviki," said Mr. Debs explaining the sense in which he used the word. "They have advocated unpopular doctrines and stood for principles which [illegible] as upheaval in old regimes.

Former Bolsheviki.

"Cromwell was a Bolshevik; and in the same sense did I mean that George Washington was the Bolshevik of his time"—referring to speaking of Washington as a Bolshevik, in one of his recent lectures in Cleveland. "He was known as the 'notorious outlaw'; he was shot at because he advocated unpopular principles, because he was true to them and became a leader in movements to put them in force.

Great Characters.

"Just so Trotzky and Lenine are the greatest men in present history—they are colossal characters. They are making a heroic fight under awful circumstances. Why, it took America [illegible] years to establish a democracy when she had no great opposition; Russia is trying to do that on an inheritance of national bankruptcy.

"You know," and a whimsical smile came into the blue eyes, "we are in a peculiar position of having an enemy for an ally—Germany is our ally against Russia. There are both German and American soldiers in Russia. If we are not at war with Russia, why have we our soldiers there? In doing so, we ally ourselves with despotism.

"And who are the Bolsheviki? They are the people who have governed Russia for the past fourteen months. If they can do that they must be the choice of the majority of the people.

One Idea Man.

"Lenine is a wonderful man, I should say that he has more knowledge of American history than any professor of it in Indiana," said Debs. "He's a one-idea man, true—but one's enough, if it's a big enough. And it takes a big man to have only one idea."

His eyes seemed perhaps a little kinder, his finger tops came together as he leaned his elbows on the arms of his chair.

"About my own situation, I have no resentment against those who are unsympathetic with me; I do not blame them—that would be selfish of me.

"But there are those who are staunch friends—"

Mr. Debs read extracts from letters of encouragement from business and professional men and women all over the country, a professor in Wisconsin university and one from Columbia.

"I have letters of congratulation on my stand and sympathy from ministers, doctors, lawyers, business men and women of the underworld and vagabonds, and alike treasure them all.

"Why, just last week, I, an undesirable agitator, was a guest at the house of a bishop in Gallion, Ohio—the personal guest of Bishop William Montgomery Brown, who has recently become Socialist.

"My case comes up in Washington before the Supreme Court Jan. 27. I have made no plans for action of any kind; I can afford to wait and be patient. I have only stood for the things I honestly believe. I have been true to my principles."

Mr. Debs expressed no fear of a penitentiary sentence, saying if he had to serve, he would make the prison "a center of agitation." But he feels that he will not have to serve.

Mr. Debs predicts "contradictory influences" by spring. He thinks private interests will get the "whip hand" and that the employment problem will be great.

He feels that some real system should be worked out for the placing of returned soldiers.

"The hero of today will be the hobo of tomorrow," said Mr. Debs, "and when he's bumming around from place to place looking for a job, he will not be met at the station by fine women and given food and cigarets; he'll be arrested as a vag."—Terre Haute Post.

Free Speech, an Inalienable Personal Right

By PERLEY DOE

The passions and prejudices of war have created confusion in the minds of many people as to the distinction between the inalienable rights of the individual and the rights of majorities. John Stuart Mill said:

"Over himself, over his own mind and body the individual is sovereign."

We fully recognize today many of these inalienable rights of the individual, for instance, freedom of religious worship: No person, however high and mighty, has the right to compel or forbid my beliefs on religious matters; no majority, however large, has a right to impose its forms of religious worship upon the minority.

There are an innumerable number of these inalienable personal rights recognized today over which the individual is sovereign. It would be a gross infringement of personal liberty for instance for any potentate or any majority to dictate to the individual what he should eat or what clothes he should wear, who his friends shall be or whom he shall marry.

The recognition of the fact that each and every individual is sovereign over his own personal actions, and especially over his own opinions, is the basis of modern liberty. The medieval conception recognized for the individual no inalienable rights, either of action or opinion, which the sovereign, the state or the church were bound to respect.

The question that is forcing itself now upon our minds today is whether free speech is an inalienable personal right, or has the state the right to limit freedom of speech; has the majority the right to suppress the opinions of the minority.

John Stuart Mills' answer to this was emphatic: "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person was of contrary opinion, mankind would not be justified in silencing that one person."

"I think every man feels in his heart this inalienable right of free speech for himself. Who does not resent being refused the right to condemn injustice, to contradict falsehood? No free soul but what will rise in indignation to find its ideals suppressed, its faith denied expression.

Yet unfortunately we do not always feel the same way about the other fellow. It is so easy to argue thus: "I am right and therefore have the right to speak for the right. But my opponent is wrong and has no right to speak for the wrong. I will suppress him, then, for to me he seems to be promulgating evil." The fallacy here of course is that I set myself up to be both advocate and judge.

There are no end of pretexts, excuses and subterfuges being offered in these times in an attempt to justify the violation of free speech.

"We have been too lenient with free speech. It has lapsed into license."

"In war time free speech is dangerous."

"The country has a right to protect itself against enemy agitators."

"The minority has no right to obstruct the majority."

"Democracy means that all must acquiesce in the decision of the majority."

But all these excuses will be found to beg the real question. They are based on this assumption: "We are right. We know we are right. Anyone who opposes us, thinks differently from us, or criticizes us, is wrong. Being sure we are right, we have the right to deprive our wrong-headed opponents of their rights."

The constitution of the United States is almost as emphatic in declaring free speech to be an inalienable [illegible] as was Mill. It [illegible] Congress, re[illegible]senting the highest law-making power of the whole people, from even "abridging' the right of free speech. Similar declarations have as a rule been embodied in each state constitution or bill of rights.

It would be wholly a mistake, however, to think that these inalienable personal rights rest upon the laws of man. They are God-given. They are every man's birthright. The constitution did not give us these rights; it merely stated them and tried to safeguard them. The idea that a man has no rights except what the laws of the state give him is essentially Prussian. No man is born subject to other men in his opinions and personal conduct. "Every man is born free." The state can, however, forbid him from interfering with the freedom of others.

No government that really stands for liberty will seek to suppress the ideas of any of its citizens. Democracy and progress are the children of free speech and free press. The majority that would silence the voice of the minority is not to be trusted, for it lacks faith in its own cause.

I am sovereign over my own tongue and pen. Over them other people have neither responsibility nor control. They, however, are sovereign over their own ears and do not have to listen to me if they do not choose. But if I can find a man sympathetic to my thought who does wish listen to me, then all the world beside has not the right to interfere between us. The suppression of free speech is even a greater violation of the rights of the audience than of the speaker. It is a denial to men of their right to seek knowledge and information. And no right can be more sacred than that.

Monarchs claiming power from God, democracies representing the will of majorities, neither the one nor the other, has any right to abridge the inalienable personal prerogative of free speech. We speak of "divine rights" as a relic of an age that is past. It is not so. Personal liberty is, always has been, and always will be a "divine right." Absolute sovereignty over his own opinions and their expression is a "divine right" for every man.

For full recognition, however, of its sanctity free speech is one of those inalienable divine personal rights which await an age that is yet to come.

Unemployment Approaches "Danger" Point

Twelve States Reported Surplus of Common Laborers.

Washington, Jan. 14.—Unemployment of common labor now exists in twelve states as against seven a week ago, said a message today from the National Council of Defense to its state councils, which were urged to do everything possible to find employment for those needing it.

"The situation as to common labor has materially changed since the armistice was signed," said the message. "The twelve states in which there is a surplus of labor are California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Montant, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon and Utah. The country's surpluses in all labor seem to follow a belt across country from Connecticut to Minnesota.

"The area of unemployment is increasing and it is probable the danger point will be reached within 30

[illegible] Capitalism

By A. J. TOTTEN.

Contagious and Fatal.

"A subscriber wants a definition of Bolshevism. It's a disease, friend. No doubt about that. And the Trotzkys and their kind who come to the surface are the pustules.—Milwaukee Sentinel.

It seems to us that the editor is slightly in error. Bolshevism and kindred "isms" are not of themselves diseases, but are rather the eruptions which appear on the surface of the body politic to give notice that disease exists within. When the world has discovered the real disease and applied the proper remedy the editor of the Sentinel may seek the couch of oblivion and, lulled by the dulcet strains of the Marseillaise, dream sweet dreams of the good old days when kingship, kultur and kapitalism reigned supreme with a worshipful working class at their feet.

* * *

"I know of only one principle to make a nation great, to produce in this country not the form but real spirit of union, and that is to protect every citizen in the lawful pursuit of his business. He will then feel that he is backed by the government; that its arm is his arm; and will rejoice in its increased strength and prosperity. Protection and patriotism are reciprocal. This is the road that all great nations have trod."—John C. Calhoun.

When we stop and think that the only "business" of 85 per cent. of the people is exchanging their labor power for the necessities and comforts of life we feel like agreeing with him.

* * *

The National Republican says editorially:

"The United States Supreme Court has decided that news is property. A good bit of the news handed out to us during the past year or two, however, has been damaged goods."

The editor must have been thinking about the news from Russia and, since the armistice was signed, from Germany; or it is possible that he had just finished reading the capitalist reports of the recent Chicago trial of Victor Berger and the other Socialists on trial with him.

* * *

The World and Life.

"The world is not a playground, it is a schoolroom. Life is not a holiday, but an education."—Henry Drummond.

Judging by the reports of the average election the majority of the workers have not as yet graduated from life's kindergarten. We should worry, the world is still young and tomorrow is a new day.

* * *

Canada's War Costs.

"Up to the end of November, Canada's war expenditure is officially estimated at $1,068,000,000. An additional outlay of $500,000,000 before the army is demobilized is regarded as probable. Canada has been in the war four and a half years and put half a million men overseas."

Smile, Canadian brother, smile. If you get it paid off in thirty years it will only amount, including interest, to a nice little farm for each family of you. Of course, a little thing like a small farm is nothing in your young lives. If you see nothing in this to smile at remember that "No man knoweth what the morrow may bring forth."

* * *

The capitalist press has been telling us recently that Von Hindenberg has taken charge of the armed opposition to the Liebknecht faction. So far we have not noticed any mention of Allied intervention to put him down on account of his friendliness to the kaiser and kaiserism, and to assist Liebknecht because of his lifelong struggle against these same things. We respectfully suggest a rereading of the above short editorial from the N. P.

* * *

We once read, in a book of great antiquity and proportionate respectability, a conversation that ran something like this:

Pilate: (As he washed his hands to indicate that he wished no further part in the proceedings): "I find no fault in this man."

Prosecuting witness: "But he stirreth up the people."

The verdict: "Crucify him."

* * *

No, reader, this did not happen in 1918.

Nor in 1919.

Nor in Cleveland.

Nor in Chicago.

Living Costs Still Going Up

Reports From Various Countries Show Prices Rising.

The cost of living is increasing all over the world. The workers in South America, South Africa, Australia and Europe are facing the same difficulties as the workers of the United States. Their wages will not buy the necessities of life.

The United States Department of Labor reports wholesale prices in September, 1918, 108 per cent. higher than they were in July, 1914. This increase has occurred in the case of all of the important commodities. Clothes and clothing show the greatest rise—a total of 151 per cent.

The cost of living has increased very rapidly in Italy. Prices in August, 1918, are 172 per cent. higher than they were in August, 1912. The cost of living for a workingman's family is 206 per cent. higher than it was in 1914. The Italian workers are suffering intensely, particularly from the high prices of food, clothing and shoes.

A report from Scandinavia shows that in March, 1918, prices were far higher than in July, 1914. In Norway they had advanced on the average of 137 per cent.; in Sweden, 103 per cent., and in Denmark, 82 per cent. The Danish figures show that a workingman who bought his food in April, 1914, would be required to pay $254.60. For the same food in July, 1918, he must pay $476.24.

Neither from the Peace conference nor from any other official source has come a suggestive remedy which will meet the serious situation presented by the high cost of living. Increased wages cannot keep pace with increasing prices.

THEY'LL GO FAST
YOU'LL WANT ONE
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
CERTIFICATE

[illegible] Success in Australia

The second annual report of the state government insurance office of Queensland shows the following gratifying results. The state has lowered the insurance rate from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. below those of the private insurance companies. It has paid claims without necessitating the hiring of lawyers on the part of the workers affected. It has done away with "red tape" and has made it possible to secure the money on the day of death or accident if necessary. The household workers department, finding that the premiums paid during the first two years are sufficient to insure the policyholders for a third year, has credited all persons insured with a third year's payment. The miscellaneous accident department reduced premiums by 20 per cent. and yet made a profit of $100,000. It will be remembered that the Queensland government is completely under the control of labor.

Sure Signs of "Prosperity"

Bradstreet's Commercial Review commenting on commodity prices, notes that "the signs thus far indicate nothing but marked strength" and "the situation as to foodstuffs is plainly stronger than ever." These observations bear out the prediction which experts have been making for some time past—that there would be no material decrease in the cost of living following the end of the war. Jobs are daily growing scarcer but the records show that the cost of living as measured by Bradstreet's was 14 per cent. higher in December, 1918, than it was in December, 1917, and almost double what it was in August, 1914.

By way of contrast, the same issue of Bradstreet's publishes some notes regarding the earnings of the United Fruit Co. for the year ending September 30, 1918. At that time the balance available for dividends was $19,990,496 or an equivalent of 40 per cent. on the capital stock. This is a comfortable showing when compared with the 27 per cent. earned on the capital stock in 1917.

At the same time the Pennsylvania Railroad announces that it is to receive $53,608,427.50 per year under its contract with the federal government. "This will be enough" announces President Rae of the Pennsylvania "to pay all fixed charges and continue the 6 per cent. dividend."

New York Hotel Workers Strike

Seven thousand members of the International Federation of Workers in the hotel, restaurant, club and catering industry in New York city are entering upon the twelfth week of strike. On October 28, the workers in nine leading New York houses, among them the Knickerbocker, the Waldorf-Astoria, Sherry's and the Vanderbilt, left their jobs and struck for higher wages, clean lockers, better food, an eight-hour day for kitchen workers and a ten-hour day for dining room waiters.

Officials of the union declare that their members have had to work from 15 to 18 hours per week, that they had often to pay graft to the head waiters to get a job, that the food was extremely poor and the lockers filthy.

On New Year's eve, a general strike was called, which crippled the fashionable houses of the city most seriously. Even from unorganized houses such as the Ansonia hotel, the workers walked out to show their sympathy with the strikers. As the organization is an idnustrial union, the tie-up of the houses affected is practically complete. All efforts thus far to bring in strike-breakers have been fruitless. Some 40 restaurants and hotels have already settled on the terms of the union, which has a membership of over 20,000 members. It appears that the chief thorn in the flesh of the bosses is not so much the question of higher wages as it is the fact that the union maintains the shop delegate system, every department in each establishment being represented by a member of the union who is himself employed in that particular house and therefore knows conditions at first hand.

While the strike is going on the Federation is carrying on a thorough campaign of education. Lectures and addresses on national and international problems are given to the strikers in their various meeting halls.

Harbor Workers Effect Record Tie-Up

The most complete tie-up of any port in the world took place in New York last week, when even the municipal ferries ceased to run, and had to be put into operation by policemen and men of the navy. So serious was the situation precipitated by the walkout of about 13,000 men that President Wilson had to intervene from Paris and give the War Labor Board powers to make an award, even though the boat owners had declined to submit the grievances to this board. The National War Labor Board is now conducting hearings, and the workers have gone back to their jobs, pending the award.

JAPAN

Labor Demands Increasing.

A special correspondent, writing in the British Columbia Federationist calls attention to the fact that, while Japan is now under the control of the small business element, the working people are more and more becoming interested in Russian Socialist Literature. Says the correspondent, "the ruling class are anxiously considering how to deal with unemployment and the other economic problems which will affect Japan, like all other industrial states, during the next few years."

He further quotes in reference to the rice riots as follows: "As the demand for labor increased the laboring classes became conscious of their growing strength. Not only did they show no hesitation in demanding an increase of wages and presenting other demands, but their self-confidence was largely strengthened, and the opposite occurred with 'the educated classes.'"

[illegible] County Activities

The following is an outline of the work already done and an out line of future efforts in Rock Island County, Ills. Sunday, Jan. 12, a mass meeting of party members was held in Moline for the purpose of mapping out a program to be pursued in the spring campaign.

The names of all the party members of the eleven branches in the county were filed with the secretary who was instructed to get in immediate touch with said members ind induce them to render the obligations they took upon themselves when they signed their applications for membership. Arrangements were made to concentrate upon Moline where conditions are exceptionally favorable to success in the municipal elections next spring. It was decided to place a weekly campaign paper in every home in Moline once each week for six weeks by a literature distribution squad which was also organized.

Kate Richards O'Hare spoke at Turner Hall, Moline, Wednesday evening, January 15 in what was perhaps the greatest meeting ever held in that city. The hall was packed to the doors and a collection of $178.00 was taken which splendidly indicates what may be expected when the campaign really warms up.

State Cecretary Oliver C. Wilson will be in Moline Monday evening, Feb. 3 and a mass meeting of party members will be held for the purpose of further outlining plans along the lines of the campaign and organization.

On Tuesday evening Feb. 4, Edgar Owens, County Secretary will lecture at Workmen's Hall, 712 8th St., Rock Island, this being the second of a series of lectures dealing with socialism as a science. His subject is announced as "The Marxian Law of Value."

[illegible] lecturer on the [illegible] will speak in Moline. A special effort will be made to make of this meeting a greater one even than the O'Hare meeting.

All comrades are urged to attend these meetings and to bring others with them.

SCANDINAVIA

Visit of Scandinavian Journalists.

In connection with the visit of Scandinavian journalises, who came to America at the invitation of the Committee on Public Information, three Socialist editors recently visited the Rand School. They were Otto Johanson of the Social Demokraten, Stockholm, Sweden; Emil Marrot, editor of Fyens Social Demokrat, Odense, Denmark, and Jacob Vidnes, former editor of the Social Demokraten of Christiania, Norway. They stated that very little labor and radical news regarding America was permitted to reach Scandinavia. Thus the only news regarding Eugene V. Debs that filtered through was the false report that he had denounced the St. Louis resolution of the Socialist Party. About the I. W. W. trial, they stated, practically nothing was known.

Goteborg Workers Want Food.

The Communal Federation of Workers of Goteborg has addressed a demand to the Swedish government that a just distribution be made of the food supplies that are being imported into Sweden. The manifesto points out that the middlemen are making enormous profits, and that food is only within the reach of the wealthier classes. The limit of endurance has been reached by the workers, it states. The manifesto demands that all middlemen be eliminated. The workers of other communities are called upon to make similar demands.

"Phrases Versus Facts"

While making his triumphal tour through Italy President Wilson was greeted by a demonstration of 150,000 working people in the city of Milan. In addressing this audience President Wilson is quoted as saying:

> "I am as keenly aware, I believe, sir, as anybody can be, that the social structure rests upon great working classes of the world, and that these working classes in several countries of the world have, by their consciousness of community of interest, by their consciousness of community of spirit, done perhaps more than any other influence has to establish a world opinion which is not of a nation, which is not of a continent, but is the opinion, one might say, of mankind."

The only organization which has done what the president describes is the International Socialist movement. He was addressing working men and women who are Socialists and his words can have no other meaning than that the International Socialists have "by their consciousness of community of spirit, done perhaps more than any other influence has to establish a world opinion which is not of a nation, which is not of a continent, but is the opinion, one might say, of mankind."

These are fine words on the part of Mr. Wilson, but how do his acts square with these words? In this country, we know, that he is the responsible authority in a government which has savagely persecuted and thrown in prisons for long terms of years those who dared voice that "consciousness of community of spirit" and the "world opinion," which is the opinion of "mankind."

Does the president hope to hypnotize the workers of Europe with fine phrases, as he was so successful in hypnotizing liberals and some radicals in this country? David Lawrence, the correspondent from whose article the above is quoted, seems to think so, for he goes on to say:

> "The president is cognizant of the tremendous undertone of Socialism and Bolshevism, and apparently his desire is to keep the movement in control by their consciousness of community of spirit, done Wilson is the first statesman to dare remotely to suggest the influence of the working classes in recent days, and while other diplomats are whisperingly calling it the greatest menace in Europe none is willing to take the initiative in controlling it, but believe that the best method is to resort to every form of suppression of radical opinion or manifest action."

We doubt whether the President will be as successful in Europe as he has been in this country. The European workers have been too thoroughly drilled in the principles of the working class movement to accept phrases which do not square with the facts for a very long time.

* * * *

From a Man Who Knows

Albert Rhys Williams, who lived in Russia during fifteen months of the revolution and served in the foreign office of Soviet government and while in that position helped to prepare the propaganda which was sent into Germany to stir up the revolution, told a New York audience the other day, that:

> "With German armies far advanced into Italy and France, the downfall of imperialistic Germany came about through the Bolsheviki propaganda sent into Germany. United States military experts agreed that it would require two or three years and the lives of 500,000 or 1,000,000 American soldiers before Germany was conquered.
>
> "That the Bolshevik leaders, even while they were being condemned in this country for accepting German gold and obeying the order of the German general staff, were spending Russian gold and exerting all devices to break down absolutism, should entitle them to American gratitude rather than American hostility."

* * * *

It seems that now that the fighting is over the capitalist press doesn't care whether the people know the truth about what the Allied nations were fighting for. The Plain Dealer tell them in a recent editorial that "Early in the war two secret treaties were signed by the entente powers providing for a division of the spoils. These treaties were quite in accord with precedent. In its earlier phases the war was not wholly different from former wars. The entente nations looked forward with satisfaction to territorial aggrandizement and made agreements among themselves for the assignment of prizes. One of these secret treaties awarded the eastern coast of the Adriatic to Italy. The other provided for the partition of Turkey, assigning Constantinople to Russia and giving France and England valuable compensation' in Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia." The Plain Dealer adds that when the United States came into the war the treaties should have been invalidated, but it knows very well that a leading British statesman said in the House of Commons less than six months ago that England considered the treaties valid and sacred agreements which must be carried out.

* * * *

In the New York Times we read that the policy of the Bolsheviks toward the Allies is "to play upon their feeling of humanity and their disgust of violence." We can stand a great deal, but when this shining example of the prostitute press tries to tell us that governments which have just been through a war that has cost more human lives and destroyed more human treasures than all the wars of the last century have "a disgust of violence," that is going too far.

How Socialists Viewed Verdict

(Continued from Page One)

a verdict that could not be found on the same charge and under the same circumstances in any other civilized country today, with the possible exception of Japan.

"And as a matter of fact, the trial proved that the five Socialists were not put on trial on account of the position of the party toward the war, or on account of any real or imaginary conspiracy to interfere with the armed forces of the United States, but because our American plutocracy is determined to put the Socialist Party out of business.

"Our American plutocracy fears the Socialists and the Socialist Party, especially in view of what is happening in Europe today.

"It seems to be the historic fate of every ruling class to dig its own grave.

"It it in keeping with these short-sighted and stupid tactics that our plutocracy employed all its tentacles—the National Security League, the Loyalty Legion and the American Protective League—to keep me out of congress by defeating me at the polls last November. Our enemies did not succeed. I was elected by a big plurality and therefore a number of indictments were framed up to keep me out of congress by another method. I want to remind my fellow citizens that the United States is the only country in the world today where we still have political trials and political prisoners. And that condition is only one of the queer results of the war we have waged to make the world safe for democracy."

* * *

By IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER.

"If we had been acquitted, after Debs was convicted, I should have felt that we were tried in the balance and found wanting. The issue is perfectly clear. No one can now, honestly or otherwise, believe that the Wilson administration has the slightest taint of sincerity or democracy about it. The news of the verdict will remove from the minds of Socialists in Italy, France and England any lingering suspicion that Wilson might possibly mean anything that he says on the subject of Democracy or truth."

* * *

By ALGERNON LEE,
Socialist Alderman, New York City.

"First let me express my regret, though not my astonishment, at the outcome of the trial. As things now stand, facts and law have little to do with the result of any prosecution brought against Socialists. I am still hopeful that in the near future the tide will begin to turn and justice will be done."

* * *

By SCOTT NEARING, LOUIS P. LOCHNER and ALBERT PHYS WILLIAMS.

"Our message to the five of you—stand fast. The comrades are with you. The future is ours."

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

"Here's to you! My heart was never with you more than now. I am, of course, not the least surprised. Your judicial doom was sealed in that court. Well, it's all fine and inspiring. It is worth something to a Socialist to be convicted in that court. Acquittal only would brand him with disloyalty and damn him for treason. So you have my congratulations. Now let me make another guess. They will never put you in the pen one day. Not that they will relent or show any sign of mercy, but by all the gods they do not dare. Let us see. But whatever they may do, we will defy them and keep our faces to the front, our heads up, and our souls aflame with the holy fires of the revolution.

"My love and loyalty to you all! Whatever there may be on the program, we will take together, and there is nothing any capitalist court can put over on us and our cause that will deter us or intimidate us, so much as the flicker of an eye-lash."

* * *

Chandler Owen, president, and A. Philip Randolph, secretary, of the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism Among Negroes, writes as follows:

"It is with keen regret that we read of the conviction of our official leaders in the American Socialist movement. Nevertheless, it is the trend of the movement everywhere to make assaults upon the leaders of the fight for liberty, justice and democracy. We appreciate that Comrades Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Tucker and Kruse have been convicted for disloyalty to the profiteers and loyalty to the people. The growing radical labor and Socialist forces, however, will vindicate your position and see that you never serve the hideous sentences which may be imposed."

* * *

By Ralph Korngold, former head of the Socialist Party Literature Department, and Circulation Manager of the American Socialist.

"I am one of many who in their hearts do you honor today for your splendid courage and fidelity to principle and to whom the verdict appears unutterably stupid and shocking. If in any manner I may be of service to you, please command me."

* * *

By Duncan McDonald, President-elect of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

"I was indeed sorry to learn of the outcome of the trial, but was not very much surprised, as I felt right along that they would find you guilty. It is a case where Socialists or Socialism is on trial before an anti-Socialist jury and the result is against Socialism."

The twenty-one Socialist members of the Wisconsin legislature, with Frank B. Metcalfe acting as chairman, and William E. Jordan as secretary, wire as follows:

"The comrades of the Wisconsin legislature extend to Comrades Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Kruse and Tucker their faith in your ultimate vindication and that a true understanding of Socialism will bring an end to all persecution. You may rest assured that you will have our continued support in order that justice may prevail and that the freedom as guaranteed by the constitution of the United States will be properly interpreted."

GOOD TO BUY
GOOD TO KEEP
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
CERTIFICATE

THEY'LL GO FAST
YOU'LL WANT O
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CERTIFIC

Of The Factory But Will Stay In The Factory

The Ohio Socialist

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Withdraw American Troops From Russia Socialist Demand

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago.—Withdrawal of all American troops from Russia and the recognition by the United States government of the Russian Soviet Republic is again demanded by the American Socialist Party in resolutions adopted by the party national executive committee in session here.

The demand is made at this time in the name of democracy, in the interest of world peace, in the interests of the Russian workers and in the name of international decency and fair play.

This campaign against intervention in Russia, which has been carried on more than a year by the Socialist Party until it is now being supported by many non-Socialist elements in the country, is renewed with the following declaration:

"The Socialist Party again protests against the use of troops in Russia and demands the immediate withdrawal of allied and American armies from that country. The Soviet government of Russia is so far the greatest achievement in the establishment of working class government in the history of the world. It should not only be permitted to develop unhindered, but should receive the encouragement and support of the workers in all countries."

"Russia has been cut off from communication with the outside world. It has been interned by a barrier of censorship and boycotted by nations professing to be democratic. Plots, counter-revolutions, intrigue, wholesale lying by a mercenary press, and invasion of territory have not shaken the affection of the Russian masses for the Soviet government. No other government in all history has survived such tests of stability.

"Despite these facts, press accounts report from day to day the co-operation of allied troops with old Czarist generals for the 'restoration of order in Russia.' The German armies invaded Russia with the same cry for their justification. Thousands of Russian workers and peasants killed in this enterprise at the same time that we are assured that the United States is not at war with Russia.

"While this program proceeds Russian representatives of the old czarist regime carry on their reactionary propaganda here for the overthrow of the Soviet government. Some of them frankly state that the property of the former landed junkers is to be restored, thus reducing the peasants to their former servitude. Monarchist generals and black reactionaries conduct this propaganda in the United States while the friends of the Russian masses and their government are denied a hearing.

"This is a reversal of all American traditions. This country has always claimed to be an asylum for the oppressed and refugees of all nations, not as a field for the activities of foreign reactionaries.

"Castro, the Venezuelan dictator, was not permitted to plot in this country for the return of his dictatorship. The assassin, Huerta, attempting a similar coup in Mexico from this country, died a prisoner of the United States government.

"In 1800, the masses of this country turned the Federalist Party out of office for its lack of sympathy for the French Revolution. On the other hand, Kosciusko, the polish revolutionist, and other exiles, were always welcomed in this country.

"Today, the reactionaries propose to bayonet and starve the Russian Revolution. This shameless proposal means a reversal of the historic attitude of the American people. It would make us the jailor of refugees, and the partners of imperialists and mercenaries.

"In January, 1918, President Wilson said, 'The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome in the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.'

"Why should American soldiers be used to recover the gold of British, French and American bankers, loaned to the former czar to pay his hangmen?

"Why should American boys shed their blood to restore the monarchy or recover the losses of the former ruling classes of Russia.

"Withdraw the troops from Russia! Abolish the censorship which prevents real news and encourages wholesale lying about Russia. Refuse to co-operate with the Kolchak, the Semenoffs, the Denikines and other monarchists of the old bloody regime. Recognize the Russian Soviet Republic.

"We demand this in the name of democracy, in the interest of world peace, in the interest of the Russian workers and in the name of international decency and fair play."

Demand Wilson Act on Denial of Passports

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago.—Application direct to President Woodrow Wilson has been made by the Socialist Party for passports for its delegates to the International Socialist and Labor Congress to be held at Bern, Switzerland.

This action was taken when the bureaucrats of the state department at Washington had announced that passports to the Socialist Party delegates, Algernon Lee of New York city; James Oneal of Brooklyn, and John M. Work of Chicago, would not be granted.

Under instructions from the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, Adolph Germer, National Secretary, sent a cablegram addressed to President Wilson at Paris, France, as follows:

"Socialist Party elected three delegates to International Socialist and Labor Conference. British Labor Party and French Socialist Party urge representation of American Socialist Party. State Department refuses passports. We protest against the discrimination and appeal to you to act."

The same cablegram was sent to J. Ramsay MacDonald of the British Independent Labor Party, and Jean Longuet, spokesman of the French Socialist Party, in addition to Camille Huysmans, secretary of the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels, Belgium, with the information that the cable had been sent to President Wilson.

These messages are, of course, subject to the American cable censorship, which may prevent even this communication with the Socialists of the United States and those of Europe.

The Socialist Party National Office received its first word that the passports had been denied in a telegram from Algernon Lee in New York city. Lee wired that he had received word from Socialist Congressman Meyer London, who had called personally at the State Department that the department had notified Lee by mail that his passport had been turned down. Lee had not yet received the letter.

Later.—The campaign being directed from the National Office of the Socialist Party here took a new turn today when Adolph Germer, National Secretary, received a wire from Algernon Lee, of New York city, one of the delegates, to the effect that the State Department claims it has not [illegible] down the Socialist [illegible]

man Meyer London at Washington, who has had another interview with Acting Secretary of State Polk, who now claims that the information given out Wednesday as to the refusal of passports is incorrect. Congressman London says he understands that there is no disposition to refuse passports but that the State Department is trying to get definite information as to whether the contemplated International Socialist and Labor Conference will take place and that as soon as this is known passports will be issued.

"This is a very peculiar position to take," declares National Secretary Germer. "I wonder if the State Department was so anxious to learn about the conference that Gompers, Spargo and Russell claimed they were going to attend. The passports should be granted irrespective of whether this conference will be held next week or next month, at Lausanne or at Bern, Switzerland.

Scottish Workers to Have Daily Papers

Labor Party to Have Daily Papers.

The Scottish Conference of the Independent Labor Party, held during the first week in January, decided to organize a daily press of its own throughout Scotland. The Christian Science Monitor reports J. Ramsay MacDonald as saying: "The Labor Party must have a daily press of their own in London, Glasgow and elsewhere." He said that before many weeks they would have a daily paper in London, and he predicted that at the next election they must have 560 instead of 360 candidates, and contest practically every seat in the country.

Mr. MacDonald stated that there was city after city in Scotland which the Independent Labor Party would win directly the coalition began to break up, and a little more educational work had been done.

The Independent Labor Party has made considerable advance in Scotland since 1910.

PLIGHT OF THE AMERICAN WORKING MAN

We struggle all day today—so we can live long enough to struggle all day tomorrow.

C. F. [illegible]

Fight for New Trial for Five Chicago Socialists Continued

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago, Jan. 23.—Judge Landis today continued the hearing on the motion for a new trial for the five National Socialist Party officials, Congressman-elect Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker and William F. Kruse, until Saturday morning at 10 o'clock.

All indications up to the present have been that the motion for a new trial would be turned down without question, and that sentences upon the five Socialists would be immediately imposed. This had resulted in the stage again being set in Judge Landis' big court room, with an army of newspaper men present, and crowds of Socialists being turned away for lack of accommodations.

The continuance of the arguments would now indicate, however, that there will be a real struggle for a new trial, and that the added time is being used for preparation. The attorneys for the Socialists are making good use of the time allowed to prepare the case for appeal to the higher courts.

Landis Calls Berger Jury to Sift Scandal

Chicago, Jan. 25.—A sweeping investigation of alleged irregularities in the jury deliberations in the recent trial of Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, Wm. Kruse, J. Louis Engdahl and Irwin Tucker, who were convicted on charges of violating the espionage law, will be made tomorrow by Federal Judge Landis.

Subpoenas have been served on the twelve members of the jury which heard the case, and they will appear before Judge Landis at 10 a. m.

The hearing was ordered on the plea of the defense, which claims to have in its possession an affidavit sworn to by Thomas C. Nixon, an inventor, 4858 North Monticello avenue, who was a member of the jury, and who is said to have alleged that prejudicial remarks against the defendants were made by certain jurors and a deputy marshal during the progress of the trial.

"Bombs" Prepared by Defense.

Rumors concerning a sensational development in the case have been in circulation at the federal building for several days, and with the issuance of subpoenas today it became known that the attorneys for the defense were preparing to explode a bomb in their effort to obtain a new trial, a motion for which will be heard after the investigation.

Yesterday Attorneys William A. Cunnea and Henry Cochems, representing Berger and his co-defendants, Irwin St. John Tucker, William F. Kruse, Adolph Germer and J. Louis Engdahl, appeared before Judge Landis and offered a copy of Nixon's affidavit. An inquiry was ordered immediately by the judge.

Judge Landis, District Attorney Charles F. Clyne and Attorneys Cunnea and Cochems refused to discuss the coming inquiry beyond admitting the truth of the report.

"I am sorry the investigation became known before it had actually begun," said Judge Landis. "I had hoped for little publicity on the matter. There may be nothing to the charges and there may be a great deal."

Deputy Marshal Involved.

Juror Nixon, in his affidavit, is said to have charged that certain other jurors made derogatory remarks against the defense during the course of the trial, and that a deputy marshal who had access to the jury was outspoken in his prejudice against the Socialists. Other jurists refused to discuss the case. Some charged they had been "hounded" by agents of the defense since the close of the trial.

Japan Socialists Issue Manifesto

Socialists Issue Manifesto.

The Socialist Party of Japan, according to "Le Populaire," has issued a manifesto in the form of an address to the Council of Soviets in Russia. In the course of this manifesto the Executive Committee makes the following statement:

"All of our attention is given to the progress of the Russian Revolution and it is with profound sympathy that we observe the vigorous advance of the Russian proletariat—an advance which produces an ineffacable impression on the soul of the Japanese people.

"We are full of indignation against the methods of the Japanese government, which, under one unimportant pretext or another, sends its troops into Siberia in order to check the free development of the Russian Revolution. We regret very much not having enough organization to ward off the present danger which menaces you on the part of our imperialistic government. But you may be persuaded, that although persecuted as we are today by the government, the flag of liberty will float some day over Japan."

"Le Populaire" notes that Socialist groups have difficulties in Japan where the legislation against them is very oppressive. It is, therefore, difficult to keep in touch with the activities of the Japanese Socialists. The above document, however, throws an interesting sidelight upon some of the things that they are trying [illegible]

Meet Labor Party With Common Sense

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.
(Special Correspondence)

Chicago.—Pointing out that Labor Party movements springing up in different parts of the country are merely expressions of the radicalism of the times, the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, in session here, urges all Socialists everywhere to use common sense instead of prejudice in meeting this new development.

The statement issued by the Socialist Party Executive Committee on this question in full is as follows:

"The formation of labor parties in several of the larger cities has aroused the interest of members of the Socialist Party. This new political party, an expression of the radicalism of the times as well as a protest against the conservatism of the American Federation of Labor, may spread to other industrial centers. In view of this possibility, we, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, remind every Socialist Party member.

"1. That State and National Constitutions of the Socialist Party forbids members from joining any other political organization.

"2. That endorsement of any other political organization by any member or sub-division of the Socialist Party is equally prohibited.

"3. That even though the new labor party may proclaim in favor of industrial democracy, may ennunciate the fact of the class struggle and may profess internationalism, the history of all such organizations has shown that they must be judged by their deeds rather than their promises.

"Socialist Party members are asked to view this new political venture in the light of these facts. They should understand that it is the persistent and uncompromising attitude of the Socialist Party, together with the sweep of late events, which accounts for the radical expressions in Labor Party platforms. It is only by continuing our position and economic interpretation of events that we can hope to organize the workers so they will not only declare for industrial democracy, but will act through the Socialist Party to gain this goal.

"On the other hand, our members must realize the futility of destructive criticism of this new labor party. Where the labor party is dominated by old party politicians and corrupt influence, there we must oppose the labor party. But where it is a rank and file movement, declaring for independent political action, based upon the class struggle, we must refrain from criticism which would result in enmities and hostilities. We must maintain an open mind, and a philosophical attitude toward this new political manifestation. In times like these a measure of common sense instead of prejudice, because of competition in the political field, should rule us.

"Middle and West Europe is ablaze with revolution; Great Britain is making strides toward Socialism; unrest and dissatisfaction is fast ripening in the orient; Russia is living through the labor pains of an industrial democracy. Times such as these may give rise to a new party in this country. Socialist in all but name; but unless such a party should manifest its character by proof in action, all Socialists must maintain their position of advance guards of labor's forces upon the political field. Only by this method can we hope to educate all workers in the fundamental principles as ennunciated and practiced by our party, and which are absolutely essential to the winning of the world for the workers."

Gov't. Ownership Success in Queensland

Queensland, Australia, has tried government ownership of public utilities, and finds it an unqualified success. The Queensland Minister for Railways is now in the United States on a tour of inspection of the American Railway System. "My mission to the United States is primarily to inquire into your methods of management of railroads under government control," said the minister as reported in the Christian Science Monitor. "The policy of the government of which I am a member is the nationalization of all public utilities, and although the war with all its manifold problems has diverted us somewhat from our activities, we are yet moving gradually toward our objective."

The minister goes on to explain that the government in Queensland owns the whole railway system, conducts State Saving Banks, a State Commercial Bank, and State Fire, Life and Marine Insurance companies. The Workmens' Compensation Insurance is a government monopoly. The government also has purchased several cattle stations. In the centers of population the government conducts a large number of retail butcher shops which also handle fish. Queensland is the sugar producing state of Australia. The government has set up many modern sugar mills in order to stabilize the industry, and to prevent the introduction of cheap labor. The state is opening an iron producing plant and expects to make steel within the next year. The state is also prospecting for oil. The government operates a steamship line that has its own coal mines, its own saw mills and perform all of its own public work.

In the state butcher shops, which returned a profit of [illegible] last year, [illegible]

Socialist Party Backs Fight to Free Mooney

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago, Jan. 22.—Hearty co-operation with the aims of the recent National Mooney Labor Congress held in this city has been voted today by the Socialist Party National Executive Committee.

This puts the Socialist movement directly back of that great part of the labor movement that is actively struggling to secure justice for Mooney, even to the calling of a general strike on July 4, to force his liberation from prison.

Immediate steps will be taken by the Socialist Party to launch a national movement for the unconditional liberation of all war prisoners at once. One of the plans provides for the calling of an Amnesty Congress to be held in Chicago, May 1, with delegates present from all organizations interested in securing amnesty for all those imprisoned because of their political, industrial and religious views.

The National Office of the Socialist Party will get in touch with all organizations that can be interested in this great campaign, when a general call will be issued on behalf of all of them. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party feels assured that such a congress will call together from 2,000 to 3,000 delegates from every section of the land.

The National Executive Committee adopted a resolution demanding amnesty for political prisoners as follows:

Resolution Demanding Amnesty for Political Prisoners.

"The Socialist Party calls attention to the atrocious sentences given to the war dissenters and those representing minority opinions in this country.

"In comparison with the punishments for these alleged offenses in the late autocracy of Germany, the practice in this country has been ferocious. Men and women expressing even minority political opinions that were freely permitted in France and England, have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from five to twenty years.

"In view of the workers republics rising in Europe and the decline of autocracy in other parts of the world, the Socialist Party demands complete amnesty for all political prisoners. It demands this for all such prisoners regardless of their political, religious or economic views, whether they be known as Republican, Democrat, Socialist, Anarchist, Non-Partisan League, Industrial Workers of the World, Pacifist, Christian Pacifist, Conscientious Objector, or by any other title.

The Socialist Party, as the political representative of labor in this country, demands the release of all such prisoners and their return to the society of their fellows not only as a measure of justice to them, but as a partial atonement for the violation of fundamental constitutional guarantees. The suppression of these minority opinions by unconstitutional means, mob violence and war hysteria, is a disgrace to all our professions of "democracy" and will ever remain such in view of enlightened mankind.

Amnesty for these victims is one of the supreme issues of the present and the United States cannot be considered as again a member of the progressive nations of the world until this measure of tardy justice has been accomplished.

Babson's Warning to Big Business

Roger W. Babson, head of Babson's Statistical Organization, Inc., which furnishes reports to merchants, bankers and investors, has sent out a "Barometer Letter," in which the lessons of the war are discussed. This letter raises the question, "Shall we all voluntarily give up something, or shall we all run the risk of losing everything?" The answer, Babson tells his business clientele, depends upon whether or not we are willing to profit by the real lesson of the war. If we are willing to let the bulk of manual workers of this country peaceably retain the prestige and privileges which the war has given them—if we are willing to run the country in the interest of the producers of property rather than the inheritors of property, then we can head off disaster. If, however, the financial and business interests of the United States and Allied nations attempt to return to pre-war economic conditions then there surely will follow an explosion."

Bosses Stir Up Strikes

Basil M. Manly, Joint Chairman of the National War Labor Board, has issued a public statement in which he accuses the American bosses of using detective agencies for the purpose of fomenting strikes and breaking labor unions. Manly cites two specific instances in which supposed union men were urging unjustifiable strikes, and declares that many similar cases had been found. Manly continued: "Such employers as these, who deliberately stir up industrial strife in order to discredit unionism, are the greatest menace to American institutions existing in the country today."

Marine Council Formed in Gulf State

Delegates from all the gulf states met in New Orleans on January 2 to form a Gulf District Marine Council of the various organized crafts engaged in building ships. Approximately one hundred delegates representing 10,000 men were in attendance.

International Labor News

EDITORS: Louis P. Lochner, Scott Nearing, Santeri Nuorteva, Alexander Trachtenberg

ENGLAND

Labor Party Urges Government to Keep Factories.

The British Labor Party has taken a vigorous stand in favor of having the factories and other works built by the government during the war, retained under national control. The "London Times" in an effort to discredit this move has been urging the government to permit the trade unions to make an experiment in guild Socialism by taking over some of these factories and managing them in competition with private industries.

The "London Nation" in commenting on the situation calls attention to the fact that even should the trade unions make an effort to take over the factories and manage them, they would very easily be discredited by their failure to secure raw materials and to obtain markets. Workshop control is only a small part of modern business. The trade unions controlling the shops would be helpless in the hands of the bankers, producers of raw material and marketers of the product they created. "The Nation" warns the unions that any attempt to follow the suggestion of the "Times" is bound to fail. It further suggests that the "Times" desires this failure in order to discredit the work of the Labor Party.

CANADA

Labor Protests Censorship.

The Alberta Federation of Labor at its recent convention, decided that it would call for a general strike within 60 days unless all censorship laws are repealed. The convention was also unanimous in its demand that Thomas Shannon, a miner who was convicted for having forbidden literature in his possession, be released at once. Other Canadian unions in Toronto and Ontario have taken action to secure the release of several of their members who have been convicted and sentenced, in one case to three years in the penitentiary, for having Socialist literature in their possession.

Labor Wins Political Victory.

The Hamilton Independent Labor Party recently elected one commissioner, [illegible] two candidates in the election; an aldermanic candidate and a school board candidate.

ARGINTINA

Strikers Win Great Victory.

The labor unions of Argentina have won a sweeping victory, as a result of the nation-wide strikes that have spread over the country during the past month. The dispatches indicate that all except the harbor workers have gone back to their jobs. President Irigoyen has made important concessions to the labor unions.

The reports from other South American states indicate victory for the striking workers. A new spirit of aggressive class-conscious unionism has taken possession of the important industrial centers of South America.

MEXICO

Labor Laws Enacted

Mexico has secured a number of important labor laws, according to "The Carpenter." Wages and working conditions were extremely bad at the beginning of the present Mexican administration. The situation has been remedied by the enactment of a code of labor laws which at first seemed drastic, but which are now proving highly satisfactory. At present, workmen take so much interest in governmental affairs, that much of the legislation proposed is suggested by the labor organizations of Sonora, Vera Cruz, Pueblo, Yucatan, and other states.

ENGLAND

Miners Demand Six-Hour Day.

A report from London announces that the Southport Miners' Federation has unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that the miners in the British army be demobilized immediately, and be given employment. The resolution also asks that those disabled in the war receive the wages which they would have earned if they had not been injured. The concluding paragraph of the resolution demands that a six-hour day be substituted for the present eight-hour day.

THEY'LL GO FAST
YOU'LL WANT ONE
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM [illegible]

Debs at Toledo

By THOS C. DEVINE.

An intense and dramatic moment was experienced by the audience that filled Memorial hall, Toledo, to the doors, Jan. 2, to hear Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist leader. Hours before the meeting opened the hall was filled and a second hall in the same building was secured and filled in a few moments with an eager and expectant crowd. Hundreds were turned away unable to get inside the building. Many police were present but no disturbance occurred, the audience waiting patiently for Debs to make his appearance. Many returned soldiers in uniform were scattered throughout the hall and helped girl ushers in taking a collection.

As Comrade Debs stepped upon the platform a beautiful girl, carrying red carnations, accompanied by her sweetheart in uniform walked to the platform. The soldier stood at attention while the flowers were presented to the beloved Debs.

A dramatic moment ensued. An intense silence seized the great audience as it gazed with tear-dimmed eyes upon the picture of the champion of the working class receiving this tender homage. One thought seemed to hold all minds—that the things which the capitalist class and its hireling press has told of Debs' utterances and purposes were blackest lies. Tears dimmed the eyes of the audience while Debs' own eyes were notice to weep with affection, and love.

Taking the girl by the hand and with the other upon the shoulder of the soldier, Debs said: "I have stood upon this same platform many times. Here I met your Golden Rule Mayor and at other times many others—but nothing has ever touched me so deeply as this. I know what you boys have suffered. Something of how your mothers have waited patiently and longed for a word from over there. This is a beautiful thing, to meet you here tonight, and of all the pleasant memories of my life this moment I believe will live the longest—and remain as fresh as these beautiful flowers, and not only while I live, but at my death and after—yes, after—their fragrance will remain."

The applause was spontaneous and prolonged. The audience seemed to take relief in giving vent to its heartiest approval in cheer after cheer.

One of the Toledo daily papers reported the meeting as follows:

Lauds Lenine.

After acknowledging that he was a Bolshevik "from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet," Debs protested against Postmaster General Burleson's action in barring from the mails literature written by Nicholai Lenine, Bolshevik leader in Russia, whom Debs termed "the greatest of European statesmen."

"In the name of the Socialist Party as I stand here on parole I protest against the suppression of free speech, free assembly and free press," Debs shouted.

Scorns His Sentence.

Debs spoke with scorn of the ten-year sentence hanging over his head. "I hate and abhor the capitalistic system, but I don't hate its victims," Debs said. "I went to Cleveland the other day and took by the hand the man who sent me to jail, and I felt sorry for him. He didn't know; it was his misfortune.

"I got my ten years for telling them they would rather have the kaiser than see the working class rule.

"I am liable to be accused of stirring up class hatred, and get ten years more for my words tonight. My little liberty—what does that matter? A sentence to the pen for ten years doesn't thwart me. I can go there and be perfectly serene, but I couldn't go if I couldn't look myself in the face for being too cowardly for inviting the sentence."

Love for Lincoln.

He likened himself to Lincoln, pointing out that both the martyred president and himself loved the common people.

"They murdered Lincoln," said Debs. "I got only ten years. I don't look up to king, politician, priest or preacher; I look up to the working class—that beautiful class in which I was born. A class with dirty faces but clean hearts, rough hands but tender souls—the class that has fed and sheltered the race through all the ages.

"You working people haven't lived; you know not love, sunshine, song, laughter. Your life is work, the shop bell, black faces, a boss.

Easy for Master.

"Your wages go up, then they go down, then you are out of a job. Your master is away; he owns the tools that you work with, but he is not at work.

"You build a mansion for him, but you cannot enter; you fashion a limousine for him, but you cannot ride in it. He has nothing but contempt for you.

"Still he rides you to the polls on election day, and you vote his ticket.

Rich Are Poorest.

"The poorest man I know is Rockefeller, and the second poorest is Andrew Carnegie, who has lost his mind jingling the coins you made for him, and fearing that they would be taken away from him and he would die a pauper.

"Can you imagine how poor Rockefeller feels without one comrade—not one? That is poverty."

"We know so little about existence. So little about life. We are so used to struggle, treachery, dishonesty. It is bred by the system under which we now live. You, [illegible]

The Woman's Cause

A DEPARTMENT FOR WOMEN WHO THINK

The Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS
(Written for The Ohio Socialist)

PART V

As Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were recalling the London convention they were joined by the sister of Lucretia, Martha C. Wright, attired in the unassuming, yet characteristic costume of the Quaker, and Mary McClintock, an embryo modern woman suffragist and early advocate that colleges admit women students. These four audacious spirits were even now astounded at their daring in issuing a call for a woman's convention to discuss woman's problems.

The social forces of history had reached a stage of development which necessitated a break with the narrow views prevalent at that day and it is to the glory and credit of this quartette that they were the first to feel the need and act upon it.

Eight years after the meeting in London Lucretia Mott again saw her young friend Elizabeth. Gathering around the tea table with Mrs. Wright and Mrs. McClintock, they energetically returned to the topic of "the propriety of holding a woman's conventions." Never realizing the gigantic task they were undertaking, unaware that from the political field this movement must invade the industrial lives of women, the quartette naively announced to an unsuspecting world that "a convention to discuss the social, civil and religious conditions and rights of women was to be held within five days."

Four little women, sipping tea and eating cake, not only created a tempest of wrath that was to whirl around them, but set in motion a movement that was destined to sweep to the outermost ends of the earth.

The call was issued. The four had a declaration of rights to draft and must find some grievance. Having good, kind, broadminded husbands, they had no personal grievances. The unjust man-made laws had not left their brutal mark on them. They knew that woman's lot was not what it should be. There were grievances that were being endured by many of their less fortunately situated sisters.

After much delay one of the circle took up the Declaration of Independence and read it aloud with much spirit and emphasis, and it was at once decided to adopt the historic document, with some slight changes such as substituting "all men" for "King George." Knowing that women must have more to complain of than men under any circumstances possibly could have and seeing the fathers had eighteen grievances, a protracted search was made through statute books, church usages and the customs of society to find the exact number. Several well disposed men (yes, they accepted men's help) assisted in collecting the grievances, until, with the announcement of the eighteenth, the women felt they had enough to go before the world with a good case. One youthful lord remarked, "Your grievances must be grievous indeed, when you are obliged to go to books in order to find them out."

Thus was woman's declaration of woman's rebellion against old usages and customs framed. They declared "woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such," and "that the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want," and, therefore, "it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise."

The convention was a big success and many signatures to the declaration were obtained. When the press heralded accounts of the convention a storm of ridicule and abuse descended upon the signers. The same old tirades that we now hear against the Socialists, I. W. W. and the Bolsheviki were hurled at this courageous little band of determined women.

"Visionary!" "Impossible!" "Long haired agitators!" "Short haired women seeking notoriety!" "Women out of their latitude!" "Reign of petticoats!" "Men would have to wash the dishes!" "Blue stocking effusion!" Such were the dignified comments of the brainy class then in power. The church denounced them as lost vixens forevermore.

Mrs. Stanton's father, Judge Cady, journeyed hastily to his daughter, thinking she had gone insane, and the judge exclaimed, "I wish you had waited until I was under the sod before you had done this foolish thing." The daughter cooly replied, "Ah, sir, don't you remember how you used to give me law books to read in order that I might have something sensible to say to your friends? It was reading those laws books that I found out the injustice of our American laws toward women. I might never have known anything on the subject except for yourself."

One paper decried that after six thousand years the women, if they had rights "would set the world by the ears." An editor whose geology was of the six thousand years' variety couldn't be expected to endorse a progressive idea. Besides, the old world needed its ears "set by" if it was ever to notice women.

A stately woman emerged from one of the larger groups and smilingly confessed that when she read of the convention it had "startled and amused her and she laughed heartily at the novelty and presumption of the demand." Her serious minded Quaker family had attended the convention and considered it a great forward movement. They explained its object to her. She had taken part in the temperance cause by speaking publicly for it, and, now as her folks expounded the woman's rights doctrine she became a convert to "Votes for Women." This Unseen Worker was Susan B. Anthony.

(Chapter V continued next week)

NEVER DO THIS

Never write the names of subscribers you get for this paper into a letter or mix them in any way with other business you may have to transact with the State Office.

ALWAYS write the names of subscribers upon a separate sheet of paper or better yet, upon one of our subscription blanks, any number of which will be mailed you upon request.

We will thank you for complying with this request. You will save us much work if you will always do as we here ask you to do.

French Workers Restless

The working people of France are aroused as they have not been for many years over the problems that are confronting them as a result of the world war. A special mail despatch recently received in the United States indicates that French labor is in no mood for trifling. The despatch states: "Forced into extremist positions by the angry rejection of its most moderate demands, French labor is more restive every day. The French government is afraid to close the munitions factories for fear of idle labor, and tanks and ten-inch shells are still turned out monotonously. The government fears to demobilize the army, uncertain of its temper, certain only of its own incapacity to re-establish peace-time industry."

JUST OUT

"The Trial of Eugene V. Debs"

WRITTEN BY MAX EASTMAN

Max Eastman was present at the Debs' trial and saw many things that even you and I would overlook had we been present. His is an interesting and lucid discription of both the prosecution, the defendants and the judge. You will feel yourself "right there" while reading this new pamphlet, just off the press. It also includes Debs' address to the court upon receiving sentence.

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Workers Will Pay Damages

Attorneys and officials of an American railroad have discovered a new and very promising method of covering up losses and adding to profits. They have sued one of their workmen to recover damages for a railroad wreck in which he was involved. The Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad Company has brought suit against one of its locomotive engineers, Kleitz by name, to recover $30,585.14. The railroad alleges that Kleitz was negligent in that he ran at high speed past a "caution" block signal, crashed into the train ahead of him and killed two men.

The incident is reported in "Bradstreet's" for December 28, with this comment:

"The new line of conduct presented in the action of the railroad company is founded on a desire to obtain remuneration for losses sustained and in order to teach other employees to be duly careful."

Rent Interest and Profit

More than three-quarters of the income which goes to the rich people of the United States is in the form of rent, interest and profits. The United States Department of Internal Revenue has just published a summary of Statistics of Income based on the income figures for 1916. At that time there were 429,401 people who received "taxable" incomes. That is, incomes in excess of $3,000 for single persons and $4,000 for married persons. The total amount of "gross" income received by these people was $8,350,000,00. One-fifth of this total was income from personal services, either in the form of salaries or of professional fees. Three-tenths was income from business in the form of profits. The remainder (46%) was "income from property," divided as follows:—Rents $602,000,000; Interest $668,000,000; Dividends $2,136,000,000. These three items with certain miscellaneous incomes from property brought the total in this class up to $3,861,000,000.

People with the smaller incomes received three-quarters of their income from personal services and from business profits. People with the higher incomes received one-third of their income from personal service and business profits and two-thirds from property. In the case of those individuals having incomes between $500,000 and $1,000,000 a year (there were 376 of them) the division was as follows: $11,500,000 in salaries and $94,000,000 in business profits; $8,000,000 in rents; $23,000,000 as interest and $136,000,000 as dividends. The total income from property of these 376 persons was $200,000,000.

It Costs $1,800 Year to Live

Recent investigations by the War Labor Board and by the United States Department of Labor point to the conclusion that a workers family of five, consisting of a man, his wife and three children, needs in the neighborhood of $1800 to maintain a decent standard of living.

Frank P. Walsh in a speech made in New York City recently stated that the War Labor Board has reached the conclusion that $34.80 a week was the minimum unskilled labor wage which would provide decent living.

The same standard is set by Dr. Royal Meeker, head of the Bureau of Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, in an address before the recent Public Health Conference. Dr. Meeker stated that investigations clearly showed that a really decent standard of living for a family of five cannot be maintained on less than $1687 a year and perhaps it cannot be maintained on less than $1800. Dr. Meeker claimed, however, that the ordinary working family in a large majority of cases falls very far below this standard and as a result is compelled to adopt a standard of living which threatens the health of individual members of the family.

Protest Against Child Labor

The National Child Labor Committee has issued an appeal to the American people to set aside January 25, 26, 27, as days of protest against the existence of Child Labor. Franklin D. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, is urging the observance of these Child Labor days. Recent investigations have shown a greatly increased number of child workers in the factories and mines of the United States. This has been particularly true since the Child Labor Law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Very Neat Indeed!

To avoid widespread industrial disaster, payment of $1,650,000,000 is asked of congress, this money to be paid to war profiteers in settlement of obligations entered into with the government in "good faith." War contracts had to be cancelled because the war ended, unfortunately, and now the profiteers are arguing against losing this sum.

In the meantime, a bill is pending in congress to give the soldiers, the many young men who staked their lives, a pittance of six months additional wages—$180 each. Draw your own conclusion.

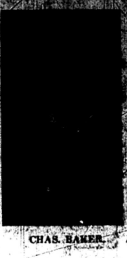
Minimum Wage for Women $13.20

The Washington Industrial Welfare Commission has fixed $13.20 as the minimum wage for any woman over 18 years of age who is engaged "in any occupation, trade or industry throughout the state during the period of the war." This order is based upon recommendations made by a War Emergency Conference held in August, 1918, and became effective in November. The working women of Washington are asking whether they will now be expected to live on less than $13.20. The war is ended but the cost of living is higher than ever.

Child Labor Permits Increase

The children's bureau of the Department of Labor at Washington announces that permits issued to children 12 and 14 years old in the District of Columbia, because of poverty, were greater in number this year by 255% than last year. These [illegible]

BAKER SAYS "GET BUSY"



CHAS. BAKER.

Are all these locals so out of touch with transpiring events that they fail to see the opportunities which are at hand for organizations more virile and numerically stronger than we have ever had before?

Every local in the state that has braved the persecution of the opposition has come out of the war with colors flying. These locals have established themselves in the hearts and minds of the workers of the cities and are looked up to as leaders in revolutionary thought and action.

Reports come into the state office day after day, which state that meetings held lately have been surprisingly large. In many instances they could not be packed into two halls, and thousands have been turned away.

"I find, since I have been on tour, that everything is ripe for successful organization work and Socialist victories this fall. The field is ready for dozens of speakers and organizers. People who never were troubled with a thought before are now thinking hard," writes Chas. Baker.

"All that locals need to do is to advertise a meeting and advertise it thoroughly. Crowds will flock to it for everybody wants to know more about Socialism and everybody is talking about this topic.

"The Lorain Socialists have decided to arrange a meeting for Debs. These comrades have been inactive for a long time but now see that the time has come for propaganda work. The movement in Lorain is ready to boom.

"In Steubenville I had a fine meeting. The attendance was small, for it was called mainly for reorganization purposes. The Steubenville Socialists decided to have another meeting within a month and until then will get subscriptions and reinstate members. At Niles I had two good meetings, one in the afternoon and one in the early evening. The comrades at Niles know how and have had, in the last two months, the largest meetings ever held in the city.

"Was called to Youngstown the same evening I spoke in Niles and there addressed a packed hall until 10.20. At Bellaire the meeting more than paid for itself, several applications for membership were received and subscription cards sold. There are some extra good rebels here and the movement will hear from them.

"The audience at Byesville numbered about a hundred. This was the first meeting in over a year. The Byesville Socialists realize that our hour has arrived.

"Right now is the opportune time to gather the many Socialists capitalism has made into the fold. Locals that are inactive are missing the chance of their lives. Awaken to your duties! Get into harness!"

Meetings In Ohio

Overflow meetings are reported from all quarters. Locals that have called the bluff of the jingoes and laughed at the ravings of the capitalist press; locals that have kept up a steady propaganda campaign, are now reaping their just reward.

Meetings scheduled for the next few weeks follows:

CHAS. BAKER.

Charles Baker, state organizer, is billed to speak in the following cities: Ravenna, Feb. 3; Cleveland, Feb. 4; Sandusky, Feb. 5; Toledo, Feb. 6; Lima, Feb. 7; Piqua, Feb. 8; Columbus, Feb. 9; Xenia, Feb. 10; Alpha, Feb. 11; Miamisburg, Feb. 12; Middletown, Feb. 13; New Bremen, Feb. 14; Convoy, Feb. 15; Indianapolis and Anderson, Ind., Feb. 16.

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C. E. RUTHENBERG.

C. E. Ruthenberg is scheduled to speak in Toledo, Feb. 9, and in Columbus, Feb. [illegible]

• • •

SCOTT NEARING.

Big meetings are being arranged for Scott Nearing at four points in Ohio next month. Nearing has written the State Office that more dates for Ohio would be available after May 1. His February dates in this state are: Canton, Feb. 13; Dayton, Feb. 14; Cleveland, Feb. 16, afternoon; Youngstown, Feb. 16, evening.

GEO. R. KIRKPATRICK.

The State Office is in communication with Kirkpatrick with a view of securing him for a tour of the entire state. His February dates are: Akron, Feb. 8; Cleveland, Feb. 9; Youngstown, Feb. 10.

• • •

L. E KATTERFELD.

L. E. Katterfeld, member of the National Executive Committee and experienced organizer, will give ten days to intensive organization work in this state. He will work in the following places: Belmont county, Feb. 5, 6 and 7; Guernsey county, Feb. 8 and 9; Miami county, Feb. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.

• • •

A motion is now before the State Executive Committee to employ H. L. A. Holman, formerly of Texas, for organization work in the state. W. R. Snow is expected to begin his tour of the state in the near future. Other speakers and organizers will be engaged to supply the increasing demand for field workers.

BRAIN TEASERS

By TOM J. LEWIS.

The bullets that ended the careers of our two comrades, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, are but messages to the rising proletariat to beware of all compromisers, reactionaries and advocates of capitalist law and order.

• • •

The struggle for supremacy between the two world forces, "Capitalism and Socialism," is on. The advocates and apologists for capitalism are trying to retain the old subdivision of peoples on national lines, also religious and political. But the class struggle looms greater each day with the result, it is uniting the workers into an international body, thereby eliminating race, creed or color divisions and exposing the nature of things in the evolutionary process, which demands organization of the forces antagonistic to each other determined by their material interest, since the close of the national war. The class war is now in its ascendancy, overshadowing all other battles, so from now on there will be but two nations. The workers and the shirkers, Capitalism and Socialism at grips.

• • •

The workers are to reap again as the result of promises. A stricken world loaded down with misery and job hunting, owing to the growing unemployed army. Such is the world when made safe for democracy.

• • •

Workingmen compete for jobs.
Business men compete for trade.
Capitalists compete for markets.
God and the devil compete for souls.
Just an economic reflection, that's all

• • •

"Work for the night is coming" if you have a job; go on and keep working, so the boss can continue to rob.

• • •

Troubles never come single. How can they? Don't you know they are married and have a large family and their names are legion?

Seattle Laborites Propose Labor Bank

The Central Labor Council of Seattle is promoting the organization of a banking institution to be known as the Trades Union Savings and Loan Association. Its board of directors will be composed of a member of each of the unions holding stock. An effort is being made to interest the grange, farmers unions and other friendly organizations in the new venture.

This scheme of the Seattle laborites is not a novelty. The Finnish workers in America, for instance, have for years maintained a bank at Fitchburg, Mass., which successfully finances all enterprises of the Finnish workers.

Fertilizer From Goverment at Cost

The Secretary of Agriculture has announced, that under the authority of the food-control act and subsequent legislation, the Department of Agriculture during the coming season, will offer nitrate of soda for sale to farmers for fertilizer use. The nitrate will be sold for cash at cost. The price to the farmers will be $81 a short ton, free on board cars at the loading point or port. In addition, the farmer will have to pay the freight charges to unloading point and any incidental expenses that he may himself incur in connection with the delivery of the [illegible]

Debs at Toledo

(Continued from page one)

a remorseless struggle for existence. We are strangers to our neighbors.

"Have you ever paused in a crowded thoroughface, where humanity was sweeping toward you? Have you peered into the faces of the young—old before they were born? Have you seen the tragedy of ages written upon the human countenance? Have you ever felt yourself impeached for being decently dressed? Have you ever felt ashamed for having had your breakfast when so many children are starving?

A Contrast.

"Capitalism is the thing you vote for every time you vote the Republican or Democratic ticket; every time you vote against the Socialist ticket.

"I recently picked up a paper and read two items.

"The first told of an impoverished mother, who had borne seven children, who choked her last-born to death so that it would not starve.

"The second told of a capitalist who had just bought a $75,000 sable coat for his wife, a former actress.

"I am not telling you this to appeal to your emotions; rather would I reach your intelligence."

Meeting Record Breaker.

More than 3,000 people attended the Toledo Debs' meeting. Between 600 and 1,000 were turned away, unable to find standing room. Police were kept busy clearing the aisles in conformity with fire regulations. An unusually large collection was taken and much literature sold.

M. A. Toohey, Hoskins and Devine assisted in addressing the overflow meeting. Toledo Socialists feel greatly [illegible]

Socialism's Superiority

By WM. M. BROWN.

If during the year 1919, all adherents of International Socialism throughout the world could and would regularly read and lend Socialist publications, the result would be the ringing out of hell from the earth and the ringing in of heaven upon it through supplanting the competitive system by the co-operative one for the production and distribution of the necessities of life.

Then would the peace on earth and the good will among men, of which angels in the sky have sung so much and people on the ground have experienced so little, cover the world as the waters do the sea.

Within the nineteenth century there were forty conflicts between nations, and there will be more of them and worse ones in the course of the twentieth century, if capitalism stands through it. There have been several already, among them the worst one of all history.

Nor is the suffering by capitalism resulting from such conflicts all or even half of it; for there is the strife and ill will arising from the universal and perpetual conflict between the classes—the class of surfeiting masters, who live by owning, and the class of starving slaves, who live by working.

Fortunately the tremendous struggle between the English and German nations with their allies, which has filled a large part of the world with death, hatred and sorrow, has issued in a more tremendous struggle between the master and slave classes which will fill the whole world with life, love and joy.

This war is now an event in the making, certainly the greatest among all events which have occurred on the earth and probably there has never been one or ever shall be as great a one anywhere else in the universe. On its account the year 1919 will be the most momentous and memorable of all years.

"We are living, we are dwelling
In a grand and glorious time;
In an age or ages telling
To be living in sublime."

The world has never had a gospel which is at all comparable in its excellency to that of Marxian Socialism, according to the Bolsheviki interpretation of it. The gospel of Jesuine Christianism, according to the orthodox interpretation of it is no exception; for, granting it to be superior to the Mosaic, Buddhistic, Mohammedan and other gospels, it is nevertheless almost infinitely inferior to the Marxian gospel.

Gospels are for the purpose of saving the world from its suffering. The Jesuine and Marxian gospels are alike in having for their object the salvation of the proletarian world. The superiority of the gospel of Marx over that of Jesus will appear from the follow representations:

1. Marx seeks to save by doing away with both the master and slave classes—Jesus by exalting the slave class above the master class.
2. Marx exhorts the slave class to look to itself for deliverance—Jesus taught it to look to a God for this.
3. Marx promises salvation for this world here and now, a world about which everybody knows much—Jesus promised it for another world elsewhere and elsewhen, a world about which nobody knows anything.

"Socialist Stirs Ire By Talk in Bellaire." "Speaking in hall directly over police station, Charles Baker, state organizer, rails at capitalists." So read the headlines in a recent issue of the Martins Ferry Times. "Despite his incendiary language he was heartily applauded," this paper goes on to day. Now what do you think of that? What hurts this daily most however, is that a good, Red Socialist speech was given "right over the police station." And that is just about bearding the lion in his den, we admit.

Another nation-wide Bolshevik plot has been uncovered. This time by the wide awake Martins Ferry police. Leaflets were found calling a meeting "by a society." The speakers were to talk about "Revolutionary Socialism." It was to be a meeting of foreigners. And further, similar meetings were reported to be advertised in Cleveland and other places. Well, we confess. They are being held all over the country. Now that the plot has been uncovered, we confess.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN WAR-TIME

By ANISE, Union Record.

(Facts taken from Labor Year Book, issued by Rand School; and "German Social Democracy During the War," by Edwin Bevan, published by George Allen and Unwin Co., London).

VI—PARTY SPLITS

When the reichstag group split openly in its vote on war credits in December, 1915, the local organizations all over the empire began to pass resolutions, approving or condemning the action of the small group which voted against the war. It was pointed out in Vorwarts, which at this time stood for the minority, that the actual number of votes represented by the minority was larger than those represented by the majority.

Still, however, no one could tell, in the absence of a party congress, how the rank and file throughout Germany would vote. Liebknecht's own constituency later voted against him and, on the other hand, so did Scheidemann's.

Opposition to War Strong in Berlin

Berlin was one of the places where the minority was strongest. The central body there passed a vote approving the minority by 41 to 17. On the other hand, the party in Hamburg where hatred of England was especially bitter, were strong for the majority and vetoed a proposal to allow Haase to address them.

In January the reichstag group elected Ebert as its president in place of Haase, who had resigned to go with the minority. Friedrich Ebert is a man from the working class, a Heidelberg tailor, of solid, healthy bodily frame, an honest commonsense bureaucrat who might be trusted to discharge the business of the party conscientiously and efficiently.

The reichstag committee, which now consisted of majority members only passed a resolution expelling Liebknecht from membership in the group. A lively controversy arose. Vorwarts declared that expulsion could not be done by any committee, but only by the party at its annual congress. Otto Ruhle voluntarily took his stand with Liebknecht, as outside even the recognized "minority."

Introducing the Spartacus Section

We have heard much lately of the Spartacus section. This group made its appearance at about this time. The extreme group, followers of Liebknecht, thoroughly international and opposed to all national distinctions of any kind, carried on an active propaganda by means of pamphlets, sometimes printed, but more often typewritten. Those which attracted the most attention were known as the Spartacus letters, and were circulated among confidential correspondents. It was known that there was more than one author and that Liebknecht himself had a hand in their composition.

These letters consisted largely of mocking, bitter attacks on the sections of the minority which followed Haase, ridiculing them as timorous and half-hearted. It seems to be a characteristic of radical groups in all countries that more intense bitterness is displayed towards those who are nearest to them in sympathies and who yet do not follow them completely, than against the even more divergent groups farther away.

However, the accusations brought by the Spartacus group against the German government were sufficiently thoroughgoing. According to them the German and Austrian governments had "deliberately contrived the murder at Sarajevo"—an accusation which, as far as I know, was not even made in the allied countries.

The Minority Organizes

Great bitterness was added to the fight between the two sections of the party by the Spartacus accusations. And when, in March, 1916, the usual war credits vote bobbed up again, and Haase spoke on the floor of the reichstag, voicing vehement opposition to continuing the war, the majority Social Democrats joined in the angry cries that helped to howl down their old chief.

Immediately after the meeting in the reichstag the party [illegible] "Social Democratic Group." Protesting against the right of the directorate to deprive them of their rights as members of the Social Democratic party, the minority nevertheless proceeded to organize a new group, known as the Social Democratic Labor Fellowship. Haase and Ledebour were its two chairmen, and Dittman, who is another man recently prominent as a member of the Socialist cabinet in Berlin, was secretary. He is a cabinet maker by trade from the Lubeck district and at that time 41 years of age.

Throughout all the accounts of German Socialists, the age of the prominent men is a matter for comment. The Russian revolutionary figures, with some exceptions, seem to have been young men; the revolution there was full of the fire of youth. Possibly the German revolution, as it swings to the left, may come under the control of the younger group; or possibly the greater age and solidity of Socialism in Germany may keep a less fiery but more careful group in control.

Liebknecht Arrested

The second May day of the war found the relations between the government and the radical Socialists more strained than ever. Wherever the comrades assembled the secret police followed. And on that May day Liebknecht was arrested for inciting a large crowd in Berlin with the cries: "Down with the war! Down with the government!" A pamphlet written by himself, of which over 1,000 copies were found in his possession, called the workers to "a class war against the government," and said that "the government's lust for dominion was responsible for the war. The workers must tolerate the slaughter no longer."

The violence of Liebknecht's words, as compared with any of the speeches ever imagined possible in our country, are very startling. Even before May day he had made a speech in which he called the war loan a "colossal swindle." He was a soldier, subject to military jurisdiction.

Was Liebknecht privileged as a reichstag member? The matter came up for discussion. The Haase group defended him against the charge of treason, but the house decided to abandon him to his fate. He was condemned to two years, six months and three days penal servitude, and removal from the army "for attempted treason in war."

The Fight Grows More Open.

The fight between the two factions of Socialists grew more open. The majority attempted to secure control of Vorwarts, the party organ, and succeeded to the extent of having a "censor" appointed. But greater Berlin openly revolted against their control. And Vorwarts was the organ for both the Berlin central directorate and the whole Socialist party, and was thus in an increasingly awkward position.

All this time the terms "majority" and "minority" meant merely the relative strength of two groups in the reichstag. The party as a whole had not spoken. A complete congress was impossible until the soldiers should return to vote. As a substitute for this a conference of delegates was at last callen in September, 1916. It went off more quietly than expected. The "majority" obtained, indeed, a majority of the delegates, but the constituencies represented were found to be about equal. On the whole, the cause of the minority was advanced. It was learned, with surprise, how large a part they really formed of the party.

This relatively harmonious gathering was the last time in which the two groups met as one.

The months that followed saw the gradual growing of two distinct organizations [illegible]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio [illegible]

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WEDNESDAY, JAN. 29, 1919. [illegible]

WITH OUR EDITORS

"AMERICANS KILLED IN MEXICO"

A war with Mexico is in the making.

And the devils implicated in this hellish brew—well, you only need one guess to guess rightly.

How else could these vendors of poison exist? How else could they earn their master's gratitude? How else could they protect the interests of the industrial lords by whom they are paid, and richly, too, for manufacturing public sentiment to order?

A war with Mexico is in the making. Our industrial kaisers resent all efforts the Mexican government is making to make Mexico a good country to live in. For, making any country a good country to live in means making that country a bad country for profits and dividends.

Our industrial kaisers must have profits and dividends. Life? Why—let life go hang, it's dollars they want. And if dollars, in absolutely correct ratio to investments, do not roll into their coffers, then a hint to the daily capitalist press is sufficient.

"Americans killed in Mexico" was blazoned across seven or eight columns of space in one of Chicago's dailies about ten days ago.

The day after this, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party was addressed by a native of Mexico, whose forefathers had fought to make Mexico free for its workers.

When asked for information about this latest "news," the Socialist Party Executive Committee learned that the "killing" referred to occurred in the year 1913. "And further," said the Mexican, "you hear much about Americans being killed in Mexico, but how about the many Mexicans killed by Americans?"

Surprising, isn't it? And yet it's not. Nothing will be left undone to protect the profits of the profiteers. And, as Mexicans have committed no "overt act" in recent months, therefore, at a loss for "news" of the right kind, the kept press trots out a 1913 "killing."

We are at the cross roads again!

Will we permit ourselves to be led into a war with Mexico for the sake of protecting profits. Or will we travel the road, the sign post upon which reads—TO INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM AND THE NEW DAY.

LEADING THE PARADE

In thought and in action there seems to be a rush toward the "left" these days. The march toward Industrial Freedom is now along a road which is admitted by many to be a short cut.

The "right" of Labor's Army, which has plodded the furrow of conservatism these many years, is gradually being depleted in numbers and it will soon be but a corporal's guard, shouting it's usual "don't."

The "left," or radical wing gathers strength day by day. It understands its mission, knows its aims, is courageous and determined in its demands. It fears not, neither does it hesitate.

Workers' Councils, composed of Socialists, trade unionists and industrial unionists have been formed in Butte, Duluth and many other cities. A Soldiers' and Workers' Council has been organized by the Metal Trades Section of Seattle unionists. Socialist Party locals are voicing their support of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic by speech and pamphlet. Overflow meetings are being held in all large cities at which demands are make for amnesty for all political prisoners and for withdrawal of troops from Russia.

In all this thought and action the "left" leads.

The "right" may think it is leading, but it's going to wake up some fine morning only to discover that a parade can't be led from the rear end.

Those Bolsheviks are strange people. In one column of the kept press we read that they are responsible for strikes in Argentina and in the United States; that with the employment of millions upon millions of rubles they are fomenting revolutions in a half dozen different countries at once; that they are secretly implicated in every riot and killing of any account. And right in a neighboring column we are told that they are hopelessly bankrupt; utterly disorganized; opposed by a majority of Russians and violently at odds with themselves. Indeed, strange people!

OTHER EDITORS SAY—

We should be charitable with the papers these days, for they have a lot of hard work to do. They must convince us that Liebknecht, who fought the German government throughout the war, is our enemy, and the majority Socialists who went fifty-fifty with the kaiser in all his crimes, are our real friends.—Liberator.

M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, is reported as saying that the czar and his family were put in a small room and jabbed with bayonets all night long and then shot in the morning. Which merely goes to show that royalties are like cats—they have many lives. M. Pichon's informant is Prince Lvoff, which, doubtless, accounts for the fact that the late czar's family is still alive, and although in reduced circumstances, from a financial and social standpoint, yet in good health.—Revolutionary Age.

The date hasn't been set yet, but along about the middle of next month we may confidently expect that the Spartacus group will announce the wholesale slaughter of everybody in Germany able to count four and possessing a handkerchief. It makes interesting reading, and it harms nobody.—New York Call.

Some people may mistake a plausible flunky of the special interests for a real reformer. Some people buy paste diamonds for the real thing, too. But the special interests never make a mistake. Their abuse or praise shows whether the specimen is genuine. This is one cue we can practically always rely on from the kept press.—Union Record.

Italy has freed all political prisoners.

Germany has done so; Austria, Hungaria, Bulgaria, Russia, have done likewise. France and Canada have promised to take the same course.

Will America lag behind?

The kaiser, before his abdication, released Karl Liebknecht.

Will democratic America be less magnanimous than the Beast of Berlin? —American Bolshevik.

New York having protested against Jewish progroms in Poland, it is now up to Warsaw to object against Negro pogroms in America. One lawless murder of a Negro every four days is our proud record.—New York Call.

Experts have given up the idea of making a monkey talk. Well, we would like to have experts find a way to prevent men in public places from talking like monkeys.—Chicago Socialist.

They're Doing This in Lima

Comrade Edwin Blank of Lima informs us of a plan that Local Lima is executing in its campaign of organization and increasing the circulation of the Ohio Socialist.

At the last business meeting each member volunteered to take three to [illegible] cards and to sell them [illegible] nothing wrong with [illegible] this idea out in your local. It will work like a charm, we are sure. Try it. The comrades of Lima are up to their ears in organization activities.

The Debs' meeting in Lima had to be given up because the Memorial hall, owned by the public, but under control of the county commissioners, could not be obtained. The matter had been taken in court and a favorable ruling obtained for the Socialists but upon application for its use they were again refused and had to again take the case to court. The case will not be settled in time for the meet- [illegible]

OUR PARTY PAGE

Live News of Interest to all Party Members

The Best of Advice

Locals, when holding propaganda meetings, should do three things at all meetings before the speakers of the evening are introduced.

1. Ask all Socialists in the audience who are not yet dues paying members to join our party. Have plenty of application cards on hand and have ushers pass them out.

2. Solicit subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist. Have plenty subscription cards on hand and sell them through the audience.

3. Sell literature to the audience. Buy a new pamphlet for each meeting and make special effort to sell every person present that one book. Do not try to sell too many different kinds of books. Have some comrade read the book you intend selling and then have him introduce it to the audience, touching upon the points the book covers.

We also suggest that the financial secretary occupy a table in the rear of the hall and that the chairman announce that all members who desire to pay dues can pay them to the financial secretary.

Meetings locals arrange must be made as useful to the party as possible and programs including the above items, should be carefully arranged in advance.

• • •

Local Youngstown has enjoyed an unprecedented sale of Socialist literature this month. Nearly 2,000 10-cent pamphlets were disposed of by this local at its meetings.

• • •

Another hundred press stamps for Local Cincinnati. And an equal number for Local Hamilton.

• • •

TAKES FIRST PLACE

Again we have a tale to tell about Local Youngstown. This local buys more copies of the Ohio Socialist than any other local in the state. Orders for 500 copies, 700 copies, 1,000 copies have become a once a week habit with this local.

• • •

LOOSERS FEAST THE WINNERS

An oyster supper was enjoyed by both losers and winners as a result of the membership contest held in Portage county recently. The losers paid the bill. "We start another membership drive, which is to last during the months of February, March and April, with the same captains and teams will wind up with a supper and dance, the losers again paying the bill. Watch the indicator in this county. We will be there at the finish." So writes C. G. McVay.

• • •

Frank Stidd reports a good meeting held at Bellaire with Chas. Baker. Many subscription cards sold, new members secured and much literature disposed on.

• • •

AGAIN WE TELL YOU—

Foresight is still the winner and hindsight the loser. By which we mean that if you want a bundle of the Ohio Socialist you will have to order in advance and not after the edition is off the press. "But," you'll say, "I do not know whether I want a bundle of it or not until I see it." And neither do we, comrade. We can't tell whether we are going to receive your order for several thousand copies of an issue after it is off the press or not. And we can't afford to print thousands of extra copies every week and then not sell them.

Consequently, the very best thing to do is to order a bundle regularly. We get orders for hundreds of copies of the Ohio Socialist after the edition is exhausted. And we are indeed sorry to disappoint so many of our supporters by our inability to fill orders after the issue wanted is off the press. The only way out is to place yourself upon our mailing list for a bundle every week.

• • •

Local Massillon joins the bundle brigade. A hundred a week is its order. They will be used for free distribution at the shops.

• • •

Local Lorain applies for a Debs' meeting.

• • •

The meeting addressed by Chas. Baker at Steubenville, though attended mostly by party members, resulted in much good to the organization. Three new applications for membership were secured and many Ohio Socialist subscription cards were sold. E. P. McDevitt writes that the local members feel much encouraged.

• • •

PIQUA WARMING UP

"Things are warming up for us and we are anxiously awaiting the coming of L. E. Katterfeld, who is to be with us for organization work for a week. We feel that with his assistance we shall create enough enthusiasm to add greatly to our active membership." J. H. Denman.

• • •

LOCAL GIRARD WAKING UP

"I shall make an effort to get the comrades together at once. You can expect to hear from me again. Interest in the movement in this valley is at fever heat. Debs has stirred them up and has spurred the comrades on to greater efforts. Long may he live." Fred Wilson.

• • •

Local Canton is arranging a meeting for Scott Nearing on Feb. 13. This local also applies for a speaker once a week for a series of Sunday afternoon meetings.

• • •

Fred Walchli, secretary of Local Belmont County, applies for an organizer to work a week in the county.

• • •

Local North Star applies for a Baker meeting.

Local [illegible] sends in a call for [illegible]

A Voice From Jail

County Jail, Albuquerque, N. M.,
January [illegible], 1919.

Dear Comrades of Ohio:

I have just been convicted in a court of law, of disloyalty to capitalism. The court has been lenient, assessing the penalty of six months in a federal jail. As I have no funds and our state and national treasuries seem to be depleted, I will serve this sentence and with good grace, feeling that in so doing I am only suffering for and serving the workers and that, too, much less than thousands of others have done and are doing.

Please change the address of the Ohio Socialist from address of Roswell, New Mexico, to new address, Deming, N. M., care county jail. I must have the paper while locked up if permitted to do so.

With confidence that the day of the workers is near at hand and without remorse or shame, I am,

Fraternally,
T. E. PENDERGRASS,
County Jail, Deming, N. M.

HERBERT KNECHT SAYS

"One thousand paid up members for Guernsey is our slogan. We can do it. We intend trying. We shall make all arrangements for our two Katterfeld meetings."

• • •

"Thurber Lewis' address pleased all who heard it except the reporter for the Daily Register, who devoted nearly a column of space to ravings against 'Bolshevism.' He later threatened that the minions of law and order would proceed against the young orator for his seditious remarks, but we have not heard anything further as to that." W. I. Jackson, Sandusky.

• • •

Local Dayton remits $35 for the defense fund.

• • •

Send in all Debs' Defense Fund lists right away.

• • •

SHERMAN VAUGHN

Sherman Vaughn, an ardent and beloved comrade, passed away Jan. 11, at Mt. Vernon. He was a shining light in the cause of Socialism. Before passing away he sent for the secretary of Local Mt. Vernon and paid his dues and while tears dropped upon the little red card, expressed the wish that he could live to see the great revolution ushered in.

• • •

Local Kenmore will sell tickets in advance for a Tom Lewis meeting on Feb. 22.

• • •

COLUMBUS NOTES

Roy Gorham is the new dues collector for our local. He has chosen several assistants. Those who are not in good standing in the local are to be visited and shown the eror of their ways.

Charles Baker will address the local's propaganda meeting at the usual place, Sunday afternoon, Feb. 9.

Financial Secretary Wiechers reports press stamp sales increasing in number.

We will have a better local as soon as every member is a reader of the Ohio Socialist.

Do something for Socialism today. Get a member. Get a subscriber. Sell a pamphlet. Say a word in its favor.

E. B. EUBANKS.

• • •

LOCAL CUYAHOGA FALLS REVIVES

"We have finally come to the conclusion to reorganize our local. Most of the old members are going to pay us agoing. We say, more power to them." W. J. Doran.

Do something for Socialism today.

• • •

Local Akron orders 100 Ohio Socialists a week and will order special editions of the paper during the coming municipal campaign.

• • •

Says W. N. Patterson of Zanesville, "Read the New Appeal and get more eggs."

• • •

A BIG DAY AT NILES

Local Niles made a big day of it Sunday, Jan. 19. Entertainment, supper and two speeches by Charles Baker gave Niles Socialists and their friends and reddest day, socially, that they ever enjoyed. The program began in the afternoon and there was no let-up in the merrymaking and education until nearly midnight.

• • •

"The Ohio Socialist is one of the 'veribest' papers I get." J. F. Denison, Warren.

• • •

"Things are moving and Tiffin hopes to keep abreast of the procession." A. W. F. Steckel.

• • •

Will Celebrate a Full Week.

"We expect to celebrate May Day all over the country this year and we want a speaker for one full week of seven days, beginning April 28, and ending May 4. The county executive committee will make all plans, will do the routing and is to have full charge. We prefer Charles Baker."

This is part of a letter from W. A. Jenkins, secretary of Columbiana county. And it's looking ahead that counts. Arranging for May Day celebrations now means that success is bound to attend efforts made to interest the workers generally in this international holiday.

• • •

Local Canton intends holding educational meetings every Sunday afternoon.

FROM A VETRAN

Dear Comrades:

Please accept the congratulations and good wishes not only for the Ohio Socialist, but for every other Socialist aircraft sailing aloft. And the same hand of good fellowship to every sister and brother that the sun shines on or the rain or snow falls upon.

Especially do I send the soul's greeting to that "noblest Roman of them all," Eugene V. Debs. Although an entire stranger, I extend a brother's [illegible]

Hamilton Nominates Ticket

With some other comrades in the state the comrades of Hamilton have seen the wisdom of nominating their city ticket early. This method gives more time to get the candidates' names before the voters, and also has the effect of spurring the comrades on to starting the campaign at an earlier date than usual.

The Socialists of Dayton have also nominated their city ticket. Other Ohio locals are expected to follow this method of holding their city convention early this year. Ohio city elections occur in November next.

Following is a report of the convention held by Local Hamilton on Jan. 12:

Meeting opened promptly at 9 a. m. with Comrade Kopp in the chair. The following nominations were made and concurred in by the convention as the candidates of the Socialist Party of Hamilton in the next city election:

For mayor—John M. Cahalane.
For city solicitor—Horace J. Shank.
For auditor—Ernst Sheafor.
For president of council—Arthur Sapp.
For council-at-large—John Baureiss, Joseph Felblinger, Seth Felblinger.
For board of education (two to be elected)—Mrs. Bonnie Shank, W. W. Vinnedge.
Ward councilmen as follows:
First Ward—Otto Graf.
Second—Harry Bacon.
Third—Walter Baureiss.
Fourth—Ormsby Gray.
Fifth—Harry Frenk.
Sixth—Harry Berry.
Assessors as follows:
First Ward—Dan Lauderman.
Second—Ed Dulli.
Third—John Rochelle.
Fourth—Charles Evans.
Fifth—Aaron Klein.
Sixth—Alvie Jones.

We have a ticket in the field of which Local Hamilton may well be proud.

Red Army Smashes All Records

For lack of space in last week's issue this column was delayed until this number.—Ed.

All former records of the Red Army were smashed last week when a total of 400 subscriptions were rolled up by these boosters of our party paper.

Lack of space forbids us to publish but a very few of the many letters and words of encouragement which reach the State Office from our comrades throughout the nation. However, their words are more than appreciated, they are inspiring and attest the esteem in which the Ohio Socialist is held by the comrades in all parts of the country.

Below are listed numerically the results of one week's work of the Red Army. Many renewals are not here listed.

—25—

Local Midvale rings the bell with 25 yearlies and two half yearlies. No other local reached this number this week.

—17—

Comrade John Rehm of Springfield is next highest on the list as above noted.

—11—

Local Hamilton is the only local hitting this mark this week.

—10—

Local Columbus sends in an even ten, four of which the local sends the paper to as a means of inducing their further education in Socialism. This is good constructive work and is a worthy example to other locals.

—9—

Local Toledo is next on the list with a total of nine new ones.

—8—

Here is where we begin to double up. Comrade Edwin Blank, one of the live wires of Lima, and Comrade Jos. Bower of Creston, hit the bullseye at the same time with the above number to their credit.

—7—

Still more doubling up. The above number of subscriptions were received from the following locals:

Dayton and Wadsworth.

—6—

Comrade Wm. G. Schultz of Napoleon sends six subs and an order for five sub cards. Thomas Adams, Middleton, sent in six.

—5—

Now we are in the average class. Wonder if it is not possible to raise the average. We believe it is, what do you think? Those sending in five subscriptions this week are Clarence R. Lortes, St. Marys; Chas. D. Hirst, Salineville; T. H. Davies, Hubbard, and C. G. McVay, Ravenna; J. Gartleman, Cincinnati; Fred White, Martins Ferry, all yearlies. A. W. F. Steckel, Tiffin.

—4—

In this paragraph are entitled to appear the names of Comrades Richard Haase, Akron; L. G. Kemmer, Ashtabula, and Comrade Carl Guillod, Canton.

—3—

And here are two comrades who held the fort for real democracy this week. Comrades O. Ruchtaeschel, Cincinnati, and Thos. Adams of Middletown.

—2—

And here are the names of some comrades who are on the job every day.

They are: Anton Soukup, Neffs; E. C. Wolf, Mt. Vernon; Walter Conradi, Scott Wilkins, Ada; J. H. Sims, Bethel; Mrs. A. L. Hitchock, Cleveland; Walter Dearolf, Rittman; Lyle E. Gardiner, Akron; Allen Cook, Canton; Fred W. Seibert, Lawndale; Clarence Case, Hamilton.

—1—

The following comrades sent in one subscription each: Robert E. Blackstone, Cleveland; Robert Green, Martins Ferry; Stephen [illegible] [illegible] town; Ben Lieberman, Warren; C. A. Hudbeck, Struthers; W. D. Marshall, Leetonia; Ward Lowery, Canton; A. C. Holloway, Akron; H. E. Egger, Byesville; Carl W. Fry, Akron; N. Weltlich, Massillon; G. F. Schnauffer, Piqua; F. Rogers, Akron.

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for Six Months.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday Evening
at 8 p. m., 50 1-2 W. Gay St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

NEXT?

From Other States

Local Battle Creek, Mich., walks away with the belt with a total of 51 subscriptions. What do you think of that, Ohio Locals? On top of that comes a supplementary list from Comrade W. E. Reynolds containing 6 more. Single subscriptions were received from Wm. Raider, Niles; Rener Dyk, West Oline; Comrade John Kuskila of Hancock, besides a bundle of ten weeklies.

West Virginia, Too

That the comrades of West Virginia intend to support the Ohio Socialist and to get all the benefits it can give toward the upbuilding of the party in that state was again made manifest when a list of 31 subscriptions were received from Comrade R. M. Goodall of Ronceverte. Another list of four from Comrade H. F. Link of the same city shows there is more than one live wire there. From Fairmont, W. Va., comes a list of 6 from Comrade Jesse Bird. Comrade H. F. Oberholtzer of Huntington also sends in two. One each are received from Comrades S. Robef of Ethel and James M. Holt, Weston, and Luther M. McIntyre. Comrade James W. Foley of Sutton sends two yearlies.

New Mexico

State Secretary W. B. Dillon sends in a list of 7. Eight were received from Comrade W. P. Calkins of Weed.

Kentucky

A list of six are to hand from Comrade Louis Scharstein of Newport. Comrade Stark and Comrade Bell of Louisville send one each. Comrade Walter Demar sends one. Comrade S. P. Allen of Guston sends a list of ten and offers his services in the distribution of literature at any time. Thanks comrade. We shall have a job for you. A renewal is received from Comrade Jno. H. Grigsby of Louisville.

Virginia.

J. W. Cassell, Secretary of Local Roanoke, sends in a list of six.

Illinois

Comrade Otto Adams mails a list of five, together with $5 for a year each. Comrade Perry H. Shipman of Rock Island sends a list of five and orders a bundle of 25 a week. Comrade L. K. England of Moline mails in a list of nine.

Pennsylvania

Comrade Pearl E. Playfair of Irwin sends us a list of eleven yearlies. Comrade E. E. Swanson sends in two yearlies from Freedom.

Tennessee

Three from Comrade Curtis Cannon of Huntingdon and one from Comrade Hugo Gernt of Glenmary adds to the list of readers in sunny Tennessee.

Oklahoma

We have a growing list of readers in far away Oklahoma too. Subscriptions from the following comrades were received this week: U. P. Pace, Loveland, 2; State Secretary Clara Smith, Oklahoma City, 1; G. A. Lighter, Olustee, 2. Among other things, Comrade Lighter writes: "We wish to inform you that every Socialist in this neck of the woods is standing by the Socialist Party. The so-called League for Democracy has not made a dent. The YELLOW sheet known as the New Appeal to Treason has no support here. The war is over, no menace from invasion by Germany, yet the lid is on tighter than ever. We ask that all Socialists stand firm and hold out for the truth for our time is coming and with a gallop. The class that hates Socialism has done the very thing in Europe to hasten its coming."

Indiana

One each was received from Comrades C. H. Pickwood of Paoli and Jno. E. Brosher, Lebanon.

Arkansas

Three yearlies were sent in by Comrade B. W. Tuche of Pine Bluff.

One each was received from Comrades C. O. White, Lusk, Wyo.; Bert B. Dusick, Puyallup, Wash. (formerly of Ohio); Riverton G. Reed, Exeter, Mo., and Fred C. Haacker, Trenton, N. J.

Piqua Passes Resolutions

In as much as we have just emerged from a great world war, in which the main issue was, Democracy vs. Autocracy, which has terminated satisfactorily to the workers of the several nations; and,

Whereas, our boys (who took an active part in the conflict) were promised that the jobs which they held before entering the service would be open for them upon their return to citizen life, and,

Whereas, we find that this promise has not been fulfilled in many instances, thereby leaving these soldiers to beg for a job elsewhere, or tramp the long lane of the unemployed.

And, whereas, the present disorganized state of society renders a member of the unemployed a beggar in his own domain, since wages are necessary to the sustenance of life.

Realizing that the conditions are not in harmony with the issue of democracy which has so indelibly been stamped upon our minds;

Therefore, be it resolved that any job held by one of our boys before entering service and now being held by one of us shall upon the return of such soldier be offered and surrendered to him, and that we will strive to influence others to the same end, and that we will take such soldier into our confidence, co-operating with him, in an organized effort to establish democracy and to abolish wage-slavery, thereby ushering in a democracy which all humanity shall rejoice to behold.

Piqua Local Socialist Party of Ohio, J. H. Denman, secretary; Frank Hamilton, chairman.

A Breeze From Oklahoma

Whoop-ee! Hurrah, Hurrah for American democracy! A $75,000 fur coat for the bosses wife. If they can have the Socialists all put in prison and have their papers suppressed so you can't learn anything and then you get yourself a job at $5 per day and will not eat anything nor wear any clothes and will work 365 days each year for 41 years and 35 days you can buy your wife a $75,000 fur coat.

Wouldn't you feel happy marching around with your wife with a $75,000 fur coat on even if you had on only a pair of overalls and a shoddy wool cap. Go to it, you wage slaves, and be happy. Nothing like it in this world or the world hereafter.

Hurrah for American Democracy!

ALEX VAN GUNDY.

WANTED CIVIL ENGINEER

Applications for position as civil engineer will be received by the Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio. Applicants must be party members. Position is under Socialist city administration. Pays $110 a month. Work is light and plenty of time for extra jobs.

Kate Richards O'Hare reports overflow meetings in the west, where she is now filling speaking engagements. G. J. Peek of Davenport, writes that the O'Hare meeting in that city was so large, hundreds were turned away. As usual, the pushers of the poison pen lied about the meeting.

The Ohio State Journal says, editorially, that the Bolshevik program would terminate our civilization. Right of course. And who wants to continue the kind of civilization we have had these last few years?

H. L. RICKER SAYS—

I have been reading papers every day,
And used to believe anything they would say,
Until about twelve years ago
I found out something I did not know.
At that time good papers were not many
And very few boosters to supply you with any,
But today we have the OHIO SOCIALIST grand
And boosters pushing to beat the band.
So today if a working man has a dollar
And you ask him to subscribe and he starts to hollow,
Just mark him down as a capitalist goat,
Who will never learn till he begins to croak,
That the capitalist press is all out of date
He'll not find out until too late.
So take that dollar you have in your pocket,
[illegible]

The Bolshevists: Grave-Diggers of Capitalism

By C. E. Ruthenberg

Bolshevism—what fear and anger the word arouses in the minds of the rulers of society!

Daily the press pours out its denunciation and men in high places issue their warnings and threats against it. Bolshevism is anarchy, it means rioting and bloodshed, wholesale murder and destruction. It means the collapse of orderly society, the breakdown of production and consequent misery and poverty.

Thus speak those whom Bolshevism threatens with the loss of their privilege to amass wealth at the expense of the misery and poverty of the masses, and with this lurid version of what they term a new movement of the dregs of society they desperately seek to inspire the masses of the people.

Why does Bolshevism arouse such dread and anger among the exploiters of the workers? Why do they fear it so and why these threats of merciless suppression?

Is Bolshevism really something new? Is it something that the working people of Europe have just discovered,—something to which they were driven, perhaps, by the suffering and misery resulting from the world war?

MARX AND ENGELS FURNISH ANSWER

The answer to these questions are to be found in the writtings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,—who first formulated the scientific principles underlying the modern Socialist movement. By examing these principles, as stated in their writings, particularly in the first workingclass platform based on the development of capitalist industry,—the Communist Manifesto,—we can find out whether Bolshevism is merely the bursting forth of too long suppressed popular unrest, or whether it is the culmination of a workingclass movement, guided by sound, scientific principles.

Marx and Engels said that the history of the past was the history of a class struggle. They said that in each period of the past there appeared a ruling clss,—rich, powerful, living in luxury and splendor—and an exploited class which worked hard and long but enjoyed little of the wealth it brought into existence. They said that in the past the struggle between these classes had resulted either "in the revolutionary reconstruction of society or the common ruin of the contending classes."

In modern society this struggle presents itself, they said, in a conflict between the capitalists who own the factories, mines and mills and the means of production generally, and the workers who have to sell their labor power to these capitalists in order to earn a living.

HOW THE WORKERS ARE ROBBED

They said that since the capitalists own the things that the workers must use in order to earn a living the capitalists have the whip-hand and that they compel workers to sell their labor power for much less than the value of what they produce. In fact they argued, that the workers usually receive in the wages paid them only just enough to buy the necessities for a poor sort of living for themselves and to provide for the raising of children so that the line of workers might not be exhausted. The workers produce the amount of wealth they receive in wages in two, three or four hours, depending upon the technical development of industry, but they are compelled to keep on working up to eight, ten or twelve hours and during the hours they work over and above the time required to produce their wages they produce "surplus value" for the boss.

They said that naturally the workers attempted to improve their standard of living by an effort to secure more of the wealth they produced and that the capitalists resisted this effort of the workers in order to keep as much as possible of the product of industry for themselves as profits, and that, consequently, there was a class struggle between the workers and capitalists.

That Marx and Engels were right any workingman who thinks at all about the facts of how he gains his living must admit. That he must secure the consent of the capitalists, or their representatives, in order to work, he knows well enough from bitter experience in hunting for a job. That he receives in wages only about enough to feed, clothe and house himself and his family,—and sometimes even has a hard struggle to get that he knows equally well. That on the other hand there is a small number of people who live in luxury and splendor without doing anl productive work, because they get the profits he produces, is equally plain. To prove that there is a class struggle he need only think about the numerous and constantly occuring strikes.

CLASS GOVERNMENT

Marx and Engels said, further, that the governments in all capitalistically developed countries were instruments of class rule: that they were controlled by the class which owned the machinery of production and that the power of government was used to uphold the system of exploitation and to suppress the efforts of the workers to win their freedom.

That they were right in this, also, we can easily prove by the acts of the governments of capitalist countries. Even in those countries which have the most democrratic institutions the governments are class governments,-"committees for the conduct of the common affairs of the bougeoisie." In the United States the workers have the ballot and are in a majority, but the capitalist class controls the means of information. It controls the newspapers, the schools, the colleges and the pulpits, and through this control it is able to mold the minds of the voters so that they elect to office men who will uphold their class interests. And when they are unable to control the voters they can always win over the "good men" elected to office by the pressure they can bring to bear through their economic power and promises of preferment. Consequently the government of this country,-as is proven by its acts, is greatly concerned and constantly engaged in passing laws conserving the interests of the capitalists, but never legislates in the interests of the workers.

THE WAY TO FREEDOM

Marx and Engels pointed out, also that the development of the means of production was bringing larger and larger masses of workers together in industry and that the system of production was changing from individual production to collective production. Private ownership of industry, they said, was a fetter on the development of the highest and most efficient form of collectivism.

They meant by this what Mr. McAdoo, Director-General of Railroads, pointed out in his annual report, when he said that under private ownership the railroads sent freight by round about routes and lost millions of dollars because they did not use common terminals. The coal industry furnished another example of the fetters of private ownership on collective industry.

Marx and Engels said that the way to freedom for the workers was, in harmony with the development of industry, to transfer industry from private control and ownership by the capitalists to the common ownership and democratic management by the workers.

They said that to accomplish this the workers must gain control of the state,—the government—and change it from an instrument of capitalist oppression to a means of establishing the common ownershp of industry and management by the workers.

They said that when the workers took control of the government there would come into existence a "dictatorship of the proletariat;" that such a dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary in order to break down the resistance of the capitalists to the socialization of industry, but that, as the transformation of industry from private ownership for profit to collective ownership with management by the workers in the industries proceeded, the state would lose its class character and become merely an organization for the administration of industry; that in place of being an instrument of class rule it would become a huge co-operative organization of all the workers for the common purpose of supplying themselves with food, clothing, homes to live in and education a recreation.

The capture of political power by the workers might come through a mass movement and revolution, as it did come in Russia and as it is now manifesting itself in Germany, or it might come as did in Finland, where the Socialists elected a majority of the Finnish parliament and where civil war exists because the propertied classes resorted to force to stop the workers from proceeding with the work of socializing industry.

BOLSHEVISM—APPLIED MARXIAN SOCIALISM

Now we are ready to answer the question whether Bolsehvism is something new.

If we place in pararell columns the principles of Marxian Socialism and the acts of the Bolshevists we will find that the Bolshevists are acting upon the principles that Marx and Engels laid down more than a half century ago.

They organized the workers for a class conflict.

They seized control of the power of the state and established a dictatorship of the proletariat.

They are using the power of the state to wrest control of industry from the hands of the capitalists and to build up a democratic administration of industry by the workers.

In the period of transition the power of the state is being used to establish collectivism and democratic management. This process wipes out of existence the capitalist class, and as this class disappears, being absorbed in the ranks of the workers, and its power of resistance ends, there disappears with it the coercive power of the state and industrial democracy takes its place.

Bolshevism is not something strange and new. It is not a blind, raging force of destruction. If at present its triumph is accompanied by bloodshed and destruction it is because the bankruptcy of capitalism precipitated a cataclysm and the workers are obliged to build the new order amidst the wreckage of the old and with those who profited from their former oppression and exploitation placing every obstacle possible in their path.

Bolshevism is Marxian Socialism in action. It is the social revolution underway. It is the workers on the road to victory and a better world.

WE ARE NOT IMMUNE

The capitalist owned newspapers are shrieking loudly against Bolshevism. They are lying about it. They are resorting to the most desperate measure to poison the minds of the workers against it.

The reason why they do this is clear.

They know that the exploitation and oppression of the workers in industry exists in this country as it exists in Europe. They know that the Socialist Movement in this country has and is carrying on the same kind of campaign of education and organization among the workers that was carried on in Russia and in Germany, and that the time is coming when the workers here will engage in the same struggle for their emancipation that is now going on in Europe.

They know that this struggle will not be precipitated by the schemes of a few individuals, but that it will be the logical result of the historical development in industry.

The Bolshevists are the grave-diggers of capitalism and the builder of the new world. They are removing the wreckage and debris of a bankrupt system of production and putting in place the foundation on which will be erected the structure of the new society,—the better and more beautiful world of the future.

It is because the grave-diggers of the system that gives them great wealth and luxury are at work that the capitalists rave and are filled with fear and dread.

For the workers the present is the period of hope and joy in anticipation of coming happiness.

JUSTICE TO RUSSIA

(From The Nation)

From the start the unfriendly intent behind Allied intervention in Russia was revealed by the frank though futile opposition of President Wilson. His objections gave the situation away; he admitted it to be a bad business before he became a partner in it, and his final surrender served only to emphasize the helplessness of benevolent intentions before the cynical determination of the controlling forces among the Allies. The excuses offered from time to time by the governments engaged in crushing what the Germans had left of the Russian revolution were dishonest and hypocritical, but they served their purpose for the time being. They quieted the protests of timid liberals. They stilled the natural objections of those who pointed out that our armies had been enlisted to fight Germany, not to carry on military operations against Russian working men. But the propaganda of lies and suppression of facts was indeed a house built upon the sands.

Even to persons who had no way of knowing the flimsy stuff of which the building was made, the course of the Allies in Russia must sometimes have seemed perplexing. The newspapers talked of German arms and German gold, and autocratic rule in Russia, and disorder and terror, and the Czecho-Slovaks, but every man with sympathy and imagination must have seen something more. He must have seen a great people struggling with the hardest problems a nation has ever faced; struggling to build out of disorder and corruption a new untried society, struggling to demobilize without suffering and upheaval fourteen million war-sick men and to create fresh forces to defend the new-born revolution, struggling against German domination and intrigue and Czarist plots, struggling most fiercely of all against the horror of starvation—struggling, yet holding its head high and shouting its faith to an indifferent world. He must have [illegible] with wonder the spectacle of "the great democracies of [illegible]" picking up their weapons and trying to destroy [illegible] to see before, surely he must see now; for the whole structure of falsehoods and excuses has collapsed. The "unstable" Soviet government has lasted a year and a month in the face of all its trials and its enemies. The need of an Eastern front against Germany disappeared with the signing of the armistice. The duty of chasing the Germans out of Russia disappeared at the same time, and German troops were actually invited to stay in the invaded parts of Russia to help the Allies in "preserving order." The Czecho-Slovaks are discovered to have been offered by the Bolshevist government free passage through Russia if they would return home in peace. Arms and materials of war are no longer in danger of falling into the hands of an Imperial Germany. The most hostile critics of Bolshevism are now loudest in their assertions of its complete hold upon the people of Russia. And as for the disorder and chaos and terror which have formed the most recent and widely-advertised Allied excuse, the New Statesman, always bitter in its opposition to the Bolshevist government, is reported as saying in its latest issue: "Order is more thoroughly established in Russia now than at any time since the fall of Czardom. Food distribution is better organized than at any time during the whole war. Factories are rapidly starting up again as fast as raw material can be obtained.* * * Terror has ceased. It has been greatly exaggerated."

New voices are being raised in every country demanding the facts about Russia, demanding the reasons for intervention, demanding action by the peace conference. It looks as though Allied statesmen would be forced to listen, at least, and to answer. The latest reports from Paris indicate that the Allies do not intend for the present to undertake intervention on a large scale, but are to keep their troops in Russia to gove "moral support" to those "orderly" governments that are or may be in existence, and send forces into the Ukraine to relieve the departing Germans. This is the moment when the question is up for decision, when every [illegible] Will the cry of [illegible]

The men who will gather there are commonly called statesmen; but they are also politicians, and politicians will always listen to the voice of the people if it 's loud enough and speaks in no uncertain terms. Not as political partisans or "intellectuals" or "liberals," but as honest men of decent impulses, we Americans must tell the government that represents us the only course that seems to us to accord with the principles of self-determination which it has proclaimed.

We ask the withdrawal, as rapidly as physical conditions permit, of all American troops from Vladivostok and northern and southern Russia, and meanwhile the complete cessation of hostilities. We ask that the plans announced for a military expedition into the Ukraine be abandoned. We ask the recognition of the Soviet government and, as the immediate consequence of such action, negotiations leading to the establishment of commercial relations with Russia. We ask the diplomatic and other accredited agents of the Soviet government be received and that Boris Bakhmeteff, the so-called Russian ambassador, be deprived of the diplomatic and financial privileges now accorded him. We ask that all unfriendly propaganda carried on, by the government of the United States or any of its branches immediately cease. We ask that the government of the United States bring pressure upon the Allies to abandon their present policy in Russia and secure, under threat, if need be, of complete dissociation from their plans, the withdrawal of all Allied troops. We ask that representatives of the Soviet government be admitted to the peace conference. We ask the prompt dispatch in co-operation with the Soviet government, of food and clothing and necessary industrial and agricultural machinery for sale or free distribution. We ask these things for the Russian revolution and the starving people of Russia; but even more we ask these things in order that the United States may for its own sake share in righting an intolerable wrong, that no man in this war shall have died for empty words and worthless phrases, and that from this time forth the world [illegible]

Coming Soon—Industrial Freedom Certificate

LETTERS

From the Land of Devil-May-Care

Written for the Ohio Socialist by W. E. Reynolds.

Aislesay, Awgwan,
Devil-May-Care-Land, Jan. 22, 1919.
Mr. Henry B. Dubb and Family,
Care of O.S.
Dear Folks:

I wish you were with me in this wonderful country and could see what I see.

This Devil-May-Care-Land is a land of illusions. An illusion, Henry, as you well know, is something you see that "ain't there." Everything here is something different from what it seems to be, but the Gogs who live here think it is what it seems to be.

The Gogs, which are working class folks, and the Magogs, which are idlers and blue blooded aristocrats, both have a great deal of faith in the permanency of their illusions. These illusions, like everything else in Devil-May-Care-Land are for the benefit of the Magogs.

One illusion here is the equality illusion. The class lines are so distinct that they can be felt as well as seen, yet the illusion that there are no classes in Gogdom is almost universal. The Magogs won't see them and the Gogs have too much faith in their pifflefalkers and dope sheets to question them. While no Gog ever gets to be a high mucky Magog, all Gogs think they could be if only they had had any luck!

The illusion of luck! Even the wisest of the Allfools are deluded by it. We know of course that this is a universe of causes and effect, but the Gogs, not knowing this great truth, ascribe their miseries to hard luck. This fatalistic reliance on luck and the general denial of the existence of classes makes it easy for the Magogs to work the life out of the Gogs without a murmur of protest.

Another illusion here is the illusion of ownership. The Magogs claim ownership to all mills, mines, factories and means of travel and transportation and also all the means of communication. The Gogs own nothing, not even their jobs or their bodies. The jobs belong to the Magogs and their bodies belong to the Magog's state. The Gogs pay rent all their lives to the Magogs for the poor privilege to being allowed to remain on the Magog's earth in order to work for the Magog to get dinero enough to pay the rent in order, etc., etc. Yet in spite of it all, each Gog firmly believes he has a country.

One day I told a Gog that instead of saying "my country" he should say "my master's country" but being a Gog he failed to see the point. He only flew into a rage and attempted to beat me with his fists. The Gogs use their fists much more than they do their heads. The pollywags here take advantage of the Gogs' love of his master's country in many ways. It is quite amusing to hear a pollywag pifflefalking to a bunch of ragged, hungry, homeless Gogs about "our" wonderful country and "our" marvelous resources.

The illusion of freedom is another great illusion here. All these Gogs think they are free persons and "their" country a country of freedom for all. Talking about freedom and having freedom are two different matters and these Gogs, instead of being free, haven't even the freedom to talk about freedom. Devil-May-Care-Land is ruled by the Mucky Magogs with a great Chief as their leader. They do not have a constitution which guarantees free speech, press and assemblage, like your glorious country.

The Magogs here have the freedom to speak or write or gather into what is called libertymobs, but the Gogs have only the freedom to do what the Magogs will allow. A Gog doesn't even dare commit suicide—it is against the law!

The Gogs have the so-called freedom to work and breed and keep their mouth shut. The work is done under the supervision of a Magogboss. The breeding is done under the careful supervision of the Magog's church and state and the purrient notion that ignorance is innocence. The mouths are kept shut under the careful supervision of their courts of justice, Libertymobs and Penogs.

You will probably remember reading while you were attending Harvard college (or was it Yale?) of a distinguished foreigner, Mr. Aristotle, who believed all well regulated societies had to have two sets or classes of people. One class to do all the work and another set to do all the thinking, and that form of society was known as an aristocracy. Another Hunkie, named Socrates, contended for a state wherein all the people worked and each did his own thinking. This was called a democracy. History records that the aristocrats made Mr. Socrates drink some poison hemlock and so set a world example of what may be expected from aristocracy in their treatment of Democrats.

Aristocracy is rampant here in the Land-of-Devil-May-Care. The Gogs, however, all believe it is a democracy because they have been taught it was. The illusion of democracy! Countless millions have lived a life that was in reality one long endurance test. Had they ever once realized they were but the slaves of autocracy they would have rebelled, but they only saw the illusion and were contented and faithful.

In your country, thanks to the discoveries of modern science, your people have grown too wise to be deluded by the illusions of supernaturalism, but here great joss houses are builded and the minds and will of the populace are systematically stunted. Where you, in your wisdom, build school houses and college, these fool Gogs build massive temples of brick and stone for creedal worship of unreality. All over this land you find shacks for the Gogs to dwell within and massive temples for the dwelling places of the Gog's imaginary Gods.

The Gogs here have the illusion that they labor in order to live. The truth is that they live in order to labor. You in your glorious country of freedom and equality and democracy, labor as a means to an end. You seek to widen, enrich and promote a better state of well being for your people. Here the Gogs labor only to accumulate capital for their employers, the Magogs. Your laborers have reached a position where they can command the respect and attention of kings. No Gog is of any consequence except as a working unit to create wealth for others to enjoy. No Gog would ever think of holding up his head in self-respect in the presence of a king.

In your country, Henry, you know all the people benefit by new inventions and discoveries. Here no Gog ever benefits from any new invention. If you were working at digging a ditch and should invent a trench digger you would probably light up your pipe, sit down and enjoy seeing a machine do your work. The Gogs under the same circumstances would turn the new machine over to some company of Magogs and hasten away to find a new job. In your country the present dominates the past. In Gogdom the past dominates the present. Your children are taught twentieth century truths, the children of the Gogs are taught first century falsehoods. The Gogs are not thinkers, but doers, yet they have the illusion that they are quite a bit the best aggregation of thinkers on earth.

The Magogs stole the Land-of-Devil-May-Care. They are a piratical band of liars, thieves and hypocrites, yet they masquerade as "best citizens" and the Gogs do not see through the illusion.

The greatest illusion of all here is the illusion of "Full Reward for Service Rendered." You know in your country if you create ten dollars' worth of value you receive the full ten dollars less, of course, the capitalist's small profit, which he gets as a reward of abstainence, (from work) but here when a Gog creates ten dineros in value he only gets two and yet thinks he is pail in full.

Yes, Devil-May-Care-Land is Illusion Land.

The Gogs think they think and they do not think. They think they are free while they are slaves. They think there are no classes, yet two classes exist. They think they are wise and are easily fooled. They think they make laws whereas they only obey them. They think they own a country, yet they pay rent. They think they have a government. The government has them. They think they have a democratic administration; they obey the autocrats. They think they are prosperous, they are paupers. They think their great men will do for them; they "do" them. They think they are Christians; they are pagans. They think somebody will "save" them; I think they'll have to save themselves.

Hoping you are the same, I am.
I. SKYGAC JONES.

WHEN YOU SEE IT
YOU'LL WANT IT
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
CERTIFICATE

GOOD TO BUY
GOOD TO KEEP
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
CERTIFICATE

Great Card Sale

A sale of Ohio Socialist subscription cards is what we refer to. We tell of this sale in order to encourage more comrades to invest a few dollars in subscription cards. After all, there is one excellent way to secure subscribers to YOUR paper, and that way is to have a subscription card always handy and ready to sell.

Did you notice the emphasis we placed upon "YOUR". We would like you to understand that the Ohio Socialist is YOUR PAPER. It belongs equally to every member in the state. And as every member has equal ownership in the paper, it becomes the duty of every member to SUPPORT IT IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE.

One way possible is to invest some money in subscription cards. Many comrades are already giving their support by so doing. Some are buying a dollar's worth at a time and others are buying ten dollar's worth at a time. But no matter how few or how many you buy, please BUY.

And so we announce this sale. Is it a less price sale you ask? Quickly we answer—NOT. Fact is, we ought to sell Ohio Socialist subscription cards for more than they are priced, because the Ohio Socialist is worth it.

Yearly cards—$1.00. Half yearly cards—50c. How many shall we send you? Remember, we sell for cash only. Remit in advance.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.

GOOD TO BUY
GOOD TO KEEP
[illegible]

THEY'LL GO [illegible]
YOU'LL WANT [illegible]

The Ohio Socialist

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Charge U. S. 'Framed' Rebellion In Russia

Naval Commander Says That Archangel Government Was Set Up By U. S. And Great Britain To Give Excuse For Intervention.—Senator Johnson Again Demands Withdrawal of American Troops

Washington.—The black cloud of untruth and misrepresentation which has hidden from the American people the truth about the attack upon the Soviet government of Russia is slowly lifting.

The latest development is a statement by Commander G. C. Sweeney, of the United States navy, which puts the Wilson administration in a very discreditable position when considered in the light of President Wilson's many fine sounding protestations of friendship toward Russia.

The statement by Commander Sweeney, which was printed on the editorial page of the Philadelphia North American, indicates a conspiracy between the British and American powers to overthrow the Soviet government by secret plots. Commander Sweeney, who indiscretely told the facts about the matter was evidently in a boastful mood over his achievement, for the interview with him appears under the caption "Two Men Overthrow North Russia Reds."

The story seems to indicate that in order to provide an excuse for armed intervention, the British and American governments staged a counter-revolution through agents who mapped out their plans in England.

To make it appear that the Russians themselves desired intervention, a Russian of prominence under the old regime was made the head of the new government, while the American and British officers who managed the affair remained in the background.

Commander Sweeney's Story.

The story, as printed in the Philadelphia North American, reads as follows:

"How two men, a British government agent and an American commander, overthrew the Bolshevik government in norther Russia by means of a printing press is told by Commander G. S. Sweeney, formerly of the Olympic, who was at the Bellevue-Stratford yesterday. Commander Sweeney was the American in the counter-revolution, and his success in the overthrow is evidenced by the fact that the regime set up by him and the Englishman is still in power after nine months.

"'We staged the revolution in England,' Commander Sweeney said last night. 'We knew a month before it happened exactly what we intended to do, and when we arrived in Russia there was nothing left but to put the plans into execution.

"'Commander McGrath of the British navy was picked out by the Admiralty to go to Russia to bring the revolution off and to reopen Archangel to Allied commerce.

"'When the Olympic arrived at Archangel there was chaos in the town. There was no money at all, and all trade was by barter. In addition, there was the practice by local Bolshevists of forcing a man to give over all that he held into a common fund. If a fisherman went out for a trip, he was made to give up all his catch to the Soviet authorities, and then a distribution was made among all the needy. The same condition applied to a farmer and his crops. As a result, the state of affairs was approaching where all the wise Russians were refusing to work at all, but were supported by others.

"'McGrath had a printing press and manufactured scores of bundles of paper rubles. Each note bore a secret British mark, so that in case of need we could identify the notes that we had engraved. But there proved to be no need of the identification mark.

"'Men in Archangel took the notes greedily and were easily won over to the Allied cause. We found a man who had been of some prominence under the older regime, and we made him head of the government, while McGrath and I stayed in the background.

"'Ambassador Francis helped us out wonderfully. Francis was the only man in whom Russians had any confidence, and he was enabled to present the American point of view in the most convincing manner to the people of what later became the government of north Russia. Up until the time he was taken ill and was obliged to leave the country, Francis was of inestimable help to McGrath and myself in the operation.'

"Bolshevism never can win in Russia. Commander Sweeney declares from his observation, because it is upheld only by force."

Senator Johnson Speaks Out Again

Washington.—Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, last week again demanded the withdrawal of American troops from Russia in a speech in the senate. Disclaiming any sympathy with the ideas of Lenine and Trotzky, Johnson read into the records of the senate the questions addressed to the Allied governments and the United States by the Soviet government, when it was endeavoring to secure support for the continuance of the struggle against German Imperialism just before the ratification of the Brest Litovsk treaty.

"I will not be put in the attitude of defending in any degree the Soviet power of Lenine and Trotzky," said Senator Johnson. "Their fantastic theories no sane man, in my opinion, can indorse. But our dealing with Russia and the dealings of the Allies with Russia have been not only an exhibition of the crassest stupidity, but have contributed to the awful tragedy there. Early in March the Soviet government officially presented to the Allies certain questions, favorable answers to which every man then in Russia agreed would prevent a ratification of the Brest-Litovsk treaty by the All-Russian Soviet congress. A translation of the official document thus transmitted to the Allies from the Soviet government is as follows:

The Inquiry of the Soviet Government.

"'In case (a) the All-Russian congress of the soviets will refuse to ratify the peace treaty with Germany, or (b) if the German government, breaking the peace treaty, will renew the offensive in order to continue its robbers' raid, or (c) if the Soviet government will be forced by the actions of Germany to renounce the peace treaty—before or after its ratification—and to renew hostilities.

"'In all those cases it is very important for the military and political plans of the Soviet power for replies to be given to the following questions:

"'1. Can the Soviet government rely on the support of the United States of North America, Great Britain and France in its struggle against Germany?

"'2. What kind of support could be furnished in the nearest future, and on what conditions—military equipment, transportation, supplies, living necessities?

"'3. What kind of support would be furnished particularly and especially by the United States?

"'4. Should Japan, in consequence of an open or tacit understanding with Germany or without such an understanding, attempt to seize Vladivostok and the Eastern Siberian railroad, which would threaten to cut off Russia from the Pacific ocean and would greatly impede the concentration of Soviet troops toward the east about the Urals—in such case what steps would be taken by the other Allies, particularly and especially by the United States, to prevent a Japanese landing on our Far East, and to insure uninterrupted communications with Russia through the Siberian route?

"'In the opinion of the government of the United States and to what extent—under the above mentioned circumstances—would aid be assured from Great Britain through Murmansk and Archangel? What steps could the government of Great Britain undertake in order to assure this aid and thereby to undermine the foundation of the rumors of the hostile plans against Russia on the part of Great Britain in the nearest future?

"'All these questions are conditioned with the self-understood assumption that the internal and foreign policies, of the Soviet government will continue to be directed in accord with the principles of international Socialism and that the Soviet government retains its complete independence of all non-Socialist governments.

"Why did we enter Russia?" Johnson asked. "I answer for no vary good reason; and we have remained for no reason at all.

A Miserable Misadventure.

"What is our policy toward Russia? I answer we have no policy. We have engaged in a miserable misadventure, stultifying our professions and setting at naught our promises. We have punished no guilty; we have but brought misery and starvation and death to the innocent. We have garnered none of the fruits of the victory of war, but suffer the odium and infamy of undeclared warfare. We have sacrificed our own blood to no purpose, and into American homes have brought sorrow and anguish and suffering.

"Bring the American boys home from Russia."

TOLEDO
ATTENTION
HEAR
RUTHENBERG

Sunday, Feb. 9, at 8 P. M.
MEMORIAL HALL

C. E. Ruthenberg, former candidate for governor and mayor of Cleveland on the Socialist ticket, should be heard by every reader of the Ohio Socialist in Toledo and surrounding towns.

Debs' Freedom in Hands of Supreme Court Judges

Verbal arguments in the appeal of the case of Eugene V. Debs, convicted of violating the Espionage Law in a speech at Canton and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, were made before the Supreme Court last week.

The appeal hinges entirely on the question of the constitutionality of the Espionage Act.

Replying to contentions that the act interferes with the freedom of speech, the government brief said:

"No authority can be adduced for the defendant's contention that there is a constitutional right to obstruct by speech the exercise of the power to raise armies so long as the speaker does not urge a violation of the law. If, as has been held by this court, punishment may constitutionally be meted out for a wilful obstruction of the administration of justice, it is difficult to see why the administration of the war powers of congress is not entitled to the same protection. The events of 1917 showed that war may become as essential as justice to the preservation of our democratic form of government.

"This Espionage Act was obviously designed to protect the whole military program against all types of interference therewith, and it is a reasonable inference that in the phrase 'obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service' congress intended to cover all wilful interference with the process of raising of the army. But 'purposeful incitement to specific unlawfulness on the part of others' is just what the defendant was charged with in this case and the jury found him guilty."

Attorney Gilbert E. Roe filed a brief in the case contending that the Espionage Act interfered with freedom of speech and the press, and "that all hostile criticism of every measure even remotely connected with the war" had been suppressed through punishment of those attempting to indulge in such criticism.

In passing the Espionage Act and subsequently amending it, congress, the brief said, "clearly yielded to temptation under the exigencies of war to strike down and destroy the free speech and free press clause of the constitution, in order, as it was believed, that the war-making powers of the government might be more effectively carried into execution."

Government Confesses Error.

The government confessed error, which means that the defendants were illegally convicted in the first two appeals to the United States Supreme Court from convictions under the Espionage Act have been successful. Both cases arose in South Dakota. One was that of William J. Head, a Socialist organizer who, in the summer of 1917, circulated a petition for the repeal of the Conscription law, and expressed the opinion that the Conscription law was unconstitutional that the war was caused by the money interests in the east and that "we were all damned fools for supporting it."

The other case was that of Emanuel Baltzer and 26 other Socialist farmers of Russian and German extraction, who sent to the Governor of South Dakota and others a rather incoherent petition protesting against the allowance of credits for volunteers in determining draft quotas, demanding a referendum on the Draft law; urging the governor to advocate payment of war expenses by taxation instead of loans; and demanding "immediate action and answer, and, if we fail to get it, we demand your resignation and will spell sure defeat—you, your party, and your little nation, J. P. Morgan, as we have the people with us."

Decision in the case of Eugene V. Debs may not be rendered for a month or more, as the court has taken from four to six weeks after the hearing before handing down its verdict in similar cases in the past.

Marshal's Remarks Claimed to Have Prejudiced Jury

Chicago, Ill.—Are the five Socialists, Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker and William F. Kruse, entitled to a new trial?

This question was being argued beford Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis in the federal court last Monday.

The lawyers for the five Socialists, who were convicted Jan. 8, based most of their arguments on the revelations of Juror Thomas C. Nixon regarding irregularities in the handling of the jury by Bailiff W. H. Streeter. They voiced their belief in the truth of all that Nixon charges, and claim that the other jurors failed to corroborate Nixon's testimony through lack of courage.

The government prosecutors claimed that the testimony of the eleven jurors should be accepted as against that of Nixon. They also contended that even if all that Nixon charged were true, the verdict would not have been different.

After hearing the arguments on both sides, Judge Landis may take the matter under advisement, or he may give his decision immediately. If he overrules the motion for a new trial, he may sentence the five Socialists at once.

The jury scandal is the latest high light in the spectacular prosecution of the five Socialist officials began with the sensational raid on the National Socialist headquarters in this city, in September, 1917.

What Nixon Charges.

Here are the facts sworn to before Judge Landis by Juror Thomas C. Nixon, on which counsel for the five convicted Socialists in Chicago hope to win a new trial. All of the jurors agreed that United States Marshal W. H. Streeter was much given to the use of profane language. The unprintable portions of what he had to say about the Socialist defendants are left out of this production of Nixon's affidavit. Dashes appear instead. Here is what Nixon charges:

United States District Court
Northern District of Illinois.
Eastern Division.
Affidavit

United States of America vs. Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse and Irwin St. John Tucker.

Cook County, State of Illinois, ss.:

Thomas Nixon, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says that he was one of the jurors in the trial

Continued on Page Four.

Many Organizations Unite to Secure Amnesty for War Prisoners

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago.—Seventeen organizations in addition to the Socialist Party, are being asked to co-operate in the call that will soon be sent out for the holding of a National Convention, May 1, in this city to deal with the question of amnesty for all persons prosecuted or convicted for political, economic or religious convictions.

The convention will also work for the rehabilitation of the first amendment of the constitution providing for the right of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

Among the organizations that will no doubt be represented at this conference are the People's Council, the National Non-Partisan League, the Chicago Labor Party, the American Federation of Labor, the American Union Against Militarism, the National Civil Liberties Bureau, the Workmens' Circle, the United Hebrew Trades of New York City, the United Hebrew Trades of Chicago, the International Ladies Garment Workers of America, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Forward Publishing Association, the Industrial Workers of the World, the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights, New York City; the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights, Chicago, Western Division; Socialist Labor Party and the New York Labor Party.

Numerous organizations are expected to be added to this list as the movement for amnesty for war prisoners grows in power. Those wishing information concerning this conference should communicate with Oliver C. Wilson, temporary secretary, Immediate Action Committee Amnesty and Free Speech Convention, Room 405, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Socialists Show Why Labor Party Should not have Support of Workers

With very few dissenting votes the County Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Cleveland and Cuyahoga County went on record as opposing the new labor party and urging the National Executive Committee of the party to take a similar position. The meeting at which the declaration was adopted was one of the largest meetings of the County Committee held recently and the adoption of the resolution was preceded by a debate in which different views were aired.

The declaration was drafted by a committee of nine elected to study the matter at the previous meeting of the committee. It analyzes the forces that are behind the new labor party and shows by its program that it proposes nothing that will free the workers from oppresion and exploitstion under the capitalist system.

The declaration, which is in the form of a resolution, declaring opposition to the new party and urging and demanding that the National Executive Committee take similar action, reads as follows:

RESOLUTION ON THE PROPOSED LABOR PARTY.

The murderous war, the great mass slaughter and deprivation of the workers of the necessities of life has caused the workers to lose confidence in the former mighty rulers of the world. Like a great, powerful tide the revolutionary movement grows higher and broader in the old world and in sweeping the rubbish of the criminal capitalist system before it.

The exploiters of the world are trembling before their exploited victims. To avert the consequences of independent, revolutionary working class action the exploiters are making an effort to control the rebellious spirit of the workers through a new method.

In every country they are able to find individuals who are economically part of the working class, but who frequently ally themselves with the ruling capitalist class and become its ready tools. Their action before and during the war prove beyond doubt that these men are doing the work of the capitalist class. These mis-leaders of the workers notice that they are losing the confidence of the workers. They know that the workers are beginning to realize the necessity of independent working class political action and that sooner or later they will take such action independent of them.

If the workers resort to independent political action spontaneously, without the consent or even contrary to the wishes of their leaders, these leaders will be swept aside. And so they are taking preventative measures by organizing a labor party that will be safe and sane and under their control.

The workers must not again consent to be thus misled. They were urged time and time again to support the reactionary Republican and Democratic Party by these leaders, and they did so. They know they were deceived. Otherwise why should these leaders now propose that they throw these parties overboard and organize a new party?

The new question before the workers is whether those who have kept the workers in leading-strings for the capitalists have changed their character over night, or are their hearts just as black as before? The evidence in the case proves the latter.

The destiny of the modern capitalist nation is determined by its foreign relations. Trade and commerce are international. International competition creates friction and a conflict of interests and breeds wars, which at the present state of technical development are terribly destructive and bring unexpressable misery to the toiling masses.

Any political or industrial movement which does not aim to overrun the system of exploitation on which modern capitalism is founded and to secure control of the means of production and distribution for the workers, is hopeless as a medium through which to secure the freedom of the workers from the evils of the present capitalist system.

Reform measures are useless in dealing with modern capitalism; revolution—revolution in the sense of capture of the governmental power by the workers and the use of this power for the complete overthrow of the capitalist control of industry and the substitution of the workers control and industrial democracy—is the only effective weapon in the workers' struggle.

The platforms of the labor party of Chicago and New York fall far short of the needs of the hour. They propose reform measures only and even these do not go very far.

The paltering attitude of these organizations is indicated in their stand in regard to compulsory military training. They oppose compulsory military training in peace time but do not condemn compulsory military training in war time. That should be entirely agreeable to the capitalist class. It is in their interest. The capitalists are aware of the great cost of standing armies By organizing and maintaining training schools in which officers are drilled the means can be provided, with compulsory military training established in war time, to quickly raise great armies.

To this policy the labor party consents and by consenting commit themselves to the program of capitalist imperialism.

The workers must take a definite stand. They must declare war against the capitalist system. There is no middle ground.

To this policy of uncompromising opposition to the capitalist system and class action against it until it is overthrown, the Socialist Party is committed.

The Socialist Party has stood the test of war.. It is growing in strength and power and will be a more formidable opponent to capitalism in the future. It is to the interest of the workers of this

Continued on Page Four.

DECEASED

On Feb. 1, last, unwept and unmourned, an organization that violated every principle of Americanism, if Americanism is expressed in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States.

It railroaded innocent men and women to filthy holes called prisons and held them there until compelled to release them because it could bring not charges against them. It abridged the right of public assemblage by hustling men it didn't like, found at certain meetings, to jail until the meetings were over.

It was autocratic because it overrode the law. It was anarchistic because it refused to recognize any law.

The American Protective League is dead. May the memories of its founders and members be forever haunted by the acts of violence they committed in the name of law and order.

A Welcome and a Welcome

The members of the 331st regiment were welcomed back to Cleveland last week Friday. The soldiers returned from France, marched through streets black with people. Bands played, the line of march was strewn with flowers and cheers greeted them everywhere.

Mayor Davis marched at the head of the procession on the way from the depot to the armory. Other public officials and merchants and manufacturers participated in the cheering and speeches of greeting.

It was a royal welcome that these returned soldiers received.

In a few days they will be discharged from Camp Sherman. They will return to their homes. A few days more and they will return to the stern business of every day life. They will turn to the work of earning a living.

The welcome they will receive in the industrial life of the city is indicated in the following news item, which we quote from the Cleveland News:

TELL SOLDIERS
FEW JOBS HERE

Hhe mayor's war board Saturday sent a letter to Gen. Matthew Smith, commandant at Camp Sherman, in an attempt to offset rumors at the camp that there is plenty of work for discharged soldiers in Cleveland. Reports have been received by the board that men from other Ohio cities have been told to come to Cleveland when discharged, and they would be sure of getting work.

The letter, signed by Harry L. Vail, executive secretary of the board, says that 70,000 already are out of work in Cleveland and that the board thinks every community should take care of its own men.

Need we add any comment?

Debs Given Ovation at Youngstown

Three thousand Socialists of Youngstown cried at the top of their voices: "If they put you in jail we'll go with you!" as Eugene V. Debs stepped before them at Diamond and Bushnell hall last night, his face wreathed in a kindly smile. Women and children crowded about their leader hugging and kissing and crying over him; men wrung his hands and patted him on the back. Such affection has rarely been shown at a public meeting here.

That thousands idolize him, no student of human nature there could deny. The cheering was wild and prolonged. He accepted it in his modest and appreciative way. Although recovering from a serious illness he made three talks Sunday that stirred enthusiasm to the highest pitch. He poured out his soul to his hearers and they drank it like nectar. Scheduled for Diamond hall, the overflow jammed the immense crowd into the Public Square two hours before Debs appeared, and the announcement an overflow meeting would be held later, filled Bushnell hall until it fairly bulged. His admirers waited several hours in the second hall to hear him.

Predicts Labor Revolution.

Margaret Prevey of Akron preceded Debs and defined Bolsheviki as Socialists, and said the capitalists didn't like it under a new name any better than under the old name. Enthusiasm all but turned into a stampede when she said, "You are going to solve your future, your destiny in this country either peacefully or by a great revolution." She said suppressing the red flag and free speech will not solve the problem.

Heroes Now Hoboes.

Debs declared hundreds of thousadns of men are out of work in America today and referring to the khaki-clads he said: Our heroes of last week will be hoboes next week—there are no jobs and they are here and conditions will be worse."

He told of Ransome, correspondent of the London Daily News, sent to Russia to "Write down the Bolsheviki movement. Ransome, seeing the light, quit his job, knowing that the News would not print the truth. He issued a booklet praising and lauding the Bolsheviki."

The Russian Idea.

Ransome says the Russian people are on their way to establishing the greatest democracy that the world has ever seen—that the land is to belong to those who till it, the industries to the people who work in them. The tales of starvation do not apply to the workers but the parasites—the rich who try to barter gold for food and necessities. They're not wanted unless they go to work and the propaganda the world has of the Bolshe-

Continued on Page Four.

Finnish Elections Bring Socialist Victories

Stockholm, Sweden.—Reports just received in Sweden indicate that the Socialists have won a considerable success in municipal elections in Finland. L'Humanite in commenting on the report, notes that the bourgeois government of Finland, which was placed in power with the aid of German troops and the Finnish White Guard, after having massacred the Red Guards, composed of Socialist workers, has lost heavily at the polls. The government, which suppressed Socialist newspapers, prohibited Socialist meetings, destroyed millions of dollars worth of property of the Socialist co-operatives and shot many thousands to death and imprisoned a large number, has been unable to maintain its position in the elections, apparently. The result is indicative of the sentiment of the majority of the Finnish people. The Social Demokraten, of Stockholm remarks in speaking of these elections, that the bourgeois government in Finland can hardly hope to continue in authority if in spite of all its energetic efforts at suppression, the Socialists, without a campaign, are able to win such notable successes as those attained in the municipal elections.

That order of "Work or Fight" has been changed to "Fight for Work"

A VOICE OUT OF RUSSIA

By GEO. V. LOMONOSSOFF

(From The Dial)

Americans have always pictured Russia as some fairyland such as India or Tibet. Formerly it was the land of the czars, the whip, and the Cossack, and now it is the land of the still less comprehensible Bolsheviki. Yet there is a great likeness in character between Americans and Russians; for instance, devotion to land, love of liberty, natural humor, and a carefree attitude. But there is a great difference, owing to historic reasons, between the mode of life of the United States and that of Russia. First of all, the white pioneers went into the forests and prairies of this country one by one or in small groups and settled immediately as individual farmers. The Russian people migrated a thousand years ago from the Carpathians to the east en masse. They occupied lands for "artels" (groups). During that thousand years they grew accustomed to cultivating the land by communistic methods. But the American farmer is first of all an owner, whereas the Russian peasant is a communist—and here lies the reason of the success of Socialist teaching in Russia. Second, in America material and spiritual advantages are distributed among the population more evenly than in Russia. Until the very outbreak of the Revolution the law distinctly divided the Russian "subjects" into two uneven parts; 3 per cent. of the population were the so-called "privileged" classes and 97 per cent. the so-called "tax paying" people. All comforts and necessities of life, including education, were the privilege of the 3 per cent.; admittance to high schools and universities, to state service and officers' rank was totally closed to the 97 per cent. It should not be forgotten that 85 per cent. of the population were freed from the state of slavery only fifty-eight years ago, and naturally they still bear much malice to their former masters. But even among the 3 per cent. of the privileved there was not full content; the capitalistic class and the Intelligentsia were deprived of political power, which was monopolized by court adventurers. Discontent was universal. It was already evident in 1905, but not being sufficiently organized, it was crushed.

The war precipitated the climax. It is well known that the war found Russia inadequately prepared. Nevertheless we performed the self-imposed duties more than honestly; we performed them with self-sacrifice. And this did not fail to react; owing to the undeveloped state of our economic life we were ruined by hunger and poverty by the third year of the war.

This did not happen at once. We passed three stages in falling down the slope. The first stage passed with the cry: "The war will end soon!" Owing to this belief the factories and shops continued to work according to the usual peace program and met the demands of the consumers at the expense of the army's needs. Russia had everything in abundance; moreover the cessation of exports created a surplus of goods. The heart of the country did not feel the hardships of the war. It is true that 12,000,000 youths and men were torn away from their families, but the tears for them dissolved in the ocean of apathy and plenty brought about by the flow of money into the villages. The last is of such great importance that we must go into details of it. We know what enormous expenditures a modern war requires. Russia did not have enough gold, and attempts to raise internal loans were unsuccessful, owing to the ignorance of the masses. Therefore only one way was open to us, to print paper money. The sudden increase of its amount in circulation did not fail to show results; the ruble began to fall in value and prices of commodities began to increase accordingly. Inasmuch as the peasant was getting double prices, the peasant sold everything, grain, cattle, linen, grandmother's dresses. "The village is growing rich," shouted the newspapers.

But soon, very soon, the Russian peasant learned a bitter lesson as to the value of money. As thunder from a clear sky came the news of our retreat from the Carpathians in the spring of 1915. It was found that in order to proceed with the war we lacked the most necessary commodities; it was found that our children and fathers were facing the most cruel and powerful enemy totally unarmed. This brought about a feverish mobilization of our industry.

The second stage ensued and ran under the motto: "Everything for the war." We sacrificed our entire industry to the prosecution of the war. We did not merely cease to manufacture nails, candles, and agricultural machinery, but we even gave up 75 per cent. of our textile industry for war needs. And thus the so-called goods famine ensued. But the country did not have articles of necessity, and although goods were yet to be obtained in the cities nothing reached the village. Having money on hand, the peasant found that he could not purchase anything with it. He could not understand it at first, but when he realized it, he became very angry and refused to sell grain for the army and cities. "I don't want your money," he said to the agents of the government and to merchants who would come for the grain. "Give me gingham, nails, scythes, boots—and unless you give me these, you will not get my grain." During the czar's regime even flogging was resorted to, but the peasant was quite determined in his refusal to sell grain.

As a result of this the army and the cities remained without bread, and the cattle were partly consumed and partly starved by lack of hay. A shortage of foodstuffs began, and in addition to this many refugees from Poland and Lithuania fled in the fall of 1915 to the interior cities. Nevertheless we managed to push through the trying winter of 1915-16. And in the fall of 1916 the situation became still worse. Due to additional recruiting of soldiers a shortage of labor occurred. The cultivated area suffered a decrease of 30 per cent. And then in November there was an acute shortage of locomotives on the railroads. We never had had many of them. And during the war, owing to the intensive usage, they were worn out and there was no means of repairing them. As a result of this, the railroads were totally disorganized. On the Don and in Siberia, for instance, grain and hay were rotting at the stations, while on the Roumanian front I personally witnessed how thousands of horses were falling of exhaustion and hunger. And the inhabitants had to sustain themselves upon the meat of these fallen horses. Conditions in the cities were not much better. Hunger and cold penetrated everywhere. The most timid citizens began to complain and protest. And what meanwhile was going on within the government? Dissipation with Rasputin and the placing of favorites in ministerial posts. All slightly capable ministers, in spite of public opinion, were driven out and in their places were put known thieves, cretins and traitors. A sort of madness, hopeless madness, enveloped Tsarskoye Selo and in the name of the weak-willed, drunken Nicholas, the Russian people were governed by his German wife and a clique of scoundrels. Loyal hands, desiring to uphold the prestige of the throne, assassinated Rasputin; but in answer to this followed orgies over his corpse the "provocation" of street disturbances in Petrograd, and the dispersing of the Duma. Then the moment came when all of us—from Lenin to Purishkevitch (the leader of the famous "Black Hundred")—understood that this sort of thing could not continue any longer, that the czar's regime had outlived itself. And it fell—fell painlessly and with ease, as a decayed apple falls from a tree.

In place of Nicholas II came the government of Prince Lvoff, the government of cadets—a revolutionary government without revolutionists. I shall never forget the comment about this government by a former minister of the czar, Krivoshein. "This government," said Krivoshein after he was told of its composition, "has one great fault; it is too moderate. Two months ago it would have satisfied the country; now it is too late. It will not have power, and thus, sir, you will sacrifice your own newborn child—the revolution—and also our all-beloved fatherland, Russia." These words proved to be prophetic. The composition of the first provisional government was not in accordance with the sentiment of the country. And as a result, side by side with this government, sprang up the Soviets, backed by the confidence of the great masses of the people. Among the ministers of the first provisional government there were to be found no men with technical experience and state administration. Lvoff and Miliukoff gave ministerial places to their party friends. The director of the imperial ballet was given the portfolio of the minister of finance; a physician, the ministry of agriculture.

The organization of the second provisional government, which included representatives of the radical bourgeoisie and Moderate Socialists, slightly changed the picture. They could not very well agree. Creative energy was expendid in internal strife. The compromised decisions were not clear. The second provisional government also lacked state experience and will-power. Doubtless the burden placed upon these governments by events proved to be too heavy. The time demanded giants, but instead found midgets. But what was the problem of both provisional governments with which they could not cope? The provisional governments themselves were saying that their aim was to call a constituent assembly. They did not realize that the constituent assembly was not the final end, but only a means, a means of expressing the will of the people and of solving problems placed before them. The substantial mistake of both provisional governments was that they mistook the means for the end.

When the March revolution broke out three collossal questions confronted the Russian people:

1. What is to be done about the war?

2. How is the Russian state to be organized?

3. How are famine and economic disintegration to be stopped?

Now the constituent assembly was to be convoked in ten months. Even in normal peaceful times it is impossible to stop the current of life for ten months. And a revolution is a social condition in which the pulsation of events is increased ten to twenty-fold. It ought to have been self-evident that the wheel of national life could not be stopped for ten months either by Lvoff or Kerensky. No matter how they urged the convocation of the constituent assembly, they were themselves compelled by force of events to solve, little by little, the very questions which they desired to give over to the decision of the constituent assembly.

Consider the problem of the war. Was it possible to say to the Germans: "Wait, gentlemen. Do not shoot until the constituent assembly meets. When it meets, it will decide whether or not we shall go on killing you?" Even the Allies would not agree to such a decision. Yet in spite of the fact that we had sacrificed for the Allies seven millions of our sons, they demanded that revolutionary Russia should participate more actively in the war.

An answer to these demands should have been given immediately. To postpone the answer until the convocation of the constituent assembly was impossible. The provisional government realized perfectly well that a hungry, barefooted Russia, with its disorganized railroads, could not possibly wage war even as it had during the czar's regime. And the treaties signed by the czar and the Allies could have no moral significance for free Russia. Therefore the circumstances and the dignity of Russia required that the provisional government give to its Allies a friendly but firm repulse. It should have demanded immediate aid and should even have threatened separate peace. At that time we still had an army, and the Germans would have paid us highly for a separate peace. But our youthful ministers and ambassadors, instead of taking such a firm course, bowed before the Allies and gave all sorts of assurances that Russia would never conclude a separate peace. Why then should the Allies have hastened with material aid to Russia? I do not blame them for it. "One's own interests are nearest." And meanwhile the army was diminishing and diminishing—hunger had driven the soldiers from the trenches.

State administration presented a similar picture. Its problems could not be postponed until the convocation of the constituent assembly. By force of events the provisional government was compelled to tolerate the self-appointed unlawful Soviets; more than that, they had to listen to their demands attentively and as a result to proclaim Russia a republic. This measure undoubtedly undermined the prestige of the constituent assembly and the belief in its indispensability. For this the provisional governments could scarcely be blamed. Their fault was that they had remained behind the current of life and the expectations of the people. And what were these expectations? The capitalists and the intelligentsia, approximately 1 1-2 per cent. of the population, were dreaming only of seizing political power. The peasants—75 per cent. of the population—were dreaming of the land. The soldiers—and these numbered about 10 per cent. of the population—dreamed of peace and of returning to their dear ones at home; and finally, the working men, who numbered about 10 per cent., dreamed of seizing control of industry.

The provisional governments promised everything, but asked for delay until the convocation of the constituent assembly. But the peasants and workers preferred to realize their desire to get the land and the means of production immediately by revolutionary means. "This is safer. At present the power is in our hands, and what will happen tomorrow, we do not know." This was well understood by the Bolsheviki and this is where the meaning of their doctrine, "the deepening of the revolution"—that is, the immediate realization of the people's desires through revolutionary means—lies. And here lies the cause of their success.

Much is being said at present that such a solution of social problems is not democratic, that violence from the left is just as hideous as violence from the right. In substance this is true, but the trouble is that the Kingdom of God on earth has not come as yet, and force can be crushed only by force. Every revelation provokes violence; why, asked the Russians, is it justifiable to overthrow the czar by force, and not the bankers?

(Continued Next Week)

The Socialist Party of the United States

(From the Butte Daily Bulletin)

Socialism is the most powerful movement in society. It is the all absorbing question of the hour. The capitalists of the world are trembling as they see it sweeping onward, growing more powerful with each victory. The philosophy of Socialism explains the historical developments of society; the Socialist Party is the active expression of those who are conscious of this development. The Socialist Commonwealth is the goal. Therefore, we have the theory, the action, the desire. The first international of the govement had theory, and enthusiasm, the second theory, the third theory, enthusiasm and action. There was, perhaps, room for discussion on the soundness of the theory of Socialism in the past, but now there is none. History has given its verdict and it says that Socialism is correct. There may have been room for discussion on the methods of tactics, but now there is none. The revolutionary left, those who claimed that revolution was a necessary part of evolution, those who claimed that nothing but uncompromising action on the part of the proletariat would bring freedom, who said you can not reform slavery, those who said expropriate the expropriators by revolution have been vindicated by the greatest of all judges, namely, history. The schools or groups that have stood uncompromised are now leading the world's revolution. The sections of the movement that have catered and compromised with the capitalist now stand and defend capitalism against Socialism. What is the Socialist Party of America to be in the future? This question seems to be worrying the Spargo-Benson-Russell-Simons fraternity. Already they cry out to stay the party from what they call the extravagances of Bolshevism. Already they are preparing to follow to the last the footsteps of Scheidemann, Hyndman and company, and fight the social revolution. Will they succeed? It depends on the members. They must fight and struggle that the party may rid itself of the opportunistic poison that it has gathered. They must throw off the compromising and reforming element and come out clear and unhampered on a revolutionary base. Capitalism must die, and those who would patch it at this stage of the game but do so to carry its poisonous corpse farther into the new day.

The Socialist Party must be the active living daily expression of the proletariat. It must spread the knowledge of Marx and Engels, the real expounders of revolutionary Socialism; it must enthuse and arouse the workers; it must be active every day, every hour, every minute; it must not be a simple voting machine; it must be a vital fighting organization of the wage earners of the country.

The spirit, the courage, the consciousness of Debs has called for the Russian Soviets to speak of him in the kindliest and most respectful terms. Debs is an example of the spirit of the left. The cowardly, unprincipled meanness of Spargo has called for his condemnation, not only from Russia, but also Italy and France. Spargo is an example of the right. Benson, in his wish-i-washy rubbish of democratizing capitalism, is the expression of the center. Which way shall the party swing? To the left. To the revolution.

Now is the time, now is our day, let every real Socialist strive with all his and her might that the Socialist Party of America arise to the occasion and become the vanguard of the proletarian revolution. Away with all palliating, away with all those who desire office more than the freedom of the working class, and on with the class struggle. Educate, enthuse, act.

A MILITARY PRISONER

By ANISE, Union Record.

"Your CLASS-WAR prisoners,"
Said Secretary Baker,
"Are suffering no more
Than many other men
As DECENT as they
In our MILITARY prisons.
Why, the last time
I was in Leavenworth
I saw a bright young fellow
And asked him: 'Why
Are you here?'
And he told me, 'ABSENCE
From camp without leave.'
And so
I INVESTIGATED
And it seems his WIFE
Was to be CONFINED
And it was the first child
And he was AFRAID
He would never see her alive.
And he asked
For LEAVE to go HOME
But his SUPERIOR OFFICER
REFUSED.
He tried
For quite a while
And then he WENT.
And he was TRIED
By court-martial
And given TWENTY YEARS.
That is ONE KIND OF MAN
We have at Fort Leavenworth."
I started at those words
Of the Secretary of War.
I saw the sick, young wife,
The FIRST CHILD,
The worried FATHER,
And—TWENTY YEARS!
I wondered whether the wife
Had DIED
Or what she is doing now
To support that baby.
And I thought: "THIS
Is more HIDEOUS
Than the fate
Of our class-war prisoners;
For THEY are sentenced
In the fever of war
When it is human nature
To be passionate and cruel:
But this is the COLD-BLOODED
UGLINESS
Of MILITARISM.
This is the inner meaning
Of SOLDIERS
And OFFICERS.
And I thought: If our army
And our nation
And our civilization
Must have for foundation
A discipline which so outrages
HUMANITY
Then better were it
That the "red terror"
Or the "yellow peril"
Or the great WINDS of GOD
Should sweepsus
Into the sea.
And I opened the paper
And read how Wilson says:
"FREE AMERICA
Will bring to ALL the WORLD
The blessing
Of HER FREEDOM."

Party Organization Notes

Locals Boston and Rochester have addressed communications to the National Office requesting withdrawal of international delegates and refusal to attend coming congress of Socialists to be held at Lauzerne, Switzerland. It is claimed that this conference was called and will be attended by "social patriots," of the Scheidemann variety.

* * *

Locals Cleveland, Boston, Portland and others have petitioned the National Executive Committee to hold a special national convention specifically for the discussion of the party's relation to the International Socialist situation.

* * *

The National Executive Committee is now voting upon a motion to purchase a national headquarters. The building is located at 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

* * *

Local Portland, Ore., has organized a Workers', Soldiers', and Sailors' Council. This local calls upon the National Office to send a Japanese organizer to the coast states to organize the natives of that country.

* * *

The property to be purchased by the party for national headquarters is said to have cost $75,000. The party will purchase it for less than half that price. It is a residence building, a typical rich man's residence and was formerly one of Chicago's palaces. The main building contains 18 rooms and a hall that will seat 150 people. The lot is 112 by 200 feet deep, and will lend itself later to the erection of an up-to-date building with printing plant without disturbing the original building.

* * *

KIRKPATRICK IN AKRON.

Socialists and their friends of Akron and vicinity are invited to attend the Kirkpatrick meeting, to be held in Akron on Sunday, Feb. 9, beginning promptly at 7:30 p. m., Music Hall.

* * *

The "Eye Opener," now a monthly, published by the National Office, will soon become a weekly. A new name is wanted for the paper and suggestions should be sent to the National Office of the party.

BAKER SAYS

"The meeting at Opperman, a little mining camp, was a regular revival. New members were admitted and the meeting paid for itself. Miners are only working one-third of the time and yet coal sells for seven dollars a ton. A few months ago we were told to "work or fight." Now it's fight in order to get work. The greatest soul in the rank of the proletariat is the miner. His heart is as big and warm as his bruised and toil worn hands.

"My meeting at Marietta was an inspiration. It was held in the assembly room of the Court House. The jail was just over the way. I felt right at home. [illegible] ance from the State Office, the Portsmouth members are willing to finance an organization campaign in Portsmouth and vicinity for several months.

"The Hamilton Journal and the Cincinnati Post gave me front page attention. The meeting in the headquarters of Local Cincinnati was very well attended. Their headquarters would be a credit to any local in the U. S. Took in some new members here.

"Held the first meeting in over a year and a half here at Norwood. Turned eight dollars into the local treasury, the meeting more than paying for itself. Comrades are determined to build a good, healthy local. New members admitted. Am taking many Ohio Socialist subscriptions at all my meetings."

All meetings are better attended than at any time before. Locals that attend to advertising the meeting in the right way, are sure to get repaid by large attendances.

* * *

"Any local that wishes to increase its membership should apply for a Baker date at once." Frank Bender, Opperman.

* * *

L. L. Lowery, organizer for Local Canton, is giving attention to the organization of a city committee with representation from the foreign speaking branches of the city. He sent in an order for $20 worth of supplies, mainly to fit out the foreign speaking branches, this week.

* * *

E. C. Showers of Mansfield remits $17 for the sustaining fund for prisoners' families.

* * *

Leo L. Nunery calls upon the St. Marys Socialists to awake from their slumber. How many will hear?

* * *

Dues stamp sales continue brisk. More stamps were sold in January than in any month for years.

* * *

When sending in subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist, write them plainly, upon a separate sheet of paper.

* * *

"Our local meetings have been real Socialist meetings this year. We have made the business end of the meeting quite short and as a consequence, the good and welfare period has been long and interesting. James Dobreff, a young Bulgarian comrade, who has had experience in Russian affairs, and who is a very good Mexican student, spoke for us at the last two meetings." Carl Guillod, Canton.

* * *

"Comrade Baker will ever live in the hearts of the Bellaire comrades, and any time he is in this neighborhood there will always be a speaking date awaiting him." Frank Stidd.

* * *

"The local is making a strenuous effort to bring the membership up to the 100 per cent. mark, and we be- [illegible]

GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN WAR-TIME

By ANISE, Union Record.

(Facts taken from Labor Year Book, issued by Rand School; and "German Social Democracy During the War," by Edwin Bevan, published by George Allen and Unwin Co., London).

V. A NEW PARTY FORMED

Several events led to the final forming of a new Socialist Party, the independent social democrats. Toward the end of 1916, Vorwaerts, the party central daily, which had hitherto been controlled by the "minority" or more radical Socialists, was suppressed by the government and started 10 days later as a majority organ. The military high command made it a condition of the paper's appearance that there should be some person in control of the paper who could give guarantee that the paper would no longer be used to prejudice the national cause.

This was regarded in Germany as a startling extension of the powers of the military; and matters were made more bitter by the accusation that the directorate of the party itself had intentionally made use of the government thus to gain control.

Industrial Conscription Starts.

In November of the same year a kind of industrial conscription began—a bill being introduced which required all males between 16 and 60, not engaged in military service, to do some kind of work required by the state. It is almost startling to note how the same kind of problems appear in all countries at war, and excite much the same division of opinion on the part of the workers.

The majority supported the bill; the minority denounced it bitterly. The officials of the German trade unions, led by Legien, brought up the argument we have often heard, that it was better to work directly for the government under the military, then to work for private profiteers. They gave warm support to the new war department.

Minority Thrown Out of Party.

In spite of bitterness and dissension, the minority never withdrew from the party; it was thrown out. It held, however, a conference of its own in January, 1917, to discuss ways and means for spreading their propaganda within the frame work of the party. Almost immediately the party committee met, declared that a split had [illegible] to start a new local.

The split was now complete. By April a complete now party was organized, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The Russian Revolution.

Then came the event which put new heart into the Socialists the world over—the Russian revolution. Even the more conservative Socialists in Germany felt its impulse and grew bolder in their demands for internal reforms; and the government, sensing the threat, made many promises.

But the Spartacus section, which had consented to form part of the new Independent Social Democratic Party, but which was constantly tugging at the reins toward an even greater radicalism, urged the Socialists to use the occasion "to stir up the masses." Large strikes occurred in Berlin and Leipsig, in the munition factories. These were opposed by the trade unions and the majority Socialists.

During May the Independents gained steadily on the old Socialists. This was the more surprising because one after one, the old line party secured possession of the party press, expelling the more radical editors. And while the influence of the old party of the working class grew less, its connection with the government grew stronger. This also, is a phenomenon that has been observed in most of the warring countries. By July, Socialist representatives were being invited to semi-official conferences with the kaiser.

Wilson's Notes Begin To Take Effect.

Even as long ago as September, 1917, the note writing of Woodrow Wilson began to have its effect on the interior politics of Germany. It will be remembered that in 1916, before America entered the war, the president made an attempt to secure a discussion of peace terms between the warring nations, and was received with some cordiality by the Germans, but repulsed by the Allies. This repulse, as might have been expected, strengthened the militaristic [illegible] and the United States was brought into the struggle.

The earlier war utterances of President Wilson were very similar in tone to the usual war speeches of belligerents, and seem to have evoked little discussion in Germany; but in September, 1917, came the first of his remarkable series of speeches, designed to break down the German autocracy. In it he stated that we had no enmity toward the German people, but toward their form of government, which was a menace to the peace of the world. Throughout Germany this was interpreted as a willingness to have peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of the status quo, if only the Germans would establish a decent, trustworthy government.

Friendly Words for Wilson.

While the German press in general rose up at the idea of a foreign statesman interfering in German internal affairs, Vorwaerts, now an organ of the old-line Socialists, took a most friendly attitude. All other great governments around us, it insisted, are responsible to the people. Why should it be otherwise with us?

"It is obvious to social democracy that the governments which conclude peace must embody the will of the peoples and be upheld by their confidence."

In an interview given to the United Press of America at this time Scheidemann expressed the belief that the kind of peace desired by President Wilson and by the majority of the reichstag were one and the same; why then should America go on fighting? It was quite reasonable that Wilson should wish that peace terms be guaranteed by a German democracy, but further bloodshed was unnecessary for that. The reichstag had that work well in hand and would go forward faster with it under peace conditions.

Pan-Germans Still a Force.

Yet when it came to a showdown in the reichstag, the Pan-Germans still showed themselves a force. The reply of the German government to the Pope showed their influence, in that all mention of Belgium was kept out of this reply, at a time when Socialists in Germany were emphasizing the need of a clear declaration of the intention to restore that land.

The note to the pope was greeted by the old line Socialists with tempered approval; they considered it a step nearer the goal, and congratulated themselves for having pushed the government forward in the direction they wished to go.

But the Independent Socialists scoffed at the idea. Military pres- [illegible]

Defecated Definitions

By W. E. REYNOLDS.

The enemy—An alarm clock.

* * *

Alarm clack—A small machine made by a wage-slave for the purpose of calling slaves so they will get busy producing more for the master class.

* * *

Factory—A modern slave-pen.

* * *

Hungry-looking crowd—Factory emplayes.

* * *

Public nuisance—Five A. M. factory whistle.

* * *

Necessities—Slave, shoddy and fodder.

* * *

Luxuries—Commodities made by slaves for the exclusive use of the master class.

* * *

Liberty—A privilege indulged in by the master class.

* * *

Prison—A cage for slaves, built by willing slaves, controlled by the master class and used for the purpose of cooping up the best brains in the country in the vain attempt to stop the spread of advanced ideas.

Capital punishment — Legalized murder by the state.

* * *

Editorials—Usually 14th century opinions printed in the plute press of the 20th century.

* * *

Pulpit—The place where the piffle-talkers stand while peddling mental chloroform to slaves.

* * *

Church—A monument to ignorance.

* * *

Joss House—Another name for church.

* * *

Weather—A condition of the atmosphere and the main topic of slave talk.

* * *

Job—The most valuable possession of the master class. They loan it to the slaves on shares—one-fifth for the slave and four-fifths to the master.

* * *

A. P. News—Piffle for pinheads.

* * *

Hearst News—Dubb dope.

* * *

Lying—The regular occupation of the spokesmen of the master class. They lie to justify the robbery.

JUST OUT

"The Trial of Eugene V. Debs"

WRITTEN BY MAX EASTMAN

Max Eastman was present at the Debs' trial and saw many things that even you and I would overlook had we been present. His is an interesting and lucid discription of both the prosecution, the defendants and the judge. You will feel yourself "right there" while reading this new pamphlet, just off the press. It also includes Debs' address to the court upon receiving sentence.

10c A COPY

To Locals and Socialists desiring 25 or more we will make a special price of 6c a copy.

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Alfred Wagenknecht

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OUR PARTY PAGE

Live News of Interest to all Party Members

WITH OUR EDITORS

Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemberg

They are dead but the revolution lives. It stays not a moment through their untimely death. Even while the capitalist press openly rejoices at the murder of this noblest son and daughter of the revolution, the principles they ennnciated and the tactics they employed are spreading over continents. Revolutions are not made by individuals but by social forces.

They died as they lived, flinging in the teeth of conservatism and compromise the truth of revolutionary tactics. And in so dying they died gloriously for the revolution and the truth. No nobler deaths can close nobler lives than theirs.

Farewell, Comrades, your lives were not lived in vain, and your death shall be a living inspiration to the proletariat of the world to erect as your monument the pillars of the new society upon the solid foundations of proletarian rule.

AMERICA'S INDICTMENT

A tremendous exodus of America's foreign born population is certain the moment shipping facilities are available. Evidence of this is seen in accounts from the daily press. A recent census of the industries of Akron, O., showed that 80 per cent. of the foreign born workmen plan to return to their native lands at the first favorable opportunity.

And in Cleveland Postmaster Murphy, in a recent interview is credited with saying that there were two main reasons given by the increasing number of War Savings Stamp purchasers who are cashing their stamps. The first was that the holders intended to return to the home land and the second was the necessity for obtaining ready money to meet living expenses.

The employers of Akron have instituted a series of lectures whereby they seek to enlighten the workers upon the beauties and benefits of American citizenship and thus offset the yearnings for the home land.

The reasons for the tender solicitude of these employers for the workers is not given but we herewith venture a guess. They desire to see no decrease in the amount of labor power in the country. Much labor means cheap labor. No one knows this better than employers.

While it is true there can be many reasons why those of foreign birth should now desire to return to the home land—to find and meet the kith and kin whom the ravages of war have left them; to settle inheritances and in many instances TO AID THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, still we believe there are other reasons which have a determining voice, especially with those who came from lands with which America has been at war; reasons which the smooth words of hired lecturers will not overcome.

To thousands of these residents the last few months have been months of terror. Suspicion has been heaped upon them. Anathemas have been hurled at them by the viper press. They have been hounded and bedeviled by voluntary would-be spy catchers and also by members of that now defunct semi-official and wholly officious organization known as the American Protective League.. Because of an accident of birth they have been insulted, and in many instances outraged both privately and publicly. They have seen American Democracy put to the test and they were its victims.

This contingent of our foreign born population will have formed very decided views of that democracy, freedom, liberalism, which they were taught existed here. The land of glittering promises has become for them a land of shattered dreams and grim disappointments.

America's promises are seen for what they are—platitudes.

OTHER EDITORS SAY—

Sometimes you year something about "the brains of the Socialist movement." We have never been able to locate any exact spot in which they are situated, but we believe that the heart of the Socialist movement of America still beats in the breast of Eugene V. Debs. And when Debs stood up in front of that jury of retired merchants and farmers in Cleveland, about to sentence him to live and die in a felon's cell, and declared his solidarity with the Russian Bolshevik government, his adherence to the class struggle, his sympathy and respect for the I. W. W., and when he turned to the judge with a magnificent gesture of superiority and said to him, "Your honor, it is true that I am opposed to our form of government"—the keynote of American Socialism for the coming year was sounded, and no manifestos of the National Security League, and no contrary testimony from our more prudent parliamentarians can change it.

THE LIBERATOR.

Before the war we increased our navy; during the war we increased our navy; now that the war is over and the League of Nations is in sight we are going to increase our navy. When and under what conditions may a navy be decreased? Why not?

HOWARD BRUBAKER.

The reconstruction plans of the capitalist class consists of schemes whereby to obstruct the workers' rise to power.

Mooney's cell door will open only at the magic touch of united labor.

Time for Referendum Extended

Chicago.—An extension of two weeks in the time for filing nominations in "Referendum A, 1919" has been given by the National Office of the Socialist Party to Socialist locals.

This means that Socialists will have until Feb. 23, instead of Feb. 9, to make their nominations for National Executive Committeemen, delegates to the International Socialist Congress and an International Socialist Secretary.

This is the start of the second referendum for the election if National Executive Committeemen under the plan of selecting three committeemen from each five districts, making 15 members in all.

At least some of the party members are mystified as to the duties of the International Secretary of the Socialist Party. He is chosen to sit as the American representative in the International Socialist Bureau, which attends to the affairs of the International Socialist movement between the meetings of the International Congresses.

Locals have already nominated for International Secretary, both Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the British Labor Party, and Hjalmar Branting, spokesman of the Majority Socialists of Sweden, in the Swedish riksdag. Henderson and Branting can represent the Socialists of Great Britain and Sweden in the International Bureau, [illegible]

Local E. Liverpool News Letter

By D. J. MORGAN.

Party activity in this locality is going "over the top" with a jump. The local meets each Wednesday night with a bigger attendance, more enthusiasm. We are increasing the membership each meeting with a total of 15 new members for the month, many of them taking an active interest in the movement. Comrade John O'Brian has been particularly active. He sent in 19 subs for the O. S. the night he came in.

The "indoor picnics" now being held each alternate meeting by the local are a decided success. After the business session a lunch is served with music and oratory for desert. There are several promising "soapboxers" among the members since the study class has been reorganized. Comrades from nearby locals are invited to attend the next picnic to be held Wednesday, Feb. 12. A good time is assured.

Since the County Executive Committee has shown such wonderful results in organization work, Local E. Liverpool has elected a City Executive Committee composed of the following comrades: C. F. Podewells, Thos. O'Rourke, first ward; George Eisenbuth, N. K. Burlingame, second ward; Thurman Cunningham, John Venie, third ward; John O'Brien, D. J. Morgan, fourth ward, and County Executive Committeeman J. R. Larimore, member-at-large. Watch the little RED DOT in the lower right [illegible]

Ohio Locals, Your Attention!

The call for Socialist speakers has been unprecedented. The State Office has in fact, found it impossible to fill all applications made. Locals that have held meetings during the last two months write the State Office that even at an admission charge of 25 cents, the halls are far too small to hold the crowds that seek information about Socialism.

These active locals now demand a speaker once a week. Many of them prefer Sunday meetings. We would like to remind these locals that there is only one Sunday in each week and not seven. The State Office will do its best, to provide speakers for preferred days, but we cannot perform the impossible,

COMPLY WITH THIS REQUEST.

This is mainly written however, to make a request of all locals. *If you desire a Socialist speaker, you are now asked to file your application with the State Office. Write nothing else in the letter except an application for the speaker and write on one side of the paper only.* These applications will be filed and a speaker will be sent you as soon as possible. Locals that fail to do this, locals failing to make note of this official request in their official paper, must not be disappointed if last minute calls by them cannot be filled.

SPEAKERS SCHEDULED FOR OHIO.

The State Office has been in correspondence with numerous Socialist speakers and to date we report the following results:

LILITH MARTIN, who toured the state during the municipal campaigns of 1917, will begin a tour of Ohio after May 1.. Her specialty will be organization work, and she will make especial efforts to interest the women in the cause, She is an experienced organizer and her services will be much in demand in Ohio.

W. R. SNOW, who is now in Pennsylvania, has suggested that his Ohio tour begin in about six weeks. Comrade Snow has lectured and has been engaged in organization work in many states and comes well recommended by the Socialist Party of Illinois. Locals desiring Comrade Snow for a meeting must apply AT ONCE.

SCOTT NEARING will be ready to fill speaking dates beginning about May 1. Just when his Ohio tour will start we cannot foretell, but locals desiring a Nearing meeting must file their applications with the State Office NOW.

H. L. A. HOLMAN, of Texas, has just been engaged by the State Executive Committee for a tour of the state. Joseph W. Sharts of Dayton says that, "Holman has a breezy southwestern way of lecturing and he makes friends wherever he goes." Comrade Holman is ready to begin work this minute. Do you want him for a meeting? Apply now.

DENNIS E. BATT, associate editor of the "Proletarian" of Detroit, comes to this state for a meeting at Cleveland on February 23. He has promised to fill fourteen dates in Ohio, following the Cleveland meeting. Comrade Batt is a very instructive lecturer and we recommend him to all locals. Terms are ten dollars per lecture and expenses. Make application for him at once if you desire his services.

CHARLES BAKER is now on tour in Ohio. His meetings, since Jan. 16, have been uniformly successful. He reports audiences starved for information about Socialism, and crowded halls. His prospective dates will be found in another column.

THURBER LEWIS is now making a special organization trip for the State Office. His dates will be found in another column. As soon as this trip is finished he will be open for speaking engagements and further organization work. Thurber Lewis is the son of Tom Lewis. He is eighteen years of age and is usually advertised as the "boy orator." His knowledge of Socialism, his insight into the foreign Socialist situation, his ability to tell his audiences about these in a lucid and entertaining manner, has won him high commendations from many locals in the state. Applications for Thurber Lewis meetings should be made right away.

TOM LEWIS, now residing in Cleveland, can fill Sunday dates and an occasional week-day date. He needs no recommendation.

List of Ohio comrades, resident in the state, who can fill occasional dates, will be printed in the Ohio Socialist as soon as it has been revised.

APPLICATIONS NOW ON FILE.

We have now on hand the following application for speakers:

Local Montpelier applies for Tom Lewis to do organization work in that city for one week.

Local North Star desires a speaker, Chas. Baker preferred.

Local Belmont County applies for an organizer for a week's work.

Local Niles applies for a Scott Nearing lecture.

The locals of Columbiana County ask to have Chas. Baker give them the wook of April 28 to May 4.

Local Canton wants a speaker every Sunday afternoon.

Local Portemouth applies for an organizer to work in the southern part of the state, in the vicinity of Portsmouth, for three months.

Local Youngstown asks for the services of Charles Baker for one week.

Locals in Guernsey County apply for an organizer to help get 1,000 members for the county before fall.

Locals Youngstown, Akron, Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo and others need speakers every Sunday.

Local Opperman applies for a speaker.

Martins Ferry and Warren apply for Nearing meetings.

Kenmore asks for Tom Lewis.

AND AGAIN WE SAY

Locals desiring Socialist speakers must file their applications with the State Office and a speaker will be assigned as soon as possible. Locals should discuss and act upon this matter at the next meeting.

GUERNSEY COUNTY SOCIALISTS ATTENTION

Attend these Katterfeld meetings. Attend all of them if possible. Assist Herber Knecht in his laudable effort to bring the county locals back into active participation in the Socialist work.

L. E. Katterfeld, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, will speak in Byesville on Feb. 8, at 7:30 p. m. The Opera House is the place. Oyster supper and social in connection.

On Feb. 9, at 2:30 p. m., he will speak in Derwent.

On Feb. 9, at 7:30 p. m., he will speak in the Central Labor hall. Seventh and Wheeling, Cambridge, O.

What Bigelow Thinks

Herbert S. Bigelow, in a leaflet written by him about that burning question of Bolshevism, has this to say: "Reaction, blinded by self-interest, opposes reasonable change. Revolution, exasperated by injustice, proposes unreasonable change. The need of the hour is a sound liberalism to deal with the Bolshevism in both camps.

"We want no red flag of revolution. Neither do we want any white flag of reaction. We want to go down the middle of the road with the flag of our country."

A very interesting position, surely, for Mr. Bigelow to take. We are wondering how large his camp of liberals is, and when they have to begin the march down the middle of the road, [illegible]

Official Business

Motion "A," 1919, by Jos. W. Sharts: "That H. A. L. Holman be employed by the State Office for organization work upon his terms, namely the collections taken at his meetings."

Comment by Sharts: "Comrade Holman is an old and experienced worker at all ends of the propaganda. He has recently published a booklet entitled, "How," in which he takes up President Wilson's 14 "points" and shows their utter emptiness from the worker's viewpoint, and follows them up with a sketch of a constitution for an industrial democracy. The little book has made quite a hit around here; it looks sound enough to me; and I suppose Comrade Holman will want the privilege of selling his booklet at any of the meetings. He has a breezy southwestern way of lecturing and conversing which makes friends; and I believe the state movement can suffer no harm and will probably receive considerable benefit by giving him free rein in Ohio."

Voting "yes" upon the above motion: All members of the committee. Motion carried.

Motion "B," 1919, as submitted by the State Secretary: "Request that the State Secretary be given leave of absence for two or three months to begin his duties as director of organization and propaganda at the National Office and that Mrs. Wagenknecht act as temporary secretary during the interval."

Voting "yes": Scott Wilkins, Wm. Patterson, Jos. W. Sharts, Tom Clifford, M. J. Beery, Lotta Burke. Voting "no": J. P. Baker.

Comment by J. P. Baker: "I very much appreciate your desire to work for the national organization in the capacity you have stated, but I think it is asking too much of Ohio at this time to make a change. Of course, I know we can not hold you against your will, but I feel you should stay with us this present term of office. You are well liked by the whole state organization and you are getting results, which will amount to something by the end of the year. But if we have to change managers every two or three months, even though they be of the best, we will never get any place. Stay with us for the year and look to higher aspirations afterward."

By Jos. W. Sharts: "Am sorry for the state movement because you are going to take that national job, but, of course, a man ought to take the larger field of operations as long as he has any reserve energy left."

"OHIO SOCIALIST"
"SOCIALIST NEWS"

A co-operative arrangement has been worked out between the "Ohio Socialist" and "Socialist News" through which the plan adopted by party referendum in 1912 and reaffirmed in 1917 will be put into effect. Under this plan the circulation of the "Socialist News" will be limited to Cuyahoga County and the "Ohio Socialist," on the other hand, will not be sent into Cuyahoga County. All the [illegible] subscribers in Cuyahoga County for the "Ohio Socialist" will be sent the "Socialist News." In case the same person subscribed for both papers the subscription will be extended to include the unexpired portion of both subscriptions.

What the Red Army is Doing

No uqestion about it comrades, we will have to hand it to the Red Army! One would think by the results of their skirmishes after subscriptions that they were veterans in these activities. Here is the Ohio Socialist, seven months old as a weekly, and already able to walk on its hind feet and hold up its head like a regular Bolshevik! That a great deal of credit is due the tireless efforts of the members of the Red Army goes without saying. Without their work in the field we would undoubtedly have been crawling in our long clothes yet.

Such is not the case, however. The Red Army has kept us so busy keeping up with the flood of subscriptions and other work that we have somewhat neglected giving them the praise which is so deservedly theirs. Especially the last three weeks. A few weeks ago we thought we were establishing a world record by securing a hundred subscriptions a week. Well, we've established several records since then. We climbed up to a hundred and fifty and then hit the two hundred mark and then the Army got right down to business and boosted the weekly list to five hundred! That means, if it is kept up, that in a year we shall have twenty-five thousand subscribers, which means at least a hundred thousand readers. Is that a goal worth striving for? We think so. We also know that the Red Army thinks so too and in that knowledge we are assured that their activities in the interest of our party paper will continue throughout the coming months.

Owing to the increasing number of comrades who are devoting their time and effort in increasing our list of readers we are compelled to give credit in this form to save space. The following comrades sent in subscriptions last week:

Local Battle Creek, Mich., 4.
A. B. Hollenbaugh, Tiffin, O., 5.
Tom Lewis, Cleveland, O., 2.
E. C. Showers, Mansfield, O., 2.
E. B. Eubanks, Columbus, O., 2.
J. F. Potts, Elkins, Va., 1.
Emma Carpenter, Drakes Br., Va., 1
B. Blumenberg, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1.
R. Jackson, Muskegon Heights, Mich., 1.
J. F. Dennison, Warren, O., 3.
F. B. Hamilton, Piqua, O., 4.
Horace C. Shank, Hamilton, O., 1.
John H. Potts, Richmond, Ky., 2.
John W. Loucich, Tacoma, Wash., 1.
D. A. Hastings, Cheyenne, Wyo., 1.
Geo. Vasich, Youngstown, O., 3.
Luther McIntyre, Ashley, W. Va., 2.
Rex Wolfe, Midvale, O., 5.
E. P. McDevitt, Steubenville, O., 7.
Joseph Wilnecker, Toledo, O., 7.
J. Meyer, Davenport, Ia., 3.
Chas Peterson, Davenport, Ia., 2.
J. C. Schiefer, Marion, O., 3.
Harley Tilton, Derwent, O., 3.
Peter Herald, Carrollton, O., 2.
W. A. Riley, Akron, O., 1.
Local Portage Co., O., 4.
Bernard Kehm, Niles, O., 5.
J. A. Hess, Midland, Ky., 2.
Local Hubbard, O., 5.
Local Columbus, O., 6.
Local Conti, O., 12.
Carl Guillod, Canton, 5.
Local Dayton, O., 4.
Curtis Cannon, Huntingdon, Tenn., 3.
Wm. Davis, W. Fork, Ark., 1.
A. Abram, Akron, O., 4.
Wm. Pelluer, Seattle, Wash., 6.
J. S. Albert, Van Wert, O., 2.
Hogan O'Brien, E. Liverpool, O., 19.
Edw. Peterson, Niles, O., 2.
John Kiiskilla, Hancock, Mich., 2.
T. H. Watkins and E. C. Glatfelter, Dover, O., 3.
J. H. Miller, Havener, N. M., 5.
N. R. Collins, Cuy. Falls, O., 6.
F. W., Somewhere, U. S. A., 2.
Peter Hanek, Warren, O., 2.
H. L. Franklin, Fairmount, W. Va., 4.
Local Bellaire, O., 5.
D. Cocklin, Bergholz, O., 4.
Local Youngstown, O., 8.
F. D. Lowe, Riverside, Va., 9.
Local E. Liverpool, O., 3.
Mike Doda, Steubenville, O., 1.
E. O. McPherron, Lima, O., 2.
J. Gartleman, Cincinnati, O., 1.
Karl W. Fry, Lima, O., 3.
A. Labash, K. C., Kans., 1.
Pearl Plafair, Irwin, Pa., 2.
J. H. Sims, Bethel, O., 1.
I. Glick, Steubenville, O., 1.
Frank Bender, Pleasant City, O., 2.
H. Thumm, Youngstown, O., 15.
N. A. Riley, Arkon, O., 1.
C. R. Swope, Girard, O., 1.
Lotta Burke, Cincinnati, O., 1.
W. Schulz, Cincinnati, O., 1.
B. T. Sweth, Toledo, O., 1.
Geo. Althman, Columbus, O., 1.
A. C. Holloway, Akron, O., 1.
H. Ruemmele, Norwood, O., 1.
Local Hamilton, O., 8.
Percy L. Hirst, Salineville, O., 10.
J. W. Daywalt, Warren, O., 7.
E. E. Bok, Grand Rapids, Mich., 4.
Frank Ashe, Carrizozo, N. M., 7.
Alice Burkhart, Judsonia, Ark., 2.
E. C. Glatfelter, New Philadelphia, O., 4.
Robert Henkle, Washington D. C., 2.
Local Massillon, O., 6.
Local Piqua, O., 2.
J. P. Dollman, So. Bend, Ind., 2.
J. H. Steele, Nenana, Alaska, 1.
Bessie E. Davis, Bay City, Mich., 4.
Frank Hotinke, Hammond, Ind., 5.
C. Case, Hamilton, O., 2.
Local Columbus, O., 1.
H. F. Oberholtzer, Huntington, W. Va., 1.
C. E. Raymont, Youngstown, O., 2.
Local Cambridge, O., 8.
Edwin Blank, Lima, O., 3.
Karl W. Fry, Lima, O., 1.
Fred Berger, Lima, O., 2.
R. P. Conklin, Lima, O., 5.
Calkins, Sidney, O., 1.
S. C. Stair, Walters, Okla., 5.

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for Six Months.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

NEXT?

Piqua News

By ROBERT JOHNSON.

The suit of Mayor F. B. Hamilton vs. Henry Kampf and the Leader-Dispatch for $50,000 damages was heard by Judge Barnes on Jan. 31. An account of this case will appear in next week's issue.

A decision in the Hartley case is expected at the next session of the court of appeals in Troy a few weeks hence. Hartley, a Republican ward councilman, was discovered holding two officers contrary to the general code of Ohio which provides in such cases that the office of councilman is vacant. Comrade Frank Strauss was appointed by the mayor to fill the vacancy but Hartley refused to vacate being upheld by his friends in the council. Quo warranto proceedings were filed in the court of appeals where the case has been hanging fire for a year. The law's delays are past comprehension.

* * *

Whenever a man talks to you about "making the world safe for democracy" ask him what kind of democracy he means, ninety-nine times out of a hundred he won't know the difference between political and industrial democracy. Call attention to the fact that while we have religious and political democracy in large measure, we have not industrial democracy without which the other is a farce. Socialists should keep INDUSTRIAL democracy at the fore in every argument. When the working class own the tools and raw resources with which they work there is industrial democracy. The railroads, the mills, the mines and factories are the tools, let the working class take them over and real fundamental democracy will be ours.

* * *

The fight put up by Comrade Edwin Blank and Local Lima for the right of free speech and assemblage is gratifying to the comrades of Local Piqua. The common pleas court of Allen county decided that the Constitution of the United States is constitutional and that Socialists had some rights in the "land of the free"? The Chamber of Commerce and their cohorts immediately carried the case to the court of appeals hoping for a reversal of the decision.

* * *

Local Piqua has nominated their candidates for municipal offices. The "present incumbent" as the local capitalist press terms Comrade Homilton was nominated for mayor. The rest of the ticket is the strongest possible. every man is class conscious, tried and true. The Socialists haven't the slightest doubt about making a clean sweep in this neck of the woods next November. The old parties will combine of course, but we will whip them anyhow. The vicious and ill-timed attacks on Socialist officials have opened the eyes of the working class of Piqua to the true character of the Chamber of Commerce and their lickspittles more effectively than any amount of propaganda.

* * *

The last city council meeting was marked with much dispatch. Absence of two members prevented anything being done. Business of much importance lies before council but winter trips to Florida come first. Let city affairs wait. What if the east end of the city hall threatens to tumble down? Let her tumble, the bathing at Palm Beach is superb. Why elect men to office who think of their own pleasures than their obligations as city officials?

* * *

The latest attempt to discredit the Socialist administration by the old party press has come to naught. The city council by its neglect to pass necessary legislation for repair of the city building roused the ire of many people. The lying press tried to shoulder the blame on the Socialists but without avail. The Service Department is able to show anyone interested that it is tied hand and foot by the laws of Ohio, until council acts and action can't be had with half its membership playing golf in the sunny south.

* * *

Piqua comrades have little hope of a favorable decision from the supreme court in the Debs case. Before this item is read Comrade Debs will in all probability be in jail serving the sentence so unjustly imposed upon him. Debs in jail is more influential than his enemies without. All history proclaims that prisons are no bar to progress. Why does the capitalist hate Comrade Debs? Ah! The poet, Crosby puts the matter truly when he says:

"We dread the man who folds his arms
and tells the simple truth
With strong, impetuous protest
charms the virgin ear of youth;
Who scorns the vengeance that we
wreak, and smiles to meet his
doom,
Who on the scaffold still can speak,
and preaches from his tomb."

* * *

The state legislature has been importuned to give Piqua some relief on her financial burden, along with other Ohio cities. No matter what form or [illegible]

A Speaker for Your Local

H. L. A. Holman is ready to tour the state. A routing will be given him immediately enough applications are received by the State Office. Comrade Holman will speak for your local for the collection. These terms are very favorable and your local ought apply for a Holman date at once. Write today. Holman is an experienced lecturer.

SPEAKER FOR YOUR LOCAL

Dennis E. Batt, associate editor of the "Proletarian" of Detroit, can give Ohio a tour of two weeks, beginning Feb. 23. Terms are ten dollars and expenses. Comrade Batt is one of our ablest scientific lecturers. Locals desiring to engage him should write the State Office immediately.

BAKER SPEAKING DATES.

Piqua, Feb. 8; Columbus, Feb. 9; Xenia, Feb. 10; Alpha, Feb. 11; Miamisburg, Feb. 12; Middletown, Feb. 13; Troy or Piqua, Feb. 14; Convoy, Feb. 15; Indianapolis, Ind., Feb. 16; St. Marys, Feb. 17, 18; Wapakoneta, Feb. 19, 20; Jenera, Feb. 21, 22; Bluffton, Feb. 23; Findlay, Feb. 24, 25; North Baltimore, Feb. 26; Napoleon, Feb. 27, 28; Fremont, March 1, 2; Greenwich, March 3, 4.

CORRECTIONS.

C. E. Ruthenberg will speak under the direction of Local Columbus on Sunday, Feb. 23, and not on Feb. 13, as per printer's error in last issue.

Geo. R. Kirkpatrick will speak in Akron Sunday evening, Feb. 9, in Music hall, and not on Feb. 8, as announced in last issue.

MEETINGS IN OHIO.

SCOTT NEARING: Canton, Feb. 13; Dayton, Feb. 14; Cleveland, afternoon of Feb. 16.

GEO. R. KIRKPATRICK: Cleveland, afternoon of Feb. 9; Akron, evening of Feb. 9; Youngstown, Feb. 10.

L. E. KATTERFELD: Belmont County, Feb. 5, 6, 7; Guernsey County, Feb. 8, 9; Piqua and Miami County, Feb. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

NILES MEETING.

Local Niles intends having another monster meeting on Feb. 16. Either C. E. Ruthenberg or Tom Lewis will be the speaker.

THURBER LEWIS DATES.

The following points will be touched by Thurber Lewis in his organization trip. Cuyahoga Falls, Feb. 2, 3; Ashland, Feb. 4, 5; Crestline, Feb. 6, 7; Coshocton, Feb. 8, 9; Dover, Feb. 10, 11; New Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 13; Alliance, Feb. 14, 15; Girard, Feb. 16, 17.

How About the Young People.

Announcement of the organization of Social Science Schools at Youngstown and Akron makes it incumbent upon us to call the attention of all locals in the state to the need of educational work among the children of Socialists and sympathizers.

We suggest that at the next meeting of the local a census of the number of children of the members present be taken, that a date and place be set for a meeting of these children and that the local appoint as school director the best fitted comrade in the organization. These schools, formerly known as Socialist Sunday Schools, are now called Social Science Schools. For information regarding conduct of these schools, address the Young People's Socialist League, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The young men and women also should be given attention. These should be organized into Young People's Socialist Leagues. For information address the same as above.

BOLSHEVIKI STILL PLOT.

From Washington we get the news that the Bolsheviki are plotting to capture America. Archibald Stevenson of the Military Intelligence Bureau has discovered that Soviets have already been organized in the industrial centers and that they plan eventual seizure of the government.

Money for this purpose was being sent from Russia, he asserted. Schools have been opened to teach the doctrines of the reds to children.

Even the meeting of the Republican National Committee found the air surcharged with Bolshevism. The question was not broached upon the floor but the committeemen in the lobbies rolled the word over their tongues like a hot potato. "We must stand with faces like flint against Bolshevism; against the bloody kind, the bloodless kind and the Bolshevism of boodle," said one of the leaders.

increase facing his pocketbook. When the average voter gets sense enough to vote for a co-operative commonwealth in which rent, interest and profit are unknown and a [illegible]

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited By C. E. Ruthenberg

The British Strikes

Reports from Great Britain tell of a series of great strikes sweeping over the entire country. That these strikes are the expression of a movement that has a greater goal than merely to increase wages and shorten hours of labor is indicated in dispatches that reach this country from two different sources.

Paul Wallace Hanna, European correspondent of the New York Call, in a news article written before the wave of strikes begun, gives the reason why the British workers are resorting to industrial action. We quote the following from this article:

> Direct action on the industrial field will be enormously stimulated by the general elections which have just returned a big Tory majority to parliament.
>
> That is not the opinion of one or a few men. It is the opinion of the best judges in Great Britain—liberals, conservatives and radicals.
>
> The view that the election was "a government trick was first given me four days ago, before the result was announced and when it was still believed that labor had captured at least 100 seats.
>
> George Lansbury, editor of the Labor Herald, believes that not more than one-half of the electors went to the polls, and that a still smaller proportion of the soldiers ever received ballots. And the ballots sent to the soldiers, like all others, contained only names, without party designations, so that the average soldier did not know whether Smith was a Tory or a Sinn Feiner. Moreover all labor newspapers had been barred from the camps and prevented from reaching France, so that no Tommy could tell anything about the issues at stake.
>
> More important than all else, however, is the spreading distrust of parliamentary action that pervades the ranks of the working class.

The correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor confirms the above view in an article written since the industrial movement began. This writer says that what the workers are aiming at is "control of industry." This quotation gives the gist of his comment:

> The conclusion arrived at by the present writer, during a personal tour of the Clyde a few weeks ago, is that the discontent fomented by the irreconcilables is more political than industrial in character, and if the present demands were conceded, there is no justification for the hope that peace would be restored. Rather would the movement thrive and grow impudent with the success attained and steps be almost immediately taken to formulate further proposals. The leaders of the movement declare quite openly and candidly at their own party conferences that they are hostile to the present government, that their ultimate object is the control of industry, first having reduced industry to a condition that it no longer pays the employer to carry on.

The hope of the ruling class that with the end of the war the workers of Great Britain would meekly return to the old conditions under which they were oppressed and exploited is being blasted by this militant industrial movement. That this movement will grow and develope and become something akin to a revolution is very probable.

* * * *

Placing the Blame

In Cleveland a combination of crooked politics, crooked lawyers and the criminal element has created a situation in which crimes are committed with impunity. Pocket picking, hold-ups, burglaries and murders are daily recorded by the newspapers but arrests are infrequent, prosecutions few and convictions rare.

The stench arising from this conditions has grown so strong that something had to be done. So there have been investigations and pages of publicity.

But the crime wave continued. The public officials grew desperate. At last they hit upon a way to exonerate themselves and satisfactorily explain the existing conditions.

The explanation of the situation appeared in one of the afternoon papers last week. According to the story published it is not criminals of the ordinary sort who are responsible for the existing conditions, but a band of anarchists who hope "by starting what at first would appear simply to be a crime wave of more than usual proportions, they would gradually lead up to creating a state of absolute anarchy, in which no one would be safe on the streets."

Yes, of course. Anarchists now, Bolshevists tomorrow and then the Socialists will be too blame. Such is the utter rot that the people are asked to swallow.

Thus do the supporters of things as they are try to explain away the rottenness of the present social order.

Bribery, corruption and crime are the logical product of a social system in which the ruling class maintains itself and the system of exploitation by force and violence. The world has been engulfed in blood and force has reigned supreme. Is it to be wondered at that individuals are practicing on a smaller scale what capitalism practiced on a grand scale?

* * * *

Not Our Goal

The Cleveland News is one of those newspapers which stands for the unhampered control of industry by the capitalists and belongs to the rearguard even when an advance is made in the interest of the capitalist class. Thus this newspaper has not yet learned that government ownership of certain industries may be to the interest of the capitalists. It hasn't learned, as the shrewder capitalists have, that it is better to have the railroads, telegraph and telephones owned by the whole capitalist class through a government it controls than by individual capitalists.

The Cleveland News is therefore still opposed to government ownership. In order to make point against government ownership it recently printed an editorial proving beyond doubt that the government may oppress the workers and compel them to submit to bad working conditions and pay them low wages, as well as private employers. It points out Mr. Burleson's records in dealing with the postal employes, and, more recently, his treatment of the employes in the telephone and telegraph industry. It quites Miss Julia S. O'Connor, president of the Boston Telephone Operators' Union, as saying that the government is "an autocratic and unfair employer of the wage workers."

The editorial is noteworthy, not as an argument against any change in the control of industry, for which purpose it was printed, but as an argument against government ownership and bureaucratic management of industry. Government ownership, as this editorial so ably emphasized, may make the lot of the workers worse, for they have to deal with a more powerful and resourceful employer—the government. It is more than likely that the needs of capitalism, such as the necessity of increasing the income of the government to meet the interest charges on the great war debt, will compel the capitalist to consent to the government controlling certain great industries and, as pointed out above, the economic advantage of such an arrangement is an argument for it in the minds of some capitalists. The workers, however, need not strive for such a development. It will come without their effort for it does not lead to their emancipation from exploitation.

The workers' goal must be industrial democracy, not government ownership; they must establish control of the shops and factories by the workers themselves, not by a bureaucracy at the seat of the government. The Cleveland News editorial is not an argument against the goal the workers are striving to reach, but merely points the way that they must not go.

* * * *

Robins on Creel

Colonel Raymond Robins, who was in Russia up to about six months ago, and who has been repeatedly urged to tell the American people the facts about conditions there, has at last broken his silence. He has given the public his information about the work of the Soviet government, but some new light is thrown on the work of the Department of Public Information, headed by George Creel, through which the infamous Sisson documents were published.

Colonel Robins was stirred to speak by an eight-page article by George Creel, lauding the work of his department, which appeared in a recent issue of Everybody's. To correct some misstatements in this article Robins sent the following letter to Senator Johnson:

> The inclosed clipping from the last page of George Creel's eight pages of self-laudation in February's Everybody's Magazine suggests that Mr. Creel is unable to relate facts. The facts are:
>
> The President's speeches were printed on the Bolshevik government's presses by special permission of that government. They were distributed under government frank and posted on the dead walls of Petrograd by the Bolshevik posting service.
>
> Mr. Sisson fled from Petrograd March 4, 1918, shouting that the Germans would take the city within a few days, in collusion with the Bolsheviki. The American Red Cross was feeding starving children and evacuating war supplies from Petrograd under Bolshevik protection in quantities until May 11, 1918.
>
> The Allied military missions were helping to train the Bolshevik Red Army, April 1, and the American Ambassador was seeking, with the consent of the Allied Embassies, the co-operation of the American Railway Mission with the Bolshevik government weeks after Mr. Sisson had fled in terror from Petrograd.
>
> Mr. Bullard and all the American members of the Committee on Public Information in Russia, fled from Moscow, May 5, reaching Archangel and suffering from the worst case of "buck fever" in my observation.

Think of the paid agents of Germany publishing and posting President Wilson's speeches and evacuating war supplies from Petrograd in the fight against German imperialism.

* * * *

The Prinkipo Conference

The proposal of the Supreme Council at Paris that all the factions in Russia meet in conference with the Allies at Prinkipo is naturally looked upon with suspicion by the Soviet government. Pravda, central organ of the Bolsheviki, points out that the declaration of the Allies in regard to non-intervention is in contradiction to the facts in the case, since Allied armies have seized Murmansk, Archangel, Baku and a great part of Siberia.

Tchitcherin, the foreign minister in the Soviet government, has sent a wireless dispatch to Jean Longuet, leader of the radical French Socialists, asking him to investigate the proposal of the Supreme Council. We quote the following from this dispatch, which, incidentally throws considerable light on the present conditions in Russia and the influences which have brought about the conciliatory attitude of the Supreme Council:

> The fight conducted by the popular masses in Siberia is directed against the extreme reactionaries, and against the monarchists, and as long as these forces, aided by the Entente, dominate these regions, the people will continue to fight them. In those places where the power of the Soviet is established, there is complete tranquility, and civil war is non-existent. On the other hand, where foreign bayonets are supporting reactionary domination, civil war is inevitable. If the powers of the Entente desire peace, the only way would be to intervene in the internal struggle, and this is the only thing that we desire. Arbitration by a third power to stop the fighting is impossible while this fighting is conducted against monarchist reactions.
>
> The proposals of good offices to bring about arbitration is a strange thing, coming from the governments fighting against us and occupying certain portions of our territory. The military conditions are also unlikely—the proposition for the cessation of hostilities, which was never made when we were experimenting serious difficulties, is put forward when the reactionary force is now giving way, and the domination of Krasnoff is on the point of crumbling to pieces.
>
> His defeat is decided, now that the help formerly offered by the Germans, and then by the Entente powers, is beginning to fail. In Siberia, the revolt of the workmen and poor peasants is growing every day, and the position of the reactionary group was broken up from the moment the Czecho-Slovaks departed. The stipulations requiring the withdrawal of armed forces, directed against the territories whose autonomy would seem to be envisaged in the fourteen articles of President Wilson, seem to us not only vague, but apt to become a new source of conflict.
>
> Although in reality the Soviets and Ukrainians only propose to fight against the directoire with their own forces—the Soviet and Ukrainian armies—we know that the Directoire is spreading false news—such as that the Russian Soviet troops are invading Ukrainia.
>
> The stipulation in question would thus become a new arm directed against the fraternal Ukrainian Soviet government, and this remark might apply to certain other regions. All measures thus indicated in the wireless message from Paris are thus in complete contradiction to the objects indicated. We bid you to make known to us the reported decision of the powers, and if it is possible, for you to study the documents in detail. Let us know it is not not your impression that the Entente have in reality annexationist views in regard to Archangel, Siberia, Baku, Askhad, Rostoff on the Don—to all those regions where their support is at present rendering possible a continuation of reactionary domination, which the proposals inferred from the Paris wireless would seem to require to be made permanent.

* * * *

Secretary of Labor Wilson told the joint committee of the house and senate on labor that the philosophy of forcible revolution was gaining ground on the Pacific coast and that "We were able to meet this philosophy during the war, but if we find a condition where men are on part time or are being thrown out of employment, it will be difficult to persuade them that the advantage of the employer and laborer is mutual. Therefore, provide the men with an opportunity to work for at least five or six months from the signing of the armistice." That sounds very much as if the secretary was urging action because labor was aroused and showing its teeth and that employment is to be provided not because the workers are entitled to the opportunity to earn a living, but to keep them quiet. Mr. Wilson couldn't have demonstrated more clearly that the way for the workers to get something for themselves is by boldly organizing their power and threatening to take it.

* * * *

Herman Schlueter, veteran editor of the New York Volks-Zeitung, died last week. New York Socialists made his funeral an impressive demonstration of the high regard in which this man who had given his life to the workers' cause was held. The big hall of the labor temple in which the funeral ceremonies were held was decorated with the red banners of the scores of Socialist and labor organizations that sent delegations. Schlueter's internationalism was expressed by speeches in English by Algernon Lee and Charles Irwin; in German, by Ludwig Lore; Judge Jacob Panken spoke for the Jewish workers; B. Penyatchka, editor of Flore, for the Hungarian, and Sam Katayama, paid a glowing tribute to Schlueter in the name of those Japanese working men who have found the light of Socialism.

* * * *

Another action to the value of uncompromising action by the workers comes to us from Italy. It was at Milan, Italy, where the Socialists control, that President Wilson made his speech acknowledging the part that the workers have played in building up the spirit of internationalism. When this fact was called to the attention of one of the Socialist leaders there, he replied, "You say that is the most complimentary thing Wilson has said about labor during his European tour? Very well; it only proves the value of our uncompromising attitude. If the Socialists of France and England had been as frank in expressing themselves, Mr. Wilson would have known within a week after he landed that the workers of Europe are brothers, and determined to stand together in the fight for freedom."

* * * *

The way was being paved for intervention in Mexico by a resolution adopted by the senate last week. This resolution instructs the Secretary of State to take up wih Mextico for settlement and liquidation all claims by citizens of the United States for personal outrages and loss of property at the hands of outlaws and insurgents.

* * * *

Lenin is in Moscow carrying on his work as head of the Soviet government according to the latest reports. We thought Trotzky had thrown him in jail. Maybe the latter changed his mind about keeping him in jail and the kept press forgot to report the fact.

* * * *

It was extremely ungrateful and in bad taste for President Wilson's confreres in the Peace Conference to remind him about Santa Domingo and Haiti when the question of the treatment to be accorded backward nations by the great powers was up.

* * * *

The latest news in regard to the development of the labor party is that Hearst's New York American is madly pleading for support of that organization. Now it surely will be a success—but not for labor.

* * * *

When the unbiased historians of the future read the story of how the Soviet government was misrepresented and lied about they will be astonished that such a thing could have official sanction.

* * * *

The policemen of London have organized a union and are demanding recognition of their organization, better pay for men of all ranks and better pensions for the widows of police officers.

* * * *

Petrograd has been evacuated and tottering for the fall into the hands of the enemies of the Soviet government for two weeks now. But still it doesn't fall.

International Labor News

EDITORS: Louis P. Lochner, Scott Nearing, Santeri Nuorteva, Alexander Trachtenberg

Bloodless Revolution

Correspondents Describe Changes Taking Place in the Organization of British Industry.

London, England.—The introduction of the warshop committee into British industry is producing a more fundamental change than has occurred in England since King John signed the Magna Carta. The workshop committees are making no effort to disturb either the king or the parliament. Nevertheless they are setting up a new government, more powerful and more vital in many ways than either of these long established institutions.

The system of works committees, which is being established throughout the United Kingdom, as the basis for this new form of industrial organization. These works committees constitute a new government local, district, and national, always subject to the national parliament, but having wide authority in the direction of industrial processes.

The works committee is the local government. It is composed of equal representation from the workers and from the employers. These organizations, which have been so powerfully constituted outside of the regular agency of government are now made jointly responsible for the conduct of industrial affairs.

The jurisdiction of the works committee is limited only by the boundary of the works. Within the works, the committee is supreme. Questions affecting each establishment are settled by the committee. If the works committee is unable to agree, the district council decides. If district councils are unable to agree, the national industrial council acts.

The plan depends upon the existence of organization on both sides. It pre-supposes trade unions, just as it pre-supposes manufacturers' associations.

There is nothing compulsory about this method of economic organization. Neither the workers nor the employers are compelled to organize. Wherever organizations are formed, they are asked to function jointly through the works, district or national council.

The system of industrial organization which is being adopted in England has not yet found its way into all the [illegible]. It is still in the experimental stage. Where it has been tried out, however, it has resulted thus far in a more effective form of industrial co-operation than has ever before been attained in Great Britain. The new system is not industrial democracy, but it constitutes a long step in that direction.

Strikes in England

London, England.—The labor unrest in England is growing more menacing every day. The postal workers are demanding a 42-hour week, more holidays and the elimination of night work. The miners in various parts of Great Britain have entered their demand for an increase of 30 per cent. in wages and a 44-hour week. Already 20,000 North Nottinghamshire miners and twenty pits are idle, and 14,000 Rhonda men have stopped as a protest against the dismissals of miners engaged during the war. The ship builders on the Clyde are agitating for a 40-hour week and a daily wage of one pound. Some 20,000 of these workers have already gone on strike. They refuse to pay rent or income tax. South Wales ship repairing yards are standing idle. In Belfast 100,000 shipyard employes and electricians have ceased work. There are no trains or light in that city, and the bread supply is reduced to one-half. The engineers and ship builders of Lowestoft have gone on strike for the 44-hour week. At Edinburgh and Leith, the carpenters are demanding a 47-hour week and the iron moulders who recently got 47 hours are preparing to strike for 44 hours. In London, the dock workers are asking 44 hours for day workers and 41 hours for night workers. The bakers are threatening a national strike in protest against night work. The controversy over the establishment of the 47-hour week which has just been obtained by workers in the engineering works, threatens to involve at least 250,000 men. The employers interpreted the 47-hour week to mean 47 complete hours of labor. They therefore withdrew certain privileges that had been previously granted such as ten minutes for lunch and sufficient time to wash up before leaving the shop. The men resent this infringement on what they consider to be their rights, and are threatening a general tie-up, unless a speedy adjustment can be made.

New Bremen Dishonored by Uniformed Soldiers

Descendants of Huns Attempt to Imitate Their Ancestors by Violation of Civil Laws.

New Bremen, O., Jan. 24.—Eugene V. Debs was billed to speak here tonight. About 7 o'clock a bugle call was sounded and about thirty discharged soldiers assembled on the main street of the town.

Most of them had been brought from Minster, Ohio, a neighboring village. They formed in line and paraded up and down the street carrying banners, inscribed, "What is Debs?" "What is a Socialist?" etc.

The soldiers participating in the demonstration, the heroes (?) in khaki, who never saw a battlefield nor faced an armed foe, nor heard the shriek of shrapnel or the whine of the machine gun, except in a training camp, true to the traditions of their ancestors, permitted themselves to be herded and led by a Lieutenant Boesel, son of Julius Boesel, banker, and commanded in chief by a Dr. Dine of Minster, Ohio, to violate the laws of the State of Ohio while in the uniform of their country's army, and to show their undaunted courage by threatening unarmed men, women and children.

But most of those soldier boys were duped. The dirty, contemptible sneaks, the bankers and business men who dare not do their own dirty work either hired or otherwise induced those young boys to do it for them. Three-fourths of the boys showed by their looks that they did not enjoy the game. Their manhood rebelled at being asked to make criminals of themselves in behalf of others.

Remember those rowdies in uniform were supposed to be American citizen soldiers with American ideals of right and justice, but the actions of some of them indicated that they had inherited the Hun characteristics of their ancestors.

After the meeting had begun the rowdies in the uniform of the American army marched into the Opera House where the meeting was held and at once began their attempt to break up the meeting.

When they were asked if they were brought to the meeting and who brought them, our toe-kissing friend, Dr. Dine, jumped to his feet and yelled, "prove it." He was told that "Actions speak louder than words." One of the uniformed thugs cried, "mob him." The doctor was then exposed. He order his flunkeys to refrain. They obeyed. It was plain to all who was the chief engineer of the rowdies. After the meeting was concluded—which was after it was ascertained that Comrade Debs could not be present—the doctor reported to the bankers of New Bremen.

The most interesting feature of the whole affair was when an old veteran of the Civil War unmercifully flayed the young soldiers. He said to them, "This is an outrage, you've dishonered your town, you've disgraced the uniforms you wear. I fought four years for my country before you were born and I never disgraced the uniform I wore by violating the laws of my state. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves. You're a bunch of cowards to threaten unarmed people."

Later this old veteran, grizzled and gray, with some more of his comrades, dared the young hoodlums to fight and strange to say the uniformed dupes, who at the behest of the craven cowards who dared not publicly expose themselves, showed the white feather and beat a retreat. Here's to the Civil War veterans who are true to American ideals and are yet willing to fight to maintain a government for the EQUAL benefit of all the people.

The New Bremen meeting was a fair sample of what the capitalist class will do. They accuse the Socialists of lawlessness, and when they hire or induce others to become law breakers. The old law that "Force begets force" still remains. For every blow struck by the capitalist class they may expect a return when the workers once rise in their might without first being enlightened. The Socialists are endeavoring to enlighten the workers so the solution of their problems may be peaceable. Let the greedy and brutal capitalist class beware if they prevent enlightenment by suppressing free speech and free press and lawful assemblage by mob law. The Socialists can not hold the angry workers in control. They will probably return kind for kind; and then who will squawk?

Demand New Trial

Continued From Page One.

of the above entitled cause; that he resides at 4858 N. Monticello Ave., Chicago; that he is acquainted with Joseph Buckner, bailiff or deputy marshal of said United States Court and that he knows a W. H. Streeter, who is also a bailiff or deputy marshal and that said Buckner and Streeter, together with Mr. William Barber, had charge of the jury during the trial of said cause.

This affiant further says that on December 19, 1918, while Mr. Kennedy and I were talking in my room Mr. Ballou came in and said:

"Germer is the ——— liar I ever heard and he told nothing but ——— lies on the stand."

I asked him to tell one lie Germer told, whereupon he said he had nothing further to say on the matter, and didn't. This was after dinner in the evening.

On December 21st at the table in the Great Northern Restaurant, the jury were seated and located as follows:

J. T. Buckner
O
Bartholomew O O Hendee
Carlson O O Light
Sheldon O O Joyce
Wakem O O Ballou
Hartford O O Streeter (Bailiff)
Nixon O O Kennedy
Staunton O
O
Wm. Barber.

Mr. Streeter at the table struck it with his right fist to emphasize his remarks which were as follows:

"Every ——— one of those fellows is guilty and if I had my way I would hang every one of them."

On January 3, 1919, Mr. Streeter remarked at the noon meal at the Great Northern that:

"Berger is a ——— lying Dutchman and ought to be in hell."

He also made similar remarks at the table in the evening at the Palmer House. This was our first meal there. Before going over to the Palmer House, in our room the same evening, just before retiring, Mr. Streeter said:

"I wish that ——— lying Dutchman, Berger, would get through with his lies."

On January 5, 1919, which was Sunday, about 8 o'clock p. m., in Mr. Wakem and Mr. Kennedy's room at the Hotel Majestic, at which time Mr. Ballou, Mr. Light and Mr. Bartholomew and I were also present, Mr. Staunton said:

"I am very much opposed to Socialists in every way and make them out dirty liars and claim them guilty."

He said he had talked with his son on New Year's Day about the case. Afterward he contradicted this statement and said that he:

"Long ago talked of having no use for Socialists at any rate."

On January 7, 1919, in the morning immediately after dressing, Mr. Streeter said:

"I wonder where I can buy a copy of the Life of Benedict Arnold?" I answered, "I think at McClurg's." He said:

"Arnold was the ——— ——— of a traitor this world ever knew and those ——— are just like him."

It was generally reported that Mr. Hendee had lost money in playing cards with Buchner and had given Buckner his check for $10. Mr. Wakem, Mr. Joyce and Mr. Sheldon were in games and the report was among the jurors that Mr. Buckner had gotten the greater part of the $30 lost by Joyce and $20 by Wakem.

During the deliberations of the jurors I asked Mr. Buckner for a copy of the Judge's instructions to the jury; there, Mr. Buckner said, the Judge would not give them. Mr. Buckner was asked for a copy of the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, and replied these were not to be had. He was asked for a copy of the indictment which was given then to the jury. We did not see a copy of the Espionage Act.

This affiant further says that he is ready to appear in open court and testify to the statements herein made.

(Signed) THOMAS C. NIXON.
Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of January, 1919.
(Signed) MAX MALEFF,
Notary Public.

(Seal)

Socialists Oppose Labor Party

Continued From Page One.

country to strengthen the Socialist Party and it is to the interest of the capitalists to weaken it. The organization of a labor party means the splitting of the forces of the workers, for the Socialist Party, with a clear vision of the road that must be traveled to achieve working class emancipation, will refuse to yield its place to a labor party with a program that will only serve to mislead the workers. Will the workers unify their forces by giving their united support to the Socialist Party or split them by following the devious path the new organization proposes?

The Socialist Party has urged the workers to take independent political action when the present leaders of the labor party [illegible] support the parties of their oppressors — the Republican and Democratic party. It has always been in the lead in the fight for the workers' cause. It will continue in its position of uncompromising opposition to the capitalist system until this system is overthrown.

Events in Europe are proving that Socialism inevitably succeeds capitalism. There is no other road to freedom. Why should we falter and follow the paths that experience of the workers of Europe and Australia has proven leads nowhere?

Not a labor party but mass support of the Socialist Party and class conscious political action against the capitalists is the way to emancipation and security for the workers. [illegible]

Debs Ovation

Continued From Page One.

viki movement is from those with gold. They tell of the bad, forget the good.

Mr. Debs continued: "You can get rich by capitalism but not by honest work. The hour is striking for a new reorganization of the world's forces. The time is here when man is to possess his own tools and get what he earns. The day of the master and slave is passing. Anything collectively used should be collectively owned. Why should one man own what 10,000 men need? All parties, except Socialists, stand for the exploitation of the working classes. The word exploitation is a parlor term for robbery. We believe in the supremacy of the working classes. We believe in the producing for use and when we realize this we will end all wars."

"Those who were our bitterest opponents two years ago are today Socialists. They have seen the light and our following is gaining in leaps and bounds. The day of real humanity is dawning. The brotherhood of man is near, the passing of the parasitical class is close. This is our next step in civilization for humanity."—Youngstown Vindicator.

Debs' meeting on the same day at Warren was equally enthusiastic in the greeting extended him by the audience. Although every effort was made to deny Warren Socialists the hall, and even though the Warren "city fathers" felt it their duty to pass an emergency ordinance against the [illegible]

Inheritance tax—A tax the wage slaves' children are never called upon to pay.

Prosperity—A legalized form of robbery.

Preacher—Either an ignorant piffle-talker or a crook who promises his congregation pie in the sky when they die, knowing that for this he may eat pie at the tables of the master class here and now.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia and New Mexico.

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SEATTLE STRIKERS FRIGHTEN CAPITALIST CLASS

See in Uprising in Northwest First Blow of Industrial Workers Seeking to Destroy Profit System

The general strike of thirty thousand Seattle workers in support of a like number of workers employed in the ship yards of that city has shaken the centers of capitalism from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

For the first time in the history of this country federal troops face striking workers within a few days after the beginning of the industrial struggle and capitalist newspapers from coast to coast are loudly shouting that "the time to hit Bolshevism in this country is when Bolshevism first rears its head.

A few short months ago the 30,000 ship builders at Seattle were being appealed to daily to work with all their strength and energy to support American soldiers in France and turn out ships faster in order to send more troops to win the war. They were told that they were as much on the firing line as the soldiers in the army. Today these workers find that the rulers of this country have sent the very soldiers whom they were urged so strenuously to back up, to back up their employers in a refusal to grant them higher wages, and the soldiers stand opposite them with fixed bayonets.

What is there about this strike that has frightened the capitalist class to such an extent that it has prepared for the immediate use of force to suppress it?

The unions involved are all part of the American Federation of labor. It is not an I.W.W. strike, but a strike by a part of Mr. Gompers' organization. Mr. Gompers, who has the unanimous support of the capitalist press in keeping the workers in leading-strings for the class this press serves and whose organization has won high praise because of its patriotic attitude during the war.

Yet these unions of the A. F. of L. are threatened by the fixed bayonets of the government that Mr. Gompers has served so loyally that one is almost tempted to say that he is part of it. What have they done to have directed against them the full force of malignant denunciation of the capitalist press of the country?

The general strike originated in the demand of the shipyard workers for an increase in wages. Last fall the government handed down the so-called Macey award. This award did not fulfill the demands of the shipyard workers for better wages, in fact, it was charged at the time that some of them were left worse off than before the award was made.

There were threats of a strike in the Pacific Coast shipyards as a result of this award even before the signing of the armistice. The workers were discontented and dissatisfied. They found that in spite of the signing of the armistice the cost of living did not come down, but went still higher, and that with the end of the emergency the bosses were assuming a more arbitrary and autocratic attitude toward them.

This situation finally culminated in a strike of the shipyard workers, which began on Jan. 21.

Up to this point there was not difference between the struggle in Seattle and hundreds of other strikes.

But the workers of Seattle have advanced farther in establishing the solidarity of the workers as a whole than elsewhere. Seattle is a hundred per cent. union town. The workers in practically every kind of work are organized. They publish their own daily paper, the Seattle Union-Record.

A referendum was taken on the question of backing up the ship builders through a general strike, which was carried almost unanimously, and thirty thousand miscellaneous workers joined the shipyard workers in an effort to force the employers to grant the demand of the latter.

Although this was a splendid demonstration of solidarity, even thus far the strike did not contain any features to arouse the universal alarm of the capitalist class. But the strikers took a step further.

They and their families composed the great majority of the population of Seattle. Why, they argued, should they, the great majority, suffer the hardships resulting from a general stoppage of work, because a small group of profiteers refused to grant a measure of industrial justice to part of their organization?. In answering that question they took a step never before taken in a strike in this country. They re-opened some of the industries of Seattle under the direction of the organized workers and threatened if the strike continued to extend this action and to gradually re-open the industries of that city in order to take care of the needs of the people.

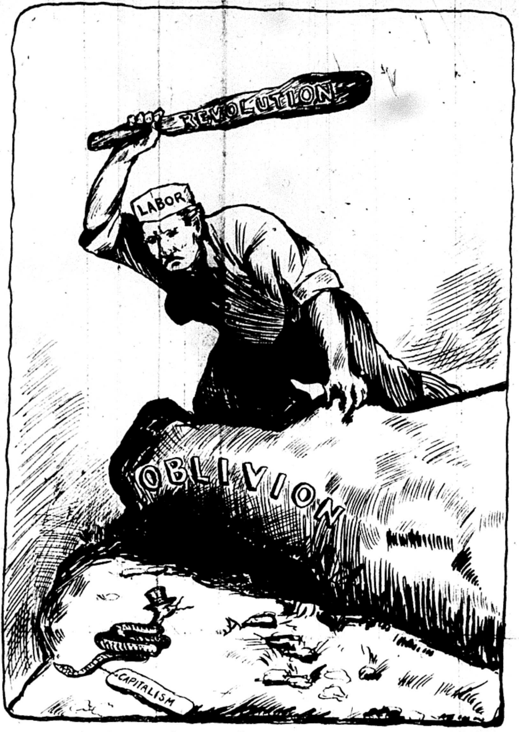
This is a phase of the Seattle strike that has inspired fear in the hearts of the American capitalist class. The capitalist press is right, the Seattle workers have learned the lesson of Bolshevism. They are challenging the conception of industry which makes it a profit-taking machine for the benefit of a few capitalists and setting over against this the new idea that industry exists to supply the needs of the people and that in order to attain this end the workers should, if need be, simply ignore the rights and titles of the capitalists who for generations have been sucking their very life-blood, and take charge of industry, themselves.

The capitalist class may put down by force this first manifestation in action of the new doctrine of the workers. It will not help them much. The new idea is in the air—Bolshevism, to use the pet phrase which the capitalists use to frighten little children—is sweeping the world. The victorious Russian workers are inspiring the workers the world over to try to attain their own freedom. Germany is on the road; England is shaking under the impact of the demand for industrial democracy; in Seattle we have the first great manifestation that the workers of the United States are not to be left behind.

The capitalists may well tremble.

The workers of the world are preparing to smash the shell which must be broken before the industrial republic of the workers comes into the world.

Seattle is the first blow.



Get in before I —

—Without Apology to the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Spartacans Make Appeal For International Solidarity of Working Class

Early in January the Spartacus group of German Socialists held a conference in Berlin, attended by from eighty to one hundred delegates from all parts of Germany. This conference adopted a manifesto, which has just reached this country, in which the position of the Spartacus in regard to the situation in Germany and international affairs is clearly presented.

The conference was attended by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, who are the signers of the manifesto, which reads as follows:

The International appeal is as follows:

"To the workers of all countries!

"Proletarians! Men and women of labor! Comrades!

"The revolution has entered Germany. The masses of soldiers who for four years have been driven to the shambles for the sake of capitalist profits, the mass of workers who during four years were exploited, crushed and starved, have arisen. The horrible tool of oppression, Prussian militarism, lies broken upon the ground. Its most notable representatives, and hence the most notable instigators of this war, the kaiser and the crown prince, have fled to foreign parts. Everywhere Workers' and Soldiers' Councils formed.

Speak for German Labor.

"Proletarians of all countries, we do not say that in Germany all power has actually come into the hands of the working people, that full victory has already been achieved. Those Socialists who in August, 1914, surrendered our most precious heritage, the International, who during four years betrayed the German working class, as well as the International, are still in the government.

"But, proletarians of all countries, now the German proletarian himself speaks to you. We believe ourselves justified to come to your forum in his name. We have striven, from the first day of this war, to fulfill our International duties by opposing that criminal government with all our might and branding those really guilty of this war.

"Now, at this hour, we are justified before history, before the International and before the German proletariat. The masses enthusiastically lend us their approval. Ever larger portions of the working class share the consciousness that the hour of reckoning for the rule of the capitalist class has struck.

"However, this great deed cannot be accomplished by the German proletariat alone. It can but fight and win by calling upon the solidarity of the proletarians of all countries.

"Comrades of the warring nations, we appreciate your position.

"Well we know that your governments, now that they have achieved victory, can blind many people by their outward brilliance. We know that the success of the murder will enable them to obliterate the memory of its causes and aims.

Workers Bore Brunt of War.

"But we also know something else. We know that in your countries, too, the proletariat bore the most frightful sacrifices in flesh and blood, that it is tired of the horrible slaughter; that the worker, now returning, finds want and destitution at home, while wealth counted by billions accumulated in the hands of a few capitalists. He has learned and will continue to learn that your governments, too, have made this war for the sake of the big moneybags. And, furthermore, he will learn that your government, when it referred to 'justice and civilization,' 'protection of small nations,' meant capitalist profits just as much as ours, when it talked of 'the defense of the fatherland;' that the peace of 'justice' and of the 'League of Nations' means the identical base robbery, as the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Here as there, the same shameless voraciousness, the same will to oppression, the same intent to use the brute super-force of the instrument of murder to the limit.

"The imperialism of all countries knows no 'negotiation.' It knows only one right, the profits of capital. It knows only one means, force. And if it speaks now in all countries, in yours as well as in ours, of the 'League of Nations,' 'disarmament,'

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Judge Landis Takes Motion for New Trial for Socialists Under Advisement

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago.—"Nixon told the God's truth!" exclaimed Attorney Henry Cochems, one of counsel for the five Socialists here in launching his attack on the jury scandal on which the Socialists are basing their hopes for a new trial.

Frequent clashes between counsel for the Socialists and the government attorneys featured an all-day court battle over the shady methods that were used by the prosecution to secure the conviction of Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker and William F. Kruse.

Judge Landis allowed the court session to continue on into the evening with Attorney Cochems heaping fact upon fact to show that Nixon could have told nothing but the truth. Finally Landis adjourned court until Tuesday morning.

Thomas C. Nixon, an inventor, one of the Socialist trial jurors, charged that Deputy Marshal William H. Streeter, one of three court bailiffs in charge of the jury, had repeatedly attacked the Socialists on trial in the presence of the jurors while the trial was going on.

On one occasion he had claimed that the defendants were all guilty and aught to hang. On another occasion he had referred to Berger as a "Damn lying Dutchman," and again he had stated that he wished, while Germer was on the stand, that Germen would get through with his "damn lies."

Cochems pointed out that one of the reasons the other eleven jurors would not come forward and corroborate Nixon's charges in full was the fact that someone in Milwaukee, had sent everyone of the jurors, by special delivery letter, a copy of the Milwaukee Leader containing an editorial in which the jurors were referred to in not very complimentary terms. But Cochems pointed out that sufficient corroboration had been secured from Jurors Light, Ballou and Wakem to support Nixon's charges.

Cochems charged that the government lawyers had sought to intimidate Nixon, that they had urged him to get a lawyer, which he did, and that his own lawyer had only served to frighten him half to death.

"The prosecution joined Nixon's lawyer in the effort to keep Nixon from telling the truth," charged Cochems. "But Nixon came through with the truth just the same."

Prosecuting Attorney Clyne grew especially wrathy when Cochems attacked the coercion and intimidation of witnesses as practiced by the government lawyers during the trial. Cochems referred to this as "gross prejudicial error" and as "prejudicial conduct." Clyne tried to stem the rush of Cochems argument by claiming he was not following the record, which brought a retort from Cochems that:

"If you ate all the things your memory has slipped up on, you would be the most swelled up man in seventeen states."

At this Clyne subsided for a while as Cochems viewed a host of unsubstantiated matter injected into the trial by the prosecution like the repeated question put to Berger as to whether The Milwaukee Leader had ever received any money from the agents in this country of the German imperial government. No one bit of evidence was offered by the government to show that any Socialist publication or organization ever received a cent of the late kaiser's cash, yet the prosecution repeatedly pantomined this question before the jury until it must have believed it to be a fact. Cochems claimed that the conduct of the prosecution called for a rebuke from the court.

"The prosecution was a strained prosecution," said Cochems. "The

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Paterson Strikers Adopt Soviet Form of Organization

By FREDERICK M. KERBY.

Something entirely new in American labor and industry has appeared in Paterson, where 28,000 silk mill workers are on strike.

It is a system of "shop delegates," much like the shop steward plan now in effect among radical English workmen.

Both the silkmill owners and the old-line labor leaders are alarmed.

The majority of strikers are said to have repudiated the American Federation of Labor. They demand a 44-hour week. Federation leaders had agreed to compromise on a 47-hour week.

2 Delegates From Each Shop Meet.

The workers in each mill have met and elected two shop delegates. These delegates meet as a central committee.

"We call it the eight-hour workday conference," said H. J. Rubenstein, member of the committee, in the wings of the stage at 90 Market St., where the shop delegates were in session.

"The A. F. L. men call us I. W. W.'s but our organization contains members of Silkmakers' Union, No. 25, of the Workers' International Industrial Union; the Textile Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W.; Socialist Party; Socialist-Labor Party; Workmen's Circle, Sons of Italy; Jewish National Workers' Alliance, Paola Zion, an Independent Workmen's Circle, and Jewish Socialist-Labor Federation.

"And now local 980 of the United Textile Workers of America, which is in the A. F. L., has broken away from the federation and joined us.

"The vast majority of the strikers are not in any unions.

"We have one demand only—the 44-hour week. Up to two days before the date set for the strike, the A. F. L. also demanded the 44-hour week; its membership in their locals voted for it. But their officials announced a compromise on 47 hours.

"When we were all locked out, the workers in each mill met and selected two shop delegates, who came together in this central conference."

For two hours I listened to the new conference in action. There were no "leaders"—every man and woman had been at work two days before. The chairman had never presided at a meeting before. A dozen nationalities were represented.

Of the eight officers on the platform, two are I. W. W.'s one belongs to the Workers' International Union, two are Socialist Party members. They have sunk their differences for the moment to get one thing—the 44-hour week. Nineteen mills had capitulated on the second day of the strike and granted the demand.

Louis Magnet, leader of the Paterson branch of the United Textile Workers, the A. F. L. organization, told me the real purpose of the eight-hour workday conference is to disrupt the A. F. L. organization.

A. F. L. Leader Blames the I. W. W.

"It is backed by the I. W. W." he said. "We have 10 locals here with a membership of 8,500. Our locals did vote for the 44-hour week, but at a meeting of our textile council, composed of five delegates from each local, we voted last Friday night to accept the 47-hour week instead. We felt public sentiment might not support the more extreme demand."

Albert Wyman, secretary of the employers' association, said the employers are ready to submit the entire question to the war labor board without reservation.

Police Chief John Tracey has made provision for possible disorder, but, in striking contrasts to the bloody riots of 1913, perfect order prevails.

The Chamber of Commerce has appointed a conciliation committee, headed by James T. Jordan, which is endeavoring to bring employers and strikers together.

Life of Man Who Exposed Mooney Frame-up in Danger

By ROBERT E. BLACKSTONE.

"A man has no chance in San Francisco if they start to get him. They can jostle a man off the street, kill him and have a dozen witnesses testify he pulled a gun and started the fight. It is worse than New York. I have been in nearly every city of importance in the United States and San Francisco is worse than any of them." so said J. B. Densmore, when he was told that they wanted him to return to San Francisco to testify against the gangsters that are maladminister ing "justice" in the Golden Gate City.

Who is this man Densmore that he speaks in such terms of public officials? Is he a nut? A Bolshevist (as [illegible] "[illegible]" would have us believe?) Maybe he is "Pro-German?" (Whatever that means?) Probably he is a "rabid" Socialist? That talks overtime about such foolish things as "democracy;" the work of the Soviets, the German Republic; the brotherhood of man—and—and similar "rot!"

No. Densmore is not any of the above!

He is a personal friend of President Wilson's.

The president appointed him to organize the United States Employment Service. In three months he had, owing to his genius for organization, a most efficient service, consisting of some of the most expert employment men in the world, with thirteen regional directors in the field and a network of more than 900 branch offices throughout the U. S.

Being a man of ability Secretary of Labor Wilson selected him to investigate the "Mooney case." He did.

And now his life is in danger. Any day he may be shot, stabbed, "framed-up," run over by an automobile, poisoned, found dead in bed or tarred and feathered and rode out of town on a rail.

Just think would not that be a strange thing? To read in the newspapers how a government man had been "man-handled" by the "Knights" of Liberty, or "The Apes," or some kindred organization that is trying by every foul means possible to prove this is a government "of the people, by the people and for the people." In other words a ligitimate government investigator being "beat up" and run out of town by a self-appointed, gun-toting crew of curs that could not "catch a limberger in a cheese factory."

Such is the unenviable position of Mr. Densmore.

And what has he done? Told the truth. Now what has happened to people who have told the truth in or about California?

Francis J. Heney, was shot in open court, while prosecuting Ruef, former boodling District Attorney of San Francisco; "Big Jim" Gallagher's house was dynamited; Hasse, the man who tried to kill Heney, was murdered in his cell; J. Edward Morgan, Mooney publicity agent, was beaten up by a mob and carried away into the mountains by automobile; Fickert, the man who Densmore's dictaphone reports exposes, beat-up Schulberg, and later Fremont Older, editor of the "Post-Call."

Since the bomb defendants were arrested there is not a man or woman, friendly to the defense, who has not been brow beaten, threatened, clubbed, bulldozed, insulted—(this is Fickert's long suite)— getting the wives of

(Continued on Page Three)

Socialist Party Shows Big Growth

Chicago.—All war records for increase in the Socialist Party membership were broken when the figures for January were totaled, showing that 109,586 persons had paid their dues in the party for the first month of the year. This is the best membership record since April, 1914, before the war started, when the membership figures showed 110,782 stamps sold.

Revolutions

R's revolution is complete and overwhelming and is denounced by the newspapers. G's revolution is condemned as incomplete and therefore insincere.—How may a revolution keep on good terms with the [illegible]?

Nearing on Trail

New York.—The trial of Professor Scott Nearing in the federal court here is under way. Professor Nearing and the American Socialist Society, which controls the Rand School of Social Science, were jointly indicted for writing and printing "The Great Madness" a pamphlet in which Nearing presented his views of the origin of the war and the forces which brought about the entry of this country.

Nearing is represented by Seymour Stedman, chief counsel, and S. John Block, I. M. Sackin and Walter J. Welles. The trial is before Federal Judge Julius M. Mayer.

At the close of last week the [illegible] had only progressed to the [illegible]

A VOICE OUT OF RUSSIA

From The Dial.

Continued From Last Week.

But I have anticipated. Before speaking of the present, let us return to the provisional governments and see how they solved the third fundamental problem; that is, the reorganization of the economic life of the country. The question can be answered in a few words: "They did not solve." Lacking economic experience and not venturing, for fear of the Allies, to decrease war production or the number of soldiers at the front, the provisional governments enacted nothing new. And conditions were growing worse; occupied with the "deepening of the Revolution," the workmen hardly worked. The productivity of shops and factories decreased manyfold. General economic disintegration constantly increased. The villages had no goods, and the cities and army had no bread. A real famine ensued and this was followed as usual by robberies and violence. They reached their height in August-September of 1917—about two months before the Bolshevik Revolution took place. The provisional government even at that time had no authority or power. The prestige of any power is always best measured by the forces that rally around it for its defense. And the provisional government for its defense could only rally Junkers, a few Cossacks, and the Women's Battalion of Death. And it can hardly be said that the Bolshevik offensive was an unexpected blow to the provisional government. Just the reverse; the Bolsheviki widely advertised it two weeks in advance, so that the provisional government had sufficient foreknowledge. It is therefore evident that it was in possession of defensive forces and that the popularity of the provisional government was not greater than that of the czar's.

One way or another, fourteen months ago the power was transferred definitely and finally to the Soviets, with the Bolsheviki as the dominating political power. And thus came their turn to decide the vital questions of war, state, and economic organization. The question of the war they decided to solve immediately. They disclosed the secret treaties showing imperialistic war aims of the Entente, at the same time offering the Allies a general democratic peace. The latter did not even answer! And this fact is of utmost importance, because it arouses serious doubt as to who was betrayed by whom—whether we have betrayed the Allies, or the Allies have betrayed us. Not having received any answer, the Soviet government started pourparlers for a separate peace. It could not possibly have acted differently. It was impossible to wage war further; the army had run away, the railroads had come to a standstill. Nevertheless, when the predatory tendencies of the kaiser became evident, the Soviet government delayed the ratification of the peace treaty and entered into negotiations with the Allies, promising to re-establish the Russian front if the Allies would come to their aid. The Allies did not accept this proposal, the sincerity of which can hardly be doubted. Lenin was obliged to present the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty for ratification to the Congress of Soviets. At that moment, as far as I am concerned, the question as to who betrayed whom was finally understood and decided. Upon presenting the peace treaty for ratification of the congress, Lenin did not deny it was humiliating. But at the same time he insisted that this humiliation was temporary, that the German revolution was not far away. Many did not believe it at that time, but now the German revolution is an accomplished fact.

As far as state organization was concerned, the Soviet government decided that at that time the question could be postponed. Russia was in the throes of a social revolution and in the midst of a struggle with internal and external enemies of the new order. Russia is being built by the plain people, by the peasants—slowly, firmly, and without any definite plan. To foretell into what forms this rebuilding will finally shape is utterly impossible. It can, however, be definitely said that the present rebuilding of Russia is not the last word of the Russian revolution. The word "Soviet" will probably remain with us forever. The Russian people grew fond of it. It was also adopted in Germany, but the meaning attached to this word will be perfected in the future. However, it must be kept in mind that the controversy which split Russian society into two uncompromising camps does not pertain to its meaning. This controversy does not formally touch upon the ideology of the future, but solely concerns the tactics of the present. The adherents of one camp say that it is first necessary to shape Russia into a definite political form, to establish a permanent government and to let it decide social problems slowly; that it is beyond the strength of the Russian people to accomplish a social and political revolution at the same time; that it is necessary to be satisfied for the present with the political revolution alone, and to bring about the social reforms through evolution. More than that, representatives of this camp insist that our people are young and "dark;" that the time has not arrived for them to decide their own destiny; that the people do not know what they need, but that they, the representatives of the radicals and the Socialist Intelligentsia, do know. Therefore they are the ones to govern the "dark" people, to educate the people, to prepare the people for self-government.

The representatives of the opposition camp, on the other hand, insist that their experiences with the first two provisional governments and especially with the third—the Omsk government, which is now dormant in the pocket of Kolchak—is sufficient warning not to repeat mistakes. Their deep conviction is that the Russian people are interested most of all in social reforms and demand these reforms immediately by revolutionary means. Yes, the Russian people are "dark" and uncultured, but they possess a natural common sense. They will acquire their knowledge in the process of reconstruction. Without the Intelligentsia they cannot possibly get along, but they want to select from the latter those who are willing to serve them, and not those who want to govern them against their will. The "darkness" of the Russian masses naturally obstructs the tempo of the Russian revolution. I repeat, Russia is being rebuilt by the peasants—slowly, firmly, and without any definite plan. In this process of rebuilding much has to be broken down. It is also true that it is beyond the power of the Russian people to accomplish both political and social reconstruction. Now the Russian people are busy with the construction of a new social order, and when this shall have been crystallized into definite form, they can begin the political construction of Russia. It can be foretold already that for the new social conditions new political forms will be required. It may also be predicted that neither the French nor the American clothes will fit the free Russian peasant; it will be necessary to sew special Russian clothes of new cuts. And such work requires time and care; "Measure the cloth seven times and cut it once," says an old Russian proverb. And history confirms it. Of all the constitutions that were ever written on our planet, the most flexible one has proved to be the Constitution of the United States. Written in 1787, with seventeen amendments, it is alive today. But it must not be forgotten that it was written in 1787, eleven years after the Declaration of Independence. Why then ask of Russia that she write her political constitution in definite form only one year after the revolution, a revolution deeper than that of 1776? It may be retorted that social reforms require just as much care; that they also cannot be decided in haste. I perfectly agree with this, but I also understand that the Russian people do not care to wait any longer and do not trust the "masters." No words are strong enough to convince me to the contrary. To back one's arguments with Japanese bayonets and English machine guns is just as criminal, in my opinion, as to assassinate one's own mother. And all the outcries of the interventionists—that this is a "democratic" way of helping Russia—are mere hypocrisy.

When one and one-half years ago the monarchy was overthrown in Russia, I, as well as many others, believed that Russia could not cope with the political revolution, war, and the social revolution at the same time. It was true. We were thrown out of the war, and for this we had to pay with the Brest-Litovsk treaty. But we are confronted with an accomplished fact and we are powerless to turn back the wheel of events. We have lost the war, yet in social progress we have taken tremendous steps ahead. And now the question is—What are we to do? Insist that the social revolution is untimely? Shall we, together with the reactionaries and czarists, liquidate all the gains of the revolution and assist the French and English in dividing Russia among themselves? Or shall we, with our opponents from the left, defend Russia and the revolution from her internal and foreign enemies? As far as I am concerned, there can be no question, and that is why, while remaining a Moderate Socialist, I sincerely and conscientiously believe that I must serve Russia under the Soviet banner.

There is still another point to be considered. We may not fully agree with the Soviet government; we may doubt the possibility of realizing some of its ideals, but we can hardly deny the fact that it is consistent and clear in its demands. The opponents of the Soviet government have no platform whatsoever and they cannot have any. They represent the most picturesque conglomerate; side by side with old revolutionists we see former officials of the czar's police; side by side with noble dreamers we see the faces of criminals; side by side with monarchists we see anarchists—all of them are united in their mad desire to overthrow the Soviet government; and the old English diplomats, who are operating behind their backs, have finally realized that such a union is not stable and that it must be replaced by a whip.

And so the Siberian khedive Kolchak has appeared on the horizon. He began his political career with the arrest of the members of the Constituent Assembly, with the reopening of the vodka factories, and with the reintroduction of the czar's rules against Jews. So the question is as follows: Kolchak, or the Soviets?—The dictatorship of the working people, or the dictatorship of an insignificant group of adventurers, behind the backs of whom there are foreigners? The people, or generals? The decision is clear.

The Soviet government has found it difficult to bring the economic life of Russia back to normal. The peasants have received the land, but remain without agricultural implements, nails and textile goods. The workmen have obtained control over production, but remain without bread and without coal. Production itself has slowed down. The most important factor in this situation is the isolation of Russia. She is practically excluded from the world exchange. She is now like a besieged fortress, a fortress which the enemy wants to take, if not by force of arms then by hunger. By what right? For what? It is said that we have committed two sins. First, we do not want to pay the debt to France. Yes, in principle we do not consider ourselves responsible for the czar's loans, because part of them were expended for the oppression of the Russian people. But practically we do not refuse to discuss this matter—this is quite clear from the note of Tchitcherin of October 26. Second, it is being said that we have betrayed the Allies. In my opinion the Allies have betrayed us and are now dividing among themselves the booty which was promised to us. But we do not protest against this. Proclaiming a peace without annexations and contributions, Russia has renounced her participation in the division of any booty. But having sacrificed for the Allies 7,000,000 of her sons, she is justified in demanding that she be left alone. But let us assume for a second that we are guilty of breaking a treaty; then what about Italy who broke the treaty with the Central Powers? She is being complimented on it!

But we also have a third sin, of which people do not speak aloud: We are weak, but our land is rich—why not make use of it? I understand this perfectly well. Together with England we partitioned Persia and only a short while ago we dreamed of the partition of Austria and Turkey. And now we are being partitioned! I understand it all. I understand the English and French very well, but I cannot understand the Americans at all. We owe you very little; we have no treaties with you and never had any, and in the division of Russia you do not intend to participate. Why then do you keep your soldiers in Russia? The interests of the United States do not conflict with the interests of Russia. More than that, no other country is more interested in the realization of the ideals of the freedom of the seas and the League of Nations, which your president is faithfully upholding in Europe, than Russia. All our seas are not free. Our government is most of all international. Moreover the interests of exchange between Russia and America at present should be mutual. During the war the United States had tremendously developed her production, and she needs foreign markets. Russia could be one. She needs goods. She cannot of herself increase production and stimulate industry. Yet we have plenty to pay with; our natural resources are enormous. The question of how to utilize these resources in order to pay for your goods may be decided upon by mutual understanding and discussion either in Washington or in Moscow, but surely this cannot be decided by mutual destruction in the swamps of Archangel. The Soviet government has attempted many a time to begin such discussions.

This argument is usually disposed of by referring to the Bolshevik danger. First of all, the responsibility of power has compelled the Bolsheviki to become more moderate. Second, the Soviets and the Bolsheviki are not one and the same. The Bolsheviki at the present time dominate the Soviets—to a great extent because of the policy of the Allies. Yet, fearing Bolshevism, you are cultivating it. More than that, by your actions you justify its ideology. As far as the philosophic side of the question is concerned, we differ from the Bolsheviki in the matter of natural impulses. The Bolsheviki say that such impulses are only class interests. We, realizing that class interests are the most important interests of mankind, nevertheless believe that mankind has other interests: Religious, moral, national and esthetic. At present this point of view is being subjected to a difficult trial. There is some ground for your accusation that the Bolsheviki are serving the interests of one class only. But what about those who attempted to tighten a steel lasso around the neck of Russia, those who forget that she came to this condition fighting with the Allies and for the Allies—whom are those interventionists serving? The class interests of the propertied class or the ideal of justice? Is it really possible that these ideals are only a myth?

GEORGE V. LOMONOSSOFF.

Class Power

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

Do not allow any of the retainers of the capitalists to fool any of you workers with their silly twaddle about "arraying class against class." That game, to use a bit of slang, is "played out." The classes have been arrayed against each other, lo, these many years, and the capitalists have always been at the top and the workers at the bottom.

If it is wrong for the capitalists and workers to be arrayed against each other **then the capitalists must condemn their own system and not attempt to blame the workers for it.**

Work is done with tools and these tools today consist of mastodon machines. These machines which do the work in modern industry are owned by the capitalists while they are used by the workers and here is where the workers and the capitalists are face to face in the class struggle, and "class is arrayed against class." The capitalists want the big end in the way of profits and the workers want more wages and this is why these two classes are at war with each other and "class is arrayed against class."

Socialists are opposed to this state of affairs. They believe **that capitalism and capitalists have had their day and that they are no longer needed in this day of concentrated and cooperative industry. The workers constitute an overwhelming majority and they are in a class by themselves. They have made all the machinery, they do all the work, and they produce all the wealth, and now they propose to take over to themselves the productive machinery, dispense with the capitalists, and produce wealth for their own consumption and enjoyment.**

To inaugurate this change the workers will have to develop and apply their class power. This means that they must unite in one and the same industrial organization and fight the everyday battles of the workers and at the same time organize in one and the same party and vote together at every election day.

The class power of the workers, economic and political, when fully developed and intelligently applied, will set them free and make them the rulers of the earth.

If you believe in this program step into the Socialist line and stand up with your class in the struggle to abolish capitalism and emancipate the working class.

Russia to the Allies

You that allowed the crumbling Czardom room,
Year after year that saw exiles tread
By tens of thousands to their living tomb
In the Siberian waste, and no word said,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

You that beheld my surging crowds lack food,
My peasants' dream of liberty turn gall
And wormwood of another servitude,
Yet sat not in the judgement seat at all,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

You have seen the blood upon the snow
Of student and of worker, that have seen
Pogrom, espial, fraud and Cossack-blow
With never a demand to intervene,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

You that afar off watched the abysmal fire
Of Revolution roll on ended night
Deep after deep the people's dumb desire,
And veiled your eyes from fierceness of the light,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

I cast the sword away. The torch outshone;
I lifted it against my enemy,
With the authoritative dead alone
I stood the hour that you abandoned me.
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

Evangels of "Democracy," that fly
To me, the reaper of man's tragic good,
Your driven cities left to judge you by
And all the past you bore with fortitude,
What mighty need has brought your armies now?

—Viola C. White in The World Tomorrow.

AFTER THE WAR—WHAT?

By C. E. Ruthenberg

IX.—The End of War

One of the strongest arguments used to secure support of the war by the masses in this country was that it was "a war to end war."

In deciding upon our program of reconstruction it is of paramount importance that we know whether the principles we adopt will lead to realization of the ideal of a society in which there will be no more war.

At the present time an effort is being made to reach this goal through the organization of a League of Nations. This is the means through which the supporters of the present industrial order hope to make war impossible in the future.

The structure of the League of Nations is just emerging from the council of statesmen representing the Allied nations and the United States, but the lines on which the super-national organization is to be built are clear enough to warrant a conclusion in regard to whether it will prove a barrier against future wars.

There are two ways in which the League of Nations is to prevent future wars. It is to be the trustee of the capitalist nations of the world in charge of the backward countries, which are to be administered through "mandatories" under its direction, and there is also to be set up as part of the super-national organization machinery for conciliation and arbitration of disputes which arise between nations.

There is nothing in either of these proposals which will eliminate the cause of wars.

Let us examine the situation we face by considering the relations that will exist between two groups of countries after the peace treaty is signed and the League of Nations organized.

On the one side will be the United States and Japan; on the other Russia and Germany.

It is fairly certain that in the United States and Japan capitalism will still flourish, and we will presume that in Russia and Germany Socialist industrial republics will be established.

We would then find that in the United States and Japan the machinery of production would be in the hands of a relatively small class which would operate the industries for its profit. The workers would be able to secure the opportunity to work only by consent of the owners of industry. When they did work they would receive in wages only a small part of the product of their labor. They would work eight of ten hours per day, but would receive in wages only the product of two or three hours work. The remaining hours after they had produced their wages they would be producing "surplus value" for the owning class.

Since the workers received only part of the value of their product in wages it would naturally follow that they would be unable to buy and consume all of the goods they produced. The capitalist class, relatively small in number, could not consume the goods the workers could not buy and would be compelled to seek foreign markets in which to sell these goods. The capitalists would also amass new capital as a result of the profits they took and this would lead them to seek colonies and "spheres of influence" for development and exploitation.

Thus we would find the capitalists of the United States seeking to control the markets of China and the capitalists of Japan endeavoring to gain control of the same markets; we would find the capitalists of the United States and Japan seeking to exploit the Philippine Islands and the countries of South America. The capitalists of both countries would be driven by the inexorable conditions of capitalist production into bitter competition with each other and the history of the past tells us that such competition begun on the comcercial field would lead inevitably to the battle field.

Will the League of Nations be able to prevent the logical development of commercial rivalry which capitalism produces?

It is an effort in that direction. The capitalists of the world realize the danger for them which accompanies war. Aside from the great destruction of wealth and the piling up of huge mountains of debts, there is always the threat that war will precipitate a revolution, such as took place in Russia, and which, although not yet complete, followed the defeat of Germany. So the League of Nations is being organized to act as the international agent of capitalism and to minimize the possibility of the recurrence of such a conflict as this through which the world has just passed.

The League of Nations, as trustee of the backward and undeveloped countries, assigning to each certain territory for exploitation. When disputes arise the League of Nations will seek to prevent war through conciliation and arbitration.

Can it succeed?

One of the favorite arguments of the supporters of the League of Nations, in support of their scheme, is to point at the fact that the thirteen colonies, after the break with England, were each separate, independent states, which federated as the United States, with resulting harmony and peace.

This argument overlooks the fact that an economic question about which two groups of states differed was left unsettled, and that in spite of all the machinery for settlement of disputes provided in the Constitution of the United States there resulted the bloodiest civil war of modern times over the question whether chattel slavery or wage slavery should prevail.

Just so capitalist Internationalism presenting itself in the form of a League of Nations will have to deal with commercial imperialism—the logical product of the exploitation of the workers in modern industry—which in spite of all the machinery of arbitration and conciliation will drive the capitalist countries to an appeal to arms in the struggle for survival.

Now let us consider Socialist Russia and Socialist Germany, supposing that in the latter country the social revolution is completed and the workers take control of industry.

In each of these countries the industries will no longer be the private property of capitalists. The industries will be owned by the people. The workers in each industry will organize for the management of the industry in which they work. They will select their representatives in city councils, or state or national councils, in which the workers from the various industries will meet to decide matters of common interest. There will be no exploitation of the workers and therefore no need to seek foreign markets in which to sell surplus products. There will be no economic motive to push the workers of Russia into a war with the workers of Japan to decide whether the capitalists of Russia or Japan should exploit the markets and resources of Manchuria, such as took place some fifteen years ago. There will be no economic motive to force the workers of Germany into a struggle to secure control of the spheres of influence in Asia Minor in which to sell surplus products and make more profits for capitalists.

The workers of each country will enjoy the wealth they produce. If, after supplying every family with good food, good clothing, a comfortable home and the opportunity for education and recreation, they find they have surplus products on their hands, they will simply cut down the hours of labor. If the workers of Russia find they are producing too much wheat and need machinery and the workers of Germany produce too much machinery and need wheat, they will arrange for an equal exchange of these products on the basis of their value. The economic motive which drive nations to war will have ceased to exist with the end of exploitation.

Why should the workers of any country wish to ship the goods they produce to foreign countries? Don't they need them? Can't the workers of the United States use the goods they produce in raising the standard of living in this country? Don't we need these goods to abolish poverty? Don't we need more comfortable homes? Can't we take more of the workers from the work of producing commodities and train them to improve our educational system?

The danger of war will exist as long as capitalism exists. The end of war will come with the end of insecurity, exploitation and industrial conflicts when capitalism is abolished. Not a League of Nations but Industrial Democracy is the way to permanent peace.

NEXT WEEK SERVILE—STATE OR SOCIALISM

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES $1.00 Per Hundred | Six Months 50c

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, FEB. 12, 1919 108

OUR PARTY PAGE

Live News of Interest to all Party Members

WITH OUR EDITORS

DRAWING THE MAGIC CIRCLE

The small town editors of the country are having the time of their young and useless lives. Serving in the capacity of lackeys for the big and little business interests of their local communities and receiving their ideas, ideals and inspirations from the same source as their meager incomes, they are emitting most pitiful squeals of late as they view with sympathetic alarm the plight of their masters at the march of the world's proletariat toward Industrial Democracy.

Not daring, in the face of certainty of loss of their meal tickets, to express an idea at variance with the interests of the masters they serve, their [illegible] indeed a pitiful one. Compelled to serve as catspaws to attempt to [illegible] the chestnuts of capitalist interests from the fires of revolution they cut capers indeed in their studious servility to the hand that feeds them. Their breadth of vision is limited to the radius of the circulation of their narrow, mediocre sheets. Their life's outlook consists of a perspective the most salient feature of which is the hope of continued patronage of these same big and little exploiters. Their smiles are to them like sunshine, their patronage is as summer showers to thirsting grass, their favors are the light of day and the height and glory of life. To such depths of depravity are the small town editors of this country reduced.

As an instance of this snivilling servility on the part of editors we cite the editorial column of the St. Marys' (O.) Evening Leader of Jan. 27, wherein an account of the breaking up of a Socialist meeting at New Bremen by rowdyies in uniform, led by a preacher, is condoned and pointed to as an example of the impossibility of planting in that city the seeds of Industrial Democracy.

Our answer is that the petty bourgeois of that locality even with the invaluable assistance of the mud slinging press whose policy their hand controls cannot draw a Magic Circle about New Bremen or any other city that will keep beyond its borders the principles and propaganda of Industrial Democracy.

That mass movement which is sweeping into oblivion political and industrial despots of Europe and even now is a potential force in this nation will scarcely stop at the outskirts of New Bremen. How silly is such meaningless twaddle. But what is to be expected from this crumb-gathering tribe of time-servers?

PANICKY PROFITEERS

Daily the panic among the profiteers increases. Each step of the forward bound hosts of the world's workers is marked by a corresponding quivering and palpitation of the vital organs of the buccaneers of industry as they view with consternation the strides and hear the rumblings of the oncoming revolution.

Gone are the dreams of undisputed and unquestioned exploitation of world markets and the world's workers. In their place has arisen the grim vision of an enraged working class determined to put an end to exploitation by what ever means lie handiest.

The rosy dreams of undisputed control of the world's productive forces by capital which was evident at the time of the signing of the armistice, has in these few short weeks received a rude awakening shock. The very means and source of the power of capital is jeopardized by a new danger that has risen up over night and has compelled the attention of the pirates of finance. All the resources of capital and the capitalist state are being marshalled, not for the furthering of "democracy," but for its stoppage. The great danger that threatens now is not the danger of competitive capitalist nations, but that of an awakened working class of the world. That the financiers are cognizant of the new danger is evident. Every spokesman for capitalist interests voices the rising fear that eats at the heart of capitalism. The fear of extermination as a ruling class is gripping them as they see the revolution developing.

The German revolution added to that of Russia and the growing strength of the Soviet government has given tremendous impetus to the proletarian movement. "Every social system carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction." Capitalism has kindled the fires that shall destroy itself. They have broken forth. From continent to continent they spread. To the workers they mean the light of a new day. To the exploiters they mean oblivion.

How foolish then are the attempts of the hireling press to stand in the path of progress with their panicky cry of "Halt Bolsheviki!" Labor halts not. It has learned its power and is using it to further its own aims, which mean the "expropriation of the expropriators." On with the revolution!

TRADING WITH THE ENEMY

The labor movement in the United States is gagged. It is unable to secure halls for its meetings; hundreds of its speakers are in jail; its papers are denied the mails; its fondest hopes and its noblest ambitions are misrepresented and villified by the capitalist press. The workers of America are kept in ignorance and so far as may be, they are reduced to silence by the masters.

The latest incident in this conspiracy of silence is the police order closing the halls in New York City to Socialists, Internationalists, and radicals.

New York, however, is only an incident. The Non-Partisan League has met with the same treatment inMinnesota, South Dakota and Iowa; the I. W. W. meetings have been broken up all over the country; in many states the Socialists were not even permitted the use of halls during the recent campaign, and last, but by no means least, the American Federation of Labor finds itself unable to secure meeting places in many of the towns around Pittsburg and other great industrial centers. The masters of the United States are determined that the working class shall not be heard.

What shall we do then?

Shall we beg halls from the masters? Shall we petition; protest; demand? What utter nonsense! What silly, idle, trivial waste of energy and time!

When the United States was at war with Germany, did this country beg for German help in order to defeat the German power? Unthinkable! Congress even passed a law forbidding any citizen to trade with the enemy.

The struggle between the masters and the workers is entering upon its final stage. It is a fight to the end, now, between the exploiters and the exploited. THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE AMERICAN WORKERS TO STOP TRADING WITH THE ENEMY. If they want a newspaper, they must own it and support it; if they want a school, they must organize it and control it; IF THEY WANT A MEETING PLACE, THEY MUST BUILD [illegible] The workers of Europe learned this lesson a generation ago. It is our [illegible]ow.

SCOTT NEARING.

[illegible] frightened "yip" from an industrial kaiser at mention of the word [illegible], only serves to show who is being pinched.

An army conscripted from labor's ranks to fight for democracy in Europe [illegible], if put to the test, prove an inefficient weapon against industrial democracy at home.

The truthful capitalist press of Cleveland announced to an anxious public at the time of signing the armistic that there were 30,000 jobs awaiting the [illegible] men in uniform who had been taken from Cleveland industry. Today they may eat their lies. There are 70,000 unemployed in this city receiving the benefits of that democracy made safe for capitalism.

Conspiracies.

[illegible] mine owners and of- [illegible] indicted for forcibly de- [illegible] striking min- [illegible] Ninety-three [illegible] five were dismissed without trial and the ninety-three were sentenced to prison for 800 years and fined $2,500,-000.—Show that this is in accordance with the larger principles of justice [illegible]

WEST VIRGINIA

Official Organization News

H. F. OBERHOLTZER, STATE SECRETARY,
1718 Sixth Avenue, Huntington, W. Va.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Executive Committeemen Marked Ex.

State Committeeman-at-Large, C. W. Kirkendall, Sistersville.

First District.

(Ex) Howard Boston, 1114 10th St., Moundsville.
J. M. Snyder, 1405 8th St., Fairmont.
J. B. West, Mannington.

Second District.

R. S. Dayton, Belington.
(Ex) E. L. Smith, Martinsburg.

Third District.

P. R. Garrett, Harrisville.
(Ex) J. W. Wright, Weston, (chairman).
J. W. Flint, Weston.

Fourth District.

(Ex) H. F. Oberholtzer, Huntington.
H. L. Franklin, Huntington.

Sixth District.

George E. Glass, Heizer.
G. W. Harper, Charleston.
(Ex) M. F. Link, Rencevert.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

January, 1919.

RECEIPTS.

M. A. L. dues	$ 6.00
Fairmont dues	7.00
Lithuanian Federation	2.55
Charleston dues	3.00
Charleston supplies	.50
Total	$ 19.55

EXPENDITURES

Postage	$ 1.33
Sec'y commission	7.40
Total	$ 8.73
Surplus for January	$ 10.82
Less Dec. deficit	.50
Bal. in treasury	$ 10.32

RESOURCES

Dues stamps	$ 44.30
State Constitution	47.75
2 Sets secretary [illegible]	9.00
50 Think or Surrender	5.00
Application cards	2.00
How to Organize a Local	2.00
How to Conduct a Local	1.00
Miscellaneous books	5.00
Total	$116.05

SOMEWHERE IN WEST VIRGINIA

The State Committee, upon being requested to fill the vacancy in the office of State Secretary, elected the writer, H. F. Oberholtzer, by a vote of eleven (all the votes cast). I appreciate the expression of confidence on the part of the committee and promise to discharge the duties of this office as well as my time and ability will enable me to do. As I am not very widely known to the Socialists of the state of West Virginia, my local wished me to announce, through this medium, that my selection was endorsed by unanimous vote of Local Huntington.

I am glad to announce that Comrade Edwin Firth's faithful service to the movement in West Virginia has been recognized by a call to "come up higher." He goes to the National Office, Chicago, to fill a position in the Organization Department. When he gets located, he expects to give his address to the Bulletin and wants his Socialist friends to write to him.

Last week, we had the pleasure of meeting a very sociable Socialist, in the person of Comrade H. W. Crowder M. A. L. of Handley, W. Va. He not only put himself in good standing far into the year 1919, but subscribed for the Ohio Socialist, for a year.

Fairmont local bought seven dollars worth of dues stamps in the month of January and reports nine new members. Its secretary, Jesse Bird, has convinced us by his activities in the movement, that Jesse is not the kind of a "bird" that likes to hover around anything dead. He recently ordered a bundle of Ohio Socialists of the issue of Jan. 15th, containing the Constitution of the Soviet Government of Russia. We hope he organizes a Soviet at Fairmont.

Socialism is great stuff if you don't weaken. What's the matter with Elkins, Beckley, Moundsville, and all the other big buyers of dues stamps in 1918? Well, I will confess that the Huntington locals have nothing to boast of. They were just about dead at the close of the war, but both locals have admitted several new members since that time. Local Elizabeth is having trouble to find a place to meet since Comrade Franklin moved away. A number of the comrades of Local Huntington enjoyed a good dinner after the meeting of the local, three weeks ago Sunday, at Comrade Gillespie's. Comrade Nora Gillespie can prepare a good dinner or write a good article with equal facility. Am sorry to report that Comrade G. W. Gillespie, known over the state as one of the "wheel horses" of the Socialist Party, has not been very robust this winter, being compelled to miss some of the meetings of the local on account of his health.

Comrade Nick Reinhardt of Moundsville thinks we ought to have a state convention, this year sometime, to get ready for a larger part in the political affairs of the country. I do not find any provision in the constitution for a convention in any year except those in which a gubernatorial election is held, but I will welcome a full and free expression from the comrades on this or any other matter.

The State Office has nearly a thousand constitutions of the Socialist Party of West Virginia. Any number you may order will be mailed to you at 5 cents the copy. Comrade Franklin expressed the opinion, some time ago, that a local should be satisfied that a candidate for membership was familiar with the provisions of our State Constitution before being admitted. We also have a good supply of Monthly Report Cards. We have not received a single report from the corresponding secretaries of the locals since we have had charge of this office. We urge that all secretaries begin now and report regularly every month so that we shall be able to let the membership know, through The Bulletin, what is being done in West Virginia for the cause of Socialism.

Did you notice, in the last January issue of the Ohio Socialist, the good work reported from Roncevert in the way of getting subs? Just contemplate, for a moment, what effect it would have on the movement in West Virginia for a good radical paper like the Ohio Socialist to have 50 to 100 subscribers in every county in the state.

How would it strike you, comrades, to ask the Ohio Socialist to give the Socialist Party of West Virginia a column in every issue for West Virginia contributions and news? I am satisfied such a request would be heard if the "call was loud enough." All we would have to do would be to contribute funds, by way of subscriptions, that would merit such concession.

Attend These Meetings Don't Miss Them

Here are meetings scheduled for the next few days. Every comrade who can, should attend the meetings most convenient. Record breaking audiences are greeting our speakers at every point. Attend these meetings and take some one with you.

Niles and Youngstown.

Tom Lewis speaks at Niles Sunday afternoon, Feb. 16, Niles Opera House. Admission free. He will speak at Youngstown same day in the evening. Tom Lewis will teach you more real Socialism in an hour than you ever learned before in a day. Take a crowd with you and hear this proletarian agitator. He'll put fire in your veins. Hear him.

Akron Meetings.

Feb. 16—Frank Midney of Youngstown.

Feb. 23—Dennis E. Batt, Associate Editor, The Proletarian.

March 2—C. E. Ruthenberg, of Cleveland.

These meetings will take place at 50 South Howard St. Each one of these speakers deserves a crowded hall. Be there to help make the meetings successful.

Scott Nearing Dates.

It may be possible that Comrade Scott Nearing will not be able to fill his dates in Ohio owing to his trial not having been concluded by this time. In that case he will be substituted by either Kate Richards O'Hare or John Reed of the Liberator Group. Nearing's dates are: Canton, Feb. 13, Music hall; Dayton, Feb. 14; Cleveland, Feb. 16, 1000 Walnut St., Moose hall, 2:30 afternoon.

Thurber Lewis Dates.

Organization work will be undertaken at these points on the date named. Alliance Feb. 14, 15; Girard, 16, 17. Other dates are being arranged. Comrade Lewis is doing good work and a further routing is being made up.

More Debs Dates.

Comrade Debs will fill the following dates: [illegible] Sunday, Feb. 16. At [illegible] hoped that several locals will be able to make dates upon the short notice they received.

Columbus Meeting.

C. E. Ruthenberg will speak at Columbus, Sunday, Feb. 23, 2:30 p. m., 50 1-2 W. Gay St.

Baker Speaking Dates.

New Bremen, Feb. 14; Convoy, Feb. 16; Indianapolis, Ind., Feb. 16; St. Marys, Feb. 17, 18; Wapakoneta, Feb. 19, 20; Jenera, Feb. 21, 22; Bluffton, Feb. 23; Findlay, Feb. 24, 25; North Baltimore, Feb. 26; Napoleon, Feb. 27, 28; Fremont, March 1, 2; Greenwich, March 3, 4.

Available Speakers.

W. R. Snow will begin organization work in Ohio March 2. He will spend a week in Belmont county. Other dates will be announced later. Locals are requested to write for a date for Comrade Snow as soon a possible in order that there may be no lapse in his work.

H. L. A. Hollman of Texas is ready to fill dates and locals are requested to notify the State Office when they can use him. Make your application NOW.

Dennis E. Batt is ready to fill fourteen dates in Ohio following his Cleveland date on Feb. 23. Terms are ten dollars per lecture and expenses. You will make no mistake in securing a date for Comrade Batt. Make application early.

Reports of Baker's Meetings.

Reports of Comrade Chas. Baker's meetings continue to prove that while capitalism is stricken with a paralytic stroke, Socialism is alive and kicking at an unprecedented rate. Crowded halls greet him at every point, large collections are the rule, great interest is manifested at every point and a general awakening is felt in each locality as a result of his meetings.

Comrade Baker reports a good meeting at Portsmouth and that the comrades are raising an organization fund with which to employ an organizer for several weeks. In all prob[illegible]

COLUMBUS NOTES

The Socialist movement here is improving steadily and surely. The old comrades that stood the test in the critical times of the recent past have taken on new hope, and the new comrades are very enthusiastic and ask the local to order fifty copies a week of the Ohio Socialist to be systematically used among our shopmates, and fellow workers, then after giving copies to persons for a reasonable length of time ask for their subscription, and support of the paper, and in that way we can build up a large subscription list for the Ohio Socialist and arouse the spirit of revolt that appears to be lying dormant in the hearts and minds of the workers in this locality.

Comrade Sharts of Dayton was with us last Sunday and gave us a good educational lecture, and the attendance was good and everybody was attentive, and very enthusiastic, and much good will come from it as it was looked upon as being legal, and Henry Dub thinks anything legal is just the thing whether it is right or not. Just so it is LEGAL.

E. B. EUBANKS.

WATCH THIS BRANCH

We are confidentially informed that the First Ward Branch of Local Columbus will bear watching. Something is going on there that looks mighty bad for the movement—the reactionary movement. This branch, so we are informed bought 60 dues stamps last month and seems determinedly headed for battle. So we pass it on to our readers in a whisper to watch the First Ward Branch of the Capitol City, they're a live bunch and they appear to be growing.

NORWOOD NOTES

Local Norwood is among the locals which have experienced a recent awakening. Now the members are ready to do things in style. Each third Monday evening is set aside for propaganda purposes. They also ask for a speaker for the Sunday before these meetings. Comrade Rummele places an order for a bundle of twenty Ohio Socialists each week. Norwood comrades are starting right and results are sure to come forthwith.

* * *

The crowd at Baker's meeting at Hamilton was very enthusiastic with the exception of Mr. Kelley, Secretary of Hamilton Manufacturing Association." Correspondent.

* * *

MORE PAYING AHEAD

Local Niles has opened a campaign to get every member paid up for 1919. Campaign closes April 1. Comrade Bernard Kohn writes that he has gotten 13 so far and good prospects for more. To say the least this is a dandy idea. Other locals can start a similar campaign and thus put pep and action in the local membership.

KENMORE MEMBERS PAYING UP

A letter from Comrade Fred W. Seibert of Kenmore states that the members are paying up arrearages and taking a more active part in the movement. This is the news that comes in to the State Office from all parts of the state. Keep after them, comrades—capitalism is with us these days. Take advantage of the opportunities its present paralysis presents us with.

* * *

DANCE AT CINCINNATI

Local Cincinnati will hold a dance and general entertainment on Feb. 22 for the benefit of the campaign fund. Every comrade is urged to help make this affair the most successful ever. It promises to be a great affair as great interest is being taken by many comrades. The Sunday lectures, which the local holds weekly are a success though there seems to be proof that the law and order gang would only be too well pleased to break them up.

* * *

Enclosed find ten cents for copy of "Triel of Eugene V. Debs." Saw the ad in Ohio Socialist, the best paper on earth." M. J. Courtney.

* * *

DOING FINE

Comrade Toohey reports that Local Toledo is in fine financial trim, having taken in over $600 last month at headquarters. This sum is realized from the sale of literature, soft drinks, pool, etc. This is exclusive of receipts from meetings which have also been very successful. Such receipts indicate the strength of the local movement and is a monument to the untiring efforts which the comrades are putting into the work. More power to them.

* * *

Canton Organized German Branch.

A new German branch with 13 charter members has been organized at Canton. Richard Schrader is organizer and Albert Mallon secretary. To the comrades of this branch we extend congratulations upon having effected an organization and thus taken a determined step toward the emancipation of the workers.

* * *

"The Ohio Socialist is well liked here and I am doing all I can to push it." Elmer Turner, Ky.

Belmont county.

Comrade Beery reports Baker's Mansfield meeting an entire success. A number of Ohio Socialist subscriptions were secured, several new members taken into the organization and last but not least a collection of $35.50 was taken. The comrades there are jubilant over the success of the meeting and want more like it.

The Akron meeting was a huge success. The hall was packed long before the time for the meeting and another hall had to be secured for the hundreds who could not get in. As in other instances one hall proved inadequate for the great numbers who wish to hear the message of Socialism [illegible]

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for Six Months.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

NEXT?

The Statistician

Dear Comrades:—In whatever state you may be—Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Virginia, Illinois or New Mexico.

The new social order will come in spite of all opposition. It has seen the light of day in Russia and various parts of Germany. The enlightened, emboldened working class cannot be halted on the road to "Industrial Freedom." Social revolutions are, as our Comrade Kirkpatrick states, never noisy or bloody unless the ruling class impudently stands across the path of human progress and commands, Halt!

When all obstacles placed by the desperate bourgeoisie are overcome by class-conscious workers, attempts to sidetrack the movement are made by adopting socialism, which is really state capitalism, and to do this they hide behind the most conservative type of Socialist. Past events bear out this statement, Russia had her Kerensky, Germany has her Scheidemann and Ebert, America her Spargo and Russell, etc.

Throughout the world in so-called political democracies, the election laws are passed by the bourgeoisie to forestall any political uprising on the part of their duped subjective workers. This matter cannot be taken up in any detailed manner for lack of space. Proportionate representation is denied in most all democratic nations. England demonstrated this point, just two weeks ago. The Union party polling 3,700,000 votes seated 259 members to parliament; the Independent Labor Party polling 2,700,000 votes, seated (not 262) but only 65 representatives.

The electorial system is another way of defeating the political revolt of any peoples. Then what is the moral?

Although it appears that the assassination of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, has made the holding of the elections impossible in some localities of Germany the figures that are available are very interesting, although not conclusive.

The following data scrupulously compiled, gives the reader an idea of the trend of events there. The privileged class hiding behind the Evert-Scheideman group is as yet in power.

Representation of the various German parties in the reichstag during the years 1917 and 1918 are given below, and also the newly gained representation of these parties and the losses of the reactionary bourgeoisie parties.

The following will clear up the situation in Germany, somewhat in the minds of the readers:

German Elections.

	Pct. of Represent.	
Party.	1917	1919
Minority Socialist	5	9
Majority Socialist	22	42
Christian Peoples (Centrists)	23	20
Democratic	22	18
German National	20	8.4
Guelf	1	1
Other petty bourgeoisie parties	3	1.6
Polish Party	4	0
Totals	100	100
Socialist groups	27	51
Bourgeoisie	73	49

Other interesting data that can be gleaned from current events, are the figures published by the National Office of the S. P. of U. S. A.

The increase of stamps sold during the month of November, 1918, over the sales of October, 1918, was 7 per cent.

The sales of December, 1918, over November the preceding month was only 28 per cent. and all data obtainable as to sales of January, 1919, point to the fact that it surpassed that of December, 1918, by 35 per cent.

Membership of the Socialist Party of Ohio.

How many members has your local? Your district? The report for Dec., 1918, shows 31 locals have secured 225 new members, have 3,403 members in good standing out of an entire roll of 5,190, a percentage of .656, an increase of .074 over last month's effort.

Just think, comrades, the roll of 31 locals show 5,190 members and these are at least 70 other locals to hear from.

Good Standing Mempership.

Local Mount Vernon gained first place for its activities during last month. It made .912 of its entire membership "pay up" and secured new members equaling 42 per cent. of its previous good standing membership.

Can your local equal this?

Name of Local.	Good Std.	Pct. Roll
CLASS AA		
(Locals with 500 or over)		
*Cuyahoga County	1804	699
(Keep this up, you're doing well, Cleveland!)		
CLASS A		
(Locals with 400 or more)		
None.		
CLASS B		
(Locals with 300 or more)		
—Cincinnati	300	495
(You should be in Class AA; [illegible])		
CLASS C		
(You need the doctor! Dues Collecting Squads. Local Toledo! Hope you will be able to make better showing next month)		
CLASS D		
(Locals having 100 or more)		
*Ashtabula (Finnish)	150	815
(Fine showing!)		
*Hamilton	161	572
Akron (How are you?)		
CLASS E		
(Locals with 50 or more)		
**Richland Co.	58	1000
*Youngstown (Eng.)	58	888
Youngstown (local)	80	333
*Kenmore	60	857
*Niles	65	747
*Portage Co.	52	667
—Piqua	57	471
—Columbus	59	375
CLASS F		
(Locals with 25 or more)		
*Toledo (German)	26	838
*Zanesville	33	805
*Massillon	46	622
*Seneca Co.	45	576
CLASS G		
(Locals with 3 or more)		
**Galion	16	1000
*Grover Hill	10	1000
*Lorain (German)	10	1000
*New England	6	1000
*North Star	5	1000
**Mt. Vernon	21	912
—Warren	10	833
—Mt. Healthy	10	769
—Ashland	8	727
—Fairview	13	722
*E. Liverpool	21	700
—Wadsworth	9	642
*Barberton	14	610
—Steubenville	9	600
Derwent	11	578
—Sandusky	23	547
—Marion	7	333
(Local Marion, what's amatter.)		

Increase in Membership.

225 new members reported. How many members can we bring in next month? As there are 6,000 paid up members in state and average increase 1 to every 20, we should make it 300.

The following locals surpassed the 5 per cent. test:

Name.	New Members.	Pct. of Good Stand.
Mt. Vernon	6	42
Niles	14	22
Portage County	9	17
Barberton	2	14
Galion (?)	10	discrepancy
Galion (corrected)	2	14
Columbus	7	12
Youngstown (English)	8	10
Warren	8	10
Cuyahoga Co.	134	7
Toledo	14	7
Cincinnati	14	5
Kenmore	3	5

Let us surpass this record by next month! A revolutionary local never beats a retreat, in volume of propaganda work, increase of membership and other essential work.

Where does your local stand?
Where do you belong?
Comrades! Let us try again.
Yours for the Social Revolution,
FELIX J. CATLIN,
Sec. English Br., Local Youngstown.

OBITUARY

Comrade George Milton, faithful comrade and member of the city council of Byesville, was killed in the mine where he was employed, Jan. 9. Comrade Milton enjoyed the entire confidence of the comrades of Byesville and his passing is a distinct loss to the movement there. He leaves a wife and several children to whom his comrades extend their sincerest sympathy.

THEY WILL STAY NOW

Writing in a letter lately received Comrade H. Wiechers, the prompt and efficient secretary of Local Columbus, says, "New members will, I think, remain in the party in the future, as they are now provided with the right kind of brain food through the medium of the Ohio Socialist." Thus the stand of the party for support of the party press by the membership is approved.

Life of Man in Danger

(Continued from Page One)

women intimate questions in an attempt to rile up the male members and he has gotten so raw in some instances that even Judge Dunne, in many respects worse than Fickert, has had to call a halt.

And yet the farce goes on.

Densmore had said more than any of the Mooney agitators has dared to say.

And of course the San Francisco lickspittle press—"The Morning Stabber," and "The Evening Blabber,"—are strong in their denunciation and accusation of Mr. Densmore.

If the "Law and Order Bandits" of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce follow the same tactics as in the past, it is very likely that some of the Mooney agitators will be [illegible]

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited By C. E. Ruthenberg

Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde

President Wilson seems to be playing the part of that character we owe to the genius of Robert Louis Stevenson, who as Dr. Jekyl was a kind, generous, philonthropic gentlemen, who, on occasions changed himself into the vicions, murderous Mr. Hyde, through the use of a mysterious drug he had discovered.

In the French Chamber of Deputies Mr. Wilson told the assembled members of that body—and history records that the Socialists applauded vigorously, that:

> "The nations of the world are about to consummate a brotherhood which will make unnecessary in the future to maintain those crushing armaments which made the people suffer, almost as much in peace as they suffer in war."

The same newspaper that reported Mr. Wilson's idealistic speech to the assembled Frenchmen carried on the front page this news dispatch:

> Washington, Feb. 4.—The president still adheres to his desire for a large navy and is "insistent and earnest" that a new three-year building program be authorized. Chairman Padgett of the House naval committee told the House today at opening of debate on the new navy bill, providing a $700,000,000 construction program.
>
> The president cabled urging prompt action by congress.

Dr. Jekyl Wilson preaching the evils of crushing armaments stands in sharp contrast to Mr. Hyde Wilson urging congress to put on the shoulders of the American people the crushing burden of $700,000,000 to be spent for a greater navy. Has the president so little faith in his own program that he insists and urges that these hundreds of millions, which might be used to give better educations to the children of the workers of this country, be wasted in building instruments of destruction? Does he realize that in spite of all his fair words the capitalist system will remain the same murderous, criminal "thing" that it was in August of 1914?

* * * *

Foreign Trade

A month or two ago the capitalist class of this country was conducting a campaign to educate the workers to an understanding of the advantages of foreign trade. Full page advertisements in the kept press glowingly described the general prosperity which would result from capture of the world markets by the capitalists of this country.

It happens frequently that the supporters of capitalism "let the cat out of the bag" and admit the real facts about a subject when discussing it in relation to a diqerent matter from that in which they have tried to present a certain view to the workers.

In the matter of foreign trade this happened a few days ago. In the educational campaign the workers were told that foreign trade meant a great advantage to them. In discussing how Germany is to meet the big hill which the Allies propose presenting for payment, one of the capitalist newspapers conveyed this interesting piece of information:

> "Germany must not only make money in marks but in the currency of the associated powers. This means that her exports must exceed her imports."

When Germany's exports exceed her imports the balance of foreign trade will be in her favor, the situation which the capitalists of this country have been seeking to bring about, but here we have added the new proposition that only through such a development can Germany pay her debt to the Allies. If that means anything it means that the German people will lose through foreign trade. They will be giving up part of the wealth they produce to someone else. And that is the fact of the matter in every country. Foreign trade means that goods are sent away from a country and insofar as the balance of trade is in favor of any particular country it has lost the opportunity to consume and enjoy that much of the wealth it produced.

The only difference is that when their is no great debt to pay such as the Allied nations propose to compel Germany to pay, the capitalists at home build up credit balances on foreign countries upon which they receive interest which adds to their incomes.

The workers have nothing to gain through a foreign trade balance; they lose the enjoyment of part of the wealth they produce.

* * * *

Democracy—A Comparison

The two houses of the legislature of Ohio adopted a resolution last week urging the senators from Ohio to vote in favor of the suffrage amendment to the constitution, pending in the senate.

This little incident offers an excellent opportunity for comparison between the kind of democracy which exists in Russia and in the United States.

Under the Russian Soviet plan of government the delegates to the All-Russian Soviet can be withdrawn at any time by the constituency which sent them. It is recorded that at a certain period the character of the Petrograd Soviet changed in a single week from predominantly Bolshevik to a predominant Menshevik majority and then changed back again in a like period.

In the United States we elect senators for a period of six years and after the election they are free to act as they see fit, irrespective of the wishes of their constituency. The best that we can do is to petition them as the legislature petitioned Mr. Pomerene and Mr. Harding.

Which is the most democratic government, the Russian, in which the wishes of the people are quickly registered, or ours, which leaves us at the mercy of our representatives once they are elected?

* * * *

The Berne Conference

The Berne International Socialist and Labor Conference is justifying all that has been said in opposition to it. Thus far the twc momentous questions with which the conference has been considering have been responsibility for the war and recognition of the Soviet government of Russia.

The fact that the delegates to this conference should waste time talking about whether one nation or another was the principal factor in precipitating the war and should hesitate at all about recognizing the first Socialist government which has been established, shows how much they are out of touch with the new spirit of the workers.

The New Internationale, which is coming into being will be built on a different basis and manifest a different spirit than that which is futilely discussing the dead past and refusing to deal with the living present, at Berne.

* * * *

How The Spy Law Worked

The Espionage Law was named so as to give the impression that it was passed in order to curb the activities of German spies in this country, but under cover of passing a bill, which had to do with spies, congress passed a law which placed in the hands of a single individual more autocratic power over the press of this country than has ever been given a single man anywhere; it also passed a law which made it possible to send men and women to prison for twenty years for stating their conscientious views about the war in speech.

These things had nothing to do with German spies but they are part of the Espionage Law. Possibly they were made part of this law because congress knew that it could get general approval for a law dealing with spies, but that if it endeavored openly to rape the right of free speech and free press, as is done in this law, it would raise a mighty storm of protest.

Now come the National Civil Liberties Bureau to tell us that the Espionage Law in practice has not been used in a single instance to halt the activities of spies. Says the Bureau in a recent bulletin:

> This bureau has had since the beginning of the war a standing order with a newspaper clipping company covering all reference in the press of the United States to disloyalty, sedition, espionage and the Espionage Law. As a result we have the most illuminating record of cases which it has been possible to complete without access to records of the Attorney General. We have no record of a single instance when a spy has been imprisoned under this law.
>
> Furthermore, in the cases cited in the Attorney General's report, as typical of those prosecuted under the Espionage Law, there is not one case in which the prisoner was convicted of being a paid German spy, or of even trying to find out military secrets.

But several thousand men and women have been imprisoned or are under indictment because they dared voice their views about the war in speech or writing.

In spite of this demonstration that the Espionage Law is an anti-free speech law and a censorship law, the senate the other day refused to permit consideration of Senator Borah's resolution repealing those sections of the law which give the Postmaster General the power to arbitrarily bar newspapers and periodicals from the mails, if, in his opinion, they violate the drastic and wide-reaching provisions of the law.

* * * *

Toward Revolution

The strikes in Great Britain daily take on more of the appearance of a revolt of the workers against the entire system of capitalist industry than mere strikes to attain some particular concession from the employers.

Breaking the bonds which have held them under the leadership of conservative trade union officials and casting to the winds the safe and sane program of the British Labor party, the workers are resorting to the compulsion of their own power in industry to attain their goal.

What this goal is, is outlined by William Z. Watson, member of the Shop Stewards' Administrative Council:

> The shop stewards hope to establish revolutionary committees like those in Russia. We already represent 50 per cent. of the English laborers. We are "direct-actionists" as opposed to regular unionists, who are constitutionalists. We are against the bourgeoisie. We hope they will submit to the new regime, but if they are obstreperous we intend to be firm. Personally, I would not be surprised to see violence in England; but I hope it won't come. I presume it will be necessary to control the London newspapers. We do not intend to touch the telegraph lines. We intend to use the present controllers of industry as managers under us—when they are good fellows. Our present program includes a forty-hour week, perhaps shorter, if it should be found desirabie.

Another writer gives the causes of the strikes as:

> The failure of the trade unions to defend the rights of the workers against the steady encroachments of the capitalist class and of the capitalist government.
>
> The failure of politics to satisfy the clearly voiced demands of the workers.
>
> The "trick election."
>
> The inspiration of the Russian revolution.
>
> The desire for a radical change in the structure of British society, much further reaching than any trade unions or political parties can offer.
>
> The conviction that the object of the war can be actually achieved if labor sets out to achieve them.

No wonder Lloyd George, with this volcano bursting under him at home, has adopted a conciliatory attitude at Prais and has agreed to withdraw English soldiers from Russia. Very evidently this action is not the result of any consideration for the Russian workers, but action taken to prevent Lloyd George and his crew from being blown sky high by the volcano of sentiment among the workers of Britain who are preparing to following the Russian example.

* * * *

More Light on Russia

Evidence piles up daily that the Soviet government of Russia has the support of all but a very small minority of the people and that it is pushing forward far-reaching work of reconstruction, which makes the new regime more stable and secure. No doubt it was a knowledge of these facts, kept from the people of this country, that lead the Supreme Council at Paris to make its proposition for a conference at the Princess Island, which according to the latest dispatches, has been accepted by the Soviet government.

One of the latest descriptions of conditions in Russia is presented "by an educated Russian who holds a responsible position in the United States government" who spent six months in Russia recently. His statement, appearing in the New York Call, follows:

> "The one desire of the Russian people is to establish a stable government which will insure them what is granted by the American Constitution—'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' Because the Bolshevik leaders have proved their capacity to provide this trinity of blessings, there is now hardly a Russian with any social consciousness who is not whole-heartedly behind the Soviet government.
>
> "Whether or not the present form of government is the one best adapted for Russia and her people, time alone will tell. For the present, one thing is certain: After 15 months of control, it is amazingly strong, amazingly popular, and, I dare venture, far more stable than was either our own or the French government fifteen months after their establishment by revolution.
>
> "The principal factor in bringing this strength about has been the downright stupidity of the Allied governments in supporting every counter-revolutionary move launched by the blackest reactionaries of the czar's regime. The attitude of the Allied powers is incomprehensible to the rank and file of the Russian people, and recent talk of armed intervention in force rouses in them a feeling which it would be well to realize in this country.
>
> **Allies Supported Czar.**
>
> "Remember that during the generations when Russia labored under the most brutal autocracy the world has ever seen no American, English or French statesman advocated intervention; remember that the Russians have seen the bayonets of the Allies supporting the hangers-on of the czar in their effort to restore former tyrannies; remember that the people of Russia do not have the truth debauched for them by their press, as we do in America, and you will understand that further invasion of their country will encounter a desperate opposition far beyond any that Napoleon ever met.
>
> "Talk that the Bolsheyiki are aiming to extend their control over Europe is frankly slanderous and can only be explained by a fear among the western democracies that the Soviet form of government is so righteous and just that the plain people everywhere would support it if they came to know it as it really it.
>
> "The sole aim of the Russian Soviet government now is internal reconstruction, but it is quite possible that if the Allies persist in military aggression, Lenine and Trotzky will appeal to the workers everywhere to rise in their might and prevent this dreadful crime against humanity. It is the blind policy of imperialistic diplomacy which threatens to make Bolshevism a world force —not anything which the Bolshevises themselves are doing or plan.
>
> **Soviets Steadily Gain.**
>
> "On one think I fully agree with the newspaper accounts of conditions in Russia; and that is, that the power of the Soviets is growing daily. The Bolsheviki are now in firm possession of Saratov, Kazan, Samara and a large part of the Ukraine. Food conditions are getting better all the time.
>
> "A new spirit is behind the Soviet armies and the industrial army that will support them to the last ditch, in case the Allies decide on war. Production for the defense of the republic is proceeding at any amazing rate and in the munition factories the workers are turning out artillery and shells, not for a wage pittance, but because they know their utmost efforts are necessary for the defense of a real ideal.
>
> "If America is anxious to establish Bolshevism as a lasting force, not only in Russia, but in many other parts of the world, no more effective step to bring about this end could be conceived than a war with the lusty young Soviet republic."

Here is a good one from the Christian Science Monitor's Washington correspondent:

> "Bolshevism is recognized here as the anthesis of all that the United States government stands for. It is made up of the skulking, disorganized horde of evil following up the organized forces of evil of the central empires, from which it differs in character in no respect save its lack of organization.
>
> "It is this element to which attacks upon the president furnish ammunition, aid and comfort, for increasing his baneful influence. The following remark was made to the correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor on Wednesday by a Labor Department official:
>
> "If congress would make an appropriation of $100,000,000 to carry on needed public improvements at once, that body would serve the public interest by providing work for a vast number of men, and give the industries a chance to readjust themselves. If you provide work for everybody, you destroy Bolshevism."

All those awful words about Bolshevism and then the frank admission that Bolshevism is the protest against the evils of the capitalist system, which denies them the opportunity to earn a living! How the poor apologists for things as they are do flounder about!

* * * *

Even the conservative unions of railway employes have caught the infection of Bolshevism. Of course it is a safe and sane and entirely acceptable form of Bolshevism from the standpoint of the capitalist class, but it shows the influence of the Russian Revolution just the same. The union proposed to the senate intersetate commerce committee that the government permanently retain control of the railroads, exchanging government for railroad securities, and turn the operation of the roads over to a corporation to be formed by the railroad employes for that purpose. This corporation would be in effect a great union of railroad employes, for it is to have no other capital than its "operating ability." The corporation would pay the government a rental for the use of the property and split the earnings over a certain figure between the government and the employes. Wipe out the bonds and rentals and this scheme becomes the Russian plan of managing industry. If even the railroad workers unions have caught the fever, there is hope for the workers of this country.

* * * *

Benjamin Karr, who does the dirty work of capitalism in his column on "Events-Comments" in the Cleveland News, complains that a certain W. D. Childs, representative of the Western Union Telegraph, starved to death in Petrograd and used this incident for the basis of a charge that "the evils of the old autocratic government of the czar seems mild by contrast." We remember, Mr. Karr, that just a few years ago several men and women, during a period of unemployment such as seems to be upon us again, died of starvation in Cleveland, and we did not have the excuse that a ring of foreign bayonets cut us off from the source of our food supplies, as in the case in Russia today. How about it, Mr. Karr?

* * * *

The senate has directed one of its committees to investigate the source of the funds which are being used to carry on Bolshevist propaganda in this country. There is no mystery about it. Everybody but the members of the senate know that these funds are the result of contributions of nickels and dimes and quarters of the workers who are determined to replace the capitalist system by a new industrial order that will give them what they produce and assure them the opportunity to earn a living at all times.

* * * *

The newspapers are already shouting with glee at the prospect of the United States becoming "mandatory" for Mexico under the new League of Nations. Capitalism hopes to trick the people by carrying on the old game under a new name.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN WAR-TIME

By ANISE, Union Record.

(Facts taken from Labor Year Book, issued by Rand School; and "German Social Democracy During the War," by Edwin Bevan, published by George Allen and Unwin Co., London).

VI. TOWARDS THE REVOLUTION.

As we saw in yesterday's account, even a year ago there was a strong urge toward peace among the German people, and this urge was bringing many into the ranks of the more radical Socialist group, the Independent Social Democratic Party. An article in the Neue Zeit for November 9, 1917, tells the story:

"The party controversy, as such, is carried on almost entirely by the leaders. The masses have no interest in theoretical disagreements.

"What the masses want is PEACE; they want peace immediately, and since they largely believe that they can get it only by fighting their own government, and this fight does not seem to them to be carried on energetically enough by the old Social Democratic Party, they either desert the party altogether, grumbling and dissatisfied, or they range themselves with those who, it seems, are carrying on this fight more relentlessly, and who make them the biggest promises—the Independent Social Democratic Party. What brings adherents to the Independents is the general embitterment."

A rather remarkable article, isn't it, for war-times; but the independent organs were publishing many statements like that a year ago.

The Russian Peace.

Then came the November Revolution in Russia, and the "brigand's peace" at Brest-Litovsk, when Trotzky, having behind him a fast-vanish-some of the men who are friendly to the defense on the witness stand and then putting all kinds of personal questions that has nothing to do with the case in point, but the end is gained by Fickert, he dotes on asking these ing army and a starving people, made [illegible] and tried by [illegible] bring about a revolution in Germany.

Much will still remain to be learned about this period both in Germany and in Russia; much that cannot be cleared up now. It is beginning to seem true, as declared by many persons, that Trotzky made a formal offer to the Allies to continue the fight against Germany, if the Allies would supply food and munitions. In any event, the Allies, who had distrusted Russia even under the Kerensky regime, made no effort to save her. The appeal to the German working class failed; no revolution came off; and Russia, beaten to her knees, signed a humiliating peace.

Militarism Revives in Germany.

For a short period it seems evident that this peace gave a new lease of life to militarism in Germany; just as it seems possible, unless Wilson and those supporing him are sufficiently strong, the completeness of the victory over Germany may at the present time give a new lease of life to militarism among the Allies.

The Pan-Germans acclaimed the victory as their own; the people expected bread and perhaps, before too long a time, peace—a military peace. And since it was now the Pan-Germans who seemed able to make good their promise of peace, their popularity grew. In any event, writers in the early part of January indicate a lessening of the strength of the Independent Socialists.

The Majority Socialists swallowed the bitter pill of compromise. They went back on their professional principles; their position may be roughly outlined as follows: "Not a peace which we approve, but still, it is a peace; and if one nation is going to trample on another, better we [illegible] the Russians than the [illegible]"

complaining that the power of the Independents is lessening, we on this side of the ocean began to hear from Austria the submerged growls of revolution. What caused the change?

The barriers on the east were broken own, and a stream of propagandists were let loose from Russia. Louis Edgar Browns, correspondent of the Chicago Daily News and in Russia with the American Red Cross, states that 20,000 agents of the Bolshevik government were busy spreading revolutionary agitation in Austria, spreading the terms of the unjust peace, spreading the ideals of the Russians, which they, the German workers, were helping to crush from the face of the earth.

The soldiers, surging back across the country from the Russian front, carried the seeds of the propaganda spread among them by tons of pamphlets by the Russian soldiers and workmen.

Worst of all, the expected food from the Ukraine and Russia did not come. All through this time we hear complains against the lying promises of the government. And when they heard that the peasants of the Ukraine were burning their own food, and starving themselves, to prevent wheat from falling into the hands of Germans, it could hardly have increased their feeling of self-content.

The Battles in the West.

All this time the battle line on the West Front was being hammered. While the number of new American troops were hardly significant until very recently, their fresh enthusiasm was contagious. The war began to seem, not over, but just beginning.

And yet all this time, do you remember how our military men bade us expect no peace until 1920 or later. How strong they said the German military forces were. Taking them at their word in the matter on which they were informed, we must realize that military force alone could not have brought so speedy a peace.

But, even while a new war-weariness was settling upon the German peoples at the sight of the fresh determination of the Allies, all this time the speeches of Wilson, offering just terms of peace, poured into Germany. Some of them printed openly; others smuggled in by the Russians, who maintained a clever and effective propaganda service to the very beginning of the German revolution.

And so it happened that cabinet [illegible]

Spartacans Make Appeal

(Continued from Page One)

the 'rights of small nations,' 'self-determination of the peoples,' then these are but the usual lying phrases of the rulers to lull the vigilance of the proletariat.

"Proletarians of all countries! This war must be the last! We owe that to the 12,000,000 of slaughtered victims. We owe it to our children, we owe it to humanity. Europe is ruined by the murder of nations. Twelve million corpses cover the grewsome fields of the imperialistic crimes. The flowers of youth and the best man power of the peoples have been destroyed. Humanity is very near being bled white by the unexampled bloodietting of history. Victor and vanquished alike stand at the brink of the precipice. Humanity is menaced by the most terrible famine stoppage of the whole productive mechanism, by pestilence and degeneration.

Capitalists Impotent.

"The big criminals of this awful anarchy, of this unfettered chaos—the ruling classes—are not capable of controlling their own work. The beast, capital, which conjured up this hell of the world war, is not able to check it again, to re-establish real order, to assure to suffering humanity bread and work, peace and culture, justice and liberty.

"What is prepared by the ruling classes as peace and justice is only a new work of brute force, out of which the hydra of oppression, of hatred and of new bloody wars will raise its thousand heads.

"Socialism alone is able to accomplish the great work of a lasting peace, to heal the thousand bleeding wounds of humanity, to transform the fields of Europe, trampled down by the apocalyptic riders, into blooming gardens, to magically replace ten-fold the destroyed productive forces, to awaken all physical and moral powers of humanity, and to replace hatred and strife by brotherly solidarity, concord and respect for all that bear the countenance of man.

"If the representatives of the proletarians of all countries shake hands under the banner of Socialism, to make peace, then the peace will be made in a few hours. There will be no issues of controversy about the left bank of the Rhine, Mesopotamia, Egypt or the colonies. There will be only one people—the toilers of all races and tongues. Then there will be only one right—the equality of all human beings. There will be only one goal—welfare and progress for all.

"Humanity is confronted by the alternative—dissolution and perishing in the capitalist anarchy, or renaissance through social revolution. The hour of decision has struck. If you believe in Socialism, now is the time to prove it by deeds. If you are Socialists, it now rests with you to act.

World Ripe for Revolt.

"Proletarians of all countries, if we now call upon you for the common fight, it is not for the sake of the firm name 'German nation,' try to escape the consequences of their own crimes. It is for our sake, as well as your own. Remember, your victorious capitalists stand ready to suppress our revolution, which they fear as much as their own. You, yourselves, are not free by the 'victory,' you are only more enslaved, should your ruling classes succeed in strangling the proletarian revolution in Germany and in Russia, then they will turn against you with double force. Your capitalists hope that the victory over us, as over revolutionary Russia, will give them the power to whip you with scorpions and to erect the milennium of exploit upon the grave of Socialism.

"The proletariat of Germany, therefore, at this hour looks up to you. Germany is ripe for the social revolution, but Socialists can only realize by the world proletariat. And, therefore, we appeal to you.

"On to the fight! On to deeds! The time for empty manifestos, platonic resolutions and high-sounding words is gone; the hour for action has come.

"Not Lloyd George and Poincare, not Sonnino, Wilson and Erzberger or Scheidemann must be allowed to conclude peace. The peace must be concluded under the floating banner of the Socialist world revolution.

"Proletarians of all countries! We call upon you to complete the work of Socialist emancipation, to place upon the abused world a new human aspect and to prove true to that word, so often used by us in meeting and in parting: The international party shall be the human race!

"KLARA ZETKIN [illegible]

New Trial For Socialists

(Continued from Page One)

court is in a different atmosphere from that of the jury, and the court may well review the jury's verdict with care and consideration. The intellectual capacity of the jury, in a trial of this kind, is incapable of making the distinctions and discriminations necessary to examine carefully into all the highways and the byways of the evidence of this case.

Attorney Seymour Stedman, chief counsel for the Socialists, opened the arguments for a new trial by attacking the charge of Judge Landis to the jury. He also put emphasis on the fact that much that had happened before the espionage act became a law, and even before the war started, had been admitted as evidence over the protest of the defense. Special stress was put on the fact that Berger's article, "Ballots and Bullets," published in the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Herald, more than ten years ago had been allowed to go before the jury.

"I don't know why that was dragged in here," said Cochems, in his argument, covering the same ground that Stedman had gone over.

Raise Point of Error.

Attorneys for the convicted Socialists raised a number of points of error. These were outlined as follows:

Overruling the defendants' motion to quash the indictment.

Overruling the defendants' demurrer to the indictment.

That the verdict was contrary to the law of the case.

That the verdict was not supported by evidence.

Permitting attorneys for the prosecution to appeal to the political passions and prejudices of the jurors.

Improperly charging the jury.

Refusing to give instructions requested by the defendants.

Irregularities Charged.

Refusing to set aside the verdict upon it being disclosed that there were irregularities in communications prejudicial to the defendants by and between the jurors and a deputy marshal or marshals.

Misconduct of counsel.

In refusing to grant a new trial upon a newly discovered evidence submitted to the court.

In overruling the plea of a former acquittal [illegible] venue.

In refusing competent evidence offered by the defendants.

In refusing to direct a verdict of not guilty at the close of the evidence in behalf of the government.

Decision Tuesday.

After the two-day legal battle over the motion to grant a new trial, Judge Landis announced that he would render a decision Tuesday, Feb. 11.

This would indicate that Judge Londis is not entirely certain what step next to take in the court war against the Socialist Party. There are those optimistic enough even among the Socialist counsel, to believe that he will grant the five convicted Socialists a new trial.

If the motion for a new trial is denied, the next big struggle between the government prosecutors and the Socialist defense forces is due to be over the question of whether Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Tucker and Kruse are to be sent to prison pending an appeal to the higher courts.

The government prosecutors are urging the position that bail ought to be denied and the defendants imprisoned on the ground that they have not ceased their agitation and propaganda; not even since their conviction.

In attacking this position the Socialist defense points out that it was claimed that the five Socialists were tried and convicted for interfering with the government's military machine. Since the war is now over, however, the military machine is now being scrapped, it is pointed out that the defendants can no longer interfere with it, even admitting that they did. If the prosecution presses its claims, it is felt that this would be the best proof possible to show that the government is out to kill the Socialist Party, war or no war, if it is possible to do so.

PROBLEMS FOR BEGINNERS.

Howard Brubaker has a set of problems for beginners in the February Liberator. Among them are:

Shrinkage.

There is a report from Russia that the Soviets have raised an army of 3,000,000. A London paper says that 180,000 would be nearer the truth. The New York Evening [illegible] cipher and [illegible]

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia and New Mexico.

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CAPITALISM HAS FAILED; WORKERS MUST ACT

Nearing Proves Case Against American Capitalists

Army of Unemployed Grows Greater Each Week While Machinery of Production Stands Idle and Raw Materials Pile Up

The army of unemployed grows.

That is the weekly message that is flashed from Washington by the employment division of the Department of Labor.

The industrial centers of the State of Ohio alone showed a hundred thousand workers out of jobs according to the report of the department for last week.

These are the figures:

> Cleveland reports the past week a surplus of 70,000, which is an increase of 5,000. Akron reports a surplus of 2,000, an increase of 500. Four weeks ago, Akron reported a shortage of 1,000. Dayton reports a surplus of 11,000, which is an increase of 3,000. Toledo reports a surplus of 9,000, Youngstown 4,600 and Cincinnati 2,200.

The Cleveland figures have been jumping from week to week. Only four or five weeks ago they were 20,000, the next week 40,000, a week or two later 65,000 and now 70,000, and the end is not yet.

What are the workers going to do?

Although one-fourth of the workers of Cleveland are out of jobs, with like conditions coming into existence in the other industrial centers of the state and the whole country, the real pinch has not come. Some industries are still at work upon war orders; millions of soldiers are still to be demobilized. Part of the workers who are out of jobs have been able to maintain themselves by eating up the small savings they were able to make during the period of hysterical war-time production. But those will not last long.

The pinch is coming. More soldiers are returning. More munition factories will close down. Millions of families in this country will soon be looking at a future which holds nothing but misery, poverty and suffering for them.

What are the workers going to do?

The capitalist class has raked in its billions of profits. It can let the industries shut down for a time. It need not worry about food and clothing and a place to live in. The close to ten thousand new millionaires that the war has produced can smirk and smile and go contentedly along their way. They need not worry about feeding the hungry mouths of their children. But the workers. . . . . . .

What are they going to do about it?

There is no reason who every man and women who desires the work should not have the opportunity to work. There are in existence the same factories in which the hundreds of thousands of workers who are now walking the streets were recently employed. There are piles and piles of raw material and inexhaustible natural resources, so far as the present generation is concerned, to draw upon for more raw material.

Why do not the workers use the raw material and the machinery of production to produce the things they need in order to live?

Why do men, women and children go hundry when there is food in plenty and land and labor power to produce a greater plenty? Why should the workers not be clothed and housed when there is all the raw material needed and these millions of hands and brains ready to turn the raw material into the needed things?

Must millions of people live in poverty and misery and suffer periodically, as they have been living in poverty and misery and suffering periodically in this country, because of some fiction about the right of a few to make profits out of the operation of the system of production which tme many must use in order to make a living.

When long experience teaches us that a machine won't work, when in place of running smoothly and doing the work for which it was designed, it merely spoils the material we feed into and throw out fragments which litter the ground and impede our efforts, we scrap the machine.

The profit system and private ownership has failed. It is throwing out millions of workers to suffer, and if it so happens, to starve. The workers who do not remember that it has done that before have short memories indeed. The men who amass great fortunes through ownership of industry are today trying to justify their right to profit by pointing out the service they render society. Let them look at the long line of unemployed at every factory door. That is their work. That is how their system works. The machine has failed. It is time to scrap it.

The workers can enter into industry tomorrow and begin the work of producing the things they need. The machines are there. Those machines built to produce instruments of destruction can be readily adapted for other purposes by the skill of the workers. The raw material are there. Why should we not produce?

In the war period when its own needs made action imperative the government stepped into industry and organized, managed and directed. It built a great machine to produce instruments of destruction.

It the government was equally interested in giving employment to the workers and enabling them to earn what they need [illegible]d their families it could enter into industry now and organ[illegible] [illegible]rect and manage, and there need be no unemployment. There [illegible] be no starvation.

But the government will not do that for the workers. I[illegible] [illegible]es only one interest and that is not the workers.

There is but one hope for the workers—organized power [illegible]ey have the power to open the industries. They have the power [illegible] compel use of the machines and raw materials that now lie idle. [illegible]t the millions who are already in the ranks of the unemployed, [illegible]gether with the millions, who, though still employed, face the [illegible]me threat, make a united demand and join in a mass movement [illegible]o open the industries so that the workers may earn a living and [illegible]o power can stop them.

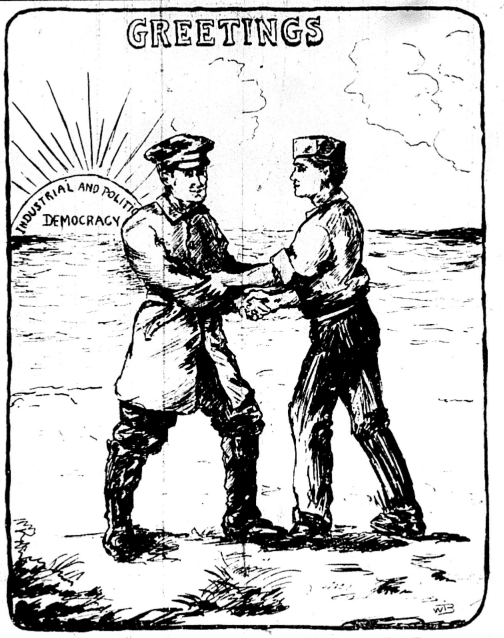
Capitalism has failed; it is time for the workers to act.

Put Off Decision on New Trial Motion

[illegible]cago.—The hearing for a motion [illegible] new trial for Victor Berger and [illegible]ther convicted Socialist leaders was again postponed until Feb. [illegible] for a further con- [illegible]

British Socialist Paper's View of Socialist Trial

That the Socialists of France and Great Britain are astounded at the conviction of the five Socialists, Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucke[illegible] [illegible]illiam F. Kruse, is putting it [illegible] of the Socialis[illegible]



"Carry On" IVAN, the Sun is Rising in the East

Side Lights on Seattle Strike

By An Observer

The five-day general strike of 70,000 Seattle workmen and working women brought about by the refusal of General Mgr. Piez of the Emergency Fleet Corporation to allow ship yard workers to negotiate directly with their employers and threatening to cut off the supply of steel to the local yards if they negotiated directly with the workers, was the most complete walkout that has ever occurred in America. At the same time it was the most peaceful.

The week's mail has brought us some strike bulletins issued by the strike committee of the workers, and a personal letter from which we quote below. The whole tone of the bulletin is against any interference of the processes of the law or violence of any kind. It repeatedly advises the workers to "keep cool" and to visit the public libraries. The A. F. of L. takes entire responsibility for the strike though of course the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party were active participants.

To quote from the letter:

"This is the second day of our general strike. Since its beginning yesterday at 10 o'clock a. m., each hour has added new glories to the achievements of the Seattle labor movement.

I have just returned to my room in the hotel in its sixth story, made accessible by walking the six flights of stairs. The room is exactly as I left it at noon. With a smile and greatest gratification I fail to discern the soft touch of a painstaking chamber maid upon anything. The bed is as I left it, soiled towels are where I threw them, and I am very glad of it.

Among the many female employes of the hotel the only union girl among them pulled all the others out with her yesterday at ten. Several large posters in the hotel lobby announce to guests that as a result of the strike all the employes had walked out, they are requested to take the inconveniences cheerfully.

I went up town at noon to get a meal in one of the 21 union eating houses, practically the only ones in the city, maintained by the unions themselves in their entirety operating under a three-hour shift. But going there I must pass through the Japanese quarter. What a sight!

The streets are noiseless with the exception of the clatter of feet along the sidewalks, and here and there a private automobile. Every commercial establishment is closed with the exception of two drug stores. Signs on doors and windows tell the season. "Fair to organized labor;" "Closed for duration of strike;" and some simply have it "Closed.". One Japanese restaurant has on the door a permanent sign, "We Never Close," but underneath a temporary one saying "We Believe in Labor's Cause, So We have Closed." The two adjoining stores have the sign "So Do We."

The Jewish quarter tell a similar story.

On Yesler Way a funeral procession passed. On the windshields of the hearse and ten hired automobiles following, there was the sign in red letters, "Exempted by Committee."

Above Yesler Way most of the stores are open for business, but there is no business to do. Restaurants, soft drink places and candy stores are closed.

The sidewalks are not crowded by any means. There are no yelling newsboys and the silk stocking brigade is noticeable for its absence. Store clerks may be seen in the doorways to watch idly the passing crowds; and what there is of it con-

(Continued on Page Four)

Cleveland Workers Honor Liebknecht

The memorial meeting in honor of Karl Liebknecht held under auspices of the Socialist Party of Cleveland last week Friday, brought out a crowd of workers eager to pay tribute to Liebknecht, that filled every seat in the large auditorium. Every mention of the name of Liebknecht by the speakers who made addresses in German, Russian and English, was greeted by waves of cheers and applause.

The memorial meeting was opened by the Liedertafel Orchestra playing the Marsellaise, the audience standing. The first speaker was Harry Rode of the German branch, who in years gone by had been an active workers in the ranks of the German Social-Democracy, and who recalled from personal knowledge, the services of Liebknecht in the German Socialist movement.

Following rode A. Bilan, who participated in the Russian revolution of 1905, paid tribute to the work and ideals of Liebknecht in Russian. The inspiration of the Russian revolution was brought out clearly by the great bursts of applause which greeted the coupling of the name of Liebknecht with the ideal of the Bolsheviki.

C. E. Ruthenberg was the English speaker. He made a brief survey of the life of Liebknecht and his services to the revolutionary movement, taking occasion to refute the charge that while in Cleveland in 1910 Liebknecht were far better off than those of Germany. What Liebknecht has said at the meeting at the Cleveland theater was, that he had just come from the Pittsburg district and that nowhere in Germany was there to be found such abject poverty and misery and degradation of the workers as he had seen there.

"In honoring the memory of Liebknecht," Ruthenberg continued, "we should do more than recall his services to the working class movement. We should fix clearly in our minds the issue in the struggle in which he died.

"Before the Russian revolution the Socialists the world over talked about the social revolution, but how the workers control of industry was to be established we were very vague about. The Russian revolution has shown us that our ideal can only be realized through a mass movement of the workers in the industries themselves.

"The issue in Germany between the Majority Socialists and the Spartacans is whether the workers shall establish Socialism now, or whether they shall wait another decade or two and have it legislated into existence a step at a time from the top. The Majority Socialists favor the latter plan. They propose that the workers take the long, devious and dangerous path of building up new political institutions and then, as their power makes it possible, to legislate Socialism into existence a step at a time. The Spartacans believe that the time is ripe for Socialism now. They are urging the workers to take control of the government and at the same time [illegible]

Socialist Educator Convicts Plutocracy by Words of Its Supporters

The trial of Professor Scott Nearing, who was indicted under the Espionage Law for writing a pamphlet called "The Great Madness," in which the American capitalist class was charged with responsibility for involving this country in the world war will go down in history, not as the trial of a Socialist, but as the indictment of the plutocracy of this country...Nearing took the witness stand to defend the views expressed in "The Great Madness."..For two days, while under direct examination, he presented quotation after quotation from the lips and pens of representatives of the ruling class substantiating the statements made in his pamphlet and then, for another day, under cross-examination, he continued the defense of his position...The record of his examination and cross-examination contains the complete case against capitalism, as cooly, calmly, but inexorably developed by this able educator.

The following quotations from the testimony are reprinted from the New York Call:

Asked to explain the principles of that book, Nearing said:

"If a community is threatened with an epidemic of typhoid fever the most prudent thing to do is to find the origin of the germs producing the disease. We proceed from the bottom up. I looked upon war as a social disease, the most deadly of all social diseases. If we want to know how to stop war we must go to the bottom.

"I considered the germs of war just as they are considered by Hobson, by Frederick C. Howe, by Professor Brailsford.

Nearing then went on to describe the system of production, showing how a surplus of products is created for which foreign markets must be found and how foreign investments must be found for the capital remaining over what goes back to labor in the form of wages.

"Lord Palmerston stated more than fifty years ago," said Nearing, "that the flag follows the investor.

"When the investors come into conflict," continued Nearing, "the flags come into conflict."

"For instance," he said, "the Standard Oil Co. of America and the Pierce Oil interests of England buy interests in Mexican oil lands. You have then an English pound and an American dollar both looking for the same oil."

DIVIDING ALLIES.

Nearing proceeded to show that already commercial rivalries are threatening to divide the Allies, and referred to recent controversies in congress over the British embargo against some 40 articles of import. He quoted the expressions of congressmen, warning England "not to reawaken the spirit of 1812" and calling for "bloody reprisals" against the embargo.

"These are the germs of war," said Nearing. "As long as you have this policy of dog eat dog, each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, it is inevitable that wars will result."

Barnes here interposed a suggestion that the witness was including more than was required in his testimony, but Stedman insisted that the theories he was expounding went to show his intent in publishing "The Great Madness," which was to show, he said, as other experts in economics were showing, the basic causes of war.

Barnes said he wished to give the witness the fullest opportunity to explain his theories, but that he objected to bringing in extraneous material and events occurring and statements made after the publication of the book for which he is being tried. Barnes referred particularly to Nearing's quotations from the recent speeches in congress, and said that at present there was no means of knowing that

(Continued on Page Four)

Fight Deportation of Radicals

A determined fight is being waged by radical organizations in the east to prevent the deportation of fifty-eight alien radicals who are being held at Ellis Island, and are slated to be shipped out of the country as a part of the campaign of the government to deport members of the I. W. W. and other "undesirable" agitators.

Caroline A. Lowe, attorney for the I. W. W. and Charles Recht and Sidney A. Fleisher, representing the Civil Liberties Bureau attempted to halt the deportation through habeas corpus proceedings, but the writ was denied by Judge John C. Knox, federal judge, on the ground that the attorneys were unable to show that they were the authorized representatives of the defendants. The fifty-eight slated for deportation are being held incommunicado.

Meanwhile all the forces of the radical movement are being marshalled to prevent the deportation. Eugene V. Debs has telegraphed a scathing denunciation of the deportation to the New York Call, in which he says:

"This is Lincoln's birthday. It is a day rich with memory and dark with tragedy. Lincoln was and is the sweetest product of American soil. The birthday of the immortal railsplitter is being celebrated in part by the deportation from the land he loved of the men of honest toil, who, like himself, hated the money power and believed in government of and by and for the people. This is one of the beautiful ironies of capitalism. Its vaunted love of freedom is but the velvet cloak which conceals its ironfisted despotism.

These men are charged by the ruling class and its prostitute press with being enemies of the government. Precisely the same charge that is being brought against these men today under capitalist despotism was brought against Abraham Lincoln by the slave power of his day."

National Secretary Germer, of the Socialist Party sums up the situation and plans of the ruling class thus:

"Today it is the I. W. W.; tomorrow the Socialist Party members may be deported, and already threats are made against the American Federation of Labor. This situation involved the whole question of the right to think differently from the powers that be. To be different is to be criminal."

Socialist Party Emblems Barred From Public School

Socialists' Children Denied Access to Public Schools by Kasier-Like Officials. Hand of Persecution Seen in Disgraceful Misconduct of Teacher and County Superintendent, Yawberg.

By ELMER T. ALLISON

If you are a Republican your children may wear the emblems of the Republican party—to school at Royalton Center, Ohio.

If you are a Democrat your children may also wear to school the emblems of your party.

If you are a Socialist and believe in fair play and equal rights, your children are prohibited from wearing Socialist emblems to school in this district.

This is so because Supt. Tuttle says it is. It is so because his superior, County Supt., Yawberg, wishes it to be so. True, there is no legal justification for this arbitrary decision and rank discrimination against Socialists, but such little things as legality are not allowed to clutter the path of those would-be imitators of the late Kaiser in their determination to persecute Socialists.

For wearing Socialist Party emblems to school the five little girls of Alfred Wagenknecht, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Ohio, who is now at Chicago undertaking his new duties as Director of Propaganda and Organization of the Socialist Party of the United States, were sus- [illegible]

coming of the storm that broke over the peaceful countryside of Royalton Center, a little village 12 miles from Cleveland, appeared on Friday last week when Supt. Tuttle took from the dress of one of the little girls a Socialist emblem that she had worn continuously [illegible]

all the sneering impudence of a country gossip. The girl was forbidden to wear the emblem again to school. At noon a note from the child's mother was dispatched to Prof. Tuttle containing the information that Socialist emblems were not prohibited by law and that if he wished to learn further of the families' affairs he should inquire of some grown member. The emblems were continued to be worn.

Is Tuttle Tool of Higher Ups?

This note was the cause of Prof. Tuttle throwing one of those explosive fits that characterize the mentally unbalanced.

In a voice that drew the attention of the entire school on all floors, Prof. Tuttle proceeded to give the girls a lecture during which he let the cat out of the bag to the extent of boasting that the county, state, lawyers and "the judge" were behind him and that the Socialists were of such insignificant numbers as to count for nothing. [illegible]

FACTS ABOUT RUSSIA

(The following news notes are taken from The Northern Commune, a Soviet newspaper published in Petrograd, some December numbers of which have just been received in the United States. The news indicates that the Moderate Social Democratic groups in Russia are now supporting the Soviet government. It gives evidence of the spread of the co-operative movement in Russia under the Soviets. It contains a decree establishing free postage for one-ounce letters and cards, in order that poor people in Russia may have every facility for communication. There are several interesting notes on the constructive activities of the Soviet government, and notes from districts where the counter-revolutionists are in control, showing the repression with which that control is maintained).

THE MENSHEVIK ASSEMBLY

At the meeting of Mensheviki that took place at Moscow, Abramovich points out that the entire democratic element is now fluctuating between two choices: (1) "Let us have anything rather than the Bolsheviki!" (2) "Let us have a united front of all the living forces of the revolution!" Yermanskyi spoke of the German revolution and arrived at very serious conclusions. According to him, if Germany falls, we fall. Martov, at the end of his speech, declared that the entire democracy of the west, even its most right elements, would protest against the plans of the foreign imperialists, not only in the name of the preservation of the accomplishment of the revolution, "whatever may be the result of this Bolshevik experiment on the revolution."—Northern Commune, Dec. 12, 1918.

A VOICE FROM THE RIGHT S.R.S.

The Moscow bureau of the central committee of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party of the Right has come out against a continuation of the allied intervention as "having lost its original significance."—Northern Commune, Dec. 12, 1918.

THIRD CONGRESS OF WORKERS' CO-OPERATORS

The third congress of workers' co-operators was characterized by a success for the communists.

From this standpoint the importance of the third congress of workers' co-operatives will be enormous, both in principle and in practice. The co-operatives are beginning to be "Soviet Co-operatives," are entering into the ranks of the fighting proletariat, and casting aside their so-called "independence" and "neutrality."

In the northern regions (Petrograd and outlying districts) at the present time there are more than 9,000 consumers' leagues in operation, about 300 dairy associations, about 1,000 credit co-operatives, great numbers of lumberers', fishermens', agricultural, home-industrial, and other leagues and unions. In the region there are counted fully 200 large and small co-operative central organizations. The co-operative means of the population, as represented in the turn over of the co-operatives, attains the figure of at least 1,000,000,000 rubles.—Northern Commune, Dec. 15.

FREE LETTER POSTAGE IN RUSSIA.

The Commissaire of the Petropavlovsk Postoffice brings to the attention of the population of Petrograd a decree of the Soviet of People's Commissaires published in the "Izvestya" of the Central Executive Committee of the 24th of November, 1918, No. 257: "The Soviet of People's Commissaires, believing that a more steady and widespread exchange of written communications between the proletarians of the cities and the proper classes of the villages will further serve to strengthen and confirm the union already existing between them, and will in this manner aid in organizing the revolutionary Socialist forces of Russia, considers it essential to simplify and facilitate the exchange of postal communications. With these objects in view, the Soviet of People's Commissaires decrees as follows: (1) After Jan. 1, 1919, there will be free transmission in Russia of all open and sealed written communications, weighing not more than fifteen drams (about one ounce); (2) unregistered letters weighing more than fifteen drams as well as registered letters will be paid for at the full regular rate, in stamps covering charges for weight and for registration; (3) unregistered letters and packages sent out under the name of Soviet institutions, pay no charges; (4) the delivery without charge, of unregistered open communications is extended also to cover the correspondence entering the confines of Soviet Russia from other countries."—Northern Commune, Dec. 10.

MINING OF SALT IN STARA RUSSYA.

Novgorod, Dec. 9, (Rus. Tel. Ag.)—As a result of the salt crisis in the north the Council of National Economy decided to re-establish the mining of salt in Stara Russya and the environs. In the '70s of the last century about 500,000 pud of salt were obtained, but this exploitation gradually abated, and Stara Russya, having thus lost its industrial importance, was entirely devoted to its use as a watering place.—Northern Commune, Dec. 11.

A NEW GENERAL STAFF ACADEMY OPENED.

Moscow, Dec. 9, (Rus. Tel. Ag.)—Comrade Dzeyaltovskyi, Commander-in-Chief of Military Educational Institutions, in a conversation with a representative of the Rus. Tel. Ag. said that until now the organization of the Red Army had been conducted entirely by party men, who were not always conversant with military affairs. To correct this condition, military specialists had been engaged. A dual administration has resulted. The General Staff Academy had been opened with the object of obtaining men who would be inflexibly loyal to Communism and would nevertheless possess a complete knowledge of military affairs. The academy would be run by comrades who had proved their possession of military talents in the capacity of intellectual leadership. The acamedy has a great task before it in the domain of the principles of strategy and the tactics of war. The best military specialists will be invited to the academy as teachers.—Northern Commune, Dec. 11.

DECREE ABOLISHING THE CLASS CAR SYSTEM.

Moscow, Dec. 17, (R. T. A.)—The Central Executive Committee has issued the following decree concerning the division of railway cars into classes, as well as the introduction of a uniform pessenger rate: (1) The present general division of our railroad cars into classes corresponding to their social use, into first, second, third and fourth classes is abolished on all railroads and branch roads; (2) for the present the third-class car now in use is to be considered as the normal type of car for passenger traffic, and the People's Commissaire for Means of Communication is directed to take steps to improve as much as possible the cars of this type as well as increase the number of such cars in the rolling stock; (5) railroad lines are permitted, for the convenience of the passengers, to make up trains running at higher speed (express and curier trains), and also, to include in night trains and long-distance trains, cars that have numbered places for sitting and lying down, and also to charge an excess fee for greater speed as well as for reservation of numbered places.—Northern Commune, Dec. 18.

FRICTION IN THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

Kursk, Dec. 6, (Rus, Tel. Ag.)—In the "volunteer" (Denikines) army, conflicts are arising concerning the future forms of Russian organization. The lower levels of the army express distinct dissatisfaction with the political control from above. This conflict is rendered more bitter by the conduct of guard officers and former courtiers now living at Yekaterinodar, who are indulging in orgies and debauches. At the Bryansk Mine detachments of volunteer officers flogged 52 soldiers to death.—Northern Commune, Dec, 15.

THE SIBERIAN MUDDLE.

Samara, Dec. 16, (R. T. A.)—As a result of the Omsk coup d'etat the arrest of the All-Russian government, and the establishment of the military distatorship of Admiral Kolchak, there is now civil war in the White Guard Camp. The Ufa "Narodnoye Dyelo" prints resolutions of the Right Social-Revolutionaries, demanding the overthrow of Kolchak's power, a struggle against monarchism and the establishment of the authority of the Constituent Assembly. Admiral Kolchak, in turn, issued orders to all the military leaders, printed in the "Ufa Life" of Dec. 10 to put down by the most resolute measures all activities of the Constitutionals, not hesitating to use firearms when necessary. All members of the Constituent Assembly are subject to arrest and court-martial. From the orders it is clear that the S. R. S. have already begun to act; they have broken off communications with Siberia, with the Ural and Orenburg front, have seized sums of money, which had been forwarded to Siberia for Dutov, and hold back Kolchak's orders. All military leaders giving any support to the Constitutionals are declared by Kolchak to be beyond the law.—Northern Commune, Dec. 18.

IN DUTOV'S KINGDOM

(The following dispatch, depicting conditions under the dictatorship of Dutov, head of the Ural Cossacks, explains the subsequent successes of Soviet troops in the South Ural region. The Soviet forces now have Orenburg and the surrounding regions).

Samara, Dec. 13, (Rus. Tel. Ag.)—From the Orenburg front we learn: There is complete harmony between Dutov and the Siberian reactionaries. All political parties, except the Cadets, are subject to persecution at Orenburg. Mensheviki and Social Revolutionist activity has been forced underground. Meetings and assemblies are forbidden under pain of shooting. Evacuation is on at full speed here. Skirmishes are in progress on the Tashkent front. Only Bashkirs and Cossacks are fighting. Cases of mass shootings and persecutions are reported, inflicted on the peasants by Bashkir and Cossack bands. In the Preobrazhensky Works, more than 200 peasants were arrested on denunciation by rich landholders. Many were sentenced to be shot. Not a single village has been spared the most savage lynchings. All this arouses opposition among the peasants. In many villages the peasants have refused to furnish recruits or grain. Then the punitive battalions came; the peasants having no other weapons, fought with pitchforks. This uprising was put down by the Cossacks. Unbearable contributions were imposed upon the peasants. The Cossacks gathered the grain, horses, etc., without paying for them. The slightest infractions were punished by shooting.—Northern Commune, Dec. 15.

ON THE DON

Punitive battalions are employed on the Varonezh sector of the front, who, after any village or town has been captured by Krassnov's bands, shoot all revolutionaries. The battalion is supplied in advance with lists of names of those revolutionaries whom Krassnov's authorities have condemned to death.—Northern Commune, Dec. 15.

Astrakhan, Dec. 18, (R. T. A.)—According to reports received from deserters, enemy artillerists have refused to fire upon our trenches, and in their effort to desert our ranks, 30 men have in total, been shot by Cossack officers.—Northern Commune Dec. 18.

AFTER THE WAR—WHAT?

By C. E. Ruthenberg

X—Servile State or Socialism

The program if reconstruction presented in the preceding articles is the program of Socialism.

The practicality of this program is no longer in doubt. During the nineteen months this country participated in the world war the underlying principle of this program—collectivism—was adopted as a measure of self-preservation by the government. In Russia the establishment of collectivism based upon democracy in industry is under way.

It was possible before the war to scoff at and pooh-pooh the Socialist proposals, but in a great emergency, face to face with the fact that private control of industry meant internal conflict, wastefulness and inefficiency in production, when the most efficient and effective organization of industry was needed by the capitalist class, the government was obliged to cast prejudices to the winds and apply the principle of collective control of industry.

Even the limited application of this principle which was made has shown the tremendous possibilities of the Socialist program.

We can through collectivism—through the organization and co-ordination of our powers of production, eliminate hundreds of millions of waste and make a large increase in our productive ability. The abolition of exploitation through the abolition of rent, interest and profits, will insure to the masses the enjoyment of the wealth produced through our greatly increased productive power and will end the misery and poverty which is such a dark blot upon our civilization. A thorough-going program of collectivism will enable us to bring into existence more than enough wealth to give a high standard of living, which means good food, good clothing, good homes, education and recreation, peace and happiness, to every family in the United States.

Through the establishment of industrial democracy we can eliminate the industrial conflicts which are the constant accompaniment of production under the profit system. We cannot only eliminate strikes, lockouts and unemployment, but we can assure to the workers that joy which comes through creative effort when men are not drudges and slaves, but freemen co-operating with their fellows in producing useful things.

Shall we go one with the development of collectivism and industrial democracy? Shall we go forward to a better world?

The capitalist class says "no."

The Republican party, through the declaration of its leaders, its state platforms and the manifesto it issued during the congressional campaign, has set its face against even the limited bureaucratic collectivism which developed during the war. It stands for the unrestrained exploitation of the workers by the great industrial organization of the country.

The Democratic party has taken a similar position. In his address to congress at the opening of the session in December, 1918, President Wilson declared that the work of reconstruction could be safely left in the hands of the business men of the United States.

The logic of events will likely compel the capitalist class and its political expression, the Republican and Democratic parties, to change its program somewhat. We may expect that in the near future the advanced section of the capitalist class will advocate that certain industries be operated by the government. Certain capitalists have learned that it is more economical to have the government own and operate such industries as the transportation system, the telegraph and telephone system and other basic industries and they will advocate that these industries become the common property of the capitalist class through ownership by a government which it controls, rather than that they be owned by certain groups of the capitalist class. Such an arrangement, they have come to understand, is entirely campatible with the continuance of their right to make profits out of these industries.

Should either of the two capitalist parties change its program to conform with this new view, which is gaining ground, there is no hope that it would attack the profit system. It is entirely possible to apply the principles of collectivism and at the same time maintain the system of exploitation which now exists and even to subject the workers to a more abject form of industrial slavery than they have been obliged to submit to under private ownership. Such an industrial feudalism might well arise if "the masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and bankers of the United States" during the period of reconstruction.

There is no hope for the working class if they continue to support the political parties representing the interest of the capitalist class of the United States.

The war has not only demonstrated the practicality of the Socialist program, but in the experience of the workers of Russia and of Germany we have clearly presented the road which we must follow if we are to reach the goal of industrial democracy and working class freedom.

The idea that Socialism would be established through a series of legislative acts extending possibly over a decade or two, has been shown to be an illusion. Socialism will not be legislated into existence but will be established by a mass movement of the workers in the industries. The legislative acts will merely give the accomplished fact the stamp of approval as the will of the majority.

The struggle of the working class will henceforth be a political struggle for control of the state because it must gain control of the government before it can hope to establish democracy in industry. For the working class to endeavor to take control of industry while all the repressive power of the class state remained in the hands of the capitalist class would be to invite destruction.

The work the workers have to do in this country, the way to freedom, is through building a class conscious political movement which will carry on the work of educating the workers to an understanding of the system of exploitation which now exists and the class character of the government and to organize the workers for the struggle to wrest control of the government out of the hands of the capitalist class. The Socialist Party is the medium through which this work can be done. The workers of this country should give it their undivided support.

At the same time it is an essential part of the work of the workers to build up organizations in the industries themselves, having as their goal to supersede the capitalists in control of industry. In these organizations in the industries are the beginning of the new industrial order that will expand and grow until they become a huge co-operative organization of the workers for control and management of the work of production and of all matters pertaining to their common interest.

Working class reconstruction of our industrial system can only be achieved by the working class itself. In Russia there is already emerging from the blood engulfed debris of capitalism the new industrial order that will be the foundation of a better world, a world of security, peace and happiness. This new society has been achieved through the sacrifice and devotion of millions of Russian workers. The workers of the United States can win the same goal if they prepare themselves and use their power.

Socialist Meetings in Ohio

Youngstown—H. L. A. Holman will speak in Youngstown February 23rd. Locals desiring a Holman date should notify the State Office.

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Bellaire—Bellaire is arranging a meeting for Thurber Lewis Feb. 22.

* * *

Sandusky—C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland will fill a date in Sandusky on March 5th.

* * *

Akron Meetings—Dennis E. Batt, associate editor the Proletarian will fill a date at Akron February 23rd. C. E. Ruthenberg is scheduled for a date on March 2nd. These meetings will take place at 50 South Howard street.

* * *

[illegible] —Local Columbus [illegible]

Baker Dates—State Organizer Baker's dates are as follows: Jenera, February 21, 22; Bluffton, February 23; Findlay, February 24 and 25; North Baltimore, February 26; Napoleon, February 27 and 28; Fremont, March 1, 2; Greenwich, March 3, 4.

* * *

Kenmore meetings—Thurber Lewis fills a date at Biddycoffer hall Sunday evening, February 23rd.

* * *

Lilith Martin Tour—Comrade Lilith Martin of the Rand School of Social Science, will begin organization work in Ohio April 1st. A tour for this well-known organizer is being arranged.

* * *

Kirkpatrick Meetings—Geo. R. Kirkpatrick will fill a date in Dayton February 24th. Other dates of the same week are [illegible], Bellaire, Toledo. [illegible]

Socialist Emblem Barred

(Continued from page one)

snatched off on this occasion. Perhaps this opportunity was overlooked. If so the writer wishes to extend the Prof. a standing invitation to attempt the same on the button he wears whenever the Prof. feels an uncontrollable desire to commit any more skull-duggery of that character.

On Monday following the storm broke over the heads of the five little criminals who had the hardihood to stand up loyally for their rights. At noon the Prof. informed the girls they must remove the Socialist buttons from their dresses before they returned to school. No socialist buttons were to be allowed in the school, he said.

Mrs. Hortense Wagenknecht, mother of the children and Acting State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Ohio, [illegible] the children that each one [illegible] writer, would be up to see him.

Mr. Tuttle is Touchy. Five little Socialists, each wearing a red button, was too much for the Berserker temper of Mr. Tuttle. He completely lost a very bad temper at this sight. "I have no time to talk to your uncle," said Mr. Tuttle, "besides it is too late to do anything. You are all suspended from shcool. I am going to call up the lawyers and you go home and don't put your feet inside this school yard with a Socialist button on." We are wondering if Tuttle also called up the "judge," whom he apparently imagines is going to rule in favor of his impudent and Kaiser-like tactics? A threat to have the mother jailed and the girls sent to a reform school terminated this interview with Tuttle.

Tuttle Slaps School Board in Face. —Though Mr. Tuttle received his present job from the local school board he has probably forgotten it for it may as well not exist, so far as [illegible] ing of Socialist buttons to school. A call upon the clerk of the board, Mr. Dolezl, confirmed this fact. If Mr. Tuttle had expelled the children it had been done without the consent or knowledge of the board, said Dolezl.

These board members are apparently well-to-do farmers, fair minded and congenial people. They exhibited no bitterness against Socialists as such, but maintain an open mind and would talk to you about Socialism the same as any thing else. The same may be said of the other four teachers. Their conduct has been exemplary. Mr. Dolezl stated that the matter would probably be aired at the regular meeting of the board on the 22nd of the month.

SOURCE OF AUTHORITY REVEALED

At the hour of going to press Supt. Yawberg was gotten on the phone, when asked by what authority Socialist children were [illegible]

News of the State Locals

Local Kenmore is preparing the seed bed for Socialism is that city. Why shouldn't the workers control the city, justly asks Comrade Seibert, since the workers are by far in the majority? The comrades are striving to have the O. S. go into every worker's home. This means success for their efforts as has been proven. Local Kenmore is anxious that the paper grow into even a better and bigger warrior for the workers.

* * *

MARTINS FERRY IN ACTION

Local Martins Ferry is making strides toward great things. We are in receipt of a circular letter from Secretary Fred White which was sent to the 20,000 voters of the city. The letter comprises both propaganda and organization matter of great value as well as an invitation to subscribe for the Ohio Socialist.

* * *

The local is also distributing 200 copies of the paper each week. A clipping from the Wheeling (Va.) News states that the comrades are going to build a Social Science School for the workers' children and also establish a branch of the Y. P. S. L. All this, we say, means that the comrades are up to the minute in organization and propaganda methods. We shall have more to say of Local M. F. in the future.

* * *

CALL FOR PROTEST MEETINGS

Local Youngstown will hold a monster protest meeting on the 22d of this month against the deportation of radicals, that is being inaugurated by the government. Fifty-three workers from western cities are now being held in New York for deportation on account of activity in the recent Seattle strike.

Local Youngstown feels that this move on the part of the government may lead to even more drastic actions against the workers whose opinions are not in harmony with those of the exploiters and that workers should at once make a strong campaign of protest against the threatened danger. The State Office concurs in this and asks locals to arrange such meetings with as much publicity as possible to the end that the government may understand that deportation of workers on account of their aconomic and political opinions is a dangerous precedent for a "democratic" government to establish. Organize and protest.

* * *

DEVELOPING LOCAL TALENT

Local Ravenna is developing in the local the necessary talent to conduct meetings and party activities. It has seen the necessity for this so is not going to remain dependent upon outside help. They are just going ahead and develop the talent which lies dormant in every local. Other locals which think they have not speakers qualified to hold and arrange meetings should follow Ravenna's lead. Develop the talent necessary to carry on the work we must do. Get away from the idea that you "can't do it." You can if you will. Watch Ravenna do it.

* * *

FREE ADVERISING

The comrades of Cincinnati claim that the capitalist press of that city most generous. They estimate that it has given them about three hundred dollars worth of free advertising and the end is not yet. Of course our readers will understand the kind of advertising we mean. It's the kind that has so effectively "killed" the Socialist movement in this country. The kind that fills our halls to overflowing at 25c admission. The kind that brings our membership month. The kind that thrive as we never have Thanks, most generous enemies. us some more!

* * *

GROWING, GROWING!

Local East Liverpool is afflicted with growing pains. Twenty members were accepted in January. Six more applied the first meeting in February, and the efforts of the have not been nearly exhausted. fact the more the members work more "pep" they have. Great work Great Work.

* * *

Local Ashtabula is forming a City Central Committee. Sign of growth. Since Local Youngstown formed itself into a City Central Committee its activities have increased several hundred fold. We trust the same will be true of Local Ashtabula.

* * *

POLITICAL PRISONER IS FREE

Comrade Harry Townsley will be released from Atlanta Federal prison Feb. 21. Comrade Townsley is a member of Local Columbus.

Comrade A. L. Hitchcock, confined at the same institution is reported to be feeling somewhat blue on account of the fact that two good friends he has made there are also being released this month. We wish to suggest that comrades write him a letter and thus help to drive away the lonesomeness. For some time past no Socialist papers have been allowed the comrades there so all the news they get of Socialist work is contained in letters. Write to Comrade Hitchcock and tell him the latest Socialist news.

* * *

LEWIS SENDS INTERESTING REPORT

Comrade Thurber Lewis reports to the State Office of his meetings make mighty interesting reading. Writing of his meeting at Coshocton, he says the comrades will reorganize at once. Comrades, he said, claim they would rather do without tobacco than to lose the Ohio Socialist. Well, it is possible to have both and if the comrades will hustle a bit they may induce others to add to the joys of life by becoming regular readers. Try it comrades of Coshocton, and hurry along with organization work. The revolution waits not for any one. Through the hospitality of Comrade Fitch a hotel bill was saved to the party. Thanks comrade.

* * *

ON THE TRAIL OF BIG THINGS

Local Springfield is on the trail of big things. Comrade J. Rehm, our champion sub getter in that locality is constantly on the job distributing literature. He is convinced that leaflets and papers are more effective in that district than speakers and less expensive. Reorganization work will be undertaken at an early date. In the meanwhile everybody is given a chance to read the best leaflets.

* * *

Debs Dates Your Choice

The United States Supreme Court has not yet rendered a decision in the Debs case. It is not known when the decision will be rendered. In the meantime Comrade Debs is ready to fill dates in the northern judicial district of Ohio. Locals which can arrange a date for Comrade Debs are urged to notify the State Office at once. Take advantage of this opportunity. Apply for a Debs date.

The Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS

PART V

Continued

At an anti-slavery convention she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who argued with her that the woman suffrage movement was wider than lecturing in the temperance cause, finally prevailing upon her "that the ballot was the key to the solution." Thus began one of the grandest friendships of co-workers in the woman's cause.

Together they became a firebrand that set ablaze a community of awakening women, kindling anew the dying embers of once hopeful rebellious women, spreading the flame of discontent among the snugly satisfied, casting brands of red-hot logic among discomfited legislatures, assailing the national congress with their demands, flinging that early suffrage paper, "The Revolution," with its motto, 'Principles, not policy; justice, not favor; men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less," into the Arena of Human Rights.

During the long years they worked and the followers grew into a vast array of active workers, Miss Anthony would go out into the world, holding meetings (one year she called or attended fifty-four conventions) plodding through rain and snow, enduring heat and cold as from house to house she went securing signatures for petitions to be sent to legislatures.

When weary and heart sick and in need of encouragement she would hasten like a homesick child to the comfortable counsels and cheering words of Mrs. Stanton. They would review the nation's affairs and plan anew how to make the thick-headed sons of Adam understand that a new era had come—not the era of man-made rulings but a bigger, wider, better era—the human era.

No issue was too small for them to attack, no problem too large for them to boldly investigate as into religious, political, industrial and educational camps they hurled defiances.

There were many who joined the infant movement giving it an impetus that has continued till this day. Matilda Joslyn Gage brought a fund of knowledge about history that was an inestimable asset. Her parents had made it a rule to answer every childish question, never chiding her quest for knowledge. Her book, "Woman, Church and State," gave many women convincing proofs for debates and arguments.

Clarina H. Nichols, living in many states, amid hardships and privations, carried [illegible]

once when on a tour, a southerner hearing she also lectured on woman's rights, asked her if she would talk to the women of his city. Of course, he only meant the lecture for white women. He asked her not to mention the abolition of chattel slavery and tried to convince her that the negro having no brains wouldn't know what to do with freedom. (The capitalist tells the same story about the wage slave now). They parted, disagreeing, but later when writing to her that a meeting was arranged he couldn't resist adding a postscript: "Have you tried your experiment of educating any little 'nigger' yet?" Whereupon she added a postscript, "No, I have not tried my educational experiment for the reason that the horrid amalgamationists preceded us, and bleached the 'niggers' that I have been able to find a pure-blood specimen."

So the women fought all evils while seeking their own emancipation.

Cheerful Lucy Stone was drawn into the vortex of the fight for equal rights. Her strong personality and excessive energy led her to tackle all customs that were holding women in subjection.

A lecturer and known to the public as Lucy Stone before her marriage to Henry Blackwell, sh sink her individuality being known as Mrs. Luc husband's ideas being readily agreed, but Mad had one mad, screeching woman dared relegate a cu attic of outworn usages.

Her fighting instinct told fuse to pay taxes on the th "Taxation without repres tyranny."

Together they ably edi "Woman's Journal" and for ye weekly messages to thous readers.

Sometimes they went on tours and as they journeyed over of unbroken Kansas roads, the fo ing incident shows that they met some of the grandparents of the p ple with whom radicals today co tend. "The people are a queer m ture of roughness and intelligence recklessness and conservatism. One swears at women who want to wear breeches; another wonders if we ever heard of a fellow named Paul; third is not going to put an equality with niggers. an told Lucy that no de would be r ing over [illegible]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES $1.00 Per Hundred | 50c Six Months

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, FEB. 19, 1919 108

TO LEAD OR TO BE LED?

To lead or to be led is the question that confronts the Socialist Party of the United States, the Socialist Party of Ohio, the Socialist Party of every town and city. The changes now occurring at the close of the war have placed the Socialist Party in a position filled to the brim with tremendous possibilities. Opportunities for propaganda and organization along lines never attempted before open on every side with most alluring promise. Our ability and competence as a party to lead the proletarian revolution and to guide it safely past the pitfalls now being dug for it are even now being put to the test. These opportunities for great and sweeping achievements are certain to test the ability of the Socialist Party to lead in the worker's march to victory. The ability, the competence of the Socialist Party to lead are now on trial, on trial in this, the first hour of victory. Our ability to lead the proletarian cause will be measured by one thing. It will be measured by the promptness with which we grasp the opportunities which these economic changes present to us and by the energy with which we exploit the vast field of propaganda and organization opening before us. This thought is worthy the earnest consideration of every comrade.

THE OHIO SITUATION

The Socialist Party of Ohio came out of the trials and persecutions of the war with banners flying. An increase in membership, an organization proven for its fidelity to the principles of Internationalism, a recognized position in the front ranks of militant Socialism in this country and a growing party-controlled weekly paper were among the gains made during the severest test it had ever undergone. The position this state occupies as "the best organized in the Union" is a credit to the integrity and uncompromising character of every Red whose efforts have helped win this renown. But these are the victories of the past.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The Socialist Party of Ohio is at this hour facing the greatest opportunity ever presented to it. Never before were the opportunities for propaganda and organization as great as now. Never were the workers so willing, even anxious to hear our message. Never was our field of activities so broad nor so ready for cultivation. Crowded halls greet our speakers. Our organizers report a general revival in all localities and an intensifying of the movement everywhere. Calls for speakers from all parts of the state far exceeds our ability to supply them. The present is no time for laggards. It is a time when we must push to the utmost our propaganda of Industrial Democracy.

THE RIGHT ARM OF LABOR

The press is the right arm of labor as it is also of capitalism. Through its control of the public press capitalism hypnotizes the workers to do its will and bidding. By controlling the means of publicity its power is enhanced and strengthened. Its hold upon the minds of the workers is at times supreme through its control of their reading and the opportunity for distortion through falsification. Capital's power through its control of the public press is the most sinister and dangerous element in society. And yet it breeds the seeds of its own destruction. It creates a hatred in the worker's mind for it and teaches him the necessity of establishing a labor press.

To combat the lies and distortions of the capitalist press, the workers see the necessity of controlling a press that shall represent them. Powerful weeklies, bi-weeklies and dailies must be established by the workers and be under their control. A nationwide movement for a militant workers' press is now under way. The masses are ready for it and will support it. Capitalism is destroying itself through its lies and deceit.

In Ohio we have the foundation of what must be made a greater party paper. From a monthly of a year ago the Ohio Socialist has become a weekly with a circulation at this time of ten thousand. But we must not stop here, nor think that we have reached the end of possibilities. By no means. The times, the sentiment of the workers, the revolution itself, imposes upon us the obligation to accomplish more, to reach out in a wider field and to extend our scope of usefulness to the workers.

TO STRENGTHEN THE RIGHT ARM

The Ohio Socialist must be made a bi-weekly. Every reader is asked to help. Not in money, but in time and effort. Think what a bi-weekly such as the Ohio Socialist with a circulation of 20,000 will mean to the Socialist movement of this state! The Ohio Socialist has proven its worth as an organ of both propaganda and organization. Let us now enhance its value to the movement by making it a bi-weekly. We MUST do this. To fail to do so is to prove our incapacity to fulfill our mission. Let us not falter at this time. The municipal campaign of this fall will add to our opportunities for propaganda. Hundreds of record breaking meetings will be held. Let us prepare to make the most of these meetings by advertising and establishing at that time the Ohio Socialist as a bi-weekly.

TWENTY THOUSAND READERS NEEDED

Every reader of this paper will receive a subscription blank and a letter. We want every reader to take that subscription blank and his copy of the paper to his friends and shopmates and secure their subscriptions. We want you to give an hour or two to this great work. Take your place in the front ranks of dead-in-earnest socialists and help us make the goal. When we get twenty thousand subscribers the Ohio Socialist can be made a bi-weekly.

Prove that your party has the ability of leadership that is demanded of it at this critical hour. Prove that we are to lead—not to be led! Use that subscription blank.

BUY AN
Industrial Freedom
CERTIFICATE

$1.00

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Constant Vigilance the Price

Constant vigilance is still the price of Liberty. It's the price of Industrial Freedom too. Every act on the part of the ruling class which tends to delay [illegible] back the movement of the Working Class for a better and happier life must be AGITATED AGAINST. The few hard-won liberties such as Free Speech, Free Press and Free Assemblage, must be upheld and when they are threatened we must cry aloud so all the world will hear.

These Three

Free Speech, Free Press and Free Assemblage have had rough sailing during war time. From the Federal government to the town marshall the principle of FREEDOM OF UTTERANCE has had to meet onslaughts. Many people, during war time, had to burden themselves with two diametrically opposed convictions, one for public display and one to use when in conversation with themselves. Were you one of these? And if you were, and if you honestly believe in Free Speech, Free Press and Free Assemblage why not help to agitate for their full restoration by joining in the demand for the immediate repeal of the espionage act? The Socialist Party has determinedly agitated against abridging these rights. You can do your part by buying an INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE—$1.00.

Amnesty for Political Prisoners

The prisons contain hundreds of men and women, who are in prison only because they had the courage of their convictions. Pacifists, members of certain religious sects, Industrial Workers, Socialists—hundreds of them have been imprisoned because their opinion about the war and that of the Democratic administration did not agree. These prisoners ARE political prisoners, and now that the war is over should be given their freedom without delay.

Yet, there is but one way to abbreviate the delay already so apparent. That way is to arouse the nation's workers to an understanding of the justice of the demand for amnesty for all political prisoners. The administration will "move" in the matter when the worker's voice is heard. The Socialist Party has, is now and will continue to hold public meetings to agitate for the release of these prisoners. Millions of pieces of literature will be distributed by this political party of the Working Class. You can help, you can do your share by buying an INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE—$1.00.

Thomas Mooney

Every square man and woman will agree with Thomas Mooney when he said: "If I am guilty I ought to be hanged. If I am not guilty I must be freed." Thomas Mooney was sentenced to be hanged after having been convicted upon perjured testimony, that he took part in the San Francisco preparedness bomb outrages. Thomas Mooney is as innocent as you are of complicity in this crime. The capitalists of California want to "get him" because he has organized the workers to fight uncompromisingly against the plutocrats. Thomas Mooney was sentenced to be hung. The governor of California commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. To Mooney this is worse than death by hanging. Mooney IS INNOCENT. He must be freed. There is only one way. We must agitate and educate the workers so that they may know the case and help demand his freedom. The Socialist Party has given thousands of dollars, held thousands of meetings, printed millions of pieces of literature to help Mooney regain his liberty. You MUST HELP. Buy an INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE—$1.00.

How About Families of Prisoners?

Needy families of Socialists in prison must be given aid. And comforts must be provided for those comrades who are still fighting for us and valiantly, even though behind bars and because of that fact.

The Socialist Party of Ohio has thr rades in the Federal penitentiary at A Ga. We have two in the Warrensville house. Two are awaiting trial in the Cuy county jail. Two are under indictm Cleveland. Thirteen are under indictm Cincinnati, and many of these are the of families. Our responsibility is gre we will all shoulder our part of this the load will be light.

You can do your part in helping to su prisoners' families and in providing com for comrades in prison by buying an INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE—$1.00.

Now Listen—

You've probably given before and most generously. The Socialist Party thanks you for this. Now GIVE AGAIN. Eternal vigilance is the price. We must give and give until we attain our aim. Give your dollar. Others will give theirs. Together we will give thousands of dollars with which to hit thousands of blows for FREEDOM.

With a willing dollar in the palm of your hand, wend your way to the next meeting of the local Socialist Party and exchange it for an

Industrial Freedom
CERTIFICATE

Your Local Secretary Has Your Certificate Waiting For You.

If you are not a member locally, then send the dollar direct to the Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio, and an official receipt and a CERTIFICATE will be sent you.

HELP—NOW—QUICK

Socialist Emblems Barred

(Continued from Page Two)

wearing of the buttons because of the prejudice against Socialism and Socialists. This was the first intimation of such aleged interference that has been made.

In reply to a question if he would prohibit a democrat's child wearing that party's emblem if it was in an unpopular minority, Supt. Yawberg said "No we would find a way to adjust matters." Supt. Yawberg stated at this time that unless the children were in school the folowing day the parents would find themselves before the juvenile court.

Is this entering wedge of persecution?

All indications point that this arbitrary, illegal action of these officials is but the entering wedge that is to act as a means of Socialist persecution. If this is so, the Socialist party will pick up the gauntlet that has been cast before it. No persecutions of Socialist's children in the public schools of this state are to be tolerated. Our children have equal rights with others. These rights will be held against any interference on [illegible]

The entire mater bears the earmarks of a frame-up. Other higher up are using Tuttle and Yawberg as catspaws with which to pull chestnuts from the fire. The expected connivance of the local school board with their schemes for hounding Socialists and persecuting their children will not materialize. These farmer school board members are not concerned with the schemes of those who are at the bottom of this ugly and petty persecution, nor will they allow themselves to be used as tools of oppression.

DISGRACE A NOBLE PROFESSION

Prof. Tutle and Supt. Yawberg have disgraced the noblest profession to which one can be called. They have set an example before the children of this school that is unsurpassed for intolerence, lack of fair play, and have outraged every sense of justice that lies in the bosom of every normal man and woman. They may be either autocrats or "tools" of higher ups. Their actions bear evidence that they are a combination of both.

And because of these five Socialist children are suspended from school until such time as they and their parents will knuckle down and bow the knee to as rare a [illegible] honored a sta [illegible]

Virginia Bulletin

Official Organization News

B. M. DUTTON, State Secretary.

Virginia Comrades: If I should say to you, "every person is, or of right should be, born in bondage—" and if I were to stop here you would pronounce me either a lunatice or a plute hireling, but if I continue—"to their own needs," you would agree with me if you are a Socialist, and denounce me as a dangerous anarchist if you are a plute sympathizer.

We, all of us, are, or of right, should be, in bondage to Old Mother Nature. No amount of rebellion can free the race from the bondage to its material and spiritual needs. It requires a certain amount of labor to maintain every individual, however low their standard of living my be. If the individual does not perform this labor, SOME OTHER INDIVIDUAL MUST. True, the individual need not serve themselves specifically, that is, they need not cook their meals, wash their clothes, make up their beds, etc., but THEY MUST return to society an equivolent in USEFUL service, else they are PARASITES, and a parasite, me lads, is the lowest varmint that exists, be it man or louse.

No, Bo, manipulating the stock market, profiteering, speculating, emitting intellectual mustard gas in plutocracies red light district or selling corner lots in The New Jerusalem is not useful service in the sense in which I mean. Service to be USEFUL must be of such a character as to supply a real need, either physical, intellectual or spiritual. Men's standards of morals and ethics are changing. Pretty soon it will be that folks who do NO LABOR and folks who live by that kind of knavery, hitherto regarded as respectable, or even as an indication of superior ability, will be held in scorn. When that day comes you would no more take off your hat to the fat parasite who rides in his limousine than you would to the lean and dirty specimen who ambles up to your back door and asks for a handout. But when this day comes there will not BE ANY fat parasites, they will all be doing useful work. Neither will there be any lean; society will quit manufacturing them, too.

"Der Tag"—now I've played hell. I've confessed to "Bolshevik" convictions, and that of course means that a fellow is on the war path smeared in red paint, and sworn to destroy religion, break up the home, institute free love and dump his bastard brats into the arms of the state. If a fellow whispers that he thinks everyone should be required to do his per capita part of THE USEFUL work of the world, he at once becomes a dangerous anarchist and a "Bolshevik," and should be interned at once.

The Class Struggle is no because that from the earliest history of the race A PART of mankind have succeeded in dumping the labor of their upkeep on the others. Then, too, the knaves have ALWAYS insisted that they were SUPERIOR to the fellows they robbed, and must live in luxury and splendor.

These fellows have always believed in democracy—for themselves. Among each other they have always practiced democracy. In Feudal England when her highways and byways were adorned by the skeletons of petty thieves clanking their chains as they swayed suspendid in the wind, "The Peers of England" walked to earth, the freest and most democratic of men. For each other they had the uttermost solicitude, but woe betide the underling who transgressed their "laws" in the slightest. Law has always been for the suppression of the "underling" that the superman might live in ease and security without doing the labor necessary to his upkeep.

And now that "the underlings" are seeing the rawness of the game and insisting upon using the structure of government to free themselves from their parasites, the "better closes" are squealing like peeved kins and complaining that we agitators are inciting "class hatred." Poor dears, they never appeal to hate. If you think so, just read the kind of ladylike observations in their kept press about the Russian Bolsheviki.

January has not been a successful month in our movement here in Virginia. Guess the comrades have let loose to spit on their hands. The chronicle for January is almost "nothing doing." However, there are indications that February will make amends for the lag in January. I once asked a materialist who was [illegible] about the Orthodox C [illegible] answered bluntly—"more men." The definition of the chief end of a Socialist should likewise be—"more Socialists." "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." Let's all get busy and help God Almighty to enforce this decree.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Income.

Jan. 10, Local Norfolk Co., donation on mach. fund	$6.00
Total income for month	$6.00

Expenses.

Jan. 15, literature	$1.00
Jan. 31, postage and stationery	3.00
Total	$4.00
Gain for the month	$2.00

TRY THE CARD SELLING PLAN

In conversation with a local physician in regard to the influenza he stated that October the banner flu month netted him an average wage of thirty dollars per day. Now at a recent meeting of the fraternity in Chicago they acknowledged their inability to find a cure for the malady, either had a preventative been discovered.

Which all reminds us of the oft repeated accusation that it had always been more profitable to prolong than to cure diseases. However, it is generally conceded that inefficient nourishment is the advance agent and prime factor in producing and distributing the plague.

Semi-starvation, capitalism's noblest offspring is the chief propaganda used in securing votes and getting business for doctors and undertakers. Papers like the Ohio Socialist explain the underlying causes of diseases both body and politic Socialism being the only known remedy for a sick world. Subscription cards are in demand. Virginia comrades, if you don't believe it just try selling them.
—F. D. Lowe, Riverside, Va.

Doings in Davenport

According to the Daily Times of Davenport, Ia., "A Socialist Plot Was Nipped by the City Council."

The plot turned out to be the Socialist Aldermen, Peck and Bracher, had opposed the payment of a bill to cover the expenses of city officials to St. Louis and return, on the ground that only three were authorized to make the trip to inspect paving.

* * *

The Kate Richards O'Hare meeting held in Northwest Turner hall, Davenport, Ia., was such a pronounced success it disturbed the peace of the minds of our celebrated? Scott County Council of National Defense. They have just issued an appeal to all good citizens to do all in their power to discourage the holding of these lectures, by refusing to let them use halls and otherwise intimidating the party members. Of course, this appeal, together with the tirade against the two Socialist aldermen, for taking an active part in the meeting, will practically insure us a capacity house at the Turner Grand Opera, where Comrade L. E. Katterfeld will speak Thursday, Feb. 20, at 8 p. m.

* * *

We have made it a practice during the past year to ignore any and all charges, the plute press and the paytriot for $ organization has caused to be published broadcast, and it has got their goat to say the least. They cannot understand how we can stage successful meetings when their influence is exercised against them. Well, we are telling them none of our business, but simply going ahead and arranging dater for lectures. We are now endeavoring to secure Comrade George R. Kirkpatrick for the latter part of March.

W. E. M.
Davenport, Ia.

A COMRADE'S OPINION

Local Columbus hall, 50 1-2 West Gay St., was well filled Sunday p. m., Feb. 9, and Comrade Charles Baker, of Hamilton (Canton) made one of the best speeches I have ever heard in all my twenty years of experience in the Socialist movement. Comrade Baker will long be remembered by the people present on account of the [illegible]

Notes Along The Way

By CHAS. BAKER.

The organization at Sandusky is ready to don its fighting clothes, and get to work. My meeting there was a success in every way. Even the press gave the meeting a column write up.

* * *

Holland, Ohio, is the place our howling patriots gave away clothing free, this past month. Three of our comrades received a suit of tar and feathers. But this gang has run for cover, after trampling under foot every semblance of democracy and rapping the ideals the American government was supposed to have been founded upon. The meeting at Holland was a success. Our respects were paid to the Pay-tri-ots, who did such noble work in behalf of democracy.

* * *

The fires of the revolution are burning brightly at Lima. With such a fireman as Comrade Blank, why shouldn't they be kept burning? The hall here was too small to hold the vast gathering of workers hungering for our message. Many were turned away. Lima will be heard from, rest assured.

* * *

It is seldom indeed, that a Socialist agitator has a Mayor to play the part of a bell hop, but such was the case when I landed in Piqua. Comrade Hamilton showed me to my room in his beautiful home. Since his, or the mayor, spent several days in the Hoose-gow, I felt at home. Local Piqua is moving into larger quarters and establishing a reading room, which proves that the movement there has been killed. Another such killing as they received will return them to control of the city. We had a splendid and very successful meeting.

* * *

Sure, Columbus is on the Socialist map. Anyone attending the meeting there on the 9th would think the revolution was on, and that Columbus was the headquarters. Machinists' hall was filled.

The greatest opportunity the movement of this country ever had to do effective work, is here. Though many are timid and still afraid to show themselves, the workers everywhere are eager for our message.

Nearly every place I go if I have been there before, I meet discharged soldiers who wanted to break up meetings before, now hungry for our message.

The "Heroes of today, will be the hoboes of tomorrow." How true it is. Do I not see it coming true all along the line? My advice to the comrades of Ohio, is strike while the iron is hot. Our hour has arrived.

COLUMBUS GROWING

February 6th the attendance at the local meeting showed an encouraging increase and the financial secretary in making his monthly report stated that the increase in sale of dues stamps for the month of January was more than one hundred per cent more than in January, 1918. And seven applications for membership were favorably acted upon. A motion was passed to put names on the Ohio Socialist subscription list for three months each, to the amount of $10.00 and an order be drawn on the treasurer for that purpose. We had quite a pleasant surprise by Comrade H. L. A. Holman of Texas dropping in and giving a lecture on organic law and he presented the subject in an able manner and was received with much enthusiasm.—E. B. Eubanks.

WOULD YOU LIKE A FARM HOME AND OWN YOUR OWN JOB?

THEN READ THIS: I have been in all the southern states bordering upon the gulf and I believe south-eastern Mississippi is the most desirable location for one with small means to build a farm home. The climate is very healthful, good water, roads and excellent schools, the people are sociable and hospitable; direct lines to market. Good lands for general and special farming and stock raising at $10.00 per acre on easy terms. No swamp lands, but gently rolling and well watered by small streams; plenty of rain, no long winters—can farm all the year. Fruits and early vegetables grown for northern market. This land will triple in value in the next five years. If you would like to join with a dozen or more comrades to form a colony settlement, write for further particulars to J. F. DENISON, 416 1-2 Washington Ave., Warren, Ohio.—Adv.

State Executive Committeeman Wm. Patterson renews his subscription for two years [illegible]

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for Six Months.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS,
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.,
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets every Sunday at 7 P. M., rear room Woodmen's Hall, South Union St., Warren, O.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets each Sunday at 2:30 P. M. Socialist Hall, 38 High St., 3rd floor.

A Few Big Boosts

Here we shall record a few boosts of locals and comrades who are working to spread the message of Socialism. Space alone prevents us from giving notice to the hundreds of comrades who send us subscriptions week after week.

The past month and a half have recorded the highest point we have reached in the number of subscriptions received. Slightly over five hundred a week has been the average. To the comrades who are responsible for this great increase we must content ourselves with a hearty THANK YOU.

Here are instanced a few big lists received lately. Last week we published the fact that Local Galion, O., had sent in a list of 120 subs. Galion is going to occupy a large place on the Socialist map. Just keep your eye on these comrades.

* * *

Comrades W. E. Reynolds of Battle Creek, Mich., is sending in some large batches of late. Comrade Reynolds makes it a joint to boost the O. S. at the meetings he addresses. Here is what he has sent us lately. From Grand Rapids and Muskegon meetings, 43; from Kalamazoo meetings, 44, and from Battle Creek, 6. Comrade Reynolds is a result getter when it comes to selling subs or literature. He makes 'em want them.

* * *

Now listen, you comrades who think it can't be done. Here's evidence that it can be. It's already been done consequently it can be done again. Suppose you try it. Here is what has been done. A comrade whose name is kept to himself for reasons send in—guess how many yearlies—no, it isn't ten nor twenty. It's thirty-six. Thirty-six yearlies in one batch. Now that you know it can be done suppose you really try. What say?

* * *

Comrade Katterfeld sent in thirteen subs as a result of his short tour in Ohio.

* * *

Comrade Baker keeps a flock of sub cards flying into the office all the time. Comrade Baker works on the principle that a speaker's work is only half done unless he leaves behind a weekly visitor in the form of an Ohio Socialist. Is he right? He is.

* * *

Short, but to the point, was the letter Comrade H. T. Auckerman of Kalamazoo sent with his list of 44 subscribers. He says they are trial subs. All right, comrades, we will do business on trial or any other way, confident that you will like our ways and renew, especially with a comrade like H. T. A. to watch your expirations.

* * *

Local Columbus is preparing the seed bed from which will spring a crop of future members when it passed a motion to place 40 names of workers upon the O. S. lists for a period of three months. As we have said before, every dollar put into the O. S. comes back to the local in dues—that is, it makes new members. Try the plan, comrades.

* * *

The recent meetings in the state have brought in hundreds of subscriptions. Thurber Lewis is gathering quite a few on his organization trip and other meetings have proven the advisability of making it a special order of business at every meeting to sell Ohio Socialist sub cards.

* * *

We would like to continue for another column telling of the results [illegible] whose good work is not recorded here we will merely add—that there is just one thing better than being a Socialist—that is to be a live one.

The Ohio Socialist just suits me. Before the war I read The Appeal for 20 years. Am not reading it now.—M. L. Springer, Jeromesville, O.

* * *

I am sending you my renewal with two new ones for the best paper on earth.—M. McMillan, New Lexington, Ohio.

British View of Trial

(Continued from Page One)

party has just received a copy of the "Labor Leader," the organ of the Independent Labor Party. This is the first copy received for more than two years. It received its news of the trial from Paris.

"The news of this latest outrage against justice and freedom," declares the "Labor Leader," bears out only too powerfully what Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of the American "Nation," told us last week in his interview with regard to the state of "war mania" that would seem to be still prevailing in the United States.

"To this is now added Capitalist panic against Bolshevism, a panic which in large measure is born of a guilty conscience and fear of the harvest of past oppressions or the frustrations of present and future plans for world exploitation.

"Labor unrest is working all through the new world of the west as well as in the war tortured plains of Europe. The news from South America suggests efforts at revolution and ruthless suppressions, followed by fresh outbreaks. Who can foretell the end?"

Evidently the Czaristic tactics of American "justice" do not harmonize very well, to the ears of European workers, with the honeyed Wilsonian phrases attuned to the "fourteen points."

Honor Liebknecht

(Continued from page one)

management of industry, using powers of the state to protect interests while they proceed with work of transforming capital dustry into an industrial dem They propose that the social tion shall be achieved through movement from the bottom— movement of the workers in It was to achieve the goal of Social ism in Germany now that Liebkn died."

The Liedertafel Singing Society and the Finnish Socialist Chorus rendered international songs as the program proceeded, which brought storms of applause and the dema for more and more from the audien

The following resolution was adopted by a unanimous rising vote:

"Resolved, that we the working and women of Cleveland, in [illegible] the memory of our valiant [illegible] comrade, Karl Liebknecht, [illegible] pledge to work for the ideal for which he died—the establishment of an industrial democracy in which the workers will rule—with all our [illegible] and pledge ourselves not to [illegible] compromise until this [illegible] realized."

The meeting was closed [illegible]

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

(Edited By C. E. Ruthenberg)

A Silly Lie

Madame Breshkovsky, because of her long years of service in the cause of the Revolution in Ruusia, has been taken up by the capitalist press, and her utterances in regard to the Bolsheviki, to whom she is hostile because they overthrew the government of her favorite Kerensky, have been featured in an effort to discredit the present workers' government of Russia.

The kept press, however, uses only such part of the speeches and interviews of the "grandmother of the revolution" as suit its purpose. There is, for instance, that silly lie which this press has played up so frequently, about women being common property in Russia. Madam Breshkovsky had something to say on this point, but it didn't gibe with the silly story the capitalist press had so assiduously circulated, so it was suppressed. What Madam Breshkovsky said on this point is thus reported by the New York Call:

> Madam Breshkovsky denies emphatically that in Russia women are compelled to accept husbands chosen for them by the Government. She says "in one or two small soviets some such foolishness was proclaimed, but nobody would obey. It was never proposed for all Russia, and it was never carried out."
>
> She also scouts the story that women have been made "common property" or are subjected to any governmental compulsion in the matter of sex. She says "women have more freedom now in Russia than they ever had before."

On the basis of this statement, there is much better ground for the charge that the United States as a nation practices polygamy, because once upon a time a certain territory sanctioned polygamy—and rumor says it is still clandestinely practiced there—than there ever was for the foolish lie that circulated about Russia.

• • • •

The League of Nations

A reading of the proposed constitution of the League of Nations gives one the impression that this organization would have better been named the "League of Five Nations," for leaving high sounding rhetoric aside the document in question is an alliance between the United States, England, France, Italy and Japan for control of the world.

These five countries, together with Russia, Germany and Austria, were at the beginning of the world war competing with each other in the race for imperialistic development. Germany and Austria are now down and out and Russia is definitely removed from competition in the imperialistic struggle by the character of its industrial organization and the form of its government, which leaves the field to the five remaining powers.

The constitution of the League makes them the dominant force in the world. They are given a majority of the members of the executive council which will wield the power of the League.

This executive council, consisting of one delegate each from the five great powers and four delegates chosen by the other nations, will grant charters for exercise of mandatory power under the jurisdiction of the League. The designation of certain nations as "mandatories" in charge of undeveloped countries is the pretty fiction with which the designers of the League of Nations hope to cover up the essentially imperialistic character of the interest of the great powers in smaller and undeveloped countires.

In place of Great Britain annexing the German colonies in Africa, it, or one of its self-governing dominions, will become "mandatory" for these colonies, and proceed to cary on the work of exploitation just as if the annexation had taken place.

We may expect that as soon as the constitution is definitely adopted that our capitalist press will begin a campaign for the designation of the United States as "mandatory" for Mexico. Then, in place of making an open, imperialistic attack upon Mexico, to safeguard the investments of American capitalists there, as the capitalist press has been recently urging, this country can go into Mexico under the halo and with the blessing of the League of Nations to administer, in the words of the constitution of the League, "a sacred trust of civilization." Will the result be any different?

The five nations that now dominate the League of Nations hold a dominant position in the world. At present they are in a position to divide the world between them for the purposes of capitalist imperialism. But what will happen when a new imperialistic power arises? Would a capitalist Germany be in a different position than that which brought from that country the complaint that it was being denied its place in the sun and led to the precipitation of the world war, in an effort on the part of that country to gain by force what it could not secure otherwise? What will happen when an Argentine, Brazil, or a China in the process of industrial development reaches the point of development now existing in the United States?

The dream of world peace is still far from being realized in the constitution of the League of Nations. It will not be realized until the industrial system of all the great powers are recast after the fashion of the new industrial order in Russia.

• • • •

More News From Berne

How much out of touch the International Socialist Congress at Berne is with the movement of the masses of workingmen in all countries is indicated in the nature of the question which the congress is discussing.

Last week we reported that the important question up for decision were responsibility for the war and whether the Bolshevik regime in Russia should be condemned. According to later news dispatches published in this country the further deliberations of the congress have covered the question of the treatment of prisoners of war and whether France was releasing German war prisoners quickly enough and the matter of plebiscite to determine whether Alsace-Lorraine should remain German or be restored to France. In addition, which is the nearest the congress has come to discussing the question of direct interest to the workers; it agreed to demands to be presented to the Paris Peace Conference, which call for the establishment of the eight hour day with a 36 hour rest period and prohibit the employment of children under fifteen years of age.

That an International Socialist Congress should devote its time to such questions at a time when the social revolution has been successful in Russia, Germany ready for the same victory, Great Britain seething with uprisings of the workers demanding a new social order and great mass movements arising in all countries, shows how far the old leaders of International Socialism have drifted from the revolutionary ideals of the founders of the workingclass movement.

• • • •

Frightened and Childish

The fright of the ruling clas of this country over the sweep of the revolutionary movement of the workers has not been better illustrated than in the proposed deportation of alien members of the I. W. W. and other radical organizations.

It is frightened people who do foolish and childish things and surely no more foolish way of dealing with the radical workingclass movement could be devised than the method of deporting these alien workers who have taken part in this movement in this country.

The capitalist class of this country has yet to learn that it is not individuals that bring about a revolution. All the alien radicals in this country might preach a revolution till doomsday without causing even a ripple in the affairs of this country. Revolutions are not made; they grow out of the industrial conditions under which the people gain their living.

While the ruling class of this country is going ahead with its plans of deportation the industries continue to shut down and the workers are thrown out on the streets. Every factory closed is more potential as a breeder of industrial revolt than a hundred radicals urging the overturn of the present rule in industry. For every alien radical it will be able to deport the capitalist class will create a hundred men with similar ideas through unemployment and the oppression and exploitation of the workers in the industries.

And, at the same time, leaving aside the pretensions of democracy and freedom which the proposed deportation is violating so brutally, most of the persons deported will be only too glad to accept free passage to the country of their birth, which they will probably find farther in advance on the road to the social revolution than the United States, and where they will also find ample opportunity to serve the cause of international social revolution.

Verily the masters of the world play a sorry part when they turn from the merry game of amassing wealth to deal with great social movement which is preparing to sweep them out of existence.

• • • •

Signs of the times: The Sewell-Clapp Envelope Co., of St. Louis, has turned its entire plant over to its employes to run as they see fit. Some capitalists have sense enough to get out before they are kicked out.

Out—Manouvered

The Russian situation continued to present a series of contradictory reports so far as the Allied attitude toward the Soviet Government is concerned. One day recently brought a dispatch from Washington stating on the authority of Secretary of War Baker that the American forces at Archangel might be reinforced, and the next the statement from Paris that all Allied forces would be withdrawn from Russia in the spring.

In the meantime it appears that the Soviet Government has won a diplomatic victory in the negotiations about the Princess Island conference. The latest press dispatches from Paris contain the suggestion that the conference will not be held. If these reports are to be taken at their face value they would seem to indicate that the diplomats who made the proposal for the conference expected the Soviet Government to refuse to participate. They could then go before the people of their country with the statement that they had made every effort to bring about a settlement of the Russian question through negotiations and that the Soviet Government had been the stumbling block to such a settlement. Thus they might have overcome the strong feeling in opposition to Russian intervention.

By promptly accepting the invitation for a conference the Soviet Government blocked this scheme and now the Allies are backing out of the very conference they proposed. That the Soviet Government is taking every advantage of the strong position it has won in the negotiations about the Princess Island conference, is shown in the following quotation from an article in Izvestia, sent out by the Moscow government wireless:

> Hitherto the Russian Government has not received any proposal from the entente, and we do not know if such proposal will be made or not. But if it is made, the Workers' and Peasants' Government will examine it seriously, and will not refuse to enter into pourparlers on the subject. If the proposals made did not contain any impossible stipulations, if they did not force Soviet Russia to commit acts contrary to the principles of its policy, or endeavor to injure or conquer the working classes, the Soviet Government will examine the proposals with great attention, and will not refuse to make certain sacrifices in order to obtain the renunciation, on the Allies' part, of all intervention, in Russian affairs, and of their attempts to establish a pre-revolutionary regime in Russia.
>
> Our previous experience in our relations with the imperialists of the entente does not allow us to be optimistic on the subject of their intention to renounce intervention, and to make proposals which would be acceptable to the Russian Government. Our apprehensions still exist, and acts alone will be able to shake them. We will therefore await these acts.

• • • •

"The so-called sympathetic Seattle strike was an attempted revolution," says Mayor Ole Hanson of that city, in a United Press statement. "Their plans exactly followed those of the Russian revolution. Each union was to operate its own industry." Let's hope it was true.

The Swiss Socialists forecast the character of the Berne International Socialist Conference in an article which appeared in the Berner Tagwacht, from which we quote the following:

> What is the value of this conference, and what is its aim? Who will take part in it? It is the conference of the old Socialist parties, the Scheidemanns of Germany, of Thomas, Renaudel and Cachin in France, of Henderson, of Vandervelde, of Troelstra. It will be the conference of the social-patriots of all countries, and these will render absolutely no negative devisions, since after all they have no quarrel with each other, as they have all betrayed the International and sold the Socialist principles in the same way, and, serving imperialism, allowed themselves to be hitched to the wagon of their bourgeoise in the same manner.
>
> They have nothing to learn from each other and nothing to tell each other that will lead them into new paths. The conference rebuilt upon the same foundation and with the ruins of the old International the same fragments, like preceding conferences, will end in resolutions that say nothing and that above all, will not contain that for which the working class of all countries has vainly been awaiting four years—the call to action.

• • • •

Representative Mason of Illinois said at a "Truth About Russia" meeting in Washington, at which he made an unexpected appearance: "American soldiers are being kept in Russia for no other purpose than to make sure that interest on our bonds will be paid. I have charged this on the floor of the House, and will repeat it until they put me in prison for it. I can't see any reason why our young men should be made process servers. I represent two million people of this country, and I believe that not more than a half a dozen of them are willing that American troops should remain in Russia."

• • • •

"Now is not a good time for those who are interested in the preservation of present social institutions to invite a panic," says the Cleveland Press in discussing proposals to cut wages. No, wait until the present industrial unrest subsides, and then swat the workers good and hard. Those are the tactics the capitalists are adopting. But will the unrest subside before it blows capitalism out of existence?

• • • •

Some twenty-five thousand English soldiers openly mutinied against being returned to France after leave of absence at home, according to the London Herald. Their slogan was "The war is over; we won't fight Russia and we mean to go home." Forming a soldiers' union they took the matter of demobilization in their own hands, and surprising as it may seem, the military authorities were obliged to acquience.

• • • •

Women who burned President Wilson in effigy on the stone rail of the White House fence declared that the president was the "leader of an autocratic party organization, whose tyrannical power holds millions of women in political slavery." Thirty eight of them were hustled to jail of whom twenty-five were sentenced to serve five days each in the house of detention.

The Seattle Strike

(Continued from Page One)

sists of strikers, slowly, but in most cases, smilingly, just like myself, on their way to an eating house or to their strike headquarters.

Looking up Union street on Sixth avenue I noticed an immense crowd of people standing silently on the walks and in portions of the streets as if waiting for something to turn up. It is there I naturally went.

I could not discover anything to satisfy my curiosity or to learn the cause for this unusual gathering I knew was contrary to all rules of the general strike committee and yet many of the labor police were walking up and down to keep walks clear for the traveling public. City police were nowhere in sight. But arriving at the Union Record building and looking at a poster on the office window, I read "Strike Bulletins will be distributed at 2 p. m." However, it was only [illegible]:10 p. m. them.

Going around to Sixth avenue the crowd was still more dense. Six Union Record automobiles were lined up next to the Record basement entrance, and along the wall of the building fifty or more lusty, noisy newsboys, each striving to be nearest to the basement door and eager to get the first bundle of strike bulletins for free distribution. The newsboys union strike committee had commandeered these boys to do this work of distribution without any remuneration, and yet, greater eagerness for work could not have been displayed by these urchins, had five cents and even more been promised for each copy of the bulletin this disposed of.

To be sure—

"SOCIALISM WILL DESTROY ALL INCENTIVE FOR WORK!"

The "Seattle Star" (Scripps paper) is one black away from the Union Record on Seventh avenue. An empty truck came along on Union street with a policeman armed with a sawed-off shotgun, sitting next to the driver and two discharged soldiers similarly armed behind the seat. I asked of bystanders the meaning of it. I learned that it was this truck which had taken copies of the Star to some place down town.

Going up Seventh avenue and passing the alley I saw emergency police of discharged soldiers, three on each end barring entrance. Seventh avenue was roped off. At each end of the block were four mounted police and perhaps 100 people. In front of the Star building two mounted police and a number of soldier police. To each of these two mounted police a bundle of papers was given for distribution to the waiting small crowds at each end of the roped-off block. To another policeman mounted on a combination motorcycle a bundle of Stars was also given which he took away to some unknown place.

How did the Star come from the press? Upon making this inquiry I learned that men in soldier uniforms designating various grades, among them officers, were acting as strike breakers. It was not known though [illegible] Star" got out on the streets and among the people. Going around the streets later, I noticed heaps of copies of the Star in shreds scattered along the walks and streets, but yet, there were no reports of any kind of disturbances.

After receiving my copy of the Strike Bulletin, reading it as I passed leisurely along, I went up First avenue and coming up opposite the armory, I noticed military trucks lined up there. I remembered then of having read in the Bulletin that regular troops were in Seattle. I went down the hill to see the military sights. I learned that the troops there were from Camp Lewis. A few minutes late eight more trucks loaded with soldiers from Fort Lawton fully equipped for field service arrived.

I wondered what possible work has been laid out for these troops which have been drafted to kill Huns and to make the world safe for democracy. There are no more Huns to be killed and those alive today are on the way to full freedom and the fullest enjoyment of democracy.

It seems that even the policemen have gone on a strike. The few to be seen along the streets seem to feel irritated for lack of work. Happy are those assigned to work for the Seattle Star. Moreover, it seems that Seattle's "criminals" have joined the strike also. I mean those designated on the police blotter as holdups, burglars and thiefs, not those who get in their work in the office buildings, commercial institutions or members of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce.

During the first 24 hours of the mass strike two thousand policemen in Seattle arrested 32 persons for minor offences (an unusually low number) and not one of these was in connection with the strike.

The hotel clerk just now informs me that some mail had arrived for me. The mailcarriers are about the only workers remaining at the post of duty. I'll walk down six flights of stairs for my mail and back again.

PENNA. SOCIALISTS LAUNCH PARTY PRESS

The Socialist Party of Pennsylvania will establish a weekly paper of its own starting early in March. The name will be The Pennsylvania Socialist, and will be edited by State Secretary Birch Wilson.

The subscription price is $1.00 a year. Lists are now being circulated throughout the state by the locals. Subscriptions are being received. We urge all our Pennsylvania readers to get behind this paper—their paper—and roll up a big circulation in advance of publication—and to keep busy rolling it up until the last vestige of exploitation is driven from the face of the earth. Send all subscriptions to P. O. Box 685, Reading, Pa.

A business man will not sell unless there is [illegible] in the deal. Neither should [illegible] his labor [illegible]

THE NEARING TRIAL

(Continued from Page One)

the men mentioned had been correctly quoted, as Nearing had doubtless relied upon newspaper reports of their addresses.

The judge acknowledged the correctness of Barnes' contention, but said that the quotations from the congressman had been made for illustrative purposes only.

It was at this point that Nearing began to quote naval and educational authorities in support of his position.

Reading from an article called "An Economic Interpretation of War," by Professor Seligman, in a book entitled "Problems of Readjustment," issued by the Appleton company, in 1915, Nearing quoted:

"While economic conflicts, indeed, do not by any means explain all national rivalries, they often illumine the dark recesses of history and afford on the while the most weighty and satisfactory interpretation of modern national contests, which are not clearly referable to purely facial antagonism."

Stedman interrupted to ask if the witness did not acknowledge that racial antagonism also had a part in producing wars, and he replied emphatically in the affirmative.

"Racial antagonisms are a factor certainly," he said, "and religious antagonisms are a factor, but the fundamental factors are economic. The economic conditions of life determine all life. All these questions root back in economic life."

Quoting further from Professor Seligman, Nearing said:

QUOTES NAVY LEAGUE'S CREED

"To say, then, that Great Britain or Germany is responsible for the present war, seems to involve a curiously short-sighted view of history. All countries are subject to these great forces over which they have no control."

"That is Professor Seligman's theory also, then, is it?" asked Stedman, "as expressed in 1915?"

"Yes," said Nearing, "that is the theory on which the great madness is based."

Nearing then read from Sea Power, a magazine issued by the Navy League, extracts from an article, entitled, "The Navy League's Creed," appearing in the issue of September, 1916:

"The Navy League believes:

"1. That most modern wars arise largely from commercial rivalries.

"2. That we are now seizing the world's trade.

"3. That following the present war will come the most drastic readjustment and the most dangerous rivalries ever known.

"4. That the United States will be the storm center of this disturbance.

"5. And that, consequently, it is our duty to guard ourselves against these dangers while there is yet time."

Nearing had also brought with him two lists of quotations from recent speeches of President Wilson, but since they were delivered in the [illegible]

HITS SECRET TREATIES.

He then read the quotation already referred to from an article by Bon l Thomason, "Fighting and Trading," in "The Seven Seas," another periodical issued by the Navy League:

"Since the days of the wars in the name of the Prince of Peace, the battles between nations have been waged directly or indirectly on account of commerce."

The witness then took up the matter of secret treaties, speaking particularly of the treaty made in the early part of the summer of 1917 between England and Italy. He said the treaty contained 15 articles, providing for Italy's share of Europe, of Asia and of Africa, and stipulated that Egnland should loan to Italy £50,000,000.

"Ten days later," said Nearing, "Italy entered the war."

THE SECOND DAY

Continuing his testimony on the second day of the trial Nearing step by step, bringing forward facts, figures and authorities, showed how the machinery of the American government had been brought under the control of the business interests.

Quoting from President Wilson's book, "The New Freedom," he said:

"The government which was designed for the people has got into the hands of bosses and their employers, the special interests. An invisible empire has been set up above the forms of democracy."

United States Attorney Barnes interrupted to ask when the book was issued, and Nearing replied, "In 1912." His own counsel, Stedman, added:

"And the President authorized a new edition of the book, which was brought out in 1918."

Supporting his contention that war was fomented by the capitalistic interests, Nearing again brought forward paragraphs from the official organ of the Navy League, the Seven Seas.

Quoting from the November, 1915, issue of this magazine, Nearing said:

"There should be no doubt that even with all possible moral, it is the absolute right of a nation to live to its full intensity, to expand to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means, such as armed conquest, commerce, diplomacy."

From the issue of August, 1915, he read:

"With an adequate force, both naval and military, the United States will be in a position not only to enforce the receipt of a just share of the world's commerce, but also to forward civilization by aiding other nations to attain their share."

READS FROM NAVAL JOURNAL

From the July, 1915 issue, he read:

"Do Americans realize that one of the reasons why we must of necessity be intensely concerned in the submarine and trade warfare now waging between Germany and the Allies is that having no ships of our own with which to carry $4,000,000,000 worth of [illegible] lies are free and able to carry our goods? This question faces every single man, woman and child in this country. Shall we continue to jeopardize our $4,000,000,000 trade with the world by trusting to luck, fate or the good will of the nations who may have the ships in which to carry our goods to safety or destruction?"

From the issue of September, 1915, he read:

"To adopt German standards of militarism would, of course, be impossible among Anglo-Saxons, but this does not minimize the fact that world empire is the only logical and natural aim of a nation that desires to remain in a nation."

An electric thrill was noticeable throughout the court room when he read from the issue of February, 1916:

"Democracy has certain glorious advantages, but in matters relating to foreign policy, and particularly to war, it is extremely incompetent."

WALL STREET DIGEST QUOTED.

Following up his contention that business interests had forced the war upon the American people for their own gains, Nearing read from the March 3 issue of the Wall Street Digest:

"The upward movement in the price of stocks dates from the day that the German ambassador at Washington was handed his passports, and although there have been slight reactions, the movement has been fairly continuous from that day to this."

Backing his contention that the political machinery of the nation is controlled by the united force of capital, Nearing read from President Wilson's book, "The New Freedom":

"The masters of the government of the United States are combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. Suppose you go to Washington and try to get at your government you will always find that while you are politely listened to, the men really consulted are the men who have the biggest stake, the big bankers, the big manufacturers, the big masters of commerce, the heads of the railroad corporations and steamship corporations."

Quoting from his own book, "The Germ of War," he read the statement that a leading powder company of the United States was found to have had a contract with the German empire, according to which the American company was bound to inform the German government of every new formula used in the making of explosives.

Telling of the efforts of the bought press to stir up the war fever, he related the circumstances of 1915-16, when certain interests were trying to push the American people into a war with Mexico and went so far with their campaign of falsehood as to call forth an official rebuke from the White House.

THE CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Early in the cross-examination, Barnes produced a card [illegible] signature, but that he had signed one just like it, of which this was a copy.

Stedman objected to the introduction of the card as evidence. Barnes, explaining his purpose in presenting it, read the pledge it contained that the signer would stand by the platform and policies of the Socialist Party. Barnes said he would not insist upon its introduction if Stedman objected, but a moment later asked Nearing if he had voted in favor of the St. Louis resolution in the referendum.

Nearing replied.

"I did not, but if I had been"—

Stedman tried to stop him, since he had given the required answer in the first three words of his reply.

But Nearing insisted on volunteering additional words and said, explaining that he had been away from home at the time the vote was taken:

"I did not vote for the resolution, but if I had had the opportunity I should certainly have done so."

Referring to a passage in the St. Louis resolution, Barnes asked:

"When you indorsed that, did it mean to you that you would not volunteer in the army and would not subscribe to Liberty bonds?"

Nearing answered:

"It meant to me that I would not volunteer in the army and would not subscribe to Liberty bonds."

"That was the thing you were working for in 1917, and still believe," said Nearing.

"PARTY ACTS WITHIN LAW."

Asked to explain the expression, "To use all legal means to bring the war to a speedy conclusion," Nearing said:

"The Socialist Party always takes the position that it acts within the law."

A little later, in reply to a question about President Wilson's preparedness program and policy, Nearing said:

"I have never been able to understand the President's words, nor many of his actions."

After requesting Nearing's definitions to his terms plutocracy, vested interests and kindred expressions, Barnes asked:

"And you mean these financiers wanted to get us into the war for their own selfish reasons?"

"For their own selfish reasons, yes sir," answered the witness.

"OUT FOR PROFITS."

"The financiers are just like other people," explained Nearing, "only they are out primarily to make profits."

And the people in the court room laughed again when he added:

"They are not in business for their health, as they say."

Barnes took up in detail five lines from the first page of "The Great Madness," in which Nearing wrote, referring to the members of the plutocracy:

"They also believe there are some [illegible] The plutocrats would welcome a war that promised salvation from any such calamities."

"I believe the capitalist class as a class," said Nearing, "prefers war to the disestablishment of capitalism."

"What political party advocates the things you specify in this paragraph, which the capitalists think are worse than war?"

"They are the things the Socialist party stands for," said Nearing, with a curious triumphant ring in his voice.

And do you think that is why the capitalists insisted on going into this war?" asked Barnes.

"In Germany, yes," answered Nearing.

"NOT YET."

"It was then that Barnes asked the question:

"You don't think the capitalists in the United States are afraid of the Socialist Party?"

And Nearing snapped radiantly:

"Not yet."

Page by page Barnes went through the defendant's book, asking for explanations and a statement of the author's purpose in writing the words.

The Call came in for a bit of free advertising again at this session of the trial, when Nearing referred to it as an authority for some of the statements he had made in his book.

"You don't consider The New York Call an authority, do you?" asked Barnes, and Nearing replied emphatically:

"I certainly do."

The court and the Assistant District Attorney repeatedly pressed Nearing to say whether he ever thought in writing his book that it might have the effect of restraining any reader from enlisting or might encourage any soldier to be insubordinate.

WITNESS INSISTS

The witness insisted that he at no time had any such thought in his mind.

"I should say," he declared, "that the millions of Socialists who fought in the war in all armies were less insubordinate than many others."

Another of the strange thrills with which the day was filled shot through the court room when he added:

"I had no reason to believe that any man who got these pamphlets would be any less a good soldier, but I did hope they might make him a better brother in the new brotherhood that is coming."

"Do you still feel you were right in the position you took in this pamphlet?" asked Barnes, as he neared the close of his cross-examination.

STANDS BY BELIEFS

"I still believe the American plutocracy wanted the war," replied Nearing, "and they used the war to establish their power."

"And you still believe you were right in trying to spread these teachings?" Barnes added.

"I still believe I was right," said [illegible]

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German Workers Gain Victory in Struggle for Industrial Democracy

Destination Withheld From American Soldier's in Expedition to Invade Russia

Bavaria In Control of Workers and Soldiers Council

Dispatches from Germany indicate that the struggle of the workers of that country to establish an industrial republic modeled on the lines of the Russian Soviet government, which was temporarily checked a few weeks ago when the uprising in which Liebknecht and Luxemburg were killed, was put down, is in full swing again.

According to these dispatches the shooting of the Bavarian premier, Kurt Eisner, was followed by the Workers and Soldiers' Council of that state taking over the government and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The interesting phase of this dispatch is the clause which states that the Spartacans, Independent Socialists and Majority Socialists combined in establishing this dictatorship of the proletariat, indicating that the rank and file of the workers who have been supporting the Majority Socialists, are moving toward the left and making common cause with the Spartacans.

Other reports say that similar movement are underway in all the industrial sections of Germany and that the Spartacans have been successful in taking control of a number of the smaller states.

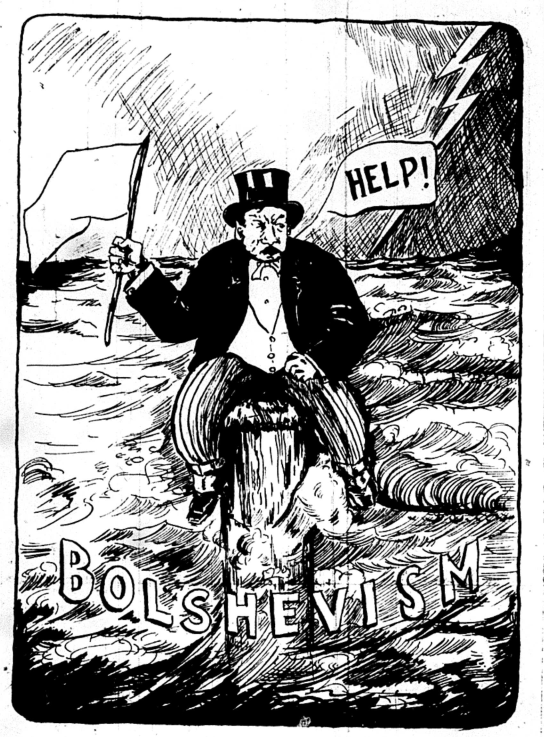
The hopeful sign about the present uprising is the admission which is made even by the capitalist press, that the Spartacans are stronger today than they were at the time of the revolt in Berlin.

The same dispatches that announce the victories of the German workers in the struggle for industrial democracy bring the news that the constituent assembly in session at Weimar has completed the draft of the proposed German constitution. This constitution would make of Germany, not an industrial democracy, but a capitalist democracy. The provisions of this constitution, while throwing a few sops to the workers in the shape of provisions about hours of labor, minimum wages and other similar measures, which have appeared as part of the reform movement in every capitalist country, says nothing about changing the control of industry and the wage and profit system.

During the progress of events in Russia it was bitter experience which disillusioned the workers. They tried a coalition government and found their status was not altered a great deal, they tried the moderate Socialist government of Kerensky and it did nothing to change the status of either the workers or peasants. Then they placed the Bolsheviki in power and because the Bolsheviki have put into practice the measures which the workers and peasants desired, they have remained in firm control of the Soviet government.

The German workers are going through a similar process of disillusionment, only events are moving faster than in Russia.

It is no doubt due to the fact that the masses of the workers, following the decisions of the constituent assembly, see that there was no hope of the workers winning their freedom through the action of this assembly that is bringing these workers to the standard of the Spartacans. As their disillusionment continues the powers of the Spartacans will grow and it should not be long before Germany aligns itself with Russia and becomes the second industrial democracy.



RISING——AND NO SAIL IN SIGHT

Returned Soldier Says People Lived Better Under Bolsheviki and That Latter Avoided Bloodshed

The office of the Russian Socialist Daily, "Novy Mir," in New York, was recently visited by a soldier of the American army, who just had returned from Archangel. His experience no doubt is of interest to every one who has been watching the drama which is being played in far distant North Russia. His story shows that not only is there no necessity for holding Allied troops in Russia, but that their being there is becoming a tragic farce, greatly damaging the reputation of America.

"I am a Russian," began the tale of the soldier. "I found myself in the American army, as many natives of Russia with "first papers" or without them. I lived in the state of Michigan and when the draft came I was taken in. I was placed in the 339th Michigan regiment and with this regiment I went to Europe to fight the 'democracy, freedom and justice.'

"When once you are in the army you become a small part of a machine which works as is prescribed; one loses his will, has to do whatever one is ordered to do. So it was in my case.

"The regiment went abroad. Already before the departure I had a hunch that we would be sent not to France but to Russia. I shared my apprehensions with some other soldiers, but they merely laughed at me.

"On our arrival in England we received our equipment and my fears doubled: the warm winter clothes we got augured nothing good. Again we started, and now my apprehensions proved to be true. We were sent, not to the south, but to the north, to Scotland. There we were put on a ship and departed. We traveled for seven days and when he saw the coast, we discovered that snow was on the mountains (early in September). Now it was clear that our destination was not France but Russia.

"Well, we could not help it. We had to wait and see what the future held in store.

"We landed at Archangel. We found there English and French soldiers. Before we landed we were told that we came to Russia not to fight her, but merely to safeguard the Allied ammunition stores. Yet no ammunition was found there; the Bolsheviki had carried away with them everything to the south—they cleared the place of everything till the last shell and cartridge. Only empty stores have remained.

"'What are we to do here, then?' we began to question ourselves and our officers. The officers were silent. Others said: 'The future will show.'

"The first day passed quietly. The plan was to organize a military parade through the city. Rain torrents caused the parade to be postponed. We scattered around and stood under awnings in order to protect ourselves against the rain.

"I found myself under a cover of a storeroom which was in course of construction and I started a conversation with the workers busy at it. 'How are things going?' I asked them. The workers in astonishment looked at me—a foreigner who speaks Russian. Their faces betrayed apprehension. 'What sort of man is he,' maybe a spy. I calmed them stating that I was a Russian, their countryman. We started a lively conversation. I found out that 'under the Bolsheviki' they had lived much better, they had bread and their earnings had been larger. As soon as the English came—said one of them—everything came to grief; no bread and poor earnings.

"Later I convinced myself of the truth of their words. The English indeed had seized everything there in a dictatorial manner ruled the territory occupied by the Allied troops. The population hates them, as one can hate foreign invaders. Their attitude of the Russians toward the Americans is considerably better.

"But let us return to what followed. A few days after our arrival in Archangel, we received orders to march south. 'Where?' we asked. 'To the front,' was the answer. There you are! So we got a front here too, and we came here to fight and not to safeguard something.

"The order is given and we have to obey. We were loaded into freight trains and then we started. I do not remember how long we were on the way. Days there are short and dark, nothing can be seen from the train. Finally we stopped. We discovered we were at the station Oboserska. We saw no Bolsheviki. Later we found out that the Bolsheviki were retreating to the south and not because they feared our forces, but merely because they wished to avoid slaughter.

"At one place, south of the station Oboserska, we, instead of meeting the bayonets of the Soviet troops, came across a train loaded with proclamations in English, French, Italian and other languages. In these proclamations the Bolsheviki explained the nature of the intervention and advised us to get home. The proclamations were speedily distributed. Later our officers [illegible]wise about it and seized them, burning them immediately.

"During the whole of my stay at the front I observed the new Bolshevist methods of warfare. The Bolsheviki did not harm us, although on several occasions they could have shot us down as so many partridges. Once, while we were crossing a river, a man came forward from the Bolshevist side with a white flag and speaking in English he told us that we were being misled, that we ought to leave the Russian territory and the Russian people at peace. 'You have come here to fight, and not we to fight you; we have done no harm to you; so go back to your homes.'

"There were also such instances; we are surrounded on all sides by the Bolsheviki, so that there is no way out of it. We are doomed, we think. But it is not so. They would keep us thus a day or two and then let us go free, unharmed. Only once they treated us to a machine gun and field gun fire—and indeed, at that time, there was no way out of it. There are no trenches, because one cannot dig in the frozen ground. Everywhere are marshes, and one stands almost waist line in water. We hid behind barricades made of logs. But, of course, it is a poor defense. When a shell strikes such a barricade nothing but splinters remain.

"During this 'meeting' I was wounded. I was sent to England and thence I came here."

Chicago Paper Declares Archangel Expedition Failure

The Chicago Tribune of February 10 publishes a letter from its correspondent who has been in North Russia, dated Vard, Norway, Feb. 1 (by cable from Norvik, Feb. 8). The following excerpts from his letter are of great interest.

"After two months spent in investigating the conditions in North Russia, where American troops are serving under allied dictatorship, I can state the following facts:

"First—The North Russia allied expedition has developed into a pitiful failure. It has failed to inspire confidence and loyalty and give real assistance to Russia. It has become a cesspool of jealousy, hatred, mistakes and shattered illusions. The different allies distrust one another and the Russians distrust the entire expedition.

"Second—The American troops were put under an absolute imperialistic command, being handled in a way that was against every tradition of the army and country. They were put to doing a king's business and to do whatever task was assigned to them by the British. American men and their ideals of right and fairness were entirely submerged through the un-American leadership.

"Third—The entire expedition suffered from a complete lack of spiritual leadership. Instead of being an ordinary soldier's job, this expedition required sympathetic understanding. It always has been more political than military. The original leaders thought themselves to be great soldiers and great diplomats, but they proved to be neither.

"Fourth—The expedition has lacked spiritual significance. Europe's war-tired men, sent here from the French battle fields, failed to appreciate the great revolution or sympathize with the unrest and the new birth that Russia is going through. Most of the allied soldiers, especially since the signing of the armistice, hated the job, despite the Russians, and have no concern with the future of the country. The expedition, lacking this spiritual significance in men's minds, has become a mere fighting job to collect Russia's debt to Europe.

"Fifth—There is no enthusiasm even among the intelligent Russians in the north to assist the allies and fight the Bolsheviki. Everywhere there is a growing disgust against the expedition, especially against the British.

"Sixth—The beautiful faith of the Russians for America is breaking under the manhandling by our forces under the foreign command. The American forces have been led by an American colonel when they should have had a major general. Within our own forces we lacked the right leadership, permitting the Americans to be placed under the limited control of foreigners.

"I have come out of Russia to write this. The censorship that has crowled back into its hole in most of the world still wears the iron heel of war days in the north. The American public has been fed pretty stories of the gentle glories of this 'help Russia' expedition, but the facts are that a mess has been stewed and has been kept for the cooks themselves.

(Continued on Page Two)

Swedish Toilers in Protest for American Political Prisoners

Politiken, the chief organ of the Swedish left wing Socialists, publishes a half-page manifesto calling on the party membership throughout the land to organize protest meetings against America's treatment of political and industrial prisoners. Through its underground channels Politiken has procured a mass of details of specific cases of imprisonment of American workers, according to a cabled article by Bassett Digby in the Chicago Daily News.

The Swedish left Socialists are exhorted to do their utmost to cause the release of "American political prisoners."

Scott Nearing Free

After two days of deliberation the jury in the case of Scott Nearing brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty" so far as Nearing was concerned. At the same time the jury found the American Socialist Society, which controls the Rand School, guilty on two counts. The judge set aside the verdict so far as one of the counts was concerned and reserved decision on the other point. Attorneys for the society claim that the verdict against the society cannot stand in view of the verdict acquitting Nearing.

The victory in this case is particularly noteworthy, inasmuch as Nearing did not endeavor to hide his views or apologize for the statements made in "The Great Madness" for writing which he was indicted. On the stand, as shown by the evidence printed in the last issues of the "Socialist News" he did not only not retract what he said in his pamphlet, but he reasserted his views and proved the truth of his charges by evidence from the writings of the supporters of the present social system.

Nearing boldly challenged capitalism; the jury declared him not guilty of violating any law. It is the bold course that wins.

"I notice that wherever the Ohio Socialist is read an active member is produced. All hail to our paper and all party owned propaganda."—Herbert Knecht, Cambridge.

Biased Senate Committee Intent Upon Making Case Against Russia

The Senate Judiciary Committee, which is conducting the investigation of the Russian workers' government, after giving many days to opponents of the Bolshevik government, who were permitted to freely pronounce their criticism, called as witnesses John Reed and Louise Bryant, who were in Russia during the great part of the revolutionary period. In place of permitting these witnesses to discuss Russian affairs with the same freedom that was granted the opponents of the Soviet government, they were hedged about with instructions and rules and often limited to "yes" and "no" answers, when explanation was necessary for a complete understanding of the subject matter under discussion.

The flagrant injustice of the hearing took two forms: First, Miss Bryant was allowed to offer no testimony of her own, a privilege heretofore allowed to and over-encouraged in witnesses, and was silenced every time [illegible] to speak [illegible] her mind that, answer 'Yes' or 'No' to the question," was the phrase continually repeated throughout the proceedings. Second, the senators made every effort to trap Miss Bryant into unguarded replies. They skipped with astonishing briskness from point to point, throwing the attention of the audience into confusion.

Almost from the beginning senators King, Nelson and Wolcott dropped the mask of common courtesy. They forced out the words, "Miss Bryant," with evident distasste. To them the witness was not a woman, but a prey; and they fell upon her with hungry teeth. The bovine Major Holm put his awkwardly phrased questions in roars. Even the stenographer joined in the badgering.

"Turn your face toward me when you speak," he rapped, "I got to take this down, you know."

He was seated alongside Miss Bryant, and her words were clearly audible to [illegible] back of the room. From time to time a lukewarm vestige of Senator Overman's southern chivalry asserted itself. He put his questions mildly and, now and again, he permitted her to make explanations.

Considering the circumstances, Miss Bryant maintained her poise remarkably. At times, however, she gave evidence of extreme confusion. The heightened color which came to her cheeks after the first onslaught, remained throughout the hearing.

The inquisitors repeatedly attempted to force Miss Bryant into the admission that Col. Raymond Robbins of the American Red Cross had been in the employ of the Bolshevist government.

"Didn't he maintain an information bureau for the Bolsheviki?"

"No. He maintained a Russian information bureau for the Red Cross."

Reed Dominates Hearing.

Reed and his wife, between them, dominated the gathering. All eyes in

(Continued on page two)

France Enslaves Russian Troops That Refuse to Fight Soviet Government

The correspondent of the New York Call, Paul Wallace Hanna, sends this interesting story of the treatment accorded Russian troops by the French government in the "war for democracy":

Between 30,000 and 40,000 Russian soldiers are held today in slavery by the Republic of France.

The crime of these slaves is that they refuse to make war against the Soviet Republic of Russia.

Every known method of coercion has been used by the Clemenceau government to break the will of these "obstinate" Russians whose steady reply to their persecutors is:

"We cannot make war on the Bolsheviki without knowing whether they are good or bad for Russia. Let us first return home and judge for ourselves."

These Russian slaves of France are at present engaged at hard work, and without compensation, under the tropic sun of French Africa. Late reports show they are dying in great numbers of hardship, privation and the diseases caused by the unaccustomed Africal climate.

Some 25 leaders of the "rebellious" Russian soldiers are held in miserable confinement on an island near Bordeaux.

Friends of the Russians have made repeated appeals to Clemenceau for mercy, saying:

"Can't you see that this cruel policy will make Russia the eternal enemy of France?" Such [illegible] have been contemptuously ignored.

Before the overthrow of the czar there were 25,000 Russian soldiers fighting against Germany on the French front. When news of the revolution reached them they joined in the general rejoicing of free men everywhere. They even committed the further offense of attempting to form soldiers' councils among themselves.

This conduct made them the objects of suspicion and hatred of the French authorities, by whom they were forthwith placed in virtual internment.

With the fall of Kerenski, the sympathy of the Russian soldiers in France went over to the Soviet regime, and when the peace of Brest-Litovsk was concluded they immediately declared themselves neutrals in the world war and demanded that they be allowed to return home.

This demand the French government met with machine gun fire, in which large numbers of the Russians were killed or wounded.

Labor Begins Campaign To Repudiate Alliance

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago.—Radical elements in the American Federation of Labor have started a campaign to repudiate the Gompers-Hussell "American Alliance for Labor and Democracy," organized for the purpose of putting the Socialist Party out of business under cover of the war mania.

This anti-alliance movement has received its most recent impetus by the resignation of Frank P. Walsh from "The Alliance."

It now comes to light that this "Alliance of reactionary labor officials, and renegade and outcast Socialists, was subsidized directly by the Democratic administration through George Creel's bureau of public in- [illegible] Gompers, and its secretary Frank Morrison, mouthpieces of the tottering officialdom of the American Federation of Labor.

Its avowed purpose was to chloroform the revolutionary aspiration of America's toilers, through carrying on a "poison gas" attack on the Socialist Party with the slogan, "Fight Bolshevism."

Walsh's friends announce that he quit this government inspired labor-chloroforming organization, because he disagreed with its policies, especially its close co-operation with the National Civic Federation in its anti-labor agitation, the incitement of imperialistic sentiment against Russia and [illegible] to the Tom Mooney [illegible]

Savage Sentence Passed Upon National Officials

After several weeks of consideration Judge K. M. Landis denied the motion made by the defense in the case of Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. L. Engdahls, Irving St. John Tucker and William Kruse. Following his usual course Judge Landis assumed a position of fairness during the trial and then imposed extreme sentences by giving each of the defendants twenty years on each count on which they were convicted.

It was evidently the intent of the prosecution to railroad the five men to prison at once, for the judge refused to permit the defendants to remain free on bail while the papers were prepared for the appeal to the higher court, and it was only by filing these papers at once that bail was permitted, and then it was made almost prohibitive. In order to temporary free the five prisoners it was necessary to schedule a half million dollars worth of property. The necessary amount of bail was secured, however, and the defendants will continue their work, limited, however, by the condition made by the judge of the appellate court, that they must not engage in such activities as those for which they were convicted. [illegible]

Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Movement

EDITOR'S NOTE: The world war has changed many things, among them the tactics of the working class movement of various countries. New ideas have come to the front and new tactics are being practiced. In printing this manifestor of the Left Wing Socialists we do so in the hope that it will stimulate discussion in the locals of the party and lead to the formation of clear-cut opinion as the future tactics of the Socialist Party of the United States. Such discussion and clarification of opinion must necessarily precede any possibility of building in this country a militant and effective Socialist movement.

INTRODUCTION

The members of the Socialist Party of America are entitled to an explanation for the issuance of this pamphlet by the Left Wing Group.

First of all, be it understood, we are not a secessionist movement, nor do we contemplate splitting the party. We are a very active and growing section of the Socialist Party which is attempting to reach the rank and file with our urgent message over the heads of the powers that be, who, through inertia or a lack of vision, cannot see the necessity for a critical analysis of the party's policies and tactics.

The daily press is closed to us; therefore we cannot adequately present our side of the case.

In the various discussions that arise wherever party members or delegates assemble, both sides grow too heated for calm, dispassionate judgment.

Therefore we have decided to issue our Manifesto and Program in pamphlet form, so that the rank and file may read and judge our case on its merits.

Comrades—and this is addressed exclusively to members of the party—the situation is such that a careful study of our position is absolutely imperative.

We come to you, the court of last resort, for judgment.

MANIFESTO

Prior to August, 1914, the nations of the world lived on a volcano. Violent eruptions from time to time gave warning of the cataclysm to come, but the diplomats and statesmen managed to localize the outbreaks, and the masses, slightly aroused, sank back into their accustomed lethargy with doubts and misgivings, and the subterranean fires continued to smoulder. Surely, the people reasoned, no one would be so mad as to precipitate a world war!

Besides, they trusted blindly—some in their statesmen, some in the cohesive power of Christianity, their common religion, and some in the growing strength of the International Socialist movement. Had not the German Social Democracy exchanged dramatic telegrams with the French Socialist Party, each pledging itself not to fight in case their governments declared war on each other? A general strike of workers led by these determined Socialists would quickly bring the governments to their senses!

So the workers reasoned, until the thunder-clap of Sarajevo and Austria's ultimatum to Serbia. Then, suddenly, the storm broke. Mobilization everywhere. Declarations of war. In three or four days Europe was in arms.

The present structure of society—Capitalism—with its pretensions to democracy on the one hand, and its commercial rivalries, armament rings and standing armies on the other, all based on the exploitation of the working class and the division of the loot, was cast into the furnace of the war. Two things only could issue from the flames; either international capitalist control, through a League of Nations, or Social Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both of these forms are today contending for world power.

The Social Democracies of Europe, unable to meet the crisis, were themselves hurled into the conflagration, to be tempered or consumed by it.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

At first the question which agitated Socialists' minds all over the world was: Why have they failed? All sorts of extenuating circumstances were pleaded in their behalf—"defensive war," and "a low type of civilization menaces a higher type" and "Socialism must fight on the side of democracy," and "Socialism is not free from the virus of nationalism." All these excuses equally begged the question.

We know that great mass demonstrations were held in every European country by Socialists protesting against their governments' declarations of war, and mobilization for war. And we know too that these demonstrations were suddenly rendered impotent by the complete surrender of the Socialist parliamentary leaders and the official Socialist press. Why the sudden change of front? Why did the Socialist leaders in the parliaments of the future belligerents vote the war credits? Why did the official Socialist press in Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, etc., suddenly reverse its position and call for resistance to the invader? In short, why did the dominant Socialists support their governments?

We shall attempt to answer these questions.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF "MODERN SOCIALISM"

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Social Democracies of Europe set out to "legislate Capitalism out of office." The class struggle was to be won in the capitalist legislatures. Step by step concessions were to be wrested from the state; the working class and the Socialist parties were to be strengthened by means of "constructive" reforms and social legislation; each concession would act as a rung in the ladder of Social Revolution, upon which the workers could climb step by step, until finally, some bright sunny morning, the peoples would awake to find the Co-Operative Commonwealth functioning without disorder, confusion or hitch on the ruins of the capitalist state.

But what happened? When a few legislative seats had been captured, the thunderous denunciations of the Socialist legislators suddenly ceased. No more were the parliaments used as platforms from which the challenge of militant Socialism was flung to all corners of Europe. Another era had set in, the era of "constructive" social reform legislation. All powers to shape the policies and tactics of the Socialist parties were entrusted to the parliamentary leaders. And these lost sight of Socialism's original purpose; their goal became two-fold—"constructive reforms" and Cabinet portfolios, of the means to an end they made an end in itself. Moderate Socialism, in the hands of these parliamentary leaders, was now ready to share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state, even to the extent of defending the bourgeoisie against the working class—as for instance during the first Briand Ministry in France, when the official party press was opened to a defense of the shooting of striking railway workers at the order of the Socialist-Bourgeois Coalition Cabinet.

"SAUSAGE SOCIALISM"

This situation was brought about by mixing pure scientific Socialism with bourgeois reforms and the democratic cant of the eighteenth century. The result was what Rosa Luxemburg called "Sausage Socialism." The Socialist parliamentarians forgot that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. They emphasized petty bourgeois social reformism in order to attract tradesmen, shop-keepers and members of the professions, and of course the latter flocked to the Socialist movement in great numbers, seeking relief from the constant grinding between corporate capital and awakening labor.

The Socialist organizations actively competed for votes, on the basis of social reforms, with the bourgeois liberal political parties. And so they catered to the ignorance and prejudices of the workers, trading promises of immediate reforms for votes.

Dominant "moderate Socialism" forgot the teachings of the founders of scientific Socialism, forgot its function as a proletarian movement—"the most resolute and advanced section of the working class parties"—and permitted the bourgeois and self-seeking trade-union element to shape its policies and tactics.

This was the condition in which the Social Democracies of Europe found themselves at the outbreak of war in 1914. Demoralized and confused by the cross-currents within their own parties, vacillating and compromising with the bourgeois state, they fell an easy prey to social-patriotism and nationalism.

This is the explanation of the failure of the Socialist movements of Europe in the crisis of 1914.

SPARTACIDES AND BOLSHEVIKI.

But revolutionary Socialism was not destined to lie inert for long. In Germany, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin organized the Spartacus group. But their voices were drowned in the roar of cannon and the shrieks of the dying and the maimed.

Russia, however, was to be the first battle ground where "moderate" and revolutionary Socialism came to grips for the mastery of the state. The breakdown of the corrupt, bureaucratic czarist regime opened the flood-gates of revolution. Centuries of oppression had paved the way.

Three main contending parties attempted to ride into power on the revolutionary tide: the Cadets, the "moderate Socialists"—Mensheviki and Social Revolutionists—and the revolutionary Socialists—the Bolsheviki. The Cadets were first to be swept into power; but they tried to stem the still rising flood with a few abstract political ideals, and were soon carried away. The soldiers, workers and peasants could no longer be fooled by phrases. The Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries succeeded the Cadets. And now came the crucial test; would they, in accord with Marxian teachings make themselves the ruling class and sweep away the old conditions of production, and thus prepare the way for the Co-Operative Commonwealth? Or would they tinker with the old machinery and try to foist it on the masses as something just as good?

They did the latter, and proved for all time that "moderate Socialism" cannot be trusted.

The Socialists began to understand why dominant "moderate Socialism" had broken down. "Moderate Socialism" was not prepared to seize the power for the workers during a revolution. "Moderate Socialism" had a rigid formula—"'Constructive' social-reform legislation within the capitalist state;" and to that formula it clung. It believed that bourgeois democracy could be used as a means of constructing the Socailist order; therefore it must wait until the people, through a Constituent Assembly, should vote Socialism into existence. And in the meantime, it held that there must be established a government of coalition with the enemy, the bourgeoisie. As if, with all the means of controlling public opinion in the hands of the bourgeoisie, a Constituent Assembly could or would ever vote the Socialists into power!

Revolutionary Socialists hold, with the founders of scientific Socialism, that there are two dominant classes in society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; that between these two classes a struggle must go on until the working class, through the seizure of the instruments of production and distribution, the abolution of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates a Socialist order. Revolutionary Socialists do not propose to wait until the vast majority of the people vote them into power; but, "if the proletariat during its struggle with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production; then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

Marx and Engels clearly explain the function of the Socialist movement. It is the "moderate Socialists," through intellectual gymnastics, evasions, misquotations and the tearing of sentences and phrases from their context, who make Marx and Engels sponsors for their perverted version of Socialism.

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

At the present moment the Socialist Party of America is agitated by several cross-currents, some local in their character, and some a reflex of cleavages within the European Socialist movements. Many see in this internal dissension merely an unimportant difference of opinion, or at most, dissatisfaction with the control of the party, and the desire to replace those who have misused it with better men.

We, however, maintain that there is a fundamental distinction in views concerning party policies and tactics. And we believe that this difference is so vast that from our standpoint a radical change in party policies and tactics is necessary.

This essential task is being shirked by our party leaders and officials generally. In view of the impending change in the tactics of organized labor in this country, we must hurry to readjust the Socialist movement to the new conditions or find ourselves left behind by the march of events.

Already there is formidable industrial unrest, a seething ferment of discontent, evidenced by inarticulate rumblings which presage striking occurrences. The transformation of industry from a war to a peace basis has thoroughly disorganized the economic structure. Thousands upon thousands of workers are being thrown out of work. Demobilized sailors and soldiers find themselves a drug on the labor market, unless they act as scabs and strikebreakers. Skilled mechanics, fighting desperately to maintain their war-wage and their industrial status, are forced to strike. Women, who during the war have been welcomed into industries hitherto closed to them, are struggling to keep their jobs. And to cap the climax, the capitalists, through their Chambers of Commerce and their Merchants' and Manufacturers' Associations, have resolved to take advantage of the situation to break down even the inadequate organizations labor has built up through generations of painful struggle.

The temper of the workers and the soldiers, after the sacrifices they have made in the war, is such that they will not endure the reactionary labor conditions so openly advocated by the master class. A series of labor struggles is bound to follow—indeed, is beginning now. Shall the Socialist Party continue to feed the workers with social reform legislation at this critical period? Shall it approach the whole question from the standpoint of votes and the election of representatives to the legislature? Shall it emphasize the consumer's point of view, when Socialist principles teach that the worker is robbed at the point of production? Shall it talk about Cost of Living and taxation, when it should be explaining how the worker is robbed at his job?

There are many signs of the awakening of labor. The organized trade unions, against the definite commands of their leaders, are resorting to independent political action, in an effort to conserve what they have won and wrest new concessions from the master class. What shall be our attitude toward the awakening workers?

On the basis of the class struggle we shall go among them, impregnating them with revolutionary Socialism; we shall teach them solidarity; we shall teach them class-consciousness; we shall teach them the hopelessness of social reform; we shall teach them the meaning of Revolution. And the industrial unrest, the ferment of discontent, will compel them to listen!

CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM.

Among the many problems immediately confronting us are those new questions springing from Capitalist-Imperialism, the final and decisive stage of Capitalism. How shall the Socialist Party meet these problems?

Imperialism is that stage of Capitalism in which the accumulated capital or surplus of a nation is too great for the home market to reinvest or absorb. The increased productivity of the working class, due to improved machinery and efficiency methods, and the mere subsistence wage which permits the worker to buy back only a small portion of what he produces, causes an ever-increasing accumulation of commodities, which in turn become capital and must be invested in further production. "When Capitalism has reached the stage in which it imports raw materials from undeveloped countries and exports them again in the shape of manufactured products, it has reached its highest development.

This process is universal. Foreign markets, spheres of influence and protectorates, under the intensive development of capitalist industry and finance in turn become highly developed. They, too, seek the markets. National capitalist control, to save itself from ruin, breaks its national bonds and emerges full-grown as a capitalist League of Nations, with international armies and navies to maintain its supremacy.

The new situation the Socialist Party must meet. From now on the United States will no longer hold itself aloof, isolated and provincial. It is reaching out for new markets, new zones of influence, new protectorates; not alone, and not in competition with other capitalist nations, but in co-operation with them. They will divide the world among them. And the League of Nations will be the instrument through which they will work.

The master class of America will soon attempt to use organized labor for its imperialistic purposes. But a restless and discontented working class cannot pile up profits. Therefore in this country we may soon expect the master class, in true Bismarkian fashion, to grant factory laws, medical laws, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, sick benefits, and the whole category of bourgeois reforms, so that the workers may be kept physically and mentally fit to produce the greatest profits at the greatest speed.

DANGER TO AMERICAN SOCIALISM

There is danger that the Socialist Party of America might make use of these purely bourgeois reforms to attract the workers' votes, by claiming that they have been won by Socialist political action when, as a matter of fact, the object of these master class measures is to prevent the growing class consciousness of the workers, and to divert them from their revolutionary aim. By agitating for these reforms, therefore, the Socialist Party would be playing into the hands of our American imperialists.

On the basis of the class struggle, then, the Socialist Party of America must reorganize itself—must prepare to come to grips with the master class during the difficult period of capitalist readjustment now going on. This it can do only by teaching the working class the truth about present-day conditions; it must preach revolutionary industrial unionism, and urge the workers to turn their craft unions into industrial unions, the only form of labor organization which can cope with the power of great modern aggregations of capital. It must carry on its political campaigns, not merely as means of electing officials to political office, as in the past, but as a year-around educational campaign to arouse the workers to class conscious economic and political action, and to keep alive the burning ideal of revolution in the hearts of the people.

FOR NEW POLICIES AND TACTICS.

We believe that the time has come for the Socialist Party of America to adopt the following course of action: To throw off its parliamentary opportunism and to stand squarely behind the Soviet Republic of Russia, the Spartacus group in Germany and the revolutionary working class movement in Europe. Thus it will be ready when the hour strikes in this country—and it will strike soon—to take the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle with the capitalist class, instead of obstructing its path with the palliative of parliamentary reforms and lead the workers forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the final phase of the class struggle necessary to the ushering in of the Co-Operative Commonwealth.

POLITICAL ACTION.

Realizing that the vital difference between revolutionary Socialism and "moderate Socialism" lies in their varying conceptions of political action, and realizing too that on this point revolutionary Socialists are most misunderstood and misrepresented, we append a detailed explanation of the scientific Socialist conception of political action.

Since we assert with Marx, that "the class struggle is essentially a political struggle," we can only accept his own oft repeated interpretation of that phrase. The class struggle, whether it manifest itself on the industrial field or in the direct struggle for government control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist political state. This is a political act. In this broader view of the term "political," Marx includes revolutionary industrial action. In other words, the objective of Socialist industrial action is also "political," in the sense that it aims to undermine the state, which "is nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another and that no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy."

PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS.

Political action is also and more generally used to refer to participation in election campaigns for the immediate purpose of capturing legislative seats. In this sense also we urge the use of political action as a revolutionary weapon.

But both in the nature and the purpose of this form of political action, revolutionary Socialism and "moderate Socialism" are completely at odds.

We contend that such political action is a valuable means of propaganda; and further, that the capturing the political state, but—and here is the vital point for the "moderate Socialist" goes no further—we hold that this capture of the political state is merely for the purpose of destroying it. The nature of Socialist parliamentary activity should be purely destructive.

"Moderate Socialism" aims to "simply lay hold of the ready-made machinery and wield it for its own purposes"—the attainment of Socialism. And so the "moderate" falls into the error of believing that parliamentary activity is constructive—that he can eventually legislate Socialism into existence.

This error leads to two dangerous practices: (1) making parliamentary activity an end in itself, and (2) making essentially destructive political action the instrument for constructing the Socialist order. To avoid these dangers, and to strengthen labor's political arm, the Socialist ballot must be supported by the might of "the industrial organization of the working class." Only the economic organization of the working class can build the new society within the frame of the old.

REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

"Moderate Socialism" constantly overlooks this fact. We must continually remind the working class that Labor's economic organizations are naturally the school for Socialism. All political parties, and without exception, whatever their complexion may be, warm up the working class only for a season, transitorily.

Only through his industrial organization can the worker receive training in the control of production. It is by means of this weapon that the working class will eventually take over and hold the mines, mills and factories, not for the purpose of destroying them but for their permanent control and development. Thus, the only thing worth taking from capitalist society and keeping is the highly developed means of production and distribution—will be won for the working class by its Revolutionary Economic Organization.

Because of its constructive nature, our Economic Arm, unlike our Political Arm, may take "a little at a time." Our economic movement is not unlike a military movement. All means are used to win a war—infantry attacks, heavy and light artillery, bombardments, sieges, and guerilla fighting. In the industrial struggle the working class employs strikes, boycotts and the like. The political movement, however, has for its object only the storming of the political citadel of capitalist tyranny; therefore the Political Arm cannot compromise. Our political movement should be the essence and incarnation of our revolutionary aim. With Liebknecht we say, "To parliamentarize is to compromise, to log-roll, to sell out."

SYNDICALISM AND PARLIAMENTARISM

In characteristic utopian fashion the Syndicalists forget that the Social Revolution must in part grow "within the capitalist shell." They forget that the state, the engine of oppression employed by the capitalist class, must be destroyed through capture by the working class.

In equally characteristic utopian fashion, the "moderate Socialist," with his pure and simple parliamentarism forgets that "because of its destructive object and because of its structure, which is arbitrary and determined by geographical lines, the Political Arm of Labor cannot be used as a means of taking away from the capitalists and holding for the working men the means of production."

Thus the utopian Syndicalist fails to utilize the political weapon; and the 20th Century Utopian Socialist misuses the political weapon and fails altogether to utilize the industrial weapon.

A combination of these two methods is necessary to the revolutionary Socialist movement, and this combination the Left Wing intends to effect.

PROGRAM

1. We stand for a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms both local and national and the abolition of all social reform planks now contained in them.
2. The party must teach, propagate and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of Socialism through a proletarian dictatorship.
3. The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions.
4. Realizing that a political party cannot reorganize and reconstruct the industrial organizations of the working class and that that is the task of the economic organizations themselves, we demand that the party assist this process of reorganization by a propaganda for revolutionary and industrial unionism as part of its general activities. We believe it is the mission of the Socialist movement to encourage and assist the proletariat to adopt newer and more effective forms of organization and to stir it into newer and more revolutionary modes of action.
5. We demand that the official party press be party owned and controlled.
6. We demand that officially recognized educational institutions be party owned and controlled.
7. We demand that the party discard its obsolete literature and publish new literature in keeping with the politics and tactics above mentioned.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

1. We demand that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose of reorganizing party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis.
2. We demand that the American Socialist Party shall not participate in the proposed Lauzanne Conference engineered by "moderate Socialists" and social patriots.
3. We demand that the Socialist Party of America issue a call for an international congress of those groups of the Socialist movement that participated both in the Zimmerwald Conference in September, 1915, and the Kienthal Conference in 1916, and those groups that are in agreement with them today.
4. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.
5. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Spartacus Group of Germany.
6. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Left Wing movements of Europe.

Hungarian Socialist to Withdraw from Cabinet

Budapest, Hungary.—The Socialist Party of Hungary has asked the Council of Workingmen's Deputies to convene, because the Socialist members of the Hungarian cabinet declare themselves unwilling any longer to share the responsibility for the policy of the government. Among the [illegible] advanced by the Socialists for their present position is the fact that the government seems determined to suppress Bolshevism. The Socialist members declare themselves unwilling to support this move. It is regarded likely that the workingmen's [illegible] decide to request the Socialist [illegible]

CHICAGO PAPER DECLARES ARCHANGEL EXPEDITION FAILURE

(Continued from page one)

"America, whose ideals of honor are at stake and whose sons are being sacrificed, has the right to know the facts. In North Russia the expedition has become a dismal comic opera. Here in the north, in a district that never was violently Bolshevist, where the allies had many friends at the start, and where, since the first days there have been unlimited opportunities to advance confidence and [illegible] here with everything their own way, the allies have failed utterly.

"Today, in Archangel, Murmansk, and the other cities of the district, there is growing dissatisfaction against the way the expedition has [illegible] Every phase of life within the district is controlled by the allies and dominated by them.

"The Russians frankly resent this. They will tell you openly that they, and not the outsiders, should determine the exact form of government and pick the leaders. Today if a Russian fails to follow his ideas and opinions of the allied leaders he is classed as a Bolshevik, with the possibilities of jail to keep him silent. Only such men as conform with the foreigners' ideas last in the local government.

"The foreign military are actually and undeniably interfering in local affairs. They are dominating every department, forcing their own ideas and judgments against the wishes of the North Russians [illegible] ment. Martial law has been established, placing the foreign military above the local authorities. All this reflected against the avowed motives of the allies.

"It is difficult to understand the question until the facts are grasped that the whole country is seeking with unrest. In this land there are a hundred and one pet theories, ideas and beliefs, all of the adherents striving to put forward their remedies. Then, into this boiling mass, is stuck a bayonet instead of a spoon, and this new outside foreign cook, whose receipts are not wanted, whose ability is questioned, whose sincerity is doubted, shouts, 'Try my brand of cooking you need it. Try it, or I'll stick you with [illegible]

"This is exactly what has happened in North Russia. One particular outside nation forced their ideas of life, liberty, happiness, government, justice, censorship and everything, on the Russians and they have been imperialistic, old-fashioned, old-world ideas.

"Recently one of the sincerest Russian Revolutionists in Archangel, who gave years of his life to bring about the original revolution, said:

"'The thousands of honest anti-Bolshevist radicals throughout Russia are fearing the course that the intervention may take more than they fear the Bolsheviki. We prefer the present Moscow government to the return of terrible reaction.'

"The Americans were doing their fighting in small groups with, at the most their own platoon or company commanders over them, in certain instances, the tiny groups of Americans actually were under the British sergeants. It simply didn't go. [illegible] feeling [illegible] The same conditions prevailed with all the other members of the expedition and before long hatreds, jealousies, and distrusts were engendered, which is was impossible to correct.

"All the time the Americans felt they were doing a job for certain nations, helping to collect their debts and re-establish their commercial supremacy. Part of this trying condition was brought about through a lack of proper spiritual leadership in the high allied command and part through the lack of proper leadership within the American forces themselves. This put the whole expedition on a false basis and it was reflected through the leaders down to the lowliest private.

"Vague rumors came to them of a great British-Russian deal at stake. Other rumors told of tremendous debts which Russia owed to Europe that must be collected. The avowed reason for the original entrance at Murmansk was the [illegible] turn the ice free ports of Murmansk and Petchinga, on the Murman coast, into German submarine bases.

"This was outlived when the expedition started to Archangel under the slogan of guarding the great war supplies about to fall into the German hands. Reaching Archangel, the foreign soldiers found no supplies. This old, hard ridden theory of guarding the supplies at Archangel lasted through hundreds of columns of propaganda, even long after the American troops had landed a month later.

"From the start the expedition lacked the thrill of the drive that a great, honest, stated purpose would have given. The majority hated the job and transferred their hate to the Russians. They had no concern for them and did not try to understand the tremendous question the country was facing to discover the solution. They carried on in a half-hearted way riding roughshod over the feelings of the natives, and [illegible]

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KILLING THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Do you remember the repeated assurances we received a few months ago that the Socialist Party was on its last legs; that members were deserting it by the thousands; that its principles were being repudiated; that we were but a corpse awaiting burial?

Well, we've been buried—under an avalanche of orders for dues stamps, supplies and literature, though, and not by the venal capitalist press and the masters it serves. A very lively corpse we are, comrades. A corpse that places orders for 12,616 dues stamps in one month in Ohio alone, must be very red of cheek, sturdy and kicking.

Mind you—12,616 dues stamps sold in one month in Ohio to the membership. This constitutes the largest dues stamp sale to our knowledge, for any one month in the history of the Ohio Socialist Party.

Here are sales per month in comparison:

	1917		1918
October	6,514	October	3,205
November	6,523	November	4,610
December	6,815	December	6,757
	1918		1919
January	3,479	January	12,616

Other states show equally encouraging increases. During the month of January, 1919, New York sold 17,066 dues stamps; Wisconsin, 13,277; Illinois, 10,202; Pennsylvania, 8,362.. Ohio ranking third in sales.

To the comrade still "bringing up the rear" this article is especially addressed. Get into line. March abreast the rest. Keep step. Pay up!

FIRST FRUITS OF DEMOCRACY

The war against the central powers having been won and democracy thus enthroned, the world has been made absolutely safe for her without further doings or ado! She may wonder at will and where she listeth without fear of vile attack or assault. That's what the war was about. If you don't believe it, ask Mr. Wilson. He will give you an answer in the affirmative a mile long and as smooth as soap.

Take America. Gee, Whiz, no one would say that America was unsafe for the fair lady. Why, folks, she was born here, grew up here, has never been out of our sight. We have all known her since the day of her birth. She's the patron saint of every city and village. Everybody's her friend and her photo is enshrined in the hearts of all.

True, it is at times just a bit hard to lay ones finger on any particular spot where Democracy is perfectly safe (unless it would be in Mr. Wilson's pocket) yet we know she is safe because we are told so and if we are not to believe what we are told, what in the world are we to believe, we'd like to know!

But even though we try to believe all we are told, doubts will arise. They keep cropping up in spite of a most abiding faith in "what the papers say." Take the unemployment problem. One would think that with a world spilling over with democracy a bit might be spared for the industrial field and thus put people to work and allow them to retain the value of their products. The only reason we can think of why this isn't done is that it would interfere with special privilege. And you know privilege and democracy don't mix.

The present state of the unemployed makes us hazzard a guess that democracy as related to industry is a myth.

Then there's the question of deportation. Who are being deported? Billionaires made by the war? Profiteers made corpulent by preying upon the slaves of the shops and through over fat contracts with a needy government? Corrupters of public officials? Not much. Who do you think owns this country anyway? Workers, union men, creators of wealth are the victims of deportation. And for the reason that they attempt to create a speaking acquaintance between democracy and industry.

Democracy is a great thing—until workers seek to apply it to industry. A great thing to howl and holler about but never to trust in the hands of the masses! And for a mighty good reason. The moment democracy enters the door of industry, Mr. Capitalist will have to sneak.

Yet if any worker believes that he will willingly do so let him read the following taken from capital's mouthpiece, the Wall Street Journal. Capital has no intentions of allowing democracy to pass the threshhold of industry.

WALL STREET SPEAKS ITS MIND.

"Our laws are all too inadequate to deal with that public enemy, the labor agitator. We have a flabby public opinion which would wring its hands in anguish if we TOOK THE LABOR LEADER BY THE SCRUFF OF HIS NECK, BACKED HIM UP AGAINST A WALL AND FILLED HIM WITH LEAD. Countries which consider themselves every bit as civilized as we are, do not hesitate about such matters for a moment."—Wall Street Journal.

Some Objections

Dear Comrades: At our last business meeting a motion was made instructing me to write to the State Office protesting against the exemption of Local Cuyahoga County from taking the Ohio Socialist as was stated at the meeting. Other locals might start a paper and they ask exemption from taking our paper, too.

Another motion was made that we ask for exemption of the wives and daughters of comrades who do take the paper as it forces them to send the paper to some one who is as able to pay for the paper as we are ourselves.

They ask that a copy of these motions be printed in the Ohio Socialist.

Yours fraternally,
FRANK STIDD,
Secretary Local Bellaire.

We believe that if the comrades of Bellaire understood that the Socialist News and the Ohio Socialist now contain practically the same matter with such changes as adapt each to its particular field and that the saving thus made is fully equal to the amount that would be received through the sale of press stamps, they would not have any objection to the plan.

As to their second motion. Comrades should remember that the present plan of having each member support the party press is the first experiment in this state. Such faults as the plan contains may be remedied at a later date. For the present let's all give a bit to its support and work for the next step in its progress—that of making the Ohio Socialist a bi-weekly.

ASHTABULA WANTS SOCIALIST PAPER

The State Office is in receipt of a letter from Comrade E. J. Hewit of Local Ashtabula Harbor inquiring into the possibilities of starting a local paper in conjunction with the O. S. Comrade Hewit also inquires the price of one thousand O. S. for distribution weekly. Other locals are also considering the possibilities of starting local papers. And to each and all, we say—wait a bit. Let's do one thing at a time, especially when it comes to establishing Socialist papers. We have a state, party-owned paper. Let's make a real paper of it before dissipating our finances and energies in starting other papers which will at this time most assuredly sap the vitality of the locals. That's our advice, comrades. If you have funds for publicity, use leaflet method or order a bundle of Ohio Socialists and train a distribution squad for future work.

We Invite You

You are invited to the meetings listed below. If you live within reaching distance you will never regret having attended them. Take your family with you. Don't go alone. You will reap more satisfaction from the meeting if you can say afterward: "WE enjoyed the lecture."

* * *

Cincinnati Meeting.

Meetings held every Sunday evening at 1314 Vine St. Thurber Lewis will fill the date of March 2. Subject "Socialism—The Inevitable".

* * *

Youngstown Meeting.

Dennis E. Batt will fill a date here on March 2.

Sandusky Meeting.

C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland will speak at Sandusky on March 5.

Columbus Meeting.

H. L. A. Holman will fill four dates on March 6, 7, 8, 9.

* * *

Opperman Meeting.

H. L. A. Holman will speak at Opperman March 1.

* * *

Kenmore Meeting.

C. E. Ruthenberg will speak at Rittikoffer hall, evening of March 2.

* * *

Another Speaker for Your Local.

Comrade A. L. Sugarman, former State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, is available for meetings in Ohio between the 15th and 26th of March. His subjects are: "Socialism From Utopia to Science," "Revolutionary Aspects of Modern Literature," and "[illegible] Versus Wilson."

RESULTS OF KATTERFELD MEETINGS

Comrade L. E. Katterfeld's meetings in the early part of February were excellent in the results obtained. Here is how Comrade Herbert Knecht sums up the results at Byesville.

"More members. More readers for the O. S. More knowledge of the fundamentals of Socialism. More determination among the members to organize the unorganized. A better understanding of organization work. Greatly increased interest in Socialism among the women of Cambridge. More light, more knowledge and another stride toward the finanl goal in Industrial Democracy."

At this meeting a social with eats and music were among the good things to be had. Comrades Harry Wilson, Comrade Conway and Comrade Beulah Evans, are the recipients of much appreciation from the local comrades for their excellent music.

At Derwent Comrade Katterfeld spoke to the diggers of coal. And as a tribute to these miners who are now working about half time or less it must be said that they were generous in their support of the meeting. The Cambridge plute press refused advertising space to the comrades even when double price was offered. O, very well. "We are going to stop trading with the enemy."

At Troy the mayor helped make the world safe for capitalism by influencing the county commissioners to refuse the hall to Socialists. He offered the excuse that there were 400 workers unemployed in that city and a meeting where they might discuss their grievances would be UNWISE. The meeting was held at the home of Comrade Geo. W. Louthan. The comrades organized with a membership of five. These five now have the opportunity to make socialism bum in Troy.

SOME JAIL NEWS

Comrade Perley Doe sends up his change of address. For the next 18 months it will be the State Penn at Canyon City, Colo. We are not aware of the particular manner in which Comrade Doe has offended the state.

* * *

Comrade E. Curtis Ilkenhans of Youngstown was tried at Cleveland last week. He pleaded guilty on the understanding that he was to receive a six months' sentence and to have the time allowed which he had spent in jail awaiting trial. This left him just 24 hours to serve. Comrade Pearce of Canton got the same sentence. He is now free, having then but a few days more to serve.

* * *

Comrade Harry Wagenknecht of Cleveland is now released from Warrensville after serving ten months of a year's sentence.

* * *

Comrade J. F. Critchfield of Boise, Idaho, is free after waiting in jail nine months for trial. He was found not guilty of the alleged offense.

Comrade Critchfield refused the services of a lawyer and pleaded his own case. He was indicted for violation of the espionage act, and was alleged to have said, in reference to the flag, that it was "a damned old rag, not worth any more than any other damned old rag."

GOAL SET AT 1000

The comrades of Guernsey county have set the goal for one thousand members. They are making every effort to reach it. Comrade Knecht reports that a splendid meeting was held on the 14th, when eight members were admitted and plans laid for a social in the near future. The local also endorsed motion for an emergency national convention.

INDIANA PARTY BULLETIN IS NOW A WEEKLY

The Socialist Party of Indiana will make a weekly paper of the Monthly Bulletin, beginning April 15. $1 per and 50c for six months. This again is the principal of a party-owned press vindicated. From now on the slogan of every comrade must be up with the party press, down with individual control of party propaganda. This is the new age, the old is dead.

A NOTE OF THANKS

The State Office wishes to express for the Party the thanks which are due the comrades for their hospitality to the State Organizers, comrades Baker and Lewis. The organizers have spoken highly of the comrades hospitality in furnishing them the necessary 'eats' and a comfortable place to sleep that is so necessary and acceptable to one while on the road. Therefore, comrades we extend thanks.

A constant worker for a bigger and better O. S. is Comrade S. M. Kerte of Wadsworth. Comrade Kerte keeps his eye on our subscribers in that city and he certainly keeps steady on the job as his record of about two subs a week proves.

WOULD YOU LIKE A FARM HOME AND OWN YOUR OWN JOB?

THEN READ THIS: I have been in all the southern states bordering upon the gulf and I believe south-eastern Mississippi is the most desirable location for one with small means to build a farm home. The climate is very healthful, good water, roads and excellent schools, the people are sociable and hospitable; direct lines to market. Good lands for general and special farming and stock raising at $10.00 per acre on easy terms. No swamp lands, but gently rolling and well watered by small streams; plenty of rain, no long winters—can farm all the year. Fruits and early vegetables grown for northern market. This land will triple in value in the next five years. If you would like to join with a dozen or more comrades to form a colony settlement, write for further particulars to J. F. DENISON, 416 1-2 Washington Ave., Warren, Ohio.—Adv.

Has Your Secretary Your "Industrial Freedom Certificate,, or Have You?

Piqua, Ohio News Notes

By ROBERT JOHNSON.

The Piqua Chamber of Commerce is a most unselfish organization. We have its own word to that effect. According to full page ads in city papers it is Piqua's guardian angel; the author of all progress and advancement.

* * *

Listen to this fellow workers:

"The Piqua Chamber of Commerce is the one big, strong organization in our city that is working tirelessly and continuously for the civic and industrial benefit of the community."

Sh-h, sit down! Imagine if you can, dear reader, this delectable bunch of financial freebooters working for the "benefit of the community." Whenever the working class of this town want to get a raise in wages they run along to the Chamber of Commerce and have it attended to at once. Sure! They would rather help the workers get more money than revel at the banquet. Are you dissatisfied with the scandallous prices of the necessities of life? Just tell the Chamber of Commerce and then watch the prices drop. Try it.

* * *

A bond issue for a new water works system was submitted to the voters of Piqua last August. It was defeated by a few votes. The campaign against the bond issue was directed by the Chamber of Commerce and its camp followers. Many infamous tricks were pulled off, the most despicable being the following: A fake emergency appropriation of $30,000 to repair the present water works was rushed through council just before the election. This ordinance was later declared worthless by the attorney general of Ohio, but it was too late; election day was past and the voters fooled once more. How long! How long!! will the Dubbs put faith in this brazen bunch of political blatherskites who have the effrontery to state publicly that "they stand for the best and most feasible solution of the water works problem."

* * *

The "kaiser" of Troy, Clay Harmon by name, issued a ukase last week against free speech in that city. This pinhead autocrat deliberately set aside the constitution of Ohio and the United States upon a supposition that trouble might possibly arise, because—well, because there are 400 unemployed in his little burg and that returned soldiers would likely get riled up, etc., etc. Comrade Katterfeld inquired when the unemployed should get together and discuss their unemployment—when they had jobs, or when they had none? The czar of Troy could give no answer. The capitalists and politicians of Troy have given their hireling to understand that he must keep the jobless workers quiet or lose his political head. Now the question is up to the workers of Troy, jobless and otherwise, to forever remove this arrogant boob and his masters from the political life of the town and place therein working man who will recognize human rights and not property rights.

COLUMBUS NOTES.

The Socialist movement in Columbus is on the upward trend. The local members have been so well pleased with Comrade H. L. A. Holman and his presentations of his subjects that he has been engaged to fill the following dates: March 6, 8 and 9, at Machinists' hall, 50 1-2 Gay St.; March 7, First Ward, corner Jenkins and Parsons Ave.

We feel confident that those interested in the subject of Socialism will feel well pleased to keep these dates in mind and hear these lectures presented in an able and scientific manner.—E. B. Eubanks.

MANSFIELD ENTERTAINS.

Local Mansfield, English branch, held a public entertainment on Jan. 16, which was a better success than expected.

The program consisted of singing, games, speaking (in English, Bulgarian and German), and dancing. The famous Y. P. S. L. "Red Orchestra" furnished the music.

Luncheon was served by the women of the English branch and pies at 5 cents a quarter made one think of the good old times.

A cake decorated with red flags and a picture of Debs was awarded to comrades writing the best poem on Comrade Debs. Willa Beery, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. M J. Beery, won first prize.

A good collection was taken which will be used to pay for our "war prisoners' stamps."—L. L. Anliker.

Espionage Act—An act designed to imprison all members of the working class who try to tell the truth to the people.

Devine's Inspirations

Local Toledo, O., besides packing Memorial hall, Sunday evening, Feb. 9, at 25 cents per seat, took up a collection of $80 and sold $51 worth of literature. This proves how effectively Socialism has been stamped out.

During the last presidential campaign some clever manager suggested the old parties adopt the plan of the Socialists and charge admission, sell literature and take up a collection. He was quietly tipped off by the eminent statesmen that they were not only willing to bear this share of the working man's burden but were also willing to pay for their vote.

Up spoke another whose duty it was to provide red fire, advertising and brass bands. "Whadda ya mean," he says, "literature? This yere's no educational party, this is a booby hatch, we ain't running no moving library or university extension course. Feed 'em on promises. They'll fall."

I wonder how long they'll fall? And that reminds us. What good book on Republicanism or Democracy as they are today would you recommend?

Local Toledo intends holding Sunday night meetings in Memorial hall until summer. Sunday, 8 a. m., Margaret Prevy of Akron, O., has the floor. No brass band. No red fire. No hall large enough to seat the crowds.

Someone's hand must be itching. Someone is being talked about. Someone is very much alarmed. Monday night, Feb. 10, a communication from the Rotarians, a bunch of capitalistic apologists and retainers, protesting against the renting of Memorial hall to those who might insult our brave boys who sacrificed so much for democracy, was read before the city council.

Shades of Thomas Jefferson arise and observe the generous scattering of soldiers in khaki attending these meetings and participating as ushers. Why they are even soapboxing on the corners.

Many of the master class belong to the Rotarians. They call themselves that "Good Fellows Club of America."

Well! Good fellows and dear good masters, why not put your idle time and money in an endeavor to provide jobs for these boys in khaki who rush back to us when you loosen their chains. These boys have been doing some serious thinking in the cantonment, in the trench and on the bloody battle field. You promised them so much when they returned. Many are here. More are coming. What are you going to do about it. A man out of work is a dangerous man. Know that? They fought for freedom. They have it. They are free to choose their master. The masters own the tools. These boys must have access to these tools. If you cannot open your factory doors to the returning soldiers then be democratic, don't be autocratic. They fought against that "Over There." Do you think they'll stand for it over here?

You and your kind had denied us every hall in the city during the war.

You censured and seized our press and jailed our editors and speakers.

You thought you had dulled our pen, padded our lips and padded our ears, didn't you?

But masters, you seem to have forgotten the future. Seemed to have forgotten that oppression has a language peculiarly its own. A language never understood by the oppressor, but readily grasped by the oppressed.

This language is now finding expression in the numerous manifestations and rumblings that are growing louder daily. The strikes at Seattle and Lawrence.

The unemployed demonstrations in New York, Chicago and other large cities are evidences.

We may seem deaf and dumb to you, but you appear blind to us when you fail to see the handwriting on the wall. Blind you are indeed if you can't see the dawn of a new day and age.

You have changed the command, "Work or Fight" to "Fight for Work." We accepted the former command. We now accept the latter challenge. If you will not permit us to discuss our grievances publicly we will proceed accordingly.

TOM DEVINE.

The day-lie papers! The bosses and business interests mouthpiece to deceive the masses.

A Cure for Henry.

A comrade in Michigan prescribes this remedy for the ills which afflict the working man. "The Ohio Socialist is one of the best cures for the working jackass. It works on his dome, touches his heart, works through his veins and back to his brain. If the Ohio Socialist is taken according to directions once a week and read with care, in a year's time Henry will be a sound man and be able to tell his fellow men how he became a real man."

William O. Boden is the Doctor.

Senate Investigates Soviet Government

(Continued from page one)

the room were turned toward them and whispered comments were made repeatedly. Words like "anarchists," "vulgarians" and "splendid young idealists" were caught.

At the start of the hearing, Reed refused to be sworn, preferring, he said, to make affirmation.

"Are you a Quaker?" demanded Senator Wollcott.

"No," replied Reed.

He explained, he considered his word worth no more under oath than otherwise. He was permitted to make affirmation. Later on, he admitted he had made certain obligations under oath to the State Department, when engaging passports.

"Thenn, I guess you can swear here," decided Wolcott.

Reed permitted himself to be sworn, Major Lowry E. Home, counsel for the committee and former U. S. district attorney for Western Pennsylvania, reputed a clever prosecutor, attempted to prove that Reed had violated his oath by accepting commission from the Soviet government.

"I did nothing without the advice of the U. S. consul," Reed explained. "I didn't, however, regard my oath as inflexible. For example, I considered that it permitted me to accept a commission from the United States government.

Reed's testimony was virtually the same as given by his wife the day before. He described the failure of the Kerensky government to provide food for the [illegible] people [illegible] cities and its effort to stem the popular insurrection.

Food conditions were almost immediately relieved by the Bolsheviki, who shut off passenger traffic on the Trans-Siberian Railroad for 21 days in order to bring foodstuffs into Petrograd. Russian industry, he said, has not been paralyzed.

"It is running," he said, "at something like 60 per cent. of its capacity and gaining all the time."

He explained the Soviet theory to the committee, who in their interest forgot to interrupt. Wolcott raised a laugh by remarking at one point:

"Our government provides that private property should not be confiscated except by the state, and then just compensation must always be made."

"Will it be made to the distillers?" asked Reed.

At the conclusion of the session Wolcott asked if the witness would like to read any further testimony into the record.

"Only this: I would like to ask that men who would give what I think is a fair statement of facts be heard by the committee. I don't mean Socialists, but men like Colonel Raymond Robbins and Colonel Thompson of the Red Cross and Mr. Meyers of the New York Y. M. C. A."

Wolcott asked for addresses and scribbled them on a pad. Albert Rhys Williams, whose recent address in Washington is said to have provoked the Overman investigation, will tes-

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at th
Rate of $2.50 for Six Months.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets every Sunday at 7 P. M.,
rear room Woodmen's Hall,
South Main St., Warren, O.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th S
day of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.,
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West
Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets each Sunday at 2:30 P. M. Socialist Hall, 38 High St.,
3rd floor.

NOTICE TO SUB BOOSTERS
If you want a bundle of O Socialists to help you in y work of getting subscribers we will send a bundle weekly if you will notify us to that effect.
Yours for 20,000 subscribers and a bi-weekly.

Appreciations

"Will try to keep 'em coming," wrote Comrade H. L. Ricker of Dover, O., in a note containing a sub. He succeeded. Next day he sent another. Now he writes: "This soul saving game is great. With every subscription secured I feel a great pressure lessening in weight. It makes one feel that they amount to something in this world."

* * *

"This is the first subscription I have secured, but hope it will not be the last." Thus writes Comrade Dr. W. Van Nette of Clyde, O.

* * *

"May your paper receive the circulation of the now defunct and infamous Appeal to "T" Reason. Goodness knows how badly we need a paper like yours to keep the membership informed and interested in our work. Go to it. Best wishes for success." In behalf of our membership, I send fraternal greetings of Local Bergen, N. J., to the comrades of Ohio and Kentucky." Hy Lucht, Secretary.

* * *

"Have just been reading the O. S. and have noted the activity of the various locals and it made me mad to not see anything in regard to Local Norwood. Put these subs on your list. Comrades, let us nail the capitalist lies with our press and meetings. There are big things ahead.

Here is my motto: The man who cannot see the onrushing revolutions had better go see an undertaken, for he's dead." Hugo Ruemmele. He sent five subs.

* * *

"Just a word or two to tell you that the Ohio Socialist is the finest and most to the point Socialist paper that I ever got hold of. It is the making of new comrades as well as a great pleasure to us old timers." M. R. Pearson, Moline, Ill.

* * *

"Finding the Ohio Socialist such a very good paper, one naturally wants ones friends to become acquainted with it." These are the sentiments of Comrade Sarah A. Rohrer, Canton. Comrade Rohrer sends two subscriptions.

* * *

"No higher recommendation of the Ohio Socialist's standing is required than that the great hero of human liberty, Eugene V. Debs, is a contributor and the further fact that he is surrounded by such brilliant intellectual stars as Kate Richards O'Hare and Marguerite Prevey and others, who dare to do right at the sacrifice of life, liberty and property." M. S. Holt, Weston, W. Va. Comrade Holt sends us ten subscriptions.

* * *

Editor The Ohio Socialist,

Dear Friend and Comrade: I have the good fortune to be able to subscribe once more for a real Socialist paper, The Ohio Socialist. Thanks to the courage, honesty and fidelity of its editorial staff. After all it does one good to realize that our American Socialist Party remained loyal to the interests of International Socialism: now therefore all those who stood the test of the war can hold their heads erect and enjoy the confidence of the workers.

This war, among other things has especially proven the fallacy of freedom under the political state. Congress, spurred on by the moneyed interests violated the national constitution and every free institution of our land. As time goes on the utterances of Marx become more easily understood. The hour has struck, the psychological moment has arrived, it is up to the workers to break their chains and establish the Industrial Democracy of the world and erase from over the portals of life the words, "Hope abandon, all ye who enter here," and in its place inscribe, "Hope all ye who enter here, opportunity abounds for all." This class war must not cease and peace must not be concluded until the whole world is really free! J. A. KEGLER, Canton, O.

The Parting Of The ways

However, comrade, there is a time rapidly drawing near when we will ALL reach the parting of the ways. A turn to the right takes you surely back to the fleshpots of capitalism, where you MUST stand shoulder to shoulder with the harlots, cut throats and pimps of plutocracy and do battle for your lord. A turn to the left takes you surely into the camps of the embattled reds where you MUST stand up and do battle under the crimson banner of revolt, no matter what your previous shade of belief may have been. Sooner or later all men must and all men WILL be found in one or other of these camps. There can be no evading the issue, for plutocracy is GOING TO FORCE THIS ISSUE and don't forget it. B. M. Dutton, State Sec. of Virginia.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MOTION

Motion by Comrade Clifford: That Comrade Mrs. Steven Lescho of Cleveland, whose husband is a prisoner at Warrensville, be allowed $25 from the Prisoners' Sustaining Fund. This motion was made on account of sickness on the part of Mrs. Lescho. The Executive Committee vote was unanimous in favor of the motion. H. [illegible]

Local Canton is organizing foreig speaking branches. Comrade L. L Lowery has requested an Hungaria organizer.

* * *

Reorganization work among South Slavic comrades of Lorai under way, a charter having granted them this week. This bra was completely broken up by a m of so-called patriots last fall. C siderable property of the comrad consisting of a library and furnit was destroyed. Of course, Sociali was killed outright as this reorga ization shows!

MORE BUNDLE ORDE

As the weeks speed by the c rades are learning that the best p aganda papers to distribute are co of the O. S. Local Warren is the l est local to order a weekly bun Two hundred a week is their o What local will be the next to the distribution squad?

HAVE YOU APPLIED FOR DEBS DATE

Eugene V. Debs will fill dates northern Ohio. Make your applicati NOW for a Debs date. Several loca are trying to make arrangements f a meeting for him. Put on your plication for a date so a tour ca arranged as quickly as possible.

BIG BOOST FOR GALI

Through Secretary Wm. M. Br Local Galion sent us 120 subscrip this week. These subscriptions citizens of Galion. Local Galion working hard for one hundred m bers before the year 1919 is They now have nearly one-third desired number and at the rat progress they are making and ta into consideration the determina they manifest in Socialist activ they are certain to reach the go

That the comrades believe the Socialist will be of great help to propaganda is evident in this b der. Thank you comrades of Ga

Locals' Month Reports

Local.	New Members	Good Standin
Akron	8	62
Ashland	0	4
Barberton	1	14
Belmont Co.	9	126
Byesville	0	51
Cambridge	10	18
Canton	3	49
Cincinnati	29	371
Columbus	6	88
Conneaut	0	7
Cuyahoga Co.	197	1928
Dayton	12	197
Derwent	2	12
E. Liverpool	20	42
Galion	15	31
Grover Hill	0	10
Hamilton	12	185
Hubbard	1	28
Kenmore	4	65
Lima	15	98
Marion	1	9
Massillon	1	50
Marysville	1	4
Midvale	6	..
Montpelier	0	30
Mt. Healthy	0	10
Mt. Vernon	1	21
New England	0	2
Niles	8	72
Norwood	1	11
New Bremen	2	25
Opperman	13.	14
Piqua	2	64
Salem	0	15
Wadsworth	2	12
Yorkville S. Slav.	1	24
Ravenna	1	70
Richland Co.	2	56
Sandusky	0	23
Tiffin	0	47
Toledo	19	235
Warren	2	17
Zanesville	0	33
Foreign Speaking Branches—		
Ashtabula, Finn.	4	133
Conneaut, Finn.	0	32
Fairport Harbor Finn.	2	47
Warren, Finn.	0	86
Lorain, German.	0	10
Hamilton, Germ.	5	26
Toledo, German.	4	28
Massillon, Lith'n	3	49
Youngst'n, Scand.	0	12
Young'n, S. Slav.	16	85

Not reporting—English Br nish Br. of Martins Fer Slavic Br. of Ne

Retired farmer—No exists. Those [illegible]

Supplement to The Ohio Socialist

No. 58 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1919

THERE'S MUSIC IN THE AIR

Tramp—Tramp—Tramp—Do you hear them marching? Millions now are on the way!

And Comrade—how about YOU?

Are you at the curb watching the parade pass? Are you a straggler at the rear? Are you wandering about aimlessly? Are you parading by yourself, with General Apathy and a long face as silent company?

How about YOU—COMRADE?

Tell us—why it is that your voice has not joined the chorus of millions of toiling men and women who, with beaming faces are greeting the NEW DAY?

As history goes, JUST A MINUTE IN TIME—and a band of RED encircled the earth. Here, there—everywhere, the strong arm of LABOR is smashing the forts of capitalism. And the triumphant march continues, day and night, steady, determined!

And you, comrade? We miss your face in the line of march? Where are you? What are you doing?

Do you know that YOU ARE THE EXCEPTION?

Whether you are of the rank and file or an officer of a Local—do you know that YOU ARE the exception? Can't you realize that MILLIONS ARE UP AND DOING and that you alone are attending your funeral?

Listen! There's Music in the Air!

Atune your ear to the sweetest song you ever heard!

Every worker rejoices at the victories in foreign lands. But how about these United States of America?

LISTEN! More dues stamps were sold by the National Office last month than during any month since April, 1914. Isn't that a dandy tune? Overflow meetings are reported by all speakers on tour. In many places Locals have had to rent two and three halls for an evening and then thousands had to be turned away. Is not that INSPIRING? At the recent meeting of the Central Committee of Chicago Socialists, 769 applications for membership were proposed. Isn't that a soul-stirring stanza?

Eugene V. Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, George R. Kirkpatrick, Scott Nearing, C. E. Ruthenberg, Dennis E. Batt, L. E. Katterfeld and many, many other speakers who have toured various states just recently report more enthusiasm, a greater demand for knowledge of Socialism, for Socialist literature, for more speakers than at ANY TIME in the history of the Socialist Party. Can we send you gladder tidings than that. Of course not.

Then Step Lively and Fall in Line.

Join the Forward March of Labor.

Tramp—Tramp—Tramp—Do you hear them marching?

Millions Now Are On The Way!

From National Office Bulletin

Mother of Humanity

(Continued from page three)

she was usually requested to sit in the smoking car, so she "smoked in self-defense. She would rather swallow her own smoke than another's."

So was added to woman's "rights," the "right" to enjoy the nicotine weed.

* * * * * * *

Those early fighters for woman's emancipation found themselves at variance with every custom dear to the hearts of the standpats of their time. Could the overall-clad women, who had stilled the purr of the oily black monster in the machine shops to join in the "Votes for Women" procession have seen the Unseen Workers among them, their eyes would have seen the genial eyes and smiling mouth of one who watched with amusement the nonchalent bearing of the wearers of overalls. She cast a knowing smile to several companions who triumphantly returned the smile.

Why smile at something so commonplace as a woman wearing overalls? Amelia Bloomer knew why. Could she not remember when "ladies" turned up their noses and small boys hooted at her from behind barrels? She could remember when people felt [illegible] eyes to gaze upon a woman [illegible] "Truly," thought [illegible] changes."

When she edited the snappy rebel paper, "The Lily," she denounced the ruination of the health of women the fashions then in vogue that required the pinching in of the waist, forcing the vital organs in all directions except their normal places, and remaining slaves to the long, bulky, fashionable skirts that trailed in the filth of the streets. She advocated sensible and comfortable clothing. She braved the ridicule of the non-thinking public and wore a bifurcated costume, known now as bloomers.

Elizabeth Miller smith recalled how she had shocked fashionable Washington society by appearing in a neat bloomer dress during her father's term in congress.

Mrs. Stanton had found the bloomers ideal wearing appatel when attending to her house work. What a delight not to be bothered with long skirts to trip one while going up stairs!

Lucy Stone availed herself of this convenient style while journeying over rough country.

Freed from heavy mud hems all water soaked and flapping around her feet, Susan Anthony adapted the bloomer dress. As she carried her petitions from door to door, what a relief not to have to use both hands to hold up befrilled ruffles out of the rain and mud, the snow and slush.

Fathers, brothers, and husbands had for years jeered at their women for being slaves to a fashion that decreed unwholesome clothes but when a few independent women freed themselves from the tyranny of fashion, a hue and cry arose against them.

The boots of "well balanced" conservations was such that one after another the women who had dared to get out of the rut gave up the convenience of wearing the clothes that they liked. "One reform at a time," wearily spoke Susan Anthony as she gave up the dress reform and applied herself to strive for woman's political quality.

The conservative people could not stand too many jolts at one time.

Industry was in its childhood and the need for cheap labor was supplied by immigration.

Woman's "place" was still in the home because the work was there.

The factory took over the spinning an the women with hand and foot power spindles could not compete with the water or steam power looms. The woman with her small loom lost in the race against mechanical power looms.

The seamstress who prided herself on the eveness of the stitches she had learned to sew bowed before the sewing machine and followed it to the factory to join the army of makers of ready to wear clothes.

The women saw the soap factory turning out soap in such immense quantities and so cheap that it did not pay to scrimp and save grease.

Oil, gas and electricity erased the home occupation of candle making. Even the Christmas candles deserted the home and were taken over by the factories.

Man's inventive genius reared mammoth bakeries that eclipse the little home oven and women went into the factory to folow her own art.

Drying fruits, canning foods, salting and smoking meats and fish, gathering willow leaves for tea, grinding meal, preserving and jellying fruits, boiling the sap of the maple, churning butter, making cheese, all these and many more were the tasks of women. As the machines of industry grew larger, the factory system invaded the home, taking away one task after another until woman to earn her livlihood had to follow thru the factory door the tasks that once were hers, but now belongs to the industrial life of the country.

It was only when woman's altered condition caused her to demand the right to organize in unions and fight for political freedom that the master's voice is heard crying, "Woman's place is in the home." Then he straightway turns around and discharges some men with families and replaces them with women at a lower wage.

In the youthful days of Capitalism it was "wrong" to wear bloomers. It was immodest and unbecoming a "lady." But, when the machines became so improved that man's physical strength was no longer necessary, women whose work thru industrial progress had vanished from the home, were "invited" to replace men earning a family wage.

Now it suits capitalism to have women reform her dress. A lady doll in tight stays and trailing laces could not well bend over oily machines and the flowing draperies might get caught in the machinery and the lady fair would be minus an arm or a leg. The capitalist would be called upon to pay a "compensation."

Dame Fashion almost fainted about 1852 when self-reliant women wore bloomers because they were convenient and desired to discard corsets which are injurious to health and the capitalist press of their day taunted them with remarks like "free love," "strong-minded," "easy divorce," but in 1918 when the capitalist wants cheap labor the capitalist press of today advocates overalls as dresses may get caught in the machinery putting the capitalist liable to pay "compensation."

(To be Continued)

Millions are in Chains

Millions of workers are wearing the mental chains forged by the master class. Millions of workers are held in mental and physical slavery because they know nothing of the gospel of emancipation. Through the blight of the capitalist-controlled press upon their minds millions of workers are wandering in the quagmire of false reasoning and contradictions, their vision blurred, their prejudices played upon to their undoing; they are made the tools and playthings of those who exploit them.

The press of the industrial kaisers of the modern world has a two-fold purpose, to pay profits to its owners and to keep the workers in ignorance and slavery to them. These are its sole objects, it has no others.

To combat the lies of the masters, to lift from the minds of the workers the cloud of economic ignorance, to tear from their eyes the veil of deceit must be the object of the Socialist press. And to do it, it must be made more effective. It must be enlarged and made powerful. It must be made to reach into the hands of millions where it now only reaches thousands. The Socialist press is the greatest weapon the workers have. It must be made mighty to serve the high purpose of its mission.

The Ohio Socialist has entered upon a campaign to increase its subscription lists to 20,000 and to be enabled by this increase in subscriptions to publish twice a week. This is our goal. Can we reach it in time to enter the next municipal campaigns with a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist in the field? We can—you answer—and we know that it is true. We can reach that goal and can even surpass it if every comrade will do even a little toward increasing our list of readers.

Every reader has been mailed a letter and subscription blank. Comrade, use that blank. Don't waste it. Don't say you can't do your share. We know that you can. The workers are hungry for the message of Socialism. Give them the chance to become readers and to become thrilled with the message of emancipation.

Comrads, let's quit trading with the enemy! Let's build our own press.

Late Books and Pamphlets

Our Literature Department has been reorganized. The State Office will now handle a greater variety of literature on Socialism and allied subjects than ever before. The latest books and pamphlets will always be found on our lists. Watch the Ohio Socialist for future announcements of new books, leaflets and pamphlets. We desire that all comrades and readers patronize this office when in need of literature. We shall make a specialty of lower rates than can be obtained elsewhere.

Aside from all standard works on Socialism we offer the following:

Latest Books

Ten Days That Shook the World, Story of Russian Revolution John Reed	$2.00
Our Revolution, Trotzky	1.25
The Future Belongs to the People, Liebknecht's last book	1.25
Bolshevism and World Peace, Trotzky	1.50
Pamphlets.	
Trial of Debs, by Max Eastman (a masterpiece)	10c
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Industrial Autocracy

By MARY MARCEY.

Here is a brand new booklet ready for delivery March 15th. No writer on present day economics is better qualified to write of world industrial conditions than is Mary Marcey. Her past works on the application of Marx's teachings to present day industry has made a place for her among the scientific writers of the day. This booklet is up to the minute and should be read by every worker. Get a grasp on present day problems by reading this book. 10c. Reduction will be given in quantities of 25 and over.

Address all orders to Socialist Party of Ohio, R.D. 2, Brecksville, O.

THE GREAT AND GROWING FEAR-NO WORK!

That is the name of a powerful propaganda leaflet just issued by the National Office of the Socialist Party.

It contains an awakening article on the subject now uppermost in the minds of the people, "Unemployment." This article is illustrated by cartoons.

It also contains the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic in full, as published recently in the Ohio Socialist. This is the greatest living document produced by the mind of man and should be read by the workers everywhere, irrespective of race, nationality or creed. Give it publicity. Combat the lies of the capitalist press with this authentic document.

And last, but hardly least, this leaflet, which is four pages, 11x17 inches, also includes an appeal for membership. It shows that 109,589 working men and women paid their dues into the Socialist Party during the month of January, 1919, the greatest record for any month since the war began in August, 1914.

The distribution of this leaflet in your neighborhood, in your city, will help swell the Socialist Party membership, will increase the Socialist sentiment and strength in your city, and bring victory of Socialism that much nearer. You have been wanting a leaflet for distribution. Here it is.

Send in your order today.

The price is 40 cents per 100; $3 per 1,000.

Order From
NATIONAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST PARTY,
803 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois

How We Know

Why do we know that we can have 20,000 subscribers by September 1st? Read these notes culled from letters from comrades sending in subscriptions and you will, we think, agree with us that the matter is easy enough. Right now we wish to state that we are now 400 nearer the goal than we were last week. What story will we be able to tell you next week? We hope to say that we are 500 nearer the goal. Read these letters, imbibe from them some of the enthusiasm wheih animates the writers and makes them feel more fit for the big fight we are in. Read what others are doing to increase our list of readers—then go out with that sub blank you received this week and get it full of names. What others can do you can do as well.

"Send me an order blank and a few copies of the paper. I want to get 10 or 12 subscriptions." J. P. McCullough, West Virginia. While some apply for a job getting subs it would seem that others ought to be doing their share. What do you think?

• • •

"Am herewith sending money order for for $2.00 for stubs. Have been giving them my paper each week, now they come and give me two dollars and say it is the best paper on the market. I am on the job every day with your paper in my pocket". Louis Wohin. W. Va. These letters ought to make some Ohio comrades wake up, eh?

• • •

Well, here's one who woke up without being told. He is comrade Knisley of Findlay. He sends a list of ten yearlies and one half year and asks for more sub blanks. And further he sends a message to you; Here it is—"If the socialists would get busy it would be an easy matter to boost the list to one hundred thousand within thenext six months. All the is necessary is to see the people". Use that sub blank comrade.

• • •

Thurber Lewis wrote from Dover "How does the State Office expect me to get subs when in places like Dover you have representatives that will go to hell for them"? He refers to comrade A. L. Ricker. Of course we don't expect even a good organizer to compete with a livewire like comrade Ricker.

• • •

"Your paper is a 'hum dinger' writes comrade M. A. Rundle ofCraig, Mo. He orders a bundle.

• • •

With hopes of sending more and to keep theball a roling one yearlie comes in from comrade Van Gundy of Wyo.

• • •

Three dollars for subs from comrade W. F. Werner of Canton. He is one of the comrades who keeps at it.

• • •

Local Moline, Ill., sends $3.50 for bundles for Feb. and one sub. Moline comrades know good propaganda when they see it. Suppose your local tries the distribution plan. Talk it over, a bundle and watchresults.

"For the enclosed $8.00 send me subscription cards. A hustler for Ohio Socialist". Anton Soukup. Neffs, O. He's going to help get that 20,000 readers!

• • •

Thirty seven more comrades W. E. Reynolds of Battle Crek, Mich., brings the goal a bit nearer.

• • •

Comrade H. M. Kohr sends in 6, 5 of which are yearlies.

• • •

Four from E. Liverpool proves comrade Larimore is on the job.

• • •

Two from our booster, comrade B. Kush of Canton of the Slavic Branch.

• • •

New Philla., list is boosted three more by comrade Glatfelter. New Phila., means to have its share of the 20,000 readers.

• • •

W. H. Tilley of Kansas sends in one sub.

• • •

Secretary Scheifler of Marion sends us two.

• • •

Chalane of Hamilton sends us 5 more.

Our 'Red' friend comrade Sprinkle of McAllester N. M. sends two half yearlies. Th esame number come from comrade Collins of Akron, O.

• • •

Corade V. Popov, of St Louis, Mo., sends in five.

• • •

Comrade C. H. Werber of Barberton adds four to the list in his town.

• • •

Chs. D. Hirst, claims responsibility for three from Salineville.

• • •

Mayor Hamilton of Piqua passes in four this week.

• • •

Five half yearlies from comrade Jesse Bird of W. Va., proves his continued activity.

• • •

Local Tiffin sends in six as its weekly adition.

• • •

Local Niles adds six and renews three this week.

• • •

Comrade Hinkle of Hamilton mails us two half yearlies.

• • •

Comrade J. Le Pamre of Zanesville stpes back in the ring with a list of four.

• • •

Twelve is on the list sent by comrade O. Ruchtaeschel of Cinti.

• • •

Thirteen is the lucky number local Toledo sends thru secretary Boyd.

• • •

Executive Committeeman Baker of Columbus adds two to Columbus' listt

• • •

Comrade E. C. Wolfe, sub worker of Mt. Vernon does his bit for the 20,000 by an addition of two.

• • •

Four from a comrade at Youngstown. Thanks comrade. Keep up the good work.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia and New Mexico.

No. 58 | Published at Cleveland, Ohio | WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1919 | Address all mail to R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio | $1.00 A Year

Liebknecht and Luxemburg Brutally Beaten to Death by Guards

Story About Attempted Escape Branded As Lie By London Correspondent

The story sent out of Germany and spread broadcast by the press of this country in regard to the death of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg said that the former had been shot while trying to escape from his guards and that Rosa Luxemburg had been beaten to death by an angry mob of people. This story is branded as a lie by the correspondent of the London Daily News, who says that both these champions of the workers were beaten to death by the military officers and guards who arrested them.

The story as printed in the London paper follows:

"When in my last message describing the scene at Liebknecht's grave I tried to give you a hint of some deeper horror which was accountable for the extreme nervous tension among the mourners, and which had a close connection with the death of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, I had only the thinnest thread on which to found my suspicion that behind these two deaths there was being deliberately hidden a terrible truth which must ultimately come out.

"An hour ago I chanced on some one who has given me what in all solemnity he assures me is the story of what actually took place. Apart from the fate of the two victims, it has a very grave bearing on the wider condition of Germany and the relative power of the old military regime and the present government

"My informant claims to have been an eye-witness to the incident which he describes. He was staying, he says, at the Eden hotel, where the horrible affair took place, and he returned there on the night of the tragedy at 10:30, to find an armed guard at the door. The sentry told him that Liebknecht had been arrested and that it was intended to beat him to death.

"In the immediate neighborhood of the hotel nobody was to be seen. Thus the story circulated in the official report about the 'infuriated crowd' was false, and the crowds existed only in the imagination of the military authorities who spread the report.

"When he entered the hotel he found a group of eight military officers and half a dozen civilions. There was an air of expectancy about them, and in about 15 minutes Rosa Luxemburg appeared, accompanied by the 'Kriminal Wachmeister.' A few minutes later Liebknecht came down the stairs, after having been questioned by the military. He was guarded by armed soldiers.

"At the moment Liebknecht was passing the narrator of this aair, an officer of the guards cavalry suddenly sprang toward him, shouting, 'Is that fellow still alive?'

"The officer then joined the military escort, which left the hotel with both prisoners. In about 15 minutes he returned and said Liebknecht had been beaten to death with the butt ends of rifles. The blows were struck from behind, and at the second blow Liebknecht collapsed.

"Again, the story circulated about Liebknecht's attempt to escape appears to have been invented by the authorities concerned and to have been sheer falsehood. According to a statement made by one of the sentries Liebknecht was deliberately murdered by the soldiers, who were encouraged to this deed by their officers.

"The next step was to compel all civilians to leave the hall of the hotel, while the military and hotel employes were assembled alone. These employes afterward declared, quite independently of each other, that Rosa Luxemburg had also been beaten down at the entrance of the hotel by officers and soldiers. There was no sign of any enraged crowd.

"My informant states that the official declaration of the guards cavalry Schutzen division was one complete untruth from beginning to end. A major who was present at the hotel could have easily investigated the affair, but caused a false statement to be issued, instead of the truth. Later on, the manager of the hotel was ordered to assemble all the employes and to read the false report aloud to them. In this way, the employes were intimidated by the militarism which is by some supposed to have been thrust forever out of Germany.

"The soldiers declared that they threw the body of Rosa Luxemburg in the canal. On the day following these terrible events, all the officers who knew about them had disappeared from the hotel. The whole affair has now been placed in the hands of an impartial committee, which is working in conjunction with members of the Independent Socialist committee.

"My informant is of opinion that, while Liebknecht's body was being carried away in a car, some revolver shots—probably blank cartridges—were fired toward the car, in order to give some sort of reality to the story of Liebknecht's flight.

"The struggle of the old military officers for the maintenance of their positions is becoming daily more determined and is assuming the shape of a movement for removing the soldiers' councils and restoring the old system of subordination.

"The majority of the officers are professional soldiers who, since the breakdown of military force, have lacked occupation, and in some cases even the wherewithal to live. To them the revival of militarism means the possibility of gaining a living again, and since many of the returned soldiers are unable to find employment in trade or industry, they are only too willing to join the army and again become professionals."

Williams Denies Charge of Wholesale Killing in Russia

Washington.—Albert Rhys Williams, who testified before the Overman committee which is investigating the Soviet government of Russia, presented quite a different picture of conditions in that country from that which the committee received from various agents of capitalism who had testified before the committee. He told the committee that the men at head of the Russian government abhored murder and blood shed and were sincere idealists who were striving with all their strength to erect a new sort of social organization in that country.

Taking up the question of bloodshed and wholesale killing during the progress of the revolution, Williams flatly denied the statements circulated by the capitalist press. He pointed out that there were one hundred and eighty million people in Russia and that in proportion to the population few people were killed in comparison to the number who have died in civil wars, which did not go as deep as the Russian revolution, in other countries.

Williams' Testimony.

"How many people were killed in Russia up to the time you left?" Senator Wolcott asked.

"According to my own careful estimate, and the estimate is generous, I would say between 40,000 and 50,000."

"Other witnesses have testified of great numbers dying of starvation, many of them in the streets; of hundreds being led to prisons to be killed, and of great numbers who were killed in other ways. These statements do not harmonize with what you say," Senator Wolcott said.

"I am sure that you can call many reliable witnesses to verify all I have said. Major Wardwell of the Red Cross, Mr. Humphreys of the Y. M. C. A., Miss Beatty, and many others I can name if you wish to call them."

Mr. Williams added that in judging the Bolsheviki people should remember what the Russian masses had suffered under the czar, how there was hardly a family whose men had not been among those killed at the front, of the graft under the old regime, and of the failure of the czar's government to give the soldiers under the grand duke and under Brusiloff the munitions they had to have in order to make a good fight. He said that trains under the old regime were sent to Archangel to get guns and ammunition and would be sent back with wine and fine clothes for the rich people of Moscow and other cities, leaving the soldiers at the front "to fight it out with sticks and clubs." With such conditions as that to remember, he said, "It was possible to understand why great numbers of them do not now look with any great affection on those they consider as having been among the supporters of their one-time opressors."

"The first decree issued by the Bolsheviki after they gained control," said Mr. Williams, "was one abolishing capital punishment."

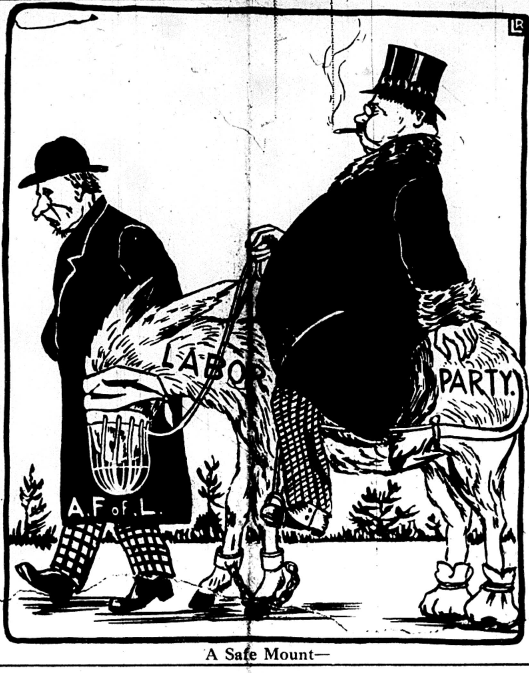
"Did they later restore that form of punishment?" asked Major Humes.

"Yes, after a long time they restored capital punishment."

"And speaking of atrocities," said Mr. Williams, "have you read that Carl Ackerman cabled to the New York Times from Siberia? In one of his stories he told of a trainload of 2,100 Bolshevik prisoners, 800 of whom were missing when the train reached its destination, and these 800 had died of starvation, been killed, or in other ways disposed of." The witness told of a Cossack advance ahead of the allied forces, and how those Cossacks murdered the people and left their bodies in the streets.

"Now when the Bolsheviki came into power they gained control of Petrograd with a loss of life that totaled only twenty people. In Kiev some 2,000 were killed. In Moscow, 1,000; in Rostoff, 2,000, and in Irkutsk, not more than 1,000. Taking all these figures into consideration, I repeat that all casualties due to civil war or other causes since the overthrow

(Continued on Page Four)



A Safe Mount—

"BOLSHEVISM IS TREASON"

"Bolshevism is treason."

A flaring headline and a full-page advertisement published by the Educational Welfare Association in one of the Cleveland newspapers conveys this startling information.

This association is carrying on a campaign to make the workers believe that all is well with them while they go wearily from place to place hunting for jobs.

But this time it is right.

Bolshevism IS treason.

It is bold, unashamed, stark, glaring treason.

It is treason against that conception of industry which means that the few amass great fortunes and the many get just enough to live.

It is treason against an industrial system that periodically sends millions out on the streets to starve or get a living as best they may, because the few are unable, momentarily, to make profits for themselves.

It is treason to an industrial organization that means long hours, low wages and constant industrial conflict.

It is treason against the idea that the government of nations exists for the purpose of struggling for economic advantages so that the few who own the industries of the nation may make more profits or secure the opportunity for investment of the profits made at home in foreign countries.

It is treason against the idea that a few great landlords should own millions of acres of land and exploit the workers thereupon, or that the bankers should take from the producers of the soil the bulk of what they produce through their mortgages.

It is treason to the industrial order that makes the capitalists and their managers the czars and kaisers of industry, who hire and fire as they see fit.

It is treason against an industrial system that produces ten thousand new millionaires in a war in which the workers bear the brunt of sacrifice and suffering.

It is treason against all that the capitalist class and the capitalist system stands for.

In war time we do not call using our weapons against the enemy treason, but the capitalists have become so accustomed to loyalty to themselves and their system on the party of the workers they exploit and rob that naturally they look upon an attack upon them by these workers as treason. They consider it their God-given right to grind down and oppress the workers, and hence their hysterical cries of "treason," now that the workers are turning against them.

The capitalists are the enemy of the workers. We cannot commit treason against the enemy. Treason for workers is disloyalty to the working class. It is the worker who supports the capitalist class and the capitalist system that is the traitor, for he is supporting the masters in the struggle to prevent the workers from achieving their freedom.

The Bolshevists are traitors to capitalism—and proud of it.

The worker who is not a traitor to capitalism confesses himself a willing slave.

Wilson "Plot" Story Exploded

New York.—The widely heralded story that an organization of Spanish anarchists had planned to kill President Wilson when he landed in Boston has been proven to be the product of the imagination of officials who are trying to stir up sentiment against the working class movement.

Seven of the fourteen Spaniards arrested, and held illegally without a warrant or charges of any character, were released after a few days, and the remaining seven were released last Thursday.

They were immediately rearrested on a warrant issued by the Department if Immigration. This warrent alleges that the seven men are "undesirable aliens," their undesirability consisting, it is believed, in that they believe in sabotage.

Following a heated parley between Harry Weinberger, the attorney for the men, and Judge Knox, on the constitutionality of the further detention of the men and on their being examined without the privilege of attorney, the Spaniards were taken in custody by a squad of men from the Department of Immigration on Ellis Island.

The men were examined during the day in order to determine whether in the minds of the Department of Immigration officials, they should be deported or permitted to remain in this country.

A hearing on that point will be held this morning before Judge Knox in the Federal Court building.

Weinberger protested a second time against what he termed the illegality of the Spaniards. He declared the men were being forced to give evidence against themselves, without having the opportunity to be informed of their rights.

He asked to be permitted to go with the men to Ellis Island, so that he might cou[illegible] them during their examination i[illegible] Department of Immigration officials, but that privilege was denied him. He seriously questioned whether these officials, under the Constitution, had the right to obtain information under such circumstances.

John Reed "Not Guilty"

Philadelphia.—John Reed and William Kogirman, who were indicted for "inciting to riot," in connection with a meeting held here last summer, were declared "not guilty" after three hours' deliberation on the part of the jury.

The case grew out of a meeting arranged by Philadelphia Socialists, at which Reed was to speak. The meeting was to be held in Moose hall. When the crowd arrived they found the building locked and a cordon of police around the door. Barred from the hall the Socialists tried to hold the meeting on a near-by street corner. It was while speaking on the corner that Reed was arrested.

Russian Workers Unite

Social revolutionaries have joined forces with the Bolsheviki, their former opponents, to oppose allied interference in Russian internal affairs, it was reported in a wireless dispatch received from Moscow.

The dispatch said that social revolutionary members of the old Constituent Assembly had arrived in Moscow for the purpose of negotiating with Premier Lenine. They issued a manifesto admitting the charge that the Bolsheviki had accepted money from Germany was false. The manifesto concluded:

"Allied interference in internal Russia is becoming more definite. Although we do not agree with the Bolsheviki on many points, it is our duty to call all citizens, workmen and peasants to cease civil war and unite against the common enemy."

Italian Workers Prepare For Dictatorship of The Proletariat

Caroti Tells of Preparation of Workers to Take Control of That Country

Arthur Caroti, Socialist member of the Italian parliament, who some years ago made a tour of this country and made a speech before the Italian workers here, gives the following picture of conditions in Italy in a letter to the New York Call:

The echo of the applause to President Wilson has already died away. Wilson and the reception accorded him are almost forgotten. Too many events have happened since his coming to Italy; many events and important ones. It is not a large section of the country that is alive to politics. Nevertheless, the reception to Wilson was warm. Many they were who looked to Wilson as to a savior—a savior from beastly imperialism, war and reaction; many others cheered because they had to. The Socialists—not the Socialists of the tamed or corrupted variety—the Socialists of the Partito Socialista Italiano, stood apart for many reasons; mainly as an act of solidarity with the persecuted comrades of the United States Socialist Party. Wilson is the symbol of the United States government, the true representative of the United States' capitalist class, the enemy of our comrades.

The Socialist city administration of Milan, the great metropolis of northern Italy, gave a reception to Wilson, receiving him as a guest. But the rank and file of Milan was not particularly desirous of a formal reception, and the Milan branch of the Socialist Party has by no means indorsed the action of the mayor and his councillors.

Events are moving rapidly in Italy. One must understand our national situation.

Italy Economically Defeated.

Italy has won a military victory but it comes out of the war economically defeated. Against a national wealth of about twenty billion dollars, there is a total indebtedness of about eighteen billions; two-thirds of the creditors are foreigners.

Italy has no raw materials to export; the materials for the basic industries of modern civilization—iron and coal—have to be imported. So must cotton. Wool is inadequate to the need. Agriculture in so sunny a climate as that of Italy does not yield as much as it should. War and poor transportation have played their part to cripple Italy's horticultural and agrumarian trade. The big market of middle Europe has been closed for years on account of the war and will be closed for years to come. France has shifted her trading with Italy to Spain.

The only wealth of Italy is labor. We have many millions more of working people than we need. But this wealth is wealth that eats. How shall they be fed? How shall they be employed?

The working class, owing to the high cost of living, was little spared during the war. Workers have a small buying power. The industrial class fears to produce commodities for market which may not buy a fair amount; it also fears the grip of taxation. There is a tendency among the industrials to stop working and to close the factories.

Overproduced War Material.

Sections of our industrial class have overproduced war commodities or commodities of war time. The sudden end of the war has left them with a superabundance of war materials. They hoped that the government would adopt a policy of free exportation, while the government did its best to sabotage it, either because of the pressure of the industrial countries allied to it—which tend to favor their own industries—or because it feared a lack of commodities in that domestic market and a consequent skyrocketing of prices. And the industrials react by closing factories or by the reduction of hours all work and wages.

And all this while millions of soldiers are leaving the army and preparing to return home.

Gloom hovers over Italy

What should be a sensible policy, for a bourgeois government to follow? Our bourgeois divide themselves into two distinct classes.

(Continued on Page Four)

Launch League for Release of Political Prisoners

Chicago, Ill.—"National League for the Release of Political Prisoners," is the name chosen for the organization launched here to carry on a national campaign until all war prisoners now incarcerated or in danger of incarceration in the nation's bastiles, for principles sake, are unconditionally released.

The name was chosen at the first meeting of the immediate action committee organized as the result of a call sent out by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. The committee endorsed the suggestion of holding a national convention on May 1, in Chicago.

Credentials were handed in at the first meeting of the committee from the People's Council of America, New York Bureau of Legal Advice, National Jewish Workmen's Committee, Western District; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Workers' Defense Union of New York City; National Civil Liberties Union; 27 state organizations and eight foreign language federations of the Socialist Party; the Socialist Labor Party, Poale Zion, and the Industrial Workers of the World.

William Bross Lloyd was chosen chairman and Alfred Wagenknecht, secretary. Invitations will be sent to the National Nonpartisan League, the various organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as well as a large number of other bodies of forward thinking citizens who will take an interest in the great struggle to restore democracy to America.

A sub-committee chosen to arrange details of representation and other matters connected with speeding up the arrangements for the conferences, has taken action as follows:

"That the basis of representation shall be one delegate for every 300 members, each organization, however, entitled to at least one delegate.

"That all delegate bodies, such as Central Labor Unions, Trades Councils, Socialist Party Central Committee, each be allowed one delegate.

"That the immediate need was for affiliation of sympathetic organizations; election of delegates to the May 1st convention by these organizations, call for finances, publicity for rank and file of all these organizations, and the convention details.

"That we suggest to the immediate action committee that representative of the league be sent to all the large industrial centers, to stimulate effect of correspondence by personal appeal, and to secure affiliations."

Lima Socialists Win Memorial Hall Case

On the 13th day of January, 1919, application was made to the county commissioners of Allen county for the use of Memorial hall for a Socialist meeting.

That was the third application for its use and for a third time its use was refused on the sole ground that it was to be used for a Socialist meeting.

Our State Constitution says, "All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for their EQUAL protection and benefit." Some people forget that we have a constitution.

Mandamus proceedings were brought after the second application had been turned down and Judge Klinger of the Common Pleas Court decided in favor of the applicants but declined to issue a peremptory writ owing to the "flu" ban being on at the time.

After the third refusal the county commissioners were again mandamused. This time the alternative writ was made peremptory by Judge Klinger and the county commissioners were ordered to grant the use of the Memorial hall to the relator for a Socialist meeting.

The county commissioners filed a petition in error in the Court of Appeals of Allen county, Ohio, and the case was argued in that court, Jan. 17, 1919.

The scene in the court room was one never to be forgotten. The county commissioners, one of whom was a member of the spy system of the Chamber of Commerce, known as the American Protective League, called upon their masters for support. The invisible government of Lima at last became visible.

The hidden power, the Chamber of Commerce, that body that during the war organized white collared thugs into vigilance corps to intimidate and terrorize the workers, came in full force to the hearing, looking sleek and well fed, and with that important air which was intended to say to the court, look at us. We are the "best people." We are the sinew and backbone of the government. We are of better clay than the workers. We have a monopoly of brains as well as of the money. We do not want Socialist speeches. The workers might become enlightened. If they do, then we will be compelled to become useful.

The court evidently ignored their self-assumed importance for, on the 18th day of February they handed down the following opinion affirming the order of Judge Klinger, requiring the county commissioners to permit the Socialists to use Memorial hall:

Decision of the Court of Appeals for Allen County, Ohio.

Before Judges Kinder, Crow and Hughes.

By the court:

The board of county commissioners refused to permit the relator the use

(Continued on Page Three)

The Capitalist System is Eas[illegible] Ended Than M

BABSON WARNS WALL STREET

We are sitting on a keg of powder. It is well enough for prominent men to give out optimistic interviews, but such talk is largely for effect. The statistics which they give may be true but they don't tell the whole story. Fundamental economic conditions are bad and it is useless to deny it. We could give many reasons for this statement, but shall mention only two basic reasons:

1. This composit plot shows clearly that a period of trouble and depression is ahead. It cannot be sidetracked. We can prepare for the reaction and prevent it from becoming disastrous but to stop it is impossible.

2. The industrial classes in many parts of the world are at the point of revolution. Insiders well know that the uprising of the masses in Germany was a vital factor in ending the war, and the disturbances in that country are likely to become worse when peace terms are imposed. We know something of the terrible conditions in Russia, but little is being told us about the bad industrial conditions in Italy, France, Spain, Japan, Holland and Great Britain. In all these countries strikes are numerous, as outlined more in detail on a later page. On account of the law of equal and opposite reaction, things are not as bad in America as in Europe. There has been less suppression in America. The idea, however, that these convulsions can take place in Europe without some reaction in America is absolutely foolish. The United States is destined to have great labor troubles unless employers immediately adopt different methods. These troubles will start with the textile industry, the copper industry or possibly the steel industry. The coal and electrical industries will also be affected. America may see the darkest period of its history in the coming days.

What does this mean to clients? It means that business will be jolted, the earnings of the masses will be cut down and their purchasing power will be greatly curtailed. As people cease to buy, manufacturers will cease to produce, and many workers who have not quit voluntarily will be laid off for lack of orders. The vicious circle will again be in evidence. The prices of certain basic commodities, such as steel, copper, and other metals, will continue to decline. There may not be such an extended decline in the manufactured goods, which so largely enter into the cost of living. Owing to interference with production through industrial unrest, the shortening of hours and general efficiency, prices of manufactured goods may for a while continue relatively high.

During the past years the influence of the farmers in this country has been mostly on the side of conservatism. Although the farmer doesn't know it he really is a capitalist and his interests should be allied with the conservative group. When, however, the trade routes of the world are again freely opened, American farmers are going to get a decided shock. Wheat will drop to a dollar a bushel, while corn and other cereals will fall correspondingly. The prices of farm products will drop much more rapidly than the farmer's expenses. This is going to make him ugly, and socialism will appear mild compared with some of the propositions which farmers will be making a year or two from now. The farmers of the western states will unite with the industrial workers of the eastern cities in attempting most dangerous legislation.

The foregoing illustrates in a marked way the reason for our attitude on securities (we omit this and one other paragraph on advice of investors).

Our mercantile and labor services are constantly advising clients how to shape their business to prepare for these startling events. Different lines of industry must use different methods of insurance. Those who recognize conditions and prepare an outlet for their people's desires may get by. Those who try to dam the flood will be washed away. Our government has said so much about democracy that the masses are now determined to have it, and to have it apply to industry as well as to politics. Far-sighted employers and merchants, instead of attempting to block the masses in their endeavors will at once get busy to devise means whereby they can reach their goal without bloodshed and the destruction of property.

A Word on the Building Situation.

As above suggested, the coming industrial unrest must be prepared and made less harmful. We indorse the government's campaign for the stimulation of public works, the building of homes and construction of all kinds. Reaction must come, and the only hope in the situation is to give the masses as much help as possible so that the reaction will not be so severe. The building industry may become such a buffer. Construction work, both public and private, should be encouraged by every employer. It is a check to anarchy, Bolshevism and I. W. W.ism in this country. Every client should use his influence with his local community, his representatives to the state legislature and congress to push public works with all possible speed. Clients also have an opportunity to perform personal patriotic service by building at this time.

Prices will be lower later but it is a good deal better to build now and head off anarchy than to wait until too late for the sake of saving 20 per cent. Spend the money now and then charge 20 per cent for insurance, good will or something else. Clients who already have plans for building and who have suspended the same on account of high prices should again ask for bids. Clients who in any way contemplate building should at least have plans drawn. Mind you, we are not pretending that now is the cheap time to build. On the contrary, it is an expensive time to build and we frankly say so. But it is much better to build now at a high cost and save business than it is to wait for lower prices and run the risk of anarchy.

What is Happening Abroad.

The war of nations in Europe is over, but the great class war apparently has just begun. Because of the strict censorship of news the real social conditions in Europe and elsewhere are not generally known. Working class unrest has expressed itself in revolutionary form throughout all European nations. The statesmen at the peace conference in Paris are really more deeply concerned over the outcome of the labor and Socialist conferences at Berne, Switzerland, than they are in their own activities in Paris. While the peace conference is discussing formulas for a League of Nations, the labor conference at Berne, is discussing the possibility of having their working class constituents at home take over the ownership and control of industries. Strikes are rife throughout England, Ireland, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Sweden. They all show symptoms of economic rather than political revolutions. In Argentina and Chile, violent labor uprisings have recently occurred. Given below are some specific instances which serve to show the trend of the times.

In England at least 250,000 of various trades have recently been on strike. These strikes are not over isolated disputes, but have as their base the fundamental principles of privileges which working classes are to receive henceforth. All of this has occurred notwithstanding the fact that only a portion of England's military forces has been demobilized. What will be the situation when some 4,000,000 more men return to look for jobs? The strike at Belfast, Ireland, is a direct repudiation of parliamentary action and is quite in sympathy with the Sinn Fein government recently elected.

Reports from Italy indicate that an explosion may take place at any time. The labor leaders of Italy are calling for the abolition of monarchy and for a Soviet government. The sudden return of the Italian delegate, Orlando, to Rome, because of the resignation of the Italian cabinet is significant of serious trouble in Italy. When President Wilson recently conferred with the Vatican, he was afterward rebuked by the Italian workers for refusing to address one of their labor conferences. They retaliated by darkening the city and cutting off transportation for two days. Here we see the weapon of direct action is being used in Italy.

In Portugal the recent attempted overthrow of the republic of the monarchist party, indicates that the working classes of Portugal are demanding power and have broken with the present regime. Seeing this dissension, the monarchists took the opportunity and attempted the restoration of the Portuguese royalty. In Spain the working class labor riots are frequent. While no recent reports have been received, there is bitter class feeling in that country which may burst into flame at any moment. In Japan trouble is imminent, as is further indicated by the rapid withdrawal of Japanese troops from Russia. The rice riots of a few months ago show the temper of the people, who are beginning to revolt against the imperialistic designs of their leaders.

At this moment the allies are confronted with the very serious and pressing problem of demobilizing their armies. French labor groups are demanding that their members be immediately released from army service. British labor groups are also persistently demanding the demobilizing of the workers. The reason that this demand is not complied with is not because they need any longer fear the German army, but because of the more genuine fear of sending back these millions of soldiers to the homes, factories and workshops from which they were conscripted during the war, to find panics and unemployment.

On the other hand to keep millions of soldiers resting on their arms with no immediate prospect of using them, tends to disrupt army discipline and precipitate mutiny. The longer they remain resting on their arms, the worse this situation becomes. If they are released and sent back to civilian life and do not find conditions and opportunities such as all the promises of war guaranteed, then there is going to be trouble on a scale such as we have never known before! People in the United States have little conception of what is really going on. The conditions which exist abroad may not be duplicated here, but we cannot hope entirely to escape from the suffering which they produce. We cannot hope to have prosperity in America while there is revolution and anarchy in Europe. Babson's Report.

The International Delegates

By JAMES ONEAL.

The resolution being adopted by some locals regarding the three delegates elected to attend the Berne conference, reveal a general misunderstanding of the situation. It is feared that they may commit the party to policies upon which it is not agreed or compromise it in some way.

It may be pointed out that this conference has adjourned and the National Executive Committee decided that if the three delegates could not get to the conference in time but one should go abroad. Another conference may be held while this representative is in Europe, but it should be borne in mind that he has neither the power nor the inclination to commit the party to any policies in conflict with those declared by the party if he should attend a conference while abroad.

His mission is mainly one of establishing contact with the movement abroad, to impart information to European comrades regarding the Socialist Party of the United States, to acquire all information possible regarding the various divisions in the European movement, and to make a report of his findings upon his return.

It may be pointed out here that the party frequently protested against the refusal of passports to American delegates to attend the proposed Stockholm conference. Now that the war is over and passports have been granted to two delegates, there are comrades who protest that passports should not be used. Our first protest was directed against the discrimination of the State Department and now that the government has lifted the ban, some of us erect one of our own.

Party members will concede that the Stockholm conference would probably have not been any more satisfactory to these members than the recent Berne conference, yet no one thought at the time that we should not try to send delegates. But sending delegates did not necessarily mean that we would permit them to commit the party to policies which the party opposed. On the contrary, the fact that the American party has become an important section of the International would have a good influence in any tendency toward uniting all groups into a new International with which we would be glad to affiliate.

The mission of the one delegate to go abroad is more informative than anything else. We are in need of information more than anything else. We certainly do not have an abundance of it on hand. We who live in New York have better sources of information than the comrades who live inland. Yet what we have is of a fragmentary character despite the fact that occasionally some comrade arrives from Europe with some first-hand news. Even the actions of the Berne conference are unknown to us except for a few meager items that have been sent back by correspondents.

The main factor to be kept in mind is that the coming of peace restrictions on travel abroad are to some extent being lifted and the special embargo against representatives of the Socialist Party has at least been modified. The writer has spent weeks since the receipt of passports in getting them vised by the British, French and Swiss consuls. He has the first two and has engaged passage on a steamer for England and expects to have the Swiss vise before sailing. The opportunity to re-establish relations with European comrades is available and there is no particular reason why we should not avail ourselves of it. If the writer should in any way attempt to commit the party to policies to which it is opposed he can be held amenable for his actions when he returns.

A Letter Not Published

Cleveland, O., Jan. 27, 1919.

Editor Plain Dealer,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

Noting that you are devoting considerable editorial comment to what appears to you to be "the specter of anarchy and all that is evil in society," namely Bolshevism, I should like to say a few words as to my conception of what Bolshevism really is. First, Bolshevism denotes maximum socialism as distinguished from Menshevism or moderate socialism. That we are and have been steadily evolving toward that form of society pointed out by Karl Marx's scientific ex[illegible] knows as socialism cannot be denied by any one. Then [illegible] Bolshevism are but [illegible] social develop- [illegible] process of education that has been carried on by different socialistic groups throughout the world but unfortunately, due to the persecution that has been the lot of those who have been the forerunners and torch-bearers of the new and inevitable order of society, they have at times been driven to the position of having to appeal for the support of the masses, and have been forced to set forth immediate practical demands calculated to attract these masses to their standard.

All Socialists, whether you term them "Bolshevists," "Spartacus," or what not, have in their campaigns pointed out the inevitableness of the downfall of the capitalist system, a system based upon profits, a system which denies to the workers the right to work—regardless of the need for the things which [illegible] produced, and for [illegible] about its own downfall, for with the development of capitalism the world market into which the surplus products, or that part of labor's production over and above which he receives in the form of wages, becomes ever smaller due to the nation's which before have been buyers becoming themselves sellers, necessitates the disposition of this surplus product in the home markets. This is impossible because the workers receive in wages only an equivalent of part of their production, and in general are able to purchase back only this relative part of their products. The surplus then constitutes what bourgeoisie economists term "over production." When this state exists there ensues a period of economic and social stagnation which necessitates a readjustment of the whole structure and fabric of society. Depending upon the sharpness of this period, depends the nature of the readjustment it amounting to, at certain periods, complete revolution of our economic, and with this our social structures.

During these periods intense and bitter suffering is caused to millions of workers and their families and they will occur with ever recurring frequency until the system of capitalism has been replaced by Socialism, a system of society in which the workers shall own and democratically manage the means of production and distribution thereby insuring the worker the full social product of his labor abolishing the system of profits.

Realizing and guided by a philosophy which teaches the ultimate collapse of capitalism in favor of the new order, socialism, the Maximilists or Bolshevists have inaugurated the new order of maximum socialism without temporizing with the reforms of the moderates or Menshevists who, in their program, would attempt to patch up or find a compromising ground upon which the upholders of the present capitalist system could harmonize with the coming order of socialism. The Maximilists say this is impossible and will only drag the conflict with its inherent ills over a period of years while the establishment of maximum socialism now while causing much intensity and bitterness between the old order and the new, will, as soon as it is realized that the new order has come to stay, work unforseen blessings upon all humanity. There can be no compromise, say the Bolshevists.

The persecuted of the past become the dictators of today, but unlike their persecutors, they do not persecute their opponents physically. All they insist upon is "law and order." The workers are the Bolshevists. They control. They have established a new order of society. They have formulated their constitution, made their laws and set up the authority of the majority. Those who of the old order, now in a hopeless minority, attempt to defeat this majority by espionage and disobedience of the laws of the constituted government must suffer the discipline of a most lenient and humane government and so learn the [illegible] the world [illegible]

That the upholders of the old order realize the hopelessness of again saddling their bondage on to the patient and formerly-unreasoning peasant is evinced by their appeal to the capitalistic government to lend them aid in forcefully suppressing what is unmistakable terms the people of Russia and Socialists the world over have [illegible] as their will and desire, the [illegible]

HELP! HELP! HELP!

SOCIALIST PARTY DECIDES TO PURCHASE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS AND CALLS UPON ALL MEMBERS TO AID—INITIAL PAYMENT MADE—OWNERSHIP CERTIFICATES TO BE ISSUED—ENDORSEMENT UNANIMOUS

We say—endorsed unanimously. We mean that every Socialist to whom we have spoken about the purchase of a headquarters for the National Socialist Party has, with extra emphasis, endorsed the move.

We must have a home of our own. We must cease paying rent. Landlord capitalists have fed upon our national party treasury for years, and are now feeding upon it to the extent of $3,000 a year. This must stop! And it will stop we hope, upon International Labor Day, when we expect to move into our new national headquarters where, in security and in a more satisfactory environment, the Socialist work will be carried on with more efficiency than ever before.

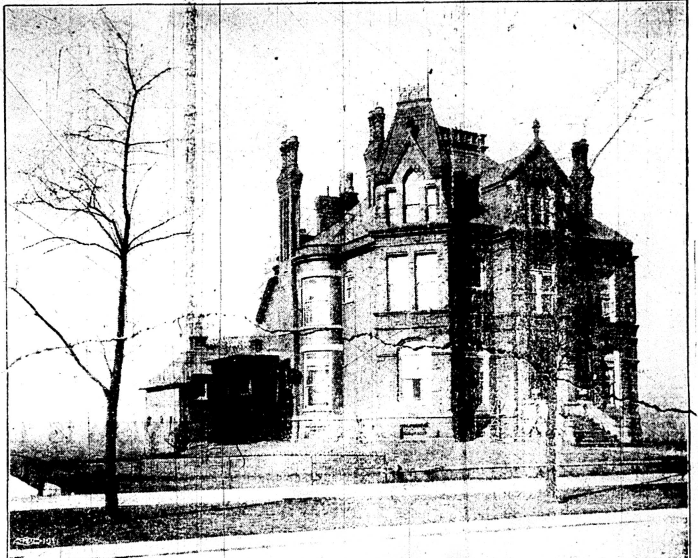
The sum needed to make the purchase, to pay for alterations and for moving is $40,000. A call is to be issued to the Socialist Party membership within a week or ten days, to invest in ownership certificates in any amount they can afford. Every party member can afford to invest one dollar. But many can give five dollars, ten dollars and more. Every comrade will be asked to be as generous as possible in his investment, so that our new national headquarters, the home we'll own, may be paid for in full in the shortest possible time.

An initial payment of one thousand dollars has already been made. It now becomes the duty of every party member to forward his "I'm with you, comrade," in the shape of an order for an ownership certificate in as large an amount as he can afford.

The new national headquarters will house all of the National Offie Departments and room to spare. The translator-secretaries of all foreign Socialist federations will occupy nearly the entire second floor of the building. The administration offices of the National Party will occupy the first floor. The literature shipping rooms will be located in two well-lighted rooms in the basement. Negotiations are now under way to have a printing establishment in the large building in the rear of the main structure.

Comrades who have seen the property agree that it is a splendid investment. The price being paid by the Socialist Party canstitutes about half its original cost. The loyal co-operation of all party members will "swing the deal" in a hurry, and this former rich man's palace will then be used to enrich workers' lives.

Every party member, every local of the party, a part owner of our national headquarters—this is the call which will go forward from the Department of Organization and Propaganda, Socialist Party, to all the comrades within a very few days.



New National Headquarters of the Socialist Party to be Bought for the Party by its Members

This property is in the heart of Chicago and is located at 220 Ashland boulevard. It is a typical brown stone mansion, magnificent in architecture and substantial in construction. It is well adapted for an administration building for the National Office, Socialist Party. The main building contains 17 large rooms; six on the first floor, nine on the second floor, and a hall that will seat 200 people and an ante-room on the third floor.

The lot has a frontage of 112 feet and is 200 feet deep. This gives plenty of room for expansion. The grounds not now occupied will permit the erection of buildings 90 by 112 feet and 50 by 110 feet. The building in the rear is spacious and can be used for a printing plant until we can construct a larger building for this purpose.

News From State Locals

KENMORE HOLDS GOOD LEWIS MEETING

Word received from Comrade Seibert reports a good Thurber Lewis meeting in spite of the fact that it received little advertising. Six dollars worth of literature was sold. Collection was good and the comrades well pleased. And, comrades are going right ahead working up another good meeting.

* * *

MORE ROOM FOR LIMA SOCIALISTS

Just as Judge Klinger said in his verdict in favor of the Socialist using Memorial hall, persecution makes a cause grow. So we find that after a few weeks of persecution by the county commissioners, the Socialists of Lima have grown to such numbers that larger quarters are necessary. This is the word received from Local Lima this week. So, again we say, "kill us some more."

* * *

LEWIS WAKES UP DOVER

Local Dover is wide awake thanks to Comrade Thurber Lewis' visit there. We should judge that Comrade Lewis used hot water to wake the comrades. Comrade Secretary H. L. Ricker sends an application for a charter containing eight names, an order for dues and initiation stamps and says that another speaker will be desirable in a short time. He refers to Comrade Lewis as "the boy wonder," which he truly is.

GREEN COUNTY GOING 'RED'

Comrades of Green County are becoming affected by the activities in other parts of the state and will now show that they too are in the race for a bigger and better party of the workers. The matter of forming a county organization is under way, being pushed by several wheel horses of the movement there. One part of the new activities is to have each applicant for membership pay three months' dues or a dollar, which also gives them three months' subscription to the Ohio Socialist. This method, it is thought, will supply needed funds to push the work. All power to them.

* * *

RUTHENBERG AT COLUMBUS

The sentiment in favor of Socialism is fast growing in and about Columbus. We had Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg with us Feb. 23 with the largest crowd we have had for several years, and as he spoke and made the following points he was applauded by almost everyone in the house. He first spoke on amnesty for the political prisoners in this country, and among other things, said that "Liebknecht in autocratic Germany got four years for treason, but Debs in democratic America, charged with the same offense, got ten years," then he asked if a member of the working class differs with the capitalist class to the extent that they may call it treason, how much better off is he in DEMOCRATIC America than in autocratic Germany?"

The speaker stated that if the working class of this country expect to free their political prisoners they must organize on the industrial field. He entered a plea for support of the Soviet government as they were only giving the capitalists some of their own [illegible] and compared the revo- [illegible] of lives lost was not so great. Comrade Ruthenberg stated it appeared to be evident that the reason the allied troops are not withdrawn from Russia is because the capitalists of France, loaned the czar of Russia a large sum of money and now the workers in the Soviet government are inclined to think they should not pay that back, as it was used to pay Cossacks to murder the workers on bloody Sunday in 1905, and now they need that money to help to establish a government by and for the workers, a real industrial democracy. The workers of this country should organize both politically and industrially and get the industrial kaisers off their backs so as to be able to help the German comrades if they called on them as the Russian comrades did on the German workers, he said.

The applause was frequent and general. The literature sales and collection were good, and that in itself is [illegible] indication of [illegible] renewed in- [illegible]

Resolution of Soldiers, Sailors, and Workmen's Council of Dayton Ohio, Feb. 24, 1919

Whereas, the problem of the unemployed Soldiers, Sailors and Workmen has become of such vital importance, and has reached a stage where concerted action by the people of the State of Ohio is necessary, it is resolved by the members of the above named council:

That a conference for the purpose of considering the means to be adopted for the relief of the unemployed Soldiers, Sailors and Workers now in idleness, and to obtain such legislation from the law making bodies of the state and nation as will regulate the hours of labor, so as to divide equitably among all, the work now being done by a few, in both private and public works; shall be held in Columbus, Ohio, on Sunday, March 9, at 10 a. m., at such hall as may be secured.

All labor, organized and unorganized, all working class movements, whether political or industrial, and every association of the unemployed are invited and urged to send their delegates, to the end that a general effort be made to bring before the public the truth concerning the unfortunate state of hundreds of thousands of the real American people.

We ask the aid of the press in spreading before the people of Ohio, the place, date and purpose of this conference.

JAMES J. BUTLER, President.
E. R. ESLER, Secretary.

GERMAN BRANCH GROWS

A communication from Comrade Julius Zorn states that the LaSalle Club of Cincinnati is growing in numbers and making progress in many ways. Interesting educational meetings are held regularly.

* * *

GIRARD REORGANIZES

Another local that has been rejuvenated through the efforts of Comrade Thurber Lewis is Local Girard. After many moons of silence the comrades are making their voices heard in the growing chorus of live and happy Socialists. Comrade Secretary Fred Wilson remits $18 for charter dues and supplies including $10 worth of Ohio Socialist sub cards. Fifty subscribers is the goal Comrade Wilson sets for himself. Not that he intends to stop then, not at all. Fifty will just be the first half of 100. So it goes, local after local is falling in line for the final battle against capi- [illegible]
]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES $1.00 Per Hundred | 50c Six Months

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

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Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1919 108

Let Every Worker's Voice be Heard in Nation Wide Demand for Free Speech, Free Press, Freedom for Mooney and Political Prisoners

The Socialist Party is waging a war for the restoration of our constitutional rights of free speech, free press, free assemblage, the release of our unjustly convicted fellow worker, Tom Mooney, and for freedom for all political prisoners.

The world war is over. Those who are imprisoned for principle's sake should be free. To longer confine them is to commit a travesty upon our boasted democracy that was to make the world safe for democracy.

Let "free them" be the demand of every lover of freedom and democracy.

To carry on the fight for the return of these rights, the Socialist Party of Ohio has issued "Industrial Freedom Certificates." They sell for one dollar each. The funds thus raised will be used to carry on meetings, print literature and agitate for these until they are granted. All local secretaries have received a number of these certificates. If you are a member of the Socialist Party go to your local scretary and hand him a dollar and get your certificate. When the battle is won you'll be mighty proud of that certificate, memorable of the greatest year in history—1919. If you are not a party member, you may get a certificate by addressing the Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.

Germany freed her political prisoners months ago. Italy, France, England have released thousands—shall America be the last to grant amnesty to political offenders?

Protest Against Their Longer Confinement. Buy an Industrial Freedom Certificate

CAPITALISM ON THE DEFENSIVE

The Socialist Party of the United States is no longer on the defensive. The attitude of defending Socialism against the attacks of the cohorts of capitalism is no longer ours. Rather is capitalism put to it to defend itself against Socialism. A hundred instances might be cited to prove this. The vain shoutings of pulpiteers and politicians; the savage attacks of the capitalist press, the caution advised by the more far-seeing among the upholders of capitalism all show plainly that fear and panic are in the camp of the enemy.

But first among the multitude of indications that capitalism is on the defensive is that of the terrific sentences imposed upon the officials of the party in the recent trials. No better proof is needed to show that it is capitalism that is on the defensive and not Socialism. A system sure of its justness can afford to be lenient to an opposing one.

American capitalism is but repeating the history of ruling classes of the past in the hour of their death struggle. Panic, savagery born of fear, a reliance upon force, and an absolute lack of vision, grip capitalism today as it has gripped ruling systems of the past in the hour of their swift decay, when they sought to retain in their palsied hands the scepter of power.

The Russian revolution sounded to ears that can hear, the swift passing of the capitalist system of production. Today, the skies of Europe are aflame with the holy fires of revolution. Continents have passed from darkness of capitalist exploitation into the light of Industrial Democracy.

"The hour of the people has come." It is coming in America and the savage attacks of American capitalism upon the Socialist Party but hasten its appearance. Fill the jails with Socialists and protestants against a decaying industrial system—what will it profit you, masters? A thousand will rise where but one stood before. For every year of sentence imposed upon us a thousand shall rise because of it.

American capitalism is fighting with its back to—oblivion!

LET'S OWN IT

The day the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party paid the first thousand dollars on the purchase of a National Headquarters marked the birth of a new era in American Socialism. It marked the hour of the fruition of an idea that has been growing these last few months and years in the minds of the rank and file as well as in the minds of party officials—the idea of party ownership and control of all our means of organization and propaganda. The purchase of a National Headquarters pressages the acquirement of better facilities and equipment for carrying on the work we must do. It is the beginning of a more systematic order and economical means of carrying on the fast increasing work of the party.

By purchasing these headquarters the Socialist Party flings in the face of the capitalist press the lies it has been so freely printing of our demise and burial. Let every comrade prove by adding his bit to the purchase price that the Socialist Party of the United States is the liveliest corpse the lick spittles of capitalism ever attempted to put under ground.

Fred S. Wertz, government attorney for the northern district of Ohio, has just been named for another term by President Wilson. Here is what Wertz said of Socialist School Board Member A. L. Hitchcock, before any charges were placed against him: "Means can be found to remove him from the board. This is no time to dilly dally over the niceties of legal technicalities." Cleve-Plain Dealer, April 11, 1918. Means were found. Hitchcock is now serving ten years in prison. No comment is necessary.

A League of Capitalist Nations formed to maintain capitalism, or a League of Nations of the World's Workers for the purpose of advancing the interests of Labor—which will you have, worker?

"It was new, strange, irresistibly becoming and stirred the hearts of onlookers with a desire to have one exactly like it." Mrs. Wilson's new Paris hat. Some lid! Aside from that, it is just the old story of pomp and show of differentiation that parades in these times of misery, pestilence and world suffering.

"If we have any large amount of unemployment, we will have a period of industrial unrest and there is no one who can tell where the social uppheaval would land us, whether we would have a repetition of the French revolution or of the Russian Bolsheviki or whether good or evil will come out of the struggle."

SECRETARY OF LABOR WILSON.

BUNDLE BRIGADE GROWING

Among the group of "Jimmie Higginses" in the Socialist movement, there are none more deserving of praise and credit for the great work they do than the comrades who make up the bundle brigade. These inconspicuous workers who give of their Sundays and evenings to the distribution of papers and leaflets are doing a work that is absolutely necessary to the further spread of Socialism. Publicity is the great need of the hour. The minds of the workers are ready now for the seed to fall. Comrades everywhere should at once take up the problems of distribution of leaflets and papers.

That more comrades are realizing the good that flows from a house to house distribution of Ohio Socialists is evidenced in the increasing number of orders for bundles. Here are a few of the latest.

Local Columbus is taking 50 or 100 a week. Local Toledo increases its order to 200 copies. Local Warren taken 200 copies weekly. Comrade Fred Huckery is waking up the workers in Richmand, Ind., with a hundred a week. Comrade Dr. M. S. Holt of Weston, W. Va., ordert 300 copies of the last edition and he hits the nail on the head when he writes, "The only way to combat the damnable lies of the capitalist owned papers is to distribute Socialist papers."

Local Battle Creek, Mich., takes a bundle of 100 weekly. Comrade Wm. Catton of Covington, Ky., orders a weekly bundle of 15 and so does Comrade Geo. M. Crocker of Sheridan, Ind. So, comrades, again we say organize a distribution squad in your local and order a bundle for weekly distribution. Results in Socialist sentiment, Socialist votes and working class consciousness will result. Try it.

* * *

I think the Ohio Socialist is the best Socialist paper published since the [illegible] of the American Socialist. Please send me a bundle to hand out. I find it easy work taking subs after a fellow has read a copy.—J. S. Faubus, Combs, Ark.

* * *

Please find inclosed a list of nine names and addresses for which send the Ohio Socialist. Please send me a few extra and sub blanks. I may be able to send more names by and by. All like the paper very much. Old line rot is stale. It won't stay on the Socialist's stomaches. There are numbers of cold feet here that need a hot application.—J. H. Rodgers, Carthage, Mo.

LOCAL WARREN APPROVES

Motion by Edward A. Smith.

That Local Warren approves and endorses the resolution adopted Feb. 3 by the County Central Committee of Local Cuyahoga County, relating to the international affiliations of the Socialist Party of the United States of America, and that the secretary of Local Warren be instructed to notify the State Secretary with regard to this action.

Motion duly seconded and carried unanimously. Fifteen members present.

J. F. DENISON, Sec.

SEVEN CERTIFICATES FOR LEETONIA

Local Leetonia is the first local to remit for Industrial Freedom Certificates. A remittance of seven dollars shows that this local is among the live ones. Other comrades are remitting in every mail. A number from out of state are among the first.

A CORRECTION.

On the subscription lists sent out to readers of the Ohio Socialist with the letter entitled, "A Call for Ten Thousand More," the word bi-weekly was used. Semi-weekly should have been the word used as we are endeavoring to make the Ohio Socialist a "twice-a-week" paper. We are quite sure, however, that no one was misled as to our meaning.

ORGANIZATION MEETINGS

State Organizer Baker's Meetings.

Comrade Baker will make the following routing: March 6, Barberton; 7, Cuyahoga Falls; 8, Massillon, meeting to be held at 20 W. Main St.; 9, Canton; 10, Salem; 11, Leetonia; 12, East Liverpool; 13, Hubbard; 14, Warren; 15, Girard.

Organizer Lewis' Meetings.

State Organizer Thurber Lewis' tour will include the following points: March 5, Loveland; 6, 7 and 8, Hamilton; 9, open; 10, Miamisburg; 11, Benerton; 12, Carmonti; 12, Belmont; 14, Mad River; 15-16, Xenia.

Debs Will Speak For You

Comrade Debs will fill dates in the northern judicial district of Ohio. Locals desiring a Debs' date should notify the State Office at once. Several locals that have not been able to accept a Debs date heretofore should now accept the opportunity presented. Apply for a Debs date and revive Socialist sentiment in your city.

Local Ashtabula has applied for a Debs date some time between the 11th and the 23d. He will speak at Cleveland March 12. 3919 Lorain Ave., Evening.

Please note: Comrade Debs will not be able to speak at overflow meetings.

GEORGE KIRKPATRICK SPEAKS

George R. Kirkpatrick will fill these dates in Ohio in March: Dayton, March 24; Columbus, 25; Bellaire, 26; Toledo, 27. Comrade Kirkpatrick's recent meetings in Ohio were among the most effective propaganda meetings ever held in this state. Comrades are urged to make it a special order of business to attend these meetings.

OBITUARY

Local Hamilton mourns the death of Comrade Carl F. Wentz, who died Feb. 22. Besides many friends and loving comrades the deceased leaves a father, two brothers and a sister.

Comrade Wentz was several times a candidate for public office on the Socialist ticket and served as secretary to the Civil Service Commission during 1914-15 when Socialists controlled Hamilton City affairs.

The funeral was held at Socialist Party headquarters and an address was delivered by Comrade Henry Henry Hinkel. The hall and casket were trimmed in the international colors. Comrade Wentz' active service to the party in Hamilton have been much appreciated and great regret is felt at his early death, he being but 28 years of age. The Ohio Socialist extends sympathy to the bereaved.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

The month of January was the biggest month for dues stamp sales in the history of the party in this state. But it stands to be outclassed in the near future. We say this because of the large orders of supplies the locals are sending in. Martins Ferry, for instance, orders five hundred application cards and an equal number of membership books. Looks like they were going after them, doesn't it?

MIDDLETOWN TOO

Local Middeltown is back on the firing line also. Comrade Baker's meeting there was fruitful in effected reorganization work. Secretary Earl Otterbein is on the job with a subscription blank and a book of dues stamps ready to convert a new comrade or to keep the old ones on the "paid up list." He remits $3.75 for sustaining stamps.

WHAT HAPPENED AT FINDALY!

State Organizer Chas. Baker's routing took him to Findlay on the 24th and 25th of February. Local Findlay is one of the places where the mob law superceeded civil rights during the late war. Advocates of law and order paraded the streets under the leadership of the sheriff with ropes in their endeavor to make the world safe for democracy. Anyone differing so much as a hair's breadth in opinion with the gang was promptly threatened and intimidated. Result—democracy died a sudden death, or what looked like death, until Charley Baker hit town. Finding no preparations for a meeting he at once started the ball rolling by engaging the city hall, ordering hand bills printed which he as promptly distributed. And they are some hand bills too, believe us! If any one had doubts as to what Charley came for they received a quick disillusionment by reading the display type.

Results were great. A local of eleven members was organized and nine more applications were received. Local Findlay is again on the Socialist map and ready to do its full share in the upbuilding of the international solidarity of the workers.

HOLMAN AT YOUNGSOWN

Comrade H. L. A. Holman held a most successful meeting at Youngstown on Feb. 23. The Youngstown comrades were very much pleased with the manner in which Comrade Holman handled his subject "Organic Law."

JENERA SOCIALISTS READY FOR WORK

Comrade Baker found the comrades at Jenera ready to take up the fight. Jenera is another place where mob law was enforced. Comrade Baker had a good meeting, however, and says that another meeting will start the ball rolling in great shape.

At Bluffton a number of subscriptions were received and one member at large secured. Another speaker routed that way will prove effective in lining up the comrades for good.

HE'LL HELP GET THE 20,000.

You will find enclosed $5 for the Ohio Socialist subscriptions. Everybody that takes the paper says it is the right thing. Keep the good work up and you will find no trouble in getting them circulated. Will try to get a few subs with every report.—Rex Wolfe, Midvale, O.

* * *

A BOOST FROM KENTUCKY.

Find enclosed money order to pay for names for one year subscription to the Ohio Socialist, and will do what I can any way at any time to assist the cause.—H. O. Davis, Nortonville, Ky.

KENTUCKY

Official Organization News

FRED E. STEVENS, State Sec. 434 W. Market St., Louisville, Ky.
E. B. AUSTIN, Asst. State Sec. 231 Broadway, Louisville, Ky.

Louisville, Ky., Feb. 14, 1919.

State Executive Committee Meeting.

State Executive Committee met on Feb. 13, 1919. Members present, Bosmer, Stevens, Goodman, Rasmussen and Stark. Absent, none.

Minutes of last meeting approved.

The Acting State Secretary reported that no ballots were cast on Committee Referendum No. 1, and that therefore the dues remained unchanged.

R. M. Rasmussen was elected state chairman.

E. B. Austin, jr., was elected assistant state secretary.

On the counting of the state ballots the following were found elected: Fred E. Stevens, State Secretary-Treasurer; A. H. Lee, S. C.; M. L. Ament, S. C.; R. M. Rasmussen, S. C.; H. Plaggenburg, S. C.

Comrade J. L. Stark was authorized to sell a desk, belonging to the State Office, to the Consolidatd Organization of Expressmen for $18.

The applications for membership-at-large of Arthur W. Calhoun, Lexington, Ky.; G. V. Meek, Henrietta, Ky., and Mary Miller, Henrietta, Ky., were read and accepted.

A resolution was adopted offering support and encouragement to the Louisville American of the Union Press Association. This paper is owned and controlled by organized labor and only representatives of a labor union can become a member of the board of directors. This paper will eventually become a daily and is an excellent opportunity for the working class to express itself.

The resolution adopted by the City Central Committee of Local Boston, Socialist Party of Massachusetts, Jan. 14, 1919, was indorsed and the assistant state secretary was instructed to write the above mentioned, C. C. C., and also the National Executive Committee, informing them of said action. The above mentioned resolution was also ordered printed with the January report of the State Office in the Ohio Socialist.

The meeting then adjourned.

RECEIPTS.

A. M. Calhoun M. A. dues..	$1.00
A. M. Calhoun sub. to O. S., 3 m.	.25
A. Tepper, M. A. L. dues.......	.50
Louisville dues	15.00
Louisville, 1,000 applications..	2.00
One gold party button.......	.25
J. A. Blasutch, M. A. L. dues..	1.00
J. A. Blasutch, O. S. 1 year...	1.00
Subs to O. S..................	2.50
Bradford dues	3.00
G. V. Meeks, M. A. L. dues....	1.00
Mary Miller, M. A. L. dues ..	1.00
Frank Lavanier donation.....	10.00
Total	$38.50

EXPENDITURES.

Postage	$1.00
National dues	12.00
Referendum ballots	3.50
October Bulletin	3.10
Ohio Socialist Subs..........	3.50
Total	$23.10
January receipts	$38.50
December balance	11.38
Total	$49.88
January disbursements	23.10
Total	$26.78
Stamps on hand, Feb. 1.........	126

FRED S. STEVENS,
R. M. RASMUSSEN.
Auditing Committee.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolutions adopted by the City Central Committee of Local Boston, Socialist Party of Massachusetts, on January 14, 1919:

Whereas the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has decided to send delegates to represent the party at a gathering of degenerate ex-Socialists, to be held in Lausanne, Switzerland.

Whereas the organizers of said gathering and the delegates invited to it are mostly men well known as traitors to International Socialism, who, having concluded a holy alliance with the capitalist monarchists and reactionaries of their respective countries have sacrificed in the world war millions and millions of proletarian lives on the altars of capitalism, and have helped to jail and execute International Socialists, who remained true to the principles of socialism.

Whereas the purpose of their convention is to make the world safe for capitalism—by organizing more backward elements of the working class to act as hangmen of the International Proletarian Revolution—as we have seen it already in Russia, and see it now in Germany;

Be it resolved, To demand from the National Executive Committee the immediate recall of delegates appointed to a conference of traitors without the consent of the membership;

That a national convention of the Socialist Party should be called without delay, to decide on steps to be taken for laying a foundation of a conference of the Third International, where no room should be left for traitors to the working class;

To call upon all true Socialists in the Socialist Party to join in our protest against this betrayal of Socialism by our National Executive Committee, and to take steps for a thorough house-cleaning in our party as there should be no place in it for traitors to the working class;

To give this resolution the widest possible publicity in party circles and the Socialist press.

* * *

D. S. Bennett, Secretary of Local Livermore, writes that that local is coming to the front again.

* * *

Local Boyd County has reorganized and sent in O. S. subs.

* * *

The State Secretary has no lengthy speech to make, he merely asks that every local, member-at-large, and past members get busy and help organize the state. Write the State Secretary at once telling him what you can do.

Persecution Follows Resurection of A.P.L. at Cincinnati

At last we have succeeded in making the Ku Klux gang, otherwise known as the Credit Men's Association show their hands. Their tool Mr. Richey has made himself so ridiculous by accusing school girls of Bolshevist activity dragging them before the school board, and then backing down on his proof of their guilt, that the members of the organization had to make known in the press that the character of their organizations was altogether different from that which Mr. Richey had given out.

So great was the indignation against Mr. Richey that even the conservative craft union shoeworkers passed resolutions denouncing his tactics.

The members of this patriotic society now inform us that Mr. Richey is just one little atom in the body, and while their purpose is to stamp out Bolshevism and I. W. W.ism, they are not going to do it in an underhand secret way but really as gentlemen like themselves should stamp it out. What their method will be remains to be seen. Last Tuesday in the Central Labor Council, a resolution was presented dealing with the unemployed question. It was signed by Julian, a business man, by a Catholic priest, and by the secretary of the Women's City Club, and two some craft unionists. The resolution was what our red members would term bourgeoisic, nothing in it but proposals that had time and again been indorsed by Central Labor Council. Mr. Thomas Mugavin, who represents the Sam Gompers element of the craft union here objected to its indorsement or consideration on the ground that it was Bolsheviki. Joseph Haering our comrade, who is business agent of the Machinists union, retaliated by showing how very un-Bolshevik it was and incidentally remarked that only paid agitators would make such an assertion. This precipitated a fight which would have ended in a riot only for the calmness of the few. This was preliminary to another incident which I want you to tell our Ohio Socialist readers about.

On Wednesday evenings the machinists meet in our hall, and on last Wednesday one of the members of the union was standing outside when the lieutenant on our beat, together with two policemen, came along and stationed themselves in front of the headquarters. Several more machinists came along and the policemen and lieutenant engaged them in conversation. The members of the union who was standing on the outside, then came in and told Comrade Haering that the policemen were outside watching. Haering naturally thought they were looking for him because of the fight the night before in Central Labor Council and immediately walked out. Just as he closed the street door to approach them he heard the lieutenant say to the machinists, "What do you meet in there for anyway? Don't you know that you are apt to be raided by the Department of Justice any time." They turned on their heels and went away before Haering got close to them, but it all shows how enxious and vicious the Credit Men's Association is. We thought we paid our lieutenant to protect us, but we think now the Ku Klux gang, which is the A. P. L. resurrected, is using the lieutenant on our beat, instead of the disreputable Mr. Richey.

NO ADVERTISING ACCEPTED

No advertising, other than party matter, will be accepted in future in the Ohio Socialist. We have reached the conclusion that our space is too valuable for organization and propaganda to use it for this purpose.

PARTY EMBLEMS

It's Time to Wear Them. Time to Show Your Colors—Five Kinds.

Cards of Fifty to Locals for $1.00
Also plated lapel buttons—international emblems, 25c.

Secretary's Expanding Wallets
9-12 two pockets for letters and bills, 25c; 4-7 1-2, one pocket for dues books, etc., 15c; made of water proof 'paper-oid.' Buy them, they are convenient and necessary.

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for Six Months.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.,
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.,
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets every Sunday at 7 P. M., rear room Woodmen's Hall, South Main St., Warren, O.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets each Sunday at 2:30 P. M. Socialist Hall, 38 High St., 3rd floor.

Available Speakers

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may call. Terms are five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers will be added from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services are useful to the party upon the platform are requested to secure the endorsement of their locals before making application to be placed upon the Available Speakers List. Locals should make application for the speaker nearest them to save expenses.

M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio
Chas. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2 Brecksville, O.
Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland Ohio
Tom Lewis, State Office Socialist Party, R. D. 2 Brecksville, O.
Thurber Lewis, State Office Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, O.
Frank Midney 128 N. Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.
C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
H. L. A. Holman, State Office Socialist Party, R. D. 2 Brecksville, O.
Frank B. Hamilton, Mayors Office, Piqua, Ohio
Jno. J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th Street, Cleveland, Ohio
Hugo Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio

The Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS

PART VI.

An atmosphere of conservatism pervaded the very air about the Law Givers of the aging capitalist regime. The pitiful efforts of these haughty dispensers of law, tinkering with a progressive amendment to a constitution about the intricate meaning of which they quarreled among themselves, brought supercilious smiles on the faces of the progressive daughters of men. Poor bombastic Law Givers!

In 1918 the insignificant puppets of a master class had not learned the materialist conception of history as written by Marx and Engels in 1848, in the Communist Manifesto, "that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

The social urge for freedom, created by the economic conditions, had brought the women to battle for their political freedom, against the fogified dispensers of laws who were ridiculously ignorant what the social forces are that bring about a demand for certain legislation.

The memory of the pioneer toil of the Unseen Workers came over the spectators and it seemed that they felt their co-workers of the past were among them bidding today's progressive women to continue the work of woman's emancipation. In the growing days of the nation Frances Gage carried to backwoods places the tidings of woman's awakening from an age long lethargy to the consciousness that woman, too, must work for humanity's freedom. When school houses and churches were shut against the delivery of her message, she mounted oxcarts in the streets or held gatherings of willing listeners in the barns of friendly folks.

* * * *

In the midst of the Unseen Workers was a dark hued sister, gaunt and tall, whom all regarded with loving kindness. She had risen from the economic degradation to be a herald-er of human freedom—old Sojourner Truth! "Forty years a slave and forty years free."

The recollection of her slavery in New York, the hard toil in the fields of her master, the bite of the lash on her body paled into nothingness as the memory of anguish she suffered when seeing her thirteen children sold on the slave block. This mother's terrible sorrows in a land of the free taught her sympathy for suffering woman. Before the Civil War she agitated for the abolition of chattle slavery and afterward for the franchise for women.

When the church argument was advanced that "women had seven devils in her," and, therefore, was not fit to vote, Sojourner, not worrying over a few devils, replied, "Seven devils ain't no account, a man has a legion in him."

She became highly provoked with the notion that women with property might be permitted to vote. "There's that property qualification!" she exclaimed so vigorously that even the kinks in her gray hair straightened in indignation, "as if men and women themselves, who made money, were not of more value than the thing they made."

Though on her way to hold meetings or to attend conventions for human betterment, because she belonged to the economically subjected race

(Continued on Supplement)

LIMA SOCIALISTS WIN

(Continued from Page One)

of the Memorial hall for a political meeting. The record discloses that the commissioners had in the past, determined upon a policy of renting the Memorial building for public meetings. It had been rented for political meetings of various kinds, as well as social gatherings.

There had been rules adopted whereby charges for the hall were made, depending on the nature of the meeting, and to some extent on whether or not admission charges were made.

The refusal of the hall to the relator was based solely upon the fact that it was to be a Socialist meeting. There was no evidence to show that the relator had in the past conducted disorderly meetings. In fact there was no reason given for the refusal except that it was to be a Socialist meeting.

We as a people pride ourselves that the blessings of civilization are secured to men under a reign of just and equal laws, and within these blessings are those individual possessions; those fundamental rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and the progress of our race is marked by those maxims of constitutional law, which stand as mile posts along the path of progress.

The evidence shows no reason why the relator should not be granted the use of the hall, except that it is the will and desire of the commissioners, and their consent is withheld solely because of the reasons heretofore stated.

It is not questioned but that the commissioners have acted in the best of faith, but notwithstanding this it is a clear discrimination against the relator and those whom he represents and it results in a denial of the equal protection of the laws. See, 58 O. S., 599 at 610. 55 O. S., 232. 81 O. S., 156.

The judgment must therefore be affirmed.

An amusing feature of the trial in Common Pleas Court was the ignorance of the County Commissioners on the subject of socialism. When asked if they had ever read Socialist books, or read Socialist newspapers, or heard Socialist speeches, or whether they knew anything of the doctrines taught by Socialists, each one answered that he had not.

Here were three men representing the people of Allen county in responsible positions, men supposed to be, at least, of average intelligence, who had not read a Socialist book or newspaper, nor heard a Socialist speaker, and at a time when Socialism is the most vital question before the people of the entire world. They are fit persons for public service under capitalism. We will not comment on their ignorance. Our readers may do that.

The prosecuting attorney says that he will take the case to the Supreme Court on error. Two drubbings do not satisfy him. He evidently is courting another. Let us hope he gets it.

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

(Edited By C. E. Ruthenberg)

The Next Industrial Republic

The Constituent Assembly of Russia, which met after the workers and peasants had seized the reigns of power and established the Soviet government, was allowed to debate until the sleepy guards told the delegates that they were tired and told them to go home. The German Constituent Assembly has had a longer lease of life, but there is every indication that its work will be of no greater importance than that of the assembly of Russia.

While the constituent assembly is still debating the movement of the workers to establish an industrial democracy in Germany is gaining strength and power. Already Bavaria is in control of the workers and soldiers council and the latest dispatches state that Saxony has followed Germany. Most significant of all, President Ebert has announced that he favors creation of a National Workers and Soldiers' Council as the lower house of the German government.

This suggestion is noteworthy, not because there is any likelihood of it being carried out, for there can be no compromise between the political government which the constituent assembly is shaping and the industrial government which is rising out of industry itself, but because it is an admission of the strength of the movement toward the same kind of industrial democracy that Russia has established.

"Germany, the next republic," is being amended to read, Germany, the next industrial republic.

* * * *

A Ghastly Joke

The struggle over the League of Nations is under way. The president has thrown down the gauntlet. The opposition in the senate has unlimbered its big guns.

For the next six months or possibly a year we will be favored with the wonderfully polished speeches of President Wilson in support of his League and the thunderous opposition of Senators Lodge, Knox, Borah and others.

The newspapers will devote columns and columns of news and editorial space to the matter and the people of this country will be divided into two camps on the question. The League of Nations or no League of Nations! That will be the cry. All the instruments of publicity on both sides will be brought to bear to arouse the people to decide the issue. All else will be forgotten in the struggle over the question. "A League of Nations" will succeed "Free Silver," "No Imperialism" "A Full Dinner pail," "Down With the Trusts," as the means of hypnotizing the workers.

What is it all about? The Nation sums up the situation in a recent editorial. Read it and learn what President Wilson's League of Nations really means:

> But the League of Nations, we are told, is a reality—a reality that wins President Wilson handsome praise from the New York Times. The most pestilent and exacting liberal ought perhaps to be satisfied with this sanction. Yet despite the chorus of praise in the press, we venture to assert that what has been planned at Versailles is no League of Nations at all. What we have all along consented to call a League of Nations is in reality, of course, a League of governments, which is a very different thing from a League of Nations or peoples. But, waiving that point, what we have offered us at present as the magnum opus of the peace conference is not even a League of Governments. The document read by President Wilson on Friday last is primarily the draft of a treaty among five governments, the memorandum of a working arrangement having in view the organization and apportionment of the material results of victory. There is nothing new in this; it is what was to be expected as the outcome of the war, no matter which side won the military victory. We see nothing, however, that essentially differentiates this particular distribution of the exploitating power from other alliances of the same kind. It may be competent for the Times to say how the course of France in Morocco, for instance, or of Austria in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, would have been moralized and improved under a "mandatory" system rather than under a quiet gentleman's agreement, but we frankly decline the attempt.
>
> In speaking thus plainly of the so-called League, we wish expressly to dissociate ourselves from all criticism based on grounds of narrow and exclusive nationalism. We are aware of the high hopes kindled in many liberal minds by the announcement of the League, and we admit that an overruling Providence may conceivably in course of time transform it into something widely different from what now appears about to be set up. But to admit the possibility of miracles is one thing and to reckon on them is quite another. Scrutiny of the proposed constitution fails to show that as now planned the league will incorporate a single new principle beyond those already tried and found wanting. Five great powers form their alliance, allowing four other un-hamed states to join them on sufferance. They enter into engagements not to make war except on certain specified conditions; and they declare that armaments shall be reduced "to the lowest point consistent with national safety." (What armament ever exceeded this limit?) They undertake to "respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of the states members of the league," and they provide certain machinery for the adjustment of disputes by means short of war. All this has been tried over and over again, and each time it has failed lamentably. Apparently we are simply to create more machinery to keep states in order, making no provision for removal of the political-economic causes of strife. If governments are to remain organs of economic exploitation, then the adding of machinery means little more than the strengthening of their hold over the peoples, and the fears of those who see in the proposed league only a new instrumentality for the maintenance of the economic and political status quo appear well founded.

This is the result of the war "to make the world safe for democracy." "A treaty among five governments, the morandum of a working arrangement having in view the organization and apportionment of the material results of victory," is the constitution of what is called "A League of Nations."

Capitalism is perpetrating another of its ghastly jokes on the workers.

* * * *

For Debs or Mooney

A vivid impression of the new alignment of the forces in the world is given by the dispatch which states that the Soviet government of Russia has offered to exchange an American citizen named Kolomatiana, condemned to death by that government, for either Eugene V. Debs or Thomas J. Mooney.

The workers of Russia do not consider nationality of any importance. Their enemies are not designated by national names, but are the capitalists of every nation. Their friends are the workers, no matter what their nationality.

That the capitalists are conscious of this new alignment has already been shown. The White Guard government of Finland received the support of the capitalists of the allied countries, although it was upheld by German bayonets and England and France were making loans to the Ukraine at a time when the Rada was selling out to German imperialism.

The future struggle in the world will not be between national governments but between the workers and the capitalists.

The Russian workers are the advance section of the working class who are forming and developing the new lines of demarcation. In their offer to rescue either Debs and Mooney from the clutches of the capitalist class of the United States they have given a pointed example of the new class loyalty which is developing among the workers of the world.

* * * *

Well, Start!

The capitalists are growing hysterical about the danger of Bolshevism in this country. Thus Charles Piez, director-general of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, delivered himself of the following tirade, taking the Seattle strike for his subject:

> That was not a strike in Seattle, that was a revolution. The men who fathered that attempt to set up a soviet republic had only one native born man among them. They meant to seize the government and to take over the industries of the city. They made no pretense of hiding this revolution either.
>
> Since that time we have had our intelligence department busy. We have received reports from them and we have reports and rumors from other sources that lead me to believe this is the time to start fighting the radicals.
>
> I don't know where a Bolshevist begins and an I. W. W. leaves off or vice versa, but I do know we are menaced and that while it is not a serious problem now, this is the time to take matters in hand and stop it from becoming one.
>
> I shall ask that money be spent to fight this thing all over the country and in every shipyard.
>
> We must scotch the snake now, before it strikes. Action is imperative and we have found that advertising is the one way in which to combat this propaganda. All you need do is to appeal to the reasonable working men.
>
> They are sensible and will heed your reasoning. It is a shame that these sneaks and polecats should be permitted to contaminate the rest of the labor in the yards, for 85 or 90 per cent. of the men are absolutely as square as a brick and as fine as any men in the country.

"Action is imperative," "we must fight," is the constant cry of the capitalists. But how are they going to fight? The industrial conditions which yield them their profits are breeding the spirit of revolt. They do not propose changing those conditions. To do so would be to commit suicide as an exploiting class. The workers will not be satisfied with less than the abolition of the existing industrial conditions. What are the poor capitalists to do? They may adopt a definite policy of suppression. But that won't help. It will merely mean that when the revolt of the workers bursts, its sweep will be stronger and the capitalists will receive less mercy.

What can they do but cry, "we must do something?" Well, start. We're ready.

* * * *

The Agent of Capitalism

The character of the government of the modern industrial countries has nowhere been so clearly revealed as in the Chino-Japanese treaty, made public during the past week. The provisions of this treaty reveal the government of Japan as the agent of the capitalists of that country. In order to further the interests of these capitalists the government sets out to wring from the Chinese concessions permitting the investment of Japanese capital in building certain railroads. While the matter is phrased in diplomatic language it is plain that the Japanese government acted as the broker for Japanese capitalism and through the threat of the armed power it controls, compelled China to accept loans, on which, of course, the latter is bound to pay heavy interest.

The government of Japan is not alone in playing this part. The government of every capitalistically developed country acts as the agent of its capitalists. For several decades the great powers have been engaged in the struggle to gain advantage, each for its own capitalist class, through a game just such as Japan is playing in China.

As the great powers complete their economic development and the problems of markets and foreign investment grow more acute because of the increased productivity of their industrial system and closing up of the possibility of lucrative investment at home, the imperialistic struggle of the governments acting as the agents of capitalism will grow more bitter.

The League of Nations is the attempt of a group of the great powers to control and divide the world between them for just such purposes as that brought to light in the Chino-Japanese treaty. Temporarily the league may prove successful in preventing a new war from arising from the conflict of interests because of the overwhelming power of the five great powers that control it. But new groups will form. New alignments will take place and when such a new group believes itself powerful enough to challenge the control of the Big Five, we will have a repetition of what happened in Europe during the past four years.

* * * *

That the capitalist class has little respect for the mental development of the workers is indicated in the kind of slush with which it tries to keep them contented industrial slaves. A full-page advertisement in one of the Cleveland newspapers headed "Americanism" and "Bolshevism," shows on one side, under "Americanism," workingmen leisurely watching machines in a factory and under "Bolshevism" a street riot. This, at a time when seventy thousand workers in Cleveland, according to the estimate of the official lackeys of the ruling class itself, are denied the right to enter a factory and earn a living. The capitalist class knows that in the argument with facts and reason it is beaten and cannot stand up before its adversary, the enlightened workers, so it endeavors to dope the masses with pretty pictures on one side, the reality, which never existed, and with vile misrepresentation of the workers of Russia, who have achieved their emancipation, on the other.

* * * *

Says the bulletin of the National City Bank: "Business always hesitates in the face of fundamental change. It came nearly to a dead halt when the war broke out, although all experience had shown that war invariable causes great industrial activity and high prices. The transition period from war to peace is inevatibly one of uncertainty." Isn't it about time that we get rid of a system of business that makes the masses dependent upon the fears of business men looking for profit for the opportunity to gain a livelihood and produce goods for service.

"Every boy, now, it seems, is imbued with the spirit of destruction. To fight, to destroy, to shoot something or somebody, to kill—those seem to be the desires of the boy of today, whether he is aged five or fifteen," says a local writer in discussing military training in the high schools. She continues to say that this is the result of the education we have been handing out to the children. It is undoubtedly true. And capitalism will yet find that the training it is giving the children will bring about the destruction of those responsible for it.

* * * *

In the testimony of Madam Breshkovskaya before the Committee on Judiciary of the senate, we find these two statements made under cross-examination: "Every day train loads of supplies and valuable things leave for Germany and Moscow" and "Transportation is paralyzed." Every day train loads of supplies and valuables are leaving for Germany and Moscow, although transportation is paralyzed. It seems that in trying to make a case against the Bolsheviki it is impossible to make the facts jibe even in discussing the simplest matters.

* * * *

The American Defense Society is out with a hysterical appeal for $50,000 for the fight against Socialism and Bolshevism. How modest! But fifty times fifty thousand would be equally effective in stopping the sweep of the workers' movement to wipe out capitalism. Money won't stop, but, unfortunately for the capitalists, that's the only weapon they have.

* * * *

Speaking about the future in the United States Secretary of Labor Wilson said recently, "If there is any serious unemployment, there will be a period of industrial unrest which may lead us to a repetition of the French or the Russian revolution." And the serious unemployment is here.

* * * *

According to the latest advices from Bohemia that country, which has furnished the soldiers to do the dirty work of capitalism in Russia, is now on the bring of a Bolshevist revolution. Maybe by the time the Czecho-Slovaks get out of Russia they will have no where to go.

* * * *

The house of representatives killed the United States Employment Service when it refused to include an appropriation for that bureau in the sundry civil bill. That shows haw interested the gentlemen in Washington are in the fate of the workers without jobs.

* * * *

"Dayton Finances a Serious Jam," says a report from that city. We thought Dayton had a city manager and that consequently all its problems had been solved forever. At least that is what the supporters of that undemocratic arrangement have been telling us.

* * * *

The strike at Butte, Mont., the strike of the copper miners was conducted by a Soldiers, Sailors and Workers' Council, which organized its own police force and managed every detail of the struggle. A sign of the times, isn't it.

* * * *

The capitalists get $2,700,000 to adjust the war contracts by a bill just adopted by congress. The workers get thrown out on the streets while the same adjustment of war business takes place.

* * * *

$179,000,000,000 is the latest estimate of the cost of slaughtering ten million men in the world war.

A Proletarian Dictatorship Vs Parliamentarism

By A. BILAN.

It is very evident that not only is the capitalist class convinced that parliamentarianism is the highest expression of democracy, but also a large part of the working class has accepted this view and his great doubts whether a proletarian dictatorship is the way toward democracy. These workers believe that the capture of the state power is possible through parliamentarism.

Let us see whether this can be done.

It is customary to recognize as a parliamentary form of government a government in which a majority of the people's representatives rule, having not only all legislative power but the right to make final decisions which cannot be revoked—only their execution can be delayed.

Parliamentarism can exist as well in a democracy as under a monarchy; in an autocracy as in a plutocracy. Parliamentarism is a typical form of class government. As Frederick Engels says:

"The state is the result of the desire to keep down class conflict. But having arisen made these conflicts, it is as a rule the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploitating the oppressed classes. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labor."

The parliament in the modern state is not only the highest legislative, but also the executive power, as the executive department heads are nothing else but mere tools of the parliamentary majority. As soon as the ministry loses the support of the majority it has to go. This is not true of the United States, in which the ministry (cabinet) is not responsible to congress, but such is the case in every country of Europe in which parliamentary government is established.

With the majority rule of parliament there is established a dictatorship of its ministry, but this dictatorship ceases with the change of the parliamentary majority. So we see that parliamentarism places all state power—legislative, judicial and executive—in the hands of the majority in parliament. Karl Kautsky says. "Parliamentarism by itself is an empty form whose content is determined through the class that fills it."

Parliamentary government was the result of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and feudalism, in which the bourgeoisie were victorious. The bourgeoisie dictated the terms and set the limits of the power of the people's representatives, for at the time of the formation of the constitutions the weight of power was on their side. The bourgeoisie saw to it that real political power remained in its hands while the rest of the people were given only the smallest part in the government. As long as the bourgeoisie parliamentary government remains in existence it will, as a result, be a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

It is a mistake to believe that parliamentarism is a synonyn for democracy. On the contrary, we find that where the parliamentary majority rules it is not democratic, and where it is approaching democracy parliamentary government becomes a weak institution.

Working class victories in parliamentary elections does not place power in the hands of the workers nor do such victories establish democracy. Such victories serve only to bring to a head the clash of class interests, in which the dominant issue is not the number of votes but the real power of each class. The opposing force the workers will have to meet will be militarism, the arch-enemy of democracy. So we that there is no hope of reaching true democracy, through parliamentarism.

The point of view which advocates the exploitation of parliamentary elections as a method of agitation and propaganda is correct where there is no free speech, free press and free assemblage outside of parliament.. It must be admitted that even debates in parliament may serve as a means of agitation and propaganda to a limited extent, when there are no other channels to reach the masses but if we rely upon parliamentary activity as the only source of agitation, it often happens that the agitation outside of such activity ceases or is hindered. If important topics are discussed from the proletarian standpoint in a parliament such a discussion has a world importance, but if the same discussion is repeated over and over again outside of parliament it loses its weight from the standpoint of agitation and proves a waste of time and energy. In parliament we have not to deal with common people but with shrewd politicians whose views are determined and who are representing certain political parties. No oratory can convince them for the other party. It does not matter what is laid down in the program of these different parties, their principles are based on their class interests. Even when several parties exists, with different programs (if they are in earnest), it is only because they understand their common interests in a different way. But these differences cannot last long. They cease to exist as soon as working class representatives arrive in parliament to fight for their own demands irrespective of what the bosses say about it.

As long as the working class representatives are few in number they are merely disturbers of the peace of the gay bourgeois company, to whom nobody is willing to listen unless compelled to. If the bourgeois have enough confidence in their strength and the support of the trouble-makers is weak, they simply throw them out of the parliamentary bodies.

Things are different when the working class representatives appear in legislative bodies in larger numbers. Their votes in such cases are often decisive upon certain legislative measures. This is the stage when the class struggle in parliament begins in real earnest. It is the time when all working class parties recognize participation in parliament to gain some certain reforms, to gain a larger share in state power. At this point there arises the question as to the limits of working class participation.

The working class is denied the possibility of gaining a majority of the seats in parliament as long as the constitutions drawn by the ruling class exist. Even if in spite of these instruments they should manage to capture a majority of the seats, that would mean that they would be in a position to take over the power of the state, to which the capitalist class would never consent. To try to convince the representatives of the capitalist class of the necessity of changing constitutions, is to try to convince them to turn over the power of government. Therefore, the importance of electing able speakers to seats in parliament loses its significance.

Parliaments, day by day, are growing more tedious for the outside masses. They are becoming uninteresting "business institutions" and it is not the business of the working class representatives to make the parliamentary "swamps" interesting.

Where free press, free speech and freedom of assemblage exists parliamentarism has played its part, just the same as has the capitalist system on the economic field. The best agitation and propaganda forces of the working class have to be employed outside of parliament in great mass meetings.

With the further development of democracy the people seek a direct expression and this opens a broad field for mass agitation. The discussions are transferred from parliaments to the peoples' forums. These are no longer dry and uninteresting parliamentary discussions, but full of life and the people's will, which make parliaments unnecessary institutions that lay like a corpse across the road that leads to democracy. It is necessary to bury this corpse. Who is going to be the undertakes?

It is necessary that the rising power, the working class, organize as a class politically, but with the firm conviction that parliaments represent the dictatorship of the capitalist class, which must be replaced by the dictatorship of the working class. This dictatorship of the proletariat arouses the ire of the capitalist class because it abolishes all privileges and puts everybody in one class. But this dictatorship means that the power which up to now was used by one class for the oppression and exploitation of the other now become the means of abolishing socially unnecessary and outlived class distinction, and thus transforms the dictatorship of the proletariat into the rule of the great majority, which means true democracy.

"The proletarian dictatorship will have to be exercised as a class dictatorship until all class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated into the hands of an associations of the whole people. The state power will lose its political character. Political power, properly called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. The proletarian during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class and by means of revolution to make itself the ruling class, ans as such, to sweep away by force the old conditions of production. Along with these conditions it will have swept the conditions for existence of class antagonism. and of classes generally, and it will thereby abolish its own supremacy as a class."—Communist Manifesto.

Therefore, in our political struggle for capture of the state power, the supreme issue must be preparation of the proletarian minds for the conscious expression of their will, by criticising parliamentary actions outside of parliamentary walls, preparing the workers for the "tutte finale."

Regardless of the fact that parliaments are "stinking swamps" we cannot cast them aside until we have gone through the various stages of their development and proved by their deeds to the working class that the most important battles of the political struggle are fought outside of the walls of parliament and that the expression of the people's will is made through mass action and that the capture of state power is the long march under the red flag of the international Socialist republic, through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Italians Prepare for Dictatorship

(Continued from Page One)

Some are for a policy of reduction of all expenses unnecessary to civil life, such as military expenses, and for a concentration of effort in the promotion of public works, restoring the transportation facilities and for the construction of artificial lakes for electric power, in order to free the country from its need for coal. They believe that by employing the workers, unrest would be avoided and a consistent buying power given to the larger part of the population.

Imperialists Want Annexation.

The other section thinks that Italy should further the policy of "sacred egoism." They believe that Italy should annex Dalmatia, reconquer the hinterland of Tripoli, hold the Greek islands of the Dedecanneso and insist on zones of influence in Asia Minor and Abyssinia. Their's is a true imperialistic policy, which would cause greater expenditures for the army and navy; a new war at this time and new wars to follow at short notice. (In face, war has begun again in Tripolitania).

The government favors the second policy, and this has caused the resignation of two figureheads in the cabinet, bringing on the crisis, one on the heels of the other.

At the time of Wilson's visit, Bissolati, a reformist and an old comrade who was expelled from the party in 1912, when he stood for the conquest of Tripoli (he also stood for Italy's participation in the war) had been selected as a member of the cabinet as a representative of the war-mad radicals, resigned, refusing to indorse the policy of expansion in Dalmatia.

Signor Orlando, the premier, patched up affairs when another and more important crisis occurred with the resignation of Signor Nitti, the "Ministro del Tesoro," the strongest brain in the cabinet, a modern, and probably the most astute statesman that Italy has had since Cavour.

Crisis Patched Up.

This crisis was patched up with unusual speed. However, if it is an easy thing to dress wounds of a petty political nature, it is not so very easy to heal deep gashes through which the very economic blood of a country is flowing away.

Signor Bissolati and the bunch of self-styled Socialists that follow him (you had a sample of them in De Ambris and the others who toured the United States only to meet the physical opposition of the Italian Socialists of that country) and a few radicals and republicans are indorsing Wilson's policy, arousing the rabid opposition of the imperialist bloc. Many a lecture has ended in turmoil here.

Bissolati and those associated with him hope that, by indorsing the views of the American idealist, they will be able to catch the sympathy of the masses. But they are deeply mistaken. The masses are looking to the straight path pointed out to them by the Socialist Party.

The "Lirezione del Partito Socialista" has resolved to agitate for a complete and quick demobilization, for complete amnesty for political and military prisoners, for the return of the free press (the censorship still muzzles the press), for freedom of speech and of association and against any interference in the internal affairs of Russia.

Masses Getting Together.

This agitation is intended to strengthen the tie between the party and the masses, the ties that were loosened when the millions went to the front and fundamental liberties were suppressed.

For the party knows that there is no possibility of a bourgeois solution of the mighty problems that war has created, and feels that a movement of a revolutionary character may arise at any moment. In such an event the party will not be caught slumbering.

The Direzione has proclaimed that the Italian laboring class shall prepare for the "proletarian dictatorship."

The rank and file is enthusiastically answering; and all branches are holding meetings in halls packed by the people, proclaiming the coming dictatorship. Only a few intellectuals under the leadership of Comrade Filippo Turati do not indorse the views of the Direzione. But they have no following, and a split is apprehended.

The Catholics are organizing a Popular party. They are merely copying the minimum program of the Socialist party, adding a request for a greater freedom for the church, though the church in Italy is as free as it is in the United States, but is so well entrenched that the parish priests are regularly salaried by the government.

The Catholics have quite a following in the rural communities, and it is expected that they will receive a big vote at the next election.

Parties Prepare for Elections.

All parties are preprainig for the elections. When will the balloting be held? The sooner, the better for the government and for the reactionaries. The later, the better for the Socialist party. But will they be held? May not something else happen?

While the trial of Cavillini is proving that the lure of gold underlies what is called patriotism, many a big city is in the grip of scandals brought about by the discovery of corruption in their administration. Among these cities are Florence, Turin, Naples and Rome.

Only Milan, Bologna and other cities administered by the Socialists are above criticism. Moreover, only there have the populations less keenly felt the lack of food and heat.

Events follow each other with magnificent speed.

Williams Denies Charges

(Continued from Page One)

of the czar probably won't exceed 45,000."

Blames Allies for Starvation.

"How about the systematic starvation of people?" Senator Wolcott asked.

"I admit that food conditions did not improve to any extent under the Bolshevists. It is certain that rations were cut down. They had to be. The present starvation is due to the allies, who have cut off from European Russia the food supply of the great Siberian granaries."

"What about looting?"

"It would be a miracle if in a great upheaval like this there had not been looting and a great deal of it."

"Well, was there looting?"

"Yes, most of those who have told these stories of what happened in that way came out of Russia on international sleepers. Why, there are hundreds of thousands of Americans in Russia, and so far as I have heard none of them have been killed."

"Hundreds of thousands still there, do you mean that?" Senator Wolcott asked.

"Hundreds then, perhaps thousands."

"Were some of these Americans thrown into jail?"

"Yes, some were."

"What of anarchy?"

"That is due to the plotting of the capitalists of the bourgeoisie. One of them has said that they would let 'the bony fingers of hunger' crush the revolt."

Baker Appreciated.

Little late, but I just want to state that if you have any more in Ohio like Baker, better send them out into other states. for there is lots of room for just such live workers. Comrade Baker spoke here in Indianapolis about one week ago, and he faced a good crowd of workers, five of them plain clothes men from the city police department. These same police are back every Sunday and they seem to be much interested in the talks. All our comrades are in love with Baker since his visit and whenever he can drop in on us again, [illegible] W. H. Henry, [illegible]

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ALLIED INTERVENTION CAUSED "RED TERROR" IN RUSSIA

Insult Added to Injury

The reported reduction of the sentence of A. L. Hitchcock, former Cleveland School Board member, from ten years to two years, on the recommendation of former Attorney General Gregory, is a confession that Hitchcock was unjustly dealt with.

The facts in the Hitchcock case show this conclusively.

Hitchcock was elected a member of the Cleveland School Board in November, 1917. As a member of that body he made an aggressive fight against the reactionaries and reactionary ideas that controlled that body.

His first resolution called for rescinding of the rule which barred teachers from organizing a union for their own protection. He followed this up with other working class measures and injected the working class viewpoint in all the debates on measures which came before the board.

Through these and similar activities Hitchcock became a thorn in the flesh of the school board reactionaries and the business interests which they served. Again and again the two men who are particularly active in serving the ruling class of Cleveland in shaping the work of the schools to its liking—the pompous president of the board, Mark Thompson, and the slick Mr. Williams—tried to squelch Hitchcock, but without success.

When in the spring of 1918 the board took up the question of assisting in the Liberty Loan Campaign then under way, Hitchcock in a pointed and outspoken speech protested against any coercion to compel underpaid school teachers to purchase Liberty Bonds.

Hitchcock had been elected a member of the Cleveland School Board to represent the workers of the city. He personally knew of scores of instances in which working men had lost their jobs because they had refused to purchase Liberty Bonds. As a representative of the workers he refused to commit himself to similar treatment of workers toward whom he, as a member of the school board, stood in the position of employer. Hence his outspoken protest.

This protest, which hit the entire employing class of the city as well as the capitalist representatives on the school board, brought down upon him the anger and enmity of the entire capitalist class of the city and through the tools of this class in public places and newspaper offices the hue and cry against him was raised and the plan to oust him from the school board got under way.

As has been pointed out before, Assistant District Attorney Breitenstein said, after Hitchcock's protest before the school board and before his arrest:

"Means can be found to remove him from the board. This is no time to dilly dally over the niceties of legal technicalities," Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 11, 1918.

There was nothing in Hitchcock's protest before the school board that was illegal, or otherwise the district attorney's office would have proceeded against him on the basis of that speech, and yet because he made that protest he was threatened with removal from the school board.

Later Hitchcock was indicted for some chance remark made in a conversation with an old friend—a renegade Socialist—at Sandusky. For making this remark, which had to do with the use of the money derived from the sale of Liberty Bonds, Hitchcock was sentenced to serve ten years in the Atlanta federal prison AND WAS REMOVED FROM THE SCHOOL BOARD.

It is not to be wondered at that the attorney general's office is ashamed of this record and recommended the reduction of Hitchcock's sentence from ten years to two years. But reduction of the sentence will not wipe out the infamy of action against Hitchcock.

In our opinion and the facts bear out this view—the prosecution against Hitchcock was begun for the sole purpose of removing him from the school board. It was the brutal use of its power by a class dominating the machinery of prosecution to rid itself of a workers' representative whose criticisms was making things unpleasant for that class.

Reduction of Hitchcock's sentence will not wipe out the disgrace of this persecution. What is due Hitchcock is immediate freedom and reparation for the financial loss and suffering which has been his lot while in prison.

The attorney general has confessed that Hitchcock was unjustly treated by his recommendation for reduction of his sentence. It is for the workers whose fight he made to win freedom for him by making a united demand that not only Hitchcock, but every man and woman imprisoned under the anti-free speech and free press section of the Espionage law, be released at once.

British Workers Firm In Making Demands

London.—Failure to grant the miners' demands will result in a general strike of the "triple alliance," which would paralyze British industries and probably force a change in the government, Robert Williams, general secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, declared today.

The "triple alliance" is the common term for the transport workers, railway men and miners. Williams' organization alone numbers close to 300,000.

Williams, who, next to J. H. Thomas and Robert Smillie, is the most influential Laborite in Great Britain, is not optimistic regarding the result of the inquiry being conducted into the mining situation by the government. He does not believe the miners will accept a compromise. He is optimistic, however, regarding negotiations now under way between the transport workers and employers regarding a 44-hour week with no decrease in present wages.

"Nationalization of all natural monopolies, with the workers participating in the management, is the only solution to the present labor unrest," said Williams. "It would go a long way toward preventing profiteering and decreasing the cost of living.

"I do not see any possibility of averting a strike of the triple alliance (the alliance is pledged to act together), unless the parliamentary committee investigating the miners' demands recommends nationalization of the mines, a 6-hour day and a 30 per cent. wage increase.

"As long as the workers read newspaper stories of discharged soldiers and sailors returning to their old jobs as footmen and butlers, as long as they see carriages equipped with two coachmen and two footmen, as long as they read of Lady So-and-So's

Continued on Page Four.

To Meet Socialists Of Other Countries

Chicago.—James Oneal, member of the Socialist Party National Executive Committe, leaves for Europe this month, to re-establish relations between the organized Socialists af the United States and those on the other side of the Atlantic.

Oneal secured passports to attend the International Socialist and Labor Conference at Berne, Switzerland, after the conference had adjourned. He will make use of these passports, however, to visit Europe and get in touch with the officials of the various National Socialist Parties and with the International Socialist Bureau.

Dan Hogan, member of the party executive, has made application for passports to attend the Pan-American Socialist Conference to be held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, April 26.

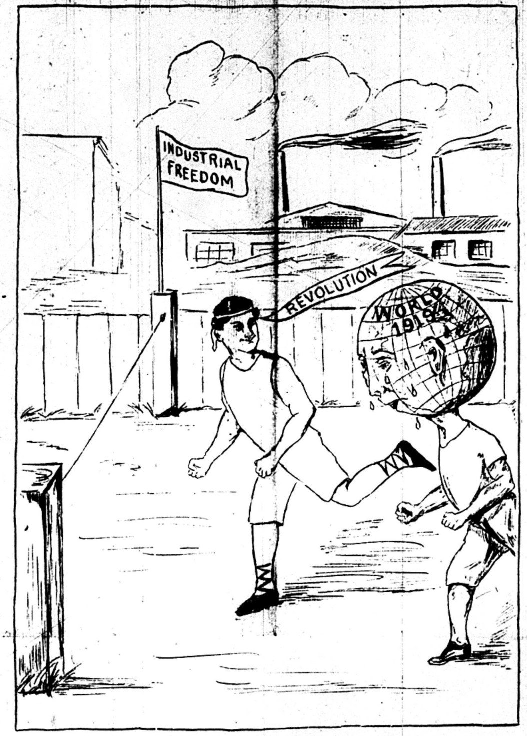
James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, was originally selected for this service, but pressing duties will keep him at home. Hogan will therefore act as [illegible]

Kate O'Hare To Go To Prison

According to a Washington dispatch of last wek the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Kate Richard O'Hare sentenced to serve five years in a federal prison for alleged violation to the Espionage act in a speech delivered in North Dakota last year.

The court did not pass directly on the case, but simply denied the petition for a review. At the same time the conviction of Charles T. Schenck and Elizabeth Baer, of Philadelphia and A. L. Sugarman, of Minnesota, all Socialists, were upheld.

In passing upon these cases the court did not express any opinion in regard to the [illegible]



SETTING THE PACE

DEBS GOES TO PRISON

The machinery of capitalism has completed its work and ground out the decision that Eugene V. Debs must go to prison.

No one who has studied the class character of the governmental institutions of this country expected a different verdict than that which has just been rendered by the United States Supreme Court.

It was inconceivable that the Supreme Court would declare the Espionage law unconstitutional.

The interpretation of the constitution follows the needs of the ruling class. Only unsophisticated persons with a ludicrously naive belief in the "democracy" of modern capitalist government could imagine such a contingency as the Supreme Court declaring a law in the interest of the capitalist class unconstitutional in the hour of capitalism's greatest need.

But if there was no hope for Debs, even though, as many people believe, the Espionage law violates clearly expressed provisions of the national constitution in regard to the right of free speech and free press, it did seem that the selfish interests of the ruling class of this country might save Debs from prison.

Capitalism in this country is resting upon a slumbering volcano—the volcano of a suppressed, oppressed and exploited working class.

In Russia and Germany the volcano has burst and is flinging the debris of capitalism to the four winds.

In England, France and Italy the rumbling which forecasts a similar activity can be distinctly heard.

Even here the warning signals are not wanting Unemployment, strikes, discontent, Seattle's and Lawrence's, all suggest a growing bitterness that is the sign of a coming eruption.

Well might the ruling class hesitate before adding another grievance, a grievance that will deepen and make more bitter the hatred of the working class of the system that holds them under its iron heel.

That is what the [illegible] class of this country know Debs. For thirty years he has fought for better things for the workers. For thirty years his voice has been constantly raised in appeal for the workers. Millions have heard his speeches; millions have read his writings; a million men cast their ballots for him for the high office of president of the United States.

These millions know that there is not a man with a cleaner heart or a greater purpose in the United States than Eugene V. Debs. They know that he has given his all and sacrificed all in order to make this country a better place to live in for those who are now condemned to empty lives of misery, poverty and suffering.

Now the ruling class puts this man in jail. At the age of sixty-three there is laid upon him the savage sentence of ten years in prison—the death sentence.

And for what?

For publicly stating the truth as he saw it. For voicing his conscientious beliefs. For this he is condemned to ten years behind iron walls and iron bars; ten years behind the walls of a prison where everything that is cruel and dark and gruesome grows, where humankind is warped out of all recognition as human beings, where foul words fill the air and fouler deeds are committed. This for Debs who desired nothing but to make the world a brighter place to live in for those who toil!

Will the American workers permit this?

There is still time to call a halt. A united protest, a united demand for Debs' freedom and the powers that be will change their minds before Debs goes to prison. Let the capitalist class hear the rumbling of the volcano and Debs will not go to jail.

Are the minds of the American workers enslaved as well as their bodies? Are they such craven cowards that nothing will arouse their resentment? Is there none of that rebellious spirit which is ridding Europe, not only of czars and kaisers, but of the plutocrats who rob and [illegible]

Note to President Wilson Kept From American People Made Peace Offer and Gives Facts About Violence

The Allied governments and the United States, by sending troops into Russia compelled the Soviet government to use force against the counter-revolution. This is the charge made by Maxim Litvinoff, former representative of the Russian Federated Soviet Republic in England, in a note offering to enter into peace negotiations, addressed to President Wilson.

The fact that this note, which throws much light on the actions of the Soviet government, although an official communication from the Soviet government of Russia to the President of the United States, has been, up to this time, kept from the people of the United States, indicates the kind of tactics that are being used to discredit the workers government of Russia.

The note, which reached this country through the Bureau of Information on Soviet Russia, conducted by Santeri Nuorteva, who is the representative of the Finnish Workers Republic in this country, say that "for eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhereing to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program," and that "it was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against the popular members of the government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings, against their former oppressors."

Note Sent Dec. 24.

The note was transmitted to President Wilson at London from Stockholm, on Dec. 24. The full text follows:

Mr. Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
American Embassy, London.

Mr. President: In addition to general peace offer recently addressed by the Soviet government to the allies I formally informed today the Stockholm ministers of the United States and of allied countries that I am authorized to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all questions making for hostilities against Russia.

The principles proclaimed by you as possible basis for settling European questions, and your avowed efforts and intentions of making settlement conform to demands of justice and humanity, induce and justify me to send you this statement, inasmuch as most points of your peace program are included into the more extensive aspirations of the Russian workers and peasants now rulers of their country. It was they who first proclaimed and actually granted to nations right of self-determination, who suffered most sacrifices in fighting imperialism and militarism both at home and abroad who dealt severest blow to secret diplomacy and inaugurated open diplomacy. And it was partly for these innovations in politics that they have been fiercely attacked by the former ruling classes of Russia and their counterparts in other countries.

SOVIET LIED ABOUT.

To justify this attack a network of lies and calumnies has been woven round the activities of the Soviets and forged documents put into circulation. Unfortunately allied statesmen accept all monstrous accusations against Soviets at face value without taking trouble to check them. While agents of anti-Soviet parties are allowed and encouraged to move freely in allied countries and disseminate untruth representatives of the accused side have never been allowed to put fully their case and to answer charges made against them.

In fact the chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the government and invoked the help of foreign troops that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew and to divert their energies and resources so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defense of the country, but also cut off the vital sources of foodstuffs and raw material exposing the population to most terrible privation bordering on starvation.

"RED TERROR" EXAGGERATED.

I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of allied intervention. The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamed of interfering with Russian affairs when czarist barbarism and militarism ruled supreme, and which even supported that regime, feel justified in intervening in Russia now when the working people itself after decades of strenuous struggling and countless sacrifices succeeded in taking power and destiny of their country into their own hands, aiming at nothing but

Continued on Page Four.

Deported for Holding Opinion Contrary To Interest of Ruling Class

In spite of the protests from labor in all parts of the country, the government is going ahead with the deportation of the aliens held at Ellis Island for shipment abroad as undesirables. According to a letter from one of the victims of the action of the government, five men were shipped to England last week, and others are to follow soon.

This letter clearly presents the issue involved in the action of the government and the danger which threatens the workers of this country. The letter in full follows:

Immigration Station,
Ellis Island, New York Harbor,
New York, Feb. 27, 1919

Editor of The Call:

Five men were shipped to England yesterday.

This was the first contingent to be deported of the forty-odd members of the I. W. W. held here for deportation. However, they were not shipped in opposition to their wishes.

With the editor's permission, I should like to express a few of my opinions regarding the law under which these men were arrested, and under which I was arrested, and may be deported. I have been in direct contact with its influence for nine months, and so should be fairly well familiar with all its features of injustice.

It occurs to me that the Espionage act, with all its oppressive features, is no more dangerous to the traditionally liberal institutions of America than this typically Russian deportation law.

To govern is an art; if the acts of a governing body cannot stand the acid test of honest criticism, regardless of whom its critic may be—alien or native—that governing body is dishonest in its policies and purposes.

A true artist welcomes criticism even from a novice, because he knows that there is a latent spark of genius in the dullest of men; but the artist who [illegible] to those held by men who have the governing power.

Seven Spanish radicals were brought here from the city yesterday. They probably will be followed by hundreds of other aliens who have enough backbone to hold an opinion believed to be undesirable.

In Russia, in the palmiest days of the Czar, imprisonment or exile did not result from holding an opinion, but from expressing an opinion intended to incite to certain unlawful acts.

The law under which we are held for deportation, and under which hundreds of other radicals and union men may be deported, prohibits the individual, or a group or organization, from holding opinions opposed to what is believed to be the best interests of the ruling class. However, it does not specifically mention the capitalist class; it does prove by its wording that it is aimed only at the worker and his class opinions.

It is up to every liberty-loving person, especially of the working class, in America to uphold his right, both to hold an opinion and to express that opinion.

Only through criticism of the acts of those men who represent the people in public office can good government, justice for all and the greatest possible amount of liberty consistent with justice be obtained and maintained.

It is for trying to extend and maintain American liberty and justice that many will be deported, unless this law is repealed.

It is possible under this law to "frame up" on any alien, or even an American who does not know his birthplace, and through the connivance of a corrupt official, obtain his or her deportation.

THE ONLY ALIEN WHO—IN MY OPINION, SHOULD BE DEPORTED FROM ANY COUNTRY IS THE ALIEN WHO WILL NOT TRY TO EXTEND THE LIBERTY [illegible]

DARROW'S VIEW on BOLSHEVSIM

What is "Bolshevism"? Is it as horrible as it is pictures in the capitalist press? This is a question that is agitating the minds of many people. Here are Clarence Darrow's views on the matter. While Mr. Darrow is not in complete accord with the Bolsheviki nor the Socialists of America either this article tends to clarify in a broad-minded manner some mooted questions concerning this new force in the world affairs.

It is quite evident that Bolshevism has alarmed and terrified the world. There is Bolshevism everywhere, we are told, and even the United States senate is to investigate its alleged activities in this country. Irish strikes of an unusual character have been ascribed to Russian Bolshevik agitators. Ministers of state are sitting up nights ruminating over the new phenomenon.

But what is Bolshevism? What is the meaning of the word, to begin with, and what the nature, essence, and quality of the thing so named—and certain idealistic, radical Americans are known to say that unfortunately the term itself has a sinister, dark, forbidding sound.

Well, as to the name, the story is simple and prosaic. Bolshevik means an adherent of a majority wing of a party or school. The Russian Social Democratic Party is divided into two factions, as is the German Social Democracy, as is the French Socialist Party, and as is the British. In Germany we hear of the Majority Socitlists and the Minority, or Independent, Socialists. The word majority alarms none. Bolsheviki means the majority party—neither more nor less. Mensheviki means the minority party. We have Republican Bolsheviki and Republican Mensheviki—and at one time the standpatters were the Bolsheviki—and perhaps they are even now, despite insurgency.

At any rate the word Bolshevik has no terrors for any one who has a smattering of Russian or of radical and reform literature. As to the thing—that's another story.

* * *

To complehend the phenomenon of Bolshevism it is necessary to know something about Russian political and revolutionary history. There are, or there were at the last general election, eighteen political parties in Russia. The Social Democrats are one of the few major and really important parties. They are, for Russia, an "old" party. To this party, roughly speaking, belong all those who follow Karl Marx and his so-called scientific—and revolutionary—Socialism, and who regard "Das Kapital" as their Bible. There are other Socialist factions and schools of thought in Russia, these holding, again roughly, that Marxism does not apply to the Slav empire—backward, undeveloped, dark, and with traditions of its own—or, as some Russians say, a lack of binding and galling traditions. The Socialist Revolutionists (to whom "Grandmother" Catherine Breshkovsky, Tschaikovsky, Bourtseff, and many other famous Russian radicals belong) are not Marxians, but mild, national Socialists, "peasantists," so to speak, who believe in gradually establishing a form of Socialism based on certain supposed typical Russian institutions, the Village Mir, or Commune, the Artel, or Workers' Industrial Union, and the like.

Perhaps it is well to explain that in Russia the radical or revolutionary is usually a Socialist of one kind or another. Even non-Socialist writers have said that "in Russia one is born a Socialist," and in Prof. Paul Milyoukov's book on "Russia and Her Crisis"—a standard work, I am told—there is a long chapter of Russia's Socialistic tendencies and Socialistic seed, as it were, that is planted in a favorable soil. In Russia the non-Socialist radical is a rare bird. He is sneered and scoffed at. He is dubbed a reactionary. This has been the case for forty years or more. Individualism or philosophical anarchism as a philosophy has never flourished in Russia, although communistic anarchism had a considerable following at one time.

If, then, the great majority of Russian radicals are, and long have been, Socialists, nothing is more natural—for Russia—than a split in each of the major Socialist parties. Russians are theoretical, academic, garrulous, disputatious, uncompromising. They have not had sufficient contact with real affairs to learn to practice give and take. They split when they cannot agree on points of theory or of method. They do not feel bound by decisions of majorities at conventions or other gatherings.

* * *

Years ago, then, the Social Democrats, or Marxists, of Russia disagreed and parted company. The differences were not very important. They concerned questions of method, of control of the party and its organ. After the split the majority called themselves Bolsheviki and the minority Mensheviki. Nothing serious happened after the split, for neither faction had much chance under the czar. It was indeed a crime to belong to the Social Democratic Party. Members of the duma were again and again indicted for that offense, tried, and exiled to Siberia.

After the revolution of March, 1917, the conditions in Russia, economic, political, moral, were such the the purely academic differences among Russian Socilists, at home or abroad, were inevitably precipitated into burning practical differences. The autocracy was gone and dead. The people of Russia were sick of the war and determined to have peace. They could not and would not fight for territory, money, prestige, or honor. They needed peace and expected the free government to secure it for them.

The Lvov or bourgeois government could not secure peace. They were too gentlemanly and diplomatic and honorable to talk of a separate peace. The Kerensky government was more "leftist," and had several Socialists in the leading departments, but it, too, hesitated, waited, argued, pleaded, and counseled patience and moderation. The masses were in no mood to wait and suffer, to starve and die. The Soviets, spantaneously formed all over Russia, because the old governmental bodies lacked authority and were not democratic or representative, insistently demanded peace and fundamental reforms. In Russia the most fundamental of all reforms was that of the tenure of land. The peasants—80 or more per cent of the population—wanted land; they had wanted it for generations and had hoped the czar would break away from the barons and landlords and give them the land. To them the revolution, freedom, the new life, meant primarily the land and secondarily plenty of home rule, village autonomy, plus light taxation and the abolition of conscription.

The Kerensky stop-gap government could not give the masses, the peasants and wage workers, the few basic things they wanted and demanded. It had to go. It went. It fell just as czarism fell, without a struggle. The only party that was ready to promise the people the reforms and blessings they demanded—the land, peace, self-government, etc.—were the Majority Social Democrats, led by Lenine and Trotzky. Those men had audacity, faith, courage, fanaticism and revolutionary fervor. They were not diplomats and cared nothing for conventions and manners. They seized the reins of power with the acquiescence of the masses. There were no effective opposition to them. Then they proceeded to make peace—the best peace they could get from Germany. They sacrificed much, they gave up much, they most reluctantly yielded to the German militarists.

This is not the place to discuss their mistakes or their fallacies. They got the peace they had promised to the masses, and the fighting stopped. The soldiers and sailors could go home—they had already been deserting by the thousand.

* * *

But peace was not enough. What of bread? What of the land question? What of liberty and self-government? The Bolshevik cabinet turned at once to these internal questions and issued their famous decrees—the land decree, the nationalization of industry decree, the constitution of free Russia, etc. They knew they had numerous and strong enemies in and out of Russia. They expected serious opposition to their Socialistic reforms, so sweeping, so uncompromising, so unheard of except in books, from the nobles, the landlords, the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers, the non-Socialist professional groups, the richer peasant proprietors, and the conservative workmen. So they boldly proclaimed "a second revolution," a social revolution.

In other words, they made it quite plain that they were not mere revolutionary reformers, but unterrified, resolute revolutionists. They had, they said, a great, a historic opportunity to establish Marxian social democracy in Russia. They had the right and the duty, they contended, to make the effort and to make it at any cost. They were prepared to resist opposition and to give it no quarter. He who was not with them was against them. They had to act quickly and decisively, they said, or else fritter away their chance and prove themselves weaklings and cowards.

They established a dictatorship of the proletariat. They made their appeal, not to the "dark masses," the peasants, but the class conscious, advanced, and literate or half-literate wage workers. They abolished everything of the old, or new-old, Lvov-Kerensky order that stood in their way. They repealed the universal and democratic suffrage act. They declared themselves enemies of "bourgeois democracy" and all its machinery and works. They were not democrats, or liberals, or evolutionists. The familiar tests and yardsticks of the "free countries" they laughed at as stage tricks designed to delude and fool the average person.

They were revolutionary, international Socialists. They knew exactly what they wanted. They had their own philosophy of history. The argued that revolution was as legitimate as evolution. Why shrink from a little violence, tyranny, bloodshed? Why make a fuss about free speech and free assembly? If political revolution is justifiable, and if dictatorship might be created in time of such revolutions to prevent reaction and treachery, why were not strong measures, a dictatorship, disfranchisement of counter revolutionists, fully justified at a critical time of social and economic upheaval?

* * *

The Bolshevik leaders asked and are still asking these questions, and their answers are given in deeds and in words. Their task is colossal—to establish Socialism after Karl Marx in Russia, or in such parts as they now control. They believe that they can succeed in spite of the bourgeoisie, the nobility, the mild revolutionaries, the non-Socialist reformer, the richer peasants, the "reactionary" workmen. They believe that the masses, though ignorant and "unconscious" politically, feel instinctively that the Bolshevik program alone can give Russia freedom, prosperity, local self-government, culture and human brotherhood. To educate the peasants is a task of decades and generations. Meantime the few really class-conscious, intelligent supporters of the Bolshevik leaders must rule Russia and introduce Socialist changes as fast as possible.

After Russia, the leaders say, will come Germany, France, Italy, England and at last even the United States, the fast, sleek, bourgeois, individualistic United States. The social revolution "is coming" they cry. Marx proves this. History proves it. Russia is merely, owing to the war and a combination of amazing circumstances the pioneer and pathfinder in this glorious movement. Russia, as it happened, is fresh, unspoiled, democratic at heart, and her plutocracy and bourgeoisie are not powerful enough to prevent the great adventure or gravely to endanger its success.

Elsewhere the struggle will be bloodier, sharper, longer, but capitalism and the wage system are doomed and discredited and Russia would be criminal if she were to allow these evil things to take root. Hence, at any cost, Socialism must be saved, defended, and given a trial in Russia. Compared with what it offers to mankind, the violence, disorder, graft, oppression, suffering complained of by the various opponents of Bolshevism are said to be trifles hardly worth mentioning. What of the French terror? What of the American revolutionary war and the war over slavery and secession? asks Lenine.

"Let the allies evacuate Russia," he continues in effect, "and we shall rehabilitate and reconstruct her whole fabric and set an example to the world. We are seeking to establish permanently the highest form of democracy. We are seeking to abolish slavery, exploitation, poverty, provate monopoly, and flagrant, unwarranted, unnatural inequality. Give us time and a chance to go to work and to revive commerce and trade, and our experiment will astonish humanity. After a while we may re-enfranchise the disfranchised aristocrats and bourgeoisie, the clergy and investors and bring the distatorship to a close. Our tyrannical measures are temporary—a necessary evil. We stand for equality and liberty and fraternity. We are fighting counter-revolution and are adopting war measures—that is all."

News From State Local

RESOLUTIONS FROM CANTON

Canton, O., Feb. 27, 1919.

The following resolutions were adopted by Local Canton of the Socialist Party, at their regular session, Thursday, Feb. 27, 1919.

Whereas, Numerous resolutions have been formulated by Socialist Party members throughout the country, demanding that a National Emergency Convention be arranged for by the National Executive Committee, and the committee declines to call such convention, and

Whereas, To initiate a referendum under constitutional provisions would defer the holding of such a convention for at least several months, and further that the American Socialist being no longer published, the provisions of the constitution in regard to calling a convention by a referendum cannot be adhered to, therefore,

Be It Resolved, That the National Executive Committee be hereby instructed to arrange for the holding of a National Emergency Convention, in the City of Chicago, on May 1, 1919, and that all Socialist locals throughout the country be hereby requested to endorse this resolution, and to at once notify the National Executive Secretary of the results of their actions.

Be It Further Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to all State Secretaries, who are hereby requested to lay the matter before the members of their respective states, and that copies also be sent to all Socialist publications.

(Signed) ERNEST SYKES, Sec.

* * *

APPROVE LEFT WING PROGRAM

At our local meeting, Sunday evening, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"That Warren local approves the Manifesto and program of the left wing of the Socialist Party as published in the Ohio Socialist of March 26, 1919. And that a copy of this resolution be sent to the State Office."

J. F. DENISON, Sec.

* * *

MEETINGS AT HUBBARD

Local Hubbard has arranged a series of meetings which will place that local far along in its work of organization and propoganda. The series of meetings will consist of about four. The speakers will be Comrades Tom Lewis, C. E. Ruthenberg, Thurber Lewis and Charles Baker. Local Hubbard is alive to the needs and the opportunities of the hour.

* * *

INCREASE THEIR GAIT

"Ever since Comrade Baker was here, we have been moving along at a splendid pace. Have secured Woodmen's hall two evenings in the month and have arranged tentatively for an entertainment to be held probably on March 19. Last meeting was the most encouraging we have had for a year."—J. P. McDevitt, Steubenville.

* * *

MAKING SOCIALISTS OF SOCIALISTS

That's what Local Niles is doing. To do it they organized a study class in proletarian science. By this means they hope to add greatly to the knowledge of the comrades upon the principles of our movement. The local is also agitating for a paid up membership. They hope to reach the 100 per cent. mark within another month.

LORAIN REORGAN

"Revolutionary Socialism w down," writes Comrade Carl C of Lorain. The comrades h ganized under a new charter very enthusiastic over the pr of a greater and more active in Lorain.

* * *

BOLSHEVISM AMONG THE FARMERS

Local Ti..n reports a succe meeting March 5. Three new bers were admitted. Seneca cou keeping up its record for activit was shown at this meeting when a bate was staged upon the qu "Bolshevism a Menace to the F er." Reports from many parts of country seem to indicate that sections of the farming commu are as ready to support the indu workers in their demands for a deal—even to the extent of furnis the necessary food in time of str

* * *

ROCKFORD MAY ORGANIZE

From Rockford O., comes the that there are Socialists there a and the chances of organizing a are good. This word comes Comrade Mrs. Myrtle King, at pr ent a M. A. L. from Ind.

* * *

NEW LOCALS IN BELMONT COUNT

The comrades of Belmont Co. are and doing these days as the follow account will show. Comrade J. Hoge, member of Bellaire branch been secured for organization work that county. An English speak branch has been organized in county with ten members. Si organizing they have added four mo A Polish branch was organized Shadyside with seven members. Lo Belmont Co. is disposing of consid able literature concerning the tr about Russia. The Yipsels have ganized with ten members and pro pects are good for a growing orga ization among the boys and girls.

* * *

NEARING 100 EFFICIENC

Comrade Weichers of Local Colu bus states that the local is gradu nearing the 100 per cent. mark paid-up members. Twenty membe were admitted in February. One hu dred and fourteen are in good sta ing out of 153 on the roll. The lo is selling Industrial Freedom Cer ficates. A check for the first two accompanies Comrades Weichers le ter.

* * *

STUDY CLASS FOR MANSFIELD

An order for 20 copies of the Co munist Manifesto from Comrade E. Showers of Mansfield and a le stating that the comrades have o ized a Study Class in Scientific S ism. Keep your eye on Local field says Comrade Showers fo to be placed on the Red map cialism.

* * *

LOCAL COSHOCTO GROWS

An increase of three new mem is local Coshocton's proof of me business. This newly reorgan local is among the live ones now this increase shows.

China and Social Revolution

By KIANG KANG HU.

Secretary Socialist Party in China.

The idea of collectivism or Socialism is very old in China. It can be traced back to the very beginning of Chinese civilization, over 4,000 years ago.

When, about a decade ago, modern Socialist thought began to be propagated in China, it met with two sets of critics, each holding opposite views, yet each equally severe in their criticism of the new doctrine. One set said: "Socialism—why, that is nothing new. We have had that for ages." The other set said: "Socialism is an importation. It is foreign to our soil. It may fit European conditions, but it certainly does not fit Chinese conditions."

Both of these critics were partially correct, and yet, because of their narrow view, both were wrong. True, the traces of communistic thought are to be found in Chinese life and history for centuries. But their ideas are distinctly utopian in their character and cannot be identified with modern scientific Socialism. True, likewise, was it, at that time (a decade ago) that scientific of Marxian Socialism was an imported plant which could not flourish in Chinese soil. But China is changing. Machine production is rapidly displacing handicraft. Where yesterday stood the little cobbler shop, today the great shoe factory rears its ugly form. Where yesterday the collie porter trotted with his burden, the automobile truck rushes on its way. Railroads have come, and power looms. This is the soil in which scientific Socialism will grow. Nothing can stop it.

The Chinese, like the whole human race, have natural collectivist leanings. If we mine into the mountain of Chinese philosophy, we will soon find a rich vein of collectivism running throughout, persisting throughout its entire length and breadth. Material enough is at hand to fill a bulky valume.

* * *

In the last decade, here and there, were to be found individuals and small groups scattered throughout the empire of China who studied and advocated humanitarianism, communism and Socialism. But these groups had no connection with one another, and their ideas, for the most part, were vague and misty.

Kiang Kang Hu, a professor at the University of Peking, was publishing a radical newspaper which had for its aim the introduction of new ideas into China. This paper translated and published portions of the works of Balzac, of Victor Hugo, Byron and Shelley, Goethe and Heine, and toward the end of its career some of the works of Peter Kropotkin, Karl Marx, and August Bebel.

Kiang Kang Hu, thus coming into contact with Socialism, became interested and, finally, was converted to the new doctrine. He began an agitation for the freedom of woman immediately, and went on many lecture tours in the interest of Socialism.

In Shanghai, on July 10, 1911, at the Chang Shu Ho Gardens, Kiang Kang Hu organized a Socialist club, and on the same day the first Socialist paper in China, "The Socialist Star," made its first appearance.

The Shih Hui Tong, or Socialist Party, was the first political party as such in China. The Socialist Party, although not being composed of clear-cut Marxians, was nevertheless earnest and enthusiastic in its desire for the establishment of a Socialist Republic. On November 5, 1911, the Socialist Party of China met in its first annual convention at Shanghai and adopted a preamble and a platform.

The subsequent revolutions in China played havoc with the Socialists. The secretary of the party, Chen Ye Long, was beheaded on August 8, 1917. The party headquarters at Peking were raided by the government authorities and a decree of dissolution was issued against the Socialist Party. A similar decree was issued later.

After these decrees had been issued, the Socialist Party branches everywhere were forcibly dissolved. Many of the comrades were thrown into jail and a number were executed. The party, as a unit, ceased to exist, although individuals secretly kept up a sporadic agitation.

But the Socialist movement in China will reassemble its forces, and will fall in step with the great Red International and march with it to victory.

The Dead Hand

By SCOTT NEARING

A little group of old men, spokesmen for the five great powers, is assembled about a green table at Versailles. All but one of these men were born before the Franco-Prussian War. Most of them had grown to middle life before the capitalist world entered its present stage of financial imperialism. These old men meet four or five times a week for a few hours. Most of their days are spent in offices, in private committee rooms, and in secret sessions where they seek to re-establish the world as they knew it in their youth and early manhood. They resemble children, trying to re-clothe a tree with dry leaves blown about by autumn winds.

The representatives of the great powers who meet around the Peace Table are very, very old. Five of them were born before 1850. Ten were born between 1850 and 1859. Six were born between 1860 to 1869. Only one, a Frenchman, Andre Tardieu, was born since 1870. The oldest man in the delegation is Clemenceau. He is seventy-eight. Four of his confreres are over seventy. Fifteen are over sixty. Twenty-one out of twenty-two are over fifty. The Peace Conference is a conference of old men.

The modern economic world was born between 1870 and 1880. The latest phase of capitalism, financial imperialism, has come into being during the years when these men, educated in a previous age, were so busy with the many details of public life, that they could not see and understand the changes that were taking place about them. They speak the language and think the thoughts of the Nineteenth century.

Today these old men sit around the green table—spokesmen of a dead epoch; representatives of a by-gone era. About their heads the lightning of revolution is playing. Russia, Germany, Austria, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Italy, England, Luxemburg and Poland are in open revolt against the capitalism and imperialism for which they speak. The old men fidget, gesticulate, grow excited, make propositions and counter propositions. They talk and act as though they were still directing the world. They do not know that their day has passed, and that the darkness is settling around them. With childish simplicity they speak to one another as though it were the dawn.

The dawn is breaking, but not around the Peace Table.

The Michigan Convention

By W. E. REYNOLDS

The Socialist Party of Michigan held its convention in Grand Rapids February 24th, with 51 delegates present.

State-Secretary Bloomenberg resigned. John Keracher of Detroit was elected at the convention to serve the unexpired term of the former secretary or until such time as the locals can elect a new State Secretary.

The convention was a harmonious gathering of boosters, the utopian element being either absent or without spokesmen.

Convention repudiated the National Office delegates to the Lausanne International.

A constitutional amendment was proposed to be sent to referendum, calling for the abolition of all social reform planks in the Socialist Party platform.

A platform was adopted without any immediate demands and calling for the abolition of the wages system. As first drafted it called for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat but when it was pointed out on the floor of the convention that the dictatorship of the proletariat was a transitory measure and not an ultimate end the wording was changed to mean the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of an Industrial Republic.

A resolution on religion was adopted to the effect that religion was a social phenomena and as such required explanation, and all speakers and [illegible] themselves of the opportunity to make such explanation "on the basis of the materialist conception of history."

A resolution endorsing the study class idea was unanimously adopted. The work of the Proletarian University of Detroit endorsed and all locals and individuals were urged to work for circulation for the Proletarian, Ohio Socialist, Revolutionary Age.

The convention adopted a part of the Left Wing program in its centering the attention of the abolition of Capitalism instead of working for petty reform—but it did not adopt the Left Wing program of urging economic organization amongst the workers.

The ladies of Local Grand Rapids served an exceptionally well prepared banquet which was enjoyed by all during the noon recess.

Convention finished its labors and adjourned at six o'clock.

GET OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

The minutes of the recent meeting of the National Executive committee appear in the monthly Bulletin, published by the National Office, Socialist Party, just out.

One Bulletin only is sent to each local secretary. Comrades interested in the party work and desiring to read the minutes of the National Executive Committee, as well as the officers' reports, can secure a copy of the Bulletin by addressing the Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

RUSSIA'S CO-OPERATIVE EMBASY

"The All-Russian Central Co-Operative Committee on Atrocities in America," is the inscription which is now being lettered on the door of a suite of offices, covering the whole floor of a downtown modern office building in New York City, to be open after March 1. Nothing that ever went under the name in Washington came so near to being a Russian embassy in the United States, for in this New York office will be found the representatives of the Russian Co-Operative movement, a democratic organization which includes over half of the people of all of Russia. As for this American committee, it has been appointed by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, elected by the last All-Russian Co-Operative Congress, held in Moscow two years ago.

The Russian Co-Operators have been sending representatives abroad during the past year or more, hoping to have the blockade raised and to establish trade relations. The Narodni Co-Operative Bank of Moscow, the financial center of the whole Russian co-operative movement, which did over a billion dollar business in 1917, opened an office in London, where it [illegible] monthly magazine in Eng- [illegible] a branch office was opened in New York.

Later came Vladmir Kolesnikov, representing the Siberian Agricultural Central Union, to purchase agricultural machinery. A month ago he purchased and shipped to Siberia an order of several hundred thousand pairs of shoes. He is executive secretary of the new Co-Operative Committee to America.

"We ask no charity, not even credit," he told a gathering in the office of the Co-Operative League of America. "Russia is a rich country, and we have the labor to create wealth from our natural resources. We are not bankrupt. We are only starving because of the dislocation of transportation and because of the blockade."

Within ten days another member of the committee will arrive from Moscow, representing on it the Central Union of Russian Consumers' Co-Operative Socialists; the federation of the Russian co-operative store societies. This is the organization which, beginning with open hostility toward the Soviet government, has now signed a treaty with it, whereby the two are now working together, the economic supremacy of the co-opera- [illegible] they can't agree on the running of their factory, they turn it over to the Consumers' Co-Operative Union, which is taking over industrial plants as fast as it can organize their working forces. The co-operative and the Bolshevist theories of industrial organization are by no means identical, but they have at least this in common, they are both anti-capitalist. Between the two there is not much left of Russian capitalism. As Trotzky remarked, they are being left only their slippers.

RESOLUTION BY LOCAL HAMILTON

Resolved, That no literature shall be sold or distributed by any division of the Socialist Party that has not been endorsed by the National or State Executive Committee.

Seconds for a referendum are requested.

WM. FEIGHERY, Sec.

Three yearlies from Comrade C. Case of Hamilton makes us feel sure Hamilton will get their quota of the 20,000. How about your town, com- [illegible]

Taking an Inventory

(From The Nation)

The Seattle strike is over, and negotiations are under way to placate the shipyard workers whose demands were the ostensible cause of that dramatic four-day demonstration. The Butte miners, apparently defeated, have again taken up pick and shovel. The textile workers of the East are on the whole ready to accept the forty-eight hour week with forty-eight hours' pay, and many mills have begun operation, through there is still unrest in Paterson and Lawrence. Throughout the garment industry of New York the shorter day is being generally accepted. The building trades are in conference with employers and Government officials in a serious effort to avoid a strike. With these peaceful negotiationsinprogress, it is a good time to note certain tendencies that have been displayed with astonishing regularity in recent disputes.

Apparently labor is becoming increasingly interested in organization on industrial rather than trade lines, and is moving toward the onne big union. In England the latter stage has been all but reached in the triple alliance of miners, railway men and transport workers, in the United States, the tendency is clearly visible in the Northwest, where barbers and stage hands join a strike in favor of boilermakers. F. G. Biedenkapp, secretary of the Brotherhood of Metal Workers, says: "The old form of craft unionism, with its 'boss-benefiting' tactics of labor separation, is a thing of the past, and the national leaders of the A. F. of L. know this to be so." The American Federation of Labor, in its determined efforts to organize the steel industry, has found it necessary to combine twenty-four different trades. The threatened strike of building trades began with dissatisfaction among a handful of carpenters on a Brooklyn Government job, but the negotiations for the avoidance of sympathetic walkouts now involve thirty trades.

More conclusive evidence of this trend toward a new type of organization is found in the inability of the old international union heads to hold the allegiance of their followers. No A. F. of L. leader approved the Seattle and Tacoma demonstrations. In Lawrence, the United Textile Workers (A. F. of L.) admitted that the situation was beyond their control. A marine fireman has addressed the Lawrence weavers, cautioning them against disorder; a Socialist boilermaker is one of their spokesmen. Labor is united by a bond stronger than indentity of craft.

Morever, in these late disturbances the workers have exhibited a cool courage that can be born only of quiet confidence. Labor in most cases refuses to be frightened by the appear- [illegible] ment of its demand. So confid is it of obtaining its end, indeed, t violence, the weapon of the weak, been everywhere avoided. The rec strikes have exhibited the most usual phenomenon of a high deg of order. In Seattle, Mayor Han has boasted, "Not an arrest for vi ence in a city of 400,000 people; a piece of property destroyed"— which excellent exhibit probably on credit cannot be accorded him or forces at his disposal. Troops w dispatched to Seattle and Butte. theformer city they were idle; in latter the Boston Transcript repor "Congregating was forbidden, those slow in moving at the comm of the soldiers were made to feel sting of the bayonet's point." thereis no report of retaliation.

What is this quiet determinat which animates our industrial work turn a city's life upside down? was a "Soviet" formed in Butte of a demand for increased wa Why does specific dissatisf among carpenters flame in a ge outbreak throughout thewholebui industry? Thus far labor as a wh has advanced no complete progra it is still expending energy in dem tratoins of a more or less neg character. Here and there, howe has come the explanation that l is ready to assume the captaincy its own fate; it seeks control of dustry—not omnipotence, but part ship. Undoubtedly, it is as tir the strikes as is the employed; as tired as he of higgling over and time-clocks; it seeks a real, tion.

Keen observers alredy recog these facts. Mr. C. V. Corles cently declared in an address the American Institution of Min Engineers:

Those who have experience that to increase wages, to sho hours, to improve now this w condition and now that, or to any other of the varied demands labor, never satisfies. . . . modern industry they(the work do not feel personally interested. . They do not have the opportunity think for themselves. . . . Is clearly recognized that we are at beginning of a great transition of industry? Do we realize th autocracy of capital is coming end? Such periods of wide rapid social change are times culiar danger. It is in the power the present members of society to recognize the principle at work to lend intelligent assistance to movement or to increase the danger by opposing it.

In such intelligent analysis hope of avoiding an increase rows. War has [illegible]

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

(Edited By C. E. Ruthenberg)

The Senate and the League

Opposition to the League of Nations plan on the part of the reactionary Republican senators should deceive no one as to the character of the proposed league.

The League of Nations, as outlined in the constitution tentatively adopted at Paris, is an organization of the capitalists of the five great powers to conduct the exploitation of the rest of the world through international capitalism rather than through national capitalism.

It may be well asked, if this is true, why do the senators who are the representatives of the great capitalists of the United States oppose this international organization?

The usual explanation given in answer to this question is that it is the desire to gain a partisan advantage that determines their attitude.

This explanation overlooks the fact that party politics are determined by the economic interests of the class the partisans represent, and it is necessary to go deeper to find the real reason for the attitude of Senator Lodge and those who support him.

It is generally acknowledged that the United States has gained a dominant position in the world as a result of the war. It has not suffered at all economically. Whereas the countries of Europe have sacrificed their man-power by the hundreds of thousands and their industries have been disorganized, the United States has improved and made its productive machinery more efficient during the last four years. In comparison with the mountain of debt accumulated by the European countries the United States owes very little. Its resources are intact and are many times greater than those of any other country.

The senators of the Ladge variety are for taking advantage of the dominant economic position of the United States to the limit. They want the United States to enter the world arena unfettered by any ties and to grab everything that its present position will enable it to take. They stand for the selfish policy of economic nationalism. The chairman of the Republican National Committee said in a speech in Chicago a few days ago that the issue of the next campaign would be nationalism and by nationalism, it is to be understood, of course, he means economic nationalism.

These senators represent that section of the capitalist class which has learned nothing from the world war. They see a great opportunity and they propose to take advantage of it to the limit.

The Wilson program is the program of the capitalists who see that their only hope of saving the capitalist system is an international organization of capitalism. They realize that the whole structure of capitalism has been shaken and is ready to topple to the ground. They are not sure that they can save it now, but they are going to try. They are certain that another shock such as capitalism received will shatter it forever, and hence their effort to replace the economic nationalism of the Lodge variety with an international organization, which they hope will at least minimize the danger of the recurrence of what happened during the past four years.

The contest which is agitating Washington and the capitalist press is the contest between national capitalism and international capitalism. The workers can afford to look on and smile while the capitalists fight, and—continue to build the organization of working class that will wipe out all of the capitalist system.

• • • •

Raymond Robbins Speaks Out

Colonel Raymond Robbins, American Red Cross representative in Russia, appeared before the senate committee which is investigating Bolshevism the other day, and in two days knocked into a cocked hat all the lies that the capitalist press have been spreading about the Soviet government.

Colonel Robbins said:

> That the Soviet government offered not to ratify the Brest Litovsk treaty if the United States and England would furnish certain assistance in the war against Germany, but that neither the government of the United States or that of England made any reply to this offer.
>
> That the Bolshevik propaganda undermined the morale of the German soldiers and that Germany financed anarchist campaigns to hamper the Bolsheviki.
>
> That until Allied intervention took place there was more disorder reported in the average American newspaper than there was in Russia.
>
> That Czecho-Slowaks were the agents of French Imperialism with designs that had not been laid upon the table and that they committed many atrocities against the Bolsheviki and people of Russia.
>
> That there had not been any general suppression of opposition newspapers under the Bolsheviki and added, "during the war many papers in this country were suppressed without apparent reason."
>
> He said that the Russian masses were in control and could get rid of Lenine and Trotzky and the Bolsheviki in general whenever they desired.

Colonel Robins has personal knowledge. He was in intimate contact with the affairs of Russia. His statements are in direct contradiction to the stories given to the American people by the capitalist press and stamp these stories as lies. Will the capitalist press stop lying about Russia now that a man who was an official representative of capitalism in Russia has told them that they lie? Nothing of the kind. Tomorrow they will repeat the same old lies or newly invented lies to slander the workers' government of Russia.

The history of the world does not contain a record of degradation and prostitution to equal that of the men and women who write the capitalist lies about Russia.

• • • •

Solving the Problem

Coatesville, Pa., has discovered a new method of solving the problem of unemployment.

During the four years of mass murder in Europe, northern manufacturers, in need of labor to enable them to reap the big profits of war-time production, induced tens of thousands of southern Negroes to come north and go to work in the war industries. Glowing promises describing "a land of milk and honey" were held out to these Negroes to get them to leave their homes. When they reached their destination they found, as a rule, that they were condemned to live in squalor and misery, because, although they received higher wages, it cost them much more to live.

Now that the war is over, and the employing class has an over supply of labor on its hands it finds these southern Negroes a serious burden. This was the situation in Coatsville, but Coatsville found a way to solve the problem a way that will undoubtedly commend itself to the employers elsewhere. Coatsville rounded up all the unemployed southern Negroes in the city, escorted them to the city limits under armed guard, and told them to "head south and keep on going."

That is a fair example of capitalism. The capitalist class use the workers as part of the machinery of production which yields them big profits. It pays them just enough to keep them working. Some times it wrecks their bodies and threws them into the discard. When it cannot use them profitably it washes its hands of them and tells them to go—"south and keep on going."

The workers will remain slaves until they follow the example of the workers of Russia and establish an industrial republic in which the capitalists will have to go to work and all the workers will control the industries and enjoy the product of those industries.

• • • •

In an article reprinted by the Civil Federation, Samuel Gompers endeavors to draw a damning indictment against the French Socialist Party. Among the evidence he submits is the following resolution, adopted by the French Socialists three days after the signing of the armistice:

> The French Socialist Party welcomes the German Republic and the taking over of the power in Prussia and the Confederated States by the working class.
>
> As in the Russia of the Soviets, Socialism has appeared in all Central Europe as the proper liquidator of the political and social situation left by the war.
>
> The party thus sees justified the confidence which it has always had in the action of the people.
>
> Considering that certain of the conditions of the armistice leave the sharply defined fear that the Allied governments have the intention of further extending the criminal military intervention against revolutionary Russia, the party declares that it will appeal to all the forces of the French proletariat to prevent the Socialism which is being born in Russia, as well as in Germany and Austria, from being crushed by coalitions of foreign capitalism.
>
> The party urges the French working people most vigorously to rally to the support of their unions and the Socialist groups, to sustain their class journals, and to keep themselves ready to make Socialism triumph in France as it has in the other countries of Europe.

We are not surprised that this declaration of working class solidarity against international capitalism gave "Sammy" the cold shivers. It threatens the thing which he is fighting so hard to protect from the onslaught of the workers that he has so long misled.

• • • •

The capitalists of Canada are very much aroused over what they call Bolshevist propaganda among the soldiers and workers of that country. One of the manifestos issued by the Provisional Council of Soldiers and Workers' Deputies, makes the following appeal to the workers and soldiers:

> Comrades, Soldiers, in camps and barracks, form your councils at once. Hold secret meetings and appoint your delegates, so that you will be ready when the time comes when you have to conduct the business of society; make an end of the tyranny of your officers; down with your officers; down with the court-martial; you can use the army for your freedom and you must do it now!
>
> Comrade Workmen in the factories, mines and railroads, form your councils immediately! Organize councils to take over each industry to be run for the benefit of the workers only. You must do this, nobody else will do it for you. Seize each factory, each mine, each railroad for the working class. Your committees can conduct the policy of production and distribution.

The circular goes on to urge the soldiers and workers to demand the withdrawal of troops from Russia and points out that in the latter country the workers and soldiers have swept away the capitalists and set up their own government and their own control of industry.

• • • •

The Swiss Socialist Democratic party decided by a vote of 238 to 147 not to participate in the Berne International Conference. The following quotations, which typify the dominant spirit of the convention, are taken from a report of the convention which has just reached this country:

> While the cry of the blood of millions of workers is still ringing in our ears, we sit here and consider whether we should attend a conference with those who were responsible for the war. We have damned and cursed the betrayers, because they abandoned the cause of the proletariat. But what has changed since A. Thomas clasped the bloody hand of the czar?
>
> We refuse to be represented at a conference where those morally responsible for the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will sit beside comrades who even in the next few weeks will fall, new sacrifices to the government Socialists.
>
> We greet the Russian Revolution and take up the battle cry of the Russian and German revolutionists, calling upon the proletariat to the world revolution.

• • • •

"Why compose a new formula of principles, when our own constitution of the United States contains every good principle now put forth by the more intelligent among the radical element," asks an apologist for capitalism in a diatribe about the red flag and what it stands for. Among the good principles that the constitution contains is that which forbids the congress of the United States from passing a law forbidding the employment of children of tender age in the factories of the country. It also contains a section guaranteeing the rights of free speech and a free press, but still the writer of this paragraph risks being sent to prison for twenty years if he expresses his conscientious opinion about the quotation above. What this writer has to learn is that constitutions may contain fine phrases and provisions, but these constitutions are interpreted to suit the interest of the dominant economic class.

• • • •

A Washington dispatch from the correspondent of The Cleveland Plain Dealer states that the woman suffrage amendment to the national constitution will pass the next congress because the support of the southern senators has been secured for the amendment. The southern senators have agreed to support the amendment on condition that "a slight change in the text of the resolution" is made, which slight change will permit them to debar Negro women from voting in the south. We suppose these same senators are among those who are shouting loudest for the blood of the Russian workers because they have debarred their enemies, the capitalists, from voting in Russia. Verily the hypocrisy of the ruling class representatives smells to high heavens.

• • • •

The National Association of City Editors, affiliated with 14,000 newspapers, are behind a movement to organize an American Anti-Anarchy Association, for the purpose of killing Bolshevism in this country. The slogan of the organization is "kill it on sight—even the name," For this work it asks the modest sum of $300,000. One of the phases of the campaign is to be a full-page newspaper advertisements. That looks rather as if the A. A. A. is to be an organization to boost the business of the employers of the city editors rather than to kill Bolshevism. That's about all the result will be, anyway.

• • • •

According to Washington advices, foreign exchange transactions between the United States and Russia have been stopped in order to prevent the financing of Bolshevik propaganda in this country. But how will that prevent the workers here who have caught a vision of the new world for which the Bolshevists are fighting from financing the same propaganda through their nickels and dimes and dollars. It is not the money of the Bolsheviki that capitalism here need fear; it is the Bolshevik ideas that are causing them trouble, and there are no bars that will keep these ideas from spreading.

• • • •

The Paris conference has found a reason for calling the Prinkipo conference off. Andre Tardieu, one of the French delegates to the peace conference, states that the Bolsheviki have failed to comply with the conditions laid down, because they have not stopped in their effort to drive the invaders out of Russia, and therefore the conference will not be held. He added that new methods would have to be devised by the peace conference to deal with Russia. Everybody knows the kind of methods the French holders of Russian bonds would like to employ.

• • • •

The Central Labor Council of Seattle is considering a resolution calling upon the American Federation of Labor to reorganize the workers in that body in twelve industrial unions. The resolution was referred to a committee for study after a heated debate.

Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS.

During the darkening days of civil strife, while the women were immersed in merciful errands to relieve the suffering, the politicians, who then as now, represented the business interests, seized the opportunity to rescind all legislation favorable to progress. Consternation, despair and horror went thru the little camp of suffrage workers. The results of the almost superhuman labors of Miss Anthony were wiped out.

The little Quaker woman showed an indomitable courage in the winter of 1854-5 as she tramped in New York from house to house, gathering recruits to help get ten thousand signatures to petitions demanding equal property rights and suffrage for women, organized clubs, and held innumerable lectures. Added to all this work she helped organize and attended fifty-four conventions that winter.

Heatless rooms, buckboard wagons, frozen roads, all manner of food, bearing her own expenses, relying on collections to finance the suffrage cause, figuring ways and means to keep out of debt so as to be on with the next venture, arousing the unthinking women to the danger of one set of people making regulations for another, were all part of the hardships and work that she encountered in the task she had voluntarily undertaken.

When the north and south clashed a small band of women, including Miss Anthony, refused to be swayed from their self-appointed task of advocating woman suffrage. The politicians crying, "This is the negro's hour," induced many women to relax their efforts.

"The negro's hour." The republican party needed votes and was it not logical if they passed a law giving the male negro the vote that in gratitude the negro would vote the republican ticket.

The negro woman's right to suffrage was eliminated as that meant that the white woman would demand political recognition and there was no telling what these women would do with the vote. At home the politician did not always succeed in getting his wife and daughters to see things his way, so how could he hope to line up the woman vote and keep it in line?

When the northern politicians needed help they thankfully accepted the services of women orators. It was the eloquence of Anna Dickenson that turned the tide in favor of the union that gave the republican party the election of 1862. Her gift of words the logic and plea for the union and abolition of slavery brot forth such enthusiasm that wherever she went men listened and joined the party whose spokesman she was. The [illegible] politicians led the women to [illegible] that when the negro question [illegible] settled, they would champion woman suffrage.

[illegible] Anthony warned the women [illegible]

she tried to hold conventions, she met with vacant seats. The women allowed their cause to be shoved in the background while they worked for the union and the slaves.

The social forces drove the northern manufacturer to demand "free labor." This meant to him the labor he could hire by the day: wage labor.

The southern slave holders were large land owners. The cost of the slave's maintenance was a negligible factor. The slaves were housed in a sort of primitive communism, raised their own corn, ground their own meal, raised sugar cane and made their own sorghum and the warm climate necessitated few clothes.

The northern manufacturere were not land owners. The slave owners of the north had to rent the shelter for their slaves because they did not own land upon which to build shelter. They had to buy food for the slaves. The colder climate of the north made it necessary for the slaves to have far more clothing.

The slaves of the south were directly engaged in producing food stuffs and the slaves of the north were engaged in factory work.

It was thus economically easy for the southern slave-holders to maintain their slaves. The economic burden was too heavy for the northern slave-holder who had learned that it was cheaper to hire a slave by the day, turning him loose at the end of the day's labor, to shift for himself under the guise of a so-called freedom, than to claim ownership of his person.

A chattel slave had to be fed, clothed and housed during the dull season, the same as the farmer cares for a horse during the winter. In slack seasons the employer can turn the "free laborer" out of the industry. When left to his "freedom," if he cannot get a job, he may partake of "free soup" at ten cents a bowl, and the charity lodgings of missions and the police stations.

A chattel slave, the same as a horse if he died was a distinct money loss. A wage-slave's death was no concern of his employer who had no money invested in his body.

Herein lay the economic basis of the civil conflict.

Three years of shedding of brothers' blood had resolved itself into the question of the union versus the state rights. The negro was almost forgotten. The abolitionists saw thirty years of work fade into nothingness. They decided to arouse public opinion so that out of the bloody war would come freedom from chattel-slavery.

The economic demand of the changing order was ripe for the abolition of chattel slavery so the capitalist interest taking advantage of the humanitarian abolitionists, helped them instead of as they did a few years previously, drag them thru the streets and break up their meetings. So a league was formed in New York city of the "loyal women" to [illegible]

Who could do this work? All agreed that Miss Anthony, who for nearly three decades had been petitioning. Tho born an American, because she was a female, all she had been able to do was to petition.

Heartsick at seeing her former coworkers forget the woman problem, she helped them petition for the negro. When they assured her that after the war, they would get the franchise because of their services, she sadly shook her head because she knew that the woman question would be lost sight of in the problems of reconstruction. So it came about that Miss Anthony planned getting the greatest petition that any congress up to her time had ever received.

Without a cent she opened headquarters in Cooper Institute. Thousands of dollars were needed for sending out the petitions. She sent a call to the former workers for the franchise and sent out the petitions. Each signer was requested to give a penny. In those days a penny was a considerable coin. In this way over three hundred thousand dollars was gathered. Lectures were given to arouse the people's interest.

Every mail brot huge petitions to encourage statesmen to take up the negro's cause. Public opinion was tangibly known and the women were showered with praises but when they later petitioned for themselves they were jeered.

The civil strife was over. Congress was debating the MALE negro suffrage question.

Worn, wearied and worried Miss Anthony went to Kansas to rest. Tired little woman! She had fought to keep the organization together. It had dissolved before the fair promises of the politicians that "after the war" they would get justice.

There was no rest for her as the newspaper brot her tidings that the word "male" was to be inserted in the Fourteenth amendment. The old vitality, the old fighting strength returned to her as she read. She must go. She must warn the women. The danger must be met.

Eastward she speeded, stopping to hold meetings, gathering the forces of suffrage for the battle. She hastened to see Elizabeth Cady Stanton and they planned how to avert the writing of the word "male" in the constitution She hastened to get Lucy Stone and Lucretia Mott. They went to various cities to communicate personally with all the other suffrage workers.

The women at last conscious that they had been used as tools by the politicians to further the schemes of the business interests, rallied their forces and declared war on congress.

Mrs. Stanton again appeared before the public and demanded that the word "persons" be used. The women held conventions and got ready for the fray. Lecturers were sent out to urge all people to work against the word "male" being in the amendment. With fiery words they attacked the obnoxious wording of the proposed [illegible] would [illegible]

Congress of 1865, like the congress of 1918-19, was obstinate and fossilized in ideas. They could not see the trend of events and insisted on trying to stay the stride of Progress.

In Kansas, where the legislature decided to submit the amendment to the white male voters, the republican party fought the women. Having learned the bitter lesson of deviating from her cause, Anna Dickenson's voice was again heard in the woman's cause. In spite of the underhanded work of the republicans the women almost won in Kansas.

The politicians had said that this is "the negro's hour." A mere catch phrase. They meant that it was the negro man's hour. Northern politicians catering to the southern officeholders who feared the "southern wenches" vote connived to amend the constitution so that women were barred from participating in the affairs of a nation, that is "of the people, by the people and for the people."

In the battle with the statesmen of a "free nation" the women lost.

NO COMPROMISE!

The new labor party will again separate the wheat from the chaff within our midst and it will be the test of the development of our class-consciousness.

The new party may temporarily mislead some workers, now led up a blind alley from time to time by the two capitalist parties.

There is but one labor party—the Socialist Party, and we, as uncompromisers, must assert our position to the bitter end.

Our party has stood the test of war and what's more, we shall survive the new attempt of the capitalist class to split the forces of the workers, by giving birth to this reformistic labor party, which is led by those same minions, who hired by the plute class, have been endeavoring to steer the good ship labor onto the rocks.

But the strong current, education of the working class along lines of the class struggle, will guide this, yet crude vessel, into the port of Industrial Freedom.

Land is now in sight; let us avoid the treacherous rocks! Let our slogan be, "No Compromise! No Political Trading!" Yours for the cause.—Felix J. Catlin.

Government Ownership Will Curb Packers, Says Heney.

Declaring that the entire food supply of the country would be under control of the "Big Five" packers within ten and possibly five years, Francis J. Heney, former counsel for the Federal Trade Commission, testifying before the House Interstate Commerce committee at Washington last week, came out flat-footed for government control of refrigerator cars and stockyards as the only remedy in sight. The activities of the packers, Mr. Heney stated, had been enlarged until they control the butter, oleomargarine and cheese markets and had become a menace [illegible]

Through their [illegible]

competition" and were driving wholesale grocers to the wall.

In order to [illegible]

Great Bolshevik Conspiracy

"Secret Bolshevik Organization Has Net-Work of Agents All Over Country," screams our morning newspaper. "Lenin Sends Four Hundred Thousand Dollars to Spread Bolshevik Propaganda in the U. S." bellows our evening newspaper. "Large Quantities of Dynamite Concealed in This City," Department of Justice Says," howls the 23d Edition of the Evening-Cablegram, which is published at 8 o'clock in the morning.

Honest to God, everybody's scared to death of us Bolsheviki!

The papers of today, Jan. 7, are full of menaces from Special Attorney General Alfred L. Becker and the Department of Justice, to the general effect that there is going to be a "clean-up" of Bolsheviki and "sympathizers" in this country. Those of us who happen to have been born abroad are going to be deported; and the rest of us are going to jail.

"The propaganda," says the Evening Sun, evidently on the authority of the Department of Justice, "is directed against the use of American soldiers in Russia" (Oswald Garrison Villard, twenty years for you; how about deporting Senator Hiram Johnson?) "It also attacks the Mooney prosecution—" (What shall we do to Bourke Cochran and the commission appointed by President Wilson, both of whom are guilty of the same offense?) "—and demands the release of political prisoners." (Good gracious, are Jane Addams and Lillian Wald criminals, too?)

• • •

Even yet, New York newspaper editors and Department of Justice officials haven't taken the trouble to read up and find out what "Bolshevism" is. Let me tell them. It is not Anarchism, it is not Vegetarianism, it has no connection either with Free Love or the New Republic; in a word, it is Applied Socialism, and that is all there is to it. It is therefore a useless waste of time to send operatives to cover the Russian Workers' Convention, they not being Bolsheviki—or to send operatives to me, as one was sent recently, to ask, "Say, what is this here Non-Partisan League? Where's their New York office at?"

"Immediate action will be taken," says the Evening Sun, "to efface these rascals."

I understand the Department of Justice. The armistice and the coming Peace will reduce the staff, and a lot of perfectly good detectives will have to go back to the ribbon-counter. But the Evening Sun puzzles me. Why print that stuff when there is such a wealth of good lies to print about Russia?—John Reed, in the February Liberator.

Solidarity Will Win

(From a Miner)

I doubt if you have heard from this locality before. I mention this to show that a little work was necessary to secure these four yearly subs. Keep on with the work. Since we made the world safe for democracy we miners have been working but two or three days a week, owing to the manner in which we were betrayed by our leaders about eighteen months ago when the last agreement was made.

The probabilities are that the miners will strike next summer when it is hoped that they will act according to the knowledge gained in past experiences which is that it is useless to strike one district at a time, while the other districts work. We know the result of Colorado and have not forgotten our own five months that we had. Past policies seem to have been to keep one district starving and striking and the rest working and paying as though we could ever beat the operators in a financial game!

There's only one way that we can win fellow workers, and that is summed up in the word "solidarity."

Yours for the International,
D. COCKLIN, Bergholz, O.

Intervention Caused Terror

Continued From Page One

their own happiness, and international brotherhood, constituting no menace to other nations.

The Russian workers and peasants are determined to defend their dearly won power and liberties against invaders with all the means their vast country puts at the inevitable. But mindful of the inevitable wanton loss of life and treasure on both sides and washing to avert the further ruining of Russia, which must result from the continuation of internal and external fighting, they are prepared to go to any length of concessions as far as real interests of other countries are concerned, if they can secure thereby conditions enabling them to work out peacefully their social schemes.

TWO ROADS OPEN.

I understand that the question of relations with Russia is now engaging the attention of allied statesmen. I venture then to submit to you, Mr. President, that there are now only two courses open to them. One is continued open or disguised intervention on the present or on a still larger scale, which means prolongation of war, further embitterment of the Russian masses, intensification of internal strife, unexampled bloodshed and perhaps total extermination of the Russian bourgeoisie by the exasperated masses, final devastation of the country and in case of the interventionists, after a long struggle, obtaining their end, a white terror eclipsing the atrocities of the Finnish white guardists, inevitable introduction of military dictatorship and restoration of monarchy, leading to interminable revolutions and upheavals and paralyzing the economic development of the country for long decades.

The other alternative, which I trust may commend itself to you, is impartially to weigh and investigate into the one-sided accusations against Soviet Russia, to come to an understanding with the Soviet government, to withdraw the foreign troops from Russian territory and to raise the economic blockade, soothing thereby the excited passions of the masses, to help Russia [illegible] own sources [illegible]

The dictatorship of toilers and producers is not an aim in itself but the means of building up a new social system under which useful work and equal rights would be provided for all citizens irrespective of classes to which they had formerly belonged. One may believe in this ideal or not, but it surely gives no justification for sending foreign troops to fight against it or for arming and supporting classes interested in the restoration of the old system of exploitation of man by man.

I venture to appeal to your sense of justice and impartiality. I hope and trust above all that before deciding on any course of action you will give justice to the demand of "audiatur et altera pars." (Let the other side also be heard).

MAXIM LITVINOFF,
Late Representative for Great Britain of the Russian Federative Republic.
Stockholm, Dec. 24, 1918.

British Workers Firm

Continued From Page One

20 maids, they will be unable to see why their demands are not granted."

Discussing possible failure of the miners' case, Williams said:

"The triple alliance is pledged not to strike singly. The strike of one of the member elements means the strike of all three. It would paralyze the country. It may mean a change in the government."

Williams said that acceptance of the miners' demands would "do much to help settle other difficulties." Although the miners postponed their strike—which was favored by a large majority in the recent referendum—to allow the government committee an opportunity to investigate, they will meet with the railway men and transport workers next week. At that time the work of the investigating committee will have reached a stage where the miners are likely to know the probably outcome of the strike. If it is unfavorable [illegible]

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THE BIGGEST DOLLARS WORTH YOU EVER BOUGHT—AN INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

You have spent many a dollar, but the dollar you are going to spend for an INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE will be the best investment you have ever made.

This world and this nation needs doctoring badly. In our mad scramble to make the world safe for democracy, a good deal of that favorite tonic was lost in the shuffle. Free speech now carries with it a penitentiary sentence. Free press and a tyranical thought controller, are not soul mates. Free assemblage went to smash when hundreds of halls were closed to us.

FREE SPEECH—FREE PRESS—FREE ASSEMBLAGE MUST BE RE-ESTABLISHED.

And Your DOLLAR Will Help.

Political prisoners MUST be given their freedom. Already, through pressure brought to bear by a general demand made by Socialist and labor union bodies, President Wilson has granted amnesty to several Socialist and other prisoners. A. L. Hitcheack, formerly Socialist member of the Cleveland school board, and who is now serving sentence in Atlanta, has had his term of imprisonment reduced from ten years to two years. Frederick Krafft, a New Jersey Socialist, and member of the National Executive Committee, has had his five-year sentence reduced and he will walk forth from the Atlanta penitentiary a free man on April 1.

Our constant AGITATION for the release of political prisoners has accomplished this. It has brought the injustice of these extreme sentences to the attention of the chief executive of this nation, and has induced him to act. We want him to ACT again. We want him to release ALL political prisoners.

FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS MUST BE SECURED

Your DOLLAR Will Help

Prisoners' families must be sustained while the bread earners of these families are serving sentences for being true to their convictions. In Ohio the Socialist Party State Office has contributed on an average of $20 a month to families of imprisoned Socialists. We must continue to assist these families—all families of imprisoned Socialists. In many instances the mother can not go out to work, having children to take care of. These children must not want for food.

WE MUST HAVE A SUSTAINING FUND FOR PRISONERS' FAMILIES

Your DOLLAR Will Help

Comforts for Socialists in prison must be provided for. The Socialists of Ohio, through the State Office, have remitted regular sums to Socialists in prison. These sums averaged $2 a week for each prisoner. This money is used by our comrades in jail to buy tobacco, fruit and other eatables. Prison fare is, at best, a poor excuse for a meal. In time, prison fare becomes nauseating. Our comrades in prison must be given an opportunity to secure a variety of food stuffs.

HELP BUY COMFORTS FOR SOCIALISTS IN PRISON

Your DOLLAR Will Help

YOUR DOLLAR—The dollar you are going to invest in an Industrial Freedom Certificate will be most judiciously spent by us. Literature and leaflets must be printed. Meetings must be held. All these cost money. Speakers must be toured. In Ohio from four to six speakers are constantly in the field agitating for free utterance and the release of political prisoners. Your dollar will help place more speakers in the field. Your dollar will help pay for leaflets which will convince others that what we demand is just and right.

SEND YOUR DOLLAR TODAY

BUY AN INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

NOTE: Socialists who hold membership in Ohio locals are requested to buy their Industrial Freedom Certificate direct from their local secretary, who has a supply on hand. Others should address The Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio.

Hard and Fast the Blows are Falling

Swiftly they fall, the blows for freedom. Hundreds of willing comrades are putting into these death blows to capitalism the energy and spirit that brings victory. The drive for twenty thousand subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist is but in the first days of its successful course, but already the comrades have shown a response and a willingness to help reach the goal that is truely astounding. Letters reach the State Office from enthusiastic comrades in all parts of the country encouraging us to keep up the fight until the goal is reached and pledging their support until it is accomplished.

These letters bring the wherewithal to do it, too. Subscriptions, they bring, and many of them. And that is indeed what is needed. Subscriptions alone will make it possible to make the Ohio Socialist fulfill its mission as an aggressive factor in the battle for Industrial Democracy. Therefore, comrades, let our work be to get more and more subscriptions for upon this foundation alone is it possible to fulfill our object.

Below are names of comrades who have this week answered our call for 20,000 subscribers by sending in subscriptions to the number opposite their names. Let every comrade who has not yet joined the Red Army of Ohio Socialist workers follow their example and help boost our subscription list to 20,000 before Sept. 1.

FIRST HONORS

The honors for securing the first subscriptions on the lists sent to readers in the big drive for 20,000 subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist go to Comrade Thomas C. Devine, Socialist Councilman of Toledo. Two half yearlies Comrade Thomas Devine sends us and to prove that he lost no time in getting them he has made a notation on the list to wit: Received 2-25-19, returned 2-25-19. Quick work, we say. But we want to remind Comrade Devine that there are still ten vacant lines on his list. Now that he has secured the first honors we shall expect him to keep right on until he has secured a full list.

Harry A. Counts	8
J. Forest Potts	1
Oscar Bloomberg	1
V. W. Merritt	1
Lawrence Dean (yearlies)	12
H. T. Auckerman	7
Ralph W. Headley	3
Jerry H. Shipman	1
J. Rehm	3
J. P. Baker	2
E. C. Wolfe	2
J. H. Ch[illegible]een	2
J. A. Fe[illegible]	3
W. L. [illegible]	1
[illegible]	2

J. H. Sims	1
H. F. Derr	1
W. F. Norlin	4
Allen Cook	1
Alex Allison	1
Ralph Herbert	3
Charles Baker	29
C. L. Steinbrock	1
George W. Boyd	1
Scott Wilkins	1
J. F. Dennison	1
Fred Wilson	1
A. C. Holloway	1
T. H. Robertson	1
Wm. G. Schults	1
C. P. Marchard	1
O. E. Reed	1
L. K. England	1
G. F. Schaufer	1
W. H. Ressegruie	3
G. W. Schomp	2
Chas. W. Trombly	5
R. P. Conklin	1
Russel Calkins	1
George Vidakovich	1
J. O. Baker	1
Local Hamilton, O.	16
J. W. Hatler	1
Arthur E. Hall	4
Lawrence Williams	3
Aug. W. Wacker	10
C. W. Zichan	12
[illegible]	1
[illegible]	1

C. E. Raymont	3
J. E. Giles	4
G. W. Grau	4
W. Leberson	12
John Mueller	14
C. J. Dollman	1
E. J. Hewitt	2
W. B. Heaton	1
W. J. Gilmore	1
John W. Ellison	14
Fred W. Seibert	2
Joseph Evans	6
Carl Maxwell	17
Clifford King	14
George Dok	4
Local Columbus, O.	13
John H. Potts	2
W. G. Evans	4
H. A. Leeds	4
Frank Cemezar	2
C. H. Hulse	1
W. E. Reynolds	4
John Kollestedt	1
B. H. Buckner	1
A. V. Anderson	1
D. B. Dale	3
Earl Neuse	2
C. F. Smith	1
Local Niles	2
Fred W. Seibert	7
Peter Stefanich	1
George T. Brown	1
C. H. Caspar	1
Local Massillon	5
Ernest Fitch	5
Local Coshocton	10
Fred Huckery	2
Local Troy	5
Delos Cairns	1
Charles Lusk	1
R. R. Read	2
J. S. Faubus	3

Comrade A. G. Myers of Bluffton is no bluff[illegible] it comes to selling [illegible] a bunch of five [illegible]

Piqua News Meetings in Ohio

By ROBERT JOHNSON

A Piquad asks this question, "Who will do the dirty work under Socialism?" We hate to bawl them out publicly but we think that the republican and democratic politicians will get the job. They're used to doing dirty work. See!

• • •

It is surprising to some people how the Socialist movement is growing in Piqua. They rub their glasses and pinch themselves to see if they are awake. Later they will be kicking themselves for letting the other fellow get into the movement ahead of them. Investigate. Subscribe for the Ohio Socialist—there is no better working class paper published. Buy a book on Socialism. The literature agent will supply you with the best.

• • •

Comrade Katterfeld spent five days in Piqua during the second week of February. The meetings were a success from the opening on Monday evening to the closing Friday with a free oyster supper served by the women comrades of the local. All the meetings were held in our newly remodeled headquarters which holds in the neighborhood of 300 people.

• • •

Some workingmen of Piqua are still obsessed with the idea that while Socialism is a very beautiful and desirable thing, yet it is a dream that will never come true. This view is not new, of course. It has been advanced against every good thing we have. The charge against Cyrus Field, who laid the Atlantic cable, was that he was chasing rainbows. Marconi proposed to telegraph without wires and was laughed at as a visionary, yet his dream is a practical reality in the world today. Professor Rontgen (?) announced his discovery of a light ray that would penetrate solid substances and was jeered at for his pains, yet the X-ray is part of the essential equipment of all modern hospitals and up-to-date medical men. It is but a few years ago that people snickered when the Wright brothers announced the invention of a flying machine that would fly, yet the human bird has flown millions of miles since. Everything in human progress that is desirable was once a dream. Thank God for the dreamers. The scriptures declare that "where there is no vision the people perish," and it is true. An Edison dreams, and lo, the electric light turns night into day; a slave of man, but time fails us to tell of all dreams that come true. Now upon the scene steps the Socialist, hard-headed, practical, scientific, able to give a reason for the hope that is in him and the old, old charge is thrown at him; dreamer, visionary, rainbow chaser, idealist, impossibilist, pro-German, etc. Is he daunted? No, indeed. He is filled with the vision, glorious, soul-thrilling vision of the Co-operative Commonwealth, where justice, love and truth abide. And it's coming swiftly, surely. Say can you see?

"The world is gray with morning light."

• • •

The membership drive is on in Local Piqua. Our goal has been set for 500 members by July 1st. High aspiration, you say? Of course, but WE CAN DO IT. Bring in the name of every possible prospect. Hand them to the Secretary and watch the membership grow. Local Piqua means business, every workingman in the city will receive a personal invitation to ally himself with the Party. The time has come to unload the capitalist.

TELEPHONE
BELL, WALLINGS 13-Y.
SEND ALL TELEGRAMS TO
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
R. D. 2, BRECKSVILLE, O.
PHONE, WALLINGS 13-Y.

"The better the day, the better the deed", says comrade Lewis Yarnel, of Wapakoneta, who spends Sunday securing Ohio Socialist Subs. We should say he is correct, since the worker must use the other six days in the interest of his master. Make Sunday "subscription day", comrades.

BAKER SPEAKS AT WARREN

Go hear Charles Baker, state organizer of the Socialist Party, at Warren, Thursday evening, March 13, 7:30 p. m. Woodmen hall, So. Main St.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION

"Last month we gained 27 new members, but how to keep them active in Party work still remains to solve". O. Ruchtaeschel, Cin.

• • •

A LIVE LITERATURE AGENT

Comrade Jno. M. Cahalane, local Hamilton's live literature agent is looking after the interest of the Ohio Socialist. He orders a bundle of five for his sales table. He reports a good meeting held by comrade Ella Reeves Bloor, on the last Sunday in Feb. Local's literature agents will hear from the State Office in regards to building up the distribution and sale of Socialists literature in a few deys. Great work along this line is in contemplation.

• • •

A SMALL ONE

"Am sending you a small list," says Comrade Carl Maxwell, of Newark, O. Well, there were 18. If that is Comrade Maxwell's idea of 'a small one,' we wonder just what a big one would be. Little ones like this certainly keep up the average. Thanks, Comrade Maxwell.

• • •

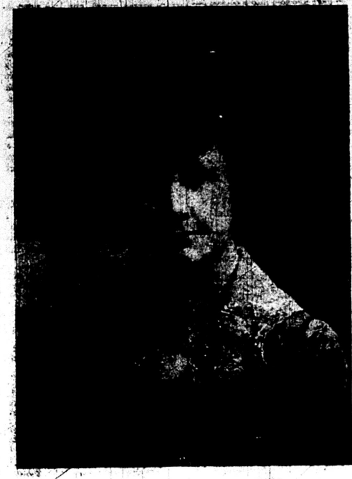
WANTED—ADDRESS

Any one knowing the address of F. F. Berry, former editor of The Torch of Reason, will confer a favor upon Comrade Van Edison Prayter, Rockvale, Tenn., by sending it to him.

• • •

ENCOURAGENMENT

A short but very encouraging letter from Comrade Wm. M. Brown of Galion this week states that Local Galion may be relied upon for the purchase of an Industrial Freedom Certificate for each of its members. Comrade Brown pledges the support of the local to help the Ohio Socialist in its progress toward a twice-a-week paper. The Galion comrades endorse the program of the left wing of the party.



Lilith Martin to Tour Ohio

Another field worker will be toured in Ohio beginning April 1. Lilith Martin, who lectured in this state during the municipal elections of 1917 will be added to our list of organizers. Comrade Martin KNOWS HOW to organize. She has made organization work a special study. Socialist locals under whose direction she will speak are asked to make it a point to invite women to attend the meeting. All men comrades should induce their wives to come to hear this lecturer and organizer.

Many locals in the state have written the State Office that they are preparing to engage special organizers for long periods. If these locals are now in a position to attend to and pay for special organization work we do not know of any one we would rather recommend than Lilith Martin. A routing is now being arranged. Locals desiring Comrade Martin for more than one or two days, should write the State Office at once.

The State Office earnestly requests the full co-operation of all locals in making the Martin tour a success.

TELEGRAM TO HITCHCOCK

Press reports your sentence reduced to two years by President Wilson. Accept congratulations. Wish to express convictions of Socialist Party of Ohio in your innocence and protest against our longer confinement as an act of gross injustice. Will continue fight for your release and that of all political prisoners.

(Signed) HORTENSE WAGENKNECHT,
Acting State Secretary.

A WORD AS TO DUAL STAMPS

Orders for dual stamps to come into the State Office of Ohio. We have decided to again sell them. It seems that some locals find it hard to understand that husband and wife can retain membership by paying one dues per month by use of regular stamps the same as if dual stamps were used.

An amendment to the National Constitution raised the price of dual stamps. One dual stamp now sells for 22c in Ohio. Two regular stamps sell for the same amount. Locals wishing to use dual stamps can purchase them from the State Office for $2.20 a book. A book contains ten husband and ten wife stamps.

NOTICE TO LOCALS.

Get in the local directory. The price has been reduced to $2.50 per year. Locals which have had notices of their meeting places and dates inserted at the rate of $2.50 for six months will have their time extended to one year. Get in the directory. Tell readers where and when your local meets.

ORGANIZER BAKER MEETINGS

Comrade Charles Bakes, state organizer, will speak at the following places the next several days: Hubbard, March 14; Girard, 15; Youngstown, 16. He will probably work in Toledo after this date for a week.

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THURBER LEWIS MEETINGS

These dates will be filled by Comrade Thurber Lewis. Comrades in these places should do everything possible to get the comrades together for these meetings and push the work along with the assistance they can render. He will be at Harshman, March 14; Xenia, 15-16; Dayton, 17; Fairview, 17; West Milton, 19; Tippecanoe City, 20; Troy, 21; Osborn, 22; 23d is open.

• • •

KIRKPATRICK DATES

George R. Kirkpatrick speaks at Dayton March 24; Columbus, 25; Bellaire, 26; Toledo, 27. Hear Comrade Kirkpatrick by all means.

• • •

EUGENE V. DEBS

Comrade Debs will speak at Girard March 22. He will speak at Canton March 23, at Culp's Rink, 631 Ma[illegible] Rd.

• • •

GREETINGS FROM A RETURNED PRISONER

We are in receipt of a letter from Fellow Worker N. L. Welch, just released from Leavenworth prison after serving an eighteen months' sentence. An article dealing with the cruel conditions under which members of the I. W. W. suffer in that bastile accompanies his letter which we shall publish in next week's issue.

To show how the Ohio Socialist looks to an Industrial Unionist we publish part of Fellow Worker Welch's letter as follows:

"The Ohio Socialist is a fit Socialist publication in every respect and should receive the enthusiastic support of comrades in all localities. I am glad you give equal prominence to the industrial as well as the political end of the movement in your columns which leads us to believe that before long the party will become a factor in the class war and will not stand aside watching the conflict and occasionally offering up-sage advice to the men and women who are in it day after day.

In some localities, at least, it seems the Socialist Party was one thing and the working class quite another thing, but happily that is disappearing and we are falling in line with the harvest hand, bindle stiff, lumberjack and factory hand, which are, after all, the working class in spite of their shortcomings and their seeming inability to grasp an understanding of their class position."

THEY'LL SUBSCRIBE —WHEN ASKED

The way I get subscribers for the Ohio Socialist, says Comrade Perry H. Shipman of Rock Island, Ill., the comrade who holds the record for number of subscriptions secured, is to give two or three copies to a sympathizer and ask for his subscription. They will usually subscribe but don't expect them to sit down and write for the paper. They have to be solicited. Now you know how he does it. And proof that the method pays is seen in the fact that never a week passes but we receive subs from Comrade Shipman. You can do it too. Try. He says the Ohio Socialist is destined to be a great national weekly. What do you think about it, comrade?

ATTENTION—NEW PHONE

Our new phone number is Wallings 13-Y. Use this number when calling on phone. Call through Cleveland.

VICTOR CLUBS DEAD

Comrade Victor C[illegible], a member of Local [illegible] 1. The [illegible]

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading [illegible] Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P[illegible]
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sun-
day of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL.
1314 Vine St.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West
Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets every Sunday at 7 P. M.,
rear room Woodmen's Hall,
South Main St., Warren, O.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening,
8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday,
2:30 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL.
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL.
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30
P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

WEST VIRGINIA

Official Organization News

H. F. OBERHOLTZER, STATE SECRETARY.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Executive Committeemen Marked Ex.

State Committeeman-at-large, C. W. Kirkendall, Sistersville.

First District.

(Ex) Howard Boston, 1111 10th St., Moundsville.

J. M. Snyder, 1405 8th St., Fairmont.

J. B. West, Mannington.

Second District.

P. S. Dayton, Belington.

(Ex) E. L. Smith, Martinsburg.

Third District.

P. P. Garrett, Harrisville.

(Ex) J. W. Wright, Weston, chairman.

J. W. Flint, Weston.

Fourth District.

(Ex) H. F. Oberholtzer, Huntington.

H. L. Franklin, Huntington.

Sixth District.

George E. Glass, Heizer.

C. W. Harper, Charleston.

(Ex) M. F. Link, Rencevert.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

February, 1919.

RECEIPTS.

Lithuanian Federation	$2.82
Finnish Federation	7.50
Cedar Grove, dues stamps	1.50
Fairmount, dues stamps	3.00
M. A. L. dues	6.75
Donation, C. L. Allender	2.00
Total	$24.57

EXPENDITURES.

Postage	$3.80
Envelopes	.25
500 letter heads	2.50
Secretary's commission	9.86
Error adding Jan. receipts	.50
Ex. Chgs. literature	.36
Total	$17.27
Surplus	7.30
Total	$24.57
Balance from last report	$10.32
Surplus for February	7.30
Balance in treasury	$17.62

RESOURCES.

Dues Stamps	$33.65
955 State Constitutions	47.75
3 Sets Local Sec. books	9.00
50 Think or Surrender	5.00
900 application cards	1.80
500 How to Organize	2.00
50 How to Conduct a Local	1.00
Miscellaneous books	5.00
Total	$105.20

MONTANI SEMPER LIBERI.

"Mountaineers are always freemen," such in the motto of our state. It was undoubtedly presumed that West Virginia and earned the right and title to such a motto when she separated herself from the parent state on the issue of slavery, and joined the Union a free state. We mountaineers do love freedom, some more than others; but, just at the present writing, there are not very many mountaineers breaking their neck trying to get into the ranks of the only party that promises freedom—especially the industrial brand.

In response to call for nominations for members of the State Committee and State Secretary, issued February 12, only a few locals have been heard from. Three of these report very little doing, but see some signs of a revival of interest. The Socialists of Cabell county are still mostly "holed up." Let us hope that all of this kind, like Mr. Ground Hog, will feel it safe to come out of their holes very soon.

LET'S FIRE OUR LANDLORD.

I have before me a picture of the handsome, substantial, and commodious Chicago residence, which the National Committee has purchased for National Headquarters of the Socialist Party. I am informed that the National Office has been paying $3,000 per year rent for the present quarters, that the new premises are large enough for all purposes, including a printing establishment, and that the total cost of the property including remodeling and enlarging to suit our purposes and equiping the print[illegible] plant will be $40,000. We are to [illegible] given an opportunity to share in the ownership of our new home and every Socialist contributing as much as [illegible] dollar will receive a certificate of Collective Ownership of such share in the National Socialist building. An organization as large as ours, [illegible] more than 100,000 dues-paying [illegible] bers, should be able to own a home [illegible] our own—I, for one, shall be proud [illegible] possess one of those certificates.

STOP TRADING WITH ENEMY.

This is the idea Comrade Edw[illegible] Firth is trying to impress on us, [illegible] a circular letter, he is about to [illegible] dress to all secretaries of locals. Instead of buying books from capital[illegible] firms whose profits help to maint[illegible] the master class, we are urged to [illegible] our books from the Literature Department, National Headquarters of the Socialist Party, 808 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., where the profits (though small) will help to support our movement. It is the purpose [illegible] this department to enlarge its sphere of usefulness until it will be able [illegible] furnish, not only the best there is [illegible] radical writings, but any other [illegible] of standard literature. Each Local Secretary is being furnished with [illegible] list of books in stock so that party members may have access to it at any time.

THE DEBT CASE.

The National Secretary has just notified me, as State Secretary, that the National Executive Committee, [illegible] recent meeting, made an order [illegible] "pro rata" the debt of the National Organization for the expenses of [illegible] famous St. Louis convention. The portion of this debt the Socialist Party of West Virginia is expected to pay is $107.40. While our State Legislature is engaged in devis[illegible] ways and means of paying the [illegible] ginia debt, maybe we better get [illegible] and set them a pattern in solv[illegible] the debt problem. By glancing [illegible] the State Secretary's report, comrades, it will be seen that [illegible] plan of raising money will have to be devised, if we expect to [illegible] this debt. I am inclined to await [illegible] proposition from some of the locals before submitting the matter to the state committee.

ON SOCIALIST PUBLICATIONS.

I have lately received from the publishers, 174 Michigan Ave., Detroit, [illegible] copy of The Proletarian, a very interesting Socialist paper, ten copies or issues for 50 cents.

The New York Call writes me that it anticipates having its second-class mailing rights restored and I have promised to send the publishers a list of the local secretaries to enable them to get in touch with the West Virginia comrades.

I am glad, also, to announce that we have a news dealer in Huntington that sells "The Liberator," formerly "The Masses," New York City, [illegible] best Socialist magazine (to my knowledge) in America. Price $2 per [illegible]

We understand we are soon to have a national organ, again, on the [illegible] of the "American Socialist," to [illegible] published at the National Office, Chicago, Ill.

So, comrades, we shall soon [illegible] to get all the Socialist papers [illegible] read, that is, if we have the [illegible] I have never met a Socialist, yet, [illegible] could afford to subscribe for all [illegible] Socialist papers he would like to [illegible] so, those that have them should [illegible] sociable, and pass them [illegible] membering that a Socialist paper [illegible] not fulfilled its mission until [illegible] worn out.

In the matter of subscribing for Socialist papers, I hope the [illegible] will not forget the Ohio Socialist, [illegible] that the local secretaries will [illegible] unteer work to increase the Ohio Socialist subscription list. We have [illegible] surance from the publishers that they will make the paper a bigger [illegible] or a semi-weekly as soon as cash receipts will permit.

Increase Your Bundle Orders

Bundle orders of the Ohio Socialist will be filled in future at 50c per hundred copies. Every local can afford at this low rate to order a weekly bundle for distribtion at meetings, from hose to hose and for sale at meetings. Send in a standing order. Let us put your name down on the list as a dead-in-earnest Ohio Socialist booster. Order a bundle for distribution. Comrades who will use a small bundle for the purpose of securing subscriptions will be mailed the [illegible] postage.

MIDVALE MIGHTY LIVELY

Local Midvale, recently re[illegible] is one of the liveliest locals [illegible] state. The Local is distributing [illegible] hundred copies of the Ohio [illegible] twice a month. The comrades [illegible] arranged for a meeting on [illegible] at Rosewell.

• • •

BAKER AT WAD[illegible]

Comrade Baker's meeting [illegible] worth proved a winner. [illegible] bad weather an audience [illegible] to greet the speaker. [illegible] Baker's speech was [illegible]

The Ohio Sociali

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia and New Mexico.

No. 60 | Published at Cleveland, Ohio | WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 1919 | Address all mail to R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohi

Russian Soviet Government Answers Senator Hitchcock

Another Note Bearing Upon Relations With Russia Withheld From American People

We print below a wireless message from Chicherin, People's Commissaire of Foreign Affairs, to the State Department at Washington. It is dated January 22, and its raison d' etre is as follows:

Senator Hitchcock, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, delivered a speech on Russian affairs in the United States Senate on January 9, in which he attempted to justify the presence of American troops in Russia, admitting there were 10,200 such troops at Vladivostok, and about 5,000 near Archangel. We do not need here to repeat his arguments in favor of such military intervention, as they seem to have been correctly reported to the Soviet government by the Washington radio-telegram of Jan. 12, which provided the data on which Chicherin based his answer. The remarks of Senator Hitchcock, which called forth a lengthy and spirited debate in the senate, were the result of Senator Johnson's resolution asking for explanations as to the United States' aims in Russia, which was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in December.

Stockholm, January 22.—The official telegraph bureau of the Russian Soviet government sends out the following information:

The representative of the Russian Soviet government, Maxim Litvinoff, has sent the following note to the State Department in Washington:

On behalf of Mr. Chicherin, People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, I am sending you the following statement:

A radio-telegram from Washington, received via Lyons on the 12th of January, relates that a statement has been made by Senator Hitchcock, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, about the cause for the sending of American troops to Russia. The principal cause is said to have been a desire to prevent the establishment of a German submarine base in Archangel. Whether there ever has been such a cause or not, it does not exist any more.

In respect to the second alleged cause for the invasion, namely, that the intention was to safeguard Allied supplies in Archangel, I beg to remind you that even last year we had started negotiations for this purpose, and we are now still willing to enter into a satisfactory solution of this question. There can no longer be any danger of the supplies falling into German hands.

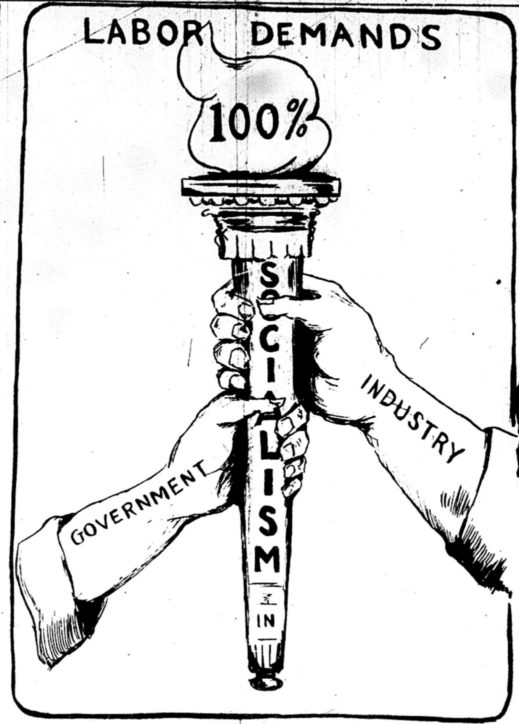
The third reason for the invasion was stated to be a desire to maintain an open way for diplomatic representatives traveling from and to Russia. I beg to call your attention to the fact that the best method to attain this aim would be to have an understanding with my government. Mr. Francis, the American ambassador, was quite free to return to his homeland unhindered at the time he left Russia. Our only cause in asking him not to remain in Vologda was the great danger threatening his personal security, and we offered him particularly inviting quarters in or around Moscow.

The fourth alleged ground for the invasion is the protection of the Czecho-Slovaks. Yet there has never been any obstacle to reaching an understanding about this issue with my government. **We have officially offered the Czecho-Slovaks free passage to their homeland through Russia on the condition that we should protect their safety. We have now reached a full understanding on this matter with Professor Max, the president of the Czecho-Slovak National Council in Russia. He has returned to Bohemia in order to communicate our proposition to the Bohemian government.**

Finally, Senator Hitchcock maintains that one reason the formation of any army composed of German and Austrian prisoners. The only now existing obstacle to the return of all war prisoners to their homelands is the presence of the Allied troops, or White Guards, who are under the protection of the Allied troops. We, therefore, cannot understand why this should be a cause for a further maintenance of American troops in Russia.

Judging from statements contained

(Continued on Page Two)



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Eugene V. Debs' Speech At West Side Turn Hall, Cleve

Before a capacity audience of 3,000, which filled West Side Turn hall one hour before his scheduled appearance Debs made his farewell speech.

Debs was calm. His opening words were accorded an instantaneous silence. He said:

"How true it is that there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will! It may seem strange to you, but in my plans, in my dreams, I did not think of going to the penitentiary—and I—I had a thousand times rather go there and spend my remaining days there than to betray this great cause.

"So far as I am concerned it does not matter much. The margin is narrow, the years between now and the sunset are few, and the only care that I have personally is that I may preserve to the last the integrity of my own soul and my loyalty to the only cause worth living for, fighting for, and dying for.

"It is so perfectly fine to me to look into your faces once more, to draw upon you for the only word I have ever had, the only word that I can ever speak for myself. I love mankind, humanity. Can you understand? I am sure you can.

"We are close of kith and kin, we are human and when we get into close touch with each other we come to understand that our good depends upon the good of all humanity.

Opposed to System.

"I am opposed to the system under which we live. I am opposed to the government that compels you, the great body of the American people, to pay your tribute to an insignificant few who enjoy life while the great body of the people suffer, struggle, and agonize without ever having lived. Can you understand? I am sure you can."

"Let me get in touch with you for a while. I am going to speak to you as a Socialist, as a revolutionist, and, if you please, as a Bolshevist.

"And what is the thing that the whole world is talking about? What is it that the ruling class power of the world are denouncing, upon which they are pouring a flood of all their malicious lies—what is it? It is the rise of the workers, the peasants, the soldiers, the common man, who for the first time in history said, 'I have made what there is, I produced the wealth; I want to be heard.'

"Now, for the first time in history, his bowed head lifted, he stands erect and is beginning in his grim strength to shake off the manacles, straighten himself in the sunlight, in his gigantic attitude, opening his eyes, beginning to see for the first time, beginning to ask why it is that he must press his rags closer to his body, that he may not touch the rich man's costly silks, that he himself produced—why it is that that he must walk in alleys, while he is forbidden to enter the great palaces he has erected—why it is that he must support all the banquets of the world that he may not taste.

"He is beginning to think. That is Bolshevism! That is the revolution in Russia! That is the beginning of the end of capitalism and the end of the beginning of socialism!

Earth Beginning to Shake.

"And because we say this they are going to put us in jail. With every drop in my veins I despise their law and I defy them. If the Scriptures are true, Paul was sent to prison, and shortly afterward the prison doors were opened by an earthquake.

"The earth is beginning to shake beneath the feet of the profiteers.

"Have they outlawed the red flag here? The red necktie? The red socks? How perfectly foolish! Have you heard about the pope in the middle ages forbidding the comets to appear? Why, the other day the chaplain in the House of Representatives asked God to give congress wisdom!

"I am appealing to you tonight—the crowd, the mass, the common people—I do not care anything about the Supreme Court, begowned, befettered, bewhiskered old fossils, corporation lawyers; every one of them—they have not decided anything. They never have; they never will.

"Sixty years ago the predecessors of the same body confirmed the validity of the fugitive slave law. They declared that a black man had no rights which his master was bound to respect. They imagined that chattel slavery was secure for all time. And within five years that infamous institution was swept from the land in a torrent of blood.

Did Not Meet Issue.

"They did not dare to meet the issue. They did not decide that the Espionage law was constitutional. They dared not put that decision upon record. Have you read that law? The amendment to that law that makes it a crime for you to criticise crime in the United States? That makes this country take the place of old Russia under the czar?

"Have you ever read it? Know anything about it? Know that it is a gag upon your lips, fetters all your constitutional rights? That law—do I respect it? No!

"How perfectly fine it is to stand straight up and do what Wendell Phillips said: "When they pass that kind of a law, put it under your feet."

"Do not say a word against war—not one. That is treason—to the ruling classes. They make war; you do not. You never did. You paid all the bills, shed your blood, made all the sacrifices. You do not say a word. Have your limbs shot off, your eyes gouged out, gassed, come back, and then hunt for a job.

"The finest thing I know is to carry yourself as a man—face humanity, look up into the sun and not feel ashamed of yourself; walk straight before the world, and live with it on terms of peace; look at yourself without a blush. Have you ever tried it? If you have, you are a Bolshevist.

"The great world is in travail today. A great upheaval is shaking the foundation of capitalist society. The master class are driven to extremities. They are going to establish a League of Nations to preserve the peace, to prevent war. What does it mean?

Master Class Staggers.

"Simply this: That the master class itself is staggered by the cost of modern war. Here are all these modern nations, great and powerful in economic and military ways; straining to harmonize their various conflicting interests. In theory it is perfectly fine; but how ridiculous it is to imagine for a moment that the interests of nations that are innately in conflict can be permanently harmonized."

"What does it mean? It is the last, desperate, temporary expedient of the master class, the commercial interests, the economic interests, to prolong their sovereignty. Have you any views on it?

"Who is it that is making the terms of peace? Is it not strange that the great, common people who shed their blood, fought the war, made the sacrifices, should have no voice in making the terms of peace? The working class—the working class, which for 1,000 years constituted the slaves, the tragedy of history—I recall it as I speak, I can see across all the centuries, the patricians of ancient Rome in the amphitheaters, while they poured their slaves into the Coliseum to destroy them for pastime—and through the middle ages, how the serfs were killed for their profit and glory—through all that I can see the working class, that youth, the victims of the ages, the martyrs of the centuries, you who went to war when it was declared, you who were in the trenches, you who shed your blood like water, you who suffered the agony that human speech can never tell, you who had your limbs torn from your bodies—you have no voice in that peace conference, no representation there.

"Just one second-hand one, Sam Gompers. The other day Sam, four-foot Sam, was banqueted by a seven-foot Russian duke, and the duke was in poor company.

"The world is in turmoil. Where is your representative; where did you elect him? What did you have to say about these terms? Not one real representative, but politicians and diplomats and thieves and liars, the tools of your masters—that is who is there.

"They are going to make the world perfectly safe for democracy, and that is why I am going to the penitentiary.

World Being Remade.

"You can think a bit, and I want to stir you into thought and action. We are on the eve of tremendous developments. The world before your eyes is being destroyed and recreated. Russia is making a beginning; the Soviet is just a sample. They have shed some blood, they have made some mistakes, and I
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Locals Co-operate to Buy National Headquarters

Probably never before in its history has the organization machinery of the Socialist Party responded more loyally than in this campaign for a party-owned national headquarters. More than five thousand local and branch secretaries are now at work, addressing and mailing to members of their respective organizations letters containing an appeal to help purchase a national headquarters for the Socialist Party.

More than 100,000 members are being reached by a direct and personal appeal in letter form. Dollars are already rolling in. "Just the very thing to do," writes a comrade. "Right on top of all this persecution we will show them that we are stronger than ever."

The organization department at national headquarters constitutes a very busy scene. This is especially true on Saturday afternoons, when Wm. F. Kruse and wife captain from thirty to fifty Yipsels in the work necessary for this drive for a $40,000 headquarters fund. No more devoted party workers can be found than these Chicago members of the Young People's Socialist

will flaunt in the face of capitalism our determination to grow daily more efficient in our efforts at its abolition.

An investment of at least one dollar is asked of every party member. A dollar is, however, by no means the maximum amount members should invest. Many comrades can invest five or ten dollars. Some can invest even more than this. Every member is asked to do his best. Ownership certificates will be issued for all amounts of a dollar or over sent in.

"Let's be as generous with our dollars as Judge Landis was with his years!" is the slogan which will carry the headquarters campaign through to success. Sentencing Kruse, Engdahl, Tucker, Berger and Germer to twenty years each in the Leavenworth penitentiary will but spur the party membership on to greater efforts; will but make the Socialist Party more formidable and invincible.

LETTERS SHOW SUPPORT.

Letters from all parts of the United States are being addressed to the department of organization and propaganda, Socialist Par endorsing the
move to pu dquarters for
the nation Most em-
phatic a

"The present purchase is timely and will, I believe, have the hearty approval and support of the party. The undertaking in itself will inspire confidence and give stability to our movement.

"Let us all rejoice in the purchase and resolve to meet every payment promptly until we hold the clear title to our home and can sit in comfort and security beneath our own vine and fig tree."

SCOTT NEARING SAYS:

The struggle between the masters
and the wo on its
final sta end,
now he the

Third I. W. W. Trial

Wichita, Kan.—Four months after President Wilson said, "and thus the war comes to a close," the trial of 32 members of the Industrial Workers of the World, charged with having hindered the prosecution of the war, began in the Federal court here today.

This is the third and last large trial of Industrial Workers of the World. The two other trials, at Chicago and at Sacramento, resulted in severe sentences being imposed upon 146 who were at the time prominent in the work of the I. W. W. In no case where the men have been tried in large numbers has there been an acquittal.

Finnish Socialists Win Plurality

Washington, D. C.—In spite of the fact that for more than a year the Finnish Socialists have been shot, imprisoned and starved to death by the tens of thousands, by the White Guard representing the propertied interests of that country aided by German armies, they won a splendid victory in the election, which took place in that country a few weeks ago.

The Finnish landtag, the parliament of that country, has two hundred members. Out of this total the Socialists elected eighty members; the Republicans, seventy; Monarchists, 22; Swedes, 22.

The Republicans are divided between the Young Finns and Agrarian, thus the Socialists have twice as many members as any other party, although short of a majority.

The Argentine Socialist Movement

(Translated From "Humanite")

Our Comrade Justo, after a long and trying voyage, has at last reached Paris on his way to Berne, which he will represent the Socialist Party of Argentine at the international congress.

Doctor Justo acquired his medi
education in Europe—Austria, S
zerland, France. Returning to
own country he became a profes
medicine, but having been ca
become the editor of the
daily, La Vanguardia,
called. Since then

in Buenos Aires, and one deputy in the legislative assembly of one o provinces.

In the Buenos Aires munici
three mont

Police Meet Buffalo U
With Shot

Buffalo, N. Y.—Police armed with shot guns guarded Niagara Square here, when some forty thousand unemployed endeavored to hold a demonstration to demand work.

The Soldiers', Sailors', Workers' and Farmers' Council of Buffalo and vicinity, which called the meeting, is a Russian Soviet and its members are possessed with the desire to overthrow the city government and help themselves, in the opinion of Mayor Buck.

That was the reason given by the mayor for the prevention of the assemblage of the unemployed at the McKinley monument on Monday morning of last week at the call of the Workers' Council. The constitutional right of freedom of speech and assemblage apparently did not enter in
question so far as the city auth
were concerned.

doubtless schem

set Business Traditions of Ages

tion of peaceful intercourse the two countries. nation has been sending com and experts to the other for months for the purpose of re ing trade, but trade has not -established. Germany ex to get the hide of the Russian a door-mat. But—the hide, frowsy, is still on the bear. through smuggling, practical goods have passed by land from to Germany, or from Germany sia up to last September. od will, indispensible for inter al trade, is present on both of the Russian-German frontier, the decrees of the Soviet govern ent, regulating commerce within Russia and between Russia and foreign countries, are based on principles which, if applied, demand unthinkable concessions on the part of other countries, to the new Russia.

"We don't understand such chaos," the other countries say. "Have a revolution and you will," reply the Bolsheviki, who worry more about the therhood of man than about the ency of their own country.

According to communistic theory ch dictates legislation in Russia, object of the revolution is to ge the state into a mere admin rator of production. It doesn't ern, mind you; it merely presides. committee. It is Socialism. Bolsheviki are trying to "cen industrial undertakings. This lready been accomplish the s of the manufactur gar, l, tea, tobacco, and ade in the products of each monopolized by a central o which barters commodities directly with the central offices for other commodities. No money is used. These central offices have two functions: they are offices of statistics and accounts and they control the orders given to manufacturing plants.

Merchants and factory owners are under the double oversight of the "extraordinary commissions to check speculation, sabotage and counter-revolution," and the labor committee. Merchants caught speculating are shot. Engineers and factory managers who fail to report at their places of business are arrested for sabotage.

The substantial owner of a paper mill was captured and cornered by his own workmen. As is usual with the Bolsheviki, a committee was appointed to run the mill. Soon discovering its inability to make progress, it called upon the owner at his spacious country villa, with a request that he return and help them out of the difficulty.

Said the owner: "Very well, but what salary am I to be paid?"

"How much were you earning before the revolution?" asked the committee, nudging each other.

Said the owner: "Ten thousand roubles a year."

"We will give you half of that the first year," said the committee, after a brief consultation, and counting on their fingers; "the second year we will give you four thousand roubles; the third year three thousand and the fourth year twenty-five hundred roubles."

"But," said the owner, "it is impossible for me to live on five thousand roubles, let alone twenty-five hundred. I have my house, my servants, the food bills, my horses and carriages. It is impossible, unthinkable."

Again the peasants put their tousled heads together. "We've got it," they announced at last triumphantly. "The difficulty here is that you are living in the wrong place. You bring your family and things and come to live in one of our huts. Your expenses won't be much there. Besides we've decided that your villa will make a fine restaurant for the people."

This shift was enforced. The whereabouts of the mill owner no one knows; while his villa has become a popular tea-drinking rendezvous for peasants and returned soldiers.

So far as an exchange of commodities with Germany was concerned, so great was the latter country's need of metals, asbestos, lubricants, flax, hemp and textiles, that she promptly accepted the Bolshevist idea of sea trade barter and sent to Petrograd ships laden with coal. Through exorbitant values were placed on the commodities, the trade was effected after much bargaining. In addition to coal, Russia in this manner also procured drugs, dyestuffs and machine parts from Germany. Soviet foreign trade experts therefore believe themselves justified in boasting: "You see, our method works. Nothing succeeds like simplicity!"

A Farmers View of the Ballot

Dear Comrade: I am somewhat a student of the conditions of thinks as they are today. Have been a Socialist for years. We have always advocated the ballot to adjust our troubles. We have also warned the capitalist class that unless they corrected a lot or social evils that there was bound to follow severe troubles. This is not of our making or wishing.

I have tried to pursuade myself that the ballot could and would adjust things. Last year I had to acknowledge to myself that the great social question to be solved could not be done by the ballot.

Now I am getting to the point that affects this part of the country and it will hold good wherever the bonafide farmers exists. From time to time the very best farmers here call on me and gradually I feel them out. Today one of the staunchest farmers, a very religious man, called on me and he was certainly belligerent. He complained bitterly of the way the farmer was getting skinned. Hides selling at $1.35 per green hide and shoes at $6.00 and of the poorest brands. Cotton selling for 10 cents that actually cost him 18 cents to produce. Cattle selling for 6 cents and the packing houses basing the finished product on 18 cents. He claimed that his best cattle graded down to 6 cents. He said that whenever the organized laborers were ready to strike that the farmers would furnish all the eggs, meat and provisions they had. That never before in his life was there so much unrest among the farmers and that they hoped that something would start so they could unload the capitalist that has made fortunes out of this war while they were forced to sell all their crops to keep the soldiers fed and now have nothing. The high prices had drained about all they had. That children could not go to school on account of poverty. They had worked hard all year and nothing to show for it.

I hope you can pass this information along where it is most needed. The mass phy-scology is fast changing. The great organizations of labor are going to find the farming class with them at heart. They even hope that something will happen to stop this exploitation. Their hearts and mind are coming open and they are beginning to see the light. I am leaving off a lot that I could inform you about. There is the greatest unrest among the farmers of our country. I mean the "sure nuff" toiler, not the land lord in the city. The renters compose about 80 per cent. of the farmers. Now I get this information from our best farmers. Not Socialists, but old life long Demos. and Repubs.

It is amusing when I read the ordinary magazine and dailies. They do not know what a volcano they are sitting on. They will not do a thing to relieve the great common working man.

I simply feel that I [illegible] you of the conditions [illegible] ness of it. Your left [illegible] Socialist hits the spot [illegible] truth be [illegible].

AN OKLAHOMA FARMER.

PEOPLE DECIDE GREAT ISSUES

By Eugene V. Debs

The decision is perfectly consistent with the character of the supreme court as a ruling class tribunal. It could not have been otherwise.

So far as I am personally concerned the decision is of small consequence. But there is an issue at stake of vital interest to the American people. It involves the fundamental right of free speech. Without this our boasted freedom is a delusion and a farce.

The supreme court has dodged the issue. It has held the Espionage law valid without affirming its constitutionality. The real issue before the court was the constitutionality of the act. This issue the supreme court did not dare to decide.

What the supreme court did decide is that the constitution is another "scrap of paper."

Great issues are not decided by courts but by the people.

I have no concern about what the coterie of begowned corporation lawyers in Washington may decide in my case. The court of final resort is the people and that court will be heard from in due time.

The decision just rendered places the United States where old Russia under the czar left off. It is good for at least a million Bolshevist recruits in this country.

I stand by every word of the Canton speech, the supreme court to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Espionage law is perfectly infamous and a disgrace to even the capitalist despotism at whose behest it was enacted.

Sixty years ago the supreme court affirmed the validity of the Fugitive Slave law to save chattel slavery. Five years later that infamous institution was swept from the land in a torrent of blood.

I despise the Espionage law with every drop in my veins and I defy the supreme court and all the powers of capitalism to do their worst.

All hail to the workers of America—and the world! The day of emancipation is dawning.

The Song of the Wage Slave

ROBERT W. SERVICE

When the long, long day is over, and the big boss gives me my pay,
I hope that it won't be hell-fire as some of the parsons say,
And I hope that it won't be heaven, with some of the parsons I've met—
All I want is just quiet, just to rest and forget.

Look at my face, toil-furrowed, look at my calloused hands;
Master, I've done Thy bidding, wrought in Thy many lands—
Wrought for the little masters, big-bellied they be and rich;
I've done their desire for a daily hire, and I die like a dog in a ditch.

I have used the strength Thou hast given, Thou knowest I did not shirk;
Threescore years of labor—Thine be the long day's work.
And now, big master, I'm broken and bent, and twisted and scarred,
But I've held my job, and Thou knowest, and Thou wilt not judge me hard.
Thou knowest my sins are many, and often I've played the fool—
Whiskey and cards and women, they made me the devil's tool.

I was just like a child with money; I flung it away with a curse,
Feasting a fawning parasite, or glutting a harlot's purse;
Then back to the woods repentant, back to the mill or the mine,
I, the worker of workers, everything in my line.

Everything hard but headwork (I'd no more brains than a kid),
A brute with brute strength to labor, doing as I was bid;
Living in camps with men-folk, a lonely and loveless life;
Never knew kiss of sweetheart, never caress of wife;
A brute with brute strength to labor, and they were so far above—
Yet I'd gladly have gone to the gallows for one little look of love.

I, with the strength of two men, savage and shy and wild—
Yet, how I'd ha' treasured a woman, and the sweet, warm kiss of a child!
Well, 'tis Thy world, and Thou knowest I blaspheme and my ways be rude
But I've lived my life as I found it, and I've done my best to be good.

I, the primitive toiler, half-naked and grimed to the eyes,
Sweating it deep in their ditches, swining it stark in their styles;
Hurling down forest before me, spanning tumultuous streams,
Down in the ditch building o'er me palaces fairer than dreams.

Boring the rock to the ore-bed, driving the road through the fen,
Resolute, dumb, uncomplaining, a man in a world of men.
Master, I've filled my contract, wrought in Thy many lands;
Not by my sins wilt Thou judge me, but by the work of my hands;
Master, I've done Thy bidding, and the light is low in the west,
And the long, long shift is over—Master, I've earned it—Rest.

Leavenworth

arge. isoners, Floyd the Socialist anuel Rey and J. members from Chi especially singled out rden Fletcher and have maltreated and beaten because along with oth objected the extra task by an unfeeling guard. thrown in the "Hole" ng a couple of colored turned on them with they beat them most se two gents. Wing -year sentence for soldier in Arizona, tenced to twenty er of his wife, are in the institution in order that they arm work for Mr. he becomes hungry About twenty oth-

s g re of rts an er stitution. investigation and dis brutalities perpetrated inmates Acting Warden ceived a brilliant idea and ms in the clothing room wood is employed in order self out of an uncomfortble situation and throw the blame the I. W. W. Accordingly the ch was carried out, the "guns found" and the mercenary press oned out with "I. W. W. plan jail ery" headlines. It was a typical l town frame-up and could only conceived in a degenerate mind from a guilty conscience. The remains that nobody was called account for having the guns in possession and Haywood is still ployed in the clothing room and not punished for the offense which is a most serious one as firearms in possession of inmates may lead to the gravest consequences.

Frustrated in their efforts to get "Big Bill" involved in a jail delivery t the officials have not given up pe and are hot on his trail and he under constant surveillance by prisoner stool pigeons working for the officials and some guards seeking promotion. They will resort to any method to cast discredit upon the class war prisoners and there isn't anything so foul and contemptible that they wouldn't resort to in order to win favor in the eyes of the men higher up in the Department of Justice and the I. W. W. have become targets of special abuse at their hands.

I was discharged from Leavenworth [illegible] Saturday, Feb. 15, after completing an 18-month sentence for my Socialist activities in connection with the Michigan Socialist, of which I was editor. And not content with the usual examination of my belongings before I was discharged I was given the benefit of an extra frisk a few minutes before my release by Garvin, a guard at the institution, whose crowning glory is stool pigeon efficiency, hoping to find among my effects something that would involve Bill Haywood, or any of the others. Haywood has the job of packing up a man's belongings prior to his discharge and they hoped to find letters or articles for publication among my things so they could put the blame on Haywood. Much to Garvin's chagrin and evident disappointment I had nothing that didn't belong to me and the Sherlock Holmes is now probably racking his small brain and laying further plans along the line of stool pigeon work.

Radical literature is barred by the officials and publications enjoying mail privileges are wantonly destroyed if sent to a prisoner known as a Socialist or I. W. W. men and that contrary to their own rules, which provide for the admission of any matter handled by the postoffice.

Bobba, a [illegible] serving one year, is also under special surveillance. Some few weeks ago Pietro Pierre was arrested in Cleveland and charged with plotting the life of President Wilson and an attempt is being made to involve Bobba in the affair. Pierre served an 18-month sentence for anti-draft activities and was known to the inmates of Leavenworth as a quiet mannered, well educated man. The attempt to implicate Bobba is thought to be another scheme of the prison officials who still fear that light of day will be turned on their dark doings in the conduct of the affairs of the Penitentiary and that their mismanagement and wanton brutality will be exposed. Bobba was denied permission to issue a public statement to explode the machinations to implicate him in any "plot" to kill Wilson [illegible] McAdoo.

In spite of [illegible] years of imprisonment, [illegible] of the class [illegible] their spirit remains [illegible] their faith in the work [illegible]. They sit behind [illegible] companions are cold [illegible] and travail and sorrow fill the [illegible] and nights, yet confident that [illegible] is soon to dawn when freedom will be theirs. They meet their [illegible] stoically and courageously [illegible] some utterly indifferent to the cold surroundings knowing that out in the living world things are shaping themselves to the end that industrial tyranny be banished from the earth and the reign of working class Industrial Democracy be substituted in their place. To the workers of America and the world they send hail and greetings. Calm and serene they wait patiently for the day of deliverance and are cheered by the news of working class advancement and solidarity that find its way to the bastile.

The militant workers of America remember Calumet, Homestead, Everett, Colorado and Lawrence. Will they remember Leavenworth?

Shall Debs Go To Prison?

By CHARLES BAKER

Shall Gene Debs go to jail? Will the workers permit this "human flower" to wither and perish, in a foul, prison cell, where the pure air and beautiful sunshine never enter? Where all the beautiful things are shut out of one's life?

Having spent fifteen months behind prison bars, I know what it means. I know what it meant to me in possession of youth, knowing [illegible] I realize what it would mean to Gene Debs, to spend the few remaining years of his life behind prison walls.

Are we [illegible] to say, "It's too bad," and permit this crime to take place, or shall we appeal this case to the court of last resort—the workers? As for me, comrades, I am ready for any action necessary, to prevent the execution and carrying out of this crime. Call on me. I am at your service, no matter what the cost.

I feel like a criminal, to be at large to enjoy liberty, when so many of our comrades are confined behind prison bars. Let us arouse the workers, hold mass meetings, protest and carry on such agitation that they will have to throw open the prison doors. Shall we remain silent, until the enraged workers open the prison doors for them? If so we will not have long to wait, after the portals of prison close behind Our Gene.

In behalf of Gene, and our other imprisoned comrades, the fellow workers I pledge all that I have.

The Red Flag

"THE ANCIENT BANNER

By MARY S. DAUGHERTY

Bills have been introduced in congress to prohibit the display of the "Red Flag" in meetings and parades.

Why suppress the flag of the early Christians?

It is a fact recorded in history that the early Christians carried the red flag and won their triumphal victories under the "Crimson Banner." Even our Christmas red bells are emblems of the Blood of Immanual, and have been used at Christmas ever since the early days of Christiandom. In the Methodist hymn book there is a hymn containing the words, "The Blood Red Banner of Immanuel." The old, old crimson ensign, was an emblem of peace and good will to man, and, of health and the fruits of toil.

The origin of the word "flag" comes from the word-root of "flame" a red color, first borrowed from the crimson sun beams. The red of all modern flags was borrowed from that of the flag of the ancient unions.

The red flag was suppressed before the French revolution, because the unions had become too strong. It was carried again at the time of the French revolution of 1798. It was the flag of the Masonic order for over a thousand years. If we refer to our own time we will see that the Revolutionary War of 1776 was fought under the red flag, for our Stars and Stripes were not invented until later.

We find today that it is the disgraceful ignorance of modern prejudice and censure that has filled the land with misrepresentations and misunderstandings.

The red flag is a flag of hope and protection for the oppressed of all nations at all times, is international in scope, representing the "blood," the brotherhood of humanity; not the cold clotted blood of the battle field, but the warm life's blood flowing in the veins of all humanity.

Let us not suppress the flag of the early Christians.

("Ancient Lowly," by Ward, for reference.)

CINCINNATI PROTESTS

At the last meeting of Local Cincinnati, March 6, 1919, the question of a proposed national headquarters in Chicago, Ill., to be owned by the Socialist Party of the U. S. A., was taken up and discussed. And Local Cincinnati went on record protesting against the method used by the National Executive Committee in spending $40,000 of the party's money without the consent of the members by referendum. We maintain that they have not complied with the national constitution in so doing.

E. L. LIBBEY, Sec'y.

NON VERY

BAKER WARMS THEM

Comrade Baker spoke to a crowd of eager listeners at Canton. The landlord refused to heat the hall, but Baker took care of that. He warmed the atmosphere for an hour and a half to the entire satisfaction and comfort of his audience, so we are told. "Leave it to Baker."

E. LIVERPOOL PLEASED

"Comrade Chas. Baker spoke to a very enthusiastic audience of about 200 March 12. Everyone was more than pleased. Never had a better talk. Collection was $41.82, literature $6.75, and 12 O. S. subs sold. Hope to have him again."—J. R. Larimore, organizer.

The Littlest One

By Frances Mumford Blackstone.

(With Apologies to the Author)

My daddy he's a Socialist,
My brother is one too.
My sister goes to "Science School,"
But I stay home, I do.

They all have badges that they wear,
And different things to do.
Oh dear, I wish that I
Belonged to something too!

My mother tells me not to mind;
She says, "Why, don't you see?
Because you are the littlest one,
You just belong to me!"

Russian Soviet Answers Senate

(Continued from Page One)

in the above mentioned radio-telegram, some prominent members of the principal political party in the United States could not quite understand the reasons of Senator Hitchcock. They expressed their wish that American troops in Russia should be withdrawn as soon as possible.

We share their wish to re-establish normal relations between the two countries, and we are ready to eliminate everything which may be an obstacle to such relations.

This is not the first time we are making an offer of this kind. In October we sent an offer of this character through the Norwegian Minister in Russia. A week later we made a similar offer through Mr. Christiansen, an attache of the Norwegian Legation, at the time of his leaving Moscow. On the third of November we invited the representatives of the neutral countries in Moscow and asked them to [illegible] a proposition peace negotiations. On the 23d of December our representative, Mr. Litvinoff, communicated once more with the Allied ambassadors in Stockholm the desire of the Russian government to reach a friendly settlement of all questions at issue. He also sent an appeal to President Wilson in London; thus the responsibility for the fact that no agreement has been thus far reached does not lie with us.

We have had an opportunity to hear various American officers and soldiers express their astonishment at their being held in Russia, especially when we pointed out to such soldiers that the reason for their being in Russia seemed to be to put back on the shoulders of the Russian people the yoke which they have thrown off. The results of these explanations of ours have not been unsatisfactory to our personal relations with these American citizens.

We hope that [illegible] desire for peace expressed by the above-mentioned sen-

Statement Socialist Party of O.

PORT.

$527.70
129.50
40.75
160.60
69.07
55.63
43.17
71.55
91.60
74.75
1,211.20
117.82

$2,593.34

TURES.

$400.00
5.50
75.00
20.00
31.40
91.05
260.00
2.20
31.27
54.08
37.13
33.00
32.82
528.56

$1,601.51
037.58
593.34

630.92
1,601.51

39.41

28.80
.62

Local's Monthly Reports

Local.	New Members.	Good Standing.	On Roll.
Ashland	[illegible]	5	9
Ashtabula	2	13	11
Barberton	0	14	20
Belmont Co.	7	161	235
Byesville	2	18	59
Canton	0	50	71
Cincinnati	no in.	399	643
Clark Co.	2	23	32
Columbus	20	114	153
Cuyahoga Co.	275	2099	2789
Dayton	4	201	262
E. Liverpool	9	51	60
Galion	1	35	35
Grover Hill	no in.	10	10
Hamilton	13	193	267
Hubbard	2	28	35
Kenmore	2	44	52
Lima	8	72	108
Mansfield	1	27	37
Massillon	1	53	74
Marysville	1	5	5
Marion	3	12	26
Midvale	2	32	36
Mt. Vernon	1	22	22
New Bremen	1	22	24
Niles	4	75	98
Norwood	no in.	19	47
North Star	no in.	5	5
Lorain	8	3	no in.
Sandusky	1	26	11
Steubenville	5	15	
Seneca Co.	4	52	
Toledo	24	275	
Troy	2	7	
Van Buren	6	21	
Wadsworth	0	12	
Warren	9	31	
Zanesville	0		

Foreign Branches—

field, G

News From State Locals

The Way The Battle Goes

By CHARLES BAKER.

Excuse me for not writing more often, Minnie is with me now, so you will receive dayly reports from the front line trenches.

At Greenwich I gathered several comrades together and reorganized. We have several good, live, and very red comrades there, so I believe they will remain in line this time.

At Wadsworth, we had a very good meeting, the comrades themselves were surprised, the organization there is in good shape. The meeting paid for itself, and turned money into the local treasury. Comrades well pleased.

At Barberton, believe me, the comrades are on the job. Meeting held in the high school assembly room, a splendid musical program was arranged. The comrades say it was the best meeting ever held in Barberton. Many O. S. subs were sold. Seven new members were admitted. Very successful. Money turned into local treasury.

Who said Cuyahoga Falls was not on the Socialist map. We had a splendid meeting there in the city hall, several O. S. cards were sold. New life to the move elect des

Leetonia is no the job, very good meeting there. The comrades are arranging for a week's organization compangn in Columbiania Co., the first week in May.

CHARLES BAKER."

The above named "Minnie" is Baker's pet typewriter!

LEWIS MAKES GOOD AT HAMILTON

Comrade Thurber Lewis' meeting at Hamilton on March 6, 7, 8 and 9 proved successful in every way. He made a great hit with the comrades and his audiences, says Comrade John M. Cahalane. A larger hall than the local headquarters had to be secured for the Sunday meeting and it was packed and Comrade Lewis delivered the goods in great shape. Literature sales were good as was the collection. Local Hamilton has ordered 8,000 of the "No-Work" leaflets from the National Office.

In the recent notice of the death of Comrade Wentz at Hamilton appearing in the Ohio Socialist, it was stated that the funeral address was delivered by Comrade Henry Hinkel. This was an error as the address was delivered by Comrade Ex-Mayer Fred Hinkle.

TOOHEY AT FAIRPORT HARBOR

Comrade M. A. Toohey of Toledo speaks at Fairport Harbor, March 23, 8 p. m., at Finnish Socialist hall, on Blum St. This meeting is being arranged by the Finnish comrades and it is hoped that at this time it will be possible to organize an English speaking local. Everybody should lend a hand to make this meeting a success.

NAPOLEON REORGANIZES

came to life Fe

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred | 50c Six Months

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Postoffice at Cleveland, Ohio, Under Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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Telephone Wallings 13-Y, Call Through Cleveland.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 1919 108

THE HANGMAN RELENTS

After devoting, for months past, its pages to the hounding of all Socialists who did not forget their internationalism in the trying hour of war the New Appeal relents. After branding as pro-German every Socialist Party official who remained true to the principles of the party, having deliberately chosen the role of a suppressor of minority opinion, having assisted to the limit of its ability, the persecution, prosecution and jailing of every comrade who dared raise his voice for internationalism, it now proclaims itself the appointed champion of all political prisoners.

We cannot believe that any Socialist or radical who is now in prison or under indictment will find the services of its traducers acceptable. Men and women who have the courage of their convictions will not stoop to accept the proffers of the cowardly.

Every capitalist denouncer of socialism and socialists was far outstripped by the New Appeal in its deliberately lying, vicious and preposterous denunciations.. That the New Appeal was perfectly aware of its forgeries and falsehoods cannot be doubted. It chose deliberately a policy against socialism, it chose deliberately to jail Socialists, to poison with untruth the public mind, it chose deliberately the role of hangman of the Socialist Party as a political party and individual socialists as socialists.

Having witnessed the closing of prison doors upon thousands of dissenters and the stifling of many strong voices within the dungeons of capitalism it should be content to rest upon its distinguished laurels. It might be content to not add insult to injury. It might, but for one thing.

Time was when the Appeal had an ideal. That was in the time of J. A. Wayland and Fred Warren. Wayland is dead. Warren is no more with the Appeal. The younger Waylands are not, we are informed connected with the paper in any way. The New Appeal is a privately owned paper—with large financial obligations. Being such, it must pay dividends. It is not likely to long follow a policy at variance with its financial interests.

The role of hangman of all internationalists may or may not have proven profitable. However, the entire program of the Appeal to combat socialism has fallen to pieces. It's mission to Europe composed of renegade and discredited Socialists returned unhonored, abroad or at home. Its League for Democracy has disappeared from the horizan of human endeavor. Its support of every antagonistic weapon against Socialism failed to bring it the support of the multitude.

The Appeal needs a conveyance to "come back" on. "Freedom for political prisoners" affords the coveted means.

Moral—Support the party controlled press and keep your reputation.

AS USUAL

"As usual," we remark when our attention is called to the formation of a nonpartisan party that is to dispute the right of the workers of Piqua, O., at the next election to control the affairs of the city they have builded. It is not the first time the method has been tried. It is old. So old that it is commonly recognized for what it is—the last line of defense of capitalism and old political gangs against the forward march of the workers and the rising tide of class consciousness.

It is a good sign—the sign of approaching defeat of capitalism. Socialists welcome the coming of the sign as the coming of spring and a new day. We welcome it with renewed activities, with more propaganda, more agitation, better organization. It is the sign of coming victory in Piqua as elsewhere. It is heartily welcome!

THE SPARTACANS

The recent victories of the German Spartacans have yielded them an intrenchment within the government that augurs well for an extension of their power. The Spartacus Soviets are to receive constitutional recognition as economic controllers of labor and production. Extensive socialization of industries is also conceded.

Economic control of industry by the soviets of workers means the attainment of a dictatorial position from which they cannot be removed by any political power. It may mean, in fact, a displacement of the present political government by one more economic in nature functioning through the soviets.

To control the industries is to control the vital organs of a nation. This control the Spartacans have won. Further victories over the Ebert group and acquisition of greater power now becomes possible. These recent victories of the Spartacans are more significant than any world history recently made.

German Spartacans—German productive forces and science. Russian Bolsheviki—Russian natural resources—some combination!

You can keep your old clothes in America now—the returned soldiers need them. Ten calls for every garment so the papers say.

"The Song of the Shirt-less" is the paeon of victory the heroes may sing as they wend their way to the closed job.

It isn't expected, but it would be in good order for District Attorney Wertz to apologize to the convicts now that it has been determined who fired his house.

Two Live Locals Work For Socialism

Here are two plans of better work for socialism which two locals are putting across. They are both good, both will get results. Both will make socialism a factor in the political and industrial life of the cities where they are being carried out. Both are worthy the serious consideration of every comrade. Both are worthy of being patterned after in your own local. Talk these plans over at your next business meeting. Improve upon them if you can but at least give them a tryout in your own local. They are result getters. Try them.—(Editor).

LOCAL NORWOOD'S PLAN.

Ten good reasons why it will work.

A motion was passed at a meeting of Local Norwood, at which the following plan was put into force. At all propaganda meetings a collection should be taken up and that all moneys so collected above the expenses of the said meeting shall be put into subscriptions to the Ohio Socialist, for three months each.

The names of these subscribers to be furnished by the membership; that is, wherever a member knows of some one whom he thinks can be landed by such a trial, this person to be placed on the list, and it is believed the following will result:

1—An indexer was elected to enter the name with the start and ending date of the sub. The indexer is to watch these subs and at their expiration turn the name over to the organizer.

2—The organizer then has a starting point to work on, he pays the subscriber a visit and has a talk with him.

3—This may result in a possible 6 month or 1-year sub.

4—It may also result in securing a new member.

5—By this plan we can find out the sentiment of the person visited, which can be recorded as it is found.

6—If the sentiment at the end of the trial sub. proves favorable and is so recorded, we then have a signature for our nomination petitions for election. We know just where to go and do not have to put in a lot of time looking all over town for signatures.

7—Instead of ordering bundle lots and putting in the time passing out the same we leave that to Uncle Sam and the mail man.

8—We realize that the bundle plan is all right in its way, but we also realize that if the autocrats at Washington wish to put the O. S. out of business with a small sub list this can easily be done but with a paid-in-advance sub. list, which will constantly be growing, the putting out of business proposition will not be so easy. We realize that you may have 10,000 subs, yet you may be putting out 50,000 papers each week in bundle form but the Washington postoffice authorities will only give you credit for the 10,000.

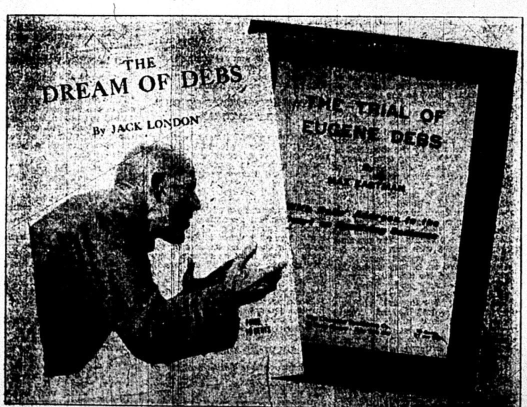
9—After reading the O. S. this will mean a sure Socialist vote.

10—Finally a sure BOLSHEVIK for no one can read the O. S. and carefully consider it's contents without coming to the conclusion that the capitalist papers have lied and that after seeing the light of what the Russian comrades are doing for the poor down-trodden masses, the reader must then realize why it is that 3,000,000 Red Guards are ready and willing to lay down their lives for the sake of defending the government which has done so much for them.

HOW THEY DO IT IN ASHTABULA

Dear Comrades: This is to notify you that Comrade Wm. H. Fox has resigned as financial secretary and that I was duly elected in his place at our last meeting. I also wish to tell you that we are doing team work here now in proper shape. We have elected two captains, they in turn have chosen their crew from among the membership. The object is to compete for subscriptions to the O. S., and membership for the local. The contest will close on May 1. The losing side to pay all expenses of a banquet to be held on or before May 5, in which all members will participate. The new members are to join the side that brings in their application. The captains are Comrade John W. Ellison and E. J. Hewitt. They are both wide awake and on the job, so look out for results from now on.

MRS. CARRIE ELLISON, Fin. Sec.
Ashtabula, O.



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two pamphl

Savage Sentence of Court Impels Labor to Demand Debs' Release

No single act of the capitalist class, drunk with power that it is, has aroused the workers of this nation so much as the conviction of Eugene V. Debs in the Supreme Court, that highest representative of capitalism in America.

A nation-wide, in fact an international movement has, since his conviction, been inaugurated to awaken an agitation to keep Debs from the maw of a capitalist prison. Every legal agency that the Socialist Party and other radical organizations in this country can grasp will be used to keep him from becoming the victim of that senseless and oppressive intolerance that has set America apart from the rest of the world since the Espionage law became a part of our governmental machinery of persecution.

Every radical, even every sane conservative in this country knows that Eugene V. Debs is innocent of wrong. Millions have heard his voice in protest against the evils of the criminal capitalist class. Millions have read his many writings filled as they are with the spirit of love for the down-trodden and the spirit of revolt against oppression's iron hand. His friends are legion, his admirers are the millions that make up the common masses. Will these millions stand idly by while he who has given his life for them, is sent away to the horrors of a capitalist dungeon?

They will not! They will protest. They will sound a warning to the powers that be to lay hands off of Debs. They will let it be known that they are the court of last resort in this nation. That their decision is for Debs and against his conviction. Their voice is rising now in one tremendous nation-wide protest against this savage sentence imposed upon the most lovable man that has risen from the ranks of labor since Lincoln.

Protest meetings are under way throughout the nation. Let every local organize a protest meeting against the carrying out of this barbarity against Debs. Make every meeting a protest meeting, not only for Debs but for all political prisoners. Organize a protest meeting. Call upon every speaker you can possibly arrange a meeting to address you. Make "Freedom for Debs and ALL Political Prisoners" your rallying cry until this monstrous iniquity is buried deep beneath the foundations of real democracy. Keep Debs from prison. Your protest will do it!

Buy an Industrial Freedom Certificate—$1.00

You've got a dollar, we know, which ought to be put to work to re-establish free speech, free press and free assemblage.

You've got a dollar, we know, which ought to be put to work to help release all political prisoners, including Thomas Mooney.

You've got a dollar, we know, which ought to be put to work to buy comforts for prisoners who have been sentences to years and years in federal penitentiaries.

You've got a dollar, we know, which ought to be put to work to help sustain the families of these prisoners; to keep the children of these prisoners in food and clothes.

RELEASE THAT DOLLAR—PUT IT TO WORK
Buy An Industrial Freedom Certificate

USE THIS BLANK

Socialist Party of Ohio,
R. F. D. 2, Box 55,
Brecksville, Ohio.

Comrades: Here is my dollar. Put it to work at once to release all political prisoners; to buy comforts for our imprisoned comrades; to re-establish the right of free utterance and to help sustain the families of our comrades who are in jail. Send me an Industrial Freedom Certificate.

My name is ....

My address is ....

City .... State ....

The Statistician

A Scientific Survey of the Condition of Our Ohio Locals as Have Reported, During the Month of January, 1919.

48 LOCALS REPORT
435 NEW MEMBERS

These 48 locals have 6,563 members on their books and 4,648 are paid up; an efficiency of .708, a gain of .052 over the previous month.

NEW MEMBERS

Local.	Number	Good Stand. Pct.
Opperman (reorganized local)	14	100
Cambridge	10	55
Galion	15	50
East Liverpool	20	46
Marysville	1	25
Hamilton German	5	20
Derwent	2	17
Wadsworth	2	17
Lima	15	15
Toledo German	4	15
Youngstown Slavish	10	12
Akron	8	12
Warren English	2	12
Niles	8	11
Cuyahoga Co.	197	10
Cincinnati	29	9
Norwood	1	9
Toledo	19	8
New Bremen	2	8
Hamilton	12	7
Belmont Co.	9	7
Columbus	6	7
Barberton	1	7
Dayton	12	6
Kenmore	4	6
Canton	3	6
Massillon Lithuanian	3	6

Others worth mentioning: Midvale 6, (high per centage, but insufficient information); Massillon, 1; Hubbard, 1; Yorksville, 1; Ravenna, 1; Richland Co., 2; Piqua, 4; Mt. Vernon, 1; Ashtabula Finns, 4; Fairport Finns, 2.

Notice: The test for any local is 1 to every 20 in good standing or 5 per cent.

GOOD STANDING MEMBERSHIP.

CLASS AA
(All Locals Having 500 or More)

Local.	Number Gd. Stand.	P
**Cuyahoga Co.	1928	

CLASS A
(All Locals Having 400 or
None.

CLASS B
(All Locals Having 300

—Ashtabula, Finnish	133	742
*Hamilton, German	26	839
*Hamilton	185	706

CLASS E
(All Locals With 50 or More)

**Kenmore	65	929
**Youngst'n, S. Slavic.	85	895
—Youngst'n, Scand.	12	747
**Ravenne, Portage Co.	70	886
**Byesville	51	879
(Reorganized local; watch us grow)		
**Niles	72	755
*Massillon	50	676
*Massillon, Lithuanian	49	890
*Warren, Finns	86	672
*Richland Co.	56	651
*Piqua	64	599
*Columbus	88	550
—Akron	62	512
*Lima	98	330

CLASS F
(All Locals With 25 or More)

**Galion	31	1000
*Zanesville	33	868
East Liverpool	42	845
*Hubbard	28	800
Midvale (39 on roll) ?		
Fairport, Finns (47 on roll) ?		
*Tiffin	47	758
New Bremen	25	676
Canton	49	671
Salem	25	581
—Mantpelier	30	428
Conneaut, Finns	32	330

CLASS G
(All Locals With 3 or More)

*Opperman	14	1000
Lorain	10	1000
*Grover Hill	10	1000
*Mt. Vernon	21	955
*Mt. Healthy	10	923
*Warren, English	17	850
*Cambridge	18	818
*Yorksville, S. Slavic	24	828
*Marysville	4	800
(Five makes a local)		
*Wadsworth	12	750
*Barberton	14	700
*Derwent	12	600
*Sandusky	23	561
—Ashland	4	500
—New England	2	400
—Conneaut	7	2
*Marion	9	
—Norwood	11	

Explanatory Notes: **Loca
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Your L
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Your Local's Advert

LOCAL A
Socialist Party
Meets Every F
56 South

LOCAL CINC
Meets Every T
Lectures Every
SOCIALIST H
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets every Sunday at 7 P. M.,
rear room Woodmen's Hall,
South Main St., Warren, O.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and
Kenmore, Ohio.

Red Army Unli
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The highest water
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880 subscriptions were
previous record was
is getting down to b
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the enthusiasm and in som
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foundation of a greater Soc
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The time is ripe as thes
ist in the hands of the work
our message as never before
and time again by the hired
to build their own press tha
be on the industrial or the
to support the party-owne
of subscriptions. Let us
and for all a twice-a-week O
for the municipal elections
victory this coming fall.

Here are the names
high water mark in the h
and a twice-a-week Ohio Soc

Ben Bright, 2; Fred Smitker, 8; F. F., 1; Local New Bremen, O. Local Columbus, O., 4; H. Weich 2; J. L. Allen, 1; Local Robins, O. E. C. Ilkenhans, 7; C. Shrutich, Heller, 1; H. Ruemmele, 3; Huckbride, 3; N. Niner, 1; F Hartline, 13; B. Kush, 4; Sam 1; J. DeHaven, 6; W. D. Ham Fred Weissenberg, 13; A. E. 1; Alex Sherbir, 2; Walter Frank Fogarty, 1; A. Hart Hoffmeyer, 1; Fred White, Toledo, 39; J. Bachter, 1; J. A. B tol, 7; J. F. Talmake, 2; H. G. Claugherty, 2; G. Kampe, 2; John T ppen, 2; J. M. Danley, 1; Local Richland Co., 2; N. R. Collins, 3; M. V. Lan z, 6; Local Cincinnati, O., 9; J. H. K ul, 6; Hugo Gernt, 2; J. McCam, 2; Jos. Jurince, 5; C. L. Pennel, 3; German Branch, Canton, 20; F. Hagerman, 3; M. A. Skinner, 3; Local Troy, O., 3; W. J. Korney, 1; Noah Winston, 3; J. S. Wilkins, 4; L. G. Stapf, 1; Jno. R. Veney, 8; A. W. F. Steckel, 4; H. C. Sharkey, 2; Harry Bokhus, 1; E. C. Flodding, 2; A. P. Clagget, 1.

W. B. Dillon, 4; Delos Cairne, 1; P. M. Hope, 1; J. Symes, 1; Local Akron, 4; Dan Hauser, 1; Local Coshocton, 3; J. Haines, 1; W. Conradi, 3; A. Ludeka, 1; M. M. Schartz, 15; J. L. Hammond, 3; Harry Moubray, 7; M. Tierney, 1; Ralph Howell, 2; L. Williams, 5; Wm. Catton, 1; Geo. H. Schepp, 12; Local Columbus, O., 8; Local Massillon, 3; N. Weltlich, 18; Frank Beck, 2; J. Deitchman, 7; Ben Gossman, 2; W. E. Reynolds, 20; Local Grover Hill, 1; Ulrich Grill, 1; E. A. Odlund, 1; J. S. Albert, 4; J. Kiskilla, 1; H. Knecht, 8; Frank Hamilton, 6; Earl Neaze, 2;

B. Miller,
Slessman,
Hollenbaugh,
Youngstown,
Tilley, 10; Ha
Myler, 8; H.
J. Baumpass, 1;
Sherbin, 2;
Dayton, O., 3;
Zamarin, 1; Osca
brecht, 2; W. D.
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With our Organizers and Speakers

Here are the routings of our state organizers for the next several days. Comrades in these localities are urged to do everything possible toward the success of these meetings. Don't leave everything for the organizer to do after he arrives on the ground. You can help greatly in making each of these meetings a huge success by taking an active part in helping in the advertising, talking up the meeting, making sure that the organizer is looked after when he arrives and doing a comrade's full share in making socialism hum during and after these meetings. Get busy.

* * *

CHAS BAKER TOUR

Comrade Chas. Baker will take a few days rest from the 16th to the 22d. From March 23 to 28, he will work in Portage Co. The 29th and 30th, he will meet with the State Executive Committee, in quarterly session. March 31, he speaks at Mt. Vernon. April 1, at Coshocton.

* * *

LILITH MARTIN TOUR

Comrade Martin needs no introduction to Ohio Socialists. Her work in Ohio during the last municipal elections proved her worth as an organizer. Just the same, we shall expect every comrade to do his and her level to make Comrade Martin's meet such that they will be long re ered as the best all around meet ur lo r held. Put vities an to

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AN D VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

(Edited By C. E. Ruthenberg)

fight with all their power, one thing will bring down on the Bolsheviki the armed forces of all the capitalist nations in the world (if, considering the temper of the people at home the capitalists dare risk it) and that is the adoption of a constitution, which, in the words of Mr. Feran, "takes from the owners, whether domestic or alien, all of their lands and everything connected with those lands, including mineral, timber and water right, and reinvests that title in the government."

The essence of Bolshevism is that it is taking the land, the industries and natural resources for the use of the people. It is striking a death blow at capitalism. That is the essential fact. The rest is camouflage intended to obscure the real point at issue.

* * * *

Mr. Francis Testifies

David R. Francis, ambassador from the United States to Russia, testified before the senate committee which is investigating Bolshevism, the other day. Mr. Francis had been held in reserve by the committee as a star witness, who was to demolish Bolshevism. But the committee must have been seriously disappointed after listening to Mr. Francis' statements. He did not seem to know very much about what happened in Russia. He gave this and that as his "opinion" and he "believed" this or that to be true, but of fact and proof he had none to offer.

Thus for instance, Mr. Francis said:

> "And now, at this point, I wish to state I believe that Lenine was a German agent from the very beginning. Germany would never have permitted him to return to Russia through German territory, had the case been otherwise."

It was easy, of course, for Mr. Francis to believe that, considering his attitude toward the Bolsheviki, but where is the proof? Mr. Francis did not cite any facts to support his "belief," although he stated his further "belief" that:

> "He (Lenine) was a German agent in my opinion, although while acting as such he was also working to foment a world-wide revolution. He would have taken American or British money just as willingly as he did German money."

There you have the whole story. Lenin was a German agent who was fomenting a world wide revolution and incidentally straining every effort to get the world wide revolution under way in Germany before any other country. Does Mr. Francis really "believe" that the former masters of Germany were such a foolish lot as to finance a man who was aiming to undermine their rule, as Mr. Francis admits he was?

The reason for Mr. Francis' "beliefs" was brought out by Senator King, when the latter asked the ambassador:

> "Were you denounced by the Bolsheviki as a capitalist?"
>
> "Yes," he answered, "and the government of the United States was denounced as a capitalist government. They said we entered the war because German submarines interfered with the sale of supplies to the Allies. That we had to participate in the war at the instance of the New York Stock Exchange in order to find a market for our manufactured products, and so on."

Those awful Bolshevists! To say such things about Mr. Francis' government when it really was fighting to "make the world safe for democracy." Wouldn't you believe most anything about people who would so misrepresent your ideals?

* * * *

A Little Mixed

The supports of the capitalist system are having a difficult time of it combating "Bolshevism." They do not seem to know just where they are at. They are scared; that is clear. People who are scared are apt to get a little mixed in their logic. They frequently speak truths which they did not intend to mention.

All this is preliminary to comment on an editorial appearing in "Finance and Industry" warning the capitalists of the great danger they are in. The writer of the editorial shows how Bolshevism is growing in this country and how necessary it is for some such organization as the defunct American Protective League to combat it—and makes such a good case that it really should scare the people he is writing for.

Having put his readers in the proper state of mind to seriously consider what is to follow he proceeds to tell them what Bolshevism is and what its source. And in doing that he mixes things up terribly. Just consider these two quotations:

> "Bolshevists are not trying to build a government upon labor and talent, but upon robbery."

And then, speaking of the present economic situation in this country:

> "At this particular time the dissatisfied are likely to seize upon the ideals of the Bolsheviki as a means of ending quickly, AND FOR ALL TIME, the temporary disturbance of economic affairs."

Now isn't that fine! The Bolshevists who are trying to build up a government, not upon labor and talent, but upon robbery, will end economic disturbances for all time!

If the Bolshevist form of organization will accomplish what this writer says it will—end the present industrial crisis with hundreds of thousands of men and women out of jobs, quickly and for all time, it ought to be a pretty good proposition for the workers to support, even though it is built upon robbery, for what this writer calls robbery merely means that the workers who created the factory, shops, railroads and other means of production and distribution, are taking possession of them to stop the capitalists from robbing them, and are using them for the coming welfare of the workers.

What Is Coming?

The Prinkipo conference with representatives of the Russian Soviet government and the comic opera government which exist in Russia because supported by Allied bayonets, is evidently to be called off. The Supreme War Council, it seems, has come to the conclusion that such a conference would give the Bolsheviki too good an opportunity to get the facts about Russia before the people of other countries in spies of the conference being held in one of the most out of the way places that could be found.

What the situation in Russia actually is, is set forth in the following quotation from a statement by Lloyd George before the peacemakers, which is quoted by Paul Wallace Hanna, in an article in the New York Call:

> "Gentlemen," Lloyd George said, "the Soviet government rules over virtually all of European Russia, and enjoys the active or passive allegiance of two-thirds of the Russian people. All of us here know that to be true. The time has come for us to face the facts publicly and prepare to recognize the Soviet government. A general peace which left Russia out would be a farce."

In spite of this admission the Soviet government has not been recognized. Allied troops are still fighting against Russian working men on Russian soil. Recently the volume of lies and misrepresentations of the facts about the Soviet government has been greatly augmented, in seeming preparation for a new attack upon the Soviet government on the part of the representatives of capitalism assembled at Paris.

* * * *

The British Labor party has passed a resolution viewing with disquiet the recent statement made by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, while introducing the army estimate. The resolution declares in effect that the government seems to be preparing for a long period of military interference and that its policy is inconsistent with the existence of a democratic League of Nations. It goes on to say that the draft of the constitution of the League of Nations does not fulfill the ideal of the Labor party. The latter phase of the matter is, of course, the explanation of the fact that while the five great powers are talking in fine phrases about the League of Nations, they are at the same time continuing to build their military machines. They have no faith themselves in the league that is being set up to delude the people into believing that the world has really been "made safe for democracy."

* * * *

"We've gotten on extremely well in this country for more than 140 years of liberty, and if the I. W. W. are not satisfied with conditions here let them go elsewhere," Representative Julius Kahn told a Boston audience a few days ago. Who did Mr. Kahn mean when he said "we?" The Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Astors, the Vanderbilts and Carnegies and the other thirty thousand millionaires and near-billionaires? No doubt they've gotten on "extremely well," for they have been able to make the wealth the American workers produce their private property, amassing great fortunes while millions live in poverty. We've gotten on extremely well and we want no change, that's the slogan of the capitalists.

* * * *

A writer in a Cleveland paper gives us this picture of our future prospects: "Japan is strong, proud and warlike. So are we in America. Both nations are fast expanding. Both have the assurance of a great future. Under such circumstances a rooted sense of antagonism is always to be watched as a possible source of war." There is only one sense in which we are expanding and that is economically. We are reaching out for new markets, new spheres for investments and Japan is doing the same. The rooted sense of antagonism is therefore economic antagonism, "which is always to be watched as a possible source of war." It seems even capitalist writers sometimes carelessly admit the truth.

* * * *

Here is the answer of the Russian workers of Lawrence, Mass., to the cry for deportation of aliens, "We demand the immediate opening of the frontiers, so that we may return to our homes, to our country, where the glorious sun of freedom shines brightly, where the working class is the master of its own destiny, and where the songs of working class freedom reverberate in the air. We are not afraid to be deported, but would rather welcome the opportunity to leave immediately." Another slap at "the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

* * * *

Arguing for the state constabulary bill before the Ohio legislature, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, says, "The New York general assembly refuses even to listen to the suggestion that this useful agency of law enforcement shall be abolished, because its members recognize the valuable work the state police is performing." A recent example of this "valuable work" is the use of the New York state police to prevent a demonstration of unemployed.

* * * *

The masses of Europe have already been disillusionized. When Wilson arrived in Europe on his first trip he was greeted everywhere by great demonstrations of the people. Now his greetings come only from the propertied classes. The workers of Europe have quickly learned that all that Wilson had to offer was fair words and fine phrases.

* * * *

"Bolshevism is a reaction against oppression," said Rev. Francis T. Moran, to an audience of Cleveland industrial leaders the other day, "and there hasn't been oppression in America." No, of course not, even though there are a thousand men and women in prison for doing nothing more than expressing their conscientious views.

ne V. Debs Speech

(Continued from Page One)

m class, the lower order? That is the system that you support or help destroy by your vote.

"I appeal to you just once to stand perfectly erect in the majesty of your humanity. You owe it to yourself.

"Washington Was Denounced."

"Look into the eyes of your brother and see the new light that is shining for the working class. We have been oppressed, we have suffered, we have agonized and now let us unite and stand together against capitalism. That is the plea I am making tonight.

"I do not desire to make any glowing periods, I wish I could read your hearts tonight, your attitude of soul.

"Let us unite industrially. If Germany had been organized industrially this great calamity would have never come.

"These crimson flowers that have just been presented to me represent the springtime, the springtime of revolution. I have faith in it and in humanity; I have faith in the Man of Galilee. Twenty centuries ago he spoke to the common people and they heard him gladly. He was brought before the scribes and the Pharisees and the priests and the doctors and the lawyers and the judges. They said 'He is preaching dangerous doctrines. He is a Bolshevist.' They hung him on a cross near Jerusalem as a warning to the centuries.

"But ever since there have been men and women of moral courage who dared to speak the truth as they saw it, who have been maligned and persecuted; they have been stoned and burned at the stake, their ashes scattered to the four winds. These men are remembered and it is to them that we owe our progress.

"Remember that George Washington was denounced as an unprincipled scoundrel; Jefferson was said to be a violent fanatic; Samuel Adams a dangerous character; Patrick Henry was an incendiary.

"A little later there was a group of abolitionists who fought against an institution which had existed for 250 years in this country. Abolitionism was the Bolshevism of that day. Those men were ridiculed. Today they are honored, while the smug, respectable people of their day lie buried and forgotten.

"The great working class movement will similarly triumph. Its emancipation from the ruling class must come soon."

Rush to Shake Debs' Hand.

The conclusion of Debs' speech was dramatic. From the slow, rhythmic, laborious articulation which marks his speeches, he had suddenly wrought himself to a pitch of tumultuous haste. His speech ended sooner than was expected.

The audience took no heed of Chairman Ruthenberg's introductory admonition to remain in their seats. When Debs turned to sit down, a thousand people rushed for the platform with outstretched hands. Debs shook hands with all whose proximity permitted the greeting. Some of the women rushed to kiss him.

During a pause in his speech members of Local Cleveland had presented Debs with a basket of red roses and carnations. Debs regarded the floral tribute with smiling eyes and remarked:

"Is it not timely, however, blasphemous, to ask if an ordinance has been passed to prohibit their color?

"I am richer than John D. Rockefeller. He never enjoyed a gift so pure in loveliness, so deep in meaning. I deplore his poverty."

Argentine Socialist Movement

(Continued from Page One)

"We are a party of order and method. We regard socialism as a method of action rather than the plan of a new society to be organized."

"We have read that somewhere," we replied, smiling.

And Dr. Justo modestly admitted that he is the translator of a Spanish edition of Marx's "Capital."

The Tendencies.

"The Argentinian Socialists are united," declared Dr. Justo. "The former deputy, Palacios, left us. Our position on the question of duelling was the cause of the division betw the party and Palacios. The prohibited duelling, and Palaci not wish to abide by the pa tion.

"When the Socialist pa group voted in favor of m tection for

"At Berne we shall advocate the union of the Socialist forces, which pursue a common object.

"In opposition to us are the immigrant Spanish or Italian anarchists who publish a paper called the Protesta.

Trade Unionism.

"Our trade union organization is the Federation Obrera Argentina (the Argentine Labor Federation). In tendency it is idealistic, syndicalistic. But it does not oppose the action of the Socialist Party. The leaders of the movement have proposed that the officials of the organization shall not be the candidates for office of any political party. The proposition has not yet been adopted.

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The Senate Investigation of Bolshevism

(Continued from Page One)

ination of labor exploitation and making all the parasites go to work for their living.

BLAMES AUTOCRACY FOR BREAKDOWN.

As to the breakdown of Russia economically, which the battery of capitalist agents of the American labor exploiters which the committee placed on the stand at the beginning of the prosecution attributed to the Soviet government, Miss Beatty declared that the country was economically broken down even before Kerensky took over the government; due to the three years' war 50 per cent. of the transportation facilities were inoperative.

Relative to the causes that brought about the revolution the witness said that the immediate cause was the war weariness of the people. In June, 1917, about the time of the first test of the strength of the Bolshevist party in the outbreak of Petrograd, the Kerensky government staged a "patriotic" demonstration to inspire the working people to keep on fighting. But the soldiers said: Why do we want to fight our brothers in Germany, who were whipped into the trenches by the kaiser just as we were whipped into them by the czar?"

Senator Sterling here brought out his favorite inquiry relative to the "breakdown of discipline" in the Russian army. Sterling belongs to that school of militarists who believe that the only way the "lower classes" can be kept in subjection to the whims of the labor exploiters is to have the lower classes convinced that it is necessary to show "respect" to their superiors. Especially is this so, he thinks, in regard to the Russian soldiers. To do and die, not to question why, according to Sterling, is the supreme duty of the Russian soldier. And from his point of view when the Russian soldiers made up their minds not to salute their officers any more or suffer the death penalty for infractions of the military law laid down by the uniformed brutes of the ex-czar, then the breakdown of the Russian army began.

"Where did the abolition of the death penalty and the advancement of the extreme view that the soldiers should not salute or pay proper respect to their superior officers spring from?" he asked. "From the Socialists?"

EVERYBODY SOCIALISTS.

"Oh, everyone is a Socialist in Russia," replied Miss Beatty. "It is simply a question of what kind of a Socialist one is."

"Are you a Socialist?" asked Senator Nelson.

Miss Beatty replied that the nearest she came to being one was when she toured California along with other college women in 1916 for Woodrow Wilson.

at are you one at heart?" per

Recurring to the abolition of the death penalty and the order abolishing the necessity of saluting in the army, Miss Beatty stated that those decrees were really made by the soldiers themselves and then promulgated by the Kerensky government to give them a semblance of legal form. The decrees simply recognized the existence of a condition already made effective by the action of the soldiers themselves.

Miss Beatty had her most difficult work in trying to make the committee understand the distribution of the land under the Soviet government's land tenure system. If the restrictions as to land tenure were extreme, they were made so in order to erect a social system in which no ablebodied man shall eat if he does not work. Money has not been abolished, but the use of money to make money out of the oppression of others has been abolished. No person, she said, can make money out of his fellow men. The desire of the Bolshevist party is to equalize opportunity as much as possible. If the peasants and laborers had been put at the top, as suggested by Senator Sterling, it was elevating 90 per cent. of the people and reducing 10 per cent. She would like to see the nationalization of the land tried in Russia.

"What becomes of the loafer who won't till his land?" asked Senator Overman.

"He has to work in order to eat," explained Miss Beatty, adding: "There is no place for loafers in Russia now."

FRANK KEEDIE'S TESTIMONY.

"Ninety per cent. of the people of Russia were hewers of wood and drawers of water prior to the revolution. They had been exploited for three hundred years. This was especially so of the peasants. They were brought up in the villages and without education. Then they were sent off to be made cannon fodder of by the command of the czar. The rich land owners would do for the poor everything but get off their backs. These peasants came back from the war. They returned to the villages to find their families in penury and without food. They went to the rich land owners for food. In many cases it was refused, the rich land owners flashing revolvers and firing on the peasants. The peasants were decorated with iron crosses for having killed a certain number of Germans, and he in turn flashed his rifle and killed the rich land owners. Then the peasants said: 'What's it all about, anyway? Who have I been fighting for? For Russia? Well, it's mine.' And he took the land. Ninety per cent. of these people had been living from time immemorial on the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table, and when they heard of the Soviet decree nationalizing the land they simply rose up and turned over the table.

This was the substance of the story told the senate committee investigat- by Frank Keedie

remained there until last October. His work was principally among the peasants. He told the committee that he talked about what he had seen and what he knew, not about what someone else had known and seen. He was familiar with the Soviet government as it affected the peasants, especially in the regions where he had worked. He knew what they wanted and what they should have. "Bolshevism as applied to agriculture has been a success," he said, and said so emphatically.

As to the Bolshevist movement and the Soviet government in general, the witness declared that it is trying to "create a social order where it will be impossible for a rich man or any other man to dominate the people.

In response to an inquiry from Senator Overman, the witness denied that he had been speaking for Bolshevism in the United States. Overman seems to be of the opinion that it would be terrible if anyone should speak for the fundamental principles of the Socialist Soviet government and their application to this "land of the free and the home of the brave." He doesn't seem to know that the fundamental demands of the Socialist Party of the United States and of every Socialist Party throughout the world are identical with the fundamental planks of the Soviet constitution, and that if he wants to find out how many people in the United States openly and frankly support the fundamental principles of the Soviet republic of Russia he can get a starter for his list by summoning the hundred thousand dues paying members of that party before his committee.

OPPOSITION OF PROPERTY OWNERS NATURAL.

The witness said it was perfectly natural for those who had accumulated property either in land or factories through the oppression of the peasants and factory workers should oppose the Bolshevists. He might have directed attention to the fact that the slave holders in Senator Overman's own state of North Carolina in the last generation also opposed the abolitionists who suggested that it was an injustice to the colored people for the white masters of the south to own them as private property and rob them of all the wealth they produced. It was a good thing for the southern slave holders that the colored people along in 1820 to 1850 did not have the vision that the Russian peasants had in 1917 and 1918. And what a sight that would have been! The southern slaveholder compelled to go to work for his living.

SOLDIERS JUST QUIT.

Relative to the "demobilization" of the Russian army, the witness somewhat humorously explained that there was no demobilization. The 15,000,000 soldiers simply quit

houses over there. He cannot live in but one of them. What is the matter with asking him to let us live in the rest of them?" No sooner said than done. Some of the land lords acted decently, and the peasants treated them correspondingly. Other land lords resisted, but of course, Socialist peasants can't permit land lords to violate the supreme law of the land, and consequently they made short work of the resistance—and lived happily forever after.

Asked whether the Soviet constitution did not provide for the nationalization of live stock, Keedie stated that the letter of the constitution might provide for the nationalization of the live stock, but in the province of Samara, where he spent a good deal of his time, the live stock taken from the big land lords was given to the peasants according to their necessities. A crippled soldier or a soldier's widow would be given more sheep or more cows than ablebodied persons.

"The Bolshevik government in operation is different from the Bolshevik government as described in its constitution then?" asked Chief Prosecutor Humes.

"Perhaps," admitted the witness. "But the same criticism is applicable to other governments. I believe in the United States there is a court which spends the most of its time interpreting the meaning of your constitution."

NO LANDED PROPRIETORS.

"Now as to the landed proprietors in Russia," began Senator Nelson.

"There are none," interjected Keedie much to the disgust of Nelson, who does not see how a Minnesota labor-exploiting land lord could live and prosper without a lot of poorly-paid farm laborers to roll up his ill-gotten wealth for him.

"How about the mir?" continued Nelson. "Didn't the peasants in the villages control the mir?"

"They did not," came back the witness. "The mir was controlled by the czar's government and the land owning interests."

"Have you seen any terrorism in Russia?" cried one of the committee.

"No Red Terror," replied Keedie. General Dutoff, however, had told him that he had signed the death warrant for 700 Bolsheviki. The committee put the lid down immediately on any further accounts of terror applied against the Bolsheviks.

Keedie stated that he is a Socialist, a pacifist, a conscientious objector, does not believe in the use of force to emancipate society, and hopes and believes the social revolution will be brought about in Great Britain and France, and the United States by peaceable means. He criticised the allies for having sent troops to Siberia and Russia, and said that these troops are the principal props to the [illegible] there

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FIGHTING THE AMERICAN BOLSHEVIKI

During the war there arose in this country a cheap imitation of the Black Hundred that disgraced Russia during the regime of the czar.

This organization, calling itself the American Protective League, trampled upon all the dear-bought rights which the American people thought secured to them by the constitution.

Because they were given some sort of semi-official recognition, the members of this organization considered themselves little czars and kaisers who might do whatever they pleased with ordinary persons.

They abridged the right of free assemblage by interference in public meetings.

They arrested hundreds of persons without warrant and without any charges, merely because it suited their whim of the moment.

The Cleveland division of this organization brutally pushed and malled men, women and children at a big meeting at Grays armory, at which the affairs of Russia were being discussed.

An another instance they carted two hundred Socialists to prison for no other reason than that they were present to hear a speech by Eugene V. Debs.

It was great sport for this organization to establish a dead line in the downtown section of the city and to throw into the filthy hole called the local prison every young man caught within the district who did not happen to have his registration card in his pocket.

The American Protective League as it manifested itself in Cleveland, was everything un-American—if Americanism is written in the Declaration of Independence and the constitution. It was an organization of men whose heads had swelled because of the power they were permitted to usurp because of war-time terrorism and who set themselves up as petty despots to rule the actions of ordinary people.

By direction of Attorney General Gregory this organization was dissolved on Feb. 1. Probably Mr. Gregory knew that it had earned the lasting hatred of most people through its brutal, despotic methods and that it would be best to get rid of it through dissolution.

But petty despots do not give up their power easily. Once having experienced the sensation of riding roughshod over the rights of other individuals, brutally malling and beating them and throwing them into prison when the spirit moved them to such action, the desire is strong to continue their power.

The Cleveland branch of the organization has found the excuse for an attempted continuance of its tyranny in the need it has discovered for a fight against what it calls Bolshevism.

The Successor of the American Protective League

Its new name is to be the Loyal American League. Under this name it has issued a lurid appeal to all members of the defunct American Protective League to please join the new organization and make a liberal contribution for the fight against "socialism, anarchy and bolshevism."

Its circular is worthy of examination. It sets forth what "Loyal Americans" have set out to fight—what they mean by "socialism, anarchy and bolshevism." It will open the eyes of some working men to what their masters are really fighting against when they paint their "awful" pictures of bolshevism.

The circular begins with an admission that we are rapidly approaching a crisis in this country. Here are the first two paragraphs:

> Very rapidly we are approaching a grave crisis in the affairs of the American Commonwealth. The hearthstones of the nation are in danger. If the working class once loses its head and takes into its system the poisons that has wrecked and ruined all Russia, all kinds of evil things will hoppen here, on the Russian plan.
>
> Our one hope is that the restless elements of American life can be enlightened to the evils of socialism, anarchy and bolshevism, and persuaded to keep sane and peaceful while the great industrial problems now worrying the whole nation, can be worked out by competent minds.

Translated into plain English these two paragraphs say, that the American workers have caught some of the spirit of the Russian workers, who are abolishing all oppression and exploitation; unless we can poison their minds against Russia through misrepresentation and lies and force them to remain meek and patient while the opportunity to earn a living is denied them because there are no jobs, they may follow the example of the Russian workers and take the matter of solving the industrial problem in their own hands.

What is Meant by Bolshevism

But the most interesting part of the circular follows. It describes what the "Loyal Americans" call "socialism, anarchy and bolshevism." We quote again:

> The Bolsheviks now are putting forth well-organized, widespread and most vigorous efforts to persuade the real workmen of America to adopt the policy of Lenine and Trotzky, to seize all public utilities, to fully maintain or increase war wages, to reduce working hours, to increase employers' liabilities, and to force the employment of labor on public works. All this is not new to those who read the newspapers carefully.

There is the whole story. "The hearthstones of the nation are in danger" because working men dare ask that war-time wages be maintained **as war-time prices are being maintained**; they are to be fought by the "Loyal Americans" because they dare ask for reduction of their hours of labor; because they dare demand that employment on public works be provided for those whom the broken down capitalist system cannot give work, they are everything that is evil.

What do you think of this Loyal American League, working man? This league that is branding you as an anarchist and destroyer of the hearthstones of the nation, and, as the circular continues, "wreckers of nations," "pillagers of cities," "destroyers of homes," "murderers of innocent people," because you dare demand wages that will buy food, clothing and a place to live in and dare say that you have a right to the opportunity to earn a living and if the capitalists—the men of "superior brains," as they think—cannot give you that opportunity, it is time that they stepped aside and permitted the industries to be organized on a new basis!

Threaten Deportation

If you believe in better wages, shorter hours and the right to work for those who can only earn a living through working and happen not to be a citizen of the United States, you are a "traitorous alien and anarchist alien" and the "Loyal Americans" threaten you with deportation, for the circular continues:

> Do you want the traitorius alien and anarchist alien deported? We are going to help to do it!

What is your answer, working men of the United States? Your enemy is organizing. If you demand better wages, shorter hours and the right to work you are to be branded as an enemy to the nation, and if you happn to be an alien, deported. The capitalists are organizing to protect their right to rob you and oppress you and to create ten thousand more millionaires and to add to the wealth of those who already own millions.

Are you going to submit to be thus branded? Are you going to submit to have your rights tramp'ed upon?

There is but one answer you can make if you intend to resist the efforts of these oppressors of the workers, and that is organization. Answer the organization of the Loyal American League, the Black Hundred of capitalism, by organizing in your shop or factory, organize in the industry in which you work and organize by joining the workers already organized in the Socialist Party.

You have power—more power than the capitalist if it is organized. The capitalists say that if you demand better wages, shorter hours and the right to work you are disloyal and a traitor and if you are an alien you ought to be deported. Answer them by organizing your power and sweeping them into oblivion.

Soviet Government Opens Trade Bureau In New York

Statement of L. G. A. K. Martens, Consul-General of Socialist Government In Regard to Present Conditions

New York.—On January 2 of this year, Mr. L. A. Martens, now of New York, was appointed official representative of the Soviet government for the United States. He was forwarded his credentials to Washington, and will for the present have temporary offices at 299 Broadway It is Mr. Martens' intention to work for a reopening of trade with Russia.

(Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens, appointed representative of the Russian Soviet government in the United States, is a mechanical engineer and a man of business experience, 44 years old. He was born in Bakhmut, in the province of Yekaterinoslav, Southern Russia, had his school education in the "Gymnasium" (high school) at Kursk, and graduated as a mechanical engineer from the Technological University at Petrograd. For the past few years Mr. Martens has been in the United States as the American representative of the Demidoff Iron and Steel Works, and has purchased here several million dollars worth of machinery for the works. The Demidoff works are the largest steel works in Russia. Before the war they employed 28,000 men. About a year ago the Demidoff plants were nationalized by the Soviet government).

Mr. Martens makes the following statement for publication:

"I have recently received credentials appointing me representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet republic with instructions to negotiate for the opening of trade relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia wants to arrange the purchase of great quantities of supplies here. As a first step I have forwarded my credentials to the State Department, with a memorandum on conditions in Russia and an outline of the desire of my government to re-establish trade with the United States.

TO SPEND $200,000,000.

"My government, in the event of trade being opened with the United States, is prepared to place at once in banks in Europe and in the United States, gold to the amount of two hundred million dollars ($200,000,000) to cover the price of initial purchases.

"To insure a basis of credits for additional Russian purchases in the United States, my government is ready to submit propositions which I believe will be acceptable to Americans interested in Russian trade.

"The purchases I am empowered to arrange will be commensurate with the needs of the 150,000,000 people of Soviet Russia. These needs are now all the greater because of the disorganization caused by the war and the utter extravagance and incompetence of the Czarist regime; the inevitable waste and disorders attendant on the transition period of the revolution, before a stable government was finally established by the people; and lastly because for the past year and a half Russia has been able to carry on practically no foreign trade.

"Russia is now prepared to purchase in the American market great quantities of commodities such as: Railroad supplies, agricultural implements and machinery, factory machinery, tools, mining machinery and supplies, electrical supplies, printing machinery, textile manufactures, shoes and clothing, fats and canned meats, rubber goods, typewriters and office supplies, automobiles and trucks, chemicals, medical supplies, etc.

TRADE OFFER.

"Russia is prepared to sell: Flax, Hemp, Hides, Bristles, Furs, Lumber, Grain, Platinum, metals and minerals.

Within a short time I shall appoint a commercial attache and open a suite of offices in New York as a headquarters for these large scale purchasing arrangements. For the purpose of organizing trade relations on a proper basis and as a medium through which American trade interested in Russian commerce can secure practical contact, I am planning to organize and incorporate a "Board of Trade of Soviet Russia."

"Under the old regime Germany was the greatest factor in Russian foreign trade, and the bulk of imported manufactures came from Germany. In the year before the war German exports to Russia amounted to nearly four times those of Great Britain, the second factor in Russian imports. Inasmuch as Germany's production for a considerable time will remain subnormal, Russia is all the more an open market for other countries. In a trade sense as well as in a political sense, Russia is starting anew. It is quite obvious that the manufacturing nation that first secures a large amount of the Russian foreign trade at this time, will be in an advantageous position for the future as well.

"I may state that large European manufacturers are already well-informed as to the possibilities of trade with Soviet Russia and are laying their plans for it as soon as the pres-

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Abandon Struggle Against Bolsheviki

Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionists Say Russia Must Unite Against Bourgeoisie of Other Countries Who Are Aiding Russian Reactionaries.

L'Humanite for January 22 prints the following wireless of the Russian Telegraph Agency, which gives details of the reasons underlying the support now given by the "moderate" Socialists to the Soviet.

Some time ago the Red Army took Ufa. It was in that city that a majority of the Deputies of the Constituent Assembly tried to elect a Provisional government, which did not last very long, however. It had to be moved to Omsk and surrendered its power to a so-called directorate, consisting of five members, with Avksentieff as president. After Vologodski had overthrown the directorate, Admiral Kolchak proclaimed his democratic military dictatorship.

Now the Deputies of the Constituent Assembly have forwarded to the Bolshevik committee at Ufa, through their bureau, a communique which was recently addressed to the revolutionary Socialist organizations. Its text is as follows:

"The struggle of the revolutionary Socialists against the Bolsheviki was conducted against a power which was in direct contact with the oppressors of the Russian democracy—namely the Germans.

"But now that Germany has been defeated and the victorious powers

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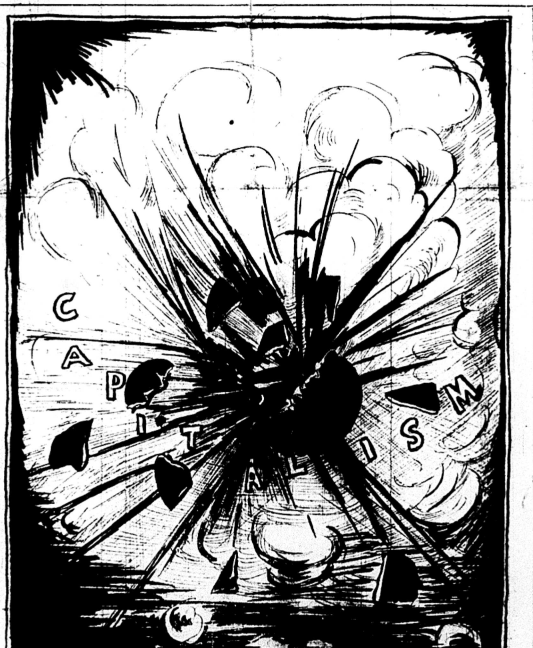


RUSSIA, GERMANY, HUNGARY,—NEXT?

Defense Committee Tells of Persecution of I. W. W.

The New York Defense Committee of the I. W. W. has issued the following statement in regard to the government's activities in persecuting that organization:

With the war-time prosecutions being pushed relentlessly by the U. S. government and with a fresh outburst of capitalist persecution everywhere meeting the increasing activity of the radical labor elements, the I. W. W. is being driven to redoubled efforts to raise the large sum needed to protect its members throughout the country and defend the right of the organization to carry on its work as a labor union.

The New York Defense Committee of the I. W. W. has been reorganized and has mapped out an energetic money-raising and publicity campaign. The labor organizations of New York and vicinity and radical groups and individuals throughout the country are going to be appealed to for help in meeting the financial demands of the situation.

The committee, in its appeal for the support of all friends of the radical labor movement, points to the fact that, in addition to 93 I. W. W.'s convicted in the famous Chicago trial last summer and sentenced to 807 years' imprisonment and fined aggregating $2,570,000, 46 members were convicted last January in the Sacramento bomb frame-up. Besides there, 34 more are to be tried in Wichita this month, while 28 are still awaiting trial in Omaha and 27 in Spokane, in addition to scores of individual cases throughout the western states, either under the Espionage act or under state laws against "criminal syndicalism" enacted within the past year for express purpose of crushing the I. W. W.

Government Plans Deportation.

The government plan for the wholesale deportation of foreign-born workers holding radical economic opinions is aimed particularly at the I. W. W., the committee claims, pointing to the fact that, of the first batch of 58 deportees received at Ellis island, 45 were members of that organization.

Raids on I. W. W. branches and diagnet arrests of members are coming to be almost daily occurrences all over the country, it is stated. Wherever signs of I. W. W. activity crop out, the local authorities resort to any means in their power to try to stamp it out. The Chicago office of the organization has been recently raided three times in quick succession, the members found there being arrested without a warrant and quantities of literature and office supplies confiscated. Similar illegal raids and arrests are reported from Springfield, Mass.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Newark, N. J.; Kansas City Mo.; Portland, Ore.; Seattle and Spokane, Wash., and many other points. Efforts are made by threat of arrest and prosecution, to intimidate new members and get them to renounce their connection with the I. W. W.

The systematic newspaper campaign now under way charging the I. W. W. with complicity in wild plots of assassination, bomb explosions and incendiarism is cited as part of a plan to prepare the public mind to justify any arbitrary acts deemed necessary in the effort to wipe out this militant labor organization. It is pointed out by the I. W. W. that their philosophy in no way endorses wanton destruction or personal violence, but aims solely to educate and organize the workers so that they may be prepared when the time comes, to take over the industries and operate them for the benefit of society at large—what the I. W. W. preamble calls "building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Funds Needed.

With eight or nine hundred of its members confined in jails or deportation pens throughout the country, the I. W. W. finds itself obliged to raise a staggering sum of money for their defense. Between two and three thousand dollars a week, it is estimated, is required to supply these men with the food, clothing, reading matter, tobacco and other "jail comforts" they need to provide for the wives and children many of them have left without support, and meet the cost of legal defense and publicity.

"The fight of the I. W. W." the committee says in closing its appeal for funds, "is the fight of all the workers throughout the country who long for freedom from industrial slavery. It is their fight as well as ours. We cannot win it without them. They must help, or the present opportunity for gaining industrial democracy will be lost and capitalism will be firmly entrenched for years to come."

Contributions to help in the work of defense should be sent to the N. Y. Defense Committee, 27 E. 4th St., New York city.

New York to Abandon Military Training

New York.—After three years of compulsory military training for all boys under eighteen years of age—whether in school or not—New York State seems ready to abandon the unprofitable experiment. Governor-elect Smith has appointed a "Reconstruction Commission" with authority fully to investigate the compulsory military training system installed under the Welsh-Slater acts and to see whether some other sort of training, like vocational training, might not be substituted for it. That Commission has been holding sessions, hearing witnesses and is reported to be ready to recommend that vocational training be substituted for military training.

Among the complaints made against the system was that the secondary schools were losing students,—parents prefering to send their boys outside the state where their studies would not be interrupted by military drill; the hardships inflicted upon the boys, some of whom had to go ten or twelve miles at their own expense, to attend the weekly drills; the fact that in some communities the only buildings large enough for indoor drill were attached to saloons; that the number of "truants" was so large that the state authorities could not round them up; and that the value of the physical training was small compared with what might be secured in more direct physical training.

February "Eye Opener" Held

Chicago.—Now the February issue of "The Eye Opener," weekly publication issued by the National Office, Socialist Party, has been halted on its way to its readers.

This action follows on the heels of the holding up of the January issue for five weeks, after which it was finally released.

The February issue was put into the mails as usual but got no further than the local postoffice. Several copies have been sent to Washington, D. C., where they well be examined by the Censorship Department under Thought Controller William H. LaMar.

Other Socialist publications issued in Chicago report that they are having considerable trouble with the censor. They declare that practically every issue put out is held up several days, if not weeks. This is due, they claim, to the postoffice department's energetic hunt for "Bolshevik propaganda" which seems to include anything that is said at all in favor of the Russian Soviet republic. Although issues are being held up no publication in Chicago has as yet reported the loss or challenge of a second-class mailing privilege. All of the Chicago foreign language Socialist dailies came through the war without the loss of their postal rights.

Japanese Workers Oppose Russian Intervention

Washington.—TThe Socialists of Japan were the strong opponents of Japanese intervention in Russia and persistently antagonized the Japanese government when Moteno decided to send Japanese troops into Sibera in 1918. The government arrested five of the leaders of the Socialist Party for their opposition to the government's interventionist policy, but in spite of this high-handed action the party carried on its work.

At a meeting held in Tokio the Socialists passed a resolution expressing their sympathy with the Russian revolution, as well as their joy over the fact that the workers turned it into a social revolution, and urged the international organization of the working class to fight the common enemy—international capitalism.

The resolution was sent to the Bolshevik government by the executive committee of the organized Socialists of Tokio and Yokohama and appears in a late issue of the Petrogradskola Pravda. The letter and accompanying resolution follow:

"Comrades of Russia:

"Since the beginning of the Russian revolution we have followed with enthusiasm your intrepid activity. Everything accomplished by you has an enormous influence upon the psychology of our people.

"We indignantly protested against sending Japanese troops into Siberia because we feared that their presence there might hinder the free development of your revolution. We are profoundly sorry that our numerical weakness does not permit us to prevent the danger with which you are menaced by the action of our government. Prosecuted as we are we cannot give you material aid. But we assure you that the red flag of the revolution will soon float over Japan.

Continued on Page Four

"Enclosed find 19 more subs for the Ohio Socialist. We are on the job every day in Toledo."—Lawrence Dean. By the recent heavy receipts of subscriptions from Toledo we are able to confirm the comrades declaration that the Toledo comrades are right at it every minute.

FRANZ MEHRING

By JOHN [illegible]

At a time when the revolution in Germany needs its guiding spirits, clear thinking and far-sighted leaders then the unseen hand of fate takes them away, one after another.

In the course of the war, the overwhelming majority of the German Genossen went over to the imperialistic German government and declared that the integrity of the capitalistic fatherland is more sacred and stands higher than the struggle of the working class against its exploiters, the instigators of the war which threatened the fatherland. At that time a group of members of the official Social-Democracy broke away from that organization and launched a new one, under the name of "Spartacus." They set to work against the deadly doctrines of class truce (Burgfrieden) advocated by the majority of the German party. For that purpose the Spartacides began to publish a new magazine "The Internationale." The outstanding personalities grouped around that new publication, were, the old veteran of the German party—Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, H. Strobel, A. Thalheimer and Klara Zetkin. The hatred of the government Socialists against their adversaries went so far that they did not stop short even at spying and denunciations. They pointed out to the gendarmes and military authorities, who were the guilty ones. The group "Internationale" was easily rounded up and put behind prison bars.

Governments with their spy squads always think it possible to subdue any mass movement by the imprisonment of its leading individuals. The German government was not an exception, although it knew by experience, that such measures are ineffective. The severe persecutions by the government, supported by the kaiser's Socialists, resulted in the suppression of the magazine "Die Internationale" after the appearance of its first issue. The German rebels, however, undertook other means of carrying on the combat. Among them was the old veteran, Franz Mehring, who during the exception law period watched the Socialist activities from outside and then, convinced of the justice of their cause, joined them.

A news dispatch, about a month ago, announced the death of Franz Mehring. Through the death of Franz Mehring the Spartacides lost from their ranks the oldest (he was 72 years of age) and brightest head.

The personal history of many of the veterans of the German Socialist movement is closely connected with the whole movement and cannot be described separately, and apart from it, and thus it is true in regard to Mehring. He joined the German Social Democracy, not through economic necessity and pressure, but through fundamental understanding of the Marxian theory of economics, history and philosophy. After his graduation from the university, Mehring become a bourgeois journalist and many times joined issues with Socialists on the theoretical field. Nevertheless, he always sided with the oppressed on the grounds of justice. The horizon of the bourgeois justice is too narrow for a broad-minded man. Mehring strenuously strove to penetrate into the essence of things. Bourgeois philosophy interpreted the historical phenomena insufficiently and unexplicitly to him. To gain inside information about socialism he spent many nights in spirited discussions with the senior Liebknecht and August Bebel. It may be accredited to them that Mehring was converted to socialism and became one of its sincerest exponents and advocates. When joining the Socialist movement he was already a well grounded Marxist. He did not join the movement to study it, but to use his broad and deep knowledge of human society to bring about the realization of the ideal of socialism. To this great ideal he remained faithful all the balance of his life.

To make up for his former attacks on socialism, Mehring set to write and publish on the origin and growth of modern Marxian socialism; he spread the conception of Marxism as a theory of social life.

Mehring's Writings

After the appearance of his first book, "Die Lessing-Legende," a history and critique of Prussian despotism and classical literature, he established a reputation as a Marxian scholar. "Die Lessing-Legende" is a small book of minor importance to the average reader, although it is highly valuable to the student of social development. Mehring's life's work is, "Die Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie," (The History of the German Social Democracy) in four large volumes. This is such a wonderfully clear and scholarly work that there is no Socialist movement in the world that has anything to compare with it. All other writers in the Socialist movement are dipping their information from this source, which shows no sign of exhaustion. The first volume of that great work traces the doctrines of Utopian Socialists before Marx, and shows how scientific socialism developed gradually toward its present completeness. It proves that industrial development and the growth of the economic [illegible] creates the necessity of clear comprehension of the task before the newly developing working class. We find the Utopian Socialists elaborating schemes about how to abolish the evils in contemporary society. Some of them go to great extent in working out the economic theory; others work on history and still others on philosophy. New conceptions in the various fields of social science and practice come from various countries. Each one of these falls short in their own special area because they endeavor to separate these experiences from each other and do not take them as a unified whole. The practical schemes of these Utopians, applied to real life's practice, appear to be entirely impractical. Meeting with failure they invent something new, only to fail again at the first trial. At last the working class discovers its real apostle and interpreter of society and its achievements from the economic standpoint, who unites economics, history and philosophy and proves their unity. That is Marx.

But Marx's doctrine is outlined in highly scientific terms and requires much previous training of the mind to understand it. With incomparable clearness Mehring shows the sources from which Marxism originated. It did not come from the blue air, ready made, but took amply from the achievements of the French Socialists and historians, English economists and from the industrial status of that country; it took much, but very critically, from the classical German philosophy of Hegel and Feuerbach. Knowledge of the historical development of modern socialism eliminates the cant saying that socialism is "made in Germany" and therefor will not fit the different conditions of the different countries, and that's why it should be opposed when it appears in other countries. Mehring in his great work proves that socialism is not the inheritance of one country or of the working class of a certain country. Socialism, according to Mehring, is the last word in modern science. Science is not national but international, and so, also, is socialism. Marxism is not a static but a dynamic theory, it interprets social phenomena not as it stands at present but tells how it became what it is. And so we find in the first volume not only the beginnings of socialism in Germany but in all industrial countries in Europe, particularly France and England.

The Exception Laws.

Establishing the Marxian theory and its outcome, Mehring proceeds to show its special application and further development in Germany. The theoretical struggle between Lassaleans and Marxists is thoroughly discussed. Especially interesting is the narrative on the exception laws in Germany against Socialists, invoked by Bismarck, and their utter failure. The growth of the revolutionary spirit was the cause of Bismarck's demanding such laws. With them he expected to destroy the revolutionary movement of the German workers. The impotence of these stringent laws to stop the growth of the German working class movement, forced Bismarck to ask for repeal of these laws. They were in force in Germany for twelve years, from 1878-1890. In spite of the drastic action of the police and gendarmerie, the German workers marched triumphantly on. Mehring shows how the organizations of the German workers multiplied, how education became always more broader and deeper and how the vote for the Socialist candidates to reichstag always increased. When it was impossible to publish Socialist matter inside of Germany it was published outside—in Switzerland, Belgium and England and smuggled across the German border in hundreds of thousands of copies and spread broadcast.

The last volume of Mehring's work has especial interest for us in America, now, that our Republican statesmen are endeavoring to practice in this country those persecutions against Socialists, that monarchial Germany, through Bismarck, tried to do 30 years ago. The monarchy of Germany failed. Will the republic of America succeed?

Industrial Germany of that epoch was in state of its development, the working class, small, numerically inferior to the other classes; the U. S. is at the climax of its industrial development, its working class outnumbers all the rest of its population. The growth of the German working class made ineffective the exception laws in that country; the growth of the working class consciousness in this country will accomplish the same here. The numbers are here already.

Continued Next Week.

Supreme Court Says Congress May Suspend Constitution

Washington.—In the opinion handed down by the United States Supreme Court affirming the judgment of the lower court in sending Eugene V. Debs to the penitentiary for ten years for making a Socialist speech at Canton, O., the court said:

"The chief defenses upon which the defendant (Debs) seemed willing to rely were the denial that we have dealt with and that based upon the First amendment to the constitution, disposed of in Schenck vs. United States."

The "denial" here referred to by the Supreme Court is the denial made by Debs' counsel that the Espionage act under which the indictments were drawn, is constitutional, claiming that the act interfered with freedom of speech contrary to the first amendment, the constitution providing that congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. The court states that it "disposed" of this objection, namely, the alleged unconstitutionality of the Espionage act, in the Schenck case. The Schenck case was an indictment brought against Charles T. Schenck, secretary of the Socialist Party of Philadelphia, and Elizabeth Baer, a member of the party's executive committee, charging them with having conspired to cause insubordination, etc., in the military and naval forces of the United States, and to obstruct the enlistment and recruiting service of the United States by printing and distributing a certain circular among the men who had been called for military service under the statutes of the United States. The defendants claimed they had a right to distribute the literature in question under the guarantees of freedom of speech and liberty of the press set forth in the constitution. Relative to this contention the court made its decision which practically abolishes these guarantees. The court said:

"We admit that in many places and in ordinary times the defendants in saying all that was said in the circular would have been within their constitutional rights. But the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force.

"The question in every case is whether the words are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterances will not be endured so long as men fight and that no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

There is no use discussing such a position. If the framers of the constitution and its amendments had intended that congress should have the power to abridge freedom of speech and of the press when the nation is at war, they would have said so. They would have added a proviso to the amendment reading like this: "Provided, however, that this amendment shall have no force or effect during a war duly declared by congress." Inasmuch as there was no such proviso, it must be admitted that the freedom of speech and of the press provisions of the constitution were intended to protect the citizens in times of war as well as in times of peace. But the present Supreme Court declares that Congress can suspend those guarantees of the constitution any time it sees fit to do so, provided congress has declared war. The next step will undoubtedly be to take the position that congress can also suspend these guarantees in times of peace, when the ruling class is confronted with Bolshevik propaganda or something of that sort, which they even now admit is more of a menace than was the kaiser's war.

It will be well to watch the coming congress, which will be the most reactionary one that has ever convened since the days of Mark Banna, and see how much these capitalist legislators leave of the individual's rights under the constitution when the enjoyment of those rights become a serious menace of the rights of the labor exploiters to live on the labor of the working class.

The Soviet Government and the Children

(Editor's Note—The only news about Soviet Russia that reaches this country through the kept press are wild stories about the "red terror" cruelties and oppression. While the kept press slanders and lies, the Soviet government continued its work of reconstructing Russian society on the basis of a workers' industrial republic. Its achievements, in the brief time it has been in power, have been marvelous. The following story of its care for the children of Russia is one instance indicating what is being done and that what is being done is in striking contrast to the current lies of the kept press).

At the congress of medical-sanitation held at Moscow, June 19, 1918, a report from the school-sanitation board attached to the Commissariat of Public Instruction was read and discussed at great length. The Section is entrusted with safeguarding the children's health and application of preventive measures in schools against tuberculosis and neurological disease.

Hitherto in Russia little attention was given to physical education of children and their hygienic conditions. At the present time, the School Sanitation Board does the work of spreading physical education among children and of removing conditions detrimental to the students' health. To accomplish this the board has established an Institute of Physical Education in Russia, experimental institutions (settlements, schools of forestry, schools-sanatoriums, ambulatories, etc.) and has been aiding labor organizations interested in the establishment of such institutions.

The following resolution of the School Sanitary Board was adopted:

1. The object of school sanitation within the boundaries of the Russian Soviet republic is the safeguarding of the health, physical as well as mental, of children of all ages, and a proper organization of physical education.
2. For the realization of this problem a central school-sanitation soviet is established at the Commissariat of Public Instruction, representatives of proletarian organizations and large masses of the population participating in the work.
3. Likewise, similar school-sanitation soviets are established in localities regulating and directing the local school-sanitation activity.
4. The directing organs in the matters of school sanitation are medical boards, elected by medical sanitary organizations such as the Soviet of Medical Boards or the Commissariat of Health, and medical sanitary sections attached to the local soviets of workmen's deputies, and approved by the Commissariat of Public Instruction. All these organizations are working in close contact with the Central Commissariat of Health, as well as with the Commissariat of Public Instructions attached thereto.
5. A school physician is a permanent and competent member of the pedagogic soviet and is actively engaged in school work. He is elected by the school-sanitary sub-section of the medical sanitary board and is approved by the Department of Public Instruction attached to the Soviet.
6. To safeguard the health of children and to render direct mental, moral and physical aid to children of imperfect health, the school-sanitary sections (medical boards) establish special institutions, sanitoriums, schools of forestry for physically weak and sick children, auxiliary treatment and assignment of children to auxiliary dispensaries, sanatoriums and agricultural settlements for exceptional forms of mental and physical deformity. School ambulatories are established for study, medical treatment and assigning children to proper institutions.

GLEANINGS

FROM THE LOG OF AN AGITATOR

Written for the Ohio Socialist by
W. E. REYNOLDS.

America had a "Work or Fight" order which created some comment but—Bolshevism's "Work or Starve" order to the bourgeoisie, my, oh my, doesn't that make the bourgeoisie squeal? Isn't it awful Mabel?

"Poverty, starvation, disease and crime; Bolshevism would bring about exictly that condition," says Judge E. H. Gary. Well, well, won't some kind person please inform the judge that "poverty, starvation, disease and crime," are already here and that it would be impossible for Bolshevism to "bring about" something that is already here. Poverty, starvation, disease and crime are here and were "brought about" by the very same capitalism which Judge Gary so frantically seeks to uphold.

Press reports that unemployed union carpenters, who were also unemployed discharged soldiers, are to picket a large plant employing non-union help. It will come as a rude shock to some of our very best people to see labor pickets in the uniforms of the United States army—but army or no army the class antagonisms will crop out.

"What shall we do with the returning soldier?" is worrying the bourgeoisie. They had better worry about what the returning soldier will do to them.

Senate is planning on deporting all Bolshevists. Must be planning on leaving this country to the Indians.

Canadian labor gave the Canadian government sixty days in which to repel all censorship laws and free all political prisoners. Labor in this country? S-h-h-h! Don't wake 'em!

A well known cartoon company recently put out a cartoon reading, "There is more law at the end of a night stick than in all the statute books." How's that for an open advocacy of direct action?

THE SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE

(HERE IS THE HISTORY OF THE SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE AS APPEARED IN THE SEATTLE UNION RECORD)

Four days before the strike actually took place, the meetings of the General Strike Committee began. With their first session on Sunday, Feb. 2, 1919, authority over the strike passed from the Central Labor Council, which had sent out the call, and from the Metal Trades Council which had asked it, and was centered in a committee of over 300 members, elected from 110 local unions and the Central Labor Council, for the express purpose of managing the strike.

The first meeting was called in order at 8:35 in the morning and continued in session until 9:30 that evening, with short intermissions for meals. From this time on until the close of the strike, there were meetings daily and at almost all hours of day and night, of either this General strike Committee, or of the Executive Committee of fifteen which it delegated some of its authority. The volume of business transacted was tremendous; practically every aspect of the city's life come before the strike committee for some decision.

A general strike was seen, almost at once, to differ profoundly from any of the particular strikes with which the workers of Seattle were familiar. It was not enough, as some of the hasty enthusiasts declared, to "just walk out." The strikers were at once brought face to face with the way in which the whole community, including their own families, is inextricably tied together. If life was not to be made unbearable for the strikers themselves, problems of management, of selection and exemption had to take the place of the much simpler problem of keeping everyone out of work.

The strikers had no quarrel with the city of Seattle or with its inhabitants, of whom they themselves and their families comprised perhaps half. They had no particular quarrel with the city government, and most of them took pride in the municipally owned light and wager and garbage systems, the municipal car line and the public port. While they were doubtless deeply touched by that spirit of unrest and desire for a new world which is sweeping the earth today, they had no definite revolutionary intentions.

Consequently the problems of what should be done about the water supply, the lighting system, the hospitals, the babies' milk supply, came before a committee of quiet working people whose stake in all these things was as great as that of any persons in the city and who, while they intended to make a tremendous and solid demonstration of sympathy with their brothers in the shipyards, had at the same time no desire to wreck the city's life.

They realized that they were undertaking something new in the American labor movement; they were not quite certain where it would lead; but they felt themselves strong enough to handle whatever problems might arise.

The Committee Organizes.

To make the problem harder, the General Strike Committee was not, like the Central Labor Council, composed of delegates who had had experience in working together. They were a new group, a very large and unwieldly mass of unacquainted individuals, upon whom, almost at once, great and momentous questions descended.

The quantity of business transacted and the business like attention to many aspects of complicated questions is shown in the minutes of the committee, and indicates a much higher level of efficiency and business like methods that could normally be expected from such a large governing group.

The morning session of the first day was taken up with passing on credentials. Eighty unions, in addition to the 21 unions of the metal trades, presented acceptable credentials at this meeting. A few other unions were added later, making 110 in all.

All unions which had voted to strike, or which belonged to a district council which was striking as a unit, were granted three delegates. A few of the officials of the labor movement were granted seats in the meeting by special vote. Several irregular credentials were turned down.

The first appearance of the inevitable problem, of the relation of the strike, to the city authorities occurred when the Garbage Wagon Drivers asked for permission to explain why they had voted against the strike. They stated that Dr. McBride, the health commissioner of Seattle, had told them that they must take care of hospitals and sanitariums, subject to penalty under the law. They had not known whether the strike committee would make any exemption in favor of these emergency needs, and so had voted not to strike. Later the garbage wagon drivers' delegates were seated and certain exemptions were made in the interests of health.

Another fundamental problem which raised its head in this first meeting was the opposition of officers of internationl unions. The stereotypers stated that one of their international officers was in the city and would probably try to force them back to work. They wanted to know what support the unions of Seattle could give them in case their international officers supplied men to fill their places and otherwise disciplined them. The committee declared that the sympathetic strike would not be called off until the stereotypers were reinstated in any positions lost as the result of striking.

The date on which the strike should be called came in for much discussion. It was finally decided to fix the following Thursday, Feb. 6, at 10 a. m., and to ask Tacoma to postpone the general strike, which it had ordered until the time agreed on by Seattle.

An executive committee of fifteen was next appointed to work with the metal trades committees in formulating a plan of action, and to present this to the Central Labor Council on the following Wednesday evening. Almost at once other motions made this committee permanent and instructed it to consider all questions of exemption that might arise in the handling of the strike. The decisions of this committee were at all times subject to repeal by the General Strike Committee, but in practice, repeal was not found necessary.

Committees on publicity, on finance and on tactics were also appointed, and many other minor matters of business were disposed of. Among these were the forwarding of a resolution to Washington, D. C., demanding the removal of Mr. Piez of the shipping board, and the adoption of a resolution that no officer or committeeman should receive any salary during the strike.

Just at the close of the meeting two slogans were suggested. "We have nothing to lose but our chains and a whole world to gain" was rejected in favor of "Together We Win." The unions of Seattle were declaring in favor of labor's solidarity; they were not declaring in favor of the well known phrases of the class war.

Executive Committee Organizes.

Even while the first meeting of the General Strike Committee was going on, the newly appointed Executive Committee of fifteen met and prepared for business. Brothor Nauman, of the Hoisting Engineers, was elected chairman, and Brother Egan of the Barbers, secretary. Three sub-committees were appointed to consider exemptions from the general strike order, under three main heads: Construction, Transportation and Provisions.

Committees on miscellaneous exemptions, on grievances and on general welfare were also appointed.

The Cooks union reported at this time that their arrangements for feeding the strikers and the public were well under way.

The executive committee decided upon daily meetings. As a matter of fact, so many and so important were the matters brought before them that they found themselves compelled to meet more than once a day.

First Exemption Granted.

On the following day, Monday, the committee of fifteen met again. Before them came a delegation from the Firemen's Local 27, whom they had requested to appear. After some discussion the committee requested the firemen to stay on the job. This was the first exemption granted in the strike. It was followed by many more.

The transportation sub-committee was instructed to arrange for the necessary forms of permits and signs to designate the autos and trucks used by organized labor in carrying on the necessary activities of the strike. Here again the necessity of exemption was recognized.

C. R. Case, head of the department of streets of the city of Seattle, was the first department head to appear before the committee to state city needs. He pointed out the fact that the water supply of Queen Anne Hill and West Seattle depended on electrical help from the City Light and Power. He also stated that large quantities of food in cold storage would spoil if the power system did not run, and that without the street lights the city would be a prey to lawlessness and disorder and thuggery. He mentioned the needs of gas in hospitals and laboratories, and the need of transportation for the various city institutions.

The committee of fifteen knew what they were facing, if a strike wr carrid through without exemptions. They appointed a special hour on the following day at which they requested heads of city departments to appear and state their needs, and they expressed as the sense of the committee that they co-operate with these heads in every way possible.

(To be Continued).

The National Executive Committee Election in The Third District

The Chicago Communist Propaganda League realizes the great importance of the coming election of National Executive Committeemen. The present committeemen from this district do not represent the revolutionary element within the party. The element is very large, in fact it appears to be in the majority. It should have full representation on the National Executive Committee.

We present to the comrades of the third district, who are in harmony with the revolutionary element, the names of those comrades who receive the full support of and are in harmony with the Chicago Communist Propaganda League. They are Dannis E. Batt of Detroit, John Kericher of Detroit, and Wm. Bross Lloyd of Chicago. We urge all revolutionary comrades to keep this list and use it in the election. To split your vote will help to defeat all our men. It is long past time that the party should align itself definitely with the revolutionary forces, such as the Spartacans of Germany, the Bolsheviks of Russia, and the Communists of all countries.

The present National Executive Committee has prevented the expression of clear class-struggle socialism. They refrained from calling an emergency national convention at a time when the party members were generally demanding such a convention. They hide behind the subterfuge of the great expense. But they have [illegible] for an amnesty conference and in calling this conference they expected to quiet the demand for a party convention. Most significant of all, the National Executive Committee committed the party to affiliation with the anti-Bolshevik International held at Bern by attempting to send delegates. Actual participation of our delegates being prevented by the government.

These actions were entirely in line with what should have been expected from a National Executive Committee dominated by such men as Berger, Work and Stedman, with others of their kind. They have known ever since the St. Louis convention that they would not long be able to continue their reactionary domination of the party. But they are doing their best. They call us anarchists and impossibilists. When the state of Michigan, in convention, this year adopted a revolutionary anti-reform platform they were accused of trying to break up the party. But such is not the case.

The Left Wing elements in the east and west, in Michigan and in Chicago, are merely trying to put the party on a sound proletarian basis. The American Proletariat have lost their confidence in the Socialist Party as a revolutionary organization. We must all work to regain their confidence. Now is your opportunity. Put the party on record as a revolutionary, instead of a reformist organization, and elect Comrades Batt, Keracher and Lloyd to the National Executive Committee from this district.

JOHN R. BALL, Secretary.
Room 422, 803 W. Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

ANOTHER COMRADE ARRESTED

A Russian comrade notifies us of the arrest of Comrade Harry Harbit at New Castle, Pa., recently. Because an I. W. W. song book was found in his pocket and literature printed in Russian, he is held in jail awaiting the pleasure of the department of justice. A newspaper clipping asserts that Comrade Harbit attempted to get to Russia when the revolution broke out but was unable to do so after reaching Japan.

"Absolutely no government in Russia, but a reign of terror" says one press report, and then naively adds, "but liquor prohibition is effective."

Help Make Italy Safe For Democracy

The days of kings, kaisers and czars are waning fast. A goodly number of these despotic rulers have already gone to their political graves. Others are on the verge of political downfall. The day in which the whole world will be rid of all rulers by "Divine Right" is fast approaching and the dawn of a new era will presently gladden the earth with its democratic light.

Italy will be the next nation, we believe, to overthrow monarchy and establish a free democratic republic. The Italian Socialist Party is on the alert. It is on the job. It is doing all in its power to awaken the masses to the new light. To proceed in its work it needs money to spread its propaganda. The workers of America, in their international character, are herewith appealed to for help to finance the political struggle in Italy. Every monarchy overthrown is a step further toward the international brotherhood of men. Everyone who has at heart the best interests of humanity will not fail to help finance political progress in Italy. Next June the general elections throughout Italy will take place. The Italian Socialist Party will be in the fight to capture the reins of government. The outcome of this election will determine the time at which the monarchy will fall. Quick action is necessary. Send all contributions to the editor of L'Avanti, G. Valenti, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. He has been elected director of this special campaign fund "TO MAKE ITALY SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY."

ITALITY SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Denounces "Appeal" Amnesty Campaign

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago.—Adolph Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, and one of the Socialist officials convicted and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, has issued an open letter to the Appeal to Reason, in which he scorns any efforts that this turncoat publication may make in his behalf. The letter in full is as follows:

Chicago, Ill., March 19.

Editor Appeal to Reason,
Girard, Kans.

Sir: In the issue of the Appeal to Reason, March 15, 1919, you publish an appeal for $30,000 CASH, for an alleged "amnesty and construction fight."

You give yourself credit for having "won" the first skirmish in the amnesty fight and on the basis of this unfounded claim, you justify your appeal for $30,000 cash. To make your appeal seem legitimate, you use such names as Eugene V. Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, Rose Pastor Stokes and refer to "many of our comrades." I happen to be one of those who is facing a prison sentence and if you have included me in "many of the comrades," I want you to strike my name from your list. I loath to be a "comrade" of yours. You and your paper helped to create a hatred against the Socialist Party and you wilfully and maliciously lied about the National Executive Committee when it refused to follow a course that would put more of our members in prison. In other words, you and your paper must bear a part of the responsibility for the prosecution and persecution of the Socialists and it is rank hypocrisy for you to prate about your fight for amnesty.

Others may speak for themselves, but I scorn any effort that you may make in my behalf. A thousand times would I rather spend the rest of my life behind prison bars than to have one word from you whom I hold responsible for the persecutions of which my colleagues and I are victims.

I look upon your appeal for $30,000 CASH, in the name of "amnesty" as a sinister method of filling your own coffers.

You have lied to us and about us and betrayed us in the past and I resent your hypocritical prattle about amnesty.

Yours without respect.
(Signed) ADOLPH GERMER.

News From State Locals

MORE MEETINGS FOR KENMORE

Kenmore comrades are arranging meetings for every Sunday. Comrade Wm. F. Potting had a splendid meeting on the 16th. Comrade J. J. McCue was to hold a meeting on the 23d. The Kenmore comrades are alive to the present situation and are pushing propaganda work to the limit.

SOCIALISM IN THE SOUTH

Comrade S. G. Gregory of So. Tunnel, Tenn., sends some subscriptions and reports good meetings in Tennessee. The audiences, he says, are glad to hear real red lectures and show little appreciation for Menshevik propaganda.

* * *

ROSWELL TO THE FORE

As a result of Comrade Beery's visit to Roswell a local of 17 members was organized this last week. Comrade Rex Wolfe of Midvale, effected the organization. The comrades sent in with their application for charter an order for $25.45 worth of supplies. Local Roswell is to be congratulated on the start it has made and the spirit it has shown. Good luck to you comrades.

* * *

EVERY HAND FOR BAKER

The audience at Hubbard was enthusiastically for Chas. Baker after his recent meeting there. "He's getting better all the time," was a comment often heard. After the meeting the chairman asked for a show of hands for a return date and every hand was lifted high. Thus writes Comrade T. H. Davies.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New [illegible]

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred | 50c Six Months

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
R. F. D. 2, Box 55, [illegible], Ohio

Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Postoffice at Cleveland, Ohio, Under Act of March 3, 1879.
EDITORS .... [illegible] T. Allen
Alfred Wagenknecht
Published Weekly by The Socialist Party of Ohio at Cleveland, O.
Telephone Wallings 16-Y; Call Through Cleveland.
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1919 [illegible]

THE HOPE OF THE WORLD

When the world is particularly charitable toward its unfortunates who swarm the planet, it designates them as "misfits". This is about as charitable as society has grown toward the lives is has wrecked, the bodies and minds it has debauched, the brave spirits is has broken.

However, in this becoming charitableness, is society damned for its hypocrisy, its destruction of life and for the human wreckage that clutters the earth. It is an old saying that society cares nothing for the individual until he breaks its laws. Millions of times over has this been proven.

The world is just beginning to learn that its greatest assets are the individuals who compose it. "Misfit" implies a mal-adjustment of talents and powers to ones work, an unfitness for the job. In a world of sanity where the people are in control of their destiny where the condition of life of the masses are not determined by a class of profit mongers, where human life is above the Almighty Dollar, the vast energy, ambitions and potential powers inherent in man, could and would create in one generation a new world and a new race. Then would all science and resources of the earth and of man's powers be used by and for the development of the masses who are under the capitalist system of industry, mere pawns in the game of profits.

But while the world's resources are witheld from the people by their exploiters, while the vast treasures of earth remain the articles of trade of an exploiting class, no great change for the better can occur.

Only a seizure of the earth and its fulness by the proletariat can guarantee life and opportunity to the masses. When the proletariat does this—and it soon will, then the most stupendous reconstruction program ever inaugurated will become our supreme duty, a reconstruction of human lives; the teaching and training of children; the building of schools; the appliance of every art and science toward developing the powers of the individual.

This program will be a part of the new world's advent. It is a vital part of the new order in Russia and the worker's and peasants' Soviets are solving the problem in an heroic manner.

This is what Lunacharski, the commissioner of education said:

"What ever other budgets are put down, the budget for public education must stay, because it is the honor and glory of the people."

All over the doors of the thousands of schools the Soviets have established runs this motto: "The children are the hope of the world."

Russia is creating a new race as well as a new Russia.

WHAT'S A PROGRAM?

"We shouldn't spend our time quarrelling among ourselves about right and left wing programes, but fight the common enemy." Thus writes a Comrade. And immediately we ask "What's a programe?" and our answer is: that a programe is a weapon, a weapon in the class war against capitalism.

Presumably, the comrade isn't particular about the weapon he uses so long as he's in action. He can't bear to "waste time" deciding upon a choice of weapons, but would seize the first to hand, whether it was an effective one or not—whether it melted in his hand or could be sent ripping into the citadel of the enemy.

Then the thought comes that it's thru the wise choice of weapons and their efficient use we will win. Time spent in carefully, even quarrellingly selecting our weapons at each stage of the development of the class war will be well spent. Weapons must be chosen. Let us choose them well. And remember "the autocrats of industry do not run business at the ballot box." Neither do they rob the worker there.

Everybody Wants One

Wants one what, you ask? Industrial Freedom Certificates, of course. Industrial Freedom Certificates are selling fast. Many comrades from out of sate have sent their dollar to the State Office for one. Beatrice Sedgwick, State Secretary of Delaware, ordered twenty to sell to members. Some locals are selling out entirely and ordering more. Many comrades report fine sales to non-party members. This is what makes us say EVERYBODY WANTE ONE.

Every fair-minded man and woman believes that the political prisoners should be restored to their families. Everyone knows that a crime is being perpetrated against Tom Mooney by keeping him in prison. Everybody knows that Free Speech and Free Press should be restored to the people. Everybody knows that as long as these crimes are allowed to continue we are not free. Everyone feels the pressure of the iron heel as long as these intolerable conditions exist.

To carry on the fight for freedom for political prisoners, for freedom for Tom Mooney, for the restoration of our constitutional rights, to supply our political prisoners and their families with some of the comforts and necessities of life—to do these things requires money. Every comrade who buys an Industrial Freedom Certificate helps to pay these expenses. Every comrade who buys one of these certificates will want to keep it as a memento of this memorable fight for Industrial and Political Democracy. Ask your local secretary for an Industrial Freedom Certificate. Hand him a dollar.

RESOLUTION BY LOCAL WARREN

Motion by Ed. S. Smith.

That Local Warren, Ohio, of the Socialist Party, having 31 members in good standing, seconds the resolutions by the Central Branch of Local Boston, Mass., for the purpose of initiating a national referendum, as published in Revolutionary Age, of March 8, 1919, and expressed in the following language:

1. That the Socialist Party international delegates now being elected, stand instructed to participate only in an international congress or conference called or participated in by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki), and the Communist Labor Party (Spartacans) of Germany.
2. That the National Executive Committee shall call immediately upon the adoption of this referendum an emergency national convention of the Socialist Party to be convened in Chicago, Minneapolis or some adjacent city.

Motion duly seconded and carried March 16, 1919.

J. F. DENISON,
Sec. Local Warren, O.

KENTUCKY
Official Organization News

FRED E. STEVENS, State Sec. 434 W. Market St., Louisville, Ky.
E. B. AUSTIN, Asst. State Sec. 231 Broadway, Louisville, Ky.

FEBRUARY ACCOUNTS OF THE STATE OFFICE.

Receipts.	
Local Louisville dues	$18.00
H. C. Jones, M. A. L.	3.00
Local Livermore dues	4.95
Local Boyd Co. dues	3.00
Local Boyd Co. O. S. subs	3.00
Donation, J. L. Stark	5.07
L. A. McGill, M. A. L.	1.50
S. Shifress, M. A. L.	2.00
Total	$40.52
January balance	26.78
Total	$67.30
Disbursements	66.30
February balance	$ 1.00
Disbursements.	
Postage	$ 4.17
National dues	19.00
Back salary to J. L. Stark	28.85
Ohio Socialist subs	3.00
Office supplies	1.15
State Sec. salary for February	10.13
Total	$66.30

Approved:
R. M. RASMUSSEN,
J. J. BOSEMER,
Auditing Committee.

STATE EXECUTIVE MEETING
March 7, 1919.

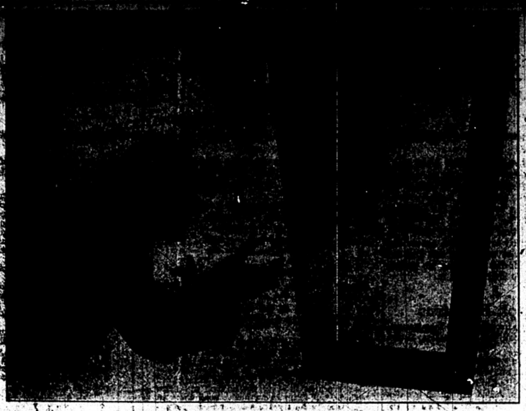
Present—Rasmussen, Bosemer and Stevens.

Absent—Stark and Goodman.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

It was announced that the State Committee had elected the following as the State Executive Committee: R. M. Rasmussen, W. C. Goodman, J. J. Bosemer, J. L. Stark and F. E. Stevens.

Adjourned.



Two Up-To-The-Minute Pamphlets

Jack London's Great Story of the General Strike. Max Eastman's Story of Deb's Trial.
10c each, 6c in quantities.

Another Week's Work of the Red Army Gets Great Results!

Another week of work, another week of effort spent for socialism! Another great stride nearer the goal of a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist. Five hundred and seventy-four new subscriptions is the harvest of last week's work on the part of the Red Army of Ohio Socialist Boosters. Not so great as last week, but still a record which shows the spirit of the comrades and the determination they feel to make socialism hum in this and other states.

For Ohio comrades are not alone in this drive to make the Ohio Socialist a greater power for the emancipation of the toilers and the gaining of the industrial Commonwealth of Workers. Many, many comrades from all parts of the country are giving most loyal support to the Ohio Socialist. From all parts of the nation letters reach the State Office pledging support to ur campaign for 20,000 subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist. Comrades realize as never before the power of the press as a weapon in the worker's battle against the despotism of present day social and industrial conditions. They are proving their wisdom by their co-operation in helping to establish the first twice-a-week English socialist paper in America.

New conditions demand new and better weapons. The integrity, the progress and development of the Socialist movement in this country demands the establishment of powerful party controlled papers. The Socialist movement can no longer rely upon privately controlled propaganda to reach its goal. These new and necessary weapons must be forged by the comrades themselves who make up the rank and file of the movement. This is their work—the most important that confronts a willing and wide awake membership. This is their work—a work to which every comrade can contribute a part.

Every comrade can get subscriptions.

Every comrade SHOULD get subscriptions.

Every comrade should lend a hand to the building the chariot of progress; to its completion and perfection. Let every comrade put a few spokes in the wheel of progress during the coming days and weeks that is to determine the possibility of establishing a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist. Every comrade to the job.

MILLIONS OF POST CARDS
TO BE MAILED TO
MILLIONS OF PEOPLE
BY A
MILLION
COMRADES AND FRIENDS OF DEBS

The most gigantic post card campaign ever undertaken will be launched by the Socialist Party on May 1, in connection with the 5,000 meetings to be held throughout the country upon that date. Every local and branch of the party, every member of the party, every sympathizer, every friend of Eugene V. Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare and other convicted and imprisoned comrades will, upon International Labor Day, begin showering the nation with PROTESTS in post card form.

Advance copies of post card, as well as other publicity matter will be sent all local and branch secretaries. Upon receipt of same, orders should be placed AT ONCE. Address—Department of Organization and Propaganda, Socialist Party, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

RESOLUTION BY LOCAL HAMILTON

Resolved, That no literature shall be sold, or distributed, by any division of the Socialist Party, that has not been endorsed by the National or State Executive Committee."

The reason for this resolution is the fact that there has been so much literature sold in the past that only represented the individual idea of some Socialist or would-be Socialist, that many times did not in any way conform to the fundamental principles of socialism and in the main were only reformist ideas, and has given rise to the statement that there were 57 different varieties of socialism, much of this literature has been sold by Socialist locals, and consequently the party has been criticized, it being the natural inference that the party endorsed the literature. Local Hamilton has no thought of denying anyone the right to read what they please, but we do not believe the party should be sponsors for some individual ideas unless they are investigated and endorsed by the National or State Executive Committee. Local Hamilton asks the endorsement of the resolution, and requests all locals that may endorse it to notify us.

Yours for socialism,
JOHN M. CAHALANE.
835 S. 9th St.

OATH OF THE RED ARMY

"We have sworn an oath to double the membership of Local Portage Co. and to treble the subscription list of the Ohio Socialist as the first thing in answer to the masters' decision to send Comrade Debs to prison. We will back the O. S. to the limit.—C. G. McVay.

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS,
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.,
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.,
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West
Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30
P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second
Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening,
8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday,
2:30 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL,
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30
P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

"The daily press is working overtime spreading its lies, says Comrade Geo. W. Markert of Mt. Healthy. That being so, the comrades are distributing Ohio Socialists and "The Bolsheviks and Soviets."

* * *

Seventy copies of "Value, Price and Profit," by Karl Marx is an order from E. O. McPherson, literature agent of Local Lima.

Virginia Bulletin
Official Organization News

B. M. DUTTON, State Secretary.

PARTY OFFICIALS.

State Secretary—B. M. Dutton, Abingdon, Va.

State Committee.

First—J. W. Cassell, 522 14th Ave. S. W., Roanoke, Va., chairman.
Second—Weldon Crawford, 713 4th Ave. N. W., Roanoke, Va.
Third—David B. Dale, Wise, Va.
Fourth—F. D. Lowe, Riverside, Va.
Fifth—Vacant at present.

Virginia Comrades: Now that spring it near we should get ready for a lively spring drive. Never in our history has conditions been more propitious for effective work. "The great fear—NO WORK" is already getting this nation in its grim and bony clutch. The wolf of hunger will soon be howling about hundreds of thousands of homes. And it is, the wolf that makes revolutions, not the agitator. Human society is desperately inert and is stirred only by desperate and unusual forces, usually it requires widespread and appealing hunger or ferocious and destructive despotism. Combine the two and the red spectre of revolution is sure to arise.

Although it is the wolf that makes revolutions, it requires the agitator to prepare the forces needful to guide the wild and turbulent forces aroused by the wolf into constructive rather than destructive channels. Capitalism in its heedlessness, intolerance, ruthlessness, greed and desperation, has sprung a crisis that threatens its extermination. When the storm they are drawing down breaks in its fury, were there no constructive idealism to guide and soften it, it would wreak only purposeless destruction and leave in its wake devastation without betterment.

The Socialist Party, alone, is engaged in preparing in the minds of men that constructive idealism, that shall save the world from another of those catastrophic lapses back to savagery that have so often overtaken human civilizations in the past. The present civilization, resting as it does and ever has, upon the back of slaves, has reached its climax and is now tottering to its fall. Ever devoid of humanity and justice, it has now become senile and is hastening its own destruction.

The Socialists, foreseeing that capitalism, imperialism and autocracy were doomed to pass by reason of containing the elements of their own destruction, have endeavored by unparalleled sacrifice and devotion, to save humanity from the horrors of a transition period of violence and bloodshed, by methodically and peacefully substituting the elements of the new order as the old and crumbling structure rotted away.

But in their heedlessness and ruthlessness, capitalism, imperialism and autocracy have hindered and endeavored to thwart our work. In their senility and blindness they have mistaken us for the executioners of their doomed system when we were only its undertakers and grave diggers. They, themselves, are its executioners, and now when the doom they have hastened seems upon them they become demented and strike down the very hand that would soften the rigors of the storm they have invited.

They have sown to the whirlwind, now let them reap to the storm. Our hands are clean. But our mission must be accomplished, and our duty fulfilled. We are to be the custodians of the new order, and it behooves us to get ready for the role. Comrades who thought never to see the big change in their day, and were therefore apathetic, must now arouse. Unless they die pretty soon they will SEE THINGS. So get ready by building up your local or organizing a new one. THIS WORK IS GOING TO BE DONE. ARE YOU GOING TO HELP?

Our showing for February is much better than that of January, but it is not yet what it should be, by far. The Old Dominion, "The Mother of Presidents," and better still, the mother of red revolutionists in the past, should not be content to lag behind.

Local Norfolk has been to the bat twice this month; once with a liberal donation on our mimeograph fund, and once with a nice order for dues stamps. Local Norfolk has adopted the innovation of holding debate meetings, at which the epochal questions of the day are being debated. This is a fine plan. Besides being highly educational it is calculated to catch and hold the interest of visitors, and finally land them, unerringly, into the fold. From the looks of thinks down there, I suspect there is some of the leaven of the East Side at work. According to one Simons, a D. D. who testified before the senate committee investigating the "Bolsheviki." The East Side overturned the benevolent regime of the late (unlamented) Czar Nicholas of Russia. LONG LIVE THE EAST SIDE.

Local Newport News is now getting dug in. When they get their guns trained they will limber up on the plunderers with a barage, that will make them take notice. Newport News contains the elements needful to a large and immensely active local. There is no place in all America where the materials for a great local are better or more abundant. Just keep your eye on Newport News and see things get lively there.

Local Dante is again on the warpath. Soon it will have its belt full of scalps. There are some great old warriors inhabiting these rugged regions. They think liberty and democracy should be something more than a joks. Watch their tribe increase.

Roanoke (The Magic City) is preparing for a grand spring offensive. When they go over the top something is going to happen. No other sector in Virginia has kept their gas masks in such good condition as have the Roanoke warriors. Neither the Wilsonian mustard or the Girard produce have penetrated.

If you know of any unfortunate comrade who has been terribly gassed just send him the Ohio Socialist for a year. This is the finest remedy yet discovered for gassing. Be sure to prescribe it to your unfortunate comrades.

Comrade Lowe of Riverside is engaged in a terrible plot to start one of those frightful Socialist locals in his neighborhood. He should be promptly interned. If this sort of thing continues the result will be that our better classes will be compelled to go to work along side common rough-neck persons—like they do in Russia. Isn't it frightful?

Look out for the Gomperian gas offensive—staged to open in April. Have your gas masks handy and see that they do not leak.

We are going to award a pot of red paint to the local getting in the largest number of members during the month of April. Bet you can't guess who is going to win.

Comrade George C. Lewis of Rosslyn, Va., is hatching one of those terrible plots to destroy religion and break up the home. His braves are even now mixing their war paint and grinding their scalp knives. Watch the outbreak.

Missing in action—that brave old warrior, F. A. Dertinger of Meherrin, Va. Let us hope for the best.

No, comrades, do not send flowers yet. I know there are many, many missing in action, and many casualties reported, but modern surgery does wonders, and "the day that opens with a cloudy dawn, in golden glory at last may wane, and prison doors at last may yawn, and yield their dead into life again."

If you want to lose your scalp in the twinkling of an eye, just you monkey with that dauntless old warrior, D. B. Dale of Wise, Va. Gas him? Hell, no, you can't! He's as impervious to gas as is a duck to water.

When we bury the present system we will want to sing something appropriate over the grave. J. T. Cumbie, a 70-year-old comrade, who has just sung his way into the Leavenworth prison for 15 years, has the goods. Order his song book from Comrade Dan Hogan, Huntington, Ark.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR FEBRUARY.

INCOME.	
5th—Local Norfolk	$5.00
8th—Local Dante	7.05
11th—Local Norfolk on Mach. fund	18.50
20th—Local Norfolk	11.50
25th—Local Roanoke	9.00
25th—John Reichle	1.00
26th—Newport News	3.00
28th—Dutton	2.00
Total	$57.05
OUTLAY.	
4th—Literature	$3.00
5th—Express	.66
10th—Dues stamps	5.00
14th—Mimeograph	51.00
20th—Dual stamps	5.00
26th—Dual stamps and supplies	7.00
28th—Postage for month	2.50
Total	$74.16
Deficit for the month	$17.11

With our Organizers and Speakers

M. J. Beery Meetings.

Comrade M. J. Beery will speak at Columbus, April 13, 50 1-2 W. Gay St.

Lilith Martin Tour.

April, 1, at New Bremen; April 2, and 3 she speaks at Piqua; Troy, 4; Dayton, 5; Hamilton, 6; Portsmouth, 7 and 8; Columbus, 9; Mt. Vernon, 10.

* * *

Charles Baker Tour.

After April 1 Comrade Baker will work in the southern part of the state among the miners. In this district we have a large number of one-time locals. Comrade Baker's work will be to reorganize them. From reports in this district we judge that the time is ripe for organization work on a large scale.

* * *

Thurber Lewis Tour.

Comrade Lewis is hoeing a tough row these past two weeks, but as the weather opens up his chances for effective work becomes more promising. He will fill the following dates: Columbus, March 27; Montpelier, April 1st.

* * *

Eugene V. Debs Meetings.

Comrade Debs will fill the following dates: Youngstown, March 26; April, 27; Cleveland, Acme Hall 28; Warren, 29; Toledo, 30.

* * *

H. L. A. Holman Meetings.

Cleveland, March 30; Lorain, 31; Cuyahoga Falls, April 1; Barberton, 2; Canton, 3; Dover, 4; Urichsville or Dennison, 5; Midvale, 6; E. Liverpool, 7; Leetonia, 8; Youngstown, 9; Hubbard, 10; Girard, 11; Warren 12; Niles, 13.

* * *

G. R. Kirkpatrick Meetings.

Comrade Kirkpatrick speaks at Bellaire March 26, Toledo, 27.

* * *

Tom Lewis Meetings.

Comrade Lewis will speak at Lorain on the 30th of March. Sandusky, April 2; Detroit, Mich., 13. He will speak at Piqua on April 13. This will be the occasion of the opening of the city park. After this date the comrades of Piqua will hold big meetings each and every Sunday throughout the summer.

* * *

Tom Clifford Meetings.

Comrade Clifford speaks at Kenmore March 30.

* * *

"Enclosed find $6 for 12 subscriptions. Had no hard time getting them. The working class are opening their eyes, it is high time for us to do something. Send another sub blank, will work hard to get the 20,000 subscribers."—Joe Menkhaus, Hamilton, Ohio.

* * *

Bundle Boosters.

Local Pontiac, Mich., orders a bundle of 100 each week.

Local Mt. Vernon orders the same quantity for a meeting that was held by Comrade M. J. Beery on the 16th.

"Enclosed fine one dollar for which send me 100 copies. I consider it a dollar well spent."—B. F. Hollenbaugh, Bucyrus, O.

Comrades will please remember that Ohio Socialists in bundle orders are 50c per hundred. Order a bundle for distribution and sub getting. Organize a distribution squad in your local, and get in action. Make socialism grow in your town.

Every Sub Strengthens The Hub In The Wheel Of Progress!

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited by C. E. Ruthenberg

Finland

The workers of Finland have just proven that it is impossible to kill the proletarian movement which is sweeping the world.

When the revolution that hurled the czar from his throne took place in Russia the Finnish workers had 103 representatives in the diet out of a total of two hundred members. With the end of the Russian autocracy it fell to the lot of the Socialists to take control of the government. In place of establishing a clear-cut workers' government they formed a coalition cabinet, in which, however, the Socialist controlled. The diet proceeded to enact the working class measures, only to find that the bourgeoisie annulled these measures through influence they brought to bear upon Kerensky. The czar had exercised a veto power over the acts of the diet and Kerensky, then minister-president of Russia, claimed the same right.

In order to free themselves from this check upon their action, the Socialist majority of the diet passed a resolution declaring the independence of Finland. Kerensky refused to recognize this decree and ordered the diet dissolved. The bourgeoisie elements withdrew but the Socialist members continued their legislative work. Kerensky then sent several Polish regiments to end the meetings of the diet. This temporarily stopped the work of the Socialists, but soon these soldiers had to be withdrawn and no others could be found to take their place, and the Socialists resumed their meetings.

Kerensky thereupon ordered a new election. Although protesting against this action the Socialists participated in the election. The bourgeoisie secured a slight majority as the result of this election. How this was done was discovered when the workers revolted and took possession of the government by force. They found tens of thousands of Socialist ballots which had not been counted.

The propertied classes, knowing that they had no chance of winning in an armed struggle with the workers, called in the armies of German imperialism to their aid.

Then the orgy of murder began. Never before in all history has their been such a wholesale destruction of the beaten side in a civil war. Sixty thousand were literally starved to death in concentration camps. The halls and labor temples owned by the workers were destroyed or confiscated; their newspapers were suppressed and their printing plants broken up.

A year of mas murder, destruction and bitter oppression had been the lot of the Finnish workers. The flower of the revolutionary army was dead or in exile. Under these conditions a new election was held and the workers returned to the diet more representatives than any other party.

The Finnsh workers may have made some errors in chosing their tactics. It is more than likely that they would have fared better had they taken the resolute position of the Rusian workers and established a dictatorship of the proletariat when the power was in their hands. In order to participate at all in the recent election they were obliged to make some compromises, publicly at least.

All this, however, does not destroy the splendor of the recent victory. To win what the Finnish workers have won after the "white terror" had done its utmost to destroy their organization, proves the strength of the proletariat movement and that its victory cannot be put off for very long, no matter what brutal measures ore used against it.

• • • •

The Outlook Brightens

The last few days hve brought news that immensely improves the outlook for the Russian Soviet Republic.

The Soviet Armies are sweeping Ukrania and the French soldiers at Odessa refuse "to fight their brothers." In the north the Italian and Serbian soldiers who are part of the Allied expedition are disaffected and many of them have deserted to the Bolsheviki, Finnaly their comes the dispatch announcing the workers of Hungary have established a Soviet Republic.

As the spirit of international working class solidarity grows the power of imperialism grows weaker. It has become unsafe for the international capitalist class to openly attack the Soviet Republic. The realization of Marx's clarion call "Workers of the world unite" draws nearer and as each new section of the working class aligns itself under the banner of International Socialism the security of the Soviet Republic of Russia increases.

• • • •

The British Volcano

The British Government has failed to secure the approval of either the miners or the railwaymen for the compromise offer to prevent a strike of these two organizations, and the transport workers, who are alied with them, the strugle may be precipitated any moment.

Both the miners and the railwaymen are demanding the nationalization of the industries in which they are employed, shorter hours and increased pay. The government offer conceded an immediate seven hour day to the miners and promised the six hour day later. The railwaymen were offered a 48 hour week and extra pay for overtime.

What the stike means, if it comes, was thus summed up by one of the leaders of the railway men:

> "We are prepared for the worst. If we strike, we will win. If we win, the government realizes the seriousness of the general strike. It will mean that thousands of people in the great industrial districts will face starvation, as the government would be unable to run enough trains to insure distribution of sufficient food."

While England faces the strike of these three great labor organizations at present other industrial organizations of the workers are preparing to submit and enforce their demands. The agricultural workers union is agitating. There is trouble in the cotton industry and the whole industrial world is in a ferment.

At this distance it seems that it would not take much to set England on the road that Rusia, Germany and Hungary is traveling. If the break comes we may welcome the next Soviet Republic.

• • • •

The Returned Soldier

Samuel C. Blythe, in an article in the Saturday Evening Post, gave the following interesting view of what the attitude of the returned soldier will be when he returns to the political and industrial life at home:

> The big fact of it is that this war and our entry into it have caused hunderds of thousands of young men who never gave the matter a thought before, to ask themselves—and one another—just what this thing called government is—this power that can seize them, put them in an army, send them to France, make them fight, get them wounded and killed, submit them to rigid limitations as to life and conduct—what is this thing called government anyhow? What makes it? Where does it get its power? Who is responsible for it?
>
> Finally, and there need to be no misconception on this, the men who fought that war for us, and the men who were ready to fight it, but especially, the two million who were in France, are coming home with this firmly in their minds: They are against war. They know that the so-called glory of it is swallowed up in death and disease and in nameless horrors and hardships. They are against militarism because militarism means war. They are against militarism because they know what militarism means, having had experience of it. They know and, knowing, will be guided by what they know.

It must be the work of a militant Socialist Party to these men, who, because of their experience, are in a receptive state of mind, the cause of militarism and war, and to show them that the way to make an end to both in the future is through the workers taking control of their own destiny and rebuilding society on a new economic basis.

• • • •

The Progress of Industrial Unionism

The labor unions of four of the western provinces of Canada have voted to break away from the international organizations through which they are affiliated with the A. F. of L. and organize a new organization to be known as "The One Big Union." The conference at which this action was taken also voted in favor of the soviet form of organization, which it believed superior to the present government.

At the same time the news comes from Australia that the workers there are making substantial progress in turning their craft organizations into the Workers' Industrial Union of Australia. That the new Australian organization will be a class organization for the overthrow of Capitalism is indicated by the preamble which has been tentatively adopted, which reads:

> "1. We hold that there is a class struggle in society, and that the struggle is caused by the capitalist class owning the means of production, to which the working class must have access in order to live. The working class produces all value. The greater the share which the capitalist class appropriates, the less remains for the working class; therefore, the interests of these two classes are in constant conflict.
>
> "2. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who constitute the employing class have all the good things of life.
>
> "3. Between these two classes the struggle must continue until capitalism is abolished. Capitalism can only be abolished by the workers uniting in one class-conscious organization to take and hold the means of production by revolutionary, industrial and political action.
>
> " 'Revolutionary action' means action to secure a complete change, namely, the abolition of capitalistic class ownership of the means of production—privately or through the state—and the establishment in its place of social ownership by the whole community.
>
> "Long experience has proved the hopeless futility of existing political and industrial methods which aim at mending and rendering tolerable, and thereby perpetuating, capitalism, instead of ending it.
>
> "4. The rapid accumulation of wealth and the concentration of the ownership of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class, because craft unionism fosters conditions which alow the employers to put one set of workers against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby defeating each in turn.
>
> "5. These conditions can be changed and the conditions of working class advanced only by an organization so constituted that its members in any one industry, or in all industries, shall take concerted action when deemed necessary, thereby making an injury to one the concern of all.
>
> "6. We hold that, as the working class creates and operates the socially operated machinery of production, it should direct production and determine working conditions."

How long must we still wait before the members of the A. F. of L. learn that we are living in a new age and begin to adjust themselves to the times?

• • • •

Raymond Robins, who acted as intermediary between the government of the United States and the Soviet Government in Petrograd and Moscow, said to a New York audience last Saturday, "Were Lenine and Trotzky German traitors? My deliberate statement is that Lenine and Trotzky were international revolutionary Socialists, engaged in a propaganda of world revolution. Had they wanted to they could have left Russia when the leaving was good. But they remained at the risk of their lives to further the aims of the revolutiontion. God Almighty couldn't make a man do the things I saw Nicolain Lenine do if that man had dirty money in his pocket. And he added "I crossed 50 Soviet ujrisdictions. I did not bribe a single officer. Lenine's letter was my safe conduct for the 6,000 miles. Though I had five guns, I didn't have to fire a shot and I didn't hear a shot fired. In Amur I got the freedom of the city on the basis of Lenine's letter. That happens to be history, not hot air."

• • • •

Forty-eight so-called liberals have issued a call for an organization to fight both the Republican and Democratic party under the title "Revolution or Reconstruction." Let's see, thus far we have the National Party, the Labor Party and now there is to be added the Liberal Party. Meanwhile the waves of revolutionary ideas sweep higher and higher No doubt the liberals, laborites and nationalists are all honest and sincere in their desire to save capitalism from destruction through reforming it a bit, but the capitalist won't listen to them. They will hold their power until it is smashed by the impact of the revolutionary working class movement. The reformers who are just raising their voices have come on the stage too late. We are living in the revolutionary era.

• • • •

"No one believes" said Senator Pomerene to his City Club audience in Cleveland, "that this league of nations will prevent wars in the future." And a little later he added "Germany will have to be compelled to carry out the provisions of the treaty. Yet a league of nations, or some alliance like it, is the only means by which we can see that the treaty's provisions are carried out by the central powers." The senator is either refreshingly frank in acknowledging what the proposed league really will be,—an alliance to see that peace treaty is made effective, which will not prevent war,—or he is very careless in choosing his words. Mr. Wilson does not make such blunders.

• • • •

The threat of the Italian delegation that it will withdraw from the Peace Conference unless given everything that was alloted to it in the robber's agreement called the secret treaties will show what we may expect of the alliance which is to call itself a league of nations. If Italy can bluff it into consenting to that country getting all the loot agreed upon, then there is no reason why another country may not expect to do the same in the future.

• • • •

Indianapolis capitalists are raising a private army under the name of the Indianapolis Citizen's Police Reserve. Bolshevism is the enemy against which the organization is directed, but of course to the capitalists any efort of the workers to secure better conditions is Bolshevism.

• • • •

The Rand School has been fined $3,000 for circulating the pamphlet "The Great Madness' which the jury said it was no crime for Scott Nearing to write. Such is justice in these United States.

Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS.

The fight for woman suffrage was difficult even before the passing of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the United States constitution. When these two insults to the intelligence were hurled at the American women, the hope that woman would ever be free seemed dubious to any one not familiar with the economic interpretation of history. While the outlook was discouraging, the pioneers of the movement gathered the remnant of their forces and started again along the road trod for ages by those seeking the goal of human happiness.

A paper urging all citizens to register came to Miss Anthony's notice. She decided that it must mean her. A few other women came to the same conclusion and went to register. The clerk demurred but Miss Anthony had not been agitating for years for nothing. She had learned to use convincing arguments. She insisted that since she was born in the United States and was a human being, of mature mind and sane, and that she was a citizen. If not what was she? The clerks were convinced and registered her.

Soon afterward a U. S. deputy marshal timidly informed her that he was sent to arrest her for the crime, "That on the fifth day of November Miss Anthony was a woman." Arresting women, convicting them and treating them to unjust imprisonment in horrible, vile and filthy jails for the crime of demanding the vote was not at this time the Democratic custom that it is today. This deputy felt somewhat abashed that he should have to take to jail one of America's bravest and best loved women.

The resourceful Quakeress set a noble example for the American women who in a later period of American history were to be cast into jails by the thousand for daring to demand that the fine phrases of liberty, democracy and equality be applied to women. She went out immediately and began to hold meetings in the county in which she was to be tried. The politicians at the behest of their economic masters, the business interests, changed the place of trial to another county. Miss Anthony and Matilda Joselyn Gage went over every bit of that county until there were none who were not fully informed about the "terrible" "crime" that Miss Anthony committed by attempting to register.

To Miss Anthony, a judge or a jail were inconsequential. She was a teacher and a propagandist and she had a message for the people and she had no intention of allowing the fear of the judge or jail to deter her from delivering that message. The young capitalist system of that day, exhibited the same stupidity that it does, today, in its babbling second childhood. It thought then and still thinks now, that it can bar progress by throwing into jail all who oppose it.

The public press of the time, like ours of today, true to its master's interests, screamed about the shamelessness of Miss Anthony in registering or trying to vote. It tried and convicted her in its pages before ever the trial was called. The editor of that most sedate and respectable of New York papers, "The Law Journal" wrote that "if Miss Anthony is dissatisfied with our laws," meaning those approved by The Law Journal, "she would better adopt the methods of reform that men use, or better emigrate." We have many editors of like mental capacity today. Miss Anthony's "crime" was attempting to "use the methods of reform that men use"—the ballot.

Mrs. Joselyn Gage answered the editor by saying, "He might as well have said in so many words, 'this country and its government is for us males alone; you women are part and parcel of our property; if you are not suited with all things as they are, then get out from our country.'" The same old story is often repeated today, "if you don't like the laws of our country get out," followed by threats of deportation in many instances but those striving for human betterment today, like their ancestors before them, have no intention of being frightened with a phrase. Elections are held for the sole purpose of allowing those who are dissatisfied to vote for a change, even in the law itself.

There was a jury at Miss Anthony's trial. It was there and that was all. The judge summarily dismissed the jury, saying that they did not understand the case. He read from a paper prepared before ever the trial was held. He then solemnly and pompously found Miss Anthony "guilty." Fourteen other women were also "criminals," all because they had insisted that they were citizens with the rights of citizens.

Miss Anthony was fined, whereupon she informed "the dispenser of justice" that she would die before she would pay that fine. She went out of that court room to do more propaganda work, and—the judge discreetly forgot to collect that fine!

Jailing women in 1872!
Jailing women in 1919!
WHY?

(To be Continued).

HOLMAN AT COLUMBUS

On March 6 to 9, under the auspices of Local Columbus, Ohio, Comrade H. L. A. Holman, formerly of Texas, delivered a series of instructive lectures on "The World's Revolutions," "Industrial Democracy," "Organized Society" and "Woman and the Home—Past, Present and Future."

The comrades were so well pleased with the manner in which he dealt with these subjects, they being of such vital importance to the working class, most particularly at this time, arrangements were immediately made for another series of lectures. These meetings were held March 20, 21 and 23.

Abandon Struggle Against Bolsheviki

Continued From Page One

are intervening in Russia, this struggle assumes more and more the character of a support rendered, as it were, by the bourgeoisie of those countries to the reactionary Russian bourgeoisie.

"It has become necessary for us to abandon our struggle against the Bolsheviki. Kolchak's coup d'etat at Omsk has finally thrown a clear light on the actualities of the situation. After this coup d'etat the members of the Constituent Assembly secretly formed an executive committee and in accord with the resolutions of the congress this committee has begun to organize a struggle against Kolchak.

"It was, decided, to, abandon, the struggle against the Bolsheviki and to unite all forces in a common struggle against Kolchak and the Siberian reaction.

"Under the present circumstances the struggle against the Bolsheviki is in reality altered to a bloody civil war and a struggle against a party of workers and peasants. We are, therefore, making efforts to call all the troops attached to the Constituent Assembly away from the present front in order to direct them against Kolchak and to open preparatory negotiations with the Commander of the Bolshevik troops with the object of terminating the struggle and uniting all our strength against Kolchak."

Then the communication proposes a general union with the Russian Social-Democracy, in order to offer resistance to foreign intervention. Likewise, a Coalition Government is proposed, to consist of Bolsheviki and Revolutionary Socialists, responsible to the Constituent Assembly.

The First Negotiations.

The Ufa Committee at once forwarded the document to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic in Moscow. In answer, the committee has received a telegram signed by Lenin and Sverdloff, in which the Ufa committee is requested at once to open negotiations with the Revolutionary Socialists. But any proposal aiming at an alteration of the Constitution of the Soviet Republic must be rejected. The Soviet power has sufficiently proved that it is a necessary factor in the struggle with the bourgoise. On this basis, the Ufa Committee has opened negotiations with the representatives of the Constituent Assembly, President Volski and Secretary Sviatitski.

Another party has, therefore, gone over to the Bolsheviki. Both the Mensheviki and the Revolutionary Socialists have now joined them. The Socialist union in Russia is therefore complete. They have taken up the struggle in a common body against their enemies.

NERVE

By SCOTT NEARING.

Certain workers in the textile, mining, building and clothing industries have been striking for more wages. Some of them asked for 20 per cent. some for 30 per cent. and some had the nerve to demand as much as 40 per cent. increase.

Forty per cent. increase!

How does 40 per cent. increase look to the other side? The profits of one meat packing concern were 300 per cent. higher in 1918 than in 1914; a great textile trust reports earnings of 700 per cent. more in 1918 than in 1913. The number of millionaires is 300 per cent. greater in 1918 than it was in 1914. The business world takes a hundred per cent. increase as a matter of course.

Imagine a union demanding 100 per cent. increase in wages! The members would look sheepishly at one another; the officers would advise and exhort. "How can you have the nerve?" they would ask.

But think a moment! The net income of the United States was 35 billions in 1915 and 73 billions in 1918—an increase of over 100 per cent. The workers produced all of this increase and if they should not get it, who should?

Do you think it would take nerve for a worker to ask for 100 per cent. increase in wages? How much more nerve would it take for an exploiter to refuse the hundred per cent. to the worker while he slipped two hundred into his own pocket!

Japanese Workers Oppose Russian Intervention

Continued From Page One

"We inclose a copy of a resolution recently adopted by us.

"Fraternally yours,

"The Executive Committee of the Socialists of Tokio and Yokohoma."

The text of the resolution follows:

"We, the Socialists of Japan in session in Tokio, express our deep sympathy with the Russian revolution. We recognize that the Russian revolution, which was at first a political revolution of the bourgeoisie against absolutism, has become a revolution of the proletariat against the capitalist regime.

"The transformation of the Russian revolution from a political revolution into a social revolution interests the workers the world over. In every country capitalism has reached its highest development under the form of unrestrained imperialism.

"The Socialists of every country should energetically undertake to bring about a resumption of international relations, and all the forces of the international proletariat must be mobilized and directed against the common enemy—international capitalism.

"The Socialists of Russia and of all other countries should do everything in their power to assist the workers in the belligerent countries to direct their energies against the dominant class in their respective countries rather than against other workers.

"We have faith in the heroism of the Russian Socialists. We are convinced that their revolutionary spirit will spread to other countries."

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Socialists of Japan opposed the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 just as emphatically as they now oppose a war between Japan and the present Soviet government.

Soviet Government Opens Trade Bureau in New York

Continued From Page One

ent impossible blockade conditions are relieved. In this connection I wish to quote a significant London dispatch printed in the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, March 14. The dispatch stated:

" 'It is realized that in view of the disturbed state of the country it is not possible at present to transact business in more than a comparatively small area, but firms who know Russia need no reminder of the advantage of having representatives on the spot.

" 'It is felt that when normal conditions return to Russia it should be possible for Britain's traders to obtain a far larger share of Russian trade than in pre-war days, and it is hoped that this possibility will encourage firms who have not previously dealt with Russia to investigate the great potentialities of this market. It will be remembered that in the last year before the war Germany's exports to Russia amounted to 643 millions of rubles. Britain came second with 170 millians, and an exceptional opportunity exists now, owing to the temporary elimination of German competition from the South Russian market.'

DESIRE TO END HOSTILITIES.

"In regard to the blockade, and the invasion of Russia, I am empowered to state that my government is willing and sincerely anxious to have hostilities cease in Russia and to enter into agreements with the American government to facilitate the peaceful withdrawal of American troops from Russia.

"On the part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic there thus exists no obstacles to the establishment of proper relations with other countries, especially with the United States. The Soviet government of Russia is willing to open its doors to citizens of other countries for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, and it invites any scrutiny and investigation of its conditions, which investigation certainly will prove that peace and prosperity in Russia will follow on the cessation of the present allied policy of non-intercourse with Soviet Russia, and by the establishment of material and intellectual intercourse.

"The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet republic has now been in existence for over sixteen months. Its government, the Council of People's Commissaires, is a government controlled by and responsible to all members of the population who perform useful work, physical or mental. Only those who refuse to exercise their productive abilities, choosing to live on the fruits of the labor of other people, are eliminated from participation in the control of the government. Every person engaged in useful productive activities participates directly in the management of society in Russia today.

PROGRESS OF SOVIETS.

"Within the past few months vast territories wrested from the control of the Soviet government during the past year have been regained with the aid of the laboring population of those districts. This includes much of the territory torn from Russia by Germany when she forced the peace of Brest-Litovsk upon the Soviet government. Internally the position of the Soviet government has been vastly strengthened. Lately Russian men and women of literary and technical training have been rallying in great numbers to the support of the Soviet government. Representatives of the former Constituent Assembly, representing the Social Revolutionary Party and other groups, recently met representatives of the government at Moscow and came out in support of the republic against foreign intervention. They begin fully to realize that the overthrow of the Soviets would lead to the re-establishment of the old regime of the old czarist autocracy so bitterly hated throughout Russia. The peasants, who from the outset in large majority gave support to the Soviet power, have steadily become more consciously attached to the Soviet government, which they realize is the only guarantee for their remaining in control of the land which for centuries the Russian autocracy kept in the hands of their former oppressors.

"In so far as opposition has ceased in the form of violent counter-revolutionary attempt against the Soviet government, it has been possible to lighten such extraordinary temporary measures as censorship, martial law, etc.

BRAND CHARGES AS LIES.

"Much prejudice has been created against the Soviet government by the circulation of false and often absurdly silly reports as to the nature of the institutions and the measures taken by the Soviet government. One of the most frequent allegations is that the rule of the Soviets is one of violence and murder. Of course, such an accusation is altogether unwarranted. It has been necessary to adopt stern measures against people who continuously and openly plot for a re-enslaving of the Russian workers and who resort to methods of violence in their fight. Such measures, however, have been immeasurably less oppressive than those usually resorted to by governments against their opponents who are found using violence against established society. Intervention in Russia obviously has had very much to do with the so-called terror. Mr. Litvinoff, the representative of the Soviet government, in this connection said the following in a note to President Wilson:

* * * "The chief aim if the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty, without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods, without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment, which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. * * * 'I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is so grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of allied intervention. * * *

* * * 'The best means for the termination of violence in Russia would be to reach a settlement which would include the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Russia and the cessation of direct or indirect assistance to such groups in Russia as still indulge in futile hopes of an armed revolt against the workers' government, but who themselves alone would not think of such a possibility if they could not reckon on assistance from abroad.'

GREAT CONSTRUCTIVE WORK DONE.

"In spite of all handicaps, the Russian workers through their Soviet government have made remarkable constructive progress and laid firm the foundations for a well-ordered development of their society. I am confident that any fair student of the accomplishments of the Soviets in the various branches of economic and intellectual life would confirm this view.

"During the past year the Soviet government has managed to complete the building of some 2000 versts of new railroads. It has planned large-scale work in the way of road building, canal building, etc. Tens of thousands of new primary schools, vocational schools, workers' universities and lecture courses, especially courses offering agricultural instruction, have been established and maintained at great expense, and educational activities have been extended to include the making of the treasures of the arts and sciences as easily accessible to the people as possible. An army of over a million men has been trained, equipped and kept supplied with munitions.

"In spite of the great handicaps due to the heritage of disorganization from the old regime, the lack of raw materials and machinery, the obstructionist methods of opponents of the government, and to the natural confusion of a transition period of revolution, much has thus already been accomplished and the foundations laid for a high development of economic life.

"I believe it is high time for the world outside of Russia to dispense with its passionate and partisan dealing with the Russian situation, and in the place of indiscriminate abuse of the Russian working people to undertake to approach the situation in the sense of a serious understanding of the actual conditions and opportunities."

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred | 50c Six Months

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Post-office at Cleveland, Ohio, Under Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

Published Weekly by The Socialist Party of Ohio at Cleveland, O.
Telephone Wallings 10-Y; Call Through Cleveland.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1919 [illegible]

THE HOPE OF THE WORLD

When the world is particularly charitable toward its unfortunates who swarm the planet, it designates them as "misfits". This is about as charitable as society has grown toward the lives is has wrecked, the bodies and minds it has debauched, the brave spirits is has broken.

However, in this becoming charitableness, is society damned for its hypocrisy, its destruction of life and for the human wreckage that clutters the earth. It is an old saying that society cares nothing for the individual until he breaks its laws. Millions of times over has this been proven.

The world is just beginning to learn that its greatest assets are the individuals who compose it. "Misfit" implies a mal-adjustment of talents and powers to ones work, an unfitness for the job. In a world of sanity where the people are in control of their destiny where the condition of life of the masses are not determined by a class of profit mongers, where human life is above the Almighty Dollar, the vast energy, ambitions and potential powers inherent in man, could and would create in one generation a new world and a new race. Then would all science and resources of the earth and of man's powers be used by and for the development of the masses who are under the capitalist system of industry, mere pawns in the game of profits.

But while the world's resources are witheld from the people by their exploiters, while the vast treasures of earth remain the articles of trade of an exploiting class, no great change for the better can occur.

Only a seizure of the earth and its fulness by the proletariat can guarantee life and opportunity to the masses. When the proletariat does this—and it soon will, then the most stupendous reconstruction program ever inaugurated will become our supreme duty, a reconstruction of human lives, the teaching and training of children; the building of schools; the appliance of every art and science toward developing the powers of the individual.

This program will be a part of the new world's advent. It is a vital part of the new order in Russia and the worker's and peasants' Soviets are solving the problem in an heroic manner.

This is what Lunacharski, the commissioner of education said:

"What ever other budgets are put down, the budget for public education must stay, because it is the honor and glory of the people."

And over the doors of the thousands of schools the Soviets have established, runs this motto: "The children are the hope of the world."

Russia is creating a new race as well as a new Russia.

WHAT'S A PROGRAM?

"We shouldn't spend our time quarrelling among ourselves about right and left wing programes, but fight the common enemy." Thus writes a Comrade. And immediately we ask "What's a programe?" and our answer is: that a programe is a weapon, a weapon in the class war against capitalism.

Presumably, the comrade isn't particular about the weapon he uses so long as he's in action. He can't bear to "waste time" deciding upon a choice of weapons, but would seize the first to hand, whether it was an effective one or not—whether it melted in his hand or could be sent ripping into the citadel of the enemy.

Then the thought comes that it's thru the wise choice of weapons and their efficient use we will win. Time spent in carefully, even quarrellingly selecting our weapons at each stage of the development of the class war will be well spent. Weapons must be chosen. Let us choose them well. And remember "the autocrats of industry do not run business at the ballot box." Neither do they rob the worker there.

Everybody Wants One

Wants one what, you ask? Industrial Freedom Certificates, of course. Industrial Freedom Certificates are selling fast. Many comrades from out of sate have sent their dollar to the State Office for one. Beatrice Sedgwick, State Secretary of Delaware, ordered twenty to sell to members. Some locals are selling out entirely and ordering more. Many comrades report fine sales to non-party members. This is what makes us say EVERYBODY WANTE ONE.

Every fair-minded man and woman believes that the political prisoners should be restored to their families. Everyone knows that a crime is being perpetrated against Tom Mooney by keeping him in prison. Everybody knows that Free Speech and Free Press should be restored to the people. Everybody knows that as long as these crimes are allowed to continue we are not free. Everyone feels the pressure of the iron heel as long as these intolerable conditions exist.

To carry on the fight for freedom for political prisoners, for freedom for Tom Mooney, for the restoration of our constitutional rights, to supply our political prisoners and their families with some of the comforts and necessities of life—to do these things requires money. Every comrade who buys an Industrial Freedom Certificate helps to pay these expenses. Every comrade who buys one of these certificates will want to keep it as a memento of this memorable fight for Industrial and Political Democracy. Ask your local secretary for an Industrial Freedom Certificate. Hand him a dollar.

RESOLUTION BY LOCAL WARREN

Motion by Ed. S. Smith.

That Local Warren, Ohio, of the Socialist Party, having 31 members in good standing, seconds the resolutions by the Central Branch of Local Boston, Mass., for the purpose of initiating a national referendum, as published in Revolutionary Age, of March 8, 1919, and expressed in the following language:

1. That the Socialist Party international delegates now being elected, stand instructed to participate only in an international congress or conference called or participated in by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki), and the Communist Labor Party (Spartacans) of Germany.

2. That the National Executive Committee shall call immediately upon the adoption of this referendum an emergency national convention of the Socialist Party to be convened in Chicago, Minneapolis or some adjacent city.

Motion duly seconded and carried March 16, 1919.

J. F. DENISON,
Sec. Local Warren, O.

KENTUCKY
Official Organization News

FRED E. STEVENS, State Sec. 434 W. Market St., Louisville, Ky.
E. B. AUSTIN, Asst. State Sec. 231 Broadway, Louisville, Ky.

FEBRUARY ACCOUNTS OF THE STATE OFFICE.

Receipts.

Local Louisville dues	$18.00
H. C. Jones, M. A. L.	3.00
Local Livermore dues	4.95
Local Boyd Co. dues	3.00
Local Boyd Co. O. S. subs	3.00
Donation, J. L. Stark	5.07
L. A. McGill, M. A. L.	1.50
S. Shifress, M. A. L.	2.00
Total	$40.52
January balance	26.78
Total	$67.30
Disbursements	66.30
February balance	$ 1.00

Disbursements.

Postage	$ 4.17
National dues	19.00
Back salary to J. L. Stark	28.85
Ohio Socialist subs	3.00
Office supplies	1.15
State Sec. salary for February	10.13
Total	$66.30

Approved:

R. M. RASMUSSEN,
J. J. BOSEMER,
Auditing Committee.

STATE EXECUTIVE MEETING
March 7, 1919.

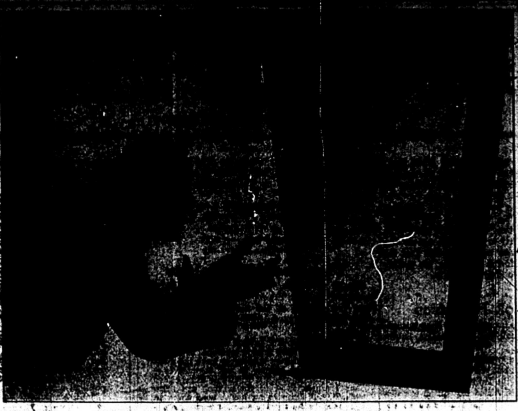
Present—Rasmussen, Bosemer and Stevens.

Absent—Stark and Goodman.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

It was announced that the State Committee had elected the following as the State Executive Committee: R. M. Rasmussen, W. C. Goodman, J. J. Bosemer, J. L. Stark and F. E. Stevens.

Adjourned.



Two Up-To-The-Minute Pamphlets

Jack London's Great Story of the General Strike. Max Eastman's Story of Deb's Trial.
10c each, 6c in quantities.

Another Week's Work of the Red Army Gets Great Results!

Another week of work, another week of effort spent for socialism! Another great stride nearer the goal of a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist. Five hundred and seventy-four new subscriptions is the harvest of last week's work on the part of the Red Army of Ohio Socialist Boosters. Not so great as last week, but still a record which shows the spirit of the comrades and the determination they feel to make socialism hum in this and other states.

For Ohio comrades are not alone in this drive to make the Ohio Socialist a greater power for the emancipation of the toilers and the gaining of the industrial Commonwealth of Workers. Many, many comrades from all parts of the country are giving most loyal support to the Ohio Socialist. From all parts of the nation letters reach the State Office pledging support to ur campaign for 20,000 subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist. Comrades realize as never before the power of the press as a weapon in the worker's battle against the despotism of present day social and industrial conditions. They are proving their wisdom by their co-operation in helping to establish the first twice-a-week English socialist paper in America.

New conditions demand new and better weapons. The integrity, the progress and development of the Socialist movement in this country demands the establishment of powerful party controlled papers. The Socialist movement can no longer rely upon privately controlled propaganda to reach its goal. These new and necessary weapons must be forged by the comrades themselves who make up the rank and file of the movement. This is their work—the most important that confronts a willing and wide awake membership. This is their work—a work to which every comrade can contribute a part.

Every comrade can get subscriptions.

Every comrade SHOULD get subscriptions.

Every comrade should lend a hand to the building the chariot of progress; to its completion and perfection. Let every comrade put a few spokes in the wheel of progress during the coming days and weeks that is to determine the possibility of establishing a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist. Every comrade to the job.

MILLIONS OF POST CARDS
TO BE MAILED TO
MILLIONS OF PEOPLE
BY A
MILLION
COMRADES AND FRIENDS OF DEBS

The most gigantic post card campaign ever undertaken will be launched by the Socialist Party on May 1, in connection with the 5,000 meetings to be held throughout the country upon that date. Every local and branch of the party, every member of the party, every sympathizer, every friend of Eugene V. Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare and other convicted and imprisoned comrades will, upon International Labor Day, begin showering the nation with PROTESTS in post card form.

Advance copies of post card, as well as other publicity matter will be sent all local and branch secretaries. Upon receipt of same, orders should be placed AT ONCE. Address—Department of Organization and Propaganda, Socialist Party, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

RESOLUTION BY LOCAL HAMILTON

Resolved, That no literature shall be sold, or distributed, by any division of the Socialist Party, that has not been endorsed by the National or State Executive Committee."

The reason for this resolution is the fact that there has been so much literature sold in the past that only represented the individual idea of some Socialist or would-be Socialist, that many times did not in any way conform to the fundamental principles of socialism and in the main were only reformist ideas, and has given rise to the statement that there were 57 different varieties of socialism, much of this literature has been sold by Socialist locals, and consequently the party has been criticized, it being the natural inference that the party endorsed the literature. Local Hamilton has no thought of denying anyone the right to read what they please, but we do not believe the party should be sponsors for some individual ideas unless they are investigated and endorsed by the National or State Executive Committee. Local Hamilton asks the endorsement of the resolution, and requests all locals that may endorse it to notify us.

Yours for socialism,
JOHN M. CAHALANE.
835 S. 9th St.

OATH OF THE RED ARMY

"We have sworn an oath to double the membership of Local Portage Co. and to treble the subscription list of the Ohio Socialist as the first thing in answer to the masters' decision to send Comrade Debs to prison. We will back the O. S. to the limit.—C. G. McVay.

Virginia Bulletin
Official Organization News

B. M. DUTTON, State Secretary.

PARTY OFFICIALS.

State Secretary—B. M. Dutton, Abingdon, Va.

State Committee.

First—J. W. Cassell, 522 13th Ave. S. W., Roanoke, Va., chairman.
Second—Weldon Crawford, 713 4th Ave. N. W., Roanoke, Va.
Third—David B. Dale, Wise, Va.
Fourth—F. D. Lowe, Riverside, Va.
Fifth—Vacant at present.

Virginia Comrades: Now that spring it near we should get ready for a lively spring drive. Never in our history has conditions been more propitious for effective work. "The great fear—NO WORK" is already getting this nation in its grim and bony clutch. The wolf of hunger will soon be howling about hundreds of thousands of homes. And it is the wolf that makes revolutions, not the agitator. Human society is desperately inert and is stirred only by desperate and unusual forces, usually it requires widespread and appealing hunger or ferocious and destructive despotism. Combine the two and the red spectre of revolution is sure to arise.

Although it is the wolf that makes revolutions, it requires the agitator to prepare the forces needful to guide the wild and turbulent forces aroused by the wolf into constructive rather than destructive channels. Capitalism in its heedlessness, intolerance, ruthlessness, greed and desperation, has sprung a crisis that threatens its extermination. When the storm they are drawing down breaks in its fury, were there no constructive idealism to guide and soften it, it would wreak only purposeless destruction and leave in its wake devastation without betterment.

The Socialist Party, alone, is engaged in preparing in the minds of men that constructive idealism that shall save the world from another of those catastrophic lapses back to savagery that have so often overtaken human civilizations in the past. The present civilization, resting as it does and ever has, upon the back of slaves, has reached its climax and is now tottering to its fall. Ever devoid of humanity and justice, it has now become senile and is hastening its own destruction.

The Socialists, foreseeing that capitalism, imperialism and autocracy were doomed to pass by reason of containing the elements of their own destruction, have endeavored by unparalleled sacrifice and devotion, to save humanity from the horrors of a transition period of violence and bloodshed, by methodically and peacefully substituting the elements of the new order as the old and crumbling structure rotted away.

But in their heedlessness and ruthlessness, capitalism, imperialism and autocracy have hindered and endeavored to thwart our work. In their senility and blindness they have mistaken us for the executioners of their doomed system when we were only its undertakers and grave diggers. They, themselves, are its executioners, and now when the doom they have hastened seems upon them they become demented and strike down the very hand that would soften the rigors of the storm they have invited.

They have sown to the whirlwind, now let them reap to the storm. Our hands are clean. But our mission must be accomplished, and our duty fulfilled. We are to be the custodians of the new order, and it behooves us to get ready for the role. Comrades who thought never to see the big change in their day, and were therefore apathetic, must now arouse. Unless they die pretty soon they will SEE THINGS. So get ready by building up your local or organizing a new one. THIS WORK IS GOING TO BE DONE. ARE YOU GOING TO HELP?

Our showing for February is much better than that of January, but it is not yet what it should be, by far. The Old Dominion, "The Mother of Presidents," and better still, the mother of red revolutionists in the past, should not be content to lag behind.

Local Norfolk has been to the bat twice this month; once with a liberal donation on our mimeograph fund, and once with a nice order for dues stamps. Local Norfolk has adopted the innovation of holding debate meetings, at which the epochal questions of the day are being debated. This is a fine plan. Besides being highly educational it is calculated to catch and hold the interest of visitors, and finally land them, unerringly, into the fold. Rrom the looks of thinks down there, I suspect there is some of the leaven of the East Side at work. According to one Simons, a D. D. who testified before the senate committee investigating the "Bolsheviki." The East Side overturned the benevolent regime of the late (unlamented) Czar Nicholas of Russia. LONG LIVE THE EAST SIDE.

Local Newport News is now getting dug in. When they get their guns trained they will limber up on the plunderers with a barage that will make them take notice. Newport News contains the elements needful to a large and immensely active local. There is no place in all America where the materials for a great local are better or more abundant. Just keep your eye on Newport News and see things get lively there.

Local Dante is again on the warpath. Soon it will have its belt full of scalps. There are some great old warriors inhabiting these rugged regions. They think liberty and democracy should be something more than a joks. Watch their tribe increase.

Roanoke (The Magic City) is preparing for a grand spring offensive. When they go over the top something is going to happen. No other sector in Virginia has kept their gas masks in such good condition as have the Roanoke warriors. Neither the Wilsonian mustard or the Girard produce have penetrated.

If you know of any unfortunate comrade who has been terribly gassed just send him the Ohio Socialist for a year. This is the finest remedy yet discovered for gassing. Be sure to prescribe it to your unfortunate comrades.

Comrade Lowe of Riverside is engaged in a terrible plot to start one of those frightful Socialist locals in his neighborhood. He should be promptly interned. If this sort of thing continues the result will be that our better classes will be compelled to go to work along side common rough-neck persons—like they do in Russia. Isn't it frightful?

Look out for the Gomperian gas offensive—staged to open in April. Have your gas masks handy and see that they do not leak.

We are going to award a pot of red paint to the local getting in the largest number of members during the month of April. Bet you can't guess who is going to win.

Comrade George C. Lewis of Rosslyn, Va., is hatching one of those terrible plots to destroy religion and break up the home. His braves are even now mixing their war paint and grinding their scalp knives. Watch the outbreak.

Missing in action—that brave old warrior, F. A. Dertinger of Meherrin, Va. Let us hope for the best.

No, comrades, do not send flowers yet. I know there are many, many missing in action, and many casualties reported, but modern surgery does wonders, and "the day that opens with a cloudy dawn, in golden glory at last may wane, and prison doors at last may yawn, and yield their dead into life again."

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.,
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.,
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening,
8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday,
2:30 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL,
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30
P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

"The daily press is working overtime spreading its lies, says Comrade Geo. W. Markert of Mt. Healthy. That being so, the comrades are distributing Ohio Socialists and "The Bolsheviks and Soviets."

• • •

Seventy copies of "Value, Price and Profit," by Karl Marx is an order from E. O. McPherson, literature agent of Local Lima.

If you want to lose your scalp in the twinkling of an eye, just you monkey with that dauntless old warrior, D. B. Dale of Wise, Va. Gas him? Hell, no, you can't! He's as impervious to gas as is a duck to water.

When we bury the present system we will want to sing something appropriate over the grave. J. T. Cumbie, a 70-year-old comrade, who has just sung his way into the Leavenworth prison for 15 years, has the goods. Order his song book from Comrade Dan Hogan, Huntington, Ark.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR FEBRUARY.

INCOME.

5th—Local Norfolk	$5.00
8th—Local Dante	7.05
11th—Local Norfolk on Mach. fund	18.50
20th—Local Norfolk	11.50
25th—Local Roanoke	9.00
25th—John Reichle	1.00
26th—Newport News	3.00
28th—Dutton	2.00
Total	$57.05

OUTLAY.

4th—Literature	$3.00
5th—Express	.66
10th—Dues stamps	5.00
14th—Mimeograph	51.00
20th—Dual stamps	5.00
26th—Dual stamps and supplies	7.00
28th—Postage for month	2.50
Total	$74.16
Deficit for the month	$17.11

With our Organizers and Speakers

M. J. Beery Meetings.

Comrade M. J. Beery will speak at Columbus, April 13, 50 1-2 W. Gay St.

Lilith Martin Tour.

April, 1, at New Bremen; April 2, and 3 she speaks at Piqua; Troy, 4; Dayton, 5; Hamilton, 6; Portsmouth, 7 and 8; Columbus, 9; Mt. Vernon, 10.

• • •

Charles Baker Tour.

After April 1 Comrade Baker will work in the southern part of the state among the miners. In this district we have a large number of one-time locals. Comrade Baker's work will be to reorganize them. From reports in this district we judge that the time is ripe for organization work on a large scale.

• • •

Thurber Lewis Tour.

Comrade Lewis is hoeing a tough row these past two weeks, but as the weather opens up his chances for effective work becomes more promising. He will fill the following dates: Columbus, March 27; Montpelier, April 1st.

• • •

Eugene V. Debs Meetings.

Comrade Debs will fill the following dates: Youngstown, March 26; April, 27; Cleveland, Acme Hall 28; Warren, 29; Toledo, 30.

• • •

H. L. A. Holman Meetings.

Cleveland, March 30; Lorain, 31; Cuyahoga Falls, April 1; Barberton, 2; Canton, 3; Dover, 4; Urichsville or Dennison, 5; Midvale, 6; E. Liverpool, 7; Leetonia, 8; Youngstown, 9; Hubbard, 10; Girard, 11; Warren 12; Niles, 13.

G. R. Kirkpatrick Meetings.

Comrade Kirkpatrick speaks at Bellaire March 26, Toledo, 27.

Tom Lewis Meetings.

Comrade Lewis will speak at Lorain on the 30th of March. Sandusky, April 2; Detroit, Mich., 13. He will speak at Piqua on April 13. This will be the occasion of the opening of the city park. After this date the comrades of Piqua will hold big meetings each and every Sunday throughout the summer.

• • •

Tom Clifford Meetings.

Comrade Clifford speaks at Kenmore March 30.

• • •

"Enclosed find $6 for 12 subscriptions. Had no hard time getting them. The working class are opening their eyes, it is high time for us to do something. Send another sub blank, will work hard to get the 20,000 subscribers."—Joe Menkhaus, Hamilton, Ohio.

• • •

Bundle Boosters.

Local Pontiac, Mich., orders a bundle of 100 each week.

Local Mt. Vernon orders the same quantity for a meeting that was held by Comrade M. J. Beery on the 16th.

"Enclosed find one dollar for which send me 100 copies. I consider it a dollar well spent."—B. F. Hollenbaugh, Bucyrus, O.

Comrades will please remember that Ohio Socialists in bundle orders are 50c per hundred. Order a bundle for distribution and sub getting. Organize a distribution squad in your local, and get in action. Make socialism grow in your town.

Every Sub Strengthens The Hub In The Wheel Of Progress!!

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia and New Mexico.

No. 62
Published at Cleveland, Ohio.
WEDNESDAY APRIL 2, 1919
Address all mail to R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
$1.00 A Year

RAYMOND ROBBINS ON RUSSIA

Despite the barrage of untruth, misrepresentations and lies concerning the Soviet government of Russia and the Bolsheviki, erected by the capitalist press, the truth about the workers' government of that country is beginning to appear.

One of the men who is contributing a great deal to the work of getting the facts about Russia to the American people is Colonel Raymond Robbins of the American Red Cross, who was in Russia from June of 1917 to May of 1918.

Colonel Robbins spoke before an audience at the City Club of Cleveland last week. It was a typical middle class audience that he addressed. Doctors, lawyers, preachers, salaried business executives, newspaper editors and a sprinkling of local politicians, composed the audience that crowded the ball room of the Hollenden Hotel. For two and a half hours Colonel Robbins talked to this audience about Russia and his interpretation of Russian events and although most of the audience had come for the usual luncheon hour address, hardly a person stirred during the two and a half hours and many remained for another two hours of questions that followed.

Colonel Robbins is not a partisan of the Bolsheviki; he is bitterly opposed to bolshevism. But he evidently believes that the American people are entitled to know the truth and he presented the truth as he saw it develop in Petrograd and Moscow and elsewhere in Russia.

One thing that stands out in Colonel Robbins' statement is the utter repudiation of the charges made and constantly reiterated by the kept press, that Lenin and Trotzky were agents of German imperialism, bent upon wrecking Russia for the benefit of their imperial masters. He did not do this through a direct denial of the charge, but through a presentation of the story of his negotiations with Lenin and Trotzky, which furnished a more conclusive answer than any denial could be.

Opening his discussion of the subject with the statement: "I don't believe it is necessary to libel or slander courageous men with whose ideas I do not agree," he told the story of his relations with the Soviet government after Lenin and Trotzky came into power.

The first incident had to do with the movement of thirty-two cars of Red Cross supplies from Petrograd to Jassy in Roumania. The German armies were getting dangerously near to Petrograd when Robbins made his request to move these stupplies. At Jassy the supplies would be delivered to one of the allies and used in the struggle against Germany. Yet upon the request of Robbins, Trotzky not only permitted these supplies to be sent out of Petrograd, where they were badly needed, but furnished an armed guard to accompany the train, and they were delivered at Jassy without the loss of a single pound of the goods.

Robbins did not ask the question, why a German agent should help save supplies from the German army, but it arose in the minds of his audience without any suggestion from him.

His second point was to the effect that Trotzky had agreed, in December of 1917, after the armistice had been signed between Germany and Russia, to permit the allies to station officers of the American, French or British armies at the Russian frontier to prevent any raw materials from leaving Russia for Germany. He pointed out that a number of cars of copper, and other materials badly needed by Germany were discovered in Petrograd, which under cover of false billing were to reach Germany by the way of Finland and Sweden, and that Trotzky promptly ordered the cars confiscated when the matter was brought to his attention.

But the strongest argument made by Colonel Robbins was his presentation of the facts in regard to the attitude of Lenin and Trotzky toward the signing of the Brest treaty of peace.

Senator Johnson, of California, some months ago, asked upon the floor of the senate:

> Is it true that the administration knew, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, that the Soviet government, represented by Lenin and Trotzky, was opposed to the projected treaty, and looked forward to signing it only because of the physical impossibility of resisting German demands unless the allies, or some of them, came to its aid?
>
> Is it true that Lenin and Trotzky, a week or more previous to the signing of the treaty, handed to Raymond Robbins, at that time a representative in Russia of the American Red Cress, a communication to President Wilson declaring their opposition to the treaty, and stating that they would refuse to sign it if the United States would assure them of its moral support in breaking off the negotiations and would send to Russia food and arms?

Robbins did not only affirm that it was true, but, dramatically, he took from his portfolio and held before the audience a photographic reproduction of the written offer made by Trotzky and approved by Lenin, which was cabled to the American State Department. He showed photographic copies of the cable sent by Bruce Lockhardt, the British High Commissioner, urging his government to accept the offer. He offered in evidence photographic reproduction of cables sent by others in authority vouching of the genuineness of the offer of the Soviet government and urging its acceptance. He told how, when the day for the meeting of the All-Russian Soviet, which was to act upon the treaty arrived, at Lenin's personal request the meeting was delayed for two days in order to give more time for the allied government to reply. He told how, after the All-Russian Soviet had begun its session and before the treaty had been ratified, Lenin called him to the platform and asked:

"Have you heard anything from America?"

The only answer Robbins could make was that he had received no answer. And Lenin added:

"The allies would rather see Germany triumph than help the social revolution."

* * * *

What shall we say about the Wilson administration that knew these facts and still permitted the lies about the attitude of Lenin and Trotzky to circulate in this country undenied? What shall we say about an administration, which, in spite of knowledge of these facts, permitted an official government bureau to poison the minds of the American people with those damnable forgeries the Sisson documents? What other conclusion is possible than Lenin's "The allies would rather see Germany triumph than help the social revolution?"

* * * *

Robbins indirectly answered another charge against the Soviet government when he told how a letter from Lenin to the local Soviets was sufficient guarantee to give him free passage across six thousand miles of Russian territory and that in those six thousand miles of travel he did not hear a single shot fired.

* * * *

The inspiring part of Robbins' address to the Socialists was his picture of how, what he called, "the new revolutionary culture" swept over all of Russia. It was not through force that the Bolsheviki conquered, but through ideas. The revolutionary ideals took hold of the people and as they swept across the country the power of the autocracy, the power of bourgeois government that succeeded, the power of Kerensky, vanished into thin air. These governments became corpses because the masses had accepted a new idea and moved from under them. It was inspiring because he proved so conclusively that after all real power lies in the masses of the people and when the hypnotic spell which holds the people in subjection is broken, the most powerful government of exploiters becomes merely a shadow.

* * * *

Robbins is opposed to bolshevism, but he says neither England, France and Italy can stop it. "The government of Lloyd George rests upon a narrow ledge of social sanction; though Clemenceau lives in spite of the assassin's bullet, his government is already dead; the Italian government rests upon a volcano, which may burst at any moment."

"Bolshevism is the most fundamental menace of the time," Colonel Robbins said in closing. "But it will have no power in America unless by ristricting freedom of speech and the freedom of the press and other acts of oppression, we create bitterness that will not be satisfied with less than the overthrow of our democratic institutions."

* * * *

And if Colonel Robbins were to consider the fact about conditions in this country he would find that the very conditions which he said would lead to the triumph of bolshevism here have already been created. Debs is under ten years' sentence, Haywood has begun his twenty years in prison, thousands of others are in prison or awaiting sentence; at Seattle the federal troops are called when the workers use their industrial power to secure better things for themselves; hundreds of thousands are out of work and the government and the industrial masters coolly wait until industry adjusts itself, while the workers starve. Colonel Robbins may hope and wish but the facts are against the ruling class here as they were against the ruling class in Russia. The day is coming when the "revolutionary, Marxian culture" will sweep away the power of the industrial autocracy and its political expression here and prepare the way for a Soviet republic.

Soviet Representative Publishes Record of Achievement

Memorandum Submitted to State Department Tells of Wonderful Work New Government Has Accomplished

Through the Bureau of Information on Soviet Russia we are in receipt of a copy of the memorandum submitted to the state department together with the credentials of L. A. Martens, the representative of the Soviet Republic of Russia. This memorandum describes what has been achieved in Russia since the Soviet government has been in power and the present situation in that country.

The facts presented tell a story of wonderful achievements made in the face of counter-revolution within and the attack by allied bayonets from the outside. The memorandum is a complete answer to the kept press and its misrepresentations and lies about Russia.

Following we print the complete text of the memorandum as presented to the state department:

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was established on the 6th of November, 1917, by a spontaneous uprising of the toiling masses of Russia. Its government, the Council of the People's Commissars, is a government controlled by and responsible to all such members of the population of Russia are willing to perform useful work, physical or mental. Those who, while not being unable to work, deliberately refuse to exercise their productive abilities, choosing to live on the fruits of the labor of other people, are eliminated from participation in the control of my government.

Under present conditions those who are willing to work for the common good, number at least 90 per cent. of the adult population in the area controlled by the Soviets. All such people have full political and civic rights.

More People Participate in Government Than Anywhere in World.

The basis for citizenship in Russia being industrial and economic rather than political, and the social system being of such a nature that every person engaged in useful social labor is bound to participate in public affairs, the percentage of people directly participating in the management of society in Soviet Russia is higher than has been the case anywhere in the world hitherto. The Russian Soviet Republic affords thereby the widest possible field for a real expression of a conscious popular will. While the Soviet government is a government of the working class, the abolition of exploitation of labor and the elemination thereby of class division creates a productive community in which all able inhabitants are bound to become useful workers who have full political rights. My government thus becomes the expression of fully one hundred per cent. of the people. It should also be noted that political rights are granted in Russia to every inhabitant engaged in useful work, though he be not a citizen of Russia, but only temporarily working there.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was rapidly acclaimed by the vast majority of the laboring people throughout the former empire of Russia. It has maintained itself in the face of manifold plots and opposition on the part of small groups of the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who employed the most unscrupulous methods in their fight against the Soviet institutions. Yet, nowhere in Russia could such elements of their own accord organize any noticeable resistance to the popular will, as expressed by the Soviet government. Only in sparsely populated outlying districts and in such of those districts

Continued on Page Four

Debs Case Again Before Court

Washington.—Eugene V. Debs, March 17, filed in the Supreme Court a petition for a rehearing. The court recently affirmed Debs' conviction, under the Espionage law, under which he was sentenced to the federal penitentiary.

"The opinion of this country, as expressed upon the sentence of Debs clearly amounts to the trial of a person for an undisclosed state of mind," said Debs' petition. "The court erroneously bases its judgement upon the motive of the defendant. In the trial court we were denied the privilege of showing a good motive that would argue for acquittal. If it is good law to use motive for the purpose of sustaining a conviction, then it should have been equally good law, upon which the defendant was entitled to reply for the purpose of an acquittal."

Debs declared that "opposition to war stated as a conclusion does not constitute an admission of obstructing recruiting. If this court decides that opposition to war is an element of crime, then opposition to peace, opposition to a tariff, opposition to an impost tax, opposition to an inheritance tax, and opposition to prohibition can equally be interpreted as elements of criminality. Opposition to war is a motive, it is not an intent. Motive and intent are clearly distinguishable."

(A later press dispatch from Washington announces that the court has refused the rehearing and that the mandate for imprisonment of Debs will be issued in about ten days).

Toledo Crowd Compels Release of Socialist Speakers

Audience Aroused Because Denied Freedom of Speech Disarm Policeman and Marches on Police Station

Toledo, O.—City authorities here learned Sunday that the workers will no longer submit to arbitrary interference with the right of freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage. In a crisis they were obliged to ask the assistance of the workers' representative to prevent a great mass of working people taking matters in their own hands and not only holding meetings as they pleased, but opening the prison doors for release of those who had been arrested.

The situation grew out of a meeting at which Toledo Socialists intended to pay their tribute to Eugene V. Debs. When they endeavored to secure Memorial hall for this meeting they found it had been rented to the Metal Workers' Council. They went to the Metal Workers' Council and stated the case to them and the latter agreed to give up the hall in favor of the Socialists. When this was explained to the city authorities who control the hall they refused to permit the transfer, stating that if the metal workers gave up the hall it would be turned over to some patriotic organization.

In order to meet this situation the Metal Workers' Council agreed to have Debs speak under their auspices.

Arrangements had been made to meet Debs at the station when he arrived. A crowd of some five hundred people assembled there, whom the police tried in vain to disperse. When the train arrived it was found that Debs had been taken ill in Cleveland and was unable to speak and that Charles Baker, state organizer of the Socialist Party, had come in his place.

Baker entered a waiting automobile and the crowd at the station formed in line behind, to march to the hall. In order to break up the demonstration police arrested the driver of the automobile, but another man quickly took his place and the procession proceeded.

When the procession arrived at Memorial hall it was found that the city authorities had locked the doors and refused the metal workers, to whom the hall had been rented, the use of the hall for a Debs' meeting. A crowd of ten thousand people was assembled in the streets in the neighborhood of the building.

M. H. Toohey, secretary of the Toledo Socialist local, mounted the top of an automobile and began to speak and was immediately arrested. Seventeen other Socialists followed him, each being arrested as soon as he began to talk.

By this time the crowd was beginning to get beyond the control of the police, although the whole Toledo force was present. One policeman was stripped of his badge, club and revolver and chased out of the neighborhood. While this was going on an appeal to members of the Socialist Party was made to immediately adjourn to the party headquarters, while the audience was asked to remain where they were.

At the headquarters two hundred party members were organized to follow each other as speakers and they then returned to the scene of the meeting. In a half hour's time another fifty, who attempted to speak were arrested, one after the other, among them Organizer Baker, and were taken to the police station.

Meanwhile the attitude of the crowd toward the police grew more threatening and it looked as if they were in for a rough time.

Evidently the city authorities realized that things were beyond their control, for no sooner had the last batch of prisoners arrived at the station, when the police chief appeared to beg M. H. Toohey, Thomas Devine, Charles Baker and others to go back to the scene of the meeting and try to disperse the crowd.

After some negotiations, during which it was agreed that every man arrested should be freed at once and it was impressed upon the police chief that never again must he interfere with a Socialist meeting, it was agreed that the Socialists would endeavor to restore order.

Hardly had they left the station when they met the vast crowd coming toward the station. Filling the street from building to building, the mass of people swept everything before them and advanced toward the station intent upon freeing the arrested men.

An automobile was hastily placed in position from which Toohey and Baker addressed the crowd, explaining that all the arrested men and women had been freed and the agreement that had been reached.

After a half hour of speech making the crowd was calmed and after a number of other brief speeches the audience was dispersed.

Socialists believe that the city authorities have learned what a mass movement means from their experience Sunday and that they will hesitate a long time before they again expose themselves to the wrath of a mass of working men, as they did Sunday.

Manifesto of Hungarian Socialists Charge Entente With Strangling Liberties

Appeal To Workers Of World Made Before Soviet Government Was Established Explain Conditions That Led To Workers Revolt

The resignation of the cabinet of the Hungarian People's government and the assumption of power by the Revolutionary Socialist government gives added interest to the appeal to the workers of the world recently issued by the Socialists and workers of Hungary, urging them to exert pressure on the governments of the allies to bring to an end the open alliance between the entente troops of occupation in Hungary and the counter-revolutionary elements bent on overthrowing the people's government and restoring the old regime of the monarchists and capitalist and landowners.

The manifesto throws a great deal of light upon the conditions in Hungary since the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the Hungarian People's government, and is especially interesting in its portrayal of the activities of the entente troops of occupation in opposition to the fundamental liberties of the Hungarian peoples. The text follows:

AN APPEAL FROM THE WORKERS OF HUNGARY TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The workers' congress has taken a grave decision. The Hungarian workers address themselves to the workers of the world and urge them not to permit the rights of liberty now acquired by the conquests of the Hungarian People's Republic to be destroyed under the pretext of occupation.

BIRTH OF HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.

Our delegates are going to all parts of the world. We shall utilize every method and all mediums in order that the proletariat of Europe especially may understand the situation which menaces democratic Hungary, Hungarian socialism, and the Hungarian labor movement, and to secure their effective assistance in this crisis.

What is happening in Hungary now?

The revolution, almost without the shedding of blood, overthrew the rotten system of tyranny. The Hungarian People's Republic was born. The people's republic, which is rapidly wiping out the last vestiges of feudalism, which is creating in Hungary the most complete democracy and laying the foundations for the development of socialism.

ENTENTE TROOPS AGAINST HUNGARIAN LIBERTIES.

The territory of the vanished monarchy is now inundated by the troops of occupation.

The liberty of the small nations and the safety of democracy were written upon the banners of the entente as long as actual fighting continued and before the war was terminated victoriously for them. Victorious, the entente floods Hungary with the troops of occupation. But the troops of occupation cannot carry liberty. The Hungarian People's Republic alone effectively created liberty here. But the entente, which promised to liberate the world from the yoke of German absolutism, has subjected Hungary to the greedy clutch of Roumania, Siberian and Czecho-Slovak imuerialisms.

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Debs Gets Great Ovation at Youngstown

While the cry leaped from a thousand throats of the disciples of Eugene V. Debs last night, March 26, in Diamond hall: "If you go to jail, we go with you!" two thousand more stormed the door trying to get into the hall.

The expression came following the reading of a resolution in which it was unanimously voted "that not a wheel shall be turned in this valley by us on or after July 4, unless the constitutional rights, as guaranteed Debs in our American constitution, are respected, without any penalty whatsoever for exercising his rights."

It was 8 o'clock when the resolution was presented and Debs had not arrived. Those not standing jumped to their feet and a deafening din of endorsement was given the resolution. Diamond hall is snugly filled by 500, but a thousand managed to crowd in and the overflow of 2,000 had to be addressed in Public Square.

Cheers Debs Five Minutes.

When Debs came into the hall, some thirty minutes later, a demonstration broke out anew. It lasted for fully five minutes and during that time a spray of red carnations was presented him as he mounted the stage. There was a small spray that bore the words, "From a Russian peasant who is a bolshevik," also for Debs. A tiny miss, six years of age threw her arms about Debs' neck and said: "I love you, Comrade Debs." Debs was visibly affected. He hung his head, while tears sprang to his eyes and when he raised his head to speak, for a moment, he could not find words. Tears glistened in his eyes and then began:

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What Capitalists Hate Worst Is What Workers Need Mos

AMERICANISM AND THE SOVIET"

By EVANS CLARK in The Nation.

Little attempt has been made to describe what we know of the present structure of government in Russia in language Americans can understand and in the perspective of American history. A great deal has been told of the revolution in the language of the revolutionists. But "Bolshevik" and "Menshevik," "proletariat" and "bourgeoisie" are not words to clarify the situation for Republicans and Democrats. They merely aggravate the irritation against the revolution set up by chronic journalistic and congressional mis-statement.

No one can deny that the American ideal is the democratic ideal. Born of revolt against autocracy, our Declaration of Independence itself proclaimed to the world that "governments are instituted among men deriving their powers from the consent of the governed," and that "whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to abolish it." The constitution of the United States begins with the words: "We, the people * * * do ordain and establish." Chief Justice Marshall, in the famous case of McCulloch vs. Maryland, made more specific this ideal of democracy:

The government proceeds directly from the people; it is ordained and established in the name of the people. * * * The government of the Union * * * is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit. * * * It is the government of all; its powers are delegated by all; it represents all and acts for all.

The public declaration of eminent Americans from that time to the present day agree in their praise of democracy. No slogan of the war aroused more genuine response from the American public than Mr. Wilson's appeal to "make the world safe for democracy." These words strike deep into the roots of American tradition. Opponents of Russian revolution have gained their best effect in this country by the charge that the new Russia is undemocratic. That is an argument that appeals to the American public. American political life has naturally found expression in such phrases as "the will of the people," "majority rule," and the "sovereignty of public opinion." Lincoln's "government of the people, by the people and for the people," is more than a hackneyed phrase; it is the "Summum Bonum" of American political ethics.

The words "dictatorship of the proletariat" cut across these sentiments with a ruthlessness that stirs to its depths the antagonism of the average American. No better illustration could be found of the ill effects of a foreign and Socialist terminology. Soviet Russia, in purpose and form, at least, does not appear upon examination to be "a dictatorship," nor is it, strictly speaking, "of the proletariat." And yet this phrase, for the average American, is both a description and a damnation of the present regime in Russia. The term "dictatorship" connotes a government uncontrolled by the governed—an exercise of supreme authority without responsibility. A careful examination of the evidence at hand, however, discloses the fact that not only the form of government itself, but the officials of the Soviets are responsible at every turn to those that elected them.

One of the most characteristic features of American culture is the unusual divergence between our political ideals and our political reality. Nowhere is this more marked than in the form and structure of our national government. Students of American politics of as divergent views as Burgess and Beard have emphasized this particularly glaring inconsistency. There is a fundamental antagonism between our democratic pretensions and the rigidity of our constitution. The American nation is a youth, lusty and growing, but clothed in a straitjacket. The change and expansion of our national life must in the end either bend our constitution or break it. If the Supreme Court had not by the main force of constructive analogies stretched the constitution far beyond the intentions of its makers, the break would long since have occurred. Constrained by a constitution written by men dead a century ago, and under the domination of courts pledged to maintain its integrity, not even the representatives of the people in congress assembled can recast the American machinery of state. As Professor Beard has pointed out, "the extraordinary majorities required for the initiation and ratification of amendments have resulted in making it practically impossible to amend the constitution under ordinary circumstances."

No such restrictions now bind the people of Russia. As in England, the national legislature itself is the designer and repairer of the government machine. The hand of the past does not rest, an autocracy of death, upon the institutions of the Soviet state. The All-Russian Soviet fashions the instruments of government and can re-fashion them at will to fit the circumstance of change. The Russian state, thus formed, may well be described as a pyramid of responsibility. At its base are the voters of the cities, towns, villages, and rural sections. Elected by them, and forming the next tier in the structure, are the local Soviets; representatives of the people in whose hands are centered all legislative and executive authority over the territory from which they were returned. Elected by the local Soviets are the provincial congresses of Soviets, similar bodies with jurisdiction over wider areas. At the top of the pyramid stands the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, a body composed of delegates elected by the local and provincial Soviets, which is, in the words of the constitution, "the supreme power of the Russian Socialists Federated Soviet Republic." Each Soviet from the lowest to the highest acts as a general legislative and policy-determining body; but it delegates administrative and even legislative authority between sessions to an executive committee, which, in turn, assigns routine administrative matters to councils composed of the heads of the several executive departments. Each executive committee and council is at all times under the control of the body that elected it. Thus is the pyramid built. The mortar that binds the whole structure from peak to base is the power of popular control.

One of the many divergences between American democratic ideals and American political practice lies in our electoral machinery. We talk of the will of the people, but we know it is more often the will of the boss and the boss of the boss that controls our political life. The manner of election of our legislatures is in large measure responsible for this anomaly. There is no intimacy between a representative and his constituency. In his nomination, his election, and his service as a law maker, the American legislator has closer touch with the professional politician than with those he is supposed to represent. For years forward-looking American political scientists have realized this and have talked of the value of economic over geographical representation as the only reasonable remedy. Men's interests, they have said, are essentially economic. People are bound together more closely by their occupation than by the neighborhood in which they happen to live. It might well be that legislative bodies representing different economic interests, instead of districts arbitrarily assigned on a map, would give more adequate expression of public opinion and would bring the legislator into more constant and intimate relations with those he represents. No definite program has ever been worked out in America to put such a plan into effect. It has remained for Russia to take the lead in its concrete political application.

Elections in Russia are, so to speak, by the shop, and not by the map. Each factory, each economic organization, in proportion to the numerical strength of the croup, elects its own delegates to the Soviet. The assembly is made up of representatives, not of districts, but of economic interests. Every member of the Soviet works in the same factory or organization with those who elected him. He is known to them personally; he is in constant contact with them, and is under their continuous instructions; his sympathies are their sympathies, his loyalty is their loyalty.

Elections alone, however, even such elections as these, would leave an essential weakness in the pyramid of responsibility. Pioneers of democracy in the United States have realized this for years. Merely to elect a candidate to office, they have pointed out, does not insure his responsibility. The threat of the next election is oftentimes far less powerful than immediate political advantage. Without a continuing control a representative is, for the time being, irresponsible. For the past 20 years there has been a campaign in the United States for the recall of elected officials. From its inclusion in the Los Angeles charter of 1903 to the present day, the recall has made its way into the constitutions of two or three states, into the general laws of several more, and into the charters of almost two hundred municipalities. In one sweep the principle of the recall was, in 1917, put into effect in every governing body of Russia, from Petrograd to Vladivostok. The law of the Soviet organization (addendum to paragraph 2) prescribes that "if a member of the Soviet deviates from the instructions of his constituents, then the constituents have the right to recall him and elect another in his place." This applies to every Soviet and every committee of every Soviet under the jurisdiction of the present government of Russia. Leon Trotzky, for instance, as Commissar of the Army, is responsible by election and recall to the executive committee of the all-Russian Soviet, which is responsible to this Soviet, which, in turn, is responsible to the local Soviets, which are responsible to the voters that elected them. Besides this, Mr. Trotzky carries a double responsibility as a member of the all-Russian Soviet and of the local Soviet of his own district. Whatever else Mr. Trotzky may be, he cannot be called a dictator. Whatever else the Soviet may be, it cannot be classed as an autocracy.

The Soviet is not a dictatorship. Neither can it accurately be called "of the proletariat." The term has ben torn from the lexion of Socialist vernacular and has been used to describe what it was never meant to describe. The phrase connotes class rule, the control by one caste of the destinies of another, the tyranny of labor over capital. While it may well apply to a period of transition in the Russian revolution, it cannot correctly be used to describe the ultimate composition of the Soviet state. The accomplished society of the Soviets is a casteless and a classless affair. The great object of the revolution has been to eliminate entirely the present antagonism between labor and capital in the only way which to the Russian is possible—by the elimination of the party of the second part. It is of the greatest importance to note, however, that there are two ways in which this can be accomplished. The property owner can be eliminated by the elimination either of the property or of the owner himself. Newspaper reports would lead us to suspect that the latter method is the policy of the Soviets. Such is emphatically not the case. One need have no illusions about the by-products of a revolutionary upheaval when individuals and mobs run riot, and may yet be convinced by the evidence at hand that the policy of the present Russian government is to eliminate the property owner only by nationalizing his property.

The present Russian government has taken over, one by one, the ownership of the great resources of the nation. Capital, in the sense of property, remains, but in the hands of the people through the state. In this way the private owner of capital who exploits it for his personal advantage is rapidly being eliminated from Russian society. If the Czar should not own and operate the government for his personal benefit, why should the capitalist own and operate the factory to the same end? The nobility already has been expropriated; the capitalist soon will be. When the change has been accomplished, the nobles and the capitalist will still live, but they will be workers, and not owners, for a living. There will remain neither "bourgeoisie" nor "proletariat"; there will be only workers in Russia. Such is the logic of the Rusian revolutionist. In the phraseology of the Russian Constitution (Section 9): "The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Federated Soviet republic involves, in view of the present transition period (black mine), the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat . . . for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men" and of insuring that there shall be "neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy."

To accomplish this purpose the owners of capital have been excluded from the franchise. Every inhabitant of Soviet Russia, male or female, of 18 years or over, who has "acquired the means of living through labor, that is productive and useful to society," or "who has lost the capacity to work," and also "persons engaged in housekeeping," are entitled to vote and to be elected to the Soviets. "Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits," and those "who have an income without doing any work," are definitely excluded from voting or holding office. Temporarily, this means a class domination. There can be no dispute as to that. Even so, however, it is the majority that has willed it.

Were the figures available, they probably would show that, even with the property owners excluded, the franchise is more democratic in Russia than in England or the United States. It is probable that a larger portion of the population is entitled to vote today in Russia than in any other country of the world. In the first place, only a small proportion of the Russian population ever has been included in the property-owning class. Russia is and always has been an agrarian land. Its population has been composed overwhelmingly of peasants and workers. In the second place, so-called democracies, like England and the United States, have limitations of the franchise that Russia has not. England still frankly retains property as the basic qualification for suffrage, excludes women under 30, men under 21 and aliens. About one-half of the American states exclude women from the franchise, several require educational tests, and many also demand a poll tax; Southern states in practice exclude the Negro, and most states allow only citizens of the United States to vote, while every one disfranchises all men under 21 and those who have not lived a certain time in the district from which they vote. Only 9,000,000 out of 45,000,000 persons in England voted in 1918, and only 18,000,000 out of over 100,000,000 in the United States. In Soviet Rusia there are no residence requirements, while all men and women over 18, including aliens, can vote. The lack of other limitations in Russia probably will outbalance the exclusion of the property owners in a comparison of the proportion of the population even now entitled to vote.

Ultimately, however, age will be the only limitation upon the suffrage of Soviet Russia. Like the physician whose highest function it is to make himself unnecessary, the temporary domination of the majority continually works to eliminate itself. The property-owner is excluded, but with an ever-increasing nationalization of capital each month sees fewer and fewer in the property-owning class. The property-owners become workers and entitled to the franchise; the disfranchised rapidly approach complete absorption as the limit they will ultimately reach. Each month makes the electorate more nearly all-inclusive more completely democratic. What has been called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" proves upon analysis to be ultimately a democracy of the unclassed.

Soviet Russia thus throws our American institutions into a novel perspective. It proves anew our ideals of self-government. The Soviet, unified, responsible, controlled by the masses at every point, and amenable to change with the times, is a penetrating commentary on our congealed constitution, our sovereign courts our President, our Senate, and our House, only intermittently responsible and frankly designed to check and to balance the popular will, and our restricted and rather futile electorate.

More Self-Determination

By SCOTT NEARING.

Matabelaland, comprising some 48 million acres in Rhodesia, is to remain under the British crown by decision of the Privy Council. There were four claimants to the land: The Imperial Government, the Legislative Council, the British South Africa Co. and the natives. The decision of the Privy Council settles the issue so far as the British empire is concerned.

Southern Rhodesia has a native population of 700,000 souls. Just how many of these persons live in Matabelaland is not clear. One thing, however, is certain—that the 500,000 or so of men and women whose fate was decided by this action of the Privy Council are the victims of the usual variety of British imperial determination.

FRANZ MEHRING

By JOHN BRAHTIN.

Continued From Last Week.

Edits Marx and Engel's Writings.

The second great work that Mehring undertook to accomplish, was the editing and publishing of the unpublished manuscripts of Marx and Engels. This task Mehring fulfilled in a masterful way. The Socialist Internationale has before it all that Marx wrote. Under the general title, "Aus Dem Literarischen Nachlass," Mehring gathered and published all those writings, which Marx and Engels did not live long enough to see in print. The first volume contains an introduction of about 80 pages, in which Mehring, in concise form, gives the biography of Marx and how Marx developed his philosophy. All separate articles and treaties of Marx are accompanied with introductions and explanatory notes by Mehring, which makes them clear to present day students of socialism. Without these notes and comments, "Aus Dem Literarischen Nachlass" would remain a sealed book to many of us. It took the broad knowledge of Mehring, who studied philosophy from the same sources and as deeply as Marx himself, to explain the trend of thought of the father of modern socialism.

Takes Active Part in Movement.

[illegible], the unpublished writings [illegible] and Engels did not prevent [illegible] taking an active part in the latter day development of the Marxian thought of the world. His sharp pen was busily at work against such pseudo Marxists as Ed Bernstein and Conrad Schmide of Germany and Ernest Unterman of the U. S. It was Mehring who knocked Mr. Unterman on the head when the latter endeavored to prove the superiority of Dietzgen over Marx in the field of philosophy. Mehring pointed out to Mr. Unterman that his knowledge of the subject, about which he wrote and talked so much, was too shallow. Unterman did not discover the contradiction in Dietzgen's philosophy. Mehring did find it and therefore was able to prove that to comment upon and augment Marx with Dietzgen, is a folly.

Under Mehring's editorship the Leipziger Volkszeitung became the stronghold of the left wing of the German Socialists. All the polemics against the right wing and the center of the German Social-Democracy found space in that paper. The sharpness of Mehring's polemical articles, made many Socialists view them as personal attacks and not defenses of principles. All such accusations Mehring bitterly denied and the present developments prove so emphatically the correctness of Mehring's position that there is not the slightest doubt left. He pointed out the danger, toward which the German workers were heading; he did it without pity, without mercy, but the workers as a class, did not heed that warning but fell into the hands of their enemies and misleaders.

Mehring's Attitude During War.

Mehring was the first one to express his indignation when the Socialists went over to the government in support of the war. To see the way that Mehring fought against the betrayers of the proletariat, it suffices to read the "Crisis in the German Social Democracy," in the preparation of which Mehring collaborated, and which has sharp style and clearness and thoroughness in outline of the subject. All through the war Mehring was the bitterest enemy of the Prussian Junkerdom, bourgeoisie and the semi-Socialists of Germany.

Mehring was the first one to voice and glorify the success of the proletarian revolution in Russia. In his letter to the Bolshevik organ, Pravda, he viewed the Russian revolution as the hope of the German working class. Bitterly he condemns the lukewarmness of the Independent Socialists of Germany who view with a smile on their lips the things transpiring in Russia, but do nothing to arouse the revolutionary spirit in Germany. Mehring, very bitterly attacks Kautsky, as a man who knows every word that Marx wrote, but who lacks the revolutionary spirit of Marx. Mehring, truly, had that spirit and courage.

Mehring passed away, but his life's work remains with us and will live forever. Those who wish to study the outcome of modern socialism, can be referred to the inexhaustible sources of Mehring, where they will find the theory and tactics of the labor movement, outlined clearly, convincingly and forcefully.

When Liebknecht was sent to prison Mehring was elected to take his place in the reichstag; a respectable successor to that younger and fearless fighter of the working class. Mehring and Liebknecht have passed away, but also the old order, against which they fought, in Germany, is dead. They saw the dawning of the new day. They know it will not come easy. The example of the Russian revolution was before Mehring and his broad knowledge of history, convincing him what revolutions are, how they came about and how they are won.

The fruitful life of Mehring is before us like a guiding star. A man, who, to the last minute, did not lose his courage and remained faithful to his life's work and devotion. Franz Mehring is not among us any more, but the memory of him and the work of this untiring fighter for working class emancipation, will be among us forever.

RUSSIA

Years when my pain and anguish
Awakened answering sounds,
When o'er the Steppes, my kindred wept
[illegible] and muscle-bound;
When the trails to the snow-bound silence
Were marked with the blood of mine own,
And through the travail of that awful night
I traveled my way alone.

Now you sit in your smug contentment,
Heaping on me your scorn;
Twisting the strands that binds my hands
On this—my awakening morn.
To me you have sent your couriers—
Blind that they could not see—
Your pen-valets in my borning days
Fashioned a travesty.

Barren of all that is noble,
Wanting in all that is just,
All things are kind that you would grind
In the grip of your money-lust.
You with your vampire vision
Seeking to make me prey,
But I shall hold, for all my fold,
For a thousand years and a day.

Mine is the land unexploited;
Mine is the song of the dawn,
Of a world in birth that will shadow the earth,
Till the fetters of all are gone.
Of hate, I have none to render;
Of joy, I have world's to give,
And follow or fall, I shall share with you all
That MAN and not MAMMON shall live.

D. H.

A VISION OF TO-MORROW

Labor unrest throughout the world has grown into a mammoth mountain of trouble for the capitalist class, and they are endeavoring to draft measures to suppress it. The capitalists can feel their realms crumbling, and now breath the dust of decay of the system that has long ruled the worker with a rod of iron.

Through their effort to suppress the exposure of extortion they but make visible the grey smoke, winding towards the heaven from a giant volcano, now ready to burst into action.

The toilers must be kept in the valley of ignorance. Their brains must be clouded with the shadow of doubt. They must not realize their true value lest they choose to be their own apraisers. They must surrender their liberties without the slighest emotion and succumb to the capitalistic element or they are branded as bolshevists.

But nevertheless socialism goes on triumphantly. It has emerged from the channel of suppression in Russia, and other European countries. One can see the day not far distant when the toilers of the world, the all important class will come to the realization that socialism furnishes the melting pot into which they can throw their support and mould their influence into power and cross the river of progress over the bridge of knowledge constructed by themselves and wreck the tower of autocratic force and declare themselves masters of masters and say to their comrades, "Go and sit under the shade of your own vine and fig tree and we will build a tower of brotherhood that will stand for all time to to come."

A comrade of local Lima, O.

DEBS' OVATION AT YOUNGSTOWN

Continued From Page One.

Debs Visibly Affected.

"If only words could speak my love for all of you. But, comrades, my heart is full and words are cold and purposeless. The warm greeting has touched every red drop of blood in my body. If it were not for you working people, you proletarians, I would be unknown. The little I have I grew from your hearts. The little I have belongs to you. Long I have listened to your proletarian heart beats. All that I have and can give, I lay on the altar of the revolution for you. It was my good fortune to have a good mother. At a tender age she was pushed into wage slavery and in wage slavery I was born. From her bosom, I grew to what I am. I know where bolshevikism sprang from and if you don't know I can tell you. I am not going to attempt to excite your passions tonight—but—possibly, possibly later.

Will Go Together.

"And when I do we'll go together, I shall not say to you, go, but come on, for I'll be at the head of you. I know what is wrong in Europe, in down trodden Europe. I know why the people of Russia have come into their own. Isn't it strange, that there is so much concern about Russia now that they, the peasants, have worked out a successful government, have thrown off the yoke of the czar, are able to realize a real democracy, are able to think and act with freedom without being thrown into jail to rot, without being sent to Siberia to die a slow and miserable death? There was no concern in Russia by England on other countries when atrocities worse than death were committed by the czar. No armies were sent into Russia then! Probably you think I am talking rather plain tonight? I am.

Doesn't Fear Courts.

"Do you think I fear the courts? They can go to hell with their courts."

A demonstration of several minutes followed the statement. And then Debs continued: "I'm not skidding along the edge tonight. I am speaking my heart. Some capitalist has said, I was worth $150,000. Comrades, if I wanted to sell out this cause for which I stand, I wouldn't fool with a paltry and detestable $150,000; I could get $150,000,000—I could sell out your cause for that amount easily.

Says Bolshevism Misrepresented.

"If bolshevism were what they tell you it is, I would be as much opposed to it as they are, and as you are, who do not understand it. But it is the uncompromising rise of the form and figure of the working man, who, battling for his rights through all the ages, has arisen upon the horizon of the world and said: 'I created this world and I propose to make it a fit place for human beings to live in. They say poor Russia is anarchistic, that her passions and greed are running away with her. I tell you, comrades, they're liars and hypocrites. When the czar lived it was a crime to whisper freedom. They rotted in jail, they died in Siberia when they thought against despotism. They're illiterate, yes. But they can think. The Soviet government is a government of, by and for the people. For sixteen months they have stood without a quiver. There is no prospect of their government falling. They have stood their ground.

Wants No Bloodshed.

"But in what I have to say, I do not want to excite or incite you. I am opposed to bloodshep in any form. A revolution is coming, but it must be peaceful. That is the reason I am opposed to war, to making men soldiers. A soldier is a human being trained to kill other human beings. I don't believe in killing, I am opposed to it. I met several soldiers at my home recently. They were hungry and hunting jobs. One said he was sorry he had been a soldier. He had awakened and seen the light. I can go to the gallows with a smile on my face, without a quiver, but I'll never have the stain of any man's blood upon my hands. I'm opposed to all forms of murder. We must do our work, comrades, peacefully. We are slowly but surely welding the iron ring about our exploiters. But, because they have treated us cruelly and like cattle that is not the spirit in which we must treat with them. We must be gentle and ask God to forgive them. They speak of Americanizing the foreigners—why? To make strike-breakers of them? Gor forgive them! When I am gone, the richest gift I ask, is that some child will lay a flower upon my grave and say: 'Gene did something for me.'

New Era Dawning.

"The sun is arising upon our cause. A new and beautiful world is approaching. The day is dawning when we shall take possession of the world that is ours. It may be your lot to carry on. This may be the last time I shall ever see you. But to touch your hands and know as I pass out, that your hearts are right and beat in this cause, no more precious gift or crown I ask. We are all for democracy and opposed to bloodshed. In Russia is a real democracy—the Bolsheviki. It is the rise of the common people laying the foundation of a real republic. Those who are dying on the streets of Hungary tonight are paving the way for a new country for your children and children yet to be born.

Debs Mentions Penitentiary.

"I'm about to go to the penitentiary for the rest of my days"—

Debs got no further. Cries of "No!" split the air for fully five minutes. The same thing happened when Debs later addressed a crowd that comfortably filled the square about the Soldiers monument. When finally the listeners were quieted, he went on: "There's not much left of this old shell of mine. My years and my days are numbered, would be God that I had another life to give. I ask from you no sympathy, no compassion, just your love and the realization of your hearts' desire. I would rather go to prison a thousand times for you, than once to the White House as a hypocrite and a betrayer."

Meeting in Square.

Margaret Prevey of Akron, who had been addressing the crowd in the square gave up her place to Debs as he came from the hall. He spoke briefly, emphasizing some of the points he had used in the hall. He was cheered to the echo repeatedly. Several officers found it impossible to keep traffic moving because the crowd grew to such proportions when he appeared. He spoke upon a box beside the municipal flag pole. When he had finished several hundred followed him into the lobby of the Tod house. Several speakers followed Debs, including Frank Midney.

Kissed Goodbye at Depot.

Talks were listened to until after 11 o'clock. At the B. & O. station, 200 gathered to give Debs a parting farewell as he boarded a train for Akron. They sang songs and men and women alike kissed him goodbye. It was a tearful farewell.

In the hall following the address, borry handed workmen crowded about him, and choking with tears kissed his cheeks. By it all he was overcome and could scarcely find words to express his appreciation and affection.

—Youngstown Vindicator.

CHARGES ENTENTE WITH STRANGLING LIBERTIES

Continued From Page One.

REVOLUTIONARY LIBERTIES STRANKLED BY ENTENTE TROOPS.

These imperialisms represent a degree of development inferiod to that of the Hungarian democracy. The people's republic established the most complete liberty of the press, of association and of assemblage. The troops of occupation suppress the right of association and of assemblage and impose a censorship of the press. The people's republic has a social policy—the liberty of association and freedom of labor. The troops of occupation destroy our social policy shackle our private associations and in the place of liberty of labor established a new serfdom.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE KILLED BY BLOCKADE.

But the occupation of Hungary signifies more than the suppression of the rights gained by the revolution, more than the strangling of the developed labor movement. The occupation signifies the suppression of the possibility of work itself.

Where there is no coal there is no work. It appears that the troops of occupation consider seriously the ironical remark of General Franchet d'Espery, who said: "If our mills cannot operate by steam power, operate them with wind mills." The lack of coal means the destruction of our large industries, the bankruptcy of our trade, our villages in rags, famine in our cities.

HUNGARIAN WORKERS OPPOSED THE WAR.

And all this takes place because the former monarchial rulers, today driven from the country, declared war against the entente in 1914—a war which the conscious proletariat of Hungary abominated from the very depths of its heart, a war which we opposed bitterly to the last moment, a war into which we were driven simply because the monarchial rulers menaced the Hungarians with other nationalities. In fact, the Czecho-Slovak, Roumanian and Siberian regiments did menace us. By this terrorism the chiefs of the monarchy drove the Hungarian workers to battle against those who now occupy Hungary as victors, and who now trample down the first fruits of the revolution.

ENTENTE OCCUPATION SUPPORTS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

We ask the proletariat of the world this question: Will the workers of France consent, will the workers of England consent, will the workers of Italy consent, will the proletariat of the world consent that in Hungary the entente policy of occupation, undertaken under the pretext of establishing order, shall by its effect be equivalent to the counter-revolution?

SELF-DETERMINATION DEMANDED.

We are not pleading for integrity of territory. What we demand is the integrity of democracy. We do not say that we will refuse to cede a morsel of Hungarian territory; but we do say that they cannot cut Hungary up into pieces against the will of the people and without a referendum to secure an expression of the peoples' will.

We know very well that, in the interests of a state kept together in the past by violence, we cannot contend before the democracies of the world that in the future violence shall unite this state. We only demand that by the right of violence they shall not dismember this state. We demand the reign of right against all forms of violence, and not the reign of violence against the right of the peoples.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS OPPOSE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

The counter-revolutionary elements in Hungary, who were stunned at first have regained consciousness. The reactionary press unanimously opposes the new regime. It attacks principally the national policy of the people's government. It condemns not only the right of self-determination, but exhibits extreme bitterness becouse the non-Hungarian nations living in Hungary receive autonomy.

What do these reactionaries mean? Is it possible that they imagine that vanquished Hungary shall maintain against the non-Hungarian nations the brutal domination which it has exercised in the past? The chiefs of the Hungarian reaction, the leaders of the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries, know very well that that is not possible. They well know that they demand an impossible thing. They well know that they are directly injuring the interests of Hungary because they give proof of Hungarian oppression and of its savage chauvinism. These men, who now oppose the national policy of the government, are conscious traitors of the country.

INTEND TO SMOTHER SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

But what does this treason matter to them? They intend, in fact, by this method to save their dead domination. By their treasonable actions they wish to excite chauvinistic passions, and they believe that in resurrecting chauvinism they will be able to smother the Socialist movement, now strongly developed.

SACIALISTS ALONE ABLE TO ESTABLISH HARMONY IN HUNGARY.

But the Hungarian Socialist movement cannot be vanquished by such methods. Why? Because in Hungary now the Socialists alone represent the idea of social progress. Only through socialism, only through the mutual understanding of the peoples, only with the assistance of the proletariat of the world, is it possible to establish here a country of concord and of productive labor instead of a war of races and disputes of the peoples.

A WARNING TO EUROPE.

The Hungarian people should understand that it is necessary to live in peace with the nations whose home is in Hungary, unless they wish to prolong the world war.

And the people of Europe should understand that unless they wish that Hungary shall be a center of European conflagration, unless they wish that this corner of Europe shall start the clouds of the tempest which menaces the tranquility of Europe, then they should not protect the greedy nationalistic and usurping elements here which are manifesting themselves coincidently with the troops of occupation. They should, on the contrary, assure the reign of democracy in Hungary and the realization of the veritable rights of nations to dispose of themselves.

For the nations of Hungary can live in peace with one another. Not, however, under the empire of absolutism and oppression, but only in the most complete liberty and the most complete democracy.

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited by C. E. Ruthenberg

Class Justice

Socialists, in analysing the institutions of present day society, have contended that the administration of justice was not governed by any abstract principles of right and wrong, nor even by the provisions of existing laws, although most often they are class laws, but by the interest of the dominant economic class. For this materialistic and cynical attitude toward judges, courts and laws, they have been roundly condemned by those who make the apologies for the existing ruling class.

From France there has just come the clearest demonstration of the truth of the Socialist position that it is possible to make.

In August 1914, Raoul Villain assasinated Jean Jaures. Jaures was the leader of the French Socialists. He had fought against militarism in France. A few days before his death he had gone to Brussels and in mighty words had called upon the workers of Europe to prevent their rulers from sending them forth to kill each other; in the name of civilization and humanity he demanded that the crime about to be perpretated be prevented by organized workers.

Because of this,—because he at its very beginning raised his voice against the war in which more than seven million human beings were slaughtered, he was killed.

His slayer was not brought to trial until ten days ago. He admitted shooting Jaures. His attorney appealed in his behalf on the ground that the motive for his crime was "misguided, ardent, patriotism." He was freed.

A few weeks ago a French anarchist attempted to kill Clemenceau. He failed, succeeding only in inflicting a wound from which the French premier has already recovered.

He was tried immediately. He gave as a reason for his crime:

> I wanted to kill the man instigating a new war. I am an anarchist, a friend of the people, Germans not excluded, a friend of mankind and brotherhood. These words deeply penetrate into the heart of every man. Clemenceau is a tyrant, and a tyrant of the highest degree. Clemenceau is making the fighters for the popular cause rot in the prisons of France. Clemenceau is the greatest enemy of the great freethinking people. No wonder he is called "Tiger."

Cottin was found guilty and condemned to death.

Thus the record stands: It is right to kill a man who opposes the mass slaughter of human beings, for the slayer goes free. It is a crime, punished by death, to wound a prime minister whom the assasin believes a tyrant and an emeny of freedom.

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The Slaves

During the progress of the war our capitalist newspapres foamed at the mouth when discusing the crime perpetrated by the German in compelling Belgians and French workmen to labor for them through the compulsion of the bayonet. The enslaving of the population of conquered territory was one of the crimes held before us for our execration.

Now, this country is in the position of the victor holding conquered territory.

And what do we do?

Last Sunday's papers carried a dispatch from one of the cities held by American soldiers telling with great gusto, how the army of occupation had arrested German workmen who had gone on strike, and compelled them, at the point of the bayonet, to do work necessary in handling the supplies for the armies.

Are we enslaving the German workmen even as the German Imperial Government enslaved the Belgians and French in the territory it conquered?

Or is it possible that with some glib, idealistic phrase President Wilson can make, compelling German workmen to labor for us at the point of the bayonet something different than compelling French and Belgians to labor for Germany at the point of the bayonet?

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What Holds Them Back?

The jingo press is becoming impatient because the gentlemen who are meting in Paris do not take drastic action against the revolting workingmen who are sweeping everything before them in Eastern and Central Europe. They are urging these gentlemen to send their armies to crush bolshevism under the iron heel of the Allied armies, even as Germany was crushed. They urge the statesmen at Paris to end their dilatory tactics and act,—act before it is too late.

No doubt the representatives of capitalism at Paris would be only too glad to follow this advice,—if it were feasible to do so.

But they know it is not. They know that sending armies to crush Soviet Russia or Soviet Hungary is quite a different thing than using armies to crush Imperial Germany.

The difference exists in the fact that in every country of Europe, and to a lesser extent in this country, there are large sections of the workers who are in hearty sympathy with the workers in revolt and who themselves threaten to revolt if armies are sent against their brothers in other lands.

When the French regiments at Odessa sent word to their officers "We are ready to fight for France but we will not shoot down our brothers," they forcibly expressed the position of the masses in France, Italy and England.

It is no lack of desire to drown the proletarian revolt in the blood of the workers that deters the statesmen at Paris from acting. It is the fear of the result of such action in their own countries.

The Outlook Is Blue

Reports from Paris concerning the work of the Peace Conference grows more pessimistic daily. Conflicting claims and demands hold up the agreement between the five great powers and at the same time the new force of working class revolt grows more threatening.

The situation has grown so dark that one well-known newspaper writer, now in Paris, ventured the opinion in an article published here a few days ago, that the Peace Conference would not make peace.

While the war on all of the belligerent nations expressed their enthusiastic adherence to President Wilson's idealistic phrases in regard to what the war was being fought for, but in the peace making each is pushing forward its own selfish interests to the limit of its power.

The result is that one day we hear that the Japanese threaten to withdraw if they are not conceded certain islands in the Pacific and the next that the Italians will leave if they cannot have their own way about the eastern coast of the Adriatic. France, which posed before the world as a despoiled nation because the Germans held Alsace-Lorraine, demands the she be permitted to in turn despoil Germany by taking the Saar Valley.

At the same time there are presented bills for "reparation" amounting to so many billions that even the members of the Peace Conference recognize that it would be impossible for Germany to exist under such a burden. On the other hand the "victorious" nations realize that unless they can shift part of the great burden of debt they have accumulated the economic structure at home is in danger of collapse.

While the statesmen bicker and barter and endeavor to harmonize conflicting claims, the revolt against them and the system they represent grows stronger and sweeps wider. Soviet Russia advances on all fronts; Hungary takes its place under the new standard; Besserbia follows, and all the countries of Central Europe, Bulgaria, Serbia, Roumania, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, the storm is brewing and each and very one of these countries may any day follow Hungary in establishing a Soviet Republic.

Pity the poor statesmen. They are essaying the impossible task of harmonizing the conflicts and contradictions of capitalism. Peace will not come out of Paris; it cannot come out of the present conference. The real peace of the world will come when the workers of the world unite in the universal Soviet Republic.

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Power

"The government has asked that nationalization of the mines be deferred until the parliamentary commission can conduct a further investigation."

The above sentence is from a dispatch in regard to the negotiations between the miners union and the British Government. Those brief lines tell more about the situation in England than many lengthly discussions of the details of the present negotiations.

"The government has asked;........", no. not the workers, but the government has asked. What a topsy-turvy world it must be for the former rulers of society to find the government asking the workers to please defer certain action in place of the workers begging the government to do something for them.

It is not the Lloyd George government that is ruling England today.

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Evolution and Industrialism

The following quotation from an article in the "Nation" presents a picture of the evolution of capitalist society during the past fifty years, with which most Socialists will agree:

> The framers of our Federal Constitution could not foresee the development of modern industrialized society. They could not foresee the shifting of the actual seat of government from the executive chambers and legislative halls to banks, stock exchanges, schools, and newspaper offices. They could not foresee banker control of credits and industry, and hence of education and the news, and hence of public opinion, and hence of the political machinery of the government itself. They provided against political autocracy; but they could not foresee the gradual decay of the old forms of political power and the gradual rise of a new economic power; hence they could not provide against industrial autocracy. The decay of the old forms of political power is written in a tacit but binding surrender. The real rule of the modern world—the power which makes or breaks a nation, which directs the creative energies of a culture, which determines the development and destiny of a people—is vested in forms economic rather than political. These constitute the invisible government which lies behind the visible government of the old political forms; they rule the world for profit, without a social sense; they rule the world for a benefit of a special class of investors and stockholders, rather than in the interests of the whole community. The old political forms remain fundamentally unchanged. From time to time they have suffered modification, under the pressure of drastic events; but never have they failed to resist the trend of society, never have they disclosed a spirit of cooperation with human endeavor, never have they kept pace with the swift development of the new business system.
>
> Over against these new economic forms, exercising the real governmental functions of modern society, has grown in the industrial field a system of organized check and protest, the invisible opposition, as it were. This is the political significance of the organization of workers everywhere during the rapid rise of industrialism; they recognized the necessity of an economic opposition, the inadequacy of the old political forms to furnish a proper check upon the new governmental functions; and the action was a healthy sign of man's political sagacity. For the past fifty years these lines have been deepening. If the old political forms could have been flexible enough to encompass the new economic order, to ride the tidal wave of industrialism, all would have been well; the channels of political activities would have run smoothly, the workers would have been satisfied with adequate voice and representation in the new industrial functions of government, the community instead of a special class would have been profited, and the great economic war would not have descended upon our civilization. But those in control were too selfish or too blind to render the political machinery flexible, to make the invisible and responsible government, or to conduct the economic system with any degree of social sense; and thus they forced the workers to organize, and brought about a fatal division between our political activities and the life processes of our society.
>
> Then came the great war in Europe, as a direct result of this fatal division—as a direct result of the inability of a decadent system to control the predatory economic forces that actually ruled the world. And then, caught in the toils of its own blindness and irresponsibility, civilization was driven forward to the point of economic exhaustion—was driven far beyond that point, in fact, under the emphasis of war emotionalism—while the Governments that had brought on the holocaust were equally incapable of stopping it. The Russian revolution raised a flaming sign, but it was not heeded. The war went on; and the economic structure of society has been ruined past any redemption in terms of the old order. The bills are too staggering to be paid. The whole world is trembling on the brink of revolution. America is not immune.

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The new organization of city editors which proposed to smash bolshevism forever in this country, is reported to have actually collected $700.00 for that purpose. They have still a long road to travel.

• • • •

The New York legislature has appropriated $50,000 to investigate bolshevism. While the bill was under consideration one of the Socialist members rose to suggest that the legislators better save the money of the state, for he was a bolshevist and would gladly give them all the information they desired.

• • • •

According to the press dispatches, President Wilson is threatening an expose of the Peace Conference if his fellow statesmen do not hurry up and agree. We hope he will have the opportunity of doing it, for then he will have made good on one point at least,—the abolition of secret diplomacy.

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The Chicago Labor Party has joined in the demand that the Soviet Republic be recognized and American troops withdrawn from Russia.

Swedish Workers Oppose Intervention

The capitalist government of Sweden is reported to have definitely abandoned its project to send a volunteer army to the assistance of the labor exploiters of Esthonia, hard pressed by the Bolsheviki forces. The abandonment of intervention was caused largely by the vigorous campaign against it put up by the Socialists of Sweden.

According to information which has just reached the United States, a mass meeting was held in Stockholm on January 12 by the Workers' and Soldiers' Association to protest against the recruiting of volunteers in Sweden for the benefit of the capitalists and landlords of Esthonia.

A committee of the Swedish Socialist Party interviewed the president of the council, M. Eden, relative to the proposed intervention on January 14. The committee demanded the immediate cessation of the recruiting of the volunteers; otherwise it would organize on its own account a campaign to recruit soldiers determined to support and defend the armies of Socialist workers fighting for their rights and their liberty.

President Eden received the committee "coldly." The committee responded by organizing the protest meeting the following day. The mass meeting instructed the "committee of action to arrange street demonstrations and organize protest meetings throughout Sweden. Another committee was mandated to study the possibilities of recruiting a Red Guard for use in the Baltic provinces. The street manifestation took place on January 18, and was a remarkable success.

Shortly after these protests the government, which had denied having any official connection with preparations for the volunteer expedition into Esthonia, frowned upon the eagerness of the interventionists, and upon a report made by a military mission of Swedish army officers to Esthonia the government closed the recruiting stations. (Paris Populaire is authority for the facts given in the above article).

NORWAY FOLLOWS EXAMPLE OF SOCIALIST WORKERS.

The prompt and radical action of the Socialists of Sweden to check the plans of the Swedish capitalists to raise a volunteer army to go to the assistance of the bourgeoisie of the Baltic provinces, menaced by the Bolsheviki forces, was speedily duplicated by the Socialist Party of Norway. The executive committee of the party passed the following resolution:

"The organization at Stockholm of volunteer troops (to intervene in Esthonia) constitutes, in the judgment of the executive committee, a menace to peace. It is quite possible that these volunteers will meet with defeat, which would compel the Swedish government, under the pressure of public opinion, to intervene. The national council believes the matter to be so grave that it demands immediate and speedy action throughout Scandinavia to convene a conference of all the Social Labor parties."

VICTORY!

Ladies swathed in shimmering silk—
Babies dead for want of milk.
[illegible] in cars and garter bags,
[illegible] women clad in rags.
Estates vast, and game preserves,
Hovel that as dwelling serves.
Week-end jaunts in power boats,
Mothers' sons in gory moats.
Banquets for democracy,
Famine for autocracy.
European junket trips,
Breaking hearts and trembling lips.
And a dozen million dead!
Serfs or peers, or free-born red?

—B. G.

Soviet Representative Publishes Record of Achievements

(Continued from Page One)

where our opponents had access to foreign military help, has it been possible for them to maintain any organized opposition and to wrest from the control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of existence the Russian Soviet Republic finds itself more securely established than at any previous time.

Retake Vast Territory.

During the current year the Soviet government has been particularly successful in retaking vast territories wrested from its control during the preceding months. By February, 1919, the Soviet troops on the northern front had retaken the city of Shenkursk and adjoining territory. On the eastern front they have lost Perm, but they have regained Pereufa, Ufa Sterlitamak, Bellbey, Orenburg and Uralsk. The railroad connection with Central Asia is at present in the hands of the Soviet government. On the southern front they have taken the railroad stations of Pavorino, Alexikovo, Polovaya, Kalstsk and Begutchar, which have assured them of a control over the railroads of that region, while on the southeastern front the Ukrainian Soviet troops threaten the army of Krasnov from Ugansk in the rear. In the Ukraine the Soviet troops have acquired Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Krementchug, Tchernikov and Obrutch. In the Baltic provinces and in Lithuania the Soviet power has been extended over a great part of the territory formerly occupied by Germans, with the large cities of Minsk, Vilna, Riga, Mitau, Dvinsk, Windau and others in the control of adherents of the Soviet.

These last mentioned successes are largely due to the fact that after the evacuation by the German armies of the territories wrested from Russia during the war and by the peace treaty of Brest Litovsk, which the Soviet republic was forced to sign under duress, the workers in such territories everywherre are rising to support the ideals and the social order represented by the Soviet republic.

Workers Rally to Government.

The resentment against the former ruling classes, who did not hesitate to invite foreign military help against their own people has evinced itself in an ever increasing popular support of the Soviet government, even among such people as at first were either hostile or indifferent to the Soviet rule. Men and women of literary or technical training and of intellectual accomplishments are now in great numbers rallying to the support of the Soviet government and co-operate with it in all administrative branches. The peasantry of Russia, the great majority of which from the very outset was in support of the workers' revolution, has become more consciously attached to our social system, realizing that in the support of the workers' republic lies the only guarantee for their remaining in control of the land which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The economic isolation of Russia which so far has prevented the Soviet government from adequately supplying the peasants with implements that they so badly need, is of course causing hardship among the peasantry, yet the peasants generally do not place the blame for this privation at the door of the Soviet government, well realizing that it is due to the deliberate interference in the affairs of the Russian people by hostile groups and that a remedy for this privation is not a weakening but a strengthening of the Soviet power. They fully realized—and their experience in such instances where counter-revolutionary forces temporarily succeed in overthrowing Soviet institutions clearly demonstrated the correctness of this realization—that an overthrow of the Soviet rule, if possible at all, would lead to the establishment of a tyrannical, reactionary, bloody autocracy.

All Parties Oppose Intervention.

The remarkable improvement in the internal situation of Soviet Russia appears from the negotiations which the members of the former constituent assembly have begun with the Soviet government. Representatives of the former constituent assembly, at Chernov, Rakitnikov, Svatizki, Volski, Bourevoy, Chernenkov, Antonov, all of whom are also members of the Central Committee of the Sorial Revolutionary Party, recently arrived in Moscow to participate in a conference with the Soviet government with the view of giving support to our republic. This conference has led to an understanding whereby these well known Social Revolutionists and former bitter opponents have ceased their opposition and declared themselves with great emphasis against the entente intervention in Russia.

An improvement of the Soviet government's relations with the elements formerly hostile to it in Russian society is also indicated by the change of the attitude of the Mensheviki, whose conference has likewise protested against the entente intervention.

The army of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has been successfully organized and numbers today over a million men. A system of universal military training has been inaugurated which steadily supplies the army with accessions with the view of creating a force, numbering, by the end of the current year, three million men. The forces of the government are led partly by officers of the former Russian armies who have proved their allegiance to the Soviet government, and partly by officers developed from the rank and file by the military educational institutions established by my government. The Commissariat of War has been successful in establishing and maintaining a strict discipline within the ranks of the army, a discipline not based on fear of punishment or on docile submission, but on the ardent conviction of the workers from whose ranks the army is recruited, that it is their privilege as well as their duty to defend [illegible] achievements against encroachments from any sources. This same conviction of the necessity of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has made it possible for us, in spite of all economic obstacles, efficiently to organize the prouction of military supplies.

Inherited Disruption.

The Soviet government inherited a legacy of utter financial disruption created by four years of war and a year of revolution. This state of affairs, and also the necessity of co-ordinating the financial system of Russia with the new industrial and economic system represented by my government, necessitated a complete reorganization of the financial institutions on the basis of common property rights. This reorganization, which aims at exchanging the money system for a system representing labor value is still in the state of formation. Regardless thereof of Soviet government, in as far as financial relations with and obligations to other countries are concerned, is prepared to offer modes of financial transactions adapted to the financial system of other countries.

The period preceding the establishment of the Soviet government also badly disrupted the machinery for producing and distributing. The Soviet government inaugurated a system of public control and ownership of industries. It has actually taken over many important branches of industry, and has established the control of the Supreme Council of National Economy over all industries. Great handicaps have been faced because of the obstructionist methods of our opponents, lack of raw material and machinery, and because of the general confusion unavoidably coincident with the gigantic reorganization of the industrial life. In spite of these handicaps, various branches of industry have been re-established, even with an increase of productive efficiency. Many branches of industry, however, have not so far been able to recuperate, because of lack of raw material and lack of machinery. The needs of such industries offer a wide field for business transactions with Russia by other countries.

Build New Railroads.

The state of railroad communications at the outset of the Soviet regime was very unsatisfactory. The demands first of the demobilization of the old army and later of military operations against counter-revolutionary attacks taxed the capacity of our railroads and left little opportunity for reconstruction work in this field. The Soviet government during the past year nevertheless has managed to build and to complete the building of about 2,000 versts of new railroads. It has also paid great attention to the construction of other means of communication, such as canals, roads, etc., and is at the present time planning work along these lines on a large scale, which will also offer great opportunities for foreign trade.

The people of Russia, kept for hundreds of years away from sources of popular education, have made it one of the main tasks of my government to reorganize the school system with [illegible] view of the [illegible] popular education. In this respect extensive work has been carried on throughout Russia during the past year. Tens of thousands of new primary schools, vocational schools, workers' universities and lecture courses, especially courses offering agricultural institution, have been established and maintained at great expense on the part of the Soviet government and the field of the educational activities has been extended to include the making of the treasures of the arts and sciences as easily accessible to the people as possible.

All these efforts, incomplete as they still are, have nevertheless given the Russian people sufficient evidence of the earnestness of the desire and of the ability of the Soviet government to fill the needs of the population and they have greatly contributed to the abatement of opposition. Inasmuch as opposition has ceased in the form of active resistance to the Soviet government it has become possible to lighten such extraordinary measures as censorship, martial law, etc.

False Reports Circulated.

Much prejudice has been created against the Soviet government by the circulation of false reports about the nature of the institutions of and the measures undertaken by Soviet Russia. One of the most frequent allegations has been that the rule of the Soviets is one of violence and murder. In this connection I want to call your attention to the following passages in the note sent to the president of the United States on the 24th of December, 1918, by Maxim Litvinoff, on behalf of the Soviet government of Russia.

— — — "The chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew and to divert their energies and resources, so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defense of the country, but also cut off the vital sources of foodstuffs and raw material, exposing the population to the most terrible privation bordering on starvation."

— — — "I wish to emphasibe that the so-called red terror, which is so grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of allied intervention. The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamed of interfering with [illegible] tified in intervening in Russia now when the working people themselves, after decades of strenuous struggling and countless sacrifices, succeeded in taking the power and destiny of their country into their own hands, aiming at nothing but their own happiness and international brotherhood, constituting no menace to other nations."

In another passage . the same note Mr. Litvinoff states as follows:

— — — "The best means for the termination of violence in Russia would be to reach a settlement which would include the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Russia and the cessation of direct or indirect assistance to such groups in Russia as still indulge in futile hopes of an armed revolt against the workers' government but who by themselves alone would not think of such a possibility if they could not reckon on assistance from abroad."

Intervention Halted Work of Reconstruction.

The great work of social reconstruction inaugurated by the Soviet government as the executors of the people's will has been hampered by the necessity of military defense against the opponents of our republic, and by the economic isolation of Soviet Russia which has been one of the weapons of their attacks, together with deliberate disruption of our means of communications with important food centers, as well as destruction of food stores—and all this has greatly increased the suffering of our people. By tremendous efforts and by efficient consolidation of all economic means at its disposal, my government has been able to stave off the worst features of this situation. The fact that economic disruption together with starvation and lack even the bare necessities of life prevails so poignantly, and all the more in such parts of the former Russian empire as have been for some time in the hands of the opponents of our republic and which have had contact with the outside world, clearly testifies that the Soviet rule is much more capable of insuring means of existence to the people than any pretenders to the power in Russia.

In view of all that is stated above, I venture to say that the Soviet government has been given all such proofs of stability, permanence, popular support and constructive ability as ever have been required from any government in the world as a basis for political recognition and commercial intercourse. I am confident that the people outside of Russia are becoming as convinced as the Russian people themselves of the futility of efforts to overthrow the Soviet government. Such efforts lead only to unnecessary bloodshed and if successful in any part of Russia, lead to temporary establishment of a bloody, monarchical autocracy, which cannot maintain itself and even the temporary existence of which will lead to bloodshed and misery.

Desire to Establish Commercial Relations.

Fully realizing that the economic prosperity of the world at large, including [illegible] tablish commercial relations with other countries, and especially with the United States. The Soviet government is prepared at once to buy from the United States vast amounts of finished products, on terms of payment fully satisfectory to the parties concerned. My government also desires to reach an agreement in respect to exports from Russia of raw material needed by other countries and of which considerable surplusses exist in Russia. In order to re-establish the economic integrity of Russia and to insure uninterrupted commercial relations, the Russian workers and peasants, as Mr. Litvinoff stated in the above quoted note, "Are prepared to go any length of concessions as far as the real interests of other countries are concerned, of course with the understanding that no agreements entered into should impair the sovereignty of the Russian people, as expressed by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

On the part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic there thus exists no obstacles to the establishment of proper relations with other countries, especially with the United States. The Soviet government of Russia is willing to open its doors to citizens of other countries for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, and it invites any scrutiny and investigation of its conditions, which I feel sure will prove that peace and prosperity in Russia—and elsewhere, in as far as the prosperity of Russia affects other countries—may be attained by the cessation of the present policy of non-intercourse with Soviet Russia, and by the establishment of material and intellectual intercourse.

Russia is now prepared to purchase in the American market great quantities of the following commodities commensurate with the needs of 150,000,000 people: Railroad supplies, agricultural implements and machinery, factory machinery, tools, mining machinery and supplies, electrical supplies, printing machinery, textile manufactures, shoes and clothing, fats and canned meats, rubber goods, typewriters and office supplies, automobiles and trucks, chemicals, medical supplies, etc.

Russia is prepared to sell the following commodities: Flax, hemp, hides, bristles, furs, lumber, grain, platinum, metals and minerals.

The Russian government, in the event of trade being opened with the United States, is prepared to place at once in banks in Europe and America, gold to the amount of two hundred million dollars ($200,000,000) to cover the price of initial purchases.

To insure a basis for credits for additional Russian purchases in the United States, I suggest that detailed negotiations with my government will evolve propositions fully acceptable for this purpose.

I am empowered by my government to negotiate for the speedy opening of commercial relations for the mutual benefit of Russia and America, and I shall be [illegible] at the earli[illegible]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2, 1919. 10[illegible]

QUICKSANDS AND PEACE CONFERENCE

It is not generally conceded in thoughtful circles that the Peace Conference will propagate any plans that will effect radically the future of the world, nor that the so-called League of Nations, which Lenin characterizes as a "League to Strangle the Nations," will ever prove a powerful instrument for world peace or betterment.

Basing all their plans upon an unchanging economic system, it is not conceivable by the light of recent events in Europe that their deliberations can bring forth anything of value to a world that has come into being since the conference assembled at Paris.

It is boldly claimed by some outspoken lookers on at the conference that the handful of idealists sitting around the peace table are totally out of touch with new-world movements nor have they a conception of the needs and potentialities of this new world. They are dealing in terms of a dead era, and attempting to solve present and future problems by the methods that belong to a dead order.

Capitalism, it seems, is to be bereft in the hour of its decline of the support of even a strong hand to uphold its reign and toppling powers. Of all the minds at the Peace Conference, that of President Wilson is probably most keenly alive to the needs of capitalism, and is certainly most resourceful and agile in its support. But he falls far short of the demands that capitalism is making upon its adherents.

Nothing could prove more conclusively how out of touch, how deeply imbedded in the mire of the past is the Peace Conference, as the recent revolutionary uprisings in Hungary and the strengthening of the proletarian revolution in all parts of the world. While our precious diplomats are attempting to adjust the world's affairs according to the dim lights of a dying order, the peoples of the world are lighting world fires of revolution and laying new foundations of economic and political life in the light of their flames.

While the diplomats of the greatest capitalist nations are seeking to establish their sovereignty over all the world and to extend their powers thereby, in other words, dividing the loot of conquest, the peoples of the world are setting about the establishment of their own world, completely ignoring the sedate, philanthropic and presumptious apostles of capitalism.

The quicksands of revolution are beneath the feet of the agents of capitalism in Paris. They and all their specious plans for capitalist rule will be sumberged completely in its enveloping folds, without leaving so much as a trace behind of their weighty deliberations in the interest of a decaying system. The new world is being molded by the hands of the world proletariat, not by the hands of the dead.

TACTICS AND THE REVOLUTION

The question as to whether the Socialist Party can best effect the realizations of Industrial Democracy and hasten its coming by the tactics of reform or of revolution is engaging the attention of every party member at this time, as well as of many others who look upon the Socialist movement as the means by which the social revolution must be accomplished.

The present agitation along this line has been accentuated by the revolutions engulfing capitalism in Europe and its results upon the economic and political life of America. Many units of the Socialist party, among them some with a reputation for staidness and reformistic tactics in the past have proclaimed their attitude upon this question of tactics and openly taken a stand for more revolutionary policies in the future.

It is a serious question and to our minds is one upon which the well being of the future of the movement depends. The solving of this question is to prove the crucial test of the integrity of the American Socialist Movement to lead the proletarian movement in this country. This question demands the serious thought and consideration of every party member.

In our opinion, the effect of reforms under capitalism can have little effect upon the proletariat except to shift the center of gravity of capitalism, so to speak, leaving the proletariat still under the iron heel. The pressure of capitalism upon the workers may be lessened in some particular spot, but by and large his condition remains unchanged. The iron heel is on his neck.

Aside from this, the capitalist class itself through its political parties is going in strongly for reforms. They are outdoing each other in promises of reform to the workers. Why should we seek our emancipation by the very tactics outlined by our masters? Does the master free the slave? Does the exploiter turn benefactor?

The shell of capitalism is bursting asunder the world over, throwing the debris to the four winds. Rent asunder by the very forces inherent in it shall the proletariat attempt to bind these cracking parts together? To do so is folly. It would be well for the reformers in the Socialist Party to look well to their safety that a fragment of the bursting shell does not bing them on the bean and put them to sleep forever and a day. We can't think of anything more dead than a dead reformer.

HURRAH—THE CZAR LIVES!!

Within the last week the former Czar of all the Russians has been reported alive two times. One report had him living contentedly and happily in some small Siberian village. The latest report has him residing in San Francisco.

However, we are glad to find him alive twice more. Kaiser Bill needs company, now that he is about to be granted an unconditional pardon by those who feel for him. Kaiser Bill and Czar Nick, brothers in misery, will make as good a pair as ever decorated a parlor on Fifth avenue, New York. We say this because we look forward to the day when they will be "lionized" as no other celebrities ever have, by our best society.

"Tag Day" for the relief of discharged sailors and soldiers was an event in Seattle. Having won the war for democracy they may now wear the rags purchased with charity tags.

"No one can be perfectly free till all are free; no one can be perfectly moral till all are moral; no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy."—Herbert Spencer.

"The poverty of the poor shall be at an end when they shall LEARN to minister to the wants of each other."—Proverb of the Cingalese.

With our Organizers

Lilith Martin Tour.

April, 1, at New Bremen; April 2, and 3 she speaks at Piqua; Troy, 4; Dayton, 5; Hamilton, 6; Portsmouth, 7 and 8; Columbus, 9; Mt. Vernon, 10.

• • •

Charles Baker Tour.

After April 1 Comrade Baker will work in the southern part of the state among the miners. In this district we have a large number of one-time locals. Comrade Baker's work will be to reorganize them. From reports in this district we judge that the time is ripe for organization work on a large scale.

• • •

H. L. A. Holman Meetings.

Cleveland, March 30; Lorain, 31; Cuyahoga Falls, April 1; Barberton, 2; Canton, 3; Dover, 4; Urichsville or Dennison, 5; Midvale, 6; E. Liverpool, 7; Leetonia, 8; Youngstown, 9; Hubbard, 10; Girard, 11; Warren 12; Niles, 13.

WATCH THEM

Local Portsmouth is starting to work. They are beginning a four months campaign that will be the starter of a continuous one. They are awakening from long months of inactivity and are hoping that this campaign will develop into big things in Portsmouth. They are going to be heard.

Watch them. Join with them in this campaign and help them make this the greatest revival for Socialism that Portsmouth has ever had.

Comrade Lilith Martin, State Organizer will be with them for two meetings to be held April 7th and 8th. Don't fail to hear her.

Remember also that on Sunday, April 13th the big gun will be fired. On that date the local is preparing for a big Deb's Protest Meeting that will be addressed by Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland, Ohio.

Their slogan will be "Eugene V. Debs shall not go to jail." Their

[illegible]

Local New Bremen at its meeting by motion, instructed the secretary to write to the State Office in regard to Comrade Debs' release. Labor must not allow capitalism to send Comrade Debs to prison, as at his age it may be the death sentence. We therefore suggest that all locals petition their congressmen for the release of Comrade Debs.

Yours for the revolution,
CLARENCE HEHL, Sec.

Local Marietta orders 1000 of the "Great and Growing Fear" leaflets. Locals which have not yet ordered this splendid leaflet for distribution should do so at once. See advt.

• • •

Comrade C. A. McClelland of Local Van Buren writes that this local is holding more interesting meetings each week and many new members are coming in.

• • •

Eleven dollars from Comrade Alex Sherbin of Kempton, W. Va., this week. What for, you ask? Industrial Freedom Certificates, of course. Have you bought yours?

• • •

NEARING AT KALAMAZOO.

Prof. Scott Nearing will lecture in Kalamazoo, Mich., Tuesday, April 8, 8 p. m. All comrades are earnestly invited to be present and to BRING SOME ONE WITH THEM. You will hear a lecture that will make you glad you came.

• • •

LOCAL LORAIN IN ACTION

A recent letter from Comrade Albert G. Storck, secretary of Local Lorain, states that the local has been fully reorganized and all officers elected. They are now negotiating for a hall for regular meetings.

COMRADESHIP AT ASHTABULA.

March 24, 1919.

Dear Editor: Local Ashtabula held an entertainment and luncheon at the home of F. J. Hewit on March 21, in the evening. All the comrades and many friends were present. We had special music and speaking by the local comrades. Everyone enjoyed themselves and the east were great. The proceeds went to help the local's work in getting new members and subscriptions to the Ohio Socialist.

Yours in comradeship.
E. J. HEWIT, Sec.

GOOD NEWS FROM CAMBRIDGE

I feel positive that Local Cambridge will continue with its work of organization and education, 1,250 copies of "The Great and Growing Fear—No Work," have been received from the National Office, and under the direction of the newly elected local literature agent, Comrade Martin Yedica, a systematic distribution of these pamphlets will be made next week. There is one feature about my own personal work which greatly pleases me and that is: I can now call my wife also Comrade. A new member this month.

Yours for socialism,
KERBERT KNECHT.

WORDS OF APPRECIATION.

At our last meeting seven new applications were received and our membership is enjoying a sturdy growth. Our secretary, Herbert Knecht, has resigned his position, having secured employment in another city. During his sojourn here we have found Comrade Knecht and his estimable wife, both ardent workers in freedom's cause, and we shall miss them very much.

You will receive many new subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist from this section at an early date. All comrades think it the best propaganda that we can get at the present time.

Yours in the cause,
L. B. SKINNER.

ORGANIZE GENERAL STRIKE

Socialist Party, Local Philadelphia,
1330 Arch St.

At a regular meeting of the county committee of Local Philadelphia, a resolution has been unanimously adopted calling upon the organized and unorganized workers of the United States to express their protest against the sentence of ten years imprisonment imposed upon Eugene V. Debs, the veteran and revered labor leader of America, by going on a One-Day General Strike on the day he begins serving his sentence.

In order to assure the success of this move, it is imperative that you notify, at once, all locals affiliated with your state organization to take the necessary steps in this direction.

Our representatives are now organizing this One-Day General Strike in New York city. We have the co-operation of all the unions in the city of Philadelphia thus far visited. A conference has been called to unify all the forces of labor. Philadelphia and New York are preparing to act on that day.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?

It would be advisable that the children of the strikers shall stay away from the schools on that day in order to emphasize that the children of the working class whom Debs has loved so well, acknowledge his service and reciprocate his affection.

Kindly notify us immediately of your action in this matter.

Fraternally yours,
SAMUEL SKLAROFF,
General Secretary.

COLUMBUS NOTES

NOTICE OF MEETING

Local Columbus had Comrade Thurber Lewis for a meeting Thursday evening, March 27th and had a fairly good crowd.

The boy gave us as fine a lecture as we have heard for a long time, and we are of the opinion that the local that fails or neglects to have him for a date is missing a treat. After the lecture was over a committee reported that Local Columbus would hold a convention on Thursday, April 10th, at 8 P. M. for the purpose of nominating candidates as follows:

One for Mayor, four for Council, one for clerk of the city court and three for members of school board. The committee requests all members in the city of Columbus and vicinity to be present and participate in the nomination and assist in starting a fall campaign.

Four Ways To Make Socialism Grow In Your Town

An open letter to every Comrade and Local Secretary:

We are going to outline in this issue of the Ohio Socialist four separate ways in which every local in Ohio and the United States as well can make socialism a greater power in every city and town where a socialist local exists.

We want every comrade and especially every local secretary to read carefully these FOUR WAYS TO MAKE SOCIALISM GROW and to bring them up before his local at the next business meeting. This is a letter to every Ohio local from the State Secretary and is official. It should be brought before your local just as tho it came to you under postage.

Method Number One

But before we tell you the method, let us explain WHY this method.

The success of the socialist movement depends upon the education of the working class. When the working class realizes what socialism is they will want it. As long as they remain in ignorance of the meaning of socialism they will naturally be against it. The capitalist press is the greatest misinformation bureau that any ruling class has ever been able to establish for the purpose of keeping the masses enslaved. The capitalist press is what we have to combat every minute from now on. We have got to counter their lies with truth. We have to prove them the liars they are and we have to show the workers why it is to the interest of capital that lies are told to them. In short we must create a bigger machine for carrying the truth to the workers. That's our job.

The municipal campaigns will be on soon. There are dozens of towns and cities in Ohio that can be carried for socialism this fall if the campaign is started now and carried on vigorously until election. Never before in this state was socialist sentiment so strong and virile as at this moment. Never before had we such opportunites for telling our message to such willing ears. The workers are ready for socialism. The question is; are you ready to do your part in carrying the message? You can prove you are ready to help by putting this method into instant operation in your city.

The method!

1. Organize an Ohio Socialist Distribution Squad in each working class ward and precinct of your city, with a captain in charge. Elect a comrade who will work and will encourage others to do so. Ohio Socialists in bundle lots 50c per hundred.
2. Ask for volunteers to distribute Ohio Socialists each week.
3. Lay out the boundries of each district. Ascertain the quantity of papers needed to cover each territory and order them sent to some central point. After one trial the needed number can be ascertained exactly. Impress upon the mind of each disribtutor the necessity of being on hand at the appointed hour of distribution.
4. Each distributor should keep tab on his district. Keep a list of names of prospects for future reference and use in securing names for nomination petitions etc.
5. Set aside at least one day a month for the purpose of securing subscriptions. Carry a receipt book with you. Be courteous. Keep the good will of your people.
6. Captains and distributors should have a meting once a month for the purpose of comparing notes, taking stock of progress, etc. Copies of all names and valuable information should be given in care of captains for use when needed.

The above is merely an outline. Each local must modify it according to local needs. The main thing is to get busy teaching socialism to the workers of your city IMMEDIATELY. This is no time to sit around and dream. Action is what counts from now on. Organize that Distribution Squad right away.

Method Number Two

Every reader of socialist papers is a prospective Party member. Often the reason he is not a full fledged member is because he has not been asked to join. We are now going to show you how to get more members into your local.

The method:

The Ohio Socialist has many, many names of readers on its lists who are not part members. Many of them may be unacquainted with the Socialists of the city and community in which they live. They may be unable to attend meetings. But they MAY be willing, even anxious to become party members.

Every local should AT ONCE elect an Advance Guard. The business of the Advance Guard is to take the names of Ohio Socialist readers in each town. Verify it with the membership books. Those not on the books are to be asked to join the party. That's the business of the Advance Guard. We talk about reorganizing society. Let's first learn to re-organize our locals for real work. Get busy. Elect that Advance Guard right away and write for a list of Ohio Socialist readers in your city or county. We will gladly send it.

Method Number Three.

(Plan of local Norwood, Ohio)

Here is the method that is being followed by local Norwood. At all propaganda meetings which pay a surplus into the local treasury the profit on the meeting is immediately turned into Ohio Socialist subscriptions. Local members furnish the names of acquaintances. An indexer is elected to do this and to keep count of expirations. At their expiration the names are turned over to the organizer who visits the reader and secures a renewal, possibly an applicant for membership.

This method is a good one providing the comrades keep their propaganda meeting humming and make them pay. The main thing is to keep adding to the list of readers in every city. Results will follow. It's a good plan, and we compliment the Norwood comrades upon their inative in swinging it into line.

Method Number Four

(Plan of local Ashtabula, Ohio)

Another plan that is being executed in great shape is that of local Ashtabula. Results are coming fast as this plan develops. It's a sure winner. The method is this. Two captains are elected. Each chooses a crew from the membership. Each side contests for new members and Ohio Socialist subscriptions. Each applicant joins the side which secured his application. This method certainly creates some keen competition as the warfare waxes hotter. Added zest may be given the battle by agreeing upon a banquet for the winners to be furnished by the losers.

So comrades, here are four methods that will make your city hum with socialist sentiment in a very short while if you will put one or all of them into instant practice. And when we say that there is no time to lose we mean it. The workers are ready for socialism. Let's be ready to be real socialists. Now, is the time!

HORTENSE WAGENKNECHT, State Secretary, P. T.

TIFFIN NEWS NOTES

Local Tiffin is soon to start upon an intensive campaign for O. S. subs and new members. A series of lectures and speeches throughout Seneca county will be presented to the public by our most able comrade, Charles Baker.

Comrade Baker will be with us from May 5 to May 18, inclusive, alternating between Tiffin, Fostoria and surrounding Seneca county locals.

If any of our traveling lecturer comrades can arouse the workers to the true state of affairs we are sure Comrade Baker will and be a great aid in our compaign.

• • •

Friday evening the members of Local Tiffin were banqueted by the losing side in a recent membership campaign, the local was divided into two campaign divisions, the winning side being the guests of the ones receiving the least rubs and members.

After a few talks on the good of socialism, the hall was cleared and the ladies of the local placed a four-course luncheon before the highly-elated winners.

• • •

On Wednesday, March 13, a debate between Comrades W. C. McClurey and Nellie Loescher on "Bolshevism, a Menace to the Farmers," was staged, ending in the judges deciding the contest a draw, and suggesting the contestants to exchange sides and redebate the question March 26.

• • •

After the regular business meeting Wednesday evening County Organizer [illegible] short talk before the local, his subject being "Cossack Government and Federal Court."

Comrade McClurey showed the way this government and Federal court were established and maintained and their procedure compared with that of the People's Counsel of the Russian Soviet.

EDGAR MYLER,
Corresponding Sec'y.

LOCAL ROBINS IN CLASS 1.

From Comrade Alex Allison of Local Robins, comes good news. Comrade Allison gives a glowing account of Comrade H. L. A. Holman's meeting on the first week in March. Although the meeting was not well advertised, it proved a huge success in every way. A large amount of literature was sold and 43 new members taken into the organization. Local Robins had but 13 members Feb. 1, now it has 71, and is still growing. Comrade Allison gives the credit for this large measure of success to Comrades Holman, Martin and Organizer Chas. C. Rogers. The local is considering organizing a series of Holman meetings.

A FIVE DOLLAR BOOST

The English Branch of Neffs sends through Comrade Anton Hain, secretary, a donation of five dollars to the Ohio Socialist. Thanks, comrades. This five will help to make the O. S. a twice-a-week paper in the very

Your Local—Where and When it Meets.

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 P. M.
Hall, 59½ W. Gay Street.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second
Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening,
8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday,
2:30 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTINOFFERS HALL,
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday, at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio.
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe, and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL,
164 N. Chestnut St.

Bolshevik Flyer Visits Mansfield

Did a Bolshevik flyer hit about Mansfield, O., recently in the small hours of the night and scatter upon the door steps of every worker's home a copy of a little booklet entitled, "Bolsheviks and Soviets?"

That's the question the local Chamber of Commerce (and robbery) is putting to its members—and not getting a satisfactory answer. It's a live question in Mansfield and as the Ohio Socialist deals with live issues, we feel called upon to deal with it accordingly and to help solve a mystery that but deepens as time passes.

Recently the city of Mansfield and other cities of Ohio were flooded with a pamphlet which dealt in the most misinforming manner possible with all radical labor movements and expressions of solidarity of the workers. According to this pamphlet, every radical is a traitor, Tom Mooney is a scoundrel, Debs should be in prison, hanging is too good for every worker who would substitute democracy in industry for plutocratic control. The whole labor movement was discredited in the foulest manner. No one had any doubts as to the source of this pamphlet. When the workers in Mansfield smell a skunk, they know one is near.

Ten days (or nights rather) an answer appeared to this denunciation of Mooney, Debs, socialism and bolshevism. Strange as it may seem came a morning when 3,000 workers found upon their door step a copy of Rhys Williams' "Bolsheviks and Soviets." Hundreds of workers wonderingly thrust them into their pockets and carried them to work for perusal during the noon hour. There they found that every shopmate also had a copy. At noon groups of workers could be seen discussing and reading this little messenger from where, no one knew.

Many conjectures were offered as to how the books came to be scattered so promiscuously over the city. Two probabilities were settled upon as most likely. It is with these two that we must deal and render our opinion as to which is the true one.

One theory is that the anti-working class pamphlet distributed by the Chamber of Commerce (and robbery) aroused the organized workers of Mansfield to such a pitch of wrath that they at once decided to do some propaganda upon their own hook and proceeded to raise a fund of nearly $200 to put it across.

That's one theory, but honestly, folks, we haven't much faith in that theory. We've done some detective work in our past and we think we are efficient in that line. Here's our theory. You've all heard of the feats of the Bolsheviki in spreading propaganda among those it wishes to convert. Millions and millions of leaflets they have printed and distributed over Europe. So, why not in Mansfield. Since they have done such wonders in the past, why not now? Yes, folks its our conviction that immediately the C. of C. and robbery pamphlet appeared, an agent of Lenine and Trotzky got busy on a wireless and sent a message into Bolsheviki headquarters at Moscow. Result—in just ten days 3,000 little pamphlets appear as if by magic upon the front door of all the working class homes of Mansfield!

Now, that's our theory. But we shall not quarrel with those who doubt our deductions. The fact is, that every worker in Mansfield has a "Bolsheviki and Soviets" in their home and many of them are wearing them out learning more than they ever knew before and eagerly awaiting another visit from "headquarters."

By the way, have YOU read that little booklet? If not you need not wait for a visit of a flyer from Moscow, but can order a copy from the State Office for 10c. Address this paper.

Comrade H. L. A. Holman delivered a series of five lectures in Columbus and the comrades were especially pleased with them, writes Comrade E. Gerlac.

Who Are The Bolsheviki?

Inquiries are being received from subscribers regarding the meaning of the terms "Bolsheviki," "Spartacans," "Soviet." To satisfy these inquiries we here give brief definitions.

Bolsheviki—This word means "majority." The Bolsheviki party in Russia is therefore the majority party, and the majority party in Russia, the party which now controls Russia is the communist or Socialist Party, the radical Socialist party—which believes in absolute workers control and refuses to make alliances with the capitalists. The Bolsheviki of Russia are being slandered by the capitalist press of this country because the Bolsheviki are dividing the landed estates of the former Russian royalty among the poor farmers, the peasants; and also, because the Bolsheviki are putting all industries into the hands of the workers.

Spartacans—This is the name of the radical Socialist party of Germany and the German Spartacans desire to bring about the same kind of workers and peasants control as the Bolsheviki established in Russia. The Spartacans of Germany are opposed by what are known as the majority Socialists, the Socialists now in control of the German government. These majority Socialists believe in compromising with the German capitalists and giving them a certain power in industrial and state affairs. If the Spartacans, who believe in absolute workers' control, overthrow the majority Socialists of Germany, then the Spartacans will become the Bolsheviki or majority party of Germany.

Soviet—This word means "council." The Soviets of Russia are the people's councils, in which matters of local and national importance are decided.

Radical—The term "radical" as applied to political parties or factions within political parties is used to differentiate between moderate actions and program and such actions and program which demands immediate and total changes. A radical Socialist is one who does not place much emphasis upon reforms but wants an immediate and complete change from our present industrial system.

FEBRUARY, 1919, FINANCIAL REPORT.

Receipts.

Dues regular	$414.50
Initiation stamps	[illegible]
Members at large	[illegible]
Foreign branch dues	[illegible]
Organization fund	[illegible]
Literature sales	[illegible]
Local supplies	[illegible]
Propaganda meeting	[illegible]
Industrial Freedom Certificate	[illegible]
Donations	[illegible]
Sustaining Fund Stamps	[illegible]
Debs' defense	[illegible]
Miscellaneous	[illegible]
Ohio Socialist	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]

Expenditures.

Dues regular	$400.00
Foreign branch	[illegible]
Literature	[illegible]
Propaganda meetings	[illegible]
Sustaining fund	[illegible]
Salaries	[illegible]
Telephone and telegraph	[illegible]
Auto expenses	[illegible]
Unclassified	[illegible]
Miscellaneous	[illegible]
Ohio Socialist	[illegible]
Purchase of mailing list	[illegible]
Organizers salary	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]
Balance Feb. 1	[illegible]
February receipts	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]
February expenditures	[illegible]
Balance	[illegible]

In the Funds.

Mileage	[illegible]
Organization	[illegible]
General fund	[illegible]
Balance on hand March 1	[illegible]

"Enclosed find a list of twelve subscriptions to the best working class paper in Ohio."—Chas. Litz, Sandusky, O.

Resolution Supports Left Wing

Whereas, from long experience we have learned that only by a revolutionary economic organization will it be possible to gain for the working class the final phase of the class struggle.

And inasmuch as the manifesto and program of the Left Wing of the Socialist movement appealed to us, as the proper course to pursue; therefore,

Be it Resolved, That Local Galion shall go on record as being in full sympathy with, and pledge our uniform support to the program and immediate demands of the Left Wing of the Socialist movement of America.

WM. M. BROWN, Sec.

Supplement to The Ohio Socialist
No. 63
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1919

Why Your Wife Should Join the Party

By FANNY JORDAN TREASTER.

THE WOMAN WAGE WORKER

Article 1.

I read in a current issue of one of the leading periodicals an article entitled, "Is a Woman's War Coming?" It dealt mostly with interviews and statistics and little with logic. The interviews were with women who have been employed with war work in munition factories, and received a high war wage. The interviewer usually asked each woman what she would do if love and an offer of marriage came into her high-waged existence, and the spontaneous answer came, "Why, marry, of course." "What if this man were poor?" The answer, "Keep on working." What of babies?'" There could be none." Then the article went on to explain the deteriorating effect on the child of the pregnant mother who is forced to work to the sixth or seventh month. The article ended with a weak remedy for this condition, that of maternity insurance, for only soldiers wives, mind you, for a period of three months, to be divided before and after confinement.

I might also note here that this same article contained statistics showing that women on the same jobs with men at the same rating, made more money. Of course, the real reason for this is the novelty of the job to the women, hence, the interest and speed. Now the question that we want solved is how can these women, who have had a taste of power and independence during the war, go back to home, child-rearing and poverty, with their ever attendant struggle?

Well, we might say, "Let the women keep their jobs if they are more proficient and we might reverse the state of affairs and allow the men to become the housekeepers." Would this remedy matters? There would still be two living on one job. Though, too, the husbands would soon feel their bird-cage existence and revolt as had their wives.

Of course, we understand the usual and natural reason for marriage, is mateing—the propagation of the race of mankind. We have not yet reached such a state of moral, spiritual and physical perfection that will allow to humanity eternal life. We are still striving for that perfection; but, until then, there must be "marriage and giving in marriage."

Nature has built woman for the function of child-bearing and rearing. She is the bearer because of her natural organization. The hip bones are larger than those of the male because that is the portion of her body that functions most. She is the child rearer because of a naturally developed mother instinct and that finer sensitiveness and intuitiveness that reads character keenly. She knows that each child as an individual must be governed by different tactics.

In no way can the workings of nature be changed.

The man is broad of shoulder and thick and muscular of chest and arms. Naturally, his duty is that which necessitates the use of strength and manual labor. He, like the male bird, is the provider of food and shelter for the female and the offspring. This brings into use that development of the above-waist part of his body. The savage, who lived almost wholly by instinct, was the breadwinner of his family. So, it follows that the man is the natural provider for the family, since instinct is wholly natural.

Therefore, we are getting away from nature when the woman abandons her erstwhile duties to become a wage worker.

But what are we to do about it? The man does not make a living wage—a wage sufficient to support a wife and family? We want to see to it that he does. We want to have a little play time, besides. We want to feel like we can go to a show, even though Johnny does need a pair of shoes. We want pleasant, picturesque homes, without threadbare carpets and window glass broken out. We want to feel that life is worth the living.

If, with government ownership or control, high wages can be paid in war time for the manufacture of means of destruction; why not government ownership in peace times, with still higher wages, for the purpose of production.

We, as women, have more power to decide this important question than we know. That's where our strength as a whole will count. One woman can do little. Her individual protest has little effect. But together, we are a power, a wonderful power—a power against which no male organization has a ghost of a show. That is the thing that I want to impress upon you in this article—the necessity for organization. "There is the suffrage movement," you say. How much chance have women in our station in life in that movement? It belongs to the wives of the bourgeoisie. They are working for the enfranchisement of women. We want more than this. We want education to make the best use of this vote when it is granted.

There is no way in which we can use this power of which I speak, to use this power as individuals, until it becomes that great force for which we are striving, than to join a unit which will admit us to their cause and our cause as equals, with equal voice and equal opportunities—the Socialist Party. This party is the champion of your class and my class. It has your interest at heart. It has the interest of the community at heart. It has the interest of tthe state, the nation, the world, not to make it a better place for the protection of big interest, but for the freedom of humanity. Its high reaching goal is a big brotherhood of mankind, where money need not be the incentive, but instead, greater happiness for each and all.

Socialists Progress

It is little wonder that the Socialists of Silvis, Ill., have grown from a few scattering votes to having elected the mayor, two trustees, a police magistrate and president of the school board, what with a booster like Comrade Fred O. Hartline among them. He sends a list of 15 subscriptions, [illegible] $14. He says this list is [illegible] hopes to [illegible]

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

By
JOHN REED

What occurred during the ten days of the Bolshevik Revolution in Petrograd?

John Reed was there.

What did Trotzky prophesy seven days before the insurrection?

John Reed Knows.

What was Kerensky thinking just before his government fell?

John Reed had the last interview with him.

How did the Bolsheviki make up their minds to revolt?

John Reed knows what went on in the secret Bolshevik conference on Oct. 23, 1917.

Do you want to see the greatest revolution in all history?

Then read John Reed's great work, a work that will be used as an original source by future historians.

$2 a Volume, Post Paid.

Defecated Definitions

By W. E. REYNOLDS.

Discontent—The daddy of progress.

* * *

Hope—The chief ingredient of a slave's diet.

* * *

Despair—Henry's normal state under capitalism.

* * *

Gloom—The state of mind of a capitalist over news of the Social Revolution in Europe.

* * *

Joy—The same news to a thinker.

* * *

Henry Dubb—The only species of animal that ever learned to work.

* * *

Wages—The sugar coating that makes a job endurable.

* * *

Good man—Man with most goods.

* * *

Legal—Pertaining to the wishes of the master class.

* * *

Illegal—Anything of benefit to a wage slave.

* * *

Salary—A high sounding name for wages.

* * *

War—We dare not define it on account of the Espionage Act.

* * *

Income—A slave's outgo.

* * *

Rest—A slave's portion when the machinery breaks down.

* * *

Bolshevist Russia gave women the vote. Democratic America denied women the ballot. Draw your own conclusions.

Fourteen points and ten commandments.

In To the Finish

Enclosed find P. O. order for $1 for Industrial Freedom Certificate. On with the good work, peaceably and legally, so long as the enemy will let you, though, like Comrade Bruce Rogers in the Alaska "bull pen," I am almost convinced that non-conformist propaganda, even of the mildest sort will not be allowed much longer. The plutes of dollar land and their legal and political watch dogs are certainly not going to allow us to quietly and peaceably erase them and their good, fat plunder game out of existence, via intellectual propaganda and political action at the ballot box. They will force us to strangle them with a proletarian dictatorship as surely as there is a class struggle in existence. Bolshevist workmen and Soldiers' Councils seems the next logical act in the great social drama of America. I have neither the means or ability to help our movement much, and shall never be one to advocate the use of force and violence in the conduct of the Socialist movement, as long as there is one honorable alternative left. But I long ago dedicated what little there was of me to the cause of international socialism and the struggle of the working class of the world, and whatever form of revolution may be forced to assume in defense of its own best interests I hereby pledge my undying loyalty—even unto the end. Greetings and regards to you, beloved comrades,

Ever yours in the revolution,
VAN EDISON PRAYTER,
Rockvale, Tenn.

FROM A WESTERNER

Comrade Muriel Vetters is looking after the interests of the Ohio Socialist at Bangor, Wash., as a list of four proves. Comrade Muriel says that she hopes to secure more subs, too, although some of the "patriots" are hot on her trail. Here's a comrade not yet graduated from the eighth grade in school, yet takes her socialism seriously enough to brave the taunts of the ignorant and prejudiced to live up to the ideals of a [illegible]

Let Us Fill Your Literature Orders

The State Office is ready to fill your orders for Soci and have advance information of new books.
are in touch with leading publishers of Socialist literaturealist books, pamphlets and leaflets in any quantities. We

We are doing a big business in our reorganized literature department. Comrades are finding this department a great help in securing quick service and low prices for Socialist literature.

Let us fill your orders for books, pamphlets and leaflets. Address all orders to Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.

A Call To You To Be Prepared For May Day Meeting

Thousands of meetings will be held in this country May 1st. Every meeting will be a great opportunity to put our literature in the hands of the workers. We offer you the greatest opportunity possible to get this needed literature at low cost.

The Slander of the Toilers

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK.

A ten-cent pamphlet that we have bought especially for our May Day meetings and in such quantities that we can sell them at 5 cents each. Locals can retail them at 10 cents.

"Let's drive the liars into a corner," says Kirkpatrick. And then he proceeds to do it. This pamphlet will burn away the last vestige of doubt in any mind as to the ability of the workers to make a better world for themselves.

Soviet Russia

More truth about Russia and the new Socialist Republic, being an address delivered by

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS
At Ashland Auditorium, Chicago.

Many of the things you would like to know about Russia are vividly told here. 10c each, 6c in quantities of 25 and over.

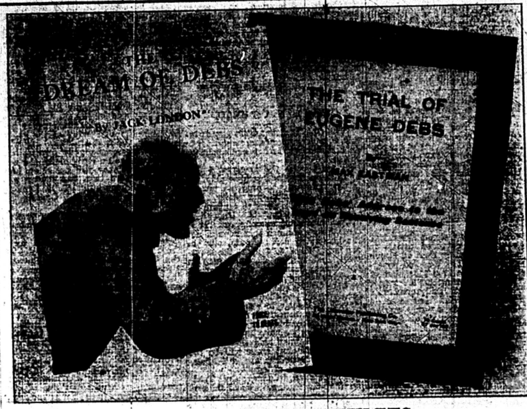
Five Little Booklets That Teach Great Truths

Value, Price and Profit... Karl Marx.	15c
Communist Manifesto..... Karl Marx, Frederick Engles.	10c
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific .... Frederick Engles.	15c
Shop Talks on Economics. Mary Marcy.	10c
Scientific Socialism Study Course	10c

Here are elaborated the principles upon which the entire science of socialism is founded, available at a cost of a few cents. No need for any worker to be ignorant of socialism at these prices. Order them and learn more in a minute than your boss knows in a life time.

Local Martins Ferry orders 2,000 Russian Constitution leaflets.

Local Piqua is waking up the town to the tune of four thousand of the same. Other locals are also ordering them so it looks like that to be in style every local should order a quantity for distribution. Order of National Office, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago. 40c per hundred; $3 per thousand.



TWO HISTORIC PAMPHLETS
10c each. 6c in Quantities of 25 or Over.

8,000 To Be Deported

The Department of Labor at Washington, D. C. announces that 7,000 to 8,000 more aliens are to be deported just as fast as they can be rounded up. 54 are now at Ellis Island, New York, waiting on the outcome of the fight that Caroline A. Lowe and others are making for their rights as human beings in "a world safe for a Wilson democrat."

In 1904, when another such an attempt to deport aliens was in full swing (and it failed as we believe this will fail), Judge Ernest Crosby said:

> Let us take down the beautiful statue of Liberty Enlighting the world, that brazen lie, which now casts its beams on Ellis Island and its prison, and let us put in its place an ogre of iron, grasping a gnarled and knotted club, and casting its baneful shadow upon the immigrant—an image no longer of Liberty Enlightening, but of Despotism Darkening, the world.

We are of the opinion, however, that world events are so shaping themselves that we will not have to comply with his "decision". Socialism is sweeping onward to all parts of the world, and, we feel sure that the Statue of Liberty will yet turn her face shoreward to America and give the sign if Industrial Democracy and freedom for all to speak and write and to assemble as freemen and equals.

Wisconsin Assembly Resolutions on Amnesty

JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 31 A.

February 6, 1919. Introduced by Mr. A. C. Ehlman. Referred to Committee on Judiciary.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Relating to Amnesty for Political Prisoners.

Whereas, There are now in prison in this country several hundred persons convicted according to law on various charges, most of which may be summarized as obstructing the United States in the conduct of war; and

Whereas, All are victims of an interpretation of the necessary means of securing the welfare and success of the nations in war, and some of them are suffering as the result of a devotion to an interpretation of such means differing from that of the majority, but presumably no less high-minded and unselfish; and

Whereas, The war is now over and this nation should follow the historic example offered by other governments in the past, and set free those prisoners for whose detention a national crisis no longer offers excuse; and

Whereas, These political prisoners fall into various classes according to legal definition, but particularly in the people's minds they form two groups—the victims of the selective service law and of the espionage act; and

Whereas, Persons were convicted in circumstances of popular excitement and it might be questioned whether those convicted had or could have had a fair and impartial trial; and

Whereas, The United States is entering the congress of nations with a program of justice and democracy and freedom for all nationalities for a better world for all mankind; and

Whereas, No better foundation for its work can be established than an act of amnesty to release those whose imprisonment is a scandal and rock of offense to democracy everywhere; therefore be it

Resolved by the assembly, the senate concurring, That we demand as a matter of essential justice to our citizens of faith in our historic democracy and of loyalty to our own cause of a better world, that our political prisoners be set free and the espionage act be immediately repealed. And be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution, properly attested by the [illegible] clerks of both [illegible]

Russian Soviets

(Reprint of Bolsheviks and Soviets)
By ALBERT RHYS WILLLIAMS

Here are answered simply and forcefully the very questions you have been asking about Russia. It asks and answers seventy-six questions about the first working people's government of the world. If you want to know Russia today, you must know the answers to these questions. And best of all, the answers are authoritative. 10c each, 6c in quantities of 25 and over.

Industrial Autocracy

By MARY MARCEY.

No writer on present day economics is better qualified to write of world industrial conditions than is Mary Marcey. Her past works on the application of Marx's teachings to present day industry has made a place for her among the scientific writers of the day. This booklet is up to the minute and should be read by every worker. Get a grasp on present day problems by reading this book. 10c. Reduction will be given in quantities of 25 and over. Address all orders to Socialist Party of Ohio, R.D. 2, Brecksville, O.

Mud, Rain, Good Eats and Two New Locals

Read Comrade: I was successful in reaching Midvale for the meeting March 9. Left Mansfield Sunday morning at 4:35 a. m., going to Massillon by way of the Pennsylvania railroad, taking an interurban car from there to Midvale, at which place I arrived at about 10 a. m. Spoke in Midvale in the forenoon to fair-sized audience, which turned out to hear the message in spite of the raw, gloomy day, and drizzling rain. We secured 26 new members, several subs to the O. S., sold several industrial freedom certificates, took a big collection for the cause and sold a large amount of literature, and the comrades got so puffed up on themselves that they decided to discontinue meeting in the little barber shop, where they had been meeting and rent a large hall.

After lunch, Comrade Wolfe borrowed a Henry Ford and we started for the meeting at Roswell, four miles down the valley and over the hills, and such roads, my, there were times when I thought we were goners as the machine would seem completely submerged, then we would reappear amidst a cloud of mud, slush and dirty water and the faithful little Henry would right herself and set resolutely to the task of landing us at our destination. After encountering what seemed insurmountable difficulties we started to climb a precipice or mountain, commonly called a hill by the natives.

At this point our poor little Henry became completely exhausted and gave up the fight after a few last, desperate, plunging, swaying efforts and sank back on her haunches with a dying groan, buried in mud far above her hubs and running gears. [illegible] miles through a downpour of rain and in mud a foot deep. Arriving at the hall we proceeded to wipe the mud from our eyes and hair and after partaking of a cold bottle furnished by one of the comrades and drying out a bit over a roaring red hot stove, I proceeded to give the audience, which packed the hall, a piece of my mind on economics and socialism, which must have been appreciated, as they readily separated themselves from a large collection, bought all the literature I had and cried for more, and started to organize a local at once. All this in spite of the fact that the profiteers who own the mines are permitting the miners to work only two days per week for which they receive about $10 and living costs higher than in the cities. Can you beat that for patriotism?

Comrade Wolfe will take care of the new local at Roswell and assist them to get properly started. He is one fine, big hearted, earnest and loyal comrade, and his good wife is whole heartedly with him in his endeavors and treated us to two fine meals which I greatly enjoyed. At the close of the Roswell meeting, in company with several local comrades from Midvale I started back through mud, rain and snow for Midvale, searching along the way for our [illegible] little Henry, which we found just as we had left her. All laid hold on her and with Comrade Wolfe at the steering wheel, we were able to turn her around and after a great deal of coaxing, patting her and calling her a large variety of endearing names, we got her started for home, careening, skyrocketing, submerging and sometimes almost toppling over the side of the [illegible] at once proceed to collect and reattach all our anatomical pieces, after which we dug the mud from our persons as best we could, ate supper and started for the car bound for Massillon, arriving home at 1 p. m., well pleased with total results. Next Sunday I speak in Mt. Vernon for the carpenters' union. The comrades at Roswell want an Italian speaker as there are a large number of Italian Socialists there.

Yours in comradeship,
M. J. B[illegible]

Books Every Socialist Should Read

Savage Survivals	J. Howard Moore.	$1.00
The Universal Kinship	J. Howard Moore.	1.00
Law of Biogenesis	J. Howard Moore.	.50
Stories of the Cave People.	Mary Marcy.	1.00
Woman Under Socialism	August Bebel.	1.00
Militarism	Karl Liebknecht.	1.00
The Future Belongs to the People	Karl Liebknecht.	1.25
Socialism and Modern Science	Ferri.	1.00
Principles of Scientific Socialism	Chas. H. Vail.	1.00
Socialism and War	Louis B. Boudin.	1.00

London's Great Books At Little Cost

Here are the works of the greatest writer that the working class ever produced, who had the integrity to remain with the workers in their struggle for emancipation.

THEY ARE 50c EACH

Adventure.
Before Adam.
Burning Daylight.
Children of the Frost.
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Lost Face.
Love of Life.
Martin Eden.
Moon Face.
South Sea Tales.
Tales of the Fish Patrol.
The Faith of Men.
The Game.
The House of Pride.
The Iron Heel.
The Sea Wolf.
War of the Classes.
When God Laughs.
White Fang.

Undesirables

By Scott Nearing

Away with the undesirables! Deport them; jail them; persecute them; denounce them; silence them. The undesirables must go!

Undesirable? What is an undesirable?

Any man or woman who narrows the opportunity of a fellow human being for life, liberty and happiness is an undesirable. Every parasite; every despot; every tyrant; every monopolist; every man who lives at the expense of a fellow man is an undesirable.

No human being makes himself desirable by saying prayers or preaching patriotism, or waving a flag, or promising to save other men's souls. Men become desirable only when they help their fellow men to live larger, stronger, happier, nobler lives.

The chambers of commence, the boards of trade, the manufacturers' associations and the other business organizations are deciding who is undesirable and then insisting upon a campaign to deport them, jail them, persecute them, silence them, destroy them. The business interests are doing that now. They are establishing a rule of public policy. Undesirables do not belong in the United States. They must go!

Suppose the people apply that doctrine to American life and begin with the parasites. Every able-bodied adult human being who is not doing a fair share of the world's work, but is living on the product of other men's labor is an undesirable. He must cease to be a parasite by taking a job. The new world is a world of workers. No one else has a legitimate place here.

A few men, highly placed, own the jobs on which millions of their fellow men depend for a living; they own the products of these jobs; they own the surplus produced by the industrial machine. They are exercising a despotic, irresponsible power over the lives of their fellows. They are undesirables. The jobs, the product and the surplus must belong to the workers. The exploiters must go.

The forests and mines, oil wells and corner lots of America are in the hands of a few monopolists who take toll from society in the form of monopoly profits. These "bag barons" represent the spirit of the middle ages. They have no place in a free government of free people. They must go!

Away with the undesirables! America is no place for them. Away with the parasites—give them jobs! Away with the exploiters—the workers must own their tools! Away with the "bag barons"—surplus wealth belongs to those who produce it! The undesirables in America must go!

AMNESTY EDITIO

SOME LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

KEEP THE ROADS— WE'VE PAID FOR THEM

Let the Government own the railroads and pay for them, you say?

Not on your life, not another dollar to the railroad owners! Haven't the people paid enough and more than enough? Didn't one of the able United States Senators say in a speech in the senate several years ago that the people of the United States had paid for the railroads from seven to twenty-two times and surely ought to own them? Didn't Jay Gould, 30 years ago, lock up about sixty millions of dollars in New York as his roads brought it in and brought on a panic in New York city and sent business men to the wall in order to run down the railroad stocks so he could get a controlling interest in the Wabash railroad for nine cents on the dollar?

Didn't our Congress years ago give the railroads nearly two hundred million acres of land that belonged to our children and their children, enough to make an empire almost three times as large as Germany? Didn't the people over the United States in many towns and cities vote millions of bonds to the railroads to build feeders to their main lines and in one instance they never built the road but tried for years to collect the money on the bonds anyway?

Didn't Ernest Seyd of London, come here in 1872 with $500,000 to use in our Congress to get silver demonetized in the interest of foreign bond holders and accomplish his purpose and increased the value of the bonds ten per cent and then England was enabled to buy her silver for 1-2 the former price. Didn't Judge Kelley of Pennsylvania say he saw the first draft of the bill by which silver was demonetized in the hand writing of Ernest Seyd and by that criminal act Congress ruined thousands and almost destroyed some of the towns. Didn't we confiscate four billion dollars worth of chattel slaves that the slave holders had bought and paid for and they had to stand for it?

You say we did that in the interest of humanity. Sure it was. Now let us take the railroads in the interest of humanity also, as every man, woman and child is dependent on them. The shoe of private ownership is pinching the foor of the creators of wealth for more than fifty years until it has become unbearable. Let us change the shoe aud put it on the foot of the absorbers of wealth for awhile until we can even up again. Of course they will howl with pain. But let them howl—let them suffer until they are willing to come down on the earth again and say to Labor that you are as good as we and have as much right to Mother Earth and its great resources.

Let us keep the railroads while we have them in the interest of humanity. We have already paid the bill.

ALEX. VAN GUNDY

ON WHICH SIDE ARE YOU?

Our late world war has taken a rest and we hope that President Wilson and the Peace Conference will succeed in establishing at least a system of peace arbitration for all nations, to take the place of wars for conquest.

The producing classes are always called upon to do the dirty work in war, and also to pay the cost thereof. If any thing is gained in the way of land or wealth, it is generally taken over to increase the fortunes of the schemeing profiteers. Russia is among the first to throw off the yoke of profiteering bondage and to establish justice for the laboring classes. From inside reports we comprehend that they are making pretty fair headway, even with all the misrepresentations presented through the monopolized press.

We note that in the Russian language the word "Bolsheviki" means the same as "majority" does in the English vocabulary. Hence, the majority of the farmers, mechanics, laborers, soldiers and necessary business people of Russia are at present establishing a government intended to benefit the greatest number. This, of course, is something entirely new and virtually quite different from what history has writen in regard to any former great governments.

Just imagine for one moment, a country, where the producers of all wealth should undertake to control the productive industries, and also endeavor to formulate the laws of the country under which they expect to live, and where every man or woman over eighteen years of age can vote on public politics, provided they are soldiers, sailors, farmers, mechanics or in some way employed at some useful industry. Money lenders slave drivers, speculators anduseless go-betweens, are not allowed the right to elective franchise.

Even in "Free America, the land of Liberty," we could not stand for that kind of thing. Just think of a country being governed without the guiding hands of the great monopolists and their political wire-workers. Where will the workers get the money to build the factories and operate the industries, unless they issue bounds for the banking institutions to manipulate in a way that will make great fortunes for a class who think themselves too "Kultured" to do any part of the useful labor?

[illegible] us keep an eye on those Rus- [illegible] "bolsheviki" (the majority of the [illegible] workers) and see how they will [illegible] to live by labor and under an [illegible] government. The mensheviki (meaning the minority) will be required to do a share of the useful labor or abide by the consequence, which in Russia means, "He that will not work shall not eat."

The greatest trouble in Russia at the present time, is that the profiteers wish to live from the toil of the producers and are trying every plan they possibly can concoct to re-establish the old order of things as it was under the czar, or something similar to our government in the U. S. A., where the monopolies have grown more rapidly than in any other country on the earth.

Honest co-operative and productive enterprise with economic government in the interest of those who make human life in civilization possible, [illegible] the end prove successful, al- [illegible] it may take time to fully de- [illegible] the experiment so that honest [illegible] be considered respectable

THE SHORTER WAY

Too much time is spent in trying to convert unwilling and resistant minds to adopt the principles of Socialism by oral arguments when a few minutes only will suffice to get a subscription to a weekly Socialist paper that will be read at the fireside by a whole family, many of whom have plastic minds and will accept truths that may be rejected by the case hardened adult who cannot get away from early prejudices that have been fostered by reading the falsehoods of the capitalistic press. You may spend hours in trying to convince a positive man that Socialism is founded upon the solid rock of demonstrable truths and totally fail to make an impression but take the same subject in a negative or receptive mood and place a weekly paper in his hands and his violent objections to its doctrines will melt like snow in a summer sun.

Let me impress upon the minds of the comrades that nine out of ten Socialists have been made by printed arguments presented by our writers. Prison sentences have been another fruitful source of the spread of the doctrines. The heartless scoundrels who hate the laborer, who demands justice are constantly devising means of suppressing his plea for human rights, but to their dismay the cause of SOCIALISM GOES MARCHING ON. Today more than ever in the history of plutocracy are the tyrants trembling in fear that the shackles of wage slavery will be removed by a united vote of THE PRODUCING CLASS.

Enclosed find remittance for another BIG TEN yearly SUBS, UNITE COMRADES and make the circulation of the Ohio Socialist one million.

Yours for free press, free speech and free assemblage.—M. S. Holt, Weston, W. Va.

LEAVES PROBLEM UNSOLVED.

We hava been told by the press, which suports the present order, that the United States is a Democracy; that it is a government of, for, and by the people; and that its chief executive and law making bodies elected by the sovereign voters carry out the will of the people by conducting the government along democratic lines. And anyone who presumes to critisize the actions of either, or any of our institutions is a red eyed Socialist, I. W. W. or Bolshevist, (you see we have quit being pro-Germans), and should be sent to prison or deported as trouble makers.

But listen! Now comes Samuel G. Blythe with an extended article in the Saturday Evening Post of March the 1st entitled "The Muddled American." Mr. Blythe is a journalist of international reputation. I cannot vouch for the truth and correctness of his former articles, but we do know his dope finds a ready market in the capitalist press which defends our American Institutions, such as "Standard Oil," "United Steel" etc, and inasmuch as the capitalist press is ever ready to extole and magnify all the virtues of the present order and is so very sparing of its criticism of the same. It is safe to assume that what criticism or denunciation it does make is true and correct.

Mr. Blythe in his article above mentioned takes the viewpoint of the American citizen who pays the fiddler and criticises the chief executive, also the heads of the various departments of our government, and denounces our law making body as a bunch of political gangsters, hopelessly incompetent. In fact he denounces and criticises everything from "Dan to Bersheba." Says there is nothing to the Democratic Party, outside of Woodrow Wilson, says the Republican Party has no head. His entire article is a criticism of how the war was conducted of government control of industries and how the Peace Conference was conducted.

Gene Debs, Scott Nearing or any other Revolutionary socialist could not have put the criticism stronger than did Mr. Blythe, yet he doesn't suggest anyway out of the Muddle.

Mr. Blythe concludes his article with a three-fourth inch paragraph stating that it has begun to dawn on the American people that if they get out of this muddle they will have to get out themselves. The most amazing thing about it is, he leaves Mr. Wilson the soul, body, brains and innards of the Democratic Party out in the cold. The question is, will the Saturday Evening Post be barred from the mails? And will Mr. Blythe be sent to prison or deported as a trouble maker?

W. E. COPELAND
Arch, New Mexico

THE LAST, DESPERATE STRIKE!

Capitalism is making a last desperate stand, figuring on winning, as heretofore, by appeals to the ignorance and patriotism of the working classes, but they have played these strings so insistently for the last two years that now they are worn to a frazzle and the, before easily deluded people, are going to demand a change in tune and incidently a change in musicians.

Workers be true to your class, we are in the ninth inning of this age old game, Henry Dubb is umpire, a worker is on the mound, two men are out, ignorance and conservatism having just fanned; capitalism, the great slugger has just knocked a pop fly, ten million workers are under this fly, it can't possibly hit the ground, a few feeble, puny runts are yet rooting for the batter but the issue is certain.

The League of Nations is the last desperate master stroke of capitalism, the audacity of this covenant is incredible, it is a league to enslave the workers of all nations forever—the big five of capitalism and diplomats expect to gobble up the products of the toiling masses unhampered forever, afterwards,—The American exploiters expect, through the powers invested by this covenant to become and be made guardian of the long coveted Mexico and incidentally of the Mexican workers. This league as proposed is diametrically oposed to the interest of the workers and the self-determination of peoples.

This world tragedy can only be prevented by the workers and if you please, Bolshevism. Bolshevism, we do and must admit, is treason and unpatriotic to the present system, but it is just what the people want and the people will ultimately judge as to [illegible] patriotism and [illegible] venerated Geo.

were execrated and denounced as anarchist and traitors by the autocrats of Europe in that age and were persecuted even as we are persecuted today. But the patriots of 76 espoused just what the peoples wanted and they have survived the spleen of the autocrats of that age and have gone down in history as true patriots even as our persecuted comrades will in the age just dawning. Patriotism is a fluctuating thing and fluctuates even as Morgan's stocks and bonds in the marts of trade, being regulated solely by the demands of the peoples.

Learned, parasitic professors are poring over voluminous statistics and making equally voluminous disertations regarding the heretofore unparalleled unrest of the heretofore humble and submissive workers and are apalled giving as their authorative and learned findings, that one, age old and tried screech, "Socialism, Anarchy, Bolshevism, Free Love and that our Churches, Religeon and Ancient Institutions are Endangered,—in some part we heartily agred with them.

One of the fundamental causes—and one that the learned professor always dodges is the fact, "That with all our boasted civilization, with all our great labor saving inventions and at the greatest stage of production the world has ever known, the toiling masses receive barely an existence and our advanced civilization and production has not served to decrease the hours of labor or better our conditions, on the contrary we find our condition steadily growing worse." Yet if we complain, the autocrats, leagued with the professors froth at the mouth with aparent hydraphobia and snort all the isms in their vocabulary at us. But Henry Dubb through these years of ceaseless unmitigated toil has rounded out some ideas in his nut and made some deductions of his very own and will continue to do some individual thinking, unaided by the professors of autocracy.

HOMER OWENS
Piqua, Ohio

HITS NAIL ON HEAD.

"The Ohio Socialist, as it stands today, is a very creditable paper. It is an achievement, and indeed an inspiration.

"I must voice the approval I feel as to the plans for a semi-weekly. It is the right way to progress toward the higher mark—the daily. The right principle is never to venture beyond the foundation laid. Then there are no recessions or collapses. It is the steady progress that counts, not the kite-flying sort. Again, our paper is published to support the movement, and not, as we have seen in conspicuous instances, the movement organized to support the paper! When we have built a substantial foundation for a weekly, and there is a justifiable margin of income to warrant the action, then a concerted effort to advance to the semi-weekly can be safely made. When we have built the foundation out beyond this then the tri-weekly. The next move will be the daily. We Socialists are still amenable to the laws of gravity.

"Your slogan, 'We Have Quit Trading With the Enemy,' rejoices the eye. I hope so, in fact. Why we should keep on giving our money to profiteers, shoving power continually into the hands of our enemies, is a thing hard to understand. I have surely preached co-operation steadfastly to our comrades for these many years—not because I believed that it alone, or just the mere idea itself, was able to make the shift needed. But because it was one of the three supports we have put under capitalism. We should withdraw our buying power—or trading power—and our voting power. Our labor power must go to those who can buy it, for a while at least. For that we have no present remedy. But there is no excuse that we keep on putting our spending power at the service of the enemy, where it undoes in one direction what we do in another."

—A. L. Hitchens.

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Gleanings

From the Log of an Agitator.
By W. E. REYNOLDS.

Government officials are now talking about deporting all aliens who advocate socialism, or idealism, or bolshevism or any new-fangled ideas. England will deport Americans and America will deport Englishmen. Result, a new crop of agitators at government expense. Result again, UNCENSORED news for the labor movements of the various countries.

Six months ago the Seattle ship yard workers were praised by the bourgeoisie as the nation's finest. They were "the men behind the men behind the guns." Then they went out on strike. Now Anathema! No longer are they the lauded heroes, but the despised hoboes, the men in front of the men behind the guns. The curriculum of the school of experience is hard but it is thorough.

It used to be "Good morning! Have you used Pear's Soap?" but now it is, "Good Morning! Been jailed or deported yet?"

With wages for the unemployed, as advocated by the bourgeoisie in New York—what is to become of the wage-system? If one can get wages for not working, "what incentive will there be for activity" under capitalism?

According to the papers of the old gang we now need; bond issues—for the benefit of the working class; good roads for the benefit of the working class, soup houses—for the benefit of the working class; a big army—for the benefit of the working class; a big navy—for the benefit of the working class: a league of (capitalistic) nations—for the benefit of the working class; prison reform—for the benefit of the working class; lower wages—for the benefit of the working class; higher wages—for the benefit of the working class; deportations—for the benefit of the working class.

New Mexico Department

WALTER B. DILLON, State Secretary
Box 274, Albuquerque, N. M.
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
W. P. Metcalf, S. Parks, W. P. Calkins, Andrew Eggum,
Mrs. L. M. D. O'Neil.

Report of the State Secretary.

Albuquerque, March 17, 1919.

Comrades:

I have delayed making out my report for so long for many reasons, chief among them being that I have been patiently waiting for you to make nominations for state officials.

That won't do, comrades. The times ahead of us demand the very best attention to party tactics of every one of us, and I believe that every member of the official family of the party in this state will agree with me when I demand that you, YOU, give us your mandate at least by renominating us if you don't want to make any changes.

You MUST make these nominations, comrades, as none of us want to continue in office indefinitely. Five members of the State Executive committee, state organizer and state secretary must be nominated. I suggest that Comrade Tom Pendergrass, present state organizer, now being entertained lavishly by the federal government at Deming, be re-nominated by acclamation. We will have much for him to do when his host decides to give us some of his time.

And remember, comrades, Tom Pendergrass is in jail at Deming because he exercised his rights under the constitution of the United States, because he attempted to defend your right to free speech, free press and assemblage. He is allowed to write only two letters per week to the outside world, but he can read two hundred letters. You who are outside should write him a word of cheer and greeting, but do not sympathize with him or counsel him to abstain hereafter from fighting for socialism as propounded by the St. Louis platform, for Comrade Pendergrass belongs to the Left Wing of the party—not to the mollycoddles. He will greatly appreciate your letters, but if you receive no reply blame the authorities, as they will not allow him to write more than two letters per week. Address him: T. E. Pendergrass, Luna County Jail, Deming, N. Mex.

Since my last report to you several of our best and most loved members of the international have been murdered by the reactionaries. I have from time to time sent you copies of the Ohio Socialist and the Revolutionary Age containing accounts of the murder of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Eisner. Let the guilt fall where it belongs, comrades; it is not capital in this case, but renegade Socialists of the type of Scheidemann and Spargo, of Kerensky and Benson, of Ebert and Russell that brought about the foul murder of these exponents of the working classes in the international.

Here in the United States, in spite of the fact that the war is over, the reactionaries have added five of our nations afficials to the list of convicts, and have upheld the convictions of Gene Debs and Kate Richards O'Hare.

Comrades, I may seem harsh to you, but it is you who refuse to do your share in the upbuilding of the party organization who are sending Debs and O'Hare to jail. No Bourbon class would dare to send our comrades to the pen if you stood straight and unafraid of bowing your heads to the blow.

It is Debs and O'Hare, Berger, Tucker, Kruse, Germer and Engdahl today. It will be every official in the party tomorrow, and it will be you next day. At Washington, D. C., they are attempting to pass a new law making it a crime to even form organizations of workers on economic lines to force concessions from the capitalist class. Farmers organizations are included in this drastic act. Will you wake up today and build the party organization to fighting strength, or will you wait like the little boy's kitten to have your brains dashed out against the wall of capitalism's iron heel, opening your eyes too late to do other than witness your own last gasp?

The rest of the U. S. A.—and the world—is fast reaching toward the Socialist goal. New Mexico is lagging behind. We are coming to life gradually, I admit, as indicated by the sale of dues stamps last month, but our speed must be increased if we are not to be left way behind in the triumphal march..

This will be the last copy of the Ohio Socialist you will receive unless you subscribe for it or pay your dues. You don't have to tell me that you are broke—I know it, but you better draw in your belt some more and put your shoulder to the party wheel if you expect to maintain what little liberty you still have in this free and glorious United States of America.

This is not soolding, comrades, but straight talk because of my knowledge of what is going on in the world. I am in a position to know what is going on behind the scenes both because of my official position and because of my close contact with business organizations. Get busy!

The report below shows a small deficit for three months, but everything considered, I am satisfied. Ten dollars of this deficit covers court costs in the Pendergrass case, so it is really my share in the defense.

Financial Report.

RECEIPTS.

Dues, Dec. 10 to 31	$ 7.50
Dues, January	24.65
Dues, February	13.50
Literature and supplies	29.20
Donations, etc.	65.00
Total	$139.85
Deficit made up by State Sec.	13.01
Total	$152.86

EXPENDITURES.

Dues, National Office	$ 12.50
Literature and supplies	31.66
Postage and other misc	23.70
Expense, Pendergrass case	85.00
Total	$152.86

A True Story

ANISE, in the Seattle Union Record.

He was just A BIG BOY,
Frank Travis,
When he blew into Sacramento
A year ago last October.
He had ONLY A NICKEL
Left in his pocket,
And he met a FRIENDLY man,
A WOBBLY, who said to him:
"Come along down to the hall
And bunk there for the night.
And we'll get you a JOB
Tomorrow." So he went down
To the I. W. W. hall,
And they gave him
A place on the floor TO SLEEP,
And they gave him comradeship
Of fellows who asked him
NO INSULTING QUESTIONS.
And next morning
Some one staked him to a dollar,
And they got him a JOB.
He went out and made a little stake,
And a month later he came back
And said, "A bunch like you
Is GOOD ENOUGH for me."
He joined
And took out a RED CARD.
He had a GOOD VOICE
And loved SINGING,
He went down nights to the HALL,
And where else could he have gone
For welcoming comradeship?
He was there just a month later,
When they RAIDED the place,
And they put him in JAIL
In Sacramento.
He lay on the CEMENT FLOOR
For sixty-four nights,
And then fell ill.
I don't know what
They thought he had done
To be arrested for.
And NOW I suppose
NOBODY EVER WILL KNOW,
For he DIED
After ELEVEN months in jail,
While he was still WAITING
For his trial,
And BEFORE he was considered
GUILTY of ANYTHING.
He was JUST ONE
Of millions of workers
All down the ages,
Born at the Cost of infinite anguish,
Reared at the cost
Of endless SACRIFICES,
And WASTED by a society that
Never Planned any Place for him.
I wonder whether
There is ANYTHING ELSE
In the whole round world
That is PRODUCED at such COST
And THROWN away
So CHEAPLY?

It begins to look as if Marx was right when he said the bourgeoisie tried to make it appear that "the bourgeoisie is a bourgeoisie—for the benefit of the working class!"

The conservative Bourbon Burleson was appointed and still holds office by the consent of the liberal (?) Mr. Wilson. After all it is not a question of liberalism or conservatism. The real dividing line is the class line—bourgeoisie or proletaire? Viewed in this light Burleson and the president are on the same side of the line—and the working class on the other side!

We have trials and tribulations? Is there trouble anywhere? 'Tis because we do not use them. Use the brains beneath our hair!

Oh the joys we ofttimes forfeit,
Oh, the needless pain we bear,
All because we do not carry
Working brains beneath our hair.

"Don't ask f'r rights. Take thim. An' don't let anny wan give thim to ye. A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has

Gompers—Friend of Capital

The man who essays the role of prophet in these days of evolution and transition does so at the risk of finding himself quickly discredited and repudiated. Nevertheless we all have our theories about what is likely to be the trend of developments, at least in the near future. Many of us have found it necessary to revise our forecasts almost every day. It is this that makes us all the more cautious.

I have long been undecided between two conflicting theories of how plutocracy would meet the fateful issue forced by the epochal upheaval in Europe. American capitalists now have their great chance owing to their erstwhile more powerful rivals in Europe being temporarily hors de combat, commercially, to become the commercial masters of the world. America's financial and commercial status, as evolved by the fortunes of war, make this not only possible, but from the viewpoint of the capitalists, logical and worthy as being THE DESTINY OF AMERICA.

The fruition of this DESTINY would necessitate reducing American Labor to a competitive basis with the lowest wage-paying capitalist nations of earth. To do this would almost surely precipitate a storm that would quickly take on all the ominous phases of the European upheaval and menace capitalism to its very foundation stones. Would capitalism in America be deterred by this spectre and forego the mighty realization, hanging so temptingly right within its grasp, or would it defy the fates and stalk ruthlessly on determined to trample down all obstacles or perish in the attempt?

The other theory held that American capitalism, fearing the might and magnitude of the impending storm and realizing their helplessness to prevent its precipitation and the certainty of their destruction should they defy it, would do the wise thing and begin clearing the decks and taking in sail ready to meet and if possible weather it. Instead of bearding the lion of organized labor in its den as they would be compelled to do should they grasp for the shadow of commercial supremacy, they would tighten their grasp upon the substance already in hand, by coddling the organized labor lion, and sadly and reluctantly forego their dreams of commercial empire.

I have long believed that the trades unions as manipulated by Mr. Gompers and his retainers were the best asset of capitalism, should a storm break that would menace its existence and in view of the fact that such a storm was sure to arise, I have marveled much that the capitalists were so stupid as to harrass and persecute their best friend. This, of course, assumed for capitalism a certain vestige of decency and gratitude, which I now clearly see it does not possess.

They have trampled organized labor ruthlessly when the "brotherhood" with it was not propicious to the interests of capitalism, and they have made truce with it when they could put a Hun bargain over with it, but in all cases the advantage had to be with the capitalists or there was a fight. Capitalism has never voluntarily yielded anything to its little brother. Just why the little brother has remained satisfied with this sort of brotherhood, and has followed its Judas-leaders meekly into the shambles of capitalism without taking a tumble to the game, has long remained a profound mystery to me.

And now that the dark and terrible storm of Red Revolution is sweeping Europe and will soon burst upon our shores, capitalism stands quaking in its iron heeled boots. In the hour of its terrible need it is turning to little brother—little brother, alone, can save it now, hence little brother has suddenly become quite a decent sort of a chap, and really has many virtues.

But, you ask, why have I apparently settled upon this theory? I answer, because I have what seems to me to be confirmation. Just one telltale page in McClures for March makes the whole thing plain. On that telltale page is printed a full page portrait of the greatest labor leader in the world, Samuel Gompers. Now you would at once ask why a representative plute sheet like McClures would publish a whole page portrait of a labor leader. Well, upon that page is written the natice which makes abundant answer. Listen:

SAMUEL GOMPERS'
OWN STORY OF
LABOR VS. BOLSHEVISM

Gompers went to work when he was eleven years old. He knows labor and its problems better than any man in the world. He has learned how to walk and talk with rulers without losing the common touch. With the wolf at his own door, he went out to toil for the betterment of the masses. Yet capital found him a helpful friend. Those who spoke of him in the bitterest terms have seen in him a new light since his stupendous service to America and the allies in the hour of their need today and the American Federation of Labor stand staunchly as America's shield against Bolshevism and Anarchy. Read his remarkable story in —April McClures.

Then again in the same issue—for March—under an impressive picture of the bare-armed, becapped and overalled labor giant appears this notice:

"The one man in the United States who can write with supreme authority on the labor question is Samuel Gompers. And he is going to be the one man in the United States who is going to tell the readers of McClures through a series of powerful and smashing labor articles, beginning in April, just what labor is going to do—and why! Every laborer, every capitalist, every citizen will learn tremendous things from these articles, which are the result of a life of devotion to a great cause."

You notice that McClure's foreford says: "With the wolf at his own door, he went out to toil for the betterment of the masses. Yet capital found him a helpful friend." Without stopping to discuss why a man doing useful work in a world of plenty should find the "wolf" continually at his door I would like to inquire why the victim should have been a helpful friend to the system that puts the wolf there? Yes, Mr. Gompers has been fair to the capitalists, but have they been fair to him, and the movement he leads? Ask the Danbury Hatters; ask the Ludlow miners; ask in Holly Grove; ask in Goldfield, Nev., where federal troops were called into anticipate a strike that had not even been called.

Mr. Gompers and his Federation of Labor have expended millions of dollars fighting the fellows he has been fair to for a mere chance to exist. Then why has he been a helpful friend to them? Why did he join in with August Belmont, et al., and become vice president of the notorious Civic Federation, an institution having for its object the chloroforming of labor, labor he was paid to represent as president of the A. F. of L.? Why does he insist on crawling on his belly and begging as favors, those things that are basic human rights? And now, when labor at last has its epochal chance for emancipating from the galling yoke of wage slavery, why does Mr. Gompers enter the lists as the peerless champion of the forces that have kept labor in chains?

The truth is that Mr. Gompers has never stood for anything more advanced than well fed slavery, and has never succeeded in attaining even that. He has sold the birthright of his fellows for a mess of pottage, and they have had to fight, beg and compromise to get the pottage. Although his ideal has never risen above the full belly for his followers, they have never been able to attain it through his leadership, but perhaps he has for himself, he has thrust his gnees under the banquet boards of the masters at Civic Federation banquets, and there is no question of the feed there.

Looking over Mr. Gompers' career as a "labor leader" we cannot be surprised that he has taken a commission to fight the only thing that has ever held any promise to labor. Bolshevism divested of the foul smirch heaped upon it by imperialism, absolutism and capitalism, simply means Socialism—the emancipation of the toiling masses from the thrall of wage-slavery and exploitation. It means that the masses shall be the masters of their own lives through the instrumentality of a democratic state that is something more than a joke—something more than a bald instrument for repression and coercion—a really constructive co-ordinative instrument flexible and amenable to the majority will.

The spectacle of "the greatest labor leader in the world," a man getting five thousand dollars per year to lead labor, entering the lists to lead the charge against labor, is a sight to make the gods laugh. Gompers' leadership has ever been an insult to labor. His attitude has assumed labor incapable, and unfit for self-government, and fit only for the yoke of slavery under the mastery of their superiors. A labor leader assuming such an attitude toward labor, would be a joke if he were not a tragedy.

Folks who have seen nothing more sinister in the leadership of Samuel Gampers than the insane puttering of a dotard have been want to refer to him humorously as "Granny Gompers." But, Gompers is not a dotard and the characterization of Granny does not fit him.

With a modicum of intelligence, he has ability and supreme cunning. The role of reactionary that he now assumes openly he has long pursued deviously. His leadership has ever been miss-leadership. Now that he has been placed in the open it is to be hoped that his deluded followers will be able to see him in his true light. And although Mr. Gompers is not a Granny, there is a feminine that fits him—he is a Delilah.

You remember the Bible story of Sampson, whose wonderful strength lay in his hair. His enemies could not prevail against him so long as his strength remained, and as his strength lay in his hair, he must be shorn of it. Delilah, his own wife, whose duty it was to love and protect Sampson, fell under the influence of his enemies, and traitorously sheared off his hair, thus placing him at their mercy, and encompassing his ruin.

Now that the giant of labor is arousing and feeling his mighty strength, his enemies and traducers are panic-stricken. Something must be done to bind him and reduce his dangerous might. He must be shorn of his strength. Who will wield the shears? Forth steps Delilah Gompers brandishing his shears, sharpened by the misplaced confidence of his deluded followers. He will shear the giant. Labor—if labor will submit. WILL THE LABOR GIANT LET THIS MODERN DELILAH GET HIS TREACHEROUS SHEARS IN HIS HAIR? Let us hope not.

B. M. DUTTON.

Join the Party

Fellow workingmen, we need you,
Join the Party.
Would you make the tyrants heed you?
Join the Party.
Scattered votes can never win,
Futile yours have ever been,
Here's your party—come, get in,
Join the Party.

Freedom's yours when'er you will.
Join the Party.
Here's your place, come now and fill it,
Join the Party.
You have naught but chains to lose,
You've the human race to fuse.
Nobler work you ne'er can choose—
Join the Party.

Would you see your sisters freed?
Join the party.
Would you help kill graft and greed
Join the party.
Socialism's no disgrace,
If you'd help us win the race,
Get inside and set the pace—

Would you see class struggles ended?
Join the Party.
See a world of brothers blended?
Join the Party.
Get your shoulder to the wheel,
Heart to heart, as true as steel,
Labor for the commonweal.
Join the Party.

Do you want to help the workers?
Join the Party.
Do you want to work the shirkers?
Join the Party.
Now don't stand back there and holler,
Just cough up a half a dollar,
Get your neck into the collar—
Join the Party.

Do you want a better living?
Join the Party.
Are you tired of charity giving?
Join the Party.
And stop acting like an ass,
Join the party of your class,
And we'll win the world enmasse,
Join the Party.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred | Six Months 50c

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1919. 108

THE RISING STATE

A new power, a new state is rising within the shell of the political one. Functioning within and beside the political machinery of the present political state is a new force that develops by leaps and bounds. This new state threatens and challenges political ideals and methods of the past. It has risen from the smoke and flame of proletarian revolution. Let us call it the Soviet form, the occupational form of representative government.

Rising as it has from proletarian needs, it necessarily reflects the interests of the worker. Grounded on the bedrock of occupation it is logical and understandable to the worker.

This new state rises to mock the traditional political ideals, ridicules the political sophistries of the day and points convincingly to better methods whereby he workers may escape the thralldom of wage slavery. This new class war weapon, forged at the fire of proletarian revolution, must be reckoned with by all elements of the proletarian movement which profess to lead; must be reckoned with by the Socialist Party on its merits as a class war weapon.

Economically, politically, religiously, the world is in a state of swift transition. Old methods and means are being discarded. New weapons are being forged for the conflict between the two classes of society. Indications that the political method alone cannot bring the workers control of government are not wanting. In fact the political method is taking secondary place in he program of working class emancipation.

Whether the capitalist political state established in this country a century and a half ago contains the means whereby the modern proletariat can gain emancipation is the center about which revolves the whole question. A growing demand for MASS ACTION of the proletariat upon the economic field indicates the new methods of labor in this new time for gaining a new world for the workers.

FRENCH SOCIALIST VIEW OF PEACE CONFAB

Paul Faure, editor-in-chief of Populaire, signed a statement expressing the following views of the Peace Conference:

"The error was to believe that the capitalist regime, after having demonstrated that its evolution had brought about a world war, was capable of restoring order out of the nameless chaos into which it had plunged Europe. The Wilsonian principles had no chance to root themselves firmly in this environment of violence between classes and nations. Rapine, imperialism, war in all its aspects are the inevitable course of bourgeois society. At its first contact pure gold is here changed into base lead. To forget or deny now that working class revolutions have broken out everywhere is contrary to the most elementary teachings of socialism. A British delegate to the International Socialist Conference told me yesterday, after having read the text of the constiution of the League of Nations that there is nothing to do but return to England and tell the working classes that the sole hope for order and peace is in socialism and the international union of the workers. This is also our view."

While American capitalists froth with fury at Russian Bolshevism, our ally, England, is establishing trade relations with Russia by "digging in" under American capitalists—no doubt with a sly John Bull wink.

We think it will be some time before the makeshift mayor of Toledo attempts to again swallow the Socialist whale.

Compulsory military training may be essential to the welfare of capitalism, but compulsory mental training is THE essential for workers.

"German gold" bought the Russian revolutionists, we have been told a few million times, and now we wonder just what will be the effect upon the minds of American capitalists of that deposit of $200,000,000 of Russian gold for American goods? Watch them grab it!

"Trade" covereth a multitude of sins.

Make Labor Day Labor's Day

Comrades:

May first is to be the most eventful day of the year. It is the day upon which thousands of meetings will be held for the purpose of demanding FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS! Upon May 1st, Socialist Party members and hundreds of thousands of sympathizers are to join in one mighty protest for freedom for Debs, for Mooney, for Haywood and for all political and industrial prisoners. Upon this historic day we will show our strength by united action.

On this eventful day there are four things which every local must do and which every comrade must help do. They are:

1. Hold a monster amnesty meeting.
2. Order a bundle of the amnesty edition of the Ohio Socialist of April 23, for free distribution.
3. Order a quantity of our special May Day subscription cards to sell at these meetings.
4. Order a supply of "The Slander of the Toilers," by George R. Kirkpatrick.

Get a speaker for a meeting whether large or small. If you can't get a speaker hold a meeting anyway and have a comrade read the speeches of Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, Rose Pastor Stokes and others. These special amnesty speeches will reach you in a few days. Order Ohio Socialists at 50c per hundred. Subscription cards are 50c and $1.00 each. Order what you can use and return unsold ones. Locals may have them on credit. Individual comrades may also order cards on the same terms. We trust our RED ARMY.

HELP MAKE MAY DAY OUR DAY

Let's show we are militant Socialists by getting 5,000 subscriptions on May 1.

Comrades, we must go over the top on May 1. Then we will have the greatest opportunity of the year to secure subscriptions for our paper. Let's not let a single sub get away from us. Let every comrade be a sub getter on May 1. Can you think of a better way to celebrate International Labor Day than to help build the press of International Labor and International Socialism?

We have printed 5,000 special May Day sub cards for these amnesty meetings. We want you to help sell them. Comrades, we are making a drive for 20,000 subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist. We have ten thousand now. Let's get 5,000 on May 1. We can do it. We want you to help.

GET THE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM IN YOUR SYSTEM AND PREPARE FOR ACTION ON MAY 1. ORDER YOUR MAY DAY SUPPLIES. DO IT NOW.

H. WAGENKNECHT,
State Secretary P. T.

PARTY PRESS IN FRANCE

Humanite, the official morning daily paper of the Socialist Party of France is raising a sustaining fund of $40,000 by the sale of 8,000 shares of stock at $5 per share. Humanite now has a circulation of 100,000 copies. It was founded by Jean Jaures, the French Socialist leader, who was assassinated at the outbreak of the war, in August, 1914. The paper is owned by the French Socialist Party, and the sale of stock was authorized by the last national convention of the party. Like most Socialist papers, Humanite suffered severely during the war, but with the signing of the armistice and the approach of peace its circulation began to increase by leaps and bounds. A parliamentary election will soon be held in France and the party desires to have its press fully prepared to spread the enlightening precepts of the social revolution among the French proletariat.

WATCH US GROW

Recently Tiffin was in the grip of the worst public scandal it has ever known, when a former member of "our" Chamber of Commerce and one of our principal business men made serious charges against the head of that body, and a number of our legal grafters, charging misappropriation of funds from Tiffin's war chest. Now we have the pleasure of seeing a member of that gang presented to the voters of this fair city for its next mayor.

If they would take money and pleasure from a soldier who was fighting for their dirty dollars, what would they take from the general public?

It looks good for Tiffin to put an entire Socialist ticket into office, for the next election in Tiffin will be a campaign and race of dollars and sense.

NO OTHERS NEED APPLY

Only red speakers need apply for dates at Lorain, writes Comrade Albert G. Storck of Local Lorain. This local is staging some of the most successful meetings in the state and getting many new members and many O. S. subs thereby. The recent Tom Lewis and Ruthenberg meetings were especially good and greatly appreciated by the audiences.

5,000 MEETINGS ON MAY 1st

Protesting Debs' Imprisonment

Demanding Release of all Political Prisoners

COMRADES:

Here's where we pull together for the BIGGEST single protest ever launched.

On International Labor Day—5,000 protest meetings—a meeting in every city, village and country community where a Socialist can be found.

On this day all comrades and friends of Eugene V. Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare and other convicted and imprisoned Socialists, will gather in halls from coast to coast in ONE MIGHTY PROTEST against their imprisonment.

YOU ARE TO ARRANGE ONE OF THESE 5,000 MEETINGS

Really, argument is hardly necessary, comrades. DEBS IS IN DANGER. In fact—HIS LIFE IS AT STAKE. You MUST come to the rescue. We feel confident that you WILL come to the rescue on International Labor Day, May 1st, by organizing a PROTEST MEETING in your city or community, so that the voices of all sympathizers in the nation may be heard in one DEAFENING DEMAND for Debs' freedom.

No matter how large or how small your organization may be. No matter if it has five members of five thousand. No matter if you are the only Socialist in the community—YOU CAN HAVE A MEETING MAY 1ST, and a very GOOD meeting, if you will arrange for it. Because—

DEBS WILL BE WITH YOU ON MAY 1ST.

No, not in person, but he will send you the speech he would make could he be with you in person. He will send you, printed in large, readable type, exactly what he would say could he mount the platform to address you.

And Kate Richards O'Hare, and other convicted and imprisoned Socialists will also have a message for you to read to your meeting.

Even if you can not secure a speaker, the speeches which Debs and other convicted Socialists will send you and the advertising we will furnish will give you an inspiring, enthusiastic meeting. All you need do is to select comrades who are good readers to read these speeches to the meeting and to follow the meeting program which we will send. Full instructions will be furnished by us. You get the meeting. We will attend to the program.

The larger locals should engage the largest hall in the city AT ONCE and write the state office for a speaker. The smaller locals and branches should rent a hall immediately. Locals in country communities should secure the school house, or where this is impossible, hold a "home" meeting, inviting all Socialists and sympathizers to the home of some comrade. Members at large should do the same where halls are not available.

BUT UNDER NO CONSIDERATION SHOULD YOU FAIL TO HOLD A MEETING, even if it is only a meeting of the members of the party. Get a hall if you can, and in most instances you can. But if you can not get a hall, then hold the meeting in the home of a comrade. HAVE A MEETING, no matter where it is held. HAVE A MEETING!

Copies of posters to advertise your meeting; "protest" postal cards to give away or sell at your meeting; a new kind of application for membership card; program and instructions for your meeting and other essential matter will reach you in an early mail. Locals and branches should elect a committee AT ONCE with POWER TO ACT so that no delay will occur in arrangements.

5,000 PROTEST MEETINGS ON MAY 1ST

WE CAN DO IT! WE MUST DO IT!—Or we are not worthy to be known as Socialists.

GET INTO ACTION AT ONCE!

Yours in Comradeship,
A. WAGENKNECHT.
Director Department of Organization and Propaganda,
Socialist Party

TO BATTLE CREEK

Readers of Ohio Socialist.

Local Battle Creek desires to call the attention of the Battle Creek readers of the O. S. to the lectures which are held REGULARLY EVERY SUNDAY at 3 p. m., in Arcade hall, and earnestly urges you to attend them. There is more to Socialist activity than reading a Socialist paper. Read? Certainly. Study? Surely. (Study class conducted by Comrade W. E. Reynolds every THURSDAY evening, Room 211, McCamley block). Attend these meetings. Bolshevist Russia attributes its success in a large measure to "meeting-holding." A word to the wise is sufficient.

NO HATE FOR GERMANS

"Our men are not going to come back hating the Germans. No man who has been in the line facing the Germans will hear any malice toward them. I know that if any American infantryman met the Kaiser on the doad he would be willing to share his hard tack with him. This is not a false sentiment."—Lt. Colonel Chas. W. Whittlesel, U. S. A., commander of the "Lost Battalion" in the Argonne fight, in an address in New York City, December 15.

Mother of Humanity

PART IX.

Written Especially for the Ohio Socialist By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS.

Jailing women. Persecuting women. Why?

Who has the answer?

The great unseen one, the Mother of Humanity, who was so old that humanity had lived in her through all the ages; who was so young that she was a part of all the living, who would live on while humanity existed. It was she, the Mother of Humanity, who had the answer.

She held the master key, the history of the struggles and triumphs of the past. Her daughters of today could understand their own problems if only they held that key. The thought of the Mother of Humanity strayed far back into the dim and distant past when she was young and strangely different from her daughters of today, when unaided, and without tools humanity had begun its struggle with the contending forces of nature.

She saw her daughter of the Paleolithic age, swaying in the trees with her baby clasped to her breast, singing her primitive lullaby, traces of which have come down the centuries to us:

"Hush-a-bye-baby, upon the tree top,
When the wind blows the cradle will
rock,
When the bough breaks the cradle
will fall,
Down comes rock-a-bye-baby and all."

The unseen one had been a part of that humanity which had learned to leave the arboraceous home-shelter to roam upon the land. Not of her own initiative had she left her former abode and method of living, but because great changes had taken place in her environment which compelled her to move in spite of all her aversion to any change in custom or manner of living. She remembered the days before the discovery of fire. She remembered the horror of the night, the fear of the dark, and even yet she shuddered at the memory of the death and destruction which always lurked just beyond the evening shadows. She remembered the comforts of the primitive bonfire and the joy of the protection from the ravages of the wild beasts afforded by that fire. She could still taste the first cooked food.

While the Mother of Humanity listened to the ideas expressed by the eloquent orators of today in the hall of the Law Givers, she smiled and wondered if they knew of the early struggles of humanity to express their sense perceptions in ideas by spoken words. She wondered if they comprehended the struggle their early ancestors had to find words to express their ideas.

Her reverie was a true reverie, an irregular train of thoughts. From the memory of the struggle to express ideas by spoken words, articulate speech, her reverie carried her to the exultance of humanity over the first catch of fish, the consequent ease with which humanity could migrate from stream to stream and up and down the coasts, free from the fear of famine. The invention of the bow and arrow, another improvement in the manner of living, a more plentiful supply of food, was another pleasant reverie. From the bow and arrow his reverie drifted to the first domestication of wild animals. The taming of the kitten, and the puppy of the wild wolf, the making of the first crude dishes out of carved wood, the planting of grains, the making of clothing from the skins of animals, the making of rafts to cross the streams, the use of bone fish-hooks, the first basket, the first dish made of baked clay, all had been epoch making times and all flitted through her reverie.

The Mother of Humanity smiled an indulgent smile, as she remembered that man had written most of the history written, but it was woman who had made the most of it, especially in the earlier periods. It was woman who learned to catch fish, to cook them, to plant grain, to grind it, and cook it, to skin animals and preserve the hide, to tame animals, to make gaskets to weave cloth, to rear and care for the young and impart to them the greater part of their education! Her countenance brightened as the thought of woman's part in history came to her. She knew that man had written the history and because man had written the history man's part was magnified and woman's part ignored, still she smiled indulgently because she knew of the days approaching when the struggle of the sexes would cease—as a sex struggle—and men and women take their places, co-equals, co-partners and comrades in their upward journey along the road of progress.

(To be Continued)

COLUMBUS MEETING.

Comrade Alex Schwanzenfalt of Toledo will speak at 50 1-2 W. Gay St., 2:30 p. m., April 13. Comrade Schwanzenfelt fills the date of Comrade M. J. Beery at this meeting.

DISTRIBUTION SQUAD

Local Lima has organized a literature distribution squad and are now actively engaged in sowing the seeds of socialism throughout the city. They have secured a hall large enough for all propaganda meetings and are busy as bees making socialism hum.

LOCAL NILES AT WORK

Local Niles is setting an example to some of our locals in selling Industrial Freedom Certificates. This live local has sold seventy of them thus far writes Comrade Edwin Petersch and is going to make it a hundred before the comrades stop. Comrade Marguerite Prevey speaks at Niles April 13. Her subject, "A Socialist Challenge to Capitalism."

RESULTS OF 'PAY AHEAD' CAMPAIGN

Local Niles opened a campaign some time ago for the purpose of getting its members paid up in dues for the full year of 1919. Of a total membership of 89 we are able to report 23 as paid up in full. Local Niles should be proud of its success in this work considering the prosperous (?) times we are enjoying. Here are the names of the fortunate 23.

Aldo Ford, Aug. Kehn, Burt. Johnson, Ed. Armstrong, Clyde E. White, Alfred Storm, Robert Sample, Mrs. E. Peterson, Edwin Peterson, Fred Holmstrom, Bernard Kehn, Wm. Brandt, Marcus Angeluca, David P. Hoefer, Mrs. Effie Ford, Alfred Holms, Harry Bradbury, Earnest Rounds, Herman Denny, Mrs. Evelyn Kehn, Christ Ries, Karl Lundborn, H. Jones.

LOCAL PORTSCOUTH TO RAISE 1,000 DOLLARS FOR ORGANIZATION WORK

To raise an organization fund of a thousand dollars; to increase the Socialist Party membership in the Sixth Congressional district to a thousand new members; to add another thousand or fifteen hundred subscriptions to the Ohio Socialist list are among the plans of the comrades of Portsmouth. To prove that they know their business and are ready to back up their plans with the cash to carry them through, they are raising the fund by personal subscription. Some comrades have pledged as much as a hundred dollars, others fifty, others twenty-five and smaller amounts have been pledged in monthly installments.

Comrade Wm. L. Mauntel, who sends us this cheering information, applies for an organizer to help put the music in the organ-ization. The comrades of Portsmouth are setting a pace that is certain to put the movement in the southern part of the state upon its feet in a most encouraging manner. The Portsmouth comrades have leased a hall and will hold meetings every Sunday and the first and third Wednesday of each week.

Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg will speak for them on the 13th. This meeting will be a Debs protest meeting. The State Office extends congratulations to the wide awake comrades and offers its services to the fullest extent.

With our Organizers

Lilith Martin Meetings.

Comrade Martin's meeting at New Bremen, April 1, was very well attended, over one hundred people being present. The collection was good and the comrades well pleased. Her meeting at Piqua was very good and the comrades speak highly of her and her message.

Comrade Martin's dates for the near future are: Mansfield, April 11; Tiffin, 12; Toledo, 13; Montpelier, 14; Napoleon, 15; Findlay, 16, Lima, 17; Marion, 18.

* * *

Thurber Lewis Meetings.

Comrade Lewis has been very busy lately investigating possibilities of reorganization work in different localities of the state. He is amassing a large amount of information that will be of great benefit to the party in the work of the future. Comrade Lewis' next few dates are as follows: New Philadelphia, April 10; Steubenville, 12-13, Irondale, 14; Salineville, 15; Canton, 17; Barberton, 18; Ravenna, 19; Kenmore, 20.

* * *

Chas. Baker Meetings.

Comrade Baker's organization work as outlined for the southern part of the state has been laid over for the present. More effective work it is thought can be done in other parts of the state just at present. His future work for a time will be along the lines as recorded in the minutes of the meeting of the State Executive Committee report on another page. As quickly as can be arranged Comrade Baker will be on the road again with a Ford to assist him.

Resolutions

Martins Ferry, O., March 27, 1919.

Whereas, James Ralston, mayor of the city of Martins Ferry, through his power of office has prohibited owners and managers of public halls and theaters from leasing or renting their halls or theaters to the Socialist Party (a world-wide recognized political party) in direct violation of the constitution of the United States, the constitution of the state of Ohio and the ordinances of the city of Martins Ferry, and,

Whereas, The said James Ralston, mayor of Martins Ferry, openly assumes a hostile position against organized labor and returned, unemployed soldiers in general, and the Socialist Party in particular, by unlawfully abridging their constitutional right of peaceable assemblage.

Therefore, Be it resolved that we, the Socialist Party of Martins Ferry, protest against this unwarranted, unsafe and un-American method of self-styled government as destructive to the liberties and peace of our people, and as a blot on the fair (white) name of our city.

SOCIALIST PARTY, LOCAL MARTINS FERRY, OHIO.

Bring your friends to hear Comrade Schwanzenfelt, whose experience on the platform and knowledge of his subject will make a lasting impression on the minds of his audiences.

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second
Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL,
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening,
8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday,
2:30 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL,
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93 3-4 Washington St.

TIFFIN NOTES

By EDGAR MYLER.

The proletariat of Tiffin and vicinity are on the verge of wakening to the most miserable conditions by which they are surrounded. Tiffin local, in its drive for new members and O. S. subs, have secured the services of three of the best known state tourists, Comrades Thurber Lewis, Lilith Martin and Charles Baker.

Comrade Lewis will start the ball rolling by a one-day factory and street meeting on April 3, then the workers of this locality will have a lapse of nine days to let the light start shining. On April 12, Comrade Lilith Martin will pronounce the cure for the conditions surrounding us and last, but not least, who will appear on our present program will be Comrade Charles Baker, who will be the guest of our local from May 5 to May 18, inclusive.

The new drive recently inaugurated here will continue until the emancipation of the workers, and the capitalists and their imitators learn the art of production as well as consumption.

Comrade Baker will need no introduction in Tiffin, as the last time he spoke here owing to the bad weather the hall engaged for him was empty, but resolute Ccharles soon found a way to keep up with his reputation and in some of our typical winter weather he held a street meeting and our treasurer made some new entries on the profit side of the ledger, besides Comrade Baker's fee and expenses.

At our regular weekly meeting Wednesday evening we received an appeal for funds to aid the Lawrence Textile strikers, and Tiffin responded by donating $5 to help release the Lawrence workers' chains and let their masters know that his rule is very limited.

The debate, "Is Bolshevism a Menace to the Farmer," was resumed by Comrade Wm. C. McClury, the affirmative, and Nellie Lesher, the negative. After the judges awarded their decision Comrade McClury pleaded ignorance of his subject, claiming he had only lived under capitalist's rule forty-five years and wasn't acquainted with their methods yet.

EDGAR MYLER,
Chairman Press Committee.

Toledo Free Speech Fight

(Continued from Page Two)

for which I recently voted in favor of a very substantial appropriation for repairs and fumigation—and when I asked Sunday for evidence of the expenditure of this money I was informed it was in the offices, not the jail—some few minor changes only having been made for prisoners.

In the jail the boys amused themselves singing the worker's songs and cheering as the door opened incessantly and clanked on another whose only offense was saying, "Ladies and gentlemen."

By this time Organizer Baker had gone to the Socialist headquarters with a number of comrades and there 150 pledged themselves to be calm but to insist upon their rights.

They marched to McKinley's monument and one after another arose—were arrested, and driven to jail, Comrade Baker among them.

The crowd at the square then divided. Comrade Swartzenfeld had climbed a tree, hoping to get in a few words before they got him—he did—they did—he was one of the vintage of 76.

Reports were now coming in of Negro cops being rushed to the scene and of rough treatment. Officer Pappenfuss (white) was taken to the hospital alleged to have been hit by a fellow officer, who missed him intended victim.

Another officer drew his gun and a soldier laughingly said: "Little Bertha, fade away," and slapped the policeman on the wrist. The crowd catching the spirit of the soldier's playfulness, pushed and pulled the cop until he ran up a nearby alley in fear of being himself arrested for indecent exposure. They say he looked like Theda Bara in one of her vampire acts a-la-deshabille.

Then came the beginning of the end—of a Perfect Day.

After one and one-half hours of voice culture in the municipal "Booby Hatch" and after having declined to discuss his release simply because he was a councilman, the writer was sent for by Chief of Police Herbert and with Secretary Toohey was taken thereto.

Arriving in the chief's office we found Comrade Solon Klotz, attorney; Brother Ebright, organizer of the Machinists of Toledo, and others who had been discussing the affair and now knew better than we the alarming situation at Courthouse Park.

The chief impressed upon Devine the fact that he, Devine, was a city official, stated that the police were unable to further handle the situation and asked if Devine would do him a favor—go to Courthouse Park, address the multitude who were becoming hostile and disperse them.

Toohey and Devine informed the chief that our men were orderly, that if there were any disorder it came from his department and not from our boys.

The chief was requested and consented to retire a moment and the comrades held a private conference, agreeing we had won a victory inasmuch as the police department which had arrested us for speaking, were now asking us to address the people and as we had nothing to gain by riot and bloodshed, which every moment was threatening greater proportions, we agreed that if all prisoners were released we would disperse the meeting.

We then went into the jail and Mark Anthony's oration over the body of Julius Caeser was baby's prattle compared to the flow or oratory in the prison before the 70 comrades already incarcerated.

Devine, Toohey and Baker addressed the prisoners and were then taken in the chief's own machine from the jail, but never reached the courthouse for the crowd of thousands were now but a block from the city jail coming to demand the release of the prisoners. We met them and talked to them for perhaps a half an hour and the police now were keeping order for us by directing traffic and we used the chief's automobile as our soap box.

As an evidence of how orderly that vast assemblage could be (and I never saw a larger crowd), we asked them to stand quiet at attention like trained soldiers until we were sure every prisoner was released and the way they stood was a credit to the Socialist movement and a lesson in diplomacy to the police department of Toledo, where what was termed a mob of fanatics stood fully ten minutes without a murmur and smiled, and later cheered as Comrade Soldier Serafin was released and lifted bodily upon the shoulders of the crowd and carried to the automobile where bowing to the cheering crowd and making a very brief talk, we thus "came to the end of a perfect day."

NO MORE ARRESTS SAYS MAYOR

As evidence of how completely the mayor and police department have backed up on their program of denial of free speech to Socialists the following letter of the mayor to Safety Director Mall, is illuminating:

The police, in making arrests last Sunday of persons in Courthouse Square, fearlessly performed what they considered to be their duty. Yet they acted mistakenly and in excess of their authority. In justification of that mistake, I realize that in the then impending crisis it was perhaps difficult for them to exercise the mature judgment simple enough on the morrow. The mistake, however, must not be repeated.

"I have already clearly stated my views on the subject of free speech. This right of free speech is a fundamental right, clearly guaranteed by the constitution of the United States, and one to be jealously guarded. It prevails everywhere, both in public and in private places.

"The order issued from the executive department closed Memorial hall to Eugene V. Debs, but that was the full extent of the order. This order was issued because Memorial hall is essentially of patriotic origin, and because Mr. Debs had been convicted of treasonable speech by a jury of his peers and the conviction, sustained by the highest court in the land. In Ohio conviction of a felony, by law, deprives the person convicted of the right to either vote or hold office.

"I write this letter at this time because future meetings will no doubt be held, and for that reason the police department should receive from you definite instructions to safeguard the right of each citizen to freely speak his mind.

"You will therefore kindly see to it that the injunctions herein set forth are conveyed to the department of police and by it fully observed."

AMNESTY EDITION APRIL 23 ORDER NOW FOR MAY DAY [illegible]

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited by C. E. Ruthenberg

Theory Versus Fact

Commenting upon the fact that the Socialist Party of Cleveland endorsed a Left Wing Program, a writer in one of the local papers characterizes this action as a "break with American methods and American ideals." The whole trend of his comment gives the impression that in the United States there exists the machinery which permits the free expression of any movement through the medium of popular education and the ballot box, and that therefore such a program, which includes mass action as one of the weapons, is a break with American ideals and methods.

In theory it is true that this situation exists. In the can't phrases of writers such as the man in question and the usual run of editorial writers the United States permits the free expression of new ideals and the realization of these ideals through the ballot.

But what is the fact. The Socialists of the United States had a certain view in regard to war and endeavored to educate the voters to an understanding of this view through public meetings and to express that view at the ballot box, and the result was that they were sent to prison by the hundreds.

In the city of Cleveland the socialists succeeded in electing three men to public office, pledged to their view of war.

If the theory of American institutions which this writer upholds actually prevailed, then these men had a right to uphold their views by their votes on measures that came before them for action.

Two of these elected officials were city councilmen. Their came before them for action a measure pledging the support of the city government to a certain organization conducting war work. They voted against this measure. In theory, under American institutions and ideals they had a perfect right to do so. In fact, men had gone much further in countries which do not pretend to uphold such ideals of free expression. In Germany, Liebknecht, and later a score of other men voted against the budget, which meant a thousand times more to the conduct of the war than the vote of socialist councilmen on the measure pledging support to the Cleveland war service organization. Liebknecht and his comrades were unmolested. The Cleveland councilmen were openly and brutally expelled from the city council, on a trumped up charge of "disorderly conduct" in voting in as their conscience dictated!

Does this writer who so glibly talks about "American methods and American ideals" dare face the fact that in practice, as shown in the instances cited, these mean open and avowed class rule and the ruthless suppression of minority opinion?

If the socialists are seeking new weapons it is because the ruling class has taught them the need of new weapons.

"The United States is short 12,000,000 workers, due to the stoppage of emigration during the war," members of a business organization were told by a speaker the other day. Well, its a good thing for the capitalists they are not here for if twelve million were added to the millions already out of work the capitalist control of industry wouldn't last long.

• • • •

Our Democracy

Samuel Schmalhausen, a former teacher in the employ of the city of New York, who was dismissed last year for making "disloyal" statements, was scheduled to make an address before the Teacher's Union of New York recently. Schmalhausen is a member of the union he was to address. A few days before the time set for his speech, officers of the Teachers' Union were informed that Schmalhausen would not be permitted to make his address in the public school building in which the meeting was to be held.

When the superintendent of schools, who barred Schmalhausen was asked whether he had the power to decide who should and who should not speak in public school buildings, he answered in the affirmative.

This incident, unimportant in itself, shows how the ruling class interests are protected. A Cleveland writer, commenting on the statement in Lenin's letter to American workingmen, that the Soviet Government did not pretend to adhere to the formal democracy to which the capitalist countries gave lip service, argued that this was admission that the Bolsheviki repudiated the idea of freedom of speech and freedom of press. As usual with men of his class, he found in the statement an opening for an attack on the Russian workers' government, but overlooked the stinging indictment of the existing capitalist governments.

What Lenine says is that the Bolsheviki are not hypocrites as are the supporters of so-called western democracies. He brought out the fact that in a society divided into classes struggling for mastery democracy could only exist formally. In practice the economically dominant class would use its power to prevent the exercise of those democratic rights which the weaker class formally possessed.

The New York incident cited above, which is only one of a hundred, is proof that our democracy is of that formal character which Lenine pointed out.

• • • •

Repudiated

The various organizations of business men, who found in organizations such as the American Protective League, the opportunity to use high handed measures against groups and organizations which they felt threatened their position as exploiters, have been repudiated by the Department of Justice. The department, according to announcement made by A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney-General of the United States will have no connection with such organizations. Mr. Palmer's statement goes on to say:

> "Espionage conducted by private individuals or organizations is entirely at variance with out theories of government and its operation in any community constitutes a grave menace to that feeling of public confidence, which is the chief force making for the maintenance of public order."

No doubt Mr. Palmer is speaking from experience. He knows that the American Protective League aroused bitterness and hatred by its methods and that no services it rendered the ruling class could offset the mischief it did. It and similar organizations are repudiated by Mr. Palmer because they constitute a greater menace than help to exploiting class of this country.

A Crime

Following the lead of the State of Oregon, various state legislatures are considering or have enacted a "criminal syndicalism" bill. The legislature of Massachusetts has such a bill ready for enactment and a similar measure is before the Ohio and Pennsylvania legislatures.

A copy of the Pennsylvania measure has just reached us and in the opening paragraphs we find these two clauses:

> Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of same that the word "sedition" as used in this act shall mean:
>
> Any writing, publication, printing, cut, cartoon, utterance or conduct, either individually or in connection or combination with any other person or persons which tends
>
> (A) To incite or arouse discontent against the Government of this state or of the United States.

In 1776 the representatives of the thirteen colonies met in the state of Pennsylvania and adopted a Declaration of Independence in which they recited their grievances against the English government. If after the enactment of the above bill a group of people were to assemble in the state of Pennsylvania and adopt a declaration reciting their grievances against the present government of that state or against the government of the United States, they would be put in jail for ten years and fined ten thousand dollars, for certainly to recite grievances against a government is to "arouse discontent."

Woodrow Wilson, while campaigning for the presidency in 1912 said that "The masters of the government of the United States are the combined manufacturers and bankers of the United States." For saying that in the State of Pennsylvania after the enactment of this bill, Woodrow Wilson might be locked up for ten years.

Under this statute,—it contains ten other clauses equally sweeping—the platform of any political party out of office, adopted during the last twenty years would be "seditious" and those responsible for it punishable by ten years imprisonment.

Fear has driven the petty politicians who sit in our state legislatures mad. They see the rising tide of working class revolt sweeping the world and they hope to stem it by enacting laws making any manifestation of discontent punishable by long years of imprisonment. Making discontent with the existing government a crime will not stop the manifestation of discontent. It will merely increase the discontent and prove and aid in sweeping such a government out of existence.

• • • •

The United Press correspondent in Paris sent the following cable a few days ago:

> Nationalization of women by the Bolsheviki is a myth, according to William Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens, American investigators, who have just returned from Russia.
>
> "We asked Premier Lenine and others about the reported nationalization of women the first time we met them," Steffens told the United Press tonight.
>
> "All we got was blank stares of non-comprehension. We repeated the question the next day, whereupon we were informed they had understood the first time, but they had not supposed we meant the question seriously. They said they had heard the story themselves, ran it down, and found that an obscure anarchist organization in the interior had posted notices proclaiming nationalization of women, as a joke.
>
> "They said they were sorry that some one's freakish idea of humor had attracted more attention than any real accomplishments of the Soviets.
>
> "As a matter of fact, conditions in Russia approach the puritanical. Officers of the Soviets explain this by saying, 'We have got rid of the imperial upper class.'"
>
> Another story circulating in Paris peace circles is that the Hotel Europe in Petrograd is filled with the government's "white slaves," taken from the homes of former wealthy citizens.
>
> "The fact is the Hotel Europe is now a children's free hospital," said Steffens.

Why didn't the newspapers getting the United Press publish the story?

Opponents Support Bolsheviki

(Continued from Page One)

to make Odessa their port of commerce, and the 'patriotic' treaty of Admiral Koltchak with Japan, by which he ceded to that government control over the routes to the Orient, it becomes clear that the aggressive plans of the imperialists with regard to the Russian revolution have in view a new dismemberment and a new pillage of Russia and the renewed subjection of the Russian peoples to the domination of their most reactionary enemies, foreign and domestic.

"The laboring masses of Russia will defend themselves to the bitter end against this prospective dismemberment and against the forces of social reaction which only hope to secure power by the aid of the Polish, Finnish, Roumanian and Japanese reactionaries.

"The establishment of order by such means will only result in the shedding of new oceans of blood and will end in destroying a country already sufficiently tortured. But a new dismemberment of Russia and the restoration by foreign (word missing) of the police, the landlords, and the capitalists will never be accepted by the working masses of Russia, who by a series of new (word missing) will reconquer their liberty and their national unity. Such dismemberment, however, is the end which the European bourgeoisie is striving to attain. Do the French bourgeoisie desire that the strong sympathies which the Russian people have for them shall be destroyed? Yet that is what will happen the day the Russian people acquire the conviction that it is the French republic which directs the campaign of the landlords and capitalists of Poland, Finland and Roumania, whose desire is to restore in Russia the abhorrent ancient empire and to pillage its territory.

"Will the proletariat of western Europe consent that these reactionary governments created in the states ressussitated or reinforced by the warld war, after having crushed, thanks to the White Guard, their own workers, shall be commissioned as international gendarmes to strangle the working class of the entire world? Will the proletariat consent that the armies of Paderewiski, Bratania and Mannerheim shall become the armed police force of this hily alliance of capitalists who wish to make the League of Nations a League of Imperial Brigands?

"These are the questions that loyal democratic Russia presents to the public opinion of the entire world. It tells the world once more that in protesting with all its energy against foreign military intervention it speaks as the representative of that portion of the working class of Russia which proposes the basis of the Bolshevik regime as disastrous to Socialist policy. (Editor's Note—The French text reads: '* * * la partie de la classe ouvriere russe qui s'oppose aux bases du regime bolchevik funeste a la politique socialiste.')

"Its protest against foreign military intervention and against the endeavors of the reactionary Russian arises from its belief that such an intervention, and the refusal of the allied governments to come to an understanding with Soviet Russia, will only serve to prolong and intensify the crisis which is killing the people. This protest comes from the conviction that the counter-revolutionary mobilization cannot fail to accentuate the terrorist tendencies of the working masses. On the contrary, give to Russia the possibility of developing itself in peace, suppress the blockade which is smothering her—these are the measures which will inevitably result in arresting at their base the terrorist tendencies by giving to those elements of the working class not psychologized by Maximalist and anarchistic illusions the means to successfully fight for the purification of the political regime of Soviet Russia, for the re-establishment of politican liberty, and for the triumph of an economic policy corresponding to the social conditions of our country.

"The Menshevik Social Democratic Party makes an appeal to all Socialist parties and to all labor unions for an agreement by the entente governments with the Lenine government.

"The Social Democratic Party presents its most cordial felicitations for the decision reached by the Socialist parties (at Berne) to send a delegation to Russia to study the situation of the country, and it hopes that the arrival of the authorized representatives of the western Social Democracies will bring to the Russian proletariat a moral aid essential in its attempt to find an escape from its intolerable situation.

"The central committee of the Social Democratic Party firmly hopes that the active intervention of the international proletariat will protect the Russian revolution from the danger raised against it.

"Down with armed intervention!

"Hands off Revolutionary Russia!

"Long live the international struggle of the united proletariat!

"The central committee of the Social Democratic Party:

"MARTOV,
"PLESKOV,
"SEMKOVSKI,
"TCHEREVANINI."

Urge Workers to Support Soviet

(Continued from Page One)

"And during this time, behind our backs, in the rear, they made a coup d'etat and set up the Koltchak dictatorship, the representative of the bourgeoisie and of the landed proprietors.

BOURGEOIS DICTATORSHIP.

"The bourgeois dictatorship signifies the complete crushing of the proletariat and of the working peasants, and the complete triumph of those enemies of the workers, the proprietors and the capitalists. It signifies the suppression of all the conquests of the great Russian revolution and the overthrow of the democratic regime and the re-establishment of the old monarchical regime.

"The Siberian reactionaries have directed their attacks against democratic parties and institutions. They have arrested several members of the constituent assembly, as well as Comrade Sourgoutchef and other militants of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

"But the most important changes have taken place recently in western Europe. Germany has met with military defeat, and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, annulled by the Soviet government, has lost its authority.

"German imperialism no longer exists, and the Austro-Hungarian empire is a thing of the past. Under the pressure of the working class of Germany and Austria, the thrones of the monarchs of these countries have been overthrown. The authority has passed into the hands of the workers, who, under the red flag of the labor social revolution, enter, like their brothers in Russia, into the era of the world social revolution. That is what has recently happened.

"Through fear of a labor revolution at home the former allies of Russia—England, France, Japan and the United States—naturally took the part of the bourgeois dictatorship in Russia. The bourgeoisie of western Europe and of the United States declared war against the Russian and German revolutions. The allies would not recognize either the authority of the Soviet government or that of the constituent assembly. But they did recogsize Koltchak and Denikine.

"Under the pretext of fighting against Bolshevism, our former allies revealed their intention, on the one hand, or exploiting the situation of Russia, and, on the other hand, of establishing democracy entirely and consolidating the power of the bourgeois reaction.

"All of those fundamental changes which have taken place in the world situation and in Russia have compelled the members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party and those of the constituent assembly to revise their program. Under no circumstances can the Socialist Revolutionary Party support either bourgeois dictatorship or foreign bourgeois intervention; but, on the contrary, it must support the most resolute struggle against both national and international reaction in order that the Russian revolution and the world revolution may be victorious. This is not the time for a fractional war among the workers.

"STOP CIVIL WAR!"

"This is why the Executive Committee of the congress of the members of the constituent assembly asks all the soldiers of the popular army to stop the civil war against the Soviet government, which, at the present historic time, is the only revolutionary power of the exploited classes, and turn their armies against Koltchak, in order to crush the exploiters.

"On its part, the revolutionary committee guarantees to detachments of the popular army, as well as to isolated individuals, and groups who voluntarily end the civil war against the power of the Soviets and who voluntarily join with the Soviet troops, that they will be subject to no prosecution on the part of the Soviet government. The same agreement applies to the detachments which fight Koltchak.

"The members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, who accept this agreement, will not be molested because of their membership in the party.

"Soldiers of the popular army, Siberian Cossacks and Czecho-Slovaks! In acquainting you with this agreement, the delegation of the Socialist Revolutionary Party invites all sincere democrats, all the peasants and all the workers to cease playing the role of blind instruments in the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who, behind your backs, beat down your own brothers. We ask you to turn your arms against the bourgeois dictatorship of Koltchak and to act in agreement with the Soviet army.

"Long live the labor democracy of every country!

"Long live the world social revolution!

"In the name of the delegation of the Socialist Revolutionary Party and in the name of the president of the congress of the constituent assembly.

"VOLSKY,
"SVIATIZKI,
"CHMELEV,
"BOUREVOI,
"RAKITNIKOV."

State Executive Committee Meets

(Continued from Page Two)

applicants: Napoleon, 8 applicants; Lorain, 10 applicants; Ukrainian branch, Girard, 6 applicants; Girard, 5 applicants; Coshocton, 10 applicants; Dover, 8 applicants; Troy, 5 applicants; South Slavic branch, Lorain, 7 applicants.

Motion carried that chater applications be granted.

Motion carried that names of applicants for membership-at-large now on hand be sent to the state executive committee for approval and that hereafter applications for membership-at-large be referred to the state executive committee monthly.

Communications.

Communication from Local Youngstown asking the state executive committee to give reasons for the discontinuation of the services of W. E. Reynolds as state lecturer. Motion carried that a committee of two be elected to draft a reply to Local Youngstown. Scott Wilkins and J. P. Baker named the committee.

Communication from Miami Valley Socialist, requesting privilege of routing H. L. A. Holman in the interest of that paper. Motion carried to postpone action until the Sunday morning session.

Communication from Local Cincinnati inviting the state executive committee to name Cincinnati as the city in which the next state convention be held. Motion carried that the next convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio be held in Cincinnati providing Local Cincinnati and other locals in southern Ohio co-operate in a state picnic, the net proceeds of which is to go into the state funds.

Motion carried that the next state convention be held on June 27, 28, and that the state picnic be held June 29.

Communication from John M. Work advising against a national convention this year. Filed.

Communication from Local Philadelphia calling a general strike for the day Debs is sent to prison. Motion carried that as the national office is organizing 5,000 protest meetings for May 1, it would be policy to make these protest meetings successful rather than lend assistance to sporadic attempts to protest Debs' imprisonment.

Draft of constitution for Local Richland County was approved by motion.

Communication from Local Lima suggesting changes in contents of the Ohio Socialist, which would tend to make it more of a propaganda paper than an organization paper. Motion carried that inasmuch as the Ohio Socialist has proven so successful in its present policy, that this policy be continued.

Motion carried to adjourn until 7:30 p. m.

Second Session.

Discussion of removal of headquarters to Galion. Comrade Wm. M. Brown of Galion, who had invited the state executive committee to move headquarters to Galion, made the following statement: "I now realize that it would be a mistake to move the state office to a small city. The place for the state office is where it can get the enthusiasm and inspiration of a movement as gigantic as ours. This change of mind on my part in this matter of location of state headquarters will not interfere with the assistance I have decided to render the Ohio Socialist Party."

The committee, after discussion, agreed with the above statement by Comrade Brown. No vote taken.

General discussion of pamphlet now being written by Comrade Wm. M. Brown, entitled "Socialism, a Natural Gospel for a Scientific Age." Generally agreed that its publication would greatly aid our party in its propaganda work, and that if the national office does not publish it, the state office do.

Verbal report by State Organizer Chas. Baker heard. Comrade Baker gave a synopsis of his work at all points touched since January 16th, which constituted a revelation to the committee. It proved the field ripe for the employment of more organizers. Comrade Baker went into his plan of organization work by automobile, namely, to make well organized cities headquarters for a number of organizers all supplied with autos, and that smaller localities be reached from the organized places, the well organized cities to support the work in the surrounding unorganized communities both financially and by lending co-operation in the work. Report received.

Motion carried that the wages of the state organizer be $5 a day and expenses.

Motion carried that M. J. Beery and Lotta Burke constitute the audititing committee.

Motion carried to adjourn until 9 a. m., Sunday, March 30.

Third Session.

Sunday, March 30, 1919. ....

Sunday morning session called to order by Tom Clifford.

Lotta Burke elected chairman for the day.

Unfinished Business.

Motion that inasmuch as the terms and method of routing applied for by H. L. A. Holman would seriously interfere with the organized methods of the state office, that therefore the request of the Miami Valley Socialist for a list of local secretaries be complied with. Motion lost.

Motion by Comrade Sharts that in the name of Local Dayton I apply for a list of local Secretaries. Lost.

Roll call vote on above motion. Voting yes, Sharts, Burke; voting no, Clifford, Wilkins, Baker.

Report of sub-committee on recall of W. E. Reynolds as state speaker:

In answer to the inquiry of Local Youngstown for reason for the action of the secretary in discontinuing routing and declining to re-employ Comrade W. E. Reynolds as state speaker, we herewith submit the following:

First, Local Toledo instructed Comrade Wm. Patterson to make the following complaint:

The Reynolds meeting was opened by the chairman who proceeded to sell the literature in stock of Local Toledo and announcing several speakers for future meetings, also urging those present to join the Rand School study class. Comrade Reynolds opened his lecture by holding up in his right hand copies of the literature sold and denouncing it as trash and piffle. He also denounced each of the speakers announced for future meetings and denounced the Rand School, while at the same time recommending a study school of his own.

Second—A communication from Local Cincinnati setting forth the same occurrences as took place in Toledo.

Third—That several members of S. E. C. submitted personal knowledge of other actions of Comrade Reynolds which would disqualify him as state speaker.

The S. E. C. action was based upon his persisting in making these criticisms of literature and speakers in open propaganda meetings instead of in business meetings where such criticisms rightfully belong.

The S. E. C. was unanimous in their action.

(Signed) SCOTT WILKINS,
J. P. BAKER,
For the S. E. C.

Motion carried that report be accepted.

New Business.

Report of Fred Neubauer, auditor, read. Motion it be accepted. Carried.

Motion that Vomrades Baker and Sharts be elected the auditing committee.

Motion carried bill of $57.50 for auditor's services be paid.

Report of State Secretary taken up.

Discussion held regarding organization of left wing movement by locals throughout nation.

Motion to adjourn to 2:30 p. m., carried.

Fourth Session.

Motion that we the S. E. C. of Ohio, recognizing the emphasis which European Socialist occurrences have given the efficiency of uncompromising and revolutionary Socialist tactics, advise all locals to study the left wing manifestation within the Socialist Party, with a view to understanding it and eventually taking an intelligent part in the decision of this momentous question of proper party tactics

Motion that we encourage and work for the campaign to make the Ohio Socialist a semi-weekly and that final official action be taken at the next state convention. Carried.

Motion purchase of multigraph for $257 be approved.

Motion that division of state into organization districts as recommended in State Secretary and State Organizer's reports be endorsed and that as funds permit, organizers be placed in these districts and autos furnished them.

Motion State Secretary select either Thurber Lewis, Lilith Martin or M. A. Toohey as their services are required as district organizers, and that others be recommended as needed to the S. E. C. by the State Office.

After thorough discussion it was agreed both by Wm. M. Brown and the S. E. C. that it was inadvisable to remove state headquarters to Galion, and a motion to this effect was made and carried.

Motion State Office proceed as before in assisting the various locals in the coming municipal campaign and to urge all locals to put tickets in the field.

Motion State Secretary be authorized to secure all help needed to conduct State Office properly. Carried.

Good and Welfare.

General discussion of party policies and joint visit and discussion with Local Galion.

Auditing committee rendered following report:

March 30, 1919.

Books auditell up to March, 1919, and found correct with exception of one item.

Receipt No. 13,201, amt. $1.75, entered in cash book as $1.00.

M. J. BEERY.
J. P. BAKER.
Auditing Committee.

Report accepted.

Motion made to adjourn. Carried.

H. WAGENKNECHT,
State Sec., P. T.

Exploiters Tell About British Workers

(Continued from Page One)

ally the whole of British organized labor back of it. That program says:

"What the nation needs is undoubtedly a great bound onward in its productive activity. But this cannot be secured merely by pressing the manual workers to more strenuous toil, or even by encouraging the 'captains of industry' to a less wasteful organization of their several enterprises on a profit-making basis.

"What the Labor party looks to is a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry (no longer deflected by individual profiteering) on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity and only among these, and the adoption, in particular services and occupations, of those systems and methods of administration and control that may be found, in practice, best to promote, not profiteering, but the public interest.

"The Labor party stands not merely for the principle of common ownership of the nation's land, to be applied as suitable opportunities occur, but also, specifically, for the immediate nationalization of railways, mines, and the production of electric power."

Current reports from England indicate that the working people are using their combined political and economic power to realize the program outlined in the above extracts from the platform of the British Labor Party.

No wonder Secretary Wilson's committee of labor exploiters are worried at the prospect of having such large blocks of profit-producing industries as the transportation systems and the mines and electric power industries taken away from the capitalists and made the property of all the people for the common good. Should the process go far enough they might have to go to work for their living, which, of course, would be a social revolution undesired by the labor exploiters.

Statement of Ownership, Management etc.

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the act of congress of Aug. 24, 1912.

Of The Ohio Socialist, published weekly, at Cleveland, O., for April, 1919.

State of Ohio, County of Cuyahoga:

Before me, a notary in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Elmer T. Allison, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of The Ohio Socialist, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, (and if a daily paper the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are:

Publisher, Socialist Party of Ohio, R. F. D. No. 2, Brecksville, O.
Editors, Elmer T. Allison and Alfred Wagenknecht, R. F. D. No. 2, Brecksville, O.
Managing Editor, Elmer T. Allison, R. F. D. No. 2, Brecksville, O.
Business Manager, Elmer T. Allison, R. F. D. No. 2, Brecksville, O.

2. That the owners are, (give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of the total amount of stock). The Socialist Party of Ohio, R. F. D. No. 2, Brecksville, O.

Officials of the Socialist Party of Ohio:

State Secretary (Acting)—H. Wagenknecht, R. F. D. No. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.

State Executive Committee:

Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, O.
M. J. Beery, 65 South Main St., Mansfield, O.
William Patterson, 1727 Michigan St., Toledo, O.
Lotta Burke, 1314 Vine St., Cincinnati, O.
John P. Baker, 935 Gilbert Ave., Columbus, O.
Scott Wilkins, Ada, O.
Joseph W. Sharts, Room 7, Lowe Bldg., Dayton, O.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of the total amount of bonds, moragages, or other securities are: (if there are none, so state).

There are none.

Signature of editor, publisher or owner. Elmer T. Allison, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April, 1919.

(Seal) EDWARD H. TRACY, Notary Public.

My commission expires March 14, 1921.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia and New Mexico,

No. 63 | Published at Cleveland, Ohio | WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1919 | Address all mail to R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio | $1.00 A Year

THE END OF CAPITALISM

"The League of Nations is dead. All chances of a real settlement of European problems is at an end. A desperate effort is being made to get together a patched-up peace within the next ten days which shall at least put an end to unrest and economic paralysis in the world."

Thus writes a capitalist journalist and observer whose opinion carries great weight because of the distinction he has won in his particular field.

* * * *

In formulating his science of society Karl Marx showed that the inner contradictions of the capitalist system of production were of such a character that these conditions would lead to its eventual dissolution. "Capitalism carries within itself the seeds of its own decay" is a phrase which has often appeared in the writings and speeches of Socialists. But like the rest of the Marxian science it has been ignored or laughed to scorn by those who were profiting from the capitalist system and had an interest in defending it.

* * * *

The World War was not unexpected by the Socialists. The contradictions of capitalist production made such a war a logical sequence of capitalist production. In each capitalistically developed country of the world the workers were being exploited; in each such country the machinery of production was being perfected and in order to tmporarily solve the problem of increased production and a limited power of consumption by the exploited workers, the capitalists were compelled to seek expansion. Each national group of capitalists, driven by the necessity of securing control of new territory in order to develop markets and places to invest their surplus capital, entered the race for survival. In these struggles the interests of the national groups clashed and after several decades of conflict and threats of war their came—the World War.

Seven million men died. Nearly two hundred billions of wealth was destroyed. Misery and suffering stalked over a whole continent. And what is the result?

While the war was on we were told by President Wilson, whose chief service to capitalism has been that he has covered up the ugly facts with beautiful, idealistic words—that out of the bloodshed and destruction there was to be born a new world of righteousness and peace.

The president went to Europe to organize this new world, acclaimed by most of the people of the earth as their savior. For three months he has labored at the colossal task. And now we are told that the peace conference is about to collapse and that the League of Nations that was to save the world, is dead!

* * * *

What has happened at Paris that is threatening to bring the peace conference to an end without accomplishing its purpose? What is preventing President Wilson from bringing about the idealistic adjustment of the affairs of the world which he proclaimed in his fourteen points?

The people who put the blame for the World War upon some nation or some particular person in a certain nation, such as the kaiser, will now find some particular nation among the allies or some particular person in one of the nations, such as France and Clemenceau, to blame.

But it was neither a certain nation nor individual who was responsible for the coming of the Wrold War and it is not a certain nation nor individual that is responsible for the failure of the peace conference to work out the idealistic peace proclaimed by President Wilson.

President Wilson framed his fourteen points and idealistic peace in his study in Washington. No doubt the president made a sincere effort to frame a settlement which would bring into existence a nice, orderly capitalist world—from the point of view of the privacy of his study.

The allies gave lip service—and even that with some reservations—to the fourteen points, while the war was still being fought. But at Paris the fourteen points had to meet the withering, devastating breath of the facts of the capitalist will.

The fact of economic interests of national groups of exploiters were against the fourteen points.

The fourteen points declared against a punitive indemnity, but England and France faced the threat of national bankruptcy without an indemnity. Self-determination for peoples did not stand in the way of Italy providing for its economic future by demanding cities that that principle would give to Jugo-Slavia, nor France from attempting to further its economic future by insisting that it receive the coal mines of the Saar valley. All the little new nations set up in central Europe developed greedy appetites for this or that district belonging to its neighbors, because these districts mean economic advantage to them. Japan wanted a clear title to the islands it had gobbled and repudiated the idea of hiding the fact under the camouflage of becoming a "mandatory."

Clearly, what has happened at Paris is that the same inner forces of capitalism dominating national groups which precipitated the world war are now manifesting themselves in the struggle between those who fought the war as allies. It is the necessities enforced by the iron laws of capitalist production that set each national group against each other in a struggle to create the condition which will enable them to survive and not the unregenerate nature of certain individuals or nations.

* * * *

As we weigh and consider the words "The League of Nations is dead. All chance of a real settlement of European problems is at an end," and the other pessimistic dispatches which are reaching us from Paris, forecasting the break-up of the Peace Conference and the possible withdrawal of President Wilson, there is only one conclusion that we can reach; that is, that capitalist society has developed to a point which makes it impossible even to temporarily harmonize the conflicting capitalist interests and that if peace is to be restored to the world it must be done by wiping out the capitalist system of production.

Of all the countries of Europe only one country is not involved in the universal struggle waged about the Peace Conference for new territory to secure trade advantages and new economic resources. That is Russia. With the triumph of the Bolsheviki the Soviet government repudiated all forms of imperialistic aggression. It published the secret treaties; it repudiated the struggle for Constantinople; it nationalized its foreign trade. But more important than all, it abolished all forms of exploitation, thereby ending the one condition of capitalist production that is driving the other nations of Europe to destruction and ruin.

If Russia is still fighting it is not because it asks anything from the other nations, but because these nations are trying to destroy the new social order that is growing there.

* * * *

Surely no more striking confirmation of Marx's prediction that the time would come when the inner contradictions of capitalist production would bring about its dissolution, could be made than that which is being made by the Peace Conference. Capitalism is doomed. It must go at once or the world is condemned to decades of bloodshed and mass murder.

The new social order that is to succeed it is written in the aspirations of the workers of the world. Only through a new industrial order in which exploitation will be ended through making the means of production and the resources of the earth the common property of the workers can peace, order, happiness and well being be restored to the people of the earth.

The workers' hour has come; the workers of the world must unite and establish the new order if the world is to be saved from the destruction and ruin with which capitalism threatens it.

Exploiters Committee Tells About British Workers

Don't Like New Industrial Democracy and Ending of Autocracy

Washington.—Radical socialism is bolshevism. Bolshevism is radical socialism. No matter how the thing is spelled it brooks nothing but evil for the capitalists of high and low degree. In some portions of Europe the thing is a fact. In other portions of Europe the thing is well on the way to become a fact. The thing will become a fact in the United States if the class conscious and unscrupulous labor exploiters here persist in handling the working class with brass knuckles. Continue to wear the brass knuckles, of course, but upholster them a bit so that when the workers come up against the knuckles they will think they are being caressed rather than slugged.

This is the report and recommendation made to Secretary Wilson by the committee of labor exploiters sent abroad by the secretary some time ago to find out what is the matter with labor exploitation on the continent and in England, in the committee's final conclusions made public by the Department of Labor.

Stripped of all its verbiage the American labor exploiters report that in Great Britain the labor exploiters and their government are attempting to camouflage the British workers into becoming 100 per cent. efficient wealth producers by telling them that co-operation between the exploited workers and the exploiting capitalists is highly desirable for both; that conciliation in spirit and in fact is also desirable between the parasitic employers and their employes as a method of taking the sharp edges off the struggle over the division of the surplus wealth, the workers demanding all the new wealth they produce and the parasitic employers taking the greater part of it for themselves. Conciliation, the report says, will enable the labor exploiters to "stabilize" their profits and the workers to pay their union dues regularly. Finally, the report finds that collective bargaining will still further camouflage the workers into believing that they are enjoying a form of industrial democracy, while the employers can be relied upon to persuade the workers that it is an unsound policy for them to demand so much of the employers' profits that there is but little incentive left for the exploiters to continue in the business.

The committee found two classes of workers in Great Britain—"right minded" employes and "wrong minded" employes. The right minded employes have accepted, according to the report, the co-operative and conciliatory policy outlined above as the program for the stormy days of reconstruction. The conclusion, however, does not tally with the recently adopted program of the British Labor Party, with its sixty-odd members in the British parliament and practic-

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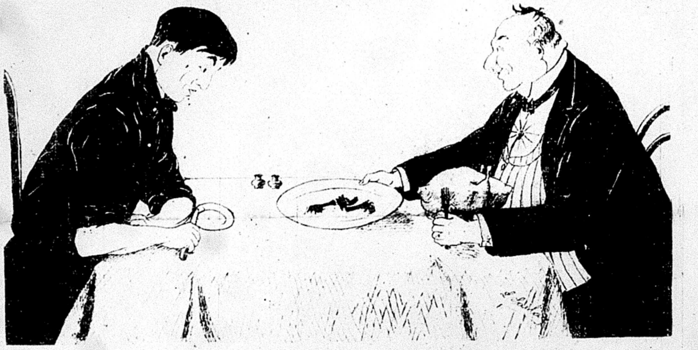

The Worker's Share

The Traitors Beg

From Washington comes the news that President Wilson has been petitioned to grant a respite in the case of Eugene V. Debs and hold up execution of his sentence while the question of a pardon is being considered.

This petition is signed by Charles Edward Russell and Allan L. Benson, renegade Socialists, and Frank P. Walsh.

Of course the petition was not sent to the president by the authority or even the consent of Debs. Eugene V. Debs would rather serve twice ten years in prison than ask for a pardon.

It is more likely that the request was made at the suggestion of the president than at the suggestion of Debs.

But the fact that such a petition has been filed and the probable action thereon will deceive no one.

If the president pardons Debs it will not be because of any petition filed by Charles Edward Russell, Allan L. Benson or any one else.

If the pardon is granted it will be because the ruling class of this country fears the result of putting Eugene V. Debs in prison.

The last two or three weeks have shown that the rallying cry "Freedom for Debs" is one that will receive the support of thousands of workers. In New York, Chicago, Cleveland and many other places great mass meetings have been held at which the workers voiced their protest against Debs being sent to prison—and probably to death.

The ruling class of this country is watching for signs of an upheaval. The threatened imprisonment of Debs looked as if it might prove to be the center of a great mass movement of the workers, which, once under way, might not stop when it attained its object.

The agents of the ruling class no doubt observed what was happening. Hence the new movement to give Debs his freedom.

In this movement the traitor Socialists give their services to hide the real power that is making the fight for the freedom of Debs.

That power is the mass demand of the workers. If Debs goes free it will be because tens of thousands of workers demanded his freedom and were prepared to organize and go on strike until their object was attained.

If Debs goes free it will be the first victory for mass action—a victory won by the mere threat of mass action.

Refuse Passport To Pan-American Congress

Washington.—The state department today refused to issue a passport to Dan Hogan of Huntington, Ark., to attend the Pan-American Socialist conference, which convenes in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the latter part of April.

Hogan is a member of the Socialist national committee and was recently appointed by the committee to represent the Socialist Party at the Buenos Aires meeting. He is editor of the Huntington Herald, a Socialist and labor paper, and is a veteran writer and lecturer for the Socialist Party. He took an active part in the win-the-war activities in Arkansas, especially in the Liberty loan and war savings stamps campaigns, and his application for a passport was indorsed by many prominent citizens of Huntington. His application has been pending in the state department for several weeks, and Assistant Secretary of State Phillips finally made public today the information that the passport has been refused.

Capitalists Hostile.

It is understood that the American capitalists are hostile to any meeting of the Pan-American workers to organize for their own interests, and especially hostile to such meetings at present when the labor unrest seems to have reached a feverish temperature. While declining to give specific reasons for refusing to issue the passport, it is currently stated, in the Division of Passport Control, that the Pan-American capitalists regard Buenos Aires as the hotbed of labor conspiracies against the welfare of the labor exploiters, and that the state department, whose functions is to deflect the international interests of the exploiters, could not be expected to facilitate a Pan-American Socialist and labor conference whose professed object is to develop plans for a concert of action on the part of Pan-American labor against the Pan-American capitalists.

It was felt, moreover, that the labor concert of action agreed to at Buenos Aires would surely extend to Mexico, where the United States capitalists are already having trouble with the rebellious Mexican workers.

Therefore, the state department decided not to countenance in any way the Socialist conference at Buenos Aires.

Socialists Lose Although Vote Doubles

Milwaukee.—Supported by big business, the Republican and Democratic parties, the so-called Good Government League and numerous other leagues and legions representing capitalism, and after making unprecedented expenditures for advertising, the nonpartisan candidates carried the school and judicial election Tuesday.

Although the Socialist vote was practically double that of the party's contenders in the last election for the various offices, it fell short of being sufficient to cope with that rallied by the combination in an election that established a record for the number of votes cast.

The biggest vote, 57,804, was piled up in the contest for the Circuit Court bench, vacated by the recent death of Judge W. J. Turner, between John C. Kleist, Socialist, and Gustave G. Gehrz, nonpartison. With 27,701 votes, Kleist was only 2,402 behind his nonpartison opponent.

Kleist's vote was 13,383 greater than the one he received two years ago when he was defeated by Circuit Judge L. W. Halsey, by 4,353 votes.

Joseph A. Padway, seeking the District Circuit judgeship, came nearer to election than any other Socialist candidate. He polled 2,042 votes less than his nonpartisan opponent, Judge George E. Page, who received 28,076.

Padway was the favorite in the betting during the last few days of the campaign.

Padway registered 26,036 votes while in the last election for district judge, in April, 1913, the Socialist contender, Oscar Rademaker, received only 11,177. Page received 9,944 more votes than six years ago.

Former Opponents Support Bolshevik Government

Manifestos Urging People to Rally to Support of Present Russian Government

There has just been received in the United States a new document from Russia, the importance of which everyone will recognize. It is the official position of the Menshevik Social Democratic Party of Russia, relative to the counter-revolutionary movement there and in the neighboring states, the present condition in Russia, the necessity of speedy recognition of the Lenine overnment, the sufferings of Russia due to the entente blockade, the inevitable outbreak of renewed and intensified terrorism which will follow further allied military intervention, and an appeal to the proletariat of the world to urge their governments to reach an agreement with Soviet Russia.

The official doclument is made public to the world through the Paris Humanite, the semi-official publicity agency of the Soviet Republic. The text of the manifesto as published in Humanits follows:

The Menshevik Social Democratic Party, in spite of the declarations by which it has hitherto seemed to renounce its policy of opposition to the regime of the Soviet government still confronts the latter with an attitude of hopeful neutrality. This, however, does not prevent the central committee of the party from issuing the following manifesto against the policy of the allied in Russia:

"In spite of the fact that the Lenine government (word missing) consents to take part in the Princes Island conference and offers to the allied governments a peace based upon the payment of loans, the renunciation of revolutionary propaganda and the satisfaction of the economic interests of the allies by means of concessions and even territorial concessions, the allied governments still continue to hold over the head of revolutionary Russia the Damocles sword of military intervention, still continue to nourish the hopes of the Russian counter-revolutionists, and still continue to strangle the country with famine.

"Confronted with the refusal of the counter-revolutionary governments of Koltchak, of Krasnov, and the Socialist Tschaikovski, traitor to the revolution of (word missing), Russia demands, if the entente does not wish to play absolutely the role of a declared enemy of the Russian revolution, that is establish diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet government and accept the proposition to settle peacefully litigious questions.

"Nevertheless, the preparations for a military campaign against Russia continue. French and English military missions are seen everywhere. The (word missing) organize counter-revolutionary Russian forces, occasioning by their presence all sorts of inhuman measures of repression, shootings, hangings and tortures.

"At the same time, with the direct approbation of the Clemenceau government, the Polish Republic, with Paderewski at its head, monopolized from the day of its birth by Polish clericals and nationalists, is preparing to furnish considerable military forces to strangle revolutionary Russia. After having concluded an armistice with the Czechs and the Ukrainians, after having obtained, thanks to the presence of the allies in Germany, the authority to pass its troops through territories occupied by the Germans, reactionary Poland is preparing to realize its plans to annex Lithuanian, White Russian and Ukrainian territories as a reward for the role it played as 'gendarme for the counter-revolutionary bourgeois of Europe.'

"The arrival of Varsovie and Noulens and the principal leaders of the counter-revolutionary policy of the allies in Russia shows sufficiently what the forces are which inspire the Polish nationalists. By means of a similar reward the reactionary government of Finland expects to obtain the conquest of Petrograd and all the territory bordering upon the Gulf of Finland.

"If we add to all these appetites the Roumanians, who for a long time have been consumed with the, desire

(Continued on Page Four)

Urge All Workers To Support Soviet Government

The joint proclamation of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia and the executive committee of the members of the constituent assembly, declaring their opposition to the Soviet government at an end and pledging their loyal support to the Bolshevik authorities has been received in the United States through the Russian Information Bureau at Paris, France.

The proclamation denounces the allied governments for having overthrown popular government in Siberia and set up dictatorships, and declares that the time has come for working class Russia, regardless of party affiliations, to join with the forces of the Soviet government and drive the last remnants of czarism, imperialism and capitalism from all Russia—from Petrograd and Vladivostok and from Archangel to the Black sea.

The proclamation follows:

"To the soldiers of the popular army to the Siberian Cossacks, to the Czecho-Slovak troops:

"Soldiers—mobilized and volunteers—you entered the army to defend the sovereignty of the people and to save democratic Russia from German imperialism, which reduced it to slavery by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. In the name of the pan-Russian constituent assembly, in the name of free Russia, independent and united, you have fought against Soviet authority.

(Continued on Page Four)

Integrity of Territory is More Important to Capitalism Than Integrity of Democracy

The Berne Conference as Seen by Swiss Socialist

The following critical review of the Berne conference called by the International Socialist Burchu was translated from the Zurich Volksrecht. The author, a professor who signs his account with the initials K. D. S., was a guest at the conference, and is a well known member of the Swiss Socialist Party.

However, the Italian and Swiss Socialist parties, who had steadfastly kept aloof and disapproved the policies of the official Socialist parties in those countries where civil peace had been accepted, refused to attend the conference. The Italian party, is seen by the review printed below, arrived at its decision not to participate in the conference only after its delegates had thoroughly familiarized themselves with the entire situation.

When the author speaks of "delegates appointed by government, who were attaches to bourgeois missions and embassies and did not represent any Socialist party or organization." American Socialists will remember that people like Frank Bohn, who had no mandate, found admission to the conference, if not as regulatly seated delegates, then at least as honored guests, while the Wilson administration denied passports to the regular delegates of the Socialist Party of America until it was too late for them to attend.

The review reads as follows:

PARLEY TERMED COMEDY.

"Viewed at close range, the so-called Socialist conference at Berne cannot be described otherwise than as a comedy, yet tragic in that its expenses are borne by the betrayed and defrauded proletariat. Every one with keen sight knew from the start what a spirit this conference would possess, improvised, as it was, with extraordinary haste by discredited and compromised organizations, not during, but at the close of the World War, to pacify and chloroform the masses now threatening the capitalist and middle class powers.

"Anyone who succeeded in passing the scrutiny of Grumbach, the French Socialist who ascended to the position of doorkeeper of the new Socialist diplomats, could obtain a clearer picture of the mentality and designs of the organizers than from all the speeches and resolutions that were disseminated by the bourgeois news agencies. Having succeeded in passing the Cerberds at the door, our observations inevitably raised these questions in one's mind:

"Why were not the credentials of the so-called delegates considered by the entire body before the election of officers? Why and with what justification were such delegates seated against whom objections had been raised, and of whom it was proved that they had for well known reasons been appointed by governments as Socialists or Socialist representatives on high missions and embassies, and who did not represent genuine Socialist parties or any organization of the Internationale? Why did the chair take no notice of those who called attention to the danger threatening socialism by the seating of such Socialist mission attaches? Why was it left entirely to the arbitrary ruling of the chair to seat anyone satisfactory to him and obedient to the bourgeois governments?

HUYSMANS CRITICISED.

"In whole name does Comrade Huysmans speak and act? Was it not his duty to follow the example of his colleague and minister, Vandervelde, and resign his office as secretary of the Internationale after his party in Belgium had refused to attend? Or was the presence of such a comrade deemed necessary to the interests of the organization, though his bearing seemed to fit him better to appear in court?

"Why was a motion carried to send a message of sympathy to Vandervelde for the injury he had sustained while executing his purely bourgeois functions of a royal minister, whereas no word of condolence was dispatched to the widow and family of the gruesomely murdered Liebknecht?

"Why was no actual vote taken? Why did the conference limit itself to the questionable method of a show of hands in order to declare resolutions manufactured in secret caucus, presented by certain privileged delegates, unanimously adopted? Why was the most unparalleled arbitrary dictatorship on the part of the chair concerning votes, appointments of committees, resolutions, order of speakers, etc., permitted by those who exalt democracy only when it is a question of fighting pure socialism or the great Russian revolution?

DISCUSSION POSTPONED.

"Why was the discussion of the question, 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat or Democracy' postponed to the last day, so that it was not possible for all the delegates fully to express themselves on this fundamental question, which is of greater interest to the Internationale than all the debates of compromise and bourgeois demands?

"Why was no vote taken on this subject, by orders of Branting and Huysmans, so that Loriot's assertion that this was a maneuver and a case of railroading must be fully conceded? Was this question evaded to avoid the formation of a clear-cut Internationale, and was the main object in evading the most important question of the 'Directorship of the Proletariat' to give the appearance of unity?

"It reminds us very much of the much lauded Union Sacre (civil peace).

AMNESTY NOT URGED.

"Why was no voice raised to demand a general call for a general amnesty on the part of all governments for those furthering an anti-war agitation during the war and all deserters? Is it possible that those instrumental in arranging the conference had a special interest in hindering the return of just such dangerous elements?

"Why did Branting, Huysmans and Grumbach protest only against those who applauded the speeches of the radical delegates? Why did Grumbach, who always proved himself so polite to ladies and gentlemen of high society, refuse admission to the last session on Monday afternoon to guests whose presence was perhaps more justified at the conference than some of the so-called delegates—because it was suspected that they would applaud the speeches of those defending the Russian revolution?

"These are the notes that many a visitor of the conference should have made. During the long pauses of the reading of the translations of the speeches there was opportunity to consider many things that could bring despair to the exploited and betrayed proletariat. One saw in the eyes and bearing of the delegates and speakers unbounded ambition, the truly bourgeois overbearing, the empty soul and spirit of the climber. The whole atmosphere was stuffy with hypocrisy, phrases and demagogy.

ENTHUSIASM LACKING.

"The fresh, healthy revolutionary breath, the fanaticism and enthusiasm of socialism and true freedom were lacking. One felt the contrast between the few genuine revolutionists and the overwhelming majority of opportunity to prove their ability to occupy a minister's seat and to proclaim their alleged Socialist spirit to the world with empty phrases and words. How many of these delegates will at the first chance soil their hands with the blood of the proletariat and, with the help of civil guards and officers' battalions as pillars of society, choke every revolutionary movement in blood!

"No! No! The conference was no Socialist conference. The atmosphere was anything but a clear Socialist and revolutionary air. Embittered by what was done and what they observed, and indignant over the betrayal, many visitors left the conference hall of the People's House and felt the desire, despite their helplessness, to cry out to the four winds:

"'Workers of the world, unite! Unmask the lackeys of the bourgeoisie!'

"Bury the old Internationale! Your most dangerous enemies are these alleged leaders and representatives!

"PROF. K. D. S."

These observations are confirmed by a letter of Morgari to the Volkswacht. He writes:

"You have lately published a telegram from Milan, dated Feb. 7, which contained the news that the Italian Socialist Party agreed to recall their delegates, Morgari and Casalini, from the congress in Berne because they disagreed with the manner in which the congress was called and with its proceedings. This news is somewhat inaccurate, for the following reasons:

"NOT DELEGATED."

"The Socialist Party of Italy did not delegate us to this conference.

"We did not participate in the conference.

"No such message as referred to in the Milan dispatch reached us.

"For the same reasons that the Socialist Party of Switzerland decided to boycott the international conference the executive committee of our party sent us to Berne, for the purpose of attending all sessions of the old second Internationale called by the official representatives of the Internationale, of which our party is still a member. We were instructed to further the principles laid down at the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences at these sessions, and to be at a sussion of the International Bureau at Brussels or at a conference called by the bureau or its secretary.

"At the same time our instructions were not to participate, if it was a question of continuing the conference of the Entente Socialist of last September in London. That was done because we did not know in Rome what we would find in Berne. The press of our country published very conflicting news. The telegrams of invitation were also hazy. Some were signed by Henderson, some by Huysmans, and others by the secretary of the Socialist Party of France. The censorship prevented us from getting explanations.

"So we went to Berne. But, as soon as we recognized the true character of the conference, we informed the bureau of this conference that we were not to be considered as delegates. Comrade Casalini, who saw his name listed as a delegate, informed the bureau by letter that this must be a misunderstanding. We remained at the congress in our capacity as journalists to inform our press and our party of the proceedings and the intentions of our hostile brothers."

Ohio State Executive Committee Meets

Business for First Quarter of 1919 Transacted; State Secretary Makes Encouraging Report of Progress

The quarterly meeting of the State Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Ohio, took place in Galion, Saturday and Sunday, March 29 and 30. The committee had voted to meet in Galion in response to an invitation by Comrade Wm. M. Brown, who desired to offer the state organization a state headquarters free of expense.

First Session.

The meeting was called to order by State Chairman Tom Clifford, at 8 p. m., March 29, at Brownella cottage.

Tom Clifford was elected chairman for the session.

Present—Lotta Burke, Joseph W. Sharts, Tom Clifford, M. J. Beery, Scott Wilkins, J. P. Baker of the committee. Absent—Wm. Patterson. Others present—State Secretary P. T. Hertense Wagenknecht; State Secretary A. Wagenknecht; Elmer T Allison, editor of the Ohio Socialist; Charles Baker, state organizer, and Comrades H. W. Myers, Elizabeth Bertram, Wm. M. Brown and many members of Local Galion as visitors.

Report of the state secretary was declared in order.

Report of State Secretary.

Comrades: Since your committee last met, the progress of the organized Socialist movement in Ohio has been phenomenal. Our comrades in Europe, in voicing their demands and establishing workers' governments, have been instrumental in gaining for us also, most salutory results. With the rise of the proletariat throughout the old world, American labor, hearing the call to action, is at last awakening. More than this, our comrades of the Socialist Party, taking lessons from the experiences of our European comrades, are learning that the only hope for the workers lies in uncompromising tactics and in proletarian control.

The majority of locals in Ohio have increased their activity two-fold since the first of the year. Reports from locals prove that the methods used by the ruling class to suppress our activities but whet the appetites of the workers for a knowledge of socialism. As a result, larger meetings have been held in Ohio since the first of the year than have ever been held. Halls have been crowded to the doors. In many instances two and three halls have had to be rented to hold the crowds which surged to our meetings to hear our speakers. This is not only true of the Debs' meetings held in this state. Charles Baker had an unprecedented overflow meeting in Akron, and other comrades who have toured the state have been met by enthusiastic and unusually large audiences.

Many locals that were inactive during the last year of the war have now reorganized or paid their arrearages in dues. Threats of persecution are always more effective in small towns. Our smaller locals suffered severely and in many instances, the only way out was to give up all activities, even meeting in business session. However, a wonderful change has taken place since the signing of the armistice in the entire Ohio movement. Local after local is coming back to life and the mails now bring orders for supplies, literature, leaflets and "Ohio Socialist" subscriptions in such quantities, that extra assistance has been necessary to keep up with the State Office work.

Calls for organizers come in from all sections of the state. We have received calls from locals that desire to give employment of from one week to two weeks to field workers, so that they may build their membership. Some locals have shown a willingness to stand the expense of such organization work. All this goes to show that the field is ripe for our party and that it is our duty to give service as efficiently as lies in our power. We say without hesitation, that at present we are not at all equipped to meet the demands made upon the State Office for service. We have realized this for some months but have hesitated to make improvements because we desired to conduct the State Office upon as economical a basis as possible. There comes a time, however, when economy in such matters becomes a crime against the workers; when economy restricts us in the performance of our full duty to the locals and party members. That time has been reached. We have been virtually forced to revolutionize our entire working program, so far as the State Office is concerned. The methods and equipment used a few months ago are now entirely inadequate.

For a year and a half two persons have, by working until near midnight every day in the week, managed to keep the "Ohio Socialist" and the State Office in fair running order. All that these two persons could accomplish in such a full day's work was the daily completion of the daily routine. No new plans could be laid or executed. No new work of any kind could be thought of.

There came a time, about the first of this year, when the need for initiative became so great that it could no longer be thrust aside. In our consultations we came to the conclusion that the field of influence of the "Ohio Socialist" and of the Socialist Party of Ohio could be greatly extended if we could get the time for several circularizations and calls to action. We, therefore, employed extra assistance and we now let our financial report, our membership report and the increase in "Ohio Socialist" subscriptions speak for themselves.

Financial Report.

The total receipts for January were $2,500.34. Of this amount $1,211.20 was for "Ohio Socialist" subscriptions. The expenses for January were $1,601.51. The balance on hand on Feb. 1, was $3,029.41. This, we think, sets the record for the party in this state as to money on hand.

The total receipts for February were $2,585.09, with expenditures amounting to $2,299.89. Balance on hand March 1, $3,314.61.

Ohio Socialist.

That our state paper is fast becoming one of the best liked papers in the United States is amply proven by the growth in its circulation during the past three and four months. From a total of 150 new subscribers each week our circulation increased until at the beginning of March we placed more than 500 new names upon our mailing list weekly, and for several weeks the number ran as high as 650 and 880. And the flood of subscriptions has not ceased. We firmly believe that this is only the beginning of our success in this field.

During the latter part of February we circularize the entire mailing list of 6,000 subscribers, asking every subscriber to assist in making the Ohio Socialist a semi-weekly by increasing our subscription list to 20,000. This circularization cost the State Office about $115. To induce locals to use our paper for free distribution we have reduced the bundle price to 50 cents a hundred copies. We believe that the loss incurred in bundle sales at this price will be offset by an increase in subscriptions.

Now that the paper is turning a profit into our treasury every month, we feel that every possible method should be used to increase its circulation. Promotion is as necessary in the business of making Socialists as in the business of making profits. And we intend to devise methods whereby we will bring our paper to the notice of even more Socialists and others who need the kind of brain food we issue.

"Make the Ohio Socialist a daily," is the message that comes to us from readers in many states. The sentiment against the capitalist press has crystalized lately and we feel safe in predicting that the time is not far distant when we will have to publish our paper twice a week and when we will be in a position to do so profitably. For the information of your committee we here publish a profit and loss statement of income and expense of the Ohio Socialist:

1918.	Rects.	Expenses.	Loss.
July	$ 73.28	$316.96	$243.65
August	120.27	299.57	179.30
September .	276.30	396.64	120.34
			Profit.
October	282.95	273.13	10.82
November ..	395.78	299.96	96.82
December ..	740.86	533.87	206.99
1919.			
January ...	1,211.20	528.56	672.64
February ..	1,181.72	785.09	396.63

Since the paper has been published weekly it has cleared $840.61 above expenses, exclusive of wages. As Comrade E. T. Allison divided his time between the paper and other State Office work, we can safely say that the paper has turned into the party treasury a net profit. The profit for the month of February would have been much larger had we not decided it good policy to own our own mailing list, and we, therefore, expended $110.64 for the metal it contained.

Membership.

Our membership is growing fast. Initiations number more than 500 a month. Dues stamp sales for the past three months follow:

	Eng. Locals.	Memb. at Lge.	For. Br.	Initiations.
Dec., 1918..	3480	246	2578	345
Jan., 1919..	5277	163	3212	518
Feb., 1919..	4145	67	2779	581

The total dues stamp sales for December, 1918, were 6,549; January, 1919, 9,170; February, 7,572. This is an average membership for these three months of 7,764. According to the report of the National Office, Ohio stands third in number of party members. However, it is first place we should strive for. And in order that we might be in a position to assist locals in keeping their membership in good standing by supplying them with circular letters and other needs, we have purchased a multigraph at a cost of $257.00. With this machine we can print, with typewriter type, thousands of letters upon short notice, and we hope that we may soon be in a position to offer locals service in multigraph work, giving our weaker locals this service without charge.

Organizatin and Propaganda.

First as to literature. Using the Ohio Socialist as an advertising medium, we have been able to sell thousands of pamphlets and books within the last few months. Many times we were completely out of pamphlets called for, having orders for hundreds on hand, awaiting arrival of shipment. We intend to enlarge our literature sales and organize a literature department from which can be purchased any Socialist pamphlet or book in print.

We have arranged extended tours for Comrades Charles Baker, Thurber Lewis and Lilith Martin. Comrade Holman has been given speaking engagements whenever calls for his services have been made.

The Debs' tours have been very successful. Locals that have engaged him have built a treasury with which they will now be able to do much to build their membership. Comrade Debs has given his services in the cause to locals in northern Ohio without stint, many evenings addressing two or three meetings. This has nearly caused a physical breakdown, and we had to notify locals to cease overworking Comrade Debs; that his 63 years would not stand such strenuous campaignning. The good effect of Debs' meetings in northern Ohio upon our Ohio membership can not be overestimated. Courage, determination, loyalty and comradeship were direct results, and wherever he spoke the membership doubled its activity in the cause.

Comrade Charles Baker began his organization trip on January 16. He is now dated up to the middle of May. His tour to date has been most profitable to the state organization from many points of view. The new members he secured, the many subscribers to the Ohio Socialist which he solicited, the large collections taken at his meetings and the courage instilled into comrades of locals which had long been inactive—all these points contribute to the success of his field work. His first month's tour resulted in a profit to the state organization of $102.82. His second month's tour resulted in a deficit of $13.75. This deficit was caused by dating Comrade Baker two successive days in unorganized and disorganized territory, in the face of which the small deficit is a greater accomplishment than the large surplus. Many weak locals were revived by him and many were reorganized.

Comrade Thurber Lewis did organization work for the State Office for two weeks in February. The financial loss resultant amounted to about $40. The gain consisted of five locals reorganized, all of which are now more active than they ever were. We have given him another routing which gives him employment up to April 13. He is well liked wherever he goes, and is an untiring hustler.

Lilith Martin will enter the state for a tour on April 1. After a preliminary tour of the state we intend to assign organization duties to her. Comrade Martin agrees to this, and is highly interested in building the membership. In this work she has had experience and we may expect her services to redound to the success of our organization.

Too little time has been given to evolving plans which would strengthen our party organization. After all, there is no secret formula by which a powerful organization can be effected. The main attribute necessary to organize is to be capable of working hard along well-outlined plans and carrying these plans to a successful conclusion. It should be our aim to place in the field and ever increasing army of organizers, until we have one for every congressional district in the state, supported in part by the State Office and in part by the locals in the congressional districts. Our three or four organizers at present employed should be increased to five or six times that number. This can be gradually accomplished and toward this end we suggest to your committee that you consent to a division of the state into four districts, each to contain an equal number of active locals and members, and that an organizer be placed in each of these districts. These organizers can, by becoming acquainted with the villages, cities and country communities in the districts, do more effective organization work, and in co-operation with the Socialists in the districts, should be able to carry on a more thorough campaign of organization than is now possible by giving every organizer a state-wide tour.

To help pay the expenses, the probable deficit of such work, we could ask the locals in each of the four districts to contribute, from time to time, to the upkeep of the field work. If locals once see the concrete results of constant employment of an organizer, a comrade well versed in the details of organization and always ready to help in any emergency, then we are sure they would rally to his support.

The duties of these district organizers would be many and do not need mention here. For this work Comrade Charles Baker, Thurber Lewis, Lilith Martin probably M. A. Toohey and others are available.

Conclusion.

In closing we desire to call to the attention of the committee the "swing to the left" which the Socialist Party in this country seems to be taking. Numerous locals in this state have passed resolutions against sending delegates to the Berne conference, claiming that this conference was called and controlled by social patriots who had nothing in common with true socialism. An emergency national convention is also called for, the purpose of which is to be to establish more firmly the uncompromising position of the Socialist Party and to arrive at a more uniform declaration of principles for the party. In past years emphasis has, in most of our campaigns, been placed upon so-called immediate demands, and our revolutionary aims have been allowed to rest in the background. There is a general call for change of methods, for the establishment of party owned papers, educational institutions, literature and other activities. Our propaganda, in many instances, has been in the control of private individuals and companies, which in crisis, turned traitors to the party.

This new manifestation, or rather, old manifestation now revived and given new life by the recent experiences in Russia and Germany, must be met and dealt with by your committee. The time will come when the state office will be called upon to give information and advice in this controversy about tactics, and we desire to be in a position to give such advice officially. We append the manifesto and program of the left wing Socialists of New York. Similar left wing movements have been organized in Chicago, Boston, Portland and other large cities. What shall be the official attitude of the party in this state?

Other questions to come before the committee for consideration will be presented through correspondence had, and among these is the matter of moving state headquarters to Galion. In the regular order of business we will request the floor for Comrade Wm. M. Brown so that he may tell us of his plans.

We desire to assure the committee that the Socialist work in the state is getting on splendidly. We still have a goodly number of locals to revive, locals which the war put to sleep. But this work will be done as soon as we can get to it—is in fact being done every day by our organizers in the field. The progress made since the first of the year, since the end of the war, has heartened us, renewed our energy. The state membership was never more earnestly engaged in party duties than now, and what is more, never before approached questions of local and international importance with such intelligence as it is doing today. The war experiences have taught us all numerable things about capitalism and its methods and as a consequence we have learned the better how to use our knowledge of socialism for the final victory. Let us speed the day.

HORTENSE WAGENKNECHT,
State Secretary, P. T.

Motion carried that the report be received and acted upon seriatim under new business.

New Charters and Members-at-Ladge

Charters for locals in the following cities were applied for: Roswell, 17

(Continued on Page Four)

Open Forum for Discussion of Party Problems

The many important matters concerning policies, tactics and other internal affairs of the party, which are engrossing the attention of members at the present time, have induced us to open the columns of the Ohio Socialist to a discussion of them through the Open Forum. We trust that our comrades will use this column for such discussions of strictly party affairs. Make your articles short and to the point. Use light instead of heat to make your point clear and leave out personalities.

Upon What Foundation?

By JENNIE A. McGEHE State Secretary of Colorado.

"I pierce through the upper stratum of occasional and shifting circumstances to bottom and base on the rock below."—James Finton Lalor.

The surging torrents of the world' affairs have lately washed away the soil and turf of social systems and bared the rugged rocks which we call fundamentals.

Sixty years ago Karl Marx said that the very hour in which the workers gained control of society the political state as then known would perish and Engles remarked that the machinery of the political state would be thrown on the junk pile because a government of and for the workers could not function through it.

The revolution in Russia demonstrates the truth of this. The revolution in Hungary is another illustration of it. The Sinn Fein in Ireland recognize it by refusing to enter the English parliament.

The "rock below" is this fact: The political machinery of capitalism, of the capitalistic state, cannot under any circumstances whatsoever, function as the governmental machinery of the working class. It cannot ever favor the worker. It cannot effectively legislate in his interest, because if one of its branches should favor him, another branch would almost automatically cut him off from that favor. When we ask him to take part in it, when he say to him that he could thereby benefit himself, we but blind and betray him.

What attitude, then, should the Socialist Party here in America adopt toward the machinery of capitalistic government, in the light of present events? Should it not be one of "no compromise?" And the words "no compromise" are beginning to mean much more, too, than has been generally conveyed by that term. The idea generally expressed by the term is that there shall be no union or alliance with any other party or movement But the hour has come to go further! We must dig away the obscuring soil and lay our foundation on the solid rock. We should refuse to take any part in the capitalist government. Its machinery can no more serve our purpose than the housewife could do a washing on a threshing machine. Why spend the energy of the working class organization of a force to send a man or set of men to congress to pass some law, after years of effort, which a supreme court appointed by the ruling class to do the bidding of the ruling class, can set aside in an hour, when the same energy spent in organizing the workers into a congress of their own would succeed in building a machine, a power, that could dictate to the congress at Washington what laws to pass, and backed by their economic power on the job they could defy the supreme court and all the machinery of capitalistic government.

Instead of urging workers to go to the polls to try to elect workers to that machine which in any event the workers cannot manipulate, and which because of its very nature, cannot function in their interest, the leaders of radical thought should teach them to shun it as they would a pestilence.

The workers have already, to a great measure, lost confidence in Congress, and in the efficiency of the ballot, and have lost hope of ever being able to get anything thru the act of Congress. Our agitation would strengthen that feeling of distrust. And since the working class cannot gain its freedom thru this medium why not teach it to distrust and to refuse to participate. Since the struggle between the classes must come, why not precipitate it? What can be gained by covering up the truth from the masses? If the workers would pursue this course gradually the Congress of the masses would lose its power gradually, and rapidly at last, it would become more and more of a figure head, until finally in some crisis it would disappear entirely. This process can be seen going on now in Germany where the Ebert Government daily grows more and more of a figurehead as the Soviets one by one are formed in the industries. We are beginning to see the same tendancy in England, as the people stay away from the polls and the big unions dictate to the government. The mile stones along this new way are as plain as day, the other nations are traveling fearlessly down the newly made road. Why do we lag eternally behind—and worship at the shrine of the old and the discredited?

There are those in the Socialist ranks who lay stress on "the opportunity for propaganda" that taking part in capitalist elections gives us. But the very fact that we refuse to take part would give us ten thousand times more opportunity for propaganda. Being then, what is in America called "non-political" we could go to the workers in their Unions, and all their organizations, in every city and village and hamlet, to the A. F. of L. and to the I. W. W. and urge them to organize a government within a government, to organize what would virtually be a SOVIET whether it was called that or not, to organize a governmental machine of their own that would have power. POWER, that is what the workers need, what they are looking for, what they must and will have! The rank and file in organized labor are ready for it, the great body of farmers who rent, American peasants, are ready for it—why keep up this farce? Why take part in a worse than worthless parliamentary machine? It is only an instrument for administering an opiate to the working class and the great mass of our people in general.

The present parliamentary machine, the Congress and the courts and all their ramifications and departments, is the machinery for ruling the masses in the interests of the classes. It was organized by the rulers for the rulers. Why not organize a Labor Congress that will be a Labor Congress? Let it sit at the same time as the master's congress—and issue commands in the name of the people—backed by the power of the people in the mill and mine and factory, on the railroad and in the field.

This Congress could preserve the lives of the wrokers. It could rescue them from the vile clutches of the organized assassins of the masters. Dare the Congress at Washington and in the states to refuse to obey our command? The folded arms of the workers cannot be resisted! Do the workers of the nation lack solidarity? This will teach them solidarity.

But, some will contend, this thing is impractical. Is, then, a plan that never benefits us—a plan that never can benefit us, a plan that makes slaves and beggars of us, so practicable? Should we go on for years and years with our leaders being jailed, our organizers hung or mobbed, our literature destroyed by the Postal Department of a Robber class, our officers looted, our defenses rendered useless by capitalistic courts, and still court that vampire class by pretended respect for their parliamentary machinery, and participation in it, thus, in reality, making ourselves particeps criminus?

Suppose that now we had a machine such as I have described. Would we need to go crawling on our knees to Washington once more—begging like slaves for the life and liberty of an innocent brother, Tom Mooney? When we are in a position to dictate to their legislature we will also be in a position to dictate to their courts. It would not then be, "please gentlemen, free Tom Mooney because he is innocent." Rather would it be, "Our brother, Tom Mooney, we have found to be innocent of the crime with which you charged against him. FREE HIM OR—!"

The rank and file of organized labor is growing very radical. It is ready for a change. It is, indeed, seeking a change. But it does not seek the Socialist Party of America. Why? Simply because so long as the party adheres to its present policies and tactice it does not present anything that constitutes a fundamental change. The worker senses that. He feels it instinctively whether he voices it or not. So long as the party seeks to gain a place in the capitalistic government, just that long it is necessarily a part of that governmetn. Can we not, then, master up courage sufficient to break with capitalism? Let those who have ambitions to go to Congress at Washington, get into one of the old parties to go thede, for after all, a capitalist congress is a capitalist congress, just as a threshing machine is a threshing machine. It connot under any circumstances effectively disguise itself as a washing machine.

Let the party learn the lesson that Europe teaches. Let us apply our strength thru a medium that will transmit that strength. Let us consecrate ourselves anew and give up the vain dream of "capturing" something that isn't worth capturing and that we could not use to any advantage after we had "captured" it. We shall build a machine of our own. One that can function in an industrial democracy. And as did our fathers of old for their Declaration of Independance, so let us for this new living expression of our hopes and ideals, pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

Side Lights on Toledo Free Speech Fight

Memorial Hall at Toledo was again closed to socialists after having been rented Sunday, March 30. Closed by orders of Mayor Schreiber because he himself became determined to select the speakers for Toledo, and among those barred from the Mayors' list is Eugene V. Debs—our own Gene. Barred by the Mayor although the entire population demanded a Debs meeting and ten thousand people turned out in the slush and snow of Sunday to prove it.

Lying ill at Akron, unable to fill the engagement, Gene knew nothing of the rumpus in Toledo where the socialists were staging the grandest act this Golden Rule and Rule of Gold Ctiy ever witnessed.

State organizer Baker had been sent to Toledo to fill the Debs engagement. The crowd gathered early and learning that the hall was closed gathered across the street in Court House Park.

Orders had been issued by Mayor Schreiber to allow no speaking and there were 200 police present to enforce the order.

At 2:30 P. M. Secretary Michael Toohey opened the meeting from McKinley's Monument and was immediately nabbed by the police. The crowd closed in. The police lost Mike who once more mounted the Monument steps and once more was embraced by two of "Toledo's finest" and escorted amid cheers to one of the city's own limousines (patrol wagons) and entertained until seven more brave and conjenial companions were singularly marched by uniformed liverymen to the yawning gasoline wagons and hence to the new temporary headquarters of the Socialist Party—The City's Bastile.

There was a goodly sprinkling of soldier boys among the ten thousand who had gathered, and one, an upright, clean, intelligent young man, Frank Serafin stepped to the monument and began to speak: Ladies and gehtlemen, Comrades all—When he said "Comrades," the police looked at one another. The soldier continued: I have just returned from across the seas where I went to fight for Democracy. The police looked fierce now and held a little confab—they seemed to think the word Democracy their cue to arrest anyone, but they hesitated as the voice of the boy in khaki rang out: and I will continue to fight for Democracy at home. The police here asked Serafin to stop, but again he turned to the multitude and said: I went over the top. Over again for you said a big burly and one more seat in limousine No. 2 was occupied.

The crowd stood awed and amazed as the blue coats brabbed and roughly hustled this khaki clad boy through the cordou of police. They could not understand. Some of them thought the socialists were being arrested for insulting the Soldiers as the Mayor and the newspapers claimed. And here they were roughly hustling a soldier boy off to jail, a soldier too who had bravely faced death for freedom, and now he could not even speak to them. Shouts of protest went up on all sides. The crowd was getting ugly. The police were getting excited and brutal. Women cried in sympathy for the boy in khaki. Quiet for just a moment reigned; then from a distance came a voice: Ladies and gentlemen, (This was as far as many of the speakers got as they were kanged off the monument as soon as the first word was spoken. But this voice did not come from the monument) Keep cool, fill the jail. The Declaration of Independance gives you the right of Free Speech. Your forefathers died for this right. Every head turned toward the sound of that voice and there a half a block away standing all alone ankle deep in the snow and slush stood the speaker where the overfed police must run to get him. Two police broke thru the crowd, accompanied by a brown clad motor cop. The speaker got in about three minutes, then got in the Black Mariar

This speaker was the writer of this article and right here—as I did there—I want to enter a protest against the Motor Cop whose gun was drawn on me as he approached running and excited.

We kept our heads to a man—they—many of them lost theirs. These same caps who on their knees suppliantly beseeched us councilmen to vote them another loaf of bread for their families—who complain to us that they are afraid to speak right out for their rights—use their billies and guns (we don't have clubs in Toledo) when we ask that right.

I was convict No. 57, one of the many varieties yet to come on a tour of inspection of one of the filthiest jail holes in the entire U. S. A jail

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A CHALLENGE TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS

Debs' First Day In Prison

By DAVID KARSHNER.

Moundsville, W. Va., April 14.—Eugene Victor Debs will sleep tonight, not in a cage like a wild beast, as he slept last night, his first night in the West Virginia State Prison, but in a little room in the hospital of the prison, for "Our Gene" has been appointed a hospital attendant, and he has a separate room to himself, with a white iron bed, newly clothed, a table and a chair.

Shortly after 11 o'clock this morning Debs was taken from his cell, No. 51, in the second tier of the south wing, to the prison baths. He was examined by Dr. O. P. Wilson, the prison physician, and then donned prison underclothing and the prison uniform. But when I saw Debs late this afternoon the prison suit was not unbecoming to him. It was well fitting and contained the tiniest check. It is the kind of a suit that anybody might purchase at a cheap clothing store.

Warden Joseph Z. Terrill explained that he had at first thought of placing Debs in the prison library because of his knowledge of books and literature, but he did not do this because he thought that he might be too much subjected to curiosity. As hospital attendant Debs will have a room entirely to himself. The room is of a good size, larger than most rooms of the Bronx apartments. It is on the ground floor. There are two ample windows one facing the south, and one the east. There are no bars at his windows. The door will be open at all times, and Debs has full privilege to come and go as he pleases. He has full and complete access to the prison yard and the lawns.

When Engdahl, Wagenknecht and myself went to the prison today we were led by Warden Terrill through the turntable. He took us through long winding corridors to the hospital section. As we passed the prison druggist was making little pellets. He was a convict "in" for murder. He looked at us as we passed with a furtive look, then went on filling the capsules.

We walked up one flight of stairs. The warden opened the door of a freshly painted room, and there was "Our Gene" quietly sitting in a low rocking chair, smoking his pipe and reading a book. At first he did not look up.

"Mr. Debs, here are your friends back again to see you," said the warden. Gene put his book aside on the bed and disturbed the big gray cat that was sleeping by his side.

Greetings were over and the warden then told Debs that he had free access to the prison library. "We have a rule here, Mr. Debs, that prisoners must be checked up on the books they take from the library, but we will waive that rule for you. I know you appreciate the value of good books."

"Indeed I do," said Debs, thanking the warden.

We talked a few minutes and Debs told us that he slept "like a log last night," and now felt "as chipper as a young goat on a tin roof."

He laughed good naturedly as he looked at his prison garb and asked us how we liked his new suit. Debs had come to the penitentiary in a new blue serge. He was still wearing the vest of it. He wore his own collar and tie.

"I have met many fine men in here," said Gene to us. "In the cell right next to mine last night there was a man whom I met at McKees Rocks, Pa., many years ago. He was telling me his story." We walked down the hall with Debs, and Gene assured us that he had had three good meals, and "that everything was all right," his usual expression in cases of extreme adversity. The warden made it plain to us that he did not wish our visit to be of length. We tarried a moment while Debs said that he had received a number of telegrams from his comrades in all parts of the country.

Just before we entered the prison we met three messenger boys, and all of them owned up they had just delivered messages for Debs. The warden insisted that Engdahl, Wagenknecht and myself take dinner with him. We did so. The warden was interested to learn something of Debs' history.

Warden Terrill told us that twenty-five years ago he was a telegraph operator on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad when Debs was organizing the railroad men in the American Railway Union. "I remember when Debs went to prison at that time," he said. The warden admitted that he had never seen Debs, but added, "he has a wonderful mind, and a fine brain."

As we talked with the keeper of the great liberator in his private apartments on the top floor of the prison overlooking the Ohio valley and the river that flows at its feet Terrill's little girl romped and played on the floor. The name of Debs was mentioned frequently and finally the little brown-eyed baby looked up in her father's eyes and asked: "Daddy, who is Debs?" The prison warden blushed. "Ask these gentlemen here, my dear, they seem to know better than I." In turn the three visiting men explained to the little girl who Gene Debs is and told her that some day she could say she had lived in the same house with him.

"I don't know what you gentlemen may think," said the warden, at one paint, "but I want you all to know that I have had no instructions from any one, none from the governer, nor from Washington, to show Mr. Debs any special favors or consideration. What I am doing is purely my own affairs."

The warden seemed to want to impress us with that view of the matter. We had all hazarded the guess that in the case of Debs unusual consideration would be policy, and that this consideration very likely came from high authority. The warden denies it.

While we were all talking in Debs' room the warden spoke about Gene's new job as hospital attendant.

"I am going to do whatever you think is best," said Debs. "I want to earn my board here at any rate," he added, and the tall, classic frame of the great Socialist and humanist bent almost double with silvery laughter.

The book that Debs had been reading was John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World." I had presented Debs with my own copy of that book.

Before we left, the warden permitted us to leave with Debs a box of cigars, a cake of chocolate, and a bag of apples and oranges. In the corridor we passed several convicts painting the banisters. Debs patted each on the back. It was a spontaneous movement of his. He could not refrain. The warden smiled.

In spite of this kindness, in spite of this manifestation of official consideration for Our Gene, let our Socialists not relax one iota in their efforts to get Debs out of prison and all of the men and women out of prison who were convicted under the most atrocious law that ever disgraced this republic. The main point to keep in mind is that Debs is denied his liberty. He is a prisoner behind bars. He cannot come out of jail for ten years unless the organized power of the working class forces the capitalist class to swing the lever of that automatic turntable through which Debs passed Sunday night.

Debs knows this as much as any. It is liberty that Debs wants, and in getting liberty for himself he demands it for every breathing being. I am reminded of Debs' classic statement, printed and stated so many hundreds of times. Shall we write it again: "While there is a lower class I am in it. While there is a criminal class I am of it. While there is a soul in prison I am not

Federal Authorities Grab Debs And Hurry Him To Prison

Usual Formalities Not Observed To Prevent Final Speech In Cleveland

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

Moundsville, W. Va., Aprli 13.—'Gene Debs is in prison! He is caged in a steel cell, with a door of heavy metal bars.

It is Cell No. 51, in the south wing of the West Virginia state penitentiary here at Moundsville.

This thing happened tonight, at 10 o'clock, on the night of Palm Sunday, with Easter one week distant, and as an admirer of Debs said on his departure from Terre Haute, Ind., his home, last Saturday, "We are ready for another crucifixion."

"It will never happen. They will never do it. They won't put Debs in prison."

This is what the millions over the land have said for lo these many months since his indictment, and even since his conviction and sentence. But tonight we said "Good night" to him through the bars that constitute the door of his dark door in this human hive they call tiers of cells.

Debs tonight took his place—a convict—among a thousand other convicts, criminals of all grades, and shades and brands, and the words that he uttered in the court room at Cleveland, Ohio, during his trial, came back to us, who who were with him:

"As long as there is a criminal class I am of it, as long as there is a slave class I am for it, as long as there is a soul in prison I am not free."

Only a few moments before, as they first took him away from us, and conducted him through the turntable cage door, the latest prison ingenuity to bar the "inside" from the "outside," Arthur Baur, 'Gene's brother-in-law, a brother of Mrs. Debs, who had come with 'Gene all the way from Terre Haute, uttered the anguish of an outraged working class when he exclaimed:

"My God, how can they do it, why do they do it?"

Yet Debs' last message to the workers of the nation perhaps best answers why they did it. This message was:

"Tell my comrades that I entered the prison doors a flaming revolutionist, my head erect, my spirit untamed and my soul unconquerable."

It was on the trip here, at East Liverpool, O., that he remarked that today, was April 13, the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, the beginning of the American Revolutionary War in 1776; that it is also the anniversary of the Ludlow Massacre during the great Colorado coal strike.

For half a century the world has known of 'Gene Debs, of Terre Haute, Ind. Now, if this world would reach him through the mails it must address him: 'Gene Debs, 1818 Jefferson Ave., Moundsville, W. Va., which is the address of the penitentiary of this state.

Workers of many nations have already protested the conviction of this man, who was the center of the little group that arrived on this Palm Sunday night at this bastile, that promises to take a prominent place in American working class history. There was Debs, his brother-in-law, Alfred Wagenknecht, director of organization and propaganda, National Office of the Socialist Party; David Karsner of the Call, the New York Socialist daily; the writer, and of course, United States Marshal Charles W. Lapp and U. S. Deputy Marshall Thomas E. Welch, in charge of Debs.

There are no high walls around this prison, but guards sit in turrets at intervals with loaded rifles in their hands ready to frustrate with a deadly bullet any attempt on the part of an inmate to win the open. The grass grows fresh and green and free upon the wide lawn, but the heavy gratings are upon every window.

"Don't think that I hold anything against you, for your part in bringing me here," Debs was explaining to the United States marshal as he ascended the steps and entered the place to which a federal judge has sentenced "Our 'Gene" to spend the next ten years of his life because he

(Continued on page 4)

DEBS ON WAY TO PRISON.

Ruling Class Throws Down Gage Of Battle By Imprisoning Debs

In putting Eugene V. Debs behind prison bars the capitalist class of the United States has thrown down the gage of battle to the workers. They have said, as clearly as if the words themselves had been uttered: The revolt of the workers elsewhere may be overturning thrones and hurling the exploiters of the workers from control of industry and power, but we are certain that you are so meek and tame and thoroughly hypnotized that even this outrageous act will not stir you.

The ruling class of this country knows that Eugene V. Debs is loved by the workers as no other man in the working class movement is loved. It knows that he has won the loyalty and devotion of hundreds of thousands of men and women who have heard him raise his matchless voice for the freedom of the workers. It knows that no act that it could commit would arouse such bitter resentment and opposition as sending Eugene V. Debs to prison.

During the weeks since the supreme court rendered its cowardly decision upholding the conviction of Debs without daring to affirm the constitutionality of the Espionage Law, workers by the tens of thousands have met in protest meetings against the imprisonment of Debs in all parts of the country. These protest meetings brought out greater numbers of the working class than have ever gathered for similar demonstrations. The workers showed in an unmistakable fashion that the threat against Debs touched them to the quick.

The war is over; the patched up peace treaty is about ready for ratification. Other countries, which have not posed as the highly developed democracies, are freeing the men and women incarcerated because of their opposition to the war. But in the United States the most loved leader of the workers is hurried to prison with a brutal callousness to the opinions of the workers that has never before been equalled.

Debs would be the last man to make an appeal because of what might happen to him because of the action of the ruling class. Those who know him, however, fear that his imprisonment will not leave him much of life. He is 63; only a year ago he was compelled to remain in a sanitarium for many months because of the breakdown of his health; recently he has been ill a number of times.

It will be easy to imagine the effect of the brutality of the prison regime upon a man of the temperament of Eugene V. Debs. Each day there are ugly acts committed in those dark and noisome places in which many are thrown because of their opinions by our beneficient democracy, which are outrages to the soul of every person who has not become callous through seeing these cruelties constantly repeated. In this atmosphere Debs, who has nothing but love in his heart for even his lowliest brother, is to live for ten years!

Will the workers of this country permit this thing to be?

Are they in fact so tame and meek and thoroughly hypnotized by the capitalists that this crime may be committed against them without rousing them to action?

The capitalists have issued their challenge. They have thrown down the gage of battle. They are leering sneeringly into the faces of the workers, sure of their power, sure that they can send Debs to prison—and possibly to death—without being hurled from their seats of power.

Debs is in prison by order of the capitalist class, but it is the workers who have the power to open the prison doors.

The workers do not need to resort to violence; they do not need to cause bloodshed.

Let millions of workers make the demand that the prison doors be opened, let millions voice their denunciation and protest at the dastardly crime committed against them, let the capitalist class feel that this act of theirs has caused the germination of that power which is sweeping the ruling classes of Europe aside like so much debris which incumbers the road to a better world, and the prison doors will open, and not only Debs, but all other champions of the working class will go free. The ruling class itself will open the prison doors to stem the rising tide.

The gage of battle is at our feet.

Shall we take it up?

We must take it up. We must answer the ruling class with great demonstrations of protest; we must gather by the tens of thousands in every city and town; we must arrange great demonstrations; we must agitate and propagate until the whole working class rises up and demands "freedom for Debs" and folds its arms and stops the machinery of capitalism until the prison doors open.

Lawrence Workers Stand Firm for Victory

Lawrence, Mass.—After eight weeks of determined struggle the mill workers here are continuing with unbroken ranks the strike to prevent a reduction of their wages because of the reduction of their hours from 54 to 48 per week

The present situation is set forth in the following bulletin issued by the strike committee as "Victory Bulletin No. 6:"

THE SITUATION TODAY.

The eighth week of our struggle is drawing to a close. Our spirit is unbroken. We stand together more firmly and enthusiastically than ever. Nothing can daunt us!

The hope of victory grows brighter as we prove our solidarity, courage and power to the masters. They can now see plainly that we meant what we said at the beginning of the strike—that we would stay out a year rather than give up 48-54!

Spring orders are coming to the mills. Soon they must begin work. They cannot operate without us.

Meanwhile more workers are coming out all the time. Last week the loomfixers of the American Woolen Co. came out. There will be more to follow.

Money for our struggle continues to arrive in increasing amounts. This week the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have sent thousands of dollars. Our Lawrence fellow workers who have been speaking before amalgamated locals in New York report the greatest interest in our battle among the New York comrades. Likewise, the Socialists of the whole country continue to send support.

OUR ONE BIG UNION.

About eight thousand workers have already paid initiation fees into the union treasury.

Ten thousand union books containing our preamble are in the hands of the printer. Have you got your name down so that you may get one as soon as they arrive? We expect to have to order more immediately.

(Continued on page 2)

Martens Demands Russia Property

Serving notice on the former Russian Ambassador to the United States, Boris Bakhmetieff, and other agents of the Czarist regime to immediately abandon any pretense to authority in this country, L. C. Martens, representative of the Russian Soviet government, demanded that the Russian Embassy in Washington be delivered to his charge.

The demands, which will be followed by legal proceedings should the Czarists refuse to yield, also call for the surrender of all property in the United States belonging to the Russian government.

Legal steps will be taken to put a stop to the indiscriminate squandering of Russian property by discredited former Russian agents.

It was declared yesterday that Martens is prepared to prove the Russian government is being robbed methodically by unscrupulous ex-officials. A formal statement detailing specifically the bare-faced fraud will be issued immediately.

Fifteen Thousand Cleveland Workers in Great Demonstration for Debs

When word was received at Socialist headquarters in Cleveland on Saturday afternoon that Eugene V. Debs would arrive Sunday to surrender himself to the federal authorities, the entire party machinery was set in motion to arrange a great demonstration on the eve of his departure.

Comrade Carl Hacker, who was in charge in the absence of C. E. Ruthenberg on speaking tour, took charge of the arrangements. A circular was drafted and rushed to the printer, an automobile was requisitioned, and all Saturday night the presses were kept running turning out the circulars, which were rushed by automobile to the homes of the comrades in charge of the work of distribution in various parts of the city. By 8 o'clock Sunday morning 30,000 circulars announcing a mass meeting on Market Square had been destributed from house to house, to the Saturday night theater crowds and wherever people gathered.

The results were beyond all expectations. Many great audiences have gathered at Market Square during the period that the Socialists have been using that place for their mass meetings, but the crowd Sunday afternoon, gathered as the result of twenty-four hours' work, was the largest by all odds that has ever appeared upon the square.

Beginning as early as 1 o'clock, every street car which reached the junction of Lorain and W. 25th St. brought its load of workers eager to show their loyalty to Debs and to demand his freedom. When the meeting was opened, at 2:30, the square was one packed mass of humanity.

Tom Clifford presided at the meeting. Addresses were made by M. A. Toohey of Toledo, David R. Williams of North Congregational church, and James Corrigan. All the speakers were loudly cheered. The more radical their protest and demands the greater was the storm of applause and approval from the great audience.

The crowd was body and soul with Debs and ready for anything in order to rescue him from the clutches of those who were depriving him of his freedom. At the end of the speeches the crowd was called upon to form in line and march to the federal building and the Public Square. Headed by a band playing the Marsellaise the procession started and soon stretched out over almost the entire distance of two miles from Market Square to the Public Square. While the head of procession was leaving the eastern end of the high level bridge the rear guard was at Franklin Ave., on W. 25th St. A group of mounted policemen headed the procession and cleared the way.

The announcement that the crowd would march to the federal building caused the authorities to become frightened, expecting that the [illegible] which Debs had passed only a few hours before to prison. The doors of the building were locked and policemen, mounted and on foot, guarded every entrance when the procession arrived. The crowd, however, contented itself with marching by with shouts for "freedom for Debs," "Hurrah for the General Strike" and "Down with capitalism and its tools" and then going to the Public Square for a continuance of the meeting.

Soon the situation at Market Square was duplicated. The Public Square was filled with a great mass of people. They climbed on the Tom Johnson monument and perched on the arms and shoulders of the bronze figures and even had the temerity to use the roofs of the recruiting and Liberty Loan sheds as points of vantage, from which to watch the proceedings and listen to the speakers.

Although there was a grim determination about the crowd which would not permit of any interference, both the meetings and the demonstration was without any disorder and there was no excuse given for the authorities to bring into play the machine guns which have been installed about Market Square and the Public Square, according to current gossip.

(On Thursday night the Socialists held another great demonstration [illegible]

Tom Mooney Must Go Free

I visited Tom Mooney in the penitentiary at San Quentin yesterday.

As I sat waiting for him (he was working in the iron factory, a mile away) the high walls and watch tower, with its machine guns, the whispered conversation of a convict talking to a woman evedently dear to him, the atmosphere of repression, fear and melancholy made my heart sink.

I was overwhelmed with the conviction that Fickert, with his Oxman, is victorious and, so far, we are failures.

I couldn't help asking myself "will Tom Mooney ever be free?"

Tom Mooney finally walked in, passing the warden and guards near the door.

He looks well. His frank, open handsome brown eyes and friendly smile, though a trifle sad, gave me hope. There he was in the flesh. We saved him from the gallows: surely, we can free him from the prison.

During our hour's talk he did not complain. He is a brave warrior—I came near saying, but that is not the word for a man confined in the penitentiary. When he was in jail he worked constantly, writing pamphlets, addressing envelopes, etc., but now he can do nothing, nothing but slave in the iron foundry.

"What they do here is to silence a man. A man can do nothing, write nothing. Why I wrote Rena (his wife) 16 letters that never went out of the penitiary," he said

How I felt it. The penitiary is next to the tomb for a burial.

"Well, how about the Mooney convention?" I asked him.

"It was fine," he said, his face brightening. "The test is with the masses of the working people. This is an economic fight, and only the working people can save me. I leave my case with them."

"But they must look out that the Governor doesn't commute my sentence to 17 or 15 years, instead of giving me my freedom," he added.

As he talked I wished I could fly everywhere, speeding up the workers, how well he would perform the task, were he free and another in his place; but no he must mold iron in the prison, while his heart is with the toilers in New York, Chicago, in every corner of the country.

So we, who are free, must act, and act now.

We must make the general strike a success—so stupendous that even Governor Stephens may hear.

While waiting at the ferry to return home, I got into conversation with the ticket agent. He was enthusiastic about the penitentiary. He would lead you to seek it for a health resort. "You ought to see the fine beds and you just ought to see the steaks. I never saw such good ones," he said triumphantly

"But the death cell and the gallows," I replied.

He looked at me in astonishment. "Why, the dirty, low-down rascals, I see them taken there—Why, hanging is too good for them."

"Look at this," he said, holding up Mooney's picture. "Did you see Mooney over there? This is his picture. They circulated about 300,000 of them. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment a little while ago by the Governor."

"What did he do that for?" I asked.

"Well, what do you think? There was an uproar all over the world about Mooney" (his tone indicated that he did not expect me to believe such an improbable story), "and the Governor thought he'd better."

Even he had learned that an uproar had saved Tom Mooney from the gallows.

But how much of an uproar will it take to save Tom Mooney from the penitiary?

On the way home I got to thinking of his warning about the commutation of sentence.

Undoubtedly, that will be the program. How like Governor Stephens!

Governor Stephens was determined to hang Tom Mooney.

The fear of a general strike "made him think he'd better commute his sentence," to quote our ticket agent.

But, if he is not informed in no uncertain terms that nothing short of complete freedom will satisfy the working people of this country, Governor Stephens will commute his sentence to 17 or 15 years

Tom Mooney says he would rather be dead.

Be on your guard! Do not be stampeded at the last minute!

Be assured that, when the general strike is organized, ready to be pulled aff at a certain moment, Governor Stephens will commute Tom Mooney's sentence!

Governor Stephens means to shatter our forces at the last moment.

He thinks that never again will we be able to reinforce them, and Tom Mooney will remain in the penitentiary nearly a quarter of a century.

Never! We must be prepared for that blow.

We must not let our forces be shattered by a cowardly commutation of sentence at the last moment.

Be prepared! The slogan is "Freedom for Tom Mooney or a general strike."

Reply to Ball

By JOHN M. WORK

I wish to reply to some of the statements made in the letter of Comrade John R. Ball, published in the Ohio Socialist for Marh 26.

The statement that we, the national executive committee, refrained from calling a special national convention of the party at a time when the party members were generally demanding such a convention, is a mistake.

Our meeting was held in January. Only a few locals had asked for a convention. Knowing the state of the party treasury, and knowing that there was no occasion for a special convention to be held so soon before the regular convention next spring, we would have been recreant to our duty if we had called such a convention upon the demand of a few locals. A minority has the power to call for a referendum vote on the question. This has now been done. If the widespread electioneering for a convention creates a general demand for it, the membership can make that demand effective by voting for it.

I hope, however, that the members will vote it down, for we should devote ourselves to propaganda and organization this year, instead of scrapping over party questions which can wait a few months, until the regular convention next spring, just as well as not.

Why does not Comrade Bell state the fact that the party does not pay the railroad fare and expenses of delegates to the amnesty convention, whereas a party convention would cost the party fifteen or twenty thousand dollars? Also, why does he not state the fact that those executive committeemen whom he admires voted for the amnesty convention, as well as those whom he does not admire? Likewise, why did not those locals and comrades who wanted a party convention provide, along with the convention referendum, that a special assessment should be levied to pay the expenses, instead of proposing to bankrupt the organization?

The charge that we are reactionary is pure moonshine. If anyone concerned is reactionary, it is Comrade Bell. He has a perfect right to vote for whomsoever he chooses in the party election, but he has no right to make false statements and create strife in the party by means of such reactionary practices.

As for Berne, the members of the executive committee whom Comrade Ball admires also voted to send delegates and they did not make a solitary suggestion to the contrary. We gave the delegates instructions which would have enabled them to bolt the congress and proceed to the organization of a new international if necessary. It was not known at that time that the Bolsheviki, the Spartacans, the Swiss and the Italian socialists would not be represented. Comrade Ball knows that fact, but he does not state it. I am sorry that we delegates from America were not in attendance at Berne. We might have been able to cause the congress to give better account of itself. I do not believe in surrendering in advance. I think the Bolsheviki, the Spartacans, and the Socialist parties of Switzerland and Italy should have sent delegates. By doing so, they could have swung the congress to the center and kept the international united, instead of allowing it to be split in two.

These are days when we need unity among the comrades in this country, as well as internationally. I would like to suggest to Comrade Ball and others that, in order that their work may count for socialism and not for capitalism, they should try to be fair and honest with their comrades in the movement. Falsehoods and malignance used against comrades are distinctly detrimental to the cause. Let us have a united movement, facing the foe, instead of stabbing comrades in the back.

In Starving Petrograd

By ANISE, in Seattle Union Record.

I read
In yesterday's paper
The tale of Frazier Hunt
Of STARVING Petrograd.
Nine-tenths of all the people
Are UNDERFED, he said,
For Russa is
RINGED-IN by armies—
Shut off from her grain.
The government enforces
An IRON law of RATIONS,
That gives to every man,
According to the NEEDS
Of his DAILY TOIL.
All heavy workers
And CHILDREN
And MOTHERS of children
Are given HALF a POUND
Of BREAD each day,
While the indoor workers—
Office and professional folks—
Get a quarter of a pound;;
And a small number of people
(About one person in forty)
Who do no work at all,
But live on their money,
Get only an eighth of a pound
From the government
And have to get the rest
From high-priced speculators.
But the government gives,
Besides the general rations,
ONE MEAL A DAY
To ALL the population,
And tries to take
SPECIAL care of CHILDREN
With free school meals
And text-books free.
And all NECESSITIES—
Clothes, and shoes, and rubbers—
Are rationed much like food.
Each man must PROVE his need
To a committee,
"Because," they say,
"The whole of Russia
Is like a besieged city;
The little that we have
Must go as far as it can."
It was a pitiful
And most heroic picture—
A war-exhausted people
Pleading for PEACE,
Not once, but many times,
Attacked by its old friends,
Who give NO REASON,
No ANSWER even,
To its many cries,
Yet even in despair,
PATIENT and ORDERLY
Dividing its last CRUSTS
As a FAMILY divides—
By NEED, and still the BEST
To SAVE the CHILDREN!
And then I turned and saw
An editorial in that paper
That mocked at starving RUSSIA
Crying to crush her further,
Jeering: "She feeds her
CHIDREN
Only to corrupt their minds
And rear them up
For CANNON FODDER!"
And I shrank back SICK,
Thinking: Could any Bolshevik
In any kind of TERROR
Have so DISEASED a MIND
And LEPROUS heart as THAT?"

Open Forum for Discussion of Party Problems

WHAT SHALL WE DEMAND?

BY J. H. PALLO.

For the reason that the following article was written previous to the formulation of the Left Wing Program no mention is made herein of it.—Editor.

Now is the time for all revolutionary Socialists to prepare and organize for the next convention of the Socialist Party. Those who have learned something from the revolutionary struggles in Europe, and acclaim the uncompromising methods of Bolsheviks and Spartacans, must see that the spirit of Liebknecht and Lenine prevail.

If we cannot defeat the tactics of our compromising office seekers (demonstrated by Meyer London, Van Lear and others); if we cannot destroy the middle class reform movement within our party (into which Milwaukee Socialists, especially, have degenerated under the leadership of Mr. Berger); if we cannot stop the policy of compromise between the several reform parties (the Non-Partisan League and the Labor party), we must at least be able to show a strong and determined opposition.

The debate on all vital questions which may come before the convention should be opened in the Socialist press at once. The projects of various declarations and resolutions should be drawn and discussed in advance, so that the standing of candidates may be tested, and membership may have some means of finding out whom they shall send to the convention.

Now is the time to open the bitterest criticism against all divergencies from Marxism within the party, and also against the Gompers-lead unionism and the "down with the politics" slogan of I. W. W.

The sharp struggle between the capitalist and the proletarian classes of Europe, and the reactionary capitalist "reconstruction" at home, prove beyond any doubt that socialism in America and everywhere else cannot be inaugurated through the ballot box only. We dare not dream that we will ever be allowed to peacefully expropriate capitalists and establish Socialist society. We must prepare for a revolutionary situation, a situation in a class society when the oppressed masses are entirely dissatisfied with the existing social conditions, and are economically forced to change them.

Such a situation may take place during the coming economical crisis, which will be the severest American workmen have ever seen. No capitalist "reconstruction" of any kind can avoid it. As long as workmen are deprived of full value of their labor, sooner or later, according to success of imperialistic policies, all kinds of commodities are bound to accumulate to such an extent that it will be detrimental to the interests of capitalists to allow workmen to continue production. Mills, factories and foundries will be shut and millions will be starving and freezing, while storages and warehouses will be overstocked with food and clothing.

The starving masses will not listen to advices of fake Socialists, to wait till the next election day. As in Petrograd, Moscow, Berlin and Vienna, they will demand food and clothing at once. The bourgeois charity will not be able to satisfy the people. Then the millions of workmen, who are now ignoring our revolutionary teachings, will be forced to change their minds in regard to who is the rightful owner of the accumulated wealth, and who shall rule the country.

Only during such a situation the proletarian dictatorship may be established, provided there is a party which is uncompromisingly leading to that end. Only through proletarian dictatorship and after a complete breakdown of the strong and complicated capitalist political machinery, capitalism in America, as in any other country, may be abolished and Socialist society established.

The above conclusions do not correspond with those which are embodied in the Socialist Party platform (adopted by national referendum, July 24, 1917). Its references to the class struggle are very misleading. The preamble of the platform speaks of it as follows: "This terrible class warfare is world wide and a grave menace to civilization. Its abolition is the most important and vital issue confronting the human race." Any reactionary preacher and a capitalist politicians agree that the class war is a menace to civilization and therefore should be condemned and suppressed. Only revolutionary Socialists read with indignation such a condemnation. The class struggle is only a menace to capitalism, and a further existence of the latter is a menace to civilization. The class struggle is only a menace to capitalism, and a further existence of the latter is a menace to civilization. The class struggle is the only means by which capitalism may be abolished and therefore it should be encouraged, developed and carried on vigorously, and when necessary, fought in a most violent manner. To be exact, the revolutionary Socialists believe that the class war, no matter how terrible it may be, is only a menace to a menace of civilization.

In another section the preamble refers to class struggle as follows: "The Socialist Party aims to abolish this class war with all its evils and to substitute for capitalism a new order of co-operation."

Do Socialists really aim to abolish the class struggle first and then to substitute something for capitalism? If not, why not tell this thing in the proper order? Besides the abolition of the class struggle is not the aim of Socialists, it is only incidental to their aim—the abolition of capitalism.

The platform naively clings to the unscientific and reactionary "theory of a democratic government," a bourgeois theory which entirely contradicts the Marxian conception that in a class society a real democracy is impossible. In spite of the fact that the government is becoming more and more autocratic, and that, as a result of the growth of a strong class conscious labor movement, it will be continually shaped to fit as a more and more perfect tool of oppression and resistance for the capitalist class, our platform takes for granted that it is possible for the working class "to capture the government and all its powers and use them in its own interests."

On this misconception is based the whole "Immediate Program."

If the Socialist Party is to become a real representative of the class conscious proletarians, its "Immediate Program" must be considerably changed. In order to safeguard our program from stealing by such radicals as Mr. Roosevelt was, and from reformers as Spargo's new party type, or the Labor party, or the Non-Partisan League, we simply must get rid of all the non-socialistic planks. For instance, let the Democrats fight for government ownership. Why should we worry about who distributes the profits? Let the various reformers fight for "a complete adult suffrage." Why should we make such a demand in a country where there are about half a million adults who are living entirely from our sweat and blood, while performing no socially useful labor? Why should we ask for a "democratic control of the government," knowing that the latter is entirely unfit for our purposes, and only may be destroyed but never controlled by the working men.

We must formulate our demands in such a manner that each one is a direct blow against the capitalist dictatorship. Each demand must be "an impossible demand" for capitalism. Each one should prove to the reader that we want nothing less than a complete breakdown of the capitalist state. This is the only way to keep out of our party all kinds of reformers and compromisers of the treacherous Menshevik, Scheideman, Ebert, Thomas and, if you please, Berger type.

In order to direct the attention of the working men to the fact that the present government is neither democratic nor responsible to the people, we must demand not only abolition of the senate, but also abolition of the presidentship. The latter office is more dangerous to labor interests than that of a king or a kaiser.

We must demand that the executive power, consisting of various ministeries, be chosen by the House of Representatives, and be made directly responsible to that body and the people; that social parasites and exploiters of labor are not allowed to participate in elections and in government.

The demand (in our Immediate Program) for a legal minimum wage based on the ascertained costs of a decent standard of life, means nothing more than the reactionary slogan of the American Federation of Labor, which is, "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." This is not what the class conscious working men want; they want the whole produce of their labor. Why not demand that the wages should equal the value of the products of the labor, and thereby teach the workmen to understand what they are entitled to.

The above mentioned are the most objectionable planks in our national platform. They must be stricken out immediately, otherwise our party may degenerate to the level of German, French and other traitorous "majority Socialists." Let the lesson of the revolutionary struggles in Russia and Germany be sufficient to make us re- [illegible] led by [illegible] state and campaign [illegible] is liable to become the worst enemy of the proletarians when the final struggle is going on, and no further compromise is possible!

Now, let us consider what kind of an educational work may be carried on with our national platform as a basis. None, that is of any value to the working class. This may be proven by the steady stream of the members coming into and leaving the party. Most of them become members because they find some agreeable planks in our program. When they find out that the Socialist Party is not strong enough to push the planks through, they simply leave the party because they never joined it in order to fight for socialism, and never believed that there is much difference between the Socialist Party and other political parties. Why? Because our national platform and most of the state platforms and the campaign speeches do not expound any definite principles, only a misty aim and an undetermined dissatisfaction with the present system. They are compromising and do not confine themselves entirely to the interests of the proletarians, the only class which is economically forced to fight for socialism and therefore the only class which will be true to socialism in the final struggle. Our national platform and a lot of other literature as it is proven above tends to prejudice against the class struggle. It ignores the fact that the capitalist class will not permit to abolish its dictatorship by peaceful means, such as elections and legislation, and that it is necessary for the working class to prepare now for revolutionary and severe methods of class struggle. It conceals the absolute necessity of the proletarian dictatorship, an entirely different institution from the present democratic government, in order to establish socialism.

Our duty at the present time is to prepare for the socialistic revolution. All our declarations, demands and activities must have a direct relation with our ultimate goal. Our immediate demands at the present time shall be nothing less than the following:

Political Demands

1. Unlimited suffrage for all men and women who are 18 years old and have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society. Complete disfranchisement of all who have acquired the means of living by exploiting the laborer.

2. Abolition of the senate and the presidentship. Election of heads of the governmental departments by the House of Representatives, subject to recall at any time.

3. Direct election of all judges, and subjection of courts to the House of Representatives.

4. Initiative, referendum and recall.

5. Abolition of all federal and state laws and city ordinances enstrangling freedom of conscience, free press, free speech and free assemblage. Immediate release of all persons convicted, imprisoned or arrested on account of lack of aforesaid freedom.

6. Discontinuation of imperialistic policies and secret diplomacy. Immediate recall of armed forces from all foreign countries, and granting unmolested self-determination to all U. S. colonies. Demobilization of the army and navy, and armament of the people. Election of all officers of the created people's militia directly by the people.

7. Establishing of a regular and unrestricted social intercourse (mail, telegraph, travel, commerce, etc.) between the people of this and all other countries.

Economic Demands.

1. Immediate confiscation and social ownership of all land which is used for exploitation or speculative purposes, or which is owned by persons or associations of persons, who have not acquired the title to the land by means of socially productive and useful labor.

2. Gradual expropriation with recompensation of all small land (house, lot or farm) owners, who have acquired the title through productive and useful labor, until the private ownership of land is completely abolished.

3. Confiscation and social ownership of all railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines, warehouses, stores and all other means of communication, transportation, storage and distribution.

4. Confiscation and social ownership of all mines, mills, foundries, factories and all other social means of production.

5. Nationalization of banking and confiscation of all deposits of the exploiting class.

6. Determination of wages and the length of the work day by a duly elected national commission of labor representatives.

General Demands.

1. Free schools and all other educational facilities for the entire youth of the nation until their 18th birthday.

3. Free medical help, free hospitals.

3. Free administration of law and creation of public defenders.

4. Pensions for mothers, for invalidity and old age.

The Railroad Stockholders

The bourgeois reformists are using big headlines to enunciate the fact that 8,000 labor exploiters own more than half of the railroads in the United States—or, rather, more than half of the "shares."

It seems from researches made by the capitalist interstate commerce commission that the gross amount of plunder gathering in every year by the railroad owners is divided into 97,475,776 parts, each owner of a "share" of railroad stock having the legal right to own and possess one of these "parts." There are 627,930 parasites who divide this plunder up among themselves according to the number of "shares" of stock they own.

The interstate commerce commission dwells upon and the bourgeois reformers emphasize the fact that about 8,000 of these capitalist loafers own in the neighborhood of 50,000,000 "shares" of stock out of the 97,475,776. These gentlemen, all of whom abhor socialism, seem to be worried over the unequal division of the plunder among the stockholding plunderbund.

The worker and Socialist knocks the whole subject aside with the simple statement that it makes no difference to him how the surplus wealth which he creates is divided up among the plunderbund. The worker wants an industrial system under which he will be able to retain for his own use the social equivalent of the wealth he produces.

Socialism is that industrial system.

Lawrence Workers Firm

(Continued from page 1)

The union will open an office in a day or two.

The name—The Amalgamater Textile Workers of America.

Plans are being made to call at once a convention of textile workers from various centers, so as to make the Amalgamated Textile Workers at once a national organization. The Amalgamated Textile plus the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will be a power in the land.

RELIEF.

For milk and medicine apply, in case of real need, at 35 Jackson St.

The soup kitchens and coffee houses are open as usual.

Due to the fact that scabs and even people who have no connection whatever with the mills took advantage of us, we have to reorganize some of our relief work. This may cause slight delay and hardship. Let all be patient, and necessary help will be given. We do not want to take the hard-earned gifts of our fellow workers to feed scabs!

THE NEXT MOVE.

On Monday, March 31, at 2:30 p. m., the State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation will hold a hearing in the city hall. The mill owners and the grievance committee of the strikers have been summoned to appear.

Wait for your delegates to give you correct information about the result of the hearing. Do not listen to rumors or place too much confidence in newspaper reports. The strike committee will keep you informed.

FELLOW WORKERS OF ALL NATIONALITIES.

We are making a just demand—all we ask is that our wages shall not be reduced! Such a demand cannot, must not be denied. We press on to victory! 48-54—and

Our One Big Union—The Amalgamated Textile Workers of America!

Issued by Lawrence Strike Committee.

WHAT LIARS THESE NEWSPAPERS BE

(Apologies to Bill Shakespeare)
By WALTER B. DILLON.

This morning I picked up the paper and in great scare-headlines a gladsome sentence met my view, to wit:

"LENINE PLANS TO ESTABLISH SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN BOSTON!"

With wild joy coursing through my veins, I breathed a prayer of thankfulness for the saviour of American labor and proceeded to read on so as to be able to be in full readiness to take my place in the proud procession, and to fittingly commemorate the demise of capitalism in that good old blue law state of Massachusetts.

And then—GOOD-BYE, fair dreams of happiness! One glance at the subheadlines was sufficient to show me that it was only another Kept Press Lie. "Boston" was evidently the new way to spell "Berlin" in the favored imagination of the anti-Bolshevist who concocted the headlines. But perhaps he had been reading the Revolutionary Age, which I had circulated recently, published in Boston, and got so badly scared that he made Lenine jump the "big pond" and land right in our midst.

Any how, this raising my hopes so high only to dash them to earth again that naturally peeved me so bad that I am breaking right out into print. [illegible] bear with me, comrades, and I will demonstrate to you by several pretty little pictures from life the utter incapacity for knowledge or truth possessed by the average editor of a capitalist newspaper when writing of anything favorable to labor.

The headline above quoted appeared in the Albuquerque Morning Journal, of Sunday, March 30, and dealt solely with the purported scheme of the Bolshevists and Spartacans to call a general strike throughout Germany on April 18, while the Red Army of Russia struck at Germany's eastern frontier.

Innocent readers of this paper might believe that this was a typographical error, but those who are well informed know that is was and is a deliberate and contemptible attempt to prejudice the reader against what is proving to be the greatest danger to capitalism that ever gained headway—the rise of the workers to political and industrial power—bolshevism!

There are none of us who will blame the editors of the Journal for we know only too well who pays their salary, but the printer who set up that headline and the pressman who ran it ought to be fired bodily from their union for this base betrayal of labor. This, by the way, is what will happen to typos or pressmen in Phoenix, Arizona, if the resolutions adopted by the Central Labor body in support of the Council of Workers, Farmers and Soldiers, is carried out.

In Butte, Montana, and in Seattle and in Portland, the typos and pressmen would never have been guilty of this, either, for in these burgs they have learned that they belong to labor organizations and are NOT tools of capital. But Albuquerque union men have been whipped so bad by the Santa Fe with the able assistance of the Phelps-Dodges and coal barons, that they are not yet ready to stand erect like men and say: "I am a man!" But give us time, boys, give us time; we are fast learning.

Not satisfied with lying to me about Lenine coming to Boston, the Journal editorially adds insult to injury by attempting to make me believe that the Hungarian Bolshevists and the Russian Bolshevists are entirely different, absolutely, Mabel. If you don't believe it read this specimen of mental acrobatics crossed with capitalistic delirium—some offspring:

"The new Bolshevik government in Hungary has issued an order making work compulsory, taking the stand that only those working manually or mentally have a right to live in a Socialist state, except that those incapable of work, or for whom no work can be found, will be taken care of at the expense of the state.

"This is a different sort of program from that of the Bolsheviks of Russia, where everybody quit work and expected the government to supply them with the necessities and even the luxuries of life."

Now, comrades, I leave it to you; considering that I have painstakingly, issued copies of the Russian constitution issued by the Soviet government, which COMPELS all able-bodied men and women to work or deprives them of the right to eat, and further considering that others have brought this matter to the attention of the editors of the Journal, I ask you this question:

Is the editor of the Journal attempting to prove his incapacity for labor under the ruling of mental weakness to the end that he can be excused when the workers of Albuquerque take over the reins of political and industrial government, or was he so badly rattled at the news from Hungary that he told the truth about it inadvertently?

I will accept your collective judgment in this matter and will pass on to another specimen.

Some uncouth person or persons riled the editor of the Albuquerque Evening Herald, also, by scattering in the holy precincts of the Capitol building at Santa Fe, aye, in the very seats of the legislators, some literature in nature "preaching bolshevism of the most virulent and dangerous type" and the particular literature which scandalized the pure and undefiled natures of the legislators was "the most evil type of this character of propaganda."

The Herald mentioned no names, but the Weekly Democrat scribe editorialized at length, considerable length, and made free use of my name therein. Now, I am perfectly willing to advertise my wares, especially to let the workers of this city and state know that I am a full-fledged, fighting son-of-a-gun of a Socialist and Bolshevist, and Spartacan, and any other thing that bids fair to overthrow capitalism and institute socialism—democracy, pure and undefiled—but I certainly must resent having my name appear in any paper professing to champion democracy while stabbing democracy to its very vitals.

If there is anything I hate worse than a rattler, it's a hypocrite, and the attitude of the Democrats throughout this war brands them as even worse reactionaries than the Republicans. Kerensky was a Democrat and sold his countrymen to the allies; Scheidemann was a Democrat and sold his comrades to the kaiser, first, and later the German bourgeoisie; Clemenceau was a Democrat, now the worst reactionary in France; Lloyd-George, another Democrat, is hailed as the champion of the Tory element of Britain. The Democrats of the United States represent only the landed aristocracy and mill owners of the south, where child labor laws are over-ridden, black men are still burned at the stake and every labor hating device known to capital is employed mercilessly against the workers, both black and white, male and female.

All the beautiful rhetoric of President Wilson cannot hide the ugly history of the Democrats wherever they have had unlimited powers, politically and industrially. We have only to recall the massacre at Ludlow, Colo., in 1914, under a Democratic state administration, and a Democratic federal administration. Governor Ammons shook like a leaf when the demand was made on him at Denver that federal soldiers be asked for to prevent further civil war. It was common knowledge that the mine barons had threatened to wipe out the Democrats in Colorado if troops were called. It was not until every union man in Colorado was under arms and Rockefeller's [illegible] in danger of being wrecked, that action was taken.

Thank heaven! I was man enough to take up arms in defense of labor then, and whenever and wherever my voice, my pen or my physical strength is needed to help in the onward and upward push of the downtrodden working class, I promise you, fellow and sister workers, that I will not be found wanting.

I therefore welcome the attempt of the poor little Democrat to warn the workers against bolshevism and the socialism of myself and the other rantankerous ones who fired Mr. Russell, Mr. Spargo, Mr. Benson, et al., from the party when they failed to measure up as men, but I repeat that I certainly resent my perfectly good name being soiled and sullied by appearing in a capitalist sheet.

Light on the subject of bolshevism is what we want, and the most publicity given the question the quicker the workers will grasp the truth about it. The editors of the Democrat, the Herald and the Journal, buried in the dark and musty files of a past generation think that labor still sleeps with the narcotics applied to it through the columns supplied by the old Granny, Associated Press reports, and the assistance of fossilized editors, but the child is grinning through the bars of the cradle at the playmate it has found—socialism, bolshevism, spartacanism—and when it is ready it will gently but firmly tell Old Granny that it is old enough to know its own mind, and will hereafter walk on its own feet.

And so, I will bravely carry the burden of the blot on my fair name because of this insertion in the Democrat since thereby the workers have had their attention called to the question of bolshevism. Knowing that they are awakening, I am content to let them judge me and my activities in the eyes of their growing class consciousness.

Workers of the world! Not of the United States alone, nor of Russia, nor of Hungary, nor of any other nation; workers of the world! Rise to your feet, face the rising sun of industrial liberty and for the first time in your lives breath deep of the perfume of heaven!

Out of the east once more has come a star to lead you to freedom. The blazing dawn is invariably tinged with red, melting into the soft radiance of silver and gold, of love and happiness, of freedom and justice.

Slaves bend the back to the lash and the mind of the master; Freemen stretch their arms to the light and cower never. The Kept Press has lied to you, lied about you, is still lying to and about you. Rise, throw the shackles from your mind and build up your own press.

FREEDOM IS YOURS IF YOU DEMAND IT!

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
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Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16, 1919 108

Showing The Way

By the disregard of the law when it suits their pleasure and when the oportunity to 'get by' with it presents itself, the capitalist class and their henchmen, often times government representatives, are showing the working class of this country how to stage a violent revolution where no consideration of legality may be tolerated.

Loudest to prate of law and order and the sacred priveliges of the ballot, these same representatives of exploiters of the workers seek every opportunity to disregard and set at naught the provisions of the law, when such do, by some peculiar circumstance, favor the workers or stand in the way of the attainment of the desires of the master class.

Innumberable instances may be cited in proof of this. There is a law against murder, but the tools of the lumber interests at Everett, Wash., turned a barrage of rifle bullets against a ship load of workers murdering and wounding half a hundred men. They were never apprehended and never will be unless by a tribunal of the workers. Twelve hundred miners were deported into the desert from Bisbee, Arizona. There is a law against deportation but it is not made for the copper interests. The cases against the perpetrator of these crimes were discharged by the court—the court of the capitalist class.

Yes, there is a law against deportation, but it does not prevent the capitalist class from kidnapping the spokesman of the workers and carrying them away at their pleasure. When outrages like this are perpetrated by the agents of the law, of the government, then and there is sown the seed of hatred for that government, for the laws it enacts, and for those who represent it in public office.

The idiocy, the ability for endless blundering on the part of those who uphold the present economic system is beyond comprehension. Capitalism, in its decline and desperation causes the very developments it seeks to prevent. Served by a visionless, ignorant and corrupt officialdom, capitalism gallops headlong to its final dissolution amidst the wreck of its own making.

These crimes against the working class can serve but one end—to shorten the life of capitalism, and its misrule. The millions of workers know the extent of these crimes. They will be the judges of it. Their verdict may be held in obeyance yet awhile, but it will be given. And when it is given the foundations of capitalism will crumble to dust.

The New Aristocracy

Already the changing economic order is developing its new social manifestations. Witness the opinions emanating from an ex-grand duke of Russia. Mr. Grand Duke is now private citizen of no country in particular, he, having terminated his citizenship at the same time as his graft upon the workers of Russin. Both by compulsion, tra-la-la.

Although the former aristocrat has at last given up hope of re-dedicating his existence to the work of riding softly on the back of the Russian worker, he states for the benefit of the world at large "that there must always be an aristocracy of brains, of gentlemen." Of course he is the first candidate for a place in this clique that is to retain its identity in the new world aborning. Great stuff!

Every revolution in history has left a bunch of these precious birds stranden high and dry on the rocks from which no tide returns to float them again. Time was when capitalism was young, that the landed grafters of England held in scorn the rising class of traders. Even in new America we have passed an epoch wherein this same phenomena presented itself. After the black men and womn of th south were freed, southern gentlemen and gentlewomen were adicted to the morbid habit of attempting to retain some vestige of social standing be referring to their past as slave holders, whom an unfortunate war had bereft (very unjustly) of their means of making a better showing among the parastic element. Too bad.

An aristocracy of "has beens" will no doubt arise and flourish perhaps for half a generation after the shroud has been wrapped about this capitalist system and it is laid to final rest in the bosom of time. But we are unable to believe that men and women of either brains or gentle breeding will make themselves elegible for it. Never the less, this melancholy clique should be numerous enough—the present aristocracy which cumbers the earth is noted for the vacumn which occupies the inside of their individual headpieces. We are living in a great age. Watch it change.

The Peace Conference confers and confabs—while Bolshevism, Socialism—The Rule of the Workers, develops a monumental momentum setting at naught, like chaff before a hurricane, the mighty deliberations of the so-called wise men of the world. Pity the poor dippy-mats.

When Westenhaver sentenced Eugene V. Debs to ten years in prison, he pronounced the death sentence upon capitalism in these United States.

Gene Debs is in prison.
He is in there for us.
Are we out here for him?
WE ARE!

ANNOUNCEMENT

Special Story Next Week

Next week we'll tell the story in detail of Debs' hurried trip to prison under federal guards. How the authorities attempted to dodge Socialist Party officials, how they were followed in a high powered auto thru Cleveland streets and alleys; of the two hundred mile trip by eight trolley lines from Cleveland to Moundsville, W. Va.

We'll tell you how Debs met this sudden assault, what he said and how he acted. A vivid story in detail of the near—kidnapping of Eugene V. Debs the best loved man in America, by the officers of the government of the United States.

A big story for a big issue of the Ohio Socialist. Order copies for distribution, 50c per hundred.

Every Local, Every Booster, Called Into Action!

May 1st is drawing near. Only a few days more and we shall have passed another historic landmark on the road to proletarian democracy. We have mailed to every Ohio Socialist booster and every Local in Ohio our plan for securing 5,000 subscriptions on this day. We are not overestimating the possibilities of this day. What, with the many meetings to be held on May 1 we should be able to secure even more than 5,000 subscriptions.

What will be your response, comrades? We want to hear from you immediately.. We want your order for a supply of special May Day subscription cards to sell at these meetings. We want your order quick.

Don't miss the best opportunity of the year to help make the Ohio Socialist a twice-a-week paper. Five thousand subscriptions secured on May 1 will be a mighty step toward that goal. Help us do it. Locals and comrades may order these cards on credit for this occasion.

WE WANT YOUR HELP TODAY
—RIGHT NOW!

The Statistician

General Survey of the Condition of Ohio Locals as Reported by Them for February, 1919.

No. of Rank. Local.	G. S.	On Roll	Pct.	Last Month
1—Galion	35	35	1000	1000
2—Grover Hill	10	10	1000	1000
3—Troy	7	7	1000	...
4—Marysville	5	5	1000	800
5—North Star	5	5	1000	...
6—Mt. Vernon	22	23	956	955
7—Ashtabula	13	14	928	...
8—Youngstown (Slavish)	97	106	915	895
9—Midvale	32	36	888	...
10—Zanesville	31	36	861	868
11—East Liverpool	51	60	850	845
12—Van Buren	21	25	840	...
13—Kenmore	44	53	830	...
14—Hubbard	28	35	800	800
15—Seneca County	52	67	776	...
16—Warren (English)	31	40	775	850
17—Dayton	201	263	765	764
18—Niles	75	98	765	755
19—Garfield	42	56	750	...
20—Wadsworth	12	16	750	750
21—Columbus	114	153	745	550
22—Youngstown (Scandinavian)	14	19	737	747
23—Mansfield	22	37	729	...
24—New Bremen	32	44	727	676
25—Hamilton	183	267	723	706
26—Clark County	23	32	719	...
27—Cuyahoga County	2099	2789	716	729
28—Massillon	53	74	716	671
29—Canton	50	71	704	671
30—Belmont County	161	235	685	783
31—Toledo	275	417	659	614
32—Cincinnati	399	643	621	586
33—Sandusky	26	41	634	561
34—Barberton	14	20	600	700
35—Ashland	5	9	555	500
36—Norwood	19	47	404	239
37—Steubenville	15	47	319	...
38—Byesville	18	59	305	...
39—Lima	72	308	234	330
04—Lorain	3	18	167	1000

INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP.

Local.	No. New Members.	Pct. Good Standing.	Pct. Last Month.
Steubenville	5	33	..
Warren (English)	9	30	12
Van Buren	6	30	..
Marion	3	25	..
Marysville	1	25	25
Ashland	1	20	..
Columbus	20	18	7
East Liverpool	9	18	46
Mansfield	4	15	..
Garfield (German)	6	14	..
Youngstown (Scandinavian)	2	14	..
Toledo	34	12	8
Youngstown (Slavish)	12	12	12
Galion	4	12	50
Lima	8	11	15
Byesville	2	11	..
Troy	2	10	..
Seneca County	4	8	..
Hamilton	13	7	7
Hubbard	2	7	..
Niles	4	5	11

Other locals unsuccessful in attaining the necessary 5 per cent. are: Belmont Co., 7 new members; Clark Co., 1; Dayton, 4; Kenmore, 2; Massillon, 1; Mt. Vernon, 1; New Bremen, 1; Lorain, 8, no further information; Sandusky, 1. Total number of new members secured during the month of February, 454. Total number of locals reporting, 40; with 4,421 paid up of entire roll of 5,992 members, a percentage of .738.

J. F. CATLIN, Secretary Local Youngstown.

Socialists Win in Battle Of Wits"

April 6, 7 and 8 were days of the most successful events for our great cause of industrial democracy in Cambridge.

Comrade Thurber Lewis was scheduled to speak here April 6 and 7. An ordinance of this city requires permission from the mayor for a meeting on the street. The mayor was approached and we were requested to secure a hall for our meeting of Sunday. We were assured by the mayor that we could hold our meetings on the street at any other day or night of the week. We decided to comply with his request, and being granted permission for a street meeting on April 7, we proceeded with arrangements accordingly.

Our Sunday meeting, held in the labor hall was a decided success. The meeting for April 7 was advertised to be held on the street at 8 p. m. When the hour arrived a large crowd had gathered about the automobile from which Comrade Lewis spoke. Across the street from our meeting a number of politicians, corporation lawyers and a few industrial lords, stool pigeons and others had congregated. It soon became evident that it was their purpose to have the meeting broken up.

In opening the meeting I urged all to be calm, peaceful and quiet. Comrade Lewis then faced the huge crowd, while a few hecklers on the extreme edge of the audience, from shadows and automobils, hurled forth an occasional shout of "take him down," "stop him," etc. It was also noticed that the small crowd of politicians, across the street were disappearing, leaving their tools and pawns there to break up the meeting. Failing in this attempt, it is evident that they phoned to police headquarters and demanded that the police stop us.

Comrade Lewis had spoken about 20 minutes when the police ordered the meeting discontinued. The chief states he was acting under instructions of the mayor. We discontinued the meeting and in company with a number of comrades followed by a large crowd of sympathizers visited the mayor's office, demanding the protection of the police so that we might continue, without molestation. After a lengthy conference we were informed that a decision would be given the next day as to whether we would be allowed to hold street meetings for that night. The hour being too late for the continuation of the meeting at the time, we decided to adjourn to the labor hall and decide upon a plan of action for the maintainance of free speech in Cambridge.

Next morning Comrade Lewis and myself approached the mayor and thoroughly explained the situation, and insisted that the constitutional rights of free speech be upheld and that the police be ordered to protect our meeting and maintain order. However, we were given no assurance of protection and were advised not to hold a street meeting. In reply to the mayor's statement that his force of police was insufficient to cope with a serious disturbance, we assured him that we could secure a hundred men who were willing to be deputized to help maintain order, without any expense to the city. Our offer was, of course, not accepted. After a meeting of the comrades we decided that our constitutional rights of free speech were not to be trampled upon so easily by a few politicians, lawyers and industrial lords, whom it is plainly evident were the real instigators of the antagonism, the mayor and police officers being only the tools. We advertised a meeting for Tuesday, April 8, at 8 p. m., and long before that hour hundreds of workers gathered at the meeting place. A number of politicians, lawyers, would-be capitalists and others of their class began to assemble, but true to their cowardly spirit remained far in the back ground or hid themselves in the surrounding buildings, and automobiles, where they might urge willing tools to break up our meeting.

It was evident that a large majority of the crowd was in our favor. We then informed the mayor that we intended to hold a short meeting on the street, after which we would adjourn to the labor hall. At the appointed hour we proceeded to the street. We addressed the huge crowd for a short time and then adjourned. The crowd that followed filled the hall but we had a clever trick up our sleeves which out-generaled and gave the plutocrats of Cambridge the surprise of their lives and from which they will not recover soon. The hall, three stories high, faces the main street, six large windows facing the street were raised to the full height. Comrade Lewis stationed himself at the largest window, where his voice carried plainly to the crowd on the street.

Comrade Lewis' remarks brought forth tremendous and frequent applause from the crowd in the hall and often from the crowd on the street below. A few on the street insisted that the police arrest the speaker, but true to their cowardly nature, none had the courage to swear out a warrant.

In the street the audience rapidly increased until fully two thousand people had congregated, and aside from the applause, contrary to the newspaper reports, no other demonstrations were made; all listened intently.

Just one other demonstration against our meeting was made by someone on the roof of a building across the street from the hall, who hurled a cabbage head at Comrade Lewis, which struck the window sill. Comrade Lewis barely noticed it and continued with his speech.

A good collection was received and several applications for membership were made, while a score or more expressed their intention of attending our meetings and becoming members. After the meeting Comrade Lewis, in company with several comrades, coolly descended the stairs and made their way through the large crowd. We leisurely walked to the hotel while the crowd followed.

It is evident that the opposition to our meeting attempted to incite a demonstration against us, but they failed miserably in their efforts.

A large number of people followed us to the hotel after our meeting, but later many people assured us that their purpose in doing so was to offer protection if it was necessary, and that it appeared to them that the police intended to shirk their duty.

It is safe to say that our membership will now be largely increased. The courage and grit displayed by Comrade Lewis actually made the plutes wince, while the courage and determination of the comrades held the plutocratic supporters in awe.

Street meeings for Socialists have been prohibited in Cambridge for many years, even before the war. It is certain we have a fight on hand, but we are gaining power and the fight is now on in earnest. The lawyers, politicians and the various bourgeois fraternities are intent on preventing our meetings, they are well organized and are well trained in wielding the economic club over the workers' heads whenever they attempt resistance. To break this ring, which keeps the workers in subjection is our duty and purpose. The black ball and boycott have been operated effectively against the workers in this city for many years. I have felt the sting of the serpent but I haven't the slightest regrets to offer. I am familiar with the life of an agitator for a great and noble cause, and not until the clods rattle on my coffin lid will I cease my work for socialism and the spirit of the comrades here is the same.

Yours for industrial democracy,
HERBERT KNECHT.

With Our Organizers

CHAS. BAKER MEETINGS.

Comrade Baker was scheduled for a Debs' protest and amnesty meeting at Hamilton the 12th. This meeting was expected to be a monster though we have no report of the results at this time. Comrade Baker reports that socialism in Hamilton is humming and all activities are at their height. Comrade Baker was to speak at Xenia about the 15th.

• • •

LILITH MARTIN MEETINGS.

A splendid street meeting at Portsmouth on the 7th is reported by Comrade Martin. The comrades were overjoyed at the success of the first venture. A good collection ($13.08) proved the interest of the audience. Comrade Martin's dates are as follows: April 17, Lima; 18, Marion; 19, 20, Galion; 21, Ashland; 22, Creston; 23, Wadsworth; 24, Barberton; 25, Akron; 26, Massillon; 27, Canton; 28, Salem; May 1, Bellaire afternoon and evening.

• • •

THURBER LEWIS MEETINGS.

Comrade Lewis reports a very good meeting at Montpelier. At this meeting literature sales were good as was also the collection. Comrade B. L. Kizer speaks very highly of Comrade Lewis' ability as a Socialist lecturer. Comrade Kizer states that his house (in the center of town and next door to headquarters) is always open to every Real Red who comes to town and he adds that the headquarters will never be closed by any capitalist tools as he owns the whole proposition, and that, he says, is what we want to say about our national headquarters.

Comrade L. B. Skinner reports a fine hall and street meeting at Cambridge when Comrade Lewis delivered the goods to enthusiastic crowds.

On April 2, a record meeting was held on the street at Toledo, (and the mayor didn't object). Good literature sales and collection taken here. At Tiffin weather conditions were unfavorable for street meetings but a good hall meeting was held. Comrade Lewis visited a large manufacturing plant here and had a good meeting and disposed of some literature and Ohio Socialists.

At Mansfield on the 4th a good meeting was held at headquarters. Comrade Lewis dates are: April 17, Canton; 18, Barberton; 19, Ravenna; 20, Kenmore. This date concludes this tour. Comrade Lewis will speak at Neffs May Day in the afternoon.

RESOULTION BY U. M. W. of A.

Whereas, During the month of January, 1919, forty-three men of organized labor in Sacramento, Calif., were sentenced to terms ranging from one to ten years in prison, and our brothers from California tell us that these men were convicted on perjured evidence, given to prove them guilty of a crime that never existed, and

Whereas, These men were held incommunicado, and kept in a room so small that half had to stand up while the others lay down to sleep. They were denied sufficient food and clothing. Some became so weak from privation they could not walk. Money was sent for relief disappeared en route. Food was sent in by sympathizers was placed outside the bars in sight of the famished men and allowed to rot, and

Whereas, There is a bill before the legislature of California which strikes at the very heart of organized labor in that state, when reduced to plain English fixes a penalty of twenty years for the defenders of labor cases, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we the members of Local Union 2249, U. M. W. of A., of Pleasant City, O., request the president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, to intervene in this case, and use his influence to get these men a fair and impartial trial, and punish the men that are guilty of such outrages against organized labor in the state of California, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to President Wilson, and a copy to all the leading papers in the United States for publication.

FRANK BENDER,
JOHN HERRON,
HARRY WILLIAMS,
Committee on Resolutions.

A COMBINATION THAT WINS

The hall at Neffs was packed Friday night to see our play and hear Comrade Holman. Many had to stand. The audience was well pleased with the play and with Comrade Holman. Giving a play with propaganda meeting is certainly a good way to get out a crowd. We are thinking of putting on the play in many places in the county.

Comrade Holman is a very good speaker. This is not only my opinion, but of all the comrades. He is a very entertaining speaker also.

Yours for the revolution,
FRED WALCHLI.

FROM A SOLDIER—

Dear Comrade: Here is a list of fourteen subs as a protest against the imprisonment of our Comrade Debs, from a soldier that has seven months' service in France and has returned to fight for a better cause.

Please send some sub blanks in a hurry.

Yours in the good work,
GUY S. BUTTS.

Sidney, Ohio.
Formerly 323d Machine Gun Branch, 83d Division.

MINERS DEMAND PRISONERS RELEASE

Byesville, O., April 1, 1919.

Be it Resolved: We the miners of Guernsey county assembled in our annual mass meeting hereby demand the release or a new trial for Tom Mooney and all political and religious prisoners now serving sentence and also under indictment.

Be it also Resolved, That we ask the International Executive Board to comply with the general strike the Fourth of July, if so requested by the committee elected for that purpose at the Mooney congress held in Chicago, Jan. 14.

DAVID WATKINS, Chairman.
G. W. EUBANKS, Sec'y.

PIQUA TRIES NEW PLAN

Word comes from Local Piqua of a new plan of organization work that is getting good results. The local has employed Comrade Wagner as organizer. His preliminary work consists of making a house-to-house canvas for the purpose of ascertaining the sentiment of the people toward socialism, and also the econmoic and political affiliations of the residents. Dues collecting is also a part of this work as well as securing applications for membership. Very encouraging results are forthcoming.

LILITH MARTIN AT AKRON

Comrade Lilith Martin speaks at Akron April 25, at 50 So. Howard St. Women comrades are especially invited to attend this meeting. Bring a friend or two with you and help sow the seeds of Socialist thought in the minds of your women associates. Comrade Martin will interest women in the Socialist movement.

READY TO ORGANIZE

A letter from Comrade P. R. Davis of Chesapeake states that a great deal of interest is being manifested in socialism in this locality. The comrades are ready to organize he says. Comrade Davis will do some preliminary work among the comrades until an organizer can be sent which will be soon.

PROGRESS IN BELMONT COUNTY

Comrade J. J. Hoge, who is doing organization work in Belmont Co., has organized a local at West Wheeling, with five members, and another at Dilles Bottom, with 20 members, so writes Comrade Fred Waolchli. Local Belmont Co. is alive to the possibilities and needs of organization and is "going after them" as these results show.

BALL STARTS ROLLING IN RICHLAND COUNTY

Locals Mt. Vernon and Mansfield have started more thorough organization work in Richland Co. At a meeting held April 6 plans were formulated to put an organizer in each school district, and in each township also. These organizers to co-operate with the county organizer in building up a strong movement in this county.

Local Hamilton enjoyed its monthly social March 29. It was a grand success both socially and financially, reports Comrade Cahalane. If all the locals, says he, are advancing as fast as Local Hamilton we are in for a big year in Ohio. This live local is campaigning for a building lot upon which it expects to erect a headquarters. Comrade Ruemmelle spoke there recently and had a good meeting.

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
60 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second
Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL,
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.,
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.,
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West
Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening,
8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday,
2:30 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL,
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93 3-4 Washington St.

WEST VIRGINIA

Official Organization News

H. F. OBERHOLTZER, STATE SECRETARY,

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR MARCH, 1919

Receipts.

Slovac Federation	$2.00
South Slovac Federation	6.75
Lithuanian Federation	3.97
M. A. L. Dues	3.50
Charleston Dues	3.00
Fairmont Dues	6.00
Buckhannon Dues	12.00
Wellford	6.00
Kanawha Co. Supplies	.25
Buckhannon Supplies	.50
Total	$43.97
Balance on hand Mar. 1	$17.62
Surplus for March	$2.06
Bal. on hand Apr. 1	$19.68

Resources

Dues Stamps	$51.80
550 State Constitution	47.50
3 Sets Local Sec'y. Books	9.00
50 Think or Surrender	5.00
900 Application Cards	1.80
8 cards of 50 each	
Assorted Badge Buttons	8.00
500 How to Organize	2.00
50 How to conduct a Local	1.00
Miscellaneous Books	5.00
Total	$125.30

Expenditures

National Office Dues St.	$15.00
Postage	2.35
Express chgs. Literature	.30
Secretary's Commission	16.76
Printing Ballots	7.50
Balance	2.06
Total	$43.97

The Debt Problem Solved

It seems that I unwittingly "April Fooled" you with the Debt Case Reported in our last bulletin. In reply to a letter to Comrade Firth concerning the matter, he writes me that we need pay no attention to the $107.40 debt to the National office, for the expenses of our delegates to the St. Louis convention; that he would have the charge against our State Organization stricken off the books of the National Office. Our delegates, Comrades G. W. Gillespie and M. S. Holt filed their accounts of expenses with the National Secretary, on the supposition that the funds were available to pay the delegates' expenses out of the National treasury. When it was found that such was not the case, Comrade Holt informed Comrade Firth, then State Secretary, that he would not ask the State Organization to reinburse him, and Comrade Gillespie's claim was satisfied by paying him out of the State Treasury, his hotel expenses less $5.00. So you see, Comrade, it was through the generosity of the delegates representing us at the St. Louis convention that we are released of this debt.

The Election of State Officers

Nomination for offices of the State Organization of the socialist party closed on February 14, whereupon all the nominees were notified and 10 days were given for acceptance. The following is a list of all Nominees who reported their acceptance:

For State Secretary

P. R. Garret, Harrisville; Jesse Bird, Barracksville; P. M. Camp, Charleston.

For State Committeemen-at-Large

J. H. Snyder, Fairmont; M. S. Holt, Weston.

For State Committeemen

First Dist.

H. L. Franklin, Fairmont; J. B. West, Mannington; J. L. Dawson, Fairmont.

Second Dist.

E. L. Smith.

Third Dist.

J. W. Wright, Weston

Fourth Dist.

G. W. Gillespie, Huntington; H. N. Carricoffe, Huntington; O. E. Tracy, Sistersville; C W. Kirkendall, Sistersville.

Sixth Dist.

W. R. Bennet, Fayetteville; G. W. Harper, Charleston; H. P. Williams, Charleston.

Perhaps at this point I should explain why my name does not appear on the ballot. I was forced to decline because the position, on which I depend for my living, takes too much of my time to do justice to the most important office of the socialist party, in the state.

I have managed to take care of the office during a lull in the activities of the party, but I forsee, as the Comrades are beginning to "come out of the woods" and renew their interest in the cause, that I would not be able to do the work that the head of the State Organization ought to do. I want to say that I only wish I could afford to devote my time to this work, for I never did anything that was more pleasure to me. I also want to thank the comrades of the locals and the members-at-large that placed my name in nomination—to say the least, I feel honored

I am notified by the National Secretary that he is sending to this office for distribution among the locals the ballots for Referendum "B", proposing a National Convention, also ballots for Referendum "C" for the election of the National Executive Committee, four International Delegates and the International Secretary. Of this election, Comrade Firth writes: "Try to get everybody to vote in the coming N. E. C. election for real Socialists. It is very important. There is a crisis in the party.

Brief Observations.

When it comes to paying dues and keeping up the organization against great odds, we have to hand it to the locals and branches of the Foreign speaking federations. And they send in carefully made reports every month and good ones, too.

Local Wellford sent in a report for February, and have just received one from Local Elkins for March. Perhaps by the end of this month I will have enough reports from which to make an interesting summary for my next bulletin.

The first ballot, in our state election comes from Comrade John H. Means, M. A. L., a soldier now in Gen. Hospital No. 16, U. S. A., West Haven, Conn.

Local Buckhannon takes the prize for largest purchase of Dues Stamps this month. Comrade E. Hager's letter, accompanying his order for Dues Stamps has the true ring.

There must be a lot of wives in West Virginia that have their socialism in their husband's name. This office has not sold any Dual Stamps for a "coon's age."

We note the change of address of Comrade Jesse Bird, Secretary of Fairmont Local, from Fairmont to Barrackville. We ventrue the guess that Comrade Bird found Fairmont unfavorable to the Soviet idea and he concluded Barrackville would be a better location.

Comrades, have you seen the names of any West Virginia Socialists in the Booster Column of the Ohio Socialist lately We did some very good work, for two or three months, getting "Subs" for the Ohio Socialist. I hope our zeal has not grown cold. I am sure it merits our support and it is getting better every week.

H. F. OBERHOLTZER, State Secy.
Socialist Party of West Virginia

OBITUARY

We are in receipt of the following notice of the recent death of Comrade Elizabeth Donaldson of Columbus:

"Mrs. Elizabeth Donaldson, 66, wife of Luther Donaldson, died of heart trouble Tuesday, at her home, [illegible] Say Ave. She leaves her husband, one daughter, Mrs. Charles W. Dutcher, Glen Echo Drive, and a son, Thomas Bradshaw, Chicago. Mrs. Maggie Howlson, Prospect, O., is a niece. Funeral at 2 p. m., Friday, at the H. A. Fletcher chapel, 1122 N. High St. Burial in Green Lawn.

GOING UP AT EAST LIVERPOOL

Socialist activities are on the jump in E. Liverpool. Recent meetings by Comrades Baker and Holman have proved winners. The comrades have a fine hall, where they meet weekly and plan more victories for the workers.

AMNESTY EDITIO[illegible] ORDER NOW [illegible]

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited by C. E. Ruthenberg

Hoist By Their Own Petard

The American Bankers Association is very much alarmed. Millions of aliens are leaving the country, and as is natural, they are taking with them whatever property they happen to possess. The fact that millions of these aliens are withdrawing their savings from the banks, small as they are, is creating a dangerous situation for the banking institutions of this country. Hence a cry of alarm from the American Bankers Association and an urgent call, which it has just issued, asking all banks to endeavor to stop the exodus.

The banking business is a case of pyramided credits. Every dollar of currency is loaned scores of times. The deposits to credit of depositors on the books of the bankers are many times as great as the currency in circulation in the United States. Therefore the withdrawal of the comparative small amount the aliens have in the banks is a danger to the banking system, for these aliens are turning whatever they have into cash and taking the cash with them.

As usual when something unpleasant occurs for the capitalists in these days, the American Bankers Association charges that Bolshevist propaganda is responsible for these aliens leaving and taking their money with them.

What interest supporters of bolshevism in this country have in getting people to leave the country is not clear. It would seem that their interest lies in the other direction.

The plain fact is the capitalists are reaping the results of their own actions—and don't like them. During the past two years the aliens in this country have been made to feel that they were not wanted. They have been discriminated against and abused. They have found that the freedom they sought here was a snare and a delusion. Many of them left their native land to escape conscription for military service only to find the same thing quickly established here.

While the war was on and their service was needed the aliens could at least get work, but since the signing of the armistice they have found themselves discriminated against in seeking jobs. Thousands of men have found that the fact that they were not American citizens meant that they could not get work. In their great fear of bolshevism the capitalists themselves created the conditions which aroused in the aliens the desire to return to their native country. Unable to get work and finding our boasted freedom non-existent the alien workers are leaving the country in which they have been made to feel they are not wanted. At home they know their fellow workers have overthrown the masters who oppress them here, or are at least strong enough to challenge their power.

The capitalists are being hoisted by their own petard—reaping what they sowed. Unexpected results have followed and these unexpected results of a condition of their own creation have brought the cry of alarm from the American Bankers Association.

• • • •

Hopeless

The insidious propaganda against the Soviet government of Russia is evidently being directed toward making the workers of other countries believe that the ousting of the capitalists and workers control has brought about the utter collapse of industry in Russia.

This note is being sounded constantly in the dispatches, interviews and editorials discussing Russian conditions. The latest statement of this character comes from Herbert C. Hoover, under whose handling of the Food Administration the profiteers waxed fat. He is quoted as saying:

> The Lenine and Trotzky socialization of the processes of production has so wrecked both production and distribution as to create a state of famine in a country which formerly contributed so largely to the food supply of the world.

Mr. Hoover must have known what he said was a lie when he said it. He knew that the breakdown of industry took place under the czar. He knew that the reason the shortage of food exists in Russia is because through the Ukrainian propertied classes selling out to German imperialism, the Soviet government was cut off from the granaries of the Ukraine and that with the help of the allies the traitorous Czecho-Slovaks cut off the supplies from Siberia.

Mr. Hoover knows that these two sections are the two great food producing territories of Russia, and to these the Soviet government has not had access. Still he repeats the lie that it is due to the socialization of industry that famine exists in Russia.

The purpose of the capitalists is evidently to make the workers here believe that working men cannot conduct the industries successfully without them. It is their last hope to stave off the coming revolution which will force them to go to work. It will meet with as little success as their other lies.

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Japan, one of the nations that fought for self-determination for nations, is giving an example of what that means by murdering the Koreans who are demanding independence for their country.

Undermined

Even the heads of the War Department seem to be impressed with the seriousness of the mutiny of Co. I of the 339th Infantry, which has been fighting against the Bolsheviki in the Archangel territory. Commenting on the incident General Marsh, chief of staff, is quoting as saying:

> This is a very striking thing. I have had long experience in the army and I do not recall ever having seen American soldiers who did not want to get into a fight. They always said: "Lead me to it" and they went to it.

Looked at from the outside the class government which upholds the capitalist system seems a very strong power. With the police, the army and navy, the judiciary at their command, the capitalists seem to be impregnably intrenched. It seems a herculean task to uproot a system so supported.

But after all the power of the capitalists, though real while it lasts, rests upon quicksand. It is only real so long as it can hypnotize the workers into acceptance of the point of view of the capitalists. Once a new culture, new ideas of justice grips the minds of the workers all the capitalists instruments of repression become harmless, for police forces, the army and navy, are made up largely of working men whose minds become imbued with the new culture as well as those of the workers generally.

The Archangel mutiny is the first example of this so far as the United States is concerned. Evidently the soldiers of Company I, have, through Bolshevik propaganda, that weapon more terrible to the capitalists than great armies, become imbued with the desire to help rather than fight the workers of Russia, who are trying to build a better world. No wonder General Marsh is compelled to exclaim, "This is very striking." It should be striking enough to teach the American capitalists not to go too far, that it is possible to shift the bases of their power from under them as it was removed from under the ruling class of Russia. For the revolutionary workers of the United States it should be a source of new courage, for it shows the American capitalist class is not invincible.

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Homes or Palaces

Commenting upon the fact that the Soviet government of Hungary is taking over the residences of the rich a capitalist newspaper editorial tells us:

> To expropriate is to take away from the owners. In the case of a residence, it means that the owner and his wife and children are dispossessed, evicted, turned out on the street, while the property is taken for the present use and absolute ownership by those having force to do the expropriating.

Written in a way so as to give the impression that all home owners are being expropriated, this is, a clever attempt to array the small home owners against the Bolsheviki. Of course the writer of the editorial knows that it is not these that are being expropriated. He knows that it is the palaces and mansions containing a score or more rooms which are never used by their owners that are being taken over by the Soviet government, but that doesn't make any difference, the lie may stick.

It may be pleasant for the dwellers in Bratenahl, and Cleveland Heights, the fashionable suburbs of Cleveland, to contemplate having their mansions occupied by workers who are now festering in the squallor of some of the Cleveland slums, but such are the conceptions of justice of the workers of Russia and Hungary, that they are removing the workers from the slums of the city and compelling their former masters to give up part of the space they do not need in order to make room for them.

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Frank Austey, one of the Australian delegates to the Berne Conference, expressed this interesting view of conditions as he found them, in an interview in London the other day:

> Western Europe goes into the melting pot, and there is, in my opinion, no power on earth that can save it. The war has gone on too long. Had it stopped at Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, capitalism might have saved itself. Now capitalism suffers from over-indulgence. Jack London tells a story of two wolves that fought over a captured rabbit. They fought to exhaustion, and a mean, hungry, non-combatant wolf stepped in and grabbed the rabbit. Outside nations are gathering the spoils. Everybody can have them. Europe has fought to the point of economic exhaustion. It starves, and the nation not starving today will starve in a few months. The capitalists wish to preserve their perquisites. The workers want the promised paradise. At a time when the debt is heaviest, and the burden of crippled workers the greatest, the workers are asking for a larger share of the wealth they produce at the very time when the drain upon it for pensions, debts, interest and armies, is the heaviest.
>
> It cannot be done. Either the workers must go back to the pit, work harder, produce more, get less, and permit the surplus to meet the debts, or the bondholders must be sacrificed. The workers cannot get a better world, and the bondholders their pound of flesh, at one and the same time.

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The war is over, the League of Nations is agreed upon, but the war department has asked for fifty thousand volunteers to go to Europe.

Dan Hogan, who become the delegate of the Socialist Party of the United States to the Pan-American Socialist and Labor Conference when James H. Maurer declined, in commenting upon the refusal of the State Department to grant him passports, proudly claimed that he had submitted with his application the recommendation of the chairman of the Red Cross of his home town and also that of the chairman of the State Council of Defense, and threatened to add to these the recommendation of the federal judge of his district. It really seems in view of this, that the State Department has done the Socialist Party a service in denying Hogan passports, for all of his recommendations are so many reasons why he should not represent the Socialist Party.

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One of the horrible ways that the Bolsheviki have treated American soldiers captured on the Archangel front, by taking them to Moscow and Petrograd in private cars, showing them the sights of the city, including the new social institutions the soviet government has brought into existence, taking them to the theatre, operas and ballets, and then sending them back to their own lines to tell their comrades what the workers had achieved. We will have to admit that is a horrible way to treat prisoners of war.

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While the Peace Conference deliberates upon how to make the "fourteen points" mean something different from what they say, Japan is calmly enforcing the letter of its "twenty-one points" upon China. The latter country has set up a howl that what Japan is doing is a violation of the constitution of the League of Nations, but who cares about the League of Nations? It is just as elastic as the fourteen points.

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Pittsburg is being saved from bolshevism by approaching industrial democracy from a practical standpoint, says David Lawrence, in the New York Evening Post. That means that the workers are being fooled again. But wait till they wake up. . . .

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Both the Majority Socialists of Germany and the British capitalists are trying to compromise with the soviet idea by giving the workers a limited control in industry. Haven't they heard about the devil and the little finger?

• • • •

Hungarian bankers are going to work now that Hungary has a soviet government, the latest dispatches from that country tell us. Just think how J. Pierpont Morgan must feel. Surely by this time he has given orders to the kept press to double the daily dose of lies about Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary.

Republicans Plan Conscription of Workers to Raise Huge Army

(Special Correspondence)

Washington.—Jukius Kahn, chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, is in Europe inspecting the military states in operation there. In an official interview with the correspondent of the New York Times at Coblentz, Germany, Kahn announces that he will return to America to use all his influence and power as chairman of the House Military Committee to enact into law a compulsory military training bill

Kahn is a class conscious legislative representative of the labor exploiters of the United States. He knows that the workers, benefitting by the Socialist education they have received through Socialist propaganda, are fully aware of the fact that the workers produce all the wealth and are "allotted" as their "share" a mighty small portion of that wealth in the form of a "living wage"—or less. Kahn knows that the workers know that the capitalists "take" this surplus wealth over and above what it costs the worker to live for themselves in the form of interest and dividends and sinecure salaries. Kahn knows that the workers know that the capitalists "take" this surplus wealth by means of a species of economic terrorism and governmental terrorism expressing themselves in low wages, lock outs, policemen's clubs, militiamen's bayonets, court decisions, and all the other ramification of a thorough capitalist terrorism masquerading under the name of "dedocracy."

Kahn knows all this. And he knows too, that the workers are growing more and more rebellious as their understanding of the plundering to which they are subjected increases, and he predicts that the only way in which they can be kept meekly at their jobs is through military coercion. So he is prepared to impose peace-time conscription on the workers in order that his employers, the capitalists, may always have at their command an army to shoot down the rebellious proletarians.

It is generally understood that Kahn favors the peace-time conscription bill introduced during the last session of the sixty-fifth congress by Senator New of Indiana. New's bill imposes one year's compulsory military training and service upon every man in the United States who reaches the age of eighteen. In certain cases the training may be postponed from year to year until the age of twenty-six, when compulsion ceases, but it is expected that long before every man reaches that age he will have been run through the cannon-fodder-making machine. The bill fixes a penalty of five years in jail and $5,000 fine for young men hardy enough to refuse to go to the military training camps.

In the authorized interview Kahn said he is in favor of a volunteer standing army of 100,000, explaining that with his compulsory military training scheme an army of practically a million would be secured with the possibility of swelling it to almost any size to meet any emergency with which the labor exploiters find themselves confronted. Provided, of course, that the working people, who will make up the bulk of the potential military forces, consent to respond to the call of the capitalists to shoot up their brother workers either at home or abroad. The sailors and soldiers at Brest, France, patriotically and class consciously mutinied when the French government tried to force them to go to France to shoot up the Russian workers in the interest of the Russian bonds held by the French investors. Many of those who mutinied are still in jail at Brest. But the glorious fact is that they are in a French jail rather than in Russia under orders to shoot their brothers struggling for economic liberty.

Kahn incidentally revealed his nefarious plot against the liberties of the Amrican working class and the use he would make of the peace-time conscript army. He has read the constitution of the Federated Socialist Soviet government of Russia, especially those portions which abolish private property in the means of production and prohibit people from living in idleness on the labor of others. A capitalist loafer himself, he doesn't like the looks of that kind of a social system. He knows that system by the somewhat general term "bolshevism." And he fears it. And he says: 'I believe we should deal with an iron hand toward the Bolsheviki in America, be absolutely pitiless. Bolshevism is an ugly thing which should be stamped out."

Refuse Passports to Berne Conference Committe To Go To Russia

The following editorial by Paul Faure, editor in chief of Populaire, the Socialist evening daily of Paris, is interesting in the fact that it shows that the capitalist governments are even unwilling to permit representatives of the reactionary Berne Socialist conference to go to Russia and get the facts about conditions there. Evidently the capitalist governments are afraid of the truth about conditions in Russia, even as it might be presented by reactionary Socialists, who have too often shown themselves willing to side with these governments against the workers:

"We are not to go to Russia to perform our part of the mandate for information which the International Socialist conference at Berne confided to an international commission.

"Thus decides the French government in accord, without doubt, with the English government.

"So we shall not go to Russia—for the present. But in my opinion the delay will be short. It is impossible that the Socialist parties of France and England shall rest quietly under this humiliation and not begin at once the necessary campaign, with all their parliamentary power, with all their influence upon public opinion, to compel the reactionaries of Paris and London to recall the decision which is at once a disgrace and a confession.

"It is a disgrace because they have not the right when they pretend to administer a democratic regime to act like a kaiser or a czar.

"It is a confession because, after all the accusations made against the Russian Soviet Republic, to decide that the investigating commission of the labor international, some of whom are declared anti-Bolsheviks, shall not go to Russia to determine the truth and the falsehood in these accusations—this is to confess their fear of the results of the inquiry.

"The role played by the French republic relative to the Russian revolution is abominable. It is the ally of all of the debris of the czar's regime. It sends troops against the peoples who wish to abolish capitalism and who iterate and reiterate their offers of peace. M. Barres even announces to us today that he intends to use the Russian and Polish prisoners in Germany for these reactionary ends.

"The French republic is at the head of the world-wide coalition of frightened capitalism. Wherever it is a question of suppressing by sword and fire the attempts of the people to secure social enfranchisement, the French republic is there with the fire and the sword.

"It can only accomplish this foul task by augmenting the rigors of the state of siege, by smothering protests, by preventing public meetings—in short, by applying the most dictatorial measures.

"But the matter shall not end here. In spite of the censor, in spite of the governmental provocations, in spite of the police brutalities, we shall continue our propaganda and shall not cease to appeal to the opinion of the workers and to public opinion as a whole.

"Will the workers of France consent much longer to be the instruments and the accomplices of the most sinister enterprise which any reactionary government was ever guilty of undertaking against the independence of the peoples?"

Five Thousand Socialist Locals to Unite in May Day Demands

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago, Ill.—Five thousand meetings—attended by at least 1,000,000 working men and women—on the same day, to help keep 'Gene Debs from going to prison for ten years!

This is the great undertaking planned for International May Day, May 1, by the national Socialist Party, that is meeting with a hearty response from the 100,000 dues paying members of the Socialist Party.

Great Machine on the Move.

"This is really the first time in the history of the Socialist Party of the United States that the entire organization has attempted to function on the same day for the same purpose," declares Alfred Wagenknecht, director of organization and propaganda in the National Office of the Socialist Party who is directing the effort.

"Every Socialist and every Socialist local will function in an organized way on this day. The great machinery of the Socialist movement will work in harmony everywhere, in response to the greatest appeal ever made to it. The struggle to keep Debs from going to prison is making history in the onward march of American socialism. The thought and energy of the party have been crystallized into united action by the great danger that threatens the movement's most beloved spokesman."

The official call for the meeting was sent out in 10,000 letters to Socialist locals and branches throughout the country. It was also published in 10,000 copies of The Bulletin, the official monthly publication of the party. Even the smallest and most obscure local is urged to hold a protest meeting.

"Under no consideration should you fail to hold a meeting," says the call, "even if it is only a meeting of the members of the party. Get a hall if you can, and in most instances you can. But if you cannot get a hall, then hold a meeting in the home of a comrade. Have a meeting, no matter where it is held. Have a meeting!"

The task of rallying at least 5,000 speakers for this day is one of the most stupendous problems the party has ever confronted. All of the nationally prominent Socialist speakers will be called upon, to be sure. But these will be supplemented by speakers at the command of state and local organizations. Every man or woman Socialist who can talk will be on the platform that day.

"In order to make every program a rousing success, however," announces Director Wagenknecht, "we are preparing and sending out a special program of speeches by convicted Socialists. These comrades cannot be present, of course, at these meetings, so some good reader among the local comrades will read the speeches."

Director Wagenknecht announces that such May Day speeches have already been secured from 'Gene Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, Rose Pastor Stokes, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse and Irwin St. John Tucker. Efforts are being made to get others. An attempt will also be made to get telegrams from Socialists already in prison. Amos L. Hitchcock, former Socialist member of the Cleveland, O., school board, in the Atlanta, Ga. prison; Emil Herman, member of the party national executive committee, in the McNeill's Island prison, Puget Sound, Washington., and J. O. Bentall, former candidate for governor of Minnesota, now in the Crow Wing, Minn., county jail.

Debs Makes Membership Appeal.

In addition to the speeches, telegrams and resolutions, it is planned to have an organization talk at every meeting, with a special appeal for membership. The special application blank provided for the occasion contains a plea from Debs, himself.

There will also be a special collection taken up, to be sent to the National Office of the party to meet the cost of an immense publicity campaign which is intended to play its part in releasing all political and industrial prisoners.

"If we are to be successful in gaining freedom for our comrades," declares Wagenknecht, "we must tell the world about the righteousness of our cause."

In order to give local publicity to the 5,000 meetings the National Office of the party is sending out tens of thousands of two different posters for local use.

One contains a big picture of Debs, while the feature of the other is a cartoon showing the necessity of organization to secure the release of the nation's political prisoners.

Millions of Debs' protest post cards are also being sent out for local use. These cards will be mailed to congressmen, newspapers, labor unions and also friends, relatives and shop mates of the writer. Each card carries the statement that, "Millions of these post cards are being mailed to millions of people by a million friends and comrades of Eugene V. Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare and others imprisoned and convicted for their war views."

"Those who are unable to attend any of these May 1 meetings should send a contribution direct to the National Office to help in this campaign" announced Director Wagenknecht. "Also send to the National Office for May 1 literature."

DEBS HURRIED TO PRISON

Continued From Page One.

made a speech at Canton, O., in June, 1918. And so Debs spent his last few moments on "the outside" forgiving everybody. "With malice toward none," as Abraham Lincoln put it.

Warden Joseph Z. Terrill and the prison physician, Dr. O. P. Wilson, were waiting for us. In a moment we were all acquainted, and then—

"Mr. Debs, come with me," said Warden Terrell, and in another moment the threshold that leads from liberty to the tombs of living men had been crossed.

"You're quite a tall man, Mr. Debs," said the warden as the electrically manipulated turntable cage door moved noiselessly, transferring its opening from the "outside world" to this "inside world."

"Yes, six feet," answered Debs, pleasantly, and that was all we heard as they passed on.

We went back into the warden's office and waited. Soon the warden returned and signed several papers that the already impatient marshal and his deputy presented to him. Then we began asking questions about Debs, and the treatment he would receive.

"He will be allowed to write all the letters he pleases," said Warden Terrell, "subject of course to the prison censorship. He may receive visitors twice a month," but the understanding seemed to be that visitors coming from some distance would be allowed to see Debs at almost any time.

The warden wrinkled his brow just a little when he was asked if there would be any restrictions on papers, magazines and books sent to Debs.

"No," he said, "not if they are for Debs alone. But he must not pass them out among the other prisoners, some of whom are ignorant, you know, and it might have a bad effect on them."

"I am just going to use common sense in my treatment of Debs," said the warden, for which announcement Baur and the rest of us thanked him.

Baur then left with the marshal and his deputy for the return trip home. Wagenknecht, Karsner and I lingered, although midnight was approaching. We readily accepted the warden's invitation to visit Debs and bid the spokesman of American socialism "Good night," in his prison cell. One of the jailers led us up an iron staircase and along the corridor of a second tier of lairs for humans. Through the bars of his cage's door we asked him again if there was anything we could do for him.

"No, nothing more," he replied. "I am going to have a good night's rest. My only hope is that everyone tonight could have as good a couch as mine. Don't worry about me, comrades, I am all right. Everything is fine."

Then we returned to the warden's office where we sat down and asked more questions. Both the warden and the prison physician insisted that the "flu" epidemic that has been raging in the prison, resulting in several deaths, is now a thing of the past. They stated that the wing in which Debs' cell is located has been thoroughly fumigated, and that they had the "flu bug whipped out."

Debs is bald headed, just like the warden, so he will not have his hair cut. Upon entering the prison Debs was not subjected to the usual shower bath and the usual change of clothing because the warden said he felt that Debs didn't need it. Although the warden praised the prison fare in high terms, he said Debs might send out for any delicacies he wanted, or that they might be sent to him. He said prisoners spend about $1,000 monthly in such purchases, saying they were free to buy anything they wanted. He said Debs would not be asked to do any prison labor, because of his advanced age. Debs is 64 years old. The color of the prison uniform has been a cadet gray. Striped suits are not used except for escaped prisoners who have been caught and brought back. We were shown the "solitary" cells, but it was claimed these were not used except in rare instances, while the "shackles" were brought into use in only very extreme cases, it was claimed.

While we were talking a reporter from one of the Wheeling papers came in and Karsner gave him Debs' statement about his entering prison as a flaming revolutionist. The warden pricked up his ears and insisted that Debs must not start a revolution in his prison. He was assured that he had nothing to fear.

The sudden and mysterious manner in which Debs was spirited off to prison, when it was thought that he would be at liberty at least until May 1, took the entire nation by surprise. The manner in which Debs was whisked away from his friends is looked upon by some of those closest to him as a polite form of kidnaping.

While Kate Richards O'Hare was given one month to prepare for her five years' incarceration in the state penitentiary at Jefferson City, Mo., Debs was given only a few hours.

Saturday morning, April 12, some one purporting to be Federal District Attorney E. S. Wertz, who prosecuted Debs, called up the Debs' home at Terre Haute, Ind., and ordered Debs to come to Cleveland. Efforts to learn whether Wertz was really the person at the Cleveland end of the wire were met with evasive replies, according to Debs. Someone also called up the Debs home from Cleveland claiming to be Mrs. Marguerite Prevey, one of Debs' bondsmen. Mrs. Prevey denied she called the Debs home on the phone.

Nevertheless, in good faith, and taking for granted that all arrangements were satisfactory, Debs took a Saturday night train for Cleveland, accompanied by his brotheri-n-law and Karsner. News of what was taking place reached the Socialist Party National Office in Chicago late in the afternoon and Wagenknecht and Engdahl hurried to Cleveland on a Saturday night train. Debs arrived in Cleveland Sunday morning at 7 o'clock, had his breakfast and was taken into custody. The marshal's office seemed ignorant of Debs' whereabouts because it was not until Deputies Walsh and William F. Gauchat followed Mrs. Prevey, with her sister, Mrs. May Diebel, Wagenknecht and Engdahl, that they found Debs in his room. We were all greeting Debs "Good morning!" when Mrs. Prevey noticed the two strangers in the room and asked them what they wanted.

"We have come to get Mr. Debs and take him to the marshal's office," said Deputy Gauchat.

Mrs. Prevey stood on her rights as a bondsman, claiming she had not been notified, neither had Moskowitz, nor Debs' lawyers; she charged that the entire proceeding was irregular, and insisted that the deputies should await the arrival of Attorney Wolf, one of Debs' counsel, who lives in Cleveland. Deputy Walsh called up Marshal Lapp from the hotel office, after which he returned to Debs' room declaring:

"I am ordered to take you to the federal building, Mr. Debs. I have a United States supreme court mandate."

"All right, I am ready," replied Debs, and accompanied the deputy marshals down to their automobile and was taken to the marshal's office in the federal building.

In spite of the early hour a goodly number of Socialists had gathered at the hotel and they cheered Debs as he appeared and then followed him to the federal building. One reason for the anxiety displayed by the federal officials and the speed with which they were hurrying Debs off to prison, was that Cleveland Socialists had planned a Debs' protest meeting at which Debs was to speak.

Behind this anxiety, however, was a greater fear, that Debs would be cheered by huge demonstrations in the cities thru which he passed. This is the only explanation that can be offered for the attempt to elude all Socialists. After the necessary formalities had been gone thru with at the federal building, Debs was rushed into an automobile whcih started off in a direction opposite to that of the Cleveland Union Station. We had a high-powered automobile of our own, however, and trailed the U. S. Marshal's car up and down thru Cleveland's main thorofares and down its side streets. There was a merry race along Euclid Ave., Cleveland's fashionable boulevard. When the officials saw they couldn't drop our car, they halted theirs near the home of the late mayor Tom Johnson and exhibited this showplace to their prisoner. Then the race began again, ending in a draw at the Broadway station of the Erie railroad.

Marshall Lapp was good natured as Wagenknecht, Karsner, Engdahl, Baur, Mrs. Deibel and the driver, Morris Fried piled out of the Socialist car, and he offered no objections when the first four joined him in buying railroad tickets for Youngstown. This was to be the start of an all-day roundabout trip to dodge any possible Socialist ovations that might have been planned for Debs on his way to prison.

DEBS' PRISON STATEMENT

"I enter the prison door a flaming revolutionist, my head unbent, my spirit untamed and my soul unconquerable."

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OPEN THE PRISON DOORS

Five years in prison!
Ten years in prison!!
Twenty years in prison!!!

No man who knew from personal experience what those few, brief words meant to those upon whom the sentences were imposed would utter them. A judge who had himself been in them would know that there is no crime that is not fully expiated by six months in the hell holes we call prisons. The writer of this article has been suddenly wakened in the middle of the night to hear a voice crying out from a neighboring steel cage, "This God damn, God damned place!". The profanity in the cry involuntarily wrung from some wakeful, tortured prisoner, was lost in the suffering and anguish that was in the voice that uttered the words.

Most men and women who are not sodden with crime and drink would rather die than serve five years in prison. And it is men and women of keener sensibilities, who have accustomed themselves to take something more from life than the mere satisfaction of their physical needs, that suffer most. To them prisoners do not mean merely physical confinement, but tortured souls, because of the degradation of humanity that is part of the routine of every prison.

* * * *

Eugene V. Debs is behind prison bars, to remain ten years!

Kate Richards O'Hare has begun her five-year sentence!

Haywood, Germer, Berger, Kruse, Tucker, Engdahl, Rose Stokes, Hitchcock and scores of others are in prison serving their sentences or awaiting the final decision that will send them to prison for five, ten and twenty years!

* * * *

What have these men and women done that they have been so savagely dealt with? What is the crime that justifies their being placed behind prison bars to suffer all the refined cruelties, which to them will mean suffering as great as anything the Spanish Inquisition could inflict upon them.

In the constitution of the United States there is a provision reading:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

"Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

Explicit and definite, is it not? It was the desire of the men who wrote the first amendment to the constitution to guarantee to the people of the United States the right to freely voice and publish their opinions and they said it in words that cannot be otherwise interpreted or understood.

Debs, Haywood and the others believed in certain principles and ideals, and advocated the reorganization of society on the basis of these principles and ideals. For many long years they had publicly expressed their views.

The war came. Among the principles which these men and women accepted and to which they had publicly expressed their adherence for a decade or more, was one explaining the fundamental cause of modern wars. The president of the United States gave his officiel view of the cause of the war and what the war was being fought for. The congress of the United States, with the approval of the president, in defiance of the constitutional provision, "Congress shall nake no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," passed a law which in effect said that any one who differed from the president's official view of the cause of the war and the purpose for which it was being fought, and publicly express that view, should be put in prison for no more than twenty years.

The apologists of the present form of political democracy have frequently argued that the first principle of this democracy was the free public discussion of all problems coming before the people and the government. But here we have a law which prohibits the expression of all but the official view of war, formulated by one man, on pain of twenty years in prison!

The men and women who are in prisons or threatened with prison sentences because of violation of the Espionage law, continued to express their views of the war; they continued to express those ideals and principles which they had upheld for many years before the war.

While most of them did not have much faith in constitutional provisions which run counter to the interests of the ruling class, they were ready to go to prison for their ideals, and they put bourgeois democracy to the test—and went to prison or will go to prison.

Thus far, however, the supreme court of the United States has not dared to say that the law, under which they have been sent to prison is not a violation of the constitution. By some legal juggling the sentences have been affirmed, but no decision has been rendered on the main point they raised, that "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

* * * *

But Debs is in prison! Kate O'Hare is in prison! Many others convicted under this law are or soon will be in prison!

Five years, ten years, twenty years, thus have the sentences run. Thus has the ruling class savagely wreaked its vengeance on those who had the temerity to refuse to accept the ruling class interpretation of the war and its cause.

Shall Eugene V. Debs suffer the torture of ten years in prison after his thirty years of service to the American workers? Shall he serve, what will be, a death sentence?

Shall Kate Richard O'Hare be separated from her children by stone walls and iron bars for five years to come?

Shall Germer, Berger, Kruse, Tucker, Engdahl, Haywood, rot behind prison doors for the next twenty years?

Shall all the others, thousands of them, who have upheld their ideals, pay the price in anguish and suffering that the ruling class is exacting in the sentences of various length imposed upon them, for having stood firm in the hour of trial?

The swelling chorus of the voices of the workers answers with a thunderous "NO!"

How then shall we open the prison doors?

Shall we go to the president and say, "Please, Mr. Wilson, issue an amnesty declaration and let these men and women go free?" Shall we cringe and crawl and beg that the outrage against these men and women be wiped out, so far as it can be wiped out?

The time for "Please, Mr. Wilson," for begging and petitioning is over?

We are in the midst of the class war—the class war grown bitter and brutal because the masters of society feel power slipping from their hands.

As yet they have the power—and are using it.

The workers' power must be organized.

Let us open the prison doors, not through begging and petitioning, but as the workers of Italy and France and England are opening the prison doors—through the threat of their power.

Let us hold great mass meetings and demand freedom for our comrades. Let us join in great mass demonstrations and demand freedom for our comrades. Let us, above all, organize our power, and demand freedom for our comrades.

If we measure up to our opportunity, if through aggressive and intensified propaganda we arouse the workers of this country not to beg, but to growl, the prison doors will open.

That is our task in the struggle for the freedom of our comrades whom capitalism is torturing and mistreating because they stood firmly by their ideals.

Let us begin that task on Labor's International Holiday. Let us make May Day this year memorable as the first manifestation of the determination of the workers of this country not to lag behind in the struggle for freedom.

Let us take up our task of organizing the workers' power to open the prison doors and to abolish capitalism, and never shrink nor falter until our goal is won.

Was Debs Spirited Away for Fear of Worker's Wrath?

Why the Mad Chase Through the Streets of Cleveland?—Why the Round-About Trip to Moundsville?—Many Pertinent Questions Asked About Rough Methods Used in Taking Debs to Penitentiary.

Fear was written in every action by the authorities in their attempt to rush Eugene V. Debs to Moundsville and place him "safely" behind penitentiary bars. The first scene in this drama took place at the Union depot, Cleveland, Sunday morning, April 13. Debs was met at the station by a daily paper reporter and several comrades. He was escorted to the Gillsy Hotel. While Debs and the comrades were eating breakfast, the Plain Dealer reporter, loyal to the masters' interests, reported the arrival of Debs to the federal authorities.

Only a few minutes after breakfast several deputy marshals called at Debs' room and requested that he accompany them to the Federal building. Marguarite Prevey, who was present, objected to this. She maintained that the regular procedure be followed in imprisoning Debs, namely, that his lawyers be first notified that the U. S. supreme court mandate had arrived, that his lawyers then notify his bondsmen to surrender him to the authorities. One of the deputies left the room to telephone to the Federal building. Whether he did or not will remain a mystery. He returned saying that he had orders to take Debs to the Federal building. To this Debs replied: "All right, I am ready to go and the last man who would stand on formalities of any kind."

Debs was escorted to the Federal building by about fifty comrades, who had gathered in front of the hotel. Many of them had automobiles. Arrived at the Federal building, Mrs. Prevey, who was one of Debs' bondsmen, attempted to get into the elevator with Debs and the deputies to go with him to the marshal's office. She was pushed aside and told that no one could accompany Debs up stairs. The comrades waited on the main floor of the building for Debs to return. The number of comrades who came to see Debs off was increasing every minute. One of the secret service men must have smelled danger in this, for immediately a rumor was circulated that Debs had already left the building for the depot. Many comrades, believing this rumor, rushed to the depot, only to be disappointed.

MAD CHASE BEGINS.

In about half an hour Debs returned from the marshel's office and between two deputies, left the building at the eastern entrance. He was almost pushed into a waiting automobile, which we feel sure was the property of or engaged by the Plain Dealer. It was not the property of the federal authorities nor engaged by them so far as we know. No attention was paid to Debs' baggage, his grips and valise. Mr. Baur, Debs' brother-in-law, who had come with Debs all the way from Terre Haute, was not permitted to enter the automobile with Debs. Mr. Baur, Mrs. Deibel, J. Louis Engdahl of the Socialist press service, David Karsner of the New York Call, and A. Wagenknecht of the National Office, Socialist Party, hastily jumped into the automobile of Comrade Fried, which was standing close by and the chase through Cleveland streets began. [illegible] Fried's car was a high pow- [illegible] for other comrades with [illegible] left for be- [illegible] keeping up with the pace set by the car containing Debs and the deputies. Corners were turned on two wheels practically, and the turns were so numerous that in many instances the car containing Debs was a block ahead nearly lost in the midst of dozens of other automobiles going in the same direction.

After driving Debs out to E. 105th street, bringing him back again to E. 55th St., and rushing him south on that street, the chase finally terminated at the Erie depot on E. 55th So. The automobile containing the Socialist press reporters drove into the depot driveway about ten feet behind the car containing Debs. Several additional deputies had already arrived at the depot to help guard Debs. Tickets were bought for Youngstown, and the deputies, seeing that we were bound to make the trip with Debs, and it not being in their power to keep us off of the same train Debs was to be taken on, became pleasant, glad no doubt that they had evaded most of the Socialists who had come from many surrounding cities to see Debs off.

TRIP LONG AND TIRESOME

The first of seven laps of a long, tiresome journey was then begun. Youngstown was the first stop. There a weary half hour was spent in waiting for the trolley to Leetonia. It was about noon, and the deputies relieved each other to take a bite at a cheap restaurant near the Youngstown depot. There was no opportunity to sit down at a table to enjoy a satisfying meal. Debs refused to eat, not wishing to bolt a meal and probably disdaining the panicky condition of his body guard. He kept his seat in the depot, making a few memorandums in his note book and reviewing the May 1 speeches, a copy of which had been given him by the comrades with him representing the National Office of the Socialist Party.

At Youngstown the comrades accompanying Debs first learned that the trip to Moundsville was to be made by short stages on trolley cars, through the hills of Ohio and West Virginia, in most round-about routes so as to avoid demonstrations in favor of Debs on the way. Before leaving Cleveland several rumors were current that the reason Debs was rushed out of that city was to get him away before the monster demonstration advertised for the afternoon was held. A rumor from police headquarters intimated that the police feared the afternoon demonstration, especially if Debs remained in the city. They undoubtedly remembered the 10,000 crowd that gathered upon Market Square several Sundays ago. That the deputies with Debs were afraid of demonstrations on the way to the penitentiary is amply proven by the circuitous route taken to reach Moundsville.

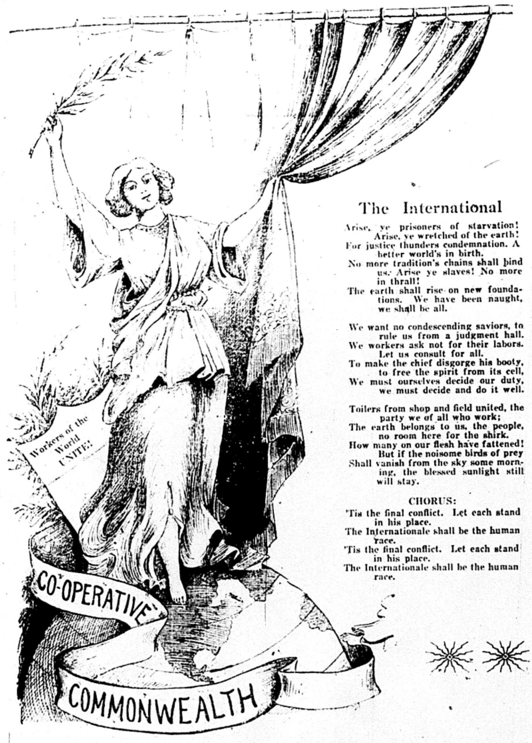
CHANGE CARS SEVEN TIMES.

As we stated, we left Cleveland for Youngstown, waited half an hour for a trolley and then left Youngstown for Leetonia. From Leetonia we went to East Liverpool, from East Liverpool of Steubenville, from Steubenville to Wellsburg, from Wellsburg to Wheeling and from Wheeling to Moundsville, arriving at Moundsville about 10:30 p. m., more than twelve hours after leaving Cleveland. It was extreme even to the younger comrades in the party. Not a minute was allowed for refreshments or a meal until Wheeling was reached at about 9 p. m.

The strain told on Debs and we could see that with more and more difficulty he climbed aboard each successive trolley we took. After leaving Steubenville he fell sound asleep in his seat. Many miles were traversed, the scenery along which was unseen by the eyes of Debs. The backyard dumbs, littered with tin cans and broken pottery. The pottery and coal mine slave villages, stuck in the hillsides, rickety hovels, about ready to tumble down; children half naked and barefooted for the want of shoes. And among all this misery nature asserted itself, for there was also the velvety green of the wheat fields and the pink blossoms of the peach trees.

At Wheeling the deputies hurried into a restaurant and straddled chairs at the quick service lunch counter. We braved their displeasure, sat Debs down at a table and had him order a satisfying meal. We were very hungry and ate heartily. Karsner had to leave before he had quite finished his meal in order to send a telegram to his paper. In his absence Debs reached over to Karsner's plate and helped himself to what Karsner had left. We begged him to give an order for whatever else he desired to eat, but the haste of the deputies, who were already standing at attention at the door of the restaurant made eating sufficient an uncomfortable process, and we arose and followed them to a street carner where we mounted the trolley for the last lap of the journey. Moundsville was [illegible] to talk or to give his usual smile of good cheer, which he had so generously bestowed upon deputies and Socialists alike during most of the trip.

Arrived at the penitentiary he was introduced to the warden, who immediately took him to the north cell block, scarcely giving us time to say good night to the champion of the workers. The warden must have reflected upon his hasty action, for immediately upon his return to his office he asked us if we desired to see Debs for a few minutes before we left. We were glad of the opportunity. We entered the turn table and were swung around to the cell block entrance. The warden expected to find Debs seated in the guards office, but instead Debs had requested to be locked up at once so that he could repose his aching body and find much [illegible]



MAY DAY, 1919

The International

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!
For justice thunders condemnation. A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us. Arise ye slaves! No more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations. We have been naught, we shall be all.

We want no condescending saviors, to rule us from a judgment hall.
We workers ask not for their labors. Let us consult for all.
To make the chief disgorge his booty, to free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty, we must decide and do it well.

Toilers from shop and field united, the party we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the people, no room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fattened! But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning, the blessed sunlight still will stay.

CHORUS:
'Tis the final conflict. Let each stand in his place.
The Internationale shall be the human race.
'Tis the final conflict. Let each stand in his place.
The Internationale shall be the human race.

Kate O'Hare Begins Her Prison Sentence

Enters St. Josephs Penententiary To Serve Five Year Sentence

St. Louis.—Convict 21669.

That is the number that now takes the place of the name of Kate Richards O'Hare, former international secretary of the Socialist Party of America.

At noon, April 12, she surrendered herself to the United States Marshal at Fargo, N. D., and at midnight, in the custody of Chief Deputy Wattles, departed for Jefferson City.

She was accompanied by Mrs. Wattles and reached the prison April 14, where she was "dressed in" and assigned to the overall and suspender factory of the Missouri state penitentiary.

At the same moment that Eugene V. Debs was entering the penitentiary at Moundsville, Mrs. O'Hare was entering the penitentiary at Jefferson City. Both were indicted, tried and convicted under the espionage act. She was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

Conspiracy of Silence.

The events leading to the incarceration of Mrs. O'Hare have been veiled in mystery. None of the western papers carried accounts of it. The capitalist papers of the northwest raised the most violent hue and cry, appealing to the worst elements of human nature just before she surrendered in Fargo.

She ended her farewell tour in St. Paul.

She was billed to speak in the auditorium.

But the mayor and city council rose in their dignity and refused to let her speak.

More than 5,000 people crowded into the auditorium the night that she was to speak.

Standing alone on the great stage, an 11-year-old girl gave an address.

Little Daughter Spoke.

It was Kathleen O'Hare, Mrs. O'Hare's daughter.

The audience was enraged by the autocratic attempt of the mayor and the council to strangle free speech and free assemblage.

They demanded that Mrs. O'Hare speak herself.

She rose from her seat in a box and said:

"The mayor and council have made my argument for me. If you are my friends, you will permit this to conclude this meeting."

Some of the Minneapolis and St. Paul dailies frothed at the mouth at this outcome. They endeavored to institute a reign of terror. But the public and the returned soldiers failed to fall for the appeals to the "good citizens" to make an example of a "convicted criminal."

Husband's Hurried Farewell.

Frank P. O'Hare, her husband, went to Fargo to be with her on the way to prison. The Bourbon press had terrorized the authorities and he was given but a few minutes with her.

Every effort was made to spirit her away, so that the great hosts of her friends should not know when she left or be able to say good bye to her.

Citizens of St. Louis had contemplated a special car to Jefferson City to greet her with flowers, but the authorities refused to let it be known when she would leave Fargo. The plan for the tribute had to be abandoned.

After several hours of determined effort, her husband was granted an interview of a few short minutes with her in the prison, and then was shown the door, with the information that he could not see his wife oftener than once a month.

Call for American Freedom Convention to be held in Chicago, July 3-4-5

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago.—Twenty-four thousand years in prison is about the aggregate of the sentences of persons already convicted, is one of the facts set forth in the call for the "American Freedom Convention" planned for July 3-5, by the National League for the Release of Political Prisoners to be held in Chicago.

The program and call for the convention is being sent out by the immediate action committee, which has established offices at Room 414, Mid-City Bank Bldg., Chicago. It will go to 30,000 local organizations of the labor movement of the nation, to the local secretaries, state secretaries and national executive committeemen of the Socialist Party, labor and radical publications, and to the officials of all radical and religious organizations that can be interested in the struggle for the release of war prisoners.

PROGRAM.

1. THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF AMERICAN POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS—FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS AND FREE ASSEMBLAGE.
2. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL PERSONS PROSECUTED OR IN PRISON FOR POLITICAL OPINIONS, INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES OR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

"The great American demand is that all those statutes necessary, or thought to be necessary, for the period of the war, in so far as they affect the rights of our democratic people to meet together and to express themselves in any way that they see fit to be [illegible]

THE RUSSIAN QUESTION

(There have been so many lies printed and uttered about the Soviet Republic of Russia that many persons who would scorn, ordinarily, to lie, keep repeating lies that they believe to be truths. Of course, this is just what the world Junkers, who have menaged this lying campaign, have aimed to accomplish. There has come to our hands a bulletin, issued by the Methodist Federation for Spscial Service. In this is an article, "The Russian Question." It covers this matter so thoroughly and dispassionately that we print it in its entirey. If it had been published by a Socialist or Radical paper, a prejudiced public would discount its statements. Coming from the quarter it does, it should be given wide publicity among those who have been fed on lying literature coming from groups and bureaus interested in restoring the right to rob the Russian people through the capitalist system, abolished in Russia by the people).

Our concern with this question is because the Soviet government is an attempt to organize a new social order.

Sources and Character of Information.

Upon so disputed an issue, it is very difficult to secure impartial information. Reports entirely conflicting, according to degree of contact of observers with actual working of revolution and again according to sympathies of eye-witnesses. It is assumed that readers are familiar with the case against bolshevism as it is constantly presented in the daily press and in propaganda of its opponents; therefore, and because of lack of space, that material is not summarized here. Available first-hand sources of information are: Documents issued by Soviet government, reports of competent observers, books by Trotzky, such messages from Lenine as censorship has permitted to come into this country.

The Soviet Government.

What is a Soviet? A local unit of government. Had its beginning on agricultural side, in the "mir," oldest Russian democratic institution, similar to New England town meeting. In cities: developed in revolution of 1905, when Working Men's Councils grew up semi-clandestinely. Years of surreptitious discussion and promulgation of economic theories in these centers, made appearance of Soviets natural in revolution against monarchy, March, 1917.

How Is It Organized? Local Soviet in every community. In rural sections, rural Soviet or Volost, represents group of villages, composed of peasant delegates. In cities, various districts have Soviets composed of representatives chosen by occupation. Soviet autonomous in local affairs. All political parties represented, strongest group electing delegates to next higher Soviet. Total system consists of local, county, provincial and regional Soviets and the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. National Organization: New government officially known as the "Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic," consists of All-Russian Congress of Soviets, supreme legislative body meeting four times or more annually; Central Executive Committee of 250, virtually a continuous parliament, chief law-making body; Council of People's Commissars, the cabinet or ministry, consisting of 17 elected from Central Executive Committee, each heading a department or commissariat.

Extent? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution, it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and replacement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors. Every great social change is brought about by events of the moment, which are of only temporary significance, and this was no exception. Why did the Bolsheviki dissolve the constituent assembly, an act universally criticised in this country? First, assembly no longer represented popular will; only a small proportion of population interested in political reform; peasants demanded land and said to parties who wanted assembly, "We've got the land; if it gets into politics, which we do not understand, we will be cheated out of it." Industrial workers demanded control of industry; soldiers demanded democracy in the army and peace; depleted and disorganized condition of the country forced leaders to promises of economic rather than political reform; second, assembly, which met in January, elected the previous November on basis of lists prepared before Bolshevist revolution. Party lines had changed, sentiment had shifted to left or radical wing, but reactionaries predominated in assembly. Bolshevists first tried to put through program; failing, bolted, carrying people with them. Assembly passed the radical land measure, declared for immediate peace, and then died of inanition. Soviets, which had been gradually developing, now proved more responsive to the will of both peasants and industrials; Bolsheviki, therefore, did not impose a new form of government to suit their own purposes, but were put into power by a system which had long been developing.

Political Parties. Bolsheviki, or majority, radical wing of Social Democratic Labor party. Called also Maximalists, as favoring maximum revolutionary power, came into power by gaining control of Soviets in November, 1917, revolution, which resulted from change of political complexion of majority Soviets. Only effective sovereign power since March, 1917.

Mensheviki, or minority. Social Democratic moderates, called also Minimalists. Also thoroughgoing Socialists.

Socialist Revolutionists, party of Katherine Breshkovskaya (the "Little Grandmother of the Revolution"), Kerensky and Tchernov of moderates, and Marie Spiridonova of radicals, whose following is now with and now against the Bolsheviki.

Cadets, Constitutional Democrats, a pre-revolutionary party, controlling first provisional government under Lvoff and Miliukov, and having part in Kerensky coalition regime, middle class in sympathies.

The Bolsheviki Rule.

Leaders—Lenine: pen-name of Vladimir Ulianoff; belongs to noble family; had brother executed for revolutionary activity in czarist regime; active in revolutionary efforts for 20 years; fomenting revolt in Austria when war broke out. Author "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," "Agrarian Problem in Russia," and other works.

Trotzky: Pen-name of Bronstein, Commissar of Foreign Affairs; member of wealthy Moscow family, but refused father's money, hence always poor; exiled and imprisoned under czar's reign; opposed signing of Brest-Litovsk treaty, but overruled by Lenine. Author "The Bolsheviki and World Peace" and "Our Revolution," both published in this country.

"The present cabinet is probably the most cultured cabinet in the history of the world. All are experts upon a great many questions. Several have written books of philosophy and religion." (A. R. Williams, formerly pastor of East Maverick Congregational church, Boston, author of "In the Claws of the German Eagle").

Policies (Indicated by official decrees). General aim: To make labor, not property, basis of social organization. Specific aims: To guard industrial workers from overwork, from diseases of occupation, from employment at too early an age, and, in case of women and young people, from unsuitable occupations and night work. To take over all grain supplies held by speculators, or for illicit manufacture of alcohol. To socialize national finances, natural resources and the land (pensioning present holders sufficiently for their support). To make education accessible to all by means of free tuition in primary and secondary institutions, access by public to all libraries of over 500 volumes, whether owned by individuals or institutions, and by printing and circulating under government auspices, either at cost or entirely free, copies of Russian classics. To free courts and judicial procedure from traditional abuses and make them function as instruments of justice to all classes. To make marriage monogamous and free; to make divorce possible on application of either party (apparently without giving reason); to establish legal rights of all children. To free public from misrepresentations of press by attaching penalties to false reports. To establish religious liberty. To renounce all imperialistic ambitions.

Program—Election platform: "Immediate peace, land for the peasants, workers' control of industry, all power to Soviets." Claimed as single aim perfection of Soviet government. Overwhelming majority supported program, accepting only 50 per cent. of power to which they were entitled, because Bolsheviki settled land question as peasants desired, namely: Those who would use it received it.

Qualifications for Voting—Slogan: "A vote for every one who works." Individuals living on rent and interest considered parasites, not allowed to vote; franchise obtainable by going to work. In progress of democracy franchise has been limited by property owning and literacy qualifications. Soviet government and Bolsheviki require a new test, making service to the common life basis of citizenship. "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," when that class out-numbers all others and organizes the government becomes a high-sounding phrase for "rule of majority." Determining question for both Soviets and our political democracy is whether in practice either results in control of minority. Russia's population is 84 per cent. peasant, 9 per cent. industrial, 7 per cent. (until the war) bourgeois towners and managers—of this 7 per cent., 1 per cent. had nearly 100 per cent. of industrial management).

Working the Program—Formulated peace slogan, "No annexations, no indemnities," which greatly influenced allied war aims. Published secret treaties showing imperialistic bargains for territory made by allied governments. Demobilized czar's army of 12,000,000, and raised new "Red army." Reaffirmed czar's decision to banish vodka. Redistributed land, nationalized all natural resources, ordered compulsory insurance for agricultural workers at state expense, also for homesteads against fire, drought, epidemic among cattle, etc. Schools organized and opened where none previously existed. Installed extensive hospital facilities, reorganized factories and made them more productive. (In one establishment employing 6,000 men, 18 cars a day were turned out under Kerensky regime. Soviet reorganized [illegible] force to 1,800 and turned out 12 cars a day by methods [illegible] working men, an increase of more than 100 per cent. per man. Data concerning industrial efficiency or inefficiency very inadequate. Repudiated foreign debt. Moderate Socialists wanted, after due warning from liberals, to repudiate that part loaned to czar to repress revolution. Bolsheviki repudiated all because against capitalism; also because read in French and German economists that repudiation would occasion revolution in those countries. Later offered to protect small French investors, and have since offered to arrange entire payment, if that is price of peace. Has withstood all attacks for more than a year. Has been support of Mensheviki and leaders among intellectuals, notably Gorky, one of Russia's greatest writers. Has maintained itself despite substantial help given internal enemies by allied governments, and also despite natural attempt of employers to cripple new program by taking away books and dismantling machinery.

Information as to how far whole program has been carried is inadequate.

The Present Chaos—Professor Lomonosoff, a moderate Socialist, says chaos is now between Bolsheviki and group of monarchist adventurers. He, with other Mensheviki and disinterested foreign observers, prefer Bolsheviki. All agree that intervention has strengthened Bolsheviki. Kolchak regime in Siberia, which allied forces support, is manufacturing vodka from wheat that without intervention would go to feed central Russia. Has destroyed provisional representative government by imprisoning moderate Socialist members, who have since been killed.

The Red Terror—Amount unknown. New Statesman, London, anti-Bolsheviki in policy, says of all executions in Moscow since Bolsheviki came into power, 60 per cent. were of corrupt Soviet officials. Relation of fact to report seen in "Sa. Bartholomew incident": American newspaper reported that on November 10, Bolsheviki would carry out general massacre of all opponents. What actually happened: Soviet council of Petrograd adopted resolution giving amnesty to all hostages and persons alleged to be involved in plots against Soviets, except those whose detention was deemed necessary for safety of Bolshevists in enemy hands. Kinds: (1) Massacres and murders of hated officers and defeated opponents in early days. (2) Lawlessness by discharged soldiers and criminal elements. For examples, "wine pogroms," in which these elements broke into wine cellars and caused disturbances. (3) Internecine warfare between factions, extent unknown. (4) Execution by legal procedure of counter-revolutionists and also of Soviet officials for criminality and even delinquency. Capital punishment at first abolished, but reintroduced for punishment of traitors to revolution within and without the government. Number apparently high, but no reliable figures available. Evidently increased by encouragement of counter-revolutionists by allies.

Their Attitude—From reply of Tchitcherin, Commissar of War, to allies: "Have gentlemen representing neutral powers heard of crushing of Sinn Feiners in Dublin, of White Terror in Finland, of mass murder of working men and peasants in Ukraine? To our enemies we bring war without quarter; force is being used only in holy cause of liberation of the people." From letter of Lenine to American working men: "Have English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workingmen and poverty-stricken peasants dare to use it against bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it [illegible] to put exploiting minority in place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when employed in cause of actual majority, in cause of proletariat and semi-proletariat, of working class and poor peasantry. The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in 'slaughtering ten million in complete [illegible].' Should our war, the war of the oppressed and exploited against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that victims of the world war died a righteous death and those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause."

Official Attitude Toward Religion.

Summary of original decree on church and state. Church is separated from state. No laws may be passed restricting freedom of conscience, or to establish advantage or privilege on account of religious affiliation. Citizens may profess any religion or none. Free observance of religious customs guaranteed if they do not disturb public order or infringe upon rights of citizens. Exemptions of performance of civil duties on ground of religion permitted upon consideration of individual cases. Teaching and study of religion to be done privately. Religious societies subject to general regulations governing other private associations, and may not enjoy privileges or subsidies from state. Compulsory collection of payments and assessments for church or religious societies forbidden. All properties of existing religious societies declared national property. Buildings and articles especially designed for religious services given for free use of corresponding religious societies.

Co-operation with Religious Organizations—Y. W. C. A. Under Bolsheviki opened and kept running clubs for women and girls in Petrograd and Moscow. Though they helped rich and poor alike, Soviet did not hinder their efforts. Permitted to make industrial investigations, though using an interpreter opposed to Bolsheviki. Y. M. C. A. under czar had little co-operation and general prohibition. After first revolution, Soviets quickly rallied to support of association. Moscow Soviet gave buildings and full permission to work. When Bolsheviki came into power, Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education, warmly appreciated work, asked that it be enlarged, reaffirmed all permissions of Kerensky regime. When difficult to get money, Bolshevik authorities gave permission to Y. M. C. A. officer to draw two and a half millions out of state bank. For rural work along Volga, gave large passenger steamer free, paid salary of crew of 40 men, furnished fuel and financed alterations on boat, though this particular enterprise had Russian priests and men opposed to Bolsheviki on staff. Permitted to ship goods on railroads free, and given freight and passenger cars as needed. National Soviet leaders emphasized desire for continuance of work and wish for more American experts to help in educational, economic and relief work.

Some Questions.

1. Aim of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is to establish a state composed of producers and to make socially useful labor the requirement for citizenship.

How is this related to a similar element in the Christian ideal of society? Does this movement apprehend and seek the rest of the Christian ideal? Are its methods destructive of that ideal? Decision must await more evidence and further development.

There is sharp divergence of evidence concerning the relation of acts and rules of local Soviets to national decree. It must be remembered, however, that nothing which may be proved against the Bolsheviki can diminish the value of the ideal of a democratic order composed of co-operating producers.

2. It is evident that acts abhorrent to humanity have occurred under Bolshevist regime. To what extent are they due to the policy of that regime? To the general disorganization of society following collapse of the old order? To practice of all Russian parties of using "terror" against opponents? To Russian temperament, in which brutality and kindness are strangely mixed?

On this question of responsibility for, as well as extent of, criminal acts there is sharp contradiction of testimony; also as to whether methods of suppressing rebels are more ruthless than our own "law and order." Apparently the degree of violence and disorder varies in different sections according to amount and character of attack upon new government. Indications are that government is restoring law and order with a strong hand. More evidence is needed before passing final judgment.

The Senate Inquiry.

Since the above material was prepared, the senate inquiry has commenced. Most of the information at present made public by the committee has been considered in making this summary. It has been compared not only with the testimony of observers who are sympathetic with the Soviet principle, but also with the evidence of neutral witnesses. The committee has been asked to hear ten representative American religious and social workers who are neither Bolshevists nor Socialists.

The first week the newspapers failed to print testimony relating to the constructive activities of the Soviets. The next week testimony was blocked regarding Siberia because the Bolshevists are not in power there now. Yet there the Soviets accomplished constructive results before allied intervention drove them from power.

If the newspapers continue to withhold such data, or the committee continues to consider it irrelevant, we shall endeavor to supply it to our readers.

American "Democracy" As Seen By Workers of Europe

European Workers Protest Imprisonment of Debs and Other Class War Prisoners

Italy.—Avanti, the Italian Socialist daily, in a recent issue published three columns reviewing the American political persecutions, while the national executive committee of the Italian party has cabled its sympathy to the American party in its hour of trial.

* * *

The 50 Socialist members of the Italian chamber of deputies absented themselves, as a protest against the imprisonment of American Socialists, when President Wilson appeared before Italy's parliament at Rome, in January, 1919.

* * *

Great Britain.—The Labor Leader, official organ of the British Independent Labor Party, after giving considerable space to the persecution and mprisonment of American Socialists, published an editorial denouncing "these legal outrages."

* * *

The Call, official organ of the British Socialist Party, published the entire contents of the leaflet issued by the National Office of the American Socialist Party, entitled "Restore Our Rights."

* * *

Sweden.—The Socialists of Sweden, fter having been prevented by the ensorship from securing the facts bout conditions in the United States, ally received information regarding the persecution of the American [illegible] returning to out a call for nation-wide protest meetings.

* * *

Russia.—The Russian Soviet Republic has always manifested a keen interest about conditions in the United States. Nikolai Lenine, in interviews with American newspaper correspondents, has made special requests for information concerning the fate of political and industrial war prisoners in this country. He is reported as having offered to make an exchange of prisoners to secure the release of Debs."

* * *

France.—Populaire and L'Humanite, the two French Socialist dailies, published in Paris, have closely followed the governmental attack on the American Socialist Party. In a special editorial article, Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx, denounces especially the sentence meted out to Debs.

* * *

"We Europeans have no comrade like your 'Gene Debs,'" said Mrs. Dora Montefiore, as we sat in the reception room of the Woman's Lyceum Club, in London, some years ago, narrates Lena Morrow Lewis, in the "Special Debs Number" of the New Justice, just issued at Los Angeles, California.

"He gives a human touch to the movement," explained Mrs. Montefiore, "and radiates a spirit of love that is irresistible. I followed him in [illegible] meetings where he [illegible] when his power. I do not hesitate to say that we have no one in all the European movement who may be compared to him. My American comrades are to be congratulated on having such a worker."

SWEDISH TOILERS IN PROTEST FOR AMERICAN POLIITICAL PRISONERS

Politiken, the chief organ of the Swedish left wing Socialists, published a half page manifesto calling on the party membership throughout the land to organize protest meetings against America's treatment of political and industrial prisoners. Through its underground channels Politiken has procured a mass of details of specific cases of imprisonment of American workers, according to a cabled article by Bassett Digby in the Chicago Daily News.

The Swedish left Socialists are exhorted to do their utmost to cause the release of "American political prisoners."

BRITISH SOCIALISTS HEAR OF PERSECUTION HERE

That the Socialists of France and Great Britain are astounded at the conviction of the five Socialists, Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker and William F. Kruse, is putting it lightly.

We have just received a copy of the "Labor Leader," the organ of the Independent Labor Party. This is the first copy received for more than two years. It received its news of the trial from Paris.

[illegible] the "Labor Leader," "bears out only too powerfully what Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of the American 'Nation' told us last week in his interview with regard to the state of 'war mania' that would seem to be still prevailing in the United States.

"To this is now added capitalist panic against bolshevism, a panic which in large measure is born of a guilty conscience and fear of the harvest of past oppressions or the frustrations of present and future plans for world exploitation.

"Labor unrest is working all through the new world of the west as well as in the war tortured plains of Europe. The news from South America suggests efforts at revolution and ruthless suppressions, followed by fresh outbreaks. Who can foretell the end?"

Evidently the czaristic tactics of American "justice" do not harmonize very well, to the ears of European workers, with the honeyed [illegible]

French Socialists' View Of Debs' Sentence

(From Le Populaire, the Socialist Daily of Paris, Edited by Jean Longuet, Dated March 16, 1919).

I have received the following cable from Comrade Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party in the United States:

"Chicago, March 13.—The Supreme Court of the United States has confirmed the decision of the lower courts in the case of Debs. Debs will therefore spend ten years in prison.—Germer."

The Populaire has already given out this news as a dispatch from our

emotion at such a verdict. We won't, however, repeat this here, because, in truth, Socialists can never remain indifferent or inactive when, in any place on the globe, the rights of their comrades are violated by the power of bourgeois magistrates.

We know what a glorious part our comrade, Eugene Victor Debs, who is called the American Lasalle, has played for a quarter of a century in the Socialist movement across the Atlantic. At first fighting for the unions, as secretary of the Railway unions, he directed the great Pullman strike of Chicago, in 1894, and was condemned to six months' imprisonment. It was in prison that he became a Socialist. Since then he has been one of the founders of our party in the United States. For three times with wonderful energy and marvelous spirit, he carried the Socialist message from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes of Canada to the boundaries of Mexico, as candidate for the presidency of the republic. He rolled up thus a Socialist vote of more than a million.

The conviction of such a man, universally esteemed by his adversaries, revered by his comrades, to so monstrous a punishment as that to which he has been condemned, for the simple expression of his Socialist opinions, will be a blot on the escutcheon of the great American republic to which its distinguished president has given such a noble luster in all the world.

It is not possible that President Wilson will let our comrade, Debs, fulfill the scandalous sentence to which [illegible]

A TELEGRAM FROM DEBS' BROTHER

Terre Haute, Ind., April 14, 1919.

Eugene V. Debs,
Federal Prison,
Moundsville, West Virginia.

They have your body behind prison walls but your unconquerable spirit, radiant as a sunburst, soars humanity's luminous heights a million miles beyond the foul touch of filthy hypocrites and their prostituted mercenaries. Your unwavering fidelity to principle, your unfaltering love and devotion to the cause of the crushed and oppressed will be an unceasing inspiration. I was never so proud of you. My arms are about you, old pal, and will be through time and eternity.

Your loving brother,
THEODORE DEBS.

Prison Poems

VISIONS, GO NOT FROM ME!

Visions, go not from me!
In my softest hour,
Pierce through and fashion me
After your power.

Though I be falling
In sloth or in sleep,
Reach up your voices
Out of the deep.

Visions, go not from me!
If I be content,
Spur me to thirst again
Ere life be spent.

—Charles Ashleigh.

(I. W. W. serving ten-year sentence in federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan.)

A ROSE.

Pink petals of rose:
Bloom.
You will share this prison-cell with me,
You in your tincup of water in the corner,
I in my narrow cot.
You were sent rather unwillingly—
And so was I—
—For dear love's sake
—And I, for liberty's.

Perfumed petals of rose:
Bloom.
Suffuse your fragrance through the corridor.
Your sweetness
Will be a sign of beauty in this bitter place—
O! so may I!

—H. Austin Simons.

(Conscientious objector, serving eight-year sentence at Fort Leavenworth).

SINGING IN JAIL.

I hear the poets singing in the jail,
Never do their songs of courage fail.
Songs of human aspiration ring—
Though the scaffolds rise, the poets sing!

Standing with their backs against the wall,
While guns crackle, while their comrades fall,
Strong in courage—never do they fail—
Singing songs of freedom in the jail!

—Mary O'Reilly.

From The Liberator.

What Debs Did For Imprisoned Miners

Minden, W. Va., March 17, 1919.

Comrades: During the Paint Creek strike in this state, when we miners were almost defeated, and Mother Jones and John Brown were in prison illegally and some of our men in the penitentiary at Moundsville, sent there by the governor, unlawfully; and soldiers and company guards were in our midst, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met and elected E. V. Debs to draft a resolution to be presented to the United States senate calling for a senatorial investigation of the Paint Creek strike and which was presented through Senator Kern and passed the senate causing the immediate release of all our brothers in prison, Mother Jones included.

Now a federal judge who is not worthy to shine Comrade Debs' shoes, and was is as far beneath him morally and intellectually as Pilate was below Christ, says he must serve ten years in Moundsville—in the very prison that Debs made open and give up our miners.

Can we now make the prison open up and give up to us Debs, whom we all love, and to whom we owe a debt of gratitude more than to any other single individual in America?

It is not enough that we make the prisons open and give back to us Debs, Mooney, O'Hare, Haywood and others, but we must destroy the thing that denies us our right of free speech, and achieve for ourselves the things for which Debs fought and for which he is going to prison, namely, free speech free press and free assemblage.

These things cannot exist until the federal courts have been abolished and the capitalist system of industry has passed away.

The very least that I could do as an individual in recognition of the services Debs has rendered my class would be to ask of the court that I be permitted to serve the sentence in his stead and that he be permitted to go free; for it is for us that he must suffer and as all of the miners cannot go to jail I ask that I be permitted to serve his sentence. This is my offering in behalf of the West Virginia miners and to show partially their appreciation of the labors of the great chief of rebels, the crowning glory of the social revolution in America.

What a privilege to be able to take that burden from him upon myself and shield him from the fiendish abuse and hellish insults that will be his in Moundsville under the hirelings of the coal companies of this state!

FRANK GRAHAM.

State Convention of Ohio Socialists to be Held in Cincinnati

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio named Cincinnati as the convention city and set June 27, 28 and 29 as the dates for the 1919 party convention.

Cincinnati Socialists are already hard at work arranging for the state picnic, which will take place Sunday, June 29. Particulars about location of the picnic grounds, program of speakers and other details will be made public in the Ohio Socialist in an early edition.

The State Office will compute the average membership of the locals in Ohio for the twelve months beginning May 1, 1918, and ending April 30, 1919, at once and each local will be notified how many delegates it is entitled to.

In the meantime, every local and branch of the party is requested to study the constitutional provisions as printed below. Note especially the section which disqualifies locals from representation and the section which provides that unless a delegate deposits his credentials before 3 o'clock of the first day of the convention, he will not be entitled mileage.

All good standing locals in the state should be represented at this convention. It will be the most important in the party's history because of the important occurrences in the field of socialism which have transpired lately. And remember the state picnic, June 29. Attend.

Here are the constitutional provisions covering state conventions. Read them at the next meeting of the local.

ARTICLE VIII
Conventions.

Section 1. State conventions shall be held annually, time and place to be decided by the Party State Executive Committee.

Sec. 4. The basis of representation in any State Convention shall be by Locals, each Local being entitled to at least one delegate. Locals embracing more than one hundred members in good standing shall be entitled to one additional delegate for every one hundred members, provided, that where subdivisions exist the Local may allow such subdivision to elect its delegate according to its quota of membership, the total not to exceed the total number allowed the Local.

Sec. 5. When any subdivision of a Local has not a sufficient number of members to allow it a representative, two or more subdivisions numbering one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, may jointly elect a delegate so long as the Local remains within the limits of its quota.

Sec. 6. Representation shall be [illegible] up to within two months of the time selected for holding the convention.

Sec. 9. Locals which have not purchased due stamps during the four months preceding the date of apportioning delegates to the state convention, shall not be entitled to representation.

Sec. 10. Only those who have been members of the party for one year or more shall be eligible as delegates to the state convention, unless the local to be represented shall have been in existence a shorter length of time; in which case the delegates must be charter members of the local.

Sec. 11. Delegates to the state convention failing to present their credentials to the Credential Committee by 3 o'clock of the first day of the convention will not be entitled to mileage.

NOTICE, THE NEXT STATE PICNIC

The state convention publicity committee of the Socialist Party of the state of Ohio, hereby notifies different locals or branches of the Socialist Party, that the state convention of Ohio, for the year 1919, will be held at Cincinnati, O., June 27 and 28. The state picnic will be held at Coney Island, June 29, 1919. It should be every revolutionary Socialists' duty to be present at the state picnic, no matter if from central, northern or southern parts of the state. Let's get together, rally around the reds, and have a good and jolly time.

The committee also wishes to state that tickets, which will be forwarded to each and every local or branch in the state, can be had of comrades for 25c a piece, while at the boat wharf same will cost you 35c a piece, and therefore we ask you to buy as many tickets as possible.

Furthermore we beg to state that the "country store" will be held at the local headquarters during the convention, at 1314 Vine St., and as usual does the committee ask comrades, friends and sympathizers for donations for such "country store," which will be gladly and with many thanks received.

Kindly forward donations to the treasurer of the committee, Comrade Lotta Burke, 1314 Vine St., or the secretary, Otto F. Hoefer, 1315 Vine St.

Comrades and friends, remember, under NO circumstances miss the state picnic.

Convention Publicity Committee.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

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Letters From 'Outside' Cheer Class War Prisoners

(Printed by Permission of the Recipients, Comrades W. E. and Laura Reynolds).

Dear Friends: Letters from outside these walls bring more cheer into our hearts than you can imagine. It surely makes one feel good to know that the people think of us and are doing all they can to get us out of this hole. We are all in pretty good health and the best of spirits, but it gets awfully monotonous to stay in one place behind big walls and iron bars. A day or a few days in prison does not seem so hard, but when these days grow into months, years, then one learns the feeling of being tied to one spot. The monotony, the sameness, is what wears. That is why letters from the outside cheer one so and help to break the monotny of prison life.

Note what you say regarding the many big meetings the Socialists are having and that the working class are with the Bolsheviki. It is high time the workers learned who their friends are. What gets my goat is the severe criticisms of the union strikes. People naturally believe that when laboring men receive pretty large wages they ought to be content. That argument is all right as far as it goes. When the government began to pay its shipbuilders $6 to $10 a day, the merchants and institutions which supplied these laborers the necessities of life raised prices which upon investigation, proved to be from 150 to 3,000 per cent., so that the workers could hardly purchase enough to live on. It seems that everybody ought to know that this is the cause of the strikes. The Swift Co. admits increased dividends of $42,000,000 over last year. The Anaconda Mining Co., with $51,000,000 surplus in its treasury. Yet we find men and women defending these robbers and condemning the laboring man.

Every day we see big headlines in the papers about deportation of I. W. W., Bolshevists and Socialists and then we read that other countries are also deporting them to the U. S. That's getting rid of them, isn't it? Now I believe all these daily press lies have but one purpose—to keep us in prison and to exterminate all radical movements. But the dawn of a brighter day is breaking. We shall yet see justice triumph.

The Ohio Socialist has found its way into my cell and, believe me, it sure is a welcome visitor every week. I like it because it strikes straight at the roots of the rotten system.

Yours for the cause,
ARTHUR BOOSE.

Tiffin Runs To Red

By EDWIN MYLER.

Local Tiffin held a very enthusiastic meeting in the high school auditorium, April 12. Speakers for the evening were Comrade Lilith Martin and Wm. O. McClury.

Comrade McClury made a short talk on bolshevism and its origin and gave to his hearers one of the most highly defined definitions of socialism and its fruits that has so far been presented in Tiffin.

When Comrade Martin was introduced she didn't realize that she was going to speak to more than the workers of this vicinity, but in the well filled auditorium were many professional men and politicians of the old anr nearly past regime.

When our comrade remarked on the "convict" strike at "our capitol." Ft. Leavenworth as proof of the coming solidarity and the most powerful of all weapons "reason" she was applauded by all within hearing.

After the meeting, when about to adjourn, a doctor and an old time politician went forward to congratulate Comrade Martin on her address. The politician was approached on the subject of their present national leader and he laughingly stated that such was a thing of the past, he would, from now on, follow the masses.

The receipts from the collection and sale of literature was exceptionally large considering the number present who were not red.

Local Tiffin will be out in front on Debs' protest day, having plans to placard the entire county with protest signs and to get the signature of every voter in this district on a protest portcard.

* * *

At our last regular meeting we had as our guest Comrade Daniel Rosenberg of New York city, a traveling salesman, who gave a very lengthy talk on the many locals and branches in New York, demonstrating the many different social factions, but when he came to Ohio he stated that he found only one, that being completely Bolsheviki, and no moderate or conservative element.

When about to leave he was handed a few copies of the O. S. and the O. S. received another new one-year sub.

In Tiffin we draw no line in our drive for new members and as for subs we try everybody, and by our growing sub list you can tell the results.

Political Prisoners Must be Released

War is ruthless and brutal. It is a negation of democracy. War knows no sympathy for its victims, and for its success the most unjust and extreme punishment is meted out to those whose conscience and principles are not in harmony with it.

Thousands of men and women have been imprisoned, both by court-martial and by civil courts—men and women whose only crime was disagreement with the world war. That sentences given these thousands of political and military war prisoners were unjust was proven at hearings before the senate investigating committee.

The war is over. Society is returning to a more or less normal state. Hate of workers by each other is being replaced by love and vengeance by kindness. Working men and women in all parts of the United States are beginning to realize that the thousands of war prisoners rotting in jails are of their class and not of the class that plunders—the profiteers. Although a venal press may have divided the workers upon this question of war, neither the capitalist press nor any other agency of the ruling class can much longer divide the workers upon the question of identity of interests.

All political prisoners of war are of our blood and our class. We demand their release. We shall not rest until the dungeon door opens for the last of the political and military war prisoners. We shall agitate and propagate for their release until the workers of the entire country, en masse, join in this just and humane demand.

We demand that the United States congress, the president, the secretary of war and others at present clothed with power, and who have jurisdiction over the fate of these thousands of political prisoners of war, immediately set in motion the necessary governmental machinery for the release of all men and women now in prison because of opposition to the war or infractions of its autocratic regulations.

DECLARATION REGARDING THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE ELECTION ADOPTED BY LOCAL CUYAHOGA COUNTY

As a result of the war, which has brought in its wake the social revolution in action, a strong movement has developed in every Socialist Party of the world for more radical and revolutionary tactics. This is a logical development to those who view socialism, not as a scheme or a plan devised by some great mind, but as a social movement, having its roots deep in the existing social conditions, which must change and adjust itself as the social and economic conditions develop and change.

While the need for new orientation is clearly apparent, there is an element within the party which is either unwilling or unable to adjust itself to the new world conditions and the new tactics required by these conditions. Unfortunately this element has controlled the party National Executive Committee and the party machinery, with the consequence that the national organization, in place of furnishing the leadership and urging the locals forward to take advantage of the present world crisis in building up the proletarian movement, has conspicuously lagged behind.

In view of these conditions we believe that it is essential that the party membership act intelligently in voting for candidates for National Executive Committee. In the past it has too often happened that because members of the party have not been acquainted with the position nor capabilities of candidates, that they have been obliged to vote blindly, or have voted for those whose names are best known to them as writers or speakers, without knowing their position in regard to party policies.

Local Cuyahoga County, by practically unanimous vote of its membership, has endorsed the Left Wing position in the party. While among the candidates for this district there are a number who support the Left Wing position, we believe that it is essential that those who favor this position agree upon certain candidates. Be it therefore,

Resolved, By the County Central Committee of Local Cuyahoga County, that we endorse C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland, Marquerite Prevey of Akron and Fred Harwood of Newark, N. J., and urge all members who wish to support the Left Wing position to vote for these candidates for National Executive Committeemen; that we endorse C. E. Ruthenberg, Louis C. Fraina, John Reed and Isaac E. Ferguson for the International Delegates; that we urge the members to vote "NO" for both candidates for International Secretary, as they do not represent the Left Wing of the party. Be it further

Resolved, That this declaration be published in the Socialist News, the Ohio Socialist, and that it be sent to all other Socialist papers in this district for publication.

KENTUCKY

Official Organization News

E. B. AUSTIN, Asst. State Sec. 231 Broadway, Louisville, Ky.

Louisville, Ky., March 27, 1919.

Special Meeting of the Executive Committee.

Present: J. L. Stark, F. E. Stevens, R. M. Rasmussen and J. J. Bossemer. Absent: W. C. Goodman.

J. J. Bossemer elected chairman.

The following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, Our Comrade J. L. Stark has been selected general organizer for the Expressmen and was selected because of his many years' experience in the Socialist party, and

Whereas, He has organized the Expressmen on a larger scale than has ever been attempted in the past, and

Whereas, His enemies are taking advantage of him because of his political views and have caused him to be removed as general organized. And that too, by a frame-up, in which he was taken by a secret service man to the district attorney on the alleged charges of bolshevism and I. W. W. ism, and

Whereas, All of these charges were promptly dismissed and we are of the opinion that said charges were only part of a well conceived political scheme to prejudice the workmen against him because of his political niews, and

Whereas, the railroad employes central body, representing eleven railway unions (5,000 members) have unanimously taken up his defense and demanded that he be exonerated of these vicious charges.

Therefore be it resolved, That we, the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Kentucky, in special session, March 27, 1919, do hereby urge the membership of said party to give their support to the defense of Comrade J. L. Stark, to the end that he may defeat his enemies and continue his usefulness in the labor movement.

Meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
E. B. AUSTIN, JR.
Assistant State Secretary.

Financial Report for March, 1919.

RECEIPTS.

H. Tinsley, M. A. L. Dues	$ 1.00
A. W. Calhoun, M. A. L. Dues	1.00
W. H. Kiser, M. A. L. Dues	3.00
D. W. Vandever, M. A. L. Dues	2.25
D. W. Vandever, O. S. sub.	.25
D. W. Vandever, literature	.50
Local Louisville dues	18.00
Local Bellevue dues	2.25
Local Newport dues	6.00
Total	$34.25
Balance from February	1.00
Total	$35.25

DISBURSEMENTS.

National dues	$17.00
Postage	2.84
Office supplies	3.00
Revolutionary Age	1.60
Ohio Socialist sub.	.25
State Sec. salary	8.56
Total	$33.25
Receipts	$35.25
Disbursements	33.25
Balance on hand	$ 2.00

Approved by auditing committee:
FRED E. STEVENS.
W. C. GOODMAN.

Regular Meeting of the Executive Committee.

Present: W. C. Goodman, J. L. Stark and F. E. Stevens. Absent: R. M. Rasmussen and J. J. Bossemer.

Reading of the minutes of the previous meeting dispensed with.

Financial report read and approved.

Comrade F. E. Stevens' resignation as State Secretary accepted.

Comrade E. B. Austin, Jr., elected to serve out the unexpired term of State Secretary.

Meeting adjiurned.

Respectfully submitted,
E. B. AUSTIN, JR.
State Secretary.

A PROTEST THAT PROTESTS

An order for supplies to the extent of $41.40 is the way Local Ashtabula protests against the imprisonment of Comrade Debs. Making Socialists is the best possible protest against this latest crime of the master class.

CELEBRATION AT YOUNGSTOWN

A monster protest meeting will be held in Youngstown, May 1. The seven branches of the Socialist Party, together with a number of locals from near by cities, will take part. All labor organizations are also invited to help make this meeting one of the greatest demonstrations ever witnessed in Youngstown. Ten speakers in a number of languages will furnish the oratory for the occasion.

The management has engaged two bands to furnish revolutionary music for the entertainment of the crowds. C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland will speak on the Public Square, May 4, at 8 p. m.

CARRMONTE BRANCH ACTIVE

Local Carrmonte is on the active list. The comrades have routed the germs of sloth and are now up in arms against the social disease-capitalism. The comrades are building up an organization composed of real reds, as they have learned they are the only kind to be relied upon. Literature sales are being rushed by this live little local.

LOCAL CINCINNATI SUBMITS CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The following proposed constitutional amendments are offered by Local Cincinnati for the consideration of the comrades.

Article 1, Section 2. The aims and objects of the Socialist Party of Ohio is to organize the working class on the political and industrial field, for the purpose of securing the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class, and by destroying the present capitalist system and establishing industrial democracy.

Sec. 3, New Article. To further this effort to overthrow the present capitalist system and the securing of the unconditional surrender of the capitalist system and the securing of the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class, we obligate ourselves to the adoption of the Soviet form of government.

Article 18, Section 1. To insert the words, "all other political parties and non-partisan groups."

Resolution

That the press stamps be marked with the month of the year, corresponding in size with the dues stamp and issued quarterly.

HUBBARD LECTURE COURSE

The comrades of Hubbard have engaged four speakers for four consecutive Sunday meetings.

The lectures will be in the following order:

May 2—C. E. Ruthenberg.
May 9—Thurber Lewis.
May 16—Tom Lewis.
May 23—Chas. Baker.

Every comrade in Hubbard is urged to get out and hustle for the success of these meetings, which promise to be the greatest held there for a long time. Take your families with you comrades, and your neighbors also.

HENNACY BEGINS 2nd TERM

Comrade A. A. Hennacy of Columbus who has been serving nearly two years at the Atlanta penitentiary, has been released from that institution. He has now been sentenced to nine months at Delaware, O., for failing to register.

In a recent letter to the State Office, Comrade Hennacy states that he is in the best of health and spirits, but longs to get into the real fight again.

POLICE BECOME LAW BREAKERS

The comrades of Farrell, Pa., were treated to a dastardly example of the lawlessness of the capitalist tools of that city on April 14, when Comrade Wm. J. Dodge of Buffalo attempted to speak for Local 225, W. I. I. U.

About 500 people had assembled at the hall when about 50 police, soldiers, detectives and the fire department, appeared at the door. The fire hose was run into the building and turned upon the audience. Seizing the speaker, masked men carried him to Sharon by auto. When between Sharon and Youngstown, O., they turned him loose, firing volleys of pistol shots after him as he was told to "beat it."

The workers were treated roughly when they refused to flee before the representatives of disorder and anarchy who wore the livery of the U. S. government. The streets were crowded and many small altercations occurred between the peaceful citizens and the assassins of the people's liberties.

This outrage at Farrel is but another evidence of the regard for the laws which the capitalists have. Some fine day the workers will resent such interference and a lot of blood will flow, but it won't all be from the workers' veins.

ANOTHER VICTIM

Dear Comrades: On way from Weed, New Mexico, to Santa Fe, to stand trial for alleged violation of espionage act.

It keeps historians humping to record mankinds' progress these days. Away here in New Mexico I can hear the hum in your office. Keep it up.

Fraternally,
W. P. CALKINS.

Comrade Calkins is an Ohio Socialist booster. We await word of the outcome of his trial.—Ed.

ONE BIG ORDER

Local Toledo does things in a big way. That's because it does big things, or perhaps it does big things because it used big methods. Any way, Local Toledo gets results. Aside from scaring the police department out of a state of somnambulism, the local did another big thing last week. It ordered $450 worth of Ohio Socialist subscription cards. Not only were these cards ordered but they are being sold, as returns prove. Local Toledo has learned one of the great secrets of success. And that is to plan big things and then to see big methods in betting the desired results. Follow the lead of Toledo.

MAYORALTY CANDIDATE SPEAKS IN COLUMBUS

J. L. Bachman, Socialist Party candidate for mayor, will speak at a meeting at 50 1-2 West Gay St., April 27, at 2:30 p. m. The public is invited and all Socialists are urged to be present.

VOTE TO STRIKE MAY 1.

If the decision of the six important unions in France is adhered to, May 1 will be observed by a general abstention from work.

The delegates of these unions—the railroad workers, mines, dock workers, metal workers, sailors and general transport workers—at a meeting decided to unite in efforts to obtain recognition of the demands of the workers, especially an eight hour day and increased wages.

WHY?

Now that the war is over, may we ask why the following, taken from Montgomery and Ward's buyers' guide No. 90? How many readers of this catalog will give a thought to the meaning of this notice?

NOTICE

In our previous catalog we announced that we had discontinued the sale of all revolvers except for police and military purposes. The government is now taking the entire output of the factories making such firearms and for this reason we do not [illegible]

Debs' Message To You

During the last lap of his journey to prison Debs turned to us for a moment, with just the flicker of a tired feeling in his eyes. Yet he was smiling the old familiar smile as he said:

"If I were to engage in satire I would say how strange it is that I have been organizing labor for half a century, and now I am being taken to prison by organized workers, most of them wearing the button of their craft in their hats."

It was literally true. The conductors, the brakemen, the firemen, the engineers, the motormen, all union men, helped take Debs to prison.

As we ascended the incline that leads up to the sleepy hamlet of Moundsville, and to the state prison, Debs gave us his last words to his comrades everywhere. He said:

"As I am about to enter the prison doors I wish to send to the Socialists who have so loyally stood by me since my first arrest, this little message of love and cheer. These are pregnant days and promising ones. We are all on the threshold of tremendous changes. The workers of the world are awakening and bestirring themselves as never before. All the forces that are playing upon the modern world are making for the overthrow of despotism in all its forms and for the emancipation of the masses of mankind. I shall be in prison in the days to come, but my revolutionary spirit will be abroad and I shall not be inactive. Let us all in this supreme hour measure up to our full stature and work together for the great cause that means emancipation for us all. Love to my comrades and hail to the revolution!"

As Debs' body was locked away in West Virginia's bastile, his mind did not concern itself with the question of any presidential pardon that might come offering him release.

"Suppose," we asked him, before he was separated from us, "suppose President Wilson should cable a pardon for you without any strings attached to it, an unconditional pardon, what would you do, what would be your attitude?"

Debs' answer came without a moment's hesitation.

"I shall refuse to accept it unless the same pardon is extended to every man and woman in prison under the Espionage Law. They must let them all out—I. W. W.'s and all—or I won't come out. I do not want any special dispensation of justice in my case. It is perfectly clear. I have always taken that position, and I cannot too strongly assert it now."

The reply must come from America's toiling millions. Get them all out through your organized power and protest.

WORDS OF APPRECIATION

Beloved Comrade: Were I a praying man I would spend some time on my knees wrestling for more power for your good right arm.

The first copy of your most excellent paper, shown me by a comrade, made for itself a large place in my heart and mind. I became a subscriber at once after reading it and am now plugging religiously to strengthen the influence of the Ohio state organ.

I have spent many years (30) in disseminating the beauty, the justness and the common sense of socialism in Michigan and Indiana, in both of which states I am well known.

Coming here about 18 months ago I was quite lost without the touch of my former comrades and naturally concluded that Ohio must be backward in social revolution, perhaps natural enough during the war period.

Since, however, that splendid Ohio Socialist fell into my hands I take off my hat to the movement in this state and will do all I can to boost its circulation.

With profoundest regards for every reader (because they know a good thing when they see it) and wishing the best of success to all who are connected with the paper, I am

Yours for an early victory of humanity,
R. A. DUDERSTADT.
Cincinnati, O.

Words And Deeds

I am here to get all the subs for the Ohio Socialist I can.—W. R. Tompkins, Dalton, O.

* * *

Comrade Frank Centliver of Troy sends in such a big list that he must write some of them on the back of the sub blank, 15 in all. He says: "Spring is here and fishing is fairly good. This net isn't quite large enough for this catch, send me a larger one." To which we add that Comrade Centliver proves himself a good fisherman by landing such a big catch in so small a net.

* * *

"Enclosed is one dollar for a year's subscription to the greatest weekly for the workers in the world."—Geo. J. Christman, Springfield, O.

* * *

"The Ohio Socialist is doing good work. That terrible disease the Russion working people have seems to be very contageous at present. I believe if the workers all over the world were to become afflicted with it, it would cure more of our ills."—D. B. Dale, Wise, Va.

* * *

Comrale Auckerman of Kalamazoo sends in a list of six and adds: "Here are a few more that are getting tired of the lies in the capitalist press."

* * *

"This is my reply to the persecution of one of the best men in the world, Eugene V. Debs."—D. D. Harper, Huntington, W. Va. Comrade Harper sends in 12 yearly subscriptions. If every comrade would do half as well or a quarter as well on May 1, Comrade Debs and all other class war prisoners would walk out of the capitalist jails within one month. Will you do your share?

* * *

Some more coming, says Comrade Wm. Wissman of Hamilton, O., who sends in three yearlies.

* * *

Comrade E. J. Hewit of Ashtabula, O., sends in two subscriptions and promises at least $10 worth in the

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL,
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.,
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening,
8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL,
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93 3-4 Washington St.

Virginia Bulletin

Official Organization News

B. M. DUTTON, State Secretary.

Chairman State Committee, J. W. Cassell, 622 14th Ave. S. W., Roanoke, Va. State Secretary, B. W. Dutton, Abingdon, Va.

Virginia Comrades: Another month has roller around and finds us that much nearer our doom—being devoured alive by the dreadful Bolsheviki. Our Mr. Wilson went to Europe to demolish the thing there, and thus save us in free America from the dread and uneasiness of it. But alas, he has failed, and now we may look out. He is coming back to quarantine against it here, but he may fail again, so you had better be prepared for the worst. Shut yourself up in your homes, pull down the blinds and pray.

And you better pray pretty darned hard, too. If this thing gets you, you are ruined. Bolshevism in free America would mean that the country would be ruled and run by common roughneck persons. These roughnecks would demand shorter hours of labor and everything they produce, so you see there would be nothing left for the better classes, theyefore they would be compelled to go to work on the same terms with the roughnecks. These fool roughnecks would cut out waste, duplication and graft so that pretty soon there would be abundance for all, and lots of leisure for pleasure and cultural improvement, so that by and by these roughneck persons would become cultured and self-respecting gentlemen and ladies AND BE AS GOOD AS ANYBODY. Now if this would not ruin a country I'd like to know what in blazes would?

Take it from me Bo, any country in which the roughneck persons melt up together with the good society that they are all on the same economic and cultural level, so that there is no longer lots of poor, half-starved poor white trash and niggers, compelled by their need and helplessness to wait on us for the bare necessities of existence, Black our boots, cook our meals and do all the labor of our upkeep while we joy-ride, guzzle the best brands and enjoy life generally, IS RUINED.

It is being announced from the Chicago pournalistic red-light district that the I. W. W.'s, the Socialists and a few other dependable anarchists are to meet in that city sometime the first of May and lease the United States out to the Bolsheviki for a million years. I bet the Chicago police will make it lively for them before that lease is finally signed.

When Jesus was here the last time he said something about "he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." Wonder what he meant? Anyway the expression does not synchronize with modern improvement in the art of slaughter. Modernized it would read: "He that hath no Colt automatic, let him sell his Liberty Bond and buy one."

If Jesus were here now and should say that, he would be considered a dangerous Bolshevik; Billie Sunday would stop preaching him and call the police, and he would come within about thirty cents of getting what he got before.

All together now comrades, for the liveliest demonstration ever made in this land of liberty on the first of May. Every journalistic red-light district in America is busy belching their venom against Debs, and doing their dirty darndest to prejudice the people against him, that he may be left to perish in an American bastile. Debs is sacrificing himself in the effort to emancipate the masses, while these journalistic harlots who seek to load him with opprobrium are sacrificing the masses that THEY may bask in the favor of the masters and live sumptuously. Between them and Debs there is a great gulf that language cannot bridge. If Debs rots in a bostile in "Free America" it will be to the everlasting shame—not of radicals alone, but to the whole nation.

"There is a tide in human affairs that, taken at its flood, leads on to—world-wide emancipation." That tide is now on and is still rising; if we wait until it ebbs, we may be left stranded. While this mighty epochal tide is beating, the screech of the mere reformist sounds as insane as the chirp of a cricket in a cyclone—and it is. The world does not move to betterment by slow reforms. Evolution, nowhere, works up a gradual incline. The factors slowly develop and gain potentiality then suddenly there is a rupture, an upheaval, and the process starts onward again upon a different plan. All new things are born in travail. There must be birthpangs, and the sunshine reformer who would ride into Utopia in ease and security while the band plays soft, seductive airs for him, had as well sit down—he is not in it.

Debs said: "I could get $150,000—I could sell out your cause for that easily." Debs is not for sale—the plutes have not money enough to buy him—but I wonder what some "labor leaders" have cost that are not with us any more.

The movement in Virginia for the month of March has not shown volcanic activity. Let us hope the smoldering fires will burst into flame pretty soon—in time to make a big red glow on May Day.

Financial Statement for March, 1919.

INCOME.

March 21, T. R. McBrayer	$1.00
22, Edson	1.00
31, F. A. Dertinger	1.00
Total	$3.00

EXPENSES.

March 15, Literature	$1.00
21, Express	.32
31, Postage for Month	2.50
Total	$3.82
Loss for Month	$ .82

B. M. DUTTON, State Sec.

No Compromise Says Herman

(Comrade Emil Herman, State Secretary of Socialist Party of Washington, is imprisoned in McNeil's Island penitentiary, Washington).

Lately the papers are announcing a commutation of sentences in Espionage Act cases.—That is a compromise which is not, and cannot be, satisfactory to intelligent, thinking and liberty-loving Americans. The autocratic politicians of the Democratic party are beginning to hear from the people—They want to mollify public opinion, and they want to "save their face," they want the convictions to stand, and the inference left that the Espionage Act is constitutional and that the convictions obtained under it were justified. The facts are that the law is in contravention to the United States constitution; and that many, perhaps, MOST, of the convictions were secured by an appeal to prejudice and fear, rather than on proof of violation of the law.

Accept no compromise! Demand full justice.

EMIL HERMAN.

EXTRA BUNDLE ORDERS

We are [illegible] extra orders of this issue [illegible] demand. Order quickly so you will not be disappointed.

50c PER HUNDRED

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited by C. E. Ruthenberg

Austria Joins the Soviets

The news from Vienna that the Workers and Soldiers' Council has taken over the power of government in Austria, adds another country committed to the idea of Soviet rule—and adds another country lost to capitalist democracy.

Although the capitalist newspaper dispatches tell us little of what is happening in Roumania, Bulgaria and Czecho-Slovakia, it is certain that in all these countries, in fact in all the territory east of the Rhine, the same contest that has just resulted in another victory for the Soviet idea, is being waged. We know that the struggle is on in Germany—and how long can the Ebert-Scheidemann regime hang on with a Soviet Republic established in Austria, Hungary and Russia?

It is not mere chance that in country after country the workers establish their control through the Soviets. It is because the councils of workers, rising out of the industries, are the logical expression of working class power that the Soviet movement moves forward from victory to victory.

It is not only among the war-torn nations of central and eastern Europe that the Soviet movement is making headway. It is manifesting itself in England very strongly. The English capitalists, always quick to compromise when they see their power threatened, are trying to fix up a compromise with the nascent Soviets of Great Britain, by organizing shop committees, industrial councils and national councils, in which both the workers and the capitalists will have representation, thus robbing these institutions of their characteristics as instruments of the workers in the struggle for their emancipation. They may succeed—temporarily. But for how long?

The Soviet government has come to stay. New Soviet governments will arise as the months go by and it will not be long until the eastern boundary of Soviet Europe is the Rhine. Can capitalism stop the Soviet movement there? It is not likely. The Soviet movement will sweep forward and onward until the Soviet Republic of the World comes into being.

• • • •

Uncle Sam

The telephone operators strike in the New England states has been temporarily ended, while a commission endeavors to adjust the grievances of the workers. It is interesting to note, however, that after the strike had been under way for a number of days, the government, the meployer in this instance, followed the usual custom of employers and brought in imported strikebreakers to help whip the strikers into submission.

The history of Mr. Burleson's dealings with the employers of the Postoffice Department and more recently, of the telegraph and telephone systems, shows conclusively that the government may be, and usually is, a more arbitrary oppressor and exploiter of the workers when it becomes their employer, than private capitalists.

The recent erperience of government employes of the two departments referred to, emphasizes the fact that the workers' road to freedom is not through government ownership. Government ownership substitutes the power of the combined capitalist class for the power of the individual capitalists, while continuing the oppression and exploitation of the workers.

The struggle of the workers must have as its goal the creation of industrial democracy from below—through organization of the workers in the industries to take control.

• • • •

Dollar Patriotism

The National Security League was one of the great patriotic institutions of the country during the war. It was relentless in its pursuit of all those that did not measure up to its standard of patriotism, among its victims being even some congressmen who did not always vote exactly as this league would have liked them to vote—that is they did not always vote to protect and conserve the financial interests of the members of the league.

The league, however, over did the patriotic business. It urged the defeat of certain members of congress, who although they did not quite measure up to the league's standard of patriotism as above defined, were good, honest supporters of capitalism and what it stands for. When the league attacked these congressmen it put its foot into it, for there is a strong feeling of sympathy between the members of congress, for none of them know where the next attack will strike and so they usually stand together.

The result of the tactical error of the National Security League was that congress authorized an investigation of that body. The report of the committee which conducted the investigation has just been published. This is what it has to say about the origin of this great, patriotic organization:

> It will be impracticable in a report of the length to which, of necessity, this must be confined, to take up all of the "foreign entanglements" of the originators of the National Security League. However, sight must not be lost of the fact that it was conceived in London by an attorney representing sugar, steel and other large interests both in this country and abroad; and that at its very inception in New York others representing like interests are found among thoes who became the most active in its organization; and, next, when the organization had thrown aside its pretense of being engaged only in "preparedness' 'and had reached the real purpose of its undertaking Mr. Charles D. Orth was selected to take charge of its real activities, which unquestionably were political in nature, as it will be shown later in this report.
>
> The testimony shows that Mr. Orth is a member of a New York firm dealing in sisal, from which the farmer's binder twine is made, and who, according to his own statement before a senate investigating committee, had been engaged in trying to form a combination to increase the price of his product.

In other words the National Security League consisted of a bunch of capitalists bent upon furthering their own interests through building up a great army and navy in this country, which might later be used in the struggle to win economic advantages for its members.

How such an organization controls the government is told in one of the closing paragraphs of the report:

> The National Security League and like organizations in their political activities constitute a serious menace to representative government. Ordinarily their purpose is concealed and their appeal is made to the public on some principle in harmony with dominant sentiment. Usually, as in this instance, they have access to almost unlimited wealth, and borrow respectability by the use, in honorary positions, of the names of men of national prominence. If their real purpose were apparent, the danger would be relieved.
>
> Men in public life are given by them to understand that they must be subservient to the demands of such institutions, and, upon their failure to do so, they will be held up to public scorn and humiliation by false accusations. Under such circumstances the best intentioned candidate for office realizes that he has one of two alternatives: He must be either subservient to the demands of these camouflaged organizations, or be put on the defensive by false charges. Such activities on the part of the National Security League have a tendency to compel obedience to the wishes of special interests, rather than obedience to a real concern for the welfare of the people. This condition is not at all fanciful, since its baneful activities of the National Security League.

That is a confirmation of what Socialists have said about bourgeois democracy from the supporters of that "democracy." What the report plainly tells us in the above paragraphs is that while we have the form of democracy in this country, in reality the capitalists, through such organizations as the National Security League, and other means through which they exercise the power which control of the wealth of the country gives them, actually dominate the government. While we may have democratic institutions in form, in practice we get a government by the capitalist class.

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What Mr. Wilson achieved in Paris, told by Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation, in the following statement, issued upon his return to New York:

> Mr. Wilson surrendered at the first blow, as many of us who have followed him closely knew that he would. When he calmly abandoned his principle of "open covenants of peace, openly orrived at," we kniw that others of the 14 points would be sacrificed for a partial league of peace.
>
> The whole conference was tremendously undemocratic, and so false was the note struck from the beginning that I, for one, found myself entirely without a thrill at the historic opening session. For it at once appeared that it was all to be done behind closed doors, in the same old way, and the number of men "putting it over" on the world rapidly diminished to the quartet who reminded one of nothing so much as the little group of professional politicians who steer our party conventions, where they still exist, from a back room.

In England more than 1,000,000 persons are drawing unemployment benefits from the government. The British workers have organized their power to such an extent at least that the capitalists dare not close the factories and send them out on the streets to starve as is still the case in the United States.

• • • •

The most striking development so far as modern parliamentary governments are concerned is the passing of power from these bodies to other organizations. In England the parliament is theoretically still supreme, but it is the organized workers that really have the power. The following statement, clipped from a news story on current events in England, shows what is happening in this respect:

> Another resolution passed by the miners today should warn a government whose majority in parliament is an entirely artificial one, that it will not be easy to rule a country that is really not represented by a House of Commons consisting mainly of employers. Last night's attempt—unsuccessful, of course—on the part of labor and liberal minorities in the commons to exclude conscription from the new army bill has been followed today by the miners' warning that, unless the government withdraws the conscription bill now before parliament, the conference will take steps, in conjunction with the other labor parties in the country, to compel it to do so.
>
> The full significance of this courageous resolution can be scarcely exaggerated.

• • • •

Leave it to the capitalist to turn everything that comes along to their financial advantage. Here's a New York moving picture producing company, for instance, which has produced a new photo play called "Bolshevism on Trial," suggesting to moving picture theater managers that one way to advertise the play is to have big red flags put up in different sections of the city and then to hire soldiers to tear them down. Of course, the Socialists would be blamed for putting up the flags and some people might get hurt when they were torn down, but that's all part of the game of making profits.

• • • •

"The internal conditions in Russia do not justify a gigantic military enterprise. I would rather leave Russia to the Bolsheviki, until I see a way out, than to have Britain bankrupt. It is my earnest conviction that intervention was the greatest act of stupidity." So said Lloyd George in the British parliament the other day. The ethics of the capitalist statesmen are clear in this statement. Intervention was wrong, not because it was a violation of the right of self-determination of which both Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson are supposed to be adherents, but because it didn't pay.

• • • •

Bolshevism is on the wane in Russia, we are assured, and the Bolsheviki capture Sebastopol is the next headline.

The Day of the People

Written Especially for the Ohio Socialist by W. E. Reynolds.

Once again the glint is on the grasses, and the sap is in the trees. Mother Nature in response to the amorous kisses of the spring time sun recarpets the earth with a coverlet of green, embroidered here with the gold of the dandelion and the marsh marigold and there the many colored crocuses. The trees take on new life and burst into bud and bloom pregnant with promise of future fruit. While we may know in our own mind that Nature is planless and purposeless, it requires but a small amount of imagination to conceive of nature trying by all the arts of wizardry of leaf and blade and bloom to hide the hideous disfiguring of a commercialism which has ravished her fair beauty.

Spring time is growing time; youth time, joy time, and historically speaking, the first of May, from almost time immemorial was the day set apart as a gala day dedicated to merry making and celebration of the return of spring and hope and the growing sun.

Originally a pagan holiday given over to sun worship, later a holiday of fun and merry making under the feudal barons, tinged with a touch of religious ceremonial, out of which has grown the present Christian Easter, changed again, under the rule of a blighting capitalism into a day of advertising and market day and finally seized by the international proletariat of the world as Labor Day; such, in brief, is the history of May Day.

Here in America, the first Monday in September is set aside by law as Labor Day. That is the Labor Day GIVEN by the master class. May 1 is a Labor Day TAKEN by the working class. On the September Labor Day, given by the masters, we meet and listen to the strains of jazz music by a rag-time band. On May Day we meet and are inspired by the singing of the International, rising full throated and pregnant with meaning, from throats that mean it. With the jazz music we are told that the interests of capital and labor are identical but under the International we know, without having to be told, that the interests of capital and labor are not identical but opposed. On the September day the boss takes heart as he watches his paid lackeys at their task of herding his fawning dupes. On May Day the master gets a direct warning that his days are numbered and not for long will he be allowed to live a life of fattened ease at the expense of the toil and sweat and blood of his disfranchised slaves.

May Day as Labor Day was created by the workers themselves in defiance of the capitalists of the world. In establishing that holiday much rich, red blood has been spilled, but now we know it was not spilled in vain. The streets of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Petrograd and Peking, Moscow and scores of other cities have run red with blood, spilled by the hirelings of a robber class in the vain hope of stopping by force and violence the mighty onrush of a new idea, but ideas can not be stopped by bullets, nor barred by boundary lines or prison bars.

As we meet again this May Day to celebrate the growing solidarity of labor, we are full of the hope and joyousness of labor's spring time. We know and realize that never before in all the history of May Day celebrations of Labor have we had so much to be joyous over or so great an assurance of the fulfillment of our fondest hopes, in the past year, packed as it has been with the persecutions and prosecutions of our class with the constitutional guarantees of a free press and free assemblage, only so many tattered and torn scraps of paper beneath the feet of an arrogant oligarchy; with the most of our press barred from the second class mailing privileges, and many of our comrades slain, yet we know that never before in all the hundred years since the birth of Marx, has as much been done toward establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and enforcing a work or starve order upon the lazy members of the bourgeoisie, as has been witnessed since last we gathered to celebrate the May Day festival.

Our press has not been destroyed, it has been inconvenienced, forced to abandon its old attempt to capture the political state by playing the capi-ist game and to a realization of the truths of Marx and Engels, who said, e working class can not simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery nd wield it for its own purpose." Every paper we pick up today, regardless of whether it is a time serving, lying, cringing, crawling capitalist sheet, a rebellious Socialist paper or a defiant I. W. W. paper, all ring with the same story, revolt and revolutions everywhere. To the revolutionist, it is as the soothing strains of sweet music to an ear accustomed to hearing only the discordant notes of the Industrial Moloch; cheering him as water does a weary traveler in a desert land. The same reports are to the capitalists as the mournful notes of a funeral dirge.

Truly spoke our martyred Comrade Liebknecht, when he said, "The day of the people has arrived." We CAN be joyful. We can be glad, for out of the east cometh the light, and out of the east cometh the reports of the day of the people having arrived, and by the same token the day of the loiter is drawing rapidly to the twilight of its close.

A Debs was jailed because he defied a court's injunction. It made a fighting Socialist of him, and now after a life time of effort well spent in spreading the Socialist message the prison doors have again been locked, imprisoning the body but not the spirit of Debs. The days when a Joshua could command the sun to halt and stand still for a while are gone. The capitalists cannot stop the sun to prolong their day. They think that by imprisoning a Debs they can stop the march of progress. Poor, blind, deluded victims of their own dope! They ought to know by this time that Debs in jail is a thousand times more active than an old man nearing the three score years and ten, out of jail, could be! To stop the onward rush of progress, thousands are rotting in the hell holes of capitalist prisons, but for every one of the first crop jailed, there will be a hundred of the second crop, and should the capitalist class attempt to jail the second crop, the third crop will be large enough to tear their damn jails down. Bastiles have fallen before and they will faill again.

It was Joe Hill, a martyred Industrial Worker, whose name will be remembered and reverenced for centuries after the name of the judge who sentenced him has been forgotten, who said, "Don't mourn. Organize." We pause to give grateful remembrance to all our comrades who have been slain and imprisoned, yet we will not mourn, nor petition, nor beg. We will organize and teach and strike and fight, learning to do by doing and learning to fight by fighting.

Heretofore when we spoke of the coming emancipation of the hosts who toil, we spoke from a knowledge of the abstract truths of social science as taught by Marx and Engels and their co-workers of a half century ago, but today, we do not have to deal in abstractions.

We can point to an accomplished reality. Russia has done her part in the revolution. There the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a high-sounding phrase on the lips of a parlor Socialist, but a grim reality as many an expropriated Russian bourgeoisie can testify. The revolution is not confined to Russia alone, already it has spread to Hungary, Bavaria, Germany and so many other places that one must need be up to the minute in geography to keep track of all of its ramifications. The revolution, sneered at by the capitalists just two short years ago as "mere rhetoric" has become a grim reality. "All Europe is trembling in the balance." This May Day may remake again the map of Europe. The red terror is a terror to the bourgeoisie of the world, but to the rebel there are few joys so great as watching the spread of the red, and on this gala day we have ample cause to be joyful.

The American bourgeoisie think they can keep the red from America but they might as well attempt to hold back the ocean tide with one of the celebrated fourteen points. Capitalism can not exist without its foreign markets and with one-half of the world "gone Bolshevist" can the other half hope to escape? Can two nations exist side by side with the workers in one nation receiving the full social value of their labor power and the workers of the other nation receiving only one-fifth as much? Will the workers of one nation tolerate parasitism when the workers of the other nation have abolished it? Especially in these days of easy and rapid international communication? The parasite here may well shudder and ponder over his, to him, uncertain future. To the revolutionist, the future is certain; "The day of the people has arrived."

We of the Socialist movement may thus well be glad. Glad with the joyousness of springtime, the lustiness of healthy youth. We are educating our class and organizing as rapidly as we can, to the end that we may control the coming great change and make it as bloodless as it can possibly be made. While we are organizing and educating in order to make the coming change without the needless spilling of blood, we are serene with the conscious knowledge of power. We know that the years are numbered and their numbers are few until the day when we can say to our exploiters, "Will you peacefully get off our backs or shall we be put to the necessity of forcibly throwing you from our backs? We do not intend to harm you, but by all the blood that you have needlessly shed in the centuries you have ruled, we are going to arrange it so you can no longer harm us or exploit us!"

We have mastered nature and made her the willing slave of men. We started in the quickmud and the slime, but we have climbed, onward and upward until today we can grasp the thin golden fingers of the stars. We have seen our class subjected to all the various forms of slavery and all the insults that the perverted intellect of a class of paid intellectual prostitutes could devise, but in spite of it all we have watched the inevitable changes brought about by economic evolution and seen the banner of the clasped hands of international comradeship making its triumphal progress, abolishing exploitation and slavery even as the bright rays of the spring time sun melteth away the blackened slush and ice of the by ways.

The day of the exploiter is passing.
The day of the people has arrived.
Long live May Day in the minds of men.
Long live the day of the people.

WHY WAS DEBS SPIRITED AWAY?

Continued from page one

DEBS IN CELL 51.

We were taken to cell 51, second tier, and there we found our comrade, partially undressed, about ready to retire to a three-feet by five and a half feet steel bunk. Whether or not he truly rested comfortably that night will probably remain a secret. Comrade Debs claims he did, but how his large frame could find comfortable repost upon a "bed" so small will remain a problem.

He stretched his long arm and large hand through the steel bars, shook us each warmly by the hand, asked us not to worry about him and bid us good night.

Thus ended Debs' trip to prison. And now begins the demand of the workers for his release. May this demand come quick and come in such valume that those who now hold Debs in prison will have only one thing to do and will have to do that quick.

Already they fear the mighty working class. If they do not, why did they spirit Debs out of Cleveland and why did they avoid demonstrations? Why did not the government order out several regiments of troops to escort Debs to jail if it felt that demonstrations by workers of Cleveland and other cities, which Debs would have passed through had he not been taken to the penitentiary in such a round about way, would interfere with the safe conduct of Debs to prison?

Only a few days before Debs received a long distance telephone call supposedly from Federal Prosecuting Attorney Wertz, he was sick in bed, hardly able to walk. The telephone message came. Was it the prosecutor who telephoned? And who was the mysterious party who telephoned Mrs. Prevey to inquire about Debs? Was Debs fooled into coming to Cleveland? Why did not his lawyers advise him to stay in Terre Haute until they were notified that the supreme court mandate had arrived? Since we started to write this we have learned that the automobile which met Debs at the depot in Cleveland and took him later upon that tearing trip through Cleveland streets, eventually landed him at the Erie depot, was hired by the Plain Dealer reporter at the Waite Auto Livery. Why did the Plain Dealer reported give Debs to understand that he was connected with the federal authorities? Why did the Plain Dealer reporter make it his business to wake up the secret service in order to tell them that Debs was in town? Why did United States Marshal Lapp use a Plain Dealer car to spirit Debs out of Cleveland? Why did the deputies permit the Plain Dealer reported to accompany Debs in the mad ride through Cleveland streets and deny that right to one of Debs' family? These are questions which we ask and which hundreds of thousands of Debs' friends want to know about.

Debs, just out of bed and still suffering with lumbago, after making a night trip to Cleveland from Terre Haute, during which trip he only secured about an hour's sleep, was taken against the will of his bondsmen, who had not been notified to surrender him, and hurried to Moundsville. No chance was given him to eat until 9 o'clock in the evening. He was rushed from one trolley to another, almost dragged about, his 64 years of age seeming to make no difference at all to those who were representing the government, the strong United States government.

NO REGARD SHOWN FOR DEBS' AGE.

Why was not more regard shown for Debs' age? Let President Wilson and his underlings answer. Why was not Debs permitted a few days to arrange his business affairs? Let President Wilson and his underlings answer. Debs came to Cleveland, believing no doubt that all that was wanted of him immediately was that he place himself within the jurisdiction of the federal court in which he was convicted. He felt sure that a few days would be allowed him in Cleveland to attend to some correspondence and other business. Instead, he was rushed out of the city for the penitentiary almost the minute he entered it, being given only time enough for a hasty breakfast. As a rule, when the mandate arrives from the supreme court, the marshal notifies the attorneys of the defendant, the attorneys notify the bondsmen to give up the defendant and then the bondsmen take the defendant to the Federal building and turn him over to the marshal. Why was not this procedure followed in Debs' case? May we have an answer? And right away?

The same Sunday upon which Debs was spirited out of Cleveland 15,000 workers met at Market Square, Cleveland, and protested Debs' imprisonment. After the meeting they paraded three miles to the Federal building. An army of policemen were drawn up before the building and all doors were securely bolted. Cries of "Release Debs," "Hurrah for the General Strike," and "Down With Capitalism" filled the air. The parade then retraced its steps a block and another monster meeting was held right under the windows of the court room where Judge Westenhaver sentenced Debs.

Debs is in prison. He is twice as great and powerful in prison as out of it. This the capitalist class will very soon learn. When capitalism placed Debs behind prison bars it added oil to the fire which is even now sweeping away a foul system of robbery and human despoilation.

Demands for Debs' liberation are growing daily in volume and in forcefulness. The national, state and local Socialist parties will leave nothing undone to free our comrade, whose service in the cause of the workers has ever been most conscientious and full of love and [illegible]

CALL FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM CONVENTION

Continued from page one

YOU ARE CONCERNED WITH THESE FACTS:

A grand army of Americans is now marching into federal prisons.

Federal judges have acquired the habit of saying ten years, twenty years, thirty years and more—in many instances dealing out what are practically life sentences.

TWENTY-FOUR THOUSAND YEARS IN PRISON, is about the aggregate of the sentences of persons already convicted.

These men and women are not criminals, but are victims of war hysteria and the espionage (spy) law, upon which the supreme court has repeatedly sidestepped a decision.

Nearly every other country has freed its war time political and industrial prisoners.

Speakers are jailed, public meetings are prohibited or broken up. Postmaster General Burleson, like a czar, still imposes his dictates upon the nation's press and rifles personal letters. Religious beliefs are passed upon by a military commission. Ministers occupy cells because of their interpretation of Biblical teachings. Political grudges are settled and labor-hating employers impale labor organizers, all under this comprehensive SPY law—THE LAW UNDER WHICH NO SPY WAS EVER BROUGHT TO COURT.

You are needed. Your decision will help to make our fellow citizens Free Men and Free Women in a Free America.

A nation-wide committee, representative of organizations that despise autocracy, has been formed under the name of NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, and hereby issues a call to all economic, political and other organizations for an

AMERICAN FREEDOM CONVENTION

to be held in the city of Chicago, beginning July 3, 1919.

Representation will be accorded to all organizations that endorse, by vote, the vital purposes of the convention as stated in the two points of the program.

Reactionary and un-American policies, imposed by a small group which is in control of the mighty federal powers, cannot be successfully opposed by any local or sectional body. There must be erected a national organization of organizations with power to fight until we win.

Therefore we call upon all societies and organizations to join in this common cause FOR THE RESTORATION OF AMERICAN LIBERTIES AND FOR THE RESCUE OF ALL THOSE WHO SUFFER FOR POLITICAL OPINIONS, INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES OR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

We invite the active assistance of every liberty loving citizen.

We invite the co-operation of all the relatives of such persons as are being persecuted or are now prisoners.

The committee believes the vast majority of citizens favor this move and we are prepared to canvass the homes of the country.

The committee further believes that neither arrogant usurpers of power nor "a few willful men" can misrule this nation when legislation, in effect, is made in the workshops and at the firesides of America.

Join forces for Freedom for ALL.

The call is accompanied with a blank endorsement to be filled out and returned by organizations approving of the program and aims of the league.

Each organization affiliated with the league is entitled to one delegate to the convention, and one additional delegate for every 300 members. All correspondence should be addressed to the Immediate Action Committee, American Freedom Convention, Room 414, Mid-City Bank Building, Chicago, Illinois.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia and New Mexico.

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Seattle Labor Council Calls Upon A.F.of L. to Reorganize

The Central Labor Council of Seattle, Wash., has sent a letter to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, urging the reorganization of that body along industrial lines. The proposal as formulated calls for consolidation of the existing unions in twelve great industrial organizations.

The letter, which has just been received by Cleveland unions and will come before these organizations for action during the next few weeks, reads as follows:

To All Organizations Affiliated With the American Federation of Labor. Greetings:

The Seattle Central Labor Council respectfully urges your most cereful and thoughtful consideration of the enclosed proposals for the reconstruction of our organization along lines dictated by present-day industrial conditions, and earnestly requests your most energetic co-operation in bringing about these essential improvements in the interests of the wage-earners.

President Lincoln, speaking at Hartford in 1860, said: "Thank God we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the working man may stop."

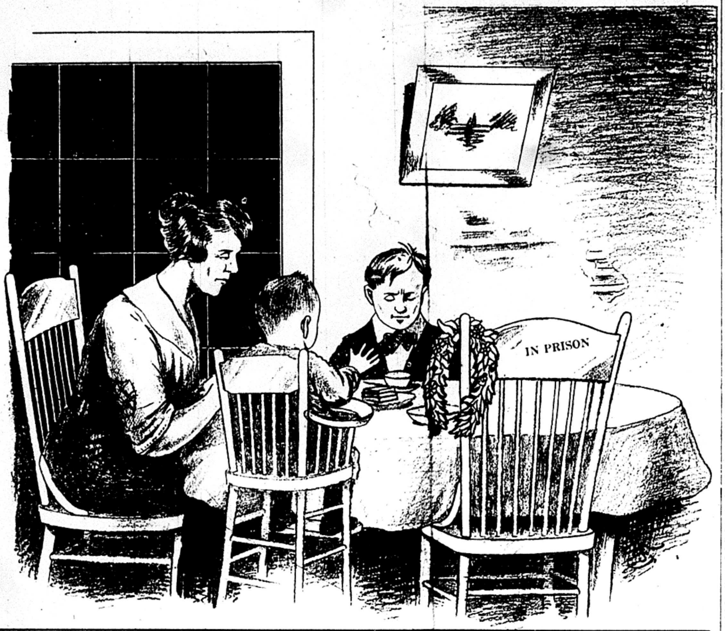
Yet, what does the right to strike avail us if we strike in such small units as to make us an easy prey to those who seek to exploit us? As a matter of fact, the more effectually we prepare to strike, the less striking we will have to do.

Let us remember the advice of Wendell Phillips: "Organize and STAND TOGETHER. Let the nation hear a UNITED demand from the laboring voice."

Sometimes rivals criticize us because of our obvious weaknesses, but we have nothing to fear from rivals so long as we will profit by experience and through the application of

(Continued on page four)

A NEW PHASE OF CAPITALISM



Soviet Representative Calls Stories of "Defeats" Lies

Says That Capitalists Are Making Desperate Efforts To Prevent Recognition Of Workers Government

During the past ten days the kept press of this country has been publishing daily dispatches telling of defeats of the forces of Soviet Russia. According to these stories the armies of the Soviet government are dissolving and tens of thousands are being captured some of whom have gone over to the enemy. In the following statement, Santeri Nuorteva, Director of the Russian Soviet Information Bureau, characterizes these stories as "lies," and points out that the present tactics of the kept press are the same as those used at the time the Prinkipo conference was under consideration:

"A perusal of the 'Russian dispatches' in the metropolitan newspapers of the last few days irresistibly raises the question: Will the American public once more permit itself to be fooled by deliberate lies about the Russian situation?

"The world-wide press campaign against Soviet Russia has always been characterized by particularly vicious lie drives on the part of reactionaries every time some possibility arises to bring about friendly relations between Soviet Russia and the United States. It is natural that, now that the power of the Russian Soviet government is extending daily over Russian territories, now that the imposibility of defeating that government is being admitted in all circles, and now that the establishment of relations between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world looms within sight, the forces opposed to such an outcome are desperately carrying on a campaign which outdoes any previous accomplishment in perfidy and deliberate lying.

"We have every day reports of Kolchak's 'victories 'in the east. To make such 'victories' appear more real, we are told that the Soviet government itself admits defeats of its troops. It should be remembered, however, that at the time of the Prinkipo conference decision we had a similar 'victory' by Denikine, similarly 'confirmed' by 'official admissions' from the Soviet government.

"We were told Denikine had captured 30,000 prisoners and extended his power over hundreds of miles of territory. About a month later the press admitted the 'victory' was a deliberate lie from beginning to end, and that, on the contrary, the Denikine forces had retired considerably and the Soviets never had published an admission of a Denikine victory.

Will Prove False.

"There is no doubt in our mind that the much heralded Kolchak 'victories' of recent date also will prove a fake within a very short time. Nevertheless, for the time being these fake 'news' stories serve their purpose. They make people, who already began to acquiesce in the necessity of recognizing the Soviet government, to hesitate once more. They make it possible once more to fool public opinion into a prolongation of a definite decision on the Russion question and even to consider the possibility of recognizing the Kolchaks.

"In line with dispatches about Kolchak's 'victories' we have, of course, new reports of 'Bolshevik atrocities.' 'Eighteen hundred men, women and, children have been murdered in Ufa.' In screaming headlines the newspapers announce this new lie emanating from the Kolchak government, whose forces have marked every step of their rule with unprecedented murder and cruelties.

"Swallowing the fake dispatches of this kind, the average reader will forget all the authentic news about the treatment accorded men, women and children of the working class by Kolchak—that blood thirsty exponent of defeated monarchy, vodka and the knout, in Russia, who now presents himself as a champion of humanity.

"It is also quite in order for the purpose of this dirty campaign of lies to dig out from the grave the take of a Bolshevik alliance with German imperialists. A secret treaty has been unearthed, 'it is reported,' which the Soviet government supposedly has entered into with the present German government.

"From private and well informed sources it is made known this treaty provides that the Soviet government shall apply a milder policy toward Russian industry, especially the munition and arms factories; that the Germans will send thousands of military instructors to the Russian army; that Soviet Russia will provide Germany for the next 20 years with military assistance; that Soviet Russia binds herself not to enter into any negotiations with the entente; and that the Germans shall set in order the Russian railway system.

Gamble on Ignorance.

"And so it is being 'proved' that the Soviet government is threatening the peace of the world by an alliance with a resurrected imperialistic Germany. The producers of such stories gamble on the deep ignorance of the average reader.

"They presume he does not remember that the present German government is as violently opposed to the Russian workers' regime as any one in the world; that the Russian Soviet government not only has not promised not to enter into negotiations with the entente, but is at this very moment actually carrying on such negotiations, and that the representatives of the Soviets welcome relations with American industry.

"It is being authoritatively stated in the press that the American delegates in Paris have proposed the recognition of the Kolchak government, including the extension of military support to his forces in the form of munitions, finance and material. To believe that this is true would seem an insult to the delegates of the peace conference.

"Only a few days ago there was an official statement from the Paris conference that a proposition is being extended to Russia whereby foodstuffs and other materials would be sent there, and one of the conditions attached to the proposition was that the Soviet government should stop fighting and using the Russian means of communication for military purposes. This statement has been given out officially.

"To believe that simultaneously with asking the Soviet government to refrain from fighting, the allies, including America, would propose to support the Kolchak government militarily seems absolutely imposible. However illogical the allied policy in Russia has been up till this time, this would outdo anything previously heard of.

Impossible to Defeat Soviet.

"If it has been impossible till now to defeat the Russian Soviet government, it is still more impossible at this time to do so. The news dispatches, of course, speaks of mass desertion of the Bolsheviki from their own ranks, and of a lowering of the morale of the workers.

"Even the old story of revolts in Petrograd is not lacking in the press stories offered for distribution by the reactionaries. Yet one will search in vain for any proofs of such assertions, or even for an indication of their probability.

"With spring at hand and with the grain-rich Ukrainian districts in the hands of the Soviet forces, the bitter sufferings of the city people in Soviet Russia must be much less today than they were in the winter. All the logic is on the side of the assumption that the position of the Soviet government is now stronger than ever, physically as well as morally.

"We are sure the American people from bitter experience will be on their guard against the shameless lie drive instituted in order to defeat at the eleventh hour the establishment of relations between the Russian workers and the United States."

Kate O'Hare Sends Message from Prison to Her Comrades

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Jefferson City, Mo.——There is but one "task" for the women in the Missouri state prison—the making of overalls.

The men may be assigned to any "task" among many. There's the broom factory, the shoe factory, the leather novelty works, the machine shop, the stone cutting shed.

"This is all we have for the women to do," said Miss Lilah Smith, the matron, as we stood in the entrance to the overall factory, which is housed in one of the big rooms of the woman's prison.

There the women toiled over the high-powered sewing machines making overalls, also called "jumpers." The "task" set for Kate Richards O'Hare, former International Secretary of the American Socialist Party, and chairman of the committee on war and militarism that drew up the now famous St. Louis Anti-War proclamation, is 55 overalls per day. If you do not make the "task" you are penalized.

I glanced over the room where there was no sound but the whirring of wheels and the suppressed roar of needles as they raced along and drove the thread through the thick cloth, either singly, double or sometimes three abreast.

It was getting well along in the afternoon, Kate O'Hare was bent to her task as if her life depended on it. I wondered how many more of those 55 overalls she had yet to make before her day's "task" was done. I also wondered if the time would ever come during the days that are ahead, when her fingers might be caught in the drag that keeps a pulling that cloth into the path of the hungry needles. I was told that such accidents happen here in the prison factories just as they do in industry on the "outside"—that fingers are mashed and pierced with threaded needles. Every girl was driving her machine at high speed, with eyes glued to the task, no doubt the result of the whip applied by Rule No. 32 of the prison regulations that:

"When at work, give your undivided attention to it. Gazing at visitors, or at other prisoners, will not be allowed."

Yet, as her machine rushed on, Emma Goldman looked up for a mo-

(Continued on page four)

Italian Socialists Repudiate Second International

Washington.—The executive committee of the Socialist Party of Italy has resolved to sever its connection with the International Socialist Bureau and to affiliate with the "Third International" founded recently by the Russian Communist party and sundry Socialist or revolutionary groups of the other European countries, according to authentic information which reaches us from Europe. The vote in the executive committee was ten in favor of withdrawing to three against. The text of the resolution passed by the executive committee follows, the translation being made from the original text as published in Humanite, the official Socialist daily of Paris, France:

"Whereas, The International Socialist Bureau is an instrument of the war policy of the pseudo-democratic bourgeoisie tending to the mystification of the proletariat and is only a barrier to the reorganization of the activity of the Socialist Revolutionary International, and

"Whereas, All the efforts tending to bring back to life the energies of the Socialist proletariat by means of the International Socialist Bureau, now a hostage of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the entente, have been in vain; and

"Whereas, The alliance constituted at Berne between the social-patriotic tendencies of the ententiste imperialism and the social-patriotic tendencies of the imperialism of the central empires brings into the open the reactionary character of all the fractions who were false to the pledges made by the international in opposition to the bourgeoisie who threw the peoples into the war; and

"Whereas, In consequence it is impossible to conceive the co-existence in a single organization of those who were loyal to the principles of the international and those who betrayed those principles and are still opposed to the realization of socialism; and

"Whereas, The International Bureau, instead of, as soon as the war ended, bringing about the immediate convocation of the parties and organizations affiliated with the Bureau, loaned itself to the work of making a success of the Berne conference, which was nothing less than a caricature of an International Socialist conference; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the executive committee of the Socialist Party of Italy withdraw from the International Socialist Bureau and affiliate with and work for the establishment of the Socialist Revolutionary International upon the basis and principles laid down by the Russian Communist comrades at Moscow in the month of January, for the convening of an International Socialist Conference; and be it further

"Resolved, That the executive committee shall carry active work to secure for the aforesaid purpose the adhesion of those Socialists of all countries who have remained faithful to the International, either by convening a preliminary meeting or by any other action deemed proper to attain the result sought."

The resolution was supported by Gennari, Serarati and Bombacci and opposed by Lazarri, Bacci and Dindani.

"The Italian Socialist Party, instead of withdrawing from the international," said Bacci, "should make energetic and persistent effort to expel all those who have been faithless to its principles. Toward this end the party should, on the one hand, gather together and co-ordinate in preliminary meetings those elements of the international which never ceased to observe the class principles, and, on the other hand, invite once more the bureau to convene an emergency meeting of the international and place before it a resolution demanding the expulsion of the traitors." After reiterating that the Italian Socialists should not withdraw from the international unless those faithless to socialism should be in the majority, Bacci concluded: "To create a Third International when the Second International still exists in its representative organism would produce a pernicious confusion in the ranks of the proletariat of the various countries."

May Day Manifesto of the Socialist Party

On this international holiday of labor the Socialists of the United States solemnly announce their determination to consecrate themselves with renewed earnestness and vigor to the world-wide struggle for the complete overthrow of the capitalists and for turning over the world's government to the world's workers. The formal termination of the war finds the ruling classes and their governments in all capitalist countries discredited and distrusted, judged and convicted.

In the fierce impact of their conflicting greeds they have brutally slaughtered millions of workers and mutilated, crippled and invalided many more millions. They have destroyed human habitations, workshops and fields without number, and have devastated whole countries.

They have disrupted the lives of the nations and surrendered the peoples to hunger and disease, suffering and despair.

Potent enough to throw the nations into war, but powerless to make and maintain peace; too weak to rule and too selfish to abdicate, the powers of capitalism stand before the world as derelicts of a dark age, as dangerous enemies of humanity and progress.

We, therefore, welcome with joy the powerful movements of our fellow workers in Europe for the immediate liquidation of the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation, and for the establishment of workers' republics.

We send fraternal greetings and vows of whole-hearted sympathy to the Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia, which is so valiantly upholding the lofty international proletarian ideals in the face of the combined military, economic and political attacks of reactionary powers and in spite of the systematic campaign of libelous misrepresentation on the part of the lying capitalist press of the world.

We send congratulations and fraternal good wishes to the workers of Hungary on the establishment of a free communistic workers' republic upon the ruins of the predatory monarchy of their exploiting and land-monopolizing rulers.

We extend the hand of comradeship and solidarity to the revolutionary Socialists of Germany and Austria, now engaged in the life-and-death struggle to secure for the working masses of their countries the full fruit of their victorious revolutions; to the workers of England in their efforts to wrest the control of the industries from the parasites in their country, and to the Socialists of France, Italy and all other countries of Europe in their fights against their reactionary governments.

With the dismal failure of the ruling class League of Nations, the hope of the world lies in the irresistible League of the Communistic Commonwealth of the workers.

We call upon the workers of the United States to join in the onward march of the international proletariat toward the conquest of liberty.

While our young men by the millions have been risking their lives abroad for the alleged cause of democracy, our government has taken advantage of the oppressive war-spirit of intolerant terror to crucify democracy and to crush all radical movements at home.

Under the sanction of a reactionary act of congress and with the aid of a servile officialdom and judiciary, of profiteering interests and a short-sighted labor leadership, an orgy of oppression and persecution was inaugurated, which is unequalled in the political annals of the country for its shamelessness and brutality. Hundreds of Socialists and radical labor leaders have been thrown into jail for inhumanly long terms, scores of Socialist and labor papers have been suppressed, thousands of peaceful meetings have been broken up; all cherish constitutional rights and liberties of American citizenship were cynically trampled under food and all representative government was practically abrogated by an administration, which has the audacity to pose at home and abroad as the leader of modern "liberalism."

The Socialists of the United States demand the immediate restoration of constitutional republican government in this country. We demand the immediate repeal of the infamous espionage law, the immediate lifting of the despotic postoffice ban on radical publications, and the full freedom of speech, assemblage and organization to the end that American labor may freely pursue the legitimate struggles for the emancipation of its class.

We demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops illegally sent to Russia to fight the battles of Russian reaction, and we demand that our government keep its hands off Hungary and the other countries of Europe coming under communistic control, to the end that the workers of Europe be allowed to organize their own lives and destinies, free from foreign capitalist and imperialistic interferences.

Long live socialism and labor, long live the international of the proletariat!

Buffalo Socialists Endorse Left Wing

Buffalo, N. Y.—Socialists here on Sunday, April 13, by unanimous vote, of the largest meeting of the Socialist Party members ever held in Buffalo, indorsed the Left Wing program as formulated by the Left Wing section of Local New York, as a basis for the future position and activities of the party.

The principal feature of the program is the repudiation of political activity in favor of social reform measures and the substitution of mass action, the organization of the workers in the industries and political action for the purpose of education.

The meeting demanded that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention to formulate party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis. This was a reaffirmation of Local Buffalo's position on this proposition, the local being probably the first to follow Local Boston in the [illegible] several weeks ago.

Exploiters Do Not Keep Promises To Returned Soldiers

Washington.—President Wilson's appeal for the nation wide observance of Sunday, May 4, as "Employment Sunday" is regarded by Socialists in Washington as an attempt to break the lock-out against the returned soldiers, which the labor exploiters made effective weeks ago.

The lock-out is known to be one part of the capitalist plan to force wages down to the physical minimum by means of the tried-and-not-found wanting method of creating a gigantic army of the unemployed.

It will be recalled that when the government conscripted nearly two million workers, and sent them to fight for democracy, the labor exploiters gave their solemn pledge to restore the soldiers to their "jobs" in case they returned alive with democracy saved. It now appears, however, from figures in the possession of the U. S. Employment Service, that the organized capitalists of the United States, in their nation wide conspiracy to create an army of the unemployed, are traitorously and persistently refusing [illegible] ers at the present level of wags.

The employment service reports that such a large number of the organized capitalists have turned traitors to their solemn pledges that at least forty out of every hundred soldiers are without capitalist masters. And just as a chattel slave could not live in a chattel slave country without a slave master, so a wage slave cannot live in a wage-slave country without a wage-slave master. Forty out of every hundred, 400 out of every 1,000, 400,000 out of every 1,000,000 and 800,000 out of every 2,000,000 boys who went forth to "pot the Huns" with the promise of the capitalists that after the potting was over the soldiers would be turned into wage slaves again, find that now the labor exploiters absolutely refuse to exploit them again until wages have been forced down to a physical existence basis.

The extent of this capitalist conceived, planned and administered [illegible] out of the returned soldiers [illegible] apparent to Socialists [illegible]

May Day, 1919, Springtime for the Working-Class

By N. L. WELCH

"The first fight came in the night, now comes the dawn,
The sword is drawn, the scabbard is thrown away!"

Out of the night they come. Awakening from the deepest sleep the producers of the world's goods have come to death grips with the despoilers and exploiters. In all lands, wherever man oppresses man, the red dawn is waking all to action and the toilers are forming in battle legions to wage relentless war upon the merciless capitalist system and the class which fattens upon the spoils wrung from the blood and marrow of the working class.

Wherever there is exploitation today, millions are rising; the armies of the world's liberators are springing up and girding on the sword which shall not be sheathed until the proletariat rules and Industrial Democracy is enthroned. It is the army of the positive; a slave class marching to liberty; it knows no halt, no defeat. Victory is written on its banners, and victory shall it be.

Fiercer than all wars that were ever fought, rages the class war. The casualties are heavy; hearts are torn asunder as the flower of the working class is mowed down in the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie. Liebknecht, Luxemburg and thousands of others, unknown, rot in the soil; offered up on the alter for working class liberation; the war is growing in intensity and bitterness. No quarter is asked, no quarter is given. It is war to the knife, and, know you masters, the producers will emerge victorious.

In our own country hundreds are pining away behind prison walls and are slowly becoming stifled in the vile dungeons which the masters prepare for working class rebels. On this May Day, they are looking at us, out here, through iron bars and over high walls and in their grim silence they beckon us to carry on and on.

May Day, 1919, is springtime for the working class. The time has come at last. The hour has struck and the conflict which we have awaited so long is at hand. In Russia our comrades have stormed the citadel of capitalism and won. The struggle is not ended yet. Enemies within and without would crush the first proletarian republic and drown in an ocean of blood the aspirations of the workers and peasants of Russia. In the face of bitter hostility and ceaseless warfare our comrades have held the fort for eighteen months. They are stronger today than any government in the world. The peasants and workers of Russia are now free men and shook loose not only autocracy in government, but autocracy in industry and land. Free men fight as no others do. The enemy will not pass. He shall not pass.

In Germany the Spartacans are valiantly waging warfare against the bourgeoisie and their hireling government directed by the Scheidemann-Ebert outfit. Their setbacks, heralded with joy by the ruling class and their prostituted journals, are but temporary. The proletarian revolt is spreading in former kaiserland. In a few days, weeks, or months, the capitalist class of Germany will be relegated to the scrap heap and the birth of another proletarian state will be effected.

Hungary leaped into the world-wide revolt most unexpectedly. Four years of war has made the working class of Hungary militant and determined to rid its country of the parasitic exploiters and establish the Soviet form of government. Austria will soon follow suit and the union of all the discordant elements of the former Austrian empire into a Socialist Soviet Federation will be consummated. There are no national barriers that can prevent working class union.

The workers of England, Italy and France are alive to the tremendous possibilities facing them and their emancipation from industrial oppression is a matter of but a brief time. The recent strikes in England are an augury of the revolutionary power which will soon accomplish the dethronement of the capitalist class and the displacement of the wages system.

In the United States the workers are learning daily of the historic mission that the working class is to fulfill and are drifting in the direction of proletarian emancipation. The reactionaries of the Gompers tribe are fast losing their support and will soon be repudiated with the scorn they deserve. The principle of industrial unionism is becoming recognized among the most backward labor organizations and the next few years will witness the rapid growth and spread of the One Big Union idea.

The irresistable sweep of the working class to power and liberation from the oppressive yoke of capitalism continues and grows in volume as class lines become clearly defined and there is nought for workers to do but take the field with one side or the other. In their blind desperation and facing theid destruction, the powers that be are preparing to rivet the chains of oppression upon the militant workers. Repressive legislation and prison cells await their spokesmen. The iron Heel will continue to grind the men and women of the revolutionary movement. But it will avail them nothing. **Those of us who have accepted the joy and duty of the conflict will not desist; we will not retreat one step, but go forward and on to power with the working class.**

The Red Dawn is waking all to activity and revolutionary effort. In spite of all oppression, and ready to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to consummate the supreme aim of the proletariat—to wrest power from the capitalist class and usher in the era of Industrial Democracy—we pledge ourselves anew, on this May Day, with the goal in sight, to work unceasingly and to offer up all that we are and all that we have in the cause of proletarian emancipation.

Why Talk Organization?

By DR. FRANK S. HANNEN

Mr. So and so is still hammering on "organization." Perhaps we judge him wrongly, but it seems to us that he is infatuated with a word. He told us during the great socialist activities before the war, that we had a splendid organization. Possibly we had, but where did that "organization" get us? Nowhere except in the ditch.

The labor unions have organization galore,—but to what avail? What are we to organize? Ignorance? Oh, no! We are told we must educate. Of what is our education to consist? Mr. So-and-so's speeches and magazine articles? If not, then what? Does Mr. So-and-so suggest a book for the worker to study and really learn something through the study of it? No.

Did "organization" of the worker prevent war? Did it hinder in the least degree? Yet, we had organization—much organization—in shop, in field and in politics. The army itself is one of the most perfect pieces of organization the heart could wish for. Behold, it is an organization of workers! So is industry an organization. An organization to produce commodities for the capitalists.

Why then, this failure of the workers to gain something for themselves through all this organization?

Did organization obtain the high wages paid in munition factories and on the farm?

By no means. Merely a law of supply and demand by those who are "educated." Was it "organization" that brought together and made powerful and successful, those "educated" ones whose ideas, whose religion, whose habits, whose nationality, whose private interests, whose national, sectional, and racial hatreds were, so far as they had ever thought about it, as diverse as the petty methods by which the women of the ruling class dissipate their energies?

No! It was education. When the big war started, all the manufacturers, all the politicians, all the moneyed interests saw a great light, and of course that same light illuminated the path of the preachers, the professors and the plugged editors and blinded them. They couldn't get together fast enough. They couldn't get the workers together fast enough.

Were they "organized?" Well, we should say not. They didn't have time to organize, and they never did get organized, unless you wish to call those world-wide collection agencies "organizations." They were bound together only by that great light. They "saw" their interests. In other words, they were "educated." To be sure it was a short course and a hurried one—too much of a rush to retain dignity, or even common decency—but it served the purpose and made them successful. Here, nature, in the guise of social evolution, stressed the education involved in the process. Why should we not take a lesson?

Where are the workers nearest to [illegible]? In Russia, are they "organ[illegible] [illegible] hardly. But they are educated; and their suc[illegible] [illegible] and early just to [illegible] ber of them are truly, really educated in the materialistic conception of history.

Why not name one of the fundamental treaties on the materialistic conception of history, one on the class struggle and one on the law of surplus value, and then tell the workers how to study these works? One essay from Mr. So-and-so on this work would be worth more in the development of working class solidarity than a thousand bursts of oratorial eloquence.

The capitalists are organized—yes. Why? Because they know their interests. They are educated. Who educated them? Industrial evolution. They organized afterwards. Why? They couldn't help it. They had to. Of what does their education consist? Why, of the single fact that higher wages mean lower profits. Do they need to study in order to learn this? Of course not. It comes naturally. They handle both ends of the game.

But the worker? Does he know his own interest? Certainly not. How can he know them? Only by study. He must get the scientific method of thinking—from cause to effect. The knowledge required by a slave is far different from that required by a master. He must quit believing fairy tales.

His knowledge cannot be made efficient by the promiscuous use of the policeman's club. If he is to use either his physical force or his intellectual power to the end of working class freedom, he must have it directed by knowledge. Real knowledge in his own brain—not speeches made by others.

But when he gets the knowledge that constitutes power—the power to revolutionize society—he won't need a shepard to stand on some high place and shout "organize!" He will be on the high place—and he will be organized.

An educated working class—educated in the "Communist Manifesto," "Value, Price and Profit," and "Revolution and Counter-Revolution"—is an organized working class. You don't need to tell them to organize. Why, bless you, you couldn't keep them apart. All the powers of capitalism with all their pseudo—educated dogs of hell and war can't keep them apart. They will be organized consolidated, united.

Let us educate. Let us put the stress on education. Organizatoin will follow naturally. Let us study individually and in classes, everywhere and all the time. Let us learn to think, write, talk—systematically, scientifically, not promiscuously and at random. Every one of us, not a few "leaders." Let us stop our academic speech-making and educate. Let us be intelligently educated, possessing skill and power in intellectual work.

Workers, when we are educated, we will be united.

"Workers of the World, unite!"

"It has so happened in all the ages of the world that some have labored and others, without labor have enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any govern[illegible]

Another Lie Nailed

(A copy of the "New Europe" has just arrived from England. It bears date of March 13. A statement in it puts an end to any doubt in the minds of decent people as to whether the story of the nationalization of women in Russia is the truth or an infamous libel. Harold Williams, a bitter opponent of Bolshevik rule in Russia, gives the lie to a report that was as foolish as it was wicked. "The New Europe" takes the blame for giving currency to this report, which they now state was a mistake on their part. There are many people who have believed this statement, who will be convinced that a lie has been uttered by the opponents of Soviet Russia when they read this statement from the "New Europe." Our readers should give it the widest currency.)

"The Bolsheviki and the Status of Women"

We have received the following communication from our collaborator, Dr. Harold Williams:

"The statement has been frequently made of late in the press and in public speeches that the Bolshevik have issued a monstrous decree for the nationalization of women, and a women's society in Paris is reported to have undertaken a campaign against the Bolsheviki on this particular ground Personnaly, I cannot be accused of any prepossessions in the Bolshevik's favor, but, just because I feel so acutely the enormity of their real crimes and the iniquity of their whole regime, I consider it wrong to weaken the case against them by imputing to them crimes they have not commited.

"I have made particular inquiries among friends recently arrived from Russia is to the alleged nationalization of women, and they all assure me positively that they have never heard or read of such a decree. It is certain that central Bolshevik government has issued no order of the kind, and if anarchists in Smolensk or school boys in some other provincial town have printed such abominable productions the central government cannot be held responsible. The position of women and of everybody else under the Bolshevik regime is far too tragical to be made the subject of such gross caricature as these reports of the nationalization of women really are."

We gladly give prominence to the above declaration, since, according to the "Russian Information Bureau" (the Bolshevik agency in London), an article entitled "The Bolsheviki and the Status of Women," published in No. 107 of the New Europe, "appears to have set the ball rolling." In it we gave "a translation of a decree issued by the Bolsheviki of Vladimir and ublished in the official Soviet organ, Izvestya," which had been supplied to us by an Englishman personally well acquainted with Russian conditions during the war and of unquestionably good faith. We now find that he was inaccurate in quoting the document from the official Bolshevik organ, Izvestya, and that he had confused it with the local Vladimir newspaper of the same name ("Izvestya" being the Russian for "News"). As this puts an entirely different complexion on the matter, and as the central Moscow government cannot be held responsible for the lucubrations of every local committee, we desire to withdraw unreservedly the imputation and to express our regret for the mistake.

Besserabia Goes Soviet

By ANISE, in Seattle Union Record.

"Where is this Bessarabia and what is the importance of it?" I asked the history teacher. "I see it has gone Soviet."

"It is over on the Black sea," he answered. "Between Russia and Rumania. The Danube empties into the Black sea along the southwestern boundary of it, and other rivers from Russia run through it. It contains, the important port of Odessa. In fact, it is really Russia's main outlet on the Black sea, which is her only chance of water transport to the south.

"But while economically it is Russia's outlet to the sea, its population is largely composed of Rumanians. Except that over in the part which is nearest Russia there are quite a lot of Cossacks. This makes Bessarabia a country which, in times of irritation, might be a source of trouble, since it has a strong nationalistic movement driving it toward Rumania, while its economic development i largely tied up with Russia.

Also Leads Over Toward Poland.

"Also Bessarabia is an entering wedge northward toward Poland and Galicia. That is why our friend Paderewski is scared to death over a Soviet government in Bessarabia.

"Like all other little sections of the Balkans, Bessarabia has been tossed back and forth to suit the great powers. In 1812 Turkey ceded it to Russia. In the Crimean war its boundaries were changed about somewhat, but it came back to Russia after the Slav massacres by the Turks in 1877.

"You see, the Turks were massacreing Bulgarians on a large scale. France, England and Austria refused to help, as they wished to keep Turkey sufficiently in the saddle to prevent the growth of Russia. So Russia went down into Bulgaria to protect the people there. No doubt she had her own ulterior motives, but, at any rate she tried to do something.

"After Russia had Turkey beaten, Austria decided that the settlement of boundaries in that vicinity was a 'European matter.' So in 1878 they pulled off the Treaty of Berlin, giving Bessarabia to Russia, and making several other little readjustments of territory not at all in accordance with the will of the inhabitants."

Rumania Growing in Power.

"Since the late '80s Rumania has grown steadily in power. She discovered oil wells and developed industry, and by 1912 she probably was the most progressive and prosperous of all the Balkan countries.

"Like all those states, however, she has two big sources of unrest. An unsolved land problem, with big estates and peasants who are almost serfs; that is one problem. A gradually growing industry, hampered by a reactionary political government; that is the other problem. These two are the social and economic problems all through the Balkans.

"Besides these social and economic problems, there is, of course, the national problem. And the big question facing the world just now is: 'Which of these problems—the national or the economic—is going to be settled first?'"

Via Peace Conference or Soviets?

"Over in Paris, at the peace conference, they are taking up questions of nationality and national boundaries. Their method is to settle those first and let the economic and social problems be worked out afterward by each country.

"If the peace conference ever got around to it, and settled matters on a nationalistic basis, it probably would hand Bessarabia, or part of it, over to Rumania, because her population is so largely Rumanian, and also because they are friendly to Rumania, and not to Russia.

"But they have been very slow in Paris, and meantime the Soviets are offering solution, not of national problems, but of economic problems. Let the poorest, peasants seize the land they till and the workers take over control of industry, is their program. Never mind for the present about political government or national boundary lines. Those can be settled when you get around to it; they aren't important.

"You see now what it means when Bessarabia goes Soviet. It means that the nationalistic movement toward land control and control of industry.

Will Rumania and Poland Follow?

"It means, also, since the connection of feeling is very close between Bessarabia and Rumania, that Rumania, and perhaps Poland to the north, will be next touched by the desire of the peasants for their own land, which is, of course, the communist program of Soviet Russia.

"When we read that the Rumanian army is fighting Bessarabia, it is quite likely that this army is composed largely of adherents of the old regime, and not of Rumanian peasants. The Rumanian peasants will have no quarrel with their brother Rumanians just over the boundary, who have taken possession of the estates of Bessarabia. Their chief emotion will be one of envy.

DEPORTATION

By SCOTT NEARING.

The most modern and most fashionable method [illegible] by tyrants to get rid of the[illegible] [illegible] subjects is to "deport" them.

This new weapon of autocracy was invented by the [illegible] government in 1915, when the whole Armenian nation was removed from its ancient home and driven by a murderous soldiery into the deserts of Asia Minor to starve or be butchered by bandits. Kaiser Wilhelm employed the same tactics in Belgium in 1916-17, when the Belgian working class was deported en masse to work for its conquerors in Germany.

The American capitalist class immediately saw the advantages of deportation as a means to make war upon American workers. In the summer of 1917, the Phelps-Dodge Corporation, operating mines in Arizona, was faced by a strike. In Bisbee, and several other towns, the officials and retainers of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation, together with the business men of the place, armed themselves with rifles, rounded up the strikers and their friends, commandeered a railroad train and deported 1,200 men into the desent.

This action proved a great success. Of course, there was no warrant of law in thus picking up innocent men and shipping them out of town without a trial, nor was it in accordance with the statutes to hold up American citizens at the point of a gun, tear them away from their families and exile them. But the law of the capitalist class acquiesced. The indictments formally brought against the Phelps-Dodge officials and their accomplices were dismissed in the federal courts.

Since then, deportation, lawless or lawful, has risen rapidly in public esteem. Recently, the newspapers told of the deportation of several hundred Negroes from Coatesville, Pa. These Negroes had been lured from their homes in the south to help win the war for democracy by doing war work in the factories of the north. The war is over now, and democracy is assured—in Germany, anyway. There is no more work for the Negroes in Coatesville—and, besides, they insist upon living wages—and, moreover, the south needs her slave labor back again. What to do? The question was solved very simply in Coatesville. The Negroes were simply driven to the southern limits of the town by armed men and told "to go home."

Deportation is now the recognized means for dealing with class-conscious workers of foreign birth.

The immigration law provides, for the deportation of foreigners in this country who "advocate the overthrow of the government by force." Naturally, therefore, when a foreign worker participates in a strike or is found endeavoring to organize the workers of [illegible] he is discovered to be "affiliated with an organization which stands for the overthrow of the government by force"—and he is promptly deported.

A few weeks ago we were startled by the arrival in New York of a trainload of such "anarchists," whom the newspapers announced were picked up along the Pacific coast, several of them in the ranks of the Seattle strikers, and, after a hasty hearing, bundled off to New York under guard, "the courts co-operating." At this moment there are several hundred Socialists, I. W. W. and other "malcontents," held in prison on Ellis island, awaiting deportation to the lands of their birth. And all over the country others are being quickly arrested.

Among these are many political refugees from their own countries, whose return there means long prison sentences, and probably worse. There are also many Russians. * * *

It is now fairly well known that there is a war in Russia—a war between the remnants of the Russian propertied classes, supported by foreign bayonets, and the Russian people rallied around the Soviet government. The vast majority of the Russians whom the United States government is now attempting to deport are Bolsheviki. If they are deported to any part of Russia, except Soviet Russia, they are doomed to certain death, either at the hands of their own master class, the Finnish White Guards, or the allied troops, whose record of brutalities in the parts of Russia when they occupy is scarcely surpassed by the record of the Germans in Belgium.

Where is the American government going to send the Russian workers? To questions addressed to the United States Department of Labor no answer is returned to this vital question. We do not believe that American labor is going to allow our Russian comrades to be murdered in this way.

We happen to know that the Scandinavian countries have closed their frontiers to Russia. And, even were the borders of Sweden open, it would be impossible for a Soviet sympathizer to pass through White Finland. The allies and the Russian renegades hold all ports of entry to Russia—the Black sea ports, Archangel, Vladivostok and Harbin. There is only one way by which the deportees can be safely sent to Russia—and that is, via the Baltic sea, direct to some port held by Soviet Russia. * * *

For a year and a half, tens of thousands of Russian workers in this country have clamored for permission to go home. They have not been allowed to go. * * * By what right does the American government refuse these Russian citizens the right to return to free Russia? Thousands, tens of thousands want [illegible] if they are deported to Soviet Russia, and not into the hands of their enemies. President Roosevelt, in 1910, deported Mexican revolutionists across the Rio Grande, where they were captured and shot by the butchers of Porfirio Diaz. Let us not permit the Russian comrades to be delivered over to the tender mercies of Kolchak, Seminov, Tchaikovsky, Denikin and the Tchekho-Slovaks.

If the United States government will open our frontiers to those foreigners who want to leave this monstrous industrial tyranny of ours, where the laws are seemingly made to be obeyed by working men only, the "alien agitators" will go home, and there will be such a rush for the seaports that there won't be enough ships to carry them.

Do Secretary of Labor Wilson and the department of justice imagine that with these revolutionists they are deporting the revolution? If so they are mistaken. The revolution is not a person, or a thousand persons; it is an idea, and ideas cannot be deported.

Queens Local Endorses Left Wing

New York.—At a meeting of the membership of Local Queens, one of the divisions of the Socialist Party of New York, the following resolution declaring the adherence of the local to Left Wing Program and Manifesto was adopted:

Whereas, We desire to clearly place ourselves on record for, and openly and actively align ourselves with the revolutionary proletariat the world over, as at present expressed by the policies and tactics of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki), the Communist Labor Party in Germany (Spartacans) and other parties in harmony with them, be it

Resolved, That we, in Local Queens, in Party Membership Meeting Assembled, this 7th day of April, 1919, adopt as our official expression the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party Greater New York; and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge both financial and moral support to the Left Wing propaganda, working to the end that the National Organization conforms with the policies of this Program; and be it further

Resolved, That all delegates, committees and officials of Local Queens adhere strictly to this Manifesto and Program; and be it further

Resolved, That Local Queens will not countenance or compromise with any half way measures, but that the change in policies and tactics must be complete even if it necessiatates the severance of relations with those constituting the right; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be printed in full in the "Call and Volkszeitung" as part of the minutes of this meeting of Local Queens with the request that other Locals and Branches adopt it.

Do We Stand The Test?

When the United States entered the war to overthrow the Kaiser and his Autocracy, and incidentally, to make the world safe for the Democratic Party, and to prove by superior might, that might was not right, it found itself under obligation to incarcerate those who persistently voiced the sentiments and ideals of peace, brotherhood, and industrial freedom.

Agitation could not be permitted in time of war. The unified forces of the nation had to be brought to bear upon the work in hand. This could not be done when the divergence of class interest was being continually held before the minds of the workers who had to supply the materials of war as well as do the bulk of the actual fighting.

Thus, to restrain the intellectual, social, and industrial activity the Espionage act was passed, and those individuals whose habits of thought differed from the thought modes necessary to carry on the great conflict were herded together, tried and sent to prison for terms ranging from a few days to twenty years and more.

This for a while stilled, or seemed to still, the industrial unrest of the country. But it proved, as all repressive measures must prove, that it is possible to incarcerate the body of men, but it is impossible to quench the spirit of social unrest as long as the social organism is full of elements of irritation. Thus, with the prisons full, we find that strikes, protests, and other manifestations of social mal-adjustments are ever on the increase in the country. In other words all that the men in prison did or could do was to give active voice to the sentiments and ideals that are felt by millions of people in the country today. The difference between these millions and the men incarcerated is, that the latter actively saying what the former dumbly felt, has brought them into conflict with the authorities.

Now is the chance for us who are out to show that we are with them, in a little more than lip service. Many of these men have been admitted to bail. The government, practically recognizing the weakness of the case against them, has said that they are entitled to a new trial. The trial of these men, Comrades, is a trial of your ideals and mine. These men, believe in their ideals. The stone and concrete walls of Leavenworth penitentiary, steel cages, and fettered limbs, did not deter them. In many cases they suffered slow and loathsome deaths, as in Sacramento jail, for their ideal's sake. Others are pining away with diseases which in the open air they might be able to fight off, but they do not complain. Firmly convinced of the justice of their cause, they see in each rising sun a mile-stone on the road to the final realization of their great goal—Industrial Democracy.

Toward that goal we are still working. We all believe in Justice and its final triumph. They believed it strong enough to brave abuse, conviction, and even death. Do we believe in it? I mean, we who have property, strong enough to say to the government: "Here is my pledge, that these men will be present at their trial, that they will defend themselves."

Clearly, if we belive what we say, this is our duty. It will return these boys to the sunlight and to usefulness. And the volume of the bond that will come in from the comrades and the readiness and speed with which they are given will be a powerful plea before the court, for it will show that the people as a whole do not believe in the principles that men should be incarcerated for their opinions sake. Let us do our utmost and go our limit in giving bonds as these men have gone their limit in upholding the principle of free speech and assembly as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

Comrades who can furnish bail should communicate at once with "The Workers World," Box 697, Kansas City, Mo.

If you cannot qualify on a bond, use your effort to interest those who can. Remember that it is a pledge of our substance against the pledge of their life and liberty.

JOHN DeQUER in Workers' World.

Strike Resolutions

(United Mine Workers of America, Local Union N6. 1348, Midvale, O.)

To the officers and members of the International Executive Board, United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, The time has come when organized labor can no longer hope for fair, just and unprejudiced consideration at the hands of employers; and,

Whereas, The interests of organized labor and organized capital are in direct conflict; and,

Whereas, The trial and conviction of Eugene V. Debs and Thomas J. Mooney is not only an arrant miscarriage of justice as regards an individual, but is a direct attack upon all labor organizations by organized capital; and

Whereas, Every appeal has been tried and every attempt made to secure a fair and impartial trial for Eugene V. Debs and Thomas J. Mooney but without avail, therefore be it

Resolved, That we the officers and members of Local Union No. 1348, U. M. W. of A., of Midvale, O., go on record as unanimously endorsing the Debs and Mooney strike, and hereby petition our international president and the members of the international executive board for a referendum vote to be taken among the entire membership of the U. M. W. of A. on or before May 15, 1919, for the purpose of endorsing the Debs-Mooney strike and that if such referendum vote carries in favor of said strike that the U. M. W. of A. as a body walk-out July 4, 1919, and stays out until Eugene V. Debs and Thomas J. Mooney and all other political prisoners are released.

JAMES T. HASKET,
FRED HELLE,
JOHN S. STOCKSDALE,
Committee.

THE MOST WONDERFUL THING

By TOBIAS BLOU.

I have found the most wonderful thing on earth;
Men die for it, women sigh for it, children live by it.
'Tis the strongest pillar of man's social state;
Nations live by it, capitalists thrive by it, workers sweat by it.

'Tis the life or death of millions, 'tis their fate;
Glory unto those who can us rob,
I have found the most wonderful thing on earth—
I have found a job.

TERRE HAUTE SOCIALISTS WILL PROTEST

Dear Comrades:—

We, the Comrades and friends of Eugene Victor Debs, now sent to prison in W. Va., have planned to hold a big demonstration here in his home town on Sunday, May 4th, 1919.

We hope to make this the biggest demonstration ever held anywhere. We want to make it not only National but international in character if possible.

Speakers of emminent ability and reputation will address the crowds.

Meetings held at 3 of the entrances to the court house, all are cordially invited.

We hope to accomplish several results by this meeting. To show honor to our Comrade 'Gene, to protest against the injustice of his imprisonment and strengthen solidarity among the workers and to start concerted action for the release of not only 'Gene but all political prisoners.

We want you to help us advertise this meeting through your paper as soon as you receive this and up to that date.

Thanking you for this help, we remain

Committee on Arrangements
NOBLE C. WILSON, Sec'y.
GEO. A. CAMERON
WM. F. SCHUHARDT
1318 N. 8th St.

Eugene V. Debs

By JENNINGS B. ASHCRAFT.

From the streets in ragged breeches,
To the work shop's din and dust,
From the platform to the dungeon,
Scourged and cursed by mammon's lust.

He has climbed the lofty ladder
To the eminence of fame.
He has won the countless millions,
To adore and shout his name.

With the courage of a Spartan
He has held the narrow pass,
Through which mammon seeks a passage,
To make slaves of labors' class.

Comrades, let us rally round him,
Do not falter as of yore,
Let us open wide to mankind,
Liberty's untarnished door.

Let us live or die with freedom,
We have everything to gain,
Nothing shall we lose but shackels,
And submission's ugly stain.

Debs has lived and fought to free us
From the pangs of slavery's hell,
Now, shall we stand mute and see him
Locked within a felon's cell?

No, my comrades, we shall free him
From the dismal prison wall,
By resistance we shall triumph,
By submission we shall fall.

The Intellectual and Moral Bankruptcy of College Men

By A. A. KARALUS.

When the capitalist mode of production and exchange, with its anarchy and corruption, began to break into pieces, and a new order of society appeared upon the horizon of social evolution, the intellectual and moral degeneracy among the people who are bound to the ducational institutions of the decrepit system began to show itself.

The educational institutions are very closely connected with the interests of the ruling class and since this class has grown to be parasitic and become useless in social evolution, it jeopardizes the progress of mankind.

I am a student of a college of engineering. I study closely the people I meet in the school and I cannot refrain from stating the opinion that intellectual and moral bankruptcy prevails in most schools, colleges and universities of the land.

The teachers are very ignorant of social questions. Ideology is the beginning and end of their reasoning. Their view of social evolution is that of a wagon being pulled and stopped and started again by great men. For them the way to achieve anything is to worship at the shrine of a great man and give him the opportunity to go ahead, whether he is right or he is wrong. Some few are perturbed about revolutionary events in Europe, but others neither know nor care that there is a revolution under way in Europe. [illegible] individuality are in the minds of every teacher and student. In the classes, churches and all student gatherings the talk is about success through personal achievement. Everybody believes that he can become a millionaire, or a great, successful engineer, or even president of the United States if he works hard and is loyal. One teacher of higher mathematics told me that "At present jobs are scarce for engineers, but if you are a good mathematician you will be a good engineer and you will be able to kick the other fellow and get his place, and what do you care for him?" That means that you may crush the other fellow if you are stronger and conditions are favorable for you, and those are the ethics which are being taught the student.

The people here are all afraid of social revolution, but all uphold "democracy," and equal opportunities and equal rights for every man. They hope that some great man, still to come, will save their institutions founded upon "freedom and liberty" from Bolshevism. Since the revolutionary proletariat in its march to freedom does not concern itself with "great men" they are disappointed and will have nothing to do with it.

It is a pitiful thing to see that in such a crucial and decisive period in which intelligence is needed to interpret the new social phenomenon to the students, there are no men in the colleges who understand social evolution. [illegible] er of that class had explained panics in the following manner: It happens that somebody starts a rumor that a certain bank is unsound and that the depositors may lose their money and this starts a run on the bank which spreads to other banks, forcing some of them to close their doors and the result is widespread depression.

They interpret the Russian revolution in the same manner that they explain the condition which the Puritans found themselves in when they landed in this country. They say if there is starvation, disorganization in Russia, it is because no great men have appeared to lead the people, just as the Puritans experienced much hardship at the beginning because they did not have great leaders.

What do you think of these intellectuals, workingmen? Is it not ridiculous that in these times and this age so-called educated men should accept such rot? Yet this is what is being taught the students in this school.

The profit system based upon robbery, ignorance and lies, is responsible for this manifestation. Intellectual and moral bankruptcy is its natural accompaniment.

The working class is the only class that can save civilization from the chaos which capitalism is precipitating. It is the historic mission of the proletariat to bring about the social revolution. The wage workers have inherited the [illegible]

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited by C. E. Ruthenberg

Obscuring The Issue

If there were no other indications that recent events in the world have frightened the capitalist class, the desperate efforts which it is making to create the impression that it is a necessary factor in the work of production of wealth, would be indication enough.

In the past the capitalists have not been very much concerned about the views that the masses held about their function in society. This has all been changel. The capitalists are no longer indifferent about the matter. They realize that forces are in motion that will eliminate all capitalists and so they make their puny effort to sweep back the tide of social revolution by pointing out how necessary they are to the work of carrying on industry.

One of these apologies for the capitalists is made by the Christian Science Monitor, in an editorial discussing the development of the "one-big-union" in Australia. Quoting the president of employers' association as saying, "if apart from the working class themselves, there were no directing minds in industries the working class would be woefully short of work," it asserts "that the manual laborer is not the sole prducer."

Of course not. No Socialist, Communist or Bolshevist has ever made such an assertion. But to prove, what every one will admit, "that the manual laborer is not the only producer" does not make the modern capitalist a useful member of society.

In the early days of capitalism the owner of a plant was usually the manager. He was identified with the work of production and rendering useful services. If in place of drawing a salary he took part of the profits as the compensation for his services, no doubt up to a certain amount the profits were the reward for his services. But this situation does not exist any longer. The development of the corporation has divorced the capitalist from the manager. The managers of the modern industrial corporation are salaried employes. So far as these employes are engaged in the work of production and distribution, and not merely in the competitive struggle for business, they render valuable and necessary services to society. They are, no doubt, over paid and a large part of them are merely carrying on the capitalist fight for business—as was proven in the case of the railroads when then Railroad Administrator McAdoo fired a large part of the railroad presidents—but those that are giving managerial or technical skill are as surely producers as the manual worker.

But that does not help the case of the caitalist any. While some capitalists may be managers or executives, most of them are not. If the capitalist is also a manager he receives a salary as manager. His income as a capitalist has no relation to his services as manager. The capitalists in the modern industrial world are stockholders and bondholders who render no service, have no connection with industry outside of their mortgages in industry. They may never have seen the industry from which they draw their profits. They may not have the slightest knowledge about the work of production; they may be weak-minded, idiots, children, but still they draw their interest and dividends and suck the life blood of the workers who produce the wealth.

What services does John D. Rockefeller render society today for the millions of dollars that yearly roll into his coffers? And Anderw Carnegie? And the tens of thousands of other parasites who are wallowing in wealth.?

The capitalist is a parasite on the body of society. Incidentally the system which enables this parasite to wax fat at the expense of the many creates poverty, and unemployment, and war.

The workers of the world are bent upon eliminating the capitalist parasite. Obscuring the issue by confusing the capitalist and the managers of industry will not fool the workers. They know what they are after.

The executives, the managers, the men of technical ability will have their place in the new industrial system. If they can adapt themselves to the new conditions they will have their jobs and rewards commensurate with the services they render. If they are unwilling or unable to adapt themselves to the new industrial democracy the workers will develop men from their own ranks to take their places. It may take time to do that, there may be some temporary reduction in efficiency, but the goal is worth the price.

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Why They Do Not Act

The capitalist press of this country is constantly wailing because sterner methods are not used in dealing with Soviet Russia. President Wilson, Lloyd George, etc., are charged with weakness in not riding roughshod over the workers' government of that country and drowning the new social order there in the blood of those that support it.

It is not sympathy for the Russian workers that prevents the capitalist governments from acting. It is not sympathy that directs such proposal as that of furnishing Soviet Russia with food. It is not Mr. Wilson's or Lloyd George's weakness that has prevented a million allied soldiers from being sent in to end the rule of the Bolsheviki.

What has saved Soviet Russia is the weakness of the capitalist system and the capitalist governments. Lenin, in his letter to American working men, said that the workers of Russia can only succeed if the workers of other countries come to their rescue. The workers of the allied countries and the United States have not come to the aid of Russia through open rebellion, but the fear of such a rebellion has held the hand of the capitalist statesmen in dealing with Russia. Even the workers of this country, still so largely held by the leading strings of the capitalists, see the issue in Russia, and all the lies and lurid misrepresentations of the kept press have not succeeded in securing their consent to an invasion of Russia on a large scale by American soldiers.

Even Mr. Wilson knows that he dare not * * *?

Who Will Make Peace

Italian delegates have withdrawn from the Peace Conference and left Paris.

In the background looms a dispute over Japanese claims to territory formerly controlled by Germany in China, which threatens to bring about similar action on the part of the Japanese delegates.

In addition there is the threat that German delegates will refuse to sign the peace treaty and tell the allies to do their worst.

No wonder Oswald Garrison Villard, recently returned from Paris paints this pessimistic picture of what has happened there:

> Yet it is far more than a test of the real moral force and character of President Wilson which we are witnessing. It is a far-reaching test of the value of war as the creator of new moral values. Entered into on the part of the American public with the highest idealism and the confident belief that it was a war to end war and to make the world safe for democracy, the war thus far has made the world less safe for democracy than it has been at any previous period in modern times, and in addition has brought a brood of actual wars and the threat of others in its train. The struggle is ending at Paris with bitterness and hatred as well as with colossal hypocrisy. It is ending with the whole modern order of society on trial for its life; for nothing is plainer than if the four men who have become the dictators of the world can not produce a peace that is real, one that shall not only end war but also do away with armaments, a deceived and disappointed world will try other ways and means. Can war be cured by frankly trying to apply the doctrines of Christianity and the brotherhood of man? This is the question which is to be answered at Paris. Beside it the new Holy Alliance misnamed the League of Nations sinks into insignificance.

All of which is in striking confirmation of what Socialists have been saying about the capitalist system for, lo, these many years.

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What We Want

The Socialists of Cleveland have been raising cain since Eugene V. Debs was taken to prison. Great meetings have been held almost nightly, followed by demonstrations in which thousands paraded the streets. One of these processions passed under the windows of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and while doing so the crowd made a point to give three cheers for the Bolsheviki and to raise the cry, "Down with the capitalist press."

The result is a peevish editorial in that paper, in which we find among a lot of slush and mush, the questions:

> What is the Bolshevist complaint in this country? Are wages low? Are men denied the right of suffrage? Are they opprssed by the government they propose to overthrow by violence? Are thy taxed out of proportion to the benefits they enjoy? Is work scarce or impossible to get? What are these un-American Bolshevists in America protesting for, anyway?

Although these questions are manifestly not asked in good faith, the opportunity to tell what the American Bolshevists are after is too good to miss. The Plain Dealer asks its questions in a form which indicate that it believes that no one will have the temerity to answer them in a way not favorable to its case, but we propose to attempt what it believes impossible.

"Are men denied the right to suffrage?" the editorial writer would no doubt consider a particularly safe question. With the word "men" carefully inserted to prevent reference to women, the answer must be "no" he no doubt believes. But there are still the negroes of the South disfranchised by the trick laws of the southern aristocracy and also the millions of "foreigners" who are denied the right to the ballot for long years after they come to this country. But these qualifications of the negative reply are not the chief criticism of the suggestion that political equality exists in this country, which is contained in the question.

Formal political equality we have. But in practice it is a snare and a delusion. The class which owns the industries and is economically dominant controls the educational and publicity machinery of the country and through such control shapes the minds of the voters to suit its interests. It is perfectly safe for a ruling class to grant formal equality so far as voting is concerned, so long as it controls the way the voters vote. The American Bolshevists, to use the Plain Dealer's term, doesn't only want formal equality, they want democracy that is not merely democracy in name, but the reality and they know that the only way to get it is by wiping out the economically dominant class and establishing industrial demacracy.

"Are wages low?"

They are so low that millions of people are living in misery and squalor in this country.

Though in some cases wages may not seem low when expressed in dollars and cents, they are low, below a decent standard of living, when expressed in buying power.

And further, wages will be low for the American Bolshevists so long as they do not represent the full equivalent of what the workers produce through their labor power—so long as capitalists wax fat out of the labor of the workers and we produce ten thousand new millionaires during a few months of war.

"Are they oppressed by the government they propose to overthrow by violence?"

Well, when they elected men to represent them in the government of the city of Cleveland these men were charged with "disorderly conduct" and thrown out because they voted in accordance with their conscientious beliefs.

When they upheld a view of the war contrary to the view promulgated by the president they were thrown in prison by the hundreds because they dared differ with the official view of the government—dared believe that in a "political democracy" the minority had the right to convert the majority to their point of view through facts and logic.

They find at the present time that all the powers of the existing government are being used to prevent them from publicly propagating their ideas. Hall owners are intimidated by the police, reactionary laws are proposed to prevent them from holding public meetings and demonstrations.

"What is the Bolshevist complaint in this country?"

Here it is, brief and to the point: A small class owns the things that the many must use in order to live; it uses the power that ownership gives it to rob and exploit the masses when they are permitted to work and when it cannot make profits it takes away their jobs and sends them on the streets to starve; the same class controls the government and uses its power to bolster up the system of exploitation and oppression.

The complaint is that capitalism exists and the "American Bolshevist" will not be content until it is wiped out of existence and the workers control their own jobs.

• • • •

Congressman C. C. Dill, of Washington state has been talking to returned soldiers and gives this pessimistic view of their state of mind (pessimistic from the capitalist standpoint):

> "The returning soldier—the enlisted man—is a frankly cynical individual. He has taken the slogan of making the world safe for democracy with a literalness which is going to surprise many politicians. He bled and suffered for the ideal in France, and he saw his buddies blown to pieces for it in the slaughter house of war.
>
> "Returning to this country he finds unemployment, high prices, indifference and corruption looming everywhere behind the pageantry of welcoming committees. He comes home jobless and with an empty sleeve, and reads that the war made 17,000 new millionaires in the United States. He gets his $60.00 bonus from congress and reads that Mrs. Frank Gould spurns alimony of $150. a week because that will scarcely pay for her silk stockings and other incidentals. These things he remembers and tells to his companions.
>
> "I tell you that the returned soldier is in a questioning state of mind. Party names and party fetishes will count for nothing with him. He is looking behind fine phrases as he is looking behind the brass bands and the streamers which greet his landing. He is in the frame of mind in which the seeds of Socialist doctrine will take root easily and will grow readily."

• • • •

And here's Sammy Gompers, after selling the workers body and soul to the Wilson Administration, calling Postmaster General Burleson a dictator. But didn't Mr. Gomper's friend, Wilson appoint Burleson and doesn't he keep him at his job of oppressing the workers on the post office department and telephone system?

• • • •

How quickly the kept press had the Hungarian Soviet government wiped out! And then they kept right on publishing dispatches telling what the same government was doing.

Investigation of Court Martial System Called Farce

Washington,—For several weeks the American Bar Association has been conducting an alleged investigation of the court-martial system for administering justice in the army.

Socialists have suspected all the time that the "investigation" was a monumental farce designed to forestall the congressional investigation which will be ordered as soon as congress convenes.

Confirmation of the suspicions of the Socialists has appeared in the specific charges of Lieut. Col. S. T. Ansell that the Bar Association's investigating committee is not getting the facts does not wish to get the facts, was not organized to get the facts, and has conducted the investigation with the determination to whitewash Judge Advocate General Crowder, held to be responsible for the system, and to give the military law and its administration a clean bill.

It is interesting to note that the Bar Association's committee has not called a single private. The privates are the ones who have felt the injustice and undue severity of the court-martials. It would seem that one of the first things for the committee to do, if its attempt to investigate alleged injustices was sincere, would be to call a number of soldiers serving five, ten and twenty-year sentences for petty offenses before it and find out from them just what their experiences were before the military courts. The witnesses, however, have been the military courts. The witnesses, however, have been the military autocrats who sit on the court-martials, not the conscripted workers who have been subjected to military penalties.

To the Socialists the mere fact that the American Bar Association is conducting the investigation is conclusive proof that no reliance can be placed in either its sympathies or its methods. The Bar Association is mostly made up of the paid lieutenants of the organized exploiters of the working people, and they cannot, therefore be expected to impartially investigate a class question concerning the miscarriage of justice for the working people.

Lieut. Col. Ansell is the man who first drew attention to the injustice of the court-martial system because of the alleged monstrous sentences imposed upon the working people temporarily following the occupation of a soldier. Ansell's statement that under the military court-martial system the enlisted man does not receive the same consideration as the officer is nothing new. The army officers represent there the same functions that the employer represents in industrial life. The court-martial system is a system framed by the military autocrats. Naturally they would no more enact laws meting out the same penalties to the privates and the officers for the same crime than would the employers enact laws punishing employers and workers alike for the same or similar misdemeanors.

Ansell pointed out that "dishonorable discharge" is one of the common penalties imposed upon the privates for infraction of the military law, but is very rarely applied to the sacred persons of the officers. Dishonorable discharge deprives a man of his civil rights as a citizen and makes him in fact a man without a country. "In 51 out of every 100 court-martial cases of enlisted men," said Ansell, "dishonorable discharges have been awarded as part of the penalties and 36 of them have been executed." This was wholly different from the treatment of officers, he explained, whose citizenship status congress had carefully guarded.

One of the fundamental evils of the court-martial system, it is alleged, is the fact that, while the bulk of the men amenable to military law are privates, the military law prohibits privates from sitting on the court-martial "juries." The court-martials are composed exclusively of officers. A similar system would obtain in civil life if workers were prohibited from sitting on juries, the law limiting juries to employers.

It is well understood that the anti-labor militarists expect to drive a compulsory military training bill through the coming congress. As a preliminary to the dictatorship of the capitalists which the young workers will find in industrial life the capitalist autocrats want to give the young men a suggestive touch of capitalist class justice as administered by the court-martial system under the articles of war.

Efforts and Sacrifice

Milton Sheridan Sharp, chairman of the board of directors of the Bradford Dyers' Association, Ltd. (England), opened the annual meeting of the stockholders on February 22, 1919, with these words: "After four years of the most terrible war in the history of the world . . . we meet today after complete victory has crowned our efforts and our sacrifices." The chairman then gives in detail the "efforts and sacrifices" of his company. These include net profits for the year of $3,200,000; 10 per cent regular dividends on the common stock; 7 1-2 per cent bonus on the common stock, and a surplus carried forward of $1,440,000. Mr. Sharp predicts that, with the German dye industry destroyed, a future of the greatest prosperity is in store for his concern.

Exploiters Do Not Keep Promises

(Continued from page one)

overly confident that even the president's appeal to the capitalist industrial and commercial dictatorship will have much effect. When the organized labor exploiters traitorously repudiate their pledges made when war was declared and the workers conscripted to restore the workers to their jobs when the war was over—when they persistently refuse to do this and organize themselves nationally in order to make the lock out effective, it is not probable that they will respond to the president's appeal. They think more of their profits than they do of either their pledges or the president, and they figure that the maximum of profits will only come into the capitalists' coffers when wages have been forced down to what Karl Marx calls the "physical minimum."

But by all means let us celebrate "Job Sunday" and celebrate it with such enlightenment that the workers who participate will understand just what a "job" means under capitalism.

Want Labor Board Continued

Former President Taft and other representatives of the capitalist class in the present capitalist administration want the War Labor Board continued as a peace-time institution. It is authoritatively stated that plans for its continuance will be submitted to Presiden Wilson after he brings back to America what remains of his fourteen points.

The principal thing that the National War Labor Board did was to make the statement that in its opinion the working men and women and children are each and everyone really and actually and civilizedly and capitalisticaily entitled to enough of the new wealth they produce to enable them to live decently from day to day and reproduce their working strength with persistency and stability.

That is just what organized capitalists all over the world are trying to bring about—a system of wealth production under which those who produce the wealth will be permitted to have under the guise of wages no more of the wealth produced than is required to keep them alive and in working condition. The surplus, and under modern production there is a mountain of surplus, then of course belongs by right and by law to the labor exploiters.

Socialists declare that the working people who produce all the wealth are by right entitled to own and enjoy it. The capitalists and the War Labor Board states that the workers are entitled to but a small portion of that wealth and that the labor exploiters are entitled to what remains over and above the workers' living. The Socialists would guarantee the right of the workers to the wealth they produce by substituting collective ownership and democratic operation of the means of production for the existing private ownership for provate profit system. The capitalists and the War Labor Board would perpetuate the present privately owner private profit system as the best possible system to limit the workers to the War Labor Board's "living wage."

The capitalists will need their War Labor Board badly enough before long.

Calls for Reorganization

(Continued from page one)

the results of our best thought and study keep strengthening our organization according to the dictates of common sense and practicability.

Believing that the above represents the sentiment of an overwhelming majortiy of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, this council submits the following propositions to you with the modest request that they be analyzed and judged solely upon their merits, and if you feel as we do, that you put forth your utmost efforts to carry them into effect.

Whereas, Experience of the most ardent and loyal trade unionists in carefully and deliberately planning to invoke the use of the strike weapon as a last resort in their efforts to secure certain measures of justice (especially at times when delay might prove fatal to their cause) have demonstrated weaknesses in our organizations which should be promptly remedied, notable among which is the necessity of as many as twenty different local unions represented in one plant (and desiring to act as a unit under a blanket agreement) communicating with that number of internationals for sanction and securing swenty replies, all of which must harmonize before joint action can be legally taken, the detrimental effect of which must be obvious to all; and,

Whereas, The continued existence of craft units in given localities as at present appear to be distinctly desirable and necessary for the transaction of business of a technical nature; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity request all local unions within its jurisdictions to call upon their respective internationals to immediately submit the following proposition to a referendum vote of their membership:

Proposition No. 1.—Shall this international, by referendum vote, select three of its members to represent this international in conference, at a time and place to be named (preferably by the President of the American Federation of Labor) at as early a date as possible after such election, for the purpose of effecting the amalgamation and consolidation of all international unions into as nearly as possible twelve units, grouped approximately as follows:

Amusement Trades, Building Trades, Clothing and Textile Trades, Culinary and Provision Trades, Marine and Transport Workers, Metal Trades, Mine Workers, Postal and Federal Office Employes, Printing Trades, Railway Workers, Telegraph and Telephone Workers, Timber Workers.

Allowing local unions to retain their present status and at the same time permitting them to act as a group unit dealing with an international unit, thus greatly adding to our organizations' efficiency and very materially reducing overhead expenses.

Note: It is suggested that in case of favorable action the international financial secretary should be one of the delegates.

Proposition No. 2.—In case of favorable action upon Proposition No. 1 shall your delegates be instructed to work but a plan, at said conference, for the interchange or transfer of card without cost into any local union by any member of another union qualified by experience and ability to work under the jurisdiction of the union into which he or she may seek admission?

Proposition No. 3.—In case of favorable action upon Proposition No. 1 shall your delegates be instructed to work out a benefit plan which shall be just and equitable to all organizations based upon the length of time the beneficiary has held continuous membership in the American Federation of Labor rather than the period of membership in any particular craft union?

Proposition No. 4.—Shall this organization use its best influence to encourage the making of blanket agreements to cover all crafts in a given plant, endeavoring to secure uniformity of wages according to skill, and discourage local unions entering into individual agreements without regard for the welfare of other unionists in the same plant?

Proposition No. 5.—In case of favorable action upon Proposition No. 1 shall the plans worked out in said conference be submitted to our membership for ratification together with any further suggestions from the conference calculated to facilitate the operation of the proposed plans, and in no way conflicting with them? And further be it

Resolved, That all local unions in this community, having the ability, be requested to communicate with all local unions of their own crafts, urging favorable action upon these resolutions, sufficient copies of which will be furnished by this council; and further be it

Resolved, That each Central Labor Council within the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. be earnestly requested to duplicate the action of this council in its own vicinity.

Respectfully submitted,
SEATTLE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL,
JAMES A. DUNCAN, Sec'y.

KATE O'HARE'S MESSAGE

(Continued from page one)

ment from her "task," there was a world of rebellion in a single glance, and then she resumed her sentry's watch over the tireless needle.

In the center of the back of the room, behind the toiling convict women there is a platform on which sits the forelady, watching over the laborers of these others from seven in the morning until five in the afternoon, with an hour for lunch.

I was trying to study the forelady by her features when the matron said, so she could be heard above the noise of the machine, "There is that noted Goldman woman," and I tried to show the same curiosity as others who came to this prison just to look.

"How do you get along with her?" I asked.

"Well," replied the matron, "she tries to carry on her work here on the 'inside' just as she did on the 'outside,' and of course we can't stand for that."

There is absolutely no attempt made to differentiate between political prisoners and those committed to Missouri's penitentiary for the usual crimes against society. I asked Warden Painter about this and his only answer was, "We treat them all alike." He did not seem to comprehend what was meant by a "political prisoner."

We, therefore, find Kate O'Hare, the world's most prominent woman political prisoner since Rosa Luxemburg was murdered in Moabit prison, in Berlin, Germany, at the height of the Spartican revolution in January, working here like any ordinary criminal. The negro women are mixed indiscriminately with the white women at the sewing machines. At the end of her first week's prison experience, Kate O'Hare was as spirited as ever, with courage unshaken and her outlook undimmed.

"I am quite all right," she declared, using almost exactly the same words employed by Debs after his first night in his prison cell.

"I feel perfectly well," she persisted, "sleep like a baby and eat like a harvest hand. The rest and quiet after the stress, strain and hard work of these trying times is really restful.

"So far I seem to feel no sense of shock, whatsoever. I entered here quite as calmly as I have registered at hundreds of hotels and the clang of the cell door did not disturb me more than the slamming of my room door by a careless bell boy.

"Life is the 'Great Adventure' and I am living one of its most interesting and illuminating experiences. I have learned much, so very much, in these strained days; lessons of pride and humility; lessons of laughter and sorrow; lessons of high comedy and bitter tragedy. I have learned that prison cells can teach greater and more useful lessons than college class rooms.

"Don't think that I am gloomy and lonely and unloved here, for I certainly am not. Through all the tragedy and heartache there comes sparkles of wit and flashes of humor, and we really find many things to laugh over.

"Our little world has its comedies, its vanities, its classes and its castes, just like the big world outside. The 'federals' are for some reason the 'upper class,' and the 'politicals' are the 'aristocracy'," so it would seem that the prisoners themselves recognize the difference between themselves where the prison officials and the prison system does not. Kate O'Hare continued:

"There are three real 'politicals,' Emma Goldman, a wonderful little Italian girl of 18, and myself. There is another 'espionage,' but she is just a poor, simple, old soul about as dongerous to the government as an unoffending Jersey cow.

"Next in rank are the women who have disposed of undesirable husbands, and at this point I want to expound for all my male friends a bit of wisdom. If you chance to have one of those meek, patient, quiet, long suffering wives, beware that you do not try her too far, or some morning you may wake up in paradise—or the other place. If you have chanced to get a temperamental lady, of shrewish tendencies, you may be uncomfortable but you will be safe."

Kate O'Hare then told of her experiences with the other prisoners. She likened her efforts to get in touch with the driftwood thrown up by the criminal world, to the obstacles [illegible] by the [illegible] of a well-to-do flock in St. Louis who could not develop a point of contact with the working class of that city.

"I feel the same way in my contact with the other inmates," she said. "I want to come close to these women. I want to serve them. But I am always conscious of the fact that they feel that I am one apart from them. Quite often I feel that I am uncovering a mine of psychological material, or a rich vein of underdog philosophy, and just when I am getting what I want, some cynical soul says, 'Aw, cut it—she's a lady.' And I am baffled and shut out and realize that 'ladies' and 'clergymen' are purely ornamental, and can have no relations to real life.

"But I feel that I am winning ground and in time I will not be penalized for being a 'lady.'"

The former member of the International Socialist Bureau then told of her experiences in the prison factory.

"One thing in my favor is that I can work," she said. "I am certainly thankful for my machine shop training."

Before her marriage to Frank P. O'Hare, Mrs. O'Hare was employed in a machine shop owned by her father at Kansas City, Mo.

"The work in the factory here does not trouble me in the least," she contends. "I understand that I have unwittingly broken all records for beginners. Of course I feel a little stiff and sore, but it is nothing serious. I feel sure that by next week I will be able to make the 'task' which for my work is 55 jumpers each day."

"I have received so many beautiful letters. You must let them know that I will be glad to get letters from them. There is no limit to what I can receive. But I can only write one letter a week and that, of course, must be to my family."

Kate O'Hare also asks that she be sent new books, as she cannot get too much reading matter. There are 80 girls in the prison, and there is not a book, magazine or partical of reading matter supplied to the women. There is a prison library but it seems that this is monopolized exclusively by the male prisoners.

The food served is eatable only as a last resort. Those prisoners who have money, or with friends on the "outside" can have anything they want in the way of cold food sent in.

"It will take some thought for me to work out a balanced ration," says Mrs. O'Hare. "But I will do the best I can. Tell the women comrades that I will be very glad to have any sort of home made jams, jellies and pickles, in fact, anything that is put up in small containers."

Several of the Jewish Socialists have promised to send Mrs. O'Hare some matzos, for which she had confessed a liking.

In speaking of the presence of Emma Goldman and the little Italian girl "political" prisoner, whose name I failed to learn, Mrs. O'Hare said:

"It is certainly a great thing for me to have two women like the two 'politicals' with me here. Miss Goldman is very fine and sweet and intellectually companionable, while the little girl is a darling. We really have very interesting times."

As a parting word, Mrs. O'Hare said:

"Tell all the [illegible]

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YE WHO ARE IN PRISON

To our comrades who lie in the dungeons of capitalism, we send greetings of the revolution. Whether in the north, the south, the east or the west, wherever stone walls and iron bars confine a rebel, you, we hail as comrade and bid you be of good cheer for the new day is breaking and the forces that shall open your prison doors gather daily in strength.

Unconquerable you have been, determined in loyalty to your comrades and your ideals. True to your better selves, you now pay the price demanded by a predatory social system for loyalty to manhood and womanhood.

Jails have not terrorized you. "Cruel and unusual punishments" have not tamed your revolutionary spirits. Punishments abhorrent have not weakened you.

Strong have you stood for the solidarity of the workers. Firm as Gibraltar against the tides of capitalistic injustice, bearing always your faces to the rising sun and in your hearts and minds the vision of a new world for the workers.

Rooted deep in proletarian experience and in knowledge and conscience your spirits have not wavered under the persecution a foul capitalism has heaped upon you.

No regrets fill your thoughts. You do not relent in your revolutionary fervor. Slander has not seared your souls. Lies and the vicious "frame-up" have not worked your undoing. The workers of the world turn their faces to you today and call you comrades. They demand your release and in their throats rumbles the threat of revolution.

* * * *

Some of you have died in prison. Not all could bear the iniquities of a capitalist prison life. Disease has thinned your ranks. Inhuman punishments, which could not break your spirits have broken your bodies. But you died without regrets—only that you could not live for the revolution. But your deaths have brought life to the cause. You have passed to unknown shores but across the uncharted spaces your voices reach us bidding us carry on till he worketrs' goal is reached.

Foully murdered that you were, your deaths have been a means of inspiration to thousands. Iniquities practiced upon you have hastened the end of capitalistic misrule. You are our honored dead. Through the mists we feel the touch of your hands; we hear your voices; we feel your presence. The inspiration of your revolutionary spirits abides with us and we pledge you unfaltering loyalty to the cause for which your lives were given.

* * * *

The morning sun grows golden in the east. The day of the workers' emancipation draws near. A visionless capitalism has, through your imprisonment hastened the end of its misrule. Throughout the world echoes the tread of millions marching on the way to a better world society. A society of free labor, of love and comradeship.

You who now stand within cold prison walls, are rendering unto the revolution a service immeasurable. Injustice toward you but brings about the downfall of tyranny. It sows seeds of resentment in the minds of millions. You who can but "stand and wait" are a living part of the great change that is taking place in the world. Apart from it, yet a vital part of it, you serve the revolution to an heroic degree.

A bitter part the masters have given you to play. You have played it with the hearts of heroes. With unselfishness and devotion you have accepted what has fallen to you. You have been game. You serve the revolution in the spirit of unselfishness, which is the spirit of the revolution.

Today we hail you with tidings of the workers' growing power. The armies of capitalism decay in morale. The Red Armies of the Soviets increase in number and grow stronger in purpose, more united as the days pass. No power of capitalism can stay the workers' onward march. Capitalism is in retreat in half of Europe. The workers assert, capture and retain more power. "The day of the people has come."

And today we demand the release of our comrades, the class war prisoners of America. And every succeeding day we shall continue to demand their release until they are free. If capitalism cannot see the wisdom of releasing you then so much the worse for capitalism.

We workers grow weary of continued injustice. We are uniting for your release. We shall not rest until our demands are granted.

WE DEMAND YOUR IMMEDIATE RELEASE.

Hail to the Revolution!

WHAT'S TO BECOME OF WOMEN?

What's to become of the women under socialism, (bolshevism), asks a reader, and we proceed to answer by asking a question or two ourselves.

Being a man we are not greatly concerned about the future of woman under the new democracy that's a dawning over the world. Woman, it seems to us is becoming mighty capable of taking care of herself. As far as we can see the shoe is on the other foot. What is woman going to do with man under socialism, is a more pertinent question.

Under a social system where political and economic rights are equal, man may well fear some reprisals and revenges upon him for his age long persecution and humiliation of woman. Having equal rights with man, and since the war, being in all probability in the majority, what is to prevent them "getting even" for the mountains of humiliation man has heaped upon them. It's a serious question. They will have the power. Will they use it?

Here are a few of the outrages man has committed against woman—because he had the power:

Denial of all, not to speak of EQUAL political rights. Denial of equal pay for equal work. Denial of equal rights in property. Denial of equal rights in the home, though granted a generous share of responsibility. Denial of the rights of chastity because of a prostitute creating economic system which we upheld with our ballot and economic power. Denial of the right to create through political action better conditions for her children. Denial of the right of representation in government, though permitted to rear the necessary cannon fodder for its just and unjust wars.

This is not a complete list though it is long enough to arouse thinking men to the terrific posibilities ahead, once woman has an equal show. Can we expect a pardon from our wives, mothers, sisters and sweethearts for these crimes, upon the day of liberation from our bondage. Can the slave forgive his master? It is too much to expect even from so magnanimous a creature as woman has proved to be. The hour of her deliverance is fraught with many dangers—to man.

So far, as man has tread his predatory way, cajoleries and appeal to woman's forgiving and sympathetic nature have sufficed to quell incipient rebellions. Will these means avail in the future when she gets in the full stride of her liberties and fully realizes the depth of her past slavery at our hands? We fear they will not. The future for us is grave indeed. Suppose, just for a moment that she would go the limit and—decide to get along without us. Ye Gods, men!

AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may call. Terms five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers will be ded from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services are useful the party upon the platform are requested to secure the endorsement of eir locals before making application to be placed upon the Available Speak- List. Locals should make application for the speaker nearest them to ve expenses.

J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio.
as. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, O.
n Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
m Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, O.
hurber Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville.
Frank Midney, 128 N. Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.
E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
H. L. A. Holman, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville.
ank B. Hamilton, Mayor's Office, Piqua, Ohio.
n J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
o Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio.
J. Hoge, 980 Central, Bellaire, O.

Why Your Wife Should Join The Party

By Fannye Treaster

ARTICLE NO. 2

See what our Militant Sisters have done for us? They who thought to win for us the vote. They have caused the suffrage so near within our grasp to evade us for a time. We are satisfied that theirs is not the right method—the warring one. Does this method ever pay? The mother who wars with her child for perhaps, some just cause—does she ever gain any real results from this method? From sheer force of her superior strength, there may be a temporary relief. Does the warring, nagging wife ever attain the regeneration of her mate? She is invariably a failure. Do warring political societies ever gain anything but hysterical, unreal, upstart support by their violent methods? I might apply this to the moral and physical attainments of warring nations. Nothing was ever gained by war of any sort; nothing that is permanent and good, sane and sound. If we expect san and sound developments from our efforts, we must use san and sound methods. We only reflect that which we think, feel and emit. We are responsible for the storms brought about by our violent acts. And I believe that when suffrage is ours, we can feel assured that it was not the methods of our Militant Sisters that brought it about.

As I mentioned in the previous article, this movement of woman suffrage is not our movement. It is not the movement of the female proletariat. It is that of the restless bourgeoisie—of the woman who wants to vote as a child wants a new toy. It is not a movement with a definite, far-reaching goal in view. True, they advocate some few reforms; but we—we want far more. We want a general revolution of conditions—economic, social and industrial. The moral reforms that they ask, will come as a natural outcome of these.

Our husbands are the toilers, the producers and it has become the lot of some of we women to become toilers and producers. Given the vote, we should abolish the necessity for female workers except in the capacity for which they are fitted.

We are natural artists and beautifiers. Given time and means, we would make our homes the haven of rest fitting to its name, which the dictionary describes as "one's abode or dwelling." (It usually belongs to the landlord). Under our system, it would indeed be "home" to the toiler, who under the proper working condition, would not be work-weary and depressed, too tired from building the boss's new auto or a new mansion, to notice or enjoy the feeble efforts of his wife at adornment. The writer had occasion recently to converse with a prominent lawyer on the topic of the working conditions of today—the fact that so many men were out of work and that wages and "time" were being cut. This legal advisor said, "I have no sympathy with the working-class. I have no patience with them. When they were making big wages, they wasted it for autos and victrolas—" I answered, interruptingly, "Why should they not have autos and victrolas? Do they not make them?"

We want the right to enjoy some family leisure. To illustrate my point: The writer's small daughter is of the impression that her father only spends Saturday night at home, since he is gone when she arises in the morning and he is still up when she retires at night and she only sees him, except on Sunday, at her evening meal time. She is constantly asking her daddy, "Are you going to stay all night, tonight?" We treat it as a joke. But, is it really a joke? We say that they are babies but once and we should enjoy them while we may. But, may we? How many parents are really and truly in a position to enjoy their babies?—Mother is weak and ailing from a life of drudgery at home and father is cross and irritable from a life of drudgery exacted by this system of exploitation. He leaves the best of himself at the shop. When evening comes, their tensely drawn nerves are about to snap and the least noise and laughter of their high spirited, yet unchecked with toil, offspring makes them feel their young are but something to add to their misery. Assuredly, we are not in a position to enjoy our babies. This is one more thing that we want our vote to accomplish, a little leizure, a little freedom, a little playtime, to be able to enjoy a romp with our babies

Then, there is education to consider. We want the right to educate our children. There are the schools," you say. True, schools. You are right. But a drawback there is, that of lack of economic freedom. There is something required these days besides the right to enter a public building. It is the means to get there. In the first place, there is needed good wholesome food to make good sturdy legs with which to walk; then, there is needed good substantial clothing to cover good healthy bodies and keep them so; and behind it all, pushing with all its might, there must be a good generous income. The majority of children do not leave school because of a lazy brain. Neither do they need such prodding to keep them there, but they do need conditions equal to that of the other child. Children are sensitive beings. They have a well developed pride. They cannot bear the sneer of their companions on account of a toe sticking from a worn shoe. They cannot bear to borrow books or to have them charitably given them. Personally, there has come to my notice, a number of children who have left school for these very reasons. Then, secondary to these the struggling parents sometimes reach such a crisis in their struggle, usually when the child becomes of such an age that his upkeep has increased to such an extent that the parents have no alternative but to reach forth and grasp the small hand of the child for support, and instead of the child becoming a useful, learned member of society, he joins the band of wage slaves in their eternal struggle. Now, we want the vote to free our children of these evils which beset their helpless lives, and to be able, personally, to demand better educational advantages.

I might go on indefinitely, but lack of space forbids. I will conclude with the statement that the most satisfactory and lasting way to obtain the vote is through education—education as to the right, reason and necessity for women voting. Then, education of the women as to the most advantageous way to use the vote after it has been granted. Heaven help her if she does not surpass the male in the wisdom of its use. A good majority of the men in this country do not either use their right of suffrage or they simply vote for the "Party" that grandfather voted for. You know they have so much respect for the "family tree" (which contained their ape-man ancestors). When we have suffrage, we want control of the central power, and we shall have recognition, but our methods of gaining this will be a different one from that of the afore-mentioned sisters. We will not storm that center, and make symbolic displays before it. We will first congregate in small units, that is the locals of the Socialist Party. These locals make up the state organization, and finally we shall have the national unit. And it shall all be done in a legal, quiet way, a way that no one can question. The Socialist Party movement is an open, above-board one, one that any woman may be proud to join There we have equal rights with the men, where brains count and not sex charm. Women, join your Socialist local, take active part. If you have no local in your community, organize one. It is your privilege.

Resolutions

Local Mount Vernon assembled in regular session makes a motion favoring the following resolution and extends a call for seconds.

Be it resolved, That the Socialist Party of Ohio and the United States, issue a call and exhort all organized lobor and labor in general throughout the United States to declare a general and indefinite boycott on all newspapers and publications in the United States that in any manner or form vilify, discriminate against, or misrepresent the labor or Socialist movement from any source whatsoever throughout the world; and the Bolsheviki or majority government of Russia and Hungary.

COLUMBUS SOCIALISTS WILL PROTEST

Local Columbus will hold an amnesty and Debs' protest meeting on May 5, 8 p. m., Machinists' hall, 50 1-2 West Gay St. Prof. Scott Nearing will be the principal speaker. The committee on arrangements are making preparations to have a rousing big meeting, and are getting out tickets to be sold at 25 cents for admission. Every comrade in Columbus and vicinity are urged to be present and to bring others with them. Make this meeting the greatest ever held in Columbus.

E. B. EUBANKS,
Secretary of Committee.

Wants to Help

Editor, Ohio Socialist:-

I feel it my duty to do something for Gene Debs, who exercised only the power that our constitution gave him. By what rule shall we be guided if we dare not exercise the rights that our own Constitution gives us?

Shall we stand idle and let capitalism take all our rights from us? The imprisonment of Debs takes from all of us another right, soon the working class will be the slave of the capitalist as the negro was in the south. Isn't it ridiculous that in such a great country, a man will be cast into a filthy prison for ten years for telling the truth! What will our country come to? At such a rate it will soon be worse than Germany was.

If the American people would have made a religious campaign to such an extent as they made Liberty Loan drives, our country would not be infested with robbers, theives and all other criminals and not every town of any size would be so vile that a young girl is not safe on its streets.

Our religious duty is our first duty. It is our duty to God. Shall we be slackers and turn down our religious duty to help raise money so that man can kill his own kind? It takes some people long to see that war is an evil and that God forbids it. And those people who do know it simply defy their Lord and his Commandments by upholding such evils. He who gave them life and all their beautiful homes and surroundings, they defy. Are you going to be a traitor to your Lord, by letting vices exist in your country, brother I hope not?

If only the people could see ahead, and if they would make half as much of an effort to throw over capitalism and set up God's law—Socialism, as they did to put over the Masters' will, our country would be a far better place to live in, and no man would be cast into prison for speaking the truth. Here are some of the things that are left for us to clean up in our country as given by a prominant magazine:

One hundred heathen temples in our country.

A million children at work under age.

Many daily and weekly newspapers published in the United States that openly attack the Christian religion.

Vices in every town of any size, and the two billion dollar waste every year on booze which has taken all these years for our prominent lawmakers to take notice of. Socialism is going to make this world a decent place to live in, but it takes a long time for some people to see it, just as it took a long time for the south to see that slavery was impractical. The laboring class must stick together, "United, We Stand—Divided we fall." I, a mere high school youth with small means cannot do much, but will do what I can.

Will you do me a favor by answering the following thru your fine paper?

What is Gene Debs' address and will he consider any letter of consolation sent to him by an ordinary person like myself?

Do you think my ideas in this letter are right?

Yours in brotherhood
A READER

Letters addressed to Comrade Debs at 1818 Jefferson Ave., Moundsville, W. Va., will reach him. We do not know if the prison rules will permit Comrade Debs to answer the hundreds of letters which will reach him from his freinds, but he will surely appreciate your letter.

The best indication of the growing strength of socialism is found in the great influx of young people in the movement. It is an inspiration to every Comrade to see the young men and women taking a serious view of the great problems of the day, which they surely must help solve. Keep up your interest in Socialism, do what you can in the movement and keep on the look out for a chance to propagate our ideas. You are on the right road. Keep agoing. Ed.

Harper's Ferry and Moundsville

By J. P. WEST

Forty-five miles north west of Washington, D. C., at the foot of Boliver Heights and at the confluence of Shenandoah and Potomac rivers is grandly situated Harper's Ferry, Jefferson county, W. Va.

If you chance to be a passenger on a B & O train, and the train men or some one says we are near Harper's Ferry, windows are raised on one side of the coach and passengers on the other side move over, all eager to see—what just a little stone, a marwer insignificant in itself, but marks a spot now almost sacred to all liberty loving people. Old John Brown's Fort stood there.

John Brown, born in Torrington, Conn., May 9, 1800, died Dec. 2, 1859. On the night of Oct. 16, he with a handful of brave companions overpowered the guard and captured the U. S. arsenal situated here. On the 18th he was wounded, over-powered and taken capitive. On the 27th he was tried at Charlestown, W. Va., convicted and executed Dec.2. So died a martyr if ever there was one. In 1868, Lincoln finshed the work for which John Brown so nobly laid down his life.

A few days ago I was reading over the names of those connected with John Brown. I wonder how many can name judge and jury that condemned John Brown to die? They are forgotten; but John Brown, the martyr lives as does Benjamin Lundy, Wm. Loyd Garrison, Elijah P. Lovejoy, (martyr), Wendell Phillips, Charles Summer, Channing Emerson, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Whitman, Stone and many others who spoke against the cause of Negro slavery. It is pertinent to enquire how the slave power attempted to increase its influence in the union. By the Louisiana purchase (1803), Missouri compromise (1820), annexation of Texas (1845), fugitive slave law (1850), Kansas and Nebraska bill (1854), Dred Scott decision (1856) (a supreme court decision, as in the case of Debs), attempts to acquire Cuba (1854), and to reopen the foreign slave trade (1859-60)

All these attempts failed to stop the agitation against slavery, but only aroused a determined spirit of opposition.

The south and its partisans in the north made desperate efforts to prevent the free expression of opinion respecting slavery and even the so-called Christian churchse in the slave states used their influence in favor of the vile institution; just as it is using what little influence it has today in favor of the robbing class, the exploiters of the workers. Notwithstanding one of the commandments says, Thou shalt not steal, and another, Thou shalt not kill.

Moundsville, a city in Marshall county, West Virginia, situated on the beautiful Ohio, here lived and loved another race of people as the mound plainly shows, hence the name Moundsville. The mound is still there but builders have gone on before.

There is another mound, or I should say, monument, a monument to capitalism. They call it a prison. It was built by the working class and it mostly if not entirely is inhabited by the working class—one big, massive, strong building at least built by the workers and occupied by the workers. You know that is not the rule, the workers occupy the shack and pay rent for the use of it.

A man old in years, but young in spirit, arrived there a few days ago. Comrade we greet you. We are glad they sent you here. We didn't want you in prison, but as it had to be we are glad to have you near. In future the passengers on the train will try to catch a glimpse of these stone walls because of the fact that they have contained the person of Eugene V. Debs.

When the names of judge and jury, who convicted you, are forgotten, your name, your memory, will live in the lives and minds of a free people. Some day you will be free; some day I will be free, the whole world will be free. The Dred Scott decision by the supreme court did not save slavery neither will the decision of the supreme court in your case save capitalism. Just as sure as chattel or Negro slavery passed away, just so sure will wage-slavery pass away. John Brown's life and work was finished here in West Virginia. Your work has just begun. When John Brown was hanged all the slave-owning papers said, Amen. They said the same of Debs. John Brown died upon the scaffold, but his soul went marching on, to victory. You may die in prison but the truth will go marching on.

J. B. WEST.

OKLAHOMA ON THE FIRING LINE

We are going to wake the dead down here May 1. Will pull off a big program and have a picnic in the woods with speeches, songs, exercises and propaganda literature by the basket full. There is a great growing sense of injustice growing among the farming class and laborers.

Lt is surprising how the idea of socialism is getting in the heads of the common farmer and others that thought it was free love and dividing up. The capitalists try to backfire on them by substituting the word bolshevism to scare them away but it will be all in vain. By the time they get their scheme ready to ull off Europe will be fully bolshevikized and what kind of a name will they call ungrateful England, France and Italy for taking this awful thing, bolshevism, to their bosoms?

FOR THE LEFT WING PROGRAM.

Local Zanesville is another Ohio local that has placed itself squarely in line with the revolutionary elements of the party. At a recent meeting it went on record as favoring the Left Wing Program as published in the Revolutionary Age.

SOCIALISTS WIN IN SILVIS, ILL.

"A good, clean administration wins for the Socialist Party at Silvis," writes Comrade Fred O. Hartline of Silvis, Ill. At the recent election the Socialists re-elected the mayor and two members of the board of trustees, lacking but six votes of electing the third. The Socialist police magistrate failed of re-election by but 14 votes.

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
60 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50½ W. Gay Street.

LOCAL CINCINNATI.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA. YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second,
Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening,
8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL,
Cor. 15th St, and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. at Socialist Headquarters
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL,
164 N. Chestnut St.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93 3-4 Washington St.

The Statistician

– General Survey of the Most Active Locals of the State of Ohio.
Based on the Reports of March, 1919.

No. of Rank. Local.	G. S.	On Roll	Pct.	Last Month
1—Galion	37	37	1000	1000
2—Youngstown (Lithuanian)	30	30	1000	...
3—Dover	12	12	1000	...
4—Grover Hill	10	10	1000	1000
5—Continental	6	6	1000	...
6—Marysville	5	5	1000	1000
7—Cambridge	40	41	999	...
8—Montpelier	22	23	956	...
9—East Liverpool	63	66	955	850
10—Youngstown (South Slavic)	116	122	951	915
11—Cincinnati (German)	29	31	935	...
12—Kenmore	45	50	900	830
13—Cinneaut	15	17	882	...
14—Youngstown (report of 4 branches)	207	239	873	...
15—Niles	79	95	831	765
16—Steubenville	14	17	823	819
17—Hubbard	30	37	818	800
18—New England (5 members in a local)	4	4	800	...
19—Zanesville	28	36	777	861
20—Cuyahoga County	2482	3175	781	718
21—Warren	31	40	775	775
22—Hamilton	228	285	765	723
23—Seneca County	53	70	757	716
24—Youngstown (Scandinavian)	15	20	750	787
25—Wadsworth	12	16	750	...
26—Columbus	115	154	747	745
27—Canton	56	76	737	704
28—Clark County	24	33	727	719
29—Youngstown (English)	46	67	686	...
30—Sandusky	28	41	683	624
31—Lorain	36	53	679	187
32—Massillon	47	75	626	716
33—Derwent	11	18	611	...
34—Ashland	5	9	555	555
35—Montpelier	25	53	471	...
36—Norwood	21	46	456	404
37—Portage County	32	80	4000	...

COMPARISONS.

February, 37 locals reported; March, 34 locals reported.

February, 4421 good standing of reported roll of 5992 members, percentage .738; March, 3847 reported in good standing of roll of 1953 members, percentage .777.

INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP.

March report from 34 locals, of entire list of at least 90, shows that they have secured 527 new members as against 37 locals securing but 45 during the month of February.

Locals.	New Members.	G. S.	Pct. of Good Standing March.	Feb'y.
Combridge	18	40	45	..
Dover	4	12	33	..
Youngstown (English)	14	46	30	..
Lorain	8	36	22	..
Youngstown (Lithuanian)	6	30	20	..
Youngstown (South Slavic)	15	116	13	12
Youngstown (Scandinavian)	2	15	13	14
Cuyahoga County	371	2482	11	..
Canton	6	56	11	..
Grover Hill	1	10	10	..
Norwood	2	21	10	..
Hamilton	22	228	09	07
East Liverpool	6	63	09	18
Galion	3	37	08	12
Hubbard	2	30	06	07
Seneca County	3	53	06	08

As the test has been 5 per cent, or one new member to every 20 in good standing, all other locals worthy of mentioning, but have not succeeded in the test, are given below, alphabetically arranged, with number of new members secured: Clark County 1, Columbus 1, Kenmore 1, Massillon 2, Niles 3, Toledo 36, no information.

Comrade Reader! Is your local among the many that fail to report to the State Secretary? If so, wake up your officials and get them on the job, from now on. Needed for the month of April, 50 locals to report 600 new members. Can we do it? We can and we will.

V. J. CATLIN, Youngstown.

Who Wants War?

FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM.

Who wants war? Who is it that is trying to get us into trouble with Mexico and send American working man across the Rio Grande to kill their Mexican fellow workers? Who is it that is demanding a standing army of half a million men and a fleet that shall be able to whip that of Great Britain?

The workers of America has no quarrel with the workers of Mexico or with the workers of England. They have no interest in disputes over Mexican mines and oil wells, or foreign trade in South America and the Orient. All they demand is to be left in peace to do the work of the world and to solve the big problems of [illegible]

The workers of every country are always the ones who pay the terrible cost of war, who pay it in sweat and blood, in life and limb, while the master class makes enormous fortunes out of the agony of mankind. The workers, who are the immense majority, do not want war.

The master class, the privileged few who live by the toil of the many, find war a highly profitable business. They will continue to provoke one war after another in the advancement of their money-making schemes, in settlement of their commercial disputes, until the workers of [illegible] realizing their [illegible] up and put an end to [illegible]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

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MILITANT WORKERS OF EUROPE SECURE MILLIONS IN WAGES

Militantcy of European Workers Seen in Recent Victories in England, France and Belgium.

Washington—The international labor exploiters told us during the first months of the world-war that Socialism and the class struggle and internationalism had definitely disappeared. But now they are marching triumphantly in every country.

In some countries the workers are emancipating themselves from capitalism by the social revolutionary route, in others by the social evolutionary route. In some countries they strike against private employers, in other countries they strike against the Government. But in every country the workers are hitting the labor exploiters in the solar plexus.

A few of the notable victories of the class-conscious workers of the world are given herewith:

ENGLAND.

From England, Sydney Webb sends the authentic account of the terms of the settlement of the dispute between the organized railroad, mine, and dock workers, numbering all told 2,000,000 working men and forming with their families one-fifth of the population of that country. Webb was a member of the arbitration commission and is understood to have written the report which was agreed to by the workers, their exploiters, and the government. He is the author of a number of books on economic subjects and is a prominent member of the British Labor Party.

The demands of the three sections of the Triple Alliance were radical. And the 2,000,000 men threatened to tie up England with a general strike unless the employers and the government granted the major part of their demands. The 2,000,000 workers knew they had the power to tie up England; the labor exploiters knew the workers had the power to tie up Engalnd; the government knew the workers had the power to tie up England. So there was prompt action all around.

The workers did not declare the general strike. Nor did they wrest from the labor eyploiters and the government 100 per cent of their demands. But they did coerce the labor exploiters and the government into granting the major portion of their demands, and, what is significant, they smashed the theory, so carefully nursed by the employers, that the wages paid the working people for producing wealth should vary according to the cost of living and be limited by that cost.

According to Mr. Webb's official statement the dock workers obtained the 44-hour week, big increases in wages, with substantial premiums for overtime work. The railroad workers got the 48-hour week, equalization of wages for each occupation, and the guarantee that neither the government nor the private owners of the railroads shall decrease wages for a year, even though the food profiteers may decrease the cost of the workers' living. The miners, Webb declares, presented the most radical demands, insisting on a large wage increase, a stiff reduction in hours, and the nationalization of the mining industry, temporarily operated under government control.

The Triple Alliance accepted the proposition to arbitrate the dispute. But they stipulated that the workers should select half of the members of the arbitration board and that the board should make its final report within three weeks. The miners' federation named Smilie, its president, and Smith, its secretary, and three labor exploiters represent- economic and political subjects, including Sydney, and a magistrate, who was to be the president of the board. The coal mine owners named three of their own members and three albor exploiters representing other big industries. It is significant that the three "Intellectual" members ofthe labor part of the board were three defeated candidates of the Labor Party in the recent parliamentary elections.

The board made three reports. The coal mining owning labor exploiters offered to decrease the working day one hour and increase wages 15 per cent. The labor representatives demanded that the working day be cut down two hours with a 30 per cent increase in wages. The labor exploiters representing the other industries and the president of the board proposed an immediate reduction of one hour in the length of the working day, a further reduction of one hour in 1920, and a 20 per cent increase in wages. Lloyd George's government agreed to the third report, and the men consented to the compromise. The agreement establishes the 42 hours per week for underground workers and 46½ hours for other workers. "The commission's award," declares Mr. Webb, "will require the payment of increased wages amounting to $218,000,000 per year. This is the largest wage increase ever made in Europe.

FRANCE.

In France, coerced by the Socialists in Parliament and menaced by the revolting workers in the industries, the Chamber of Deputies passed the national eight-hour bill extending the benefits of the shorter working day to every section of the Republic.

Profiting by the experience of the railroad, mine and dock workers in England, the French workers organized an even more effective alliance of the workers in the large industries to drive the eight-hour law through parliament. The French General Confederation of Labor has been co-ordinating the efforts of the organized workers of France ever since the armistice to compel action on the part of the labor exploiters controlling the French government, who have been exceedingly dilatory in enacting labor legislation, and especially so relative to the eiht-hour day.

(Continued on third page.)

JOIN THE PARTY SAYS DEBS

Dear Comrade: Consider this a personal invitation to you to join the Socialist Party—and after you have joined, STICK.

You are a Socialist. You have said time and again, "I'm with you—that's what I believe too." Yet, there is only one way in which you can prove that YOU ARE WITH US and that is by becoming a dues paying member of the Socialist Party.

We want you ON THE INSIDE, my comrade. We want you to help us RUN our party. Every comrade who joins it has an equal voice and vote in all its affairs. UNITED ACTION is needed RIGHT NOW—now when free speech, free press and free assemblage need again to be re-established—now when the persecution of people for their honest convictions must be stopped. Come in. Join TODAY.

Every one of our more than one hundred thousand dues paying members heartily welcomes your membership. Do not hesitate, dear comrade. The Socialist Party is YOUR party. Your choice must be between capitalist despotism and Socialist freedom. Join the Socialist Party today and be counted on the side of the oppressed of all nations.

Yours very sincerely,
EUGENE V. DEBS.

Ask for an application card at any Socialist meeting.

WAR ON REDS IN RUSSIA DRIVES YANKS TO DRINK

That many Americans in Russia have become alcoholics as the result of imbibing too freely of vodka was the assertion of Sergt. Louis Karel, 3624 West Twenty-sixth street, Chicago, X-ray expert, who served in France and in the hospital in England to which Yankee troops from Russia are taken. Sergt. Karel reached here today on the transport Louisville.

"There are thirty-six American soldiers in the hospital at Liverpool now waiting to be sent home," Sergt. Karel said. "Most of the men who come back from Russia have frozen feet. It is also noticeable that there is a large percentage of tuberculosis cases among them and that many come back as alcoholics.

"Liquor is welcome in the zero temperature, and many of the men acquired a craving for it."

Y. P. S. L. ORGANIZES AT BELLAIRE.

A new Y. P. S. L. has been organized at Bellaire. Quite a number of the members are party members, consequently we expect them all to be excellent workers.

When it comes to having a good time the Bellaire Y. P. S. L. is a star of the first magnitude.

We held our first social on the evening of April 12 and it certainly was a success in every way. Our program for the evening consisted of an address by our director, Comrade J. J. Hoge, several well rendered readings and musical selections by a number of our members. Not the least appreciated of which were two vocal selections by Comrade Lena Sambuco, the "littlest rebel."

It was here demonstrated beyond a doubt that our Yipseletts know how to bake cakes, for one of them baked a guess cake, which brought almost ten dollars. When we tell you that it waved a red flag it won't be hard for you to guess what was inside. You guess! Yes, a picture of our own "Gene."

Inspired by the success of this affair we are palnning many other activities. Fraternally,

HATTIE GUEISER.

ALLIED FORCES IN RUSSIA

(An editorial in "The Manchester Guardian."

Signs multiply that Allied military intervention in Russia is drawing to an end. The French government has announced that it will send no more troops to Russia, and that it will not even replace those who are being withdrawn or demobilized. The Canadian government is bringing home all its soldiers from Siberia where they constitute the bulk of the British contingent. The American government, somewhat to the concern of the Japanese, declines to permit its Siberian forces to participate in military operations. The disinclination of our own government to extend its commitments is equally marked. The Japanese have no men in Western Siberia, and any fighting they have been engaged in of late has been in the remote East and has no relation to the real anti-Bolshevik crusade. Finally, the Czecho-Slovaks are out of the firing line, and are making their way home as fast as transport can be provided. The Allied war against the Bolsheviks is being wound up for a variety of reasons. That war was and is exceedingly unpopular with the soldiers, now that the war elsewhere is over. It is, morally and politically impossible to keep a conscript army for such a purpose; it is impracticable also to get together a voluntary army. There is, further, the urgent peril of sowing Bolshevism in every country by making war upon it. There is, again, the impossibility of giving the world peace so long as there is war with Russia. Hints that the Allied governments have assimilated such reasoning as this may be gathered from the press. The American government has been investigating Russian conditions on the spot. Other governments have been or are doing the like. The air is full of rumors of arrangements and accommodations with the Russian government, and when we see the reflection of them in the changed tone and temper of semi-official French papers we cannot doubt that the rumors have substance. It is useless to complain that the Allied rulers have been intolerably long in reaching the inevitable conclusion. We can only hope that they will now act with vigor and decision.

SOVIET BANNER FLIES HIGH AT CHICAGO.

Chicago—Early walkers in Humbolt Park, Chicago, were astonished to see waving a hundred feet above the ground the first Soviet flag ever flown in this city. Some Bolshevist joker had seen fit to create a bit of interest in present day problems by running up a red flag inscribed with white letters reading "Hooray for the Soviet Republic."

It was necessary to secure a steeple jack to shin up the pole after the offending emblem. It was later burned at police headquarters—which, of course, settles the Bolshevik question as far as this city is concerned.

PARIS SCHOLAR ON PEACE CONFERENCE

"OPEN COVENANTS OPENLY ARRIVED AT."

That the peace conference is not only the most secret but probably the most august peace assembly ever held is the affirmation of Auguste Gauvais in the Journal des Debats. This veteran journalist and student of diplomatic procedure writes:

"It is an unheard of thing, which posterity will hardly be able to believe, that the peace conference has kept on record of its meetings except in the public sessions where nothing has been discussed. Since January 18, the date of the solemn opening, not one of its members has been able to have registered the opinions which it was his mission to express. At the congress of Vienna, the congress of Berlin, and the conferences at The Hague, as well as at all other known conferences, protocols have been drawn, sometimes even voluminous, in which could be found the substance of the opinions, suggestions, propositions and counter propositions of representatives of the various states. It was not a stenographic record as in a parliament, but everything essential was written down, each member of the assembly moreover having the right to correct or modify the text of his declarations.

Chance to Explain Denied.

"This traditional procedure was consecrated by long experience. It enabled each government to explain its viewpoint, make its objections, support or oppose various propositions and oblige its opponents to justify their pretensions by serious arguments. The protocols of the Vienna and Berlin congresses are extremely valuable collections.

"It is impossible to understand why these precedents have not been followed. The present crisis and also the prodigious loss of time would have been avoided. The ten, then the five and then the four have preferred not only to discuss matters in secret, but to leave no trace of their deliberations. They have not had any secretaries to record them. They have talked interminably. They have broached and agitated all questions without putting anything on paper. They resume on one day what they had settled the day before. They protest against language attributed to them outside. As nothing is written they can deny everything and begin everything over again.

"After four months of negotiations one can count on the fingers of one hand the written declarations which have emanated from them. They have been afraid to let their opinions and arguments be known. One would say that they were conspiring.

Installed Themselves on Sinaii.

"We forsee the results, of this method when the four installed themselves on Sinaii. They thought they would be able to extricate themselves from difficulties by surrounding themselves with clouds. On the contrary, this was just the time to emerge into daylight. Having noted the conflict of views among themselves they should have confined themselves to formulating and justifying their opinions in writing. The mass of untenable arguments would thus have been swept aside. Even though no agreements were reached, material for arbitration would have been prepared.

"The four months which have gone by have served only to confuse questions instead of clarifying them. The representatives of the allied and the associated powers had from November 11 to January 18 to study the conference program and prepare their conversations. On January 18 each delegation should have placed its memorandum and supplemenfary documents on the conference table. The questions could then have been examined one after another, a careful record of each meeting being kept. The delegates would have had intervals between the sessions for the indispensable confidential conversations. But once in meeting they should have assumed responsibility for their words and formulated declarations destined to be recorded in the protocol. Oppositions would thus have been revealed, it is true, but they were inevitable.

"In the present state of things neither parliaments nor peoples have authentic documents at their disposition. They have to content themselves with the verbal declarations of their government ministers. There is not even material for a yellow book. This creates an atmosphere charged with electricity whence a storm may burst at any moment."

Seattle Labor Plans Five-Day Plan

Seattle, Wash. May 2.—Beginning tomorrow a five-day week will be enforced, according to announcement today by the building trades council, representing 6,000 workers. No work will be done on Saturday and Sunday.

The change was said to have been made in the belief that more men could be given employment in the building trades.

HE WORRIES ABOUT BOLSHEVISM—GETS HEADACHE

As you will notice another town is being entered by the "Ohio Socialist," viz. Okolona, O., the result of my attending the lecture held there last Sunday, April 27, by Comrades Geo. Wicher and F. Adler, members of the Ft. Wayne, Ind., German Branch S. P. Both spoke in German to a large and very appreciative audience. Quite a lot of literature was sold and distributed, eleven subscriptions to the German weekly "Echo," of Cleveland, were secured by Comrade Wicher. I stole two one year-lies away from him for the Ohio Socialist while he wasn't looking. This is the first Socialist meeting ever held there and if I do not miss my guess it will not be the last, notwithstanding the "frothings" of the worthy (?) president of the Napoleon League of Patriots. A Republican ex-officeholder (by appointment), supposed to have made the statement that he "grappled with the question all Saturday night, it robbed him of his sleep and made his head ache over this question—whether or not to stop the Socialist meeting called for Sunday at Okolona."

I do not know what his reasons were for not stopping it. It may have been the fist fight he had with a comrade (who wouldn't be bluffed) a few hours previous, that decided the thing.

S.

UNION MEN DEMAND FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Huntington, W. Va., May 1, 1919.
Mr. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

We, the members of Local No. 14 of the International Chain Makers Union, in regular session, do hereby by unanimous vote adopt the following resolution:

We as true and loyal American citizens believing in and upholding the constitution of the United States, and the right of free press and free speech do hereby protest against the imprisonment of Eugene Victor Debs. Believing that he was acting solely in accord with his political beilef.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we, the members of Local No. 14 of the International Chain Makers Union, ask and implore Mr. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, to show clemency to Eugene Victor Debs and all political prisoners convicted under the espionage act. Furthermore, be it resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, and a copy be retained and placed on file for publication.

(Signed)
F. D. PEARSON,
J. VEST,
F. LANE,
Committee on Resolution.

FUTURE OF GERMANY IN HANDS OF TOILERS

Ben Heet of Chicago Tribune Cables That Though Soviets Rise and Fall, Workmen With Guns Are There To Stay.

The following dispatch was written in Munich, Bavaria, on April 19th. It is written by a capitalist newspaper correspondent to what is probably the first and foremost capitalist sheet of this country.

The story of Germany today lies in a single phrase—workingmen with guns. I have made my way through Bavaria, Wuerttemburg, Saxony and the Rhineland. I saw stunted little peasants with blinking eyes carrying guns—ragged looking, unsmiling creatures out of engine room and mine depths, sauntering through the streets of Essen, through the streets of Hagen, Ochsburg, Munich—cocking their eyes at palaces, holding their heads high—everywhere expressionless faces of folks who have known misery, hunger and always hard labor, mooching about with guns slung over their shoulders.

Here in Munich today bolshevism reigns undisturbed. The workingman with the gun is the cock of the walk; the workingman with the gun lounges in the plush seats of the famous hotels where once the Bavarian elite focused a languid monocle upon life. Playboy Munich has vanished; even the revolutionary playboys are gone. The political grotesques are gone, the garrulous idealists have vanished from the seats of the new government and the little schoolmasters, café poets and expansive egos who for a few days fancied themselves the consecrated leaders of a great ideal are no longer on the scene. Red guard patrol trucks, laden with workingmen carrying guns, careen through the streets all day and all night.

SOVIET ON EVERY CURBSTONE.

Beginning with the dawn the streets are jammed with curbstone soviet parliaments. Groups of peasants and factory workers, they stand talking, talking. Their wives and children stand beside them listening in awe to their sudden oratorical prowess. Occasionally an airplane appears over the city, whereupon the father unlimbers his gun and starts popping away. Guns start popping on every street corner and workingmen dart out of the wine shops. The zoologist Max Levien dashes from Wittelsbach palace to superintend the anti-aircraft attack. Little clouds of paper zigzag down from the escaping plane and hundreds of bolshevists are busy for an hour removing the anti-bolshevist propaganda leaflets from the streets through which they have been scattered.

Occasionally another variety of excitement arrests the attention of the strolling thousands. A closed automobile, crowded with "young bloods" scoots through the city with guns blazing out of the windows at the red patrols. Ever and anon a volley of rifle shots cuts loose at the red guard workingmen holding the railroad station. As a result of these sniping attacks all automobiles have been confiscated by the soviet government.

TOLLER WRITES "POEM" OF VICTORY.

Women and children are waiting for the first train to take them out of the city. No trains have come yet. The families have brought bedding

(Continued on fourth page.)

CLEVELAND SOCIALISTS' GREATEST PARADE ENDS IN RIOT AND BLOODSHED

Peaceful Internationals Attacked by Mobs—Scores Sent To Hospitals and Jails With Bruised Bodies.

The greatest parade ever staged by the Socialists of Cleveland ended in red riot and bloodshed on Thursday afternoon, May 1st. Hundreds of arrests were made, scores were taken to the hospitals, including seventeen policemen. Many more only slightly injured were taken home by friends. Riots and mobs ruled in the downtown section of the city for two hours. Shots were fired, police clubs cracked scores of heads and fist fights innumerable were principal parts of the debauch to which this section of the city was given over when the first division of the parade, numbering 35,000 marchers, entered the Public Square in the heart of the business section.

PARADERS PEACEFUL AND HAPPY.

In five great divisions the 35,000 Socialists and sympathizers, including the Bakers' union, on strike for day-work only, the Machinists, one local of the Carpenters, members of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, converged near Acme hall and began their march toward the Public Square. Thousands carried small red pennants. Dozens of banners demanding release of political prisoners, withdrawal of troops from Russia and similar emblems were carried. Great red silk banners together with the national emblem were carried at the head of the parade and by the different divisions.

Smiles and happiness were on every face, cheers were given for the workers' cause and the spirit of the New Day was seen to shine in every comrade's face and bearing. The parade was one of happy men, women and children, bent upon a peaceful and happy celebration of our International holiday.

FIRST RIOT STARTS.

The parade was passing East 9th on Superior street when soldiers on the sidewalk rushed into the parade tearing the red banners from the hands of the marchers. In a few minutes Superior street was a scene of riot and disorder from this point to the Public Square.

When the head of the parade reached the Square an immense cheering rose up from the thousands who packed the grounds. At the same moment the soldiers who carried the Socialist banners were attacked by others from the crowds. Their banners were wrested from them. When C. E. Ruthenberg, who was to be the principal speaker, interceded for the Socialists, he was arrested. Scarcely had the applause of the vast throngs died down when a shriek of terror rose from thousands of throats as a platoon of mounted police dashed into the meele weilding clubs without discrimination upon men and women alike. Instantly, bedlam broke loose. Army trucks and tanks, police autos, ambulances and police patrol wayons were dashing helter skelter through the crowds overrunning and injuring many in an attempt to disperse the crowds. Autos carryinv police and mounted police

(Continued on fourth page.)

"I'M STILL ON DECK"

SAYS DEBS, REFLECTING ON FATE OF FORMER FOES.

(By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.)
(Special Correspondence.)

Chicago. "All, or nearly all, of the enemies I've had during my life time have met with misfortune and tragedy. Clouds have settled early over their careers. I'm still on deck. And I'm going to emerge from this new experience in my life, in triumph, too."

This is one of the conclusions that Euene V. Debs reached, as we discussed the big incidents of his busy life, while making that memorable journey to prison from Cleveland, O., to Moundsville, West Va., on Palm Sunday, April 13. He did not gloat over his fallen foes, who have sought to hold back the hands of progress, but rather exulted in the fact that the world was moving ahead in spite of all obstacles.

It all comes back to me now, stronger than ever, as word comes from Debs' prison down in West Virginia, to the effect that so many visitors want to see and visit "Gene" that the prison warden has been compelled to turn them away, and there are so many letters coming to 'Gene in the mail from all parts of the world, that the prison warden is planning to change his ruling made on the night of our arrival, that 'Gene would receive all letters sent him.

Has More Friends Than Ever.

The prison officials, if not the democratic officialdom at Washington, are no doubt discovering that Debs has more friends than ever.

One of Debs' most bitter opponents during the Pullman strike was John R. Walsh, the Chicago banker and newspaper proprietor. Walsh was himself sent to prison as a bank wrecker. His friends secured his release just in time to permit him to die on "the outside."

George M. Pullman and Eugene V. Debs clashed in the great Pullman railroad strike. Pullman is said to have gone to an early grave because of the wild life led by his two sons, both of whom died degenerates at an early age, also clouding the life of the wife and mother.

Former Judge an Unburied Corpse.

Judge Westenhaver, at Cleveland, Ohio, who sentenced Debs to his present ten years' imprisonment, isn't the first interpreter of law that has faced the Socialist spokesman. One of these was Judge Peter S. Grosscup of the federal district court in Chicago, who some years ago was driven from the bench in disgrace and who now lives somewhere, as Debs remarks, "an unburied corpse."

It was Judge W. W. Woods that was called upon to sit in the great

(Continued on fourth page.)

"It Seems To Happen Often That Mud-Slingers Come Back To Eat the Mud They Flung"---Anisee

THE Y. P. S. L. AND THE REVOLUTION

(By Oliver C. Carlson.)

The average American Socialist who is not well versed in the International Socialist movement knows little or nothing about the Young People's Socialist organizations in other countries, and what an important part they have played in the development of Socialist thought and action. In this country we have considered the league only as a gathering place for the young; we have been satisfied when they managed to exist with the "social" in "Socialist" playing the the all important part; and when by chance a circle or a small part of a circle showed interest in the actual study of socialism, we were elated—for we know that these were indeed valuable exceptions. On the whole, most of the older heads in the party considered the Y. P. S. L. as an organization that was necessary, but which was not likely to accomplish anything worth while for the coming of the day when the emancipation of the proletariat would become a reality.

Something has been radically wrong with the Young People's Socialist organizations in this country. The attitude of the older party members toward them has, to a certain extent, been the correct one. But let us not condemn the movement; let us not say that there can be no change—for even now a great change is taking place. Let us not hold preconceived ideas that the young people's organizations of Europe are similar to that which we have had in this country.

Karl Liebknecht was one of the founders of the Young People's Socialist League; in fact, this was his first real undertaking after graduating from the law school. The spread of the league throughout Europe was by no means phenomenal, but was a steady growth. Austria, Switzerland, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and Russia, soon fell into line, and the Y. P. S. L. assumed an international character. The young and enthusiastic Socialists joined hands, not in any attempt to gain concessions, not to ask for a little bit more from the rulers and exploiters, but to seize control of ALL, to "expropriate the expropriators." They were not chained to the past; they were ready to fling to the winds traditions and customs; to view the present as only the present generation can, and above all things, they were eager to study, to agitate, to educate, in other words, TO ACT. And they did.

The greatest stumbling block for the reactionary elements of the Social Democratic parties of all Europe was the Y. P. S. L. Within it were the Left Wingers who wasted no time in dilly-dallying with the trivialities that so concerned the old line readers. They refused to compromise. And so it was that the Young People's Socialist Leagues of some countries were practically outlawed by their respective (and respectable!) Socialist parties.

In Russia, it was the young who formed the most active group of the Bolsheviki. In fact, the struggle there would no doubt, have been a much more difficult one had it not been for them. Lenine, an ardent advocate of the Y. P. S. L., was and still is a contributor to the "Young International," the official organ of the international Y. P. S. L.

The Ebert-Scheideman group of Germany feared the young to such an extent that they made every attemptto break up their organizations. In the Spartacan revolts, these same young Socialists are acquitting themselves as creditably as did their comrades in Russia. They form the backbone of the revolutionary movement which is seeking to overthrow the reactionary Socialists, who hold the reins of government in the interest of the capitalist class.

The activities of the young in all of the European countries gives us an idea of how important the Y. P. S. L. really is. We are facing a critical period—the revolt of the working class is spreading from east to west, from north to south, and threatens to encompass the entire world. What are we going to do? We must devote more time to the Young People's Socialist movement than ever before; we must see to it that OUR young people become the leaders in thought and action here, just as did the young in Germany, Russia and the other countries.

Within the Y. P. S. L. a radical change must take place. We who are members must bring this change about, for the freedom of the movement from its present lethargy must be the act of the league itself, just as "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

When we show our willingness to become an integral factor in the struggle we may rest assured that the revolutionary Socialists will give us their hearty support. Let us change our slogan from "organization and education" to "education and organization." Then our solidarity will become a fact, and we, too, may step forward to grasp the hands of our comrades in all parts of the world, ready to carry on the work they have os well begun.

WE GO MARCHING ON

Capitalism is crumbling. war dogs are grumbling and socialism is marching onward to its goal—the emancipation of the wage slaves of the world, despite the endless chain of lies plutocracy has welded. The vulgar epithets that are emphasized by conspicuous head lines of the putrid press, demonstrate decadence and it is a proverbial denunciation to be heard in every public place that newspapers are a tissue of lies.

It is a deplorable fact that telling the truth now-a-days endangers the life, liberty and property of any man or woman who dares assert it aginst the pretentious patriots who have grabbed millions from the toilers and spend it in securing titles for their daughters in marrying them off to dukes, pukes; counts, no-accounts, discounts and lop-eared lords who are willing to confer titles for lucre. Tumbling crowns now indicate that the plutocratic shes of America will have to hunt other channels of investment for the ill gotten gains of their daddies to give them prominence hereafter.

Enclosed find ten dollars as another contribution for purchasing a shroud for pluderbunds who have at last succeeded in digging their graves. This makes twenty I have sent to oil the machinery of a free press and I hope soon to send another good batch.

Socialism is lighting up the horizon and capitalism might just as well attempt to stop the thunderbolts from the sky as to stop its progres.

Fraternally yours,

M. S. HOLT

Weston, W. Va.

ONE COMRADE'S WORK FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

I am sending this list of 14 subs as a nail in the coffin of Capitalism, and a demand that the powers that be open the prison doors and release Debs, Mooney and all class war prisoners.

It might do you good to know that the Gendron Wheel Co. of Toledo will go out, as a protest against keping Debs and others in prison.

I think I can give your amnesty edition and myself a good deal of the credit for it, as I covered all of the six floors of the factory with the paper three days before the first of May, and I believe that way I started the ball rolling.

A [illegible] COMRADE.

SUBSCRIPTION FLOOD CONTINUE

An unabated flood of subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist continues to flow into the State office. Little of the state and nation and at last rivulets of subs start from all parts joining one another reach flood tide at the office. Many, many new outposts of Socialist strength are being established in all parts of the nation. Each week sees the Ohio Socialist firmly established in as many as 25 to 75 new cities. The enrollment into the Red Army of Ohio Socialist Boosters continues to increase. Comrades daily join the ranks of the workers for the establishment of the Ohio Socialist as a twice-a-week paper.

The comrades seem to be settling down to a regular and systematic routine of subscription getting. Within the last month the average number of subscriptions received has been raised nearly 100 per cent. Everywhere the strength of the Socialist press grows as the workers become aware of the tremendous frauds imposed upon them by the capitalist press and as their knowledge of world affairs increases.

The Socialist Party press has a tremendous work of education to perform. Its field of activity is unlimited. Its power is omnipotent once it is established. Only the truth can make men free. Only the workers' press can be relied upon to carry this life-giving power to the workers. Only the workers' press is to be trusted. Thousands realize this today. More thousands will realize it tomorrow. Let us who realize the potential powers of the Socialist press utilize every opportunity to build it strong for the workers in the future struggle between capital and labor.

The number of subscriptions received the last two weeks total over 1,000. When one considers the growing Socialist sentiment in this country the possibility of keeping up this record is apparent. With Socialists in the making in every locality and the hunger for Socialist literature gnawing in the minds of the workers this high record becomes understandable.

To the hundreds of comrades who daily add to our list of readers we wish to express a very fervent "Thank you." Only the narrowness of our space prevents us from giving acknowledgement here of each comrade's work in behalf of the O. S. However, we know that our Red Army is not working for the sake of seeing their names in print, but for the immensely greater good of establishing the O. S. as a greater power in labor's battle. On then, with the work. And by your efforts will we create the new world of the workers!

DAMMING THE FLOOD

When thieves fall out honest men come into their own.

If you will study the agreements between the nations of Europe in which each faction agreed to parcel out the other nations and lay tribute, the stories of Captain Kid read tame.

No free booter in all history can produce a more infamous and ferocious agreement. All large nations of Europe were parties to it. This was before the war. After the war began they only enlarged upon it. The common people of Europe had no voice in the matter. They did not desire to be parties to such infamous agreements. The mighty capitalists when things looked most favorable concluded to clean up on the other fellow by using the forces of their government.

Through the force of events they exceeded their ability to control the affairs as they had set out to do. They drained their money bags to the bottom and put out plenty of I. O. U's.

The great problem now with them is to arrange things so that they can at least secure the income on their gigantic debt. They are bracing every corner to secure their designs. They are shouting democracy from the house tops. We see them in democratic England to date outmaneuvering the common people. One instance. In the last election in England the reactionary forces so gerrymandered the election that the labor party, which is the party that has the Socialist program, out of a vote of over three million seven hundred thousand votes cast, only succeeded in electing sixty-one representatives to parliament, while the other two reactionary parties only polled a little over two million votes, secured over three hundred and seventy-one members to parliament. The laborers of England have threatened a nation wide strike if their program is not carried out. The silk-hatted gentlemen are yelling Bolshevism, anarchy rule of the mob. That to strike is not good ethics. Yet right in the face of it they do not stop to use the most infamous methods to thwart the will of the common people and cause their vote to be of no force. They can't stand equality of the ballot. Labor's only method left is the strike or revolution, which he does not wish to invoke. The common people are not being fooled like they once were. They have begun to reach out for the blessings of democracy. The reactionary forces are screaming bolshevism to distract them from their goal. The wave of revolt will continue until all reactionary governments are swept off the earth. No force today can stand in front of it. The capitalist press of our country are trying to build a backfire against this popular movement. They just as well had try to dam up Niagara Falls with tissue paper. History will write this event as the greatest in the world for the common people. The old order is falling. We are beginning to see the blow holes of incompetency, selfishness and deception. We see this great force gathering strength every hour.

The reactionary forces are trembling with guilty fear and know not what to do. Today they cry, food will stop bolshevism, the next day they cry, starve 'em. Another cries, we must take a firm stand. They may just as well try to catch the air with a sieve. Hugo, that great Socialist, wrote that when an idea was due to arrive that no army or nation could stop it. That it would overwhelm any forces that tried to oppose it. There is a clear distinction between healthy revolution and outlawry. REMEMBER THIS

Franklin Marshall, N. D. P.

TOPICS OF THE DAY

(By Scott Nearing.)

GET DOWN TO BUSINESS

President Wilson has added his word of approval to the movement for making May 11 "Employment Sunday." He cables "I hope that the people of the country will universally observe Employment Sunday."

Observe it? How? By having the cellar whitewashed, or by hiring an additional kitchen maid?

It is high time that the American people turned from maudlin sentimentality to a serious and fundamental consideration of the menacing economic issues that are looming up on every side. Hundreds of thousands of men and women are idle all over the United States. Rhetoric does not create work. Church service cannot make jobs. Unemployment is here because it is just as much a feature of the present system of society as spring flowers are a feature of spring.

Unemployment is less in some years. In other years it is greater. Always it is the "great fear" of the working class and it will continue to be the great fear of the worker despite rhetoric and psalms, until men are paid in wages that equal what they create in product.

PARTNERS

"Labor and Capital are partners," said John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in a recent speech before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Partners? How partners?

A Scotch miner named Robert Smillie told how at a hearing of the British Royal Commission on the nationalizing of the coal mines,

"Mr. Smillie: We know of private companies that have paid in two years their total supposed capital back to their investors. They paid 106 per cent in two years, but they did not publish the balance-sheet. Mr. Smillie asked whether, asuming he paid a dividend of 10 per cent, a mineowner who had never seen his mine would get back the whole of his invested capital in ten years.

Witness: That is true of any industry.

Mr. Smillie: Under the conditions prevailing in the mining industry for the last forty-five years mine-workers have invested their lives in the mine. They do not receive more than keeps them to go on working. If you could capitalize the life and work of a miner, all that he gets for that is a livelihood, and at the end of ten years he is a loser by ten years' work. Is that equitable or just between Capital and Labor?"

This is the kind of a "heads I win, tails you lose" partnership that has become forever impossible in England and that will be impossible in the United States too, when the workers wake up. The master class is willing to do anything for the working class except get off their backs. The master class never will get off until the solidarity of the working class makes riding uncomfortable or impossible.

AN OLD STORY.

An old story is told by Babson's Statistical Organization in a recent "Barometer Letter." **Prices are coming down because wages are already falling and the worker faces starvation.**

"Regardless of the various arguments to the contrary, a period of declining prices must now be expected. This decline will doubtless be punctuated with minor upward spurts, but such intermediate movements will be of lesser importance. Two of the conditions which will bring about the decline are as follows: (1) The producing machinery of the United States business has been overbuilt in many lines; (2) The buying power of the people will continue to be diminished by lack of employment, due to labor disturbances and generally unfavorable manufacturing conditions."

The workers, creators of all wealth, cannot get enough of the products created by them to preserve life, unless prices are lowered. Therefore prices will come down.

This is another illustration of a principle well known to students of economics. In periods of "prosperity" prices rise faster than wages; in periods of "depression" wages fall faster than prices. Property owners are taken care of first; workers come last. Blessed are they that own, for they shall be satisfied. Cursed are they that work. The burdens of life are theirs. Such will be the rule of the road while the present economic system endures. It can be changed, all by changing the system.

Alarming Growth Of Tenancy

The last census shows that we are the victims of increasing landlordism and farm tenancy. Tenancy in the southwestern states is already the prevailing method of cultivation and is increasing at a very rapid rate. In Texas where the investigations were thorough and conclusive, it was found that the conditions of the tenant was extremely bad; that he was far from being free while his future was regarded as hopeless. They are not only unable to lay by any money but their children remain uneducated and half clothed.

The tenants have no interest beyoung the crops of a single year; the soil is being exhausted and conditions become worse. A large proportion are hopelessly in debt and are charged exorbitant rates of interest. Practically all are native born and are deteriorating rapidly; each generation being more hopeless as farmer, farm laborer or tenant sees no possibility of becoming a future landowner. Only in the hands of large owners can land be held out of use if its products are needed. The landlords move to the towns and cities, relieving themselves from all productive labor and responsibility for conditions with a tendency to demand from the tenant a greater share of the products of his labor. The history of every vanished civilization shows decadence was preceded by immense land holdings and its increase can be regarded only as a menace to the nation. The responsibility for the existing conditions rests not upon the landlords but upon the system itself.

Land monopoly is creating congestion in the cities and towns and an army of unemployed where two-thirds of those who toil from 8 to 12 hours a day receive less than enough to support themselves and their families in decency and comfort. From childhood to the grave, they dwell in the shadow of a fear that their only resource, their opportunity to toil, will be taken from them.

The responsibility for the conditions described rests primarily upon the workers who, blind to their collective strength and deaf to the cries of their fellows, have sufered the invasion of their most sacred rights without resistance. A large measure of responsibility must attach to the great mass of citizens who have failed to realize that their own prosperity and rights are bound up with every other individual.

A basic theory of our government was that every man should have land enough to support a family. If this theory had been carried out and homesteads gone to those who would use them, we should not now have such a problem.

But land was stolen outright by wholesale and enormous tracts are now held by wealthy individuals and corporations.

Should not the same doctrine be applied to land that in the arid states is applied to water, i. e., that no more land can be held by an individual than he can put to productive use; thus making unused land acquirable by those who would use it.—Report of Commission on Industrial Relations.

THE WHITE TERROR IN FINLAND

WORKERS SHOT BY THE THOUSAND.

(Manchester Guardian, March 20, 1919.)

We have received from a Finnish correspondent an account of the "White Terror" which raged in Finland at the time of the suppression of the "Red" rebellion. He writes:

"The greatest slaughter did not take place until the Whites, aided by over 10,000 German first-class troops, had completely defeated the Red Guards. It is well nigh an impossible task in a few lines to give an impression of the unspeakable horrors which now followed, and which have no counterpart in the history of any other civilized nation in the world.

After the insurrection was over, sometimes weeks and months later, there commenced a most frightful slaughter, with the permission of the Germans and by the order, assent and full knowledge of the White Government. There are more than five hundred municipal districts in Finland, and to each orders for "reprisals" were given with the effect that in the following districts approximately the following numbers of workers were shot without any kind of legal procedure:

"Riihimaki, 600; Varkaus, 450; Lahti, 2,000 (among them over 200 women); Forssa, 400; Hauho, 100; [illegible], 400; Vihti, 450; Ciborg, 4,000, Tammerfors, 600; Hyvinge, 300; [illegible], 200; Karhula, 76; Eeinajoki, 70; Kokkola Gamlakarleby, 100; Nurmijarvi, 80; Kotka, 400; Helsingfors 600 (125 women); Lammi, 300; Abo, 400; Jokioinen, 40; Kuhmoinen, 46; Palkque, 17; Jokela, 10; Karis, 40; Asikkala, 27; Borga, 14; Teisko, 86; Kexholm, 15; Kajana, 11; Kotojarvi, 16; Hirvensalmi, 10; Lavia, 10; Virolahti, 10; Perkjarvi 39; Reirkolli, 20; Atsari, 78; Jyvaskyla, 10; Korpilahti, 30; Kemi, 50; Euroajoki, 14; Lieksa, 48; Kiikainen, 10; Kasisalmi, 13; Volkla 114; Kymi, 42; Joensuu, 30; Hoplaks, 45; Kokemaki, 60.

"This makes a sum of approximately 12,500 killed. And it is to be observed that these figures refer but to about fifty districts of the five hundred. Also, these persons were not killed in fighting during the civil war, but slaughtered weeks and months after the termination of the warlike operations."

"Besides, according to official figures between 80,000 and 90,000 prisoners were taken and kept in occasional prisoner camps, where the conditions, in consequence of deliberate neglect and bad organization, proved so miserable that approximately 15,000 persons, men and women and children, died of hunger and disease. In the barracks in Ekens alone died 2,821 prisoners between June 4 and October 19, among them 2,256 without having been brought to trial. Over 60,000 have been sentenced to punishments between two years' imprisonment and the penalty of death. All except some 6,000 have got their punishment changed to a conditional one and been released, but remain deprived of all rights of citizenship. About 450 have been sentenced to death, but only a little over a hundred actually shot. Forty Socialist members of the Diet who remained in the country have got between eight years and lifetime unconditional prison. Out of 92 members only one was uncompromised and allowed to reoccupy his seat in the Diet.

"The last general amnesty included also amnesty for all those who in one form or another had behaved "too severely" against the workers during the "cleaning" of the country. Accordingly no one can be brought to trail for having murdered workers, stolen their property, etc."

Official Call for Election of Convention Delegates

STATE CONVENTION INFORMATION AND REGULATIONS

To the Locals:

This is the official call to all locals to elect their quotas of delegates to the coming State Convention. The number of delegates to which each local is entitled will be found on the other side of this letter.

Here are reprinted, in as concise form as possible, the constitutional provisions which govern state conventions and such other information as may be of interest to delegates and locals:

1. The State Executive Committee has decided that this year's state convention shall be held in Cincinnati, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, June 27, 28 and 29. Name and address of the convention hall will be published in the Ohio Socialist.

2. Basis of representation is by locals, each local being entitled to one delegate for the first one hundred members or less and an additional delegate fo reach additional one hundred members of major fraction thereof.

3. Locals consisting of branches may divide their branches into subdivisions, allowing each subdivision to elect a delegate. But the number of delegates so elected must not exceed th total number of delegates allowed the local as per tabulated statement and subdivisions must be so divided as to have in each an equal number of electors.

4. The railroad fare of all delegates, to and from the state convention, will be paid by the state organization.

5. Only those who have been members of the party for one year or more shall act as delegates, unless the local represented shall have been in existence less than one year, in which case the delegates must be charter members of the local.

6. A 25c Ohio Socialist press stamp shall be issued quarterly to members of all English-speaking locals and branches. No member shall be considered in good standing unless in posession of this stamp.

7. Delegates to the state convention who fail to present their credentials to the credential committee by 3 p. m. of the first day of the convention will not be entitled to mileage.

8. LOCALS Akron, Alliance, Ashabula, Barberton, Belmont County, Canton, Clark County, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Conneaut, Dayton, Hamilton, Girard, Lorain, Richard County, Steubenville, Toledo, Warren, and Youngstown have foreign speaking branches within their jurisdictions. These foreign speaking branches must be given an equal voice in the election of delegates to the State Convention.

9. Original and duplicate credentials are being sent all locals. Local secretaries will carefully and plainly fill out the original credentials and give same to delegate elected, who in turn will give it to alternate elected providing regular delegate can not attend. Local secretaries will also fill out duplicate credentials with care, and mail same to the state office BEFORE June 20th.

10. Local Cincinnati has committees at work now, attending to the many details necessary to make the convention a success. Information as to hotel rates, restaurants, convention porgram and other details will be communicated to the delegates by Local Cincinnati as soon as arranged.

Respectfully submitted,

H. WAGENKNECHT,

State Secretary, Pro Tem.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF [illegible]

EFFORTS AND SACRIFICES

(Scott Nearing.)

Milton Sheridan Sharp, chairman of the board of directors of the Bradford Dyers' Association, Ltd. (England), opened the annual meeting of the stockholders on February 22, 1919, with these words: "After four years of the most terrible war in the history of the world . . . we meet today after complete victory has crowned our efforts and our sacrifices." The chairman then gives in detail the "eforts and sacrifices" of his company. These include net profits for the year of $3,200,000; 10 per cent regular dividends on the common stock; 7½ per cent bonus on the common stock, and a surplus carried forward of $1,330,000. Mr. Sharp predicts that, with the German dye industry destroyed, a future of the greatest prosperity is in store for his concern.

Own Tactics Get Their Goats

Back on the job again, the meetings held in Indiana were very successful, I had quite a jump from Indianapolis to East Liverpool, but I landed here in time for SOME meeting, which we held on the streets last night.

I had only been talking about ten minutes, when some nut cried out, "You should be shot." Things were getting rather warm, there were about a dozen boys who had just returned from the wront, who tried to break up the meeting.

The chief of police informed me (when I was relating the way Gene had been taken to Moundsville) that I would have to confine my talk to something that was not so radical, he stated that he did not wish to see any trouble, and that if I continued to talk the way I had been that trouble would start. I informed the chief that I was relating an actual fact, something that really had happened; that I was sorry that the representatives of the United States government had acted in a way that simply to explain their actions may stir the peopel into action, that this fact in itself was an indictment against the present system.

After the chief saw that we intended to insist on our rights, he contented himself with trying to keep the jingo patriots quiet. After I had paid my respects to the gang present who were opposed to Bolshevism, but who acted like the Bolshevik the capitalist papers tell us about, their only answer was in the form of an egg, which missed its mark and splattered against the wall in the rear.

About 12 o'clock several persons came to my room and knocked on the door. When I asked them what they wanted they said they wanted me. I informed them that unless they left the hallway and kept away from my room there would be several funerals in town, and that mine would not be among them. The gang started to joke with me, but when I threatened to shoot them through the glass in the doors, they nearly tore up the stairs getting out of the hotel.

All is well, the work is going fine.

Yours in the fight,

CHAS. BAKER.

Socialists say:

The rich will not work as long as the poor will work for them.

Tabulated report of Dues Stamps purchased by Locals from May 1, 1918, to April 30, 1919, and apportionment of Delegates to the State Convention.

LOCALS	Dues Samps	Initiation Stamps	Total Stamps	Monthly Average	Number Delegates
Adena	180	23	203	17	1
Akorn	3988	99	4087	340	3
Alliance	617	....	617	51	1
Ashland	82	3	85	7	1
Ashtabula	1400	158	1558	130	1
Aurora	100	....	100	8	1
Barberton	589	8	597	49	1
Barton	180	....	180	15	1
Belmont	2503	61	2564	213	2
Blain	47	....	47	4	....
Bluffton	40	....	40	3	....
Buffalo	28	....	28	2	....
Byersville	180	....	180	15	1
Cambridge	60	46	106	9	1
Canton	914	80	994	83	1
Chicago Junction	60	....	60	5	1
Cincinnati	4452	360	4812	401	4
Clark County	344	10	354	29	1
Coshocton	40	13	53	4	1
Columbus	1860	50	1910	159	2
Conneaut	698	10	708	59	1
Continental	90	....	90	7	1
Crecent	140	....	140	12	1
Crestline	80	....	80	7	1
Creston	104	....	104	9	1
Cuyahoga Falls	76	....	76	6	1
Cuyahoga County	22799	1740	24539	2046	20
Dayton	3421	60	3481	290	3
Derwent	60	4	64	5	1
Dover (new)	70	15	85	7	1
Dunkinsville	12	....	12	1	....
East Liverpool	300	50	350	29	1
Edgerton	20	....	20	2	....
Elmwood	120	....	120	10	1
Fairport Harbor	261	40	301	25	1
Fairview	120	....	120	10	1
Findlay (new)	20	13	33	3	1
Fremont (new)	....	12	12	1	1
Galion	325	2	327	27	1
Girard	160	26	186	15	1
Grover Hill	200	....	200	17	1
Hamilton	2508	80	2588	216	2
Hubbard	320	16	336	28	1
Irondale (new)	....	8	8	....	1
Jeneva	273	....	273	23	1
Kenmore	438	26	464	39	1
Leetonia	140	....	140	12	1
Lima	550	35	585	49	1
Lorain	839	12	849	71	1
Love City	100	....	100	8	1
Marietta	303	20	323	27	1
Marion	120	4	124	10	1
Marysville	60	....	60	5	1
Massillon	620	7	627	52	1
Midvale	460	46	506	42	1
Montpelier	320	10	330	27	1
Mt. Healthy	100	6	106	9	1
Mt. Vernon	220	12	232	18	1
Napoleon (new)	8	....	8	....	1
New Bremen	520	13	533	44	1
New Philadelphia	100	....	100	8	1
Newark	197	....	197	16	1
Niles	870	80	950	79	1
North Star	100	....	100	8	1
Norwood	180	....	180	15	1
Opperman	40	16	56	4	....
Pinney Fork	48	....	48	4	....
Piqua	792	20	812	67	1
Portage County	388	54	442	37	1
Portsmouth	210	18	228	19	1
Rhodesdale	84	9	93	8	1
Richland County	640	30	670	56	1
Robins	200	31	231	19	1
Roswell (new)	....	17	17	....	1
St. Marys	70	4	74	6	1
Salem	238	....	238	19	1
Sandusky	560	2	562	47	1
Seneca County	680	13	693	58	1
Sidney	20	....	20	2	....
Steubenville	122	15	137	11	1
The Plains	....	8	8	....	....
Toledo	3217	342	3559	297	3
Troy (new)	27	9	36	3	1
Urichsville	120	....	120	10	1
Van Buren	120	8	128	11	1
Carmonte Br.	92	....	92	8	1
Wadsworth	128	....	128	11	1
Wapakoneta	29	....	29	2	....
Warren	1320	47	1367	114	1
Williamsburg	20	....	20	2	....
Winchester	15	....	15	1	....
Yorkville	203	9	212	18	1
Youngstown	2810	145	2955	246	2
Zanesville	280	4	284	24	1
Totals	68559	4059	72616	6042	114

The following Locals purchased dues stamps during the year of May 1, 1918, to April 30, 1919, but not in sufficient quantities to give them an average monthly membership of five, and are therefore not entitled to delegates to the convention: Blain, 47; Bluffton, 40; Buffalo, 28; Dunkinsville, 12; Opperman, 56; Pinney Fork, 48; Sidney, 20. The Plains, 8; [illegible] Williamsburg, [illegible]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and
Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

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R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, 1919.

IT'S BUSINESS WE'RE AFTER IT SEEMS.

Although the world's stage still shows various actors going through the role of making the world safe for democracy, doings behind the scenes tell a story that seems to be a little different for there the play seems to be for big stakes rather than for sentiment and sympathy.

Richard H. Cole, formerly personal representative of Carranza in the United States, suggests:

"I would not advise military intervention. Any strong power could conquer Mexico in sixty days. But it would be a shame and a crime to do so. What the Mexicans want is food, not force. About 16,000,000 of Mexico's 17,000,000 people will welcome Americans who come with food and the help they are entitled to. A few trainloads and many motor truckloads of food, enough soldiers to police the country, about 10,000 of them in all, and we can do a more profitable business in Mexico in a year than we can do in Russia in a lifetime."

GET RIGHT OR GET OUT.

"The proclamation issued by the patriots to the Reds of Cleveland," said a speaker at the Public Square since the May Day riots, is "Get right or get out." "Get right or get out"—just what does it mean? The speaker meant this: "If you don't like the government we have, get out of the country." It's a common enough expression. One hears it on all sides. Like a lot of plausible and common ideas and expressions it is faulty in reasoning and principle. Only cowards would follow such counsel.

Governments are said to be organized (recently organized governments have been at least) for the purpose of aiding society in its efforts to attain happiness. Not all governments have been organized for this purpose. Most of them have been organized for the purpose of attaining the well being of a certain small portion of society. As time rolled on and the workers of the world grew more cognizant of their economic interests and organized accordingly, governments have been changed more and more in conformity with their interests. We are far form the goal that means workers' control of his destiny. Nevertheless, we shall not get off the earth until that goal is reached.

We are here. Brought here by the same forces that brought the parasites here. We mean to stay. We pay as we go. All the wealth and well-being of the world is the produce of our hands and brains. We have made it all. It is ours when we have the good sense to take it. All the sophisms and powers of parasites cannot keep it from us once we desire in our might to take it. We shall not "get out" because we do not like slavery. We shall change the economic system from a slave system to one of economic freedom. We are not only the larger part of human society, we are the most vital part. Without our labor, society and its parasites can not exist.

We shall not be cowards to run from responsibility and duty, nor shall we run from a government which does not represent us. We shall stay on the job till we get control of it. The world's heroes are those men and women who did not run. They stay. They stayed at Valley Forge. They stayed at Gettysburg. They stayed throughout history in the face of fulmination and oppression. They stayed and through them and the principles they stood for, the world has reaped a harvest of happiness and well-being.

In the fact of recent world events to "get right or get out" is a tactic more applicable to the parasites of society than to the workers. In Russia those parasites who failed to get right with the workers "came up missing" or got out. They got right by getting a job and earning their living by the sweat of their own brows. The same principle is capable of application throughout the capitalist world—nowhere more easily applied than in capitalistically developed America.

Our advice to the parasites of America is to get right with the workers, or prepare to eat later the mud they attempt to fling at us now.

RIOTISMS.

The Socialists worked for the eight-hour day for Cleveland police, but that fact did not prevent the police from taking one of the eight to break the heads of a few score Socialists.

Pearls cast before swine!

And now we know what a "loyalist" is. An assaulter, a rock thrower, a breaker of law, an insulter of women, a frightener of children, a maniac, a beast. A thief, a button snatcher, a bully, a hoodlum. They are welcome to the honors (?) but to what or to whom are they loyal is a pertinent question.

"Law and order" as practiced under capitalism make for disorder.

"Rights of property" disappear when "might" comes on the scene. Especially if it is mob might.

Nothing is so potent as a policeman's club to open one's mind to new ideas.

If you ask, what was settled? We answer, nothing, but much was begun.

Deport the Reds. Yes, but what to do with those American Reds who are being deported home?

An American Siberia would be a welcome addition to the spoils of war some seem to believe.

Cleveland daily press now says we should Americanize the foreigner. And we assent. An Americanized Bolshevik could do wonders with a ballot.

AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may call. Terms are five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers will be added from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services are useful to the party upon the platform are requested to secure the endorsement of their locals before making application to be placed upon the Available Speakers List. Locals should make application for the speaker nearest them to save expenses.

M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio.
Chas. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
Tom Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Thurber Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Frank Midney, 128 N. Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.
C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
H. L. A. Holman, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Frank B. Hamilton, Mayor's Office, Piqua, Ohio.
John J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Hugo Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio.

. J. Hoge, 980 Central, Bellaire, O.

The difficulty in America seems to be that the average American does not yet know what the difficulty is about.

In how many dozens of cases was it proven that profiteers interfered with the due prosecution of the war? And how many profiteers are now [illegible]

Party News & Views

A NEW LOCAL AT IRONDALE.

As a result of Organizer Thurber Lewis' recent meeting at Irondale, a new local has been organized. The officers are E. E. McLain, secretary; Wm. Mushrush, financial secretary, and John James, treasurer. Comrade McLain writes that he is confident of a large organization in the near future. The local will meet twice a month and the comrades are pushing the work along with energy and enthusiasm.

ITALIANS ORGANIZE AT ROSWELL.

Translator secretary of the Italian Federation writes that a new Italian branch has been organized at Roswell by Comrade J Fieri. A charter has been granted them.

THIS NON-MEMBER IS A BOOSTER.

Four subscriptions and a dollar as a donation comes from David Myers of Leesville, O. This booster says he is not a Party member, but his work for Socialism proves he ought to be. Thank you, comrade, for your good work and we trust that some of our laggards in the Party will follow your example and get busy hustling for the Cause.

GREAT MAY DAY MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE.

A great May 1st meeting is reported held at Cambridge. Inclement weather prevented an out-door meeting, but the comrades had a hall well filled. The program sent out by the National Office was followed and the comrades were well pleased with results. A number of new members were secured and about a hundred application cards were handed out. Five hundred Debs protest cards were also given out.

WITH OUR ORGANIZERS AND SPEAKERS.

Lilith Martin Meetings.

Comrade Lilith Martin reports good meetings at Bellaire where she filled three dates the last of April and May 1st. She reports visiting Comrade Debs at Moundsville and found him looking and feeling fine. At Akron her meeting was fine, a full hall and large collection. Massillon meeting, too, was good, as was also the one at Canton. The hall at Canton being packed to the limit.

Comrade Martin was compelled to give up some meetings lately for one reason or another, but she is meeting with very good success generally.

Comrade Martin will work in Toledo until the 8th, when she fills a date at Napoleon. She speaks at Continental the 9th and at Grover Hill the 10th.

FOUR MEETINGS AT HUBBARD. A CORRECTION.

By error it was stated in The O. S. in the issue two weeks ago that the four meetings which Local Hubbard had arranged for the month of May were on Sundays. These meetings are all on Fridays. The dates are May 2, 9, 16, 23. The first date was a Debs' protest meeting.

NOTICE TO LOCAL SECRETARIES.

Local secretaries will facilitate the work of the State Office a great deal if they will heed the following simple rules in sending in subscriptions to the Ohio Socialist.

1. When taking subscriptions ascertain if the subscriber is already a subscriber. If he is, mark the subscription a RENEWAL.

2. If you write to the State Office regarding a subscriber not receiving his paper please give the time for which the subscription was and just as important give the address of the comrade.

3. Never fail to ask for renewals of subscriptions at business meetings. Hundreds of subscriptions run out the last of April. Comrades knowing their subscriptions are out should renew at once as we cannot carry these expirations on a probability of renewal. Call the attention of the comrades to this fact and kep all members on the list.

ASHTABULA HARBOR GAINING.

A recent membership contest among the members of Local Ashtabula Harbor netted a large increase in membership, we are informed by Comrade Carrie Ellison, financial secretary. Report will be sent in soon. In the meantime the comrades are on the job day and night.

KEEPS THE RED FIRES BURNING.

"By all means we must keep the Red Fires burning. I therefore am enclosing one dollar for one year's subscription. Long live our just and noble cause."

E. V. CLARKE.

H. L. A. Holman Meetings.

Comrade Holman will fill the following dates: Newark, May 5th; Zanesville, 6; Cambridge, 7 and 8; Byesville, 9; Robins, 10; Derwent, 11; Buffalo, 12; Belle Valley, 13; Bellaire, 14 and 15; Yorkville, 16; Dillonvale, 17; Irondale, 18.

Comrade Thurber Lewis expects to fill a few dates in Michigan in the near future. Further dates in Ohio will be arranged for him upon his return.

YOUR LOCAL—WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1814 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor, Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall 30½ W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93¾ Washington St.

WANTS TO MAKE "OHIO SOCIALIST" NATIONAL PARTY ORGAN

At a meeting of my local (Huntington) today, I was directed to communicate with the National Office and the "Ohio Socialist" also, concerning the proposition of making that publication the National Organ of the Socialist Party.

Our local was inclined to embody this proposition in a resolution, and endeavor to get the necessary support from other locals to get it before the membership of the Socialist Party in the form of a referendum.

The following ideas were developed in the course of the discussion:

(1) Owing to the tendency of the Socialists of the different sections of the United States to develop adhesion to some Socialist stronghold, usually a center of Socialist activity, having a paper to carry its propaganda and voice the opinions of that group—Socialism has become divided into several camps, the Milwaukee Socialists, the Michigan Socialists, the Cleveland Socialists, the New York Socialists, etc.

(2) Such sectional adhesion makes against solidarity in the Socialist Party of America; and, to overcome this divisive influence, we must have a National Organ, and have it soon, if we expect to save the party.

(3) The most feasible method for obtaining a National Organ is to take over some strong, going, Socialist paper and, if possible, move it to our new home in Chicago.

(4) The "Ohio Socialist" is such a paper and can be spared by the Ohio State organization and Cuyahopa county, also, as that county has another good Socialist paper beside the Ohio Socialist.

I will add by way of comment that the comrades of Local Huntington, in touching on the subject of division in the ranks of Socialism, had no reference to the Spargo-Russell-Benson split. One only needs to have access to the National Office bulletins and the leading Socialist papers to discover bickerings, schisms and ever-widening divergence of opinion on the fundamentals of Socialist doctrine.

The charge of obstructionary tactics made against members of the National Executive Committee and the unwarranted attacks made as to the position of other leaders, convince me that there are grievious misunderstandings among us. Some of the comrades, against whom charges have been made, have given much of their best energies to the cause of Socialism, and are now called upon to suffer for their loyalty to the cause. I, for one, shall be slow in surrendering my high regard for Kate Richards O'Hare, Morris Hilquit, Adolph Germer and John M. Work. They are entitled to an opportunity for the defense of their actions or positions. As they are national characters, they are entitled to make their defense through a medium that reaches all the socialists of the United States—a national organ of the socialist party.

Further, we need a national organ that we may speak with one voice to our comrades of Europe.

We need a national organ for the sake of national organization, far more than a state needs an organ for state organization—and we need it now in the crisis of our party.

Besides all that I have urged in behalf of the immediate re-establishment of a national organ, there are other reasons that might be given, but I will not take any more of your time; for, no doubt, you have seen the same need that I have attempted to point out. The important thing now is for all parties concerned to rise to the occasion, and give us what we need—a National Organ of the Socialist Party.

Will you not try to see what can be done and let us hear from you.

Yours for the cause of Socialism,
H. F. OBERHOLTZER,
Local Huntington, W. Va.

Socialism means, The Golden Rule against the Rule of Gold.
VOTE FOR SOCIALISM.

MIDVALE MINERS CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY.

Meeting was called to order by Chairman C. E. Reymond at 10 a. m., there being about one hundred union men and members present.

The regular May day program was carried out with some additional talks from the members of Local Midvale.

In addition we were very fortunate in having with us Thomas J. Price, president of Sub. District No. 3 of the United Mine Workers of America, who gave us a very interesting talk on organization, and demanded the repeal of the espionage act, which he maintained was unjust and contrary to the constitution of the United States government, also he said that it was being used to persecute political and industrial offenders.

After which an interpreter spoke to the foreign members and other foreign attendance, which was followed by a large sale of Debs protest cards, and a very handsome collection of $34.15 was taken up.

The chairman called on several of the comrades present to read the speeches of our comrades who are in jail. Upon reading these speeches they received hearty applause. We also had with us Comrade S. H. Robertson of Canton, who gave us a very nice talk that was received with much applause.

The resolution which was sent out by the Socialist Party was read, and unanimously supported by a standing vote. There was lunch served all day, which added very much to make the affair a grand success.

The committee wishes to thank all those who were so active in making this meeting the grand success that it was.

RE WOLFE,
JOE PAULINE,
E. C. WHITE,
Committee.

RECOGNIZES THE NEED OF THE HOUR

Dear Comrades: I have before me a copy of your paper issued March 19, 1919, (recently forwarded from Denver) an excellent issue. In its columns I note the 20,000 sub. drive for a "twice a week" publication before the fall campaign. The spirit of your paper throughout will surely boost our slogan, "Organize, Educate," and spur us on, more determined than ever before, to renewed efforts; pointing out the extreme necessity that the workers must recognize the final deciding wedge that is being driven down through the Socialist movement of the world, thus splitting it in twain. Lined up on one side we see the Bolshevist-Spartacan Revolutionists and on the other the Ebert-Scheidemann compromisers, who, when the crisis came, proved themselves ready and willing to run their bayonets through the hearts of their Spartacan comrades. This criminal fact has traveled over the entire world and plainly shows us that there is no longer a middle ground. The time has arrived for us to line up; as our French comrade, Eugene Pottier, wrote in his immortal "Internationale," "Tis the final conflict. Let each stand in his place." We are sadly in need of just such a paper as the Ohio Socialist, and with the aid the party membership ought and will give, success will surely follow. Mr. Williams subscribed some time ago, another $1.00 will make the 20,000 mark a little nearer. Enclosed same.

Am an old member in good standing of the Denver Local; expect to return in a few weeks, and am more anxious than ever to get back into the harness to assist in taking advantage of the greatest opportunity ever offered to the workers of America. Am now in the midst of wealthy farmers of the famous "Blue Grass Region" of Southwestern Ohio, who are practically drunk on prosperity, and I am thoroughly convinced that this class is one of the most difficult classes to reach, and must be done by other methods than propaganda leaflets. Possibly not until Babson's statement to their masters (regarding them) will come true, then the wealthy farming class will need no urging to leave the conservative ranks, and take their place where they actually belong.

Yours for the coming revolution,
LIZABETH A. WILLIAMS,
Emerson, Iowa.

RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION AT ONCE!!

Nearly one thousand notifications of expiration were mailed out two weeks ago to readers whose subscriptions expired in April. Readers who have received these notifications MUST renew at once either through their local secretary or direct to the State Office, if they wish the Ohio Socialist to continue coming to them. These expired subscriptions will be taken off the list with this issue unless renewed this week.

AN INTERVIEW WITH LENINE

NOTE:—Robert Minor, the famous cartoonist, who was formerly with the New York Call, and later an active worker in the defense of Tom Mooney in California, has now been in Russia for several months. According to an article in the Chicago Daily News, Tuesday, February 4, 1919, Minor had just arrived purports to have had with Nicholai Lenine, premier of the Russian Soviet Republic, part of which is as follows:

"What will you do if the allies send big armies against you?"

"If they send anything short of very big armies," he replied, "we shall defeat them."

"And if they do send very big armies?" I persisted.

"Then they will make a very big war," he answered, smiling, but without mirth.

Puts an Astonishing Question.

Then he asked me a question that astonished me for the way he put it, rather than for the words he used.

"How soon will the revolution get to America?" was the question. The tone was confident. He did not ask me if it would reach America, but when, as if he took it for granted that some day the red flag would wave in Washington. I did not reply, and he went on:

"I wonder how long," he asked. "Gompers can hold the labor unions, as suservient to the imperialists as he is. Debs is an old man. I wonder if he will survive his term in prison. It is a shame he was condemned. What is he like personally? I have never seen him. Why doesn't the American Federation of Labor do anything about Big Bill Haywood's imprisonment?

"Future society will be organized along soviet lines. There will be society rather than geographical boundaries for nations. Industrial unionism is the basic state. That is what we are building."

I said to Lenine I was going to Germany, and his interest quickened.

"You will arrive in time for the second revolution," he said.

Expects Bolshevik Triumph.

Lenine showed little interest in the present German control, but said he was waiting for the triumph of bolshevism.

The Masters fear Slaves who THINK. If you think right you will vote right.

MILITANT WORKERS OF EUROPE SECURE

(Continued from first page.)

In addition the national federations of railroad workers, marine workers, miners, dock workers, metal workers, building trades workers and transport workers formed a national alliance to work together for the common purpose of extracting the eight-hour day from the reluctant political representatives of capitalism in the French parliament, or, failing in that, to enact the eight-hour law themselves by their own economic right and power to work eight hours and quit.

The Confederation of Labor demanded that the government pass the bill before the first of May. Otherwise the organized workers of France would stage a demonstration on that day which would show that the organized workers meant business. The Confederation intimated that it would prefer to have parliament enact the bill into law, but if parliament refused the workers would be compelled to do some legislating in their own way and with the machinery at their disposal. To quote the language of the resolution passed by the national convention: "After the warning expressed by the first of May demonstrations the federations composing the alliance, with the assistance of the General Federation of Labor, will limit the period for pourparlers and fix the date for making the eight-hour day effective."

Parliament did not wait for the demonstration, but passed the eight-hour law.

BELGIUM.

From Belgium comes the information that the country is torn asunder with striking workers demanding that the labor exploiters pay the workers higher wages and grant a minimum wage of 20 cents an hour for unskilled workers, 25 cents for skilled workers, the eight-hour day, and complete liberty of trade union action.

At Bruges the workers resorted to the general strike. This is the first time in the history of this clericalized city that such a class-conscious phenomena has appeared in the economic relations of the exploiters and the exploited. But the first sight of the thing was enough for them. "We'll arbitrate!" they shouted. The strikers agreed to this and selected Anseele, a Socialist of long standing, as their representative. Of course the strikers won.

At Menin, near the French frontier, there was a general strike of all the municipal employes operating the public works. Of course the capitalist city government had to grant the demands of the strikers, and then the building trades quit work and got their wage raise. At Brussels the street railway workers walked out, and walked back without delay with their demands met. At Flemalie-Haute and Sclessin in the province of Liege, the employes of the big metal works and motor factories walked out for higher wages. In the province of Hainaut the miners are on strike and the miners organizations are ready to declare a general strike throughout the region unless the labor exploiters grant the demands with promp-

CAPITALISM SEEKS REVENGE

The capitalist class thirsty with hatred in their hearts, wild with rage, is about to commit a dastardly foul deed.

Enraged by the demonstrated solidarity of the workers of Seattle during the general strike and the success of the general strike, it is determined to exact punishment from the workers, by victimizing and seizing upon over thirty loyal workers, whose activities in the labor movement, and self sacrifice for the cause of labor, has made them the most hated and dreaded workers in the eyes of the capitalist class.

The victims of the general strike comprise the following members of the Socialist Party:

Aaron Fislerman, State Executive committeeman of Washington, and member of the State Press Board.

F. J. Cassidy, Secretary of Local Central, and a member of the State Press Board.

M. Pass, a member of the Y. P. S. L., and about 27 members belonging to other working class economic organizations.

They are charged with starting a revolution to overthrow the City government of Seattle, the State and the United States' government; conspiracy, criminal anarchy and felony.

Thousands of leaflets, dodgers and propaganda matter, the organization of the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council, and also some articles published in the International Weekly, which is published by the Press Board of the Socialist Party of Washington, alleged to incite the workers to seize the shipyards, from the basis of the prosecution and charges.

The arrest was precipitated on the excuse that the International Weekly which sold by the thousands of copies on the streets of Seattle on Sunday of the general strike, while the capitalist papers were permitted by the strike, contained the charged articles.

Comrades:—Behind the capitalist class of Seattle is lined up the whole capitalist class of America which was terrorized by the (first) great general strike, the governmental administration of the City, State and Nation.

The daily capitalist newspapers have told and are telling us so every day.

Behind these comrades we must line up all the workers of this nation.

Upwards of fifteen years in prison stares in the eyes of these victims of the general strike.

Your moral and financial support for the defense is urgently needed.

Send your subscriptions to
SOCIALIST PARTY DEFENSE COMMITTEE
215 Liberty Bldg., Seattle, Wash.

EDUCATOR CHALLENGED SUBJECT BOLSHEVISM

A most sensational episode occurred at the close of Louise Bryant's address on the Russian Revolution at a mass meeting at Blanchard Hall, Los Angeles.

A most savage and menacious article on "Bolshevism" by City Superintendent of Schools, Albert Shiels, appeared on April 7 in the "Educational Journal," the official organ of the public school teachers of this city. The chairman announced a gift of $100 to any charity of the city, to be named by Shiels, if he would appear in the largest auditorium in the city and reiterate the statements he made about Bolshevism and give Louise Bryant an hour to answer.

The effect was electrical. Upton Sinclair appeared upon the platform and challenged the daily press of the city to publish the matter. About $1,400 was showered upon the platform in ten minutes to test the matter and have the challenge published and the truth told about Russia. The daily papers, with the exception of one, refused, although the matter was offered them at highest advertising rates. We are now getting out a Louise Bryant emergency edition of 75,000 of the "New Justice" to tell the whole story which will be written by Upton Sinclair; also containing an exposure of the lies and distortions of the Shiels article by J. H. Byckman. Mr. Shiels says in his article that the place to deal with this question is not only in the class room, but upon the [illegible]

RUSSIAN SOVIETS REPUDIATE SLANDER

Translation from the Russian ofthe Anarchists repudiation of the Decree of the Socialization of Women. The "decree" was secretly printed and plastered surreptiously one night on hundreds of billboards and telephone posts in the cities of Samara and Saratoff (on the Volga river) by unknown persons. They were indignantly torn down by the Soviets and the Federated Anarchists came out with the following repudiation:

"From the Federated Anarchists of Samara and Saratoff:

"Enemies: You are defeated, and you are going down lower and lower. You have reached such a low level that your cause is now desperate. You wishto continue to live in idle luxury and have us work for you, and you find the revolution a menace to you. Enemies, you slander and misrepresent us when you say that we anarchists would use our liberty to enslave women.

"You forge our name to this dirty decree that your dirty hands have written. For centuries and all over the world, anarchists were fighting against all decrees, all force and all oppression. We ourselves have used force and violence only against our oppressors.

"We want to live and let live in perfect freedom. Is it conceivable that we would now issue such a monstrous and contradictory decree?

"Think for yourselves! Is it likely that anarchists would advocate, or even permit such degradation of women? You think only to provoke trouble. You are only trying to deceive the igonrant people.

"Don't you suppose that we have wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of our own?

"You provocateurs apparently don't know our strength, but you shall know. Death for provocateurs. Death, no matter who you are. We will make you pay for your dirty crimes. Anybody found circulating such dirty propaganda, will be put in the same class. Everyody, whether with us or not, who opposes such contemptible propaganda methods, desrves commendation.

"With all our soul we fight for all that is best for Russia.

(Signed) "Federated Anarchists of Samara and Saratoff."

QUESTION---WHAT'S THE MOTIVE?

We print below an editorial from the Chicago Tribune, one of the staunchest supporters of capitalism in this land of the free. Coming from this source the question arises—What is the motive? Is it feared that Bolshevism will sweep the world unless the United States establishes "diplomatic" relations with Socialist Russia? And will the establishment of free communication with this country and Socialist Russian stay Bolshevism? Here's food for deep theought.—Editor.

WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT BOLSHEVIST RUSSIA?

And now the bolsheviki are virtually masters of Ukrania!

Isn't it about time for us to find out for ourselves just what bolshevism is and amounts to in Russia? Haven't we by this time a rather vigorous suspicion that our news of that phenomenon has been and is doctored for us—and certainly not for our benefit, for it cannot benefit America to be deceived?

When bolshevism first appeared in the Russian situation we were told it was a noisy minority which had no influence among the Russians. When bolshevism overthrew Kerensky we were told that it would not hold power for any length of time. As time passed and bolshevism did not disappear we were told it was the dictatorship of a few who were imposing their ambitious will by force. We were told that the mass of the Russian people were not bolshevist. We were told that they would rise to welcome foreign aid and overthrow the tyranny which the bolshevist handful was so mysteriously able to impose upon them. We were told that the allied troops were winning victories. They were strange victories which left the victors numerous versts farther away from their objective than before, strange victories in which the red troops suffered appalling losses while the allied forces lost few, but were able to retire with part of their own supplies, while punishing the enemy by burning the remainder. Always the red armies are, or are about to be, crushed, and now after months of almost constant defeats we read that they are virtual masters of Ukrania, that they have an army of half or three-quarters of a million men, officered by trained soldiers of the former German and Russian armies.

At the same time a representative in America of the Soviet government offers on its behalf to deposit $200,000,000 in gold in American and European banks for the purchase of supplies and asks our government "to establish normal relations between the two countries."

These are certainly not the accents of failure, weakness and despair. Lenine and Trotzky have been in power a year and a half. In spite of constant reports of defeats, famine and social chaos, in spite of the Murman and Siberian defections, they seem to be stronger than ever. There is a situation we are not permitted to see. Raymond Robins evidently tried to describe it last summer, but he could not get a hearing until the senate called him the other day. But the public has a right to know what this phase of the Russian upheaval really is and not be confined to partisan reports and sporadic rumors.

Why has bolshevism survived and grown in Russia? What is its strength there today? The measures in which we have joined up to this time seem to be futile or worse. They were not our measures. It is time America asserted her right to know what she is about, to make up her own mind whether she is pulling others' chestnuts out of the fire or following a policy consistent with her own interests.

Col. Roy Bacon of the Mellon Institute, in a speech before the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, says that in the future TEAR GAS will be used against striking mobs, instead of clubs and revolvers..

Col. Bacon has just returned from Europe, where he was employed by our government to make gas to be used against Germany and her allies. twenty to thirty men.

From the London Morning Post comes an interesting bit of information which all wage-workers will be glad to be told about. Many British papers are very peeved (speaking moderately) at Wilson for methods he used in telling the world that Italy could not have Fiume. Just why a capitalist paper should be so shortsighted as to expose the tricks of the trade we do not know and we are not going to quote that old saw which says that "when thieves fall out, etc."

The Post says Mr. Wilson proposes the limitation of armaments in Europe, but "at the same time proposes to build a navy to lick creation in the states." It declares that, while he opposes secret treaties made by the other nations, "If he were to search his portfolio, he might find the notes of certain commercial treaties which rumor says have already been negotiated between America and certain countries—which shall be nameless—but of which the world as yet knows nothing.".

THE ONLY SECURITY

B ANISE.

He was a MONEY-HUN.
• • •
President of the Reichsbank.
• • •
Financial AUTHORITY
• • •
of Germany.
• • •
And he said: "If WE
• • •
Are ever to be able
• • •
To pay an Indemnity,
• • •
The Allies must give us
• • •
CREDIT.
• • •
And the only SECURITY
• • •
We have to offer
• • •
Is the LABOR of Germany"!
• • •
I thought it was so nice
• • •
The way he had
• • •
The Labor of Germany
• • •
In his POCKET
• • •
Ready to lend us;
• • •
But his very next sentence
• • •
Was this: "Our WORKMEN
• • •
Are ABSOLUTELY CRAZY;
• • •
They will only go to work
• • •
When their need is very great;
• • •
This Bolshevism
• • •
upsetting them completely.
Their demands are
• • •
OUTRAGEOUS
• • •
We cannot deal
• • •
With INSANE PEOPLE!"
• • •
And I thought it was funny
• • •
For any man
• • •
To point out all the FAULTS
• • •
In the stuff he has to SELL.
• • •
Suppose he said:
• • •
"We need CREDIT
• • •
And our only SECURITY
• • •
Is a big PIG-RANCH
• • •
But all the pigs
• • •
Are positively ABNORMAL
• • •
You can't even CATCH
• • •
HALF of them.
• • •
And the ones you DO catch
• • •
Are RAZORBACKS!"
• • •
Or suppose he offered
• • •
HORSES for security
• • •
And told you they were all
• • •
VICIOUS and LOCOED;
• • •
I wonder of he would
• • •
REALLY EXPECT
• • •
To get that CREDIT
He asks for.
• • •
But isn't it queer
• • •
When you come to think of it,
• • •
To see how the business men
• • •
In ALL the countries,
• • •
Keep asking and asking
• • •
For CREDIT
• • •
And GETTING it.
• • •
And all the security
• • •
They EVER put up
• • •
Is just the LABOR
• • •
Of their COUNTRY;
• • •
And then they turn around
• • •
ALL of them
• • •
Anl start in knocking
• • •
Their ONLY security.
• • •
But I think if I
• • •
Were lending MUCH money
• • •
To the HERR President
• • •
Of that Reichsbank.
• • •
I would be wanting to look
• • •
VERY CAREFULLY
• • •
Into the security he offers.
• • •
And find out
• • •
If he really has that labor
• • •
To DELIVER on call.

CLEVELAND SOCIALISTS' GREATEST PARADE

(Continued from first page.)

dashed up and down the sidewalks to clear them. Men, women and children fled through by-streets and alleys for safety.

WORKERS FIGHT BACK.

While police were freely using their clubs upon the heads of the Socialists, some fought back with naked hands and what weapons they could find. Mounted police were pulled from their mounts and other officers were beaten into unconsciousness. In a short while, however, the crowds had been dispersed from the Square, but small riots and fights occurred in many adjacent streets all afternoon as mobs searched out individuals and groups of known Socialists.

LOCAL HEADQUARTERS DEMOLISHED.

During the riots down town the local headquarters at Prospect and Bolivar Rd. was a scene of destruction. Mobs had stormed the local headquarters demolishing it almost completely. Windows were smashed out, furniture made into kindling wood. Thousands of books and pamphlets, records and files were carried away or ruined. The scene at the finish was one of utter desolation.

CONVICTIONS FOLLOW ARRESTS

The following day a great number of convictions were made among the arrested Socialists. Heavy fines and workhouse sentences were meted out to the full extent of the law. Many prisoners demanded a jury trial. The cases of C. E. Ruthenberg and Lawrence Zitt, charged with disorderly conduct, were postponed until May 5th.

RESULTS AND BY-PRODUCTS OF THE RIOT.

Two deaths resulted from the May Day riots. Seventeen police were injured, three being shot and seriously wounded. One was stabbed a number of times. The number of injured is not definitely known as many not seriously hurt dressed their own wounds or were taken care of at nearby drug stores. Number of arrests were about two hundred.

The capitalist press is now urging deportation of all radicals of foreign birth as a means of stamping out "bolshevism." Chief of Police Smith states that no more red flags will be allowed and no open air meetings of Socialists. It is believed that this move on the part of the police department is planned for the purpose of disrupting all propaganda of the party. Intimidation, it is thought., will be practiced against hall owners who would rent to Socialists and in this way make Socialist meetings prohibitive. The city council is debating several moves and plans to stop bolshevism in Cleveland and stamp out at least the EVIDENCES of discontent.

What these different repressive plans will have upon the revolutionary movement of the proletariat remains to be seen. The history of all repression in Europe has been a speeding up of the social revolutionary movement. Will it be different here? We think not. In the meantime the Socialist Party of Cleveland is going ahead with its work of educating and organizing the workers to take control of industry and the bringing about of an industrial democracy.

"I'M STILL ON DECK"

(Continued from first page.)

"conspiracy trial" growing out of the Pullman strike, as a result of which it was hoped to send Debs to prison for life. Woods died unlamented.

It was E. St. John, chairman of the Railroad Managers' Association, one of the most powerful and most successful of all the railroad managers this country has ever had, that claimed Debs and his American Railway Union, couldn't disturb the operation of the big Rock Island railroad. When the strike came and this railroad was tied up tight from one end to the other, St. John was dismissed in disgrace, and the last heard from him was to the effect that he had some petty job on some obscure railroad down in South Carolina. These are only a few of the wrecks resulting from the efforts of the few to stop the growing power of labor from asserting itself. Perhaps in prison, Debs may find time to write the full story.

As we toured by short stages across the states of Ohio and West Virgina, Palm Sunday, April 13, dodging Socialist demonstrations wherever the United States marshal had a suspicion any might develop, we speculated asto what sort of prison Debs was about to enter.

Debs recalled that his first experience with jails and prisons came during the "A. R. U." strike when he was thrown into the Coob county jail in Chicago.

he was thrown into the Cook county county jail," he said, "were huge, famished sewer rats that tormented me by day and kept me awake at night. One night as I dozed away they ate up my shoes and then came crawling and sniffling over me."

Debs then told how a rat terrier, owned by one of the jailers, came to his cell, and he pleaded with the owner to permit the dog to remain with him, knowing that that would keep the rats away. The jailer consented, but no sooner had the cell door closed upon Debs and the rat terrier, than the dog set up an unceasing howl that did not end until he was released. Even the dog refused to remain in the cell in which Debs had been incarcerated by the plutocracy of a quarter century ago.

"When I was in the Cook county jail it contained 350 human beings, 300 men and 50 women," narrated Debs. "Six unfortunates were crowded into each cell, with the result that the place became stifling hot from body warmth. The presence of swarms of lice added to the tortures suffered by these 350 prisoners, who, in their struggle against the heat and vermin, undressed until most of them were stark naked. They were often bloody from head to foot through constant scratching."

In those early days of the American Railway Union, when the workers on the railroads were seeking to build a powerful organization to combat the railroad barons, the newspapers directed a steady stream of villification and abuse at Eugene V. Debs.

"I received from 30 to 40 letters every day in which the writers threatened to assassinate me," said Debs. "While I was in jail on one occasion, I received a eltter from a boy of 18 years of age, in which he stated that he had just bought a gun and that he was coming to Chicao to 'get my blood by Saturday night.' "

Throwing Debs and other officials of the "A. R. U." in jail was one of the methods resorted to by those in power to break up the strike. The offices of the union would be raided, all the records carted away and the officials arrested. Then the kept press all over the nation would publish a report to the affect that the strike had been broken. The local officials of the "A. R. U." reading the local reports, would wire to Chicago for information. This would not be forthcoming because the officials were in jail and the records in custody of servile government officials. Demoralization in the ranks of the strikers would thereupon set in.

It is interesting to note that Debs was sent to Woodstock jail for six months, whereas his fellow officials were only put in jail one month, because, as the court stated, Debs was intelligent enough to know better than to commit the crime he was charged with, the violation of a court injunction.

When Debs was taken to Woodstock jail, the prominent citizens of the Chicago suburb seriously considered lynching the terrible agitator who had been brought amongst them. On repeated occasions they protested to Geore Eckert, sheriff of McHenry county, who had Debs in charge, that he was treating this sower of discontent "too white."

"You attend to your own business and I'l ltake care of mine," was the sheriff's answer to the prominent citizens.

In Woodstock jail as everywhere else, everyone with whom Debs came in personal contact immediately became his friend. When Debs left Woodstock jail he was presented with a set of resolutions, tear-stained, expressing the well wishes of his fellow prisoners, while the wife of the sheriff at each succeeding Christmas always sent Debs some remembrance, and after her death her daughter has continued to send Debs a Christmas card each year.

With these reminiscenses from Debs, we who were with him on his journey to prison this year, 1919, concluded that somehow he would get along at the West Virginia state penitentiary at Moudsville.

But these same reflections threw into the limelight more than anything else the gross stupidity and utter ignorance of a reigning social order, seeking to maintain itself in power by imprisoning one of its most prominent opponents.

Debs' very presence in prison breeds the discontent and protest, whose growing power and volume will force the ruling class to liberate him immediately the volume of that protest becomes threatening enough.

ELECT A NEW N. E. C.

(L. E. Katterfeld.)

Conservatives always defend their offices within our Party with the claim that they are "constructive."

I challenge this claim.

What have they ever "constructed" for the Socialist Party?

Except for a few memorable days at St. Louis, during which the radicals made history, our conservatives have dominated all our conventions. They have absolutely controlled our national office. They have always been the majority on our national executive committee and have had absolute power to do everything they pleased.

What have they done?

The Party needs a publishing house. Have they built it?

The Party needs a propaganda press. Have they developed it?

The Party needs a training school. Have they founded it?

The Party needs a lyceum bureau. Have they fostered it?

The Party needs a finance plan. Have they devised it?

The Party needs systematic organization. Have they furnished it?

The Party needs publicity power. Have they even realized it?

Even in these primary requirements they have failed absolutely. They have had undisputed power, yet they have constructed nothing.

The fact is that most of them are far more interested in their private business than in the Party's affairs. They are more concerned with the success of private institutions than with Socialist Party enterprise.

If you want the Socialist Party to become a real power in this country, an efficient instrument of the proletarian revolution, then do not elect to our executive committee the same old gang that would dilly-dally along in the same old way, but elect the uncompromising radicals—not merely because they are right in theory but also because they propose to get busy on the Party's constructive work.

FUTURE OF GERMANY

(Continued from first page.)

and food to the station and its neighborhood and for blocks around the scene resembles a refugee camp. A red guard army, composed almost entirely of workingmen, is laying siege to adjoining cities. Yesterday Bachau and Ingolstad fell in the hands of the bolshevists. Comrade Toller, now the Trotsky of Bavaria instead of the Leline, led the attack in person and after a "great victory" composed a poem celebrating the proletariat triumph. He allowed me to read it. Comrade Toller may be a great political messiah, but he is distinctly an inferior poet.

One of the most startling procedures of the new government is the amazing frequency of arrests. An automobile loaded with marines—the grinning, swaggering marine as elsewhere in Germany is a footloose and fancy free revolutionary vagrant—arrives in front of the hotel entrance every other minute. The marine guard enters the hotel and within a short space reappears with a bewildered trembling burghes. Owing to the general political confusion scores of soviet leaders themselves have been arrested. Last night a youth who is one of the most violent communists in Munich was plucked from my side while predicting the success of the world revolution and was marched off to Wittelsbach palace. I followed, wondering whether the soviet republic had again fallen but learned that some mysterious mistake had been made. As I was leaving I was placed in custody. The arrival of Dictator Levien saved me from being marched off to the omnipotent tribunal and tried for I don't know what.

ARMED WORKINGMEN KEEP ORDER.

Despite the ludicrous errors and the general confusion there is no disorder in the city. There is no plundering and no shooting down of burghers. No shop windows have been broken and no shops looted. The workingmen with guns are keeping order. Workingmen sit in Wittelsbach palace perspiring over economic problems which would stagger Prof. Luja Brentano himself.

Will it last? Will the soviets of Munich survive? In the cafes the burghers sit asking one another these questions. They no longer laugh at the "tribe of longhaired dilletantes." They have even stopped calling names and have left off assuring one another that "hanging is too good for the pack of them." They exchange chastened whispers: "Where is it all leading to? What will happen next?" They gather in well dressed groups about the red and yellow placards which blossom hourly on the walls and fences. These placards are amusingly intelligible. They are written by workingmen. The announce that an inventory of all the shops is being taken and that the huge stores of food hoarded in the basements of the bourgeoisie are being confiscated and distributed equally among the entire population. Under the original Independent socialist soviet regime these placards were received with smiles. There were no workingmen with guns then. The soviet republic was protected by the soldiers of the garrison and what several dozen bourgois leaders told me would happen happened. The garrison at the first opportunity turned upon the soviets and declared the new republic at an end.

TOILERS CRUSH WHITE GUARD.

But the bourgeoisie had overlooked a great fact. They had forgotten that Germany's real soldiers—soldiers who stood their ground for four and a half years against the world's troops—were not lounging around the garrison selling their services to the highest bidder. One night Munich's guard was overturned and the soviet republic was re-established. I then understood for the first time what had become of Germany's army. It had gone back to work. On that night it came pouring out of the workingmen's cottages in the factory districts and on the little farms. It swept the South. Bavarian white guard out of existence.

The Bavarian situation today is picturesque and uncertain. The bolshevist movement in Bavaria may suffer a momentary eclipse. Herr Noske's army may come in and make a cleanup and the Hoffman regime may return, but the workingmen with guns will remain. If America thinks that the soviet movement in Germany is an outbreak of licensed criminalism—that men and women are fighting while the red guards are a pack of plunderers—America is dangerously misinformed. I offer no bloshevist ballyhoo here, but in Berlin I saw carpenters, bootblacks and bricklayers lying on their stomachs behind barricades of dry goods boxes and dead horses; I watched them prowling over the roof tops and stalking behind chimneys; I saw them in the Ruhr district, in Dusseldorf and in the little villages adjoining the great Westphalian coal mines—grimy, unsmiling miners. And because I have seen them I know that calling names will not stop them, that bullets will not halt them, and that laws will not suppress them. What is now happening in Munich is the shadow of what the future holds for Germany—the workingman with a gun.

WE DEMAND OUR FREEDOM

(A May Day message from Emil Herman, State Secretary of Washington, serving 10 years at McNeils Island for alleged violation of the espionage act.)

COMRADES: Ten years ago,—yes, even five years ago!—few among you would have dreamed that today you would be met together to protest against the incarceration of Political Offenders in the United States of America. And if those few would have mentioned such a possibility to the rest of you they would have been laughed at. Political prisoners in America? Why, such a wild idea! AMERICA has always been the Haven of Refuge for Political Offenders from all over the world. It is our dearest, our most characteristic tradition. America recognizes the value of Freedom of expression in developing a FREE PEOPLE; and America is, fundamentally, a FREE COUNTRY.

"Why," you would have said,—"See here, don't you know that the CONSTITUTION GUARANTEES freedom of expression in America? Suppose some one should say he doesn't approve of certain things which may be going on in this country we don't care. Let him spout! If it is unfounded foolishness it can't possibly do any harm; and if what he says is sensible we want to hear it. So we can adopt his idea—or as much of it as we like."

But things are different now. We have Political Prisoners in America. Congress sat down upon that Constitution we were all so proud of. Oh, to be sure, Congress had no LEGAL RIGHT to enact legislation conflicting with the Constitution. But it did just that. Now, honestly, wouldn't you say that Congress has violated the law of the Land? For the Constitution, so we were taught, is the SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND. When one violates the provisions of an "Act" which is, itself, a VIOLATION OF THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND—Is one a criminal?

Did the American People decide that the old Constitution had outlived its usefulness? Did they decide to abdicate—this "Sovereign American People!"—and place the supreme power in the hands of a bunch of Corporation lawyers in Washington, D. C.? Did we do that?

You are here today, for the express purpose of ANSWERING THAT QUESTION. Proudly we have declared, "WE are the Government of THIS land." ARE WE?

Surely, WE do not sanction the jailing of hundreds of men and women whose only "crime" has been that of conscientiously trying to teach the people a better, easier, cleaner way to live! DO YOU want to send Eugene Debs to prison for ten years—or even ten minutes?

You are acquainted with Debs; you have known and loved him for years. You are justly indignant that HE should be subjected to such treatment. But ah, Comrades! There are hundreds of men and women in prison today, in our beautiful America, who are there just as unjustly as is Debs. It is in behalf of these that I would speak to you, now.

Since I have been here in the "exclusive Society of McNiel's Island," many cases have been brought to my attention of men who have been given long sentences under the Espionage Act—AND NOT ONE was a German spy, nor even accused of being one. And they tell us the Espionage Act was framed to "protect our country from the agents of the Imperial German Government." These men, most of them, were not even guilty—if one should use that word—of violating the Espionage Act (itself a violation of our country's law!) Some of them are not even members of the Socialist Organization—nor even of the A. F. of L. How did they get here?

The Espionage Act gave the necessary legal prestige, and the upset conditions attendant upon the entrance of America into the World war afforded the excuse—the cloak—for the formation of a pernicious system of spying. Thousands of young men, anxious to escape the draft, their diseased minds fed upon a diet of such literary masterpieces as "Diamond Dick, Jr.," hastened to attach themselves to the Federal Department of Justice, ostensibly to "serve their country" by ferreting out dangerous German agents! In order to prove that theirs was an "essential occupation" it was necessary, so they thought, to make frequent arrests. And I have even heard that, in order to further facilitate this important business, these detectives were given a bonus of $25 for each conviction for which they were responsible. I do nto know if this is true; I hope it isn't. God knows there were dirty tricks enough without that.

Now, I ask you—Is such a condition of affairs conducive to the "fair and impartial administration of justice?" Some one said to me, during my trial, last May, "You needn't expect the JURY to acquit you, Mr. Herman; a Federal jury always believes it is THERE TO CONVICT. And they are so afraid of being accused of disloyalty, themselves, that they actually don't dare to draw suspicion upon themselves by an acquittal." Again I will say that I do not know if that is true; you must just form your own opinion. You remember—do you not?—that there were practically No acquittals in Espionage Act cases. Can it be true that this country was so very full of DANGEROUS GERMAN SPIES? And that these amateur detectives were of such superhuman astuteness as to be certain of apprehending the guilty person

Who is it that has been imprisoned under the Espionage Act? NOT German Spies—But American Citizens! And in not one instance which has been brought to my attention were these persons guilty of any act or word truly inimical to the interests of this country, whether this country were at war or not at war.

And yet these men and women have been forcibly removed from their homes, families and firends, subjected to every humiliation which petty, brutal hirelings of a corrupt political administration could devise; dragged through the mockery of a "trial" in court, with all the attendant expense and discomfort; and, thrust into prison to serve five, ten and twenty year sentences. And a man convicted of violation of the "Mann Act"—and I am sure you will agree with me that this is one of the most heinous crimes of which a man can be guilty—gets TWO YEARS A'T MOST. And convictions under this Act are very few! Creatures of whose guilt there is absolute proof are being freed every day because of "technicalities"—loop holes placed there by our clean-minded lawmakers, as every one knows, so that these creatures can escape the penalty of the crime.

You know that the Espionage Act has begotten a system of Espionage rivaling that of old Russia under the reign of the Czar. Do we want such a condition of affairs to be maintained indefinitely? Which among you has assurance that tomorrow it will not be YOUR turn to be dragged into court to answer to the charge of violation of this Act? Hold up your hand—we want to see what you look like. Certain it is that you must be an intimate friend of Charlie Schwab—or dear old John D. himself.

While there has been much irresponsible persecution of obscure and inoffensive people, during this reign of terror, there has been a well organized and systematic attack upon the Socialist Organization and all other Organizations whose purpose and reason for existence is the better education of the Working Class to a realization of the economic system which prevails, and of the remedy for these economic ills. The master class, under the guise of "war necessity" have sought to make use of the Espionage Act to accomplish that which they have longed but hardly dared to do before—the complete and ruthless extermination of all ORGANIZED effort of the Workers to achieve Freedom for themselves. They do not care for the individual rebels—they know, full well that these individuals can be easily and cheaply disposed of. THEY KNOW THE POWER OF ORGANIZATION—and it is that power which they fear, and would destroy.

And well may they fear that power. It is the power which is going to TAKE FROM THEM THE POWER they possess today—the Economic Mastery which makes it possible for them to live in ease and luxury without doing any useful work for society; which compels the slavish service of thousands of human beings to supply them with all the good and beautiful things which this world affords.

WE, the citizens and inhabitants of this country, are going to resurrect our Constitution; re-establish a Republic in this country. And, standing squarely upon the provisions of our American Bill of Rights, we, through the medium of the POWER OF ORGANIZATION, are going to develope a GENUINE DEMOCRACY in this country of ours.

And, as the first step in that direction, WE DEMAND the immediate and unconditional release of ALL persons convicted under the Espionage Act. Whether the alleged offense were political, industrial or religious.

We will not accept "commutation of sentences." we do not seek "judicial clemency," we refuse "Executive Leniency." We have committed no crimes—violated no laws. We have been true to our country—to our people.

We will accept no compromise with political iniquity—WE DEMAND USTICE.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolution was adopted this evening by Local Richmond, Ind., Socialist Party of America:

Whereas, the members of the Socialist Party stand squarely upon the principle that all men should have equal opportunity and right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and

Whereas, this right and opportunity cannot exist where freedom of the press is denied, and

Whereas, in the European countries, England, France, Italy, Russia and Germany, amnesty has been granted to political prisoners.

Whereas, under the Espionage Act, designed to prevent and punish spying in the U. S., there was not a single spy convicted, and

Whereas, Eugene V. Debs and 1,500 other political prisoners in the United States have never been accused of plotting with the enemy, but have lifted their voices to pleas for human reason and human brotherhood and the crucified human masses all over the world.

Whereas, Eugene V. Debs has always been a loyal supporter of the rights of free men everywhere and a valiant worker in the class struggle to better the living conditions of the workers.

Therefore, be it resolved,

1. That members of Richmond local, Socialist Party, hereby express our sincere gratitude to him for stating our views on war at the cost of his own liberty and our sincere admiration for that heroic quality of character that caused him to stand, one of the few spokesmen, for sanity and peace and human brotherhood in a war made world, and

2. That we deplore that condition of affairs, existing in the U. S. at present whereby such a man loses his liberty and is sentenced to ten years in federal prison while a multitude of proven profiteers revel in unearned wealth paid for with the life blood of more than 200,000 American boys, go free, and

3. That we stand unequivocally for amnesty for political and religious prisoners and for the restoration of the peoples' constitutional rights of free speech, free press and right of assemblage, and

4. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to our daily press, the Socialist press and a copy recorded on the minutes of the local.

By order of resolutions committee, March 21, 1917.

LOCAL RICHMOND, IND.
Socialist Party of America.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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From Anarchy and Bloodshed Socialism Rises Victorious Over Its Enemies

From the carnage of the Cleveland May Day riots, Socialism rises victorious over the machinations of its enemies. With white hands and a clean heart, without malice and with enmity only toward the economic system, Socialism advances over the fallen and the maimed, over the red debauch of capitalistic hate and terrorism to greater power and achievements.

Secure in the rightness of our Cause, certain of our historic mission and glorying in our growing strength, we may now look back to that hour of horror instigated by our enemies, proud of our peaceful march and its purpose, knowing that all the desperate hatred vented upon us has but left us stronger in courage, more united in purpose and better qualified to fulfill our work as Revolutionary Socialists.

The storm of capitalist hate that swept over our peaceful and lawful march has spent its fitful force. Emerging from that stressful scene we may now view the wreckage of American ideals that lie broken and scattered about. Becoming desperate at the growing class-consciousness of the workers, realizing its helplessness before the advancing hosts of Industrial Democracy, capitalism ever seeks in red revenge and brute force to crush the ideals of the workers. They cannot be crushed. Force cannot exterminate the ideals of liberty from the human heart. Force can not stem the tide of revolutionary thought and action that is sweeping the world clean of its worn out ideas, ideals and economic systems.

The mad rush and onslaught that began the riots, the methods used by the powers that be to (mis)handle the situation that arose has swept as though with a gigantic broom the cobwebs from the eyes of thousands. They have seen as though in a monstrous nightmare an orgy of capitalistic vindictiveness unequalled in ferocity. They have seen "Americanism" in action as it really exists. They have witnessed the traditions of American life raped by capitalism in a seething flame of intolerance, they have seen substituted therefor the fiendishness of devils and the corruption of hell.

To these thousands and to the thousands who shall hear the story from their white lips these traditions of American life and liberties are henceforth blackest lies and abominations. The veil of delusion has been snatched from their eyes. They have seen the law violated and the violator encouraged by those responsible for the law's keeping. They have witnessed the brutal rule of might while law and right lay raped by their keepers. They now see clearly where they saw but dimly before. They have seen what they have seen.

A hundred parades, a hundred monster meetings could not have reacted so forcefully for Socialism as has and will this mad onslaught upon the workers. It may yet become a truism that the policeman's club is unsurpassed as an educator of the credulous, and we may expect our capitalist colleges to endow a chair in each for the purpose of turning out the best qualified in its use. True, many marchers and others have been given the "limit" and fined and sent to the workhouses for as long as the law allows. Workers have long been accustomed to expect that this would be so. Capitalist courts are but ramifications of the physical power of the State. A capitalist state requires capitalist courts to uphold capitalist interests. The capitalist court and judge instinctively recognizes the worker as an enemy, being one, he is given the limit upon all occasions.

But even the capitalist state cannot survive upon physical power and force alone. Behind all physical force, underlying it and permeating it throughout must lie the tissues of MORAL force. Without this moral power, this belief in the justness of its cause, with a willingness for great sacrifices and a tolerance of opposition forces, no capitalist can long survive the canker that eats at its heart. It is through this power of MORAL force that the Socialist movement rises ever victorious over all obstacles, all misrepresentations and falsehoods. It is by this moral force that the Socialist movement is stronger today.

Upon a thousand industrial battle fields the blood of the workers has been spilled. The masters have gloated over each seeming victory, while like ghouls they have robbed the dead as well as the living. They are dear bought victories, which drive them incessantly to greater outrages and greater blunders. In their desperation they lay open before the workers the dirty game they play upon them.

Socialism in Cleveland is stronger today than on April 30th. Stronger in numbers and stronger in moral force, it rises sublimely from the ashes of a momentary defeat to lead the workers on to emancipation and victory.

Socialism in Cleveland is on the job and will stay there long after the instigators of the May Day riots are in their forgotten graves. "The Hour of the People has Come" and the murderous machinations of capitalists, the enemies of the people, cannot prevail against it. Hail to the Revolution! Onward to Victory!

CURB FREEDOM OF SPEECH TO "CRUSH THE MONSTER OF BOLSHEVISM"---ADVOCATED

Department of Justice Inclined to Let People Discuss Social Problems Provided They Don't Advocate Forcible Overthrow of Government. Waiting for Congres to Meet.

The organized labor exploiters of the United States are definitely making use of the alleged bomb plot directed against the lives of certain capitalists and anti-labor government officials to advocate much more drastic suppression of the rights of freedom of speech, press, and assemblages than are now contained in the sedition law.

The department of justice holds that people have the right to criticize existing social and governmental institutions and to advocate changes in the structure of the government, the abolition of the capitalist system of production and the substitution of the Socialist system provided that method is not illegal. The organized capitalist, however, speaking through their mouthpieces known as as the capitalist press, have no sympathy with the soft-hearted policy of the department of justice and are going to make a drive on congress when it convenes for legislation that will prevent any and all criticism of existing institutions and advocacy of changing them.

Two Washington papers are the heart throbs of American capitalism. The Washington Post, owned by Edward B. McLean, who also owns certain coal mines in Illinois, where the workers are exploited to the existence point, is against everything that labor wants, and does not even carry the union label. The Washington Star owned by Theodore W. Noyes, is likewise anti-labor in everyone of its heartbeats. Noyes has the distinguished honor of being the brother of the manager of the Associated Press, whose offices are in the Washington Star building. They are the political mouthpieces of the nationwide labor exploiters and express the sentiments today of the people who drove the notorious espionage law through the last congress conferring upon the postmaster general the drastic powers of a thought controller.

The labor exploiting editor of the Post declares that when a "bolshevist or socialist or anarchist or any radical of that ilk publicly rails against the government of the United States, denounces its institutions and its laws, flays its judges and officers and advocates supplanting this republic with the rule of the mob he encourages and stimulates vicious persons to the commission of deeds of violence." By the "rule of the mob"

(Continued on fourth page.)

STRIKES GALORE IN MEXICO.

New York.—Strikes are quite the fashion in Mexico, according to a prominent radical in this city who has just returned from a trip to Mexico. Everywhere it is the same cry —higher wages and shorter hours. So alarmed has the employing class become that the large capitalistic papers are running series of special stories to demonstrate conclusively that the Bolsheviki are responsible for the labor unrest.

As an example of how far the strike fever has gone, the case of the domestic servants may be cited. The maids and servant girls decided one bright day that they were working altogether too long and that hours in their trade were not regulated. They struck. They demanded that seven hours of service—the hours to run continuously, and not in shifts which might make them get up at an unseemly hour and retire late at night—were all that should be asked of them. They won their point.

While in America the teachers are for the most part unorganized, the instructors of the youth of Mexico are all united in a union. This union has recently joined hands with the Central Federated union of Mexico City, and it is expected that by this combination the entire educational system of the country will be markedly improved.

Mexico is a veritable paradise for those who believe in free speech and free press. There is no censorship or suppression of ideas. Anybody can print anything he likes. The tenets of socialism are therefore well known not only to the workers, but to members of the upper classes as well, who do not display the ignorance of Marxism so prevalent north of the Rio Grande.

The cost of living has gone up tremendously, chiefly due to the United States embargo on merchandise. Many industries are awaiting rehabilitation. But as the American State Department has held out little encouragement regarding Mexico, money can be borrowed only on movable securities on a monthly interest charge of 5 per cent. There is very little currency to be had.

DEBS CRUCIFIED

Brownella Cottage, Galion, Ohio, April 19, 1919.
Mr. Eugene V. Debs, Federal Penitentiary,
Moundsville, W. Va.

My Dear Comrade:

Yesterday was the day of the Crucifixion and by their treatment of Debs the American masters crucified the Christ of the slaves in the United States.

Today is the day of the Preparation and the masters are rejoicingly saying: to hell with the gospel of socialism, for we have silenced the voice of Debs, its great preacher in the tomb of a prison.

Tomorrow, however, will be the day of the Resurrection when in earnest tones and with moving eloquence Debs will be preaching from the pulpits of a million Bolshevik hearts, ours being two of them.

Mrs. Brown and I love you. We mourn your most cruel fate and we resent it.

Affectionately yours,
MR. AND MRS. WM. BROWN.

You Must Attend the State Picnic at Coney Island Cincinnati, June 29

The State Convention Publicity Committee of the Socialist Party of the State of Ohio, hereby notifies the different Locals or Branches of the Socialist Party that the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio will be held in Cincinnati, June 27 and 28. The state picnic will be held on June 29, 1919, at Coney Island. It is hoped every revolutionary Socialist will be present. Speaking will be at 3:30 p. m. with Comrade Irwin St. John Tucker of Chicago as the speaker of the day. It doesn't matter, if Northern, Southern or Central parts of the state, lets get together, rally around the Reds and have a jolly and good time.

The committee also wishes to state that tickets have been forwarded to each and every Local or Branch in the State of Ohio. These tickets can be bought of Socialist Party members for 25 cents; same will cost at the boat wharf 35 cents each. We ask the comrades to sell and buy as many tickets as possible.

Furthermore we wish to state that the country store will be held during the convention at 1314 Vine street, and as usual does the committee ask comrades, friends and sympathizers for donations for such "Country Store," which will be gladly and thankfully received.

Please forward donations to the treasurer of the committee, Comrade Lotta Burke, 1314 Vine street, or the secretary, Otto F. Hoefer, 1315 Vine street.

Comrades and friends remember, under no circumstances should you miss the state picnic, but attend and help to make it the grandest ever held in the State of Ohio. A great state picnic will show the strength of our large membership, and we should not only have an attendance of 5,000, but we can easily have 10,000 attend this picnic.

The net profit will go to the state treasurer.

Helen Keller to Eugene V. Debs

DEAR COMRADE:—Of course, the Supreme Court has sustained the decision of the lower court in your case. To my mind, the decision has added another laurel to your wreath of victories. Once more you are going to prison for upholding the liberties of the people.

I write because my heart cries out, it will not be still. I write because I want you to know that I should be proud if the Supreme Court convicted me of abhorring war, and doing all in my power to oppose it. When I think of the millions who have suffered in all the wicked wars of the past, I want to fling myself against all brute powers that destroy life, and break the spirit of man.

In the persecution of our comrades there is one satisfaction. Every trial of men like you, every sentence against them tears away the veil that hides the face of the enemy. The discussion and agitation that follow the trials define more sharply the positions that must be taken before all men can live together in peace, happiness and security.

We were driven into the war for liberty, democracy and humanity. Behold, what is happening all over the world today! Oh, where is the swift vengeance of Jehovah, that it does not fall upon the hosts of those who are marshalling machine-guns against hunger-stricken peoples? It is the complacency of madness to call such acts "preserving law and order." What oceans of blood and tears are shed in their name! I have come to loathe traditions and institutions that take away the rights of the poor and protect the wicked against judgment.

The wise fools who sit in the high places of justice fail to see that in revolutionary times like the present vital issues are settled, not by statutes, decrees and authorities, but in spite of them. Like the Girondins of France they imagine that force can check the onrush of revolution. Thus they sow the wind, and unto them shall be the harvest of the whirlwind.

You dear comrade! I have long loved you because you are an apostle of brotherhood and freedom. For years I have thought of you as a dauntless explorer going toward the dawn, and, like a humble adventurer, I have followed in the trail of your footsteps. From time to time the greetings that have come back to me from you have made me very happy, and now I reach out my hand and clasp yours through prison bars.

With heartfelt greetings, and with a firm faith that the cause for which you are now martyred shall be all the stronger because of your sacrifice and devotion, I am,

Yours for the Revolution—may it come swiftly, like a shaft sundering the dark!

HELEN KELLER.

KATE O'HARE WOULD CONDUCT SURVEY OF MISSOURI PRISON

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

(Special Correspondence.)

St. Louis, Mo.—Kate O'Hare is in the state penitentiary over in Jefferson City, serving a five year sentence because of her allegiance to her Socialist principles.

In the meantime Frank O'Hare, here in St. Louis, waits, works and watches, not only to make prison life more endurable for the wife and mother, but to leave no stone unturned that might result in her early release, which Kate O'Hare says will come with the liberation of all political and industrial class war prisoners.

I found Frank O'Hare in his office, 1011 Holland building, and he was writing Governor Gardner of Missouri, urging that Mrs. O'Hare be given permission to carry on sociological work within the prison, in lieu of her work in the prison overall factory.

"Frank and Kate," as they have been known in the Socialist movement for a score of years, have been working on this plan for more than a year. It was with this in mind that an effort was made to have her transferred to the state penitentiary in North Dakota, under the regime of the Non-partisan League, but this effort failed.

For many months, however, Kate O'Hare has been acquainting herself with all the writings of the prominent authorities on criminology and sociology, getting in personal touch with all of the well known experts in this country. This study has taken her to many of the better known universities in the land.

Mrs. O'Hare made a personal visit to Governor Gardner of this state and urged that she be allowed to do this work. He said he would take the matter under advisement, in the meantime showing considerable interest until the newspapers took up the question, when the governor retired into his shell, claiming that he hadn't known that Mrs. O'Hare was a convict-to-be at the time of her visit to his office. It is understood that an order permitting Mrs. O'Hare to carry on the work in question must come from President Wilson, although a recommendation from the governor would have considerable influence.

"Mrs. O'Hare in due time will present to the president her request to be permitted to do sociological work within the prison," Frank O'Hare wrote Governor Gardner. "She hopes to have the co-operation of scientific, medical and psychological experts in the comprehensive survey which is contemplated.

"Such permission will not be considered as a favor by Mrs. O'Hare," he continued. "She simply tenders her expert services to the public welfare, and it is simply a matter of the president's discretion whether or not her tender is accepted.

"A large number of scientific men and women are assisting in the preparation of the plan and questionnaire. It will be some weeks before this preliminary work is finished.

In discussing the imprisonment of his wife and co-worker, Frank O'Hare voices Kate's feelings rather than his own.

"Mrs. O'Hare feels that she can stay in prison just as long as the Democratic administration can afford to keep her there," he says. "All she demands is that congress and the administration make an investigation of the facts, leading up to her arrest in Devil's Lake, North Dakota, on July 29, 1917, and in face of these facts, if the administration in power can afford to keep her in prison, she is willing to stay.

"The court of last resort in this case now is the American people and they will be informed of the facts. I am prepared to carry her fight to the people of the United States and let them pass on the injustice of the conviction and imprisonment of an innocent woman. The people will be informed of the conspiracy of Bowman, North Dakota. No one even thought Mrs. O'Hare would go to prison. Now that she is actually serving a term in prison, the people are awakening. She is not requesting pardon because she cannot do that when she is not guilty."

The same fear and trembling on the part of the authorities that characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by federa lofficials in putting Mrs. O'Hare into convict garb.

tI was after completing a 14-day farewell tour of eastern cities, making her final address at Minneapolis, Minn., April 7, that Kate O'Hare journeyed to Fargo, North Dakota, where she arrived several days before the time she was to give herself up. She surrendered herself to the federal authorities on Saturday morning at 10 o'clock, April 12, at the same time that Debs was receiving his prison orders from the federal attorney who prosecuted him to come to Cleveland.

During the days that she waited before surrendering herself to the authorities, the plute papers in Fargo were very much excited, imagining that all sorts of demonstrations were about to take place. Frank O'Hare had come to Fargo from St. Louis to be with his wife and this gave the papers additional cold shivers. The atmosphere became so intense and the bourbon press so terrorized the authorities that Frank O'Hare returned to St. Louis on April 11, after assuring himself that Mrs. O'Hare's journey to prison would be made as comfortable as possible.

It was at midnight, April 12, that Chief Deputy A. S. Marshal and Mrs. Wattles took their prisoner out of Fargo on the long journey to Jefferson City, Mo. Stops were made at St. Paul, Minn., and at Kansas City, Mo., so that the prison city was not reached until the night of Monday, April 14. She was "dressed in," or became a convict, on the morning of Tuesday, April 15, the former international secretary of the Socialist Party being given No. 21,669, and being assigned to the overall factory to make 55 pairs of overalls each day.

The strict discipline of the Missouri penitentiary, which is more severe than in other states, will not be eased up the slightest particle for the woman who sat as chairman of the committee on war and militarism at the St. Louis convention (1917) of the Socialist Party. She will be permitted to write but one letter a week. The federal prison at Leavenworth, Kan., is inaugurating a plan to allow all prisoners to write at least three letters a week.

When Frank O'Hare came to the prison on Tuesday, April 15, to see his wife for the first time after entering the penitentiary, he was at first refused permission to see her. It was only after considerable difficulty, and after interviewing several state officials, the capital of Missouri also being located in Jefferson City, that he was allowed to see her. And then his visit was limited to a few minutes on one day. When he returned to Jefferson City the following Sunday, Easter Sunday, he was told that he could not see her until Monday.

Both Kate Richards O'Hare and Emma Goldman number among their friends some of the most prominent women of Jefferson City. One of these had to walk rough shod over the prison officials before she was permitted to see Kate O'Hare on Saturday, April 19, and to send her some delicacies on Easter Sunday morning. All the indications are that the policy of isolating Kate O'Hare from the world is being enforced to the limit.

All of which is no doubt in keeping with the big prison plan to eliminate a human being as much as possible from the world's rushing activities. How it is all reduced to a silent, smoothly moving mechanism is probably best shown by paragraph No. 28 of the prison rules and regulations, which outlines the conduct of the convicts while at their meals. It reads:

"Should you desire additional food, make your wants known to the waiters in the following manner:

"If you want bread, hold up your right hand.

"Coffee or water, hold up your cup.

"Meat, hold up your fork.

"Soup, hold up your spoon.

"Vegetables, hold up your knife.

"If you desire to speak to an officer about food or service in the dining hall, hold up your left hand."

MILLIONS WILL HELP DEBS

Akron, Ohio.

Mr. Elmer T. Allison.

Please convey to Eugene V. Debs this missive, and tell him that it comes from one that would give his ALL in order to free him, tell him that there are millions of bleeding hearts that crave to help him, and WILL help.

Tell him that the light of "FREEDOM" will conquer the shadows of slavery, and that the awakening is at hand.

The autocrats of wealth, the despoilers of the soul, the builders of

(Continued on third page.)

Debs Has Been in Prison 30 Days. Kate O'Hare 29 Days. WHY?

An Open Letter To the Exploiters

Sir:

I have seen in your newspapers that you are alarmed and, in my opinion, unduly resentful at the fact that the Russian workers, having established the groundwork for an industrial democracy in their country, propose to spread their propaganda and their work of emancipation to the whole world. I fail to see any valid reason for your ire; wherefore, I take this opportunity of bringing to your attention a few incidents in your own career, which should convince you that you are entirely out of order in your attacks on Bolshevism.

When one person gets into a "scrap" with another and fails to get the better of his antagonist, it is good, old practice that he take his licking like a man without meekish complaint; this provided that the opponent has used fair and generally accepted means for gaining the victory. An impartial observer cannot but admire this characteristic in man's voluntary conduct to man; likewise, the most barbarous enemy must feel respect for a conquered foe who takes his ordeal in a manly way, without foul revenge.

I was reminded of this phenomenon, Mr. Bourgeoisie, as I thought of the gigantic combat that is now shaking the world. Not the strife of individuals, nor the wars between nations, but the struggle between the exploiters and the exploited, between your class and my class.

I know, Mr. Bourgeoisie, that in a personal controversy between a member of your class and one of mine, your kinsman would be perfectly clean and fair in the fighting, as honorable as any one of my colleagues. How is it, then, I wish to ask, that when you fight as a class, you are not in the least governed by these same principles? You do know, or you ought to know, enough of the laws of evolution to foresee that there is but one end to the struggle in which you are now engaged: your own destruction and the complete emancipation of my class. The only phase of the matter about which doubt can exist is whether this end will be achieved in five or fifty years. The contest is on, the outcome is inevitable. You, with your past record, should be the last one to lament or sue for mercy. You should not attempt the impossible; you have had your sway, you have fulfilled your mission, your service is no longer required; therefore, accept your fate and give room to those who are mightier than yourself. Parasite that you are, you refuse to do this.

You own the armies and the navies, the governments, the courts, and the means of livelihood; you control the churches, the educational institutions, the press, all of which you have used and are using most generously in your own behalf. When the rising proletariat in spite of all oppression, becomes too powerful for you, when your armies and navies are no longer obeisant pawns and playthings in your hands, when your murderous, cunning, and obstructionist methods can stay progress no longer, then you become the most unscrupulous scoundrel on the face of the earth. At this point you degrade yourself, you take leave of all decency and self-respect. You, the originator of the "laissez faire" principle, the ardent advocate of the policy, "the end justifies the means," you resort to lies and slander, and you begin to—**squeal.**

You, whose distinction it is to have gained your power and kept it through more bloodshed than any other class, you who have caused more and bloodier wars during your brief period of existence than the sum total of all battles fought before your days; you, who have commercialized art, science, and the higher instincts of man; who have made the gap between rich and poor wider than ever, and who—let us not forget—in your early youth, overflowing with energy, threatened to extend your rule to every country of the world, you are now wailing and weeping because the working-class government of Russia is preparing to carry its idea to the four corners of the earth.

One can respect the motives of an honest opponent, one can feel sympathetic towards one who, "with perfect sweetness," as Emerson says, retains his honorable qualities in his fight for his interests; but, a cur, - hypocrite, who, seeing defeat approaching, attempts to prolong his reign by slander and accusations of unfair methods on the part of his opponents, when he himself owes his very life to those same methods—well, profound contempt and a solemn vow to speed the defeat of such a foe is the only worthy answer. You, Mr. Bourgeoisie, are that kind of a foe and my class will treat you accordingly.

Once, you were a suppressed class, chained and governed by the repressive laws of the feudal aristocracy. You were then a revolutionist, boldly proclaiming your radicalism. You fought by fair means and foul to obtain your emancipation. You beheaded kings and queens, you arranged "reigns of terror," you massacred and you plundered. Oh, you are the father of many sins of which you do not care to be reminded. You were even a confiscator and not a petty one, either. What the November Revolution in Russia will mean to the world's proletariat, the French Revolution meant to you. It transferred the governmental powers from a waning class of feudal kings and barons—and from the church—to you. The Revolution gave you unlimited means of development.

At that time, the rest of Europe was dominated and ruled by the aristocracy. These latter comprehended—as do you and your ilk today in regard to Russia—what the downfall of their institutions in France would mean to their own countries and to their class; consequently, they arranged themselves solidly against the common foe—against you.

As now, those who were dispossessed fled to other countries and are known as emigres. There they plotted against their native land precisely as do the Russian nobles and capitalists today. They urged foreign intervention as a means of restoring themselves to power. In the former, they succeeded; in the latter they failed. This treachery compelled you, Mr. Bourgeoisie, to fight for your life; it solidified the French nation, and gave it the physical and moral stamina required to meet the occasion. You accepted the challenge of the aristocracy and took to the offensive. On the 15th of Dec., 1792, you, through the newly elected Convention, issued a decree in which you ordered the French generals to abolish all existing authorities in the territories they occupied; to sweep away feudalism and nobility and to proclaim the sovereignty of the people. (The "people" then meant you yourself, Mr. Bourgeoisie.) Further, "—the French nation shall treat as enemies any people which, refusing liberty and equality, desires to preserve its prince and privileged castes, or to make accommodations with them," your decree concluded.

So-Co—May 12—EIGHT

You did not mince your words in this document, Mr. Bourgeoisie; you made it far more sweeping than any declaration of the Soviet government of Russia. The manner in which you backed up your threat boded ill for the aristocracy; it sounded the death-knell of feudalism. You knew what you wanted, you knew how to secure it; evolution was on your side and—you won.

Not by your own power alone, however, did you gain your victory. To achieve your ends it was necessary for you to enlist the aid and good will of my class, the working class, in your cause. This you did for purely selfish reasons and by misrepresenting to us your aims and purposes. You fooled us by fine phrases and high-sounding words. "Equality, Liberty, Fraternity" was your official slogan, and it served the same purpose then as does your hypocritical "democracy" at the present day. You inscribed "Equality, Liberty, Fraternity" over the entrance to your jails then; today we see your "Democracy" painted over your factory gates. You failed to explain to us that "Equality" and "Fraternity" meant simply nothing, while "Liberty" signified your right to buy and sell, to produce and consume, to hire and fire as you pleased. True, there were a few even at that early date who analyzed our nature, Babeuf, e. g., but their voices were too weak and you did not hesitate in silencing them. With this standard of bourgeois morals and tactics once set, you have pursued the same course and improved upon your tactics to this day.

You converted the comparatively prosperous handicraftsman into a miserable proletarian, not by any consent of his—if you please—but because the change benefited you. Instead of his short hours at leisurely, interesting work with numerous holidays, you abolished his holidays and "free" Mondays, you attempted to make the week ten days instead of seven, and, worst of all, you tied him down to fourteen and sixteen hours of monotonous toil in an unsanitary factory.

Not content with this, you wrested our women from the homes and put them to feed your machines. To the crowning shame of your foul deeds, you took, also, our children from their mothers' laps and forced them to sacrifice their tender bodies on your altar of greed. This, too, you did without the consent of and quite in opposition to the best interests of the workers.

With the enslavement of the proletariat and the aid of machinery, you soon piled up a surplus of manufactured products. Our meager wages did not enable us to buy back this surplus. Your own capacity for consumption (although stimulated by artificial means and most debasing desires) was not commensurate with the magnitude of that surplus; hence, something had to be done and, again, irrespective of the wishes of those victimized, you effected a solution.

Vast areas of the world were inhabited by savage and barbarous people who used little or no clothing and who lived in complete ignorance of the "Comforts" of civilization. This was the new Star of Bethlehem that pointed out to you the possibilities of a long and glorious life. You stripped the savage of his fig-leaf, and attired him in up-to-date clothes; you induced him to discard the bow and arrow and the battle-ax and taught him the use of murderous firearms; you dethroned his pagan gods and supplied him with a religion that would keep him submissive to your rule. In exchange for this charity of yours, you exacted from him the natural resources, etc., of his country, and finally you dragged him into the current of capitalist production, subjecting him to the miseries, diseases, and vices into which you had previously forced the proletariat in civilized countries.

Since then you have zealously opposed any interference with your affairs by my class. Whenever we have tried to stop your devastation, you have drenched our attempts in blood. Profiting by experience you have invented increasingly horrible methods of exploitation and suppression. Your law of acceleration goes on and on, making life more and more unbearable for the mass of us. You have stopped short of nothing in your greed for power. A list of your atrocities would bridge the space between our planet and the sun, and, still, the story of your abominable cruelties would be but half told. Your satanic exploits defy description.

The blackest night finally transforms into day, the biggest iceberg is destined to melt, sometime; and, get it once for all, the formidable giant known as Capitalism must one time—sooner or later—crumble and die.

Night gives way to the coming day quietly and without murmur; the iceburg, acted upon by the rays of the sun, gently and peaceably transforms itself into oceans of water; but you, Mr. Bourgeoisie, the mean, sneaky coward that you are, you lament your destruction, you squeal, and you appeal to your own victims to save you. You prove thereby that you lack the moral courage to accept the verdict of evolution—let alone the fact that your action also proves yourself to be incapable of saving yourself by your own power.

"The Bolsheviki intend to overrun the whole world and destroy our civilization!" you cry out when the Russian workers announce their determination to free the oppressed in all countries.

So-Co—May 12—NINE

What are your complaints, sir? Why such strenuous objection? Have you not encircled the globe with your missionaries and your agents? Why so much venom and wrath at the fact that Russia's workers send their emissaries with messages of cheer and hope to comrades in other lands? Your agents, sir, were not sent for—they had to force their way—whereas the Bolsheviki agitators are welcomed and wanted by all except you and your class. They are eagerly listened to by those whom they are sent to educate and I challenge you to furnish proof to the contrary.

"As a man soweth, so shall he also reap." If you had a right to conquer the world, why deny us the same privilege? Do not balk at us for using methods that are effective; you have done the same things yourself. If they can hasten our victory, well and good. Your system of society is in its death grapple—all "medical" aid and efforts to the contrary notwithstanding. Your wailing and weeping are utterly useless. It ill befits you, the cruellest of the cruel, to accuse your opponents of unfair methods.

Your emancipation spelled our enslavement; you ascended the ladder of prosperity at the cost of our flesh and blood. You have degraded us and reduced us to a condition in some respects below that of our savage ancestors millenniums ago. When there was food they ate; we often starve in the midst of plenty.

Our aims differ from yours. We are not going to emancipate ourselves at the expense of any other class. We demand nothing more than that which we ourselves produce; we simply intend to eliminate all possibilities for your class to live on our toil. This will exterminate you as a class, root and branch; but as individuals we hold no malice against you. We invite you to share on equal terms with ourselves the task of building up a new, classless society.

Considering your past treatment of us, you must admit this to be a fair and generous offer. It is not yet too late for you to accept it. If you do not, so much worse for yourself.

The ice is melting, the day is dawning, the emancipation of the lowly is near. Be like a man, Mr. Bourgeoisie, take your medicine—it's of your own make—and then, as far as your character of a class is concerned—depart speedily and noiselessly to the happy hunting-grounds.

Yours without respect,
JOHN WORKINGMAN.

The persecuting spirit has its origin, morally in the disposition of man to domineer over his fellow creatures; intellectually, in the assumption that one's own opinions are infallibly correct.—John Fiske.

THE LIFE OF DEBS

SALIENT POINTS IN THE CAREER OF DEBS.

1855—Born, Terre Haute, Ind. (November 5).

1870—Graduated with credit from the Old Seminary school in Terre Haute. Began working in shop for Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad company. Promoted to locomotive fireman.

1874—Clerk, grocery store at Terre Haute, Hulman & Cox.

1870-1878—Joined Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. Organized the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen. Helped organize Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association and Brotherhood of Railway Car Men.

1878—Associate editor of the Firemen's Magazine.

1879—Elected city clerk.

1880—Grand secretary, Firemen's Magazine. (July).

1893—Editor and manager of Firemen's Magazine. (February). Organized at Chicago the American Railway Union (June).

1894—Great Northern strike organized. (April 16). Pullman strike. Jail.

1895—Advocates co-operative commonwealth. (November).

1896—A Democrat. Votes for and supports Bryan.

1897—Publicly announces conversion to Socialism.

1898—Organized Social Democratic Party of America.

1900—Candidate for president on Social Democratic ticket; 87,814 votes.

1904—Again candidate; 402,321 votes.

1905—Industrial unionism.

1908—Candidate for president on Socialist ticket; 421,000 votes.

1912—Candidate for president on Socialist ticket; 900,000 votes.

1916—Candidate for congress from the Fifth Congressional district of Indiana.

1918—Indicted, tried and convicted under the Espionage act for utterances made at a speech at Canton, Ohio.

1919—Supreme court upholds conviction evading the issue of the constitutionality of the Espionage act, and Debs begins the serving of a 10-year sentence in the federal penitentiary at Moundsville, W. Va., April 13th, 10:30 p. m.

Gompers on American Labor and Bolshevism

I have just been wrestling with the Gomperian philosophy as doped out by Mr. Gompers in his onslaught against Bolshevikism in the May issue of McClures. The first test of a philosophy is consistency—standardization. A true philosophy may be taken to pieces and reassembled promiscuously, and the parts will FIT, because they have all been formulated to an identical standard. In this test Mr. Gompers' philosophy fails miserably. He has used divers conflicting standards, and when you make his "facts" face each other you find only conflict and confusion.

Mr. Gompers has a genius for platitudes. High-sounding rhetorical periods seem to tickle him. He marshalls his platitudes and dangles them as gleefully as a kid does a bunch of tin soldiers. Then he goes blithely on and picks up and dangles another selection, and then another, each taken apparently at random. When we group his selections and make them face each other, we find the most startling and surprising lack of harmony and consistency. There is a theory, accepted by many capitalist politicians and apologists, that presumes the people to be fools, and holds that empty platitudes and high-sounding periods are more effective than profound logic. Perhaps Mr. Gompers holds to this theory. Listen:

"American labor's loyalty to the fundamental principles of American democracy stands proven to the world in a record made through months of trial by fire. A loyalty so proven in such a test may be guaranteed to stand through the comparative calm of peace." Then a little further on: "Because the condition in the American labor movement is what it is, American organized labor stands today where it stood during the days of armed conflict, the great protector of true democracy, the keeper of unceasing vigil of the citadel of right and freedom and justice."

A fellow would suppose from this assumption that American organized labor is "the great protector of true democracy, the keeper of unceasing vigil of the citadel of right and justice and freedom," that American organized labor has been in possession of these things all the while. Would American organized labor keep "unceasing vigil" over things they do not, and have not possessed? But let Mr. Gompers continue and define for us his concept of right and freedom and justice:

"And freedom, to American labor, is not a thing abstract. It is not merely a word for platform use. It is not a work of decorative rhetorical art. Freedom, for American labor, has no meaning until it is translated into terms of life—until it means an avenue to better, fuller, richer, nobler life; until it means opportunity for all to go on to the finest heights of human development, opportunity in such a form as to beckon all to the upward path. American labor believes that America means the best of America, the noblest, the truest, the kindest, the bravest, the freest—all the rest must come up to that to become a part of what labor means when it proudly salutes as the flag goes by."

Mr. Gompers' declaration of loyalty to "American democracy" would imply that American labor, in his opinion, had attained freedom, as he defines it, else what on earth is he and his Federation keeping "unceasing vigil" over? But his interjection, "all the rest must come up to that to become part of what labor means when it proudly salutes as the flag goes by," is the fly in the unctious ointment. That even Mr. Gompers is conscious of there being flies in the ointment, we have further proof. Mr. Gompers naively admits:

"There are those who think that everything in American life can be set forth bearing the label 'America' and command the loyalty and devotion of American labor. This, of course, is not the case. American labor is the unrelenting foe of every institution everywhere that makes for oppression and unfreedom and the lowering of the standard of life for men and women."

This confession that all is not exactly lovely in this land of the free is sad, but, alas! it is true. Indeed, when we take inventory of this increment "in American life," and take a retrospective view of the terrible struggle of American labor for the bare, elemental means of existence, of the McKees Rocks, the Ludlows, the Lawrences, the Pattersons, the Holly Groves through which organized labor has passed, we are impressed with the enormity of the fact that that part which Mr. Gompers sums up as "all the rest must come up to that to become part of what labor means when it proudly salutes as the flag goes by," is so enormously large, that when subtracted we wonder what the Sam Hill it is that the Federation of Labor has left to keep "unceasing vigil" over.

But possibly Mr. Gompers is dealing in futures. Listen:

"There were those—and in large numbers—who disagreed with us before the war. They cast stones at our heads and mocked the sincerity of our hearts. But in the great test our movement was the very fabric of our national life. The labor movement was an organized force doing the work of the war, holding steady and true the creative and productive forces without which there could have been no victory. Many there were who came to us and avowed agreement with our purposes. We had not changed in our purpose. They had either changed in theirs or they had come to see ours in its true light. The war has removed much skepticism. We have not done with being tested. Life is a continuous test for all things human. Just ahead of us lies a testing that will be scarcely less severe than that through which we went in the grinding months of the war."

From this language we would naturally infer that Mr. Gompers means that the great service his organization rendered plutocracy during the war, and the scarcely less and possibly greater service to be rendered in the coming struggle against Bolshevikism, will so ingratiate plutocracy that it will hand over to organized labor all that makes for the realization of "freedom, to American labor," as summed up by Mr. Gompers, and then get down on its all-fours and humbly apologize for all the dastardly meanness and recreant ingratitude that it has all the while been guilty of.

If Mr. Gompers believes this, he is indeed an optimist of the first water—especially in the light of past experiences. What assurance has he that after organized greed is through using organized labor to bat down all opposition to its ambition for abject mastery and a world safe for imperialism and capitalism, it will not turn and rend its ally, who will then stand as the last obstacle to the realization of its dream of a feudalized wage system?

Does not Mr. Gompers realize that if capital is to hand over to labor that opportunity for "a richer, fuller, freer life, until it means opportunity for ALL to go on to the finest heights of human development," there would be nothing left for the plutes to pile up and wallow in, and no leisure left them to joy-ride, guzzle the best brands and dance the grizzly bear? They themselves would be compelled to go to work for the means of their own upkeep, and this would be BOLSHEVIKISM, the very thing Mr. Gompers is contracting his followers to combat.

The ruling class cannot wallow in a surfeit of wealth and power without reducing a subject class to poverty and wretchedness. There can be no wealth where there is no poverty, for in the absence of poverty wealth would have no power. On the other hand, labor (poverty) cannot elevate itself, and ascend "to the finest heights of human development" without dethroning the vampire power of capitalism (organized wealth). The struggle of the masses to elevate and emancipate themselves, on the one hand, and of organized wealth to retain the mastery, upon the other, constitutes what is known as "the class struggle," and Bolshevikism is merely the acute and incidental phase of this struggle. Now let us hear what Mr. Gompers has to say about the Bolshiviki, in part:

"There is a movement of destruction abroad in the world today. The philosophy of despair has its fanatic adherents. The lean body has furnished many a weak mind as prey to the teachings of reaction masked under a pretense of progress. Those who see wisely into the future must, if society is to be saved from fires more consuming than those we have known, so shape the course of the world as to offer this hideous wraith of destruction no foothold. The lean body has a right to the opportunity to get food. If it is denied that right it is fair sport of the teacher of ruin. If it is denied that fundamental right it will sooner or later furnish a weak mind likely to fall a prey to whatsoever may come promising relief, no matter how unsound or impossible may be that promise.

"Russia stands before our gaze like a flaming torch of warning. A thing called Bolshevikism has reared its ugly head in that sad and sorry land. Bolshevikism is a theory, the chief tenet of which is 'the dictatorship of the proletariat.'

"Leaving out of consideration for the moment the story of devastation and murder that has marched with this theory into practice, we must set down the theory itself as abhorrent to a world that loves democracy. We shall progress by the use of the machinery of democracy, or we shall not progress. There is no group of men on earth fit to rule the rest of the world. It is this central idea of Bolshevikism that makes the whole of it outcast in the minds of sane men. It is this focusing point of it all that makes it an enemy to our civilization"

Mr. Gompers is peeved with the bolsheviki because it is "the dictatorship of the proletariat." It is "class rule" of a different sort to what he has been used to, and he does not relish the innovation. Perhaps he thinks we have never before had class rule upon this planet. If he thinks this, he had better study history a bit. As a matter of fact, since the dawn of civilization the world has never witnessed anw other form of state than that of a dictatorship of a ruling class. The state itself was first evolved as an instrument of repression to keep slaves taken in war in subjection. As the form of enslavement changed phases, the state underwent modifications. The odium we see attached to labor had its genesis in the hatred entertained for prisoners of war who were enslaved and constituted the working class of that period. In feudalism, the serf, the descendent of the slave taken in war, inherited this wealth of hate and opprobrium. Today, under capitalism, the "free" wage worker is the joyful heir of the historic odium that besmirched the ancestral chattel slave.

Perhaps Mr. Gompers is afraid that the dictatorship of Lenine and Trotzky will be abused to enthrone this pair and their pals in a position of absolutism on the backs of the Russian people, thus again tricked back to languish under a new despotism, no better than the old. Many people who probably know better have advanced this wail. Mr. Gompers need lose no sleep over this apprehension. Throughout all history, there has not been a single instance of a personally owned empire. In all cases the throne of power has been a puppet throne, the monarch apparent merely being the chairman of the board. In autocracies and kingdoms this puppet, or executive, did business for a titled aristocracy who were the owning and ruling class—the junkers. In democracies the power behind the throne is the aristocracy of wealth, who rule by reason of their ownership, also—a little distinction, but precious little difference. In new Russia, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers being the owning class through the instrumentality of their government, are the ruling class—always and everywhere the owning class is the ruling class, and they rule in proportion to their ownership; that is the reason why our Rockefellers and Morgans have immense power, and our farmers so precious little, and our proletariats none.

Political power is not a primary but a secondary power. Political power arises from and is conditioned by industrial and economic power. That class or group having no industrial power and no economic power, CAN HAVE NO POLITICAL POWER. Industrial power and economic power are the manifestations of, and arise directly from, ownership. Hence we see that that class or group having no ownership in the productive utilities of their nation can have no real voice in its government. Political "democracy" supposedly shared by a working class dominated by an industrial and economic autocracy, is an empty bauble. The power of ownership in private or corporate hands is so enormous when buttressed by industrial and economic absolutism as to dominate absolutely all the ramifications of the political state. Our kaisers of great wealth have learned that the franchise, or "democracy" if you wish, is a harmless plaything in the hands of men industrially and economically enslaved. So long as it amuses and satisfies the workers, the capitalists are more than willing for them to retain it.

The hopelessness of betterment by laws made and enforced by the lackeys of capitalism, is sensed by Mr. Gompers himself. Listen:

"The field is littered with the whitened bones of those who have gone seeking salvation by laws. This the American labor movement has recognized, and there is no immediate danger that this philosophy will be desetted in favor of whims and caprices of similar portent."

Mr. Gompers ignores, or is unconscious of, the fact that capitalism has "gone seeking salvation through laws"—and found it. The Gomperian

(Continued on fourth page.)

THE ARMISTICE OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

We are advised by the daily press thatthe president will call an armistice of capital and labor, and adjust matters between them. No one will deny for one minute that all concerned from the president down to the humblest working man in the convention that the president will call together, would like to solve this problem and eliminate all friction between them.

Those who have a grasp on present construction of our social system know that there can not be any lasting peace or adjustment between them as long as we recognize the present status, as a measure, whereby to adjust matters. The statement that they were going to first see that labor should receive all that he earned is utopian under the present system. The intention is ideal, but let us take a look at our present social ethics and see how impossible of solution it will be until there is a new basis established upon which can be built peace and justice. The great industrial corporations have been inflated with watered stock based upon their ability to earn a given dividend. An industry that can earn a dividend of several hundred per cent when it was first organized was looked upon as an ideal scheme to increase its stock capital and sell it to innocent purchasers. The purchaser was only concerned in placing his money where it would secure him an income without any physical effort on his part. The large industrial institutions have all participated in this. It brought millions of ready cash into the pockets of the original promoters. If a factory that cost one million dollars earns a million dollars a year, instead of decreasing the cost of the article they make and raising the salary of its employes and only taking out a reasonable profit as designated by the present social scheme, they devise schemes to issue stock and sell it basing its value on the fact that it will return a good income to the purchaser. This is what is called inflating the stock. Society has permitted this and allowed innocent purchasers to acquire this stock. It does not matter how sincere they may be to give labor all that it earns. This includes the producer of raw materials and the laborer that stands at the flywheel of industries and creates the finished product. He is forced to

(Continued on third page.)

ART UNDER THE BOLSHEVIKI.

London.—When a nonsocialist organ like that quoted below engages in praise of the working men's government of Russia, the facts cited are not likely to be challenged. "Common Sense," the liberal organ owned by Lord Landsdowne and edited by F. W. Hirst, speaks as follows of "Art Under the Bolsheviks" in its edition of March 29:

"The general impression conveyed to the reader of the English press is that the Bolshevik regime is one of sheer destructiveness; that art has perished and morals gone entirely by the board. The lie about the marriage law has been sent all round the world, and though now admitted by the New Europe to be a lie, the mischief has been done. Now we learn on unimpeachable authority that life in Moscow provides more aesthetic pleasures than London. Challapine is singing nightly to packed houses in opera—French, German, Italian, as well as Russian; the ballet is in full swing, and on any evening in the week the theaters offer a wide choice of classical and modern plays—Shakespeare and Moliere, as well as Tchekow and Gorki. Moreover, in Petrograd the Hermitage and Alexander III Museums are now more full of pictures than they ever were before. They are well looked after, no pictures have been stolen or damaged. On the contrary, many people have sent to these galleries the best works out of their own private collections. As regards the terrifying statistics given as to the decline in the population of Petrograd it should not be forgotten that it has for long been the deliberate policy of the Russian government—a policy attempted by Kerensky, unsuccessfully, and carried out, successfully, by the Bolsheviks—to induce the inhabitants of Petrograd to evacuate."

Let Us Think It Over

(By RUFUS KNOATES.)

There is no doubt that the tendency of the Socialist Party in the United States, during recent years, has been disappointing to every truly revolutionary Socialist. We have never been able to realize very great enthusiasm for our reform platforms. The "immediate demands" have always seemed to us as futile as "baying at the moon." We have never been able to see the sense or utility of making "demands" that no one notices; and of delivering ultimata that are thrown into the waste baskets of the ruling class.

WHAT WE NEED IS POWER! Power is the magic key that will open the doors of the prisons and enable us to achieve the Revolution. The great question is: **How can we arouse, win and organize the power of the workers in order to accomplish their emancipation?**

Only a great genius, or a great egotist would attempt to give a categorical or dogmatic answer to this question and I do not pretend to be a great genius. I hope I am not the other thing, but I will try to state what seems to me, some important considerations.

First. We cannot expect to win the workers to our ranks with platforms of one hundred and twenty paragraphs that nobody will read. Platforms that are apparently efforts to satisfy everybody's notion of what needs to be done but really satisfy nobody's. We cannot expect to rally the workers for the Revolution by boring them with a long list of reforms that must first be inaugurated under capitalism before they can ever see the Promised Land, that mysterious goal—Socialism.

Most people do not care for details. They don't want to be bothered. They want to know the principal purpose, the chief characteristics and the salient features of anything, but they are moved by catch-words, phrases and slogans more than by profound and extended dissertations. A prominent speaker and national organizer once bored our audience insufferably and gave our Local a serious setback by explaining in great detail the reforms inaugurated by the Socialist administration of Milwaukee.

In this I agree with the "Left Wing," patching up the faults and infirmities of the capitalist system does not seem to me the proper work of a revolutionary Socialist organization.

Second. We cannot expect to win the confidence and support of the workers by making "demands" of the bourgeois governments. It implies an inferior position. We want the power to do what we want done ourselves. When we get the power we will not have to make any "demands," we will take and do what we think is for the best interest of the working class. So, we must come out clearly and state just what we ourselves propose to do when the workers unite with us and give us the power. I know that some will raise the old objection to this and claim that not "we," but "they," the workers themselves, will do what will be done, but that is only a quibble. We are the apostles of the Social Revolution. Are not "we," the enlightened, class-conscious, revolutionary Socialists trying to arouse, educate and organize the mass of unthinking, deluded workers into the way of their salvation? If not what are we trying to do? But just what do we propose for the workers to do when they respond to our appeals, or what is practically the same thing, what do "we" (all of the enlightened, organized, class-conscious workers) propose to do when we have the power? We must answer that question in order to win the confidence of the workers.

Until quite recently we did not really know how to answer it. We could only generalize, expound our foundation principles and propose a few timid steps toward the great unknown adventure. Recently, however, we have glimpsed imperfectly the efforts of those who have been forced to cut the Gordian knot and do or be doomed in the effort to actually establish a system of Socialism.

Some of these attempts to establish Socialism seem to be half-hearted, faltering, futile, failures if not dastardly betrayal of our cherished cause. We are angered and disgusted by such tactics. But, other attempts appear to be courageous, thorough-going and true, and as successful asthe adverse circumstances will permit. These tactics appeal to us strongly. They fill us with enthusiasm. But let us not be swept "off our feet" by our enthusiasm. Le us not become blind to facts and deaf to reason. Let us think it over. There is no need for haste. There is no emergency. The Revolution is not breaking out in America yet. We have a long ways to go.

In my experience as a member of the Socialist Party I have seen many "Wonderful New Discoveries," or the alleged re-discovery of great Marxian principles that had been overlooked or neglected, hailed as the short and only routes to Socialism, but I have never seen that they got us anywhere.

So, let us think over this "Left Wing" stuff awhile and see if it is really so wonderfully important after all. We must remember that America is not Russia. In Russia, so I am informed, the great mass of the people hated and feared the tyrannous government of the Czar. They were potential rebels. In America the great mass of the people revere and love their government. They lick the hands of those who oppress and rob them. They not only vote to uphold the bourgeois government, but they fight for it. They attack all who denounce and challenge it. They are potentially obedient slaves who hug their chains and are the unwitting cause of their own misery.

The tremendous events in Europe will eventually have an effect to awaken the workers here, but any one can see that the time is not yet ripe. Lenin has said so himself. So let us be calm about this Emergency Convention and not rush into any immature half-baked action. If the "Left Wing" is right it will only gain strength and avoid dissension by waiting. We will not have any revolution in the United States before next spring and in the meantime we may have learned a great deal. We should learn rapidly from the experience of Europe and some of our present opinions may not appear so cocksure by that time.

The only emergency that confronts us now is the fact that many of our most true and trusted leaders are in prison or on their way, unless the ruling powers relent, and our most elementary rights are apparently about to be permanently denied. No emergency convention can conceivably help this situation and it may seriously aggravate it. So let us continue our work of organization and education, watch and study the events in Europe, close up our ranks, conserve our resources, disseminate the truth and rally such support as we can for our imprisoned comrades at home and our embattled comrades in Europe.

But above all let us stick together and avoid bitter and vicious attacks upon all who do not think as we do, nor fall for our "Wonderful Discovery" right away. The comrades of the "Right" and "Center" are no doubt just as true and Revolutionary as we are and if we are right they will eventually be with us. Many of them are going to prison for us and we who are free are ingrates indeed if we impeach their loyalty to our cause because they do not agree to everything we propose.

Let us take counsel together awhile and go before the workers next year with a platform that will mean something and represent our mature deliberations.

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"NOT AT WAR."

Even a capitalist editor can stometimes see the maze of contradictions into which capitalistic interests have led this nation's government since it became embroiled in European wars to make the world safe for democracy. How long will the workers allow the criminal farce to continue against the Russian Socialist government? "Not art war, just slaying for pastime" fittingly describes "our" expedition into Russia. Read the following from the Huntington, W. Va., Dispatch of May 8:

PASTIMES OF PEACE.

(By Associated Press.)

LONDON, May 6. (Russia)—Allied troops advancing southward along the Murmansk railway on Saturday captured Mesalskaya, 25 miles south of Urosozero, a war office announcement says. The Bolsheviki resistance was strong.

Let's see. We are not at war with the Russian Bolsheviki. A few days ago when a well-known citizen of New York asked to have the Soviet representative in the United States interned as an alien enemy or prosecuted for seditious practices, the Attorney General of the United States declared that no such process could be taken because the United States was not at war with the Bolsheviki.

And yet Allied troops, a large part of whom are Americans, are not engaged in defensive warfare merely, but in aggressive warfare against the Bolsheviki, after having been hard pressed by them during the entire winter.

We are not at war with the Bolsheviki, but our troops advance against them and compel them to retreat, after showing strong resistance.

We are fighting, charging, retreating, capturing towns and cities, or evacuating towns and cities as the fortunes of war may dictate. But we are not at war. We cannot intern the Bolsheviki minister. We are merely engaged in the friendly pastime of slaying and being slain. It is not war because officially we are unwilling to call it war. We have promised to bring the American soldiers home by June 1, because we are not at war with the Bolsheviki. But just to ward off ennui and to enliven the dull routine of camp life, while waiting for June 1, the fighting continues.

Well, we're living in a wonderful age. We've been frankly told that mentally and morally, "narrow, selfish and provincial," and perhaps inquiry into the war with the Bolshevists in North Russia proves that we are all we've been called.

Maybe, under the millennial dispensation we are entering, the fighting in North Russia is merely a pastime of peace. But when troops advance twenty-five miles and capture a city after "strong" resistance it sounds like war.

AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may call. Terms are five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers will be added from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services are useful to the party upon the platform are requested to secure the endorsement of their locals before making application to be placed upon the Available Speakers List. Locals should make application for the speaker nearest them to save expenses.

M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio.
Chas. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
Tom Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Thurber Lewis, State, Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Frank Midney, 128 N. Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.
C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
H. L. A. Holman, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Frank B. Hamilton, Mayor's Office, Piqua, Ohio.
John J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Hugo Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio.
J. J. Hoge, 980 Central, Bellaire, O.

RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION AT ONCE!!

Nearly one thousand notifications of expiration were mailed out two weeks ago to readers whose subscriptions expired in April. Readers who have received these notifications MUST renew at once either through their local secretary or direct to the State Office, if they wish the Ohio Socialist to continue coming to them. These expired subscriptions will be taken off the list with this issue unless renewed this week.

MARCH, 1919, FINANCIAL REPORT.

Receipts.

Dues regular	$ 368.50
Initiation stamps	217.65
Members at large	7.50
Organization fund	61.35
Foreign branch	242.97
Local supplies	39.60
Literature sales	105.69
Propaganda meetings	181.80
Industrial Freedom certificates	174.50
Miscellaneous	24.59
Ohio Socialist	1,450.66
Total	$2,874.81

Expenditures.

Dues regular	$ 220.00
Foreign branch	177.95
Local supplies	27.25
Literature purchases	132.39
Organizers' salaries	232.88
Propaganda meetings	19.50
Sustaining fund	29.50
Salaries	425.00
Office supplies	289.64
Postage general	50.00
Miscellaneous	53.00
Ohio Socialist	542.88
Total	$2,199.99
Balance on hand March 1	$3,314.61
March receipts	2,874.81
Total	$6,189.42
March expenditures	2,199.99
ance	$3,989.43

In the Funds.

Mileage	$ 286.71
Organization	780.25
General fund	2,922.47
Balance on hand April 1	$3,989.43

Membership Report for March.

Regular dues sold	3,685
Foreign branch	4,859
M. A. S.	30
Initiation stamps	878
Total	9,452

MILLIONS WILL HELP DEBS

(Continued from first page.)

hell, the Kaisers of America, must and shall answer to the oppressed, the slaves of toil, the souls that seek only justice. Tell him that the hundreds of thousands of noble sons that gave up their happiness, their homes, their lives for freedom's sake, cry out to those sons and daughters of toil, to continue the battle for "FREEDOM"—Freedom of speech, of soul, of mind, Freedom for that great martyr, EUGENE V. DEBS.

My heart is with you.

Fraternally yours.
A. L. R.,
A Democrat, a Catholic.

The Masters fear Slaves who think. If you think right you will vote right.

MAY 1ST SUCCESSES TO START ORGANIZATION DRIVE

Dear Comrade State Secretary:

Success! A GREAT SUCCESS!!

That's what the comrades say about our campaign for thousands of May 1st meetings.

International Labor Day was more widely and enthusiastically celebrated May 1st, 1919, than ever before.

From Florida to Washington, from Maine to California—locals by the hundreds, encouraged by the promise of a printed program of speeches, of posters and meeting supplies, decided to "break the ice" and CELEBRATE.

THEY DID. You would have realized this had you witnessed the shipping of hundreds of thousands of protest postal cards, Debs' application blanks and posters to remote rural communities as well as to the large industrial centers.

WE FEEL ELATED! So should you. You helped, Comrade, and we here voice our appreciation of the co-operation you gave.

We have not heard from other state secretaries as yet, but the Ohio state office alone placed 31 speakers for May 1st meetings in that state.

Reports from locals will soon reach this office. We shall print as many of these reports as we can find space for in the next national office Bulletin. Look for them. They will prove that our locals are IN ACTION.

These thousands of May 1st meetings will constitute the BEGINNING of a special ORGANIZATION and PROPAGANDA campaign which we hope to initiate VERY SOON.

ORGANIZATION is needed if we are to get Debs, Mrs. O'Hare and other imprisoned comrades out of jail. PROPAGANDA is needed if we are to convince others that Socialism is RIGHT and the imprisonment of Socialists WRONG.

Yours in Comradeship,
A. WAGENKNECHT.
Director Organization and Propaganda, Chicago, Ill.

WEST VIRGINIA

OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

(Jesse Bird, State Secretary, Barracksville, W. Va.)

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Receipts.
April, 1919.

Finnish Federation	$ 15.00
Lithuanian Federation	1.57
South Slavic Federation	1.00
M. A. L. dues	14.75
Huntington local dues	1.00
Weston local dues	3.00
Sistersville local dues	12.00
Charleston local dues	3.00
Fairmont local dues	6.00
Elkins local dues	6.00
Martinsburg local dues	3.00
Donation, H. F. Oberholtzer	20.65
Total	$ 86.97

Expenditures.

Postage	$ 3.25
Nat. Office—Charters	1.00
Nat. Office—Dues Stamps	15.00
Bal. due bill for costs in case Firth et al	20.65
Secretary's commission	26.05
Surplus for April	21.02
	$86.97
Bal. in treasury April 1	19.68
Surplus for april	21.02
Bal. in treasury April 30	40.70

Resources.

Due stamps	$ 53.80
950 State Constitutions	47.50
3 sets local sec'y books	9.00
50 Think or Surrender	5.00
900 Application cards	1.80
8 Cards of 50 each assorted badge buttons	8.00
500 How to Organize	2.00
50 How to Conduct a Local	1.00
Miscellaneous books	5.00
Total	$133.10

ANNUAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Socialist Party of West Virginia.
(Elected Officers in Caps.)

	Votes
State Secretary.	
JESSE BIRD, Barracksville, W. Va.	63
P. H. Camp	42
P. R. Garrett	19
State Committeeman-at-Large.	
M. S. HOLT, Weston	68
J. H. Snyder	56
State Committeemen.	
First District.	
H. L. FRANKLIN, Fairmont	40
J. B. WEST, Mannington	39
J. L. DAWSON, Fairmont	40
Second District.	
E. L. SMITH, Martinsburg	18
T. J. KEESECKER, Martinsburg	8
Third District.	
J. W. WRIGHT, Weston	18
Fourth District.	
G. W. Gillespie, Huntington	11
N. CARRICOFFE, Huntington	11
O. E. Tracy	7
C. W. KIRKENDALL, Sistersville	15
Sixth District.	
W. R. BENNETT, Fayetteville	32
G. W. HARPER, Charleston	33
H. P. WILLIAMS, Charleston	33

A BANNER MONTH.

This has been some busy office this month, and it is the first month since I have had charge of the office when the activities fulfilled my idea of a state headquarters of a political party. Three national referendums have been conducted through this medium and an election of officers of the state party organization has been brought to a close. More dues stamps have been purchased within the present month than for any month during the year ending April 30th.

To be sure, the work done does not reflect any glory on the administration of this office, as if we had carried forward to a successful conclusion some aggressive campaign or had carried out constructive work on a plan initiated by the state secretary. The fact is, all we did was routine—keeping the machinery of the party going, but we feel elated about it just the same; because we had about come to the conclusion that the said machine had been so crippled by collision during the war that she was nearly ready to fall to pieces. The comrades are manifesting more spirit in their communications—all breathe of renewed devotion to the cause and a determination to stay in the struggle for industrial freedom to the end.

One need not go farther than the "American Bastile," as Comrade Nich Reinhart calls the state penitentiary at Moundsville, to find the reason for this warmth of feling. The workers of the great mining industry of West Virginia have brought home to them the devotion of Comrade Debs to the laboring class and his sacrifice in their behalf, when he is brought to this state to end his days behind prison walls. They need only to hark back to the days of the Great Strike in the coal fields and recall the scenes of the struggle on Cabin Creek, at Cedar Grove and at Eccles, as Comrade Frank Graham pointed out in his letter to the Ohio Socialist last week to arouse their manhood.

Colossal blunder of our master class courts, to think they can rid the country of the influence of so great a soul, by shutting him away behind stone walls! The enforced silence of this staunch friend of labor is a more eloquent appeal to go on with the struggle for industrial democracy than a thousand speeches from him on the platform. Yea, I tell you, "if these hold their peace, the very stones will cry out."

LINERS.

Comrades voting in the state election, 124.

Dues stamps sold by this state office during April, 284.

Sistersville local is the prize winner for largest purchase of dues stamps, $12.00.

National headquarters moved to new home at 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Comrades, have you sent your dollars for a certificate of joint-ownership of our National Socialist Home?

THE NEW ORGANIZATION.

For the State Secretary-elect and the incoming State Committee, we bespeak the good will and co-operation of the membership of the entire party of this state.

As to the personnel of the State Committee, it is not necessary to say anything by way of commendation or introduction, as nearly all are experienced and well-known workers in the party—tried and proven.

As to the State Secretary-elect, from our intercourse in the past few months, we have observed his activities with anticipation of a call to a broader sphere of usefulness for him. He impresses me as clean-cut, radical, alert, accurate and competent. Though most of the stronger locals are again active and the machinery of the party is in fair working order, he will find opportunity to exercise all his talents and time in increasing the efficiency of the organization.

I realize that not much has been done in the last six months in the way of aggressive party work, but neither Comrade Franklin or myself had the time or funds to do much more than keep the machinery of the party intact. Taking the matter seriously, I regretted that the state organization, while I was in charge, was not functioning properly. The State Secretary is virtually head of the party and exercises power under supervision and with the advice of the State Committee. Working together, they represent a power like an engine. If an engine has only power enough to run "idle" or drive an empty machine, it may make some noise and might amuse onlookers to see the wheels go round, but does not accomplish anything. Do you get my point? When the state organization is functioning properly, it ought, like a good engine, pull a load or drive the machine that would turn out a lot of Socialists.

As I am now retiring from the office of State Secretary, I wish to say that I have tried to serve the best my time and ability would permit me to do, and I want to thank the comrades for their co-operation and the courtesy they have shown me.

I hope some time to become acquainted with the comrades that I came to know through correspondence. Having placed myself in a position to attract the notice of the membership of the state, I expect to give a good account of myself in the local affairs of the Socialist movement so that you may not be ashamed to have owned me as a comrade. Yours fraternally,

H. F. OBERHOLTZER,
Retiring State Secretary Socialist Party of West Virginia. 1718 6th Ave., Huntington, W. Va.

MAY DAY, 1919

As one of the many speakers assigned to speak at a Debs Protest Meeting, May 1, 1919, I started upon my mission from Toledo, Ohio, at 8:52 in the morning.

I could not get away at 5:00 a.m., which is the time of the only morning train direct to Conneaut, Ohio, where I was to speak, so went by steam to Cleveland, arriving at 11:30 a.m., and left by electric at 2:00 p.m.

On the train I had read of the bomb plots throughout the country, and not believing them to be true, I saw in this alarming newspaper story the setting for the first act of the tragedies which were to occur throughout the day and night of that eventful May 1.

Instinctively I knew at once these stories were but a harbinger of what was to follow—a sort of premeditated preparation of the human mind for anything that might occur—a shock-absorber as it were—preliminary to the wholesale slaughter which would follow during the day. . . .

The subsidized press calls these slaughters "riots" and must ever blame the victims—the unarmed—and that is what they called the one I witnessed in Cleveland, May 1.

Yes, I witnessed it and was not excited, and I know it was a slaughter and not a riot. I saw the parade as it peacefully marched into the square amid cheers from the thousands who had gathered to welcome their coming.

I had a good view and I saw the beginning of the game when the mounted police, pretending to keep the traffic clear, deliberately drove their horses into the line of marchers after the head of the parade had entered the park proper. They crowded the marchers onto the sidewalk and followed them swinging their clubs and then from nearby came hundreds of policemen afoot and in patrols and like wild men they beat their unarmed victims with their clubs and dragged them away.

There was no call for police because there was a riot—the police were held nearby to start their bloody orgy for the affair did not last more than twenty minutes from the time the head of the parade entered the square until the end.

A Riotless Riot

I left Cleveland at 2:00 p.m. and arrived at Conneaut at 6:30. The meeting here was to begin at 7:30, so I had no time to meet the comrades and immediately proceeded to the Workers' Hall where I learned before entering that another riot was to be staged.

The local newspaper had agitated the citizens. The mayor had forbidden the meeting. The chief of police and the sheriff were already at the door. The hall was one-third filled with regular and deputized policemen and the orders were, "No meeting in Conneaut."

Organizer Eiseman had informed the mayor the meeting would be held regardless of his orders. The mayor said it would not. Chief of Police Merrow and Sheriff Eldred were there to enforce the orders of Mayor Smith—there with a regiment of policemen. Organizer Eiseman and the Conneaut Comrades were there to hold a May Day Protest Meeting.

The meeting was held. The speakers spoke. The Finnish chorus sang the Marseillaise. The chief and the sheriff and the police went home in peace. We went home in peace.

And now, behold! The Conneaut Press is angry because there was no bloodshed! It mourns the fact that at Cleveland and other cities workers were assaulted and murdered so gloriously, and Conneaut let May Day pass without one drop of blood.

Now they are trying to create a battle between the mayor, the chief of police, and the sheriff.

Here's the frame-up in newspaper clippings from the Conneaut News Herald. Read this and see how riots are started:

Poison Gas

"Propaganda is at large seeking to secure amnesty for all so-called political prisoners. The United States Government is brave enough and dutiful enough to send to prison a few handfuls of the disreputable creatures that have befouled the name of the fair land that feeds them. Hundreds, perhaps thousands more should have gone. Deserving ones have escaped the black wall. Now as an aftermath to leniency the snake in the grass is again showing its head and is not only getting away with spreading its poison but is demanding liberation of its dirty confederates."—Editorial in Conneaut News-Herald, Apr. 30.

Now read on and "nail the lies."

Inciting to Riot

"Mayor M. R. Smith late today issued orders to Chief of Police Merrow to notify all parties interested in a proposed 'Debs Protest Meeting' to be held in the Workers' Hall, lower Broad Street, tomorrow night, that the meeting could not be held in that or any other hall in the city or in the open within the city.

The meeting for tomorrow night had been variously advertised. There were to be two out-of-town speakers and a message from Debs, recently sentenced to prison by the federal government. Feeling against the meeting became so strong and talk of Bolshevik propaganda so general in various parts of the city and undertone riot action against it heard, that Mayor Smith, after being approached by a number of citizens, took the above action."—Herald, Apr. 30.

Another "alleged" fact that was all lie:

"Reports from an apparently reliable source at press time this afternoon are to the effect that Sheriff Eldred will be here this evening from Jefferson for the purpose of preventing the holding of the radical meeting stopped in the city but which it was reported would be held in the township outside the city. It is understood a number of deputies have been sworn in for the occasion."

Now read the report of the meeting and note the squeal of these bloodthirsty anarchists who are angry at the police for not having started a slaughter, even after the press had promised immunity by calling it a Bolsheviki riot:

"One hundred and fifty persons (in fact, there were 500), including women and children, gathered in Workers' Hall last evening to hear a message from the convicted Debs and protest against his imprisonment. As per schedule they heard speeches eulogizing Debs and other convicts, one expressing the belief and hope that the time will come when Debs' picture is in every school room in the country.

"He characterized Debs and others like him as martyrs, comparing their status to that of Christ. The time would come, he said, when Debs would be recognized as one of our biggest citizens.

"The speaker also told his audience to be ready to respond to a call to be issued for July 4 or the day after, for every worker to lay down his tools and not work.

It was a very tame performance. Nothing was said that was interpreted as seditious although it was considered by the few "outsiders" present as un-American.

"A radical local Socialist presided at the meeting, one who it is understood, is well versed in the tenets of the radical Reds. The speakers' chief aim, in accordance with the posters announcing the meeting, by one means

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or another, was to protest against imprisonment of persons for violation of federal laws, or deportation of the Reds by this government to countries where their ideas are now resulting in carnivals of bloodshed.

"WHY?"

"What the News-Herald wants to know is why Chief of Po[illegible]e Merrow did not carry out the ord[illegible] of Mayor Smith issued to him W[illegible]nesday to prevent the meeting a[illegible]rtised for last night being held?"

THE ARMISTICE OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

(Continued from second page.)

contribute to the earnings of this excess stock. You can see that unless there is a sacrifice of this fictitious valuation there can be no true adjustment. Society allowed the distiller and brewer to invest billions of dollars in their institutions. Society arrived at that time in history that is used the old Roman maxim "The welfare of the people is the supreme law of the land." We have not yet conceded this in our other social institutions. We virtually confiscated millions of wealth of the distiller and brew through a legal process. Will society do the same to the other large industrial institutions in order that we can get justice and not allow a few to sweep in the wealth that working people create? Unless we eliminate this burden there can be no solution of this problem.

We can see that there will be no concession by either side. Nothing short of the old Roman law will eliminate the difference. There are still a great many people who hold to the theory that capital is due a return on its investment. This may be so under private ownership of the socially used institutions. Modern thinkers see that this is simply a dead weight and makes every person contribute to the idlers. If you hold a handful of this stock, although you might have inherited the money with which you purchased it, you can live a life of idleness and draw your living from the labor of others. Let us take an example of some of our best and largest institutions of this country and see if that theory will hold water. Does any idler draw interest or profit from the capital invested in our post office, public schools, our public wagon roads, our public sidewalks, parks, lakes, rivers, public state buildings? We can see where they would inject this false theory if they were privately owned. No one is to be cussed for these conditions. Society condoned it. Society must undo it, and will. Putting salve on a cancer never cured it. It may fool the patient a few hours. It must be removed to secure lasting results. Impress this lesson on your mind and watch the final conclusion. The materialist conception of history is the only way to forecast positive results.

FRANKLIN MARSHALL.

YOUR LOCAL—WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at 50 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93¾ Washington St.

WAGENKNECHT REPORTS ON DEBS TRIP TO PENITENTIARY

April 29, 1919.

To the National Executive Committee,

Comrades: I desire to make a short report of my trip with Eugene V. Debs to the Moundsville penitentiary.

Wearied by a night ride from Terre Haute to Cleveland during which Comrade Debs only had an hour's sleep, he was taken by the federal authorities from the Cafsey Hotel, Cleveland, early Sunday morning, April 13th, and rushed to the Moundsville penitentiary.

It took more than twelve hours to get to Moundsville. No time was allowed by the United States marshal for lunch at noon and very little time was given Comrade Debs to eat dinner when we finally arrived at Wheeling. The trip completely exhausted Comrade Debs, so much so that in the last of seven changes of cars and depots, he could hardly mount and dismount the car steps.

I characterize the methods used by the authorities, their total disregard for Debs' age and his comfort as particularly brutal and inhuman.

Had either one of the lawyers who defended Debs in court been present when the federal authorities took Comrade Debs in charge several days of respite might have been gained for him in which he might have rested and attended to his many personal affairs.

I sent many telegrams ahead just as soon as I learned which route to the penitentiary we were to take. I subsequently learned that the Socialist locals in and near Moundsville had disbanded and because of this we met with no comrades to cheer Debs on his way to his cell.

After investigating conditions of the party in Moundsville and Wheeling I learned that in both places the Socialist locals had succumbed because of the war hysteria. It seems to me that the Socialists, rather the former Socialists of Wheeling, have turned pro-war and are engaged in profitable politics. Most of those who were seen deported themselves as if the incarceration of Debs near Wheeling was more of an affliction than an honor and I dare say that their "good political standing" in their city will not permit them to be of any service to Debs while he is in prison.

Returning to Cleveland I learned upon Wednesday that the automobile in which Comrade Debs was spirited away from the federal building was hired by the Cleveland Plain Dealer from the Walte garage. The Plain Dealer reporter met Debs at the Union depot when Debs arrived in Cleveland and gave Comrade Debs to understand that he was connected with the secret service department. It was the automobile which this reporter used in which Debs was subsequently taken on a flying trip through Cleveland's main thoroughfares and side streets and finally landed at the Erie depot.

The question arises—why this close affiliation between the Plain Dealer and the federal authorities? By what right did the United States marshal use the automobile of a capitalist daily paper? Why did not the marshal engage an automobile at the expense of the United States if one was necessary? It shows the very close affiliation between the Democratic Plain Dealer and the Democratic federal officialdom. The Plain Dealer hangs the European revolutionists editorially about three times a week, and the United States marshal undoubtedly wanted to do his little part in co-operation with this paper here in this free country of ours.

Photographs of Debs and those who accompanied him were obtained by me in Cleveland. These will be used in a pamphlet which we contemplate publishing, showing pictures of the penitentiary as well as pictures of Debs on his way to prison.

I have the following suggestions to make. These suggestions also hold good in the case of any other

(Continued on fourth

THE DEATH TRAIN OF SIBERIA

We have made many assertions as to who are the powers of darkness and who the powers of light in Russia. We have made them in the face of an avalanche of contrary statements in the press and periodicals of this country. Our belief in the truth of what we were saying rested upon a general knowledge of the nature of the class-struggle against capitalism everywhere, upon a careful and studious reading between the lines of the lies in other publications, and upon private information which came to us through channels suppressed or ignored by those publications. We have never had any doubt of the essential truth of what we were saying. But we have not before had the power to make it visual and unescapable to our readers that we have today. We ask you to read through to the end this article, "The Death Train of Siberia," and then read through to the end the report of Lunacharsky, the Bolshevik commissar of education. Both are in a sense "official reports." Which side are you on when you finish them? M. E.

This is the story of an incident in the attempt to overthrow Bolshevism in Russia, by massacre. It is the story of the deliberate and inhuman killing of men and women and children by the Czecho-Slovak and Kolchak monarchist forces in Siberia. It was first made known in this country by a brief and unrevealing dispatch which appeared in the New York Times.

The whole dreadful truth has now come to light, and the Death Train of Siberia stands revealed in its sinister magnitude as one of the most horrible outrages upon humanity, not merely of this war, but in all human history. The facts are these:

In the fall of 1918 the Bolsheviki took the city of Samara. It was captured from them a little later by the Czecho-Slovaks, who proceeded to throw into prison hundreds of Red Guards, and others suspected of Bolsheviki sympathies.

The city was soon re-taken by the Bolsheviki. And when the Czecho-Slovak forces evacuated the city, they loaded these imprisoned Red Guards and Boleshevik sympathizers together with all the other people then in the city prisons, on a train. Fifty car-loads of herded humanity, packed as closely as if they were already the corpses they were intended and destined to become. That was in September. . . For six weeks the prisoners on that train did not see the light of day, except when the doors of the car were opened to throw out the dead. This assertion may seem incredible; but it needs to be amended only by the exception of a car-load of women prisoners, who were expressly kept for the uses of the officers of the convoy. . . . . The rest left the train only as corpses—and in that six weeks eight hundred starved and frozen and pestilence-stricken bodies were thrown from the train to rot. It had become the Death Train, known all over Siberia, as it must become known all over the world, as a symbol of the blind hatred and fiendish vengeance of the enemies of Bolshevism.

After six weeks, it was halted at Nikolsk by some American Red Cross workers, who defied the authorities, held the train against orders for six days, and rescued from this perambulating inferno some two hundred victims. And then the train resumed its dreadful progress back and forth across Siberia. . .

This Death Train, it should be remembered, is an incident in the rule of terror exercised in Siberia by the Czercho-Slovak and Kolchak forces, with whom the American, British, French and Japanese forces were, and are, co-operating.

It is through the correspondence of these American Red Cross workers in Siberia that the whole story has reached America at last. We quote below some portions of the diary of Mr. Rudolph Bukely, formerly an American banker in Honolulu, now with the American Red Cross in Siberia. It is the record of a six-day interruption of this prolonged massacre. . . We have omitted certain portions of his story which deal with the heroic efforts of the Red Cross men to relieve the suffering of the victims, and we have emphasized some passages in black type; otherwise the narrative stands as he wrote it night by night after long days of unimaginable deeps of horror. It is an extraordinary and utterly convincing story of a horrible thing which we believe the world will not soon forget.

"**It is the eighteenth day of November, 1918. I am at Nikolsk-Ussu 'k in Siberia.** In the past two days I have seen enough misery to fill a lifetime. . . .

"I have read many times of the Black Hole of Calcutta. I have been told of Russian prisoners returning from German prison camps wrecked by starvation and tuberculosis. **Only four weeks ago, as a four-minute man, I was preaching the doctrine of 'hate.' Today, I humbly ask forgiveness** for my thoughts of hate, and pray from the depths of my soul that I may be allowed to play my part, though a small one, in trying to improve the condition of men, whatever their nationality, so that **perhaps some day this world may emerge into the great Brotherhood, and that such things as I have seen may become impossible.** . . . .

"**I have seen, through the windows of box cars whose dimensions were twenty-four feet by ten, forty animals who once were human men, women, and children; faces glared at me which I could not recognize as those of human beings. They were like beasts' faces, of a species unknown to man. Stark madness and terror stared from their eyes, and over all the unmistakable sign of death.** . . .

"This 'train of death,' for by that name all Eastern Siberia now knows it, left Samara approximately six weeks ago. Men of the Russian railroad service are stationed as far west as Manchuria Station, some twelve hundred miles west of here, through which the train must have passed at least three weeks ago. Since then it has passed through Hailar, Titsikar, Harbin, Moolime, going on and on like a thing accursed, through a land where its stricken passengers found little food and less pity. . . .

" . . . . It left Samara. . . in charge of some Russian officers. It had on board at that time twenty-one hundred prisoners of all sorts. They were apparently civil prisoners. Some were Bolsheviki, others had been released from the prison at Samara. Many of them said they were thrown into jail for being against the Bolsheviki at the time the Bolsheviki were in control; and when in the course of the fighting the Czechs and Russians occupied Samara, they simply cleaned out the whole jail, packed the prisoners into this train, and sent them out west. Between that day and the day before yesterday, when we found this loathsome caravan in Nikolsk, eight hundred of these wretches had died from starvation, filth and disease. In Siberia there is misery and death on every hand, on a scale that would appal the stoutest heart. There were as near as we could count, thirteen hundred and twenty-five men, women and children penned up in these awful cars yesterday. Since last night six have died. **By and by they will all die if the train is permitted to go on in such conditions.** . . .

"It seems a wicked thing to say, but the thought has surely come to me that **to kill these people painlessly would require perhaps three dollars' worth of poison or ten dollars' worth of ammunition; and yet for weeks this train of fifty cars has ben wandering, driven on from station to station, every day a few more corpses being dragged on.** Many of these people have been in box-cars for five weeks in their original clothing. There are from thirty-five to forty in a box-car, measuring say twenty-five feet by eleven, and the doors have seldom been open save to drag out the bodies of the dead, or some woman who might better be. I have been told that when they first started there were as many as sixty in many of the cars, but death has weeded them out. I have climbed into these cars at night with my flash light. I have gone into them in the early mornings and examined them. I have seen men with the death rattle in their throat, half naked, with lice and vermin visible on them; others just lying in a semi-unconscious stupor; and others with the whining grin of imbeciles, holding out their hands for a few cigarettes or kopecks chuckling with glee like apes upon being given them.

"Of anything like sanitary provision this train has nothing, and the accumulation of filth in which these people have lived and are dying is absolutely unspeakable. **The Russian officer who was in charge of the train has made inconsistent statements about the reasons why these people have been subjected to such awful deprivation and abuse. He tries to make the best story of it possible.** They were supposed to have been fed regularly at the different stations along the route, but often for days at a time there has been no one to give them even bread. Were it not for the kindness of the poor villagers who, with tears running down their cheeks, men and women alike, give them what little they can afford, they would be absolutely without nourishment.

"I have talked with a woman doctor (a prisoner on the train) who was doing Red Cross work with the Red Guards. She would have done the same work for any one. A highly educated, intellectual woman, forty years old. She has been on this train for weeks. I have talked to a girl under eighteen years of age, beautiful, refined, intellectual. She was formerly a typist and bookkeeper in the mayor's office at Samara. The opposition party got in, she applied for the same job and got it. Later the authorities heard of her former ocupation and she was sentenced to six days in jail. She was taken in the great net. She has been on this train for weeks, and unless the Red Cross comes to her aid she will die on this train. All the clothing she has on is a filthy blouse and skirt, a sort of petticoat, a pair of stockings and shoes. No coat, in this fierce winter weather.

"I have talked to a man who has not the brains left to know the difference between a Red Guard and one of any other color. His wife quarreled with another woman, who evidently lodged complaint. That night he was arrested in his home, **accused of being a Red Guard.** He has been in the box-car for five weeks. He will die within forty-eight hours. . I have seen them die, and the following morning I have seen their bodies dragged out of the cars like so much rubbish. The living are indifferent, for they know that their turn will come next. . . . While the prattle about liberty, justice and humanity goes on, ... **our hands are bound by 'diplomacy.'** . . . . We are holding the train. That is the main thing. It should have begun **going back toward Samara** last night, but it has not gone and I do not think that the Russian train officials will dare to send it out with us on the spot all the time, opening the cars ourselves, talking to the prisoners, giving them what hope of help we can, and **taking photographs every day.** We are doing all this without authority, and in the face of this horror we don't care who cares.

"**It is impossible to tell in print the story of the unfortunate women who have been imprisoned here under these awful conditions.** They are treated better than the men. You all know why. In one car are eleven women. We have sat with them and talked with them in a mixed jargon of French, Russian, and German. On the inside of the car hangs a piece of string. On it are four pairs of stockings owned by these eleven women. The floor is covered with refuse and filth. There are no means of cleaning it, neither brooms nor buckets. They have not taken off their clothes for weeks. In the center of the car is a little wood stove, and there are pieces of wood and coal on the floor. All around the sides of the cars run two rows of planks, on which the inmates sleep at night and sit hunched up by day. If there ever is any official food for the prisoners these women get the first pick, and their physical condition is much better, since eleven of them have a car which would accommodate thirty-five men packed in as they are.

"Two more days have now gone by. Since we arrived a cooking car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards claim to have given the prisoners a little soup. **One kettle for thirteen hundred and twenty-five people,** and soup passed through a window a foot by a foot and a half, by means of an old rusty can! . . . Yesterday one of the women was taken out of one of the cars by a Russian officer. He will return her when the train pulls out. . . . In this car is also an emaciated creature that was onec a man. He was a journalist. His wife is in the same car. She has a very few days to live. When the men stand they fill the entire car. **On the two rows of planks built along the sides, the dead and the living sleep as best they may. We were told by the guards this morning at half-past eight that three men had died during the night and the bodies had been removed. As we walked past the train a man hailed us from one of the cars, and the guards were told that there were dead inside. We insisted on the door being opened and this is what we saw:**

"**Lying right across the threshold was the body of a boy not over eighteen or nineteen years old. No coat, merely a thin shirt, in such tatters that his whole chest and arms were exposed, for trousers a piece of jute bag pinned around him, and no shoes or stockings. What agony that boy must have suffered in the Siberian cold before he died of filth, starvation, and exposure! And yet 'diplomacy' prevents us from taking charge and giving aid. But we are holding the train!**

"We climbed into the car and found two other dead lying on the second tier of bunks amongst the living. Nearly every man in that car was sunken-eyed, gaunt, and half clad. They were racked by terrible coughing. They had the stamp of death on them. If aid does not come quickly they will die. We looked into a few cars only, but **at one window we saw a little girl perhaps eleven years old. Her father, she said, had been mobilized into the Red Guard. So now father, mother, and child are on that train and will die there** . . .

• • •

"It is the 22nd of November. This morning we got up at seven o'clock and left for the hospital where we had an appointment with Dr. Selesnieff, the military chief. When we arrived we found patients with only three doctors and three nurses. Two patients had died during the night, and the doctor had discovered nearly all the living to be suffering from diseases of different kinds, including two cases of typhus. We have since learned that a week or so ago two men were put off the train suffering from the same terrible scourge. . . .

"Dr. Selesnieff gave us his official report of the conditions, setting forth, in corroboration of the stories that have been told me, that during the weeks that the train had been moving to and fro, passengers had died daily from a variety of causes, including typhus, dysentery, influenza, and ordinary starvation.

"'The people on the train have remained for weeks without warm food, without boiled water, and many even without bread. . . . According to the testimony of officers in charge of the train, the commandant of the station reports that **he had orders to send the train back to the west,** but I am sure that among the passengers there are still a number of people so sick and exhausted that further sojourn in these cars will prove fatal.'

"We are still holding the train by means of the co-operation of the Czech lieutenant, and in case of need he agrees he will put the engine out of order. Last night the station master showed us **telegraphic instructions to the effect that the train positively must pull out at one a. m.,** but it is still here. . . . Dr. Manget arrived last night, advising us that General Graves had had a **long conference with the Japanese and Russian commanders, both of whom had assured him they would do all in their power to co-operate, but this seems to mean very little.**

"We are still holding the train and have made arrangements with a Russian bath some three-quarters of a mile from here to wash all the prisoners tomorrow for four hundred and fifty roubles. They will start at six o'clock in the morning and walk to the bath. . .

"**November 22**—It is bitterly cold. There was a heavy snow storm last night. . . .

"The baths are all ready and we are waiting for the first contingent. In the distance, against the snow, we can see a body of men advancing very, very slowly and with great difficulty. Many stumble as they walk and have to be supported by the other prisoners. . . .

"The first sixty have gone in and now there is a fire burning in the yard where the disgusting clothes are burning. Inside, the unfortunates have each been given a piece of soap and are scrubbing themselves while the guards carry out the clothes and put them on the fire. The wagon has arrived with eighty sweaters, four hundred and fifty pairs of socks, and one hundred and twenty pajamas.

"**Tomorrow when this train pulls out it will have nine hundred and twenty-five Red Crosses on it but I must still call it the 'train of death.' There is no use disguising the fact that these people are nearly all going to die, for as soon as the train shall have pulled out the old conditions will return and there will be once more the corpses thrown out day by day from each car.**

"**November 23**—Today we leave for Vladivostok. We have done all that we could do. We have just learned that there are thirty additional cases of typhus in the hospital and heaven knows how many on the train. We have bought buckets and brooms for the cars, which will help a little.

"Later I came down from Nikolsk in a box-car with three American soldiers. It was bitterly cold. We had no stove, but by alternately crouching together and then at times wrestling and mauling each other around we managed to keep fairly warm. We finally reach Vladivostok at about nine forty-five. I am hoping that I may be allowed **to go out in Siberia with Dr. Rosett and hunt for other death trains.** We may not have accomplished much, but we at least saved a couple hundred lives—for a time. . . ."

• • •

If any doubting readers still hesitate to believe that such atrocities have been committed by the reactionary forces to which the United States government has been lending its aid in Siberia, we refer them to the official organ of the Red Cross, the Red Cross Magazine for April, in which appears the full account from which we have quoted the excerpts printed above. There the whole story is told, with photographs; and yet not the whole story, for it is stated in an editorial note that "propriety has demanded the exclusion of much that is unprintable" in Mr. Bukely's damning record of the facts as sent to Red Cross headquarters. . . . We are also indebted to the Red Cross Magazine for this further authentic information concerning the Death Train, which is appended to Mr. Bukely's story.

"**Mr. Bukely's prophecy that the death train would still be a death train was fulfilled.** As it went on over the Trans-Siberian, first west then east, back and forth, driven from town to town, the miserable news of it kept filtering into Vladivostok. The official reports of the Red Cross commission on December 9, said: 'We had understood that the train of prisoners would be taken about ten miles from Nikolsk, on account of the unrest caused there by its presence, and would be held at this distance where we could keep closely in touch with developments.' On December 6, however, Colonel Emerson, of the Russian railway service corps, telegraphed from Harbin that the train, **now with thirty-eight cars of prisoners,** had left Titsikar for Chita. Thus we had first information that the **so-called train of death was again on the road and was being taken into western Siberia.** . . .

"The officers in charge of the train received a telegram not to **unload any of the prisoners within the border of Manchuria, but to take them to Chita,** and at Harbin the officers were informed that the sick would be taken care of in the hospital at Foveyordie, which is twelve versts (about eight miles) west of Harbin. **This was merely a hoax to get the train out of Harbin.** . . Our next information was that the train had gone west beyond Chita.

"Another week (Dec. 16). It now appears that **after rolling toward the west this train has again been turned and headed toward Vladivostok. . . The train is simply being passed from point to point.** . . .

"On and on, days and nights, weeks running into months the wretched company ever dwindling as death takes its cruel and incessant toll."

To this account only one thing needs to be added, and that is a casual sentence from the Associated Press cable dispatch of November 22 to the New York Times: "Other trainloads of human freight in similar straits are now on their way eastward over the Trans-Siberian railroad."

(From The Liberator.)

A PREACHER OF CLASS HATRED

By Anise, Seattle Union Record.

He was a preacher
• • •
Of CLASS HATRED,
• • •
The worst
• • •
I ever heard of.
• • •
And yet he didn't wear
• • •
Rags or overalls;
• • •
He wasn't even one of these
• • •
Parlor Bolsheviks.
• • •
He would have been amazed
• • •
And highly indignant
• • •
If anyone had doubted
• • •
That he was a most LOYAL
• • •
And RESPECTABLE AMERICAN.
• • •
Why, he was a COLONEL,
• • •
Just back from France,
• • •
Where he had been perfecting
• • •
Various GASES
• • •
To be used against
The HUNS;
• • •
He was the director
• • •
Of the Mellon Institute,
• • •
A most estimable citizen.
• • •
And he got up before
• • •
The CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
• • •
In Pittsburgh,
• • •
And said to them: "Hereafter
• • •
This TEAR GAS
• • •
I have helped develop
• • •
Will be used instead
• • •
Of CLUBS and REVOLVERS
• • •
To disperse MOBS
• • •
Of STRIKERS."
• • •
And I thought perhaps
• • •
He meant some tear-gas
• • •
To make the strikers
• • •
WEEP
For their SINS.
• • •
But a little farther on
• • •
I read in horror:
• • •
"This TEAR GAS
• • •
Is more EFFICIENT
• • •
Than BULLETS;
• • •
ONE DROP of it
• • •
Will be enoughto KILL
• • •
TWENTY or THIRTY persons."
• • •
Yes, that was what he said
• • •
JUST LIKE THAT
• • •
Cool and calm
• • •
As a cucumber;
• • •
And it was printed
• • •
In the Pittsburgh Despatch.
• • •
And nobody ever seemed
• • •
To think of arresting him
• • •
For talking enough CLASS-WAR
To send a hundred WOBBLIES
• •
to jail for LIFE!
• •
I thought of our "mobs"
• •
Of shipyard workers
• •
Worn and greasy with work,
• •
And I thought of that
• •
Dapper Colonel
• •
And his TEAR-GAS
• •
Bragging of how
• •
He could kill them off
• •
In bunches of thirty,
• •
And my blood went cold;
• •
Somehow, you know
• • •
I never had REALLY believed
• • •
We could have TERRORISTS
• • •
LIKE THAT
• • •
In OUR COUNTRY!

Capitalism knows no god but "Profit."

Socialism considers human life more important than dividends.

Socialists say:

The Trusts will own the Nation—Till the Nation owns the Trusts.

CURB FREEDOM OF SPEECH

(Continued from first page.)

the editor of the Post means, of course, the rule of the masses, which we are supposed to have already in the United States. Under our system of government it is administered by political parties, and those political parties stand for definite social policies. But according to the labor exploiting editor of the Post because, forsooth, some feeble-minded person might perhaps be persuaded to make a fool of himself because he heard some one speak disrespectfully of a federal judge, therefore one must not criticize the federal judge. The editor of the Post specifically mentions Debs' alleged statement that the justices of the supreme court are "bewigged old fossils" and "with every drop of my blood I despise them." The editor suggests that there may be a distinct connection between this remark attributed to Debs and Scott Nearing's recent alleged "denunciation" of the American government andthe "bomb plot" directed against certain government officials. It characterizes such talk as "criminal" and demands speedy laws which will put a stop to it.

The labor exploiting editor of the Washington Star is equally as emphatic that freedom of speech must be curbed instanter if the sacred institutions of labor exploitation are to survive. The Star undertakes to link up the bomb plot with the radicals by the stretched conception that those who are "preaching" radicalism "are not the same as those who are secretly making and mailing bombs. But they are encouraging them, possibly directing them. The assassins are trying to do the work that these bold advocates of revolution are advocating."

Well, the advocacy of Socialism is the advocacy of a revolution for it demands the qusting from power of the capitalist class and the abolition of the capitalist system of production and distribution andthe accession of power by the working class and the establishment of the Socialist system of production and distribution. And that is the revolution which the labor expoliters like the editor and owner of the Star fear. Labor exploiting editor Noyes, who does not even carry the union label in his paper, would deal very, very drastically with those working people who boldly declare that they have the right to own and enjoy the social equivalent of the new wealth they produce and that they are going to undertake to change existing political and industrial institutions in order to guarantee them in the enjoyment of that right. This is the way Editor Noyes would curb the advocacy of such ideas:

"There should be no hesitation in applying the espinago and seditious acts to cause the immediate arrest of those who are thus fomenting radical reaction and the overturn of the government. . . . This menace cannot be fought by indirection. It must be grappled squarely. The privilege of free speech is constantly being abused. The laws are daily being violated in the name of **discussion of public questions.** Shrewd speakers are inflaming the minds of discontented persons, **fanatics who have a distorted view of issues and an absolutely wrong** concept of the functions of the state. . . . The war is not over. The laws that were enacted for the protection of the government as war measures are still in force. Seditious talk is punishable. **A vigorous policy of suppression and a course of speedy trials and punishments are demanded in the interest of public security.**"

These two extracts from the Post and the Star indicate the program that the labor exploiters will attempt to drive through the coming congress in order to prolong their system by the wholesale suppression of criticism of the various institutions which support it. Editor Noyes and the rest of this gentry profess to be greatly concerned in the "interest of public security." They mispeak themselves. They are solely interested not in the "security" of the public, for that would mean the working class, but in that peculiar security to the life of an idler and loafer inseparably connected with the ownership the "securities" known as stocks and bonds, which ownership gives them the legal right to deprive the working class of a large portion of the wealth the working class produces. No, it is not the "interest" of public security they are worrying about, but rather the "interest" which the labor exploiter enjoys through his function as a coupon clipper.

When labor exploiting coupon clippers get the United States government to declare as seditious language denouncing their function and the institutions which legalize their privileges to live in idleness on the labor of the working class, then they will indeed have a "democracy" that is worth fighting for. And this is the kind of a "democracy" they are going to ask the coming congress to guarantee them.

GOMPERS ON AMERICAN LABOR AND BOLSHEVISM

(Continued from second page.)

philosophy has never comprehended the mighty truth that law—the state

So-Co—May 12—FIVE

—is a mass instrument, a mighty instrument in the hands of the class that wields it, but it is not divisible. They cannot wield it in part who cannot wield the whole. This fact is the basic idea underlying "the dictatorship of the proletariat" as practiced by the Bolshevikists, and the dictatorships that have been wielded by all ruling classes throughout the ages. This fact easily accounts for why industrial unionism has failed, and must fail, as an instrument of emancipation of a subject class so long as the political state remains in the hands of the master class. But this is not saying that industrial unionism is not a valuable instrument to be used in wresting the powers of state out of the hands of the master class. It is.

But Mr. Gompers does not believe in comprehensive industrial unionism. He believes in trades unionism—in collective bargaining. He is a general who leads guerilla charges, and blazes away at massed columns who fight with heavy artillery and gas, armed only with popguns. The warfare he directs has no objective other than a little more beef and cabbage for his followers. To get this, he "bargains" and fraternizes with the enemy, when the enemy will come across, and when it will not he starts a fight, and often loses what beef and cabbage he had before.

Although Mr. Gompers' summary of what constitutes "freedom for American labor" is comprehensive, and measures up to the demands of the most radical and uncompromising, yet the sad fact remains that his program provides no possible means of attaining such an ideal. "Opportunity for all to go on to the finest heights of human development," is a fine and a legitimate ideal. Nothing short of this is satisfying or worthy, and yet the fact remains that so long as the capitalist system of exploitation for the enrichment of the few obtains and dominates the lives of the masses, it is just as impossible to attain that ideal as it is to explore the moon.

And yet we find Mr. Gompers a staunch adherent and a doughty partisan of the capitalist system as he finds it. He calls it "democracy" and rushes to its defense on all occasions. He seems to have a childlike faith that somehow or other the lamb of labor and the lion of capital are twin brothers. When the interest of the lion is menaced, as it is just now by Bolshevikism among the lambs, we see Mr. Gompers rush to the defense of the lion. What would the poor lambs do without the lion to protect them?

In the historic struggle between capital and labor it is amazing to find the commander-in-chief of labor's forces leading the charge on his own lines—but this fact reflects no discredit upon the intelligence of the commander-in-chief of the capitalist forces. I do not love either him or his cause, but I do admit that he is "some general"—I mean, the capitalist general is.

Of course, Mr. Gompers would never admit that he is leading the charge on his own lines. According to his philosophy, "the interest of labor and capital is identical." When capital is menaced, labor is menaced. Just now capitalism is being menaced by Bolshevikism. Unemployment is the breech through which this monster is advancing upon the poor capitalists, in this land of the free. Some folks are so rude as to intimate that this condition of unemployment has been conspired to by the capitalists, themselves, in order to force down wages again. Be this as it may, there is a "Great and Growing Fear—NO WORK." Now, if capitalism should take Mr. Gompers' advice and feed the beast, Bolshevikism, out of existence, it would necessitate re-employment on a colossal scale. This would frustrate capitalism's design, to reduce wages again to the bare subsistance level. If there be no such design, and the present state of unemployment is consequent to market reactions, then to resume production on the colossal scale required would mean enormous losses to the capitalists. The iron law of capitalist production rules that where no profits are to be made, THERE WILL BE NO EMPLOYMENT.

But suppose capitalism does not elect to feed the beast out of existence, but to "stamp it out." Mr. Gompers has promised the support of "American labor" in this crisis, and it is presumable that it will be forthcoming, no matter what program the capitalists select. In the crisis just past, the war, labor was in extraordinary demand at high wages. Labor aided by working like blazes and getting well paid for it. Now it is different. Now labor cannot aid by working, there is little work. Organized labor might aid by turning the jobs over to the "lean and hungry fellows with the "weak minds." This might turn the trick; how would it suit Mr. Gompers? Again, "labor" might aid by standing in solid phalanx as a mighty "moral" force, but it is likely that mere moral and verbal force will be ineffective to move the lean and hungry fellow with the weak mind. He will demand something more substantial—either in his stomach or on his luckless head. If they elect to give him "his" on the cocoanut, will "American labor wield the club? A bill of particulars along this line, from Mr. Gompers, would be mighty interesting reading.

A READER COMMENTS.

Niles, Mich.

Comrades: The letter in the last issue of the O. S. from the young man in which he spoke favorably for religion, interested me. That he thinks is proven by the fact that he is a Socialist. What a sad condition that such as he should have the poison of the preachers poured into him when they have little or no power of resistance. But there is hope for him.

Has he failed to notice how the Christian religion has broken down under the stress of war in all the so-called civilized countries? Has he not seen how mum the ministers are when such grand men as Comrade Debs, such noble women as O'Hare are sent to prison for no moral crime? Nor do they protest against the unspeakable crime of sending the Allied soldiers against Soviet Russia.

I would like to suggest to this young American that he read one of the greatest books, Paine's Age of Reason. Then read Ingersoll and Tichenor of St. Louis.

Read cyclopedia accounts of the Inquisition, Witchcraft Delusion and The Crusades. He will finally learn that no other band of cut-throats weathered the storms of time like the Christion religion or much surpassed it in the magnitude of its crimes.

A READER.

Wagenknecht Reports on Debs' Trip to Penitentiary

Continued from third page.)

imprisoned comrade. I suggest that the national office appoint or that the committee elect an official visiting committee, whose duty it shall be to look after the wants, the prison comforts of Debs and all others. In the case of Debs this is of particular importance for there are no loyal Socialists in close proximity to the penitentiary.

Also, the imprisonment of Comrade Debs and Comrade O'Hare presents an opportunity to call for funds to free them. These funds should be used for publicity and organization purposes. One or more pamphlets should be published at once. Leaflets for free distribution should be printed. Posters demanding the freedom of these and all prisoners should be sent all locals to display in headquarters and public places. Organizers should be employed by the national office to tour the country in behalf of better organization and to unify the varying efforts made by locals of the party in behalf of our imprisoned comrades. Unless there is objection, such a campaign will be initiated by the Department of Organization and Propaganda.

Yours in Comradeship,
A. WAGENKNECHT.

Socialists say:

The working Class does everything and has nothing:

The Capitalist does nothing and has everything.

Pass This On To a Worker. Get His Subscription. Make Socialism Grow

est g Radicals

children during a period
world was war-mad and
on of impartial justice al-
ssible.

workers of Akron, exer-
right guaranteed us under
itution of the United
ich says that "congress
no law respecting an es-
nt of religion, or prohibit-
free exercise thereof; or
the freedom of speech or
ress; or the right of the peo-
ceably to assemble, and to pe-
the government for a redress
nces," do demand in the
stice and of liberty guar-
the constitution, that you
wer as chief executive of
to right the wrong and
ne to loyal members of
class, who are now be-
rs of our federal prisons.

MAYOR SQUELCHES T INCITERS

the capitalists and their
es in many cities in this land
free are congratulating them-
s upon the fact that workers'
d was made to flow on May 1st.
e peacefully walking upon the
ts, it would be well for them
ke to heart the lesson which is
in the act of one socialist mayor
event such an occurrence where
workers were strongly enough
nized to put their own class in
er.

at the chamber of commerce
g and the gutter press of Piqua,
o, would have been only too glad
see the Socialists beaten and
nded upon the streets goes with-
saying after reading the riot in-
ng dodgers which they had
ted and ready for distribution on
morning of May 1. Here is a
of the leaflet which was ready
ty wide distribution just a few
s before the Socialist parade was
dy to start. That it was not dis-
ibuted is owing to the fact that
iqua has a Socialist mayor. It
ds: Citizens of Piqua: Back up

(Continued on third page.)

LL UPON PRESIDENT TO HALT RIOTING

(Continued from first page.)

ts of our social and economic de-
velopment, for intolerance breeds in-
tolerance and violence is born of
violent acts. We earnestly urge that
you speak against this violent intol-
erance which all calm minded citi-
zens must abhor. A message from
you is urgently needed against the
heresy hunting which takes the law
into its own hands. Will you not
end such a message to the Ameri-
can people?

Sincerely yours.
NATIONAL CIVIC LIBERTIES
BUREAU.
y: Albert DeSilver, Director.

At the time this letter to the Pres-
dent was made public, the Bureau
also issued the following statement
in relation to the bombs recently
mailed to prominent persons:

"It is earnestly to be hoped that the person or persons who are guilty of placing bombs in the mail will be promptly apprehended and placed under restraint. This insane act is doubtless the work of some mentally unbalanced person. In our opinion it is idle to blame it on the so-called radical movement. There is no evidence that the radical movement does that sort of thing. From newspaper dispatches it seems likely that an attempt will be made to fasten the crime upon some one prominent in the radical labor movement—as was attempted in the Mooney case. If any such attempt is made, this Bureau will use every resource at its command to assist the accused in getting a full fair and impartial trial. There must be no second Mooney case."

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re-
of
been
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TRICITY

ik Tale by Gorki

sing
ssian
was
gime.
insky
ation,
Omsk,
com-
mouth.
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he says, 'I am a Bolshevik, a comanic (communist), and I'll stay here if you appoint me commissary.' The folks think a while and then say: 'Stay.' 'Thank you, comrades,' says the soldier. 'Now, let me get my bearings.'

"Within a week we set up a Soviet. Our old Leonty found out all about it and said to us: 'Well, now that we have come to this point and that we call ourselves Bolsheviks, it is proper that we should destroy and build.' But what? There is nothing to destroy in the village. Then the soldier said: 'If we are communists, we must requisition things. Is there any bourgeoisie in the place?'

"'We beg your pardon,' said we, 'ne have no such thing in the village.' "'Nonsense,' said he, 'you don't know. I'll find them for you. Let me have a talk with the people.'

"We got him sixty men, and they all went to a large village, forty versts away. The next day they came back with the booty: a dozen rich peasants and 10,000 rubles in the czar's money.

"'Look,' says the soldier, 'here is some bourgeoisie for you.' We ask them: 'Is it you?' 'Yes,' they say, 'it's us.' 'Well,' says he, 'be calm. We don't take 10,000 rubles from every one of you.' 'How much do you want?' they say. We move away a bit to talk it over. 'Three thousand,' is our answer. The bourgeoisie naturally start shouting at the top of their voices: 'It's too much. Take two!' 'Well,' saw we, 'we don't ask 10,000 of every one of you. . . . Do we? why haggle?' Finally the [illegible] give in: 'All right,' they [illegible] quite right. They

Capitalist Class Burns International Labor Day

(Continued from first page.)

saw new hope arise in the breasts of the radical minorities of the Socialist Parties of various countries. It was upon this day that Karl Liebknecht made his famous address in Potsdamer Platz.

May Day of the following year was a day of hope reborn. The Czar had been driven from his throne. The Russian "under dogs" were coming into their own. And best of all, a new, free Russia was holding out the promise of peace to a war-weary world. A year later the Russian situation had changed. A combination capitalist and workers' government had given way to a dictatorship of the proletariat. Workers' rule had been established. A new milestone in the emancipation of the working class had been reached.

Another short year crammed full of important events passed. May Day, 1919, arrived. The clarion call of the wage slaves for a free world was heard around the earth. The world was virtually aflame with May Day demonstrations. The lowly had come into their own in several countries. Working men, women and children had received a taste of freedom from capitalism's chains and the spirit of this freedom was sweeping around the world with lightning speed. From heart to heart, from city to city, from country to country it leaped, gladdening the souls of toil-worn labor in large industrial centers as well as in remote communities.

In Paris on May 1, 1919, the peace conference had to walk and knew not where to eat. The workers of that city ceased work as one man. There was no chuck, chuck of the limousines of the peace conference delegates heard that day. Nor yet the sizzle of palatable viands in the process of cooking. Labor of the city of Paris had decided to rest and rest it did. As usual, the sabers of the hirelings of the ruling class attempted to allay the workers' happiness and turn a peaceful demonstration into riots. However, no matter what happened upon the streets of the city, the wheels of industry in the large city of Paris were at a complete standstill on May 1, 1919, and by that and that alone do we gauge the power of the Paris workers.

In Chicago dozens of mass meetings were held. Thousands of workers refused to labor and many shops had to close their doors for the day. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a union of thousands of workers engaged in the needle industry, celebrated this May Day by closing every shop in which they were employed. The largest hall in Chicago was engaged for the day and amid speech making, music and dancing, International Labor Day was fittingly celebrated. A few arrests of demonstrators were made by the police for "disorderly conduct." From a capitalist point of view the workers were of course conducting themselves most disorderly—entirely out of order with the prescribed rules of the masters.

A monster parade and meeting was held in Minneapolis, the biggest May Day celebration in the history of the city, writes State Secretary John Dirba. Capitalist newspaper dispatches told of a demonstration 32,000 strong in Detroit, with thousands of union men in line. We take it for granted that the kept press did not lie this time, at any rate, not in our favor. The Boston May first demonstration was interfered with by police and soldiers. In New York a mob of marines, young enlisted men who had not seen service abroad and were spoiling for fight, visited the New York Call building, Rand school and Novy Mir, a Russian Socialist paper, and attempted to wreck these places. In this instance, the police, sworn to maintain order, did make an attempt to do as they were sworn to do, and many of the marines suffered broken heads at the hands of the police force.

The Cleveland story has already been told, but let us again emphasize that the rioting was not started nor carried on by either the thousands of paraders nor the thousands of people lined along the curb watching the May Day demonstration. Orders had gone forth to the Socialist Party branches and labor unions in line that under no circumstances were they to pay any attention to what was said by outsiders along the line of march. No arguments were to be engaged in and every precaution was taken to have a peaceful demonstration.

We dare say that the Chamber of Commerce did not want a peaceful demonstration; Cleveland's industrial lords did not want it; many politicians, capitalism's crumbeaters did not want it. The result was that we did not have it. From evidence gathered from many sources Cleveland Socialists now deduce that the rioting was started by hoodlums and street corner loafers, led in instances by one or two soldiers. Many of the rioters were boys of about 16 and 17 years of age. Many of the older toughs were intoxicated and most of them were undoubtedly paid for their work, and had probably been given a good share of the money in advance with which they bought courage at so much per glass.

The hoodlums seemed to have received a general order from "higher up" which in effect was—"wherever you see red, tear it off." Red is very much in style in ladies' wear at present and because of this, many women not at all in sympathy with the Socialists, many women of the upper class, were roughly handled. Red waists were torn from women; red hats were trampled under-foot by the rowdies; red feathers were plucked out of high-priced headwear; red ribbons were torn from children's hair. Men, whether Socialists or not, lost their neckties even if they only so much as contained a red dot. Age made no difference to the hoodlums. They saw red, and old men and women suffered equally with the young. One well dressed old man, not at all connected with the demonstration, was [illegible] nearly [illegible] had [illegible] to death

preached a powerful sermon upon the following Sunday against the inactivity of the police during the rioting. Cleveland Socialists are now distributing thousands of leaflets to the homes of Cleveland, which in strong language, places the blame for the May 1st rioting where it belongs.

In Youngstown the city police put in a full day's work pulling red badges from the coats of Socialists, plucking red roses from buttonholes and making a collection of red ties. A parade of Russian Socialists was dispersed by mounted police. Morris Abrams and Chas. Baker, state organizer, addressed the immense throng from the fire escape at the third story of a building after which the police permitted the opening of Diamond hall and the mass meeting to proceed.

The Ohio May Day demonstrations were exceptionally successful. The State office of the Socialist Party placed more than 25 speakers with as many locals. Other locals and members at large took advantage of the printed speeches sent out by the national office. The weeks preceding May 1st were busy ones in the state office. Hortense Wagenknecht, who is acting temporarily as state secretary, reports orders for literature the best ever received; locals in unusual number entered into the spirit of the day and the demand for speakers was [illegible] large that many [illegible] disappointed.

THE MARTYRDOM OF KATE O'HARE

(By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.)

I sat in the office of the man, the lawyer, who had argued the case of "the United States versus Kate Richards O'Hare" in the high courts of the land.

He is a St. Louis Republican who hates Democrats, and therefore easily and vigorously denounces all the anti-liberty legislation of the Democratic administration at Washington, D. C.

But he shakes his head in sadness and despair when the question of Kate O'Hare's early liberation from Missouri's bastile is brought up and discussed. This isn't because he feels that the Democrats would not like to grant Kate O'Hare a pardon. He feels that they would like to—under certain conditions. Those conditions constitute the unsurmountable barrier.

If the political and industrial class war prisoners of the nation would plead for pardon on bended knees and with deep humiliation, the chances are that they would soon receive their release. This is the same cowardly spirit that would originally have prevented their indictment, conviction and sentence.

This is not the spirit that permeates the soul of a Debs and O'Hare; or any one of the hundreds of other class war prisoners slowly rotting away in America's bastiles, awaiting the day of their deliverance either through the falling of the beneficent hand of death upon their bent shoulders, or through the opening of their prison portals by an aroused and awakened working class.

Kate O'Hare was a former international secretary of the American Socialist Party. When the emergency anti-war convention of the Socialist Party gathered at St. Louis in April, 1917, she received the highest vote for the places of honor on the committee on war and militarism. She therefore became the committee's chairman, and her name appeared first on the report that sent the St. Louis proclamation as it is now known throughout the world, to the convention for discussion and adoption. All this, Kate O'Hare considered as but part of her work in the working class movement.

After the convention she continued her work as a speaker and writer in the Socialist movement. Her activities would not have aroused the forces of government anywhere except in a nation that had surrendered itself to blind prejudice, a consuming jingoism and that paraded its despotism behind a masked hypocrisy consisting of subtle and meaningless phrases.

Kate O'Hare, like so many others, in time became the victim of the Democratic administration's double dealing. She could easily have escaped the consequences had she surrendered her integrity. This she refused to do and she was put on trial in a hostile environment, before a prejudiced judge, under conditions that made conviction sure and a severe sentence certain. She was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for making a speech that would have passed unnoticed in any other civilized land.

There was yet time for surrender. Yet she held true to her cause and its principles in the face of lawyers' advice, in spite of the overwhelming heart tug of her four children, rapidly approaching young womanhood and young manhood. The dark prospect of soon entering a prison hell could have been completely wiped away by a capitulation to the forces of the dominant social order. But there was no capitulation, no surrender, no weakening anywhere. That is why Kate O'Hare is today suffering the prison martyrdom that comes to those who champion the cause of the oppressed and the downtrodden.

If the broad masses of the workers had remained as true to its spokesmen, as spokesmen like Kate O'Hare have remained true to them, then we would have no class war prisoners today. But Kate O'Hare and the others have advanced even beyond the vanguard of their own class. The question that remains is, how long will it take the workers to come to the rescue with an awakened protest and a militant solidarity born of an organized strength that knows no peer.

Forward to the awakening, Comrades! Forward to the realization of the power of our strength when organized! Forward to the early liberation of all political and industrial class war prisoners.

ANTI-SOCIALIST LEGISLATION

(Continued from first page.)

brought here by European immigrants, the immigration committees will immediately report out bills prohibiting immigration entirely for a number of years. Johnson of Washington, chairman of the house immigration committee, is the most ignorant anti-Socialist bigot in the house. He has seen enough Socialist literature to know that the Socialists propose to abolish the capitalist system of labor exploitation, and true to his desire to live in idleness on the labor of the working class he will recommend any measure which is drafted to keep out foreign-born Socialists. Johnson is also intensely anti-I. W. W. He has seen the profits of the lumber industry in his state threatened because of the incessant demands of the I. W. W. workers for more and more and ever more wages. The house committee will lose no time in reporting immigration prohibition measures.

The senate judiciary committee, using as its basis the lies uttered before the Overman sub-committee in its alleged investigation of bolshevism, is scheduled to report the most drastic anti-Socialist measures under the guise of bills to prohibit the advocacy of the use of violence to overthrow the government. At the present time foreign-language papers cannot be circulated through the mails except by the special permit of the postmaster general, who has strangled many foreign-language Socialist papers because of his charge that they were carrying on propaganda in opposition to the purposes of the government in the prosecution of the war. The judiciary committee will report a measure either prohibiting entirely the publishing of foreign-language papers or will extend the present measure so that the postmaster general can strangle them for being hostile to the labor exploiting purposes of the government in times of peace.

COLUMBIANA COUNTY PICNICS

Just a few lines to let you know about our picnic May 4.

The comrades began to gather at the home of Comrade Zimmerman at Leetonia at an early hour with well-filled baskets. They came from East Liverpool, Youngstown, Salem and many other points.

The musicians were there. They gave many fine selections of music throughout the day.

The comrades enjoyed a fine dinner, prepared by the ladies, which appealed to all appetites by the way it disappeared. After dinner the comrades engaged themselves in discussions of Socialism, Bolshevism and Capitalism, also labor conditions in general.

Then the chairman of the day assumed control of the gathering and proceeded to sell literature to the amount of $4.40 and two O. S. cards.

Among the speakers were Comrades Larimore, Lewellyn, Ellison, Bonsall, Farmer, Leigenthaler, Schriber, Lanpher, Jenkins and a number of others. Comrade Bundy delivered the main address of the day. The collection was $18.51, so I think we had a most delightful day. We sent resolutions to Comrades Debs, O'Hara, Hennessey and others.

W. A. JENKINS.
Salem, Ohio.

a well attended meeting with C. V. Ulrich as the speaker. Akron Socialists and unionists were given gratuitous protection in that a platoon of police led their May Day parade. S. L. Newman of the Machinists union was the principle speaker of the day.

The mayor of Martins Ferry, where Tom Lewis was booked to speak, organized the soldiers several days before the international holiday and no meeting or parade was permitted. The Martins Ferry Socialists gave notice that they would hold their meeting even if they had to have it in a boathouse in the middle of the Ohio river. Socialism in Zanesville was boosted by police interference, Henry J. Hahn being ordered to cease speaking because of trouble started by some tool of the old order. A crowded hall placed the Cincinnati May Day meeting in the list of successes.

SOCIALISTS UPHOLD FREE SPEECH.

It was the Socialists who upheld the right of free speech on May 1st. Many mayors and police chiefs had denied Socialist locals the right to hold meetings on International Labor day, and had done this even though the Socialists never made request for permission. These autocratic ukases issued by our little city czars received no attention, the Socialists declaring that neither a mayor nor a police chief had a right to abrogate the first amendment to the U. S. constitution. In many places demonstrations were held despite the fact that they were forbidden and the result was that the police powers were helpless in the face of the determination of the thousands of demonstrators.

It is now agreed among Socialists that the "nation-wide bomb plot" was staged especially to discourage May Day meetings. This bomb plot was exploded in Chicago when two of the leading newspapers of that city printed exact photographic reproductions of the wrapper and address of the bomb package sent to Judge Landis. That the address was faked was proven when comparison was made between the addresses printed in the two newspapers. Each newspaper insisted that it had an exact photographic reproduction of the address and yet in both instances the address was written with a different typewriter in two different ways, in one the use of capital letters predominating and in the other the reverse being the case.

Hereafter May Day will loom big with promise. With a working class that understands better than it understood before the meaning of pro[illegible] brotherhood, a working [illegible] more desperately

SOME STORIES OF OUR MAY DAY MEETINGS

MONSTER MAY DAY PARADE IN AKRON.

A big demonstration was held here on May Day. The Machinists union and the Molders union, each had a committee of five to make arrangements for a mass meeting. The Socialists were invited by members of these two committees to join with them in a big celebration.

The Socialists accepted and joined in and helped to make the demonstration one of the largest and best that has been held in Akron for many years. The Socialists hired the Barberton Ladies' band for the occasion. The German branch brought along its own band, composed of its own members. When the ladies band saw this volunteer band in line, they dropped out and disappeared from the scene. It was not good unionism for them to march and play with a band that was not paid for its services. Then to cap the climax the molders committee refused to march in the parade because the Socialists were there, with banners which demanded free speech, free press, free assemblage, etc. But what got the goat of the committee of the molders was a banner which read as follows: "We demand amnesty for all political prisoners."

Tom Mooney is a member of the molders' union, but the committee balked at marching with this banner displayed. The Machinists' delegates stood loyally by and showed that this particular union is one of the most militant and progressive unions in existence. They said, go on with the parade and let the molders do what they please.

So away went the parade, down Main, up Howard to Exchange and thence to Perkins Square where over five thousand people gathered to listen to speakers from the Machinists' union and the Socialist Party.

Everything passed off peaceably, but it would only have taken some such fool action as happened in Cleveland on that day to have had the same results in Akron as happened in Cleveland.

During the meeting a declaration of the stand of the Akron workers regarding political and industrial prisoners was adopted by unanimous vote and ordered forwarded to the president of the United States. The resolutions are enclosed and I ask you to publish them to show our readers that Akron workers are alive to the conditions which confront us and stand ready to do their best in the efforts to free those men and women who have been taken from our ranks and lodged behind prison bars.

The Akron local is alive and doing business all the time. We have been somewhat unfortunate in the matter of having a regular correspondent for the Ohio Socialist, so the news of the activity of Akron Socialists has not appeared regularly for some time past.

I can now say that the Socialists of Akron are on the job and hold propaganda meetings every Friday night regular, and many other meetings from time to time. Regular meetings are held on each Friday at 50 South Howard street and all visiting Socialists are cordially invited to look up the place and see what we are doing.

JOHN C. CHASE.

P. B. STROBEL BRAVES OPPOSITION AT MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION IN MT. VERNON.

After repeated refusals by Mt. Vernon papers to publish announcements of the May Day meeting, which was to be addressed by Jos. W. Sharts of Dayton; after the city authorities refused to issue a permit for a meeting on the square, a small audience managed to gather in one of Mt. Vernon's halls to listen to the speaker of the day.

Police were stationed at the hall doors and so far as we can learn, kept many persons who had come to take part in the meeting from entering the hall.

When those who attended the meeting left for home they were egged by a small party of rowdies, encouraged in this action by the business men of the town. P. B. Strobel was compelled to kiss the flag. Just what for he does not know, but suspects it was because thousands of new millionaires had been created since the war started. On his way home a number of these rowdies assaulted Comrade Strobel.

"I have heard from a number of people since this affair and learn that it has raised much resentment in the hearts of the average man and woman," writes Comrade Strobel. "The effect of this rowdyism will be to unite the radical forces of Mt. Vernon and this means a stronger and larger local for this city. Three other citizens were made to kiss the flag and were in other ways abused. This will all react to our benefit."

POLICE CAPITULATE IN YOUNGSTOWN MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION.

A few of the following bits of information may interest the readers of the O. S. At about 1 p. m. 350 of our Russian comrades left East Youngstown and marched over four miles to Youngstown, where they were met by mounted police and told they could not parade "without a permit." All afternoon the Public Square surged with an immense throng, fully 60 per cent being in sympathy with our movement. The balance of the people assembled were armed A. P. L. secret service men, police, soldiers and curiosity seekers. All day and evening the mounted "Cossacks" rode into the people on the Square and even onto the sidewalks. The "protectors of the people," the city police, were busy violating the law by pulling off red ribbons, red roses, red ties, from the persons that happened to be wearing them. Women were encouraged by the police to assault the persons of our women comrades just because they wore crimson waists or ties. Assurance was given through the papers by the police department that the demonstration would not be molested if we carried no red flags, several days before. We carried no flags of any [illegible] but wore ribbons [illegible] words: "Free [illegible] flags." At 7:30 p. m. over 10,000 met on the Square, some to hear the speakers, others, perhaps, to oppose the "Bolsheviki," as the papers gave our meeting front page advertisements, regarding the carrying of "red flags" and the "Bolsheviki" parade.

The newspapers here seem to regret the well behaved demonstration on our part and are denouncing us as "one-cylinder Bolsheviki." Anyway the meeting on the Square was broken up by the city authorities, "who violate the law at will." Comrade Abroms, our city organizer, and Comrade Chas. Baker spoke to the people from a third story fire escape to the surging throng in the Square, and great was the chagrin of the "tools of the Chamber of Commerce." The chief, worsted by this successful ruse, called loudly to Comrade Baker, "Get in there! I'll let 'em in." And 1,200 people rushed into Diamond hall, making it a dramatic occasion. Over 4,000 comrades were left outside sorely disappointed.

Our large halls have been taken away from us by police orders now, but if they imagine they can suppress our complaining voices they are sadly mistaken. "Sooner or later the lid will fly off."

Youngstown has now a stronger radical movement than is generally known in our party circles.

Newspaper stories state that the foreigners were deluded as to why they were asked to quit work on May day and join in the parade. Some foreigners were said to have become incensed at finding out "it was no Liberty bond" parade, etc.

In fact, every reason was given for the behavior of the "foreigners" except the truthful one.

We feel all the stronger in this valley for our May day demonstration, which was our first general celebration. We look with confidence into the needs of the future and we will respond to the support of our principles at instant notice.

Yours,
F. J. CATLIN.

CONNEAUT SOCIALISTS STAND THEIR GROUND.

Our May day celebration here terminated in being the biggest victory that the workers of this city ever won. For three days previous to the meeting the local capitalist papers contained inflaming articles trying to incite people to riot against the meeting. On April 30th the mayor issued a proclamation, suppressing the meeting. Immediately we informed the mayor that the meeting would be held in spite of his proclamation.

The meeting was held as per schedule. Thos. Devine was our speaker. The whole police force, sheriff and about 12 or 15 deputies were there. No trouble occurred and we collected $10.66 defense fund, which will be forwarded to National Office.

HOWARD G. EISAMAN.

ASHTABULA CELEBRATES.

Will you be able to publish a notice in the O. S. to the effect that the May Day and amnesty meeting held under the auspices of the City Central committee Ashtabula Socialist Party, was a decided success.

A few features of the meeting were the fine music furnished by the Finnish Comrades band, the singing by the ladies' quartet and the gymnastics performed by the Athletic club of the Finnish branch.

The speaker, T. J. Lewis, gave the audience a very humorous conception of the trials of the Henry Dubb under Capitalism. His talk was highly appreciated as it was very instructive and many expressed the desire to hear him again.

The collection, sale of books and applications for membership shows that Ashtabula is waking up.

E. J. HEWIT.

MAY DAY MEETING AT COLUMBUS.

Local Columbus' May Day meeting was held May 5th, with Comrade Scott Nearing as the speaker. Owing to the free advertising in the capitalist press, owing to the unusual difficulties we had to contend with before the meeting, a good audience was on hand.

The meeting was advertised in one paper as a Debs' protest meeting. Both the other daily papers came out with the statement that the Socialists were disloyal and that the authorities would not allow the meeting to be held. We came back at them Sunday morning in the Journal with Nearing's picture and a statement that he would speak on economics. In order to ward off trouble, admittance to the meeting was by tickets only. These were sold by our local members.

Monday the public was again informed by our capitalist press that Safety Director Thatcher had given orders that the meeting was not to be allowed. Nevertheless, we proceeded to gather at the hall on schedule time and when the opening time came the crowd was on hand. When the meeting was about to open, in comes Policeman Gump, who asked for a private interview with those in charge. Comrade Bachman, Nearing and the writer, during the ensuing interview, were told by this strong arm of the law that he would not stand for any berating of the flag nor any abusing of the officials of the government. We assured him that that was not our mission. We stated that if the profiteers of the country cared half as much for the flag as the Socialists did, we would have better times than we have and invited our friend Gump to stay and hear the speech. He did so and acted like a little gentleman, but that was understood before we invited him, so you see he is not what his name would indicate.

Comrade Nearing gave one of the best lectures I ever heard and made it plain that owning a man's job and taking part of what he earns because he owns the job is the same in principle as chattel slavery and the divine right to govern, because one inherits the ownership of the natural resources. He made it so plain that [illegible] Gump could understand it.

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Soviet Russia Scores the Peace at Versailles

THE RUSSIAN SOVIET BUREAU HAS ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT, DATED MAY 8th.

The peace treaty as published in the papers today, has all the characteristics of old-fashioned diplomacy of "give and take" and of "balance of power." It can not bring peace to the world. It is very eloquent in respect to what it does not say. It studiously avoids the Russian question.

While the rest of the world is being prepared for peace, the Allies seem determined to continue that war against Russia which as never been declared, which not only has not been approved by nations or other countries, but, on the contrary is bitterly opposed, whenever the rank and file of the peoples have an opportunity to express their opinion.

The peace treaty provides that the Brest Litovsk peace treaty be abrogated. The Brest Litovsk treaty has already been abrogated by the Russian Soviet government itself. They were compelled to sign it only because they had no other alternative, and because the Allies refused to aid Soviet Russia against the designs of German imperialism.

The decision of the Allied powers at the peace council to terminate the Brest Litovsk treaty, however, is not only superfluous, but certain other conditions of the new peace treaty, in fact, mean a continuation of the strangling of Russia started by the imperialists at Brest Litovsk.

"German troops at present in territories to the east of the new German-Polish-Russian frontier shall return as soon as the Allied and associated governments deem wise." This, translated in terms of the actual situation means that German troops are to remain on Russian territory to prevent the workers there from asserting their rights to self determination.

"They (the German troops) are in no way to interfere with measures of national defence," says the Russian clause of the peace treaty. This apparently does not mean that they shall not interfere with measures undertaken by the majority of the people in those parts of Russia, namely the workers whose aim is to unite with the Federal Soviet Republic of Soviet Russia. It means on the contrary that they shall aid the small reactionary cliques of aristocrats, who under the guise of Lettish, Lithuanian and Esthonian nationalism are bitterly fighting the Lettish, Lithuanian and Esthonian workers.

President Wilson once said that the attitude which the Allied nations are going to take in respect to Russia is the acid test which will determine the nature of the ideals. The peace treaty presented at Versailles has undergone that acid test and the result is not encouraging to idealism.

The sixth of the fourteen points announced by President Wilson on January 8, 1918, reads as follows:

> "The evacuation of all Russian territory and such settlement af all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassing opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing."

Nothing of the promises contained in this clause has been kept! There will not be an evacuation of all Rus-

(Continued on fourth page.)

Cleveland Socialists Peacefully Marching to Public Square May 1.

Big Field For American Business in Russia Seen by Consulting Engineer

(From "The Wisconsin News," May 3, 1919.)

The Soviet government of Russia, representing 150,000,000 people, is asking for trade relations with the United States, and is willing and ready to pay cash and give concessions.

This assertion is made by L. I. Bobroff, consulting engineer in the Majestic building, who has returned from New York, where he was in conference with representatives of the Soviets.

"Russia does not need food; she can feed herself," said Mr. Bobroff. "What she is in need of is the finished product; shoes, clothing, tractors, shop equipment and trucks. Tractors are needed for cultivating the land, and motor trucks for transporting the food from the farm to the city until the railroads are extended. Transportation is an important factor in every country, and especially in Russia, where distances are great.

OPPOSITION FROM OLD REGIME.

"The opposition to the Soviet gov-

(Continued on fourth page.)

Capitalist
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Minds of A

MAY FIRST, 1919, MORE AND ENTHUSIASTICAL BRATED THAN AT A SINCE BIRTH OF S PARTY IN THE UNITE

Capitalism again did al on May 1, 1919, in contin parations for its own fune Marx said years ago that ca would be its own grave Never was a truer prophesy spoke Capitalism has in fact dug its ow grave, and is now toppling into As it topples it attempts to grab straws to save its poluted carca from interment. The League of N tions straw, the invasion of Rus straw, the bomb plot straw— these capitalism has grabbed in hope that they will keep it on ea for a few days longer.

Capitalism is doomed. Nothi gave greater proof of this than hysterical attempt to beat peacef workers, in parade and meeting d monstrations on May 1, 1919, int a change of mind. As if this coul be done!

Instead it has burned into th minds of the American wrkers th significance of May Day as an inte national holiday. Union labor ever greater numbers will join w Socialists in making this day a d of challenge to capitalism and th overt acts committed against labor this May Day will but unite labor so solidly that overt acts can no more be committed against it.

The first of May was offici declared to be the holiday of wor ers of all lands at the Internation Socialist Congress of 1889. In suc ceding years May first was con ceived particularly as a day upon

A Few Moments Later After the Mounted Police Had Ridden Into the Lines.

CALL UPON PRESIDENT TO HALT RIOTING

President Wilson was urged to issue a statement against mob violence of the character which marked the celebration of May Day in an open open letter written to him last week by the National Civil Liberties Bureau of 41 Union Square, New York City. The letter which is signed by Albert DeSilver, director of the bureau, after mentioning the happenings throughout the country, calls attention to the dangers inherent in refusing persons who feel themselves aggrieved, the opportunity to assemble and to air their grievances. The letter in full follows:

May 2, 1919.

My Dear Mr. President:

The very grave disturbances which attended the celebration of the International Labor holiday yesterday bear a significance which cannot be passed over lightly. In Boston, in Chicago, in Detroit, in Cleveland—in many other places parades and meetings and other peaceful demonstrations were violently dispersed by mobs and in some cases by the very officers of the law who should have secured the protection guaranteed by our laws to the gatherings. In Cleveland, according to press dispatches, army tanks and motor trucks were used to disperse meetings and parades of Socialists and Labor Unionists and one person was killed and scores wounded in the ensuing riots. In New York City, the police department succeeded in protecting mass meetings in Madison Square Garden from assault by a mob of 3,000 soldiers and sailors, but organized mob violences went on unchecked in other parts of the city—meetings were broken up and men and women brutally beaten by the score. Direct incitement to violence of this character has been current for months and the attention of those in authority has been called to it without avail.

Mr. President, these facts present a grave challenge to our American institutions. Can it be that those who feel themselves aggrieved are not to be ermitted peaceably to assemble and to give voice to their grievances? Can it be that the protection guaranteed by our constitution is not to be shared equally by all?

The growth of such a belief is a direct threat against the orderly pro-

(Continued on second page.)

ANTI-SOCIALIST LEGISLATION TO BE GIVEN RIGHT OF WAY AT SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS

The political representatives of the labor exploiters will give anti-Socialist bills the right of way over every other measure when congress meets in special session on May 18.

The alleged plot to send bombs through the mails to men more or less prominent in supporting the capitalist system of wage slavery has increased the zeal for speedy action on the part of the anti-Socialist law makers, and the May Day demonstrations of labor's hostility to the industrial autocracy of the labor exploiters has added to the obsession of the capitalist congress that it is possible to wipe out the industrial unrest with a number of drastic anti-Socialist laws much like those which Bismarck and the Kaiser imposed upon the workers of Germany in the last century when the Socialists there began to show signs of vigorous growth.

There has never been a congress since the establishment of the government of the United States more appropriately endowed to enact repressive legislation against the working people than the one which meets on May 18. At the elections last November the voters defeated every radical and progressive and Socialist with the exception of Berger of Wisconsin and Nolan of California. An attempt will be made to unseat Berger because he is a Socialist.

In their fear at the amazing strides of the Socialist revolutions in Europe and their horror at the thought of the working class of the United States absorbing some of the European revolutionary, class-conscious spirit of the proletariat, the capitalist congress will not hesitate to ride rough shod over constitutional guarantees in their legislative orgy to crush the rising Socialist spirit throughout the land.

Drastic as are the espionage laws now in force, the capitalist junkers now running the legislative branch of the government will not hesitate to re-enact them as peace time measures, but will make them more effective.

Carried away by the hallucination that the present Socialist spirit stirring the workers in the United States is an imported article and is

(Continued on second page.)

TERRIBLE STATISTICS

London.—Terrible statistics were given by J. C. Davison, M. P., a former sanitary inspector, in his speech in the House of Commons on the housing bill recently. There were 3,500,000 people in England, he said, who live in less than half a room each; 7,060,000 who have less than a room apiece and 23,000,000 who live in tenements of from one to five rooms. Over 500,000 more houses were required merely to allow for the provision in England of one room per head. These conditions were reflected in the rates of infantile mortality, which, Mr. Davison reminded the house, were as high as 160 per thousand for miners, and 150 to 250 per thousand for unskilled laborers while for doctors it was only 40, and for the middle classes generally only 77 per thousand. Not 400,000 new houses were required as had been stated by those responsible for the bill, but a million, if the present insanitary houses were to be replaced.

"Revolution" Is Cry of French Proletariat

The great Jaures demonstration of March 6th and the decisions taken at the Socialist Party congress of the Federation of the Seine on March 13th, both demonstrated the decided turn to the left which the Socialist Party has taken since its last congress in October, when the party by only a small majority overturned the former conservative majority. More than fifty thousand men and women wearing red sashes, red flowers, and carrying red banners paraded within

(Continued on fourth page.)

And Now There's But One
And That Is---Buy a Pr

THERE IS NO OTHER WAY OUT. We are forced to do it. Truth is, we are now forced to do what we believe should have been done years ago.

WE MUST GET A PRINTING PLANT OF OUR OWN, and we must get it at once. We must make this investment or we may have to give up the OHIO SOCIALIST.

AND NOW READ WHY.

Following the May Day disturbances in Cleveland we were literally thrown upon the street with our weekly paper, the OHIO SOCIALIST. The printer had been threatened by certain powers behind the throne and without so much as giving us time to secure another printer, he demanded that we leave his premises.

Then began the hunt for another printing shop equipped to print our paper. Lo and behold, all large printers in Cleveland, as one man, refused to have anything to do with our powerful and growing OHIO SOCIALIST.

This means but one thing. The ruling class of Cleveland and Ohio have decided to suppress our paper. It proves that the large employing printers have an understanding not to publish for us. It shows that the same powers that paid the hoodlums and rowdies to start a riot at Cleveland Socialists' May Day demonstration have now resolved to stamp out a free press, a press that cannot be bought nor bribed.

Unable to find a printer in Cleveland who would print last week's issue of the OHIO SOCIALIST, we were compelled to hurry all manuscript to the printing plant owned by the Socialists in Dayton, Ohio. This issue was also printed at the printing plant owned by the Dayton comrades. We placed the question of purchasing a printing plant before the Ohio state executive committee and by a majority vote we were instructed to proceed in establishing a printing plant owned by our party.

THIS THEN IS A CALL FOR HELP.

Are we going to allow the OHIO SOCIALIST to be killed? And the answer is—WE ARE NOT! We know that the Socialist press shall not suffer suppression as long as there are sufficient dollars in the pockets of our thousands of readers—for these dollars will fly our way without question or hesitation, once the call goes out for help.

And THIS IS THAT CALL FOR HELP. We call upon every reader of this paper to rush a contribution for a PARTY OWNED PRINTING PLANT to us AT ONCE. Let every one give a dollar or more. Contributions in smaller amounts are, of course, very welcome. But most supporters of the OHIO SOCIALIST can give a dollar, five dollars, ten dollars or more.

And remember, you are not giving the money away. You are putting it to the best use a Socialist better way to into the hands and buy equipm ideals and prin ally secure Indu dom.

PARTY OWNED

All money cont acknowledged in Money contribute other purpose exc to-date printing

One thousar ately as a first paper press we pose. Subsequen machines, smaller other machinery millions of leafle paganda matter re and year in our Soci

The day of party ment necessary in ou We have too long d ing class, our enemi We felt all along when this policy w our existence. That now do double duty that we may at the own and control a pr equipped as the mos allow.

$10,000 NEEDED GIVE THE

Will you be one o $1.00 each? Will y rades to give $5.00 e 100 comrades to giv help to make up a pur which is to be used upon a newspaper pr which we will then sands of copies of th week?

HELP US BUIL ing the foundation Ohio. Help us buil as generous a re OWNED PRINTIN can TODAY.

AND NOW FO PLACE AND F COLUMNS OF SOCIALIST WI OUR THOUSA LEAD IN AC PAIGN FOR PRINTING

ENTAL DYNAMITE

(By N. C. HAMELL.)

ght always precedes free

a "war of brains" after aybe we can enjoy a ce.

of blood" rains on the e as the unjust.

ong jump from a "rented on earth to "Our Man- he skies."

he "Stone Age" a lot of fel- remained "stone" blind.

a cub of Capitalism.

f battle has about incu- bryo of human solidarity

e of Justice seldom

Ignorance falters where angels dare to tread.

It is bad to have a shadow upon the heart; it is worse to have a cloud upon the brain.

In recognizing eternal truth, we approach mighty close to eternal life.

Capitalism is a hopeless body lying upon the ground with both eyes pecked out. Around the carcass a thousand financial vultures are battling for a share.

Superstition is brain rust—a phantom that fastened itself upon primitive man in the cave. Man finally emerged from the cave, but that phantom still occupies the cave of man's intellect.

BIG FIELD FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS

(Continued from first page.)

ernment comes from the remnants of the old regime, which seeks the restoration of another czar. I wish the American manufacturer to get the truth of the situation. A New York newspaper printed an article the other day that our goods are barred from Italy, while the goods of the other allies are favored. This will result in all countries if we don't take advantage of the Russian situation and the Russian market.

"The Soviet government is not only ready to pay cash money acceptable to the American business man, but it also is willing to send back here products which we need, such as hides, flax, hemp, furs, lumber, grain, platinum, metals and minerals.

"We have made mistakes regarding Russia in the past, but let us not make one of the most fatal mistakes regarding the Russian market. If we delay and do not extend to Russia the helping hand now, how can we expect her to extend her hand, her market? Our delay will permit Germany or some other nation, England—she is after the Russian market—or even the smaller nations, whichever gets in and gives the Russian Soviets help, will control the Russian market for many years to come. For us to be shut out of the Russian market we cannot afford as a nation.

U. S. LIKED IN RUSSIA.

"Russia needs help and she will get it. No other nation among the allies is so well liked in Russia, as ours. We are in a position to help them and we should.

"I can secure from the Soviet representatives orders for Wisconsin manufacturers amounting from $15,000,000 to $25,000,000, if our government will give us an export license for shipment of goods to Petrograd and allow us to use the cables for the transmission of gold from Russia in payment for the goods.

"Let us not deceive ourselves. We ned the Russian market and need it badly for the solving of our unemployment problem. We must give a job to every man and woman who needs one. Let us go after the Russian market and supply to Russia all the finished and unfinished products the Soviet Russian government needs. Let us not forget that self-preservation is the law of nature and in my opinion the preservation of our own peace lies in the giving of employment to every man and woman who depends on a job for their daily bread. The Russian market will finish the job."

Mr. Bobroff is in negotiation with a number of Milwaukee and Wisconsin manufacturers regarding huge orders for immediate shipment to Russia. He contemplates an early trip himself to the land of the former czar.

SCOTT NEARING'S LECTURETTES

KILLING THE GOOSE.

No wise man will kill the goose that is laying golden eggs. Such direct action hampers production.

The American workers have been the "goose" for many a long day. Golden eggs they have laid, all studded with precious jewels. These eggs have been gathered by the masters until 35,000 of them are rated as millionaires. Still they are dissatisfied. If they were but reasonable, or even decent in their demands, the chances are that the goose would go on laying for a long time to come, but the sight of much wealth has driven them mad. They want more, ever more—though the goose is doing its best. The masters have so far over-reached themselves that they are dangerously near to killing the goose.

Mr. Roger Babson warns them of their folly in a special letter to business men headed—"Bolshevism—Its Cause and Cure."

> "The people are not opposed to property as such. They are rather opposed to the small groups who are not content to control their own property, but who wish to control the property of everybody else. It is well enough to storm against Bolshevism, but such scolding will never prevent its spread. The real cause of Bolshevism, as brought out in the recent governors' and mayors' conference in Washington, is the fact that properties are being operated by small groups for their own benefit, rather than for the benefit of the owners, the employes, or the public. . . .
>
> "If the lawyers and bankers would only retire from our prominent corporations and seek to have them managed by the real owners and the employes, this Bolshevist craze would soon disappear or would at least be postponed for another generation. If, however, these interests continue to hang on like grim death to such properties, as they are now doing, they will ultimately pull the structure down on their own heads."

Grafters, bourbons, tories, and parasites cannot learn. They are blinded and number by the system that shelters and protests them. History contains a long record of their stupid blunders, and to that list the American ruling class is hastening to add another instance by killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

CAPITALISM IN MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts is one of the leading industrial states of the Union. Her manufacturers are long established. Her commerce is stable. She is rich. How does she treat her workers?

The industries of Masachusetts depend upon the workers for their prosperity. The workers produce all wealth. The Massachusetts industries reward most of them with starvation wages.

Charles F. Gettemy, director of the bureau of statistics of Massachusetts, has just published figures showing the wages paid to adult men by Massachusetts industries in 1917. During that year experts placed the cost of a decent living for a family of five—man, wife and three young children—at $1,350 to $1,500. That year there were 530,890 men employed by the industries of Massachusetts. That year 71,843, or exactly 13.5 per cent of these men received a weekly wage in excess of $1,300 per year. Of the total number of men 9.1 per cent were working for less than $12 per week; 20.8 per cent were being paid wage rates between $12 and $15 per week; while 35.4 per cent were receiving wage rates of $15 to $20 per week. This is the record of exploitation from one of the chief industrial states in the Union.

Capitalism can do as it pleases in Massachusetts. Many of the towns are unorganized; the Socialist Party is weak; the workers, of many nationalities, are lacking in solidarity. Capitalism, free to work its will, does the one thing that it always does in such cases—it pays wages upon which workers, with their wives and children, suffer, and starve, and die.

BANK CLERKS UNITE.

The Wall Street Journal, in an article on bank clerks' wages, notes that the underlings in the financial world are among the worst paid and the most responsible of any people doing clerical work. The temptations to dishonesty under the circumstances are almost overwhelming.

Such a scandalous situation cries aloud for remedy. The Journal has an answer, "Our banks make large profits, and proudly point to the increased surplus for the year and the additions to capital account. But some day some one with a little brains, with his heart and courage in both hands, will unionize the bank clerks, the tellers and even the cashiers, and they will have a constructive interest in the well-advertised undivided surplus. This is not Bolshevism; it is plain common sense addressed to business men, and in the interests of those who, with industry and application, will be our bankers and business men of the future."

That is plain common sense. It is the kind of thing that Tom Mooney and Eugene V. Debs have been saying all their lives. It is a fact that any intelligent worker in the modern industrial world cannot fail to recognize.

"Bank clerks, and all others workers of the world, unite!"

For once, we join voices with the Wall Street Journal, shouting in unison.

A GROWING DANGER.

The committee on tariffs and taxation of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers announces a new menace to the well being of the people of the United States. Japan is developing cotton manufacturing to an extent that threatens to cut under American competition. It is, therefore, necessary, for the United States to come back with some kind of economic retaliation.

Japan "promises at no distant date to become a serious competitor of American mills, not only in foreign fields, but in our home markets." The ways and means committee of the house will, therefore, be asked to see that "the interests of the textile industry" are properly safeguarded.

Japanese manufacturers are threatening American profits. Trade rivalries breed trade wars. Trade wars lead to military conflicts. Here is a growing danger for the people of the United States as well as for the cotton manufacturing industry.

WHAT WILL YOU DO THEN?

Industry is slowing down. Unemployment is increasing. Tens of thousands of soldiers are being demobilized each month. There are less jobs to be had inside the gate and there is a longer line outside waiting for jobs.

Your wages are good; your union is strong; but some day, when you get your envelope, you will be told—"no work for you after this week!"

What will you do then?

High wages will not help you. The union will be impotent.

You will be out of a job, and you will stay out of a job, until you can find another boss willing to hire you. The machine, on which you work, will stand there idle; your landlord will demand the rent; the children will ask for bread and you will have none to give.

You will understand, on that bitter day, that you will never be a free man until you own the machine beside which you work and the product that you create. Workers, you make the world. It is yours. Take it and be free.

THE HIGHER THE FEWER.

There are more than one hundred millions of people in the United States. The last complete returns from the treasury department (1916) show that less than 500,000 of these persons paid income taxes.

121,691 had incomes over $	10,000
17,085 had incomes over	50,000
6,633 had incomes over	100,000
582 had incomes over	500,000
206 had incomes over	1,000,000

The higher the fewer.

Among the families of the tens of millions upon whose tiny incomes no tax was assessed, men, women and even little children rose by the factory whistle and gave the best part of their days and the best part of their lives to the work of feeding, clothing, housing and in other ways providing for the human race. The whole family, by its labor gained a bare subsistance.

Among the families with five and ten thousand a year, the men went to the offices; the women remained in their homes; the children attended school. The incomes were adequate and they were earned by the father alone.

Among the families with fifty, a hundred and five hundred thousand, sometimes one member worked; sometimes no one worked. The figures show that from two-thirds to ninety-nine hundredths of these incomes consisted of rent, interest, dividends and profits—the return paid by those who own the tools, with which the men, women and children of the toilers must work in order to live.

Among the toilers, the whole family works and often starves. Among the wealthy owners frequently no one works—yet all live in abundance.

The higher the fewer.

This crazy, economic patchwork is the foundation of the "civilization" about which we hear so much from the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times. It is the handiwork of parasites and plunderers. Day after day it cries aloud to heaven for mechanics and artisans who will take it in hand and rebuild it from the bottom.

THEY CANNOT RESUME!

The wheels of industry have stopped turning in Europe. For the present, at least, they cannot resume.

The European world is at a standstill. Ten millions of men still are in the armies—using without producing. Commerce has been interrupted; railroads have been destroyed; factories are crippled; fruit trees have been cut down; the seed grain has been eaten; homes have been burned; millions of workers are out of work; those who have work are so hungry that they are no longer efficient; above their heads tower mountains of debts, and week by week slips by without any promise of peace.

The old world has come to an end. Its machinery is worn out; its methods have failed to make men happy and free; its race has been run.

Yonder is the new world. A world of bread, peace, enlightenment and liberty. Already the peoples of Russia, Hungary and Bohemia have entered in to possess it. How much longer will it be before the workers of Italy, France and Great Britain leave capitalism to bury its dead and join their comrades?

EXPORTS.

Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, said in a public interview on March 21st, "If the other lines of industry show the same industry, as they undoubtedly will, we have nothing but an era of wonderful prosperity ahead of us."

The Judge and the other prophets of coming prosperity base their predictions on the outlook for exports. "Our enormous export trade for January and February," writes one such authority, "record breaking though it is, is sure to continue to grow by leaps and bounds."

The exports of the United States have been higher during the past eight months than ever before in the history of American commerce. The total for the current fiscal year will be around 6½ billions. For January alone the export total was over 622 millions. These records are high, but unless another war breaks out in Europe they will fall off heavily during the next six months.

Note how the exports are divided. Asia and South America together received a little over 13 per cent of the total exports. Nearly one-third of the exports were to Great Britain, while Belgium, France and Italy received a quarter of the exports. Great Britain has already established an embargo on the importation of certain foreign manufactures. Belgium, France and Italy are borrowing money from the United States with which to pay for the goods that they purchase. None of these countries is at the present time on a sound credit basis. They can continue to buy from us while we continue to lend to them.

Within six months the American Army of Occupation will probably have returned to American soil. The British embargo will have cut off hundreds of millions of American exports. Belgium, France and Italy will no longer be borrowing from the United States. All of the commercial nations of Europe will be competing bitterly with America for the markets of Asia, South America, Africa and Australia. Prosperity cannot be built on exports in any case. Still less can it be founded on exports to a shrinking foreign market.

LOT APPALLING

orado—The miners of olorado are averaging days' work per week. of wages is fairly good, but kly earnings in a three-day- basis are below the starvation

miners get their supplies gh the Colorado Supply Co.—which is practically a company store. Prices are high, but there is no alternative.

The men live in shacks, built of clay mesas. Some of the shacks are built of the clay (adobe). No blade of grass can grow and the children playing around the unshaded doorsteps do not even know that spring has come.

April 20th was the fifth anniversary of the "Battle of Ludlow." The miners arranged a great demonstration in memory of the day. The procession marched past the bridges where the militia had been stationed with their machine guns up to the monument inscribed:

"In Memory of the Men, Women and Children Who Lost Their Lives in Freedom's Cause at Ludlow, Colorado, April 20, 1914."

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ers answered by increasing vocal efforts. A sign quoting words of Premier Clemenceau gning the quotation "Royal evoked wild enthusiasm and of approval. The socialist pa- several days appeared uncen- ough every line breathed n. Most startling of all re as many soldiers as civil- arching.

days later the representa- of each socialist local in the ment of the Seine met in con- to decide upon which of three ions they should recommend ming national congress of the alist Party to adopt. The dis- ion was hot and more or less re- ed around the personalities of three leaders, Albert Thomas, socialist, Jean Longuet, left so- and F. Loriot, communist or evist. Broadly speaking, the as resolution based its faith present political action and fu- political power, the Longuet lution advocated a third Interna- nal without endorsing the third ternational held in Moscow in arch, and the Loriot resolution against all wars) and recognized the tance of the third International tablished by the Russian Bolshevik

the discussion hinged upon Russia with hoots of deri- ery uncomplimentary men- Bolshevism, until the speaker er had to take his seat or qualify criticism of the Soviet Republic. knowledge that the report fav- 'e to the Soviet government by Lincoln Steffens upon his within the month from an of- visit to Russia had been sup- d played a big part in the pro- gs.

h the Longuet and Loriot reso- ns called the war the conse- ce of imperialistic anarchy and rgeois ambition, both denounced e imposition upon Germany of an njust or Bismarckian peace such as was imposed upon France in 1871, and both mourned the assassination of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemberg and Kurt Eisner. Both these resolutions also unqualifiedly condemned all militarism and asserted that the present peace conference gives ample proof that all countries have imperialistic ambitions. The Longuet resolution was as strong in declaration of solidarity with the viet republic of Russia as the riot resolution was in opposition all annexation of the Sarre Valley France.—(Special Correspondence A. R.)

SOME STORIES OF OUR MAY-DAY MEETINGS

(Continued from second page.)

planations and excuses the following day as to why the meeting was permitted. One reason given was that on account of the fact that tickets were sold, no law could be found to prevent it, as no law was violated. Director Thatcher apparently did not know that, but he is a Democrat and might be excused on these grounds. But Chief Carter is not a Democrat, so might be expected to know something, and he permitted the meeting to be held

Anyway, the Socialists got a lot of free advertising through the ignorance of some one who is supposed to know something and does not.

Clifford and Ruthenberg Charged with Assault to Kill

Tom Clifford and C. E. Ruthenberg were arrested on Wednesday and charged with "assault with intent to kill" on two policemen who were injured in the Cleveland May Day riots resulting from the attack upon the Socialist procession by the organized gangsters and hoodlums aided by the police.

It is not charged that Ruthenberg or Clifford personally attacked the policemen. J. J. Fried is charged with the attack on one of the policemen, and an unknown person called John Doe with the attack upon the other. Clifford and Ruthenberg are dragged into the matter on the theory that speeches made by them induced persons to participate in the May Day parade.

These charges indicate to what length the ruling class is willing to go in the fight against the workers. Every person who witnessed last Thursday's fighting in the down town streets knows that it was not the Socialists who precipitated the fighting. They merely defended themselves when they found that there were no police to protect them. Yet now an attempt is being made to railroad Clifford and Ruthenberg on trumped up charges, in a similar manner to the way Mooney was railroaded to prison in the San Francisco preparedness parade bomb cases.

Both men have been released on bail. The first hearing will come up on May 20. In addition to local attorneys Seymour Stedman of Chicago has been retained to fight the cases.

SOVIET RUSSIA SCORES THE PEACE

(Continued from first page.)

sian territory. There will be no "co-operation of the other nations in the world in obtaining for Russia an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for an independent determination of her own political development and national policy." The very mentioning of this promise in view of the actual policy of the Allies toward Russia is a bloody irony. Not only do the other nations refuse to co-operate with Russia, but they deliberately destroy supplies owned by the Russian people. They refuse to allow any goods to enter Soviet Russia—goods which Soviet Russia is willing to buy with cash and to transport at her own cost. The only thing which the Allies permit to enter Soviet Russia is weapons of murder, supplied to those little groups of reactionaries who want once more to enslave the Russian people. In place of bread the Russian people get bullets, in place of co-operation, the Rusian workers are being hampered and harrassed in their heroic efforts to re-establish their economic life. In place of an "unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own development" and a "welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing," the Allies seem to be ready to continue their illegal warfare against Russia, for one purpose only—in order to impose upon the Russian people institutions which are not of their own choosing.

The rest of the world shall have peace. So the conference at Versailles decrees. But not Russia! The murderous henchmen of German imperialism, who have not changed although they have put on themselves the guise of socalled democracy, are found good enough to be officially received at Versailles. The peace treaty finds it necessary to protect or at least to pretend to protect their most vital economic needs. The German prisoners are to be returned. Trade is to be resumed with the German empire. But Soviet Russia, millions of whose sons have fallen in a struggle into which they were led by the Czar for the furtherance of policies which now victoriously determine peace policies in Paris—she shall not only be left more isolated from the world than Imperial Germany ever was, but she will have to continue to defend herself against renewed attacks. Russian prisoners of war are still kept in Germany, and in France; thousands of Russian soldiers not only are being prevented from returning home but they have been sent by the hundreds to slavery and death in Africa, only because they dared to express their sympathy toward the aspirations of the workers in Russia.

There seems to be not a scintilla of justice and common sense left when the attitude of the Allied governments toward Soviet Russia is being determined. It is being announced today that armies of occupation are to be withdrawn from Germany by August 31st. Simultaneously it is being announced that thousands of new troops are to be sent to Siberia. Shiploads of munitions are also being sent there. Bullets in place of bread! Hatred in place of friendship! Imposing of hateful institutions on the Russian masses—in the place of a "sincere welcome under institutions of their own choosing."

It has been said repeatedly that there can be no world peace if there is no peace with Russia. It offers war and new sufferings.

Soviet Russia stands ready today, as she has been many times before, to make a peace with all other nations. She has offered repeatedly to make such a peace. Yet—while the representatives of German imperialism are received in gala at the assembly at Versailles the Russian masses have not even received a reply to their oft repeated peace offers.

It is [illegible] test.

H COST OF DYING

traffic will bear!

* * *

we hear with relief

* * *

e workers of Canada

* * *

While looking for chances

* * *

To take over the industries,

* * *

Cast their eagle eyes over

* * *

The industry of DYING.

* * *

And organized in Carrisvale

* * *

A CO-OPERATIVE COFFIN

* * *

Company

* * *

To fight

* * *

The Undertakers' Trust.

* * *

And make

* * *

DYING CHEAPER!

* * *

And over in Edmonton

* * *

The MINISTERS took a hand

* * *

And passed resolutions

* * *

Asking the Government

* * *

To control Undertaking

* * *

And fix the price of coffins

* * *

And the expense of FUNERALS.

* * *

[illegible] the POOR

* * *

[illegible]

And I see in Tacoma

* * *

They are proposing

* * *

A UNION-MADE HOSPITAL

* * *

To handle the FIRST PART

* * *

Of dying.

* * *

And after a while

* * *

They will get to the DOCTORS

* * *

And have them all unionized

* * *

On EIGHT-HOUR shifts

* * *

And regular salaries.

* * *

Instead of in their present

* * *

ANARCHISTIC style

* * *

Of WASTE and DISORDER,

* * *

As soon as they have

* * *

The doctors and hospitals

* * *

And COFFINS

* * *

Completely nationalized.

* * *

Going to HEAVEN will be

* * *

So easy and CHEAP

* * *

That they will just have

* * *

To make EARTH PLEASANT

* * *

If they want to keep folks

* * *

DOWN HERE AT ALL!

Australian Labor News

AMERICAN DEPORTEES NOT WANTED.

Sydney.—No sooner was word received in Australia that the American government was carrying out a series of deportations of I. W. W. men and other radical unionists, than the anti-labor Commonwealth Government gazetted a regulation preventing any person from landing in Australia without a passport, whether as a passenger or as a member of a crew of any vessel. Included in the regulation is power given to the military to apprehend any person or member of ship crew who deserts and has no passport, and any person who it is thought is likely to desert a ship, and arrange for their deportation from Australia. The idea is to prevent any person deported from another country from landing in Australia.

WANT SOCIALISM TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS.

Australian labor folk are demanding that the education of deaf, dumb, and blind children be free and compulsory, that present methods of education be abolished and working-class economics and socialism be taught in the schools, as well as the teaching of love of humanity and abhorrence of war, the teaching of industrial history instead of present history curriculum, the abolition of teaching of dead languages, the adoption of metric weights and measures, the teaching of common law, and that school text books deal with social conditions as they exist today and what they would be like under labor ideals.

WORKERS WIN TRAMWAY STRIKE.

After a strike of eight weeks, the Perth (Western Australia) tramway men have won a great victory. Perfect solidarity was sustained, and not a wheel turned on the street railways. The men, on the conclusion of their fight marched back to the barns singing "The Red Flag" and other labor songs, carrying banners through the streets. Prior to the strike they were the worst paid street-car workers in Australia—today they are the best-paid. Besides increases in wages, there is no victimization, the union has a say in the arrangements connected with running the service which gives the union the power to compel every man to be a unionist, workers travel to and from work free of charge, special late trams at night be run to the point nearest their homes. In addition they get holidays after every 12 months of servi

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred | Six Months 50¢

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R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 1919.

ARE WE AT WAR WITH BABIES?

We have kept silect too long. It is time that the press and pulpit of this country should shout it forth, until it rings in the ears of those diplomats over in Paris.

What are the preachers of Chist in this country thinking of that they have not opened their mouths to call down the curse of a just God on those who are starving women and children? Are we at war with babies—even German and Russian babies?

We bother over this and that detail of nationality and boundary-line. In this we are all of us guilty. As Alfred Noyes wrote once in a biting poem:

> "And if, at a touch of a silver bell
> They plunge a nation into hell
> The blood of peasants is not red
> A thousand miles away."

No, the pinched faces of children and old women are not real to us, as we sit here in our well-fed Northwest. Nowhere else, on the wide world today, have people the food that we have. But occasionally we read statements like these, to jar us from our complacency:

"I ate at a big public soup-kitchen in Berlin. One plate of noodle soup. * * * There were so many old women, gray-haired and dressed in threadbare clothes at my table. Their faces were so white and thin, and their cheeks so hollow. * * * There were lots of boys and girls too. * * * In no time at all the plates were empty and the children were looking astonished at the empty dishes and wondering what had become of all that soup."

The man who wrote this had had a good breakfast and looked forward to a good dinner. But the 300,000 people of Berlin who were being fed thus, looked forward to no supper and no breakfast. Babies are being born in Berlin after ten months, instead of after the customary nine months, because the mothers are too starved to bring children normally at birth. Medical journals say that a whole generation of children is growing up wrecked in health to poison the future of a race.

The article that tells of this starvation closes with the words: "And so the mothers and children of Germany expiate the crimes of Imperial Germany." Have done with this hypocrisy! The Kaiser is not starving these women and children. It is we and our Allies who are starving them. They suffer for our sins, not for the sins of their rulers.

Their rulers are gone. If we, usurping the place of the Almighty, presume now to deal forth life or death at our own good pleasure, if we choose that women and babies shall starve while we decide how much money can be wrung from the broken bodies of these victims, let us not pose behind the hideous pretense that we are executing Justice. We are executing nothing but our own brutal will, and putting ourselves in the class of the hated oppressors of the world whom we went forth to conquer.—Seattle Union Record.

"A REASONABLY DECENT LIVING."

The conservatism of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen is made evident in the address of its Grand President W. G. Lee, at the convention of that body at Columbus last week. To quote Mr. Lee: "We believe in the expressions of our president and all the other authorities of the government who have declared emphatically their belief that the American workman is entitled to a wage that will ensure a reasonably decent standard of living."

How modest, "a reasonably decent standard of living." It is astonishing how conservative the well paid officials of some labor unions become after years of fat feeding at the union trough. To dare to speak of a decent standard of living for the producer of all wealth is to add insult to injury. The insufferable effrontery of labor's misleaders is a phenomenon of these times.

While the railway workers of Great Britain are joining with the miners and other transport workers in a gigantic combination of labor for the purpose of exercising a greater control of the government with the avowed purpose of reducing the hours of labor and raising the standard of living of the workers to the highest possible point this apologist "believes" the American worker is entitled to a "reasonably decent standard of living."

One might be persuaded that according to Mr. Lee, there are two standards of "decent" living, one "reasonable" the other unreasonable. If the American workers' standard of living is one of decency then what are we to think of the standard of living of the exploiters of American workers who get the cream of the product of his toil?

Speaking of the reconstruction program offered by the American Bishops of the Catholic Church, Frank P. Walsh says, "The workers are grateful for any sign that those in high places are heeding their call for justice." To which we add that the less confidence the workers place in such signs the better they will be off, for justice comes not from above but from below.

Press dispatches state that President Wilson's next message to congress will consist of but a few hundred words—we express our thanks.

All government, says Mr. Wilson, is based upon force. Governor Cox says that if there is any physical manifestation of that force (to correct evils in the government) he will take care of it. And we think he will have a big job if such a manifestation does occur.

AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may call. Terms are five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers will be added from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services are useful to the party upon the platform are requested to secure the endorsement of their locals before making application to be placed upon the Available Speakers List. Locals should make application for the speaker nearest them to save expenses.

M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio.
Chas. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
Tom Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Thurber Lewis, State, Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Frank Midney, 128 N. Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.
C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
H. L. A. Holman, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Frank . Hamilton, Mayor's Office, Piqua, Ohio.
John J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Hugo Rummele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio.
J. J. Ho , 980 Central, Bellaire, O.

SOCIALIST MAYOR SQUELCHES

(Continued from second page.)

your soldiers. They have vowed that after fighting

Comrade Hamilton, mayor, received a copy as soon as it was off the press. He immediately notified those responsible for it that if it was put he would hold them responsible for any violence which might ensue. Result, the gang crawled into their holes. Moral for the workers—it

Party News and Views

HAS YOUR LOCAL DONE BETTER?

"You will find enclosed $7.00 for Industrial Freedom Certificates. This makes 24 this local has sold." Thus writes Comrade Rex Wolfe, secretary of Local Midvale. Considering that this local is one of our smaller ones, we think the comrades have done their full share in the purchase of these certificates.

LEFT WING ENDORSED AGAIN.

"At a meeting held May 1st, Local New Bremen, by unanimous vote, indorsed the Left Wing Manifesto and Program as published in Revolutionary Age."—Walter Conradi, Acting Secretary.

CAMBRIDGE PLANS EDUCATIONAL DRIVE.

Comrade L. B. Skinner, secretary of Local Cambridge, writes that the Local is entering upon an extensive educational campaign by means of a city wide distribution of leaflets and papers each week. This is to be followed out for several months and then intensive organization work will be taken up. Success will follow this method and the Cambridge comrades are to be congratulated upon their energetic manner in which they have entered upon this work. It pays to keep at it. If you don't believe it, ask a Cambridge comrade.

THIS RED ARMY MAN COULDN'T THINK OF STOPPING!

"You said Red Letter Day and sent two subscription cards, which were not enough, for I put into action my 250 centimeter howitzer, took good aim at five dissatisfied Cleveland Plain Dealer perusers, went over the top and bagged all five. Hope these five will put the finishing touch on that 5,000."—H. F. Siedslog, Akron.

COMRADE F. N. PREVEY ANSWERS CAPITALISTS' RIOTERS.

A fitting answer to the instigators of the riots against the Socialists of Cleveland on May 1st is to hand from Comrade F. N. Prevey of Akron. The answer consists of $25 for subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist. Comrade Prevey shows the spirit that is felt throughout the nation which has been stirred up amongst the people by this latest assault upon law-abiding workers. It is the spirit that makes socialism grow in spite of all the deviltry of which our enemies, the capitalist class, is capable. Every knock is a boost, every assault upon the workers but creates a stronger sentiment for socialism. Comrades are requested to make a mental note of this answer of Comrade Prevey's to the enemy and to make every effort for the furthering of our cause to the end that murder may not again be committed upon our comrades and fellow workers. Follow his example.

VISIT HENNACY.

Comrade A. A. Hennacy, who just finished serving a prison sentence of three years in the Atlanta penitentiary, is now incarcerated in the county jail at Delaware, Ohio. He is now serving a term of one year for refusing to register.

Comrades living in the vicinity of Delaware are requested to visit Comrade Hennacy often. Comrade Hennacy is permitted any number of letters as well as candies, fruits and other comforts. Visitors from other cities will be permitted to see him at any time. Party members may mail packages containing prison comforts to Comrade Hennacy.

SOCIALISTS CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY AT NORFOLK, VA.

The largest and most enthusiastic Socialist meeting that has been held in that city for many years was held by the Socialist Party at Norfolk, Va., on May 1st. Despite the inclement weather and the bomb plot scare several hundred attended the meeting and enjoyed the orchestra music, the talk by Comrade Lowe and the addresses by Debs and others which were read. A resolution demanding the release of all political prisoners was adopted and ordered published.

THIS LETTER MAKES US FEEL GOOD.

Dear Comrades: Your sample copy at hand. I want to thank you for it, and glad am I to see a true, red-blooded, straightforward Socialist paper still in the land. I have read your matter on Debs, and I cannot find words to express my indignation, not only for the treatment of that "Noblest Roman of them all," but for the other 1,500 or 2,000 victims of an assinine democracy that would jail Christ were he here in the flesh.

There is but one thing to do, comrades: make Debs our standard-bearer again next year, and if they are fools enough to keep him in jail that long we will elect him president in spite of h— and high water. Kate Richards O'Hare would make an A-1 vice president.

Let us go into this next election hammer and tongs, and there will be some "high-class" profiteers and manglers of the constitution that will wish they hadn't.

Let us do all and everything "perfectly legal and according to law." But let us do it. Let us call a general strike on those political parties that hand out such doses to labor.

Fraternally,
SUMNER W. ROSE,
Biloxi, Miss.

FAVORS LEFT WING PROGRAM.

Local Zanesville desires to be known as favoring the Left Wing Manifesto and Program as published in Revolutionary Age.

MAY 1 AT BELLAIRE.

A good program, a good crowd and a street car workers' strike is what Comrade Fred Walchli reports for May 1st at Bellaire. Comrade Lilith Martin was the speaker at this city.

HE HELPS IT TO COME.

"Enclosed please find five dollars for which send as many copies as this will pay for one year. I am mad as hell about the May Day performances in Cleveland and other places, but our day is surely coming.—C. M. Johnson, Sharon Center, O.

HARVESTING AT CANTON.

Eight applications for membership are part of the results of the May 1st meeting at Canton, reports Comrade Ernest Sykes. A very enthusiastic meeting was held in spite of inclement weather.

ADOPTS LEFT WING "UNANIMOUSLY."

"It affords me great pleasure to inform you that Local Hamilton, at our last meeting adopted the Left Wing unanimously. Am more than pleased with Local Hamilton and am satisfied we are getting closer together every day."—Wm. Feighery, Corresponding Secretary.

FARMERS COMING TO SOCIALISM.

The farmers, wirtes Comrade D. A. Pepple of Rossburg, are turning radical and judging from their conversation are breaking away from the old parties and coming over to the Socialist party. He writes that the last six months have wrought a great change in the minds of the farmer class and the common people. The farmers, he says, will shoot the ruling class with their ballots.

EMPLOYERS' EXAMPLE TEACHES CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

For gathering Ohio Socialist subscriptions among his shop mates, Comrade Frank Centliver of Troy was released from his connection with his bosses' job. Nevertheless he is still at it, as his recent letter containing two more testifies. Right here we wish to express our appreciation of Comrade Centliver's good work for the O. S. It's hard to kill a real RED by starvation.

THIS IS THE WAY TO FIGHT.

"The intellectual degenerates of Mt. Vernon," writes Comrade P. B. Strobel, "have passed a city ordinance against the carrying of the red flag." To counteract this the Socialist local has organized a study class in scientific socialism. Can you beat it? No, you can't. Education of the workers is the only way to beat the misinforming game of capitalism.

LOCAL NILES RANKS HIGH.

Eighty-four dollars were received this week at the State Office from Comrade Edwin Peterson, secretary of Local Niles, for Industrial Freedom Certificates. This large sale of these certificates makes Local Niles rank among the highest.

Other locals are still remitting for certificates. Recently Local Warren sent in seven dollars. Many individuals are also paying for certificates. Why not ask your local secretary for one, if by chance you have not yet bought one? They help free our comrades who are in prison. Buy one.

TO KEEP UP THE SUPPLY.

"I am sending you these twelve subs, because all the Bolshevists are to be driven out of Toledo, if the mayor and our eminent divines in the pulpit have their way." Thus writes Comrade A. W. Haritt. He adds that the local Council of Soldiers and Sailors have about five hundred members and more are coming in every day.

Virginia Bulletin

B. M. Dutton, R. F. D. No. 1, Abingdon, Va., State Secretary.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

J. W. Cassell, 522 14th avenue, S. W., Roanoke, Va., Chairman.
Weldon Crawford, 713 4th avenue N. W., Roanoke, Va.
David B. Dale, Wise, Va.
F. D. Lowe, Riverside, Va.

Virginia Comrades:

Again we meet. Holy gee, how time does fly! We are one month nearer what—freedom or bondage? Be assured that the game that is to give us the one or the other is on and soon the play will be fast and furious. The fate that is to decide the destiny of the world throughout the next thousand years or so, is now in the dice box, and is being shaken furiously. Both master and slave realize that this is the last desperate throw, "7 come 11," who is the dice loaded for? If the slave wins, mastery will disappear from the earth, and with it slavery. Then all will be given opportunity to go on to "the finest heights of human development" in a world where justice and equity reign supreme and want is no more—the "kingdom of heaven upon earth," for which Jesus of Nazareth martyred himself in vain two thousand years ago. If the master wins, then well may the slave cower. The lash of want will hiss upon his luckless back, with no hand near that dare be lifted to stay it.

The Titans are fighting to the death. Abject mastery is to be the reward of victory. The new epoch is to be an unmixed epoch. The world has reached the point where it can no longer exist "half slave and half free." We are now living in either the dawn or the twilight, which? If it be the dawn, soon will the glorious light of day flood a stricken world, and liberty and justice stalk forth with none to make them afraid. If it be twilight, then soon will the black night settle down, and the beasts of night stalk forth to rave.

Human progress has been by epochs or ages. Isolated tribes of men in widely remote parts of the earth, as they ascended from stage to stage, passed through identical phases of development. Each age was characterized by peculiar tools and peculiar social usages. The stone age developed in America was precisely similar in all its characteristics to the stone age developed in Europe or Asia, separated by thousands of miles of ocean. The time might have been widely apart,

Although nature has these periods all charted out ahead, yet it seems to be the law of progress that the transition stage from one to the next is always marked by commotion and travail. Although the mighty forces of nature are at work, yet it must be remembered that these work through human agency. Just how responsive is the human increment will condition how fast, and in what manner will be ushered in the new order. Time, to great nature, is of no consequence. A thousand years are as a day. An accident, a trick of fate, or a humanity yet too inert, might delay the birth-date for a thousand years. But in the end we know for a certainty that this damn'd and doomed system must and will pass.

I have not said this to discourage you, but to warn you how much may depend upon your own action. Do not depend upon great nature to do the trick alone. She works, but SHE WORKS THROUGH YOU. And when you lay down on the job, nature waits. The accident, and trick of fate factor, the loaded dice, we cannot calculate with. They are inscrutable, but they exist. To illustrate: Suppose that a Lenine had not been at hand in Russia, or that one of the many imperial-anarchist missiles had laid him low, and that the leadership in the Russian revolution had remained lodged with the Kerensky's, does any one doubt that the revolution would finally have been lost to Bourgeoisie Imperialism, perhaps to Autocracy? Then does any one doubt that with Russia subdued all hope would be vain for a world-wide awakening, at least for a long time? MORAL: Many diverging factors enter into the sum-total of human progress. We cannot determine which is to be the most important, but we can do our duty as we see it.

Local Roanoke turns up as punctually and methodically as soldiers at drill. When the "Spirit of the Red Devil" gets there and starts something he will find a well trained bunch of assistants, and the trail well salted down with sawdust.

Pretty soon the red spirit is going to start something at Danville. When he gets going there he will makes the plutes rub their eyes. The place is chuck full of sinners economically damn'd, and when they begin hitting the sawdust trail—

this comes natural to them, perhaps, as there are many of them electricians by trade. Norfolk is in the throes of a big revival. "The spirit of the Red Devil" is moving mightily upon the hearts (is it heads-) of men and many there be who are repenting their economic and political sins. More power to the spirit.

Again Comrade Edson of Norfolk turns up with a donation and a letter chuck full of kindness and encouragement. May his tribe increase.

Comrade McBrayer is a coal miner. We are losing him because the coal barons are working slack in the Virginia fields, and he is forced to move out to better his condition. Say, you don't suppose this means cheap coal next winter, do you?

First man to the bat with a ballot in the party election is Comrade Fadely of Mt. Jackson—no I shall not tell you how he voted—darn'd if I do.

Say, if you hear an ignorant cuckoo cussing out the Bolsheviks, just ask him for a bill of particulars on what these Bolsheviks really do stand for, aside from murder, free-love, atheism and a few other things, all of which they do

Have You Voted?

Referendums for the election of three members for the national executive committee from this district; the election of four international delegates and one international secretary and the question of holding an emergency national convention this year are now before the state membership.

Go to the next meeting of your local or branch AND VOTE. As a member of the Socialist Party you are obliged to assist in conducting it. You only then do your full duty toward the party when you take an active part in all organization affairs.

Vote upon the referendums now before the party membership by getting a ballot at the next local meeting.

LOCAL SECRETARIES ATTENTION!

If you do not wish the vote of your entire local thrown out, you will have to mail the result of the vote in your local, in tabulated form, to the state office before May 21st. This notice pertains to national referendums "B" and "C."

YOUR LOCAL—

Your Local's Advertis...
the ...

LOCAL AKR...
Socialist Party of ...
Meets Every Friday ...
150 South Howa...

LOCAL CINCINNA...
Meets Every Thursday, ...
Lectures Every Sunday, ...
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WAR...
Meets Every Thursd...
P. M., Labor Organi...
E. Market St., Ne...
Nat'l Bank, War...

Local Kenm...
SOCIALIST PARTY ...
Meets Every Friday ...
BITTIKOFFERS ...
Cor. 15th St. and ...
Kenmore, O...

LOCAL SANDU...
Socialist Party of Ohi...
Meets First and Third Wedne...
day, Each Month, 7:30 P. M...
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton St...

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday even...
except the first Tuesday a...
the first Sunday. General ...
meeting first Sunday of ...
month, 3 p. m., 218 Michiga...

FINCANCIAL STATEMENT F... APRIL, 1919.

Income.	
15th—Local Norfolk	$1
18th—Lithuanian Fed	
30th—M. E. Edson	
Total	$11.3
Expenses.	
5th—Dual stamps	$ 5.0
15th—Supplies	1.0
28th—Papers	1
30th—Postage	. 2
Total	$
Gain for the month	$ 1.

B. M. DUTTON.

'LECTRICITY

(Continued from second page.)

"Then we called together the Soviet, with Leonty as chairman. 'Look here,' he said, 'now we are through ... tioning. What is to be done ...

"'Let us build a school,' s... Suppose we buy a motor car, and every one take a ride in it in turn. But then again the road is not repaired. All these notions were rejected. At last the soldier came to our rescue. 'In the cities,' he said, there is 'lectricity and for that reason there ... fewer fires. It's very simple, ... to make the wheel turn; you con... it with a dynamo machine; you w... some wire around the machine ... you hang up a little lamp at the e... of the wire. The lamp begins to bu... and that is the end of it. Got me?' 'That's easy enough,' say we.

"Well, to make a long story short, we sent the soldier to Omsk to get that same machine. Leonty went along with the money. For, you see, although a soldier, he is still a stranger, while Leonty is our own man. They kept us waiting for quite a bit of time. At last they came back with a queer sort of an affair, and there were four strangers with them. 'Who are these people?' ''Lectricians.' 'All right!' we say, 'call them what you please,' provided they do the work.'

"They got out the machine from the box. It was sure a funny sort of a machine, like nothing we say. Nevertheless, it was clear that it was well worth its price. The 'lectricians got busy. They prepared a huge wheel and set it up in our river (we have a rapid river, you know; it is a tributary to Ob). They passed a b... strip around it and connected it ... the machine. The machine goes ro... and round and throws out spa... Terrible!

"It was decided to install 'lectri... first in the parson's house. Leo... found out somehow that the chu... had been separated from the sta... So we summoned the parson. 'G... out of your house,' says Leonty ... him. We shout the same thing, an... the head 'lectrician, too. He is holding the wire in his hand. We chase out the priest, crowd into his house and the 'lectrician sets up his wire. In the meantime we make speeches, each as he pleases.

"'Stop up the windows,' orders the 'lectrician. We do. The room grows dark. Now we no longer talk. Suddenly a blinding light. The little lamp begins to burn!

"'It would be fine,' we said to him then, 'if every one had such a little lamp in his izba.' 'It's easy enough,' was his reply. And he fixed up lamps in every house. Before long the peasants from the neighboring villages, learning what was going on among us, came and said, 'Couldn't we, too, get them?'

"The soldiers had warned us not to

give the light to those who were not comunirs. So we make no bones about it. 'If you want to have them,' we say, 'declare yourselves comunirs.'

"Naturally they do so. It is a simple matter; you chase out the priest and turn his house into a reading room, and there you are! The head 'lectrician said: 'We'll fix up a stronger wire and let the 'lectricity run along it, and, of course, we will charge money for it.' And so we did.

'Our neighbors began to look for the necessary bourgeoisie, and before ... they succeeded in requisition... rubles from ... They ... for chi...

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VICTOR BERGER, SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN, DENIED SEAT IN CONGRESS

"PENDING INQUIRY"

Socialist Veteran's Second Entry Into National Legislature Marked By Denial of Seat Until Anti-Socialist Politicians Judge Him "Pure and Undefiled" in Patriotism.

The capitalist conspiracy to unseat Victor Berger, in the the new national congress is under way. Having been unable to get the Socialist representative from the Fifth Wisconsin district behind the bars of prison before congress convened, it lost no time to unseat him as soon after as possible.

That the political henchmen of the capitalist class would leave no stone unturned to keep the duly elected representatives of the working class out of congress was to be expected. The workers are to be denied representation in the national congress if the political lackeys of capitalism can put it across. They have taken a method of keeping him inactive for the present by denying him his rightful seat by ruling against his being seated "pending an inquiry into his conviction under the espionage act.

"The voters of the Fifth Wisconsin district elected me to represent them in congress by the emphatic majority of 5,560 votes over Joseph P. Carney, Democrat. Seventeen thousand eight hundred and twenty-two electors voted for me, and 12,315 voted for Carney. I am therefore the regularly elected representative from that district. The government of the United States as outlined in the Constitution is a representative government. If the members of the house of representatives still believe in representative government and the integrity of the Constitution, they will raise no objection to my taking my seat with the mandate from the duly qualified voters of the Fifth Wisconsin district. If the members of the house of representatives unseat me, the voters of the Fifth Wisconsin district will re-elect me, and with an emphatic majority, just as soon as the special election is called."

Victor L. Berger, Socialist congressman from Milwaukee, Wiscinsin, made this straight-American declaration today to the representative of the Ohio Socialist regarding the bluster and the impertinence with which certain anti-Socialist congressmen have expressing their determination to reflect the demands

(Continued on fourth page.)

Clifford and Ruthenberg Held For Grand Jury Indictment

The powers that be in Cleveland, having themselves caused violence and bloodshed in the streets of the city by their savage attack upon the Socialist May Day demonstration, are going to try to saddle the blame for their acts upon Socialists.

This was disclosed in the hearing held Tuesday in Judge Howell's court, as a result of which C. E. Ruthenberg and Tom Clifford, together with J. J. Fried, were bound over to the grand jury.

Evidence submitted before Howells attempted to prove that J. J. Fried had struck an officer with his fist. Although Attorney Horace Neff, representing Fried, pointed out that striking a man with a fist could not conceivably constitute an assault with intent to kill and at most, if proven, would constitute assault and battery only, still the charge of assault with intent to kill was allowed to stand by Judge Howells and Fried was bound over on that charge.

The prosecution did not attempt to prove that Ruthenberg and Clifford had struck any one or had any part in the violence on May Day. One of the witnesses for the prosecution, a member of the Loyal American League, testified to the reverse, that he had seen others assaulting Tom Clifford.

The only evidence offered by the prosecution in regard to Clifford and Ruthenberg, was an alleged quotation from a speech by Tom Clifford in which he was charged with saying that "if the capitalists start anything May Day, we will finish it," and a quotation from another speech in which he is said to have said that Socialists would be willing, if need be, to give up their lives for their cause.

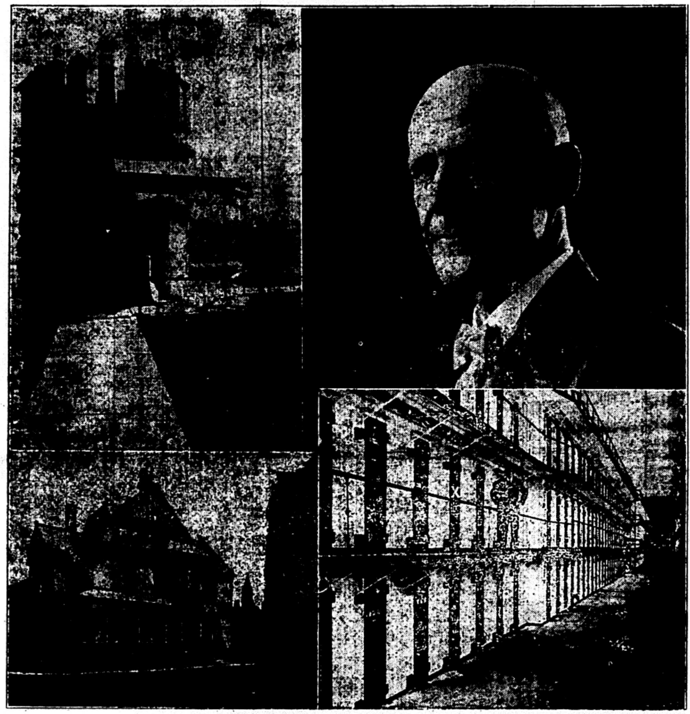
In regard to Ruthenberg, the only thing offered was a quotation from

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

Where 'Gene Debs Will Spend 10 Years Unless—

"I stand on the threshold of going to prison with malice toward none and with perfect faith in the rectitude of my course and an absolute confidence in the justice and ultimate triumph of the cause to which I have gladly given my life. TO ASK A PARDON WOULD BE TO CONFESS GUILT."—*DEBS*

Guard With Rifle Watches Over Debs' New Home



There are armed guards that patrol the turrets that overlook the West Virginia state penitentiary at Moundsville. These are intended for 'Gene Debs as well as for all the other thousand prisoners, from a murderer serving a life sentence, down to a mere wife beater, since the United States government, in its infinite wisdom, does not recognize such a being as a "political prisoner." We see the armed guard and the prison turret in the upper left hand corner of the above picture. In the lower right hand corner we have a view of the cell block in the south wing of the prison, four tiers of cells rising one above the other. Upon his arrival Debs was thrown into the fourth cell, on the second tier, marked with an "X". Note the guard nearby. It was through the bars of this cell that Alfred Wagenknecht, David Karsner and J. Louis Engdahl bade Debs "Good Night" the first evening of his imprisonment. It was in this cell that Debs ate two meals the next day because the Warden did not want him to exert any of his "revolutionary" influence on the mass of the prisoners in the common dining hall. In the upper right hand corner we have Debs himself as he appeared on entering prison. In the lower left hand corner is the picture of the Debs' home in Terre Haute, Ind., which 'Gene has left behind him, but to which the workers of the nation are called upon to restore him at the earliest possible moment.

As you read this, Debs has already served

44 DAYS IN PRISON!

DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT ESTABLISHED IN WINNEPEG

Revolutionary Tendencies of Canadian Labor Seen In Vote to Secede From A. F. of L. and Form O. B. U. of All Workers.

A second "Seattle strike" has been in progress in Winnipeg for several days. The union workers, 30,000 strong, have been out with far-reaching demands in the form of increased wages and better working conditions. The entire city has succumbed to the control of the strikers' committees The city administration is helpless in the face of the united workers. Practically all government of the city is in the hands of the workers and are being administered from the Labor Temple instead of from the city hall.

Although the government has at hand thousands of soldiers, they have found nothing to do. The workers have been perfectly peaceful and have lived up to their slogan, adopted at the beginning of the strike, "win the strike by doing nothing." Police are on duty by permission of the strikers. Milk, water, lights, etc., are being handled entirely by the workers.

One of the most significant moves of the strikers to win was seen in the choking of the

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

WOULDN'T DARE JAIL A DEBS IN ENGLAND

An American Business Man Gives Some Inside Information About Conditions in Europe.

England has good reasons for doing all she can to pacify her people, shutting out importations to give her people work, grabbing whatever she can to bring wealth to her islands. An extremely intelligent American observer, a business man of large interests, just returned from England, says:

"England is hanging on the edge of a labor revolution and the big men know it. They are afraid to refuse labor anything. They would not dare, in England, to jail a labor leader or other radical leader, as we jail Debs and others. It would give them civil war in twenty-four hours."

Other countries are in positions as bad, according to this clear-eyed western American observer.

"In Amsterdam," said he, "there are eighty-five thousand men out of work. Conditions there are close to anarchy. Policemen stand on streets in groups, never singly, as, alone, their lives would not be safe. All of Europe, conquerors and conquered, is in a condition of dangerous unrest. Conditions are made more difficult by the fact that workers, exhausted by the war, demand their full share of government, highest wages, and at the same time the right to do less and less work."

OHIO SOCIALIST. OUTLAWED BY BIG PRINTERS, STARTS CAMPAIGN TO RAISE $10,000 FOR PARTY OWNED PRESS & PRINTING PLANT

Outlawed! Yes, outlawed by the big printers of Cleveland. The printers of Cleveland have refused to print the Ohio Socialist. Printer after printer, equipped to print a paper such as the Ohio Socialist, has turned us down flat. In fact, they have agreed among themselves not to print for us. That's the reason the Socialist Party of Ohio is now compelled to do what it should have done long ago—buy its own press and printing equipment.

That's why, comrade, we are asking you —IN WHICH OF THESE COLUMNS WILL YOUR NAME APPEAR?

We believe you see the necessity of the Socialist Party owning the means of getting out its propaganda. We believe you are with us in this big drive to own and control the tools with which we must carry on the Party's work for Socialism. We believe you are with us to help raise $10,000 for a printing press and other equipment to print the Ohio Socialist.

We believe you are going to help us raise this amount. We know you will help all you can. So we have laid out this space of seven columns for the purpose of giving credit to each and every comrade who helps. Not every comrade can give a hundred dollars, not every one can give fifty nor even twenty-five, but hundreds of comrades CAN give ten dollars, hundreds and hundreds CAN give five dollars and thousands CAN spare one dollar for this purpose.

Remember, comrades, when you make a contribution to the Ohio Socialist Press Fund, you are not giving your money to a private individual, you are giving it to the Socialist Party, to the Socialist movement, to the working-class.

Here are the names of the comrades who have responded to the call for this fund since the announcement of our purpose in last week's issue. We hope to receive your donation and to print your name in one of these columns next week. And whether your name goes in the first column or the last one, it will be appreciated and will help greatly in buying our press.

IN WHICH OF THESE COLUMNS WILL YOUR NAME APPEAR?

$1.00 Column	$2.00 Column	$5.00 Column	$10.00 Column	$25.00 Column	$50.00 Column	$100.00 Column
If the 10,000 subscribers of the Ohio Socialist would each get in this column, the problem would be solved.	Why not make it TWO?	Your name in this column shows you mean business.	A lot of comrades are going to say: Put me in the ten-spot column.	Four donations in this column equals one in the last one. Who will be the first four?	We are waiting for the first contribution for this column.	Which Socialist Party local or individual will first subscribe in this column?
		Elizabeth Bertram, Cleveland. Elmer T. Allison, on pledge. Cleveland.	Elizabeth Bertram, Cleveland.			

If you can't go any higher drop down into this corner. Any little thing under a dollar goes in here.

HOW WE GROW?

Received to date, May 22	$ 21.00
Pledges unpaid	45.00
[illegible] more we need to make $10,000	$9,979.00

PLEDGE COLUMN

And here are the comrades who have pladged these amounts. Why not get in here?

Elmer T. Allison, Cleveland, $50

Over Here Is the Kiddies' Korner

We know there are many, many Rebel Boys and Girls who want to help us buy our big press. Here is where we will tell how much they help.

Norwood Allison, Cleveland, $1.00

Adopted by the First International Communistic Congress at Moscow, March 2-6, 191

Manifesto Issued March 10 and Signed, C. Rakovsky, N. Lenin. M. Zinoviev, L. Trotsky, F. Platten

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL LANDS:

Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party of the World proclaimed its program in form of the manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when Communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred, and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades Communism has traveled a hard road; storms of ascent followed periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the program proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to gather together the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the communist revolution.

I.

For a long span of years Socialism predicted the inevitableness of the imperialistic war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war, at the Congress of Basle, the responsible Socialist leaders of all countries branded Imperialism as the instigator of the coming war, and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat of the Socialist revolution—the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has disclosed the predatory lust of Germany, and has unmasked the no less criminal deeds on the part of the Allies, the State Socialists of the Entente nations, together with their governments, again and again unmask the deposed German Kaiser. And the German social patriots, who in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic White Book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people, today, in vulgar sycophancy, join themselves with the Socialists of the Entente lands to accuse as arch-criminal the deposed German monarchy which they formerly served as slaves. In this way they hope to erase the memory of their own guilt and the gain of good will of the victors. But alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs, and the capitalistic cliques of these lands, the rulers of France, England, Italy, and the United States stand revealed in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosures in their immeasurable vileness.

The contradictions of the capitalist system were converted by the war into beastly torments of hunger and cold, epidemics and moral savagery, for all mankind. Hereby also the academic quarrel in Socialism over the theory of increasing misery, and also of the undermining of Capitalism through Socialism, is now finally determined. Statisticians and teachers of the theory of reconciliation of these contradictions have endeavored for decades to gather together from all corners of the earth real and apparent facts which evidence the increasing well-being of the working class. Today abysmal misery is before our eyes, social as well as psychological, in all its shocking reality.

Finance-capital, which threw mankind into the abyss of war, has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of the war. The dependence of paper money upon the material basis of production was completely destroyed. More and more losing its significance as medium and regulator of capitalistic commodity circulation, paper money becomes merely a means of exploitation, robbery, of military-economic oppression. The complete deterioration of paper money now reflects the general deadly crisis of capitalist commodity exchange.

As free competition was replaced as regulator of production and distribution in the chief domains of economy, during the decades which preceded the war, by the system of trusts and monopolies, so the exigencies of the war took the regulating role out of the hands of the monopolies and gave it directly to the military power. Distribution of raw materials, utilization of petroleum from Baku or Roumenia, of coal from Donetz, of cereals from the Ukraine; the fate of German locomotives, railroad cars, and automobiles, the provisioning of famine-stricken Europe with bread and meat—all these basic questions of the economic life of the world are no longer regulated by free competition, nor yet by combinations of national and international trusts, but through direct application of military force.

Just as complete subordination of the power of the State to the purposes of finance-capital led mankind to the imperialistic shambles, so finance-capital has, through this mass slaughter, completely militarized not alone the State but also itself. It is no longer able to fulfill its essential economic functions otherwise than by means of blood and iron.

The opportunists who before the war exhorted the workers, in the name of the gradual transition into Socialism, to be temperate; who, during the war asked for submission in the name of BURGFRIEDEN and defense of the Fatherland, now again demand of the workers self-abnegation to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to by the workers, Capitalism would build out of the bones of several generations a new and still more formidable structure, leading to new and inevitable world war. Fortunately for humanity, this is no longer possible.

The absorption by the State of the economic life, so vigorously opposed by capitalist Liberalism, has now become a fact. There can be no return either to free competition nor to the rule of the trusts, syndicates and other economic monsters. The only question is who shall be the future mainstay of state production, the Imperialistic State or the victorious proletariat. In other words, shall the entire working humanity become the feudal bond-servants of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which under name of a League of Nations aided by an "international" army and an "international" navy here plunders and murders, there throws a crumb, but everywhere enchains the proletariat, with the single aim of maintaining its own rule? Or will the working class take into its own hands the disorganized and shattered economic life and make certain its reconstruction on a Socialist basis?

Only the Proletarian Dictatorship which recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property but which arises from the needs of the hungering masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose it mobilizes all materials and forces, introduces the universal duty of labor, establishes the regime of industrial discipline, this way to heal in the course of a few years the open wounds caused by the war and also to raise humanity to a new undreamed-of height.

The national State, which was given a tremendous impulse by capitalistic evolution, has become too narrow for the development of the productive forces. And even more untenable has become the position of the small States, distributed among the great powers of Europe and in other parts of the world. These small States came into existence at different times as fragments split off the bigger States, as petty currency in payment for services rendered, to serve as strategic buffer States. They, too, have their dynasties, their ruling gangs, their imperialistic pretensions, their diplomatic machinations. Their illusory independence had until the war precisely the same support as the European balance of power; namely, the continuous opposition between the two imperialistic camps. The war has destroyed this balance. The tremendous preponderance of power which the war gave to Germany in the beginning compelled these smaller nations to seek their welfare and safety under the wings of German militarism. After Germany was beaten, the bourgeoisie of the small nations, together with their patriotic "Socialists," turned to the victorious Imperialism of the Allies and began to seek assurance for their further independent existence in the hypocritical points of the Wilson program. At the same time the number of little States has increased; out of the unity of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, out of the different parts of the Czarist Empire, new sovereignties have formed themselves. And these, as soon as born, jump at each other's throats on account of their frontier disputes. Meanwhile the Allied Imperialists brought about certain combinations of new and old small States through the cement of mutual hatreds and general weakness. Even while violating the small and weak peoples and delivering them to famine and degradation, the Entente Imperialists, exactly as the Imperialists of the Central powers before them, did not cease to talk of the right of self-determination of all peoples, a right which is now entirely destroyed in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Only the proletarian revolution can secure the existence of the small nations, a revolution which frees the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of the national States, which unites all peoples in the closest economic co-operation on the basis of a universal economic plan, and gives even to the smallest and weakest peoples the possibility freely and independently to carry on their national culture without detriment to the united and centralized economy of Europe and of the whole world.

The last war, after all a war against the colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. To an unprecedented extent the population of the colonies was drawn into the European war. Indians, Arabs, Madagascans battled on the European continent—what for?—for their right to remain slaves of England or France. Never did capitalist rule show itself more shameless, never was the truth of colonial slavery brought into such sharp relief. As a consequence we witnessed a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country and feels itself as such. In Madagascar, in Annam, and in other countries, the troops of the bourgeois Republic have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed the greatest labor strike in Asia, to which the government of Great Britain answered with armored cars.

In this manner, the colonial question in its entirety became the order of the day not alone on the green table of the diplomatic conferences at Paris, but also in the colonies themselves. The Wilson program, at the very best, calls only for a change in the firm name of colonial enslavement. Liberation of the colonies can only happen together with liberation of the working class of the capital cities. The workers and peasants not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Persia and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the laborers of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau and taken the power into their own hands. Even now in the more advanced colonies the battle goes on not only under the flag of national liberation, but it assumes also an open and outspoken social character. Capitalistic Europe has drawn the backward countries by force into the capitalistic whirlpool, and Socialistic Europe will come to the aid of the liberated colonies with its technique, its organization, its spiritual influence, in order to facilitate their transition into the orderly system of socialistic economy.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of triumph of the Proletarian Dictatorship of Europe will also be the hour of your liberation!

II.

The entire bourgeois world accuses the Communists of destroying liberties and political democracy. That is not true. Having come into power, the proletariat only asserts the absolute impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy and creates the conditions and forms of a higher working-class democracy. The whole course of capitalistic development undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the nation into two irreconcilable classes, but also by condemning the numerous petty bourgeois and half-proletarian elements, as well as the slum proletariat, to permanent economic stagnation and political impotence.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But the great middle layers on the farm lands, as well as in the cities, are hindered by Capitalism in their historic development and remain stagnant for whole epochs. The peasant of Bavaria and Baden who does not look beyond his church spire, the small French wine-grower who has been ruined by the adulterations practiced by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators—all these social ranks which have been shoved aside from the main road of development by capitalism, are called on paper by the regime of political democracy to the administration of the State. In reality, however, the finance-oligarchy decides all important questions which determine the destinies of nations behind the back of parliamentary democracy. Particularly was this true of the war question. The same applies to the question of peace.

If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary vote, then the Bourgeois State has at its command in order to gain its ends all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule multiplied by the wonders of capitalistic technique: lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny, and terror. To demand of the proletariat in the final life-and-death struggle with Capitalism that it should follow lamblike the demands of bourgeois democracy, would be the same as to ask a man who is defending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him.

In an empire of destruction, where not only the means of production and transportation but also the institutions of political democracy represent bloody ruins, the proletariat must create its own forms, to serve above all as a bond of unity for the working class and to enable it to accomplish a revolutionary intervention in the further development of mankind. Such apparatus is represented in the workmen's councils. The old parties, the old unions, have proved incapable, in person of their leaders, to understand much less to carry out the tasks which the new epoch presents to them. The proletariat created a new institution which embraces the entire working class, without distinction of vocation or political maturity, an elastic form of organization capable of continually renewing itself, expanding, and of drawing into itself ever new elements, ready to open its doors to the working groups of city and village which are near to the proletariat. This indispensable autonomous organization of the working class in the present struggle and in the future conquests of different lands, tests the proletariat and represents the greatest inspiration and the mightiest weapon of the proletariat of our time.

Whenever the Masses are awakened to consciousness, Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils will be formed. To fortify these Councils' to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these Councils the working class can counteract that disorganization which has been brought into it by the infernal anguish of the war, by hunger, by the violent deeds of the possessing classes, and by the betrayal of their former leaders. By means of these Councils the working class will gain power in all countries most readily and most certainly when these Councils gain the support of the majority of the laboring population. By means of these Councils the working class, once attending power, will control all the field of economic and cultural life, as in the case of Russia at the present time.

The collapse of the imperialistic State, czaristic to most democratic, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of millions, mobilized by imperialism, could remain steadfast only so long as the proletariat remained obedient under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The complete breakdown of national unity signifies also an inevitable disintegration of the army. Thus it happened, first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. The same also is to be expected in other imperialistic States. Insurrection of the peasants against the landowner, of laborer against capitalist, of both against the monarchic or "democratic" bureaucracy, must lead inevitably to the insurrection of soldier against commander and, furthermore, to a sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialistic war which pitted nation against nation, has passed and is passing into the civil war which lines up class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against the civil war and the red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy of which the history of political struggles can boast. There would be no civil war if the exploiters who have carried mankind to the very brink of ruin had not prevented every forward step of the laboring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to maintain or restore their predatory privileges. Civil war is forced upon the laboring classes by their arch-enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

The communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in case it has become an iron necessity—to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborers, and the formation of a communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat and the inviolability of the social structure. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia which arose to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The Soviet Army is inseparable from the Soviet State.

Conscious of the world-historic character of their mission, the enlightened workers strove from the very beginning of the organized socialistic movement for an international union. The foundation-stone of this union was laid in the year 1864 in London, in the first International. The Franco-Prussian War, from which arose the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, undermined the First International, giving rise at the same time to the national labor parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the Congress of Paris and organized the Second International. But during this period the center of gravity of the labor movement rested entirely on national ground, confining itself within the realm of national parliamentarism to the narrow compass of national states and national industries. Decades of organizing and labor reformism created a generation of leaders most of whom gave verbal recognition to the program of social revolution but denied it in substance. They were lost in the swamp of reformism and adaptation to the bourgeois state. The opportunistic character of the leading parties of the Second International was finally revealed—and led to the greatest collapse of the movement in all its history—when events required revolutionary methods of warfare from the labor parties. Just as the war of 1870 dealt a deathblow to the First International by revealing that there was not in fact behind the social-revolutionary program any compact power of the masses, so the war of 914 killed the Second International by showing that above the consolidated labor masses there stood labor parties which converted themselves into servile organs of the bourgeois state.

This includes not only the social patriots who today are openly in the camp of the bourgeoisie as preferred confidential advisers and reliable hangmen of the working class, but also the hazy, fickle and irresolute socialist Centre which is today trying to revive the Second International, i.e., the narrowness, opportunism, and revolutionary impotence of their predecessors. The Independents of Germany, the present Majority of the Socialist party in France, the Independent Labor Party in England, and similar groups, are actually trying to re-establish themselves in the position which the old official parties of the Second International held before the war. They appear as before with proposals of compromise and conciliation and hereby paralyse the energy of the proletariat, lengthening the period of crisis and consequently increasing the misery of Europe. War against the Socialist Centre is a necessary condition of successful war against Imperialism.

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy, and corruption of the decadent official socialist parties, we, the Communists assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Baboeuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg. As the First International foresaw the future development and pointed the way; as the Second International gathered together and organized millions of the proletariats, so the Third International is the International of open mass-action of the revolutionary realization, the International of deeds. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

PROLETARIANS OF ALL LANDS! IN THE WAR AGAINST IMPERIALISTIC BARBARITY, AGAINST MONARCHY, AGAINST THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES, AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS STATE AND BOURGEOIS PROPERTY, AGAINST ALL FORM AND VARIETIES OF SOCIAL AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION—UNITE!

UNDER THE STANDARD OF THE WORKINGMEN'S COUNCILS, UNDER THE BANNER OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR THE POWER AND DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

THE NEW ERA HAS BEGUN! THE ERA OF THE DOWNFALL OF CAPITALISM — ITS INTERNAL DISINTEGRATION. THE EPOCH OF THE PROLETARIAN COMMUNIST REVOLUTION. IN SOME COUNTRIES, VICTORIOUS PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION; INCREASING REVOLUTIONARY FERMENT IN OTHER LANDS; UPRISINGS IN THE COLONIES; UTTER INCAPACITY OF THE RULING CLASSES TO CONTROL THE FATE OF PEOPLES ANY LONGER; THAT IS THE PICTURE OF PRESENT WORLD CONDITIONS.

Humanity, with its entire culture now lying in ruins, faces danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalistic "order" can exist no longer. This ultimate result of the capitalistic mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of communism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries, transform the whole world into one co-operative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.

World Capitalism prepares itself for the final battle. Under cover of the "League of Nations" and a deluge of pacifist phrase-mongering, a desperate effort is being made to pull together the tumbling capitalist system and to direct its forces against the constantly growing proletarian revolt. This monstrous new conspiracy of the capitalist class must be met by the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution. The final victory of the proletariat of the world means the beginning of the real history of free mankind.

The Capture of Political Power

Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalistic army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government; disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the White Guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard of Workingmen; displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian State apparatus. Not until the proletariat has achieved this victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can the former enemies of the new order be made useful, by bringing them under control of the communistic structure and gradually bringing them into accord with its work.

Democracy and Dictatorship

The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against [illegible] the opposition of the despoilers of labor, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favored position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there is no more class distinction.

Democracy, so-called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more nor less than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much vaunted "popular will" exists as little as the undivided people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic, irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small majority, it needs this fiction of the "popular will" as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organizations and through its Councils, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into a classless communistic commonwealth.

The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declarations of rights and liberties which are actually unattainable by the proletariat, because of want of the material means for their enjoyment; while the bourgeoisie uses its material advantages, through its press and organizations, to deceive and betray the people. On the other hand, the Council type of government makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its rights and liberties. The Council power gives to the people palaces, houses, printing offices, paper supply etc., for their press, their societies and assemblies. And in this way alone is actual proletarian democracy made possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real State administration. In the Council system the mass organizations rule and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Councils draw constantly increasing numbers of workers into the State administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the government. The Council system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the proletariat, on the councils themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the co-operatives, etc. Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpen the separation of the masses from the State by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, and through parliamentary mandates beyond popular recall. The Council system, by contrast, unites the masses with the organs of government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislative and executive powers, and by use of working roads. Above all this union is fostered by the fact that in the Council system elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the Council system brings about true proletarian democracy, democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is favored in this system because it is the most aggressive, best organized, and politically ripest class, under whose leadership the half-proletarians and small farmers will be gradually elevated. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be utilized to draw the small farmers away from the control of the big landowners and bourgeoisie and to organize and train them as helpers in the building of the communistic structure.

Expropriation of the Bourgeoisie and Socialization of Production

The breakdown of the capitalistic order and the disruption of capitalistic industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on the capitalistic basis. Wage wars of the workingmen—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat. In order to raise the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old regime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the Proletarian Dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution in to the common property of the proletarian State.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of Capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of capitalism, so as to postpone socialization, only delay the process of disintegration, and increase the danger of total demolition. The communist revolution, on the other hand, is the best, the only means, by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with it property itself.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all of production to a symmetrical plan. As the first steps toward socialization of the entire economic system may be mentioned: the socializing of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the state power of the proletariat of all government controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into co-operative [illegible]

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labor will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialistic organization through the force of example, through practical demonstration of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism, and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts), etc.

The task of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the Proletarian Dictatorship must re-establish commerce by an accurate distribution of products; to which end the following methods are to be considered: the socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all bourgeois-State and municipal apparatus of distribution; control of the great co-operative societies, which organizations will still have an important role in the production epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of adapting themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proleteriat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their co-operation, will retrieve the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has developed and thus will Science and Labor be unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

During this great transition period the power of the Councils must constantly build up the entire administrative organization into a more centralized structure, but on the other hand constantly draw ever increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of government.

The Way to Victory

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

The indispensable condition for successful struggle is separation not only from the direct servitors of Capitalism and enemies of the communist revolution, in which role the Social Democrats of the Right appear, but also from the Party of the Centre (Kautskians), who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists. On the other hand, there are essential elements of the proletariat, heretofore not within the Socialist Party, who stand now completely and absolutely on the platform of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Council rule, for example, the corresponding elements among the Syndicalists.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the dangers of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalistic States, the attempts of the Socialist betrayers to unite with one another (the formation of the Yellow "International" at Berne), and to give their services to the Wilsonian League; finally, the absolute necessity for co-ordination of proletarian actions—all these demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real proletarian Communist International. This International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will personify the mutual help of the proletariat of the different countries, for without economic and other mutual helpfulness the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society. On the other hand, in contrast with the Yellow International of the social-patriots, the Proletarian Communist International will support the plundered colonial peoples in their fight against Imperialism, in order to hasten the final collapse of the imperialistic world system.

The capitalistic criminals asserted at the beginning of the world war that it was only in defense of the common Fatherland. But soon German-Imperialism revealed its real brigand character by its bloody deeds in Russia, in the Ukraine and in Finland. Now the Entente states unmask themselves as world despoilers and murderers of the proletariat. Together with the German bourgeoisie and social-patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to throttle the revolution of the European proletariat by means of their war machinery and stupid barbaric colonial soldiery. Indescribable is the White Terror of the bourgeois cannibals. Incalculable are the sacrifices of the working class. Their best—Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—have they lost. Against this the proletariat must defend itself, defend at any price. The Communist International calls the entire world proletariat to this final struggle.

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY OF CAPITAL!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLIC OF PROLETARIAN COUNCILS!

A LEGITIMATE USE OF RIDICULE

As a rule it is poor policy to resort to epithets and sarcasm when trying to interest conservatives in Socialism. Tolerance, kindness, patience—these are usually the weapons that win in the long run. But occasionally one encounters a prospect so exacerbatingly dogmatic, so maddeningly flippant and so abysmally ignorant that the only method left to pierce his complacency is to use his own weapons. Some people can be stirred into genuine thought by being pricked a trifle with the sharp rapier of sarcasm. Others need to be bowled over by a blast from a blunderbuss.

A few days ago I mailed a post card to a friend. The post card appealed to this person to do all in her power to help secure the release of Eugene V. Debs and the other political and industrial prisoners of this country. Shortly after, the card was returned to me with the following scribbled across it in red ink:

"If you want to send junk like this to me, please put it in an envelope. I don't want it coming to my name uncovered."

Immediately I sent the following reply:

"My Dear Friend: Today is the 13th—an unlucky day for you, for you're scheduled to receive a verbal trouncing. You need it, because your brain is petrified. You've got to be stirred out of your hopeless lethargy. You have sunk into a disgraceful stage of innocuous desuetude—your life is evolving into pure inanition. And as such, you are beginning to be an object for pity.

"I would not speak in this tone, but when you returned the card I sent you in which I sincerely asked you to lend at least your MORAL support in the task of releasing the greatest friend of liberty the United States has had for a generation. It irritated me, and I feel that no ordinary bomb will jar you loose from your contemptible nonchalance.

"First, you are a coward. You expressed no particular objection to having the card sent you—but you wanted it covered. You're afraid, primarily, of public opinion. You're so weak-spined that you want always to side in with the majority, no matter whether that majority is right or wrong.

Second, you are a hypocrite. You yelled your head off in support of the war to 'make the world safe for democracy.' And yet you contemptuously spurn assistance to a man who contributed, perhaps, more than any single person, to preserve the slight amount of democracy which already existed in this country.

"Third, you're an ignoramus. You have the ineffable hardihood to condemn a man, to refuse to help him, when you have not studied the man nor his work.

"These are harsh words, perhaps. But they are vitally necessary in a hardshell case such as yours. There is nothing fundamentally the matter with your brain—only certain convolutions are hardened and impervious to new ideas. Your sphere of activity seems to be confined to eating, drink-

(Continued on third page.)

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred | Six Months 50c

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO.
R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, 1919.

THE NEW FORMS OF DEMOCRACY.

Turning from the task of "making the world safe for democracy" world capitalism is now attempting to "make democracy safe for the world." In its efforts to play the part of seeming a certain kind of world benefactor, it is aided by every boot-licking editor who can be corralled by promises, intimidation or open threats.

An investigation of the peculiar form of democracy for which so much solicitude is felt reveals some interesting phases of the ever growing class-struggle. Democracy, we have been taught heretofore was the only certain cure for such evils as arose under its rule. This was in the distant past before Roosevelt was outclassed by a super-word mongerer and we had more democracy but heard less about it.

Democracy, it seems, in order to be safe for the world, must be of a certain form and with measurable limitations. It must not be of an "extreme" type. It must conform to certain standards commensurate with the welfare of the capitalist class and must be so cribbed with limitations that the economic position of the world's exploiters is left unmolested while they ride safely upon the backs of the workers. Democracy within these bounds is "safe." When it becomes rebellious and seeks to break through the cribbage, it becomes "dangerous" and a "menace to the world."

The attempt of the apologists of capitalism to justify the Allies' violation of Wilson's pet point—"self-determination for all nations"—as applied to Russia is one of the most illuminating bits of mental gymnastics which it has been our pleasure to witness.

In one of the biggest household magazines of the country we find this wonderfully logical bit of reasoning: "We are not at war with Russia and never have been. Then why does not President Wilson withdraw our armies from Russia and allow the Russian people to decide for themselves what sort of government they will have?" And the editor proceeds to answer his question. "Simply because the present government of Russia is but destructive of civilization." Then he proceeds to claim it is the duty of the Allies to stamp it out.

And right here we want to know of what value is this point of Wilson's "self determination for all peoples," if it is to be cast overboard at the whim of any group of commercial pirates strong enough to do it and to institute a reign of slaughter against another race and people when the government of their choice does not suit the plunderers? Wherein lies its potency for world peace? If it has any why is it not used for that purpose today? Is it not a fact that Wilson is the first to prove the shallowness of his own program when he violates in Russia his heralded point of "self determination"?

As a matter of fact the only "democracy" the capitalist class of this country or of any other will voluntarily submit to is the kind that leaves the slaughter of the workers in their hands. The kind that allows them the privilege of untold robbery, or exploitation, of control through the economic resources of the lives and welfare of the workers of the world. All else is anarchy and "dangerous democracy." This is one point the workers of the whole world are fast learning, whatever they know or care of the famous "fourteen."

WHAT GOMPERS CANNOT SEE.

A tidal wave of restless humanity is sweeping across the world. A social calamity threatens the peoples of Europe.

Our land is not altogether free from the sparks of the fires of human dissension, strife and turmoil, which are threatening the very foundations of some of the European nations.

So writes Samuel Gompers in an article purporting to give a solution for the economic evils of the nation. If Gompers were anything but a congenital compromiser and crumb picker, his mind would react to the march of democracy across the world. Born with a temperamental inclination toward "keeping things as they are," he sees in the violent upheavals in Europe nothing save an eruption of dissension and a crumbling of all that seemed staple and sound.

So used is he to view the world and the race as a static quality, that the slow evolution that has been going on in society, having reached the stage of evolution, he is immediately thrown into a state of querulous panic.

Those forces which seem to be "threatening the very foundations of some of the European nations" are but the birth pangs of a New Society breaking asunder the walls of the parent system. The "dissensions" which Gompers deplores are a natural product of the conflicting interests of different social classes.

"The social calamity" which threatens the people of Europe is not the New Society which is bringing forth in suffering, but the old, outworn and broken down system of private ownership of all men's means of living, which if longer continued would indeed have brought chaos to the race. It was the inadequacy of this decrepit economic system to minister satisfactorily to the needs of humanity in the hour of its supreme trial that is at bottom the cause of Europe's agony.

Just how far in the rear of the world's march is Gompers is seen in his view of world events. While the world's workers hail the Social Revolution as the great hope of the race, he looks on through the smoked glasses of reaction and compromise.

Since the Bolshevists took control of Russia's industries capitalists have learned the meaning of the apostle's words: if a man will not work, neither shall he eat.

It's all right in a song to raise the question of how to keep the boys on the farm after a sojourn in Paree, but we observe that the whole cry of the boys over there is for one more chance at the old home place and the sanity that surrounds it.

One thing the daily press has not exploited—that is, the joy of bullying the Bolshevists in six feet of snow with frozen feet.

AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may call. Terms are five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers will be added from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services are useful to the party upon the platform are requested to secure the endorsement of their locals before making application to be placed upon the Available Speakers List. Locals should make application for the speaker nearest them to save expenses.

M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio.
Chas. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
Tom Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Thurber Lewis, State, Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Frank Midney, 128 N. Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.
C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
H. L. A. Holman, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Frank B. Hamilton, Mayor's Office, Piqua, Ohio.
[illegible] J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
[illegible] Rhemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio.
[illegible] 250 Central, Bellaire, O.

Party News and Views

LIKE HOLMAN AT PLEASANT CITY.

"Comrade Holman was with us on the 11th. Although we had short notice of his coming, we had a good meeting and were well pleased with his lecture. Would like to have him come again."

A. G. DEEREN.

READY FOR SERVICE.

A dollar from Comrade J. S. Faubus for May Day sub cards. If I can be of further help to you please command me, adds Comrade Faubus. We'll keep you in mind, comrade.

PAYS TO TAKE A CUSSING.

That it pays to take a cussing seems to be proven by what a comrade from Tennessee writes. We'll leave out all names, but this comrade sends in two subscriptions and adds: One of these subscribers cussed me for five years before the war for being a Socialist, but see where I have him now. Well, comrade, you got the cussing, now we'll see if the O. S. can make him apologize.

CANTON SOCIALISTS ATTENTION.

All members of Local Canton are hereby notified to be present at a special meeting at headquarters June 4th, for the purpose of electing delegates to the state convention which convenes at Cincinnati June 27th.

ERNEST SYKES, Sec'y.

EVERY KNOCK IS A BOOST FOR SOCIALISTS.

Every knock is a boost so far as the Socialists of East Liverpool are concerned. As a result of the agitation stirred up in that city on May Day and several strikes which have been inaugurated since, the owners of the hall in which the local met closed it to them. The local soon secured a better place in the Trades and Labor hall and are now better satisfied than before. The East Liverpool Tribune gloats over the fact that a new city ordinance provides that a permit be granted all street speakers before a meeting can be held. This is supposed to curb Bolshevism, etc. If the editor of the Tribune had an ounce of brains he would know that the strikes of labor in that city are evidence that the growth of Bolshevism has received no set-back. But who expects him to see what is before him?

OUR JOB, SAYS THIS COMRADE.

Beuena Vista, Va., May 5, 1919.

Dear Comrades: We must, must build up a larger circulation. We must open the doors of the American bastiles; the families of our imprisoned comrades must be provided for. All this can be done and the system of injustice can soon be removed if we will work to that end. I feel that old Virginia is beginning to wake up from its long sleep.

Yours for humanity,
J. W. HUMPHREY.

FOREIGN BRANCHES ORGANIZED

A Russian branch has been organized at Steubenville. The new local consists of 10 members at time of organizing. Comrade J. Pishko is to be credited for the work of organization.

At Alliance an Lithuanian branch has been organized by Comrade Thomas S. Astrauskas. The branch has five members.

CHAS. BAKER ORGANIZES AT FREMONT.

Another local has come back into the fold of active ones. The comrades of Fremont have effected reorganization by the efforts of Comrade Chas. Baker. Local Fremont consists of 10 members. To all our new locals we extend the heartiest comradeship and wish them a generous growth and development.

JOSEPH ROBB AT GIRARD.

Comrade Fred Kline, secretary of Local Girard, writes that Comrade Jos. Robb of Cleveland delivered a good address there the 17th. Despite bad weather, a good crowd was on hand. They showed their appreciation by giving undivided attention and a good collection.

PREACHERS AND REACTIONARIES COMBINE.

From Tiffin comes the news of a new city ordinance compelling persons desirous of holding a street meeting to obtain a permit from the mayor. Along with this latest development of the kind of "democracy" we have been fighting for, the preachers of Tiffin combined in a Sunday morning onslaught upon the Socialists and Bolshevists. True to their historic policy the ministers may be expected to follow where their paymasters lead.

ANOTHER $5.00 FROM COMRADE COOK.

Another check for five dollars comes in from Comrade Allen Cook of Canton for O. S. subscription cards. We don't know just how many five spots Comrade Cook has turned in for subscriptions, but they come in mighty regularly. Comrade Cook is one of our best boosters.

LILTH MARTIN OGANIZES NEW LOCALS.

Comrade Martin is having great good fortune of late. At Forest she secured five members-at-large. Owing to peculiar conditions there she did not organize a local. At Dunkirk a local of five members was organized.

At Dola, Comrade Martin held one of the best meetings on her tour. Owing to the fact that the trustees of the school took some time to debate whether the meeting could be held in the school house, a good deal of free advertising was secured. When they decided that the meeting could be held providing the speaker was not "unpatriotic," a full house greeted Comrade Martin. The population thereabouts is but 150. Nevertheless a local of eleven members was organized. A collection of $9.50 was taken and $2.50 worth of literature was sold.

AKRON SOCIALISTS ACTIVE.

Local Akron is doing business at the same old stand and its activity is increasing from week to week. The American branch holds a regular business meeting every Friday night at 50 S. Howard street. At every one of these meetings some speaker, who has been engaged in advance, winds up the meeting with about a half hour talk, after which a general discussion is held until the subject is threshed out.

Through this method new members are constantly being admitted. At the last meeting of the City Central committee there were over 30 members taken in. The German branch is especially active and always doing business.

On May 30th, the last Friday in the month, there will be held a mass party membership convention for the purpose of reorganizing the City Central committee. Under its present form the C. C. C. is inefficient and not representative of the active movement.

It is hoped the general party meeting will be able to work out a form of organization which will be more workable and more satisfactory to all the branches."

The undersigned was elected regular correspondent for the O. S. and will try to keep the readers informed of Socialist activity in Akron.

Fraternally,
JOHN C. CHASE.

YOUR LOCAL—WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of [illegible] for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at
50 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL.
88 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
828 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93½ Washington St.

STOP IT!

The National Executive Committee of the party, without excuse of reason and without giving that organization an opportunity to be heard, expelled the entire Michigan State organization from the party at its meeting last Saturday.

The only shadow of an excuse for this action was found in the fact that the Michigan party adopted a constitutional provision at its recent convention, opposing the advocacy of social reform measures in that state.

The purpose of this action in expelling 6,000 members from the party without giving those members an opportunity to be heard in their own defense, was evidently a desire to influence the election of the new National Executive Committee. Ballots were to be counted on May 28th, and by expelling the Socialist Party of Michigan prior to that date the vote of the state is eliminated.

No more desperate attempt to maintain its control of the party has ever been attempted in the history of the organization; democracy within the organization was never before so outrageously raped as in this action. The party membership should promptly rebuke the National Executive Committee, which in its last hours in office took such contemptible action.

Local Cuyahoga County, at a joint membership meeting last Sunday initiated the following national referendum:

Resolved, by the joint meeting of the branches of Local Cuyahoga County, representing an average of 1,821 members in good standing for 1918, that we initiate the following motion, to be submitted to referendum of the party membership in the United States:

Resolved, that the action of the National Executive Commitee in revoking the charter of the Socialist Party of Michigan be rescinded and annulled.

Every local that stands for fair play and decency in party affairs should immediately send their seconds to the National Office.

C. E. RUTHENBERG, Sec.
Local Cuyahoga County.

A Chicago soldier stationed at Vladivostok has written to Senator McCormick of Illinois declaring that much drunkenness and venereal disease prevail among the troops there. Soldiers, he says, drink a vodka distilled from a Chinese "swill pile." The soldier wants to come home and to know why the troops are being kept in Russia.

Socialists say:

The working Class does everything and has nothing:

The Capitalist does nothing and has everything.

STATE OFFICE TELEGRAPH ADDRESS

Locals having occasion to telegraph the State Office should address telegrams as follows:

HORTENSE WAGENKNECHT
Phone Wallings 13-Y.
Cleveland, Ohio.

STATE OFFICE TELEPHONE
Wallings 13-Y, Cleveland.

Workers' Council Resolution

Whereas, organized capitalist hatred has thrown into the jails the bravest spokesmen of labor for terms more savage than those meted out to political prisoners by the old autocracies of Russia and Germany, because they dared to speak what they thought the truth, and refused to prostitute their conscience, and

Whereas, laws ostensibly intended for the punishment of enemy spies, have been used by the powers that be to crush every expression of labor's solidarity and forward-looking thought, and

Whereas, the imprisonment of these people is primarily a manifestation of the struggle between capital and labor, a war which transcends the war between groups of nations, be it

Resolved, that we call upon the class-conscious workers of the country to exert their industrial powers to force the release of the class war prisoners.

Adopted at conference of Workers' Council of the Waist and Dress Industry May 4, 1919, New York.

A LEGITIMATE USE OF RIDICULE

(Continued from first page.)

ing and philandering. You're so busy trying to 'make a hit' with somebody that you haven't the time to realize that your life is sheer waste. You can't see that life is only worth while if each of us does his utmost to leave the world a better place for those who follow.

"When you saw the name 'Debs' on the card, you were instantly regaled with visions of bomb-throwers, free-lovers, etc. That is because you know nothing of real democracy, nothing of the progressive movements of our time, nothing about the principles of genuine freedom.

"I would heartily advise you to brush the cobwebs of sloth from your mind and visit the non-fiction shelves of the public library occasionally.

"Yours for Bolshevism.
ALANSON SESSIONS.

Our Great Big Winning Combination

$1.00—Offer—$1.00

The Latest Socialist and Russian Pamphlets at Almost Cost!

We have said that we would sell Socialist literature cheaper than you could buy it elsewhere. That's because we buy such quantities at such low cost. Because we do this, we are able to save our locals and readers a few dollars on their books, pamphlets and leaflets. Because we have bought in such quantities we are able to make this most liberal offer of the best of the recent pamphlets on Russia and the live issues of the American Socialist Movement.

ELEVEN INTERESTING AND EDUCATIONAL PAMPHLETS AT MORE THAN ONE-FIFTH OFF REGULAR PRICE.

Here are the Titles. Read. Them Over—Then Order.

Titles.	Retail Price
The Old Order in Europe and the New Order in Russia By M. Phillips Price, Russian correspondent of the London "Manchester Guardian."	10c
100 Years—For What? Addresses of Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Krause and St. John Tucker to the court that sentenced them to serve 100 years in prison.	10c
Soviet Russia By Albert Rhys Williams. An address delivered at Chicago, February, 1919.	10c
Debs Goes to Prison By David Karshner, editor New York Call Magazine. Karshner accompanied Debs from his home in Terre Haute to Moundsville penitentiary. He has written an intensely interesting and touching booklet of this historic journey of Debs the Beloved to his prison home.	25c
The Trial of Eugene V. Debs By Max Eastman. With Debs' address to the court on receiving sentence. Eastman attended Debs' trial and gives a graphic description of the court scenes.	10c

Titles.	Retail Price.
The Dream of Debs By Jack London. One of London's class-war stories with a striking photo of Debs on the cover.	10c
Industrial Autocracy By Mary Marcy. A clear and correct interpretation of our present economic system.	10c
The Soviets By Albert Rhys Williams. Comprises 76 questions and answers about the present Soviet Government of Russia. Williams spent many months in Russia during the revolution.	10c
Shop Talks on Economics By Mary Marcy. Mary Marcy is one of our best writers on economics. Her method of teaching the basic principles of Socialist economist is most interesting and instructive.	10c
The Slander of the Toilers By Geore R. Kirkpatrick. A little pamphlet that rips the cover off the sophistries of the apologists of capitalism and reveals its hideous lies about the workers. Get it. Read it, and be armed with arguments.	10c
Russia Comprises four fine articles by Lenine, Tchichern, John Reed and Max Eastman. These articles should be read by every worker.	15c

One Dollar and Thirty Cents Worth of Books for $1.00

DON'T SAY YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO SPEND $1.00 ON YOUR OWN EDUCATION—YOU CAN.

It should make no difference to you if you have read one or two of these pamphlets. Those you haven't read are worth more than the price we ask. Order them, read them, lend them or give them away. Get them in circulation.

We Want 500 Orders for This Winning Combination at $1.00

Here's Your Order Blank—Use It Now!

Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.

Enclosed find $1.00 for which send me the eleven pamphlets of your Big Winning Combination.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... State ....

Ten Days That Shook the World

BY JOHN REED.

John Reed was in Russia during and for months after the proletarian revolution. He has given in this big book much inside information that has not appeared elsewhere. You will find many chapters in it of great interest and value. Order of State Office Socialist Party of Ohio. R. D. No. 2, Brecksville, Ohio. [illegible]

MAY DAY IN PRISON

PRISONERS IN LEAVENWORTH CELEBRATE WITH RED FLAG PARADE AND REVOLUTIONARY SPEECH-MAKING.

Unlike the dreary weather which has met the capitalists in most of their parades, either to boost Liberty loans or augment recruiting, the sunshine and mild breezes came out in their best spring raiments as if to help all they could to give the oppressed worker confidence in himself. It was a May Day such as you might imagine the fairies would have chosen for their may-pole dance and spring frolic.

For us it was no occasion for light hearted gaiety, but one for serious reflection and determined preparation for the task which lies before us when we get out of this place. The morning program began in cantonment6 when all the conscientious objectors arose and sang the International. Next the hardy Russians stood and sang with lusty voices their Memorial Hymn. I thrilled within to see these simple determined men stand up and echo the melody which inspired their compatriots to their supreme effort in 1917, when Russia broke her chains and autocracy fell thundering to the ground.

Rodolf, faithful student of Marx, followed with an interesting account of Karl Marx's life, in which he pointed out his great work in laying the philosophical foundation for the present social movement the world over. He told of Marx's suffering for his chosen work, and because he refused to compromise with the capitalist system for the sake of making a decent living for his family. He closed with a plea for purposeful suffering.

The singing of the red flag by all Reds concluded the meeting.

HAVE RED PARADE.

After early mess I was aroused by the resounding song of the Russians. I hurried to the window, saw the parade of the C. O.'s and hastened to join them. Leading the procession of men, four abreast with locked arms, walked Bill Kantor wearing a D. B. storm hood turned inside out to show the flaming red lining. A few pases back of him marched Carl Haessler carrying a broom on which was tied a "Liberator" cover picture of Lenine. The Russian contingent followed close on his heels singing as if they were actually marching to freedom. Behind them came the American Socialists headed by a C. O. carrying Abraham Lincoln's picture (same source) aloft on a broom. Red flags and bits of red blanket around the arms added color to the group of numbered men.

The "wobblies" followed with their banner of red with I. W. W. painted on it in black. Strangeland's red numbers added its quota of red to the parade.

We miscellaneous, so-called "religious objectors," brought up the rear and added our bit to this expression of class consciousness and determination to be free from the oppression of capitalism.

We paraded around the "wired-in city" while all the sentries in the two adjoining cantonments on the other side of the stockade "turned out" to see us. Some cursed at us, several applauded, but most stood fixed wondering what it was all about. Passing automobiles were stopped to allow their curious occupants to gaze in amazement at the Red Parade. Just as the column turned into cantonment 6 the executive staff came upon the scene—in answer, no doubt to the call of one of the sentries up in the towers along the stockade.

After admonishing us against any further out-door demonstrations and stating surprise at our using our permission to be excused from work in such a manner to observe May Day, they left us to finish our program indoors. Red flags were everywhere in evidence in the barracks, but not a word was said against them. Carl Haessler reassured the officer that we would stay inside with our celebration for the balance of the day. But we had finished our parade—probably more successfully than our fellows on the outside.

A RED PROGRAM.

"Wobbly" Gergotz then mounted the improvised rostrum and delivered an impassioned and convincing argument for a more widespread use of the economic arm of the revolutionary movement. His plea for Industrial Unionism and the General Strike as a means of securing complete control of the tools of production, could not be denied.

The rest of the afternoon Carl Haessler read us another chapter from "Man and Superman," by Bernard Shaw.

Our evening program should have opened with a game of horseshoes between the "wobblies" and Socialists but the stealing of their places at early mess delayed matters a whole hour and cut out the game.

Carl Haessler started the ball rolling by reading from the Kansas City Times about Red celebrations in Europe and South America, also about preparations in various United States cities.

Clark Getts followed with an eloquent exposition of the course events would likely take in the U. S. during the transition from capitalist to worker control of the industries. He made clear to us the function of "political action" in education and general propaganda work for the revolution. On the whole he felt that Russia's Soviet form would lend itself very well to American conditions; and during the transition we would have to resort to a dictatorship of the proletariat to put everybody to work.

The floor being then thrown open for discussion, Markowitz explained that a "dictatorship" in the U. S. must not be winced at, for it was a familiar modus operandi here, where less than five per cent of the people control the means of production, and the channels of intercourse. Isn't a dictatorship of the proletariat just as justified as one of the bourgeois? Snyder followed with a warning against leader worship and blind devotion to leaders from the intelligentsia. He told us to rely on leaders from among the workers and thus preclude the danger of being misled by some upstart intellectual, who would not lead straight in a crisis.

The singing of the "Marseillaise" by all concluded the program.

The spirit of the day was predominantly serious. There was no tendency, not the slightest, of any glorification of our sacrifices since imprisonment. That was all forgotten and burned in the flames of enthusiasm and determination, which swept through the assemblage of earnest men eager for the liberty to serve the cause of human emancipation as free men.

ERLING H. LUNDE.

VICTOR BERGER, SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN

(Continued from first page.)

of the labor-exploiting plutocrats to slap the Socialist Party in the face by preventing the representative of 1,000,000 American Socialists from taking his seat.

Berger was recently sentenced by Federal Judge Landis in Chicago to serve twenty years in the federal penitentiary for having written Socialist editorials in the Milwaukee Leader during the war which congress declared against Germany and Austria-Hungary.

It is significant that the house of representatives steering committee, which devoted considerable time in its secret session today to discussing the procedure to unseat Berger, reached no definite conclusion as to the plan to be pursued. It is no ordinary election contest in which elements of fraud enter. Berger's election is not contested. And the steering committee has got to devise some denial of democracy to override the constitutionally expressed will of the voters in Berger's district.

BERGER'S STAND ON WAR UNCHANGED.

Berger stands today right where he stood when war was declared, and right where he stood when the anti-Socialist Judge Landis gave him twenty years for printing Socialist editorials. He insists on his right under the United States Constitution to discuss war, the causes of war, methods of financing war, methods to abolish war, and all other public questions connected with war.

"I was exercising my lawful rights in all that I wrote and published and in every word that I spoke from the platform concerning the war," said Berger. "Citizens holding opinions contrary to mine had an equal right to speak and publish their opinions, so that the public might hear both sides.

"Neither I nor my opponents had the moral or the constitutional right to suppress the free utterance of any citizen's opinion with regard to governmental acts and policies which vitally affected the welfare of all citizens."

Although the Socialist-hating officials of the department of justice charged Berger in the indictment with having conspired to interfere with the armed forces of the United States, the Socialist congressman charges that the entire trial proceedings at Chicago conclusively demonstrated that he was not being tried for alleged interference with the armed forces of the United ed views in favor of the abolition States, but rather for his pronounc-of individual ownership for profit of the socially necessary means for the production and distribution of wealth and the substitution of social ownership, with its consequent indictment, trial, conviction and execution of labor exploitation. It is Berger's impression that the jury which convicted him was dominated by the prevailing psychological of the anti-Socialist and plutocratic newspapers, whose owners believed that the time had come, for the continued safety of the capitalist regime, a representative Socialist must be sent to jail. This atmosphere resulted in a jury being picked composed of anti-Socialist retired farmers and real estate dealers—a jury which knew about as much regarding the constitutional rights of American citizens and the fundamental principles underlying democratic forms of government as a Hottentot.

"It is significant," said Berger, "that under the espionage act, according to the report of the attorney general himself, not a single man was convicted of being a paid German spy, or even convicted of trying to find out military secrets. So far as there is a record, those accused of such offenses under the espionage act have been either acquitted or interned without imprisonment, because they were not citizens. But American citizens, on the other hand, have been sentenced to as high as twenty years in the penitentiary for remarks made in private conversation about the war.

Berger discussed the extent to which the government authorities have used the espionage law to suppress and abolish the fundamental rights guaranteed every citizen by the Constitution of the United States. "Free speech and free press have been abolished!" he exclaimed. "If one speaks or writes the truth as one sees it, one does it at the risk of being sent to the penitentiary for 10, 15 or 20 years.

"The manner in which that unjust and unconstitutional law was used to secure my conviction for a crime which I never in word, deed or spirit contemplated or committed, was a travesty upon impartial justice—as is the sentence imposed upon me by a sensational and prejudiced judge.

"I doubt if the house of representatives will refuse to seat me because of the alleged 'conspiracy' to interfere with the armed forces of the United States with which the indictment charged me. Members of congress know that I am no more guilty of a conspiracy in connection with this war than is Woodrow Wilson."

BERGER FIRST SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN.

Representative Victor Berger is one of the founders of the Socialist Party of America. He was the first Socialist elected to Congress, the voters of his district choosing him as their representative in 1910.

He was nominated by the Socialist Party of the state of Wisconsin as its candidate for United States senator in the special election held in April, 1918. Two weeks after his nomination, the anti-Socialist agents of the department of justice, thinking they saw a grand opportunity to make political capital out of the espionage law and prevent a large Socialist vote, extracted the indictment from a federal grand jury. But the voters of Wisconsin showed their contempt for this prostitution of a federal law for the purpose of partisan politics by casting 110,000 votes for Berger, the Socialist.

With the indictment and trial still pending, the Socialist Party nominated Berger to represent the Fifth district of Wisconsin in the house of representatives at Washington. Again prostituting the federal law to the gutter of anti-Socialist politics, the agents of the department of justice corkscrewed three more indictments out an anti-Socialist federal grand jury in which he was charged with writing Socialist articles explaining the Socialist position on the war and war problems. To cap the climax of brothel anti-Socialist justice, and to "insure" Berger's defeat for congress, the agents of the department of justice had the grand jury return still another indictment in which Berger's platform in his campaign for election to the United States senate was called in question.

But in spite of all the indictments and in spite of all the calmor of the capitalist papers and the so-called "loyalist" societies, the voters of the Fifth district gave Victor Berger a clear majority of 5,560 over Joseph P. Carney, Democrat, with Stafford, Republican, trailing along in the rear with 10,530 ballots to his credit.

It is the express election-day mandate of the 17,822 Socialist voters in Berger's district that certain anti-Socialist politicians in the house of representatives are to try to nullify by refusing to permit Berger, Socialist, to take his seat.

In the meantime his right to his seat is recognized by prompt payment of his wages.

REBELLION IN INDIA

By NOMAN THOMAS, Editor "The World Tomorrow."

Figures are dull enough but here are some that ought to stir the most unimaginative among us: India contains some 300,000,000 people. The average per capita income is $10 per annum. On the basis of prices at the end of 1916, rice sufficient for one meal a day would cost $10.95 per annum. Taxes on the basis of the new budget average about $1.40 per capita. Is it any wonder that large sections of the population are living under famine conditions, that between 5,000,000 and 7,000,000,000 of these undernourished people died of influenza, and that 75,000,000 are receiving barely one square meal in two days? This starving people contributes to Imperial Britain in drain of one sort or another for the benefits of administration and interest on capital an amount estimated at from $100,000,000 to $200,000,000. Her new budget calls for the expenditure of more than $200,000,000 on the military—about 48% of the total budget.

These figures give the background of Indian unrest which is today economic even more than political. The Montague-Chelmsford home rule bill will not meet this economic situation. Meanwhile its passage has been held up in Britain while in India not constructive legislation but extremely coercive anti-sedition laws have been passed. In consequence of this miserable situation there have been a series of strikes among the grossly underpaid laborers in British owned industries, and political riots in the leading cities. Finally—and most significant of all—the hitherto apathetic peasantry have rebelled in district after district not only against British rule, but in favor of the ancient system of communal land ownership. The viceroy is "satisfied that open rebellion exists" and has put about one-third of the country under martial law. This revolt is the achievement of a people deprived of all arms and of any general popular education, attained by methods ranging from passive resistance inspired by that extraordinary modern saint, and friend of the oppressed, M. K. Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the poet, to terrorism after the Russian pattern organized by the Young India party. No sane observer can believe that India will immediately gain her independence; that she should show so rapidly growing a desire for it is a fact more significant even than such important European news as the fate of fiume. It vitally concerns the workers of America and Europe, whose radicalism too generally ignores Asia. No solidarity of the working class, no human brotherhood, is complete or secure which ignores or excludes the vast populations of the ancient and virile civilizations of India and China. Lajpat Rai—himself an Indian home ruler, not an extreme nationalist—writes in "The New Republic" for April 26th, "a feeling of unity against the west is developing in the Orient," and he points out the terrible possibilities of this spirit of hatred fostered by our western imperialism. It is obvious that in the nature of things the competitive system cannot bring about a fair solution of the relations between Asia and the West; the point we must emphasize is that in the long run the acid test of all forms of co-operation will be found in their capacity to assert an inclusive brotherhood in which the free peoples of Asia may share.

DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT

(Continued from first page.)

capitalist press. "The greatest victory the strikers achieved," said James Winning, president of the Trades and Labor Council, "was the choking of the daily press. No greater victory has ever been achieved. There was no vindictiveness in this move, but the press had started its campaign of misrepresentation and it had to be choked." No papers are issued in Winnipeg during the strike except by permission of the strike committees. A press censorship has also been established. No newspaper stories concerning the strike situation are sent out of the city without passing scrutiny of the strikers' committees unless they are carried across the international boundary by train.

The strikers appear to hold the handle of the whip and all indications point to a successful conclusion for the workers. The second great general strike on the American continent will undoubtedly go down in history as a step forward for the American proletariat and will prove an example for the future.

The following article taken from the Nation throws some strong light on the psychology of the working class of the great Dominion to the north. Labor in Canada exhibits a far more revolutionary tendency than can be said of his brother in the U. S. A.

ONE BIG UNION.

(By GORDON GREY.)

The aim of progressive labor men and women in Canada who are voting for organization along industrial union lines and complete separation from the American Federation of Labor is "One Big Union." This radical action was not taken hastily. It is the outcome of years of dissatisfaction with the policies of those controlling the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations. The war has brought discontent to a head. The labor movement of Canada has certain characteristics peculiar to itself, but it is no more distinctive than the industrial development which it reflects. Canada is a nation within the British empire, but industrially its progress is more like that of the United States. Its commercial organizations, its religious associations, and its newspapers follow those of its big neighbor. This imitation of the methods of the United States continues despite activities of an aggressive Canadian and British-born element which favors British customs.

No one, however, should misunderstand the labor movement of Canada. It is far from nationalistic. In sections where feeling is most bitter against the American Federation of Labor it is intensely international. Less than ten years ago national unionism did exist in Canada and it had a hold among Quebec's French-Canadians; more than one prelate addressed the faithful, giving warning against the pitfalls of international unionism. Employers encouraged this nationalistic labor viewpoint and with their newspapers frequently condemned "foreign labor agitators" who came to Canada from the United States to offer advice during labor troubles.

Most employers and newspapers have changed their views of labor unionism and now favor affiliation of employes with the American Federation of Labor. They recognize the ever-widening gulf between that organization and the labor movements of other continents. The more employers and politicians show their friendship for President Gompers and the Federation, the more do labor men condemn both. Resentment against the policies of the official family of the Federation is most noticeable in Canada's Pacific coast province and, to a lesser extent, in her prairie provinces. Class lines are most clearly drawn in British Columbia, the last stopping-off place for native-born and British-born Canadians. These residents of Canada's Far West have an especial familiarity with the progress of events in Australia and New Zealand because Vancouver is the most important point of communication on this continent for Canada's two sister nations.

Certain men, recognizing the failure of advanced social reforms in Australia and New Zealand, began years ago to spread clear-cut Marxian socialist doctrines in British Columbia. They have had a lasting effect on the situation. Formidable strikes of powerful western unions, independent of the American Federation of Labor, and the extensive development at one time of the Industrial Workers of the World in the Pacific coast province, also sowed seed now ripening in the "One Big Union."

Labor in eastern Canada, however, is not so radical. The nearer a Canadian city is to Washington, D. C., and Indianapolis, the two principal seats of politics within the American Federation of Labor, the more conservative its labor unions are likely to become. The residence in Ontario and Montreal of Canadian members of executive boards and organizers of craft unions also contributes to the "saner" labor viewpoint. This difference between eastern and western thought has been noticeable at annual conventions of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, a legislative body of American Federation of Labor unions in Canada which performs certain functions within the scope of Federation matters. The congress, however, is more radical than the American Federation because a reform Socialist and Labor party element forms a "center" or middle-of-the-road group which crosses swords with the Gompers or ultra-conservative labor faction.

The declaration of war in 1914 opened an era in Canadian labor circles. Canada entered the struggle at its start; the United States did not. Efforts of craft-union officials to keep the United States out of the war naturally made it impossible for officers in Canada, to consult them on problems growing out of the struggle. Small strikes and even general strikes were numerous. The more they saw the power of the general tie-up the more did Canada's union men and women resort to it—and this in defiance of union officials who threatened sympathetic strikers with expulsion.

Two and a half years passed, and the United States entered the war. With its entrance came President Gompers' reversal of established labor policies, his "peace" with open-shop employers, and the acceptance by him and by other labor spokesmen of positions on various political commissions and boards. Canadian workers who paid dues into international headquarters—many of them fathers and brothers of men who had died in battle two or more years before—felt the Gompers war program to be a defeatist labor policy, and, still defiant, continued to strike.

When the United States adopted conscription Canada's government promised labor it would not take similar action. In December, 1917, however, the Dominion government held a general election on the conscription issue and won by the aid of a "doctored" franchise and solemn promises to farmers that their sons would not be taken. A few months later it began to draft farmers' sons. This made the farmers join with the union labor men in denunciation of the government. The tillers of the soil sent to Ottawa the largest delegation in Canada's history to protest, but, though practically the delegates were voters, the house of commons refused to receive a deputation of two farmers or to permit them to make five-minute speeches on the floor of the legislative chamber. A few weeks later President Gompers arrived in Ottawa and Canada's senators actually went in a body to the house of commons in order to attend a joint session addressed by him. Influential daily newspapers which denounced Canadian labor men featured his address under screaming headlines, while the Dominion department of labor printed hundreds of thousands of copies of it and distributed them without charge in every section of the country. The aged chief of the Federation also spoke before the Ottawa Trades and Labor assembly, denouncing independent political action.

No one event did more to arouse Canada's workers against their government. Men whose loved ones had died on Flanders fields, at a time when President Gompers denounced the war, resented his lectures on how they should conduct themselves to prove their loyalty. Even the Toronto Industrial Banner, a labor paper favorable to President Gompers, craft-unionism, and minor reforms, and opposed to industrial unionism and other radical doctrines, attacked the Federation president, while western labor papers printed bitter denunciations of him. Feeling mounted against the politicians at Ottawa. Labor grew less conciliatory; general strikes on a scale unprecedented in North America, became frequent and shook Canada to the very foundations. Government employes—the postal workers—went on strike from Montreal to the Pacific coast, and in several large cities completely demoralized the postal service.

This hostility towards the government showed itself at the annual convention of the Dominion Trades and Labor congress held in Quebec in September. Western delegates, who were not numerous because of the distance, clashed with pro-government delegates, but their radical proposals were defeated. They decided, therefore to hold conference of western labor delegates in Hamilton, a city of Ottawa chosen for the next convention, just prior to the Dominion meeting of the congress next year. Governmental pressure and the signing of the armistice, however, led to a change in this plan. Hardly had the western delegates returned home before a series of extraordinary orders-in-council curtailing freedom of speech and press began to issue from the government. Within three weeks more prohibitory orders were issued affecting labor than during the four years of war, and not even the cessation of fighting on the western front put a stop to the development. Socialist organizations were proclaimed illegal, socialist papers suppressed, and the importation of socialist literature, if published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago, was prohibited. Possession of Plato's Republic, if in the Kerr edition, was considered an offense punishable by five years' imprisonment, or a $5,000 fine, or both.

Labor in Canada met this challenge. It backed the Socialist party, an illegal organization, when it held a mass meeting in Vancouver at which the chairman announced that he would sell Kerr's publications. Two orders-in-council were thereby broken at one time. Labor unions, in defiance of their internationals, called general strikes to bring about the release of political prisoners. The Winnipeg Trades and Labor council's official paper announced on its first page that it would refuse to obey certain orders of Canada's chief censor. It was the realization that there is power in might and that organization is the most efficient way to use that power effectively that brought about the organization of "One Big Union." Labor saw the need for quick action. Unions of the province of Ontario from the head of the Great Lakes west, and of the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, decided to hold an inter-provincial conference as soon as possible instead of waiting until September, and Calgary, Alberta, was selected as the convention city. The British Columbia Federation of Labor also determined to hold its convention in the same city—although it was outside its own province—just before the larger gathering.

Australian labor's adoption of the "One Big Union" following governmental oppression; the spread of I. W. W. propaganda in Canada despite orders-in-council making it a criminal offense to advocate its principles or to circulate its literature; and the undisguised satisfaction with which various Federation of Labor officials seemed to welcome the imprisonment of the advocates of the "One Big Union" in the United States, doubtless had something to do with the British Columbia convention's vote in favor of "One Big Union" and of secession from the American Federation of Labor, but sheer oppression did most. The inter-provincial conference also voted in favor of "One Big Union." It endorsed the Soviet form of administration, condemned reform by legislation and the petitioning by labor delegations of politicians in legislative halls, demanded freedom of speech and press, and sent greetings to the Russian Bolsheviki and to the German Spartacans. This decision in favor of "One Big Union" of all workers, it is believed by labor men, led to the government's announcement of a commission to study the feasibility of joint control of industry by capital and labor. The commission is to rush its investigation and report by June 1—the date set by the western labor conference for a general strike of all western Canadian workers for a thirty-hour week, release of all political prisoners and freedom of press and speech.

American Federation of Labor unions in western Canada are now voting on a referendum to form "One Big Union" and secede from the Federation. The vote is favorable in many important cities and industrial sections. In certain other places, however, the result is in doubt. It is the opinion of employers as well as of employes that labor in Canada will soon frankly adopt the "One Big Union" method of battling for its rights and for its ultimate triumph.

—The Nation.

DEB'S SENTENCE

The Chicago Tribune of April 9th attempts to justify the imprisonment of the foremost champion of liberty in the United States on the ground that Debs had denounced the laws that were imposed on the people.

The history of the United States has many examples of the things that Debs is charged with. Opposition to infamous laws stands to the credit of those who had the moral courage to oppose them. Jefferson's and Madison's opposition to the "Alien and Sedition" laws gained them the popularity which landed them in the presidency. The opposition to the laws to protect the institution of chattel slavery made immortal the names of Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison and others who had the manhood to oppose laws that oppress the people.

How many people are there today who look upon John Brown as a criminal? Very few. Most people look upon him as a martyr in the cause of human freedom although at the time of his execution the press, the same kind of a press as we have now, printed the same kind of justification as appears in the Chicago Tribune. Still the memory of John Brown will always be honored.

DEMOBILIZATION

In response to a question concerning the respective forces of the Allied and enemy armies on the day of the armistice and today, the British minister of war has published the following figures concerning demobilization among belligerents:

	Nov. 11, '18	Feb. '19
England	5,680,000	4,663,000
France	5,075,000	3,800,000
Italy	3,420,000	2,500,000
United States	3,707,132	2,400,000
Germany	4,500,000	820,000
Austria	2,230,000	106,000
Bulgaria	500,000	129,000
Turkey	400,000	70,000

CHICAGO LABOR ORGANIZED FOR MOONEY DEFENSE

The conference on the Mooney case held Saturday, April 19th, and called by the Chicago Federation of Labor, filled its meeting hall to overflowing, and resulted in the organization of a permanent Chicago Mooney Defense League. This occurred at the instigation of Secretary E. N. Nockles. Delegates from each Labor Union in Chicago and vicinity, whether affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or not, constitute the league. All are invited. The next regular meeting held May 3, 8 p.m., at the Federation building, 166 West Washington street.

A rousing vote recommending the general protest strike program to begin July 4th, was favored by fifty-five unions to one against. The South Chicago Steel Workers' council, representing 60,000 organized men of the Calumet, and adjacent districts, went on record as favoring this general protest strike program to secure justice for labor and free Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

The statement that the legal constitution of that state prevents California from giving Mooney justice and that the adopted constitutions of some big unions contain clauses that prevent labor going on a general strike to get justice for Mooney brought hoots and jeers.

"Suspend the constitution and get justice" was shouted. "We did it in war-time to make the world safe for democracy. Let us do it now to preserve it," was the sentiment that prevailed. Constitutions were made to preserve freedom—not to prevent it.

Thomas H. Tippett, who represented the United Mine Workers, spoke eloquently of Peoria, Illinois. "This is one city in the United States that will protest with a general strike, whether any others do or not. Peoria is 100 per cent American," said Mr. Tippett. "Even our mayor, judges and policemen are for justice to labor and Mooney. Whoever does not favor a square deal must be crooked," is Peoria's philosophy.

Maud McCreery of Milwaukee, one of the women who addressed the National Mooney Labor Congress of las January, lectured the organization committee session, especially on details of the acceptance of the General Protest Strike in Wisconsin. The rank and file of organized labor is being aroused there and elsewhere as never before.

The Chamber of Commerce in California recently published a pamphlet entitled "The Mooney Case and the Bolsheviki." Organized labor readily has accepted the challenge. It is not being scared by any "bugaboos." An increasing number of Mooney Defense Leagues is the answer. They believe in self-government at the hands of the rank and file—whether you call it Democracy or Bolshevism.

The permanent organization of the Chicago Mooney Defense League elected F. B. Meister, Coopers' Union No. 15, chairman, and A. Johannsen, representing the Carpenters' District Council and the International Workers' Defense League, as secretary. These are assisted by an organization and publicity committee of seven members. Permanent office headquarters have been granted by the Chicago Federation of Labor free of all charge to the Defense League until Mooney and Billings are freed or guaranteed a new trial and a square deal. Organized labor and the progressively-minded public evidently are in earnest in their desire to see this case settled right.

EUGENE DEBS

A dreamer? yes, a dreamer, but
His dreams are all for you,
He dreams the dreams that nations dream,
And nations' dreams come true;
He dreams the dreams that sowers dream
When sun and rain assure
A field of silken tasseled corn
From seed that must mature.
His ship sails on a sunlit sea—
A tide that never ebbs—
For country, home and liberty,
Come voyage on with Debs.

—Ellis B. Harris.

Clifford and Ruthenberg Held

(Continued from first page.)

a speech made on Market Square a month before the first of May in which he said that the workers of Russia won their freedom by organizing in the industries and that the German workers were following the same road, and that even in England the shop stewards movement was showing that the road to emancipation lay along the same path, and urged the workers to organize in the industries and form a workmen's council. The only other speech quoted from was made as chairman of the Scott Nearing meeting at Acme Hall, in which Ruthenberg urged those present to remain away from work on May Day and join in the demonstration to make it a "red letter" day for the workers.

Nothing in any of the speeches quoted even remotely suggested any violence. The speeches urged the education of the workers through aggressive propaganda and the organization of their power and argued that when a MAJORITY accepted the ideal the Socialists advocated, the new society would come into existence.

Yet in the desperate attempt to saddle responsibility for the savagery displayed on May Day by those who attacked the Socialists upon the Socialist organization, the attempt is being made to railroad Clifford and Ruthenberg to prison on the basis of these speeches.

In regard to what happened on May Day, it was brought out by the evidence of the prosecution's own witnesses that the violence on May Day was begun by men from a Victory Loan truck, who tried to wrest a red flag from a soldier who carried it at the head of the parade.

"A Prison Is the Only House in a Slave State Where a Free Man Can Abide With Honor."—Tho

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LIFE IN U. S. FEDERAL PRISON

(By Ammon A Hennacy.)

Here are some prison experiences of Ammon A. Hennacy of Columbus, O., as he relates them in a letter to his sister. You will know a great deal more of prison life in one of our "model" federal prisons after you have read this series of illuminating experiences. After serving nearly two years for activities against the government's war plans, Comrade Hennacy is now at Delaware, Ohio, doing a nine months bit for refusing to register.

Comrade Hennacy is now allowed a great many privileges not heretofore granted him. Good things to eat can be sent him as well as letters and reading matter. Comrades who wish to make life a bit more sunshiny for an imprisoned comrade should remember Comrade Hennacy. Address him at County Jail, Delaware, Ohio.—(Ed. Note.)

Delaware, Ohio, May 14, 1919.

Dear Sister:

Now that I am in a jail where I am permitted to write and am allowed to have my typewriter I will tell you about some of my experiences during the past two years that I have spent in prison.

First, regarding the six weeks that I was in the Columbus, Ohio, county jail, of which William Slack is sheriff and Mr. Hill a chief deputy. On May 30, 1917, I was placed in a cell by myself and not allowed to see my folks or a lawyer for several days. I was not permitted to receive newspapers, but "trustees" told me that orders had been received from Washington to "shoot me at sunrise" unless I registered on June 5th. Having had no previous jail experience I did not know if this threat was true or not, for I was held on a charge of treason which was punishable by death. I made up my mind to refuse to register anyhow and take the consequences.

U. S. District Attorney Bolin told me that he would see that I received all of my mail and would send out any letters that I wished to write. One letter that came to me from Socialist members of the Wisconsin legisaltures was published in the newspapers; while I did not learn of its arrival until I saw it in the paper later. It was only after considerable trouble that I was allowed to read a letter from my sweetheart, while going up on an elevator, and compelled to return the letter at once. None of the letters written by me were ever delivered.

A notice was put in the paper saying that Sheriff Slack was afraid to leave me out with the other prisoners for fear they would kill me, but that he had told me I could go out if I cared to risk my life. This was, of course, an excuse to keep me in solitary and break my spirit. I challenged a deputy to name one man in prison who had expressed a desire to injure me and he could not name one person. No offer was made to leave me out with the other prisoners. It was only by paying an outside barber 50 cents that I received one shave in six weeks.

I arrived at Atlanta federal penitentiary Friday, July 13th, 1917. Attendance at chapel was compulsory so on the following Sunday I listened to a patriotic plea from the pulpit. As a matter of principle I refused to stand up when patriotic songs were played; it happened that I was not noticed, for I was seated near the middle aisle, while the guards were stationed by the windows. In fact I never stood up on such occasions while I was in the penitentiary, and always was lucky enough to be out of reach of the eyes of the guard.

I asked Deputy Warden Brock to move me from a small cell in the old cell house to a larger cell in the new cell house. He replied that no Socialists were wanted in the new cell house for they would have a chance to talk to more people there. At this interview the deputy seriously tried to argue that Socialism meant dividing up.

I put in an application to attend night school in the prison, as I wished to study Kleiser's course in English. My application was repeatedly turned down by the superintendent who said that he had received orders from the officials not to allow Socialists to attend school. I then organized a study class in Mill's "Struggle for Existence;" about twenty of us meeting once a week in the yard on Saturday or Sunday afternoons when we were allowed outside to see the ball games. Our class was discontinued when rainy weather set in.

On one occasion a cell mate of mine found a mistake of several dollars in his account. According to the rules of the prison he reported this error to the warden. I might say

(Continued on fourth page.)

Locals, Branches, Members of the Socialist Party

ATTENTION!

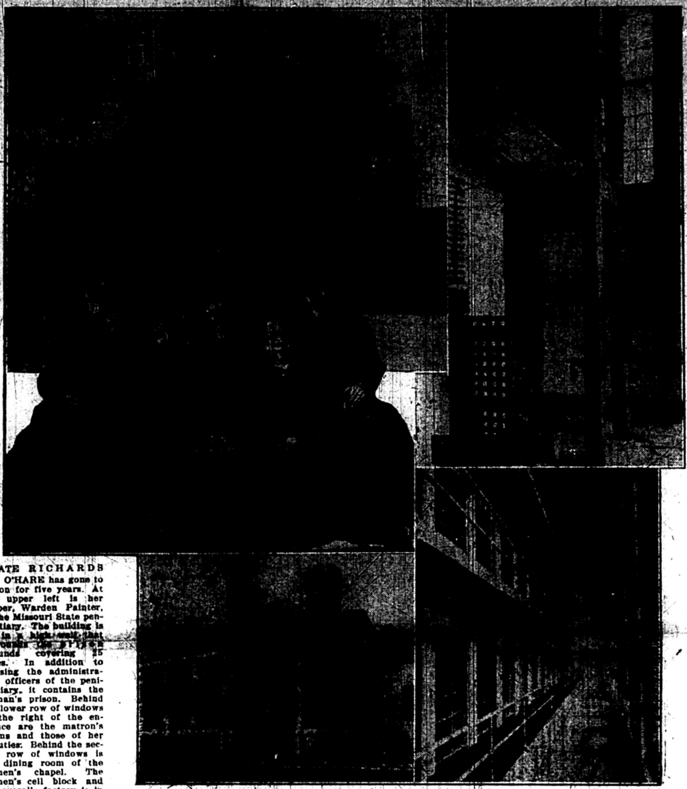
Turn To Page 3

On page 3, under the heading of "News and Views," you will find an article severely criticizing the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party for expelling and suspending nearly 40,000 members from the party.

A little minority of seven national executive committeemen sitting around a table, with only committeemen Katterfeld and Wagenknecht voicing determined opposition—a little minority of seven committeemen out of fifteen threw nearly 40,000 members out of our organization.

No more dastardly trick than this was ever played upon our party. Read about it on page three. Endorse the motions for national referendum made by Local Cuyahoga county, which also appear upon page three. More about these high-handed actions of the autocratic seven next week.

KATE O'HARE GOES TO PRISON FOR SOCIALISM



KATE RICHARDS O'HARE has gone to prison for five years. At the upper left is her keeper, Warden Painter, of the Missouri State penitentiary. The building is set in a high wall that surrounds the prison grounds covering 25 acres. In addition to housing the administration officers of the penitentiary, it contains the woman's prison. Behind the lower row of windows at the right of the entrance are the matron's rooms and those of her deputies. Behind the second row of windows is the dining room of the women's chapel. The women's cell block and the overalls factory is in the rear of the building. So the women eat, sleep and work in the same building. Their "playground" is behind the high wall to the right of the prison. In the shadow of the building is the O'Hare family, Kate Richards O'Hare and her four children. At the upper right is the prison whipping post. The yarden told me that this form of punishment had been abolished but there are those who shake their heads. At the lower right is a typical block of cells. Mrs. O'Hare occupies one of these. At the lower left is the entrance to one of the men's cell buildings, visible from the women's prison. It is in this atmosphere that Kate O'Hare has been condemned to spend the next five years of her life, making 55 pairs of overalls each day. How many days of that five year sentence will she serve? The answer must come from the workers of the United States.

IF TOM MOONEY WERE A MILLIONAIRE

(By Cassius V. Cook.)

If Tom Mooney, as a millionaire, had "clean-d" the Chamber of Commerce crowd for a few more million, he never would be and never could be "framed-up." Instead he probably would have been made president of the Chamber of Commerce and asked, at his wealthy leisure, to tell how to "turn the trick."

But Tom Mooney, himself a union molder, helping first to organize the electricians, and finally the street car men, hit the Chamber of Commerce crowd in the place where they carry their heart and where it hurts the "hardest"—their pocketbook. Rena Mooney, faithful wife and efficient music teacher, enthusiastically helped him. Both were marked victims for hanging and the penitentiary ever since.

WHO THREW THAT BOMB.

Nobody knows who threw the San Francisco preparedness parade bomb in July, 1916, but organized labor can guess as well as anybody. Fortunately, the Mooney's were actually photographed five minutes before the explosion, on top of the Eilers Music Co. Studio building, a mile and a quarter distant.

Frank C. Oxman, "millionaire" catleman, chief witness, whose testimony convicted Mooney, wroto his infamous "frame-up" perjury letters in December, 1916. These letters were discovered and published worldwide in April, 1917—more than two years ago. He offered to buy witnesses to back up his own testimony. The same San Francisco legal machinery which worked so well for millionaires, white-washed Oxman, who has gone "scot free" ever since, even after using the U. S. mails for

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

RUSS REDS BUILD GREAT SCHOOLS FOR ALL PEOPLE

$700,000,000 BUDGET PROVIDES STUDIES FOR YOUNG AND OLD.

(By Frazier Hunt.)
(Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.)

The Bolsheviki have been able so far really to construct two great things—a fighting red army and a comprehensive educational program for Russia's millions. Today the red army is fighting on a 4,500 mile front, while with regard to education for the first time in the history of the country all children between the ages of 8 and 16 are compelled to go to school.

Soviet officials are prouder of their educational and cultural program than of anything else. It has been a pet part of their idea of the advancement of the masses, and there really have been remarkable strides in leading Russia's uneducated millions along educational lines. All factories have their schools for both young and adults, and there are countless lectures and cultural entertainments for workmen.

Briefly, it is one of compulsory education, with universities for all those who show special abiliy or desire. Books are to be furnished free, and every child is given free noon lunches.

All private schools are abolished, and every child up to 16 years is given exactly equal educational opportunities. In the days of the czar only children of the better classes had really good opportunities to study, but with the revolution the great cry for education was the first one answered.

It is hard for an American to realize how great was this yearning for education among the poorest, most ignorant peasants and workmen. Instinctively they knew that without education their lot could not be greatly improved, and so during the years of the czar's regime they could only dream when a real chance for education would come to all. The Bolsheviki are really bringing this.

$700,000,000 FOR SCHOOLS.

"Our appropriation for education for this year is 7,000,000,000 roubles, or $700,000,000," Louncharski commissaire for public education, told me with pride in a recent interview. "During the last year we have established 7,000 new village schools of the lower grades.

"We have opened 3,000 schools of the second degree and twelve schools of higher education, including five new universities and a number of workers' universities. To do all this and to keep all other schools running we have had to overcome many obstacles. We have been terribly short of fuel; we have had a hard time furnishing he midday lunches that we plan to give free to all children, and temporarily we have ben unable to carry out the plan to give all children free clothing as well.

"Vocational phases are being worked up as rapidly as possible. Things are going ahead, but many of our finest ideas cannot be realized until normal life is resumed. Lack of shoes and clothing, for instance, have in some country districts kept 60 per cent of the children at home.

"We have lacked paper to print our books on, and have had to get along the best way we could in a score of lines. But we are bringing education to the masses—that is the big thing."

Some weeks ago I attended the opening of the Moscow workers' university. There was something really fine and pathetic about the audience gathered. For the most part they were working men and women and soldiers of the Red guard who saw now their dream of educa-

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

Socialists Respond Loyally to Call for $10,000 To Buy Party-Owned Printing Press and Plant

No sooner had the first knowledge of the determination of the Socialist Party of Ohio to raise a $10,000 printing press and plant fund among its members and the readers of the Ohio Socialist reached them than the dollars began to slip from the hands of the loyal comrades throughout the nation into the mail for us. Considering the short while the comrades have known how the capitalist printers have boycotted the Ohio Socialist and refused to print for us, the response has been most encouraging.

We are proud of the letters of encouragement which the comrades have written us and we want you to read them on another page. These letters prove to us what we have believed all along—that once the workers were made to realize the necessity of owning all the equipment necessary to carry on our propaganda they would respond liberally with their financial support. Once it is driven home to them that the workers must depend entirely upon their own efforts, their own initiative and ability to carry on the work of winning their emancipation from wage slavery, they would put into our movement more energy, more enthusiasm and more dollars. Read these letters, they are filled with this spirit and will show you how necessary it is for YOU to join the thousands of foresighted comrades who see this necessity.

Capitalism is making it ever more and more plain to the workers that their freedom depends solely upon themselves. If they would be free, they themselves must strike the blow. If they are to reap the benefits of organization, they themselves must do the organizing. No capitalist boss will assist in the work of freeing the workers from the bonds that bind them. If the workers want the truth they, too, must find the truth and publish it to the workers. The capitalist class have organized to suppress and distort the facts of the world to the workers. They have invested millions of dollars and employ every means to keep the truth from the working-class. The only way the workers can get the truth is to equip themselves properly to print and send it broadcast over the world.

Too long have Socialists neglected to gain the control of the equipment necessary to properly carry on our propaganda. We have depended upon the good will of some employing printer, upon chance and good luck for the very first necessity of our movement—a printing plant, for without a printing plant no education of the workers is possible. Without the printing press, we are unable to accomplish one-thousandth what we should. Our dependence upon our enemies has caused the downfall of many a worker's paper. Only by accident are we able to continue publication. We have depended upon our enemies and, as we deserved, we came to grief. When the masters decided it was to their interest to throw us in the ditch, they did so.

The working-class and especially that part of it which calls themselves Socialists, have got to learn and learn NOW that they have got to stand on their own legs and on their own legs only. The class lines are drawing tighter. Capitalism refuses to longer furnish the means of its own destruction. It refuses to put into the hands of the working-class the only weapon which can put capitalism out of business. That weapon is the printing press. It is the weapon of today. Without its control by the workers no freedom for the workers is possible. With its control, the workers can march on to freedom for freedom can come only through the education of the workers. Ownership of our own printing press and equipment is the royal road to power. Let every reader join in helping to get that power.

Below we are glad to publish the names of the comrades who have contributed to the Ohio Socialist Press fund since last week. They have helped today, YOU should help tomorrow. Send your dollar, five dollars, ten or a hundred if you can. Pledge yourself to contribute a certain amount for a few weeks or until this 10,000 dollars is raised.

$1.00 Column

Frank Baxay, Niles, O.
W. G. Evans, Zanesville, O.
Max Schrodek, Toledo, O.
G. Drascovich, Zanesville, O.
J. Matesich, Zanesville, O.
N. Mayzer, Zanesville, O.
F. Rebrovitch, Zanesville, O.
T. Tsrncovich, Zanesville, O.
John Capau, Zanesville, O.
J. Glagoroff, Zanesville, O.
Bojin Glagoroff, Zanesville, O.
A. Dimitroff, Zanesville, O.
C. H. Werner, Barberton, O.
[illegible] Bradford, Cincinnati, O.
A. J. Stainaker, Hubbard, O.
E. B. Patterson, Hubbard, O.
Forest Eskew, Roy, W. Va.
C. F. Kritzel, Fremont, O.
O. R. Johnson, Akron, O.
Steve Weigner, Louisville, Ky.
Wallace B. Watson, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Henry Hagerman, Forest, O.
Frank Hagerman, Forest, O.
W. E. Hagerman, Forest, O.
Etta Rufener, Urichsville, O.
J. A. Stumbaugh, Springfield, O.
John Vehre, Adena, O.
J. E. Sewickley, E. Liverpool, O.
John Vervin, E. Liverpool, O.
R. P. [illegible], E. Liverpool, O.
Edward Marshall, E. Liverpool, O.
A. G. Kraft, E. Liverpool, O.
Geo. Turner, E. Liverpool, O.
Karl Furbacher, Jr., Cincinnati, O.
Marie Furbacher, Cincinnati, O.
Chas. Boutal, Salem, O.

$2.00 Column

Israel N. Barsky, Conneaut, O.
J. H. Sims, Bethel, O.
F. C. Warncke, Davenport, Iowa.
Wm. Opp, New Philadelphia, O.
Russell Calkins, Lima, O.
John Vehre, Adena, O.
Elizabeth Furbacher, Cincinnati, O.

$5.00 Column

K. W. Boring, Wellsville, O.
Wm. Stewart, Leetonia, O.
J. W. Funk, Creston, O.
T. H. Davies, Hubbard, O.
D. E. Thomas, Barberton, O.
Local Rock Island, Ill.
H. L. Overhulse, Malinta, O.
Karl Furbacher, Cincinnati, O.
M. Mahl, Cincinnati, O.

$10.00 Column

Allen Cook, Canton, O.

$25.00 Column

This column looks lonesome. Who'll cheer it up a bit?

$50.00 Column

Same here, and we know there are plenty of Socialists with a fifty waiting a first-calss investment.

$100.00 Column

That comrade or Socialist local who thinks they will be first in this column had better hurry. Reason, we've heard a rumor or two—that's all.

Kiddies' Korner

We knew there were some Socialist kiddies who wanted to help us buy that big press for the Ohio Socialist. Here's Who's Who among the kiddies this week:

Anna Furbacher, aged 12 years, Cincinnati, O.	$1.00
John Furbacher, age 10 years, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
Katherine Furbacher, age 8 years, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
[illegible]	[illegible]

Pledge Column

No further pledges to erport this week, but we expect to make this one of the most popular columns very soon. You can help make it so by sending in your pledge RIGHT NOW for as much each week or month as you can spare for as long a time as you please.

HERE'S HOW WE GROW.

Received to May 22	$ 21.00
Received since	108.00
Total	$ [illegible]
Balance need to make $10,000	$[illegible]

VICTORY LETTERS

Points About Our Party-Owned Press Fund from Comrades Throughout the Nation.

READ THESE LETTERS, THINK ABOUT WHAT THEY CONTAIN. GET THE SPIRIT OF THESE COMRADES AND HELP BOOST THE $10,000 PRESS FUND WE ARE RAISING FOR OUR OWN PRINTING PLANT.

TREMENDOUSLY IMPERATIVE.

"I enclose $1.00 for our Printing Plant Fund, all I can spare just now, but I assume that there are 2,000 comrades in Ohio and adjoining states who will each send in $5.00 within the next 30 days, making $10,000. Within that time I shall forward check for my $5.00.

It is tremendously important that we own our own printing plant, and I know we can furnish the wherewith. Let us do it now and allow nothing to lag.

"CHAS. BONSAL, Salem, O."

THIS IS THE SPIRIT THAT WINS.

"I am so situated at present that I haven't much ready money, but will send you five dollars now and will try to raise twenty-five as soon as I can. Do not let the Ohio Socialist die under any consideration. I am yours for the revolution.

"WM. STEWART,
"Leetonia, O."

ANOTHER STONE IN THE FOUNDATION.

"Dear Fellow Workers: Enclosed find five dollars as per call for press and to lay the foundation for a "Socialist daily.". Yours for success. J. W. FUNK, Creston, O."

GLAD THE BOSS KICKEK US OUT.

"Enclosed find one dollar for the printing plant. I am glad the bosses have kicked us out and told us if we stand we must stand alone. Comrades, let us raise our heads and stand like men. Let as place our last dollar behind the press. Knowledge is power. The truth will make us free. More to follow.

"W. G. EVANS, Zanesville, O."

SHORT, BUT TO THE POINT.

"Here I am sending one dollar for the printing plant of the Ohio Socialist. Your comrade,

"FRANK BAXAY, Neffs, Ohio."

A TWO DOLLAR GIFT.

A donation of $2.00 from Comrade J. H. Sims of Bethel shows that he is with us. Comrade Sims says he has a building and lot he wants to sell and turn over part of the proceeds to the Press Fund. Here's hoping he sells them.

CRIMINALLY NEGLECTED OUR GREATEST WEAPON.

"I am with you, comrades, heart and soul. Here is my small contribution of $1.00 toward the building of our great "Ammunition Plant"—a Socialist-owned printing plant. All hail the Cleveland plutocracy and their paid hirelings for their noble work of injecting the spirit of common-sense in the ranks of our party.

"You have criminally neglected to build up the greatest and strongest weapon of the Class Struggle—the Socialist Party press. And not until now, when we are rapidly aprpoaching a great crisis in our party movement, when we are on the eve of entering the land of dreams, when the enlightening voice of the conquering proletarian is of the utmost importance, not until now we say, are you beginning to realize that you are working at a great disadvantage. You have not the weapon that your foreign speaking comrades have so wonderfully perfected.

We must have a strong, live, fighting Ohio Daily Socialist to counteract all the attacks of the enemy. So let's all pull together, comrades of Ohio, let's show our wisdom and class-consciousness and willingness to build something that we should have had at the very beginning of our movement. Yours for a Daily Ohio Socialist.

"MAX SHRODEK, Toledo, O."

FOREIGN COMRADES SUPPORT US.

"We read your appeal in the last issue of the Ohio Socialist. The un- [illegible] Nick Mayor, $1.00; Frank [illegible]vich, $1.00; Tony Turnovich, $1.00; John Capon, $1.00; John Glisoroff, $1.00; Elia Glisoroff, $2.00; Alex Dimitroff, $1.00.

A BOOST FROM IOWA.

"Received your paper this morning and am always glad when it comes. Saw your appeal for funds, accept my small donation of $2.00 to help the cause. F. C. WARNCKE,
"Davenport, Iowa."

WOULD BE LOST WITHOUT IT.

"Herewith enclosed are two dollars (truly wish I could make it two hundred) toward buying printing plant. Hope you will be successful. We would be completely lost without the Ohio Socialist which brings us facts and stands ready to fight for the people. Will do more if possible. WM. OPP, New Phila, O."

SECRETARY WERNER RESPONDS.

"Enclosed find one dollar for the new printing plant.

"C. H. WERNER, Barberton, O.
Local Secretary."

ANOTHER DOLLAR.

"Enclosed find one dollar to be applied on fund for printing plant.

"W. F. BRADFORD,
"Cincinnati, O."

THREE BOOSTS FROM HUBBARD.

"The Ohio Socialist just came to hand, the first item that caught my eye was, 'Buy a printing plant,' and before going any further, I sat down to write this note and send my mite. Comrade T. J. Stalnaker just came in. He saw the heading and asked me what I was doing? Told him I was sending my mite, he hands me a dollar and says he wishes it was a great deal more. Comrade Ed B. Patterson also came in and before he had read the whole article said, 'I've been on strike for seven weeks but here goes for a dollar. This makes seven dollars toward the first $1,000, the balance should be in the State Office inside of a week.

"T. H. DAVIES, Hubbard, O."

HERE'S THE STUFF OF WHICH REVOLUTIONISTS ARE MADE.

"I am a working man and as poor as any worker, but by the living God, if they all thought as I do, those Cleveland thugs would be sorry they started trouble May Day. You can see that I am a poor writer. If I was a good one I would tell you what I think of the city of Cleveland and the Cleveland Plain Dealer. (Plain dealer, but not square dealer). As I cannot write, I will do the next best by being one of the first 200 com- [illegible]

FROM CONNEAUT, TOO.

A note from Comrade Israel N. Basky, of Conneaut, O., reads: "Here is two dollars for our party-owned printing plant." And we just wonder how many more comrades CAN and WILL do the same.

BOTH RIGHT.

Two dollars comes in from Comrade Joe Drasic of Lorain. Comrade Drasic writes that while getting the postal order the clerk asked why he was sending the money to us? He said we were the same as Debs. "I told him," writes Comrade Drasic, "to never mind, that you were both right." To which we add that a nosey clerk got a good answer.

ANOTHER DOLLAR.

Just a couple of lines from Comrade Forest Eskew, of Roy, W. Vt. He sends a dollar for the new plant.

FROM A FAMILY OF REBELS.

Here's the first Socialist family to respond in a body. Father, mother, sons and daughters join hands and pocketbooks to help us buy the dandy printing plant for the Ohio Socialist. One of the most inspiring things in the Socialist movement is to see an entire family co-operating in the best [illegible]

[illegible] Fund up with the local at the next meeting. We hope the local comrades will be as generous as Comrade Kritsel.

FOR THE NEW PLANT.

"Enclosed please find one dollar as my contribution towards purchasing a printing plant for the Ohio Socialist.

"O. R. JOHNSON, Akron, O."

A FIVE-SPOT BOOST.

"Please find five dollars for the Ohio Socialist printing plant.

"D. E. THOMAS, Barberton, O."

EVERY TRUE SOCIALIST WILL.

"I enclose two dollars as a donation on the first thousand towards putting in a printing plant. Every true Socialist should put his shoulder to the wheel and see this thing through, now that the necessity of the matter is upon us. We should go over the top without any trouble.

"RUSSELL CALKINS, Lima, O."

(Continued on fourth page.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the founder of the [illegible] out of his invention. The inventor of the moving picture idea died a pauper. The list of inventors who ever received any rewards for their inventions is pitifully small and still there are people who oppose the new order because "inventors would have no incentive." Inventors invent for the same reason a mother gives birth to a baby—because they have to.

Where theology enslaves the mind the tyrant enslaves the body.

Man exhibit some common sense in breeding all animals except the human animal.

Our insane asylums are filled to overflowing with the victims of mistaken theology.

Sexual perversion, which is a direct result of religious prudery, and religious demenia, are the two chief causes of insanity.

The world is overstocked with misbegotten children born from undeveloped and unwilling mothers.

"Our" prison gates swing open to receive two classes of prisoners. One class intellectually developed far beyond the juries of their age and the other class mental direlicts—damned from birth; and our society is so ignorant they cage these two classes in the same cage.

There is no such thing as land values. What is usually meant by the term land values is really social value.

Capitalists' profits are wage slaves' losses.

Workers get wages—Shirkers get dividends.

In 1850 the worker received as wages 25 per cent of the value of the products of his labor. In 1916 the worker received only 15 per cent of the values he creates. Here is the cause of the increasing social unrest.

The best way to conquer nature is to obey her.

The production records of the past fifty years prove this truth: the more work the workers do the less reward he receives for doing it.

A local booster ad reads: "Help the boss and the boss will help you," but I've always noticed its up to you to help the boss first.

The same ad continued, "Stay where you are at and success is sure," but again it is only success for the boss that is sure.

Injustice is ever the parent of crime.

"So long as society bows and cringes to its thieves there will be enough little ones to fill the penitentiaries."—R. G. Ingersoll.

There is no limit to the kind or size of machine man may build. There is no limit to the facts he may discover. There is no limit to the possibilities of the spread of science. There is no limit to enlightenment and once man gets the minds of his fellows enlightened as to who or what are the obstacles that stand betwen them and a nobler social life, there is no limit to the possibilities of social advancement. Let us work without ceasing to spread the glad knowledge which shall dissolve the mists of ignorance, fear, and superstition even as the rising sun dissolves the mists of morning.

Pitiless, Poisoned Publicity

New Poison Gas Issued Against Innocent Union Labor Organizers—Mooney and Billings. The Chamber of Commerce Crowd Now Clamoring That the Mooney-Billings Defense Is Itself a "Frame-up."

The spectacle of pickpockets and thieves shouting "look out for pickpockets" and "stop that thief" is now being enacted on a gigantic scale.

The Chamber of Commerce crowd, the only class who has constantly and still do commend the conviction and life-imprisonment of Mooney and Billings on frame-up evidence secured at their behest, are now themselves shouting that the Mooney-Billings defense is itself a "frame-up."

Organized labor, through immense effort and at enormous expense, has so surely and completely fastened the label of "Frame-up-ers" on this Chamber of Commerce crowd that in special 20-cent magazines and certain select newspapers, they are issuing new poison gas publicity, pitilessly attacking already long imprisoned, but innocent men. In screaming headlines and long columns of childish chatter, the methods of defense and the general strike program designed to secure freedom for Mooney and Billings are being dubbed "a frame-up," "plan of Bolsheviks," "threatened revolution," etc.

But the very proof of the innocence of these men was supplied by the Chamber of Cemmorce's own kind, and also chief witness against Tom Mooney—the millionaire Oregon cattleman, F. C. Oxman. The "frame-up-ers" were caught working at their dirty job of convicting innocent union labor organizers. Here are his letters offering to purchase testimony to back up his own "frame-up" evidence.

Ed Rigall of Illinois was a boyhood friend of Oxman before Oxman went west and became a millionaire cattleman. Rigall was not in San Francisco at the time of the explosion and refused to testify against Mooney. Mrs. J. D. Rigall is Ed Rigall's mother, who has never been to San Francisco in all her life.

The existence of these two letters was uncovered and possession of them obtained by well-known labor officials who are highly regarded in this country—E. N. Nockels, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation

(Continued on fourth page.)

MEMBERS INDIVIDUAL BALLOT

VOTE ON REFERENDUM "C"

Tabulated vote of Socialist Party Membership of Ohio upon National Referendum "C" for the election of Members of the National Executive Committee, International Delegates and International Secretary.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (VOTE FOR THREE ONLY.)	Akron Ukrainian	Akron German	Alliance	Ashland	Ashtabula	Barberton Eng.	Barberton So Slavic	Belmont Eng.	Bellaire, Belmont Co.	Cambridge	Canton	Cincinnati	Clark Co.	Cuyahoga Co.	Cuyahoga Lettish	Cuyahoga Russian	Columbus	Conneaut	Conneaut Finnish	E. Liverpool	Farrport Harbor	Fremont	Galion	Grover Hill	Hamilton	Kenmore	Piqua	Massillon	Marysville	Mt. Healthy	New Bremen	Niles	North Star	Norwood	Robins	Seneca Co.	Van Buren	Wadsworth	Warren	Warren Finnish	Youngstown	Youngstown Jewish	Youngstown Scandinavian	Sandusky	Toledo	Dayton	Dayton German	Not Signed	Not Signed	Members at Large	Total
Valentine Bausch, Jersey City, N. J.		10	1				1		1			1		21					2		7	1			1	1		1									1			8		1				2	1				61
Ernest James Beutell, Rahway, N. J.		2												10			1		1		1											1					1			2			1								20
Ross D. Brown, Muncie, Ind.			3					3		3		30	1	102	26		2		1	3	1			1	15		18	2	3			10	3		3		1			2	32	4	10	1	6	2	7			1	296
Lotta Burke, Cincinnati, Ohio		10	3		3	2		2	6	6	3	90	2	49			10	1	9	7	9	2	2	2	13	2	1	2		7	1	3	1	3	9	7	3		5	11	1			6	2	8	12	4		8	327
Humphrey B. Campbell, Wilmington, Del.			1	4						1				8					1									1							1					1											18
D. G. Coltlaser, Turtle Creek, Pa.			3							1				5																					1												1				11
Wm. H. Derrick, Clifton, N. J.		1							2					6					1									1							1					1							2				15
William Wright Farmer, Anderson, Ind.			3				2		1				1	19			1				3				2			2				7	2		2		1			7	1			1		4	3			1	63
Geo. H. Goebel, Newark, N. J.			1						2	1	1		2	37			3	1	2	4	2	2	1	3				3				2	1		4	1				5					2	2	2			3	87
Fred Harwood, Newark, N. J.						1					15	14		391	20	185	2	1	5		1				9	6					1	5			1	18				6					7	1	1			1	691
Wm. H. Henry, Indianapolis, Ind.		4	1		4			73	40			1	1	23			1						21		1							1			1	1						1			11	1					186
John E. Klawin, Paterson, N. J.		3					1							48	12				1						2																						1				68
Jos. Kowalski, Paterson, N. J.	10	4	2				15	26	3		1	4		59			3		7		1	1	2										1		7					12		2		1	1	1	2			1	166
Frederick A. Krafft, Ridgefield, N. J.		10							1			23		51	3		2	2		6					2	2	17	2		7	1	1				1	1			2		8		6	0		11		1		179
Frank S. La Monte, Evansville, Ind.	1				2				1	1				13			3									4	1				1					1				1			1			3					33
Marguerite Prevey, Akron, Ohio	37	10	9		6	3	19	114	39	12	26	20		630	1	185	24			15	2	2	24	4	81	16	9	12	1		14	24	1	9	9	26	1		10	11	34	16	11	5	39	5	17	3	3	12	1460
C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland, Ohio	38	26	2	4	8	3	20	116	47	10	24	93	5	716	36	185	26	5	18	17	12	5	20	5	87	17	14	13	3	7	16	20	3	12	13	25	2	9	9	31	33	20	12	2	41	13	33	9	2	14	1901
Jos. W. Sharts, Dayton, Ohio	26		1				1	17	5	7	4	10	2	63			12		1	1	1		1		53	2	2				14			12			4			1	1			1	6	17	25	9		6	305
Clarence R. Shrum, Monaca, Pa.			2											5												1	1					1			1					1						2					14
Geo. W. Snyder, Reading, Pa.			1											10									1									1			1					2										1	17
Madge P. Stephens, Terre Haute, Ind.	1	5		4						2	1	2		25			1		1	2		1			2		2		1			2			3	1		1		1		2			2			2		1	65
E. E. Swanson, Freedom, Pa.	3		1											6					1	1		1						1				1													1						16
Wm. Kane Tallman, Jersey City, N. J.	1		1						5					6											1							1								1							1				17
Ralph W. Tillotson, Erie, Pa.			2		4							1		14				4	2							1												8		1											37
C. William Thompson, York, Pa.		6	1							1		4		9				1	4	2	2												1		2					10											43
W. V. Tyler, New Castle, Pa.			1						1			1		13			1		4	1												1							6	4							1			1	35
David S. Webster, Passaic, N. J.										1		1		7							2								1															1	1						14
Ervin S. Whitmer, Indiana Harbor, Ind.														10					1									2							1			8									1				23
Birch Wilson, Reading Pa.			1							1			1	7					1	2	1			1									2							5										3	25
W. E. Yeager, Conway, Pa.														2																					1	1				1							1			1	7
INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES (VOTE FOR FOUR.)																																																			
Oscar Ameringer, Milwaukee, Wis.		7	2					9		3		5	2	44			5		3	2	4		1	1	10	1		1	1		12		2		7	2	1	9		23		1			1	8	12	4		4	187
Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee, Wis.	3	4	5		3			22	13	11	3	10	3	164			5		11	6	9	2	1	2	4	6	2	1	2	7		9	3	1	15	7	4		2	35		7	1		5	10	18	4	1	7	428
L. B. Boudin, New York City, N. Y.		1	1				1	3	2	2		2		67	3		6		1			1			30		17	1			1		2		4			1	2	2		5	10		3		1	1		1	179
J. Louis Engdahl, Chicago, Ill.		8	6		3		15	8	14	3	1	7		69			5	1		3	5	2	4		13	5	1			6		7	1	3	1		2			16	7		3		2	3	9	3		4	240
Isaac Edw. Ferguson, Chicago, Ill.			2			1		2	11	2	10	4		351	27	185	2		2						4	6						3			2	16				1	1	1			4	2				1	640
Louis C. Fraina, Boston, Mass.	22	4	3	4		3	19	19	30	3	22	54	1	584	34	185	13	4	2	8	7	1	20		27	9	18				2	10		3	2	18			9	3	27	3	8	8	35	1	3	1		3	1232
Adolph Germer, Chicago, Ill.		13	3		5	1	1	61	13	5	1	44		89			7	1	3	5	5	4	1		17	4		2		7		11	3	4	11	4	4	9		24	27	6			4	4	21	3	1	5	433
Algernon Lee, New York City, N. Y.		6	2					18	3	1	2	1	1	44			2	1	11	1	5		2	1	5			1	1			3		2		2				6		2				4	1			3	131
James Oneal, New York City, N. Y.		4	2	4	4			16		1	1	12		35			4		10	2	4	1			5	1		8			1	1			1	1			1	14						4	2			2	141
John Reed, New York City, N. Y.	39	20	10	4	3	2	21	88	33		18	74	1	660	30	185	11	5	6	11	2	2	21	4	43	6	19	5			2	14	1	3	8	18	1		8	4	34	15	12	8	35	15	11	3	1	9	1525
C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland, Ohio	35	23	3		6	3	19	97	44	12	22	79	3	795	28	185	22	2	17	16	11	3	4	4	67	17	19	7	3	1	15	22	4	4	9	24	3	8	7	22		18	11	6	35	9	33	6	2	8	1793
A. I. Shiplacoff, Brooklyn, N. Y.	15		2					6	1	3	2	4	1	27			3		5	1	7	1	1		5			1			1	3		1	1			9	1	10	29	10		2	3	5	1				160
Seymour Stedman, Chicago, Ill.		8	5		4		3	15	12	1	3	13	1	70	3		13		3	8	7		18	3	8	2		7	1		5	4		8	6	1	3			3	1	2		5	3	9	4			9	271
A. Wagenknecht, Chicago, Ill.	39	20	2	4	6	2	5	90	26	11	12	55	2	296			18	4	5	17	2	3	19	3	78	8	2	10	3	7	16	16	3	11	5	8	2		7	6	9	8	3	6	33	4	29	5	3	12	935
John M. Work, Chicago, Ill.			3		2			30		2		5	1	28			6	2	5	8	7			2	8	2		2	1		8	5	1	8	3	2				5						9	3	2		4	155
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY (VOTE FOR ONE.)																																																			
Morris Hillquit, New York City, N. Y.		10	11	4	9			28		1	4	8	2	140	1		9	2	20	8	11	1		2	21	7	3	8		1	1	8	8	5	3	4	1		3	32	9	19	1	1	3	4	19	2		7	429
Kate Richards O'Hare, St. Louis, Mo.	39	17				2	20	72		14	11	80	3	153	1	185	17	3		10	7	4	23	2	49	6	13	9	3	3	12	13	2	7	13	6	3	9	7	4	34	8	12	7	27	14	19	6	3	10	978

NOTE—Cuyahoga Co. cast 318 votes against Kate Richards O'Hare and Morris Hillquit for International Secretary. Local Cuyahoga Co. (Lettish Br.) cast 20 votes against the same.

OHIO VOTE UPON REFERENDUM "B"

"That the National Executive Committee arrange for an Emergency Convention to be held as soon as can be arranged."

LOCALS VOTING	Akron Ukrainian	Akron German	Alliance	Ashtabula	Barberton	Barberton So Slavic	Neffs, Belmont Co.	Bellaire, Belmont Co.	Black Top	Cambridge	Canton	Cleveland	Cleveland Lettish	Columbus	Conneaut Finnish	Conneaut	E. Liverpool	Fremont	Grover Hill	Hamilton	Kenmore	Mt. Healthy	Marysville	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Warren	Warren Finnish	Youngstown Jewish	Youngstown Scandinavian	Youngstown So Slavic	[illegible]	Seneca Co. Tiffin	No Signature	No Signature	Members at Large	Total
[illegible]	38	48	11	9	3	30	7	63	16	13	36	323	33	39																																

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
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EDITORS .... [illegible] Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4, 1919.

RED BLOOD VS. PRINTER'S INK.

In the long run, it's the cheapest—printer's ink. Cheaper than red blood. More efficacious too, as a means of keeping what you gain. As an idea is stronger than physical force, so is the means of spreading that idea by means of printers' ink stronger than a club or a gun to beat or to shoot an idea into your fellowmen. The rise of ideals over force throughout the world proves it. The rise of democracy (as far as it has risen) over plutocracy and imperialism proves it. The growth of the idea of democracy in politics, in industry, in schools, in our common daily life proves the impossibility of killing an idea by letting blood.

The idea of rule by might is passing from the world-forever we hope. The race seems to be groping for a footing upon a higher plane than that of physical force in the relations of individuals to the social organism. The world has changed. The old weapons are outworn. The times demand the recognition of the new. The capitalist state rests upon physical force as exemplified in the policeman's club, the soldier's gun, the machine gun and the dreadnaught. These are the physical agencies by which the capitalist state is maintained. But an idea is even stronger than all these apparently impregnable forces. Why? Because these forces are useless unless guided by the brain and hand of man. An idea in the head of the necessary human agency may render the entire physical powers of the capitalist state impotent for power over the workers. The powers of the capitalist state are powerful only as proletarian ideas are weak in the minds of the workers. The idea is supreme. The club will not be wielded, the gun will not shoot, the dreadnaught remains at anchor unless set in motion first by an idea, then by the hand moved by the idea in the brain.

Here is where printer's ink comes in. So long as the ideas in the heads of the workers are the ideas of the ruling class, just so long will the policeman's club be laid upon the head of the worker. Just that long will the striker be shot at the factory gate. Just that long will the dreadnaught carry death to other workers across the seas. What is needed is to supplant the ideas of the boss with the ideas of the workers. Then and not until then, will the physical powers of the ruling class and the capitalist state be rendered useless to harm the workers. Until this fact is recognized the worker is laboring at a disadvantage. Much of his work of agitation and organization is useless. He is building upon quicksand. Ideas rule and physical powers are subject to them.

Socialists recognize this fact generally in a sort of half-hearted manner. Our entire work is one combatting the ideas of the ruling class with those of the worker, yet how insufficiently have we planned to carry on that work. How criminal have we lacked judgment in securing to ourselves the first essentials of such a tremendous battle! Here are we, a small minority, setting out to conquer the world of capitalism by the power of ideas without so much as a pint of ink, in a day when the printing press is known to be the only weapon by which we can ever hope to accomplish our end. Such imbeciles we Socialists sometimes are! If it wasn't for the good luck we have and the forces of evolution favoring us we could never in a thousand million years accomplish a tenth of what we have.

So far, we have got along by good luck. But who wants to trust to luck in a world that capitalism is organizing to put us out of commission? Do you? We don't believe you do. We believe you are beginning to see that more than luck is necessary if Industrial Democracy is to be established in America. Don't think evolution of industry is going to set the world down in front of you some fine morning. It isn't, not until we use a lot of printer's ink telling the workers what evolution means and what Industrial Democracy will mean to him, his wife and children. But we haven't any ink, nor paper, nor press either. We depend upon some member of the capitalist class to furnish us that—until he says, get out.

Say, comrade, don't you think it is high time we Socialists woke up? Don't you think it is time we put a little common sense into our work and quit trading with and depending upon the enemy to free ourselves from their chains? Don't you think it is high time we began to stand on our own feet?

We think you see the point, comrade. Help us put it across. Help with your donation of a dollar or a hundred dollars the equipping of a printing plant with which the Socialist Party can carry on effectively its work of gaining the world for the workers.

ATTEND THE STATE PICNIC.

Attend the state picnic? Surely. But perhaps you have not heard about it? Well, its like this: the Socialist Party members, like all really live people, like to get together occasionally and interview each other about many things. They like to talk about party affairs, party progress, the latest news from Russia and Germany and other revolutionary centers of the world. They also like to talk just to talk and to SEE each other—a common enough human fault or virtue which ever you choose to call it. Any way the Socialist Party of Ohio will hold its monster annual picnic, June 29th at Coney Island, Cincinnati. This place is an island in the Ohio river. It's a great place for picnics and the Socialists will have the entire island and all it contains for this day.

Local Cincinnati has full and complete charge of all picnic affairs. It has leased the grounds, the boats to carry the crowds and everything else necessary to make the great day one of complete joy and comradeship for the thousands of Socialists who will journey there on June 29th.

Fully ten thousand people should be present. The state convention will meet at Cincinnati June 27 and 28. Many Socialists will make it a point to take in not only the picnic but the convention as well. The committees in charge of picnic affairs have sent to all locals throughout the state tickets to the picnic grounds. These are now 25 cents each. At the gateway they will cost 35 cents. Moral—buy your ticket NOW. Also sell some to others. Get the picnic spirit. Pass it around to others. Help make the picnic the greatest ever.

You remember what a great success the "Country Store" was last year at Canton? The comrades are making preparations for another this year at the spacious headquarters at Cincinnati. Comrades are requested to make donations for sale at this event, which will occur during the convention. Anything from a red ribbon to a roundhouse will be appreciated. Send your donations to Lotta Burke, 1314 Vine street. Mark the article with your name and the price which it should sell at.

And now just another word. You are going, of course. Thousands more are too. There will be music, speaking by some of the best talent in the Socialist Party. There'll be fun and frolic galore. There'll be comradeship and good will. There'll be everything to make the day an historic one in the annals of party affairs. Be there with your family. It surely will be a great day.

AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may call. Terms are five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers will be added from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services are useful to the party upon the platform are requested to secure the endorsement of their locals before making application to be placed upon the Available Speakers List. Locals should make application for the speaker nearest them to save expenses.

M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio.
Chas. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
[illegible] Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
[illegible] Lewis, State Office, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
[illegible]
C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
H. L. A. Holman, State Office, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.
Frank E. Hamilton, Mayor's Office, Piqua, Ohio.
John J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Hugo [illegible], 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio.
[illegible]

Party News and Views

FACE THE APPEAL.

"If I were not so old," writes Comrade Karl F. Malmstrom of Moline, Ill., "I would go work for the Ohio Socialist like I did for the Appeal to Reason before it turned traitor to the workers." Comrade Malmstrom has been a party member for [illegible] years and has learned the difference between a Red and an imitation.

CANTON COMRADES NOTICE
CHANGE OF MEETING DATE.

The special meeting of Local Canton, which was called for June 4th for the purpose of electing delegates to the state convention, has been postponed to June 8th, 2 p. m. Every comrade is requested and urged to be present. Local Canton held the first session of its city convention May 19th. All branches were represented. After the election of the necessary committees, followed by a general discussion of current events the convention adjourned to meet Sunday, June 8th, 2 p. m.

RECEIPTS FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATES

Two locals have receipted for Industrial Freedom Certificates this week. They are Local Cincinnati, $22.00, German branch, Hamilton, $25.00. We hope that comrades will not forget that unless they have bought their Certificates from the local secretaries that they should do so as soon as possible. The fight for freedom for political and industrial prisoners is still on and will be on until they walk out of the dungeons. Help us make the fight for [illegible] in Industrial Freedom [illegible].

[illegible]

Local Columbus [illegible] held a meeting [illegible] p. m. for the purpose of electing delegates to the state convention, and the secretary was instructed to notify language branches to be present on that occasion, and assist in choosing delegates. The local elected a committee to sell the tickets to the state picnic that we are to have the last day of the convention, and he reports that it is an easy matter to sell the tickets for the comrades say if they can't go the money goes to the cause anyway.—E. B. Eubanks.

TRUMBULL COUNTY LOCALS, ATTENTION.

Locals Niles and Warren are issuing a call for a convention of all Trumbull county locals to meet in convention June 14th, 164 N. Chestnut street, Niles, at 9 a. m., for the purpose of electing a county central committee and transacting such other business as may properly come before the convention.

All comrades are urged to be present as this meeting is very important. Luncheon will be served by the women comrades.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas, the State committee of the Socialist Party of New York has put a referendum to vote in that state, which, if carried, will expel the Left Wing Socialists of that state from the Socialist Party, and

Whereas, the Executive Committee of Local New York, unwilling to [illegible] and all members of said branches who adhere to the Left Wing, and

Whereas, we regard the above actions as a mean and cowardly attempt on the part of the Right Wing and Centrists to prevent the defeat of the aforementioned New York State referendum.

Therefore, be it resolved,

That we, Local Highland Park, in special session, May 24th, 1919, do hereby express our abhorrence of the aforementioned mean and cowardly action of the Executive Committee of Local New York, and do hereby notify the State committee of the Socialist Party of New York, and all others who may be connected with this dastardly plot to disrupt the party; that in case National Referendum B carries, we will do all in our power to have the Kentucky delegate instructed to vote and use his influence at the National convention for the seating of any delegates, which shall represent the Left Wing Socialists of New York, even if said Socialists have been expelled by the New York party.

And be it further resolved, that we send a copy of these resolutions to National Executive Secretary, to the State Secretary of the Socialist Party of New York, to the chairman of the Executive Committee of Local New York, and also to the New York Communist, the Ohio Socialist and the Revolutionary Age, for publication. Respectfully submitted.

R. E. LIVELY,

FORTY THOUSAND MEMBERS EXPELLED BY DESPOTIC GROUP OF SEVEN

Without Trial or Chance to Be Heard in Their Defense, 7 of the National Executive Committee of 15 Expel and Suspend Nearly One-Half the Socialist Party Membership.

Violating every principle of fair play and square dealing and disregarding every constitutional provision, the National Executive Committee at its session in Chicago, May 24 to 30, expelled without a trial the state organization of the Socialist Party of Michigan, constituting about 6,000 members; suspended the Russian, Lithuanian, Lettish, Polish, Hungarian, Ukrainian and South Slavic Federations of the Party, constituting more than thirty thousand members, and worst of all—and let it be said to their everlasting shame—are autocratically holding up the national membership referendum for the election of a new National Executive Committee, International Delegates, International Secretary, and the holding of a national convention.

Never before in the party's history have Socialist Party officials been so lost to all sense of decency and square dealing. A wilful group of seven members of the National Executive Committee usurped power which the constitution does not grant them and which the Socialist Party membership never intended any servants of the party to have. This despotic group of seven did not act as the party's servants, but as dictators and tyrants to defeat the expressed will of the party membership and to perpetuate itself in office.

Unbelievable as it may seem, seven officials of the party had the monumental effrontery to assume the right to expel and suspend 40,000 members. Think of it. That such a dastardly deed should ever be perpetrated upon the rank and file of our organization is almost beyond comprehension. And yet it was done—it was done by those whom you elected to serve you. Instead they are betraying you, disrupting the organization. Their every act at the meeting denies the right of the membership to fully and freely express itself upon the questions of party principles and tactics.

The intention of these autocrats are plain as daylight. Like a tidal wave, the demand for a Socialism which stands true to the working class at all times has swept the party. The thousands of comrades who are sincerely working to win the party to a more revolutionary position are known as the LEFT WING. This Left Wing understands clearly that the Scheideman brand of Socialism stands for the betrayal and defeat of the working class, and that only the Socialism of Liebknecht and Lenin has within it the potentialities of victory and success. It was to "rescue" the party from this Left Wing influence, to clean out of it all who stood bravely against pure and simple reformism, that the National Executive Committee, seven voting in favor and two against, threw nearly forty thousand members out of the party.

The following course of events seems to have been determined by the autocratic seven, very largely by caucusing outside of regular sessions and voting as a unit.

1. They started with an attack upon the Socialist Party of Michigan. They seized the fact that the outcome of the referendum elections of a new National Executive Committee would not be in their favor. They knew that Michigan would vote overwhelmingly against all members of the wilful seven running for re-election. So they trumped up the charge that the decision of Michigan not to make campaigns on the basis of reform measures constitutes a violation of the party constitution.

There was no trial, no opportunity for defense offered to the Michigan comrades. A motion to allow Michigan a chance to interpret their action was voted down. The right to appear at a trial was denied.

Expulsion meant throwing out over three thousand Left Wing votes. On with the expulsion of Michigan.

2. But the expulsion of Michigan was apparently not sufficient to decide the elections in favor of the reactionary moderates. At a subsequent session, accordingly, it was decided to destroy the whole election.

The National Executive Committee instructed the secretary not to tabulate the vote or make it public. They nullified the referendum vote, destroyed the will of the membership in order to retain control. Most of these National Executive Committee members are out for re-election, are interested parties, and as interested parties, knowing that the referendum defeated them for re-election, are now by this action perpetuating themselves in office.

There were absolutely no valid grounds for this drastic action of sabotage. No proof of alleged irregularities was offered. Federations had voted solid against the moderates.

This sabotage of the will of the membership was camouflaged as an "investigation" of the ballots, the investigating committee consisting of three of the most reactionary Right Wingers. The next morning, realizing how raw the deal looked, one comrade was added to the committee whose name deserves respect.

This action is a violation of the party constitution, which specifically prohibits executive officials from interfering with the processes of the membership.

It is a violation of the spirit of the party, an attempt to isolate the party from the currents of Revolutionary Socialism now vitalizing every Socialist Party in the world.

The National Executive Committee's action is equivalent to stealing the elections. The party must act sternly to rebuke this official chicancery.

3. After this betrayal of the party the despotic seven seemed to fear the results of the National convention, which had been called for August 30th. A way had to be devised to control the convention. Happy thought: Suspend the federations that have endorsed the Left Wing, and we are safe. Another caucus held. Result: Suspension of the Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Lettish and South Slavic Federations from the Socialist Party—over thirty thousand members. A plain attempt to assure the election of reactionary delegates to the National convention to approve the abominable actions of the National Executive Committee majority.

No written statement of all the charges against them were given the translator secretaries. Their request for two weeks' time to communicate with their Executive Committees was voted down. No real trial was granted them. They were unceremoniously kicked out.

Adding insult to injury, the seven autocrats then voted to kick out the seven translator secretaries, representing over 30,000 members, out of the national headquarters building. They were given only a limited number of days to vacate the National Office premises, and no provision was made to maintain their connection with the party, pending the judgment of the convention on the entire matter.

The purpose was clear. It was conscious. It was a deliberate move to crush the revolutionary spirit now prevailing in the Socialist Party.

Any party member, any group of party members, have the right to propose the principles and program of the Left Wing, or to endorse them, in an effort to have them adopted by the whole party. No little committee of officials or politicians has the right or the power to pass judgment upon the mental processes of the mass of the party's membership.

But the National Executive Committee: No, WE must control.

Destroy the votes of our foreign comrades. Prevent them from voting for delegates to the convention. Let the Moderates RULE or RUIN the party. That was the policy of the National Executive Committee.

4. In spite of all these dirty tactics, the little group of reactionary autocrats did not yet feel themselves secure. They still fear that they will not be able to control the coming National convention. So they formed a corporation, nearly all the directors of which are of the same stamp as the wilful seven, and into the hands of these directors is to be placed the entire property of the Socialist Party, including the new headquarters building upon which $10,000 has been paid. These directors cannot be recalled by the party membership as long as they retain membership in the party, and only four, a minority, can be removed in three years' time.

One member of the National Executive Committee confessed openly that they wanted such arrangement so that they could control the property "for Socialism" even if the convention was captured by the opposition.

Consider these facts. Most of these committeemen were candidates for re-election to the National Executive Committee and candidates for election as International Delegates. They realized in various ways that the Left Wing had swept the party, that the old officialdom and betrayers of Socialism had been beaten. They knew that Revolutionary Socialism is conquering the party, that the official machinery of the party is about to pass into the hands of the Left Wing. So they crush the will of the membership. In the light of these circumstances their acts become doubly despicable. They are shown up as hysterical attempts by the present inactive, tragically inefficient officialdom to perpetuate itself in office against the will of the membership.

But these desperate tactics of the right wing members of the National Executive Committee must not be construed alone as a frantic effort of defeated officials to retain control of the party. This is part and parcel of the controversy upon principles and tactics in the party. It is the struggle between the Right Wing and the Left Wing—between moderate petty bourgeois Socialism and revolutionary proletarian Socialism.

The moderates on the National Executive Committee show no realization of the problems of the international revolution. They do not see the need of reconstructing the party policy in accord with the experience gained by our comrades in Europe. [illegible]

[illegible] ary Socialism will conquer the party. It will prevail despite the sabotage of the wilful seven and their kind. Let no comrade feel disheartened. Let not one member quit the party in disgust. They want the Left Wing to desert the party. They want us to leave the party machinery in their hands. They will be disappointed in this. We know their game. We shall not play into their hands. We will not quit. Every Left Winger will work night and day for the reinstatement of the nearly 40,000 members whom the reactionaries are trying to sever from the party in violation of the party's constitution. Every radical will work with might and main to get new members and build, build, build the Left Wing and the party. Every revolutionist will STICK and stick until the victory is ours and the Socialist Party is completely won for Revolutionary Socialism.

The slogan of the moderates is: "Split the party for moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism." The slogan of the Left Wing is, "Conquer and unite the party for revolutionary Socialism, for the Communist International."

Make an uncompromising stand, comrades. Insist that the referendum votes be counted and the will of the membership [illegible]

[illegible] OF THE [illegible] COMMITTEE [illegible] FOR NATIONAL REFERENDUM

Local Cuyahoga County [illegible] and the Twelfth Ward Branch of Cleveland [illegible] national membership referendum [illegible] every local reached by the Ohio Socialist [illegible] motion and send such endorsement to the National Office Socialist Party, [illegible] South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

In sending your second to this motion to the National Office make sure that such endorsement comes from a membership meeting of your local or branch. [illegible] motion for national referendum. In sending the second from your local or branch to the National Office make sure to also state the number of members in good standing in your local. We would advise that you also notify the Local Cuyahoga County of your endorsement. Address 1222 Prospect avenue, Cleveland.

Here is the motion. Bring it before the next meeting of your local or branch. Request your local or branch to second it. Send your second, together with the number of good standing members in your local to the national office.

MOTION FOR NATIONAL REFERENDUM.

Resolved, by the joint meeting of members of the branches of Local Cuyahoga County, representing an average of [illegible] members in good standing for the year 1918, that we initiate the following motions, to be submitted to the party membership of the United States:

Resolved, that the act of the National Executive Committee in expelling the Socialist Party of Michigan from the Socialist Party of the United States, a state with 6,000 members, without giving the state a trial or even a hearing in its own defense, is hereby rescinded and annulled and the Socialist Party of Michigan restored to all the rights and privileges of membership in the Socialist Party of the United States.

Resolved, that the action of the National Executive Committee of the party in arbitrarily suspending the Russia, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Lettish, Polish, South Slavic and Hungarian Federations from the party is hereby rescinded and annulled.

Resolved, that the action of the majority of the National Executive Committee, which is largely composed of candidates for re-election in the referendum just closed, in holding up and refusing to tabulate the vote on referendum B and C, for the election of the National Executive Committee, International Delegates and International Secretary, and calling a National convention, is hereby rescinded and the national secretary instructed to immediately tabulate the vote and to declare the candidates receiving the highest number of votes elected, in accordance with the National Party Constitution.

Resolved, that the action of the National Executive Committee in preparing to place the property of the Socialist Party in the hands of a board of directors, three to be elected for three years, three for six years and three for nine years; these directors not being subject to recall by either the National Executive Committee or the membership of the party, be reversed and rescinded.

LOCAL CUYAHOGA COUNTY, SOCIALIST PARTY,
C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary.

A TALK ABOUT YOUR MONEY

Are you keeping an eye upon the monthly financial reports of the Socialist Party of Ohio? Why not always remember that the money in the state treasury is your money and that you should be interested in its expenditure as well as the source from which it is received?

The balance on hand has been steadily increasing for many months now. Today we have more money in the state treasury than we ever had before. The Ohio Socialist has been a wonderful source of income to our party during the last several months. Support of our state paper has been so whole-hearted that income for subscriptions has far exceeded expenditures for printing.

The income for initiation stamps was highly gratifying for the months of April. A total of $398.50 was received for these stamps and that means that 1,594 new members joined our ranks last month. Read the financial report which follows and which is compiled every month by Comrade Elizabeth Bertram, who for months has given her services as bookkeeper to the party without charge.

APRIL FINANCIAL REPORT, SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO

Receipts.

Dues, regular	$ 408.00
Initiation stamps	398.50
M. A. L. stamps	6.75
Organization fund	55.06
Foreign Br.	142.10
Local supplies	30.68
Literature	251.66
Propaganda meetings	105.92
Miscellaneous	37.75
Industrial Freedom Certificates	299.00
Ohio Socialist	1,324.15
Total	$2,989.57

Expenditures.

Dues, regular	$ 200.00
Foreign Br.	154.91
Literature	150.19
Propaganda meetings	270.32
Sustaining fund	12.00
Salaries, office	289.50
Tel. and Tel.	1.12
Office supplies	72.10
Postage	135.57
Auto expense	37.59
Miscellaneous	81.35
Ohio Socialist salaries	215.85
Ohio Socialist printing	1,088.81
Ohio Socialist mailing	187.38
Total	$2,896.69

Balance on hand April 1st	$3,575.95
April receipts	2,989.57
Total	$6,565.52
April expenditures	2,896.69
Balance	$3,668.83
In the Funds.	
Mileage	$ 321.45
Organization	670.91
General	2,676.47
Balance May 1st	$3,668.83

MEMBERSHIP REPORT
Dues Stamps Sold.

Regular	4,080
Initiation	1,594
Member at large	27
Foreign Br.	2,842
Total	8,543

Note—By error the balance in treasury April 1st was stated in last month's report to be $3,989.43. It should have been $3,575.95.

CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONFERENENCE OF THE LEFT WING

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, issued by Local Boston, (Louis C. Fraina, secretary); Local Cleveland, (C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary); and the Left Wing section of the Socialist Party of New York City, (Maximilian Cohen, secretary).

The international situation and the crisis in the American Socialist Party; the sabotage the party bureaucracy has practiced on the emergency national convention; the N. E. C. aligning our party with the social-patriots at Berne, with the congress of the Great Betrayal; the necessity of reconstructing our policy in accord with revolutionary events—all this, and more, makes it necessary that the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party get together for counsel and action.

This call is therefore issued, for the holding of a National conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, to discuss:

1. The crisis in the party and action thereon; the conquest of the party for the party, for revolutionary Socialism.

2. The New International; ways and means to prevent the party aligning itself with the "International" of the social-patriots, of the Ebert-Scheidemann gangsters, and the wavering center; affiliation with the Bolshevik-Spartacan Communist International alone.

3. The formulation of a declaration of principles and purposes of a national scope of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.

4. Forming some sort of a national council or bureau of the Left Wing for propaganda, securing of information and spreading information.

5. To express and draw together the revolutionary forces in the party to consider other means of furthering the cause of revolutionary Socialism.

This call is issued to locals of the Socialist Party, branches and Left Wing groups within the party. The test of admission, provisionally, will be acceptance of the Manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Greater New York.

Left Wing locals are invited to send delegates officially. Where a local officially refuses to participate, branches or minority groups in the party accepting the principles of the Left Wing should send delegates. Representation—one delegate for every 500 members. No local or group should send more than four delegates. Locals or minority groups with less than 500 members are [illegible] to one delegate.

The conference will be held starting [illegible] June 21, in New York [illegible]

Kentucky Bulletin

[illegible]

STATE OFFICE, SOCIALIST PARTY OF KENTUCKY.

Financial Report for April, 1919.

Receipts.

March balance	$ 2.00
Local Covington dues	6.00
Local Louisville dues	15.00
T. J. Casey, M. A. L. dues	2.00
W. A. Sandefur, M. A. L. dues	1.50
W. A. Sandefur, O. S. subs	1.25
Total	$27.75
Disbursements	19.90
April balance	$ 7.85

Disbursements.

National dues	$ 6.00
Office supplies	1.40
Postage	3.00
Telegram	.82
Ohio Socialist	2.25
Secretary's salary	6.43
Total	$19.90

Approved.

FRED E. STEVENS,
R. M. RASMUSSEN,
Auditing Committee.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, SOCIALIST PARTY OF KENTUCKY.

Louisville, Ky., May 22, 1919.

Comrade J. J. Bosemer, elected chairman.

Present: Bosemer, Rassmusen, and Stevens. Absent Stark and Goodman.

Minutes of previous meeting were read and approved. Financial report of State Office for April approved by auditing committee. Communication from Comrade [illegible] in which said comrade resigned. Resignation accepted with regrets. Bill for $1.50 from Commercial Service company for letters prepared by said company on January 15th last allowed. Meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
E. E. AUSTIN, JR.,
State Secretary.

FLEA AND DONKEY.

A flea nestled in the ear of a donkey. The flea bit off the tip of a pore and lunched at leisure. The donkey brayed and kicked. Moral: The interests of fleas and donkeys are identical. (See revised code, Civic Federation.)

Without fleas, donkeys would have no incentive to kick and bray, and would soon completely lose their donkeyality.—Eugene Victor Debs, 1902.

RALLYING SONG.

Glorious! Glorious!
We'll make the Bolsheviki victorious!
Praise to the plutes,
They're making more of us,
While Gene lies in prison all alone.

Tune, "At the Cross."

Composed by Ohio Bolsheviki quartette.

VICTORY LETTERS

(Continued from second page.)

A DOUBLE-FISTED BLOW.

Comrade Steve Weigner of Louisville, Ky., strikes a double-fisted blow at capitalism when he remits two dollars, one for the printing plant and one for an Industrial Freedom Certificate. A printing plant of our own will help us to free our comrades as nothing else can.

LOCAL R. I. DONATES $5.00.

The first Socialist local to remit on the press fund is Local Rock Island, Ill. Comrade Perry Shipman sends in a five spot for this live local. Ohio locals should get a hump on themselves if they don't want to be left behind the comrades out of state.

ANOTHER FIVE DOLLAR BOOST.

Comrade H. L. Overhulse of Malinta is another five-dollar booster. Other smaller boosts came in this week from the following comrades: J. E. Sewickley, $1.00; John Verin, $1.00; R. P. Bucher, $1.00; Edward Marshall, $1.00; A. G. Kraft, $1.00; Geo. Turner, $1.00; Wallace Watson, $1.00; Henry Hagerman, $1.00; Frank Hagerman, $1.00; W. E. Hagerman, $1.00; Etta Rufener, $1.00; J. A. Stumbaugh, $1.00; John Vehre, $3.00.

LIFE IN U. S. FED. PRISON

(Continued from first page.)

right here that Warden Frederick G. Zerbst has been connected in some official capacity with prisons for about twenty-five years. He is sauve, feigning a Christian attitude and a spirit of fairness. He will, however, permit the use of dishonorable means to accomplish his aims. He has the deep set, rat-like eyes, lobeless ears, and undershot jaw generally attributed to criminals. If he happens to feel in a good mood he may be fair to you; otherwise there is no semblance of justice in his actions nor any appeal from his decisions. On the morning when my friend appeared he evidently was not in a good humor, for he would allow him to order no more goods, although at Chirstmas time he relented, my friend receiving an order then.

In the fall of 1917 when the government inspector from Washington arrived we had an extra good dinner; jelly being served in addition.

A man by the name of Popoff, doing five years for counterfeiting, went to sick call and instead of being laid in was put in the hole for playing off sick. Later a poem that he had written was refused by the editor of the pirson paper, this editor being appointed by the warden from his staff of "stool-pigeons." Popoff had an invention which aimed to improve the submarine which he desired to have patented, but the deputy warden would not allow him to communicate with the patent office.

Deputy Brock was a kind man personally, but he allowed the prison politicians to get special favors for themselves and their friends; there being, of course, the third mess for politicians and "stool-pigeons." This is called the beefsteak mess. You see there is a class struggle in prison as well as on the outside.

Because of these grievances and the injustice in general Popoff felt that if he could cause officials from Washington to investigate conditions at the prison he would be accomplishing much towards getting justice for himself and the other prisoners. On December 27, 1917, Popoff struck Deputy Brock on the back of the head with an iron bar and killed him. He was chained with his hands above his head from the bars of his cell for twenty-seven days. At his trial several politicians who had not seen the murder appeared to testify against Popoff. He was given life imprisonment in Atlanta; sentence to begin at the expiration of his five year bit. He was immediately put in the hole and has been kept there for fifteen months now, every effort being made to develop his worst instincts by the inhuman treatment which he receives.

At the time of the above tragedy I was working on the paint gang; my business allowing me to have access to many parts of the prison, I heard many prisoners say, "Popoff got the wrong fellow; he should have hit the warden instead." William McCoy, 65 years of age, of the famous McCoy-Hatfield feudists in Va., who was doing five years for trying to start a revolution against the draft and the capitalist class of his state, was reported to have made the above statement, and was put in the hole by the warden. Zerbst called me to see if I had anything to do with the murder. I told him that if I had been in favor of murdering that I would have enlisted; and convinced him that I had had nothing to do with the affair.

In February, 1918, when Frank Marrion, having served ten years in prison, criticized the U. S. penitentiary in the Atlanta papers against the unjust treatment which they were receiving. The next morning after Marrion left, a prisoner asked for a clean bowl at the breakfast table, such request being of common occurence. This prisoner was told that 30 days of his "good time" would be taken away because he was trying to start a riot; when in fact he knew nothing of Marrion's article.

On Saturday and Sunday afternoons I usually played basket ball. One Sunday early in March I forgot to wear my basket ball shoes so I did not play that day. I met a prisoner out on the ball grounds who wanted me to read a poem contained in a letter that had been sent to him. I did so and conversed with him for less than five minutes.

Later as we were going to our cells a guard by the name of De Moss called me out of line, asking me my name and number. In a surprised tone I gave him this information, whereupon he said, "Oh, I'm not going to report you. I just wanted to ask you about some color cards, as I'm going to paint my house." I told him to come down to the paint shop the next day and we would look over the color cards and thought no more about it.

The next afternoon I was called before Deputy Warden Schaun, who said that DeMoss had turned in a report against me for plotting against officers, saying that he had noticed me the day before talking to a certain follow, and that he could not get near enough to us to hear what we were saying, for every time he would approach we would look frightened and move away. He said he was sure that we were plotting.

I had to laugh, and told the deputy how preposterous such a charge was, and of the lie that DeMoss had told in saying that he would not report me.

"Oh, DeMoss is one of the old guards here and would not tell a lie," the deputy said.

I suggested that if he would tell one lie that he would probably tell another one and said that I wanted to face him; but "prison justice" does not allow you to face your accusers. I said that I had not seen a guard while conversing with this other fellow and that I had not tried to move away. Schaun said something about my plotting to get over the wall, and would not allow me to talk any more, and ended the conversation by telling me that I was not allowed to go out in the yard for an indefinite period.

At this time I was foreman of the paint gang, and asked to be transferred to outdoor work in the construction gang, fearing that continual indoor living would be deterimental to my health.

Upon reporting to construction work the next week and asking the guard for permission to leave the gang for a few minutes, he said:

"Alright, Hennacy, 7438; I got your number, so step lively."

I was much surprised for this was a new guard whom I had never met before. The work consisted of excavating preparatory for the construction of the new cotton mill. Jacklets, the guard, would make us work in the drizzling rain when we had no change of clothing and no means of drying our wet garments.

At this time I was troubled with neuralgia and toothache. Some prisoners worked under cover, digging and loading wheelbarrows, while others wheeled the dirt out in the rain to a bank and dumped it. Everyone wanted an outdoor job and hated to push a "Georgia buggy." There generally was a rotation of jobs for all. One morning while working in the rain my tooth hurt so much that I asked the guard if I could work indoors until I felt better.

"I have to stand in the rain myself and run the risk of getting pneumonia," he replied.

"Yes, but you have a raincoat and rubbers," I rejoined.

"What do I care about your toothache; it don't hurt me any," he growled.

I asked him to take me up to the hospital so I could get laid in, but he said he would take me to the deputy instead and have me put in the hole if I didn't get to work. As it was only half an hour until dinner time, I decided to wait until afternoon and then go before the deputy. But after dinner it rained so hard that work was impossible, so I was saved this time.

Later I was placed under "chain-gang" Hughes, one of the most cruel guards in the penitentiary. We had to wheel loads of concrete up a steep incline. About forty of us were lined up as if the prisoner at the head of the line [illegible]

[illegible] About this time we were given orders that for dinner on Friday's. I took part in the agitation for a silent strike; writing up posters calling on the prisoners to stay in their cells and refuse to go to dinner on Friday. The strike was a success and we had no more fish.

When you have been deprived of your privileges for three months you are supposed to address a slip to the deputy asking to be reinstated. I did so early in June and he refused my request. As is the custom I then appealed to the warden. Accordingly I was called to his office on June 7th. He read my request and I told him the circumstances of the case.

"Why, DeMoss is one of the most conscientious guards we have. If he would do an injustice to a prisoner he would seek him out and apologise to him," said Zerbst.

I replied that I would like to talk to DeMoss fact to face and have him repeat those charges against me.

"Here you are wanting to go out in the yard, when in fact you agitated on the outside and still talk Socialism in here, too," said Zerbst.

"I don't deny that, for I consider that I have a right to express what I think is right in a free country," I replied.

"I think you are a plain fool," he said, angrily.

"That is a matter of opinion," I rejoined.

"Why, the last reports I have had are that you are plotting to kill officers. Eighteen persons have expressed their willingness to testify against you, and you have been agitating about other things, too," said the warden, rising from his chair and pounding on the table.

I told him that as far as plotting to kill officers was concerned that he himself had admitted in January that I was not the kind of a fellow who would commit such crimes. And asked him if I had been doing so much plotting why he did not catch me red-handed instead of framing-up on me.

At this he flared up and said.

"It makes no difference whether you are guilty of plotting to kill or not; I have no time to investigate, but I am going to put you in solitary anyhow."

"Here, guard, take this fellow," he yelled to Dean, the guard in the front hall.

When Dean delivered me to Fry to take me to solitary he said:

"Give it to him hard, the warden said."

I was seached and put into a cell by myself in isolation. The cell was about 20 feet long, 8 feet wide and 20 feet high. A very dirty window was at the top of the far end of the cell. In the middle of the wooden door was a small hinge, which when lifted up from the outside enabled the guard to peer through the intervening glass and see the inside of the cell. A small funnel-shaped hole about the size of a pencil was in the center of this hinge through which some one was generally peeping to see if the inmate of the cell was doing anything which was not permitted.

On this day the white bread ovens were broken down, so I was fed on corn bread and water for four days. I asked Deputy Schaun if I was allowed to have a Bible and he replied:

"You are allowed to have anything you can get."

"But how am I to get one?" I asked.

"I don't know," he growled, as he walked away.

At last after I had asked for a Bible several times I received one in two weeks. Of course I was allowed to receive no mail or to communicate with any one outside or inside of the prison. Neither the Protestant or the Catholic chaplains ever came near the hole to inquire after the physical or mental condition of the prisoners.

On Thursdays I was taken just outside of my cell into the hall, where under the strict surveilance of the guard I wash shaved. On Fridays I was allowed to take a bath in a cell across the hall, with a guard present to see that I did not communicate with the negro who handed me my clothes. I now received my regular meals but did not have much appetite.

Each morning the doctor peeped into my cell and asked how I felt.

During the first week I suffered severely from the toothache, and asked him for some medicine, which he sent to me later. The next morning he asked me how my tooth was, and when I told him that I was alright now he immediately turned to the guard, saying:

"We've got him buffaloed," and looked in a sneering way towards me. He evidently thought that I was bluffing about my toothache and was afraid to complain of it the second time.

Even the prison authorities recognize red as the color of revolt, for I was given a red card; as is the custom with those put in solitary, in third grade.

The continued monotony of solitary confinement fixes your mind upon the trivial incidents of meals, shaves, baths, and the visits of the doctor. It either makes or breaks a man; you cannot drift. Only a continual conscious effort will prevent physical or moral degeneracy. I determined that I would do everything within my power to build myself up. Accordingly I took physical culture exercises for half an hour before breakfast, dinner, supper, and before going to bed.

Many days the only break in the killing monotony during eight hours would be the arrival of soggy corn bread and rotten meat for dinner. I did not eat meat nor much greasy food while in the hole, for I realized that without sufficient exercise I could not properly digest this food. No one who has not subsisted on bread and water in solitary confinement for some length of time can appreciate the moral effect of a good meal. I always had the "blues" right after I had expected something half-ways palatable for dinner and was disappointed; just a little extra dainty would make a person see the bright side of life. Fasting in pleasant surroundings is a different thing entirely.

I could see Alexander Berkman's bald head at the tailor shop window across the way sometimes, although it was too dark in the hole for him to see me. I would look at him and renew my courage; for if he had spent four and one-half years in a real dungeon I felt that I could do thirteen months in this hole.

I would walk from corner to corner of my cell eight steps each way. I planned my walking so that I traveled over four miles each day.

The guards in the hall laughed and talked all night so that, although I went to bed at 8 p.m. I never slept before midnight, and would always awaken when the guard turned on my light and slammed the hinge on my door about 3 a. m. Of course I had bed bugs in my cell, but I was used to them now.

Those evening hours were the lonesome ones. I did not worry over my confinement for I knew that it was all a part of the class struggle; but I did worry over the fact that you folks and my sweetheart might not know what the reason was that you could not hear from me. Each night I thought of you all and of my friends and comrades; I thought of our common ideal of Peace, Socialism and Democracy. This kept me from becoming embittered, destructive, and from lowering myself to the level of hatred and fear which animated my persecutors. Sometimes I would feel like picking up a chair and trying to kill one of the damned, smiling hypocrites, who used their refined cruelty to slowly wear me out, instead of the old methods of torture which they condemned.

(Continued Next Week.)

[illegible]

the Mooney strike on July 4th. [illegible] the entire valley lies peacefully, as if awaiting the storm—the storm that will strike terror into the hearts of our plutocracy—the kind of fear that tells them that their dupes care not to be enslaved any longer. The working class here need now but one thing to hear and feel—of that champion of labor our imprisoned comrade, Eugene V. Debs. To let our fellow slaves know and feel the agonizing torture of a soul destined to die—dying ever so slowly in a man-made prison for the mere lack of their class-consciousness. Yours for the Freedom of all political and industrial prisoners.

FELIX J. CATLIN.

[illegible]

If Mooney and Billings were only millionaires, the constitution of California would not imprison them for life on such evidence. [illegible] tion. The objects of constitutions are to insure justice and millionaires always get an interpretation favoring "justice" to themselves.

Mooney and Billings would then have been walking the streets freely for the last three years instead of "doing time" at heart-breaking work in penitentiaries.

No doubt Tom Mooney and his beautiful musician wife would be living in style on Knob Hill right now in San Francisco, if only they were millionaires instead of efficient organizers and teachers of the working class. Young Billings would be free to run luxurious yachts back and forth through the beautiful Golden Gate of San Francisco bay if only he were the son of an Astorbilt or even a convicted war-time billionaire profiteer. But he is only a boot and shoe factory worker with a fine faculty for organization, who makes small wooden models of yachts for fun.

HOW LONG—OH, HOW LONG!

How much longer than three years must Mooney and Billings wait for their freedom—because they are not millionaires?

WE'VE MOVED

State Office of Socialist Party

Now Located at 3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio

All Locals, Branches and members of the Socialist Party of Ohio are hereby officially notified that the State Office is now located at 3207 Clark avenue, Cleveland.

The party is growing. The Ohio Socialist is growing. More room was needed. We now occupy an office 14x66 feet at our new location, and this will permit us to do the work of the party with greater efficiency and convenience.

ADDRESS ALL MAIL AND TELEGRAMS TO
3207 CLARK AVE., CLEVELAND.
PHONE WALLINGS 13-Y.

PITILESS, POISONED PUBLICITY

(Continued from second page.)

of Labor. The infamous offers of Oxman to purchase perjured testimony were written as follows:

"San Francisco, December 25, 1916

"Dear Mrs. Rigall: As I am sending Ed transportation tomorrow, 26, it might be that I can use you also about the 10, if so I can obtain you a ticket that you can see California. If you would like the trip address me care this hotel. Tell F. E. to say nothing until he sees me. Can possibly use an extry witness. Been a long time, I don't see you.

"Yours truly.
"F. C. OXMAN."

"Mr. Ed Rigall, Grayville, Ill.

"Dear Ed: Has been a long time since I hurd from you; I have a chance for you to cum to San Frisco as a expurt witness in a very important case. You will only hafto to answr 3 & 4 questions and I will post you on them; you will git milegage and all that a witness can drow, probly 100 in the cleare. So if you will come ans me quick in care of this hotel, and I will manage the balance. It is all ok but I need a witness. Let me know if you can come. Jan. 3 is the dait set for trile. Please keep this confidential. Answr hear. Yours truly.

"F. C. OXMAN."

No amount of poisoned publicity paid for by the Chamber of Commerce millions has been able to destroy the fact that "frame-up" Oxman wrote these letters and that the Rigalls received them by U. S. mail. Still Mooney and Billings remain in prison under life sentences. California will not free them. Organized labor is voting on a general strike program as the weapon of last resort to secure liberty for these two innocent trade union labor organizers and to enforce a "fair trial" which is insured by the United States constitution.

Early in the last week of May more than 700 unions in the United States have voted in favor of the general strike program to begin July 4th. Votes reported to the Mooney federal intervention committee show seven to one favoring the general strike. It is evident that organized labor is in earnest. Poisoned publicity cannot forever keep men from freedom.

RUSS REDS BUILD GREAT SCHOOLS

(Continued from first page.)

tional opportunity coming true. At the speakers' table were four men—three ostensibly working men and the fourth a white-collared intellectual. It was a drama they were playing, a drama new to Russia but old to America. They were bringing the schools to the common people.

This workers' university is to have different colleges and departments and on general lines is to follow ordinary universities. Most courses, however, are to be practical, and the whole study course is to fit a student for practical life. Students are to be sent from different districts of soviet Russia, being chosen by the local district authorities, and all expenses while attending college are paid.

IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY TO GO ON.

In no way is the school to interfere with the old Moscow imperial university, meaning that the old intellectual life is to go on, but, in addition, that higher educational opportunities are to be opened to workers who previously were denied college chances.

There is little to quarrel with in the whole Russian attempt at cultural developments. Theaters have been assigned to the working people, new art galleries opened, and every issue of the government and party papers carries a list of free lectures and entertainments for workers.

I have visited a number of these soviet theaters, and have been interested to find with what proprietorial sense the working people attended these theaters. The real working people come here with their families, and, if they choose, they sit through the performances with their hats on—partly due to the cold weather. Ten other theaters are open where the old and new bourgeoisie might go.

Each great trade union of factories takes a block of seats at the soviet theaters, and either gives them out or sells them at a low price to workmen. In all there are seven of these soviet theaters in Moscow, and they have become a sort of new social club of the masses. The men who formerly used to spend their wages and evening drinking vodka now go to the theater and hear a very decent production of the old operas and standard Russian plays.

NO VODKA IN RUSSIA.

Vodka drinking, by the way, is a lost art in Russia. The country is actually absolutely dry. In Petrograd I was confidentially informed that one might possibly round up a bottle of cognac for $60, but in Moscow the cheapest grade was $90, while it is said a short quart of vodka is $39.

There are no two sides to the wet or dry question in Russia. Stamping out vodka at the start of the war was probably one of the really great things the czar did, and the Bolsheviki have seen the wisdom of keeping the country dry.

The rotten court, the parasitic upper class, and vodka kept Russia's millions under the iron heel. When the czar took away vodka he gave the moujik nothing in its place.

The soviets are trying to do this through soviet theaters, concerts, lectures and entertainments. They have opened much that is fine and artistic to the workmen. He is appreciating all this, but he wants the comforts of life and real liberties as well. He wants food, clothing, shoes, and more freedom of expression and [illegible]

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Ten Days That Shook the World

BY JOHN REED.

John Reed was in Russia during and for months after the proletarian revolution. He has given in this big book [illegible] inside information that has not appeared elsewhere. You [illegible] find many chapters in it of great interest and value. [illegible]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

No. 72 | Published at Cleveland, Ohio. | WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11, 1919 | Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. | $1.00 A Year

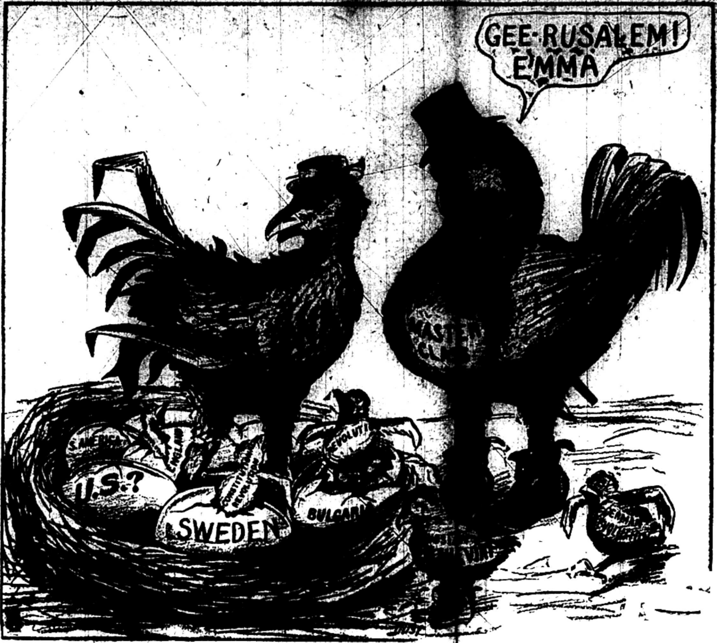
CAPITALIST "NON-PARTISANS" WILL REDEEM PIQUA, O.

You can be a Republican, or a Democrat, or a Bull Moose in Piqua, Ohio, if you want to, but you can't vote for either in the coming city election. The political and economic bosses of the city have seen to that. If you are a Socialist you can vote the ticket. If you are not a Socialist you must vote the Non-Partisan ticket, for that is the only ticket there is. It doesn't make any difference what your convictions are. You may be a dyed in the wool Republican, or you may have voted the good old Democratic ticket all your life, like your father before you, nevertheless you will have to lay your lifelong principles (or prejudices) upon the shelf as far as voting is concerned at the next election in Piqua. You will have to do it because the political and economic bosses of Piqua have, in the fullness of their wisdom (and fear of Socialism), decreed that it should be.

Piqua is one of the cities which the Socialists took control of two years ago. They elected a mayor, two councilmen and the safety director. Needless to say, the old gang who had always run city matters to suit themselves and their favorites have been exceedingly sore since that fatal day. About every dirty piece of skull duggery that could be pulled off has been tried in order to get the Socialist administration in bad not only with the voters and workers generally, but attempts were made to secure the conviction and imprisonment of the Socialist officials upon charges preferred by the government alleging interference with its war activities. All means to oust them failed, however, much to the disgrace and chagrin of the gang which were at the bottom of the persecution. Socialism is stronger in Piqua today than at the time of the election two years ago. This fact is admitted by the opponents of Socialism there.

It is for this reason that the two old parties have wedded and now masquerade under the non de plume of "Non-Partisan" which in reality means "non-worker," non-everything except the old gang methods and control of the city by the big business element of Piqua. **The mouthpieces of this hybrid organization admit that even by combining all opposition parties against** the Socialists their chances of election are mighty slim. But this is the only method whereby they can have the smallest hope of winning, hence the throw.

At a recent meeting of this bunch of delectables which lasted a whole 25 minutes and was attended by at least that number of sponsors of the organization, a list of candidates were "nominated" for all city offices. J. Harrison Smith heads the ticket as candidate for mayor. Smith is an also ran of the vintage of several seasons back who always failed to reach the goal. Piqua workers are on to the game and while the Non-Partisans fret and fume and slander the workers' candidates, they just go ahead sawing wood and adding to the education of the wage slaves along educational lines, knowing that when the workers once learn the meaning of Socialism they will just naturally have to give it their support.



"UNEXPECTED RESULTS"

STILL ON DECK

Like our beloved spokesman, Gene Debs, as he entered prison, the editor of the Eye Opener wishes to announce that "We are still on deck and fighting."

A very illuminating letter has just been received from William H. Lamar, solicitor for the post office department (commonly referred to as the nation's thought controller, as follows:

Postoffice Department, Office of the Solicitor.

Washington, D. C., May 15, 1919.

Mr. Louis Engdahl, Editor The Eye Opener, 1642 N. Halstead Street, Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir: Referring to your communication of March 25, I beg to inform you that the action you request this office to take in regard to the February issue of The Eye Opener would amount to censorship, which the law does not permit. I am accordingly without authority to comply with your request.

Yours very truly,

W. H. LAMAR, Solicitor.

The February issue of The Eye Opener contained 12 pages. The issue was declared non-mailable after being held up for two weeks. A letter was thereupon addressed to Mr. Lamar urging that the post-office censorship indicate four or eight pages of the 12 that would be considered mailable. After a delay of almost two months the above reply was received. The postoffice holds that to kill an entire issue is not censorship. This is only another mystery in the mysterious censorship used here in the United States to crush a free press.

Our record for the year 1919 is as follows: January issue sent out after being held up five weeks; February issue declared non-mailable after being held up two weeks;

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

VICTORY BONDS SOLD AT THE POINT OF GUNS

When it comes to teaching by example the essential principles of democracy, the kind of democracy that the world has been made safe for, the faker patriots of Holland, Mich., take the cake from anything that has come down the pike since Wilson took the middle of the road.

During the late Victory loan drive some business men grew sore at two Socialists, Ryner Dyk and his father, because they refused to subscribe, for good and sufficient reasons to themselves. Thereupon the super-patriots gathered about them some discharged soldiers and visited the homes of the comrades.

During the search of the premises which ensued, a quantity of Socialist literature was discovered. These as well as personal letters and communications were run through by the valiant laborers in the field of democracy.

When the comrades again refused to subscribe they became the target for every kind of vile curses that could be mouthed. They were called pro-German and damned by each and all for their Socialist beliefs. So low have the defenders of this variety of democracy fallen in their zeal to spread its virtues over the earth that nothing is too vile for them to resort to.

When in spite of their curses and abuse the comrades still refused to be bulldozed, five guns in the hands of the soldiers were drawn upon the comrades. In this manner the

(Continued on fourth page.)

WAR PLACES AMERICAN BANKER IN SUPREMACY

Bankers Plan Imperialistic Rule Over World. Workers Not Consulted. Sphinx' Question Still Unanswered.

The United States emerges from the Great War in a position of unprecedented economic power. In 1912 America was still a borrowing nation. In 1919 she is the creditor of the world.

The property of other nations is heavily mortgaged by war debts. The debt of Great Britain equals 44.4 per cent of her total wealth. The debt of Italy is 50.4 per cent; the debt of France 54.6 per cent; the debt of Germany 60 per cent; and that of Austria-Hungary 96 per cent of the total national wealth. The entire present national debt of the United States is only 9.6 per cent of her total wealth.

The United States has loaned the Allies a total of nine and a quarter billions. She holds a mortgage on almost ten per cent of their net wealth. The net wealth of Great Britain (wealth minus debt) is 50 billions; of France 30 billions; of Italy 12 billions; of Japan 27 billions. The net wealth of the United States is 225 billions. The United States has been forced to bond less than 10 per cent of her total wealth. Her net wealth is greater—nearly 100 per cent greater—than the combined net wealth of her principal allies.

The value of exports over imports (the trade balance) for the calendar year 1918 amounted to over three billions of dollars in favor of the United States. The indications are that for 1919 there will be a trade balance almost as heavy.

Before the war billions of American securities were owned in Europe. Of these securities two and a half billions have been brought back to the United States.

There is in the United States over three billions in gold money. Compare this amount with the 400 million stock of gold in the Bank of England, and the one billion, one **hundred million stock of gold in the Bank of France. The United States has vastly more than her share of the world's gold supply.**

The United States is the greatest manufacturing nation on earth. She produces, through high industrial efficiency, a huge annual surplus of wealth, which must seek investment somewhere. Prior to the war, the foreign investments of Great Britain, Germany and France totaled nearly forty billion dollars. The foreign investments of the United States were a mere nothing compared with this amount.

Now the tables are turned. German foreign investments are wiped out. Her surplus is gone. Great Britain and France will be busy restoring the economic life at home. The United States today is prepared to invest more money in foreign enterprises than any nation in the world. From this time forward, she will be in a position of unquestioned superiority as a lending nation. The United States is on the verge of a period of financial imperialism that will eclipse anything that modern society has known. Resources, efficiency, investable surplus, freedom from heavy debt, equipment with adequate man-power—in all of these directions, the United States far outdistances her nearest competitor.

Competition for trade and for investment oportunities will be very bitter during the next few years. It is little wonder that France and Great Britain are seeking protection in a Triple Alliance with the huge reservoirs of American credit. Will this Triple Alliance hold when these reservoirs, filled to overflowing, threatens to submerge the capitalism in less favored lands?

Manifest destiny is calling the United States to take her position as the greatest financial imperialist nation on earth. Her economic future possesses all of the allurements that vast wealth and unchallengable power can command. In a few—a very few years—there will be, not a "Big Five;" not a "Big Three," but a "Big One," and that one will be the United States.

The bankers already have recognized this fact. They have accepted it in the person of Thomas W. Lamont, member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., financial advisor to the American peace delegation in Paris; and leader of the group of international bankers that is to be responsible for the Chinese loans.

The economic supremacy of the United States is not a theory. It is a fact. Manifest destiny is directing the Ship of State. Isolation has been abandoned. The theory that American diplomacy could not be expected to back American investments has been forgotten. Administrative officials and financiers agree on the principle and on the practice. The United States is to be the money-lender of the world!

Thus far, it is the bankers who have spoken. **These plans are bankers' plan. The people are still to be heard from.**

What do the American people think of imperialism? Are they content to pay the price? Are they willing to support a huge navy; equip and maintain a large standing army; bind themselves in alliances with foreign powers; engage in petty quarrels; participate in devastating wars; give their fathers, husbands and sons for cannon fodder; labor, sweat, produce the immense surplus of wealth that will be needed to supply the demand for American capital? Are they satisfied—the masses of the people—to live narrow lives in narrow houses, while the owners of wealth and the holders of power wallow in luxury? Are the American people ready to pay this price?

Others have been willing to pay. The Roman workers paid. So did the workers of France. The British workers have been paying for more

(Continued on Second page)

It's High Time We Socialists Quit Trying To Build Our House With Borrowed Tools

Raise your eyes half an inch.

Read the headline once again.

Does it mean anything to you?

We hope it does. It should, because as socialists we have been most criminally guilty of the "borrowing habit." Fact of the matter is, we, as socialists, have about depended entirely upon the good will of our neighbors (capitalists) for about every thing we needed in the building of our house.

We never thought it was necessary to own anything with which we worked. It was so much easier to borrow of our friend the enemy.

Let us draw a parallel.

You are starting to build a house. The ground is before you and you have a grand blue print of your future dwelling from cellar to garret. All the material is to hand ready for assembling. You pull off your coat ready for the big job.

But you have no tools to build with. Not a spade, nor a pick to dig the basement; not a hammer nor saw, nor square nor plane. All the material with which to erect a dwelling for the comfort of your old age, for the happy childhood of your children and their children, plenty of labor power just aching to get busy at the work of construction; but not a tool in your possession.

Then it dawns upon your mind that your house will be a long time unoccupied unless you get some tools on the job. You feel in your pockets only to discover that you haven't even a jackknife. Some how it doesn't occur to you to invest a few dollars in shovels, picks, saws, hammers and other essential implements of the building trade. Not at all. But you have a most brilliant idea. You think, "sure, I can't build this house (and Lord knows I need it bad enough) without tools and though I haven't any, friend capitalist has a full chest of the very best. True, enough, he and I don't agree as a general thing, and quite often we have considerable trouble and come to mortal blows, but maybe he will lend them to me." It's a great idea, so aborrowing you go.

Well, you get the tools and you start to excavate for the foundation that is to be laid beneath your house. And just about the time you have made a good start and are beginning to take pride in your achievements, and faith in the development of your work, along comes your friend the owner of the tools. He has a bad look on his face which proves that he and you have had another "difference." And he wants his tools returned. It doesn't cut any ice with him that your house is unfinished, that the roof is but half on and the interior exposed. It isn't his house. But the tools ARE his and whether you like it or not you have to return them for they are HIS. He just owns these tools or borrows them, whether loaned them as long as it suited HIS convenience. Your house can rot in the rain for all he cares.

This is an example of what we socialists have been doing all along. We have started to build the house of the New Society. But we have neglected to get possession of the tools to build with. We have depended upon securing the use of the tools owned by our capitalist enemies with which to do the building. And many's the time we have paid dearly for our folly. Often we have had to suspend operations because he refused to longer lend to us. Many times our house has been left open to the winds and storms on account of our neglect in so providing ourselves against the day of adversity.

Yes, we have paid dearly enough for it it would seem. We have seen our propaganda obstructed, our papers and magazines destroyed. The work and sacrifice of many hard working comrades utterly thrown away as a result of our dependence upon our enemies. We had the borrowing habit and we used it to the limit. We became experts in the use of it and as a result we learned to our sorrow that we borrowed more trouble than anything else.

That is the lesson we have learned of the past. That's what the result of our building with borrowed tools has taught us. And that is why we are going to quit We refuse to see the work of the Socialist movement disrupted, disorganized by some owner of the tools with which we must work which by all the rules of common sense should be our own. We refuse to see our papers that have been built up by the hardest of hard work, worry and effort destroyed by some owner of a print shop which is no better and often not half so well equipped as one we could outfit ourselves if we only would think so. We refuse to see the progress of our movement hampered because of the fact that we refuse to do the obviously necessary thing—own the tools with which we work. We refuse to longer tolerate such an impossible condition of affairs.

We are going to quit trying to build our house with our enemies in possession of the tools we must use, and likely at any moment to withdraw them. Comrades we are going to get those necessary tools. We can get them just as soon as we realize the foolishness of doing without them. We know there are thousands upon thousands of socialists and near socialists who agree that borrowing of our sworn enemies is the most foolish thing possible. We know they will help us to quit the evil habit of borrowing and establish our own PRINTING PLANT just as soon as they learn we wish to. Perhaps you are one of these comrades who realize that the future of the Socialist movement depends a great deal upon whether the Socialist Party we are to control our own printing plant or have it controlled by our capitalist enemies.

In possession of a modern printing press and equipment the Socialist Party can accomplish wonders in the way of propaganda. Without such equipment, our enemies hold the handle of the whip.

It is for these reasons that the Socialist Party of Ohio is carrying on this campaign for a party-owned printing plant and making a drive for $10,000 dollars to pay for it. And while you read these lines comrade, ask yourself if it isn't possible for you to help a bit in getting that ten thousand together for this purpose. We are sure that you can boost a bit—perhaps a good deal more than you thing at first until the NECESSITY of it dawns upon you.

The campaign has just opened, but already the response has been most generous. Comrades from many parts of the country have proved by their financial response to this call that they are ready to subscribe the needed funds to make it possible to quit building with borrowed tools. Below are the names of comrades who have subscribed to the Ohio Socialist Party Press Fund during the last week. They have subscribed the amount at the head of the column in which their name appears. Next week we shall have a larger number of names to report and we want to see YOURS among them. Let us hear from you this week.

$1.00 Column

V. Bower, Creston, O.
J. Bower, Creston, O.
E. P. McDevitt, Steubenville, O.
Chas. Litz, Sandusky, O.
B. M. Dutton, Abingdon, Va.
J. Putney, Shelby, Mich.
H. O. Davis ($1.50), Nortonville,
[illegible] Orr, Marion, O.
[illegible], Hamilton, O.
A Comrade, Niles, Mich.
A Comrade, Niles, Mich.
Leopold Hoffman, Grafton, O.
Jeff Sinnett, Glencoe, Okla.
D. M. Greathouse, Akron, O.
P. H. Rubin, Barberton, O.
Chas. Dearolf, Barberton, O.
John Phaus, Barberton, O.

$2.00 Column

F. W. P., Troy, O.
W. E. [illegible], Akron, O.
C. W. Griswold, Cleveland, O.
J. P. Mortenson, Hardy, Neb.
Charles Repine, Charleroi, Pa.

$5.00 Column

Wm. J. Ake, Cincinnati, O.
Dr. W. Van Nette, Clyde, O.
Mr. and Mrs. N. T. Rickey, Akron, Ohio.
Local Battle Creek, Michigan.
Walter Bronstrup, Cleveland, O.
T. H. Robertson, Canton, O.
Local Barberton, Ohio.

$10.00 Column

Mary A. Bundy, Warren, O.
George Bundy, Warren, O.
Bishop and Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, Galion, O. ([illegible])

$25.00 Column

Local Warren, Warren, Ohio.

$50.00 Column

Local [illegible], Ohio.

$100.00 Column

This column is watchfully waiting—for whom?

Kiddies' Korner

No Kiddies to be found in this corner this week, but we have promises [illegible]

Pledge Column

Bishop and Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, Galion, O., $200.

HERE'S THE WAY WE ARE GROWING

Contributed to June 1..........$129.0
Received since 171.0
Total to date, June 8..........[illegible]
Balance need to make $10,[illegible]

May Day 1919 a Monument To the Revolution

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT,
Director of the Department of Organization and Propaganda, Socialist Party.

Never was International Labor Day more widely, enthusiastically and courageously celebrated than on May 1st, 1919.

From the largest industrial center to the remotest community, comrades one and all clasped hands upon that day to pledge a renewal of their determination to free our political prisoners, yes—and to free the world from capitalism, the arch-criminal of the ages.

The world is afire with a new purpose. The workers in their millions, with clenched fists and determined mien, are marching forward, claiming the earth as their own. Nothing can stop them. They have risen in their might. They have gained sight. They have learned the weakness of that arrogant minority in whose keeping the wealth of the ages has rested.

Forward and onward to a new world; a masterless world—that was the spirit of May Day. And it was this march of the millions that the city czars and the hoodlum hirelings of our industrial lords tried to stop. Just as well try to stop the earth in its orbit or the ebb and flow of the tide.

Let this be remembered forever. Capitalism is in a panic. It jumps in fear of its own shadow. It invented bomb plots and published nation-wide through its kept press that the Socialists were going to begin a bloody revolution on May Day. All this had its purpose. This was the stage-setting which upon May Day gave them the excuse to assault peaceful demonstrations of workers gathered to express their joy at the steady progress of mankind toward industrial freedom.

IT WAS NOT THE SOCIALISTS NOR THE THOUSANDS UPON THOUSANDS OF LABOR UNIONISTS WHO RIOTED UPON MAY DAY.

No more peaceful demonstrations were ever organized than these thousands of May Day meetings and parades which after all only constituted a showing of numbers constituting the forward looking army of labor.

IT WAS CAPITALISM THAT RIOTED. Capitalism in hysterics. Capitalism tottering into its grave.

But why pay attention to these last dying kicks of a rotten order. The lesson of May Day, 1919, is not to be found in the viciousness of capitalism so much as in the solidarity of labor. And May Day, 1919, proved that labor is uniting.

In cities where demonstrations of 2,000 workers were voted great successes in previous years, demonstrations of from 20,000 to 30,000 workers were had this year. In communities that never heard of International Labor Day the ukases of city czars abrogating free speech and assemblage were defied and workers gathered to celebrate and demonstrate. Yes, even in hundreds of rural communities, far away from the field of class clashes, comrades gathered in meeting to protest the imprisonment of Debs and all other political prisoners and to demand their unconditional and immediate release.

Hundreds of thousands of protest postal cards passed through the mails on May 1st, 1919. And "FREE THEM" posters by the thousands advertised our May Day meetings. Hundreds of thousands of Socialist Party membership application blanks were distributed May 1st and thousands of new members were added to the ranks of the only workers' political party.

The Socialist Party may well be proud of its leadership in the thousands of May Day mass demonstrations this year. Never before did the party machinery respond more loyally and never before did it perform its duty so well.

Debs' May Day message, Kate Richards O'Hare's May Day message and the messages of other imprisoned and convicted Socialists were listened to by hundreds of thousands of workers—men, women and children anxious for the new word which spells the new day. May 1st, 1919, was indeed the harbinger of proletarian brotherhood and industrial democracy.

We want peace! But it is the peace of a class-free world that we demand. The working class has hoped, worked, fought, suffered and died generation after generation. It now sees the red dawn of the rising sun of Socialism in the east. Taking lessons from the lands where the Sun of Socialism now shines brightest it is assuming a more erect posture in this class divided United States. It is gaining in courage. It demands its rights.

There was a new spirit abroad in the land upon May 1st, 1919. And it is that which makes May Day 1919, a monument to the revolution.

To the thousands of comrades who so unflinchingly stood by their colors, who so painstakingly organized the thousands of May Day demonstrations, who so willingly gave their co-operation, to these thousands the Department of Organization and Propaganda, Socialist Party, expresses its sincere appreciation.

Ever onward and forward. There is no road to yesterday. Tomorrow belongs to us. And in this day let every comrade prove worthy of the future that lies before us.

LABOR CRUSHED BY JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

In Japan the persecution of Socialists is as severe as ever. My husband was imprisoned for the fifth time last autumn, with him a number of comrades also. It was on account of some labor papers which were very moderate. He came in February, but he is not yet quite well.

The foreign books which are prohibited importation amount to more than 800 kinds, among them most of Socialist books. The books sent by Kerr & Co. were mostly confiscated, the Commmunist Manifesto also.

The English paper, "Japan Advertiser," was suppressed recently because it reprinted the Japanese Socialists' resolutions sent to the Bolsheviki. We know very little about the disturbances in Korea, because the government does not allow the papers to report about it. You may well imagine in what situation we are here in Japan. No liberty of press and speech at all. Even the personal freedom of the people is one of the very limited kinds, for the government is always suspicious and spying on us. The mere term of "socialism" is enough to frighten the government. And no open discussion on socialism is allowed. The government declared even the essays against socialism may be exposed to the danger of suppression, because through them people may know something about the true nature of socialism, or may serve to arouse the curiosity of the people and urge them to study about it.

The strikes and labor unions are not yet allowed. Laborers are shamelessly exploited. The factory laws there are of course very insufficient in themselves, but the government is too weak to enforce them upon the capitalist. Can you believe that most Japanese girl workers' working day is 18 hours? Their annual income $50 average. The official report tells us that 13,000 girl workers are dying of consumption every year. They have no chances to be enlightened by outer influences because most of them are shut up in the dormitories. The cases of their ill treatment do not attract much attention because they know no outside people, and no capitalist paper consents to write about such cases. As for the labor paper, the government is always anxious to suppress it and imprison its editors. After all, the Japanese people are living under the darkest oppression of of bureaucracy. And as the people's discontent is growing stronger, the oppression becomes severer.

The government forbids Socialists to go abroad. Many comrades want to go abroad, but they can not. Comrade Sakai wanted to attend the conference at Berne, but the government did not give him the passport. The government is in utmost fear of the Bolsheviki influences. They have no conviction in their strength against the democratic tendency, so they take every means to suppress it beforehand out of fears.—From a Letter From a Japanese Comrade.

Manifesto of Workers' Council of Waist and Dress Industry

The recent conference of the Waist and Dress Industry, held in the People's house, New York, May 3rd and 4th, 1919, indicates a healthy move on the part of a section of New York's workers, toward industrial democracy. This is the first industry in the city that has successfully established a council basis in its workshops along Russian and British lines, and promises to be the forerunner of a nation-wide movement for the emancipation of the proletariat.

What was only a few weeks ago estimated as a mere handful of persecuted workers, libelled and misrepresented by the yellow and so-called radical sheets alike, miraculously flourished at this conference to the proportions of over fourteen thousand (half the recognized industry) represented by 320 delegates elected in the various shops.

All through the meeting, a spirit of protest, not only against existing conditions, but even more strongly against the false leaders of labor and stagnant trade unionism was keenly felt. Scott Nearing, in opening the conference, vividly portrayed the evils of craft unionism and spoke in favor of Workers' Councils in every industry to replace the incompetent and harmful officialdom of dying trade unionism. This matter was dwelt upon in the speeches of some of the members of the previous executive committee, whose attitude to trade unionism was no less antagonistic.

At the conclusion of a two-day sitting, the following manifesto was unanimously adopted.

We, 320 shop delegates of the Waist and Dress Industry, at a conference held at the People's house, 7 E. 15th street, New York City, May 3rd and 4th, 1919, realize that trade unions, instead of bringing about class-consciousness and solidarity among the workers and uniting them against their exploiters, breaks them into craft groups and thereby weakens them and serves the interests of the employing class. We also realize that our emancipation from life-long drudgery depends entirely upon our solidarity and class-consciousness.

We, therefore, proclaim to all the workers of the Waist and Dress Industry the inauguration of a Workers' Council.

The Workers' Council sets out to educate and organize the workers along class-conscious and industrial lines; to break the corrupt and demoralizing influence of craft-union officialdom; to have the workers ready to go on with production when the time comes for them to take over the industries.

We urge the workers in each shop to elect shop committees which shall handle all grievances between the workers and their employers. These shop committees shall meet in general conference to adjust problems concerning the entire industry. The time has come when the workers must prepare to take charge of the industries.

We, therefore, call on the workers in every industry to take matters into their own hands, form workers' Councils, and manifest their allegiance to the rising solidarity of the workers the world over.

It is obvious from this manifesto that this is no alleviative step, but a radical advance inspired by the successful introduction of similar systems in several European countries. The shop committees are autonomous, but are joined in an industrial federation for matters pertaining to the industry at large, and are guided by the basic principles of the Workers' Council.

It is not to be wondered at that this thorough-going organization should meet with opposition in its initial phases, not only from the common foe—the capitalist—but, sad to say, also from those who are sitting in the saddle of the present labor movement.

This opposition is analogous to the blind war waged against labor's true friends in Germany, and, formerly, in Russia, by the Scheidmann and Kerensky factions. But opposition is strongest when the seat of reaction is endangered. The seed of rebellion has taken root in American soil. It was inevitable, when revolution was flourishing throughout the world.

Workers, you are the weavers of your own destiny! For ages you have wrought yourselves a fate of misery and degradation. It is for you, now, to weave a new fate—to usher in an era of social equality and brotherhood! Onward for the goal!

RESOLUTIONS

Whereas, The most sacred traditions of our country have been glorified in the thought that, since the founders of this great republic were political and religious exiles, it was a foregone conclusion that the United States of America must always be a "Haven of Refuge" for the political and religious exiles of ALL countries; not tradition alone, but our common school histories have persistently taught these ideals, and an amendment to our national constitution expressly stipulates that "The rights of the citizenship to free press, free speech and free assemblage shall not be suspended or abridged;" and,

Whereas, The development of the present capitalist system with its autocratic control of the appointment of the Judges of the Supreme Court has filled those positions with men who have ASSUMED the power to set aside these most sacred rights of the citizenship and, at the behest of their "Economic Masters" impose sentences of from ten (10) to twenty (20) years' imprisonment upon any who are brave enough to exercise their constitutional right of publicly expressing their honest convictions; and,

Whereas, The passage of the "Dick Militia" law, the "Conscription" and other militarist laws culminating in the enactment of this most obnoxious "Espionage" law, are calculated to completely destroy the spirit and purpose of our most cherished traditions and ideals and establish in their stead the most reactionary and despotic "Autocracy of Wealth" the world has ever known, thus making the blood-stained footprints of Washington's army at Valley Forge and the more recent drenching of Europe with Americans' blood an absolutely vain and meaningless sacrifice if we now submit to these usurpations,

Therefore resolved, That all loyal and patriotic citizens should DEMAND, and all who subscribe to these resolutions DO demand, the immediate withdrawal of all United States representatives to the present peace conference at Paris, and the severance of all relations with foreign countries which seek to bind us in any "League of Nations" having for its purpose the perpetuity of the present war-breeding Imperial-Capitalist-System; the immediate withdrawal from foreign countries and the DISCHARGE of all officers and enlisted men now in the military service of the United States; the immediate repeal of militarist laws (including the Espionage law) which endangers our democratic institutions, and the immediate discharge of all those men and women who have been arrested, convicted or who are now in prison as a result of the usurpation of power in the enactment and enforcement of the Espionage law; and be it further

Resolved, That all who subscribe to these resolutions and demands, will do all in their power to unite all liberty loving people upon the only peaceful method we may employ to emphasize our earnestness in this demand, upon a program for a general cessation of all work beginning on (the date to be decided later) and continuing until these demands are complied with; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions shall be circulated among all Civic, Federated and Fraternal organizations for signatures, that copies be sent to our state legislators and to our representatives in congress.

Kenmore Ohio, May Day Resolutions Committee.

Paste this resolution upon a sheet of paper, sign and circulate it among your friends, then mail to your state legislators and representatives in congress.

There are 76 lawyers in the U. S. senate and 320 of the 440 members of the house of representatives at Washington are lawyers; and they are but attorneys of the great industrial combinations who are the real rulers of the government.—Ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew.

[illegible] Wilson [illegible] Good Samaritan [illegible] in his oil and his wine and now he is trying to set the unfortunate one on his own ass, preparatory to conducting him to the inn where safety and entertainment are provided for both great and small. Presently, doubtless, he will take out two-pence, and depart his way, though, to be sure, the perfect fulfillment of this pleasing parallel will be seriously jeopardized if, as some contend, the Modern Good Samaritan intends to charge interest on the disbursements which his bowels will have caused him to make."—From the Scottish Review.

EGYPT'S SORROW

The Egyptian agricultural laborer or fellah is the great and most important asset of the country. Under the English protectorate, as under the English occupation, his lot is the worst in any civilised country, most certainly worse than the worst laborer in the most backward country in Europe. From sunrise to sunset he is tied to the soil for long hours under a broiling sun. He interrupts his continuous labor only to snatch one hasty and utterly inadequate meal, consisting of a small piece of kneaded wheaten or maize bread, seasoned with a very little salad, and only occasionally with a little cheese. His only clothing in all seasons is a short cotton shirt. His dwelling is a vile hut of the most primitive construction, some three or four yards square, with no aperture except the door, and with a small chest for its only furniture. It cannot be otherwise, when his day's wage is no more than from eight pence to ten pence. There is, of course, no such thing as a legal minimum wage for the fellah.

The fellah has the advantage of no insurance, accident, or relief laws, and he has no legal protection of any kind against the most scandalous exploitation. Lacking the most elementary provision for securing hygienic conditions, he is the prey of all kinds of endemic diseases and epidemics. Amongst his class infant mortality rises to appalling heights. Thus a French authority, M. de Chambert, in his "Enquete sur la condition du fellah egyptien," in 1909 calculated that three-fourths of the children of the fellahin die at a very early age. Within recent years, too, a new scourge, which always accompanies advancing English civilization, is playing havoc with the fellahin. This is drink. Of late years under English influence and encouragement, the fellah, the most temperate of all laborers, has taken to alcohol, manufactured in small Egyptian distilleries, and frightfully adulterated, in order that his miserable wage may allow him to purchase it. Having conquered the population of the towns, where it is consumed not only in the cafes and drink shops, but as well in the groceries (is not the tempting spirit grocery a right British institution?) alcohol is now rapidly conquering rural Egypt. And what is more serious, although we do not agree with our Egyptian friends when they considered it more surprising, is that no real supervision of the traffic and no energetic or sincere effort to oppose the spread of this plague has been made by the protecting government of a country where the dominant religion, that of 94 per cent of the population, prohibits the use of alcohol.

Russian Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Germany

Recruiting of Russian Prisoners of War to Be Used Against Soviet Russia.

A recent number of the Leipziger Volkszeitung contains an article that throws an interesting light on the character of the present government of Germany, as well as on those counter-revolutionary elements which are eager to use the Russian prisoners at present still in Germany against the government now in power in their own country. The article indicates that the forces of reaction will stop at nothing in the effort to regain control of their former fields of exploitation. The text of the article is as follows:

The Germany of William II which aided the Russia of the czar, was the backbone of the blackest reaction, conducted a revolutionary propaganda during the war in the entente countries, because it believed it was thus serving its imperialistic aims. The Germany after William II, the Germany of Ebert and Company, is carrying an a similar policy, with this exception: it is now supporting not a revolution beyond its boundaries, but a capitalistic reaction.

In Germany, agitation is being carried on among Russian prisoners, in order to create an anti-Bolshevist army out of them. The propaganda is being managed by Russian officers, who are working hand in hand with the entente commission. The center of operations for this propaganda is in Berlin. It is said that Lvov, who a short time ago was seeking aid in Paris for the Russian bourgeoisie, is now in Berlin for the same purpose. Of course he has not been arrested.

The propaganda is not successful. With the aid of false reports about Russia and promises of money, only a few hundred Russian officers have been gathered for this purpose. They are kept strictly cut off from the outer world. In order to permit no dissatisfaction to arise among them their camp is kept abundantly supplied with money and foodstuffs by American officers.

In Saxony (Leipzig is the largest city in Saxony) this recruiting is also going on. In the prisoners' camp of Ebersdorf, in the last few days, two Russian officers tried, in German, to win over the prisoners for an anti-Bolshevist army. The [illegible] on sending a delegation to the provisions commission in Berlin, in order to provide themselves with prices information. This delegation found that the provisions commission is no longer in existence. They were finally referred to the entente commission. The letter gave them fine words to the effect that in the spring they were to be sent by the entente, for pure love of humanity, to Archangel or to the Denikin army, which, it was said, was the only way of sending them to Russia. But the delegation displayed no eagerness to serve as cannon fodder on the Archangel front or in the Denikin army.

Entente officers and Russian reactionaries are preparing in Germany for a war to be waged by the capitalists of all lands against Socialistic Russia. The [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] (particularly the [illegible]) [illegible] have unanimously adopted the following resolutions and signed to [illegible]

WHEREAS, there are now in prison in this country several hundred persons (Eugene V. Debs, Thos. J. Mooney, Wm. D. Haywood, Kate Richard O'Hare, et al.) convicted according to law on various charges, most of which may be summarized as obstructing the United States in the conduct of war; and

WHEREAS, All are victims of an interpretation of the necessary means to secure the welfare and success of the nations in war, and some of them are suffering as the result of a devotion to an interpretation of such means differing from the majority, but presumably no less high-minded and unselfish; and

WHEREAS, The war is now over and this nation should follow the historic example offered by other governments in the past, and set free those prisoners for whose detention a national crisis no longer offers excuse; and

WHEREAS, The political prisoners fall into various classes according to legal definition, but particularly in the people's minds they form two groups: the victims of the selective law and the Espionage Act; and

WHEREAS, Persons were convicted in circumstances of popular excitement, and it might be questioned whether those convicted had, or could have had, a fair and impartial trial; and

WHEREAS, The United States has entered the Congress of Nations with a program of justice and democracy and freedom for all nationalities for a better world for all mankind; and

WHEREAS, No better foundation for its work can be established than an act of amnesty to release those whose imprisonment is a scandal and rock of offense to democracy everywhere; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we demand as a matter of essential justice to our citizens of faith in our historic democracy and loyalty to our own cause and of a better world, that all political prisoners be set free and the selective service and Espionage Act be immediately repealed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That as inasmuch as we believe to be wholly within our constitutional rights, as American citizens, we will continue to protest collectively and individually, and to support all legal steps taken to the end that all of the aforesaid conditions are fully realized; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions, properly attested by the chairman and secretary of this meeting be forwarded to the labor press in whom we have the most confidence, also to the president of the United States and to the senators and representatives in congress from the state of Michigan.

Attest;
H. T. AUCKERMAN,
Chairman.
A. R. SMITH, Secretary.

WAR PLACES AMERICAN BANKER IN SUPREMACY

(Continued from first page.)

than a century. Now the turn of the American workers has come.

To the people of America, as to the people of every other empire, Fate has presented this question—"The Question of all time." (Written by E. E. Miller.)

"Beside the road of time the gaunt Sphinx lay
Half buried in the dust of cities dead.
A mighty nation came with ringing tread;
The monster rose; the traveler stood at bay
And heard the riddle; 'What is there to say
When idlers feast and toilers lack for bread?
No answer came; a struggling gasp instead

"Told that the Sphinx had clutched another prey.
Empire on empire fell, the question still
Unanswered, and today our young land hears
It asked. She hears; her lips half apart with will
To speak; yet she is silent and appears
To halt in sudden doubt 'twixt two replies—
Still closer draws the Sphinx with baleful eyes."

Manifest destiny is calling to America—the manifest destiny of imperialism and world dominion that called to Carthage, Rome, Spain, Germany, Russia and England. The rulers of American economic life—the bankers, manufacturers, merchants, traders—all of the profiteers are answering the summons eagerly; gleefully. For them it means riches, unimagined and boundless power. But the workers—who must carry this imperial program upon their backs—what is their answer to this manifest, imperial destiny?

Letters of Encouragement

Containing [illegible] for the Party-Owned Printing Plant from comrades who realize its great necessity to the Socialist Movement. LET US HEAR FROM YOU THIS WEEK, COMRADE.

WHY DIDN'T WE DO IT SOONER?

"I have never understood," writes Comrade R. F. [illegible] of Steubenville, "why it would not have been advisable long ago to own our printing establishment. It seems to me it would have been much more economical and convenient. I am glad, therefore, that the State Office has arrived at such conclusion." And to this we add, that the Socialist Movement has outgrown the dilly-dally, go-as-you-please methods of the past. Future progress DEMANDS up-to-date methods. That's why we are going to establish a modern printing plant. Help us do it.

HE HAS A REASON TO BE IN THE MOVEMENT.

"Here is my little mite to help buy a printing press of our own. I am in the movement to do all I can." Yours for the International.—H. O. Davis, Nortonville, Ky.

THIS BOOST WILL HELP.

"Enclosed find five dollars to help buy the new press. Success to you."—Dr. W. Van Netta.

A BOOST FROM ANOTHER STATE

Some comrades in Ohio may be surprised to learn of the support which the Ohio Socialist receives from locals and comrades in other states. The Ohio Socialist is one of the most popular Socialist papers in the country with a national circulation. This fact is attested by the ever growing list of subscriptions received from all parts of the country—these subscriptions together with the many letters of encouragement we receive proves this. Last week we reported a five dollar press fund donation from Local Rock Island, Ill. This week we are glad to receive a similar amount from Comrade Dora B. Musser of Local Battle Creek. A letter from the Ohio Socialist to her brings this gratifying result from the local of which she is the secretary.

COMRADE BUNDY RESPONDS.

Comrade Geo. Bundy of Warren, O., ex-state executive committeeman, and Comrade Mrs. Bundy respond this week with a liberal donation of ten dollars each toward the Press Fund.

LOCAL HAMILTON GETS IN THE BIG COLUMN.

Local Hamilton is the first local in Ohio to respond to the party call for the Press Fund. And it is some response, too. Fifty dollars the local sends to the State Office through Secretary Clifford King. Local Hamilton evidently intends to retain its reputation for Socialist activities. It is Hamilton that has the most Ohio Socialist subscribers of any city in the state in proportion to population. Hamilton comrades have proved their fealty to revolutionary socialism many times. Their generous donation to the Press Fund is another indication of the spirit which dominates the comrades of this big socialist stronghold.

HE SEES THE NECESSITY.

"I believe in and see the necessity of the Socialist Party," writes Comrade Repine of Charleroi, Pa. He further states that he is with us as far as he can go and would like to appear in the 2,000 dollar column but being a wage slave he must, for the present, content himself with the two dollar column. We thank you, comrade.

THE LOCALS ARE FALLING IN LINE.

Local Barberton is another Ohio local which contributes to the Press Fund. Five dollars Comrade Secretary C. H. Werner sends us from the local and three dollars from local members. We hope that every local will follow suit and make as liberal a donation as their treasury will allow. In fact, for this particular fund we believe it would be good tactics to hit the local treasuries pretty heavy. What do you think about it, comrades?

OWNERSHIP IS THE THING.

"We want our name in one column as helping to buy the printing press and as we can only spare one dollar, put us there. Ownership, that's it. We certainly think the Ohio Socialist fine. Enclosed find 25c for a bundle."—Jeff Sinnett, Glencoe, Okla.

HE WISHES IT WAS 500.

A note from Comrade T. H. Robertson of Canton, O., states that he wishes his contribution of five dollars was five hundred instead. And so do we, but since it can't be we know there are many hundreds, yes, there are thousands of comrades who can spare one dollar each to help buy a printing press for the Ohio Socialist. What's more they are going to do it, too. Watch them do it!

AND STILL ANOTHER LOCAL CONTRIBUTES.

It's Local Warren, Ohio, this time. Here is the letter from Comrade Secretary C. R. Swope. Read it. Doesn't it sound encouraging? "Enclosed find check for $25 which is a donation from Local Warren for 'Our Party-Owned Press and Printing Plant.'" You will hear from me again soon with a few more to help buy a barrel of ink, ha, ha."

STATE PICNIC

Socialist Party of Ohio

Will Be Held at

CONEY ISLAND

CINCINNATI

JUNE 29, 1919

All Socialists of Ohio and neighboring states, especially, the border states of West Virginia, Kentucky and Indiana, are hereby notified of the State picnic of the Socialist Party of Ohio to be held on the above date. Each and every one of you are cordially invited to be present on this grand occasion with all the members of your family.

The Ohio State picnics have always been great affairs in the past, the one this year promises to outclass all previous ones in every way. What with one of the most choice locations in the state, added attractions of many kinds, including a charming steam boat ride, Socialists should feel encouraged to be on hand with a good sized crowd.

ATTRACTIONS.

Coney Island—A first class pleasure resort, situated up the Ohio river from Cincinnati. Many amusements, including Ferris wheel, figure eight, boating, bathing and many other pleasant recreations. In fact, there will be pleasures for each and every Socialist whether he or she is seven weeks old or seventy years.

SPEAKING.

Good speakers will be on hand to instruct, entertain, and enthuse you with the message of socialism. Speakers with national reputations will be present at the Ohio State picnic. You will want to hear them. Don't miss the opportunity which this occasion affords you to do so.

ADMISSION 25c.

You can't beat the State picnic's admission price. At 25c each with a ten-mile boat ride each way thrown in, we say you can't beat it. And by the way, admission tickets have been sent to all Party Locals in Ohio for sale to members. Buy them from your secretaries. At the gates they will cost ten cents more than if bought from him.

HERE'S OUR WARNING TO YOU.

Here's our warning to you, comrades. Thousands are planning to be present at the State picnic. And our warning to you is: Plan to be there too. Meet your comrades at the State picnic.

VISIT THE COUNTRY STORE AT LOCAL HEADQUARTERS.

During the State convention which convenes at Cincinnati June 27-28, Local Cincinnati will conduct a Country Store in their spacious headquarters. Comrades are asked to send to Comrade Lotta Burke, 1314 Vine street, Cincinnati, articles to be sold at this time over the counter at the Country Store. Please mark the articles sent with name of sender and the value of article. Attend the State convention if possible, at least send something to be sold at the Country Store, June 27-28. Make the Country Store a success.

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ANOTHER GIGANTIC FAKE.

Another gigantic fake has been pulled by capitalist conspirators. A number of bombs were exploded in a number of cities over the country at about the same hour of the same day in an attempt to fasten upon the radical element of the workers the stigma of murderers and destructionists. The entire bomb episodes from the alleged May Day discoveries of bombs in the mails up to the present time bear all the ear marks of a detestable plot of capitalist conspirators to fasten guilt upon the workers and lay open the road for the enactment of more stringent laws against the few remaining liberties which are allowed us.

We hear very little about the bombs found in the mails May 1st. The daily press made a sensation, very likely prearranged, at the time, but no one has been found who could be connected with them. Perhaps it was not well to go too far in the search. Blood hounds set upon the trail of workers have been known to lead directly to the doors of officers of the law.

The capitalist class have learned that the workers took altogether too seriously the professions of democracy which this nation made during the war. They have learned that democracy has taken on a real meaning to us and that we mean to have some of it here as well as over seas. They realize, too, that we have the power to make democracy a living part of our daily lives, that democracy in the shop and the mill and on the job wherever or whatever it may be has become an aspiration of the workers of this country... Capitalism seeks to destroy the aspirations of the workers, Democracy in industry means the destruction of capitalist control. Capitalism sees the threatened rise of labor to power. It sees its age-long hold upon the world threatened and it cunningly seeks by every means in its power, and they are many and dark, to perpetuate its rule.

We have been told millions of times for months past of the new democracy that was to be a part of our lives when the war was won. It was for this new democracy that all our sacrifices were made. The war is over. Where is this boasted democracy? It does not exist. More laws against the freedom of speech, of the press have been passed by capitalism since the signing of the armistice than during the war. The detestable espionage act is still in operation. The workers' press is muzzled. Workers, if they are known to be Socialists, are not employed. Thousands of members of the working-class are in prison for exercising the privileges which democracy extends to all. This is the kind of democracy that exists in America.

The capitalist class is endeavoring by every possible means to thwart the natural aspirations of the workers. Its continuous cry for weeks past has been for more stringent laws against us. It will go to any extent in its endeavor to hold the workers in bondage. If no reasons exist for the passage of iron laws against the workers it will see that reasons are manufactured. It seeks by its own bloody hands and its vile deeds and conspiracies to make it appear that a reign of terrorism is being inaugurated by the workers against constituted authority. It hopes in this manner to pave the way for drastic laws against the working-class. No methods are too criminal, no means are too vile for this purpose. If bombs judiciously placed can be made to throw approbrium upon the workers, thus creating an apparent excuse for the further suppression of the working-class then it is reasonable to expect that they will be so placed. Capitalism is without morality. The devil himself is a saint compared to the monster.

LET THE AXE FALL.

To one familiar with affairs in the National Office of the Socialist Party at Chicago, familiar with the make up of the National Executive Committee, familiar with the leanings of the members to the "right," with the time honored methods with which it carries on the Party's business, with the history of the activities and the stand upon various questions of party policy and principles of its various members; with these clearly in one's mind, the recent action of seven of this committee which were elected by the rank and file of the Party to do its bidding, in virtually throwing out of our organization nearly 40,000 members, cannot be a surprise except perhaps the scale upon which this seven performed their unjust labors.

That part of the Party which should always be the hub about which Party activities swing has long had the reputation of being the most dead and inactive part of the organization. The Socialist Party has been singularly unfortunate of late years in the selection of the Executive Secretary. This officer has lacked many of the qualities which should be embodied in the character of one filling it. Say what we may, all organization activities are more or less dominated by those in official positions. Their aggressiveness, originality, temperament, the spirit in which their duties are performed are reflected in the work of the Party and are shown in the results accomplished or which fail of accomplishment. Their attitude upon the problems of the Party and the policies which confront it may become a great asset or a great hindrance to the progress of the movement. The rank and file are to blame if the wrong officials have been selected to fill the most important offices in the Party. The rank and file have followed the policy of electing to office those whose names were most familiar, regardless of their ability to fill the position.

World events have hastened a condition which must have inevitably arisen in our Party. The swing to the "Left" or toward revolutionary Socialism and away from the tuirely political socialism must have in time come about. These two elements have long existed within the Party, the Russian revolution as well as that of Germany and Hungary find their reflection in the crisis which has now arisen here and confronts us for solution.

That it could be settled without such an unfortunate and unjust action as these seven National Executive Committeemen have chosen to take, goes without saying. Their action in holding up the referendums of the Party is without parallel in Party history for sheer despotism. It was unnecessary, uncalled for and extremely unjust. Such action by those elected to carry out the will of the membership deserves the severest criticism and condemnation by the membership. That such will be administered goes without saying. The rank and file are in no mood to have Party affairs handled in such a despotic manner.

There is nothing in this situation which should discourage for a moment any red-blooded socialist. In fact, we should all take heart that the crisis has been reached and will the sooner be passed. The Party's swing to the "Left" is proven by the vote upon these national referendums to be so complete that the "right" will be entirely submerged to reappear nevermore.

Every Local of the Party should endorse the resolution of Local Cuyahoga County, which appeared in last week's Ohio Socialist. The welfare of the Party demands that this despotic action of the National Executive Committee be rescinded and the 40,000 members of our Party whose rights have been so arbitrarily overridden, be restored to full and complete membership.

OHIO VOTE ON NATIONAL REFERENDUM "D"

National Referendum "D" to the effect "that the Socialist Party shall participate only in an international congress or conference called by or in which participate the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacans), was overwhelmingly carried in Ohio, 1,238 members voting for this motion and 99 voting against it.

Will the national office also hold up this referendum? Will it silence by suppression the voice of the membership upon this question of affiliating only with the real Socialists of Europe. Or will the national office, in true Berger fashion, continue to look longingly at the [illegible] in Germany and [illegible]?

Party News and Views

AKRON CHANGES FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

A letter from Comrade Perry Crites of Akron informs us of the election of the following officers of the Local: Organizer, P. Doyle, 331 Monroe street; recording secretary, J. P. Dieble, 396 S. Main; financial secretary, W. F. Hoffman, 115 Kirkwood; treasurer, A. C. Holloway, Akron Savings and Loan Bldg.; Perry Crites, corresponding secretary, 213 Uhler; literature agent, J. Myers, 366 N. Howard.

Local Akron has discontinued the City Central form of organization. It will hereafter conduct the business of the local in mass meetings to be held the first Sunday afternoon of each month.

LOCAL TOLEDO READY FOR BUSINESS.

An order from Comrade Toohey, organizer for Local Toledo, for 100 initiation stamps would seem to indicate an expected influx of new members. Of course it is reasonable to expect that success would attend the efforts of Local Toledo for this local KEEPS BUSY.

LOCAL YOUNGSTOWN TO PICNIC

The picnic season is open. Therefore Local Youngstown is to be among the first to celebrate it. The local will hold forth in truly picnic style June 15th at a farm near the city. It will be a gala day for all with good speaking for dessert. Either Tom Lewis or C. E. Ruthenberg will be the speaker. All local comrades and others from a distance are invited.

LOCAL KENMORE WILL BUILD HOME.

The comrades of Kenmore have laid plans whereby they expect to soon own their own building. Funds are being subscribed and pledges made to raise the necessary funds. The spirit of the Kenmore comrades is commendable. The Socialist Party should own its own equipment, including buildings. We wish Kenmore Socialists the best of good luck in this venture to sever relations with the enemy.

MORE FUNDS FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

A money order for $10 from the German branch of Dayton for Industrial Freedom Certificates was received this week. As we have said before, it costs money to carry on the fight for the freedom of our political prisoners. And it costs money to get some of the comforts of "outside" life to our comrades "inside." Therefore comrades, buy an Industrial Freedom Certificate from your local secretary, or order one from the state office.

HE KNOWS DEMOCRACY WHEN HE SEES IT.

"Enclosed find a check for the Ohio Socialist to help make the "world safe for democracy." I have recently been discharged from the army and know how to do my bit. I am as 'red' as any blood that flowed in the trenches."—H. L. F.

COMPLIMENTARY.

"I want to say the Ohio Socialist is worth its weight in gold for it is a dandy." Thus writes Comrade Hamilton, mayor of Piqua. He proves he believes it by enclosing $8.50 for subs and papers.

GERMAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION CONVENTION ENDORSES LEFT WING PROGRAM

DEMANDS AFFILIATION WITH COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL OF MOSCOW.

The second convention of the German Socialist Federation was held in Rochester, N. Y., May 30 and 31. Approximately 35 delegates were in attendance, representing a membership of about 8,000.

More significant than any other action of the convention was undoubtedly the endorsement of the left wing program by a vote of 29 to 4. A motion was first made to immediately affiliate with the left wing movement. This motion was defeated by a vote of 24 to 10 for the reason that most delegates present thought it best to continue their affiliation with the Socialist Party for the present in an effort to capture the entire party for the left wing program.

In passing the motion to endorse the left wing movement an amendment was also carried that affiliation with the left wing movement shall take place should the Socialist Party, at the national convention, continue its right wing tactics.

Resolutions were passed demanding that the Socialist Party join the Moscow Communist International.

A storm of protest resulted when the convention was informed by telegram from L. E. Katterfeld and A. Wagenknecht that seven members of the national executive committee had suspended and expelled nearly 40,000 members from the party. Resolutions were passed demanding a trial for the Socialist Party of Michigan and denying the right of a national executive committee to suspend and expel nearly half the party.

It will be interesting to note what the desotic national executive committee will do, now that the German Socialist Federation has endorsed the left wing movement. Seven language federations, namely the Russian, South Slavic, Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Lettish were suspended at the recent meeting of the national executive committee for having endorsed the left wing movement. Will the party autocrats and misleaders dare to suspend the German federation?

Harwood, Prevey and Ruthenberg Elected National Executive Committee From District 2

The despotic seven of the National Executive Committee attempted to suppress the results of the national referendum for the election of a new National Executive Committee. We secured the total vote for the various candidates from the state secretaries and shall publish, in the Ohio Socialist, the names of all candidates elected upon the new National Executive Committee as a result of the referendum just closed.

Next week we shall publish a table of votes cast by states in one other of the five districts. We shall also publish a table of votes cast by states for International Delegates and International Secretary.

With regard to the vote below we wish to call your especial attention to the insignificant vote cast for Goebel and Krafft, two of the present National Executive Committeemen and members of the despotic seven. There is no stronger condemnation of the acts of the despotic seven nor of the policy of the reactionary right wing leaders, than this just rebuke to Goebel and Krafft in the insignificant number of votes they received for re-election.

VOTE FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEEMEN IN DISTRICT 2.

Only two states with a very small membership are not included in this tabulation, namely, West Virginia and Maryland. The vote of these states will not change the results.

	Delaware	Dist of Col.	Ind.	New Jersey	Ohio	Pa	Total
Valentine Bausch		3	6	201	61	29	300
Ernest J. Beutell			32	44	20	46	142
Ross D. Brown		2	195	14	296	155	662
Lotta Burke		10	28	19	327	78	462
H. B. Campbell	4	2	3	23	18	21	71
D. G. Colclaser			2	3	11	64	80
Wm. H. Derrick	2		2	42	15	10	71
Wm. W. Farmer	1		242	12	63	24	342
Geo. H. Goebel	1	24	25	167	87	188	492
Fred Harwood	13	4	208	1158	691	700	2774
Wm. H. Henry		1	377	32	186	171	767
John E. Klawin			5	31	68	79	183
Jos. Kowalski	2	1	35	246	166	360	810
Fred. A. Krafft		14	68	331	179	254	849
F. S. La Monte		5	97	6	32	32	172
Marguerite Prevey	17	10	510	1078	1460	1810	4885
C. E. Ruthenberg	15	22	554	1219	1901	2075	5786
Jos. W. Sharts		2	132	81	305	228	748
Clar. R. Shrum			1	1	14	25	41
Geo. W. Snyder		2	5	4	17	131	159
M. P. Stephens		6	95	34	65	47	247
E. E. Swanson			3	1	16	23	43
Wm. K. Tallman		2		28	17	7	54
R. W. Tillotson		1	13	10	37	293	354
C. W. Thompson	12	1	16	16	43	517	605
W. V. Tyler		2	5	10	35	122	174
David S. Webster		2		19	14	31	66
Ervin S. Whitmer	1		38		23	8	70
Birch Wilson	1	4	13	7	25	603	653
W. E. Yeager	1	1	2	10	7	26	47

MASSACHUSETTS SLATED FOR EXPULSION

To expel state organizations by mail is a process entirely too slow for the national executive committee. Hurry seems necessary if the coming national convention is to be captured for the right wing reactionaries. Therefore national executive committee motions looking forward to the expulsion of left wing states are now made by telegraph.

A motion by wire was made the other day by Oneal and Shiplacoff which is intended to throw the Socialist Party of Massachusetts out of our organization. The motion reads as follows:

"That the national secretary secure documentary evidence, if such exists, of [illegible] of party policy and principles in Massachusetts. If obtained then the national secretary shall recognize the organization which supports policy and principles as formulated by national convention and by referendum."

To understand this motion a word or two in explanation is necessary. The Socialist Party of Massachusetts held a state convention a few days ago. This convention endorsed the left wing program. As a result of this action on the part of the convention, a few delegates, led by a lawyer by the name of Roewer, bolted the convention. These seceders then sent a telegram to the national secretary charging that the Massachusetts state convention violated the party policy. The national secretary then got busy putting the despotic seven national executive committeemen next to this new opportunity to win the party for the right wing reactionaries and as a result two of the despotic seven wired the above motion to the national office.

Study this motion. Note the power it places into the hands of the national secretary. The despotic seven up to now reserved for itself the right to expel and suspend tens of thousands of members. The despotic seven have now become so ultra-despotic that they willingly delegate their assumed right to expel and suspend tens of thousands of party members to the national secretary.

The motion if passed by the national executive committee means that the national secretary is to try to secure documentary evidence of violation of party policy by the Massachusetts state convention. Should he get this evidence, then he is to recognize the few reactionaries, led by Lawyer Roewer, who bolted the convention. Recognizing this handful of reactionaries means that the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, which contains about 6,000 members, will be read out of the party. In short, the national secretary is to decide whether the evidence which he goes after is the kind wanted, and as he will decide that it is, therefore he, one comrade of the party, without constitutional power so to act, will expell 6,000 members.

Being expelled and suspended without a trial by seven despots as were Michigan and the seven federations was the most shameful act ever committed by officials of the party. Delegating their assumed right to split the party to the national secretary is the last straw.

Local Akron Holds Big Party Meeting

On Decoration Day evening local Akron held a big party membership meeting of all the branches. This meeting was called for the purpose of reorganizing the party machinery for more effective work. As there is only one American branch, while there are nine foreign branches, it was voted at this meeting, after a thorough discussion of the matter, to conduct the routine party business of local Akron through general membership meetings to be held once a month.

An executive committee of seven was elected to carry out the mandates of these meetings and to act for the local between the monthly meetings. The branches are to continue as heretofore, conducting their work in their own language.

The delegates were elected to the state convention, namely, Comrades Prevey, Halloway and Doke. Comrades Margaret Prevey and John C. Chase were elected delegates to the political amnesty convention to be held in Chicago.

A general party membership meeting will be held the third Friday in June for instructions of delegates to the state convention.

State Organizer Chas. Baker was present and made a vigorous plea for support of the Ohio Socialist press fund.

Local Akron feels that it is now lined up right for big work.

JOHN C. CHASE.

Local Warren Shows Growing Activity

To Comrades of Ohio:

While the English speaking end of local Warren is not as big as it should be in membership, it is quite atcive in service—"goes over the top" sometimes in a small way. It has had some good public meetings, and some not so good as desired. We always take up a collection at our local meetings, receiving as much as one or two dollars sometimes, and sometimes $13 to $24, and we have a "pot" now of over $125. We have distributed regularly for two months 400 copies weekly of the O. S. and sometimes 1,000 of them; have sold and given away 400 "Soviet Russia," besides a good lot of other stuff.

Lilith Martin spoke for us June 5th, and there'll be more to follow. We are getting a few new members—two Italians applied for membership last night. Yes! And we endorsed the party ownership of a printing plant, and here is enclosed a $25 check to prove that we mean it. Comrades, we've got to do it. And we are going to have a county meeting of all the locals in Trumbull county at Niles, June 15th, beginning at 9 a. m. with plenty of "good eats" at the proper time.

This is not to be a delegates' meeting, but we expect each local secretary to see to it that all the Bolshevikis in the county will be there. It is to be a big rally and we expect to form a county committee and then get busy in a general campaign of organization. [illegible]

YOUR LOCAL—WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Announcement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of [illegible] for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First Sunday of Each Month at 2 P. M.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
[illegible] Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall [illegible] W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening
8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93½ Washington St.

The Rest Were Expelled And There Were Only 7

One hundred thousand Socialists ready for the fray. Michigan was expelled and then there were only 95,000. Nintey-five thousand Socialists anxious to work and win. Thirty-one thousand were suspended and then there were only—

And so we sit and wonder just how long it will take until we can say "and then there were only seven." For the expulsion of the Socialist Party of Michigan and the suspension of seven language federations cannot end the program of suspensions and expulsions if to clear the party of the left wing faction is the aim of the despotic seven national executive committeemen who threw nearly 40,000 members out of our organization.

Cleveland local endorsed the left wing program ten days ago. Why not expel Cleveland? A letter we have just received from C. T. Stoney, state secretary of Utah, reads in part: "The Salt Lake City local has adopted the left wing program heart and soul. There are not many reactionary Socialists in this state." Why not expel Salt Lake City?

Need we also call the attention of the autocratic national executive committee to the fact that locals Buffalo, Rochester, Hamilton, O., San Francisco, Oakland, Portland, Seattle, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Reading and dozens of other organizations are all "left"? Why not fire them all out?

Then also, the Socialist Party of Washington is now taking a referendum of its membership upon endorsing the left wing program. There is no doubt but what the endorsement will be practically unanimous. Here's another chance for the seven despots to exercise their "kicking out" proclivities.

And along comes the German Federation convention and without so much as asking the despotic seven national executive committeemen whether it would be just the thing to do or not, it endorses the left wing movement. There are about 8,000 members in the German Socialist Federation. As the tastes of the despotic seven seem to run to chopping off heads in large numbers, why not shove this large batch of German comrades out into the cold?

Just where the national executive committee, the despotic seven who are at present in the majority, gets the power to expel and suspend tens of thousands of members is beyond us. The national constitution does not give them this power. They have assumed the power. No need for discouragement however. The membership will make short work of all self-appointed leaders who desire to "save the party" for their own selfish ends.

In the kind of a Socialist Party the seven despots want there is room for only seven members. Let's place them where they can have a party all their own.

I noticed in the last week's issue that my old friend C. M. Johnson of Sharon Center must have been awful mad or he wouldn't have parted with that $5 for Ohio Socialist subs. Say, "Cy," old scout, that is the way to fix 'em. Get mad some more.

The Ohio Socialist is good dope for the workers and a bitter pill for the plutes.

J. L. DENNISON.

FEDERATED SHOP CRAFTS PLEDGE SUPPORT TO DEBS

We, the Denver Federated Shop Crafts, recognise in Eugene V. Debs a brother, friend and co-worker. The voice of Debs for a decade has championed the cause of the workers, encouraged its hope and shared its despair. He is the friend of man, a brother to all that is human.

Debs has been sentenced to ten years in prison for daring to plead the cause of the workers. The law courts have decreed it. We may not know it, but it is true—if Gene Debs' liberties are curtailed for the expression of thought, the liberties of every working man and woman are unsafe. An injury to one is an injury to every one of our class. The thing that Debs has consistently advocated for nearly thirty years has been Industrial Democracy, a society wherein the workers will be assured the full social value of their toil. He has urged not violence but the abolition of wage slavery, the doing away of poverty in all its ghastly hideousness. We deplore the impending imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs, and believe that such punishment meted out to him will fail of its ultimate object—the continued enslavement and exploitation of labor.

In meeting assembled the Denver Federated Shop Crafts register our united protest against the imprisonment of Debs and others of our class. We consider the sentence barbaric in the extreme. We firmly believe that for every day Debs spends in prison, a thousand converts to the cause will be made. We solemnly pledge our loyalty and purse in [illegible] the United States and throughout the world.

[illegible]

A WARNING TO THE DESPOTIC SEVEN

A face-to-face warning was given the despotic seven of the national executive committee by the secretaries of the Finnish, Scandinavian and Italian federations, just before these autocrats suspended seven language federations at the recent meeting of the N. E. C.

Looking the unprincipled seven directly in the eyes, N. Juel Christensen, secretary of the Scandinavian Socialist Federation, protested against the suspension of the Russian, Lettish, Ukranian, Lithuanian, Polish, Hungarian and South Slavic federations. He minced no words when he warned the seven autocrats that his federation would not stand for such unwarranted procedure; that his federation would take a stand with the charged federations now that the national executive committee was suspending and expelling comrades for being left wing.

Secretary Askeli of the Finnish Socialist Federation, comprising 16,000 party members, spoke in the same vein. He cautioned the despotic seven to go slow, reminding them that the entire party is turning to the left and that this phenomena needed study rather than the drastic action they were about to take.

John LaDuca of the Italian Socialist Federation then asked for the floor. He threw the third bomb into the camp of the right wing N. E. C. He admitted that his federation was solidly left wing and that the despotic seven might as well expel his federation also, if adherence to the left wing movement was cause for expulsion or suspension. He pleaded that the seven federations be not suspended until the national convention considered the matter.

These warnings were of no avail. That the entire Socialist Party was now left wing did not seem to impress the despotic seven in the least. The members of the party were not behaving as these self-appointed leaders thought they should—therefore, out with them.

A large body like the Socialist Party membership moves slowly but surely. [illegible]

--Red Cross Worker Tells Truth About Russia--

(A lecture by Wilfred Humphries, at Duluth Minn.)

"I saw more opera in Petrograd during the months it was supposed to be running knee-deep in blood, than I ever did in all the rest of my life," said Wilfred R. Humphries, worker for the American Y. M. C. A. and later for the American Red Cross in Russia during its reddest months. Humphries, young, unaffected, eager-eyed, of the college organization type, gave his lecture on Russia, and in the course of it showing slides of Bolshevik scenes that he brought with him when he left Russia four months ago. "Besides the opera there were Ibsen, Shaw, Tolstoy, Shakespeare's plays and vaudeville. In two months that Maeterlinck's 'Bluebird" ran I never succeeded in getting in line early enough to get a ticket. In Moscow, I went to night school three evenings a week to learn Russian, and other evenings attended political meetings at Smolny Institute and other places. And every evening I saw women coming out of theaters in twos and threes, unattended by men, starting out across the city, streetcarless and dark with no fear whatever. At this time schools were being organized all over Russia. I remember in Petrograd seeing a poster announcing the opening of a kindergarten that said the children would be served with a hot lunch. This was the chaos and anarchy you read about.

I heard stories of chaos and anarchy in Russia too. From the time I landed in Vladivostok—where the red flag was flying—through the seven thousand miles of the journey to Moscow we were met by the fleeing bourgeoisie and regaled with stories of terror and atrocity, hunger, typhus and murder. Typhus was killing a thousand a day said the fugitives. Three-fourths of Moscow was burned to the ground. The Kremlin was destroyed. First, we heard that Kerensky had thoroughly defeated the Bolsheviki. As we came nearer it was said that the issue of the battle was still in doubt. Nearer—the Bolsheviks seemed to have the advantage, temporarily. When we got there the six days of fighting was over and Kerensky was fleeing.

"I saw 'destroyed' Kremlin—with a piece of statuary at the gate broken and holes through two of the churches—otherwise intact. I found the origin of the 'three-fourths of Moscow burned.' Five buildings had really been destroyed.

"Outrages—of a sort—I did see. On one of my departures from Petrograd at the Nicolif station, I saw three Russian officers, epaulettes off, of course, carrying passengers' baggage to the train. For the standard fee, since no tips were allowed they duly carried my luggage for me. I saw a portly Russian gentleman in an expensive fur coat selling a bourgeois newspaper. After a particularly heavy snowfall, the Petrograd Soviet ordered everybody out to shovel snow, with the order that no one physically able to shovel might hire anyone else to do it for him. And house committees enforced the ruling.

"One more outrage I saw. Soon after the Soviets came into power, the bank clerks and civil servants, encouraged and supported by the bourgeoisie, went on strike. Lenine countered them suddenly and cruelly by seizing all the banks and ruling that no matter if a man had millions deposited, he could withdraw no more than one hundred and fifty rubles (fifteen dollars) a month for each member of his family. This meant that the bourgeoisie could get no money to support the strikers and the result was that the strike was broken. But the touch that added insult to injury was the order that each depositor must stand in line to draw his monthly allowance. He couldn't send anyone for it. I saw in that line a plump, deeply-furrowed bediamonded woman, with genuine tears coursing down her cheeks at the indignity she was suffering.

"What impressed most impartial observers in Russia I think, was the tolerance, the considerateness, I had almost said the gentleness of the Soviets and their policies. You have heard much about the suppression of bourgeois newspapers. The only ones suppressed were those that were printing absolute and outrageous lies about the Bolsheviks. If a Russian newspaper said in glaring headlines that the Bolsheviki had massacred all the prisoners and cut them in small pieces it would be closed. But newspapers might print all the arguments against the Soviet system that they pleased. I have shown you a slide of the procession of priests, marching through the streets in protest against the division of church and state.

"The Social Revolutionists had planned a great demonstration in protest against the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, to be held January 5. The Soviets did all in their power to persuade the Bolsheviks to keep away from the streets where the procession was to pass, so as to avoid any possible disturbances. There was fear of an uprising, so the Soviets arranged that all public buildings be well guarded. The manner of this was to ask all the people in the building, including the janitor, to aid in protecting it. The Soviets guarded the city by placing emergency armored cars with Red Guard groups at intervals all over the city.

"Another evidence of this large tolerance is the fact that nothing was done about the dastardly attempt to assassinate Lenine, who was shot at by a member of the Social Revolutionary Party. At one time when the Social Revolutionists seemed bent on starting a reign of terror, the warning was sent out to them: 'For every Bolshevik leader killed, we shall kill one hundred of the Social Revolutionists.' That was enough. There was no more trouble except one attempt by an anarchist girl.

"Trouble between the Anarchists and Bolshevists never came to any more than a battle in a few cities just at first. In the early days of Soviet rule, many Monarchists who wanted to oppose the new government and also wanted to make a living without working, announced themselves as Anarchists and seized houses and goods. But, of course, the real Anarchists denounced them.

"Now there are about ninety per cent of the population particiapting in the government—and I don't believe that percentage of people votes in America. All those that do useful work with hand or brain—and that means now about ninety per cent of the population—have representation in the Soviets. The teachers send delegates as do the medical associations composed of doctors and nurses. What was in the beginning a dictatorship of the proletariat—with action begun as it always must be begun, by a militant minority—is now a true democracy. Those sabotaging against the Bolsheviki in the early days when they thought that the government would not last six weeks, are giving up their opposition as they realize that this is a government that has come to stay. I was in Samara when the teachers' association met, split into a left and right wing, the majority reorganizing the association and electing delegates to the Soviets, the minority going out of the association altogether. A considerable section of the intelligentsia were with the Bolsheviks from the first. A glance at the Bolsheviki cabinet will prove that. I think one might say that it is the most cultured cabinet in Europe. Many of the rest have been honestly converted since then.

A minority objects to the centralization of industry—say there is not democracy enough and that the industries should be immediately and completely handed over to the workers.

"But remember, that the Bolsheviki do not claim that Russia is socialistic. They say that the co-operative commonwealth is not immediately possible, especially in a country as industrially backward as Russia. They say that Russia will have to develop the stage known as State Capitalism, with concentration of industries and formation of trusts. Mme. Kollantay said: 'We can't fully socialize Russia all at once. You other nations have a much better chance to socialize your industries, as industry is already party socialized with you. You can begin where we leave off.'

"But centralization of industry under bourgeois rule. Russia has not nationalized all her industries. Some are still under private ownership, modified by Workers' Control. Committees of workers audit the books of the industry, seeing that there is no water stock, limit the profits to five or six per cent, require the owner to reinvest in the industry a good proportion of his receipts and regulate hours and wages.

"Lenine says the policy of the Bolsheviki is to take over those industries that have reached the monopolistic stage, and then the others as fast as the new government can chew and swallow them. It may be said that the industries not now owned by the workers are controlled by the workers.

"Under Workers' Control the number of stores and shops has largely decreased, naturally enough with the vanishing of competition.

"Another result of control by the workers, combined with the peasants' ownership of the land has been the 'back to the land' movement. Petrograd and Moscow have materially decreased in population, chiefly as a result of the agitation to go out and take up land, agitation that arose because Petrograd and Moscow were the two places where it was hardest to get food on account of the crippled railroads. But even in those cities during the worst of the railroad demoraliaztion, it cost no more to live than in San Francisco. In Moscow I got dinners of soup, meat, vegetables, coffee and sometimes dessert for from five to ten rubles that is fifty cents to a dollar—and, of course, conditions have much improved since then. Through the darkest days, from the time the Bolsheviki got control, I am sure there was not one hungry person in Moscow.

"They had begun to organize the distribution of food in a most fair and thorough manner from the time I arrived in Russia, when the great army of twelve million was still demobilizing itself. Even while happy groups of soldiers with their gas masks and tea kettles hung on their backs were trooping home, I saw armed guards handing out leaflets that announced a moratorium on house rents. 'Rentals under one hundred and fifty rubles a month are not payable for three months,' the leaflets said. 'Rentals above this amount are payable as usual.' This and the rationing of food was a godsend to the poorer people. Of course, this was in the early days of Bolsheviki rule. Later it could not be said that the working people were poor people. Their wages were more than adequate—that is, they could live well and save, too. When the White Guard overthrew the Bolsheviki in Siberia and re-established capitalism there, the guard complained during the first few weeks that they could not force workingmen to work because they had too much money saved up.

Whenever there was a shortage of anything, sugar, bread, whatever it was, the Bolsheviki government monopolized it and rationed it out, issuing food cards to make sure that no one could buy more than his share. Sugar was scarce all over Europe. The Soviets set the price at fifteen cents a pound and allowed each person a monthly allowance of from a half pound to a pound, depending on the locality. At first for a short time there was a little sugar for sale in isolated markets and the rich people were buying it at the rate of $1.50 a pound.

"I had a capital opportunity to see the efficient working of Soviet food control, for in taking twelve hundred Serbian refugees across Siberia, for the American Red Cross, I entered into relationship with more than one hundred soviets over three thousand miles of territory. These were refugees who had fled to Roumania, then to South Germany, then to Siberia in Russia. Raymond Robins got an appropriation of a quarter of a million dollars with which to take them out and colonize them until there should be a chance to take them back to Serbia, and I was loaned to the Red Cross to take care of the job.

"I found how ready the soviets everywhere were to help the refugees. They sold us food at the same rate as it was sold to the Russian people, prices that might interest you, particularly as they were little more than half what would be charged in this country. Butter was from two to four rubles a pound, that is twenty to forty cents; eggs were two to two and a half cents apiece; bread three cents a pound; and at one place we got whole roasted chickens for thirty to sixty cents apiece.

"We were as generously treated in other respects. At Omsk we asked for a monastery for the housing of the refugees, and would have received it except that it was already full of other refugees, as was the whole city. But the Omsk soviets sent celebrated men of the city, a doctor, along with us to help us get settled in the next city. He accompanied us and helped us for ten days, and when I offered him reimbursement for his work and time, he refused it. Afterward when the White Guard had overthrown the Bolsheviki at Omsk, I saw him under quite different circumstances, a pitiable figure being taken to prison to be hanged, and I was glad to be able to effect his release by telling his captors how he had aided the American Red Cross.

"Another proof of the remarkable efficiency of the soviets was the tremendous campaign of propaganda carried on up to the German revolution. Boris Reinstein, the Socialist Labor Party delegate from America to the proposed Stockholm conference, was and still is the head of the English-speaking department of foreign propaganda. Petroff, one of the two men released from English jails on the demand of the Soviet government which ruled that no English merchant could go into or out of Russia until they were freed, is the right-hand man of the chief of all the propoganda. Two dailies in German with a half million circulation were printed and shipped to the German front, some by airplane, some by hand, through Russians who had become acquainted with Germans during the fraternization period. An illustrated paper for the benefit of the uneducated Germans was also got out. One of these showed the photograph I am showing you here of the German embassy building, with an inscription something like this beneath it. 'See the building of the German embassy, with a banner above it bearing the words of a great German. It is Bismarck? No. It is the Kaiser? No. It is the immortal Karl Marx, and his words are 'Workers of the World, Unite!' We now throw back to you the words of your great countryman and ask you to unite. We Russians have taken the words seriously and all power is now in the hands of the workers. How long will it be before a German Socialist will come as Germany's ambassador?" Besides these, pamphlets were got out in English, French, Swedish, Turkish and Chinese. I came in close contact with these propaganda workers while I was working for the American Y. M. C. A., getting out and distributing copies of President Wilson's Fourteen Point speech. The Russians liked that speech and agreed with most of its fourteen points, but they were a little skeptical as to whether the allies would stand by it.

"I got up to Petrograd in time to spend six weeks seeing big things happen there, with John Reed, Louis Bryant and Albert Rhys Williams. I was at the meeing of the Central Executive Committee when it was decided to let the Constituent Assembly meet for one day as a demonstration of class line-up. And I saw the Assembly dissolved early one morning by a sailor who did it by simply telling them that the Red Guard was tired and wanted to go home.

"I saw one whole Sunday of bourgeois protest meetings in Moscow. These were carried on in a very sensible way. Two hundred or more groups of two or three bourgeois men and women formed about the city, each group engaging a few soldiers in an argument. There was no disorder, the Russians are so amazingly reasonable. But they didn't convince the soldiers that they had done anything wrong in taking the power from the 'natural rulers,' as they put it. 'Why don't you first trust the educated people to lead you, instead of putting faith in this Lenine, this man in the service of the German government?' some bourgeois men asked one soldier. 'We are dark and ignorant, I know,' the soldier replied, 'but there is one thing we do know, and that is that the educated people have always deceived us.'

"Here are some of the 'dark and ignorant' Russian people at their new work of governing," Humphries continued, showing a slide of half a dozen stolid-faced earnest workingmen. "This is a village soviet holding a meeting to discuss the ways and means of forming a frame on the chair. That is used to help them in their adding and subtracting.

"This is one of the ten thousand schools the soviets have opened," he said, indicating a slide of a school room with rows of earnest children at one side, three teachers, all eager and competent looking.

"The Bolsheviki have, as you have heard, turned many of their munition factories into factories for the manufactures of agricultural machines, but not all of them. They knew that they must aid the first nation that had a revolution, so they kept a necessary number of the munition plants going."

"The story of the alleged nationalization of women was shown by Humphries to be a deliberate lie. It was originally told by representatives of the Century Magazine, who together with Humphries, was in Samara when the notorious proclamation was issued.

This proclamation was secretly posted by the supporters of the Royalist Party, for political reasons. The people, who were strongly in favor of the Soviets, recognized it at once as the work of the "agent provocateur." The local Soviet officials removed the proclamation and started an investigation. They found out that the supporters of the Czar's party were responsible, though these people tried to blame it on the anarchist group.

The anarchist group issued a scathing denunciation of the monarchists, which was read in full by the speaker.

The most interesting part of the story lies in this: The representative of the Century Magazine saw the original proclamation. He knew what action the local Soviet took in the matter. He read the statement of the anarchists and he knew how public opinion was aroused over it. Yet, when sent to the outside world he sent only the original monarchist-inspired proclamation and not the denial, remarking, when Humphries inquired, 'Why, this is the biggest story ever written. To tell the finish would be to kill the story.'

By such methods is our alleged "news" manufactured by the hirelings of capitalism.

"The stories of chaos and starvation of which we hear so much are greatly exaggerated. Evidence in the shapes of menus in the dining cars, with prices 'cheaper and better than on the American train,' was submitted. This particular short line of railroad is operated by the Cooks and Waiters' Union."

Life in U. S. Federal Prison

(By Ammon A. Hennacy.)

(Continued from last week.)

Several times I heard Popoff, who was in the next cell, cry out and would hear the blows as they fell upon his back. One Thursday as we were being shaved I happened to see his head bandaged up, and one of his teeth knocked out.

I reviewed my geography and history; trying to recall the names of towns and to bound the different states. I recalled several poems and songs to mind. I was not allowed to whistle, but would hum the Internationale and the Red Flag. Sometimes I could hear the refrain of revolutionary songs from other cells in which rebels were confined.

I read the Bible through five times and have much greater respect for Jesus, James and Stephen; but absolutely no respect for the organized Christianity of today as embodied in the churches.

A few weeks later a man came to my door saying in a gruff voice:

"Well, when are you going to quit your thieving, lying and stealing?"

I replied that I was not in the habit of doing those things; it was Cirardeau, the new deputy, who was formerly a chain gang boss in Georgia.

Several times each week he opened the door quickly and wanted to know if I was now ready to renounce Socialism. I told him that I would do so if he gave me a good argument; but that punishment was a very poor argument.

At last when I had been in the hole about three months, the deputy said that he would turn me out if I would go through the usual formula of signing a request for him to do so and promising to do no plotting in the future. Of course I consented.

Soon afterwards the warden came to my cell and asked me if I would promise to do no more plotting. I told him that as I had not done so heretofore that I would not commence it now. So he promised to put me in second grade the following day. This meant that I was to receive a yellow card; that I would do my regular work in the prison, but would not be allowed to go out in the yard or to the movies. I was also to write only every two weeks on paper with my convict number on it.

Five minutes after his first visit Zerbat opened my door suddenly and said quickly:

"Have you been sending any contraband letters out of here? You need not answer this question unless you want to, for it will have nothing to do with your getting out of here tomorrow."

Now I had written to Socialist papers about certain unjust conditions in the penitentiary. One letter that I had written as a test, early in the spring to see if the person who got it out for me was trustworthy, had not been received by the party to whom it was sent, so I knew that something was wrong.

"Yes, sir," I answered to the warden's question.

"How did it get out?" he asked. I told him that a friend of mine had passed it out for me.

"Who is your friend?" said Zerbat.

"I would not tell on a person who did me a favor," I replied.

"Well, you will stay in this hole until you tell me," he said, angrily.

"Guess, I'll have to stay in here ten months longer then, for I would not betray my friend," I replied.

The warden now changed his tone and commenced to talk kindly, saying that he was a Christian; expected to go to heaven when he died, and that he had never knowingly done any one any harm; that as I was a Socialist who believed in the Golden Rule I should be square with him and tell on this fellow, and he would leave me outdoors right away. I replied that I was not a Christian, but that the Golden Rule was a good rule to follow, as much as a person could under this capitalist system; and that I should have to be true to my friend first and apply the Golden Rule to him before I applied it to the warden.

The warden told me that I was quite shrewd in being able to pass out letters right under his nose. It seems that my letters had been discovered by the U. S. secret service while they were watching the mail of the person to whom I had addressed my letter.

The officers at U. S. penitentiaries are first class politicians; of second class intelligence; and are third class detectives. The only way they ever find out anything, except through the use of "stool pigeons" is to stumble right onto it. This is well illustrated by the fact that a negro convict dug a deep hole in the middle of a flower bed, being under the watch of the guards at the time; later hiding in this hole for awhile. The guards and "stool pigeons" searched and searched, and only by accidentally stepping upon the soft earth above the hole were they able to discover the negro.

In April, 1918, I gave a friend of mine, who worked in the printing office, a motto to insert in "Good Words," the monthly prison paper. I saw the O. K. of Zerbat signed on the proof sheet. This was the March first issue. The motto read as follows:

"A prison is the only house in a slave state where a free man can abide with honor."—Thoreau.

It was the warden's stupidity, and not his broadmindedness which permitted this revolutionary motto to be published in a prison paper which was approved by the department of justice.

When I came to the U. S. penitentiary I brought a scrap book with me which contained the circulars that I had written up against the war and the draft. It contained other radical clippings too. This book lay in the deputy warden's office for six weeks. I never expected to be allowed to receive it; one day the deputy told me to take it to my cell, as it could not make me any worse than I was. I asked the warden if I was allowed to circulate it around the prison, and he told me that anything which passed inspection was allowed to be circulated. I brought the book home with me.

There are many instances that I know of where federal laws have been broken by officials and the matter winked at by by the warden, but I could not prove anything now as the men who know most about it are scattered over the country.

This was about September 7th. On the 13th they asked me to register; when I refused the guard said:

"You had better register, don't you know that you can't get anything around here this way?"

I replied that I was not asking for anything around here. Two weks later the warden asked me if it was true that I had refused to register, intimating that I could register now if I wished. I replied that I had refused and would so refuse in the future.

The warden said that he did not pity me, but that he did pity my poor mother; that his son was at war, and when his wife did not hear from her boy she worried herself sick about it. Realizing this fact he had out of the kindness of his heart written to my folks explaining that I was in good health. I thanked him for this favor and commenced to think that after all he might have a heart. (I found out when I came home that he had only written to my folks after they had repeatedly bothered him by writing about my welfare.)

It might be interesting to note that the warden and his son Alfred are both very patriotic; the latter having joined the naval training station in South Carolina a few months before the close of the war.

I caused the guards as little amount of bother as possible. I refused to become angry at their insults, so they could have an excuse for beating me up; but firmly insisted that I would not compromise any ideal to get out of the hole. I told them no lies. It hurt them because I appeared happy and would not whine around and ask them for favors.

Then came months of questioning and nagging by guards who tried to find out the information which the warden wanted. One guard would be kind, telling me that I was better than common prisoners and that I should not agitate for better conditions in prison, for the bums did not appreciate what I was trying to do for them. I replied that I was doing what I thought was right and was not asking for anybody's approval. Another guard would appear interested in Socialism; another would be harsh and try to scare me into telling; still another would say that I was looking bad and that I had better get out in the sunshine—and all of them would try and "pump" me.

The deputy found that his "chain-gang" manners would gain nothing with me so he brought me some Salvation Army religious tracts and commenced to talk religion to me in order to weaken my courage. I could quote scripture, too, and after a few conversations he did not bring the religious question up again.

He would often come to my cell, open the door wide, leaving the sunshine in and say:

"It's a nice day outside; I just left two other long-timers out of the hole. Wouldn't you like to go out too? Come Hennacy, and do the right thing and tell."

I would reply that I was satisfied to stay in the hole rather than do what was wrong to gain my freedom.

They saw that they could obtain no information from me in this manner so they decided to be a little lenient with me. Without a word they moved me upstairs in isolation where the window was lower, and I could see outdoors and breathe the fresh air. This was on November 8th. The door had no peep-hole, although there were several large cracks in it. I could see some of my friends across the way in the tailor shop; we could not hear each other unless we yelled very loud because of the noise that the power machines made. I was not allowed to talk to anyone.

Some of the official force called upstairs in isolation. They would come to my door sometimes and whisper through the cracks, sympathizing me me and trying to "pump" me for the warden. A few of them were O. K. though.

At this time De Moss was guard in the tailor shop. Not having seen me around for some time, and knowing that I had refused to register in September, he supposed that I had been released, and had now come back to do a bit for refusing to register. Seeing me one day, he yelled, with a sneering smile:

"Ah ha! you will register next time wont' you? What did they give you this time, a year and a day?"

I explained to him that I was a stronger Socialist than ever and that events were proving that we were right in our opposition to the war. Also that I had been in the hole for six months.

Several times each night the guard opened the door and slammed it shut while making his rounds so that I did not have one good night's sleep.

While eating beans I had broken one of my teeth on a pebble which was in the beans, and so was bothered with the toothache again. I had asked several times to have my tooth fixed but they would not allow it. On Thanksgiving day I was permitted to write a letter home, and in this letter I asked for money in order to get my teeth fixed. The authorities promised to fix my teeth at once and told me that my name was on the dentist's list. I waited and waited, but they kept putting it off and I never was called. I guess they thought that if I had the toothache bad enough I would give in to them. (Since I left Atlanta I saw a copy of the letter which the warden wrote to my brother-in-law promising that he would see that my teeth were attended to. This was in response to a request made by my brother-in-law.)

The Christmas edition of "Good Words" said that "all privileges were restored on Christmas day, etc." Of course no privileges were restored to we fellows in the hole. That statement had the regular mark of the administration camouflage, being intended to cause the prison reformers to think what a good Christian warden ruled over the fifteen hundred inmates of Atlanta penitentiary. No packages that came for me were delivered. I was not even notified that they came. Berkman, however, through the chaplain, succeeded in sending me a box of "eats" from his store of Christmas stuff, which I was very glad to receive.

All this time Dean would come around pretending to be my friend in order to "pump" me; but he never received any worthwhile information.

On January 6th they shoved me downstairs again in the old hole. Next day the deputy called me into his office, saying:

"How pale you look, Hennacy; this solitary is telling on you. You are injuring your health. I hate to keep you in this hole—why not tell me right now and get out in the fresh air?"

At this time about thirty prisoners had just died of the "flu." I replied that I could stay in the hole until July 13th, when my full time was up, and that I was not afraid of dying. He asked me about Socialism meaning dividing-up and free love. I explained to him that we Socialists were tired of this dividing up process already, and that under Socialism there would be no prostitution for money, and that woman as well as man would cease to be a slave.

One night Dean came to my cell, and in the course of his conversation politely offered me $100 to divulge the name of my friend. When I indignantly refused he said that he respected me for refusing to tell. I just laughed at him for I knew that his assumption of the role of an honorable man was ridiculous.

Later he said that I must get lonesome for I had had no one to talk to for seven months, and that he would put me in a place for a few hours where I could talk to other prisoners. He then placed me in "the dark hole." On either side of me in cells was a prisoner. The rules do not allow you to talk but Dean left our doors open and told us we could talk. I soon found out that my neighbors were John Randolph, formerly secretary of Local Toledo I. W. W., doing ten years against the war, and Walter L. Hirshberg, a Carnegie Tech student, who was an I. W. W. and a Socialist, doing twenty years for refusing to put on a uniform. On account of the "flu" the department of Justice had refused to permit moving pictures to be shown in the chapel, but had compelled every one—except of course certain politicians—to attend church. Randolph and Hirshberg had only been in the penitentiary a short time, and while they stood with the rest in the proposed strike against going to church under these conditions, they had not done any agitating, for they knew hardly any one. It seems that Hirshberg celled with a certain sexual degenerate, and would not respond to the advances of this pervert. So the latter reported him to the deputy as the ring-leader of the proposed strike. Randolph and Hirshberg were now in the hole for that reason.

We knew that we had not been granted this unusual privilege of communication out of the kindness of heart of the guard, so we were very careful in our conversation. In fact, when Dean put me in the "dark hole" and shut the door with a queer smile I did not know just what game he was going to try and play on me this time.

Dean wanted me to promise to write back and tell them the name of my friend, hinting that if I would do so they would allow me to go home on February 18th, and not lose any of my "good time." I told him that I would not promise him any such thing, and that the promise of a fellow who would betray his friend would be no good anyhow.

About the middle of January the warden, Supt. of Prisons Duehay of Washington and his clerk came into my cell for half an hour trying to get me to "squeal." In the course [illegible] pealed and that I could now criticise the war and the government all I pleased. Of course I knew that this was a lie to try and trap me into saying something that would give me twenty years. Duehay called me a coward, but I just laughed and told him that the shoe did not fit so he could not make me mad that way. Then both he and Zerbat commenced to denounce the Socialists, Bolsheviki, Mooney and Berkman. I did not break the espionage law.

I told them that there were enough Kaisers in America to fight without bothering about the German Kaiser; that I wanted to be alive when the war was over to do my part towards fighting these patriots who were the same old enemies of democracy and the laboring class.

The warden evidently believed that might was right, for he said:

"Oh, you Socialists would be all right if you only were in the majority."

I replied by telling him that we would never get in the majority by deserting our International principles [illegible]

STILL ON DECK

(Continued from first page.)

March issue accepted for mailing after being held up several weeks; April issue now under consideration by the postal censor.

Under these conditions, which would make it impossible to get out a weekly publication, it has been decided temporarily at least to continue as a monthly until the atmosphere clears and the increasing working class power establishes the rights of free press, free speech, and free assemblage upon a firm and lasting foundation.

In the meantime we are changing our address to the new headquarters of the Socialist Party. Send all communications hereafter to The Eye Opener, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Party Members and Locals ATTENTION

An organization, the same as a human being or a plant, GROWS. This growth is sometimes impeded by ill health and unfavorable surroundings.

The Socialist Party has been in ill health for some time now. It has suffered from a failure to adjust itself to the changed environment caused by the war and its aftermath.

However, fresh, new blood is beginning to surge through the veins of the party. Enthusiastic, inspired, courageous, determined comrades are demanding a change in party policy, are desirous of having the party adapt itself to the new tactics necessary to victory. These comrades are the Socialists of the Left Wing.

In their effort to make of our party a true workers' organization, a tussle naturally ensues between them and those who want everything to remain as it is and has been, the Right Wingers. This tussle is now on.

The Ohio Socialist wants all its readers who are party members to follow this controversy very closely. It is an education in itself. This controversy should not, however, discourage you or keep you from doing your usual party duties. Keep up the gait for the New Day at the same pace as heretofore, yes, rush at a faster pace if you can. At the same time, keep an eye upon page three of every issue of the Ohio Socialist and post yourself upon this attempt that is being made to make our party a virile, dependable and truly revolutionary organization.

VICTORY BONDS SOLD

(Continued from first page.)

world was again made safe for democracy and her shining virtues made to gleam in a more brilliant manner than ever before. Such are the methods by which "patriotism" perpetuates itself.

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PROBLEM OF THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

As a result of the examination of over eight hundred conscientious objectors in twenty camps Major Guest Kellog gives his opinion of them in this manner: "They are as a rule, sincere; cowards and shirkers, in the commonly accepted sense, they are not." Major Kellog finds that the records show that the C. O.'s are, contrary to general belief, Americans by an overwhelming majority.

In his search for a solution for the problem which the conscientious objector imposes he goes far back in history. The conscientious objector did not spring into being with the coming of the great war. On the contrary, there have been many instances which history records. Memsen in his "Provinces of the Roman Empire," speaks of the Jews as having been exempted from war on account of their religious principles, and the Jewish Encyclopedia informs us that "Marc Anthony, at the request of Hyrcanus exempted the Jews from service in the armies because they were not allowed to carry arms or to travel on the Sabbath."

Gibbon in the sixteenth chapter of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," records the fate of two conscientious objectors in the third century. Maximillianus, an African youth, produced by his own father before the magistrate as a sufficient and legal recruit was executed because he persisted in declaring that his conscience would not permit him to bear arms. Another was Marcellus, the centurian, who, on the day of a public festival, threw away his belt, his arms and the ensigns of his office, and exclaimed in a loud voice that he would obey none but Jesus Christ and that he renounced forever the use of carnal weapons. He was condemned and beheaded for the crime of desertion. Napoleon, following these precedents and those of the Mennonites, who were exempted from military service in Holland, employed them in hospital service. During the Civil war in the United States, certain religious sects were exempted from military service. The United States did not solve the problem, says Major Kellog. Expedients used during the war to handle the situation leave it still as full of knots and tangles as ever should another war come upon us.

In our opinion there is but one solution to the problem of the conscientious objector. That is for the number to grow to such an extent that the majority of workers become objectors to war between capitalist nations and refuse to fight their battles. When this point is reached, the "problem" disappears. It no longer exists. The problem then will be—what to do with capitalist interests and individuals who insist upon the shedding of workers' blood for their enrichment. But this problem would be easily solved. The workers would simply allow the capitalists to go right ahead and fight each other just as long as they pleased. When they got through the world would be rid of a part of its encumbrances, which would be a very good thing.

Debs Removed To Atlanta

According to press reports of date of June 14, Comrade Debs has been transferred from Moundsville, W. Va., penitentiary to federal prison at Atlanta, Ga. No reason is given for the transference and Comrade Debs had no intimation of the change until he was told to get ready.

Why In Hell Were They There?

London, June 14.—"We didn't know what we were fighting for," complain doughboys recently arrived from the Archangel front, who are now in London hospitals. Most of them are 85th (Michigan and Wisconsin National Army) division men.

"We lived in barracks located in swamps, which resulted in an epidemic, consisting of a rash breaking out all over our bodies," said Corporal Charles Meyer, Terre Haute, Ind.

"We didn't have any real cigarettes. We had to make them out of tissue paper and dried moss or tea leaves. But we wouldn't have minded any of this if we had known why in hell we were there."

RAID U. S. OFFICE OF SOVIET RUSSIA

New York Investigation Committee Seizes Papers; Subpoena Representative.

New York—Representatives of the joint legislative committee appointed to investigate the activities of radicals in this state, guarded by several members of the state constabulary, raided the offices of the Russian soviet government in this city and took possession of books and papers found there.

L. C. A. K. Martens, representative here of the soviet government was subpoenaed and taken before the committee for a brief examination.

A. A. Heller, commercial representative of the soviet bureau, also was summoned before the committee.

After the executive session had adjourned Senator Clayton R. Lusk, chairman of the committee, stated that Heller and Martens, as well as some of their assistants, would be examined at length next Wednesday.

"Information has been laid before this committee," he said, "that these people were circulating propaganda advocating the soviet form of government as established by the Bolshevtki.

"Mr. Martens and Mr. Heller admitted that their organization is circulating propaganda by means of a publication and a mailing list advocating and justifying the soviet as it exists in Russia. We have not gone far enough to determine the exact nature of this propaganda nor the full extent of its circulation."

Martens announced tonight he had forwarded to the state department a protest against "the unwarranted and brutal raid," which he termed "an uncalled for insult to the people of Russia."

Martens contended the raid was conducted by "one Mr. A. E. Stevenson of Overman committee and Union league fame, whose prejudice against the Russian workers' government is only too well known," and added that "on behalf of my government I hereby reserve the right to proper reparation."

He named as his attorneys Dudley Field Malone, Charles Recht and Gilbert Roe.

The raiders found a large red banner of the soviet republic, which will be shown by investigating committee.

The seized mailing lists and card indexes are expected to reveal the identity of the men who are supplying the money to carry on the Bolshevik propaganda. These lists have been turned over to experts.

The seized documents included a large amount of propaganda articles intended for the press of Central and South America. Hundreds of newspapers from these places were on the mailing lists of the Bolshevik organization, and copies of the newspapers containing articles on the Russian situation were found in the place.

FREE SPEECH THE ISSUE

Bellaire Socialists to Carry Anti-Free Speech Ordinance to Voters on Referendum.

The rights of free speech and assemblage in Ohio shall be maintained by the Socialists. We do not intend to allow the reactionary capitalist politicians to rule us off the streets and from the parks of Ohio cities and towns. It always falls to the lot of the oppressed to fight for the maintenance of human liberties. It has been our historic contribution to human progress to keep for the human race the fruits of dear bought liberties. We do not intend to allow them to be snatched from us by the foul hands of the tools of capitalism.

Since the signing of the armistice, the efforts of reactionism to retain its seat in the saddle has led to the enactment of prohibitions against socialist street and park meetings in dozens of Ohio towns and cities without permission of whatever ignorant and brutal police or mayor happened to sit in authority. That the intention is to completely deny socialists the rights guaranteed by the constitution is not even denied by framers of these vicious ordinances.

Socialists in some cities are taking advantage of the right of initiative and referendum to throw these insane ordinances in the waste basket by the vote of the people. Notably among these is Bellaire, where the socialists have through their committee just filed their petitions for referendum with the city clerk. Socialists there are making a strong campaign against the ordinance agaist free speech and assemblage which was a short while passed by the city council with the approval of the mayor. A weekly leaflet is distributed broadcast over the city which attacks the right of the local politicians to censor what the people shall hear upon the streets and parks of the city. J. J. Hoge, socialist organizer, and Fred Walchil, county secretary, are authors of the leaflets. They hit the nail on the head in every paragraph and if the workers and voters of Bellaire fail to realize the iniquity of this ordinance and do not vote it out of existence it will not be the fault of the comrades who are carrying the fight to the last resort.

We wish to announce in connection that any socialist local which desires to carry to the voters of any Ohio city the validity of anti-free speech ordinances or any other city ordinance, should write to the state office at once for information as to how to proceed and for copies of forms which are necessary in making the fight. Attorney Sharts has placed in our hands for this purpose such information as is necessary. If you wish to test the ordinances made against you write to the State Office.

Reds Organize To Rule Austria

WILL PROCLAIM COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT SUNDAY.

London, June 12.—A communist government will be proclaimed in Austria on Sunday with promise of immediate success, according to information in government circles here.

The best information indicates that about 40 per cent of the Austrian army is Bolshevik. The communists are expected quickly to align themselves with the Hungarian communists.

READ THIS NOW!

Your local, the members of it, are interested in the recent actions of seven members of the national executive committee because these actions virtually mean a disruption of the Socialist Party.

We ask you to take this copy of the Ohio Socialist to your next local meeting and inform the membership present of the shameful acts of a minority of the national executive committee.

The members of your local will be particularly interested in the vote upon the recent referendums for the election of new national officers, which the seven despotic national executive committee suppressed. Beginning with this issue the tabulation of this vote will be published in the Ohio Socialist. We will inform you whom was elected as national executive committeemen and as international delegates. You have a right to know this. No party officials have a right to suppress the vote of the rank and file.

Again we say—take this issue of the Ohio Socialist to your local meeting and inform the membership as to these criminal acts of a few party officials.

KATE O'HARE WRITES FROM PRISON CELL

"I think it is quite possible that, if I were compelled to work in an overall factory for a year, I might fall so low in intelligence as to vote the Democratic ticket."

Kate Richards O'Hare, working in the overall factory of the Missouri state prison at Jefferson City, made this deduction from her experience between the day she entered prison, April 14, and May Day, a matter of two weeks.

She writes to her family that she now understands why the workers have scrambled brains.

"The roar of the machinery dulls the brain," she writes, "and the constant eye-strain of following the endless miles of flying seams makes the possibility of study seem a dream."

The details of the prison life which led to these conclusions are given in a letter. The pressure of confinement and the weight of nine hours a day at the machine tells in every line of these letters.

She says:

WEEKS DRAG BY.

"Once again the time has slowly prifted past and I can write my weekly letter.

"It was a strange May Day for me. Emma Goldman was ill, but little Emma, the Italian girl and myself wore our colors. It was all that we could do. Emma gave us a bit of red ribbon, and we wore it above our hearts while we bent to the task at the roaring machines. It was a strange sight—yet how typical of our capitalist system. The dirty grim shop, whose windows are so high that no sunbeams can ever fall upon its inmates.

(Continued on Second page)

13 SOCIALISTS ON TRIAL AT CINCINNATI

The trial of thirteen members of the Socialist Party of Cincinnati, O., began in Judge Hollister's court at Cincinnati June 3rd. The case grows out of a conspiracy charge of the government alleging interference with its war activities. Those under indictment, Lotta Burke, Socialist organizer and speaker; Thos. Hammerschmidt, active in party work, and others were arrested and charged in 1917 with anti-war activities. They have since their arrest been out on bail.

Jos. Sharts, Socialist attorney of Dayton, has the case in charge. He is assisted by Nicholas Klein and Attorney Alexander. The jury which was impanelled June 3rd consists of small farmers and business men and two barbers. They are: John Rentz, James M. Wilson, Jacob Kuhn, Daniel L. Bishop, William Hope, Jefferson Armstrong, W. E. Reel, Charles Madden, Smith E. Hughes, Edward F. O'Connor, Sam'l Hunt. The second day, Wednesday, 4th, was taken up by the government with their witnesses, as was also the third day, Thirsday, 5th, fifty-three witnesses having been subpoenaed for the prosecution. These consisted mostly of arresting officers and secret service men who had attended our meetings. A few were from the neighborhoods in which the boys were arrested. One, Mr. Kuyper, testified that he had seen two of the comrades about five hundred feet away in the dark. This confused one of the jurors who thought he had made a mistake, or had not heard corectly, and caused quite a bit of amusement when the juror questioned the witness as to the pos-

(Continued on fourth page.)

MAY FIRST IN SOVIET HUNGRY

In striking contrast to the manner in which peaceful meetings and parades of workers in America were broken up by order of city governments and workers murdered outright and in cold blood by police, is that of the celebration of the international holiday in soviet Hungary where Socialists have taken absolute control of the government.

Herewith is an account of the workers' celebration in Budapest which reached this country by mail.

Budapest was today the theater of festivities unparalleled in the history of moderate or radical socialism. May Day, which has been declared a national holiday by the Soviet government, was celebrated in the Hungarian capital.

Huge masses of workmen marched through the streets; mass meetings took place; the commissaries of the "Revolutionary governing council" made speeches; military bands of the Red army played the "Marseillaise" and the "Internationale," the new Bolshevik hymn.

The whole town seemed dipped in red color. By order of the government, every house in the town hoisted a red flag, the more important street crossings and the main thoroughfares were adorned with red triumphal arches, bearing huge portraits and busts of Marx, Engels, Lassalls, Lenine and Trotsky.

KING'S STATUES REMOVED.

The statues of the former kings of Hungary, which formed part of the Millionary monument, were removed.

The town was full of excitement, but perfect order prevailed everywhere.

Berger Hearing Is Adjourned

HOUSE COMMITTEE TO MEET AGAIN JULY 7.

Washington, June 12.—After Milwaukee Leader editorials which led to the indictment of Victor Berger for violation of the spionage act had been put into the record today, the house special elections committee, investigating Berger's right to a seat in the house, adjourned hearings until July 7.

The adjournment was taken at Mr. Berger's request in order to give him opportunity to prepare evidence to meet charges of ineligibility.

Henry F. Cochems, counsel for Berger, asked the committee to put immediately before the house his challenge to its jurisdiction. There was no intimation, however, that this would be done now.

SAILORS FLY RED FLAG

As Result 200 Sailors Will Be Moved to Atlantic Seaboard.

Great Lakes, Ill.—The red flag was raised at the Great Lakes naval training station here, it is now told.

As a result about 200 seamen, all of whom had overseas service, will be transported to Atlantic seaboard points.

It happened while a crowd of some 1,200 sailors were assembled in a drill hall awaiting the beginning of an entertainment. The entertainment was delayed by a late train. The singing instructor mounted the stage and tried to lead in a song, but there was no response.

"Come on," he urged, and suggested that "Micky, Pretty Micky," be sung.

Some sailor provided a parody, running "Micky, Bolsheviki."

The director waved for silence, but could not obtain it.

"How many of you are Bolsheviki?" he asked.

A chorus of "Me" rose up.

Just at this point some sailor in the rear of the hall produced a large red flag. A cheer arose throughout the hall. A tumult of applause went up.

But the performers arrived and the demonstration was ended.

SOCIALISTS DID NOT START RIOTS

New York Churchman States Church's Position Must Be in Regard to Future of Labor—Denies Cleveland Socialists Caused Riots May 1.

"I witnessed the Cleveland riots of May 1st," stated Rev. Worth M. Tippy, of New York, member of the Federated Council of Churches, before the conference of the Interchurch World Movement of North America at Hotel Cleveland at Cleveland, O., last week, "and afterward went among Socialist and labor leaders and found they did not cause the riots." According to Rev. Worth the church has no fight with the Reds. "The American church does not want to fight anybody he stated.

Rev. Worth outlined in his talk to the conference what he claims should be the attitude of the church toward the pressing problems of labor in this country. The program includes a living wage for industrial workers, abolition of child labor, short working day, equal pay for equal work. These he states must form the basis of all attempts to solve labor's problems.

SHOW PROGRESS AT CONVENTION OF THE I. W. W.

(By L. S. Chumley.)

In many respects the 11th annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was the most remarkable in the history of the organization. Emerging from two years of the most systematic and brutal persecution ever waged against any group of human beings, the I. W. W. has held its most successful convention, with more delegates present, with a greater spirit of solidarity; and has formulated a more thorough and concrete plan of organization than was possible in previous conventions.

The delegates were typical "wobblies," men and women who have weathered the storm of the last two years. As the period through which we have just passed was no pink tea affair the organization has been purged of what few timid souls ventured to carry a card. The predominant characteristic of the delegates was their determined fighting spirit.

The convention was called to order by Acting General Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Whitehead. Fifty-four delegates answered the roll call. Industrial workers, miners and railway men, longshoremen and sailors, hardy lumber-jacks and agricultural workers, sons of toil from all corners of the states answered "here" - here in the interest in the working class, here representing the workers of their industries.

A touch of the "New Democracy" was given to the convention on the first day by the unanimous vote of the delegates to seat a victim of the said "democracy," Pietro Nigra, recently released from Leavenworth to represent the class war prisoners.

"We, the delegates of the 11th annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, send greetings of good cheer to all of the class war prisoners, with assurances of all possible support."

Greetings were also sent to the Soviet governments of Russia and Hungary.

During the first three or four days the Chicago newspapers did everything possible to incite the populace to mass action to mob the convention. The papers said that if the police would not stop the convention the citizens should. They said that the delegates were all criminals and had met to overthrow the government. However, the citizens wouldn't be incited, and the convention was not interrupted in any way. A more peaceable assemblage is not conceivable. The only apparent sign of watchfulness by the authorities was a court stenographer, an old man, who came on the second day and stayed until the end.

Much important and constructive work was accomplished. However, it was not found necessary to deviate in the slightest from the fundamental principles of the organization. Some of the more important things are as follows:

The official adoption of the universal delegates system already in operation. This is a system of organizing that originated with the I. W. W. and is typical of its democratic spirit. This system does away with orators and brass bands for organizing purposes and makes it possible to organize the workers in the most hostile territory or industry. This delegate system is feared more by the masters than our threat of a general strike.

A resolution was passed that would bar any member from holding office in the organization if he is addicted to intoxicating liquors.

LIMIT OFFICE SERVICE.

The delegates voted that no officer should hold office for two consecutive years. This means that if a

(Continued on page four)

How To Raise $10,000? The Best Way Is the Pledge Way. Also the Quickest. Try It Today

This week is everybody's week

Everybody's because everybody has a chance.

A chance to help raise $10,000 for our party-owned press and printing plant.

Yes, we haven't intentionally deprived any one, any party member or any reader of the Ohio Socialist of the best chance in the world to help raise this fund.

Before this issue reaches its readers every one of the 12,000 readers of the Ohio Socialist will have received a letter from the management of the Ohio Socialist. Also an Ohio Socialist Press Fund Pledge Envelope. We hope that every reader did reader read the letter. We hope that there was rader read the letter. We hope that there was something in that letter that made each and every reader realize the problem that confronts the Ohio Socialist. For we know that once the gravity of the situation is realized by the twelve thousand readers of this proletarian newspaper, each and every one of those thousands will do every bit of which he is capable to make it possible to at once free the Ohio Socialist from the possibility of ever missing a single issue through the machinations of any capitalist printer, by enabling us to install at once our own party owned press and printing plant.

It was because we believed this that we mailed YOU that letter and pledge envelope. And now may we ask, you who have not already sent in your pledge envelope with a remittance or a pledge may we ask: What are you going to do with it, comrade? We ask because so many things depend upon the answer you make to that letter. In fact, it may be said that upon YOUR answer depends much future party work and great socialist successes. Because, comrades, we have come to the parting of the ways. The Socialist Party has reached the point in its work and progress when we must part for all time with the petty, slip-shod, ineffective methods of carrying on our work of educating and organizing the working class for the Social Revolution that is this moment upon us. Let no comrade doubt that the most vital necessity of this hour is that the Socialist Party shall control the means of publishing its own propaganda. That is a supreme need of today. It will grow in ever increasing importance as the weeks and months of the near future pass by. We tell you this because we absolutely know it to be true.

The most significant, the most healthy sign of the change which is coming about in our methods of propaganda and organization is that of securing to the party a more complete control over its means of pushing its work. Especially does this necessity become apparent when is considered the problem of publication of our literature. The very source of all activities, the basis for all expected successes is that which we have the least power over—that is, the means of printing our propaganda. It is because we know that the rank and file of our party does not approve of this way of carrying on our party work that we undertook by their help to establish at once in this state at least a party-owned printing plant upon which Socialists could depend in any emergency to carry on without interruption our work for the emancipation of the working class.

But a printing press and equipment cannot be purchased with one's knowledge of its necessity, however clearly that necessity may be seen. Cash is required. And because of this fact we had printed 12,000 pledge envelopes and the entire office force with assistance from other comrades worked day and night getting them ready to be mailed to YOU. And now you have your pledge envelope and the letter. And again we want to urge you to use that pledge envelope. Use it in as generous a manner as you can. Of course we know that the workers generally have a hard row to hoe and the demands upon their purse are heavy enough for even the gaining of a scant livelihood. However, the class war is on and you and we must fight the workers' battles however hard the fighting may be.

We believe we made no mistake when we mailed to you this letter and envelope. We believe that our faith in the workers will be more than justified by the response which they will give. It is true, no state organization ever asked of its membership and the readers of its party press such a large sum as an outright donation. We might have organized a stock company and sold shares of stock, or offered some other plan to you, but we are absolutely against any plan of ownership of the party's machinery of propaganda other than by the party itself. We are against it on principle and from the standpoint of utility as well. No individual nor group of individuals except the rank and file, the membership of the party, is good enough to control the party's means of work. That's why we say: put as generous a donation in your pledge envelope as you can possibly afford, if you can pledge a dollar or five dollars a week or a month for a while for this fund, do so at once and mail the envelope to us. Help with your dollars and your pledges the establishment of a party-owned printing press. Let us know at once that YOU are among the fore-sighted ones in our party. Fill the pledge envelope and mail.

Below are the names of comrades who have contributed the sums at the head of the column in which their name appears since last issue. Readers will please note in the summary in the last column how the fund is gathering momentum. Each week shows greater receipts than the previous one. A good sign we say. Can we keep up the pace we are going, can we show each week an increase in donations over the previous week? We believe so. YOUR pledge envelope well filled will help. Do it.

$1.00 Column

Luther McIntyre, Ashley, W. Va.
John Brandstetter, Cincinnati, O.
Laurette W. Malone, Tankersley, Del. (72c.)
Harry Grote, Reform, Ala.
McKinley Toler, Cedar Grove, W. Va.
W. W. Luske, Cedar Grove, W. Va.
H. E. Baumeister, Hampton, Va.
G. A. Grakey, Akron, O.
T. C. Hayes, Akron, O.
John Duzicek, Girard, Kan.
[illegible] Cosmeroti, Kan.
[illegible], Youngstown, O.
[illegible], O.
E. A. Senia, Hart, Mich.
Albert Greth, Lima, O.
H. S. Coate, Lima, O.
E. Z. Ernst, Olathe, Kan.
Geo. Farnsworth, Wadsworth, O.
A. R. Fretcher, Akron, O.
H. Heckler, Ellit, O.
S. Bryant, Akron, O.
J. Causman, Akron, O.
C. Burford, Akron, O.
F. C. Gray, Akron, O.
Albert Smith, Akron, O.
Norman Simons, Akron, O.
Earl Williams, Akron, O.
J. Pieczynski, Akron, O.
P. Sine, Akron, O.
A Bolshevik, Akron, O.
Frank Causman, Akron, O.
Mrs. W. P. Calkins, [illegible], N. M.

$2.00 Column

Wm. Crumpacker, Eminence, Kan.
A Friend, Youngstown, O.
A. Ortner, Wakeman, O.
Geo. L. Artz, Wayland, O.
Bohemian Branch, Cleveland, O.
C. Goodheart, Grand Rapids, Mich.
John O. Miller, Lima, O.
G. G. Dixon, Lima, O.
F. R. Scarlott, Carrollton, O.
Adrian Luyendyck, Zeeland, Mich.
G. Staich, E. St. Louis, Ill.
Nick Rebick, Bellaire, O.
Mrs. Emma Edwards, Akron, O.

$5.00 Column

Louis J. Love, Youngstown, O.
Joe Skubitz, Ringo, Kan.
Blas Mesori, Girard, Kan.
Chas. Bonsal, Salem, O.
Mrs. G. L. Shurick, Sharpsburg, Ohio.
Bohemian Branch, Bellaire, O.
E. N. Barber, Kent, O.
J. N. Barber, Kent, O.
Lithuanian Branch, E. Moline, Ill.
Wm. G. Shultz, Napoleon, O.
Fred Wilde, Dundee, Mich.
Matt Benges, Akron, O.
Anton Gjurekova, Akron, O.
Mathew McMillan, New Lexington, Ohio.

$10.00 Column

Local Akron, O., English Br.
Columbiana Co. Central Committee, Ohio, ($8.00.)

$25.00 Column

Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Deible, Akron, Ohio.

$50.00 Column

Local Youngstown, O.

$100.00 Column

Gee, this is a lonesome column. Wonder how long we have to wait for some local or comrade to say: Here's your hundred. We are told unofficially this week that a local down state was talking mighty strongly of making a high jump for this column. We will soon know the truth of the rumor.

Pledge Column

[illegible]

Kiddies' Korner

Again, we have to say: Nobody here. Now that school is out and lots of jobs for kiddies to do about home and for the neighbors, we shall expect some of our youngest rebels to submit their names for entry in this column.

HOW WE GROW

A weekly summary of how the $10,000 party press fund grows.

Contributed to June 1	$ 129.00
Contributed since June 8	171.00
Contributed since to June 14	[illegible]
Total to date, June 14	$ [illegible]
Balance needed to make $10,000	[illegible]

Some More "Victory" Letters

From live Socialists which carry conviction of the necessity of our party-owned printing plant.

WISHES IT WAS A THOUSAND.

That's the way Comrade A. Ortner of Wakeman, O., looks at the Press fund. Not being able to give a thousand he gives what he can. His contribution is two dollars. However, the spirit is what counts as well as the amount given. And so far as the size of the contribution is concerned, if every reader of the Ohio Socialist would give as generously as Comrade Ortner, we could not only buy a press for the Ohio Socialist and equip a printing plant in first class shape, but build a suitable building for it and house state headquarters in it besides. Yes, we could do a lot if every comrade would give this much.

FROM WAY OUT IN KANSAS.

From Eminence, Kan., comes two dollars from Comrade Wm. Crumpacker, "to help buy a printing plant." It seems that no matter how far the Ohio Socialist goes the comrades like it and show by their support that it is appreciated.

A COUPLE OF LINES, A COUPLE OF DOLLARS.

Comrades don't say much when they send their remittances for the Press fund. But we know that their interest in the Socialist movement is not to be judged by the length of letters to the State Office. Usually their letters say little, but their remittances prove their loyalty. We are led to say this by reading the two-line note from Comrade Geo. L. Artz, M. A. L., of Wayland, O., whose letter contained two dollars for the Press fund.

NOT A PARTY MEMBER, BUT A RED JUST THE SAME.

We hope every party member will read the following letter from Comrade Mathew McMillan of New Lexington, O. Aside from the truth which he so emphatically points out, he sets an example to our party members that should wake many of them from their apparent sleepy state. Here is a Red, who reads, supports and believes in the party; though not upon the membership rolls, nevertheless he contributes a neat sum to the upbiulding of the party and the party press. His letter and generous contribution should jar some negligent comrades into a better fighting spirit. Read his letter: "Please find enclosed five dollars for printing press fund. Although not a party member, I say, let the damn fools keep their press. It is only a matter of time until they won't need it, as nobody will want to read their damn lies." And he signs himself, yours for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

FROM OUTLAWED MICHIGAN.

Well, the N. E. C. didn't kill the spirit of working class solidarity of Michigan, comrades, by throwing them bodily out of the party. Comrade C. Goodheart proves it when he remits two dollars for the party-owned printing plant. And he adds, "more to follow from the children." Of course it is to be expected that there are some young rebels in Michigan.

FROM THE WIFE OF A CLASS WAR PRISONER.

Look here, you Socialists who are out of jail. Did you ever stop and think of the trouble you never had? Very likely not. Nevertheless it might be a very good thing if you did so occasionally. It seems that the truly revolutionary spirit is always awakened in Socialists by a commitment to jail. Socialists in jail, or Socialists who have members of their families in jail appear to be able to overlook the troubles which attend them in their endeavor to make the Socialist movement a better and truer movement for the workers. Their loyalty is doubled, their faith becomes boundless. Their troubles, financial and otherwise, are buried beneath a desire to see the party grow. But, we who have passed through the experience, know the mental and physical anguish which is inseparable from every jail experience. That many comrades do not allow themselves to be turned aside from their Socialist duties by these experiences proves the unconquerable determination of Socialist ideals. Read this letter from Comrade Calkins you Socialists who are out of jail and ask yourself if you cannot at least equal her contribution and loyalty? "As Mr. W. P. Calkins got a jail sentence of six months, I will take it upon myself to send a dollar bill to help pay for the press. I need the money, but not as bad as a press is needed to spread the great Socialist news. Now is the time to strike and to strike hard for humanity's sake."

FOURTEEN READERS, FOURTEEN DOLLARS.

To Comrade H. Heckler of Ellit, O., we are indebted for a remittance of fourteen dollars. Comrade Heckler writes: "I went around to my fellow workers, readers of the Ohio Socialist," and all gave willingly. In this way I think we could get many donations that we would not get otherwise." The names of the donors are in the dollar column of this issue. As to the circulation of lists for the purpose of collecting donations for this fund, we will state that lists have been sent to locals in Ohio and will be sent to comrades in other states upon application to this office. If you wish to circulate a list among your friends or shop mates and believe that an official list is better than one of your own, write to us at once and one will be forwarded. Party members in Ohio should request a list from the local secretary for this work.

A PROMISE OF "MORE."

With remittance of six dollars, which he has solicited among comrades, Comrade Edwin Blank of Lima, O., promises more in the near future. Comrade Blank has long been one of the staunchest supporters of the Ohio Socialist, We are glad to note that his interest has not waned.

ANOTHER COMRADE PLEDGED.

Although his remittance was sent before the pledge envelopes were sent out, Comrade H. V. Hein of Youngstown, Ohio, saw the possibilities of the pledge system. He has sent one dollar and promises that he will send four more in installments.

TWO FIVE SPOTS.

Sometimes good things as well as troubles come in quantities. That is what we thought when we read the note from Comrade Bengez of Akron. Five dollars from himself and five from Anton Giurekovs boosts the fund considerable.

ANOTHER LOCAL IN THE RIGHT COLUMN.

Another fifty dollars for the press fund. Another local has seen the logic of events. This time it is Local Youngstown, O. Here is what Comrade Secretary Frow writes concerning this most generous donation. "At our meeting this evening we carried the motion to contribute the sum of fifty dollars to the fund to promote the progress of our grand paper, the Ohio Socialist." Let us tell you comrades, it looks mighty encouraging when locals contribute outright to this fund from their treasuries.

GOING TO TRY AGAIN LATER.

Not only a contribution now, but promises of more later from many comrades proves how greatly the comrades desire that the Ohio Socialist secure at once the equipment necessary to make it independent of capitalist printers. From Zeeland, Mich., comes a letter which reads: "Please find two dollars for our printing plant. I will try to do more this fall if need be. Hoping that we get control of the national office, I will then do my best for that." Adrian Luyencyk.

LOCAL AKRON CONTRIBUTES.

Ten dollars is the sum the English branch of Local Akron contributes to the press fund. Secretary Holloway remits for the local. One by one the locals are remitting.

WANTS A PHOTOGRAPH.

Another Michigan comrade whose generous support is helping to make the Ohio Socialist a greater power for the workers in the class-war is Comrade Fred Wilde of Dundee. A generous donation of five dollars with a request of a photo of the press in the Ohio Socialist is contained in his letter. Soon we shall have a photo to show of the new press. Not only a photo but the press itself. Let all help a bit and the job's done.

HERE'S WHAT WE'VE EXPECTED

Right along we knew that we would soon hear from Comrade Shultz of Napoleon on the press fund. It is to be expected that an old "war horse" of Comrade Shultze's stripe would be among the first "stand-by" in a case of necessity like the present. Comrade Shultz's donation is a large five spot, which we accept with thanks.

ANOTHER FALLACY DISPROVED.

Months ago when the Ohio Socialist was just starting to grow its pinfeathers, before it was squarely on its feet and was looking about the world and sizing up the prospects of accomplishing the most good for Socialism in the most efficient manner, a comrade nearly cooled our enthusiasm for a whole minute by telling us that we couldn't make a state party owned paper "take" in outside states. We thought we could. We believed that we could publish a real, revolutionary Socialist paper that would secure the suport of the rank and file of our party irrespective of the geographical location of the individual comrades. We have done so. We submit this proof that we have succeded to a great extent—a contribution of five dollars from Lithuanian Local of East Moline, Ill., Mike L. Kalatha, secretary. Money talks and it talks loud too, as a proof of the favor in which the Ohio Socialist is held by comrades outside the state. We thank you, comrades of Moline.

QUICK RETURNS.

On Wednesday we mailed out ten thousand pledge envelopes and a letter with each to our readers. Saturday morning the mail carrier delivered to us the first pledge envelope to be returned. It comes from Nick Rebick of Bellaire, O. Two dollars it contained. Now that was pretty quick work, wasn't it? And we might have known that Bellaire would be the first to make a return. The reputation of this live local has made for itself creates a confidence in the ability of the comrades there to take first place in most party plans.

BOHEMIAN BRANCH REMITS.

A two dollar donation from Bohemian branch, Cuyahoga Co. was received this week.

FROM ONLY READER IN TOWN.

A remittance of five dollars has been received from Comrade Mrs. G. L. Shurick of Sharpsburg, O. This comrade is the only subscriber we have in this town. Success to the printing plant, she adds.

TWO GOOD BOOSTS.

Two weeks ago Comrade Bonsal of Salem promised five dollars for the press fund. This week he kept the promise. Not only that, he also enclosed eight dollars as a contribution from Columbiana County committee. All locals, branches and members are catching the spirit of progress and lining up for entrance to one column or the other.

MORE FROM KANSAS.

"I am sending you a little to help toward our own press for the Ohio Socialist. Am sorry that I cannot do more, but work is very bad out here, in fact there is none at all, but I will try to do a little more." Thus writes Comrade Joe Skubitz of Ringo, Kansas. Comrade Skubitz sends five dollars for himself, and seven from three friends.

BAKER IS DOING HIS BIT.

Sure, Chas. Baker, state organizer, is on the job. He always is when there is a job to be done and when there isn't he goes and locates one. Baker can't be kept from working for Socialism—even in jail. Through Comrade Baker we have received some more press fund donations from Akron comrades. Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Deible, $25; Comrade Emma Edwards, $2; Comrades G. H. Grakey and T. C. Hayes, $1 each. Sometimes we grow a bit anxious about the twenty-five, fifty and hundred dollar columns, but some comrade comes along most every week and takes a seat in one or the other of them, thus proving that no mistake was made in the belief that they would be used.

OVER 80, CONTRIBUTES.

"If I wasn't over eighty and had no job, would send five at least," writes [illegible]

fellows who have jobs will do as well we'll have that press in short order.

TWO FIVES FROM KENT, O.

Comrades E. N. and J. N. Barber of Kent, O., come to bat with a five-spot each to make the press fund grow.

BOHEMIAN BRANCH CONTRIBUTES.

We desire to express our thanks for the generous remittance of five dollars from the Bohemian branch of Local Bellaire.

AN ARGUMENT DRIVEN HOME.

Here's a letter so full of punch and truth that we just can't keep it to ourselves. We appreciate a good thing and we are going to be generous and pass it on to our readers just as we got it.

"Enclosed you will find check for $5 towards the fund for the best and greatest socialist paper in the state. Let's all get together, comrades, and pull for its success. Now you Socialist comrades who cannot express their ideas in speech, here is your chance to do where you don't have to talk. It's up to us all to fight harder than ever so that the Ohio Socialist don't die. We are facing the greatest struggle in the life of Socialism right now. Don't weaken, just dig down and give as much as you can and the outcome can only be one thing: the greatest Socialist paper in Ohio will have its own printing press. Louis J. Love, Youngstown, O.

FROM SUNNY ALABAMA.

"It is high time we had our own printing press for the Ohio Socialist." These are the sentiments of Comrade Harry Grote of Reform, Ala. He sends a dollar.

AND TEXAS, TOO.

"Please accept this mite with my wish and prayer that the venture may prove the start that should have been made years ago for a nationally owned press and state owned press as well," writes Comrade Laurette M. Malone of Tankersley, Texas. Comrade Malone encloses postage to the amount of seventy-two cents for this fund.

MUST NOT FAIL.

"We must not fail," writes Comrade [illegible]

The Society of Jailbirds

(By Anise, Seattle Union Record.)

"We were thinking," she said,

• • •

"Of starting

• • •

A society of JAILBIRDS

• • •

Open only to those

• • •

Who have been in prison

• • •

For their CONVICTIONS.

• • •

We would admit

• • •

The SUFFRAGETTES,

• • •

Jailed for carrying banners

• • •

About DEMOCRACY;

• • •

And all men picked up

• • •

In FREE SPEECH FIGHTS;

• • •

And the LABOR MEN

• • •

Arrested for picketing

• • •

During strikes;

• • •

The CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

• • •

Who refused to KILL

• • •

Even at the command

• • •

Of GOVERNMENTS;

• • •

Everyone who spoke forth

• • •

The FAITH

• • •

That was in him.

• • •

And was called ANARCHIST

• • •

Or some other name.

• • •

And thrown in prison for it.

• • •

We would be very RIGID

• • •

In our requirements.

• • •

We would let in only

• • •

Those who had really

• • •

SUFFERED for a CAUSE.

• • •

For it would be a great HONOR

• • •

To belong to our society

• • •

Of JAILBIRDS

• • •

As it used to be in Russia

• • •

In the days of the czar,

• • •

When [illegible] of COURAGE

• • •

Had been in PRISON.

• • •

We would surprise the public

• • •

By showing them

• • •

How HUGE are numbers are!

• • •

Why, we have members

• • •

In the Seattle City Council,

• • •

Who were once jailed

• • •

For contempt of court;

• • •

And all the Labor Movement

• • •

Is just FULL

• • •

Of calm, conservative leaders

• • •

Who qualified long ago

• • •

In days of youth and fire.

• • •

And after a while

• • •

In the good time coming

• • •

The children of the new age

• • •

Would proudly claim as fathers.

• • •

The JAILBIRDS of the past.

• • •

As good Americans now claim

• • •

The REVOLUTIONISTS

• • •

Of seventy-six!"

• • •

And I said: I saw

• • •

In Washington once

• • •

A beautiful white palace

• • •

Of the DAUGHTERS

• • •

Of the REVOLUTION;

• • •

I wonder what would happen

• • •

To a real REVOLUTIONIST

• • •

If he dared to mount

• • •

Those shining steps;

• • •

We must build better.

• • •

Than our fathers built,

• • •

Lest the CHILDREN

• • •

Of today's JAILBIRDS

• • •

Become the LORD HIGH JAILERS

• • •

THE STATISTICIAN

General survey of the most active locals in the State of Ohio, based on the reports of the state secretary for the month of April, 1919.

(Members of the various locals should carefully note the fluxuations of the percentages and should insist on that kind of activity in which their local is as yet inefficient. The figures below will reveal the actual efficiency of your organization.)

No. of Rank.	Locals.	G. S.	On Roll	Pct	Pct. Last Month
1	Galion	41	41	1.000	1.000
2	Mt. Vernon	23	23	1.000	....
3	Dover	14	14	1.000	1.000
4	Grover Hill	10	10	1.000	1.000
5	Troy	8	8	1.000	....
6	Marysville	5	5	1.000	1.000
7	North Star	5	5	1.000	....
8	Robbins	83	84	.988	....
9	Ashtabula	98	100	.980	....
10	Youngstown (Jugo-Slav)	151	155	.975	.951
11	Kenmore	52	56	.929	.900
12	Barberton	21	23	.913	....
13	Hubbard	30	35	.857	.818
14	East Liverpool	80	95	.833	.955
15	Steubenville	10	12	.833	.823
16	Youngstown (Scand.)	16	19	.842	.750
17	Warren	33	40	.825	.775
18	Sandusky	31	38	.813	.688
19	Cuyahoga Co.	2904	3588	.809	.781
20	Cambridge	63	78	.808	.999
21	Hamilton	252	302	.801	.765
23	Mt. Healthy	12	15	.800	....
24	Toledo	391	491	.797	....
25	Clark County	26	33	.787	.727
26	Zanesville	29	37	.783	.777
27	Niles	70	92	.761	.831
28	Dayton	204	267	.764	....
29	Wadsworth	12	16	.750	.750
30	Seneca County	53	73	.726	.757
31	Montpelier	25	35	.714	.471
32	Van Buren	21	30	.700	....
33	Columbus	110	160	.688	.747
34	Canton	50	75	.667	.737
35	Derwent	11	17	.647	.611
36	Massillon	49	73	.671	.626
37	Ashland	5	9	.555	.555

COMPARISONS.

April's report—36 locals.

March report—33 locals.

April—Good standing 4987 of reported roll of 6152, percentage 0.812. While last month's report from 33 locals showed 3847 in good standing of a roll of 4953 members, an efficiency percentage of 0.777.

As there are still 60 locals that do not report monthly, we are confident judging from their reports now and then, that they, too, "are on the job."

INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP.

Thirty-six locals report 999 new members. The task set last month was to excel the March increase, which was 527 new ones, by at least 75 more. The pace has now been set. Can we still beat it? The sentiment created by the "riot-inciting plutocracy" on our International Labor Day will tell; so do not forget to look for this column next month.

	Locals.	New Members	G. S.	Pct. of G. S. April
1	Ashtabula*	86	98	*7.17
2	Barberton	6	21	.28
3	East Liverpool	22	80	.27
5	Cuyahoga Co.	685	2904	.24
6	Youngstown (So. Slavic)	33	151	.22
7	Cambridge	15	63	.22
8	Van Buren	4	21	.19
9	Mt. Healthy	2	12	.16
10	Toledo	60	391	.15
11	Dover	2	14	.14
12	Kenmore	7	52	.13
13	Troy	1	8	.12
14	Piqua	10	85	.11
15	Canton	5	50	.10
16	Hamilton	21	252	.08
17	Galion	3	41	.07
18	Seneca Co.	3	53	.06
19	Warren	2	33	.06
20	Columbus	6	110	.05

Other locals not attaining the standard test of 5 per cent are as follows, arranged alphabetically: Clarke Co., 1 new member; Dayton, 5; Massillon, 1; Niles, 3; Robbins, 2; Sandusky, 1; total increase 999 new members, a percentage of 20 per cent.

The increase over last month is 6 per cent, an excellent showing.

A word to the secretaries and the most active members of our Ohio locals: No doubt you are fully acquainted with the significance of the figures given here. This one fact should be known though, and should serve as a guide for all organizers and officials. For instance the average good standing efficiency for this month is .819. All locals over this mark are in fairly good condition, those attaining the 1.000 mark are in themselves efficient, but when the membership figures show it at a standstill, then again the "cogs of your machinery" must be gone over carefully. All locals below .812 should investigate the cause of the indifference on the part of their dues-paying members and if necessary inaugurate new methods that will hold all newly initiated members.

Strengthen your organization by incessant activity and above all to fulfill our revolutionary mission and purpose. "Stand uncompromisingly for a party-owned printing press and a party-owned daily."

Yours for the Better Society.
FELIX J. CATLIN.

Note—*Ashtabula (as near as figures reveal) has performed the difficult feat of multiplying itself 7 times in one month. This can be verified by February figures also.

If this is not the case, then we may fairly well hit the truth if we suppose that this local has reorganized.

The facts will be known by next month.

GLASGOW'S "BOLSHEVISM"

(From The Labor News, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.)

Instead of giving us the real underlying causes of labor troubles, the capitalist press in the past ascribed them to the "paid agitator." Then it was the "alien agitator." Now it is the "Bolshevists" who upset the harmonious relations of the masters and their employes.

In the cabled accounts of the recent Glasgow strike for the forty-hour week we were told that it was largely inspired by Russian agitators. This is what the Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman, writing in the London Daily News, has to say about it: "It is not inspired," he says, "by men who want another few hours' less work per week or another few shillings more wages. Nor is it inspired by foreigners of any type, Russian or enemy. The moving force in it is a body of young men, Scotsmen all, able and intelligent, the product of the new Scottish education, with the keen Scottish intellect. They are mostly skilled men, with power of earning high wages, and they are talking—on the Clyde—to the most intelligent working class audience in the world.

They are talking day and night in a seven-day week, in meetings held outside all the works' gates before breakfast, in the dinner hour, or in surrounding halls in the evening. They are preaching with enormous energy, something in the nature of a crusade. Their gospel is simple enough. Today it is the profiteers, with plenty of outrageous and telling examples, the monstrous inequality of fortune as exhibited by the contrast between the life of the millionaire and the life of the children in the Glasgow slums, the contrast between the life of the possessors and the possessed.

Accompanying this destructive criticism of the present social order there is also a vision of better things. It is scarcely [illegible]. Not one in a thousand [illegible] use the term has any idea what Bolshevism means; they [illegible] merely with [illegible] for instance [illegible] and [illegible]—that by the reduction or elimination of profits, and the interests of capital, and a direct attack on the great landlords and millionaires, the working people may found a new society and get rid of their present disabilities. It is at present a revolutionary demand, and Glasgow is the [illegible] of Britain. One can judge by their bulletins, their vigorous combined action, their replacement of leaders when arrested by other leaders, how completely their creed has mastered the upper guiding group of the strikes organization."

We might observe here that much of the credit for the plentitude of well-informed and aggressive Labor leaders on the Clydeside must be given to the redoubtable Maclean. On Sunday mornings he conducted a class of over 1,000 working men students in the principles of Marxian Economics.

KATE O'HARE WRITES FROM PRISON CELL

(Continued from first page.)

(Here follows lines dotted out by the censor.)

"—— the weary-eyed women in ugly, shapeless convict garb, each bending like a galley slave to the task, dumb, silent and hopeless.

WORE RED RIBBON.

"Yet, in two hearts at least there burned the fires of revolt, and over two hearts there glowed the tiny knots of red ribbon, the world-wide insignia of human brotherhood. There is enough of the ribbon for two tiny bows. One I want you to keep for me. Some day I shall stand with the comrades of all nations in the new international, and I shall want to wear it in memory of this May Day. The other I want you to send to dear old Gene, and tell him to keep it until he steps forth a freeman, with it upon the heart that has always been loyal to all that it symbolizes.

"I want all the comrades to know that I appreciate and enjoy the things they send. In the deadly monotony of prison I think we will revert back to childhood, the result, I suppose, of the complete crushing of individual initiative. Meal time and box time are the bright spots in our day.

DULL ENOUGH FOR A DEMOCRAT.

"I think it will be useless for you to send me any scientific or technical books for a time, at least. I find that the roar of the machinery dulls my brains, and the constant eye strain of following the endless miles of flying seams makes study difficult, if not impossible. I understand quite fully now why the workers for the most part have scrambled brains. I think it quite possible that, if I were compelled to work in an overall factory for a year, I might fall so low in intelligence as to vote the Democratic ticket. The pastime that eases nerve most quickly and causes time we are locked in our cells pass most comfortably, is knitting. So I have reverted back to the habits of my pioneer ancestors, and find comfort and soothing calm in the touch of the yarn, and weave dreams with the flying needles.

ABOUT EMMA GOLDMAN.

"Tell Zeuch that Emma laughed when she read his letter, and said that a philosophical anarchist is one who is too cowardly to admit his belief, and that she is no coward. I can't enlighten him much, for down here in the dregs of life, the only philosophy that endures is the philosophy of human brotherhood. I suppose that Emma Goldman and I are far apart in our creeds. But we do not discuss creeds here. They seem so far outside our world. The Emma Goldman that I know is not the propagandist. It is Emma Goldman, the tender, cosmic mother; the wise, understanding woman; the faithful sister, the loyal comrade. My memories of Emma Goldman will not be of the firery agitator, but Emma, the healer of sick souls, the valiant supporter of wavering spirits and the comforter of broken hearts. Emma don't believe in Jesus, yet she is one who makes such belief possible for me to grasp the spiritof Jesus, whether it ever was embodied in human form or not.

SEES DREGS OF LIFE.

"There is so much to do here, so many sick souls and broken lives, and I can, and do help. The management here is so afraid that Emma and I will teach our isms. We do not need to do that. We only need to serve these poor souls.

"And the time will not be wasted for me. I am learning so much. I know now the difference between Hillel and Jesus, Gorky and Wells, Jack London and Galsworthy. Jesus, Gorky and London lived. The others only read of life. I shall have lived also, lived down in the very dregs of life, and when I come back, I will reach men and women because of it.

MESSAGE TO COMRADES.

"This reminds me of such a good joke on Governor Painter. We worked together on the senate committee investigating the minimum wage question some years ago. He always insisted that if only women would be housemaids in other people's kitchens, the social problem would be solved for working women. made a list of inmates this morning, and found that two-thirds of his guests were housemaids. Several girls are here for killing their babies, every one of whom was a housemaid, and in most cases claim that the employer was the father of the baby. I shall have the most interesting mass of facts ever gathered when I come back to life.

"I must close now. Send a message of cheer to the comrades. Remember me to all our friends. Love and kisses to all my darlings, and be brave and cheerful. Lovingly,

KATE."

STATE PICNIC

Socialist Party of Ohio

Will Be Held at

CONEY ISLAND

CINCINNATI

JUNE 29, 1919

All Socialists of Ohio and neighboring states, especially, the border states of West Virginia, Kentucky and Indiana, are hereby notified of the State picnic of the Socialist Party of Ohio to be held on the above date. Each and every one of you are cordially invited to be present on this grand occasion with all the members of your family.

The Ohio State picnics have always been great affairs in the past, the one this year promises to outclass all previous ones in every way. What with one of the most choice locations in the state, added attractions of many kinds, including a charming steam boat ride, Socialists should feel encouraged to be on hand with a good sized crowd.

ATTRACTIONS.

Coney Island—A first class pleasure resort, situated up the Ohio river from Cincinnati. Many amusements, including Ferris wheel, figure eight, boating, bathing and many other pleasant recreations. In fact, there will be pleasures for each and every Socialist whether he or she is seven weeks old or seventy years.

SPEAKING.

Good speakers will be on hand to instruct, entertain, and enthuse you with the message of socialism. Speakers with national reputations will be present at the Ohio State picnic. You will want to hear them. Don't miss the opportunity which this occasion affords you to do so.

ADMISSION 25c.

You can't beat the State picnic's admission price. At 25c each with a ten-mile boat ride each way thrown in, we say you can't beat it. And by the way, admission tickets have been sent to all Party Locals in Ohio for sale to members. Buy them from your secretaries. At the gates they will cost ten cents more than if bought from him.

HERE'S OUR WARNING TO YOU.

Here's our warning to you, comrades. Thousands are planning to be present at the State picnic. And our warning to you is: Plan to be there too. Meet your comrades at the State picnic.

VISIT THE COUNTRY STORE AT LOCAL HEADQUARTERS.

During the State convention which convenes at Cincinnati June 27-28, Local Cincinnati will conduct a Country Store in their spacious headquarters. Comrades are asked to send to Comrade Lotta Burke, 1314 Vine street, Cincinnati, articles to be sold at this time over the counter at the Country Store. Please mark the articles sent with name of sender and the value of article. Attend [illegible]

Present Party Officialdom Overwhelmingly Repudiated by National Referendum

The Socialist Party National referendum for the election of international delegates and international secretary has overwhelmingly repudiated the present bureaucratic officialdom of the party. Study the table of votes by states which appears below. This is a history making tabulation for it shows that the Socialist party of this country has faced forward and refuses longer to give ear to the siren songs of our stand-patters.

The members of the party want a new deal. They demand a party that is up to the minute in proletarian Socialist thought and deeds. While the world has witnessed tremendous changes, both capitalist-ward and Socialist-ward, as a result of the war, the Socialist party in this country has been slipping backwards, or at best, has been only marking time.

The party membership must have action which will place it in alignment with the kind of Socialism which the lessons of the war have taught us to be the only kind that ensures victory. The party membership has enough of resolutions which straddle the question of affiliation as between the Berne-Scheidemann International and the Moscow-Lenin International. That the party membership does demand a clearing of the decks and an honest expression endorsing the Communist-International is proven by the vote below, which elects comrades as international delegates who are Left Wing Socialists.

In the vote the only states with a large vote that are missing are Illinois and New York. The state secretaries of these states refused to send the Ohio Socialist their returns. For Illinois we can say that we are almost certain that the Left Wing candidates won out by large majorities. We challenge New York to publish its vote. We prophesy that despite the fact that the reactionaries in New York city expelled nearly half the membership, constituting the Left Wing faction, in order to be able to throw out the Left Wing vote upon this referendum, that Right Wing stand-pat candidates in New York received only slight majorities, if they received majorities at all.

The votes from the states not included in the tabulation below will not change results. The Left Wing candidates elected have too great a lead over the defeated candidates. Victor Berger, [illegible], the largest vote among the candidates of moderate Socialism and he got less than half as many as the lowest winning Left Wing candidate.

A thorough study of the tabulation constitutes a revelation to the party membership. John M. Work, Seymour Stedman, A. I. Shiplacoff, James Oneal, who together with National Secretary Germer attempted to suppress this vote, to keep it secret, to hold it up—in fact, the charge is made that their real purpose was to steal the election—these five candidates, the first four of whom are also members of the national executive committee which voted to suppress this referendum—these five candidates were so thoroughly beaten, so overwhelmingly repudiated by the party membership that their standing as party officials, yea, and as party members, is now nil.

Germer, the national secretary of the party, who ought to have the respect and confidence of the entire membership, is so little thought of that he can only poll 3846 votes. James Oneal, whom the national executive committee honored by sending him to Europe to study Socialist progress, only mustered 1726 votes. Shiplacoff, who has thrown his lot with the right wing reactionaries, got 2042 votes. Seymour Stedman, who has been the party's attorney in all large court cases growing out of the espionage law, and who might have made a name for himself in the party, only has the confidence of the membership to the extent of 3754 votes. John M. Work, an editorial writer upon Berger's paper, received 2316 votes.

The Left Wing candidates, because the membership knew them to be in accord with Lenin and Liebknecht Socialism, received what can be considered an ovation from the rank and file. John Reed, a strong supporter of the Russian Socialist Federated Republic, received 16,074 votes. Louis C. Fraina, editor of the Revolutionary Age, which paper leads in the advocacy of Left Wing Socialism in this country, received 13,447 votes. Alfred Wagenknecht, whom those defeated by this referendum discharged from the national office because he was a Left Wing Socialist, received 10,325 votes and C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of Local Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), which local adopted the Left Wing program at a recent mass meeting, received 10,067 votes.

The real character of the action of the seven members of the national executive committee (four of whom are candidates upon the ballot below) becomes apparent when this vote is examined. The results of this referendum stamp the expulsion of the Socialist Party of Michigan, the suspension of seven foreign federations, the refusal to tabulate the vote and the attempt to place the party property beyond reach of the party membership, as the last desperate acts of a pitiful minority overwhelmingly and definitely repudiated by the party membership.

	Delaware	Dist. of Col.	Indiana	New Jersey	Ohio	Pennsylvania	Iowa	Missouri	Michigan	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Nebraska	Washington	Montana	California	Florida	Georgia	Virginia	Kentucky	Tennessee	Rhode Island	Maine	Massachusetts	New Mexico	Texas	Oregon	Colorado	Totals
Oscar Ameringer	....	8	182	140	187	510	95	109	123	114	1050	12	53	2	64	7	13	3	7	3	12	10	165	7	34	26	12	2948
Victor L. Berger	2	13	257	260	428	560	77	118	268	105	1145	21	129	5	166	19	33	19	16	10	40	18	612	31	45	77	18	4465
L. B. Boudin	1	2	120	46	179	137	19	37	192	43	83	14	124	4	20	4	6	....	1	..	9	..	136	5	4	20	11	1217
J. Louis Engdahl	11	9	168	162	240	359	75	78	167	106	557	15	119	7	159	12	4	10	5	2	23	4	259	10	26	69	8	2653
Isaac Edw. Ferguson	1	2	308	691	640	910	29	6	484	459	375	8	30	....	10	4	3	10	63	1	83	31	1502	4	4	483	30	6171
Louis C. Fraina	9	13	350	1134	1232	1575	34	112	3290	551	472	13	211	8	371	24	11	16	58	9	234	39	3090	11	10	534	47	13447
Adolph Germer	5	10	270	150	433	458	88	137	213	148	896	35	138	7	112	9	20	7	6	10	21	14	455	34	73	80	15	3843
Algernon Lee	6	15	55	182	131	266	15	41	135	86	160	16	30	1	43	2	8	18	6	..	24	12	336	6	17	9	6	1616
James Oneal	2	9	162	92	141	186	12	40	58	33	107	27	61	3	43		12	12	7	..	26	16	661	6	13	16	11	1726
John Reed	18	31	510	1431	1525	2169	87	170	3547	646	705	38	274	11	498	31	28	27	72	12	288	49	3255	10	28	559	56	16074
C. E. Ruthenberg	12	8	342	802	1793	1419	68	107	3083	150	263	16	107	12	346	2	1	9	10	3	163	34	1231	17	18	18	46	10067
A. I. Shiplacoff	5	24	72	316	160	459	25	37	76	54	89	30	64	1	33	18	12	7	1	...	22	11	481	8	6	25	6	2042
Seymour Stedman	3	30	292	168	271	420	116	131	305	142	1112	51	103	5	98	5	25	10	7	[illegible]	18	11	260	41	53	55	19	3754
A Wagenknecht	13	4	342	764	935	1032	58	71	2857	547	401	4	131	4	358	6	5	12	64	7	247	10	1912	26	13	531	4	10358
John M. Work	3	12	94	104	155	231	64	75	102	118	763	20	127	8	91	4	13	7	8	4	8	23	173	20	28	47	11	2313
VOTE ON INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY																												
Morris Hillquit	14	33	308	344	429	581	117	180	507	255	1239	32	120	15	128	17	21	16	6	1	138	20	969	30	20	76	18	3923
Kate Richards O'Hare	9	13	539	891	978	1801	103	93	2918	367	596	52	279	6	468	20	26	26	74	15	81	51	2254	29	72	534	57	12352

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18, 1919.

AN ANSWER AND A CHALLENGE.

Is the New York Call badly informed, insufficiently informed—or has it learned the art of newspaper lying?

In an editorial in its issue of June 8th it claims that the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party in this country has all the characteristics of the doctrine of the "militant minority" as advocated and practiced by the French Syndicalists some ten years ago. At that time small bands of "revolutionists" entered the unions in France in the hope of captuuring them to lead them, through a dictatorship, into the Syndicalist camp.

That the Left Wing movement in this country is a similar manifestation we absolutely deny. The New York Call utters an untruth when it so claims, and we believe it knows it.

The facts are that the Left Wing movement in this country is a RANK AND FILE movement. When Local Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) meets in mass convention and adopts Left Wing program, is this the work of a militant minority or is it a true expression of the mass of the local's membership? When Local Cook County (Chicago) holds a delegate convention with a representation of one delegate for every ten members in the local, and adopts the Left Wing program by a vote of 380 to 83, is this the work of a "militant minority," or is it the true expression of the Chicago membership? Local Buffalo met in mass convention and adopted the Left Wing program, as did Locals Philadelphia, Salt Lake City, Portland, Seattle, Hamilton, Minneapolis, Detroit—in fact all large locals in industrial centers and many smaller locals in smaller industrial cities have adopted the Left Wing program. St. Louis and Milwaukee are probably the only exception, and even Milwaukee is now one-third Left Wing.

The swings towards the Left is a rank and file manifestation. No one knows this better than the officialdom of the party, those who are about to lose their official heads because of their moderate stand. This bureaucratic officialdom suspended and expelled nearly 40,000 party members for being Left Wing Socialists and there is no better proof than this that they know the Left Wing movement to be a rank and file movement.

It is the right wingers, the reactionaries, the desperate officialdom of the party, who, because they feel themselves insulted at this mass movement by the rank and file against the control of the party by moderate Socialists, are using dictatorial methods to keep themselves in office by refusing to allow the rank and file to express itself through referendum. They are expelling the rank and file because the rank and file is asserting itself and refuses longer to look up to leaders who mislead.

We hereby issue a challenge to any representative of the New York Call, any of the seven despotic national executive committee who are guilty of throwing 40,000 members out of the party, to debate this question before any large local or any state convention. And to the New York Call we desire to say that upon its fairness in this controversy will to a great extent depend its ability to secure support and subscriptions in the many Left Wing states which surround New York.

WORDS VERSUS ACTION.

That elegant phaser of English, Woodrow Wilson, who has been so busy these last few months mishandling the nation's affairs at Paris, and leagueing the nations with ropes of sand, ventured upon an oratorical flight before the French Society of Political Science which is one of the most glaring misstatements of fact which it has been our lot to have thrust upon our notice.

Woodrow, the Wonderful, is quoted as saying:

> My view of the State is that it must stop and listen to what I have to say, no matter how humble I am and that every man has the right to have his voice heard and his council heeded, in so far as it is worthy. I have always been among those who believed that the greatest freedom was the greatest safety, because if a man is a fool the best thing to do is to encourage him to advertise the fact by speaking.

Beautiful sentences. Just as beautiful as they are meaningless when judged by facts. Can any man in possession of his senses make a statement like that in face of the facts concerning freedom of speech in the United States? Can any one, unless grossly ignorant of actualities, or viciously attempting to betray the truth make such a statement? Freedom of speech in America? It does not exist. The press of the country still muzzled six months after the war is over. Free speech utterly abolished. The most atrocious laws ever placed upon the statute books of a civilized nation still in effect. The jails of the country full to the doors with men and women who have committed no crimes, but only have expressed themselves at variance with Mr. Wilson and the policies he has [illegible]

Do not be misled. No one knows better than Woodrow Wilson that it was with his approval that free speech was stricken to earth in this country. It was at his bidding that an intellectual reign of terror was allowed to be inaugurated over the country, that honest men and honest convictions were driven to cover at his behest and that the most unspeakable offenses were daily committed against freedom of speech in this country—all with the approval of Wilson.

The longer Woodrow Wilson talks the plainer he is revealed as one of the most noted mongerers that was ever belied by his actions. Free speech, free press, freedom of utterance for every one no matter how humble his station in life. All, all are empty phrases. Not even during the war has capitalism in America been allowed to go to such extremes in its desperate attempts to destroy freedom of speech as since the signing of the armistice. The liberties of the American people, their right to speak their opinions in public are absolutely in the hands of ignorant politicians and brutal police. Reactionary political shysters at the heads of city and town governments have vied with each other in the extent to which they could go in strangling free speech.

To speak, to write, to think, except in favor of capitalism is to be immediately subjected to the most vicious assaults by agencies of the city, state or federal governments. Wilson knows this. His statements to the contrary are merest moonshine.

That Bundle Brigade

How many Ohio Socialists is your local distributing each week? None? Well, comrade, you are the one we want to talk to. But first let us ask if you can think of a real, sensible reason why you are not. Think hard, now for it requires downright hard thinking to scare up a good, sound reason for such neglect. And while you are thinking in the back of your head for this reason, read a reason or two why your Local should join the Distribution Squad at once.

The Ohio Socialist is the best propaganda paper you can possibly place in the hands of the uninformed. Compared to leaflets, it is a thousand per cent better, for it containg such a variety of articles, some of which MUST strike home. A paper always arouses curiosity and invites investigation. A leaflet does not always do so.

Some cities in Ohio have ordinances against the distribution of leaflets. But none have ordinances against distribution of papers, nor are likely to have. To comrades in such cities, we say, join the Ohio Socialist Distribution Squad. Get on the job of educating your fellow workers.

Many Ohio cities and towns are passing laws against open air meetings without permits from the police. That their ordinances are aimed at Socialists is not disputed. Nevertheless, even this unjust usurpation of the rights of the workers should not prove a detriment to our movement. We can still carry the message of Socialism to the workers every week in every city of this state and other states, too, through the distribution of the Ohio Socialist. There is absolutely no reason why the propaganda of Socialism should be slackened for a moment. Just think for a moment. If our meetings were uninterrupted, thousands of workers would attend them with eagerness to hear the message of Socialism. Now, the question arises, what are the comrades of your local doing to keep up the interest of these awakened workers. What are you doing to retain their interest in Socialism? What are you doing to further educate them in Socialism so that they may shortly take their places beside you instead of behind you in the march of the workers toward Industrial Democracy? Ask yourself these questions seriously for they are important, so important that no evasion of them is possible.

Many locals and individual comrades, not only in Ohio, but throughout the nation, see clearly the necessity of better distribution of socialist papers and literature. They are organizing for it. They refuse to be pushed aside by the reactionary politicians who would wreck the Socialist Movement if they could.

We want every comrade to realize the necessity of getting into the harness and distributing the Ohio Socialist regularly, every week. It is the best method possible for propaganda. And it is cheap enough, too. Every local of our party can afford to order a generous bundle for distribution. At the low price of one-half cent per copy many thousands of Ohio Socialists should be placed in the hands of the workers each week. We want your local to join the Distribution Squad. Join today for there is [illegible] cited Piqua, which takes 400 a week; Local Sandusky takes the same; Local Lorain, 500; Springfield gets 500 per week; Local Warren also is on the list for 400. Locals Canton, Massillon, Cambridge, Toledo, and L. P. Benedict of Findlay each use a hundred copies for distribution. Many locals and comrades out of state also are busy satisfying the growing appetites of the workers for sound socialism by a conscientious distribution of the Ohio Socialist. In fact, our bundle order list is constantly growing as comrades realize more and more the value of literature distribution. And so, comrades, those of you who have neglected the opportunities of forwarding the cause of socialism by the distribution method, we invite you to join the growing list of comrades who are doing this invaluable work. Join now. Order a bundle. One-half cent per copy in any quantity.

NEW JERSEY CONVENTION ADOPTS LEFT WING PROGRAM

The 19th annual convention of the Socialist Party of New Jersey, which closed Friday, May 30, adopted the Left Wing program in its entirety.

At the same time, the convention declared against a separatist organization or any tactics which would make it impossible to work for the left wing program from within the party.

Approval of the action and adherance to the ideals of the Lenin group, the Spartacans, and other similar revolutionary Socialist factions, was voiced by the convention, and the manifesto of the Left Wing faction of the New Jersey movement was indorsed. Fred Harwood, state secretary, declared it a decided Left Wing convention.

A resolution to condemn the action of the national executive committee for suspending seven foreign federation and the Socialist Party of Michigan was deferred because, at the time the convention was in session, no positive information of these shameful acts was at hand, only capitalist press reports being available to act upon. That the New Jersey Socialist Party will severely condemn the acts of the seven national executive committeemen in throwing nearly 40,000 members out of the party and in holding up the national referendum to elect new national officers, is a foregone conclusion.

Another state gone "left." What are you going to do about it, you seven of the national executive committee who have already driven 40,000 members out of the party for being "left"? How much of a party will you have left, if you follow your "throw them out" program to its logical conclusion? You've expelled Michigan. You've suspended seven foreign federations. You are about to expel Massachusetts for adopting the left wing program. The German Socialist Federation turned to the left, and you'll probably suspend it. The Socialist Party of Washington is now taking a referendum upon the question of adopting the left wing program. This referendum will [illegible]

30,000 MEMBERS UNJUSTLY SUSPENDED

Statement of Seven Language Federations of the Socialist Party Protesting Their Suspension by Seven Members of Nat'l Ex. Com.

To the Members of the Socialist Party.

Comrades:—There is hardly a party member who does not know that the trend within the party for the last several months has been toward revolutionary and uncompromising Socialism. We have all been taught a great lesson by the Scheidemanns and Kautskys of Germany, the Hendersons of England, and social patriots the world over. We know that that brand of "Socialism," the kind that always trades and compromises with the capitalist classes and the supporters of which in times of war and revolution do not hesitate to go hand by hand with their imperialistic governments and revenge itself upon comrades of such sterling character as Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and others, we know that "socialists" believing in this kind of "Socialism" are not to be trusted with our party management.

And so for many months a struggle has been going on in our party in this country between the revolutionary element and the opportunists who control the party machinery. The members of the party, having learned that Scheidemann "Socialism" means defeat instead of victory of the working class, have taken a radical and revolutionary attitude in line with the new International. This radical stand on the part of party members has been named the "left wing movement" within our party. The socialists in most large industrial centers have joined the left wing. Boston, Cleveland, Buffalo, San Francisco, Oakland, Portland, Philadelphia, Detroit, Seattle, and scores of other locals and even state organizations of our party have officially adopted the left wing program.

The Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, South Slavic, and Lettish language federations of the Socialist Party, containing over 30,000 members, also uphold this left wing position. These federations and the comrades in them, knowing the situation in Europe, have for a long time requested the Socialist Party in this country to take a definite stand upon the side of the Lenin and Liebknecht Socialists of Europe.

It was because these seven language federations of the party criticized the national executive committee for its straddling of this important question, that seven members of this committee suspended these federations at its meeting, May 24 to 30.

If this matter were not so serious; it would, indeed, be laughable. We submit to you, comrade, that it is rather funny for a little group of SEVEN desperate men to suspend over THIRTY THOUSAND members from the Socialist Party. Such an act has never been perpetrated upon the Socialist Party before. Never in the history of the party has a set of officials acted in so high-handed and autocratic manner. Let it be indelibly impressed upon your brain, comrade—SEVEN men suspended over THIRTY THOUSAND members from the party—and seven is only a minority of the national executive committee.

This is not the worst of it! Read carefully and your indignation will known no bounds. Here is what this autocratic group of seven national committee men did:

1. They suspended seven language federations from the Socialist Party containing over 30,000 members.
2. They refused these federations a trial.
3. The autocratic seven committeemen refused to give the seven federations they suspended a chance to prepare their case.
4. They refused to postpone the suspension until the executive committees of the federations could act in the matter.
5. The autocratic national executive committeemen even went so far as to fail to give either of the federations a copy of the charges while the debate upon motion to suspend was being acted upon.
6. The [illegible]
7. This group of seven suspended the entire election of the officials of the Socialist Party under the clumsy excuse that the votes cannot be tabulated because some branches and locals have voted as a unit and for the candidates not of the choice of the reactionary group of seven.

In short, this group of seven national committeemen, drunk with power they assumed, feeling agrieved because these federations dared to criticise the national executive committee, made themselves guilty of an act which will discredit them forever in the International Socialist Movement.

We say that even if we were guilty of acts not in conformity with the constitution, and THIS WE DENY—but even if we were guilty of such acts, WE HAD A RIGHT TO A FAIR TRIAL WITH NOTICE THAT CHARGES WERE TO BE PLACED AGAINST US. No party member will say that we have not the right to a fair trial and the right to time to prepare our case. Every capitalist court gives this right, but it was denied us in the Socialist Party.

The charges which were placed against us, and which we have, since we have been convicted and suspended, allowed to see, contain numerous counts so misleading and far fetched that it is useless to reply to them. In the main we are charged with being left wing Socialists and with making propaganda in the party for left wing Socialism. We are further charged with trying to capture the Socialist Party. To this we answer that we did do all we could do legitimately to place the administration of our party into the hands of real comrades who are in full harmony with revolutionary Socialism. And we only wish we had succeeded in this long before now, for the acts of the SEVEN autocrats on the national executive committee must prove to every comrade that a change in party administration, its program and tactics, is very much needed. The counts in the charges claiming we violated the party constitution do not apply at all and the autocratic seven stretched the constitution in an effort to make it apply to a case they wanted to trump up against us.

We claim that the TRUE REASON FOR OUR SUSPENSION IS THAT THE AUTOCRATIC SEVEN OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE KNOW THAT WE, THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS, WERE PERMITTED TO REMAIN IN THE PARTY, THE OPPORTUNISTIC CLIQUE WOULD NOT CONTROL THE COMING NATIONAL CONVENTION, AND THAT OUR SUSPENSION WAS VOTED SO THAT MODERATE, REFORM, TRAITOR "SOCIALISM" WOULD PREVAIL IN THAT CONVENTION. In fact, several of the autocratic seven openly stated that we were suspended so that we would not be able to control the coming national convention.

And NOW—WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS, COMRADE? We were suspended by this autocratic seven; but they were not satisfied with that—they fired us out of the national headquarters, AND MADE US hurry around to look for other quarters. We had an idea that suspension was only a temporary state and that we might some day be reinstated either by the membership or the national convention. In such case we might have been allowed to remain in the national headquarters building to carry on our work until membership or the national convention give its decision upon the acts of the reactionary seven. But no, we were fired out of the building by a motion passed by this group of seven and a motion to give us to July 1st to find other quarters was lost.

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

YOUR LOCAL—WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First Sunday of Each Month at 2 P. M.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
[illegible]

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
36 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the Month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.

[illegible]

Russian Cossacks Proclaim Support of Soviet Republi

The Cossack Section of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee that has been elected by the Cossack masses and who represent the real Cossack people and not the rich and conservative upper elements has addressed to the workers of other countries the following manifesto:

Comrades, Workers and Peasants of France, England and America, Germany, Austria, Turkey, Japan, Italy and other countries:

We Cossack communists, members of the Cossack Section of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of the Workers', Peasants', Cossack and Red Army Deputies, members of all Cossack Armies and regions, in appealing to you to fight International Capital hereby declare: We, the Cossacks of Don, Torek, Astrachan, Ural, Orenburg, Siberia, Kuban, Transbaikalia, Ussuria, Semirochia, and Amur are not fighting under the banner of the counter-revolutionary generals of Krasnoff, Doutoff, and Donikin, but stand shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army of Soviet Russia. We are fighting the enemies of the International Socialist Revolution.

Are you aware, comrade workers of foreign lands, that the invincible Red Army of the Soviet government of Workers and Soldiers of Russia has defeated the White Guard legions of the czarist ataman Krasnoff.

Large numbers of regiments of Don Cossacks have come and are coming over to our side.

We defeated the forces of General Doutoff and we are now breaking up the forces of Donikin and other leaders of the black hundred monarchists and their white guard armies.

You are surely told differently about us Cossacks by the governments of your bankers and multi-millionaires, by the Wilsons, Lloyd-Georges, Clemenceaus, by the compromisers, Scheidemann, Ebert and others.

They are assuring you that the Cossacks defend the capitalist system, the generals, the merchants, the landlords and the clergy.

They are brazenly lying to you.

Do not believe your bankers and capitalists.

A part of our brother Cossacks, duped by the generals, were in the ranks of the white guards, but at the present time the mass of the Cossacks have had their eyes opened, and together with the sturdy, victorious Red Army, the powerful buttress of the World Social Revolution is wiping off the earth all enemies of the laboring masses.

Arise quickly, foreign fellow-workers. Take the power of government into your toil-hardened hands.

Stop feeding by your toil the idlers and bankers while you are drowning in the blood of your brothers.

Establish Soviet governments in your own lands.

Organize your Red Army.

Long Live the International Red Army, the terror of the capitalists of all countries. No more bankers and capitalists. No more slaves, one family of toilers of the world.

Hold higher than ever the invincible red banner of communism and the International Proletariat.

Long Live the International Communist Party (of Bolsheviks.)

Long Live the International Social Revolution, and its great leaders, Lenin, Trotzky, Maclean, Debs.

Long Live the Third International.

(Signed.)

The Cossack Section of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets.

For the Cossacks of the Don—Moshkaroff, M. Daniloff, E. Dolgcheff, F. Tchekanoff, G. Starik A. Kuziubordin, M. Makaroff.

For the Cossacks of the Kuba N. Shevchenko, L. Koroboff.

For the Cossacks of Orenburg—Kaigorodoff, Svashn, Nagai Skvortzoff.

For the Cossacks of Astrakhan—V. Izlumsky, Tcherednikoff.

For the Cossacks of Ural—I. Ruzheinikoff.

For the Cossacks of Siberia—F. Stepanoff.

Life in U. S. Federal Prison

(Continued from Last Week.)

While in my cell they noticed the following verse, which with other propaganda, I had scratched into the wall in large letters.

The Merchant calls it profit
And he winks the other eye;
The Banker calls it interest
And he heaves a cheerful sigh;

The Landlord calls it rent
As he tucks it in his bag;
But the honest old burglar
He simply called it swag.

We then had a discussion in economics.

Seeing that they could not trap me in any other way they tried flattery. They said that I ought never to have been sent to jail in the first place; that a smart young fellow like myself should not suffer in solitary for others, and that they were sorry to keep me there; that the government needed honest men like myself in its service. But still I would not be good natured enough to tell them the information that they were after.

Two days after the warden's visit I was very much surprised to be called out in the hall and measured up for a suit, being told that I was to go home on February 18th and not lose any "good time." I sure was a happy fellow during the next month.

About the last of January the deputy sent me a very small box of stale candy, nuts and figs. I could tell from the marks on the box that it had been sent by my sweetheart for me at Christmas time. I had to sign a slip saying that I had received it. (Later I discovered that I had received only one-sixth of what she had sent me; the remainder having gone to the "prison politicians" with the approval of the authorities.)

The deputy and the guards would now come around and talk about how nice it was for me to be allowed to go home; then try to "pump" me for a hint while I was in an extra good humor. I would lay awake nights planning about the good times I would have with my loved ones when I left the U. S. penitentiary. The time went very fast.

The guard told me that all of my papers, letters, clothes, books, etc., would be given to me when I left the hole. I sent a note to the chaplain offering the prison library Sinclair's "Cry for Justice," Mill's "Struggle for Existence," and Liebknecht's "Militarism." The guard told me that these books had been sent to the library.

At noon on February 17 I was called into the deputy's office. While he was walking up and down the room, looking out the window, he said:

"Hennacy, I suppose that you would like to go home tomorrow?"

"I sure would," I said, smiling.

"Well, there's only one way that you can go home, and that is to tell me the name of that fellow," he said, looking out the window.

"Why, I would never do that," I said in a surprised tone. "I thought it was understood long ago that I would never tell."

"Go back to your cell and stay there the rest of your time then; that is the price if you are willing to pay it," he growled.

"I'm willing," I said, as I walked towards my cell.

How shall I describe my disappointment? I saw now that all of their seeming kindness had been but a snare to try to persuade me to do something which they themselves admitted was wrong. Now I knew them for the damn, smiling Christian hypocrites that they were.

I had been a little lax with my physical culture exercises for the past week, but this night I determined to take more exercise than ever. That night I commenced to read the New Testament through again, planning to read and study three chapters each day. I knew that I could do the four months and twenty-two days until July 13th.

The next morning the guard told me that he had all my stuff packed up in a wooden box and sent to the front office. He said "good-bye" to me. I told him that he should not kid me that way, for he knew very well that I could not leave the prison until "I squealed."

After breakfast, as I was reading in Matthew, Dean came in and said "pack up, Hennacy, you are going to leave right away." I made no move for I did not believe him. He told me to go over to the East cell house and get a shave, and I thought I might as well go that far and see what game they were trying to work on me this time.

I made up my mind that if I had a chance to see the warden, deputy or the chaplain I would tell them what I thought of their unscrupulous tactics, even if I had to go back to the hole for the rest of my time. It is customary for these officials to bid you good-bye and wish you good luck; but not one of them came near me.

Up until the last minute, when a deputy marshall took me in custody for refusing to register in September, I expected to be told that I could not leave unless I gave in to them; but nothing occurred for I guess they were glad to get rid of me, and knew that I would be locked up for some time in another jail.

It was only by much discussion that I was allowed to take my black leather grip; they said that I did not have any at the prison, and [illegible] mand it, but I said that I would not leave without it.

When I opened the wooden box at Atlanta county jail I found to my dismay that all of my old letters, papers, notes, and some of my books and clothes were missing. Also all of the newspapers that had been sent to me while I was in the hole. I did receive some of the letters that came, though. I also discovered that they had refused to accept the three books that I had sent to the library. When my lawyer presented a list of the articles which had been stolen from me, to the warden, and demanded their return, he said that he knew nothing about them. By this time I have learned not to take his word for anything.

Since leaving U. S. P. O have heard that Berkman is in the hole because he answered some questions about the Bolsheviki that were asked to him by his fellow workers in the tailor shop, and also because he told the deputy warden to his face that he was a scoundrel and a hypocrite.

It seems that Hirshberg took his red handkerchief out of his pocket to wipe his face with, and at the same time said the word "might," while in conversation with some one. Some "stool pigeon" with a very energetic imagination reported that he was waving a red flag and was going to "dynamite the prison." So Hirshberg is now in the hole. I understand that Randolph, Morrison, Sage and other radicals are also in the hole.

It is reported that a young negro would not move along fast enough to suit Dean and that he shot him through the breast. Tthe negro died soon afterward.

I have also heard that an ignorant guard by the name of Ellis fractured the skull of a little Italian by the name of Didato on the plea that Didato was going to strike him. It seems that Didato had his hands in his pockets and Ellis told him to take his hands out of his pockets; when he did so Ellis said that Didato was going to strike him—hence the fractured skull. Ellis weighs about 225 pounds. I know Didato well, for he was in the paint gang while I was there.

Mr. Bazemore, deputy sheriff of the county jail in Atlanta, told me that the warden at U. S. P. had asked him to open my mail to see if he could find out the name of the person who delivered that letter for me. Bazemore opened my mail for a few weeks and then told me that there was no use trying to find out, so my mail was not bothered any more.

The worst feature about the federal penitentiary is that certain unprincipled convicts are encouraged to spy upon and betray their fellow prisoners. These "rats" or "stool pigeons," as they are called, receive special favors, easy jobs, and even paroles. These traitors may be divided into four classes:

1. Those who are weak-minded or of a servile disposition.

2. Some sexual degenerates who thus seek to "stand in good" with the officials in order to throw suspicion from themselves.

3. Some ex-professional or ex-business men who seem to think that their education gives them the right to betray a "common" prisoner.

4. Some religious persons who have been persuaded that spying is a Christian virtue.

Through the above mentioned many innocent men are punished.

If the government would pay the guards a decent salary, perhaps they would have honest and humane guards; and the services of these self-appointed private detectives could be dispensed with.

Men who are crippled or who have some physical defect or disease attend to peeling potatoes, handling food, etc.; in this way spoiled or defective food is often served to prisoners.

When a visitor sees an excellent bill of fare and tastes excellent food—perhaps fed only to officers—he thinks that the prisoners are well fed. When the food reaches the prisoner it is often different in quality from that which has been posted upon the bill of fare sent to the government.

A few of the officials are naturally mean, overbearing and unscrupulous. A few are naturally good natured fellows; some seem to have the hook worm, their only ambition being to draw their $77 a month with the expenditure of the least possible energy; while the remainder seem to know only two words: punishment and hatred.

No matter how much a "benevolent despot" might improve prison surroundings, as long as the officials put a premium on treachery and lying; using every effort to rob a man of his self respect; refusing to allow the men individual expression; refusing to leave them have some part in framing the rules towards bettering their own condition, no real and lasting benefit will accrue to the prisoner.

I suppose it is needless to tell you that I am ten times stronger in my Internationalism and my non-compromising attitude than before I went to prison. I will be out now in a little over six months and anxious to do all that I can for the working class movement.

With love, your brother,
AMMON A. HENNACY

13 SOCIALISTS ON TRIAL AT CINCINNATI

(Continued from first page.)

sibility of the truth of the statement. Late Thursday, when the witnesses for the prosecution were about all heard, a dispute arose between Comrade Sharts and Bolan, prosecuting attorney. Sharts had all through the proceedings of the trial raised an objection to any testimony being accepted after the arrest had been made, claiming that the arrest of any of the comrades terminated the conspiracy. This objection had been made from the very beginning, but it was always overruled by the judge and an exception taken by Sharts. The last time this objection was made Bolan seemed to realize all at once that he had overlooked something and started out on a tandrum asserting that the conspiracy had not terminated after arrest because the whole state of Ohio was back of the conspiracy, that is, the whole Socialist party of Ohio was back of it, having through the resolution contained in the indictment in the circular said to have been circulated by the defense which stated that the Socialist Party of Ohio would give any one who evaded the draft its financial and moral support. This statement on the part of Bolan changed completely his whole line of arraignment. For in the opening argument he had persistently and continuously said that these defendants were not being tried as Socialists but as individuals. The court also had repeatedly held that we were individuals and not Socialists. Sharts immediately challenged the statement of Bolan and it was such a ticklish question, court had to adjourn to hear both sides in executive session, without the jury being present. It took until 10:30 Friday for the lawyers to thrash it out with the judge and for the judge to bring in a ruling. The ruling was in our favor, the judge holding that unless we were present at the meeting at which that resolution was passed we could not be a party to it. He ruled that the jury had been prejudiced by the introduction of this statement not intentionally, of course, but nevertheless it had happened. The jury was dismissed until June 16th, our cases were continued until some time before the fall term of court. Now we are informed through the papers that we are to have a retrial on July 7th, with a new jury. Fifty are to be drawn in the next venire. The witnesses we are told have already been subpoenaed.

Army of Unemployed Is Still Growing

Washington, D. C.—Reports to the United States employment service for the week ending May 10 show an increase of 7,450 unemployed in 41 cities over the previous week. Reports furnished by 4,621 representative firms in 83 cities show that 42 cities, or 50.5 per cent of the cities reporting, have a labor surplus aggregating 135,380, as compared with 127,850 unemployed the previous week in the same cities. Twelve cities, or 14.4 per cent of those reporting, show a shortage of 8,650, leaving 29 cities, or 35.1 per cent of those reporting, an equality of labor supply and demand.

Reports on unemployment by states show that of the 36 states reporting 18 have surpluses, five shortages, and 13 an equality of labor supply and demand.

Interstate clearances of labor by the employment service during the week show that 30,572 workers were cleared between the several states, while 71,572 applications for employment were cleared during the same period.

Cleveland, with 30,000 unemployed, and Pittsburg, with 20,000, are the chief centers of unemployment, in the absence of specific figures from New York city, where the largest surplus exists.

SHOW PROGRESS AT CONVENTION

(Continued from First Page.)

member holds office for a year he must then work for wages in some industry before he is eligible to office again. No paid official can be a delegate to the general convention. This is meant to keep the power in the hands of the rank and file.

The policy of all papers published by any part of the organization is to be controlled by the general executive board, and no I. W. W. paper can accept commercial advertising.

A universal initiation fee of $2 was adopted. Plans for building up the publishing bureau were made. Many new pamphlets and books are to be published soon.

The convention went on record as opposed to any member or group of members taking part in or helping in any way to build up any organization outside of the I. W. W. This does not prevent any member holding a card in any other labor body.

It was decided that, if the proposed conference is called by the Russian Soviet government, the I. W. W. have representation there.

HAYWOOD TOUR PLANNED.

The convention voted to send William D. Haywood on a lecture tour for the One Big Union Monthly as soon as he is released from prison.

On the last day of the convention the following declaration was declared adopted:

"We, the delegates of the Industrial Workers of the World, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirm our adherence to the cause of the International Proletariat, and reassert our profound conviction that the program of Industrial Unionism not only furnishes a method of successful resistance against the aggression of a rabid master class, but provides a basis for the reconstruction of society when capitalism shall have collapsed. We regard the great European war as a convincing evidence of the ripening of the capitalist system and its approaching disintegration; and we hail the rising workers' republics in Russia and other countries as evidence that only the proletariat, through its economic force and by reason of its stragetic position in industry, can save the world from chaos and guarantee the fundamental rights of life.

"We publish again the preamble to our constitution and call upon the working class of the world to unite with us upon the basis of the principles there declared, in order that we may by our combined economic power, displace the wage system with its horde of parasite exploiters, and substitute for it the communal system of industrial democracy, thereby liberating humanity from its age-long degradation and freeing it to go forward, not only to universal prosperity and happiness, but also to high and noble culture.

"Workers of the world, unite! You have only your chains to lose. You have the world and life to gain."

The convention adjourned after 11 days in true "wobbly" fashion. The 54 delegates rose to their feet and began to sing. The 200 spectators present rose and joined in the song. Even the old court stenographer from the federal office scrambled to his feet, and as the voices of the workers swelled into concert I wondered if the sinister smile of Frank K. Nebeker, copper trust man, would not have vanished had he been there and heard

"Hold the fort, for we are coming—
Union men, be strong.
Side by side we battle onward;
Victory will come."

MR. WILSON AND DEMOCRACY

While Mr. Wilson is in foreign countries demanding democracy (free press and free speech) hundreds of American citizens are being held in jail for expressing their opinions. Is it consistent for Mr. Wilson to ask of others that which he will not grant at home? When England and France went into this war they said it was democracy the world wanted, when America went into the war the whole cry was democracy (free speech, free press and the right of free assemblage). But what have we got? Democracy or plutocracy? In every country that was in this war men protested against war, they were sent to jail, every man that had guts enough to express his opinion openly against the war was sent to jail. When peace was declared in all the countries the opposers of murder were released except in this democratic America, yet Mr. Wilson is demanding a world-wide democracy. The writer was held in jail twelve days without warrant or charges and released without a trial; Debs is serving ten years for telling the people that they should realize that they were fit for something else except slavery and cannon fodder, others are serving time in jails for telling the people that war was for the rich and not the poor. What part have the rich taken in this war except profit grabbing. What have the common people gained? What are their Liberty bonds worth? Can they exchange a hundred dollar Liberty bond for a hundred dollar Victory bond? Why is it that there is a discount on these bonds that the people were told were worth their face value? Have not the working class been exploited on every side?

Is that the kind of democracy that Mr. Wilson is demanding of the world? Is it democracy when Mr. Wilson could bring home thousands of dollars worth of presents yet the boys that faced the cannon were deprived generally of the right to bring home little trinkets picked up from the battlefields? Is it democracy for Mr. Wilson and the plutocrats of other nations to dictate just what kind of a government other nations may establish? Is it any wonder the Bolshevik movement is growing? Can the common people of Germany and Russia see the kind of democracy Mr. Wilson has at home? Do they want it? No! No! They want a working class democracy not a capitalist plutocracy, and they realize that only by a revolution can this kind of a democracy be possible. A revolution is coming, the world is on fire, the master must be unthroned, kings and kaisers days have come to a finish, they see the handwriting on the wall, they see that the scriptures must be fulfilled that a revolution will follow this world-wide war. Four thousand years ago the people found themselves slaves, they were freed; two thousand years ago the people found they were [illegible] to the master class, they were [illegible] now they have began to wake up to the fact that they have been led back into slavery, and they are going to rebel.

Yes, the people are not only going to ask that the comrades that are in jail shall be freed, but that the world shall be freed from the chains that hold them in the most damnable form of slavery yet ever formed in the whole world, yet, these people must be liberated, while they are in the jails none of us are free, and we must not ask for mercy but demand it, demand justice, not only demand it but by the living Gods we must have it. Comrades when we demand it and demand it in the right way, we will get it; you will see every jail door open. For the name of God will we act? Every day that we prolong our action these dear comrades are being held in the capitalist hell holes. Comrades, if Mr. Wilson wants what he says he wants let him have it. But we will only get it when we all stand together in one solid phalanx. Comrades wake up, we have nothing to lose but our chaines, but we have the world to gain.

GEO. F. PARSONS.

Beckley, W. Va.

LOCAL KANSAS CITY PROTESTS

Local Kansas City at a recent meeting passed the following resolution upon being informed that the national executive committee had voted to suspend seven foreign language federations, containing more than 30,000 members.

Resolved: That the Kansas City Local in regular meeting protests against the action of the National Executive Committee in suspending the foreign language federations and denounces the members of the committee who voted for such suspension as traitors to the International Socialist movement.

SOCIAL WILL BOOST PARTY PRESS FUND

Local Hubbard will hold an ice-cream social on the lawn of Comrade Miller's home, Stop 34, Youngstown and Sharon Line, on Thursday eve, June 19. Good music will be on hand to entertain the crowd. A large gathering of comrades is expected and a good time all around is assured. Proceeds will be donated to the Party Press Fund.

18c Will Buy These Three

"VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY."

(By Scott Nearing.)

Nearing says violence will not settle labor's problems. He proves it. Just the booklet to enlighten the worker who believes Socialists advocate violence.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI.

An aptly illustrated booklet that reveals the truth of the accusations of crime made against the Russian Bolsheviki.

CONSTITUTNON OF SOCIALIST RUSSIA

The World's First Socialist Republic.

Every worker should be familiar with the fundamental law of the first Socialist republic. It is interesting and instructive.

Read it and pass it on.

These three 18 cents. Order now. Address Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

30,000 MEMBERS UNJUSTSY SUSPENDED

Continued from third page.)

We call upon all party members to give this protest of ours the attention it deserves. We call upon you to rebuke these seven national executive committee members for their traitorous actions against the Socialist movement. We have given our unstinted financial support to the Socialist Party in all matters, even though we thought that in many instances the funds were squandered or misapplied. We have not helped as much as we should in purchasing the national headquarters building because we wanted first to make sure where the ownership rested. That we were right in being slow to support the headquarters fund is now proven by the fact that this same autocratic seven placed the entire property in the hands of a board of directors which can in no way be controlled either by the party membership or the national executive committee.

We feel assured that no member of the party will contend that seven members of the party have a right to suspend over thirty thousand and expel nearly six thousand, even if those seven are national executive committee men.

Think of this, comrade! Do we elect our officials to serve us, to build up the party, or do we elect [illegible]

Hang Them In America But O. K. in Russia

Many readers of the Ohio Socialist will undoubtedly be interested to be informed occasionally as to what our "biggest and best capitalist dailies are thinking and saying about the interference by this government in Russian affairs as well as the interference in this country by the workers in governmental affairs.

The following editorial is from the Chicago Daily News, one of the very best bulwarks of capitalism in this country. It makes very interesting reading.

HOW BEST TO GUARD AMERICANISM.

Observers lately back from Siberia report explicitly that in Siberian cities they found 50 to 75 per cent of the population Bolshevik outright. Siberia is one of the least radical parts of the former Russian empire. Also, it is dominated physically by the armies of Kolchak, munitioned by the allies. Yet even in Siberia Bolshevism vigorously survives.

In Russia proper the Bolshevik government lives; and the bulk of Russian opinion, even when not anti-Bolshevik, is utterly socialist and revolutionary. The Russian constituent assembly, which was elected by the votes of 36,000,000 Russians and which was anti-Bolshevik, passed a law—its very first law—saying: "The right, privately to own land within the boundaries of the Russian republic is hereby abolished forever."

In Germany, out of the new peace treaty with the allies, there will come multitudes of new Bolsheviks and new experiments with Russian theories. Germans who resent the treaty will remember that the only great country in the which which is not taking part in imposing it on them is Russia. Their minds, rightly or wrongly, will, in fact, turn toward Russia. They will turn toward Russia for diplomatic support, perhaps. They will turn toward Russia for special intercourse in trade means a special interchange of ideas. Russian ideas—that is, socialist ideas—will get a special inlet into Germany and a special currency there.

So we must seriously face the possibility that from the Rhine eastward through Germany and Russia and Siberia to the Pacific ocean we may soon see a prodigious territory filled with social institutions which we Americans regard as deplorable. Germany for years has been deeply infected with the socialism of Karl Marx and Philip Scheidemann. It will perhaps take the next step to the socialism of Karl Liebknecht and of Lenin.

In these circumstances we may well begin to see a new reason for not committing the United States to military expeditions against Bolshevism in foreign parts. If the expedition now in Siberia and those now at Archangel and at Murmansk are right, then expeditions in Bavaria and at Coblentz and at Leipzig for the same purpose would be right, too. Possibly we shall be sending American soldiers to do battle and to walk patrol from Coblentz to Vladivostok till 70,000,000 Germans and 180,000,000 Russians promise to restore private ownership in land and in industry and to keep it restored.

It is a ridiculous policy, and it is impossible. We have every right to repel Bolshevism from our own shores. We have every right to hang anybody in America who tries to overthrow the government at Washington by force or who advocates trying. We ought to exercise that right. For the rest, we ought to go back to the policy of Washington.

Washington destroyed kingship in America. He did not get on ships to go abroad to try to destroy kingship in Britain and on the European continent and in Asia. He conducted no holy wars against foreign institutions on foreign soil. He repelled foreignism from America by building Americanism. In his shadow we can continue his success if we continue his spirit.

Let foreigners choose their own tenure of land and their own method of managing industry. In the long run they will do so anyway. Ourselves, let us choose Americanism, a Washingtonian Americanism, perfected to its full physical strength against aggression by any foe, domestic or foreign, and perfected equally to its full moral strength within its borders. Then it is not an adventure. Then it is a sure shield.

We will gladly give further information, should you desire to get clear upon the points involved in this controversy. But the main question will remain this: SHALL SEVEN PARTY DESPERATE OFFICIALS BE PERMITTED TO SUSPEND OVER THIRTY THOUSAND AND EXPEL SIX THOUSAND MEMBERS WITHOUT GIVING THEM A TRIAL OR A CHANCE TO PREPARE THEIR SIDE OF THE CASE SO THAT THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP MAY BE FULLY INFORMED.

The autocratic seven upon the national executive committee acted in a more tyrannical manner than any officials of our party have lared to act up to now.

PROTEST AGAINST THIS ACTION, REBUKE THE AUTOCRATIC SEVEN. LET US MAKE OUR PARTY A PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

Fraternally submitted,

Joseph V. Stilson, for the Lithuanian Federation;

Alexander Stoklitsky, for the Russian Federation;

Leo Frankl for the Hungarian Federation;

Paul H. Ladan, for the Ukrainian Federation;

Geo. Selakovich, for the So. Slavic Federation;

Otto Purin, for the Lettish Federation;

Jos. Kowalski, for the Polish Federation.

Harwood, Prevey and Ruthenberg Elected National Executive Commiltee From District 2

The despotic seven of the National Executive Committee attempted to suppress the results of the national referendum for the election of a new National Executive committee. We secured the total vote for the various candidates from the state secretaries and shall publish, in the Ohio Socialist, the names of all candidates elected upon the new National Executive Committee as a result of the referendum just closed.

Next week we shall publish a table of votes cast by states in one other of the five districts. We shall also publish a table of votes cast by states for International Delegates and International Secretary.

With regard to the vote below we wish to call your especial attention to the insignificant vote cast for Goebel and Krafft, two of the present National Executive Committeemen and members of the despotic seven. There is no stronger condemnation of the acts of the despotic seven nor of the policy of the reactionary right wing leaders, than this just rebuke to Goebel and Krafft in the insignificant number of votes they received for re-election.

VOTE FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEEMEN IN DISTRICT 2.

Only two states with a very small membership are not included in this tabulation, namely, West virginia and Maryland. The vote of these states will not change the results.

	Delaware	Dist of Col.	Ind.	New Jersey	Ohio	Pa.	Total
Valentine Bausch	....	3	6	201	61	29	300
Ernest J. Beutell....	....	....	32	44	20	46	142
Ross D. Brown........	....	2	195	14	296	155	662
Lotta Burke	....	10	28	19	327	78	463
H. B. Campbell....	4	2	3	23	18	21	71
D. G. Colclaser........	....	....	2	3	11	64	80
Wm. H. Derrick....	2	....	2	42	15	10	71
Wm. W. Farmer....	1	....	242	12	63	24	342
Geo. H. Goebel	1	24	25	167	87	188	492
Fred Harwood	13	4	208	1158	691	700	2774
Wm. H. Henry	....	1	377	32	186	171	767
John E. Klawin	....	....	5	31	68	79	183
Jos Kowalski	2	1	35	246	166	360	810
Fred. A. Krafft........	....	14	68	334	179	254	849
F. S. La Monte........	....	5	97	6	32	32	172
Marguerite Prevey..	17	10	510	1078	1460	1810	4885
C. E. Ruthenberg....	15	22	554	1219	1901	2075	5786
Jos. W. Sharts	....	2	132	81	305	228	748
Clar. R. Shrum........	....	....	1	1	14	25	41
Geo. W. Snyder........	....	2	5	4	17	131	159
M. P. Stephens	....	6	95	34	65	47	247
E. E. Swanson	....	....	3	1	16	23	43
Wm. K. Tallman....	....	2	......	28	17	7	54
R. W. Tillotson........	....	1	13	10	37	293	354
C. W. Thompson....	13	1	16	16	43	517	605
W. V. Tyler	....	2	5	10	35	122	174
David S. Webster....	....	2	......	19	14	31	[illegible]
[illegible]	1	......	[illegible]	......	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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BOMBS USED TO SCARE HELL OUT OF RADICALS

Two principal emotions characterize Washington as the week comes to an end. They are the passionate hope of reactionaries that a brutal and violent class war against all labor champions may be launched behind the bomb-plot smoke screen and the mounting conviction of all discerning officials that the Communist governments of Russia and Hungary have come to remain and capture the approval of plain men and women everywhere.

Genuine or staged, the bomb explosions have strengthened the hands of all those who dreaded the return of a formal peace that would restore the intellectual and religious freedom which was America's finest attribute before the war, and who have prayed for some occurrence that would seem to justify the muzzle and knout as permanent American institutions.

The psychology of the conservative when hard pressed by criticism was fully illustrated during recent hearings before a senate investigating committee. A spectator remarked to the bureau head of a big New York daily that he thought the committee's work would be more effective if the "defendant" witnesses were pinned down to the actual facts of their alleged improper conduct, instead of being led into by-alleys of irrelevant gossip and innuendo. Turing impatiently to the spectator, the "news" gatherer exclaimed:

SCARE HELL OUT 'O 'EM.

"You miss the whole point of this investigation. The idea is not to follow the facts, but to scare hell out of 'em, so they won't dare peep in future."

In exactly the same fashion, the object of the reactionary press treatment of the bomb explosions seems not to be the capture of the wretches who set them off, but to terrorize every defender of freedom by saying every critic of the government—from Haywood to Vanderlip—helps "distill the poison" which makes lunatics throw bombs.—Paul Wallace Hanna in New York Call.

NOW IT'S AMERICAN GOLD

And now it's U. S. gold that is condemned. First it was German gold, then Russian gold, and now it's our own that is raising hell. At least so reads the news from Canada. It has been discovered that money in great quantities from this side the border is responsible for the "bolshevik" uprising in Canada. Ho, hum!

Pays Tribute To Gene Debs

(From The Nation.)

Eugene Victor Debs has gone to jail in a cause as old as time and as noble as human nature—the cause of the fundamental rights of man. The hearts of true and independent men everywhere follow him with thankfulness as he goes to his high office; and not the least in loyalty among them are those who in varying measure have often opposed his special doctrine. A great man always is generous. And when a great man is wronged, the innate generosity of people flows out to him in no uncertain measure. Debs in his cell is well aware how broad this feeling is, and what it means. He needs no encouragement. He is freer there than those he has left behind. He is more at peace, for he has fulfilled his task. He has

(Continued on fourth page.)

LAST CALL

GET BUSY
GET READY
ATTEND

State Picnic

Socialist Party of Ohio

CONEY ISLAND

June 29, 1919

Take boats from Cincinnati. Delightful ride up the Ohio river. Enjoy the day with Socialists from many cities and states.

SPEAKERS:

John Keracher of Detroit; Marguerite Prevey of Akron; Chas Baker, state organizer; C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland.

BE THERE
WITH YOUR FAMILY
WITH YOUR FRIENDS

MAKE IT
THE BIGGEST
THE BEST
State Picnic
EVER HELD
ALL RIGHT!

See You At Coney Island
Sunday, June 29.

SECRECY SURROUNDS DEBS' REMOVAL FROM MOUNDSVILLE

Federal Officials Cautiously Remove Debs to Atlanta—Debs Given No Intimation of Coming Change.

Exactly two months to the day that Eugene Victor Debs was made a prisoner at Moundsville state prison, to begin his sentence of ten years, he was transferred without a moment's warning to the federal prison at Atlanta, Ga.

The greatest secrecy was maintained before his removal and also during the journey to the more southern prison. Debs had no previous knowledge of his contemplated removal nor even intimation that a change might be made. The only word of explanation which Debs or his many friends, or the general public is able to get on the question of the aged labor champion's removal from Moundsville is merely the short statement of F. H. Duehay, superintendent of federal prisons at Washington. According to Mr. Duehay's statement, Debs' removal from Moundsville was requested by the authorities of the Moundsville prison. No reason is revealed why prison authorities desired the change.

DEBS, POPULAR PRISONER.

Comrade Debs' duties since his incarceration at Moundsville prison have been very light and consisted chiefly of keeping records in the hospital. His health has not suffered

(Continued on fourth page.)

WALL STREET BANKERS WEEP

The fifty million dollars with interest at 6½ per cent due from the government of the czar which were loaned by a Wall street banking group, fell due on the 18th. And now the question is how to get the money. The czar is no more. No more is his autocratic government. The bolsheviki have not come across with the cash to redeem the debts of their hated rulers, so Wall street bankers weep and seek government intervention to collect their bad investments. The following statement from Acting Secretary of State Frank L. Polk gives as much enlightenment as the public is likely to get concerning this loan at the present time.

Acting Secretary of State Frank L. Polk in response to a request as to what action, if any, the United States government would take in reference to the default in the payment of the principal and interest of the $50,000,000 6½ per cent.

(Continued on Third Page.)

Strike For Mooney and Class War Prisoners

The American workers are up against a great decision. Upon their action depends much that may happen in the days to come. This decision is whether they shall respond to the proposed general strike on July 5, to free Tom Mooney.

Response means action. It means power. It means power not only for the release of Mooney, but developing power for the release of the workers from the tyranny and exploitation of capital.

The decision no longer concerns Mooney alone. It concerns the whole working class, its action and its immediate destiny. Just as the conscious workers have used the Mooney case as a means of attack upon the whole system of capitalism, just so the conscious capitalists have used Mooney as a means of attack upon the whole working class, and particularly the militant and class conscious elements among the workers.

The Mooney issue is a class issue. It is not an issue of "justice:" the justice of capitalism is class justice. It is not an issue of "fair play" or of "legal rights." The issue is now an issue of power, and power alone will decide. It is an issue in the proletarian class struggle against capitalism, and in the capitalist class struggle against the proletariat; and the issues of the class struggle are decided by power alone.

The capitalists control the government. They control the courts and the judiciary. They control the press. And all three are united against Mooney, against the workers, against Socialism. They have the power. The workers must break the power of the capitalists.

The answer of the workers to the tyranny of capital must be the mass power of the proletariat in action—the general mass strike, the political strike against the state, to impose the workers' will upon the state.

The political strike is the most efficient weapon of the proletariat, equally in the immediate struggle against capitalism and in the final struggle to introduce the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to realize Socialism.

A general strike for Tom Mooney would be a political strike—a new departure in American labor history. It would be a potentially revolutionary mass movement, since it would break the old tradition of passive acceptance of the decisions of the state and introduce the new militant era of aggressive mass action to impose the will the proletariat upon the state and society. Break the old tradition, awaken the consciousness of power in the proletariat, and great events would come.

A revolutionary act of real importance—this is the fact comprised in a successful Mooney general strike. This general strike would threaten vested interests in two directions: the vested interests of the bureaucracy in the American Federation of Labor, and the vested interests of capitalism, the supremacy of which depends upon the passivity of the workers.

These vested interests, accordingly, equally of "labor" and of capital, are united against a general strike for Tom Mooney. As usual, the labor misleaders of the A. F. of L. are coming to the rescue of capitalism, betraying labor, crushing the development of a militant spirit among the workers.

It has been apparent all along that the vested interests of the bureaucrats in the A. F. of L. were sabotaging the Mooney case. They hesitated; they intrigued; they accepted in order to sabotage. These bureaucrats did all in their power to prevent a militant answer of labor to Mooney's appeal. The Mooney case became identified with the mass movement in the A. F. of L. to transform the organization and impose upon it a more militant policy; and in order to preserve the old order and their power, the bureaucrats and misleaders sabotaged Mooney in order to sabotage the up-surging militant spirit in the unions.

The A. F. of L. officials have made it clear again and again that they were against a general strike. Now comes the convention of the A. F. of L. with its decision not to support this strike—in other words, to abandon Mooney and all class war prisoners to the mercy of the bourgeois courts, bourgeois justice and the bourgeois government.

This is sabotage. This is a betrayal, not simply of Mooney, who relatively is unimportant, but of the whole cause of militant labor. The decision of the A. F. of L. is an act of treason to the workers and a surrender to capitalism.

But the tyrants of capital do not depend upon their labor lieutenants in the A. F. of L. alone.

Capital has been consciously mobilizing public opinion in order to make the Mooney strike a fizzle. The discovery of alleged plots to "seize" the government, the dynamite "plots" and explosions—all are part and parcel of the campaign to mobilize "public opinion" against militant labor and to terrorize labor into abandoning its plans for a general strike.

Capitalism is in dread of the proposed Mooney general strike. It realizes the potential revolutionary significance of the movement, and is organizing to crush it.

There are no arrests being made of the "bomb plotters." Apparently, that is unimportant—to capital. But the explosions are being used as a pretext to deport radicals, as a means of mobilizing sentiment against militant labor, as a means of breaking the Mooney strike. The newspapers report that another explosion is scheduled for July 4; how do they know, and is it not a move to terrorize people and break the strike?

Capitalism visions dark days ahead. It visions social storms of great fury, and is preparing itself.

This preparation is sinister. It consists of plans for using terror against the working class, for using armed force in strikes, for a more ruthless use of the courts against labor, together with the cowing of labor into accepting a passive policy of dependence upon the benevolence of the state.

The sinister conspiracy of capital against militant labor must be broken. It must be broken by a more intense revolutionary agitation, by

(Continued on fourth page.)

Give Them a Chance

The Western world sat by calmly enough and let the Romanoffs go on shooting or sending into exile those who resisted their authority, and now that the shoe is on the other foot, the reasons for the former policy holds good. If a Socialist state is what Russia wants, it is hard to see why the American republic should say her nay.—Christian Advocate.

Here's Why Capitalists Hate Bolsheviks

The Russian constitution, Section 18, provides that "The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: 'He shall not eat who does not work.'"

In Section 3 there is the following provision: "Universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country."

Independents Win In Germany

The growing power of the Independent Socialists of Germany over the majority, or Scheideman-Ebert group is revealed in a press dispatch of June 17, relative to the municipal elections just held at Munich. The Independents made large gains, capturing sixteen seats in the city council against ten for the majority Socialists. The combined Socialists will have a majority in the council, as the bourgeoise parties won only twenty-three seats, it was announced today.

ONE BIG UNION BALLOTING

(By W. Francis Ahern.)

To Take Ballot of Union Members.

In order to thwart all assertions made by the kept press that the One-Big-Union movement in Australia is not favored by the unions, the One-Big-Union executive has decided to commence taking ballots of unions (first in New South Wales—then in other states) on July 1 next. Meantime, an extensive propaganda campaign will be carried out by the One-Big-Union committee.

Labor Press Featuring Russian News

The labor press of Australia at the present time is making a feature of all news relating to Russia and the work of the Soviet government, at the same time showing up the sincerity of the allied nations in

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

Socialists' Trials Delayed Till Fall

Ruthenberg, Clifford and Fried Obtain Continuance Over Term.

The trials of C. E. Ruthenberg, Tom Clifford and Julius J. Fried, members of Cleveland Socialist party, were set over until the fall term of common pleas court by Judge F. E. Stevens yesterday upon the application of Seymour Stedman of Chicago and M. H. Wolf, their attorneys.

Ruthenberg, Clifford and Fried are under two indictments for assault to kill, arising from the May 1 riots. The indictments do not charge, however, County Prosecutor Samuel Doerfler said yesterday, that any of the men took any part in the

(Continued on second page.)

"Money Talks." Question Is: Do You Want Yours To Talk For You or Against You?

"Money talks."

A mighty trite saying.

And also a truthful one.

When money talks there is no argument.

There is no talking back for there is no answer.

There is a world of meaning implied in that trite saying. But we wonder how many comrades ever thought of another meaning to which we might apply the term. Money talks. It makes a lot of things possible. Being in constant use as a medium of exchange, it is the means by which our relations with most external things are conditioned.

Admitting that money talks, we should be particularly interested in what it talks about, whether it talks in our favor or against us. We, as workers, as Socialists, should be very greatly interested in that question. Especially should we be interested in what our OWN money is talking about, we should emphatically insist that our own few dollars talk to the best possible advantage FOR us and not AGAINST us.

As Socialists, we ARE interested in who and what does the talking in this world, and rightly so. For every one, you, I and all the rest are vitally affected by what we hear talked about. Public opinion is little else than that curious, ever-changing result of what has been heard talked about. And public opinion is after all, the real power in this nation as it is in all nations.

Did you ever hear money talk on a large scale? We will give you an instance or two. When a capitalist nation desires to subdue another, or to take away her colonies, or her commerce, the ruling class of that country immediately starts its money to talking. That's for the purpose of creating a favorable public opinion, so that men for the army, munitions for the proposed war may be secured at once. Capitalism knows how to make money talk to the best advantage. That is the method that is used by capitalism the world over to make money talk for the benefit of CAPITALISM. That it is a mighty effective way is beyoind dispute. No one who watched the war spirit developed in a peace loving nation, or has witnessed the building up of a favorable pubic opinion toward the candidates of one of the old political parties would dare assert that money was not talking and in mighty persuasive tones when capitalism sets the machine a-grinding.

Those are instances of money being made to talk for and in the interests of capitalism. Capitalism knows the methods that will win. It takes no chances. To win, it will bury the truth beneath a mountain of lies and as long as there is nothing talking in opposition it is bound to have its way and its winnings.

But the worker's money can be made to talk, and mighty effective, too. It should be made to talk it MUST be made to talk in the most effective manner possible. The worker's money must be made to talk in words as hard as cannon balls. How? There is but one answer. The worker must talk through the printing press. The printing press is just as useful to the workers as against them. It all depends upon whose money is feeding the press. The printing press is the mainstay of capitalism. Without its support capitalism would not survive another tomorrow. Only because capital talks both loud and long and always in its own interests that it lives from day to day.

Capitalism has no delusions concerning the value of the printing press as a life saver. It admits by its constant pouring in of funds, the advantage of the printing press as a means of retaining a strangle hold upon the workers and the world.

And now it's time the workers awoke to a realization of its value. Capitalism has shown us the implements to use. We can have no doubt of their efficiency. We cannot question the power they give. We, too, should make our money talk through the printing press. For every capitalist lie we should print a truth. The truth alone can make us free. But unless we prepare to send broadcast the truth we shall always be in slavery. "It is with ideas, not with armies we shall conquer the world," said Lenine, and then he and his advisers proceeded to scatter broadcast over the entire world millions upon millions of printed truths. Lenine made Russian kopeks talk for the workers of Russia, yes, and for the workers of the world. Lenine learned the lesson we must learn. He learned how best to make the worker's money talk for the worker.

And now, have we demonstrated that money does talk—that it can be made to talk for the worker just the same as for capital? The truth of that is so plain to us that we cannot see how any worker can possibly miss it. Money talks. And since it must and will talk, since that is its nature, we should make our money talk where it will bring us, the workers, the greatest possible returns.

Can greater good be accomplished for the workers than that the truth be told? And told millions of times to millions of people, other workers looking for the light? That's the greatest good the workers can possibly do themselves right now. That's the greatest story their dollars can tell at this time. That's why we have asked every reader of the Ohio Socialist and every party member in this state of Ohio to back up the call for $10,000 to purchase a party-owned printing plant.

If you can spare a dollar or five dollars, or ten or twenty or more, you will never hear a sweeter story than they will tell to the workers of this country if you will help us get that press for the Ohio Socialist and a printing plant. If you want to hear your money talk day in and day out the year around for the workers, join the press fund boosters by making a donation for this purpose.

Money talks. We can't get away from that. So, we say, let's make our dollars talk FOR US by getting a printing plant of our own. Here below are the names of comrades who have boosted the press fund this week. Quite an imposing array of names is it not? Every week shows an increase, too. Their money is going to talk for the workers. Is YOURS?

$1.00 Column

Joseph Freidman, Toledo, O.
J. M. Hilton, Akron, O.
Jno. F. Fetterer, Martins Ferry, O.
E. B. Wharton, Columbus, O.
W. S. Owens, Columbiana, O.
Chas. Hames, Toledo, O.
J. W. Detwiler, Thurston, O.
H. O. Heinz, Youngstown, O.
Wallace B. Watson, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Wayne Beck, Salem, O.
Dr. A. J. Supler, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Walter Latasch, Hamilton, O.
Carl Latasch, 50c, Hamilton, O.
Andrew Piller, 50c, Hamilton, O.
F. W. Priller, Troy, O.
Don Harryman, Wheatland, Mo. 44 cents.
J. V. Kalimas, Marion, O.
A. Susanj, Bellaire, O.
N. Visnich, Bellaire, O.
P. Suskalo, Bellaire, O.
T. Vucelich, Bellaire, O.
R. Vucelich, Bellaire, O.
Gj. Vucelich, Bellaire, O.
Geo. Todoroff, Lorain, O.
John Hallingwranth, Hamilton, O.
Phillip J. Peters, Elyria, O.
Robert Kerr, Columbiana, O.
Ella M. Knapp, Elyria, O.
A. Yorpe, Cincinnati, O.
Emil Gurtsak, Lorain, O.
Rudolph Friederick, Lorain, O.
Math Wallner, Lorain, O.
Edward Gurtsak, Lorain, O.
Ernest Baumann, Lorain, O., 25c.
John Stoll, Lorain, O., 50c.
Mike Reisz, 50c.
Stanley Sarpolus, Dennison, O.
William Kullip, Dennison, O.
Max Citron, Youngstown, O.
Sanitarium, Niles, Mich.
Jos. Heyden, Peru, Ind.
John Kahl, Bellaire, O.
F. S. Mitchell, Zanesville, O.
J. T. Paydak, Youngstown, O.
John Mandich, Bellaire, O.
Wm. Ragar, Galion, O.
Jennings Ashcraft, Frazeysburg, Ohio.
Friend, Holland, Mich.
Henry Miller, Ironton, O., $1.25.
Rose Miller, Ironton, O., $1.25.
Frank Miller, Ironton, O., $1.25.
Henry Miller, Ironton, O., $1.25.
John Reichle, Madison Heights, Va.
E. N. Deibler, Englewood, O.
Frank Rupnik, Lorain, O.
W. A. Jenkins, Salem, O.
W. Callif, Columbus, O.
Carr Shaden, Columbus, O.

$2.00 Column

P. R. Davis, Chesapeake, O.
A. W. Downes, Marion, O., $3.00.
A. Bloom, Cincinnati, O.
W. L. Perrine, Steubenville, O.
A Comrade, Elyria, O.
Chas. Bramson, Joliet, Ill.
Stanley Gorgen, Dennison, O., $3.
D. Weinsteen, Middlefield, O.
Chas. Johnston, Youngstown, O.
Jacob Sumrak, Youngstown, O.
G. Nitschke, Covington, Ky.
J. H. Nathan, Cincinnati, O.
I. Glick, Steubenville, O.
Oscar Knorr, Springfield, O.

$5.00 Column

Rosa C. Powell, E. Liverpool, O.
Jas. A. Lync, E. Liverpool, O.
So. Slavic Local, Bellaire, O.
T. F. Griggs, Lorain, O.
C. H. Becker, Ft. Wayne, Ind.
D. D. Harper, Huntington, W. Va.
Jos. S. Benner, Barberton, O.
F. Silberhorn, Cincinnati, O.
F. E. Stevens, Louisville, Ky.
Robert A. Nissensen, Alliance, O.
Sigmund Nissensen, Alliance, O.
Samuel Kaven, Alliance, O.
South Slavic Br., Neffs, O. $4.00.
J. H. Seitz, Bethel, O.
Mrs. Anna Jacobson, Battle Creek, Mich.

$10.00 Column

Local Zanesville, O., $8.70.
Louis Habenich, Barton, O.
Workmen's Sick and Death Beneift, Lorain, O.
Roy Graham, Columbus, O.
Local Girard, O.

$25.00 Column

Local Portsmouth, O., $20.

Gee, but Local Portsmouth came very near slipping over the edge into this column. Came so near it that, taking the cheering words of Comrade Wm. L. Mauntel to heart, we are placing them in this column any way. "Best move the party ever made," says he. "You can count on Local Portsmouth for from one hundred to two hundred dollars." And we know by experience that Local Portsmouth means just that.

$50.00 Column

Fifty dollars is a big sum of money we realize. But in a case like this, when the question is to have or not to have a party-owned printing plant, it is not more than many comrades can afford.

$100.00 Column

Sorry to say we are still waiting for the name of the comrade or local which will give the first hundred dollar donation to the press fund.

Kiddies' Korner

Sure we have some Kiddies in the list of contributors this week. And to think, they are way off yonder in Michigan. But it seems to make no difference to these rebels. They are Internationalists. Their names are:

Helen Goodheart, Grand Rapids, Mich., $1.00.
William Goodheart, Grand Rapids, Mich., $1.00.

Pledge Column

Now we are getting down to business. These comrades have not only sent in remittances of a dollar or more, but have pledged themselves to send in regularly an additional contribution. These comrades realize that not only is it necessary to give a dollar or more at the beginning of the ten thousand dollar campaign, but to give generously and often until the fund is raised and the printing plant installed. The pledge column should contain a total of hundreds of names within a very short while.

J. H. Nathan, Cincinnati, O., $1.00 monthly for 12 months.

J. M. Hilton, Akron, O., $1.00 monthly for 6 months.

Jacob Friedman, Toledo, O., 25c for 6 months.

Oscar Knorr, Springfield, O., $1.00 monthly for 6 months.

John A. Fetterer, Martins Ferry, O., $1.00 monthly for 12 months.

I. Glick, Steubenville, O., $1.00 monthly till press is paid for.

E. B. Wharton, Columbus, O., $1 monthly for 4 months.

H. O. Hein, Youngstown, O., $5.

F. E. Stevens, Louisville, Ky., $1 monthly for 12 months.

Wallace B. Watson, Grand Rapids, Mich., $5 monthly for 5 months.

W. S. Owens, Columbiana, O., $1 monthly for 5 months.

Wayne Beck, Salem, O., $10.

Chas. Hames, Toledo, O., $1 monthly for 6 months.

J. W. Detwiler, Thurston, O., $1 monthly for 5 months.

W. A. Jenkins, Salem, O., $1 monthly till press is paid for.

How We Grow

Gaining is the word. Each week since the beginning of the drive it has shown an increase in remittances over the week before. The press fund is gathering momentum as comrades take hold and push it along. Next week we hope to show in this column that we have passed way and beyond the first thousand. Let every true blue Socialist do his or her part. "Build the Press Fund" should be the slogan of every Socialist and especially of every party member.

Here's what our press fund boosters have accomplished:

Contributed first week	$129.00
Contributed second week	171.00
Contributed third wek	222.72
Contributed fourth week	240.39
Total to June 20	$763.11
Balance need to make $10,000	$9,236.89

Let's get it!

"It is with ideas, not with armies, we shall conquer the world"—Lenin

Scott Nearing's Lecturettes

Those who work have always constituted a majority of the people in any organized society. Today nine-tenths of the adult population is employed at some productive or useful occupation.

The latest figures published by the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue show that in the year 1916, when the total population of the United States was about 102,000,000, less than half a million single individuals paid income taxes. The minimum in that year was $3,000 for single individuals and $4,000 for persons with dependants. The total number who declared incomes in excess of these amounts was 429,401. There were, doubtless, individuals who dodged the income tax. The figures, however, give some idea what a tiny minority of the American people receive incomes that could put them in a "middle class."

Th "Statistics of Occupation," publishd in the United States Census, show that in an ordinary industrial city the druggists, undertakers, grocers, butchers, manufacturers, corporation officials, superintendents, managers, lawyers, doctors, school teachers, dentists, and all other members of the professional and business classes do not make up over one-sixth of the total number of gainfully occupied persons. In many cases they constitute less than one-eighth of the total.

The vast majority of people who do not make income tax returns; the wage earners and clerks who are not included in the business and professional class; and many of the small business and professional men, judged from a standpoint of income, make up the body of what is sometimes called the "plain people." Most of these plain people work for their living as wage earners.

The relation which has grown up in modern industry between officials and workers is startling. The latest report of the United States Census dealing with the manufacturing industries (1914, page 427), states that the total number of persons engaged in manufacturing is 8,263,153; of this number only 61 in 1,000 are proprietors and officials; the clerks and other subordinate salaried employes make up 88 in each 1,000; the wage earners, 851. Thus 17/20 of those engaged in the manufacturing industries in the United States are wage earners, and 19/20 are wage-earners and clerks. The latest figures for the railroad industry are as follows: general officers, 5,750; other officers, 11,153; office clerks, 87,106; total employes, 1,710,296. Here general officers are about 3 in 1,000, and general and minor officers, 10 in 1,000, or 1 per cent. The census figures show 12,659,000 persons occupied in agricultural pursuits. Of this number over half are hired laborers. Of the remainder the vast majority work actively on their own farms.

The United States is made up of people who work as wage earners or farmers. The overwhelming majority of the population falls into this class. The plain people of the United States are the working people.

Some Massachusetts Women

The industries of Massachusetts employ 212,464 adult women (Statistics of Manufacturers, 1917). One-tenth of these women were working for $8 per week or less. 18,127 were being paid $8, but under $10 per week; 22,429 were receiving $9 but under $10 per week; 24,604 were receiving $10 but under $11 per week; and 24,133 were receiving $11 but under $12 per week. In short, 51.8 per cent of the total number of women working in the Massachusetts industries at the time when these figures were collected were working for $12 per week or less. Only four women in each hundred employed were paid as much as $20 per week.

These wages are for the weeks when women actually work. They take no account of periods of unemployment. At the time these figures were collected a living wage for a woman in Massachusetts was approximately $12 per week. The industries of Massachusetts value their women so lightly that they are willing to pay more than 100,000 of them a wage on which living decency cannot be maintained.

Figures covering the general industries of Massachusetts were collected in the early stages of the war. The Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission has just issued a Bulletin dealing with the wages paid to women employed in the manufacture of candy. These latter figures were compiled after the signing of the armistice when the cost of living was considerably higher than it was in 1917. There were 1,071 women at work in the establishments investigated. Of these 17.6 per cent were being paid less than $6 per week; 45.1 per cent were working for less than $8 per week; 76.7 per cent were receiving less than $10 per week; and only 8.7 per cent had a weekly wage in excess of $12. Assuming that the minimum living wage in 1918 was still $12 per week (in reality it was more than that) nine-tenths of all the women in an important industry were being paid less than this amount.

The ruling class in Massachusetts may lament over the fate of women in Belgium and Serbia. It may subscribe largely to relief funds for the women sufferers in the near East. Charity and intelligent statesmanship begin at home, however, and in both of these directions the master class of Massachusetts seems to be strangely lacking.

Thirty-four million times in each twenty-four hours, a daily paper is published in the United States. Beside the dailies, there are semi-weeklies, monthlies, and so on; but the dailies alone provide three newspapers for every two families in the entire country.

Thirty-four million times each day!

Thirty-four million times these papers may tell the truth. They may tell the truth about Lawrence, Massachusetts, or Toledo, Ohio; they may tell the truth about the I. W. W. or about the efforts of the American bankers to secure control of Mexican resources. They may tell the truth about the domination of the educational machinery by big business, or about the way in which the workers in the country suffer and slave for a bare subsistence wage. They may tell the truth about any one of the thousand important questions that [illegible] papers may tell lies. They may tell lies about the "Japanese peril," or the brigandage in Mexico. They may lie about Socialist Russia or about the efforts of the people of Hungary to take control of their own lives. They may lie about the progress of negotiations at Paris. They may lie about the masters of American economic life and about the way in which they are exercising their tyranny over the lives and thoughts of the American people. They may lie about any one of the thousand important problems that confront the American people at the present time.

When you are inclined to belittle the powers of the owners of the United States—those who possess the mintes, forests, railroads, banks, factories, office-buildings, and the newspapers—remember the torrent of print paper rushed every twenty-four hours by the speeding presses.

Thirty-four million times each day!

SOCIALISTS' TRIALS DELAYED

(Continued from First Page.)

physical disturbances, but are based on the charge that actions of paraders who attacked and injured two police officers grew from the doctrine preached by the Socialist leaders.

The trials, therefore, will bring forth as witnesses many Cleveland Socialists, who will testify to what extent Ruthenberg, Fried and Clifford urged radical and revolutionary doctrines, Judge Stevens said. Attorney Stedman said that he expected to summon more than fifty witnesses for the defense. Probably an equal number will testify for the state, Prosecutor Doerfler stated.

COLUMBUS WILL PICNIC IN OLD FASHIONED STYLE

Local Columbus will hold a great old-fashioned basket picnic July 4th at Sweitzer's grove.

Every member of the local or state and other comrades who may be in the city on that day are requested to attend and enjoy the day in a pleasant Socialist way.

The Declaration of Independence will be read at 3:30 p. m. by Comrade J. L. Bachman, Socialist candidate for mayor. A "Gene Debs" balloon will be sent skyward at 5 p. m. Refreshments of various kinds will be on hand.

Columbus comrades are making all arrangements for a big affair. Take Camp Chase car to Ryvan avenue.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW SAYS

That if he had his way there would be a police force to arrest every hungry child and feed it, and arrest every naked child and clothe it. Good food, decent surroundings, light and fresh air, play and normal happiness would go a long way toward preventing crime.

THE TENEMENT IDEA.

First little girl—"Let's have some fun."

Second little girl—"All right, you be the drunken lady."

John Stuart Mill said that people who lived their whole lives in certain apartments, apparently by their own choice, were content to remain, but would be dissatisfied and rebel, if compelled by others to live there.

Socialists say:

The rich will not work as long as the poor will work for them.

Another Victory For Uncompromising Socialism

New National Executive Committee Left Wing Socialists

The tally of the vote from 27 states show that all members of the despotic seven of the national executive committee, with probably one exception, were defeated for re-election to that body. This is another victory for uncompromising Socialism. Last week we printed a table of votes by states for International Delegates and International Secretary. This tabulation showed that the membership elected as International Delegates four party members whose support of the Russian revolution was as thorough as their denunciation of Scheidemann Socialism.

This week we publish tabulations of votes by states and districts for members of the new National Executive Committee. These tabulations show that Fraina, Hourwich and Lindgren were elected upon the new National Executive Committee from the First district; Ruthenberg, Prevey and Harwood from the Second district; Keracher, Batt and Lloyd from the Third district; Nagle, Millis and Hogan from the Fourth district; Katterfeld, Wicks and Herman from the Fifth district.

We ask all party members and all locals to study these tabulations. If your state is not included in them, we advise that you write your state secretary and ask that the vote of your state be sent the Ohio Socialist for publication. We again state that we are firmly convinced that the national executive committee had no authority to interfere with the national referendum for the election of a new national executive committee and that their only motive in holding it up was to attempt to invalidate the election by hook or crook so as to cover up their defeat.

The Left Wing has swept the party. These election returns prove it beyond a doubt. The majority of the party members demand a change in officials—demand officials who neither falter nor straddle. The question every Socialist must answer for himself is—Am I for Scheidemann-Ebert Socialism with its compromising program or am I for Liebknecht-Lenin Socialism with its uncompromising program. If you are for the latter you belong to the Left Wing faction and should do your utmost to capture the party for Left Wing Socialism.

National Executive Committee Election

DISTRICT 1.

The Socialist Party membership, according to the national constitution is divided by states into five districts. Three national executive committeemen are elected from each district, making fifteen committeemen in all.

In the tally of votes in the First distgict the state of New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut and New York are missing. The first three states cast a very small vote which would not affect the result. New York casts a large vote which might effect the result. We are reliably informed, however, that despite the wholesale expulsions of Left Wing locals and branches indulged in by the reactionary New York executive committee, the vote for Left Wing candidatef was so overwhelming that stand-patters and reactionary candidates knew themselves defeated. It is probably because of this that New York refuses to divulge its vote.

According to the tabulation below, Fraina, Hourwich and Lindgren are elected upon the new national executive committee from District 1. These are all Left Wing candidates. Note the insignificant vote given Oneal and Shiplacoff. They are members of the present national executive committee who voted to expel and suspend nearly 40,000 members from the party, voted to hold up the national referendum for the election of a new national executive committee and voted to place the party's property out of the reach of the rank and file.

	R. I.	Maine	Mass.	Total
Conrad Alexsohn		2	36	38
Ellca Reeye Bloor	15	5	249	269
L. B. Boudin	6		69	75
Franklin P. Brill			20	20
Joseph M. Coldwell	68	5	175	248
Louis C. Fraina	265	46	2820	3131
Morris Hillquit	54	30	754	838
Nicholas I. Hourwich	260	40	2344	2644
Edward L. Lindgren	82	2	1388	1472
Ludwig Lore	197	35	708	940
John P. McCarthy	2	1	287	290
C. M. O'Brien		1	44	45
James Oneal	17	18	653	688
George E. Roewer, Jr.	3	24	438	465
A. I. Shiplacoff	24	7	288	319

DISTRICT 2.

In the tally of the vote in the Second district only two states are missing, Maryland and West Virginia. The vote in both these states is small and would not at all effect the result. Ruthenberg, Prevey and Harwood are the three new national executive committeemen elected.

Goebel, one of the despotic seven national executive committeemen, was badly beaten. He favored a set of resolutions at the last 1918 meeting of that committee, repudiating the St. Louis position of the party upon the war. Krafft, a member of the present national executive committee and one of the despotic seven, was also overwhelmingly defeated. At the last meeting of the national executive committee he voted against a resolution favoring the withdrawal of troops from Russia, giving as his reason that as the government had the right, under the United States constitution, to declare war, it also had the right to send troops to Russia.

	Delaware	Dist of Col.	Ind.	New Jersey	Ohio	Pa.	Total
Valentine Bausch	....	3	6	291	61	29	300
Ernest J. Beutell	....	....	32	44	20	46	142
Ross D. Brown	....	2	195	14	296	155	662
Lotta Burke	....	10	28	19	327	78	462
H. B. Campbell	4	2	3	23	18	21	71
D. G. Colclaser	....	....	2	3	11	64	80
Wm. H. Derrick	2	....	2	42	15	10	71
Wm. W. Farmer	1	....	242	12	63	24	342
Geo. H. Goebel	1	24	25	167	87	188	492
Fred Harwood	13	4	208	1158	691	700	2774
Wm. H. Henry	....	1	377	32	186	171	767
John E. Klawin	....	....	5	31	68	79	183
Jos Kowalski	2	1	35	246	166	360	810
Fred. A. Krafft	....	14	68	334	179	254	849
[illegible]	....	3	97	6	32	35	172
[illegible]	17	[illegible]	[illegible]	1075	1480	1810	4885
C. E. Ruthenberg	15	22	554	1219	1901	2075	5786
Jos. W. Sharts		2	132	81	305	228	748
Clar. R. Shrum			1	1	14	25	41
Geo. W. Snyder		2	5	4	17	131	159
M. P. Stephens		6	95	34	65	47	247
E. E. Swanson			3	1	16	23	43
Wm. K. Tallman		2		28	17	7	54
R. W. Tillotson		1	13	10	37	293	354
C. W. Thompson	12	1	16	16	43	517	605
W. V. Tyler		2	5	10	35	122	174
David S. Webster		2		19	14	31	66
Ervin S. Whitmer	1	....	38	......	23	8	70
Birch Wilson	1	4	13	7	25	608	653
W. E. Yeager	1	1	2	10	7	26	47

DISTRICT 3.

It was the Third district that the despotic seven national executive committee tried to capture by expelling the Socialist Party of Michigan. They felt assured that Stedman, Work and Berger would be re-elected if the Michigan vote were thrown out. Expelling the state was the method pursued. It must have subsequently dawned upon them that even with the large Michigan vote thrown out, the Left Wing candidates would still win out, because Illinois, the only state missing in this tabulation, was carried by the Left Wing. Keracher, Batt and Lloyd were the three elected upon the new national executive committee from this district. They defeated Berger, Stedman and Work, the present representatives from this district upon the national executive committee, Stedman and Work being two of the despotic seven.

It was Stedman who made the motion to expel the Socialist Party of Michigan. Many Socialists charge him with making the motion for the purpose of re-electing himself to the national executive committee.

	Iowa	Mo.	Mich.	Minn.	Wis.	Total
Dennis E. Batt	24	60	3130	502	429	4145
I. O. Bentall	20	35	50	198	52	355
Victor L. Berger	113	147	274	146	1391	2071
Barney Berlyn	2	8	8	16	16	50
C. Henry Bloom	16	3	29	5	16	69
John M. Collins	25	43	10	11	25	116
Clarence A. Diehl	....	6	8	3	13	30
Daniel Elbaum	....	4	260	2	56	322
Carl Haessler	11	15	18	11	516	571
John Keracher	16	68	3123	520	348	4075
Dr. S. A. Koppnagle	8	17	22	6	64	117
Wm. F. Kruse	26	48	70	32	165	341
Wm. Bross Lloyd	40	99	2862	517	555	4073
Mary E. Marcy	9	20	234	53	53	369
Kate R. O'Hare	133	123	341	190	433	1190
Edgar Owens	46	5	3	2	9	65
George J. Peck	49	5	5	7	19	85
Karl F. M. Sandberg	6	15	20	14	33	88
Seymour Stedman	77	142	213	134	1192	1758
Maurice Sugar	2	5	320	4	15	346
Oliver C. Wilson	22	19	11	54	21	127
John M. Work	68	100	39	92	923	1221

Illinois missing.

DISTRICT 4.

The states of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina are missing from this tabulation. Of these seven states, only two really have state organizations, namely, Arkansas and Oklahoma. It is safe to say that practically no vote will be cast by the other five.

The vote of Oklahoma and Arkansas may change the result in this district. The vote [illegible] pluralities, with Beggs, Miller and Burgess close seconds. Hogan is a member of the present national executive committee and one of the despotic seven who voted to expel and suspend 40,000 members from the party.

	Fla.	Ga.	Tex.	Va.	Ky.	Tenn.	Total
W. H. Adkins	6	3					9
Edward J. Beggs	5	4	3	27	72		111
I. L. Burgess		3	29	23	4	11	70
Sam Buseler		1	3				7
Dan Hogan	8	20	63	13	7	11	122
M. S. Holt	4	2	23	4	6	5	44
C. W. Kirkendall	2	1	4	4			11
O. O. Miller	4	1	11	8	72		96
Mary Raoul Millis	17	47	23	12	4	11	114
S. A. Moore		2	47	4			53
Patrick S. Nagle	5	3	43	16	74	2	143
John Parker	17	17	4	7	3		48
Sumper W. Rose	1	13	4		2	3	23
J. H. Snider	1		1	3	2	1	8
W. K. Tennyson			4				4
Carry Hallewell Turnidge		2	13	2	4	1	22
George White	32	5	7	2	1	1	57

DISTRICT 5.

The Left Wing was completely victorious in the Fifth district. No matter whether votes from missing states change the results or not, the three highest candidates next after the victorious three are also Left Wing Socialists.

The states not appearing in the tabluation below are Kansas, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Arizona and Alaska. Of these, only Kansas and Utah have state organizations. The other seven are practically unorganized.

Katterfeld, Wicks and Herman are the winning Left Wing candidates.

	Neb.	Wash.	Mont.	Cali.	N. Mex.	Ore.	Colo.
E. F. Atwood	13	8	.	17	3	12	2
Nettie T. Ault	1	6	1	2	4	25	7
Elvina S. Beals	8	11		120	5	11	
Max Bedacht	10	36	1	165	2	100	16
Ida A. Beloof	3	27	.	2	3	1	.
Frans Bostrom	17	109	..	13	3	23	...
W. B. Dillon	7	4	....	...	59	2	2
Carrie S. Fayne	2	2	..	..	2	4	2
Aaron Fislerman	14	68		32	5	12	2
A. H. Floaten	1	2	11	14	10	5	9
Mary L. Geffs	5	3	1	9	3	3	34
Kate S. Greenhalgh	25	270	12	72	7	149	40
Emil Herman	15	163	10	36	5	375	9
Peter Husby	....	59	....	5	7	2	....
Mrs. Clyde C. Jeffreys	6	2	1	3	4	6	...
L. E. Katterfeld	8	210	15	397	4	465	42
T. P. Laughlin	4	3	.		4	4	..
Lena Morrow Lewis	33	49	1	133	4	61	9
Jennie A. McGehe	3	8	1	4	5	14	34
Ernest F. McNutt	5	1	....	1	1	2	....
John McSlarrow	1	47	....	1	2	1	....
Wm. M. Reivo	1	76	....	21	2	76	....
J. M. Salter	7	72	....	2	3	2	1
Edric B. Smith	4	...	....	248	4	5	....
J. E. Snyder	3	17	2	176	7	6	2
C. T. Stoney	4	7	1	4	3	....	....
H. H. Sweetland	2	....	....	2	6	1	7
John C. Taylor	14	9	....	294	3	10	[illegible]

Debs vs. Christianity's Hypocrites

By Rev. John G. Stilli

(Note—With the exception of slight editing, the following is the full report of a sermon delivered by Rev. John G. Stilli of the People's Church, Louisville, Ky., at a theater in that city a few weeks ago. Extracts from the sermon were also printed in the church's weekly paper, "The Common Factor."—From New York Call.

You will find the provocation for what I shall have to say in the following news dispatch:

"Washington, March 10.—The Supreme Court today sustained the conviction of Eugene V. Debs, Socialist leader, found guilty of violating the Espionage act and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. The opinion of the court was unanimous."

And it is because of this thing that I needs must talk to you on this day about Gene Debs.

Now, it may be that by some strange chance some stone age creature has happened in here this morning—some man or woman who feels that my sermon subject stands in need of some sort of justification.

In reply to that sentiment let me say just this—let me say that if this People's Church movement is worth its salt—if it is job conscious—if it really knows what it is about—if its men and women have learned even the a, b, c's, of it—then a sermon on "Gene Debs" needs no more of justification than does a sermon on Moses, Isaiah or Jesus Christ.

Now, I am not saying that Gene Debs and Jesus Christ are absolutely alike. Not at all. Let me frankly admit and grant in an unqualfied fashion that there is a vast and real difference between them. But, mark you, this: That difference lies not in the orthodox distinction that Jesus Christ was the sinless Son of God—conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of a virgin—while Gene Debs is a sinful mortal born of the flesh—not a bit of it—nor is the difference between them one of degree rather than one of kind, as our brethren of the liberal churches like to put it—not a bit of that.

I'll tell you the real difference between Jesus Christ and Gene Debs. It's this: One of them is dead and the other is alive. That's all.

And, listen! If Jesus Christ were alive today the churches wouldn't have any more to do with him than they will have to do with Gene Debs. And, listen again! If Jesus Christ were in Louisville, the established church, liberal as well as orthodox, wouldn't any more let him make a speech within its courts than it would let Gene Debs make a speech from its highly polished pulpits. And, listen again! If Jesus Christ were an American citizen, and if he talked in this twentieth century, as he talked in that first century, the Supreme Court of the United States would have just as mush reason to sentence him to a penitentiary as it had to sentence Eugene V. Debs. The time is coming when the name of Gene Debs will shine with such splendor in the annals of history that our children's children will heap upon those who sentenced him to a criminal institution the same odium which we today heap upon Pontius Pilate and upon those who nailed the Carpenter to the cross.

The other day the Bishop of Kentucky was reported as having said that Christianity is a failure, and that the world is turning to Socialism.

I want to tell the bishop one reason why this is the case.

The world is turning from Christianity to Socialism, not because it prefers the teachings of Karl Marx to those of Jesus Christ—nor yet because it understands the philosophy of economic determination any better than it understands the theology of predestination—not at all.

I'll tell you bishops and you preachers and you priests and you churchmen and you Y. M. C. A. workers and you Billy Sundays the real reason why men and women are turning from you to follow Gene Debs and the Socialists and I. W. W's.

Remember back in 1914—when the world caught fire? And remember how our country kept out the world-war for a long time. Remember how the masses of men and women didn't want any war? Remember how in November, 1916, they sent Woodrow Wilson to Washington on one single campaign issue? And remember that issue "He kept us out of war."

And then you remember, too—how nevertheless, in spite of the verdict of the people—we were being pushed ever closer to the brink of the abyss until at last the country was plunged into the maelstrom of war?

Remember what part you played—you bishops and priests and churchmen? Remember how you stood in your pulpits—and how you raised your voices to cry aloud with prophetic power that the Lord God of Israel hath said "Thou shalt not kill." Remember how you went up and down the land urging, pleading, imploring demanding that there shall be "Peace on Earth and Good Will among men"—remember that?

Of course you don't. For that isn't what you did. This is what you did. You converted the churches of Christ, the Prince of Peace into Temples of the War God. You fanned the fires of hell and hate into the consuming flames of war.

I'm not saying that you should not have done it. I'm not saying that it was wrong—not at all—indeed no doubt it was the correct, the right and the eminently patriotic thing for you to do; but you're wanting to know why men are turning their backs upon your churches in order to turn their faces toward Socialism. Stand here with me, and tell me this, who is this man I see this morning on his way to Calvary—tell me that? And tell me this—tell me what crime did he commit?

Why, you say, he violated the "Espionage Act." You hypocrites! And only yesterday when I stood in one of your pulpits you everlastingly told me that religion has nothing to do with politics! What business have you to talk about Espionage acts? In the name of Almighty God, who ordained you to judge men by Espionage acts! To judge by the tone of the Christian church one might think that Christ said: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant—thou hast obeyed the Espionage Act—enter into the joy of thy Lord!"

No sir. You can't get by with that. We demand that you tell us in the eternal terms of right and wrong—not in the terms of transient politics, what crime it is for which this man goes ten long years behind prison bars.

And there is just one answer, 'tis his own, made before his judge when he said: "I admit it. I am opposed to war. All wars. And this war too. And if I stood alone—I should nevertheless be opposed to the war."

That is his crime in the terms of your Christian religion—he was opposed to war—in the language of your own orthodox theology—he is guilty of the crime of "standing by the cross of Christ—the Prince of Peace"—in time of war.

Who? Why he who goes to serve a ten-year prison sentence—and who is he? why look—don't you recognize him?

Why, sure you do! I declare it's a bishop of Christ—one of us fat priests of religion, a Y. M. C. A. worker, a church deacon—on his way to jail this morning for "standing by the cross of Christ—the Prince of Peace"—in time of war.

No? Why, of course, not! You see we official exponents of the Christian religion are committed to no such irrational interpretation of the Christion religion. True, there is much in the Sermon on the Mount that one cannot harmonise with the sentiment of patriotism and nationalism and war, but let us remember that Jesus was an Oriental, that, like all Oriental minds, he was given a hyperbolic speech; that he said much which must needs be restated before the Orientalism of his speech conveys the real meaning to the Occidental mind.

What is more, we must not forget that Christ plainly said: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," while Saint Paul said: "All authority, is from God—servants obey your masters—honor the King—obey the Espionage act and keep your mouth shut as it is meeting the Lord!"

I don't say that Gene Debs should not go to the penitentiary; not at all. Nor am I saying that the Supreme Court should not have sent him. I am not breathing one breath of suspicion regarding our American holy of holies—even our Supreme Court. But I am saying this: I am saying this: If the bishop wants to know "why" men are turning their back on the churches in order to turn their faces toward Socialism, then let him find out why it is that it happens to be Gene Debs that goes to jail this morning, and not the bishop.

The fact that Gene Debs goes to jail will not kill Socialism. But the fact that no bishop goes to jail may yet kill the Christian church.

I am told that in the days immediately preceding the civil war Henry David Thoreau, the New England essayist, was sent to prison because he refused to pay taxes to a government which returned fugitive slaves to the South. While in prison his friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson, came to see him, and asked this question: "Henry," said he, "what are you doing in jail?" Thoreau's reply was: "Waldo, what are you doing out of jail?"

And what is the question all vital minds are asking. Not why Debs goes to jail, but how it happens that we bishops everlastingly keep out of jail. Christianity used to go to jail regularly. Jesus evidently expected as much. At least, he said to his followers on repeated occasions: "Blessed are ye when ye shall be arrested and found guilty; and rejoice and be exceedingly glad when the Supreme Court renders a unanimous verdict against you, for so perscuted they the prophets that were before you"—which benediction, in our time, at least, seems to be reserved for the Socialists, the I. W. W.'s and the Bolsheviki—while the bishop of Christ presides at the board of trade banquet or at the victory dinner.

But why bother about religion? The rapids for which America is steering, and that under a full head of steam, are not religious, nor political; the struggle ahead is social and industrial, the powers-that-be sit on the safety valve.

When I heard of the action of the Supreme Court in the Debs case, I said: "This thing is a crime." A friend standing near me said: "You better not say that in public." I asked: "Why not?" Quick came the answer: "Youd go to jail." Maybe so! Nevtherless, I am saying to the masters who rule America that they had better go slow. I am saying to them that a few more victories like the one they achieved in the Debs case will lay adequate foundations for a sure enough revolution in America.

Do you want more than one Mooney case on your hands at a time? Who is Tom Mooney? Who "ever" heard of Tom Mooney before the San Francisco explosion? Yet the working class of America and England threaten a general strike by July 1 unless he is given his freedom.

Listen. Can't you see anything? Has your greed for gold and lust for power made you stone blind? Can't you see the drift of things? Don't you remember how labor first asked that government by injunction be abolished? How next, when you refused to listen, labor began to demand a referendum on judicial decisions? How next, when you again refused to listen, labor took another step and began the recall of judges? Can't you see the drift even now, when labor no longer bothers or cares or worries about your injunctions nor about your decisions nor about your judges, but deliberately says, why bother about their courts? Why bother about the capitalistic state at all? Why should we vote? Let them vote! Let them organize at the ballot box; we propose to organize at the point of production, and seize, not the reigns of government—but the wheels of industry, which wheels we will stop dead—until we get justice—or until the world starves for bread.

Can't you see the handwriting on the wall in the Mooney case? If decent, orderly American Federation of Labor people will do that in the Mooney case, what do you suppose the Socialist and I. W. W.s and Bolsheviki will do in the Debs case?

Have you forgotten the Dred Scot decision of the Supreme Court? Haven't you learned that the decisions of a court are binding only in so far as the state has the police power to enforce them? Are you set on accomplishing a division between the government and the people? Can't you see the conviction growing in America that the government at Washington, with its plutocratic Senate, its irresponsible Supreme Court, is not an instrument of democracy in the hands of the people, but rather a tool of autocracy in the hands of the few.

Can't you hear that the working people of America are even now saying that the Supreme Court never sentenced 'Gene Debs for violating the Espionage Act, but that it sentenced him for being a Socialist? Can't you hear thinking men everywhere saying: "What's wrong in America? The Kaiser and his autocratic government had a Liebknecht to deal with. That man stood on the floor of the German Parliament and flayed the government as no government has been flayed since Jesus pronounced his phillipics against the Pharisees—and all that in the very heat of the war—when the land was surrounded by foes on every side! Don't you remember how Karl Liebknecht stood on a platform under the very windows of the kaisers palace, sounding the call for social revolution, how he said that the time had come when soldiers should cease firing on American soldiers, cease firing on English and French and Russian soldiers, that they should instead march home and begin firing on their own government? Remember that, and remember that the Kaiser's government then tried Karl Liebknecht for high treason?

Four years! Here in America, in our democracy, here from whence we sent our sons to give battle to make the world safe for democracy, here, now that the war is over, for a far less crime you send 'Gene Debs to the penitentiary for 10 years.

Karl Liebknecht, in the hand of the Kaiser, gets four years for high treason. Gene Debs, in democratic America, goes to Federal prison for life for violating the Espionage act.

Listen, masters of America, do you think it is safe? Masters of America, remember Tom Mooney? If labor proposed to call a general strike to free Tom Mooney, an unknown quantity in the labor movement, what do you think labor will stop at when 'Gene Debs is involved, the idol—the leader of radical Socialism in America?"

And so our 'Gene goes to prison—for life.

'Gene Debs, of all men! Some of you may not know him, but those of us who do know that James Whitcomb Riley saw the man as he is when he said:

"You may search the world from end to end and where will you find a better friend than Eugene Debs—
"A man 'at stands and jes' holds out
in his two hands
"As warm a heart as ever beat
'Twixt here and the Judgment
seat—"

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25, 1919.

WHY NOT AMERICANIZE AMERICANS.

In a strikingly courageous and graphic manner, Herbert J. Seligmann in the current number of the Nation, describes the relationship of the American Negro and the white race. In an article entitled "Protecting Southern Womanhood," the author lays bare the underlying causes of the iniquities practiced upon the millions of Negroes in the "democractic" south. With what shocking brutality the white race have denied the Negro not only his rights as guaranteed by the federal constitution, but even the simplest human rights are shown in all its hideousness in this revealing article.

Summing up the matter, the author says: From a study of authenticated cases it would seem that where there is a white man to be shielded from the consequences of wrong doing, where a Negro is a rival in trade or business of white men, where a Negro attempts to change his status from that of a laborer to property owner and farmer, or where a Negro falls under suspicion of attempting to exercise the functions of a citizen guaranteed him by the constitution, there stares him in the face the danger that he will be done to death in any one of a number of hideous ways by a mob of white men intent upon "protecting southern womanhood."

It is true. The American Negro has since his, unfortunate for him, forcible removal to these shores from his native savage haunts, been but an object of exploitation by the white race. First as a chattel slaves; when later, he was granted citizenship and his bonds were severed, it was but for the purpose of gaining an economic advantage over the rebel south, and his fredom as well as his citizenship quickly proved but shams. He was divested of both. He is now and has been for years in position lower than a peon. More despised by his traducers, more heartlessly proyed upon and exploited, more physically and morally outraged than any pariah ever thrust without the associations of civilizations' refinements.

Our capitalistic press is howling about the "Americanization" of the foreign element in our population. Capitalism is ever seeking means whereby to dodge and evade the results of its own sins. The danger that threatens America is not the importations of foreigners nor in the ideas which they bring here. The danger is in the things that capitalism breeds right here in our own soil. For generations capitalism and the ruling class of the south have been sowing the seeds of hate and bloodshed among the ten million blacks. It has followed an outrageous policy of taking everything from them and giving in return outrage heaped upon outrage. Today, the south holds the possibilities of tremendous racial explosions. It has sown the wind. If it fails to reap the whirlwind within the near future a miracle will have been performed.

Millions of Negroes, American citizens, almost, can neither read nor write. And could they, their position would be even more precarious under the present domineering attitude of the whites. For with education comes ambition. And ambition for Negroes is not to be tolerated by white men. If the Americanization plans of our esteemed capitalistic promoters have the virtues which are boasted, if upon them depends the integrity of the nation and its future safety, we propose that these same plans be tried upon Americans of the Negro race.

Give the American Negro a chance to be a human being.

In 1916, the National Hughes Alliance issued a declaration, in advocating the election of Charles E. Hughes to the presidency, which was signed by two Republican ex-presidents of these United States, Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, and twenty-five leading bankers and captains of industry, in which they stated: "Our business is business. We are producers, manufacturers and traders, without sufficient home demands to absorb the full yield of fields and the output of factories. Year by year it becomes more apparent that the markets of the world must be kept open to American industries. We cannot extend our trade further than we are able to defend it. The rivalries that begin in commerce end on battlefields." Five months after the national election, war was declared under the Democratic administration of President Wilson, thereby proving the stand taken by the leaders of the Republican party, that the present competitive state breeds wars and all its horrors.

One billion, five hundred and seventy million, four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of meat are in cold storage in this country at this time. Packers say they are adding to this enormous quantity hundreds of thousands of pounds monthly. Meanwhile the price of meats soars beyond the reach of the workers.

At last the capitalist press has found the man to save Russia from the Russians. The drive which it is making for the recognition by this country of the Kolchak government, and the fulsome praise it heaps upon him and his "successes" in overthrowing bolshevism reveals the haste of capitalism in re-establishing itself in Russia before it is utterly driven out. Kolchak's losses in prisoners and territory within the last month have been enormous. The Red Army marches on.

"Show the world America offers a square deal to every man, and we will reap a reward in the world's trade," shouts a capitalist promoter. Yes, do so, and reap not only the world's trade but the world's good will. But the square deal, where is it?

"Five men have already been burned at the stake since the first of the year, and more than 20 persons have been lynched in that time. It is a record of barbarism which ought to make us blush before the world."

No, this was not in "Red" Russia. Nor in "monstrous" Germany. It occurred right here at home, but as they were negroes, our democratic Democrats need pay no attention.

Not all the significant news of the day appears on the first pages of the capitalist press.

Occasionally items of far-reaching import are tucked away in remote and inconspicuous corners. Read this from the Cleveland, O., market reports. "A weekend review of the general market situation is not very encouraging to the wage-earner. Most food prices are almost at war time prices." Revolutions have hinged upon just such conditions.

"In a large sense," says the Plain Dealer editorially, in speaking of the bolsheviki in Cleveland, "they have no rights that American society is bound to respect." Keep it up, ye hypocrites. After inciting a riot, should the bolsheviks commit any of the crimes of which you accuse them, you would sanctimoniously clothe yourself in the garments of outraged "law and order."

"Ship or shoot" is the new slogan adopted by capitalism to more energetically enthuse the program of deportation of radicals.

Capital's idea of democracy—damn the workers, they are used to it.

WALL STREET BANKERS

(Continued from First Page.)

three-year Russian credit, due June 18 and July 10, 1919, respectively, said:

"Owing to the present confusion in Russia it is not practicable at this time for the state department to make any presentation of the claims of American citizens [illegible] against Russia. The people of America, however, are now, as they have been in the past, most sympathetic with the great Russian people and eagerly desire to see them work out for themselves a stable form of government, and when that time comes the state department will use its good offices to call such claims to the attention of that government. With reference to the $50,000,000 credit established by certain banks in the United States, it will be remembered that this money was advanced in good faith when Russia was fighting for her life, and that the credit was primarily for buying supplies which were sorely needed by the Russian people for their military and civilian needs at the time.

"Whatever stable government may ultimately assume control of Russia it is to be expected that it will follow the practice which enlightened governments have always followed, of recognizing the legitimate external loans of prior governments."

OPEN LETTER TO ADOLPH GERMER

Detroit, Mich., June 9, 1919.

Adolph Germer,
220 S. Ashland Blvd.,
Chicago, Ill.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of June 3 in which you inform me that I and some six thousand others have been expelled from the Socialist party.

You state that the action of the National Executive Committee was based upon the fact that the last convention of the Socialist party of Michigan adopted a resolution which violated the National Constitution. By your own words, however, you stand convicted of having grossly violated this same constitution. You admit that the National Executive Committee expelled the membership in this state BEFORE you had sufficient evidence. The minutes of the session at which this action was taken show that the committee voted down a motion to give Michigan a hearing before the charter was revoked. Evidently the action of the committee was based upon the principle, "The public be damned."

Your so-called reason for expelling me and others from the party is not a reason—it is an excuse, and a mighty poor one at that. I am well aware that the real reason for revoking the Michigan charter, and for suspending seven language federations, was to throw out their vote in the National Executive Committee just closed. These votes if counted would remove from office both yourself and the present committee. I base this statement upon reliable information and challenge you to disprove it by tabulating and publishing the complete result of the balloting.

At one stroke, you have tried, convicted, and expelled me. Knowing these things, and having just read your remarks about the constitution, I am tempted to use the "short and ugly word."

Now, about that "pernicious" and distasteful no-reform amendment to the Michigan constitution. I voted at a meeting of my local to instruct the delegates to that convention to advocate and urge the adoption of just such a proposal; when the resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention, I was well pleased. When I received the referendum ballots, I personally urged the members to support and vote for it; and when the vote was tabulated and published in our state bulletin showing that it had carried by an overwhelming majority, I was again pleased.

I am not a new-comer in the socialist movement, and am one of those who hold that the function and purpose of a socialist party is the organization and education of the workers for social revolution and not for social reform. Let those who love capitalism strive to patch it up and make it last a while longer! For my part I shall continue to devote my best energies to the overthrow of the present system of wage-slavery and the establishment of the industrial republic of labor.

This, then, is the issue: reform or revolution. It is an old quarrel, as old as the socialist movement itself. It raged in the First International, when Marx fought Bakounin; it occupied a prominent place in the Second International—the struggle between the right and the left—mensheviks and bolsheviks in Russia, spartacans and majority socialists in Germany. It is the struggle between the socialism of Lenine, Trotsky, Luxemburg, and Leibknecht versus the socialism of Ebert, Schiedemann, et al. Today, in every land, it is the struggle between the Red International and the Yellow International.

It is one of the tragedies of our movement that we have to combat not only capitalism and its hirelings, but also those who would play upon the ignorance of the workers and lead them deeper into the mire of reaction. Much valuable time and effort that might well be devoted to propaganda must be wasted in counteracting the machinations of the enemy within our gates. You may not be conscious of it, but it is nevertheless a fact that you and your associates are aiding and abetting the enemy. Knowingly or unknowingly you are guilty of treason in the class war.

You have thrown down the gauge of battle. So be it! Your action is an attempt to disorganize the workers in this state. Instead of unity and solidarity, you would force upon us chaos and disorder. How our enemies must glory in our discomfiture!

You have ordered the re-organization of the party in Michigan; you have sent me a blank application for charter, and have asked me to assist in this work. This is adding insult to injury. For me there is no need of re-organization and I am returning to you herewith your blanks. The socialists of Michigan are well organized; they constitute a conscious and constructive unit in the ranks of the militant proletariat of the world. If the organization as a whole is unworthy to be a part of the Socialist party of America, then I too am unworthy. If working-class socialism has no place in your organization, so much the worse for it. The socialists of Michigan are neither discouraged nor disheartened by the action of the cowardly reactionaries who have voted to expel them. We will stand together as we have these many years, and continue to work unceasingly for the ultimate victory of the workmen.

Yours in ex-Comradeship,
A. J. McGREGOR.

THE STATE VS. GENE DEBS.

The United States government
against Gene Debs.
What an absurd, uneven match!
For hate is death and utter nothingness;
But Gene is made of love and love
is infinite [illegible]

TACTICS

When an outsider steps in to settle a "family scrap," you know what happens? Well, let us, as socialists, use [illegible] the same tactics. Difficulties have come up, and problems concerning our future organization and policies; and they require prompt settlement. But let us "fight it out among ourselves," and present a united front to the enemy. Whether conservative, or moderate, or radical, "let not one member quit the party in disgust." The ideals of nearly all party members are practically identical. No permanent compromise can be made. There is absolutely no other organization with which real socialists can ally themselves with any degree of satisfaction.

We deplore some results of the recent stormy session of the N. E. C. We regret the development in our organization of what appears to be a case of pure selfishness.

On the other hand, we just as sincerely regret that a number of the comrades seem recently to have formed a sort of unwritten constitution for themselves, disregarding principles of the actual constitution of the party. Some, it seems, would even do away with that section which provides that "any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence . . . shall be expelled from membership in the party."

Now, extreme tactics of either character gain us nothing. Never before have there been so many people who thoroughly believe in the fundamental principles of socialism. But they hesitate to join us. Why? Most largely because of our tactics. And so, our tactics limit our gain in membership; they likewise occasionally actually cause a decrease in membership; in either case, they weaken our possibilities as a political party. Common sense, foresight, tact, and a continuation of our program of education, will, if we stick to our task, bring us just what we want in just the way we want it. Extremes in nothing!

—B. S. B.

ELLA REEVE BLOOR PROTESTS

June 8, 1919.

Editor, Ohio Socialist, Columbus, O.

Dear Comrades:

Returning from a long and arduous trip through Colorado, Kansas, Missouri and other western states, finding the rank and file of the workers getting together in great numbers—enthusiastic for the "One Big Union" idea.

Industrial organization in every shop.

Stopping off in Dayton, Ohio, to speak at a rattling good meeting of the Machinists' Union, I was certainly dumbfounded when one of the members of the union handed me a copy of the "Ohio Socialist" containing the news of the most autocratic action ever perpetrated upon the Socialist party membership, or, in fact, upon the membership of any other organization of the working class, viz.: the expulsion of 40,000 by 7. Such action must be highly gratifying to the peanut politicians who do the will of the tremendously organized owning class.

It certainly is now up to all of us who have kept the faith, who have been true to the working class character and principles of socialism, to rout these miserable politicians from any place in our movement. Such men in any class crisis, would line up with the masters to execute "revolutionaries" as history past and present teaches us with examples, many of them in Russia, and the Schiedemans of Germany.

Will you send me the names of the seven voting for expulsion, so that I may not be unjust to the minority and may publish the names of the seven far and wide.

Yours as ever for
real solidarity,
ELLA REEVE BLOOR.

Causes of England's Unrest

London.—The trades unions are looking for all possible reasons for the unrest in the labor world and have prepared a memorandum bearing upon the conditions existing in different industrial activities which may be factors in this unrest.

It is very interesting to note that high prices and profiteering are immediate causes of the social unrest, and the memorandum gives a list of breweries, that, notwithstanding the fact that consumption of liquors was greatly reduced, were still able to pay dividends from 14 to 36 per cent. More than that, the 36 per cent dividend was paid to stockholders in a company that were quite content with a mere 16 per cent dividend in 1916 and 1917.

Americans have an added grievance in this situation in the knowledge that the United States cut down her use of grains to send to Europe and to England, which did not curtail the use of beers, etc.

The report further states that large industrial combinations manipulate their large profits in such a way that their size is disguised. One firm issued bonus shares to its stockholders and a dividend of 27½ per cent on the old number of shares became one of 11 per cent on the new.

Reserve funds, also, have become very much swollen by the excess money profit that must not be made public.

And so it goes!

HUNGARY.

Barracks Named After Working Class Leaders.

Budapest.—One of the interesting phenomena in connection with the revolution in Hungary is the fact that the military barracks have been renamed after working class leaders. Thus the Francis-Joseph barrack has been re-christened Marx-Caserne. Other names figuring in this transformation are Lenine, Engels, Liebknecht, Luxembourg, Jaures, Mehring, etc.

Impressive exercises in each case accompanied the re-naming of the military camps, or barrack.—(New York Volkszeitung.)

Party News and Views

There will be a local at Adena, O., soon. Jos. Vegh, Jr., has placed an order for 100 copies of the Ohio Socialist each and every week for thirteen weeks. Watch them do the work.

Remember—delegates to the state convention must report to the credentials committee before 3 p. m. on the first day of the convention, which is June 27th. If they do not report before this time they will not be allowed mileage.

Industrial Freedom Certificates are still selling. Every day's mail contains remittances. The Ohio State executive committee will decide how best to apply the fund accruing from the sale of these certificates. Has your local secretary still unsold certificates on hand? Have you bought yours?

"Crimes of the Bolsheviki"—an illustrated pamphlet of pocket size and just the thing to give to your shop mate and neighbor. Five cents each. Buy ten.

L. H. Neff, ever at it for the cause, is now literature agent for Local Piqua.

BAKER IN PORTSMOUTH.

State Organizer Chas. Baker will be at work for the next several weeks in Portsmouth, O. Local Portsmouth intends to carry on a widespread organization campaign and has notified this office that it is in a position to stand the entire expense. After finishing his work on Portsmouth, Baker will undertake a state-wide tour in behalf of the party-owned printing plant fund.

Local Piqua believes in placing orders early. State Organizer Baker is applied for to help in the municipal campaign. He will give Piqua the week of October 27 to November 4th.

By the way—are you planning your municipal campaign? Many locals in Ohio have already nominated candidates and are making a continuous campaign from now until election day.

Local Cuyahoga county, at its recent mass meeting, passed a motion instructing its delegates to work and vote for a repeal of the clause in the state constitution making it obligatory for members to purchase press stamps. A resolution was also passed instructing its delegates to favor a party-owned printing plant at the convention.

John A. Rehm is again at it in Springfield. He orders a bundle of 300 Ohio Socialists and asks for the Springfield mailing list so that he can secure renewals of expiring subscriptions.

Local Portsmouth, O., protests one hundred percent against the actions taken at the last national executive committee meeting in expelling and suspending nearly half the party membership. So writes Secretary Boring.

Everett Payton of Huntington, W. Va., is a tireless worker for the Ohio Socialist. He has a number of sympathizers and comrades selling subscription cards under his direction.

EAST LIVERPOOL TO PICNIC.

Local East Liverpool, O., will picnic on July 4th at Schepp's grounds, on Camp Ground road, about a mile from the city.

All Socialists and sympathizers reached by the Ohio Socialist and who live in that vicinity should attend.

John C. Chase has been elected corresponding secretary of the English branch of Local Akron.

NEW LOCAL AT DEFIANCE.

A new local has been organized at Defiance, O., under the direction of T. J. Eller. E. D. Williams is the corresponding secretary. Both these comrades have for a long time been affiliated with the party as members at large.

Local Fremont is making an early start in its municipal campaign which will show in results when the votes are counted. An order for more application cards prove this. Four new members were admitted just recently. This we gain from a letter from Chas. F. Kritzell.

Ella Reeve Bloor and Wm. M. Brown were recent visitors at the Delaware county jail to see Ammon A. Hennacy. This is rather a new kind of "social" note.

Local Marion is still "going good." An order for dues stamps sent by Secretary Scheifler attests to this.

Chas. Baker collected $12 for the press fund in Columbus and $29 in Akron. Have you a press fund contribution list? May we send you one? Thousands of workers are anxious to help buy a printing plant for our party and will gladly give you a dollar or more if you will but ask them. Send for a contribution list and then report your contributions to your local.

Local Irondale, so writes Secretary McLain, wants the names of the present state executive committee of Ohio and desires to know how each of them stand upon the Left Wing program. We advised Comrade McLain to address the members of the committee directly.

Be at the state picnic, Coney Island Sunday, June 29th. Take boat for picnic grounds at Cincinnati. Enjoyable ride up the Ohio river. Enjoyable time with your fellow Socialists at the picnic grounds. We want to see your face among those present.

The first and foremost duty of every Socialist is to pay dues regularly. How many months are you behind in payments? Pay up RIGHT NOW!

Nominations For State Sec'y and State Ex. Com. Made

Nominations for state secretary and state executive committee have been made by the locals and branches of the Socialist Party of Ohio. From the number of nominations we gather that the party membership will show a healthy interest in the coming election of state officials.

Eight comrades have been nominated for state secretary and 53 for the state executive committee. Blanks for acceptances and declinations of nominations were sent the nominees last week. We shall publish the names of the comrades accepting the nominations in an early edition of the paper. The party members nominated for state offices are:

FOR STATE SECRETARY.

Otto F. Hoefer, Cincinnati; E. J. Hewit, Ashtabula Harbor; Herbert Knechr, Cambridge; Tom Lewis, Cleveland; Marguerite Prevey, Akron; Alfred Wagenknecht, Cleveland; Hortense Wagenknecht, Cleveland; Louis Waterman, New Bremen.

FOR STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

George Bundy, Warren; Edwin Blank, Lima; Lotta Burke, Cincinnati; Clarence Hell, New Bremen; Chas. Baker, Hamilton; M. J. Beery, Mansfield; Walter Bronstrup, Clevealnd; J. P. Baker, Columbus; J. L. Bachman, Columbus; Tom Clifford, Cleveland; J. E. Coleman, Cincinnati; F. J. Catlin, Youngstown; John Cahalane, Hamilton; Allen Cook, Canton; Thos. Devine, Toledo; E. B. Eubanks, Columbus; A. J. Feldhaus, Cincinnati; Wm. Fox, Ashtabula Harbor; Thos. Hammerschmidt, Cincinnati; Frank Hamilton, Piqua; Grant Hesket, Pleasant City; J. J. Hoge, Bellaire; L. C. Jordan, New Bremen; W. A. Jenkins, Salem; E. C. Judd, Kenmore; J. R. Larimore, E. Liverpool; W. E. Lewelyn, E. Liverpool; Thurber Lewis, Cleveland; Tom Lewis, Cleveland; Jos. McKim, Derwent; Noah Mandelkorn, Cleveland; Frank Martin, Marietta; Frank Midney, Youngstown; Marguerite Prevey, Akron; C. F. Podwells, E. Liverpool; Edwin Peterson, Niles; Wm. Paterson, Toledo; C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland; John Rehm, Springfield; H. Ruemmele, Norwood; K. Redwood, Columbus; B. P. Strobel, Mt. Vernon; Jos. W. Sharts, Dayton; C. E. Schilling, Nashport; J. Steiger, Hamilton; M. A. Toohey, Toledo; Scott Wilkins, Wapakoneta; Hortense Wagenknecht, Cleveland; Jos. Woodward, Dayton; C. H. Werner, Barberton; A. Wagenknecht, Cleveland; John Zahn, New Bremen; Julius Zorn, Canton.

IT'S PICNIC TIME

At the very next meeting of your local, arise and say "IT'S PICNIC TIME." Then make a motion that the local hold a picnic and that a committee be elected to secure grounds and make arrangements.

It IS picnic time. And your local MUST hold a picnic. If there are two, three, four, five or six locals in the immediate vicinity of your local, why not hold a joint picnic, secure a good speaker and entertain and celebrate as only Socialists can.

Socialists like to meet to talk things over. There are important things to discuss just now. A day under shady trees will give the opportunity. It will also bring the comrades into closer touch with each other, personally acquaint them one with the other and result in greater comradeship.

Picnic—and do it quick. Then have another and still another before the summer is over. NOTE—Above all, do not fail to have a committee of dues collectors on the ground to collect dues from comrades who desire to pay.

How Are You Rated?

Ever hear of Dunn and Bradstreets? It's a firm that rates the rich—that is, those of the business world who gouge the workers of enough surplus to make them safe for credit.

Ever hear of the Socialist Party? It's an organization which rates the workers. All who are listed by the Socialist Party will some day be given the credit of making the world safe to live and enjoy life in. But among those listed there are two grades, firsts and lasts. The firsts always pay dues in advance, are always in good standing in the party. The lasts are behind in their dues, sometimes off and on and sometimes always.

How are you rated in the Socialist Party? Are you a straggler or a leader? It is to induce you to join the leaders that we write this TO YOU. Look at your dues card RIGHT NOW. How many months do you owe for? Pay today. If you do not know the name or address of your financial secretary, send your dues to state office, Socialist Party, 3207 Clark avenue, Cleveland, O., and we will forward it to your local or branch.

An O. K. rating in the Socialist Party is the most creditable rating on earth.

Before election the Democrats and Republicans hand you the Glad-hand. After election they hand you Injunctions.

Capitalism banquets dogs and starves children.

State Convention Delegates ATTENTION!

The Annual Convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio Will Take Place at

HEADQUARTER'S HALL
Local Cincinnati, Socialist Party
1314 Vine Street, Cincinnati

CAUTION—The state constitution states that delegates who fail to present their credentials to the credentials committee by three o'clock of the first day of the convention will not be entitled to mileage.

THE CONVENTION WILL BE CALLED TO ORDER AT 10 A. M. SHARP, FRIDAY, JUNE 27th. BE PRESENT AT 10 A. M., JUNE 27th.

YOUR LOCAL—WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First Sunday of Each Month at 2 P. M.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each [illegible]

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

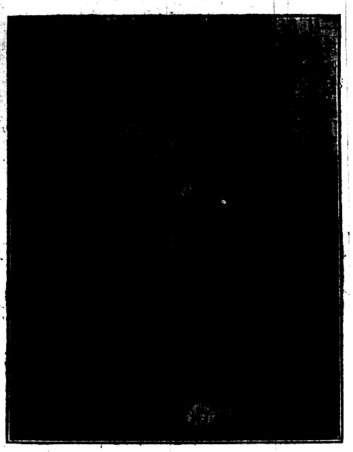
Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch
Meets [illegible] Every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
[illegible]

FRAMED UP BY STANDARD OIL

Charles Krieger, in Jail Since December, 1917, Without Trial—Detectives and Lawyers Employed by Oil Co. Take Charge of Government Prosecution.



CHARLES KRIEGER

Victim of Standard Oil Persecution

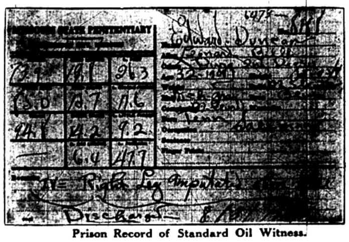
Standard Oil "Justice"

Arrested without a warrant; held without indictment for seven months; kept in prison without trial for a year and a half; framed up by an ex-convict placed in his cell by the oil company as a stool pigeon; re-arraigned immediately on a new warrant when the first was thrown out of court as worthless; prosecuted not by the public officials supposedly elected for that purpose, but by expert criminal lawyers hired by the oil company—such is, in abstract, the experience of Charles Krieger, I. W. W. organizer, at the hands of Standard Oil "justice" in the Mid-Continental oil district of Oklahoma. And the foul story is not complete, as Krieger is still in jail and Standard Oil control is so complete in that district that his attorney holds out little hope of saving him from a long term of imprisonment for a deed with which he had no connection.

J. D. ROCKEFELLER

King of the Standard Oil

George Harper, alias Ed Duncan, Rickefeller Stool Pigeon.



Prison Record of Standard Oil Witness.

The case begins with the usual alleged attempt to blow up the house of a "prominent citizen"—in this case, J. Edgar Pew, vice president and general manager of the Carter Oil Co., of Tulsa, Okla. On October 29, 1917, some dynamite was exploded under his front porch in such a considerate manner as merely to injure the porch and the adjoining walls. Whether the "outrage" was perpetrated by men desiring vengeance on Mr. Pew, or by members of his secret police force anxious to furnish a reason for their existence, or, as has been widely whispered, by the oil company itself, in order to inflame the public mind and give the company an excuse for getting rid of troublesome labor organizers, it must be left to the reader's intelligence to determine.

The fact of the matter is that I. W. W. organizers had been making themselves very obnoxious to the oil companies in this district, the greatest oil field in the United States. They had been meeting with unusual success in organizing the downtrodden victims of Standard Oil oppression.

"Knights of Liberty" Commit Outrage Upon Workingmen.

On Saturday night, November 9, 1917, twelve days after the "explosion" at Mr. Pew's house, forty "prominent citizens" of Tulsa, masked and armed and calling themselves "Knights of Liberty," took sixteen I. W. W.'s from the county jail, made them strip to the waist, lashed their bare backs with a stout hemp rope under the direction of the chief of police, and under the approving eyes of the editor of "The Tulsa World" and his wife, rubbed tar and feathers into the raw flesh and then drove the men into the woods after having saturated their clothing with Standard Oil and burned it up, along with all their money, about $500 they had earned working for the oil company. The names of those who took part in this demonstration of Liberty a la Standard Oil are known to thousands of people, but never a step has been taken to bring them to justice.

On December 28, 1917, Charles Krieger, an I. W. W. organizer, was arrested on the streets of Tulsa, the U. S. Marshal, J. J. Moran, admitting that, "so far as he was concerned, the only reason for the arrest was Krieger's membership in the I. W. W." Bound over under the Espionage act, Krieger lay in jail nearly seven months, until July 12, 1918, when he was indicted on the charge of "conspiracy to obstruct recruiting," the "overt act" alleged against him being the supposed dynamiting of the Pew house. No explanation of the connection between the Pew explosion and recruiting for the European war was offered nor was it necessary within the confines of the kingdom of Standard Oil.

Gets First Hearing After Ten Months in Jail.

In October, 1918, one year after the "explosion" and ten months after he was thrown in jail, Krieger was taken from the Muskogee jail to Tulsa by J. W. Robinson, a private detective in the employ of the Carter Oil Co. After a preliminary hearing, at which Krieger was not informed of his right to have legal counsel, Judge Slack (what's in a name, after all?) assented to Robinson's suggestion that Krieger's bail be set at $5,000, a prohibitive figure which effectually ensured his continued imprisonment without the useless formality of a mock trial.

A significant incident which came out at this preliminary hearing was that, a couple of days previously, a note had been ostensibly smuggled into Krieger's cell from one Vowels, offering to go on the stand as a witness for him. A few hours after the note arrived, Robinson and another detective, likewise in the employ of the Carter Oil Co., came to Krieger's cell and searched him, taking away the note. Vowels was put on the stand at the hearing and testified to a lot of carefully rehearsed hearsay vaguely connecting Krieger with the Pew explosion, although Krieger swore that he had never before in his life either seen or heard of Vowels or his supposed informant.

Judge Declares Hearing a Farce.

A motion was made later by Krieger's lawyer to quash the charge against him. In his opinion on this motion, Judge Cole, who would appear to be a rare and refreshing exception to the usual run of legal officials in Standard Oil territory, said in part:

"I don't think it will be seriously contended in this case that there was any competent evidence to connect this defendant with the crime. No man testified of his own personal knowledge that Krieger ever heard of J. Edgar Pew, that he was in Tulsa (at the time), knew anything about the explosion or had any motive in doing this. The record is absolutely silent as to this man's knowing one single thing about this crime? . . . . Can it be said that the statement of one of those men, in the absence of some little bit of evidence somewhere to connect this man with the crime, could bind Krieger, when it is never shown that they were ever even in Krieger's company . . . . This court could not say that this man had any rights whatever protected in the preliminary examination."

Ordered Released But Immediately Re-arrested.

As the judge ordered Krieger to be released within 24 hours, a new warrant was at once issued and he was "re-arrested" on complaint of the same oily detective Robinson. At this point all judicial camouflage is stripped off and the real source of the prosecution nakedly disclosed. The complaint on which the warrant was based was made by Private Detective Robinson. At the preliminary hearing, the case for the prosecution was conducted by Mr Owen, general counsel for the Carter Oil Co., and Flint (again, what's in a name?) Moss, one of the leading criminal lawyers of the state, who admitted in open court that he was being paid by the oil company. It became then no longer the case of the State of Oklahoma vs. Charles Krieger, but the Standard Oil Co., by the grace of God and the kindness of the authorities of Oklahoma vs. an I. W. W. organizer.

Standard Oil Hires Criminal to Try to Trap Worker.

A new personage in the drama was introduced this time. The voluble Vowels having proved only mediocre as a home-made witness for John D. and his gang, one George Harper was substituted as handy man for odd jobs below the dignity of even a private detective.

Harper, who admitted having been convicted of robbing a post office in Arkansas and having done five years for a bank robbery in Missouri, (after or in consequence of, which exploits he had been considered worthy of employment by both the U. S. post office and the American Bankers' association as an "investigator") told how he entered the employ of the Carter Oil Co. in February, 1918, and had arranged to be locked up for an imaginary crime and put in the same cell with Krieger in order to try to trap him into making dangerous admissions that could be used against him in his "trial." He repeated a lot of vigorous and intelligent remarks Krieger had made about the Ludlow massacre, about John D. "running the U. S. government," about cars of food being "sidetracked to let John D.'s cars through for the destruction of human life," etc., together with alleged statements hazily implicating Krieger in the putative attempt to blow up the excellent Mr. Pew.

Another witness for the (Standard Oil) government was a Mr. Griffin, who proved to be a bird of the same feather as John D.'s associate and assistant Harper, with the exception that he had done time only for post office robbery, but, as far as the available records went, had not yet tried his hand on the banks.

Jailed Indefinitely to Await Pleasure of Standard Oil Co.

On the strength of this "expert testimony," Krieger was sent back to jail until the Standard Oil legal employes could stage the next scene in the farce—the "trial."

There the case rests for the time being. Not one iota of circumstantial evidence to connect Krieger even remotely with the alleged crime. Not one bit of reliable testimony on which to hold him even under suspicion. And yet, there he lies, a clean, straightforward young man, 27 years of age, a skilled workman of the highest caliber, condemned to indefinite imprisonment for the crime of being a member of a labor union that threatens to interfere with John D.'s profits.

Case Based on Perjury—Wide publicity the Only Hope.

His attorneys hold out little hope of saving him. The blackest chapter in this black tale of unscrupulous industrial tyranny is still to come. With every newspaper in the district owned by the Standard Oil Co., body and soul—if it can be said that prostitute purveyors of lies have a soul—there is small chance of the company plans miscarrying, even so far as to allow one man to slip into the handpicked jury panel who will use his judgment and obey his conscience in analyzing the perjured testimony of the oil company's hired crooks.

"The whole d—d case is built up on perjury," declared a prominent Tulsa lawyer the other day. "Krieger is innocent, and yet I don't believe you will find a jury in Tulsa county that will have guts enough to acquit him."

"Meanwhile Charles Krieger lies in jail—waiting," writes Fred H. Moore, his lawyer, attorney for the I. W. W. in many of its most bitter legal contests. "A boy in years, but a man in vision; a giant in courage, he knows no fear. But the great mass of Oklahoma citizens go on their driveling ways, indifferent to the cruel tragedy being enacted in their midst."

An Appeal to the Workers.

Are the workers of the United States going to sit by and let this crime be added to the long list of crimes committed in the name of "justice," but in the service of American capitalism?

All workers are urged to give this case the widest publicity.

Funds for publicity and defense are neded and should be sent to the New York Defense commitee, 27 East Fourth street, New York, or to the General Defense committee of the I. W. W., 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

Eugene V. Debs on Violence

"From what you have heard in the address of the counsel for the prosecution, you might naturally infer that I am an advocate of force and violence. It is not true. I have never advocated violence in any form. I always believed in education, intelligence, in enlightenment, and I have always made my appeal to the reason and to the conscience of the people."—From Debs' speech to the jury, September 12, 1918.

PAYS TRIBUTE TO GENE DEBS

(Continued from first page.)

remained true to his convictions, and has done all that one man can do.

What was Debs jailed for? To stop the spread of his doctrine? That end, obviously, will not be accomplished. The spread of his doctrine can be stopped only by arguments and ideas. The Supreme Court did not make Debs change his mind, retrace his course, or abandon a single one of his ideas. These ideas will overturn the Supreme Court itself in their own time; and nothing in heaven or earth will stop the process. Least of all will the exercise of the arbitrary law stop it; instead, it will greatly accelerate it; yet the arbitrary law will be called upon more and more as the natural revolution draws near. The rulers of men seem overcome with their own perversity. They have learned no faith from life, no wisdom from the ages, no humility from place and power.

A man who has led a life of great courage and virtue, who has consistently championed the cause of the weak and the oppressed, who has gained the love of multitudes and the universal respect of his opponents, whose simple integrity and sweet nobility have carried his name to far places and to high regard—this man is jailed for ten years on the score of outspoken opposition to war. This is sheer absurdity; and every honest man recognizes it. It is possible only under the technicalities of the arbitrary law.

"These are pregnant and promising days," said Debs, as he entered the prison doors. "We are all on the threshold of tremendous changes. The workers of the world are awakening and bestirring themselves as never before. All the forces that are playing upon the modern world are making for the overthrow of depotism in all its forms and for the emancipation of the masses of mankind. I shall be in prison in the days to come, but my revolutionary spirit will be abroad, and I shall not be inactive. Let us all in the supreme hour measure up to our full stature and work together as one for the cause that means emancipation for us all." These are the words of simple greatness. We may believe or not in the underlying doctrine; we cannot fail to honor and to believe in the man.

SECRECY SURRROUNDS DEBS' REMOVAL

(Continued from First Page.)

and prison officials have shown many considerations towards him. His relations with the other prisoners has been of the most cordial character. He has been looked upon as the prison's most distinguished inmate and many have been the efforts on the part of prisoners to show their respect for Debs.

Residents of Moundsville, which has a population of about a thousands inhabitants, were sensible of since Comrade Debs' began his prison sentence. Not only Socialists, but many others as well, paid him visits and sent him gifts.

FEARED DEBS WILL SUFFER.

Fear is expressed by many Socialists that Comrade Debs will not fare so well at the Atlanta prison as he has at Moundsville. The fact is recalled that Debs was a sick man when he entered prison. The extreme heat of the summer season in southern Georgia it is thought will have an enervating effect upon his strength and physical welfare. Close friends and relatives of Debs are ascertaining the true conditions of the Atlanta prison with a view to learning just how he is likely to fare in the hands of his new keepers.

MANY POLITICAL PRISONERS AT ATLANTA.

The Atlanta federal prison contains its share of political prisoners. The number at the time Debs was sent was seventeen prisoners, numbering among them Socialists, I. W. W., ministers, philosophical anarchists and Irish rebels.

Here are names of political prisoners now serving long sentences at Atlanta: Walter L. Hirshberg, 20 years, Socialist and I. W. W.; P. Petroski, 20 years, Russian Socialist; Clarence Waldron, 15 years, Baptist minister; John T. Dunn, 15 years, Irish Catholic rebel; Fritz Stepanovitch, 15 years, Russian Socialist; John Randolph, 10 years, I. W. W.; Paul Bosco, 10 years, Russian Socialist; Theodore Hiller, 10 years, Russian Socialist; Adolph Younger, 10 years, German Socialist; A. L. Hitchcock, 10 years, Cleveland, O., Socialist member school board, sentence reduced to two years by executive clemency; Otto K. Brennan, 10 years, religious objector; William McCoy, 5 years, rebel mountaineer of Big Gap, Va.; Mr. Phipps, 5 years, religious mountaineer; Mr. Gilbert, 3 years, Socialist and I. W. W.; Alexander Berkman, 2 years, philosophical anarchist; Louis Kramer, 2 years, philosophical anarchist; Francisco Romero, 2 years, Porto Rico Socialist.

POLITICAL AND DIRECT ACTION

I have thought a great deal in regard to political action, as has been taught by the socialists; also, direct action as the I. W. W. are accused of. I myself believe in political action; but I ask the questions: If a ruffian would enter your house, would you use direct action, or let him go ahead and do the direct action, then take the law to him? If your child was in the yard, and you saw a mad dog approaching, would you stand like a dummy and let the dog bite the child and then take the child to the doctor, or would you use direct action to prevent the dog biting the child? I believe if a person was sane, he would be tempted to use direct action.

I was told by a socialist that he would not sign a petition to put our candidate on the ticket, because the socialist upheld the direct actionist, such as the I. W. W. He said he would vote for a candidate that was sent down to the borders of Mexico with a gun on his shoulder to do direct action.

If we say we would not vote for a direct actionist, we would never cast a vote, for I believe all men are more or less direct actionists in some way.

When a man has lost his job and cannot get credit, and cannot get favors, to support wife and family, cannot beg enough, the next step is direct action—steal, starve, suicide, or murder. They say, if you are living a church life, God will bless you. How? By starvation, suicide, or some other way, for the wife to sell her virtue—direct action after all.

A man watched for a chicken thief to enter his chicken roost, with a double-barreled shot gun, which was direct action.

The exploiters are stealing off of the socialist I. W. W. and all. Direct stealing. Therefore they cannot enter the kingdom of God. We socialists, I. W. W., and all stand a show to enter God's kingdom, for Jesus went among the tent-makers and fishermen to pick his "fishers of men." Jesus used some direct action when he drove the money-changers out of the temple, did he not?

We must size ourselves up from top to bottom to see if we are free from direct actions. I am not cocksure whether I am a political actionist or not. Jesus said, "He that is not guilty, let him cast the first stone." When he knelt down to write in the dust, and when he erased, every damned one was gone but the woman. They took direct action, and where did they go? To h—l. Another direct action, sure.—U. G. Risom, Columbus, Ohio.

Strike For Mooney and Class War Prisoners

(Continued from First Page.)

a more aggressive policy of Socialism. It must be broken by making a success of the mooney strike, if not on July 5, then after: the struggle to get the masses in action must never cease.

This means, moreover, broadening the scope of the Mooney strike. It must become a strike for the release of all class war prisoners, who are prisoners of the class war against capitalism. Mooney is a symbol of the class war; and the Mooney strike must become a symbol of class power and militancy, to release all the prisoners of the militant working class.

These class war prisoners were captured in the front lines of the war against capitalism. They were at the posts of danger, they struggled valiantly; and they were imprisoned consciously and calculatingly to weaken the power of the workers, to strengthen the power of the capitalists. They must be released.

The moderates, in the A. F. of L. and in the Socialist Party, urge a campaign for "amnesty." The labor lieutenants of the capitalist class in the unions urge faith in the government and in the courts. The moderates imagine that the mobilization of the bourgeois liberal public opinion will compel an "amnesty."

All that will not accomplish anything. The issue is an issue of the class war, and power alone decides in the class war as in ordinary war. You cannot depend upon the courts. You cannot depend upon public opinion. You can depend upon your own mass power alone. You must not ask the government, you must compel the government to release our class war prisoners.

Ask the government that imprisoned our worker-comrades to release them? Depend upon this reactionary government of the capitalists to free the enemies of the capitalists? Charity is not a factor in the social struggle. Justice is a weapon in the struggle of class against class. Mercy is the lying fraud of a ruling class intent upon maintaining its own ascendancy.

All that is paltering with the issue. Paltering is very pleasing to the capitalists, but disastrous to the workers.

Power! That is the requirement of the militant proletariat. Power is the means that will break the power of the capitalists. The power of the proletariat alone will compel concessions and ultimately unconditional surrender.

The mass strike, the political strike, means power. It means the consciousness of class and the power that comes of this consciousness. The political mass strike will weaken the power of the state, make the power of the capitalists totter. There is no other method. The class struggle is not waged with words, but with deeds; it is not a pink-tea affair, but an implacable war to the end. In this war the workers must use force—the force of their control of industry, the force that comes out of mass power, out of mass action.

The class struggle is flaring up implacably. [illegible] oppression of [illegible] are being broken. New fetters are being forged for the proletariat, a new tyranny organizing itself. Capitalism is resorting to the most desperate means to preserve itself. It imprisons, it shoots, it destroys peace, happiness, democracy, that it may reign in plunder and in power. The workers must act against this evil system of things.

The class struggle is flaring up implacably. In the midst of war and death and tyranny, the proletariat is acquiring a new consciousness and new purposes. It stirs, uneasily, unaware of its strength; but it stirs. And capital trembles. Capital realizes that should this stir become conscious, definite action, it would mean the end of the world—for capitalism. But it would mean a new world for the workers.

The issue of the class war prisoners is an issue of the class struggle. On this issue, and all other issues, the militant proletariat must wage war against capitalism. It must wage this war, consciously, unceasingly, implacably.

The proletariat must wage the class war with new means, with more militant tactics than used of old. The strike must broaden, its character; the workers must realize that they need power, class power in order to conquer capitalism. Class power comes out of class action; and the unifying center of class action is the mass political strike.—Socialist mass action to conquer the power of the state and of capitalism.—From Revolutionary Age.

CAPITALIST PRESS CANNOT BE NEUTRAL

He was a wise politician who said, "Government was a condition of mind, and the people got what they asked for." The intelligent workers realize the truth of this. The power of the press to shape opinion is also being realized. They are asking questions about the newspapers' mission and connections. It is just dawning on them that it is visionary to assume that the capitalist press can be even neutral. With all the wealth and power on one side, with millions invested for profits, chained to the system by every link of the chain, the newspapers must not only defend the system, but battle for its perpetuation.—Denroche Daly.

ONE BIG UNION BALLOTING

(Continued, from First Page.)

supporting reactionary forces there, in contravention of President Wilson's sixth article of the famous fourteen points.

This is being done in order to counteract the pernicious campaign of lies and slander being carried on by the kept press of Australia.

The "Australian Worker" (Sydney) whose foreign news page is under the editorship of W. Francis Ahern, is making regular features of the Russian situation, both in reprinted matter and original articles.

Journalists Form Union.

Montreal.—Reporters on the French and English newspapers have organized a union with a charter from the International Typographical Union. It is claimed [illegible] the first newspaper writers' union formed in Canada. The purposes are: "To promote the professional and general interests of the members by encouraging a higher professional standard, by raising the rate of remuneration, by regulating the hours of work, and by providing [illegible]

18c Will Buy These Three

"VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY."

(By Scott Nearing.)

Nearing says violence will not settle labor's problems. He proves it. Just the booklet to enlighten the worker who believes Socialists advocate violence.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI.

An aptly illustrated booklet that reveals the truth of the accusations of crime made against the Russian Bolsheviki.

CONSTITUTNON OF SOCIALIST RUSSIA

The World's First Socialist Republic.

Every worker should be familiar with the fundamental law of the first Socialist republic. It is interesting and instructive.

Read it and pass it on.

These three 18 cents. Order now. Address Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

A Word To New Readers

This issue of the Ohio Socialist is being sent to 3,000 local secretaries in all parts of the United States. Many of you have never seen a copy of this paper before. And for that reason we want you to give it your serious attention. Read it thoroughly. Compare it with other Socialist papers which come to your home. And when you have done so, ask yourself if you would not like to have it come to you each week in the year?

Local secretaries, or all party members should be acquainted with all leading Socialist papers in the country. You can learn much from any one of them. We believe that a reading of the Ohio Socialist will help every one of you to a better understanding of the Socialist movement of this country. We believe it will prove a most welcome visitor to your home as it is to thousands of others. We believe it is worth a trial.

We believe it is worth a dollar of every comrade's money to be extremely well informed of party affairs and the Socialist Movement in general. We hope the Ohio Socialist may be able to help you to such an understanding.

We ask you to subscribe. And when you have subscribed, hand this paper to another Socialist or a non-Socialist and ask for his subscription.

Here's a blank. Please use it.

The Ohio Socialist, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Enclosed find $1.00 for one year's subscription to your paper.

My name is ....

Street address, or R. F. D. ....

City .... State ....

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

No. 75 | Published at Cleveland, Ohio. | WEDNESDAY, JULY 2, 1919 | Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. | $1.00 A Year

First News of Debs at Atlanta Is Shorn of Many Privileges

Veteran at Work in Atlanta Prison Divested of Many Accustomed Privileges Granted at Moundsville. Iron Rules Prescribe His Liberties.

Debs has been assigned to do clerical work at Atlanta Federal prison.

The secrecy that has enshrouded Comrade Eugene V. Debs since his removal from Moundsville penitentiary to Atlanta Federal prison is at last broken through. The Ohio Socialist is privileged to publish the first information that has been available concerning Debs since his removal to the latter institution June 13th, just exactly two months after his term of imprisonment begain.

Why Debs was removed suddenly and in such great secrecy from the comparatively comfortable quarters at Moundsville to the more stringent conditions of the Atlanta prison have been a subject of much speculation among Socialists and the million admirers of Comrade Debs. Nor is any enlightenment thrown upon the matter by any one in authority, nor is Debs himself aware of the reason for his transference. Other than a statement by an official of the federal prisons at Washington, that Debs had been removed at the request of authorities at Moundsville, nothing is known concerning the reason for his removal.

AT WORK IN CLOTHING DEPARTMENT.

Comrade Debs has now been assigned to clerical work in the clothing department of the Atlanta prison. The clothing department is one of the big departments of the prison, where nearly three thousand prisoners are confined. The clothing of all prisoners is cared for inside the prison. Not only are the thousands of grey suits worn by the prisoners made in the prison, but the repairing and laundering is also done inside the walls. This work requires the labor of many prisoners. Keeping accounts of suits made, repaired, discarded, etc., are demands made upon those prisoners capable, through their educational advantages of doing such work. It is work of this nature that Eugene V. Debs, four times the candidate of the Socialist party for president of the United States, is doing at this moment.

That Debs will fare as well as can be expected is believed by those somewhat conversant with conditions in the prison. Debs' immediate superior is a Mr. Boyle, who is credited with being a "fairly good fellow," by inmates of the prison. Associated with Debs in this department are former bank clerks who have erred and other accountants and clerical workers.

The clothing room is on the second floor of the buildi[illegible] and adjoins the "hole."

IRON RULES NOT MODIFIED.

The cell which Debs occupies is about 10 by 5 by 10 feet high. Two prisoners occupy each cell. At Moundsville, Debs was given a generous sized room instead of a cell. This room was cared for by other prisoners. At Atlanta Debs is placed in a cell without the considerations shown him at Moundsville. The iron rules of the prison will not be modified in Debs' case, is the statement of

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

SOCIALIST EDITOR JAILED

Alex Swartzenfeldt, member of Toledo, O., Socialist Party, editor of The New Voice, organ of the Worker's, Soldiers' and Sailors' Council, was sentenced to eleven months in the Canton workhouse for offenses committed in violation of the federal court order in the Willis-Overland strike. He was found guilty of contempt of court. Publication o certain articles in the New Voice constituted the basis of the conviction.

Comrade Swartzenfeldt has for a number of months been among the most active members of Local Toledo and has been untiring in his efforts in organizing the local Soldiers' and Sailors' council. He has frequently spoken for the party at public meetings. Comrades visiting Canton should make it a point to visit him on visiting days, which is on Thursday at the workhouse.

LIES, LIES, LIES

When it comes to downright lying the capitalist press has it over anything Annanias ever dreamed of. He was a mere piker compared to it.

After all, one must have some respect for old Ananias. He only lied for himself. True he lied to his God outright and with premeditation, but even so he was an angel with wings full fledged compared to the mental prostitutes who write up the news and editorial columns of the average capitalist daily.

The monumental capacity of these kept ladies of the kept press for outright and persistent lying is being taxed to the limit in these days of capitalist desperation. When the capitalist wielded whip is made to sing over the heads of its hirelings of the press, one can expect that it will bring results in prevarications, but lately the lash has been applied with extra vigor and unusual persistency. The master class has seen a vision of labor rearing itself upon its hind feet and DEMANDING a word to say in the running of its own affairs. Needless to say, this vision has driven it to frenzy. To drive labor to cover and to squelch in the beginning every desire for justice, capital has entered upon a policy intending to "form public opinion," in its own favor and to create an artificial bulwark against labor's natural aspirations for a human life.

Take for instance the capitalist daily press of Cleveland, O. Since the May Day riots, when organized mobs of boys and a few soldiers, aided by the police and instigated by higherups in the local capitalist ring of destructionists, carried out their murderous program against peaceful workers it has, not only in its news columns, but in editorials advocated the annulment of the operation of the civil law in so far as "radicals" are concerned.

It has printed columns of the grossest misrepresentations and falsehoods concerning the activities of Socialists, I. W. W.'s and in fact handed the lie to everything savoring of radicalism that has dared to manifest an existence. Plots have been discovered, but they originated in the fevered imaginations of the prostitutes whose bread and butter is furnished by the master class. The capitalist press, the police department and the city government has openly dedicated itself to the work of destroying every sign of revolt of the workers against the vest-

(Continued on second page.)

Socialist in Prison Chosen As Candidate

Amos L. Hitchcock, now serving a term in the Atlanta, Ga., federal prison, has been nominated by Cleveland Socialists as their candidate for the school board in this year's elections.

Hitchcock was the lone Socialist member of the Cleveland school board when he was indicted under the espionage act, because he carried on an aggressive fight in the interest of working class measures, and thus made himself obnoxious to the ruling class of Cleveland.

SENTENCE OUTRAGEOUS.

Some time before he was arrested on account of remarks made in personal conversation with an old friend in Sandusky, Assistant Attorney Breitenstein said about him: "Means can be found to remove him from

(Continued on Second page)

PROF. HARRY F. WARD'S TRIBUTE TO DEBS

Prof. Harry F. Ward is one of the most noted church workers in the Methodist church. His recent writings have caused considerable comment among church people on account of their radicalism. The following tribute to Debs was paid at a recent conference of church officials:

Dr. Ward commented on the case of Eugene Debs, Mooney and the trial in Chicago of the I. W. W.

"Debs is one of the big spirits of the country. In Russia a person convicted of a more serious offense against the government was sentenced four years and in Prussia for three years, and yet Debs at a time we are not at war is sentenced for 10 years.

"All the friends of labor demand concerning Mooney is a fair trial. It is not a question as to whether he is guilty or innocent.

"The leaders of the labor forces are most concerned in keeping down violence. They will not call for the machine guns unless they are forced to it by such action as Mayor Hanson employed in Seattle.

"Any cause which is afraid to trust to reason or the sense of justice of the people cannot possibly maintain itself by force of arms."

MOSCOW SAFER THAN NEW YORK

While the prostituted editorial writers of the capitalist press continue to fulminate against Soviet Russia and to spew out such venom against the workers as they are capable, the following extract from a dispatch to the New York Globe and the Chicago Daily News by their correspondent, Isaac Don Levine, in Moscow, may serve to make some of them realize the depths of lying to which they have allowed themselves to be lowered by the interests they serve:

Moscow, Russia, May 19.—There is no anarchy either in Petrograd or Moscow, and there is no chaos in Soviet Russia. Never since its inauguration has the Soviet government been more powerful than it is today. Never in the history of modern Russia has any government had more real authority than the present Soviet system. When one penetrates Soviet Russia one is struck by the fact that whaever Bolshevism may be it is not anarchy. After having passed sometime within the frontiers of the communist republic one is surprised at the situation here, for it is absolutely the opposite of what the American people imagine it to be There is no disorder; there is even too much order. One is safer in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow than in New York or Chicago. Imagine what would happen in Chicago at night if the streets were unlighted, and imagine, further, what would happen if the police disappeared from the city. There are no policemen in Moscow, and because of the coal crisis the streets are unlighted; yet one can traverse the streets after midnight in perfect safety.

Before coming to Russia I was informed that the Soviet government was tottering and would soon fall. The newspapers here publish the wireless dispatches sent from Paris to America. These are absolutely contrary to the facts, and even people most violently opposed to Bolshevism cannot find anything here to support such assertions. On the contrary, numerous signs show that the Soviet government has grown considerably in the last few months.

The Republicans and Democrats ask you to vote—not to think; Socialism asks you to think—if you think right you will vote right.

VOTE FOR SOCIALISM.

An Inquiry About Debs

Dayton, Ohio, June 18, 1919.

Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Sir: As one of the counsel for Eugene V. Debs in his trial at Cleveland, Ohio, which resulted in his conviction of violating the Espionage Act and his sentence to a term of imprisonment at the Moundsville penitentiary, West Virginia, I write to you concerning recent news items in the daily press that Mr. Debs has been transferred from Moundsville to Atlanta.

The law, I take it, governing this transfer is found in U. S. R. S. Sec. 5546, as amended by act of July 12, 1876, 19 Stat. at L. 88. It reads as follows:

> "And the place of imprisonment may be changed in any case, when, in the opinion of the attorney general, it is necessary for the preservation of the health of the prisoner or when in his opinion the place of confinement is not sufficient to secure the custody of the prisoner, or because of cruel or improper treatment; provided, however, that no change shall be made in the case of any prisoner on the ground of unhealthiness of the prisoner, or because of his treatment, after his conviction and during his term of imprisonment, unless such change shall be applied for by such prisoner, or some one in his behalf."

Will you kindly inform me upon which of the above grounds the tyansfer to the Atlanta penitentiary has been made? Respectfully, JOSEPH W. SHARTS.

Trench Testimony

Fellow-worker Bruce has just been freed of the charge of "criminal syndicalism" at Seattle. Following is part of the testimony submitted in his case by a returned soldier.

"Why did you join the I. W. W.?"

"To try to get better living conditions for men and women and children," came the answer. "Few young fellows these days can afford to get married."

"Was it your intention to overthrow the political government of the United States?"

"No, I fought for the United States in France." Then Williams gave a brief picture of his experiences for sixteen months in the trenches.

"I was sent into the line before I had been taught how to load my rifle," he said. "I was ordered over

(Continued on second page.)

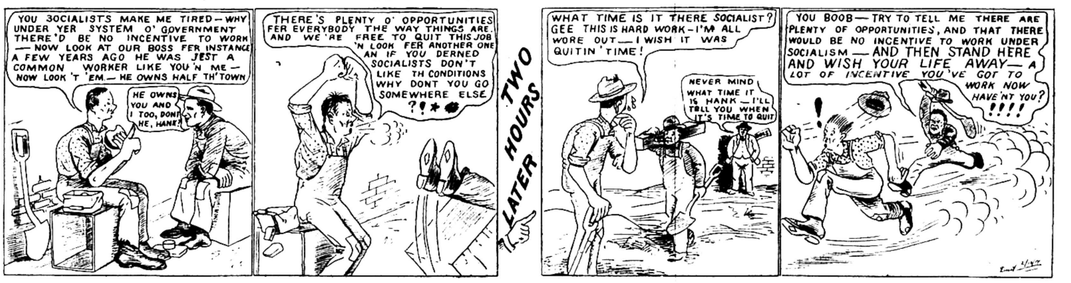
MILLIONS WILL RETURN TO EUROPE

(By Scott Nearing.)

May first the international labor holiday so generally observed by the workers of Europe saw fresh indignities heaped upon the foreign born men and women in the United States. The police, representing "law and order" vie with mobs of uniformed soldiers and sailors in their efforts to make this country an impossible living place for any self-respecting foreigner. A concert given by a Hungarian singing society was raided by 400 soldiers, who insisted upon "The Star Spangled Banner," and forbade the playing of all Hungarian or German music. Meeting places of foreign-born workers were attacked;

(Continued on second page.)

Hank Discovers An Opportunity He Overlooked—It Belonged To the Boss.


YOU SOCIALISTS MAKE ME TIRED—WHY UNDER YER SYSTEM O' GOVERNMENT THERE'D BE NO INCENTIVE TO WORK —NOW LOOK AT OUR BOSS FER INSTANCE A FEW YEARS AGO HE WAS JEST A COMMON WORKER LIKE YOU 'N ME— NOW LOOK 'T 'EM.—HE OWNS HALF TH' TOWN
HE OWNS YOU AND I TOO, DONT HE, HANK?
THERE'S PLENTY O' OPPORTUNITIES FER EVERYBODY THE WAY THINGS ARE. AND WE'RE FREE TO QUIT THIS JOB 'N LOOK FER ANOTHER ONE AN IF YOU DERNED SOCIALISTS DON'T LIKE TH CONDITIONS WHY DONT YOU GO SOMEWHERE ELSE ?!*
TWO HOURS LATER
WHAT TIME IS IT THERE SOCIALIST? GEE THIS IS HARD WORK—I'M ALL WORE OUT—I WISH IT WAS QUITIN' TIME!
NEVER MIND WHAT TIME IT IS HANK—I'LL TELL YOU WHEN IT'S TIME TO QUIT
YOU BOOB—TRY TO TELL ME THERE ARE PLENTY OF OPPORTUNITIES, AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO INCENTIVE TO WORK UNDER SOCIALISM—AND THEN STAND HERE AND WISH YOUR LIFE AWAY—A LOT OF INCENTIVE YOU'VE GOT TO WORK NOW HAVE'NT YOU?
!!!!

AROUSE, YE WORKERS: TO THE LABOR BEFORE US; BUILD UP THE WORKERS' PRESS

The greatest bulwark that capitalism can muster against the workers is its kept press. Its principal business is to lie about the cause of the workers and to form public opinion in its own interests and against the working-class. That it intends to make it pay dividends while doing so is a side issue. While pretending to give the news of the world to the public, this is mere camouflage, for all news is colored to suit the capitalist class. Its perverted writers, both editorial and news, are hired for their ability to distort the truth and to purposely misconstrue the motives and purposes of the organized workers.

Months of unparalleled journalistic perversion of facts and motives of the Socialist Soviet government of Russia serves as an illuminating example. Realizing the danger to the entire capitalistic system, should this highest workers' government stand, it has left no falsehood untold that could discredit it in the eyes of the workers and the general public of this country.

Not content with viciously and shamelessly lying about the workers of Russia they have also turned their broadsides of slander against the workers of America who have voiced the least sympathy with or shown an inclination to seek an understanding of the Russian workers' government. Socialists, I. W. W.'s, Bolshevists, in fact, all men and women of radical thought have been branded as outlaws by these kept ladies of a morally corrupt press. From end to end of the country they have brazenly incited to riot and murder against the workers.

Against the outrageous system of hypocrisy the workers have but one weapon. Publicity, the power of print, is the weapon and the only one that can turn the points of their lies. The power of the press to form public opinion is greater than any other in all the world. Armies are overpowered by it, navies are helpless before it. It is the real ruler of the world.

The power of the press for promulgating a lie is great but its power for spreading truth is a thousand times greater. Truth in itself is a power. It is invincible in the end. No lie can stand against it for long. The truth given even an unequal chance with lies will win the race.

The business of every Socialist is to spread the truth about the motives and the purposes of the organized workers. To do it as effectively as possible should be a chief consideration. For the more effectively it is done, the quicker will we increase the power of the workers for a workers' democracy.

The most effective manner in which this can be done is to place the workers in control of the means of publicity. With this added power, the power of the workers to carry the truth to their fellows is doubled, trebled, yes, increased an hundred fold. The time has come for the workers to strike back at the lies of capitalist hirelings. And the way to strike back is to tell the truth and to make possible the telling of it to greater and greater numbers.

The Ohio Socialist is making a call to its readers and to the members of the Socialist party for $10,000 with which to buy a printing press and a plant of its own. We are trying to tell the truth to the workers and we want your help in doing it.

If you want to strike back at capitalism that is striking you and your class down, help us raise this fund with as much as you can possibly spare for it. If you will stop a moment to think of the great necessity of the workers controlling this great means of publicity you will give generously and free-heartedly for this great cause. Send your donation, help build the workers' press.

Owing to the fact that copy for this week's issue must be made up earlier than usual on account of the Ohio State convention all of this week's receipts are not included below. The comrades whose names appear below have contributed the sum at the head of the column in which their name appears.

$1.00 Column

J. B. Estsminger, Clifton Forge, Va.
L. H. Deaton, Clifton Forge, Va.
J. Y. Hartbarger, Clifton Forge, Va. (50c).
J. E. Vest, Clifton Forge, Va., (25c).
Joe Richstone, Youngstown, FO.
Andrew Gonte, Youngstown, O.
Nina Budyk, Youngstown, O.
Henry Blanz, Norwood, O.
Matthew Schaeffer, Norwood, O.
Theo. G. Phitzer, Cincinnati, O.
August Bindauer, 25c, Sidney, O.
Howard Bates, 25c, Sidney, O.
Tom Flannery, 25c, Sidney, O.
Meral Henson, 25c, Sidney, O.
Homer Henson, 25c, Sidney, O.
John Schlagetter, Sidney, O.
John Clackner, Sidney, O., 25c.
Fritz Miller, Sidney, O., 25c.
Chester Carr, Sidney, O., 25c.
John Tinka, Akron, O.
Wm. Dickson, Canton, O.
John Glovia, Lorain, O.
[illegible] Hartlieb, Barberton, O.
[illegible] Gundlach, Washingtonville.
E. Zentraf, Silverton, O.
Shields, Silverton, O.
A. Tredtke, Cincinnati, O.
George Pickal, E. Liverpool, O.
Ed W. Drewes, Cincinnati, O.
Chester Pickal, E. Liverpool, O.
G. F. Runnels, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Robert E. Blackstone, Youngstown, O.
Mrs. R. Blackstone, Youngstown, Ohio.
E. Kuhn, Cincinnati, O.
W. H. Tilly, Ransom, Kan.
Joseph Slutsky, Cincinnati, O.
D. Yerick, Youngstown, O.
A. W. Harvitt, Toledo, O.
W. P. McDonald, Germantown, O.
John Garrett, Hamilton, O.
Lee Louis, Hamilton, O.
E. J. Nutley, Woodlawn, O.
George Farmer, Hamilton, O.
J. R. Hill, Hamilton, O.
J. B. Hill, Hamilton, O.
Aldo Ford, Niles, O.
A. Storm, Niles, O.
Burt Johnson, Niles, O.
Herman Case, Warren, O.
A. D. Moore, Warren, O.
Gus Kehm, Warren, O.
Sarah A. Rohrer, Canton, O.
Lewis Enzenauer, Pomeroy, O.
Carrie Enzemauer, Pomerory, O.
Wendell Enzenauer, Pomeroy, O.
Ada Dacey, Cincinnati, O.
Julius Belgang, Cincinnati, O.
J. Grundfest, Lorain, O.
J. Neuspickle, Newport, Ky.
John Geiner, Gary, Ind.
Leon Skovich, Goyanda, N. Y.
O. T. Kronval, Winona, Kan.
Unknown comrade, W. Va.
J. C. Senn, Akron, O.
J. C. Commons, Corona, N. M.
Chas. Mefford, Middletown, O.
Alvin Weigle, Salineville, O.
So Slavic Br. No. 6, St. Louis, Mo.
M. Vojnovich, St. Louis, Mo.
L. Katisch, St. Louis, Mo.
B. Musl, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
T. Boranich, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
G. Zorko, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
F. Ferencevc, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
T. Blasich, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
L. Medich, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
T. Klebovich, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
V. Ferdinand, Barberton, O.
John Plachtinsky, Barberton, O.
J. B. Sowers, Clifton Forge, Va.
W. H. Burgandine, Clifton Forge, Va.
J. J. Moss, Clifton Forge, Va.
R. L. Sims, Cleveland, O.

$2.00 Column

A. T. Stratton, Grover Hill, O.
Wm. Solslag, Mineral City, O.
Nicholas Schuch, Youngstown, O., $3.00.
L. S. Troupe, Fostoria, O.
John Vinvic, Lorain, O.
A. Schreibman, Cincinnati, O.
H. J. Bronkar, Mansfield, O.
C. H. Stanley, Wise, Va.
D. B. Dale, Wise, Va.
Geo. Werner, Barberton, O.
Wm. Greter, Crestline, O.
Wm. Greter, Crestline.
Arthur Gundlach, Washingtonville, O.
Loudvig, Stohl, Newell, W. Va.
L. Lerner, Newell, W. Va.
John Filzenger, Bellaire, O.
E. E. Swanson, Rochester, Pa., $2.70.
Bernard Kehn, Niles, O.
Evlyn Kehn, Niles, O.
A. B. Ferguson, New Lexington, O.
J. B. Vaughn, Girard, O.
S. L. Brunner, Alliance, O.
Martha Four, Hamilton, O.
Frank Cergl, Farrel, Pa.
John Evsheck, Struthers, O.
Wm. Catton, Covington, Ky., $3.
A. B. Ferguson, New Lexington, O., $2 monthly.

$5.00 Column

L. L. Tribbey, Cincinnati, O.
Louis B. Kalfiusch, Urichsville, O.
Jack Malkin, Youngstown, O.
E. Hager, Dayton, O.
M. H. Ebersbach, Pomeroy, O.

$10.00 Column

Ralph Howell, Springfield, O.
German Branch, Hamilton, O.
Local Clark County, O. ($12.67).
J. M. Swinehart, Lake, O. ($8.34.)
Local Niles, O.

$25.00 Column

So. Slavic Br. No. 17, Detroit, Mich., $31.00.

$50.00 Column

Not this week, comrades. But we never did die of despair.

$100.00 Column

And again, we say not this week. But while we are here, let us tell you that very soon we shall have some news that will make every Socialist in Ohio and every reader sit up and take notice. That's a promise. A promise that we will make good on. In the meantime keep busy, adding daily to the fund. Don't place yourself in a position to be ashamed when we tell you the good news. DO YOUR PART NOW!

Kiddies' Korner

Arthur Gundlach, age 6, Washingtonville, O., 50c.

Pledge Column

W. J. Gilmore, Dola, O., $1 a month for five months.

Local Clark Co., O., $25.

John Tinka, $1 a month for five months.

Ed W. Dewes, $1 monthly until we get press.

John B. Vauhn, Girard, O., $2 monthly.

Frank Cerl, Farrell, Pa., $2 monthly for four months.

Sarah A. Rohrer, Canton, O., $1 monthly for five months.

How We Grow

Contributed to June 1	$129.00
Contributed week of June 8	171.00
Contributed week of June 14	232.73
Contributed week of June 21	340.29
Contributed week of June 26	224.4[illegible]
Total to June 30	[illegible]

Report of the State Secretary, 1919 Convention, Socialist Party of Ohio

While the following State Secretary's report is being set up at the printers for this issue of the O. S. the state convention of the Socialist Party is in session at Cincinnati. Full report of the convention proceedings will appear in next week's issue.

Comrade Delegates:

The state secretary, together with State Organizer Chas. Baker and C. E. Ruthenberg, were released from the Stark county workhouse on December 2, 1918. The entire work of the state office for the ten months previous had devolved upon the temporary state secretary, Horense Wagenknecht. The state executive committee granted the state secretary a three months' leave of absence beginning about the first of February, for the purpose of taking charge of the department of organization and propaganda at the national office of our party. During these three months Mrs. Wagenknecht also functioned as temporary state secretary. This report, therefore, is in most part her report.

So far as agitation and propaganda are concerned, this state has seen unusual activity in the past year. The literature purchases and sales by the state office have been very large. Locals have made it a point to patronize the state office for literature and although the literature department has not been conducted at a profit, we have been instrumental in the circulation of thousands of pamphlets and this, after all, rather than profits, is the aim of our organization.

Many speakers have been toured by the state since the last convention of the party. Scott Nearing, Ross D. Brown, Kate Richards O'Hare, Tom Lewis, Geo. R. Kirkpatrick, Thurber Lewis, L. E. Katterfeld, Lilith Martin, H. L. A. Holman and Eugene V. Debs have all made more or less extended tours of the state. Speakers residing in the state who gave much of their time to lecture work are Lotta Burke, H. J. Beery, Jos. W. Sharts, C. E. Ruthenberg and State Organizer Baker. Other state speakers filled occasional dates. We want to call especial attention to the several northern Ohio tours made by Eugene V. Debs with the assistance of Marguerite Prevey and Chas. Baker. These meetings were the largest ever held at the points touched, the crowds coming to hear Debs consisted of such numbers that halls were far too small to hold them. These meetings put new life into the organization in Ohio at a time when war and all that followed in its wake was discouraging Socialist activity.

The one disappointment of the year was our failure to place a state ticket in the field last fall. We failed by only several thousand of securing sufficient signatures. This then, would be the best time to call the attention of the delegates to the coming municipal elections. Every delegate in attendance should make it his and her duty to induce the local to nominate candidates for municipal offices at once. Many locals have already nominated candidates and begun campaigns. The example of these live locals should be followed by all other locals in the state.

The only speaker at present being toured is State Organizer Chas. Baker. He is visiting locals in behalf of the party-owned printing plant fund. This tour has just begun and we hope that it will turn out very successful for numerous locals and members seem exceedingly interested and have volunteered their loyal support in behalf of this fund and its purpose.

Due to the riots instigated by the tools of capitalism, both hall and street meetings are, for the time being, impossible in many cities. In a number of cities anti-street speaking ordinances have been passed. In Bellaire and Tiffin the comrades are fighting such ordinances through the initiative and referendum in accordance with a plan proposed by Jos. W. Sharts. We have therefore discontinued the routing of speakers for the present, but only until the locals begin their municipal campaigns, when we shall again give our best assistance in this form of propaganda.

While this lull in lecture propaganda is on we suggest that all locals and branches turn their attention toward strengthening their organization. There are two suggestions to follow toward this end. First, through study classes, we must increase the intellectual quality of the membership. Second, through dues collectors we must seek to keep our membership in constant good standing. Every local should organize a study class. Every local should elect dues collectors. Between the two every local can maintain its membership and make it more efficient in propagating Socialism. Also, every local member, under the direction of the literature agent, should constitute himself a literature agent, selling as many pamphlets as he can every week, as well as Ohio Socialist subscription cards. These are methods of activity which can be easily prosecuted despite the denial of halls or street corners.

The Ohio Socialist is now the largest weekly party-owned Socialist paper in the United States. With a circulation of 20,000 in round numbers, we over-top the next largest paper by 5,000. Credit for this big circulation is due Elmer T. Allison, who as editor and manager has labored painstakingly to make our state paper a success. In fact, the Ohio Socialist is more than a state paper now. It is a national paper, for it enjoys a nation-wide circulation, having subscribers not only in neighboring states, but in remote states as well. The growth in circulation has been steady since the state executive committee, a year ago, decided to issue it weekly. The financial report shows that the paper has contributed a surplus into the treasury during the year.

The general condition of the party in the state is very gratifying. We have lost some of the smaller locals, [illegible] rural locals, but the locals in [illegible] the industrial locals, have grown and prospered. The convention must now earnestly deliberate the reasons for this very condition. This brings us to the party controversy and the formation of the Left Wing section of the Socialist Party.

By vote of the state executive committee the state secretary and Scott Wilkins of the committee were delegated to attend the Left Wing National conference in New York. This conference drafted a Left Wing program and manifesto, declared its relations with economic organizations and decided to organize a new party, to be known as the Communist Party, should the national emergency convention of the Socialist Party refuse to seat delegates from Left Wing states and other party divisions, expelled or suspended for proclaiming themselves Left Wing Socialists, or should the national executive committee again postpone the emergency convention.

The Socialist Party of Michigan intends calling a national convention to organize a new Socialist Party, this convention to meet in Chicago, September 1, 1919. Several of the suspended federations are supporting this call.

You will see by this that the situation in the Socialist Party is critical. Fully half of the party membership is suspended or expelled. Massachusetts is now being expelled. The state executive committee and the city executive committee of New York has expelled half of the New York membership for being Left Wing Socialists. The Pennsylvania state executive committee has refused to abide by the decision of the national executive committee not to sell dues stamps to the suspended language federations and may be suspended as a result. The Socialist Party of Washington, the Socialist Party of New Jersey and the German Socialist Federation have all adopted the Left Wing program and may also be suspended for so doing. The Jewish Socialist Federation is split in half, one-half having organized its own federation for Left Wing Socialism.

Eventually, most of the Socialists will be outside the official party. In order to function state and nationally they will have to form some kind of an organization. The question now arises—in this event, what stand shall the Socialist Party of Ohio take? We can safely say that a vast majority of the membership in this state are Left Wing Socialists. Most of the larger locals have endorsed the Left Wing program and manifesto. As this question will undoubtedly come before the convention in concrete form we hope that the discussion will be deliberate and convincing, so that this state may be a unit in whatever action is taken.

The emergency convention of the Socialist Party will meet in Chicago on August 30, 1919. Ohio is to elect 16 delegates. If these delegates are to accurately represent this state, the convention ought to take under advisement the instructing of delegates as to possible contingencies.

We sincerely hope that the delegates and locals will not permit the party controversy to discourage them in the performance of their duties or to cause them to become inactive. The reshaping of methods and principles in alignment with experiences taught by the war and the Social Revolution is a very great need. The controversy caused by this attempt to reshape our tactics is a sign of party growth, a growth which may result in a temporary decrease in numbers but which will eventually result in an increase in both intellectual and numerical strength.

The financial condition of the party is something to be really elated over. The balance on hand June 1, 1919, was $3,366.31. Together with this we have property assets as follows: One automobile, $400; two typewriters, $60; one multigraph, $250; office furniture, $50; literature in stock, $400; printed matter and supplies, $200. This means that the total assets of the party are more than they have been before, nearly $5,000. Add to this the conservative estimate of the value of the Ohio Socialist and its subscription list, namely, $10,000, and we have a financial condition which we can well feel proud of. Here follows the financial report in totals and a comparison with receipts and expenses for the year previous.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

Total Receipts May 31, 1918, to May 31, 1919.

O. S. Subs.	$8,224.18
Dues Reg.	3,699.20
Initiations	1,286.90
M. A. L.	187.75
Organization fund	1,112.38
For. Br. Dues	1,803.51
Literature	882.70
Supplies	248.21

Receipts from Same Sources for Year Previous.

O. S. Subs.	$ 704.00
Dues Reg.	3,881.10
Initiations	1,637.50
M. A. L.	225.60
Organization Fund	1,373.76
For. Br. Dues	1,759.83
Literature	1,064.73
Supplies	560.17

Total Receipts May 31, 1918, to May 31, 1919.

Industrial Freedom Certificates	$ 595.50
Sustaining Fund Stamp	560.58
Miscellaneous	1,698.11
Debs' Defense	3,653.49
Press fund	136.00
Total receipts	$24,093.51

Receipts from Same Source for Year Previous.

Sustaining Fund Stamp	$ 657.00
Miscellaneous	1,559.33
Total receipts	$13,980.42

Total Expenditures May 31, 1918, to May 31, 1919.

Dues stamps	$2,445.00
Supplies	53.75
Literature	563.54
Dues Fr. Br.	707.60
Organization Expenses	1,266.59
Debs' Defense	1,243.64
Miscellaneous	1,699.29
Salaries	3,642.00
Telegrams	[illegible]

Expenses for Same Sources for Year Previous.

Dues Stamps	$3,292.00
Supplies	637.62
Literature	1,134.36
Dues Fr. Br.	619.92
Organization expenses	1,316.62
Miscellaneous	1,936.31
Salaries	2,352.00
Telegrams	133.11

Total Expenditures May 31, 1918, to May 31, 1919.

Office Supplies	$ 685.77
Postage	503.98
Printing	341.00
Auto expenses	310.55
Sustaining fund	904.77
Ohio Socialish publishing	7,562.60
Total expenses	$22,012.08

Expenses for Same Sources for Year Previous.

Office supplies	$ 240.70
postage	541.28
Printing	545.25
Sustaining fund	188.20
Ohio Socialist publishing	1,304.43
Total expenses	$13,457.31

Receipts over expenses per month for the year May 31, 1917, to May 31, 1918, were $43.59. Receipts over expenses for the year May 31, 1918, to May 31, 1919, were $173.14 per month. Fraternally submitted,

A. WAGENKNECHT,
State Secretary.

BISBEE DEPORTEES TO GET DAMAGES

Copper Barons Who Kidnaped and Left Twelve Hundred Workers on Arizona Desert to Starve Aim to Settle Suits for Six Millions Out of Court.

Bisbee, Ariz.—Quietly and in a manner calculated to attract the least attention the Bisbee deporters are preparing to pay the deportees a large portion of the $6,000,000 asked for in the deportation damage suits.

This action will be taken in order to avoid going to trial with the suits against the big copper companies, their agents and the wealthy men who were charged with deporting striking miners and their sympathizers July 12, 1917.

All that stands in the way of prompt settlement is the acquiescence of some of the paintiffs to the terms of settlement offered by the defendants.

According to the terms of settlement offered by the defendants in the suits married men with children will receive $1,250, married men $1,000 and single men $500.

The list of defendants included the Phelps-Dodge Corporation, the Phelps Dodge Mercantile Company, the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company, the El Paso Southwestern Railway and a number of other corpoartions, officials and individuals.

In the suit a number of the 1,186 deported men charged that their rights as citizens were violated when they were forcibly taken from their homes. Great interest has been aroused in the action of the attorneys for the defendants in consenting to settle the case out of court. The revival of the case in its settlement has brought out a lot of talk about the quashing of the indictments against the 25 men who were charged with the responsibility for the deportations.

There was little concealment of the names of the men who had conducted the deportations, and no denial of the action was made until after the indictments were returned by a federal grand jury. In November, 1918, Federal Judge William W. Forrow of San Francisco filed a decision quashing the indictments against the 25 men, most of whom were agents of the various big interests of the Warren copper mining district which centers at this place.

Among the men deported was W. B. Cleary, a Los Angeles attorney, who up to that time knew little about the labor troubles of the district and was said to have little sympathy with the strikers. He was caught in the net as were many who were in no wise involved in the strike and who were not in sympathy with it. Since that time Cleary has been devoted in his assistance to the workers and he has taken a prominent part in the civil cases and in the suit thus being settled out of court by mutual agreement.

The suits were brought for $6,150,000 and were filed in the state civil court at Tombstone in behalf of 286 of the deported men.

A strict censorship was held on the press at the time of the deportations and stories of an inflammatory character were sent out from the district.

The United States government took a hand in the affair and rescued the deported men who had been left in the desert in desperate straits for food and water. United States army detachments were sent to the relief of the suffering men who were taken to Columbus, where they were cared for at a military camp for several weeks.

Some of the men who were deported are among those sentenced to long terms in the federal prison at Fort Leavenworth on charges of being implicated in I. W. W. activities.

SOCIALIST IN PRISON CHOSEN AS CANDIDATE

(Continued from First Page.)

the board. This is no time to dilly dally over the niceties of legal technicalities."

Means were found in the remarks he made in a private conversation in regard to Liberty bonds. Hitchcock was indicted, tried and convicted and removed from the school board. His sentence of ten years to the federal prison at Atlanta was considered so outrageous that upon recommendation of the attorney general of the United States President Wilson reduced the sentence to two years, thus adding insult to injury. Hitchcock will be released next January.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, LET'S STUDY IT

Being a member of the Socialist Party and a reader of your publication, I would ask kindly for a few inches of space to express my thoughts to the wage workers. Comrades since the Socialist Party has seen the need of the Left Wing department. Let me first say that Socialism was and is to be brought about through the machinery of production and distribution on the industrial field. As we know we are robbed at the source of production and not from politics. Even if the Socialists would control the political end from the president down to a dog catcher, where and what use is it if we have not the economic end at our backing? The masters would simply ignore our laws and run the industries in the same old way.

What must be done? Make yourself a committee of one to read up and study industrial unionism. Why? [illegible] organized in the trade [illegible] agricultural industry [illegible] the globe wherever they have grabbed control. But the wage workers are organized on a trade-union basis, and that form of union ceased to function.

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

LIES, LIES, LIES

(Continued from First Page.)

ed rights of capital to exploit them. Day in and day out front pages reek with the most stupendous fakes of alleged plans of the "REDS" to riot at some future date. July 4th is generally the date set for an outbreak of "Bolshevism" that is to outclass anything heretofore pulled off.

An article in the News of recent date, headed "Police to shoot in quelling red riots on July 4th," is illuminating as to the immoral depths to which the writer has sunk. The article reads in a manner calculated to picture in the reader's mind scenes of lawlessness unparalleled, at which time police clubs are thrown away to be supplanted by guns. Special deputies are being sworn in (at very good pay, no doubt). Auto loads of police will scour outlying districts prepared to put down any uprising. All police of the city will be on duty. The idea of the article is to carry the impression that the Socialists are secretly organizing outbreaks of some kind or another. Whether there is any truth in it or not does not matter. So long as the public can be induced to believe that Socialists are cut-throats, the lie is justified. Cleveland Socialists have never at any time even considered having a parade on July 4th. Yet the lie has appeared many times in the local sheets.

Don't think that capitalism lies merely for the pleasure it finds in doing so. It lies with a purpose. It lies always for itself. It lies always against labor, never for it. The recent increase in the amount of its prevarications concerning Socialists is due to the fact that Socialism is growing by leaps and bounds. To prejudice the public mind against it, is its sole and only hope of staying the march of industrial democracy. It will not succeed. In spite of hired and prostituted mentalities whose brain power and talents are for sale to the highest bidder, the truth marches on, no power can stay it. It is conquering Europe for the workers. It will conquer capitalism in America for the workers too.

MILLIONS WILL RETURN

(Continued from First Page.)

meetings were broken up, and men and women were insulted and assaulted.

The soldier-mob raids were carefully planned and executed; the police were directed from headquarters. The masters of American life evidently desire this thing. If they did not, they would easily stop it.

Be satisfied, masters; these "foreigners" will go. Already they are leaving by the hundreds of thousands, and recent investigations show that, as soon as passports can be secured, between 5,000,000 and 10,000,000 of foreign-born men and women expect to go back to Europe. The last census reported 13,345,545 foreign-born individuals in the United States. This body of working people, who have been doing the hard work of the United States for decades, will go back to Europe.

Well, what then?

Then the workers who remain will be able temporarily to demand and secure labor-famine wages. Then the masters will have their excuse for bringing black labor from the south to the north (as they did during the war) and for bringing yellow coolie labor from China to the United States as they did a generation ago.

The driving out of millions of foreigners means ultimately the imposition of more acute forms of slavery upon the American working people. Thus tyranny will grow; despotism will enthrone itself, and capitalism will die by its own hands.

TRENCH TESTIMONY

(Continued from first page.)

the top. One of the fellows asked me if I didn't know how to put my ammunition in. 'No,' I said. 'I'm sorry for you,' he said. But I noticed I came back all right."

Three times wounded, twice gassed Bayoneted while trying to take a prisoner who "could speak American" and whom he didn't want to kill if he could capture him.

"Do you believe in war?" he was asked.

"I do not," came in clear tones from the soldier who had killed his man.

"Do you believe in it less or more than when you went to France?"

"Much less," he said.

"Do your consider yourself loyal to this country?"

"I do. It's one of the grandest countries there is. I want to see the principles of the declaration of independence put into industry, not just into politics."

READ THESE POINTED PARAGRAPHS

Here are pithy, pointed paragraphs gleaned from letters received [illegible] press fund. Read them. And after you have [illegible] the press fund and write us a letter [illegible] your share of a party controlled press. Be among the boosters.

BEST MOVE EVER MADE.

"Best move the party ever made," is the way Comrade Wm. L. [illegible] the $10,000 press fund. And we are sure that he voiced the approval of the membership of Local Portsmouth when he said that [illegible] for the local a check for twenty dollars. "You can count on Local Portsmouth for from $100 to $200," he adds. Local Portsmouth surely has the right spirit when it comes to getting together for progressive party work.

SHOULD HAVE DONE IT BEFORE

"Enclosed find check for ten dollars donated by Local Girard, (Ohio) for a party-owned press. It's the very thing the party should have done long ago. I am confident the comrades of Ohio would have backed it up with their dollars and their work." That's what Local Secretary Fred Wilson writes. And he says he is going to raise more funds by individual subscriptions. More of the same kind of co-operative spirit that keeps the party on the road to success, say we. It surely is no time for comrades to lay down on the job, now that we have decided to move ahead and make up for the past mistakes. Let's follow the lead of these comrades and help get the press.

ONE RESULT OF PERSECUTION.

The story of the widow's mite was recalled to us this week when we received such a comradely letter from Comrade Anna Jackson of Battle Creek, Mich. Comrade Jackson writes that she did not until lately have any use for Socialism, but that the persecution of Debs and Kate O'Hare has turned her towards us. Their unjust imprisonment has made a Socialist of her and now she wants to do all she can for Socialism.

Although Comrade Jackson is a working woman dependent upon her own labor she donates five dollars for the press fund and does so gladly. It is letters like these that comrades write us that makes us believe that we are on the right road when we attempt to put into the hands of the workers more and better tools with which to build a better world.

ANXIOUS TO DO HIS BIT.

Comrade W. A. Jenkins of Salem, O., is another enthusiast for the press fund. He has pledged a dollar a month until the press is paid for and promises to solicit funds also. He states that he will do all he can for the fund and to advance the movement. May his tribe increase.

"FOR AN UNTRAMPLED PRESS."

That's the way Comrade Fred E. Stevens puts it in his letter to us, containing a press fund donation of five dollars and a pledge of an additional dollar each month for 12 months. To which we add that we'd soon have it if all comrades looked at the question in the same clear light as Comrade Stevens.

ORDERS LIKE THESE PLEASE US

Comrade Louis Habenicht of Barton, O., sent a pleasing letter this week. It ought to please all Socialists to read it. It was all business. It said: here's ten dollars for the press fund, three dollars for books and one dollar for a subscription. That was the mainpart of his letter. It all proves that he's one of those working-at-it Socialists.

AN OLD IDEA PUT TO A NEW USE.

That is what Local Zanesville has done—put an old idea to a new use. Secretary Patterson's letter explains. "I enclose $8.70 for the press fund. There will be no individual donations with us. It is like this: we have a voluntary contribution box on a table at every meeting. At the last meeting we decided to send until further action, all donations to the press fund. We shall try at every meeting to stimulate giving by making an announcement, and I am in hopes that in the end it will result in quite a tidy little sum." Not so bad a plan. Is it?

THE VERY BEST REASON OF ALL

With a remittance of eleven dollars for the press fund from various comrades, Comrade Gj. Vucelich of Bellaire strikes the keynote of militant socialism when he says of the comrades making the contributions "We are in the movement to do all we can." Seeing is believing, even should we have doubted it before. The foreign-born comrades need no brick house to fall on them before they know what is good for future progress.

HE HOPES WE BECOME A DAILY

Comrade D. Weinstein writes, "Here is two dollars which will help to keep the Ohio Socialist a worker for the workers. Hope to see it a daily." And so do we. That's why we are laying the foundation.

SURE WE WILL GET IT.

After all, the best way to make sure you will get a thing is to help a bit to get it. That's what Comrade P. H. Davis of Chesapeake, O., seems to imply in his letter. He sends two dollars. He states that he is sure we will get the necessary amount. To be sure we will. Just think of the thousands of comrades who are reading these lines right now who haven't contributed yet. Of course we are going to get it—just as soon as they send in their bit.

HERE'S GOOD SOUND HORSE SENSE.

For downright horse sense, no one has anything on Comrade John Reichle of Madison Heights, Va. He writes: Enclosed please find a dollar for the printing plant for the Ohio Socialist, to be party owned, not privately owned. We should not have any privately owned Socialist papers, but only large party-owned ones. Not so many little duplicating ones, but fewer and stronger controlled papers." More and more Socialists are coming to his point of view, we observe.

LEAST ANY SOCIALIST SHOULD DO.

"Please find enclosed one dollar," writes Comrade Robert Kerr, of Co-

(Continued on fourth page.)

THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS PARALLELED

Address of Frederic C. Howe at mass meeting, Madison Square Garden, May 25, 1919.

There are many reasons for this meeting for justice to Russia. Some of them are official, others human. There are two reasons that are official that seem to me to voice the spirit of this call. On January 8, 1918, three months after the establishment of the Soviet government, President Wilson outlined the policy of the United States to Russia as follows:

> "The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

This is the only official pronouncement of America's attitude toward Russia.

There is a later one, concurred in by all of the allied powers. Scarce four months ago at Paris, January 22, 1919, in inviting the Soviet government to participate in the Prinkipo conference, President Wilson, with the approval of the allies, said:

> "They (the representatives of the Associated Powers) recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without dictation or direction of any kind from outside. They do not wish to exploit or make use of Russia in any way.
>
> "They recognize the revolution without reservation and will in no way and in no circumstances aid or give countenance to any attempt at a counter-revolution."

These are the official declarations of the allied powers toward a sister nation, which for four years was engaged with them in a common war!

But there are human reasons for this meeting—human reasons that need no official sanction. The last four years I have faced men and women and children from the continent of Europe, and I have learned that people, whether Russian or Polish, Italian or Irish, have the same common, universal, simple, honest wants.

They want a home; they want their children; they want to make a living and be free from oppression of any kind. They are the kind of people—and there is no essential difference—that Lincoln spoke of in his apealing way. And the human justification of this meeting is that in Russia yonder, our ally of a few months ago, hundreds of thousands—yes, I am advised millions of people—are dying of starvation.

They can be fed, and America in the past has asked no question about the political lineage of people who were dying of hunger. She sent relief to India. She did not ask permission to send relief to Ireland. We are sending it now to Armenia.

And in the passion of the press, we should not forget that this Russia gave two million of her people at the front. She was a valued friend up to a few months ago, and if reports are to be believed, regiments went to the front against machine guns with nothing but their bare hands—so betrayed were these Russian people by their rulers and leaders!

Food—famine—sickness—is another call to the American people to voice their good will to Russia. For three generations, people from Russia have ocupied this hall and other halls, and America has sent generously. She has used diplomatic channels to abate and end the tyranny of that country. She has protested against pogroms, against oppressions, against the old order. And why should America today turn her back upon these, the finest, most disinterested traditions of our land!

I know of nothing in international matters that has a stronger appeal to me than the right of every people, be they great or small, be they white or black, to work out their own destiny in their own unimpeded way.

Like all new doctrines in the world, this doctrine is having some difficulty in acceptance. But this world wants the variety, the character, the culture, the refinements, the contributions of every people. And I should like to see the peace council from America establish a department filled with men who want to aid aspiring people, to help them in their own—not our way—in their own way—to realise their own conception of life!

Well, I must not forget that I am merely the holder of the gavel tonight. But before introducing the speakers, I want to call attention to a parallel—a parallel to what is going on in Russia today. Something over a hundred years ago there was another revolution [illegible] for causes almost exactly similar to those that led up to the revolution in Russia. There was corruption in the government, the king was weak, his advisers ignorant and corrupt. The peasants were hungry; they were in poverty and ignorance, kept so by the state and the church. The revolution was the only way out. For all attempts at reform were frustrated just as they have been in Russia. Finally, the revolution broke. It spread. It consumed the old order.

There have been other revolutions since, but the French Revolution was the only revolution of the past century that was economic. In this, too, it was like the Russian revolution. It was not political. It didn't dethrone the king alone; it was economic. The peasants took the land of the old nobility and distributed it among themselves. They confiscated it. They ended feudalism by ending the cause of it. Instead of a few thousand owners, as there were in Russia, Prussia and England, there are now 4,000,000 land owners in France. That is the explanation of France. That has been her strength. That was the real bulwark against Germany. The French Revolution won the late war. For the peasants fought for their homes. Had they been serfs they would not have stood as they did like a stone wall on so many occasions.

But England, Germany and Russia did not understand, or chose not to understand, the revolution.

The feudal classes of these countries made common cause with the feudal classes of France to crush the revolution and prevent its spreading. The liberalizing influences were halted at the British channel, at the River Elbe. They did not secure a footing in Great Britain, Austria, Hungary, Germany or Russia. They left the old feudal nobility that still owns the land in these countries intact in their economic as well as their political power.

This was the greatest calamity that has befallen the world. It enthroned reaction all over Europe. The Holy Alliance was an alliance to save property as well as thrones. Europe was kept chained to the middle ages by the coalition of the old ruling nobility which was willing to destroy France to prevent the French revolution from destroying feudalism.

The world has been paying the price of the suppression of the French revolution ever since. It is paying for it in the war which is drawing to a close. For the militaristic classes of Europe are the old feudal classes which still own the land, which still control diplomacy, which have [illegible] the world in the interest of their [illegible] fering which society and civilization has made to the strangling of the French revolution by the Junkers of Europe a century ago. For central Europe is still feudal as it was two centuries ago.

This organization to overthrow the revolutionary movement in Russia is as portentous to the world as was the coalition against the French revolution. Yes, it is more so. The history of the future will be written in what happens to Russia. This in turn will write the history of the rest of Europe and possibly of America as well. It is conceivable that western civilization may be destroyed by false steps in regard to Russia just as the European world has come close to destruction by reason of the false steps of a hundred odd years ago.

Why? Because Russia is imponderable. She contains nearly 200,000,000 virile people. She contains great wealth and endless resources. A reactionary Russia, an industrial Russia, a Russia in league with the Orient or with Germany might sweep westward to the British channel. That is one danger. It may be remote. But it is no more improbable than the alliances that have been formed in Europe within the past generation.

But revolutionary Russia wants only peace. She alone of the powers is ready to scrap all militarism and end all wars. She wants to devote her attention to other things.

Russia, too, accepts without reservation the Magna Charta of peace with which America entered the war. She has ended secret diplomacy and opened her archives to the world. She freed Persia and declared that she would not accept Constantinople from any one but the Turks themselves. She has declared for an applied self-determination of peoples, and said to her peoples you can govern yourselves as you like, even in your smallest local affairs.

Russia has spoken across the seas and accepted our ideals of peace. She has sent them to the heart of Germany. According to Ludendorff, it was the Russian propaganda back of the German lines that broke the power of Germany. It bred revolution and resulted in the dethronement of the Kaiser and the military caste.

Russia is the problem of problems of the world. She contains one-third of the population of Europe. She is seething with [illegible] that can not be [illegible]. It can only be overthrown by [illegible]. To attempt to [illegible] Russia in the interest of reaction [illegible] liquidation of wars and [illegible] complete destruction [illegible] peace world [illegible]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
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Alfred Wagenknecht

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PEACE TIME SEDITION LAWS.

So, it seems congress, having imposed upon the people of the United States an unconstitutional espionage law in time of war, is now to seek further honors in the fertile field of repression of our once boasted rights by enacting a new sedition law adapted to peace times. The espionage law, commonly referred to as the "spinach act," proved such a winner for reactionism, though its sole purpose at the time of enactment was said to be the curtailing of the activities of pro-German spies, that something permanent along the same line would be just the thing to keep the robber powers in the saddle for decades at least. The war time agitation concerning freedom, liberty, etc., having burned itself into the minds of the people as a real entity, possible of accomplishment, of being grasped and as worthy of such, it is now feared by our capitalistically inspired solons, as a dangerous thing for an enlightened people to become enamoured of. A law of repression is necessary.

Senator King is ready with his "anti-Red" bill. Commenting upon it under the heading of "Why Crazy Laws for Crazy Men," the New York World speaks as follows: "In the severity of its provisions, it goes far, beyond anything ever before thought necessary for the protection of the government. It appears to be based not merely upon facts that may have been discovered but on fears that may have been excited in the minds of the senators in the course of their rambling investigation. For national safety it is not necessary to magnify into crimes all the reckless words, spoken and written, of irresponsible agitators. It groups persons who use scurrilious or abusive language about the form of government with those who advocate assassination of public officials and destruction of public property, and prescribes the same penalties. Even if such laws were to be enacted, they could not be enforced in the courts where reason and justice still prevail."

This is the kind of laws which "our" representatives will seek to hedge about the people as they manifest a desire to attain some measure of the liberties for which the nation spent billions and gave thousands of lives.

ONE RAY OF HOPE.

The convention of the American Federation of Labor, boasting an organization of 4,600,000 members, has passed into history. The proceedings of the convention were marked but by two outstanding features of special import. Much of the same old game of conservatism marked every phase of its various activities. The same old policy of keeping the "ins" in and the "outs" out was apparent. The steam roller of the Gompers' machine performed in the usual and time honored manner against even the least significant display of unaccustomed policy. The convention proceeded along the conventional and usual route toward securing a "fair" deal for labor. What this fair deal consists of was not made apparent. Gompers voiced his usual tiresome and conservative opinions and "belief" that capital would see the fairness of labor's demands and out of its good heart would render justice to the toilers. The accomplishments of the convention were toward conservatism and a policy of "let well enough alone."

The one ray of hope and the only one, emanated from the western delegations. They composed the radical group of the convention and in them rested the spirit of the newer ideals of labor. They were not sufficiently numerous, however, to bind the convention to any of the forward looking movements of labor. The decisions of the convention bear out the statement that the American Federation of Labor is far, far behind the spirit of progress and desire of the labor world. The radicalism in the ranks of American labor exists in that vast majority which is outside the Federation. The Federation is lacking in a sympathetic touch with the recent developments in the labor world. The only ray of hope that it may at some time get in touch is furnished by the Western delegations and their scattered supporters.

The Bolshevist and the profiteer are opposite extremes, and there is small choice between them—so reads a short one in one of the dailies. Admitting they are opposite extremes indications are that the world, having had enough and to spare of the latter will now try the former for a change.

President Wilson, we are told, will stump the country to convince the American people that white is black and that black is white in so far as the league of capitalist nations is concerned.

We trust that the capitalist press has sufficiently gloated over the imperialistic peace imposed upon a starving people at bayonet points to convince the average man and woman that our sole object in entering the war was the attainment of right and justice!

Speaking of Red, it was the Red Sea that engulfed the tyrant Pharoah and his hosts. Other tyrants, other seas.

The opportunity for enlightenment as to what the Allies were fighting for is now available. Just read the peace treaty.

A plan of Germans to export potash is referred to in a capitalist paper as a Hun plot. That's because it would interfere with the profits of the potash trade that is developing in this country.

Who can say that Sammy Gompers has not a sense of the fitness of things—didn't he refuse an increase in pay?

Some near truths are being told these days. A preacher gives it as his opinion that "hogism" is responsible for Bolshevism.

The horse meat industry is flourishing in the U. S. "Well," says our stenographer, "if people have to eat horse meat, perhaps they will get some horse sense."

LET PARTY MEMBERSHIP FUNCTION NOW.

(By L. E. Katterfeld)

In a statement to the locals the members of the old National Executive committee, who are holding up the membership referendum in which they know themselves to be defeated for re-election, make a tear[illegible] plea to the outraged membership to "wait until the convention." They ask locals not to make or second motions to reverse the N. E. C. but leave it all to the convention.

In the meantime this same N. E. C. finds even the mails too slow for its party wrecking activities, and is right now BY TELEGRAPH, [illegible] the Socialist Party of Massachusetts. Why not wait till the convention?

The New York state committee is [illegible] out of the party its revolutionary membership by the thousands. Why not wait till the convention?

[illegible] state Executive committee has voted to expel every local and member that endorses the Left Wing program. Why not wait till the convention?

We can expect every little committee that is still controlled by the reactionary officialdom to follow suit. The convention is called primarily for the specific purpose of affording the party membership the opportunity to pass judgment upon the Left Wing program, to determine the party's position on the question of affiliating with the Third International, organized by the Bolsheviks at Moscow, which today is the ONLY International of Revolutionary Socialism. But these little committees of petty officials that want our party to straddle and compromise are not willing to await the action of the convention. They are now trying to forestall the convention and to expel from the party all those [illegible] that come out openly for revolutionary Socialism.

We know that their frantic efforts will avail them nothing. The membership of our Socialist party today is sound and revolutionary to the core. No matter how many thousands the party officialdom "discipline" with its paper expulsions, of those that remain the Left Wing will still be the majority. The inexorable logic of world events has undermined the opportunist elements within our party and made the revolutionary wing unconquerable.

We have serence confidence in our victory at the coming party convention—when that convention is held.

But we have no confidence whatever in the honesty and good will of the present party officialdom.

As soon as they realize in truth that in spite of all their machinations the convention will decide against them, we can expect them to "postpone" the convention. In fact, they discussed this possibility openly at the recent N. E. C. meeting in Chicago.

So do not let the specious pleading of these defeated and disappointed party officials lull you into inactivity, comrades. Lose no time. Second the referendum NOW. Support Local Cleveland's efforts to force the party officialdom to obey the will of the membership.

• • •

The N. E. C. also asks us to "wait for more information."

But they themselves refused to "wait for information" when they expelled the Socialist Party of Michigan, 6,000 members strong, without any trial or even informing the Michigan comrades that they were under charges.

They refused to "wait for information" when they voted down my motion to give the translators time to communicate with the Federation executive committees, and suspended thirty thousand GOOD standing party members without trial, just by a simple resolution made by seven men in an attic in Chicago.

We need no information to know that no little executive committee has the power to throw forty thousand members out of our party without trial and get away with it.

We need no information to know that it is the duty of our party officials to count our membership referendums and announce the results, that no committee consisting almost entirely of defeated candidates has the right to suppress them.

If there is anything wrong with the referendum the remedy is not to suppress and keep secret, but to TURN ON THE LIGHT, publish the results and then if necessary let them be challenged and investigated by DISINTERESTED comrades.

WE WANT the party convention to decide the questions at issue. But the old N. E. C. has forestalled the convention, and in order for these questions to come properly before the convention these unconstitutional and pernicious acts of the N. E. C. must NOW be reversed.

Therefore, comrades of the Socialist Party, we urge you to second Cleveland's motion to annull the N. E. C. expulsion of Michigan, and let THE CONVENTION decide if those 6,000 members should be expelled from the party.

Second Cleveland's motion to annull the N. E. C. suspension of the seven language federations, and let the CONVENTION decide whether those 30,000 comrades are guilty of violating our party principles and should be thrown out.

Second Cleveland's motion to have the results of our referendum elections announced. Then if there are any contests or challenges, let the CONVENTION decide them.

Second Cleveland's motion to halt the N. E. C.'s action turning all the party property over to a little corporation that cannot be controlled by the party membership. If the new headquarters are to be in the hands of a little group of individuals that cannot be recalled within three years by the party, let the CONVENTION consider that.

And remember, as a precaution against the executive secretary's merely throwing your "second" in the waste basket, be sure to send a duplicate thereof to the State Office of the Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, so that we may know when sufficient seconds have been sent in to demand a referendum of the party.

Comrades, in every one of their actions the N. E. C. have insulted the party membership. They have usurped powers that are not theirs. They have trampled roughshod over all constitutional limitations. They have violated the will of the membership. They may now camouflage their motives with honeyed words and fine phrases, but their every act gives them the lie, and the very circumstances under which they acted mercilessly condemn them.

They have sown the wind. Now let them reap the whirlwind. Let every comrade make it his personal business to prove that such incredible trickery on the part of the party's officialdom will be resented and rebuked in this Socialist Party. LET THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP FUNCTION NOW.

The Communist Program—The Manifesto of the Left Wing

Nearly one hundred delegates met in New York on June 21, 22, 23 and 24 to discuss the Socialist Party crisis. Nine Socialist language federations were represented. Ohio was represented by 9 delegates, Pennsylvania 8, Massachusetts 8, New York 16, Illinois 8, Colorado 1, California 2, New Jersey 3, Connecticut 2, Wisconsin 2, Rhode Island 1, Michigan 5, Kentucky, 1, Minnesota 3, New Mexico 1. These were reported by the credentials committee at the first session. More than a dozen additional delegates were admitted at subsequent sessions.

The discussions were earnest and deliberate. Heated debate marked several sessions, which is, of course, entirely natural at a Socialist conference. A telegram was received at the first day's session, signed by fifteen prisoners incarcerated at Leavenworth, sending greetings to the conference and wishing it success. In view of this it does not seem as if those behind prison bars felt as if the Left Wing Socialists were disrupting the party. Telegrams and letters of greeting were received from all parts of the United States.

We print this week the Communist program as adopted by this Left Wing national conference, which is hoped will form the basis of a program to be adopted by the national emergency convention of the Socialist Party, to be held in Chicago August 30th. Next week we will publish further actions of this conference.

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM.

The Left Wing program is implied within the terms of the program of the Communist International. We, therefore outline, as the controlling propositions of our own program, the main principles of Communism as follows:

1—The present is the period of dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if capitalism, with it unsolvable contradictions is not replaced by Communism.

2—The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the power of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3—This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers and for the re-organization of society on a communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administrations which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The Workers' Councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4—The dictatorship of the proletariat shall carry out the expropriation of private property in the means of production and distribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under Socialist administration of the working class; the abolition of capitalist agricultural production; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5—The present world situation demands the closest relation between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6—The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are of only subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique: lies, demogogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not observed by the enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working-class power.

7—The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups: (a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the international revolution.

(b) The "Center" at present theoretically led by Kautsky (by Hillquit in the United States), representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

(c) The revolutionary Left Wing.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regard the "Center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders.

8—It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of the revolutionary trend of the Left Wing, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist banner, the emblem under which the world order. Under the Communist first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite!

PROGRAM OF THE LEFT WING.

1—We favor international alliance of the Socialist movement of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviki of Russia, Spartacans of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2—We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as labor parties, non-partisan leagues, People's council, municipal ownership leagues and the like.

3—We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchic or democratic-republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the communist transformation.

4—We favor organized party activity in co-operation with class-conscious industrial unionism, in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action.

(a) The party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

(b) The party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to develop the understanding of the strike in relation to the general proletarian emancipation.

5—We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of capitalism into the co-operative commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaigns should be:

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working-class action.

(c) To make, by votes, a show of strength, indicating the measure of our reserve forces, providing, always, that these votes are not bid for by reform programs, but are votes for the social revolution.

(d) To win representatives in public offices on the same basis as we use lawyers in the capitalist courts, viz., to insist upon our technical safeguards, no matter how meager, and to serve as interpreters and publicity agents equipped with special knowl-

(Continued on fourth page.)

A Rebuke From Prison

June 14, 1919.
U. S. Federal Penitentiary, McNiel's Island, U. S. A.

Comrades: Whereas it has come to my knowledge that the National Executive Committee, at their meeting held on May 24th to 28th, inclusive, 1919, did take certain arbitrary and unconstitutional action regarding certain foreign language federations of the Socialist Party, and did, moreover, exceed the authority of their office in "expelling" the state organization of Michigan, contrary to the constitutional requirements provided for suspensions and expulsions, and, further, that the N. E. C. has ordered that National referendum "B" and "C" be NOT TABULATED, but have selected an "investigating committee" to examine the individual ballots which are to be called in from all over the country—this despite the fact that the vote has NOT been challenged—and intend to exclude the votes of Michigan state organization and the "suspended" language federations in making final count;

I hereby wish to express my PROTEST as a Socialist and a member of the National Executive Committee, against each and all of the actions mentioned above. And I wishe to be recorded as voting "NO" upon each of the foregoing propositions.

The N. E. C. have, at all their meetings, seen fit to consider as "present" all its members who are, by action of the government, prevented from personally attending. As an expression of sentiment and comradely sympathy I, as one so detained, appreciate this graceful tribute very sincerely.

But when, as appears from the minutes of the recent N. E. C. meeting, this imaginary "presence" is made use of in an attempt to constitute a quorum when no quorum exists in order to make wholesale expulsions from the party and to deprive the membership of expression through the referendum, I am constrained to PROTEST, and this most vigorously, such an undemocratic, unparliamentary and un-Socialistic procedure.

Surely, as Socialists, we cannot afford to stoop to the use of such petty, political trickery, nor should we wish to do so.

(Signed) EMIL HERMAN,
Member National Executive Committee, Socialist Party of America.

TO PREVENT THE DISRUPTION OF THE PARTY

The following motions to prevent the disruption of the party by an executive committee which is bound to rule or ruin, have been initiated by the joint membership meeting of Local Cuyahoga county.

The arbitrary usurpation of power by the Executive Committee to expel or suspend sections of the party which have adopted the Left Wing position should be promptly rebuked. Every local which desires to preserve the party against the efforts of the Executive Committee to disrupt it, should send their seconds to these motions to the National Office. In sending your endorsement to the National Office, 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, be sure to state how many members in good standing you have in your local or branch.

RESOLUTION.

Resolved, by the Joint meeting of the Members of the Branches of Local Cuyahoga County, representing an average of 1,821 members in good standing for the year 1918, that we initiate the following motions, to be submitted to the party membership of the United States:

Resolved, that the act of the National [illegible]pelling the Socialist Party of Michigan from the Socialist Party of the United States, a state with 6,000 members, without giving the state a trial or even a hearing in its own defense, is hereby rescinded and annulled and the Socialist Party of Michigan restored to all the rights and privileges of membership in the Socialist Party of the United States.

Resolved, that the action of the National Executive Committee of the party in arbitrarily suspending the Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Lettish, Polish, South Slavic and Hungarian Federations from the party is hereby rescinded and annulled.

Resolved, that the action of the majority of the National Executive Committee, which is largely composed of candidates for re-election in the recent referendum, in holding up and refusing to tabulate the vote on Referendum B and C for the election of the National Executive Committee, International Delegates and International Secretary, and calling a National convention, is hereby rescinded and the national secretary instructed to immediately tabulate the vote and to declare the candidates receiving the highest number of votes elected, in accordance with the National Party Constitution.

Resolved, that the action of the National Executive Committee in preparing to place the property of the Socialist Party in the hands of a board of directors, three to be elected for three years, three for six years and three for nine years, these directors not being subject to recall either by the National Executive Committee or the membership of the party, be reversed and rescinded.

Signed, C. E. Ruthenberg, chairman of meeting.
Signed, Carl Hacker, Recording Sec'y Local Cuyahoga County.
Cleveland, June 1, 1919.

Stinging Resolutions Passed By Local Beebe, Arkansas

Calls For Seconds For National Membership Referendum

The following resolutions were passed by Local Beebe, Arkansas, on June 8th, 1919. Local Beebe calls upon all locals and branches of the Socialist Party to second these resolutions so that they may be sent to a national membership referendum. Send all seconds to the national office, Socialist Party, 220 South Ashland boulevard, Chicago, Ill., and state in communication how many members there are in good standing in your local or branch.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, the Socialist party of American has repeatedly declared itself a revolutionary movement, aiming at the abolishment of the bourgeoisie system and the establishment of a working-class government, and

Whereas, recognizing the impossibility of establishing a co-operative commonwealth, as long as any part of an individualistic system is permitted to endure, and

Whereas, legislative reforms of the present system is nothing more than bolstering up capitalism and the retarding and obstructing of the growth of co-operation, thereby continuing in slavery the toiling masses whose freedom is espoused by the principles of socialism, and

Whereas, the party constitutions, platforms, conventions and referendums, in no place advocate legislative reforms as a remedy for present, existing industrial and political evils; but to the contrary do openly declare for the utter destruction of the old order and the institution of a working-class government, and

Whereas, the National Executive Committee has autocratically, and without a semblance of authority saw fit to revoke the charter of the state organization of the Socialist Party of Michigan, assigning as a reason therefor that the "state convention of Michigan has adopted and sent to referendum, a resolution denying any local or member of a local the right to advocate legislative reforms," and

Whereas, the National Executive Committee, takes the liberty to suspend several foreign language Federations, alleging the expenditure of time and funds in an endeavor to capture the national organization, as a reason therefore, and

Whereas, the evidence furnished in the signed statement of the National Executive Committee, is inadequate to base such drastic actions upon, and bears the opinion out that they (the N. E. C.) only feared that their positions were in jeopardy, and

Whereas, the duties of passing upon such grave and important questions as the revocation of state charters and the wholesale suspension of federations should, and does belong solely to the entire membership of the Socialist Party, whose wise discretion have always been, and can always be relied upon to be in behalf of the best interests of the party as a whole, and

Whereas, the National Executive Committee, by its acts have exceeded its authority, criminally neglected its duties, and showed a marked indifference for the interests of the party, by its wholesale slaughter of the party membership, the failing and refusing to call a convention at the time of or at any time after the signing of the armistice, and the offering of motions to indefinitely postpone meetings of the N. E. C., at a time when the world was witnessing the greatest struggle for supremacy by the powers of autocracy in its history, and

Whereas, by these and various other acts of indifference towards party affairs, the N. E. C. has made it plain to the party membership that if the Socialist movement is to be kept abreast of the times, and maintain its equilibrium it will be necessary for the party to take the control of affairs into its own hands, therefore, be it.

Resolved, that those members of the National Executive Committee, who have so flagrantly violated the principles of socialism, by voting in favor of revoking the charter of the Lichigan State organization of the Socialist party, and the suspension of the various Foreign Speaking Federations, also those members of said N. E. C. who offered a motion and voted for same to indefinitely postpone meetings of the N. E. C., be recalled from membership of said committee, and be it further

Resolved, that said charter of the State organization of the State of Michigan be restored and the suspension of said Federations be revoked, and a special convention be called at the earliest possibility by the remaining members of the N. E. C. for the purpose of hearing the case of the above named organizations, and such other business as may come before said convention, and be it further

Resolved, that before any of accused organizations be expelled from membership in the Socialist party, that the evidence be published and furnished to the entire membership of the party through the columns of the National Bulletin, and then a referendum vote be taken, the results of which shall stand as a verdict, and be it further

Resolved, that a referendum be called for the election of members of the National Executive Committee to fill the vacancies created by the recall of above designated members, and that none of those who have been recalled as a result of above charges shall be eligible to membership of the National Executive Committee for a period of two years.

Adopted by Local Beebe, White County, Arkansas, at a regular meeting on the 8th day of June, 1919.

W. G. HOPKINS, Chairman.
W. B. SAYE, Secretary.
Committee on resolutions,
J. M. WREN
H. J. GRAM
W. G. HOPKINS.

YOUR LOCAL—WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First Sunday of Each Month at 2 P. M.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
[illegible]

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.

[illegible]

Virginia Bulletin for May, 1919

State Secretary B. M. Dutton, R. F. D. No. 1, Abingdon, Va.
Chairman State Executive Committee, J. W. Cassell, 522 14th Ave., S. W., Roanoke, Va.

Virginia Comrades:

Scientists tell us that our solar system speeds through immense space upon an orbit incalculably great, and that in process of time will complete a cycle and return to the point occupied at present. Certain mystics tell us that at certain points or fields along this mighty orbit there are distinct etherial forces that play subtly upon the minds of men and induce certain abnormal psychological states that react tremendously upon the destiny of the human race.

If this theory be true, we must now be passing through one of these fields of brain-storms. Certain it is that the human animal is "acting quare" the world over. Just now our beloved American Socialist party is in the throes of a virulent brain-storm. Up Soco—SEVEN until recently we have remained quite sane and kept the keel lying level. But now, alas, we have "got it," too.

Well, if the thing is "in the air," I guess we cannot help acting like we had the jim-jams. There is one consolation: maybe that inert and somnolent thing we call "the people" will get a dose and sit up and take notice. If this occurs we can well afford to have a fit or so ourselves.

But as we who have the light are charged with the responsibility of showing the awakening masses the way out, it behooves us to keep cool. Excited folks lose their heads and do fool things. So just keep your shirt on and remember that when a man joins an organization he tacitly agrees to abide the majority will of that organization. The Socialist party has the referendum vote as the means of determining the majority will upon all vital questions relating to the internal economy of the party. So just keep cool and wait until these matters just now threatening to disrupt our party can be threshed out in a party referendum.

And do not think because you have a wing that you are an angel. All the angels I ever met had two wings and could fly. And again, remember that all the energy you consume flapping your pen-feathers out on the Comrades who have developed a wing on the opposite shoulder. is LOST to the external work that is to be done educating the heathen outside our fold. And, OH, LORD! just think how enormously great is the external task awaiting us. Why, Comrades, we have not an ounce of strength to waste in scrapping with each other. Let us quickly agree on some working program, or if we cannot agree, then agree to disagree, and then get busy WITH THE EXTERNAL TASK.

I would rather see half a dozen separate Socialist parties, each united and harmonious within and zealously pursuing its chosen course, than see one big party rent with internal dissensions and wasting all its energy upon internal shenannegan and factional strife.

There, now, just look how much perfectly good ink I have wasted in this little sermon, and just consider that when done it is not worth one quavering, agonized tinker's damn as propaganda. Some Comrade sent me a copy of a new paper calling itself The Socialist. I read it through and not a line in it but what was devoted to the partisan squabble just now on within the party. In the hands of the heathen, this paper would be absolutely meaningless — mere drool, that he would cast aside with disgust. And remember, it is labelled "The Socialist," and the heathen would naturally look to find something of Socialism in it. Say, when we play damphool like this, how can we expect the heathen to look to us for leadership?

The Ohio Socialist has remained singularly fair and free from factional drool. As a propaganda paper it is first class. It is the work of a Socialist paper to make more Socialists, and this cannot be done with factional matter. Get behind the Ohio Socialist. It stands for fair play within the party and abides the majority will as opposed to official autocracy.

May has been a quiet month in party circles in Virginia. Some of our Comrades are developing wings, but they solemnly assure me they have no intention of flying the coop—we are harmonious in Virginia.

"The harmony of death?"—not on your life, bo! We are not dead by a damsite. Just watch us. We are on the verge of eruption. Even now the rumblings of the coming quake may be heard.

Norfolk is already in active eruption. Lava-streams fill the streets and the air is full of volcanic ashes—and the eruption has just begun.

There is a reporter on a Plute paper in Norfolk who gave us a nice decent write-up in his paper recently. This is so unusual these days as to demand especial comment and our profuse thanks.

Richmond, after a period of quiescence, is now rumbling for a coming spell of activity. Pretty soon she will be spouting Socialist lava to beat Vesuvius.

Say, if you want to prove your capitalist editor an unmitigatd liar and a journalistic gutter-wench by evidence he cannot gainsay, just send $1.00 to Miss Grace Scribner, 150 Fifth ave., New York city, for a bunch of bulletins treating upon the Russian question. Do it now.

Reform is the lightning rod that neutralizes the charge in the thundercloud of revolution. If the capitalists will not put them up, why should we worry?

Financial Statement for May, 1919

Income—	
May 12—John Reichle	$ 1.00
May 13—Local Norfolk	10.00
May 14—Local Richmond	5.00
Total	$16.00
Expenses—	
May 24—Dues stamps	$10.00
May 29—Literature	1.00
May 31—Postage	2.00
Total	$13.00
Gain for the month	$ 3.00

B. M. DULTON,
State Sec'y.

Letters That Foretell Success

FOR A PEACEABLE SOLUTION.

That's why Comrade Ralph Howell of Springfield, O., sends us a ten spot for the Ohio Socialist press fund. He says that the truth will win the world for Socialism and we know its true. Realizing that truth is the only salvation and then providing the means for its telling is what counts.

FIRST OFFICIAL LIST RETURNS.

The first official list issued from the State Office for getting subscriptions for the press fund has just returned. It comes from Barberton and contained four dollars. Comrade George Werner is the circulator. And now that they have begun to come in, we shall expect more and more of them right along. Every local in the state has these lists on hand and any comrade may secure one from his local secretary. Every Socialist sympathizer should be given an opportunity to help the press fund. The subscription lists are the best method to use in securing their help. Therefore, use them for that purpose. Give every one a chance to help.

IS MORE THAN PLEASED.

"Am more than pleased to see the party take the stand it is. The only way is to own our own printing plant and then we can run our paper on time or over time if necessary." That's what Comrade Wm. Greter of Crestline, O., says in his letter. He sends two dollars to prove his belief, too.

A WELCOME VISITOR.

Another five spot for the press fund comes from Comrade Louis B. Kalbfleisch of Urichsville, O. Comrade Kalbfleisch says he looks for the Ohio Socialist every week. He wishes us success in getting the ten thousand for the press and plant.

WILL DO ALL HE CAN.

A contant booster for the Ohio Socialist is Comrade D. B. Dale of Wise, Va. Whether it is subscriptions or press fund, Comrade Dale is always on hand with his help, his cheering words of encouragement and his efforts in getting others to do their bit also. Comrade Dale remits four dollars for himself and a comrade and says he will do everything he can for the O. S. and the cause it represents. We know he will.

TO BURY CAPITALISM.

Down in Corono, N. Mex., there is a comrade who is old as years go, but the spirit of youth abides with him and fires his declining days with a noble purpose. His name is J. C. [illegible]. Eighty-five years old is [illegible] old to work and nearly [illegible] spares a dollar for our [illegible] radely letter that he is willing to have but one meal a day rather than to fail in helping us. This comrade says he is going to do all he can to bury capitalism face downward. We Socialists must stand firmer together and face the enemy, he writes. And there is a world of truth in his statements and a world of inspiration in the words of this old comrade, who refuses to be old in spirit.

HE IS PROUD TO HELP.

That's what Comrade Leon Skovich of Goyanda, N. Y., tells us in his letter enclosing a press fund remittance of a dollar. Such words make us desire more and more to make the Ohio Socialist worthy of the loyalty of our comrades.

TO LOOSEN THE FOUNDATION.

Three dollars to help loosen the foundation of capitalism is the way Comrade H. J. Bronkar puts it in his letter. "Ideas," says Lenine, "will conquer the world." Lenine is right and Comrade Bronkar's three dollars will help toward that coming day.

GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE.

"I was looking over the contributions for the printing press," writes Comrade L. S. Troupe of Fostoria, O., "and decided to do likewise, so enclosed you will find two dollars." That's the way it struck this comrade. And, by the way, there are a lot of other comrades who are reading over this week's contributions whom we hope will feel similarly inspired.

TO KILL PREJUDICE.

To get the worker to read Socialism in order that he be rid of his capitalist teachings is what is needed most according to Comrade Chas. Mefford of Middletown, O. Comrade Mefford contributes a dollar for the press fund which surely proves that he knows the right method to get best results along this line.

THIS MISSOURIAN SHOWS US.

Comrade L. Katich of St. Louis, Mo., thought it was sure time to get that printing press, so he takes a subscription list and goes among his friends and secures a boost of six-fifty. Comrade Katich shows the way that other comrades should follow. Many a nice boost can be secured by this method. Take a list comrade, from your local secretary and go after them. Don't let your timidity stand in the way of your making the press fund grow.

SURE OF OTHER'S HELP.

Thus writes Comrade W. J. Gilmore of Dola, O. Comrade Gilmore sends a dollar and says the local will be sure to help such a worthy cause. We shall look for more assistance [illegible]

ANOTHER METHOD THAT HELPS TO WIN.

There are as many ways to secure funds for printing press as there are methods by which the proverbial cat may be divested of its outer covering. Comrade Lindauer of Sidney has hit upon a scheme that is certain to prove a big help in boosting the receipts higher and higher. He has formed a club of ten comrades who pledge themselves to give 25c each per month for a period of six months. Nothing wrong with this plan. One of the best things about it is that it will work in any community where there are Socialists or even sympathizers. Try it comrades. For a result getter we recommend it. Thanks Comrade Lindauer for the funds and the idea, too.

FAITH AND WORKS.

At Sunday school we learned that faith without works was useless camouflage when it came to bringing home the bacon. It's as true today as when it was spoken long ago. Comrade Theo. G. Phitzer believes it too as his letter proves. "I enclose a dollar," he writes, "for the press fund. Will give what my limited means afford, doing what is possible each month. Trusting the fund will reach or exceed the goal." When every comrade feels the urge of the spirit of the revolution as does Comrade Phitzer, we will get that press in short order.

READ THIS, DAYTON COMRADES.

"As I have not seen any Dayton names among the contributors so far, I wish to start the ball a-rolling with this small donation toward the press fund. Am only sorry I cannot do more. Yours for the Left Wing. —E. Hager.

Now, Dayton comrades, here is an example worthy of your following: Are you ready?

FORWARD WITH THE GOOD WORK.

Two dollars for self and two for a friend reaches us from Comrade L. Lerner of Newell, W. Va. Comrade Lerner writes, "Forward, comrades, with your good work in propaganda. It will bring the best results." And that makes us feel good.

SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE BEFORE.

That we are doing the right thing in establishing a party-owned printing plant is the sentiment expressed in a letter from Comrade C. R. Hartleib of Barberton, O. He says both the state and national organizations should have done this before. And he sure is right. And then he says the Ohio Socialist is worth its weight in gold and we hope he is right again.

WORTH WHILE WORK.

Another list returned today. And with twenty dollars on it, too. Comrade Bernard Kehn of Niles did some good work there. We are sure that many comrades can also do as well with their lists in getting subscriptions for the press fund. Don't forget to ask your fellow worker for a lift for the press fund.

WANTS A BUILDING, TOO.

"I don't see why we cannot have a building as well," writes Comrade John B. Vaughn of Girard, O. Well, we don't either, and we are certain we would have in short order if all comrades followed your example. Comrade Vaughn. A two dollar bill and a monthly pledge of the same is a lift that helps.

READ THESE POINTED PARAGRAPHS

(Continued from second page.)

lumbiana, O., "the least any Socialist should do if he wants to get educated in true style. We must have a plant of our own." And again we say, that's sense.

A COFFIN FOR CAPITALISM.

From out in Colorado comes a letter full of pep as well as a boost for the press fund. The writer is Comrade E. N. Deibler of Englewood. He sends a dollar "as a contribution toward a coffin for capitalism, in the form of a printing press. I would not call myself a Socialist if I did not do my bit toward getting that printing plant." And he has made a notation in the corner of his letter that is full of promise. It reads—first installment.

HE FORGOT.

Comrade Edwin Blank writes in that in sending in eleven dollars the first part of June for the press fund he forgot to state that five dollars was his own personal donation. Just like one of these hard working comrades, isn't it?

Calls for Expulsion of Despotic National Executive Committeemen

The following motion for national membership referendum was made by Local Vincennes, Ind., and gives, in few words, the opinion in which the average local now holds the autocratic national executive committee.

Vincennes, Ind., June 16, 1919
National Office Socialist Party, Chicago Ill.
Natice of National Referendum
To Executive Secretary:

We, Local Vincennes, Socialist Party of Indiana, forty-five members in regular meeting assembled, initiates a motion to recall from office and expel from membership in the Socialist Party, the following National Executive committeemen: James Oneal, George H. Goebel, Fred Holt, A. I. Shiplacoff, Dan Hogan, Seymour Stedman, Fred Krafft and John M. Work.

We deem said members of National Executive Committee to be reactionary and dangerous enemies of militant proletariat in the struggle for economic emancipation.

As said National Executive Committee has proven beyond doubt, their reactionary attitude in their arbitrary action in expelling forty thousand dues-paying members and assuming an attitude of dictatorship over the rank and file of the Socialist Party.

F. K. TRIEMEN, Chairman.
John Trucker, Rec. Sec.

AMONG THE SUB BOOSTERS

Three yearlies is what Comrade Carl F. Queesnows of Silvis, Ill., sends us. He promises more in the near future.

And then comes Comrade Louis Habenicht of Barton, O., with a list of the same size. These comrades seem to have no trouble in securing yearly subs.

Anothe yearly comes from Comrade C. Wasloff of Akron.

From way down in Mississippi a subscription reaches us from Comrade W. A. Mauldin. Yes, there are Socialists down there and more in the making.

County Secretary Comrade Fred Walchli of Belmont Co., sends in a fine list of 24 subs for comrades in Bridgeport and Dilles Bottom. Belmont Co. Socialists are active as ever as this list proves.

The May day cards are still coming in. Comrades who have sent in subscriptions on these cards this week are: Rachel Thompson, Guy N. Mex.; John Brandstetter, Cincinnati, O.; W. D. Conklin, Bergholz, O.; V. Markovich, Youngstown, O.; D. M. Greathouse, Kenmore, O.; Leopold Hoffman, Grafton, O.; F. E. Blake, Cincinnati, O.; W. L. Garver, Springfield, Mo.; John Webber, Sharinville, O.

Our Painesville list is growing steadily. Comrade Henry R. Miller keeps the old subscribers on the list and gets new ones right along.

Because he was lonesome without the O. S. Comrade Richard Haase of Akron renews his sub. Comrade Haase is a worker in the propaganda field of Socialism.

Comrade A. Labash of Kansas City removes to Wichita where, we hope, we will continue to solicit subscriptions for the O. S. His last remittance was for a yearly.

More coming every week, writes Comrade F. J. Catlin of Youngstown. He sends in one subscription.

A growing list of readers at Dayton, O., proves the activity of our sub hustlers there. A list of four were received from Comrade Walker Jones acting local secretary.

Comrade A. McIntyre of Roll, Okla., gets busy and lands three subs for us.

Comrade J. C. Kimmons of Corona, N. Mex., says in his letter that he is not able to do a great deal for socialism on account of ill health, but he feels it his duty to do all possible. So he sends a dollar for four subscriptions. Some of the most loyal and hard working comrades in the Socialist movement are those who are incapacitated in one way or another. If some comrades who have every advantage would do as much as these comrades—what a movement we would have!

Another growing town on our list is Rayland, O. Comrade F. A. Bucey is our booster there. Two yearlies is his contribution today.

As a result of Comrade T. J. Eiler's efforts we have a new local at Defiance with seven members on the charter. These seven comrades subscribe for a half year each. Local officers will be elected at the next regular meeting. Comrade Eiler is to be warmly commended for his good work in organizing the comrades into a local, as this method is the one which gets results. Organization is the keystone of success. Doubtless there are other localities in the state where five or more comrades can organize a local and do more for Socialism than by fighting singly.

Two three months subs are received from Comrade F. D. Lowe of Riverside, Va. Comrade Lowe is a constant booster.

And from Nebraska too. Comrade J. P. Mortenson is our sub getter there. Two half yearlies he sends in.

Comrade Chas. Litz of Sandusky sends in two renewals and a new one this week.

Local Akron sends in 38 names. This list is to apply on the $25 sent in some time since by Comrade F. N. Prevy as a protest against the riots instigated in Cleveland on May day. We hope and believe that this investment of twenty-five dollars will bear good fruit.

Single subscriptions have been received from the following comrades: Avery M. Blount, Searcy, Ark.; U. S. Wilson, Sr., Manor, Pa.; E. C. Glatfelter, New Phila, O.; Rufus Hoppus, Portsmouth, O.; C. J. Taylor, Fort Myers, Fla.; D. Kossoff, Youngstown, O.; L. R. Hamlin, Alliance, O.; Irwin Borden, Edw. Under hill, Vincennes, Ind.; Fred Wilson, Girard, O.; D. M. Greathouse, Akron, O.; Edwin Blank, Lima, O.; L. P. Fabel (2), Canton, O.

PARTY NEWS AND VIEWS

AKRON ACTIVITIES.

At a general party membership meeting held last Friday night, the delegates of Local Akron to the state convention were instructed to work for the endorsement of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party.

Comrades Marguerite Prevey and John C. Chase were nominated as candidates for delegates from this district to the national emergency convention.

The local also endorsed the motion of Local Cuyahoga for a national referendum.

It was also voted to issue a call for a party convention for the 6th of July for the purpose of nominating a city ticket for the coming municipal election.

JOHN C. CHASE,
Local Correspondent.

TACOMA LABOR COUNCIL ENDORSES SOCIALIST PARTY

Tacoma, May 29.—The Central Labar Council has endorsed the resolution of its political committee for organized labor of Tacoma to join forces with the Socialist party on the political field, instead of forming a local Labor party, and the referring of the resolution to the rank and file of the membership for a referendum vote for final endorsement. Delegates from two unions, engineers, and auto mechanics, had gone on record as unanimously favoring the committee's recommendation.

Labor Must Get into Politics

"The labor movement must get into politics," said Sam Sadler. "I have been a member of organized labor 24 years and of the Socialist party 18 years. I never have and never will ask you to join the Socialist party. You must understand its principles before I would ask you to join. If your idea of going into politics is to get a few political jobs, stay out of the Socialist party. If, however, you are for the working class getting control of the powers of government for the benefit of the emancipation of the working class from the wage system, your interests are with the Socialist party. But don't endorse it unless you understand it."

The resolution was indorsed by practically unanimous vote and referred to the membership.

OWNERSHIP OF TOOLS

By Eugene V. Debs

You have made all the marvelous machines, and now your employment, your very lives, depend upon your having access to them. But these used by labor, are not owned by labor large-grown tools, made by labor and bor in the capitalistic system, but belong to a capitalist, or group of capitalists, who live in New York or some other remote point, and when it suits their pleasure they can order their factories closed and you workingmen locked out, without consulting you and without a moment's warning. You have not a word to say.

At such a time it is useless for you to leave here and look for work elsewhere, for when this mill closes down, so do others. You are out of employment and you begin to suffer, and most of you don't know what the trouble is. You only know that you are no longer wanted at the mill; that workers are a drug on the market. With these wonderful tools with which you now work, every few years you have produced so much that all the markets at home and abroad are glutted, and the capitalists cannot sell what you have produced in such abundance, and FOUR—Soco so they stop their machinery, shut up their mills, lock out their "hands" and paralyze industry, and there you are, idle, helpless, hungry, hopeless, desperate.

And these conditions will come upon you and become worse, no matter how well you are organized in your several trade unions; and this will continue as long as you workingmen allow the the idle capitalists to own and control the tools of industry.

Has it ever occurred to you workingmen that, if you could make these tools and use them, you also can own them and produce wealth in plenty for yourselves?

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, LET'S STUDY IT

(Continued from second page.)

tion as a useful body when the machine age arose.

Skilled mechanics are only hands now, in the ranks of the unskilled workers or in the unemployed army. We see wage scales and contracts expire at different dates, causing one set of workers to be on strike and others wroking in the same shop of the industry. How can we win or emancipate ourselves that way? Instead of that form of unionism we must organize along the lines of industrial unionism. Let the trades unions organize in the industry in which they are employed, known as a branch to the central body of industry. Let each trade branch elect a delegate to the central body of the industry they are employed in and present the demands of their branch to the central body of delegates by their delegates. That is everyone is organized and no wage scales or contracts expire at different dates. Instead of one branch quiting and others working, it will be that if one has a grievance all have, and then a complete tie-up.

Then, comrades, organize the other industries, namely, mining, transportation, agriculture and public service industries, then the system of capitalism will be helpless, as we can tie up the entire industrial field by job control. Then first abolish international unions and high salaried labor fakers. Put in as delegates men or women who work. Not sit in easy chairs and dine and wine with Wall street sharks. You can see the results. When you are the controllers of your jobs, then the society of capitalism will not have even an apex to rest on. Get together on the same lines. Read up. Think it over. Make yourself a committee to advocate it in your trade union halls, also talk it over with your sisters and brothers on the job. Get literature. Give it out. Let's try our hand to swing it.

We spend three hours a year to vote and the rest of the hours we slave in hell holes. What account are the laws for the workers today? Make your laws in union industrial halls. Stand and stick for it. Make dues and initiations so low any slave can get in, as we are not capitalists. Line up in the Socialist Party also, and go after the system and use the same tactics our masters use to regulate the political and industrial end of their so-called divine rights, and just control the whole system and institute a world safe for all. Yours for industrial freedom.

KARAEKAS RED WOOD.
([illegible] Indian.)

CAPITALISM'S IMPERIALISTIC PEACE

Manifesto Published by the British Labor Party.

The national executive committee of the British Labor party considers that the published summary of the peace treaty in some essential particulars is opposed to the declarations of President Wilson, the inter-Allied conferences and the Berne conference; is very defective from the standpoint of world peace, and bears evidence of compromise influenced by capitalist imperialism which still dominates the European states.

In so far as organized labor was not represented in the peace congress which drafted the treaty, and as its general spirit does not conform to the working-class conception of a peace of justice and right, we can accept no responsibility for the violations of principle involved in the settlement.

Therefore, look to the people and to the forces of organized democracy to safeguard and develop the idea of a peaceable community of all nations.

Only under the influence of the working-class movement, organized in the international, can the imperfections of the present treaty be completely eradicated and its provisions adapted by the League of Nations to the requirements of a changing European order.

As the war was in part the product of frustrated colonial ambitions, and the treaty makes no provision for equality of trade conditions for all the nations consenting to the peace, any permanent denial to Germany of the opportunity to become a mandatory under the League of Nations must be a cause of jealousy and unrest, leading to further international strife, whilst the increase of colonial territories under Allied control will involve a corresponding increase of naval, military, and administrative burdens upon the Allied peoples.

That Germany should make reparation and pay compensation for damage done to civilian life and property by land, by sea, and from the air, cannot be questioned, but we are of the opinion that she ought to have representation on the Reparation Commission, and the total compensation she will be required to pay should have regard to her obligation to meet the needs of her own population.

We regret that the treaty, which imposes a drastic measure of disarmament upon Germany, does not include provision for progressive limitation of the armaments of the other signatories of the treaty, with the object of finally arriving at a general total disarmament.

While agreeing that France should have specific rights of pre-emption over the product of the coal mines until her own resources have been reorganized, we protest against any attempt at permanent separation of the Saar territory from the German state, and regard as objectionable the particular form of political and economic control set up by the treaty.

In order that her claims to these provinces may be confirmed, and a long-standing dispute finally removed from the common life of Europe, we hope that France will agree to a consultation of the population of Alsace-Lorraine under the League of Nations.

To prevent the creation of another Alsace-Lorraine a plebiscite under the League of Nations, should be taken in Malmedy and the other contested territory between Belgium and Germany before the renunciation of sovereignty by Germany, rather than that the inhabitants should be left to appeal to the League of Nations against the action of the Allies.

We welcome the application of the plebiscite to the southern and eastern districts of East Prussia, but regret that this principle had not been observed in the delimitation of the Polish-German and Czecho-Slovak frontiers.

In accordance with the principle of self-determination, the people of German Austria should have the free and unrestricted right to decide for themelves whether they will become one of the federal states of Germany or remain independent; any other solution would be an act of injustice and repression of national impulses that may imperil the peace of Europe.

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM

Continued from third page.)

edge of technique. In the largest terms, these intermediaries, under strict party discipline, serve as special propagandists of the social revolution.

(e) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter-proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasions of the issue and, in their impotence, the provocation to violence; recognizing at all times the characteristic developments of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalist nations.

(f) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

6—Socialist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, and recognizing that the socialist movement has come into the historical period of the social revolution, can contain the single demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of capitalism.

(b) The implications of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

(c) A municipal platform of socialism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7—We realize that the coming of social revolution depends on an overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise pre-calculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come within our pre-determination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large-scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8—Applying our declarations on party principle to the organization of the party itself: and realizing the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalistic power to be combated, of a centralized party organization, we offer the following recommendations:

(a) Delegation by the National Executive committee of a large measure of its administrative power between intervals of meetings to a National Emergency committee, composed of three or more members of the National Executive committee; this emergency committee to maintain the closest possible contact with the work of the national office and to advise with the executive secretary on all matters where consultation is necessary.

(b) [illegible] ed to public office; the Emergency committee and the National, State and County committees to co-operate with the public officers within their respective jurisdictions; immediate expulsion of all public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the party.

(c) Control by the party membership, through the regular party processes, of all party papers and official publications; not by committees or trustees not responsible to the membership.

(d) Like control of all party property, such as offices, halls, etc.

(e) Like control of officially recognized educational institutions.

(f) Establishment of a Central Lecture bureau, and of a Press and Information bureau.

(g) Standardization of party platforms, propaganda, dues, and methods of organization.

FIRST NEWS OF DEBS AT ATLANTA

(Continued from First Page.)

officials at the penitentiary. He will be shown the usual prison privileges, no more, no less. This means that he can receive but one visit from a personal friend once in fourteen days. This is the information given Comrade Mary Raoul Mills, State Secretary Social Party of Georgia, who attempted to see Debs two days after Debs' arrival at Atlanta. She was refused the privilege of seeing him, being told that one visitor had already visited Comrade Debs.

BERKMAN OUT OF "HOLE."

Alexander Berkman, philosophical anarchist, and associate of Emma Goldman in the publication of Mother Earth, one of the largest of the anarchist publications of this country, is confined at Atlanta, serving a two-year sentence for alleged anti-government activities. Berkman has for some time been confined in the "hole," the dark steel cell reserved for disobedient prisoners. Confined with him in the punishment cell were Hirshberg and Randolph, two I. W. W.'s, who are serving long sentences. These prisoners are now released from punishment and placed in "second grade," which means that they are allowed to write letters but every two weeks instead of weekly, and cannot visit the prison movies nor attend prison ball games. Berkman's sentence will expire in about four months. Berkman, Hirshberger and Randolph are associated with Debs in the clothing department. Berkman's former associate, Emma Goldman, is confined at the state prison at Jefferson City, Mo., where Kate Richards O'Hare is serving a five-year sentence.

18c Will Buy These Three

"VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY."

(By Scott Nearing.)

Nearing says violence will not settle labor's problems. He proves it. Just the booklet to enlighten the worker who believes Socialists advocate violence.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI.

An aptly illustrated booklet that reveals the truth of the accusations of crime made against the Russian Bolsheviki.

CONSTITUTNON OF SOCIALIST RUSSIA

The World's First Socialist Republic.

Every worker should be familiar with the fundamental law of the first Socialist republic. It is interesting and instructive.

Read it and pass it on.

These three [illegible] cents. Order now. Address Socialist Party of Ohio, [illegible]

"Our capitalists know that they have either got to destroy the revolution or the revolution will destroy them. The people of Russia have come into their own; our leaders know that other peoples elsewhere will come into their own as well, if these Russians be not punished with terror and enslaved again with chains."—Rev. John Haynes Holmes.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

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Ours Is the Largest Circulation of Any Socialist Party Owned Paper in the United States

Ohio Socialist Convention Makes Party History

Endorses Left Wing Program and Instructs Delegates To the National Convention To Work for Its Adoption by That Body.

No more instructive convention was ever held by the Socialist Party of Ohio than that which convened June 27 at Socialist hall, Cincinnati. The debates gave evidence of great progress in Socialist thought within the year and the average intelligence of the delegates attending is a credit to the Ohio movement. This does not mean that there is no room for improvement. It means that improvement has taken place "since last we met" and that is a sure sign that we are neither of the "stand pat" variety of Socialists nor yet of the "back up" kind.

The Cincinnati comrades had the arrangements well in hand. Lotta Burke, Otto Rucktaeschel, Otto Hoefer and many others whose names we have for the time forgotten, did duty as Jimmy Higgins' during all sessions and no demand made upon them was too small or too large to fulfill. For this the convention and the party expresses its appreciation. The Cincinnati comrades have an ideal headquarters and many delegates voiced the wish that their city were as fortunate in this regard.

The convention was opened by State Secretary Alfred Wagenknecht at 10:05 a. m. on June 27th. C. E. Ruthenberg was elected chairman for the first day. Lawrence A. Zitt was elected chairman for the second day. Carl Hacker and John Fromholtz acted as secretaries. All these comrades were Cleveland delegates.

Committees on Program and Municipal Platform, Constitution, Resolutions, Officers' Reports and Audit and Organization and Propaganda were elected in short order, whereupon the convention adjourned for several hours to give the committees time to do their work.

The greatest dispatch and efficiency marked the actions of the convention. The discussions were to the point and the absence of tactics more or less dilatory, which comrades sometimes have a habit of indulging in saved much time.

Succeeding the report of the state secretary, which was printed in last week's Ohio Socialist, came the report of the Committee on Program and Municipal Platform. This committee reported the Left Wing Program as it appeared in last week's issue of this paper as the program of the party, as a program to govern its actions. It is not meant, nor for that matter is any Left Wing Program so far adopted meant to constitute a Socialist Party platform. The program is a criticism of past party tactics and a statement of changes which are essential if we are ever to function as the party of the working class.

An entire evening was given to debate upon the Left Wing Program with the result that when the vote was taken 47 favored it and only 7 opposed it, three or four of those voting in the negative only because so instructed by their locals. Ohio delegates to the National Emergency Convention are, according to a motion passed, instructed to vote for this program and work for its adoption.

This same committee also submitted a resolution severely condemning the actions of the National Executive Committee in expelling and suspending the Socialist Party of Michigan and seven language federations. Subsequently the committee reported a municipal platform, to be used by all locals in Ohio placing municipal tickets in the field. Both the resolution and the municipal platform will be found in the minutes of the convention printed upon another page.

The Committee on Constitution gave the state constitution of the party a more thorough overhauling than it has had for years. Much useless lumber was removed and several radical changes were made. The provision for a state committee was stricken from the constitution as were the provisions for a legal state committee and a legal state executive committee and the state secre-

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INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS JOIN MOSCOW REDS

Stockholm, June 16.—The Congress of Independent Socialists voted yesterday, 186 to 22, to join the "Third Internationale of Moscow," and adopted resolutions favoring Bolshevist measures, such as the placing of production control in the hands of laborers, and to effect a revolution, that workers must be armed and the bourgeoisie unarmed.

The parliamentary members of the party vainly protested against the resolution and gave warning against any attempt at a proletarian dictatorship.

It is expected that the humanitarian wing of the party, representing all the Independent Socialist members of the Swedish Parliament, will secede from the organization.

The Easiest Thing Going Is To Get Subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist

The campaign to get 20,000 subscribers for the Ohio Socialist is still on. Many, many comrades are busy in the work of getting them. But there is still room for YOU in the field, comrade. And to make the work seem even still more attractive to our hundreds of boosters, we make the following two book offers.

SELLING OHIO SOCIALIST SUB CARDS MAKES REAL SOCIALISTS THAT STICK.

OFFER NO. 1.

Send us $10 for $10 worth of Ohio Socialist subscription cards and we will send you postpaid your choice of one of these valuable Socialist books, free of cost, OR the entire lot of pamphlets listed below.

OFFER NO. 2.

Send $5 for $5 worth of subscription cards and we will send you your choice of any one of the books or any five of the pamphlets you choose.

BOOKS.	
Savage Survivals By J. Howard Moore.	$1.00
Stories of the Cave People By Mary Marcy.	$1.00
Socialism and Modern Science By Enrico Ferri.	$1.00
Two of Jack London's books	$1.00
Principles of Scientific Socialism By Charles H. Vail.	$1.00
The Universal Kinship By J. Howard Moore.	$1.00
Woman Under Socialism By August Bebel	$1.50
Socialism and War By Louis Boudin.	$1.00

PAMPHLETS.	
Debs Goes to Prison By David Karsner.	25c
Constitution of Socialist Russia	5c
Crimes of the Bolsheviki	5c
Violence or Solidarity By Scott Nearing.	5c
Old Order in Europe and New Order in Russia By M. Phillips Price.	10c
Trial of Eugene Debs By Max Eastman.	10c
Russia—Articles by Lenine, Tchicherin, Reed, Eastman	15c
Soviet Russia By Albert R. Williams.	10c
Dream of Debs By Jack London.	10c
100 Years for What	10c

Address, Socialist Party of Ohio,
3207 Clarke Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Out of the Night

Comrade Theodore Debs, brother of 'Gene, requests the publication of the following poem with the remark, "It cannot be printed too often."

Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever Gods there be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance,
I have not winced or cried aloud;
Under the bludgeinings of chance,
My head is bloody but unbowed.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears,
Looms but the horror of the shade;
And yet the menace of the years
Finds and shall find me unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishment the scroll,
I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul.

—William Ernest Henley.

Out of the night of a prison cell, staunch and true to the noblest cause in the world's tragic history, comes the voice of a genius among men. Punished for speaking for justice, condemned for living the dictates of his beautiful soul, he stands erect under the bitter punishment of the system that robs humanity of its most precious heritage. The terrors of confinement in a man made jail cannot dampen the burning spirit of 'Gene Debs, nor silence the lips that give expression to a noble soul.

It was not alone the tools of capitalism that cast the body of Our 'Gene into the cold, damp cells of a living hell, nor are they alone responsible for the fact that he still remains there. The voice of Labor must and shall be heard as it confesses it weakness and ungrateful spirit, and starts to undo the great wrong that cast their one best friend into a prison cell because he dared to speak of their cause. Awake, ye workers, and sound the call for the freedom of our comrade.

Local Akron Picnic July 16th

Local Akron will hold its annual picnic Sunday, July 16, at the Gorge. All socialists and socialist sympathizers are cordially invited to attend. The committee on arrangements guarantees a good time to all. Speakers will be there to address those present. Everybody turn out and make this picnic a huge success. Take Silver Lake or Akron, Kent and Ravenna cars to picnic grounds. Let everybody who can, bring along a lunch-basket filled with "eats."

REAL ANARCHISTS STILL AT LARGE

By J'Accuse

God grant that this epistle serve as an instrument to fan to a burning flame once more the fires of true patriotism within the breasts of America's workmen soldiers and farmers, that the idea of government of, by, and for the people shall not perish from the public mind!

Free men and women of America, imagine your sad fate under a terrorist reign of anarchy such as was never before witnessed in the world in which we live! Behold the anarchist strutting about, clothed in the robes of officialdom; ruling the constitution out as being unconstitutional; tearing to shreds the American declaration of Independence; libeling Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and the human element for the sake of whom our forefathers laid down their lives! A contrast indeed that should impel one to action.

At the same time that the American mother offered her all, or her only son, to be sacrificed if need by on the field of battle, American capitalists were taking advantage of abnormal conditions to fill to overflowing the vaults that already budged under the weight of their ill-gotten treasure The capitalist gave nothing, and lent of his treasure only when he was promised the full return of his money with a considerable sum in interest besides. In that supreme hour of trial, the imperialist and the militarist entered into a contemptible con-

(Continued on Third Page.)

WAGE INCREASES STAY BIG STRIKE

On July 1, Chicago faced the biggest proposition ever met with in the way of averting a big strike of the city employes. What with all city employes, from police and firemen down (or up) to laborers on the streets with city hall employes thrown in, the city council was forced to vote hundreds of dollars in increases to yearly salaries in order to keep the city government functioning.

Voting to "resign en masse" on July 4, unless their demands of $500 increase in wages were granted, city firemen threw down the gage of battle. Policemen, too, were among the disgruntled ones. They too demanded sufficient in the way of increased wages to meet the constantly rising

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LABOR TO DOMINATE INDIAN RE-ADJUSTMENT

By. Dr. N. S. Hardiker

Whatever British demagogues may have to say and do with regard to the future government of India, the voice of the Indian labor world only will be the decisive factor in the adjustments that have to be made. Mass movements throughout the country that have come into existence, as seen in strikes, demonstrations, and the sacrifices in men and material readily made by the workers indicate the potentiality of the Indian proletariat to dominate in the working out of their future.

Apart from the fact that labor in that country has awakened with a close consciousness, however feeble, the people of India have an inherent aptitude to establish a government of

(Continued on third page.)

BOLSHEVIKI CLUB BOOSTS PRESS FUND.

Editor Ohio Socialist.

Dear Comrade: We, the little Bolsheviki club of Ringo, Kan., at our regular meeting have decided that they did right in throwing our paper out of the capitalist press, that is a good lesson for us, that's what we are learning now. When we are men we will control the press of the world and crush the rotten system of today.

We have a club of eight members now and we want our names to appear in that Kiddies Korner. We are sending $1.00 to help buy the new press. We would like to send more but just now we haven't much on hand. To keep up our club and our dues paid, this is what we do to get our nickels and dimes. We pick junk and sell to the rag man, we run errands, do chores or anything to earn a nickel (except sell capitalist papers), so if we can, will send a little more next time. We want to put in as much time as we can until July 4th, then we are going to strike to free Debs. That's one man we can never forget. Wish we could help him.

These are the names of the boys in Bolsheviki club:

Joie Skubitz, Leader.
Thomas Bell.
Armor Boudouk.
Aaron Allen.

NEARLY $1,000 SUBSCRIBED AT OUR STATE PICNIC: ALL RECORDS BROKEN!

You ought to have been there!

It was undoubtedly the most welcome surprise the Socialists attending the State picnic of the Socialist Party of Ohio ever had.

Picture to yourself an audience gathered about a platform in the shade of trees at Coney Island, ten miles up the Ohio river from Cincinnati, listening attentively to speeches by Marguerite Prevey, C. E. Ruthenberg and Chas. Baker. Applause tremendous. Enthusiasm boundless.

Chas. Baker in his speech gives most convincing argument for the need of a Socialist party owned printing plant. He tells how the Ohio Socialist was thrown out upon the streets in Cleveland without so much as an hour's notice to secure a new printer. He continues by telling how a thorough canvass of the city revealed the fact that a conspiracy between capitalist printers existed and how one and all refused to publish the Ohio Socialist.

He goes on to tell that we were compelled to go to Dayton to get our paper printed and that the immediate present need, the greatest need of the party RIGHT NOW is a party owned printing plant.

Then the state secretary, who acted as chairman of the meeting, took off his coat and stepped forward. Fifty dollars had been subscribed toward the printing plant fund by Scott Wilkins and he told about it and showed the fifty. He asked the audience if there were any present who would match the fifty. Lo and behold, in the twinkling of an eye Geo. Bundy of Warren wrote a check for fifty and handed it to the chairman.

The chairman next called for pledges of twenty dollars. No more than announced but Socialists hailing from all parts of the state stepped forward to give their names and addresses, agreeing to pay twenty dollars towards the fund which will free us from depending upon our enemy for service in getting out the largest party owned weekly Socialist paper in the United States of America.

A total of $337 was pledged.

The chairman then made a call for cash contributions of $10 each and right here is where the surprise made its beginning. From all parts of the audience Socialists and sympathizers came forward, holding ten spots in their hands and depositing them with the chairman. These comrades knew the need of the hour. Knowing the need, like all true Socialists, they backed up their knowledge by action, by money—and money means action. Ten dollar bills rained onto the platform from all directions and all were astonished to find so many ten dollar bills in a working class audience.

Next came the call for $5 contributions. If it rained ten spots, it poured five spots. The fives came until everybody was sure that most of the audience had drained their pockets of every bit of money needed for the following week's keep. The chairman had to grab the money with both hands and then he had to call for help. Checks of many odd denominations were contributed.

And the end was not yet. If it rained ten spots and poured five spots, then how can we describe the avalanche of one dollar bils which were showered onto the platform. Chas. Baker and Marguerite Prevey had to be requisitioned to help take the money. Soon the table was actually covered with the greenbacks, piled a foot and a half high, and still the giving continued. The chairman talked himself clean out of voice, thanking the contributors. Baker had to take his place. The stream of dollars continued to flow platformward. Women gave, men gave, even children gave. They gave with a spirit never before apparent. They knew that giving money meant winning the world. They meant to win the world.

When the pile of money was counted it was found that nearly $1,000 in pledges and cash had been contributed. The cash contributions amounted to exactly $501.86.

All this happened Sunday, June 29, at the state picnic of the Socialist Party of Ohio.

And now, how about you?

What are you going to do, you comrades who have not yet helped in raising this ten thousand dollars for a printing press and plant for the Ohio Socialist?

If you had seen the smiles upon the faces of the hundreds of generous hearted comrades when they waved their one, two, five, ten and twenty dollar bills in the air and shouted, "buy the press" at the State picnic, we know what you would do. You, too, would find yourself filled with the spirit of co-operation and comradeship. You, too, would be anxious to part with a dollar or two, or five or ten for the best and greatest cause that ever inspired the workers to a fulfillment of our duty to our class.

That's what you would do, and we believe that is what you are going to do. And we believe you are going to do it right away, too.

Fact is, we know you are, because you are Socialists, because you believe in the working class, because you are looking ahead into the glorious future of labor; that's why you are going to help us get our own press for our own paper. That's why. Let the dollars roll in!

Below are the names of comrades who have contributed to the press fund this week:

$1.00 Column

John Vehre, Adena, O.
Mrs. Vehre and children, Adena, Ohio.
Harry Snyder, Akron, O.
A. R. Fretcher, Akron, O.
H. Keckler, Akron, O.
F. C. Gray, Akron, O.
Albert Smith, Akron, O.
Norman Simons, Akron, O.
J. Pieczynski, Akron, O.
C. F. W., Akron, O.
H. Sheldon, Akron, O.
Jay Causman, Akron, O.
Jas. Causman, Akron, O.
Jos. Schenk, Akron, O.
F. McCoy, Akron, O.
J. O. Senn, Akron, O.
A Friend, Akron, O.
S. Bryant, Akron, O.
N. Riley, Akron, O.
John Mueller, Akron, O.
Mike Pencil, Ringo, Kan.
Dom Wengorelli, Ringo, Kan.
Wm. Wissman, Hamilton, O.
E. Carpenter, Drakes Branch, Va.
Elizabeth Luhr, Cincinnati, O.
Felix J. Catlin, Youngstown, O.
Albert [illegible], Youngstown, O.
[illegible], Manchester, O.
[illegible], Canton, O.
Sam D. Collette, Youngstown, O.
Nels Johnson, Rock Island, Ill.
George Tasseff, Wadsworth, O.
Geo. R. Dobbs, Cuyahoga Falls, O.
Chas. Yoder, Martins Ferry, O.
Robert Green, Martins Ferry, O.
Cyril M. Sistek, Neffs, O.
John Gica, Canton, O.
Nick Cermea, Canton, O.
F. H. Wismer, Wadsworth, O.
J. B. Riffle, Urichsville, O., 50c.
J. M. Hartman, Urichsville, O., 25c
Mrs. C. B. Kohr, Stillwater, O.
J. H. Heidy, Urichsville, O.
Angelo Ferrin, Warren, O.
Rivero Caprivin, Warren, O.
P. Corzo, Warren, O.
Paszty Perry, Warren, O.
Armand Mattory, Warren, O.
John Guovinier, Warren, O.
Nick Cont, Warren, O.
Tony Natole, Warren, O.
J. P. Brown, Madison Heights, Va.
Peter Boranich, Collinsville, Ill., 50c.
Dan Ivosevich, Collinsville, Ill., 50c
Sam Kosanovich, Collinsville, Ill., 50c.
Geo. Tatolovich, Collinsville, Ill., 50c.
Mike Krvatin, Collinsville, Ill., 50c
Tony [illegible], Collinsville, Ill., 10c
John [illegible], Collinsville, Ill., 10c
Frank Gusmerotti, Ringo, Kan.
Laura P. Brown, Warren, O.
E. C. Ilkenhans, Hamilton, O.
E. P. Marsh, Norwood, O.
Clarence Stahl.
D. W. Peters, Fallen, Nevada.
S. Silberman, Canton, O.
W. S. Williams, Roanoke, Va.
C. A. Beard, Dayton, O.
W. H. Kiser, Argillite, Ky.
W. W. Markell, Toledo, O.
Geo. Ehrhart, Defiance, O.
Anton Sonkup, Neffs, O.
Albert Petran, Neffs, O., 25c.
Cyril Sistek, Neffs, O., 25c.
Ludvik Veverka, Neffs, O., 25c.
Anton Sonkup, Neffs, O., 25c.
Mary Soukup, Neffs, O., 25c.
Frank Baxa, Neffs, O., 25c.
Mary Baxa, Neffs, O., 25c.
Pete Vaocik, Neffs, O., 25c.
Aryuth Archishevsz, Neffs, O., 25c.
Joe Havlicek, Neffs, O., 25c.
John Baxa, Neffs, O., 25c.
Heimrick, Goke, Neffs, O.
Alois Novak, Neffs, O., 25c.
Jos. Reich, Neffs, O., 25c.
James Punyer, Neffs, O., 25c.
Frank Pumpa, Neffs, O., 25c.
Albert Kotlik, Neffs, O., 25c.
Carl Meissner, Neffs, O., 50c.
Karl [illegible], Neffs, O., 15c.
Karl [illegible], Neffs, O., 50c.
Roman Puchlski, Neffs, O., 15c.
B. Czermakowski, Neffs, O., 25c.
Joe Golus, Neffs, O., 25c.
L. Luchalski, Neffs, O., 25c.
John Chrobok, Neffs, O., 25c.
Carl Dernak, Neffs, O., 50c.
Adolph Rattay, Neffs, O., 25c.
F. Wieszozecinski, Neffs, O., 50c.
V. Ratojczak, Neffs, O., 50c.
James Baxa, Neffs, O., 50c.
Joe Mach, Neffs, O., 50c.

$2.00 Column

Sam Korte, Wadsworth, O.
Mrs. L. Yost, Salineville, O.
Frank Pezar, Bellaire, O.
Wm. Idok, Akron, O.
Riner Dyk, Akron, O.
J. M. Swinehart, Lake, O., $1.66

$5.00 Column

H. M. Kohr, Urichsville, O. [illegible]
Local Central, S. O. of Seattle, Wash.
Percy Hirst, Salineville, O.
Arthur Dondero, Cincinnati, O.
Joseph Lents, Youngstown, O.
John Freudenthal, Toledo, O.
Local Mt. Vernon, O. $4.
E. [illegible], Sheldon, Ia., [illegible]

$10.00 Column

South Slavic Local No. 45, Gary, Ind.

$25.00 Column

A. Jimmie Higgins, Akron, O.

$50.00 Column

Scott Wilkins, Ada, O.
Geo. Bundy, Warren, O. Counted in State picnic collection.

$100.00 Column

Not yet! Wonder if some of our locals don't get tired looking at this vacant space? What!

Kiddies' Korner

Norma Hobbs, Cuyahoga Falls, O., $1.00.

[illegible] she received as a present on that occasion. Thanks Rebel Girl.

Jole Skubitz.
Thomas Bell.
Armor Boudouk.
Aaron Allen, member of Little Bolsheviki club of Ringo, Kan. Donation $1.00.

Pledge Column

Percy Hirst, Salineville, O., $1 monthly for 5 months.
Sam D. Collette, Youngstown, O., $1 monthly for 5 months.
W. W. Markell, Toledo, O., $1 monthly, no time limit.
W. H. Kiser, Argillite, Ky., 50c monthly for 6 months.
D. W. Peters, Fallen, Nev.
E. C. Ilkenhans, Hamilton, O., $1 monthly, as long as needed.
PLEDGED AT STATE PICNIC
J. Korb, Cincinnati, O., $20.
Local Dola, O., $10.
Julius Zorn, Cincinnati, O., $20.
B. F. Hamilton, Piqua, O., $10.
J. W. Carroll, Roanoke, Va., $5.
Local Youngstown, O., $100.
[illegible]
[illegible]
O. P. Neidhold, Dayton, O., $2.
G. P. Weidman, Dayton, O., $1.
Ernest Bear, Cincinnati, O.
B. Leeleinik, Cincinnati, O.
E. D. Orr, Marion, O.
Leo Schlucher, Cincinnati, O., $5.
Workingmen's Circle No. 10, Cincinnati, O.
J. A. McFarland, Leetonia, O., $5.

How We Grow

Contributed to June 1	$ 129.00
Contributed week of June 8.	171.80
Contributed week of June 14	222.1[illegible]
Contributed week of June 21	[illegible]
Contributed week of June 26	[illegible]
Contributed week of July 6.	[illegible]
State Picnic collection, cash	501.86
Total to July 6th	$1,712.[illegible]
To make the needed $10,000 we must have	[illegible]

A correction: [illegible]

FFICIAL PROCEEDINGS---STATE CONVENTION---SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO

The annual state convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio was called to order by State Secretary Alfred Wagenknecht in Socialist hall, 1314 Vine street, Cincinnati, Ohio, at 10:05 a. m., June 27, 1919.

C. E. Ruthenberg was elected temporary chairman and Carl Hacker was elected temporary secretary.

Walter Harris, A. G. Storck, Edwin Blank, Harley Tilton, Harry Wagenknecht and Geo. Markert were elected the credentials committee.

A recess was voted to await the report of this committee.

The credentials committee, through Walter Harris, reported the following delegates entitled to seats: Ephrain Kenutta, Ashtabula; Marguerite Prevey, A. C. Holloway, John Hansen, Akron; Fred Walchli, Albert Ratajczk, Belmont County; C. E. Ruthenberg, L. A. Zitt, Hortense Wagenknecht, Harry Wagenknecht, Geo. Schleinkofer, Minnie Rivkin, Noah Mandelkorn, Walter Karath, Harry E. Kaden, Carl Hacker, John Fromholtz, Tom Clifford, F. S. Neubauer, Carl Altenbernd, A. Bilan, John Brahtin, Walter Bronstrup, Elmer T. Allison, Cuyahoga County; E. L. Tribbey, Sofie Salkover, Otto Rucktaeschel, Cincinnati; Max Boehm, Conneaut; A. H. Thompson, Cambridge; T. H. Robertson, Canton; Dan P. Farrell, Ferdinand Aker, Jos. W. Sharts, Dayton; Harley Tilton, Derwent; A. E. Willison, E. Liverpool; Clifford King, Arthur Sapp, Hamilton; Laurence Williams, Hubbard; Fred W. Seibert, Kenmore; Albert G. Storck, Lorain; Edwin Blank, Lima; Geo. Markert, Mt. Healthy; Joe Thagescser, Niles; J. F. Wagner, Piqua; Herbert Boring, Portsmouth; Jos. Zubich, Richland County; A. W. F. Steckel, Seneca County; G. P. Maxwell, Sandusky; M. A. Toohey, Walter Harris, Fred Voelker, Toledo; Geo. Bundy, John Miller, Warren; Jos. Coope, John Mazek, Youngstown; C. E. Schilling, Zanesville.

Motion carried that report of credentials committee be received and delegates seated.

Motion carried that the temporary organization be made permanent.

The following rules for the convention, submitted by the chairman, were read, amended and adopted:

RULES OF ORDER.

1. Robert's Rules of Order shall govern the proceedings of this convention.

2. Debate shall be limited to five minutes for each speaker securing the floor on any question.

3. The chairman of the convention shall be elected at the beginning of each day's session. He shall serve for the day and call to order the session of the following day, presiding until his successor is elected.

4. A secretary and assistant secretary to serve during the convention shall be elected.

5. The committees of the convention, to be elected immediately after the adoption of these rules shall be the following:

   1. Committee on Program and Municipal Platform.
   2. Committee on Constitution.
   3. Committee on Organization and Propaganda.
   4. Committee on Officers' Report and Audit.

6. Each committee shall consist of five delegates. No delegate shall serve on two committees, provided that membership on the credentials and rules committee shall not debar delegates from serving on other committees.

7. The order of business for each day's session shall be as follows:

   1. Call to order by chairman.
   2. Receiving of credentials and election of chairman.
   3. Reading of minutes of previous session and communications.
   4. Officers' reports.
   5. Reports of committees in the following order:
      - A. Program and Municipal Platform.
      - B. Constitution.
      - C. Resolutions.
      - D. Organization and Propaganda.
      - E. Officers' Report and Audit.
   6. Unfinished business.
   7. New business.

8. The state secretary and members of the state executive committee shall have the right to a voice in the proceedings of the convention under the rules applying to delegates.

9. Chairman of committees shall be granted ten minutes for argument in favor of their report, to be used at such time as the reporter may elect. Reporters for minority reports shall have the same privilege.

10. The question of endorsement of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program shall be referred to the Committee on Program and Municipal Platform.

11. Each comrade securing the floor shall state his name and the local he represents.

Election of committees declared in order. The following delegates were elected upon the committee on Program and Municipal Platform: John Brahtin, M. A. Toohey, C. E. Ruthenberg, George Bundy, Ferdinand Aker.

Motion carried that five receiving the highest vote be declared elected.

John Fromholtz elected assistant secretary.

Credentials committee reported O. G. Van Schoyck and J. L. Bachman present and entitled to seats. By motion these two delegates were seated.

The following delegates were elected the Committee on Constitution: Walter Bronstrup, G. P. Maxwell, Elmer T. Allison, A. G. Storck, Clifford King.

Delegates elected upon the committee on Organization and Propaganda were: John Miller, Fred Voelker, A. W. F. Steckel, Harley Tilton, Joe Tragesser.

Delegates elected upon the committee on Officers' Report and Audit were: Fred Seibert, Fred S. Neubauer, T. H. Robertson, Noah Mandelkorn, and Laurence Williams.

Delegates elected upon the Committee on Resolutions were: A. Bilan, Margaret Prevey, L. A. Zitt, Geo. Coope and C. E. Schilling.

Motion carried that the convention give its consent to permit the submission of constitutional amendments by the Committee on Constitution or from the floor of the convention.

Motion carried to recess at 1:15.

AFTERNOON SESSION, JUNE 27.

Convention called to order by the chairman at 2:05 p. m.

Report of the state secretary declared in order. (This report was printed in the last issue of the Ohio Socialist.)

Motion that the convention adjourn until 4:30 p. m., June 27th, to give committees time to report.

Amended that the convention adjourn until 8:00 a. m., June 28th.

Amendment to amendment to adjourn until 7 p. m. and reconvene at Turn Hall, 1417 Walnut street.

Amendment to the amendment carried.

EVENING SESSION, JUNE 27.

Evening session was called to order by the state secretary at 7:50 o'clock. Margaret Prevey was elected temporary chairman.

Motion that the session be opened by singing the "International" carried.

The Credentials Committee reported the following additional delegates present: H. Hess, Galion; Hugo Ruemmele, Norwood; M. L. Martin, Marion; S. C. Daniels, Dola; G. M. Butler, Clermont Co. Delegates were by motion seated.

C. E. Ruthenberg reported for the committee on Program and Municipal Platform. The following resolution was placed before the body:

Resolved that the Socialist Party of Ohio endorse the program of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, which follows this resolution and that it instructs all delegates from Ohio to the Emergency National convention to vote in favor of the Socialist Party of the United States adopting this program. (This program was printed in full in the last issue of the Ohio Socialist.)

[illegible] that Delegate Sharts be granted five minutes additional time. Motion carried that the convention adjourn at 11 p. m.

Motion carried that the name of the state organizer be included in rule 7 of the convention rules.

Motion carried to reconsider action of adjourning at 11 p. m.

The vote upon the main question, the adoption of the program as submitted by the committee was Yes 47, and No 7. Delegates Bachman and Van Schoyck notified the convention that they were voting no under instructions from the local. Delegates Tilton and Kenutta in explaining their votes stated that they had been instructed to vote against the resolution. Delegate Miller notified the convention that he would accept its decision until the National convention convenes.

Motion to adjourn to meet at 9 a. m. June 28th, at 1314 Vine street. Amended to convene at 8:30 a. m. Amendment carried.

MORNING SESSION, JUNE 28.

L. A. Zitt elected chairman for the day.

The credentials committee reported H. M. Hohr, Uhrichsville, entitled to a seat. Delegate seated by motion.

Motion carried that the reading of the minutes of June 27th be dispensed with.

Continued report of Committee on Program and Municipal Platform.

RESOLUTION ON PARTY CONTROVERSY.

The National Executive Committee of the party has expelled from the party the Socialist Party of Michigan and suspended the Russian, Lithuanian, Ukranian, Hungarian, South Slavic and Polish Federations and is threatening with expulsion the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, and the Socialist Party of New York has expelled or "reorganized" many of the branches of the locals of greater New York as well as locals Buffalo, Rochester and other locals. All these expulsions or suspensions have taken place because the party units in question have endorsed the Revolutionary Socialism of the Left Wing. They represent a desperate effort on the part of the repudiated national officers of the party and their satellites in similar positions in state and local organizations, to maintain their control of the party in spite of the will of the rank and file, expressed in party referendum.

In order to excuse their expulsion of nearly half the membership of the party and their effort to sabotage the membership by refusing to tabulate the vote in the national party referendums which expressed the will of the rank and file, these discredited and repudiated leaders are carrying on a campaign of villification against the Left Wing, even stooping so low as to act as agent provacateurs for the capitalist class by making insinuations that the Left Wing Socialists might be guilty of individual acts of terrorism, and have trumped up charges which have no basis in fact, about irregularities in the conduct of the national referendums.

We look upon these acts of the national officers of the party as a clear violation of the trust placed in them by the party membership and upon the expulsions and suspensions as acts born of desperation on the part of officials and "leaders" who are unable or unwilling to see that in the present world crisis the party must adapt itself to revolutionary conditions of the struggle of the proletariat, and whose leadership the rank and file of the part will no longer follow.

Be it resolved, that, in view of these events, the Socialist Party of Ohio instruct its delegates to the Emergency National Convention, that should the Emergency National convention refuse to seat the delegates from the expelled and suspended sections of the party and the Right Wing party officials, with the possible help of the agents of the police power of the capitalist state, control the Emergency National convention, that the delegates from Ohio shall withdraw from the convention and affiliate with the convention called for September 1, to organize a new party, and should the Emergency National convention be delayed then the Ohio delegates shall participate in the convention called September 1, for the organization of a new party, and be it further

Resolved, that in the event of the organization of a new party under the circumstances stated above, then the State Office shall function in harmony with the new organization and affiliate with it. Should the Socialist Party of Ohio be expelled from the Socialist Party of the United States, then the State Office shall immediately begin purchasing dues stamps from the National Council of the Left Wing.

Delegate Bundy of the committee requested to be reported as not voting upon the resolution.

Motion that the resolution as submitted by the committee be adopted. Carried.

Committee read its report upon Municipal Platform for the Socialist Party.

Motion carried that program be separated from platform and considered seriatum.

Motion carried F. J. Catlin be seated as an alternate in place of Jos. Coope.

After amendments the following municipal platform was adopted:

MUNICIPAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The people of the civilized countries of the world are passing through the darkest period in world history. Following the bloody climax of capitalism in which millions of lives were sacrificed and other millions of human beings crippled and maimed and billions of wealth destroyed, there has come a period of famine and misery in Europe and general disorganization of all the productive powers of mankind.

The world war which has brought so much suffering and misery into the world, was the direct product of the system of production which prevailed in all the capitalist countries.

In each country the workers were exploited by a capitalist class which controlled the machinery of production and distribution. The workers toiled long and hard and the capitalists appropriated as their own the bulk of what the workers produced. This system of exploitation is the basis of the insolulable problems of capitalism. The exploited workers could not purchase the commodities they brought into existence and the capitalists were compelled to enter the world struggle for markets. The huge profits built up great resources of new capital for which they sought investment, thus bringing into existence the struggle of finance capitalism for the control of the undeveloped countries of the world, colonies and spheres of influence.

It was this system of exploitation that was fundamentally the cause of the jealousies and conflicts between the struggling capitalists, which finally precipitated the world war.

The world war has not harmonized the opposing interests of the exploiters and exploited; the world war has not solved any of these problems of capitalism. Out of the war there has emerged a financial imperialism more securely enthroned than ever before. The boasted democracy has not only not been achieved, but instead the blackest reaction rules over the world. In place of democratising society the bourgeoisie rules undisputed in all sections of the capitalist world. Capitalist society at the present time is but a world wide tyranny in which all opposition to the financial oligarchy is ruthlessly suppressed by the power of the state. The bourgeoise state is nothing more than a form to mislead the working class. The legislatures have no significance. They receive their orders from the finance oligarchy, and if they pass laws contrary to these orders the laws are ignored. They serve merely to give the government of the finance oligarchy the appearance of democracy and to vote the budgets which enable this oligarchy to carry out its schemes of financial imperialism.

Financial imperialism is subjugating peoples and governments to its will and is sacrificing the well-being and happiness of mankind to its greed for greater and greater profits. It seeks more and more avenues of investments, more and more spheres of influence and "mandatories." It is endeavoring to harmonize its conflicting national interests through the League of Nations, but this mockery of the spirit of internationalism cannot prevent the bitter conflicts engendered in the struggle for profits between the national groups of capitalists, and irrespective of and even contrary to the wishes of the capitalists themselves the stage is being set for another era of capitalist conflict, which cannot end otherwise than in another dance of death and the general massacre of the peoples of the earth.

It is the exploitation of the workers upon which the capitalist system rests. It is because the workers are wage-slaves who receive for their labor-power only a small part of what their labor produces that financial imperialism exists in the world.

If the world is to be saved from another cataclysm such as that which almost drowned civilization in the blood of its people, it must be done through the abolition of wage-slavery and exploitation.

This system does not only expose all of society to the evils and dangers described above, but within each capitalist nation the exploitation of the workers results in wages which hardly enable the workers to secure the necessities for an existence. The result is poverty, misery, child labor, the exploitation of women, prostitution, great industrial conflicts, all of which are characteristics of the present capitalist society.

The abolition of wage-slavery and the exploitation of the workers can only be accomplished through the workers wresting control of the industries from the capitalists and establishing the social ownership and workers control of industry. This is the mission of the working class.

The first step in the achievement of this goal is the conquest by the working class of control of the power of the state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean the domination of the few, but means that in place of the few capitalists controlling the government and using its powers in the interest of the capitalists, the workers will take control of and dominate the state machinery, changing its form so as to best suit their purpose, and will use the state power to take control of the industries from the capitalists and socialize the industries and establish the workers control—the industrial democracy through which alone the workers can win their emancipation.

The Socialist Party looks upon every political campaign as a phase of the working class struggle for power. It recognizes that the problems of capitalism cannot be solved in one community, but must be solved through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Socialist Party enters the municipal campaign because this campaign affords the opportunity for the work of organization and propaganda that will eventually win the emancipation of the workers.

Should the Socialist Party candidates be elected to office they will fight for every measure that will strengthen the position of the working class and fight against every measure that threatens the working class.

The Socialists elected to office will use their special position to carry on a propaganda for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship as the only means through which the emancipation of the workers can be won. They will analyze the laws proposed by the capitalists and their agents and through such analysis and criticism show the impossibility of solving the problems of capitalism short of the abolition of the entire system.

It will be the duty of the Socialists elected to office to agitate for organization of the workers in the industries, particularly those under the control of the municipality, so as to prepare the workers to transform the municipal industries from experiments in municipal capitalism to industrial democracies in which the workers will manage the industries.

The Socialists view the present as the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole world system of capitalism, which will mean the collapse of world culture if capitalism, with its unsolvable contradictions, is not replaced by Socialism.

It calls upon the workers to unite and through their collective power to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transformation of capitalism to socialism. This is the historic mission of the workers of the world. It is the only road that leads to a better and happier world.

C. E. RUTHENBERG.
FERD. AKER.
M. A. TOOHEY.
JOHN BRAHTIN.
GEORGE BUNDY.

Motion carried that the platform adopted shall be the platform upon which all municipal campaigns shall be carried on by locals of the Socialist Party of Ohio, and that the State Office shall print same in quantities for sale to the locals.

Motion that the Musicians Union be interviewed in regards to their strike at Coney Island where the state picnic is to be held and that a committee of three be elected for this purpose. Amendment that this matter be left in the hands of Local Cincinnati. Amendment lost. Motion carried.

Delegate Tragesser requested that he be recorded as voting against the motion for a committee.

Nominations for the committee: M. A. Toohey, E. L. Tribbey, Walter Harris, Harley Tilton, F. J. Catlin.

Motion that the five nominees stand elected carried.

Upon report of the Credentials Committe and by motion of the convention the delegates who arrived three minutes late were allowed their mileage.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORT AND AUDIT.

Comrade Delegates.

The undersigned committee has undertaken the audit of the report of our State Secretary and wishes to report on its work as follows:

First scope of the work.

It is understood that the committee did not undertake a detailed audit of the books of the State Secretary, which would be an impossible task to perform during the time the convention is in session and would be also superfluous as it is the duty of the executive committee to check all receipts and checks issued against the book entries. We have, however, checked receipts and expenses for the past three months and have found them correct with the exception of a few clerical errors, which do not affect the final result and can be easily adjusted.

Our main effort was directed toward examining the report of the secretary and analyze same in such manner as to present to you in figures a detailed statement of the result of the last year's work and we present same in our Exhibits A and Exhibit B.

Exhibit A.

This statement gives the detail of the sources of income and the cost of obtaining same, the surplus remaining and the expenses of conducting the work of the state office and conforms in general with the statements made by the secretary in his report. However we wish to call your attention that the surplus of the Ohio Socialist mentioned by the state secretary can only be taken as such if the cost of editing the paper is not charged against same. The item of salary includes payment to Comrade Allison of a weekly salary of $30, whose time is spent largely in work for the Ohio Socialist and if this item is charged against the cost of getting out the paper, as it should be, the result would be a deficit of approximately eight hundred dollars. This does not take into consideration the cost of filling the unexpired subscriptions, which naturally will be considerable, but cannot be estimated in advance.

We also differ with the secretary in refrence to the results of the literature sales. He states that the literature sales were gratifying, but were without profits. We find that the literature sales this year were $772.08 less than last year, but showed an income above cost of $319.16. This shows that there was some profit derived from the sale of literature, providing that the stock on hand has not materially decreased but that the sales have dwindled by nearly 50 per cent. This is of course the opposite result which we want to achieve. The committee recollects that at the last state convention the secretary was instructed to inaugurate a special literature department and it seems from this result that this instruction was not followed. Some action should be taken by the convention to insure the better and more general circulation of literature even if this department should be conducted at a considerable loss. We also wish to call your attention to the large profits shown from sales of supplies, on the sales of only $248.21, which seems that the secretary is guilty of profiteering by the sale of supplies.

Exhibit B.

Report to Organization Committee.

This statement shows the average membership during the past year. You will note that, while we initiated 5,147 members during the year our actual membership has decreased. The sales of due stamps having decreased by $787.99 during the past year. Only the foreign branches have a slight increase of $43.68. All other activities have decreased.

This of course is due mostly to the strenuous times we have gone through during the past year and it seems that the committee can only commend the wonderful work done by the state office, which in spite of prosecution and enormous difficulties has succeeded in keeping the organization intact to this degree.

While the general activities have decreased to some extent the income and the financial condition have greatly improved, which is due to the increased subscription income of the Ohio Socialist (7,520.18) income from sale of industrial certificates and Debs defense fund, which is again proof of the highly efficient work done by the State Office.

In conclusion we wish to point out that we can not agree with Comrade Wagenknecht when he estimates the financial value of the Ohio Socialist at $10,000. The Ohio Socialist is an instrument of propaganda, is not and should not be conducted at a profit and while its value to the movement is immense, it cannot be stated in dollars and cents and any attempt to do so would be simply erroneous.

We also wish to state that we did not receive a report of the activities of Comrade Baker, his expenses and receipts and think a report of this kind should be submitted.

Fraternally,
T. H. ROBERTSON.
N. MANDELKORN.
LAURENCE WILLIAMS.
FRED W. SEIBERT.
FRED S. NEUBAUER.

Exhibit A.

Detailed Statement of Receipts and Expenditures.

Name.	Receipts	Cost.	Surplus or Loss
Ohio Soc.	$ 8,224.18	$ 7,562.60	$ 661.58
Reg. dues	3,699.20	2,145.00	1,254.20
Initiation	1,286.90		1,286.90
Mem. A. L	187.75		187.75
Or. fund	1,112.38		1,112.38
For. Br.	1,803.51	707.60	1,095.91
Literature	882.70	563.54	319.16
Supplies	248.21	53.75	*194.46
Indus. Fr.	595.50		595.50
Sustg. fund	560.58	904.77	*344.19
Debs defense	3,658.49	1,243.64	2,414.85
Misc.	1,698.11		11,698.11
Press fund	136.00		136.00
Total	$24,093.51	$13,180.90	$10,612.61

*Loss.

Operating Expenses.

Organization	$1,266.59	
Salaries	3,642.00	
Office supplies	685.77	
Postage	503.98	
Printing	341.00	
Auto expenses	310.55	
Telephone	82.00	
Miscellaneous	1,699.29	$8,531.18
Net surplus for year		$2,081.43

Exhibit B.

Regular dues	43,742	Average	3,645
Initiation stamps	5,147	Average	429
Membership at L.	751	Average	64
Foreign branches	36,530	Average	3,044
Average membership.			7,182

Motion that the report as submitted be received and filed. Amended that the section of the report pertaining to membership and initiation gain and loss be turned over to the organization committee. Amendment carried. Motion as amended carried.

Committee on interviewing Musicians Union reported through Delegate Tribbey that a strike is on at Coney Island sanctioned by the Central Labor Union.

Motion that the delegate from the Musicians Union be given the floor for ten minutes. Carried.

Motion carried that if the labor unions agree to withdraw all the crafts at present still employed at Coney Island, that we would then refrain from holding our picnic at that place.

Motion that the committee which visited the Musicians Union visit the Central Labor Council, and place before this body the action taken by this convention to the effect that the State picnic will not be held at Coney Island if the Central Labor Council will call out on strike the other crafts employed there.

AFTERNOON SESSION, JUNE 28.

Meeting called to order by Chairman Zitt at 2:10 p. m.

Report of Committee on Constitution.

Motion carried that the report be considered seriatum and that each section be accepted or rejected as read.

(Note: Amendments to the state constitution which were made appear in capital letters.)

Article I—Name. Section 1. The name of this Organization shall be The Socialist Party of Ohio and it shall be affiliated with THAT SECTION OF THE Socialist Party of the United States of America WHICH ENDORSES THE LEFT WING PROGRAM.

Section 2. The object of the Socialist Party of Ohio is to organize the working class POLITICALLY AND TO ASSIST IN ITS INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION for the purpose of overthrowing the present capitalist system and establishing an Industrial Democracy.

Article II.—Management. Section 1. Amended by eliminating the words "Party State Committee."

Section 2. Stricken out.

Article III. Stricken out.

Article IV. Stricken out.

Article V.—Party State Executive Committee. Section 1. adopted. Section 2. Amendment made by the committee that term of office of the State Executive Committee shall be for two years. Rejected by the convention. Section stands as it reads at present.

Section 3, adopted. Section 4, words "Party State Committee" eliminated. Section 5, adopted. Section 6, adopted. Section 7, amended to read: All speakers ROUTED BY THE STATE OFFICE shall be subject to approval by a majority of the members of the State Executive Committee. Section 8, adopted. Section 9, amended to read: No locals shall be denied the privilege of either employing or securing such speakers as they may deem necessary for their work. Section 10, adopted.

Article VI.—Stricken out.

Article VII.—State Secretary. Section 1, no change. Section 2, adopted. Section 3, adopted. Section 4, amended by crossing out "Issue a weekly news letter to Socialists and friendly newspapers," and further amended by inserting the words "Party Paper" for "Monthly Bulletin." Section 5, adopted. Section 6, amended to read that the salary of the State Secretary shall be $45 per week. Section 7, adopted. Section 8, adopted. Section 9, adopted. Section 10, adopted.

Article VIII.—Conventions. Section 1, no change. [illegible] by a MAJORITY of the vote of the membership. Section 3, no change. Section 4, no change. Section 5, no change. Section 6, no change. Section 7, amended to read: Railroad fare of delegates attending the State Convention shall be paid out of the General Fund. Section 8, abolished. Section 9, no change. Section 10, no change. Section 11, no change. Section 12, no change. Section 13, no change. Section 14, no change.

Article IX.—Referendum. Section 1, no change. Section 2, no change. Section 3, no change. Section 4, no change. Section 5, no change. Section 6, no change.

Article X.—National Committeemen. Abolished at previous convention.

Article XI.—State Headquarters. Section 1, amended to read: State headquarters shall be located in the city designated by the state executive committee.

Article XII.—County Organizations. Section 1, abolished. Section 2, no change. Section 3, no change. Section 4, amended by abolishing first two words and making it Section 1. Further amended by crossing out in subdivision (D) the words at the end of the paragraph reading: "of seven, designated by the county membership by party referendum."

Article XIII.—Congressional Committee. Section 1, no change. Section 2, no change.

Article XIV.—Locals. Section 1. no change. Section 2, amended to read: whenever two or more branches exist in a city they shall either organize a city central committee which shall represent the local, and in which the branches shall be represented, on the basis of proportional representation, or all the members of the various branches shall meet at least once a month as the local for the transaction of its business. Section 3, no change. Section 4, no change. Sections 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, no change. Section 14 amended to read: the right to issue membership cards shall be inherent with the locals. The cards shall be those issued by the State Office and shall be provided by the State Secretary. Sections 15, 16 and 17, no change.

Article XV.—Discipline of Locals. Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, no change.

Article XVI.—Members at large. Section 1, latest application pledge inserted and the section transferred to Article XXI, Section 1. Section 2, amended to read that applicants for membership at large shall pay 50 cents initiation fee and 35 cents per month dues. Section 2 of Article XXI was transferred to this Article as Section 2.

Article XVII.—Dues. Section 1 amended to read: Members shall pay dues at the rate of 35 cents per month. Locals shall purchase dues stamps from the state office at the rate of 20 cents per stamp. Sections 2, 3, no change. Section 4 amended to read: Dues payments by members shall be receipted by the insertion of dues stamps into the dues card. Section 5, abolished. Sections 7 and 8, no change. Section 9, abolished.

Article XVIII.—Platforms. No change.

Article XIX.—Right of Recall. Eliminate words "State Committee."

Article XX.—Elections and Elected Officers. Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, no change. Section 5, strike word "campaign" in last line. New Section 9. "Members of the party who are elected to political office shall not participate in any public demonstration which is controlled or supported by commerce clubs or other capitalist organizations.

Article XI.—Miscellaneous. Section 2 transferred to Article I referring to members at large. Section 3 amended to read that "locals shall submit on the first day of January, May and September," etc., and the word four inserted in place of six in second last line. Section 6 amended to read: "No member shall be nominated for office in the Socialist Party unless he has been a member in good standing for two years." Section 10 stricken out.

Request from state executive committee read to the effect that the printing plant of Local Dayton be investigated with a view to purchase or use.

Motion carried that the state convention elect a committee to investigate the printing plant of Local Dayton with a view to purchase, or negotiate for its use and control.

Motion carried that the committee consist of three. Tom Clifford, Geo. Bundy and E. T. Allison elected as the committee.

Motion carried to adjourn to meet at 7:30 p. m.

EVENING SESSION, JUNE 28.

Session called to order at 7:50 p. m.

Committee on visiting Central Labor Union reports that they had been informed that general strike at Coney Island would be impossible before Monday. Recommends letter be sent to all Cincinnati unions by Local Cincinnati giving party position.

Motion carried that picnic be held as originally planned.

Further report of committe on constitution. Article XIV, Section 2, was given consideration, as well as that part of Article XVII referring to press stamps and dues stamps. Both these articles were amended as cited above.

Motion carried that the state constitution as amended be approved as a whole.

The following motion passed by the state executive committee was placed before the convention. "That the question of the sale of dues stamps and the full recognition of all the branches of the suspended federations be referred to the state convention. Motion carried that this be laid over until report of Resolutions Committee is heard.

Report of Resolutions Committee was next declared in order. Delegate Prevey reported for this committee as follows:

Resolution No. 1.

Industrial and Political Prisoners.

While the organs of American capitalists are shouting about making the world safe for democracy in America itself, democracy is being assassinated by methods unheard of under the czaristic regime of Russia, or by Prussian militarism in Germany.

The present American laws against free speech, free press and free assemblage are much worse than the Russian laws a century ago.

Debs, Haywood, Kate O'Hare, Mooney and thousands of other members of the working class are languishing in prisons under most barbaric sentences of ten to twenty years, while the government is preparing to imprison thousands of others, who are defending the rights and interests of the working class.

No agent of capitalism is being interfered within his rights of free speech and free press, or assemblage.

This proves that the present government and all the state institutions are the organs of capitalism.

Therefore, be it resolved by the convention of the State of Ohio, that we call upon the workers of America to fight for their economic interests and political rights by means of united proletarian mass action.

Liberate your political and industrial prisoners of your class by political general strikes and demonstrations. Assert your rights of free speech and assemblage by defying the violent forces of the capitalist class through unified class conscious organizations both politically and industrially.

Motion carried that this resolution be adopted.

Resolution No. 2.

Unemployment.

Whereas, unemployment in the United States of America has reached alarming proportions, millions of men and women discharged from munition works, being thrown upon the streets from all industries, face to face with destitution and starvation, awhile the wages of the rest of the workers are lower and endangered.

Whereas, this condition of misery and suffering is a direct result of the capitalist system of production for profit, but not for human needs, the result of "overwork" and underpay.

Therefore, be it resolved by the convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio, that the overthrow of capitalism is the only way to abolish unemployment.

That we give our unreserved [illegible]

(Continued on [illegible])

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and
Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred | Six Months 50c

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison, Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1919.

A WHINE FROM A WHIPPED PUP.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer whines in real puppie fashion in a recent issue because Kolchak, whom the allies have picked to do the work of restoring Russia to capitalism, has not as yet come up to expectations in "putting down Bolshevism."

When the capitalist press of today is read by historians a few years from now, the criminal shortsightedness of its writers will be a source of astonishment. While the capitalist press continues to shout panically for a "putting down of Bolshevism," it refuses to see the effects in Europe of the carrying out of the tactics which it so much desires to see continued wherever the workers raise the standard of industrial democracy. Probably more editorial brains have been prostituted to the purposes of criminal capitalism in this respect than in any other cause of equal magnitude. Failing in their propaganda to keep American forces at war in an undeclared war against the workingmen's government of Russia, it hastens to lend all possible assistance to the projected policies of the allies to furnish provisions and war munitions to the anti-Bolshevik forces under Kolchak.

Because Kolchak has so far failed to make even the slightest success against the Red army, the Plain Dealer whines pitifully at the loss of time and the passing fighting season in Siberia. It is truly heartrending that capitalism must perish from the earth. We feel most sorry for the capitalist editors, for they will surely have to serve an honest cause in the near future. And we know how hard it will go with them after years of boot-licking and pandering and pimping for their masters.

Give the Red army and the Russian workers a favorable harvest and no power on earth can stop the fulfillment of the revolution in Russia.

Attempts to stop it by the furnishing of munitions and supplies to Kolchak not only binds the Russian workers closer together but makes for revolution in other lands. The forces of revolution are at large in the world. Whatever capitalism resorts to to quell them only brings the day nearer when the dictatorship of the proletariat will be established.

SHADOWS.

If there is any truth in the old adage that coming events cast their shadows before, then dark indeed is the future of capitalism as forecast by the week's news from Italy and Germany.

That the question of obtaining food has reached the most critical stage in Italy is assured by the recent riots which occurred in several cities. Plundering and pillaging, the capitalist press calls the wholesale requisitioning of food supplies which the workers resorted to in order to secure the necessary food to keep soul and body together.

However the thoroughness with which the shops were divested of their contents and the fact that the food was not carried away to the workers homes, but instead was taken to the Labor Temples and there sold at prices which the people could pay, looks more like an act of just retribution than outright looting. That the people have resorted to this method proves not only the seriousness of the food crisis, but also that the workers are aware of the means by which they, as organized bodies of men and women can obtain relief. They simply have ventured upon a proletarian dictatorship regarding the food supplies in so far as supplying themselves.

From a dictatorship over food to a dictatorship over factories is but a step and a logical one at that. That such a dictatorship is comparatively near in Italy is a safe bet.

All the news from Germany tells the story of the imminent downfall of the new German government and its overthrow by the Independents. Hugo Haase calls for the dictatorship of the proletariat with an openness that marks the strength of his backers. That some such test of the strength of the present German government is to come about in the very near future is apparent and is forecast by all observers of European events.

Bela Kuhn has not yet fallen. In spite of counter revolutions by the bourgeoise of Hungary, he continues in keeping the soviet government in power. While the food situation in all Europe is terrible, the working class realize that this is so not because the bourgeois have been dethroned but is a result of the war and the mismanagement of the nations and the peoples by the former ruling class. It is to forever put an end to such possibilities again arising that the workers are determined to conquer the political and economic power over all opposition forces. For this reason the dictatorship of the proletariat is the weapon used.

The revolution grows and with the demand for the dictatorship of the workers.

REAL ANARCHISTS STILL AT LARGE

(Continued from First Page.)

spiracy to take advantage of suffering and bleeding humanity to gain control of the commerce of the world through the channels of trade. Freedom of expression was denied those leaders of the people who criticised these traitors! The high walls of jails and penitentiaries throughout the land are bulging today under the pressure of these martyrs of the people's cause who are crowded and jammed into these places of confinement, even as the treasure vaults of their persecutors bulge under the weight of their contents. Unmindful of the public interest, profiteers have grasped every opportunity to take advantage of existing conditions, to profit from disadvantages of those who remained at their work in America, and also through poisoning the rations of those who fought upon the battlefields, while the world war for democracy was in progress. The misery of their victims will never be known. That misery was in many instances carried by the victim to the grave, where for the most part it willl sleep forever, undisturbed.

In the name of humanity I accuse these anarchistic, capitalistic, imperialistic, militaristic profiteers and brand them with the stamp of traitors to a free government.

It is time the people were taking the reigns of government out of the hands of these anarchists. It is time to restore the republic. It is time to re-establish constitutional government on this side of the Atlantic; time to subscribe anew to the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence; time to participate in the elections en masse and return a vote of confidence in Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and humanity.

It is time the prison gates of the country were swung open to allow interned martyrs of the people's cause to step out into the open air and freedom, and to permit their return to home and fireside and to the pursuit of their former vocations.

Down with the capitalistic, imperialistic, [illegible] profiteer!

[illegible]

Can You Think

of a good reason why the working-class should not own its own papers and printing plants?

IF YOU CAN
SEND IT TO US.
WE WANT TO
PRINT IT.

How the English Inquisition Acts

The question is not academic in England just at this moment. The activities of our New Holy Office in the suppression of subversive doctrine are not generally known. Here is a story which illustrates their character. An English girl, on arrival from America at Liverpool, found herself compelled to go before the political inquisitor and answer as to her opinions, political and religious, and her associations in America. She was stripped, her clothes examined, the linings torn out and finally her skin was scrubbed with hot towels in order to reveal invisible ink messages.

And this not during the war, an' it please you, but months after signing of the armistice. The explanation seemed to be that the inquisitors on this side had received information that the girl in question had been associated with the I. W. W. on the other side and was coming to England for the purpose of spreading their nefarious doctrines here.—The Herald (London).

Do you want others to work longer for you than you work for them? Then you want to get something for nothing.

SOCIALISTS PICNIC IN PEACE JULY 4th

Cleveland, Ohio, socialists picnicked in peace and quiet July 4 at Chestnut grove, on State road, just outside city limits. While the capitalist press persisted in stating that socialists and "reds" were to break up the patriotic parade scheduled for the day, socialists were planning a quiet day in the woods with their families and friends.

From early morn until mid afternoon, while families of socialists and groups of comrades were congregating at the State road transfer point to take the busses or street cars to the designated point. Police were on hand here. They searched all persons before boarding either cars or busses, also many private cars, and the occupants were also searched for weapons. Police stated that these precautions were taken for the purpose of nabbing possible bums en route to the picnic grounds to "start something." Whether it was for "bums" or "bombs," socialists allowed themselves to be "frisked" without protest, and went on their way glad of a chance to get away from the terrific heat of the city to the cooler shades of the country. At the city limits they were made to dismount and again subject themselves to a more or less thorough going over for hidden cannon and high-powered centimetres. None were found, however.

As is usual in such cases where no violence is provoked by those who are supposed to aid the keeping of the law, the day passed in quiet and peace. Though many county deputies and the sheriff were on hand and mixed with the crowd, there was absolutely no trouble. The officers of the law evidently understood that the socialists had placed themselves in an incontestable position in so far as any possible outbreak such as occurred on May Day was concerned.

A sweltering day brought fully two thousand comrades and their friends to the picnic. One of the most pleasing features of the picnic was the number of women and children present. Could those who believe that socialists get together only for the purpose of plotting for the overthrow of some government or other, have been present, they might have gotten rid of such humbuggery in viewing the children playing and laughing and talking groups of men and women.

The soft drink stand did a tremendous business, being most liberally patronized by the sheriff's deputies. A number of races and sports were indulged in for which prizes were given.

Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, of Cleveland, was chairman of the speech-making. Comrade Ella Reeves Bloor, well known in Ohio and, in fact, all over the country, as a foremost socialist speaker, who stopped over in Cleveland for the day, spoke to a very attentive audience. Her speech was generously applauded. Much literature was sold and a large collection was taken.

Thus passed for Cleveland socialists the first big get-together out door meeting since May 1. They all express themselves extremely well satisfied with results.

OHIO SOCIALIST CONVENTION MAKES HISTORY

(Continued from First Page.)

tary be elected for a term of two years each was voted down by the convention.

Division of funds as provided for in the constitution was abolished. All expenses of the organization will hereafter be met by the general fund. The state executive committee, if the amendment carries, will hereafter designate the state headquarters city. The press stamp feature was abolished and in its place a raise in dues was voted, it being tacitly understood that part of the proceeds from the increase would be used to finance the Ohio Socialist. Locals will, if the amendment carries, hereafter pay 20 cents per stamp or $4 per book of 20 stamps and will accordingly raise their dues to the members to [illegible] cents per month. The initiation fee will be 50 cents, half of which will be retained by the local which admits the applicant.

Other minor changes were made all of which will appear upon the ballot which will in a short time go to the membership. All acts of the state convention must be adopted by membership referendum before they finally become party law.

The Resolutions Committee reported resolutions upon political prisoners, unemployment, mass propaganda, expulsion of language federations, special national convention assessment stamps, intervention in Russia, party owned printing plant, greetings to class war prisoners, greetings to Soviet Russia. All these resolutions will be found in the minutes as printed upon another page in this issue.

The Committee on Officers' Report and Audit challenged part of the state secretary's report, but otherwise found the financial condition of the party and the conduct of the state office a subject for commendation. The Committee on Organization and Propaganda, the last committee to report, made several recommendations which locals are advised to follow and that part of its report which provided that the convention endorse the movement of the Finnish district agitation committee to better organize the Finnish speaking people into the Socialist Party was adopted.

The convention adjourned in the greatest enthusiasm. Cheers were given for the success of the working classes in Europe and for the imprisoned class war victims upon which the Red Flag was sung. And so passed into history what many delegates said was the best state convention ever held in Ohio. New circumstances, new tricks of the capitalist class have made a restatement of Socialist tactics necessary. This has caused a controversy in the party. The convention places the Socialist Party of Ohio uncompromisingly on the side of the Left Wing and although some of the actions taken may appear drastic to many members in the state, they are absolutely necessary in view of the attempt being made by "stand pat" party officials to disrupt the organization.

We recommend that all locals and branches have thorough discussions upon all acts of this convention so that when the state referendum finally reaches the membership, an intelligent vote will be cast.

WAGE INCREASES STAY [illegible]

(Continued from First Page.)

cost of [illegible]. [illegible] hundred of them [illegible] with the firemen and held [illegible] on the "ultimatum committee" which delivered the demands to the city officials. "Two thousand [illegible] a year or strike," was the [illegible] demand.

To one who will read as he runs and will think as he goes along, this threatened strike of Chicago's employes is a large red sign in the heavens. It shows the extent to which discontent is rampant among workers of all classes, whether they be laborers with pick and shovel, "white collared clerical workers, or even policemen. All are moved by the same human impulse—to keep above ground and to maintain the essentials of respectability while doing so and to receive something like a just return for the labor power they invest in the world's work.

Most significant of all is the growing sentiment among clerical workers, police and firemen that they are, after all, just workingmen, with interests in common with other workers. This new viewpoint is being forced upon them by the logic of events and is bringing them around to the point where they can be reached by the proletarian philosophy and socialist teachings. It may be a long road from the seclusion in which these classes of workers have heretofore held themselves, to a general participation in the newer programs and policies of radical labor, but the narrowly averted Chicago strike is a straw in the wind of capitalism that shows which way it is blowing.

INTERESTING FIGURES.

378 comrades and locals have contributed to date, July 6th, $976.37. This is an average of $2.58 and a fraction of a cent each.

This does not include the hundreds who contributed to the collection at the State picnic. The number is unknown but their good work goes on forever. We regret that we cannot publish their names.

LABOR TO DOMINATE INDIAN RE-ADJUSTMENT

(Continued from first page.)

village republics—the soviet of Russia differing from the Indian village community system only on account of difference of civilization and modern circumstances. The destruction of this native institution, for more than twenty centuries the bulwark of industrial organization in India, is exclusively due to the blind greed of British bureaucratic exploitation.

When the Indian laborer toils not less than 12-13 hours a day in factory, field, or construction, women not excepted, to go home with a pittance of a wage with which to feed his family and children, it is idle to talk about international labor adjustment as arranged in the Peace Treaty, particularly when dealing with India without the vision to see that foreign capitalist oppression should be first put an end to.

Sending representatives from the government of India and of the foreign British interests controlling the vast amount of the trade of the country, to the proposed International Labor Bureau as constituted by the terms of the Peace Treaty is adding insult to the injury already done to the Indian people. Will the International Labor Bureau see to it that according to its "climate and present state of industry" clause the people should only toil for not more than eight hours and get a minimum wage? No; it cannot do so as long as British Imperialism "represents" Indian labor.

15,000 Live In Filthy Alleys

Washington, the nation's capital, noted for its order and cleanliness, has more than 15,000 alley dwellers, states a news dispatch. These thousands of alley dwellers were forced into their present filthy "homes" by the influx of thousands of war workers in the city. The poorest were forced to vacate by the incoming higher paid workers.

Many of the alley shacks now occupied by families were erected during the civil war to house Union troops. They have never been used since and have as a consequence fallen into decay.

According to legislation recently acted by congress, these alley dwellers must vacate these shacks within a year after the signing of peace with Germany. The city of Washington is now facing the problem of building hundreds of new homes for the population. Congress will be asked to appropriate $6,000,000 to erect 3,000 houses.

THE SOLDIER'S CHOICE.

A straw vote for president, taken among 2700 soldiers on board the steamship Antigone while in mid-ocean, shows Hiram Johnson at the head with 696 votes. Wilson comes next with 636, and all others are less than 300. Generals and military men are somewhat at a discount, as General Leonard Wood gets 242, and Pershing only 78.

Johnson has been before the public lately mainly in connection with the demand that we come out of Russia, or give good reasons for staying in. He has also declaimed reasonably often in the senate, on behalf of free speech and the principles on which our American constitution was founded.

THE CHURCH TODAY.

(By William Watson.)

Outwardly splendid, as of old,
Inwardly sparkless, void and cold—
Her force and fire all spent and gone—
Like the dead moon, she still shines on.
—N. Y. Call.

Party News and Views

Local East Liverpool is preparing to nominate a municipal ticket. Secretary Mary G. Waters has written the state office for information relative to getting names of Socialist candidates upon the ballot.

A ZANESVILLE IDEA

Local Zanesville has a new idea. A collection box features every meeting. The comrades deposit what they can afford. These contributions are sent to the state office for the party press fund. Try it in your local.

Two war savings stamps from J. M. Swinehart of Canton, and a subsequent remittance of enough change to make his total contribution $10.00. Next?

AKRON PROTEST MEETING

A meeting protesting the imprisonment of all political prisoners was held in Akron on June 22. The move was initiated by the Ukrainian branch, which asked all radical groups and organized labor to take part. Tom Lewis was the speaker. He gave one of his usually good heart-to-heart talks and from the applause granted him his points must have been telling.

The hall was far too small for the crowd that came and an overflow meeting had to be held which was addressed by local talent. An officious city detective tried to interfere with the meeting but to no avail. Perry Crites.

Local Robins held a picnic July 4th. The speaker of the day was Wm. Krispenz of Detroit.

As we said, it's picnic time. Arrange for a local picnic, invite all sympathizers and friends. Collect dues on the picnic grounds.

GUERNSEY COUNTY PICNIC

SEVEN—SO-CO—Ohio Socialist

The 12th annual outing of Guernsey County Socialists will take place August 10th, at Ball's Grove, near Byesville. All Socialists and sympathizers who are readers of the Ohio Socialist and who live near enough to Ball's Grove to attend the picnic, are asked to reserve that day and spend it with the comrades of Guernsey county.

J. L. ROBERTSON SAYS

Just read the Ohio Socialist which pictures the jail in which Debs is confined. It makes me shudder to think that a man of his noble standing and ability to do good must be made to suffer such a terrible sentence. We must free Debs. To do this we must be equipped for printng the words that will spell the doom of the class that rules.

I want to do my bit. I suggest that there be erected a suitable building to house a printing plant containing the latest improved machinery for printing, one that will be ample to supply the growing needs and be a tower of strength to our movement. I will send the first five spot for this purpose.

The Socialists of Ashtabula held a picnic July 4th with Tom Lewis as speaker. The picnic was held at Amsden Park.

Ella Reeve Bloor was a visitor at the state office last week. She was on her way to Kansas City where she will engage in organization work for the next month.

MINNESOTA NEWS

By a vote of 1158 to 401 the state membership defeated a motion to recall state secretary Dirba for his left wing activities. The state membership has expelled the 13th ward branch, Minneapolis, for refusing to discipline former Socialist mayor Van Lear for his anti-Socialist activities. Van Lear joined the Spargo-Gompers American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, a pro-war aggregation of misfits and is now employed by the Non-Partisan League.

WORD FROM SELAKOVICH

Translator secretary Geo. Selakovich of the International South Slavic Socialist Federation informs the state office that not one of the branches of the seven federations suspended from the party protested against the action taken by the seven translator secretaries in asking that the party adopt the Left Wing program.

Local Fremont is admitting new members with a regularity surprising. In this respect it is one of our most active Ohio locals.

BAKER WILL SPEAK AT PICNIC

Chas. Baker, state organizer, will speak at the Trumbull County picnic on July 20th. He will also address a meeting at Newton Falls on the 19th for the purpose of organizing a local.

As we said—IT'S PICNIC TIME. Arrange for YOUR picnic at the next meeting of your local.

Time to PAY DUES, too. Don't permit the hot weather to wilt your revolutionary tendencies. He is a BEST Socialist who can show a PAID UP dues card.

A Youngstown comrade writes: "I herewith send you two more dollars to help overthrow King Capital. Use it to establish a printing plant from which we can bombard this autocrat."

AKRON NOMINATES

A meeting of Local Akron was held July 6th for the purpose of nominating a ticket for the municipal election.

HOME OFFERED

R. F. Johns, R. D. 3, Williamsburg, Ohio, writes the state office offering a home on a farm to an elderly comrade who would help in the chores. Address Comrade Johns direct.

A remittance of $3.99 from Local Troy proves this little organization of five members in the ring.

SUPPORT FROM WEST VIRGINIA

Alex Sherbin of the Lithuanian branch at Sun, West Virgnia, sends in ten dollars, six of which are for Industrial Freedom Certificates and four for the press fund. He writes that "as long as the Ohio Socialist fights for working class interests we will not forget it."

ILLINOIS GERMAN BRANCHES PROTEST

The German Socialist branches in southern Illinois held a conference on June 22. Eight branches with a total membership of 400 were represented.

Resolutions were unanimously passed condemning the National Executive Committee for expelling and suspending 40,000 members and the motion of Local Cuyahoga County to recind these acts was endorsed. Wm. Lugge of Belleville, writes that "the time is near when the party autocrats on the N E C will have to get down and out."

Perry H. Shipman still remains our active Rock Island, Ill., booster. If the Ohio Socialist had a Perry Shipman in every city, Socialism would be just around the corner.

ST. LOUIS CALLS

V. Popov of St. Louis sends the state office of Ohio $8.50. Of this, $5.00 is for the press fund, $2.00 to help defend Cleveland Socialists arrested May day and the balance Comrade Popov wants applied to a bundle of Ohio Socialists "to stir up the right wingers at the July 4th picnic."

Why not order five or ten subscriptino cards good for six months or a year's subscription to the Ohio Socialist. Sell these cards to your shopmates, neighbors, relatives. You must EIGHT—SO-CO—Ohio Socialist help make converts. The Ohio Socialist will do its part if you will connect it with the unconverted.

Jas. W. Cassell, of Roanoke, Va., sends in an order for five sub cards saying that subs are more easily secured by selling the cards.

John M. Cahalane, literature agent for Local Hamilton has been on the sick list for more than a month. He expects to again take up his duties in the near future. Under the direction of Comrade Cahalane the literature sales by Local Hamilton have greatly increased.

Carl Guillod and wife visited the state office some days ago. Comrade Guillod reports Local Canton better organized now than ever before.

Local Girard is contemplating organizing a city committee. An order for 100 dues stamps and 26 initiation stamps from this local proves that it is anything but in retreat.

HOW A SOCIALIST LOCAL GAINED 100 PER CENT

This is my first attempt as correspondent for Local Ashtabula, but will do the best I can.

At the first of the year Local Ashtabula decided to do or die in the year 1919. We started out with 14 members in good standing, $8.59 in the treasury, a complete line up of officers and with the determination to do something.

It took about two months of wandering to get our feet on the earth and perfect a united co-operative system to work with. At last, in March, we decided to have a contest for obtaining new members and subscriptions to the Ohio Socialist.

We dug up the hatchet, chose up sides, had a captain for each side and started on the warpath. We decided to not speak friendly with each other until after May 1st, when the hatchet would be buried and a banquet furnished by the losing side.

A new member counted so many points and a sub to the O. S. so many points and the side having the least number of points had to furnish the "eats."

Captains Ellison and Grewit, being old friends, you could hardly believe that two pals could be so hard with each other; they would get subs and new members right from under each other's nose, until both sides were "doing it."

May 1st showed that we had gotten a total of 85 new members and over 30 subscriptions to the O. S. in the contest.

Captain Hewit's side lost by 790 points.

As had been agreed upon the losing side made arrangements with the Finnish Branch, who operate a co-operative boarding house, and the banquet was served May 26 at 7:00 p. m.

Take it from me it was some banquet. Our local humorist, Comrade Engels, entertained us with some stories, and our literature agent, Comrade Ellison, expressed the wishes of a larger and better Local Ashtabula.

I think it will be well to let you know that we of Local Ashtabula have bright hopes for the future. We plan on establishing another branch in town and already are arranging with the Swedish, Italians and Hungarians to get a branch for each one of them, and in the near future enlarge from a city central committee to a county organization.

Yours for the cause.
MRS. E. J. HEWIT.
O. S. Correspondent.

MONTHLY FINANCIAL REPORT SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO.

May Receipts.	
Dues regular	$ 206.90
Initiation stamps	166.50
Members at large	13.00
Organization fund	47.14
Foreign Branch	264.30
Supplies	26.95
Literature	151.85
Industrial Freedom Certificates	132.00
Press fund	136.00
Ohio Socialist subs	1,058.91
Miscellaneous	28.54
Total	$2,282.09
Expenditures.	
Dues	$ 300.00
Local supplies	3.50
Literature	30.00
Propaganda meeting	109.52
Miscellaneous	78.50
Sustaining fund	60.00
Salaries	307.50
Telephone, telegrams	16.89
Office supplies	83.21
Postage	37.73
Printing general	78.00
Auto expense	26.65
Ohio Socialist (printing, mailing, salaries)	1,455.11
Total	$2,586.61
Balance on hand May 1	$3,668.83
May receipts	2,282.09
May expenditures	2,586.61
Total	$3,950.92
Balance	$3,364.31
In the Funds.	
Mileage	$ 358.48
Organization	608.43
General	2,397.40
Balance June 1	$3,364.31
Membership Report.	
Regular	2,063
Initiation	686
Members at large	53
Foreign Br.	5,286
Total	[illegible]

YOUR LOCAL—WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First Sunday of Each Month at 2 P. M.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
RITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
[illegible]

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
88 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 W. [illegible] St.

[illegible]

Scott Nearing's Lecturettes

OUR "HIGH PAID" INDUSTRY.

The boot and shoe manufacturing industry is one of the "high paid" industries of the United States. Considerable skill is required in many of its departments. The workers in some districts are well organized. The industry is highly specialized and thoroughly standardized. It presents the best that can be expected under the present industrial system.

The United States department of Labor (April, 1919) tells the story of a detailed study, made in 1918, of the wages in the boot and shoe industry. These wage figures make interesting reading if they are compared with a recently published statement of the same department that $1500 a year will provide the bare necessities of life for a family of five (man, wife and three young children), while $2500 a year ($50 a week) will furnish the simple comforts of life for such a family.

The highest wages were paid in the bottoming department. The average amount actually earned during one week was as follows—455 Goodyear, welters, (male) earned $28.84; 275 rough rounders, (male) earned $28.39! 981 edge trimmers, (male) earned $26.32; 892 edge setters (male) earned $25.75. The lowest average weekly earnings in this department were those of 314 heel brushers (male) earning $21, average per week. The earnings in the cutting department were—for 2,263 cutters, vamp and whole shoe, hand, (male) $22.46; for 1,169 cutters, vamp and whole shoe, machine, (male) $21.12. Earnings in the sole leather department, the lasting department, and the finishing department ranged from $20 to $24 per week for males. In "all other" departments there were 22,394 men employed whose average weekly earnings were $16.24.

There is the story—in brief and in full. A minimum wage is set at $1500; a living wage at $2500. A great, standardized, rich, prosperous industry, manufacturing and selling a necessary commodity reports earnings of $29 per week ($1500 per full time year) for its highest paid wage-earners. The less favored receive from $20 to $25 ($1040 to $1300 per full time year) while the great body of low unskilled male workers receive $16 weekly ($832 per full time year) of a little more than half of a minimum family wage.

The same report gives details regarding the earnings of women employes. These range from $14.38 for 1408 female vampers down to $10.81 for 1587 female employes in "all other" departments.

Comment is superfluous.

These figures tell the story of brutal exploitation by a great, staple industry, and of the harrow, hopeless, tragic struggle of tens of thousands of workers to make a part of a subsistence wage cover the barest necessaries of life.

RECONSTRUCTION.

Some men favor one kind of reconstruction—some favor another. Those who believe in a reconstruction that will preserve the present economic system with its exploitation, its poverty for the workers and senseless luxury for the idle owning class are "patriots." Those who believe in a system of reconstruction aimed to put the workers in control of the industries upon which they depend for a living are "Bolshevists." The reconstruction of the decrepit, discredited capitalist machine is popular with those who benefit most from its injustice. The reconstruction of a new world-order, promising greater life opportunities for the masses, must of necessity be unpopular with these same capitalists.

The Canadian government is busy making the world safe for a reconstructed capitalism. Under a confidential order from the postmaster general a long list of publications is barred from the mail. Included in this list is the "Bolshevist Declaration of Rights." The "Bolshevist Declaration of Rights" is one section of the Russian Soviet constitution in which the right of the workers to the products of their labor is asserted and defined. The orders in council promulgated by the governor general on recommendation of the minister of justice declared 14 different organization unlawful. Among these organizations are the Social Democratic Party; the Workers International Industrial Union; the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World. These organizations of workingmen differ in many respects. One thing, however, they have in common. All of them are interested in establishing a society that will protect the masses of the people and promote their welfare.

Reconstruction means only one thing to the forward looking student of affairs. The new world which is now being erected upon the ruins of the old will safeguard the interests of the plain people as thoroughly as the old world safeguarded the interests of the owning class. To the owning class this kind of reconstruction is a menace. To the working-class it is a promise.

MUTUAL AID.

Recent newspaper stories from Argentina give the impression that the workers, in that far away country, know how to stand together in defense of their rights. One of the explanations of this solidarity is given in the latest monthly Labor Review of the United States department of labor under the title "Mutual and Co-operative Associations in Argentina.". The co-operative movement of Argentina dates back to 1825. It has been growing rapidly since 1852. At the present time there are over six hundred thousand members of the various co-operative associations. The city co-operative associations include banks, building and loan societies, producers' co-operatives, consumers' co-operatives and distributors' co-operatives. The country co-operatives include hail, fire and crop insurance; co-operative banks and co-operative banks and co-operative purchasing and selling associations.

Year by year the workers of Argentina are learning the truth of the good old adage—"If you would have a thing done well, do it yourself." Year by year, through their co-operative undertakings they are helping to bind together the people upon whose labor depends the organization and progress of the world.

DO THEY SEE?

Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation, made a speech in February, 1912, in which he was reported by the newspapers as saying that the conditions in the United States at that time were similar to those preceding the French revolution. Replying to a question as to his exact language on this occasion Judge Gary wrote (February 17, 1912):

"What I said, in brief substance, was that there is a feeling of unrest throughout the world; that it must be admitted there is at times and places cause for the feeling; that it behooves those in charge of large interests and in the possession of wealth and influence, to personally become actively interested in improving conditions; that this is good morals and good policy; that all of us must admit we had committed errors and had been negligent and therefore, the wise and fair thing was to recognize our faults and improve our methods."

Most people in 1912 thought that Judge Gary was going too far in making such statements. The situation in the world seemed too stable and too secure to justify any such gloomy predictions. The events of the past six years have demonstrated that Judge Gary was a wise prophet. Like many of the other leaders of American industrial life the Judge sees the forces that are at work in the world. He realises that changes are coming in social organization, and as a wise man, he is prepared to make the best of these changes.

Prophecy is dangerous. Theorising often produces wierd and improbable results. But there is a type of vision represented by men like Judge Gary that is imperatively needed in the United States at the present moment. If the master class in America could realise, as the workers are beginning to realise, that the United States must go through the same process of industrial and social development that is taking place in Europe, the inevitable changes could be made with less disturbance and with far greater constructive advantages than will result from the present short-sighted, dog-in-the-manger policy so generally adopted and applauded by the American ruling class.

THE WORKER'S BUSINESS

(By Eugene Debs.)

"We propose that the working class shall be organized economically and politically to retire the capitalist class from business.

"Our business is to put the exploiters of labor out of business.

"You, Mr. Workingman, don't need a capitalist; and if you think you do, it is because you are ignorant. It is because you don't understand your own interest. You don't need him. You imagine that he gives you a job; but he does nothing of the kind. You give him a job. You employ him to take from you what you produce; and he faithfully sticks to his job. Why, the capitalist could not exist a second without you. Can you imagine a capitalist without workingmen?

"Capitalism is based upon the exploitation of the working class; and when the working class ceases to be exploited, there will no longer be any capitalists.

"Now, while the capitalist could not exist without you, you would just begin to live without him. He is on your back; he rides you, and he rides you even when he rides in the automobile that you make. You make it. You never knew of a capitalist that ever made an automobile. The capitalist doesn't make it, but rides in it; the workingman does make it, but does not ride in it.

"If it were not for you the capitalist would have to walk, and if it were not for him you would ride."

Who Made the Law?

Who made the law that men should
die in meadows,
Who spoke the word that blood
should splash in lanes,
Who gave it forth that gardens should
be boneyards,
Who spread the hills with flesh and
blood and brains—
Who made the law?

Who made the law that death should
stalk in valleys,
Who spoke the word to kill among
the sheaves—
Who gave it forth that death should
lurk on hedgerow,
Who flung the dead amid the falling leaves,
Who made the law?

ITALIANS REFUSE WAR ON SOVIET.

Paris, June 3.—Press dispatches from Genoa today said the Italian crew of the steamer Martinovich, flying the Inter-Allied flag, had declared they were ready to be imprisoned or drowned, rather than cooperate on any movement to defeat the Russian revolution.

AMONG THE SUB-GETTERS

Here are t[illegible] writes Comrade D. D. H[illegible] of Huntington, W. Va. Comrade [illegible] is a true blue RED. Every one is a yearly. Such lists are about the most acceptable things we can think of.

We note that Comrade Secretary Steckel of Tiffin is still busy getting renewals and new ones.

Glad to renew the acquantance of Comrade Laura Reynolds once more. Six subs from her convinces us of her continued interest in the O. S.

Three subscriptions from Comrade Geo. A. Louthan of Troy helps to keep the fires burning there.

The Oklahoma movement needs a paper like the Ohio Socialist, says Comrade J. S. Faubus. He sends a subscription for a comrade there who is a veteran in the movement.

Four yearlies from Comrade Alice Burkett of Judsonia, Ark., makes us glad. These are not the first of Comrade Burkett's good work for the Ohio Socialist.

A new comrade discovered. He hails from Sycamore, O., and subscribes for a year. We wonder if there are not more comrades there whom we could get acquainted with.

Five yearlies and two half yearlies come in from Comrade Vincent Petraitis of Kewanee, Ill.

Comrade John Beery of Marion, O., sends in two half yearlies. Not to be outdone, Comrade Elmer Stevens of Vicksburg, Mich., does likewise.

One a Socialist, always a Socialist, is the rule followed by Comrade C. J. Taylor of Ft. Myers, Fla. An old veteran in the movement, he found himself lonesome without Socialist papers. He now reads the O. S.

Keep boosting is the method that wins according to Comrade B. F. Hardman of E. Liverpool, O. He sends in two this time.

Quite a number of subs are coming in from New Mexico these days. Comrade Mrs. W. P. Calkins is one of our constant boosters. She sends in two this week.

Two yearlies from Comrade E. Vanderroest of Kalamazoo, means he is still keping his pace.

Yours for real democracy, writes Comrade Alonzo F. Holliday of East Palestine, O. He helps get it by sending in a yearly.

Three yearlies from Comrade W. B. Dillion of Albuquerque, N. Mex., adds that many more to the growing New Mexico list.

From out in Ringo, Kan., comes two yearlies. Comrade Mrs. Skultz is the booster there.

Four half yearlies from Roseville adds to a fast growing list there. Comrade J. R. Kittle sends them in.

Comrades J. H. Dickson and John Rehm are looking after the interests of the Ohio Socialist at Springfield, O. Two from Comrade Dickson attests his activity. Comrade Rehm does better, sending in seven.

J. H. Miller of Havener, N. Mex., sends in a yearly and one six month sub.

More from Ironton, O. Comrade H. J. Miller is the guilty party. Three are his contribution.

LABOR.

(By Arthur Stringer.)

War not on him!—His dread
artillery
Doth lie in idle arm and
rusting tool;
And lo he sets his ruthless
legions free
When once he lets his sullen
anvils cool!

—N. Y. Call.

MINUTES OF THE STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The regular quarterly meeting of the state executive committee was called to order by the state secretary in the afternoon of June 27, 1919. Present, Jos. W. Sharts, J. P. Baker, Lotta Burke, Tom Clifford. J. P. Baker was elected chairman.

Applications for memberships at large were read from Jules J. Canel, Chas. T. Grosch, D. A. Pepple, W. H. Aggus, J. F. Giles, W. C. Giles, Max Kaupman, Karl Schoenung, J. Scholdaker, J. H. Kingman, Bessie Hagerman, Frank Hagerman, Clarence C. Hune, Elmer Burk, H. Myers, Jas. McClurg, Leopold Hoffman, J. W. Detwiler, Clyde Meeks, Chas. H. Wenzel, Eli Studer, Angelo Darve, O. O. Alspach. By motion these applicants were admitted to membership.

The following applications for local charters were read: Irondale, 11 members; Findlay, 8 members; Warren Ukrainian, 5 members; Wainright, Italian, 14 members; Clermont County, 10 members; Dola, 11 members; Dunkirk, 5 members; Fremont, 10 members; Alliance, Lithuanian, 5 members; Steubenville, Russian, 10 members; Defiance, 7 members. Charters issued to these new locals were approved by motion.

Communications: Letter from New York Call requesting mailing list. By motion request was ordered complied with.

From Local Ashtabula, requesting mailing list; same action.

From Local Hamilton asking that John Cahalane be employed as one of the district organizers for the party. By motion the state secretary was ordered to employ Comrade Cahalane as soon as conditions warrant.

New Business: Motion carried to instruct the state secretary to communicate with makers of phonograph records to find out upon what basis socialist speeches and sayings can be reproduced.

Motion carried that the question of sale of stamps to and full recognition of the suspended foreign federations be placed before the state convention now in session.

Motion carried that the proceeds from the sale of the special assessment stamps to pay the expenses of the national emergency convention, be for the time retained in the state treasury and that part of same be disbursed as expenses of Ohio delegates attending the convention.

Motion carried that auditing of the books for the last quarter be turned over to the committee on audit elected by the convention.

Motion carried to adjourn.

A WAGENKNECHT,
State Secretary.

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE S. E. C.

A special meeting of the state executive committee was called June 28. Present Jos W. Sharts, Scott Wilkins, Tom Clifford, J. P. Baker, Lotta Burke.

Motion carried that we recommend to the convention that a committee be elected to investigate the printing plant of Local Dayton with a view to purchase or to negotiate for its use and control.

Adjourned.

A WAGENKNECHT,
State Secretary.

Enter the Municipal Campaign

State Convention Strongly Urges Locals To Nominate Candidates.

After a thorough discussion and taking into account the difficulties confronting some of the locals of the Socialist Party of Ohio, the state convention, recently held in Cincinnati, voted to urge all locals to place municipal tickets in the field.

Persecution and villification of Socialists and the Socialist Party has been the program of loud-mouthed sham-patriots for many months. Their bluff and bluster has been a bitter pill to thousands of citizens who are not even Socialists. Comment against these self-appointed tyrants and law-breakers can be heard on every side and the day is not far distant when a rightly indignant citizenship will turn the tables and place these snoopers and four-flushers where they belong.

The persecution some locals and Socialists have been subject to for some months past can best be answered and efficiently combated in the coming municipal elections. Place a ticket in the field and during the campaign expose all acts which tend to make of this country a replica of Russia under the czar.

To all locals we say—THERE IS NOT ONE REASON FOR DISCOURAGEMENT. The tide is bound to turn. The more pernicious the acts of psuedo-patriots today, the more complete and definite our victory tomorrow.

Thousands upon thousands of workers believe with us. They must be given a chance to register their opposition to capitalism and all its lickspittles in your city on election day. Nominate candidates AT ONCE. Enter the campaign with a will and enthusiasm. There is enough material at hand with which to make the hottest campaign we have ever made and with which to make it hotter for the opposition than ever before.

Don't hesitate. No matter how small your local, take courage in the fact that we are winning the world and do your part in your city.

Nominate candidates at once. Rules to follow to have your candidates appear upon the ballot will be found below.

HOW TO NOMINATE MUNICIPAL CANDIDATES.

1. Nominations of candidates in municipalities of LESS than 2,000 population should be made by petition, signed in the aggregate by not less than 25 electors for EACH candidate. The same number of signatures are required for candidates for the school board.
2. Nominations of candidates in municipalities with a population of MORE than 2,000 must be made by petition, signed by at least 1 per cent of the electors who voted at the last preceding election.
3. Nominations for candidates for school boards in municipalities with a population of MORE than 2,000 must be made by petition, and signatures of not less than 2 per cent of the electors voting at the next preceding SCHOOL ELECTION must be secured.
4. Petitions must be filed with the deputy board of state supervisors of elections NOT LESS than 60 days previous to the day of election.
5. A committee of five to fill vacancies shall be named in the petitions.
6. Petitions must contain a provision that the signer will support and vote for the candidates thereon.
7. Signatures must be written upon petition in ink or indelible pencil.
8. One of the signers of a petition must make oath before a notary public that statements contained therein are true.
9. Petitions can be secured from the election board in your city.
10. Petitions should ALWAYS be filed ahead of time, that is, more than 60 days before the date of election, in order to avoid delay in case objections are made to signatures and so that you have enough time to secure additional signatures.
11. Petitions should always contain MORE NAMES than required in order that you may be sure that you have enough genuine signatures.
12. For further information of any kind about nomination of candidates by petition, see your board of elections.

18c Will Buy These Three

"VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY."

(By Scott Nearing.)

Nearing says violence will not settle labor's problems. He proves it. Just the booklet to enlighten the worker who believes Socialists advocate violence.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI.

An aptly illustrated booklet that reveals the truth of the accusations of crime made against the Russian Bolsheviki.

CONSTITUTNON OF SOCIALIST RUSSIA

The World's First Socialist Republic.

Every worker should be familiar with the fundamental law of the first Socialist republic. It is interesting and instructive.

Read it and pass it on.

These three 18 cents. Order now. Address Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

CUT OUT THE LIBRARIES.

The president of Manhattan borough, a subdivision of New York city, has come out with a denunciation of libraries.

"We spend hundreds of thousands and millions for them," he says, "and what do they amount to in the long run. Men go into the libraries, read themselves to death, and then they come out and try to upset the government."

When a government gets so rotten that the reading of books becomes dangerous to its stability, it's time to cut out the government, not the books.

Official Proceedings— State Convention

(Continued from second page.)

hour day and dollar an hour movement which is being carried on by workers in different trades and industries as to a measure that can bring certain relief to the terrible conditions of unemployment—although not abolishing it—and which can serve as a school for the workers to plunge themselves into the class war for the final destruction of capitalism.

By motion adopted.

Resolution No. 3.

Proletarian Mass Propaganda.

Whereas, the capitalist class is trying to suppress the spread of the message for the emancipation of the working class by interfering with organized bands of hoodlums at our street meetings and are terrorizing the owners of halls by their economic influence upon them, and.

Whereas, we recognize that the workers can be approached with our propaganda and be more impressed when we are dealing with them on the issue of their daily job.

Therefore, be it resolved, that in addition to the usual methods of propaganda we urge to give more attention to their work places, shops, mills, factories, yards, and mines, where you can reach all and everyone of your brother workers.

All Socialists in a shop or mill should organize, study the conditions of exploitation of the workers and explain the Socialist remedy.

Meetings of workers at the factory gates, distribution of Socialist papers, books and leaflets.

During strikes, Socialists should teach the value of mass political and industrial action, rather than the securing of contracts by union officials with a view to securing complete control of industry by socially useful workers.

By motion adopted.

Resolution No. 4.

Branches of Suspended Federations.

Resolved, that whereas Section 5-B of Article 13 of the national constitution specifies that language branches shall remain integral parts of the county and state organizations until such time as exclusion shall have been approved by the county or state organizations, and

Whereas, the national office has ruled that the suspended language federations have been entirely cut off from the party, this in direct violation of the national constitution and the clause above referred to, and

Whereas, we firmly believe that neither national executive committee nor the national office has the power to suspend language branches, therefore we

Resolve, that the state office shall recognize all language branches in the state as integral parts of the state party and shall show them all privileges [illegible]

Resolution No. 5.

Convention Assessment Stamps.

Be it resolved, that the proceeds from the sale of the special assessment stamp for the national emergency convention be, for the time, retained in the state treasury, and that part of same be disbursed for the expenses of the Ohio delegates to the national emergency convention.

Adopted by motion.

Resolution No. 6.

Intervention in Russia.

Whereas, the assaults upon the workers and peasants Republic of Russia continues with increasing bestiality, the capitalist governments instead of withdrawing troops from Russia are recruiting and sending new armies, warships and battleplanes and are supplying the monarchist Generals Koltchak, Denikin and Krasnov with money, munitions and food.

Whereas, the capitalist press is deliberately and intentionally spreading false propaganda with the purpose to mold the public opinion in opposition to the Russian workers and peasants republic to get the moral backing of the working class and so to prepare the grounds for the recognition and organization of counter revolutionary plots in order to restore monarchism and capitalism in this country of free working class, and

Whereas, thousands upon thousands of Russian, American and other soldiers are cold-bloodedly murdered in this war of international capitalism against the working class, and

Whereas, only the resolute action of the workers of the invading countries can end the murderous adventure of those capitalists by means of revolutionary pressure,

Be it resolved by the convention, that the wage workers of America join in the protest with the class-conscious workers of Canada, Great Britain, France and Italy and demand the immediate withdrawal of all troops from Russia to end the blockade and to permit them to work out their own forms of self-government.

Adopted by motion.

Resolution No. 7.

Party-Owned Printing Plant.

Resolved, that this convention endorses, and that we call upon all state locals and branches to endorse the campaign for a party-owned printing plant and that every member in the state do everything possible to secure the $10,000 fund for this purpose.

Adopted by motion.

Resolution No. 8.

Greeting to Class War Prisoners.

Resolved, that we send our fraternal greetings to all political and industrial prisoners in America and pledge our moral support to them by working for revolutionary Socialism to expedite the arrival of the day when we will be in power to force our enemy to release them.

Adopted by motion.

Resolution No. 9.

Greetings to Russia.

Resolved, that this convention transmit through the representative of the Soviet government of Russia in the United States, L. Martens, our greetings [illegible] the Manifesto of the Third "Communist International."

Adopted by motion.

Resolution No. 10.

Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Councils.

We recommend that this convention goes on record to assist in every way possible the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Councils that are now being organized, providing they adopt the declaration of principles of the Toledo, Seattle and Portland councils, which are as follows:

(A) Political.

The Purposes of Politics.

The declaration of principles of the Councils of Portland, Seattle, Toledo, state the necessity of political action in these terms: "That as the machinery of government including the armed forces of the nation exist only to conserve the monopoly of the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into an agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

(B) Industrial.

That our interests are in common with the workers at all times and opposed to the exploiters, since we, being workers before we donned the uniform, must necessarily find our place in labor's ranks when we have doffed the uniform.

That, while the present social order continues, we shall be compelled to enter the labor market, selling ourselves at wages, in order to live.

That since the cessation of hostilities, vast war manufactories have closed down, throwing many men and women out of work; this condition, great enough at present, will be accentuated and intensified, by the demobilization of our comrades.

That during the entire war period, while many of our members were engaged in fighting, the rest of the workers not only produced our munitions, equipment, food, etc., maintained themselves and dependents, but supported in idleness and luxury a master class, and created many additional millionaires and profiteers.

That the greatest and most immediate problem confronting us as workers, is the refitting into industries of men returned from military service.

That, as a temporary solution, we demand the establishment of a six-hour work day and a five day week.

That the elimination of the present social ills and economic distress, is impossible until the system for profit has been replaced by a system for use.

That we co-operate with organized labor in an educational campaign to this end.

And we demand full and sufficient remuneration for the maimed, widows, orphans and all other dependents.

Report of Committee on Organization and Propaganda.

Delegate Miller reported as follows for the committee:

1. We recommend that the State [illegible] Committee be instructed to provide a [illegible] course to outline a[illegible]paign on socia lproduction and distribution. (Rejected by motion.)

2. We recommend the State Office be authorized to give financial aid to weak locals to assist them in defraying expenses of perfecting their organization. (Adopted.)

3. We recommend that all local secretaries submit to the state office all members who are three months in arrears. We believe the most essential duty of the secretary is to see that the locals are kept active, even to the extent of propapaign on social production and distribution. (Rejected by motion.)

4. We recommend that the propaganda of the Ohio Socialist party be confined to Revolutionary Socialism, as stated in the Communist Manifesto. (Adopted.)

5. We suggest weekly distribution of leaflets by locals.

COMMENT.

Owing to the free speech fight carried on by the master class at present, we deem it necessary to adopt this procedure. (Adopted.)

6. We recommend that the State Office furnish the locals with a list of subscribers to the Ohio Socialist upon application. (Adopted.)

Resolution Finnish Socialist Federation.

7. We recommend, that the following resolution be adopted: "Resolved that the Ohio State convention adopt the Finnish Agitation District Committee as an official organ of the State Organization to carry on Socialist propaganda among the Finnish population in the state of Ohio, provided this Finnish Agitation District Committee will work in conjunction with the state secretary and obeys the decisions of the constitution of the State Organization.

COMMENT.

The state of Ohio has a large unorganized Finnish population. Being unable to speak the English language it is impossible to organize them into the Socialist party by means of the English propaganda. Experience has taught us the fact that the only effective way to spread Socialist propaganda among them is through the language they understand best.

In order to successfully carry on this propaganda there must be an official organ to conduct this work. This organ must act as a medium between the State Organization and the Finnish branches.

Since eleven (11) Finnish Socialist branches, with a membership of about 300, have already organized such an organ, the Finnish Agitation District Committee—we ask that the convention officially recognize it. (Adopted.)

8. We recommend that the Socialist Party of Ohio, in convention assembled, denounces the convention of the American Federation of Labor, recently held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, as a body composed in large part of reactionary labor fakirs, whose personal contact with actual work is so remote as to [illegible] all its actions. [illegible] received the commendation of the entire capitalist press.

We call attention to the fact that the same master class which is feeding and dining Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, has sent William D. Haywood, General Secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World, and Eugene V. Debs, besides thousands of others, to jail for no other crime than their outspoken loyalty to the working class. One the one hand you have the host of labor fakirs, headed by Samuel Gompers, who seek to chloroform the workers with meaningless phrases so that they may remain submissive and obedient objects of exploitation, and on the other hand, the class conscious educators of the workers, who are hated and feared by the masters, and sentenced by them to long terms of imprisonment.

The time has come when the workers must chose between international labor fakirs and their fossilized craft-union organizations, and the ONE BIG UNION which leads straight to the goal of working class emancipation.

This convention therefore calls upon all the workers in all craft unions of the A. F. of L. to immediately start a program of agitation along the lines of THE ONE BIG UNION, which is in accord with the revolutionary proletariat. (Adopted.)

9. We recommend this convention goes on record and authorize the state secretary to notify locals to conduct public meetings in which demands will be made on the government to release all political and industrial prisoners, and that conscientious objectors be freed. That all troops are to be withdrawn from Russia and that the embargo against Soviet Russia and Hungary be lifted. And that the Soviet government of these countries be recognized. These meetings to be continued until the demands are complied with. (Rejected because covered by resolutions committee.)

Motion carried that the committee's report as amended be accepted.

Motion that before we adjourn we embody a concrete definition of mass action in the proceedings of the convention.

Motion to table, carried.

Motion carried that the extra expenses of delegates to the National Left Wing conference elected by the state executive committee be paid.

Motion that every local place a municipal ticket in the field.

Amendment that this matter be left to the discretion of the local. Amendment carried.

Roll call demanded. Chairman ruled roll call out of order, a delegate having the floor. Ruling appealed. Chair not sustained. Upon roll call the amendment was defeated by a vote of 14 to 37.

Original motion was amended to read that "we urge all locals to place municipal tickets in the field." Carried.

Motion that all convention committees be discharged. Carried.

Remarks were ruled in order under the heading of good and welfare. [illegible]

"[illegible] Mexico with beans in one hand and [illegible] grenades in the other. In case they do not accept our WELL INTENDED and SINCERE FRIENDSHIP, may God help them."—Representative La Guardia.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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Horrors! Terrible Terrors of Red Hosts Depicted

(By Robert Page Lincoln.)

The perils coming through Bolshevism are many and varied and it is in knowing the nature of these disturbing predicaments that the people elsewhere than in Russia should be warned. We must combat Bolshevism by carefully and intelligently diagnosing the perils that come through Bolshevism. In knowing just what the Bolsheviks have done and are doing is enlightenment and a powerful means of acquainting the workers with the inner mysteries of the Red Terror. In the first place the most horrible example of this system of government is the fact that everybody is allowed to vote who works. In other words the soviet slogan is: "A vote for everyone who does useful labor." This is against all true government as it leaves social parasites no voice in the affairs of the world. We must condemn that move. Remember that the Bible says: "And the poor will ever be with ye," and remember that only 95 per cent of the people of Russia can vote against 65 per cent of the people in America. That proves that 95 per cent of the people of Russia are working people. Working people are incapable of self-government, which is proven by the fact that the Bolsheviks have only been in power somewhat over two years and the opposition has been mild to say the very least. For further proof of the decline of Bolshevism we can quote from the recent speech given by Lloyd George before the house of commons, in which he stated that, "while the Bolshevik force is apparently growing, Bolshevism itself is gradually waning," which is equal to saying that the sun is rising but it is setting.

It must be further understood that the Bolsheviks are unfair in getting into power. They have elections where the people can emphatically state what party they desire. In one election there were 17 tickets represented and the Bolsheviks won by 12,000 votes. In other words the Bolsheviks got more votes than all the other 16 parties put together. There you can see the unfairness of the Bolsheviks. They believe in elections; that people shall have a chance to state what form of government they desire. We can see Bolshevism uncovered at last the whole crude, bloody business dawns upon us.

The utter unscruplousness of the Bolsheviks may be seen in the fact that the largest salary any official of the Soviet government may receive is sixty dollars a month. Lenin, in Russia, the head of the Soviet Republic, receives sixty dollars a month, and President Wilson of the United States receives a beggarly portion of $75,000 a year. There you can see the Bolsheviks unmasked. We always knew that the Socialists would make the mistake of giving their leaders a lump of gold that would choke a silo in exchange for their brain power.

Then, too, the Bolsheviks have given over all the land to the peasants; each family is given all the land that it can till and make productive. That is an act against God. God gave the land to the barons to be used as hunting grounds and for the perpetuation of Russian thistles. Tilling of that ground will make the peasants happy, and when the working people are happy this will be a devil of a world to live in. Then I suppose we'll get into some kind of a millenium that that class-conscious rebel, Jesus, got crucified for propagandizing for!

But the height of all iniquity in Russia under the Soviet rule is that children are not allowed to work under eighteen years of age. Every American knows that government is impossible without three million child slaves in mills, factories and sweat-shops. I am sure that God would not allow child slavery unless it were just, therefore the disgracefulness of the Soviet system of allowing the children to romp and play and enjoy themselves till they are eighteen years of age is obvious. From such red terrorism turn us away. . . . And then, on top of all that, when boys and girls become eighteen years of age in Russia they are entitled to vote if they can prove that they are useful members of society.

(Continued on Second page)

NATIONAL OFFICE DEFIES WILL OF TEN THOUSAND PARTY MEMBERS DEMANDING NATIONAL REFERENDUM

Motion to Rescind Acts of Despotic 7 of National Executive Committee to Be Held Up.

From all signs there is to be no limit to the despicable acts of the national office and the despotic national executive committee. National Secretary Germer has just addressed a letter to the national executive committee asking them to vote whether the referendum, initiated by Local Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), rescinding the acts of the national executive committee in expelling and suspending half of the party membership, shall go to membership referendum. In this letter the national secretary argues that it ought not because the motion contains comment and is therefore unconstitutional.

More than 10,000 party members have already seconded this call for a national referendum to rescind the acts of the despotic seven national executive committeemen to disrupt the Socialist party. This is about three times as many seconds as are constitutionally necessary. And now, that the referendum has been generally supported, and in view of the further fact that the motion is bound to carry if ever given to a vote of the membership, the will of the rank and file of the party is again to be curbed by autocratic procedure such as socialists have never experienced.

If the motion made by Local Cuyahoga County was not in constitutional form, why did not the national secretary inform this local of that fact immediately the motion was received by him? Why did national secretary Germer wait until more than 10,000 members, through vote by their locals and branches, had supported this call for a national referendum before discovering it unconstitutional? Why this tricky method of interfering with the due processes of the referendum? We know why. The despotic seven on the national executive committee and the national secretary are afraid to permit the rank and file to voice its sentiments upon the acts of the national executive committee in expelling and suspending half of the party membership. The referendum, if placed before the membership, will carry so overwhelmingly, despite the fact that half the membership is out of the party, that the national office

(Continued on second page.)

HAYWOOD RELEASED; BOND APPROVED

Chicago—William D. Haywood, former secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., has been released from Leavenworth prison following approval of $25,000 bonds. Haywood among others convicted at Chicago nearly a year ago, have been released on large bonds pending a new trial on appeal.

A Message From Hungary To American Workingmen

(By Cable to The Liberator.)

We send heartiest greetings to the working proletariat of America. Although it has been possible for capitalism to pit one part of you against the others, especially the well-paid workers against those not so well paid, we firmly believe that you will within a short time see clearly that you all belong to an oppressed class, that the bourgeoisie has become unnecessary in your country as it has shown itself to be unnecessary in ours.

For European capitalism the twilight of the gods has arrived. Everybody sees this now. But capitalists console themselves with the hope that the American orkingmen will save capitalism for them. We trust that the American workingmen will frustrate this hope.

We patricularly greet the Hungarian workmen of America. They had to emigrate from Hungary because it did not offer them a home. We now have made it a home for them.

(Signed) BELA KUN,

People's Commissaire of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

SOVIET REGIME TO RULE BRITAIN, ASSERTS WHITE

LABOR WILL WIN BLOODLESS REVOLUTION TRANSFORMING ENGLAND, HE BELIEVES.

"England is undergoing a bloodless revolution," declared William Allen White, the novelist and journalist of Emporia, Kan., on his return from England on the White Star liner Baltic. He attended the peace conference as a correspondent for a national syndicate and in a semi-official capacity. From France he went to England to study conditions. He returns firmly convinced that labor is the strongest single power in that country.

"That revolution," he continued, "will result in creating the first firmly established Soviet government in the world."

He said that labor is being organized on a Soviet plan.

"There is the local union," he said, "then the district association and then the national group. Complete power is lodged in the trade unions which control the docks, railways and mines of England. Labor rules.

"LABOR WILL WIN."

"Labor is in the saddle and is demanding nationalization of the railroads, docks and coal mines. And labor will win."

As an indication of the strength of labor, he quoted the fact that the English king was making an effort

(Continued on Second page)

Socialists of Rock Island, Ill., and Vicinity, Attention

The Mississippi Valley Socialist picnic will be held Sunday, July 27, at Campbell's Island. Admission 15 cents. Speaker, C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland, O. Baseball, foot races, tug of war, bathing. Come. Bring your family. Bring your friends.

Speaking of Picnics

The Socialists of Warren are arranging for a big picnic to be held in Warren, in Oak Lawn Park, July 20, and the comrades of all locals in Trumbull county and surrounding communities are requested to attend.

Charles Baker, organizer, will be the principal speaker of the day, and there will be other speakers. The Finnish band of Ashtabula will be present, which is noted for its splendid music.

The program will further consist of songs, recitations, select readings, store for the sale of things to be donated, and, of course, a big dinner and other refreshments will be amply provided.

Reader, this means that you are invited to come and bring others. Remember the date, Sunday, July 20. Park between Tod and Highland streets, open at 9 o'clock. Program will begin at 10 o'clock sharp. All foreign language branches are also invited to be present.—The City Central Committee, J. F. Denison, secretary.

Bishop Brown Answers Editor's Slander

Peoples Right To Political Revolution Defended by Socialist High in Church Circles.

(Bishop Wm. M. Brown, Socialist, formerly of Little Rock, Ark., now living at Galion, Ohio, a bishop in the Episcopal church, is accused in a Little Rock paper of aligning himself with the "addle-pated parlor bolshevists" and incidentally injuring his reputation thereby. We are glad to print below Bishop Brown's answer to these accusations — Editor.)

In a Little Rock paper the editor says:

"Bishop Brown has hurt his reputation grievously by allowing himself to become associated and entangled with the addle-pated parlor bolshevists in this country."

After a severe criticism of Russian bolshevism he adds:

"The parlow bolsheviki, from one viewpoint, is worse than the rabid bolsheviki who operates with torch, bomb and dagger, because there is no excuse for him."

BISHOP BROWN'S ANSWER.

"Our national declaration of independence justifies political revolution on the part of a people whose government fails in securing and safeguarding the inalienable rights of all mankind—"life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"—and especially does it justify the proletarian revolutions which are at this time developing and raging in many nations, because they are the result of 'a long train of abuses and usurpations, pusuing invariably the same object' which train of abuses 'evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism.' When it is evident that a governmental train has started for this goal and will reach it unless derailed, it is the right of the oppressed 'to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security.'

"If blood is shed as the result of the derailment of such a train the responsibility is with the crew, not the derailers.

"President Wilson is right where in the New Freedom he says of the development in our own country:

"We stand in the presence of a revolution, not a bloody revolution; America is not given to the spilling of blood, but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals she has always porfessed, upon securing a government devoted to the general interests and not to special interests.

"We have forgotten the very principles of our origin if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices."

"Is the president an addle-pated, parlow bolshevist? If not, why am I designated as such by the editor?

DEFINES BOLSHEVIST.

"If to be a bolshevist is to be one is in favor of turning the world upside down with those above who,

(Continued on second page.)

MONSTER DEMONSTRATION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR

Jean Longuet declared in the Chamber of Deputies, Paris, that the proletarian triple alliance had now come into existence and that the Kolstchaks of Paris, Rome and London would not gain their ends.

Paris.—The chairman of the General Confederation of Labor of France has announced that after a conference with Italian and British comrades, plans for a general strike on July 21 are to be worked out and that on that date industries in Italy and France will be completely shut down.

"The demonstration," so it is said, "will have as its aim the demand that intervention in Russia cease at once; the immediate demobolization of the army; the restoration of constitutional guarantees; the immediate release of all political and war prisoners and for reduction in the price of foods."

The triple alliance between the workers of England, Italy and France is now a fact, declared Jean Longuet, French Socialist. This declaration followed close after the opening o the proletarian congress and after a resolution had been passed against the continuance of the war on Soviet Russia.

"If the strike as a political weapon is justified at all, then it is justified as a weapon for the ending of the capitalist war against Russia," said Longuet. "The Kolstchaks of Paris, Rome and London have not yet gained their ends."

BISHOP BROWN MAKES OFFER OF $1,000 FOR THE OHIO SOCIALIST PRESS FUND

Will "wonders never cease?" That's the thought that crossed our minds when we read the above offer in a letter from Comrade Bishop Wm. M. Brown, secretary of Local Galion, O. For all the surprises which the comrades have "sprung" upon us since the press fund campaign was opened, this offer of Comrade Brown's is the greatest one of all. Just think of it, a thousand dollars from one comrade! But we know that you are dead anxious to hear the straight story. So, read Comrade Brown's letter below.

Galion, Ohio, July 3, 1919.

The Socialist Party of Ohio, Care Mr. Alfred
Wagenknecht, Sec., 3207 Clarke Avenue,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My Dear Comrade:

Mrs. Brown and I have carefully considered the representations of the appeal which you and Comrade Allison have since May Day been making from week to week in the excellent editions of the Ohio Socialists for a printing plant to be owned and operated by the Socialist Party of Ohio, and they have persuaded us to a conviction which is deepening into an enthusiasm that this is an exceptionally important undertaking on behalf of the movement of international socialism—the only great movement which has ever been set on foot for the good of mankind as a whole; a movement towards making of the world safe for a classless democracy by turning it up-side-down with the slaves above and the masters below, having the privilege to come up to work and eat or to remain down to loaf and starve, but not to rob and enslave.

The success of your undertaking would mean more to the part of this movement for which our state comradeship is responsible than anything else whatsoever which can be accomplished at present; and, therefore, we have concluded that it is our privilege and duty to respond to this appeal by offering to GIVE ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS ($1,000) PROVIDING YOU CAN SECURE THE BALANCE OF THE AMOUNT NEEDED, $9,000, FROM YOUR OTHER COMRADES ON OR BEFORE ELECTION DAY, 1919.

Hoping that our subscription will soon be called for, I am, with kindest regards from both (meaning Mrs. Brown) for all the workers at headquarters. Very cordially yours,

WM. M. BROWN, Sec. Local Galion.

And there you are, comrades, a thousand dollars for the press fund, provided the rest of the comrades in Ohio and those thousands of comrades outside the state, will raise the other nine thousand.

Isn't that a fair offer? We think it is a mighty fair one and a mighty generous one. In fact it is so fair that we are sure there is not a comrade who reads this letter that will not feel like immediately forwarding his dollar or a five-spot or more to help make up the amount in the shortest possible time. And it is so generous that every comrade will feel a surge of generosity through him, a tingleing along the veins that will surely make them part with what they can afford for this fund in the most generous and free giving spirit.

And it ought to do just that. This great offer of Comrade Brown's ought to arouse every comrade to a wide-awake realization of what this campaign for a press for the Ohio Socialist means to the Socialist Party of this state and nation. His letter should send a thrill of pride along the spine of every socialist who reads it. It should make them proud to belong to a political party of the workers that has among its membership a comrade so earnest, so sincere and so generous as to make such a wonderful offer to us.

For the offer is to us, comrades, to you and to me and to every comrade in the country. But most of all, is it an offer and a CHALLENGE to every party member in the state of Ohio. We have nearly nine thousand members in this state alone. If every member would give so much as one dollar each the sum would be raised. We would have our own printing plant and a fine big press to turn out the thousands of copies of the Ohio Socialist we are printing each week.

And now, comrades, there is not a moment to lose, Comrade Brown says in his letter: "I will give one thousand dollars, providing you can secure the balance of the amount needed, $9,000, from your other comrades on or before election day, 1919." Are we going to let that thousand dollars get away from us? WE ARE NOT! Election day is less than four months away, but we know that we can raise that amount in that time if we just say we can. And we do say it. We say it now and we are going to keep on saying it until we accomplish it and reach our goal on November 4.

That's our answer to Comrade Brown. We know it is your answer too. So let's prove we mean what we say, that we mean to get that nine thousand dollars to match the thousand from Comrade Brown. At this moment we need to raise but a little over $7,000 to make up our share of the $10,000 needed. Let's get that $7,000 right away.

Now to do it. Every reader of the Ohio Socialist has received a pledge envelope from us. Hundreds of them have returned to us with generous contributions. But hundreds have not—as yet. Hunt up that envelope, comrade, put a dollar of two dollars or five or more in it and forward it at once. Just drop us a line saying "here is my part toward compelling Comrade Brown to come across with that thousand." Every local in Ohio has been sent a number of press fund subscription lists. Get those lists in the hands of comrades whose socialism means "work for socialism." Let them circulate among the workers and sympathizers. Get busy with the lists. Many comrades are working with them, more comrades must. Locals can hold a picnic, or a social or arrange various means by which to raise this amount in a pleasant and enjoyable manner.

Every comrade can do a little, most of us can do a great deal in this matter. And by so doing we will in a very short while have our own press for the Ohio Socialist and a printing plant to print our leaflets, pamphlets, books, etc.

Be ready to greet election day with a smile. Help get the party-owned printing plant.

Below are the names of comrades who have this week contributed the amount at the head of the column in which their names appear.

$1.00 Column

Pro Justice.
E. Vanderoest, Kalamazoo, Mich.
A friend, St. Louis, Mo.
J. Pinterich, St. Louis, Mo.
Aug. Seeland, Cincinnati, O.
Wm. Kidd, Steubenville, O.
Mr. and Mrs. F. Ovnic, Ringo, Kan.
P. Halpern, Akron, O.
M. A. Mann, Oneota, N. Y.
J. Nostwick, Akron, O.
Chas. Hames, Toledo, O.
Jno. Householder, W. Lafayette, O.
Julius John, Toledo, O.
O. R. Johnson, Akron, O.
Geo. E. Tobey, Hubbard, O.
Jos. Novak, Neffs, O.
Fred L. Thompson, Crookesville, Ohio.
Mrs. C. L. Rose, Crookesville, O.
V. Popov, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
L. Katich, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
M. Katich, St. Louis, Mo., 50c.
Mrs. L. G. Stapf, Portsmouth, O.
Jno. Magon, Portsmouth, O.
Robert Dodge, Portsmouth, O.
Frank Missner, Porthsmouth, O., 50c.
Frank Collins, Portsmouth, O.
Jno. Rodgers, Portsmouth, 50c.
J. B. Brooks, Portsmouth, O., 50c.
Frank Bickett, Portsmouth, O., 50c.
B. Brock, Portsmouth, O.
W. W. Frazin, Portsmouth, O.
Ed Clifton, Portsmouth, O.
R. N. Heath, Portsmouth, O.
G. E. Hobbs, Portsmouth, O.
P. L. Johnson, Portsmouth, O., 50c
E. L. Wilson, Portsmouth, O.
Press Buss, Portsmouth, O.
Frank Baxa, Neffs, O.
Chas. Schwab, Sandusky, O., 50c.
H. F. Derr, Fostoria, O.
A. B. Hollenbaugh, Fostoria, O.
Jos. Sertell, Fostoria, O.
W. M. Ralston, Fostoria, O.
J. S. Platte, Tiffin, O.
Anton Keulmer, Tiffin, O.
Wm. Geiger, Tiffin, O.
A. A. Eberhart, Tiffin, O.
Frank Ward, Tiffin, O.
Henry Geiger, Tiffin, O.
G. Klauss, Tiffin, O.
Nellie Lescher, Tiffin, O.
J. F. Lescher, Tiffin, O.
John D. Batham, Barberton, O.
Adam Scholl, Pomeroy, O.
Henry Pfarr, Pomeroy, O.
Phil Bruch, Pomeroy, O.
Wm. Phillips, Pomeroy, O.
Wendell Roos, Pomeroy, O.
A. D. Capita, Youngstown, O.
Chas. Sheidegger, Jenera, O.
W. J. Gilmore, Dola, O.

$2.00 Column

Joe Navarre, Engelwood, O.
G. A. Mooney, Portsmouth, O.
C. C. Wise, Portsmouth, O.
J. E. Friend, Portsmouth, O.
A. B. Griffore, Portsmouth, O.
Carl Schmidt, Toledo, O., $1.50.
Alex Van Gundy, Cheyenne, Wyo., $1.50.
Local Akron, English Br.
Wendell Berry, Pomeroy, O.
J. A. Brechtel, Pomeroy, O.
V. J. Rowe, Pittsburg, Kan.
Otto Winkler, Jenera, O., $2.50.
Ivan Winkler, Jenera, O., $2.50.
Mattie Wamsley, Pittsburg, Pa.
T. J. McKenna, Marietta, O.
Lawrence Baker, Marietta, O.

$5.00 Column

J. S. Davis, New Boston, O.
V. Topov, St. Louis, Mo., $3.00.
E. Nelson and friends, Akron, O., $4.00.
N. B. Stewart, Canton, O.
Local Zanesville, O., $6.20.
K. W. Boring, Wellsville, O., $3.
F. E. Stevens, Louisville, Ky.
Victor A. Brantz, Ashtabula, O.
South Slavic Branch No. 19, McKees Rock, Pa.

$10.00 Column

Local Sandusky, O.
Bishop and Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, Galion, O., $12.50.

$25.00 Column

Local Springfield, O., $15.50.
Local Toledo, O., $22.90.

Pledge Column

Frank Baxa, Neffs, O., $1 monthly for 6 months.

O. R. Johnson, Akron, O., $1 monthly for 6 months.

Geo. E. Tobey, Hubbard, O., $1 monthly for 3 months.

K. W. Boring, $2 monthly for 6 months.

V. R. McCarty, West Union, O.

Victor A. Brantz, Ashtabula, O., $5 monthly for 6 months.

How We Grow

Contributed to June 1.......$	129.60
Contributed week of June 8	171.00
Contributed week of June 14	222.17
Contributed week of June 21	240.39
Contributed week of June 26	234.66
Contributed week of July 6	218.81
State picnic collection, cash	501.36
Contributed week of July 12	191.[illegible]
Total to July 12	[illegible]

Let Party Membership Function Now

Do Not Be Fooled by Plea "Wait Until the Conventon."

By L. E. Katterfeld

In a statement to the locals, the members of the old National Executive Committee, who are holding up the membership referendum in which they know themselves to be defeated for re-election, make a tearful plea to the outraged membership to "wait until the national convention.' They ask locals not to make seconds or motions to reverse the acts of the National Executive Committee, but to leave it all rest until the convention meets.

In the meantime this same N. E. C, finds even the mails too slow for its party wrecking activities. It voted by telegraph to expel the Socialist Party of Massachusetts. While you are being asked to "wait until the convention," the N E C continues to wreck the party. Why dont they wait until the convention.

The reactionary New York City and State Executive committees are throwing out of the party most of the New York state membership. Half of the membership in New York ciyt has already been expelled. Locals Buffalo, Rochester, and other large locals in the state have been expelled. The national office and the New York reactionaries are working hand in glove, expelling thousands of members. Why don't they take their own advice—why dont they wait until the convention?

We can expect these actions to continue, these party wrecking actions. While on the one hand the party despots ask you to "wait until the convention,' they, without your knowledge, are slating various states for expulsion. They want you to "wait" while they continue their nefarious work in making the party safe and the national convention safe for reactionary Scheideman Socialism.

The convention is called primarily for the specific purpose of affording the party membership the opportunity to pass judgment upon the Left Wing program, to determine the party's position on the question of affiliating with the Third International, organized by the Bolshevists at Moscow, which today is the only International of Revolutionary Socialism. But these little committees of petty officials that want our party to straddle the fence and compromise are not willing to await the action of the convention. They are now trying to forestall the convention by expelling from the party all elements that openly acknowledge themselves to be revolutionary.

We know that their frantic efforts will avail them nothing. The membership of our Socialist Party today is sound and revolutionary to the core. No matter how many thousands the party officialdom "disciplines" with its paper expulsions, of those that remain the Left Wing will still be in the majority. The inexorable logic of world events has undermined the opportunist elements within our party and made the revolutionary wing unconquerable.

We have serene confidence in our victory at the coming party convention—if that convention is held.

But we have no confidence in the honesty and good will of the present party officialdom. For as soon as they realize that despite all their machinations, the convention will decide against them, we may expect them to postpone the convention. In fact, they discussed this possibility openly at the recent N E C meeting in Chicago. So do not let these specious pleadings to "wait until the convention" to lull you to sleep. The defeated, disappointed party officials want you to remain inactive while they clean out the party of all revolutionary elements and turn it into a Scheideman party.

The N E C also asks us to "wait for more information."

But did they wait for information when they expelled the Socialist Party of Michigan, 5,000 members strong, without a trial or even informing the Michigan comrades that they were under charges?

They refused to wait for information when they voted down my motion to give the translators time to communicate with their Federation Executive Committees, and suspended over 30,000 GOOD standing party members without trial and just by a simple resoluion made by seven men in an attic in Chicago.

We need no 'information" to know that no little executive committee has the power to throw forty thousand members out of our party without trial and get away with it.

We need no "information" to know that it is the duty of our party officias to count our membership referendum and announce the results.

We need no "information" to know that no committee has the right to hold up a party referendum upon which they were defeated for reelection, and because of that fact.

If there is anything wrong with any referendum the remedy is not to suppress it and keep the result of the vote secret, but to turn on the light, publish the results and then if necessary, let it be challenged and investigated by disinterested comrades.

We want the party convention to decide the question at issue. However, the old N E C is not minded that way. They will continue to expel and suspend BEFORE the convention takes place. Most of us will have been expelled before convention time. How can we, in such case, decide anything at the convention.

Just to prove that the despotic seven and the national secretary can MAKE US WAIT until the convention, they are now considering holding up the call for a national membership referendum initiated by Local Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) which has already been seconded by more than 10,000 members represented at local and branch meetings.

And just to prove that they do not intend "to wait until the convention," the despotic national executive committee, having just expelled the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, now has called the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania upon the carpet. It may next be expelled. Undoubtedly the Socialist Party of Ohio is slated for the same treatment. There won't be anything of the party left if this wrecking continues. Are these acts then in fact an attempt to disrupt the Socialist Party to favor a reform party, the Labor Party or to satisfy the wiles of seven despots on the N E C who failed to re-election in the referendum? Are they revenging themselves?

Comrades—in every one of their actions the N E C have insulted the membership. They have usurped powers that are not theirs. They have trampled roughshod over all constitutional limitations. They have violated the will of the membership. They may now attempt to camouflage their motives with honeyed words and fine phrases, but their acts are what count against them and the very circumstances under which they acted condemns them.

They have sown the wind. Now let them reap the whirlwind. Let every comrade make it his business to prove that such incredible trickery on the part of party officials will be resented and rebuked. Let the party membership FUNCTION NOW.

NATIONAL OFFICE DEFIES WILL OF TEN THOUSAND

(Continued from First Page.)

does not dare to print the ballots and have a vote. The party autocrats, if they are to retain their firm autocratic hold upon the party, dare not allow the membership to express itself. This is why this referendum is being interfered with, and this is the only reason.

The call for the referendum upon the disruptive acts of the national executive committee has been endorsed by locals and branches in all parts of the United States. Finnish, German, Jewish, and Scandinavian Language Federation branches have, in great numbers, seconded the motion. The largest English-speaking branch in Milwaukee endorsed the motion. Endorsements have been so universal that it is a foregone conclusion that the party membership has fully made up its mind to repudiate the reactionary officialdom of the party.

Not counting the hundreds of endorsements which were made by those locals and branches suspended and expelled from the party, the following locals and branches demand that the referendum to rescind the acts of the national executive committee go to a referendum of the membership of the Socialist party.

Albany, N. Y., Jewish branch, 50 members; Mulbery, Kans., 18 members; uperior, Wis., 48; Two Harbors, Minn., Finnish, 26; Malden, Mass., 32; Baltimore, Md., branch 3, 40; Piqua, Ohio; Warren, Ohio, Finnish, 86; Pine Bluff, Ark., 8; Lelleville, Ill., German, 105; Adams, Mass., 11; Lanesville, Mass., Finnish, 78; Marlboro, Mass., 8; Malden, Mass., Jewish; Duluth, Minn., candinavian, 10; Kansas City, Mo., 130; Mansfield, Ohio, German 46; Passaic County, N. J., branch 2, 16; Louisville, Ky., 104; Warren County, Pa.; Niles, Ohio, 56; Akron, Ohio, 118; San Francisco, Cal., 561; Cambridge, Ohio; Kenosha, Wis., 41; Kings County, N. Y., Jewish, 65; Philadelphia, Pa., 2500; Berkeley, Cal., Finnish, 122; Boyds, Wash., 16; Two Harbors, Minn., Scandinavian, 100; Hibbing, Minn., Finnish, 76; Joliet, Ill., 12; W. Concord, N. H., Scandinavian, 44; Judsonia, Ark., 12; Trenton, N. J., branch 4, 100; Irondale, Ohio, 13; Dunbo, Pa., 42; Virginia, Minn., 20; Astoria, Ore., Scandinavian, 28; Lowell, Mass., Scandinavian, 20; Fort Worth, Texas, 12; Minneapolis, Minn., Finnish, 124; Tacoma, Wash., 75; Oatman, Ariz., 30; Boston, Mass., Jewish, 52; Englewood, Chicago, 57; Dayton, Ohio, 250; Superior, Wis., Scandinavian, 95; Rock Island, Ill., 192; Mullan, Ida., Finnish, 20; Continental, Ohio, 6; Seneca County, Ohio, 44; Canton, Ohio; E. Liverpool, Ohio; Zanesville, Ohio, 30; Bellaire, Ohio; Muncie, Ind., 28; Girard, Ohio, 10; Salem, Ohio, 20; Hartford., Conn., Jewish, 60; Huntington, N. Y., 28; Hamilton, Ohio, German, 25; Defiance, Ohio, 150; Buffalo, N. Y., Finnish, 95; Butler, Pa., 11; Minersville, Pa., 47; Warren, Ohio, 35; Minneapolis, Minn., 10th ward, 50; St. Paul, Minn., German, 150; Easton, Pa., 135; Milwaukee, Wis., Jewish, 100; Renova, Pa., 7; Boston, Mass., Jewish, 40; Altoona, Pa., 5; Minden, W. Va., 20; South Bend, Ind., Central branch, 47; Manty Glo, Pa., 18; Anderson, Ind., 93; Horace, Kans., 4; St. Louis, Mo., Jewish, 40; Manchester, Conn., 16; Nyack, N. Y., 12; Kenmore, Ohio, 63; Pana, Ill., 48; Elwood, Ind., 125; Cincinnati, Ohio, 444; Anapolis, Md., 10; New Bremen, Ohio, 32; Portsmouth, Ohio, 40; Haverhill, Mass., 23; Milwaukee, Wis., 25th ward, English branch, 200; St. Paul, Minn., 46; Charleston, W. Va., 28; Puyallup, Wash., 15; Bellaire, Ohio, German, 24; De Kalb, Ill., 16; Chicago, Ill., Scandinavian, 125; Eveleth, Minn., Finnish, 72; Twin Lake, Minn., Finnish, 18; Tampa, Fla., 41; Sioux City, Ia., Scandinavian, 10; Local Cuyahoga County, 1821.

ILLITERACY IN AMERICA.

"Of the 600,000 teachers in America 100,000 are less than 20 years old; 150,000 have served two years or less; 30,000 have had no education beyond the eighth grade; 200,000 have less than a high school education." Such is the statement of the official N. E. A. bulletin for this year. Since there are more than 22,000,000 school children in the United States, one-third of these (more than 7,000,000) are being taught by teachers without even the addition of the high school course to their three "Rs". And these children are the children of the workers in the grade schools.

The bulletin goes on to say that we have in this country among native-born whites illiterates numbering 1,534,000; among the colored, 2,227,000, and among the foreign-born, 1,650,000. The comparison between the native and the foreign born is even more striking when one reflects that the colored illiterates are also native-born.

These Letters Make Us Smile

Occasionally we receive letters like the following. They make us smile. And we pass them on to our readers for we believe thy, too, will smile at them—and smiles are badly needed in this old world—so read and smile. We print them just as written:

To All Socialists: Please don't send your papers to my home any more, I am tired of having the mail man bringing such truck to my house I am no Socialist, I don't believe in Socialism, I am strictly Catholic; did you get me, no Socialist whatever, don't send no more truck around.—Mrs. E. Crawford, Norwood, O.

FROM A "100% AMERICAN."

Sirs: You are still sending me your paper, yet I have refused it and it is still coming, an now sirs I do not want you to send it no more, I do not take no stock on your wind we do not want no Bolshevic in America; no man need not try and preach socialist in me. I am 100% American, I am going to stand by are government till the last man is beat off the face of the earth that trying to tare our government to pieces. I have no money for such a cause.—P. T. Rausch, Wadsworth, Ohio.

HORRORS! TERRIBLE TERRORS

(Continued from First Page.)

Since writing the above I find that I have made a mistake. The rapist terrorism contained in the above paragraph (and which is to the undying degradation of the Soviets) is mild in comparison to the bloodletting that really is the case. Here is my later information:

"Education is compulsory until the age of twenty-one is reached. No child is exempt from school attendance for any reason whatsoever until the age of sixteen is reached, and between sixteen and twenty-one only extreme conditions justify absence from school."

For stark corruption try to equal that. Take that line: "No child is exempt from school attendance for any reason whatsoever"—it is quite apparent that the children are not so free to leave school at an early date to help "the old man" in supporting the family. They have no liberty, no freedom, it can easily be seen, under Soviet rule. Little do the ignorant Russian people realize what they are missing by not having a supreme court to declare child labor constitutional. Anyone knows that without a supreme court people can not govern themselves. No government "of the people and by the people" is possible without a group of supreme judges.

The fact that the women are allowed to vote in Russia proves that the Soviets are recognizing the gentle sex; and this is disturbing all the profound laws of nature. It was not so many years ago that a certain church at a holy convention decided to vote on whether the female of the species had a soul and by a majority of five votes it was decided. "Yes, the woman has a soul." But this didn't happen in Russia even under the szar. We will tell you where it did happen. It happened in Italy.

But in Russia. O my Lord. Listen to what they have there with which to besmirch the fair flower of womanhood. Here it is.

"The Soviets provide for the free care of women for sixteen weeks before, during and after confinement. Palaces of motherhood have been established for this purpose, which are really modern maternity hospitals. Under no condition does the mother return to work until she is strong and well, and her full salary is paid by the state throughout this period. The law applies to all women, whether married or single, for the Soviet government does not believe that the sins of the father should be visited upon the children."

"That the sins of the father should not be visited upon the children"—I don't believe the Soviets are right there. I find upon careful study of some of the free governments of the world that the easiest way to have orphan asylums, insane asylums, houses of good shepnerds and a host of other things is to let capitalism and disease take its course.

You can see easily enough that in Russia when a woman begets a child she is given no freedom. In other countries she has freedom. She can choose what porch she desires on which to discard her newly-born and is then free to go back to washing floors in office buildings and scrubbing out the spittoons of successful men.

But on top of all this maddening injustice and red terrorism, what do you think that the Russian people have the brazen nerve to ask of the other peoples of the earth? Here it is: "Leave us alone; let us work out our own destiny."

Think of it! Here we have a people actually wishing to work out their own destiny without being interfered with by other nations or kingdoms. Ridiculous! Scandalous! Preposterous!

We will admit if need be that in the war against the curse of kaiserism Russia was bled white. We will admit that. We will admit further, if you so desire, that in the war against the kaiser 3,500,000 Russians were killed, that 4,000,000 were wounded, that there were 350,000 war orphans and that on account of the war the result was 200,000 deaf, dumb and blind. We will admit that; we will admit that the Russians lost more men than Belgium, France, Italy and America all combined, but after that war sacrifice is that any reason why Russia should be allowed to choose what government it desires; is that any reason why they, themselves, should be allowed to whole-heartedly determine the course they are going to take!

Certainly not! Freedom and democracy are not established in vain. You might just as well try to change the Status of Liberty in its course as to try to self-determine without outside co-operative self-determination.

[illegible] NEWLY ELECTED N. E. C.

The state convention of the Socialist party of California which met recently in San Francisco adopted a motion "demanding that the newly elected national executive committee be seated and that the question of their standing be left to the coming national emergency convention, to meet in Chicago, August 30." This means that the Socialist party of California deems it wise that the present despotic national executive committee retire and give way to the new officials, which are Left Wing socialists.

A motion was also passed to recommend that all locals in California endorse the motion made by Local Cuyahoga County to rescind the acts of the national executive committee in suspending and expelling half of the party membership.

THE CALIFORNIA CONVENTION

By Alanson Sessions

The California State Convention of the Socialist party, held on May 30, 31, and June 1 at San Francisco, resulted in a more or less definite decision to affiliate with the Left Wing movement of the American Socialist party. The greater part of Sunday, June 1, was spent in a discussion of the practicability of the Left Wing program. It is unfortunate that a clear-cut decision was not taken before the adjournment of the convention. While Left Wing sentiment seemed to be dominant, a vote on the subject was either adroitly avoided by the machinations of the Right or overlooked by the Left.

The first two days of the convention were occupied in the discussion of methods of organization and propaganda, and of the nature and future of the Socialist press. But from the outset it was clear to all that such discussion was futile until the momentous question of basic party policy was determined. The subject of organization and propaganda must be confused and incoherent if the party does not know precisely where it stands with relation to the Left Wing. It was to be expected, therefore, that the first two days of the convention would be wasted in tiresome verbosity.

The third day proved that the majority of the membership is Left Wing by sentiment, if not by intellectual conviction. Most of the delegates felt that there is a dire need for a radical alteration in tactics, but few of them had done any serious and consecutive thinking on the subject. Taylor, state secretary, and Dolsen, one of the most prominent of the party organizers, are both Left Wing. Others like Lillian B. Symes and Cameron King, recognized as big figures in the California movement, were emphatically Right Wing in their attitude. King especially bitterly attacked the Left Wing program and denounced "frenzied Fraina" as a phrase-monger and a vulgar disrupter.

King based his argument principally on the fact that a revolution in the United States is not likely for many years to come. This being the case, he contended, it was idle to agitate for a dictatorship of the proletariat and an application of Russian tactics to American conditions. The leader of the Left Wing, Comrade Coleman, in answer to King, argued that the possibility of an immediate overturn in this country was something quite beside the point—that the Left Wing wished only to make the party strictly revolutionary in its aims and tactics and to prepare thoroughly for the revolution when it comes.

There is little doubt that the referendum vote on the Left Wing and Right Wing issue will result in favor of the former. The leaders of the Left, however, recognize the fact that many of their supporters are not well grounded, and they are carrying on a strenuous campaign of education among their ranks.

It is interesting to note although the Left Wingers have been denounced by the Right Wingers as hysterical, etc., at the California convention the exponents of the Left Wing were far more scholarly and unhysterical than their opponents. Cameron King, for instance, did not hesitate to resort to epithets and personal denunciation in his speeches, while Coleman's talk was a dispassionate, impersonal analysis of the situation.

This convention is a preliminary convention to a larger and more representative one which will be called in the near future.

DAN HOGAN AND DEMOCRACY

Sometimes when I have a few moments to spare, I rummage through my old correspondence and laugh heartily over all the foolish things I have said. But funnier still is to pick up one of the many letters I received from American social-patriots at the time we entered the war. All of them, in the light of recent happenings, are crammed with inconsistencies and saturated with bad socialism.

Consider, for instance, the following from Dan Hogan. He is defending his pro-war attitude in reply to a criticism I sent him:

"The goal of the socialist movement is industrial democracy. To achieve this there must first be established political democracy, and this political democracy must be international. The collapse of the Russian socialist government proves this and has shown our comrades there that there can be no security for them unless they join the Allies to destroy utterly German military autocracy."

In view of the fact that the Soviet government has not collapsed; that the principal enemy of Russian democracy has continually been, not Germany, but the Allies, Comrade Hogan's talk is exceedingly humorous.

"When the people of a nation, and finally when the people of ALL nations enjoy the right to determine their manner and mode of government, they will [illegible] tion of that system [illegible]

[illegible] We will overlook the fact that after this murderous war to rescue the fair damsel of democracy from the ravishing hands of the kaiser, we still have dozens of small nations denied the most elementary privilege of a democratic commonwealth—the right to be heard in the councils of government. We will also not stop to discuss the fact that four nations have arrogated to themselves the right of dictating the kind of a world all the remainder shall live in. The essential point which Comrade Hogan missed is this: that political democracy is a sham affair in this stage of the world's history. We have had it in America since the birth of the nation, and industrial autocracy constantly tightens its grip on the lives of the people. And political agitation, by itself, is insuficient because the press is under the rigid control of the moneyed interests and the masses cannot be educated for the overthrow of industrial autocracy under our impotent form of bourgeois democracy. This fact was proved very graphically by the experience of Russia.

"The Allies are too completely committed to the principles of democracy to back down. After the war is over, if we all do our duty, there will not be left a vestige of autocracy on the earth."

Well, the war is over, and what is the result? The result is that autocracy, in the form of international imperialism, has simply retrenched itself, uselessly slaughtering ten million young men in the process. In our own United States, we do not have as much democracy as we had before we entered the war.

Socialists who were well grounded, who had studied the imperialistic phases of modern capitalism, who refused to be moved by surface motion and current jingoism, knew what the result inevitably would be. They refused to be stampeded into the slaughter. They preferred the penitentiary to the course of either overtly or covertly supporting an imperialistic war. Comrade Hogan and others were chloroformed by the seductive phraseology and ideology of the capitalist class and persuaded to encourage a purely anti-working class butchery.

The world war has left no legacy of good to the world. True, it has brought about conditions that are making for world revolution. But these conditions make necessary a bitter and bloody revolution which could very largely have been averted if the world war had not occurred. The gains of the war are purely incidental, and would have come more satisfactorily, although more slowly, had the fratricide not taken place.

There is a great need of all socialists clearing their minds of cant and muddy thinking. Imperialism—called by Lenine the final stage of capitalism—has entered a period characterized by terrible international wars. These wars represent the struggle of capitalist privilege to retain its hold on the world. It is in reality a death struggle. It is to be expected that groups of imperialists will shove their respective countries into war by clothing their sinister purposes with ideological garb. But in none of these wars can the workers participate without contributing to the aggrandizement of bucanneering imperialism.

We must have an educated party of socialists whose revolutionary purposes will not be swayed by bourgeois sentimentality. The Socialist party must continue its magnificent stand on war and militarism; but it must do more—it must see that its membership is thoroughly acquainted with the nature and tendencies of capitalism, so that they will be ready for all crises and emergencies.

Dan Hogan happened to have a soul a trifle too sensitive to the purling slogans of imperialism.

ALANSON SESSIONS.
236 Commercial St., San Francisco.

NEXT WEEK

Next week we shall publish an article by Jos. Stilson, translator secretary of the Lithuanian Socialist Federation, and one of the best posted Socialists upon party affairs. The article will be entitled "The Split in the Socialist Party of America," and will give a history of party mismanagement since 1916, which led up to the present controversy.

To those who have not followed the present controversy as they should, this article will be a revelation and an education. It is written for party members, members who are and should take full part in party management. Your usefulness to the party will be increased manyfold after you have read Stilson's history of the split in the Socialist Party.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DEFIES AUTOCRATIC SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIALDOM

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania met in session recently and passed the following resolutions. At this time we want to say that the only news which seems to find its way into the national office press service is that which can be interpreted as favorable to the despotic seven of the national executive committee. A resolution like that below, is not given publicity by the national office.

WHEREAS—The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania is in receipt of an official communication from Adolph Germer, Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, informing said committee of the suspension by the National Executive Committee of the Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, So. Slavic, Hungarian, Lettish and Polish language federations, and

WHEREAS—Article 12, Section 5, sub-divisions (a) and (b) provide respectively, that Branches of language federations shall be integral parts of the county and state organizations and that the power to suspend or expel members from the party shall be vested exclusively in the county and state organizations, be it

RESOLVED—By the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, that we recognize as integral parts of the state and county organizations all [illegible] the state and county organizations, and that they hereby are entitled to purchase dues stamps and enjoy all the rights and privileges accorded branches under the state constitution.

This means that the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania frankly refuses to obey the arbitrary rules of the national office which demanded that state secretaries refuse to sell dues stamps to branches suspended by the national executive committee. The resolution does not recognize the right of the national executive committee to suspend or expel any subdivision of the party not chartered by the national executive committee. Language branches in states are chartered by either the state or local organizations and only those have power to suspend or revoke such charters. We are anxious to learn what the despotic national executive committee will do now that the Socialists of Pennsylvania have defied it. Will Pennsylvania also be expelled?

[illegible]

Political or purely parliamentary action can never destroy the capitalist system. This will have to be accomplished by the workers on the job, in field, mine, factory, and distribution, by mass action of industrial unionism. I will give two instances of efforts of people to gain industrial freedom, as illustrations:

In Mexico there was a revolution to recover the land, return it to its rightful owners—those who even then were farming it. For a time there were two leaders in the north, Francisco Villa and Carranza. In the south there was another leader, Zapata. All claimed to be working for the same end—the return of the land to the farmer.

After a time there arose a difference between the two leaders of the north, not a fundamental difference of principal, but a difference as to methods of proceedure, of tactics. The difference was as to how and when the land was to be returned. Carranza wished to wait until the revolution (political) was won; until the old political regime was destroyed. He would then call an election, political, in which all the supporters of the old order could vote and hold office, after which a congress duly elected would be convened to decide how and when the land would be returned to the people (if at all). Pancho Villa wished to confiscate and divide the great landed estates as the revolution progressed from time to time and place to place. Villa said, "We know what we want, why not get it while we have the means at hand?" In this case the military forces were composed of workers who wanted land. Why wait for political decrees that may never issue, says Villa. "At best it will take a year or two after the success of the revolution to convene a congress. This congress may or may not be committed to land division. The best we can expect of this congress is to debate the issue for two or three years more (as is the custom of congresses) and in the meantime the people are without land and consequently without bread." Then, too, says Villa, "The division of the land is the strongest arm of the revolution. The greatest assurance of its success. It weakens the forces of the enemy and gives prestige to the revolution." Says Villa: If we must have political sanction of our acts, let the congress convened after the revolution sanction what has been done; place their "rubber stamp" of approval upon it after the manner of capitalistic congresses.

Carranza won. Result: After four years of control by Carranza and three years of the new congress, but few of the great landed estates have been touched. The people are still "landless and breadless."

Congress has instituted investigations to determine whether these estates were acquired legally, and if so found, they cannot be touched. Of course, they were not stolen, according to "capitalistic law." Further, due respect must be had for holdings of foreigners, however acquired. Half of the large estates are so held and cannot be touched.

In the south, Zapata went after the robbers—feudal lords—with the means at hand (armed forces). The people there knew nothing of congresses or parliamentary (parlor) action. They had no political rights. They were serfs. They knew only force. It was their only weapon. They used it. They, too, knew what they wanted—the land. They banished the "feudal lord," foreigner and all, as they were; took possession of the land, tilled it and kept the proceeds. Today there is not a landlord in the whole ninety thousand square miles of Zapataland, but thousands of "lords of the land"—happy, contented farmers.

Democracy, too, is practiced in this land of Zapata, though it is said ninety per cent of the people can neither read nor write. How practice democracy, then? By the very simple formula of assembling, discussing the questions to be decided, and then ecunting noses. No stuffing of ballot-boxes there.

Neither Zapata nor Villa could, at that time, read or write. Carranza is highly educated in the general sense of that term, and might be classed as a "capitalistic idealist." Who of these was the most practical from the workers'—landless farmers'—point of view?

The strongest weapon of the workers in capitalistic civilization, for transforming it into an industrial commonwealth, or democracy, is their industrial power exercised through revolutionary industrial unions by means of shop and central committees elected by the workers to expedite business, assume control, and dispose of the product. This, in connection with a similar political party of the workers to capture and render ineffective the capitalistic political state, the sole weapon of capitalism which would prevent the functioning of the workers' committees, could complete the transformation with little or no disorder.

T. E. PENDERGRASS,
State Organizer, S. P. of N. M.
County Jail, Deming, N. M.,
March 10, 1919.

SOVIET REGIME TO RULE

(Continued from first page.)

to be on friendly terms with the raidacls and that the Prince of Wales was patronizing the poor.

"The king is playing with the radicals," White continued, "and his associates now are people who could not possibly have been seen within the royal circle before the war. The radical labor groups with which he is playing present a situation just as though President Wilson had taken up with Eugene Victor Debs and his associates.

As an indication of the present situation in England, he said the Baltic, which was to have sailed on June 5, was held up 21 days because of four successive strikes, all of which were won by the men.

"These men," said White, "who fought in the trenches and were told they were fighting for democracy, now intend to see that they get democracy, and they will get it."

It was his opinion that when the bloodless revolution triumphs, the king will continue to keep his place, but will be deprived of any power he may have. He would continue to "reign" as a figurehead, White asserted.

WARNING

The locals of the Socialist Party have been circularized recently in behalf of "The Socialist," a New York paper and the organ of the reactionary Socialists of that city.

We desire to inform the party membership that this paper is published mainly to bolster up the tyrannical acts of the "stand pat" party officialdom, an officialdom which HAS NOT EVEN YET de- [illegible]

BISHOP BROWN ANSWERS EDITOR'S CHARGE

(Continued from First Page.)

though they produce everything have scraps for food, shoddy for clothing and shacks for shelter, and with those below who, though they do not produce anything have the choice of everything, the best foods, the finest clothes, the luxurious houses. I am indeed a bolshevist, yet not an anarchist.

"The representation that I or Socialists generally would operate against those below with torch, bomb and dagger is slanderously wrong. We would not even make an effort to keep those whom such a revolution should put below from crawling up to work and eat, but they would be prevented from going again into their old business of robbing and enslaving.

"The Russian revolutionists are as fully justified as the American revolutionists were; and, to a great extent, their justification might have ben our declaration of independence; but they formulated their own, which is superior to ours, because it provides that henceforth Russians shall be a classless people, as Americans are not.

CIVILIZATION DEPENDS UPON SUCCESS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

"If the new Russian government, the first real republic, lives, it means the living of the second, the Hungarian one, also the birth and life of others, and finally a league of industrial nations which will mean the death of the league of capitalistic nations.

"Upon this living and dying depends the progress of civilization, because the unconscious yet supremely important mission of the capitalistic system of production has been accomplished, that of making it possible to provide the necessities for the world without human slavery.

MACHINE, NOT MAN, FUTURE SLAVE.

"Civilization never has and never can exist on any basis except that of slavery; but capitalism has brought it to a point when it is no longer necessary that the slave should be a man, for it may now be a machine and the pending revolution will transfer the burden of slavery from men to machines.

"Under the Socialist regime there would indeed be much work connected with the making and operating of the machines of production and distribution of the necessities of life, also the work of caring for and educating children, with much besides, but every competent person would take his part; and, while on the one hand incompetency would be decreased greatly, on the other efficiency would be increased as greatly, so at most three or four hours of comparatively light employment would suffice, leaving all the balance of the day for recreation, study, conversation and rest.

"Under Socialism there would be governments, but of a geographical rather than national character, and they would be concerned with the promotion of industries rather than the control of people, their object being primarily the production of the necessities of physical life in abundance and secondarily as many luxuries as possible for all with the least expenditure of energy and time, in order that disposition, strength and opportunity might remain for the cultivation of the mind and soul.

"Under Socialism there would be religion, but of a natural rather than supernatural character, and its chief concern would be the promotion of the morality which consists in the desire and effort to learn the laws of nature, for the purpose of [illegible] the terrestrial life of men, women and children as long and happy as possible. Indeed this would be the object of all education, whether through schools, books or periodicals. The church would be [illegible] a post graduate course and the office of the preacher a supplement to that of the teacher, author and [illegible] but not essentially different.

"Socialism is the Christ of the world who is saying to it: 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. [illegible]

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MR. WILSON RETURNS.

From the mummery and solemn farce of the peace conference President Wilson has returned to assure us of the unquestioned righteousness of the policies formulated in the peace treaty and the League of Nations and various other matters connected therewith, not the least among them being a reassurance of the holy aim of this nation in entering the war and the full and complete accomplishment of them.

Mr. Wilson has a strange mind. Standing as he does, after these months of diplomatic maneuvering with an empty bag (League of Nations) which he so tightly grasps claiming that all the purposes of the nation have been accomplished he presents a picture worthy of the cartoonist.

The president has formed the habit of "interpreting the American people" to the rest of the world upon all and sundry occasions. Generally his interpretations are laughable. In his speech to the senate upon his return he attempts the same upon the peoples of Europe when he states that they demanded the league and would brook no denial. No evidence that the league is a matter of consuming interest among the peoples of Europe is apparent.

We are "offered the moral leadership of the world," he states. Supply the word "financial" instead of moral, and we come nearer the truth. Mr. Wilson is great on moral leadership.

Mr. Wilson's league of nations presents the spectacle of the great capitalist powers of the world arranging among themselves a means whereby to retain their supremacy in a world wherein capitalism is no longer a necessity, in fact a menace. Recognizing the iniquity of war, it yet dare not reveal the real cause of modern wars, commercial competition between capitalistic nations.

Mr. Wilson presents nothing new in regard to the situation in Europe. In fact, the great forward movements of the peoples toward economic and political emancipation from the rulers of earth have left no mark upon him that he has seen fit to reveal. Nevertheless, these movements are of far more importance and of greater moment to the world of workers than the league of nations can possibly be. The rise of the peoples has begun, they will continue to rise completely submerging the league of nations into complete oblivion.

NEW LABOR PARTY (STILL) BORN.

Proponents of the new Labor Party meeting in Cleveland last week have adopted a platform that would have aroused interest a hundred years ago as a radical document. If those who sponsored the new political venture had planned to kill the calf a-borning, they could not have done so more effectively than they have. It was just such a convention as one would expect from the material from which it was made up. Renegade Socialists, reactionary labor fakirs and others more or less since met together in a visionless, impractical and reformistic body and formulated a platform and adopted resolutions, charcterized by mediocrity, reaction, reform and inanity.

They may be complimented upon one clause in their platform however, which calls for a restoration of the rights of free speech, free press and assemblage. Also for the "liberation of all persons held or indicted under charges due to their championship of the rights of labor or their patriotic insistence upon the rights guaranteed them by the constitution." Presumably the word "patriotic" was filled in for the purpose of getting it by the convention.

A resolution against prohibition is an indication of the backward gaze of this convention and is in striking contrast to the declarations of Seattle labor, where prohibition has been in force for two years, and where the state prohibition measure is credited with adding both reason and dignity to labor and labor's cause.

A platform declaration favoring a 6 per cent profit to industries, all above that being diverted into wages to employes, was amended to read a "fair and reasonable profit," whatever that means. So it appears that this pseudo "labor" party has safely guarded the bosses interests and the principle of the exploitation of labor by the parasites who have sucked labor's blood down through the ages.

By and large it's a great labor party.

The Seven Suspended Federations Speak Again

To the Members of the Socialist Party:

The undersigned, the translator secretaries of the seven suspended federations, issued a statement, dated June 2, setting forth the facts of an effort by the national executive commitee to disrupt the party rather than accept the mandate of the membership for a new party policy.

A referendum has been initiated to set aside these ruthless acts of party destruction; namely, (1) the expulsion from the party of the state of Michigan, (2) the suspension of the seven federations, and (3) the refusal to tabulate the referendum votes, thereby keeping the newly elected officials ou tof control. Seconds are asked for this referendum.

At this time the national office is circularizing all the locals, urging them not to support this referendum. The N. E. C. saw fit to criticize the federations because recommendation was made by some of their executive bodies of candidates in the party elections who were known to be in favor of uniting the party with the Communist International. This was simply open support of a policy of revolutionary socialism, and an attempt to supply information and guidance in regard to a list of candidates unknown to a non-English-speaking membership. Now the N. E. C. itself assumes to advise the members how to vote on a crucial matter and it does this entirely on the basis of private information not yet subjected to any investigation.

Of course, that these federations are committed to the left wing position in the party, is freely and gladly admitted. But there have been certain assertions and insinuations with regard to the party elections and the federation voting which came before the N. E. C. in form of a speech by a man by the name of Gerber, from New York, and that is the whole case so far as the N. E. C. is informed.

As a matter of fact, the only "irregularity" about the party elections [illegible] that the reactionary officials of [illegible] were defeated by tremendous majorities. Of the suspended [illegible], two had taken no official [illegible] in relation to the election. The [illegible] new regular executive bodies—though the charge is brought against the translator-secretaries—recommended the election of candidates committed to the left wing program. Information was given as to the individuals on the ballots, the names being unknown to many of our non-English-speaking comrades. As to the ballots, some of the federation branches received none and many of the federation branches could not obtain nearly enough for their membership, so that recourse was had, in some instances, to voting on slips of paper. Otherwise there was, no doubt some secretarial assistance given to members who could not read or write English, and it seems that something criminal is to be made out of this. But the fact is that the only real difference between the federation votes and those of other branches was that there was a better agreement among the federation members in support of the left wing candidates. That is the sum total of the criminality in the elections.

Since our previous statement, we learned of the first steps in a deliberate effort on the part of the party officialdom to destroy our federations. Firing the federation secretaries out of the party headquarters shows the true character of the "suspensions." Now we learn of various attempts to "re-organize" branches within the federations—attempts to use the ousted "social patriots" as scabs in order to make an appearance of opposition within the federations to our stand for revolutionary socialism.

Traitor elements are being welcomed back into the party. It need not surprise the party membership if the Polish and Czecho-Slovak nationalistic groups, which left the party on account of the St. Louis platform, now come back as the faithful supporters of the reactionary officialdom. Diplomatic "conversations" have begun, and such an alliance would be in perfect accord with the fundamental attitude of the N. E. C. Of the seven who voted to suspend the federations, four were themselves among the "social patriots," and the three Centrists who joined with them have shown their inability to respond to the revolutionary spirit of the over-

(Continued on fourth page.)

"KICKED OUT"

The Socialist Party of Massachusetts has just been "kicked out" of the national organization by the despotic national executive committee. The reason given is, because the Left Wing program was endorsed at its recent state convention. The party autocrats argue that endorsing the Left Wing program is a violation of the national constitution in that it means the adoption of a platform not in conformity with the national platform of the party.

We want to give this assertion the "lie" and finally bury it so effectively so that not another party member can be fooled by it. The Left Wing program is, in the first place, NOT A PARTY PLATFORM. It is NOT AT ALL INTENDED for propaganda purposes among the rank and file of the Socialist Party and is simply a program in which is stated in clear and definite terms the kind of tactics and principles the Socialist Party must adopt if it is to be a true Socialist organization and not a Scheidemann party, a traitor party.

Asserting that the Left Wing program and its endorsement is a violation of the Socialist Party platform IS A LIE. The Left Wing program endeavors only to show the party membership the way to that kind of Socialist action which will mean victory for the workers as in Russia and not defeat for the workers as in Germany.

The real intention, the real purpose of the despotic national executive committe in expelling and suspending these tens of thousands of members is to CONTROL THE COMING NATIONAL CONVENTION. It will work this way. Representation to the national convention is based upon last year's membership in each state. Michigan, one of the expelled states, will have six delegates at the convention. Now that Michigan is expelled, these six delegates will be elected, not by the thousands of members who paid dues last year and should be represented, but probably by about 150 members which the national office will recognize at the state organization in Michigan.

Massachusetts is entitled to 14 delegates. These delegates will now be elected, not by the Massachusetts membership which paid dues last year, but by a few branches representing very few members which agree to the action of the despotic national executive committee. In other words, every time a state is expelled the despotic national executive committee captures its national convention delegates because it reorganizes that state from those Socialists who stand for the acts of the party autocrats.

New York state has been captured in this way. However in this state a reactionary state and city executive committee expelled all Left Wing locals and the despotic national executive committee was spared the job of expelling the state organization. New York has 38 delegates to elect for the national convention. The party members will readily see just what the nefarious plans of the despots are, in the light of this information.

Before the national convention meets Ohio and Washington states will probably also be expelled. Washington endorsed the Left Wing program by a referendum vote. Ohio endorsed the Left Wing program at its recent state convention. The result of it all will be that the despotic national executive committee and its dupes will sit in judgment upon its own acts at the national convention, will O. K. these acts and manipulate the convention so as to make it impossible for the rank and file to voice its sentiments.

It has already planned to deny the rank and file to voice its disapproval of the acts of the national executive committee in throwing out nearly half of the party by holding up the call for a national referendum upon these acts, which call has been seconded by locals and branches representing more than 10,000 members, enough members to carry the referendum. Never in the experience of Socialists in the party since its organization have such shameful and despicable acts been perpetrated upon the rank and file of the party as these of the despotic national executive committee. Shall the Socialist Party be wrecked by these autocrats? It is for you to answer.

PENNSYLVANIA ON THE CARPET

Is Pennsylvania to be the next state organization to be expelled by the autocratic national executive committee? From communications at hand the decks are being cleared for just such action.

The state executive committee of Pennsylvania refused to dance to the music of the party despots, denying that the national executive committee has the right to suspend language federation branches from the party. Also, the Pennsylvania state executive committee seems to have decided in favor of the great majority of Left Wing Socialists in a controversy in Philadelphia, rather than in favor of a few "right wingers" who were trying to circumvent the will of the majority of the Philadelphia membership. In deciding in favor of the Left Wing Socialists in Philadelphia the Pennsylvania state executive committee committed "rank treason" in the eyes of the despots of the party, and now Pennsylvania is on the carpet. It is to be "investigated" and undoubtedly will then be "kicked out." Pennsylvania will elect 17 delegates to the national convention. Undoubtedly the party despots have decided that this delegation must also be captured for their use.

Otto Branstetter was sent into Michigan to reorganize that state for the party despots. He returned to the national office with a very long face. A local of seven members was the only result of his trip, the English locals and branches being a unit in their opposition to the tyrannical acts of the national executive committee.

ATTENTION TO THIS—CAUTION.

The national secretary, knowing that he is carrying on a losing fight and realizing that he lacks argument, is beginning to indulge in personalities. He has several times up to now called Alfred Wagenknecht, employed in the national office, until he was dicharged for being Left Wing, a thief. He has called L. E. Katterfeld almost everything he could lay his tongue to. We caution you not to allow an attack upon comrades, mainly personal in nature, to mislead you. Always keep in mind the principles involved in this party controversy.

A. WAGENKNECHT.

GERMER'S BUM "BOMB"

(By John McSlarrow.)

Under the head "Socialist or Factionalist" Adolph Germer comes to the defense of the national executive committee with a cleverly assembled mass of half truths and sophistical arguments which, so he says, "will be like throwing a bomb shell into the Left Wing camp."

In his opening statement he says he joined the Socialist Party "as a Socialist and not a factionalist, . . . to work for Socialism and not for this or that group or faction." He claims nineteen years membership. His stated reason reason for joining the party is not distinctive; it is the universal reason claimed by all. That the thought of factionalism is "abhorrent" to him indicates that his nineteen years in the Socialist Party has failed to teach him the fundamental law of democratic life. Factionalism is a natural development of the fact that no two persons see all things exactly alike. Each of us creates a mental picture of a better society and labels it Socialism; each of us gets the idea that "I am the only one who really knows what is needful and how to get it." The natural result of this diversity of opinion is factionalism. It is the law of life. That Germer is not immune to the working of this law is amply evidenced when he protests the holding of a party convention with the claim that "the membership do not possess the judicial balance to properly weigh world problems at this time."

It is agreed that to abate the class struggle we must eliminate classes; and the first step in this direction IS TO MAKE ONE CLASS SUPREME. The same is true of factionalism. Whatever we may CONSCIOUSLY believe and preach, the sub-conscious desire of each person is a society wherein all units are automatons and the ONE—whoever that ONE is—is the sole director of all action. Germer is no exception, as his every act proves.

It is Germer's evident purpose to frighten the timid away from the Left Wing movement by picturing it as dominated by anarchists and bomb throwers trying to precipitate another "Haymarket." In his extremity he drags in Harry Orchard—and M. E. White. He calls the memory of old time party members to witness; but, unfortunately for Germer, the old timers who remember the sensational "expose" of White will also remember that it it had all the characteristics of the usual frame up so commonly resorted to by "Pie Card" labor union officials to eliminate troublesome opponents. It will also be remembered that those who gained most by the White "expose" have since been totally discredited as being rank reactionaries.

Continuing his effort at inferential character assassination of the Left Wing he says of Orchard, "He practiced what he preached." That Orchard ever preached anything will be surprising news to the old timers whose memory he invokes. Orchard "confessed" to many crimes: but the acquittal of Haywood, et al, was largely due to the fact that it was proved that Orchard DID NOT COMMIT the crimes to which he confessed. However, Germer admits he has no proof that the Left Wing is dominated by anarchists [illegible] on a reign of terror. but says he has "talked with numerous comrades and they agree that we have them among us." It might prove enlightening if he would give us the names and OCCUPATIONS of those suspicious minded comrades, one's manner of gaining a livelihood is said to influence one's way of thinking.

Germer cites as "Un-Socialistic" and heartless the fact that certain units of the party (he calls them the Left Wing), repudiated the amnesty convention, and asks, "Where were those 'revolutionary mass actionists' during the war?" I admit the repudiation of the amnesty convention was, possibly, a tactical blunder, as it placed the representation at such convention more surely in the hands of reactionaries. But I insist that this repudiation was largely the result of resentment caused by the open attempt of the N. E. C. to prevent a National Party convention universally demanded. The allegation that Left Wing supporters did not suffer through wartime persecutions rebounds to the discredit of the maker when we remember the fate of Fraina, Wagenknecht, Ruthenberg, Stanley Clark, Emil Herman, Sam Sadler, 'Gene Debs, Hulet M. Wells and scores of others who are now doing time in prison, or, having done their bit, are now out and waging an uncompromising fight for working class domination, bitter opponents of middle class reformism. (Emil Herman, from his prison cell, repudiates the autocracy of the N. E. C. He demands to be recorded as voting NO on their every un-constitutional action, and protests their disorderly conduct in counting him as "present" in order to make up a quorum wherewith to jam through their raw deal.) This allegation of disregard for the well being of imprisoned comrades is an unpardonable insult to every member of the working class. That some comrade had sufficient regard for the well being of these immediately dependent upon him to cause him to forego the empty honor of a nomination for alderman on the Socialist ticket and choose to stick by his job is an example of remarkably good judgment—one worthy of being copied.

If congress and the state legislatures are using the terminology of

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

Party News and Views

ORDER NOW!

Orders for municipal platforms should be placed with the state office at once. The platform referred to is that adopted at the recent state convention and which, if the referendum of the membership favor it, will be the official municipal platform of all locals entering the municipal campaigns this fall. The platform was printed in the last issue of the Ohio Socialist.

We cannot make a price at this time, but we assure you that it will be low enough so that every local can make a thorough distribution. Let us know how many thousands you can use.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

This serves as official notice to all locals that the last day for filing municipal tickets is September 4th.

Go to the board of elections at once. Get official blanks upon which to gather signatures. Secure as many signatures as you can. Make it many times the number necessary; and file these signatures and the names of your candidates BEFORE September 4th. Only 45 days left to work in. Get busy AT ONCE.

GET A BALLOT—VOTE

State referendum "A," 1919, has been mailed to all locals in Ohio. This referendum pertains to the election of a state secretary and a state executive committee. Every member is advised to attend the next local meeting, get a ballot, and vote.

Local and branch secretaries who have not received a quantity of these ballots by this time should notify the state office and the shipment will be duplicated. If you need more ballots, let us know.

State referendum "B," 1919, is in the mails. This referendum pertains to the election of delegates to the Emergency National Convention to be held in Chicago, August 30th.

State referendum "C," 1919, is now in the hands of the printer. The balloting in this referendum will be upon the acts of the recent state convention.

REMEMBER

A. A. Hennacy in the county jail at Delaware, Ohio. A. L. Hitchcock in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga. Remember them. Write them a letter. Drop them a postal card.

The comrades at Cambridge will place a full ticket in the field. Local Youngstown has begun its municipal campaign, Secretary Catlin already being busy writing for speakers.

ORGANIZER WANTED

The state secretary of Minnesota desires a competent organizer for a month's work. Address Chas. Dirba, 1217 Hennepin ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

Mary G. Waters, literature agent of Local E, Liverpool, has ordered a selection of pamphlets on sale at the state office. Very good sign. More literature agents have awakened to their duties within the last month than for several years past.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

All money derived from the sale of special national convention assessment stamps must be sent to the state office. This by order of the state convention. This applies to language locals and branches as well as English locals.

Say, Comrade Member at Large, how about your dues? Paid up?

Local Fremont makes inquiries about engaging a speaker. Socialists will carry on a warm municipal campaign in Fremont.

There are several strikes on at Piqua. Eight hundred men at the Favorite Stove and Range Co. are out. Strikers are joining the Workers International Industrial Union by the hundreds. Socialist Mayor Hamilton is lending what assistance he can.

Portsmouth local has decided to place a municipal ticket in the field. There are good chances of winning the city, in this Ohio river town.

MASSILLON SOCIALISTS,

Secretary Nick Weltlich desires your co-operation for the purpose of placing a municipal ticket in the field. Attend the next meeting and prove yourself not yet ready for the embalmer.

The best thing you can do every day is to do a little for Socialism. Do this RIGHT NOW—PAY YOUR DUES.

Walter Conradie has been elected literature agent and reporter for Local New Bremen. His first act was to secure a list of pamphlets for sale at the state office.

How about the literature agent of your local? Is he filling his office with credit? Does he ever appear at local meeting with pamphlets and books for sale?

Herbert Knecht orders 200 "Crimes of the Bolsheviki" to sell at the Guernsey County picnic, August 10th. Frank Martin will be one of the speakers at this outing and an effort is being made to secure Chas. Baker also. A special attempt will be made to get contributions for the press fund.

H. A. Hedden, of Michigan, will represent the Ohio Socialist at the national convention, August 30th.

Three new Polish socialist branches have just been organized in Ohio, one each at Youngstown, Maynard, and Fairpoint.

Tom Clifford filled three speaking engagements in Louisville, Ky., on July 12th and 13th.

BIG FOURTH AT VINCENNES, IND.

The citizens of Vincennes, Ind., were educationally entertained on July 4th by a debate between E. Underhill, socialist, and the other side. The debate was decided in favor of the socialist, two to one. Comrade Underhill was an intimate friend of the Comrade Knight who organized the first socialist local in Indiana.—J. Hartsberg.

Wm. M. Brown has favored the state office with a remittance of $12.50 a month for many months past, asking us to use the money for whatever purposes we deem best. At present we are placing it in the press fund.

DEBS GOES TO PRISON

Upon the cover a picture of Debs taken while he was asleep upon an interurban car between Steubenville and Wheeling. The long, arduous trip completely exhausted him and he fell sound asleep in his seat and slept for more than an hour. The contents of the book is written by David Karstner, who, together with J. Louis Engdahl and A. Wagenknecht, accompanied Debs to the Moundsville penitentiary.

Karstner, in a very "human interest" way, describes this trip to prison taken by America's foremost socialist. It is the best reading we have recommended for some time. Buy one or more. For one pamphlet, 25c. Twelve or more at 18c each. Order now, before you forget.

PICNIC—PICNIC

Have you held yours yet? Youngstown, Seneca county, Akron, Ashtabula, Guernsey county, Cleveland, Columbus, E. Liverpool, Warren, and other locals have had or are going to have a picnic. Suggest a PICNIC at the next meeting of your local.

RESOLUTIONS CONDEMNING NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE PASSED BY LOCAL DEMING, NEW MEXICO

To the members of the Socialist Party throughout the United States:

Whereas, through the minutes of the national executive committee, carefully read and digested by us, we find that upwards of 40,000 dues paying members of the Socialist Party have been expelled from the party on what appears to us to be flimsy grounds, and

Whereas, these 40,000 comrades were given no trial whatsoever nor either an opportunity to admit nor deny the charges against htme, and

Whereas, on the face of available returns from the refrendum for national executive committeemen it appears that the present members of the N. E. C. who voted for this expulsion were themselves defeated for re-election, and

Whereas, the whole state of Michigan was included in this wholesale expulsion with approximately 6,000 members, and

Whereas, a deliberate attempt is being made by the N. E. C. through their refusal to count the ballots on referendums B and C, to defeat the will of the membership and to prevent the Socialist party from taking its proper place in the Third International called for by the Russian Communist (Bolshevist) party, and in which is included the Hungarian Communist, German Spartacists, Italian Socialist Party and specificalled for the participation of the elements of the Socialist Party represented by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, and therefore be it

Resolved, that we condemn in emphatic terms this plain attempt on the part of those members of the N. E. C. who represented nothing more nor less than the Scheidemann-Ebert-Kerensky petty bourgeouis Socialism to lineup our party with the reactionaries above mentioned and to betray the Russian and Hungarian revolutions, and to endanger the working classes in every other country, and be it further

Resolved, that we demand that the complete vote as cast on referendums B and C be at once tabulated and published and that both the old N. E. C. and the new N. E. C. meet with the delegates to the national convention to settle all claims to their respective offices, and be it further

Resolved, that the action of the present N. E. C. in expelling the state of Michigan be rescinded and the Russian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Ukranian, Hungarian, South Slavic and Polish federations be restored at once to full membership so that they may have full oportunity to vote for delegates to the proposed convention and be it further

Resolved, that owning to the evident bias of the present N. E. C. that the new N. E. C. as shown by the tabulation of referendum C be at once inducted into office, and that all arrangements for the proposed national convention be under control of both old and new N. E. C. so as to avoid any further sabotaging of the membership by either side, and be it further

Resolved, that we endorse the stand of the Scandinavian translator-secretary and if it is the intention of the present N. E. C. to expel every radical in the Socialist Party that we invite them to include New Mexico in their sweep, and be it further

Resolved, that we deny the implication by Stedman on page 16 of the N. E. C. minutes that the Socialist Party is primarily a political organization, but on the contrary hold that we are primarily an organization of CLASS CONSCIOUS workers with our primary object the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of the co-operative commonwealth, with politics only a means to an end—not the end itself, and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the national secretary, the state secretary of Michigan and to each of the seven language federation secretaries, to the Ohio Socialist, Oakland World, Proletarian, Revolutionary Age, New York Call, and Milwaukee Leader.

T. E. PENDERGRASS.
L. R. GRAVES.
Local Deming, N. M.
Mrs. C. M. Calkins, Secretary.

A LETTER FROM KNECHT

Dear Comrade:

The affairs of the comrades of Guernsey county are rounding well into shape for an active campaign prior to the election of November.

The eleventh annual picnic of the county organization will be held Sunday, August 10, and the comrades are looking forwad to the biggest day in the history of the Socialist movement in this locality. Everywhere the people are expressing their contempt for the city official of Cambridge and the police for their attempt to prevent free speech for Socialists in this city.

An effort is being made to organize a company of state militia here, and the manufacturers, petty politicians and business men are very active in organizing a "board of trade" which of course is but a development in the class struggle, and sufficient evidence that the plutes are recognizing our increasing power. Of course the old system is doomed to die, but we may expect the parasite class to cling to the last shred of its existence.

At our county picnic we will have a press fund committee, whose duty it shall be to solicit funds for the printing press.

HERBERT KNECHT.

YOUR LOCAL—WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year,

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First Sunday of Each Month at 2 P. M.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, [illegible]

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
88 High St., Third Floor..

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 3:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch [illegible]
Meets [illegible] Every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
[illegible] Washington St.

New Mexico Bulletin

W. B. Dillon, State Secretary, Albuquerque, N. M.

Comrades of New Mexico:

After repeated efforts to induce you to nominate for state officials and receiving only one full nomination and two endorsements for myself as state secretary, I gave it up and notified Local Carrizozo that the ticket they had nominated would go as the state official roster since the remainder of the state seemed not to care enough to nominate at all and Local Carrizozo with its membership of 50 would easily elect their own ticket.

Local Carrizozo nominated S. Parks of Las Cruces as an executive committee member, but as this former comrade's local has not paid dues within the required time, his nomination was void. Besides, he acknoweldged over his own signature to Comrade W. P. Metcalf that he had joined the Social Democratic League, fostered by the New Appeal while still under the narcotics of Wilsonian Socialism, and went even further by attempting to have the S. E. C. nullify the state ticket last fall. Hence, I requested that Local Deming nominate one of their members to fill this vacancy, which they kindly did.

Your new state officials, therefore, are as follows:

State Executive Committee—W. P. Metcalf, Albuquerque; T. E. Pendergrass, Weed; Dan Kelly, Duran; W. P. Calkins, Weed; L. R. Graves, Deming.

State Organizer—Frank J. Ashe, Carrizozo.

Woman's Correspondent—Mrs. S. M. Calkins, Deming.

State Secretary—W. B. Dillon, Box 574, Albuquerque.

If those of you who had no choice in the selection of this official family don't like any of their faces, it is your own fault. However, it is not too late to mend if you care to ask for any of their recall, but that is now your only relief until next January.

Seriously though, comrades, I do not believe that anyone in this state will be disappointed in the selection of these comrades to represent you. Some of these comrades are new to you, but from my correspondence with them I am sure that they represent the Socialist movement and the spirit of the times. Give them your hearty support and let us make 1919 one of the best years in New Mexico Socialist party history.

Comrade Frank J. Ashe, state organizer, will be open for dates very soon and I request that you notify me at once when and how many times you can use him. I do not know just yet exactly how much we will have to charge for him to cover his expenses, btu if you will arrange the dates for him we will guarantee that the charge will be one to fit your pocketbook.

Comrade T. E. Pendergrass will be released from the tender care of Uncle Sam some time in July, likely, and while I had a promise from the National office to put him in the field, the present crisis in the party very likely will cancel those arrangements. Therefore, kindly let me know when and how many times you can use him, also. Tom will need a rest, perhaps, after his release, and maybe not. Attend to these two organization matters at once, comrades. NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT.

Here is a letter I received today from an Indian comrade and his wife. In Oklahoma in 1908 I met Indians of his type but the New Mexico Indians that I have met are generally the fat, lazy breed, well cared for by Uncle Sam, and therefore far better off than their white brethren who imagine themselves freemen.

This letter is refreshing and illuminating emanating from one of our comrades whose ancestors roamed this country long before the white grafters made a capitalist heaven (or hell—take your choice) out of a land teeming with the good things of life, placed there for the bounty of all mankind.

Here is the letter. I leave out the name, town, etc., as we never know what might happen to a comrade who speaks plainly.

"Dear Comrade Dillon: Enclosed find check for $2 for a six months sub to the Ohio Socialist, and the remainder for dues for myself and wife.

"We are old Indian Territory Indians, and will move our children to the forests of Venezuela next winter. The love of our children comes first with my wife and me, and Venezuela is the only place they can be with Indians not controlled by capitalist masters.

"I have been one of the best farmers in this county for 20 years, but last year we received about 57c per hundred for our potatoes and paid $3.80 for a pair of overalls. So I am going where I can grow the things we need and the climate is such that we can do without the things we cannot grow.

"I paid for the first Socialist speaker to come to this county about 16 years ago—Mr. Smith.

"Hoping this will find you in good health, I will say good-bye, from your comrade."

Well, I wish I could go where I could raise my own grub and could tell the tailors to go to—you know. We wish you every kind of happiness and well being, our Indian comrade, and perhaps it may come to pass that the land of the Aztecs may spring into being again the far flung civilization for which it was famed, and which the gold and power mad Spaniards razed to the ground in their hollow mockery of eastern civilization.

Darned if I ain't beginning to be ashamed of my American compatriots. It seems that every country under the sun except the U. S. A. is looking upward and onward, but we free born fools still imagine that the sun rises and sets in the dollar bill, and that without Wall street the country will go to hell. And at that, I believe we are about right. If we didn't have Olly John Rockefeller and Banker Morgan and a few more of these highbinders to watch over and care for us, we never would be able to grow corn or wheat, the sun wouldn't shine at all or the tides ebb and flow, and these damned Bolshevists would come over here and induce us to keep the product of our labor instead of dividing it with the above mentioned gentlemen who need it.

Oh, punk!

This report goes to you during the time of the greatest crisis in our party history. The N. E. C. has thrown out of the party something like 40,000 members without a trial on charges which at best deserve only severe condemnation. The whole state of Michigan and seven language federations were fired bodily. I have submitted the whole question to the S. E. C. and Locals Deming and Carrizozo for their action. The matter is such that I could not submit it to each member at large, but I ask each member at large to go into the matter through the information in the various papers available to them, and let me know what they think about it.

Personally, I condemn without equivocation this act of the N. E. C. as the most arbitrary and despicable act in its history, and I waited patiently until I had every explanation that they had to submit. Perhaps I am wrong, but for the past year I have been coming slowly to the opinion that our national officials were either incapable of expressing the growing revolutionary spirit of the American workers, or worse, were preparing to line up the party with the Scheidemanns, Kerenskys, Thomases, Hendersons and other reformists.

I am no blood and thunder revolutionists who sees no good whatsoever in political reforms, and if Michigan really meant to prevent any and all such reforms they should have been warned that their action would be taken before the coming national convention, but to prevent them from all participation in the selection of delegates to this convention by first expelling them and then reorganizing the state with only the reformers in the state is the grossest of crimes against every Socialist ethic. In fact, it savors so strongly of personal animus and political chicanery that I am compelled to believe that it was and is a deliberate attempt to retain control of the party machinery in spite of the evident intention of the membership to swing to the left.

I am leaving tomorrow for New York to attend the conference of the Left Wing sections of the party. I am not sure that I want to align myself with them, so I am going there to get into personal touch with the leaders of this section of the party. However, I will state frankly that unless there is something underlying the propaganda of the Left Wing sections that does not appear in their programs and their personal letters to me, I will very likely come back strengthened in my resolution to support only such sections of the party as follow the lines of the class struggle, strictly and rigidly.

Class lines are being drawn so tightly nowadays, comrades, that to attempt to blur them only confuses the issue. Let the Gompers element amongst the workers support capital; let you and I and every other real Socialist fight it out along strictly working class lines.

Remember, that compromise spells disaster. Remember Kerensky in Russia and Scheidemann in Germany. Don't lose your head, but don't make the mistake of playing capital's game of crushing everything in opposition to you unless you know that opposition to be capitalistic in nature. Every section of the party should remain inviolate until a convention settles the matter. No seven members have the right to expel nearly half the party.

New Mexico is small in membership, but let us show that we are large in class consciousness.

STAND BY THE LEFT WING! So far they have proven their ability all over Europe.

LENINE, TROTSKY, BELA KUN, LUXEMBOURG, LIEBKNECHT, LONGUET, MacDONALD, DEBS, KATE O'HARE, compare them with SCHEIDEMANN, KERENSKY, THOMAS, HENDERSON, SPARGO, BENSON, et al. and then choose which you want to follow. I do not want to compare Germer, Berger, Stedman, Work, et al, with the Social patriots last mentioned above, but I am sorry to say that they are gradually compelling me to do so.

If you are lucky enough to have the speeches of Germer, Berger, Engdahl, Kruse and Tucker before Landis before being sentenced, compare the fire and scathing contempt of Engdahl, Kruse and Tucker's speeches with the cold, methodical araignments of Berger and Germer. There you have the revolutionary fire of the crusaders against the passionless non-resistant who is content to let matters gradually straighten themselves out. It is a test, comrades, which goes much deeper than you think.

If you had ever seen all of these comrades in action as I have seen them, you would better understand what I mean. Kruse, Engdahl and Tucker are calm and cool when delivering the firiest broadshides—Berger and Germer both get hot. Debs cuts into the very vitals of capital, yet seldom has any one ever seen Debs mad.

Think it over.

W. B. DILLON,
State Secretary.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

	Dues	Subs.	Lit.	Misc.	Total.
March Receipts.					
Chess Carpenter and wife	$ 2.00	$1.00			
Wm. Schoenerstedt	3.00	2.00			
S. Lindauer	3.00		.15	1.85	
J. A. Cooper and wife	7.20				
Wilbur R. Clark	.25		.40		
John Fuller	3.50				
Replies to advertising			1.45		
	$18.95	$3.00	$2.00	$1.85	$ 25.80
April Receipts.					
Local Carrizozo	$ 9.90		.10		
D. S. Martin	3.00				
Barney Ruben	1.50				
Andrew Eggum	1.50			2.00	
Replies to advertising			.90		
Sale of old Neostyle				25.00	
Nat'l Office—Calkins Def. fund				100.00	
	15.90		1.00	127.00	143.90
May Receipts.					
S. M. Calkins and wife	$ 5.00				
Local Carrizozo	1.70				
Local Deming	9.00			1.00	
Paul Roeber		1.00	.15		
Walter Cook			1.00		
Replies to advertising			1.25		
	15.70	1.00	2.40	1.00	20.15
Total receipts					$189.80
March Expenditures.					
National office	$ 5.00				
Ohio Socialist		5.00			
Postage on letters				4.50	
Postage on papers and literature				9.00	
State secretary, scalary				2.30	
	5.00	5.00		15.80	25.80
April Expenditures.					
National office	$ 5.00				
Literature			7.15		
Postage and express				15.40	
Multigraphed letters and stenog				8.00	
Calkins defense—Attorney Fees				100.00	
	5.00		7.15	123.40	135.55
May Expenditures.					
National office	$ 5.00				
Ohio Socialist		1.00			
Literature			1.75		
Debs meeting—killed by A. F. of L.				5.80	
Postage, stenog. etc.				12.25	
State secretary—salary				2.65	28.45
[illegible] expenditures					$189.80

Local Louisville Kentucky Calls Acts of N. E. C. Traitorous

Whereas, the national executive committee has suspended foreign federations with a membership variously estimated from 25,000 to 36,000, and

Whereas, said national executive committee has failed to give any adequate reason for said suspension, and

Whereas, we believe that the expulsion of the above mentioned language federations was prompted by the national executive committee's desire to interfere with the election of the proper delegates to the coming mergency national convention, and

Whereas, the aforementioned act of the national executive committee is an attempt at party treason inasmuch as said act is an attempt to break the unity of the party and therefore weaken our attacks upon the master class,

Therefore be it resolved, that we, Local Louisville, in regular business session June 7th, 1919, do hereby express our most emphatic protest against this dastardly attempt to disrupt the party and divide our strength before the enemy, and we also hereby serve notice on each and every member of the national executive committe who are guilty of the aforementioned treacherous conduct, that we will not forget your actions and will do all in our power to see that you will never again be intrusted with a position of power or importance in this party, and be it further resolved,

That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the national executive committee and to the Ohio Socialist for publication.

F. A. HUBER,
Local Secretary.

Roll Call For May

If your local does not appear in this roll call ask your secretary why.

	New Members	Good Standing	On Roll
Ashtabula	6	100	103
Clark Co.	2	28	33
Columbus	7	119	149
Derwent	..	10	15
Fairport Harbor.	4	53	60
Galion	2	43	43
Grover Hill	..	10	10
Hamilton	10	239	302
Hubbard	8	39	48
Irondale	2	13	13
Kenmore	3	60	60
Lima	5	64	69
Marysville	..	5	5
Massillon	2	50	71
Mt. Vernon	..	23	23
Niles	..	56	90
Piqua	..	65	85
Sandusky	1	32	40
Seneca Co.	4	44	76
Toledo	33	400	524
Van Buren Tp.	..	24	27
Wadsworth ren-Fin.	8	80	125
Warren-Fin	..	80	125
Warren	2	35	40
Youngstown. So. Slav	[illegible]	154	160
Youngstown Lith	[illegible]	[illegible]	21
[illegible]	[illegible]	14	19
Zanesville	[illegible]	[illegible]	27

A Dough-Boy Ditty

Favorite song of the American Army of Occupation, somewhere in Germany. (Air, "Silver Threads Among the Gold.")

"Darling, I am coming back—
Silver threads among the black—
Now that peace in Europe nears,
I'll be home in seven years.
I'll drop in on you some night,
With my whiskers long and white—
Yes, the war is over, dear,
And we're going home, I hear!
Home again with you once more,
Say—by nineteen-twenty-four.
Once I thought by now I'd be
Sailing back across the sea;
Back to where you sit and pine,
But we're stuck here on the Rhine.
You can hear the gang all curse—
'War is hell, but peace is worse!'
When the next war comes around,
In the front rank I'll be found;
I'll rush in again pell-mell,
Yes I will—I will like hell!"

—The Watch on the Rhine (published by American Occupying Forces

Ballots for Election of State Officials Now in Hands of Local Secretaries

Ballots for Election of State Oficials Now in Hands of Local Secretaries.

The annual election of a state executive committee and a state secretary for the Socialist party of Ohio, is now in progress. All members of the party are advised to attend their next local and branch meetings and take part in the voting. To assist in party management is the duty of every party member. A "stay at home" is not fulfilling his pledge as a socialist, and too many "stay at homes" throw the party management into the hands of a few active comrades who would much rather divide their activity and responsibility with the several thousand members in this state who never seem to find time to attend a local or branch meeting. Attend the next meeting of your organization and help elect a state secretary and a state executive committee of seven members.

There are four candidates for state secretary upon the ballot: Edmund J. Hewit, secretary of Local Ashtabula; Otto F. Hoefer, secretary of the German branch in Chincinnati; Herbert Knecht, who has been secretary of several locals in this state and who now lives in Cambridge; and A. Wagenknecht, the present state secretary.

More candidates for state executive committee appear upon the ballot this year than for some years past. A total of 31 comrades accepted the nomination and there is no doubt that from among this number an efficient committee can be elected. All of the nominees are known to the state membership, for all of them are active socialists and have been introduced to the membership through the columns of the Ohio Socialist many times during the year.

The candidates for the state executive committee are: John P. Baker, Columbus; M. J. Beery, Mansfield; Edwin [illegible], Lima; Chas. Bonsall, Salem; Geo. Bundy, Warren; Lotta Burke, Cincinnati; J. M. Cahalane, Hamilton; F. J. Catlin, Youngstown; Tom Clifford, Cleveland; Jos. Coope, Youngstown; A. J. Feldhaus, Cincinnati; F. B. Hamilton, Piqua; Clarence Heil, New rBemen; J. J. Hoge, Bellaire; Wm. A. Jenkins, Salem; L. C. Jordan, New Bremen; J. R. Larimore, E. Liverpool; W. W. E. Lewellen, East Liverpool; Jos. McKim, Derwent; Wm. Patterson, Toledo; Marguerite Prevey, Akron; J. A. Rehm, Springfield; Hugo Ruemmele, Norwood; Arthur Sapp, Hamilton; C. E. Schilling, Nashport; Jos. W. Sharts, Dayton; J. E. Steiger, Hamilton; F. B. Strobel, Mt. Vernon; M. A. Toohey, Toledo; Chas. H. Werner, Barberton; Jos. Woodward, Dayton.

Do You Know Him?

By Frederick Raper

He clapped his hands and he laughed in glee,
And he shouted a loud hosanna.
When he heard that a man had been mobbed and killed,
But that was in Butte, Montana;
And he raved and swore till the air grew hot
When he heard that a prince had been tried and shot
In Russia.

He praised the jury and flattered the court,
With never a single "Fie, oh!"
When a brave old hero was sent to jail,
But that was in Cleveland, Ohio—
And his cheeks grew red and his lips grew pale
When he heard that a duke had been sent to jail
In Russia.

When some Russian workers were sent to jail
For asking his nation's pity,
"Such foreign scum should be shot," said he,
But that was in New York City—
And he wiped hot tears with a trembling hand
When he heard the peasants had "stolen" the land
In Russia.

When a labor leader was falsely tried
The news was a sweet nabisco;
He shouted and sang in delirious joy,
But that was in San Francisco—
And you ought to have heard the things he said
When he heard that a count was poorly fed
In Russia.

He heard of some people disfranchised and spurned,
And he was not inclined to be snippy;
He thought very little about it, in fact,
But that was in Mississippi—
And he walked the floor and he beat the air,
And he gnashed his teeth and he tore his hair,
And his burden was greater than he could bear
When he heard of the same thing [illegible]
In Russia.

SNAPPY SAYINGS FROM PRESS FUND CONTRIBUTORS

"I enclose check for $6.20. This is the second installment from our collection box which we are donating to the press fund. Am glad to learn that you are pleased with results so far, and hope they may keep increasing until the $10,000 is raised." W. N. PATTERSON,
Sec'y Local Zanesville, Ohio.

FROM A CONSTANT BOOSTER.

Three dollars from himself and two from friends for the press fund is what Comrade V. Topov of St. Louis sends in. Comrade Topov is one of our very best boosters. He also ordered 300 copies of the O. S. for distribution.

MORE IF NEEDED.

A dollar and fifty cents comes from Comrade Alex Van Gundy of Cheyenne, Wyo. Comrade Van Gundy says he will send more if needed later. Like many other "live wires" throughout the country, he is just bound that we shall have that printing plant.

FROM A MICHIGAN REBEL.

One of our best boosters in Michigan is Comrade E. Vanderoest of Kalamazoo. He not only secures renewals and new subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist, but helps us buy our printing plant too, by contributing a dollar. Comrade Vanderoest is always on the job at every opportunity to work for Socialism.

KEEP POWER WITH RANK AND FILE.

"We must never allow the power to fall from the rank and file," writes Comrade M. A. Mann of Oneonta, N. Y., in a letter received wherein he scores the N. E. C. for expelling thousands from our party. He helps to keep the power in the Socialist Party where it belongs by contributing a dollar to the Ohio Socialist press fund.

NEVER TOO LATE.

Expressing the hope that he is not too late to help, Comrade Chas. Hames of Toledo contributes a dollar to the press fund. "Will do the best I can to support the Ohio Socialist," he writes.

A FEW MORE BOOSTS.

"Enclosed find a few more boosts to help us along the way," is what Comrade Mrs. Fred L. Thompson writes in her letter which enclosed two dollars from herself and a friend, and also one subscription.

HARD AT WORK FOR THE PRESS FUND.

At the state picnic Local Youngstown, O., pledged to raise one hundred dollars for the press fund. Now comes the cheering news from Comrade F. J. Catlin that the seven branches of the local are hard at work on the keeping of the pledge. All activities point to a going over the top of that pledge at a lively pace, sixty dollars having already been collected and great enthusiasm being shown by the comrades.

And there's plenty of cause for enthusiasm in this matter of securing a press and printing plant for the Socialist Party. Nothing can prove so valuable to us in our propaganda work as it will. Everybody hustle a bit and we will soon have it.

BUSY WITH PRESS FUND LISTS.

Local Seneca County is busy circulating the press fund lists. This local's remittance this week was $16. One list circulated by Comrade W. M. Ralston contained four dollars and another by Comrade Henry Geiger contained $12.

More funds from this local will soon be sent in we are assured by Secretary Nellie Lescher, as other comrades have lists out circulating them for the purpose of augmenting our press fund.

ANOTHER LOCAL HELPS.

Local Sandusky, O., is another of our locals that has flung itself into the work of pushing the press fund. A ten dollar donation received from this local shows how promising the press fund grows. Other locals should take a hint from Local Sandusky and lighten their treasury of a few of its superfluous "metal" for this purpose.

MORE FOR THE SAME GOOD CAUSE.

A second donation of three dollars, making eight so far, is what Comrade K. W. Boring of Wellsville, O., sends us. And also he pledges three dollars a month to the press fund for six months. That's what we call being in earnest. When we all feel about our own printing plant as does Comrade Boring, we'll soon have it mightly shortly.

LOCAL SPRINGFIELD HELPS.

Comrade W. B. Crowell, secretary of Local Springfield, O., sends us $15.50 for the press fund. This sum was donated by the local. Just another proof of the strength of the desire of comrades throughout the state and country that we establish our own printing plant to carry on the battle for industrial democracy.

AND NOW WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS?

It seems that there is no end to the many plans which comrades and locals are putting across to raise funds for the party printing press. But it remains for Comrade S. B. Cole of Marietta, O., to outdo any one that has been proposed yet. And what do you suppose that plan is? Guess we will have to tell you about it.

Here is what Comrade Cole has proposed to Local Marietta to do for the press fund. He proposes to put up a dollar for every dollar donated by any member of the local. He writes that he may have taken over a big order but nevertheless he will keep the offer. And now the matter is up to the members of Local Marietta. The members ought to, under these circumstances, see to it that every member does his duty by the press fund. Letters are being sent out to all local members bearing the good news that every dollar contributed to this fund counts "two." Comrades of Marietta are to be congratulated upon having such a member as Comrade Cole among them. We are anticipating some fine results from Local Marietta in the very near future.

A DANDY LIST FROM POMEROY.

The members of Local Pomeroy, O., are strong believers in the Social party owning the means of publicity. Comrade J. A. Brechtel sends us a list of seven names with contributions amounting to nine dollars. Thank you, comrades of Pomeroy.

TOLEDO, TOO.

Toledo, O., local comes to bat with a contribution of $22.90 for the press fund. This amount represents donations from members of the local. We have not their individual names, so until we receive them we trust they will be content to accept our thanks through Comrade M. A. Toohey, secretary.

SLOVAK COMRADES IN ACTION AT BLACK TOP, O.

A letter from Comrade John Moravek of Black Top, O., tells us that the press fund subscription lists have been placed in the hands of the "Sons of Revolutionary Socialism" and results will be forthcoming in very short while. The comrades are more than anxious to see the day when the Socialist party shall own its own printing plant and the O. S. become a daily.

ONE SENTENCE SERMONS

Uncle Lark has a peculiar way of snatching a truth and driving it in with a thunderbolt. We quote a few:

The reign of blood continues to rain on the just the same as on the unjust.

Man's instinct to bow to injustice stinks the most horrible of all other stinks.

At the theater the fool looketh upon the screen; the philosopher, behind it.

Laziness is a revolt of the flesh against exploitation.

"Universal Brotherhood" is the only healing balm that will ever make the world wound heal over.

The appetite of justice seldom craves blood.

Free thought must always precede free speech.

If this is a "war of brains," after this war maybe we can enjoy a "brain" peace.

Instead of "international brotherhood," the world is about to have "international" starvation.

It is a long jump from a "rented shack" upon earth to our "mansions in the skies."

After the world war, fame will command the sea of oblivion to give up her dead.

Autocracy's dying kick was the hardest kick that she ever gave.

The caravan route across the great Sahara desert of militarism is marked with bones.

ONLY 45 DAYS MORE

Only 45 days more to secure signatures to nominating petitions. Call a convention of your local members immediately, nominate a full municipal ticket, secure the required number of signatures, enter the campaign, engage speakers, distribute leaflets—make the biggest and best municipal campaign over made in your city.

Many locals have made inquiries as to how to place Socialist municipal candidates upon the official ballot. Well—

HERE'S HOW!

HOW TO NOMINATE MUNICIPAL CANDIDATES.

1. Nominations of candidates in municipalities of LESS than 2,000 population should be made by petition, signed in the aggregate by not less than 25 electors for EACH candidate. The same number of signatures are required for candidates for the school board.

2. Nominations of candidates in municipalities with a population of MORE than 2,000 must be made by petition, signed by at least 1 per cent of the electors who voted at the last preceding election.

3. Nominations for candidates for school boards in municipalities with a population of MORE than 2,000 must be made by petition, and signatures of not less than 2 per cent of the electors voting at the next preceding SCHOOL ELECTION must be secured.

4. Petitions must be filed with the deputy board of state supervisors of elections NOT LESS than 60 [illegible]

[illegible] cancies shall be named in the petitions.

6. Petitions must contain a provision that the signer will support and vote for the candidates thereon.

7. Signatures must be written upon petition in ink or indelible pencil.

8. One of the signers of a petition must make oath before a notary public that statements contained therein are true.

9. Petitions can be secured from the election board in your city.

10. Petitions should ALWAYS be filed ahead of time, that is, more than 60 days before the date of election, in order to avoid delay in case objections are made to signatures and so that you have enough time to secure additional signatures.

11. Petitions should always contain MORE NAMES than required in order that you may be sure that you have enough genuine signatures.

12. For further information of any kind about nomination of [illegible]

THE SEVEN SUSPENDED

(Continued from third page.)

whelming mass of the party membership.

Unless the party members act quickly and decisively to rebuke these actions of the N. E. C., there will be some degree of confusion within the federation ranks. There will be dissension and rancor. Our work of organization may be set back years, because members may become disgusted with the whole party if a few officials are allowed to proceed in this high-handed way.

We warn our federation members against withdrawal from their present organizations. We are confident that the members of all other locals and federations will vote for our quick re-instatement. Meanwhile our work will go on just the same, and dues-stamps will be sold as before. The only difference will be the location of our offices. When it comes to the voting for delegates to the Emergency convention of August 30th, we will advise our members further as to our method of procedure.

Comrades, the real issue before you is one of "moderate socialism" against revolutionary socialism, the Yellow International against the Communist International. Do not let yourselves be deceived by the many unfounded assertions which are coming out of the national office. The men who did such disgraceful, and destructive things to win control of the Emergency convention will say anything to support their acts.

The only crime of these federations is their firm adherence to revolutionary socialism, their oneness in spirit and understanding with the Bolsheviks of Russia and the Communists of all lands.

To stand by these federations is to stand by real socialism in the United States. Everywhere the new spirit of the party is winning victories. All that is needed is quick action to make an end of the sabotage of a small group of unscrupulous reactionaries who would rather destroy the party than have it give up its opportunistic, anti-revolutionary reformism.

Support the referendum to reinstate our federations. Do not wait for the convention, but let every one know where the membership stands.

Fraternally,

(Signed)

J. V. STILSON,
Lithuanian Federation.
LEO FRANKEL,
Hungarian Federation.
GEO. SELAKOVICH,
South Slavic Federation.
PAUL H. LADAN,
Ukranian Federation.
OTTO PURIN, Letting Federation.
JOS. KOWALSKI, Polish Federation.
ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY,
Russian Federation.

"When our cause is all triumphant
And we claim our Mother Earth,
And the nightmare of the present
fades away,
We shall live with Love and
Laughter.
We who now are little worth
And we'll not regret the price we
have to pay."

GERMER'S BUM "BOMB"

Continued from third page.)

the Left Wing as an excuse for more repressive laws it is merely incidental. The master class is frantic with dread of the growing power of the workers, and repressive laws are the thing to be expected. Like the N. E. C. when it expelled a third of the organization, its very life is at stake and any kind of an excuse will do on which to hang a repressive measure. The implication that "mass action" is synonymous to mob action and violence cannot be made, honestly, except by persons with distorted mentality. Nothing whatever can be done by a people or a class except it be an expression of the collective will, i. e., "mass action." Any violence which may occur is incidental and the result of MINORITY OPPOSITION. To advocate the capture of the powers of government through the ballot box is to preach MASS ACTION—of a sort. To advocate control of industry through industrial organization and the general strike is to preach mass action, or a combination of them, is certainly no more "incendiary" than the statement of Victor Berger who, some years ago, said: "One should not only vote for Socialism, but each voter should provide himself with a high power rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition to enforce his mandate," but I have never heard it claimed that Berger is a paid hireling of capital "trying to precipitate a new Haymarket." The N. E. C. expelled 40,000 members who wanted Socialism instead of reform. Germer is trying to frighten the remainder into sending delegates to the convention who will acquiesce in this high-handed manifestation of factionalism. He will fail; for no SOCIALIST, however timid, will ever endorse autocracy.

18c Will Buy These Three

"VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY."

(By Scott Nearing.)

Nearing says violence will not settle labor's problems. He proves it. Just the booklet to enlighten the worker who believes Socialists advocate violence.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI.

An aptly illustrated booklet that reveals the truth of the accusations of crime made against the Russian Bolsheviki.

CONSTITUTNON OF SOCIALIST RUSSIA

The World's First Socialist Republic.

Every worker should be familiar with the fundamental law of the first Socialist republic. It is interesting and instructive.

Read it and pass it on.

These three 18 cents. Order now. Address Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 [illegible], Cleveland, O.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

No 78 | Published at Cleveland, Ohio. | WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1919 | Address all mail to [illegible] Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. | $1.00 A YEAR

DEBS 65 YEARS OLD AND CAGED LIKE A BEAST 14 HOURS OUT OF EVERY 24.

To The Rescue -- All Of You Who Want Him Freed

Let's lose no more time about it.

We have waited long enough for others to take the leadership in the movement to free Debs and all other political prisoners.

We'll wait no longer. We'll begin right now and do our part, each and every one of us and we will make every lick count.

Debs made the speech, for which he is now suffering in the Atlanta penitentiary, at Canton, Ohio, at the annual state picnic of the Socialist Party of Ohio.

The Socialsts of Ohio owe Debs every ounce of energy and every cent they can spare to help him gain his freedom. The Socialists and all workers of this entire country are heavily indebted to Debs and **NOW IS THE TIME** to square accounts, to pay back in some measure the 40 years of life which Debs has given **SERVING YOU.**

Debs is an old man as years ago, tho very young at heart. He has labored diligently in the ranks of labor, given his voice and his pen in labor's defense, given a life-time doing duty on the firing line, never flinching, always with face toward the enemy.

Hundreds of thousands of workers have been inspired by his speeches and writings. He never minced words. He never crawfished. He spoke the truth and nothing but the truth—and how that did hurt the capitalist class and their crumb picking lackeys!

That's the reason, the real reason, why Debs is in prison today. He is dangerous to Wall Street. Wall Street has said so.

And by that very sign it becomes your duty and our duty to **RESCUE DEBS AT ONCE.**

HELP SAVE HIS LIFE

It happened June 13th, last.

Without so much as an hour's notice Debs was packed out of the Moundsville penitentiary, where he was enjoing some degree of comfort, and dragged to the Atlanta penitentiary where, surrounded by the most stringent prison regulations possible to conceive, he is now attempting to hold body and soul together in the hot and fetid atmosphere prevailing in the south at this time.

We do not overstate when we say that considering his health and his age, **HIS LIFE IS NOW IN DANGER.**

Debs has not been a well man for several years past. In his tours of northern Ohio, just before he was taken to Moundsville, he broke down several times. He got up out of bed, a sick man, when he was called to Cleveland ot give himself up to the United State marshall. We saw him then. We made the trip to Moundsville with him. We watched him closely. He was completly exhausted before he had traveled one third of the distance. He complained of his back and if was with much difficulty that he mounted and dismounted the various interurban cars upon which the journey to Moundsville was made.

Out of Steubenville he fell sound asleep in his seat. Nothing could awaken him, not even the foreign born wage slave who, when he attempted to sit down beside him sat upon Debs instead, due to the lurching of the car. It was the sleep of a man half dead—and true indeed, he was half dead.

Now he's in the Atlanta penitentiary, compelled to labor eight hours a day in the clothing department and then compelled to spend fourteen hours a day in a steel cage, penned up like a wild beast.

To the rescue—all of you who want Debs freed.

Help save his life!

HE'LL NOT BEG FOR MERCY.

Yes we know what the United States Attorney General wants. He and those whom he serves want Debs to crawl before him on all fours and beg for a pardon. He wants Debs to admit that he did wrong when he spoke as he did at Canton, Ohio.

HE WANTS DEBS TO ADMIT HE DID WRONG! THINK OF IT!

In other words, he wants Debs to admit that Socialism is wrong. And Debs' only answer to this in effect is—"My life is in your hands. Take it. But I will never admit having done wrong when I said that war is an abomination and wholsale slaughter, a crime."

Debs would rather die in prison, he would rather die a death of slow torture in the heat of his prison cell in the hot Southland than beg for even a crust from the masters of today. He BEG for a PARDON? Not if he were to be shot at sunrise!

Debs will **NEVER** whine for mercy.

He will never ask for a single favor. The Attorney General, it is alleged, innocently, or ignorantly, thought that Debs was not asking for a pardon because he was receiving humane treatment at Moundsville. Send him to a hell-hole and make him get down on his knees—was then the order given. Again they will be fooled. Debs is not the pardon asking kind. He is a real man, bigger, truer and nobler than any of the servants who dance to the music of Wall Street.

However, we are many and they are few.

UNITY OF ACTION IS ALL THAT IS NEEDED.

Up with your right hand and swear that you will not rest until Debs walks forth a free man!

WE ARE READY FOR ACTION.

As we said—we do not intend losing another minute in entering upon the work and sacrifice necessary to win freedom for Debs and all political prisoners.

We **BEGIN NOW** to do everything we can to awaken and organize the workers to a realization of the peril Debs is in, the peril in which the entire working class is in, for none of us are free so long as one of us is imprisoned.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST, which has the largest circulation of any party owned paper in America, will be a formidable weapon in this fight. We shall use its every issue to agitate and organise for the freedom of our own imprisoned comrades.

The state office of the Socialist Party of Ohio is probably better equipped than any other state office of the party in the country. The entire office force and office machinery will be placed at the disposal of the workers who join with us in this battle for freedom, yes, for the very life of Debs.

We may be in a position to soon install the printing plant, for the purchase of which so many hundreds of workers and organizations are contributing so generously. This will also be put to work to help win Debs' liberty.

With these facilities and weapons we intend to print hundreds of thousands of leaflets to awaken the workers to the need of their immediate co-operation.

We intend to print posters for public display, and postal cards with which to advertise the shameful and merciless system which takes as toll the lives of men and women for speaking their honest convictions.

We intend to circularize labor unions and Socialist Party locals, placing before them resolutions their respective bodies should pass demanding the freedom of Debs and all the rest. We also intend to suggest to them such organized and well directed action as may be necessary to make their protests felt.

We intend to engage and route speakers to visit labor unions and Socialist locals, as well as to hold meetings upon street corners and wherever else possible, to help arouse the workers to action.

We intend to do everything that the law allows to grab Debs and the rest out of the clutches of capitalism and place him and all back into the protecting ranks of labor.

WILL YOU HELP?

HOW YOU CAN HELP.

You can HELP in many ways.

First of all a substantial **LIBERATION FUND** is needed. Leaflets can not be printed; posters can not be printed; postage can not be bought; circular letters can not be produced; speakers can not be employed; agitation and organization for the liberation of Debs and an other political prisoners **CAN NOT** be carried on **WITHOUT FUNDS.**

TO DATE NO DEFINATE ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN, NO DEFINATE WORKERS' MOVEMENT OF ANY KIND HAS BEEN ORGANIZED TO FREE DEBS.

We shall organize such a movement.

We want you to belong to it.

The **VERY FIRST THING** for **ALL OF US TO DO** is to go to all workers who want Debs freed and frankly ask them to give financial assistance.

We shall have contribution lists printed. We shall send you one. If it does not reach you, let us know **AT ONCE.**

After funds are at hand we shall immediately print leaflets which will **AROUSE THE WORKERS** to the necessity of **IMMEDIATELY FREEING DEBS** and all the rest. But Debs must be freed at once, or he will leave the Atlanta penitentiary a corpse.

You will then be called upon to assist in distributing these hundreds of thousands of leaflets we shall print; you will be called upon to help post the thousands upon thousands of posters which we will produce.

You will also be called upon to do special agitation work in your union, if you are a union member. If you are not a member of a labor union, then the funds which you will help gather will pay the wages of a speaker who will visit unions to secure their cooperation in freeing Debs.

The A. F. of L. leadership is reactionary. Every intelligent workers knows this. However, the light is beginning to shine among the rank and file. Only the other day the Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 250,000 organised workers, passed resolutions demanding freedom for Debs. We must now reach these workers and induce them to **BACK UP** their resolutions by demonstrations of their power in industry.

The work ahead is **A BIG JOB.** But we are **EQUAL TO IT.** Let us begin it **TODAY.** Let us do a little every day to awaken the mighty working class to a realization of its power, for the power of the working class is the only weapon that will free Debs.

ARE YOU WITH US?

THERE'S NO TIME TO LOSE.

Thousands of workers will join with us in this call to duty.

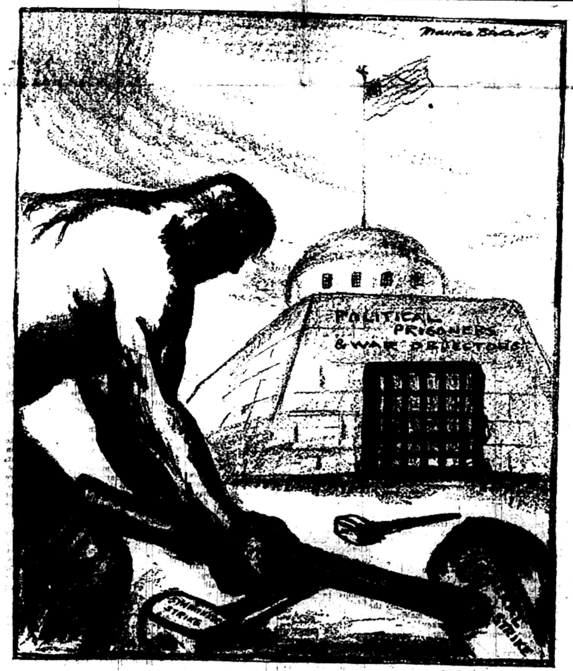
These thousands will interest thousands of others, and so our army of liberators will grow until they number hundreds of thousands.

The **BEGINNING MUST BE MADE.**

We call upon **YOU** to be one of the first to answer—"I'm ready to do my share."

NOW is the critical moment. There is not a minute to lose. While you and we rejoice on each day of freedom to live our lives outside the shadow of prisons, Debs grows old and gray, shut out from all that makes men manly and keeps men sane; shut away from family, friends and the cherished labors of a lifetime; locked away behind stone walls and iron bars, he and thousands of worthy if less known comrades and fellow workers are awaiting the call that must come from labor's throat—"come forth".

It is for you and every worker to join in that call until the powers that rule shall heed it and return these comrades of ours to us. To this work let every comrade give the best that is in him and dedicate every day to the performance of the propaganda for "**FREEDOM FOR DEBS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.**"



Try The Big One!

Debs Caged at Atlanta to Satisfy Demands of his Foes the Coal Kings

By David Karsner

Out of the mystery of months have come the facts relating to the transfer of Eugene Victor Debs from the West Virginia state prison at Moundsville to the United States prison at Atlanta, Ga.

The coal kings of West Virginia, who operate through the Consolidated Coal Company, headed by former United States Senator Clarence W. Watson, have, through Governor John J. Cornwell, demanded and accomplished the removal of Debs from Moundsville prison, where he was the recipient of such kindnesses as the warden chose to show him, to Atlanta Federal prison, where no exception is made to Debs of any kind or character.

The United States government through the Department of Justice, has become the agent of the industrial barons of West Virginia in setting in motion the legal and technical machinery that sent Debs, on on one hour's notice, from a prison atmosphere of comperative kindness and consideration, to another prison atmosphere where he is locked in a cell with five other prisoners from 5 o'clock in the afternoon to 7 o'clock the next morning—14 hours a day, seven days a week.

The Department of Justice at the behest of the Board of Control of the Moundsville prison and other state charitable and reform institutions uprooted Debs from his work as hospital clerk at Moundsville, where he rendered uncounted personal services to the sick prisoners, and placed him in Atlanta prison, where he is now assigned to the clothing room, working at a clerical task from 8 in the morning to near 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

FREE DEBS—JOIN THE LIBERATOS.

Warden is Double-Crossed.

That this evil design upon Debs' very life was deliberate is further proved by the fact that for its accomplishment it was necessary for the Board of Control of West Virginia to double-cross the warden of Moundsville state prison, Joseph E. Terrel, who was not informed of the impending removal of Debs until a few hours before its actual occurence.

Contrary to the secrecy which deprived Warden Terrell of all knowledge concerning the plans of the Federal and state authorities about Debs' removal Warden Fred G. Zerbst of Atlanta prison told me a few weeks ago that he knew Debs was coming to Atlanta two weeks before his arrival there, June 14, 1919. Warden Zerbst also told me in Debs' presence that his prisoner would be assigned to clerical work in the prison hospital.

Letter Reveals Board's Act.

The statement that the Department of Justice acted upon the request of the Board of Control of West Virginia is proved beyond all peradventure by the following letter:

Joseph W. Sharts, Esq., Attorney-at-Law, Lowe Building,
Dayton, Ohio:

Sir— The Department of Justice has your letter of the 18th instant, in which you ask to be informed as to the grounds upon which Federal prisoner, Eugene V. Debs, was transferred from the West Virginia penitentiary to the Atlanta Federal prison.

Debs was ordered transferred

(Continued on page [illegible])

SIGN UP—IN THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.

Strike Movement Spreads Over United States.

Epidemic Grows Since Armistice—Not Yet at Peak It Is Claimed—State and City Employes Organise and Strike.

A dispatch from Washington, D. C. discloses a serious strike situation thru-out the country. It is conceded that the epidemic of strikes and lockouts is costing losses [illegible] the billion dollar mark.

Government reports show that an average of [illegible] men are away from their benches every week as a result of labor troubles. This is considered by well posted industrial workers as an estimate entirely too low.

That the strike epidemic has not yet reached its highest point is proven by the additional walk-outs and lockouts which are occurring daily. In Chicago the building trades, [illegible]

(Continued on page [illegible])

British Workers Demand Ending of Russian Blockade And Ending of Undeclared War Against Soviets

Workers of Great Britain, France and Italy have decided to hold a joint demonstration, July 20-21, against allied intervention in Russia and the continnance of the food blockade.

Arthur Henderson outlined the program at the labor conference now in session at Southport, England. He explained that it would be left to each country to decide whether the demonstration would take the form of political or industrial action.

The conference adopted resolutions urging British trade unions to take industrial action to force the government to stop military operations in Russia. Another resolution adopted endorsed the six hour day in all industries.

Without a dissenting vote the conference adopted resolutions condemning conscription and recommending that the British Trade Union Congress and the "triple aliance" (miners, rairoad men and transport workers) of labor take immediate industrial action to abolish it.

A proclamation "To the Workers of England" on the Russian situation is being distributed over the British Isles. It appears in the June 5th issue of the "Labor Leader," official organ of the British Independent Labor Party, and is as fol-

TO THE WORKERS OF ENGLAND!

Do you how England is fighting the Russian peoples? Do you know that she is employing the most cruel and deadly weapon that the mind of man has devised?

In the great castles of the mediaeval barons there were hunger towers—the most awful punishment inflicted in those monstrous times was incarceration in these strongholds of death.

Now, in the 20th century, we Christian English, who for four and a half years have waged a "Holy War" against "the Huns," are fighting with the weapon of hunger a people against whom we dare not declare that we are at war!

And we are using this weapon with an even greater refinement of cruelty than that of the Dark Ages. We are killing children inch by inch with hunger, in their mothers arms; wives before their husband's eyes; mothers before their sons.

We are making men mad with hunger. We are driving little boys to kill their little sisters to get their share of food.

We are doing this not to one poor victim of our spite, but to thousands. In August, 1918, Lord Robert Cecil is reported to have said that:

On the authority of well-informed persons the death roll in Russia from disease, hunger, and malnutrition may reach 20,000,000.

Was the blockade relaxed? No, it was tightened. In November last Mr. Hoover estimated that "40,000,000 people in Russia were on the verge of starvation." Did we try to send them food? No, we sent munitions to Koltchak, and forbade the Scandinavians to send their seed corn, even after it was paid for—our fleet held it up and we forbade the fisherman of Norway to send cod to Petrograd.

Speaking in the House of Commons on Thursday, May 29, Mr. Churchill said: "Petrograd, of course, is a city of the dead." Yes, of course, it ought to be a city of the dead! But unfortunately, it would seem we have not quite finished the job, for a letter in the "Times" of the same day says:

Hundreds of people dying there daily of starvation, and insane persons, apparently driven crazy by hunger, are going about trying to pick up any kind of offal in the streets.

Reports from the interior of Russian say that famine is spreading; the deaths from typhus are increasing—inplaces the inhabitants are trying to exist on dried clover—and still we keep up the starvation blockade—the cordon sanitaire.

But say the supporters of the Government, the women and children cannot blame us if they die or go mad—it is their own fault; they should make their Bolshevik Goverament capitulate to the Allies. No doubt Von Tirpitz said the same of the poor North Sea fishermen and the victims on the Lusitania—but such deeds did not make England submit.

And now, says Mr. Churchill and his friends, we must go on killing babies in Russia, Hungary, Austria, wheresver we please, by this newfound, most effective wholesale method—and we are not to blame!

But the workers of England—what do they think about it?

It is the same weapon that the capitalist class have always used against them in all their struggles to improve their lot. Whether it was a lock-up or a strike—it was always "starvation" to which the masters looked for their victory over the workers.

Now the masters are asking the workers of this country to help them while they use that starvation weapon against whole nations, whose crime—in Russia and Hungary—is that they have attempted to form a Workers' Government. How long will the workers allow this to go on—the organized workers—they who have the power?

In France, America, Greece and Italy, the workers have made their protest and effectively. Their soldiers and sailors are being withdrawn from Russia. But ours are being compelled to march on Petrograd. Are British workers alone in their apathy and indifference? When will they wake?

Gleanings From The Log Of An Agitator

Written for the O. S. by W. R. Reynolds.

Our great-great forefathers had a successful political revolution. We have just celebrated its 143 anniversary. Is it not about time we had a social revolution and a new Independence Day to celebrate?

* * *

Aristocracy is conservative, and exists by gifts from the past. Democracy is revolutionary, and looks to the future for its justification. Judging America by its spokesmen, both in the field of politics, labor, industry or education, which is it, an aristocracy or a democracy?

* * *

Still Gompers is doing all he can to aid the revolutionary labor forces in America. His privately owned political machine, once again re-elected him to the presidency of the most reactionary labor body in the world.

* * *

An aristocracy resists the encroachment of new ideas; it doubts nothing, holds permanently to outworn beliefs and is content with bounds; its virtues belong to feudalism—loyalty to king and obedience to inherited or constituted authority. Its powers and privileges both public and private are derived by inheritance. No wonder the American aristocrats and their paid mouthpieces throw a fit every time they hear that Democratic Russia has abolished private property in lands and mines and factories. and abolished the right of inheritance. Russia has cut the tap-root of aristocracy and made democracy possible.

* * *

"It is easy to meet the arguments of the corner soap-box agitator", remarks the capitalistically minded editor of an obscure magazine known as the "Labor Digest," but we notice the said editor did not meet them. He did as they all do, evaded the issue.

* * *

Here is just a sample argument. Any editor anywhere is welcome to "meet" it; we socialists will welcome the meeting, fact is we will go further, we will gladly arrange a meeting. Here is the argument.

Labor is the sole source of value-in-exchange.

Capital creates nothing but trouble. Every dollar which capital gets, labor has to create but does not get. Every dollar which labor gets, labor creates. Whoever gets a dollar he did not earn, gets the evidence that labor earned but did not get that dollar.

JOIN—THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.

The present order of society is based fundamentally upon the wages-system and private property in land, mines, factories, etc, etc, and as such perpetuates the system of the systematic robbery of the forces of labor. No solution short of a complete social revolution can be found. Hence a social revolution based upon the abolition of the right of private property in all the sources of socially necessary raw materials, the abolition of inheritance laws and the equal liability of all the physically fit to labor, is absolutely necessary before democracy, liberty, industrial freedom, and social peace can be established. There is the argument in a nutshell. Hop to it, you spokesmen for an age that vanished with the spinning wheel. You can wrestle with that as long as you please. Turn it about, twist it as you will; it is what the socialists have to offer and it is a solution, not an excuse.

* * *

Marx and Engels theoretically pointed the way in 1848 in the Communist Manifesto. One can not lay claim to being well read these days and still be in ignorance of the contents of that little book. Russia in 1918-19 has given us a practival example of how to do it. Why are the capitalists papers still lying about Russia? Simply for fear that we shall go and do likewise?

The Communist Manifesto written in 1848 on page fifteen says 'The executive of the moedrn state is but a committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie,' but it took a peace conference in 1919 to demonstrate this great truth to a waiting world.

* * *

Read the article on page 45, in the Communist Manifesto headed "Petty Bourgeoisie Socialism" and you will understand why the willful seven of the National Office expelled the Michigan Socialist Party. And in the expulsion they did but do us honor!

* * *

The great demands of the Communists, the Left Wing Socialists, are abolition of property in land, factories, mines and raw material sources; abolition of inheritance rights, equal liability of all to labor, and the full social equivalent of labor's product to each.

* * *

"Not till the sun excludes you do I exclude you," sang Whitman the poet of Democracy. The National Offices of seven are not quite so democratic. Compare Berger's statements about expulsion of the delegates with the above Whitman quotation.

Chicago Labor Urges Freedom for Debs

QUARTER MILLION ORGANIZED WORKERS REPUDIATE ACTION OF A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

Chicago's quarter of a million organized workers, through the Chicago Federation of Labor, have gone on record as unanimously endorsing a demand for the release of 'Gene Debs from prison.

It is pointed out that his conviction was secured as the result of war time passion, a fact admitted by Thomas Watt Gregory, former attorney general, shortly before he resigned

The action of the Chicago Federation of Labor is a most decided rebuke to the action taken by the American Federation of Labor convention at Atlantic City, refusing to protest against the further prosecution of political and industrial prisoners. The Chicago resolutions, which it is hoped will be brought up for action in every local body of labor throughout the country, are as follows:

"Whereas, Eugene V. Debs has devoted the larger part of his life to the working class in its struggle for better conditions; and

"Whereas, He was convicted and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment as a result of war time passion, the war being now ended, the Chicago Federation of Labor insisting upon restoring pre-war liberties urge the immediate release of Eugene V. Debs and urge that resolutions to this effect be adopted by all labor bodies and upon adoption that a copy be sent to the President of the United States, the Senators of the State where adopted and the Congressmen of the district wherein the resolution is adopted."

Little Letters from Press Fund Boosters.

"I will send one dollar monthly until we get the press. Come along, comrades, let's finish the job." Wm. P. Meighen, Byesville, O.

"This should have been done long age", writes comrade J. F. Robinson, of Flemingsburg, Ky. "Truly hope that the required amount will soon arrive and the press be purchased."

"You can book me a dollar a month on the press proposition until it is secured, and if I can stand the pressure, will do more." That's what we hear from comrade F. Schon of Kalamazoo, Mich.

Sending a dollar for the press fund, comrade Leonard Stages, of Bluffton, O., writes "I am sorry that I cannot do more, expect to later on, hoping we will soon have our own press".

A third remittance from comrade Jno Vehre of Adena, O., shows continued interest in the press fund and a determination to keep his pledge.

Comrade K. W. Boring, of Wellsville, O. sends in his three dollars on his monthly pledge. Comrades are remitting on their pledges with a very pleasing regularity.

"You can rely on Belmont Co. to do its share toward establishing the printing plant". Thus writes comrade Fred Walchli, of Bellaire, O. We are more than sure of complete and generous support of the Belmont Co. comrades.

Read this from comrade Jos. A. Geier, of the 11th ward branch of local Cincinnati, O.

"The 11th ward branch of local Cincinnati, in session assembled, ordered drawn from its treasurey a check for $10.00 as our first payment on a pledge of fifty dollars toward a Party owned press, to be made in five monthly payments.

We hereby set a pace for other ward branches and feel that if all others would follow suit, this press fund will go over the top in a hurry and a step would be made in the right direction towards making the world safe for democracy".

Now comrades of ward branches of Ohio, we want your to digest that. If this branch can do it, WHY CAN'T YOU?

Most every weeks mail brings us a pleasant surprise in the form of a large donation to the press fund from some South Slavic Branch of the Party. We hope you have observed the regularity with which we record these remittances from our foreign branch comrades in the O. S. This week it is Branch 55, E. St. Louis, Ill. which donates five dollars, and with it comes twelve dollars more from individual comrades. No more loyal supporters have we that the South Slavic comrades in all parts of the country.

A list circulated by comrade C. E. Murphy, of Hamilton contains 8 names and totals $16. This shows how effective the Press Fund Lists can be made in this work. Get one from your local secretary and USE IT.

PARTY MEMBER? THEN REMEMBER—DUES ARE DUE.

Italian Seamen and Russia.

The London "Daily Herald" gives in full the story of how the Italian Seamen's Federation have declared a boycott of all ships carrying munitions for the war against Soviet Russia. In their resolution they state:

"All the crews of the Italian steamers are disposed to go to prison or sink to the bottom of the harbor with their steamers rather than to allow themselves to contribute to the defeat of the Russian people's revolution.

"We are convinced that such a defeat would mean the defeat of labor everywhere. We invite all other labor organizations, especially seamen, to boycott all steamers chartered by international capitalism against the Workers' International, which is massing now its Red vanguards on the battlefields of Revolutionary Russia."

A WORD FROM PETERSON

The State Office is in receipt of a post card from comrade Edwin Peterson and wife of Niles, O., who left recently for a visit to their former home in Sweden. Comrade Peterson reports a very enjoyable trip across. They expect to spend some time in Russia studying conditions under soviet rule before they return to America.

WILSON REVIEWS DEBS' CASE

Latest reports state that President Wilson is considering setting Debs free. Keep up the fight for Debs. Don't slacken in your efforts in his behalf. Help set him free!

Debs Caged to Satisfy Foes, the Coal Barons

(Continued from 1st page.)

upon a demand made by the State Board of Control for his removal. Respectfully, for the Attorney General,

CLAUDER R. PORTER,
Assistent Attorney General.
June 21, 1919.

The State Board of Control of West Virginia comprises three members, each of whom owes his position to Gov. John J. Cornwell. The personnel of the board is as follows: Dr. E. B. Stephenson, president, Kanawha county; Dr. J. M. Williamson, treasurer, Marshall county; James S. Lakin, Preston county. This board has control over the state prison and all other state and charitable, penal and reformatory, institutions, but this is assumed to apply to financial affairs only.

Data on Governor Cornwell.

Governor Cornwell, it is assumed, prompted the Board of Control to initiate the application to the Department of Justice for the removal of Debs. This is assumed on the ground that a special representative of The Call, at Wheeling, a man who for many years has made special study of politics in West Virginia, and who is interested in newspaper work there, states it as his belief that the Board of Control is concerned chiefly with the financial affairs of the penal institutions.

Governor Cornwell appointed Joseph Z. Terrell of Fairmount, W. V., warden of Moundsville prison last October. I was given the impression that Governor Cornwell gave Warden Terrell a free hand in all administrative and executive matters concerning the prison and that the judgement of Warden Terrell was final, in so far as it effected his manner and treatment of prisoners, Federal or state.

Gov. Cornwell's industrial and financial affiliations reach from the Consolidation Coal Company in West Virginia and Maryland to Washington and connect with Rockefeller interests. Gov. Cornwell is chiefly concerned in Senator Watson's Consolidation Coal Company, which, it is said, is hooked up with the Rockefellers.

Cornwell With Riggs Bank.

Gov. Cornwell also promoted and was president of the Hampshire Southern Railway, which was known to be floated by the Baltimore & Ohio, and which was afterwards taken over by that railroad.

Gov. Cornwell's financial affiliations are with the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C. He acted as a representative of the Riggs National Bank when that institution was involved in financial activities of doubtful character a few years ago. A thorough raking of the Riggs National Bank was instituted by William G. McAdoo, as Secretary of the Treasury.

It may be remembered, in connection with Debs' journey to Atlanta from Moundsville, that he was in the custody of United States Marshal Ned Smith, of Fairmont, West Virginia. It is generally understood that United States Marshal Smith is completely under the domination of the Watson and Cornwell coal interests and owes his position to that source.

Coal Barons Hate Debs.

Debs has made hundreds of speeches in West Virginia during his 40 years of labor in working class movement, and he has toured the state from Harper's Ferry to Wheeling in four different campaigns as candidate for the presidency on the Socialist party ticket. The coal kings and industrial lords of that oligarchy have never forgotten with what bitterness Debs flayed the coal operators and the railroad interests in that state, urging the miners and workers in the railroad shops to join the party that would deliver them from industrial bondage.

While Debs was yet at Moundsville I was told by a state official that the coal operators would view with bitterness any kindness shown Debs by the prison attaches. Debs himself once commend upon this.

The thing which most galls Attorney General Palmer is the pointblank refusal of Eugene Victor Debs to ask for a pardon. It is a matter of rather common opinion now that Debs would have only to crook his knee before the Department of Justice, confess his "guilt" and thus win his instant freedom. It is believed that the government does not relish the continued imprisonment of Eugene Victor Debs, for his name has become synonymous with freedom and democracy the world over, and any punishment of him is felt alike by his millions of friends and co-workers in the cause of social and industrial change.

Aside from the obvious wish and desire of America's plutocracy to finish the career of Debs as speedily and with as little publicity as possible, it has been suggested that the Department of Justice was animated to grant the request of the Board of Control for the removal of Debs to the Federal prison at Atlanta by the idea that rigorous treatment and the abstraction of all privileges would tend to break down the moral and spiritual resistance of Eugene Victor Debs and force him to ask for a pardon for a political crime of which he feels not the slightest tinge of guilt.

Debs Will Never Ask Pardon.

It is worth while to repeat here the words of Debs spoken to me at Atlanta a few weeks ago when I put the suggestion to him that he could win a pardon if he would but ask for it.

> Not in a thousands years! Not if I were to be burned to the stake. To ask for a pardon would be to confess guilt of crime that does not attach itself to me. If it is punishable under American laws by imprisonment for an American citizen to express the opinion of himself and of a large number of persons that was is an abomination, that wholesale slaughter is cruel and could not settle a political question, then I am perfectly willing to spend the remainder of my days here, and I should spend them nowhere else."

Theodore Debs, Gene's brother, at Terre Haute, has made the following statement to The Call in connection with Gene's transfer to Atlanta and the treatment accorded him there. The statement follows:

Death by Slow Torture.

"The sudden and secret removal of Gene to Atlanta is no longer a mystory. No reason was assigned at the time by Attorney-General Palmer for making the change—and none is necessary. The reason is obvious enough, the object clear as the light of day, and the reader can draw his or her own conclusions.

"Gene, as you may know, has been assigned to work in the clothing department of the prison, the exact nature of which I am not advised. He begins work at 8 o'clock in the morning and continues untill noon. One hour is allowed for dinner. At 1 o'clock he returns to his task, where he is engaged until 3:45, after which twenty minutes are allowed for outdoor recreation. Supper is then served and at 5 o'clock he is locked in his cell and confined there until 7 o'clock the next morning, 14 consecutive hours.

"Think of it! Fourteen hours out of every 24, every day in the week, every week in the month in a steel cage.

"In the heat of a prison cell in a hot Southern climate, whatever others may say, I say it is death by slow torture. One must indeed be blind and dumb that cannot discern the real object of such inhumanity.

"Fourteen hours out of every twenty-four in a cell in the dead heat of summer can have but one meaning; it can have no other.

"In a recent conversation with a newspaper man, Attorney General Palmer, when told by him that 'Debs would never ask for a pardon,' coolly replied: 'He may change his mind.'

"This statement was made by Palmer before Gene was removed to Atlanta. In the light of recent developments it is truly significant.

Kaiser Kinde in Similar Cases.

"In monarchial Germany the brute Kaiser inflicted no such barbarity upon Liebknecht, whom he loathed and feared as no other man in all the empire. But in democratic America, where we hypocritically blabber about 'justice' and 'humanity', we use methods of revenge that would make savages blush with shame at their own debasement.

"And those atracious crimes are committed in the name of 'law' by pious, self-respecting Christian gentlemen, followers of the lowly Nazarene—and in the very morning of the twentieh century.

"Caged like a beast fourteen hours out of every twenty-four.

"As I observe these refined methods or torture, 'legally' administrated upon men and women for alleged political offense, men and women who tower, morally and spiritually, as far as above their brutal persecutors as a scintillating star above a slimy snake, I confess to feeling an almost horrid admiration for the lowbrowed brute who silently steps from a dark alley, club in hand, and spatters the talk with the brains of his victim, or even the, more cowardly assasin who secrets himself in a fence corner and shoots his innocent and unsuspecting victim in the back.

Some Criminal more Decent.

"Whatever else may be said of these monsters in human form, they at least do not clothe themselves with religious vestments or the garb of respectability, prattle about 'justice' and 'humanity'—and they are too decent, low as they have sunk into sickening depths of depravity, to slowly torture their innocent victims into eternal silence.

"Caged in the dead heat of summer fourteen hours a day.

"We denounced the Kaiser and his Junker's as 'brutes'.

"Can anything quite as decent and respectable be said of our own plutocracy?"

A. F. of L. Bulwark of Capitalism Says Babson in Wall St. Report.

Claims Gompers opposed to "sober" workingclass as aid to Bolshevism.

Big business and all allied and reactionary forces in America may rejoice in the information conveyed in the report of Roger W. Babson, author of "Babson Reports" which attempts to keep the money lords of this country informed of all radical tendences of labor.

In this report is it stated that Gompers opposes a "sober" workingclass, because that means a "radical" working class, and further charges the "beer special" sent to Washington during the A. F. of L. convention was merely a part of the campaign to keep labor from becoming sober.

This charge is in harmony, with Gompers' patriotic appearence recently before the judiciary committee of the U. S. senate, charging that a dry U. S. is an aid to Bolshevism. Gompers produced a report on conditions in Detroit since Michigan went dry, pointing out that numerous radical publications had been started, a school organized, a home for the workers. "The House of the Masses", bought costing $75,000, and numerous other bolshevik activities for stimulating the workers mentaly carried out successfully.

Read the following complete "Babson Report" as follows:

LABOR'S FEAR OF BOLSHEVISM.
By ROGER BABSON.
(His Report to America's Money Kings.)

As we go to press, the annual convention of American Federation of Labor is still in progress in Atlantic City. A final report on its performances will be given in our next issue. We deal with the temper and spirit of the convention.

Caution, conservatism, prejudice—these are the qualities which stand out. Indeed it might be safe to substitute for these words the one word—FEAR!

We say this guardedly, for the ways of the convention are deep, and one can not be to sure that his diagnosis are correct. If the word should be FEAR, the next question is, what is it that is feared? And after all, maybe it should not be called FEAR at all.

For example, why did the convention adjourn to allow 400 or more of the delegates to journey off to Washington to pray for the abolition of the prohibition rule? Like any other body of four hundred average men in America, probably a majority of these men take a drop at times. But, like others, these men also know the gentle art of brewing at home and so have no fear of desert dryness. We do not believe that labor, as a body, is "wet" when it comes to a question of saloons or no saloons.

It was alleged that the brewing interests financed the trip, furnishing Pullman accomodations to Washington and return. Some delegates objected to thus being made a tool of the big interests. Undoubtedly the trip to Washington has raised prejudice against American labor on the part the great body of temperate people in this country.

Strolling about among the delegates one could freely hear it said that those in control of the gathering welcomed the liquor issue as a safety valve. Besides this, Mr. Gompers' own language gives ground for suspecting that he fears that a sober labor party means a radical labor party. The "mare's nest" in the Pacific Northwest is a "dry" nest. And Russia is dry. Men who do not drink have time to think. Did this trip to Washington and other numerous adjournments charged to lack of business ready present, mean that the leaders dreaded what might occur in the convention if open play were allowed? We do not know. Some delegates thought so.

This much is certain—the convention and the Federation proposes to take no chances from what might result from flirting with Miss Bolshevik. It is determined to keep its own record clear of such entaglements. In the effort it stands so straight that it actually leans over backward.

In the great fight against Bolshevism clients may be sure of the help of the A. F. of L.

Two radical utterances—two only, really got across in the first week of the convention. They were the speech of Mr. Glenn E. Plumb and that of Miss Margaret Bondfield. Mr. Plumb, as attorney for the railroad brotherhoods, presented to the convention a plan for government ownership and employe management of the railroads. It is a radical proposition. It is much like the plan for nationalization presented by the English miners. But both the speech and the plan got across. The speech raised intense enthusiasm, and the plan was endorsed later by vote. The plan has been described in a pamphlet and we are endeavoring to arrange to supply our clients with copies.

Miss Bondfield came over as one of the fraternal delegates sent by the English Trade Union Congress. She was selected to come in 1918, but her passports were objected to by our State Department and she was unable to come Her speech seemed radical to the convention, but it was simply a report on the rank and file movement of labor in Great Britain. She put before the delegates in staight Anglo-Saxon, an authoritative report of the English situation, which was in flat contradiction to the official version current in this country. There is no doubt that Miss Bondfield told the truth. Her address made a most profound impression on the delegates.

In a word then, the convention was safe. It was orthodox trade union in character from start to finish. It bore testimony again to the skill and political resources of Mr. Gompers. Our representative asked a dozen or so delegates what the members thought when they heard such an address as Miss Bondfield's and compared it with what has been circulated in this country on the same topics. The common reply was, "They do not think at all." One radical, who in recent years has often been on the floor in defense of the progressive measures, was asked why he was silent this year and he said, "I am on a mental vacation." So far as wage demands, insistance on the right to organize, and all of the customary union activities go, these will continue in full force

Clients may, however, feel entirely safe in believing that the A. F. of L. is linked with them to continue conservatism in American society.

The conditions are favorable for employers, if they are wise enough to bring about a labor-capital alliance for the preservation of the old landmarks in industry. It is true that strong forces threaten this condition but these forces were not in control of the convention Indeed they were not present in any number. The management of union affairs is such that the strongest of the radicals either do not get elected delegats or do not care to be elected. Only the smallest minority voted with the radicals on test votes.

There can be no question that the convention of 1919 has on the whole served to commend organized labor to the employers of this country.

Every Subscription Will Help Free Debs And All Political Prisoners.

READ

The freedom of Debs and all political prisoners depends upon the amount of publicity which reaches the American working-class. Our capitalist masters are watching this campaign for Debs' release as an indication of working-class thought and purpose.

The greater the publicity which reaches the attention of American workers, so much the sooner will Debs and other comrades be released from prison.

THE FREEDOM OF DEBS IS IN YOUR HANDS. You can help in the work of his release by securing subscriptions to The Ohio Socialist. Every subscriber means another helper for Debs' release. Get as many as you can. Take this copy of the Ohio Socialist, show it to a worker and get his subscription at once.

HELP FREE DEBS—GET A SUBSCRIPTION—USE THIS BLANK.

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DEBS MUST BE FREED

Debs must be freed. That is the dictum the workers are going to force down the throats of the Democratic politicians who keep him and thousands of other fearless men and women in the American bastiles for no other reason than that they fear them and their influence with the workers.

Debs must be freed. For three months he has been hidden away behind stone walls subject to an environment far and away too good for the human vultures who sent him there. Subjected to the whims and caprices of petty politicians and officials who are not worthy to be mentioned in the same breath.

Debs must be freed. Let Attorney General Mitchell Palmer, speak for the government of the United States in this matter. Palmer is quoted in a Terre Haute paper of July 9th, as saying:

> It is true, as you say, that the war is over; but how can we let Debs go into the world, only to continue his open opposition to the best and freest government in the world."

Now we know why Debs remains in prison. When the last possible reason and excuse for his confinement has disappeared with the coming of peace, he is still to be kept locked up like a beast because of his "opposition to the freest government in the world." "The best and freest government in the world." Who says so? Attorney General Mitchell Palmer says so. The democratic party says so. The democratic party thru Palmer says that because Debs disagrees with it, he therefore, must be kept in jail for ten years.

For disagreeing with the politicians at present occupying the seats of political power in "the freest government in the world" freedom is to be denied Debs. Such an attitude is no doubt in line with a "free" government such as this country possesses. It is the usual attitude of small calibre politicians such as at present feed at the public trough tru the democratic party, and those in the high seats are no different from those in the low ones. The attitude of Mitchell Palmer is the same as that held by countless ward heelers of this party thruout the country and who have made democracy a word of mockery from Maine to California.

Debs must be freed. The workers are learning that the more shouting about democracy the politicians and other henchmen of capitalism do, the less democracy there is for the workingclass. This truth is beginning to be recognized by larger and larger bodies of workers as the days pass. More than one rumbling denotes this fact. And one of the causes of it is the continued senseless and criminal confinement of Debs and other political and class-war prisoners in the jails of this country.

Debs must be freed. His longer confinement is (even tho he were guilty of an offense against the government) unnecessary, uncalled for; is criminal, and an unjustice and an isult to the workers of this ation. By their longer confinement of Debs and other class-war prisoners, the capitalist class thru the democratic politicians, fling into the teeth of the American wage-workers the insufferable insult of keeping their representatives locked up in jail while they continue the unparralled robbery of labor.

To those workers who are alive to the needs of labor and the injustice of the present system of labor exploitation, this situation is impossible. It calls for the most intense publicity and the most aggressive action. The Ohio Socialist is pledged to render every assistance possible to regain Debs' liberty and that of every political prisoner now incarcerated.

Debs must be freed. To that end we intend to do our utmost. To that end YOUR help and that of every justice-desiring worker is requested. To that end let every comrade bend his or her best efforts. Stand ready to join the ARMY of LIBERATORS that will fight for Freedom for Debs. Be ready.

PHANTOM DEMOCRACY

One hears very little these days about making the world safe for democracy. The capitalist press in particular appears to fight shy of its erstwhile flambouyant boasts, promises and wordly word battles for the reign of democratic righteousness. How full of promise were thei rhapsodies about the new world of labor that was to follow on the heels of the downfall of the world destroyer, the hated Hun. How glorious was to be the future of labor, if labor would only consent to join hands with the masters of the new world against those of the old. In the delirium of their fancies, labor was the great object of veneration. Without labor, wars could not be fought nor the world kept upon its rightful course, but was fated to go to the demnition bow-wows otherwise

To-day, what do we find.

We find this: that wherever labor raises its head to ask for a living wage, wherever it manifests the slightest desire to put into practice even the least of those principles for which all its sacrifices were made, it readily finds arrayed against it all the forces of the master class; all the powers of government, all and every resource which its erstwhile "friends" can muster to crush it.

For nearly two years the Russian workers have essayed the perilous task of establishing their own government in their own land, the land which they have tilled under the Cossack's knout for a thousand years. And what has been their lot at the hands of the hypocratical shouters for democracy who function as the nation's leaders and statesmen, and under whose guidance the destiny of the country is placed? For months an undeclared war has been waged against them. For months every attempt of the Russian Soviets to arrive at an understanding with this government and its allies has failed. Failed because this country is determined to aid the downfall of the Russian worker's government, and for the reason that the government is a worker's government and not a capitalist and a robber government.

And now, fearing to go further in bloody aggression against the Russian workers, it proposes to devote its "democratic" energies toward the starvation of as many millions of men, women and children as its blockade can accomplish. Further, and in the same line of activity, it proposes to furnish Koltchack provisions, supplies and munitions for waging his counter revolution. By these roundabout means it seeks to accomplish the same end, the downfall of the first socialist democracy.

Compare the visionary portrayal by the capitalist press of after-war conditions with the facts of to-day. The worker finds that to get enough to keep his family, he must resort to the same weapons as before the war, the strike. His master does not meet him with soft words and a raise without a struggle. The winning of the war has not changed conditions for labor except for the worse. The war between capital and labor has been intensified. The cost of living has constantly risen. The economic condition of the worker has grown more precarious.

His personal liberties are infringed upon until they have reached the vanishing point. Freedom of speech except to mouth the praises of his master are denied him. His peaceful meetings are broken up and resistance is met with bullets and death. His political organizations are outlawed in practice and in fact if not by law. Meeting places for the purpose of carrying political campaigns are denied him upon the public streets and parks. Hall owners are intimidated and warned by police not to rent to socialists.

These are the bitter results for the militant workers of this country nearly nine months after the end of the war. This is the kind of democracy that flourishes and receives encouragement from ruling powers at this moment. It is the greatest hoax ever perpetrated upon a civilized people, by a rapacious and vulturous robber class.

It is a phantom democracy.

VIRGINIA BULLETIN

[illegible], State Secretary.

Virginia Comrades:—

As we are too little and insignificant to amount to much, we had best cut this thing short in this round. Little folks should be seen and not heard. Some of you may have been puzzling to know if we are Right or Left. Well so far as getting a delegate to Chicago to the Coming National Socialist Party Convention, we are LEFT. We get no delegate allowed us because, forsooth, we are not organized in the sense of the dear Constitution. Lawyer Hogan put the boot to us by moving that only "organized" states be allowed representatives at the coming Convention.

Comrade E. J. Beggs, P. O. Box 164, Portsmouth, Va., has been elected to the vacancy on our State Executive Committee. Comrade Beggs sent me a copy of the July issue of "The Messenger, the only radical negro magazine in America"—2305 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City. The editorial genius behind this thing is astonishing—get a copy.

Then too, you want to get the June issue of THE DIAL and read Bertrand Russells article, "Economic Unity and Political Division." There is enough truth in [illegible] for the dumbest [illegible] of [illegible] Americans' [illegible] about that [illegible] going.

Kaiser Bill ("[illegible] democracy") [illegible] majority rooted out by [illegible] of the three-class electoarte. King George (or was it Lloyd George) representative democracy easily knocked out a two to three majority popular labor vote by means of a little gerrymandering. Now our American [illegible] have the original patent on the "gerrymander". So you see that the man who sees a future for radical parliamentarianism in this country is indeed a robust optimist.

Financial Statement for June.

Income	
June 4th—Norfolk	$15.00
June 27th—F. D. Lowe	1.00
Total	$16.00
Expenses	
June 7th—Literature	$ 1.00
June 30th—Postage	2.00
Total	$ 3.00
Gain for the month	$13.00

A PICTURE OF DEBS FOR YOUR HOME

A picture of Debs should be in every worker's home. The latest picture of Debs, taken just before going to Moundsville prison, is the best one ever taken, so critics say.

Enlarged and printed in sepia on special paper, measuring 12½ x 18 inches, it makes a splendid picture for framing for any home. It is autographed in Debs' hand writing which adds to its attractiveness.

You will like this photo of Geno and will cherish it for many years to come. It is the picture of Debs that will become historical, the picture taken just before capitalism sentenced him to ten years for his loyalty to the workers.

Get one of these pictures of Debs.

☞ 25c each ☜

Order of Socialist Party of Ohio
3207 Clark Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Penna. Socialist is sentenced.

Ralph W. Tillotson, of Erie, Pa., twice tried and convicted for violation of the Espionage Act was given a 60 day jail sentence by Judge Thompson of the Federal Court of Western Penna. at Pittsburg.

Comrade Tillotson's case dates back to 1917, when his activities as leader of Socialist agitation in Erie brought down on his head the wrath of the local Democratic politicians and of the Manufacturer's Association of Erie. He was accordingly framed-up, charged with distributing seditious literature and convicted in May 1918; appealed and again convicted in March 1919. A third trial was denied and Comrade Tillotson is now serving time in Allegheny jail.

Comrade Tillotson is the recognized leader of the movement in Northwestern Pennsylvania; a member of the State Executive Committee of the S. P. and will doubtless be chosen by his party as candidate for Mayor in the coming municipal campaign in Erie.

FREE THEM ALL—THE LIBERATORS.

Doings Among The Sub Boosters

Comrade Roy Douglas, of Dunkirk, N. Y. sent in two half yearlies recently. We hope that he keeps up the pace he has started on.

Our ever ready booster, comrade Wm. Catton of Covington, K. adds three more to his record lately.

Another booster for the Ohio Socialist is comrade Mathew McMillan of New Lexington, O. Three yearlies from him makes us believe he is in the fight to stay.

Having declared war on the two old parties, comrade Henry Listerman of Cincinnati, sends a dollar for a years subscription.

A member of the German Branch of Akron, comrade S. Woda, sends in five subscriptions. The comrades of Akron German Branch are always finding some good work to do for socialism.

Chesapeake, O., is a center of socialist sentiment. Comrade P. B. Davis is ever active there selling O. S. sub. cards.

Comrade Bernhard Kehn, of Niles, O., keeps the renewals a coming our way. One of the big duties of every local secretary is to keep the comrades on the right side of their subscriptions.

Comrade Alois Havelka, of Neffs, O., sends in a list of four, all new members of Local Neffs.

"The paper suits us fine, we are—all of the Left Wing", thus writes comrade Mrs. Pearl Summers of Boyds, Wash. She sends three six mouths subs.

From far away Seldovia, Alaska, comes a list of eleven subs. Comrade W. H. Beach is the booster up there. Beats all how we are spreading over the globe, does'nt it!

Three more from comrade M. S. Kalatha, of E. Moline helps to keep our list there in good shape. We have several mighty good boosters in that neck of the woods.

A list of ten half yearlies from comrade Mrs. W. A. Vincent of Shinnston, W. Va., makes us glad. Apparently comrade Vincent has been interesting women in the great Cause, as we note several women's names on the list.

Local Deming
Socialist Party of New Mexico
Meets Every Second Sunday
at
Verlin Hotel, 3.30 P. M.
Next Meeting, July 20th.
Everybody Welcome.

Finnish Socialist Federation Endorses Left Wing Progam.

Executive Committee of Federation in Proclamation gives views of Finnish Socialists in present party controversy—National Executive Committee severely condemned.

(EDITORS NOTE: The proclamation of the Finnish Socialist Federation, composed of 10,000 members, which appears below ought to be carefully studied by all Socialist Party members. We note of course, that it contains reservations which many Left Wing Socialists, in the heat of battle where the controversy raged worst, will not agree with. However, it places the Finnish Socialist Federation on the side of the Left Wing movement, demands reinstatement of all expelled subdivisions of the party and their full representation at the national convention, and ends by announcing that should a split occur in the party, this federation will affiliate with that section of the Socialist Party which follows the wake of the uncompromising class struggle. In the light of foregoing criticism made of the N. E. C., which dubs this body as opportunistic and pettit-bourgeois, this can only mean that the Finnish Socialist Federation will join with the Left Wing section, should a rupture in the organization occur. This proclamation has not been edited and is here published just as it was received from Henry Askeli, translator secretary of the federation.)

PROCLAMATION OF THE FINNISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION

I. The International.

1.) We declare as disruptionists of the international socialist movement those leaders and groups of the socialist parties in different countries, who already in 1914, immediately after the first bomb had exploded on the battlefield of the imperialistic world war, abandoned the principle: "The working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common," upon which principle our international movement has been built since 1864. We further declare that the workers have nothing in common with these renegades, who even after that, instead of returning to the revolutionary viewpoint emphasized by the decisions of the Second International at the Stuttgart and Berlin Congress, have joined the rank of the counter-revolution as the appologists of the capitalists, to oppose and murder the workers struggling for power.

2.) We refuse to give any support to the attempts of these traitorous leaders to organize international unity. We condemn the Berne Conference for its bourgeois-chauvinistic spirit, which controlled it, and contend that it was nothing else but an attempt of opportunistic socialists, playing into the hands of capitalists, to organize their powers against the real class struggle of the proletariat. We condemn all international conferences and endeavors toward unity commenced by the so-called war socialists, and refuse all co-operation with these traitors and renegades.

3.) As a natural result of the above, we, with the greatest of pleasure, desire to give our full support to the new communistic Third International, organized at the Moscow Conference, with which among others the Italian and Norwegian Socialist Parties, the Swedish Left Wing Socialists, the German, Hungarian and Finnish Communistic Parties have affiliated themselves. We desire that our party be affiliated with it by inseparable ties of international proletarian brotherhood and solidarity. We contend that this Third International is the only international organization which is founded on revolutionary working class principles as represented by Marx and Engels. It is innocent of the bloodshed of capitalistic imperialism, and it promotes and serves the power of the working class in those countries where it has already won out, and aids the workers on to the road of victory where the workers are still under capitalistic tyranny and dictatorship. That is the reason why we demand that we be affiliated with the New Third International. It is the only international organization of the oppressed, exploited and enslaved proletariat of to-day. To it belongs victory, to it belongs the future.

II. The Programm and Tactics of the American Socialist Party.

We demand the renewal of the program of the American Socialist Party, and demanded that the general principles outlined below be taken into consideration therewith:

I.) The Socialist Party shall reject the viewpoint of petti-bourgeois socialism and shall adopt Marxian revolutionary socialism.

Capitalistic society is in the greatest crisis of history. The bulwarks of the capitalistic system, whose existence is based on the private ownership of the instruments of production and on the exploitation of the working class, take advantage of the most violent methods, terrorize society, and carry out the most cruel dictatorship of the exploiting class against the working class movement. The dictatorship protecting capitalistic exploitation is made possible by the fact that the capitalist class uses political power, and we demand that this power be taken into the hands of the working class by means of the class struggle.

The Socialist Party declares that its final purpose and aim is a social revolution.

A social revolution means nothing more or less than adoption of a system of production, distribution and consumption which is based on social ownership in place of the present inconsistent and anarchistic system of private ownership based on the brutal power of capital, which has passed its historical period. These inconsistencies in the economic system have been followed by the awful suffering and misery through which the world has lived during the past few years.

Democracy, i. e. the equality of rights and duties of citizens in a political significance, can be fully realized only when a social revolution has abolished the inherited privileges of private property and the slavery of the working class.

During the existance of capitalism we demand the extending of the economic as well as the political rights of the working class. But we realize that capitalistic democracy is only capitalistic dictatorship in a covert form and against it we set the absolute dictatorship of the working class, which, as the most important and the largest portion of humanity—the great majority of the people—will only then bring about real democracy.

We cannot define the method by which the social change will occur. The methods of revolution are dependent largely upon the blindness or the clear-sightedness of its opponents in their attitude towards this necessary progress in history.

But even now, during this stage the Socialist Party does not confuse revolution and violence with one another. Violence and bloodshed do not make any movement revolutionary, and essentially they have nothing in common. We are aware of the fact that events are of a revolutionary nature more on the basis of their results than on their forms. Being a party which stands for the brotherhood of humanity, and directing its activities toward the attainment of general happiness and well being, the Socialist Party hopes that its victory will be accomplished by systematic and peaceful organization. But in its attempt to capture political power the working class cannot reject any weapon and the form of its revolution will finally depend upon prevailing conditions, and especially upon the opposition directed against its right of suffrage, other political rights, and against all other activities for gathering the forces of the working class, and against its endeavors for social reform.

Our party, the American Socialist Party, is also aware of the fact that the success of the social revolution in guaranteed only when it occurs at a historic moment, at the moment when the minds of the people and the events have matured for it. The realization of the system which the working class is planing depends on the stage of development of the working class organizations and institutions, organizations which form the first organism of the socialistic system. Therefore, our greatest duty is to educate and organize the working class so that it will become capable of carrying out this historical duty. But just as we cannot define the form of the revolution, neither can we determine its moment. The Socialist Party cannot overlook any opportunities which the failure of the bourgeoisie may present. On the other side the social revolution is the hope of the oppressed people. Those upon whom the working class has set its faith must not betray this hope.

Be the form whatever it may, by which the transfer of power will occur, the rise to power of the organized workers will be followed by an era of proletarian dictatorship. Bourgeois dictatorship has made this necessary. By it the proletariat keeps counter-revolutionists in control, crushes the opposition of the bourgeoisie, upbuilds the new society, and thereby finally makes all class domination and the centralized establishment of the bourgeois system—the state— unnecessary. The first real democracy will then take its place, a system serving the cause of the producers and the common good of all.

The proletarian dictatorship cannot be a condition selected arbitrarily, but it is the result of the progress of the struggle between the classes; and the same is true in regard to bourgeois dictatorship. Such is the doctrine which is continually slandered in the reactionary press. History present sufficient proof that the new society, let it be social or political, when drawing up a new legal system, can never act within the legal limitations of the old system, a system which it will replace. The revolutions of the nineteenth century succeeded and failed in accordance to the extent that they complied with this

(Continued on page 4.)

PARTY NEWS AND VIEWS

MANY LOCALS ENTER MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGNS

Many Ohio locals of the Socialist Party have decided to enter the municipal campaign. Most of these have already nominated candidates and quite a number have made a call upon the state office for speakers.

During the municipal campaign two years ago the state office assisted the locals by touring twelve speakers. Special campaign leaflets were produced by the state office and 200,000 of them were sold thru-out the state. Many locals printed their own leaflets and we are safe in saying that about two million leaflets were distributed during this campaign.

Shall we assist in like manner in this campaign? It is for you to say. Nominate your municipal ticket at once, secure enough signatures to your nominating petitions to make sure your candidates names will appear upon the official ballot, and then begin your campaign in earnest. We will give you a lift, you can depend upon that, for we now have The Ohio Socialist, and we can furnish you a campaign edition of this paper at a very low cost.

Locals that have already made nominations for municipal candidates are requested to send the names of their candidates to the state office at once. Locals intending to enter the municipal campaign should also notify the state office so that we can estimate the number of speakers we may need and begin engaging them at once.

Above all remember that you must secure enough signatures BEFORE September first, or you will fail to get the names of your candidates upon the ballot.

VOTE THE REFERENDUMS

There are three referendums now before the membership. One is for the election of a state secretary and a state executive committee. This is Referendum A, 1919. Referendum C, 1919, pertains to the election of delegates to the national convention. Referendum C, 1919 consists of the largest ballot yet [illegible] by [illegible] state convention.

Attend your next local or branch meeting. Vote these referendums. Every GOOD party member will do this. Incidentally, it's time to pay your dues. Pay up and vote—at your next meeting. Do not forget.

THE DEBS PACKET

An important assortment of Deb's pamphlets and books. Order at once. This will be your last opportunity to get some of these titles.

UNIONISM AND SOCIALISM	$ .10
POLITICAL APPEAL TO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN	.05
LIBERTY, Address on leaving Woodstock	.05
THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT	.05
CLASS UUNIONISM, One Big Union discussion	.05
LIFE'S WRITINGS AND SPEECHES	1.00
Regular price	$1.30
Special packet price prepaid	$1.00

These messages from the mind of Eugene V. Debs breathe the spirit of revolt that has made our imprisoned Comrade an international citizen, caused his name to be loved by millions of the common people and hated by the exploiters.

Send all remittances to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
3207 CLARK AVENUE
CLEVELAND, O.

ATTENTION, INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE PURCHASERS

The more than 500 comrades who have purchased Industrial Freedom Certificates from the State Office of the Socialist Party of Ohio will be pleased to learn that the dollar that each of them paid for a certificate will now be used in the special campaign we are initiating to free Debs and all political prisoners.

We feel confident that these more than 500 comrades will form the nucleus from which will be built the powerful ARMY OF LIBERATORS, which will soon make the nation ring with the call to Debs and all political prisoners to come forth from their steel cages into the sunshine of working class comradeship.

A CORRECTION.

In the dollar column of press fund receipts of the issue of July 9th, comrades Frank [illegible] and [illegible] are credited with [illegible]. Fifty [illegible] each was the [illegible]. Blame it on the printer.

PRESS FUND BULLETIN.
Good News.

Last week we told in these columns of the offer of $1,000 for the press fund from comrade Wm. M. Brown of Galion, O.

Comrade Brown's offer was that he would give $1,000 to the press fund providing the other readers of the Ohio Socialist, and the comrades thruout the country would give the other $9,000 making the $10,000 called for, for [illegible] and printing plant. But the press [illegible] that the comrade Brown stated [illegible] $9,000 should be raised first, [illegible] $1,000 constituting the last $1,000 making up the total.

This week comrade Brown writes us the cheering news that he will send us one fourth of the $1,000 ($250) as soon as other comrades have sent one fourth of $10,000. (2,500.)

At this writing we have received about $2,250. We lack about $250 of the fourth, which comrade Brown asks you to donate before he sends us his one fourth pledged.

Now, we just want to say: we can't afford to wait a minute to get that $250 donation from comrade Brown, can we? Of course we can't! Therefore comrades, get busy raking that other $250 together for comrade Brown is waiting on YOU.

Don't keep an offer like that hanging in mid air. Pull it down! Remember GET BUSY.

Watch For This Next Week

You will find it mighty interesting. The story of Debs' trip to Moundsville penitentiary, as told by David Karsner in "Debs Goes to Prison". The first chapter will appear in next week's Ohio Socialist.

Watch for the "Debs Goes to Prison" story. It will be [illegible] with [illegible] as only Karsner can [illegible] by America's [illegible] citizen.

Finnish Socialist Federation Endorses Left Wing Movement

(Continued from page 2.)

principle. This transition from the old to the new forms the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The socialistic system, which the working class conscious of its mission is planning, will be carried into power by one class, the proletariat but it will be carried into power for the benefit and the well-being of all people. In the same way as the new legal system which it preceeds and for which it is preparing the way, the unpersonified dictatorship of the proletariat is used in the name of all humanity and for its benefit.

We hope that the transition period from capitalism to socialism will be as brief as possible, but the issue is not dependent upon our hopes. Its length will fluctuate with the conditions of economic production, the preparedness and the stage of the organization of the working class, as well as nature and the violence of the opposition.

The Socialist Party works for the revolution when it struggles for the well-being, for the self-respect and for the self-consciousness of labor. It works for increasing the value of their labor power whenever it endeavors to obtain for the working class still larger political liberties for the expression of their opinion, and whenever it endeavors to preserve social wealth from capitalistic exploitation. In all its endeavors, however, it takes into consideration the limited possibilities of the capitalistic system, and secures reforms therein principally for the purpose of strengthening its power for the decisive struggle.

We approve only such reforms which the working class can obtain by its own efforts, adhering strictly to the principle of the class struggle. Such viewpoints which bind the workers to absolute parliamentarism or to one-sided antiquated methods of the strike movement must be condemned. The mass action of the working class is shown by history to be the principal form to which the struggle between the classes will lead. In fighting for reforms it is our duty to measure them with this yardstick of the mass movement, to determine if they hasten its rise and whether or not they benefit it otherwise.

At a time like this when the course of events is so uncertain and so full of surprise no one can foretell when the hour of the working class shall strike. But be it near or far, the same practical work is necessary of educating and organizing the working class continually upholding its faith in the success of its aims. Being the heir of the capitalistic world, a world whose riches are composed of the accumulated wealth of generations of labor, the present duty of socialism is to preserve this inheritance and to prepare to receive it.

* * *

The party's decleration of principles in our opinion should be in accord with the above. The practical program should be renewed in accordance with the demands of the present time, and in drawing it up the foregoing declaration should be adhered to. In regard to demands in the program and the more definite practical duties the following viewpoint should be considered among others:

1) The party should put into effect a more stringent and uniform discipline in regard to its representatives in state legislatures, in Congress and in municipal governments, so that they shall at all times consistently comply with the strict principles of revolutionary socialism, and not act inconsistently and in contradiction with another, and not relax from these principles in their practical activities.

2.) Agitation against imperialism must be made more pointed and a still greater pressure should be exerted to push through the demand that American soldiers shall not be sent to fight against the revolutionary comrades of Europe and against the real democracies built up by them.

3.) The struggle for the liberation of political prisoners must be continued to the last vestige of strength and the struggle must be broadened and every party organ and newspaper must be obligated to give it more attention.

4.) We deem unadaptable to the principles of socialism the method by wihch party officials affiliate with and bind themselves for co-operation with various petit-bourgeois and religious associations of their leaders for the promotion of certain issues of a political nature, and thereby always cause the struggle, caried on and aided by the Socialist Party, to come under the auspices of some other organization and not the party itself. Such methods do not aid the bringing together of the masses of dissatisfied workers, but instead the Socialist Party is estranged from them and from the duties of a class nature which are in accord with the interests of the proletariat. We must get rid of the notion that the Socialist Party is some kind of a holiday article. The Socialist Party is the fighting and the active party of the struggling working class.

5.) Our relation to economic organizations.

In our opinion the unionistic movement of America is tsill undergoing its period of upheavel and formation and no model union is in existance. Therefore we must always make our selection in a conditional manner.

The official leadership and the policies of the American Federation of Labor based on craftsman and on elements of the working class possessing petit-bourgeois ideas, are to-day more conservative than they were twenty years ago. While others have made progress these have become more reactionary and have been driven into more and more detestable associations with the greatest opponents of the working class in this country, and are doing their best to aid the mortal enemies and the murderers of our brothers and comrades in foreign lands to retain their power. The recent actions of the A. F. of L. form the greatest stain upon the labor movement of this country and the most humiliating shame in an international way. The criticism of such criminal policies must be emphasized within the Socialist Party, first for the purpose of upholding a more stringent discipline for these opportunistic bargainers who sympathize with the viewpoints controlling A. F. or L., and secondly to aid the dissatisfied elements within the A. F. of L., who now form quite a numerous group therein, to carry on their struggle against the leading policies of the Federation.

We greet with pleasure every sign of revolt within the Federation which represents an independent class-conscious attempt of the membership, and shall aid them to the best of our ability to attain a form of unionism based on the class-struggle, whether this be accomplished by the class-conscious workers at some decisive moment obtaining control of the Federation as a whole, when the old principles, tactics and official machinery are cast aside, or by the more radical groups and national unions withdrawing or being expelled from the Federation and forming an econbmical organization which shall assimilate to itself the masses of organized and unorganized workers, and adopting the principles of industrial unionism and the class struggle. The unprogressive and reetionary hull of the A. F. of L. shall be left adrift, first as a counteractive element, but later as a dead letter in the economic class struggle movement of the country.

Of the independent unions of national significance outside the A. F. of L. we shall mention the Industrial Workers of the World. In comparison with the A. F. of L. it has assumed a more progressive stand in that it has declared in favor of the industrial form of organization and for the principle of the class struggle. But in its practical activities and in its agitation for the principle of the class struggle it is confused by ideas of revolt that are based on a line of thought related to individualism and coming from the decaying petit-bourgeoisie. For that reason its policies, and especially so among certain groups have been controlled by an agitation founded on blind instincts, and connected with the defending of desperate anarcho syndicalistic methods and viewpoints which are foreign to industrial unionism. Their zealous but vain struggle is founded on these foreign viewpoints, in opposition to class-conscious socialistic political action, and for that reason they have not received our full support. While we insist that the political struggle—socialism—and the economical struggle—industrial unionism—are necessary for the working class, and that close and solid relations should be built up between the two to promote the best interests of the workers, we also contend that the I. W. W., in order to succeed, must abandon all its syndicalistic features; i. e., unless it ceases it reckless fight against Marxian socialism it will not receive the support of large masses of workers, and will not be even able to uphold the leading standard of industrial unionism in the development and formation of economic organization in this country.

In reference to the immaturity of the unionistic movement in this country, it is the general duty of socialists to promote industrial unionism with their agitation and to aid the union and federation already based on that principle to free themselves of all tendencies which are injurious to the class struggle of the workers. It is the duty of socialists to do their best to fill the endeavors of economically organized workers with the spirit of socialism.

III. The Left Wing Movement in the American Socialist Party.

1.) When we are beset with the question, "Do we belong to the Right Wing or to the Left Wing?" we declare that we belong to the Left Wing, insofar as the significance of these denominations is understood in accordance with the doctrines of Marx and Engels, the soundness of which have again been proven by recent world events This does not signify that we do not notice among the present Left Wingers certain viewpoints which are erroneus, but they concern only tactics and their ultimate intentions are correct. On the one hand their declaration of principles is clear of all that is injurious, of all compromising opportunism, of too great a faith in the possibilities of the development of bourgeois democracy, of absolute and solitary parliamentarism, and of politics for courting trade unionists, which have formed the shoals upon which the socialist parties of different lands have been wrecked; and on the other hand it is clear of anarcho-syndicalistic doctrines of revolt. The simple fact that they are struggling against endeavors which are foreign and injurious to the socialistic movement obligates us to join them. And insofar as this movement still contains socialistically immatured understandings, it is our duty to trim them away to promote the formation of the movement on a clear Marxian foundation.

2.) As to the Left Wing Manifesto, adopted in New York during February, we wish to state that we do not see anything harmful in its leading principle, although a party program as a whole must be more comprehensive and all the most urgent duties of the present moment must be taken into consideration more definitely. Considering it only as a declaration of principles we realize that it is, [illegible] the [illegible] we [illegible] and [illegible] all action [illegible] reforms is [illegible] be ready and [illegible] of every opportunity to gain relief and reforms for the living conditions of the workers, for in that manner alone the party proves itself as the party of the proletariat; but in the respect that the party must not stop to covet reforms alone, but must use the reforms to its best advantage to develop revolutionary power and ability, we are in accord with the Manifesto. And this important fact must also be publicly expressed in clear words in the program of our party.

3.) We desire also to take advantage of this opportunity to state, that, insofar as anarcho-syndicalistic and elements opposing political action and the political struggle are attempting to drift along with the Left Wing movement, we sternly oppose such elements and tendencies, knowing full well that they are in contradiction with socialistic viewpoints and Marxian foundations, upon which we desire to build. And furthermore, we are of the opinion that the renewal of the party program, and making it more radical, which is the demand of all Left Wingers, is the best antidote for all the doctrines of revolt which estrange themselves from the socialistic movement insofar as such doctrines receive support among the working masses.

IV. Preserving the Unity of the Party.

1.) First of all we desire to state, that the unity of the party is the all important matter in our opinion. We do not look favorably upon acts which destroy this unity. We have noted however, that the collisions of different viewpoints have brought about an unheard of split in the socialist movement of the whole world, and that the undulations reach even here. Marxians and opportunistic barterers within the socialist movement differ from one another in principles and in the determination of the leading principles of organization and agitation work. And the more critical the class struggle has developed the greater this distinction has become. The old oportunists viewpoint, nested in different parties, has become completely bankrupt insofar as Marxian principles are concerned, and has been driven into the ranks of the counter revolutionists. At the same time, those standing on the unalterable viewpoint of the class struggle, have, as a result of the effect of present occurences, rapidly attained a commanding position everywhere among the workers. Co-operation between these two groups can only be possible by the surrender of the former for the benefit of the latter.

2.) From this viewpoint we look upon the present crisis in the Socialist Party.

We do not know to what extent the Left Wingers in New York and elsewhere have violated the party constitution and of what nature these violations are, but we are ready to believe that the organizing of a district organization within the party as such is a crime against the spirit of the party constitution. And we believe that the Left Wingers elsewhere have not always been able to select for themselves the best methods for the promotion of their viewpoints But on the other hand, we do not know how much the official leadership confronting them has opposed and hindered the promotion of reconstructive tendencies within the party, thereby assisting in the creation of a situation where violations of the rules become the order of the day.

3.) Nevertheless it is now clear that petit-bourgeois opportunistic socialism has its representatives in the leadership of the party. It is impossible otherwise to understand the decision of the National Executive Committee by which it expels almost one third of the party membership, not daring to leave the matter to be decided [illegible] of the party convention. The [illegible] which the Committee showed by its decision toward the Left Wingers, a large group of the party membership, is the best proof of the fact that the Committee is of the Right Wing and that its viewpoint is erroneous. We condemn the expulsions absolutely and demand that those expelled shall be granted their full rights until the National Convention is held, and also in the convention. It is contended that the expulsions are based upon technical violations of the constitution, so we contend that the National Executive Committee understands its duty incorrectly, if it, for reasons of this nature and in the greater part for reasons existing as mere contentions, and without any formal investigations and hearings, strikes a blow with a few strokes of the pen which disrupts the party completely. For its autocratic nature and its fundamental purpose the expulsion becomes a crime against the socialist movement. We consider the expulsion the greatest crime of opportunistic socialism against ourselves.

We realize fully the necessity of unity and solidarity within the working class struggle, but on the other hand we realize also that the working class cannot attain its purpose with actions of such nature which are not directed by principles of the socialistic doctrines of the class struggle. If the internal crisis created within the Socialist Party unavoidably leads to a division or forces, we join without hesitation those that follow unalterably in the wake of the uncompromising class struggle. There shall be our place.

Submitted by

HENRY ASKELI,
Secretary.

Strike Movement Spreads Over United States

(Continued from 1st page.)

100,000 workers are threatened with a lockout if the thousands on strike do not return to work at once. In Boston the populace is walking to work, the street car men being on strike. On the Atlantic coast 30,000 members of the Coast Seaman's Union are out and the strike threatens to spread to the Great Lakes.

The Cleveland street car men won after a two days strike which tied up the city and the telephone workers of this same city are now having their battle with the wire corporations. Cigar Makers in New York, 20,000 of them are engaged in a struggle with their bosses. The strike at Argo, Ill., of the corn products workers has already cost several lives. The employes of the International Harvester Company, Chicago, 10,000 of them, have gone on a sympathic strike with underpaid employes.

In Seattle another 'phone strike is raging. In Denver the street car men have just won their demands after a successful strike.

In Piqua, Ohio, hundreds of stove workers are out.

On top of all this comes the surprising news that the exploited state employes of Ohio are organizing and threaten to strike against the state unless their wages are increased. Only a few weeks ago the entire force of city hall employes of Chicago went on strike, as did also the outside workers employed by the city. The city firemen, policemen and engineers threatened to strike. A wage increase of about $300.00 a year was finally granted to them. The city hall employes in Cleveland are also organizing.

The organization of city and state employes is a new sign of the times. It portends an awakening working class and a recognition on the part of "white collared" wage slaves that they must join forces with "dirty" labor if they desire to keep in fair trim to continue at work.

Raiders Take Socialist Literature Barr Socialists from Street

Armed with a search warrant issued under the new criminal syndicalism bill, authorizing a search of Socialist Headquarters for literature violating the law, six city detectives assisted by ten members of the Loyal American League took position of Local Cleveland headquarters last week, and proceeded to take everything that there fancy dictated.

A demand by C. E. Ruthenberg, in charge of the headquarters, that an itemized list be of the literature and other documents be made and a receipt given, in accordance with the law, was refused and the raiders proceeded to dump all the literature in sight into the waste paper bags found at the headquarters. The purpose of the raid seemed not so much a desire to find literature violating the criminal syndicalism bill as to grab all the literature in the party headquarters and thus hamper the party activities. Although C. E. Ruthenberg called attention to the fact that search warrant provided only for the seizure of such literature as violated the law and demanded that the literature on hand be examined and the raiders show what literature was in violating of the law, the raiders ignored this protest and proceeded to help themselves to the Socialist property.

After rummaging through the desks and files it was decided to take filing case and its contents and to place Carl Hacker, Recording Sec. of the party and C. E. Ruthenberg, under arrest.

Bail Fixed At Excessive Figure

Hacker and Ruthenberg, together with bags of literature and the filing case, were bundled into a police emergency and taken to the detective bureau at police headquarters. There the prisoners were charged with "publicly displaying literature" in violating of the criminal syndicalism bill.

A bondsman was on hand ready to furnish bail, but the police clerk refused to set the bail for so heinous a crime, as displaying literature, most of which had been sold for years without question. After several hours of telephoning in an effort to reach a judge of the Municipal Court, Judge Howells was reached and bail was set at $5,000 for each prisoner.

Bond was furnished for the two prisoners at the figure demanded and in court the folowing morning the hearing was set for July 23rd, when the prosecution will be obliged to show what literature it contends violates the law.

Socialists Barred from Streets.

Cleveland socialists were barred from holding street meetings on last Wed. evening by a squad of police, when an attempt made to open the municipal campaign with an open air meeting at the corner of 45th and Bush ave. This corner has been one of the most used open air meeting places for the socialists for years. When Tom Clifford, as chairman, got up to announce C. E. Ruthenberg, candidate for Mayor, as the speaker, he was at once approached by an officer and told that no meetings would be allowed. Five hundred people were present. The meeting had been advertised by handbils previously. Under the circumstances the socialists were allowed to merely make an announcement of a huge protest meeting against aggression upon Russia and Hungary to be held at Acme Hall on Sunday, July 20th.

Thru attorney Morris Wolf, an injunction was filed the following day in common pleas court against Mayor Davis to prevent police authorities from interfering with socialist street meetings.

The case was heard in Judge Martin A. Foran's court on Thursday. The Judge's decision was against the socialists which was no surprise at all, as it is an historic fact that judges are but the tools and interpreters of the laws for the master class.

Foran in his decision said:

"None of us are opposed to pure Socialism as embodied in the Socialist doctrine of a few years ago, but most everyone is opposed to Bolshevism, Anarchism and I. W. W.'ism, now included in the Socialist doctrine.

"Socialists cannot hold meetings on the streets and obstruct traffic," said Foran.

"Meetings in hall will not be interfered with as long as speakers do not challenge the integrity of this country and its institutions If they do so, they shall be prohibited from holding meetings anywhere."

Ruthenberg charged in his petition the only reason police were preventing meetings from being held was that Mayor Davis and representatives of other political parties feared power of the Socialists party.

So, it seems according to Judge Foran, that the socialists can either agree with him in his political and social views or keep their mouths shut. No minority opinions are to be tolerated in this land recently made safe for democracy. No "challenging" of this country and its institutions" will be allowed. In other words, capitalism, which is an institution of this country is not to be questioned as a benefactor of mankind and the working class in particular. The insufferable class justice handed out by the courts of capitalism in this country is not to be challenged. The mental bias of those who support the exploitation of the workers thru their court injunctions and decisions is not to be questioned. It is an "institution" of the country and must not be touched upon.

The robbery of the workers of this country is not a subject for discussion, according to this tool of capitalism. To jail with all who offer opposition to the rape of democracy! Every mouth that speaks for real freedom and a better life for the workers must and will be gagged if such as he have their way. Such is the attitude of those twisted and corrupted minds which do the bidding of capitalism and seek to earn their "thirty pieces of silver" and to curry favor with the commercial and financial pirates whose power is threatened by the organized workers. Just such intolerance and open violation of constitutional rights as these will lead to an end not cherished by those who sit uneasily in the seats of the mighty.

JOIN — THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.

Another High Water Mark is Set in Ohio Socialist Press Fund Receipts.

Another high water mark was established in Press Fund receipts this week. And we hasten to give credit to that fine bunch of comrades at Akron, the German Branch of Local Akron, Socialist Party.

It seems that a number if high marks will be set in the Press Fund Drive before it gets much farther along its way. The week ending June 21, we reported receipts amounting to $240.39 for that one week. That was one very high mark. Two weeks later we were compelled (very willingly, we admit) to report nearly a thousand dollars in cash and pledges secured at our state picnic. Last week we were made happy akain and doubly so in reporting the $1,000 offer of comr. Wm. M. Brown, of Gallion. That's three almos in a row and now comes another dandy report for this week.

We ought to tell you the story tho. So this is how it was. Of course you know that the German Branch of Local Akron is among the livest and most loyal locals in the country. At least we know it, for we have seen this branch in action many times and never yet has it done else but prove its fidelity to revolutionary socialism and all forward looking Party work in ways that command the truest respect of every comrade.

Well, state Organizer, Chas. Baker was requested to visit the branch in regular business meeting and give them a talk on the Ohio Socialist Printing Press Drive and organization matters. Charlie went. Of course he went. Charles never fails to go wherever and whenever there is an opening for a thrust at capitalism. Judging by results, Charlie must have been in tip-top trim and he confesses that he thot the comrades were going to donate him the building when he concluded his little Press Fund monologue.

Any way, the comrades ordered one hundred dollars out of their treasuery for the printing plant and on top of that took up a collection of sixty dollars! And Baker tells us that there was only a handful of members present. Also that the comrades have promised more support to come later. Now what do you think of it? You think it was fine. You think it was a true socialist spirit that was manifested there in that generous and free hearted deed. You think it was an act of real comradeship, a true act of workingclass fidelity to a CAUSE that is worthy of sacrifice. And that is what it was in truth. And we are proud of this German Branch of Local Akron, Ohio.

One hundred and sixty dollars for the Ohio Socialist Press Fund from ONE Branch of one Local! That's going some, as the saying is. And how many Locals and Branches have we in the Party in this state? Well, we have a good many. Many of them have responded most generously and loyally to the call for funds to establish our own Party owned printing plant—and some have not—as yet. And to those who have not borne their share of our common burden in this matter, we just want to say: remember what they did at Akron. We are sure that when you think of what those comrades did for the Party printing plant, you will want to follow the same generous course and boost the fund to the limit of your ability. Yes, we are sure you will.

We wish sometimes that we could publish all the good things comrades tell us about what the locals and members are doing in the way of helping in the press fund drive. There come letters of several pages and letters of but a paragraph and again other letters of no more than a cople of lines. But how full they are of the spirit of co-operation and earnest comradely purpose!

You may rest assured, that the comrades throughout the country are taking a real live interest in the establishing of our own printing plant. Yes, they recognize it for what it is, a dead-in-earnest desire on the part of the Socialist Party of Ohio to serve the working-class revolution that is sweeping the world.

A real desire to place the workers in an impregnable position in their warfare against capitalism and every enemy of the workers by placing under their control and in their possession the means of publicity that alone can fight successfully the battles of the workers.

Capitalism rules the world thru its control of the avenues of publicity. To overturn this rule of the masters over a world enslaved, the workers must develop a workers press absolutely under their own control, and in this effort we need the assistance of every comrade.

The Press Fund is now reaching proportions, as is shown further down in these columns, that is most encourageing. Hundreds and hundreds of comrades are giving every assistance. The coming weeks will bring additional hundreds and thousands of dollars to the fund. The State Office is making many inquiries regarding printing equipment for the plant, which will be purchased soon.

Every dollar counts now. Let all comrades take hold and boost to the limit of their ability and the $10,000 will soon be on hand, and the job is done.

And don't forget, remember what they did at Akron. Remind your Local of what occured there at the next meeting. In the meanwhile, do YOUR part.

Below are the names of the comrades who have this week donated the amounts at the head of the column to the Ohio Socialist Press Fund.

$1 Column

C. R. Murphy, Hamilton, O.
C. R. Murphy, Hamilton, O.
John Chalk, Hamilton, O. (50c.)
S. K. Vanderpool, Hamilton, O.
Jas. B. Smith, Hamilton, O.
A. Shoemaker, Hamilton, O.
Mrs. M. L. Wildy, Hamilton, O. (50c.)
Clarence Hell, New Bremen, O.
Herb. H. Vogt, Massillon, O.
Flora Vogt, Massillon, O.
Frank Hess, Massillon, O.
Nick Linkenbelly, Massillon, O.
Grover Kapp, Massillon, O.
Wm. R. Reed, Massillon, O.
G. P. [illegible], Massillon, O.
A. Koblentz, Massillon, O.
Chas. Dishart, Massillon, O.
Joe Weltlich, Massillon, O.
Harvey Lohr, Massillon, O.
Wm. Slusser, MMassillon, O.
M. Coren, Massillon, O.
Ed. Ostheimer, Massillon, O.
Ernest Bruegger, Massillon, O.
John Weller, West Lebanon, O.
Wm. Joyce, North Lawrence, O.
John Kuk, E. St. Louis, Ill.
Gaspar Stanich, E. St. Louis, Ill.
Louis Kolish, E. St. Louis, Ill.
Dan. Tvoselec, E. St. Louis, Ill.
Steve Novoselec, E. St. Louis, Ill.
Steve Zuzman, E. St. Louis, Ill.
Ivan Posavac, E. St. Louis, Ill.
Dr. A. Isenberg, Jonesboro, Tenn.
John Vehre, AAdena, O.
Mrs. J. W. Liken, Radford, Va.
Roy F. Huckriede, New Bremen, O.
H. J. Schmidt, Canton, O.
Leonard L. Stages, Bluffton, O.
Miss Ida Bederman, Cincinnati, O.
Wm. P. Meighen, Byesville, O.
Peter Campbell, Ashtabula, O.
Ludwig C. Abel, Mt. Healthy, O.

$2 Column

Jack Schalk, Hamilton, O.
Mark Brilliant, Hamilton, O.
Joe Rickseeker, Massillon, O.
Nick Weltlich, Massillon, O.
Louis P. Wefler, Masillon, O.
Geo. Blazinic, E. St. Louis, Ill.
A Youngstown, O. comrade
J. F. Robinson, Flemingsburg, Ky.

$5 Column

Frank Rafter, Massillon, O.
South Slavic Branch No. 55, E. St. Louis, Ill.
A. Peldic, E. St. Louis, Ill. ($3.00)
Comrade from Youngstown, O. $3.00).
Another Youngstown comrade ($3).
K. W. Boring, ($3) monthly pledge.

$10 Column

Eleventh Ward Branch, Cincinnati, O.
Local Belmont County, O.

$25 Column

George Miller, Akron O.
Local Akron, (Proceeds of picnic $30).

$50 Column

Nothing stirring in this column this week, comrades. All signs point to better luck next week, however. Let's see what we shall see.

$100 Column

German Branch, Local Akron ($160.00). Guess it will take some squeezing to get that amount in here, but we will make a try at it.

Pledge Column

Eleventh Ward Branch Cincinnati, O. $10 monthly for five months.

A Youngstown comrade $2 monthly for five months.

Peter Campbell, Ashtabula, O. $1 monthly till plant is paid for.

Wm. P. Meighen, Byesville, O. Dollar monthly till plant is paid for.

Mrs. J. W. Liken, E. Radford, Va. Dollar monthly for four months.

How We Grow

Contributed to June 1st....	$ 129.00
Contributed in June	1369.88
Contributed week of June 6.....	212.81
Contributed week of July 13..	191.16
Contributed week of July 17..	314.00
Total to date July 17.........	$[illegible]
Total to date July 17	

PARTY MEMBER! THEN REMEMBER — DUES ARE DUE.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

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SHALL DEBS' LIFE BE SAVED? – IT'S FOR YOU TO SAY!

The war is over.

Every man and woman who has a heart will continue to hear the sighs and groans and shrieks of the wounded and dying for thousands of days to come.

To civilization, such as it is, the greatest human sacrifice of the ages has been made. Savagery, barbarism, feudalism have come and gone. All have taken their toll of human life. It cost seven million lives, every one every bit as good as yours or mine, to teach us capitalism's ruthlessness.

SALUTE THE GREATEST TEACHER ON EARTH—WAR! But the tuition fee—**WHAT A PRICE!**

The war is over. But we are paying the price.

AND THAT'S OUR KICK, TODAY.

Why continue to take the lives of more than 2,000 political war prisoners by keeping them behind steel bars, away from home and all that makes life sweet?

WHY IS DEBS STILL BEHIND THE BARS?

Tell us, will you?

And why do the **REAL CULPRITS** go free?

Tell us, will you?

We're talking to you—**YOU WHO HOLD THE KEYS** to Atlanta, Leavenworth, McNeil's Island and all other bastiles.

• • • •

It was all right then, was it—for profiteers to sing songs to the flag, to wallow in patriotic gush, to shout loud and long for war, war, war, while behind the scenes they sucked the blood of war's victims?

This was **ALL RIGHT**—was it?

It was **ALL RIGHT** for the copper trust, the steel trust, the leather trust, the food trust, to make billions out of the war. It was **ALL RIGHT** for the powder trust to clean up a profit of 458 per cent. It was **ALL RIGHT** to cheat right and left, everybody and anybody, including the government.

WAS IT ALL RIGHT?

And if it was not, show us one criminal war profiteer of the hundreds that are guilty who now passes his time behind steel bars making prison clothes and learning the lock step.

SHOW US JUST ONE!

The war produced thousands of new millionairs. There's is **BLOOD MONEY** every cent of it. And these dollar patriots are now enjoying their pelf—enjoying this blood money—**THINK OF IT!**

None of them in prison. All of them free! That's **ALL RIGHT—IS IT?**

• • • •

But when a man, true to his convictions and loyal to the great working class voiced the horrors of war, and exposed the real reasons for war, and proved that those who shouted loudest for war were the same gentry that made millions of dollars out of war—is sent to prison for 10 years, **IS THAT ALL RIGHT?**

Everybody admits that war is horrible.

Everybody today knows why wars are forced upon the peoples.

Everybody today knows that flag-waving profiteers want war because it lines their pockets with gold.

But to **SAY SO** while the war was on, to tell the truth about the war while the nation was at war, that did not seem to be all right.

AND SO THEY SENT DEBS TO PRISON FOR 10 YEARS.

Debs, 63 years old, a foe of war because he is a lover of mankind.

Debs, 63 years old, for 40 years a champion of working class interests.

Debs, 63 years old, **SENTENCED FOR LIFE**—for he'll never live to serve ten years.

HOW ABOUT IT, PRESIDENT WILSON?

You said that the world must be made **SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY!**

You returned to this country the other day and **FOUND DEBS IN PRISON.**

Is this country part of the world? And when will democracy take root here? When will free speech, free assemblage and a free press again be permited?

HOW ABOUT IT?

• • • •

Yes—we know you feel a bit uncomfortable about it.

The capitalist press told us only a few days ago that you have the "convictions" of Debs, O'Hare and Stpkes under consideration.

To have Debs run for President while he occupies a cell at Atlanta does not seem to appeal to administration chiefs.

Yet, here's Wall Street. Wall Street has said that "any clemency shown Debs on the part of the government would be regarded as bearish on the situation. Wall Street knows Debs and does not consider him a true labor leader."

No—Debs is not a "true labor leader" for Wall Street. He does not lead in that direction. Wall Street hates Debs. Wall Street wants him where he is and will try to keep him there.

And the Democratic administration? And Wall Street. Are they enemies?

HOW ABOUT IT?

• • • •

And now, how about you—**YOU WHO ARE READING THIS?**

It is rumored at Washington that a promise to free Debs by fall would allay the present wide-spread unrest in this country.

THEY ADMIT UNREST. They seem to know what causes it.

Then this is **YOUR DUTY.**

DO NOT REST UNTIL DEBS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE FREED.

Let us make our voices, our pens, our industrial and political power do **DOUBLE DUTY** from now on.

Let's all join hands by **JOINING THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.**

LET US BEGIN AT ONCE TO SECURE A LIBERATION FUND.

Let us increase our restlessness. Let's provide money to finance the activities which will eventually **FREE DEBS** and all other class war prisoners.

Shall there be a 20th Century Crucifixion?

Shall Debs die in prison?

IT'S FOR YOU TO SAY!

Debs, O'Hare and Stokes Cases taken up for Review

Plans to Have "Gene" Run for President From His Cell in Atlanta Does Not Appeal to Administration Chiefs.

WASHINGTON.— President Wilson and Attorney General Palmer have under consideration the cases of Eugene V. Debs, Rose Pastor Stokes and Kate Richards O'Hare, convicted during the war under the Espinage Act on charges of obstructing enlistments.

There is no indication, however, that a general amnesty for political prisoners, for which a campaign has been under way several months, is yet in prospect.

The cases of the three, the most prominent persons convicted under the Espionage Act, are being considered on their individual merits, the Attorney General said today.

Wilson Helps Study of Cases

"The department already has given separate consideration to 125 cases since the armistice was signed," said Palmer, "and the result has been the reduction of a great many sentences. We are going over the cases of Debs, Mrs. Stokes and Mrs. O'Hare in the same manner."

He said the President was participating in the study of the matter.

Strong pressure was brought on the President by radical and liberal forces to obtain a general amnesty for political prisoners. At the time the armistice was signed the effort was unsuccessful. It was renewed just before the signing of the peace, with the idea that this event offered the opportunity for a measure of generousity on the part of the President. It failed again.

Will Be out by Fall.

Since then the effort has been abandoned by many of these who were supporting it and **talk among Socialists of running Debs for President while he remains in his Atlanta prison cell has become general. Talks with administartion officials closely concerned with these cases, however, indicated today that Debs it not likely to be a prisoner when the next presidential campaign begins.**

"Debs is peculiar", said one of these. "He is a gentle sort and doubtless means well toward everybody in the world. I doubt if he at all represents some of the elements that are clamoring most loudly for his release."

The pressure on the President is not limited to those who share the views of Debs and the other prisoners. Many of the President's advisors insist that a declaration of amnesty would be a wise move toward combating the unrest being manifest in various sections of the country. Agitators feed on just such incidents as the wartime imprisonments. These advisors urge, and while they do not think an amnesty proclamation would put an end to unrest, they are convinced it would help the present situation to a definite extent.

ARMY OF LIBERATORS TO BE ORGANIZED

State Executive Committee of Socialist Party of Ohio Decides to Make Special Campaign to Free Debs and All Political Prisoners.

Join the "Army Of Liberators"—this will be the call which will go out from the Ohio state office of the Socialist Party in a few days. This army is to be composed of members of the working class and every worker who joins will be pledged to act as special agent and agitator for Debs' release from prison, as well as the release of all other political prisoners.

Members will be sought among labor unionists and members of the Socialist Party. A LIBERATION FUND will be started. The Army Of Liberators will gather this fund which will be used to tour speakers to address union meetings, to print hundreds fo thousands of leaflets, to publish posters, post cards and other publicity matter, all to be used to agitate for Debs' release.

This special campaign will be under the direction of the Socialist Party of Ohio. The OHIO SOCIALIST and all facilities of the state office will be placed at the advantage of this campaign. Every member of the Socialist Party is asked to begin at once to discuss the features of this campaign with his fellow workers in union meetings, in Socialist Party locals.

Watch the mails. Get ready to "sign up" all the workers you know in the ARMY OF LIBERATORS.

Yes It Is!

An Example of Class-Consciousness

The Bosses Want Debs in Jail

THIS SPACE WAS RESERVED FOR A CARTOON OF DEBS GREETING PRESIDENT WILSON IN HIS PRISON CELL. BUT THE ENGRAVER REFUSED TO MAKE IT.

THEY KNOW DEBS OUT OF JAIL WILL HELP FREE THE SLAVES OF INDUSTRY. SLAVERY OF THE WORKERS SUITS THE BOSSES.

Join the Army of Liberators and help free Debs and yourself from Industrial slavery

Debs Must and Will be Free!

"So You are Back, Mr. Wilson, and the World's now safe for Democracy!"

We Say It Again

Enter the Municipal Elections Is Our Advice to Ohio Locals.

There is still time. Why not obey the motion passed by the Ohio State Convention and place a municipal ticket in the field?

No better opportunity for educational work was ever had than that which we now face. The world is full of talk about Socialism. Every issue of the capitalist papers deals with some phase of it. People are agitated about it. Workers want to know the truth about it.

It becomes YOUR DUTY to act as educators. The municipal election will give you the opportunity. Nominate your ticket AT ONCE. Circulate your nomination petitions. Begin a campaign which for thoroness has never surpassed. Your local will become an "ever at it"; local as a result. Your membership will respond by giving more of their time and money for the cause and all in all, the movement in your city, in the nation, in the world will receive an impetus which will bring us nearer the New Day.

HOW TO NOMINATE MUNICIPAL CANDIDATES.

1. Nominations of candidates in municipalities of LESS than 2,000 population should be made by petition, signed in the aggregate by not less than 25 electors for EACH

(Continued on page 2)

News! News!

We have recently seen frequent news items stating that Petrograd was in a state of riot and disorder, and about to fall. These reports have in most cases been officially denied, either by Entente Government, or by the Russian Soviet Government But the game is an old one; an interesting example that is now nearly six months old is recalled by a perusal of Arthur Ransome's new book, "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919."

It will interest the reader to note how, on this previous occasion, his newspapers deceived him.

On February 3rd, the New York Times inserted in the first column of its first page the following: RED ARTILLERY SHELLS PETROGRAD. GUNS RUSHED FROM KRONSTADT TO SUPPRESS RISING OF SOLDIERS OF FORMER ARMY. MANY DEAD IN STREETS. Underneath was a dispatch, "by wireless to the N. Y. Times" from Copenhagen, telling of the mutiny in Petrograd: "The Capitol has been bombarded with artillery rushed up from Kronstadt. Cannon and machine-guns were used in the streets, which were strewn with many bodies."

While the "Times" and other papers througout the world were entertaining themselves in this fashion, an English journalist, on his way from Helsingfors to Petrograd, also read the story of the mutiny, with added details of how "the Semenovsky regiment had gone over to the mutineers, who had seized the town," and "the Government had escaped to Kronstadt whence they were bombarding Petrograd with naval guns."

To the traveller to the beleaguered city "this sounded fairly lively", as Arthur Ransome confesses in his "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919." He looked about him as his train pulled into Petrograd. "I walked outside the station to question people about the mutiny and the bombardment of which we had heard in Finland. Nobody knew anything about it." Ransome met Pozern one of the Petrograd Commissars: "I told him that I was surprised to find him here and not at Kronstadt, and asked about the mutiny and the treachery of the Semenovsky regiment. There was a shout of laughter, and Pozern explained that there were no Semenovsky regiment in existence, and that the manufacturers of the story, every word of which was a lie, had no doubt tried to give realism to it by putting down the name of the regiment which had taken a chief part in putting down the Moscow insurrection of fourteen years ago."

Mine Workers Ask Debs' Release

Information has just reached us of the advanced stand taken by the convention of the Indiana United Mine Workers July 11, which demanded the [illegible] release of Eugene V. Debs and the instant removal of Postmaster General Burleson.

The convention was held in Terre Haute, and it is noteworthy that news of its proceeding have only just reched New York by mail. The press associations apparently did not think it worth while to carry the news of the stand of this powerful organization of workers

The convention went on record in favor of the release of all political and religious prisoners, and specifically mentioned the name of Debs. A wire was sent to President Wilson demanding the instant removal of Burleson for his unfair attitude towards labor.

In addition, the convention went on record in favor of the nationalization of the mines a six-hour day and a five-day week, as well as a 40 per cent increase in wages and a minimum wage of $7 a day, with time and a half for overtime and double pay for Sundays and holidays.

JURY CONVICTS 13 SOCIALISTS

CINCINNATI, July 24.—Thomas Hammerschmidt, former Socialist candidate for mayor of Cincinnati, and twelve other Socialists, charged with attempting to obstruct federal military conscription, were late today convicted by a jury in the United States district court.

The verdict was rendered, however, with a recommendation for mercy. The jury was out about three hours. The maximum penalty that may be imposed is two years' imprisonment or $10,000 fine, or both.

And appeal has been taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals.

The defendants, who were indicted in 1917, are:

Lotta Burke, Charles Thiemann, Alfred Welker, Walter Gregory, John Jahn, Frank Reis, William Gruber, Fred Schneider, Philip Rothen[illegible], Alex J. Feldhaus, Arthur Tiedtke, Joseph Geier and Tomas Hammerschmidt.

THE HEROE'S REWARD.

NEW YORK.—Down on the Bowery in the junk-filled windows of pawn shops hang bronze crosses with their little bits of ribbon, which were worn just a little while ago by doughboys for heroism in battles.

There you can see numerous D. S. C.'s and croix des guerres which hungry soldiers sold to keep from starving. One boy who was decorated for bravery in Belleau wood parted with his distinguished service cross for $5. He sold it outright, the pawnbroker will tell you.

In pawnshops in any part of the city are to be found many decorations. They mutely testify to the spirit of the soldiers who once fought in France but who are too proud now to beg to keep from starving.

Fine thing to be a hero and then find yourself unable to get a meal in the country for which you offered your life. It is a great country that permits such conditions to [illegible]

"Democracy" under capitalism, means the dictatorship of the capitalist cl

THE HALF LIGHT BEFORE DAWN

That the epidemic of strikes that has swept the civilised world since the signing of the armistice, and which rage at this moment more furious and determinedly than ever before, presage the most momentous clash between the workers and the privileged class for world control, is the view held by thoughtful and analytical men and women. How foolish are those who refuse to see the inadequacy of the "settlements" effected in the strikes are well depicted in the following taken from The London Call. While the particular instances of class clashes referred to have passed from view, others of equal importance have since arisen and now compel the attention of every thinking person who has the interests of the workers at heart.

"The war," wrote Trotzky more than two years ago, "is at bottom a conflict between two great national imperialisms superimposed upon the far-more vital conflict between the classes."

History is confirming that analysis in no uncertain fashion. Wherever we look, at home or abroad, the national antagonisms are slowly but surely dissolving and giving place to struggles of varying degree of bitterness between the workers and the master class. In all lands—in the most unlikely circumstances—the really vital forces in society are thrusting aside, ruthlessly and forever, the merely transitory. True it is, of course, that in most cases, if not in all, the immediate causes of dispute are of minor significance. True also that the "settlements" arrived at are pitiful compromises that satisfy nobody and settle nothing. No serious student of history is deceived by those appearences. Shallow politicians may regard the strikes as merely scratches on the surface of time, to be removed by a little judiciously applied polish; but he is wiser, be he friend or foe, who sees in them the visible expressions of huge elemental forces contending at the very roots of capitalist society.

But if the depth of the industrial conflict is not plain to see, no one can miss its range. It circles the globe; it is wider in its incidence than the war itself; yet not, by the very conditions of its existence, one yard wider than the incidence of its true progenitor—capitalism. Strike from the map of the world those areas not yet capitalistically developed, and you have found its limits, but everywhere else it is in action or latently dormant.

Consider the situation as it exists today. In Melbourne and other parts of Australia tens of thousands of men are on strike, and all the elaborate tomfoolery of labor arbitration devised by colonial labor politicians to hide the real nature of the class struggle does not avail to ease the situation.

Canada is convulsed from ocean to ocean by a movement more revolutionary in spirit and motif than it was possible even to dream of but a few short years ago.

The Soviet form of administration has arisen spontaneously in Winnipeg as an inevitable development of the general strike, while, more significent still, the sympathies of the returned soldiers are obviously on the side of the strikers. And, according to the special correspondent of the Daily Mail, the most popular cry in Canada today is, "Production for use; not for profit!"

In South Africa, industrially backward as it is, there has been no widespread movement; but the seizure of power by the workers of Johannesburg a few weeks ago is worthy of notice. The apparent helplessness of the Transvaal government in face of the fact causes one furiously to think. What, after all, if the workers have but to push an unlatched door?

Even in India—poor, tortured India—the slaves of the cotton mills have dared to revolt against their taskmasters, only to be met by the cruel argument of rifle and machine gun.

So much for the outlying posts of Empire.

As for Europe, its condition it a tragedy. Famine and plague, twin sisters of the great god of war, stalk triumphantly through its length and breadth and threaten even the gates of this island. The one great experiment that might have saved the world is being fought savagely with intrigue, and cannon, and blockade, by all the governments in the interests of all the profitmongers. Yet not without protest from some at least of the workers in every country. The little old men of Versailles may understand their own dirty business of diplomacy, but they do not understand everything. If they did they would see in the strikes that are sweeping France from end to end a portent and a warning that might bid their chattering cease. They would ponder on the lesson of Toulouse—well censored Toulouse. They would see in the refusal of the gallant seamen of Genoa to ship munitions of war against their working-class comrades of Russia an example that might prove contagious. They might even perceive, as through a glass darkly, that the numerous strikes and widespread industrial unrest in dear, comfortable, old England betoken something deeper and graver than their shrivelled intellects can yet grisp. And at last, when understanding fully dawned upon them, they would realise that all these things are happening because the time spirit is working through the minds of men; because an old order, doomed and dyeing, is passing away into the limbo of history, and with its passing bringing new desires and strange unrests.. The universal discontent they would then interpret as the moaning and groaning of a world in travail—the tremblings as before an earthquake.

The vital world-wide conflict between the classes, suppressed for a time by the conflict between the two great imperialisms, arises with tenfold fury because of its suppression, and vindicates the teaching of history

It is the collapse of civilization, you say?
The end of all things?
No! By all the gods there be. No!
It is the New Renaissance.

F. W.

A Liberty Bond that Brings Liberty

"As a worker, I too, will not stand back. I will do my share, and I hope every reader will do the same. I was forced to buy what they called Liberty Bonds—but now I am willing to contribute my share to the real Liberty Bond in the name of the Ohio Socialist Press Fund. For that cause you will find enclosed $5. and I wish you full success in getting the amount you need. A. J. H., Akron, O.

Working at it all the Time.

A donation of ten dollars was received from Local New Bremen this week. Its the rule now for every Local to get in the game of boosting the Press Fund. Comrade Arthur H. Miller, Fin. Sec. writes that the comrades of this live Local are working all the time to increase their membership and stimulate interest in the meetings, also, they will try to do more for the Press Fund.

Every Subscription Will Help Free Debs And All Poitical Prisoners.

READ

The freedom of Debs and all political prisoners depends upon the amount of publicity which reaches the American working-class. Our capitalist masters are watching this campaign for Debs' release as an indication of working-class thought and purpose.

The greater the publicity which reaches the attention of American workers, so much the sooner will Debs and other comrades be released from prison.

THE FREEDOM OF DEBS IS IN YOUR HANDS. You can help in the work of his release by securing subscriptions to The Ohio Socialist. Every subscriber means another helper for Debs' release. Get as many as you can. Take this copy of the Ohio Socialist, show it to a worker and get his subscription at once.

HELP FREE DEBS—GET A SUBSCRIPTION—USE THIS BLANK.

The Ohio Socialist
3207 Clark Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Enclosed find $1 for which send The Ohio Socialist to the name below for one year (50c for 6 months).

Name ....
Address ....
City ....
Secured by ....

Affairs of Interest to Party Members

THE WAY TO DO IT.

Organization possibilities are great. It has been proven by comrades of East Liverpool, Bellaire and Warren. Months ago the state office of the Socialist Party of Ohio advised that the more capable comrades in every local visit villages and communities in close proximity to their city and attempt to organize locals or secure members at large.

Three locals have now made definite efforts in this direction. Fred Walchli and Frank Stidd of Bellaire are making Sunday trips into the county, visiting mining camps and other worker's communities. Provident was visited by these two active comrades on Sunday before last. They took several members of the Bellaire South Slavic branch with them to assist. A good meetings was had and arrangements were made to return to organise a local on July 27th. Frank Stidd writes that he feels sure a local of thirty members can beorganized.

With the assistance of Chas. Baker and the Warren comrades, Newton Falls as visited in an attempt to organize a local. We still have to hear of the success of the meeting.

J. T. Pinkerton and E. A. Willison of Local East Liverpool went to Power Point, and adjoining town, some days ago and had a rousing meeting. A chart lecture was given and Mat Tusic, a store keeper of the community cooperated to the extent of permitting the speakers to place the chart over his large store window. When Willison asked the audience how many were willing to join a Socialist local and meeet once a week to study Socialism sixteen hands went up.

Thirteen applications for membership were taken immediately and July 31 set for the next meeting The new organization will consist of at least 20 members, we are told. A collection was taken and $2.15 worth of literature sold.

What is being done by the comrades of these locals YOU CAN ALSO DO. Arrange now with two or more comrades to visit nearby points. Even if you can not organize a local at every point visited, you can put the community on the Socialist map by securing a few members at large.

Literature sales at the Ohio state office have been very brisk lately. Many literature agents have learned that there is a big market for Socialist books and pamphlets and are turning dollars into local treasuries, the profits of the sales they are making.

Local Youngstown will picnic Aug. 3rd. The outing is held especially to secure funds for the party owned printing plant to be bought by the Socialist Party of Ohio.

IN JAIL.

Alex Swartzenfeldt, member of Local Toledo, Ohio, is incarcerated in the Stark County Workhouse. He was sentenced to eleven months by Federal Judge Killits for his strike activities in Toledo. Canton Comrades and others in the vicinity of this prison should visit him. Visiting hours every Thursday from 2 to 5 P. M.

Cincinnati broke the record this week in dues stamp purchases. An order for 600 from Otto Hucktaeschel was received. Has your local bought dues stamps lately? If not, then your membership needs looking after.

The strike in still on in Piqua, Ohio. The W. I. I. U. is gaining membership rapidly.

BAKER IN MINNESOTA.

Chas. Baker will fill a number of speaking dates in Minnesota beginning August 26th. He will return to Ohio about August 12th.

THE GUERNSEY COUNTY PICNIC

"Don't fail to attend the picnic at Ball's Grove" is the heading upon thousands of hand bills gotten out by the Socialists in that county The date of the picnic is August 10th and to reach the picnic gorunds you must take the interurban cars to the Puritan mine and then "follow the crowd."

The speakers are Frank L. Martin of Marietta, Marguerite Prevey of Akron and H. L. A. Holman of Texas—a battery which is sure to enligten the attendance. There will be amusements for children and "good society" for grown folks. If you live within a half day's travel of the picnic grounds, attend, for even a few hours with the Guernsey county comrades will inspire you.

An order for 100 copies of the Ohio Socialists every week for three months from the Finnish local at Fairport Harbor should set many of our English locals to thinking. If a foreign language local interests itself in our state paper sufficiently to support it so loyally, despite the fact that their are half a dozen Finnish party owned papers, then our English locals should come forward with their support in greater measure than here-tofore. There should not be one local in Ohio without its bundle of the state paper for weekly distribution.

WE ARE OUT TO WIN AND WIN WE WILL — That's a sentence from a letter sent Local Youngstown members by F. J. Catlin, secretary of the English branch. The letter especially calls, upon members to pay up their dues and become active in the cause. The leter also calls attention to the fact that the OHIO SOCIALIST as a very strong defense to the attacks of the plutocrats. It is a letter such as every secretary ought send the membership to awaken it to its duty.

We Join in Thanks.

The Ohio Socialist wishes to join the comrades of So. Slavic Br. No. 8 of Youngstown, O. in extending thanks to the comrades and sympathizers who contributed so liberally to the collection taken at their recent picnic which was donated to the Press Fund. The $50 donation just received is a most welcome proof of the liveness and true socialist spirit of this branch of international socialism.

These Letters Show the Spirit of Press Fund Boosters.

No Use for Sympathizers

Enclosing a dollar for the Press Fund, comrade J. D. Reedy of Bickmore W. V. writes: The comrades who pay dues and help finance the Party in its many struggles are real socialists, others are merely sympathizers. Is'nt he right?

Attention, Moline comrades!

"As I have not seen any Moline (Ill.) names among the contributors, I wish to start the ball rolling with this small donation." Thus writes comrade J. Savich.

He adds his mite.

"I want to be one to add my mite to the Press Fund to help get the Ohio Socialist out of the hands of the enemy", writes comrade H. A. Wise of Davenport, Iowa. Continuing he says: I am especially interested in the O. S. because it shows the real spirit of socialism as I understand it.

"Yours for a continued clear-cut working-class paper." That is what comrade Wm. Biember of Sundasky says in his letter containing a dollar for the Press Fund.

Helps to scatter the truth

"Come on brother workers and boost the O S. Press Fund all you can. Let's print and distribute the truth from our own press to counteract the millions of lies that are being sent out over the world." That's the word comrade D. B. Dale of Wise, Va. sends to the readers of the Ohio Socialist. Comrade Dale sets the pace too for with his letter is a list containing nine names of contributors to the Press Fund totaling $9.50 and four subs making in all, $12, to help spread the truth. The Dales of Wise, Va. are among our best boosters and on this list we notice the names of five of them. May their tribe increase.

Makes wishes come true

"Best regards and good luck to the Press Fund", writes comrade Wm. Adler of Lorain. And with the latter is a list of seven names of contributors and $10. If that is'nt making ones wishes come true, we'd like to know how it is done. Comrade Biemler sets a good example that many, many other comrades can easily and profitably follow.

"We must win our victory, so everybody put a shoulder to the wheel and help push the Press Fund over the top", writes comrade J. Rand of Ashtabula, O. His donation is two dollars.

"To keep the old fires burning" writes comrade Jas H. Thomas of Martins Ferry. He sends two dollars.

Two dollars and a half, his own donation, and $5 from the Herwegh Mannerchor of, Cincinnati, O. is to hand from comrade Alfred Eisermann. To our comrades unacquainted with German we explain that the above name signifies a German Mens Chorous.

"Hoping this will help a little in the big work." Thus writes comrade Chas Held secretary of the German Branch of Alliance O. Little helps like this make a big job seem little.

A Press Fund list containing 5 names and remittance for $20 from comrade Pete Stefanich or Warren is among this week's receipts. This is certainly splendid work of comrade Stefanich.

We Hope They Do

"Will come in again if we can manage to raise more funds", writes comrade Fred White of Local Martins Ferry. He enclosed ten dollars as the Local's donation.

Attend

LOCAL TOLEDO'S PICNIC

SUNDAY, AUGUST 3rd

Blackmore's Grove

end of Starr Ave. line

Good Speaking

Lots of Fun

SPEAKERS

The following speakers are available for dates in Ohio. Terms are $5.00 per meeting and expenses. Comrades who feel that they could serve the party upon the platform are asked to secure the endorsement of their local and have it forwarded to the State Office. We will then palce their names in this list. Speakers who have been omitted from this list but whose names appeared in this list some time back, are asked to notify the State Office if they are in a position to fill occasional speaking engagements.

M. J. Beery, 65 South Main Street, Mansfield.

Chas Baker, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland.

Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton road, Cleveland.

Tom Lewis, 3013 Prospect Ave., Cleveland.

Frank Midney, 128 North Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.

Marguerite Prevey, 309 Guth Block, Akron.

H. L. A. Holman, Mead and Longworth sts., Dayton.

F. B. Hamilton, Piqua.

J. J. Hoge, 980 Central Ave., Bellaire.

C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect ave., Cleveland.

Hugo Enenmele, 2754 Norwood ave., Norwood.

Jos. W. Sharts, 7 Lowe Bldg., Dayton.

THE DEBS PACKET

An important assortment of Deb's pamphlets and books. Order at once. This will be your last opportunity to get some of these titles.

UNIONISM AND SOCIALISM..	$ .10
POLITICAL APPEAL TO ...... AMERICAN WORKINGMEN..	.05
LIBERTY, Address on leaving Woodstock jail	.05
THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT..	.05
CLASS UUNIONISM, One Big Union discussion	.05
LIFE'S WRITINGS AND...... SPEECHES	1.00
Regular price	$1.30
Special packet price prepaid	$1.00

These messages from the mind of Eugene V. Debs breathe the spirit of revolt that has made our imprisoned Comrade an international citizen, caused his name to be loved by millions of the common people and hated by the exploiters.

Send all remittances to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
3207 CLARK AVENUE,
CLEVELAND, O.

WALL STREET FEARS DEBS; JOYFUL WHEN HE IS PUT INTO CAGE

Wall Street has a well-defined opinion of Debs and a terrible fear of him

Broadenwall, the New York American's financial expert may rightfully be regarded as one of Wall Street's mouthpieces, and when Debs was sent to prison, Broadenwall delivered himself of this comment in his paper:

"Any clemency to Debs on the part of the government would be regarded by Wall Street as bearish on the situation Wall Street knows Debs and does not consider him a true labor leader.

"Wall Street is willing to deal with labor under other leaders, and believes that his elimination would be a great step toward complete understanding."

Attention!

Ferdinand Lassale Club.

Die Mitglieder des Ferdinand Lassalle Clubs, deutsche Branch der Sozialistischen Partei, werden hiermit ersucht, in der Geschäfts-Versammlung, Dienstag, den 5. August 1919, 8 Uhr abends vollzählig zu erscheinen. Die Versammlung findet im Lokal 1315 Walnutstrasse statt. Es liegen sehr wichtige Geschäfte vor, und auch darunter die Abstimmung von zwei der wichtigsten Referendums, nämlich Referendum "A", Abstimmung des Staats Sekretärs und des Staats Executive Committees, und Referendum "B", welches das wichtigste von Beiden ist, nämlich für die Delegaten zur National Emergency Convention, welche in Chicago, am 30. und 31. August 1919, stattfindet. Es sollte eines jeden Genossen's ernste Pflicht sein, an diesen Abstimmungen teil zu nehmen, Bürger oder nicht Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten, das Recht für Abstimmungen an Partei Angelegenheiten habt Ihr doch, nur gutstehend müsst Ihr sein.

Also Genossen, vergesst ja nicht, an der Versammlung am Dienstag, den 5. August 1919, anwesend zu sein.

Mit Parteigruss

Otto F. Höfer, Secretary p. t.

Local Deming

Socialist Party of New Mexico

Meets Every Second Sunday

at

Verlin Hotel, 3.30 P. M.

Next Meeting, Aug. 3rd.

Everybody Welcome.

To the Comrades of Kansas

—By L. E. KATTERFELD—

In an amazing two column article in the July 10th People's Forum our State Secretary advertises her candidacy for convention delegate. Since most of it was an attack upon me and the Left Wing in general, I feel sure that you will in fairness grant me space for answer.

In this article the State Secretary boasts of having been on the constitution committee for four years. She must therefore be aware of the fact that she has violated the State constitution. Sec. 6 Art. IX distinctly reads: "Any member who announces himself as a candidate for a party official position shall be deemed ineligible." Yet in her article, written before nominations were made, she says: "I am GOING TO accept a nomination to the antional convention."

Even if there was no Party law against it, would you think it fair to the ordinary party members who may also be nominated, for a State Secretary to use the advantage of official position to announce her candidacy and practically campaign for election as convention delegate in this manner? What do you think about it, Comrades of Kansas?

• • •

Probably it is natural for the State Secretary to feel peeved because the Russian Branch in Kansas City did not vote for her, but she should not permit this somewhat natural resentment to provoke her to the unjust insinuations and unwarranted inferences with which her article abounds. I'll waste no time on her personal reflections. They will not effect the Comrades that know me, and Comrade Beloof herself will feel ashamed of them in time. I shall merely state that I did not even know how that Russian Branch in K. C. voted until I saw the returns published in the Forum.

Mrs. Beloof expresse holy horror at "caucusing, slating and all that sort of thing". Then she should forever shun our national officialdom and the old N. E. C. majority whom she upholds. They have used these methods at every convention. Germer was elected national secretary through a practically solid foreign federation vote. O'Neal was elected State Secretary of Massachusetts through a "slate". The Wisconsin S. E. C. this very year published a "slate" and officially urged locals to "get out every vote possible". Now if it was O. K. for Locals to follows that advice and vote solid FOR the Milwankee slate, why was it a crime for them to vote AGAINST the slate of the officialdom and for one of their own?

This "holier-than-thou" attitude almost gets my goat. The moderates kept absolutely mum as long as they were the beneficiaries of the natural tendency of foreign language branches to "vote solid", but they raise an awful howl the minute that that vote goes against them. It is contemptible hypocrisy to shut your eyes against slate making by one side and then try to make a great moral issue out of it against the other side.

What does it mean anyway? Every party member certainly has the right to vote in any party election as he pleases, without asking premission of any State Secetary, National Secretary of Executive Committee. Two or three or any number of members have the right to consult each other, to discuss the party's problems as much as they like and to vote together, whether their conclusions please our party officialdom or whether they do not. And that is all there is to the "slate making" and "caucusing" on the part of the membership in the recent referendums, and no party officials have the right to use their official positions to insult the membership because of it.

• • •

Mrs. Beloof wastes much space misrepresenting Michigan. Now I hold no brief for Michigan. There are many points on which Michigan does not agree with the general Left Wing position to which I subscribe. But the Michigan program does not have the meaning that lawyer Stedman and Mrs. Beloof twist into it. The Michigan constitution leaves every member free to VOTE for reform legislation. It merely provides that they shall not ADVOCATE them, trying to catch nonsocialist votes with them, but make our campaign issue the abolition of capitalism. This is not a violation of our party constitution, but strictly in harmony with its spirit of "No Compromise". It is not the revolutionist but the compromising opportunist that violates our fundamental party laws.

But be that as it may, the Michigan Comrades were entitled to notice of charges against them and to an opportunity to present their defense in an impartial trial. An Executive Committee whose members had just been defeated for reelection by the Michigan votes could certainly not be called an unbiased jury.

We are making a great "holler" because the capitalist powers keep men in jail here in Kansas without trial. It is an outrage that should not be telorated. Yet this is exactly the wrong that the old N. E. C. did to Michigan and the federations. Mrs. Beloof endorses that wrong. She assures us that she too would have voted to expell Michigan. Without any trial, mind you. Shall Kansas send delegates to the convention where these questions are to be considered, who are determined beforehand, regardless of the evidence, to deny any representation to our accused Comrades or even to give them a voice in their own defense?

• • •

She tells us that we should use the referendum we are told that we the referendum we aretold that we should wait until the convention.

Comrades, you will remember tht last winter we asked the N. E. C. to call a convention. Had they done so, all these problems could have been settled month ago. But they ignored us and refused.

We initiated referendum. They threw them out.

Finally we carried a referendum by an overwhelming vote. They refused to count it.

We elected a new Executive Committee. They suppressed the election.

We initiated a referendum to reverse their nefarious acts. We have secured three times as many seconds as are needed. They now refuse to submit this to a vote of the membership.

And now that they have called a convention they are pulling the wires to control it. They expell and "reorganize" states where they know that we are in the majority. In other states they carry on insiduous campaigns to influence the election of delegates, using the national office funds to circularize the membership, as the national secretary did here in Kansas, in an effort to discredit the Left Wing and elect either Right Wingers or compromisers who can be depended upon to whitewash them.

Nothing of which the foreign federations or the Left Wing Locals are accused is as reprehensible as these actions of the old N. E. C., which seem to meet with the complete approval of our State Secretary. She says she too would voted that way. Do the Kansas Comrades really want convention delegates that approve these acts? Or will you sends delegates to the convention that will insist that ALL the accused be granted a fair hearing, that one be convicted and deprived of membership until proven guilty, and that the officials of the party shall be forced to obey the mandates of the party's membership?

• • •

Finally, Comrades, let us remember always the great issue that confronts us. It is far more fundamental than any question of mere methods or tacdom. It is not merely a personal quarantocracy on the part of our officialdom. It is ot merely a pesonal quarrel, nor even one of "factions". It is not a "senseless and needless controversy", as Mrs. Beloof calls it. If that is what I thought of it, I would not waste any of my time on it.

It is the inevitable struggle between the forces of revolutionary proletarian Socialism and the forces of bourgeois reformism of the capitalist state. It is essentially the same issue that arose in Russia between Lenine and Kerensky. It is the same issue fundamentally that is agitating our Spartacan comrades in Germany. One group believes that Socialism can be ushered in through reforms under the capitalist political state with its sham "democracy". The other believes to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is an essential preliminary to the building of the cooperative commonwealth.

I for one am glad that this issue has arisen NOW. I have absolute faith that the coming convention will settle this issue and settle it right, cut our party loose for all time from the reformist elements that have hampered in the past and begin in earnest the great work of organizing the power of our workingclass to emancipate ITSELF. And I sure hope that Kansas will send a delegation that will help to cause the national officialdom of our party to respond to the revolutionary fervor of our membership and make our official Socialist Party worthy of comradeship with the Bolshevik Communists in the Moscow International.

We Say It Again.

(Continued from 1st page.)

candidate. The same number of signatures are required for candidates for the school board.

2. Nominations of candidates in municipalities with a population of MORE than 2,000 must be made by petition, signed by at least 1 percent of the electors who voted at the last preceeding election.
3. Nominations for candidates for School Boards in municipalities with a population of MORE than 2,000 must be made by petition, and signatures of not less than 2 percent of the electors voting at the next preceeding SCHOOL ELECTION must be secured.
4. Petitions must be filed with the Deputy Board of State Supervisors of Elections NOT LESS than 60 days previous to the day of election.
5. A committee of five to fill vacancies shall be named in the petitions.
6. Petitions must contain a provision that the signer will support and vote for the candidates thereon.
7. Signatures must be written upon petition in ink or indelible pencil.
8. One of the signers of a petition must make oath before a notary public that the statements contained therein are true
9. Petitions can be secured from the Election Board in your city.
10. Petitions should ALWAYS be filed ahead of time, that is, more than 60 days before the date of election, in order to avoid delay in case objections are made to signatures and so that you have enough time to secure additional signature.
11. Petitions should always contain MORE NAMES than required in order that you may be sure that you have enough genuine signatures.
12. For further information of any kind about nomination of candidates by petition, see your Board of Elections.

"CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI"

By mail, by phone and by wire orders for hundres of copies of this new booklet have been received Approximately 3,300 copies have been sold to date and demands for the booklet have been received from all parts of the United States.

If you have not yet ordered, do so now. We have about 1,000 left and the price is 10c. a copy or 5c. each in lots of 20 or more.

A special order for 500 copies of the Ohio Socialist for the Youngstown picnic are the kind which make more Socialists than doing nothing but meeting in business session once in a while.

A letter from Local Renovo, Pa., merciiessly criticizes the "seven Czars" on the national executive committee for suspending and expelling tens of thousands of members from the party.

The secretary of Local Arlington, Wash., condemns the national office for expending a desire to "Americanize" the Socialist Party.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and
Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00

BUNDLE RATES
50c Per Hundred

Six Months 50c

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 30th. 1919.

American Atrocities

Let's take our eyes off Russia and Hungary for a moment and glance about America.

In view of the recent race riots in the capital city of the United States in would be perfectly in order for the outside world to inaugurate an inquiry into the causes of "frightfulness" in this country. America has been among the foremost to nosey about the world and especially that part of it that has gone Bolsheviki, in search of foundation for rumors of atrocities. However, American attrocities are not fancies of diseased minds nor mere rumors of a capitalist news agency. They are facts. And very interesting facts at that. Also very illuminating of the sort of civilization we have in this boasted land of freedom and equality.

Let's consider a few of them.

Our record for negro lynchings last year was perhaps the best ever. The total was 62. That's an average of more than one a week.

Those who take pride in the accomplishments of our national ambitions and the pronounced superiority of the white race (for mob rule) may congratulate us upon our great success. Five of the victims were women which certainly proves a high standard of respect in which womankind are held, by our considerate males.

In order that lynching may be appreciated to their full value, and our people deprived of nothing that would elevate and raise that latent spirituality that exists in even the lowliest human they are advertised in advance in the daily press. "Three thousand will burn Negro" is a headline in a southern paper.

Two lynchings are reported in today's press dispatches. Aside from the kilings in such race riots as annually occur, our lynchings this year bid fair to surpass the record of the year just past.

Yes, an inquiry into the causes of American atrocities by a committee composed of say, the spirits of Nero, Torquemado, Cesare Borgia, might result in much good to our national soul. for while they could learn little from us in the way of intollerance, they might teach us much in the way of human kindness.

All the cruelties praticed upon by man were not of the Inquisition, they still exist and here in America we have an unparralled example of them at their worst.

The Human Side of Flying

In the pot-pourri of strike news that fills the morning paper, accounts state that mail carriers in the government service in New York threaten to strike "for safer machines and better working conditions". Thus in a single line of print is all the wonder of flying brushed aside and another side, a prosaic one, which the general public has heretofore seen little of is opened to our vision.

Out of the sky blue comes a throbbing. We raise our eyes in quick search for the wigned mystery which it heralds. Sailing upon the highways of heaven it passes in wonder in magesty, a thing of grace, of art and achievement. In our admiration, we forget momentarily that a human hand and brain pilots it thru the invisible lanes.

How swiftly in the distance it becomes a tiny speck; for our ears the throbbing ceases and the winged wonder is lost to vision in the limitless expanse of sky!

And the morning paper says the air pilots threaten to strike unless stabalizers are installed on the machines which will enable them to know in a fog if they are flying on an even keel or upside down. But stabalizers cost $75! So assistant post-master general, Otto Praeger, tells them they should steer by compass as stabalizers are too expensive.

Also, there is the little matter of unsafe machines. The pilots say, (and every time we will take the operator's word as to the safety of the machine, he runs), that they are forced to use machines which have been repaired many times and the risk is too great.

In the recent rainy spell of weather, they assert that fifteen accidents occured and ten machines were demolished and two pilots killed. It seems that the principle of "safety first" has not yet been applied to the air routes. And those who take the risk must be the first to claim equality with workers on and beneath the surface.

Again does the human side of flying reveal itself in the demands of the pilots for the re-instatement of two brother airmen who were discharged for refusing to take the air on an especially bad day. So we have unionism, fraternal feelings, a feeling of common interest prevading the minds of our airmen Just as tho they were street car men or wheel barrow pushers!

Indeed, it is a prosaic world!

When you see a flyer pass over, remember that the hand that pilots it is that of a worker with the same interests as yours and perhaps the same socialist ideas.

But if you are of the "post-office socialist" variety, he will more than likely feel like dropping a brick on your head.

Our hats off to the airmen. We hope they win.

A PICTURE OF DEBS FOR YOUR HOME

A picture of Debs should be in every worker's home. The latest picture of Debs, taken just before going to Moundsville prison, is the best one ever taken, so critics say

Enlarged and printed in sepia an special paper, measuring 12½ x 18 inches, it makes a splendid picture for framing for any home. It is autographed in Debs' hand writing which adds to its attractiveness.

You will like this photo of Gene and will cherish it for many years to come. It is the picture of Debs that will become historical, the picture taken just before capitalism sentenced him to ten years for his loyalty to the workers.

Get one of these pictures of Debs.

☞ 25c each ☜

Order of Socialist Party of Ohio
3207 Clark Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio.

CINCINNATI AGAINST ABOLITION OF PRESS STAMPS.

Local Cincinnati at its meeting on July 17th, went on record as opposed to the change in the state constitution of the Socialist Party of Ohio which would abolish theuse of press stamps to secure the subscriptions of party members. To do away with the press stamp would injure the success of our party owned paper. We ask all party members to think carefully before voting to abolish Article 17, Section 9.—E L. Tribbey, Sec'y.

Portsmouth insists upon being in the lead in Ohio. It has engaged Comrade Dodge to give all of his time for a month to get the local members back into activity and good standing.

"DEBS GOES TO PRISON"

A 25c. pamphlet which every Ohio party member should read. It tells of Debs' trip to the Moundsville penitentiary, from the time he left Terre Haute until he reached Moundsville at 10:30 P. M., April 13th. Karsner, who accompanied Debs upon this eventful journey, graphically describes its events in a manner so interesting, you will want to read the booklet at one sitting. Buy one today. In lots of 10 or more, 18c. each.

The Split in the Socialist Party

— By JOS. B. STILSON. —

The history of the split in the Socialist Party really begins in 1916, when Allan Benson was named as standard-bearer for the party. This man, as candidate for President of the United States, travelling through the country agitating for his election, never in his speeches mentioned by as much as a half word the class struggle. On the contrary, his advocacy had nothing in common with Socialism. I remember the newspaper report of his speech in Cleveland, Ohio, where to the question "why does he not speak about the class struggle instead of talking only about votes of the citizens and the whole lot of 'good' he is going to do when he is elected President", he answered "The present is no time to talk of such things as the class struggle".

The elections, as we know, gave sad results, the number of Socialist votes declining to half the number cast for comrade Debs in 1912. At the same time the party members whose brains were not filled with such 'socialism" as that which was "established" by Berger and his friends in Milwaukee, began to look for means wherby the party could be set on a better foundation, giving it class character cleared of the petty bourgeois hash which was flourished not only in the party's platform, but in all of its literature and at all its meetings. But how was it be done?

Everyone interested in the earlier part of the American labor movement, remembers well the "order" that provailed in the party: in every nook there was a "boss", every 'boss" had his own organ, and every organ advocated new "socialism". The new "education" was spread both among the party members and the working masses in general. The party itself hardly printed any literature at all. It was satisfied with the distribution of "private" literature, which often elucidated questions in such manner that the European socialist (even the "centrist" German!), after coming to this country and learning its language would read a pamphlet on the posibilities of Ford "Socialism", or a pamphlet urging that the capitalist government must become the owner of the trusts. (as if it were not already a tool of the trusts), or a pamphlet proving that the party candidates, when elected to the City Council will "ease the life of the working class" by decreasing the prices of food, clothing, transportation, through city ownership of water works, milk depots, electric plants, streetcar systems, etc., the immigrant Socialist would cry out: "In the country of dollars the Socialists are of the dollar kind also! Their party will never rise if it continues to follow in these old tracks."

Capitalism Breeds Revolutionists

Of course, the capitalistic system itself is breeding the revolutionists. To fence the Socialist Party so that the revolutionists could not enter was the task which the party officers could not quite accomplish. And on account of the party's dilapidated machinery and steadily declining influence among the working class, not only was dissatisfaction growing among the members, but the revolutionary elements in the fall of 1916 became so bold that they openly dared to raise their voices against such persons as Benson, Berger, Goebel and others, who spoke in the name of the Socialist Party to advocate the "Socialism" of Bismarck. But these revolutionary elements of the party confronted a quite delicate question. Something had to be done immedistly if the party was to be saved not only from the clutches of persons who have nothing in common with the political action (in the real sense of the word) of the working class, but from its complete dilapidation as well.

The entire political machinery of the party was in the hands of the opportunists; the entire press was also in their hands. They held not only the party reins, but the means of communication as well. Then what could be done by the members who saw in the activity of the leaders, in the party tactics and even in its principles only peril to the labor movement, only the useless waste of energy and money for the "agitation and propaganda" for offices in government institutions for the benefit of individual persons? The hope still entertained by some that Socialist "representatives" in the government had some importance, disappeared like a dream during the term in which Meyer London sat in the Congress and blew the horn of "democracy". At that time somewhat sharper criticism had appeared also against the German "socialism" —that "socialism" which for years and years had inspired all opportunists.

Knowing that the party would never renounce its opportunistic, pettibourgeois position while the reins remained in the hands of the persons who advertised in their papers (for money) the candidates of the corrupt capitalist parties (as Berger did in the Milwaukee Leader), or such who were showing their "loyalty" to the "working class" by having their photographs taken in soldier's uniform and printing them in the campaign leaflets (as former Socialist Mayor of Minneapolis, Van Lear did),—the revolutionary elements realized that it was possible to fight against such reactionary rule in the party only by organizing the revolutionary forces for the benefit of Revolutionary Socialism. The beginning of this work was made by Boston Comrades who organized the Socialist Propaganda League, out of which the present Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party grew. And through this Propaganda League issued a program, which from the standpoint of the opportunists is "treason of the party" yet the "socialists" of the Berger kind did not suspend the creators of this League, or their members, or those who actepted the program of this League, thinking, probably, that the creators of this League were but a few "fanatics" and "strutters", whose shoutings would not last. But these "modern socialists" have "divined" the sentiment of the rank and file just as Wilhelm II did his fate...

The initiators of the League not only did not lose their "spirit", but on the contrary the revolutionary thought in the party kept growing and growing.

War Makes Socialists turn to the Left

In the meanwhile the war came. The masses became restless. Individual members of the party and entire branches began to demand from the party officers an answer to the question raised by "democracy". Something had to be done, because silence on the part of the opportunitists would take the party machinery out of their hands. In order to save their "authority" from going into bankruptcy the opportunitists convoked the famous convention at St. Louis and there betrayed the members of the Socialist Party by feigning that they had become radical. Their fear was that the party might turn still more radical (read Berger's confession in Judge Landis Court at Chicago), and they secretly hoped to turn the party back again into the old ruts as soon as the "heat" of the "fanatics" was gone. They accomplished this splendidly during the time of greatest reaction by announcing that the party members should read the St. Louis platform "according to their views". But they made a mistake again. It is true, there were many members who acted indeed according to their own personal "views". However the "spirit" of the radicals not only did not evaporate, but on the contrary, it captured still greater numbers of the party members than before.

Then the Russian, German and Hungarian Revolutions placed squarely before the party the clear question: will the party go with the reactionary elements, which during the entire period of the war have so earnestly worked for the bourgeoisie; or will it go with that Socialist movement, which the worst reaction of the four years has failed to destroy? To answer this question a party convention was necessary. But the National Executive Committee did not see any reason for calling the convention, explaining through the mouth of Germer, that the "regular" convention is coming next year (for election of candidates to the governmental offices) and it will be possible to solve there "all such" questions; and if the convention should be called now, it would be a hard thing even to cover the expenses...."

What is the secret of this refusal to call the convention? It is this: The Left Wing in party the might send to the convention the majority of delegates and put the party in a position as fearful to the opportunistic "modernists" as is the hell to the believer. The Left elements would unite the party with the European Communists, so hateful to Victor Berger & Co., and still worse, this convention might arrive at the conclusion that no place could be spared in the party to the brothers of Phillip Scheidemann. In order to fool the party members the National Executive Committe planned the "Amnesty" convention instead of the party convention, and "found" money to pay Mahlon Barnes $50.00 a week and his wife additional $25.00 a week for the "preliminary arrangements" of the convention. They thought everything would be smoothed out this way. In their scheme to call the "amnesty" convention the party officers renounced even its class character, they decided to call the convention not in the name of the party but in the name of some colorless league and they invited for its organizers even such elements as officers of the American Federation of Labor (who never answered the invitation) and of the People's Council (which but recently refused to allow Comrade Debs to make a speech; which adopted the Wilsonian "fourteen points"), etc., —yet the party members, earnestly desiring to free the prisoners, in the absence of the opportunity to discuss the question of an "Amnesty" Convention more fully, at first did not oppose such decision of the N. E. C., at least to any extent.

Protest Sending Delegates to Berne

Entirely different, however, was the sending of delegates to the conference of social-traitors at Berne. The National Executive Committee was vigorously denounced in this instance even while in session in January, at which time this decision was made. I myself participated in this session and strongly protested against such conduct of the N. E. C., pointing out that our party, if not in fact then at least in theory, held a somewhat cleaner position than the traitors of working-class interests—Scheidemann, Ebert, Kautsky, Plechanoff, Henderson, Thomas, Guesde and other "socialists" of this kind. I stated that the Russian and German Communist parties are calling their conference at Moscow for the purpose of creating the Third International. Then National Secretary Germer proudly stated that no one knows about such a conference being called at Moscow and that Stilson is taking his news from the capitalist papers (as if he was "taking" his news about the conference of social-traitors at Berne from any source other than the same capitalist papers!)

As soon as the party members learned that the National Executive Committee decided to join the American Socialist Party to the yellow socialists in Europe,—they began to send from everywhere the strongest protests against this decision of the Committee, —not only against the wasting of money on the pleasure ride of a couple of opportunists but also because it would bring the greatest shame upon the Socialist movement in this country; they demanded not only the recall of this decision of the committee, but at the same time to help the real Socialists of Europe to establish the Third International. But the N. E. C., consisting in the majority of people who understand Socialism not a bit better than does William Jennings Bryan, having in its hands the party machinery and understanding well its power, again decided to ignore the demands of the membership, still hoping that the revolutionary spirit will disappear and all would soon be well.

Officialdom Beaten in Elections.

It is true it took some time for that spirit to assert itself. But it did assert itself. The returns of the elections of the officers of the party have shown that the opportunists were beaten into the dust, that the party management was taken away from them. And, mark you, they are "grown men", as Goebel says, and know that they can dictate the party's position just so long as the party management is in their hands. Therefore they decided to oppose the will of the membership at any cost. And for that purpose there was but one means—force. Immediatly after incidents in New York became known, where the opportunists asked the police to throw the Left Socialists out of meeting—a Socialist meeting, Secretary Germer went to New York on a "visit".. The results of this "visit" was that immediately after his return to Chicago reports came that both English and foreign language branches which had joined the Left Wing were thrown out of the New York state organization.....

On May 24 of this year there was a session of the N. E. C. in Chicago, the secretary of local New York and member of the state executive committee, came to it "without invitation" as he said himself and as Germer confirmed. Now, what did he come for? He came to vindicate the conduct of New York local and the New York state executive committee in eliminating from the party several thousand members. Everybody knows that only the State itself has a constitutional right to expel members, no one has given such right to the N. E. C., and therefore the purpose of Gerber's coming was something else.

For one thing he said that one member of the executive committee of local New York always attended the meetings of various branches where the elections of any party officers were in progress and saw to it that the branches were voting.... "properly"! In other word he put on the branches the usual raectionary paw of the corrupt politicians of Tammany Hall. But, notwithstanding the fact that the "election boss" at the meeting was watching the branch so that it would vote "properly", many branches unanimously voted for the candidates of the Left Wing and the opportunists were defeated even in such a center of social-patriots as New York! Then what could be expected from places where the votes were not "sure"? All this was explained by Gerber in his hour and a half speech... He called the attention of the N. E. C. especially to the fact that the most ballots for the Left Wing candidates were cast by foreign speaking branches; that they had "steering committees" to indicate how to vote (he almost forgot his "report" of just a few minutes before that he was sending his "representatives" to the branches to "watch" that they should vote "properly"....).

Then followed the report of National Secretary Germer. He remarked at the outset that the Russian, Lithuanian and some other foreign language Federations during the last few months were growing so rapidly, that it was simply awful, a growth very "unnatural"; the Russian Federation had grown from a couple of thousand members to eight thousand; Lithuanian, from three and a half to over six thousand ect..... And this meant nothing else but a desire on the part of the leaders of these Federations to drive into the party numbers of "heads" by the help of whom "they could size the Socialist Party of America".... Therefore he asked the committee to do something.... "to prevent the Leftwingers from taking possession of the party"....

Michigan Expelled Without Trial

After some time he presented to the N E C. the charge against the Michigan organization because it allowed the memberhip to have the referendum vote on the decision of the convention to repeal all reformistic demands in the State platform. In that charge and in supplement to it (everything in the official report!) Germer chided the Leftwingers so much that even Shiplacoff, that King of the Avanturists, advised omission of some parts as "not pertaining to the report". But the main point was this: Michigan State voted for the Left Wing candidates—several thous- remany, without paying any attention and votes. Therefore, without any regard to the fact that the motion to repeal the reformistic demands in the platform of Michigan State organization was under process of a referendum vote in the State and that it might be rejected yet, which was plainly pointed out by the members of the N. E. C. Comrades Wagenknecht and Katterfeld—this did not stop the reactionaries bent on holding the reins of the party's management in their hands at any price. They refused even to give a chance to the Comrades of Michigan state to explain or vindicate themselves,—they eliminated the entire organization by a single stroke of the pen. And only the fool can fail to understand that this elimination was directed not for the protection of the party Constitution but for the purpose of throwing out the votes undesirable to the opportunists, because the members of the N E C had admitted themselves that they had no knowledge whether the Michigan state organization would accept this amendment or not

But his is not all.

Seven members of the N. E. C., having disposed of the Michigan organization, with a chance to "be close" to the election returns, learned in some mysterious way that the elimination of Michigan state alone was not sufficient to change the results of the voting. They decided to suspend all elections on the supposed ground that some frauds had been practiced in balloting. Where was the eidence of these "frauds"? Do you suppose they were in local New York where Gerber, the "election boss" or his "representative" attended the branch meetings and watched to see that they did not vote for the candidtes opposed to the reactionary machine? Not at all! The "frauds" appeared in the fact that the Left Wing branches paid no attention to the "election bosses" and voted as a unit for the Left candidates and the master-opportunists were left without a single vote in some places and in locals even right under their own noses!

Cry of "Fraud" Only a Cloak

(Continued on page 4.)

PARTY NEWS AND VIEWS

AN IMPORTANT REFERENDUM

The most important and by far the largest referendum ballot which Ohio members have voted upon is now in the hands of all local and branch secretaries. Every party member ought attend his next local or branch meeting to cast his vote upon the momentous questions before the party Local and branch secretaries would greatly assist in getting out a full vote if they would notify their membership that the next meeting would consider the ballots before the members as a special order of business and if they would at the same time send a ballot to each member in good standing by mail, so that the member could study it before attending the meeting.

The important ballot referred to is that which asks for the vote of the state membership upon the acts of the recent state convention. The amended sate constitution appears first upon this referendum ballot. The changes in the constitution which every member should give attention to are, first, an increase in the wages of the state secretary from $35.00 to $45.00 a week. This increase was voted by the convention, the committee on constitution holding that high cost of living made an increase imperative.

The convention abolished the use of the press stamp and if the amended constitution carries, then every member in the state will have to subscribe to the paper voluntarily. A raise in dues to the state office and for the individual member was agreed to. The dues locals are to pay to the state office were raised to 20c. per stamp. Uniform dues which members will have to pay to the local or branch were set at 35c. a month. The initiation fee was raised to 50c. per applicant half of this to be retained by the local.

A uniform municipal platform for all locals and the Left Wing Program appear upon the ballot. These should both be studied carefully for they mark an advent in party progress.

The resolutions are also worthy of several readings. Resolution No. 1, upon the party controversy, if agreed to be the membership, pledges the Ohio organization to become part of a new Socialist Party if the present stand pat officialdom of the party so manipulates the coming national convention as to make it possible for the entire party delegates to take part and for the Left Wing to control. It is conceded of course, that if the entire quota or delegates from all states including those unjustly expelled, take part, that then the Left Wing will be in full control.

Resolution 4 and 5 also have to do with the party controversy. The others of the eleven resolution passed by the convention will undoubtedly be generally agreed upon

Voting upon this ballot closes August 22nd. Make sure to get your ballot at once. Take it home. Give it particular study so that you may vote intelligently.

CANTON BEGINS MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN.

T. H. Robertson writes: "We completed the work of our city convention and expect to have our campaign well under way in a couple of weeks. Beginning July 27th we shall hold weekly Sunday afternoon meetings in the open. We herewith make application for speakers."

STATE PICNIC NETS $400

A check for $400.00 arrived at the state office several days ago. It constituted the net proceeds of the state picnic, held at Coney Island, Cincinnati, June 29th.

The picnic was under the direction of Local Cincinnati. Otto Hoefer acted as chairman of the picnic committee. The report he submitted of receipts and expenses is complete in every detail and much credit is due him and the committee for its painstaking work

The state convention cost the party nearly $1,000.00. The $400.00 net proceeds will help considerably to fill the void left by the big outlay for railroad fares.

One hundred copies of our paper go forward to Vestaburg, Pa., "because it takes the right position."

The Socialist Party of Oregon will hold a state convention before Aug. 30th to instruct its delegates to the national convention to be held upon that date.

Local Fremont demands that the Ohio Socialist continue to print the truth about the party controversy and orders a bundle for its membership to keep them informed.

Tom Clifford filled several dates in Louisvilley, Ky., lately.

New Polish branches have organized in Adena, Youngstown, Fair Point and Maynard, Ohio

"Fall will soon be here and we will need talent to explain Socialism in many Ohio towns. How about a speaker's school?" C. V. Ulrich.

Local Rochester, N. Y., sent a vigorous protest to the national office for holding up the referendum initiated by Local Cuyahoga county. This motion for national referendum has now been seconded by locals and branches representing more than 12,000 members and was meant to recind the autocratic acts of the N. E. C. is throwing 40,000 members out of the party.

Much demand has been made lately for literature in foreign languages. May G. Waters of East Liverpool inquires about Italian and Slavish literature and papers. Comrade Waters also reports a very successful July 4th picnic under the direction of her local. Speeches, games, races and good things to eat made the day a big one.

Local Tonawanda, N. Y., enters our bundle list with an order for 100 a week. Come on, Ohio locals,—get busy.

The Akron picnic at Riverview Park at which Chas. Baker was the principle speaker, netted $30.00 for the party owned printing plant fund.

TWO THOUSAND TO BELLEVILLE, ILL.

An order for $2,000 copes of the Ohio Socialist for locals and branches in the vicinity of Belleville, Ill., is one result of the dastardly acts of the old N. E. C. The Belleville comrades want to know and let others know of the attempt to wreck the party by the officialdom that is playing the game of the Czar.

KENMORE NOMINATES TICKET

Local Kenmore has placed a full Socialist ticket in the field. Four of the candidates are returned soldiers. A. Lasken heads the ticket as candidate for mayor. Other candidates are: For councilmen, J. C. Artley, F. Regers. John V. Nice, Ray Bartchey, H. Bachtel, C. Edwards. For clerk, Fred W. Seibert. For treasurer, Peter Balty. For marshall, Henry Olson. For board of public affairs, Fiber, Brown and Bissel. For school board, Mrs. F. W. Seibert, Chas. Bancher, J. Perry. Constable, A. Aggus. Justice of the peace, E. F. Koenig.

The Ohio Socialist would like to publish the names of other municipal candidates. Send them in.

FROM OKLAHOMA.

"We like your stand and your paper. We simply will not stand for autocracy in the party. Stand by your convictions if it takes everything. The local thinks that now is the time to use the recall on that bunch of seven on the N. E. C." Mrs. Jeff Sinnett, Glencoe.

THE COLUMBUS PICNIC

We had a very good report of the Columbus local picnic, written by the picnic committee. Due to the inconvenience of having to print the Ohio Socialist in Dayton, this report seems to have gone astray. We shall make an attempt to locate it in the Dayton plant. The picnic was a very successful one despite the fact that the owner of the grounds which the comrades rented, refused to permit the picnic to take place upon "his" land. The picknickers adjourned to one of the public parks and spent a very pleasant day.

"Having a prison term confronting you, it seems as tho you are going to depend on the capitalist class for help and will do all you can to hinder the working class to express its will, as it seems very evident they wish to do by actions taken in recent elections.

Granting, that some things are "unconstitutional" as you claim—it is evident that we cannot fight "new battles with old wornout weapons".

It is very evident that if the workers desire anything they must be the ones to get it, and should rule their party from the "bottom up" instead of from the "top down."

From your action, and actions of the N E. C., it seems as tho a "few higher ups" know better what is kood for the "many lower down" than they do themselves.

We desire a change, we demand a change, and in the end we will have a change.

"Those who are not with us are surely against us"—"no man can serve to masters."

Those who serve us' we will serve in a great and glorions couse, and by so doing we will get justice in the end.

Those who serve us we will serve a just condemnation.

Join your hand and heart with those Revolutionary Socialists whose hearts never beat a retreat.

Respectfully,
HERBERT BORING,
(SIGNED) Local Sec.

A Correction

Permit me to correct a mistaken impression of Comrade Dillon, State Secretary, New Mexico.

Dillon places MacDonald in the same list as Rosa Luxembourgh and Karl Liebknecht. This is far from being true MacDonald is a Right Winger. In fact he recently visited Italy with a view to swinging the Italian Socialists back to the Berne Conference. In the London Morning Post, June 11, he stated in an interview: —"He went to Italy to get the BOLSHEVIK WAVE STOPPED."

MacDonald is a pacifist and a social reformer, who believes that you can legislate capitalism out of business.

Yours to the Left,
JACK CARNEY,
Editor "TRUTH".

Portsmouth write National Office

Portsmouth, Ohio,
July 18-19

Natn'al Office Soc. Party,
220 So. Ashland Blvd.,
Chicago, Ill.

Comrade Sec'y:—

I have been instructed by Portsmouth Local to enter another protest and to write condemning your action taken in the matter of holding up the referendum, proposed by Local Cuyahoga County.

You surely haven't the interest of the workingclass very much at heart when you or the N. E. C. take such actions as you have in the past and are doing at present.

The Split in the Socialist Party

(Continued from page 3)

And this is the whole secret of the "frauds". In reality these "frauds" were the cloak of the hideous purpose of the officials: to remain in power beyond the time allowed by the Constitution (July 1st). And for the solution of the "great crisis in the party" the decided to call the National convention which will "decide the truthfulness" of the charges. This "truthfulness" will be reported to the convention by Opportunists appointed by Opportunists — "the investigation committee", as they call it. But even this is not the end of the dirty work of the seven reactionists.

When they suspended the party election they noticed, that plenty of Left elements were in the party who might seriously examine the truthfulness of the elections even at the party convention. This was evident to them from election returns, which were nearly complete. Suppose the branches sent to the convention a majority of delegates who did not belong to the machine of the master-officials? Would it not be necessary for the seven reactionary members of the N. E. C. to suspend themselves?

Think of it! These men have brains! They reason coolly! All this was said most plainly by George Goebel—the Thirty Year Socialist—when the time came for so-called discussion of the protest of seven language Federations against the elimination from the party of the branches belonging to those Federations by the New York local and state executive committees because they adopted the program of the Left Wing. Instead of discussing what was to be done to the New York reactionaries, committeeman Kreft,—that man "who has done nothing and was imprisoned" as was very truly stated by his friends James Oneal, made a motion to suspend the seven Federations "until further notice." And when Comrades Wagenknecht and Katterfeld pointed out the silliness of such "procedure", Goebel said: "I would feel far better if at the present moment... I were not a member of the N. E. C. But if we do not suspend them (the Federations) they will crowd the convention with their delegates and seize the Socialist Party of America"....

Suspend Seven Socialist Federations

And therefore in order that their "glorious work".... of "protecting the party from ruin and disintegration" should not be in vain; in order that the coming convention might surely adopt their resolution by which they eliminated the Michigan State organization and suspended the entire election of the party; in order to arrange matters before hand so that the convention might be attended by a majority of the kind of delegates desired by the reactionaries,—they suspended seven Federations with over thirty thousand membership because they favored the Left Wing.

That these politicians knew that the Left Wing had been in existence for over two years was frankly admitted by Goebel, who said that he kept on his files a copy of each manifesto, program and paper of the Left Wingers. It is evident therefore that the Left Wing was tolerated so long as it did not treaten the control of the reactionary machine; so long as their programs were not considered as "offense" against the party law. Only when the Left Wing touched the nest of the Opportunists did it become a "violation of the party Constitution."

In connection with the suspension of the language federations let me say that the National Constitution says that the language branches under no circumstances shall act contrary to the platforms and constitutions of local and state organizations. I asked this reactionary committee: how do they know that the branches of language Federations concur with the resolution of the Michigan state convention to repeal the reformistic demands in the platform of the state? They may be obeying it under COMPULSION, because the National Constitution compels them to obey. Are these branches to be eliminated because they OBEY the National Constitution?

So-called "Protectors" Split the Party

Thus the "protectors of the unity of the party" have split the party. But are they sure that they will be able to dominate in the coming convention? No. After the session was over I chanced to speak with Goebel, Holt and Germer. To my question: "What are they going to do with those locals of the Left Wing which they 'forgot' to eliminate", they replied: that they would see about it; the intended to eliminate the Boston and Cleveland locals and if necessary all the Leftwingers". Therefore one thing is sure: they will keep on eliminating until there will be no one in the party to oppose them.

Shiplacoff, who "believes in left wing socialism" (so he said), was continually repeating the question: "If there is any other way out.... if there is any.... show it to us!" I did show it to him: "keep your noses out of the party's affairs which can be solved ONLY by the convention and the referendum vote, and that will be the best way out. But if that is unpleasant to you, there is another way: go to the Labor Party, which Stedman said he was not afraid to join, and leave the Socialist Party in peace. It will take care of its own interests and will find the way out."

These gentlemen evidently intand to do this. Because they decided to incorporate even the party's building so that in case the "fanatics" should win at the convention that building "should not come into the hands of the party or one of its factions but it should be a socialist institution for the benefit of the American Socialism" (!) (statement by Goebel). And for this "benefit of American Socialism" the building bought for the party with money donated by the membership is given by these seven persons to nine directors (three of whom are appointed for nine years) who cannot be controlled by the party membership at all even the N. E. C. itself will have no power to recall the majority of the board directorate during a period of two years! Why has the N. E. C. abridged their own "rights"? Was this also "in the interest of the party"? No. It is evident that they fear that in case they lose their "ground" at the coming convention it will not be possible for them to regain the control of the party machinery for at least two years!

This shows that the Right Wing is bent on controling also the party's paoperty. And if the membership of the party is not quick enogh to expel these dictators of the Kolchak type we may expect the realization of Stedman's plan: The "Socialist" Party will unite with "Labor Party".

The Left Wing Socialists must organize, gather their forces for the final battle, to take the party machinery from the hands of reactionaries and place it in the ranks of the communist parties of Europe, or to organize a new party in which there will be no place for the yellow friends of Scheidemann and Martov!

Down with the fakers of the working class, the pseudo-socialists, misleaders! Long live to the Left Wing!

(Editors Note: The Ohio Socialist and the Socialist Party of Ohio firmly believe that the Left Wing will capture the Socialist Party at the coming National Convention, August 30, and that there will be no need of organizing a new party.)

Doings Among Sub Boosters

Comrade Jno Rehm of Springfield, O., is still at it, still making socialist hay wherever a chance permits. Three subs from him attest to this fact.

Local Dola, O., is doing fine thank you. Six more subs for as many new members, a fine showing.

A check for $1.50 for three subs from comrade J. H. Harvitt, of Newark, O., shows that he has not forgotten the needs of the day.

Our old booster comrade Jas. Shafor of Hamilton, O., has been busy as two yearlies from him proves.

Comrade T. H. Robertson, of Canton also sends us two yearlies. Comrades should remember that every subscription secured means another fighter for freedom, not only for Debs and political prisoners, but for the whole working-class.

A hustler for subs is comrade Bird of Fairmont, W. Va. Three more added to his record makes us grateful. Comrade Bird is one among the most active comrades who devote their efforts to the promulgation of revolutionary socialism.

Comrade H. S. Coats is a live wire [illegible] Ohio Socialist [illegible] real [illegible] proves he's on the [illegible] list.

Dr. C. [illegible] of Toledo has been active again. This time it is three yearlies that he sends us. Every subscriber helps to free Debs remember.

Preparing for a future crop of socialists is what comrade Anton Kukovich of St. Louis is preparing for. Two subcriptions and an order for 50 copies weekly shows that he is after them.

Complimenting us upon our ambition to own a printing plant of our own, comrade Lee A. Forman, of Morgantown, W. Va. helps us out, not only with his cheerful letter but with what is just as necessary, a renewal and a yearly sub to accompany it.

After reading a few copies comrade Stanley Marshall of Cincinnati, finds the Ohio Socialist is a "real paper". He send us a dollar for a year.

Comrade John Foelster of Davenport, Ia. is present again with two more for the list.

Comrade Wm. Wiesman keeps at it in Hamilton. Four more he sends in. Comrade Wissman is a constant booster for a bigger circulation for the O. S.

That eternal booster, comrade H. M. Kohr of Ulrichsville, O. is here again. This time he brings seven subs. Comrade Kohr is a regular Jimmie Higgins in all socialist enterprises.

Comrade T. Vuorela of Cleveland sends 7 subscriptions. Thanks comrade.

Again he comes. Who? Why comrade R. O. Sellers of Moline, Ill. And what is more he brings two with him. That's more isn't it?

And then came a letter from an adviser. We hav'nt attempted to follow his advice yet for we are not workers of miracles. Read it.

Hubbard, O., July 14, 1919.

The Ohio Socialist,
Cleveland, O.

Dear Sirs:—I have never subscribed for your paper and do not want it. Some one has been sending it to me contrary to my wishes. Please discontinue sending it. Socialism is as wrong as "Capitalism." The great human need is the Gospel of Jesus Christ in human hearts. Not simply church membership but real Christianity as taught in the New Testament. Get on the New Testament basis if you want to solve great human problems.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL D. CANFIELD.

Scott Nearing's Lecturettes

WORK, SAVE, PAY!

Bernard M. Baruch, banker, has a three word remedy for the world's troubles. Interviewed in Paris, Mr. Baruch said, "There is but one program for Germany and the rest of the world—work, save, pay." (New York Times.)

Pay! Pay whom? Why the bankers, of course, and the landlords, the bond-holders, the stock-holders, the trust magnates,—in short, the rich.

Does not that seem a little odd? Men have been told that the old world is dead; that tyranny is no more; that despotism has been destroyed and that a new world has been born, yet the same money-grabbers are singing the same song that they sang before the war,—"work, save, pay—us."

There are many who believed that there would be a new song in the new day that dawned with the overthrow of militarism. They looked for some such refrain as "work, peace, liberty." Banker Baruch says no! Speaking for a triumphant and unrepentant capitalism, Mr. Baruch tells the workers that the future, for them, is a future of "work, save, pay."

This formula applies not only to the vanquished. The Allies won a victory but "for Germany and the rest of the world" it is a case of "work, save, pay."

There is one place, Mr. Baruch, and only one, in which your formula is outlawed, where the workers have overthrown capitalism; where there is in truth a new world, they are singing,—"work, use, enjoy."

THE TREASURE CHESTS

Pierre Brizon, Deputy of France, writes in a recent issue of "La Vague":

"'Grow rich'—said Guizot to them.

"And throughout the century the bourgeoisie have grown rich. Their Policy was:

"Fill up the treasure chest!

"The treasure chests have been filled up. Not by the bourgeoisie alone, but by the millions of peasants, of workers, of employes, of miners, of sailors, of colonials, who, in the country, in the workshops, in the stores, and in the banks, in the depths of the mines, upon the ocean, in the colonies have worked for them.

"And now that the treasure chest is full, this is the policy of our parvenus:—We must save the treasure chest!

"That is the voice of the 'gilded bellies'! It is showy—it is tinsel. It is vulgar. It is 'nouveau riche'. But it is the program of the day."

That is the program of the old day, and the new day is at hand. Heed again the vocie of warning;—"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth!"

The police who protected the treasure chests in the old days are organized in unions. The soldiers behind whose bayonets they were sheltered have their soldiers councils. The contents of the treasure chests, taken by economic force from the workers, are to be returned to the workers from whom originally they came. The old day is passing; the new day is at hand when the world's treasures will be the vigorous bodies, alert minds, warm hearts and strong souls of the men and women and children who compose the human race.

MOBILIZATION

Forty years ago German industry began to mobilize for the conquest of world markets. British and French industry also mobilized. The economic struggle continued for a generation; then came the military mobilization of August, 1914.

Today American industry is for the conquest of world markets. Export corporations are being formed; banks are opening foreign branches; the Department of Commerce is studying foreign markets; exports are growing; loans are being made. The same thing is happening,—in Italy, France, Japan. The industrial masters of Great Britain are particularly active. According to a recent dispatch published in the financial columns of the New York Times:

"To capture the world for British trade is the program of the newly formed overseas organization of the Federation of British Industries, including in its membership something like 17,000 manufacturing and producing firms in Great Britain."

The Organization plans to have its agents in all of the commercial centres of the world. Already representatives have been appointed in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Africa, and other centres of German pre-war trade.

The armies of the world are demobilizing. The bankers, manufacturers and traders are turning again to the task of economic mobilization with multiplied enthusiasm. How many years will pass before economic mobilization gives way once more to military mobilization; to another August, 1914; to the whirlwind of war, famine, disease; to tears, anguish, and torrents of blood? Or have the people learned their lesson?

IMMIGRANTS.

They are Immigrants—Dagoes, Hunkies, Polaks, Bolsheviskies, and Wops.

They are not wanted. General Leonard Wood does not want them. The Department of Justice does not want them. The American Federation of Labor does not want them.

They are suspected, hounded, persecuted, exploited, oppressed, because the are "foreigners".

Since 1562 a stream of human beings has flowed silently and steadily into the land that is now the United States. At first they came by dozens and scores, then by ten and hundreds of thousands. The year 1907 saw the high record in immigration 1,285,349,—929,976 of them men; 1,100,771 of them in the prime of life, between 14 and 15 years of age. The number of immigrants for 1914 was only a little under the 1907 record—1,218,480. Then came the war and with it an immense drop in immigration;—in 1915 there were 326,700 arrivals; in 1917 there were 295,403. In March 1919 only 14,105 aliens came into the country, while 16,019 left it. The stream of emigration has almost stopped.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor wish to stop immigration entirely for a time—to stop it by law. They aim to put up a barrier which will prevent their European fellow-workers from entering this land of freedom and opportunity.

Think a moment, labor men!

You, or your ancestors were immigrants from Europe. You and your ancestors have produced the wealth that exists today in the United States.

Immigrants have done the rough work of America's expanding industrial life in the past. They will continue to do it in the future. All signs point to a period of prosperity in the United States. If this prosperity comes, capital will want labor, and capital will get labor. Immigrants are now coming from Europe, but if that supply fails the masters have Mexico, India, Japan and China to draw on.

Workers will be found, by the exploiters, so long as exploitation is possible. Shall they be home seekers from Europe or bond servants from Asia?

Comrade E. C. Wolfe sends in two more subs to keep his record bright.

And we presume that comrade Tony Battlovich of Dilles Bottom, O. wants to keep up his good record. He also rustles a pair of new ones.

From Mangum, Okal., comes a list from comrade Lewis W. Sweet. We are more than glad to make the acquaintaince of the comrades of Mangum and hope that we may travel together the straight and narrow path that leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"All hands to the plow and turn them under—the capitalist class." So writes comrade F. A. Bucey of Rayland O. He sends in five yearlies which is plowing some we would say.

Comrade Carl Laetsch of Hamilton is again with us. This time his "bit" consists of three subs. Come again comrade.

"Received the sample copies. Don't see any thing unjust about it. Am sending you one dollar for subscription. I like the paper fine." S. C. Patrick, Flemingsburg, Ky.

FREE THEM ALL—THE LIBERATORS.

Many Locals Boost Press Fund. Last Week's Record Smashed by Big Gain

If last week's press fund receipts were gratifying, how shall we describe this week's gain? We are so happy over the great gain shown in the compilation below that we are unable to find a proper adjective to describe our feelings. Elation and jubilation come as near anything we can think of toward expressing the feeling that has constantly mounted higher as we went thru the larger than ever list of donations this week.

PRESS FUND BOOSTERS GETTING RIGHT DOWN TO IT.

That the Party members and readers of the Ohio Socialist are getting right down to the business of establishing a printing plant for the Party and the paper is certainly thrown on the screen in a vivid manner by the great gain of this week, not only in the more than usual individual contributions but also in the many donations from Locals and Branches of the Party. The Press Fund is growing fast. Comrades are manifesting a greater interest in it as the sum mounts toward the top and all feel the elation that results from success. The establishing of a printing plant for the Party in this state is recognized as one of the most momentuous advances ever attempted by the Party.

Everybody is for it as receipts show.

LOCALS ACTIVE WITH LISTS.

More locals are circulating Press Fund Lists. Steadily the number of Locals taking up the work of circularizing lists among the workers increases as the efficiency of this method is seen. Notably among the Locals sending in receipts this week on lists is Local Canton, O.

Thru comrade Ernest Sykes this Local remits $105.75 which the comrades have secured by circularizing these lists. Comrade Sykes says he wants to see that $100 colum filled up. He wants to see Local Canton occupy a "place in the sun." Well it certainly deserves such a place and the comrades are proven to be a live bunch. Comrade Sykes avers that they are not finished yet in the good work of boosting the Press Fund. The names of the contributors are seen in the respective columns. Local Canton's subscription is the largest yet sent in on lists. The names of comrades who circulated the lists are T. H. Robertson $11, Carl Guillod, $16.25, John Cassidy, $17.75, B. Kush, $14.25, John Coulter, $16, J. L. Hammond, $27.25, Ernest Sykes, $4.

Local Columbus, O., also has been busy with lists. Fin. Sec. H. Welchers remits the sum of $31, which comrades of this Local have gathered for the Press Fund The many names on these lists are to be found in their respective coluns. Lists were circulated by these comrades: Geo Althouser, $9.25, G. H. Fries, $3.00, C. E. Reed, $18.75.

Individual comrades too, have been busy on their own book getting funds on lists for the press. One comrade who does not wish his name mentioned sends in $4. Comrade Dale of Wise, Va., sends $9.50, Comrade Pete Stefanich of Warren has been very successful in this work, as has also comrade Wm. Adler of Lorain, O.

LOCALS MAKE DONATIONS DIRECT FROM TREASURIES.

More Locals are making contributions to the Press Fund right out of their treasuries. Among them this week are, Locals Martins Ferry, O., and New Bremen. These locals each donate $10. The German Branch of Alliance comes to the front with $5. and the same generous amount is subscribed by Herwegh Mannerchor of Cincinnati, O.

Local Irondale, O., sends in $21. which the Local comrades and sympathizers have donated. We are not in receipt of the names of the comrades who have done this good work so we must give credit to the Local only.

Another organization which rendered splendid service for the Press Fund this week was the Lorain Ohio Socialist Boosters Club. Perhaps some comrades have never made the acquaintance of this live wire crowd. Well, we never did either before this week but we must say that our meeting with them was one of the most pleasant experences we have had lately. This Club remits thru one of its members the most liberal sum of $30. Long live this Booster Club, we say and may their numbers grow and grow.

AND THEN THERE ARE PICNICS.

Yes, it's picnic time. Every Local should have one, the sooner the better.

Locals are making it a point to make their picnics this summer not only profitable in the way of increased interest in Party affairs but also as a method to add more dollars to the Press Fund.

One Local which has made such large success in this way is the South Slavic Branch of Youngstown, O. Thru comrade Martin Kovach, secretary, we are in receipt of $50; collected at the picnic given by the Branch recently.

AND NOW TO KEEP GOING.

We have raised one fourth of the $10,000 for the Press Fund. We feel extremely well pleased with the generous response which comrades and readers have given us in answer to this call to put the Ohio Socialist upon its own feet by giving the Socialist Party of Ohio a printing plant of its own.

Receipts at this accounting show are $2,594.42 Slightly over one quarter of the amount needed. What we have done, we must do again and again until this fund is raised. And we can do it, of course we can do it. Thousands of comrades, readers, have not yet done their share of this work. We know that they will. Many Locals have as yet, done nothing for this fund. But we know they intend to and we know they will fulfil their intentions. The Socialist Party of Ohio asissted by the generous help of hundreds of comrades out side the state are going to do the job. Of that we are convinced. So comrades, we just say, keep on going. Add your bit to that already subscribed. Get others to do so. Keep up the agitation. Never let it slacken. Think Press Fund, talk it, and best of all act upon this suggestion—get subscriptions for it. And thus make every week what this week has been—an increase in receipts over the last one.

Below are the contributions of comrades for this week.

$1 Column

Albert Astrum, Lorain, O
Fr. Stancovitz, Lorain, O.
H. Sharkey, Lorain, O.
A. McConnell, Lorain, O.
Ed. Shimmel, Marietta, O.
P. F. Bigany, Columbus, O.
W. D. Mitten, Columbus, O.
Burt Stratt, Columbus, O.
Chas Poliny, Columbus, O. (50c.)
Willy Ahrens, Columbus, O. (50c.)
Wm. Craner, Columbus, O.
A. H. Fries, Columbus, O.
Earl L. Fries, Columbus, O.
C. E. Reed, Columbus, O.
W. H. Krafft, Columbus, O.
C. C. Beach, Columbus, O.
B. L. Wade, Columbus, O. (50c.)
Geo. Walker, Columbus, O. (50c.)
Geo. Peters, Columbus, O.
H. McClurg, Columbus, O.
W. L. Jonas, Columbus, O. (50c.)
Robert Hammill, Columbus, O. (50c.)
Al. Kramer, Columbus, O. (25c.)
A. Schaeer, Columbus, O.
G. A. Strierhoff, Columbus, O. (50c.)
Geo. Tollner, Columbus, O. (50c.)
G. E. Byold, Columbus, O. (50c.)
W. S. Jones, Columbus, O.
W. Urion, Columbus, O.
Cecil W. Bailey, Columbus, O.
Wm. N. Callif, Columbus, O.
R. B. Robertson, Wise, Va.
W. N. Hamilton, Wise, Va.
R. W. Riggs, Wise, Va.
W. R. Mullins, Wise, Va. (50c.)
Wm. E. Dale, Wise, Va.
J. L. Dale, Wise, Va.
E. R. Dale, Wise, Pa.
R. M. Apitzsch, Hollidays Cove, W. Va.
Wm. Beckel, Covington, Ky.
J. D. Reody, Bickmore, W. Va.
Oscar Knorr, Springfield, O.
Daniel Kira, California, Pa.
A. Bodendorfer, Youngstown, O.
Steve Petrinich, Youngstown, O.
J. Savich, Moline, Ill.
H. A. Wise, Davenport, Iowa.
J. Warner, Liverpool, O.
Hiram Cornell, E. Liverpool, O. (50c.)
John Cornell, Neville, W. Va. (50c.)
P. DeLuca, Akron, O.
Wm. Biember, Sandusky, O.
L. C. Kerns, Columbus, O.
Alex Sherbin, Sun, W. Va.
Jos. Baumgartner, Canton, O.
Alex Farekash, Barberton, O.
A. E. Gustus, Moline, Ill. (32c.)
C. L. Patton, Roanoke, Va.
W. D. Lockurch, Warren, O.
Emil Reinhart, Hamilton, O.
Louis Rohrbach, St. Marys, O.
An Ashtabula Comrade
John Barnes, Willoughby, O.
F. A. Habig, Martins Ferry, O.
Mrs. Sarah A. Rhorer, Canton, O.
Mark Skaboem, Canton, O.
V. Viehstern, Canton, O.
Wm. Smith, Canton, O.
W. H. Zerbe, Canton, O.
Chas. Oppelin, Canton, O.
D. Spiro, Canton, O. (25c.)
Cash, some place, O.
Chas Frilk, Canton, O.
Harry Ash, Canton, O. (25c.)
H. C. Ingram, Canton, O.
E. Mayer, Canton, O. (25c.)
E. Sarchet, Canton, O. (50c.)
R. Hopkins, Canton, O. (25c.)
W. Roeser, Canton, O. (50c.)
H. Meyers, Canton, O. (25c.)
W. T. Ingram, Canton, O. (50c.)
J. Boswill, Canton, O. (25c.)
T. E. Griffith, Canton, O.
James Murphy, Canton, O.
John Kleine, Canton, O. (25c.)
F. Iden, Canton, O. (25c.)
Roy Kirkland, Canton, O. (50c.)
E. J. Heath, Canton, O. (25c.)
Albert D. Camp, Canton, O. (25c.)
Albert D. Camp, Canton, O. (25c)
Rudolph Shultz, Canton, O. (50c)
Wm. Kells, Canton, O. (50c)
F. Smith, Canton, O. (50)
Kuemar Gzorgy, Canton, O. (50c)
Jno Puckovich, Canton, O. (50c)
Martin Lurcich, Canton, O. (50c)
Steve Stere, Canton, O. (50c)
Stef. Foelbizanecy, Canton, O. (50c)
Geo. Gasparich, Canton, O. (50c)
John Sopcic, Canton, O. (50c)
Jos. Romick, Canton, O. (50c)
Nick Sever, Canton, O. (50c)
Dominik Kurek, Canton, O. (50c)
Anton Blazekorich, Canton, O.
Peter Zubetz, Canton, O. (50c)
Peter Raineirel, Canton, D. (50c)
Luka Marich, Canton, O. (50)
H. H. Hoffman, Canton, O.
Alex. Plazibat, Canton, O.
Aug. Nlyro, Canton, O.
Theo. Ostapuck, Canton, O.
Frank Richardson, Canton, O.
Jno Richardson, Canton, O. (50c)
Chas. Craz, Canton, O.
A friend of Socialism, Canton, O.
Another friend of Socialism, Canton, O.
J. L. Arnold, Canton, O.
A slave, Canton, O. (50c)
Joe Pelino, Canton, O. (25c)
Frank Constant, Canton, O. (50)
Comrade Cykes, Canton, O.
C. P. Reif, Canton, O.
A slave, Canton, O. (25c)
Another slave, Canton, O. (25c)
Patsy Marrasslo, Canton, O. (50c)
De Peremere Canton, O. (50c)
Nick Premero Canton, O. (50c)
Clement Piro, Canton, O. (50c)
Lorenzo Restains, Canton, O. (50c)
Felix Corone, Canton, O. (25c)
Cany Rivo, Canton, O. (25c)
Geo. Barnett, Canton, O. (50c)
Alec Volk, Canton, O. (25c)
John Alarno, Canton, O. (25c)
C. Monzion, Canton, O. (50c)
Leonard Pope, Canton, O. (25c)
Nunzio Dillenna, Canton, O. (50c)
Conrad Berg, Canton, O. (25c)
Andr. Anderson, Canton, O. (25c)
Hedar Nelson, Canton, O. (50c)
Waldo Cross, Canton, O. (50c)
Gust. Seastrand, Canton, O. (50c)
A. Anderson, Canton, O. (25c)
Steve Bene, Canton, O. (25c)
Tony Ascani, Canton, O. (50c)
Calahandro Alavendra, Canton, O. (25c)
Frank Scarpalena, Canton, O. (25c)
Jim Marico, Canton, O. (25c)
Frank Fautisko, Canton, O.
Guy Carls, Canton, O. (25c)
Geo Arnold, Canton, O. (50c)
C. L. Schapper, Canton, O. (50c)
Fred. Nelson, Akron, O.
Albert Nelson, Akron, O.
John Swedborg, Akron, O.
An Akron comrade
Leroy Bell, Toledo, O.
Gertrude Bell, Belle Center, O.
Mrs. Emmie Hurley, Toledo, O.
R. Deffenbaugh, Toledo, O.

$2 Column

John Cassidy, Canton, O.
David (undecipherable), Canton, O.
John Autter, Canton, O.
W. S., Caton, O.
G. Hall, Canton, O.
Ed. Randall, Canton, O.
Thomas Richardson, Canton, O.
F. H. Dale, Wise, Va.
Geo. Althouser, Columbus, O.
Wm. Gemmenden, Columbus, O.
M. Thefan, Columbus, O.
John Gorny, Lorain, O.
Wm. Adler, Lorain, O.
H. Sceiber, Lorain, O.
Comrade Meridith, Canton, O.
McKinley Toler, Cedar Grove, W. Va.
J. Rand, Ashtabula, O.
Chas Rumpler, Hamilton, O.
Mrs. Mary Boghar, Kansas City, Mo.
S. A. Harrington, Akron, O.
Steve Yovich, Warren, O.
S. M. Kerte, Wadsworth, O.
Walter Dearolf, Rittman, O.
A. Finberg, Sandusky, Ohio.
W. M. Reider, Niles, O.
A. Youngstown, O., Comrade.
John H. Thomas, Martins Ferry, O.
Jno Vucic, Lorain, O.
Alfred Eisermann, Cincinnati, O. $2.50

$5 Column

J. H. White, Columbus, O.
Jos. A. Ferman, Canton, O.
Joseph Leubitz, Canton, O.
So. Slavic Branch No. 40, Canton, O.
J. L. Hammond, Canton, O. ($6.00)
Edward & Margaret Graney, Seattle, Wash.
Herwegh Maenerchor, Cincinnati, O.
German Branch, Alliance, O.
Local Clark Co. ($3.00)
Steve Popovich, Waren, O.
Tom Benich, Warren, O.
Peter Stefanich, Warren, O.
Paul Zebich, Warren, O. ($3.00)
E. C. Ilkenhans, Hamilton, O. ($3.00)
A. J. Haselbach, Akron, O.

$10 Column

Carl Guillod, Canton, O.
Local Martins Ferry, O.
Local New Bremen, O.

$25 Column

"Ohio Socialist" Boosters Club, Lorain, O. ($30.50)
Local Irondale, O. ($21.00)

$50 Column

South Slavic International Socialist Organization Youngstown, O.

$100 Column

Local Canton deserves a place in this column. Receipts from this Local on lists this week totaled $105.75.

This is the second Local that has contributed more than one hundred dollars.

We hope there are more Locals which will claim a place "in the sun".

Pledge Column

J. Warner, E. Liverpool, O., 50c per month for six months.
Hiram Cornell, E. Liverpool, O., 50c per month for 6 months.
Jno Cornell, Newel, W. Va., 50c per month for 6 months.
W. M. Reider, Niles, Mich., $4.00.
Edward & M. Graney, Seattle, Wash., Dollar monthly.

How We Grow

May receipts	$ 129.00
June receipts	1369.88
Contributed week of July 6	212.81
Contributed week of July 13	191.18
Contributed week of July 17	314.00
Contributed week of July 25	376.57
Total to date July 25	$2594.42

Remember: Comrade Wm. M. Brown will give $1,000. if several thousand others will give $9,000.

Be one of the givers

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

NO. 79 | Published at Cleveland, Ohio. | WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1919 | Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. | $1.00 A YEAR

AND 30,000 MINE WORKERS SAY — "RELEASE HIM AT ONCE"

"RELEASE HIM AT ONCE!"

Yes, we can hear the determined voices of the 30,000 Indiana mine workers speaking their demand as one man— "RELEASE HIM AT ONCE!"

Do you hear them? Is your ear atuned to justice for Debs and all political prisoners? Does your heart beat in sympathy for the 63 year old prisoner in the Atlanta penitentiary, who has labored diligently for forty years so that the working class might come into its own?

LISTEN!

Toil begrimed mine workers, black with coal dust from head to foot, sentenced by the capitalist system to work away their lives in dark coal pits, come forth to the light, look the "democratic" administration squarely in the face and shout—

"RELEASE DEBS AT ONCE!"

THEY MEAN IT! And Debs **WILL** be released, for the demand of these 30,00 wage slaves will become the demand of the 30,000,000 wage slaves of this "land of the free."

Nothing shall stop, nothing can stop the swiftly gathering forces of the working class as they join by the thousands the **ARMY LIBERATORS**, pledged to labor day and night that the cell dors and prison gates might swing open and Debs and all other political prisoners step forth **FREE MEN AND WOMEN.**

• • •

Now then—**HERE'S A JOB FOR YOU.**

You members of Labor Unions—**ATTENTION!**

Take the resolution passed by the convention of Indiana miners, which is printed elsewhere in this issue, to the next meeting of your union. Under the proper order of business arise, and read the resolutions and make a motion for their adoption.

DO THIS—PLEASE.

And then send the **OHIO SOCIALIST** a line or two, informing us of the adoption of the resolution by your union. and telling us how many members it contains.

We shall compile a roster of the unions and the membership they represent.

We shall mobilize these hundreds of thousands of workers into a compact army, ready to insist that their demand for Debs freedom be complied with.

THE POSSIBILITIES ARE GREAT!

Standing shoulder to shoulder, invincible and determined, there are already nearly half a million workers unyielding in their insistance that Debs be freed.

HERE THEY ARE—the workers who have voted that the champion of the slave class shall again be placed into the protecting arms of labor:

Chicago Federation of Labor, representing	250,000
Mine Workers, Indiana, 11th District,	30,000
Federated Shop Employes, Denver,	8,000
Socialist Party membership,	100,000

Hundreds of smaller worker's organization, of which we have no record, have called for the release of Debs. Send us their names and membership if you know of any who have joined this ever-increasing demand for freedom for Debs.

WE WANT TO REGISTER THEM ALL.

Numbers count. There is nothing which open prison doors quicker that an army united upon a single issue.

AND NOW—ALL TOGETHER!

There's no time to lose.

• • •

Let's lose no time. Even if you are not a member of a Labor Union, **YOU ARE NEEDED JUST THE SAME.**

There will be hundreds of thousands of leaflets to distribute. There will be posters to post. And first of all, there will be a call made upon you to assist in collecting a **LIBERATION FUND.**

AND NOW—WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS?

We announced this campaign for Debs' freedom two weeks ago. We followed our own device—**WE LOST NO TIME** in preparing copy for the printers, in engaging an artist for special drawings, in placing an order with a photo engraver for illustrations.

EVERYTHING WAS ALL SET, READY FOR OUR FIRST OFFENSIVE, when, after nearly a week had passed we were blandly informed by the capitalist engraving concern **THAT THEY WOULD NOT UNDERTAKE THE WORK WE HAD PLACED WITH THEM.**

THEY TOO WANT TO KEEP DEBS IN JAIL!

We hurried to another engraving company. This concern also accepted the job. When we called for it three days later, we were given back our photos of Debs, of the prison gate, of the steel cells—and politely told to go elsewhere.

• • •

THERE YOU HAVE IT!

A conspiracy as complete as any ever concocted, to **MAKE DEBS DIE IN A PRISON CELL.**

There is no other interpretation.

THE EMPLOYING CLASS IS ORGANIZED TO KEEP DEBS IN!

YOU MUST ORGANIZE TO GET DEBS OUT!

We must join forces AT ONCE to beat the inhumanity of the class that knows it can only keep up its game so long as the workers remain in darkness.

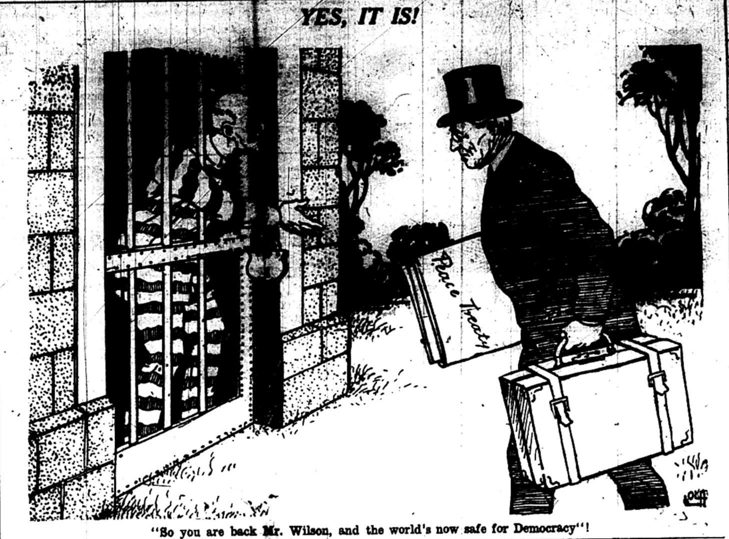
DEBS IS A TORCH-BEARER! He enlightens workers. He is dangerous to the shirkers. He threatens their graft, the ceaseless flow of surplus value in their already overfilled money chests.

The forces of DARKNESS will do all they can to rout the forces of ENLIGHTENMENT.

IT'S FOR YOU TO SAY WHICH WILL WIN!

JOIN THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.

HELP!



"So you are back Mr. Wilson, and the world's now safe for Democracy"!

"RELEASE DEBS AT ONCE"

CONVENTION REPRESENTING 30,000 INDIANA MINERS PASS STRONG RESOLUTIONS FOR DEBS' FREEDOM

We, the delegates of the Twenty-seventh Consecutive and Fourth Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, representing approximately 30,000 miners of the 11th District, realizing that eternal vigilance is the pride of liberty, adopt the following resolutions.

Whereas, Eugene V. Debs, a most beloved citizen of Terre Haute, who has devoted his gifted life most unselfishly to the cause of labor, and who while organizing the West Virginia miners almost a score of years ago, in the face of extreme danger of assassination at the hands of thugs and gunmen, suffered a severe sunstroke, which condition renders him unable to endure extreme heat, and

Whereas, He has been recently mysteriously transferred from Moundsville, W. Va., where he was originally committed to serve a ten years' sentence, to the Federal Prison at Atlanta, Georgia, in the hottest zone in the United States, and at the age of 64 years has been set to hard, exhausting labor in the prison factory making clothes, compelling him to scab not only against the union principles to which he has devoted his life, but against the splendid Garment Workers' Union itself, and

Whereas, This fearless humanitarian and faithful fighter for the working class is now caged in a five-by-ten iron barred cell for fourteen hours after each day's work and permitted only twenty minutes in the fresh air, and

Whereas, A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States, inhumanly takes the position that as far as he is concerned Eugene V. Debs shall remain for the entire ten years, suffering under these tyrannical conditions, stating that if Eugene V. Debs were released he would continue his agitation against our free government and in favor of general strikes, and

Whereas, We are led to infer that the sole reason for his confinement and brutal treatment is to break the spirit of this undaunted fighter for the working class, which to us, knowing this man as we do, is equivalent to a death penalty.

Therefore, Be It Resolved, That we demand that the President of the United States remove A. Mitchell Palmer from the high office of Attorney General for the good reason that Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer establishes his true character as being un-American, arbitrary, tyrannical, despotic and typical of the inhuman Czars, Kaisers and Kings of Europe.

Be it further Resolved, That if the late war was fought to make the world safe for democracy, this principle must be applied, and we therefore demand that the mask of hypocrisy be removed from the public officials who clearly manifest they are the enemies of democracy, insomuch that the profiteers of this country have been and are immune from prosecution, proving conclusively their unjust discrimination between capital and labor, and we further demand the immediate release of Eugene V. Debs from prison, and

Be it further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, the Attorney General of the United States and to the press.

COURT DISMISSES RAND SCHOOL CASE

NEW YORK.—The complaint filled by Attorney General Newton of New York state in proceedings instituted at the request of the joint legislative committee investigating radical activities to have revoked the charter of the Rand School of Social Science in this city was dismissed to day by Supreme Court Justice McAvoy.

Deputy Attorney General Berger asked for adjournment until October, asserting that he wished to serve an amended complaint setting forth "certain additional allegations against the defendants," and that he would seek authority to have a commission examine witnesses outside New York state.

Samuel Untermyer declared in behalf of the school that the institution has about 5,000 students and that the time for opening its fall season is approaching.

Justice McAvoy declined to grant the request for delay by Mr. Berger, and the deputy attorney general then asked for dismissal without prejudice. The motion was granted.

Attorney General Newton announced later that he proposed to renew the action to annul the charter of the school and "to present to the courts of the state the entire facts in relation to the business of the corporation as soon as they can be properly prepared."

No News of Debs Permitted to Reach Outside World

July 24th, 1919.

A. WAGENKNECHT,
3207 CLARK AVENUE,
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Dear Comrade Wagenknecht:—

Your favor of the 19th is received and I should have made earlier reply but I have been away from the office for a couple of days. I note with satisfaction that the Ohio Socialist is to inaugurate a vigorous campaign for the release of political prisoners, but I am afraid that I can be of little help to you in getting anything from Gene. Personally I have been unable to get anything to him. On three separate occasions I have mailed packets to him, none of which found their way into his hands. I had Mrs. Debs make inquiry, as Gene's writing privilege is limited to one letter a week, on a single sheet of paper, and that to his family, and in reply he told her that he had received nothing and especially requested that nothing more be sent.

Under prison rules Gene can give no interview nor can he give out anything for publication. Quite recently a Pittsburgh paper made a request similar to your own which was denied. No member of the family has yet visited Atlanta and other than what has appeared in the press do we know of the conditions that exist in the prison. Letters from Gene to his wife pass through the hads of the prison censor and a copy of each made for the prison files so you may well understand that his letters contain little of real conditions. We have received letters from a number of friends and comrades that called at the prison, all of whom were denied admission. So far as we have been abel to learn the same treatment is accorded to Gene as to all other prisoners, that is, the same rigid rules apply to all alike, no exception being made in his case. This is probably due to the fact that in our democracy —so-called—no distinction is made between criminals and political offenders. That the administration places the latter in the former class is evidenced by the statement of Attorney General Palmer to the effect that he saw no difference between Gene and a Georgia boot-legger.

I am quite certain that Gene will never stultify his manhood by asking for any special privilege, or favor of any kind as long as he in the Atlanta prison.

Yours fraternally,

THEODORE DEBS.

British Workers on Verge of Revolution

UNSYMPATHETIC TO LABOR, GOVERNMEN FACES DISSOLUTION IN FACE OF GROWING DISCONTENT AND PROBABLE REVOLUTION.

LONDON—Joseph E. Herbert, labor expert for the Times, has written an analysis of the labor situation in the United Kingdom as follows:

The labor issues maturing in the next few weeks are bigger than any Great Britain has yet had to face. The labor organizations are bigger than they were before the war. Labor ideas are bigger. On the one hand we have the organized workers and on the other, the employers' organizations, never better financed or better consolidated.

Left to themselves a terrific conflict would be inevitable and would be fought as a war of extermination by each side.

It probably would end in the exhaustion of both sides, but there is a third party vitally interested in keeping peace, namely, the general public, whose trustees are the government.

RESTS ON GOVERNMENT.

The question of a destructive industrial war or peaceful industrial reconstruction will be determined by the action of the government. The present cabinet has not yet shown anything like a broad, sympathetic progressive policy towards labor.

Whether the government will have foresight and courage to do its duty is Premier Lloyd George's secret. The outcry against the state to purchase coal mines and the indecision of the ministers on this test question of democratic good will create a strong suspicion that without drastic changes in the composition of the cabinet, the government will fail to satisfy labor.

WAIT CABINET CHANGES.

Labor therefore will await eagerly the foreshadowed reshuffling of the cabinet before taking extreme steps.

The danger in the present situation is the increasing want of confidence, among the workers, in the government and in Parliament. The majority of the British trade unionists still retain some trust in the House of Commons and the ministers, but unless the House and the Cabinet produce convincing evidence that they intend to give workmen all they can legitimately claim, respect for the existing system of government will inevitable disintegrate.

If, and when, that happens we Britishers shall find ourselves staring into the face of revolution.

COULD CALL ELECTION.

Mr. Lloyd George might decide that the present House of Commons is too one-sided to carry out real progressive measures The shrewdest course would be to dissolve Parliament and give the working class electors a clear field in new elections.

Of the 20,000,000 British electors, at least 14,000,000 are workmen [illegible] workmen's wives. Labor, therefor [illegible] if it chooses, can control the existi [illegible] constitutional machine. This is [illegible] surest safeguard against a viol [illegible] revolutionary outburst by any la [illegible] body of British workmen.

Only when baulked by the Cabi [illegible] and flouted by Parliament will [illegible] workers attempt drastic action. [illegible] while the public must expect [illegible] militant and [illegible] strikes. They are the growing [illegible] of the labor movement.

No Hope in Russia For Financial Pirates.

STRENGTH OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT SEEN IN FAILURE OF ANTI-FORCES TO MAKE HEADWAY; ALLIES FEAR TO SEND TROOPS.

Russia is absolutely in the hands of the Bolsheviki The world financial pirates have signally failed in their every attempt to foist upon Russia an army of allied powers for the overthrowing of the Red army of the Soviets. Just how hopeless for capitalist exploitation Russia is viewed by the capitalist financial interests is shown in the following cable dispatch from the Chicago Herald and Examiner.

LONDON.—The Bolshevists, or the Bolos, as they have been dubbed by the British troops on the Archangel front, have got Russia.

It is of no use longer to mince words. Russia is Bololand. How far German intrigue and German military genius figure in the problem must be left to conjecture. The fact remains that Russia has passed out of the calculation of the entente.

The exclusive information from Robert Wilton, London Times correspondent with the retreating army of the Omsk government, combined with the detailed data brought to London in person by Andrew Soutar, novelist and war correspondent, who has been representing the London Times service with the British troops south of Archangel, demonstrates that the situation in Russia is grave, almost hopeless for the plans of the international financial interests seeking the downfall of the Bolshevists.

REVEAL PLIGHT OF ARMIES.

Although many hundreds of miles apart, these two have been first to reveal to the world the desperate plight of the mixed armies which had been biting feebly into the outer edges of the Red territory.

The Russian situation at this moment is a source of deep concern to the cabinet and to the financiers of Great Britain and France and to such the Russian upper classes who have Withdrawal of the 5,000 British managed to reach a friendly haven. troops to Archangel and the collapse of the 23,000 anti-Red Russian forces under Gen. Ironside, was almost a foregone consequence of the disjointed allied military policy, and the Americans are lucky to have got off from northern Russian before the crash of plans came.

Take a map of Russia and run a finger southeast of Archangel until the name Kotlas is reached. This was to have been the objective of Gen. Ironsides' Russo-British army. Now jump the finger to Perm and trace a course along the railway to Glazov, which designates the advanced limits reached by the Omsk forces under Gen. Dietrichs.

BIG SPACE NOT COVENED.

Span fingers across the distance between Glazov and Kothas, several hundred miles, and realize the hiatus which was not covered by the army of the southeast. Span the distance between Kotlas and Troitski on the Dvina River, the present outpost of Gen. Ironsides' army about a hundred miles, and contemplate what the army of the northwest failed to accomplish.

The probable persence of large numbers in the armies arrayed against the Reds of male inhabitants of the Oloentz, who are pure blood Russians, was the basis at that time of the refusal to consider Mannerheim's proposal.

Hence, Petrograd was lost to those who desire Russia out of Bolshevist hands.

CONTROLLED BY REDS.

Summed up, Russia today rests [illegible] control of the Reds. The British, [illegible] the light of the announced position [illegible] the labor party, are disinclined to [illegible] further troops to Russia; the orig [illegible] plan was for the withdrawal of [illegible] already in Archangel as well as in [illegible] Murman area before Winter se [illegible] France shows slight willingness to [illegible] troops to Russia. Nor will Americ [illegible]

The Reds now have it in their [illegible] to make or break their future, [illegible] up, if they can, a stable govern [illegible] in place of the imperial [illegible] dynasty. The single hope of thos [illegible] terested in the downfall of the [illegible] at this critical moment hinges upon [illegible] armies of Gen. Denikin, protecting [illegible] ports of the Black Sea, and [illegible] ing around Ekaterinoslav, Kharkov [illegible] Bielogrod, in Ugrania.

The Dead Weight of Iron

BY ANISE

''I looked at the big building
Which housed
In its neat steel cells
Some 2,300 men,''
Said Winthrop D. Lane,
Investigator of prisons,
''And a barracks officer
Approached me.
He said: 'Do you see
That BUILDING
Of brick and iron!
There's too much BROODING
Goes on there.
They ought to PLAY more.
Athletic games
And friendly competition.
They ought to be
TURNED OUT
Some place where TREES are,
And GRASS and growing things,
Those men are carrying
Around all day
A weight of stone and iron,
A DEAD WEIGHT
Under which no man can grow
We ought to encourage
INTEREST in world affairs,
Post the NEWS at breakfast,
Have REAL LECTURES
Instead of this weekly
Religious stuff all year.
Let them have hobbies,
A prison BAND
And SOLOS:
Encourage INVENTIONS,
Give them a chance
To PUTTER ROUND
In the machine shops;
Why, half a dozen men there
Are writing scenarios
For the MOVIES,
But they keep it dark,
Being AFRAID
To proclaim it.
These things should be
ENCOURAGED
Openly in the light,
Anything that will strengthen
LIFE and GROWTH
For the dead weight
Of IRON and STONE
Is KILLING
The MIND OF MAN.'
He turned and left me,
And I went out of the jail.
In front of me was a man
Just DISCHARGED,
Strong in the prime of life.
He was AFRAID
To cross the STREET
For half a block away
A small horse-wagon
With a load of bricks
Was coming slowly toward him.
His mind was too SLUGGISH
To ADJUST itself
To the UNEXPECTEDNESS
Of that horse and wagon,
Because he had so long
OBEYED ORDERS
And made NO MOTIONS at all
By his OWN WILL!''

[illegible]

[illegible] WE CALL UPON YOU TO HELP SAVE DEBS' LIFE. He must not die in a prison. He must be restored to activity among the working class.

Join the ARMY OF LIBERATORS. Become one of this legion which will do duty night and day in behalf of Debs and all the rest. Up to the present not one persistent, well organized attempt has been made to work and organize for Debs' freedom. Most of us have salved ourselves with the thought that they DARE NOT keep Debs in jail very long.

If you have read what the United States Attorney General had to say upon this matter then you know that THEY DARE DO ANYTHING—UNLESS THE WORKERS AWAKEN AND ACT. It is now rumored that Debs may be released by fall. LET'S MAKE THE RUMOR COME TRUE. Let's show enough activity, power, determination between now and fall to make the rumor an actuality.

We have the means to print leaflets agitating for Debs' liberation by the million. We have at our disposal the OHIO SOCIALIST, which has the largest circulation of any party owned paper in America. We have equipment which will make it possible to carry on circularization work and can mail 10,000 letters a day if necessary. We can have posters printed and other publicity matter. We are in a position to tour our speakers to Labor Unions to request their support.

ALL WE NEED IS A BIG ARMY OF LIBERATORS WHO WILL HELP SECURE A LIBERATION FUND TO BE USED FOR THE PURPOSES ABOVE ENUMERATED.

ARE YOU WITH US? Will you join your activity and your dollars with ours in ONE BIG DRIVE FOR DEBS' LIBERATION? Answer by signing the application blank below.

APLICATION BLANK

SIGN UP! SIGN UP!

JOIN THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS

Pledge: ''I herewith make application for membership in the ARMY OF LIBERATORS recognising, that as a member of the working class, it is my duty to work unceasingly for the FREEDOM OF DEBS and all political prisoners. I shall distribute leaflets, personally carry on agitation work, support meetings, do all I can individually and thru organization to help liberate Debs.

ADMISSION FEE $1.00
MONTHLY DUES: Doing your DUTY daily.

Name ....
Address ....
City ....State..........

(Membership Cards will be sent you immediately upon receipt of your application. Address Headquarters, Army of Liberators, 3207 Clark ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Debs Goes to Prison

BY DAVID KARSNER

IN THREE CHAPTERS
CHAPTER ONE

Unguarded and unescorted, save for the company of a few friends, Eugene Victor Debs, four times candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist party ticket, on Saturday, April 12, 1919, left his home in Terre Haute, Indiana, on the ten o'clock train over the Big Four Route for Cleveland, Ohio, to surrender himself to the federal authorities who would take him to prison for ten years for having excercised his constitutional right of free speech, thereby violating the Espionage Law, a war time statute, enacted June 15th, 1917

Debs had made a speech under the auspices of the Ohio State Socialist convention at Canton, Ohio, June 16th, 1918, in which he reiterated the Socialist Party's opposition to the war, denounced the profiteers, paid tribute to the Bolsheviki of Russia, and all the struggling forces in the world that were making for the emancipation of the workers. For this speech Debs was tried on September 9, 1918, in the Federal Court at Cleveland before Judge D. C. Westenhaver, and was found guilty by a jury on September 12th. On Friday, September 14th, 1918, he was sentenced to serve ten years at the Moundsville, West Virginia, State Penitentiary, which has a contract with the government to receive 250 federal prisoners a year.

It was about 11 o'clock Saturday morning, April 12, 1919, when the telephone in Debs' home rang. Debs himself answered. It was District Attorney Wertz on the other end of the line. ''Yes.'', said Gene. ''Good morning. What can I do for you?''

Wertz told Debs that he would not send deputy marshal to Terre Haute to escort him to Cleveland, but that Debs should leave at the earliest possible moment of his own accord.

''Thank you, Mr. Wertz; I'll be right along. Good-by.''

From that moment until 9:30 o'clock in the evening Debs was busying himself at home packing up a few of his things for the journey to the penitentiary. Mrs. Kate Debs, his wife, helped him with this and that, reminding him to write that little note before he went away, and ''Don't you think you should attend to this?''

All day along telegrams and special delivery letters poured into his home in 8th Street. They were from his friends in all corners of the continent.

''What a wonderful demonstration of love,'' said 'Gene as he opened another telegram that arrived while he and I were seated in his parlor. He signed the message, patted the little messenger boy on the head and called a loving ''Good-by'' as the astonished youngster tripped down the porch and off the wooden steps.

It was just before 2 o'clock that I arrived in Terre Haute. There were crowds at the station, and I thought surely that Debs must have just gotten away. A newsboy thrust a local paper in my hand, and I read it eagerly for the first word of Debs' movement.

On the first page was a little item to the effect that District Attorney Wertz had told Debs to come to Cleveland.

I hailed a taxi. ''Take me to Debs' home'', I urged. A moment later it occured to me that maybe the driver did not know where Debs lived. I told him. The chauffeur smiled. ''I wish I had a dollar for every man I've driven to Debs' house. Why, more people in Terre Haute know where 'Gene Debs lives than they know the location of City Hall.'' In a few minutes we are at Debs' home.

Some moments elapsed before the door was opened. A tall, mantronly woman, with gentle face and kindly mien, opened the door. There was a slight hesitancy in her manner. I sensed the situation at once. Persons coming into that home that day were nothing less than intruders, interlopers, and embarassment overwhelmed me. Yes, Debs was at home, she said, but very busy. ''He is upstairs writing some letters now.'' Then the door opened wider and she bade me come in. I stepped into the parlor. Footsteps were heard on the steps above and 'Gene was coming down.

Debs appeared to be in much better health than when he was on trial in Cleveland last September. His shoulders are less stooped. His eye is clear and his voice is firm, sweet and resonant. We sat a few moments in his parlor. It was a wonderful spring day down there in southern Indiana. Everywhere one sensed the budding and bursting of new life. Debs felt it.

''What a splendid day, and did you notice out there on the lawn the leaves are coming out?'' he said.

The bell rang. It was another telegram from some one far away sending last greetings of love and good will.

''I am going at 10 o'clock to-night,'' Debs said. Then he told me of the conversation with District Attorney Wertz. ''Well, I am all ready. Yes, I am ready to go to prison. I am ready to pay the ultimate penalty for speaking what to me was the truth. I said in court at Cleveland that I had not one word to retract, I have not anything to retract now.''

I asked Debs if he would tell me his own feelings in connection with his going to prison. He smiled. I knew at once that I had asked a foolish question, for the answer to it was flashed to me in his smile, his wonderful, confident smile. We chatted about this and that. Names bobbed up in the conversation frequently. To every name mentioned, Debs would say, ''Give him my love when you go back to New York,'' or ''Tell the dear Comrade that it is allright; everything works out for ultimate good.''

''What about a pardon? I don't know anything about one. I have asked for none. Nor shall I.

''I stand on the threshold of going to prison with malice toward none, and with perfect faith in the rectitude of my course and an absolute confidence in the justice and inevitable triumph of the cause to which I have gladly given my life. To ask a pardon would be to confess guilt.''

Debs' eyes were flashing fire, and a steely glint came into them. He told of the wonderful meetings he had been having in northern Ohio.

''The other night at Lima,'' he said, ''we had a great meeting in the street. The Chamber of Commerce had shut up all the halls to us. Well, we didn't need their halls. The streets hold more people than halls. Then the fire department came, evidently with the intention of squirting the hose on us. I told those crowds the firemen would dare to turn the hose on them. Why, had they done so, that crowd would have turned their carts upside down.''

'Gene slapped his leg a whack, as the thought flashed across his mind of this attempted petty denial of free speech.

Debs said that he thought the dark forces of reaction, as epitomized in District Attorney Wertz, truly thought that Bolshevism was rapidly spreading throughout the United States, and that, if they could cut out its tongue, they would then have killed it.

''There is no doubt,'' he said, ''but that they want to put me in jail.''

He thought it not altogether unlikely that President Wilson might intervene. ''Wilson has a vision,'' said Debs. ''There is some light on his horizon, however much it may be obscured by the clouds that hover over and arround him. He sees that the liberties of the people cannot be crushed by repressive measures. But there are tremendous forces behind the President, or before him, I don't know which, that won't let him be free.'' Debs made it very clear to me that, so far as he was concerned, he was willing to go to prison, if prison be the price of truth, conscience and one's respect for the integrity of one's own soul.

As we talked those few moments, not more than a half hour altogether, Mrs. Debs reminded him that there were many little duties he had yet to perform before he began his journey to prison.''Yes, dear; I'll be right along.'' I knew I was intruding on these sacred premises.

''Well, I have got many little things to do this afternoon. I have to write a note or two, then there are some relatives I must see here in town before I go away. And there is an old man and his wife I must go to see; they are both sick and neither is able to leave the house. They have been my neighbors for many years. I must see them.''

Only a few persons in Terre Haute, the town in which Debs has made his home for these many years, and which has become famous through its connection with his name, knew that he was leaving that night for the last time. Perhaps Debs wouldn't come back any more. Maybe he would have to serve his full 10 years after all. Maybe the capitalists would exact from him the full pound of flesh. At the station there was only a little group to see him off, some of those upon wohm 'Gene had called to bid a last farewell that afternoon.

These town folk, who love him and know him for what he is and for what he has done for humanity, were arranging a huge demonstration for him. Debs requested them to call it off. He did not want it. ''I just want to slip out quitly now. When I come back, I told them, that will be the time.''

A little way down the street from his two-story frame dwelling two children, about 10 years old, were playing with a kitten. I had just left Debs' home, but as an experiment, I asked one bright-eyed youngster where 'Gene Debs lived.

''Right in that second house from the corner there, two doors below Sycamore street. You can't miss him; he's the man with the kind face.'' Then the little girl chirped up:

''Yes, the other day he patted me on my head and told me not to hurt my kitten, and I have not squeezed it since.'' The little one pressed the kitten close to her body.

I had no special way in which to occupy my time during the remainder of the afternoon so I decided to talk about 'Gene Debs to whomever I chanced to meet.

Down on the railroad tracks near the station where I had just come in was a watchman's shanty. I looked in and there was a watchman, an old man, looking to be about 60 years. His face was red and weather beaten. His eyes were red, too, from the wind and cinders. He was reaching his arm through the little window to dip a cup into a pail of water that was placed on an upturned box.

''Do you happen to know where Debs lives?'' I asked.

''Well, I gues I oughta,'' replied the railroad watchman in an all-knowing manner. He directed me to the house which I had just left.

''I guess you know they're taking him away to-day to prison,'' I ventured.

''Yes, I know it.'' A fierce glint tempered with sadness stole into the eyes of the old railroader who hastily gulped down the water he had dipped from the pail.

NOTE:—This story of Debs' journey to prison can be had in pamphlet form at 25c. a copy. Address, Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

(Continued in next issue.)

''As long as I can spear a dollar or two I shall send it in for the Press Fund.'' Comrade Walter Dearolf, Rittman, O.

And the same as above comes from comrade Jno R. Veney of East Liverpool, O.

ANOTHER GOOD LIST.

Comrade S. B. Bryant of Akron has been very succesful lately as his list of press fund contributors shows. Nine dollars is the amount he got. We thank you comrade Bryant. You have shown others how to do it.

Comrade Wallace B. Watson of Grand Rapids sends in his dollar on pledge for July.

Another hustler for the press fund is comrade C. D. Hunt of Salineville, O. His list contains five names and the amount sent in five dollars—one each. A good showing. We hope more comrades will do as well.

PARTY NEWS AND VIEWS

Warren Tells How

I have just received a latter from our very good State Secretary, A. Wagenknecht, urging me to write up the means by which we have become ''such a prosperous local, whereas last fall we were almost a 'dead one.' ''

Well, comrades, it is only a short story: I have just looked over the minutes and find that from Oct. 13th to Dec. 22, 1918 we had no meetings for lack of program, which occasionally happened before. At our meeting June 6th there were six members present also comrade E. A. Smith who rejoined the party. Ways and means were discussed to advance the cause in Warren, but no definite action was taken. Dues paid $3.00; the collection, which, we take at all meetings, was 60 cents and our treasury contained about $16.00.

At our next meeting January 12th we decided to buy twenty copies of Trotzky's book ''Bolsheviki and World Peace''; they were soon all sold leaving a profit of $5.00 in our treasury. It was also decided to have a Debs meeting, believing it would cheer up the ''despondent'' comrades and also enable others to ''see the light.''

At this meeting the dues collected amounted to $5.00 and collection $34.80, thanks to comrade Smith. At the next meeting the collection and dues amounted to $14.50.

On January 26th, Debs was with us and we had a splendid meeting in every way, leaving us a net balance of $70.00; and at the next meeting, February 2—''ground-hog day''— we had twelve members present, about twice the usual number, with a collection of $6.10 and dues paid $17.00. We had another Debs meeting on March 29th. This being a Saturday afternoon meeting was not so well attended but was good propaganda for us; we made $8.50 above the expenses. We have had several other speakers that have done much good and were big contributing factors to our success. Last but not least was our picnic Sunday, July 20th. Comrade Baker the main speaker was at his best; a program of local talent performed their duties well. The Ashtabula Finnish Band was with us all day and the crowd was estimated at [illegible]00 people. It was the first socialist gathering of the kind that my wife ever attended; she said she never saw such a jolly, happy bunch before. The net financial result of this picnic was $92.00. It was arranged and managed by our City Central Committee. Much credit must be given to our Finnish comrades, who constituted nearly half the crowd for knowing how to make it a success. A member of Italian and Roumanian comrades were also in attendance and seemed much interested.

For several months we have been distributing 400 ''Ohio Socialists'' weekly, besides other papers and pamphlets. We have probably done as well proportionately, considering that our English section has only thirty six members—speaking of what it has done—as any in the state. We have paid $60 toward purchasing the national office home; have put $67.00 into the O. S. press fund; $20 to the National Defense fund; $25.00 to the State Defense fund for Ruthenberg and others; also $25.00 to J. B. Ferguson for Left Wing cause. In all $[illegible]7.00 besides the individual contributions. We still have $30 or more in our treasury.

How do we do it? It is a ''business proposition''. We get busy and ''dig in'' both for money and propaganda [illegible]. We are not adverse to giving the necessary sweat of the brow in distributing literature, seeing the com[illegible]. Next we have decided to [illegible] an agent to make a house to house canvass, to sell literature, collect dues, solicit membership and take names of all sympathisers and collect subscriptions. Comrades, we will have to do the work or pay for doing it. The capitalists won't do a thing for us. But they pay good salaries to see to it that their big, lying papers and magazines are kept [illegible] before the public. We [illegible] patronize them as little as possible and do all we can to get our own literature before the people, especially the workers. Somewhat different conditions are found in every community, and in some respects different tactics may be necessary, but the main holds good in all: GET BUSY!

Sincerely your comrade to the 'Left'
J. F. DENISON, sec'y.

Thank You!-Thank You!

We have never made a final report upon our campaign to make the OHIO Socialist a bi-weekly. You remember, of course, the letter we sent you several months ago, telling you that if we could secure 20,000 subcribers, we could issue this paper twice a week.

The campaign for 20,000 subcribers was the most successful subscription campaign we ever launcher, thanks to our 800 boosters and other supporters. Subscriptions came in, very often at the rate of five to six hundred a week. Our subscription list grew from about 6,000 to 13,000. We did not reach the 20,000 mark. BUT WE MORE THAN DOUBLED OUR SUBCRIPTION LIST, more than doubled the influence of our paper—your paper.

For the good work which the supporters of the OHIO SOCIALIST did in this campaign we express our appreciation. But it must be remembered that the campaign for 20,000 subcribers and a bi-weekly was only the start of our campaign for a daily. We will have a daily—we MUST have a daily.

Then came May 1st. We were denied the use of Cleveland printing plants. We had to have our paper printed in Dayton, Ohio. This brought a new problem. A PARTY OWNED PRINTING PLANT was now the first essential—in fact, our very existance depended upon owning our own plant. We campaigned for a Printing Press Fund. Reports published weekly have told you of its success.

As soon as we are in a position to purchase a printing plant we will also BE EQUIPPED TO PRINT A DAILY. It is not our intention to buy out-of-date and inerficient machinery. We shall buy the latest improved printing press, which will print 3,500 papers an hour, folded and ready for mailing and sale. Everything we purchase will be MODERN.

To this new campaign, the campaign for a Party Owned Printing Plant, we want every party member and supporter to lend assistance. Yes, we know—there are many other things to do. Debs must be released. Socialist agitation must be carried on. Your local must be supported. But BE A MAN CAPABLE OF DOING MANY THINGS.

RIGHT NOW we call upon you NOT TO FORGET to keep up your efforts to secure subscribers for the OHIO SOCIALIST. Subscriptions have been VERY SLOW lately. Our boosters have taken a well earned rest—that's our interpretation. How about a spurt for this month. Come now—GET BUSY!

A letter from comrade Carl Maurer of Liberty Center, O. states that a showing will be made form unorganized territory in the very near future. He says: we expect to open up on the press fund this week. He also orders five sub cards sent him. Looks like business!

ANOTHER LOCAL DONATES

This time it is Local Robins, O., which donates to the press fund. Has your Local got in its blows yet? 'Bout ime isn't it, comrade.

POET OPENS UP ON PRESS FUND

The O. S. needs your money
To buy that press.
And comrades need their's too,
If we both get ours
It will sure be fine.
But if you get yours
And hold it too,
What in the world
Is the O. S. going to do?
Think it over.

CHAS. HAMES, Toledo, O.

PRESS FUND BOOSTERS SAY-

WILL MAKE SURE OF $1,000 OFFER

''Please find enclosed $5 for the press fund. About one month age I sent in a pledge envelope with one dollar in it, stating that I would pay the balance in four months, making five dollars.

But after reading comrade Brown's offer, I decided to send the full amount rigt away and throw in the one I sent for good measure and make sure of that $1,000 of comrade Brown's

If you should not happen to raise the full amount right away you can expect to hear from me again in the near future.''—W. S. Owens, Columbiana, O.

Letters like the above show that the comrades are surely not going to let the offer of comrade Brown go unchallenged.

DONATION BOX STILL WORKING.

The ''Donation Box'' that Local Zanesville keeps in the headquarters is still on the job catching the stray nickels, dimes and quarters that the comrades can spare. By a decision of the comrades all moneys which flow into this box are to be sent to help pay for the Party press and printing plant.

The third payment was received from this local this week. As you will see by reading in the columns, it amounts to $5.76. A neat little sum, and proves that the Zanesville comrades are doing their share in the meritorious work of getting our own press.

Comrade Frank Conrad, of Hamilton, O., sends in a subscription for comrade Chas Aebi and one fifty for him for the press fund.

From the steel city of Gary, Ind. comes a dandy list containing $6.00 which was secured by our comrade Steve Heinezl.

Every list sent in should be a reminder to other comrades to use this method of securing donations to the press fund. Many, many comrades will readily give for this purpose if asked to, who might delay otherwise. The quicker we get the money the sooner will the Ohio Socialist be printed on its own press. Let's get the price NOW.

PAYS AGAIN AND PLEDGES MORE

A letter from comrade Jas. Dartnall, of Norwood is filled with the spirit that makes great progress in our Movement. Sending a dollar for the press fund and pledging a dollar monthly, he says that he is anxious for the time to come when we shall have a daily and not need to buy the capitalist papers. And we are convinced that a great step will have been taken toward that day when our own press is installed. Help do it comrades as does this comrade.

THE RIGHT SORT OF DYNAMITE.

Sending two dollars for the press fund, comrade Chas F. Leatherman of Wadsworth, O., writes, ''I would urge the comrades to hurry up und not make a long drawn out affair of it. Quick action is needed, so we can get that press busy turning out mental dynamite to jar the workers out of their dreams.''

WHERE IS THIS GUY?

We are still waiting to hear from the comrade who has an argument against the Party owning its own printing plant Presumably we are all for it. Therefore, and we say it with emphasis, SINCE WE ARE ALL FOR IT, LETS DO IT—RIGHT NOW!

Three subs and a dollar for press fund comes from comrade W W. Lusk of Cedar Grove, W. Va.

Comrade A. Van Doesburg, of Holland, Mich. is another comrade who sends in subs as well as press fund money. One sub and two dollars is containing in his letter of recent date.

Mind Your Own Business

By Ruby Herman,
NUMBER ONE
Acting State Secretary of Washington.

Three years' experience in the state office has taught me many things. During the many months in which the responsibility to the affairs of the office has devolved upon me, I have tried, in every way open to me, to pass on the knowledge thus required to the membership—where it belongs. My most serious handicap in this work has been the very thing which, if I were inclined to use it for my own individual ambitious gain, would be the greatest help to me in attaining my selfish ends, namely. THE MENTAL LAZINESS OF THE MEMBERS.

Now this may seem un-called for harshness of terminology; but I am convinced that no other pharse can so well describe it. It is not that the members of our organization are incapable of understanding, for the Socialist party ''rank and file'' contain minds far above the average in almost every way. If this were not true they would hardly have been attracted, so soon, by the Socialist philosophy. How else, then, can one explain the universal ignorance of the affairs of the Organization than by attributing it to the MENTAL LAZINESS OF THE MEMBERS?

It is the business of each member of the Socialist party to provide himself with copies of the state and national constitutions and become familiar with their provisions, yet—Every day brings letters to the state office containing questions, which are clearly answered in our constitutions; and it would require no greater part of their time to look the matter up there than to write the letter, and if they did so they would save postage for not to mention the time of the state both themselves and the state office, not to mention the time of the state secretary. Why don't they do that? Really, doesn't it seem, to you, that they must be afflicted with MENTAL LAZINESS?

Each issue of our paper contains valuable information of the affairs of the organization. I try to overcome the deplorable mental laziness of those for whom the information is prepared by rendering it just as attractive as the nature of the matter will admit of. I am perfectly well aware of the fact that the Roll Call Summaries, the S. E. C. Minutes, in fact all of the official matter even to the announcements, contain, not only valuable information, but real litrary merit; they are ''easy to read.'' But those things savor too much of actual work—of RESPONSIBILITY—hence the average party member ''shies''' like a skittish ''filly'' from anything of that sort; ''just glances over'' the S. E. C, minutes, ''reads the most of'' the Roll Call Summary (with not even a glance at the Roll Call itself!) and hurries past the financial statement as though it were some terrible, infectious disease.

And yet the same members pride themselves upon their ''radicalism,'' and grumble because ''The Socialist Party doesn't seem to be doing anything much.'' WHO IS THE SOCIALIST PARTY? Comrades, it is YOU.

To ''take an interest in the organization'' does not, necessarily, mean that one must FIND FAULT with the work of those who are in official positions. Often a careful investigation will show that these officials are doing wonderfully good conscientious work for the organization, handicapped though they are by the MENTAL LAZINESS OF THE MEMBERS.

Comrades the SOCIALIST PARTY ORGANIZATION belongs to YOU. Its business is YOUR BUSINESS. Its welfare and success depends upon just this—that YOU MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS.

''You will hear from us again'' says comrade McKinley Toler of Cedar Grove, W. Va. He sends two dollars. We hope to meet him again.

''I am a revolutionary socialist and ready to quit trading with the enemy.'' Thus writes comrade Louis Rohrback of St. Marys, O., and he sends a dollar to prove his words.

FEDERATION FAVORS RUSSIAN SOVIET

Minneapolis, July 23.—The Minnesota federation of labor, in session at New Ulm, is on record today with an indorsement of the Soviet government of Russia The federation decided to postpone for one year any action on the league of nations.

Local Deming

Socialist Party of New Mexico

Meets Every Second Sunday

at

Verlin Hotel, 3.30 P. M.

Next Meeting, Aug. 17th

Everybody Welcome.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00

BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred

Six Months 50c

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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EDITORS .... [illegible]
Alfred [illegible]

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6th, 1919.

Profiteer and Profit-taker

And now it is the food profiteer that has fallen under the ban of public opinion as expressed by the daily press Judging by the amount of newspaper space given the matter, and the number of pronouncements made by the officials (every one a stunch supporter of the principle of profit-taking), some sort of war, real or camouflaged, is to be put across to reduce the ability of the food hogs to extort an "unreasonable" profit from the public who must eat.

If profiteering is stopped in this country short of a revolution or something very akin to it, then we may say that a miracle has been wrought. But our faith in miracles has been in eclipse for some years and our faith in the capitalist upholders of profit-taking to work them has also long ago subsided into a mere memory. Profit-taking and profiteering are divided by an undescernible line of demarkation. Where the first leaves off and the latter begins has long been a source of controversy for those who sought to keep the good ship "profit" from floundering in the seas of popular discontent. The old theological puzzle as to how many human souls could be poised upon the point of a needle is a plain as daylight compared to it.

Consider the stupenduous hoax of the whole diabolical game. Here we have the capitalist system of wealth production based upon profit-taking. Profit-taking in the form of labor exploitation. Profit-taking in every line of human endeavor, pervading every field of man's efforts upon this globe. Below and beneath all man's associations and relations is the ever question of profits. Profit is the first deep laid foundation stone of the capitalist arch and it too, is the key stone as well. Undermine that foundation, disturb it and the whole shebang trembles ready to topple over.

Profiteering is the legitimate child of profit-taking. A logical son of father it is bound to him by every natural tie. Profiteering is profit-taking with a double chance. We can't have one without the other. They go together They're mates wedded for all time and neither God nor man can put them asunder. Twin products of a system based upon profit we shall have them with us as long as we tolerate the system.

Should the proposed war upon the food profiteer realy amount to something and his powers be curbed a bit, what have we gained? We have gained nothing. The profit system still remains. The profit-taker sits firmly in the saddle, ready to swoop down upon "the public" at every opportunity. And he will swoop down and grab off his pound of flesh at every opportunity.

The question for the working-class to decide is: why in the name of common sense should the profit-taking system be tolerated at all? Why should the workers carry upon their backs a system that feeds upon their flesh and blood from cradle to the grave? Why tolerate the possibility of being exploited at all to say nothing of being robbed a bit "extra" for good measure? This is the question before the workers. None other should be allowed to take precedence over it. It is THE question that must me solved—eventually. Let the camouflagers fuss amoung themselves as to how much the game is likely to be "quecered" by a too heavy laying on of the lash of profit-taking, our job is to dump the whole obnoxious mess overboard and to stand up in the world FREE MEN.

Board Members --1919

— [illegible] —

The Public Schools should well begin the training of our boys and girls for successful leadership and intelligent fellowship. As an institution of such character, they should by all means foster a spirit of "fair play." They should aim to teach the truth. Especially, as a public institution, should they teach the truth with regard to social and industrial conditions and concerning the affairs which involve a discussion of politics and government. A deplorable setting aside of these worthy functions, however, is all too common an ailment.

The remedy? Listen! A new type of members on the Boards of Education will help a great deal. And we Socialists have the "new type" of members that's needed. Let's get our nominations made, and then get busy doing personal work. It ought not be difficult in the least to convince people (the women as well as the men may vote on school issues, in Ohio) of our healthy interest in the Schools and of the fact that our candidates are the ones to be prefrarred in replacing the outgoing Board members this fall.

Just a word, however, concerning the matter of "qualifications"—It is not the duty of any Board member to "run the school". Far from it! Superintendent and teachers are paid (tho, to be sure, their salaries are anything but munificent) for doing that. Never theless, some of the very best informed candidates for places on the Board of Education.

Anyone who is not truly interested in the Schools, or one who does not know school conditions pretty thoroly, has not the proper qualifications and ought not be made a candidate. The fact that others have failed as Board members is no reason for our putting up weak candidates and having them likewise fail. Others have made their reputation a poor one: we have got to make a reputation of any kind. But ours can be altogether good, if we give the schools our best. Let's do it!

[illegible] American [illegible] army of American [illegible] "over there".

Two dozen and a half dead in Chicago race riots. War's aftermath. Now that the negro, having soldiered, has learned how to shoot, he seems to be objecting to some kind of de-man to "put it over" on him. We ma nto "put it over" on him. We make a good guess that he does not at all care to be lynched and burned to death.

The papers are making a big fuss about the high cost of living. Know why? Well, just to keep your nose away from the trail that will lead you to the right solution.

Food was found rotting in Cincinnati cold storage plants. The dump is being fed with it in Cleveland. And your purse is as flat as a pancake.

Steel Corporation earnings larger. Show increase over first quarter of year. Page eleven.

And then, on page fourteen we read that the Red Cross has aided 40,709 families in Ohio during the last month. Whose prosperity is it?

[illegible]

By [illegible]

In an article sent out thru the National Office [illegible] Oneal claims that in our recent Party elections the old National Executive Committee wasn't repudiated at all, at all.

He admits the figures published in the Ohio Socialist as correct, but alleges that "these figures show a VERY SMALL vote in the states as a whole, which confirms the charge that the Left Wing through a campaign of terrorism has driven many party members from the Locals in sheer disgust". In this article he bases his whole argument upon the assertion that the vote was much lower than in other Party referendums and that therefore the fact that the Left Wing received a majority of the votes cast does not mean repudation of the old N. E. C.

Even if it was true that a very small vote was cast in the recent referendums, that would not justify the old N. E. C. in suppressing the referendum results. But it is not true. Let the records speak.

Oneal says:—"This report shows a TOTAL of a little more than 16,000 votes cast for the referendum." The fact is that it shows 20,674 votes for the 26 States included in the Ohio Socialist tabulation. Left Wing candidate John Reed received 16074, and the leading Right Winger Victor Berger, received only 4465, while James Oneal, "our" present International Delegate was "endorsed" by the magnificent total of 1726.

Oneal alleges that the vote was much smaller than is usually recorded in Party elections. The fact is that it is one of the largest ever polled in any party referendum. In the election for N. E. C. one year ago 17310 votes were cast, of which only 10,811 were in the 26 states that we tabulated. This year those same 26 states give 20,674 or nearly TWICE AS MANY as least year.

If the states that have so far suppressed their referendum returns show the same increases as those already tabulated, the vote this year may actually surpass the "high water mark". Here are some figures from the official reports of the National Office: The spirited contest over the St. Louis program brought out 22,345 votes for the majority and 2752 for the minority report, total 25,097. The total vote in the 1917 election to fill a vacancy on the N. E. C. was 17,125. The 1916 referendum to elect International delegates showed only 14,219 Comrades voting. Berger was elected at that time with only 4655 votes.

The highest vote ever cast on any referendum in the Party's history was in 1912 on the question of holding our national convention in Indianapolis instead of Oklahoma City, a little ove 34,000. In that same year John Work received the highest vote ever polled by any individual in the Party, 22,081 against 6440 for J. O. Bentall for National Secretary. When we consider that at that time the Party had about 20,000 more members than at present, and that this year several thousand good standing party members were prevented from voting because reactionary party officials refused them the ballots, we must conclude that actually a larger percentage of our membership voted in this year's referendum elections than ever before.

In view of these facts, what becomes of Oneal's assertions and allegations? I commend these figures to our would-be "historian" James Oneal. Was he ignorant of these facts, or did he deliberately lie in his efforts to defend the defeated and discredited party officialdom and to prejudice the membership against the Left Wing and Revolutionary Socialism?

The fact that he misrepresented so outrageously a fact so easily proved as the above shows how much we must discount other emanations coming from this man, who seems to be the spokesman for the old N. E. C.

Local Coshocton does not mind the warm weather. Subcriptions and an order for dues stamps attest to this. Roy Hall is the financial secretary and he makes it his business to KEEP THEM PAID UP.

YOUR LOCAL — WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under this Heading at the Rate of [illegible] for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON

Socialist Party of Ohio.
Meets First Sunday of Each
Month at 2 P. M.

LOCAL CINCINNATI

Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN

Meets Every Thursday at 7:30
P. M. Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second
Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

LOCAL KENMORE

Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
KITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY

Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday,
Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO

Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS

Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

LOCAL YOUNGSTOWN

Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday, 8:00 P. M.
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal
St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON

Meets Every Friday Evening
8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

LOCAL CANTON

Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30
P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES

Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every 2nd and 4th Sunday
of the month, 2:30 P. M.
Study Class, every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday,
7:30 P. M.

MASONIC HALL

164 N. Chestnut St.
Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93½ Washington St.

LIMA NOMINATES

Local Lima held a convention yesterday for the purpose of nominating a Municipal ticket. The State Constitution requiring nominees to have been members of the party for two consecutive years, and in good standing at the time of their nomination was strictly adhered to. The following ticket was nominated:

Mayor Edwin Blank; President of Council Fred Berger, Sr.; Auditor George M. Willauer; Treasurer Gorge Meek; Concilmen-at-Large: Nay J. Speer, John A. Watt, D. A. Dickinson.

Concilman 1st Ward H. S. Coate; 2nd Ward Joseph Kuhn; 3rd Ward Fred Berger, Jr.; 4th Ward G. G. Dixon; 5th Ward Karl W. Frey; 6th Ward John O. Miller.

Justice of the Peace: Albert F. Donovan; Wm. F. Schulenberg.

Constables: Albert Greth; Lewis H. Bogardus.

Members Board of Education: Belva O. Calkins; Emma Meek; Elvin O. McPherron.

Fraternally yours,
EDWIN BLANK, Sec'y.

A BOOST FROM LITITZ

Many thanks for sample copies of the OHIO SOCIALIST. Judging by these your paper has the right "pep". It has the ring of genuine Socialist paper and is not one of the weak kneed variety often found among the so-called working class papers, the kind that tries to favor all classes.

It is not only a duty, but should be a pleasure for all real Socialists to stand by a paper that has the moral courage to publish the truth about the activities of the former national executive committee, showing their shortcomings, which seem to be numerous, indeed. This committee seems to be getting too big for its breeches and needs toning down badly, It will get it.

LINVILLE DELLINGER.

The Deutsche Bank of Berlin has successfully negotiated a loan of 100,000,000 marks from American sources. Patriotism, like beauty, is only skin deep.

BAKER IN MINNESOTA.

Chas Baker, Ohio state organizer, is touring Minnesota. An urgent call from the Minnesota state secretary induced the Ohio state office to release him for a two week's tour.

SOCIALIST WORKER WANTED

Local Warren desires to employ a comrade to make a house to house canvass in that city, sell literature, secure subscriptions and get applications for membership. Salary $3.00 a day plus a suitable commission. Apply to J. F. Denison, 416½ Washington, Warren, Ohio.

Fifty dues stamps to East Liverpool. One of the LIVE ones.

A MEMBER? THEN REMEMBER—DUES ARE DUE!

A PICTURE OF DEBS FOR YOUR HOME

A picture of Debs should be in every worker's home. The latest picture of Debs, taken just before going to Moundsville prison, is the best one ever taken, so critics say

Enlarged and printed in sepia an special paper, measuring 12¼ x 18 inches, it makes a splendid picture for framing for any home. It is autographed in Debs' hand writing which adds to its attractiveness.

You will like this photo of Gene and will cherish it for many years to come. It is the picture of Debs that will become historical, the picture taken just before capitalism sentenced him to ten years for his loyalty to the workers.

Get one of these pictures of Debs.

25c each

Order of Socialist Party of Ohio
3207 Clark Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Seven Hundred and Seventy-five Million Dollars

Adopt the league of nations, say the peacemakers. It will prevent future wars. And in the next breath they demand larger armies, navies, the latest death dealing implements devised by man. Stupenduous sums, representing the value of millions of men's labor is called for, for the purpose of developing and making ready to hand the dread engines of death for use in future wars. It would seem that the actions of the "leagomaniacs" belie their words as to the benefits for peace which the league of nations promises to shower upon a sorrow stricken world.

On July 2nd, thru Congress, $775,000,000 was appropriated for the coming year's expenses of the army. That's a lot of money to spend uselessly—if the league is all it is claimed. Quite a lot of money—for war, for murder, for destruction, for lies, for graft, for corruption. Quite a lot of money. Let's see what could be done with that huge sum to alleviate some of the miseries that afflict the people of these United States.

We hear a good deal about rent profiteering in this country. There are not enough homes. People are too crowded in the cities. And because of it epidemics are rampant, disease is sown; immorality results and family life is broken up. This $775,000,000 if put toward the erection of decent homes for the people to live in WOULD BUILD 155,000 MODERN HOMES costing $5,000 each. THAT would make for living, not for death.

And then there is the question of illiteracy. Hundreds of thousands of school children are under fed, under clothed, under educated, in this, glorious land of opportunity. If put to the purpose of educating the nation's children so that they would become useful and intelligent citizens of the country and the world, this sum would clothe, feed, and school for one year 1,500,000 of them, figureing the cost at $500 each. That would help some toward making for future peace.

Good roads. Millions of American citizens, the best quality in the country, are shut off from markets, from centers of population, from their neighbors for months at a time for lack of passable roads. How many miles of roads could be built and put in shape for travel with $775.000.000? A good many hundreds of thousands of them. And their building would make farther for the safety of the country and the pride of the citizens in their country than this squandering of millions upon militarism.

There's the question of uncleared land and undrained land in this country that lies by the millions of acres, awaiting the hand of man to put it in tillable shape for homes and farms.

Thousands of young men and women are finding it impossible to think of marriage and a home of their own. Tennatry and its evils are growing by leaps. The nation is becoming a nation of renters, in both city and rural sections. This $775,000,000 would go a long way toward alleviating these conditions. Rightly spent in this direction it would place in the hands of thousands of young men and women now alienated from a deep interest in the country the certainty that they had a stake in the country instead of a mere existence without hope or future before them.

..Yes, we can name several ways in which we think this one year's appropriation for the expenses of the United States army could be better used for the people's good than wantonly squandering it in maintining mad militarism.

Every Socialist Must Respond to the Call of the Revolution. One Way is to Build the Press Fund.

Press fund receipts for the past six days have been something what smaller than usual. However, the big receipts of the last two weeks make up a very healthy average. We should not feel a bit discouraged at the slump this week, probably it was merely a slight lull before another big plunge ahead. No doubt the coming weeks will show that the comrades are still on the firing line showing all the determination of seasoned fighters in their work of establishing a printing plant for the Ohio Socialist.

THESE DAYS CALL FOR SUPREME EFFORTS OF REAL SOCIALISTS

As the weeks fly by the shadow of the coming change can plainly be discerned growing upon the world. Russia, from a doubtful security, both from counter bourgeois revolutions within and military aggression on the part of the allies, has emerged within the past few weeks triumphant over all obstacles. Her Red Army victorious, with every possible effort being made to secure the wellbeing and happiness of her workers, bending every resource of her genius for reconstruction in the face of every sort of heckling of the allies, she is in a more dominant and secure position then ever before. Russia, can not be saved for capitalism. World financiers have ceased counting upon a future exploitation of Russia. The allies fear to keep their soldiers upon Russian soil. Revolution in the home lands looms larger with each rising sun.

England, slow, conservative, cool, methodical England is this moment on the brink of a revolution that will loosen in America all the forces of revolt that now lie dormant and quiet. Wth the greatest strikes ever experienced in England, occuring one after another, and the "triple alliance" now voting upon the question of "direct action" to force the government to a greater consideration of labor's demands, the next few weeks will turn up results directly in line with the progress of the proletarian revolution that is sweeping the entire capitalist world. In the projected upheaval in Great Brittain, there is ground for tremendous rejoicing on the part of American socialists. America will be guided largely by events in England as to the progress of the Great Change.

After two weeks of rumors that Bela Kuhn had been ousted from power in Hungary, it is now admitted that he retains the leadership of the Soviets. From making threats against the Hungarian Soviets implying an invasion of Hungary for the purpose of setting up a (capitalist) democracy, the little gentleman at Paris now beseech Bela Kuhn to set up a "moderate" socialist government instead of a dictatorship of the proletarist. It may safely be said that Hungary is now safe from military aggression of the "democratic" governments of the allies.

And all this means just one thing, comrades; and that is that the proletarian revolution is making enormous advances. It is standing upright and taking giant strides upon a path that encircles the globe.

• • •

Truly, it is no time to lay down nor to feel a moment's discouragement. Socialists should feel elated with the progress of our movement. They should resolve to get into a frame of mind that can view these matters in their true ligth. More than that, they should be up and doing their very best to profit by the examples of our European comrades.

To be more specific. There is work for every socialist to do in his immediate vicinity. Socalist sentiment is brewing and thriving in every locality. It should be harnassed and put to work. There is wide spread discontent, even enmity against the capitalist press. Its reputation for untruthfulness is generally recognized.

The ascendancy of the socialist press is just beginning. Its future is all before it. The needs of the immediate future, yes, even the present, demand that every socialist and sympathiser stand loyally by our press and develop it to its fullest powers.

The socialist press justly claims the unquilified support of every comrade. It is your weapon against capitalism—the best you have. You will need it and need it badly in the future. It is needed now as it never has been. Stand by it. Help us sever our dependence upon our enemies for the printing of the millions of papers, leaflets, pamphlets which we MUST print if the day is to be won for industrial democracy.

Let your dollars roll in for our own press. Keep up the gait you have set and the press will soon be at work for socialism and a better day for the working-class. Below are the names of comrades who have contributed to the press fund this past week.

$1 Column

Joe Chelich, Gary, Ind.
John R. Veney, E. Liverpool, O.
Jos. Jung, Cincinnati, O.
Nat Latuchie, Akron, O.
Wm. Gray, Ward, W. Va.
Paul Dasovich, Wyandotte, Mich.
F. H. Hagerman, Toledo, O.
Henry Calhoun, E. Liverpool, O.
George Turner, E. Liverpool, O.
Jas. Dartnall, Norwood, O.
Mike Yelavich, Gary, Ind.
T. W. Veregan (50c)
John Spanich (50)
J. Tiako, Akron, O.
Paul Dasovich, Wyandotte, Mich.
Rose Gibson, Lowery ity, Mo. (50)
O. C. Wermer, Akron, O.
J. H. Minick, Brewster, O.
W. E. Jenkins, Wierton, W. Va.
Wm. Greeter, Crestline, O.
A. Friend, Fremont, O.
H. J. Claugherty, Strasburg, Va.
Chas. Hames, Toledo, O.
F. A. Habig, Martins Ferry, O.
Thomas McMillen, Salineville, O.
Geo. Leishman, Salineville, O.
C. D. Hirst, Salineville, O.
C. W. Winton, Akron, O.
Wallace B. Watson, Grand Rapids, Mich.
G. A. Harrison, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Nathan Thornburg, Union City, Ind.
I. O. U., Akron, O.
I. C. U., Akron, O.
A. Fretcher, Akron, O.
S. Bryant, Akron, O.
N. Killey, Akron, O.
J. Pieczanski, Akron, O.
Chas. McAllogh, Akron, O. (50)
Fish Smith, Akron, O. (50)
F. C. Gray, Akron, O.
N. Simons, Akron, O.
Edward Bredeweg, Holland, Mich.
A friend, Holland, Mich.
Steve Heinzel, Gary, Ind.
Steve Benkovich, Gary, Ind.
Steve Burgarinovich, Gary, Ind.
Fritz Krause, Columbus, O. (25)
Stanley Urba, Columbus, O. (25c.)
Nandor Santho, Columbus, O. (25c)
Wm. Ott, Columbus, O. (25c)
Alois Nowacki, Columbus, O. (25)
Lud. Girdneyn, Columbus, O. (20c.)
Arthur Siimanek, Columbus, O. (25c)
Carl Boex, Columbus, O. (25c)
Alois Nick, Columbus, O. (25c)
Carl Nowacki, Columbus, O. (25c)
Ignatz Ebelberger, Columbus, O. (25c)
Alois Scholl, Columbus, O. (25c)
Joe Novacki, Columbus, O.
Val. Sereing, Columbus, O. (50c)
Math. Schmitlhamer, Columbus, O. (25)
Lud. Antesberger, Columbus, O. (25c)
Haver Scherl, Columbus, O. (10c)
Ferd. Ebelberger, Columbus, O. (25c)
Martin Schmitlhamer, Columbus, O. (20)
Christ Kropfhauser, Columbus, O. (10c)
Martin Nowacki, Columbus, O. (50c)
Rud. Derrer, Columbus, O. (25c)
Ad. Glauzman, Columbus, O. (25c)

$2 Column

I. Deutchman, Akron, O.
George Ehrhart, Defiance, O. ($1.75)
Chas. E. Leatherman, Wadsworth, O.
Mary Helen Otterbein, Middletown, O. ($1.50)
Chas. Aebi, Hamilton, O. ($1.50)
Wm. Cassack, Massilon, O.
Geo. Flumerfelt, Fremont, O.
T. E. Pendergrass, Deming, N. Mex.

$5 Column

Local Zanesville, O. ($5.75)
W. S. Owens, Columbiana, O.
B. Leimelink, Cincinnati, O.
Local Robins, Ohio.
Paul Stanley, Akron, O.
A. Friend, Fremont, Ohio.

$10 Column

Wm. Stewart, Leetonia, Ohio.
Local Dola, Ohio.

$25 Column

Local Midvale, Ohio.
Branch 225, Workman's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Columbus, O.

$50 Column

Local Warren, O. ($42.50)

$100 Column

Some body missed this column this week. Wonder if their aim was too LOW!

Pledge Column

Jas Dartnall, Norwood, O.

Wonder who's dodging this colum. Something wrong here. Better get in for the whole trip comrades.

How We Grow

May Receipts .... $ [illegible]
June receipts .... [illegible]
July receipts .... [illegible]
Total to Aug. 1st .... [illegible]

A PAGE OF INTERESTING PARTY NEWS AND COMMENT

New National Executive Committee Meets

REINSTATE MICHIGAN, MASSACHUSETTS AND SEVEN SUSPENDED LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS—ISSUES STATEMENT TO MEMBERSHIP

The newly elected National Executive Committee met at the Hotel Bradley, Chicago, July 26 and 27th. The actions of the committee were marked by a [illegible] attempt to bring back under the banner of the Socialist Party [illegible], all elements suspended or expelled by the former moderate National Executive Committee, whose term of office ended July 1st.

A statement was issued to the membership upon the present party situation and the coming emergency National Convention. National Executive Secretary, Adolph Germer was requested to attend the sessions of the new committee to turn the national office over to it. This he refused to do, whereupon Alfred Wagenknecht was elected National Executive Secretary temporarily. The new National Executive Committee will, until the national convention takes place, consider the state office of the Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark ave., Cleveland, Ohio, as national headquarters, from where such essential business as is important between now and the convention, will be transacted.

The first act of the new committee was to canvass the returns of state tabulations sent in by state secretaries upon national referendum "C", 1919, which pertained to the election of a new National Executive Committee and International Delegates. This canvass showed Louis C. Fraina, Edward Lindgren, N. I. Hourwich, C. E. Ruthenberg, Marguerite Prevey, Fred Harwood, Dennis E. Batt, John Keracher, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Dan Hogan, Mary R. Millis, Patrick Nagle, L. E. Katterfeld, Kate Greenhalgh and H. M. Wicks elected National Executive Committee and John Reed, Louis C. Fraina, C. E. Ruthenberg and Alfred Wagenknecht elected as International Delegates.

The minutes in full follow. Every party member is advised to read them carefully and to give the statement to the membership by the new National Executive Committee especial study.

MINUTES OF THE National Executive Committee

The meeting was called to order at the Bradley Hotel, Chicago, at 11 A. M., July 26th.

It was unanimously agreed to elect a committee to visit the National Headquarters at 220 South Ashland Boulevard to request the attendance of National Executive Secretary, Adolph Germer at the meeting and to further request him to turn over the national headquarters to the new National Executive committee.

(A motion was made by L. E. Katterfeld of the committee, several weeks before the date of this meeting, instructing Secretary Germer to call a meeting of the new National Executive Committee. Germer refused to place this motion before the committee. The first meeting of the newly elected committee was subsequently called by agreement of eight of the fifteen committeemen, a majority.)

Fred Harwood, C. E. Ruthenberg, Louis Fraina, L. E. Katterfeld were elected the commitee to visit the national headquarters.

The following letter was addressed to National Executie Secretary Germer:

Chicago, Ill., July 26th, 1919.

Adolph Germer, Executive Sec.
220 Ashland Blvd.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade:—

We, the undersigned members of the National Executive Committee, representing a majority of the Committee consisting of

Louis C. Fraina
Edward Lindgren
N. I. Hourwich
Fred Harwood
Marguerite Prevey
Dan Hogan
Patrick S. Nagle
C. E. Ruthenberg
Mary Raoul Millis
Wm. Bross Lloyd
Dennis E. Batt
Jno Keracher
L. E. Katterfeld
H M Wicks
Kate Sadler Greenhalgh

shown to be elected in the recent referendum of the membership, hereby demand that the National Office of the Party be turned over to the Committee and that this committee be recognized as the controlling committee of the Party, as provided by the constitution, and that you meet in session with the committee at 2. P. M. on this date.

Fraternally yours,

(SIGNED)

L. E. KATTERFELD
C. E. RUTHENBERG
LOUIS C. FRAINA
FRED HARWOOD
For the National Executive Committee

To this letter Germer replied as follows:

Chicago, Ill., July 26th, 1919

Louis C. Fraina,
L. E. Katterfeld,
Fred Harwood,
C. E. Ruthenberg.

Dear Comrades:—

Replying to your favor of the 26th inst., ordering me to turn over the National Office to what you term the National Executive Committee, allow me to say that I do not recognize you as controlling committee of the Socialist Party.

On account of the gross and admitted fraud committed in the recent party referendum, the National Executive Committee has ordered the election methods investigated and that the vote be not tabulated. The result of this investigation will be submitted to the National Emergency Convention to be held on Aug. 30th where the properly elected delegates will determine the further course to be pursued.

There is nothing in the constitution that empowers anyone to tabulate the referendum vote for the National office except the National Office itself and any tabulations that have been made are inofficial and cannot be recognized.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) ADOLPH GERMER,
Executive Secretary.

A. G:F. L.

AFTERNOON SESSION, JULY 26

Meeting called to order at 2 P. M. L. E. Katterfeld was elected chairman, Alfred Wagenknecht was elected secretary for the meeting.

Present L. E. Katterfeld, H. M. Wicks, Louis C. Fraina, C. E. Ruthenberg, Marguerite Prevey, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Edward Lindgreen and Fred. Harwood.

Motion by Ruthenberg that the vote reported by the state secretaries upon national referendum "C", 1919, pertaining to the election of a new National Executive Committee and International Delegates, be canvassed by a sub-committee of two.

Fred Harwood and L. E. Katterfeld named the committee.

Motion by Harwood that a committe on rules and order of business be elected, carried.

Ruthenberg and Fraina named the committee.

Report of committee to canvass the vote upon national referendum "C", 1919.

"We, your committee to canvass the vote sent us by the state secretaries upon national referendum "C", 1919, for the election of a new National Executive Committee and International Delegates report that according to returns the new National Executive Committee is composed of the following comrades: First District—Louis C. Fraina, Edward Lindgren, N. I. Hourwich. Second District—C. E. Ruthenberg, Marguerite Prevey, Fred Hardwood. Third District—Dennis F. Batt, John Keracher, Wm. Bross Lloyd. Fourth District—Patrick Nagle, Mary Roul Millis, Dan Hogan. Fifth District—L. E. Katterfeld, H. M. Wicks, Kate Greenhalgh. The comrades elected International Delegates are, John Reed, L. C. Fraina, C. E. Ruthenberg and Alfred Wagenknecht. International Secretary, Kate Richards O'Hare."

(Tabulations will be found upon another page of this Bulletin.)

By motion the report of the committee was accepted.

Committee on rules and order of business made the following report:

ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Reports of committees.
2. Action in regard to National Executive Secretary.
3. Organization:
   - a) Suspensions and expulsions.
   - b) Dues and convention assessment stamps.
   - c) Party national property.
   - d) General.
4. Emergency National Convention.
5. Relations with National Council of the Left Wing.
6. Election of a committee to draft a statement to the party membership.
7. Further meetings of the committee.
8. Instructions to International Delegates.
9. Roberts Rules of Order to govern proceedings.

Motion by Lindgren carried that order of business be adopted.

Motion by Ruthenberg that the office of the National Executive Secretary be declared vacant in-as-much as the present incumbant refuses to perform his duties as national secretary by refusing to tabulate the vote in referendums expressing the will of the membership and further refuses to recognize the regularly elected National Executive Committee. Carried.

Motion by Wicks that we elect a National Executive Secretary to function until the national convention convenes, carried.

Nominations: Alfred Wagenknecht.

Motion by Prevey that Wagenknecht be elected by acclamation, carried.

Motion by Ruthenberg that the Michigan and Massachusetts state organizations be reinstated in the party and that the suspensions of the Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish, South Slavic and Lettish Socialist Federations be revoked, carried.

Motion by Ruthenberg that we look upon the expulsion of branches and locals by local and state organizations because of their affiliation with or endorsement of the Left Wing as contrary to the spirit of a revolutionary working class movement, it being entirely within the right of the membership to organize within the party to secure the adoption of certain principles ,and we state as our opinion that these organizations have been wrongfully expelled and that they should be immediately reinstated. Carried.

Motion that the order of business be suspended and that a committee of three be elected to draft a statement and program in regard to calling and holding the emergency National Convention on August 30th. Carried.

Fraina, Harwood and Ruthenberg elected the committee.

Motion to reconvene at 7.30, carried.

Motion to adjourn, carried.

EVENING SESSION JULY 26th

Committee on statement and program in regard to the emergency National Convention reported as follows:

(This report will be found in the "Proclamation to the Membership of the Socialist Party," printed in this Bulletin.)

Motion carried that the report be adopted.

Motion by Harwood that we call upon the membership to make generous purchases of the special national convention assessment stamps and that local and branch secretaries send the money from the sale of these stamps to their respective state secretaries at once; that all state secretaries be requested to retain such money in their state treasuries, same to be brought to the national convention by the state delegation. Carried.

Motion by Fraina that the National Executive Committee guarantee the delegates to the national convention such balances of their expenses as is not covered by the sale of convention assessment stamps in their respective states and calls upon all states securing more funds from the sale of these stamps than is needed to cover the expenses of their delegations, to turn such surplus over to the temporary national secretary at the convention. Carried.

Motion by Wicks that locals be requested to hold meetings in order to raise money to help defray the expenses of the convention. Carried.

Motion by Fraina that we call upon the Young People's Socialist League branches to assist in financing this convention by donations from their treasuries and collections from their members. Carried.

Motion by Lindgren that the temporary national secretary arrange for loans to the amount of $5,000.00 to assist in defraying the expenses of the convention. Carried.

Motion by Harwood that this committee suggests that the state secretaries refrain from purchasing any more dues stamps from the former national secretary, but that in case dues stamps are needed, that such regular party dues stamps be bought from the temporary national secretary. Carried.

Motion by Lindgren that we recind the action taken by the former national executive committee in deciding to incorporate a holding company which action included the election of a board of directors of nine, not subject to recall, these directors to hold the entire property of the national organization. Carried.

Motion by Ruthenberg that we instruct Adolph Germer, Robert H. Howe and Alfred Wagenknecht not to execute a deed for the national headquarters building and property which they hold in trust unless so instructed by this committee. Carried.

Motion by Fraina that we recognize the National Council of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party, organized at the National Left Wing Conference of June 21, 24, and its official organ, "The Revolutionary Age" as an organized expression of the revolutionary sentiments of the party and that we request the cooperation of this council. Carried.

Motion by Prevey that the next meeting of this committee be held August 28, 1919, at 10 A. M. Carried.

Motion that we proceed to elect a committee of three to draft a statement to the membership. Carried.

Nominations: Fraina, Ruthenberg, Katterfeld, Wicks, Lindgren, Harwood. Declinations—Ruthenberg, Lindgren, Harwood.

Fraina, Katterfeld and Wicks elected the committee.

Motion by Lindgren that the International Delegates be instructed to issue a statement on the party's affiliation with the Communist International which has already been endorsed overwhelmingly by the party membership. Carried.

Motion by Lindgren that a statement regarding political and class war prisoners be included in this statement to the membership. Carried.

Motion by Harwood that a committee of three be elected to visit the meeting of the executive committee of the Finnish Socialist Federation which is to meet at national headquarters tomorrow. Carried.

Prevey, Harwood and Wicks elected the committee.

Motion carried to adjourn until 10:30 A. M., July 27th.

MORNING SESSION JULY 27th

Fred Hyrwood elected chairman.

Report of committee on statement to the membership.

(This report will be found printed in this Bulletin under the heading of "Proclamation to the Socialist Party Membership.")

Motion by Wicks that this report be adopted as amended. Carried.

otion to adjourn until 3:30 P. M., carried.

AFTERNOON SESSION JULY 27th

Motion by Prevey that the temporary national secretary be instructed to issue a party bulletin to the membership containing the minutes and declarations of this meeting and that such other official matter as must be communicated to the locals, branches, state secretaries and the membership, be issued thru the Ohio Socialist and the press service. Carried.

Motion by Katterfeld that we elect a committee of three on party institutions to outline a program for the development of efficient instruments of propaganda, education and organization, such as party owned press, publishing house, lecture bureau, and training school. Each member of this committee is to report to the national executive secretary by August 10th, the secretary to send a copy of the report to every member of the National Executive Committee so that the matter can receive thoro consideration at our next meeting. Also, that we invite all party members to send whatever suggestions they may consider helpful along these lines to the temporary national executive secretary at once. Carried.

Committe elected: Ruthenberg, Harwood and Katterfeld.

Motion by Fraina that the temporary national executive secretary be instructed to arrange for convention headquarters in Chicago, where delegates coming to the national convention may report. Carried.

Motion by Katterfeld that the temporary national executive secretary establish temporary national headquarters wherever most convenient. Carried.

Motion that in adjourning this, our first meeting, we express our confidence in the membership of the Socialist Party and our willingness to obey their mandates at all times. We urge the membership, in this time of crisis, not to permit anything to discourage them, but to continue their splendid efforts to place our party in harmony with the Communist International. Carried.

Motion to adjourn, carried.

ALFRED WAGENKNECHT,
National Executive Secretary,
Pro. Tem.

Emergency National Convention

SOCIALIST PARTY

CONVENES SATURDAY AUG. 30

AT 10 A. M.

Machinists' Union Hall

113 So. Ashland Boulevard **CHICAGO, ILL.**

Take Van Buren street car west to South Ashland Blvd., or Madison street car west to to Ogden.

This convention will positively take place upon the above date. Postponement is now impossible. The old national executive committee has ceased to function. The national constitution provides that the term of office of this committee SHALL END July 1, 1919. See Article 3, section 3. This former committee can not now longer delay this convention. The new National Executive Committee, which met in Chicago, July 26 and 27, has renewed the call for this convention and now takes full charge. The new National Executive Committee is pledged to obey the mandates of the membership. All delegates should confer with it when reaching Chicago.

SEND ROSTER OF YOUR DELEGATES TO NEW NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

We caution you to PLAY SAFE. Send a roster of delegates elected to attend the national convent on from your state to the recently elected National Executive Committee, 3207 Clark Avenue, Cleveland, O.

Past actions of the old national executive committee have lost them every bit of confidence the membership had in them. We do not now know but what they will attempt to usurp power, even tho the national constitution specifically states that their term ended July 1st. This old committee may attempt to postpone the national convention, or so manipulate it that only those are seated who are fellow-moderates of theirs.

In such case you must make sure that your delegation is protected. It will be protected if a roster of your delegates, together with their full adresses, is sent to the new National Executive Committee, elected by national referendum by the Socialist Party membership.

Remember—as soon as your delegates are elected, send their names and adresses to the National Executive Committee, 3207 Clark ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

APPORTIONMENT OF NATIONAL DELEGATES TO THE AUGUST 30th CONVENTION

The number of delegates apportioned to each state follows: Arkansas 2, California 6, Colorado 2, Connecticut 4, Delaware 1, District of Columbia 1, Illinois 21, Indiana 6, Iowa 3, Kansas 3, Kentucky 2, Maine 2, Maryland 2, Massachusetts 14, Michigan 6, Minnesota 7, Missouri 4, Montana 1, Nebraska 2, New Hampshire 2, New Jersey 9, New York 32, Ohio 16, Oklahoma 6, Oregon 4, Pennsylvania 17, Rhode Island 2, Texas 1, Utah 2, Washington 5, West Virginia 2, Wisconsin 11, Wyoming 2.

LOCALS—HOLD MEETINGS

No method should be overlooked by which money can be secured with which to pay the fare of the 200 delegates who will attend the coming National Convention. Locals in harmony with the new National Executive Committee and its attempt to restore the party to the membership are called upon to hold SPECIAL meetings for the purpose of taking special collections with which to help pay party convention expenses.

A WORD ABOUT NATIONAL CONVENTION ASSESSMENT STAMPS.

Members of the party are asked to make generous purchases of the special assessment stamps, issued to help defray the expenses of the national convention, to be held in Chicago, August 30th.

Do not purchase only one stamp. Buy two, three or four. National conventions cost money. Delegates attending MUST BE ASSURED OF THEIR FARE. Conventions must be paid for by the party, and the party is the membership. The thousands of dollars needed can be easily secured if EVERY member will be liberal in his purchase of assessment stamps. Ask your local or branch secretary about them.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUES CALLED UPON FOR HELP

All branches of the Young People's Socialist League are called upon to assist in financing the National Convention.

We know of dozens of leagues which have hundreds of dollars in their treasuries. This money can not be used in a better way than by contributing it to help finance the most important Convention in the party's history.

There are few leagues that uphold moderate Socialism or stand by the moderate former officialdom of the party. Most leagues favor affiliation with the Communist Party of Russia and the Communist Labor Party of Germany. All leagues which are for Lenin Socialism as against Scheidemann Socialism are called upon to send what money they can to the temporary national executive secretary. Help pay for the convention which will make of our party the kind of party you want. Make a contribution. Make a loan. Request your members to donate.

FINANCIAL REPORT

SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO

June

Receipts	
Dues regular	$ 196.90
Initiation Stamps	88.00
Members at Large	3.75
Organization Fund	31.37
Foreign Branches	119.40
Local Supplies	32.35
Literature	32.94
Industrial Freedom Certificates	72.00
Press Fund	1388.32
Ohio Socialist	489.26
Miscellaneous	19.00
Expenditures	
Local supplies	10.00
Dues	$ 200.00
Literature	461.70
Foreign Branch	106.36
Organization expenses (including purchase of auto)	765.77
Sustaining fund	20.00
Press fund	206.00
Convention expenses	917.48
Salaries	262.00
Telephone Telegrams	19.11
Total	$2,473.29
Office Supplies	269.50
Postage	72.57
Printing	41.90
Auto expenses	85.54
Ohio Socalist	1396.27
Mscellaneous	153.25
Total	$4987.45
Balance an Hand June 1	$3364.31
June receipts	2473.29
Total	$5837.60
June expenditures	4987.45
	$ 850.15
In the Funds	
Press Fund	$1318.32
General Fund Deficit	468.17
Bal. an Hand July 1st	$ 850.15

Bundle Orders are Still Growing

Ever try distributing a bundle of Ohio Socialists each week among the unenlightened? Best work you can possibly do for Socialism. You can't expect the workers to endorse socialism if they learn nothing about it. Give them the chance to see the light. Order a bundle of Ohio Socialists for free distribution. A bundle will be sent to you weekly at the rate of only one half cent per copy.

* * *

Sending a dollar, comrade Edwin F Ehrendahl of Muskegon, Mich., orders a bndle of ten a week for three months. In most every city and town there is some comrade who sees the necessity of keeping plenty of ammunition on the firing line. Comrade Ehrendahl is one of them.

* * *

Helping to reach more Party members with our paper is what comrade Nels Erickson of Sioux City, Ia, is doing. He orders a bundle of ten a week for ten weeks.

Comrade C. E. Styles of Kingsville, Tex., orders a bundle of ten each week. He will use them in his work of organizing a local. Here's hoping to those for each local is or should be at least, an outpost of socialist agitation and prpaganda.

And from Tacoma, Wash., comes an order for 25 copies a week. Comrade Franz Bostrom, former State Secretary of Wash., orders them. Comrade Bostrom writes cheering news. He states that the State is completely left Wing and is with the Left Wing to a man.

Comrade S. B. Cole of Kenova, W. Va., orders a bndle of five copies weekly for several comrades in various parts of the country. Also subscription cards. His entire order amounted to ten dollars. Comrade Cole is always on the firing line ready to do a comrade's full share.

One thousand Ohio Socialists to Battle Creek, Mich., last week. We are beginning to believe that O. S. is a pretty good paper. What say you?

"Debs Goes To Prison." A booklet containing the story of this historical trip. Buy a copy. Read it and you'll want everybody to read it. One copy 25c. Ten or more at 15c. each.

Comrade Karl J. Malmstrom of Moline, Ill. sends us $1.50 for two new ones. He states that he is on the trail of others.

On the Firing Line

Here comes a regular booster. Comrade Edwin Blank of Lima, O. [illegible] hand we see 24 months sub cards all filled out and ready to go on the list. We've grown to expect comrade Blank about ever so often to do something like this and we are seldom disappointed.

Comrade Henry Geiger of Tiffin is responsible for these subscriptions we see, by the sub cards coming in. That's a good start and appreciated very, very much.

Two yearlies from comrade C. H. Werner of Barberton, O., reminds us of the many others lists of subs he has sent us.

Comrade V. Popov distributed 300 copies of the Ohio Socialist at a socialist Picnic in St. Louis, Mo., on July 4th. Three subscriptions from him seems to prove that he kept on working afterward.

Comrade Joe of Shelby, Mich. is at good work again. Five more from him proves it.

Two yearlies from comrade Frank Litz of Sandusky helps along. Comrade Litz is often present with a bunch of subs when the roll is called. A constant booster he.

Down at Havener, N. Mexico lives comrade J. E. Ledbetter. He's a booster for the Ohio Socialist. We can prove it because we have the goods on him. He sent in three yearlies just lately. We take our hat off to him.

Why stop at a year, thinks comrade Alex Van Gundy. He gets subcribers for a year and a half each, and three of them. Of course he's one of our regular hustlers.

Comrade Carl Wolters of Hamilton. Mich. says he hopes to get the paper on Sunday so that he can enjoy the day reading it. We hope he gets it then. Now that we have overcome some of the difficulties in getting it out regularly, comrades will get their papers earlier in the next week.

"I got these (there were four subscriptions) at the celebration on July 4th" writes comrade J. B. West of Mannington, W. Va. Well, if every socialist had celebrated half as much to the same purpose, what a list of readers we would have now!

A tribute to the Little Bolsheviki Club of Ringo, Kans.

Hurrah for the Kansas Bolsheviks! What a fine contrast, these children who make such noble sacrifices and refuse to sell capitalist papers, and those so-called socialists who do not support their own Party press and buy capitalist papers. Shamed by their heroic action. I hereby pledge four dollars more to the Press Fund." W. M. Rieder, Niles, Mich.

Comrade E. Curtis Ilkenhans of Hamilton remits $3 on his weekly pledge.

To help the defender of the working men and women, is the way comrade Vucic of Lorain puts it. His remittance for the Party press is for $2. Thank you comrade Vucic, we appfeciate to your good letter.

THREE REFERENDUMS CALLING YOU.

There are three referendums before the Ohio state membership. All of the BEST members in the state will go to their next local meeting and VOTE. Join the BEST class. You belong there.

PIKNIK—begin right now to make arrangements for a picnic of your local members and friends. Every local that has held a picnic this summer has reported SUCCESS. Get busy, decide when to have it, decide where to have it, get a speaker, place an order for literature, arrange for games and entertainment—ADVERTISE—and the trick is done. NOW!

By the way, if you hold a picnic make sure the financial secretary attends with a goodly supply of dues stamps. No time and place better that at a picnic to induce members to PAY UP.

And Van Buren Township Local greets us with a BIG dues stamp order. H. T. Owens must intend making the rounds and waking them up.

An order for literature from Herbert Knecht calls for an assortment which will give the Gournsey County comrades great choice in reading for weeks to come.

Setting an example that is worthy of emulation by every local in the country is that of Local Masaillou, O. Comrade Nick Weltlich, sends in a list of 21 names of donars totaling $28. which was collected on lists circulated by the comrades. The circulation of the Press Fund Lists should be pushed by every local. Give every one a chance to help.

Proposes to Use Blackjack

Former N. E. C. member Goebel earnestly defends old N. E. C. method.

(Reported verbatim from the N. E. C. meeting).

Katterfeld (protesting against holding up referendum elections):

"But the party constitution prohibits you from interfering with the process of the membership. You have no right to suppress a referendum. You can not do this thing."

Goebel (justifying the N. E. C.):

"Oh, yes we can. It may not be constitutional, but WE'VE GOT THE POWER."

Katterfeld: "You may assume the power here on this Committee, but you CAN'T GET AWAY WITH IT before the membership."

Goebel: "We've been attacked, and I for one propose to use the BLACKJACK."

Katterfeld: "And I for one propose to see to it that every time you use the blackjack it will prove to be a BOOMERANG."

* * *

Comrades of the Socialist Party, will you submit to this N. E. C. "blackjack", or will you make it a boomerang to knock these official usurpers off their despotic perch? Arouse every member of every Local and elect delegates to the national convention who will obey the mandates of the membership and recognize the regularly elected national executive committee, which held its first meeting in Chicago, July 26 and 27.

Instruct your delegates to the coming Party Convention to prove once and for all that no little Executive Committee can violate the will of this Pary's membership and GET AWAY WITH IT.

In the Day's News

The British triple alliance of labor has made all England echo with the ery "bring the boys home from Russia." It is generally conceded that England is right now in the throes of a labor revolt.

At 4 P. M. on July 29 the street car men of Chicago went on strike. The papers tell us that the radicals are in control of the union. Wm. D. Quinlan, head of the union and a conservative, who has refused Chicago Socialists the rental of the large street carm men's auditorium was howled down in the union's meeting which declared the strike. He suggested compromising. The street car men's answer was "to hell with the public. Get off the stage before we mob you."

A 50 per cent wage increase is demanded by Cleveland city employes. A 77 per cent increase is demanded by Chicago street car men. Won't be long before they demand the full product of their labor power.

Wilson is stirred by European unrest. Wants signing of treaty hurried. He has admitted to callers that he dreads to pick up the paper in the morning for fear of reading that the climax has been reached, What climax?

Fremont still busy. Inquires about a speaker for August 9th.

An order amounting to $36.40 from Alois Hawelka, Belmont County, proves that we have a few Socialists in the state paying dues. We say this in this manner because sales of dues stamps have been very slow lately. Hot weather is blamed. But state office refuses to admit that most of our members are cold weather Socialists.

"Received your budle. Enclosed find three subs. Will try to get more." Linville Dellinger, Lititz, Pa Ohio comrades, please follow suit. GET SUBS.

Orders for literature keep on pouring from all parts of the country. Quite a number of literature agents have become active and are prosecuting a steady sale of pamphlets. Lay in a stock. Sell them at your local meetings.

Attention Locals

Before circulating lists calling for contributions for one purpose or another, write the state office and secure information as to the nature and legitimacy of these calls for money. Locals and branches, as well as members of the party should not become active in campaigns for funds which do not originate with the party until endorsed by the party.

Be sure to tabulate the ballots on referendums before mailing them to State office. Read directions at bottom of ballot. Then follow them thruout.

Toil is a curse to none but slaves. It is high time that the theological pulpit pounders were forced to stop preaching the foolishly accepted doctrain that toil is a curse placed upon making by an Almighty God, because man had sinned.

READ THIS

The national constitution of the Socialist Party contains the following provision: Article 3, Section 3 (a)—The call for the regular election of members of the National Executive Committee shall be issued on the first day of January, 1918, and on January first of each odd numbered year thereafter. MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1918 SHALL RETIRE JULY 1, 1919.

If the constitution is to be obeyed, then the former national executive committee went out of office on July 1st. The new National Executive Committee, realizing the danger of leaving the national administration in the hands of former executive secretary Germer, has taken over the conduct of the party until the Emergency National Convention, to be held August 30th, convenes. The new National Executive Committee renews the call for this convention, takes full charge of preliminaries and has instructed the temporary national executive secretary to call it to order.

All delegates to this convention should take note of this.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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AN OPEN LETTER TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT--WHAT'S YOUR ANSWER?......

By JOSEPH W. SHARTS

Who was one of counsel for Eugene V. Debs in his trial at Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. President: I do not put this in form of petition for two reasons. One is, I doubt if it will ever reach you on your golden throne in France as you administer democracy to a crouching world. The other is, I do not think there is anything within your gift great enough or small enough for me to accept, since you allowed your underlings to sentence Eugene V. Debs to ten years in a felon's cell.

You were born in Staunton, Virginia, in 1856, Mr. President. Two years later you moved with your family to Augusta, Ga. Your father, Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, became one of the most prominent preachers of the South. And to one who understands historical materialism, this is equivalent to saying, your father (altho originally from Ohio) was a staunch advocate of chattel slavery;—he could not otherwise have retained his pulpit or popularity in the South at that particular time.

When the Slaveholders' Rebellion burst out, and armed rebels marched against the Stars and Stripes, your father, we are informed by your biographer, was a strong upholder of the Confederacy.

If this means anything it means your father, Mr. President, openly advocated and urged the overthrow of the government of the United States, openly encouraged men to take guns and shoot down American soldiers who were defending the Stars and Stripes.

What would that be under the present Espionage Act?

Debs never did that, Mr. President. I sat on the platform when he made that Canton speech and heard every word. He said nothing about the war; he scored the plutocrats and their politicians; the unjust conviction of Tom Mooney, Rose Pastor Stokes, and Kate Richards O'Hare; he dared to defend the I. W. W. from the infamous libels of the capitalist press, and to express his sympathy for the Bolsheviki of Russia. It was for this—not for any incitement to defy the mandates of the government—that he was marked for punishment by your subordinates.

If Gene Debs deserved ten years in prison for what he said about the United States in wartime,—what should your own father have received, Mr. President?

If Mr. Haywood and his hundred I. W. W.'s deserved sentences at ten, fifteen and twenty years at Leavenworth,—where should your father have spent his declining years?

If Mollie Stimer and those other four children were justly given fifteen and twenty years in the slow poison of the penitentiary, for passing handbills in favor of peace—was it just that your father's old age should be spent under the blessed sun, breathing the sweet air of freedom, unscathed by prison stripes?

Speaking of children, Mr. President, you yourself were a boy nine years of age when the war closed. Often and often you must have tossed up your cap and yelled with delight when the soldiers of the Confederacy marched past. Yes, and very boylike, you must have breathed the wish that you, too, could shoulder a gun and march away to kill Yanks.

What sort of offense would that be now, under the Espionage Act? Ask Judge Clayton, or any of these other federal judges or district attorneys who have been so zealously executing upon radicals, what they believe to be your wish.

Among your boyhood recollections, I find, is one of seeing Jefferson Davis riding by, on his way to prison at Fortress Monroe, under guard of federal soldiers.

Jefferson Davis, once Secretary of War and late a U. S. Senator, had become the chief organizer of armed rebellion against the United States; he had labored night and day to put armies in the field to destroy the government of the United States, he and his co-conspirators had caused the death of hundreds of thousands of loyal men.

Compared to the disloyalty of Jefferson Davis, what do you say of the "disloyal" remarks, of acts of Socialists, I. W. W.'s, or anarchists during the recent war?

What was the punishment of Jefferson Davis, this arch-traitor, this arch-rebel? He was confined a few months in Fortress Monroe—and then released. He was never indicted, he was never tried. He was set free!

Compare that magnanimous treatment with your administration's treatment of its critics! Are you not the equal in magnanimity of Andrew Johnson?

Has the government of the United States any reason to regret its magnanimity towards the traitors and rebels? You should know better than I—you lived your boyhood and youth among the Democratic beneficiaries of that magnanimity.

Here in our little city of Dayton lived and flourished during the Civil War a distinguished member, like your father and yourself of the Democratic Party. His name was Clement L. Vallandingham. He, like thousands of other Democrats in the North, did not approve of the war. He particularly disapproved of the Draft Act. And when President Lincoln, in apprehension of armed invasion and an uprising of Northern Democrats of the South, suspended the privilige of the writ of habeas corpus, Mr. Vallandingham denounced it. He spoke at a Democratic rally at Mt. Vernon, Ohio—just as Gene Debs, 56 years later, spoke at a Socialist rally at Canton, Ohio. There was only this difference: Vallandingham openly denounced President Lincoln as a tyrant and usurper—whereas Debs did not criticize you or your war measures at all.

For this Vallandingham was arrested at his First street residence, one night, here at Dayton, and taken to Cincinnati. He was tried, found guilty—and sentenced to be confined during the war!

Compare that with your administration's handling of its present-day critics!

Later President Lincoln, calling him a "wily agitator," commuted this sentence to transportation into the Confederate lines.

Your administration has been trying its hand at deportation lately. We are informed you contemplate shipping away several thousand radicals, snatched suddenly and often secretly from their wives, little ones, and friends, to be sent penniless into other lands across the sea, where many of them will be hung.

Perhaps you feel that Lincoln was too "easy" in dealing with his public opponents.

But now, Mr. President, in calling your attention to these matters I have been stirred by the thought that you, as a student of history, yourself a writer of history, must know that the Iron Heel is an anachronism; is a clumsy makeshift generally discredited ever since Bismarck made his stupendous effort and stupendous failure to crush Socialism in Germany. For every radical you clap into jail you make twenty who feel that such martyrdom is indicative of a great and vital truth. For every radical you deport, you stir up a hundred who recognize in that the typical tactics of czars and despots of all ages and of all lands.

May I not suggest that, with the red wave rolling so tremendously westward from Russia, already inundating Austria, Roumania, Germany, breaking into Italy, into France, into England—and the Allied governments already breathless and bankrupt from the world-war, it might be more statesmanlike, more prudent, more conducive to the health and safety of the capitalist class and middle-class in the perilous days to come, if you were to throw wide open the prison doors and bid all these political prisoners and exiles to come forth where the warm sunlight and fresh breezes may cleanse from their minds the miasma of revenge and hatred.

Crush Foreign Invasion then Unite All Workers is aim of Soviets, says Lenine

RUSSIA WILL PAY DEBTS IF REAL PEACE IS GUARANTEED. 1,000,000,000 FAVOR SOVIET CONSTITUTION.

By EDWARD BING

BUDAPEST.—Premier Lenine today gave his first bona fide interview. He replied by wireless to my questions wirelessed to Moscow from Budapest.

Following are the questions and answers as transmitted by wireless:

Question—What is your political attitude toward the United States and Japan?

Answer—With reference to the United States and Japan, our first political aims are to repel their shameless, criminal, bandit-like invasion of Russia that serves only to enrich their capitalists.

Many times we have offered peace to these states, but they have not even answered, and continue to war upon us, helping Denekin and Kolchak, plundering the Murman and Archangel regions and devastating especially in eastern Siberia, where the Russian peasants offer the most heroic resistance to the brigands of capitalistic Japan and America.

Fear to Publish Bullitt Report.

Our further economic aim is a single fraternal union of workers and toilers of all countries, Japan and the United States included.

Question—Under what conditions would you conclude peace with Kolchak and Mannerheim?

Answer—They have been exposed many times. For example, William Bullitt conduced negotiations with us and with me personally in Moscow in the name of the United States government, also in our letter to Nansen. It is not our fault if the United States and other governments fear to publish these documents and conceal the truth from the people.

I will remind you of one of our fundamental conditions—we are ready to pay all debts to France and other states, provided there will be real peace; namely, paece signed formally and confirmed by the governments of England, France, the United States, Japan and Italy, since Denekin, Kolchak, Mannerheim and others are simply in the hands of the Odessa governments.

Soviet Program Unchanged.

Question—Has the Soviet program undergone reforms or changes since the establishment of your government?

Answer—The Soviet government did not have a reformist governmental program, but a revolutionary one. Reforms are secured from the dominating class while the latter's domination continues; consequently, a reformist program consists generally of many points in detail.

Our revolutionary program consisted generally speaking, of one point—overthrow of the landowners' and capitalists' yoke, wresting the power from them and liberating the working masses from their exploiters.

This program we have never altered. Separately, various measures aiming at the realization of our program have often been subject to alterations, enumeration of which would occupy a colume.

I will point out only one point in our governmental program regarding which there were probably the greatest number of alterations, namely, crushing the resistance of exploiters following the revolution of July 17, 1917.

Did Not Close Capitalist Papers.

We did not even close the capitalist papers, and there was not even talk of terror. We not only freed many Kerenski ministers, but also released Krassboff, who made war. It was only after the capitalist exploiters began developing their resistance that we began to crush their resistance, applying even terror.

It was the proletariat's answer toward such action from the bourgeoisie, just as springs conjointly from the German, English, French, American and Japanese capitalistic efforts to restore exploiters to power in Russia. The Czecho-Slovaks are supported by Anglo-French money, while Mannerheim has German-French funds.

The unsuccessful conspiracy aimed at the surrender of Petrograd by officers was made possible by the Swiss Legation participating in the conspiracy, using English and French capital to employ many Russian employes.

Indorsed by 1,000,000,000 Persons.

Question—What is the real character of the activities which the Russian Soviet government is carrying on in Afghanistan and India, as well as other Mohammedan countries?

Answer—These activities are the same as ours among the non-Russian people within Russia. We made it possible for a lower people to create their autonomous republic within Russia.

We help all independent free development of every nationality to increase and spread, for which we offer the most heroic resistance toward the brigands and capitalists of Japan and the United States.

Our further political aims are to promote knowledge regarding our own Soviet Constitution, which has the misfortune to please more than a billion inhabitants of the earth belonging to the colonial, subjected and oppressed rightless nationalities more than do western European or American constitutions of the bourgeoisie "democratic" states, which try to strengthen the yoke of the few "civilized" capitalistic countries over the hundreds of millions of masses in Asiatic and African colonies.

"Guilty"! with "Mercy"

The trial of Thos. Hammerschmitt, Lotta Burke, Chas. Thiemann, Alfred Welker, Walter Gregory, John Sahn, Frank Reis, Wm. Gruber, Fred Schneider, Philip Rothenbush, A. J. Feldhaus, Arthur Tredtke and Jos. Geier, all Socialists of Cincinnati, on a charge of "conspiracy to defraud" the government by interfering with the draft act, culminated in the federal district court a compromise verdict of "guilty, with mercy."

The jury, with the characteristic carelessness of American juries in dealing out the cards of fate, decided to end a three-hour struggle in the jury-room by "passing the buck" to the judge.

There had been, it is rumored, an almost even decision of opinion at one time, at least upon certain of the defendants. The foreman, a Georgetown Republican editor named Remele, a man of dominating personality, had shown himself from the beginning of the trial prejudiced against the defendants; he had in fact admitted his unfavorable opinions of Socialism and Socialists when examined for jury service, but had insisted he would not let the prejudice interfere with an impartial verdict. Subsequent developments of the trial, however, led the defendants and their lawyers to believe that Remele was not going to keep his word. It was probably due more to Remele's aggressive attitude in the jury room than to any other one cause, that the resistence of the sticklers for a verdict of acquittal was finally broken down to where they agreed to leave it to the tender "mercy" of Judge Hollister.

They wanted to get home; it was near train time; and the jury room was hot.

So they made it "guilty with mercy," although convinced the 13 were not guilty.

It is thus the liberty of indicted Socialists can be lightly juggled with, when they face a jury of reactionary, hide-bound Republicans and Democrats.

The jury was as good a one as could be picked from the 100 names and more on the three venires issued. But the system is so constructed that under no circumstances could a jury favorably inclined towards Socialists is drawn for jury service, it is a mistake approximating a calamity. Two jury commissioners are apointed, one of whom must be a Republican and the other a Democrat, and these two "select" names to be put into the jury box. Such a system is a guaranty that no Socialist will be drawn.

These jurors were average men; they identified "patriotism" with "pro-war" sentiment; only two had received more than a common schooling; but they all, with two exceptions, owned considerable property. Several were farmers with large farms, one was a banker; one a retired merchant; one a veterinary surgeon. Almost without exception they had read nothing about Socialism but what they had seen in the newspapers; only one or two had ever met a live Socialist before.

With all the instinctive aversion of ignorance these 12 men were suddenly called upon to sit in judgement on 13 working people who declared allegiance to Socialism. They were called upon to pass judgement upon the Socialist party activities of those 13 in opposition to the war and to the draft act.

The surprising thing is, that they were able to bring in a recommendation of "mercy"—especially after the closing harangue of District Attorney Bolin, who for three hours appealed to every partisan prejudice and passion.

The bonds of the defendants were continued for the present, pending the motion for new trial and motion in arrest of judgement.

Sentences have not yet been meted out to these 13 Cincinnati Socialists, convicted for being true to themselves and the principles they stand for. Judge Hollister is away on a vacation. When he returns, sometime in September, his "mercy" will be made evident by the sentences he imposes.

An appeal will be taken and Attorney Sharts predicts that this case will be a live issue for another year.

One thousand dollars are needed to further fight for the freedom of the 13 convicted comrades. Members of the Socialist Party are called upon to help up this amount. The state office will soon issue a special circular calling attention to the need for funds.

Socialists Lose Street Fight

The fight of Bellaire, O. socialists for free speech on the streets struck a snag last week in the ruling of Atty. Gen Price, who ruled the referendum petitions circulated against the city ordinance prohibiting public speaking, illegal, and therefore a vote upon the ordinance could not be held this fall.

Atty. Price held that the petitions were illegal because they were not submitted to the auditor as the law provides.

AKRON PLANS MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN.

The first step in planning its municipal campaign was taken by the Socialists of Akron when they rented the largest hall at 550 South Howard street for regular Sundar afternoon campaign meetings.

These meetings will begin in September and many state and out of state speakers will be engaged. The campaign committee also plans to distribute from 1,000 to 10,000 Ohio Socialists weekly.

NEW PHONE FOR OHIO SOCIALIST AND STATE OFFICE.

Comrades desiring to reach the state office of the Socialist Party by telephone are requested to call Harward 3639. This is the new phone number of the state office. It will appear regularly hereafter in the editorial column, above the editorials.

THE DAWN

The down of Labor's day is now
more a distant dream.
The soviet world is being built within
the old regime;
And being born the golden age of
which all thinkers dream.

The Russ has forged the radiant way;
and Europe follows fast behind.
When peace and freedom light the
road, who fail to follow but the
blind?
And only where the workers rule, fair
peace and freedom do we find.

A CAPITALIST COURT

Ding-dong, ding-dong, 'tis the court-
house bell,
A bluff at fine ju[illegible] and work done
well;
With solemn demeanor and a brief
exhort,
"God save the state and this honorable court."
The judge takes his bench and lawyers
assemble,
And this bold little farce to make people tremble
Is grinding away from early till late
Saving the nation for a few of the
great.
—C. C. Rose.

Belleville Miners Call for General Strike

DEMAND FREEDOM FOR ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS AND BUILD WAY FOR SOVIET CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

A district mass meeting was called by the miners of Nigger Hollow Mines, 1 and 2, located near Belleville in St. Clair County, Ill., Sunday August 3, at Priester's Park, Belleville, Ill. History was made at this meeting for no more progressive unionists exist than these in this vicinity. Two thirds of them kept faith with Mooney and struck for the alloted number of days, beginning July 4th.

Due to the existing "penalty clause" they have now been fined for not going to work. The miners protest against this fine, claiming that their strike for Mooney was not an industrial strike but a political strike and that the United States constitution gave them the "right to petition congress for a redress of grievences." Any joint regulation prescribing penalties which conflicts with the right guaranteed by the United Sattes constitution is null and void, the miners claim.

While this matter was under discussion by the immense mass meeting the labor fakir was given his just dues. One miner defined a labor fakir as one who is not willing to take the medicine he hands out. When the discussion reverted to the responsibility for the penalty clause as between the labor fakir and the mine owner one miner remarked: "I do not care in whose coop the egg was hatched. It was a rotten egg."

After a thoro discussion about four fifths voted to strike. It was then decided not to make this only a local strike but that all miners in the United States be called upon to come out on strike. Socialization of mines was demanded. A better union was one of the essentials to greater success against the coal barons, so the meeting decided. Democratic control and ownership of the tools of production and distribution by the workers was voiced, thereby building the way for the soviet. And a resolution for the immediate freedom of all class war and industrial prisoners was passed.

F. J. Nebgen, county secretary of the Socialist Party, writes that the St. Clair County convention of the Socialist Party was held that same day and that after adjournment the members attended the district mass meeting of the miners, many of the Socialist Party members also being members of the miner's union.

IN THE WEEK'S NEWS.

Haig claims the British army won the war. In Italy the Italian army won the war. In France the French army won the war. In this country our army won the great war. Shall we now have a scrap just to settle this important question of "who won the war?"

Thirty policemen sworn in for special duty resigned because of sympathy with the striking mill workers of Rome, N. Y.

Olaf Finnestad, who was deported from Seattle on the "Red Special" last winter to Ellis Island and then sent to Norway at his own request, reports that he is busy in Socialist agitation work in the land of his birth.

The Kansas City Star is disappointed because the several regiments of soldiers sent to Leavenworth Military Prison to quell the strike of several thousand prisoners did not turn the machine guns upon these unarmed inmates and mow them down.

We are still busy, it seems, trying to stamp out the "red terror" in Russia. Why don't the sentimentalists stick their noses into the "black and white terror" in this country? Our race riots ought to keep them busy "doing good" at home.

Adolph Germer, in a special interview granted the capitalist Christian Science Monitor, states that the Left Wing of the Socialist Party is loosing ground. He claims that the reason the American working class is not ready for the Soviet form of government is because it is too higly paid.

August 3rd dispatches stated that Liverpool, England, was in the grip of a mob. Stores were looted and soldiers called to the scene refused to shoot the rioters. Reading between the lines gives us to understand that this "mob" was composed of starving workers and their families, who even went so far in their desperation as to board American steamers and carry off provisions. Part of the dispatch reads: "After daylight dispersed most of the rioters, children carried on the work of pillage. They rooted about in the dismantled shops and carried off anything that had been overlooked. They climbed thru windows and cut clothes and bodies on jagged glass, but emerged with big parcels of sweetmeats. There was no one on guard and they reaped a rich harvest. They stuffed themselves with candy, and even offered it for sale in the streets." To all of which we can only say—POOR KIDS!

Congressman Fess wants to revive the four-minute speakers plan in order to carry on effective propaganda against the growing [illegible] towards Bolshevism.

What is Socialist Propaganda?

Written for the O. S.
by W. E. REYNOLDS of Michigan

The June issue of the Eye Opener is before me and in it I notice three signed articles by Adolph Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party. A signed article by the national secretary ought not to excite a great deal of comment, but since the present secretary took office, how many articles of propaganda nature have you noticed from the pen of National Secretary? All of the articles in the June issue were propaganda articles, but the question of interest to a class conscious proletaire socialist is, were they SOCIALIST propaganda?

No. Most decidedly and decisively, no!

They were evasive, factional, political.

There ARE factions in the socialist party.

There have been factions in the party ever since it was organized as a party. There will be factions in the socialist party, as long as the forces seeking legislative reforms and the forces seeking social revolution are kept together in one organization. Why should we shut our eyes to such an obvious fact?

It would be to the best interests of all concerned to face the issue honestly, fearlessly and squarely and define the different positions, then each may support the party which in his best judgement seems most adapted to the purposes which is sought to be accomplished.

To a revolutionist, familiar with the wages-system, knowing what it is that determines wages, the contents of the Eye-Opener for June, are sufficient proof that a new alignement is absolutely necessary.

The very first or cover page article, "Food for all, but it is held in cold storage by the profiteers!", being given the front cover of the official organ of the party must be taken to represent the National Office's idea of what is good propaganda. The article in question states that the real reason the working people of America can not get "square meals" is because the profiteers have the food in cold storage and have forced the prices so high that wage-earners can not "afford" to buy the food. To a revolutionist, this is not SOCIALIST propanganda at all, but, just plain lies told with a view of misleading the ill-informed.

The fact that vast quantities of food are held in cold storage by big corporations has nothing at all to do with the poverty of the masses. We are fighting, not for cheap food, but for control of the food producing industries. We are fighting, not to lower the prices of the commodities which we need to live; we are fighting for a system which will enbale the producer of commodities to receive the FULL social value of the products of his labor.

There is the key to the whole squabble.

The National Office ignores it. Always has ignored it. Always will ignore it, until people who know something of the socialism of Marx, Engels and other scientific, socialist writers are placed in charge of affairs.

Understand this right. The fight of the revolutionary socialist is not for cheap prices, or higher wages but the the abolition of the entire wages-system. We are not robbed by profiteers, we ARE robbed by the system of selling our labor power upon a competetive market, where our wages are determined by the lowest standard of living the wage-earner can be forced to accept.

This condition of affairs can not be remedied by legislative reform, hence all energies wasted upon such legislative reform, are wasted energies. This condition can be remedied only by a social revolution. If that statement is true, then the ONLY propaganda worth while will be such propaganda as will enable the worker better to understand his class position thus making him more ready and willing to work and fight for the abolition of the wages-system.

In the same Eye Opener, Germer's article entitled "The Left Wing, and How it Handles the Truth", the issue is evaded. If nobody has yet informed him, let us do so now, namely; there are two classes in society, proletaire and bourgeoisie, and their interests are not identical but opposed, and this holds true whether within or without the socialist party. Why does Germer constantly ignore this fact?

In the article referred to, Germer calls the Michigan convention the Keracher Convention. Keracher is amply able to speak for himself, but we just have to remark that, isn't it a fine bunch of sheep-like followers we are over here in Michigan when one man can lead six-thousand of us around however and wherever he chooses? I have more than a suspiciou that if we were that kind of socialists over here the N. O. would not have thrown us out, but have welcomed us with open arms—for Germer and Co. to lead around.

Michigan has had more SYSTEMATIC STUDY CLASS WORK carried on amongst the members of the socialist party than any other state in the union. Possibly that fact may account for the stand that Michigan took, and not the personality of any one man no matter what his name may be. Besides, Keracher is not the only man in Michigan who "tries to see to it that the proper delegates are elected". Any socialist who is a sure enough socialist ought to try to see to it that SOCIALISTS and not humanitarians, pacificists, hole-and-corner-reformers of every kind, are elected delegates.

If only Socialist delegates had been sent to the various delegate conventions, Germer and the despotic seven (plus the invisible two) would never have been elected to positions of high office in the party.

If the time and energies of the party were used in an effort to get the so-called socialists throughout the country to undertsand the principles upon which the socialist movement rests, instead of a will-o-the-wisp chasing after "profiteers" and "food hogs" we could not be so far behind our European Comrades and much nearer the ultimate goal. To get an understanding of those underlying principles, one will fare much better if he studies the works of Marks rather than Germer.

Every socialist should be familiar with the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels, because in this book the causes underlying the interplay of social forces are analyzed and explained. One should know "Value, Price and Profit." Not merely know that the book exists, but BE FAMILIAR with its contents. One should know "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by Engels.

These books, and articles about these books and articles/embodying the principles embodied in these books and other books of a similar nature, these are socialist propaganda.

THE LITTLE BALDHEADED MAN

ANISE, in Seattle Union Record.

(Russian Pictures from Raymond Robins—No. 4)

In a little room
• • •
In the Kremlin,
• • •
Just off the high court
• • •
Of the old CZAR,
• • •
In a chair still bearing
• • •
The old Czar's CREST,
• • •
Sat LENINE,
• • •
A little, bald-headed man
• • •
Of 48 years,
• • •
Patient, deliberate,
• • •
No lover of WORDS,
• • •
But a quiet, shrewd executive,
• • •
Into whose eyes
• • •
The swift, sharp flash
• • •
Of a GREAT VISION
• • •
Come for a moment
• • •
And is gone,
• • •
Lenine, who saw in his youth
• • •
His brother's corpse swing out
• • •
On the Czar's gibbet,
• • •
Who saw the PRIEST
• • •
Hold up the holy IKON
• • •
Blessing the Cossaks' rule
• • •
Of WHIP and SWORD;
• • •
LENINE, the noble,
• • •
Who swore in that hour
• • •
ETERNAL ENMITY
• • •
Against the ancient order,
• • •
And went forth, suspect,
• • •
To danger and prison
• • •
And long, long years of toil,
• • •
And final TRIUMPH!
• • •
He sat there, calm and sure,
• • •
And said: "Colonel Robins,
• • •
The REVOLUTION
• • •
May FAIL in Russia,
• • •
For we are a primitive land,
• • •
We have been forced forward
BEYOND
• • •
Our natural pace!
• • •
But WE will keep alive
• • •
The FLAME of revolution
• • •
Till the WORLD is alight!
• • •
It will come first
• • •
In Bulgaria,
• • •
And the Bulgars
• • •
Will CEASE FIGHTING,
• • •
It will come next
• • •
In Austria,
• • •
And the Austrians
• • •
Will CEASE FIGHTING,
• • •
And THEN it will come
• • •
In Germany,
• • •
And the power of the Kaiser
• • •
Will crumble inward.
• • •
When the day comes
• • •
That a WORKERS COUNCIL
• • •
Rules in BERLIN,
• • •
REMEMBER
• • •
The little man in the Kremlin,
• • •
Who said: 'THAT DAY
• • •
Marks the beginning
• • •
Of the NEW WORLD!'
• • •
Yes, even though the Powers
• • •
Of ALL the EARTH
• • •
COMBINE to crush us,
• • •
As once they joined to crush
• • •
The Revolution in Frande,
• • •
Yes, as the IDEA
• • •
Of the French Revolution
• • •
Overthrew at last
• • •
The feudal lords of earth
• • •
All its own CONQUERORS,
• • •
So shall the IDEA
• • •
Of OUR Revolution
• • •
Overthrow in the end
• • •
OUR CONQUERORS!"

What they have Learned by War

GEO. H. PARSONS

The working class of the world have in every age and nation been the world's slaves. They have fought every war, they have produced everything that the masters might revel in luxury, all this they have done yet they are in poverty. They have never yet risen to the dignity of real manhood, nor yet knows the true meaning of life, they have never enjoyed the real blessing of life and freedom.

But now after having struggled through this war for Democracy in degrading murder and slaughter of the working class, a glimmer of class-consciousness has dawned upon them for the first time in all history, at last they are coming to realize their power as a class and to dream of their coming freedom.

The revolutionary movement in Russia and Germany is the concrete expression of their dreams, it is developing the workers into organizations, they have learned to educate and organize themselves, they have learned that no other can do this for them, they have decided to organize for the purpose of overthrowing the despotic power that oppresses them and holds them in bondage.

They have learned by this war that they must cease to be divided into wrangling factions, they have learned to get together regardless of race, natonality or creed, and make a common cause in this great struggle that is destined to shake every monarch from his throne and banish slavery of every form in every country upon earth.

They have learned by this war that they must get together both industrially and politically and be brothers in fact in every country and nation; they have fallen together and they must rise together, that when they stand together united, develop the power of solidarity, only than can they shake off their fetters, rise to manhood and freedom, they then will become the sovrein rulers of the world.

They fought for democracy and got it not. They see their Comrades jailed, they see the heavy hand of despotism. They want free speech, free press and the right of free assemblage. They want universal democracy, not Wall Street democracy, the world is on fire, the revolution is coming. Take warning, you oppressors, your day is coming your doom is sealed, the yoke of bondage must fall from the toiling class, they must have their freedom, they must have the right to live and enjoy the fruits of their toil.

Thru comrade Genevieve Zrn, the comrades of South Slavic Br. No. 11 of Wyandotte, Mich. send a list containing seven dollars. Our South Slavic comrades are among the most generous contributors to the press fund. They KNOW we must have that press to fight our battles. And they act upon that knowledge

"Never too late to do a good deed" writes comrade Joe DeFelippo of Fairmont, W. Va. He sends two dollars for himself and his comrade wife.

Among Locals in other states, none have been more heartily in sympathy with us than Local Bellville, Ill. Several thousand copies of the Ohio Socialist have been sent to this Local in the past and we are in receipt of an order for three thousand copies of this weeks issue. A letter from comrade F. J. Nebgen, County Sec'y contains a ten dollar donation to the press fund. Such generous assistance from comrades out of state simply proves that we MUST get that press, right away.

Another local sent in a fine contribution last week is Local Dola, O. Locals which have not yet gotten started to work on the press fund should take a hint from Local Dola.

[illegible]

[illegible]

YOU HAVE ACCOMPLISHED THIS. We have only been your servants, your agents. [illegible]

And now the [illegible] which you have given us will be brought into play in a campaign that will stir the nation, that is, with your loyal help.

This help we are now assured of. We had no more than mailed our first announcement of the FREE DEBS AND ALL THE REST campaign, than letters began arriving, many of them containing large sums of money—all consecrated to liberate the best beloved and most hated man in the United States.

JOIN! You are wanted on the inside. In this battle between lovers and haters, enlist upon the side which makes for progress instead of destruction. Sign the blank below.

APLICATION BLANK

SIGN UP! SIGN UP!

JOIN THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS

Pledge: "I herewith make application for membership in the ARMY OF LIBERATORS recognizing, that as a member of the working class, it is my duty to work unceasingly for the FREEDOM OF DEBS and all political prisoners. I shall distribute leaflets, personally carry on agitation work, support meetings, do all I can individually and thru organization to help liberate Debs.

ADMISSION FEE $1.00
MONTHLY DUES: Doing your DUTY daily.

Name ....
Address ....
City .... State ....

(Membership Cards will be sent you immediately upon receipt of your application. Address Headquarters, Army of Liberators, 3207 Clark ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Inspiring Notes fom Press Fund Letters.....

OUT AND AT IT AGAIN

Comrade T. E. Bendergrass, of Deming, N. Mex., who has just been released from prison after serving a sentence of several months for alleged anti-war offences, writes us a letter that ought to make every comrade's socialist heart beat a little faster, and fill them to the brim with energy and enthusiasm.

Comrade Pendergrass writes as follows: "There has been no diminution, but an increasy in my revolutionary propensities. Thus again, as ever, has persecution defeated its purpose. I now propose to continue the fight until capitalism is at least arrested and incarcerated—it has already been tried and convicted. Strange to say, I am drawing a pension from the capitalistic government—a result of a former outbreak of foolishness—patriotism. If my young-old friend J. C. Kimmons, of Corono N. Mex., can spare a dollar for the apprehension of the fugitive, capitalism, surely I can spare two dollars of that pension each month so long as it comes or till the press fund is raised, or till have been alloted my six feet of soil. Inclosed find first installment.

Greetings and good cheer to all, especially to those on the inside looking out."

Five dollars and a promise of more comes from comrades Herman Pagel and wife of Newark, O.

A comrade who wishes his name witheld shows how easy it is to get press fund contributions. A list of three names he sends us and the amount is $8. YOU can do as well perhaps. Try it and reap a lot of satisfaction.

Another Local which has sprung into life again is Dover. O. Secretary H. L. Ricker remits $43.05, $35.25 of which is for the press fund. This amount was secured on press fund lists circulated by comrades H. L. and R. C. Ricker and Geo. Krebs.

The ten dollar donation of comrade Wm Stewart of Leetonia, O. which was published in last week's issue surely shows how generous some comrades can be and how clearly they see the necessity of the workers owning their own means of publicity.

Ten dollars comes in from comrade Pauline Graf of Hamilton. This amount was pledged at the state picnic.

MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL

A press is the most important of all. I urge every comrade to dig and dig and then dig some more, and I'll assure you we will get there.—E. W. Doewes, Cincinati, O.

WILL DO MORE

Comrade Jno Jackman of Kent, O remits a dollar for the press fund and says he is sorry that he cannot do more just now but expects to later on.

A second installment, $2 comes from comrade Bojin Gligoroff, of Zanesville, O. Like many other comrades he watches the progress of the press fund.

The comrades of Columbus, O. are showing a very determined effort to boost the press fund away up. From the Local comes a donation of $15 and from the German Br. $5. Thanks, comrades of Columbus.

Comrade K. W. Boring of Wellsville, O. remits 8 dollars. Three are his pledge for August, four for comrade Paul Mikulin of Vanport, Pa. for the press fund and a years sub. That makes a dandy little sum. Some booster, comrade Boring and comrade Mikulin comes a close second.

Eugene Bogg of North College, Hill, O., is not a Party member, but that does not prevent him from giving a dollar to the press fund. Such good socialists outside the Party shows there is still plenty of good material waiting for the little red card.

State Secretary Dillon of New Mex. gives a dollar and pledges seven more. He wishes us good luck.

-Now Then- To the Front

The first offensive in the big drive to FREE DEBS and ALL political prisoners is on.

NOW THEN—TO THE FRONT!

Mails going out of Cleveland are loaded down with calls to action.

We are mobilizing and army of 15,000 LIBERATORS.

We are placing before each of these prospective soldiers who will participate in the campaign to FREE DEBS an opportunity such as comes only once in a life-time.

Your name will be revered by your children and all children of men IF YOU SHOW THE COURAGE NEEDED TO PLACE YOURSELF ON THE SIDE OF DEBS. GO OUT TO YOUR FRIENDS AND FELLOW WORKERS AND REQUEST THEIR ASSISTANCE in this fight to liberate the champion of American workers and his prison mates.

A contribution list has been sent you. You are one of the 15,000 addressed. Begin your DUTY AT ONCE. Send for another list as soon as the first one is filled with generous donations. Never say quits until the LIBERATION FUND contains enough thousands of dollars to make the haters of Debs understand that we mean business.

NOW THEN—UP AND AT IT!

ANNOUNCING-

THE BEST EDITION WE EVER ISSUED—that's what you will say of our special "FREE DEBS" number of the OHIO SOCIALIST.

It will be dated September 3rd. Orders must be in by August 30th. We can not guarantee to fill orders received after this date.

This special edition will be illustrated with cartoons and photo engravings. A large picture of Debs will appear upon the first page. Every line of contents will breathe our demands—LIBERATE DEBS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Order a hundred or more TODAY. Distribute them. You'll agree that this will be one good way to help free Debs and all the rest. Publicity is the need of the hour. Let's make the damnable acts of the capitalist class public. Let's educate the workers to know the hands against them.

PRICE $1.00 PER HUNDRED.

We will have to charge $1.00 per hundred for this edition. It will cost us much more to produce this special edition than it costs to get out our regular editions. But it will be worth it.

ORDER YOUR HUNDRED RIGHT NOW.

CAUTION: Orders for extra copies of the Ohio Socialist are received every week AFTER the edition is off the press. Only in certain instances can we fill such orders. If you want any of this special "FREE DEBS" edition, you will have to order them BEFORE August 30th.

Debs Goes to Prison

By DAVID KARSNER

"I suppose you are going up to say good-by to him before he goes."

"Oh, 'Gene Debs never goes out of Terry Hut but what he comes by this shanty and yells in, 'So long Bob, see you again.' He'll come by here to-night before he goes away. He won't be gone long, I'll bet."

That night just before train time, 'Gene Debs, his brother, Theodore, and I, were walking slowly to the station from Debs' home.

"Just a minute, boys," said Debs. "I want to stop at that shanty over there and say 'so lon' to Bob."

Strolling down Seventh street towards the center of the city's heart (Wabash avenue) an elderly man hove into sight. He looked to me as though he might be a retired wage worker, too old now, maybe, to work at whatever had been his trade. A butt of a cigar was gripped between his teeth, and a battered light felt hat dipped over one eye. His clothes hung upon his slender frame in a manner resembling nothing so much as a scarecrow's. I put the same questions to him. With some show of city pride after the manner of an elder citizen who has a speaking acquintance with all the local celebrities, my friend owned that he knew 'Gene Debs very well.

"I once worked for him," he vouchsafed, swelling up just a little. I asked what he had done for Debs.

"Oh, I tinkered round his porch and painted her up. Well, so 'Gene is leaving Terry Hut to-night for prison! Well, I'll be damned. That's tough, ain't it? Well, now, there was Don Roberts! Don laid these bricks in this street. Yes sir, he paved all this street you see here, and what did he get for it? Why, he got six years, that's what he got for it. Six years. Times ain't changed none, the more you do for people the more they soak you. Ain't it so? Yes, sir, Don Roberts 'done' six years at the 'pen.' That's what he got for paving these streets."

I now remembered that Don Roberts had been the mayor of the city some while back and was involved in, or said to be, in a graft scandal. He had served his term.

"What does Mr. Roberts think of 'Gene Debs?" I inquired.

"Fingers and toes with him," replied the old fellow. "You'll find Don down ther standing 'round the Terry Hut House, they all stand 'round there Saturday afternoons. Now I'll bet you anything that when 'Gene Debs come out of prison he and Don'll be thicker than ever."

"Do you know", I said, "some day Terre Haute will honor itself by erecting a huge monument to the memory of Debs?"

"Well, I dont know. Now we ain't much on monuments in Terru Hut. Did you see the Soldiers and Sailors monument down there in the park on your way up. Ain't that a hell of a looking thing? No, we don't go in much for monuments here in Terry Hut. This is a frontier town. We used to be wide open here, everything in full blast. By the way, mister, where do you come from?" I told him I had just arrived from New York. His eyes opened wider and he took a little gasp.

"Well, that must be a great city, eh? Wide open, I guess. What kind of politics have you got down there now?" I told him Tammany controlled the city.

"Oh! Wide open town, eh?" No, I said, the politicians were trying to make some show of respectability.

"Just like it is here in Terry Hut," he said with disgust.

"Well, you'll see Don down there hanging 'round the Terry Hut House. He'll tell you all you want to know about 'Gene Debs. I'll just go 'round and say good-by to 'Gene before he goes." The old wage worker slowly ambled off toward Debs' home to take his parting farewell.

Down at the Terre Haute House some leading citizens and politicians were standing in groups out on the pavement. Several iron rods that were holding up the awning that extended to the curb were bent in just about up to a man's shoulder, and several leading citizens were settled snugly against them. I went in the bar. It was crowded.

The man next to me was drinking slowly from a glass of beer. He wore striped trousers that were frayed at the heels, and a black coat that was green and shiny in the back and elbows. A greenish black braid ran all around it and on the cuffs. A high piccadilly collar with soiled flaps pinched his neck. He had a professional air about him.

We struck up a conversation about 'Gene Debs.

"Well, I should say I do know him! For twenty years, sir."

"What does Terre Haute think about Debs going to prison?" I ventured.

"Well, now, speaking for myself," he began, "I have known Debs for many years. I like him personally, but he's certainly got some cranky notions in his head." He gulped down the rest of his beer and ordered another.

"I'll tell you, I hope Debs goes to prison, and I hope he s-e-r-v-e-s—twenty-four hours." I was surprised.

"But why the twenty-four hours?"

"Just to prove to him and his followers that the law is bigger than he is." Some one nudged the doctor's arm and they strolled away to a stall in the bar room.

At the Terre Haute Tribune office I interviewed Mr. House, the city editor.

"Everybody in Terre Haute loves Debs," he said with feeling, "but many think he was mighty foolish to make that speech when he did. He had no right to do that. I guess the feeling in Terre Haute about Debs is somethink like this. Ninety-five per cent of the people here don't like his ideas, but they worship the man. They all love him. But there probably is not one man or woman in that ninety-five per cent but who would go to jail for 'Gene Debs if they could."

Further down on Wabash avenue where 'Gene and Theodore have their offices I came up to the janitor of the building.

"'Gene Debs ain't been here today," he said. "He's going to prison to-day. Didn't you see it in the papers? He'll be back soon, though, I guess." The last expression rang true with sincerity and hope for the future of Debs.

"I am not going to prison, but to victory," said Debs to me just before I left him in the afternoon.

In spite of the fact that on Saturday afternoon a committee representing the Terre Haute local of the Socialist Party and a delegation from the Terre Haute Central Labor Union called on him to get his permission to hold a demonstration that night, which Debs would not permit, there were at the Big Four railroad station more than 200 of the old guard, the faithful Comrades who would not let their 'Gene go away from them without a farewell and a last handshake.

Shortly after 9 o'clock Saturday night I went to the Debs home on 8th street, near Sycamore. Lights were shining throug the side windows of his sitting room. For some minutes I sat on the porch, not wishing to intrude before the moment Debs had requested me to come. Persons coming from the movies passed his home, and each said something in inaudible tones. Frequently I heard people say, "There is 'Gene Debs' home. They are taking him away to-night."

In the sitting room, furnished like any ordinary American home, sat Debs in an ample rocking chair, smoking a cigar. He might have just returned from a campaign trip. There was good nature everywhere, and Debs seemed to be the one least affected by the ordeal through which he was to pass in the few hours and days to come. Around him sat his brother, Theodore, Mrs. Debs, Arthur Bauer and Mrs. Bauer and daugter, Mrs. Debs' mother and one or two neighbors. On a table was placed a huge bunch of American Beauty roses. Mrs Flynn, an old washer-woman, had bought them out of the hard earned money received for washing clothes of the neighborhood.

Debs saw me looking at the flowers. He told me something about Mrs. Flynn.

"She is a Catholic," said Debs, "and every morning for many years she has prayed for me." The great and simple man blew a ring of smoke and smiled rather sadly.

"The back of the house resembles a horticultural hall," said Mrs. Debs, as she showed me the myriad flowers that had been brought to the house all day and evening. They were the gifts of Debs' neighbors, many of whom do not share his ideas, but who worshiped the man.

"Right up the street", said Debs, "lives a rich overall manufacturer. He has a big factory. Of course, he doesn't like the things I say about capitalism, and does not sympathize in any way with our views, but he is a splendid neighbor and was here to-day to say good-by."

"Over in that corner house," Debs moved from his chair and, going to the window, pointed across the street, "live the two Douglas girls, with their mother. Those girls have wept all day because I am going to prison." All the while Debs spoke impersonally. He might have been speaking of Bill Haywood or Emma Goldman, or any other individual in hard luck, yet loved by his fellow man.

"Well, Eugene, we had better start," said Mrs. Debs, rising to go.

"Yes, we don't want to miss our train," replied Debs, rising.

Theodore, who has been closer than a brother to Eugene, like Jonathan to David, went to the hat rack and helped 'Gene with his coat. Mrs. Debs' aged mother was weeping softly. 'Gene went over to her and patted her cheek. "It is all right, mother," he said with infinite tenderness, "it will come out all right in the end."

In front of the house there was an automobile to take the party to the station. Debs said he would rather walk, so Theodore and myself escorted him. It was five minutes' walk. Gathered on the sidewalk in front of the depot was the faithful old guard. They were miners, factory workers, some well dressed business men, all together there on the street, scarcely lighted, all talking and feeling in their hearts a sorrow which they could not fully express. 'Gene strolled right into the crowd. Instantly he was surrounded by a large group. Those who could not edge their way right up to Debs reached over the heads of the more fortunate ones and clutched at the coat sleeves.

Debs went from one to the other, speaking words of love and cheer. They represented, typically so, the great American labor movement. They were the ones who would gladly have gone to prison to serve Debs' sentence for him.

One big raw-boned miner worked through the crowd. He trust his gnarled hand into that of Debs' and tears flowed freely from his eyes. "We're with you, 'Gene," he sobbed, "by God, we're with you to the last man."

"I know it," said Debs, patting his cheek; "until the last drop we'll stand together, all of us. You know only by standing together can we win. You boys take care of the outside and I'll take care of the inside."

"Debs Goes to Prison" can be had for 25c in phamphlet form.—Order of Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave, Cleveland, O.

(Continued next week.)

Enclosed find money order to help free Debs. If the Ohio Socialist keeps up its good work we are sure to free him in a few months.—Glenn Finch.

Headlines in capitalist papers are funny. A recent one reads: "Knights of Columbus open Peace Convention—Will Wage Fight on Bolshevism."

Local Convoy, O. also throws its hat in the press fund ring this week. Comrade A. M. [illegible] sends us a check for $21.50 which was collected among the comrades. The Local [illegible] $5.00 of this amount from its treasury.

The O[illegible]
[illegible]

One Year $1.00 — [illegible] 50c Per [illegible] — [illegible]

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
[illegible] Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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EDITORS .... [illegible] / Alfred W[illegible]

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13th, 1919.

NEED OF STRAIGHT THINKING

An editorial in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of August 6th, entitled "Time for Straight Thinking" is a ludicrous example of the sort of 'straight thinking' that is done for the workers by capitalist hirelings and peddled to the workers daily in the press.

"America is in the midst of events so fraught with momentous possibilities that it behoves every one to take a firm grip on his judgement lest it go dangerously astray"—is the first three lines of this editorial. Having thought in a straight line thus far, the writer proceeds to flounder in a maze of exceedingly crooked lanes of reasoning.

Continuing, he says "There is nothing fundamentally unsound in conditions as they exist." The necessity for 'adjustments', he states are uquestionably in order.

So we have it from the hand of our master's hired men of the press. Of course no one is a sane state of mind supposes such editorial piffle is intended for the consumption of any except the workers. Editors of capitalist papers hold their jobs thru their ability to color the news of the day and to write such twaddle as this for the benefit of wages slaves. The bosses don't need such advise and counsel. They know their interests. They know that things as they are perfectly satisfactory to them.

"Nothing fundamentally unsound in conditions as they exist". No indeed, a mere "adjustment" is all that is needed. Let's take a little survey of America today and see if mere adjustmnts will remedy the evils that exist.'

Today, there are 100 strikes on in New York City alone and in almost every industrial center there are from one to ten. The number is growing daily.

Today, there are 5,000,000 underfed school children in the country.

Today, the entire stocks of food of the nation are held in the grip of giant corporations for speculation against the needs of the people.

We have just passed thru two of the most serious race wars in our history and the end is not yet.

Twenty-five hundred political prisoners are held in the capitalist bastiles, while daily the number of those demanding their release grows—and their demands fall upon deaf ears.

Capital and labor are girding on the armour of a coming conflict that shall make all previous one seem like a Sunday school picnic in comparison.

....All the necessities of life and happiness in this country are held by a small class of capitalist dictators who release them only at extortionate profits.

For twenty years the attempt has been made to curb the power of the robber class to exploit the people. Well meaning reformers of every hue have attempted by mere 'adjustments' to prevent and to break the hold of corporate greed. They have failed. Absolutely and utterly failed. Greater and greater combinations of capital have grown each year until today we have reached the point where revolution must take place of 'adjustments' that fail.

The need is for entirely different deal. The things which the people need, the people must control. All power of the capitalist class to exploit the people must be taken from them. All machinery of production and all natural resources must be placed in the hands of the producers for their use and enjoyment. In short, the world for the workers is the need of the day and that need must and will be fulfilled before the restless currnts of social life are stilled. No 'adjustments' are possible. Revolution alone, will satisfy the people.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

They are still in jail. Debs, Kate O'Hare and hundreds of other class was prisoners.

Why? There is just one answer. Because the democratic officials, meaning President Wilson and his advisers want them there. No possible excuse exists for their remaining longer in prison. No good cause is served thereby, no ends of justice or security are advanced.

It is within the power of President Wilson to set them free whenever he wishes. True, Wall Street has spoke. It has stated plainly that any consideration shown Debs would be looked upon as bearish upon the situation. Wall Street considers Debs a bad labor leader. And so he is for Wall Street.

Perhaps President Wilson has heard the voice of Wall Street. Perhaps he does not dare to act against its spoken will. Perhaps he feels that Debs ought to be set free, but lacks the courage to say the word.

This is the feeling that is developing in the country. Whether is is true or not, it is gaining headway. There is but one way in which it can be satisfactorily disclamed. That is for President Wilson to say the word that shall swing open the prison doors.

It will require courage to do that, we are aware—in the face of Wall Street. Has Mr. Wilson the courage? The responsibility for Debs remaining in jail is upon Mr. Wilson's shoulders.

A HEALTHY SIGN.

One of the healthiest signs of the times is the inclination of large groups of labor to break the leading strings that bind them to their 'leaders'. In a number of instances the rank and file have broken with their officials and walked out on strike without the consent of the union officials. Its and old story of union officials holding the members in check, attempting to keep them in leash. Lately it seems the rank and file are growing weary of their burdens and attempt to cut themselves clear at the first opportunity.

It's a healthy sign. It means that the workers are learning to do their own thinking independent of their officials who in many instances are out of touch with the workers. Of course the bosses howl about the sacredness of contracts etc. To our minds, the welfare of the worker is a damned sight more sacred than any contracts with his exploiter. The boss naturally wants several months notice of a coming strike, so he can prepare to defeat it. Of course he will feel peeved if his workers fail to give him advance notice.

Also there is a lesson in these manifestations which is clearly discernible. Conditions for the worker are becoming unbearable. Labor is growing desperate. The dilatory methods of the usual run of union officials are growing obnoxious. The rank and file are learning what they want and they choose the shortest cut to it.

[illegible] AGAIN—Pay Dues—NOW!

STILL TIME

Don't miss hitting sledge hammer blows at capitalism by failing to place a municipal ticket in the field. There is still time. Every Ohio Local should make a campaign this fall such as will make it feared by all retainers of the master class.

Tom Clifford adressed a mass meeting at Steubenville last Sunday, held under the direction of the Russian branch.

$20.25 literature order from Moline, Ill., attests to the popularity of the Ohio movement.

H. A. Hedden is busy organizing in Minnesota. He is also busy taking subcriptions for the Ohio Socialist.

Local Frement has made a definate application for a speaker. A new local but an exceedingly busy one, is Fremont.

Scott Wilkins spoke for Local Canton at Nimisilla Park last Sunday.

A letter from L. E. Conaway, formerly secretary of Local Crooksville enlivened the days' duties recently. Local Crooksville has been inactive for some months. Comrade Conaway will act as the alarm clock to the sleeping comrades — with plenty of repeats.

"Crimes of the Bolsheviki" still continues a popular pamphlet. Hundreds of them still leaving this office. 20 for a dollar.

But "Debs Goes to Prison" would be just as popular, if the comrades would only try a sample. Send for a copy. Each 25c. Ten or more at 18c. each.

One hundred "Crimes" to E. C. Showers of Mansfield. The only way. Everybody buys them.

Baltimore, Md., enters our hive of busy bees with a substantial literature order.

Debs pictures selling fast. Get yours before they are all gone.

Sold 20 "Crimes" in an hours time Send me 20 more. Shall give the profit to the press fund.—J. W. Sprigg, Weston, W. Va.

[illegible] ritory.

A bunch of "Crimes" went sailing away down into Cedar Keys, Florida, the other day. And another bundle to Davenport, Ia.

U. G. [illegible] of Columbus suggests that we cease selling literature at a profit. He wants all literature sold at cost of production. What do you think about it?

Local Findlay is staging a "come back." A. P. Kuhn is laboring diligently to reorganize.

Dues stamps sales are better, thank you. Shows that locals are going after their members in bad standing. Next—your local.

A thousand copies of the Ohio Socialist a week is an order Local Akron contemplates placing with us as soon as they begin the campaign, states John C. Chase.

WRITE THEM TODAY

We have three Ohio comrades in prison. Write them a letter. Send them a postal card. Address them as follows: A. L. Hitchcock, Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga. A. A. Hennacy, County Jail, Delaware, Ohio. A. Schwartzenfeld, Stark County Workhouse, Canton, Ohio.

E. R. Gebhart of Local Van Buren is making things hot in his community. He has challenged a preacher to debate. In fact he is a perpetual debater and no job of conversion is to large or too small for him to tackle.

AKRON MUNICIPAL TICKET

Mayor—A. C. Holloway.

Councilmen—John Hansen, J. D. Cooper, J. Koons, C. W. Mantell, S. Clinker, B. Haase, N. Riley, Israel Myers

Municipal Judge—J. H. Thomas.

School Board—F. W. Hoffmyer, Mrs. Ella Wagar, Mrs. Marguerite Prevey, Mrs. C. C. Stoftler.

"We just raised $28.50 the other day to square up our indebtedness. We have it about wiped out now. The next drive will be for picnic funds and the press fund." Nellie Lescher, Tiffin, Ohio.—A Local that is sufficiently active to go into debt is not a lost local. A local that is sufficiently active to pay its indebtedness will be with us until we win.

Chas. Baker will work two weeks

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Socialist Party in Springfield has nominated candidates for the City Commission. Springfield workers should vote for workers' candidates. The two workers' candidates are:

Alex Connell.
John A. Rehm.

Polish comrades at Fairpoint and Maynard, O. have just organized locals of six charter members each. All members subscribe for the O. S. for three months each. Good luck to the new locals.

Comrade Anton Zilich, of Bulger, Pa. is responsible for the receipt of two yearlies from that city recently. We hope there are still good prospects for subs there.

With a renewal and also a new one comrade F. D. Lowe makes his regular visit this week. His chief stamping grounds appear to be Buena Vista and Riverside, Va.

Comrade Geo. H. Shepp of E. Liverpool, O. keeps the comrades on the mailing list. Two is the number this week.

Comrade Steckel of Tiffin remits four dollars and a half for subs this week. Comrade Steckel is always at it.

Local Neffs, O. takes in five new members who now receive the O. S. for a regular weekly visitor.

Max Hauswalt of Joliet, Ill., former Clevelander, remits $3.50 for four subs. Our Joliet list is growing very satisfactorily.

Comrade M. J. Courtney keeps our Penns Creek, Pa. list growing. This is a new town on our list and we are proud of the start we have made.

And still another new town on our list is Phelps, Wis. Thanks to comrade Matt Sallman two subs starts us up in business in this city.

Comrade Geo. F. Parson sends in two subs from Beckley, W. Va.

Comrade Paul Luhn of Cincinnati, O. sends in three subs for a half year each.

Now we know what's going to happen. Comrade A. C. Holloway of Akron remits ten dollars for as many yearly sub. cards. Of course they are for sale to the unlightened. Comrade Holloway will see to that.

In the Trenches

Comrade [illegible] is again at the front with a list of five subs.

Twelve yearlies from comrade D. D. Harper of Huntington, W. Va. causes us to sit up and take notice that some comrades are still popping away with the same vigor as ever. They are to help get the capitalist goat, he says.

Comrade Mrs. W. P. Calkins of Weed, N. Mex., sends another sub for 6 months. She states that one at a time seems to be her limit but she never lets a prospect pass without a challenge Sticking to it always wins in the end.

Two yearlies from comrade C. C. Bazard of Youngstown, O., shows he is keeping up a constant fire upon the enemy lines.

Comrade O. C. Whitehead of Wabash, Ind sends in a dollar for a years trial of the O. S. We hope he likes the first dose.

The Ohio Socialist will be a weekly visitor to the headquarters of the So. Slavic Br. at Greensburg, Pa. hereafter.

After reading the O. S. for 6 months comrade Fred Meyer of Lorain renews and sends another new one. Good scheme. Try it comrade.

Comrade Mary Miller of Columbus, O. sends in two half yearlies.

A trial sub is what comrade Geo. A. Prindle of Hermiston, Ore. requests. We accept the challenge.

Again we welcome comrade J. Rehm of Springfield, O. Two yearlies for him.

Another booster at Springfield is comrade F. O. Mechlin. One yearly adds another to his record.

Comrade Daniel Birgers of Chicago joins the Boosters. Three new ones is his first effort in behalf of the O. S. We invite him to keep up the pace.

Two subs from Ft. Dodge, Ia. this week. Nothing pleases us as much as breaking into a new town. We hope our readers there, comrades Jordison and Gradara, will help the list to grow in their town.

Comrades Frank of Beardstown, Ill. are to hand with two yearlies.

Another new town on our list is Dalbo, Minn. Comrade Mrs. Swan Anderson is responsible for this. She sends in two yearly subs as a start.

Comes again a booster who is never at it. He's comrade Alex Sherbin if Sun. Va. Three yearlies makes us warm to this place.

Comrade Edwin Blank is on the job again. Eight half yearlies keeps the rust from gathering on his record.

Comrade Mary G. Waters of E. Liverpool, O., sends in five new ones.

We have received more single subscriptions of late weeks than usual. Just why, we can't say, but it proves that when a copy of the Ohio Socialist falls into new hands it results in a new reader. So we say to our boosters, keep up the work of passing around the O. S. Show it to those who are not readers. Then get their subs. Eventually they must get acquinted with socialism. Why not now? Yes, why not BETTER now?

Mind Your Own Business

By [illegible]

No. II.

The article printed under this head in the last issue has caused much comment—of which I am exceedingly glad. The only adverse criticism was to the effect that the "title was too abrupt and severe." Well, I have always found that a sleeping person is more readily aroused by an abrupt noise than by soft soothing sound of a slumber song. Moreover, the title says just what is means—MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS.

To all members of the Socialist Organization the SOCIALIST MOVEMENT is—or should be!— the main business of life. And it must be regarded as BUSINESS. Too many are prone to regard it as an agreeable substitute for what we are pleased to term "religion;" a sort of pleasurable, emotional exaltation to be indulged in on stated occasions. And when the euthusiasm generated by a particularly appealing speech or article "wears off" they lapse into inactivity until the next dose of stimulant is administrated.

Any organization, even that of the most primitive form of church organization, must maintain some sort of machinery of organization. To do this requires the sustaining force of human energy. The application of this force must be in time labor,—and that which, at present, to a certain extent represents both—money.

Read that over again: Time, Labor and Money. And this sustaining force in—a democatic—or socialistic organization must be supplied as large a degree as possible, by EACH MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION.

One Local of which I know has a nominal, dues paying membership of several dozen—And a business meeting of this Local is considered "fine" if there are as many as EIGHT present! (A quorum is five.) Another Local reports a membership of quite a bit over a hundred—And the average attendance at business meetings is TWELVE; and not more than one fourth of the "goodstanding" membership comes out to a propaganda meeting! And the only time these "Socialists" come out of their lethargy is when some exitement is started right under their noses by some disappointed would-be "boss" accusing some succesful would-be "boss" of having accomplished his purpose of becoming "boss!" Then some smooth one quiets the troubled waters with the old, hullaby,—"It's only a matter of personalities," and they all go back to sleep.

Is there any place for a "boss" in a genuine Socialist Organization?

Do it for Debs. Buy a bundle of the "Free Debs" edition. Order now.

WIN FIRST PLACE.

Honors for first place in the FREE DEBS campaign were won by Leopold Hoffman, Glenn E. Finch, S. Linzawitsky, L. O. Rigby, Wm. Greter, J. B. Sanders, Lee Gilliam, D. B. Dale, E. Kansol, J. N. Wallace, Daniel Berger, Robt Kerr, D. Handerson, Frank Baxa.

Help liberate Debs. Distribute 100 of the "Free Debs" edition of the Ohio Socialist.

A Salary Raise

To the members of the Socialist Party of Ohio.

Comrades: In last week's Ohio Socialist appeared an article by the State Secretary informing the membership of the referendum on the State Convention's proceedings. We are told in this article that of the two most important measures to be voted upon, one is the question of raising the State Secretary's salary to $45.00 per week. Now, I think myself that this is an important measure and should be given a most thoro consideration by every member before he votes upon it.

I have discussed this matter with several comrades and the only reasons so far advanced by those who favor the raise, are (1) A mechanic gets as much or more than $45 per week. (2) A man can not support a family on less than this amount.

Let us examine the first reason advanced. The modern union work week is 44 hours. This means that for a mechanic to receive $45 per week, he must get above $1.00 per hour. How many do? Let us see. In the building trades the masons and bricklayers do, but,—they work about eight months in a year. Carpenters get 85 cents and work about the same time. Plumbers get a dollar an hour and more sometimes, but their work is never steady. Machinists are getting 60c to 80 cents. The best electricians, if they work steadily thru the year average more than $45 per week. Printers, who are highly skilled mechanics, only get $35 to $40. Railroad engineers, the aristocracy of the railroad industry, don't average $45 per week without putting in a great deal of overtime, and their lives are in constant jeopardy. It is very evident, when one examines the facts, that it is only the very highest skilled workers who receive an average of $45 per week throout the year. Many may receive it part of the time, but strikes, lockouts, over supply of labor, etc. always cut down the average.

On the other hand a large majority of the Socialist Party members are not more than semiskilled and many are non-skilled workers. They are receiving from twenty to thirty dollars per week. And a large number of them are supporting families, too. If they can support their families on $30 per week and less, why can't the State Secretary support his, on $35. By what law of ethics are the members of the Socialist Party bound to give greater attention to, and feel more solicitude for the family of an official than their own receive.

Again, a well paid, comfortable, officialdom makes for conservation and reaction. An official who feels secure in his employment, whose children are well fed and generally well cared for, NATURALLY loses touch with the rank an file who are constantly worried by all the vexations that harass the life of a wage slave. There is within their lives a constant cause for a desire to overthrow the existing order. Therefore, they remain revolutionary, while their well paid officials become conservative and reactionary, for the fundamental cause, for the desire to change has been removed from their lives. This is the history of all the reactionary unions. It is the history of the Socialist Party of New York, where the organization has been rent asunder by the life and death struggle of the rank and file against the reactionary officialdom. The Algernon Lees and the Morris Hillquits lived and waxed fat on the life blood of the rank and file. They constructed a machine to prevent the rank and file from expressing themselves. This worked for a time, but the Russian Revolution came along and the slumbering membership awoke and found that they were absolutely powerless to function as a revolutionary organization and carry their message to the workers. After seven months of organized fighting against the officialdom they are not yet able to function as they should.

Comrades, take a lesson from the bitter experience of the Socialists of New York. Don't set the precedent by raising the State Secretary's salary. If you raise one official above yourselves, they'll all demand it. Soon you will have built up an officialdom which will be a barrier to your own progress.

Let the reward of your officials be the joy they get from the feeling that they are working for the cause. If they are sincere Socialists, that's all they'll ask. If they're not, we don't want them.

Over in Russia, struggling Russia, where international capitalist imperialism is hurling all of the forces at its command against our comrades who are so bravely strivng to establish the workers' commonwealth, no official, not even Lenine or Trotzky gets more than the man who uses a pick and showel. They could get more but they don't ask it. They are real revolutionists. They mean always to be with the rank and file—to live, to fight, to suffer and die as the masses do. When they sign "Yours in Comradeship" it has a meaning, and that meaning is expressed in their actions.

Is our state secretary worth moer to us than Lenine or Trotzky are to our Russian oComrades? If not, then why should we raise him above ourselves? Comrades, vote against this proposition Cast a vote to keep your officialdom on your level. Cast a vote for a revolutionary organization.

Here's to your wisdom

John W. Marshall.

Publicity is the need of the hour. That's why we are issuing a "Free Debs" edition of the Ohio Socialist. Only $1.00 the hundred.

Yes, we are with you. Enclosed find money order for the Liberation Fund. Comrade Debs has stood the acid test and has upheld what he believes to be right, even at the expense of his own life. It would be a burning shame, an Debs to die behind prison bars.—D. B. everlasting disgrace upon the laboring class of this country if they allow Dale.

But then, the firsts will agree that in this campaign, there shall be no lasts. We shall be swamped with applications to join the Army of Liberators. Send in your application today.

Do it for all the rest. Only $1.00 for a hundred "Free Debs" edition of the Ohio Socialist.

THE JUNE ROLL CALL

Here is the June roll call. Thirty locals and branches reported out of a total of more than a hundred locals in the state.

The locals reporting show a very satisfactory increase in membership. New members for the party can be secured if the comrades will only explain the need of organization to the workers are daily in touch with.

Arm yourself with a application card —or a dozen. Try for several new members before the week is out. Also, if the name of your local is not in this June state constitution provides that every local SHALL report monthly to the state office.

Locals	Members in Good Standing	Members on Roll	New Members
Akron	272	405	—
Ashtabula Finnish	158	170	5
Ashland	4	5	—
Belmont Co.	293	348	19
Cincinnati	415	680	—
Clark Co.	27	34	1
Columbus	109	149	—
Cuyahoga Co.	3216	3921	104
Dola	17	17	6
E. Liverpool	53	103	5
Fairport Finnish	62	68	2
Fremont	17	20	2
Galion	44	44	1
Hamilton	230	305	3
Irondale	13	13	—
Kenmore	53	66	1
Marysville	5	5	—
Massillon	46	66	—
Mt. Vernon	23	23	—
Norwood	16	30	—
Piqua	73	87	—
Richland Co.	51	73	—
Sandusky	34	39	—
Toledo	400	536	12
Toledo German	23	31	—
Wadsworth	12	16	—
Warren	36	40	2
Warren Ukrain	11	—	—
Yorkville	25	31	2
anesville	26	37	—

TO OHIO SECRETARIES

Selling them? It's the special national convention assessment stamp we refer to. You DO WANT the Ohio delegates to attend the national convention, don't you? Well, they wont be in a position to attend unless you sell the special national convention assessment stamps. Make an extra effort this coming week. Reach every member. Make returns to the state office at once.

TO OHIO MEMBERS

Buying them? It's the special national convention assessment stamp we refer to. The coming national convention will be the most important in the history of the Socialist Party. Momentous questions will come up for settlement and Ohio delegates want to be present to help settle them right. Buy one or more special convention assessment stamps. Get them from your secretary. Do it today.

YOUR LOCAL - WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under this Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First Sunday of Each Month at 2 P. M.

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

LOCAL KENMORE
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
[illegible] HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
[illegible] HALL
Cor. [illegible] and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the [illegible] Tuesday after the [illegible] Sunday. [illegible]

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

LOCAL YOUNGSTOWN
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 137 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

LOCAL CANTON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every 2nd and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 P. M.
Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 P. M.

MASONIC HALL
164 E. [illegible] St.
[illegible]
[illegible]

Proclamation to the [illegible]

BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE — SOCIALIST PARTY

This meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party occurs under extraordinary circumstances. Elected by the votes of the membership—overwhelmingly— it is compelled to meet without the co-operation of the old party administration.

The old N. E. C., overwhelmingly repudiated on referendum, usurped power and attempted to prevent the new N. E. C. from functioning. This usurpatory action, together with the expulsion and suspension of more than 35,000 revolutionary comrades from the party, is a desperate move to retain control of the party for moderate, counter-revolutionary Socialism.

The old N. E. C. is dead; it throttled the will of the revolutionary masses in the party; you comrades, must act; we meet simply to provide you the opportunity to act and assert your supremacy.

At this moment of crisis—of crisis in the world Capitalism and of Socialism—action is imperative. Action is imperative against Capitalism and against moderate Socialism in the party.

Your N. E. C., accordingly, acting under mandate of the party membership convened in session at Chicago, July 26-27.

It met to rally our revolutionary forces for the struggle against Capitalism.

It met to rally the party members for the definite assertion of Communist Socialism in the American movement.

It met as a revolutionary N. E. C. expressing the revolutionary sentiments in the party.

Your N. E. C., by unanimous decision of the members in session decided:

1.—To oust National Executive Secretary Germer, who refuses to recognize your N. E. C. as the organ of the party.

2.—To re-instate the expelled State organizations of Michigan and Massachusetts, and the suspended Language Federation restoring to the party, with all rights, more than 35,000 comrades.

3.—To re-organize the Socialist Party as a Communist Party, in harmony with our affiliation with the Communist International.

4.—To call upon the members, regardless of the party-wrecking old N. E. C., to rally to the support of the class war prisoners.

5.—To consider seriously and comprehensively problems of organization shamefully neglected by the old party administrations.

6.—To request the co-operation of the National Council of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party (and its official organ, "The Revolutionary Age") as an organized expression of the revolutionary sentiments of the party.

7.—To assume full control of the Emergency National Convention on August 30, the old N. E. C. and its executive secretaries leaving no authority to organize or postpone this Convention. We will shortly inform you of the place where the Convention will meet, together with the roster of delegates. Our temporary executive secretary will call the convention to order.

* * *

The purpose of the old N. E. C. is to retain control for moderate petty bourgeois Socialism as against the proletarian Socialism of the Left Wing. It sabotaged the election; it expelled and suspended more than 35,000 members (and threatens to expel more) in order to control the Convention. This must be prevented; and your N E C., accordingly, assumes full control of this Convention—the most important in the party's history—in order that it shall actually become an expression of the revolutionary Socialism in party. No postponment of the Convention by the old N. E. C. must be recognized by the party; no pleas of lack of money must be accepted; your N. E. C. assumes full financial responsibility. At this moment of crisis in the world of Capitalism and of Socialism, to abandon the Convention is treason to the revolutionary proletariat.

On the issues of the Convention, your N. E. C. adopts the following declaration:

The movement which culminated in the calling of the Emergency National Convention of August 30 did not have its origin in a conflict over administrative actions of the party executive committee; its origin was a demand by large sections of the party membership for a reformulation of the party tactics and a restatement of its principles in harmony with the revolutionary Socialist practice of the Bolsheviki of Russia.

Local after local, in resolutions and demonstrations urged the National Executive Committee to call a convention, great masses of the membership declared their adherence to the new revolutionary principles, but the National Executive Committee, the representative of moderate Socialism—the Socialism of Scheidemann and Kerensky—acting as self-appointed guardians of this party, refused to accede to the demand of the membership for a convention.

It was only after the membership itself had taken the matter out of the hands of the National Executive Committee and had endorsed the convention by an overwhelming vote, that the convention was finally called.

In their effort to maintain their rule of the party the moderate Socialist of the Party National Executive Committee did not hesitate to disrupt the organization. Members have been expelled and suspended wholesale in order to influence the vote of the referendum election, and to give the old National Executive Committee and moderate Socialism control of the convention and the party. These reactionary and treacherous acts have injected into the present party situation a bitter struggle for control of the party organization and the danger exists that this factional struggle over democracy against autocracy within the organization may overshadow the original purpose of the call for a national convention—to reorganize the Socialist Party of the U. S. on the basis of the Communist Socialism which is sweeping through the ranks of the Proletarian movement of the world and everywhere bringing new inspiration and courage to the workers in their struggle for emancipation. The old National Executive Committee consciously inspired this process by attempting to refer to the convention the controversial questions over administrative actions, which its disruptive tactics engendered.

Recognizing this danger we call upon the membership to elect representatives to the Emergency National Convention, not merely on the basis of settling questions arisen out of the reactionary administrative action of the old National Executive Committee—the issue is not party democracy as against party autocracy, but Revolutionary Socialism against Moderate Socialism—but on the basis of reorganization the party for the achievement of Communist Socialism.

The action of the membership in this question has already been indicated in the overwhelming and all but unanimous endorsement be referendum vote of affiliation with the Communist Party (Bolsheviki) of Russia and the Communist Labor Party (Spartacans) of Germany and other Communist parties of Europe. The work of the Emergency National Convention of August 30, will be to re-organize the Socialist Party on the basis of the Communist Socialist principles and tactics outlined in the declaration of the Communist International. Out of the Emergency National Convention come the Communist Party of the United States.

"To carry out this purpose we adopt the following program:

I.—We re-affirm the call for the Emergency National Convention to be held on August 30, in Chicago, and call upon all party units to send delegates irrespective of any action which the usurping members of the former National Executive Committee may take.

II.—The convention will be held under the direction of this committee and the Executive Secretary elected by it will make up the roster of delegates and will call the convention to order.

III.—We call upon all sections of the party expelled or suspended by the reactionary Executive Committee and re-instated by this committee, to send delegates as provided in the rules [illegible] of party procedure.

IV.—We call upon all party units expelled by state or local organizations to take such action, in accordance with their local rules, as will insure their representation.

The Left Wing is simply the expression of revolutionary Socialism in our party. It is a legitimate movement expressing the mass revolutionary sentiment of the party—legitimately organized to awaken the members to the necessity of Communist Socialism.

The party has, in referendum, (also suppressed by the old N. E. C.) overwhelmingly accepted affiliation with the Communist International.

This acceptance of the Bolshevik-Spartacan Communist International imposes the obligation for transforming the principles and tactics of the Socialist Party in accord with the Communist International—to build the Communist Party of the United States, the constituent elements of which are the revolutionary masses in our party.

You cannot, comrades, brook any compromise of this issue. You must act, and act uncompromisingly as an integral part of the Communist International.

The Communist Party in every nation is rallying the revolutionary proletariat against Capitalism and Imperialism. Hearkening to the inspiration of the Communists of the First International and of the Paris Commune, and answering the call of the Communists of Russia, Hungary and Germany, the Communist Party calls the proletariat to the final struggle.

Comrades, history calls to you! We must challenge Capitalism; we must rally the proletariat for the Communist struggle, in accord with our own conditions.

The Socialist Party is hampered in its activity. But August 30, in the Chicago Convention, will mark the end of the Left Wing controversy. Revolutionary Socialism will control. You will crush the moderates. You will act! You will transform our party into a Communist Party, to express the mass struggle of the proletariat.

Then—action! Then—the revolutionary struggle!

We must go to the proletariat. We must build our movement anew We must get the masses in our party—and answer the Communist call for action.

There are 30,000,000 American wage-workers—the force of potential revolution. Our chief task is to awaken and organize these proletarian masses, wage the working class struggle.

It is our determination—as it is yours, comrades—to act on problems of organization. We shall, as conditions allow, develop and unify our means of action; we shall systematically develop our press under party ownership, establish a party-owned publishing house, a party school for agitators, and a comprehensive lecture bureau. We shall develop the necessary technique to get your call for revolutionary action to the masses of the American proletariat.

The final struggle is coming. Our deeds in the days to come shall proletarian history. Comrades—prepare!

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY

Marguerite Prevey, Fred Harwood, Louis C. Fraina, C. F. Ruthenberg, Edward Lindgren, L. E. Katterfeld, Wm. Bross Lloyd, H. M. Wicks, committeemen.

ALFRED WAGENKNECHT,
Executive Secretary Pro. Tem.

Comrade J. W. Sprigg of Weston, W. Va. has hit upon a scheme to make the press fund grow that works both ways. He sells socialist pamphlets and turns the profit into the press fund. Just now he is disposing if the second order of Crimes of the Bolsheviki. Can you beat that? You're invited to try.

Local Seneca County, O. makes remittance of eleven dollars, being the second one from this Local and totalling $27.00 in all. Local Seneca County is using the Press fund lists in the work of collecting funds. Perhaps that is one reason the comrades get such generous lists.

A [illegible]

[illegible] capitalism in the saddle by any means, be it the law, the courts or militarism.

I had been successful and the league was in fine working order. We had the entire Capitalist Press back of us from the big city daily to the smallest country weekly, as well as all the leading magazines from the Saturday Evening Toast and Lady's Home Journal to the Literary Digest. Some we had to pay hard cash to; others saw the point and were patriotic enough to do their duty to themselves free of charge while a few had to be whipped into line by one of the various means at our disposal. I saw to it personally that we had agents in every labor organization as well as in the lodges of secret orders, two of which orders were under our entire control, namely the National Motory Club and the Ancient Order of Hod Carriers.

These two organizations could be depended upon to carry out any plan the league suggested be it the conviction a brave labor leader on a trumped up charge, instigating a raid on a peaceful Socialist meeting by a band of rowdies or corrupting legislatures into passing un-constitutional laws. By means best known to ourselves we controled the churches so that people learned to belive it wrong to steal a bottle of milk for a starving baby, but right and proper to charge two dollars for a bottle of milk if the league gave it's consent to the milk trust.

We passed all kinds of laws that would never pass a second reading at the hands of Jesus but we had to control the agitators some way. It might have been best to hang every one that even looked like an agitator, we did hang one, but on a referendum vote we found that a majority of the league was afraid hanging all would not work out well. So it was decided to have all foreigners who were not tamee enough to eat out of our hands, deported as anarchists, even if we had to perjure our highest officials to get away with it. As for the natives, we put them in prison for life. for life.

Well things were going pretty well under by brainy management. It began to look like we capitalists were good for the saddle for another fifty years. But as usual the unexpected happened. A measely miserable, insignificant cigarmaker whose entire weight did not amount to one hundred pounds, got on idea that cleaned up the National Screwery League and finally put all us capitalists to work in the coal mines. He went about the country agitating. We soon had him sentenced to a thousand years in prison, but that did not help us any, his idea was not sent to prison with him, but like John Brown's soul, went "marching on."

We were in the midst of a newspaper campaign against Russia. The situation was alarming. They had the best form of Government in Russia ever man heard of, and if we let them alone the people would soon find out and the whole world would want The Soviet form of government. That would never do. So we hired the most able liars to prepare matter for the press, such as tales of starvation, cruel, murders, socialization of woman etc. We just about had the fool public hypnotized and would soon have been at war with Russia which would have meant a draft of ten million men and millions of billions in profits, when this miserable insignificant cigarmaker let his idea lose on us. I heard of him promptly and went to a meeting where he spoke. He did not say much nor did he say it nicely, but his idea took hold at once. He was the last speaker of four and his words were about as follows:

Well, I am glad of the opportunity to say a few words to people who have the intelligence to get out and try to nd a better way to live. Whether most of you have intelligence enough to profit by a better way when you see it is a question. From what I have seen of the average American I have [illegible] it will be easy for the profiteers to start war on Russia.

We are not at war with Russia and at the present moment have no cause for war, yet our soldiers are in Russia trying to establish the reign of Kolchak, an understudy of the former Czar, against the wishes of the Russian people, who are building up the very best form of government ever heard of. Just a little more of this poisoning of the minds of the people and the schemers will bring pressure on Congress to declare war on Russia. What does that mean to you? Think a minute; what does that mean to you. It means that ten to fifteen million men will be drafted. If not you then your brother or son or father or husband. And if not you personally, there is one thing that you will have to face. That is the consequences of such a war. You will not live long enough to see the end of taxes caused by the war just closed. But our burdens, if we get into war with Russia, will be multiplied a thousand fold. Believe me, this war with Russia will come just as sure as you sitting there, if you do not stop it. Now one of you of course cannot stop it, nor all who are here. But the people of this country can if enough of them have sense enough to carry out my idea.

The Press which should be the guardian and protector of the country and the people is a foul prostitute who betrays them. There can be no other reason for these monstrous lies about Russian than to poison the peoples' minds enough to make war possible. Now my idea is to make the press depend on the people. Make it depend on the people and it will not dare publish such monstrous lies and get the nation into war. The press does not now depend on the people for its existance. It depends for big profits on its advertisers. Stop buying advertised goods as far as you can. You may not be able to do this entirely, but you can to some degree. Get the habit and keep it up for life. Agitate the idea among your friends to the utmost. You do not violate any law as you have a perfect right to patronize whom you please and you do not advocate a boycott against a named individual. Go to it, stick to it with all your might and pass it on and on.

The advertisers will soon learn of it. For a little while they will bluff but soon they will stop adverstising in the press, knowing that it hurts instead of helps business. The Press will howl itself hoarse, threathen and what-not all of no avail, it will have to change front for having lost its revenue from adverticers it will have to look to its readers solely for support. Knowing this it also will know that it must come clean for when its readers quit, it must quit."

I left the hall studying; it would never do to let that sort of a thing go on. In due time we had the miserable agitator sent to prison by the combined grace of the Espionage and Enemy Trading Acts. However, we had no way of arresting his idea. We had a number of laws passed promptly to counter-act the effect of the idea, but somehow it got ahead of us. Everywhere people were advertising and carrying out the Advertisers boycott. We sent over a hundred thousand to prison and fined a million but it did no good. The advertisers dropped the press and found other and less expensive means of publicity. Several large firms who persisted in standing by the Press lost their entire trade. We tried subsidizing the Press, but the large publications demanded such an exorbitant figure for their further services, we found it impossible to meet their demand. With the Press no longer under our control it was impossible to pull off the war against Russia. The cost of living kept climbing. The discharged soldiers could not find employment. Suddenly—in a day—a revolution took place. It was a peaceful but thorough revolution and a Soviet form of government was established. We tried to start a counter revolution of course but all capitalists were promptly arrested and condemned for life to labor in the coal mines.

* * *

One day a heavy rock fell on my leg while at work. The pain was so intense I screamed—that brought my valet to my bedside who awakened me with "Did you call, sir." I was wet with sweat and I found myself covered with blood. The dream had made me sweat blood.

[illegible] News.

[illegible]

Dr. Max Levien, Bavarian Communist leader, is said to have been arrested while trying to escape to Italy.

Now what do you think of that! Gompers pleads to give labor more. He must be wanting to make a name for himself as a radical.

The rail clerks have joined the railroad brotherhoods in a threat to strike unless their wages are raised or the cost of living lowered. Verily, these are restless times, even among the conservative workers. All because the stomach must be fed.

All of which leads us to remark that the howl about high food prices by the capitalist press still continues. And howling is as far as they'll get you. You'll have to do it yourself if you want to get enough to eat.

Too bad, dozens of American girls who married foreign nobles are now penniless princesses. Their hubbies have become plain "misters" and all color has gone out of life for them.

Railroad shop employes are on strike. It's nation wide. More wages demanded. A. F. of L. officials, who counseled employes to remain at work, were not obeyed.—Golly, that's going some.

A meatless week is urged to lower living costs. Don't eat at all is a more revolutionary action.—Yes it is!

There you have it! The cat is out of the bag! The papers of August 5th inform us that "fuel dealers, fearing that the constantly mounting prices will bring the American people to the point of violence during the coming winter, are urging restoration of fuel control by government."

These same fuel dealers are urging the dear people to buy their coal now. Well, how can they when they have not the dollars to buy it with. Will those fuel dealers who will trust the needy dear people for about ten years please send us their names. We will sell them lots of coal!

The days of three, four, five and ten percent wage increases seems to be but a memory. The Chicago street car men demanded nearly 100 percent increase and now the post office clerks demanding a 75 percent increase. What kind of times are we living in, anyway?

The International Labor Congress, meeting at Amsterdam, demands that the blockade against Russia be lifted.

Corn speculators lost a half a billion last week. We wonder who found it?

First Bela Kuhn alarmed Paris because he and his communist regime would not abdicate. And now that it's claimed he has and the Roumanian army is in control where Bela Kun once reigned, Paris is again alarmed. What do we want, anyway?

The Cincinnati base ball team is nicknamed the "Reds". Now, isn't that against law and order.

The Prince of Wales is on his way to this continent. Hats off!

Greek has met Greek. At the International Trades Union Congress at Amsterdam Legion of the German delegation told Gompers he was an aid to the capitalists and Gompers [illegible]

[illegible] back, saying that Lenin had [illegible] the [illegible]. And [illegible] the work.

Raymond Robins told the Ad Club in San Francisco that: "Europe is without faith in the present organization of society." "The ruin of Russia is not peculiar to Russia. It comes from all Europe. Russia is an evidence of the failure of the state, church and the great employers to provide security for the masses of the people."

U. S. Attorney Palmer has told district attorneys what to do to proceed against those profiteers who are hoarding food. If Palmer will go to see Debs he will get better advice than he gives.

The New York police force has organized into a union, it is claimed. No officers above sergeants and detectives are allowed membership. Wage increases will be demanded.

Strike and Riots tie up Brooklyn, N. Y. Transit service suspended. Mobs wreck eight cars. There are 100 strikes in progress in New York City at the present time.

Labor troubles grow in Great Britain. With the Yorkshire strike still unsettled, the baker's strike continuing, a number of minor strikes in progress the dockers threatening to strike in sympathy with the police who are on strike in protest against the police bill which denies their right to organize, and the possibility of another big railroad strike, the situation in England is again announced as "threatening" by the newspapers. Threatening to whom.

Street car traffic is suspended in Muskegon, Mich. Strike on. Scores of cars have been tipped over by sympathizers of the street car men.

A damage suit for $400,000 has been filed against the Machinists Union by the Waterloo, Ia., Gasoline Engine Co., for breach of contract. This case is similar to that of the Danburry hatters.

"One of the serious aspects of the current unrest of labor lies in the inclination of large numbers of men to override their leaders and take redress into their own hands." This from the Cleveland Plain Dealer. And then it goes on to tell us that strikes have been called recently without the sanction of proper authority; that this situation is trying to labor leaders; that the essence of democracy, in labor as in government, lies in the willingness of men to follow leaders. Great stuff, eh, Tavarski.

The Presbyterian Mission Board charges that American interests are spreading war propaganda in order to grab Mexico.

Believe it now that it comes from Christians, will you?

Remitting a dollar, comrade Harley Gillety of Akron, O. writes: "Enclosed one dollar bill to help the good work along." And a dollar does help.

No dollar ever did better service for the cause than the one you will invest in 100 "Free Debs" edition of the Ohio Socialist.

EUGENE V. DEBS

— By NATHAN CHARROW —

Silently, and far away,
A myriad of hearts grown into one
Are breathing your spirit—fear not the day.
Though reason reason he divorced and passion come.
And death's foreboding darken every home,
And instinct master every word and move—
The times are speaking though the signs be dumb.
Forever will vibrate your mighty love;
Your tall protective frame and glowing light
Outbeaming from your soft and kindly eye,
And iron arms embracing all mankind
Will burn in every toiler's memory,
And move their sons to thoughts and deeds aright,
In days to come more trying and more blind

There is But one Certain Way to Get a Thing Done; That is to do it Yourself.

Within limits, one is a free agent in this world. Not entirely, but to a certain extent, limited tho it is. It is not our purpose to establish those limitations here. Our object in bringing up the subject is to make this point clear. YOU CAN NEVER TELL WHAT YOUR LIMITATIONS ARE UNTIL YOU TRY.

That's the point we want you to think about.

It is a very vital matter when one is attempting something big, something that is to serve a great cause, it is absolutely necessary then, to know ones limitations because if you fail, if you quit before ALL your resources are exausted, the failure is your own fault. So, we say, know your limitations and success is more likely to drop her fruits into your lap.

This too, is necessary, that you learn to strive yourself, for what you want—not leaving it to "George" or Jennie either. No one can do YOUR job to your satisfaction except YOURSELF.

Therefore, do it!

And what is your job, you socialists, you party members, you, who have pledged your efforts toward building the New Democracy? It's doing all you can to bring socialism about. Aiding in every possible way the forces of industrial evolution that, unceasingly work day and night toward a better world for the workers. That's our job, yours and mine.

When we started to establish a Party owned printing plant for the Ohio Socialist and the Socialist Party of Ohio, we knew we had a big job ahead of us, but running from big jobs never was a part of our training, besides we knew there were hundreds and thousands of other comrades who were willing and anxious to lend a hearty hand.

We accepted the challenge of the capitalist class as represented by the boss printers of Cleveland to either get our own printing plant or QUIT. We started after the plant.

And we are getting pretty far on the road to getting one too. We are, in fact, one third of the way. Practically speaking, we have subscribed $3,000 of the $10,000 necessary to start publishing the Ohio Socialist on our own press.

Remember this: COMRADE BROWN OF GALION, O., HAS PROMISED TO GIVE ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS OF THIS AMOUNT IF THE REST OF US WILL GIVE THE OTHER NINE THOUSAND. Unless our conception of a bargain is terribly twisted, comrade Brown has offered the socialists of Ohio and those outside the state who are in sympathy with us, one of the most astounding bargains that ever came within our vision. Surely, you will agree comrade Brown's offer is most generous.

And, now we have subcribed one third of our nine thousand. But only about one ninth of the membership in Ohio have subcribed to the fund. That leaves a tremeduous number of socialists in this stae who have not yet done their part. And now to those who have delayed for some reason or another, their contributions to the press fund we must say: THIS IS YOUR JOB. HELP DO IT. Don't wait for George or Jenny. They are probably working for the boss printers. This is your job. Let us get at it right now and finish it. For, you know comrade Brown stated in his offer that he would give us until election day to fulfil our part of the agreement. Election is less than three months away. But with the help of the thousands of comrades who have not yet contributed, we can make it in good time, and we'll make election day INDEPENDENCE DAY. We will then celebrate our new charter of Liberty. We will do our own printing on our press.

Truly, this is OUR job. No one else can do it, will do it for us. It's absolutely up to us. And our resources are not even one ninth exausted. Certainly there is no cause for failure to raise this $10,000.

Right, now, TODAY, let's follow the example of the comrades below who have contributed to the press fund. That's our job. LET'S DO IT RIGHT—RIGHT AWAY!

$1 Column

Harley Gilletly, Akron, O.
Thos. G. Phitzer, Cincinnati, O.
Jno Jackman, Kent, O.
A. O. Davis, Scott Depot, Va.
R. Kassel, Lorain, O.
[illegible], Toledo, O.
[illegible]
[illegible], North College Hill, O.
Elizabeth Ballinger, Wyandotte, Mich. (50c.)
George [illegible], Wyandotte, Mich. (50c.)
John Radosel, Wyandotte, Mich.
Jacob Jancic, Wyandotte, Mich.
Mike Lucic, Wyandotte, Mich.
Joe J. Erne, Wyandotte, Mich.
H. G. Howell, [illegible], N. Mex.
R. P. McDevitt, Steubenville, O.
W. R. Dillon, Albuquerque, N. Mex.
H. Weidman, Columbus, O.
A. Worker, Columbus, O.
Fred. Abele, Columbus, O.
E. C. Showers, Mansfield, O.
O. R. Johnson, Akron, O.
H. Geiger, Tiffin, O.
A. A. Everhart, Tiffin, O.
A. W. F. Steckel, Tiffin, O.
Iola Steckel, Tiffin, O.
[illegible], Tiffin, O.
[illegible], Tiffin, O. (50c.)
Frank Tefke, Tiffin, O. (50c.)
Eric Theiler, Tiffin, O. (50c.)
Jacob Henry, Tiffin, O.
Rose Henry, Tiffin, O.
Joseph L. Fry, Tiffin, O.
G. F. Cottrell, Tiffin, O. (50c)
Chas. Tufts, Tiffin, O.
V. E. Graber, Tiffin, O.
Wm. Burte, Tiffin, O.
Robert Kerr, Columbiana, O.
Jno Levanich, Canton, O.
E. J. Baker, Dover, O.
Ernest Warther, Dover, O.
R. E. Sicher, Dover, O.
George Krebs, Dover, O.
Chas. Levin, Dover, O.
S. W. Greb, Dover, O.
John Ott, Dover, O.
Geo. Lohrman, Dover, O.
David Ott, Dover, O.
[illegible], Dover, O.
[illegible], Dover, O.
A. L. McBride, Convoy, O.
E. R. Wise, Convoy, O.
John Schrafner, Convoy, O.
L. M. Lonsady, Dover, O.
Henry Monda, Convoy, O. (50c.)
Jacob Stephenson, Convoy, O. (50c.)
John Prowalter, Convoy, O. (50c.)

Local Toledo sent in $22 recently but forgot to send the names of the contributors. They have since been sent. Here they are. The amounts have been previously credited to Local Toledo.

Wilbur Griffith 1.
Steve McKentire 5.
Joseph Derlach 50c.
Walter Rezler 1.
C. Pryba .50
J. Gagnon 1.
E. G. Zillich 1.
J. Roberts 1.
[illegible] 1.
R. Keifer 1.
Mrs. L. Dean 1.
Wm. Zeuner 2.
R. Frizzel 1.
S. Kries 1.
A. Silverman 1.
M. Weeis 1.

$2 Column

Mr. and Mrs. Nate [illegible], Akron, O.
S. W. Doewes, Cincinnati, O.
M. Rosslman, Youngstown, O.
Genevieve Zrnc, Wyandotte, Mich.
Nick Schmidt, Canton, O.
J. H. Dickson, Springfield, O.
Mr. and Mrs. Joe De Felippo, Fairmont, W. Va.
Bogin Gligoroff, Zanesville, O.
[illegible], Convoy, O.
[illegible]

$5 Column

Second Ward Branch, Cincinnati, O.
Mr. & Mrs. Herman Fagel, Newark, O.
German Branch, Columbus, O.
[illegible], O. ($5.00)
Paul [illegible], Pa. ($4.00)
H. L. [illegible], Dover, O.
Geo. Wills, Dover, O.
Walter [illegible], Dover, O.
[illegible], Convoy, O., ($5.00)
Geo. Prowalter, Convoy, O.
Local Convoy, O.

$10 Column

Pauline Graf, Hamilton, O.
[illegible], Dover, O.
[illegible], Ill.

$25 Column

Local Columbus, O. ($25.00)

$50 Column

[illegible]

$100 Column

[illegible]

Pledge Column

Wm. Hartman, Toledo, O., Dollar monthly five months.
T. E. Pendergrass, Deming, N. Mex., Two dollars monthly.
[illegible], Albuquerque, N. M. Dollar monthly for 7 months.

How We Grow

May Press Fund Receipts ......$ [illegible]
June receipts ...... [illegible]
July receipts ...... [illegible]
To August 7th ...... [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia [illegible]

NO. 81. Published at Cleveland, Ohio. WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1919. Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.00 A YEAR

WE ACT AND ASK YOU TO ACT WITH US

help!

We call to YOU for HELP!

IT IS FOR DEBS WE CALL.

It is for the hundreds of political prisoners we call.

Of course, even you are not free. But are freer than Debs, Emil Herman, Kate Richards O'Hare, J. O. Bentall, and hundreds more upon whom the dead weight of iron rests day and night.

THE DEAD WEIGHT OF IRON!

Iron bars, iron bolts, iron walls, iron, iron beds—yes and in many cases metal dishes from which a meager fare is gulped.

You are outside. The sunshine is yours, at least. They are inside, carrying around all day a weight of stone and iron, a dead weight under which no man can grow or smile.

AND THE PRISON ROUTINE!

Have you ever had the honor to be caged?

If you have you know the deadening effect of prison routine.

Everything is REGULATED. You walk by rule. You talk by rule. You go to sleep by rule. You wake up by rule. You eat by rule. You bathe by rule.You dress by rule.

Everything you do, everything you do not do is done or not done because a PRISON RULE commands you.

THAT'S PRISON.

It is for Debs and all our prisoners that we CALL TO YOU for help.

We must release them before iron, stone and prison rules kill them mentally and physically.

help!

DEBS WAS ARRESTED IN OHIO.

He was indicted in Ohio.

He made the speech for which he was indicted in Ohio.

OHIO NOW COMES TO HIS RESCUE and to the rescue of all political prisoners as well.

The best there is in Ohio comes to the rescue.

The politically and indutsrially intelligent workers of Ohio have resolved to labor unceasingly to liberate Debs.

TO YOU WE SAY—JOIN OHIO IN THIS CAMPAIGN for the liberation of Debs and all.

Up to now not one well planned, well organized attempt has been made to liberate Debs. We have waited, waited and waited—yet no opportunity presented itself for co-operation with other forces in a demand for Debs' freedom.

WE HAVE DECIDED TO QUIT WAITING.

WE HAVE DECIDED TO ACT!

And this is an invitation TO YOU to act with us. JOIN OHIO IN ITS CAMPAIGN TO FREE DEBS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

TO THE RESCUE!

help!

Mails leaving Cleveland are heavy with CALLS FOR HELP.

One of these calls is traveling in your direction.

IT WILL REACH YOU IN A VERY FEW DAYS!

Watch for it. And if by chance it does not reach you. write to us at once.

We want you to receive one of these CALLS.

There is printed upon them pictures of Debs you've never seen, pictures of prison gate and steel cells. It is a call which EVERY SYMPATHIZER WITH OUR IMPRISONED COMRADES WILL RESPOND TO.

Take this call and visit EVERYBODY YOU KNOW—AT ONCE.

Then vist those you don't know—for everybody will give and give liberally. Circulate the call for help among the members of your labor union, among your relatives, among your neighbors. Miss no opportunity to SWELL THE LIBERATION FUND.

The campaign to liberate Debs and all the rest HAS ALREADY BEGUN. The first gun has been fired. You are now wanted to enlist in the front ranks.

JOIN THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS!

HELP SECURE A LIBERATION FUND OF THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS!

We'll need it—

FOR VICTORY!

SPECIAL ISSUE

A special "FREE DEBS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS" issue of the OHIO SOCIALIST will be printed dated September 3rd.

Orders must be in BEFORE August 30th.

PRICE—$1.00 per hundred.

Every subscriber, every local should buy a hundred or more. This SPECIAL will be replete with illustrations and excellent "FREE THEM ALL" articles.

Don't procrastinate.

ORDER TODAY.

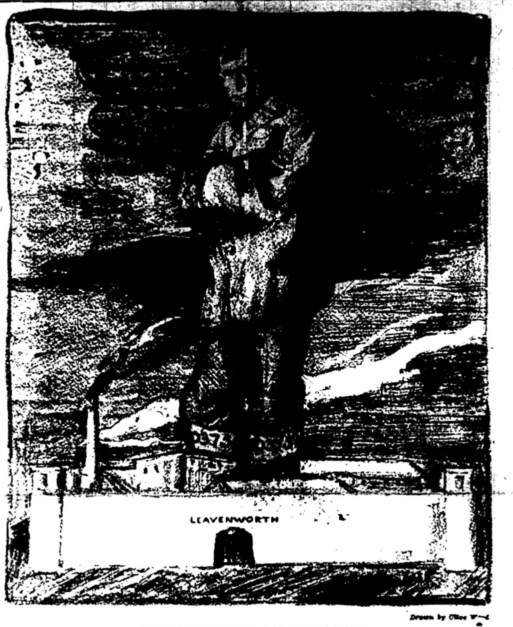
JOIN!

SIGN UP in the Army of Liberators. Write to headquarters, 3207 Clark ave., Cleveland, Ohio, for application blanks.

A MEMBERSHIP CARD in the Army of liberators will have historic significance in the years to come.

Admission fee $1.00. Monthly dues—doing your duty daily. Join today. Secure applications of other workers.

Join THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.



Drawn by Olive W[illegible]

BOLTS AND BARS DO NOT A PRISON MAKE.

Truth About Debs' Transfer to Atlanta.

The story by David Karsner, printed in the Ohio Socialist some weeks ago, that Debs had been removed from the Moundsville, West Virginia penitentiary at the behest of the coal barons must have gotten under the hide of the governor of that state, J J. Cornwell.

The result has been that we are now treated to some very interesting correspondence. Two or three readings of the letter from the West Virginia board of control to the Department of Justice at Washington and the answer from the Department of Justice are advisable.

These letters expose the "business" way in which prisons are conducted. The conception that prisons are reformatories is here completely disproven. Prisons are slave pens and the inmates are sold at the cheapest price to voracious contractors

The ignorance of the state board of control is also refreshing. Debs was sentenced by Judge Westenhaver at Cleveland and not by Judge Landis at Chicago. That it cost the West Virginia state's prison $500.00 a month extra for guard service while Debs was there is interesting news.

The most important part of this correspondence is contained in the answer of F H. Duehay, superintendent of prisons to the West Virginia board of control. In the last paragraph of this answer Mr. Duehay admits one of two things: Either the United States army is composed of crooks, or else he understands that the capitalist system breeds crooks at a rapid rate. However, read and study the correspondence for yourself.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR OF WEST VIRGINIA

Jos. W. Sharts,

State of West Virginia,
Executive Department,
Charleston,

July 31, 1919.

Jos. W. Sharts, Esq.,
Lowe Building,
Dayton, Ohio

My Dear Sir:—I have read a story by David Karsner containing a letter to you from Assistant Attorney General Porter regarding the removal of Eugene V. Debs. In order that you may know the facts, I am handing you, herewith, copies of correspondence which led to his removal. I want you to know, as attorney for Debs, that I had nothing to do with his removal and did not know it was contemplated until the warden called me advising me that he had notice that Debs would be taken away the next morning. Mr. Karsner's article does me a gross injustice and is entirely erroneous in all its statements as to my interests and connections.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN C. CORNWELL,
Governor.

LETTER FROM THE STATE BOARD OF CONTROL OF WEST VIRGINIA TO THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

(This letter does not ask for Debs' removal so much as it uses Debs and the added cost of maintaining guard service as an excuse to compell the U S. government to send the West Virginia penitentiary 100 to 150 more prison slaves.)

State Board of Control,
Charleston, W. Va.,

June 2, 1919

F. H. Duehay, Supt. of Prisons,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Duehay: Some months ago we made an agreement with the federal government to receive and care for federal prisoners at the West Virginia penitentiary at Moudsville for the sum of 40 cents per day. Since that time we have received but few prisoners and we are informed by the warden that it is not likely that you will send us any more. We would like very much to have some of these prisoners at the present time in view of the fact that we are working many of our state prisoners on the state roads, and we have contracted a number of prisoners to some concerns working within the penitentiary walls in the manufacture of various articles, and we are short of labor at this time on our contracts. We are further confronted with the fact that the legislature made no provision for the maintenance of this institution other than the compensation received for such labor. The institution has been self-supporting in the past and we would like to have it continue to be.

We have Eugene V. Debs, who was sentenced by Judge Landis, confined in the West Virginia Penitentiary, and since his admittance we have had to put on extra guard force, which has increased our expense $500 per month, but we felt it was necessary to do

(Continued on page 4.)

Workers' world Staff go to Prison

Edward Egan, Wm. E. Browder Harry Doyle, Robt. Sullivan, E. R. Browder and R. I. Moore, all active upon the Workers' World, our middle-west contemporary began a two years sentence in the Leavenworth penitentiary about the middle of July.

They were convicted under the charge of violating the espionage act. Ella Reeve Bloor writes that "we all felt the sacredness of the hour when our seven comrades began their journey to Leavenworth. That hour was consecrated to the very Spirit of Democracy, to the principle of true Internationalism."

The Ohio Socialist calls upon all its subscribers to assist these imprisoned comrades by subscribing to the Socialist paper they so consciently edited and circulated. Jim Cannon is now the editor and nothing would encourage him more that a flood of subscriptions from Ohio Socialist suberibers. Send a dollar to The Worker's World, Box 697, Kansas City, Mo., and have the paper sent you for six months.

this for his safety as well as that of other prisoners. If we cannot get some federal prisoners to help bear this extra expense in connection with his care we shall have to ask to have him cared for in some other institution. We feel in justice to this that we should receive some of these federal prisoners, and, in view of the fact that the government is sending prisoners from West Virginia and Ohio to Atlanta, Georgia, we believe we can take care of them just as well as that state, and the transportation charges would be less to the government.

Will you kindly let us know if you cannot arrange to let us have 100 or 150 prisoners.

Veryt truly yours,

STATE BOARD OF CONTROL,
By E. B. Stephens, President.

[illegible] FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE SIGNED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PRISONS

(Note the assurance given in the last paragraph that as soon as the army is demobilized prisons will again have sufficient slave labor.)

ORDER A BUNDLE OF THE "FREE THEM" EDITION OF THE OHIO SOCIALIST.

Incidentally—there's no need to build a fire under us to make us move.

No grass grows under our feet.

And EXPERIENCE has taught us how to proceed so as to be successful in our efforts.

We have taken the first step in the liberation of Debs and we ask you to keep step with us.

• • •

Understand first of all that in this campaign our ultimate demand is the LIBERATION OF DEBS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. We shall never lose sight of this ultimate aim. And we shall not rest until ALL political prisoners are freed.

However, together with organizing for liberation for all, we must protest and act every time prison authorities, in their ruthlessness, terrorize our comrades in jail or make life in prison a shambles.

We protest the bludgeoning of I. W. W.'s in Leavenworth. We protest turning the hose upon conscientious objectors in the same penitentiary. We protest the removal of political prisoners to Alcatras, into the dungeons under the sea. We protest hanging prisoners by the wrists until they faint.

WE NOT ONLY PROTEST, BUT WE SHALL WORK TOWARD THE END THAT THESE BRUTALITIES SHALL CEASE.

And so we also PROTEST and ACT now that we have been legally informed that the removal of Debs from Moundsville to the scorching Atlanta penitentiary was ILLEGAL.

• • • • •

Yes—we know that LAW IS INTERPRETED. We know that it is interpreted in favor of those who are on top.

Yet we shall leave no stone unturned to agitate for Debs' release, even if it does mean a trip into court.

WE HAVE DECIDED TO ONCE MORE TEST THE LAW.

WE HAVE DECIDED TO LIBERATE DEBS FROM THE ATLANTA PENITENTIARY BY HABEAS CORPUS PROCEEDINGS BASED UPON HIS ILLEGAL REMOVAL FROM MOUNDSVILLE STATE'S PRISON.

• • • •

WE have engaged Jos. W. Sharts, one of the attorneys in the case when Debs was tried at Cleveland. Samuel M. Castleton, attorney at Atlanta is co-operating with Sharts. Both these attorneys are Socialists. They will perform their duty conscientiously.

AND WE ENGAGE YOU to get to work AT ONCE to secure the funds necessary for court clerk's fees, printing bills, railroad fare etc.

UNDERSTAND PLEASE—that in the habeas corpus proceedings we intend bringing against those government officials who removed Debs to Atlanta there lies GREAT POSSIBILITIES.

IT MAY EVEN MEAN SEVERAL MONTHS FREEDOM ON BONDS.

For Debs it will mean a respite, a rest from iron bars and bolts; stone walls and darkness; prison rules and atmosphere.

THIS IS WORTH WORKING FOR!

This is our first step, and we ask you to keep step with us. LET'S GET DEBS OUT OF THE SCORCHING ATLANTA PENITENTIARY. It will mean a NEW LEASE OF LIFE TO HIM.

• • • •

There's no need to build a fire under you, is there?

No grass grows under your feet!

THEN AT IT AT ONCE!

Gather the dollars for the LIBERATION FUND.

Attorney Sharts "Goes Ahead"

DRAFTS NECESSARY PAPERS—WILL REPORT FURTHER PROGRESS.

DAYTON, OHIO, August 18, 1919.

A. Wagenknecht,
State Secretary Socialist Party of Ohio,
3207 Clark Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Comrade:

I have received your instructions to go ahead and institute habeas corpus proceedings on behalf of Comrade Gene Debs. This I am already beginning; am drafting the necessary papers; and shall presently be able to report further progress.

Let me say I realize fully the importance of what you have asked me to attempt — the release of Eugene V. Debs in spite of the mountain of prejudice and hatred which exists for him in high quarters. I am not concerned about the law, but the judges. The law is clear: he was sentenced to Moundsville —not to Atlanta. The Attorney General has authority to order a transfer on only three grounds: (1) his health—at his own request, (2) cruel treatment at his own request for removal, and (3) because of the insecurity of the place of confinement. None of these three grounds existed in Gene Debs' case. On the contrary Governor Cornwell of West Virginia has supplied [illegible] copies of the correspondence which preceded the order from Washington to transfer the prisoner from his pleasant and humane confinement at Moundsville to the dungeons of Atlanta; and we know now that it was not on [illegible]

It is not the law, I have said, but the judges that give me concern. In bringing habeas corpus proceedings I must make the case so clear [illegible] For that reason it may be [illegible] week or so before I shall be ready for the application to be made. [illegible]

[illegible]

(Continued on page 4.)

Law Authorizes Debs' Imprisonment at Atlanta.

ATTORNEY GENERAL DODGES PLAIN ANSWER TO PLAIN QUESTION ABOUT UNLAWFUL REMOVAL

On June 26 a second inquiry was sent to the Attorney General requesting to know upon what legal grounds the [illegible] removal of Eugene V. Debs from Moundsville to Atlanta, as the answer to the former inquiry had merely stated [illegible] had been made at the request of State Board of Control and that federal statutes do not give this among the enumerated grounds upon which a federal prisoner, once sentenced to a particular place of confinement, can be thereafter removed.

The answer to the second inquiry is as evasive as the answer to the first. It is follows:

July 1, 1919.

Joseph W. Sharts, Esq.,
127 South Main Street,
Dayton, Ohio

Sir: In reply to your letter of the 26th ultimo, you are informed that the West Virginia State Board of Control demanded the removal of Federal Prisoner Eugene V. Debs from the West Virginia Penitentiary, and the transfer thereupon was directed by the Attorney General in accordance with the power vested in him by law to transfer federal prisoners under certain conditions.

Respectfully,
Fort the Attorney General,
WM. L. FINSON,
Assistant Attorney General.

The law gives 3 grounds upon which a removal can be ordered by the Attorney General: (1) the health of the prisoner, at his request; (2) brutal treatment at the first place, at his request for removal; (3) the insecurity of the place of confinement.

None of these grounds apparently exist in the case of the removal of Eugene V. Debs.

[illegible] proves that the real reasons for Debs' removal from Moundsville to Atlanta was withheld from inquirers.)

State of West Virginia,
State Board of Control,
Charleston.

July 29, 1919.

Mr. J. D. Reedy,
Bickmore, W. Va.,

Dear Mr. Reedy: Your letter of recent date concerning the removal of Eugene V. Debs from the West Virginia Penitentiary at Moundsville has been received.

Mr. Debs was placed in the penitentiary in April, 1919. He was an excellent prisoner and gave the prison authorities no trouble whatever and left there highly pleased with the courteous treatment received at the hands of the officials.

At that time we had an agreement with the federal government to pay for the keeping of federal prisoners at our state penitentiary but they informed us that owing to the new additions that had been made to the federal prisons at Leavenworth and Atlanta they would be in position to take care of him themselves and that we would receive no more federal prisoners. Soon after that he was removed.

There was no friction whatever on the part of anyone in connection with his removal.

Very truly yours,
STATE BOARD OF CONTROL
By E. B. Stephenson, Pres.

News of The Week

It seems now that the Prince of Wales, visit to America is for the purpose of making Canada safe for the King, Canada's workers have caused no little uneasiness abroad. The One Big Union idea and the devine right idea don't harmonize very well.

"Democracy" has won a signal victory. Archduke Franz Joseph is dictator in Hungary. Large, but orderly demonstrations against this member of Hapsburg dynasty have taken place in Prague, led by Social Democrats.

Railroad transportation is seriously handicapped in and near Chicago. The railroad shopmen have refused to obey President Wilson's suggestion that they return to work.

It is reported that the German strategist, Mackensen, is training five million Chinese in the "art" of war.

A few farmers near Cleveland have been made the goat in the campaign against the high cost of living. One was thrown into the filthy city jail over night. They are charged with boosting the price of milk. The milk trust of Cleveland, against whom the dairymen organized, goes unmolested.

The A. F. of L. is busy organizing a teachers' and accountants' union.

We're on the fence. The U. S. Department of Labor is making a campaign upon the slogan "Buy Now". That is—spend your money and prosperity will be ours. The Federal Reserve Board on the other hand advises us to "work and save," thereby assuring us a reduction in the high cost of living. Now then, what do you want, prosperity or cheap prices?

Without opposition the U. S. senate adopted an resolution authorizing the foreign relations commission to make a sweping investigation of outrages against Americans and American property in Mexico. However, we frankly state it is the so-called "outrage" against American property that concerns the senate most.

Latest reports have it that some of the residents of Petrograd have turned cannibals. Well, what if they have? The blame rests with those "democratic" powers that blockade Russia.

There you have it. The papers of August 8th report the strike of 33,000 employes of the Chicago meat packing plants. The strike is in protest of employment of negro non-union help. While the thousands of white workers were walking out, a large number of negro men and women applied for employment. The dullest worker will understand that the packing companies are playing the negro labor against white labor in order to break the union and reduce wages. Result—race riots.

There's a representative by the name of Beethman sitting in the Columbus legislature, elected by the votes of workingmen, who says application of the golden rule will solve the high cost of living problem. A funny world with funny people in it.

Carnegie is dead. Flags on libraries half mast. He left an estate of half a billion. He gave away nearly as much, so it's said. He is once supposed to have said that "to die rich is to die disgraced." Well, he died rich. And again, it's easy to be generous with millions when thousands of wage slaves are at your feet making millions more for you yearly.

An actors' strike is on. Well, well. What next! Big theaters in New York and Chicago dark. The employers have filed suit for half a million against the striking actors for breach of contract. Injunctions are also asked for. Conspiracy is charged. Reads like a real strike of ordinary workmen. Times have changed!

Wilson is to name delegates and call the convention of the International Labor Conference in Washington, on Oct. 30. Wilson, mind you, president of the U. S. is to name the American delegates to this labor conference. Provisions for such a conference as contained in the peace treaty can now be declared safe by the capitalists of the world.

The miners' strike in Yorkshire, England, is considered serious. Social conditions in that country are threatened because of its continuance.

Metal workers, 200,000 of them, are on strike in Italy.

The Plumb plan for nationalizing railroads will not pass the present congress. And the railroad workers are plumb nutty if they think Plumb can lead them out of the wilderness with the Plumb plan while congress is plumb gone on capitalism.

There are 8,000 American soldiers in Siberia "keeping the railroad open" and there are 70,000 Japanese—for what?

Five thousand Paterson silk workers won a raise in wages and a 44 hour week.

Kolchak, former Czarist general, is hopelessly lost, says Protopopoff, also an ex-Czarist general. He is unable to raise another army and can not possibly win against soviets.

Striking miners, who atttempted to intercept scabs at the Fort Pitt coal mine, south of Bellaire, Ohio, were "greeted" by 20 deputy sheriffs armed with riot guns, August 5th. The deputies were under orders to shoot to kill if attacked.

Five thousand employes of the Columbia Graphophone Company went on strike.

The Gompers-controlled officials of the United Mine Workers in district 1 near Wilkesbarre, Pa., are accused of stealing the election for new officials which was held recently. The miners are up in arms and have refused to further pay the salaries of the reactionary officials.

The great victory gained by the Chicago building trades is stirring up the New York workers in similar trades to make demands for higher wages and shorter workday.

Musicians and stage hands' union are treatening to join the actors in their strike.

The German Spartacans are planning a general strike. Present government asserts it is an initial step towards a communist government.

Unless soldiers are withdrawn from the Chicago meat packing plants, the strike of workers will continue and may throw 70,000 additional workers out of employment.

The Chicago Tribune called Ford an anarchist. Ford sued the Tribune for a cool million. The jury awarded Ford six cents damages.

An industrial tie-up looms in France. Electric and stem engineers thru-out France have issued an ultimatum that unless their wage demands are settled, they will go on strike.

Labor in Belgium is getting the strike fever. What has the war hen hatched, anyway?

Three thousand Pittsburgh car men are on strike. And New York also faces a tie-up.

The convention of the United Mine Workers of America, to be held in Cleveland on Sept. 5th, will be the most important of the history of the organization. A thirty-hour week will be asked of the coal barons, it is claimed. Judging by the opinions expressed by miners all over the country, a 40 to 60 per cent wage increase will also be demanded.

Financial Consideration

Some cynic has remarked that the Anglo-Saxon peoples always find a moral reason for the depredations which they commit. The case of Mexico seems to be an exception. Moral reasons for disciplining Mexico have been thrust aside to make room for financial considerations. Carranza has offended the financial interests by his slogan of "Mexico for the Mexicans." His threat to take from wealthy adventurers the concessions in the form of oil, minerals timber and agricultural lands which they bought from his predecessors has aroused the business interests of the United States and of other countries to vigorous protest.

Mexican resources are foreign owned. The extent of this foreign ownership is not accurately known. But certain it is that a great volume of Mexican resources is included under title deeds held in Belgium, France, Great Britain and the United States.

The New York Times in a recent exhaustive statement, which is described as "very conservative—probably rock bottom," estimates the cash invested by Americans in Mexican properties at $650,000,000. A third of this investments is in oil; a third in mines and the remainder in railroads, lands, industries and public utilities. Following the table in which these figures are contained there occurs this remarkable sentence: "This invetsment of $650,000,000 had grown in value until in 1910 it was said to be worth $2,000,000,000."

The soil of Mexico is apparently as fertile as that of Wall Street when it comes to the growth of property values;—6.50 cash investment, after paying in many cases fabulously large dividends, has increased, in a few short years, to a cash investmen of $20, or a total of over 200%. The American exploiters of Mexican business have thus reaped, in addition to their dividend and interest payments, an unearned increment of $1,350,000,000 upon which they propose to realize.

The Carranza Government holds certain economic ideals. His advisors believe that this unearned increment, from the natural resources and the labor of Mexicans which has been going to foreign capitalists should now be diverted into the coffers of the Mexicans themselves.

These are some of the "financial considerations" which seem to make inevitable early intervention in Mexico.

—SCOTT NEARING

ONE BIG UNION PICNIC

The W. I. I. U. of Akron Local 535 will hold a picnic on Sunday, August 24th at Home Ave. H. Richter, general secretary-treasurer of the international will be the speaker. Good music, racing, games and general good time for all.

To reach picnic grounds take Mountain Line car at the N. O. T. waiting room at Akron and ride to stop 8. The picnic grounds are to right of the stop.

NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL AMANDMENT PROPOSED

Comrade Artie Isenberg, of Jonesboro, Tenn., proposes the following as an Amadment to the National Constitution. What do you think of it.

"That the Congerss and the respective Legisatlures of the various states shall be elected by the men and women voters, and aportioned as to occupation according to numbers, no occupation having less than one representative.

"No Congressman shall be less than 30 years old and must have worked at his occupation not less than 10 years, and must not cease from his occupation except as demanded by his constitutients."

LABOR WINS ANOTHER SEAT

Again labor has scared at the polls. By-elections were held this week in Bothwell, Lancashire, a district in which the Lloyd-George coalition last year, at the general elections, had a majority of 332.

A complete political revevsal took place, in that the labor candidate won by a majority of more than 7,000 over the Coalition candidate. C. Robertson, the winner of the election, waged his campaign completely on the coal question.

[illegible]

COMRADES—

[illegible]

For instance, this former committee is now voting (despite the fact that it went out of office CONSTITUTIONALLY on July 1, 1919) to "expel" the Socialist Party of Ohio. Had Ohio sent the proceeds from the sale of convention assessment stamps to Adolph Germer, it would have lost this money, for it would never have been paid to the Ohio delegates to defray their fare to the convention.

Adolph Germer is [illegible] tell what actions this committee may take in regard to the national convention. Therefore it is safest to send the delegate expense money to the convention with the delegations and then let the convention itself elect a committee to receive this money and make disbursements.

We do not deny the "machine voting" or slate voting of some of the language federation branches. BUT THIS IS NOT FRAUD. Adolph Germer seems so absolutely convinced that there has been fraud. He gives no proof. How does he know there has been fraud in the election of the new national executive committee? Facts are that to him slate voting constitutes fraud—when the votes are not in his favor. He was elected national secretary several years ago by the same kind of "machine voting" which he now criticizes. He did not protest at that time because he won by it. He protests now because he and his fellow moderates lost by it.

And then comes the foolish plea that "we ought wait until the national convention before doing anyting." We should wait, but in the meantime, they, the former national executive committee plus Germer, DO NOT WAIT until the national convention before carrying out their plans. They "expel" right and left in an effort to make the national convention "sure" for them. The strong Ohio state organization is now being "expelled" by this former committee which has no power to expel, no more than any other individual member of the party has.

Adolph Germer and his fellow moderates do not wait. They only want the rest of us who oppose them towaitsoth at they may do a good job before being interfered with. Neither will we wait. We have renewed the call for the national convention to convene in Chicago on August 30th. We call upon all state secretaries to send a roster of their delegates to the undersigned. We intend to assure a national convention. We intend to see to it that all party elements are represented irrespective of the "expelling fit" of the outlawed former national executive committee.

All comrades who are with us for the Socialism of our Russian comrades, our Communist Italian comrades our Spartacan German comcrades, as against the Socialism of the Mensheviks and the Scheidemanns, will join us in our effort to represent true revolutionary workers.

Yours in Comradeship

A. WAGENKNECHT, Executive Secretary, P. T.

3207 Clark Avenue,
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Baker and DeQuer

AT YOUR SERVICE—BAKER AND DEQUER. Write the state office at once, applying for a date FOR EACH of these two speakers.

Every active Socialist in Ohio knows Chas. Baker. Recommendation of him by state office is rather superflous. Comrade Baker is now in Youngstown, doing organization work. From there he will go to Dayton to fill several dates. He will be open for engagements beginning September 1st. Apply at once.

John DeQuer hails from Washington state. For the last two years he has spoken in most of the western states. We know him as one of the best lecturers in the Socialist movement. He is a physician by profession, but has given most of his time to the cause by duty upon the platform. Locals engaged in municipal campaigns should make application for his services at once so that we may arrange his routing.

The fault we have to find with many locals is that they procrastinate too much. The way to GET AHEAD is to PLAN AHEAD. Plan your campaign NOW. Engage your speakers NOW. We offer Baker and DeQuer. Let's hear from you by return mail.

RATES $5.00 A DAY AND EXPENSES.

Lines from Press Fund Boosters.

THE ONLY WAY

"Think it's the only way, for the Party to own its own press". These words came all the way from Alaska. With the letter in which they came was also a ten dollar donation for the press fund. Comrade Anna I. Steele writes the letter. If comrades in Alaska see the need of a Party owned press, we here in Ohio surely should see the need as clearly. Ohio Comrades should get a hump on themselves if they don't want to be out done by out of state comrades.

DOES ITS BIT

Another Local which does its bit for the press fund is Local Neffs, English Br., which sends us five dollars thru secretary Anton Hain.

Another generous donation comes from comrades Bishop and Mrs. Wm. Brown of Galion. Twelve fifty it is.

SLOVAK COMRADES HELP

Slovak comrades of Black Top Local (O.) have contributed $15.10 for the press fund. We appreciate the work of these comrades who have circulated a number of lists in making up this amount. Thru comrade Jno Moravek, secretary, we convey our thanks to the contributers.

SO. SLAVIC COMRADES REMIT

Not many days pass that we do not receive a donation for the press fund from some South Slavic Local. This week it is Local No. 58, of Monessen, Pa. which sends in three dollars. And to think there are still some Locals in Ohio which have not "seen the light" yet!

Comrade Otto Haefer, secretary of Local Cincinnati, sends three dollars for the press fund, donated by other comrades.

PROUD TO BE SOCIALISTS

A three dollar donation received from comrades Heller, of Doylestown, O. They state that they are proud to be socialists and Party members and want to see "our" 'Gene (ours, because he does'nt belong to Wall Street) out of jail at the earliest possible moment. Like all true rebels, these comrades do their bit in the distribution of literature to help the Cause.

When he isn't working for subscriptions, he's working for the press fund, but usually he's working for both at the same time. Or so it seems at least. That's comrade F. A. Bucey of Rayland, O. He sends one subcription and three dollars for the press.

Gleanings From The Log Of An Agitator

Written for the O. S. by W. E. Reynolds.

A man by the name of O'Neal, who calls himself a socialist, rushed into print in the capitalist press, assuring us all, that a revolution could not possibly come to this country, even though it was a fact that all Europe was seething with revolt. Of course Mr. O'Neal is perfectly right. You see the same forces which caused the revolution to grow in Europe, will not operate on this side of the Atlantic! O'Neal seemingly has the very great truth to learn that an unemployed laborer in Borneo will have its reflex in the labor market in Chicago. Capitalism is International. Wage-slavery is international. All of the forces which make for revolution are international, and, so logically of course, revolutions can be kept within national boundary lines!

* * *

The mayor of Muskegan will not allow socialists to hold street meetings. He did however, grant the patriots the privilege of dancing on the street Independence Day. Probably going on the theory that it is safer to allow the proletarian populace to use its heels than its head! Such is the system under which we live.

* * *

The capitalists are attempting to mobilize soldiers against socialism, but from the soldiers that I have heard talk they will be for socialism and not against it when they are mobilized.

* * *

Soldiers, most of them, were wage laborers before they were soldiers, and now they have to be wage laborers again, and as wage laborers they will be interested in the things which are of benefit to the wage earners.

* * *

A year ago the New Appeal was printing a series of articles against the bolsheviki, written by one Allan Benson. Now the Appeal is offering a reward of ten thousand dollars to any one who can prove the charges against the Bolshevists. Why doesn't Allan prove that he told the truth and not lies a year ago and grab that $10,000? He will probably need it all to make his new literary venture stick!

* * *

The productive powers of labor depend upon; "(a) the natural condition of labor such as fertility of soil, productivity of mines etc., and (2) upon the progresive improvement of the social powers of labor" and not upon the Ole Hansons, Gompers, Wilson and other "Great Men" capitalistic tools.

America is a democracy, so we are told, and in this democracy of over a hundred million people, we have a reconstruction committee of fourteen, one for each of the celebrated and now discredited fourteen points, and this committee of fourteen is to democratically decide the democratic destinies of a hundred million democrats in this trying hour of reconstruction! Verily my son, the ways of Wilsonian Democracy are strange and peculiar indeed!

* * *

The National Office predicts a Socialist victory, but how can you have a Socialist victory without Socialists?

* * *

The first 100,000 of the U. S. 500,000 regular army, have enlisted. Enlistments are continuing at the rate of 4,000 a week.

A thousand soldiers, 125 strike breakers, 1,100 strikes at Peoria, Ill.—result, five persons, one a woman, shot.

Join THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.

Local Akron Socialist Party
CAMPAIGNE AND PROPAGANDA
MEETINGS
Every Sunday at 2:30 P. M.
AT 60 SOUTH HOWARD STREET
GOOD SPEAKERS

[illegible]-Revolution Faces Collapse: Kolchak 'Retires' Again.

360,000 RIFLES TO AID ANTI-SOVIET FORCES. HALF MILLION BOLSHEVIKS ON TRAIL OF KOLCHAK'S FLEEING ARMY

Fleeing before the rapidly advancing hosts of the Red army of the Soviets, Kolchak, the counter revolutionist faces collapse. This is the latest official news reaching Washington and is accepted as true of the situation in Siberia where Kolchak has been forced to retire nearly 1,000 miles from his advanced position early in the year.

The latest retirement, consisting of from 160 to 270 miles is the third which Kolchak has made since his successes of last spring. His position is now considered apparently hopeless by officials at Washington. While his ragged army, poorly provisioned and munitioned, continues to give such resistance to the armies of Lenine and Trotzky as they are capable, little hope is offered for any change favorable to the anti-Bolshevik forces.

500,0000 Bolsheviks give chase.

Realizing his perilous position, Kolchak himself has gone to the front lines to rally his shattered forces. Demoralization is wreaking havoc with his army and desertions to the Bolsheviks are occuring at every opportunity. The Admiral hopes by a fortunate strategy to make another 'retirement.' That will make possible the reorganization of his ragged legions.

High American officials however, frankly admit they think Kolchak's day is done and see in his latest losses only further success for Lenine and Bolshevism.

The reported decision to evacute Omsk and transfer the capital further east to Irkutsk has not been confirmed. But it is no longer denied that the Ural front is now in the hands of the Bolsheviki.

The numerical strength of the army with which Admiral Kolchak is vainly attempting to beat Bolshevism is estimated at 100,000, partially armed and poorly equipped. The Red army of Lenine has been growing tremenduously and the number which is now in service against Kolchak is said to number half a million, probably more, well fed, and equipped for a long campaign against the counter revolutionists and traitors.

American Rifles for Kolchak.

Tho the United States government has not yet gone to the extent of recognizing the Kolchak 'government' it is reported that a great quantity of amunition and 360,000 rifles were dispatched from New York last week for a destination within his reach.

The present setback which Kolchak is experiencing make more improbable the recognition of his government by the United States and the allied powers. Nevertheless, the government seems determined to render what aid it can to the anti-bolshevist forces.

It is hoped that the large cargo of munitions dispatched to Kolchak will reach him in time to ward off the impending collapse of his anti-bolshevist campaign. Unless provisions of all kinds, particularly food and amunition reach him at the earliest possible moment little hope is expressed that he will be able to much longer continue in the field.

The rifles and amunition shipped to him were purchased from American firms before the downfall of the Czar. When the Czar went down and out the shipments were held up until last week when they were allowed exportation to the counter revolutionists.

There are few grains of comfort for the reactionaries in the late news from Russia. Bolshevism continues to retain its power and to squelch the counter revolutionists Kolchak and Denikin. Altho the 'democracies' of the west may continue to starve Russia thru their blockade and to render what assistance they can in the way of supplies to them, the Red army continues to advance, the counter revolution weakens and the final success of Bolshevism seems assured.

Debs Goes to Prison

By DAVID KARSNER

(Continued from last week.)

Debs passed into the station and bought his ticket. The crowd followed. For five minutes there was a buzz of voices, then a great hurrah that echoed through the station.

"Three cheers for our 'Gene,'" shouted a little Scotchman in greasy overalls and a jumper. Two hundred voices echoed the sentiment. Out on the platform they followed, first one running up to Dbes, then another, all eager to get the last handshake or the last word. Two business men could not possibly be more competitive for the good things of life than were these men competing, vieing with each other just to touch the hem of 'Gene Debs' garment.

Debs mounted the steps. A Pullman porter doffed his hat as he stepped up. Instantly Debs removed his broad felt hat. In this manner the crowd stood for some minutes.

Right up front in the crowd was a soldier in uniform. On one sleeve he wore two gold stripes, and on the other was one gold stripe. The soldier boy stood first on one foot, then on the other.

He could restrain himself no longer. He climbed up on the platform, grasped Debs by the hand and fairly shouted:

"Mr. Debs, I went through hell over there for them, and now I'm ready to go through hell over here for you."

The crowd let out a war whoop.

"And there are a million more like me," shouted the soldier back to the crowd.

Just before the train pulled out Phil Reinbold, former president of the Terre Haute Central Labor Union, stepped up. He and 'Gene embraced.

"We won't forget you, 'Gene,'" said the labor man.

"We have stood side by side for many years, Phil," said Debs, affectionately, "and we'll stick until the last drop of blood—until the last tap of the bell."

Mrs. Debs took off her hat when the crowd uncovered as the train pulled out of Terre Haute to take this man to the penitentiary for 10 years. Debs threw a kiss to his good wife and Comrade, and yelled a cheery good-by to all the rest. A little way down the platform a yound girl pulled a red flower from her bosom and threw it at Dbes, who was still standing on the platform.

We went right into the smoker until the porter made up Debs' bed. Thus began the journey to the prison.

Earlier that day Debs gave me this statement: **"During my incarceration my Comrades will be true and my enemies will be satisfied, and therefore, as far as I am concerned, all will be well with the world."**

I asked Debs how Mrs. Debs was bearing up under the great strain.

"She stood shoulder to shoulder with me through every storm that has beat upon me, and she is standing firm now."

Debs said that it was the regret of Mrs. Debs that she could not go with him. "But she cannot do that, so she will remain here to keep the home fires burning."

All about the Debs home there was every indication that the world's great humanist would remain undisturbed for the rest of his life. A man was working in the little garden in back of the house, laying out new flower beds for Mrs. Debs and pruning the trees on the lawn in front.

Mrs. Debs took keen delight in opening the hundreds of telegrams that came to the house all day Saturday and Sunday, and which are probably still pouring into the home. Quietly standing by his side throughout all of his trials and tribulations, throughout all of the homage and glory that have been lavished with loving hands upon her celebrated husband, Mrs. Debs refused to give out any statement concerning the plight in which Debs now finds himself. No word of antagonism has escaped her lips for these tremendous forces that conspired to silence the loquent tongue of Eugene Victor Debs.

Her hair may be just a wee bit whither; her cheek may have lost just a little of its accustomed rosiness; she may even be somewhat thinner, but withal she is quite as erect and carries her head in the same queenly manner, resembling nothing so much as a great tree in some forest over which has swept many a strong wind, yet which remains steadfast, braced to weather any storm that may again arise.

Saturday morning Debs had received in the mail copies of a photograph of the bust which is being made of him by Mayer, of New York, the sculptor who made the now famous "People's Lincoln," which is to be placed in every school and college in the land. The photograph of the Debs bust is a tribute to the artist. Every tiny vein, every line of suffering and trial, the valleys and crevices in Debs' face are revealed in the picture. When this heroic work is completed it will be placed in the Rand School of New York. Perhaps some day replicas of Debs' bust will find their way to every school and college in America, beside that of Lincoln.

BOUND FOR CLEVELAND

CHAPTER TWO

On the train from Terre Haute Debs was accompanied by his brother-in-law Arthur Baur, Terre Haute drugist, and myself.

Debs smoked two or three cigars as we sat in the club car. He talked lively and was in excellent spirits. Soon after 12 o'clock I persuaded him to retire.

During the tree-cornered conversation I said to Debs:

"Your imprisonment will certainly tend to accelerate whatever boom that would otherwise have been started for President. If the Socialists in convention again nominate you, would you consent to make the run?"

"THERE IS BETTER TIMBER IN THE WOODS THAN I," replied Debs. "LET ME SEE. THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IS TWO YEARS AWAY. WHY, IN TWO YEARS I'LL BE THE BEST SWABBER OF FLOORS OR THE BEST PRISON CLERK IN MOUNDSVILLE."

I told Debs that not a single Socialist in America would agree with him in his opinion that there is better timber in the woods than he. Not a man or woman but who would defer that honor in favor of Debs.

If Debs is still in prison when the presidential campaign rolls around, what worthier honor could the Socialist party confer upon its membership and its constituency than by honoring Debs in naming him as its choice for the Presidency?

"Debs Goes to Prison" can be had for 25c. in pamphlet form.—Order of Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

(Continued next week.)

ORDER A BUNDLE OF THE "FREE THEM" EDITION OF THE OHIO SOCIALIST.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and
Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred | Six Months 50c

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20th, 1919.

Damaged Goods

The H. C. L. problem is being rapidly solved—on paper So far the chief benefit of the agitation to the workingclass has been countless reams of advice from our 'superiors' upon the manner in which we should spend the miserbale pittance which is doled out to us in the pay envelope and labeled—reward for service rendered.

Not being content with exploiting the producers of wealth of three fifths of their product our exploiters now venture the brazen effrontery to offer us sage advice in household economies and individnal "thrift". Of course they never practice any of it themselves—they don't need to.

The whole solution is gradually being condensed to this so we are informed with a growing monotony, the workers must "work and save." At last the remedy is found! No doubt it will be administrated with all the energy of which our masters are capable.

But it is shopworn advice. It has lain on the bosses' shelves ever since the first master robbed the first slave. Regularly in times of stress, it is hauled down onto the counter and offered the slaves as a brand new article—all wool and a yard wide. It is damaged doods. It always was. Made for a slave class in the first place it is necessarily shoddy.

All the wealth in the world has not only been produced by the workers but has been 'saved' by them as well. The trouble is not that the workers have not saved, but that they saved not for themselves.

All the mansions of the rich were built by labor, then generously turned over to the capitalists by the workers who refused to live n them. They 'saved' them for their masters. They built the railroads, turned them over to the stock gamblers, and walked the ties, another instance of saving. They built all the beautiful cities of the world, turned them over to land sharks, profiteering landlords and money grabbers of every sort, went off into the hollows and herded among the shacks. Can you imagine a greater degree of 'saving' than that? The workers absolutely refuse to even eat the food they grow on the farms and produce in the factories! They eat the waste and the cheaper grades. The best, the richest, the most nourishing is 'saved' for the masters. Their propensity for saving even extends to the clothes they weave and fashion. In summer they sweat making the finest winter woolens only to accept the coursest and shoddiest for themselevs (and not half enough of it), the best is 'saved', but the boss wears it. They even save the coal in the earth and the wood in the forest. They prefer to freeze to death rather than to use these to keep warm in winter. They save it for the rich.

They have built the beutiful stemships and equipped them, that sail over the seas to all the lands of the arth. They are content tho if they take only a sterrage passage upon them or get a job stoking the furnaces. The upper decks, the state rooms, all the luxuries of the floating palaces are reserved, no 'saved' for these who live upon the 'savings' of the workers.

Even in the common pleasures of life the workers practice the strictest saving qualities. They accept only the cheapest the grossest leaving all the finer to the capitalists. Surely, the generosity of the workers is past understanding and this propensity for saving has brought the world to the point where the workers must shortly announce a new policy in their dealings with the master class.

We propose this as a starter.
Insted of SAVING, let's USE!

Let's build houses and live in them. Let's build ships and go see the round earth and the wonders of the seven seas. Let's build cities and inhabit the hills instead of the hollows. Let's build railroads and keep them for use insted of for the profit of speculators. Let us eat the food we produce and feed our children upon proper nourishment instead of substitutes and poison. Let us wear the beautiful clothing we make instead of the unsighfly imitations we are won't to cull out for ourselves.

In short let us enjoy the world we have made instead of making it a shambles and a hell for ourselves.

This must be the new gospel of labor. This alone is the remedy for the problems to-day All others are a makeshift and a fraud upon the workers.

Fundamental Principles

We like to read the editorials in the capitalist press. Reading them is about all the joke there is in our lives so we make the most of it—while capitalism lasts, While we read we use the back of our head. Otherwise there wouldn't be any fun in reading. Try it to see.

Just now we are talking about an editorial of the Cleveland Press of last week entitled Industrial Peace. The editor of this Scrips-McRae apologist for capitalism, Victor Morgan, is according to this writing not only a wonderful prophet but is possessed of a fund of gullibility most astonishing in proportions.

In this editorial, which is a plea for the proposed conference of employers and employees embodied in the Kelley Poindexter resolution there are a number of high lights that reflect in wonderful clearness the utter lack of economic knowledge possessed by Mr. Morgan.

That he expects, even to the point of prophesying great results of this conference, is evident by the following pagagraphs.

> That conference would work out the fundamental principles to govern the relations between employer and employed.
>
> The lack of agreement on fundamental principles makes great industrial problems, such as the present railroad situation needlessly difficult of solution.
>
> The relations between capital and labor must be put in process of solution in the very near future.

The "fundamental principle" of the capitalist system of wealth production is production for profit thru the exploitation of labor—robbery thru the wages system. This is the condition that governs the relations of labor and capital under this system. Does Mr. Morgan expect that a handful of labor men and capitalists sitting about a table can change that condition? Of course Mr. Morgan doesn't mean that such fundamental principles should be or can be changed. He merely lamely expressed the wish that some arrangement whereby the continuation of the robbery of labor by capital could be effected—peacefully without strife. An acquiescence of labor in its exploitation is his great desire and hope.

In the second paragraph quoted he unconsciously states the exact truth. The lack of agreement of labor in the justice and equity of labors' exploitation by capital DOES make industrial problems difficult of solution. To expect it to be otherwise is to prove oneself extremely at variance with human nature and the proven principle of life. If Mr. Morgan imagines that this proposed conference shall modify in the slightest degree labors' natural hatred of oppression, tyranny and robbery, he expects the impossible. Man can never voluntarily submit to slavery, he may be forced to at times but at the first opportunity he breaks his bonds.

We agree with the last paragraph. The relations of labor and capital must be put in process of solution in the very near future. Indeed they must. Too long have they remained unoslved But they will not be solved by a hand picked bunch of labor-capital confrerees. They are in no danger of modification makeshifts may demand other solutions but they are building upon sands.
at this conference. That is not what the conference is for.

However, they are being solved. Russia is solving them—by the elimination of the capitalist, the only basis upon which they can be solved. This is not the solution which Mr. Morgan would ask. Nevertheless, it IS the solution Labor is learning that it is such. Capitalist editors and other creators of makeshifts may demand other solutio nbsut they are building upon sands.

We may as well expect the Atlantc waves to remain upon their level as that these conflicting currents of our social system shall be still—while the capitalist system endures.

Former National Executive Committee Thinks it Rules by Divine Right

SITS LIKE A KING UPON THE THRONE AND CALMLY VOTES TO EXPEL OHIO.

Every party member who makes a study of party affairs knows that the national constitution specifies that the national executive committee elected in 1918 shall go out of office on July 1, 1919. Article 3, Section 3, covers this provision. Yet the old national executive committee, elected in 1918 and whose term of office ended a month ago, continues to "king" the party as if by devine right.

It is now voting to expel the Socialist Party of Ohio for recognizing the suspended federations; for refusing to remit to the national office the proceeds from the sale of national convention assessment stamps and for deciding in convention, to affiliate with that section of the Socialist Party which stands for the Left Wing program.

All of the above alleged "crimes" are acts of the recent state convention of the Ohio party. These acts have not yet been ratified by the state membership, and will not become acts of the state party until so ratified. Balloting upon these acts does not close until the last of August.

The actual reson for this attempt to expel the Socialist Party of Ohio upon the eve of the national convention is to further eliminate that great element in the party nationally which is uncompromising and demands affiliation with the Moscow Third International instead of the Berne Scheidemann International.

Information from reliable sources now gives us to understand that Germer and the former national executive committee plan to wreck the Socialist Party so that they may swing what they leave of it into Labor Party ranks. Stedman of the old national executive committee frankly stated some weeks ago that if the radical element in the party prevailed, he and others would have to join the Labor Party.

Germer is now in correspondence with Max Hays, formerly prominent in the Socialist Party and who recently organized the Labor Party in Cleveland, with a view to breaking into the ranks of the strong Cleveland and Ohio Socialist Party organizations. The Cleveland Labor Party, after voting to include in its platform the statement that capitalists are entitled to a 6 percent profit, changed this to read that capitalists are entitled to a FAIR profit. It is such an aggregation of muddleheads that Germer proposes to feed the Socialist Party to.

Whether the Ohio Socialist Party is expelled or not, its 16 delegates will be at the national convention to do all in their power to "save the pieces." There will be nothing but pieces of the Socialist Party left if the former outlawed national executive committee is to be taken reriously in its "kinging" business.

Members of the Socialist Party of Ohio are asked by the state office to pay no attention to personal attacks upon comrades whose years of loyal service in this state have earned them the commedantion of all comrades. Personal attacks are only indulged in by those whose case is weak and who are in the wrong.

The Ohio Socialist movement will remain united irrespective of the wrecking activities of the former officialdom of the party. "Expulsion" by this reactionary officialdom, which did not even have backbone enough to ally our party with the struggling Socialists of Russia, means nothing to us. It is rather a mark of merit. Every member in the state would think it an honor to be "expelled" by a clique of Spargos, Scheidemanns, Kerenskys and such like. We think it an honor to be "expelled" by the Bergers of the former national executive committee.

That's Much Better

We feel encouraged. Eight more locals and branches reported for July than reported for June. However, this is not the best we can do. We can double the number reporting for July if all Ohio local secretaries will attend to their duty.

By the way, did you know that the state constitution provides that local secretaries SHALL report monthly to the state office? This does not mean that you can if you want to, if you feel like it, if you have time. It means that you SHALL.

Just for a change, obey the state constitution and get your report for August into the state office BEFORE September 8th.

JULY ROLL CALL

Locals	New Members	Paid up	On Rolls
Akron	28	411	420
Ashtabula	1	95	108
Columbus	2	98	140
Clark County	1	22	32
Cincinnati	16	420	624
Canton	8	54	80
Conneaut	—	10	12
Dayton	3	138	234
Derwent	—	9	14
Elmwood Place	1	7	7
E. Liverpool	6	(incomplete)	
Fremont	6	24	24
Galion	—	41	41
Hubbard	—	34	34
Irondale	—	13	13
Kenmore	—	65	68
Marysville	—	3	3
Mt. Healthy	—	14	15
Martins Ferry			
Finnish	—	43	43
Masillon	1	42	67
North Star	—	5	5
New Bremen	—	25	33
Piqua	(incomplete)		
Portsmouth	3	37	83
Richland County	—	22	41
Seneca County	—	47	75
Sandusky	1	38	40
Toledo	9	400	543
Toledo Polish	1	11	27
Toledo German	—	25	31
Wadsworth	—	12	16
Warren	1	35	42
Warren Finnish	16	124	153
Warren Ukrainian	—	11	11
Yorkville S. Slav	1	25	31
Youngstown Scan.	—	12	19
Youngstown Ukrain	8	72	93
Zanesville	—	24	37

Now then, remember—**next month** before the 8th—your August report.

Financial Report

Socialist Party of Ohio.

JULY RECEIPTS

Dues, regular	$201.60
Initiation Stamps	32.00
Members-at-Large	6.50
Dual Stamps	1.00
Organization Fund	25.17
Foreign Branch dues	49.19
Local Supplies	20.51
Literature	151.53
Propaganda Meetings	101.35
Industrial Freedom Cert.	24.00
Press Fund	1234.90
Miscellaneous	400.00
Liberation Fund	7.75
National Convention Stamps	14.00
Ohio Socialist	446.39
Total	$2716.30

JULY EXPENDITURES

Local Supplies	$ 7.50
Literature	112.37
Organization	110.29
Press Fund	61.01
Salaries	232.00
Tel. Tele.	9.97
Office Expenses	38.76
Postage	87.49
Printing General	109.73
Auto Expenses	19.64
Ohio Socialist	1619.88
National Office Exp.	94.10
Total	$2512.77
Balance on hand July 1st	$ 850.15
July receipts	2716.30
Total	$3566.45
July expenses	2512.77
Bal. on hand Aug. 1	$1053.68

IN THE FUNDS

Press Fund	$2492.21
Liberation Fund	7.75
National Convention Stamps	14.00
	$2513.96
General Fund Deficit	1460.28
In the treasury Aug. 1	$1053.68

Beginning Sept. 1, teachers in Ohio will have to swear to uphold the constitution, teach respect for the flag and undivided allegiance to the government.

Brooklyn street car men won.

What mean these strikes?

Join **THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.**

PARTY NEWS AND VIEWS

A PICNIC—ATTEND

Local Belmont County is arranging a picnic for August 31. Tom Lewis will be the speaker. Belmont county comrades are asked to get into touch with Fred Walchli and lend their assistance. Address him 980 Central ave., Bellaire, Ohio.

LAST WEEK we said—PAY DUES. This week we say—PAY DUES. We'll say it again next week. We'll say it until you DO PAY DUES.

Better pay now and save printer's ink and the Ohio Socialist the nickle or two which it costs to set up this urge.

Nick Weltlich of Masillon is a REGULAR dues stamp purchaser. He takes an interest in keeping his local members in good standing.

Sub cards and pictures "of the best loved man on earth" go forward to J. L. Arnold of Canton.

And 50 Debs' pictures to Marguerite Prevey for the Akron picnic which took place August 17th.

The are selling fast. A new lot just off the press. On higher grade paper too. Buy a Debs' picture for your home. Buy a number of them to sell to your friends. Everybody wants a Debs' picture.

"We are circulating our petitions to place our candidates upon the official ballot and we are securing many signatures Comrade Dodge has been put on the job to collect back dues and we will send the state office a large order for dues stamps soon." Wm. L. Mauntel, Portsmouth.

"Agitation for the release of all working class prisoners is a good tactical starting point from which to build up a thoro revolutionary movement." Arthur Witting Ann Arbor, Mich.

Local Puyallup, Wash., does not think much of the excuses offered by Germer for the former N. E. C. for expelling about 40,000 members from the party.

Virginia contemplates sending a delegate to the national convention, if only to get first hand knowledge of the party controversy.

Going to the Belmont county picnic 125 Debs' pictures.

J. H. Sims reports that Local Clermont county is again waking up.

Branch Tiffin of Local Seneca County held a picnic Sunday, August 3rd. Still picnic time, you know. Induce your Local to begin arrangements for one NOW.

Speakers

The following speakers are available for dates in Ohio. Terms are $5.00 per meeting and expenses. Comrades who feel that they could serve the party upon the platform are asked to secure the endorsement of their local and have it forwarded to the State Office We will then place their names in this list. Speakers who have been omitted from this list but whose names appeared in this list some time back, are asked to notify the State Office if they are in a position to fill occasional speaking engagements.

M. J. Beery, 65 South Main Street, Mansfield.
Chas. Baker, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland.
Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton rd., Cleveland.
Perry Criters, 218 Uhler, Akron, O.
John C. Chase, 559 South Main, Akron, Ohio.
Tom Lewis, 3013 Prospect Ave., Cleveland.
Frank Midney, 128 North Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.
Marguerite Prevey, 309 Guth Block, Akron.
H. L. A. Holman, Mead and Longworth sts., Dayton.
F. B. Hamilton, Piqua.
J. J. Hoge, 980 Central Ave., Bellaire.
C. E. Ruthenberg, 122 Prospect Ave., Cleveland.
Hugo Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood.
Jos. W. Sharts, 7 Lowe Bldg., Dayton.

DR. EDGAR LEE SMITH DIES

Dr. Smith, one of the oldest Socialists of West Virginia, dropped dead on West Stephen street, Martinsburg, recently.

Comrade Smith served upon the state executive committee of the Socialist Party of West Virginia and was a candidate for congress at several elections. The Party has lost in him a valliant fighter.

L. J. Love, one of our Youngstown, O. boosters sends in three subs. This is not the first time comrade Love has furnished valuable assistance along this same line.

Three fifty for subs comes from comrade A. B. Hollenbaugh of Fostorio, O., for which we are very grateful.

Of course comrade Jno Rehm of Springfield, O. is here again. Two yearlies this week from him.

Comrade J. Sovikos of Moline, Ill., remits a dollar for a sub for a returned man, who has been fighting for democracy in France. Now he demands industrial democracy and amnesty for political prisoners.

A fine bunch of twelve half yearlies comes from Minneapolis. Comrade Oscar Lindholm is responsible for this good work. Thanks comrade Lindholm.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF THE "FREE THEM" EDITION OF THE OHIO SOCIALIST.

OHIO SECRETARIES—REMEMBER

Balloting upon referendums now before the membership will close very soon. Make sure to canvass the vote of your local and send tabulated vote to the state office ON TIME.

Sell—Buy—the national convention special assessment stamps. Delegates' fare to the convention must be paid BY YOU. Or do you expect us to request delegates to walk to Chicago and back again?

George Markert writes that Local Mt. Healthy is planning a picnic for Labor Day. The "full page lies" which Comrade Markert send to this office, clipped from Cincinnati capitalist papers helps to keep the editorial department of the O. S. posted as to what is happening in other cities.

The Hungarian branch at St. Clairsville, Ohio, remitted $15.00 for national convention special assessment stamps. Has your local secretary offered them for sale to your local members?

J. L. Bachman of Columbus spoke at the Guernsey County picnic in place of Marguerite Prevey, who was unable to fill the engagement.

S. M. Cross is the live literature agent of Local Dayton. A large order for pamblets was received from him the other day.

J. L. Creviston of Mullberry, Kans., in sending in $3.00 for subs requests three or four sample copies a week to get more subcribers. That's the method. Try it.

Another dozen Debs' pictures to Frank Baxa of Neffs.

Elmer Hager succeeds E. L. Rodgers as financial secretary of Local Dayton. An order from him for a book of initiation stamps leads us to think he means business.

Perry H. Shipman of Rock Island, Ill., reports the picnic held recently, at which C. E. Ruthenberg spoke, a very great success.

LITERATURE

Buy it from the state office. Send for a new price list. A very good assortment in stock. Prices in large lots very low. Enables your local to make a profit of about forty per cent. Repelnish your local treasury by buying literature at wholesale and selling it at retail.

Socialists hold Picnic for Defense Funds

A picnic will be held by Cincinnati Socialists and sympathizers on Sunday, August 31st, for the purpose of gettin defense funds to appeal the cases of the thirteen comrades recently convicted in that city.

The picnic will be held at Reichrath's Park. Take Colerain ave., Clark St., or College Hill cars to the gate. Andmission 25 cents. The Cincinnati Educational Club will direct the outing. All readers of the Ohio Socialist should make it their duty to attend.

Music -- Everything at Kenmore.

Local Kenmore will hold a Band concert and Social Gathering at Shadyside Park Aug. 29.

The Ladies Band of Barberton will furnish excellent music.

This occasion will mark the opening of the Kenmore Municipal campaign.

A great time is in store for all who attend.

Join **THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.**

SUB GETTERS ARE BUSY

TAKE THIS ADVICE

If readers receive from the State Office a notice of expiration of their subcription we request that they renew at once. Expired subcriptions will not be continued longer than one issue after the expiration. Renew at once and miss no issues is the best rule.

Comrade Chas. E. Johnson of Bellaire recently sent in $3.50 for six subs. A generous list comrade Johnson.

Comrade Louis Sterle subcribes for a year for the Socialist Club of Dunlo, Pa.

A tireless worker for socialism and a greater Ohio Socialist is comrade Nic Weltlich of Massillon. Three subs from him lately.

Comrade Stanley Marshall of Cincinnati sends a couple in for a six months trial.

Comrade Alex Allison looks after the interests of the O. S. at Robins, O. A fine list of twelve from him were received a few days ago.

"I have seen several numbers of the Ohio Socialist and believe that it is worthy of a place on every thinking man's table fifty two times a year so I send herewith $1.00." That's now we strike comrade J. T. Lester of Jackson, Mich.

A "HUMDINGER"

"Util further notice send us 200 copies of The Ohio Socialist for free distribution among our membership. From what I have seen of your paper, It sure is a humdinger. WON'T LET US MISS A COPY. J. G. Reed, Secretary Local Oakland, Cal.

"Enclosed find $3.50 for subs for the best socialist paper I have read in some years, The Ohio Socialist." M. E. Hauswald, Joliet, Ill.

Still selling them—that's comrade Jno Rehm of Springfield. We mean sub cards. Your chances are just as good, comrade.

Another Springfield booster is comrade Jack Stultz. Two cards were received from him lately.

"I am delighted with it" writes comrade Peter F. Redding of Tacoma, Wash. He subscribes for a year.

Comrade J. P. Lerch of Bangor, Pa. sends in two subs.

Vancouver, Wash. is now on our list. Thanks to comrade L. Squire we have three subcribers there at present.

A list of four from comrade Phillip Falconi of Cincinnati shows activity.

To the many, many comrades who have sent in single subcriptions recently we wish to express our thanks. A single subcription is not to be sneered at. Often it means more in future. Where the seed is planted there a crop matures. Go after the subs, and the future of socialism is assured.

Swift denied hoarding of food. That's funny. We thougt he'd admit it!

ORDER A BUNDLE OF THE "FREE THEM" EDITION OF THE OHIO SOCIALIST.

YOUR LOCAL - WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under this Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8. P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8. P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

LOCAL KENMORE
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Bevery Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

LOCAL YOUNGSTOWN
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening
8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

LOCAL CANTON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every 2nd and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 P. M.
Study Class, every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 P. M.

MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.
Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93½ Washington St.

Scott Nearing's Lectures

DIVISION OF LABOR

All of the able-bodied people in society are divided for the purpose of economic investigation in two classes,—the workers and the idlers. The workers produce goods and services in return for the goods, clothing and shelter that they use. The idlers use food, clothing and shelter without producing a corresponding quantity of goods and services.

Among the workers there are again two classes,—those who can get jobs and those who cannot. At the minimum there are always about 1,000,000 unemployed workers in the United States. At times this number rises to four, five or even six millions. Those who get jobs produce for a wage or salary. The unemployed beg, accept charity, live on their accumulations, or starve.

Division of labor occurs among those who get jobs. In reality, therefore, what we see in society is not division of labor but division of product. Division of labor occurs only among one fraction of the people,—the employed workers. Division of product occurs every hour of every day among all people who use food, clothing and shelter. Tolstoy suggests that instead of calling it a division of product, we should call it "a seizure by the strong of the labor of others." In one of his essays ("What Shall We Do Then") he points out the method by which the idlers seize the product created by the workers, adding, "We have our special funcitional activities. We are the brains of the people. They feed us and we have undertaken to teach them. Only in the name of this have we emancipated ourselves from labor. Now what have we taught them? They waited a year, tens, hundreds of years. And still we discuss and teach and amuse one another, and have entirely forgotten them."

Society has no division of labor. Instead it has a division of product. To the workers go subsistence; to the idlers the first fruits. For these first fruits the idlers have agreed from time immemorial to use their minds and hearts in the interests of society. Instead they have used their energies wholly for themselves. What wonder that St. Paul and Captain John Smith and Nicholas Lenine all agree that "He that will not work, neither shall he eat."

SIXTEEN DOLLARS

Living costs are climbing. Housewives know this. Men and women, living alone in the big industrial centers, daily experience the bitter hardships which it entails. The minimum standard of living is getting higher, —just how much higher, a recent investigation by the Minimum Wage Board of the District of Columbia reveals.

The Board is composed of representatives of the employers, the employees and the general public. Under its jurisdiction there are approximately 15,600 women employed in industrial establishments. The Board selected the printing and publishing industry as the first to be dealt with and made a preliminary survey of its conditions. The industry in the District employs 700 women "of whom 47 per cent. were receiving less than $11 a week, while 76 per cent. received less than $15 per week."

A committee of nine, consisting of persons representing the employers, employes and the general public, was directed to determine the minimum wage in this industry. After a number of budgets showing income and expenditure of working girls in the District had been [illegible] and [illegible], the Board announced that "[illegible] is the minimum cost of living for a woman in the District."

The committee of nine then set about recommending the minimum wage it should propose. Each of the three groups conferred separately. The representatives of the public decided on $17.50; the representatives of the employes fixed 17; the representatives of the employers were satisfied with a minimum of $14 per week. The conference finally reported in favor of a budget of $[illegible]. Of this amount $[illegible] covers board and room; $[illegible] were for clothing and the remaining amount covers laundry, health, amusement, savings, etc.

Sixteen dollars a week will buy a minimum standard of living for an independent woman in the District of Columbia. In one industry (printing and publishing) more than three-fourths of the women were working for less than that amount when the Board made its investigation. These conditions laid bare in the National Capital are paralleled in every large center of the United States where women by the tens of thousands are working for a wage upon which they cannt maintain health and decency.

INTEREST PAYMENTS

Statesmen in France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain are deeply concerned over "interest payments." The French government, to meet its interest charges, must find some nine billions of francs each year; the German government as many marks, and the British two billions of pounds. Even in the United States, where the national debt is only $29,000,000,000, the interest charge is in the neighborhood of a billion dollars a year.

What is the meaning of all this?

The warring nations, during the past five years, have spent far more than their normal income, so that despite the increase in taxes, they have been compelled to borrow great sums. This borrowing was done mainly of the property owners. The workers have helped, in a limited way, but the bulk of the huge funds have cme from the well-to-do and from the rich.

The bonds of each country are held principally by the people of that country. So it comes about that the well-to-do part of the population in each of the great countries (from five to fifteen per cent. of the people) holds most of the government bonds. Therefore the well-to-do will receive most of the interest payments. During the coming generation (if the present system of society lasts so long) each of the governments concerned will pay an annual tribute of billions to this small well-to-do part of the people.

How are these funds to be secured? They must come from the product created by the labor of the workers.

Here, then, is a system under which the government takes from the masses, who are poor, and gives to the well-to-do, who already are amply supplied with the good things of life.

This system existed for a long time. The war has brought it into the daylight. The property owners, because they are property owners, and for no other reasn, are given the first fruits. They enjoy. The workers, who produce all of the wealth, receive, in return for their labors, a bare living. The surplus of production, in the meantime, goes to the owners. Heretofore, this surplus has been carried through the channels of economic life. The owners have taken most of their profit directly from the workers in the form of rent, dividends and profits. Today, in every one of the heavily indebted countries, the government has undertaken to collect from the workers the billions of unearned income that is to go to the owners in the form of interest payments on bonds.

The French Minister of Finance or the British Minister of the Exchequer laments over the difficulty of "apportioning the budget" to meet these interest payments. He deceives himself. His real problem is that of taking from the poor and giving to the rich without arousing the poor to revolution.

Sharts "Goes Ahead"

(Continued from 1st page.)

United States in this matter; and that means clerk's fees, printing bills, railroad fares, etc. It is impossible to estimate beforehand just what the expense will be.

I realise the courage it required of you, as state secretary of the Socialist Party, to tell me to go ahead and look to you for the expense. But you see, like myself, the importance of speed if we are going to bring Gene Debs out safe and sound again into the free air and sunlight. Knowing his physical condition as we do, a few more months at Atlanta may give us the spectacle of a lifeless piece of clay handed back to us, which was once our comrade.

I feel sure all comrades will rally to your support in this fight. I know they will see that the expenses are met. And I believe that soon the whole country and the world will discover that when the prison-doors closed upon Gene Debs his comrades did not forsake him.

Yours fraternally,

Joseph W. Sharts.

The Foreigner

Ever since the U. S. entered into the great world war, we foreign speaking people have been watchfully kept under strict control as the man—eating animal behind teh bars. You know the way they treated them in shops, mines and factories. They said to them: "Without your support men, in the harness of labor, war will not be won. You must work hard; spend and eat little, in order to maintain freedom for humanity; through the victory of our boys and allies..." So we see the end of war a victory on "our" side, but where is the freedom they offered to us? The prediction of Lincoln is coming truth of today: "You can fool the people, but you cannot fool all the people foreever." No politician, man or pen can picture the sorrow, lonesomness and longing of the hundreds and thousands of people living in this country without their friends, relatives and little ones; so dear to every human being. All here stated in this artiale is the cry of pretest from the masses upon the unjust and unhuman manner we are receiving daily by the "leading men and [illegible]."

We are positively sure [illegible] this country was and would be without the undesirable foreigner. All the riches, luxuries and commercial system is the biggest result of torling low-educated armies of various European countries, who, in spite of all this are not appreciated. They should be. From my own realization, "Americanziation" will by without any benefit to the people at all. **Stephen Pogledich**

LITTLE BOMBS.

By. H. C. Howell

"Knock and it shall be opened unto you" provided you knock at the right door.

If free thought was a medium of exchange in the amen corner, more reason and less rot would enimate from the pulpit.

There are two distinct species of patriots viz, the class conscious variety loyal to class; the other is the subservant variety loyal to masters.

"The fool says in his heart there is no God" and maybe telling the truth.

The hand that rocks the craddle is the hand which is refused the ballot.

When force meets force there is a disrupt; when brotherhood meets brotherhood a hand-shake.

Men can live Godly without believing in a God, else no man can be devilish without first believing in a devil.

Today the aggregate mind of the world is moving as a unit. Individuality is lost sight of. It is UNITY OF WORLD MIND, UNITY OF WORLD PURPOSE, UNITY OF WORLD ACTION. Theories institutions and thrones crumble like dry leaves before this hurricane of world solidarity.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF THE "FREE THEM" EDITION OF THE OHIO SOCIALIST.

Join **THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.**

[illegible]

By [illegible]

"What sounds are these I hear?"
. . .
Said the Peasant Bolshevik,
. . .
"These cries of rage and fear,
. . .
Blown across the sea
. . .
From very FAR"
. . .
"O, that is the TERROR,"
. . .
Said the City Bolshevik,
. . .
"The Washington Terror,
. . .
The Chicago Terror,
. . .
The black and white Terror
. . .
Of America!"
. . .
"I know the White Terror,"
. . .
Said the Peasant Bolshevik,
. . .
"And I know the Red Terror.
. . .
But those were in the days
. . .
Of CIVIL WAR,
. . .
When Russia fought
. . .
FOREIGN INVADERS
. . .
And TRAITORS at home!
. . .
Always have traitors died
. . .
Recklessly in wartime!
. . .
But WHO
. . .
Is invading America?
. . .
And WHY
. . .
Are THEY having a TERROR?"
. . .
"They are killing each other,"
. . .
Said the City Bolshevik,
. . .
"Because some men are WHITE
. . .
And some are BLACK."
. . .
"Is their Government
. . .
SO WEAK?"
. . .
Said the Peasant Bolshevik.
. . .
"That it allows this sin!
. . .
We had some terror
. . .
In those NEW-BORN months
. . .
Of OUR Government;
. . .
But our cities were at peace
. . .
Within the year!
. . .
Let us hope our COMRADES,
. . .
Both BLACK and WHITE,
. . .
May SOON make for themselves
. . .
A GOOD Government."
. . .
"Let us send out a call,"
. . .
Said the City Bolshevik,
. . .
"To all civilized nations
. . .
To join together
. . .
And STOP this CHAOS!
. . .
Let us make ARMIES
. . .
And go to Washington
. . .
And to Chicago
. . .
To RESTORE ORDER!"
. . .
"Not so, my comrade,"
. . .
Said the Peasant Bolshevik,
. . .
"I am very sorry
. . .
For these comrades
. . .
Who are killing each other,
. . .
And for their Government,
. . .
Too WEAK to restrain them,
. . .
But if I cross the ocean
. . .
To bring order to Chicago
. . .
Then WHO would gather
. . .
MY HARVEST?"
. . .
"You are very IGNORANT
. . .
Of World Politics,"
. . .
Said the City Bolshevik,
. . .
"The people of America
. . .
Think otherwise,
. . .
For was it not their Lansing
. . .
Who called on all the nations
. . .
To bring order to Russia
. . .
When we had OUR riots!"
. . .
"What! Are THESE the people,"
. . .
Said the Peasant Bolshevik,
. . .
"Who have so MANY troops
. . .
And so much law and order
. . .
To SPARE
. . .
For Russia!"

WHERE IGNORANCE IS BLISS

"My subscription has been paid for by some one besides myself and I am not in Sympathy with your doctrine. So I want my part canseled at once. Do you understand what I say. I don't want another issue after you receive this letter."

H. BOWERS,
Greenville, Tex.

THIS ONE IS MORE COURTEOUS.

"If you please We are not interested in your Work or your papers so therefore don't bother us with anymore of your pamphlets or letter.—Jno Whitamore, Caledonia, O.

A SHORT ONE

"Please do not Send this paper to me no more."

BENJ. McGURER,
Westerville, Ohio.

Hanna, Wyo. will receive four copies of the O. S. thru the efforts of comrade Jno Kivon, who is our newest booster in that section. We welcome comrade Kivan to the ranks of the Red Army and believe he will prove a valiant soldier.

SONG OF SEPARATION

(Ralph Chapln, the writer of this poem was formerly the editor of Solidarity, the I. W. W. paper. He is serving a ten year sentence at Leavenworth penitentiary.)

Two that I love must live alone,
Far away.
All in the world I can call my own,
Only they.
Mother and boy in the rocking chair,
Thinking of one who cannot be there,
Breathing a hope that is half a prayer,
Night and day, night and day.
Here in my cell I must sit alone,
Clothed in gray.
Bars of iron and walls of stone
Bid me stay.
What of the world with its pomp and show?
Baubles of nothing! This I know:
Deep in my heart I miss them so
Night and day, night and day.

Like all boosters, comrade L. O. Thomas, of Kenosha, Wis. calls for more "pep" in the Movement. He sends us two dolars for two subs which he secured. Which reminds us that all it takes to put more pep where it belongs is for all to do as he and get busy doing the things that lie nearest to hand.

[illegible] of Women

A nearly dead story has just been revived, it seems. It is the tale of the "Nationalization of Women" in Soviet Russia. Do you believe it?

The American State Department says:

"The rumor as to the nationalization of women is not true."

(Official statement by U. S. Department of State, February 26, 1919, based upon reports of Red Cross workers and others coming from Moscow; Standard Daily Trade Service, Vol. 7, March 1919, page 318.)

The Russian Soviet Government says:

"The calumny against Soviet Russia which has had the widest circulation—the baseless lie that women have been nationalized—is the most ridiculous and absurd of them all." (Official wire less from Moscow, "Manchester Guardian," May 5, 1919.)

Mr. Jerome Davis, who spent two and a half years in Russia as Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association says:

"I am absolutely certain that leaders of the Central Soviet Government, such as Mr. Lenin and Mr. Chicherin, would be absolutely opposed to anything so preposterous as the nationalization of women. I am sure every American Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. worker who knew these two leaders, will agree with me in that statement. In all my stay in Russia, I never met any one connected with the Soviet Government, with whom I talked on the subject, who was not only violently opposed to any such immoral doctrine but who did not also think it was too ridiculous a suggestion even to discuss." ("Independent," March 15, 1919.)

Catherine Breshkovsky was asked by her biographer, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, whether the story was true. "She denied that women have been 'nationalized' or made 'common property,' or that the Government put any compulsion upon them in matters of sex. She said to me: 'Women have more freedom in Russia now than they ever had before.'" ("Nation," March 1, 1919.)

Mr. H. V. Keeling, an Englishman who left Russia last January after five years' residence says:

"There are altogether too much nonsense and untruth printed about Bolshevism and the Soviet Government. The absurd story about the nationalization of women, for instance. I never saw or heard anything of it in Russia, and it is supposed to have taken place long before I left. It simply couldn't be true. Women there have equal political rights in all respects with men, and other countries might well learn much from Russia with reagard to the position and treatment of women." ("N. Y. Evening Post," April 12th, 1919.)

"The New Europe," which printed the story last year, has made the following retraction and apology:

"We desire to withdraw unreservedly the imputation and to express our regret for the mistake." ("New Europe," March 13, 1919.)

Do you still believe it? Then we shall not argue with you.

Anyone interested in the origin of this miserable lie should read the article by Mr. Jerome Davis, "More Light on Russia," in the "Independent," March 15, 1919, in which the fantastic rumor is traced to its source. The law of the Soviet Republic governing marriage was printed in the "International Relations Supplement" of the "Nation," Dec. 28, 1918.

MUSKEGON WORKERS RESENT HIGH CARE FARE

What was heralded as a riot by the capitalist press took place at Muskegon, Mich., August 7th. Workers, resenting an increase in car fare, overturn and demolished fifteen street cars.

Many people were hurt and several fatally. Many who witnessed the spectacle dubbed it a "six hours' dictatorship of the proletariat." However, as Socialists do not believe in destruction but in assimilation by majority rule, this term can not logically be applied. At any rate, it forms a lesson to the profiteering capitalist class of Muskegon which will not soon be forgotten.

WHEN WILL THEY MEET?

The Big Four planned that Mannerheim of Finland, and Kolchak of Omak should meet in Petrograd. But Mannerheim is having trouble of his own and insists on staying in Finland, while Kolchak is going in the other direction as rapidly as possible. Latest news is that he may even have to evacuate his capital of Omak!

Evidently we must be patient. In about five years time, if Kolchak keeps on going east at the rate of ten miles a day, and Mannerheim holds his ground they will meet at last—that is, if it is 18,000 miles around the earth at the latitude of Petrograd and if Kolchak runs straight!

SEATTLE UNION RECORD.

Truth About Debs' Transferal

(Continued from 1st page.)

Department of Justice,
Office of the Superintendent of Prisons.
Washington, June 5, 1919.

Mr. E. B. Stephenson,
President State Board of Control,
Charleston, W. Va.

Sir: I have your letter of the 2nd instant, in which you request the further use of the West Virginia penitentiary for federal prisoners.

The fact is that some months ago the number of federal prisoners was greatly increased because of war conditions which resulted in a large number of military prisoners being committed to the federal prisons, as well as a large number of prisoners charged with violation of the espionage law, and other so-called war laws. This situation so overcrowded the federal prisons that it become necessary to divert some of the prisoners to the state prisons, and we made use of the West Virginia penitentiary, the Maryland penitentiary, and possibly one or two others. However, the situation was releived with the signing of the armistice, and the federal prisons were again able to accomodate all federal prisoners. We, therefore, discontinued the commitment of the federal prisoners to state prisons. At both the Atlanta and Leavenworth federal prisons a new cell wing is nearing completion, which will still further increase the accomodations of those institutions, and unless unforeseen conditions arise, I feel sure the federal penitentiaries will be able to care for all federal prisoners for some years to come.

It is true that we are now sending West Virginia and Ohio prisoners to Atlanta, Georgia, but the institution at Atlanta is a federal penitentiary and not a state prison. Of course, the transportation charges of prisoners from West Virginia and Ohio would be much less to the West Virginia penitentiary than to the Atlanta institution, but the cost of transportation is not a determining factor, for the reason that congress has directed the construction of the federal penitentiaries for the accommodation of federal offenders who were formerly all sent to state prisons.

In accordance with your request, I will have orders prepared immediately for the transfer of Federal Prisoner Eugene V. Debs from the Moundsville institution.

I may add that I believe the situation in the Moundsville penitentiary is a temporary one. It is being experienced by practically all of the state prisons. This situation no doubt will be relieved in the mustering out of large numbers of men from the army and their return to civil life. Statistics show that the greatest percentage of offenders in state prisons are between the ages of twenty and thirty years, and this being the military age, it follows that in the return to civil life of several million men of this age there will be an increase in the number of offenders in the state prisons.

Respectfully,

(Signed) F. H. DUEHAY,.....
Superintepdent of Prisons.

Join **THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.**

Let Anise tell why YOU should help buy a printing plant for The Ohio Socialist

Anise, our comrade out in Seattle knows the value of a public press controlled by capital—for capital. Also she knows the value of a press controlled by the workers—for the workers. She writes exclusively for the Seattle Union Record, the great Seattle daily which is owned entirely by the workers of Seattle. One of the reasons the workers of the Northwest are sending shivers of apprehension up and down the spines of American capitalists is due in a large measure to the fact that the workers there have built up a strong press of their own TO FIGHT THEIR OWN BATTLES.

Let Anise tell why YOU should help to build a workers' press here and now.

HOW IT IS DONE!

By Anise

"If we should have a war
. . .
With Japan," she said,
. . .
"England is bound to help
. . .
Her ALLY,
. . .
And the Japanese troops
. . .
Would come in by Canada."
. . .
"You are dreaming," said I,
. . .
"Can you imagine Canadians,
. . .
Our own blood-brothers,
. . .
Filling their land with Japanese
. . .
Against us?"
. . .
"Not right away," she said.
. . .
"Their feeling is too strong
. . .
The OTHER WAY!
They would first have to be
. . .
CONVERTED!
. . .
But that's
. . .
A rather SIMPLE matter.
There would be a story
. . .
In the Canadian papers
. . .
That the U. S. President
. . .
Remarked to Congress,
. . .
That he had no USE
. . .
For the words "In God we trust"
. . .
Stamped on our COINS;
. . .
For there ISN'T any God!
. . .
Then the good Canadians
. . .
Would say in horror:
. . .
"The MATERIALISM
Oft those Yankees'!
. . .
A few days later
. . .
There would be stories
. . .
Of NEGRO lynchings
. . .
With 'unprintable' details,
. . .
And how some labor leader
. . .
Said: 'D—— ALL negroes'!
. . .
Then the workers of Canada
. . .
Would think: 'How BRUTAL
. . .
Are their LABOR MEN,
. . .
EVEN their common people'!
. . .
Then after a time a tale
. . .
Of the Mikado of Japan
. . .
How he rushed
. . .
Into a burning building
And said: 'I myself
. . .
Am of course not a Christian,
. . .
But my AUNT
. . .
Got such COMFORT
. . .
From this BOOK'!
. . .
Then the good folks of Canada
. . .
Would say: 'Those Japanese
. . .
Have TENDER SENTIMENTS!
. . .
What touching, noble feelings!'
. . .
It would take
. . .
A LOT of stuff like that —
. . .
Stuff for the BUSINESS MEN,
. . .
Stuff for the WOMEN,
. . .
Stuff for the WORKERS,
. . .
And hot, fiery stuff,
. . .
But IN THE END
. . .
It COULD HAPPEN!"
. . .
Then I remembered
. . .
What I had seen done
. . .
ALREADY
. . .
About Mexico
. . .
And about Germany,
. . .
And about Russia,
. . .
And I thought: "He who owns
. . .
The PRESS of any country
. . .
Has BOUGHT
. . .
The PEOPLE'S SOULS!"

And that is the question. Shall the workers continue to sell their souls as well as their bodies to capitalism? Shall they continue to allow their thoughts to be molded to suit the interests of capitalism and their exploiters. Shall we continue to allow ourselves to be whipped into a frenzy of hate and revenge whenever it suits the parasites who rob us from the cradle to the grave? We Americans pride our selves that we "do our own thinking". We don't tho. It is done for us—mostly by the hired lackeys of capitalism. Most workers' reading consists of the daily paper. It's the bosses paper he reads. It prints the truth as the boss wants it to look to the worker. It is truth distorted, falsified. It is the bosses' weapon against the worker in every skirmish and every battle. It is his reliance to keep the worker on the treadmill of outrages exploitation.

Truly it is time we workers quit SELLING OUR SOULS to the brigands who live upon our toil. It surely is time we quit supporting the press that damns us year in and year out for the bosses' benefit. It certainly is time we established our own press—to fight OUR battles. The workers whose names appear in the columns below realize this necessity. They are doing their part. How about YOU. Show that you are one who wants to quit selling your soul to the boss by contributing to the fund that is to buy a press and printing plant for the Ohio Socialist.

$1 Column

Ludwig Stock, Canton, O.	
I. Glick, Steubenville, O.	
A. C. Weaver, Columbus, O.	
Mahleon L. Heller, Doylestown, O.	
Carmon F. Heller, Doylestown, O.	
Joseph L. Heller, Doylestown, O.	
L. C. Koskade, Galion, O.	
R. C. Arter, Galion, O.	
J. H. Volk, Galion, O	
Henry Haas, Galion, O.	
Nick Lauer, Cincinnati, O.	
Peter Noll, Batavia, O.	
Paul J. Zoretitch, Monessen, Pa.	(50c.)
Mike Zoretich, Monessen, Pa.	(50c.)
Geo Podzoseak, Monessen, Pa.	(50c.)
Jno Zoreitch, Monessen, Pa.	(50c.)
Steve Ferencic, Monessen, Pa.	(50c.)
Phillip Maunkovich, Monessen, Pa.	(50)
Joe Trunko, Kipling, O.	(25c.)
Jno Kmec, Kipling, O.	(25c.)
Albert Blasko, Kipling, O.	(25c.)
Jno Rayan, Kipling, O.	(25c.)
Steve Jacob, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Ed. Cenis, Lore, City, O.	(25c.)
Bohumil Masek, Kipling, O.	(25c.)
Florian Zeeif, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Samuel Kriska, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Jules J. Canel, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Joe Daniso, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Frank Chrenka, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Paul Gallovy, Lore City, O.	(30c.)
Paul Visaky, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Juro P. Hlavaty, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Andy Kunco, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Geo. Kunco, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Paul Valka, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Paul Babkica, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Andy Svoboda, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Valent Blasko, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Geo. Cervenak, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Mike Thomas, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Jno Thomas, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Korel Kure, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Jnb Toncik, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Jno Kopec, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Jno Mitos, Lora City, O.	(25c.)
Steve Erzikar, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Andy Zolojinck, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Vavrinec Kret, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Paul Gos, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Joe Pelok, Lore City, O.	(15c.)
Jno Pacintor, Lore City, O.	(15c.)
Jno Omlaro, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Valent Imrich, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Jno Galdon, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Paul Kolackovsky, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Emil Kajzer, Kipling, O.	(25c.)
Anton Ribos, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Joe Prekos, Lore City, O.	(75c.)
Joe Surmay, Lore City, O.	(25c.)
Steve Tomas, Lore City, O.	(75c.)
Mike Chodur, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Joe Plaskoton, Lore City,	(50c.)
Jno Moravek, Lore City, O.	(50c.)
Roy Douglas, Dunkirk, N. Y.	
H. W. Crowder, Hutington, W. Va.	
Mrs. I. W. Likens, E. Radford, Va.	
Conrad Albrecht, Bradford, Ky.	
C. I. Taylor, Donaldsonville, Ga.	
F. A. Bucey, Bayland, O.	
Hiram Roe, Rayland, O.	
Roy Barcus, Bush Run, O.	
John Mueller should have been in	

$2 Column

Louis Gervais, E. Canton, O.
W. Markell, Toledo, O.
J. H. Roads, Canton, O.
Carl Culburg, Toledo, O.
Herman Frank, Toledo, O.
Omer Rascim, Akron, O.
E. C. Ilkenhans, Hamilton, O.
Mary M. Boggess, Fairmont, W. Va.

$5 Column

J. H. Dickson, Springfield, O. ($4.00)
F. E. Fisk, Sandusky, O.
English Br. Neffs, O.

$10 Column

Local Portsmouth, O.
Bishop and Mrs. Wm. M. Brown, Galion, O. ($12.50)
J. R. and Anna Steele, Nenana, Alaska

$25 Column

$50 Column

Same Here

$100 Column

Something wrong here

Pledge Column

Came up missing here too.

How We Grow

Nevertheless, we are still growing.

May Press Fund Receipts ..	$ 129.00
June receipts	1[illegible]
July receipts	1307.45
To August 7th	168.00
Week of Aug. 14th	102.60
Total to date Aug. 14th	$2076.96

ORDER A BUNDLE OF THE "FREE THEM" EDITION OF THE OHIO SOCIALIST.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parti[illegible] of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

Published at
Cleveland, Ohio

NO. 82 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27th, 1919. Address all mail to [illegible] Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.00 A YEAR

We are at Atlanta— Knocking at the Gate

We're at Atlanta.

We're knocking at the prison gate.

AND THE KNOCK IS NOT A TIMID ONE!

As loud as a peal of thunder from a bolt of lightening a second in distance, our knock re-echos and reverberates thru-out the land with our demand that the prison gate be opened and that Debs walk forth a free man.

* * * *

We're at Atlanta.

We're knocking at the prison gate.

And by **WE** we mean **ALL OF US—all of us who want Debs and all political prisoners freed.**

The pounding at the prison gate is the pounding of a milion fists of a million men and women who have solemly resolved that DEBS SHALL NOT CLOSE HIS LIFE BEHIND PRISON BARS.

* * * *

As we write this Debs is in consultation with Marguerite Prevey, Jos. W. Sharts and Samuel M. Castleton at Atlanta penitentiary.

Marguerite Prevey, a Socialist veteran, is known nationally for her uncomproimsing attitude against capitalism. Jos. W. Sharts, Socialist and attorney, was one of the three able lawyers who conducted the Debs' trial at Cleveland. Samuel M. Castleton, Socialist and attorney is Sharts' local representatives at Atlanta.

WE—YOU—ALL OF US are at Atlanta this week in the person of these three comrades, consulting with Debs.

ALL OF US ARE KNOCKING AT THE PRISON GATE.

AND THUNDEROUS BLOWS THEY ARE!

* * * *

The consultation now going on between all of us and Debs at the Atlanta penitentiary will have important results.

HABEAS CORPUS PROCEEDINGS ARE PLANNED and may be initiated **AT ONCE.**

Other important steps in **DEBS'** liberation may be decided upon.

Nothing **WILL BE LEFT UNDONE IN OUR EFFORT TO RELEASE DEBS** and everything will be done within our power to **RELEASE HIM IMMEDIATELY.**

No more waiting for us. No more hesitation. No more fooling away time expecting the capitalist class and its political retainers to "let Debs go".

Marx said years ago that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class.

And the liberation of working class prisoners must be done by the working class as well.

* * * *

WE ARE AT IT!

We are hard at work, we at this end of the forward marching army of liberators.

AGAIN WE ASK—ARE YOU KEEPING STEP?

Are you with us in this fight?

When the battle is over, will you be able to say—"I did my part in liberating Debs from the clutches of capitalism."

* * * *

THIS THEN, IS YOUR IMMEDIATE DUTY.
SECURE LIBERATION FUNDS!

We sent you a communication and contribution list last week.

DID YOU GET IT?

If you did, put it to work **AT ONCE.** Ask **EVERYBODY** to give and give liberally to help **FREE DEBS** and all. If you did not get it then write us immediately. We'll send you another. You'll want it for it contains here-to-fore unpublished pictures of Debs, the prison gate, the steel cells.

* * * *

THE STEEL CELLS!

Debs is there.

And you are where you can help get him out of there.

HELP DO IT!

GET BUSY WITH THE LIBERATION FUND CONTRIBUTION PETITION.

GET BUSY TODAY!

They are Coming Fast!

Liberation fund contribution lists, loaded with money, are already being received at Liberators' Headquarters.

The entire office force was astonished at the immediate response when the first half dozen lists strolled into the office showing generous total contribution of from $15.00 to $20.00 on each list.

The comrades seem to understand that we must pay—even for justice. Understanding this, they have gone to work determined to get justice for Debs and all political prisoners, no matter what the price.

We shall next week begin publishing the names of contributors and amounts of contributions. BE AMONG THE FIRSTS is our plea to you.

Yes—BE AMONG THE FIRSTS AND THE LASTS AND THOSE EVER AT IT.

No rest for any of us until VICTORY IS OURS!

A Message From Debs To You...

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 18, 1919.

TO ALL LIBERATORS,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Comrades:—

Saw Debs again Saturday and had a good interview with him.

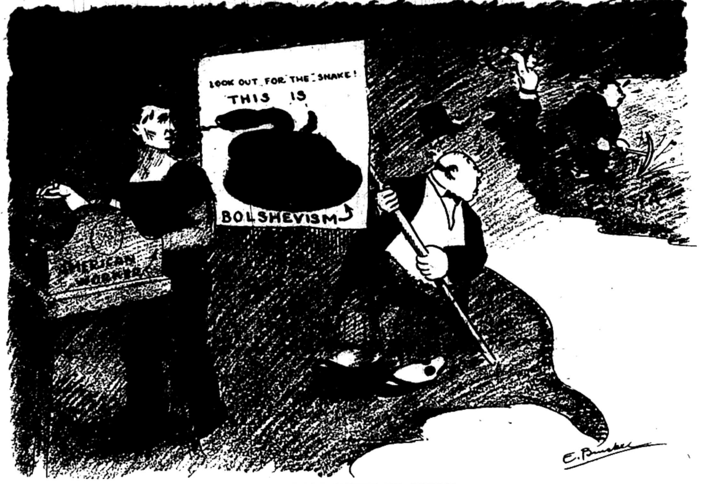
I wired Comrade Sharts, also wrote him a letter, explaining Debs' attitude.

I am with you to the end, until Debs is freed.

Shall write you a letter for publication some time this week [illegible]

DEBS SENDS HIS LOVE AND GREETINGS TO ALL COMRADES.

Yours in Comradeship,
Samuel M. Castleton,
Attorney.



LOOK BEHIND THE PICTURE, MR. WORKER.

65,000 Miners on Strike in Ill.

PROTEST UNIQUE IN LABOR HISTORY IN THAT IT IS AIMED AT UNION OFFICIALS AS WELL AS AT BOSSES.

A unique strike is in progress in Illinois. Miners, 65,000 of the 100,000 in the state, are on strike because of fines imposed upon them for taking part in the Mooney strike and other grievances, one of the most important of which is that against the reactionary district officials of the miners' union.

It is claimed that thugs, in the employ of President Farrington of that [illegible] for the slugging of a committee of striking miners which appeared in Collinsville to induce miners to join the strike.

The striking miners called a convention to meet in Springfield on August 19th over the heads of the union district officials. The call asks all local unions to continue the strike and ask others to join, subject to the action of the convention.

The policy committee of the striking miners, of which L. A. Coffey is president and Henry Schilling, secretary, both of Belleville, have sent out the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION

[illegible] the following petition for a [illegible]

Whereas, our contract was drawn up for the period of the war, and,

Whereas, since said contract has been drawn the third party to said contract has been withdrawn namely the U. S. Fuel Commission, thereby annulling our present contract.

Whereas, our National Officials called our State Presidents together in March, 1919. At this meeting, our President authorized the National to call a special convention in May 1919.

In April 1919, the Coal Operators of the United States held a meeting in Chicago and at that meeting said Operators passed a resolution favoring the continuation of the present contract until April 1, 1920.

In May, 1919, the National sent out a telegram to the State Presidents notifying them, that this special convention ahd been cancelled without consulting said District Presidents, or explaining why they did so.

And, Whereas we deem it necessary to call a strike to get action from our National Officials.

And, Whereas, it has become necessary to call a strike of all miners to have a special state convention called for the purpose of having a new scale of wages made to take effect immediately instead of waiting for a regular convention called by National Officers, which will take at least six months before wage agreement may be ratified,

And, Whereas, owing to the high cost of living, the miners' condition has become deplorable; therefore we ask all Locals to take immediate action, so our condition can be rectified.

We therefore appeal to all Locals to send out a call for speciall State Convention."

The most interesting part of these resolutions is the paragraph which reads that "we think it necessary to strike to get action from our national officials". The question of reactionary officialdom in the United Mine Workers' Union has long been a subject of debate in miners' meetings in Illinois, and this strike of 65,000 miners marks the beginnin of war to the end of deposing all pets of mine owners now "running" the national organization.

Following a meeting in sub-district 4, the following statement was issued by Lawrence Lamb, chairman of the meeting.

Lamb Issues Statement.

Following the meeting the following statement was made by Lawrence Lamb, who acted as chairman.

"At a mass meeting held in the union hall Sunday evening the miners of Sub-District No. 4. U. M. W. of A. aroused over the conditions existing in the mines of the state, as expressed by delegates from Collinsville, Belleville, Gillespie and various other parts of the state where the miners are now on strike and over the brutal mauling of the delegates from Collinsville Thursday last, voted unanimously to cease work immediately and to remain on a strike until such a time as President Farrington and all the executive officers of the state resigned or were deposed from office."

The secretary of the meeting was ordered to send a message to state headquarters demanding the immediate resignation of the said officials in the name of the members of Sub-District No. 4. Farrington was directly accused of being the employer of the thugs who slugged the committee from Collinsville and it was with great difficulty that a sentiment to arouse the miners to send committees out to give Farrington and the others blamed for the slugging a dose of their own medicine was subdued by the chairman and President Thompson of Sub-District No. 4.

The spirit of rebellion against the autocratic administration of affairs by Farrington and the executve officials was intense. Speaker after speaker taking the floor in turn, accusing and denouncing these officials.

The secretary was also notified to advise national officials of the action of the mass meeting.

Important Problems Faced by Convention Delegates

L. E. KATTERFELD, IN AN ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MAKES VALUABLE SUGGESTION FOR A VIRILE ORGANIZATION.

FORWORD: Nationally the Socialist Party has been very planless. As a result it has marked time instead of marching forward. It has in fact retreated, for its avenues of activity in organization, education and propaganda work are less numerous now and have been for several years, than ever before.

There was a time in the history of the national organization when comrades were inspired and encouraged by and enlisted in special activities which were well planned and executed with credit. Of late years nothing but discouragement has come out of the national office and the motto has seemed to be, "it can't be done."

L. E. Katterfaild, who renders the report below to the new National Executive Committee has had years of experience in party work. By this we mean that he has taken part, actively, in the "small jobs" which are so numerous and which, after all, are the main essentials which will build us a big party He has not been a "shining light" in the movement and yet is known from coast to cast by the Jimmy Higginses. In this report he sums up the actual needs of the workers' political party and without which the party will never gain the strength it must have for victory. We ask a careful reading of this report by every party official and member.

Comrades of the National Executive Committee:—

The greatest problem that confronts us as an Executive Committee is the development of efficient instruments of propaganda, education and organization through which to reach the workingclass with the message of Revolutionary Socialism and organize them for action.

In the past this was left almost entirely to private agencies over which the Party membership had no control. These competed with each other and with the Party causing a tragic waste of energy and funds even where not influenced by private profit and personal ambition. Some of these private agencies had far better access to the Party's membership than even the State and National organization itself. Inevitably they diverted the attention of the Comrades to their private schemes. This is one of the reasons for the small measure of success attending the work of the Party as such.

Our predecessors in office made practically no effort to solve this problem. Some of them were far more vitally interested in these private enterprisess than in the success of the movement as a whole. It is our supreme duty to consider this problem seriously and to devote our very best talents toward its solution.

To be more specific, I consider it our duty:—To keep every member so well informed regarding the Party's activities that he can function intelligently;—To develop active workers out of as many members as possible;—To provide facilities for the education of our entire membership and the class conscious workers generally;—To provide the best possible training for those that will enter the Party's service;—To put to work every Party member competent and willing to give all his time to Socialism;—To eliminate the waste of competition between different units and institutions of the movement and organize the entire campaign, so that instead of hindering each other and working at cross purposes each will help the other and the strength of our entire membership will unite in pile driver blows against the ramparts of ignorance upon which the power of capitalism rests.

To meet these needs I propose that we establish at once, and develop as rapidly as conditions make it possible,

(Continued on page 2)

Mooney Strike Re-Affirmed by Second Chicago Mooney Convention.

No one knows until September 1st, whether the Mooney Protest Strike July 4th has failed. It will be a success if Tom Mooney and young Billings go free before Sept. 1st. If they are not freed, a still larger section of organized labor will strike again and again. The second Chicago Mooney Convention re-affirmed their decision to strike September 1st to 5th.

Such was the unanimous decision of the Second Mooney Convention that met in Chicago August 10th at the call of the Chicago Mooney Defense League. This convention was held in the fine hall of the new forty thousand dollar property of the Machinists' Union at 113 So. Ashland.

Delay since July 4th in giving Justice and Fair Trials to Mooney and Billings has added still more fuel to the flame of discontent. Mr. Densmore, the Department of Labor Official, has appeared before Congress with his dictaphone report. It was held unprintable because of the foul language of Attorney Fickert, who prosecuted Mooney and Billings by frame-up methods.

But there are more in prison than Mooney and Billings. Labor is interested in fair trials for all. Debs is serving 10 years — for expressing ideas. Haywood too is in for 20 years, for the same reason, now released on bonds. Thirty percent of organized labor in Chicago has decided to demand freedom for all class-war prisoners — Mooney Debs, Haywood, and all others.

One lone speaker in this convention sounded the strident note that there must be no more protest strikes for Mooney unless the majority of all organized labor would strike.... Boos and cat-calls!!! The whole convention seemed to arise to its feet to explain that all causes are won by the militant minority,—to act—not waiting for the majority.

"Labor's International Officers have abandoned the Mooney Case to the Higher-Ups in the Labor Movement" was charged. The Mooney Convention was itself represented almost entirely by the rank and file,—300,000 workers in all, of which 100,000 are in Chicako. This growing section of labor proposes not to rest until all unjustly imprisoned are free. And this regardless of their uinon affiliation or political beliefs. Social consciousness is surely growing in labor's ranks.

The One Big Union proposition pushed to the front by the Winnipeg Strike at present day industrial developments, was discussed and a resolution adopted for investigating and presenting to Organized Labor the means and methods by which this idea can be effected. United solidarity is an ideal that American Labor, divided into 113 craft unions, does not now present. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Chamber of Commerce always show a solid front against labor—hence the necessity—it was argued for the One Big Union.

The Mooney Case has fathered international complications, says President Wilson. This three years of delay in giving justice to Mooney and Billings bids fair to see formidable National questions "brought to the bat."

The Chicago Mooney Defense forces in Convention assembled now demand freedom for all Class War prisoners and urges labor everywhere to increase their demands likewise. They endorred also a resolution looking to the practicalization of the One Big Union Idea. They condemned the presence of allied troops in Russia and interference with the Governments of Russia and Hungary and demand that the Allies cease such interference.

They protested against Race Riots and Pogroms instigated by the dominating class. Chicago decided to Strike Sept. 1st. and will surely join the one day protest on October 8th and again in November if Mooney and others are not freed meanwhile.

Whoever has complained that the issues in the Mooney Case were "not big enough" may now contemplate the foregoing formidable developments. Labor now demands freedom for its own and self-determination for the nations of the world.

Such was the Second Mooney Convention held in Chicago August 10th.

"I am confident that we will be able to mete out the same treatment to Denikin by autumn that we are now meting out to Kolchak" ***Wireless Message sent out by Lenin***

Important Problems Face Delegates.

(Continued from page 1.)

our own Press, Publishing House, Lyceum Bureau and Training School.

I. PARTY PRESS.

The Party Press must perform several distincts functions. It must first address itself to the non-Socialist and interest him in Socialism. It must carry the news from the workingclass viewpoint, and bring the reader to the point of joining the Party. It must educate the Party member. It must keep him informed regarding the affairs of the Party and inspire him to be an ACTIVE worker. I shall consider these in their inverse order.

(a) An Organization Paper. As an essential for achieving the full measure of success in whatever else we may undertake we must establish an organization organ, or PARTY BUILDER. This should be sent direct to EVERY member. The subcription must be included in the dues. The "Official Bulletins" issued by the national office heretofore have been effective means of concealing the Party's business from the membership. It must be our first task to establish direct contact with the entire membership. State and Sectional editions of this Party Builder can be issued so as to serve the needs of the State Offices as well as the National.

This organization paper can not be started too quickly. Once the membership realize what we are trying to do, they will carry the whole program through to triumphant success.

Let us decide upon this immediately. I am sure that we can secure enough personal subscriptions RIGHT AT THE CONVENTION to entitle us to second class mailing rates. Then request each State Office to furnish a list of its membership as quickly as possible so that before the year ends every member may receive inspiration every week through the Party Builder. That will do much to weld our entire organization into an effective fighting force.

(b) Educational Journal. We need a periodical to record and interpret the events of the world wide struggle for Communist Socialism, one that will educate our own membership as well as the workers generally, and constantly broaden their horizon. The REVOLUTIONARY AGE has been doing splendid work along this line. Its editorial policy has hit the bulls eye. I suggest the we invite the Comrades of the Left Wing section to turn the Revolutionary Age over to the national organization to be the Party's official organ.

Every English reading member should receive this paper. The simplest and best plan would be for the Convention to increase the regular national dues enough to cover the cost of pubilcation and to place every member on the subcription list. If this is done it might be practicable to combine the Party Builder and the Revolutionary Age into one publication.

(c) News and Propaganda Papers. The time is very auspicious for the development of Socialist news and propaganda papers under Party ownership. Most of the periodicals that used to distract the attention of the Comrades are either out of business or have gone over to the enemy. The membership generally is now disgusted with private ownership of our propaganda means. It is up to the Party to supply the need.

Instead of doing this planlessly, Comrades starting papers helter skelter everywhere merely on impulse, then competing with each other, all trying to become national in scope with the certainty that most of them must inevitably fail, I think that our Committee should survey the entire field, consider carefully the needs of the movement, estimate the possibilities, and proceed deliberately to encourage the development of the Socialist Prers along those lines.

Ultimately I think that we should have a chain of Socialist Dailies covering all the great industrial centers of the United States. Our local and state weeklies should be placed and developed with this end in view. To avoid waste of competition in circulation getting etc., each paper should confine itself to a well defined district to cut down production costs, co-operation should be arranged between all the papers in news gathering and editorial work, so that each additional paper instead of being a competitor will be a source of strength to our Press.

As these papers achieve a sufficiently sound financial foundation and reach a certain minimum of circulation, they can then be changed into dailies, but the system of district territories and editorial co-operation should be preserved. Under this plan a chin of daily papers will have far greater chance for success than any one paper could have by itself. I believe that within a year this point can be reached with the Ohio Socialist or Socialist News, the Chicago Socialist, the Oakland World and a number of others, so that by the time that the next national campaigns becomes hot we can have a whole battery of workingclass dailies to meet the lies of the capitalist press. If the co-operation of existing dailies can be secured it will of course make our work easier, but this is not essential to success for the Party owned Press.

As an immediate step I suggest that we invite the managing editors of all existing Party owned local and state papers to meet with our Committee to consider with us this entire problem and if possible work out immediately the districting of the territory and a practical basis for co-operation in the business and editorial management of the Socialist propaganda press. The least that we should accomplish is the organization of a Socialist Press Association.

(d) A General Propaganda Paper. Even under the best possible system of co-operation because of limited circulation the production cost of Local and State papers will always necessitate a rather high subcription price, and it will be difficult to get the person who is not yet interested in our movement to some extent to subscribe. We need also a national propaganda sheet which can be published at a price so low that an immense circulation can be worked up among the non-Socialists, who thereby would become "prospects" for our other papers and for our organizers.

I suggest that we immediately begin to use the **Eye Opener** for this purpose. It should contain the best and most timely material from our other papers, articles that would interest the NON-Socialists. It could be published monthly at ten cents a year, or five cents a year in bundles. Comrades could than afford to place long lists of their friends upon the subscription list and to use it for house to house distribution and for house distribution where there are strikes. A tremendous circulation should be achieved. This would in no sense be a competitor of the local and state papers, but could be used to help advertise and establish them, acting as a "feeder" for them.

In these several ways we should begin AT ONCE to develop the Party's **Publicity Power.**

II. PUBLISHING HOUSE.

The National Office should be the great publishing center for the Socialist movement. Our entire party organization, State Office, Local, Branch and individual member, should be organized as a distributing force for the output of leaflets, pamphlets and books. In this way a volume of business can be developed that will cut down the production costs of Socialist literature to a fraction of what they are under the present anarchistic lack of system.

I suggest that we IMMEDIATELY invite Kerr and Company and other publishers of Socialist books that are worth while to state on what terms they will turn this function over to the Party, or at least co-operate with us. We should achieve for the Party Publishing House a monopoly of the publication of what are known as the standard classics of our movement. We should keep abreast of the times with the publication of new literature to supply the demand both in and out of the Party.

This does not necessarily imply the ownership of a printing plant. Kerr and Co. have never owned any machinery. Personally I believe that it would be a great advantage, but whether it is or not requires technical knowledge that none of us on the N. E. C. possess. I suggest therefore that we at once engage a printing expert to submit to us as quickly as possible an itemized estimate of the cost of a printing establishment to supply our probable needs, cost of upkeep, paper, etc., and what volume of printing would be required to make it a paying venture as compared with hiring our printing done by commercial firms. Arthur Brooks did this for the N. E. C. years ago. His conclusion was that if we made our leaflets, pamphlets, books and periodicals all of such size as to be fractions or multiples of a certain unit size, then we would have a great enough volume of work to keep a highest speed machine busy full time, and would be able to produce more cheaply than any private firm. The matter is worth investigating.

Under this head I have also a minor suggestion. Let us publish a "Red Almanac", patterned after the Almanacs distributed free by Paten medicine concerns, giving in connection with the usual calender a chronicle of national and international events to show the inspiring spread of the red the world over, explaining recent developments in the Socialist movement of the U. S. for the understanding of the outsider, and containing enough entertaining and humorous matter so that the average family will keep it and use it. I think that this could be produced cheaply enough so that Locals and individuals would use it for free distribution and assure a tremendous circulation, and thus advertise our publishing house and the Party as whole.

III. LYCEUM BUREAU.

The National Office should be the central Bureau through which all demands for Socialist speakers can be supplied. All available speakers should be listed and the needs of State offices supplied from there. Locals and Branches should be encouraged to secure their speakers and organizers through their State offices and the Party Lyceum instead of through private agencies.

I suggest that we immediately engage individual speakers of national reputation for booking with the larger Locals and arrange at least one lecture course for the same purpose. In addition to being offered on a cash basis those might be offered on a subcription basis in connection with the various party owned publications to build up their circulation and act as an outlet for the Party publishing House.

IV. TRAINING SCHOOL.

The Party needs thousands of trained workers, organizers, agitators, shop agents, solicitors, secretaries, etc. There is IMMEDIATE need for several hundred. We have not got them. We must develop them at once.

In the past these duties have fallen largely upon those who received special training in a capitalist environment before they become Socialists. Practiceless lawyers, pulpitless preachers and busted businessmen have almost had a monopoly of these positions and thereby influenced our movement out of all proportion to their number. The way to overcome this condition is to train up our own young people, workingmen and women who were Socialists first.

This training school should be started at once, and the co-operation of the convention delegates secured before they leave for home. An educational director should be engaged immediately to outline courses etc. The business administration, at the start at least, could be left to the Executive Secretary and the necessary overhead expense paid from the regular receipts of the national office. A Field Secretary should secure sufficient financial support from well to do Socialists, from units of the Party and from other labor organizations to make this school an immediately practicable proposition.

A correspondence Course should also be worked out immediately and every active Local and YPSL branch encouraged to take the same this winter

As far as possible we should make use of the experience of existing schools and secure their co-operation, instead of becoming their competitors. The correspondence course work and the full time training courses of the Rand and other schools should be absorbed by the Party School, for which I would propose the name: Marx University.

When the support warrants it, the Party should extend these educational facilities and develop local schools in the principal industrial centers as branches of an International Socialist and Labor University with a view not merely to train party workers, but to educate the workingclass in general as much as possible before the responsibility of administrating all the affairs of this nation falls upon their shoulders.

The beginning for this Extension University can be made from the Party's Lyceum. It can be gradually developed from the lecture courses in those centers where the local organizations make them a real success.

Each one of these four institutions, the Party Press, the Publishing House, the Lyceum and the Training School, will be an instrument to help build the others. Developed simultaneously they will assure stability to each other. Together they may become the most influential educational force that the world has ever known. Through them and with them our Party organization, local, State and National, should beable to measure up to its opportunities, adopt itself to whatever tactics the capitalist opposition makes necessary, and become the dominant power.

* * *

The criticism may be made that the capitalist powers may make 'laws'' to prevent us from working along these lines. If they do, we may be forced to adapt ourselves, give up one line of endeavor and continue another. But until they do we should make use of all these opportunities that we have. To the extent that we develop these efficient instruments now we shall be in better shape to meet the eventualities of the future.

Others may think that the unsettled condition within the Party makes it inadviseable to make new departures. I hold that this very condition is an argument in favor of beginning this constructive work right now. Those that would have sabotaged these Party enterprises will bolt from the Party as soon as they learn that we are the majority at the convention and their opposition will be less dangerous because it will have to come openly from the outside. The very act of making these plans NOW, and founding these institutions in this time of crisis will give confidence to those that may waver and will rally to the banners of our Party immediately all the thousands that are in earnest in their desire for Communist Socialism. At this coming convention the Party will purge itself of Reformism, will ally itself unreservedly with the Communist International, will become in FACT the Party of the Revolutionary elements of the workingclass of the United States. Let this historic gathering mark also an end to the era of private profit connection with Socialist propaganda in the United States. From now heceforward let all that is built up through the unpaid efforts of Comrades working for our Cause belong to the Party to strengthen it as an instrument for the emancipation of the workingclass. The inspiration of this hour will make available tremendous reservoirs of energy that have never yet been tapped for the welfare of our movement. Let us organize this energy for action.

L. E. KATTERFELD.

Members of Scandinavian Branch of S. P. of Youngstown, O. have been very active of late. Thru comrades Theo. Erickson we are in receipt of $22.00 which the members collected on press fund lists. Surely a generous list and shows how desirous the comrades are that we soon have our own press in operation at the earliest moment.

In The Week's News.

Fifty thousand maimed Austrian soldiers have been given grind organs and tin cups in lieu of more expensive pensions. How about the monkey — or does the Austrian government take them for monkeys?

A $10,110,000 riot and civil disturbance policy has been taken out by the Cleveland Railway Co. What are the street car magnates expecting?

More proof that we are a very democratic country is contained in the announcement that Pershing has dined with King George.

Paris papers are already accusing England of violating the League of Nations treaty. British activities in Persia is the reason.

A school teacher asked a pupil what liberty was. He answered, "that's what you paste on fences and walls."

The Berlin Tageblatt's special correspondent in Budapest described the Hungarian generals as suddenly returning to their gold-crusted, colorful uniforms and says the old militarism is springing up around the Paladin.

Archduke Joseph had a very "democratic" experience at the beginning of his "rule" of Hungary. Somebody swiped his trousers and he had to borrow a pair in order to call upon his democratic protectors, the represenatatices of the Allies at Budapest. Undoubtedly he wore a pair of overalls to manifest his democratic tendencies.

There are so many strikes, we can not keep count of them. They all follow the usual routine. Police, soldiers, injunctions, riots, jail, gun play.

There are five or six doctors in the new Franz Joseph cabinet. As a contemparary remarks—there are enough doctors in this new "democratic" ministry to make whole Hungary sick.

The Bavarian diet has passed a bill granting the widow of Kurt Eisner a pension

According to a dispatch from Washington, the U. S. government is sending several million rounds of amunition Admiral Kolchak 45,000 rifles and other military provisions.

A Bolshevik wireless message received asserts that after a meeting of Russian monarchists in Siberia, the Russian throne was offered to Prince Alexander Romanowsky of the younger branch of the Romanoff family. The Prince is supposed to have accepted the offer.

The Densmore report on Fickert, the prosecutor who persecuted Mooney, prooved him so "indecent" that it had to be expurgated before the government printing office published it.

The 14th district organization of the United Mine Workers passed a resolution demanding fair play for the Oil Worker's Industrial Union, a branch of the I. W. W.

The most powerful banking group in the world, headed by the J. P. Morgan company, have organized to protect their "rights" in Mexico. You know what that means.

The national council of French Socialists voted 1,420 to 54 in opposition to ratification of the peace treaty.

Hats off! Welcome the prince! Down on your knees, you under dogs. The world has been made SAFE for democracy. A fleet of our battleships are to act as consort when the Prince of Wales visits OUR country. It is reported that he will be highly — HIGHLY—entertained by the best of our society. Cleveland two by four politicians have invited him to visit this city. We suggest that he be asked to rule this city as king by divine right. It would be all the same to the Cleveland Socialists for it's being ruled by that same despotic force, the natural corralary of the rule by divine right.

Gompers got bumped. He had an idea he could capture the International Labor Congress, which convened at Amsterdam. Instead he got a peach of a black eye. The possibilities of a break between the A. F. of L. and European labor loom large. The A. F. of L. is dubbed by the workers across the pond as the most conservative labor organization in the world. Tobin and Gompers are intent upon saving the face of Anglo-American capitalists. They also oppose recognizing the soviet governments of Russia and Hungary, lifting of embargoes etc., whereas the tripple alliance of labor composed of unionists of France, Italy and England favor these measures. It and England favor these measures.

Papers report that the reds are gaining in Bulgaria. The soviet form of government is demanded by the workers and a general revolution to establish it is momentarily expected.

The war is still on. Twenty miners killed in a mine explosion near Trinidad, Colo.

Alleging breach of contract, 3,000 striking motormen and conductors of Pittsburgh have been sued for $900,000 damages, by the rail company.

Food hoarders have been indicted and arrested. But they'll never keep Debs company in prison. It's their kind that sent him there.

The Big Five packers are warned of the people's wrath by the daily press. And in another article we read that old party congressmen are refusing to take orders from party leaders. Things are boiling, sure enough!

Shots played a part in the strike o lunch room employes in Chicago.

Rail firemen ask raise of 50 percent in wages. Also demand automatic work savers be installed upon engines which would cost $200,000,000.

A notorious capitalist sheet editorializes as follows: "Trotzky's Reds have decively beaten Kolchak in the the summer campaign of 1919. Bolshevik successes must be termed decesive in that they have shattered the hopes of those who expected to see Kolchak advance to Moscow and give Trotzky to the gallows."

British naval and military operations in Russia and aid to Denikin and Kolchak, has cost $345,000,000 since the armistice. "This adventure has been entered upon by the cabinet and war office without parliamentary sanction or even discussion, without full declaration or even outline of policy" comments the London Daily News.

At the age of 85, Ernest Haeckel, the well-known German scientist, is dead.

A raid upon a meeting hall in East Youngstown is reported, and eighty men and women were detained in jail over night. J. F. Sawken, well known to Cleveland radicals, led the raiding party.

Six more theaters dark in Chicago. Actors' strike still on. They seem to mean business.

Steel workers, by a 98 per cent vote, favor striking. And then steps in the A. F. of L. and seeks a parley with the U. S. Steel Co.

The Labor Party in Cleveland is figuring upon "right wing" Socialists voting its ticket at the municipal elections.

Everything is uncertain, according to the daily plute press. Only one thing is certain and that is that the world is in a state of change.

Press Fund Notes

A comrade who was many times lent assistance to the State Office in its work of furthering the Socialist Cause sent five dollars to the press fund this week. Like many others, this comrade finds it necessary to donate without names being mentioned. We thank you comrade.

Comrade E. S. Smith of Warren dropped into the State Office last week. He immediately began to cover the desk with fives and tens spots in a most generous fashion. His contributions consisted of $20.00 to the press fund and $30.00 to the Ruthenberg-Hacker defense fund of Local Cleveland. Comrade Smith also left us some valuable historical matter concerning the rise of the Bolshevika to power in Russia as interpreted by New York press. The few moments comarde Smith could spend with us were much appreciated.

Thru comrade T. J. McKenna we received last week the sum of $20.00 contributed by comrades of Local Marietta, O. Ten dollars of this sum is from comrade S. B. Cole. Comrade Cole has guaranteed to match dollar for dollar the contributions of the other members of the Local to the press fund. Comrade Cole is certainly some game RED.

One of our press fund list circulators is comrade Frank Jancovic of Akron, O. A list from him this week contains $8.00. Shows how easy it is to get sums for the press fund.

Recently back from France, comrade A. B. Ferguson of New Lexington, O., hastens to enlist in the fight for real democracy. He contributes $4.00.

Comrade J. P. Young did a bit of collecting for the press fund also. His list says three dollars, one being his own. Every little bit helps a lot, comrades.

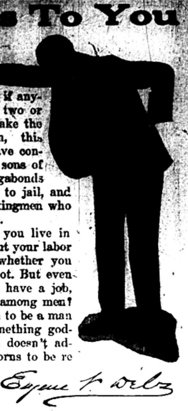
Sending cold chills up and down the spinal column of the capitalists is a trick comrade Frank Centliver of Troy, O. delights in playing. To make the trick perfectly effective, he orders $5.00 worth of sub cards and drops two dollars in the press fund. That's helping.

Comrade L M. Deimer of Akron, O certainly played a joke on our General Boss when he got that list of 8 comrades to donate $11.00 to the press fund. That's playing very cruel jokes on the old gentleman. Thanks comrade Diemer. We can almost hear the roar of that new press already.

"It's calamity to have to depend on outside printing plants". That's the way comrade F. Schon of Kalamazoo has sized up the situation. He's righ too. But he helps to remedy the matter by sending a dollar for our own press.

Comrades Geo. Hinger of Bell Center, O. and B. F. Hoffman of Hamilton, O. don't want to be without the Ohio Socialist. Both renew their subscriptions an send a dollar each to get a printing plant of our own.

Debs Says To You



"What can the present economic organization do to improve the condition of the workingman? Very little, if anything. If you have a wife and two or three little children, and you take the possibilities into consideration, this question ought to give you grave concern. You know that it is the sons of workingmen who become vagabonds and tramps, and who are sent to jail, and it is the daughters of the workingmen who are forced into houses of shame.

"You are a workingman; you live in capitalism; you have nothing but your labor power, and you don't know whether you are going to find a buyer or not. But even if you do find a buyer, if you have a job, can you boast of being a man among men?

'No man can rightly claim to be a man unless he is free.' There is something godlike about manhood. Manhood doesn't admit of ownership. Manhood scorns to be regarded as private property."

Eugene V. Debs

Debs Goes to Prison

By DAVID KARSNER

(Continued from last week.)

I reminded Debs that he had already been nominated, so far as New York was concerned. He wanted to know how that came about, and I told him that several weeks ago, when Scott Nearing was given a reception following his trial, some one, in paying a tribute to the Socialist educator, mentioned him as the party's candidate for President. Whereupon Nearing instantly put the quietus on that spontaneous boom by declaring that 'Gene Debs was the logical leader of the party in the presidential race.

"That is so characteristic of Nearing," said Debs.

Debs did not say positively to me that he would refuse to run for President. Neither did he give me any authority for assuming that he would accept the nomination.

This conversation led Debs to speak of "leaders."

"Very often," said Debs, "a leader is in fact, a misleader. It is the workers, the men and women who do the hard work in building up their branches and their locals, to whom all the credit, homage, honor and glory is due. They are the salt of the earth, the gold in the rainbow.

"The simple people, these Jimmie Higginses who work early and late for the cause, who arrange the meetings, who wash the dishes after the festive dinners—O my soul! How much we owe to the workers in our movement. They expect no pay, they receive no honors. If you were to approach them with your thanks for the good they have done, they would blush to the roots of their hair.

"I have had a regret all of my days that I shall not live long enough to repay these dear and beloved Comrades of mine for the wonderful love and honors they have showered upon me with their loving hands—their seamed and scarred hands, worn and shriveled from the toil that has been their lot.

"Their joy is to serve, and yet none serve them."

Debs was thinking more than he said. His face, at moments, was sad and grave. While he was speaking of the service of the workers to the cause dearest to their hearts his face was radiant and a moisture came to his eyes.

"All that I am in this world," he was saying, softly, "is what my Comrades have made me. They are the fruit of the choicest tree that ever grew."

Across from us, sitting in the brightly lighted smoking car of the Big Four Line, sat several smooth and soft gentlemen, clothed in immaculate linen. They were going somewhere to make a trade, or to strike a bargain. They knew Debs sat within a few feet of them. Each man had either a newspaper or a magazine before his eyes, pretending to be reading it. But I saw each man look over his book or paper, and steal a glance again and again at Debs on the sly. A little while before they had run out on the platform of the Pullman at Terre Haute to see what all the racket was about.

People asleep in their berths in several cars ahead and below the one in which Debs was assigned came out in their pajamas and nighties under their coats.

One tall fellow, with a fine face, and clothed in his pajams, shook Debs by the hand and said: "Mr. Debs, I am going to Canton. Have you ever been there?"

"Oh, yes," replied Debs, appreciating the humor, "I made a speech there once." The old guard standing down on the dimly lighted platform of the station laughed heartly.

It was at Canton that Debs made the speech on June 16, 1918, that resulted in his indictment, conviction and imprisonment.

Shortly before five, the porter came to my berth at the opposite end of the car. I was sleeping soundly.

"Are you with Mr. Debs?" the porter inquired. He seemed to regard me as a deputy. "Mr. Debs has just gotten up."

A few moments later, Debs was in the wash room writing a note. He said he had slept only an hour, "but," he added, "I was resting with my thoughts." If one could only write what those thoughts were.

We again went to the club car, and in a moment Baur joined us. A stranger was sitting opposite. He approached Debs and I was alert, thinking the stranger might be a deputy to place Debs under arrest. He was just a man who wanted to shake 'Gene's hand and give him his love. Debs said he did not know the person.

In the early morning while the train was creeping slowly into the Cleveland yards Debs leaned over to me and asked me to take his statement for his comrades throughout the United States. I fished about for some paper in my coat, and not finding any, took a book that I had in my grip. Although I was unaware of it at that moment I had picked out the book: "**Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches,**" by Stephen Marion Reynolds. When I had written that statement in the back of the book Debs remarked, "That makes a nice addendum, doesn't it?" I asked him if he would sign his last statement for me. This is the statement:

"As I am about to enter the prison doors, I wish to send to the Socialists of America who have so loyally stood by me since my first arrest this little message of love and cheer. These are pregnant days and promising ones.

"We are all on the rthreshold of tremedous changes. The workers of the world awakening and bestirring themselves as never before. All the forces that are playing upon the modern world are making for the overthrow of despotism in all its forms and for the emancipation of the masses of mankind.

"I hrall be in prison in the days to come, but my revolutionary spirit will be abroad and I shall not be inactive. Let us all in this supreme hour measure up to our full stature and work together as one for the great cause that means emancipation for us all.

"Love to all my Comrades and all hail to the revolution.

"EUGENE V. DEBS."

Earlier in the night I asked Debs what would be his attitude toward a possible pardon.

"Suppose," I asked him, "President Wilson should cable a pardon for you without anw strings attached to it, an unconditional pardon, what would you do, what would be your attitude?"

Debs took another draw on his cigar. As the smoke curled from his lips his answer was ready:

I shall refuse to accept it, unless that same pardon is extended to every mand and women in prison under the Espionage Act. They must let them all out—I. W. W. and all—or I won't come out. I do not want any special dispensation of justice in my case. It 's perfectly clear. I always have taken that position, and I cannot too strongly reassert it now."

I understood. Every one of his followers will understand.

All during the trip to Cleveland Debs talked gayly enough. He told us stories of how back in 1896 he had campaigned for Bryan for president. "Even during that campaign," Debs said, "I was getting along fast toward Socialism. I was talking straight industrial unionism, and some of Bryan's lieutennats did not like it. They said I was directing more attention to myself through my speeches delivered direct to the workers than was Bryan with his free silver pannaea." Debs chuckled merrily as he recalled the incident.

"Debs Goes to Prison" can be had for 25c. in pamphlet form.—Order of Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

(Continued next week.)

W. I. I. U. PICNIC

Local W. I. I. U. of Columbus will hold a Picnic Labor Day afternoon at Glenwood Park. Take Broadway street car, get off at Glenwood Park, follow steps on south side of street. The Committee urges every comrade and sympathizer to see that this is a success.

J. L. Bachman, speaker

Subject, "Revolutionary Industrial and Political Unity Points the Way to Industrial Freedom".

Lots of good old Ice Cream Cones and Ice Cold Pop on Hand.

COMMITTEE.

Local Akron Socialist Party

[CAMPAIGN AND PROPAGANDA]

MEETINGS

Every Sunday at 2:30 P.M.

AT 80 SOUTH HOWARD STREET

GOOD SPEAKERS

SPECIAL ISSUE

A special "FREE DEBS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS" issue of the OHIO SOCIALIST will be printed dated September 3rd.

Orders must be in BEFORE August 30th.

PRICE—$1.00 per hundred.

Every subscriber, every local should buy a hundred or more. This SPECIAL will be replete with illustrations and excellent "FREE THEM ALL" articles.

Don't procrastinate.

ORDER TODAY.

Announcement

I desire to announce that my office is now located at Room 309 Guth Block, 33 South Howard St., Akron, Ohio.

EYES TESTED. GLASSES FITTED

LENSES REPAIRED.

CONSULTATION FREE. NO DRUGS USED.

Marguerite Prevey Opt. D.

Optician and Optometrist.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

NO. 82 | Published at Cleveland, Ohio. | WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27th, 1919. | Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. | $1.00 A YEAR

We are at Atlanta--Knocking at the Gate

We're at Atlanta.

We're knocking at the prison gate.

AND THE KNOCK IS NOT A TIMID ONE!

As loud as a peal of thunder from a bolt of lightening a second in distance, our knock re-echos and reverberates thru-out the land with our demand that the prison gate be opened and that Debs walk forth a free man.

* * * *

We're at Atlanta.

We're knocking at the prison gate.

And by WE we mean ALL OF US—all of us who want Debs and all political prisoners freed.

The pounding at the prison gate is the pounding of a mililon fists of a million men and women who have solemly resolved that DEBS SHALL NOT CLOSE HIS LIFE BEHIND PRISON BARS.

* * * *

As we write this Debs is in consultation with Marguerite Prevey, Jos. W. Sharts and Samuel M. Castleton at Atlanta penitentiary.

Marguerite Prevey, a Socialist veteran, is known nationally for her uncompromising attitude against capitalism. Jos. W. Sharts, Socialist and attorney, was one of the three able lawyers who conducted the Debs' trial at Cleveland. Samuel M. Castleton, Socialist and attorney is Sharts' local representatives at Atlanta.

WE—YOU—ALL OF US are at Atlanta this week in the person of these three comrades, consulting with Debs.

ALL OF US ARE KNOCKING AT THE PRISON GATE.

AND THUNDEROUS BLOWS THEY ARE!

* * * *

The consultation now going on between all of us and Debs at the Atlanta penitentiary will have important results.

HABEAS CORPUS PROCEEDINGS ARE PLANNED and may be initiated AT ONCE.

Other important steps in DEBS' liberation may be decided upon.

Nothing WILL BE LEFT UNDONE IN OUR EFFORT TO RELEASE DEBS and everything will be done within our power to RELEASE HIM IMMEDIATELY.

No more waiting for us. No more hesitation. No more fooling away time expecting the capitalist class and its political retainers to "let Debs go".

Marx said years ago that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class.

And the liberation of working class prisoners must be done by the working class as well.

* * * *

WE ARE AT IT!

We are hard at work, we at this end of the forward marching army of liberators.

AGAIN WE ASK--ARE YOU KEEPING STEP?

Are you with us in this fight?

When the battle is over, will you be able to say—"I did my part in liberating Debs from the clutches of capitalism."

* * * *

THIS THEN, IS YOUR IMMEDIATE DUTY. SECURE LIBERATION FUNDS!

We sent you a communication and contribution list last week.

DID YOU GET IT?

If you did, put it to work AT ONCE. Ask EVERYBODY to give and give liberally to help FREE DEBS and all. If you did not get it then write us immediately. We'll send you another. You'll want it for it contains here-to-fore unpublished pictures of Debs, the prison gate, the steel cells.

* * * *

THE STEEL CELLS!

Debs is there.

And you are where you can help get him out of there.

HELP DO IT!

GET BUSY WITH THE LIBERATION FUND CONTRIBUTION PETITION.

GET BUSY TODAY!

They are Coming Fast!

Liberation fund contribution lists, loaded with money, are already being received at Liberators' Headquarters.

The entire office force was astonished at the immediate response when the first half dozen lists strolled into the office showing generous total contribution of from $15.00 to $20.00 on each list.

The comrades seem to understand that we must pay—even for justice. Understanding this, they have gone to work determined to get justice for Debs and all political prisoners, no matter what the price.

We shall next week begin publishing the names of contributors and amounts of contributions. BE AMONG THE FIRSTS is our plea to you.

Yes—BE AMONG THE FIRSTS AND THE LASTS AND THOSE EVER AT IT.

No rest for any of us until VICTORY IS OURS!

A Message From Debs To You

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 18, 1919.

TO ALL LIBERATORS,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Comrades:—

Saw Debs again Saturday and had a great interview with him.

I wired Comrade Sharts, also wrote him a letter, explaining Debs' attitude.

I am with you to the end, until Debs is freed.

Shall write you a letter for publication some time this week which I think will be of much interest to your readers.

DEBS SENDS HIS LOVE AND GREETINGS TO ALL COMRADES.

Yours in Comradeship,
Samuel M. Castleton,
Attorney.

65,000 Miners on Strike in Ill.

PROTEST UNIQUE IN LABOR HISTORY IN THAT IT IS AIMED AT UNION OFFICIALS AS WELL AS AT BOSSES.

A unique stike is in progress in Illinois. Miners, 65,000 of the 100,000 in the state, are on strike because of fines imposed upon them for taking part in the Mooney strike and other grievances, one of the most important of which is that against the reactionary district officials of the miners' union.

It is claimed that thugs, in the employ of President Farrington of District 12, were responsible for the slugging of a committee of striking miners which appeared in Collinsville to induce miners to join the strike.

The striking miners called a convention to meet in Springfield on August 19th over the heads of the union district officials. The call asks all local unions to continue the strike and ask others to join, subject to the action of the convention.

The policy committee of the striking miners, of which L. A. Coffey is president and Henry Schilling, secretary, both of Belleville, have sent out the followning resolutions:

RESOLUTION

"We, your Policy Committee, recommend the following petition for a call for a convention.

Whereas, our contract was drawn up for the period of the war; and,

Whereas, since said contract has been drawn the third party to said contract has been withdrawn namely the U. S. Fuel Commission, thereby annulling our present contract.

Whereas, our National Officials called our State Presidents together in March, 1919. At this meeting, our President authorized the National to call a special convention in May 1919.

In April 1919, the Coal Operators of the United States held a meeting in Chicago and at that meeting said Operators passed a resolution favoring the continuation of the present contract until April 1, 1920.

In May, 1919, the National sent out a telegram to the State Presidents notifying them, that this special convention ahd been cancelled without consulting said District Presidents, or explaining why they did so.

And, Whereas we deem it necessary to call a strike to get action from our National Officials.

And, Whereas, it has become necessary to call a strike of all miners to have a special state convention called for the purpose of having a new scale of wages made to take effect immediately instead of waiting for a regular convention called by National Officers, which will take at least six months before wage agreement may be ratified,

And, Whereas, owing to the high cost of living, the miners' condition has become deplorable; therefore we ask all Locals to take immediate action, so our condition can be rectified.

We therefore appeal to all Locals to send out a call for speciall State Convention."

The most interesting part of these resolutions is the paragraph which reads that "we think it necessary to strike to get action from our national officials". The question of reactionary officialdom in the United Mine Workers' Union has long been a subject of debate in miners' meetings in Illinois, and this strike of 65,000 miners marks the beginnin of war to the end of deposing all pets of mine owners now "running" the national organization.

Following a meeting in sub-district 4, the following statement was issued by Lawrence Lamb, chairman of the meeting.

Lamb Issues Statement.

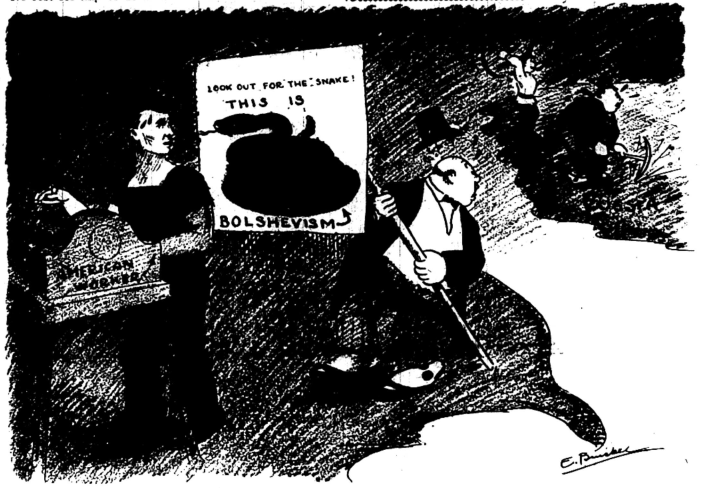
Following the meeting the following statement was made by Lawrence Lamb, who acted as chairman.

"At a mass meeting held in the union hall Sunday evening the miners of Sub-District No. 4. U. M. W. of A. aroused over the conditions existing in the mines of the state, as expressed by delegates from Collinsville, Belleville, Gillespie and various other parts of the state where the miners are now on strike and over the brutal mauling of the delegates from Collinsville Thursday last, voted unanimously to cease work immediately and to remain on a strike until such a time as President Farrington and all the executive officers of the state resigned or were deposed from office."

The secretary of the meeting was ordered to send a message to state headquarters demanding the immediate resignation of the said officials in the name of the members of Sub-District No. 4. Farrington was directly accused of being the employer of the thugs who slugged the committee from Collinsville and it was with great difficulty that a sentiment to arouse the miners to send committees out to give Farrington and the others blamed for the slugging a dose of their own medicine was subdued by the chairman and President Thompson of Sub-District No. 4.

The spirit of rebellion against the autocratic administration of affairs by Farrington and the executve officials was intense. Speaker after speaker taking the floor in turn, accusing and denouncing these officials.

The secretary was also notified to advise national officials of the action of the mass meeting.



LOOK BEHIND THE PICTURE, MR. WORKER.

Important Problems Faced by Convention Delegates

L. E. KATTERFELD, IN AN ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MAKES VALUABLE SUGGESTION FOR A VIRILE ORGANIZATION.

FORWORD: Nationally the Socialist Party has been very planless. As a result it has marked time instead of marching forward. It has in fact retreated, for its avenues of activity in organization, education and propaganda work are less numerous now and have been for several years, than ever before.

There was a time in the history of the national organization when comrades were inspired and encouraged by and enlisted in special activities which were well planned and executed with credit. Of late years nothing but discouragement has come out of the national office and the motto has seemed to be, "it can't be done."

L. E. Katterfelld, who renders the report below to the new National Executive Committee has had years of experience in party work. By this we mean that he has taken part, actively, in the "small jobs" which are so numerous and which, after all, are the main essentials which will build us a big party He has not been a "shining light" in the movement and yet is known from coast to cast by the Jimmy Higginses. In this report he sums up the actual needs of the workers' political party and without which the party will never gain the strength it must have for victory. We ask a careful reading of this report by every party official and member.

Comrades of the National Executive Committee:—

The greatest problem that confronts us as an Executive Committee is the development of efficient instruments of propaganda, education and organization through which to reach the workingclass with the message of Revolutionary Socialism and organize them for action.

In the past this was left almost entirely to private agencies over which the Party membership had no control. These competed with each other and with the Party causing a tragic waste of energy and funds even where not influenced by private profit and personal ambition. Some of these private agencies had far better access to the Party's membership than even the State and National organization itself. Inevitably they diverted the attention of the Comrades to their private schemes. This is one of the reasons for the small measure of success attending the work of the Party as such.

Our predecessors in office made practically no effort to solve this problem. Some of them were far more vitally interested in these private enterprisess than in the success of the movement as a whole. It is our supreme duty to consider this problem seriously and to devote our very best talents toward its solution.

To be more specific, I consider it our duty:—To keep every member so well informed regarding the Party's activities that he can function intelligently;—To develop active workers out of as many members as possible;—To provide facilities for the education of our entire membership and the class conscious workers generally;—To provide the best possible training for those that will enter the Party's service;—To put to work every Party member competent and willing to give all his time to Socialism;—To eliminate the waste of competition between different units and institutions of the movement and organize the entire campaign, so that instead of hindering each other and working at cross purposes each will help the other and the strength of our entire membership will unite in pile driver blows against the ramparts of ignorance upon which the power of capitalism rests.

To meet these needs I propose that we establish at once, and develop as rapidly as conditions make it possible,

(Continued on page 2)

Mooney Strike Re-Affirmed by Second Chicago Mooney Convention.

No one knows until September 1st, whether the Mooney Protest Strike July 4th has failed. It will be a success if Tom Mooney and young Billings go free before Sept. 1st. If they are not freed, a still larger section of organized labor will strike again and again. The second Chicago Mooney Convention re-affirmed their decision to strike September 1st to 5th.

Such was the unanimous decision of the Second Mooney Convention that met in Chicago August 10th at the call of the Chicago Mooney Defense League. This convention was held in the fine hall of the new forty thousand dollar property of the Machinists' Union at 113 So. Ashland.

Delay since July 4th in giving Justice and Fair Trials to Mooney and Billings has added still more fuel to the flame of discontent. Mr. Densmore, the Department of Labor Official, has appeared before Congress with his dictaphone report. It was held unprintable because of the foul language of Attorney Fickert, who prosecuted Mooney and Billings by frame-up methods.

But there are more in prison than Mooney and Billings. Labor is interested in fair trials for all. Debs is serving 10 years — for expressing ideas. Haywood too is in for 20 years, for the same reason, now released on bonds. Thirty percent of organized labor in Chicago has decided to demand freedom for all class-war prisoners — Mooney Debs, Haywood, and all others.

One lone speaker in this convention sounded the strident note that there must be no more protest strikes for Mooney unless the majority of all organized labor would strike.... Boos and cat-calls!!! The whole convention seemed to arise to its feet to explain that all causes are won by the militant minority—to act—not waiting for the majority.

"Labor's International Officers have abandoned the Mooney Case to the Higher-Ups in the Labor Movement" was charged. The Mooney Convention was itself represented almost entirely by the rank and file,—300,000 workers in all, of which 100,000 are in Chicako. This growing section of labor proposes not to rest until all unjustly imprisoned are free. And this regardless of their uinon affiliation or political beliefs. Social consciousness is surely growing in labor's ranks.

The One Big Union proposition pushed to the front by the Winnipeg Strike at present day industrial developments, was discussed and a resolution adopted for investigating and presenting to Organized Labor the means and methods by which this idea can be effected. United solidarity is an ideal that American Labor, divided into 113 craft unions, does not now present. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Chamber of Commerce always show a solid front against labor—hence the necessity—it was argued for the One Big Union.

The Mooney Case has fathered international complications, says President Wilson. This three years of delay in giving justice to Mooney and Billings bids fair to see formidable National questions "brought to the bat."

The Chicago Mooney Defense forces in Convention assembled now demand freedom for all Class War prisoners and urges labor everywhere to increase their demands likewise. They endorred also a resolution looking to the practicalization of the One Big Union Idea. They condemned the presence of allied troops in Russia and interference with the Governments of Russia and Hungary and demand that the Allies cease such interference.

They protested against Race Riots and Pogroms instigated by the dominating class. Chicago decided to Strike Sept. 1st. and will surely join the one day protest on October 8th and again in November if Mooney and others are not freed meanwhile.

Whoever has complained that the issues in the Mooney Case were "not big enough" may now contemplate the foregoing formidable developments. Labor now demands freedom for its own and self-determination for the nations of the world.

Such was the Second Mooney Convention held in Chicago August 10th.

"I am confident that we will be able to mete out the same treatment to Denikin by autumn that we are now meting out to Kolchak" *Wireless Message sent out by Lenin*

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and
Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27th, 1919.

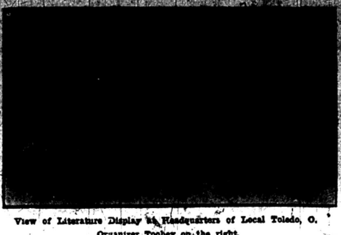
Tears for Kolchak

Whatever substantial aid is lacking in the allies' support of Kolchak is made up in tearful sympathy extended by capitalistic editors.

But where guns and food fail we can hardly expect that tears and sympathy however sincere, can avail. Kolchak is decisevely beaten. His summer's campaign against the Red army is a total failure. All successes belong to the Bolsheviks. Instead of following up his gains early in the spring, he has retreated nearly a thousand miles. Omsk, which he styles the capital of his "government" stands ready for evacuation at any hour as the Red army advances. Kolchak, as the strong man upon whom the allies and the capitalist world depended to rehabilitate capitalism, is proven to be a straw in the wind of the proletarian revolution that is steadily winning out in Russia.

Once more are the emissaries of capitalism proven false prophets. After months of foretelling daily the immediate downfall of the Soviet government, they are forced to admit the growing strength of New Russia. This does not deter them tho, from continueing to prophesy that "in the end, Bolshevism must turn itself out". Of course one can always prophesy and if one had no respect for their reputation as a forecaster of events, such bland prophecies will likely follow. No one will take them seriously however. The fact that Kolchak is being driven into a corner without hope of escape will have a strong tendency to raise faith in the Soviet power. The Soviets are winning, not only in Russia, against the counter revolution, but in moral support among the working class thruout the world.

The proletarian revolution is winning. Tears for Kolchak may provide a vent for disappointed capitalistic feelings, but they also reveal the weakness of capitalism to rebuild itself in Free Russia.



View of Literature Display at Headquarters of Local Toledo, O.
Organizer Toohey on the right.

The above pictures show the Headquarters of the ocialist Party in Toledo, they are at 213 Michigan st. open at all times, for all comrades. All kinds of Literature of all branches of the radical movement is for sale there, from the Anarchist's sheets to the New Republic. There is a well-stocked Icebox with all kinds of soft drinks. Pool tables are in the rear, a full line of tobacco and cigars is for sale. The meeting date is given in other part of this paper. No one passing thru Toledo should miss calling at the Headquarters, they are located in the down-town district, and have a bell telephone. Comrade Toohey, the Organizer, is usually there when not out on open air meetings in front of Toledo's factory gates. He may be seen in the above picture. C. V. U.

Let's Make it A Million

The first FREE DEBS leaflet is on the press. Orders are already in for thousands of them. The leaflet is entitled—"AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON", and appeared in the Ohio Socialist, issue of August 13.

ONLY $2.00 A THOUSAND. How many thousand do you want for distribution. ORDER AT ONCE. Join the Army of Liberators. Be a worker, a determined, steady worker in this campaign to FREE DEBS and ALL political prisoners. Address 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

Buy Them - Sell Them

We refer to the Debs' pictures. Orders for these large 12½ x 18 inch pictures have been so numerous that we had to produce them by the thousand. As a consequence we have been enabled to secure a reduced price upon their production and can sell them cheaper to you.

The retail price will remain the same, namely 25c each. But we can wholesale these pictures to you to sell to your local comrades, at your picnic, at your propaganda meetings at 10c. each in lot of ten or more.

This picture of Debs was taken just before he went to prison. It is the best one ever taken,so critics say. It is printed in sepia and makes a splendid picture for framing. Every picture is autographed in Debs' handwriting.

Place your order today. Address 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

PARTY NEWS AND VIEWS

PIQUA SOCIALIST TO WIN.

"We are driving the old gang into a corner. At this primary election there were only 17 votes cast. Our petitions are being signed and we find that the workers are with us strong. Am making an effort to have the Socialists of Troy put a ticket in the field. They would win this fall." Mayor Hamilton, Piqua.

The state convention of Oregon decided to retain money derived from the sale of national convention assessment stamps in the state treasury and send it to the convention with the state delegates.

Morris Millquit has declined the nomination for delegate to the national convention offered him by the "regular" party organization in that state.

Edwin Firth, who for the past six months has had charge of the literature department under Adolp Germer, and who, considering handicaps, has made a signal success of that department, has been discharged. From information at hand Germer claims he can not afford to employ Firth any longer because receipts do not warrant it.

A contribution of $7.25 from Local Zanesville for national convention expenses has been received. And $10.00 from Local Rock Island, Ill.

Ella Reeve Bloor is engaged in organization work in Kansas City. We We hope to secure her for a tour of Ohio shortly.

Locals Seneca County and Portsmouth have ordered several thousands of the "Open Letter to President Wilson" leaflet, which appeared in a recent issue of the Ohio Socialist. This leaflet sells for $2.00 a thousand. Order a thousand for distribution.

Local Girard makes inquires for a speaker. Fred Wilson writes: "We now meet each Tuesday eening in the Finnish Hall, Market and Second Sts. Can we have Ruthenberg for a Saturday evening meeting. No trouble to hold meetings here."

LASALLE CLUB PICNICS

The LaSalle Club, the German Socialist Branch of Local Cincinnati, held a picnic in conjunction with the sympathizing farmers at Batavia, O. The Herwegh Maenner Chorus provided singing for the day. The comrades intended to organize at Batavia but opposition was had in the person of the Catholic priest, who has informed the farmers that if they join the Socialist Party or listen to its speakers the consequences will be the loss of their farms.

Another picnic will be held at Batavia in a short time, writes Otto Hoefer. The proceeds of the last picnic will go to the Ohio Socialist press fund.

A $17.00 remittance from Local Fremont was the surprise of the state office the other day.

WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE ORGANIZES IN AKRON.

On Sunday, July 20th, at the C. L. U. Hall, the Workers' Defense League was organized, composed of various working class organization of Akron and vicinity. Local Akron of the Socialist Party and each of its branches have two delegates in the league. The purpose of the league to defend workers persecuted by the employing class. The league will also defend victims of strikes of unorganized workers. An International Labor Day picnic will be held September 1st at Frank's Farm on the Wooster avenue extention. P. Monoldi is the president and Jas. B. O'Brien the secretary-treasurer of the league.

The Socialist Party of Minnesota met in State Convention on August 24th.

Local Warren is still on the lookout for a comrade to act as canvasser in that city. Any party member desiring to learn particulars is asked to address J. F. Denison, 416½ Washington st., Warren, Ohio.

Local Columbus donates $5.00 to help defray national convention expenses.

A BREEZY LETTER FROM SENECA.

Dear Comrades of the State Office:—Received your letter acknowledging the $11.00 for press fund and note what you say. I think we did well considering that after comrade Geiger returned from the Left Wing conference we had $50.00 debts and 4c. in the treasury. We have since paid all the debts, donated $27.00 to press fund, have twenty some dollars in treasury, and are working for the picnic funds now. We have about 7 or 8 comrades in Branch Tiffin, whose first, last and middle name are work, pay and fight. They are in training for the big days ahead when they may have to work in 24 and 36 hours shifts.

This same crowd is always on the job. Comrade Ralston broke the news to the comrades gently, with a sledge hammer, that from now on dollars instead of dimes must go into the collection basket. I hope we get the habit.

We had a picnic at comrade Henry's—104 present—cleared $8.80. We are going to meet at Comr. Ward's boat house up the River next Sunday the 17. I am selling some copies of Com. Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World." They say one can be miserable, but it takes two to be glad, that's why every time some thing good happens in Local Seneca Co. I tax the patience of the State Office by unraveling the whole yarn.

Yours in comradeship

NELLIE LESCHER,
Tiffin, O.

Geo. H. Houghton is poneering in Wellington, Ohio. He writes the state office a very encouraging letter.

Local Belmont County will picnic September 14th instead of August 31, as first announced.

Local Toledo applies for a week's dates from John DeQuer.

Local Robins donated $5.00 towards the expenses of delegates to the national convention.

"Presumably Innocent"

Concerning the indicted and alleged food profiteers of Cleveland, a capitalist contemporary asserts that "of course they are entitled to a speedy and fair trial before a jury of their peers, and until this occurs they are to be considered innocent of the charges". Verily, in this land of boasted liberty and government by law, it is every accused man's right to be judged innocent of crime until guilt is proved.

No worker would dispute that right. We are for it, we would not have it otherwise, not even for those capitalists who have been known for years to be guilty of the grossest crimes against thousands of workers.

Our aim in drawing this matter to the attention of our readers is to point out the difference in the attitude of the capitalist press toward workers and shirkers when they find themselves ensnared in the law. We recall the time in the case of workers of Cleveland when no such magnanimity was offered them. Apparently there is a difference as to whether the accused is a worker or one who works the worker. When the apostles of law-and-order of the city of Cleveland led the avalanche of death upon the peaceful parade of workers on last May Day, and only those were accused of riot who were victims, there was no assurance of a just and speedy trial with "presumed innocence" until found guilty.

Not by a hell of a lot. This same dirty, slimly capitalist prostitute spread barrells of ink and used thousands of reams of paper in damning the workers who fell innocent victims to the onslaughts of the insane henchmen of the Chamber of Commerce. THEY were found GUILTY in every page of this mouthpiece of capitalism a thousand times before the mockery of trials took place. Before the blood had been washed from the heads of the wounded and outraged, this moral degenerate was wriggling himself into the good will of his bosses by lying about the workers and calling for further outrages against them even to the point of inciting to riot.

Yes, a fair trial is certainly assured our dear alleged profiteers. But we would very much like to see a jury of common laborers in that jury box—but we won't.

Virginia Bulletin.

State Secretary:—B. M. Dutton,
R. F. D. No. 1, Abigdon, Va.

Virginia Comrades:—

I want to open this sermon by reminding you of our obligation to support The Ohio Socialist. I am aware that you have done something in this direction—possibly all you could. When we support a good, clear-cut revolutionary Socialist paper like The Ohio Socialist we are not only helping the paper, we are helping our organization in the very best possible way. So if we have not already been doing our darndest for The Ohio Socialist let us get busy. This is one of the very best propaganda papers in America and it is owned and controlled by the Party Organization

The time has arrived when ALL propaganda papers advocating Socialism must be owned and controlled by the Party Organization or else submit to dictation from Official sources. Too many free-lance teachers, each teaching his particular brand of Socialism is a fruitful source of confusion, and is largely responsable for our present woes. The membership, in convention and by referendum MUST formulate a definitive policy. then each publicist who claims to serve the cause MUST drop into step with the march, else get out of the procession. This may be "Prussianism"; if so make the most of it. Concentration and co-ordination are the prime essentials to success in ANY line of endeavor.

The Capitalists practice this policy remorselessly. Somewhere in the financial metropolis is the solar plexus of their system. There, certain lines of action and certain policies are agreed upon. Then somehow and in some electric manner the order is flashed throughout the land and every cuckoo editor, little and big, religiusly takes this dictation, and behold a chorus arises simultaneously everywhere in exact harmony. Yes, I know. These cuckoos sing cuckoo for their daily bread. They sink their principles and their individuality when they take the job. But it is this harmony and concerted effort that makes the Plute Press the mighty instrument for subjugation and enslavement that it is. If we would make our press a mighty instrument for emancipation we must have harmony and concerted action too. If a man will sink his individuality for well-fed slavery, how much more readily should we be to make sacrifices for INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

This has been a quiet month in our movement. Only one Local, Dante, reports gains. I guess all hands are awaiting to see the result of the Chicago Convention. After that I look to see the movement take on new life.

Comrade Reichle of Madison Heights sends in his donation to the Convention fund and reports that Local will be organized in Lynchburg soon as the Emergency Convention flurry is over.

Comrade Vernon Taylor, Corresponding Secretary for Local Norfolk has resigned and is leaving to better his condition and satisfy his wander-lust. We are sorry to lose him. Comrade Taylor is a fine piece of clay.

Comrade Edson of Portsmouth says we Socialists MUST learn better discipline—we must march in solid phalanx, not straggle. Wonder if he is not right about it?

Comrade Beggs of Portsmouth sends in a smile and a liberal donation from his Local to the Convention fund. Thanks for both.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Income.	
July 1st, E. J. Beggs	$3.00
July 17th, Local Dante	$1.55
Total	$4.55
Expenses	
July 3rd, Sent Pierce	$3.00
July 20th, Literature	$1.00
July 30th, Postage, etc.	$2.00
Total	$6.00
Loss for the month	$1.45

B. M. DUTTON.

Speakers

The following speakers are available for dates in Ohio. Terms are $5.00 per meeting and expepses. Comrades who feel that they could serve the party upon the platform are asked to secure the endorsement of their local and have it forwarded to the State Office We will then place their names in this list. Speakers who have been omitted from this list but whose names appeared in this list some time back, are asked to notify the State Office if they are in a position to fill occasional speaking engagements.

M. J. Beery, 65 South Main Street, Mansfield.
Chas. Baker, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland.
Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton rd., Cleveland.
Perry Crites, 218 Uhler, Akron, O.
John C. Chase, 559 South Main, Akron, Ohio.
Tom Lewis, 3013 Prospect Ave., Cleveland.
Frank Midney, 128 North Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.
Marguerite Prevey, 309 Guth Block, Akron.
H. L. A. Holman, Mead and Longworth sts., Dayton.
F. B. Hamilton, Piqua.
J. J. Hoge, 980 Central Ave., Bellaire.
C. E. Ruthenberg, 122 Prospect Ave., Cleveland.
Hingo Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood.
Jos. W. Sharts, 7 Lowe Bldg., Dayton.
P. B. Strobel, Mt. Vernon.

JOIN!

SIGN UP in the Army of Liberators. Write to headquarters, 3207 Clark ave., Cleveland, Ohio, for application blanks.

A MEMBERSHIP CARD in the Army of liberators will have historic significance in the years to come.

Admission fee $1.00. Monthly dues—doing your duty daily. Join today. Secure applications of other workers.

BELLAIRE, O. SOCIALISTS CONTINUE FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH

The Socialists of Bellaire, O., are not a bit dismayed on account of Attorney General Price's ruling that the referendum petitions to submit the question of free speech upon the streets are illegal.

Tho the petitions have been thrown out by this ruling, unless that it can be shown that he is in error, the fight is being carried forward on other fronts. Socialists are determined that the gag law imposed upon socialists shall not be allowed to stand.

Fred Walchli of the Free Speech Committee states that if necessary, they will circulate an Initiative Petition. Also, the workers of the city are working thru the labor unions to bring pressure to bear upon the city administration with the intention of having the law repealed.

The socialists are determined to carry the fight for free speech and constitutional rights direct to the highest court, the workers. Attorney Jos. W. Sharts of Dayton is lending legal aid in the fight.

AKRON SOCIALISTS OPEN CAMPAIGN

Sunday, Sept. 7th marks the begining of an energetic campaign to be waged in the coming municipal election by the Akron Socialists.

A full city ticket has been nominated, headed by Albert C. Holloway as the party candidate for mayor. This election is the first to be held under the new city charter. This charter gives the control of the city to a Council of eight members and a mayor. The council electes a city manager, said manager being elected for life.

The Socialists will make a straight out Socialist campaign for the capture of the city by the workers on the basis of the class struggle.

The opening speaker in this campaign will be Tom Clifford of Cleveland who is dated for Sep. 7th. The following Sunday, Sep. 14th, the speaker will be Tom Lewis and on Sep. 21st Socialist mayor, Frank Hamilton of Piqua will be the speaker. All Socialists and Socialists sympathizers are requested to attend all these meetings. Other speakers will be announced from time to time and the best speakers available will be escured. From one to ten thousand copies of the Ohio Socialist will be distributed weekly after the campaign is fairly opened.

A Photograph OF E. V. DEBS

Undoubtedly the finest picture of Debs ever taken.

Taken shortly before going to prison. It measures 12½ x 18 inches. Printed in brown tinted ink on sepia paper makes an ornament of the highest type for your home.

You will be proud of your Debs picture.

ORDER NOW.
25c each
SOCIALIST PARTY of OHIO
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

The 11th Ward Branch of Local Cincinnati makes its 2nd payment on pledge of $50.00 this week. This Branch surely means business.

Join THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.

Mind Your Own Business

No. 3.

(By Ruby Herman)

Acting State Secretary, Socialist Party of Wash.

A comrade came into the State Office, the other day, all "het up"! Said he,—"What sort o' business is it that N. E. C.'s been up to? And what IS all this talk about the "Left Wing", any way? I'm plum disgusted with the Socialist Party; they don't do a thing but just fight and howl among themselves, and ask for money!"

"Member of the Party?" I asked. "Oh, yes: I've been a member, now, for ten years." I remarked that he "must be pretty well acquainted with the Organization", and he modestly acknowledged himself to be. Questioned further he admitted that he hadn't been to a business meeting of his Local for two months; admitted that he wasn't sure if his Dues were paid up to date; had not heard of the clause in the State Constitution which provides that EVERY member SHALL be a subscriber to the party paper. AND HE WASN'T AWARE THAT THERE WERE TWO STATE REFERENDUMS TO BE VOTED ON AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME!

One Local Secretary writes: "It is so hard to get members to come to meetings. I call a meeting, and they all come down town, alright,—AND GO TO A SHOW! And two or three of us wait around at the hall till they come out of the show, and then we try to transact a little business when it is so late we all ought to be in our beds." And the funny part of it is that some of those theater-going members have, at divers times, sent in Resolutions calling upon the workers to "Unite! and each work for the good of all: We have naught to lose, and all to gain, by STANDING SHOULDER TO SHOULDER, in this crisis, and WORKING for our emancipation." Honestly, now. I can't see any particular progress in the work of emancipation by going to a show on Local meeting night. Can you?

Another member approached me and anxiously inquired,—"How shall I vote on this "Left Wing Manifesto" "Have you read it?" I asked. "Well, no; not entirely—that is, just a little along at the first—that is, I did read some of it—I think I read most of the program,—But I don't know how to vote—Do you think it will carry?" I suggested that the comrade go home and READ THE ENTIRE THING, and then, if it seemed to conflict with Marx, to vote "No". "O, I have so little time", complained this "active" Socialist, "and it is such a long and un-interesting article!"

And these are the Socialists who, operiodically, become terribly excited and pass lurid, condemnatory resolutions regarding the actions of certain Party Officials whom they have indolently allowed to be elected; and to whom they have been perfectly content to leave the entire management of the Organization affairs. These are the Socialists who comprise a vast majority of our Organization,—in short, they are YOU. Don't YOU thing it is high time that YOU MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS!

(Series 4 will appear next week.)

Acting for the German Branch of Local Hamilton, O., comrade John Sommer, remits $5.00 for the press fund. This is another instance of a Party branch doing its bit for the printing plant.

Join THE ARMY OF LIBERATORS.

Get Ahead by Planning Ahead

This is an official communication to all Ohio locals by the state office. It's a sermon. It's meant for every local member. The secretary will please read it at the next meeting.

As we said at the beginning—THE WAY TO GET AHEAD IS TO PLAN AHEAD. Your local will never GO FORWARD if it spends its time waiting for some one to do something for it. Your local is organized to do something for others—to work for the emancipation of the workers. Therefore QUIT WAITING and BEGIN DOING.

Here's your program. DECIDE WHAT YOU WANT TO DO, then PLAN HOW TO DO IT and then FOLLOW PLANS.

For instance, decide to have a propaganda meeting. Next get your hall or designate your street corner. Engage the speaker. Advertise. Get literature to sell. Come out IN FULL FORCE to attend the meeting. Give it your enthusiastic support. Do this and you'll but be the doing your duty, for you are organized to do work such as this.

BAKER AND DEQUER ARE READY TO SERVE YOU. Here are two as good speakers as were ever toured. Why not apply for a date from each? Municipal campaigns are coming on. You'll need speakers. Better engage them now. Write the state office at once.

OHIO DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The following comrades were elected delegates to attend the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party to be held in Chicago, August 30, at Machinists' Hall, 113 South Ashland Blvd. The convention will Convene at 10 A. M.

Chas. Baker, Hamilton; Lotta Burke, Cincinnati; Clifford King, Hamilton; Joseph A. Johnson, Toledo; Jos. Wagner, Piqua; Wm. O. McClory, Tiffin; Marguerite Prevey, Akron; M. J. Jeannero, Canton; Chas Bonsall, Salem; Thomas Davies, Hubbard; J. F. Denison, Warren; Alexander Bilan, Cleveland; Tom Clifford, Cleveland; C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland; A. Wagenknecht, Cleveland, Lawrence A. Zitt, Cleveland.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF THE "FREE THEM" EDITION OF THE OHIO SOCIALIST.

YOUR LOCAL - WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under this Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8. P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8. P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

LOCAL KENMORE
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Bevery Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

LOCAL YOUNGSTOWN
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening
8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

LOCAL CANTON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every 2nd and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 P. M.
Study Class, every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 P. M.

MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.
Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. [illegible] Washington St.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA.

By M. Philips Price

(First Instalment)

At the end of the eighteenth century the French people after two hundred years of embittered struggle threw off the tyranny of a feudal aristocracy. During this struggle they were surrounded by armed forces of a coalition of European kings, who had invaded France to subject her people to that slavery from which they had just freed themselves. Prussian peasants shed their blood in the Argonnes that Royalty might once more oppress the French people. British seamen died at Toulon that feudal seigneurs might rule again at Versailles. Looking back on these times today we recognize that the role of the English and German governments during the French Revolution was not a creditable one.

A little over a century has passed. Mediaevalism has given way to modern bourgeoisdom; the Divine Right of Kings to the Divine Right of Mammon. Russia, which has never been touched by the purging fire of the French Revolution, has groaned under a three-fold tyranny—a theocratic Tsarism, the relic of her proximity to Asia; an agrarian feudalism, which had escaped the European conflagration of last century; a middle class, grown up under the influence of Western industrialism, but demoralized and corrupted by its two companions. At the beginning of his century, the governing power in Russia rested on these three rotten pillars—two of them, decaying relics of a bygone age; the third an abortion of modern bourgeoisdom. It could not last long, but was bound to collapse from its own internal weakness. How did the governments of England, France and Germany treat the new Russia, which, phoenix-like, rose from the ruins of the old? History will prove that they treated the new Russia as shamefully as the governments of England and Prussia treated the French Revolution at the end of the 18th centry.

The Russian Revolution, like every great popular movement was set in motion by vast, elemental, anarchic forces, which had been pent up throughout the ages and like a lava-flow burst the overlying crust of convention, unreality and insincerity. Everyone was discontented with Tsarism. The war caused untold miseries. Famine, for which the Bolsheviks are accused of being the authors, was already raging in the autumn of 1916, and got steadily worse under Kerensky, as the war, like a great pump, sucked the life blood out of the country's industries. I know from my own observation as a war correspondent that after the summer of 1916, the Russian army was no longer fit for the offensive, owing to the impossibility in an economically undeveloped country of feeding and supporting fifteen million soldiers. By the winters of 1915-16 and 1916-17, when no one in Russia but the intellectuals had heard of the Bolsheviks, the principal towns of central Russia were filled with deserters. One of the Tsars retired diplomats even admitted in the columns of the "Novaya Zhizn," in July, 1917, that the Russian Revolution was nothing more than a mass uprising against the war. But it was something besides.

The working classes of the Russian towns used to live in conditions of want and misery probably without parallel in Europe. They were forced to work such long hours that they often dropped of fatigue. They were systematically underfed. The factories where they worked were simply spy-dens. Nor was the peasant's lot any better. Half the land of Russia belonged to the landlords, the Church and the Imperial family and that was the best half. On it the peasants had to work like serfs. The rest of the land, much of it forest and swamps, was left to them to get what they could out of it. The corn produced on the good land (a large percentage of the cereal production of Russia) was systematically exported under the bounty system to pay for Tsarist warships and armaments, while the peasants in the villages nearby were often starving. Add to this the miseries of the three years of war and it is not difficult to see why, as soon as the rumor got about that over the length and breadth of the gigantic plain that "little father Tsar" was no more, that policemen had been locked up by the workmen in Petrograd, that Cossacks had gone over to the masses, that the spell-binding discipline, born of fear, vanished. Everywhere throughout the land in those days squads of soldiers got together to talk things over. Groups of workmen hung about the factory shops and peasants crowded round the village commune building. The same word was on everyone's lips. "What next?" These thousands of informal meetings that took place from the Baltic provinces to the Pacific coast, from the Arctic circle to the oases of Turkestan, were not summoned by anyone. They were the creation of the free spirit of man, which had just burst the bonds of an archaic, now useless form of society. They were the first rude instruments, now anarchic soon to be organized, which were to build the new order of society. They were in fact the embryo Soviets.

For the new social order the first necessity was to create a new discipline. The informal gatherings of workmen, soldiers and peasants which were called Soviets (the Russian name for a Council) had now this task before them. In Petrograd on the second day of the March revolution the garrison soldiers issued an order that there was to be no more saluting officers, that no order was to be obeyed unless it was countersigned by the Soldiers' Soviet. Inasmuch as the bulk of the officers and all the generals were known to be Monarchists or at the best only supporters of a bourgeois republic the necessary measures had to be taken to protect the Workers' Revolution. "What is the meaning of this war with Germany?" began to come from a thousand throats. "Is there no means of stopping it by appealing to the German soldiers directly,' they argued. Surely a natural and obvious, if somewhat unconventional thing for war weary soldiers to do. Soldiers using Soviets to fraternize with people whom they no longer wished to fight, became now a common phenomenon. No one had heard of Bolshevism in these days.

In the factories, meetings were held and committees elected. The latter were to see to it that wages kept pace with the cost of living. They were to look into the proprietors' books and see how much war profit was being made and lop off enough to fill up that ever narrowing margin between weekly wages and weekly expenses. And was the peasant with his dessyatine of land, on which he had to starve, going to allow the rich black earth near by to fill the barns of the "baryn"? Here too the spell was broken, the "Zemsky Nachalnik" (chief of the county administration) was sitting in the local jail, whither he was used to send others. The fruits of that seigneur land were to go to the peasants' barns that year. And they went—somewhat anarchically it is true, and not without heartburnings as to how much should go to each peasant.

By the summer of 1917, the class which considered itself the rightful successors to the Tsarist heritage—the bourgeoisie, manufacturers, and war-profit parvenus—began to recover from the shock of this revolution, which had gone so far past what they considered respectable. Girondin-like, they began to organize resistance to "anarchy," to insist on discipline in the army, to demand that every citizen of the republic should carry out his patriotic duty. Alas! what duty? To shoot at and be shot at by German workmen in order that Russian warprofit parvenus should dominate at Constantinople and French bankers exploit the Alsace-Lorraine iron mines! No, the time for this had gone by. The spell had been broken. The people now must know the reason why they were to die. But the Russian bourgeoisie could not read the signs of the times. The Mene-Tekel hand was writing on the wall, but they could not see it. Desperate, they organized the Korniloff rebellion, which only aggravated the strife. This rebellion first showed the real power of the Soviets. The soldiers' committees put their men into the field telegraphs, they had their comrades on the railways. No message of the counter-revolution passed. Their messages for help and instructions flew all over Russia. The counter-revolution vanished, but the war did not. Winter was coming down, The soldiers came to the Soviet offices and said: "start negotiations with the Germans for a general peace; we shall stay in the trenches till the first snows and after that we go home with our rifles and divide up the landlords' land." No, it was not Bolsheviks who said this; Lenin at the time was in hiding and accused by the very soldiers who were saying this of being a German spy. Lenin's friends, who had control of most of the soldiers' Soviets, by September, 1917, were trying to calm these war weary soldiers and indeed, when they came into power in October, they exhorted them to remain in the trenches and not anarchically to demobilize and turn Russia into a chaos. A mighty power—the will to international solidarity, had laid hold of the psychology of the Russian masses. That power was manifesting itself in disorderly, anarchic ways, because it was crude, elemental, and sprung from the masses themselves. If the Bolsheviks had not put themselves at the head of that movement, some other unknown group would have done so and have become world famous. The Bolsheviks, finding the movement there, led and directed it into orderly channels, and seeing the Soldiers' Soviets, those informal bodies, which had sprung up spontaneously in the first days of the Revolution, used them as the channels through which their will could be expressed to the outer world.

All through the summer of 1917, Petrograd and Moscow workmen tried to better their conditions through their own elected factory or shop stewards' committees. But every step they took to control the action of the employers was met by countermeasures of sabotage and often of open resistance by "white guards," hired by the employers to defend the "sacred rights of property." Heads of the shop stewards' committees were arrested and sent off to the army, raw materials hidden and the men locked out on the plea of no work to be done. The workers replied by organizing Red Guards, seizing the factories and trying to run themselves without a staff and without technical knowledge. Chaos increased. One group of workmen often struggled with another group in the attempt to get hold of the much needed raw materials. Meanwhile, famine became worse and worse and the Workers' Soviets were in danger of turning into committees for grabings whatever they could get for their own members. Then the Bolsheviks same along, and in October, when they came into power to control the Soviets, gave the latter political as well as economic power, as an organized proletarian mass.

And so with the peasants. During the summer of 1917, the landlords and their agents among the war-profiteer parvenus organized a resistance to the peasant land committees. Peasant elders were arrested and thrown into prison, some were even shot. The peasants replied by sacking the landlords' mansions. Anarchy was raging in the provinces long before the Bolsheviks came into power in October. The latter, restraining the righteous indignation of the peasants, declared their informal committees, the first fruits in the villages of the March Revolution, to be the legal authority, possessing the right to take the landlords land and work it in the interests of the whole community. Long and difficult has been the struggle of the Bolsheviks with the disorderly forces among the Russian peasantry. The latter, divided into rich and poor, struggled among themselves for the landlords' land, split up into two contending factions—one, of small proprietors and rich speculators, the other of laborers or those peasants who hire no labor. The latter group became the "committees of the poorer peasantry," or the reconstituted rural Soviets, whose duty it became to stop the disorderly scramble for land and to create the new communal system of land tenure. Thus the seed sown in the soil of anachic revolt germinated into the young shoot, which fed in the atmosphere of order and discipline.

The Struggle With Foreign Imperialism

The regeneration of Russia could only begin when once the Soviets hah completed their development and come to the zenith of their political power. After October, 1917, it seemed that order, through the Soviets would prevail over the chaos bred in the first days of the March Revolution For the working classes, schooling themselves in their factory and village committees, were fighting famine and struggling to raise production. But the war was still nominally going on with the Prussian war lords. The country was open to any tyrant that chose to walk in. The soldiers had nerly all gone from the front by Christmas, 1917. The Bolshevik leaders of the Soviets had now the most terrific task before them. They had to secure some sort of peace in order to give the ruined and exhausted land a breathing space and the workers a chance to repair the damage of the war.

There will probably be nothing more tragic in history than the picture of Russia struggling with the German war-lords and deserted by the Allies. Not possessing any material resources to enforce the justice of his cause, Trotsky relied upon the conscience and sense of justice of the Western world. This was the time when the Allies, if they had known the day of their visitation, if they had understood what was the driving force of the true Russia, would have declared their peace program and, sustaining Trotsky, would have exposed to the world the cynical intrigues of the Prussian militarists. The Allied governments did not do this because they could not. They did not dare face their people and tell them that they had plans of conquest. The moment for uniting the moral front of the Allies with that of revolutionary Russia passed. It never came again.

Revolutionary Russia was thus left alone in the world to face the German war-lords. Two courses were open to it. It could either play the idealist and decline to accept any peace which did not embody its principles in toto; or it could pursue Real-Politik and, estimating all the forces which were making for the internal breakup of their enemies, could make an agreement with them as a temporary expedient. In the days preceding the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace, two very fundamental human impulses were struggling together inside the Russian Revolution. The one was altruistic, ready for self-sacrifice, Brunnhilda-like upon the flaming pyre of an idea. The other was wise and calculating, prepared to save what could be saved now in order to gain the surer in the end. The struggle between these two impulses, old as the human race itself, was reflected in the controversy between those among the Russian revolutionaries, who would sign the Brest-Litovsk peace and those who would not. The left socialist-revolutionaries and the anarchists in Russia, like artists, lived only for their ideals, which they would have realized at once or else would perish. The greater part of the Bolsheviks, and the hungry masses following Lenin, lived not only for their ideals but for the means to realize them. The former, rather than sign the Brest-Litovsk peace, renounced all claim to participation in the government and resorted to acts of individual terror in the hopes of striking fear into the breasts of the tyrants. The latter recoiled, pour mieux sauter, fostered their forces till the day came when they knew they could strike.

The Prussian warlords, not because they wanted to, but because they had to, gave a breathing space to the Russian Revolution. For they were engaged in playing their last card in a terrific onslaught on France. Revolutionary Russia is accused of being responsible for this onslaught, but I submit that its tactics did more than anything else to break the power of Prussian militarism. The very fact that the politically non-conscious elements of the German people got a taste of peace on East front, broke their will to war. "If we can have peace with Russia," their minds instinctively argued, "why can we not have it also with the Allies." But month after month went by and they began to see that the German army must either conquer the world or else make a compromise peace. They knew they could not do the former, because of America; their own warloards would not let them do the latter. But the example of the peace with Russia was before them, and seeing it, their spirit of rebellion against the war rose ever stronger. The German towns began to fill with deserters, workers struck, discipline collapsed, and with it the army. And the Russian revolutionaries knew how to make use of this new psychology in the German people's mind. The peace on the East front was made use of to flood the Ukraine with Bolshevik agents, who spread revolutionary literature broadcast and who, within a few months, had turned the Kaiser's glorious "Hoer im Osten" into a little better than a hybrid between a rabble and a revolutionary committee. M. Joffe, while playing at diplomacy with the Kaiser's Ministers was distributing pamphlets right and left, calling upon the German proletariat to overthrow their tyrants. The fear and hatred in which the propertied classes of Germany hold Bolshevik Russia can be seen by the fact that at the moment of writing, Russian Bolsheviks are now pining in German prisons, are hunted like hares, and murdered by the armed hooligans of the Ebert-Scheideman-Noske government of "socialist" Germany. I ask an unprejudiced observer: Does this look as if the Bolsheviks are the agents of German Imperialism?

(To be Continued)

Youngstown Picnic Boosts Press Fund Another Notch. Still Climbing Up, UP!

Figureing big in this weeks' press fund receipts is a $100.00 remittance from Local Youngstown, O. A special picnic was pulled off there for the press fund. It was a huge success and no end of high praise is due to the comrades for their more than generous help in securing the necessary $$$$$ to get our own printing plant.

You were fooled last week if you thot a little slump in press fund receipts indicated a falling off in the enthusiastic support which heretofore has marked the steady stride of our comrades toward the goal of success—$10,000, for a press and printing plant for The Ohio Socialist.

We were under no such delusion ourselves. We know too well the spirit which is flourishing among the comrades who read The O. S. That we interpreted this spirit alright when we declared that the time had come for the Socialist Party to own its own printing plant is being vindicated with each day's mail delivery.

To interpret the spirit of the workers, to help that spirit to become a ruling element in their lives—that is to make the worker's cause triumphant. That alone is the key to success in the revolution.

We are moving steadily toward our goal. This week receipts bring the total paid into the fund far and to put it to work in the interests of the workers above the $3,000 mark. The coming week should bring it to at least $3,500. And also we must not forget that there are many comrades who have pledged a dollar weekly or monthly for various lengths of time, many until the press is paid for. Then too, there is the $1,000 pledged by comrade Brown, of Galion, O.

And it might be well to remind ourselves that the conditions of comrade Brown's offer was that the comrades should raise their $9,000 before election day in November. Surely it is time enough. In Ohio alone we have nearly that many Party members. It should be an easy task for us to get this amount together before November.

Of course there are many calls upon the slim purse of the worker. But enthusiasm for our revolutionary cause makes slim purses cover many necessities. The spirit of our comrades and readers are not to be dampened by the high cost of present day existence.

Upon every hand we can see the revolution growing toward success. Yes, even in America. The revolution speeds on its course nor can any of the obstructions of capitalism stop its onward march.

Several generous contributions to the press fund this week will surely revive the dropping spirits of any comrade who may have felt a bit downcast thru viewing the total for last week. No cause for anxiety, we assure you. The higher grows the amount subscribed, the nearer is the goal, and the greater should be the enthusiasm for our own press and printing plant.

Below are the names of the donors to the press fund during the last week. Cheer up, we mean to duplicate this weeks receipts many times.

$1 Column

Wm. Lisby, Bridgeport, O.
L. O. Hupp, Bridgeport, O.
Fabian Bradcovich, Benwood, W. Va.
Burt Madison, Kalamazoo, Mich.
F. H. Hayward, Kalamazoo, Mich.
H. T. Auckerman, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Jas. Dartnel, Norwood, O.
Geo. Hinger, Hamilton, O.
S. R. Bachtel, Kenmoare, O.
W. C. Diemer, Akron, O.
Wm. Withroe, Everett, O.
J. E. Foltz, Akron, O.
F. Desure, Akron, O.
Mrs. Bell Joseph, Akron, O.
B. M. Hoffman, Bell Center, O.
Jno Karakas, eBnwood, W. Va.
J. W. Sprigg, Weston, W. Va.
T. J. McKenna, Marietta, O.
M. Williams, Marietta, O.
G. W. Pickins, Marietta, O.
L. W. Joyce, Marietta, O.
O. W. Kampmeier, Marietta, O.
F. J. Ash, Marietta, O.
Al. H. Hart, Marietta, O
A. G. Schob, Marietta, O.
C. N. White, Marietta, O.
Anna K. Storck, Lorain, O.
Geo A. Storck, Lorain, O.
David E. Jones, Lorain, O.
Frank Schuster, Cincinnati, O.
H. C. Schaeffer, Dayton, O.
Frank Baxa, Neffs, O.
August Kawalsy, Neffs, O. 50c.
F. Schon, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Margaret & Edward Graney, Seattle, Wash.
W. H. Kruel, St. Marys, O.
Wm. Vetrecht, St. Marys, O.
J. P. Young, St. Marys, O.
Wm. Neman, Akron, O., 50c.
S. K. Akron, O.
A. Reiser, Akron, O.
Theo Ericksoin, Struthers, O
Wm. Nyberg, Youngstown, O., 50c.
Jno Prymack, Struthers, O.
Mike Pech, Struthers, O., 50c.
Carl A. Brundbeck, Struthers, O., 50c.
Earl E. Swanson, Struthers, O., 50c.
Phil. Hagman, Struthers, O.
Charley Swanson, Struthers, O., 50c
Michael Slavkovky, Struthers, O.
John Hagman, Struthers, O.
Gust Engstrom, Struthers, O.
Victor Carlson, Struthers, O., 75c.
Albert Johnson, Struthers, O.
Axel Beerk, Struthers, O., 50c.
Cahs. Lindstrom, Struthers, O., 50c.
Gust. Carlson, Struthers, O., 25c.
John Papskirk, Struthers, O., 25c.
Mike Dude, Struthers, O., 25c.
H. Frederickson, Struthers, O., 50c.
Otto Pearson, Struthers, O., 50c.
Svan Berk, Struthers, O.
Paul Johanson, Struthers, O.
Axel Johnson, Struthers, O.
Ernest Johnson, Struthers, O., 50c.
David Hestetler, Oreville, O.

$2 Column

L. M. Diemer, Akron, O.
C. A. Brunt, Akron, O.
W. M. Rieder, Niles, Mich
Frank Centliver, Troy, Ohio.
John B. Naughn, Girard, O.
R. J. Schurer, Kalamazoo, Mich.
George Market, Mt. Healthy, O.
J. A. Johnson, Struthers, O.
Oscar Bloomburg, Struthers, O.
John Rehborg, Struthers, O
Sol ———, Akron, O. $3.00.
Frank Janovich. Akron, O., $3.00.

$5 Column

S. Slutzker, Lorain, O.
A. B. Ferguson, New Lexington, O. $4.00
A Comrade.
German Branch S. P. of Hamilton, O.

$10 Column

Repeaters Club, Akron, O., $8.00.
S. B. Cole, Marietta, O.
11th Ward Branch Socialist Party of Cincinnati.

$25 Column

E. S. Smith, Warren, O., $20.00.
Scandinavian Branch S. P. Youngstown $22.00.
Donors names listed below.

$50 Column

The only column that's in 'cold storage' this week.

$100 Column

Local Youngstown $102.53.
Some class to this column this week.

Pledge Column

Nary a pledge this week. Something radically wrong.

How We Grow

May press fund receipts......	$ 129.00
June receipts	1369.88
July receipts	1307.45
Week of Aug. 7th	168.00
Week of Aug. 14th	102.60
Week of Aug. 21st	247.03
Total to Aug. 21st	$3323.96

Don't Throw this Paper Away. Pass it on to a Worker. Help Socialism Grow.

Special "FREE THEM" Issue

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"IF YOU CAN RETURN IN THIRTY DAYS". DEBS

DEBS' RENUNCIATION

By JOSEPH W. SHARTS.

One thing is still left to Eugene V. Debs in his prison-cell—his smile.

I think it will be with him to the end, like a halo.

On two days I have talked with Convict 9653 at the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, in the office of Warden Fred G. Zerbst.

The first day I came with Marguerite Prevey of Akron, Ohio, and Samuel M. Castleton, the Socialist attorney at Atlanta, as emissaries from the Socialist Party of Ohio, sent by the State Secretary, Alfred Wagenknecht. We came bringing him legal papers to sign, which in the ordinary procedure of courts would insure his release upon bail for weeks, perhaps for months, perhaps would end his captivity for all time.

The second day I came—it was this morning—to receive, with others, his decision; he had asked for one night in which to think.

It had been a night, he confessed, of sleepless reflection and striving of the spirit. There is no man who loves freedom more than Debs, no man who needs it more; it is to that he has dedicated all his years of manhood. And there is no man upon whose physical being the slow poison of the unsunned prison air works more terribly its intended havoc. The marks were visibly upon him, graven in his face.

I came and heard this soul in this living tomb put simply and smilingly behind him the gift of liberty.

"This is not the time for me to try to save myself," said Debs. "Coming now it might weaken the force of pressure that is being brought to bear to free all that are suffering for opinion's sake. Later, perhaps,—if you can return in thirty days."

To all great souls Gethsemane comes at least.

Debs, I think, has met his Gethsemane.

He had made his great renunciation; he has done it for the sake of the others who like him sinned against the thought-and-speech-suppression laws proclaimed by those who sit in the seats of power.

Some who hate Debs may sneer, sying thirty days will soon be gone; but they can know nothing either of the prison or the prisoner. Greater love hath no man than this. If I do not tell all it is because he asked us to be silent.

With this imperishable smile upon his wated face he gave us his quiet decision to remain. I recalled the scene in the courtroom at Cleveland when he stood before the judge who was to sentence him and said, "While there is a soul in prison I am not free!"

And tonight the words with which he bade us farewell are echoing in my hart like a battle song:

"Tell the comrades out there they can be assured I am as firm and unshaken in my position as before. Tell them if they will cast their eyes towards Atlanta, over the dome of the prison they will see my torch flaming in the sky!"

He clung tight to our hands a little while with his emaciated hands; and then his thin, bowed form in its shabby faded blue prison-shirt and shabby faded blue prison-trousers and gray canvas prison-shoes went softly back through the cold stone corridors; the steel doors clashed behind him and he was gone.

As I write this tonight, the night of that day, I can look down from my hotel window upon the lighted streets, strident and strenuous with automobiles, of this great Southern city of two hundred and fifty thousand humans, this great commercial harlot that sucks a flood of profits from the labor of the wide lands of corn and cotton round about her where peons, freed only in legal fiction, still bend at their unrequited toil.

I look and I remember how this great city, fifty-five years ago, was invested by Northern armies mraching and fighting in the name of freedom, and how they girdled it with smoke and flame and roaring guns and burned it at last, all in the name of freedom.

There rise to my ears gay strains of dance music; I see the dancers; they are young white people. Just now I was told by some who live here and have lived here many years, that in this city the Ku-Klux still ride by night, hooded and armed; that they still murder systematically, in cold blood, men and women of black skin who dare dream of freedom. I was told the bodies of murdered negroes are found at dawn, and the serville press is silent, not even chronicling the death, for such

(Continued on page 2)

A 20th CENTURY CRUCIFIXION

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Do you know that 'Gene Debs is being slowly crucified at the Atlanta, Ga., prison because he refuses to waver in his faith, or turn traitor to the principles he holds dearer than life itself.

Debs has been assigned to drudgery in the Atlanta prison. He toils eight hours every day. At five o'clock in the afternoon he is locked away in a 5x10 cell, where he remains until seven o'clock the next morning.

This means a living death for Debs, 64 years old. It means death by inches in the excruciating heat of the southern summer.

"Our 'Gene" is cut off from the outside world. Packages are not delivered to him. Socialist and radical papers, books and pamphlets, sent to him, never reach him.

There can be but one purpose in all this. They are trying to cut Debs off from the real happenings of the day, and make conditions unbearable in the hope of breaking his spirit, IF THERE IS NOT A MORE SINISTER MOTIVE BEHIND IT ALL.

To confine a man of 'Gene's years in a cell, i a hot southern climate, for 14 consecutive hours out of 24 each day is nothing less than death by torture; and no one knows this better than official Washington.

If the powers that be press the flattering function of their sordid souls in the hope that 'Gene Webs' spirit will be broken, they do not know the man. He may perish in a prison cell but his spirit will remain undaunted.

Debs is permitted to write but one letter each week, upon a single sheet of paper. This must be submitted to the prison censorship, and a copy of everything he writes is kept for the prison files.

Do you know that Kate Richards O'Hare has already suffered three heat prostrations, unable to fight back the choking heat of the unventilated overall factory in which she is forced to toil nine hours a day at the Jefferson City, Mo., prison?

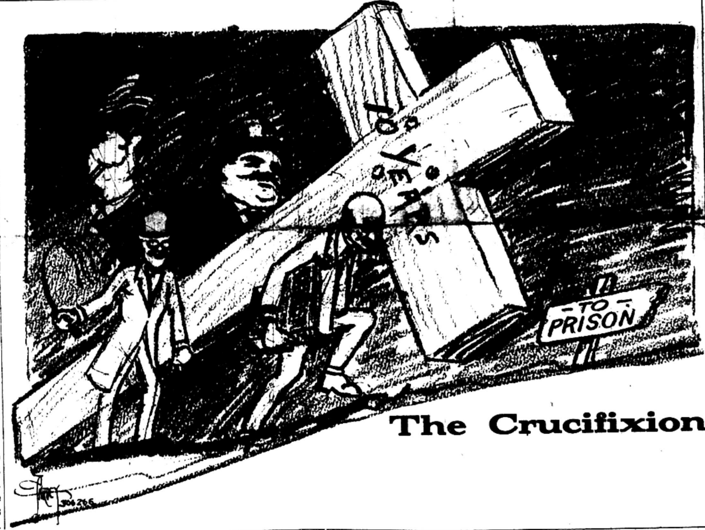
The window thru which a cool breez might sometimes enter is nailed down and the glass painted over because years ago a girl prisoner once smiled at a male prisoner out in the yard.

Mrs. O'Hare's oldest boy came to Jefferson City alone all the way from St. Louis to play on his violin for the women convicts at their chapel exercies. He was denied this privilege. Instead he stood in the street at night outside the prison and played his violin for his mother and the rest up there locked away in steel cells.

These are incidents in the lives of two political and industrial class war prisoners. The thousands of others suffer just as much, if not more. They are enduring and have endured the torture of the, "solitary" and all the other relics of savage barbarism that America still clings to, to crucify her rebels in dark age fashion.

Help make these facts know to the American people—to the workers of America. Help get the truth to the masses.

When the working class get all the facts, the wave of indignation that will sweep the nation will rise so high, that official Washington in fear and trembling will release every political and class war prisoner now confined in the dungeons of American capitalism's bastiles.



The Crucifixion

The Czar put to Shame in Brutalities to Politicals

It is to put the matter squarely up to you, who are now reading this, that we print below extracts from letters ent to relatives by Socialists and other political prisoners incarcerated at Fort Riley, Kansas.

These letters tell of the most shocking and savage cruelties perpetrated upon political prisoners by subordinates of President Wilson, commander of the United States army. Altho these brutalities occured a year ago, similar treatment is this very day being meted out to political prisoners at Leavenworth and many other prisons.

Members of the Industrial Workers of the World have died in prison—contracted tuberculosis because of undernourishment and foul atmosphere. Prisoners at Leavenworth have only lately been given the cold water treatment, that is, cold water has been played upon them so long and with such force that they became unconscious and were half drowned. In Leavenworth also, the guards aided by negroes of criminal tendencies, made a concerted "black-jack" attack upon political prisoners, beating many of them insensible and inflicting serious wounds.

The demand for the release of political prisoners must eventually make itself felt in working class organization toward that end. All workers, organized and unorganized, must eventually see the need of uniting their strength and finances, in order that a concerted campaign can be made to liberate Debs and all other prisoners now behind the bars for their conscientious opposition to the world war.

Read these letters and then join the Liberators in their systematic effort to liberate our comrades.

"Sunday, Aug. 25th.... Kaplan (after refusing work) was similarly questioned by the officer and likewise said that he could not stand 'Attention' nor do any work of a military nature. Thereupon his arms were tied, a rope fastened around his neck—the free end being thrown over a rod above and held by one of the guards. He was ordered to stand 'Attention.' Upon his refusal, his feet were kicked from under him by the Officer of the Day and prison sergeant, and finally the latter took the free end of the rope from the guard and pulled it, lifting Kaplan off his feet. When the latter's eyes began to bulge and his tongue to stick out, he was let down and asked if he would do some work. He again refused. The rope was then taken from his neck and fastened around one arm, between his elbow and shoulder. The rope was again pulled, and Kaplan lifted from the ground. The pain was intense, the arm was being forced out of joint and he emitted loud, agonizing cries, imploring them to shoot him rather than torture him thus. While in this position he was again asked whether he would do some work, and he again refused. The Lieutenant then ordered that the hose be turned on his face. The force of the stream of water tended to hinder his breathing, and he began to choke. Asked now whether he would agree to work, he finally said that he would police up around his cell, whereupon the officer ordered him to be released.

"While Kaplan was undergoing this treatment, the hose was being played upon Hennessy and Breger alternately for about 15 or 20 minutes. The sensations experienced by them during this process are almost indescribable. While Kaplan was emitting his agonizing cries, the Lieutenant would come over to the the other two and ask whether they would work, and upon their re-

(Continued on page 4.)

Denied

Here is Mrs. Kate O'Hare in the prison at Jefferson City.

She made a speech somewhere up in the northwest. The trouble is, she made it publicly. Probably she did not say anything worse than hundreds of women have said privately. But she made the egregious blunder of saying it to an audience.

Now she is in prison at Jefferson City amongst criminals. She has several children nearly grown,—fine, young people.

The other day, one of the sons, who is a musician, came to see his mother. They allowed him a little conference with her, but they would not allow him to play in the prison.

So, as the twilight settled down, he took his stand across the road and with his cornet, played "Lead, Kindly Light, Amid the Encircling Gloom," and "The Rosary", and a few of those good, old tunes, while all the prison held its breath and listened.

Throughout the woman's ward there was not a dry eye, but there were audible sobs.

Fancy the lad with his heart breaking, playing to his mother who is NOT a criminal, but who bears the odium of a prison sentence.

Isn't it about time for a democratic and peace loving people to open jail doors and let mothers back to their children and husbands back to their wives?

Four more readers at Martins Ferry, O. Now. Comrade M. F. Finnish deserves credit for these. Thanks comrade.

Eli Niemi of Fairpoint, O., one of our boosters, sends us a list of three.

You've probably never been in prison.

You've probably never felt the burning desire for freedom which eats into the very vitals of the caged.

You've probably never heard the shouts down the prison corridors as, with the awakening of another day, the prisoners cry to each other, "Only ten more days for me"—"Only 99 more days for me"—"Only 213 more days for me."

Each day is greeted as a day nearer freedom. Each day "inside" is damned.

AND DEBS LOOKS FORWARD TO TEN YEARS INSIDE!

And other political prisoners look forward to 15 and 20 years "inside" of steel bars and stone walls.

• • • •

With the chance of freedom at hand, Debs said, "Not now. Later perhaps, if you can return in thirty days.

Shall we return in thirty days?

IT'S FOR YOU TO SAY?

• • • • •

You've probably never been in prison.

You've probably never felt the burning desire for freedom which eats into the very vitals of the caged.

You probably do not understand nor realize the sacrifice that Debs is making.

With everything in readiness to sue for his liberation; with legal talent at hand no better than which can be secured; in opposition to the advice of comrades very near and dear to him, advice from whom he readily accepts under other circumstances, Debs has renounced freedom for another thirty days—hoping.

THIS IS SACRIFICE!

This is giving one's life for others.

Yes, Debs is doing this very thing—giving his life, sacrificing his freedom in the hope that **ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS WILL SOON BE FREED.**

• • •

Marguerite Prevey and Attorneys Jos. W. Sharts and Samuel M. Castleton were with Debs on August 20. and 21. The advisabilty of habeas corpus proceedings considered from every angle. The success of such proceedings was discussed thoroly.

DEBS HAS ANSWERED.

[illegible] To us it can mean one thing only.

WE MUST DOUBLE OUR EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS DURING THE THIRTY DAYS TO COME.

We must keep our eyes open September 20th.

That is the day upon which this campaign will take a definate course so far as Debs is concerned.

That is the day upon which it will be decided whether Debs shall sue for his freedom, gain it and battle beside us for the release of all other political prisoners, or whether Debs would rather permanently sacrifice his freedom, staying "inside" with his fellow political prisoners until the workers gain the necessary strength to release **THEM ALL.**

• • • •

DEBS LOVES FREEDOM.

Every prioner loves freedom.

Yet, with the chance for freedom at hand, Debs said, "Not now. Later perhaps,—if you can return in thirty days."

SHALL WE RETURN IN THIRTY DAYS?

It's for you to say!

Shall we keep the printing presses busy day and night producing a million or more of the leaffets entitled "An Open Letter to President Wilson"?

Shall we use the coming thirty days in coordinating our forces for the serious contest ahead of us?

IT'S FOR YOU TO SAY!

And those will speak loudest and to a greater purpose who make immediate use of the **LIBERATION FUND** contribution lists sent them.

As usual—**MONEY TALKS.**

The dollars you collect from friends, relatives, fellow workers—**EVERYBODY**, will speak an uncompromising demand for the liberation of Debs and all.

WE IMPLORE YOU—DO NOT OVERLOOK LIGHTLY THE "CALLS FOR HELP" WE SENT YOU.

It is a call, not from us, but from those behind prison bars.

And really, there is but one thing you can do **RIGHT NOW**, and that is to—

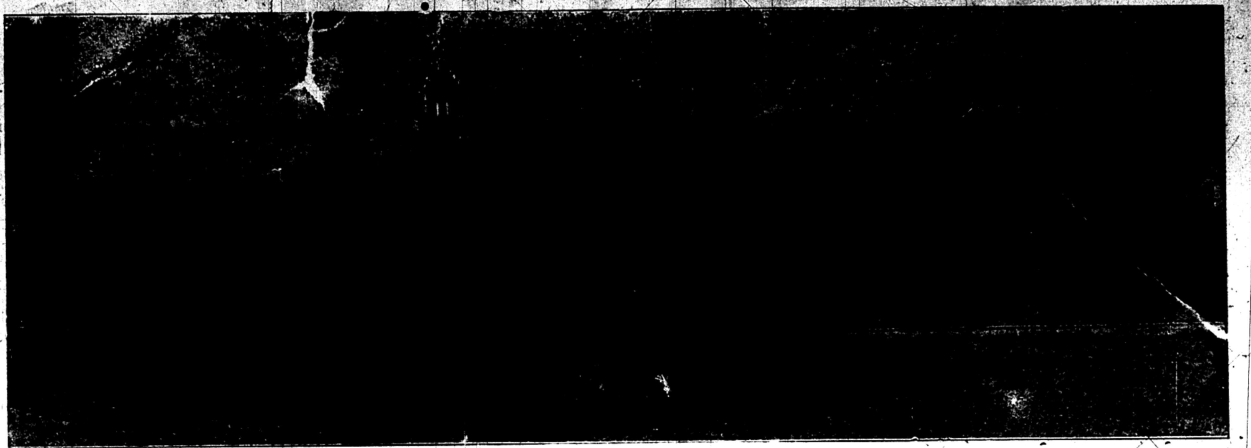
HELP!

The Liberators Program.

1. A Liberation Fund of thonsands of dollars.
3. Printing and posting of thousands of posters.
   3. Printing and posting of thousands of posters.
4. Circularize Labor Unions, suggesting such organized and well directed action as may be necessary to insist upon our demands.
5. Engage and route speakers to Socialist locals and Labor Unions to help arouse the workers to action.

Your every thought and every act must from this minute on be mobilized around the demand for freedom for all political prisoners. The need of the hour is to speed up—to hurry, to talk twice as much and act twice as fast for the liberation of all politicals. Let no day pass but that you consecrate every minute you can spare to this worthy cause.

"Look toward Atlanta over the Prison dome, You will see my Torch Flaming in the Sky"! Debs



The Prison

This is the United States prison at Atlanta, Georgia, where Eugene Victor Debs is now enrolled as Federal Convict No. 9653. There are at present 1,700 prisoners there, many of them being persons convicted under the Espionage act. This prison is situated at the southern extremity of Atlanta, on a slight earth swell, and is 1,100 feet above the sea. Debs was transferred from Moundsville prison, West Virginia, to Atlanta on June 15, 1919, to serve his 10 years.

The Man

Eugene Victor Debs was sent to prison because he spoke the truth as he saw it about the war, declaring that he had been opposed to war all his life, and would be opposed to war if he stood alone. He has told the world that he has no regrets, and that, if it is a crime under American laws to express opposition to wholesale murder, punishable by a term in prison, then he is willing to spend the remainder of his days in a prison cell.

With Our Liberal Liberators

The campaign for a large Liberation Fund is on. The mails bring word from hundreds of workers who say in effect, "I'm on the job. I'm circulating my contribution list for donations. Depend upon me for I shall do all I can."

The United Mine Workers local at Pierce, W. Va., thru the efforts of John Korosec, sent in $14.85. The contributors were D. A. Brown, John Korosec, Andy Bell, Steve Boliker, Roy and Earl Ferguson, Ed. Zickafoose, John Morlin, Jim Bartell, Donata Pavoul, Jules Biese, Dom Brene, Mike Gohotsky.

Robt. Kerr of Columbiana, Ohio, sent in a list containing $10.00 in contributions. From E. B. Wharton, Columbus, a list containing $2.00 was received and E. A. Genia of Hart, Mich., remits $3.06.

Other liberators returning lists with substantial contributions are: Horace Shank, Hamilton, $3.00. H. Markoff, Gary, Ind., $8.50; D. B. Dale, Wise, Va., $9.25; Alex Sherbin, Kempton, W. Va., $10.30; Adolph Koch. St. Louis, $10.25; Glenn Finch, Grand Rapids, $5.00; Humer Kline, Girard, $2.00; Jake Schoolenberg, Kalamazoo, 2.00; R. M. Apitzsch, Hollidays Cove, W. Va., $5.00; Alex Hlenny, Warren, 11.00; Matt Markovich, Wendel, W. Va. $16.95.

"Enclosed I am handing you on behalf of Mrs. Brown and myself ten dollars in the hope that you will find some way to admit us to the Army of Liberators, though we can not sign the pledge, because we are not technically members of the working class.

"But we are doing all we can to help the working people overthrow the economic system which makes it possible for those who produce nothing to have everything and for those who produce everything to have nothing.

"We are continually on this job, every day from morning till night, and expect to remain, until it is accomplished, or until for us the night cometh in which no man or woman can work."—Bishop Wm. M. Brown.

"Please find my check for twenty dollars enclosed as a starter for the Debs' release fund. I have no time to distribute literature but I certainly consider it an honor to contribute a few dollars towards the release of Gene Debs."—J. H. Sanders, Jamestown.

"Enclosed you will find a five dollar war savings stamp, which our employer made us buy to help the present government! Now let's see if you can change it into money to help our Gene."—R. M. A.

"I am away too far to do much but anything I can do will be done gladly for our dear, loyal comrade whose grand soul is entirely beyond the reach of the crawling, ignorant element that is trying to harm him."—Mrs. Dandridge Cook.

"Here's $5.00 from Mrs. Boring and myself for the Liberation Fund."—K. W. Boring, Wellsville.

"I enclose money order for $15.00 for the Liberation Fund, I was successful in collecting this money in a very short time and I expect to collect more but I need more contribution lists. Send me some at once."—J. Grunelfest, Lorain.

"Want to join the Liberators and will add that the article in the Ohio Socialist for August 13th entitled "An Open Letter to President Wilson", would make a good leaflet for distribution."—Chas. Yoder, Martins Ferry.

"A few more 'Open Letters' to President Wilson by Sharts and we will shake hands with Debs in the open soon."—Glenn Finch.

"I am just a poor, old shoe cobbler with a large family to support but I am more than glad to help liberate our much loved Debs with all other political prisoners. So lets push the work fast."—J. J. Plaster, Texico, N. M.

"Shall be glad to distribute all the literature sent me".—G. A. Harrison, Kalamazoo.

LIBERATORS REGISTER FOR DUTY

Dozens of Liberators are registering for duty daily. We call upon you to join this army at once. There is an important work before us and the help of everyone in sympathy with this campaign to release Debs and all political prisoners is wanted. Send in your dollar—JOIN NOW.

The following Liberators have SIGNED UP; W. D Henderson, Middletown; Leopold Hoffman, Grafton; Glenn E. Finch, Grand Rapids; E. Lizawitsky, Akron; L. C. Rigby, Marion; Wm. Greter, Crestline; J. B. Sanders, Wise; D. B. Dale, Wise; E. Kansol, Lorain; J. N. Wallace, St. Louis; Daniel Berger, Canton; Robt Kerr, Columbiana; Frank Baxa, Neffs; T. H. Farmer, Salem; Dolla Farmer, Salem; Mr. and Mrs. Wm. M. Brown; Bert Koontz, Big Prairie; Wm. Boyle, Niles; Wm. Knobb, Niles; Roy Brooks, Niles; W. M. Rieder, Niles; John Morgan, Portsmouth; G. A. Harrison, Kalamazoo; Geo. Farnsworth, Wadsworth; J. L. Hammond, Cantbn; A. B. Ferguson, New Lexington; W. F. Rice, Columbus; L. Bostwick, Lorain; J. B. Vaughn, Girard; Jeff Sinett, Glancoe, Okla.; Mabel Sinnett, Glancoe, Okla.; Geo. W. Markert, Mt. Healthy; H. C. Schaeffer, Dayton; R. Wieghause, Newport; I. N. Barsky, Conneaut; Peter Hunka, Warren; A. T. Van Tassell, Ashtabula; Andrew Jarmus, Warren; Lewis Muryuska, Warren; Jos. Babe, Warren; Andrew Hlynny, Warren; Alex Hlynny, Warren; Peter Betowus, Warren; Martin Baitis, Kempton; Alex Sherbin, Kempton; Joe Videikis, Kempton; Chas. Norbutas, Kampton; Martin Hendricks, Kempton, John Meile, Kempton; John Preikszas, Kempton, J. M. Hamilton, Flat Gap; Hobart Dale, Wise; W. N. Hamilton, Wise; F. H. Dale, Wise; G. H. Stanley, Wise; G. W. Blovins, Wise; J. Richardson, Canton; J. J. Paster, Texico, N. M.; Fred Silberhord, Cincinnati, Alfred Sanders, Wise; Lee Gilliam, Wise; A. L. Foster, Ashville, N. Y.; H. Scott, J. H. Werner, Geo. Blair, Wm. Lynch, Mr. and Mrs. Ruplansky, Morris Smith, L. Greenwald of Lorain; Harry Josch, Sol. Jacoby, Jacoby Bros., J. Grundfest, Lorain; Chas. Yoder, Martins Ferry; L. G. Koshade, Pittsburgh; E. H. Randall, Springfield; L. Schoolberg, Kalamazoo; E. Furman, Kalamazoo; Wm. Stewart, Leetonia; Russell Stankos, Moline; W. A. Humphries, Hamilton; Mrs. Dandridge Cook, Magdalena; Henry Gilsdorf, Beyesville; Alex Wender, Hamilton; Humer Kline, Girard; A. Lundahl Moline; E. B. Wharton, Columbus; John E. Poister, Galion; Lawrence Mensink, Elyria; Albert Petran, Neffs; Luke Sleeter, Barberton; Witti Wissechek, Canton; Mrs. J. J. Stocksdale, Strasburg; Henry Sweet, Mindan, W. Va.; Jacob Stirneman, Hamilton; Matt Murkovich, Wendel; D. W. Vanderveer, Richmond; Peter Sambuco, Bridgeport; Wood O. Maxwell, Canton; Willard Lewellen, Chester; J. H. Sanders, Jamestown.

Debs Ill

As we go to press word reaches us from comrade Castleton of Atlanta that he has just visited Debs "in the hospital". Debs' declining state of health since his removal to the Atlanta prison is the cause of his removal from his cell to the hospital.

Tally of Vote for National Convention Delegates

We are not printing the vote as cast by locals in order to save space. As convention delegates were elected from eight groups of congressional districts, a full tabulation would take up to much of the paper. We therefore give totals only.

Districts 1, 2. 3, 6—three delegates to be elected Chas. Baker 220, Lotta Burke 393, Clifford King 226, Anton Mandzcik 92, Hugo Ruemele 128, Arthur Sapo 43, Horace Shank 40, Jos W. Sharts 97.

Districts 7, 8, 9.—one to be elected. Joseph A. Johnson 102.

Districts 4, 5, 10, 11, 12—one to be elected. John P. Baker 33 Thos. J Eiler 7, Jos. F. Wagner 35, Frank Hamilton 5.

Districts 13, 14—two to be elected. A. B. Hollenbaugh 44, Wm. O. McClory 103, Emil Oster 29, Marguerite Prevey 111.

Districts 15, 16—one to be elected. Marshal Jeannero 34, Frank L. Martin 5, Herbert Knecht 4.

Districts 17, 18—one to be elected. Chas. Bonsall 91, J. R. Larimore 45.

District 19—two to be elected. Thos. H. Davies 92, J. F. Denison 86, C. Rufus Swope 63.

Districts 20, 21, 22—five to be elected. A Bilan 149, Walter Bronstrup 137, Tom Clifford 248, Harry Kaden 75, Walter Karath 119, C. E. Ruthenberg 297, Jacob Spitz 76, A. Wagenknecht 251, L. A. Zitt 172.

NOTICE!

On account of other important matter contained in this "Free Them Edition" the press fund contributions for the past week have been laid over for one week. Some very generous donations have been made last week which we will tell you about in next issue.

"As a protest in general" states comrade C. L. Steinborok of Columbus. And he sent some protest! subscriptions amounting to $8.00. Comrade C. Fremai co-operated with him in this good and effective work. We can't imagines a more effective way to protest than to assist in educating the workers.

„More coming" writes comrade W. F. Norling of Holland, Mich. He sends two this time.

Debs vs. "The Best and Freest Government on Earth"

Why did this government transfer Eugene V. Debs to Atlanta, Georgia, Prison. Why is it, now the war is over, that Debs must still lie in prison?

In the first place we hear that Debs was transferred because he found a humane Warden in the coal-trust ridden state of West Virginia, and the Coal barons could not stand for that kind of treatment for their hated enemy. In the second place, we have the answer from United States Attorney General Mitchell Palmer (with Presidential ambitions) who says, in an interview with a correspondent of the Terre Haute Post of July 8:

> **"It is true, as you say, that the war is over; but how can we let Debs go back into the world, only to continue his open opposition to the best government in the world?"**

SOME REASON!

That would get a lot of "good" people. It seems that the recent antics of the executive force of the nation, in its bulldozing tactics with the Congress of the nation, might implicate some of the congressmen in saying that "this is not the freest nor the best nation on earth."

In fact, however, Debs has not compared capitalist nations at all. He does not say that this is the freest nor the most enslaved nation, he just knows that slavery exists in all nations where the wages system is in vogue. That none of them will be free until the wage system is abolished.

Mr. Palmer must know this country has the reputation of being trust ridden. He must know that the Beef Trust operates here and the Standard Oil has a reputation that has outlawed it in several states. He has certainly heard of the Steel Trust and its anti-union career, its bludgeon methods to beat the government into line, he certainly has heard of Wall Street and knows of the gambling there and the robberies there and the crimes committeed there in the name of commerce and industry.

Mr. Palmer, in removing Debs to Atlanta, Georgia, has, of course, punished his body, but the great heart of Debs still beats in unison with the onward march of the workers. The removal only emphasized the brutality of capitalism.

Debs in Atlanta is doing much to make this one of the free countries on earth. He is doing it in a different way than Mr. Palmer would do it His great soul is pushing hard against all the great walls that imprison the truth. But the truth will, forever, break down the walls and be free.

Make way, Mr. Palmer, for a man is passing!

"If you dam up the rivers of progress,
At your peril and cost let it be;
That river will seaward despite you,
It will break down your dams and be free!"

—Oakland World.

Debs' Renunciation

(Continued from page 1.)

is the policy of the ruling race and class. I surmise the terrorism behind the slinking mien of these blacks, the reason why the cap comes so quickly off. And yonder in the State Capitol, I am told, sits a Governor who rose to political fame upon the lynching of Leo Frank, the Jew.

I know that exploitation is the foundation of all this imposing semblance of civilization. I know that the foundation is as unstable as the shifting sands. I know it is written in the stars therefore that all this magnificent structure will be broken like Babylon,—the beauty of the Chaldeans' pride, and a bosom of wrath will sweep it,—else there is no truth in history, no righteousness in the heavens, no substance in the soaring dreams of all those bright souls who have burned like beacons through the mists of ages.

And as I ponder these matters, I look out above the music and the clamor and glitter of the streets, across the black roofs, and on into the great darkness.

Out there the torch of Debs is flaming in the night above the prison-dome!

Debs Goes to Prison

By DAVID KARSNER

(Continued from last week.)

"Many years ago," he went on, "during the great Cripple Creek strike in Colorado I was asked to go out there and help to organize the miners. I would not go into a situation like that one I found out there again for anything in the world—not for anything except for Socialism.

"The towns were flooded with armed thugs and they were all ordered to shoot any labor agitators that arrived on the scene. The business men and the mine owners had determined they would not allow a union in that district. I went out there. At the station I was met by a large group of armed thugs. They had made up their minds that I should not make a speech that night." Debs said he told the leader of the gang that "this would either be the beginning of organized labor in Colorado or the end of me."

They held a conference together while I went to a hotel. That night I made my speech and held one of the most successful meetings that it has ever been my privilege to hold.

The next morning I was standing on the curb near my hotel, talking with several of the union men, One of the men drew my attention to a big, hulking fellow not ten feet away. He was the biggest man I ever saw. He had a deadly eye. I could see that the fellow had guns in his pockets.

"'See that follow over there, Mr. Debs?' one of my friends said to me. 'Well, he is a sure shot. He was never known to miss the man he went after. Last night that man stood not ten feet away from your stand all the time you were speaking. He has never left you since then. He has been following you every step, and he will be the last man to see when you get out of this town.'

"'Is that so?' I said to my friend. I walked over to the strong man on the curb and extended my hand to him.

"'My friends have been telling me that you were at my meeting last night, and that you have been watching my movements ever since,' I told him.

"'Yes, Mr. Debs, I have. I knew that they were out to get you in this burg. I come from Vincennes, Indiana, and I know you're on the level with the workmen. I made up my mind that any,— — — who laid his dirty hands on you would be carted out of this here region a corpse.'

"The man blushed to the roots of his hair," said Debs, "when I thanked him for the personal service he had rendered to me. I have found so many times that it is almost impossible to accurately declare who are our friends and who are our enemies."

SPIRITED AWAY TO PRISON

CHAPTER THREE

In this story I want to tell about the extra legal methods through which Debs was spirited out of Cleveland, where he arrived at 6:30 o'clock Sunday morning. Nothing like it ever has been known in the American labor movement.

At 10 o'clock Saturday morning Debs, at Terre Haute, received a telephone call from District Attorney Wertz at Cleveland. Wertz was the man who prosecuted Debs last September. Debs was told to come at once to Cleveland. He might come alone, the prosecutor said.

In spite of the fact that Debs had been at his home only a few days to convalesce from a serious attack of lumbago, with which he was afflicted at Akron, Ohio, at the home of Mrs. Marguerite Prevy, one of his bondsmen. Debs told the prosecutor he would proceed to Cleveland on the 10 o'clock train Saturday night.

When, the Cleveland Saturday evening newspapers carried the news that Debs was leaving Terre Haute for that city, Cleveland Socialists hastily organized a monster mass meeting for Sunday afternoon. Dodgers printed in scarlet ink announced the meeting for 2:30 o'clock as a protest against the imprisonment of 'Gene Debs. He was announced as the speaker for the occasion. The streets in the business part As Debs strolled from the restaurant were littered with the red circulars, where he had just had breakfast with his party to Gilsay Hotel he tread upon these thousands of red printed papers. Despite the fact that Debs was hustled out of the city in the morning the meeting was held in the "Free Speech Park," dedicated to the city in memory of the late Mayor Tom. L. Johnson. That afternoon 15,000 workers marched to the city park singing the "Marseillaise".

At Cleveland there was no one to meet Debs except Mrs. Prevy, her sister, Mrs. May Deibel, and John Deibel. They had all motored from Akron, leaving that town before 5 o'clock.

Debs, Baur, the Prevy party of three and myself took an auto to a restaurant for breakfast. Mrs. Prevy went to a telephone to get Attorney Morris Wolf, one of Debs' lawyers at his trial. He told her he would come at once. Mrs. Prevey said she had not been notified by the District Attorney to surrender Debs. Mrs. Prevy, with Henry Moscowitz, a Cleveland tailor, were Debs' bondsmen. The regular legal procedure would have been for the District Attorney to have notified Debs' bondsmen to surrender Debs to the marshal's office. Neither Mrs. Prevy nor Moscowitz knew Debs would be taken to prison so soon until they read of it in the Saturday newspapers.

After breakfest, Debs with his party went to Gilsey House. He wrote a letter while Mrs. Prevy again tried to get Attorney Wolff. Shortly before 8 o'clock, Deputy Marshal Thomas E. Walsh and Deputy Gauchorte, both of Cleveland, learned, probably through the reporter who met Debs at the depot, that their man was in the city.

Mrs. Prevy, who was at that moment in Debs' room with J. Louis Engdahl and Alfred Wagenknecht, both of whom had just arrived from the national office of the Socialist party in Chicago, protested that she had not been notified as a Debs bondsman to surrender him, and that the proceeding was irrelgular. There was a half-hour's controversy, during which Deputy Walsh telephoned to Marshal Charles W. Lapp at the Federal building for instructions.

"I have a mandate from the United States Supreme Court to take you to the United States Marshal and from there to prison," said Walsh to Debs.

"All right," replied Debs, somewhat weary of the wrangle. "I am your man, and am ready to go with you.

Wolff had not appeared, and did not appear.

While I was talking with Debs in his home at Terre Haute Saturday afternoon, a telegram arrived from Saymour Stedman in Chicago, Debs' chief counsel. Stedman said he was coming to Terre Haute. Theodore Debs immediately wired to Stedman that 'Gene was leaving for Cleveland.

Debs' other Chicago lawyer was William A. Cunnea. Debs' fourth attorney was Joseph W. Sharts, of Dayton.

In the moment of the greatest single incident in the history of the American labor movement, the greatest figure in that movement was being kidnaped by deputies through extra legal proceedings, and with no one to interpose objection, save a woman, Mrs. Prevy, one of Debs' bondsmen.

Debs was placed in an auto and driven to the Federal building, a few blocks away. Half an hour later, or about 9 o'clock, he came out of a side entrance between United States Marshall Charles Lapp and Deputy Walsh. Their pictures were snapped, and Debs, carrying his heavy grip, stepped into an auto between his bodyguards.

"Debs Goes to Prison" can be had for 25c. in pamphlet form.—Order of Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

(Continued next week.)

Sixteen renewals and new subs arrived from Dover, O. Comrade H. E. Ricker is responsible. We won't say which is the most important, getting new readers or keeping the old ones, but both are mighty necessary.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA.

By M. Philips Price

(Second Instalment)

Allied Intervention

The month that immediately followed the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace were used by the Soviet government of Russia for realizing two objectives. The first was the building up a Red proletarian army, which would be a menace in the East to Prussian militarism. The second was the reconstruction of the economic life of the country upon socialist principles, which would be an example to the proletariat of Central Europe and break their loyalty to their own Imperialist warlords. If the Allied governments even at this period of the revolution had chosen to examine the facts, they would have seen that with clean hands they had nothing to fear of working with Bolshevik Russia. But the hands of the Allies were not clean. London and Paris has become, since the early months of 1918, a centre of all the royalist emigrants from Russia, sinister forces on the Stock Exchanges dreamed of seeing in power the same servants of Czarism to whom they had lent money in the past and who were expected to remain their contended slaves in the future. Instead of responding to the invitation of Bolshevik Russia to send instructors to drill the red army and reorganize the railways and open concessions, in payment for the Czar's war loans, the Allied governments became responsible for one of the most disgraceful acts of modern history. In May, 1918, there was formed in most of the chief town of Great Russia, under the directions of General Alexieff, a secret society of officers and members of the bourgeoisie, whose aim it was to organize counter-revolutionary guards and overthrow the Soviet Republic at the given moment. Letters discovered by the Soviet authorities at this time prove that close relations existed between General Alexieff and the French military mission. The plot of the officers' secret society was discovered, but the majority of persons implicated escaped, and in June took up their activities in the towns of East European Russia. Plans were then worked out by General Alexieff and the French Military Mission to seize the towns on the Volga and cut off the food from Central Russia and draw the country into the war again by establishing the East front on a line running from Archangel to the mounth of the Don. The Czecho-Slovak volunteer forces which had been on the southwest front before the Brest-Litovsk peace were taken under the protection of the French Military Mission. The Czecho-Slovak commanders asked for leave to go to the West European front and the Soviet Government gave this permission. The Czecho-Slovak troops were therefore sent by slow stages across Russia to Vladivostok, where they were to embark for France. About the middle of June the Soviet authorities became aware of the fact that during the previous weeks the sum of eleven million rubles had been paid by the French Consul in Moscow to the Czecho-Slovak National Council and eighty thousand pounds by the British consul. Becoming suspicious of the objects for which this large sum of money was paid, the Soviet authorities asked for explanation and meanwhile delayed the transport of the Czecho-Slovak troops. The latter, having been duly prepared by propaganda to believe that the Bolsheviks were laying a trap for them to hand them over to the Germans, lost their heads and seized the railway stations of those towns in East Russia where they happened to be at the moment. These towns were all on the line drawn up in the plans laid by General Alexieff's secret society of officers and the French Military Mission. As soon as the frightened Czecho-Slovaks had made their impulsive coup, they found themselves surrounded by these officers' guards, led by Frenchmen, and were forced to follow them in the war which the latter immediately declared against the Soviet government of Russia. Thus the way to a reconciliation was blocked by the carefully prepared plans of the counter-revolutionaries, who made the Czecho-Slovaks their tools. Thus the revolt became an accomplished fact, and Central Russia, cut off from Ukraine corn by the Germans, was now deprived of its last corn stores on the Volga. The famine in that part of Russia where the Soviet government still existed, increased as a result of the Czecho-Slovak rebellion, and it was confidently hoped by the leaders of the counter-revolution that the masses would rise in revolt against the Bolsheviks. These people, however, forgot that, when the Russian masses would rise, it would not be against the Bolshevik government but against the foreign invaders.

But that was not all. The evidence given before the revolutionary tribunal of the republic in November, 1918, proved that in August of that year the French and British diplomatic representatives to Moscow, M. Grenard and Mr. Lockhart, received in their rooms an officer of the Lettish Soviet regiment and paid him two million rubles for the purpose of securing the support of the Lettish soldiery for the overthrow of the Soviet government. Further, a letter from M. Rene Marchand, correspondent of the "Figaro" in Russia, a strong anti-Bolshevik, to President Poincare, was discovered by the Soviet authorities. In this letter, M. Marchand describes a meeting at the American Consulate, at which he and the French and British diplomatic representatives were present, and at which certain agents of the consulates discussed plans for blowing up bridges over the Volkhov river. The effect of this would have been to reduce Petrograd to complete starvation. As an honest man, M. Marchand protested to the French president against the behavior of Allied officials in Russia. Some of these plans actually did mature and food trains destined for Petrograd and Moscow were blown up at Voronezh by these agents.

Now in the face of the above it is not to be wondered at that the Soviet authority replied to the "White Terror" of the Allied agents by the Red Terror. Up till May of 1918, the Soviet government had only executed murderers or persons caught pillaging. The application of the death penalty for political offences was only reintroduced when the Czarist officers and the Russian bourgeoisie, and as we see above, the official representatives of the Allies in Russia, commenced a systematic terrorist campaign against the Soviet government.

The appalling position of Soviet Russia, bound by the German tyrant at Brest-Litovsk on the one hand, and treacherously attacked by the Allied intervention on the other, roused the Russian workers and peasants to feats of heroism which have only been equalled by the French people in their revolutionary war against the European coalition headed by Austria. "Russian people, rise against foreign tyranny! We must dare and dare again and dare always," came from the lips of hundreds who had never heard the name of Danton. With the energy of despair, the nucleus of the red army was mobilized, clad in cotton shirts and wooden shoes. Regiments of Petrograd workmen and Kronstadt sailors who knew they were fighting for their all, marched eastward and hurled themselves upon the enemy with the cries, "Long live the Russian Revolution! Workers of all countries unite!" The agents of the foreign tyrants wavered and fell back before the terrific onslaughts of these revolution-inspired men. Kazan fell, then Simbirsk, Sizran and Samara. By the autumn, "Mother Volga", that artery in which courses the life-blood of Russia, was cleared of the tyrants and their hirelings. But it was too late to bring up food for the starving towns, for the ice had begun to set in.

After the German revolution, the Allied governments had the field in Russia all to themselves. Their strategy during the winter of 1918-19 aimed at cutting off industrial Russia from all its sources of food and raw materials, in order to ruin, through blockade, the Russian Revolution. Money and ammunition was sent to royalist Generals who were mobilizing Czarist officers on the Don, North Caucasus and in Siberia. General Krasnov, former editor of the official **War Office Gazette**, under the Czar, made no secret of his Monarchist leanings. Having pumped the Kaiser's treasury till Kaiserdom fell, he now appealed to his other class allies, the British and French governments, from whom he received supplies of money and ammunition. General Denikin in the North Caucasus and Admiral Kolchak in Siberia more clearly covered their royalist principles by calling themselves "constitutional democrats" and by attaching to themselves a number of intellectuals who called themselves "socialists," but who are not known in Russia to anyone outside the counter-revolutionary camp. Such was the cynicism of these tactics, that the right socialist revolutionary party of Russia, hitherto bitter opponents of the Bolsheviks, decided at the beginning of 1919 to support the latter in their fight against the foreign invaders. The occupation of the Don by Krasnov had for months cut off all coal supplies from the Moscow and Petrograd industrial area. The occupation of the Urals by Kolchak had cut off iron and copper. The occupation of the North Caucasus and the Caspian litoral by the Denikin counter-revolutionaries had cut off oil from the railways of Central Russia. But the Allied governments are not troubled by any of the mistery that this causes the Russian people. If the industries close and the railways cease running and there is no heating in the houses of the Petrograd workmen, so much the better for the "cause of justice." The British and French capitalist press can all the better accuse the socialist system of Soviet Russia for being responsible for the mistery which the Allied governments alone have created.

Anarchy Let Loose

Gradually the iron ring around Central Russia began to break. Revolutionary Russia had allies in all the territories hitherto occupied by the counter-revolution. These allies were found among the working classes of the towns and the poorer peasantry. No greater service has in reality been rendered to Revolutionary Russia than by the behavior of the Allied governments and their agents in the territories they have occupied. On the Don, in Siberia and Archangel the whole of the social programme of the Bolshevik government has been reversed. The feudal landlords, who had taken refuge in England and France, as soon as they heard that the Allied troops had taken the territory where their land was situated, returned, and with the aid of foreign bayonettes reduced the poorer population to the condition of poverty they were in under the Czar's tyranny. Free sale and speculation in land was allowed again. Labor organizations were either broken up or else reduced to committees which had purely nominal power. Everywhere where the Union Jack or the Tricolor flew along with the old flag of Czarist Russia, there was a restoration of the enslavement of the Russian people. But this only aroused the Russian workers and peasants to a hatred of the Allies hitherto unknown. A deputation of peasants recently coming from the Volga provinces said: "The Allies have taught us a lesson and we shall never again oppose the Soviet Republic." Gradually in all the outlying parts of Russia, in the Baltic provinces, the Ukraine, the Don and the Cossack territories the oppressed workers began to come together to decide upon a common action against foreign tyranny. In Courland, Lithuania and White Russia the native workers and peasants formed their own Soviet governments, which took power as soon as the old German army left. The landlords and rich people fled with the Germans and in Berlin, Paris and London started a propaganda for Allied military support to reinvade these territories. The touching sympathy between the propertied classes of England and France, and their erstwhile foes, the propertied classes of Germany, was never so clearly seen as now. It is a fact that during February and March of this year the German General Staff in East Prussia was in touch with the British naval authorities in the Baltic and that Prussian junkers' volunteer corps have received the protection of the British fleet to carry on operations against the Bolsheviks.

Further south, in Ukraine, the local Bolsheviks had been organizing during the autumn of last year an Ukrainian Red Army. As long as the Germans were there the soldiers of this army hid in the forest, dug in their rifles and artillery and contended themselves with propaganda. But by Christmas, 1918, large numbers of the German troops came over to the Bolshevik side and the rest anarchically demobilized and went home. Then the Red flood was indeed let lose. The 10,000 army of Ukrainian Bolsheviks came out of their hiding and marched south with the cry, "War on the mansions, peace to the cottages." They were met everywhere with the wildest enthusiasm. Young men fled to join the red army. Old men brought their blessings. The landlords' domains became once more the property of the peasants; the sugar factories came again under the control of workers. Everywhere along the West and South Borders of Muscovite Russia there has come into being a chain of socialist republics. They sprung up everywhere like mushrooms, as soon as the artificial force of the foreign bayonets had been dispelled like an unhealthy miasma before the pure wind of heaven. There has been no invasion of these provinces by the red army, no Bolshevik Imperialism spreading west and south in imitation of Czarist traditions. The advance of the red army has been brought about by the triumphant social revolution within these territories, which took place as soon as the German tyranny had been removed. The red armies that have been formed in these border regions of Russia are all from the local population. It is not true that Chinese mercenaries are used by the Bolsheviks. Lies of this type are spread by counter-revolutionists in order to stir up race feeling and thereby hinder the creation of a united proletarian front. Moreover the local socialist governments in the Baltic provinces, Ukraine and the Don are in practice quite independent of Moscow and have only gone into federation with the Bolshevik government there, because of the common interests and social ideals which inspire both. The Soviet Government of Central Russia does not seek to impose its authority on any people in the world. It only seeks allies, which exist in all lands among the working-class, and is ready at all times to work with them.

— Continued Next Week —

The Life of Eugene V. Debs

(Countinued from page 3)

for the Socialist party. Between campaigns he lectures, or writes for Socialist newspapers. When the American Railway Union went to pieces, it left debts of $40,000. From his lecture receipts, Debs has helped others to pay every dollar of this indebtendness, though not a dollar of it was a legal claim against him.

THE ORATOR.

As an orator, Debs stands without an equal in the United States. I say this, having heard every orator in the United States who is worth hearing. Beside him, Bryan is as the moon's beams are to sunlight. I have heard Debs speak, every ten minutes, to little crowds at stations through which his campaign trains passed; I have heard him speak in little halls, big halls, and in tremendous auditoriums in New York; but never did I hear him speak when he did not sway his audience as the wind sways the leaves of a tree — gently if he desired to; with cyclonic fury if he wished. And the whole secret of his oratory, as he himself has said is in believing so mightily in something vital that the thing says itself.

"If Debs were a priest," said Eugene Field, "the world would listen to his eloquence, and that gentle, musical voice, and sad, sweet smile of his, would soften the hardest heart."

"Debs is not so much size as quality," said Horace Traubel the literary executor of Walt Whitman. "Debs has ten hopes to your one hope. He has ten loves to your one love. You think he is a preacher of hate. He is only a preacher of man. If man is hate, then Debs is a hater. When Debs speaks a harsh word, it is wet with tears."

That is pretty nearly true, too. The sufferings of the poor cut him to the heart, and when he is considering their wrongs, he voices his grief in words that burn and cut and tear. And, when not whipped into impassioned oratory by such thoughts, he is the poet and artist, seeking superlatives with which to express his joy. His French blood makes him so. Nothing pleases Debs better than to gather the flowers of language and hand them to someone whom he loves — and he loves everybody; even those who hate him. Debs cannot express any pleasure moderately. When a public reception was given to him, upon his return to Terre Haute, after the Great Northern victory, Debs did not say "I am much obliged to meet you," as Ellis O. Jones might have said, but instead:

"As a rosebud yields to the tender influences of a May shower, just so does my heart open to receive the expressions of gratitude and esteem from you, my friends and neighbors."

Debs was married in 1885 to Miss Katherine Metzel — his "Kate", as he effectionately calls her. She believes in him, idolizes him, works with him and for him. Whatever she can do to make his burden lighter she does. They have no shildren, so they have taken a little nephew to live with them.

THAT "UNDESIRABLE" CITIZEN

Debs an "undesirable citizen"! Branded as such by Roosevelt. Yet Roosevelt, in all his life, never uttered a sentiment half so fine as this sentiment which Debs expressed to an assemblage of workingmen:

"I am not a labor leader. I do not want you to follow me or anyone else. If you are looking for a Moses to lead you out of this capitalist wilderness, you will stay right where you are. I would not lead you into this promised land if I could, because if I could lead you in, someone else would lead you out. You must use your heads as well as your hands and get yourselves out of your present condition. As it is now, the capitalists use your heads and your hands."

DEBS AND THE WAR.

When the great world-war came to America, in April, 1917, Eugene V. Debs, fearless as ever in the cause of the oppressed, kept right on with his work in the Socialist movement.

Each week his uncompromising editorials appeared in the columns of the "Social Revolution," of St. Louis, Mo., until that publication was crushed under the tyrannical rule of the postal censorship.

Whenever his health permitted, he was out on speaking tours, addressing huge audiences everywhere he went.

It happened, therefore, that on Sunday afternoon, June 16, 1918, he delivered a speech at Nimisilla Park, Canton, Ohio, incidental to the meeting in that city of the Ohio Socialist Convention. While speaking Debs could see in the distance the Canton, Ohio, workhouse where Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht and Baker were confined for one year terms because of speeches they had made in the public square in Cleveland in the early days of the war.

It was on the basis of Debs' Canton speech that a federal grand jury at Cleveland returned a secret indictment against him on Saturday, June 29, 1918. He was arrested the following day, June 30, as he was about to enter the Bohemian Gardens, in Cleveland, and address a Socialist picnic. Debs was forced to spend the night in jail, bondsmen coming forward to bail him out the following day.

The trial came on in September before Judge Westenhaver in Cleveland. The prosecution in addition to showing Debs had made the Canton speech, also put much emphasis on the fact that Debs had upheld the St. Louis proclamation before the conference of Socialist Officials in Chicago in August. A capitalist newspaper reporter was also called as a government witness, and on the basis of an interview he had with Debs regarding it, the St. Louis proclamation was presented in its entirety to the jury.

Debs told the reporter that he would not repudiate the St. Louis declaration but said, "If necessary, I will die for it."

The veteran Socialist offered no witnesses in his own defense. He made his own speech to the jury while his lawyers stood aside, reaffirming all that he had said in his Canton speech, voicing again his opposition to war, and resting his case on the constitutional right of free speech, declaring, 'American institutions are on trial here before a court of American citizens."

After four hours' "deliberation" the jury returned a verdict of guilty. Debs again spoke in his own behalf before sentence of ten years' imprisonment at the Moundsville, West Va., penitentiary was imposed. In concluding he said:

"I ask no mercy. I plead for no immunity. I realize that finally the right must prevail. I never more clearly comprehended than now the great struggle between the powers of greed on the one hand and upon the other the rising hosts of freedom."

The case was immediately carried to the United States Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of the Espionage Act. This high court upheld (March 10, 1919) the lower court, but refused to rule on the constitutional points raised.

Debs gave his opinion of the Supreme Court decision in the following language:

"The decision is perfectly consistent with the character of the supreme court as a ruling class tribunal. The supreme court has dodged the issue. It has held the Espionage Law valid without affirming its constitutionalyty. The real issue before the court was the constitutionality of the act. This issue the Supreme Court did not dare to decide.

"Great issues are not decided by courts, but by the people. I have no concern in what the coterie of begowned corporation lawyers in Washington may decide in my case. The court of final resort is the people, and that court will be heard from in due time."

But little time then remained until Debs was ordered sent to prison to begin serving his ten year sentence.

Just about two months after his imprisonment in Moundsville he was transferred to the Atlanta federal penitentiary.

The Czar Put to Shame.

Continued from page 1)

fusal the guard with the hose was directed to continue with the "water cure." This guard several times admitted that he hated to do it, but—it was the order.

"Having finished with Kaplan, the Officer again approached Hennessy and Breger, asking: 'Are you ready to come to terms and do some work, or shall we proceed with the torture?' They replied that, though not anxious to be tortured, they could nevertheless do no work. **They then proceeded to hang Hennesy, who was already in a semi-conscious state due to the effects of the shower.** The rope was fastened around his neck, and, as soon as he was hoisted from the ground, he collapsed and was carried to the large cell.

"Then Breger, who during this time was being subjected to the shower, was taken from his cell. His arms were tied behind his back. The rope was then strung beneath the armpits and around the biceps of his arms. The free end was thrown over the bar above. Thereupon a Captain came up to him and attempted to persuade him to do some work, pointing out that he was a prisoner and must work. Breger replied that he could not work.

"The prison sergeant pulled upon the free end of the rope, lifting Breger about five feet from the ground, blows being inflicted upon him while he was being raised. For 3 or 4 minutes he hung in this position, a continual stream of water being directed into his face. The effect of the rope was to cut off his air supply and force the arms backwards out of their sockets, causing excruiating pains. This, together with the force of the stream of water, caused his exhaustion, and when he began to gasp, he was lowered to the ground. The Lieutenant asked him if he were ready to do some work, and, receiving unfavorable response, the torture was repeated, lasting for a similar length of time. When he again gasped for breath and indicated complete exhaustion, he was lowered to the ground. After repeating the question regarding to work, and receiving a negative reply, he was taken to the large cell, where he immediately collapsed, began kicking with his legs and swinging his arms wildly. He was stripped of his wet clothing by his mates, and covered with blankets.

"Hennessy in the meantime was still unconscious, and before either he or Breger revived, doctors arrived. Upon inquiry by the doctors, the guards explained that it was necessary to give the men baths because of their refusal to bathe volutarily! Larsen, one of the Consientious Objectors, hearing this, contradicted the guard, but was immediately told to shut up and mind his own business. Medicine was proscribed and when it was brought over, the Officer of the Day raised Hennesy and Breger to a sitting posture, and administered the medicine to them, remarking as he did so: **'Here, I hope you choke with it.'** There was nothing more of interest that happened on this day, which will be remembered by us as 'Bloody Sunday.'"

—From the Diary of Herman D. Kaplan, Mayer Bernstein, Julius R. Greenberg, Benjamin Breger.

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What is Wrong with Mr. Wilson?

The above heading might well have graced the editorial in The Nation of August 16th, which we take pleasure in reproducing below. The Nation, edited by Oswald Garrison Villard is not a socialist magazine by any means. But it does represent splendidly that great class of American liberals who use their heads for other purposes than to hang a hat upon or as a reservoir for decayed ideas. The Nation has led the fight in this field in spreading the truth about Soviet Russia. It is now engaged in fighting in an able manner the reactionaries who sit in the high places in American politics.

"We trust that liberals everywhere will keep up the demand for a general amnesty for military, and especially for political prisoners. As one of our correspondents points out, it is, or ought to be, a humiliation to every American that there should be such a thing as a political prisoner in America. We should have laughed to scorn ten years ago anybody who dared to prophesy that this could come to pass in the land of the free and the home of the brave. But there the fact is. More than that, in direct violation of the Constitution, they are only just now beginning in Kansas to try men who have been held in filthy county jails for nearly two years, without having their day in court—something which we used to pride ourselves could take place only under the Czar or the Kaiser. With Senator Chamberlain, arch-militarist, demanding the release of all military prisoners not guilty of felony, there should be a similar proposal for the release of all civilian political prisoners, notably Eugene Debs, and many another who ought not for a moment to be in jail. England and Canada have now released all their conscientious objectors, but we do not follow suit. Some are in damp, below-watermark cells on Alcatraz Island; one died in Leavenworth Prison last week. What is wrong with Mr. Wilson that he appears so devoid of the magnanimity which should be inseparable from the just and the trully great man?"

The just and truly great are revealed by the spirit of magnanimity which rules their conduct toward those who have opposed them formerly. To gloat over ones' victims in the hour of victory is the act of pygmy souls. There is nothing of greatness in such conduct. The really great will scorn such actions.

The question arises: Has President Wilson such a soul; Is he really great, great in himself, as a men? Mr. Wilson has proven a disappointment to millions of the common folk ofthe world. Will he prove a disappointment in his conduct toward those who could not see affairs thru his spectacles and are now as a result, languishing in the American bastiles?

What is wrong with Mr. Wilson? is a very apt question right now. Millions look to him to swing open the prison doors to the thousands of polical and class-war prisoners, many of whon are fully his equals in every respect, if not his superiors. Why does he not open them?

What is wrong with Mr. Wilson?

Fires of Hate Burn Low

The gospel of hate toward Germany is meeting with many reactions these past few weeks. Hate of man toward man and nation toward nation is an artificial condition which can only obtain in abnormal times. Man's natural attitude toward his fellows creatures is one of toleration. There are no natural racial antipathies. Such as exist in our artificial civilization are but cultivated by-products of the scramble for pelf and power.

During the war we were taught by those who sought to be our mentors that the German nation, people of all classes were devils incarnate. That all hitherto believed high qualities of the Teuton race were shams and artifices. But of late the fires of hate have been allowed to smolder. German music, we understand is to return to the American stage. Trade in many essentials is already under way. No doubt we shall soon be wearing German dyes upon our backs. (The Italian rag rug weaver next door tells us we need the dyes badly an account of the inferiority of the American product.) The mouths that preached hate are now preaching other, and we woud hope, worthier gospels.

Perhaps the most striking instance of the passing of this phase of our relations with the German nation is contained in a number of recent dispatches from Coblenz concerning the unexpected conduct of American soldiers. During the American occupation the strictiest rules against fraternizing with the civilian population were enforced. Nevertheless, dispatches tell us that some hundreds of American soldiers have applied for passports for their German brides! And now the latest reports state that "several thousand" American soldiers are loose in Germany, having left their unites without leave, have donned civilian clothes, mixed with the population and are hopelessly lost to the army and this country. Hundreds of others, after discharge refuse to return home prefering to remain in the land of the Hun.

Rather a strange coincidence is it not, that the stories of despisible German characteristics can not be verified by those who would be most likely to have first hand knowledge? The American soldiers are finding the Germans a very cordial and human people, very much like themselves. Their relations with them are a direct refutation of all we have been taught recently of German traits.

The fires of hate now burn low and the artificality of the substance from which the flame arose is seen in all its hideousness. Its kindling was brought about thru the capitalist controlled press. It had no substance in fact. Lies, lies, lies.

Announcement

I desire to announce that my office is now located at Room 309 Guth Block, 38 South Howard St., Akron, Ohio.

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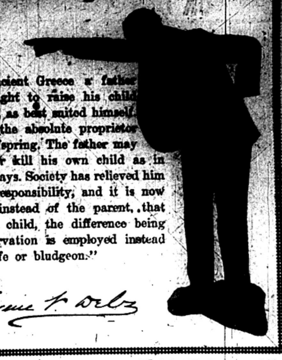

"In ancient Greece a father had a right to raise his child or kill it, as best suited himself. He was the absolute proprietor of his offspring. The father may no longer kill his own child as in ancient days. Society has relieved him of this responsibility, and it is now society, instead of the parent, that kills the child, the difference being that starvation is employed instead of a knife or bludgeon."

Eugene V. Debs

THE LIFE OF EUGENE V. DEBS.

Some men cannot think of Debs without thinking of the devil. Other men cannot thing of the devil without thinking of Debs. No man was ever more lied about. For twenty years he has been a great public figure in this country, but the people do not yet understand him. They have had no chance to understand him. The persons who make public opinion in this country do not want him understood. they might be understood, too. Debs is and long has been the implacable foe of the class that makes public opinion in this country That class is the capitalist class. It controls almost all of the magazines. It controls many of the churches. It has had the power to stifle truth and spread falsehood. It has stifled truth and spread falsehood.

I happen to know Eugene V. Debs well. I have known him for ten years. If everyone knew him as I know him, he would be one of the best loved man in America. Some day, everyone will know him as I know him. The time may not come until after he is dead. A white marble finger may be pointing up from the grass, somewhere. But the time will come. To such men the time always comes. It came to John Brown. It came to Wendell Phillips. It came to William Lloyd Garrison. It will come to Debs.

Let me here set down his story. So far as it can be told from facts of record, I shall tell it from facts of record. So far as it must be told from the lips of others, I shall tell who are those others. In no case shall I stretch the truth to stretch his stature. I shall show Debs as I know Debs to be.

The blood of the French runs through the veins of Eugene Victor Debs. He was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, November 5, 1855, of Jean Daniel Debs and Margaret Marie Betterich, who came to America from France in 1849. It was a wonderful family into which he was born. It was not wonderful because of the affection that the parents gave their ten children — parents usually give their children affection. It was wonderful because of the affection that the children gave to their parents and to each other. It was a solid block of twelve that nothing but death could disintegrate. The parents became old, but the children could not forget. The children became old, but the parents could not forget. Particularly, Eugene could not forget his mother.

"She has been the dominant influence of my life," he once said. "Whatever of good there is in me, I owe to her. I care absolutely nothing for the praise or the condemnation of the world so long as my wife and my mother think I am in the right."

The mother lived until the spring of 1906. So long as she lived, the father wanted to live. But when she died, he seemed no longer to want to live. Nor did he long survive her. Early in the following autumn, at the age of 86, he took his place beside her in the tomb.

Debs's childhood did not last long. He had not finished high school when, at the age of 15, poverty knocked at his schollroom door, beckoned him from his seat and told him to come out. He came. He had to come. Nor did he ever go back, except to take a night course at a business college. He had no time to go back. The father—a small country merchant — needed his help. Debs was not one of the eldest, but he was one of two boys in a family of eight girls.

Eugene's first job was in the paint shop of a little Indiana raiload that is now a part of the Pennsylvania system. By the time he was 16 he was firing a locomotive on the road. He continued to be a locomotive fireman until he was 19.

THAT "TOW-HEADED BOY"

About this time the Debs we now know began to grow. Something happened that revealed him to himself and to others. He had left the employ of the railroad company to take a better position with a wholesale grocery house. But when, the next year, a local branch of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was established in Terre Haute, Debs was one of the first to apply for membership. In fact, he was a charter member. He was no longer in the railroad business. The troubles of the firemen meant nothing to him. Yet, in a way, they meant everything to him. He could not forget his own experiences. He knew how hard the men worked and for what little pay. He knew the railroads could afford to pay more. He knew that, with organization, the firemen could compel the railways to pay more. So, when the grocery closed, on the night of February 27, 1875, Debs went to the hall where the firemen were to meet in an effort to organize a union.

Joshua A. Leach, grand master of the brotherhood, had come to Terre Haute to get the movement under way. Debs, in characteristic fashion, sought him out and, without waste of words, told him precisely what he wanted. Grocer boy that he was, he wanted to join the local branch of the firemen.

"My boy," said Leach, "you are a little young, but I believe you're in earnest and will make your mark in the brotherhood. Come on in."

Once in, Debs was immediately chosen secretary. Speaking of the event a few months later in St. Louis, Leach said:

"I put a tow-headed boy in the brotherhood in Terre Haute not long ago, and some day he will be at the head of it."

Debs remained in the employ of the grocery firm five years. For two terms of two years each he then served as city clerk, having been elected on the Democratic ticket. The Democrats even offered him a nomination to Congress which he declined, though they did elect him to the Indiana state legislature, in 1885. In fact, almost everything that occured might easily have served to make him forget the little local branch of the fireman's brotherhood that, in 1875, he had joined with so much enthusiasm. Yet, the fact is that during all of these ten years he never missed a meeting of the union. Not only did he miss no meeting, but he took a tremendous share in the work. Not content with trying to help his old friends, the ralway firemen, he tried to help all other railway men. He organized the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen, and, with others, brought into existence the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Order of Railway Telegraphers, and the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association.

By this time Debs was fairly striking his stride. He had found his work. With a passion for the cause of labor and a genius for organizotion, he could no more be kept in a grocery, or any other merchandising business, than an eagle could be kept in a basement. Even while he was holding public office, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen elected him to almost all the offices it had. He was made the grand secretary and treasurer, and the editor and manager of the Brotherhood's official magazine.

"With all the fire of youth," he said, "I entered upon this work, which seemed fairly to glitter with possibilities. For eighteen hours at a stretch, I was glued to my desk reeling off answers to my many correspondents. Day and night were one. Sleep was time wasted, and often when, all oblivious of her presence, in the still small hours, my mother's hand turned off the light, I went to bed under protest.

"My grip was always packed, and I was darting in all directions. To tramp through a railroad yard in the rain, snow or sleet half the night or till daybreak, to be ordered out of the roundhouse for being an 'agitator' or put off a train sometimes passenger, more often freight, while attempting to deadhead over the division — these were all in the program and served to whet the appetite to conquer. One night, in midwinter, at Elmira, N. Y., a conductor on the Erie kindly dropped me into a snowbank. As I clambered to the top, I ran into the arms of a policeman who heard my story and on the spot became my friend.

"I rode on the engines over mountain and plain, slept in the cabooses and bunks, and was fed from their pails by the swarthy stokers who still nestle close to my heart, and will until it is cold and still.

"Thus did I become saturated with the spirit of the working class. I had fired an engine and been stung by the exposure and hardship of the rail.

"I was with the boys in their weary watches, at the broken engine's side, and often helped to bear their bruised and bleeding bodies back to wife and child again. How could I but feel the burden of their wrongs?"

Whatever Debs felt during those years he did a tremendous work for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. When he entered its service the brotherhood cinsisted of only 60 lodges, wiped out all of the debt and put a balance in the treasury.

But while Debs was doing all of this work, which seemed big, he had been dreaming of work which was bigger. He had been dreaming of a great railway organization, embracing all of the employees in one union — a union too strong and too great to be broken by all of the railroad companies in the country. So, in 1893, after having served the brotherhood of firemen 15 years, he resigned his various offices. His salary from the brotherhood, by the way, was $4.000 a year.

The resignation, when placed before the brotherhood, in convention at Cincinnati, was unanimously refused. Debs insisted; told why he wanted to resign: explained about his plans to form a great union of all railway employees, and at length the convention accepted his resignation. But in doing so, the convention, by unanimous vote, appropriated $2.000 to pay his expenses on a pleasure trip to Europe. Debs thanked the convention very kondly, refused to accept the money, walked out of the hall, leaving the $4,000 a year job that he had voluntarily surrendered and in a few weeks was in Chicago, working for $900 a year, trying to organize the American Railway Union.

"I do this," said he to the firemen as he left them, "because it pleases me. There is nothing I would not do, so far as human effort goes, to advance any movement designed to reach and rescue perishing humanity. I have a heart for others and that is why I am in this work. When I see suffering about me, I myself suffer, and so, when I put forth my efforts to relieve others, I am simply working for myself. I do not consider that I have made any sacrifice whatever; no man does unless he violates his conscience."

THE GREATEST LABOR STRIKE.

Debs organized the American Railway Union so succesfully that when, in the spring of 1894, the Great Northern Railway Company reduced the wages of its men, Debs stopped every train on the road except the mail trains. For eighteen days not a pound of freight was moved. It was Eugene V. Debs against James J. Hill, and Debs was the stronger. Hill finally consented to arbitration, and the arbitrators granted 97½ per cent. of the strikers' demands, which represented a monthly increase in wages of $146.000. At the close of hostilities, which had been conducted without the loss of a drop of blood, Hill said to Debs: "You have fought a good fight and I respect you."

Meanwhile, events were preparing for the greatest strike that ever took place upon the American continent. During the same spring the Pullman Palace Car Company had reduced the wages of its men. Though the Pullman employees were not members of the American Railway Union, they sought the advice of Debs. He went to the town of Pullman and investigated the facts. He found that the company was paying very low wages and charging very high rents for its houses. Still, Debs advised against a strike. He did not regard the time as propitious. He suggested that they delay action a little.

The Pullman employees were in no mood for delay. While the strike against the Great Northern was proceeding, the Pullman employees went out. That was on May 11, 1894. After Debs had trimmed Mr. Hill, the Pullman employees made application to join the American Railway Union and were admitted. From that time onward, their fight became Deb's fight. And all the world knows how he fought.

But, to this day, not much of the world knows how he was whipped, by whom he was whipped, nor why he was imprisoned for six months.

Debs was whipped by Grover Cleveland, who, at the behest of the General Managers' Association, representing the railroads, and against the protest of the Governor of Illinois, sent federal troops into the state. Federal Judges Grosscup and Woods added heavy blows to the beating.

WHY DEBS WENT TO JAIL.

Let me make these facts plain and prove that they are facts. Debs was first arrested upon an indiement charging conspiracy to murder, and, a few days later, for alleged contempt of a court that had issued an injunction against him. After the strike was ended, a federal commission was appointed to investigate the facts pertaining to the strike, and the commission's report makes this statement with regard to Debs's responsibility for violence:

"The mobs that took possession of railroad tracks, yards and crossings after July 3, and that stoned, tipped over, burned and destroyed cars and stole their contents were, by general concurrence in the testimony, composed generally of hoodlums, women, a low class of foreigners and recruits from the criminal classes. Few strikers were recognizing or arrested in these mobs, which were without leadership and seemed simply bent upon plunder and destruction... In the view that this railroad strike was wrong, that such mobs are well-known to be incidental to such strikes, and are thereby given an excuse and incentive to gather and to commit crime, the responsibility rests largely with the American Railway Union; otherwise, that association, its leaders and a very large majority of the railroad men upon strike are not shown to have had any connection therewith."

In other words, Debs's telegrams to his subordinates, all of which were seized and read, showed that, so far from counseling violence, he had steadfastly counseled against it, and that he therefore had no resposibility for violence that accompanies a strike.

Grover Cleveland's own commission testified that Debs had no connection with any of the rioting that took place during the A. R. U. strike. Yet there was violence, and force was required to resist it. The governor of Illinois said he was able to cope with the situation; still the federal troops came against his protest. Nor was that all. Attorney-General Olney, by direction of Grover Cleveland, permitted 3.600 deputy United States marshals to operate trains. He did more. He permitted the railway managers to select the men whom they desired to be marshals, to give them their orders and to pay them. The United States Government thus permitted the railroads to swear in its strike breakers as federal officials. I quote from the report of the commission that investigated the strike:

"United States deputy marshals to the number of 3.600 were selected by and appointed at the request of the General Managers' Association and its railroads. They were armed and paid by the railroads and acted in the double capacity of railway employees and United States officers. While operating the railroads they assumed and exercised unrestricted United States authority when so ordered by their employers, or whenever they regarded it as necessary. They were not under the direct control of any government official while exercising authority."

What do you think of that? What President of the United States would now dare do what Grover Cleveland did in 1894? Mr. Cleveland's act was so outrageous that his own commission, immediately following the paragraph just quoted, said:

"This is placing officers of the government under control of a combination of railroads. It is a bad precedent that might well lead to serious consequences."

Let some President follow that precedent to-day, if he dare. Such an outrage could be committed with comparative safety in the days of Cleveland. It could not be safely committed now. Many things have the people learned since 1894. Presidents, too, have learned some things.

Debs, nevertheless, was indicted upon a charge of conspiracy to murder. Eugene Field, the poet, who was then upon the editorial staff of the Chicago "Daily News," heard of the indictment, and hastened to Debs's office. Debs was not in. Field wrote the following note, placed a paper-weight upon it and left it upon Debs's desk:

"Dear Gene: I hear that you are to be arrested. When that time comes, you will need a friend. I want to be that friend.

"Eugene Field."

At the same time came this telegram from his aged parents:

"Stand by your principles, regardless of consequences.
"Your Father and Mother."

The conspiracy charge was quickly followed by an order for the arrest of Debs and the other leaders of the strike for contempt of court because of an alleged violation of an injunction, thus leaving the strike without leaders. The swift succession of events can perhaps best be described in Debs's own words:

"The strike had proceeded to the point where the combined corporations were paralyzed and helpless. At this juncture there were delivered, from wholly unexpected quarters, a swift succession of blows that blinded me for an instant and then opened wide my eyes — and in the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle the class struggle was revealed. This was my first lesson in Socialism, though wholly unaware, at that time, that it was called by that name.

"An army of thugs, detectives and murderers were equipped with badge and beer and bludgeon and turned loose. Old hulks of cars were fired. The alarm bells were tolled. The people were terrified. The most startling rumors were set afloat. The press volleyed and thundered, and over all the wires sped the news that Chicago's white troat was in the clutch of a red mob. Injunctions flew thick and fast, arrests followed, and our offices and headquarters the heart of the strike, were sacked, torn out, and nailed up by the "lawful" autorities of the federal government. And when, in company with my loyal comrades, I found myself in Cook County jail in Chicago, with the whole of the press screaming conspiracy, treason and murder, and by some fateful coincidence, I was given the cell occupied just previous to his execution by the assassin of Mayor Carter Harrison, Sr., overlooking the spot, a few feet distant, where the anarchists were hanged a few years before, I had another exceedingly practical and impressive lesson in Socialism. The next morning the jailer showed us the blood-stained rope used at the last execution, and explained, in minutest detail, just how the monstrous crime of lawful murder is committed."

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE CHARGES.

Let us now see what became of these various charges against Debs. He was placed upon trial for conspiracy to murder and a jury was impaneled. An effort was made to place George M. Pullman upon the witness stand, but he fled from town. Then efforts were made to get various of his secretaries and understudies, but, as rapidly as one was wanted to testify, the news was mysteriously conveyed to him and he disappeared. In a little while, it became known that Debs's attorneys were in possession of some documents that would tend to incriminate the railroad men who constituted the General Managers' Association. Immediately it was announced that, owing to the illness of a juror, the trial would be postponed six months. Debs's attorneys protested, offering to proceed if a new juror were selected and the testimony read to him, but the government refused to proceed.

And here is an interesting fact. To this day, the government has not proceeded with the trial of Debs on the conspiracy charge. The indictment was never quashed. Except for the fact that it has been outlawed, it would still stand against him. The records simply show that the trial of this "horrible monster" for his life was interrupted by the "sickness" of a juror — and never resumed. Anyone who wants to believe that this reason was the true reason is entitled to do so.

Early in July, 1894, and while the strike was still in progress, Federal Judge Woods issued a sweeping injunction against Debs and his associates. Debs realized that the railroads were using the United States courts to break the strike, and determined to give them not even a pretense for arresting him. He therefore went to his attorney, Judge Lyman Trumbull, to seek counsel. Trumbull had drafted the thirteenth amendment to the federal constitution, abolishing slavery, served upon the supreme bench of the state of Illinois, and had, also, for sixteen years, been a member of the United States senate and chairman of its judiciary committee.

"When that injunction was served upon me," said Debs, "I went to Judge Trumbull and another of the best constitutional lawyers in Chicago and said: 'What rights, if any, have I under this injunction? I am a law-abiding citizen. I want to do what is right. I want you to examine this injunction and then advise me what to do.'

"They examined the injunction. They said: 'Proceed just as you have been proceeding. You are not committing any violence You are not advising violence. Instead, you are doing everything in your power to restrain men from the commission of crime or violating the law.' I followed their advice and got six months for it."

Debs spent the six months in Woodstock jail. Judge Woods sentenced him. Woods issued the injunction. Woods said Debs had violated the injunction. Woods could not say that Debs had violated any law. He could only say that he had violated a law made by Woods. And, for that, Debs was deprived of his liberty for six months. Judge Trumbull, speaking of the case, said:

"The decision, carried to its logical conclusion, means that any federal judge can imprison any citizen at will. If this be true, it is judicial despotism, pure and simple, whatever you may choose to call it."

As a matter of fact, the Debs case was the first conspicuous use of the monstrous evil of "government by injunction." The people, then, did not know much about government by injunction. They only knew that a federal judge had sent a man to jail, and, therefore, naturally supposed that the man must be very bad. Since then, the people have learned something amout the misuse of the power of judicial injunction. But, all of these years, Debs has had to bear the burden of what the people did not then know. He has had to fight down the reputation that the capitalist newspapers gave him of being a criminal. And it has been a fight.

W. H. Detwyler, a high school teacher in Yonkers, relates an incident that illutrates both the extent of the prejudice against Debs among many who do not know him, and the rapidity with which it is removed when they do know him. Mr. Detwyler, a few years ago, heard Debs speak in Faneuil Hall, Boston. He did not notice, at first, an old man who stood beside him. Soon he became conscious of the fact that the old man was nudging him in the ribs, by way of approval of points made by the speaker. Debs, in one of his fine flights of impassioned, humanitarian oratory, seemed to wring the soul of the old man, down whose wrinkled face the tears began to flow.

"I must go up and speak to him," he said to Detwyler, at the conclusion of the speech. "Will you go with me?"

In a few moments they had edged their way to the speaker.

"Mr. Debs", said the old man, "I am a Congregational minister in Lynn, Mass. For years I have wronged you outrageously. I believed you were a bad man, and I have lost no opportunity to say so. But now I know better and I want you to forgive me."

HIS SOCIALIST BEGINNING

The man's voice broke as he spoke. The spell of Debs's eloquence was still over him and the tears burst forth afresh. And, as he stood there, looking up at Debs's blue eyes. Debs simply put his arm around him and told him to think no more about it; that he had followed his conscience as much in denouncing him as he had in coming to the platform to ask forgiveness.

So great a man is Debs; so big; so fine.

Debs, in Woodstock jail, began to see the light that eventually made him a Socialist.

"Up to this time," he said, "I had heard but little of Socialism, knew practically nothing about the movement, and what litle I did know was not calculated to impress me in its favor. But it was in Woodstock jail that Socialism gradually laid hold of me in its own irresistible fashion.

"Books and pamphlets from Socialists came to me by every mail and I began to dissect the anatomy of the capitalist system under which workingmen, however organized, could be shattered and battered and splintered at a single stroke."

Debs's conversion to Socialism was not complete. however, when he left prison. In the campaign of 1896 he spoke and voted for Bryan.

But two years later, he helped to organize the present Socialist party, and led the remnant of the old American Railway Union into it.

In 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, he was the Socialist candidate for President.

For twelve years Debs has spent all of his time either writing or speaking

(Continued on page 4.)

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THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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"Well---Probably I'll Never See You Again"

Rumor had it that Debs had been placed at congenial employment at the Atlanta penitentiary.

When the three representatives of the Army of Liberators arrived at the prison gates, Debs was still employed in the clothing department.

HE WAS STILL CONFINED TO HIS CELL 14 HOURS A DAY!

He was still made to endure all the restrictions which prison rules impose.

DEBS—63 YEARS OLD—

• • •

To a free spirit prison is a hell.

To a man who feels for his fellow man, prison is the hell of hells.

Prison life is eating into Debs.

He is gaunt and emaciated. He has lost 14 ponds in weight since his incarceration in the Atlanta penitentiary.

The prison atmosphere is killing him.

Debs will leave Atlanta a corpse—UNLESS—YOU ENLIST YOUR SERVICES AT ONCE!

• • •

The three representatives of the Army of Liberators, Jos. W. Sharts, Marguerite Prevey, and Samuel Castleton desire to report to you that HASTE IS NECESSARY.

Debs' spirit is unbroken—BUT HIS HEALTH IS SHATTERED!

The insults to him and prisoners about him, the cruelty of the prison guards, the inconsiderate manner in which he is pushed and shoved about are like dagger thrusts to a BIG MAN.

AND DEBS IS A BIG MAN—a man with a heart a thousand times larger that the hearts of those who persecute him.

• • •

Let Marguerite Prevey tell the story.

"Yes, we saw Debs, but it was not the Debs we saw at Moundsville. It was the same Debs in spirit, for the spirit of Debs will live forever—more.

"But when I saw him come down the prison corridor, stooped and unsteady of foot, I realized that unless he was liberated at once he would never need to be.

"His eyes were sunk back into his head, his hands, which I clasped in comradely greeting, were bones. His entire form had been eaten away and I saw nothing but the skeleton of his former self—AND A HEART.

"His heart beats for all of us the same as it always did. But he is dying inside physically.

"We talked about many matters. We talked of his speaking tours which he made in Ohio just before leaving for Moundsville, and of the many courageous comrades he had met. And we talked earnestly of instituting proceedings to liberate him from the Atlanta penitentiary.

"His answer was a truly Debs answer—ALL OR NONE. And yet he made a reservation. He asked us to return in 30 days, on September 20th.

"And then our time was up and we said goodbye. And while he held my hand in his—the hand which has offered the biggest heart in America upon the altar of working class emancipation, he said—

"COMRADE PREVEY, PROBABLY I'LL NEVER SEE YOU AGAIN."

• • •

Debs' life is in your hands comrades.

HIS LIFE OR DEATH DEPENDS UPON YOU.

We shall return to the Atlanta penitentiary September 20th.

We shall get his final answer as to whether habeas corpus proceedings shall be instituted for his liberation.

IN THE MEANTIME—WHAT DO YOU INTEND DOING TO HELP?

And we answer the question by earnestly asking you to JOIN THE LIBERATORS AT ONCE, AND—

HELP GATHER LIBERATION FUNDS. Money is needed. GET IT FOR US!—RIGHT NOW!

Ohio Coal Miners Come to Debs' Defense

DILLES BOTTOM COAL DIGGERS JOIN LIBERATOR ARMY IN BATTLE FOR RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

THE MINERS HAVE SPOKEN FOR DEBS.

For Debs and all political prisoners. Up from the gloom of the pits their voice has risen bull-throated, demanding justice for those who lie in American bastiles for opinion's sake. Demanding that the intolerable justice shall cease. Demanding that in their comrades and fellow-workers shall walk forth free men and women into the world of sunlight.

The torch of Debs is flaming in the sky over the dome of the Atlanta prison.

The rays from that torch reach into the gloom of the subterranean depths where the miners, with pick and shovel garner the coal that means life and industry to this nation and to all the world.

The miners know Debs. Know him as a comrade and a fellow-worker. Know him for the times he has risked assassination at the hands of the coal barons for his fidelity to the miner's cause. Know him for his unswerving loyalty to the cause of justice for labor and the miner.

Indeed the miners know Debs. And they are joining in the nation-wide demand for his release. They know that Debs has stood by the miners in every contest they have waged with their exploiters, the coal barons. They know that Debs has given every thing, risked every thing, even death for the cause of the miners

And now the miners want to pay back to Debs a part of the debt they owe. They know that they can do nothing less than join the fight for his release from unjust imprisonment. They demand his immediate release.

The miners know Debs. They know that the minute Debs is out of prison he will e-enter the fight for justice for the miners. And the coal barons know this too. That is why they want Debs kept where he is—behind prison bars, where they think he is helpless to wage war with the miners against their schemes of exploitation. The coal barons feel safer with Debs hidden away out of sight behind stone walls in sunless iron bound cells, Debs is dangerous to those who rob labor. The coal barons know this. The miners know it too. That is why they demand the release of Debs. They know that Debs out of prison will wage their fight for better conditions, higher wages, shorter hours of labor. They know that Debs is stanch and true to them. These are the thoughts they are thinking now down in the black pits illumined by their torches—and the bright rays from the torch that Debs holds aloft above the stone and iron-bound cells of Atlanta prison.

The first miner's union to respond to our call to join the fight for the release of all political prisoners is Local Union No. 2262 U. M. W. A. of District No. 6 of Dilles Bottom, O.

This miner's union thru comrade R. M. Wallace remits the sum of $187.00 for the fight for freedom for Debs and all political prisons. This is the first financial response to reach us from any labor organization. That it has come in the first days of our campaign augurs well for the carrying on of the greatest effort ever waged for the release of our comrades. There will be more responses as the campaign progresses, for we mean to carry this fight into the mines, the mills and the factories. We mean to enlist the help of all American workers in the cause of freedom, no matter to what labor organization they may belong. It is the worker's cause and to the workers we will go for all assistance in this fight.

Debs has said, "return in thirty days". On Sept. 20th, we shall go to Atlanta to interview Debs as to whether he is willing to start habeas corpus proceedings while a test is made as to the legality of his transferal to Atlanta from Moundsville. We don't know what Debs' answer will be. But in the meantime, we mean to leave no stone unturned to increase the agitation and demands for the release of every political prisoner in America.

And in that cause we ask the assistance of every worker in America. Of every worker who loves freedom, we ask. Of every worker who hates injustice, we demand that they take a stand with us, with the miners who are joining the Army of Liberators, with the thousands who are contributing to the Liberation Fund.

There is much that YOU can do right now to aid thru agitation in your Local and Union meetings. Leave no opportunity pass which may be used for the furtherance of the cause of our comrades in prison.

Join the army of Liberators.

Order a bundle of "Letters to President Wilson" for distribution.

Help get the Liberation Fund of thousands of dollars that will be needed to print leaflets and posters to arouse public attention to the injustice of keeping our comrades imprisoned.

Circulate Liberation Fund lists among the workers you know.

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY FORMED.

(Latest News from National Convention.)

The Communist Labor Party has been formed. The delegates of the Left Wing section of the Socialist Party who were thrown out of the National Emergency Convention by the police at the instigation of National Secretary Germer and the illegal National Executive Committee, met and constituted themselves into the Communist Labor Party. Max Bedact, Alexander Bilan, Jack Carney, Edward Lingren and L. E. Katterfeld elected as National Executive Committee, and Alfred Wagenknecht as National Secretary. Headquarters will be the Ohio State Office.

Repeated attempts to unite with the Communist Convention called by the Russian Federation have so far failed. The Communist Labor Party on the last day instructed its national officers to issue a standing invitation to the party to be organized by the Communist convention to unite on basis of equality.

The Right Wing, reactionaries by vote of 61 to 33 refuse to endorse the Third International of Moscow. Its new National Executive Committee is composed of [illegible], [illegible], Brandt, Hagel, O'Neal all reactionaries and [illegible] of Indiana, whom they hope to [illegible].

The Communist Labor Party adjourned [illegible] amidst great enthusiasm. All delegates pledged themselves to begin the work of organization at once. The [illegible] Branch of Chicago made first application for affiliation. A call is hereby issued to all locals and branches to decide question of affiliation with the new revolutionary party at next meeting.

Adress all communications to COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

ONWARD TO VICTORY!

A. Wagenknecht.

Police Under Direction of Adolph Germer Open National Convention of the Socialist Party

The Chicago police, commanded by Adolph Germer, erstwhile national recretary of the Socialist aPrty, opened the Emergency national convention by forcibly ejecting the Left Wing delegate from the floor.

Admission to the convention floor was by white card, issued by Adolph Germer. As only right wing delegates were given cards and admitted, the slogan of "white cards for the white guards" was soon on every red delegates lips.

Left Wing delegates excluded numbered about 50 and at the hearing of the reactionary contest committee, presided over by Judge Panken of New York and which was composed mostly of lawyers, it was learned that the contests which were entered against the Left Wing delegations came in good part from the outlawed national executive committee, which constitutionally ceased to function July 1.

The convention was an eye-opener to all delegates, even those delegates who were not avowedly Left Wing realized that there was no chance for a sincere expression of opinion by vote upon the floor. The convention was controlled by a machine of 52 hand picked delegates who came from New York, Michigan and Massachusetts. Altho more than half of the locals and branches of New York state have been expelled by a reactionary officialdom, that state was represented at the convention by 32 delegates. In justice this state was entitled to only about 15 delegates. Michigan was seated with six delegates. This state was expelled from the national organization recently and was reorganized with about 150 members. Representation should have been based upon the membership in the new organization. Accordingly, it would have been entitled to only one delegate. The same was true of Massachusetts. This state was also expelled and reorganized, still its representation was based upon the membership it had before being expelled and had 14 delegates upon the floor instead of its rightful four.

Facing a machine such as this, the centrists, who came to the convention hoping for a square deal, were sorely disappointed. The Left Wing delegates found out early in the first day of the convention that conferences would be necessary between all revolutionary delegates if the battle for revolutionary Socialism in the party was to be carried to its logical conclusion in the convention. These conferences were attended by delegations from Virginia, Delaware, West Wirginia, Kentucky, Minnesota, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio, New York, Illinois Washington Missouri Rhode Island, California, Colorado, Oregon, Kansas, Florida, Nebraska, Utah and Indiana. The delegates attending the conferences decided to act as a unit in presenting their demands to the convention and agreed that only then would any of them take their seats when all Left Wing delegates were seated.

It was also decided that should the convention attempt to transact any business before the 50 contested delegates were seated, that then all Left Wing delegates upon the floor of the convention would retire and go to the caucus room for consultation. The crucial moment came when the convention was called to order upon the second day. Seymour Stedman, who was chairman, entertained a motion that the report of the referendum investigating committee be heard. This motion was about to be put when Delegate Caldwell of Rhode Island arose, protested against this unjust procedure, stated that before business could be transacted all delegates ought be seated, and announced that he and those who believe with him would withdraw from the convention.

A conference of Left Wing delegates was immediately called. At the meeting it was found that the strength represented in the caucus consisted of far more than half of the party membership still in the fold, and a motion was passed to meet at six o'clock, August 31, to call to order the regular convention of the Socialist Party, under the direction of the newly elected national executive committee and the executive secretary pro tem.

This was done and with the singing of the Internationale and three cheers for Debs, the regularly constituted convention of the Socialist Party consisting of the Russian Socialists and other revolutionary organizations, came to order.

Edgar Owens of Illinois was elected temporary chairman, Marguerite Prevey, Vice-Chairman, Lawrence Zitt of Ohio, Secretary and E. B. Austin of Kentucky, assistant secretary.

Delegates from 21 states, 82 in all, composed the roster of the convention as follows:

ROSTER OF DELEGATES

(as reported by committee.)

OHIO

Charles Baker, Chas. Bonsall, Alex. Bilan, J. F. Denison, Margaret Prevey, Clifford King, J. A. Johnson, C. E. Ruthenberg, Lawrence A. Zitt, Lotta Burke, W. McClory, Scott Wilkins, A. Wagenknecht, M. Jeanners, T. Clifford.

NEW YORK

Benj. Gitlow, E. I. Lindgren, John Reed, I. E. Klein, Mrs. Lindren, F. Jacobs, T. Crimmins, M. Zucker, L. B. Bondin, L. Lore.

ILLINOIS

K. Sandburg, W. B. Lloyd, W. Lugge, Edgar Owens, J. Christenson, H. E. Greenwood, A. Olson, O. J. Brown, Chas. Krumbein, L. K. England, P. H. Shipman.

WASHINGTON

J. McSlarrow, Aaron Fishelman, Kate Greenhalhig, A. Swabeck, Knute Evertz.

MISSOURI

E. D. Wilcox.

RHODE ISLAND

Reid, James P. Caldwell, J. M.

CALIFORNIA

Dolsen, James H., Kasper Bauer, Smith, Edric B., Irene Smith, Max Bedacht, J. C. Taylor.

COLORADO

Harry Jatemann, F. Underhill.

OREGON

H. S. Warren, Harlin Talbert, Victor Saulit.

KANSAS

Gertrude Harmon, L. E. Katterfeld.

FLORIDA

John Sprunk.

NEBRASKA

William Chase, E. Rutledge.

UTAH

D. T. Hyde, R. E. Richardson.

INDIANA

J. Zimmerman, Geo. A. Cameron, Wm. Jackman.

VIRGINIA

E. M. Dutton.

DELAWARE

B. Sedgewick.

W. VIRGINIA

J. H. Snyder, Edwin Firth.

KENTUCKY

E. B. Austin Jr., E. Von Allman.

MINNESOTA

Charles Dirba, Jack Carney, Mrs. Browne, Carl Haglund, H. Holme, Jos. Hagar.

NEW JERSEY

L. F. Wolf, Henry Petzolt, Fred Harwood.

MICHIGAN

Marlin Kiris.

After the rules of order and an order of business was adopted the question of unity with the called convention of the Communist Party was taken up. A motion was passed "to hereby declare the Socialist Party to be the party of Communist Socialism in the United States, and that we extend an invitation to all revolutionary working class groups to join in the development of this party of proletarian communism, and that we elect a committee of five to confer with a similar committee from the organization committee of the Communist Party and the national left wing council of the Communist Party convention, regarding the immediate amalgamation of these bodies with our party to form the Communist Party of the United States." The five delegates elected upon this committee were L. E. Katterfeld, A. Wagenknecht, Ludwig Lore, Kate Grenhalgh, Kasper Bauer.

This committee met with the organization committee of the Communist Party Monday morning at 10. These representing the Communist Party to be, stated that they could not speak definitely for the convention and when the committtee of the Socialist Party left wing convention reported back it was tacitly decided to await developments in the organization of the convention called by the Russian Federations and others for a Communist Party. A motion was carried that "every delegate participating in the left wing convention by that act confirms his decision to retain his seat in this convention until a definite decision is reached on the final report of the conferring committee."

The convention of the Left Wing Socialist Party was held directly underneath that of the reactionary group, upon the floor of the latter of which a tempest was in progress all of Sunday and Monday. At this writing the moderate Socialists have not yet progressed any further than to continually wrangle about the contested delegations, a minority on the floor giving no rest to the official machine in its arbitrary exclusion of 50 regularly elected representatives. The battle grew so hot and uncomfortable for the moderates that by Monday afternoon they began retreating from their former position, and gave a number of contested delegations their seats. Among these was the California delegation. This delegation made answer to the invitation of the reactionaries upon the floor of their convention that they would not accept seats until all contested delegations were seated and until all packed delegations were unseated, nor would they attend a convention under police protection by its consent.

Adolph Germer, when accused of requesting police protection for the convention admitted it, and Victor Berger, when denials were made by Gerber of New York that they had not called the police state "it's no use denying. We called the police to keep the anarchists out." Victor Berger then proceeded to shake hands with all the police about him, assuring them that they were his best friends.

The police incident reached its climax when the Machinists' Union which owns the hall, sent the following letter to the convention of the moderate Socialists.

To the Delegates of the National Socialist Convention

Dear Comrades and Friends:

On behalf of the Die and Tool Makers' Lodge No. 113, International Association of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property, as well as the sanctuary, of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection; we can not conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection, when we as an organization condemn it and oppose it. While we are not represented in your convention as individual members or representative of an organization, we nevertheless are with you in spirit. For all these reasons we can not let the police remain as your protectors, or perhaps as your invited guests, without submitting our deepest protest. We call upon you to take steps to remove the police or make such arrangements as will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not asking this to put hardship on you, but for the best interest of the socialist party and the labor movement in general.

Yours for International Solidarity,

Executive Board,

Die & Tool Makers Lodge No. 113.

L. P. VANCE, CARL HARIG,
G. T. FRANCKEL, PAUL POKARA

The delegates attending the Left Wing convention have decided to remain as uncompromising against the moderate Socialists as they are against the capitalist class. The convention of the Left Wing has already proceeded, far beyond the reactionary convention in its deliberations. Greetings have been sent to the class war prisoners, the various committees have been elected and are busy at work preparing their reports. The general concensus of opinion among these delegates is that they will leave Chicago with only one revolutionary party as opposed to both capitalism and the American Sheidemanns.

A member of the Italian Socialist Federation declared before the Left Wing convention that his organization would surely affiliate with it and the Scandinavian Socialist Federation is already represented upon the floor. The strength of the Left Wing convention is steadily increasing and more and more delegates, disgusted with the moderate convention and its battles and realizing that a left wing program can not be secured by that avenue, are joining it.

Comrades in all parts of the country are called upon to rally around the left wing for the organization of a party which our European comrades will gladly acknowledge as an able representative of the working class.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

Committee on International Relations.
Lore, Boudin, Bedacht, Lloyd and Christensen.

Committees on Resolution.
Crimmins, Prevey, Broms, Firth and Wilcox.

Committee on Platform.
It was decided to suspend the rules and combine the Labor committee with the Platform Committee.
John Reed, Richardson, Carney, Greenhahlg and England.

Committee on Organization, Education and Propaganda.
Caldwell, Katterfeld, E. B. Smith, Boudin and Greenwood.

Committee on Ways and Means.
Owens, Von Allman, Richardson, Baker and Wolf.

Committee on Socialist Press and Publicity
John Reed, eGGrtrude Harmon, Jack Carney, L. Lore and E. B. Smith.

TO THE DELEGATES!

We, duly elected delegates of the membership of the Socialist Party, have participated in this Convention in order to be able to appeal directly to the delegates on the floor of the Convention.

We call the attention of the delegates to the following facts:

In order solely to retain office, without adequate reason, the National Executive Committee did suspend [illegible] with a membership of [illegible], and [illegible]

(Continued on page [illegible])

DeQuer Arrested

Cleveland Socialists held another successful picnic on Labor Day at Chestnut Grove, two miles outside of the city limits. About a thousand people were present and the day was spent in picnicking, contests of various sorts and speech making.

Dr. John DeQuer of Kansas City was present and delivered the principal address which was well liked. Comrade DeQuer's ability as an instructive lecturer upon many sciences has been recognized for many years in the Socialist Movement.

After this speech was concluded he was placed under arrest by members of the Loyal American League who were present in large numbers. (They never travel about singly, being much afraid of their shadows.)

On Wednesday following comrade DeQuer was bound over to the Grand Jury under bail of $5,000 after a hearing before Justice Henry M. Calvert of Lakewood. He is charged with "criminal syndicalism" the new law of the master class to throttle free speech and a free press.

"Evidence" was submitted by the members of the L. A. L. to show that in his speech comrade DeQuer had urged "radical" methods in the solution of economic problems.

The picnic was a success in every way. A large sum in net receipts was realized and much literature sold.

Steel Workers Aid Liberation Fight

The employes of the Sheffield Machine and Tool Co, of Dayton, O., have just sent us $22 to help in the fight for the freedom of Debs and all political prisoners. Comrade Solderatis, who remits the amount sends us lists totaling $31.55. He states that the workers of the Sheffield Co. are all class-conscious workers, glad to do their bit for the freedom of their persecuted fellow-workers who have become the victims of the capitalist system.

Comrade Solderatis and other comrades are instituting a city wide programe to enlist the help of every worker in Dayton in the freeing of the political prisoners. He states that the workers in other factories will give generously when they are told of our campaign to open the prison doors.

We express our thanks to the workers of Dayton who are in this fight with us for their generous help.

Debs Goes to Prison

By DAVID KARSNER

It is said, but I have no proof of it, that the car in which Debs was [illegible] to "a Cleveland newspaper." A reporter for that paper sat with the chauffeur. In a few seconds Baur, Wagenknecht, Mrs. Deibel, Engdahl, and myself threw our baggage into an auto owned by Morris Fried, a Cleveland Socialist. It was a huge touring car capable of great speed. The Debs' car was a smaller affair. Yet the Debs' car tore through the streets, rounding corners sharply, and ignoring all traffic regulations. Up one street and down another it raced, tore and careened.

Our car kept up all the way, sometimes scratching the paint off moving trolley cars and brushing other speeding automobiles. For an hour this race continued.

Traffic policemen waved their arms after both cars in frantic yet futile attempt to stop the mad race. Along Euclid Avenue, where John D. Rockefeller has his palatial Cleveland residence, the Debs car slowed up. The marshal was showing Debs the house in which Tom Johnson had lived when he was Mayor and getting in bad with the big business interests because of his 3-cent street car fight.

We ran up to a little railroad station on the Erie near the outskirts of Cleveland, and all bought tickets for Youngstown, Ohio. The marshall was surprised and angry when Baur, Engdahl, Wagenknecht and myself bought tickets for the same place.

He than knew that we are going to stick to end. He denied he had tried to lose us, but that was one of his aims. They wanted to take Debs away alone. They did'nt want anybody to see.

On the Erie train we were placed in a private compartment. The marshal then spoke as if he was sorry that we had to take three-quarters of the trip on trolley cars. That was purely for effect. It had all been planned. They knew well enough that if they took Debs to Moundsville by a regular route, on either the Pennsylvania or the Baltimore & Ohio, we would telegraph ahead and organize speedy demonstrations at every city and town on the road. We had our time tables marked ready to carry this plan into effect. We meant to give Debs a rousing farewell along the line.

It was not to be.

The trip was uneventful. Debs told stories of his life, the A. R. U. strike, the time when he told the then Governor Knute Nelson to take a trip on the "B" line and go to hell, and the case of John R. Walsh, the Chicago banker who died in the prison at Joliet. Every now and then Debs would turn round to Marshal Lap, slap him on the knee and ask him how he felt.

At the station in Cleveland I happened to mention to Marshal Lapp that his name would go down in history for the part he was playing in this great drama. The marshal blushed. It was apparent from his manner that he did not relish that sort of fame.

Just before we reached Youngstown Debs remarked that it might take us some time to get to Moundsville.

"Well, we can make an all day job of it," smiled Lapp. "We have lots of time."

"Oh, yes," rejoined Debs, "we have 10 years to get there."

At the little station of the interurban Debs strolled about and conversed with the first one of his party and then another. He seemed to be in the best of spirits.

"I never felt better in my life. This is the beginning of a great event for us all."

We reached Youngstown at 12.30, and not a soul, save one little boy, knew that Debs was in the city.

In half an hour we were again on a trolley bound for Letonia. From there to East Liverpool, from there to Steubenville, from there to Wellsburg, from there to Wheeling, from there to Moundsville, We hopped off and on interurban cars all day long Sunday, sometimes in the sunshine sometimes through mists and threatening clouds.

No one in the party had eaten a mouthful since early morning. At Youngstown the marshals alternated their watch over Debs, so they could get a sandwich. No thought was taken of Debs. He could wait until the end of the journey. He was just a convict; to jail with him.

In East Liverpool I asked Marshal Lapp if we could stop long enough to give Debs some dinner. The veteran chieftain of the militant movement of the working class showed exhaustion. His face was drawn and his shoulders a little more bent. There was not a word of complaint from him. When we bellowed about the kidnaping, Debs would only smile and say: "It's all right; let them have their inning now; we'll have ours soon." Like Christ toting his cross to Calvary, saying: "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do," 'Gene Debs was toting his cross to Mounsville, and forgave them who knew not what they were doing.

We slid across trestles, jolted and jostled along the foothills of the Alleghenies, with every now and then happy couples getting on and off the various cars on which we traveled. They were making merry on a Sunday frolic. Debs, on the same car, was going to prison.

Just before we got to Liverpool, about 4 o'clock, Debs was so weary he could hold his head up no longer. He was sitting with his brother-in-law. Presently, 'Gene's head slowly bent toward his breast, and in this posture he slept as the car rocked his head from side to side.

Life's greatest [illegible] picture than this. In all the days of our lives, we who went with Debs to prison, shall never forget the sad sleeping figure of him with head bent on his bosom, his great frame cramped in a straw trolley seat, moving along the Ohio Valley, with the river flowing at our right, with great [illegible] swells rising and falling on either side like huge brown waves.

"It is just another stop," said Marshal Lapp, when we reached Steubenville.

Debs was now awake and alert. He remarked about the dull and drab life of the workers in the small Ohio mining villages. Once, pointing to a low squatty cabin on a hillside—the habitat of a miner—'Gene remarked. "That place is a palace to what they have down in the Paint Creek region of West Virginia."

When the marshal said, "It is just one more stop," he knew he was lying. It was three more stops. We had made five so far. We got into Wheeling about 7 o'clock. It was twilight.

The marshal steered us into a cheap dairy lunchroom, seven hungry men. Debs ordered pork chops, brown potatoes, coffee and bread. It was to be his last meal in the world he knew and loved, for all of its sorrow and sordidness. I sat next to him and bolted my own liver and onions so I might rush a wire dispatch to The New York Call. Debs finished half of my meal. When I came back, he said: "Now you are liverless. What are you going to do?"

The Marshall took Debs' check and paid it. 'Gene hastily gathered up one or two checks of his friends and paid them himself.

As he ate in peace and quiet, the two marshals walked restlessly to and fro. They wanted to hurry along to the prison with their charge. They confessed they were tired and weary. How much more so must have been Debs, 64 years old, just out of a sick bed, and with a million years of service to the world and its workers crowled into his span of life. Shortly before 10 o'clock we alighted at Moundsville. The great turrets of the prison arose before us like ancient towers. As we passed we could hear voices. They were those of the prisoners. Lights shot through the steel bars like a sieve held over a candle.

Debs was still toting his heavy grip. He would let none carry it for him. And 30 seconds from the time that Eugene Victor Debs crossed the threshold of the prison, he had been shot through the automatic turntable enclosed in a double set of circular bars. He had begun to serve his terms of 10 years.

Debs was merely toly by Warden Terrell that he would be expected to obey all prison rules, which do not permit Socialist speeches or writing. Debs promised to try to obey every rule, saying, "If I transgress, it will not be intentional, and I want you to call my attention to my error so I will not repeat it."

We were riding between East Liverpool and Steubenville in mid afternoon. Now and then the creaking trolley car would come to a full stop to let on or off passengers. Debs looked weary. He gazed out of the window at the rolling hills. He was sitting in the little smoking compartment with Baur. The United States marshall and his deputy were seated in the compartment with Debs and Baur. Both Lapp and Walsh were nodding their heads. Bauer left his seat beside Debs and came back to where Engdahl, Wagenknecht and myself were sitting. I left the group and went into the seat along side of Debs. We remarked about the scenery and then discussed the outrageous methods of the officials in spiriting Debs away to prison. 'Gene pressed my hand very tenderly, saying: "It is all right, Davy, they knew they had to do it this way."

He than asked me if I had some paper.

"I want you to take a statement for me. It will be my last."

These are the words of the great humanist that I wrote on the back of an envelope at his slow and deliberate dictation:

"I enter the prison doors a flaming revolutionist—my head erect, my spirit untamed and my soul unconquerable."

"Debs Goes to Prison" can be had for 25c. in pamphlet form.—Order of Socialist aPrty of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

(Continued next week.)

Debs' Photos

Are still selling. That's because they are such good ones. And large too, 12¼ by 18 inches. A picture you will be proud of for a long time to come. Order one for your home. Address Socialist Party of Ohio, 3267 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

That steady booster, comrade D. B. Dale of Wise, Va. is at it again. This time it is four half yearlies he sends us.

"Pushing toward the goal" states comrade F. A. Bucey of Rayland, O. He sends in three yearlies, and we know he will not stop at that.

Five subs from Muskegon, Mich. come from comrade W. E. Reynolds.

Don't destroy this paper. Give it to a worker.

Announcement

I desire to announce that my office is now located at Room 309 Guth Block, 38 South Howard St., Akron, Ohio.

EYES TESTED. GLASSES FITTED
LENSES REPAIRED.
CONSULTATION FREE. NO DRUGS USED.

Marguerite Prevey Opt. D.
Optician and Optometrist.

[illegible] THE [illegible] PARTY OF [illegible]

THE HOUR FOR ACTION.

Mr. Worker, what use are you going to make of your vote in the coming election? Are you going to remain divided as you have in the past, dissipating your power and nullifying your force?

Are you to again allow yourselves to be fooled by the sham fight between the capitalistic candidates who are seeking your votes?

Individuals or Principle.

Are you going to vote for individuals or a principal and a policy?

What difference can it make to you whether the mayor of this city be the present encumbent or some other individual of his kind?

YOU KNOW that it has made no difference to you whether the majority of the council have been democrats or republicans; whether they have been merchants, manufacturers or lawyers. At all times this city has been run in the interests of that element which constitutes the master class, simply because those who have been elected by your votes, have either been of the master class, or have been dominated by it.

Time to Turn the Tables.

The candidates who are seeking your votes this election for mayor or for the council, as democrats, republicans or independents, stand upon no platform, nor represent any fundimental policy of interest or benefit to you as working men. Is it not time to turn the tables and place men of your class and your class interests in power?

Why not ride instead of being ridden? Why not dictate instead of beg?

Why stand outside cursing those who are in, for their weakness, incompetency or trickery? Why blame them for not representing you, when you refrain from representing yourselves?

Government What You Make It.

Government, municipal, state or national, is whatever you allow it to be made; it can be made whatever you wish to make it.

THE HISTORY OF GOVERNMENT IS A HISTORY OF CLASS GOVERNMENT.

Place a gang of horse thiefs in control of the legislature of any state and they will legalize horse stealing; place a gang of bank wreckers in there and they will make it legal to wreck banks; place a gang of politicians there and they will legalize almost every conceivable form of robbery, so long as it is done under the name of business.

Free Speech Strangled.

Our jails and federal prisons are filled with men and women who have dared to exercise their constitutional rights to free speech and free assemblage. Thousands of men and women, loyal and true to the working class, are today languishing behind prison bars in this country because they have had the courage to criticize the capitalist class policy of the present administration. FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS AND FREE ASSEHBLAGE HAVE BEEN STRANGLED, while the world was being "made safe for democracy".

Exploiters in Control.

Never in the history of America, have the class lines been drawn so close as they are drawn now. Never in the history of this country was it so apparant that an all-powerful, exploiting class, is in control of industry, of government and of the press, and using this control for the plunder of the producers.

Much noise is being made over the high cost of living, but all the remedy the workers will get will be more noise.

The capitalist system of production cannot be regulated or controled in any manner whatever, to change the conditions of living for the better for the exploited masses. THE SYSTEM MUST BE ABOLISHED.

So long as there is private ownership of any one necessity of life, or the means of producing it, just so long will the standard of living of the toilers be regulated by those who own that nesecoity.

Salt and Servitude.

If the people collectively owned every industry, excepting one, and allow that one to be the salt industry, for instance, the owners of that industry would be the complete masters of the people. The people could not exist without salt and to obtain salt, they would of necessity be compelled to part with as much of other commodities as the owners of salt might demand.

Products of Labor.

Under capitalism the products of labor are owned, not by the producers, but by the class that owns the productive machinery. Labor receives wages for producing the necessities and luxeries of life.

These wages, whether they be low, or relatively high, only enable the toilers, as a class, to purchase just enough to exist upon.

Wages and Cost of Living.

Wages are now relatively high but the cost of living is much more than relatively higher. With a lowering of the standard of wages, there would be a slight reduction of the cost of living; with a reduction of the cost of living there would be an inevitable drop in the standard of wages — and there you are. You would, under either condition, be able only to buy enough to exist upon. Prices are soaring sky-high all over the world and as they continue to soar, the less will the workers be able to obtain.

World Seething With Unrest.

What are you going to do about it, Mr. Worker? Are you going to quietly and meekly submit? Are you going on forever, contented to take less and less and still less? NO. THE WORLD IS SEETHING WITH UNREST.

This country is not an exception, this state is not an exception, this city is not an exception. YOU are dissatisfied, YOU are discontented.

Are you going to give expression to that dissatisfaction and discontent in a peaceable manner at the polls at the coming election, or will you remain apathetic and indifferent until you are no longer able to free yourselves by peacable methods?

Importance of This Election.

But you will perhaps say, what has this election to do with this great problem. IT HAS VERY MUCH TO DO WITH IT, MR. WORKER.

Why is the victory on one battlefield hailed with joy by the victors?

Because it is the many small victories which make up the greater and final victory possible. Why do the capitalist politicians work so hard and spend so much money and resort to all sorts of trickery to carry a municipal election? Because the control of the many municipalities, mean the control of the whole machinery of government.

Who Sends Workers to Jail?

Who, or what, throttles free speech, who, or what, denies free press, who, or what, denies us free assemblage? Government, or those in control of government. Who sends working men and working women to jails and federal prisons for voicing thier protest against the enslavement of the working class? Government, or those who control government.

Did you ever hear of a city, state, or national government, protecting workers while on strike? NOT UNLESS IT WAS A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT.

And this brings us to the main point of this appeal. We are calling upon you as workers to put the power of your votes behind the Socialist candidates in the coming election. We do not ask you to vote for these candidates because of their individuality, but because of the principals and policies they stand for.

Abdication of Profiteering Class.

These candidates stand upon a platform that is national and international. This platform demands the abolition of the profit system and the abdication of the profiteering class. This platform demands the control of government, in all its branches, by the useful workers. It demands that wealth shall be produced for use instead of profit. It demands that every atom of power behind the machinery of government shall be used for the emancipation of the toillers from wage servitude.

Power of Control.

Every Socialist candidate stands squarly upon this platform and upon these demands, and the party organization has the machinery and the power to compel them to remain true. These candidates are the only ones who represent the hopes and the aspirations of the workers. A vote for them is a vote for yourself and a vote for your family.

In voting for them, you are not placing your trust in individuals, but you are placing your faith and trust in fundamental principles you desire to see inaugurated. Remember that the names of these candidates appear upon the ballots without any party designation. Remember that this election is under the new charter which gives the control of this city to the mayor and eight councilmen. Remember that the council elects a City Manager for life. Remember that this city manager will be the SUPREME DICTATOR in the affairs of this city.

Do you want a dictator chosen by your exploitors, or a dictator of your own? THE HOUR HAS COME FOR ACTION. To delay peacable action is to invite violence and disaster.

WORKINGMEN. UNITE!

Any of our ten cent pamphlets are good company, buy one for your sake.

From Lodi, Cal. come two subs sent in by comrade Thos. C. Hawley. Another new town on the O. S. map.

Promising to try for a list of readers for us comrade Dr. M. F. Hamilton of Emporium, Pa. subscribes.

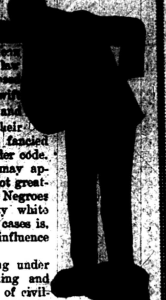
That was a dandy contribution which Local Midvale, O. sent in for the press fund ($25). Surely if Local Midvale can do so well many, many other Locals in Ohio can do as well or even better.

Will not forget to do what I can— says comrade [illegible] of Cincinnati, O. he remits a dollar. That's the spirit that will make the press fund grow and grow.

Do your duty daily, talk, think, act for your comrades in prison.

We must have that press fund. Help us get it.

Debs says to You



"It is the boast of [illegible] people that they believe in [illegible] and order, that they are [illegible] to violence, and they are [illegible] to condemn as [illegible] criminals all who fall under their displeasure for the real or fancied violation of their law and order code.

"And yet, strange as it may appear, these same people are not greatly disturbed when innocent Negroes are lynched by blood-thirsty white mobs. Their serenity in such cases is, no doubt, due to the moral influence of 'white supremacy.'

"The fact is that lynching under any circumstances is shocking and disgraceful, an impeachment of civilized government and the utter repudiation of law and order; and when the victims are innocent, lynching becomes an atrocious and revolting crime, and as long as the American people suffer this crime to be perpetrated, they have no moral right to raise their voice in protest against crimes committed against the Belgians, Armenians and other victims by other nations."

Eugene V. Debs

Police Under Direction of A. Germer Open Nat'l. Convention

(Continued from 1st page.)

pelled the states of Michigan, Massachusetts and Ohio.

For the same reason, the National Executive Committee did refuse to recognize the will of the Party membership, as expressed in the referendum votes upon the election of National Executive Committee, International Delegates, International Secretary, and the referendum upon the question of affiliation with the Third International the referendum upon the calling of the National Emergency Convention, and the referendum to reverse their actions above alluded to—this last referendum being seconded by more than fifteen thousand members in good standing

The National Executive Committee did repudiate the overwhelming vote of the aPrty membership to the effect that they vacate their offices in favor of the new National Executive Committee duly elected to take office July 1, 1919, and that they refused to turn over the property of the Party to the new N. E. C.

The organizing committee of this body, without any reason, did yesterday morning refuse to grant admission to delegates from California, Illionis, Kansas, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, Florida, Utah, West Virginia these delegates being regularly elected edelegates for whom no contesting delegates have appeared at this convention and most of them representing states which have been neither expelled nor suspended.

Other delegates, representing altogether the vast majority of the Party membership, are contested by delegations illegally elected, representing Locals and Branches whose membership exists largely on paper.

We call the attention of the delegates to the fact that when duly elected delegates to this body attempted to enter the Convention Hall yesterday morning, they were forcibly ejected by the police, acting under the orders of Adolph Germer, former National Secretary of the aPrty.

The action of the Committee on Contested Seats, in refusing to consider the case of the delegates from Ohio, and the contesting delegates from New York, on the plea that they had been expelled from the Party, shows clearly that the ex-officials in charge of this convention intend to permit only their own hand-picked delegates to vote upon such questions as may be submitted to them. Considering that through the exclusion of delegates representing the great majority of the Party membership it is impossible to bring to bear the will of the Party emmbership in this Convention we hereby declare:

That if so far we have taken part in this Convention it is not because we recognized either the Old National Executive Committee, or Adolph Germer as National Secretary, or this Convention as legal. We have done it merely in order to give one last opportunity to the illegal officialdom in charge to submit to the expressed will of the Party membership; which is to transform the Socialist Party into a Party of Revolutionary Socialism, and to affiliate it with the Communist International of Moscow.

What has transpired up to now makes it clear that the Party officials illegally in control of the National Office and the Convention machinery, are determined at all costs, and by all means, no matter how foul, to prevent the revolutionary will of the rank and file from finding expression in this Convention.

The action of this officialdom machine in proceeding to conduct further business before the question of seating contested delegates has been decided, in violation of its own previously adopted rule, makes impossible our further participation in this gathering. It is our duty to the Party membership which has sent us here to withdraw to another hall, where we will be permitted to carry out the will of the memebrship and our duty as revolutionary Socialists, free from the intereference of the police and the dictation of a corrupt and usurping officialdom.

We appeal to all those who have at heart the true interest of the Socialist movement in this country, and the Social Revolution throughout the world, to join with us in holding a real Emergency Convention, which will rise to the international emergency confronting the world today, and place the Socialist movement of this country in the front rank of the revolutionary march of the fighting proletarist of the world.

CONVENTION CALL

The Emergency Convention of the Socialist aPrty will be called to order at six o'clock this afternoon August 31st, in the hall on the first floor of this building.

EVERYY delegate, reagrdless of difference of opinion, is requested to be present.

National Executive Committee
Socialist Party
A. WAGENKNECHT, Sec'y. Pro. Tem.

The U. W. W. A. of Dilles Bottom, O., take the prize this week for the largest donation to the Liberation Fund. Comrade Wallace favors us with money orders to the amount of $187.00 from this militant union of coal diggers. This donation from the miners is a grand indication of the strength of the demand for the release of all political prisoners. This responce from the miners in hughely appreciated by every worker in this fight. Aur hats off to the miners.

CRIMINAL OPERATIONS, OR SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

Books by America's Most Fearless Woman
MARGARET SANGER

"WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW"........ 50c.
"WHAT EVERY MOTHER SHOULD KNOW".... 50c.
AND THE OTHER BOOK ABOUT PREGNANCY 25c.

Enclose 5c per book to cover shipping cost. If stamps are sent in payment, send only 1c denomination.

Birth Control League
143 Albion Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

Local Akron Socialist Party
CAMPAIGN AND PROPAGANDA
MEETINGS
Every Sunday at 2:30 P. M.
COMING SPEAKERS: TOM LEWIS, Sept. 14th; FRANK [illegible] HAMILTON (mayor of Piqua) Sept. 21st.
AT 38 SOUTH HOWARD STREET
GOOD SPEAKERS

The Ohio Socialist
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

One Year $1.00
BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred
Six Months 50c

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EDITORS .... Elmer T. Allison, Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 10, 1919.

The Three Fears.

There are three great fears that dog the worker thru life. From the moment he enters the labor market in his youth to his final taking off, decrepit, disabled and broken, they slink behind him close at his heels.

They are:

the fear of the loss of the job
the fear of the loss of health
the fear of a dependent old age.

The fear of the loss of the job is more real than the others in youth but as the years pass the worker becomes more cognizant of the presence of the last two. From the early beginning of middle age on to the end the trio haunt his every day of meagre existance. They haunt his sleepless nights and his sodden slumbers. They are present at his meagre table and at the fireside their fearsome presence is felt in the shadows made by the fitful flame.

They cast their baneful shadow upon his simple pleasures and snatch the joy of life and love from his thirsting lips. Their presence stills the song that surges upward to his lips and casts across his weary path a shadow of ill omen.

Such is the life of the worker from the time he takes his first job in a competitive labor market until he becomes "dead timber" which no capitalist will employ.

Why, in a world running over with abundance, with the seas teeming with food, with the rich earth saturated with the power of production a thousand fold; with marvelous productive machinery needful to supply every want and need; why with such a multitude of powers of wealth creating ready to obey mans' will should the greater portion of the peoples of the earth dwell under the black shadow of want, of misery and unfulfilled desire?

Can a stranger contradiction exist than this? That millions should be hungry with warehouses bursting, with fields ripening for the harvest, with the Cornucopia of plenty overflowing with abundance, surely there is no need that the fear of want should haunt mens' days.

Yet it is true. The worker, no matter whether in "free" America, or in what "civilized" country he may be, lives his whole existence amidst the gloom cast by these three fears.

And the remedy? The spokesmen for the capitalist will say the remedy is to be found in greater production. But the problem is not one of production. We know the human race is self supporting. We know that the working portion of it not only support themselves, but carry upon their backs, surfeited with unearned wealth vast hordes of human parasites.

The problem is not one of production but of distribution. Mans' powers of production are practically unlimited. The problem is essentially a problem of distribution. The worker produces but he does not receive. Only a pittance is his portion. He works 8, 10, 12 hours and for his outlay of labor, time and human effort, he receives the equivalent of two hours labor as his recompense. The lords of mine and rail and land and other industries get the rest, the larger share.

Socialism offers the remedy and it can be found thru no other method. Socialism says: the industries and all natural sources and land must be placed under the control of society, the society of useful workers. This is the message of socialism to the workers. Until they learn it their path thru life and that of their children after them will be strewn with the corpses of dead hopes, will be a tragedy from the cradle to the grave. The outworn capitalistic system must be supplanted with one wherein all share accordingly as they sow. The world for the workers must be henceforward, the battle cry of labor.

The three fears must be relegated to the oblivion of forgotten things nevermore to haunt mens' minds and fill them with quaking thots of portending calamity.

The Conquest of Mexico

The call for aggression upon Mexico grows in volume daily. The predatory press, representative of certain American interests in oil, mines and lands in Mexico are frothing with impatience at the delayed American conquest of Mexico.

A few Americans have been murdered in Mexico. Undoubtedly. There is nothing new in such a situation. Foreigners have met death at the hands of bandits in all lands. There is nothing in such an unhappy situation to demand the release of the demons of war upon a helpless and unoffending people.

Do not be deceived. There is a more sinister motive in all these ravings for another war—a war not between equals, but a war upon a well nigh defenseless, peace loving people. A people who have but lately freed themselves from the most ignoble and outrageous exploitation of any people upon the face of the earth. A people whose country has been swept by revolution and counter-revolution for eight long years.

Do not be deceived. Do not allow yourself to be whipped into a frenzy of hate toward a people with whom YOU have no quarrel. The capitalist press calls for "order" in Mexico. It means the order of capitalism, the order of robbery, of exploitation, of profiteering; the order of an enslaved working class bound body and soul to their economic masters. This is the "order" that is demanded, and for which the workers of America are called upon to be ready to erect in Mexico when American holders of the titles to Mexico's land, oil wells and mines give the word.

Instead of demanding order in Mexico, it would be more in keeping with the dictates of humanity if a cry were sent abroad to clean our own house. For months this nation in one part and another has been in a state of civil war that has endangered the lives of more of our people that has the inability of the government of Mexico to restrain the banditry hidden away in the recesses of her mountain fastnesses. We have not the excuse of a nation distracted with revolution for these bloody combats between the races of blacks and whites. Yet, the government seems unable to prevent them. Lately the Capitol City of the nation was a scene of riot, murder and many lives were lost on both sides. The tragedy then moved westward to Chicago where it was repeated upon a greater scale. Now the latest outbreak occurs in Knoxville. Dozens of men and women have met death in this civil war, for civil war it is and nothing less.

Altho no outside nation has proposed coming into America to "establish a staple government"; yet such a course unquestionably would be more just than our proposed invasion of Mexico.

It is well to understand why so little is said regarding this civil strife that promises to grow instead of abating. No capitalistic interests are threatened by white workers murdering blacks or vice versa. A few slaves more or less are of no particular matter to our exploiters. In fact it is stated upon good authority that coporations have investigated the antagonisms of the races in the recent riots in order to divide them into opposing factions. A divided workin-class is pure velvet for the capitalists. A united workin-class means his extinction. Hence civil war at home while we "restore order" in Mexico. The Mexican people have by the nationalization laws cut off the source of huge profits to American capitalist and banking interests, therefore—war upon Mexico.

The interests of the American working-class demand that Mexico be left alone to work out her salvation as the needs of her people dictate. They demand that we attempt to reconcile the workers of America to establish a condition whereby they of all colors and races and creeds may work out their common interests in toleration and fraternity.

PARTY NEWS AND VIEWS

ORDER MUNICIPAL PLATFORMS NOW.

Has your Local ordered a supply of the Municipal Platforms from the State Office yet. Local Belmont [illegible] has just placed an order for 2,500. They are $2.00 per thousand with the names of your candidates printed in.

Comrade Frank Haza writes for Chas. Baker for a meeting as soon as available. He plans to stir up the comrades at Niles.

A nice order for dues stamps and other supplies comes from comrade Oliver S. Spencer of Local Power Point, one of our newest locals. Local Power Point is on the grow!

Comrade J. L. Arnold praises the Debs' pictures he received. Every comrade should have one. 25c. each. Order of State Office.

Local Deming, Mex. orders a thousand organization letters which secretary, Mrs. W. P. Calkins will use in building up the local membership.

Comrade F. J. Catlin reports that Local Youngstown is now getting into a stride that will carry it straight toward greater activities and stronger growth.

Evenings are growing longer. Why not use them for your better education. Order a few of the pamphlets advertised in this issue. Make your evenings interesting. Learn a little every day.

Comrade Atrhur Dondero of Cincinnati writes that altho he is new in the socialist movement, he is getting in his best licks among his fellow musicians. He states that he would prefer to become a real bolshevik rather than a parlor socialist.

When we print one of those "quit sending your papers to me" letters, comrade M. A. Rundle of Craig, Mo. sits right down and writes the writer a letter showing them how foolish they are to quit reading a real up to date socialist paper.

A live literature distributor is comrade H. Markoff, of Gary, Ind. He is working hard for the liberation of all political prisoners.

Comrade J. W. Sprigg of Weston, W. Va. is still selling literature. His latest order is for 20 copies of "Crimes" and five copies of the "Trial of Debs".

PATTERNMAKERS [illegible] RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

At the last meeting of the Bryan Branch of the Toledo Association, Patternmakers' League of North America, the resolution, demanding the liberation of Debs adopted by the Indiana Mine Workers, was read and unanimously adopted. This organization comprises fifty Patternmakers.

Sincerely and Fraternally Yours,
R. HANDTKE, Sec'y.

A SOCIALIST NOW.

To be a Democrat all ones life, to stand by that party thru thick and thin until one reaches the age of 73 and then to turn socialist and to be proud of it is an experience that comes to but a few. One who enjoys this distinction is comrade J. P. Lewis of Means, Ky.

Comrade Lewis states that he will never vote any ticket but the socialist from now. He contributes a dollar to the Liberation fund. We welcome comrade Lewis to our ranks.

Local Akron is distributing a thousand copies of the Ohio Socialist each week. Akron comrades are determined to show the workers that socialism is a live issue and one in which they are vital.

Local Cambridge remits $25.75 for literature and $25.00 for the press fund. This amount is from the County organization. Comrades of Guernsey Co. held a mass meeting Aug. 24th, at which new planes were laid for the future growth of the party.

It was decided to consolidate all locals under one head to be known as Local Guernsey Co. It is further planned to have an organizer for each municipality and voting precinct. Also a literature agent and dues collector. The new organization machinery will be put in operation in the very near future and as soon as possible an organizer will be employed who will give his entire time to the work.

Mayor Hamilton of Piqua reports that they filed their full city ticket, having had no difficulty in getting many more signatues than required.

Comrade Dr. J. W. Grabble orders 200 copies of the O. S. weekly.

The picnic held by Guernsey Co. comrades Aug. 10th, was a complete success in every way. About 2,500 people were present.

[illegible]

Columbiana County Executive Committee met August [illegible] at the home of Comrade Bonsall at Salem, O. There also gathered about [illegible] other Comrades. We all spent the day in a most enjoyable way. Some very lively discussions took place that were worth while attending.

About 1:30 the ladies spread the tables and they were soon loaded down with good things to eat. It was a regular [illegible] feast.

Then our C. E. C. took place. A new delegate ([illegible]) from Power Point was seated as a delegate. Our delegate to the National Emergency Convention was given instructions. A collection was taken amounting to $15.00 to be known as the BONSALL FUND to be given to the O. S. printing fund.

We adjourned to meet in four weeks at Com. Stewarts.

W. A. JENKINS, Sec'y.

Comrade N. H. Lampher was present at the meeting at Power Point when the comrades organized there in the middle of August. He states that Power Point Local will be one of the good ones on the Ohio socialist map.

Local Toledo orders 300 copies of "Crimes of the Bolsheviks". Literature is one of the things that moves fast among the Toledo comrades.

Comrade Clyde Meck, M. A. L. of Bryan, believes in keeping ahead. He pays for the balance of the year.

Comrade J. Pishka reports that the comrades of Steubenville were well pleased with comrade Tom Cliffords address tere lately.

Local Tiffin applies for a speaking dates from State Organizer Baker.

Comrade J. Leonard Arnold of Canton is a booster for the O. S. a few days ago he ordered 10 half year sub cards and five yearlies. They came right back too. He says they are all new readers but one and that means that many more socialists. He states as his belief that the O. S. is the "best paper in the country". Well, we confess to agreeing with him.

An order for 100 copies "Crimes of the Bolsheviks" was lately filled for comrade Gaspar Stanich of E. St. Louis, Ill.

Order Them To-day

We mean the first Debs Leaflet, "An Open Letter to President Wilson", by Joseph W. Sharts.

They are $2.00 per thousand and are being ordered by many comrades and locals for free distribution. At this Price how many thousand will you take? Order now. Do something for the release of our imprisoned comrades.

Address Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

Comrade J. Cassell of Roanoke, Va., remits $4.50 for May Day sub cards and for two subscriptions of Va. comrades.

Making socialists of Rock Islanders is a speciality of comrade Perry Shipman. He finds no end of fun in adding names to our list of readers. This week it is two yearlies.

Join the Army of Liberators.

Pamphlets and Books You Should Read

[illegible]

[illegible], 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THE OLD ORDER IN EUROPE AND THE NEW ORDER IN RUSSIA, [illegible] 6c. each.
[illegible], 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
[illegible], Lenin—15c. each—20 or more at 11c.
[illegible] 25c. each—in lots 10 or more at 15c. each.
[illegible] 10c. each—in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
[illegible] 10c. each—in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
[illegible] 25c. each—10 or more at 15c. each.
[illegible] 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
[illegible] 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
[illegible], Marcy, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
[illegible] 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY, Marcy, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
MARXISM AND DARWINISM, Pannekoek, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
[illegible], Kirkpatrick, 5c. each—20 or more 3. each.
SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC, Engles, 15c. each—20 at 11c.
SHOP TALKS ON ECONOMICS, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THINK OR SURRENDER, Kirkpatrick, 15c. each—20 or more 10c. each.
VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY, Nearing, 5c. each—20 or more 4c. each.
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Cloth, 50c. each—5 or more at 40c. each.
EVOLUTION, SOCIAL AND ORGANIC, Lewis, 50c. each—5 or more 40c. each
LAW OF BIOGENESIS, 50c. each—5 or more at 40c. each. Cloth.
JACK LONDON'S WORKS, Cloth, 50c. each—5 or more 45c. each.
MILITARISM, by Liebknecht, $1.00 each—5 or more at 80c. each.
POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY, by Marx, $1.50 each.
PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS, Dietzgen, 1.00 each—lots of 5 or more 80c. each.
PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, Vail, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c.
ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER, 1.00 each. Laws of Parliamentary Procedure.
SAVAGE SURVIVALS, Moore, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
SOCIALISM FOR STUDENTS, 50c. each—lots of 5 or more 40c. each.
SOCIALISM AND MODERN SCIENCE, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE, Marcy, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
SOCIALISM AND THE WAR, Boudin, $1.00 each.
TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD, John Reed, 2.00 each—5 or more at $1.75 each.
THE WORLD'S REVOLUTIONS ,Untermann, 50c. each—5or more 40c. each.
UNIVERSAL KINSHIP, Moore, $1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT Marx, 50c. each—5 or more 40c. each.
WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM, Bebel, 1.50 each—5 or more $1.25 each.

Place your order TODAY—Address
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO, 3207 CLARK AVE., CLEVELAND, O.

On the Firing Line

Local Secretary, Clifford King of Hamilton, O., Keeps after O. S. subs among the membership. Getting subs from non members is also one of his big side lines. A recent list of eleven from him indicates activity.

Comrade Frank Besjok of Springfield, Ill., subscribes and sends more from another comrade.

Comrade W. M. Higley of Albany, O., is a Red who works at the trade. He sends us a splendid letter of encouragement and a list of names to which to send sample copies. Comrade Higley is working hard for the upbuilding of the Party owned press. He's the kind we need in the great Cause.

Two yearlies have arrived from comrade W. J. Scott of Barberton, O., Thanks, comrade Scott.

Comrade Geo F. Parsons is with us—again bringing two half yearlies with him. Glad to make their acquaintance, comrade Parsons.

Comrade J. E. English of Tucson, Ariz., is helping put Ariz. on the Socialist map. He sends in a yearlie.

Helping to spread the agitation for Debs' release is what comrade Nina Budyk of Youngstown, O., is doing. A yearly from this comrade hepls in the good work.

Comrade H. T. Owens of Dayton, keeps after them, a list of five recently keeps more workers reading and thinking of the worker's problems.

Our staunch supporter, P. J. Donnely of Springfield is here again. He sends in four.

Sign up in the Army of Liberators.

Comrade C. L. Stembrook of Columbus, O., doesn't let the grass grow under his feet when he goes after O. S. subs. Fifteen on a list is going some and they are not the 25c kind either. Guess we will have to print some oversized lists for some of our boosters.

"Enclosed find a few subscriptions for the grandest paper in Ohio". These words of flattery come from comrade Harvey Gardenhour of Lima, O. As a means of provink he means it he sends a list of three subs besides his own. That proes it isn't flattery.

Making socialists grow where none grew before is the work of comrade J. L. Creviston of Mulberry, Kans. He sends a list of three yearlies and an order for a weekly bundle.

Our Kentucky boosters are still in the ring. Comrade J. M. Dickerson of Louisville sends us four more.

Comrade H. M. Kohr of Urichsville, O., is right on the Job. Four half yearlies shows he's been working at it again.

That ever active comrade, Nick Weltlich of Massillon, O., is on the hunt as usual. He finds good game too. Two yearlies this week.

Comrade W. H. Burton of Bouse, Ariz., subscribes for a year as he says he likes the way we are going about our Party "house cleaning".

Sesser, Ill., is another new town on our list of readers. Thanks to comrade Dan Ivosovich, we now have a list of seven there.

Order a thousands of "An Open Letter to President Wilson" for free distribution.

TABULATED REPORT OF STATE MEMBERSHIP VOTE

ON STATE REFERENDUM "A" FOR ELECTION OF STATE SECRETARY AND STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

	Akron	Alliance	Ashtabula	Belmont County	Bellevue	Cambridge	Canton	Cincinnati	Clark County	Columbiana County	Columbus	Conneaut	Cuyahoga County	Dayton, German	Derwent	Dola	Fairport Harbor	Freemont	Galion	Hamilton	Hubbard	Irondale	Kenmore	Leetonia	Lorain	Massillon	Mt. Healthy	New Bremen	North Star	Piqua	Portsmouth	Richland County	Sandusky	Seneca County	Toledo	Troy	Warren	Yorkville	Youngstown	M. A. L.	
FOR STATE SECRETARY																																									
HEWIT, Edmund J., Ashtabula, Wire Chief			13					1		2	1		4				7				6					1											1		1		37
HOEFER, Otto F., Cincinnati, Book-keeper.		1						24	1	2	4		18				1	2		1	2							1		2	1			2	1		4				67
KNECHT. Herbert M., Cambridge, Glass Worker.	3					15	1			6	2		12		7			5	1	1	1		1			4			4					1	1				3		68
WAGENKNECHT, Alfred, Cleveland State Sec'y	59	11	57	41	5		32	32	14	30	29	7	215	38		11	9	4	18	47	9	12	12	5	15	4	15	13		15	22	24	17	23	66	6	44	11	25	13	1010
FOR STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Seven to be Elected																																									
BAKER, John P., Columbus Insurance Agent.	23	11	50	7		2	2	7		5	29		121	12	1		11	8	8	3	7	7	8		1	1		6	1	5			1	2	22	3	11		7	1	382
BEERY, M. J., Mansfield, Carpenter	17	1	14	10	5	5	13	15	1	13	13	7	67	13	7		10	3	20	4	9	1	10		11	5	4		3	10	7		13	19	36		10		10	7	392
BLANK, Edwin, Lima, Attorney.		1	42			4	9	4		1	7		34	3		11	2	2	8	4	6	3	3		4	2		12		12	1		2	9	36	1	8		3	4	238
BONSALL, Charles, Salem, Accountant.			5			1	1	3		32	2		22					1			4	6	1	5	1	1									4	1			2	1	93
BUNDY, George, Warren, Blacksmith.	59	7	15	5		3	13	38	10	24	29	7	86	14	4	10	10	2	1	8	18	5	9	5	6	5		2	3	12	5	24	1	7	12	2	44		21	5	530
BURKE, Lotta, Cincinnati, Garment Worker.	42	8	12	39	5	9	7	58	14	15	26	7	98	25	6	11	6	7	20	30	13	11	6	4	9	7	11	7	1		21	24	14	24	34	5	27	11	13	13	700
CAHALANE, John Michael, Hamilton, Molder.	24	1	1	10		1	6	27	10	4	8		26	25	1		2		3	41			1		1	2		3		6					8	1	2	11	2		227
CATLIN, Felix J., Youngstown, Draftsman			3	1			4	11	2	3	2		27				3				8		1		5									8	6		18	11	12		125
CLIFFORD, Tom, Cleveland, Printer.	50	11	38	38	2	9	9	50	14	32	16	7	202	25		11	13	9	20	32	8	12	11	5	11	8	15	6		17	30	24	17	24	55	5	40		20	10	906
COOPE, Joseph, Youngstown, Carpenter.	1	4	7	17		2	8	1		4		7	37	1	1		7	1	1	1	16				5	1				2			5		23	2	34		22		209
FELDHAUS, A. J., Cincinnati, Machinist.	1	4	2			1		32		2			56	12			3			2					2	2	8				2	24			4	2	2		4	1	166
HAMILTON, Frank B., Piqua, Mayor.		4	45	16		4	14	9	4	10	23		89	27	3	11	8	8	8	32	9	12	7	5	6	5	15	7	4	17	19		14	22	41	6	17	11	3	11	546
HEIL, Clarence, New Bremen. Woodworker.	3		3			1		1					19	2			5		5						1			14	1		1			2	2		1	11	3		75
HOGE, John J., Bellaire, Miner.	45		10	37		5	5	3		10	5		58	1			2	2	1	3	1	4			4	3			2	1	6		14	2	14	1	11		12	4	266
JENKINS, Wm. A., Salem, Pottery Worker.	21	4				2	10			17	1		24		1		3				4		1		3	2								1	5		3		2	1	105
JORDAN, Leonard C., New Bremen, Dairyman.			3	2		2				1			10				5	1			2		2		7			14		4					3		3		2		61
LARIMORE, James R., East Liverpool, Salesman.		2	28			1		1		24			14		1		1				1	3		5						1				1	6		2		3		94
LEWELLEN, W., E. Liverpool, Pottery Foreman.				1		6	1	1		21			18			1	1				3	6						1		2	1			2	5		1				71
McKIM, Joseph, Derwent, Teamster.	26		3		3	10		1		2	1		15		6		7	2	1						6				5	1	2	24			3		4		4	1	127
PATTERSON, Wm., Toledo, Longshoreman.		1	11	2	5	4	5	9	3	12	14		62	14			3	7	1	5					2	2		4		3	14		2	8	16	1	15		6	4	235
PREVEY, Marguerite, Akron, Optician.	59	6	33	30	5	7	18	29	12	25	28	7	168	23	1	11	6	7	20	44	17	12	11	5	8	6	15	10	4	1	23	24	15	25	58	4	31	11	28	11	858
REHM, John A., Springfield, Cigarmaker.	16	1	2	1	2		2	7	15	2	1		14	5					1	1								1		1					6		2			2	82
RUEMMELE, Hugo, Norwood, Woodworker	7	1	4			1	4	45	1	2	1		33	4			3			19	1				4		15	1							2			11	5	1	165
SAPP, Arthur, Hamilton, Stove Mounter.			1	1			8	1		3			20	2			3	1		28			1				7	1		1			1		1		2				77
SCHILLING, Clarence E., Nashport, Gardener.		1	5			2	3	1		6	2		12	1	2		1											1							2		2		4	1	48
SHARTS, Joseph W., Dayton, Attorney.		9	46	31	3	5	5	37	24	10	25		30	13	6	11	4	6	7	21	6	2	2	1		2	15	5	4	15	12		16	8	8	2	20		2	7	431
STEIGER, John E., Hamilton, Millwright.	5	1	3	2		3	5	4		2			21	9	2		2		1	46															4		4		2		116
STROBEL, Peter B., Mt. Vernon, Salesman.	1	2				2		1	1	2	6	7	18	2	3				1										1	5					4	1					57
TOOHEY, M. A., Toledo, Coremaker.	4	1	2	20	5	1	6	27	3	8	6		96	10	1		8	6	14	20	6		2		10	4				5	19	24	11	21	65	1	11		6	1	424
WERNER, C. H., Barberton, Plaster Paris Worker.	16		3				5	1		2	2		24										12			3		1							6		3		6	1	85
WOODWARD, Joseph, Dayton, Machinist.	23	2	7	7		4	10	1	1	5	3		69	16	1		8	3	2	4	1				5	2		2	1	1	1			2	6	1	7		9		206

The State Constitution provides that all candidates must receive a majority vote. According to this vote the following Executive Committeemen are elected: Tom Clifford; Marguerite Prevey; Lotta Burke. There four next highest: Frank B. Hamilton, Geo. Bundy, Jos. Sharts and M. A. Toohey did not receive a majority vote so they, with the four next highest condiadtes must be balloted upon on a second ballot.

A. WAGENKNECHT, State Secretary.

Now what is the Soviet as it exists in Russia today? We have seen that, in the first days of the Revolution, it was formed out of the thousands of informal gatherings of workers and peasants throughout the land which came together to decide what next to do. The original Soviets were economic bodies, for it was natural to expect that people connected with one another by common work and common material interests should meet in times of cataclysmic social gatherings. A factory workman's immediate interests are more closely bound up with the interests of his comrades in the same factory than they are with workers in another industry. For instance, the metal workers depend for their daily bread upon the welfare of the metal industry, the railwaymen on the railways, the peasants on the agricultural industry. Ever since man first began to divide the work of civilization among his fellowmen, he has shown a tendency to congregate on the basis of guilds or special trades. All the more natural is it now, in a highly developed society, in a state of temporary flux, that metal workers, railwaymen and peasants should get together in a different district and discuss the subjects that most affect their lives. The informal economic unions, which sprang up in the first days of the Russian Revolution, became, as we have seen, the basis of the Soviet system. The most important point to observe about them is that they were industrial and had no relation to territorial divisions of society, except in so far as geographical and climatic conditions imposed a certain limit to the industrial organization. The Revolution therefore brought the Soviets into life on an economic basis and for an economic purpose, and in their first inception they were anarchic and without any common plan of action. During the first few weeks of the Russian Revolution, one Soviet knew nothing of what the other was doing. Only after the first month was it possible to talk of an organization which was gradually uniting and co-ordinating the actions of all the Soviets scattered about the country. This co-ordination became most imperative for the safety of the Revolution, because the forces of the old social order, which had been overthrown, soon began to gather strength again. Only organized Soviets could raise the necessary barrier to reaction. Only if they expanded their activities to broad political action could they possibly safeguard those local economic interests to protect which they originally were created. Only by becoming political bodies could they guarantee the new special order. Thus, in every town in Russia, the factory committees and informal workers' unions united into a Central Soviet, which at once took upon itself the task of fighting the counterrevolution and controlling whatever authority the middle classes had set up. Soon the question was raised, whether this Central Soviet, which was already exercising a sort of control over the bourgeois government, should not take all political authority into its hands. The controversy that raged about this question marked the second stage of the Revolution, which ended in October, 1917, in the victory of the proletariat and the expansion of the power of the Soviets from that of indirect political control into that of direct political responsibility. Thus in every town in Russia after October the central committee of all the Soviets of that district became responsible for public order, for the militia, for public works and conveniences, and for the local finances. The same thing took place in the villages, where the union of peasant communes or later the committees of the poorer peasantry, which came from the former, replaced the local democratically-elected body. The latter for the most part were controlled by people who had got into power in the first days of the Revolution and had stuck to that power ever since. Finally these central urban soviets and the unions of provincial Soviets sent their representatives to a great State Congress of the whole country. This Congress now meets every six months and elects a Central Soviet Executive, which is empowered to act with authority in the period between the Congresses. This body has now become the supreme political authority in the Soviet Republic. It controls the Red Army and Navy, the foreign policy and the economic exchange with other states. Thus, beginning with informal gatherings of workers, bound by economic interest, the Russian Soviet has developed into a great political power, which is to be reckoned with in international politics.

But that is only half the story. We have seen that the original anarchically-formed committees were the seed from which the green shoot of the centralized political Soviet grew. But it soon began to put forth another shoot—the organized economic syndicate. And it came about in this way. The workers' factory committees, that elect the local political Soviet for managing the militia, etc., soon began to send their delegates to a conference representing all the workers divided according to rpofession in that particular district. This movement was in complete antagonism to the old trade union movement, which sought under Czarism to devide the workers into a number of craft unions within the industries. The essential feature of this new economic Soviet or syndicate is that it is organized on the basis of industry and not on the basis of guild. Only in this way is it possible to prevent the economic power of the workers, the unity of which is so essential in the struggle against capitalism, from being broken into jarring craft unions, all working at cross purposes. Under the new system the wood-workers and book-keepers in the metal industry must choose their representatives to look after their economic interests along with the actual metal-workers themselves.

The same process of organizing the proletariat industrially has taken place among the rural peasantry. After the October Revolution, the latter sent their delegates to a political Soviet, whose duty it was to organize the rural Red Guard and keep revolutionary order in the villages. Somewhat later they began to form purely economic unions, as the villages began to split up into rich and poor peasants and the conflict between these two classes began to develop. Western Europeans imagine that the Russian peasant is a peculir creation, with habits and customs of his own, living apart from the rest of the world in dirt and ignorance. My experiences in the Russian villages has taught me that just the same social divisions are to be fuond there, in perhaps slightly different form, as exist in the more industrialized rural districts of Western Europe. The idea that it is possible to separate the peasants from the urban population of Russia and thereby mobilize an anti-Bolshevik force within the country is a fantasy. The same proletariat and laborer, middle class corn speculator is found there as in other lands. And the urban worker in Russia who supports the Bolshevik has an ally in the village in the shape of the landless peasant, just as the urban middle class has his counterpart in the village corn speculator. It was natural, therefore, that this [illegible] of the Russian village into two social camps should be accompanied by the growth of professional unions on the basis of the new social division. Side by side with the rural political Soviet there grew up the Union of Laboring Peasants, which took upon itself the duty of working the landlords' land on a communal basis.

Thus we see how the proletariat in town and country built up its professional alliances on an industrial basis. Once formed, they began immediately to graviate towards a center. For just as the political Soviets formed State Congress for the control of foreign policy, so these economic Soviets of syndicates of metal workers, cotton operatives, accountants and laboring peasants sent delegates to State Congress of their particular branches of industry to protect the interests of each. At the present moment there is the All-Russian Union of Professional Alliances, which is the top of the pyramid towards which all the workers' syndicates converge. This is the real labor parliament, where the internal affairs of the different industries are attended to and reconciled with the public interest. Here in numerous committees and sub-commitees are worked out the wage tariffs, the hours of labor and the capacity of output of each of the amalgamated syndicates.

Thus two great social institutions have sprung up in revolutionary Russia—the political Soviet and the economic Soviet. The duty of the former is to protect the Republic from internal and external counter-revolution. The duty of the latter is to build up, under the protection of the former, the new social order. Once the danger of foreign intervention is removed, it is possible that in Russia the political Soviet will reduce its function and that the power in the land will pass to huge economic syndicates, working under the control of the Central Council of Public Economy. The latter body is something like the Central All-Russian Professional Alliance, except that it concerns itself only with production, distribution and exchange on a public basis, and has nothing to do with the internal affairs of the different industries, which belong to the syndicates. When the new social order is really guaranteed from foreign counter-revolution, the political conflicts which have been raging in Russia since the Revolution will gradually die down. The struggles between the Bolshevik theory of "Immediate World Revolution" and the Menshevik theory of "Labor Coalition with the Bourgeoisie" will give way to others. Then will arise the delicate problem of how to adjust the interests of the whole community to the claim of the different workers' industrial syndicates, so that private capitalism, conquerred in the October Revolution shall not appear again in a more insidious form. All this, however, belongs to the future.

Rusia has advanced by giant steps along the new road in spite of all the wounds inflicted on her by the war and the foreign intervention. Young and energetic, untrammeled with the century-old conventions and traditions of an older, more archaic civilization, she has a clear field in which to begin the work of reconstruction. The private exploiter no longer exists in Russia today. He, if he was unwise, fled to Paris and London to plot counter-revolution. If he was wise, he entered the service of Soviet Russia and is now receiving an ample salary according to his knowledge and skill in industry. Througout the length and breath of the Russian plain the struggle is still going on between those peasants whose ideals do not go beyond the [illegible] of corn and holding it up for famine prices while the towns are starving, and the proletarianized laboring peasants who have learnt in the school of adversity that only by collective labor, by communistic production and distribution, can a new and juster society be created.

THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND SO-CALLED DEMOCRACY

Everywhere in Russia now the organs of the new form of society are found in the two types of Soviet. Upon these political and industrial unions only those who labor by muscle and brain can elect and be elected. In order to obtain a vote, therefore, a man or a woman must be organized in some sort of economic Soviet or industrial syndicate, and in order to be thus organized he must do some form of productive work. This is the first essential of the Soviet system. The second essential is that the Soviet should be elected not territorially, but industrially. This is the real difference between a Soviet State and a Democratic State. A democratic state recognizes no economic divisions in the electorate. Everyone is regarded as a part of what is vaguely called "the people." How impracticable a democratic parliament is for the modern industrially-specialized form of society, the following example may show. A metal worker, let us say, lives next to a railwayman on one side and an accountant on the other. All three have special economic interests which require exact professional knowledge to understand. Each of them, if he were to draw up a programme of his demands at a given moment, would have different claim to make for the protection of his particular economic interest. In a Soviet State, each would have these interests put forward through the economic syndicate, of which he would have to be a member, and the central union of the syndicates would then consider them in relation to the whole economic production of the country. In times like the present, when the fight with the counter-revolution is still going on, the syndicates would have to consult with the political Soviet and obtain its sanction also. But the point is that the whole Soviet organization is so arranged that the economic apparatus which is able to represent the workers special interests and can reconcile them with the interest of the whole community is at hand. In a Democratic state exactly the reverse is the case, for here the worker's industrial organizations have no political power and can only advise a body which is brought into being by a scattered electorate. Thus the three types of workers that I take above are in a democratic state only able to elect representatives for one district in which their economic interest is swamped in thousands of others. Candidates are put up by party caucuses, which work on a territorial basis and these candidates cannot possibly represent all these interests at the same time. The democratic election to a parliament in fact is nothing more than a device to deceive the workers by dividing them into artificial constituencies on the basis of which they cannot possibly unite to draw up a common social and economic policy. This can only be done through the development of the industrial unions, as described above.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of the Soviet, however, is that it is capable of being continually re-elected. The workers can withdraw their delegates and elect again at will. Thus the Soviets are always a reflection of the opinion of the masses at the given moment. This was most clearly seen in the case of the All-Russia Congress of Soviets in January, 1918, and of the Russian Constituent Assembly which met in that same month. The former elected only a short time after the election for the Constituent Assembly, gave a large Bolshevik and Left Socialist-Revolutionary majority. The Constituent Assembly, however, was elected on a candidates' list made up in the autumn of that year, when quite different parties were in the political arena and when the important split between the left and the right wing of the socialist-revolutionary party had not yet taken place. The result of the Constituent Assembly election was a majority for the right socialist-revolutionaries, in which the left wing was hardly represented at all. For in the few weeks that elapsed between the drawing up of the candidates' list for the Constituent Assembly, and the elections for it, an entirely new political situation had arisen. The Soviet Congress reflected this change and the Constituent Assembly did not.

When the Allied governments therefore say that there must be in Russia a body which represents all the Russian people in a Constituent Assembly, before they can recognize the Russian Government, they are really saying that they want a government which will be put in power by scattering all the economic forces of the Russian workers and which will become an empty shell within a short time of its election.

I would add one final word of appeal to the working class of England and France. Do not listen to the tales of horros which the bourgeois press of Western Europe tells about the Russian revolution I say because I know that the starvation and misery from which the Russian people are suffering is due not to those who are building up the new socialist form of society but to those who for three years drove Russia into an exhausting war and then sent armed forces to invade her territory and cut off her food supplies and the raw materials of her industries. The Russian people appeal to all the world for peace. They long to establish the normal economic exchange between East and West Europe which alone can make good the destruction of the four years of war. Raise the blockade they say; send us the technical advisors without which we cannot restore our industries, shattered by the war. Soviet Russia is ready to pay handsomely for the services rendered. If the workers of England and France are still content to leave private financiers to control the relations between their countries and Russia, Soviet Russia will raise no objection but will treat with their financiers and satisfy their wants in so far as they do not involve the reduction of the Russian workers and peasants to the slavery that they lived in under Czarism. If, on the other hand, the English and French workers take these matters into their own hands they will find in Bolshevik Russia a friend and an ally. They will at all times be welcome in the territories of the Republic, which are as safe for those engaged in honest labor as in any state of Western Europe or America. An immense field will be open to them to assist their Russian comrades with the technical advice which only they can give. On the other hand they can learn many things which will be new to them in that wonderland that lies between Europa and Asia. Let us tear out the pages of the past. Let us write a new page in the history of the future.

Here's how the Press Fund grows-- it could'nt help it with all these comrades "Going to it"!

Of course it is growing. It has to grow. The comrades who stand by The Ohio Socialist and the IDEA of PARTY controlled press are not the kind of socialists who have learned to quit. Not by a long shot. They are the never-quitting variety—the only kind who will ever make this world a fit place for workers to live in and a mighty poor place for exploiters.

Well, here's a list for you. Talk about the possibility of getting that $10,000 for the press fund, we should say so. Here is a comrade down at Massillon, O., who does'nt even send us his name, he's so modest, who goes among his shopmates and collects $52.00 from 52 workers. Just think of it! This certainly shows there is no cause for failure in this respect. When one comrade can do so well for the press fund as this there must be many, many others who could equal it if they would only try.

Comrade Chas. Baker, State Organizer stopped in the State Office the other day enroute to the National Convention. He left $59.00 in the press fund which he collected among the South Slavic comrades of Youngstown. These comrades are ready always to the right thing by all progressive Party Work.

Perhaps some day we will know who the members of the Repeaters Club of Akron, O. are. Two weeks ago we recorded a donation of $8.00 from this mysterious organization, and now we must credit it with a still larger one. Look in the $35.00 column, you will find them there. Comrade Albert Schmidt, who remits for the Club, states that their numbers are growing fast and he wishes other comrades would organize such clubs over the country. Sounds like good advice to us. What do you think about it? The Repeaters surely set an example worth following. All health to them, may their shadows never grow less numerous!

Another branch of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund contributes to our press fund. This time it is No. 133 of Dayton, O. Comrade J. Ehrhardt remits a ten spot from this organization. Thanks comrades.

"Would like to see a hundred thousand comrades respond to this call" states comrade L. W. Pearson of Roanoke, Va. He boosts the press fund, joins the Liberators and orders a hundred copies of the O. S. for distribution.

Comrade C. R. Swope of Warren is still at it. The list received this week contains $5.50.

"One dollar as often as possible" is what comrade Jno R. Veney of E. Liverpool, states he will donate to the press fund.

We call your attention to the fifty dollar column again. You will see the name, Lasalle Club there. Thru comrade Julius Zorn the members of this S. P. Branch sent us $50.00. Comrade Julius Zorn states that the Branch is very active and flourishing, a fact we may readily believe from this generous donation.

Comrade Mike Zolman steps into the ten dollar column this week. — Thanks comrade Zolman.

Another dandy list was received this week from comrade H. Weicher of Columbus, O. It contained $9.00 and is a healthy indication of comrade Weicher's activity.

Another three dollar contributor comes from one of our best boosters, comrade T. Auckerman of Kalamazoo, Mich. On another list he sends in $6.00. Yes, some, booster.

$1 Column

Jno Messner, Hamilton, O.
Jno Lamborn, Glouster, O.
Chas. Senter, Pomeroy, O.
August Hepp, Pomeroy, O.
Henry Mees, Mason, W. Va.
Carl Adrian, Fremont, O.
Jno. Haysmayer, Fremont, O.
David, June, Sandusky Tpw. O.
M. J. Green Fremont, O.
P. H. Wigwant, Fremont, O.
A. Burdge, Fremont, O. 25c.
H. Carr, Fremont, O. 25c.
J. Swint, Fremont, O. 75c.
Steve J. Jurinic, St. Louis, Mo. 25c.
Chas. Gremplim, St. Louis, Mo. 50c.
J. Malinivsky, St. Louis, Mo. 25c.
B. Sidiskis, St. Louis, Mo. 25c.
Jno H. Dackus, St. Louis, Mo. 25c.
P. Bakeli, St. Louis, Mo. 25c.
Jake Batunchuk, St. Louis, Mo. 25c.
Andrew Stasuk, St. Louis, Mo. 25c.
J. Klinchuk, St. Louis, Mo. 25c.
V. Popow, St. Louis, Mo.
Mart. Phelan, Columbus, O.
Geo. Althauser, Columbus, O.
A. Wright, Columbus, O.
Gust. [illegible], Columbus, O.
Albert Watson, Massillon, O.
Geo. [illegible], Massillon, O.
T. Williams, Massillon, O.
K. Stasuck, Massillon, O.
Frank Eber, Massillon, O.
A. R. Gochanner, Massillon, O.
Dominic Sambuco, Bridgeport, O.
Peter Sambuco, Bridgeport, O.
D. Eichel, Sidney, O.
Mike Solderitz, Dayton, O.
Joseph Lucic, Wyandotte, Mich.
Genevive Zrnc, Wyandotte Mich.
Frank Gersbach, Hamilton, O.
Bessie M. Seitz, Willoughby, O. 40c.
A. Friend, Lima, O.
Jas Dartnall, Norwood, O.
Wallace B. Watson, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Rose Gibson, Lowry City, Mo. 50c.
R. Grey Morton, Zanesville, O.
Nat. Andreatta, Sandusky, O. 25c.
Jacob Key, Sandusky, O. 25c.
Edward Rosfelder, Jr. 25c.
Christian Stephiff, Sandusky, O. 25c.
Jos. Windish, Sandusky, O. 50c.
Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Kenealy, Girard, O.
Paul Conrad. Hamilton, O.
Jacob B. Conrad, Hamilton, O.
Miss Belle Yont, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Arnold Mayer, Kalamazoo, Mich.
E. Vanderrost, Kalamazoo, Mich.
L. M. Scott, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Louis Larson, Bettendorf, Ia.
C. W. Scheep, Bettendorf, Ia.
J. B. Diebel, Akron, O.
S. GGoldberg, Akron, O.
H. K. Miller, Ironton, O. 50c.
Mrs Jennie Frederick, Canal Fulton, O.
Loraine Frederick, Canal Fulton, O.
D. M. Vanderveer, Richmond, Ky.
Fred Silberhorn, Cincinnati, O.
C. E. Sine, Akron, O.
C. D. Crawford, Hamilton, O.
Harvey E. Schrock, Hamilton, O.
Jno Demiaick, Hamilton, O.
Adam Hertzog, Hamilton, O.
Joe Yoncum, Hamilton, O.
Jos. Eberly, Hamilton, O.
Frank C. Wagner, Hamilton, O.
Fred Brodbeck, Hamilton, O.
Harry Harvig, Hamilton, O.
Thos. Quens, Hamilton, O.
Ed. Fisher, Hamilton, O.
Marion Heidy, Marion, O.
W. A. Schreiber, Hamilton, O.
R. K. Spencer, Hamilton, O.
Geo. Gilbert, Brewster, O.
J. T. Scholey, Brewster, O.
Asa Huff, Brewster, O.
F. A. Wild, Brewster, O.
H. E. Timer, Brewster, O.
Jos. Breidger, Brewster, O.
G. R. Hilton, Brewster, O.
A. McMichael, Brewster, O.
A. Lameraux, Brewster, O.
Wm. Badle, Brewster, O.
B. R. Williams, Brewster, O.
Martin Tyser, Brewster, O.
F. Ferguson, Brewster, O.
Edmond Williams, Brewster, O.
S. Jordan Brewster, O.
J. Gerstenmaier, Brewster, O.
S. Luxenburg, Brewster, O.
R. A. Ruff, Brewster, O.
J. W. Myers Canton, O.
L. M. Howenstein, Canton, O.
J. Leininger, Canton, O.
Andrew Adamson, Canton, O.
E. Kasher, Canton, O.
I. J. Bawker, Canton, O.
T. R. Schlagel, Navarre, O.
C. W. Baughman, Navarre, O.
W. H. Everett, Navarre, O.
E. Zingery, Beach City, O.
Geo. E. Orth, Justus, O.
J. F. Stuck, Justus, O.
F. W. Hoagland, Jewett, O.
J. Mitchell, Toledo, O.
Per Lee Miller, Marietta, O.
Patrick Doyle, Akron, O.
A. Freeman, Akron, O.
J. J. Shoemaker, Akron, O.
Leah Shoemaker, Akron, O.
Jno O. Chase, Akron, O.
Peter Pape, Canton, O.
Sano Rovacevih, Canton, O.
Dusan Vesich, Canton, O.
Boso Trbovich, Canton, O.
Povica Buncich, Canton, O.
Sava Susnovich, Canton, O.
Rade Vucenich, Canton, O.
Dragan Trbovich, Canton, O. 50c.
Mike Radich, Canton, O. 50c.
Inbro Kolenkovich, Canton, O. 50c.
Dmitar Stanisavljevich, Canton, O. 25c.
Paval Kolenkovich, Canton, O. 50c.
Ivan Cindrich, Canton, O. 50c.
Dr. Ross C. Powell, E. Liverpool, O.
Jno R. Veney, E. Liverpool, O.
Thos Jeffries, Hamilton, O.
S. Sherman, Hamilton, O.
H. C. Lawrence, Hamilton, O.
W. A. Humpreys, Hamilton, O.
Wm. Hartman, Toledo, O.
G. F. Kilvington, Louisville, O.
Chas. Hame, Toledo, O.
Geo. Ashley, Warren, O.
C. R. Swope, Warren, O. $1.10.
Chas. Batista, Warren, O. 50c.
Henry Rufe, Warren, O. 15c.
W. Calahan, Warren, O. 50c.
Alfred Hood, Warren, O. 25c.
Wm. Hawker, Warren, O. 25c.
W. H. Crawford, Warren, O.
L. W. Pearson, Roanoke, Va.
J. L. [illegible], Little Rock, S. C.
Geo. [illegible], Wadsworth, O.
A friend, Wadsworth, O.
J. C. [illegible], Galion, O.
J. F. [illegible], Galion, O.
J. M. [illegible], Galion, O.
Phillip [illegible], Galion, O.
W. J. [illegible], [illegible], O.
Moritz [illegible], Hamilton, O.
Frank [illegible], [illegible], O.
Jno [illegible], Canton, O.

$2 Column

Natale Marinello, Sandusky, O.
Jno Novak, Wyandotte, Mich.
Chas. Klinck, Fremont, O.
Julius Giebel, Fremont, O.
J. Azerious, Youngstown, O.
Jos. Schilling, Canfield, O.
Miss B. A. Comrade, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Mosfoe Kreiner, Canton, O.
Jno Anderhalter, Hamilton, O.
Nick Rovich, Canton, O.
B. C. Raack, Akron, O.

$5 Column

J. C. Miller, E. Liverpool, O. $4.00.
Martin Gillin, Davenport Iowa, $4.00.
H. T. Ankerman, Kalamazoo, Mich. $3.
K. S. Davis, [illegible], O.
1st Ward Branch, Columbus, O.
Local Zanesville, O. $4.74.
J. W. Wright, Weston, W. Va.
J. R. Armstrong, Uhrichsville, O.
H. H. [illegible], Galion, O.
S. [illegible], Newport, $2.00.

$10 Column

Mike Zolman, Akron, O.
Branch 133 Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of Dayton, O.

$25 Column

Finnish Branch Socialist Party of Warren, O.
The Repeaters Club of Akron, O. $20.

$50 Column

Lasalle Club, Cincinnati, O.
South Slavic Branch of Youngstown, O. $59.00.

$100 Column

$100.00 DOLLAR COL.
This column isn't putting in any overtime this week!

Pledge Column

Some of our comrades who repeat their contributions every week or every month say that more of us should pledge a certain amount for the press fund. How about YOU?

How We Grow

May receipts	[illegible]
June receipts	[illegible]
July receipts	[illegible]
Week of Aug. 7th	[illegible]
Week of Aug. 14th	[illegible]
Week of Aug. 21st	[illegible]
To Aug. 21st	[illegible]
Total to Aug. 21st	[illegible]

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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FIRST VICTORY OF THE FIGHTING ARMY OF LIBERATORS

DEBS FINDS COMFORT IN THE HOSPITAL WARD OF THE ATLANTA PRISON

The Army of Liberators has scored its first victory.

The visit of Liberator attorneys Sharts and Castleton, and Marguerite Prevey to the Atlanta penitentiary has resulted in the transfer of Debs from labor in the clothing department and 14 hours a day in a steel cage to comfortable quarters in the hospital ward.

Debs should have been placed in the hospital ward the first day he arrived at Atlanta prison. Debs is not a well man, and his age should bespeak for him conveniences and comforts not necessary to the younger prisoners.

But no, the aim of those who are Debs' jailers seemed to be to break Debs' spirit.

They wanted him to break down.

They wanted him to beg for mercy.

They wanted him to desert his Socialist principles.

And now they found out that Debs is not that kind of a man. They have found out that he would sooner die than give in an inch.

In the last weeks Debs has lost 14 pounds. Always slight of build, he was merely a shadow of himself when visited by the three representatives of the Army of Liberators. His eyes were deeply sunken into his head and it could be plainly seen that he was suffering, not only physically, but also and mostly, spiritually.

He was suffering because those about him were suffering. It cut him to the heart to see fellow prisoners punished. It wounded him deeply to see those about him denied sufficient food. And so, sensitive as he is, he suffered with them and suffered the more.

"You'll have a dead man on your hands soon, and the workers will say he was killed in prison"—these were the parting words of one of the Liberator representatives to the warden of the Atlanta penitentiary.

These words were ominous. They undoubtedly made the warden think harder than he has for some years. And the result was that Debs is now enjoying a real bed, a window that looks out upon the world, books and an environment more conducive to mental calm.

Again we say — maybe you've never been in jail. Maybe the weight of steel bars and stone walls have never depressed your spirit and deadened your every impulse. Maybe you don't understand.

But those of us who have been in jail know what it means to get away from the cage. We know what it means to get a glimpse of the outside world. We know what it means to see a new face, to get away from the depressing prison routine, to even bathe a hand in a ray of sunshine.

As prison life goes, Debs is now in heaven.

The Army of Liberators has made this possible.

The Army of Liberators will make more than this possible.

FREE DEBS AND ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS—that's our minimum demand and our slogan is—**NO REST UNTIL WE WIN!**

Ever onward then. Have every move you make and every word you utter count for **LIBERATION**.

Unless we have sufficient funds, nothing can be done.

AND REMEMBER—MONEY IS NEEDED.

ONCE MORE WE SAY—SECURE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE LIBERATION FUND FROM YOUR FELLOW WORKERS AND FRIENDS.

NOT TOMORROW OR NEXT WEEK—BUT NOW!

For the sooner we hear from you the sooner Debs will be freed.

Join Us in this Battle Today

Join your helping hands with ours—with the hundreds who have joined the Army of Liberators. All Liberators are now laboring determinedly for the freedom of Debs and all the rest They will welcome you into the army. Send today for an application blank and a Liberation Fund Contribution List. Your assistance is needed. Give it.

Address—THE LIBERATORS, 3207 Clark Ave.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

ATTENTION!!

Locals - Branches - Members

The police control of the Germer Convention at hicago made it necessary for the new National Executive Committee, elected by you, to call the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party to order in another hall in the same building. The convention was regularly organized and then adopted the new name "Comunist Labor Party" for our organization. All Locals, Branches and members desire to affiliate with the Left Wing faction of the former Socialist Party. Now the Communist Labor Party, under the principle laid down at this convention should communicate at one with national Headquarters, 3207 Clark Ave, Cleveland, Ohio.

OHIO LOCALS ATTENTION

Ohio Locals should continue their municipal campaigns under the name of "Socialist Party". The adoption of the new name can date from time immediately following the November elections.

In the Next Weeks Issue

Resolutions Passed by the Communist Labor Party Convention.

Proclamation to the Membership

Comrades:—

The great war has shaken the world's foundations. Many idols have crashed to the ground, showing their hollowness. The war has torn the mask of patriotism, democracy, and idealism from Capitalism and laid bare the brutal features of man-devouring imperialism. It has shown the workers of the world that their true interests lie in International class solidarity, exercised upon the field of revolutionary class and mass action.

In this Crucial moment the Socialist Party of the United States has betrayed the working class. It sold out the birthright of the workers for a mess of pottage consisting of political respectability and alignment with the interests of the petit bourgeoisie.

The Socialist Party employed the Chicago police department to throw out of the national convention the duly elected delegates of the membership while it packed the convention with "Socialist" aldermen from New York, the very ones that voted for the erection of an arch of triumph in glorification of the victory of American soldiers over the Red Guards of proletarian Russia at Murmansk.

The Socialist Party at the Chicago convention repudiated the real proletarian International — that organized at Moscow. It even found words of excuse for the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It disgraced the word Socialism.

In this emergency your delegates, on August 31, met in convention called by the revolutionary national executive committee, elected by you last spring upon the basis of the Left Wing program, and formed the Communist Labor Party of the United States. We have chosen the name Communist Labor Party because the word "Socialist" has been internationally discredited by the Scheidemanns everywhere.

Realising the need of unity between all revolutionary forces, the convention of the Communist Labor Party, left nothing undone to bring about unity with the Communist Party convention, which convened at Chicago on Sept. 1st. Conference committees were elected; the appeal for unity was carried to the floor of the Communist convention; and the declaration adopted instructing our national officers to exert every effort for a unification of the two parties. So far our efforts for unity have not met with success. The entire matter will be submitted to you in detail and we are confident that you will defer judgement until then.

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party appeals to you to repudiate the traitors of International Socialism in the reactionary Socialist Party and to pledge yourseles, your energy and all, to the great struggle of working class emancipation.

We are confident that your judgment will finally be in our favor and that you will help to unite the forces of the American working class under the banner of the Communist Labor Party, an integral part of the Third—The Communist International.

LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL!
FREEDOM FOR ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS!
VICTORY TO COMMUNISM!

Alexander Bilan, Jack Carney,
L. E. Katterfeld, Edward Lingren, Max Bedacht
National Executive Committee,
Communist Labor Party.
A. Wagenknecht,
Executive Secretary.

The Question of Unity Between The Communist Labor Party and Communist Party

ALL OF THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS WHICH PASSED BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN THE TWO CONVENTIONS AT CHICAGO.

We here publish, for the information of all Left Wing adherants, all the documnts which pasad between the conventions of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, upon the question of unity.

These documents prove conclusively that no more sincere nor earnest efforts for unity could have been made than were made by the Communist Labor Party We permit these documents to speak for themselves and we request a thoro reading of them by all comrades.

(This document was sent to the Left Wing delegates at the Emergency Convention by the delegates at the eleventh hour to form a new party.)

Invitation from the Left Wing Council

Chicago, August 30th, 1919

The National Left Wing Council extends its greetings to all the Left Wing delegates to the Emergency Socialist Party Convention. Though we have no official part in the Emergency Convention, nor any part in its causus, we still recognize that our responsibility, as well as yours, extends to all the Left Wing membership of the Socialist Party; and it is in recognition of this responsibility, and in the realization that the Left Wing movement now demands expression in a Communist Party, that we urge all Left Wing delegates to join with us in the organization of the Communist Party of America. The Joint Call for our September first Convention, which is made part of this message, makes ample and fair provision for the seating of all Left Wing delegates at the Communist Party Convention.

For the National Left Wing Council:
Louis C. Fraina
Maximilian Cohn
John Ballam
C. E. Ruthenberg
I. E. Ferguson, Sec.

Headquarters: 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago.

(Immediately the Left Wing delegates decided to quit the police controlled Germer onvention, these Left Wing delegates constituted themselves the regular Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, officially called by the new National Executive Committee. It heard the report of this committee and the new National Secretary and at once elected a committee of five to confer with the organization committee of the Communist Convention in order to secure unity. The two committees met and the latter gave the committee from the Left Wing delegates th following document.)

Statement To the Left Wing Delegates By The Joint Organization Committee of The Communist Convention

The Joint Organization Committee of the Communist Party Convention composed of the National Organization Committe and the National Left Wing Council can make no decisions for the convention. The question of voting in the convention is a question for the Credential Committee. Every person who comes into the convention holds his seat and has his vote subject to the final actions of the Contest and Credential Committee. Our committee could not go beyond the matter of preliminary arrangements.

We have, however, acted on the question of making up the roster of delegates who shall participate in the preliminary organization of the convention. We have acted on the basis of the Joint Call; the Convention will be organized by delegates who present credentials according to the Joint Call. This Joint Committee has already decided that delegates who have credentials to this convention regardless of the participation in the Emergency Convention shall have votes in the preliminary organization. We therefore present to your committee the Joint Call as an integral part of this answer.

This technical situation does not effect the essential question of unity. This is a convention question, and it will come up in due course through the work of the Credential Committee. We ask your committee, therefore, to make up for our Credential Committee a complete list of your delegates, the organiration and number of members they represent in each instance, and such instructions, if any, as each delegates or individuals may have This will give us the basis we need for acting on the proposal of unity.

Our spirit in the matter is epitomized in a resolution which this committee adopted unanimously in its first meeting to have all bolting delegates from the S. P. Convention to sit with us, in a reserved section, as special guests of the Convention, until the disposition of credentials give us the basis for exact answer. The convention may also decide to take up this question aside from the work of the Credential Committee. In either case we will make as prompt answer as possible.

I. E. FERGUSON
O. C. JOHNSON
JOHN KERACHER
DANIEL ELBAUM
LOUIS C. FRAIN
C. E. RUTHENBERG
D. F. BATT
A. KOPNAGEL.

(The conference committee from the Left Wing delegates decided, upon receipt of the above document, to await the election of a similar committee by the Communist Convention, a committee which could truly speak for the convention. The Russian Federation, which controlled the Communist Convention, were not in favor of negotiation for unity and voted the question of electing a conference committee down. This resulted in the withdrawal from the Communist Convention of about forty delegates, mostly from English organizations. Eventually the Russian Federation delegates agreed to the election of a conference committee. This committee sent the following document to the Left Wing delegates who were excluded from the Germer police controlled convention, which had in the mean time, because of the long wait to hear from the Communist Party Convention, organzed permanently inta the Communist Labor Party.)

Statement to The Communist Labor Party Convention By The Communist Convention.

Before the beginning of the war in August 1914, sharp differences in principles and tactics had made themselves apparent in the parties within the Second International. In each country there was the faction which placed its reliance upon the parliaments of the bourgeois state for the transformation of capitalism into Socialism. This faction, the dominant element in the Socialist Party in practically every country, directed its tactics and agitation to the end of attaining a majority in the parliaments. They argued that this majority, through legislative action, would end the power of the capitalists in industry and build up the structure of the new society.

In harmony with this conception it considered the activities of its parliamentary representatives for reform measures intended to improve the position of the workers under the capitalist system as the method by which Socialism would be established.

In sharp conflict with these Moderate Socialists stood the Revolutionary minorities, which rejected the idea that the struggle could be won in the in the bourgeois parliaments. The Revolutionary Socialist contended that the emancipation of the working class could not be achieved through the capitalist state but only through the overthrow of the capitalist state by the mass Power of the workers and the establishment of a new organ of state Power by the working class, in the form of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the transformation of Capitalism into Communism.

Between these groups stood the wavering centre. Revolutionary in phrases, it was never revolutionary in action Rejecting the idea of legislating capitalism out of existance a step at a time, and therefore not agitating primarily for social reform measures under the capitalist system, this faction nevertheless considered the bourgeois state as the medium through which Capitalism would be abolished.

It required the test of action under revolutionary crisis to bring out the irreconcilable differences between these factions. Under the test of action it was found that Moderate Socialism betrayed the class struggle in favor of "reconciliation of the classes." Moderate Socialism is today directly and openly counter-revolutionary. The Centre, because of its vacillation, is even more dangerous because its revolutionary phrases conceal its betrayal of the revolutionary class struggle

Although the movement in this country has not undergone the test of revolutionary experience in an advanced stage, the influence of the social revolution in Russia and struggle in Germany have deepened the differences between the three factions. After months of agitation and discussion we find, at this moment the old party splitting into three organizations corresponding to the three fundamental differences of viewpoint which have heretofore existed in the one party.

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"The principles and tactics of the Communist Labor Party are not to be construed as meaning or implying a resort to crime, sabotage, violence or terrorism. We expressly declare that we do not advocate or justify crime, sabotage, violence, or terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political transformation.

DEBS' PERSONALITY THE SAME IN PRISON AS IN FREEDOM.

By Samuel Castelton.

The United States Government has a penitentiary on the out-skirts of Atlanta, Georgia, where it houses a motley crew of yeggmen, counterfeiters, white slavers, fraudulent bankrupts, murderers, and other criminals who have violated the penal statutes. It is a low, spacious building of marble that squats on a slightly elevated hill, and can be seen through and over the spiked railings and virgin woods. A beautiful spacious lawn and richly colored flowers act as a mockery, and poetical perversion — as though placed there for the purpose of punishing the prisoners with its view.

Within the past year or more the Government has been sending a steadily increasing group to this institution — a gallant band of idealists and political radicals who have fearlessly expressed their opinion regarding the late war. Here they are garbed in prison overalls, their scalps shaved, their photographs made, numbers given them, where they are incarcerated fourteen hours daily in iron cells. It has fallen to the lot of these political radicals to be thrown in dungeons and dark cells known as "blind-doors" where they dine on bread and water twice, and sometimes three times, daily.

The latest radical to join this group is that famous champion of the cause of the proletariat, that defender of the under-dog, the oppressed, the enslaved victims of this capitalistic world — Eugene V. Debs. He is sixty-three years of age, tall and lanky, in fact emaciated. A few stragling hairs embellish an otherwise bald head, and through a pair of cheap spectacles is seen a pair of honest, straight-forward, keen and searching eyes. His face is thin, and rather tan, and his jaw is firm and strong. There is something remarkable about the expression of his face. It expresses the soul of honor, an idealist in search of truth, the spokesman whose only guide is his conscience, his motives altruistic, and a deep profound love for his fellow men. One glance at him and you can see the uncompromising revolutionist, the fighter for progress. When he clasped my outstretched hand, and replied to any query, "How are you, comrade?"

"I am well, comrade, thank you", and in the word "comrade" a magically beautiful smile iluminated his face. I know that he was thinking of his millions of comrades all over the world and their struggle for the great economic change that will ultimately overthrow the capitalistic system. 'Gene is reticent concerning himself. He has no personal grievance, or ill feeling, towards anyone. "Tell the boys I am all right. I am being well treated — as well as can be under the circumstances." Debs hates the system of penal institutions, and he does feel sympathy for his fellow prisoners. He knows that the capitalistic system is wrong in its definition of crime and in its punishment of criminals. Because of his deep sincerity he commands the respect of the warden and of the subordinate men in charge of this prison. There is a marked affability on the part of the warden. There seems to be a studied courtesy on the part of all the officials in their attentions to Debs, and Debs knows this. But he will not stand for any favoritism even though he be the beneficiary. It is foreign to his nature to want to receive treatment denied any other prisoner. He refuses to see the hundreds of visitors for he knows this privilege would be denied others. "I will not have a bite of food that any other prisoner cannot have. I won't read a newspaper, magazine, or periodical, that any other prisoner cannot read. I don't want anything that every other prisoner cannot get." His smile of love and comradeship, his fine radiant personality is a great Socialist propaganda within this institution. Thirty years ago, the warden confided to me, he heard Debs deliver a speech in Milwaukee, and his manner of telling it seemed to be reminiscent of pleasure. "I remember it very well, It was very cold and snowy at the time." And with a smile, said, "But I have not told Debs about it."

Strict rules prevail around prison interviews. Between prisoner and visitor, sits a guard armed with club in hand who listens to every word that passes between them. Strict scrutiny is exercised lest some secret pass between them. In the case of Debs a certain feeling of respect and awe exists. I was struck with the fact that the guard remained at the door, and that there was no tendency to intrude upon our privacy. It is as though some high official of Washington had sent instructions that special care and special treatment be given him. There seems to be a realisation that millions of people are interested in the fate of Debs. His incarceration has placed him in the position of a martyr—though he himself finds it repugnant to be considered such. Debs has the spirit of youth. His expression radiates optimism. "Comrade, the world is moving faster, our vision is becoming clearer, our world will soon be here," I have seen Debs time and

(Continued on page 2.)

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CONVENTION

Introductory

The battle within the Socialist Party has been made and won. As was predicted at the National Left Wing Conference and againt at the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio, the reactionary Socialists did seek and get the aid of the police in preventing the partys membership, thru regalarly elected delegates, from control of the convention.

Yet, the battle within the Socialist Party for Left Wing principles has been won, the Left Wing element in the party is now the Communist Labor Party, and all that remains of the old reactionary coterie is but a skeleton, amply signifying its demise.

Adolph Germer reported to his packed convention that the membership of 109,000 of January first had dwindled to 39,000. This 39,900 has now been about completely whiped out by the formation of the Communist Labor Party by 82 delegates from 22 states. The minutes, the official acts of the Communist Labor Party convention appear below.

The existance of two Communist Parties after the Chicago conventions was an event which very few Left Wing Socialists expected. The difference between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party is not one of principle, but rather one of organization control. The Communist Party was called into existance by the Russian Socialist Federations, whereas the Communist Labor Party was the logical outgrowth of the fight within the Socialist Party for Left Wing control. The Communist Labor Party made many sincere efforts to unite with the Communist Party, while both were in convention, upon a bisis of equality. These offers for unity were denied by the Communist Party for reasons not yet altogether clear. The convention of the Communist Labor Party, just before closing its deliberations, passed a motion extending a standing invitation for Unity to the Communist Party, and instructing the national officials of the Communist Labor to accept every invitation for unity upon a bosis of equality from the Communist Party or any other revolutionary working class organization.

We look forward to many bitter words from spokesmen of the Communist Party in criticism of the stand taken by the Communist Labor Party. We shall not answer in kind. The official documents for themselves and inform the membership that we of the Communist Labor Party made consciencious endeavors for unity. The demand of the Communist Party that we enter its convention as individual delegates so that what were termed objectionable elements could be weeded out of our ranks, could not be complid with by the Communist Labor Party. Objectionable elements were just as prevelant in the Communist Convention. Our invitation to the Communist Party that the two conference committees be named the joitn credentials committee to pas upon credenitals of both conventions was not accepted and our request for a joint session of the two conventions met a similar fate. More than we did to bring about unity could not be done.

We request an earnest study of the proceedings of the Communist Labor Party convention. We call upon all Left Wing elements to affiliate immediately with the Communist Labor Party.

Minutes

Minutes of the Left Wing Caucus, held Aug. 29, at 8 P. M., the evening before the convening of the Emergency National Convention. The purpose of the caucus was to decide upon plans of action upon the floor of the Emergency Convention.

A. Wagenknecht called meeting to order and stated purpose.

A. Wagenknecht elected Chairman.

E. B. Austin elected Secretary.

52 Delegates present.

Reports from various states were had.

Motion carried: that all persons who are not delegates be excluded from the meeting.

Statement of National Left Wing Council concerning their attitude towards the new Communist Party, read by C. E. Ruthenberg.

Motion carried; that those present hereby agree to abide by the decisionsof the caucus or notify the chairman if they intend to act otherwise.

John Reed made statement regarding the National Left Wing Council.

Motion carried that we proceed to outline a program of action for participation in the National Emmergency Convention and that no other business be considered.

Motion that Ruthenberg's statement be accepted as basis for such a program, lost.

Motion carried that a committee be appointed to prepare a program of action.

Committee elected; Prevey, Ruthenberg, Katterfeld, and Reed.

Report of Committee.

If the Ohio Delegates are admitted to the Hall Wagenknecht endeavors to cal lthe convention to order.

If for ANY reason this cannot be done, we do act withdraw on that account.

Chairman: Coldwell of R. I. Vice-chairman: Kate Greenbelgh; Sec'y. Wolff of N. J.—Ass't. Witt of Ohio.

When roster of delegates is read we make effort to include ALL regularly elected delegates, but failing we do not withdraw.

Credentials Committee: Reed of R. I. Zimmermann of N. J. Owens of Ill.—Sandberg of Ill.

When Credentials Committee reports we make this our minimum demand: "Ohio and all Left Wing delegates against whom no contesting delegates appear must be seated without further contest.

If they are not seated we withdraw and meet in our own hall for conference.

We fight for the immediate seating of all contesting Left Wing delegates. If all those whom our conference considers entitled to seats are nat seated, we withdraw and meet in our own hall for conference.

Upon completion of the permanent organization our fundamental resolution will be offered, and we exert every ounce of our strength for its adoption. If we fail, we withdraw to our own hall for conference.

No one shall withdraw on its own initiative. We stand or fall together.

If we participate under Germer's roster, we do not thereby recognize the old N. E. C. nor Germer as Secretary. We do it merely in order to give one last opportunity to the other side to aid in the effort to enforce the expressed will of the Party's membership to transform the Socialist Party into a Party of Revolutionary Socialism and to affiliate it with the Communist Internatonale of Moscow.

Resolutions to Be Introduced Immediately Contested Delegates were seated.

Whereas, the party membership by overwhelming majority elected as the National Executive Committee a committee representing the revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party and also elected International Delegates commited to Revolutionary Socialism and the Communist International, and further declared itself in favor of affiliation with the Communist International, and

Whereas, the National Executive Committee in expelling the Russian, Lithuanian, South Slavic, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish and Lettish Federations and the States of Michigan, Massachusetts, and Ohio, and in refusing to tabulate the vote on various referendums and in keeping the duly elected National Executive Committee from assuming office, did so to eliminate the elements which stood for uncompromising, revolutionary Socialism, as expressed in the program of the Left Wing, from assuming control of the party and to hold the party machinery for the representatives of moderate Socialism

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention, declared its adherence to the revolutionary principles of the Communist International and to carry out the wishes expressed by the membership by referendum vote, declares the suspension of the Russian, Lithuanian, South Slavic, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish and Lettish Federations and the States of Michigan, Massachusetts and Ohio null and void and recognize the new Executive Committee of the party and its national secretary as the officials of the party, and instruct Germer and the old National Executive Committee to immediately turn over all properties and appurtenances of the National Headquarters to the new officials.

Motion carried that report of committee be adopted in entirety.

Motion carried that Coldwell be elected as candidate for temperory Chairman.

Wolf elected as candidate for temperory Secretary.

Zitt elected as candidate for assistant Secretary.

Harwood elected as floor leader.

Floor committee elected: Richardson, Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Katterfeld and Reed.

Motion carried; that all matters decided upon by the floor committee be acted upon as a unit by all present.

The following were elected as candidates for the credentials committee, Reid of Rhode Island; Zimmermann of India; Petzold of New Jersey, Oven of Illinois and Sandberg of Illinois.

Greenhagh elected as candidate for vice chairman.

Motion carried that credentials be handedto the floor committee by contested delegates.

Motion carried that candidates for temporary offices be made the nominees for permanent offices.

Motion carried that all present meet at 9.30 in the convention Hall.

Meeting declared adjourned.

Respectfully submitted;

E. B. Austin Jr.

Secretary of Caucus.

Minutes of the Left Wing Caucus of August 30, 1919.

This caucus was held immediately after the police, directed by Adolph Germer, had thrown all Left Wing delegates out of the convention hall, and it was learned that admission to the Convention hall was by "white card" issued personally by Adolph Germer.

It was decided by regular action that those Left Wing delegates possessing the (Germer) white cards of admission to the Emergency Convention be instructed to attend the convention sessions and that Comrade Zimmerman, of Indiana act as floor-leader to carry out the program adopted last night.

A motion was offered to request the new N. E. C. to draft a statement to be issued to delegates. Amended to elect three additional comrades to act in conjunction with the N. E. C. Both motion and amendment carried and Comrades Boudin, Reed, Baker and Bedacht were elected by unanimous vote.

Session adjourned at 10.30 P. M.

Lawrence A. Zitt.

Secretary.

This meeting was one of contested delegates, other Left Wing delegates having secured "white cards" and seats upon convention floor.

Session convened at 3.30 p. m. as a meeting of contested delegates only. Comrades holding the white cards of admission were instructed to attend the convention session upstairs.

Comrade Katterfeld reported on the operations of the right-wing steam roller delaying action in the contested delegates.

It was decide to elect an Advisory Committee of three to consider the best method of presentation of the the individual claims for seats in the convention. Comrades Talbert, Taylor, Wagenknecht, were chosen.

All contested delegates were instructed to appear before this committee immediately after this session.

It was moved to send the credentials of all Left Wing delegates to the Convention thru a Special Committee and amended that one representative of each delegation contested should accompany the Special Committee.

A motion was passed to the affect that no speeches other than the mere presentation of facts be offered before the Contest Committee of the Germer convention.

It was agreed to hold a short caucus session immediately after the afternoon session of the convention.

Decided to elect a committee of five to draft a tentative order of bussiness for the first meeting of the new grouping. Comrades Lloyd, Reed, Gitlow, Bedacht, Katterfeld and Boudin were nominated. All were elected.

Session adjourned.

Lawrence A. Zitt.

Secretary.

Convened at 6.40 p. m.

Comrade Wolf reported in detail on the promised progress of the Contest committee, and the order in which the contest would be considered. It was shown that all the delegates of California were contested, one from Illinois, and Iowa, two from Kansas, all from Minn., Nebraska, Oregon, one from W. Va. all from Washington, N. Y. one, [illegible] one, Utah all and Wyoming one.

It was [illegible] to instruct Comrade Harwood to present all credentials of contested delegates to the Contest Committee, or to Secretary Germer.

Motion carried.

It was decided to instruct our delegates to leave the Convention Hall immediately if Convention attempts to transact other business or to adjourn before the final report of the Contest Committee, and to gather in the caucus room below.

Session adjourned.

Lawrence A. Zitt.

Secretary.

This meeting was held immediately after the packed convention called to order by Adolph Germer, decided to transact Convention bussiness without first rendering decision as to contested delegates.

Minutes of the caucus of delegates unseated and those leaving the emergency Convention, held Aug. 31.

Called to order by Wagenknecht at 2.20 P. M.

Crimmons of New York chosen chairman.

Motion offered to elect a committee of three to draft a statement to the delegates seated in the Germer convention (action interupted to allow a reading of the prepared statement.) Amended to refer statement back to the N. E. C. and the additional members.

Amendment carried.

It was decided to allow three delegates from Cook County Left. Wing Convention to sit in this caucus with the privelege of a voice, carried.

Motion to request the new N. E. C. to open the Emergency Convention this afternoon at 5 P. M.

Carney made a report that the Germer convention had discovered that it can seat all contested delegates excluding those from Ohio and some from New York and yet control the convention—and that it had decided to do so.

The committee to redraft a statement offered its report, which was adopted.

TO THE DELEGATES.

We, duly elected delegates of the membership of the Socialist Party, have participated in this Convention in order to be able to appeal directly to the delegates on the floor of the Convention.

We call the attention of the delegates to the following facts:

In order solely to retain office, without adequate reason, the National Executive Committee did suspend seven foreign language federations, with a membership of 35,000, and expelled the states of Michigan, Massachusetts and Ohio.

For the same reason, the National Executive Committee did refuse to recognize the will if the Party membership, as expressed in the referendum votes upon the election of National Executive Committee, International Delegates, International Secretary, and, the referendum upon the question of affiliation with the Third International, the referendum upon the calling of the National Emergency Convention, and the referendum to reverse their actions above alluded to — this last referendum being seconded by more than fifteen thousand members in good standing.

The National Executive Committee did repudiate the overwhelming vote of the Party membership to the effect that they vacate their offices in favor of the new National Executive Committee duly elected to take office July 1. 1919, and that they refused to turn over the property of the Party to the new N. E. C.

The organizing committee of this body, without any reason, did yesterday morning refuse to grant admission to delegates from California, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, Florida, Utah, West Virginia, these delegates being regularly elected delegates against whom no contesting delegates have appeared at this convention, and most of them representing states which have been neither expelled nor suspended.

Other delegates, representing altogether the vast majority of the Party membership, are contested by delegations illegally elected, representing Locals and Branches whose membership exist largely on paper.

We call the attention of the delegates to the fact that when duly elected delegates to this body attempted to enter the Convention Hall yesterday morning, they were forcibly ejected by the police, acting under the orders of Adolph Germer, former National Secretary of the Party.

The action of the Committee on Contested Seats, in refusing to consider the case of the delegates from Ohio, and the contesting delegates from New York, on the plea that they had been expelled from the Party, shows clearly that the ex-officials in charge of this convention intend to permit only their own hand-picked delegates to vote upon such questions as may be submitted to them. Considering that through the exclusion of delegates representing the great majority of the Party membership, it is impossible to bring to bear the will if the Party membership in this Convention, we hereby declare:

That if so far we have taken part in this Convention, it is not because we have recognized either the Old National Executive Committee, or Adolph Germer as National Secretary, or this Convention as legal. We have done it merely in order to give one last opportunity to the illegal officialdom in charge to submit to the expressed will of the Party membership; which is to transform the Socialist Party into a Party of Revolutionary Socialism, and to affiliate it with the Communist International of Moscow.

What has transpired up to now makes it clear that the Party officials illegally in control of the National Office and the Convention machinery, are determined at all costs, and by all means, no matter how foul, to prevent the revolutionary will of the rank and file from finding expression in this Convention.

The action of this official machine in proceeding to conduct further business before the question of seating contested delegates has been decided, in violation if its own previously adopted rule, makes impossible our further participation in this gathering. It is our duty to the Party membership which has sent us here to withdraw to another hall, where we will be permitted to carry out the will of the membership and our duty as revolutionary Socialists, free from the interference of the police and the dictation of a corrupt and usurping officialdom.

We appeal to all those who have at heart the true interest of the Socialist movement in this country, and the Social Revolution throughout the world, to join with us in holding a real Emergency Convention, which will rise to the international emergency confronting the world today, and place the Socialist movement of this country in the front rank of the revolutionary march of the fighting proletariat of the world.

CONVENTION CALL

The Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party will be called to order at six clock this afternoon August 31st, in the hall on the first floor of this building

EVERY delegate, is requested to be present.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY.

A Wagenknecht, Secy Pro. Tem.

The motion to call the convention was passed unanimously.

The delegates then registered and adjourned to 6 P. M.

THE FIRST SESSION OF EMMERGENCY NATIONAL CONVENTION CALLED IN THE NEWLY ELLECTED N. E. C.

Convened by Chairman Crimins at 6.30 P. M. Decided to rent the larger hall in this building.

Adjourned to the larger hall where the roster of delegates was read, showing 82 delegates representing 21 States.

Owens of Illinois, elected Chairman by acclamation.

Prevey of Ohio, elected Vice Chairman by acclamation.

Zitt of Ohio, elected Secretary by acclamation.

Austin of Kentucky, elected Asst. Secretary by acclamation.

Lloyd of Illinois, elected Sergt. at Arms by acclamation.

Decided to adopt the order of buisness submitted by the N. E. C.

Decided to employ a Stenographer to record the proceeding of this convention. Motion was passed to elect a credentials Committee. Coldwell, Carney, Baker, McSlarrow and England were chosen and istructed to retire immediately and report at the earliest oportunity.

A motion was passed to hear the report of the N. E. C. and the N. E. Secretary pro tem, but to defer action until after the report of the credentials committee.

Marguerite Prevey reported for the N. E. C. on Party activities since its election and its selection of Wagenknecht as N. E. Secretary pro tem. She stated that the N. E. C. met for the purpose of assuring the holding of the emergency convention; ousted Germer, and substituted Wagenknecht, canvassed referendum returns and declared the following elected to the new National Executive Committee: Fraina, Hourwich, Lindgren, Ruthenberg, Harwood, Prevey, Lloyd, Batt, Keracher, Nagle, Hogan, Millis, Katterfeld and Wicks.

Also that the N. E. C. reinstated the Russian, Lithuanian, South Slavic, Ukrainian, Lettish, Hungarian, and Polish Federations and Michigan and Massachusetts.

Action was deferred.

Sec'y. Pro-Tem Wagenknecht reported on the developement of the Left Wing movement and submitted a financial statement of receipts and expenses since assuming the duties of N. E. Sec'y.

Action deferred.

Decided to consider communications, but defer action.

1.) From State Sec'y. Dillon of New Mexico, assuring us of that states adherence to the principles and declarations of the Third International.

2.) Greetings from the Y. P. S. L. of New York State.

Telegram from Sec'y. San Jose. Cal. urging support of Left Wing Program. National Left Wing Council, sending greetings. All ordered into the records.

Comrade Prevey reported in detail on the Debs case and the fight for his release, together with other class war prisoners. It was decided to go on record as assuming responsibility for further action along this line, and that telegrams be sent to Debs and others offering assurances of the continuation of our support.

Letter from Indiana locals urging delegates to support Left Wing program and Elkhart endorsing the soviet form of goverament. Ordered in to the record.

A member of the Executive Committee of the Italian Federation announced that his organization was wholeheartedly with us and would affiliate with the new organization at the first opportunity.

The Credentials Committee reported (report attached hereto) in detail, showing that 87 delegates were in attendance and entitled to seats in the convention. It was moved and carried that additional delegates to the regular quoto announced by the old organization should be seated as fraternal delegates without vote, Comrade Greenwood of Illinois was seated as regular delegate.

The body decided to make the temporary organization permanent for the session. Comrade Prevey was granted by general consent the priveleg to offer resolutions on Debs and all class war prisoners and to Mrs. Debs assuring her of our sympathy, support and hopeful activities. Resolutions were adopted and ordered wired.

The report of the N. E. C. was received and approved.

The report of the N. E. Sec'y. protem was received and approved.

Under consideration of the Party Situation Comrade Ruthenberg offered the following resolution.

"Resolved. That we hereby declare the Socialist Party to be the Party of Communist Socialism in the United States, and that we extend an invitation to all revolutionary working class groups to join in the development of this party of proletarian communism, and

"That we elect a special committee of five to confer with a similar committee from the Organization Committee of the Communist Party, the National Left Wing Council, or the Communist Party Convention, regarding the immediate amalgamation of these bodies, with our party to form the Communist Party of the United States."

An Amendment to the amendment was offered by Comrade Katterfeld reading as follows:

"The membership of the Socialist Party in a recent referendum voted overwhelmingly in favor of affiliation with the Communist International, thereby indicating its approval of the principles of Communist Socialism. This Convention believes, therefore, that it has a clear man date from the membership to transform the Socialist Party into a party of Communist Socialism, therefore be it.

Resolved: — That this convention elect a committee of five to confer with the Organizing Committee of the Communist convention and the National Left Wing Council for the purpose of determining a basis for amalgamation of the two bodies. "An amendment was offered to declare our selves the Communist Convention of America, and send invitations to al others revolutionary groups and to the socalled Communist Party, to form a party of revolutionary socialism. Motion for previous question was lost.

Motion for previous question was lost. Later a motion for the previous question was carried. A motion to vote by roll call was carried.

The Vote on the Katterfeld amendment was 54 yea and 22 nay. A motion to proceed with the election of the committee of five was carried. Comrades Katterfeld, Wagenknecht, Lore, Greenhalgh, and Bauer were elected by ballot.

Motion carried that the committee elected meet with the Organizing Committee of the Communist Party tomorrow morning and report back at 10 a. m.

A motion to odjourn was carried.

Respecfully submitted,

Lawrence A. Zitt.

Secretary

E. B. Austup

Ass't. Secy.

MORNING SESSION
Sept. 1, 1919.

Minutes of the morning Session of Sept. 1. Convened at 10.45 a. m. by Chairman Prevey. Comrade Charles Baker of Ohio was chosen chairman of the day by acclamation, and John Zimmerman of Indiana was elected Vice Chairman by acclamation.

A motion to elect a committee to arrange the financing of delegate and the convention was carried. The following comrades were electet: Taylor, Richardson, Prevey, Lloyd and Wagenknecht. A motion carried instructing this committee to confer with the N. E. C. with reference to finances.

A motion carried that the resolution offered by the Machinists union owning this building in re. to presence of police during sessions of the Gemer Emergency Convention be recorded in our minutes.

To the Delegates of the National

Socialist Convention

Dear Comrades and Friends:

On behalf of the Die and Tool Makers' Lodge No. 113, International Association of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property, as well as the sanctuary, of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection; we can not conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection, when we as an organization condemn it and oppose it. While we are not represented in your convention as individual members or representative of an organization, we nevertheless are with you in spirit. For all these reasons we can not let the police remain as your protectors, or perhaps as your invited guests, without submitting our deepest protest.

We call upon you to take steps to remove the police or make such arrangements as will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not asking this to put hardship on you, but for the best interest of the socialist party and the labor movement in general.

Yours for International Solidarity,

Executive Board,

Die & Tool Makers Lodge No. 113.

L. P. VANCE, CARL HARIG,

G. T. FRANCKEL, PAUL POKARA

A telegram received from Richmond Cal. extending greetings to the Left Wing Convention and requestion that no compromise be made was ordered into the record.

A telegram receiving from the Y. P. S. L. of Anderson, Ind. demanding that all, delegates to the National Emergency convention be seated, took the same courd.

The minutes of the sessions of August 31st. were read and approved after correction in re. New York State Y. P. S. L.

A motion was passed that M. K. Friedman, of South Bend, Ind. be seated as a regular delegate.

A motion requesting Comrade Friedman to give information concerning the proceedings of the National Emergency Convention of yesterday was lost.

The Finance Committee anounced the receipt of a collection from the audience amounting to $91.14.

A motion carried to adjourn for one half hour, providing that we reconvene earlier if the Confering Committee returns.

Convention was reconvened at 12.30 p. m. The Conferring Committee reported, presenting a communication from the Organization Committee of the Communist Party (attached herto) and the Committee recommended that we proceed with the regular order of business until such time as the permanent organization of the Communist Party occurs.

Motion carried that every delegate participating in this convention by that act confirms his dicision to retain his seat in this convention until a definite decision is reached on the final report of the Conferring Committee. Roll call vote showed following result;—

Yea, 65. Nay, 9.

Session adjourned until 3.30 p. m.

Respectfully submitted.

Lawrence A. Zitt,

Secretary

E. B. Austin, Jr.

Ass't.

AFTERNOON SESSION
Sept. 1, 1919.

Minutes of the Afternoon session of September 1st.

Convention reconvered at 3.30 p. m. It was decided to proceed with the election of committees. Elections resulted as follows:—

Committee on International Relations.

Lore, Boldin, Bedacht Lloyd and Christiansen.

Committee on Resolutions.

Crimmins, Prevey, Broms, Firth and Wilcox.

Committee on Constitution.

Wagenknecht, Dolsen, Owens, Austin and Petzolt.

Committee on Platform.

It was decided to suspend the rules and combine the Labor committee with the Platform Committee

Reed, Richardson, Carney, Greenbahlg and England.

Committee on Organization, Education and Propaganda.

Coldwell, Katterfeld, E. B. Smith, Boudin and Greenwood.

Committee on Ways and Means.

Owens, Von Allman, Richardson, Baker and Wolf.

Committee on Socialist Press and Publicity.

John Reed, Gertrude Harmon, Jack Carney, L. Lore and E. B. Smith.

Committee on Class War Prisoners

Prevey, Lloyd, Swabeck, Sandburg.

The Committee on Finance elected at morning session, reported having receiving $91.14 in a collection at the morning session and $30.68 at the afternoon session. Report received.

A motion to suspend the rules so as to amend the order of business that the setting of time for adjournment and convening shall be the first order of busness at each session, was passed.

A motion to adjourn until 10.00 a. m. Tuesday morning was declared out of order by the Chairman.

It was decided to defer the choice of candidates for nomination as President and Vice-president until after the report of the Committee an Platform and Labor shall have been received and acted upon.

A motion to adjourn until 10.00 A. M. Tuesday morning was passed.

Lawrence A. Zitt

Secretary,

E. B. Austin, Jr.

Ass't.

MORNING SESSION
Sept. 2, 1919.

Convened at 11 A. M. by Chairman Baker. Comrade Coldwell of Rhode Island was elected chairman for the day and Comrade Bauer of Cal. was chosen Vice-Chairman.

A communication from Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, announcing his withdrawal from our convention was read and filed.

The Credentials Committee reported favorable upon the credentials of W. W. Cox, as a fraternal delegate from the Workers International Industrial Union, and B. H. Landerdale, representing Texas. Action concurred in.

Roll call showed that there were 68 delegates present. It was moved to adjourn at 1:00 p. m. to reconvene at 1 p. m. Carried.

Comrade Owens offered his resignation from the Committee on Ways and Means. Accepted and Comrade Taylor chosen to fill the vacancy.

The credentials Committee recommended Seating Henry Tichenor of Missouri. Approved.

While waiting for the report of the Platform Committee, the California delegation, to read their statement to the Germer Convention. Ordered into the record, together with the fact that the Germer Convention ignored the statement by proceeding with regular business.

It was decided to reconsider the action of yesterday combining the Committees on Platform and Labor. Motion to divide the committee was passed. Body decided to rename the committee on Platform as the Committee on Program. Motion passed to elect a Committee on Platform. Comrades Clifford, Brown, Bedacht, Sandburg, Lore, Jackman and Baker were elected, and instructed to return a terse, clear, and revolutionary statement of our principles and nothing more.

The Committee on Labor and on Program were combined by regular action. Motion to adjourn was passed.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convened at 2. p. m. by the Cairman. Announcement that Com. J. M. Brocks of Jack Wade, Alaska had contributed $5.00 to our treasury.

Comrades Sedgewick and Lindgren were appointed to take up a collection and returned with $42.91. It was decided to adjourn at 5:30 p. m. and reconvene at 10 a. m. Wednesday morning.

E. S. Smith of Warren, O., was seated as delegat in place of Dennison, who was compelled to return home.

Greetings from branch 92, Workmens' Circle of Chicago were read and ordered into the record.

The Committe on Press and Publicity offered majority and minority reports, both reports were referred back to the committee for further consideration

Contribution of then dollars from Local No. 3 of Butte, Mont., was announced and letter ordered into the record.

The Ways and Means Committee rendered a partial report which was adopted except the proposal to elect a new committee to handle the funds.

The resolutions Committee reported offering

Res. No. 1. in re. naming the party "The Communist Labor Party of America". Motion to adopt the resolution was passed: Talbert voting no.

Res. No. 2. in re. adopting the recognized emblem of the Communist parties of the world as the emblem of THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA. Resolution was approved and emblem adopted.

Res. No. 3. in re. electing a committee of five to consist of delegates connected with the agricultural industry to draft a program stating the aims of the revolutionary agricultural preletariat. Motion to adopt was passed and the committee elected. Lauderdale of Texas, McSlarrow, Katterfeld, Hyde and Harman were elected the committee.

Ways and Means Committee reported the receipt of a contribution of $35.00 from Comrade Smith of Warren, O.

The question of engaging I. W. W. hall, 119 Throop St. south, at $10.00 per day was considered and it was decided to rent the same.

It was moved and passed that we extend a vote of thanks to the Machinists' Union for their courtesies and consideration during our stay here. Passed by unanimous vote.

The Committee on Class War Prisoners offered its report, which was adopted by regular action.

The Press and Publicity Committee reported, considered and passed upon seriatim as follows:

1st par. re. publishing a weekly paper was passed.

2nd. Par. in re. Editorial policy being kept in control of party was passed.

3rd. Par. in re. publishing a monthly educational journal, adopted.

4th. Par. in re. joint conference of editors and party paper directors was adopted.

5th. Par. in re. publishing a monthly propaganda paper. Motion to adopt Amended to read "semi-monthly". Amended motion adopted.

6th. Par. in re. establishing a labor press association. Adopted.

7th. Par. in re issuance of monthly, bi-monthly or quarterly leaflets, was adopted. Motion to adopt the whole report was passed.

Moved to furnish the Constitution Committee with a copy of this report as adopted by the convention. Passed.

A motion to reconsider the action to rent the I. W. W. hall was lost.

A collection of $42.91 for striking cigarmakers, was taken

Adjourned to reconvene at 10 a. m.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Sec'y.

E. B. AUSTIN Jr., Ass't.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

This committee considers it to be their duty to raise funds to defray the immediate expenses of this convention, but does not think it has the power to make expenditures of funds.

The Left Wing of Cook County has arranged two mass meetings, which will be held tonight Tuesday, Sept. 2nd, at West End Auditorium, and Old Style Inn, with speakers of prominence in the Left Wing movement. At these meetings your committee expects to raise several hundred dollars which will go into the treasury of this convention. One Hundred and twenty one dollars have been thus far received from delegates present.

Bills are now in the hands of this committee, which must be met. Many other bills will come in from day to day. Since we here must devise a means of meeting the expenses of delegates, who were denied seats in the Germer Convention, we thereby call upon every state delegation to furnish this Committee as soon as possible, with the following information: 1st. How much money can this convention expect from your state? 2nd. Is your state in a position to defray the expenses of its delegates? 3rd. Did your state send in the money raised thru the sale of Emergency Convention Stamps? 4th. How much money can this convention expect from the sale of convention stamps?

CHARLES BAKER, Chairman.

L. F. WOLF, Secretary.

(Continued on page 3)

Platform and Program Communist Labor Party

Platform

1.) The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working class parties of all countries and stands by the principles stated by the Third International formed at Moscow.

2.) With them it thoroughly appreciates the complete development of capitalism into its present form of Capitalist Imperialism with its dictatorship of the capitalist class and its absolute suppression of the working class.

3.) With them it also fully realizes the crying need for an immediate change in the social system; it realizes that the time for parleying and compromise has passed; and that now it is only the question whether all power remains in the hands of the capitalist or is taken by the working class.

4.) The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the workers as a class, the overthrow of capitalist rule and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers organized as the ruling class, shall, through their government make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems and financial institutions. All power to the workers!

5.) The Communist Labor Party has as its ultimate aim: The abolition of the present system of production, in which the working class is mercilessly exploited, and the creation of an industrial republic wherein the machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of the product of their toil.

6.) To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power to establish a government adapted to the communist transformation.

Party and Labor Program

Part I.

The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete according with the principles of Communism, as laid down in the Menfesto of the Third International formed at Moscow.

In essence, these principles are as follows:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole system of world capitalism. Unless capitalism is replaced by the rule of the working class, world civilization will collapse.

2. The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of state power. This capture means the establishment of the new working class government machinery, in place of the state machinery of the capitalists.

3. This new working class government — the Dictatorship of the Proletariat — will reorganize society on the basis of Communism, and accomplish the transition from Capitalism to the Communist Commonwealth.

Communist society is not like the present fraudulent capitalist democracy — which, with all its pretensions to equality, is merely a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy — but it is a proletarian democracy, based on the control of industry and the state by the workers, who are thereby free to work out their own destiny. It does not mean capitalist institutions of government, which are controlled by the great financial and industrial interests, but organs of administration created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the Soviets of Russia.

4. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall transfer private property in the means of production and distribution to the working class government, to be administered by the workers themselves. It shall nationalize the great trusts and financial institutions. It shall abolish capitalist agricultural production.

5. The present world situation demands that the revolutionary working class movements of all countries shall closely unite.

6. The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together — in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary.

7. In those countries in which there is a possibility for the workers to use this machinery in the class struggle, they have, in the past, made effective use of it as a means of propaganda, and of defense. In all countries where the conditions for a working-class revolution are not ripe, the same process must go on.

8. We must rally all groups and proletarian organizations which have manifested and developed tendencies leading in the direction above indicated, and support and encourage the working class in every phase of its struggle against capitalism.

Part II.

1. The economic conditions in every country determine the form of organization and method of propaganda to be adopted. In order efficiently to organize our movement here, we must clearly understand the political and economic structure of the United States.

2. Although the United States is called a political democracy there is no opportunity whatever for the working class through the regular political machinery to effectively oppose the will of the capitalist class.

3. The years of Socialist activity on the political field have brought no increase of power to the workers. Even the million votes piled up by the Socialist Party in 1912, left the Party without any proportionate representation. The Supreme Court, which is the only body in any Government in the world with the power to review legislation passed by the popular representative assembly, would be able to obstruct the will of the working class even if Congress registered it, which it does not. The Constitution, framed by the capitalist class for the benefit of the capitalist class, cannot be amended in the workers' interest, no matter how large a majority may desire it.

4. Although all the laws and institutions of Government are framed and administered by the capitalists in their own interests, the capitalists themselves refuse to be bound by these laws or submit to these institutions whenever they conflict with these interests. The invasion of Russia, the raids into Mexico, the suppression of governments in Central America, and the Carribean the innumerable wars against working class revolutions now being carried on — all these actions have been undertaken by the Administration with asking the consent even of Congress. The appointment by the President of a Council of National Defense, the War Labor Board, and other extra-constitutional governing bodies without the consent of Congress, is a direct violation of the fundamental law of republican government. The licensing by the Department of Justice of anti-Labor strike-breaking groups of employers — such as the National Security League, the American Defense Society, the Knights of Liberty, the American Protective League — whose express purpose was the crushing of labor organization and all class activities of the workers, and who inaugurated in this country a reign of terror similar to that of the Black Hundreds in Russia — was entirely opposed to the principles of the American Government.

Moreover, the War and its aftermath have demonstrated that governing power does not reside in the regularly-elected, or even the appointed officials and legislative bodies. In every State, county and city in the Union, the so-called "police power" is shown to be superior to every law. In Minessota, Wisconsin and many other states, so-called Public Safety Commissions and similar organizations were constituted by authority of the Governors, made up of representatives of Chambers of Commerce and Employers' Associations, which usurped the powers of Legislatures and municipal administrations.

6. Not one of the great teachers of scientific Socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the Social Revolution by the ballot.

7. However we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office — so long as these are of assistance to the workers in their economic struggle. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible, these reform would not weaken the capitalist system.

Part III.

1. In America, the capitalist class has never had a feudal aristocracy to combat, but has always been free to concentrate its power against the working class. This has resulted in the development of the American capitalist class wholly out of proportion to the corresponding development in other countries. By their absolute control of the agencies of publicity and education, the capitalists have gained a control over the political machinery which is impossible to break by resorting to this machinery.

2. Moreover in America there is a highly-developed Labor movement. This makes it impossible to accomplish the overthrow of capitalism except through the agency of the organized workers.

Furthermore, there is in America a centralized economic organization of the capitalist class which is a unit in its battle with the working class, and which can be opposed only by a centralized economic organization of the workers.

3. The economic conditions of society, as Marx foretold, are pushing the workers toward forms of organization which are, by the very nature of things, forced into activity on the industrial field with a political aim — the overthrow of capitalism.

5. It is our duty as Communists to help this process, to hasten it, by supporting all efforts of the workers to create a centralized revolutionary industrial organization. It is our duty as Communists, who understand the class struggle, to point out to the workers that upon the workers alone depends their own emancipation and that it is impossible to accomplish this through capitalist political machinery, but only by the exercise of their united economic power.

PROGRAM

1. We favor international alliance of the The Communist Labor Party only with the Communist groups of other countries those which have affiliated with the Communist International.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not commited to the revolutionary class struggle.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchical or democratic-republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

4. Communist platforms, being based on the class struggle, and recognizing that this is the historical period of the Social Revolution, can contain only one demand: The establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

5. We favor organized party activity and cooperation with class conscious industrial unions, in order to unify industrial and political class conscious propaganda and action. Locals and Branches shall organize shop branches, to conduct the Communist propaganda and organization in the shops and to encourage the workers to organize in One Big Union.

6. The Party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities.

7. The Party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to show the value of the strike as a political weapon.

8. The Party shall maintain strict control over all members elected to public office — not only the local organizations, but the National Executive Committee. All public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the Party shall be immediately expelled.

9. In order that the Party shall be a centralized organization, capable of united action, no autonomous groups or federations independent of the will of the entire Party shall be permitted.

10. All Party papers and publications endorsed by the Party; and all educational and propaganda institutions endorsed by the Party, shall be owned and controlled by the regular Party organization.

11. Party platforms, propaganda, dues and methods of organization shall be standarlized.

SPECIAL REPORT ON LABOR ORGANIZATION

The purpose of the Party is to create a unified revolutionary working class movement in America.

The European War has speeded up social and industrial evolution to such a degree that capitalism thru out the world can on longer contain within itself the vast forces it has created. The end of the capitalist sistem iz in sight. In Europe it is all ready tottering and crashing down, and the proletarian revolutions there show that the workers are at the same time becoming conscious of their power. The capitalist themselves admit that the collapse of European capitalism and the rise of the revolutionary working class abroad cannot help but drag American capitalism into the all-embracing ruin.

In this crises the American working class is faced an alternative. Either the workers will be unprepared, in which case they will be reduced to abject slavery, or they will be sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organized to save society by reconstructing it in accordance with the principles of Communism.

II.

1. By the term "revolutionary industrial unionism" is meant the organization of the workers into unions by industries with a revolutionary aim and purpose; that is to say, a purpose not merely to defend or strengthen the status of the workers as wage earners, but to gain control of industry.

2. In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this country, there must be recognized of the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class-war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America, and pledge them our wholehearted support and co-operation in their struggles against the capitalist class. Elsewhere in the organized Labor movement a new tendency has recently manifested itself, as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes, the One Big Union and Shop Committee movements in Canada and the West, and the numerous strikes all over the country of the rank and file, which are proceeding without the authority of the old reactionary Trade Union officials, and even against their orders. This tendency, an impulse of the workers toward unity for common action across the lines of craft-divisions, if carried to its logical conclusion would inevitably lead to workers control of industry.

3. This revolt of the rank and file must not be alowed to end in the disorganization of the ranks of organized labor. We must help to keep the workers together, and through rank and file control of the Unions, assist the process of uniting all workers in One Big Union.

4. With this purpose in view, the Communist Labor Party welcomes and supports, in whatever labor organization found, any tendency toward revolutionary industrial unionism. We urge all our members to join industrial unions. Where the job-control of the reactionary craft-unions compels them to become members of these craft-unions, they shall also join an industrial organization, if one exists. In districts where there are no industrial unions, our members shall take steps to organize one.

III.

To Labor and Labor alone is industry responsible. Without the power of Labor, industry could not function. The need of the hour is that Labor recognize the necessity of organization and education. This cannot be achieved by attempting to influence the leaders of the Labor movement, as has been clearly shown by the actions of the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It can only be done by getting the workers on the job to come together and discuss the vital problems of industry.

3. Because of the industrial crisis created by the World War, together with the break-down of industry following the cessation of hostilities, and the interruption of the processes of exchange and distribution, there is great dissatisfaction among the workers. But they can find no means of dealing with the situation. Their Unions have refused to take any steps to meet the grave problems of today; and moreover they obstruct all efforts of the rank and file to find some way by which the becomes immediately necessary to find some way by which the workers can act.

4. We suggest that some plan of labor organization be inaugurated along the lines of the Shop Steward and Shop Committee movements. These Committees can serve as a spur or check upon the officials of the Unions; they will necessarily reflect the spirit and wishes of the rank and file, and will educate the workers an the job in preparation for the taking over of industry.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend the following measures:

1. That all Locals shall elect Committees on Labor Organization, composed so far as is possible of members of Labor Unions, whose functions shall be:

a.) To initiate, or support, the creation of Shop Committees in every industry in their district, the uniting of these Committees in Industrial Councils, District Councils, and the Central Council of all Industries.

b.) To propagandize and assist in the combining of craft Unions, by industries, in One Big Union.

c.) To bring together in the centers of Party activity — Locals and Branches — delegates from factories and shops to discuss tactics and policies of conducting the class struggle.

d.) To propagandize directly among the workers on the job the principles of Communism, and educate them to a realization of their class position.

e.) To find a common basis for the uniting of all existing economic and political organizations based on the class struggle.

f.) To mobilize all members who can serve as organizers to fill the demand for men and women who can organize bodies of workers along the lines indicated above.

g.) To direct the activities of local Party organizations in assisting the workers whole-heartedly in their industrial battles, and making use of these battles as opportunities for educating the workers.

2. That a National Committee on Labor Organization be elected by this Convention, which shall cooperate with the local committees above mentioned. In addition, the National Committee shall be charged with the task of mobilizing national support for strikes of national importance, and shall endeavor to give these a political character.

a.) It shall collect information concerning the revolutionary Labor movement from the different sections of the country, and from other countries, and through a Press Service to Labor and Socialist papers, shall spread this information to all parts of the country.

b.) It shall mobilize on a national scale all members who can serve as propagandists and organizers, who can not only teach, but actually help to put into practise, the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism and Communism.

Question of Unity

(Continued from page 3.)

All actions of this convention must be in harmony with this membership decision. The 92 delegates which compose this convention represent an overwhelming majority of the Socialist Party's membership. The delegates who compose your convention, in the main are seperated from us merely because of the fact that a few reactionary officials kicked them out of the Party.

We have kept our joint agreements. You have violated yours. You deserted us, you deserted the membership of the party when it needed you most. It is therefore assuming much on your part to attempt to lay down terms to us. Despite your inconsistencies, we now offer to meet you to unite the two conventions upon a basis of equality.

We see many inconsistent elements in your convention. We are, however, desirous of uniting all forces of communism into one solid phalanx to oppose both capitalism and the elements of reactionary bourgeoise Socialism. We are sure that in the course of time, all inconsistent elements will drop out. Considering these inconsistent elements in your convention, you can not justly criticize any seeming inconsistent elements in ours.

We must refuse your demand to come into your convention as individual delegates. We are Left Wing delegates regularly assembled in an emergency convention and have permanently constituted ourselves the Communist Labor Party. We represent a permanent and stable organization. We have obeyed all agreements of the Left Wing conferences which were legitimate. We have also obeyed the mandates of the revolutionary faction of the party membership as expressed by referendum. We can claim at least as much credit for the crystalization of the revolutionary elements among the Socialist Party's membership as your volatile and bolting groups.

We claim ours is the advantageous position, yet we are willing to meet with you as equals. Unity can be effected and should be effected, so that out of the existing crisis, instead of two parties, each claming the right to affiliate with the Moscow International, and each deserving that right, only one party of Communist Socialism shall emerge.

Toward this end we propose: That the two conference committees shall constitute a joint credentials committee to go over the roster of both conventions to see whether they really contain any irreconcilable elements, and if possible, to agree upon a joint recommendation to both conventions.

Signed
KASPAR BAUER
LUDWIG LORE
KATHARINE GREENHALGH
L. F. KATTERFELD
A. WAGENKNECHT.

(The above answer was unanimously adopted by the Communist Labor Party Convention, meeting at 119 South Troop Street, Chicago, September 3, 1919.)

* * *

(We call especial attention to the definate proposal made in the last paragraph in the above document. This proposal, to have the two conference committees act as o joint credentials committee, was never given consideration by the Communist Party.

The answer received from the Communist Party conference committee follows:)

* * *

Final Statement to The Communist Labor Party Convention By The Communist Convention

The Communist Party Convention, in replying to the Committee of the Communist Labor Party Convention, can take no account of the various decisions of the groups which met at Chicago immediately following the expulsion and suspensions made by the old National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party; nor of the agreements credited to the Left Wing National Conference, the National Left Wing Council, the Minority group of the Left Wing Conference, or the new Socialist Party National Executive Committee. Each of these must and will answer for itself.

This convention has no question about the rank and file of the Socialist Party. The ten to one vote to join the Communist International is one of the items which account for our presence in Chicago to organize the Communist Party of America. Examination of the ballots in this referendum and of our roster of delegates will show that it is our Communist Party membership which cast the overwhelming bulk of these votes.

As to the charges of inconsistent elements in our convention, that will be tested by the program and constitution which we adopt. We have absolute confidence that our convention will act in clarity of principle without compromise. There can be no charge of inconsistent elements in our party if the work of our convention shows agreement on Communist fundamentals in principles, program of party work, and form of party organization.

We can only refer your delegates again to our answer of September 3rd. We appeal to your delegates to act on their individual judgment, not in a false sense of loyalty to an accidental grouping in a body which represents no membership organization. Some of your delegates belong with us by mandate of their membership, and they must realize their responsibility in assuming at this crucial time to function directly against the Communist Party.

(Signed)
Alexander Stoklitsky
C. E. Ruthenberg
Daniel Elbaum
Nicholas I. Hourwich

(A day after the above answer was received, the delegates at the Communist Labor Party Convention, thinking that a self seeking leadership was keeping the two conventions from uniting, decided to elect a new committee from the rank and file of the convention to visit the Communist Convention with the following proposal.)

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 4, 1919.

To the Delegates of the
Communist Convention,
Blue Island Ave.
City

Comrades:—

The Communist Labor Party of the United States in convention assembled in the I. W. W. hall, this evening at 10 P. M., elected the undersigned committee to proceed immediately to your convention and extend to the delegates thereof a cordial invitation to meet with us in informal session at 1 P. M. Friday, September 5th, for the purpose of discussing the basis of unity between the two conventions.

Committee:
JAMES P. REID
L. K. ENGLAND
A. SWABECK

* * *

(The answer given this special Communist Labor Party committee is significant in that it proves the attitude of the Communist Party Convention toward the Communist Labor Party Convention. The only value the delegates of the Communist Labor Party seemed good for in the eyes of the Communist Convention was to serve as "special guests" or "fraternal delegates" at the Communist Convention.)

As to the proposal of the committee from the Communist Labor Party to hold a joint informal session of both bodies, the Communist Party passed the following motion: That we reply to this invitation that we have already extended invitation to the delegates of the Communist Labor Party to sit with us as special guests, while many of those delegates may qualify as delegates or fraternal delegates.

CHAS. DIRBA, Sec'y
Communist Party Convention
Morning Session, Sept. 5, 1919.

* * *

"By mass action is not meant or implied crime sabotage, violence, or terrorism. Mass action by the workers would never take these forms were it not for the prior action of the capitalist class and its mercenaries in the use of crime, sabotage, violence, and unlawful methods of terrorism against the workingclass. The strike, which is the usual form of mass action by the workingclass in industrial warfare, is the mere stoppage of work by mutual agreement or simultaneous impulse among the workers, a collective refusal to labor as a protest against exploitation, it would in all instances be free from crime, sabotage, violence, or terrorism, were not the political powers, now in the control of the capitalists, ruthlessly and savagely employed against the strikers."

(Upon the last day of the Communist Labor Party convention, the resolution embodied in the following document, was passed. The following day the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party met and sent the following letter to the Communist Convention. Still in session. To date no answer has been received from Communist Party officials to this plea for unity.)

FINAL COMMUNICATION TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION ISSUED BY THE N. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 6, 1919.

To the Delegates and members of the Communist Party,

Comrades:—

The Communist Labor Party Convention by unanimous vote adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, That the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a bisis of equality, in a Unity Conference, and

That we hereby instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party or any other revolutionary working class organization."

The Convention has now completed its work and has adjourned. Obedient to these instructions from the Convention the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party addresses this letter to you.

Comrades, the organization of two Communist Parties is a crime. We have made every effort possible, short of turning traitor to the membership that sent us here, to avoid this deplorable situation. But our repeated attempts to unite all the revolutionary Communist hosts seem to have been thwarted for the time being by certain elements in your convention.

As far as we can discover, there is no fundamental difference of principle between us. The platform, program and resolutions that our convention has adopted are uncompromisingly revolutionary. They conform to the Left Wing program and are in strict accord with the principles laid down by the Communist International of Moscow. We are affiliating with the Third International.

We are confident that the great majority of your delegates and your membership agree with us in this. Why then should we remain apart?

We hereby announce that we are ready at any time to meet your representatives to consider the question of unity on a **basis of equality.**

If certain elements in your Party make this impossible, we invite all individuals or groups, who may agree with us in our desire to unite all the Communist elements of the United States into ONE PARTY of Communist Socialism, to join forces with us.

All who agree on the fundamentals of Communism, all who desire to affiliate with the Third International of Moscow, are welcome in the Communist Labor Party.

Comrades, let us UNITE against our common foe.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY
JACK CARNEY
EDWARD LINDGREN
MAX BEDACHT
ALEXANDER BILAN
L. E. KATTERFELD
A. WAGENKNECHT, Executive Sec'y.

WE REPEAT—OUR INVITATION FOR UNITY WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS A SINCERE AND STANDING INVITATION—SHALL WE HEAR FROM THE NATIONAL OFFICIALS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY?—ARE THEY DESIROUS OF UNITY?—AND IF NOT, WILL THE MEMBERSHIP NOW IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ACT IN THE MATTER AND VOICE THEIR DEMAND FOR UNITY DESPITE THE STAND TAKEN BY THEIR NATIONAL OFFICIALS?—LET THE MEMBERSHIP SPEAK—RIGHT NOW!

RESOLUTION DEFINING POLITICAL ACTION AND DIRECT ACTION.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

The conflict for possession of the means of life has divided Society into two classes: the class who produce but do not own and the class who own but do not produce.

The Working class in order to gain control of the means of life, have, by force of economic necessity been, compelled to organize into their industrial and political organizations, and wage battle against the Capitalist Class, directly on the Industrial Field thru their Industrial Organizations. (Direct Action) and indirectly on the Political Field thru their Political Organizations (Political Action.)

The development of the capitalist state has made it impossible to gain control of the means of life by a direct struggle with the capitalist class on the Industrial Field without interference by the capitalist state. Therefore the struggle by the working class, to achieve its revolutionary purpose — the ownership and control of the means of life — cannot be obtained without a struggle against the state, and all struggles for the conquest of the capitalist State are Political Struggles.

In order to differentiate between direct action and political action and to clarify the confusion resulting from the improper use of those terms the Communist Labor Party proclaims that the term "Direct Action" is not to be confused with terrorism or violence, or any other perverted meaning which capitalist law makers have given this phraze, but by it is meant such united action by the Workers on the job which they may use in forcing concessions from the employing class directly without the use of the capitalist state.

That by the term "political action" is meant any action by the industrial and political organizations of the workingclass which the organized proletariat is compelled to adopt in its struggle with the capitalist class for the conquest of the capitalist state and thru the proletarian dictatorship, establish the Communist society.

(Signed)
Thomas Crimmins
Margaret Prevey
Edwin Firth

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

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Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17, 1919.

Question of Unity

(Continued from page 1.)

Out of the Socialist Party Convention, easily controlled by the Right Wing by ruthless manipulation, there have gathered in your Convention delegates who for a large variety of reasons are opposed to association with the Right Wingers. Many of your delegates left the Socialist Party Convention merely because they object to the methods of those in control of the old organization. The leaders of your group have carried on their campaign against the old party upon legalistic grounds. They have emphasized the questions of party regularity; they have asked for support upon this basis, not upon understanding and acceptance of Communist principles and tactics.

There are delegates in your group who have made use of revolutionary phrases without conception of the differences in principles and tactics which separate the Right Wing from the Left. There are delegates who are with you because of personal grievances against the old party officialdom or against the Left Wing officialdom.

One of your delegates, for instance, in his statement before the Socialist Party contest committee, specifically repudiated ever having endorsed the Left Wing or being in sympathy with it. There are delegates with you on the basis of objection to "foreign" control, thus showing inablity to grasp the first principle of Communism. Think of such an objection against an organization which is to be the American Branch of the Communist International!

In the Communist Convention are to be found the representatives of the conscious Communist elements in this country. In contrast to your heterogeneous bolting delegates, most of them without a mandate from any membership for the organization of a new party, the delegates in our convention came clearly instructed to form a Communist Party based upon the principles and tactics of the Communist International.

It must be remembered that a Communist Party gains nothing by additional membership unless that membership is consciously communist. Ours must be a party closely united on fundamentals.

In conidering our proposal for a unity of all the delegates now in Chicago who represent Communist groups, it must be kept clearly in mind that our convention is absolutely bound by the Joint Call which accounts for the presence of 128 delegates and 9 fraternal delegates in this city. These delegates represent 58,000 members. Their mandate from this membership is stated in the Joint Call. Obviously our Convention is bound by the call which brought it into existance.

By this we do not mean to lay down any rule of formalism. To say that we are bound by the Joint Call is only another way of saying that the fact of our convention means a fundamental basis of agreement arrived at by discussion among these members Every delegate in our convention owes his seat to the fact that our Committee on Credentials has had placed before it the documentary evidence of a membership mandate to organize a Communist Party.

Our convention would lose its real meaning if every additional delegate did not meet the same test. There is nothing in the nature of an adventure in our work. It has been deliberately planned: it is the calculated response to the development of the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party; it is not an accidental gathering of Socialist Party members who happen to agree at the moment that a new party might be the right way to give expression and force to the revolutionary Socialist movement in this counry, speculating as to what response such an experiment might meet.

This is our instruction from our Convention: that every additional delegate must present his credentials to our Credential Committee in the same manner as delegates already seated. This instruction carries with it the clear implication that every additional delegate who votes in our conventon must meet the test which puts him on the same membership basis as the rest of us. His vote in addition to the votes already assigned within our Convention, must be in correspondence with the membership of the state or organization he represents.

There are some delegates with credentials covering both the Socialist and Communist conventions, who have already been received for full participation in our Convention. Others who have such credentials will be similarly received through the Credential Committee. There may be other cases which would meet the same general test in a different way, according to the principle already stated.

Delegates from the Left Wing State or other organizations, that is organizations which have adopted the Left Wing program, but have no credentials or instructions from their rank and file to the Communist Convention and who were not elected in opposition to the Communist Convention, therefore fail to participate as voting members of our body, will be seated as fraternal delegates This Committee will favor the exclusion, however, of delegates who opposed the Joint Call for the Communist Convention in favor of the Emergency Convention or who were elected on such opposition.

The total delegates for any state or other organization will be reduced by the number of delegates for such organization already seated in our convention.

ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY,
C. E. RUTHENBERG,
DANIEL ELBAUM
NICHOLAS I. HOURWICH,
I. E. FERGUSON,
Committe of Communist Convention.

Sept. 3, 1919.

(To this document the conference Committee of the Communist Labor Party made the following answer.)

Reply of The Communist Labor Party To The Communist Party

We waive anwer to the introduction in your statement because it contains no point of controversy, neither do we care to propagandize the Communist Convention for we are sure that the introduction to your statement is common knowledge among revolutionary socialists.

The Left Wing movement is not a child of a day. Left Wing movements have existed in the Socialist Parties of the world ever since we have had Socialist Parties. The only difference between the Left Wing factions of today and those of before the war, is that the Left Wing factions of today have added to their fund of knowledge the experiences of the war and revolutions.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution, Left Wing manifestations in the Socialist Party of this country became more pronounced and gradually crystalized until a very large element in the Socialist Party accepted the Left Wing position. This eventually resulted in the suspension and expulsion from the party of a portion of the Left Wing element by a reactionary officialdom. When this definate break occured a conference was held in Chicago, at which Fraina, Keracher, Ferguson, Ruthenberg, Stoklitzky and Stilson were present. It ws there agreed to carry on the fight for the Left Wing and its principles within the Socialist Party in order to rally all Left Wing forces for a final battle against Right Wing control.

At this conference it was unanimously decided to divide the necessary work to be done. The duty of making what is now called the "Legalistic" fight was given the Ohio State Office of the Socialist Party and it was agreed that the Revolutionary Age should continue its propaganda for Left Wing dominance of principle. Under these circumstances, any criticism of our group of making a "Legalistic" fight is unworthy of those who make it.

The decision to carry on the fight within the Socialist Party was endorsed by the Left Wing National Conference and again at the meeting of the new national executive committee held in Chicago in July. Members of your group, Fraina, Ruthenberg and others, there again agreed to this course.

Despite these repeated decisions to carry on the fight for Left Wing control within the party, certain elements in your group began to organize a new party. We refer to the Russian Federation — Michigan combination which united not upon principle, but for the political expediency.

The National Left Wing Council, a creature of the National Left Wing conference, violated its instructions, was stampeded into joining this call for the organization of a new party.

The group we repreent remained true to all edicts officially issued by these several Left Wing conferences, carried the battle to the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party, and there made a decisive fight. We shall probably never find ourselves in agreement with the tactic of flopping from one position to another at the rate of nearly twice a week, in direct violation of the mandates of higher governing bodies and agreements.

We agree that the sentiment of the membership in a large organization can never be definately gauged. However, the Socialist Party membership, by a vote of about 10 to 1, decided to affiliate with the Moscow International. This would at least mean that by far greater majority of the membership of the Socialist Party subscribes to the Left Wing program. The Left Wing delegates who compose the convention of the Communist Labor Party, are unanimously in favor of carrying out this decision of the party membership.

(Continued on page 4.)

DEBS' PERSONALITY

(Continued from page 1)

time again. "Tell the boys that my spirit has never been better than now". And with a smile, "My morale is unbroken, my spirit and my labors are the only things that count with me."

Debs is uncompromising. Yet, I cannot imagine a men more amenable to suggestions, more tolerant of others' views, more eager to exchange opinions. There is no trace of obstinacy in his make-up When Debs feels that he is right he stands by his convictions. With him principles and ideals aré treasures far greater than life itself. "I love life, I love my fellow men, I love my wife most dearly. I love my neighbors, and am a domestic man by nature. During the thirty-four years of may marriage I can truthfully say that I have not spent a night away from home except when traveling or on business. Much as I love life and the things that are dear to me, I am satisfied in my conscience that I am in the right. Free expression of opinion is an inalienable right. I exercised that right. I spoke the truth as I saw it, and no power on earth can crush me. The attitude of the United States Government is nothing new. Socrates took the hemlock; Galileo the stake; Christ the crucifixtion." A thought seemed to strike him, and he talked of Lincoln, the great kind-hearted man of the people, and his attitude towards those who differend with him, and those who criticised his administration. And as he spoke one felt the cogency of his argument in showing how liberty has been crushed. He feels that the Supreme Court of the United States has sealed its doom in its interpretation of the laws regarding the right to the freedom of speech, freedim of the press, and freedom of assembly, and he takes the stand that he has not committed any act that needs apology.

Speaking of his fellow political prisoners, he said, "We will go out together, or remain together." It is a question of principle, not of individual favoritism. Debs is one of those straight forward, simple and sincere men who hate quibbling and detest legal technicalities. He would not barter his imprisoment for free dom on a legal technicality and prefers isolation, even death, to receiving his release on any other ground except justice.

He has lost fourteen pounds, at his age, the loss of weight is dangerous. I saw Margaret Prevey take his emaciated arm in her hand, the tears welling in her eyes, and with maternal feeling, say, "Gene, we must get you out. You cannot afford to lose any more weight." He goodnaturedly replied; "That is nothing — fourteeen pounds of gristle, that is all. This," pointing to himself, "is nothing. It is the spirit that counts. It is only my will to live that keeps me alive. It is only for my comrade, and the struggling proletariat, that I live. Without that I could not live."

Debs is old, has a weak heart, and may die at any moment. And he may die in prison for daring to speak fearlessly according to his light With Debs the cause of Socialism comes first. Dramatically he rolled up his overall sleve, and pointing to his out-stretched, sinewous arm, said, "I would tap these veins and give my last blood for my comrades and our cause." The cold clammy walls, the isolation, mean nothing. The will to do right, the will to bring about Socialism mean everything.

One night while reading a legal document in connection with his case, Debs fell asleep on his bed of concrete, and dreamed of his fellow prisoners They were all transported to the village grocery at Terre Haute, Indiana. — to Pete's place. — Pete, his schoolmate when he was a lad. Pete was kind and good, and the gaunt and hungry prisoners were there, and Debs and Pete were talking, and they said, "Boys, let's eat." And the pies came out, and just as they were about to ravenously munch them, Gene woke up — his legal document still in his hand. Gene laughed as he told this, for he knows that in these days of swift moving events, in these days when a great revolution is sweeping over the earth, and the proletariat is becoming master of the world, that the realization of Socialism is at hand, that his dream will socn be realized.

"Tell the comrades not to worry about me. If they will cast their eyes towards Atlanta they will see a torch flaming in the sky, a torch above the dome of the prison heralding that the glad day is at hand."

ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY.

Moved that the National Executive Committee is hereby instructed to at the earliest convenience possible enter into correspondence with the Communist and revolutionary parties of North and South America for the purpose of formulating a plan for holding a conference to discuss closer relationship and the laying of the foundation for a future Communist Republic of the Western Hamisphere.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE.

1 We hold that the land question can not be settled under Capitalism.

2. That all land should be the property of the workers.

3. That only use and occupancy should entitle the individual to land.

The committee further wishes to report:

We believe the question of the agricultural worker and his relation to the revolutionary movement in general, and the Communist Labor Party in particular, is a question that cannot be adequately considered and properly set forth in the short time at the disposal of this convention. Therefor we recommend:

That this convention elect a committee to take up the consideration of this subject in detail.

That this committee draw up a program which it shall submit to the National Executive body of the Communist Labor Party at some specified time in the near future, to be submitted to a referendum of the membership of the Communist Labor Party.

Minutes Communist Labor Party Convention

MORNING SESSION
Sept. 3, 1919.

Convened at 10:40 A. M. by the Chairman and Bauer of Cal. was chosen Chairman for the day and Zimmerman of Indiana Vice-Chairman.

It was decided to adjourn at 1:00 P. M. and reconvene at 2 P. M. The Minutes of Session held on Sept. 2nd were approved.

The Chairman ruled that delegates bolting from other conventions and wishing to be seated in the C. L. P. Convention must be regularly considered.

Greetings from Scandinavian Comrades of Duluth assuring us of their continuous support were received and ordered into the record.

The onvention decided to instruct the Committee on Press and Publicity to secure reports of the proceedings of all Socialist Conventions being held in Chicago and furnish copies for the delegates.

A motion was passed to reverse the order and hear the report of the Platform Committee prior to that of the program and labor Committee.

An action to adopt the report in toto was amended to defer consideration until copies can be furnished all the delegates. Amendment passed.

A motion was passed that the report of the Committee on Program and Labor be considered seriatim. The Chairman ruled that the only matter before the body was the report of the Platform Committee.

A motion to adopt the same was amended to consider seriatim. Passed.

1. Adopted as submitted by the Committee.

2. Amended to read (Capitalist imperialism) instead of (State Capitalism). Amendment adopted.

3. Amended to change the word (full) to (all), and insert (is taken) just before the words (the Workingclass). Adopted as amended. Session adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION
Sept. 3, 1919.

Reconvened at 2 P. . by the Chairman. It was decided to adjourn at 6 P. M. The Credentials Committee reported favorable on the Credentials of Fannie Crowell of Arkansas, Minnie Rivkin of Ohio and A. D. Swarjessi of Ill These delegates were seated.

Convention resumed consideration of the Platform Committee report.

4. Amended to substitute for the paragraph submitted, the following: (The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the Workers into a class, the overthrow of the Capitalist Rule and the Conquest of Political Powers by the Workers. The Workers, organized as a ruling class, shall, thru their Government make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories mills, mines, transportation systems and financial institutions. (All Power to the Workers.) Adopted as amended.

5. Paragraph ordered aliminated.

6. Paragraph ordered eliminated.

7. Adopted as read.

8. A Motion to adopt was amended to insert the words "on the political field" An amendment to the amendment was offered reading "To this end we ask the Workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the Conquest of Political Power to establish a Government adapted to the Socialist transformation."

A motion to grand Comrade Zucker the floor to read a statement of two King's County delegates to the Communist Convention was passed, Zitt of Ohio voting no.

A motion to table the statement was lost and a motion was carried to file the communication, and grant the request of these two delegates to be reseated.

Resumed consideration of paragraph 8 of the Platform Committee report. By general consent of the body a substitute for the whole was offered, reading "To this end we ask the Workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party and to make it their Political expression in their struggle for the control of the Powers of Government." The substitute lost. 28 yea. and 41 nay. The amendment carried 46 yea 22 nay. Motion to adjourn was carried.

EVENING SESSION
Sept. 3, 1919.

Reconvened at 7:40 P. M. and decided to adjourn at 11 P. M. and to reconvene at 10 A. M. Thursday September 4th.

The resignation of E. B. Smith from the Press and Publicity Committee was accepted and Comrade Swabeck chosen to fill the vacancy.

Resumed consideration of the Platform Committee report.

9. Amended to strike out the word "and thus unite their political and economic power" and substitute "in the I. W. W., the one big union" Amendment to the amendment to insert "and work together with the Communist Labor Party for the destruction of the Capitalist State, etc. Both amendments were tabled and an amendment offered to strike out "we also urge the Workers to organize" and substitute "we also pledge our support to the Workers in organizing themselves on the Industrial Field." A motion to table until after hearing the report of the Labor Committee was passed.

Comrade Cimmerman being absent Comrade Gitlow was elected as Vice-Chairman and a motion was passed inviting Comrade Wm. D. Haywood to address the Convention Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock on the subject of "Class War Prisoners".

The Committee on Program and Labor submitted its report. It was decided to consider it seriatim.

The declaration was adopted as read.

Part Two.

1. Adopted as read. 2. Amended to insert the word "effectively" just before "oppose the will, etc."

3. Adopted as read 4. Amended to eliminate the words "The break with Germany." A motion referring this paragraph back to the Committee for redrafting was adopted.

5. Adopted after rejecting an amendment to strike out "Michigan and Wisconsin and other states."

6. An amendment offered and rejected, and section carried as submitted.

7. Adopted as read. 8. Referred back to the Committee.

Part Three.

1. Amended by substituting the word "Control" for "Ascendancy." Section 2 and 3 adopted as read. 4. Amended by striking out the first sentence and beginnin with "Reason." 5. Amended by sustituting the word "Communist" for "Socialist" and "Emancipation" for "Salvation."

PROGRAM

First four sections adopted as read. 5. Amended by substituting for the whole paragraph the following "Locals shall organize shop branches to conduct the Communist Propaganda and Organization in the Shops and Factoreis and to encourage them to organize in one big union."

This amendment was adopted. Paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 9 are adopted as read. Comrade Coldwell of Rhode Island voting "no" on the last.

Paragraphs 10 and 11 adopted as read.

The Special Conferring Committee reported submitting a communication from the Communist Convention and their answer. The action of the Committee was approved, and committee continued. Adjournment was taken.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Sec'y.
E. B. AUSTIN Jr., Ass't.

MORNING SESSION
Sept. 4, 1919.

Convened at 10:35 a. m. by Chairman Bauer. Decided to adjourn at 1 p. m. The Credentials Committee reported that Caleb Harrison should be seated in place of Comrade Cox, who left the city. So ordered.

Coldwell's resignation from the Organization, Education and Propaganda Committee was accepted and Harmon, Clifford and Firth chosen to fill the vacancies.

Prevey was elected Chairman for the day and Gitlow Vice-Chairman. The Ways and Mens Committee were instructed to make a report before the end of this session. Minutes of yesterdays session approved.

Resumed the consideration of the Program Committees report. Sec. 8. (as redrafted by Committee) "The political action of the workingclass means action taken by the workers to impose their class will on the capitalist state." Adopted.

A motion to reconsider paragraph of Part one was lost. A motion to reconsider paragraph 5 of section entitled Program was passed. It was decided to include the original paragraph as submitted by the Committee and combine it with that adopted by the Convention.

The Program as amended was adopted as a whole.

The Convention considered the report on Labor, seriatim.

Part one.

1. Amended to strike out the word "help".

2. Amended to strike out the words "in the ranks of the I. W. W."

3. Adopted as read.

4. Adopted as read.

Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 were adopted as read. 4. Amended to insert the words "the officials of", before the words "the unions."

The whole of the section sub-titled "Recommendations" was adopted as read and the report as amended was adopted as a whole.

Session adjourned at one o'clock, after instructing a committee composed of McSlarrow and Richardson to invite W. D. Haywood to address the Convention at 3 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION
Sept. 4, 1919.

Reconvened at 2 p. m. Sang the International.

A contribution to the Convention of 10 dollars was received from the first Russian Communist Branch of Chicago and their request for the first charter was referred to the N. E. C. to be elected.

It was decided to adjourn at 7 p. m.

The Platform Committee reported on Paragraph 9 previously referred back. After rejecting a proffered amendment, the paragraph was striken out and the Platform as previously amended was adopted as a whole.

A communication from Harrison George, No. 13158 Leavenworth, political prisoner, was read. It was decided to send this comrade our greetings and that copies of his letter be furnished all the delegates.

A Communication from Com. W. D. Haywood was received stating that it was impossible for him to address the Convention. Secretary instructed to reply.

It was decided to elect a Labor Committee of seven. Carney, Sprunk, Bauer, England, Gitlow Swabeck and Richardson were chosen, after ruling by the Chairman that convention rule covering the size of committees applied only to convention committees and not to permanent committtees.

The Committee on Unity (Special Conferring) was instructed to draft a statement addressed to the delegates of the Communist Convention and distribute them to the delegates.

The report of the Committee on International Relations was read, considered seriatim and adopted as a whole.

The report of the Committee on Agriculture was read and adopted. Greetings from the Executive Committee of the Bronx Left Wing, urging unity was read and ordered into the record.

A communication from Com. J. van Benthuysen, anent definition of "Communism" was filed.

Comrade Sopher, substituting for W. D. Haywood addressed the Convention on Class War Prisoners. The address was greatly appreciated by the delegates.

It was decided to reconsider the report of the Committee on Agriculture. Report was referred back to the Committee.

The report of the Constitution Committee was read and considered seriatim.

Art. 1, Sec. 1, Previously cared for by the convention.

Art. II, Sec. 2 and 3, adopted as read and Sec. 4 striken out.

Art III, Sec. 1, It was decided to refer the whole Article back to Committee.

Art. IV., Sec. I, (a) adopted as read, (b) amended to read "five-cevents", (c) adopted as read, (d) striken out, (e) adopted as read, (f) and (g) cared for elsewhere, (h) and (i) striken out, (j) cared for in Art. 5, (k) striken out and Section 2 striken out. Sections 3 to 9 adopted as read and Section 10 striken out. Adjourned.

EVENING SESSION
Sept. 4, 1919.

Reconvened at 7 p. m. It was decided to adjourn at 10 p. m. and reconvene at 9 a. m. Friday morning.

Statement in re. proposed intervention in Mexico was read and adopted.

It was decided to invite the delegates of the Communist Convention to meet with us in informal session regardless of the standing of delegates at 1 p. m. Friday afternoon. A committee of three was elected to proceed immediately to the Communist Convention and convey the invitation. Reid, of R. I. Swabeck and England were selected.

Session Adjourned.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Sec'y.
E. B. AUSTIN, Ass't. Sec'y.

MORNING SESSION
Sept. 5, 1919.

Convened at 10 A. M. Dolsen of California elected Shairman, and Bauer of the same state Vice-Chairman.

Decided to adjourn at 12 noon.

Committee on Constitution reported in detail.

Article 1, Section 1, Adopated as submitted by the Committee.

Article 2. First Three Sections adopted as read. Old Section 4 stricken out. Section 5 concerning the pledge amended in fourth line by striking out the words "itsef into a political party" and substituting the words "Politically and Industrially". Adopted as amended.

Article 3, Section 1. Amended by changing the word "affairs" to read "policies". Section 2, Amended to read thus—"The National Executive Committee shall be composed of five members. Section 3 a, to read as follows "The call for the regular election of members of the National Executive Committee shall be issued on the first day of December of each year. Section 3 b. The traveling expenses of, members of the N. E. C. in attending meetings of the Committee, and a per diem not exeeding $6.00 shall be allowed out of the National Treasury. Section 4 of old constitution stricken out.

Article 4, Section 1 A, B and C adopted as read.D striken out. E adopted as read. F. G, H, I, J, K stricken out. Section 2 ordered stricken out. Sections 3 and 4 adopted as read. Section 5 stricken out. Section 6, 7, 8 and 9 adopted as read. Section 10 stricken out.

Article 5, Section 1. Adopted as read. Motion made and passed that we elect our new National Executive Committee immediately after the report of the special conferring Committee. Paragraph F, G and J. of article 4 were ordered incorporated in article 5. Article 6 stricken out. At this point business was suspended to hear the report of the Conferring Committee. Report received and Committee discharged. It was decided to elect a Committee of three to draft an historical statement on the whole matter of unity. Wagenknecht, Swabeck, Coldwell, Richardson and Jno. Reed were nominated and constituted the Committee. A resolution by Comrade Katterfeld extending a standing invitation to the Communist Convention to meet with us for purposes of Unity was adopted.

Nominations for National Executive Commitee were made as follows: Owens, Bilan, Katterfeld, Crimmins, Prevey, Bauer, Bedacht, McSlarrow, Sandberg, Carney, Lindgren, England, Lore. Moved and passed that candidates should rise and state their occupation. Vote by ballot was taken. It then was decided that the names of the ten highest candidtes be resubmitted to the Convention and those receiving a majority of the votes cast be declared elected. The Tellers reported Comrades Bilan, Carney and Katterfeld had received a majority. The Chair declared these three elected and a motion to proceed to vote upon the four receiving the next highest vote and the two receiving a majority be declared elected, was passed. Comrades Bedacht and Lindgren declared elected as members of National Exectutive Committee. Session adjourned to reconvene at 3:30 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION
Sept. 5, 1919.

Decided to adjourn 6:50 P. M. and to reconvene again at 8.

Communication from the Executive Committee of Local Bronx, of New York Left Wing on Unity was ordered into the record. Telegram to the same effect from the 57th Dist. of New York endorsing action of Zucker and Lindgren was ordered into the record.

By general consent of the Convention it was decided to reconsider paragraph 6 of Part 1 of the program. Motion to strike at the work "direct" was passed. Tellers reported that Comrades Owens and England were elected alternate members of the N. E. C. Comrade Crimmins chosen Vice-Chairman to fill vacancy.

The Committee on Resolutions reported offering a resolution on the definition of direct action and political action. Same was referred back for redrafting.

Ways and Means Committee reported having received a total of $164.67. Report accepted and recommendations concurred in.

Resumed consideration of the Constitution.

Article 7, Section 1. Substitute Section by Committee was adopted. Section 2 and 3 adopted as read. The whole of Article 8 was stricken out.

Article 9, Section 1. Amended to read "National Convention of the Party shall be held yearly, etc." Section 2 adopted as read. Section 3 amended to read "Regular Conventions shall be called for May 1st." Section 4 amended to strike out the last sentence covering period of time of Party Membership. Adopted as amended.

Article 9, Section 5. Amended to read $3.50 per day in place of $2.50. Section 5-c amended to strike out the words "to ascertain the number of uncontested delegates and they shall permanently organize the Convention," and to substitute "of all the uncontested delegates."

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
3207 Clark Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio.
A. WAGENKNECHT,
Executive Secretary.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Max Bedacht, California.
Alexander Bilan, Ohio.
Jack Carney, Minnesota.
L. E. Katterfeld, Kansas.
Edward Lindgren, New York.

ALTERNATES
L. K. England, Illinois.
Edgar Owens, Illinois.

LABOR COMMITTEE
Chas. Baker, Ohio.
L. K. England, Illinois.
Benjamin Gitlow, New York.
R. E. Richardson, Utah.
Arne Swabeck, Washington.

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES
John Reed, New York.
A. Wagenknecht, Ohio.

Article 10, Section 1. Substitute the word "Secretary" for "Committee" at the end of the paragraph. Section 2. Amended to read "No state or territory may be organized unless it has an aggregate membership of not less than 200, etc." and again to amend "One Hundred and fifty per month" to read "Two Hundred per month". Amendment carried. Section 6. Substitute section as offered by the Committee was adopted.

At this point a special Committee to draft an historical statement on Unity submitted its report. Adopted and ordered into the records.

Article 10. Adopted as read by Committee.

Article 11. Adopted as read by the Committee.

Article 12, Section 1, 2 and 3. Adopted as read. Section 4 stricken out, and substitute section adopted as follows:—Each foreign language Branch, shall purchase dues stamps from the City or County Committee where such organizations exist, or otherwise from the State Office. Such purchase of dues stamps shall be receipted for upon a special form provided by the National Office. These receipts shall then be sent to the respective translator secretaries, who, upon presentation of same to the National Executive Secretary shall receive 15c for each stamp thus receipted for." Adopted as read.

It was decided to empower the National Executive Committee to suspend the operation of this section until Jan. 1st, 1920. Section 5-a, adopted as read. Section B, 2nd Paragraph, ordered striken out. Section 7. Strike out the first half of the section. Sections 8 and 9 adopted as read.

Articles 14 and 14. Adopted as read.

Article 15 was amended by adding a new section to be known as section 3, to read as follows—"Any person formerly a member of the Socialist Party of America, who was at the time of the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party in 1919 in good standing in that organization, and who had signed the regular application pledge to the Communist Labor Party shall be considered a member in good standing of the Communist Labor Party and shall not be required to pay the One Dollar Initiation Fee, as required in Article 10, Sec. 7. Par. c. Adopted as read.

ENACTING CLAUSE.

This Constitution shall be in effect immediatelly upon its adoption by this Convention. It shall be enforced by a temporary N. E. C. composed of five members, to be elected by this convention. They shall function as the N. E. C. until regularly succeeded by the N. E. C. elected February-March 1920.

Committe on Resolutions reported a resolution defining Direct Action and Political action:—adopted as offered. Adjourned to meet at 8 P. M. Reconvened by singing the "Red Flag" and "International." It was decided to elect a special Committee of five on Labor. England, Richardson, Baker, Swabeck and Gitlow were chosen the Committee.

Committee on Organization, Education and Propaganda offered its report. It was decided to consider it seriatim. First paragraph is adopted as read. Part 1 was stricken out, having been cared for by the Press and Publicity Committee. Part 2, on establishing a Publishing House was adopted as read. Sections dealing with Lyceum Bureau were approved as read and the report adopted as a whole. Supplementary recommendation, paragraphs one and two stricken out, having been cared for by other Committees. Paragraph 3 adopted as read. Paragraph 4 amended by striking out the words "The 1920 Presidential election" and substituting therefor "Class War Prisoners are liberated". Adopted as a whole as amended.

Amotion was passed instructing the National Executive Committee to engage a competent editor.

It was decided that Comrades Reed and Wagenknecht be elected Temporary International Delegates and that they act as International Secretaries until our 1920 Convention.

By regular action it was decided to discharge all Convention Commttees which have fulfilled their duties and all others were instructed to report to the National Executive Committee.

The National Executive Committee was instructed to formulate plans for a Pan-American Conference. Adjourned at 10:45 P. M. by singing Revolutionary Songs and omit cheer for Soviet Russia and all class war prisoners.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT, Sec'y.
E. B. AUSTIN, Ass't. Sec'y.

Two lists, one from comrades J. A. Brechtel of Pomeroy containing $3, and one from Chas. Litz of Sandusky, O. $3.50 were received this week.

"Herewith I enclose our bit to, the Ohio Socialist Press Fund from the Finnish Branch of Warren, O." Thus writes comrade John Karhu. The amount was $25.00. Some big bit we say and we say it with appreciation too.

Comrade V. Popov of St. Louis, Mo. has been busy with a list also. $4.25 he sends in.

Help the press fund grow.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and New Mexico

NO. 86. Published at Cleveland, Ohio. CLEVELAND, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 24, 1919. Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.00 A YEAR

A Message for Debs from Leavenworth

Sincere comradeship is not a fair-weather garment, to be cast aside when adverse winds begin to blow.

Revolutionary kinship is strongest when hardest tested.

It takes root and grows in the hearts of the workers, and blooms and fructifies a fraternal spirit the granduer of which has not been equalled in history.

• • • •

Sincere comradeship makes life worth while.

This revolutionary kinship is, in fact, life itself. It is the manna we feed upon under this hideous imperialism and it gives us the strength which enables us to march and ever onward toward the New Day.

It shines forth from the eyes of mine workers, as they visit the Liberators office to inquire about the progress of our fight to free Debs, therewhile giving generously in five and ten dollar bills—hard-earned money secured as wages for service to a master, service more dangerous than most vocations.

These mine workers are meeting in Cleveland in convention.

These mine workers are going to SPEAK UP for Debs and all political prisoners.

And the demand of the 2,000 delegates will be a demand which capitalism will have to heed.

• • • •

True comradeship is exemplified in every letter we get from our great and growing Army of Liberators. Every word, every letter breaths of social bonds which will never be broken.

Not a corner of the United States but what has been heard from and is being heard from, week by week.

Liberators Fund Contribution Lists, loaded with donations totalling in some instances as high as $50.00, $100.00, yes nearly $200.00 in a case or two, and every cent will be most judiciously spent to free all class war prisoners.

And true comradeship abides with our class war prisoners. It is the light which shines in their night. "Look toward Atlanta", says Debs, "and you will see my flamingtorch in the sky."

And Debs' fellow-prisoners incarcerated in Leavenworth did look toward Atlanta and they saw.

The battle the Liberators are making for Debs freedom has penetrated the walls at Leavenworth.

Debs said—"unless all are freed I refuse freedom."

And the group of political prisoners at Leavenworth answer back "accept your freedom Debs, we admire your brave stand, but we are younger and can weather this storm. You have grown old in labors' battles and should end days in comfort."

This is the message they sent.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAPH
RECEIVER AT 2040 EAST 9th ST., CLEVELAND.

1919 SEP 18 AM 11 20
B78C 26: 2 EXTRA
LEAVENWORTH KANS 1034A 18
WAGENKNECHT 1301

REPORT DELIVERY 3207 CLARK AVE CLEVELAND O WHEN YOUR COMMITTEE SEES GENE TELL HIM THAT MOST OF THE POLITICALS AT LEAVENWORTH SEND GREETINGS AND URGE HIM TO APPROVE THE HABEAS CORPUS PROCEEDINGS

A. L. SUGARMAN.

As this is written the attorneys of the Army of Liberators are going consulting Debs.

They are showing him this telegram from his fellow-prisoners imprisoned at Leavenworth.

And Debs is deliberating—wondering would it be comradely for him to agree that habeas corpus proceedins should be instituted.

We'll know his answer very soon.

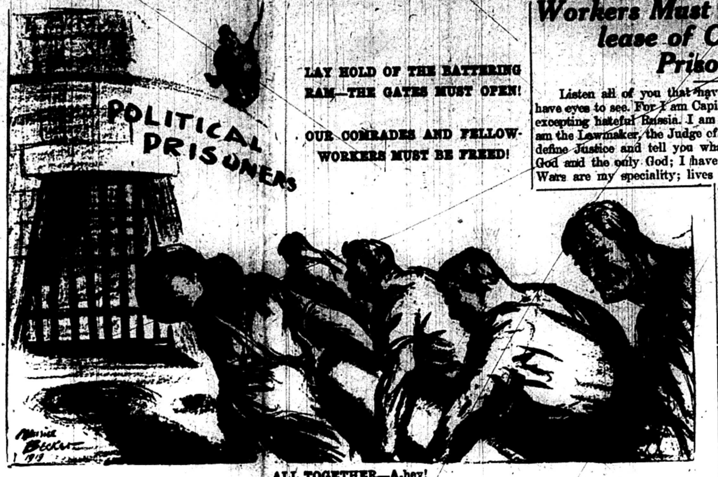
But no matter what his answer—the Army of Liberators will CONTINUE THE FIGHT. Using the legal machinery of the capitalist state is not the only nor yet the best path toward liberation.

THE WORKERS MUST BE AWAKENED—and when once awakened their mass demand will open the prison gates in the twinling of an eye.

Keep up the good work, Comrade Liberators.

Let's hear from you again and again until we have fashioned the sentiment necessary for action.

For after all—THE WORKERS ALONE CAN SET THE WORKERS FREE.



LAY HOLD OF THE BATTERING RAM—THE GATES MUST OPEN!

OUR COMRADES AND FELLOW-WORKERS MUST BE FREED!

ALL TOGETHER—A-hey!

Stand by Cigarmakers

About 30.000 men and women are involted in this historic struggle of the Cigar Makers, for human rights and conditions in New York, and the New York Strike has spread and embraced the States of New Jersey, Pensylvania, Massachusetts, Florida, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, Ohio, Indiana is also about to enter the ring.

Altogether, about 120.000 Cigar Makers, 80 per cent of them unorganized, are fighting a life-and-death battle for the right to be organized, for a standardized scale of Wages, for human and sanitary conditions.

The Cigar Makers' International Union did not approve the strikes, and it was, therefore, left to the striking masses themselves to provide themselves with organization and financial means. In other words: The strikers had to become their own leaders and supply their own support.

The strikers rely greatly on Organized Labor everywhere to assist them both morally and financially to carry this battle to a successful end.

"Bob" Minor, -- Famous Cartoonist is Coming

After spending ten months in starving Russia, Bob Minor, Newspaper-man and Reporter, went to Germany for six months. There "Bob" out-bolsheviked the Bolsheviks and was captured for telling the truth. His release from Germany, demanded by writers, artists and congressmen even, enabled him to return to the United States. He has already lectured at San Francisco and is to make a country-wide lecture tour. His story is the most interesting, thrilling and unique recital of actual experiences in the Russian and German Revolution which has yet come to America. Robt. Minor is a powerful speaker, a good thinker, and handles world subjects in a masterful manner. It is said that Minor speaks still better — the more mad he is made. He originally hails from Texas.

Labor To Declare Oct. 8-th Holiday for Protest

Nation-wide agitation that Oct. 8th be declared a day of General Protest, demanding "Freedom for Mooney and All Labor, Political and Military Prisoners; "Hands Off Russia"; and all other Nations; — including Ireland — is being urged by the International Workers' Defense League. The attention of the world is to be focused upon the fact that it is being victimized by a monumental INTERNATIONAL FRAME-UP Against Labor Republics — exactly as the Mooney Case has been framed up within our own nation. Ask an Irishman if Great Britain is honest. Labor Republics are no more welcome in this world than Labor Organizers at a Chamber of Commerce picnic. Clarence Darrow, promined pro-war lawyer, who never laughs, has said as much —, and he ought to know.

A Message from Young Russia

Young Peoples Communist Leage of Russia an active and powerful organization.

By F. J—n.

In the deluges of lies and more or less garbled reports on conditions in Russia there is occasionally a sprinkling of truth, a ray of sunlight that reveals the true character of the awakening of the Russian proletariat. Among the thousand and one "eye witnesses" of the "horrors of Bolshevism," there is—once in a great while—one who pays more attention to the constructive work that is being accomplished than to deliberate lies, circulated with an aim to separate the working class.

In spite of the enormous difficulties our Russian comrades have had to contend with, their progress has been so phenomenal, so many-sided, that even the most enthusiastic of us in this country are, at times, subjected to doubts. We ask: "Is it really so?" "Are they not exaggerating?"

We have learned of the nationalization of industries, of reconstruction and extension of the railroad system, of the great improvement in educational institutions, the high standard of art, science, and literature under the Soviet regime, the care of the children, and, last, but not least of the admirable Red Army which stands as a Chinese wall, protecting from within and without the dear-bought emancipation of the Russian workers.

What we already know about Russia is in itself far more wonderful than any fairy tale; but scarcely a day passes without something new and unexpected is added to our store of information about the struggle in that country; something that inspire us with hope and confidence in the ultimate success of those forces in Russia—and in the world—that make for the establishment of the Cooperative Commonwealth.

We have been to busy assimilating these various news and rejecting plain-faced lies to find the time to think about the youngest in young Russia; we have not stopped to wonder what they are doing to make the world safe for the working class, and any knowledge in this matter has of course, been out of the question. This gap in our information has been supplied by the weekly organ of the Swedish Young Peoples Socialist League, Stormklockan, of July 26, in which is published an article about the Young Peoples Communist League of Russia. The article is written by Sven Linderoth, the secretary of the Sweedish Y. P. S. L. who traveled in Russia last May. During his stay in Moscow, he was invited to the league's headquarters at Malaya Lublyanka No. 12.

"I certainly was impressed—let me admit this from the start," and mostly at the extreme youthfulness of these leaders of the youth." With this as an introduction he continues with the following interesting account of his visit and the work of the Y. P. S. L.:

"My surprise increased when I was introduced to the one who was to be my guide—a sixteen-year-old boy; but comrade Chatskin proved that he has made the best use of his sixteen summers. He is a full-fledged propagandist, has published pamphlets and is an industrious contributor to the league's publications. He has a thoro grasp on the political and economic conditions in the rest of the world. The president (national secretary) of the league is one of the oldest within the movement; he is—twenty years of age!

"After having been bombarded with questions concerning the latest news of the revolutionary situation in the outer world, and our own league's position, (I remember distinctly one question as to whether our league has compulsory military training for its members!) it was my turn to become the questioner.

"The league held a national convention last October, and has since then progressed very rapidly, especially in the rural districts. In order to attract the uneducated peasant youth to the ideas of Communism, the league has organized educational centers all over the country where lecture courses are given to arouse interest in social problems. The next step is to educate the youth in the principles of Communism and before long this procedure leads to the formation of a Communist league. In this manner is assured a movement of both stability and firmness, because the members are from the very beginning class-concious Communists instead of an ignorant mass.

The league now has organizations in all provinces; the local leagues numbering about 600 with a membership of 70,000. It publishes a number of papers. Its national organ is "The Young Communist," a bi-weekly, published in Moscow in 20,000 copies. The edition is limited on account of paper shortage. The league in Petrograd publishes 'The Young Proletarian', the one in Kursk, 'The Dawn of Communism,' etc.

"In relation to the Communist Party the league is wholly independent, and the league's members are not, as a rule, members of the party: this on account of the age limit—23 years—for active membership in the league. At that age the members are expected to transfer their activity to the party. The league is nevertheless actively co-operating with the party; platform and principles being in strict harmony.

"The league is especially anxious to safe-guard the economic interests of the youth in the field of producton. One result of this work is a six-hour workday for all under 18 and the aim is now to reduce this to 4 hours.

"The Red Army has a faithful friend in the Communist league. All members, boys and girls, are under obligation to acquire military education in order to defend the revolution, and they are always to be found in the first-line trenches. In Petrograd; e. g. the headquarters was closed during the latter part of May because all members had gone to the front.

"The league's program and tactics are outlined in the following manner:

" 'The capitalist system is nearing its own destruction. The awakening world proletariat gives rise to a new form of society; the ideas of Communism are beginning to materialize. Out of political, economic, and mental slavery a new world is being born;

(Continued on page 4.)

Workers Must Strike for Release of Class-War Prisoners

Listen all of you that have ears to hear. See, you that have eyes to see. For I am Capital, Emperor of all the World, excepting hateful Russia. I am the ethical and moral code. I am the Lawmaker, the Judge of Right and Wrong. It is I who define Justice and tell you what Freedom means. I am The God and the only God; I have Worshippers more than any. Wars are my speciality; lives to me are naught. Statesmen court and fitter me. Editors I buy and sell. Kings are my Pawns, Professions my Handmaids. I am the Mother of the Terms of Peace, the League of Nations. Race Hatred I adore, Child Slavery I practice, Secre Treaties, I engage in; the Solidarity of Labor is my only fear. This day I hold court. Bring in the prisoners.

Your Majesty, the first prisoner is charged 'with having exploited the workingclass of ninety million dollars. What is your verdict?

I give him further rigths to rob and plunder in ratio to the Capital at his command.

Your Majesty, the second prisoner is charged with having stolen bread to feed her young. What is your verdict?

To make more bitter yet, her poverty, I sentence the culprit to three months imprisonment.

Your Majesty, the third prisoner is charged 'with dribbling hypocricy.' What is your verdict?

Make him President.

Your Majesty, the fourth prisoner has 'Conscientious scruples about killing others.' What is your verdict?

Damn his honesty. Ten years.

Your Majesty, the case before you now is that of a Corporation Gunman, he is charged 'with having shot and killed a striking Miner.' What is your verdict?

Increase his pay.

Your Majesty, this case at your disposal is one in which the housewife of a certain deceased wage-earner lays claim for Compensation, stating that her husband the father of four children was killed in the Shipyards due to the Employers Speeding for Profit. What is your verdict?

In the process of My Justice, there are Technicalities, and on one of these, I dismiss the case.

Your Majesty, the next case is one of Profitering. What is your wish?

Why bring this honorable Gentleman before me. Go your way Sir and increase your profits.

Your Majesty, this man shot at Clemenceau, commonly known as the Tiger. What is your sentence?

Death.

Your Majesty, the prisoner before you is the murderer of Jules Jaures the great Socialist of France. What shall be done with him?

Do him honor, give him leisure, and praise him in your Daily Newspapers.

Your Majesty, there are many cases yet to come before you. Murder, embezzlement, highway robbery, swindling and a score of liars. What do you desire?

Treat them all according to their class position, their property holdings, but let the liars loose, we need them in the Press.

Are there any more to come before me this day?

Just one, Your Majesty. A Class War Prisoner charged with having challenged your right, to fool, rule, and rob. What is your verdict?

A Rebel in my dominions? What have you to say, you agitating slave? Speak before I sentence you, for of all the offenders, none madden me more than you who would educate and organize labor. Speak, for I must listen, though every word pierce and cut me through.

The worker rises.

"Yes, Your Satanic Majesty, I will speak and though you sentence me and mine into your graves called jails our message will go forward until you are dragged from your throne and all your benefactors put to work.

"You may send me to join the thousands, of other class war prisoners that are already in your dark tombs, but the truth of our class will and shall be heard. Labor produces all wealth. Capital is non-producing. The working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common. Your morality, religion, politics, your concepts of right and wrong, of justice, freedom and democracy are but the reflections of the manner and the way in which wealth is produced and distributed under your robber regime. Every ounce of Profit you ever pocket, comes from the sweat and blood of the working class. We toil for you in the factories, we bleed for you on the battle fields, we feed, clothe, and house you. Our comrades in Eu

(Continued on page 3.)

SPECIAL -- Just received telegram from Debs. He refuses to make individual fight for liberty, woul rather die in prison unless all are freed. Further details in next week's issue.

Mexico and J. P. Morgan

By JOHN TYLER

War with Mexico seems a foregone conclusion. The lying campaign conducted in the newspapers of the country by organizations professing to be friends of Mexico is fast bearing fruit. No doubt a campaign of invasion has been mapped out by the military experts of this country and sooner or later we will see American youths marching into the unfriendly land of Mexico.

It is therefore compulsory on the part of the American working class who furnish the cannon fodder in all the Nations' wars to become acquainted with the conditions in Mexico and find out the true reasons for the proposed intervention in Mexico. After all the reasons furnished by those organizations who are very anxious to see American troops in Mexico are trivial in their nature. A few murders of Americans in a country torn asunder by revolutions should be no reason for this country intervening in Mexico and thus sacrifice thousands of American lives. If those benevolent organizations would only take the trouble of ascertaining the number of Mexicans murdered and robbed in this contry where ''law and order'' reigns, they would be compelled to offer some other excuse for American intervention in Mexico. Using the line of argument advanced by those organizations, there is no reason why the Mexican Government should not send an army into this country to protect the lives and properties of her citizens. It is rather strange that foreign governments have not expressed a willingness to restore ''law and order'' in a country whose government is incapable of protecting the lives of its colored subjects—which is incapable of protecting the miners in Arizona and the steel workers in Pennsylvania. No, that isn't the reason why we are going to send troops into Mexico.

The average citizen's conception of Mexico is a country where most of the people are ignorant, worthless, lazy and incapable of ruling themselves. A history of Mexico is therefore desirable if we wish to find out the true character of the Mexican people.

In Jan. 1877 Porfirio Diaz overthrew the Government of Sebastian Lerdo do Tajeda legal president of Mexico. Always repudiated at the polls, he finally with the aid of the criminal elements overthrew Lerdo—and established himself as dictator. In order to rule an unwilling nation, he was compelled to take away the liberties of the nation and establish a military dictatorship. He divided Mexico into sections—giving the right of possession of these sections to reward those chiefs who helped him overthrew Lerdo. Diaz encouraged foreign capital for foreign capital means the support of foreign governments. These foreign partnership were one of the reasons Diaz maintained his dictatorship for over 40 years. He practically delivered the entire country into the hands of the foreign capitalists especially Americans.

The Hearsts-Guggenheims-Morgans and others own millions of acres granted them by Diaz without payment of one cent. The Morgan-Guggenheim merger is in absolute control of the copper output of Mexico-owns all the large smelters as well as vast mining properties. The Standard Oil Co. controls a vastly major portion of the crude oil flow of Mexico. The American Sugar Trust practically controls the Mexican sugar business. The Inter-Continental Rubber Co. or American Rubber Trust is in possession of millions of acres of rubber lands—the best in Mexico. The So. Pac. Ry. owns and controls by virtue of near ownership three fourths of the main line railways of Mexico.

The common impression is that Diaz's reign was a reign of peace and prosperity. Nothing was of the kind. It was under Diaz that slavery and peonage were re-established in Mexico and on a more merciless basis than they had existed under the Spanish Dons. The average American citizen would be rather surprised to learn that actual slavery existed in Mexico under the rule of Diaz. According to the best authorities, slavery means the ownership of the body of a man—ownership so absolute that the can be transferred to another. According to that definition the working class of Yucatan and most of the provinces of Mexico were actual slaves. The owners of the huge Yucatan ranches did not call it slavery but enforced debt for service. When one fell in debt in Mexico, his debtor would usually transfer that debt to a planter. Under the system Police authorities everywhere recognized the right of an employer to take the body of a laborer who was in debt to him, and to compel the laborer to work out the debt. Of course once the planter could compel the laborer to work for him, he could compel him to work at his own terms, and on such terms that the laborer was unable to extricate himself from his debt. Working conditions were so hellish in most of the provinces especially in Yucatan and Valle Nacional that the span of a worker's life was only 8 months.

The authorities worked hand in hand with the plantation owners in supplying them with slaves. Those without political influence were arrested on trumped up charges and transported to the great ranches of Yucatan or Valle Nacional or certain death. Under the rule of Diaz ''liberty'' could only be found in the dictionary. The entre nation lived in actual terror for no man was safe

American capitalists have been a contributory factor in reducing the people of Mexico to a state of peonage and slavery. In order for the Hearts and other plutocrats to gain possession of the fertile lands of Southern Sonora inhabited by Yaqui Indians, the Indians were driven from their lands and sold to the Yucatan slave owners to produce sisal hemp for the American Cordage Trust a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. Probably that is the reason for the Anti-American feeling in Mexico. Again the U. S. authorities were instrumental in crushing the revolutionary movement in Mexico by hounding to death those who managed to escape the bloody clutches of Diaz.

Living conditions become so intolerable that the Mexican people in order to survive were compelled to burst asunder the shackless of slavery imposed on them by the privileged few. One thing that we must not lose sight of is that the revolution that deposed Diaz was a SOCIAL REVOLUTION. The people wanted more than a change of rulers. They wanted the land, mills, mines and factories of Mexico to revert back to the hands of the working class the rightful owners. With this in mind, in 1917, they adopted a new constitution. Article 27 of that constitution gives the Government authority to confiscate the natural resources of Mexico from the greedy clutches of the privileged few. Article 27 is the real cause of our differences with Mexico. Witness Ambassador Fletcher's message to the Mexican Congress in which he requests their patriotic co-operation toward securing more sufficient and adequant protection for the lives of Americans in Mexico SO THAT ''UNHAMPERED ENJOYMENT BY AMERICANS OF PROPERTY RIGHTS LAWFULLY ACQUIRED IN MEXICO, which is accorded them in other friendly countries might be obtained.''

The ill gotten wealth of the Hearts-Guggenheims, J. P. Morgans and other American plutocrats is in danger of being confiscated. In order for them to maintain their strangle hold on the Mexican people, they have formed organizations whose sole aims is to precipitate a war between this country and Mexico in order to secure military protection for their stolen property. The English interests have transferred the ownership of their concessions to the English Government so that if the Mexican people confiscate the property of English capitalists they will have to contend with the military might of England.

The issue is clear. Shall the working class allow the American Government to go down to Mexico to protect the wealth of J. P. Morgan or shall they allow the Mexican people to enjoy the frits of their revolution—ownership of the means of life?

Capitalist Class and Democracy

By G. F. PARSONS, Buckley, W. Va.

Capitalist patriotism is very much like its religion, any thing to fool the common people. It gets behind the church to rob the working class; it gets behind patriotism to rob the working class; this was the practice in olden days and is yet. The working class of America was asked to buy liberty bonds, and in many instances men were discharged from their jobs because they refused to buy liberty bonds. In a few cases they were put in jail for being unpatriotic when they refused to buy them; in a few cases were thrown in creeks, one instance, at Eccles, W. Va. a working man was given a good ducking and then brought to Beckley and put in jail when he said he did not want any of the bonds. (DEMOCRACY—FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, FREE TO SPEAK AND ACT). The working class was forced to buy these bonds, now the war is over, work is slack, workers are hard pressed, they want to sell their bonds. What do they find? A discount of from 5 to 10 percent, they must sell. To who? To bankers, or the coal company that they bought from, then the bankers and other labor oppressors pose as patriots. What is patriotism? Is it to legally hold up the American people and rob them? If that is patriotism the capitalist plunderbunds have it in abundance. If that is religion they have it too.

Now Mr. Worker, what have you been, a lot of patriots or a lot of damphools? If a working man could see himself just as he is he would go home, turn the bull dog loose and have his wife to say, sick him Tige! Don't you thing it time that you get guts enough to demand what you were promised? Don't you think that if you were one half as patriotic as they wanted you to be that you would demand that every political prisoner be turned out of prison.

This legal process of robing has Jesse James skinned a block.

but it is done in the name of patriotism, the church and the law.

Is it possible the working class need a revelation from heaven to tell them that they must stop being bossed, owned and controlled by the capitalist plunder-bund?

Crimes of the Bolsheviki are proving their worth at Weston, W. Va. Comrade J. W. Sprigg is selling them and placing the profits in the press fund. He sends a dollar this week.

Another tireless worker is F. A. Habig of Martins Ferry, O. He sends in two dollars which resulted from his agitation for a Party owned press.

Local Akron Socialist Party
CAMPAIGN AND PROPAGANDA
MEETINGS
Every Sunday at 2:30 P. M.
AT 30 SOUTH HOWARD STREET
GOOD SPEAKERS

ORGANIZE!

By Frank S. Hansen.

Yes, organize! But organize what? If any one was in the Socialist movement fifteen years ago, and saw the strong, active, vigorous organizing that went on for a few years following that time, he knows, or ought to know what it means to organize without having something more to the organization than mere parliamentary form. See what happened to the party, and also the movement from 1916. The ''Leaders'' of the ''organization'' paralyzed it to death. And why? They certainly had organization ad infinitum, so far as they had anything. That is just the trouble.

They had organization only. Mere form. Just meetings. Of course, according to, parliamentary rules. Then more meetings!

They had nothing to give their form substance, life, power. They had neither political power, nor industrial power, nor intellectual power, nor even power to mold public opinion. Why bless your soul, the party didn't have an opinion. Only the omniscient, infallible ''leaders'' had anything of that kind. All that the rest of us had was just organization. Just mere, hollow, lifeless organization.

Now, what is it that is manifesting itself in the present unprecedented growth of Socialist ideas among the workers? Organization? No!! It is education, and education that they have received in spite of a lifeless organization ridden to death by a lot of organized pifflers and pilferers at the top.

Education—is the very thing that we did not have when the ''organization'' lovers were supreme. Compare the two. We had organization then without education. Education is the basis of our activity in the present encouraging demand for a change, and we are practically without that formal, fiendish ''organization'' which our brothers at the central offices are clamoring for. Which produces the greater power?

The education could be a great deal more efficient, but that only adds to the force of the argument for education. We are not objecting to organization, (with something more to the organization than an empty shall game with the nickels flowing all in one direction and nothing coming back to the slaves to get them closer to what they must have — Industrial Freedom.

Isn't the present movement organizing itself quite satisfactorily? On one hand we have hundreds of thousands voting together, on a basis of knowing what they want, sufficiently to score the Food Hogs and their political tools into a sanctified fit. On the other hand we have other hundreds of thousands united in One Big Union sufficiently strong to force an eight-hour day where A. F. of L. organization even with it's most strenuous efforts and with all the glossed-over glory of Gompersism failed to squeeze it or coax it from, the masters.

What is it that forms the backbone of this mass movement on both the political and the industrial field? Why, Education, of course,—in the knowledge that, in the language of the Communist Manifesto, ''The governments of today are nothing but committees of the ruling class for attending to its common affairs,'' and in the language of the Preamble to the I. W. W's. Constitution, ''The slaves and their masters have nothing in common.'' In other words, education in the facts of the class struggle coupled with knowledge of the principles involved in the Law of Surplus Value.

The ''organization'' fiend seems to think that the worker han't sense enough to vote and strike and fight for his own interests even if he is educated to know his interests and the interests of his class. These people are mostly ''great'' men. Every real worker who becomes ''educated'' knows that the keynote of organization is education,—that education of the right kind produces organization, and organization of the right kind, too.

What has made Darwin's work supreme over that of Moses? Organization? No, with a capital N. Education did it. Educate the workers, and they won't need paid ''great'' men to stand around on the eminences and shout ''organization'' at them.

Give us more study-classes. More teachers. The only way to get more teachers is to make them out of your own material. The study-class is the way to do it.

Press Fund Notes

Comrade B. Weighaus of Newport, Ky., regrets that he cannot ''talk''. Never mind comrade. The three dollars you sent for the printing press will talk for you on hundreds of thousands of Ohio Socialists in a short while from now.

Comrade J. Abazorious of Youngstown, O. sends ''$2 now and a dollar every month''. We need more like him.

Comrade Chas. Kritzell of Fremont, O. sends us a list containing $12. for the press fund. This amount was collected by Chas. Klinek, who is ever on the job for socialism.

Comrade Genevieve Zrnc is here again. This time with a list totaling $4.00. This is not the first list which comrade Zrnc has callected for the press fund. We don't believe it will be the last.

By the way, comrade, if you hav'nt circulated a press fund list among your shop mates, better do so; if you have done so, do it again.

That ''Donation Box'' of Local Zanesville's is still working we are pleased to testify. Another remittance from comrade Secretary, W. N. Patterson of 4.74 makes the fourth remittance from this source. As a press fund gatherer we recommend the ''Donation Box.''

Another list received from comrade C. E. Murphy of Hamilton, O. The amount is $6.00.

Thru comrade Allen Cook, comrade D. T. Mlinac of Canton sends in a list containing $12.75. The moral is: get a list in circulation!

The Miner's March

The atmosphere is heavy, a dense fog fills the air the Illinois Miners across the ''Official Family'' of misappropriation of funds, that the ''Automatic Penalty Clause'' is now void due to the third party (United States Fuel Administration) having withdrawn. Refuse to pay the ''Mooney Fine'' demand no discrimination, new wage agreement; (no more contract) the ''High Cost of Living'' a convention to adjust these differences immediately. Those are the demands. A convention is held over the head of State President Farrington, Farrington denounced called ''Kaizer'' Autocrat, and misuser of their funds, no relief in sight from Farrington, the fight is on. ''We will organize an army and move them south'' shouts one of the Belleville Miners and carry our message over the state demanding other districts to do like wise, mush unrest in the crowd, where is ''Coffey''? where is Dan Slinger, where is Lami, where is Dave, etc.? Arrangements are made, wires are sent to the outgoing towns, Mascoutah, Ill. first to respond with eighty volunters. We will march tomorrow, August 30th, 2 P. M. Mascoutah arrives, the boys greet them with cheers provisions is the cry; the committee is busy comes the answer; a name for the ''Army.'' ''Messengers of the rank and file'' is agreed upon, and thus goes marching forward the first army of the proletariate organized to bring more democracy in industry in Illinois.

Dan Slinger of Glen Carbon, Ill., Lieutenant Colonel as they named him at the head. They're off to Freeburg, Ill., supplies follow in auto, sausage, bread and coffee for supper, Mass meeting held. Freeburg captured, comes the report of the army moving south to New Athens, Ill., then on to Lenzburg, to Marissa all victorious. What is going on in the rear? A supply house has been established, the Army has now grown to about four hundred, massage carriers are on their way bringing in orderes for supplies, telegrams and telephones bring news, Supplies are made ready forwarded by train and auto, 100 lbs. bacon, 100 lbs. Ham, 165 lbs. Navies, 100 lbs. Coffee, 200 loaft bread, ten pounds pepper 100 unions etc., also twenty gallon coffee pot, two three foot pans, angle irons and tubs, medical supplies and the many other necessory articles. From what source come the funds?

Appeals are made ''Give until it hurts'' Unions send in from 100.00 to two hundred are more each, individuals are donating, the advancing army makes appeal for funds as it goes along at the ''Mass Meeting''. The cry goes out ''Stay loyal until the Boys come home'' the women now are helping in the strike. News comes the army is invading the enemy territory, they are now through Coulterville and heading into Pinckneyville. The opposition is now determined to stop the advancing army ''thugs'', negroes, are hired out of Duquoin. Ill. with gat in each hand to stop ''Message Carries''. The army is met near Pinckneyville and ordered to halt and return, they have wallked considerable and are tierd, they ask to rest and are cursed in return with threat of life.

Their lips are parchod they ask for water, even this is denied, their feet are blistered they must have rest, one old man of sixty-two fatigued, sits down beside the road, he is kicked, cursed and forced to go on. Who headed this mob that disturbed those Message Carriers so peacefully on the way? the State Attorney of Perry County, the Deputy Sheriff, who else? U. M. W. of A. officials in the crowd. Is it possible? Dan Slinger arrested and held at Pinckneyville Ill., Coffey on his way down taken from auto and thrown into jail at Coulterville. Supply wagon seized (temporary confiscation of property) and Striking Miners run over county line. Coffey speaks to U. M. W. of A. at time of arrest. ''What will be your answer when I meet you (a brother?) on the convention floor and I point to you as a $6.30 man, with a bunch of thugs? he backed away (Collins was his name).

The next day arrangements made for Slingers release out on $200.00 bond, wagon and supplies regained, Coffey held without charge, when the chief of police was asked what the charges were about twelve hours after the arrest, he stated ''You will have to wait until I find out''. Coffey released, no charges.

Pinckneyville Miners go Dan Slingers bond. He speaks at Pinckneville tonight then they will be off for Christopher.

But what value has this to the social revolutionist? This is the stage of which Lenin speaks, the ''stage of education'' it is among other things the asquirement of knowledge of supplying an army of about 500; it is Mass Movement.

F. J. Nebgen.
Belleville, Ill. Sept. 6. 1919.

A Letter From Atlanta

Comrades—

At the request of I am sending you this letter, we all hope it will do some good. The conditions here are awful, especially for political prisoners—rape fiends bank wreckers—moral perverts and Others of that class of course are given every consideration. There are many things done here that our friends on the outside can help us with, it does not do much good to talk it over with ourselves, the revolutionist no doubt know all that is to be know of these hell holes. Can you not write to your friends, get them to all write litters to the Att'y Gen'l—Dep't. of Justice, President Wilson, telling them of the awful conditions that exist here, that may shame them into treating their political prisoners at least as good as they claimed Germany, Russia and anarchist Mexico would treat their prisoners?

The food here is rotten but the officials in charge of the food do not have to eat it, and the convict that cooks it does not eat it either, as he has his own special meals cooked to his satisfaction at the expense of the multitude. Class distinction here just the same as outside, and theng deny it just the same as the parasite does outside. Sixteen hours in a dirty stuffy cell, how's that for De-Mocracy? Medical attention a worse fake then was the Police League in Paris—or its later born infamous brother the Leauge of Nations. I am in the S. B. camp having contracted the consumption after I was arrested in Los Angeles and thrown in their ''Louse Ranch'' (County Jail) where I was denied the service of the government doctor or allowed to have my own visit me although I had the pneumonia and influenza. After arriving at McNeils Island Pen I had 5 hemmorages that made me unconscious for several hours. Had 4 in Los Angeles fail pryor to these in McNeils.

Priyor to may incartination in L. A. Jail I was in the most vigorous health contracted T. B. owing to no medical attention and damp filthy condition of jail. Have been over 1 year without medical attention or proper food (I have offered to buy food, but that is against the ''rules.'') I was sentenced for 10 years..... In Leavenworth Pen. also a U. S. institution one can by fruit , nuts etc.—even in McNeils one can buy fruit twice a month, here you can not buy it at all and they dont furnish any. I am over 40 years old, have never eaten any meat in my life. I have tried to get the doctor here and the warden to let me buy my own fruit nuts etc. if the govn't. won't buy it, but the doctor says I have to eat the food here. T. B. camp is located in tents in prison yard camp about 150 X 250 feet about 15 patients here.

There are a few vegetables here in camp, some of the boys cook for me occassionly which is my sole diet. When I first came here some of the boys used to bring milk down from the dining room, after it would sour, they would make it into buttermilk for me .... now the doctor will not permit the boys to bring it. The fresh vegetables will soon be gone then guess I will have to live on Southern Hospitality (a sample of which I have explained to you). Of course being a Mexican makes it very hard for me to get any assistance from the American comrades outside, it may be however that I have never got in connection with the right ones being a personal stranger to all Socialists practically in America.

I would feel guilty of cowardice to my American comrades if anything would happen like this to an American Comrade in Mexico, without my protest against such an outrage... I don't expect you to do anything rash but I think a few ''shots'' in the way of letters to the officials that you let rule your land is not asking too much. Comrades here insisted I write you. I am glad to make your aquaintance, and hope the Communists will accomplish that which the Socialist party failed to accomplish, through its harboring traitors to the cause after they were found out.

Your Comrade for a world of no exploitation.

—A Comrade.

Looking for new recruits is the job of comrade F. Bradkovich of Benwood, W. Va. has picked out for himself. He orders sub cards and, to make certain the continuation of the Ohio Socialist, he sends a dollar for the plant.

Every good Local secretary will see to it that the members keep their subscriptions paid up. A gentle hunch from our secretaries will help to put many a comrade way ahead in his subscriptioin. Do it next meeting, comrade secretary.

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Announcement
I desire to announce that my office is now located at Room 309 Guth Block, 30 South Howard St., Akron, Ohio.
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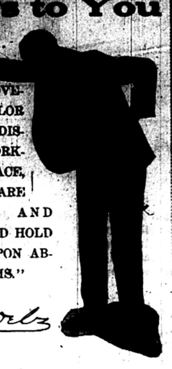
Debs says to You



''THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT KNOWS NO COLOR LINE AND NO SEX DISCRIMINATION. ALL WORKERS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, NATIONALITY OR SEX, ARE EQUALLY WELCOME, AND ALL ARE RECEIVED AND HOLD THEIR MEMBERSHIP UPON ABSOLUTELY EQUAL TERMS.''

Eugene V. Debs

Debs Goes to Prison

By DAVID KARSNER

CHAPTER FOUR

Eugene Victor Debs awoke shortly before 6 o'clock Monday morning in Cell 51 in the south wing of the penitentiary at Moundville, where he may spend 10 years of his closing life. Debs said he slept well. If he did so, it was because he was physically exhausted after the outrageous trip of the day before from Cleveland to Moundsville, about 150 miles, on trolley cars.

Sunday night, about 11 o'clock, Warden Joseph Z. Terrell permitted J. Louis Engdahl, Alfred Wagenknecht and myself to say good night to Debs in his prison cell. We walked the entire length of the south wing of the prison and up one flight of white-washed iron steps to second tier. The warden and the prison physician were with us. Debs had been preparing for bed. He was partly undressed. With one hand gripping the steel bars of his cage, he extended the other through the grating and bid us each good night.

''It is all right, boys; it is all right. I am going to sleep the sleep of the just to-night. Don't worry for me; don't worry about me. We know what we are about. Good night, Comrades; good night. I shall be comfortable here.''

We slipped away from Cell 51. Throughout the prison arose the customary chorus of coughing. At that hour in prison, coughing is usual. The men are just going to sleep, their lungs are rotting, and they must cough. The tickling sensation in their throats won't let them sleep for several hours after they retire on their steel bunks. That is tuberculosis. Sometimes in the incipient stage, sometimes well advanced. But tuberculosis in a prison is as usual as the steel bars.

Debs really did seem to be in fairly good health and excellent spirits. Not for one moment did he waver, not for one second. It was just 9:45 o'clock Sunday night when he passed through the great iron doors to the prison.

A few moments before he was walking slowly down the sidewalk with United States Marshal Charles W. Lapp, who brought him to prison from Cleveland.

Debs was talking softly, but I heard what he said to the Marshal.

''It is all right, Marshall,'' 'Gene was saying; ''you have treated me like a gentleman all the way through. I am glad to have met you, and I should not wish you to ever feel that you have done me a wrong by bringing me here. I understand just why I am going to prison. My Comrades, they all know and understand; it is all right; everything is all right.''

Debs' long arm slowly stretched across the broad shoulders of the man who was taking him to prison. Those Christians who talk of the second coming of Christ might have been pleased to have witnessed this little scene in Moundsville. They would have seen a real, a living, a breathing, a human Christ, going to his crucifixion between two bodyguards. An hour later they would have seen him in Gethsemane, smiling and serene, awaiting the worst; maybe looking for the best; expecting nothing.

Debs in prison to-day, actually behind bars, despite the hue and cry that went up over America among radicals when he was convicted on September 12 last at Cleveland. They said then; ''They'll never send Debs to prison. They're afraid to lock up Our 'Gene. They won't dare to do it.''

Idle twaddle, mere words, and mostly meaningless, save for the wells of sympathy and compassion and camaradeire they expressed. But words won't unlock prison doors.

There is an automatic turntable that Debs passed through, taking him from the ''outside'' and placing him on the ''inside''. That turntable works by organized power. Mere words won't budge it, and if the Socialists of America want 'Gene Debs to rot and die in prison, if they want his flesh to curl up on his bones, let them go on talking, talking. Let them decide whether it would be best to withhold recognition from the Bavarian Soviet, or let them decide to send greetings to Hungary. In the meanwhile, Debs will be in prison and all the other class war prisoners will still be in prison in America. If they are to get out, there must be behind them organized power.

During the sixth lap of the journey from Cleveland, Debs turned around for a moment. He was smiling sweetly. ''If we were to engage in satire, I would say how strange it is that I have been organizing labor for 40 years and now am being taken to prison by union men.''

It was a crushing blow. It had not occured to any of us in just that way; but it was literally true. The conductors, and brakemen, and firemen, and engineers, and motormen—all union men—helped to take Debs to prison last night.

Immediately after we had entered the prison, the Marshal ''presented the body of Eugene V. Debs to the state prison at Moundsville.''

Marshall Lapp introduced his celebrated prisoner to the Warden.

'Gene extended his hand and, in that half-stooping manner of his that is so characteristic of him, he grasped the Warden's hand. ''I am so glad to meet you, Warden,'' said Debs. The Warden stiffened up a little. Maybe he did not like that manifestation of friendliness. He had been used to meeting skulking men who don't shake hands when they enter prison. Maybe he thought Debs was trying to ''get in right'' from the start.

Debs was not trying to do or to be anything anything but a decent, simple, human being. It seemed unusual only because we are totally unaccustomed to meeting loveliness and beauty of the kind that Debs radiates.

''Well, you are a tall man, Mr. Debs.''

''Yes,'' replied Debs. ''Six feet.''

The Warden's manner toward his prisoner was a stern kindliness. You meet it often in reformist circles, and frequently in churches. It is the sort of kindliness that says to you: ''You are a lovely fellow. You have brought much happiness to this wicked old planet, but for your pains I shall send you to the stake for your own good.'' That is just they way the Warden impressed me.

There were hasty handshakes between the Marshal and Debs. A deputy who accompanied the Marshall was anxious to get the job done and return home. It was all a day's work with him.

''Step this way, Mr. Debs,'' commanded the Warden. The little group that accompanied him to the prison—Arthur Baur, of Terre Haute; Louis Engdahl of Chicago, and Alfred Wagenknecht, and myself, were standing between the Warden's office and the turntable through which Debs must soon pass.

Smiling, ''with head erect, with spirit untamed and with soul unconquerable—a flaming revolutionist,'' Eugene Victor Debs, ''Our 'Gene'', kissed each of us. There was just a moment's turning back of his head, a smile was on his face—his lean, tired face—as he stepped into the turntable, which is inclosed in steel grating. A trusty turned a lever and wheels began to grind. The turntable swung itself around automatically to the entrance to the ''inside world.''

The Warden called some guard or trusty, by name. In a moment the Warden returned.

He was cordial and bade us come into his office and smoke his cigars. Baur was pretty well shaken by the experience. He did not linger, but went back to Terre Haute. As he passed through the iron gates there was an oath on his lips. I knew what it said, and I knew what it meant.

''You gentlemen are all friends of Mr. Debs, I suppose,'' queried the Warden, whose head is bald, like Debs'. He seems to be a young man, maybe 45, clean cut, like a self-respecting politician who wants to do something for the ''worthy poor.'' You know the type. We all admitted our friendship and our interest.

''Mr. Debs will be well taken care of here. Of course, we are not going to have Debs on exhibition. We've got no monkey house here, but Debs and I will get along all right. I know he is a man of great character and force and intelligence, and I mean to respect him as such. You may say to his friends that Debs will be well taken care of.''

We asked the Warden about what he proposed to do with 'Gene, to what kind of work he would assign him. ''Oh, Debs is too old to work here. There isn't anything he could do, and, besides, we have enough men here to do all the work that is required.'' The Warden said before that Debs was the 500th prisoner at the present time. His number would be Convict No. 2253.

(Cont. next week)

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WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 24, 1919.

ANOTHER CORNER TURNED

The Social Revolution in America has definitely turned a corner in its march toward realization. Theories which have developed from the changeing social relations are being given definite form and programs for their realization are being mapped out and promulgated by millions of workers as solutions for the particular evils which it is believed they will correct.

As proof of this turning of vast numbers toward a definite goal distinct from any previous one set by labor, we may point to first, the Plumb plan for operation of the railways. This plan of ownership, control and management of the transportation system of the country is revolutionary in that it gives the actual workers in the industry a definite and prescribed part in the management. The worker is given his say-so in the conduct of the business. It is a revolutionary change in that the principle of private ownership of a basic social need is displaced by government ownership with a limited democracy in management.

Whatever may be said against the Plumb plan, and there is very much to said on that score, we here view it as a REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY. This tendency toward revolutionary thot and action is a new thing in America and is a welcome token of the rising revolutionary tide upon the shores of proletarian thot. That large groups of organized workers are giving support to it is sufficient proof of the universality of the change that has taken place in the views of millions of workers upon questions of private versus social control of the necessities by which all men live.

The nationalization of mines which was approved by the miners convention at Cleveland is another indication of this trend of thot and action among the masses. Coming as it does immediately after the miners of Great Britain have delivered an ultimatum for nationalizaton of mines, it is proof positive of the swiftness with which revolutionary movements are progressing. It is no coincidence that American miners follow so soon in the footsteps of those of England. Revolutionary movements in England are certain to have profound impression upon workers here, more so than those taking place in any other country.

These movements of two great bodies of labor away from the beaten paths but express the growing revolutionary element in our social life. The months ahead are pregnant with possibilities. Labor is awakening. It is feeling its way. The rank and file are on the alert. It refuses to be led, but continually challenges its old leaders. It is beginning to rely upon itself, to feel its strength and is cultivating the courage to carry its convention into practice.

The SOCIAL REVOLUTION in America has definitely turned a corner and is marching headlong toward the realization of a better world for the workers.

IF LA FAYETTE CAME BACK

No name rests more honorably or securely in the annals of American history than that of Marquis de LaFayette. His unselfish devotion to the cause of American independence fills a sublime page in our national history and a place of deep respect in the hearts of Americans.

On September 6th, 1757, he was, born, a notable with a princely fortune and at thirteen became an orphan. He married at the age of sixteen. He chose the carreer of his father and entered the Guards.

He was nineteen and a captain of dragoons when the American colonies declared their idependence of England. "At the first news of this quarrell," he wrote in his memoirs, "my heart was enrolled in it." In this short sentence is revealed a key to his character for his whole life from this moment was dedicated to the cause of liberty and the uplifting of the oppressed.

In spite of protests of friends and against the orders of the French king, he surreptiously slipped out of France in disguise, caught a ship in a Spanish port and set sail for the land he was to honor with his ability, his finances and his great example. Tho pursued by two English crusiers his voyage terminated successfully at Georgetown S. C. two months later. He entered the American army upon two stipulations—that he should receive no pay and that he should act as a volunteer. He met Washington and became his friend, and an active participating in the cause of American liberty.

La Fayette visited America twice after the Revolution was won as the guest of the nation.

We wonder if he would receive such honor if he came back today. We don't think he would. More than likely he would be called a "radical" and would be warned against by our itinerant politicians and socalled statesmen.

The anniversary of La Fayette's birthday has lately been justly celebrated in this country. Wreathes were laid upon monuments erected to his memory, laudatory speeches were made and honors were showered upon him.

But we think that could La Fayette have been present in the flesh he would have peered beneath this mockery of his name. For be it known, La Fayette spent five years in Prussian and Austrian prisons as a political prisoner because of his activities in the French Revolution. Because of his loyalty to the cause of humanity and progress he suffered as many are suffering in Amethe cause of humanity and progress he suffered as many are suffering in America today—in American bastiles. If LaFayette came back to America to-day that he trod. We imagine that his impetuous spirit would cry out against this mockery of democracy that uses his name and fame to shield its mailed fist.

The same love of humanity, of hatred of injustice, of unselfish devotion to a great human principle that ruled life also rules that of his kinsman, Eugen V. Debs, now a victim of those who rule America, and jail America's best — in the name of Democracy.

If La Fayette came back to-day he would seek out those who have carried on the fight he fought, who suffer persecution, he would not be found with those who desecrate his name by imprisoning the advocates of real democracy. La Fayette's last speech in 1834 in the Chamber of Deputies was on behalf of Polish political refugees. If he could come back to America to-day his voice would ring out again in denunciation of the injustice that is being done our political prisoners. The hands that served democracy for so many years on this soil and that of his native land would reach thru the prison bars and strike in comradely greeting those of Debs, of Kate O'Hare, of the I. W. W.'s of Leavenworth and the under sea dungeons of Alcatraz.

With our Liberators

The Liberators are growing daily. With every mail come signed application blanks for membership in The Liberators, the most numerous, most aggressive organization in existence that is fighting for the Liberation of ALL political prisoners.

In every mail come donations that have been contributed to help in the agitation for their release. From Mr. and Mrs. Fred Thompson, Barberton, O., comes $2; Comrade J. S. Austrauskas, Wesleyville, Pa., sends a list amounting to $4.40. Horace C. Shank of Hamilton sends in $, contributed by Comrades. R. Trycyk of Leechburg, Pa., has collected $5.00 for the Liberation.

"Enclosed find money order for $14.50 for the Liberation Fund. The slip was handed to me to get what I could on it and this is what I got. C. M. Savage, Crookesville, O." From ahe South Slavic Branch of Woodlawn, Pa. comes $13.50 in contributions from various comrades. Comrade Wm. Mack of Norwood, O., collects $4.50 for the Liberation Fund. "To help free our Debs", writes comrade Sigmund Nisenson of Alliance, O. He sends $9.00 collected from comrades.

Six dollars for the Liberation Fund was gathered by comrade Walter Schoettle, of W. Covington, Ky. H. G. Clougbei sends $2. from Strassburg, Va. From New York City comes a list amounting to $7.65 from comrade Antony Mihalik. Comrade U. A. Vincent of Shinnston, Va. remits $12. Five is his own contribution to free political prisoners and seven is

Three dollars arrived this week from Frank Primrose, Bridgeport, O. Comrade A. E. Johnson of Moline sends a dollar. Comrade Dudenstadt of Pleasant Ridge, O., sends in three dollars for himself and two sons. A $12.00 list was sent us this week by comrade Alley McConnell of Lorain, O. A very substantial sum of $22.85 has been received from comrade O. R. Plummer of Napoleon, O. And another list amounting to $22.00 came from comrade Jos. Rody of Pitco, Pa. Comrade W. A. Humphreys of Hamilton, O. collected $6.00 to aid the political prisoners to liberty. H. G. Robertson of Clifton Forge, Va. sent $5 and states that he has promised more.

Other comrades who have been collecting finds to aid the fight for freedom for our imprisoned comrades are Julius Beigany, Cincinnati, $4.00; Joe Phillips, Irondale, O. $6.25; M. Wallner, Lorain, O., $5; Steven Flornik, Neffs, O. $3; F. Keistner, Cincinnati, Herman Frank, John Eichelbacher, Norwood, O. $6; Alex Sherbin, Pierce, W. Va. $11; Stanley Marshall, Cincinnati $3; J. D. Reedy, Bickmore, W. Va. $2; Edw. Piehe, Richmond, Ind. $7.00.

Comrade Harry Waroff, of Toledo, O. got busy with TWO lists and collected $26. for the Liberation fund. A ten dollar list was sent us by comrade H. Markoff of Gary, Ind. "I am yours for the cause of all suffering comrades and fellow workers", writes comrade Max Citron of Pittsburgh, Pa. He collected $13.50 for the Liberation Fund.

Comrade Wesley A. Sharp of Piqua sent us $6.00. Comrade John Jelsic of Wendel, W. Va., remits $10.25 which has donated by comrades. $1.50 was sent in by comrade J. Friedman of Toledo. The Left Wing Group of Local St. Louis, Mo. emits $6.50 to help in the fight. Comrade Chas. Repine of Charleroi, Pa. contributes $2. Local Ransom, Kan. contributes $5 to help the cause of freedom. Two dollars from comrade G. Nitschke of Covington, Ky., helps the fund to grow. Comrades F. E. and J. R. McKinnis of Marysville, Kans. add each a dollar to the fund

Ten dollars is the amount of a donation from a comrade of Local Cuyahoga Co., who did not give us the name of the donor. George Steinert of Toledo, O. adds his dollar to the growing fund. From far away Chandler, Okla. comes a list from comrade W. C. Ricard. It contains $7.50. Another Okla. comrade to boost the Liberation Fund is comrade L. A. Bogby, of Eakly. A list of $4 testifies to his spirit in the fight.

Comrade Theo. Harycyk of Ambridge, Pa. collected $3 on a list which he remits. Comrade Jno Gica of Canton, O. remits $8. Comrade Mable Forter, Secretary of Local Butte, Mont. remits $5.00 which she collected for the Liberation fund. Ten fifty is to hand from comrade Theodore Stuntz of Charleston, W. Va.

These comrades also sent in Liberation Funds: Anna Novak, Neffs, O. $5; Nick Savo, Toledo, O. $3; M. Schrodek, Toledo, O., $1; Archie McViker, Battle Creek, Mich. $1; G. Huber, Battle Creek, $2; Geo. Krautwater, Springfield, O. $6.05; Jno Bamman, Girard, Kans., David Scheintaub, Toledo $6; W. S. Bennett, Sault Ste Marie $4.

REMEMBER!

We speak to you from jail today,
Two hundred union men,
We're here because the bosses' laws
Bring slavery again.
We make a pledge—no tyrant might
Can make us bend a knee,
Come on you workers, organize
And fight for liberty!

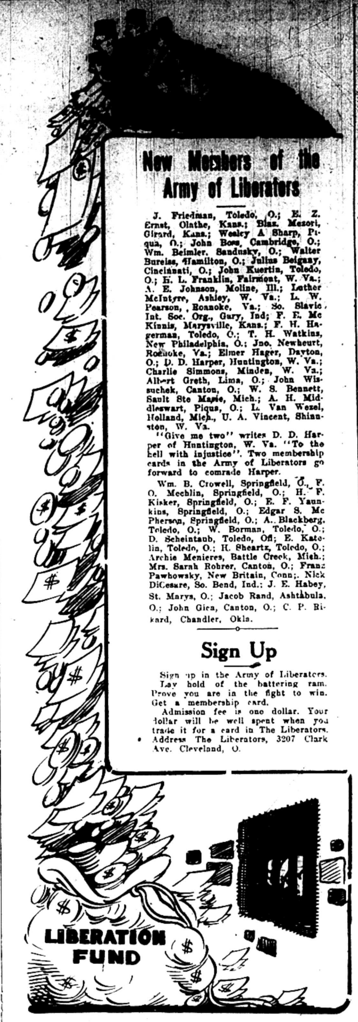
Yours for the revolution,
C. W. ANDERSON,
One Big Union. Douglas County Jail

MAX EASTMAN JOINS THE LIBERATORS

The Liberator
34 Union Square East
New York City.

Dear Comrades:—
I enclose five dollars and will have more soon. Thank God it is starting.

MAX EASTMAN.
August 24th, 1919.



New Members of the Army of Liberators

J. Friedman, Toledo, O.; E. Z. Ernst, Olathe, Kans.; Blaz. Mezori, Girard, Kans.; Wesley A Sharp, Piqua, O.; John Boss, Cambridge, O.; Wm. Beimler, Sandusky, O.; Walter Bureiss, Hamilton, O.; Julius Beigany, Cincinnati, O.; John Kuertin, Toledo, O.; H. L. Franklin, Fairmont, W. Va.; A. E. Johnson, Moline, Ill.; Lother McIntyre, Ashley, W. Va.; L. W. Pearson, Roanoke, Va.; So. Slavic Int. Soc. Org., Gary, Ind; F. E. Mc Kinnis, Marysville, Kans.; F. H. Hagerman, Toledo, O.; T. H. Watkins, New Philadelphia, O.; Jno. Newheurt, Roanoke, Va.; Elmer Hager, Dayton, O.; D. D. Harper, Huntington, W. Va.; Charlie Simmons, Minden, W. Va.; Albert Greth, Lima, O.; John Wissuchek, Canton, O.; W. S. Bennett, Sault Ste Marie, Mich.; A. H. Middleswart, Piqua, O.; L. Van Wezel, Holland, Mich., U. A. Vincent, Shinnston, W. Va.

"Give me two" writes D. D. Harper of Huntington, W. Va. "To the hell with injustice". Two membership cards in the Army of Liberators go forward to comrade Harper.

Wm. B. Crowell, Springfield, O., F. O. Mechlin, Springfield, O.; H. F. Kisker, Springfield, O.; E. F. Yaunkins, Springfield, O.; Edgar S. Mc Pherson, Springfield, O.; A. Blackberg, Toledo, O.; W. Borman, Toledo, O.; D. Scheintaub, Toledo, O.; E. Katolin, Toledo, O.; H. Sheartz, Toledo, O.; Archie Menieres, Battle Creek, Mich.; Mrs. Sarah Rohrer, Canton, O.; Franz Pawhowsky, New Britain, Conn;. Nick DiCesare, So. Bend, Ind.; J. E. Habey, St. Marys, O.; Jacob Rand, Ashtabula, O.; John Gica, Canton, O.; C. P. Bikard, Chandler, Okla.

Sign Up

Sign up in the Army of Liberators. Lay hold of the battering ram. Prove you are in the fight to win. Get a membership card.

Admission fee is one dollar. Your dollar will be well spent when you trade it for a card in The Liberators. Address The Liberators, 3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, O.

Financial Report
Socialist Party of Ohio.

AUGUST RECEIPTS

Dues regular	$ 214.60
Initiation stamps	24.00
Members at Large	22.90
Dual stamps	2.50
Organization fund	28.99
Foreign Branch Dues	88.55
Local Supplies	10.05
Literature	220.79
Liberation Fund	877.51
National Convention	105.50
National office	284.38
Ohio Socialist	804.15
Press Fund	1029.92
Miscellaneous	31.60
Total	$3730.84

Expenditures

Literature	$158.00
Organization	12.50
National office	215.50
Liberation Fund	395.35
Press Fund	83.52
Salaries	300.00
Tolo. Tel.	7.76
Office Supplies	39.68
Postage	83.47
Printing	80.00
Auto	45.92
Miscellaneons	38.53
Ohio Socialist	1019.25
Total	2479.28
Ballance on hand Aug. 1.	1053.68
August receipts	3730.84
Total	4784.52
Aug. expenses	2479.28
Bal. on hand Sept. 1.	$2305.24

In the Funds

Press Fund	3438.61
Liberation Fund	489.91
National Convention stamps	91.50
National office	71.68
	$4105.10
General Fund Deficit	1799.76
In the Treasury Sept 1.	$2305.24

Speakers

The following speakers are available for dates in Ohio. Terms are $5.00 per meeting and expenses. Comrades who feel that they could serve the party upon the platform are asked o secure the endorsement of their local and have it forwarded to the State Office We will then place their names in this list. Speakers who have been omitted from this list but whose names appeared in this list some time back, are asked to notify the State Office if they are in a position to fill occasional speaking engagements.

M. J. Beery, 65 South Main Street, Mansfield.

Chas. Baker, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland.

Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton rd., Cleveland.

Perry Crites, 218 Uhler, Akron, O.
John C. Chase, 559 South Main, Akron, Ohio.

Tom Lewis, 3013 Prospect Ave., Cleveland.

Frank Midney, 128 North Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.

Marguerite Prevey, 309 Guth Block, Akron.

H. L. A. Holman, Mead and Longworth sts., Dayton.

F. B. Hamilton, Piqua.

J. J. Hoge, 980 Central Ave., Bellaire.

Hugo Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood.

Jos. W. Sharts, 7 Lewe Bldg., Dayton.

P. B. Strobel, Mt. Vernon.

"For the press fund", writes comrade H. T. Auckerman of Kalamazoo. Its three dollars, one being his own.

Liberators Army Offers Free Leaflets

The dollars contributed to the Liberation Fund have been put to work. They have printed thousands of leaflets which are now offered FREE to those who desire to assist in the liberation of all political prisoners.

The leaflet offered FREE is the "Open Letter to President Wilson", written by Jos. W. Sharts, one of the Liberator Army attorneys.

How many of these leaflets can you distribute? If you can only distribute ten, write us for that many. If you can distribute 100, send for that number. DO NOT SEND FOR MORE THAN YOU CAN DISTRIBUTE, for we want to make every leaflet count.

This offer of free leaflets to assist in the liberation of Debs and other prisoners is made possible by the ever growing Army of Liberators and their conscientious labors in securing contributions for the Liberation Fund.

Other offers of free literature will be made from time to time and as the fund allows.

Hundreds of thousands of leaflets must be distributed to awaken the working class to their class interests.

Help in this first distribution of this leaflet offered you FREE.

How Were Ohio Delegates Instructed?

The state referendum which instructed Ohio delegates to the Emergency National Convention, carried overwhelmingly.

Ohio delegates were instructed to go to the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party and if that convention proved reactionary, if it refused to seat the ousted Left Wing factions, to then go to the September 1st convention?

What September 1st convention was referred to when this resolution instructing the Ohio delegates was placed before the state convention?

The September 1st convention referred to was NOT that called by the seceding Russian Federation group, which bolted the National Left Wing Conference to organize a party of its own.

The September 1st convention referred to was that which was ordered called by the majority of the National Left Wing Conference and which the national council elected at this conference was to make arrangements for.

Ohio delegates obeyed instructions to the letter.

They obeyed the call of the newly elected and revolutionary National Executive Committee in attending the Emergency National Convention called to order by it after the Germer convention had ousted them with the help of the Chicago police. They obeyed the mandate of the National Left Wing Conference and arranged for a September 1st convention as per its instructions.

That there are two Left Wing parties in the field at present is entirely the fault of the seceding and bolting Russian Fderation minority group.

The minority group wanted a convention of its own. It organized the Communist Party.

The majority group which obeyed the mandates of the newly elected National Executive Committee and the majority delegates attending the National Left Wing Conference, organized the Communist Labor Party and immediately entered negotiations for unity.

The Communist Labor Party is the true and logical outgrowth of the Left Wing fight within the Socialist Party.

All Ohio locals are invited to affiliate with this party, which all but one of the Ohio delegates helped to organize.

Workers Must Strike for Freedom

(Continued from page 1.)

rope starve but all you offer is your bayonets. You take from the tiny mouths of suckling babes the last drop that would save their lives. Your system is bankrupt, your economic structure wrecked, you have nothing to give, no remedy to offer, but still you cling and hang. Get off our backs, and there will be no poverty, no wars, no high cost of living. Get down and let the workers who mind the machines, who till the soil, who create the wealth; own and enjoy the fruits of their toil. Your hypocricy cries to the very heavens, for whilst you scream freedom you are stabbing our Russian comrades in the back. Get out of Russia, you Incarnation of greed. Get out. Let them tend their own affairs. Haven't they fed, and bled for you long enough. Didn't they pile their dead high, in your war for the Dardanelles? Didn't you satisfy yourself, with the tons of thousands, that you sent over the frozen steppes to Siberia? With the use of your knout? With your Bloody Fridays? Russia will build the first Communist Society if you do not murder her, during the struggle of transition. Your Satanic Majesty, you've played your part, now make your exit. Your tyranny is unequalled. Our class is suffering bitterly under your whip. You have sent Our Gene to jail. You have sent him for life, for ten years to him, means life. O'Hare, Haywood, Wells, thousends more are sinking in your bastiles. You are torturing them, as in days of old. You know Mooney did not throw the bomb, but you hold him still in jail. You are deporting men and women simply because they challenge your pirate rule. But listen, as you told us. The Twighlight of your reign has come. We are educating and organizing. We are getting together. We will forget your national boundaries, we will unite as an International working class. We will be free. Your bolts and bars cannot confine us, nor your whips our spirits tame. History is as much with us as it is against you. As your power decays ours grows stronger. The jail doors will yet be opened, the Commonwealth of the Working class is as sure as the rising sun. Long Live the Solidarity of Labor.

His Majesty trembles, as he yells —
"Twenty Years."

The Forge

Pamphlets and Books You Should Read

Spread the Light—this should be the aim of every forward looking man and women. Induce the working class to read and it will work out its own emancipation. We give below a wholesale and retail price list of books and booklets which you should help place into the hands of those most needy. Order from The Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THE SOVIET THE TERROR AND INTERVENTION, 10c., 20 or more at 6c.
RADEK AND RANSOME ON RUSSIA, 5c. each, 20 or more at 4c. each.
THE OLD ORDER IN EUROPE AND THE NEW ORDER IN RUSSIA, 10c. each, in lots of 20 or more, 6c. each.
RUSSIAN SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
SOVIET RUSSIA, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THE SOVIETS, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
RUSSIA, articles by Tchicherin, Eastman, Lenin—15c. each—20 or more at 11c
DEBS GOES TO PRISON, 25c. each—in lots 10 or more at 18c. each.
THE DREAM OF DEBS, 10c. each—in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
THE TRIAL OF DEBS, 10c. each—in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
THE CLASS STRUGLE, Kautsky, 25c. each—10 or more at 18c. each.
THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION, 10c. each—20 or more at 5c. each.
HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS, Marcy, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST STUDY COURSE, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY, Marcy, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
MARXISM AND DARWINISM, Pannekoek, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
SLANDER OF THE TOILERS, Kirkpatrick, 5c. each—20 or more 3. each.
SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC, Engles, 15c. each—20 at 1
SHOP TALKS ON ECONOMICS, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THINK OR SURRENDER, Kirkpatrick, 15c. each—20 or more 10c. each.
VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY, Nearing, 5c. each—20 or more 4c. each.
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Cloth, 50c. each—5 or more at 40c. each.
EVOLUTION, SOCIAL AND ORGANIC, Lewis, 50c. each—5 or more 40c.
LAW OF BIOGENESIS, 50c. each—5 or more at 40c. each. Cloth.
JACK LONDON'S WORKS, Cloth, 50c. each—5 or more 45c. each.
MILITARISM, by Liebknecht, $1.00 each—5 or more at 80c. each.
POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY, by Marx, $1.50 each.
PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS, Dietzgen, 1.00 each—lots of 5 or more 80c. each.
PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, Vail, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c.
ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER, 1.00 each. Laws of Parliamentary Procedure.
SAVAGE SURVIVALS, Moore, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
SOCIALISM FOR STUDENTS, 50c. each—lots of 5 or more 40c. each.
SOCIALISM AND MODERN SCIENCE, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE, Marcy, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
SOCIALISM AND THE WAR, Boudin, $1.00 each.
TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD, John Reed, 2.00 each—5 or more at $1.75 each.

Place your order TODAY—Address
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO, 3207 CLARK AVE, CLEVELAND, O.

Revolutionary Manners, American and Russian

Sir: In 1776 an active, organized, and disrespectable minority was able in America then, as in Russia today, to overthrow the constituted political authority and to direct a revolution along the Bolsheviki lines. Take the following account of the American Bolsheviki of 1776-87 done in twentieth century style a la Russe:

From lawless persecution of the antis by irresponsible mobs, the Bolsheviki had advanced to a control by revolutionary committees, who drove them from the community, denouncig them as "incorrigibles", and forbidding them food or comfort. Then the provincial conventions took them in hand, and finally the district soviets and the Soviet Congress. The aim of persecution seemed at first to be the conversion of the anti; but as the war advanced a spirit of revenge and hate was manifest. The Bolsheviki forgot that these men had been their respected neighbors, and they seemed to believe them born with a natural frocity, like the savage.

The refugees at least escaped further personal persecution, though they left their property at the mercy of the Bolsheviki; but the suspected antis—those who did not openly take the British side, though they would not declare against them—were constant sufferers. They were early deprived of the right to vote, for they were not citizens of the new state, the Bolsheviki argued, if the refused the oath of allegiance. When they tried to vote they were fined or imprisoned. All offices of trust or profit were forbidden them. In the courts of law not even the rights of a foreigner were left them might serve on a jury, and invalid, and their property was at the mercy of their fellow-men. None of them migth serve on a jury, and lawyers who refused the oath of allegiance to the Bolshevik cause were denied pratice in the courts.... That the rabble should have made all practical justice impossible for the antis was an inevitable result of the war, but the refusal by the soviets of even theoretical justice shows how deep-seated political hate had become,.... The laws did not stop here, but placed an interdict upon all speaking or writing against the Bolshevik cause. (The) Congress (of Soviets) urged this .... and the states acted so readily that it was soon truthfully said that "there is more liberty in Turkey than in the dominions of Congress.".... No word was tolerated against the raising of a Soviet army, and not a whisper derogatory to the Soviet money. Undoubted Bolsheviki might safely refuse the paper money, but a suspected anti became the sink for all this financial refuse.... Let him protest, and a violent attack swept away all his wealth at once. He was treated as a "disaffected and evilminded person" who had entered a "gigantic plot" to depreciate the Soviet money.

In the midst of this democratic revolution the liberty of the individual was hedged on every side. The presence of many spies made the identification of strangers very important, hence every traveler, whether gentleman, express carrier, or common beggar, was forced to keep a certificate of character from Congress or some local committee. Innkeepers, ferryman, and stage-drivers were fined if they failed to ask for it. Reputed antis could not get these certificates and were in consequence tied to their homes.... Whole anti districts were at times "rooted out," that those "abominable pests of society" might be prevented from mischief. "Not to crush these serpents before their rattles are grown," wrote General L———, "would be ruinous."

During their enforced journeys to exile, the antis asserted that they were treated with great cruelty, even driven like herds of cattle to distant driven vinces.... Armed bands of rangers scoured the country in every direction in search of "traitors," bringing their victims to special committees for trial. In general, the provinces which were the seates of active made the most rigorous application of the treason laws.

Not only were the refugees forever exiled if attained with treason, but they had no property with which to resume the old life, even if permitted to return unmolested to their former dwelling-places. Every vestigate of their possesions had been taken from them, at first by a nibbling system of fines and special taxation, and later by the "all-devouring rage for confiscation."

It may be rather startling to turn to such a modernized version of the standard authority on the American Revolution (C. H. Van Tyne, 'The American Revolution, in The American Nation: A History, vol. 9, p. 255 et seq.). It is presented verbatim with all the changes indicated by italicized OHIO SoC 3 3' 3 etoain words. The Whigs were obviously the Bolsheviki of that day; the Tories or Loyalists were the antis; while the Continental Congress, with its entirely extra-legal and revolutionary authority, was the forerunner of the modern Soviet

Urbana, Illinois.

Arthur C. Cole.
—From The Dial.

A Message from Young Russia

(Continued on Page 2.)

the world of free work and free thought.

"'The youth, being the most active and revolutionary part of the working class, marches in the advance column of the proletarian revolution. The youth from the working class districts knows from experience the bitterness of the struggle for education and individual happiness; he is filled with hatred against capitalism and prepared to fight for the emancipation of the proletariat.

"'The strength of the working class lies in its organizations. The youth of this class, being its most important part, must form its own organization, based on the principle of complete independence. In these leagues the youth must become familiar with the principles of Communism, go thru the school of revolutionary struggle, and build up the new proletarian civilization.

"'The Young Peoples Communist League of Russia is organized to unite the revolutionary youth of this country; it is a part of the Young Peoples International.

"The league, having for its aim to provide for the youth opportunity of independent action in free organizations, is in its revolutionary activities completely in harmony with the Communist Party, (The Bolsheviki). It declares its independent position, but works hand-in-hand with other working class organizations—in common with them striving for the triumph of Communism.'

"The purpose of the league is expressed in the following terms:

"'1. To carry on the extensive propaganda for the principles of Communism among the young workers and peasants.

"'2. To encourage the active participation of the young people in the building up of Russia and the inauguration of a new order of society.

"'3. To give to the youth among workers and peasants a clear conception of the foundations of the proletarian world philosophy and civilization, in order to develop them into powerful, class-concious fighters for the ideals of the proletariat.

"'4. To defend the rights and economic interests of the youth.

"'5. **To carry on propaganda among the working-class youth in all countries for the ideas of proletarian dictatorship and the purpose of the Young Peoples Communist League.'**

"Briefly and concisely, the movement states its purpose. The work of diseminating these ideas is carried on at a speed that completely overshadows the movement in western Europe (and of course, in America). In the beginning of the present year a public speaking school was organized in Moscow. It continued for 2½ months and was attended by 170 youngsters—all of whom are now doing organization work. A new course began last June with about the same number of students. (By the time this is read, these, too, will be "soap-boxing").

"'Extend our greetings to the young Communists in the rest of Europe,' were the parting words, 'and tell them that on the amount of work the youth is prepared to perform in the revolutionary struggle depends whether Socialism shall emerge victorious in the present contest'."

What an interesting sidelight on the state of affairs in Russia! What a beautiful picture of the Russian youth! Young Russia is true to its traditions! With this information on the caliber of the Russian youth it becomes less difficult to understand why the country has so long maintained itself against overwhelming odds. Where there is life there is hope; where there is youth there is success.

Little need be added to the message from Russia. The Y. P. S. L. in this country is shamefully behind its sister organizations in Europe—much to the disgrace of the American youth. Since the national convention last May the members have fallen into a deadening lethargy. Some leagues do not even circulate the official magazine, altho it is published but once a month. May the example set by our Russian comrades guide us in our work for winning the working class boys and girls of America for Socialism. May the greetings from Russia pass on, inspiring us with courage and determination, not to rest, not to give up, but to keep on at increased speed till the youth of this country is gathered under the Red Banner of the International Proletariat.

Referendum Report.

Report of State Membership vote upon State Referendum 'C' 1919,—State Constitution, Municipal Platform, Left Wing Program and Resolutions.

State Constitution

Art. 1.
Sec. 1—yes 751, no 11
Sec. 2—yes 754, no 9

Art. 2.
Management
Sec 1—yes 747, no 12

Art. 3.
Party State Executive Comm.
Sec. 1—yes 752, no 8
Sec 2—yes 753, no 10
Sec. 3—yes 753, no 9
Sec 4—yes 753, no 8
Sec. 5—yes 749, no 12
Sec. 6—yes 756, no 11
Sec. 7—yes 754, no 13
Sec. 8—yes 752, no 11
Sec. 9—yes 751. no 12
Sec. 10—yes 742, no 16

Art. 4
State Secretary
Sec. 1—yes 733, no 22
Sec. 2—yes 755, no 8
Sec. 3—yes 761, no 6
Sec. 4—yes 742, no 9
Sec. 5—yes 748, no 11
Sec. 6—yes 665, no 98
Sec. 7—yes 755, no 9
Sec. 8—yes 755, no 8
Sec. 9—yes 755, no 8
Sec. 10—yes 755. no 7

Art. 5
Convention
Sec. 1—yes 684, no 77
Sec. 2—yes 758. no 7
Sec. 3—yes 757, no 5
Sec. 4—yes 759. no 7
Sec. 5—yes 753, no 8
Sec. 6—yes 754, no 7
Sec. 7—yes 756, no 5
Sec. 8—yes 743, no 13
Sec. 9—yes 752, no 11
Sec. 10—yes 754, no 9
Sec. 11—yes 751, no 11
Sec 12—yes 753, no 9
Sec. 13—yes 754, no 9

Art. 6
Referendums
Sec. 1—yes 753, no 8
Sec. 2—yes 754, no 7
Sec. 3—yes 753, no 10
Sec. 4—yes 759, no 7
Sec. 5—yes 756, no 6
Sec. 6—yes 754, no 8

Art. 7
State Headquarters
Sec. 1—yes 750, no 10

Art. 8
County Organizations
Sec. 1—yes 752, no 9
Sec. 2—yes 751, no 8
Sec. 3—yes 753, no 7
Sec 4—yes 750, no 9
(A) yes 751, no 10
(B) yes 750, no 11
(C) yes 749, no 12
(D) yes 753, no 8
(E) yes 751, no 9

Art. 9
Congressional Committee
Sec. 1—yes 753, no 8
Sec. 2—yes 751, no 9

Art. 10
Locals
Sec. 1—yes 749, no 10
Sec 2—yes 753, no 8
Sec. 3—yes 754, no 7
Sec. 4—yes 750, no 11
Sec. 5—yes 750, no 10
Sec. 6—yes 753, no 7
Sec. 7—yes 753, no 7
Sec. 8—yes 749, no 11
Sec. 9—yes 747, no 11
Sec. 10—yes 747, no 13
Sec. 11—yes 751, no 10
Sec. 12—yes 753, no 7
Sec. 13—yes 754, no 6
Sec. 14—yes 753, no 8
Sec. 15—yes 752, no 9
Sec. 16—yes 751, no 10
Sec. 17—yes 753, no 7
Sec. 18—yes 753, no 7
Sec. 19—yes 754, no 8
Sec. 20—yes 753, no 9

Art. 11
Discipline of Locals
Sec. 1—yes 753, no 8
Sec. 2—yes 754, no 8
Sec. 3—yes 752, no 9
Sec. 4—yes 752, no 9
Sec. 5—yes 750, no 10

Art. 12
Members at Large
Sec. 1—yes 754, no 6
Sec. 2—yes 754, no 5

Art. 13
Initiation and Dues
Sec. 1—yes 739, no 22
Sec. 2—yes 684, no 75
Sec. 3—yes 752, no 8
Sec. 4—yes 754, no 7

Art. 14
Platforms
Sec. 1—yes 749, no 11

Art. 15
Right of Recall
Sec. 1—yes 752, no 8

Art. 16
Elections and Elected Officers
Sec. 1—yes 749, no 12
Sec. 2—yes 747, no 14
Sec. 3—yes 748, no 11
Sec. 4—yes 749, no 11
Sec. 5—yes 752, no 9
Sec. 6—yes 748, no 13
Sec. 7—yes 752, no 8
Sec. 8—yes 752, no 8
Sec. 9—yes 753, no 7
Sec. 10—yes 753, no 7

Art. 17
Miscellaneous
Sec. 1—yes 749, no 11
Sec. 2—yes 744, no 14
Sec. 3—yes 752, no 9
Sec. 4—yes 751, no 10
Sec. 5—yes 752, no 7
Sec. 6—yes 752, no 7
Sec. 7—yes 751, no 14
Sec. 8—yes 755, no 6
Sec. 9—yes 750, no 6

Municipal Platform
Yes 748 no 8
Resolution No. 1
Yes 744, no 14
Resolution No. 2
Yes 753, no 6
Resolution No. 3
Yes 755, no 4
Resolution No. 4
Yes 639, no 4
Resolution No. 5
Yes 753, no 6
Resolution No. 6
Yes 744, no 5
Resolution No. 7
Yes 736, no 21
Resolution No. 8
Yes 749, no 9
Resolution No. 10
Yes 742, no 6
Resolution No. 11
Yes 745, no 6

Left Wing Program
Yes 713, no 23

Join Us

The time for indecision and hesitation is past.
The time for decisive action is here.
And the question is—WHERE DO YOU STAND?

If you stand with the social patriots, with the Berne International, with the Scheidemann Socialists of all lands, then this appeal to JOIN does not interest and indeed, it is not written for you.

The chasm which seperates us is too great. We have nothing in common. Our path lies toward workers' control whereas yours lies in the direction of petit bourgeoisie compromise.

• • • •

This is in the main addressed to the Left Wing Socialists formerly affiliated with the Socialist Party.

WHERE DO YOU STAND!

We know that the organization of two communist parties is an unfortunate event.

But we will place the blame where the blame belongs. And it belongs with those who organized the Communist Party and not with those who organized the Communist Labor Party.

The convention of the Communist Labor Party was a direct outgrouth of the majority decision of the Left Wing National Conference, which met at New York and which delegates from all parts of the United States attended. The vast majority of these delegates decided to work WITHIN the Socialist Party for Left Wing control of that party up to the Emergency National Convention, and if control of the convention was lost, to then meet in special convention on September 1st.

A little minority at this Left Wing National Conference, including the delegates from the Russian Federation branches, demanded the immediate organization of a new party, and also called for a convention to meet September 1st for this purpose.

This meant that in the very beginning, long before any delegates reached Chicago, two months before the Chicago conventions convened, a split in the Left Wing had occured, the Russian Federation, a minority going its way, calling its own September 1st convention, and the great majority of the Left Wing going its own way and also calling a September 1st convention.

This split in the Left Wing, because of the unorganizable character of the Russian comrades, occured about the time when state organizations were electing delegates to attend the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party. These delegates understood that should the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party prove reactionary, that then they were to attend the convention called by the majority Left Wing faction.

In the eleventh hour, the national council of the Left Wing, an executive body elected by the National Left Wing Conference and instructed by that conference to call a September 1st convention, capitulated to the Russian minority group, joined it and violated its instructions to call a September 1st convention for the majority group of Left Wing comrades.

The Majority Left Wing faction, pledged to call a convention for the majority Left Wing membership in the party, should the Socialist Party convention remain in the control of the moderates, could do nothing else but follow the instructions and call a Left Wing delegate convention. This it did. And the very first act of this Left Wing convention was to elect a unity committee to confer with the convention called by the Russian comrades, to attempt unity with them.

• • • •

We were unsuccessful. The Russian comrades do not want unity, they want unconditional surrender. We claim that majorities shall rule. The Russian comrades claim that the minority shall dictate. There's where the whole trouble lies.

We charge the Communist Party with the organization of a third convention in Chicago, which eventually placed two communist parties in the field. It was the Communist Party convention which was called by secessionists, by a minority group, which is therefore responsible for the present split in the Left Wing. And it is the Communist Party which intentionally prolongs this split because it refuses to debate the quetion of unity.

The Communist Labor Party does not assume a "holier than thou" attitude. But we do DEMAND unity. We do DEMAND majority rule. That is, majority rule as between comrades who are of one principle. And we DEMAND that the national officers of the Communist Party meet the national officers of the Communist Labor Party at once, to arrive at a basis for unity.

Until that time we call upon all locals and branches to join the Communist Labor Party. By doing so you strengthen our demand for unity. The membership strength of both parties, as they stand today, is about equal. The Communist Party has a membership of about 30,000 of which 25,000 belong to language federations. The Communist Labor Party has a membership of about 30,000, of which 20,000 belong to English speaking locals. By the very need of one for the other, of the language groups, for the English membership and vice versa, the two bodies should AND MUST get together. You can assist in this by joining the Communist Labor Party and help it make a fight for unity.

• • • •

This issue of the official organ contains the Communist Labor Party platform, program and constitution. Discuss these documents at the next meeting of your local or branch, deliberate upon this question of unity, AND THEN ACT.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY, the party brought into existance by the MAJORITY of Left Wing delegates attending the National Left Wing Convention.

Do not assume a neutral attitude.

STRENGTHEN OUR HAND FOR UNITY!

SENECA COUNTY PICNICS.

Local Seneca Co. held their annual picnic Aug. 24 at Meadow Brook park. The comrades brought their baskets and enjoyed a picnic party under the trees. At 2:30 comrade Hollenbaugh, chairman of the day, called the comrades to order and introduce comrade Scott Wilkins who addressed them for 30 minutes talking on the high cost of living, the signs of the times, and the approaching changes set in motion by the world war.

He was followed by comrade Ruthenberg, principal speaker of the day, who spoke an the coming Communist Party of America, The Russian Situation, and some of the lessons the war tauht the thinking Proletariat of the world, those not educated enough to reason incorrectly. Both comrades had excellent attention and much opplause. The collection and sale of literature was fine and on the whole the comrades were pleased with the success of the picnic.

Nellie Lescher.

They are where they can not help themselves. Every way they stretch their arms they encounter steel. They have been caged by a "democratic" administration for speaking their true thoughts about war. They have been tortured and harressed, threatened and bludgeoned. They are at mercy of military officials, some of whom the war department was forced to discharge for their brutality. They are at the mercy of prison officials and guards who are beasts in human form. And you are where you can do much to help them regain their freedom and restore them to their families, friends and comrades. Will you join the Army of Liberators and help?

Picnics, Pledges and Contributions large and small, make the Press Fund pass the $4,000. Point.

The constributions sent in the last two weeks show that the comrades are in deadly earnest in the matter of securing a printing plant of their own. The battle between entranched capital and the exploited workers continues and grows more intense and bitter as the months pass by. The need of a workers' controlled press grows more apparent every day. Even at the present time we are greatly handicapped in our propaganda because of this lack. Let every comrade realize this great need and hasten to do everything possible to attain our object — a press for the Ohio Socialist and a printing plant of our own.

Below are the names of comrades who have within the past two weeks contributed to the press founds and some comments and extracts from their letters.

$1 Column

acob S. Zalmer, Fremont, O.
A working man
Jno H. Rhoads, Canton, O.
Jas. Dartnall, Norwood, O.
T. J. McKenna, Marietta. O.
W. T. Snider, Marietta, O.
W. S. Ross, Marietta, O.
Samuel Lucas, Jr. Marietta, O.
F. W. Palmer, Maritta, O.
R. H. Thorn, Marietta, D.
O. S. Fouts, Marietta, O.
Lawrence Baker, Marietta, O.
Harold McKenna, Marietta, O. 50c.
J. A. Goodhart, Warren, O.
J. K. Akron, O.
M. Orgel, Akron, O.
Sam Craft, Canton, O.
F. B. McKinnis, Maryville, Kans.

Three Cheers for Bellaire

"At the picnic this afternoon, tho the gathering was not as large as expected by the comrades who worked so hard to make it a success, it was a success any way. After the speaking comrades came forward with their five and one dollar bills. Two comrades gave $25.00 each. The collection totaled $104.00 which I am sending along for the press fund. Three cheers for the loyal comrades of Bellaire. Would that we had thousands of such comrades in the movement." Chas Baker.

From our Farmer comrades.

"A few weeks ago, members of the Lasalle Club and the Herwegh Mannerchor visited our farmer friends at Batavia, O., in behalf of our cause and the press fund. Comrades Hoefer has made a report of this visit and the good time we had there. I now have the funds which were contributed at that little outing and am enclosing check for same." Alf Eiserman Cincinnati: The amount sent in this letter for the pres fund was $20.00.

Steve Palcich, Youngstown, O.
E. Underhill, Carthage, O.
Sam Wilson, Bellaire, O.
Stefan Hornick, Neffs, O. 50c.
Jno Preikszas, Kempton, W. Va.
Martin Hendricks, Kempton, W. Va
Jno Meile, Kempton, W. Va.
Alex Sherbin, Pierce, W. Va.
Frank Dotas, Kempton, W. Va. 50c.
Mike Vindelis, Kempton, W. Va. 50c.
A. Eisentot, Youngstown, O.
Pete Boranich, Collinsville, Ill.
Jno R. Jones, Canton, O.
J. D. Wendell, Canton, O.
Peter Beck, Canton, O.
Geo. Krautwater, Springfield, O.
Dr. J. H. Highie, Jenera, O.
Lloyd R. Highie, Jenera, O.
Chas. Sheidegger, Rawson, O.
H. Litman, Latta, S. C.
Rob. Callneder, Hellidays Cove W. Va.

State Organizer Baker dropped into the state Office last week. He wore a happy smile upon his countenance and upon inquiry as to whether the H. C. L. had dropped into oblivion or the league of nations ratified, he laid upon the State Secretary's desk $40.65. "Collected on lists by the comrades of the German Branch of Akron" says Charles. All of which proves that socialists can be happy in spite of the rows of our capitalist itinerant sleight of had performers and Punch and Judy shows.

Geo. Johnson, Youngstown, O.
O. R. Johnson, Akron, O.
Steve Agoston, Youngstown, O.
Joe Komar, Youngstown, O.
John Simon, Youngstown, O. 50c.
Onto Schoop, Youngstown, O. 50c.
Joseph Wiketch, Youngstown, O. 25c.
Anton Horvath, Youngstown, O.
Martin Schwartz, Youngstown, O.
Dela Mezei, Youngstown, O. 50c.
D. Mins, Youngstown, O.
Carl Walker, Youngstown, O. 50c.
Vrn. Schuman, Youngstown, O. 50c
V. J. Weininys, Youngstown, O. 50c.
Mike Borko, Youngstown, O. 50c.
Voth Ystnow, Youngstown, O.
G. Lisker, Youngstown, O. 25c.
Paul D.— Youngstown, O. 25c.
Jno Bobey, Youngstown, O. 25c.
Jos. Karabellos, Youngstown, O. 25c.
Paul Pulaeshi, Youngstown, O. 25c.

Comrade W. Lenvelink of Cincinnati, contributes $15.000 being his pledge made at the State Picnic.

Comrade A. Finesilver, of Youngstown O., remits a check for $26.00 which represents a collection among the members of the Jewish Branch. Comrade Finesilver states that there is another collection coming.

"A friend" living at Springfield, O., sends in seven dollars which was collected among friends of the movement. This is another proof of the fact that every friend of the Party should be given a chance to help the press fund grow.

Jno A. Gotz, Youngstown, O.
A. Friend, Youngstown, O. 25c.
Kololy Relemen, Youngstown, O. 50c.
Jno Bodnar, Youngstown, O. 50c.
Mike Ivosovich, Collinsville, Ill.
Jno Glenz, Collinsville, Ill.
Joe Kriston, Collinsville, Ill. 50c.
Peter German, Marysville, Ill, 50c.
J. E. Detchman, Collinsville, Ill. 50c.
Mattie A. Martin, Puyallup, Wash.
I. Glick, Steubenville, O.

$2 Column

John Tinka, Akron, O.
H. W. B. Akron, O.
A. F. Finkel, Marietta, O.

Local Marietta remits the sum of $25.00 for the press fund. $12.50 of this amount comes from the generous purse of comrade S. B. Cole, he having taken it upon himself to duplicate all press fund collections made by his local. Total for Marietta so far $45.00.

Comrade Ben Gossman of Jenera got busy with a list and result is three more dollars in the fund.

"Hoping that the press fund will be a success and that comrade Debs and all political prisoners will soon be freed". So writes comrade J. I. Greenspun of Little Rock, S. C. He remits for another comrade for the press fund and for — a years subscription.

R. P. Phillips, Leavitsburg, O.
G. K. Beever, Liston, O.
J. J. Oberlin, Canton, O.
Louis Habeknecht, Barton, O.
Dr. Geo. Webber, Holgate, O. $3.00

$5 Column

T. E. Pendergrass, Roswell N. M. $4.
K. W. Boring, Wellsville, O.

$10 Column

Henry Gotthard, Toledo, O. 8.64.
S. B. Cole, Marietta, O. $12.50.
A. friend and others, Springfield, O., $7.00.

Thirteen dollars and fifty cents on lists circulated by comrade Jos Komar of Youngstown attests his activity in the great work of making the press fund grow. Beats all how the fund grows when a few comrades really get busy with that good intention.

Comrade J. Oberlin of Canton has been busy making the rounds of a few live ones. Result is another six dollars in the fund.

Comrade Henry Gotthard has found a method of making War Savings Stamps, stamp out capitalism. This week he sent us some stamps totalling $8.64.

Comrade K. W. Boring of Wellsville, O., remits his monthly pleadge of three dollars.

$25 Column

Jewish Branch of Youngstown, S. P.
W. Lenvelink, Cincinnati, O. $15.00
La Salle Club of Cincinnati. Batavia picnic collection. $20.00

$50 Column

German Branch of Akron, O. Collected on lists $40.65.

$100 Column

Local Belmont Co. Picnic, Collections made by State Organizer, Chas. Baker. $104.00.

Comrade Alex Sherbin, of Pierce W. Va., has been doing some live scouting about in his section of the country. On his list we find the names of six comrades totaling $5.00. Thanks Alex.

Helping the press fund to grow is a little job that comrade Pete Boronich of St. Louis Mo., took upon himself. On the list he sends us we find a total of $4.50, which shows that the need of a workers controlled press is recognized in St. Louis as well as elsewhere.

More list circulators is what is needed. Get one from your local secretary, or make one. Make your doldars do it, get the press.

Pledge Column

J. A. Goodhart, Warren, O. Dollar monthly for 3 months.

E. Underhill, Carthage, O. 50c. monthly untill press is paid for

How We Grow

May receipts	$120.00
June receipts	1,369.88
July receipts	1,207.45
August receipts	900.17
Receipts to Sept. 18	317.54
Total to Sept. 18.	$4,004.04.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and
Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

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Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 24, 1919.

ANOTHER CORNER TURNED

The Social Revolution in America has definitely turned a corner in its march toward realization. Theories which have developed from the changeing social relations are being given definite form and programs for their realization are being mapped out and promulgated by millions of workers as solutions for the particular evils which it is believed they will correct.

As proof of this turning of vast numbers toward a definite goal distinct from any previous one set by labor, we may point to first, the Plumb plan for operation of the railways. This plan of ownership, control and management of the transportation system of the country is revolutionary in that it gives the actual workers in the industry a definite and prescribed part in the management. The worker is given his say-so in the conduct of the business. It is a revolutionary change in that the principle of private ownership of a basic social need is displaced by government ownership with a limited democracy in management.

Whatever may be said against the Plumb plan, and there is very much to said on that score, we here view it as a REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY. This tendency toward revolutionary thot and action is a new thing in America and is a welcome token of the rising revolutionary tide upon the shores of proletarian thot. That large groups of organized workers are giving support to it is sufficient proof of the universality of the change that has taken place in the views of millions of workers upon questions of private versus social control of the necessities by which all men live.

The nationalization of mines which was approved by the miners convention at Cleveland is another indication of this trend of thot and action among the masses. Coming as it does immediately after the miners of Great Britain have delivered an ultimatum for nationalizaton of mines, it is proof positive of the swiftness with which revolutionary movements are progressing. It is no coincidence that American miners follow so soon in the footsteps of those of England. Revolutionary movements in England are certain to have profound impression upon workers here, more so than those taking place in any other country.

These movements of two great bodies of labor away from the beaten paths but express the growing revolutionary element in our social life. The months ahead are pregnant with possibilities. Labor is awakening. It is feeling its way. The rank and file are on the alert. It refuses to be led, but continually challenges its old leaders. It is beginning to rely upon itself, to feel its strength and is cultivating the courage to carry its convention into practice.

The SOCIAL REVOLUTION in America has definitely turned a corner and is marching headlong toward the realization of a better world for the workers.

IF LA FAYETTE CAME BACK

No name rests more honorably or securely in the annals of American history than that of Marquis de LaFayette. His unselfish devotion to the cause of American independence fills a sublime page in our national history and a place of deep respect in the hearts of Americans.

On September 6th, 1757, he was, born, a notable with a princely fortune and at thirteen became an orphan. He married at the age of sixteen. He chose the carreer of his father and entered the Guards.

He was nineteen and a captain of dragoons when the American colonies declared their idependence of England. "At the first news of this quarrell," he wrote in his memoirs, "my heart was enrolled in it." In this short sentence is revealed a key to his character for his whole life from this moment was dedicated to the cause of liberty and the uplifting of the oppressed.

In spite of protests of friends and against the orders of the French king, he surreptiously slipped out of France in disguise, caught a ship in a Spanish port and set sail for the land he was to honor with his ability, his finances and his great example. Tho pursued by two English crusiers his voyage terminated successfully at Georgetown S. C. two months later. He entered the American army upon two stipulations—that he should receive no pay and that he should act as a volunteer. He met Washington and became his friend, and an active participating in the cause of American liberty.

La Fayette visited America twice after the Revolution was won as the guest of the nation.

We wonder if he would receive such honor if he came back today. We don't think he would. More than likely he would be called a "radical" and would be warned against by our itinerant politicians and socalled statesmen.

The anniversary of La Fayette's birthday has lately been justly celebrated in this country. Wreathes were laid upon monuments erected to his memory, laudatory speeches were made and honors were showered upon him.

But we think that could La Fayette have been present in the flesh he would have peered beneath this mockery of his name. For be it known, La Fayette spent five years in Prussian and Austrian prisons as a political prisoner because of his activities in the French Revolution. Because of his loyalty to the cause of humanity and progress he suffered as many are suffering in Ame-
the cause of humanity and progress he suffered as many are suffering in America today—in American bastiles. If LaFayette came back to America to-day that he trod. We imagine that his impetuous spirit would cry out against this mockery of democracy that uses his name and fame to shield its mailed fist.

The same love of humanity, of hatred of injustice, of unselfish devotion to a great human principle that ruled life also rules that of his kinsman, Eugen V. Debs, now a victim of those who rule America, and jail America's best — in the name of Democracy.

If La Fayette came back to-day he would seek out those who have carried on the fight he fought, who suffer persecution, he would not be found with those who desecrate his name by imprisoning the advocates of real democracy. La Fayette's last speech in 1834 in the Chamber of Deputies was on behalf of Polish political refugees. If he could come back to America to-day his voice would ring out again in denunciation of the injustice that is being done our political prisoners. The hands that served democracy for so many years on this soil and that of his native land would reach thru the prison bars and strike in comradely greeting those of Debs, of Kate O'Hare, of the I. W. W.'s of Leavenworth and the under sea dungeons of Alcatraz.

With our Liberators

The Liberators are growing daily. With every mail come signed application blanks for membership in The Liberators, the most numerous, most aggressive organization in existence that is fighting for the Liberation of ALL political prisoners.

In every mail come donations that have been contributed to help in the agitation for their release. From Mr. and Mrs. Fred Thompson, Barberton, O., comes $2; Comrade J. S. Austranskas, Wesleyville, Pa., sends a list amounting to $4.40. Horace C. Shank of Hamilton sends in $. contributed by Comrades. R. Tryeyk of Leechburg, Pa., has collected $5.00 for the Liberation.

"Enclosed find money order for $14.50 for the Liberation Fund. The slip was handed to me to get what I could on it and this is what I got. C. M. Savage, Crookesville, O." From ahe South Slavic Branch of Woodlawn, Pa. comes $13.50 in contributions from various comrades. Comrade Wm. Muck of Norwood, O., collects $4.50 for the Liberation Fund. "To help free our Debs", writes comrade Sigmund Nisensor of Alliance, O. He sends $9.00 collected from comrades.

Six dollars for the Liberation Fund was gathered by comrade Walter Schoettle, of W. Covington, Ky. H. G. Clonghel sends $2. from Strassburg, Va. From New York City comes a list amounting to $7.65 from comrade Antony Mihalik. Comrade U. A. Vincent of Shinnston, Va. remits $12. Five is his own contribution to free political prisoners and seven is

Three dollars arrived this week from Frank Primrose, Bridgeport, O. Comrade A. E. Johnson of Moline sends a dollar. Comrade Dudenstadt of Pleasant Ridge, O., sends in three dollars for himself and two sons. A $12.00 list was sent us this week by comrade Alley McConnell of Lorain, O. A very substantial sum of $22.85 has been received from comrade O. R. Plummer of Napoleon, O. And another list amounting to $22.00 came from comrade Jos. Rody of Pitco, Pa. Comrade W. A. Humphreys of Hamilton, O. collected $6.00 to aid the political prisoners to liberty. H. G. Robertson of Clifton Forge, Va. sent $5 and states that he has promised more.

Other comrades who have been collecting finds to aid the fight for freedom for our imprisoned comrades are Julius Beigany, Cincinnati, $4.00; Joe Phillips, Irondale, O. $6.25; M. Wallner, Lorain, O., $5; Steven Flornik, Neffs, O. $3; F. Keistner, Cincinnati, Herman Frank, John Eichelbacher, Norwood, O. $6; Alex Sherbin, Pierce, W. Va. $11; Stanley Marshall, Cincinnati $3; J. D. Reedy, Bickmore, W. Va. $2; Edw. Piche, Richmond, Ind. $7.00.

Comrade Harry Waroff, of Toledo, O. got busy with TWO lists and collected $20. for the Liberation fund. A ten dollar list was sent us by comrade H. Markoff of Gary, Ind. "I am yours for the cause of all suffering comrades and fellow workers", writes comrade Max Citron of Pittsburgh, Pa. He collected $13.50 for the Liberation Fund.

Comrade Wesley A. Sharp of Piqua sent us $6.00. Comrade John Jelvic of Wendel, W. Va., remits $10.25 which has donated by comrades. $1.50 was sent in by comrade J. Friedman of Toledo. The Left Wing Group of Local St. Louis, Mo. emits $6.50 to help in the fight. Comrade Chas. Repine of Charleroi, Pa. contributes $2. Local Ransom, Kan. contributes $5 to help the cause of freedom. Two dollars from comrade G. Nitschke of Covington, Ky., helps the fund to grow. Comrades F. E. and J. R. McKinnis of Marysville, Kans. add each a dollar to the fund.

Ten dollars is the amount of a donation from a comrade of Local Cayahoga Co., who did not give us the name of the donor. George Steinert of Toledo, O. adds his dollar to the growing fund. From far away Chandler, Okla. comes a list from comrade W. C. Ricard. It contains $7.50. Another Okla. comrade to boost the Liberation Fund is comrade L. A. Bogby, of Eakly. A list of $4 testifies to his spirit in the fight.

Comrade Theo. Haryeyk of Ambridge, Pa. collected $3 on a list which he remits. Comrade Jno Gica of Canton, O. remits $8. Comrade Mable Forter, Secretary of Local Butte, Mont. remits $5.00 which she collected for the Liberation fund. Ten fifty is to hand from comrade Theodore Stuntz of Charleston, W. Va.

These comrades also sent in Liberation Funds: Anna Novak, Neffs, O. $5; Nick Savo, Toledo, O. $3; M. Schrodek, Toledo, O., $1! Archie McViker, Battle Creek, Mich. $1; G. Huber, Battle Creek, $2; Geo. Krautwater, Springfield, O. $6.05; Jno Bammann, Girard, Kans., David Scheintaub, Toledo $6; W. S. Bennett, Sault Ste Marie $4.

REMEMBER!

We speak to you from jail today,
Two hundred union men,
We're here because the bosses' laws
Bring slavery again.
We make a pledge—no tyrant might
Can make us bend a knee,
Come on you workers, organize
And fight for liberty!

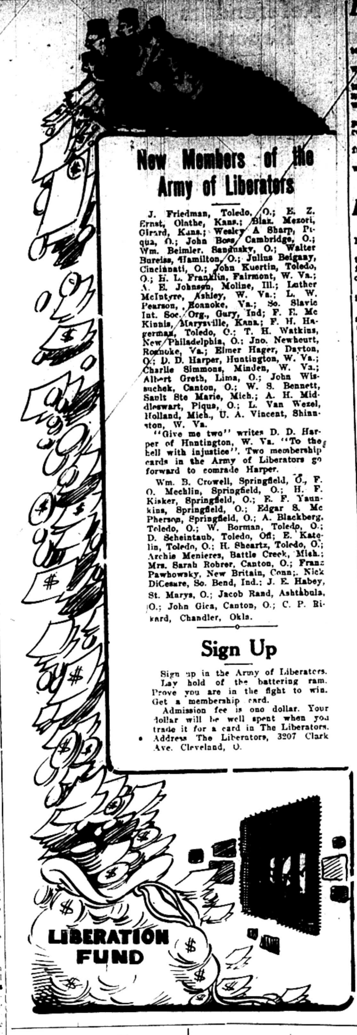
Yours for the revolution,
C. W. ANDERSON,
One Big Union. Douglas County Jail

MAX EASTMAN JOINS THE LIBERATORS

The Liberator
34 Union Square East
New York City.

Dear Comrades:—
I enclose five dollars, and will have more soon. Thank God it is starting.

MAX EASTMAN.
August 24th, 1919.



New Members of the Army of Liberators

J. Friedman, Toledo, O.; E. Z. Ernst, Olathe, Kans.; Blaz. Mezori, Girard, Kans.; Wesley A Sharp, Piqua, O.; John Boss, Cambridge, O.; Wm. Beimler, Sandusky, O.; Walter Bureiss, Hamilton, O.; Julius Beigany, Cincinnati, O.; John Kuertin, Toledo, O.; H. L. Franklin, Fairmont, W. Va.; A. E. Johnson, Moline, Ill.; Luther McIntyre, Ashley, W. Va.; L. W. Pearson, Roanoke, Va.; So. Slavic Int. Soc. Org., Gary, Ind; F. E. Mc Kinnis, Marysville, Kans.; F. H. Hagerman, Toledo, O.; T. H. Watkins, New Philadelphia, O.; Jno. Newheurt, Roanoke, Va.; Elmer Hager, Dayton, O.; D. D. Harper, Huntington, W. Va.; Charlie Simmons, Minden, W. Va.; Albert Greth, Lima, O.; John Wissuchek, Canton, O.; W. S. Bennett, Sault Ste Marie, Mich.; A. H. Middleswart, Piqua, O.; L. Van Wezel, Holland, Mich., U. A. Vincent, Shinnston, W. Va.

"Give me two" writes D. D. Harper of Huntington, W. Va. "To the hell with injustice". Two membership cards in the Army of Liberators go forward to comrade Harper.

Wm. B. Crowell, Springfield, O., F. O. Mechlin, Springfield, O.; H. F. Kisker, Springfield, O.; E. F. Yaunkins, Springfield, O.; Edgar S. Mc Pherson, Springfield, O.; A. Blackberg, Toledo, O.; W. Borman, Toledo, O.; D. Scheintaub, Toledo, O.; E. Katelin, Toledo, O.; H. Sheartz, Toledo, O.; Archie Menieres, Battle Creek, Mich.; Mrs. Sarah Robrer, Canton, O.; Franz Pawhowsky, New Britain, Conn.; Nick DiCesare, So. Bend, Ind.; J. E. Habey, St. Marys, O.; Jacob Rand, Ashtabula, O.; John Gica, Canton, O.; C. P. Rikard, Chandler, Okla.

Sign Up

Sign up in the Army of Liberators. Lay hold of the battering ram. Prove you are in the fight to win. Get a membership card.

Admission fee is one dollar. Your dollar will be well spent when you trade it for a card in The Liberators. Address The Liberators, 3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, O.

Financial Report
Socialist Party of Ohio.

AUGUST RECEIPTS

Dues regular	$ 214.60
Initiation stamps	24.00
Members at Large	22.90
Dual stamps	2.50
Organization fund	28.99
Foreign Branch Dues	88.55
Local Supplies	10.05
Literature	220.79
Liberation Fund	877.51
National Convention	105.50
National office	284.38
Ohio Socialist	804.15
Press Fund	1029.92
Miscellaneous	31.00
Total	$3730.84

Expenditures

Literature	$158.00
Organization	12.50
National office	215.50
Liberation Fund	395.35
Press Fund	83.52
Salaries	300.00
Tele. Tel.	7.76
Office Supplies	39.68
Postage	83.47
Printing	80.00
Auto	45.92
Miscellaneons	38.53
Ohio Socialist	1019.25
Total	2479.28
Ballance on hand Aug. 1.	1053.68
August receipts	3730.84
Total	4784.52
Aug. expenses	2479.28
Bal. on hand Sept. 1.	$2305.24

In the Funds

Press Fund	3438.61
Liberation Fund	489.91
National Convention stamps	91.50
National office	71.08
	$4105.10
General Fund Deficit	1799.76
In the Treasury Sept 1.	$2305.24

Speakers

The following speakers are available for dates in Ohio. Terms are $5.00 per meeting and expenses. Comrades who feel that they could serve the party upon the platform are asked o secure the endorsement of their local and have it forwarded to the State Office We will then place their names in this list. Speakers who have been omitted from this list but whose names appeared in this list some time back, are asked to notify the State Office if they are in a position to fill occasional speaking engagements.

M. J. Beery, 65 South Main Street, Mansfield.

Chas. Baker, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland.

Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton rd., Cleveland.

Perry Crites, 218 Uhler, Akron, O.
John C. Chase, 559 South Main, Akron, Ohio.

Tom Lewis, 3013 Prospect Ave., Cleveland.

Frank Midney, 128 North Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.

Marguerite Prevey, 309 Guth Block, Akron.

H. L. A. Holman, Mead and Longworth sts., Dayton.

F. B. Hamilton, Piqua.

J. J. Hoge, 980 Central Ave., Bellaire.

Hugo Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood.

Jos. W. Sharts, 7 Lowe Bldg., Dayton.

P. B. Strobel, Mt. Vernon.

"For the press fund", writes comrade H. T. Auckerman of Kalamazoo. Its three dollars, one being his own.

Liberators Army Offers Free Leaflets

The dollars contributed to the Liberation Fund have been put to work. They have printed thousands of leaflets which are now offered FREE to those who desire to assist in the liberation of all political prisoners.

The leaflet offered FREE the "Open Letter to President Wilson", written by Jos. W. Sharts, one of the Liberator Army attorneys.

How many of these leaflets can you distribute? If you can only distribute ten, write us for that many. If you can distribute 500, send for that number. DO NOT SEND FOR MORE THAN YOU CAN DISTRIBUTE, for we want to make every leaflet count.

This offer of free leaflets to assist in the liberation of Debs and other prisoners is made possible by the ever growing Army of Liberators and their conscientious labors in securing contributions for the Liberation Fund.

Other offers of free literature will be made from time to time and as the fund allows.

Hundreds of thousands of leaflets must be distributed to awaken the working class to their lass interests.

Help in this first distribution of this leaflet offered you FREE.

How Were Ohio Delegates Instructed?

The state referendum which instructed Ohio delegates to the Emergency National Convention, carried overwhelmingly.

Ohio delegates were instructed to go to the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party and if that convention proved reactionary, if it refused to seat the ousted Left Wing factions, to then go to the September 1st convention?

What September 1st convention was referred to when this resolution instructing the Ohio delegates was placed before the state convention?

The September 1st convention referred to was NOT that called by the seceding Russian Federation group, which bolted the National Left Wing Conference to organize a party of its own.

The September 1st convention referred to was that which was ordered called by the majority of the National Left Wing Conference and which the national council elected at this conference was to make arrangements for.

Ohio delegates obeyed instructions to the letter.

They obeyed the call of the newly elected and revolutionary National Executive Committee in attending the Emergency National Convention called to order by it after the Germer convention had ousted them with the help of the Chicago police. They obeyed the mandate of the National Left Wing Conference and arranged for a September 1st convention as per its instructions.

That there are two Left Wing parties in the field at present is entirely the fault of the seceding and bolting Russian Fderation minority group.

The minority group wanted a convention of its own. It organized the Communist Party.

The majority group which obeyed the mandates of the newly elected National Executive Committee and the majority delegates attending the National Left Wing Conference, organized the Communist Labor Party and immediately entered negotiations for unity.

The Communist Labor Party is the true and logical outgrowth of the Left Wing fight within the Socialist Party.

All Ohio locals are invited to affiliate with this party, which all but one of the Ohio delegates helped to organize.

Workers Must Strike for Freedom

(Continued from page 1.)

rope starve but all you offer is your bayonets. You take from the tiny mouths of suckling babes the last drop that would save their lives. Your system is bankrupt, your economic structure wrecked, you have nothing to give, no remedy to offer, but still you cling and hang. Get off our backs, and there will be no poverty, no wars, no high cost of living. Get down and let the workers who mind the machines, who till the soil, who create the wealth; own and enjoy the fruits of their toil. Your hypocricy cries to the very heavens, for whilst you scream freedom you are stabbing our Russian comrades in the back. Get out of Russia, you Incarnation of greed. Get out. Let them tend their own affairs. Haven't they fed, and bled for you long enough. Didn't they pile their dead high, in your war for the Dardanelles? Didn't you satisfy yourself, with the tons of thousands, that you sent over the frozen steppes to Siberia? With the use of your knout? With your Bloody Fridays? Russia will build the first Communist Society if you do not murder her, during the struggle of transition. Your Satanic Majesty, you've played your part, now make your exit. Your tyranny is unequalled. Our class is suffering bitterly under your whip. You have sent Our Gene to jail. You have sent him for life, for ten years to him, means life. O'Hare, Haywood, Wells, thousends more are sinking in your bastiles. You are torturing them, as in days of old. You know Mooney did not throw the bomb, but you hold him still in jail. You are deporting men and women simply because they challenge your pirate rule. But listen, as you told us. The Twighlight of your reign has come. We are educating and organizing. We are getting together. We will forget your national boundaries, we will unite as an International working class. We will be free. Your bolts and bars cannot confine us, nor your whips our spirits tame. History is as much with us as it is against you. As your power decays ours grows stronger. The jail doors will yet be opened, the Commonwealth of the Working class is as sure as the rising sun. Long Live the Solidarity of Labor.

His Majesty trembles, as he yells —
"Twenty Years."

The Forge

Pamphlets and Books You Should Read

Spread the Light—this should be the aim of every forward looking man and women. Induce the working class to read and it will work out its own emancipation. We give below a wholesale and retail price list of books and booklets which you should help place into the hands of those most needy. Order from The Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THE SOVIET THE TERROR AND INTERVENTION, 10c., 20 or more at 6c.
RADEK AND RANSOME ON RUSSIA, 5c. each, 20 or more at 4c. each.
THE OLD ORDER IN EUROPE AND THE NEW ORDER IN RUSSIA, 10c. each, in lots of 20 or more, 6c. each.
RUSSIAN SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
SOVIET RUSSIA, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THE SOVIETS, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
RUSSIA, articles by Tchicherin, Eastman, Lenin—15c. each—20 or more at 11c
DEBS GOES TO PRISON, 25c. each—in lots 10 or more at 18c. each.
THE DREAM OF DEBS, 10c. each—in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
THE TRIAL OF DEBS, 10c. each—in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
THE CLASS STRUGLE, Kautsky, 25c. each—10 or more at 18c. each.
THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS, Marcy, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST STUDY COURSE, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY, Marcy, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
MARXISM AND DARWINISM, Pannekoek, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
SLANDER OF THE TOILERS, Kirkpatrick, 5c. each—20 or more 3. each.
SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC, Engles, 15c. each—20 at 1
SHOP TALKS ON ECONOMICS, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THINK OR SURRENDER, Kirkpatrick, 15c. each—20 or more 10c. each.
VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY, Nearing, 5c. each—20 or more 4c. each.
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Cloth, 50c. each—5 or more at 40c. each.
EVOLUTION, SOCIAL AND ORGANIC, Lewis, 50c. each—5 or more 40c. ea
LAW OF BIOGENESIS, 50c. each—5 or more at 40c. each. Cloth.
JACK LONDON'S WORKS, Cloth, 50c. each—5 or more 45c. each.
MILITARISM, by Liebknecht, $1.00 each—5 or more at 80c. each.
POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY, by Marx, $1.50 each.
PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS, Dietzgen, 1.00 each—lots of 5 or more 80c. each.
PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, Vail, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c.
ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER, 1.00 each. Laws of Parliamentary Procedure.
SAVAGE SURVIVALS, Moore, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
SOCIALISM FOR STUDENTS, 50c. each—lots of 5 or more 40c. each.
SOCIALISM AND MODERN SCIENCE, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE, Marcy, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
SOCIALISM AND THE WAR, Boudin, $1.00 each.
TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD, John Reed, 2.00 each—5 or more at $1.75 each.

Place your order TODAY—Address
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO, 3207 CLARK AVE., CLEVELAND, O.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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Debs' Loyalty to His Imprisoned Comrades a Superb Sacrifice

TELEGRAM AND LETTER FROM LIBERATOR REPRESENTATIVES JUST RETURNED FROM CONSULTATION WITH WORKERS' CHAMPION

Debs made his decision. A month ago when our representatives visited him to consult him in regard to starting habeas cpours proceedings for the purpose of ending his illegal confinement in Atlanta federal penetentiary, he said "Return in thirty days and I will give my answer".

On Spt. 20th, attorneys Sharts and Castleton again visited him to receive his answer.

Here it is, a telegram sent us immediately after the consultation was ended, and a letter from comrade Sharts which gives further details.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

A WAGENKNECHT, 1291 COOK AV. CLEVELAND, O.

DEBS SAYS: "I HAVE STUDIED THIS MATTER THIRTY DAYS. EVERY INSTINCT IS AGAINST MY MAKING AN INDIVIDUAL FIGHT FOR LIBERTY WHILE MY COMRADES ROT IN JAIL. WOODROW WILSON AND HIS POLITICAL CROWD SENT ME HERE FROM MOUNDSVILLE TO KILL OR BREAK ME. I SHALL STAY UNTILL I DIE OR HE IS FORCED TO RELEASE US ALL. MY FAITH IS IN THE RANK AND FILE OF MY COMRADES."

SAMUEL M. CASTLETON JOSEPH W. SHARTS

A. Wagenknecht,
3207 Clark Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Dear Comrade:

My telegram of last Saturday tells the story.

Debs was much surprised to see me. For one thing, he thought the 30 days would not be up until the 22nd. For another, he said he had written home to Terre Haute telling the folks to notify Comrade Prevey and me not to come as he had finally decided not to make an individual fight for freedom. Comrade Prevey must have got that word, for she did not come.

The telegraphed message from the boys in Leavenworth also failed to reach me in time. I wish I had had it to show to Gene. It is as magnificent a thing, coming from the political prisoners he is trying to rescue by his own self-sacrifice, as is his own attitude. He would have cried over that telegram, I know.

He is still in the hospital. And right here let me say a word for the warden of the Atlanta Penitentiary. Those who heap curses upon the warden for the brutalities committed upon our comrades in that hell-hole—and it is a hell-hole, I know—do him a great wrong.

The brutalities that are being practiced at the Atlanta penitentiary are systematically prescribed from Washington.

Let us get that fact clear. To blame the warden for what is being done to Debs and our other comrades is like biting at the stick instead of attacking the hand that wields the stick.

The men we have to hold responsible for what is happening to Debs and the others are in the White House and the Attorney General's office and back of them all is brutal capitalism. It is silly for us to look lower down.

There is a lot of twaddle extant about the alleged "kind heart" of Woodrow Wilson and his personal desire to pardon these prisoners and end the sufferings of the conscientious objectors also, were he not deterred by "reasons of state." He acquired that credit by commuting the death sentences inflicted on a couple of soldier boys who fell asleep on picket and mercifully giving them a chance to die in battle killing Germans. After all it was a more efficient and economical way of using them.

I have looked into the cold, thirfty Scotch Presbyterian heart of Woodrow Wilson, and I believe Debs is right when he says that neither he nor his fellow political prisoners will be released thru any spark of magnanimity emanating from that fountain of fancy phrases.

The release will come when Woodrow Wilson and his satelites are forced to do it by the rising tide of the workers indignation; they will do it then to avoid being inundated but will put on a show of magnanimity to save "their face."

Our task, then, is to rally our comrades in a united effort to force Woodrow Wilson to recognize the necessity of releasing all political prisoners.

For Gene Debs individually, it may be that appeals pouring in upon him from his fellowprisoners and from his comrades may induce him to change his mind. I think you should wire him the message from Leavenworth or enclose it in a letter to him. He ought by all means know of it. He ought also hear from his comrades so that he may know whether or not they wish him to remain passive in prison or make the effort thru habeas corpus for his own release.

(Continued on page 4.)

"Every instinct is against my making an individual fight for liberty while my comrades rot in jail"

THOSE WERE THE WORDS DEBS SPOKE TO LIBERATOR REPRESENTATIVES JOSEPH W. SHARTS AND SAMUEL M. CASTLETON AT ATLANTA FEDERAL PRISON SEPT. 20th. THEY ARE HIS ANSWER TO THE QUESTION: "SHALL WE GO AHEAD WITH HABEAS CORPUS PROCEEDINGS AND GIVE YOU A FEW WEEKS, POSSIBLY MONTHS OF FREEDOM, WHILE THE QUESTION OF THE LEGALITY OF YOUR REMOVAL FROM THE HUMANE CONDITIONS OF MOUNDSVILLE PRISON TO THE HEALTH DESTROYING ATLANTA PRISON ARE BEING THRASHED OUT IN THE U. S. SUPREME COURT"?

IT IS PERHAPS NOT THE ANSWER WHICH YOU OR WE WOULD HAVE THE MORAL AND PHYSICAL COURAGE TO GIVE TO SUCH A QUESTION—WITH TEN YEARS AND PERHAPS DEATH IN PRISON CONFRONTING US. VERY LIKELY OUR ANSWER WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT. YOU AND WE LOVE LIBERTY. VERY LIKELY THE SMILING FACE OF FREEDOM AS WE GAZED THRU THE BARRED WINDOWS WOULD HAVE BECONED TO US—JUST AS IT DID TO DEBS—BUT WE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PUT THE TEMPTATION FROM US. WE LOVE LIBERTY. SO DOES DEBS. YET HE ANSWERED "NO" WHEN IT WAS OFFERED HIM.

BUT DEBS' ANSWER WILL FOREVER BIND HIM TO THE OPPRESSED FOR WHOM HE HAS ALREADY GIVEN A LIFE OF SACRIFICE AND SERVICE, AND FOR WHOM HE STANDS READY NOW TO GIVE HIS FEW REMAINING YEARS OR EVEN LIFE ITSELF. DEBS HAS ANSWERED EVERY CALL OF HIS COMRADES, ANSWERED THEM FULLY WITHOUT STINT OR LIMIT. AND NOW IN PRISON, ILL OF BODY AND LIVING UNDER MERCILESS PRISON RULES HE STANDS LOYALLY BY THE PRINCIPLE WHICH HAS GUIDED HIM IN HIS LIFE WORK.

DEBS IS AS CLASS CONSCIOUS IN PRISON AS HE WAS WHEN AMONG US. HE FEELS HIMSELF ONE WITH THE THOUSANDS OF OTHER POLITICAL AND CLASS-WAR PRISONERS NOW IN AMERICAN BASTILES. HE IS ONE OF THEM AND THEIR CAUSE IS HIS CAUSE. RUMORS FROM MANY SOURCES HAVE REACHED DEBS THAT PRESIDENT WILSON AND HIS ADVISERS HAD HIS CASE UNDER ADVISEMENT FOR A PARDON. THEY HAVE HAD NO EFFECT UPON HIM. HE HAS REPEATEDLY AFFIRMED THAT HE WAS ENTITLED TO NO MORE CONSIDERATION THAN THE MOST LOWLY AND UNKNOWN POLITICAL PRISONER IN THE LAND. HE DOES NOT APPROVE OF THE ADMINISTRATION ABSOLVING ITSELF FROM DOING JUSTICE TO **ALL** POLITICAL PRISONERS BY SETTING AT LIBERTY A FEW OF THE MORE NOTED ONES. DEBS PREFERS TO BE THE LAST MAN OUT. HE WANTS TO SEE THE BOYS FROM LEAVENWORTH, THE FELLOW WORKERS AT ALCATRAZ, THE MEN AND WOMEN FROM EVERY POLITICAL PRISON IN THIS LAND WALK OUT INTO THE SUNLIGHT, FREE TO GO AND COME AS YOU AND WE ARE FREE TO DO SO, THEN AND ONLY THEN, DOES HE CONSENT TO LIBERTY FOR HIMSELF.

DEBS KNOWS THAT POLITICAL PRISONERS WILL BE FREE IN THIS COUNTRY ONLY WHEN THE DEMANDS OF THE WORKERS REACH FLOOD TIDE AND THREATEN THE POWER OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS. HE KNOWS THAT ONLY THREATENED MASS AND CLASS ACTION BY THE WORKERS WILL OPEN THE PRISON DOORS. AND HE IS RIGHT. ONLY AN AROUSED WORKINGCLASS, DETERMINED TO SEE JUSTICE DONE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS WILL STIR THE ADMINISTRATION INTO ACTION.

DEBS HAS TAKEN HIS STAND FOR FREEDOM FOR **ALL** POLITICAL PRISONERS. HE IS WILLING TO DIE IN PRISON IF NECESSARY FOR THAT PRINCIPLE, HE HAS MADE HIS DECISION. BUT YOU? HAVE YOU MADE **YOUR** DECISION. ARE YOU WILLING—NOT TO DIE—BUT TO LIVE AND WORK FOR THE RELEASE OF DEBS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS? WILL YOU STAND BY DEBS, AND STRENGTHEN HIS DETERMINATION THAT **ALL** SHALL WALK OUT TOGETHER? UPON THIS MATTER THERE CAN BE BUT ONE ANSWER. EVERY WORKER MUST DO HIS PART. THINK, TALK AND ACT FOR THE FREEDOM OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. JOIN THE LIBERATOR ARMY. COLLECT FUNDS TO CARRY ON THE WORK.

STAND BY DEBS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF

"ALL TOGETHER"!

The Toledo Primary Elections.

Toledo showed the results of the year's work at the polls in the primaries just held. The Socialist Candidate for mayor received the second highest vote. However, the chances for first place in the November elections are even better than they were two years ago when there were only two candidates in the field, one the present candidate Cornell Schreiber and the other — Robert T. Haworth the Socialist candidate. The feature in this election is that the "Silkstocking Element" turned out in full force for the primary. This ward gave Schreiber the capitalist class candidate 1142 votes and to the socialist candidate only 97 votes. But in 9 other wards the socialist candidate was the winner. This leaves 6 wards for the present incumbent in office, who is blamed for the murder of 3 strikers in the Willys Overland Co. strike. The vote for the mayority candidates foolows;

Cornel Schreiber (Ind.)	5859
Solon T. Klotz (Socialist)	4775
Edwin J. Lynch (Democrat)	4407

All workingmens' wards voted for the Socialist candidate except the second ward which is mostly composed of small business men. This applies also to the 11th ward, where Schreiber polled 273 and Klots received 181, and in the second ward the count stood 286 for Schreiber and 217 for the Socialist candidate. Whereever the workers predominate in the ward, that ward gave a majority for the Socialist candidate.

The Socialist candidates for city council fared no less succesful. Four of the candidates came out first in their ward, several held the second position and some the third. Robert T. Haworth the candidate for Mayor on the Socialist ticket two years ago came out first in his ward, the 13th, where last year a socialist councilman was expelled from the city council for refusing to buy liberty bonds by force and coercion.

Thomas C. Devine (Socialist) Councilman 15th ward received 680 votes while his nearest competitor received only 270. Other socialist councilmen who led the field in their respective wards are — W. G. Bitters 16th ward, Elmer B. Lentz, 14th ward. Those running second are — M. A. Toohey 8th ward, Edward Hoskins 1st ward, Walter Harris 9th ward. Several came in third. All of these will go on the final ticket in November.

Cornell Schreiber had 2100 less votes this year than two years ago and the Socialists more than double their vote of 1917 when it was 2260(gaining 2515 votes. The Socialist candidate for Vice-mayor received 5896 votes running second, whereas two years ago the candidate for vice-mayor did not go through to the final elections because he was not one of the three highest. This years' vote was the largest ever polled at a primary election in Toledo, it being over 23000.

Miners Demand Amnesty For Political Prisoners.

A rousing scene occurred in the convention of the U. M. W. of A in the closing hours of its session in Cleveland last week when the resolution on amnesty for political prisoners came up for action before the husky coal diggers.

Upon the question of the miners' stand for the release of political and class war prisoners, there was little doubt in the minds of any who know the miners. Even tho the most prominent labor leader of the country were not a prisoner, is it likely that the miners' stand would have been different. But with the name of Debs added to the long list of courageous men and women who are serving long sentences in prison for opinion's sake, a decided stand favoring their release was certain at the convention.

The reading of the resolution demanding amnesty for all political prisoners was followed by a speech by a swarthy miner whose language was that of the man in the mines speaking of the interests that lay nearest them couched in language of the men who toil. It was marked by deep sincerety and comradely feeling for the imprisoned. He received the entire attention of the 2.000 delegates who showed by their faces how deeply they felt the injustice perpetrated upon their jailed comrades.

The mention of Debs' name was a signal for uproarious applause which swept in wave after wave back and forth across the great auditorium of Gray's Armory, where the convention was held. Cheer after cheer greeted his name, while eyes grew moist and a momentary feeling of tenseness held the assembly in its grip and cast a determined gleam upon all faces.

The resolution demanding amnesty for all political prisoners carried amidst a perfect [illegible] of applause.

Stevedores Refuse to Move Rifles for Kolchak

SEATTLE.—Frank Waterhouse, Seattle shipping magnate, has declined to become a party to the shipping of munitions to Russia for the slaying of Russian working men by Kolchak, it is declared by his waterfront representatives.

Three carloads of rifles now on the government dock will be turned over to government officials in Seattle, according to the announcement. The government is being notified by the Frank Waterhouse company that this firm will efuse to handle all shipments of munitions for the American army in Siberia.

The action of the Waterhouse company is in the nature of instant support to the action of 12 dockworkers who walked off the job at Pier 5 when they found that cases being loaded on a Japanese freighter contained rifles, munitions and machine guns intended for the wholesale slaughter of the supporters of Russia's working class government.

Cases believed to contain ammunition, rifles and machine guns consigned to Russia are sitting unmoved on Pier 5, the Frank Waterhouse & Co. dock, this week as the result of a car gang of 12 men walking off the job following their demands to know what the cases contained.

This action follows the passage of a resolution by the Central Labor Council indorsing the action of waterfront workers in their planned refusal to ship munitions to kill Russian workers

According to the men, they reported for work and began loading the case when the question was asked as to their contents. After some further questioning a customs officer was called and opened some of the cases, one of the workers declared, displaying their war-like contents. The men immediately got together and refused to continue the loading.

When questioned those in charge at the dock refused to state anything further than that the men had refuse to move the cases.

The cargo came to Seattle from an Eastern point and was to have been sent overseas on the Marho Maru, a Japenese freighter now loading at Pier 5.

At the headquarters of Local 3812, Stevodores and Dock Workers, it was declared that the men had refused to move the cases and that the matter was now up to the Central Labor Council.

Longshoremen on the waterfront have been warned to keep a careful watch for rifles concealed in innocent appearing packages.

Pacific coast longshoremen will tie up the coast from Seattle to San Diego before they will load rifles or munitions for Siberia or any part of Russia, declared delegates from the Riggers' and Stevedores' Local No. 38-12 at the meeting of the Central Labor council.

Stating that efforts are being made to load vessels with munitions in cratings innocently marked "sewing machines" or otherwise, the delegates lent their arguments to the support of a communication to the council from the longshoremen's local, asking its financial and moral support to keep the rifles out of Russia. Amid a wild burst of cheering, a motion that full support be given carried.

One delegate said it was well known that 17 carloads of munitions were in Seattle ready for shipment.

ASK PARDON FOR DEBS.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20.—Because of Debs' broken health, Dr. Earl E. Dudding, president of the Prisoners' Relief Society, announced today his intention of placing before the department of justice a recommendation for Debs' pardon. Dr. Dudding believes that the state of Debs' health, if for no other reason, is sufficient ground for his unconditional release from prison by the federal authorities.

Keep Informed

Order a Bundle of the Communist Labor Party News. $1.50 a hundred, single copy 5c.

Every Party member should read the first number of the official organ of the Communist Labor Party, in order to have complete information of the acts of the Chicago Convention.

Full reports of minutes of the convention, Party platform and all matters pertaining to the occurences which led up to the formation of a new revolutionary working class party are given in this issue. Have your local order a bundle. Keep informed.

Address:
COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY
3207 Clark, Ave. Cleveland, O.

No Wonder!

We do not wonder that the Attorney General's office is so eager to have it appear that there are no political prisoners in America. To deny the existence of existing political facts seems to be the altogether too familiar method of our legal and militarist system in times of war. Moreover, to admit that we have political prisoners would make the barbarous length of their sentence and their bestial tortures in prison entirely out of proportion to their offences, and it would establish a most unfavorable comparison with Czarist Russia and Kaiserist Germany. In Kaiserist Germany, Karl Liebknecht was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for having gone out to the German forces on the Eastern front and distributed handbills among them calling upon them to revolt against their officers. But in New York a number of young men and a young woman were indicted and convicted for using intemperate language in handbills opposing American intervention in Russia. The young men were sentenced to twenty years, the young woman to fifteen years, for this political offense; and the remarks and behavior of the Court in connection with the trial can be characterized as nothing short of a disgrace.

Socrates took the hemlock; Galileo, the stake; Christ the Crucifixion, and Debs, Ten Years in Prison

Why do they Silence the Demand for Unity?

In answer to C. E. Ruthenberg's article in the Socialist News, "Why do they refuse to follow the one way of unity?"

By A. Bilan.

The National Secretary of the Communist Party, C. E. Ruthenberg, is surprised that out of the Chicago Emergency Convention was organized a new Party, the Communist Labor Party, and asks the question: "If they desired unity of the Communist forces why did they hold a separate Convention at Chicago and organize themselves as a Party?"

Comrade Ruthenberg is playing "argumentum ex silentio", instead of giving an explanation to the rank and file he writes an article of question marks. If Comrade Ruthenberg were not interested in covering up the facts of the development of the Communist Labor Party, there would be no questioning at all, but he does not dare to do it, for if he did he would have to leave the Communist Party.

We knew that the Communist Party Convention was going to be held at Chicago Sept. 1st. We knew more than that, we knew that this Convention was going to be called by the Michigan-Federation combination which bolted the Left Wing Conference in New York and stated, that, regardless of what happened to the Left Wing movement, they were going to issue a call for a Sept. 1st Convention. Also, we knew what the Left Wing Conference answered them and how the National Council was instructed, and lastly we know what stand the Revolutionary age took against that "Communist Party", which the Michigan-Federation bolting group intended to organize. We recognized that stand and we still hold to it.

Now, let us recollect what was said and done by the Left Wing in the Conference and after.

The Revolutionary Age, Vol. 2 No. 1 of July 5th, 1919 carried a report of the Left Wing Conference and there we find the following in black on white:

"On the third day, 31 delegates consisting mostly of the Federations, decided after a caucus, that they would withold further activity in the Conference because of its attitude on the Communist Party, these delegates resigning from all Committees and having previously declined nominations for National Council."

What action did the Left Wing Conference take? Did they agree to join that call for such Communist Party? They did not. This is the ansver given by that Conference (the same report in Rev. Age)" The final act of the Conference was the adoption of the followin motion made by Fraina:" "That the National Council call a conference at Chikago Sept., 1st, off all revolutionary elements willing to unite with a revolutionized Socialist Party or with Communist Party that may be organized by Left Wing delegates seceding from the Convention of the Socialist Party to be held August 30th."

Comrade Ruthenberg was elected to the National Council of the Left Wing, He knew who called the Communist Party Convention on Sept. 1st, he knew what the Left Wingers decided to do by adopting this resolution, Fraina did, Ferguson did, — because they voted for it, they defended it in the Revolutionary Age. Take every issue up to No. 36 and you will find articles from Ferguson and Fraina bitterly criticising the selfappointed organizers of the "Communist Party". Read Fraina's article: "All power to the Left Wing". Let us hear what Fraina of yesterday has to say against Fraina of to-day: — "There is a call issued for the organization of the Communist Party at Chicago on Sept. 1st. The Convention is called by a "National Organization Committee, consisting of Dennis E. Batt, D. Elbaum, O. C. Johnson, John Kerach , S. Kopnagel, S. Stilson and A. Stoklitzky. The Committee represents a small group which, emphasising its own plans and purposes as against the considered opinion of the Left Wing Conference is actually sabotaging the Left Wing." The whole article is in defiance of the selfappointed organization Committee of the Communist Party. Fraina of yesterday is denouncing Fraina of to-day.

In the same issue of the Revolutionary Age, there was a call issued by Ferguson, the Left Wing National Secretary, to the delegates to the Emergency Convention. Read that call and you will see to what convention they are called. He calls them not to the Communist Party Convention of Batt and Stoklitsky but to the Convention which will be organized by the Left Wing delegates after they are refused seats in the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party.

But what is the use — the Frainas, Fergusons, Ruthenbergs of to-day are repudiating the Frainas, Fergusons and Ruthenbergs of yesterday. They left the masses and then they declared that the masses left them, that the masses went over to Batt's and Stoklitzky's Communist Party, so, being "Leaders" they had to follow and sign the call of the Michigan-Federation group without having the consent of the majority of the Left Wing.

When they came to Chicago they found that they had left the masses, that they were outgeneraled by the so called organization Committee of the Communist Party; they saw that there were present many delegates from the Left Wing who stood true to the edicts of the Left Wing Conference. The majority of the Left Wing Council to justify their position had to use all means to prove to the rank and file that their position was right. They forgot all that they said against the Michigan-Federation group and started to throw bricks at the delegates who followed the outlined program of the Left Wing Conference and the new revolutionary N. E. C. for organizing a new revolutionary Party of Communism, which was willing to unite all revolutionary elements. Instead of working with them they called them self appointed individuals, representing nobody.

Instead of joining with them and organizing a Communist Party they went over to the Michigan-Federation Comdnist Party, adopted their call for a basis of representation. They were willing to seat only delegates who went direct to that Communist Convention called by a bolting minority, and to the rest of the Left Wing delegates they were willing to offer reserved seats as special guesss to look on and see how a "real" Communist Party should be organized.

On what grounds do the majority members of the L. W. C. have the right to claim they represent the rank and file when they turned their backs upon them?

It is the silliest argument to deny that the Communist Labor Party represents the rank and file and then to reccommend to their Communist Party N. E. C. to issue a call to the Socialist party membership to join the Communist Party.

The Communist Labor Party's N. E. C. is not flopping from one side to the other every few weeks as the old Left Wing Council did. We state that the organization of the C. L. P. was a necessity arived at by the historical development of the Socialist Party controversy, endorsed and supported by the rank and file, wheras the actions of the Communist Party were predetermined on June 23d in spite of the Left Wing to organize a Communist Party of their own. The Communist Labor Party was organized to express the will of the rank and file of the Left Wing movement.

The strumbling block, which split the revolutionary forces was created who, going over to the Communist Party, created the audacious idea that by those elements from the Left Wing, they were now representing all true Communists and so prevented the possibility of unity.

It is an unpardonable blunder of the Left Wing Council members who are now with the Communist Party and we can not believe that they are seeking unity of all Left Wing forces — because they refused unity in Chicago — unless the rank and file of the Communist Party forces their leaders to admit this blunder and instruct their N. E. C. to meet the C. L. P. to bring about unity on the basis of equality. The C. L. P. has proclaimed a standing invitation for unity to all revolutionary elements and organizations who agree upon the principles of the Third International formed at Moscow and stand for affiliation with it — to join their forces.

This is the only way toward unity. There can be no other.

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Local Akron Socialist Party

CAMPAIGN AND PROPAGANDA

MEETINGS

Every Sunday at 2:30 P. M.

AT 30 SOUTH HOWARD STREET

GOOD SPEAKERS

Announcement

I desire to announce that my office is now located at Room 309 Cath Block, 38 South Howard St., Akron, Ohio.
EYES TESTED. LENSES REPLACED. GLASSES FITTED.
CONSULTATION FREE. NO DRUGS USED.

Marguerite Prevey Opt. D.
Optician and Optometrist.

Foreign Labor News

MEXICO

Are we for war with Mexico? Not much.

Let American and other foreign capitalists liquidate their investments in Mexico as best they can. If they must lose, then let them lose.

These investments were not of our making. We were not consulted — our government was not consulted.

Our financiers unpatriotically invested good American money — not at home to benefit their country and our country, but in Mexico to enrich themselves.

We remember what Lincoln said about that other Mexican war.

Besides, there is Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Hawaii — we have violated American ideals in our dealings with each and all of these. The people of these islands seem no longer to care for us.

Government by consent of the governed — that is the American way. We must live up to our ideals.

Theodore Roosevelt said that he "took the Panama Canal from Colombia and talked about it afterward." Now we are forced shamefully to admit this steal by paying Colombia $25,000,000.

We have enough black pages in our history.

We want no long-spun theories as to why we should go to war with Mexico.

"But," they say, "we will lose our money and our property!"

Probably they will.

But what of it?

Will the American people not lose money if we go to war with Mexico?

There's got to be an end to this war business — somwhere—sometime.

It is easy for gentlemen sitting in swivel-chairs to agitate war, and then, when war comes, perch themselves safely in the rear and watch the hideous business — like sports around a cockpit or a bull ring.

We've had about enough of this business of war. — Soldiers-Sailors-Marines National Weekly News.

BELGIUM

Belgium Miners to Meet.

Brussels.— The National Committee of Belgium Miners has decided to call an extraordinary national congress of miners for September 28. The congrers will be invited to ask the Government for a special organization for the control of the whole coal industry — production, prices and distribution.

The committee insists upon the nationalization of the mines as soon as possible.

NORWAY

Labor Forces Split

Winnipeg, Man.— The new democratic group in opposition to the Norwegian Labor Party, which has decided to affiliate with the Third International at Moscow, has been formed with Mr. Buen, President of the Storting, and leader of the Parliamentary socialist group, at its head.

Whit one exception, all the members of the editorial staff of the party organ, "Sozial Demokraten," have given notice that they are unwilling to support the present policy of the paper.

The labor movement in Norway is organized somewhat on the lines of the British movement, There is a trade union organization, including all the skilled unions, which have a total membership of about 108.000. It guards the economic interests of the workers and their relations to the employers. Purely political questions are the concern of the socialist party or "Norwegian Labor Party", which has a paying membership of over 94,000 members. It is the latter organization khich has decided to affiliate with the Moscow International, and from which the moderate have seceded to form a separate group within the organized movement.

(Western Labor News, Aug. 15).

[illegible] — A party congress of the Socialist Party of Switzerland [illegible] upon the question of affiliation with the Third (Moscow) International, held here on August [illegible] to decide. When the final vote was reached, the question was decided affirmatively by 318 votes to 147.

SWEDEN

Socialist Strong in Upper House

Stockholm.— At the recent elections for members of the upper house of the Swedish Riksdag, or parliament, the socialists elected more candidates to office than any other political party. Following is the composition of the new senate:

Social Democrats, 48, Liberals 41, Conservatives, 39, Farmers' Union, 10, Imperial Union, 8, Left Wing Socialists, 4, (Common Sense, London, August 2).

FINLAND

Who Is Mannerheim?

London.— "Foreign Affairs," organ of the Union for Democratic Control of England, in its August issue presents a compilation of data regarding the record of General Mannerheim, dictator of Finland, with whom the Allies are co-operating in every way possible. Here are some of the items:

"Acquired power with German assistance in April, 1918. Arrested 90,000 workers; 11.478 died in prison, mainly from starvation. Between 15.000 and 20.000 others shot without trial. All Socialists brutally persecuted ever since."

As authorities for these figures the publication cites such respectable organs as the "Manchester Guardian" and the "New Statesman."

MEXICO CITY.—In his opening address to the First National Congress of the Socialist Party of Mexico, on August 26, Secretary Adolfo A. Santibanez strongly exhorted the delegates to abandon syndicalism for revolutionary socialism and to bid good-bye to parliamentary methods and procedure.

Three days later his suggestions formed the chief subject of debate. Unanimously the delegates declared themselves for revolutionary socialism and voted to join the Third International.

RUSSIA

No More Foreign Interference Wanted.

NEW YORK.—That even in the Archangel region, thus far regarded by capitalism as one of its chief bulwarks in Russia, the Russians are willing to accept bolshevism rather than continued foreign occupation, is the opinion of Crawford Wheeler, a Y. M. C. A. worker who has just reached New York after a year in charge of "Y" work in the Archangel region.

"The people up there," said Mr. Wheeler, "want everybody to get out. They simply are weary of having opposing armies chasing over their land; and in addition they are inclined to distrust the movies of the Allies in maintaining troops there."

Mutinies have taken place on five fronts, he asserted.

To support reaction.

LONDON.—A White Paper just issued shows that the expenditure on naval and military operations in Russia from the date of the armistice to July 31 was nearly $350,000,000, of which $215,000,000 went in direct assistance to the "White" armies of the Baltic States, Admiral Kolchak and General Denikin. In the House of Commons, in answer to a question, Mr. Churchill stated that 1,200 Russian officers were now being trained at Newmarket camp, at a weekly cost of about $20 per officer, inclusive of their pay. Although these men are being trained at the expense of the British taxpayer in order to go to Russia to fight in a civil war against Bolsheviks some ten of those in the camp have been arrested for alleged conspiracy in the bolshevik interest.

[illegible]

A recent editorial in a popular Catholic Weekly Magazine again calls the attention of its readers to the fact that the catholic church has been the implacable opponent of Socialism ever since the day Marx and Engels wrote its constitution and program seventy years ago.

Unfortunately for the catholic church it always has been from the time it was first launched in the latter part of the first decade of the seventh century the implacable opponent of every movement social or religious which it could not dominate or control. This characteristic was to be the distinguishing feature of the two horned beast that looked like a lamb but spake as a dragon which was to exercise such tremendous influence for a time, that is 1260 years, from A. D. 619 to A. D. 1870, over the affairs of the nations symbolized by the seven headed ten horned beast.

The writer of this article has unbounded reverence for christianity, and is fully convinced of the absence of all discordance between the ethics of Socialism, and the ethics of Christianity, but considers catholicism and protestantism a pair of evils which society as it becomes more enlightened will banish from its midst, in spite of the fact that thousands of loveable but misled people help to augment the membership of these two institutions.

In the meantime the Socialist movement minus the mark of the "Beast" is sweeping grandly on to its ultimate goal of universal economic justice and freedom in spite of inherited ignorance, malignent misrepresentation, internal dissensions and papal anathemas.

Socialist thought and action was never more potent and prevalent during the last seventy years than it is today, in proof of which, witness Great Britain about to socialize her land, mines, railways and steamships. Other nations are moving rapidly in the same direction. In our own country the socializing of our magnificent(!) railway systems is more than likely to be one of the predominant issues in the coming presidential campaign.

Exploiters and profiteers with their whole retinue of hangers on, point to the wartime inefficient administration of the railways by the government as the horrible example of what would repeatedly happen under public ownership much of which was undoubtedly the direct result of previous managerial incompetency. No otherwise sane person accepts this experience as an Euclidic demonstration of the superiority of private over public ownership.

It should be highly interesting to learn at first hand by what insane process of logic the working class of of any county delude themselves into believing that a public utility such as a railroad which enters intimately into the life of every citizen is more beneficial to society owned privately and operated at cost plus seven per cent, plus a multitude of princely salaries to a vaste horde of useless and unnecessary officials than it would be owned publicly and operated at cost without the added percentages and unearned incomes.

What is the great incentive that the great mass of workers prefer to slave in the service of a soulless corporation rather than to labor in the service of the great body public of which they form the most honorable and conspicious part.

Yours for social rigtheousness
ALEX CONNELL.
Springfield, Ohio.
9-9 '19

NEED OF COMMON SENSE EDUCATION.

Yesterday I heard an antiquated and venerable pulpit pounder talking to a bunch of innocent little school children at a school picnic. He told the children that the flag had never been raised except in an honorable war; that it was never carried in a war for aggression or conquest, and as he talked, I thought of what President Grant wrote in his "Memoirs" about the war with Mexico, branding it as an imperialistic war of pulnder and conquest, and a blot upon American history; I thought of the war in the interest of the Sugar Trust in 1898, of the imperialistic seizure of the Phillipines, of the Marines in San Domingo, holding down the rebellious workers there in the interest of the sugar trust, of the soldiers in Archangel and other Russian points, waging what Max Eastman in the Liberator called, "Wilson's private and personal war against Russia" and the more I thought about it, the more I thought it was time our leading educators, pulpit pounders, editors and magazine writers, had a course in common sense education.

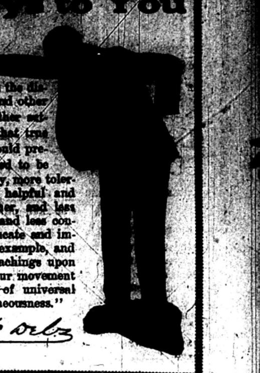
W. B. Reynolds.

ANTOL, THE INVENTOR

ANISE, in Seattle Union Record
Hungarian pictures.

He was Anton Pollak,
• • •
The INVENTOR
• • •
Of a new system
• • •
Of rapid TELEGRAPHY,
• • •
Increasing the speed
• • •
Of the old Morse system
• • •
From ELEVEN words a second
• • •
To SIX HUNDRED words,
• • •
Over the SAME WIRE.
• • •
He was a WORKMAN
• • •
In a factory
• • •
Which made electric light bulbs
• • •
And other electric aparatus.
• • •
When the COMMUNISTS
• • •
Took control in Hungary,
• • •
And they gave him
• • •
A PRIVATE OFFICE
• • •
And the wage
• • •
Of the highest workers
• • •
And set him FREE
• • •
To invent new things
• • •
To make life happier
• • •
And easier
• • •
For ALL the people.
• • •
The visitor from America
• • •
Found him closely bending
• • •
Over electrical instruments,
• • •
His face badly scarred
• • •
By an accident
• • •
In one of the experiments
• • •
To which he was devoting
• • •
His LIFE.
• • •
He looked up smiling.
• • •
"From America," he said.
• • •
"Well, now I have
• • •
A LITTLE grudge
• • •
Against America.
• • •
A long time ago I went there
• • •
To try to sell
• • •
A contrivance of mine.
• • •
But the men I consulted
• • •
Told me it was NO GOOD.
• • •
And so I came back
• • •
To Austria.
• • •
After I left your country
• • •
The firm I had talked with
• • •
Took out a PATENT
• • •
On MY contrivance
• • •
And used it ever since.
• • •
I once felt
• • •
BITTER about it;
• • •
But now I understand
• • •
Your country is no WORSE
• • •
Than other places;
• • •
That is the way they do
• • •
In ALL capitalist countries,
• • •
DISCOURAGING invention
• • •
By forcing workingmen to pledge
• • •
Their inventions to the firm
• • •
So that the firm grows rich
• • •
From their BRAINS
• • •
And they themselves get little.
• • •
But it is otherwise
• • •
Under COMMUNISM,
• • •
For I am paid as high
• • •
As ANY MAN
• • •
And all that I create
• • •
Is stolen by no rich owner
• • •
For his own gain,
• • •
But given to MY PEOPLE
• • •
To make the life of all men
• • •
RICHER FOREVER!"

Debs says to You



"In our propaganda in the discussion of our tactical and other differences and in our other activities the larger faith that true comradeship inspires should prevail between us. We need to be more patient, more kindly, more tolerant, more sympathetic, helpful and encouragig to one another, and less suspicious, less envious and less contentious if we are to educate and impress the people by our example, and by the results of our teachings upon ourselves win them to our movement and realize our dream of universal freedom and social rigtheousness."

Eugene V. Debs

Debs Goes to Prison

By DAVID KARSNER

(Continued from last week.)

"How many letters can he write?" I asked.

"Well, the rules call for two letters a month, but I shall allow Mr. Debs to write as many letters as he pleases, subject always, of course, to the prison censorship. I understand that Mr. Debs has thousands of people who want to know how he is faring, and I shall let Mr. Debs tell them—in reason." We inquired if Debs might receive newspapers, magazines and books of the radical type.

"Well, now, that would be all right, gentlemen, if Mr. Debs only received them. Of course, they could do him no harm, but there is some danger of those kind of papers getting into the hands of other prisoners, and that would not do, for we have some very ignorant men here."

We all laughed.

"Well, Warden, here's a chance to reduce prison ignorance," we said.

"Yes, but you know how it is——" The Warden's voice trailed off.

"Well, let the papers and the books come for a little while and we will see how it goes," said the Warden Finally he seated himself at his desk and asked us to be seated.

"How old is Debs now?" I told him Debs was 64 years old. "Well his age alone would be sufficient reason for an early pardon for him." So with this tip from the Warden, Debs' keeper, we might take some heart, knowing that if we do not get Debs out of prison his age will get him out sooner or later.

"Of course, gentlemen," said Joseph Z. Terrel, the Warden, "the regulation visiting days come once a month, but in Debs' case I shall make no rule. Those who have a right to see him may do so at any time. I mean his family and very personal friends. But I am not going to let hundreds of people in here every day to see Debs. That would never do. In reason, Debs may see his friends, and his friends will be friendly to Debs by not abusing the privilege I am trying to extend to him."

In a few minutes a reporter for a Wheeling paper appeared. The words exchanged between the Warden and the reporter indicated that they might be political cronies. Perhaps the reporter was merely trying to show off to as how well he stood in with the officials.

The reporter, of course, wanted a story. The Warden would not let him see Debs, because the great Liberator had just gone to bed for the night. I ventured to tell the Wheeling journalist some of the incidents of the trip through the entire state of Ohio.

Then I gave him the last statement that Debs made to me on the way down in the trolley car. It began this way:

"I enter the prison door a flaming revolutionist, my head erect, my spirit untamed, my soul unconquerable."

The reporter wrote fast. The Warden whistled a tune.

"So, we have a flaming revolutionist in our midst, Doctor," the Warden said to the prison physician. "Well, Mr. Debs may be a flaming revolutionist as long as he likes, so long as he doesn't inflame my boys."

DEBS —5

It was amusing to hear this politician, who has been Warden only since last October, refer to nearly 900 prisoners as "my boys." I do not know what was wrong, but it did not smack of sincerity.

I told the Warden that tens of thousands of Debs' friends and followers on the outside would be watching Moundsville.

Moundsville has now won immortal fame, or infamy, which shall I say? The state of West Virginia will also be linked with Debs' name in the days to come, when children shall read in the school books about this great human liberator, this lover of mankind. And in that day to come they will wonder—they will just wonder what a lovely time we must have had back in 1919, when society confessed its inherent weakness and wickedness by placing 'Gene Debs in prison.

CONVICT NO. 2253 IS CLERK IN PRISON HOSPITAL.

CHAPTER FIVE.

Who is United States convict No. 2253 at the Moundsville State Penitentiary? He is Eugene Victor Debs, four times candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist party ticket, and one of the world's greatest liberators. What is he in prison for? Why, he made a speech in which he spoke the truth as he saw it. How long will he be in prison? Until the workers of the United States assert their economic and political power, and force the capitalist class to unlock the doors that bar him to freedom.

On the prison records, Debs' occupation is given as writer and lecturer, but he is the only convict in the state prison at Moundsville who will not be allowed to practice his trade or profession. Warden Terrell has had several conversations with Debs in which he said rather sternly to the 64-year-old humanist that he must not under any circumstances attempt to "organize" his fellow convicts. The Warden explained to me later that Soviets might be all right in Russia, but in Moundsville he was the supreme dictator.

Convict No. 2253 gave the Warden his solemn pledge that he would not violate the rules of the prison, and when convict No. 2253 gives his word to any man, nothing on earth or in heaven could persuade him to break it.

Debs slept Monday night, not in a cage like a wild beast, as he slept Sunday night, his first in the West Virginia state prison but in a little room in the hospital of the prison, for Our 'Gene has been appointed a hospital attendant, and he has a separate room to himself, with a white iron bed, newly clothed, a table and a chair.

Shortly after 11 o'clock Monday morning, April 14, Debs was taken from his cell, No. 51, in the second tier of the south wing, to the prison baths. He was examined by the prison physician, and then donned prison underclothing, and the prison uniform. But when I saw Debs late Monday afternoon the prison garb was not unbecoming to him. It was well fitting, and contained the tiniest check. It is the kind of suit that anybody might purchase at cheap clothing store.

Warden Terrell explained that he had at first thought of placing Debs in the prison library because of his knowledge of books and literature, but he did not do this because he thought Debs might be too much subjected to curiosity. As hospital attendant, Debs will have a room entirely to himself. The room is of a good size, larger than most rooms of the Bronx tenements. It is on the ground floor. There are two ample windows, one facing the south and one the east. There are no bars at his windows. The door is open at all times, and Debs has full privilege to come and go as he pleases. He has full and complete acces to the prison yard and lawns.

When Engdahl, Wagenknecht and myself went to the prison Monday we were led by Warden Terrell through the turntable. He took us through long, winding coridors to the hospital section. As we passed, the prison druggist was making little pellets. He was a convict "in" for murder. He looked at us as we passed with a furtive look, then went on filling the capsules.

We walked up one flight of stairs. The Warden opened the door of a freshly painted room, and there was 'Gene quietly sitting in a low rocking chair, smoking his pipe and reading a book. At first he did not look up.

"Mr. Debs, here are your friends back again to see you," said the Warden. 'Gene put his book aside on the bed and disturbed the big gray cat that was sleeping by his side.

Greetings were over, and the Warden then told Debs that he had free access to the prison library.

"We have a rule here, Debs, that prisoners must be checked up on books they take from the library, but we will waive that rule for you. I know you appreciate the value of good books."

"Indeed, I do," said Debs, thanking the Warden.

We talked a few minutes, and Debs told us that he slept "like a log last night", and now felt "as chipper as a young goat on a tin roof."

He laughed good-naturedly as he looked at his prison garb and asked us how we liked his new suit. Debs had come to the penitentiary in a new blue serge. He was still wearing the vest of it. He wore his own collar and tie.

"I have met many fine people here," 'Gene to us. "In the cell right next to mine last night there was a man whom I met at McKees Rocks, Pa., many years ago. He was telling me his story."

(Continued next week)

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EDITORS .... Elmer S. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, OCT. 1, 1919.

The Miners' Convention

The United Mine Workers' Convention has passed into his history; the results of its deliberations will leave a mark upon the sands of time. While communists will find much in the convention's acts of a disappointing nature, there was yet much progress made toward an upward and onward march of this great section of American labor represented by 2,000 delegates assembled at Cleveland from all parts of the U. S. and Canada.

The failure of the Illinois insurgents to gain seats in the convention appear to prove that the organization machinery was too strong a bulwark to be overthrown, however necessary were the actions of the insurgents in striking without the permission of the organization officialdom. Temporarily, "government" won a victory over the necessities of life.

The overwhelming vote of the convention against endorsement of the One Big Union idea gives probably the best idea of the extent to which industrial unionism has permeated the rank and file of the coal diggers. The pitifully small vote in favor of this resolution indicates that the miners are as yet practically certain of being able to cope with the operators in any emergency that may arise. As it would be folly to expect an endorsement of the O. B. U. by a body of labor men except they were schooled in class-consciousness and felt the need of the support of a more closely united working class, we are forced to believe that the miners as a body are merely craft-conscious. They are not yet ready to make one with all of labor.

The endorsement of the Plumb plan of railroad administration and of the Labor Party are problems of conjecture in so far as adding greatly to the strength of these two movements. Compared to the reception given the resolution for the realease of political prisoners, that tendered the above two resolutions were mild mannered indeed. The intense feeling manifested in the assembly at the mention of Debs' name, indicates the hold he has upon the minds of the miners. That it is the conviction of the miners that a great injustice is being done the political prisoners was proven beyond a doubt by the tremendous ovation and endorsement given the resolutions for the realease of political prisoners.

The resolution favoring the withdrawal of American troops from Russia and other foreign lands was also received with great enthusiasm. American interference with the working-class government of Russia is an unwarranted act of capitalistic aggression is the belief of the miners. They demand that the U. S. get out and leave Russia to set up the government of her choice.

That the miners are borrowing liberally (tho logically) from English labor tactics, is seen in their demand for nationalizaton of mines and for a closer alignment with the transportation workers' unions. A "Big Three', patterned closely after that of the English workers will doubtless rise within a few months. The time is ripe and conditions favorable. The English labor movement is stamping indelibly the labor movement on this side the Atlantic.

More Democracy within the miners' organization received favorable attention when the question of election vs. appointment of organizers came up. Apparently the miners desire to bring more completely under their direct supervision the choice of their field workers.

The big event of the convention, the one which will mark the conferance as an epoch making one, is the action declaring for a six hour day and a five day week with wage increase approximating 60 percent. This action which was foreshadowed as a moral certainity before the convention convened, was the main purpose of the meeting and the one upon which was focussed the attention of all thinking workers. The shortening of the work day in the mines is certain to have its effect throut the entire labor movement and the miners deserve the support of every worker in making their declaration a fact.

The present wage and hour agreements between miners and operators will end Nov. 1st. At that time one of two things will occur. Eitither the new demands of the miners will be granted or a nationwide strike of miners will occur. International officers of the union are now in conference with the operators at Buffalo. They are fully empowered to call a strike at any moment it becomes apparent that their demands will not be met.

The convention of the U. M. W. of A. at Cleveland was not of a revolutionary character. Neither was it marked by extreme conservatism. The granting of any or all of its demands will not lessen the exploitation of the miners by the operators, nor need their profits be a cent less, nor is their economic power threatened in the slightest degree. Rather, has the miner demanded merely more bread and sunlight—and yet, sunlight is the source of all life.

The six hour day means a NEW day for the miner and the beginning of the era of a shorter workday for all labor. The miners have taken the stand for it, let all labor back them up.

The Steel Strike

The steel workers of the nation are at death grapples with the most powerful corporation yet developed by capitalism, the steel trust. Hundreds of independant companies are also involved. Arrayed against these powerful groups of capital are a quarter million workers who spend their hard lives in service of societys' most basic industry.

While wages and hours are momentous questions in this conflict which assumed even in the first days the proportions of a general strike, yet the issue at stake is of a higher nature, it has a high moral quality and upon the attainment of this demand by the strikers rests the whole future of organized labor. The question at issue is the right of collective bargaining by the workers. In other words shall the workers be allowed to organize and deal with the organized steel companies or shall they be forced to pit their individual strength against the organized might of the steel trust? Upon the winning of this demand rests victory for the workers.

The history of the steel trust's treatment of its workmen is one long history of crime. From legalized stealing in the form of wages to outright murder and armed warfare upon the workers, the steel trust has developed a condition comparable to enforced chattel slavery with none of its mitigating features. Too long has the greed of Gary and his predecessors ruled in the realm of steel. Their hands are adrip with the blood of thousands of workers. Their power must be shorn from them. For the workers to loose in this fight means a turning back of the chariot of progress. The welfare of civilization demands the granting of the right of the workers to organize for collective [illegible] property.

Labor seems to realize the issue at stake. Labor is becoming alert to any assault upon it [illegible] the [illegible] of its fellows. The situation is very pregnant with possibilities of a general strike. Already the miners at the ore [illegible] of the Great Lakes are out, the [illegible] employed in companies' yards are out, the strike may spread widely.

The steel trust has attempted to drag a red herring across the path of the strikers which they have labelled "foreign worker". In order to create division in the ranks of the workers whom it hopes to exploit more [illegible] in the future than in the past, it seeks to stir up the false issue of race hatred. Let all workers realize that the only foreigner is the capitalist.

In this titanic struggle there is but one position for the worker to take. He must stand by the strikers. Their cause is the cause of every worker. Let us all stand together.

Debs' The Magnificent.

No more magnificent act has arisen out of the Debs' case than that of the political and class-war prisoners of Leavenworth in urging him to make the fight for individual liberty. And just as magnificent is his response to their comradely urge. He refuses to make an individual fight even for liberty.

Debs has been schooled in collective action. He has long ago learned that where workers are concerned the principle of "all together" is the one to win by. Upon this principle his lifes' work has been carried on. He recognises no other principle as a guide for workers in their conduct toward one another. He prefers to stand by and with the workers who have been made the victims of capitalism and capitalism's liberty destroying administration at Washington, rather than to seek liberty for himself while steel and stone encompass his fellows.

Because of his internationalism, he was sent to prison.

Because of his internationalism he now refuses to leave prison.

This episode in the class war exemplifies the character of Debs. Another tie now binds Debs to the workers. Another monument has been erected to his great soul.

Dr. John Wesley Hill is deeply moved to state his objections to socialism in Finance and Industry (Cleveland) in an article entitled "A Blend of Oil and Patriotism, in the issue of Sept. 6.

We have noticed a peculiar blending of oil and patriotism of late, especially the oil that resides in the oil fields of Mexico. In fact the "blend" is becomming more pronounced right along, but we calculate that as time progresses and the establishment of a mandatory over Mexico on the part of the United States becomes established—in accordance with the principle of "self determination", that hardly a trace of patriotism will be discernible—to those who recognise the article at sight.

Dr. John points out that a million "76 Questions on Bolshevism Asked and Answered" have been circulated in this country, and countless tons of other radical literature. He is quite alarmed and warns his hearers, for it is at a meeting of prominent blood suckers that these statements are made, that we have got to get right out and fight this thing. He says that car loads of anti-Bolshevik stuff has got to be distributed in every industrial center or the country is bound to succomb to the Bolshevik germ.

However, he has another remedy, if the first fails. It's a clever coupling of the powers of Omniscience and the ingenuity of man that is to turn the trick and make this earth an exploiters' paradise forevermore. Here it is, put it beneath your hat band. "The government ought to herd them (the agitaters) together and load them upon a ship of stone and a keel of lead, propelled by the wrath of God and with hell for the nearest port".

• • •

Mrs. Sophia Lyons, a reformed criminal and accomplice of bank robbers for thirty years states that she has made more money as a real estate shark than she ever did in the illegal game of highwayman and safe-blower. Sure. Three out of a hundred succeed in the legal game of robbery. The rate for illegal thievery is not so high.

• • •

Two Mexicans were mobbed and hanged at Pueblo, Colo., a few weeks ago. Will Mexico please come in and establish a law and orger government in Colorado?

• • •

"The Grand Army of the Republic," declared Clarendon E Adams, commander-in-chief, "has opposed the pernicious doctrines of—pacifism and Communism and is today battling against the anarchist, the socialist, the I. W. W. and Bolshevists". Then the G A R proceeded at their Columbus convention to take a stand in opposition to the league of nations. Those who oppose the league of nations, states President Wilson, in effect, are Pro-German and Bolshevists. What, oh, what, is the G. A. R.?

• • •

And here we have it. After nearly two months of intense furore concerning the war upon the H. C. L., R. G. Dunn and Company make the statement that prices in the Fourth Federal District which includes Ohio have decreased very slightly. Some prices have declined, others have risen, the net result is an exceedingly slight decline.

Pamphlets and Books You Should Read

Spread the Light—this should be the aim of every forward looking man and women. Induce the working class to read and it will work out its own emancipation. We give below a wholesale and retail price list of books and booklets which you should help place into the hands of those most needy. Order from The Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THE SOVIET THE TERROR AND INTERVENTION, 10c., 20 or more at 6c.
RADEK AND RANSOME ON RUSSIA, 5c. each, 20 or more at 4c. each.
THE OLD ORDER IN EUROPE AND THE NEW ORDER IN RUSSIA, 10c. each, in lots of 20 or more, 6c. each.
RUSSIAN SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
SOVIET RUSSIA, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THE SOVIETS, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
RUSSIA, articles by Tchicherin, Eastman, Lenin—15c. each—20 or more at 11c
DEBS GOES TO PRISON, 25c. each—in lots 10 or more at 18c. each.
THE DREAM OF DEBS, 10c. each—in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
THE TRIAL OF DEBS, 10c. each—in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
THE CLASS STRUGLE, Kautsky, 25c. each—10 or more at 18c. each.
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HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS, Marcy, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each
SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST STUDY COURSE, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each
INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY, Marcy, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each.
MARXISM AND DARWINISM, Pannekoek, 10c. each—20 or more 6c. each
SLANDER OF THE TOILERS, Kirkpatrick, 5c. each—20 or more 3. each.
SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC, Engles, 15c. each—20 at 11c.
SHOP TALKS ON ECONOMICS, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THINK OR SURRENDER, Kirkpatrick, 15c. each—20 or more 10c. each.
VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY, Nearing, 5c. each—20 or more 4c. each.
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Cloth, 50c. each—5 or more at 40c. each.
EVOLUTION, SOCIAL AND ORGANIC, Lewis, 50c. each—5 or more 40c. each
LAW OF BIOGENESIS, 50c. each—5 or more at 40c. each. Cloth.
JACK LONDON'S WORKS, Cloth, 50c. each—5 or more 45c. each.
MILITARISM, by Liebknecht, $1.00 each—5 or more at 80c. each.
POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY, by Marx, $1.50 each.
PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS, Dietzgen, 1.00 each—lots of 5 or more 80c. each
PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, Vail, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c
ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER, 1.00 each. Laws of Parliamentary Procedure
SAVAGE SURVIVALS, Moore, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
SOCIALISM FOR STUDENTS, 50c. each—lots of 5 or more 40c. each.
SOCIALISM AND MODERN SCIENCE, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each.
STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE, Marcy, 1.00 each—5 or more 80c. each
SOCIALISM AND THE WAR, Boudin, $1.00 each.
TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD John Reed, 2.00 each—5 or more at $1.75 each.

Place your order TODAY—Address
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO, 3207 CLARK AVE., CLEVELAND, O.

[illegible]

[illegible] for these meetings [illegible] have been Tom Clifford and [illegible] of Cleveland, Mayor [illegible] of Piqua. Other speakers have been used at out door meetings in different sections of the city on Saturday nights. These speakers have included Tom Lewis, Charles Baker, John C. Chase, Marguerette Prevey, John McDee and Albert C. Holloway, candidate for Mayor.

The Ohio Socialist, to the number of two to three thousand copies are being distributed each week and the number will be increased as the campaign progresses. Campaign leaflets will be distributed in large quantities from week to week. As many meetings will be held each week until the close of the campaign as speakers can be secured for. All Socialist speakers in the state who can give Akron a date for a street meeting, or a Sunday afternoon meeting are requested to communicate with John C. Chase, 559 South Main St. Akron Socialists are attempting to stir the workers of the city to action and want all the help they can get in the way of speakers.

I. W. W. Members Released.

A number of fellow workers have been released from the Leavenworth Penn lately. A few have served their terms and others have been released on bonds pending a new trial. Here is a list which has been sent us by the penitentiary mail clerk.

Louis Kramer; Francisco Romero; Fritz Stepanovitch; Clarence Waldren; Otto Brenner; John T. Dunn; Theodore Hiller; Adolph Younger.

MT. HEALTHY COMRADES ATTENTION

Attend special meeting Oct. 6th, Perry St. Question of taking action on joining Communist Labor Party will be decided. Be Present.

Geo. W. Markert, Fin. Sec'y.

[illegible] that Ohio Delegates did not obey Instructions

Ohio sent 16 delegates to the Emergency National Convention. Of these [illegible] C. E. Ruthenberg alone, [illegible] instructed to take part in the Communist Party convention.

The claim is made that the Ohio delegates were instructed to attend the Communist Party convention. What were the instructions to the Ohio delegates? They were instructed to attend the SEPTEMBER 1st CONVENTION, should the Emergency National Convention refuse to seat delegates from the suspended and expelled factions.

What convention did the state convention, which instructed the Ohio delegates, have in mind when it instructed the delegates to go to the SEPTEMBER 1st CONVENTION under certain emergencies? When the state convention met the call for the convention of the Communist Party had not yet been issued. At that time, Fraina, Ruthenberg, Ferguson and others of the Left Wing Council were bitterly assailing the Russian-Michigan group which contemplated calling the September 1st convention for the organization of a Communist Party.

The convention which the Ohio delegates were instructed to attend on September 1st under certain emergencies was that which was ordered called by the National Left Wing Conference, which met just about a week before the sessions of the Ohio state convention. Ruthenberg, Brahtin, Bilan, Zitt and others, fresh from this Left Wing National Conference, understood fully that when the resolution, which Ruthenberg drafted, was passed by the state convention, instructing delegates to go to the September 1st convention, it did not mean the Russian-Michigan group convention, which had bolted the National Left Wing Conference, but it meant the convention to be called for September 1st by the National Left Wing Council under instructions from the National Left Wing Conference.

In the eleventh hour the National Left Wing Council, a body of half a dozen comrades, violated their instructions to carry on the fight within the party up to the Emergency Convention and call a convention for September 1st, and surrendered to the Russian-Michigan group. The National Council did this without a mandate from the Left Wing membership in the party. The result was that all delegates elected to go to the Emergency National Convention who were Left Wing delegates, went to this convention as originally agreed upon, and then organized the Left Wing delegates attending the Emergency Convention as the legal Emergency Convention under the direction of the newly elected national executive committee. The first act of these Left Wing delegates was to ask for unity with the Communist Party convention. The Communist Party convention, controlled by the Russian Federation, refused to unite the two conventions. And this accounts for a Communist Party and a Communist Labor Party.

We of the Communist Labor Party hold, that if instead of bitter denunciation as that made by Ruthenberg and other Communist Party adherants, a spirit of conciliation were manifested, unity could be secured and one strong party of the Left could be organized. The tactics persued by Ruthenberg and others, however, will result only in enstrangement and are not such tactics as should be used against their fellow comrades who stand for Communist principles as wholesonledly as he does.

Zitt, Bilan, Wagenknecht,
Clifford, Prevey, Baker and
other Ohio Delegates attending the C. L. P. convention.

Local Cincinnati Will Have Lecture Course.

The Lecture Course, of the "Workers University", of Local Cincinnati, will begin the 1st Sunday in October, and take its regular Course until about the middle of May, every Sunday Eve., at 8 P. M., at the Socialist Party Headquarters 1314 Vine street.

Everybody is invited to attend those meetings as it shall be the Committees earnest duty, to make the Lectures of "The Workers University", as interesting as possible, and also will engage the best Speakers.

Comrades, Friends and Fellow Workers, make these meetings by your attendance a great success. At those lectures you will be able to hear the Ttruth about Socialism, also about the Exploitation of the Workingclass, also many facts, which you never will be able to read in your Daily Capitalistic Press.

Everybody invited! Everybody wellcome!

Lecture—Course for the Month of October.

October 5. 8 P. M., Chas Baker of Hamilton, O.
" 12. 8 P. M., C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland, O.
" 19. 8 P. M. James O'Neal of New York City.
" 26. 8 P. M., Pat. Quinlan of Newak, N. J.

"The Workers University"
Lecture Committee.

LIBERATION FUND

New Members of the Army of Liberators

And Amounts showing how they have Hustled Liberation Funds

V. E. Payter, Rockvale, Tenn., $1.00; Alex. Sherbin, Box 41, Pierce, W. V., $3.50; Geo. Steinert, 1855 Champlain St., Toledo, O., $1.00; E. Light, 1045 E. Wayne St., Lima, O., $5.00; Otto Meinke, 981—50th Ave., Rock Island, Ill., $7.00; A. W. Wendling, 208 Houston St., Massillon, O., $2.00; Carl Laetsh, 427 Harmon Ave., Hamilton, O., $6.25; Louis Wokin, 196 Kanawha St., Bucknnan, W. Va., $5.00; Robt. Graf, 331 Godfrey Ave., Celina, O., $1.00; A. F. Wagner, 1028 5th Ave., Akron, O., $1.00; J. E. Fenwick, R. D. 8, Cambridge, O., $2.25; Sam. Wilson, R. F. D. 1, Box 173, Bellaire, O., $1.00; Daniel iKlmek, 1904 Racine St., Racine, Wis., $16.00; R. S. Dayton, Bellington, W. Va., $16.00; A. Stasuk, 1016 N. 14th St., St. Louis, Mo., $9.00; Jas. Mooney, 071 Navajo St., Denver, Colo., $2.00; Ruth Hallet, 199 Pulford Ave., Detroit, Mich., $3.00; Geo. D. Smith, 1145 E. Pierce, Phoenix, Ariz., $22.; Jno. Slobocknick, 332 W. 5th, Kansas City, Kans., $1.00; Emery Gray, 1077 E. River St., Elyria, O., $1.00; East Side Circle Y. P. S. L., 5610 Scoville, Cleveland, O., $1.00; Peter Frank, 374 Humphrey St., Swampscott, Mass., $6.00; Jno. Bauer, Dunkirk, O., $3.00; Frank Ursic, 1704 E. 28th St., Lorain, O., $13.80; W. F. Rice, 408 Stoddart, Columbus, O., $1.00; J. E. Howell, Gen. Del., Grafton, W. Va., $1.00; A VanDoesburg, R. F. 4, Holland, Mich., $14.25; W. J. Gilmore, Dola, O., $5.00; Jno Simpson, R. D 11, Dayton, O., $5.00; Jno. H. Thomas, 512 N. 7th St., Martins Ferry, O., $1.00; German Branch Soc. Party, 467 Wayne St., Manshfield, O., $10.00; Wm. Kidd, Steubenville, O., $1.00; Chas. Powers, 1512 Oregon Ave., Kenmore, O., $1.00; Jno. Blucis, 1072 Elizabeth Ave., Grand Rapids, Mich., $8.00; Arthur Guenther, 310—1st St., So. Virginia, Minn., $13.00; Local Irondale, $2.00; J. A. Rufer, 2638 Boles Ave., Kansas City, Mo., $1.00; Mattie A. Martin, 201—6th Ave. S. W., Puyallup, Wash., $1.00; Pete Durak, 260 E. Boardman, St., Youngstown, O., $3.00; Jno. Vehre, Adena, O., $1.00; Arthur W. Downes, 235 Thew Ave., Marion, O., $1.00; J. M. Brake, 209 W. Atwood, Galion, O., $2.00; H. L. Franklin, 523 Walnut Ave., Fairmont, W. Va., $3.50; Matt Vranesic, 387 Ferry Ave. E., Detroit, Mich., $7.25; Wm. Withroe, R. D. 17, Everett, O., $5.00; W. S. Jones, 311 Cypress Ave., Columbus, O., $3.00; Elmer W. Harris, 913 Forest Ave., Hamilton, O., $2.00; S. D. Colette, Box 951, Youngstown, O., $6.75; L. C. Bell, 644 E. Bldg., Toledo, O., $1.00; S. D. Collette, Box 951,

Statement of the Ownership

Management, Circulation etc., required ....by the Act of Congress of.... August 24, 1912.

Of The Ohio Socialist, published Weekly at Cleveland, Ohio, County of Cuyahoga, for October 1, 1919.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Elmer S. Allison who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the The Ohio Socialist and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912 embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher Socialist Party of Ohio 3207 Clark, Ave. Cleveland, Ohio.

Editor Elmer S. Allison and Alfred Wagenknecht 3207 Clark, Ave. Cleveland, Ohio.

Managing Editor same as above.

Business Manager same as above.

Officials of the Socialist Party of Ohio.

State Secretary, Alfred Wagenknecht, 3207 Clark Ave, Cleveland, O.

State Executive Committee.

Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd.

Jos. W. Sharts, Rm 7, Lowe Bldg, Dayton, O.

Jno P. Baker, 935 Gilbert St. Columbus, O.

Letta Burke, 1314, Vine St. Cincinnati, O.

Wm. Patterson, 1727, Michigan St. Toledo, O.

Scott Wilkins, Wapakoneta, O.

M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St. Mansfield, O.

That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

Elmer S. Allison, Editor.

Sworn to, and subscribed before me this 25th day of September 1919.

[illegible] Notary Public

(My commission expires Sept. 17, 1920)

Communist Labor Party National Office [illegible]

Address 3207 Clark Ave, Cleveland.

— Telegrams in great number are pouring into the national office of the Communist Labor Party. Locals in all parts of the nation are wiring [illegible] of their cooperation in building the new party and, more important, are demanding dues stamps and supplies.

— Edward Lindgren, acting state secretary of New York wries as follows: "Local Kings County, formerly the second largest local in the Socialist Party, decided at a meeting of the central committee held last Saturday, Sept. 20, to affiliate with the Communist Labor Party. Of course, the controversy has split the local, about [illegible] going over to the Socialist Party, [illegible] to the Communist Party including the federation branches, leaving about 2,000 to 2,500 after we get thru with our organization campaign just started, send me at once for the state office 2,000 dues stamps, 2,000 dues cards and other supplies."

— L. K. England, Edgar Owens and Perry Shipman are engaged in organization work for the Communist Labor Party in Rock Island County, Ill. The C. L. P. state convention for Illinois has been called to meet in Moline on Oct. 12th.

— The Cook County (Chicago) organization committee for the C. L. P. is composed of G. A. Engelken, Arthur Proctor, J. Meisinger, Samuel Hankin and John Nelson. A stiring proclamation has been issued to the revolutionary membership in Cook County calling them to join the C. L. P. which will hold its organization meeting Sept. 23th.

— Chas. Baker is assisting in organization work in Chicago. He was conscripted by the Chicago comrades for the greater part of the week of Sept. 21st. Marguerite Prevey will make a tour beginning about October 1st. Chas. Baker is scheduled to speak in the following cities: Ft. Wayne, Ind., Sept. 29, 30; Lima, O., Oct. 1; Columbus 2nd; Dayton 3rd; Hamilton 4th; Cincinnati 5th.

— Max Bedacht, member of the national executive committee visited the national office this week. He reports that the mass meeting of German branch members held in Chicago went on record as advising all German branches to affiliate with the C. L. P.

— Noble Wilson of Indiana reports an interesting battle between Wm. Henry, old line Socialist state secretary and Jos. Zimmerman, delegate at the C. L. P. convention.

— W. F. [illegible] of Indianapolis writes that at least 75 per cent of the Indiana membership is Left Wing.

— READ THE NEXT LIBERATOR: The coming issue of the "Liberator", the monthly edited by Max Eastman, will contain an interesting report of the Chicago conventions. Buy a copy.

— "I will say for my part that the C. L. P. is the only one of the three parties we can consistently support." W. B. Dillon, New Mexico.

— The first Russian Communist Branch of Chicago has endorsed the C. L. P. program and applied for a charter.

— Ruby Herman, state secretary of Washington, wires for convention minutes and actions. Mary Geffs, state secretary of Colorado, writes that we shall have her undivided support.

— "We have the Scandinavian Branch of Duluth and Local Duluth, 400 members, with the C. L. P." Jack Carney.

— The Italian Branch of New York City has withdrawn from the Italian Socialist Federation, fearing that the federation will remain with the reactionary Socialist Party. It intends organizing an Italian Federation affiliated with the C. L. P.

— The locals at Worcester, Mass., and Conway, Pa., have written for programs and constitutions of the C. L. P.

— Adolph Germer was in Ohio last week attempting to repair his broken fences. It is rumored that he well soon resign his office in the S. P. The ship 's sinking.

— GERMAN FEDERATION JOINS C. L. P.: The national executive of the German Federation voted 41 to 8 to join the Communist Labor Party. Branches in New York and New Jersey, numbering 1,700 members, have already decided to affiliate.

— The first order for dues stamps came from Thos. Crimmins, for Local Syracuse, N. Y. He writes: "The language federations here decided to join the C. L. P. Send 200 dues stamps at once."

— James Dolsen, California state organizer, is touring the west for the C. L. P.

— An application for a charter has been received from Local Rock Island County, Ill., the largest local in Illinois outside Chicago.

— "State conferences for the Communist Labor Party were held in Kansas City, Kans., and Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 21. Temporary organizations for the party were effected. Sufficient representatives were present from the two states to assure us half the membership at the first sweep. The under- [illegible] board was elected secretary for the [illegible] Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska." J. P. C[illegible].

— Local Danville, Ill. decided unanimously to withdraw from the Socialist Party and join the Communist Labor Party.

— L. E. Katterfeld has given up his residence in Kansas to take up his duties in the national office of the C. L. P. His years of organization experience will be of much value to the party nationally.

— The Scandinavian Socialist Federation has decided to withdraw from the Socialist Party and will decide its future affiliation either by referendum or in convention.

— TELLEGRAM: Rhode Island state mass convention voted overwhelmingly to affiliate with the C. L. P. Temporary state committee elected. Yours truly elected state secretary. Rush stamps and supplies. Will remit by return mail." James P. Reid.

— The "Melting Pot" has been offered to the Communist Labor Party by the editor, H. M. Tichnor, to be owned and controlled by the party as one of its official monthlies.

— A Unity Convention was held by the rank and file of Left Wing members of Manhatten, N. Y. Communist Party adherants discouraged attendance at this convention. Communist Labor Party adherants encouraged the convention. The order of business was the question of securing one united communist organization. Delegates to either convention were not admitted.

Local Toledo O., second largest local in the state sends word that the local has voted in favor of affiliation with the C. L. P.

DUES STAMPS AND SUPPLIES

New dues stamps, charter member stamps and party supplies are now ready. Locals in states where the state office is with the Communist Labor Party should make purchases direct from their state secretaries. Locals in states where the state secretaries still adhere to the reactionary Socialist Party should buy stamps and supplies direct from the national office.

Dues stamps to state offices affiliated with our party and to locals in states where the state office is not affiliated, are 20 cents each. Charter member stamps sell for 25c each. Initiation stamp (the same as charter stamps for the first year) sell for 25 cents each. Dues cards are $1.00 a hundred and membership application blanks are $2.50 a thousand.

A uniform [illegible] CHARTER MEMBER stamps for all who affiliate with our party may be registered as charter members of it. Members will pay $1.00 for such stamp. The proceeds from these [illegible] will go into the organization fund. Applicants for membership are required to pay $1.00 initiation fee.

PLACE ORDERS FOR DUES STAMPS AND SUPPLIES AT ONCE.

— Felix Catlin for Local Youngstown, Ohio, ordered 200 dues stamps and 100 charter stamps. Local Youngstown has joined the C. L. P.

— Five thousand dues stamps, 1,000 charter stamps and a large shipment of suplies have gone forward to the office of the German Communist Labor Party Federation.

— One thousand dues stamps, 800 charter stamps and supplies were mailed to the Rhode Island state secretary. Two thousand dues stamps and 500 charter member stamps and supplies were shipped Local New York. Reports from everywhere show excellent progress. The Communist Labor Party is predestined to be a growing, virile, powerful organization.

— NEW YORK LETTER: Local Queens with a membership of about 500 has gone Communist Party by a very narrow margin. There is every possibility that this local will reverse itself in a very short time. Local Kings, the largest local of the Left Wing section in New York will positively line up with the C. L. P. In Manhatton proper, the branches have decided upon a Unity Conference despite the opposition from the Communist Party comrades. In one branch, the 8th A. D., which sent four delegates to the Communist Party convention. the unity conference was endorsed whereupon Maximillan Cohen, Jos. and Karl Brodsky and Fannie Horowitz, all delegates to the Communist Party convention, resigned. The following branches will surely line up with the C. L. P. Four Russian branches, one Lettish branch, five English branches, all German branches, one Italian branch and several of the Jewish branches. In the Bronx the Communist Party comrades, true to their "rule or quit" tactics, refused to abide by the decision of the general membership meeting and bolted. Here we will have the Hungarian branch, the Russian branch, two English branches and probably one Jewish branch.

Scott Nearing's Lecturettes.

[illegible] "under-nourished." "Malnutrition" is a term less forbidding than "starvation."

The Children's Bureau report describes a well nourished child as one who "first of all, measures up to racial and family standards of his age in height and weight. He has good color, bright eyes — no blue or dark circles underneath them — and smooth, glossy hair. His carriage is good, his step elastic, his flesh firm, and his muscles well-developed. In disposition he is usually happy and good-natured; he is brim full of life and animal spirits and is constantly active both physically and mentally. His sleep is sound, his appetite and digestion good, his bowels regular. He is, in short, what nature

[illegible] If people could have known in 18[illegible] the staggering burden of land value increases that were lying in wait for their descendants, they might well have saved this generation the labor that will be involved in converting so huge a special interest as that, now represented by land-lordism in the United States into a community benefit. Such a change can be made in one way—and only one. The land of the United States must belong to the people of the United States — just as the rivers and harbors do—and must be used, as the rivers and harbors are used—not for private profit but for community benefit.

[illegible] Here is a measure to which [illegible] New York, an investigation by the Bureau of Child Hygiene made in the Borough of Manhattan (March, [illegible]) showed that 37.3 per cent. of the children were excellently nourished; 41.1 per cent. were passably nourished; the remaining 21.6 per cent were undernourished. This 21.6 per cent. spread out over the United States means millions of the child population denied an opportunity for that standard of glad-eyed health which the Children's Bureau describes.

Millions of European children are facing a savage winter. Millions of American children are slowly starving to death. Europe is war-torn. The United States is ridden by an old man of the sea in the form of an industrial system which provides the luxuries of life for a few tens of thousands while it condemns millions of children to the hell of slow starvation.

ENJOYING AND PAYING

The American people take it for granted that a fortune is a great boon to a community. According to the commonly accepted line of reasoning the existence of a fortune is a sign of community prosperity. The more fortunes the greater the prosperity.

Leaving aside for the moment any consideration of the obvious fallacy which lies behind a system of social organizations that allows some of its members to live in comparative luxury and idleness while others — and these the direct producers—exist for the most part either on the verge of poverty or in its depths, it is quite worth while to ask whether a fortune is a community blessing or a community curse.

The possesor of the fortune has in most cases secured titles to social values—that is, he has made himself master of the natural resources, of the franchises, factories and the other economic opportunities upon which the people depend for work and livelihood. Once having the title to these special privileges, the owner is able to avail himself of the full monopoly power which is included in his ownership. The owners of the anthracite coal fields, for exemple, have added no coal to the store already in the ground, nor have they themselves taken any of it out of the ground. They have merely employed their ownership as a means of securing monopoly profits or landlord profits when the coal is taken by the workers from its place in the earth and turned into forms that are needed by the American people.

The question may be put in this way. Suppose there were no private owners of anthracite coal. Would there be any less coal in the ground? Would it be any harder to reach? Would it be any more expensive to mine? Would it cost the consumer any more? Obviously the answer to all of these questions is "no". The owner of a natural resource merely puts a fence around it and notifies the people that if they wish to use any portion of his resources they must pay him a royalty or rent for the privilege.

There are millions of acres of land still in the possession of the government, located in the Alaskas, in the Rockies and in the Sierras, in which there is to be found all the minerals necessary to prosperity and upon which there are, in some cases, valuable growths of timber. These things now belong to the whole people, just as the rivers, harbors and lakes belong to the whole people. Consequently no value is set upon them.

Suppose, for example, that people had never learned the use of anthracite coal, and suppose that the little section of Pennsylvania in which most of the anthracite is deposited are still in the possession of the federal government. It would represent no value at all, and yet as soon as a method of utilizing the anthracite was discovered, the fourteen billion tons of unmined coal would acquire immediate economic importance. Suppose that the right to mine this coal were leased by the government to the highest bidder on a royalty basis, or suppose that the government should mine the coal and dispose of it at cost to the people. In either case no private fortunes would be made out of the land, yet the coal would be utilized just as effectively and perhaps more so than it is under the present system Yet so absurdly have economic truths been presented to the American people that they feel instinctively that the coal land is more valuable in the hands of private owners than it would be in the hands of the federal government. Of course it is more valuable to the private owners and perhaps that is the reason they have been so anxious to impress the point on the public imagination.

Special privilege, privately owned, represents a gain to the owner, but a loss to the community. The owner is able through his privilege, to increase his wealth, but because of the private ownership, the community is compelled to pay more for the goods and services which it uses. The privileged enjoy — the community pays.

STARVING AMERICANS

Starving children in Servia, Greece, France, and Belgium make a touching appeal to us. Even the starved children of Austria and Germany are commanding our attention. We organize, work and give to relieve their distresses and provide them with at

EARLY IN THE GAME

Henry Clay commented on the economic situation in the United States in a speech which he made to the Senate in 1832, "A friend of mine in this city bought in Illinois last fall, about 2,000 acres of this refuse land at the minimum price for which he has lately refused six dollars per acre........It is a business, a very profitable business, at which fortunes are made in the new states to purchase these refuse lands, and without improving them, to sell them at large advances."

Clay was arguing to prove that the national domain was really valuable and not "refuse" land as one of his opponents had insisted.

In those days of the early settlement of Illinois a land boom set the values at $6 an acre. Henry Clay cited the incident to show how some men might get rich without working by buying and selling land. Little did he dream of the lengths to which this real-estate-speculator prosperity would lead.

Between 1900 and 1910 the value of Illinois farm land increased 1,576 millions or 104 per cent. in ten years. A recent report carried in a New York financial paper notes sales of three farms at Champaign, Ill., for $4.00 per acre; and another farm at Kankakee, 160 acres for $68,000 ($425 per

QUESTIONS REGARDING COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY ANSWERED.

To J. F. — The Communist Party, in its program, provides that political candidates be nominated for legislative bodies anly and prohibits nomination of candidates for mayor, governor or president. The program or constitution of the Communist Labor Party has no such provisions.

To M. G., Cleveland, — So far as we understand, the petitions which were circulated to place C. E. Ruthenberg upon the ballot as candidate for mayor have been filed. Ruthenberg intends to decline the nomination after the petitions are filed and as a result there will be no candidate for mayor for you to vote for this fall.

To L. S. — Yes, the constitution of the Communist Party provides that persons living wholy from rent, interest or profit can not join that party.

To C. L. — The Communist Party gives language federations greater autonomy that they had in the old Socialist Party. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the Communist Party is, in the main, a party of language federations. The Communist Labor Party constitution provides that all language branches shall belong directly to the local or to the state office where there is no local. Language branches shall pay dues to the local or state office, and the translator secretary shall receive finances to conduct his office from the national office.

DEPORTEE IS HAPPY

Deportation holds no terrors for workers deported to a country like Norway, where the labor movement is strong. Alof Finnestad was one of those shipped from Seattle to New York on the "Red Special" last winter, and from there to Norway. He is now very happy at his lot, for night after night he has an opportunity to address meetings from a soapbox on conditions in the United States.

He finds that wages are two crowns an hour (about 70 cents), while living cost him 30 crowns a week. "Wages are high," he declares, "food is also high but plentiful; so there is no need for anyone to be scared to come over and give us a helping hand"

Debs and the Revolution

"I am opposed to bloodshed in any form. A revolution is coming, but it must be peaceful. That is the reason I am opposed to war, to making men soldiers. A soldier is a human being trained to kill other human beings. I don't believe in killing, I am opposed to it I can go to the gallows with a smile on my face, without a quiver, but I'll never have the stain of any man's blood upon my hands. I'm opposed to all forms of murder. We must do our work, comrades, peacefully. We are slowly but surely welding the iron ring about our exploiters. But, because they have treated us cruelly and like cattle that is not the spirit in which we must treat with them. We must be gentle and ask God to forgive them. They speak of Americanizing the foreigners—why? To make strikebreakers of them? God forgive them! When I am gone, the richest gift I ask, is that some child will lay a flower upon my grave and say: 'Gene did something for me.'"

—From Debs' last speech before going to the penitentiary, delivered in Youngstown, Ohio, April 6, 1919.

Debs' Loyalty is Superb Sacrifice.

(Continued from page 1.)

I believe he could be induced to make the fight if convinced that such was the desire of the movement generally; for he always subordinates his own opinion to that of the movement in such matters.

He sends by me his love and greetings to all his comrades. And I wish I could repeat all the stories he told Comrade Castleton and me of the little incidents of his prison-life manifesting the affection and regard his fellow-prisoners for him. In the murderers and rape-fiends among whom he has been placed he has found traits of gentleness and generosity absolutely unintelligible to the highly respectable and successful gentry who send them there.

"Think of a man risking a hundred and thirty days in the 'Hole'," said he, "just to smuggle a piece of pie to me in the hospital. Or to wave a greeting to me across the yard."

"I have lost a few ounces of gristle," he remarked laughing, as I touched his fleshless arm. "But I have gained tons in spirit. And while Woodrow Wilson could put me here, he can't make me look at the steel-bars or the stone roof. I can see beyond the bars the flowers; and above the roof I can see the stars, and beyond all this prison poison I can see my comrades bravely battling for the release of all workers from bondage. We are waging a winning fight and that makes me bear up and gives me new life."

The Shop Steward Movement as Developed in Seattle, Wash.

By WALKER S. SMITH.

(Editors' Note. In harmony with the endorsement by the Communist Labor Party of mass action by the workers and the shop committees and shop steward movement, we reprint from The Voice of Labor this week an article about the development of this latest phase of the class struggle in Seattle. For the elucidation of our readers we shall continue to publish from week to week articles relating to this movement.)

While the whole labor movement of Seattle appeared to have been torn with dissension over the question of industrial unionism, or the less clearly defined idea of One Big Union, a development along constructive though not so spectacular lines has proceeded beneath the turmoil. Advocates of the Shop Steward System have pushed their ideas to the front by addressing themselves directly to the workers in the unions.

Where shop stewards already exist the campaign has been to democratize them by instituting direct election from the rank and file, and to have each steward responsible for a smaller number of men. Where stewards have been merely for the purpose of colleting dues, seeing that no one in bad standing could work on a job, and takig applications for membership, there has been a strong effort to have these men take up and adjust the minor grievances of the workers in their respective shops. In all cases the advocates of the movement have emphasized the necessity for industrial unionism and for an understanding of Socialist economics.

All of this has involved various compromses and deviations from the Shop Steward System as it is theorized, but the issue has kept fairly clear on the most vital points. Election by the men themselves regardless of grades of skill in a shop, one steward to represent from 12 to 25 men and no more, adjustment of all grievances peculiar to a shop by action confined to that shop, frequent committee meetings of shop stewards within a plant or industry, and regular meetings of shop stewards of each craft throughout the city, have been the points emphasized.

A Real Shop Steward Movement.

Perhaps the cleanest cut example of the Shop Steward System in Seattle is to be found in the Journeyman Tailor's Union. The reasons are plain. The movement has encountered no opposition from either International or local officials, the union has declared for and is striving toward an industrial form, the local membership is nearly 100 per cent class conscious and is far obave the average in intelligence, and the Shop Steward System was set down almost complete within the framework of the union, without the necessary [illegible] and is far above the average in intelligence, and the presentation. Here is a sketch of the system as it exists now, a little more than three months since its introduction.

The union has a membership of about 1,000 distributed in 755 to 80 shops with from 5 to 40 workers employed in each shop. Every shop in the city is thoroughly organized. There is now one steward to each shop who represents alike the skilled, semi-skilled and apprentices, and who is elected by a joint meeting of all employees In addition to this there is a general grievance committee composed of five stewards elected at the regular fortnigthly meeting of all tailor shop stewards in the city.

The initial meetings for the election of shop stewards were called by the business agent of the union, who went to each shop and announced that on a certain date every employee was to be present in the office of the union. At the meeting of each shop group the business agent explained the workings of the Shop Steward System, but beyond a recommendation that the shop steward be a person possessing both the ability and the courage to meet the foreman or employer on any issue that might arise, he took no part in the elections. Nearly one-fourth of tailors' shop stewards are women.

What a Shop Steward Does

Decision on any action to be taken is made by the workers, whereupon the shop steward must carry out their wishes or be subjected to immediate recall. Adjustment of local grievances within a shop, if not made at once, is taken up at a meeting directly after working hours, or in extreme cases by a meeting on the job. Failing of an adjustment, appeal is made to the grievance committee of five, by whose decision the foreman or employer must abide or face a walk-out; and should the aggrieved workers dissent they can appeal to the stewards as a whole or the Union direct.

In addition to adjusting grievances the duties of a shop steward are to see that all union regulations are complied with, to initiate new members in an emergency, or otherwise to present their applications to the earliest union meeting, and to collect dues. Stewards from the taliors receive the pay checks of the workers in each shop, and after examining them to see that there is no shortage they pass them to the workers whom they represent. By this means the steward makes sure the apprentices are paid according to grade, and the union is also able to enforce its rule that no more than four hours of overtime shall be worked in any one week.

Aditional power has come to the tailors by reason of the Shop Steward System. After a worker has been employed for two weeks the employer cannot discharge him except by the joint consent of the grievance committee and the affected workers in a shop. Lay-off of workers on account of slack work is on terms approved by the workers in the shop, and the grievance committee, in accordance with union regulations. Seattle is now forcing a wage scale of $44 for 44 hours, with double time for overtime and absolutely no work on Saturday afternoon, helpers to receive $33 straight pay. The old scale was $36 for an 8 hour day with helpers drawing wages ranging from $20 to $26. This scale will probably go into general effect upon the Pacific Coast, and the credit is largely due to the Shop Steward System and the revolutionary spirit of the Seattle tailors.

The Boilermakers

Nearly one-half of Seattle's union members are employed in the shipyards. The largest union in the yards is the Boilermakers. Inability to bring this union into line with the Shop Steward System has been the main stumbling block to the progress of the movement. Shop Stewards exist, but they are answerable to a chief steward and to autocratic union officials, and not to the rank and file, the latter regarding them as a species of private police acting for the distrusted officials. These stewards are known by the wearing of a star, not by their name or because of their union activity on the job. No system exists in their selection; some being appointees of the chief steward, the business agent or other officials, some being approved in a general business meeting, but none being elected by the rank and file. Their dues are allowed by the union in return for their services as stewards.

Within the shops, however, the demand for systematization and democratization of the stewards is gaining ground. Recently in Duthie's shipyard there was a meeting of shop stewards from every craft, the first meeting of its kind to be held in a Seattle yard, and stewards from the boilmakers were present.

Spreading Fast

Steam and Marine Pipe Fitters have one steward to each shipyard in addition to a shop committee of five. These men are elected by the members on the job, or if appointed by the members of the committee or by the business agent, it is in default of action by the rank and file. One steward is elected on each job employing more than four men elsewhere throughout the city. This union has a membership of about 600, of whom 200 are employed by the Skinner & Eddy yard.

Both the Machinists' Union and the Shipyard Laborers, Riggers and Fasteners, are enthusiastic boosters for the Shop Steward System. In the latter union the assistant business agent has charge of the stewards, and makes arrangements for lectures on their duties and functions twice each month. Through the activity of these stewards the initial meeting of all stewards at Duthie's yard was called, and they are foremost in working out plans to coordinate all stewards in all of the yards. The majority of the stewards of both the unions mentioned are class conscious and are well versed in economics.

In the Longshoremen's union there are more students of the Shop Stewards System than in any organization, yet there are as yet no shop stewards, due to the fact that no effective plan has been developed to care for the short time jobs of loading or unloading cargo. A voluntary committee is working on the matter at this time, and with the present temper of the membership, an almost unanimous adoption of any plan which will leave control of the stewards in the hands of the rank and file can be foretold with complete assurance. Abolition of the business agent by substitution of shop stewards is one of the problems the committee is asked to figure out.

How It Works

As a sample of provisions which are now being inserted in various union constitutions, the following from Inside Electrical Workers, No. 46 is of interest:

Art. VIII, Sec. 1.—It shall be the duty of the first journeymen on the job to act as Steward until such time as there are five men or more on the job, when a vote must be taken to elect a Steward, which shall require a majority vote of the journeymen members on the job. The foreman to have no vote. No foreman or assistant foreman shall act as Steward.

"Sec. 2.— The Steward will be held responsible to the Executive Board and to the Local for the enforcement of the working rules and By-Laws."

Electrical workers stewards appoint assistants whenever there are so many workers on a job as to render it necessary, and they call in the business agent on any problem which they think is too large or too important to the entire union for the men on the one job to handle. The provision regarding votes of journeymen members is quite generally ignored, and helpers participate in the election of stewards. Weekly meetings are held of all shop stewards of this craft.

Propaganda

Ten thousand pamphlets on the Shop Steward System have been distributed in Seattle within the past six months. These have not been street sales. The pamphlets have gone directly into the union or have been quietly passed to workers in a shop prior to a call for the election of a steward. In addition to this there has been wide publication of articles dealing with the movement, and two men making the rounds of the unions delivering half-hour talks on the subject.

Having completed much of the preliminary propaganda work, a plan is now being mapped out whereby given yards will be called upon to elect stewards from the office employees, the various shops, the yard sweepers, etc., so as to affect a permanent organization of shop, deparment, yard and then finally of the entire industry in this district.

The death knell has sounded for craft unionism; the A. F. of L. belongs to the past. But that does not mean that the millions of members of the craft unions must be ignored, or that we must face the task of taking them one by one into the I. W. W. We know that a craft union crash is coming. When it comes we have to have in the autonomous and more or less unofficial Shop Steward System a means of holding together the productive units, so that One Big Union will arise from the wreck of the [illegible] A. F. of L.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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4,000 Years in Prison - That is the total of sentences given political prisoners - It means one hundred lives sacrificed to capitalist imperialism - Let not a day, let not an hour go by without a blow for their Liberation.

Act!

In our minds eye, every square inch of these United States is paved with good resolutions passed by workers.

LOOK AND YOU CAN SEE THE MILLIONS OF THEM YOURSELF!

Whereas and whereas and therefore be it resolved.

AND THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED—and the second the last word of the resolution was read every word of it was forgotten.

Are we against resolutions? No—but we are FOR ACTION.

Before action can be taken action must be planned.

And before action can be planned, action must be decided upon.

Resolutions passed by the workers in the interest of the workers, if they are to be worth more than simply the ink they are written in, must decide upon ACTION. They must contain a call to amass the workers, so that by their power they win their demands.

The formula then is this—DECIDE WHAT TO DO—PLAN HOW TO DO IT—CARRY OUT THE PLANS.

Resolutions decide what we must do. The reason the millions of resolutions passed by the workers have not been effective is because the second step in the formula, namely to plan how to do what is decided upon, is never taken.

AND BECAUSE OF THIS, ACTION IS NEVER HAD.

WE ARE FOR ACTION!

The working class ran have anything it wants if it ACTS unitedly politically and industrially. United action at any time for the release of political prisoners would be political action. United action by the workers must be had if political prisoners are again to take their place beside us as comrades in the cause that knows no defeat.

Debs has given his answer. "All or none" So it shall be.

We have always been given to the principle of "ALL TOGETHER".

But we wanted to save Debs' life.

And now Debs has chosen to die in jail. We bow to his choice. Only one in a milion men is man enough to make a sacrifice so great.

Debs has chosen to die in prison rather than gain freedom for himself alone.

DEBS WILL DIE IN PRISON—and so will many others —others who have been sentenced to ten, twenty, thirty years —UNLESS—

WE GET ACTION!

To get action we have planned to tour a number of speakers to the labor unions in the larger cities. We shall appear before them with a request for help—help not in sympathy or dollars and cents—but the kind of help which will open the prison gates and free all political prisoners.

DOWN TOOLS—that's the slogan.

Down tools, look your masters squarely in the face, point your finger toward Atlanta, Leavenworth, Alcatraz and say —"OPEN".

And so we again call upon you to assist and keep on assisting in the preliminaries.

Have you a LIBERATION FUND CONTRIBUTION LIST?

If you have, get the dollars from your fellow workers and acquaintances AT ONCE.

If you have not, send for one AT ONCE.

DOLARS ARE NEEDED.

Many dollars are needed—thousands of them.

REMIT NOW! And next we will report to you our action in the Liberators' campaign to GET ACTION from the workers, all of whom we know are READY to do all they can to FREE DEBS and ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

BROWN TO SHARTS

My dear Comrade:

Your article about the visit of the Liberators committee to the great Spartan is profoundly interesting and deeply touching. Mrs. Brown and I read it together I doing the reading, and I could hardly proceed because of blinding tears.

She feels that dear Gene should have taken the chance of getting out by signing, but I am glad that he declined.

He will live longer in prinson with the approval of his conscience, than he would at home without it, and, in any case, under present conditions, his burning soul will do more where it than it could do where we would like to have it towards spreading the rising, sweeping, consuming flames of the pending revolution by which all capitalists shall be burned from the earth and all gods from the sky, a burning upon which the salvation of the wo is dependent, for otherwise it must be lost.

The virtuous man,
Who, great in his humility, as kings
Are little in their grandeur; he who leads
Invincibly a life of resolute good,
And stands amid the silent dungeon depths
More free and fearless than the trembling judge,
Who, clothed in venal power, vainly strove
To bind the impassive spirit.—Shelley.

Wm. M. Brown
Galion, O.

Good News from New York

Organization work in the Communist Labor Party is speeding forward in a most encouraging manner. A telegram just received from New York gives this good news:

National Headquarters
Communist Labor Party.

In addition to other branches already reported to you, the following have joined the Communist Labor Party: In Manhattan the 1st and 2nd Russian Branches; the 3rd, 5th, 10th and 17th A. D.; three German Branches; rganization formed in the 8th A. D. Bronx, 3rd Russian Branch; German Branch: 3rd and 4th A. D. organizing. In New Jersey, 1st Russian Branch and the Newark Fort Lee Branch.

Benjamin Gitlow.

WE HAVE ORDERED THE PRESS!

Yes, we have written the manufactures that we are ready to sign a contract for a printing press for the Ohio Socialist to be delivered at the earliest possible moment.

This action has been made possible by the generosity of the hundreds of comrades who have so loyally stood by us these last few trying months and by their hard work and self denial contributed over $4,000.00 for the purchase of the printing plant.

Early last spring we opened a campaign for twenty thousand subscribers. We hoped that with this list of readers to be able to make the Ohio Socialist a twice a week paper, thus laying the foundation for a daily. Our readers worked hard and faithfully with us in this laudable effort and our mailing list was doubled in a very short while. From a list of 6,000 we mounted to 13,000. Then came the White Terror of the capitalist clas beginning with the notable first of May.

It was then the capitalist printers of Cleveland refused to publish the Ohio Socialist. Without an hour's notice we were told they would not print for us. At the last moment we were able to make arrangements with Local Dayton, Socialist Party, whereby we were able to print on their press. This arrangement was very unsatisfactory on account of the distance and added expense of expressage.

For the last few weeks we have been printing on an aut of date press in Cleveland. But this tvo, is very unsatisfactory. The press is old, nearly worn out. It frequently calls a strike of its assembled parts and refuses to either work or walk out. It has learned to perfection the art of "striking on the job". It is because of these trying conditions, and realizing that the Party must own its own press if it was to continue unhampered its great work of education and organizing the workers, that we were moved to take up the campaign for $10,000 for a press and printing plant for the Ohio Socialist. The response of the comrades to this call has been most generous. On October 1st, over $4,000.00 has been contributed for this purpose. This generous support assures us that we can rely upon our comrades to stand by us until our press is paid for and a full and up to date printing equipment is acquired.

The capitalist class is organizing to defeat the workers. We may soon expect capitalist printers to refuse to print our publications. Unless we are prepared to publications. Unless we are prepared to publish our own papers, books, pamphlets and leaflets, our propaganda will suffer greatly and the development of workingclass power will receive a set-back that will be a tremendous injury.

We have ordered a press of sufficient capacity to print a daily.

A linotype must be installed just as soon as possible, and other equipment added as funds permit.

We are preparing for not only the needs of today but of the future. We wust prepare to make the Ohio Socialist a greater and still greater power in the working-class fight for emancipation. We hope that when our new press is set up we will be able to print a semi-weekly

And now comrades, and we mean every reader, every Party member and every sympathizer, every class-conscious worker—we say this: we are going to do every thing within our power to make the Ohio Socialist a bigger, better paper; a more powerful weapon for the workers in the class struggle. We want every one of you to help us realize our aims. For they are your aims too. You have helped before. But the fight is not won. You must help again. It is your fight and as you fight so do you deserve to win. Therefore take up the matter of securing funds for the new press among your comrades and fellow workers. Give another dollar toward it. Get a comrade to do the same. Don't let the press fund drive lag, for now that the press is ordered, it MUST BE PAID FOR. Let's have your dollar—NOW.

As you fight so do you deserne to win!

As you fight so do you deserve to win!

The Land of Black Despair

Berlin, August 20.

It is impossible to describe the blank pessimism which is all but universal in Germany today. People are hopeles. without faith in God, themselves their rulers, the Allies, or the neutrals; in capitalism or Bolshevism; in democracy, revolution, or monarchy. And they are too tired and half-starved to care. The casual visitor to Berlin Frankfurt, or other German cities today finds little changed—the streets a bit dirtier, the policing laxer; but the theatres full, the cafes crowded, the main streets gay. Behind this facade is a despair such as only a people with the intense self-consciousness of the Germans can know.

It is startling to find so constant a consciousness of the immediacy of the abyss. You find all sorts of men — Professor Nicolai, for instance— looking forward to the worst winter of the war and to a victory of the workingsmen's councils (soviets) as its consequence, then to their failure, and then to utter chaos. "If only we had leaders," began a young doctor who eat with us. "Leaders don't count any more," Nicolai broke in. "It is only the mass. It can do whatever it wills, and as in every country the mass is stupid and blind and without intelligence." In Russia the Revolution ushered in a radiant era of new hopes. Even the Bolsheviks have a kind of religious fervor. In Germany the November revolution brought a glimmer of light, but since then the night has steadily deepened. The revolutionary leaders themselves make no glowing promises. They say with Nicolai: "The revolution will come, not from idealistic motives, but from harsh economic pressure, from the bitterness of despair: and once it comes, it will be impossible to control it."

You hear little complaint of the treaty. It is accepted with a curious combination of fatalism and conviction that it cannot endure. You find no intention to resist it, simply a calm assumption that it cannot possibly be executed. Nationalists papers deplore the "absence of national self-conciousness" which takes territorial amputations with such a shrug. The only provision much discussed is that concerning coal.

According to the treaty, Germany is to deliver forty million tons of coal per year to the Entente, beginning in September. The Frankfurter Zeitung calculates that this leaves Germany about thirty million tons of anthracite per year for her own use — less than a fifth of her peace-time annual consumption. Germany produced 191.500.000 tons in 1913, and used 171.000.000 tons at home. If she loses Upper Silesia as well as the Saar and the Aachen regions as coal sources, she loses 50 + 12 + 3½ — 65½ million tons, leaving her, at her peace-time rate of production, 126.000.000 tons. But the lowered strength and productivity of German workers, the shorter work-hours, and the intermittent strikes which even Herr Noske has been unable totally to suppress, have reduced the production to fifty-five per cent. that of peace-times, or about seventy million tons per year, and it treatens to become less still. The peace treaty obligates Germany to deliver more than half of this to the Entente. Assuming that the amputated regions accounted for a quarter of the coal consumption of 1913 — probably a large figure — her need would be for 143.000.000 tons a year. Against this she will have thirty. Germany will have scarcely enough coal to run the railways on reduced schedules without providing for heating homes or running industries.

Many communes are laying in supplies of wood for household use, and the production of lignite fortunately is not so catastrophically slight as that of coal. But small dependence can be placed upon the schemes for recruiting regiments of volunteer miners—especially when labor regards such plans as capitalist camouflage — and Germany is face to face with the fact that she cannot reckon an sufficient coal even to operate her railways and warm her houses, without beginning to supply her industries. Low as is the present operation of her factories, the general expectation is that more than half the factories now in operation will have to close down next winter for lack of coal. The consequences of the resultant unemployment and discontent can only be guessed.

The food situation is slightly better. Prices are high, but fats and flour are beginning to come in. The week I arrived in Berlin the city was flooded with American chocolate — the first shipments since the lifting of the blockade. Cripples—legless, armless, noseless, or eternally shaking their diseased heads—and old women and little children, and worse still, healthy-bodied ex-soldiers with nothing better to do, shouted at one on every street corner, even out in the suburbs, "American chocolate — ten marks a cake!" People bought it — at what to them was $5.00 a pound. The first chocolate in years—no other city ever sold so much chocolate in six months as was sold in that first week in Berlin.

In this desperate situation—high food prices, coal shortage, forced unemployment — the social revolutionaries see their hope. The political revolution workingmen will tell you that but workingmen will tell you that they have been cheated of the social revolution. Steps have been taken toward socialization, but they have been faltering steps, and the Russian soviet system is pictured in sharp contrast as something truly proletarian and. whatever its defects, at least equalizing. Your German workman is very bitter about the revelries of the rich, determined that the present inequalities shall not persist, unwilling to toil on for the benefit as he sees it, of people who do not toil beside him. You find the same temper in the scores of socialist and communist pamphlets which are on sale on every news-stand, in the posters and stickers posted through the cities; in the meetings of workingmen and women, of workers' children, of revolutionary students.

Revolts are spasmodic througout Germany today, but they are not products of deliberate underground campaigns of agitation; they break out against the will of the leaders growing out of the desperateness of present misery. When Hamburg sausage-makers are caught using cat-meat, the city goes temporarily Bolshevik; when Chemnitz is breadless for weeks, it revolts. The revolts are put down with monotonous brutality by Noske's half million volunteer guards.

In the German militarism of today there is no menace to France. The new German army, made up of professional officers, of young boys who have been through five years of war fever without seeing war realities, and unemployed men in desperate need of steady pay, may stubbornly fly the flag of the old regime, but it is directed against communist uprisings at home. The ubiquitous recruiting posters, calling upon volunteers to defend law and order, all raising the scarecrow of Bolshevism, are evidence enough. It may be menace or salvation to Germany, but it is nothing to France.

The prophets of social revolution in Germany — Ernst Daumig, Richard Muller, Kurt Geyer, Ledebour, the Left Wing Independents and the Communists, are praying for the demobilization which the treaty promises, in the hope that if Noske's army is reduced to 100.000 the revolution may be bloodless. They are sure it is coming. The next revolution may find them readier. In November, 1918, the change was personal rather than organic. Next winter may find a national network of workingmen's councils, homogeneously organized, prepared to take over the functions of government and operate as an effective national soviet system. The Communists and Independent Socialists are working to that end, but their bitter feud with the old Socialist party retards their progress.

Workingmen's, peasants', and soldiers' councils were formed anarchically in 1918 — some by self-appointment, some on nomination by the two socialist parties, some by shouted app- lovers or old regime officers. There are no soldiers' councils in the army today; the peasants' councils have died of inanition; and there are two sets of workingmen's councils. The Independents and Communists have seceded from the national councils, controlled by the Right Wing Socialists, and the Right Wingers and Democrats have seceded from the Berlin organization, controlled by the more radicals groups. The Right Wing group has government subsidies and occupies government offices — the Central Council of Workingmen's Councils is in the old Prussian House of Lords! Noske periodically raids or arrests the other group, and thereby gives them added power in the working class. The Independents now control the vast majority of Berlin workmen and the Saxon industrial field, and are threatening to win control in Westphalia and elsewhere. Utterly disregarding the Government's proposed laws regarding councils, they are proceeding to call new elections for workingmen's councils throughout Germany, in which the factory will be the basic unit rather than a geographical district, and only employed head or hand workers may vote rather than any one with an income under ten thousand marks. Their strength revealed itself on July 21 when the independents called a general strike; the Right Wing Socialists denounced it, but the strike was general.

No immediate betterment of the workingman's economic position is foreseen as a result of this social revolution — only an equalization of misery. Workingmen would be quartered in the half-empty homes of the rich — so much may be accomplished before winter even by the bourgeois municipal governments of Berlin and Charlottenburg, which, however, will pay for them, as the Communists would not. The unhealthy gaiety of Berlin-West and the Friedrichstrasse would end. And in a community of poverty they would start to rebuild on a new and fairer basis. So they picture it—they, the most hopeful group in all Germany. A Verzweiflungsrevolution, they call it—a revolution growing out of desperation. Whether the hungry workmen who have got out of the habit of steady work, will work harder or more regularly for a communist government, is a question.

One comes out of Germany utterly at sea, uncertain of the future. Ash-men's salaries have decupled; professors' barely changed. Old values have gone by the board. Yet one suspects that if Entente diplomacy were a little shrewder and less revengeful it might still save the old [illegible] regime.

From The Nation.

Europe Has More Faith in Marx then in Christ.

Col. Robbins tells Ministers in discussion of American Economic Problems.

"Out of Russia comes a challenge that is more vital and fundamental than the issue which confronted the western world in the autumn of 1914. Though the challenge comes from Russia it is not peculiar to that country. It is a challenge that represents the crystalization of the protest of the disinherited against a class state, a class church and a class economic order as they have existed."

Extending his arms to quiet the applause of 200 clergymen upon his introduction, Col. Raymond Robbins, former Red Cross representative in Russia, thus announced what he considers the paramount issue in "The Church's Outlook in the Present Social and Industrial Unrest."

Before the ministers of the Cleveland Federation of Churches at a luncheon September 30th in Euclid Avenue Baptist church, Col. Robbins outlined conditions in Russia as he saw them in his service abroad as a Red Cross worker, and pointed out the challenge to the American economic order with the prophecy that "unless America can produce a better system for the welfare of human life than that coming out of Russia, America is doomed."

Hearty applause and choruses of "amens" by the clergymen punctuated the noon address by Col. Robbins. The speach came at the close of the forenoon program in which the ministers were addressed on industrial and social questions.

"America is at present the only nation whose institutions are valid enough to meet the challenge of the world's unrest," asserted Col. Robbins.

"We have the capacity if our intelligence is equal to our resources.

"This protest of the disinherited against state, church and economic order of the class regime expresses the loss of faith in those institutions as they have existed. The people of Europe trust Karl Marx more than Christ.

"Britain, even under Lloyd George, has not been able to enforce the public law in the cases at Liverpool, Belfast and Dover because the law has not had the supporting sentiment of the mass of people. Clemenceau's rumored retirement upon the conclusion of the Paris peace conference and the strength of the socialist following in France are but other significant straws in the current of the world's history. Italy is masquerading over a potential volcano.

"The fundamental characteristics of weakness in this European situation is that the masses, 93 per cent. of the people, have been betrayed by the classes, the other 7 per cent., and have lost faith in the institutions of state, church and economic order."

Three dangers Col. Robbins pointed out in the American economic order with the statement that the point of stress in the present unrest is in economic conditions.

"I have been a laborer and I am now, in a small measure, a capitalist," the speaker continued.

"In my boyhood days I worked as a coal miner twelve hours a day and seven days a week at the rate of $1 a day. But from my gold mining in Yukon, I have been able to qualify as a small capitalist. So I have had experience on both sides of the present issue.

"Capitalistic production has shown in the last two years that it is equal to the demand made upon it. The keen competition of free industry is an economic asset. It is only when capital attempts to monopolize, to cut off the incentive of competitive production, that it becomes dangerous.

"Regarding labor as a commodity is the second danger. We must remember that the rights of capital are the rights of property, but that the rights of labor are those of persons. That is fundamental personal rights are superior to those of property in any clash of the two."

Quoting from Lincoln's first message to congress in December, 1861, Col. Robbins asked for a show of hands from those who knew the autorship and secured but a scant half-dozen in response:

> "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the highest consideration."

In emphasizing this quotation from Lincoln, the speaker indorsed the strike as an instrument to compel the attention of capital.

"A strike is a school kept for those who won't learn in any other," he asserted.

The tendency to trust force rather than injustice was cited as the third grave danger in the existing economic order.

"Reliance on the power of the bayonet should be placed secondary to the rule of reason. The bayonet is an emergency instrument, and only as such should it be used."

THE THREE CHICAGO CONVENTIONS

By Max Eastman in The Liberator.

The convention of the old Socialist Party began with a belligerent apology by the national secretary, Adolph Germer. The convention of the Left Wing began with a great singing of the "Internationale," three cheers for Revolutionary Socialism, three cheers for the Russian Soviet Republic, three cheers for Debs, and three cheers for the I. W. W. The convention of the Communist Party began with an announcement that "the management committee has decided that there shall be no smoking during the convention," followed by an accurate rendition of the "Internationale" with full orchestra and brass.

These different ways of beginning were characteristic. In the old S. P. convention, the "parent body," the emotional tone was a little apologetic throughout, a little wan and anxious, and yet at the same time indignant of criticism — about what you might expect of the mother of twins.

The Left Wing convention—which became the Communist Labor Party — had a little of the quality of a revival meeting. The delegates were always singing and shouting and feeling that the true faith was about to be restored in their hearts and homes. At least they were, until the Program Committee made its report, training some big guns from the Manifesto of the Third International on them, and they realized that they must either put their names to a program of deliberate, hardheaded revolutionary science, or go back where they came from. They took a long, hard breath then, and most of them "came through," but they did not come through singing.

The Communist Convention—more properly called the Slavic-American Communist Convention—was characterized throughout by a spirit of youthful but sophisticated efficiency. It was a consciously expert convention. It showed the rest of them what a convention ought to be. It was almost incredibly neat and clean and regular. I was sitting there some time before the formal opening, admiring the way the big sheets of heavy yellow paper were spread over the delegates' tables and folded and tacked underneath; I was admiring the smooth high railing of new wood which divided the delegates' stalls from the audience room at the back; in particular I was admiring the soda-water fountain shine and polish on the white oil-cloth which covered the press-table where I had laid my hat; I was just reflecting that these things had surely been prepared and arranged by an unmarried lady of advanced years, when a young Russian comrade came up with a damp cloth and asked me kindly to remove my hat so that he could "clean" that oil-cloth!

A Little History

In order to understand how these conventions came to be, and what they came to be, it is necessary to apply the mind to some rather complicated history. I will generalize that history as clearly and fairly as I can.

There have always been elements in the American Socialist Party who were more revolutionary than the majority, and in a state of continual protest against the official counduct of the party. They were more devoted to the principle of the class struggle, less willing to waste energy in office-seeking, reformism, and parliamentarism. They believed in the I. W. W. They believed in the Communist Manifesto of 1848. These elements were for the most part distinctly American; they were never very conspicuous in the "foreign federations" affiliated with the American party. And also they were never very strong.

The proletarian revolution in Russia and the surrounding countries—proving the literal truth of almost every word in the Communist Manifesto — gave them their strength. It sent a wave of militant or Bolshevik, or Communist, Socialism around the world. And this wave naturally reached the Slavic Federations first, and affected them the most. They became almost unanimously and automatically Bolshevik. At the same time their membership increased enormously—the gospel being accepted by thousands of new recruits, both through a genuine emotion not unrelated to patriotism, and through expediency, it being generally understood that a Russian would not amount to much at home unless he had been a socialist here. This very willing membership was organized into a magnificent political machine by the brainy officials of the Slavic Federations, and it supplied both revolutionary will and revolutionary power to the scattered elements of the American Left Wing.

These officials were able to cast the vote and appropriate the funds of about 40.000 out of the 100.000 members of the Socialist Party. They made Louis C. Fraina's paper, **The Revolutionary Age**, and its wide circulation, possible. They made it possible, in spite of the Postoffice censorship, to carry the "Left Wing Manifesto and Program," and the motto, "Capture the Party for Revolutionary Socialism," into the hands of almost every Socialist in the country. No one can estimate the amount that this propaganda accomplished — as compared with the direct affect of the European revolutions upon the party membership — but it is certain that by last May or June on overwhelming majority of American Socialists were committed to the Left Wing Program in general, and the Slavic Federations formed the solid and well-organized heart of this majority.

That all sounds very simple, but it was not so simple. In the first place the Left Wing took to itself a degree of organization and autonomy, which gave the Right Wing officials who controlled the party, plenty of emotional, and not a few legal, grounds for expelling Left Wing members. The Slavic Federations were expelled in a body; the State of Michigan was expelled; other states, locals, branches and members were expelled. The membership of the party was reduced by and during these proceedings —according to the report of its own secretary — from 109.000 to 39.000.

In the second place, the leaders of the Slavic Federations — partly as a result of their expulsion, partly through a thinly veiled nationalistic egotism, and partly through a sincere if somewhat theological desire to exclude all wavering or "centrist" elements from the new organization, decided at the national Left Wing conference in June, that the idea of capturing the American Socialist party, or even attempting to capture it, was wrong, and that a call should be issued for the immediate organization of a 'Communist Party.'

In the third place the expelled "Michigan Crowd"— although really too political-minded to be called communists—joined with the Slavic Federations in this particular demand, and the Federation Leaders made every use of this increase of their voting power in the Left Wing, although privately condemning the Michigan ideas and intending to suppress them when it came time to adopt a platform.

Even so, however, they were unable to control the Left Wing conference. It decided by a considerable majority to adhere to the original program of capturing the party, and it elected a "Left Wing Council" to carry this out. The Slavic Federation and the "Michigan crowd" then decided to ignore the decision of the conference and call a Communist Convention, whether the rest of the Left Wing agreed to do it or not.

The majority of the "Left Wing Council," together with the **Revolutionary Age**— the organ of the whole movement—denounced them as "traitors" for a week or two, but then suddenly capitulated in the middle of the summer, abandoned the slogan, "Capture the Party for Revolutionary Socialism," upon which their paper had built up its constituency and united the American revolutionaries, and joined in the call for an immediate Communist Convention to meet in Chicago on September 1st.

This sudden change of front occurred so late that there was no time left, even if there had been a moral possibility, for those who had united upon the original plan to unite upon the change. For better or worse, the Left Wing was split into two camps.

On the one hand there were the heads of the Slavic Federations and the Michigan Socialists, with the Revolutionary Age and all the National Machinery of the Left Wing organization, in the hands of Louis C. Fraina of Boston, I. E. Ferguson of Chicago, C. E. Ruthenberg of Ohio, Maximilian Cohen of New York, John Ballam of Massachusetts, Hiltzik of the Left Wing Jewish Federation, Jay Lovestone, Rose Pastor Stokes and a few other non-Slavic delegates.

On the other hand, adhering to the original program of attempting to capture the party, there was the minority of the National Left Wing Council, Ben Gitlow and John Reed of New York, with other prominent Socialists of the Left like Kate Greenhalgh (Kate Sadler) of Washington, Joe Coldwell of Rhode Island, Fred Harwood of New Jersey, Max Bedacht of California, Jack Carney of Duluth, William Bross Lloyt of Chicago, Ludwig Lore, Editor of the Volkszeitung of New York, Margaret Prevey of Ohio. Tichenor of St. Louis, Owens of Illinois, Wagenknecht of Ohio, Katterfeld of Indiana, Mrs. Harmon of Kansas, and 92 other delegates from 22 States. To this group there was also promised the adherence of the Italian Socialist Federation, and the Scandinavian and Left Wing German Federations, together with 19 Slavic Federations who were expelled from the major organization for resisting the machine.

Each of these groups would like to think that the rank and file of the American Communist movement was represented in its convention. But it is impossible to decide that question now. The rank and file never had time to consider and act upon the issue between them. It was a division among leaders, and a very vague and queer one too. Delegates were wandering from one convention to another under indefinite instructions, or no instructions at all, except the understanding that they were to form a party in accord with the Manifesto of the Third International. Out of this unhappy confusion almost everybody hoped and strove for a unity of the revolutionary elements, except the heads of the Slavic Federations, whose absolute control would have disappeared if unity had been achieved, and who maintained that their absolute control was necessary to the formation of a pure and perfect party of communism

The Parent Body

If this confusion of elements represented is exasperating, it is at least a relief to know that the conventions occurred in some historic order. The Socialist Party Convention was convened in Machinists Hall **on Saturday morning, August 30.** The Left Wing delegates who were seated in that convention, walked out and joined with the rejected delegates waiting in a room downstairs, to form the Convention of the Communist Labor Party, **on Sunday afternoon.** The Convention of the Communist Party was called to order in "Smolny Institute," a hall leased by the Russian Federation of Chicago, **on Monday, September 1st, at about noon.**

Art Young and I arrived at Machinists' Hall early Saturday morning—early enough to find Julius Gerber looking like an unsettled thundercloud, and Jack Reed beaming. This is not because Julius was vanquished and Jack Reed victorious, but because Julius doesn't enjoy a fight and Jack does. It seems that some of the Left Wingers arrived early at the building, and decided after a caucas to go upstairs and take possession of the hall, putting their own national secretary, Wagenknecht, in the chair when the time came, and proceeding to organize the Convention. Having elected their National Executive Committee by an overwhelming majority, and having through their committee duly appointed their secretary, they felt justified in this procedure, notwithstanding that the election had been set aside as fraudulent by the old National Executive Committee. So they proceeded upstairs in a rather formidable frame of mind. They were met and opposed at the door by Julius Gerber, the secretary of local New York, and it seems that Gerber in his turn was "set aside." We heard a good many different stories of this incident by eye-witnesses, and none of them were quite so blood-curdling as what we read in the newspapers. It seemed to one of our informers that Gerber could have licked Reed, if Reed hadn't held him so far up in the air that he couldn't reach down." Another comrade said that Reed acted just like a nice big dog, shaking himself. Another reported that there was "a little windpipe work on both sides." Gerber stated to the convention that he made Reed understand that "swinging a sledge-hammer with the proletariat is just as good a preparation for life's battles as playing football at college. At any rate the "Left Wingers" got in, and there they were and what was the right wing going to do about it?

Some of them didn't know what they were going to do, but Adolf Germer knew. He may not have consulted anybody when he arranged to have the police there, but he consulted the membership figures and the record of recent votes for officers, and votes on referendums, which were in his possession, and he decided that if the official minority were going to exclude the voting majority from the convention, they would have to do it with the forces of the capitalist state. In that he was entirely right.

Germer never denied that he had arranged to have the police there, although some members of the national committee denied it for him. When he was asked poinblank across the floor of the convention whether the officials of the Socialist Party brought the police to that building he said, "What officials do you mean?" and withdrew his attention while some interrupter took up the talk. But he did deny that he told the police to "treat 'em rough," as two passionately indignant delegates subsequently informed the convention. He said that he asked the contested delegates two or three times "in a comradely spirit" to leave the room, before he told the police to put them out, and that he didn't tell the police anything else.

Two women who were among those put out, swore to the truth of the following account; one of them, Mrs. Harmon of Kansas, was later seated in the Convention, and made the convention believe what she said:

"The first thing I saw was that they were trying to eject Reed through the door. Soon after that Germer came up to us where we were sitting, and said, 'You'll have to clear the room.'

"'I'm a delegate,' I said.

"'It don't make any difference,' he said. 'Clear the room. If you don't I'll call the police.'

"I said to myself, 'Well, I have a right to the convention floor, and I'm going to sit here till the police tell me to go.'

"Pretty soon a policeman came up to me and said, 'You'll have to go, Misses.'

"I went, but I went kind of slow, and I heard Germer say, Officer, clear the hall, and if they don't go, policemen, do your duty!'

"So the delegates who were with Berger and Germer stayed in the hall, and the rest of us went out, and our delegate who received the largest vote in the State of Kansas was put out of the Socialist Convention by the police!"

Perhaps these excessively lively preliminaries accounted for the unceremonious opening of the convention. With a beautiful upstairs hall like a little theatre, one whole side a great sunny sky-window, and decorations containing twenty-five American flags, I expected a certain amount of introductory hallelujah of some kind. But Germer simply stood up, looking like a big welldressed police-sergeant off duty, banged the gavel on the table, and started in.

He stated to a round of applause that "We intend to follow the splendid example set by our comrades in Russia," and added in a severe silence, "By that I want it distinctly understood that we do not intend to adopt the same methods."

He struck the key-note of the convention there. And he struck another key-note when he said, "The St. Louis program and the jail-sentences of our officials prove the revolutionary and anti-Scheidemann character of the party."

It is characteristic of old people to attach a great importance to what they have done in the past. And the majority in this convention were old. Even some of the young ones were old. They seemed to think it was personal and impertinent for any one to be chiefly concerned about what they were doing now, or what they were going to do in the future.

"There is no issue at stake"—"We are all agreed in principle" — "It is all a matter of personal jealousy"—"If a few so-called leaders would get out of the way, we could have a united party" —that was the burden of the talk and feeling in the ante-rooms of the convention. I suppose it will be a rather exasperating thing to say, but I felt sorry for a good many of the delegates. They had served their time, they had born the heat of battle when some of us were in our cradles, and then to crown it all they had stood up under the bitter test of the St. Louis declaration, going around their home towns for two years, solitary, vilified, whipped with the hatred of their neighbors, beaten and worn down by the universal war-madness of a nation, and not flinching. They could not understand why they should be shoved aside. And I could not either, any more than I can understand death. But it is significant that in the conventions of the young, the conventions whose eyes were on the future and their muscles ready for action, there was not a single person to be found who would say that the split was personal, and that there were no vital issues at stake. They could not think of saying it; they were wholly absorbed in the issues at stake.

Germer's speech did not sail very clear after he began denouncing the Left Wing leaders as "Harry Orchards of the Socialist movement," describing them as going about "in the dark like midnight thieves sneaking from ear to ear, whispering, indubitably hoping thereby that the comrades may think there is something wrong with those selected by the comrades to manage the affairs of the party." Cries of "Count the Ballots!" "Is it in the Constitution that you have to make a speech!" brought his defense to an end, and the balloting for temporary chairman began.

Seymour Stedman, the Right Wing candidate, received 88 votes, and J. M. Coldwell of Rhode Island, the Left Wing candidate, 37. There were enough Left Wing delegates in the building to have elected Coldwell with a substantial majority, even though 40.000 of their members had already gone over to the Communist Party, but only these 37 had trickled through the official sieve. The rest were "contested," and most of them never got through the credentials committee, and many of them never tried.

The pulse of the convention rose noticeably when Stedman took the chair. His sturdy and winning grace of utterance made the delegates feel a little sure they were not wrong. But his speech, like Germer's was a summing up for the defense. And his defense, like Germer's, rested upon a record that is past, and, in this time of rapid movement, stale and ready to be forgotten. He did not say that the Socialist Party would join the Third International and loyally stand up with our Russian comrades who are starving and dying and pouring out their blood in battle for socialism, and everybody knew that it would not.

Stedman scored a point as chairman when some impertinent delegate, "rose to inquire" why we should elect a sergeant-at-arms when we have the police force?

"Well," he said, "that, election was provided for at a time when it was understood that all the comrades would be gentlemen at least." But the police question would not down. It would not let itself be forgotten for two hours at a time. Once it was a white-faced ministerial comrade in the audience room, at the side of the hall.

"Comrades, I demand the attention of the delegates!" he shouted. "I just heard one of these policemen threaten to throw a comrade down-stairs, and he said 'You won't light on your feet either, you'll think you came down in an aeroplane.' I ask you if that is the way visiting Socialists are going to be treated by this convention!"

"What kind of Socialists are they?" from the New York delegation.

From Stedman: "I should suggest that it would be a good idea to forget what occurred this morning. At the present time Chicago is under the police department, whether you like it or not."

From George Goebel: "I say anybody who says we invited the police here are God damn liars!"

From Germer: "I'm glad they're here!"

And this second storm was no sooner past, and the trouble hearts quieting themselves a little, when in pops a letter from the Chicago Machinists—that one dread sovereign of all political socialists, a real labor union:

Dear Comrades and Friends:

On behalf of the Die and Tool Makers Lodge No. 113, International Association of Machinists, and the Machinists Society of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property, as well as the sanctuary, of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection; we can not conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection, when we as an organization condemn it and oppose it. While we are not represented in your convention as individual members or representatives of an organization, we nevertheless are with you in spirit. For all these reasons we can not let the police remain as your protectors, or perhaps as your invited guests, without submitting our deepest protest. We call upon you to take steps to remove the police or make such arrangements as will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not asking this to put hardships on you, but for the best interest of the Socialist party and the labor movement in general.

Yours for International Solidarity,
Executive Board Die & Tool Makers Lodge No. 113
L. P. Vance,. Carl Haring.
O. T. Franckel,. P. Pokora.

After a serious pause one of the delegates proposed a resolution stating that it is "the sense of this convention" that the police are not here at the invitation of the party officials. Another remarked that such a resolution would prove that the convention had no sense, for they would be stating something that they could not know.

Classens of New York offered a resolution "that the police department of Chicago shall be and hereby is disbanded."

Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee asserted that "they came here under the invitation of Germer for the purpose of protecting our legitimate rights and purposes," and proposed that no apologies should be made.

"We in Milwaukee," said Berger, "would have done it a good deal better than Germer did, because we have our own police." His speech was the straightest one I heard. "I've never tried to be revolutionary," he said, "but I've tried to be honest. If the police weren't here, none of you would be, so what's the use of all this hypocrisy!"

It was finally voted to send a communication to the Machinists union stating the facts, but just what the facts were, nobody knew—unless it was the policeman who told a reporter that Germer had called up the chief and asked that they be on hand early.

In the midst of this storm a telegram arrived from some rustic local: "Peace and harmony will lead us to success—hurrah for International Socialism!"

The Left Wing Delegates — about 30 of them— walked out of this convention after it adopted a motion to consider (but not act upon) the report of the National Executive Committee, before the status of all contested delegates was determined. J. M. Coldwell of Rhode Island simply rose in his chair and said, "At this point I am going to leave this convention and I call upon all delegates of the Left Wing to withdraw."

"That is your privilege," said Stedman, and the business of the convention proceeded.

It was a business largely as I have indicated, of selfjustification upon the part of the official machine for resisting the Left Wing machine up to the point of wrecking the party—although the Left Wing Machine had organized a clear Majority of the members. And this business was made interesting by the fact that a lively handful of semi-Left Wingers, or at least conscientious objectors against tyranny, was left on the floor. They were led by Kruse, who stated that in spite of his disgust at the acts of the officials, he believed it was a question of "sane Socialism against direct action," and he intended to "stick by the party and make it what he thought it ought to be."

Judge Panken of New York was less moderate. For him it was a question of "tying up with a bunch of anarchists," and he was glad of everything they did.

A delegate from Maryland supported him with the statement that "Every organization has an inherent right to preserve itself." He said "we lawyers" in the course of his remarks, but it was not quite clear whom he meant to include.

Another delegate offered the prudent remark that "We've got to endorse the action of the National Executive Committee, but we've also got to be able to inform our constituents that we gave the N. E. C. hell!"

Barney Berlin of Chicago, for twenty-five years a worker in the Socialist movement, was the old man Nestor of this council, presenting what seems to me the only justification for the National Executive Committee that there is. He reminded the convention of historic instances in which legal and constitutional forms and formulas had been violated in the interest of a deeper principle, and concluded, "I have not been in harmony with certain tendencies in the N. E. C., but **I glory in their spunk in having saved the party."**

That is a pretty final attitude to adopt toward all the atrocity-stories that have accompanied this conflict, and it applies equally to both wings. The people who created the Socialist party all of them have enough healthy anarchy in their blood, to transgress the forms of law when they are aroused over a principle. There is no doubt that they were so aroused, and did so strangress on both sides. And while I thing that the principle on the Left side is the true one, and therefore I can appland their "spunk" a little more heartily than that of the Right, nevertheless I recognize a similar moral quality in them both. "Necessity knows no law," is a maxim that lives in the heart of every live man.

Somebody will ask me just what the principle is upon which this split occurred, and which enabled trustworthy people to commit so many moral and legal atrocities. And I answer, in the most general terms, as follows:

It is a question of whether the Socialist theory shall be permitted to recede into the cerebrum, where it becomes a mere matter of creed, ritual and sabbath-day emotion, as the Christian theory has done, or whether it shall be kept in live and going contact with every-day nerves and muscles of action.

Before parting from the picture of the Right Wing convention, I ought to state that a motion endorsing the action of the old N. E. C. in setting aside as invalid the recent election of a new N. E. C., was passed by those remaining in the convention, without a dissenting vote. I ought to record also some of the indignant demands for "justice" to the Left Wing, or what remained of it, which were occasionally voiced by comrades of the right. In particular I preserve a picture of George Goebel's long earnest and excited figure, darting about over the convention like a superintending dragon-fly. "Aw comrades, let's take a chance on fair play!" was one of his characteristic interpellations.

The Left Wing Convention

It was twilight when the Left Wing delegates convened in the billiard room down stairs—twilight that came dimly through ground glass windows into a low room with dull blue walls. But there was more life to be felt there—if life is spontaneous volition —than anywhere else during all the conventions. It seemed as though a thing with growth in it were being born in that place. In the other places whatever came, was engineered into being by the perceptible workings of an established machine. This may be— in cold reality—either a good or a bad sign for the Communist Labor Party. I record it simply as a fact.

Wagenknecht, who had been made National Secretary by that Executive Committee whose election was declared invalid upstairs, opened the convention here. The sound of his gavel was greeted with a song and those cheers for which all the delegates stood up. Wagenknecht's speech was a simple statement that having done everything else in his power to give the membership a change to express itself, he had summoned the delegates here "as the Regular Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States." He then presided during the election of Owens of Illinois as Temporary Chairman.

Owens is a cripple—pale, but jolly and fearless as crippled people sometimes are. I can remember one sentence of his speech: "We must be ready to back up the revolutionary implications of everything we do here, and if it leads us along with Debs we must be willing to go there."

Margaret Prevery was elected vice-chairman, and soon took Owen's place in the chair. It would have been well if she had stayed there throughout the convention, for she was not prepared in her mind for the actions which were taken on the floor, but she was the most able and good-humored and the best-looking chairman in the place. In its initial mood of exaltation the convention hesitated a little at the election of a sergeant-at-arms, and finally appointed William Bross Lloyd "a sort of page boy." But there was no demur after about three hours of work, when Lloyd asked the chair to appoint "two assistant sergeants-at-arms for the purpose of clearing the aisles."

After sending a greeting to Debs and all class-war prisoners, and accepting the report of the National Executive Committee, the convention proceeded immediately to attempt to achivie unity with the "Communist Convention." C. E. Ruthenberg of Ohio, who had joined in the call for the Communist Convention, but nevertheless took his seat here for the time, introduced a motion that would have delayed organization of a party here, until after a consultation could be had with those who were to organize the Communist Party the next day. It would have been a humble act on the part of these delegates, leading towards a possible submission to the control of the Slavic Federations. It was vigorously, and at times violently opposed—especially by Jack Carney, who declared "before God," as irreligious Irishmen always do, that if this convention went over to the Federations, he would go home and tell the workers of Duluth that there was no party of communism in existence.

John Reed offered to amend Ruthenberg's motion somewhat to the following effect: We declare ourselves to be the party of Communism in the United States and we invite all other revolutionary groups to join us.

Katterfeld of Kansas offered a further amendment to this effect: We declare ourselves to be the official Socialist Party of the United States, we invite all other revolutionary groups to join us, and we will elect a committee of five to confer with the Committee of the Communist Convention in order to find a basis for uniting the Communist elements in one party. It was this amendment (I regret to say not accurately quoted) which finally passed with an almost unanimous vote.

The principal points advanced by speakers in favor of sacrificing everything to unite with the Communist Convention were these:

(1) No principles divide us.

(2) Our unwillingness to do so is due to the personal pride of a few leaders.

(3) The whole trouble is that "there are too many statesmen in New York."

(4) The capitalists are uniting, and they will be glad to see us divide.

(5) It is a cheap satisfaction to say that we organized the party of Communism first.

These points were acknowledged by the opposition, who advanced the following points in favor of organizing a party nevertheless:

(1) The delegates of the Slavic Federation have already made it clear that they will not admit us, except upon terms which leave their machine in control of the convention.

(2) They are politicians and political bosses.

(3) They are at heart against industrial union action in the class struggle.

(4) They were traitors to the Left Wing program, and the decision of the Left Wing conference in June.

(5) They are incapable of co-operating with American comrades, they will demand autonomy, and another split will follow.

(6) It is impossible to start a Communist movement in the American proletariat with a Russian nationalistic group in control.

It was midnight when Katterfeld's motion was passed and the committee elected. And thus having declared itself to be a party—indeed the party—the convention adjourned until morning, when the election of committees for routine work would begin.

The Communist Convention

The Chicago police supplied the best of all arguments in favor of the Communist Convention. The Right Wing was protected by the police, the Left Wing was ignored, but the hall of the Communist convention was raided, photographs taken, decorations and revolutionary placards destroyed, and two men arrested. Perhaps this argument is a little crippled by the fact that one of the men arrested was a lawyer, and the other was Dennis E. Batt of Detroit, one of the leaders of that Michigan group whose excessively political or educational brand of Communism is the chief weakness of the Convention.

A glowing tribute was paid to the female sex by Detective-Sergeant Egan when he arrested Batt. Rose Pastor stokes called out: "They are arresting our comrade—three cheers for the revolution!" Egan yelled back: "Shut up—it's always a woman that starts the trouble!"

Butt was informed of the presence of a detective with a warrant for his arrest just before he went on the platform to open the convention, but he was not much disturbed by it. He stood up there looking very four-square, as he is, with a long cigarette holder in his mouth, and a lighted cigarette—defying the regulations just laid down by his own committee if not the laws of the land—and his speech was brief and quier. He hoped that the delegates would "exercise forbearance in their deliberations and conduct themselves as men and women who have the good of the American working class at heart."

The Platform at the Communist Convention

Louis C. Fraina was elected temporary chairman, and made the "key note" speech. It was the same note that had been sounding all along in the **Revolutionary Age**, with this significant, if somewhat incredible, addition: "We now and once for all, all factional disputes. We are at an end with biskering We are at an end with controversy. We are here to build a party of action."

Considering that the convention was to spend the remaining hours of that day until well after midnight, and all of the next day until late afternoon, in a locked battle between its two factions on the question whether or not it would deign to elect a committee of five to meet the committee elected by a third faction represented in the Left Wing Convention—Fraina's promise seemed a little bit premature.

To anyone interested in brains for brains' sake, this battle was vividly entertaining. It was brilliant, sharp. rapid, full of poignant contrasts in personality, far more philosophic, more erudite, more at ease in the Marxian dialect, than anything to be heard at either of the other conventions. The points made by those opposing the election of a conciliatory committee was that the elements who had bolted from the old Socialist Party with the Left Wing were not true Communists. They were "centrists," "Kautskyians," in some cases mere radicals who objected to the tyranny of the party officials. All but a few, at least, of the true communists had abandoned the Left Wing program of capturing the party, and come directly to this communist convention.

The point made by those advocating conciliation was that, although undoubtedly some Kautskyians and centrists were to be found in the other convention, they were not predominant, and they were not any more predominant than the centrists in this present convention—the "Michigan crowd" being those alluded to.

Having already attended a session of the other convention, and satisfied myself that there were really many delegates there who had no understanding of the Moscow program, and whose revolt against the old party was but an emotional reaction against the acts of its officials, I was rather friendly to the opposition in this debate. I cannot divide and classify people, and place them so accurately in the various pigeon-holes of the Marxian theory, in advance of their acts, as most of these speakers could; but I fully realize the necessity of casting out of the concept of proletarian solidarity, not only the Scheidemanns and Noskes who murder the revolution with machine guns, but also the Kautskys, the Longuets and MacDonalds, who poison it with passivity and negative thoughts. That peculiar state of mind described by Lenin as the "wavering centre," expressing the fluctuating will of those economic classes not wholly bourgeois nor, yet wholy proletarian, is an identifiable thing, and a thing that must be regarded as hostile in the period of the actual breakdown of capitalism.

In spite of my realization of this fact, however, and a prepossession that had been growing in favor of the "Communist Convention," I was discouraged by what I heard in the course of this debate, and when the opposition won, and the Left Wing convention was given the cold shoulder by a vote of 75 to 31, I felt like going back to the Left Wing convention.

It is not easy to tell exactly why, but after I recovered from admiring the mere quantity of abstract intellectuality which filled the air, my mind began to grow a little tired, as it does at a game of chess, with so many problems that are unrelated to reality or action. Along towards ten or eleven o'clock a realization stole into my head that there was something a little childish, a little sophomoric, in all this exaggerated statesmanship. I saw in the flesh that academic and rather wordy self-importance which has characterized the official literature of the Left Wing, and made it get so much on my nerves, as well as on the nerves of the I. W. W. editors. The political and educational expression of the class struggle is always excessively loud and distracting, like the racing of a motor when you detach it from the running-gear without shutting off the gas, and in this group of self-consciously detached and perfect Bolsheviks that impression was emphasized almost to the point of burlesque.

"Our purpose is to organize a real, a pure com-

(Continued on page 3.)

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Omaha; a Prelude and a Warning

The recent mob activities at Omaha sound a warning to thinking people and to the working class in particular that must not go unheeded. For hours the city was ruled by mob violence which culminated in the most revolting atrocities. Three unspeakably monstrous acts were committed and hundreds of lesser ones. The mayor of the city, in attempting to quiet the mob, was lynched and narrowly escaped death. The negro accused of a criminal act, and for whose punishment the mob was aroused, was riddled with bullets, burned and dragged at the tail of a wagon thru the streets; the new court house was gutted with fire.

Race riots, the American Black and White Terror, are becoming more and more a matter of common occurence. It is only when some such catastrophe as that which occurred at Omaha takes place that attention is drawn to the race question and even then it is treated as a mere manifestation of hoodlooism to be put down by the bayonet and the machine gun. The capitalist press finds the solution for all social questions in the use by the autorities of the armed power of the state. Such solutions are no solutions.

Capitalism has erected false barriers between the white and black workers of America, It has pitted them against each other while mercilessly exploiting both. In this nefarious work which is now bearing such terrible fruit, the A. F. of L. has aided by its refusal to admit black workers to its membership. In doing so it has played the bosses hand for him and sown seeds of its own destruction. The I.W. W. extends the cordial hand of fellowship to all workers of whatever race or color. The black man is finding his place in its ranks, a place which he is filling with honor to his race and his class. Where the I. W. W. is strong there can be no race riots, no race antagonisms. Race riots can arise only where the identity of the interests of ALL workers are not recognized.

We do not expect that the present capitalist state will find a solution for the race question. It does not affect directly the stability of the capitalist state, only indirectly as a training school for "direct action" can it be construed as a menace to the power of capital.

After all it is the workers, both black and white who become the victims as well as the actors in the armed conflicts which arise between the two races. Therefore it is their concern to seek a solution for all differences.

The fact which deserves attention in this question is that the negroes are being forced to learn the bitter truth that the law of the land is not equal in its regard for black and white men. Where a negro is concerned equality before the law ceases. When accusations are made against a negro, whether he is guilty or not, his chances of a fair trial are extremely uncertain. More likely a rope and a stake will finish the matter for him. He sees the law violated by white mobs, he knows not all are guilty who are burned at the stake. He realizes his helplessness before the white man's administration of the law. He is disfranchised where he is in the majority in the population. [illegible]

Nearly half a million negroes experienced military service in the late war. Over two hundred thousand were over seas. They finished their military service with credit. They have learned the value and use of force. Also they have learned that they have rights and a value in society. They hold a vision of a better place in the social scheme than to merely serve in the capacity of unrequited utilitarians of the white race. They are seeking a way out of the wilderness and a place in the sun.

The future is grave with possibilities. Race hatred has been sown for too many generations to expect that other horrors on a greater scale than has yet come about will present themselves in the not far distant future. We are not pessimistic we believe, when we assert that a chronic state of civil war between the two races is setting in. To that state of war Omaha may be viewed as a prelude. Let all workers take it as a warning and set about to avert it if possible.

The socialist movement has failed miserably in making headway in the enlightenment of the workers upon this question. Literature appealing to the black workers of the nation is scanty and of meagre circulation. Socialist Locals in the industrial cities where negroes in large numbers have located have been singularly amiss in this respect. It is time we took this matter seriously and prepare to align the negro workers with the white in our industrial unions and our political locals.

We must arouse the class consciousness of all workers and by education upon social and economic questions avert further violence between the two races.

Camouflaging the Robbery

A recent news dispatch from London states that on account of the great unrest and criticisms of the immensly wealthy, the mansions of London are being converted into needed dwellings and business blocks. Mansions provoke unrest. They fill the homeless with envy. The appearance of magnificience does not fit well into the picture of the hovel and the tenement occupied by London's workers. Therefore, as a means of quieting social unrest, one visible result of the exploitation of the workers are doomed to disappear.

The philosophy which seeks to allay popular discontent by such laughable means has a slightly superior quality to that of the Russian rich who stubbornly occupied their mansions until the Bolsheviks seized them. But as a means of satisfying the demands of labor, its a punk one. Of course the capitalists of England realize that what the workers want is economic power, and that the evil day (for them) when they will have to turn over their power as well as their mansions to the workers draws nearer daily.

It is quite possible that capitalists may resort to the dress of the laborer in a short while. We may reasonably picture them going about in overalls frequenting the cheap movies instead of grand opera, conducting himself much like you or we in our daily lives. Certainly, the spice of life will fade for them when that time comes, but one consolation will remain to them-they will still have a strangle hold upon the machinery of production and the jobs by which we live—that is unless the workers decide that camoflaging won't go any longer.

THE STORY OF $55.50

Guy L. Tappen of Newport News says: "I thought I might get ten dollars, but the ease with which I collected $55.50 from my fellow workers and the Carpenters Union members, plainly proves that the workers are alive to the dangers confronting them."

That's the story of $55.50. A simple story and told because it's time for you to GET BUSY. You also can do what Tappen did. Go to your union meeting and make a motion that a sum of money be voted out of the tensury to help liberate Debs and all political prisoners. Get a Liberation Fund contribution list and secure contributions from your fellow workers. Tappen showed the way. Go thou and do likewise.

[illegible] but the state office has had no recent report of their activities.

Ohio is the first state in the country to carry on political campaigns upon a clear communist platform. Thousands of these platforms, adopted at the recent state convention and since endorsed by referendum vote, have been circulated by locals, the state office printing the names of the candidates thereon gratis. Ohio is also the first state to adopt a uniform municipal platform for all locals and in this respect is far in advance of other states in its development toward communist propaganda.

Dues stamp sale have bee avery gratifying lately. Toledo sent in a very large order for the new stamps, as did also Youngstown, Columbus, Hamilton, Uhrichsville, Piqua, Seneca County, Clark County, Power Point and Massillon all sent in substantial orders.

Ella Reeve Bloor has been dated in Ohio as follows: Dayton, Oct. 7; Hamilton 8, Cincinnati 9, Akron 10, 11, Toledo 12. Ella Reeve Bloor is a very impressive speaker, has had years of experience in the workers' movement and Ohio intends to secure her for an extended tour.

Chas. Baker will tour Ohio for the next two weeks. His dates are: Portsmouth Oct. 6 and 7, Springfield 8, Cambridge 10, Bellaire 11, Akron 12, Niles 13, Girard 14, Youngstown 15, Warren 16, Conneaut 17. Some of these dates are subject to change. Comrade Baker, upon his return from a short western tour, held successful meetings in Lima, Columbus, Dayton, Hamilton and Cincinnati.

An order for 10,000 Debs leaflets from Otto Hoefer constituted the prize literature order of the week. Toledo came second, with an order for 500 ten cent pamphlets sent in by Comrade Willnecker.

John DeQuer addressed a crowded hall in Toledo last Sunday. Tom Clifford and Tom Lewis addressed meeting in Tiffin and Findlay lately. Comrade Clifford will go to Portsmouth for a series of meetings the middle of the month.

The Communist Labor Party Song

Men of thought and men of toil
Men whose labor tills the soil
Stand together, tyrants foil
RISE! RISE! RISE!
Long we've waited in the night
Working for the dawning light
Now it's coming, all unite
RISE! RISE! RISE!
Rise majestic in your might
Put the coward foe to flight
Fearless in the cause of right
RISE! RISE! RISE!
Far in Georgia's prison cell
Lies the Gene we love so well
Wrest him from that living hell
RISE! RISE! RISE!
All who right and justice seek
Burst your bonds, no longer weak
Unite and join the Bolshevik
RISE! RISE! RISE!

Gertrude Harman

[illegible] Notes

Here are the names, press fund [illegible]. You will note some new names among them, and again some that have become familiar thru repeated contributions. Among those who deserve special honorable mention are the Lorain Ohio Socialist Boosters Club, the Repeaters Club of Akron and that of Local Marietta, O.

Comrade Patrick Henry of New Riegel, O. sends a dollar. From New Castle Pa., comes another dollar. Comrade Mrs. F. M. Daytner is the donor. An old time O. S. Booster, G. E. Allen of Painesville, O. stepped into the State Office the other day for a moment and deposited a dollar in the press fund. Comrade O. R. Johnson of Akron is here again with another dollar. Our old time friend and comrade De Forest Sanford, of Atascadero Cal., sends a five spot which he states is an "appreciation" of our work in the movement. To which we reply, there is nothing like a word of appreciation to keep up one's spirits and determination to keep agoing. Thanks for both comrade Sanford.

Comrade Mary G. Waters, secretary of Local E. Liverpool O., sends in a list containing the following names and amounts: Rosa C. Powell, M. D. $1., Arthur Broadbent, 50c; Otto Singer, 25c; Mary G. Waters, 25c; J. T. Pinkerton, 25c; Thos Cunningham, 25c, Here are three more comrades who have piled a dollar each on top of the press fund: J. S. Albert, Van Wert, O. John Barlich, New Philadelphia, O; Anthony Novak, same city.

"Enclosed find three dollars for that Party owned printing plant", Larette W. Malone, San Angelo Tex. Comrade John Ivovic of Lorain O., adds a dollar to the fund. Comrade Wm. J. Pick, of Cincinnati, sometimes called Red Flag Bill, sends in 50c.

The Socialist Boosters Club of Lorain, O., remits $6.50 on a list containing the following names: Wm. Now Jr., $1. Albert Banchyk, $2., Wm. Barrett, $1., Emil Fisher, 50c, Frank Vaillant, $2.

"Enclosed please find $12.00 from your comrades, the Repeaters Club" S. Bryant, Akron, O. Some repeat, eh! Another Akron booster is comrade J. Koons, who sent a dollar this week. Comrades Mr. and Mrs G. Chrlton, of Akron remit two dollars for the new press. "One dollar to help build our press," is what comrade John Maonkick of Yorkville, O. writes us. And he sends the dollar too.

Local Secretary, T. J. McKenna, of Marietta, O., remits $25.00 for the press fund which contain these names and amounts: A. H. Hart, $5.00; Elmwood Spindler, $1.00; T. J. McKenna, $1.50; Savage Cigar Co. 50c.; Ben Ralston, $1.00; J. J. West, $1.00; Mrs. G. L. Schurch, $2.50; Selden Cole, $12.50. Comrade Cole has agreed to duplicate all funds subscribed by Marietta comrades to buy the new press. This is the third remittance he has duplicated.

Comrade H. T. Auckerman of Kalamazoo, Mich., remits a dollar. Another dollar is added to the press fund by comrade F. L. Manning of Newark, O.

A remittance totaling $6.70 comes from comrade Local secretary, H. Weichers, of Columbus. Comrade Fred L. Thompson, of Barberton, O. remits a dollar. Comrade Louis Krem, of the German Branch of Bellaire, O., remits $6.50 collected on lists. Here are the names appearing: John Filzenger, 50c; Mrs. Julia Filzenger, 50c; Mrs. Gustav Flux, 25c; Joe Becher, 25; Louis Krem, $1.00 Mike Treich, 50c., Louis Gmeinoll, 50c.; Math Gmeindle, 50c; Frank Potetz, 50c.; John Jalloupa, 25c.; Rudolph Meyer, 25c; Rudolph Schiller 25c.; Fred Makofsky, 25c.; Louis Poininger, 25c.; Steph. Dutsh, 50c.; Louis Potetz 25c.

Comrade C. W. Colman, of Buenna Vista, Va. remits one dollar.

Total amount contributed to the press fund to Oct. 1st $4.103.74.

THE [illegible] OF ADENA

We've heard of thieves in the night. In Adena, Ohio, we have thieves in the day who steal from miners who work in the night, who in fact slave in constant darkness to provide warm firesides for you and me.

The coal operators of Adena, so it is alleged, have been stealing from 800 to 1400 pounds of coal a day from each miner employed. Joe. Vegh, member of the party and two of his comrades, headed a committee to confer with the mine operators about this steal. Result—Joe. Vegh was arrested for violating the Freeman law, the law which prohibits violence, crime and sabotage.

It was the mine owners who were committing the sabotage and crime, but Vegh is to suffer for it.

And now, like a thief in the night, comes the mine owners' sheriff and spirits away Julius Simon, Joe Haborka, Geo. Kozari, Joe Toth, Jim Domoszlay and Steve Bogo. These comrades were taken from Adena to Cadiz and throw into jail. No one is allowed to see them.

The Liberators Army however, is always ready for just such emergencies. Joe. W. Sharts was immediately sent to Cadiz and he is now at work upon this case. Even the United Mine Workers officials refused help—it because these men were guilty of the offense of calling for a district convention to clean out these officials who, from all indications, seem to be hand in glove with the coal operators.

All of which means—JOIN THE LIBERATORS ARMY and help free all political prisoners as well as aid those who are still being arrested in the sacred cause of making the world safe for the workers.

Machinists Begin Fight for Debs

Resolution adopted by District Lodge No. 31, International Association of Machinists, and endorsed by Summit Lodge No. 203 of Akron, Ohio:

"Whereas one of the foremost champions of the working-class of this country, and the courageous, uncompromising foe of the class-privilege is destined to rot in the Federal Penitentiary, because of the abridgement of guaranteed constitutional rights of free speech, be it therefore

RESOLVED, by the Delegates of the Ohio State Federation of Machinists, District No. 31 in special session assembled, go on record to do their utmost towards securing the liberation of Eugen V. Debs, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the secretary of the district be instructed to immediately circularize all lodges within the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machnists, requesting said lodges to join us in securing the liberation of the grand old man of the Revolution.

The Three Chicago Conventions

(Continued from page 2.)

munist party." said comrade Lunin. "We will allow the delegates of the other convention to come to our credentials committee one by one, and we will examine them thoroughly to find out if they are communists or not. For you can not become a communist in one day—no, nor in two days, nor in three days, nor n a year. Even in Russia it takes plenty of time to make a true Bolshevik." Like most of the Slavic Federation leaders, Lunin was himself a Menshevik only about a year ago.

"Give them the test of humiliation," said another earnest youth. "Demand that they come here and ask admission to this convention. This humiliation will test the sicerity of their revolutionary principles."

"Let them come here and sit in our convention without a voice," said Nicholas Hourwich, "We are perfectly willing to allow them to sit here. They might learn something. They might even learn enough to go next time to the communist convention." Hourwich is the editor of the Russian daily, Novy Mir—a strange, intense and intensely impractical intellectual gnome, with feminine gesture and attitude, but a kind of obdurate unsentimental force. He observed the ruthless workings of his political machine with so infinitely complacent a smile on his features, that I could not help feeling glad he was so happy.

The only effective opposition he received was from Fraina and I. E. Ferguson of Chicago, who made gnashing and spirited attacks upon his machine that was rolling over them, to the added delight of its engineers. "That man is a communist," said Fraina, "who happens to agree with your particular purposes at a particular moment. While you were boasting of the purity of your communism, you have made unholy deals with those whom you know and admit are not communists."

"The real question is," said Ferguson, "Do you want to exclude English speaking delegates from the floor of this convention. It is not whether you want to exclude centrits. The test of a communist for you is when or where one chooses to organize the communist party."

At the conclusion of the same speech he said: "I don't want you to lose control of this convention, because I know that your control means that we will have a real communist party in the United States." I do not know how to reconcile these two statements, and I do not believe Ferguson does either, but he was sincerely convinced of them both.

My impression was—to sum it up—that the heads of the Slavic Socialist Machine are in a mood for the organization of a Russian Bolshevik church, with more interest in expelling heretics than winning converts, and with a pretty fixed opinion that although Americans must perforce be admitted to the church they must not be admitted in such numbers as to endanger the machine's hold upon the dogmas and the collection box. (It is their mood, not their conscious intent, that these words describe.) And it seems to me that what has compelled some at least of the American comrades to accept the dictation of this machine, and try to form an American proletarian party with so preposterous a handicap, is that inward dread of not proving sufficiently revolutionary which hounds us all. It hounds us because we are conscious of the continual temptation of respectability and personal prudence, and because we see so many of our fighting Comrades lose their courage and fall by the wayside. It is a wholesale dread. But we ought to be sufficiently sure we are revolutionary, so that we have a good deal of energy left for trying to be intelligent. And it is not intelligent to start the American Communist Party with a mixture of theological zeal, machine politics and nationalistic egoism in control.

Taking Frainna's and Ferguson's own characterization of these Federations, without adding a word, there is enough reason for desiring that they should function by themselves as a Slavic Communist Party, and that the American party should begin elsewhere, more modestly, and more in proportion to the actual state of the revolutionary movement in America. I could not help thinking what Lenin himself would do to this group who are trying to bluff us in the name of our internationalism, into accepting a nationalistic control of the movement.

Some similar thoughts must have entered the minds of the American delegates, for after this session was over and the vote taken, they delivered an ultimatum to the Federations, stating that they would bolt the convention and go home, if the vote was not rescinded, and the committee appointed. Accordingly the convention was adjourned, and the next morning and afternoon devoted the caucas of the Slavic machine. Then the Convention was called together again about five o'clock, and the vote rescinded—unanimously. It is a formidable machine that can reverse 57 votes without a slip, without allowing one single individual opinion to record itself. It commands admiration. But I think there is a discouraging lack of realism and the sense of workmanship in a convention that will spend twenty-four hours fighting over the appointment of a committee, when it is clearly obvious all the time that the committee will do exactly if the committee had not been appointed.

The committee did, of course, go up to the convention of the Left Wing—by this time already the the same thing that the convention would have done Communist Labor Party—and hand in a type-written document embodying the will of the Slavic Federations. Beneath a good deal of diplomatic and rather Wilsonian indirectness, this document simply stated that the Slavic Federations would not permit a union of the two elements upon terms that would endanger their control, which they consider essential to the formation of a party of true communism.

The Communist Labor Party adopted a resolution making a standing offer to the Communists to unite the two parties upon equal terms. That is the end of the matter, until the rank and file of the revolutionary workers take action upon it.

The Communist Labor Party.

It was something of a relief to wander down to the I. W. W. headquarters, after all this theoretical striving after wind, and examine the new rotary press they are installing, and hear the clicking of two accomplished line-o-type machines in the back room. And it seemed a good omen for the Communist Labor Party that when they found themselves too large and busy for the downstairs room in the Michinists Building, they moved over to the I. W. W. Hall on Throop Street.

There a battle was fought and won, which for me seemed to contain the heart of the drama of these Chicago Conventions. It was not a battle between two machines, for there was no time or possibility here for the formation of a machine. It was a battle between those who understood and accepted the Moscow manifesto, and wanted to apply it in a concrete realistic way to American conditions, and those who did not understand or accept it, dreaded its practical application, and wanted to take refuge in more vague and old fashioned socialistic pronouncements. The most powerful figure in the militant group—and the best speaker, I should say, in all three of the conventions—was Ben Gitlow. The function of furnishing forth drafts of documents, making motions, drawing up amendments and resolutions, and being ever on hand in general with a wealth of ideas, was filled by John Reed. On the other side Margaret Prevey and Louis Boudin were equally prominent and equally definite in their opinions.

The convention, being somewhat dismayed by the voluminous and plain-spoken "program" which Reed's committee brought in, and yet feeling in their bones that they were going to have to adopt it, appointed another committee to draw up a "platform." I think they had an idea that they would keep the program as of a kind of "esoteric doctrine" to be revealed only to the true disciples, and distribute the platform to the general public. So they put their more tender-minded or "centrist" members on the platform committee, and these members drew up a brief document expressing only a little more vigorously than usual, the time-worn "ultimate demands" of the Socialist Party.

The communist element did not oppose the plan of adopting a brief and highly generalized "platform" in addition to their program of action, but they were determined that this platform should be in fact a generalization, and not an evaporation of the communist principles. Therefore they assailed the document that was reported to the floor, and succeeded in striking out every one of its vague or unscientific clauses, and substituting amendments in their own language. They succeeded with surprising ease until they arrived at the two final clauses, and here the minority rallied for a last obstinate resistance.

The clauses as reported by the committee, read as follows:

"To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party on the political field for the conquest of the State and thus secure control of the powers of government.

"We also urge the workers to organize themselves on the industrial field, and thus unite their political and economic power to establish a cooperative commonwealth."

For these clauses Reed offered the following substitute:

"To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power, to establish a government adapted to the communist transformation."

The significance of this change in the "Platform" is made apparent by the following clauses of the "Program" which had been reported to the floor, but not yet at that time adopted:

"The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of state power. This capture means the establishment of the new working class government machinery, in place of the state machinery of the capitalists.

"This new working class government— the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of Communism, and accomplish the transition from Capitalism to the Communist Commonwealth.....

"Not one of the great teachers of scientific Socialism has ever said that it is possible to achive the Social Revolution by the ballot.

"However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible, these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system.

"The political action of the working class means any action taken by the workers to impose their class will upon the capitalist State."

It was an all day debate. I recall a few sentences somewhat at random. The first is from Margaret Prevey, whose friendship for Debs and her consecration to the task of liberating him from prison, gave a special interest to her opinions. "We came here," she said, "to form a political organization to supplement the industrial organization of the workers. If not why are we here? We must use the political power in order to get a hearing for the working class. I want to see a working class judge to pass sentences upon the workers, a working class jailor to open the doors of the prisons for the working class. I want to see the working class get control of the police and the United States Army, so that they can be used on the side of the workers, instead of against them in their industrial battles."

John Reed answered her in the one burst of oratory that came out of him. He reminded her that when a socialist Mayor of Minneapolis wanted to use the police to protect the meetings of the workers, his policemen were superceded by a body of special deputies appointed by the Governor of the State; when a radical governor of Illinois (Altgeld) tried to use the state power to protect the workers in the Pullman strike in Chicago, Grover Cleveland sent the United States army into Illinois to protect capital; "and if you had a Socialist president in the place of Grover Cleveland, the Supreme Court would come to the protection of capital; and if you had a Socialist Supreme Court, J. P. Morgan would organize a volunteer White Guard, and the interests of capital would still be protected! So it would always be. The struggle is between economic forces and it cannot be settled upon the political field." He asked Margaret Prevey and the others who opposed the program which he had drafted, and who wanted to elect Centrists to the executive committee, to explain candidly to the convention just what kind of a program they wanted, and what they conceived communism to be. After some hesitation the answer came that they wanted to go back to the language of the previous Manifestoes of the Left Wing. The special significance of this lies in the fact that those more academic and therefore less revolutionary Manifestoes were written by the very delegates in the "Communist Convention" who were now scorning this other not sufficientl revolutionary elements!

If that makes the reader dizzy, he has the satisfaction of knowing that he would have been a thousand times dizzier if he had actually tried to attend those three conventions.

Kate Greenhalgh said that she had often heard working men in the northwest say that they would never again put their name and address down in a poll book to be used in hunting them out by the master-class, but still she believed in political action as a means of acquiring a "political status" for the revolutionary propaganda.

Jack Carney supported the amendment with the vehemence of one who doesn't really care whether the propaganda acquires a "political status" or not. "I resigned from the Socialist Party," he said, "not because they expelled the members and refused to do their will but because I want the American workers to get down to the real fight, and the real fight is on the job."

Margaret Prevey's position was supported by Baker of Ohio, who said in the course of his remarks that, "The old guard used to be always telling us how they do things in Germany; now we have a crowd that are telling us how they do things in Russia; I thought we were here to decide how we are going to do things in America."

Ludwig Lore granted that the absence of "immediate demands" was enough to distinguish this platform from the reformist platforms of the past. [illegible] of Indiana was on the same side, although with a different point: "When the revolution comes," he said, "then we know what kind of methods we are going to use, and we won't have to ask any platform."

But the ever-present voice on the side of the Mensheviks was that of Louis B. Boudin of New York. Boudin is a Marxian scholar of great erudition, so great that he was given an honorary chair in the international university established by the Bolshevik Government at Moscow, although he happened to be employing his erudition in an attack on the Bolshevik Government at the time.

Boudin laughed with a learned scorn at one of the phrases which John Reed had embodied in an amendment to the platform. Reed said nothing, but quietly slipped out of the building and pretty soon came back with a copy of the Communist Manifesto, in which he showed Boudin the identical phrase at which he had been laughing. The scholarly brows were bent in perplexity: "It's a very poor translation," he said.

Boudin has learned a great deal about Karl Marx in spite of a busy life, but he has never learned to control those neural conduits which lead from the cerebral cortex to the organs of articulation. An idea no sooner pops into his head than it pops out of his mouth; and this makes it very difficult to conduct a parliamentary assembly in which he sits. Therefore it was a practical, as well as a theoretical triumph, for the majority, when Ben Gitlow, walking up to the front of the hall like a great sombre mountain, gradually unloosed the crackling thunder of his eloquence to the effect that Boudin had deliberatly employed his knowledge of Marx to dilute and destroy the scientific integrity of this platform, and Boudin, crying "It's a lie, it's a damn lie!" got up and fled like a leaf out of the storm.

Reed's amendment was then soon adopted, and the question whether this should be a communist or a "centrist" party essentially settled by a vote of 46 to 22. There was clear sailing for the "program" after that. It was adopted substantially as reported by the committee. A kind of anticipatory "St. Louis Resolution" on the war with Mexico, was also adopted, and it was cabled to every organization in the Communist International. An executive committee was elected, composed not of public celebrities who will meet once in a while, but of members of the party who are going to work—all of them ultimately, it is hoped, on salary from the party. With these goods signs of life the convention closed.

Its program is upon the whole a vital, simple and realistic application of the theories of Marx, and the policies of Lenin, to present conditions in America. It contrasts with the program of the communist convention in no point of principle, but it applies the principles more specially to existing conditions, it is written in a more American idiom, it is written in the language of action rather than of historic theory. It is not abstractly didactic in its attitude toward organized labor, but somewhat humbly instructive and promising of concrete help. In these respects it seems to me superior to the program of the Communist Party, although I have not had time to study and compare them at length.

It would be foolish to pretend that The Communist Labor Party, any more than the Communist Party, is a wholly satisfactory vehicle for the growth of Communism in America. Nothing that happened in Chicago was satisfactory. But the Communist Labor Party has a certain atmosphere of reality, a sense of work to be done, a freedom from theological dogma on the one hand and machine politics on the other which is new in American socialism, and [illegible]. A strong movement of the rank and file of the [illegible] to the Communist Labor Party [illegible] and at the same time leave the Federations [illegible] the attitude of their leaders [illegible] a separate or autonomous Slavic Party of Communism.

Communist Labor Party Bulletin

UNITY RESOLUTION

Adopted by UNANIMOUS vote of the Communist Labor Party Convention.

"Be it resolved, that the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in Unity Conference, and

"That we hereby instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party, or from any other revolutionary workingclass organization."

COMMUNISTS—COMPELL YOUR OFFICIALS TO ANSWER.

WHY DO THEY SUPPRESS THIS?

On September 6th, at the first meeting of the N. E. C. of the Communist Labor Party, the following letter was drafted, mimeographed, and over one hundred copies were distributed to the delegates at the Communist Party convention.

Not only have the officials of the Communist Party failed to answer this communication, but they have suppressed it. You will not find it published with the other "documents" in their official paper.

FINAL COMMUNICATION TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ISSUED BY THE N. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 6, 1919.

To the delegates and members of the Communist Party,

Comrades:—

The Communist Labor Party Convention by unanimous vote adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved that the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in Unity Conference, and

"That we instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party or from any other revolutionary workingclass organization.

The convention has now completed its work and has adjourned. Obedient to those instructions from the convention, the national Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party addresses this letter to you.

Comrades, the organization of two Communist Parties is a crime. We have made every effort posible, short of turning traitor to the membership that sent us here, to avoid this deplorable situation. But our repeated attempts to unite all revolutionary Communist hosts seem to have been thwarded for the time being by certain elements in your convention.

As far as we can discover there is no fundamental difference of principle between us. The platform, program and resolutions that our convention adopted are uncompromisingly revolutionary. They conform to the Left Wing program and are in strict acord with the principles laid down by the Communist International of Moscow. We are affiliating with the Third International.

We are confident that the great majority of your delegates and yor membership agree with us in this. Why then should we remain apart?

We hereby announce that we are ready at any time to meet your your representatives to consider the question of unity on a basis of equality.

If certain elements in your Party make this impossible, we invite all individuals or groups, who may agree with us in our desire to unite all the Communist elements of the United States into ONE Party of Communist Socialism, to join forces with us.

ALL who agree on the fundamentals of Comunism, ALL who desire to affiliate with the Third International of Moscow, are WELCOME in the Communist Labor Party.

Comrades, let us unite against our common foe.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY
(Signed)

JACK CARNEY
MAX BEDACHT
L. E. KATTERFELD
EDWARD LINDGREN
ALEXANDER BILAN
A. WAGENKNECHT, Executive Sec.

To date no answer has come from the officials of the Communist Party to this straightforward request for a Unity Conference. Their only proposition is that we should disband and apply as individuals for admission to "their" party. They refuse to meet with our organization on any equal basis. They assume an attitude of superiority toward the membership of the Communist Labor Party, and deny our Comrades the same respect as Communist that they demand for themselves. The only unity that they consider is the unity offered by the pope of Rome: "Join MY church, and then there will only be one church". We demand that we meet on an equal basis of Comradeship.

Since the officialdom of the Communist Party has suppressed this unity offer it is our duty to give it publicity and to carry it direct to the rank and file of the Communist Party. Let every Comrade help with this task, and show this article to as many members of the Communist Party as possible. When the membership of the Communist Party finally learns how it is being deceived by its leaders, it will make short shrift of those that now stand in the way of uniting all Communist elements of the United States under ONE banner, and a United Communist Party will emerge to rally the revolutionary hosts.

THE SPLIT PHILOSOPHY

Some of the "leaders" of the Communist Party frankly admit their adherance to the SPLIT PHILOSOPHY. This is, briefly, that the more you split, the "clearer" and stronger you become.

Hourwich of New York for instance explains that in order to have a group of uncompromising leaders competent to lead the workingclass when the final crisis comes, you must constantly "split and split and split". You must keep the organization small and constantly bring about situations within the Party that will result in splits. In that way he intends to rid the Party of all "unclear" elements, reserving to himself and his group the right to determine what is "clear" and what is "unclear", of course.

The communist Labor Party on the other hand has but little faith in socalled leaders and places its dependence rather upon the increasing consciousness of class interest among the workers. It is not opposed to a split upon a fundamental difference of principle. But it tries to unite ALL that agree on fundamental principles of Communist Socialism into ONE Party to become a real and growing power in the land. It proposes to develop its own educational institutions, so that instead of being split off the new elements that come in may be educated and assimilated, and as nearly as possible to make its entire membership competent to assume the responsibilities of leadership when the crisies comes.

COMMITTEE ACTION OR MEMBERSHIP MANDATE.

The Communist Party is largely the result of Committee action. A Committee in New York, called National Left Wing Council, made a deal with another Committee in Chicago, calling itself a National Organization Committee, and produced a Party of their own, which they still control. Most of the delegates ot their convention although purporting to represent great masses of membership, were really selected by small committees in different cities and federation.

On the other hand, with but half a dozen exceptions the delegates of the Communist Labor Party Convention were elected by regular membership referendums, and represented directly the expressed will of the membership in the districts and States from which they came. The mandate of that membership was to affiliate the Party with the Third International. This implied the instruction to transform the Socialist Party into a Party of Communist Socialism. This they did, and the Communist Labor Party is the result.

Today the committees that organized and still control the Communist Party act against Unity. The officials of the Communist Labor Party obey their membership mandate and offer unity to all Communist elements united in principle.

Of which policy do you approve, Comrade?

RESOLUTION OF GERMAN COMMUNISTS OF CHICAGO

A mass convention of former members of the Socialist Party who belonged to the German Federation, was held in Chicago recently. This convention passed the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, by the convention of members belonging to the German Federation, which met in Heidelberg Hall, Chicago, on September 20th, that the affiliated branches be instructed to recognize the national committee elected in New York and shall immediately communicate with this committee relative to dues stamps purchases and organization work. (The national committee referred to is that which voted 41 to 8 to affiliate with the Communist Labor Party.—Ed.)

"Adopting this resolution however does not mean that this meeting in any way agrees to the split in the communist ranks, but asks all branches, state organizations, the federation, the national organization of the Communist Labor Party, as well as its officers to do all in their power to bring about unity between the two communist parties.

"Be it further resolved, that this resolution be sent immediately to the national committee of the federation the national committee of the Communist Labor Party and the national committee of the Communist Party so as to demand action tending to solve the unity question.

JOS. FALKNER, Secretary,
German Federation of Chicago.

West Virginia—Attention

Delegate Firth's Report of National Convention.

Jesse Bird, State Secretary,
Barrackville, W. Va.
Dear Comrade and Comrades of West Virginia:

As your Delegate to the National Emergency convention August 30th, 1919, I wish to make the following report.

I presented my credentials to ex-National Secretary Adolph Germer and was informed by him that the old N. E. C. had decided to contest my seat on the technical ground that I was not a resident of the State of West Virginia. Under an iron clad construction of the Constitution this was probably correct but I went before the Contest Committee and told the members that I was not a legal resident of Illinois yet and would not be until I had resided here a year, that the financial condition of the Socialist party in W. Va. would not permit the sending of two delegates, that I had been State Secretary of your state for three years, that I had just left the state a few months before and that the membership was anxious that I represent them. All to no avail; I was refused a seat. Everybody knew that in a normal year no question would have been raised in connection with my credentials. I was too Left this year. However, the Left Delegates gathered in the convention hall for the purpose of demanding our seats at the hands of the convention. While seated there Adolph Germer approached and said "I ask you in a comradely way to leave the hall." We claimed our right to be judged by the convention. He then said "If you do not leave at once I will have the police put you out". We said "Then the will have it to do." He then gave the order and the police, six or eight in number, drove out the Left Delegates. The police remained in force in the Moderate Socialist convention during the entire proceedings. This became so obnoxious to the Labor union that owns the hall that they forwarded a formal request from the Executive Committee to Adolph Germer demanding that he and the Socialist conventon no longer disgrace the labor movement by being responsible for having the police powers of the capitalist state in control of a socalled labor convention. The police were not removed.

The National Executive Commitee that was elected in the recent referendum that was thrown out by the former N. E. C. then called a caucus of the Left Delegates on the first floor of the convention building. A general discussion of the instructions received by the various delegates from their constituents then took place

The majority had instructions to try in every way possible to rescue the Socialist party from the reactionaries; failing in this they were to organize for revolucionary Communsm. I had no definite instructions from West Virginia but I know the membership of that state and I was positive that the great majority were ready for a radical change in the policy and tactics of the American movement and were for casting the die for going forward shoulder to shoulter with the Bolsheviks of Russia and the Spartacists of Germany, as against further temporizing with the putrid corpse of parliamentarism and Moderate Socialism. I therefore entered wholeheartedly into the organization of a force to represent honestly and scientifically the proletariat of the world and carry out the program of revolutionary Communism such as you and the other 110,000 members of the Socialist Party voted for eleven to one in a referendum that was also thrown in the waste basket by the former N. E. C., namely, the referendum for affiliation with the Third or Communistic Internation

Comrade Snider approved my course and made application for admission to the Left convention. He was seated but, as he stated, for the purpose of being able to report the proceedings of the old party convention, he would remain in the old convention. I doubted the wisdom of this, but he can make his own explanation.

The organization of an instrument to give expression to the aims and purposes of the American proletariat in the international crisis now confronting us all was next in order. The membership had unmistakably registered ts desire to affiliate with the Third Internatonal and adopt the principles of the struggling Communists of Russia and Central Europe. The Communist party of America was scheduled to meet and organize Monday September 1st. The first work for us to do was to clear the ground for a meeting of minds of the delegates of the revolutionary elements in Chicago as represented in the two Communist conventions. In this we failed. Each side invited the other to participate in thei deliberations. The C. L. P. invited the delegates to parteipate on a basis of equality, delegate for delegate; and we agreed to go to their convention on this basis. The C. P. agreed to admit us as fraternal delegates or visitors until the Communist convention decided as to who represented Communist organizations. These were to be seated with voice and vote. This was not acceptable to the majority of the delegates in the C. L. P. convention, permanent organization was perfected and the matter squarely put before the rank and file. In closing this part of the report I wish to say that the C. L. P. convention instructed the new N. E. C. to issue a standing invitation to the officials of the C. P. to meet to adjust the insignificant differences that now divide the Communist elements in America. I am confident this will be done.

I would suggest that just as soon as all members get a copy of the program and platform of the Communist Labor Party that you immediately hold referendum for the purpose of determinig whether you shall unite with the revolutionary Communist movement or whether you shall continue to stay with the reactionary elements who have prostituted the American Socialist party to the purposes of parliamentarian Socialism and stubbornly refused to allow you to align yourselves with

ILLINOIS COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CALLS STATE CONVENTION

The outstanding fact of this, the most momentous period in the world's history, is that Capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The Great War, heralded throughout the Allied nations as "the war against war" to "establish self-determination of all nations" and to "make the world safe for democracy" has inaugurated the era of Capitalist Imperialism. The Peace of Versailles has proven more ruthless than Brest Litovsk. Labor's Bill of Rights, written into the Peace Treaty by Samuel Gompers is but another chain binding the wage slave to the master class. And now we behold the Capitalist World in chaos.

Out of this chaotic condition came the challenge of the Third International held in Moscow last March. Here was a call to action, based upon the wisdom gleaned from the Russian Revolution. This Call was sent to the Socialist Parties of the world urging that all revolutionary organizations affiliate with the Third International.

The official Socialist Party of the United States has failed utterly to measure up to its historic task. On almost every issue which concerns the vital interests of the working class it has shown itself weak, vacillating and reactionary. The despicable acts of the old Executive Committee and the proceedings of the recent National Emergency Convention have laid bare the miserable compromising spirit which animated those in control of the Party's destiny. The Socialist Party has broken faith with the workers. At the Emergency convention it repudiated the Third International by a vote of 61 to 33.

In a communication dated Sept. 9th State Secretary Oliver C. Wilson declares that no Local or Branch may take under consideration those matters of controversy within the Socialist Party, thereby making himself the censor of what the membership shall or shall not act upon. It was just such usurped power as this by the old National Executive Committee that tore the Socialist Party asunder at the recent National Emergency Convention.

Honest and sincere socialists can no longer remain in the Socialist Party. Thousands of class conscious comrades have already left the Party, and, recognizing the need of a party of revolutionary Socialism have joined the Communist Labor Party which was born in Chicago August 31st, 1919.

In response to the demand from comrades all over the state this Call goes forth for the organization of the Communist Labor Party of Illinois. A state convention will be held in **Rock Island Sunday Oct. 12th at Workmens Hall, 712 Eighth St.** The convention will be called to order at **9:30 A. M.** and all business logically coming before such a convention shall be transacted, such as drafting a state constitution selection of state executive committee, state secretary, and such other committees and officials as the convention may decide. The basis of delegate representation shall be as follows: where a county organization exists it shall have one delegate for every fifty members or major fraction thereof. In districts where there is no county organization every organized group of ten or more members who subscribe to the Principles, Program, and Platform of the Communist Labor Party shall be entitled to one delegate.

Comrades: we urge all branches and locals of the Socialist Party to consider fully the failure of the Socialist Party to measure up to its historic task and responsibilities. Secretaries are urged to immediately call a meeting of their membership and if they subscribe to the Principles, Program, and Platform above set forth, to select delegates to the state convention of the Communist Labor Party of Illinois. Send the name and address of your delegates, together with the number of members represented, to **Edgar Owens, 433—16th Ave., Moline, Illinois,** at the earliest possible moment. This is absolutely necessary in order that proper arrangements may be made.

Comrades! A splendind opportunity awaits us. The steel workers strike; the impending clash between the workers and owners of the railways; the proposed general strike of miners—these are of far-reaching political significance. Illinois is so conditioned industrially that the decisive battle will take place here. Let us not prove delinquents. Let us measure up to our historic task.

Fraternally yours,
SAMUEL HANKIN,
Secretary Cook County (P.T.)
EDGAR OWENS,
Secretary Down State (P.T.)

SOCIALISTS
By J. B. Gilmes

Our room is perfect with so many books,
And music, and the paintings on the wall,
My fiddle, and the piano, and your song.
The night si fragrant, and the moon is out
To guide the steps of lovers through the parks;
And while you lean your head against my breast,
And life is more than living, and our love
So warm and holy, one black thought has come
To mock our freedom and our happiness:
Gene Debs, our friend, our leader,
Still in jail!

the struggling proletariat of Russia and Europe and manuevered things so as to put you in the tacit position of kicking the Bolsheviks in the face.

In building the Socialist party of America under the domination of those who have brought about the present state of affairs I am positive that you are building a similar Kerensky-Scheidemann regime in America that will one day prove as disastrous to proletarian triumph in the day of trial here as it did in Europe and Russian.

Fraternally submitted,
EDWIN FIRTH.

[illegible] STATE CHARTER, STAMPS AND SUPPLIES [illegible] FOLLOWS BY MAIL. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: WARREN, [illegible], LAUNDY, MILLER, CUSACK—Secretary.

WASHINGTON AFFILIATES

At a meeting of the state executive committee of Washington, the following motion was carried: "That we concur in the report of our delegates, approving their action, and endorse the Communist Labor Party of the United States; and we instruct our state secretary to transact all necessary business with the national office of the Communist Labor Party until sanctioned or rejected by the rank and file of state."

THE RHODE ISLAND CONVENTION

At a special convention held in Rhode Island, the comrades voted 81 to 13 to affiliate with the Communist Labor Party, after hearing a report from Coldwell and Reid, the Rhode Island delegates to the national convention.

A representative of the reactionary Socialist Party was present, and a motion made, by this advice, to postpone affiliation for six months, was voted down overwhelmingly.

Jas. P. Reid was elected temporary state secretary.

KANSAS AND MISSOURI HOLD CONVENTIONS

Communist Labor Party convention held in Kansas City, Kans., and Kansas City, Mo., on September 21st.

The Kansas convention was attended by delegates from all really alive locals in the state and the only alive locals in the state are the left wing locals. Ernest F. McNutt was elected state secretary for Kansas. It is estimated that three fourths of the Kansas membership will affiliate with the C. L. P. The Missouri convention was also well attended. A majority of the well attended. A majority of the Missouri membership is left wing, and now that the split is definite, big inroads have been made into the St. Louis organization by the C. L. P. J. P. Cannon has been elected state secretary for Missouri, and he w also act as district organizer-secretary for the states of Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri.

BEDACHT DEBATES FERGUSON.

Max Bedacht, national executive committeeman of the Communist Labor Party and I. E. Ferguson, national executive committeeman of the Communist Party met each other in debate in St. Louis, Mo., on September 26th. Bedacht followed the tactics of the C. L. P., namely argued the question of unity from an impersonal and fair standpoint, claiming that there should be unity between the two parties because they are alike in principle and that personal differences between leaders should not longer seperate them.

Ferguson launched an attack upon the comrades prominent in the Communist Labor Party, called the delegates to the C. L. P. convention misled ignoramuses, and as seems to be the method of those in high offices in the Communist Party, did everything he could to engender further division by uncalled for bitterness. Bedacht, in a clear manner, stated the history of the two parties before the conventions, cited the decision of the Left Wing National Conference, and proved that the C. L. P. delegates lived up to that decision while Fraina, Ferguson and others violated it.

The result of the debate was a complete victory for Bedacht and Communist Labor Party. The Left Wing section of St. Louis voted to affiliate with the C. L. P.

CHICAGO C. L. P. CONVENTION

Organization work is progressing splendidly in Chicago. Edwin Firth has been selected as organizer for Chicago by the national office, and Arthur Proctor, 204 North Clark street, is the new Cook County Secretary.

The preliminary organization meeting took place Sunday, Sept. 28. A good attendance was had. Chas. Baker of Ohio was on hand as special organizer. Delegates were elected to the Illinois state convention. The work in Chicago and Illinois will go forward with added impetus, now that the work of organizing the State machinery of the C. L. P. is about finished.

YOUNGSTOWN UNITY RESOLUTIONS.

The City Central Committee, a delegate body composed of representatives from language branches who belong to the Communist Party and representatives from branches (English and others) who are affiliated with the Communist Labor Party, passed the following resolution: That the C. C. C of Youngstown protests against the split in the left wing ranks and urge that the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party find some way to unite.

(Signed) WALLACE METCALF,
Sec'y.

NEW YORK NEWS

"By January 1st we are sure to have local organization of over 2,000. As was exepected, the Communist Party elements here are already fighting it out among themselves as to who shall control the controllers. All the active revolutionary elements have joined the C. L. P.

Russian Federation branch 4, of Kings, by a vote of 37 to 13, voted to withdraw from the Russian Federation, and this branch, together with four other Russian branches in New York have decided, at a recent joint meeting, to affiliate with the C. L. P. As regards the S. P., it is practically lifeless, an organization of "leaders" without a rank and file. The future is bright for the C. L. P." Morris Zuker.

The rumor, circulated by Communist Party adherants, that Alexander Bilan Cleveland and H. S. Warren of Oregon have joined and are organizing for the Communist Party, is without foundation. Both of them have joined and are actively working for the Communist Labor Party.

We want to warn all comrades against extravagant statements made by enthusiasts for the C. P. Speakers and organizers for the C. L. P. stand instructed not to employ personal attack and invectives in their field work. The C. L. P. will continue the policy of demanding unity and refuses to contribute even one epithet which would make for further enstrangement and bitter feeling. Just why the Communist Party officials persist in their tactics of personal abuse, is a mystery, for in the end they will disgust their own membership.

Debs Goes To Prison

By DAVID KARSNER

(Continued from last week)

We walked down the hall with Debs, and he assured us that he had had three good meals, and, that "everything was all right," his usual expression in cases of extreme adversity. The Warden made it plain to us that he did not wish our visit to be of length. We tarried a moment while Debs said that he had received a number of telegrams from his Comrades in all parts of the country.

All day Monday two Negro convicts were at work in Debs' little room, scrubbing the floors, washing the windows and fumigating it so as to put it in order to receive the most celebrated prisoner this country has ever known.

As we passed the door of the room that Debs will occupy during his stay, Debs looked in at the Negro convicts at work.

"The Warden won't let me help you," said 'Gene, "but I shan't forget your kind favors."

"Das all right, Mr. Debs," replied the shorter of the two Negroes, "we mighta had a worse job dan dis."

The Moundsville prison had just recovered from an epidemic of Spanish influenza. One hundred convicts were ill and there were two deaths. The Warden seemed particularly concerned abouth 'Gene's health, and admonished him to take it easy and rest.

"Remember that I am responsible for your health, Debs", said the Warden, "and I want you to leave here in as good shape as you came."

"I will leave here in better shape than when I arrived," said Debs. He smiled and joked a little and told us that he had been treated "excellently."

Debs would say the same thing were he bound to the stake and burned. He would kiss the hand of the man who would light the pyre under his feet.

Just before we entered the prison we met three messenger boys, and all of them owned they had just delivered messages for Debs. The Warden insisted that Engdahl, Wagenknecht and myself take dinner with him. We did so. The Warden was interested to learn something of Deb's history.

Warden Terrell told us that 25 years ago he was a telegraph operator on the B. & O. railroad when Debs was organizing the railroad men in the American Railway Union. "I remember when Debs went to prison at that time," he said. The Warden admitted that he had never seen Debs before, but added, "He has a wonderful mind, a fine brain and bubbles over with kindness."

As we talked with the keeper of the great liberator in his private apartments on the top floor of the prison overlooking the Ohio valley and the river that flows at its feet, Terrell's little girl romped and played on the floor.

The name of Debs was mentioned frequently, and finally the little brown-eyed baby looked up in her father's eyes and asked:

"Daddy, who is Debs?"

The Warden blushed. "Ask these gentlemen here, my dear They seem to know better than I!"

The little girl, her name was Barbalee I think ran over to me and climbed up and my lap. I had just been playing "Patty-cake, patty-cake baker's man" with her.

"Who is Debs?" lisped Barbalee.

"Debs is a good man, kind man," I told her, "who loves all little boys and girls. And all little boys and girls love him, too. If he were up here now he would get right down on the floor there and play with you." The little girl danced off my lap, and ran over to the Warden clapping her hands with glee.

"Oh, Daddy, Mr. Debs is a kind man who loves little children and he plays with them, too; do you thing he will ever come upstairs and play with me?" There was anxious hope in the sweet voice of the Warden's daughter as she put her question.

The Warden was nonplussed. He did not know how to answer this innocent question of his little girl whose imagination had been gripped by the simple description I had given her of Debs.

"No, my dear," replied the Warden, "I don't think Mr. Debs will ever have time to come up and play with you, but you shall see him some day." Barbalee ran back to me as though I sould rescue her possible playmate.

"Some day," I told her, "some day, Barbalee, when you have grown to be a big girl you will be glad and proud that you lived in the same house with 'Gene Debs. Lots of his friends would wish they might say they had lived in the same house with Debs." She looked at me wonderingly. Her big brown eyes were sad and I felt that I had given Barbalee just a little pain.

"I don't know what you gentlemen may think" said the Warden at one point, "but I want you all to know that I have had no instruction from any one—none from the Governor nor from Washington — to show Debs any special favors or consideration. What I am doing is purely my own affair."

The Warden seemed to want to impress us with that view of the matter. We all had hazarded the guess that in the case of Debs unusual consideration would be the policy, and that this consideration very likely came from high authority. The Warden denied it. The reader may judge for himself. The fact is, however, that 'Gene Debs was being shown every consideration. His breakfast and his dinner had been brought to him Monday morning and he ate them in his cell. The Warden said he wanted to save Debs the first humiliation of walking in the lockstep to and from the mess hall. Debs would have felt no humiliation in that regard. He felt a little bit peeved that all the other 895 convicts were not receiving the same treatment.

While we were all talking in Debs' room the Warden spoke about 'Gene's new job as hospital attendant.

"I am going to do whatever you thing is best," said Debs. "I want to earn my board here, at any rate," he added. and the tall classic frame of the great Socialist humanist bent almost double with silvery laughter.

The book that Debs had been reading was John Reed's **"Ten Days That Shook the World."** I had presented Debs with my own copy of that book.

"If you ever need a painter," said Debs, "call on me. That was my first trade. I may be a little slow at it now, but I can learn it in a jiffy." The Warden smiled and said: "Good, I may call on you for that some day, Debs, but, in the meanwhile, you take good care of your health. I want you to leave here as well as when you came."

Tuesday afternoon we journeyed to Moundsville, taking the Warden at his word that we would be permitted to see Debs whenever we came. The Warden seemed stiffer than usual. We asked for pictures of the prison, which were given to us. The Warden's manner indicated that he would refuse to let us agein see Debs, so we did not press the matter. He merely said: "The matter is a closed book now, gentlemen," evidently meaning that Debs was Convict No. 2253. Debs is the quiest prisoner at Moundsville. He is spending his days learning his work under the direction of the prison physician, and in a little while he will have full charge of all the hospital records. Debs has asked Warden Terrell that he be permitted to do some manual labor.

Before we left the Warden permitted us to leave with Debs a box of cigars, a cake of chocolate and a bag of apples and oranges. In the corridor we passed several convicts painting the banisters. Debs patted each on the back. It was a spontaneous outburst of affection which he could not refrain from. The Warden smiled.

In spite of this kindness, in spite of this manifestation of official consideration for Our 'Gene, let the workers not relax one iota in their efforts to get Debs out of prison. He is a prisoner behind bars. He cannot come out of jail for 10 years, unless the organized power of the working class forcess the capitalist class to swing the lever of that automatic turntable through which Debs passed Sunday night, April 13, 1919.

Debs knows this as much as any. It is liberty that Debs wants, and in seching liberty for himself he demands it for every breathing being. As I write this I am reminded of Debs' classic statement, printed and stated so many hundreds of times. Shall we write it again?

"WHILE THERE IS A LOWER CLASS I AM IN IT. WHILE THERE IS A CRIMINAL CLASS I AM OF IT. WHILE THERE IS A SOUL IN PRISON I AM NOT FREE."

Beatrice M. Sedgewick, state secretary of Delaware, has placed her first order for dues stamps.

CLEVELAND GERMAN BRANCH DEMANDS UNITY.

A resolution pased by the German Branch, Cleveland, reads in part as follows: "We pledge ourselves and urge all members of the Communist Party to refrain from any and every tactic that may create emnity between the workers and to do our utmost bring about unity between all revolutionary factions, especially between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party."

The part of this resolution which reads "we urge the Communist Party ti refrain from any and every tactic that may create emnity" is well directed. Tactics which are being pursued by the Communist Party at present are not such as will lead to a unity between all revolutionary factions in this country.

13,500 STAMPS ORDERED.

The machinery of the Communist Labor Party, only a month old, is just beginning to move yet already 13,500 stamps have been ordered. Only two western states have so far been supplied. Due to the distance of these states from the national office, orders for stamps and supplies will be received a week or so later than those received from locals and states in the east and middle west. By the First of November the national office hopes to report 30,000 dues stamps ordered, as well as an affiliated membership equalling that number.

LOCAL CUYAHOGA COUNTY JOINS C. P.

A delegate convention of Local Cuyahoga County was held Sept., 28th. By a large majority, the delegates, most of them from federation branches, decided to join the C. P. Action of many of the delegates was predetermined by the wish not to split the local movement and so they voted for the C. P. together with the federation delegates who controlled the convention.

The German branch which had 40 delegates, handed in a resolution for unity between the C. P. and C. L. P. most of the Hungarian branch delegates refused to vote, the Finnish and Jewish branch delegates decided to stay with the Socialist Party.

A feature of the convention was a resolution introduced by Ruthenberg which calls for a state convention to decide upon the disposition of the state office and its property. Just why such a resolution was proposed, considering the fact that Local Cuyahoga County has not contributed to the upbuilding of the Ohio Socialist or any the many other state activities, is hard to understand.

On Oct. 3 the preliminary organization meeting of the Communist Labor Party of Cuyahoga County took place. Most of the active English speaking party members, comrades who have given years to the movement in Cleveland, were present. Organization work for the C. L. P. in Cleveland was planned and it is expected that the C. L. P. local of Cleveland will soon become a strong revolutionary force in Ohio's largest city.

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Shall Prison be Debs' Tomb?

The Organized Power of Workers can prevent it

Prisons have always been notorious for cruelty and unspeakable injustice. Established upon the concept that the prevention of crime could be brought about by unusual cruelties practiced upon the inmates, prisons have continued thru the centuries down to the present day as schools for crime instead of institutions of reform and betterment. While claiming to be the most advanced of all nations the penal institutions of this country continue the practices and the punishments that have made European bastiles famous for inhumanity and injustice.

The dungeon, ball and chain, manacling of the wrists; days, weeks, even months on a bread and water diet; the suspension in mid air by the wrists with iron chains are only a few of the inhumanities practiced with very, very few exceptions in all our prisons. They are practiced in the federal prison at Atlanta, Ga., where Eugene V. Debs is condemned to spend ten years of his life if he shall live that long in a place where such inhumanity occurs daily. Many political prisoners have died under such treatment. Many more have contracted diseases which will shorten their lives. Many have gone insane. Political prisoners are, as a rule, treated with less consideration than any other class of prisoners. A murderer is treated with respect compared to the treatment that is accorded those of our comrades who have been jailed for their opinions which did not happen to jibe with those of the official family of the present administration at Washington.

That the United States Government, meaning the administration as represented by Woodrow Wilson is determined to kill Debs is but a logical deducation to be drawn from the facts. Debs is a source of danger to the Wilson administration; dangerous to the economic masters it serves. This fact the administration is well aware of. But it believes he is less dangerous to it in prison than outside. He is still less dangerous in his grave than alive, tho behind prison bars. Therefore, Debs will remain where he is, he will die where he is unless the workers by their organized might force open the prison doors.

Debs might have had his freedom, if he had cared more for himself than for his class. If he had been less sensible of his own welfare, less thoughtful of the thousands of other political prisoners. But Debs chose a life sentence in jail rather than to seek freedom for himself only, while his comrades were condemned to years in prison.

And is Debs bearng up under the strain of prison life? Debs is different from most of us. He thinks in flowers and souls; he feels and cries and suffers with those in pain. Prison is all pain and so Debs suffers daily the tortures inflicted upon the lowliest of inmates.

A letter has just been received from Liberator Attorney Castleton. It's another call to action. Read it. Then sit down for five minutes and THINK IT OVER. And then get up and DO SOMETHING. AND right now the best thing you can do is to gather Liberation Funds so that we will have the where-withall to do something with.

GET INTO ACTION—and you will if you READ THE FOLLOWING LETTER.

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 4th, 1919.

To All Comrades:—

My heart is sad to-day, for the slim and slender Gene is but the shadow, the mere ghost of his former self. Wednesday I arranged to have him bid Alex. Berkman "Good-bye", and when he came into the warden's offce I was frightened for I saw before me our beloved Gene looking gravely ill. He had a gray stubble of two days growth upon his sallow face. His eyes seemed to have lost their flashing sparkle of life, his face was taught and worn and his throat bagged. The physical Debs looked almost dead — and all our hearts were sad — in spite of Gene's inspiring, fighting spirit which he will keep until the very end. Debs will die fighting for the proletariat, with words of love for the workers on his lips. If Debs is not released from here at once the federal penetentiary at Atlanta Ga., will be his tomb. It is a physical impossibility for him to hold out much longer.

Debs senses that his end is near. But he is consoled with his faith in the rank and file of his comrades now triumphantly winning the world, so that emancipated proletarians may work out their destiny together.

How Debs wishes he could met his comrades face to face — talk to them once more before he leaves this world! How he loves life, his comrades, the Great Cause.

No matter what happens — Gene will remain true red to the very end. And it is the spirit of Debs that will conquer the world. Gene feels that there are millions of comrades the world over working for the new day, where there were but thousands before and he is happy because our great cause is meeting with victory.

The personality of Debs has created a spiritual and mental revolution at the Atlanta prison. Not only have the political prisoners learned to love him mor than ever before, but there are men who are braving the "HOLE" and other prison punishment to show him a little kindness, a token of good will and comradeship. There are prisoners there who would gladly serve Debs' ten years term in prison if that were possible.

I shall see Gene in the next few days and write again.

He sends his love to all the comrades. He still repeats "tell the boys I am all right".

Sincerely yours
SAMUEL M. CASTLETON.

(Continued on page 4.)

Berkman charges Murder, Dungeons, Chains and lesser Brutalities Rule in Treatment of Prisoners at Atlanta Federal Prison

Alexander Berkman, philosophical anarchist and noted labor leader, was released from Atlanta Penetentiary, Wed. Oct. 11st., having served two years for alleged opposition to the war-time draft laws. Berkman has served many years of his life in American prisons. Following the Homestead strikes of 1892 he served fourteen years in a Penn. prison on account of strike activities. The following post-prison statement by him is a vivid portrayal of conditions as they now exist in the federal prison at Atlanta, Ga., the prison that holds within its sombre walls the body of Eugene V. Debs and many other political and class-war prisoners. Read Berkman's statement of the horrors of Atlanta prison and then resolve that not another hour shall pass without you doing all in your power to bring these crimes against your comrades to an end.

Berkman's Statement.

"This country is at the present time going through the same throes of social and industrial rebirth that are convulsing England, France and other European countries. The steel workers' strike is merely one of the symptoms of the social-evolutionary process that may in the near future culminate in revolution. The sources of labor discontent in this country are idential with those in every other land of our so-called civilization. The working masses are not satisfied any more with empty political democracy: they demand a share in the products of their industry and the opportunity to live, to enjoy life. Industrial slavery, perhaps more acute in the United States than anywhere else, is on its death bed. The next step in the social life of the world is the taking over of all industry by the workers, both manual and mental, to be managed and operated by themselves, for the benefit of the producers instead of for the profit of our industrial and commercial kaisers.

"The present steel strike vividly calls back to my memory the great steel strike of Homestead, in 1892, when the Pinkertons hired by Carnegie and Frick shot the strikers down wholesale for demanding living conditions. In connection with the Homestead strike I served fourteen years in the western penitentiary of Pennsylvania. We have made some progress since then. The workers, especially, have learned a good deal since the days of the Homestead strike. They have learned the most important lesson of all, and that is that labor has an invincible wespon in solidarity. That is also the lesson that is being impressed on American labor today by the workers of England. Soon the American Federation of Labor will realise that it is folly to call a strike of steel workers, without at the same time securing the solidaric support of all the other key industries—the railway men and the miners. While the workers in these industries strike separately, at different times, they run the risk of defeat. But a simultaneous strike of all the three key industries would quickly bring our Garys, Morgans and Fricks to their senses.

Future of Proletariat.

"But whatever the immediate outcome of the steel strike, it is but a question of a short time before American labor will make solidaric cause throughout all industries and assert the right of the toilers to the ownership of the full product of their toil. The day of capitalistic autocracy is gone. The future belongs to the proletariat of hand and brain.

"The present situation in the United States is full of promise for the future. The war and its results have proven a great education for the peoples of the world. They are sick of the high-sounding phrases about political democracy and self-determination that are, in actual practice, so many scraps of paper. It is industrial autocracy that the workers of the world seek to destroy. This country, the alleged champion of democracy, is being daily changed more and more into the regime of Prussian militarism. The government of the United States has taken advantage of the alleged necessities of the war to crush the spirit of libetry and to deprive the people of the last vestige of freedom. It has now become dangerous, in this free country of ours, to express an independent opinion upon any subject, except perhaps about the weather. Free speech and press are a thing of the past. The American junkers and plutocrats are swamping the country with propaganda for a strong militarism. Our industrial autocrats see the hand-writing on the wall and hope to crush the gathering forces of labor by the bayonet and the machine gun. The voice of liberty is being stifled in the prisons. Our jails and penitentiaries are full of political and industrial prisoners who have dared to hold an opinion of their own and to express it. Men like Debs and others are immured behind iron bars because they love liberty more than patrioteering. It is the eternal disgrace of this country that conscientious objectors political and industrial prisoners, have not yet been given an amnesty, though even the most reactionary countries of Europe have long since restored their social protestants to liberty. If there is any manhood left in the people of America, they should immediately voice the most compelling demand for a general amnesty for all political and industrial prisoners.

"Rebels against industrial autocracy such as Debs and others, should be the pride of the United States instead of being kept in dungeons. Woe to a country that has no Debses, Kate O'Hares or Emma Goldmans! They are the voices that cry out the best aspirations of humanity, even in the face of the gravest dangers to themselves.

Spoke With Debs.

"Speaking of Debs. I was happy to have the opportunity this morning, before leaving the federal prison at Atlanta, to shake hands with the Grand Old Man of the New Day. If there ever was a martyr to liberty, Debs is that man. How stupid it is of the government to jail men of his type. Prisons cannot crush their spirit, nor iron bars and brutality change their consciences. Their love of humanity transcends the fear of punishment or death. There are times when the scaffold is the most elevated position for an honest man. Ideals cannot be imprisoned nor can the eternal spirit of liberty be exterminated by shutting up its champions in dungeons or deporting men and women out of the United States. I feel, I am convinced, that the future belongs to use to us that strive to regenerate society, to abolish poverty, misery, war and crime, by doing away with the causes of these evils. And even in prison, where we cannot fight for liberty, we can ayways struggle for principle.

"It is this attitude of the political prisoners in all prisons that makes their lot even harder than that or the average prisoner. It is time the United States government should take its head out of the bushes and recognize the existence of political prisoners in this country. Even in czarist Russia the political prisoner was recognized as a man suffering for his ideals. Benighted America still considers the political the same as the so-called common criminal. In the Atlanta federal prison the politicals fare even worse than the average prisoner. A banker who got away with the savings of poor widows and orphans receives the highest consideration in the prison, while the man who loves humanity more than his own safety is subjected to special persecution and discrimination.

Brutality in Prisons.

"I find that very few essential changes have taken place in the administration of our prisons within the last twenty-five years. The same system of brutalizing and degrading the prisoner still prevails. Only the forms differ slightly. The dungeon (known as "the hole"), chaining up by the wrists, clubbing and shooting, are the dominant methods of 'reformation' in Atlanta. Men are chained to the cell doors for eight to ten hours consecutively, without even the opportunity of answering the most pressing demands of nature. I have known men in the federal prison to be kept twenty-one to thirty days at a stretch in the hole, which is a filthy, dark kennel not fit for a respectable dog, and fed on two small slices of bread twice a day. Men are clubbed frequently, on the least provocation, and recently a young colored boy, 'Kid Smith,' was shot dead for not walking fast enough while being taken to 'the hole.'

Guards Are Vulgar.

"The average type of the guard in the federal prison is far below that of the average prisoner, both mentally and morally. Excepting a few decent officers, of a humane spirit, the majority of the guards are vulgar, brutal and dissipated men. Some are degenerates of the worst type. At their heads is Deputy Warden Girardeau, formely in charge of a chaingang. He is a man of very low mentality who believes in the old-time methods of brutality and suppression. His tactics look towards the breaking of the prisoner's spirit and to the degradation of the inmates. A prison, even at its best, is the last place in the world to improve a man. But the Atlanta prison tends chiefly to dehumanize the prisoners and to crush the last vestige of their manhod and self-respect. It is the deputy warden who is mainly responsible for the inhumanities and outrages practiced in the federal prison. He encourages the most brutal tendencies of the guards and frequently protests and nullifies the warden's more humane attitude. The deputy warden is the most hated man in the prison. The inmates regard him as a religious hypocrite, narrow-minded and mean-spirited. It is his custom, after leading Sunday service, to go down to the dungeon and chain men up to the doors. He tantalizes the hungry victims in the hole with the recital of the fine breakfast he had enjoyed that morning and in various ways seeks to provoke them into some unguarded remark in order to increase their punishment. In protest against the murderous clubbing and shooting of defenseless prisoners I circulated a petition in the tailor shop (where I was employed at the time) to call the attention of the warden to the terrible situation. The deputy warden, hearing about it, sent for me

(Continued on page 4.)

The American Freedom Convention

(Held in Chicago, Ill., Sept. 25—29th)

The American Freedom Convention which just concluded its sessions at Chicago did not, beyond passing some very good and well meaning resolutions, do much toward effecting the release of our class war prisoners. Evidently the men now in the Ft. Leavenworth prison had some faith in the convention as they had a delegate there, H. Austin Simons a former C. O., who had been confined at the "Wire-City" stockade. Seymour Stedman made the opening address urged the delegates to cause congress to be flooded with appeals for the release of the Class war prisoners. Irwin St. John Tucker, the next speaker refused to have his name included in an appeal or a petition for release or commutation of sentence. He urged labor to get together and organize and then DEMAND and back up the demand.

As a whole there were many well meaning people present, but they have no means of gaining any kind of results as they belonged to no particular group that, by its industrial power could accomplish anything. The Delegates were made up of representatives of Organized Labor (110), Socialist bodies had 45 delegates. Besides these there were Amnesty leagues of many cities represented, the Civil Liberties Bureau was represented by Mr. De Silver, the American Union against Militarism by Mr. Chas. T. Hallinan, the friends of India by Mr. Roger N. Baldwin recently released from prison as a conscientious objector. Many State Federations of Labor and City Centrals had delegates. In all there were approximately 300 and they came from all points between Seattle and New York. The regular retinue of piecard artists and professional convention attenders was also present. A resolution endorsing the One Big Union caused an all afternoon's talkfest and was finally referred for revision, as the charge was made that the One Big Union Propagarda killed the Mooney affair and was certain to kill the Amnesty Convention. Mrs. Meta Berger spoke on the Wilwaukee Leader and the Chicago Trial.

Mr. Chas. T. Hallinan presented to the convention some valuable information regarding the present courtmatrial system and its victims, stating that they numbered well into the thousands. The Convention was held in the Machinists Hall which has seen so many memorable conventions within its walls during the last few weeks.

Had organized labor been in charge of that convention rather than the silkstocking element of reformers, something worth while could have been done for here was a convention where the International officers had no influence and once rid of that element, labor will do some big things. If the purpose of the convention was a failure, if it was merely to acquaint the delegates with the facts then it is a success. A demonstration in one of the Mid-western cities (Toledo, O.) early in the spring, taught many workers how to release political prisoners when 17,000 angry citizens marched to the jail and in 10 minutes had 75 of them freed.

—Ulrich

The Municipal Elections

Numerous locals in Ohio are courageously waging municipal campaigns.

These campaigns are being conducted upon a uniform Communist-Socialist municipal platform, adopted by the state membership.

These are the first political campaigns ever waged in this country along the lines of the NEW Socialism, the Socialism which seeks, not to reform the capitalist state, but which demands its abolition, demands workers' control and workers' supremacy.

Thousands upon thousands of these platforms have been printed for the locals by the state office and they are being conscientiously distributed broadcast, laying the foundation for the NEW political action and teaching the workers, for the first time, the direct road to emancipation.

These campaigns, must of necessity in this election, be made under the name of the Socialist Party. The signatures to the nomination petitions were gathered under that name and in many instances the tickets were filed under that name. The new party designation, in many of these locals, can not go into effect until after the elections.

But carrying on the campaign under the name of the Socialist Party does not make these campaigns reactionary in character. It is not the party name which makes a party reactionary or revolutionary. It is the principles of the party which decides this question.

While these municipal campaigns have been on, the Ohio Socialist has been compelled to severely criticize that Socialist Party nationally because of its reactionary national officialdom. These criticisms do not in any way apply to the party in this state, nor to any local which is making its campaign upon the official municipal platform.

Readers of the Ohio Socialist should keep this in mind. The Socialist Party in this state, (now the Communist Labor Party) is not affiliated with the Socialist Party of the United States. It is not so affiliated because the Socialist Party of the United States is a Scheidemann party, a party which, at the crucial moment, will turn upon the workers and compromise with the capitalist class.

The criticisms made, many of which may have confused our readers, were against the national party. We call upon you therefore to give the comrades, who are waging the municipal campaign in your city your immediate and full support. These comrades are in harmony with the Third International and in their valiantly conducted municipal campaigns, are fighting abreast of our victorious comrades of Russia.

ON WITH THE CAMPAIGNS, COMRADES!

Rally the workers around the standard of the Third International.

HELP TO MAKE THE WORKERS' VOICES HEARD IN THE LEGISLATIVE HALLS FOR WORKERS' CONTROL.

Tactical Problems

An Answer to an Attack upon Ohio and its Municipal Elections.

(By A. BILAN.)

The first issue of "Communist" is trying its best to find tactical differences between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. It seems that they have found one 'difference'' already, which "shows the utmost confusion concerning fundamental principles and tactics'' in the C. L. P. They promise that others will devolep.

Bear in your mind, the difference they say is a "fundamental'' one:

"The state office requested locals to proceed as follows—

Ohio locals should continue their municipal campaigns under the name of "Socialist Party''. The adoption of the new name can date from time immediately following the November elections.

For this reason the C. L. P. is branded as Menshevik. Contrary to this The Communist Party calls itself Bolshevik, because they are not participating in the present Municipal elections. Secondly they are boycotting the elections as the Bolsheviks did in 1906 Duma elections. You see: they are doing the same thing the Bolsheviks did thirteen years ago, and therefore there can be no doubt about their being Bolsheviks. What is our answer? Are we Communists or do we not understand Communist fundamentals?

Let us analyze. Where is the violation of the Ohio C. L. P. against the fundamental principles of Communism by participating in the Municipal elections under the name of Socialist Party?

It is a widely known fact that the Socialist party of Ohio was expelled by the Germer gang. The Socialist Party of Ohio adopted the Left Wing program at its State Convention in Cincinnati and its Municipal Platform was adopted along the lines of the Left Wing Program. The Municipal Platform was mostly written by the present Executive Committeeman and National Executive Secretary of the Communist Party, C. E. Ruthenberg, whom I supose you would not accuse of being a Menshevik. In the present emergency case where the whole state organization is in reorganization the name of the Party does not count, but only the platform on which the propaganda is carried. If we can utilize this Municipal campaign on a strict revolutionary platform to educate the masses why not do so? It is a mere technical question, which does not involve any compromise of principle.

I have to inform the Communists who claim that they are copying the Bolshevik tactics, that the Bolsheviks themselves in the election campaign used similar methods, they had to put their candidates on nonpartisan tickets and not under their real name. Regardless of that, there was no confusion amongst the voters, as to how to cast their ballots at the election booths. In emergency cases the name of the party does not count, but only the plat-

(Continued on page 4.)

Liberators Lend a Hand To Persecuted Workers

Seven Miners Arrested at Adena Charged with Violating Freeman Act Because they Demanded Coal Operators Stop Stealing.

The Army of Liberators has again come to the rescue. It has sent attorney Jos. W. Sharts to the coal fields of eastern Ohio, to rescue seven miners from the clutches of capitalism. Not content with the BIG steal, that is, exploiting the workers as wage slaves, the coal operators have been caught stealing from the miners by not giving them full weight for the coal they mine.

The miners, as soon as they found out that they were being robbed, quit work. And that was treason. Immediately a charge of violating the Freeman act was placed against the committee which attempted to secure action from other miners for a strike against this robbery. These miners, seven of them, all members of the party except one, are now lodged in the Harrison county jail.

A delegation was sent to Cleveland to secure the help of the Army of Liberators. We immediately sent Attorney Sharts to Adena and Cadiz. Here is his report. Read it. Every reader of the Ohio Socialist, every member of the United Mine Workers in Ohio, is asked to come to the aid of these comrades. Send contributions to the Army of Liberators, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

SHARTS' REPORT.

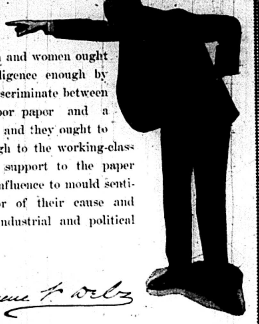
Your telegram brought me here esterday evening all unprepared for what confronted me today. These men were not, as you seem to have got the word, being held without charge in the Harrison County jail. They had been indicted September 27 under the Freeman Act for Criminal Syndicalism; and when I got in touch with the Sheriff shortly after 8 o'clock this morning, he informed me that in half an hour they would be brought before the Court on arraignment. I ran up to the Clerk's office and spent the next half hour doing a marathon with pen and ink writing out motions to quash and also demurrers. I got the motions filed, alleging such grounds of objection to the indictments as the hastiest scanning suggested. However, the arraignment did not occur. The Prosecuting Attorney, who seems a nice young chap, named Barclay Moore, asked for time in which to prepare his argument against my motion, and it was set for Friday evening, at 7:30 P. M.

That gave me an interval in which to breathe and look into the situation.

I can knock out these indictments on motions and demurrers. But the Prosecutor stated very positively the men will in that event be immediately re-arrested and bound over to the next grand jury. The Sheriff also seems to be very bitter, altho after our first encounter he was very accomodating

(Continued on page 4.)

Debs says to You



Workingmen and women ought to have intelligence enough by this time to discriminate between an honest labor paper and a grafting sheet and they ought to be loyal enough to the working-class to give their support to the paper that uses its influence to mould sentiment in favor of their cause and fights their industrial and political battles.

Eugene V. Debs

About Rumors

Rumors are funny things. They travel at lightening speed, especially when the rumor is false.

Just at present Ohio has its share or rumors. We have located them here and there. There are rumors about the state office and rumors about the state secretary; rumors about the Communist Labor Party and rumors about the Communist Party.

We've a request to make. Before believing rumors you hear make sure that they are true. We speak now for both the C. P. and the C. L. P. We comrades of the Communist Labor Party refuse to spread rumors. We do spread facts. We know that the Communist Party can not be killed by spreading false rumors about it, even tho some think that the Communist Labor Party can be buried under an avalanche of them.

We ask this—before believing what anyone says about any one else or any other party, INVESTIGATE TO MAKE SURE THE TRUTH WAS TOLD YOU.

We also ask this—If YOU, who are reading this, know of any comrade who delights in spreading rumors irrespective of knowledge of their genuineness, please have him write them all upon paper, using one side only, and send them to this office. We want to print them in the Ohio Socialist. This will give them a large circulation.

This offer is made knowing that the larger circulation false rumors get the more strength that party secures which is lied about.

Debs' Photos are still selling. 12x17, splendid for framing and only 25c each in lots of 25 or more 10c. each.

Long evenings are coming. How about your reading? Look over our list of books and pamphlets and select some with which to keep company during the hours between work and bed time.

YOUNGSTOWN CALLS FOR UNITY

Youngstown, Ohio,
Oct. 4th, 1919, 10 A. M.

Dear Comrades:—

LOCAL YOUNGSTOWN asks **YOUR** Local, wether you are interested enough in the CAUSE, to meet with us in a NORTH-EASTERN OHIO convention held in our city, in the sole aim of trying to get our forces together again, regardless of who you have lined up, or what party you intend to line up with. This invitation excludes of course the RIGHT WING."

In reply to this invitation, state what day would be most convenient, etc. A date will be set later at your convenience.

LOCAL YOUNGSTOWN asks you to attend either by delegates, or by mass convention. If the later the majority of locals represented at the meeting will carry the day. You are requested to attend in a broadminded spirit, the kind of spirit that spells CLASS SOLIDARITY in face of the common enemy.

LET US HEAR FROM YOU AT ONCE.

The quicker your local decides to attend, the better for all of our ranks.

All arrangements will be looked after by our committees.

COME AND LET OTHER LOCALS HEAR OF YOUR VIEWPOINT.

LET US GET TOGETHER.

DON'T FORGET THE N. E. OHIO UNITY CONFERENCE.

Yours for Unity
F. J. Catkin, Sec'y.
Local Youngstown.

Comrade Sec.—As our old directory is not up to date, will you make a copy of this letter and send it to any branch in your city not included in the 1917 Ohio Socialist Addresses. . . .

The Legions of Truth

By Ed. Shallue.

Slowly but steadily they are coming
  Along the trails of Progress, one by one,
With no music, bugle calls nor drumming,
  Impervious to bayonette, gas or gun;
Flaunting no gaudy, varicolored banners,
  Dressed in no purple, red nor gold,
With no more than Nature's simple manners
  Breaking down the barriers of old.

The advance against vile Wrong is ever slow,
  By Hypocracy and Ignorance outnumbered,
Meeting the mighty, well fed foe
  With the weight of needs and cares encumbered.
A dense barrage of Lies they always face,
  And charge against stenching, gaseous slander,
But in Heaven, Hell nor Earth—there is no place
  Where Truth is not victorious Commander.

Do Penal Institutions Reform

By Ammon A. Hennacy, Political Prisoner, County Jail, Delavare, Ohio.

"The merchant calls it profit
And he winks the other eye:
The banker calls it interest
And he heaves a cheerful sigh:
The lanlord calls it rent
As he tucks it in his bag:
But the honest old burglar
He simply calls it swag."

This is a verse Ammon A. Hennacy found scratched on the wall of his cell.

"It is just if a problem had been set to find the best, the surest means, of depraving the greatest number of people."

From my experience during the last 27 months in Columbus and Atlanta prisons I agree with the above quotation from Tolstoi.

Penal institutions do not reform prisoners because:

The officials are first class politicians; of second class intelligence; with no human sympathy or knowledg of psychology.

Everything is done to deprive the prisoner of his self-respect and initiative.

Through special favors officials encourage prisoners to spy upon their fellows and become "rats" and "stool-pigeons."

"Prison justice" takes the word of a guard or "stool-pigeon" against that of a prisoner every time.

Officials wink at all kinds of sexual degeneracy; oftentimes being perverts themselves.

No attempt is made to classify prisoners according to age, crime, or general character; thus making any penal institution a school for the inexperienced criminal.

Guards are not paid enough to enable a decent, humane and honest man to accept a position as guard.

Prison chaplains are afraid to try to better conditions for fear of losing their jobs.

When released, prisoners are not given decent clothes, or enough money to keep them for more than a day or two; in very few cases are jobs procured for them.

The average prisoner doing time for a minor offense knows of hundreds of cases of bankers, profiteers and politicians who are able to "buy" justice.

But the final test as to whether penal institutions reform is to be found in the of fact that 75 per cent of those who enter jail become confirmed criminals.

So long as there exists the present system of society which breeds poverty and crime no "prison reform" will prevent crime.

WHY?

President Wilson's reception on the Pacific Coast appears not to have been the unmixed ovation that many American newspapers would have their readers believe. Of course he drew large auriences and, with the exception of one meeting in San Francisco, was received with the respect to which his office entitled him. There was, however, a distinct disposition, not in evidence earlier in the trip, to ask questions and demand facts. The demand of San Francisco laboring men for a statement on Ireland was only one instance. A copy of The Seattle Union Record, a spokesman of organized labor in the Northwest, has reached this office, showing that on the day of the President's arrival that newspaper printed the question "Why?" in letters three inches high across four columns of the first page, and followed it with a series of questions, among which were the following:

Why do you not ask the immediate repeal of the espionage law and urge a thorough discussion of the problems confronting America, to the end that we can democratically arrive at proper conclusions?

Why do you not release political prisoners in this country when they are being rapidly released in other countries?

Why is it that under the espionage law working men and women mainly were convicted and not one German spy was prosecuted?

Whey do you preach self-determination in Russia by backing one faction in an internal conflict?

Why is there no demand in the Large of nations pact for a democratization of the kingdoms of Japan, Belgium, Rumania, and other backward countries?

Why is there no provision for a reduction of armaments in the treaty, if the League of Nations is to prevent future wars?

Why do you not fire Burleson' plan for the solution of the railroad problem?

Why do you not fire Burleson?

These questions are not new, but the failure to meet them is rapidly weakening Mr. Wilson's hold on the people.

The Nation.

St. Louis Unity Resolutions

St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 22, 1919

National Executive Committee,
Communist Labor Party,
Cleveland, Ohio.
Comrades:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party of local St. Louis, September, 20 1919, the writer, as secretary, was instructed to communicate with the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party and the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, urging the immediate **unification** of these parties that the **rank and file** may be unhampered in their struggle to attain economic **freedom** and to usher in the Communist **society** of production.

We well realize that the formative period of a Communist movement in America must inevitably encounter friction and division of opinion as to the formulation of methods, tactes and the form of organzaton. We also realize that the exhibited tendencies of "confusionism" as well as of "centrism", is natural, i. e., a movement that passes through a shifting process brings forth misunderstandings. We are firm in our conviction that the destinies of a Communist movement in America mainly depends upon our unwavering, consistent stand in the formulation of policies, methods and tactics within the realm of Marxian Communist principles. However, the experience of our brother Communists of the European countries brings forth the fact that very often we can avoid unnecessary friction when we consider that oftimes comrades who stand firm working for class-conscious Communist unity; whose training and knowledge of the needs of the movement divides them, mainly due to the exhibited tendencies on the part of some well informed Communists who aim to dominate the movement by their capricious and pretentious contentions for leadership, thus exploiting the sentiment of the membership that stands by the class character of Communism retarding the fundamental unity of the movement. The Communist movement of America must labor to free itself from such elements, no matter how well informed the comrades may be who exhibit these tendencies.

The progress of the Communist movement; the unity of the real Communist element can be made possible through the **realization** that in the main the newly formed Communist and Communist Labor Parties do not differ much. The variation of the platforms and programs of both parties may differ, one or the other may be considered clearer in the formulation and expression of Communist principles, methods, tactics and policies of organization, both parties may still have within its ranks some comrades who are confused or centrists, notwithstanding they stand for a program or platform which would comply with and respond to the demands of American conditions and the principles of Communism.

Viewing the status of facts as we know it we urge the membership of both parties, through its authorize organs, the Executive Committees, to take into consideration the imperative necessity of a unified Communist movement, making the necessary steps conducive to a possible unity between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party.

The Communist Labor Party has officially declared:

"Be it resolved, That the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in a Unity Conference, and

"That we hereby instruct our National officials and committees to accept such invitation from the Communist Party, or any other revolutionary working class organization."

Local St. Louis, Mo., of the Communist Labor Party heartily endorses the foregoing, and urges the rank and file of both the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party to demand unity upon the basis of equality, and that the Executive Committees of these parties bend their every effort to this end.

Yours for a united Communist movement

MARY N. TICHENOR.
City Sec'y Communist Labor Party
Local St. Louis.

o Church Statements to Steel Workers

Two significant statements embodying totaly opposite viewpoints and divergent counsel to steel workers have been issued by two clergymen of the Catholic church. Workers will do well to give these two statements careful thought and consideration. The Church may become a greater element for human progress, or it may become a weapon for reaction; it is for the workers who are affiliated with it to decide what its stand shall be upon the questions of the day.

The Pittsburgh Statement.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Sept. 27.— A bitter excoriation of the leaders of the steel strike and a stern warning to his parishoners that if they follow these leaders they will be cut off from the Catholic faith was delivered today by the Rev. Thomas Devlin, pastor of the Holy Cross church in South Pittsburgh. In Father Devlin's parish there are hundreds of employes of the steel mills, a majority of whom are of feregn birth and Catholic in faith.

"I give warning," said Father Devlin in an open letter, "that if any should follow the leadership of Foster it would be equivalent to endorsing his doctrine that I should regard them as apostates from the Catholic faith, traitors to their country and enemies of authority.

"The American Federation of Labor seems to have fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviki and the reds.

"The kaiser, Hindenburg and Von Tirpitz have nothing on Foster. He is in a class with Lenine, Trotzky and the Bolsheviki."

Statement by Father Kirby.

Rev. Father E. A. Kirby pastor of St. Rose's church Girard, Ohio, in answer to Rev. Father Devlin of the Holy Cross church, South Pittsburgh, who in an open letter to his parishioners condemned their affiliation with the steel strike movement, gave out the following statement:

"The steel strike is a continuation of the struggle of the masses of the common people against autocracy. The world war decided the people's rights to political democracy but the people have yet to win the economic victory.

"There is no doubt that the underlying causes of militarism in Europe are existing in large corporations today, namely repression of popular expression. The strike proves what the world war has proved, that men will not submit to blood and iron policy.

"Petty tyrants in the steel corporation are in self-constituted authority over the working classes. They are real Kaisers and Hindenburgs and hold themselves superior to the government of the people.

"These tyrants cannot play fast and loose with the lives and conditions of men. We are standing today on the threshold of economic revolution, or the bloodless revolution."

(Signed)
"Rev. Father Kirby."

JOIN NOW
The Communist
Proganda League

The first thing every live, class-conscious worker does after joining the Socialist Movement is to

Roll up his sleeves—

Spit on his hands —

And—ask for a job that will push the work along.

Such comrades are the ones who DO THINGS, they are the Jimmie Higginses in our movement, the ones upon whom our papers rely for support in getting subs. Who are relied upon in circulating our propaganda, in doing all the thousand and one things necessary to further the education and organization of the workers.

It is for them, for the ones who have proved their faith, and also for thousands that heretofore have not been active in such necessary and useful work that The Communist Propaganda League extends an earnest invitation to join.

Its purpose is:

To organize a Bundle Brigade of hundreds of Locals of thousands of workers,

In order that:

The propaganda of Revolutionary Socialism may be extend into every section of the country

By

Placing weekly in the hands of thousands upon thousands of workers copies of the Ohio Socialist; by getting a larger list of readers—

So that:

The Ohio Socialist may be made into a twice a week paper; that our power for good in our movement may be doubled; that our comrades in prison may be freed the sooner; that our new press may be kept busy every day turning out its message to the workers.

THAT'S THE REASON FOR IT.
AND YOUR PLACE IS IN IT.

Every worker can distribute ten copies a week.

Every worker can afford to spend ten cents a week for Socialism.

Now is the time when workers are reading most. Now is the time to act.

Fill out the blank below. Your membership card in the League will be sent you immediately.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
in the
COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

Realizing the necessity of education and organization of the working-class in order that we may the sooner achieve our emancipation, and of the value of our propaganda for this purpose,

I hereby apply for membership in The Communist Propaganda League.

Enclosed find $........ for which send me .... copies of The Ohio Socialist weekly for as many weeks as this sum pays for at the rate of 1c per copy.

NAME ....
ADDRESS ....
STATE ....
CITY ....

JOIN—SEND A DOLLAR FOR TEN COPIES FOR TEN WEEKS—MORE IF YOU CAN—JOIN

Address: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

Let's see, about how many copies of the Ohio Socialist could you distribute each week without inconvenience? Five, ten, maybe twentyfive. But unless you order them you can't do it. They're a cent each. Why not write us ordering a small bundle?

Five or ten cents a week is a small sum compared to the good accomplished

---

Ten cents a week for the emancipation of the workers. Will you spend it? Order a bundle of ten.

THE BLACK SHEEP

By Long and Lanky.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Here is, a serial story of to-day written by one of the best known writers and lecturers of the American Socialist Movement. If we should print his name our readers would at once recognize it as one of renown from coast to coast. The author prefers to write this particular story under a non de plume because it is largely a story of his own life and experiences.

As the story develops and the author unfolds to his readers the basic principles of the socialist philosophy and the class struggle as exemplified in his own experiences as a wage-worker, student and teacher, it becomes ever more interesting. In short, it is just such a proletarian story as every socialist will take a keen interest in; a story which no capitalist paper or magazine would dare to publish... Be sure that you miss no chapters of this splendid study of America as it is to-day.

CHARTR 1.

Every day there are born into this world individuals whose brains contain wonderful powers, which may be used for good or evil, according to the conditions under which they develop. Then there are certain individuals who are so organized that no matter what the environment under which they develop may be, they grow up and work out something of definite value to themselves or mankind at large; these are the exceptions we call geniuses. They may be likened unto rare flowers that by the brilliance of their color or their fragrance especially distinguish themselves in a garden of blossoms.

Jack Thruston was one of these. He was unlike any of his fellows. A variation from the true type or as he was known during his childhood "A black sheep."

His mother told us when we questioned her about him that he had been an odd child; unlike other children. He loved to be alone. He seldom spoke and when he did speak it was only to question the older folks. His questions were generally about things that no one could answer. At least no one could answer them in the neighborhood in which he lived. Sometimes he world ask questions like these. "How did the calm shells get in the rocks in the tops of hills." "Were negroes and white men both created in the image of God?" "Does God like the jack rabbit better than the cotton tail?" This remark was caused by his father's explanation that the jack rabbit became white in winter so as better to hide from his enemies. It was an evidence of God's care over the jack rabbit; but as the cotton tail remains grey in the snowy season it was an evidence to the child's mind of Heaven's partiality to the Jack. "Why do all animals (with whom he was acquainted) have just seven bones in their necks. Did God make them all on the same plan because he could think of no other? It was questions such as these that convinced his pious parents that he was in league with the devil. They reasoned that if he were a normal child he would not dare to pry into what they considered divine mysteries. "My poor Jack" his mother would say: "I do not understand why he is different from my other children, but he is."

When we pressed her for further particulars regarding his boyhood, she recited an amazing list of incidents that to her mind proved the doctrine of total depravity, but which to us simply proved that the path of genius is not strewn with roses. The boy's ideas seemed to have been at all times in conflict with their accepted standard of right and wrong, as well as with the dictates of their accepted creed. The mother concluded her rehearsel of the boys mental irregularities with the to her awful information, that at the age of eleven he had been brot home by one of their neighbors who had found him in a country grave yard exhuming a corpse. This of course was considered terrible and it was the consensus of learned opinion in the neighborhood that the boy should be sent to the reform school. This however was not carried out.

I asked the mother what in her opinion urged the boy to do so strange a deed to which she replied. "He just has an ungovernable curiosity to find out now human inards are fixed" He had a passion for first hand information on all things animate and inanimate. He spared no effort in his quest for knowledge. She told us that somehow he would never believe what he was told, he wanted to find out. He doubted everything, even the preacher.

It was evident from what his mother told us that, even as a child he had been a psychological anomaly that refused to conform to the mental environment in which he was born. Hence, he was compelled either to rise above it or be crushed by it.

Leaving out of consideration his mental peculiarities we were told that as child he had been a quiet, dreamy, fair haired urchin with large unkempt head and clear blue eyes; physically he had been well and strong but not excessively active. They had called him "The little old man." In school he had been the favorite of the teacher; he gave them but little trouble. He had but one ugly phrase in his apparently slight vocabulary, and that was, "Prove it." This did not often annoy the school ma-ma but it drove the parson nearly to distraction, with the result that the dominie developed a full sized grudge against this innate question mark. "The boy is stupid" the preacher would exclaim. "He is constitutionally incapable of grasping the most self evident religious truths.

To illustrate: when the parson told the class that, in the beginning, God had made heaven and eorth, the children intrusted to his guidance generally took it for granted. Not so with Jack. He was almost sure to ask a question somewhat like this: "What time was it twenty minutes before time began, or as it sometimes happened that the good man maintained that God had created all things out of nothing the boy would ask "Where did God get the nothing with which to make himself." When it was explained that God is a spirit he would look as tho he comprehended the proposition, yet he would ask: "Are spirit and nothing the same thing then?"

It was a custom of the people that adhered to the creed under which Jack was rasised to read a chapter of the scripture at each meal with the result that the children at an early age had a general knowledge of the Bible. Then they were being drilled on Sunday and at least once during the week in the catechism. This explains the fact that as a child he could refer to different parts of the scripture with apparent ease. In this he was not unique. Every child of average intelligence, born and raised in Westfield, North Dakota did this as a matter of second nature. They believed what they were taught. In that they different from JACK and he from them. They believed as a matter of course. Jack wanted to believe as a matter of logic; but logic was a scarce article in Westfield. They insisted on a literal interpretation; and unqualified acceptance; and unconditional surrender of reason to the church. Jack could not surrender to anything that he did not understand. He wanted to be convinced of truth rather than convicted of sin. It was this attitude of mind so unusual in a child that fastened upon him the appelation of the "Black Sheep."

We may get a better understanding of how the boy's mental attitude diverged from that of the people among whom he lived by reciting some of the mental conflicts in which he became entangled. Not that we wish to describe him as mentally bellicose or argumentative; that would not be true. The truth is he seldom argued. There is only one word that will adequately describe him, perhaps two, inquisitive and observing. It was in the field of observation that his genius was most apparent.

It was during a catechism class that the children were told that the good Lord had made all things, and that he saw, that it was good. Jack innocently inquired, if when God looked upon his work and pronounced it good, if the tiger was in sight? When he was told that the tiger was good in his place; that God had made him for a special purpose, he asked: "If the tiger was good, why did God drown them all but two, simply because the people didn't do right?" Thus it was that the parson concluded that the boy was unable to perceive the spiritual significance of the scriptures and advised him to stay at home. The truth was that the parson being unable to satisfactorily answer the boy's questions, noticed the effect such questions had on the class as a whole.

One Sunday morning he listened with wrapped attention to a sermon on the crucifixion of Christ. The discourse impressed him deeply. At home that afternoon he sat at the window, his chin pillowed in his hands, his eyes fixed upon great masses of thunderclouds that lay like huge mountains of living silver on the eastern horizon. Starting as it suddenly awakened from a dream he asked his mother—"Did God really make the world?"

"Why certainly, who else would?"

"Made the butterflies, the fireflies, the flowers, the clouds, the stars, everything?"

"Yes God made everything."

"Made us too, didn't he?"

"Of course."

"Did he make us good?"

"Certainly!" Now hush up and don't bother me; don't you see there will be a crowd here for dinner?"

This quieted the little questioner for a few moments. Then he broke out again "Mamma — if God made us good, and he made everything, then what made us bad?"

"The devil."

"Is the Devil stronger than God?"

"No, of course not."

"Mamma, if the Devil made us bad, why did not God drown us all in the flood and make some new people out of nothing, like he did at first?"

"Will you shut up." This with menacing gesture.

Again a few moments silence. But the statements of the morning sermon were too strong within the boy's brain to keep it. Again he asked —

"Was Noah a good man?"

"Yes, he was the only good man in the world at that time."

"Then why did he get drunk when he came out of the ark?"

"O God knows" his mother shouted in complete despair.

"Does God know everything?"

"Certainly."

"He knew that if he saved Noah, Jesus would have to die?"

"That was the Devil's work. Now will you be quiet—I'll thrash you if I hear another yip."

Slowly he turned his gaze upon the clouds as if to inquire from them the secrets which he longed to know. Then he ventured once more—

"Mamma, who made the Devil?"

"God, I suppose."

"And the Devil caused us to die, and to hate one another, and to lie, and to kill Jesus, and to steal?"

"Yes, didn't the domine tell you so this morning?"

"Why did God make the Devil?"

At this point silence was inforced by a liberal application of the ointment of correction.

It was his passion for logic and truth that made him a mark of attack at home, at Sunday school and in the catechism class. His community was ultra-orthodox and orthodoxy fears questions and hates questioners. It is questioning the old that gives birth to the new, even tho the questioner be but a child. Questioning can never destroy the truth, but under its action the false cannot endure. Jack did not ask questions in order to destroy the old and the established, in fact he was not aware that the things he was being taught were old and established. His brain processes demanded sequence and consectivity, and to attain this consectivity he asked questions which shook the very foundation of ideas which his parents and people held as sacred and un-alterable.

(Continued on page 4.)

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Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, OCT. 15th 1919.

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Seizing The Capitalist State

"The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary."

—Paragraph 6 of Party and Labor Program of the Communist Labor Party.

The entire hope of labor lies in the rank and file movement. Officials and leaders have a tendency to grow conservative and by the power which officialdom gives them to build up a machine for the perpetuation of conservatism in the labor movement.

The slogan of the Communist Labor Party is "ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS." But the acquirement of power by the rank and file can arise only thru action by the rank and file. An active, agressive and vigilant rank and file can gather and hold the power necessary for its emancipation and the rebuilding of civilization upon the lines of Communist Socialism.

The Communist Labor Party is a party of ACTION. Not only of action in theory but in fact. The ringing note thruout its platform and program is a call to action by the masses. The development of a rank and file movement has progressed in spite of and against the counsel of the officialdom of labor unions. It has culminated in this country and in Canada in the organization of Shop Committee and Shop Stewards movements. These are organizations of workers on the job in the places where the evidence of the indenty of the interests of the workers is indisputible.

The advocacy of Industrial Unionism by the Communist Labor Party is based upon the fact that the workers, in their political attempts to capture the capitalist state find themselves unable to use the machinery of the capitalist state for their purpose, and must therefore create a new machinery whereby to attain their end.

Every social system develops the necessary political machinery for its own perpetuation. This machinery consequently can not serve the interests of the class which is seeking the overthrow of that system for the purpose of erecting another in its stead. It is forced to create its own machinery as a vehicle with which to acquire political power.

The ballot when used by labor for its own purposes has not proved effective as a means of gaining the ends sought. Numerous instances might be recalled wherein the expressed wish of majorities representing labor had been rendered inocuous by the courts of capitalism. Victories for labor at the ballot box have many times proved to be crushing defeats. Capitalism will not live according to its own laws but at any moment when by some fortuitous circumstances, labor threatens the power of capital, recourse is taken to "direct action", the police are called upon and the whole armed power of the capitalist state is set in motion against the workers.

Yet every such defeat teaches a tremendous lesson. The hollownes of copitalist justice and fairplay are then seen it in their true light. The educational and propaganda value of such a phenomena of the capitalist state is of great value and should be used as such. Such ballot box victories as are won by labor give unparralled opportunities for agitation and propaganda, but their actual and specific value as a means of grasping the capitalist state and making it function as a workingclass industrial democracy exists only in imagination.

The Communst Labor Party is a party of action which functions not every two or four years upon election day, but every day in the year stands pledged to the use of every resource at its command for the economic organization of the workers in revolutionary industrial unions. It will support morally, financially and with its press every activity of the rank and file of labor toward this end.

To the workers we say, join an industrial union. Form a Shop Committee in the place where you work for the purpose of elevating the conditions of employment, of handling greviances, of teaching mass action; of concentrating the that of the workers upon industrial democracy in the shops and replacing craft consciousness with class-consciosuness.

Form a Shop Committee with the slogan "ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS."

Paying The Cost.

Not all the costs of the nation's participation in the world war were paid when you settled for your liberty bonds; not all its costs are included in taxes and high prices of beans and flour and bacon and shoes.

High as was the cost in lives of the nation's best young manhood, a still higher cost was paid in the epidemic of Spanish Influenza that followed the cessation of hostilities. That the epidemic was a by-product of the war, arising from mal-nutrition, bad housing, devitalization of the people as a result of war conditions, is the general opinion of investigators.

During the last year conditions have not improved. Rents have gone higher, building has nowhere come up to the requirements, as a result the evils of bad housing are still extant. The essential foods are as dear if not dearer than a year ago. The result is a further devitalization of the poorer classes. The high prices of shoes and woolens create an inviting condition for pneumonia. Again it is the worker who pays. Always he pays the cost of war. He paid the death toll on the battle field. He paid the economic cost. His labor produced all that was destroyed, all that was wasted. He is paying the cost in evil living conditions which have already reaped a tremendous harvest of death.

After a year's experience in the battle with Spanish Influenza, physicians are sounding the alarm of the presence of the dread ravage in our midst. In the city of Cleveland, O., the health officials offer figures that prove how justified are these warnings. A few days ago the number of cases of influenze in the city numbered 10 campared to only 1 of the same date of a year ago. These cases, the authorities submitted, were almost entirely in the poorer sections of the city, where bad housing, malnutrition and evil living conditions were most general. So we have the evidence of who is paying the cost, Could the workers have forseen how the cost would be paid perhaps—the war would not have begun. Perhaps, but not likely. It is only when an accumulation of misery beyond the strength of man to bear crushes him to the very dust that the arises and destroys the causes of his misery. Man acts, not by reason but thru economic motives.

Booste Press Fund

RECEIPTS FOR THE PRESS FUND LAST WEEK ARE AS FOLLOWS:

J. Malkoff, Youngstown, O.	$1.00
Mrs. Grace Sherman, Mobile Ala.	$1.00
Carl Hass, Hamilton, O.	50c.
Jno M. Cahalane, Hamilton, O.	$1.00
A. Pomsel, Norwood, O.	$2.00
W. B. Dillon, Albuquerque, N. M.	$1.00
F. Schmidt, Athens, O.	$1.00
G. Lee, Akron, O.	$2.60
W. B. Watson, Grand Rapids Mich.	1.00
C. Freeman, Columbus, O.	$1.00
Henry Newkirk, Columbus, O.	50c.
C. L. Steinbrook, Columbus, O.	$1.00
B. C. Steinbrook, Columbus, O.	70c.
J. D. Smith, Columbus, O.	50c.
E. F. Geist, Muncie, Ind.	50c.
Henry Huffman, Columbus, O.	50c.
J. R. Phelps, Augusta, Ill.	$1.00
G. W. Scottford, Columbus, O.	$1.09
Local Wadsworth, O.	$5.00
N. Zhuck, Youngstown, O.	$5.00
J. H. Steele, Nenana Alaska	$5.00
Finnish Branch, Ashtabula, O.	$7.85
Local Irondale, O.	$8.50
Mr. and Mrs. Wm M. Brown Galion, Ohio	$15.00
Total	$63.50
Previously subscribed	$4.103.74
Total to date	$4.167.24

AKRON WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE PICNICS

The International Labor picnic given on Sept. 1st by the Workers Defense League of Akron, O., was a splendid success both socially and financially.

Abner E. Woodruff of Chicago was the speaker of the day. Fellow worker Woodruff gave an excellent talk on Industrial unionism and his message will remain a permanent lesson in the minds of his audience, the other speakers were James B. O'Brien, Secretary-Treasurer of the league, and Fellow worker Evjikows of the Union of Russian Workers, Detroit, Mich. Fellow worker Evjikows spoke in the Russian language and made a strong appeal to the workers.

Peo Monoldi presided as chairman. Singing, dancing and racing were the other attractions of the day. It is the intention of the league to hold an annual outing on September 1st.

The league cleared about $250.00 on the picnic.

Yours for Industrial Freedom
JAMES E. O'BRIEN
Secretary-Treasurer

The Constitution, Courts and Espionage Act

After serving 3 months of an 18 months sentence for free speech, I have been pardoned on account of broken health. The conditions of my incarceration were nothing like as bad as those Debs endures. I was not locked in a cell 14 hours a day, nor was I required to do any but the lightest out door work.

"Congress shall pass no law abridging freedom of speech." All the legal lights of the Supreme Court have declared the Espionage Act Constitutional; that is they have solemnly stated that the Espionage Act has not abridged freedom of speech! The Espionage Act has sent Debs to jail for free speech, and the Espionage Act has suppressed a large part of the Socialist press, yet these presumably sane members of the Supreme Court say that the Espionage Act has not abridged freedom of speech or of the press. Is it any wonder that American Courts are coming into contempt ever to the confines of Siberia!

As I understand it the Courts in Debs' case gave no explanation of how they arrived at the conclusion that the Espionage Act has not abridged freedom of speech. No wonder the courts avoid giving any explanation of such a palpably false opinion. Of course the Espionage Act has abridged freedom of speech and of the press.

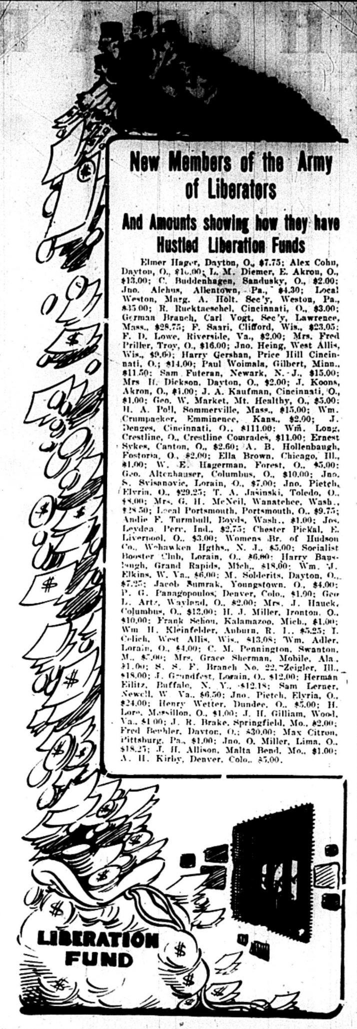
The Courts in my case showed the same desire to avoid any argument as to our rights to free speech under the Constitution. When my lawyer appealed to the jury to protect my constitutional right of free speech, the judge made it a point to tell the jury that there was no question but what Congress had the right to pass the Espionage Act. But the judge carefully avoided informing the jury by what legal quibbling the Courts have arrived at such an autocratic decision. On my appeal to the Circuit Court also, they declined to answer my lawyer's argument that my freedom of speech was being abridged in violation of the Constitution. All the statement we could get from the Court was that the right of Congress to make such laws was "too well established" to need any argument or explanation.

The simple fact is that when the Supreme Court, or any other branch of our government, wants to abridge free speech they do so without regard to laws or Constitutions. Debs has been imprisoned in violation of law. To set him and other free speech victims free would be simply to restore "low and order" which our government has ruthlessly trodden under foot. A government which breaks the law cannot expect to be respected. In condemning Debs to a living death, the Wilson administration has brutally broken the Constitution, the supreme law of the land. Let the workers restore "law and order" with all haste.

Perley Doe.

THE POWER OF DEBS
(D. A. Hastings).

History is repeating itself. Eugene Debs in prison is a greater menace to capitalism than he would be out. Out enjoing his freedom he used his wonderful powers of persuasion and eloquence to stay the anarchistic forces within society, pleading for organization and education. Inside his majestic voice is stilled and anarchy impends. The powers of repression will learn when it is too late. Nero just fiddled when Rome illuminated the heavens with the fires of destruction. Somebody is doing a lot of fiddling in this country just now when it would be best to call the fire department. Stupidity occupies all of the front seats. Will it prevail? Unless it speedely awakens from its slumbers, H—ll will break loose and there will be nobody to control it.



New Members of the Army of Liberators

And Amounts showing how they have Hustled Liberation Funds

Elmer Hager, Dayton, O., $7.75; Alex Cohn, Dayton, O., $10.00; L. M. Diemer, E. Akron, O., $13.00; C. Buddenhagen, Sandusky, O., $2.00; Jno. Alchus, Allentown, Pa., $4.30; Local Weston, Marg. A. Holt. Sec'y, Weston, Pa., $35.00; R. Rucktaeschel, Cincinnati, O., $3.00; German Branch, Carl Vogt, Sec'y, Lawrence, Mass., $28.75; F. Saari, Clifford, Wis., $23.05; F. D. Lowe, Riverside, Va., $2.00; Mrs. Fred Priller, Troy, O., $16.00; Jno. Heing, West Allis, Wis., $9.60; Harry Gershan, Price Hill Cincinnati, O.; $14.00; Paul Woimala, Gilbert, Minn., $11.50; Sam Futeran, Newark, N. J., $15.00; Mrs H. Dickson, Dayton, O., $2.00; J. Koons, Akron, O., $1.00; J. A. Kaufman, Cincinnati, O., $1.00; Geo. W. Market, Mt. Healthy, O., $5.00; H. A. Poll, Sommerville, Mass., $15.00; Wm. Crumpacker, Emminence, Kans., $2.00; J. Denges, Cincinnati, O., $111.00; Wm. Long, Crestline, O., Crestline Comrades, $11.00; Ernest Sykes, Canton, O., $2.60; A. B. Hollenbaugh, Fostoria, O., $2.00; Ella Brown, Chicago, Ill., $1.00; W. E. Hagerman, Forest, O., $5.00; Geo. Altenhauser, Columbus, O., $10.00; Jno. S. Svisnovic, Lorain, O., $7.00; Jno. Pietch, Elyria, O., $29.25; T. A. Jasinski, Toledo, O., $8.00; Mrs. G. H. McNeil, Wanatchee, Wash., $28.50; Local Portsmouth, Portsmouth, O., $9.75; Andie F. Turmbull, Boyds, Wash., $1.00; Jos. Leydea, Perr, Ind., $2.75; Chester Pickal, E. Liverpool, O., $3.00; Womens Br. of Hudson Co., Wehawken Hgths., N. J., $5.00; Socialist Booster Club, Lorain, O., $6.60; Harry Bausbaugh, Grand Rapids, Mich., $18.00; Wm. J. Elkins, W. Va., $6.00; M. Solderits, Dayton, O., $7.25; Jacob Sumrak, Youngstown, O., $4.00; P. G. Panagopoulos, Denver, Colo., $1.00; Geo L. Artz, Wayland, O., $2.00; Mrs. J. Hauck, Columbus, O., $12.00; H. J. Miller, Ironton, O., $10.00; Frank Schou, Kalamazoo, Mich., $1.00; Wm H. Kleinfelder, Auburn, R. I., $5.25; I. Celich, West Allis, Wis., $13.08; Wm. Adler, Lorain, O., $4.00; C. M. Pennington, Swanton, M., $7.00; Mrs. Grace Sherman, Mobile, Ala., $1.00; S. S. F. Branch No. 22, Zeigler, Ill., $18.00; J. Grundfest, Lorain, O., $12.00; Herman Eilitz, Buffalo, N. Y., $12.18; Sam Lerner, Newell, W. Va., $6.50; Jno. Pietch, Elyria, O., $24.00; Henry Wetter, Dundee, O., $5.00; H. Lore, Massillon, O., $1.00; J. H. Gilliam, Wood, Va., $1.00; J. R. Brake, Springfield, Mo., $2.00; Fred Beehler, Dayton, O.; $30.00; Max Citron, Pittsburg, Pa., $1.00; Jno. O. Miller, Lima, O., $18.25; J. H. Allison, Malta Bend, Mo., $1.00; A. H. Kirby, Denver, Colo., $5.00.

YOUR LOCAL - WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under this Heading at the Rate of $2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening

LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8. P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8. P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second
Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

LOCAL KENMORE
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Eevery Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday,
Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio.
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50½ W. Gay Street

LOCAL YOUNGSTOWN
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday, 8:00 P. M.,
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal
St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening
8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.

LOCAL CANTON
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every 2nd and 4th Sunday
of the month, 2:30 P. M.
Study Class, every Sunday, 10 a. m.
Debate and social every Sunday,
7:30 P. M.
MASONIC HALL

164 N. Chestnut St.
Branch
Meets TIFFIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93¾ Washington St.

JOIN Communist Propaganda League.

Ohio Locals and Members Attention

Article 1, Section 1 of the newly adopted state constitution reads as follows: "The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party of Ohio and IT SHALL BE AFFILIATED WITH THAT SECTION of the Socialist Party of the United States, WHICH ENDORSES THE LEFT WING PROGRAM."

Your delegates went to Chicago to attend the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party. That part of the Socialist Party which endorsed the Left Wing program, as represented by delegates, 72 in number, were thrown out of the convention hall by the Chicago police in direct command of Adolph Germer. These Left Wing delgates then called the LEGAL Socialist Party convention to order and subsequently adopted the name Communist Labor Party, for that section of the Socialist Party which endorsed the Left Wing program.

The membership in Ohio has spoken. By referendum vote it decided that the party in this state shall be affiliated with THAT SECTION of the Socialist Party of the United Stateswhich endorses the Left Wing program. That section of the Socialist Party nationally is now known as the Communist Labor Party, and the party in this state is therefore affiliated with the Communist Labor Party.

A few branches and members may not desire to abide by this decision of the party membership of Ohio. These members have the right, of course, to affiliate with the Socialist Party or any other organization they please. But any local or branch which affiliates with another organization by that act secedes from the state organization, and having seceded, can not continue to act as a unit of the party in Ohio.

Fraternally,

A. WAGENKNECHT, State Secretary.

Majority Report of Delegates to the National Emergency Convention

Elected From the 20, 21, 22 District.

The fight for Left Wing principles in the Socialist Party eventually culminated in a National Left Wing Conference, held in New York City June 21 to 24, which was attended by delegates from all parts of the United States. Bilan, Zitt, Brahtin and Ruthenberg attended this convention as delegates from Local Cuyahoga County.

At this National Left Wing Conference the following motion was passed. Read it carefully.—"That the national council of the National Left Wing Conference call a conference in Chicago September 1st of all revolutionary elements willing to unite with a revolutionized Socialist Party **or with a Communist Party that may be organized by Left Wing delegates seceding from the convention of the Socialist Party to be held August 30th.**

This motion constitutes a CLEAR MANDATE to the delegates seceding from the Socialist Party convention TO ORGANIZE the Communist Party. This motion also constitutes an order to the National Council to call a conference of ALL REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS on September 1st, and to have these elements JOIN WITH THE NEW PARTY which the seceding delegat from the Socialist Party convention were to organize.

The Left Wing delegates seceding from the Socialist Party convention OBEYED these instructions. The Left Wing delegates who were not admitted to the Socialist Party convention also obeyed there instructions The National Council DISOBEYED these instructions for it failed to call a conference of all revolutionary elements to meet in Chicago on Sept. 1st, nor did it attempt to bring the revolutionary elements meeting in Chicago to the convention held by the seceding Socialist Party delegation.

Shortly after the National Left Wing Conference the newly elected National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met. It emphasized the action taken by the National Left Wing Conference, called upon all Left Wing delegates to attend the Socialist Party convention and instructed its executive secretary to rent a hall in Chicago in which the seceding Socialist Party convention delegates could meet, or in which the legal Emergency Convention could meet.

The Socialist Party convention convened Left Wing delegates were not admitted to the convention hall. Many others seceded. These delegates then met as the legal convention of the Socialist Party and organized the Communist Labor Party. Due to the failure of the National Council to call a conference of revolutionary elements to meet in Chicago on September 1st, the Communist Labor Party called for unity of all revolutionary elements then then meeting in Chicago. We were unable to bring these elements together.

The majority of Ohio delegates OBEYED their instruction to the letter. Only Ruthenberg violated these instructions. Instead of assisting the seceding delegates in organizma a communist party as was agreed at the National Left Wing Conference, he joined the deserters, the bolting minority group which left the National Left Wing Conference to form a dual communist party, the convention for which was called by that curious combination, the Russian Federation—Michigan group. Nothing Ruthenberg or any of his adherants can say in support of their traitorous acts can obliterate the clear intent of the motion as passed by the National Left Wing Conference, above quoted.

The trouble lies with a few leaders in the Left Wing movement who seem to think that all they need do is to give orders and we will turn somersaults. These leaders jump from one position to another week after week. We are tired of keeping tab upon their twists and turns. The Communist Labor Party is not a party based upon conflicting and dictatorial edicts from leaders but upon a clear understanding and clear action by the rank and file. To the Communist Labor Party we will give our loyal support from this on

ALEXANDER BILAN,
TOM CLIFFORD,
LAWRENCE ZITT,
A. WAGENKNECHT.

Pamphlets and Books You Should Read

Spread the Light—this should be the aim of every forward looking man and women. Induce the working class to read and it will work out its own emancipation. We give below a wholesale and retail price list of books and booklets which you should help place into the hands of those most needy. Order from The Socialist Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THE SOVIET THE TERROR AND INTERVENTION, 10c., 20 or more at 6c.
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Emerson on Tyranny

"The martyr cannot be dishonored. Eevery lash inflicted is a tongue of fame; every prison a more illustrious abode; every burned book enlightens the world; every suppressed word reverberates thru the earth from side to side. The minds of men are at last aroused; reason looks out and justifies her own, and malice finds all her work vain. It is the whipper who is whipped, and the tyrant who is undone."

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

THE DEATH OF A RED REGIMENT

The strongly anti-Bolshevist Jewish daily **Der Tag**, in its issue of September 7, publishes a letter from its Copenhagen correspondent, Mr. N. Shiffrin, in which the latter reports his interview with the editor of the mlitary paper of the Russian counter-revolutionary Northen army, who came to Copenhagen from the front. The editor began with stories about Red "atrocities," but he admitted that all these stories were based on what he had heard from others and not on his own observations. The correspondent then asked him to relate his personal experience and observations at the front. This request was met at first with suprise and suspicion: "But I could only see how we treated the Reds!" Mr. Shiffrin was, nevertheless, interested in the actual experience of the editor, and the latter's reluctance was overcome by the correspondent's introductory card from an anti-Bolshevist friend of the editor. Mr. Shiffrin assures the readers that he quotes the gruesome story that followed literally, word by word, as it was told by the editor.

"As you know, the Bolsheviki changed the names of the old regiments. The Moscow troops have on their shoulder-straps the initials of the martyr Karl Liebknecht. We captured one of the Karl Liebknecht regiments, and they were tried. The trial at the White front is brief: every soldier is examined, and if he admits that he is communist he is immediately sentenced to death by hanging or shooting (we could not be better than the Reds!) And the Reds are well aware of this.

"Lieutenant K. approached the regiment and addressed them in a stern and cold manner: "Those of you who are true Communists, show yourselves to be courageous and step forward."

"A painfully oppressive interval.... The captives know what this means. And... slowly, in closed ranks, over half of the regiment steps forward.

"I had never before had the opportunity to witness the ceremony of passing such a death sentence. O, no! I forgot. I saw a captured Communist some time before this. He was granted the privilege to be shot in the back. With his back toward the rifles, he was shot and fell into the high growing grass.

"One more episode is impressed upon my mind: the death of General Nikolayev, one of the army commandants of Lew Davidovich Trotsky (the editor meaningly emphasizes the name Lev Davidovich). He was captured and confessed that he was a Communist. He was sentenced to hang himself. We prepared gallows for him at Yamburg, near the Karl Marx statue (a copy of the Moscow statue). Nikolayev was forced to end his life himself."

The conversation changed into a general discussion. The editor was carried away by the conversation and forgot the unfinished story about the captured regiment. I had to remind him.

"Well, then, about the regiment," continued the editor. "They were sentenced to be shot. But before being shot they had to dig their own graves.

"The execution of Communists usually takes place during sunset, on a field near a church. It is twilight. The air is full of the odor of fragrant northern flowers. The green dome of the village church is seen, surrounded by sleepy poplars, whose leaves are always restless in the daytime. But in the twilight, when there is not the slightest breeze, the poplars seem sorrowful, and stand motionless around the wooden crosses.

"A large number of onlookers have assembled on the field; peasants, women, children, soldiers. They stand close together, as sheep during a storm. The condemned are first of all ordered to take off their clothes. (The front is poor, and their uniforms are badly needed. They are used by the White soldiers. In order to save the clothes from getting soiled with blood or torn by bullets, the Communists are ordered to undress before they are shot.)

"Slowly the condemned take off their shirts, and tying their clothes together into a bundle, they put them aside. It is very queer, one might think that they were getting ready to bathe!

"They stand there in the field, freezing, and in the moonlight their skin appears extremely white, almost transparent Each of them is given a pick-axe, and they begin digging large, common graves.

"I remember the first thought that came to my mind: it must be painful to press the cold iron of the pickaxe with one's naked feet. It must cut into flesh.

"It took some time before the Communists had dug out their own graves. After digging for a quarter of an hour the depth of only half a meter was reached.

"My fingers accidentally touch my suit. I feel that my clothes are thoroughly wet from the dew which is falling like a mild drizzle. The grass is covered with heavy drops. The field looks like a carpet of very small pansies with the colors of the pupil of the human eye. There is a tear in every eye. And the naked Communists keep on digging. And I was curious: how does the dew affect them?

"After half an hour had passed Lieutenant K. ordered his soldiers to help dig the graves. He is very nervous and seems to be pained. The digging, the waiting, the whole atmosphere is so painful! The soldiers take their places side by side with the condemned. It is getting darker and darker. Gradually it gets harder to distinguish the naked from the dressed, there is a chaos of restlessly moving limbs. Lieutenant K. and myself approach nearer to them. Only now am I enabled to observe them individually. Here are three or four digging a common grave. I can see only their shoulders, their bodies are hidden in the ditch.

"At last the graves have already the necessary depth. The condemned sigh from weariness. Many of them throw themselves on the soft, wet ground, and rest. It is their last repose. Only now I notice that many of them have their feet bandaged. They have already been wounded in the struggle.

"Nervously and incoherently, as if he were stuttering Lieutenant K. asks them to state their last wish. Two take thin rings off their fingers and give them to the Lieutenant. He takes their addresses. Both of them are from Petrograd. One of them has a family residing on the Aptekarsky Island, the other leaves a wife, residing on Gorokhovaya. The others have no wishes to make, although every one of them has a home, a wife, children, relatives. They feel as if they had been dead long ago. I cannot explain otherwise their absolute calmness and indifference, a typically Russian indifference.

"I ask one of them what made a Communist of you? In a peculiarly cold and stiff manner he replies: 'The accursed life! The world needs happiness!'

"The soldiers are holding their rifles, ready to shoot. The naked communists take their positions close to one another, forming a white wall in the moonlight.... A command is heard, followed by a flash and the sound of shooting...... The Communists are still standing erect.

"A second volley is heard. The bullets strike some in their hearts. Thick blood steams leap into space. But most are only slightly wounded. And in the fraction of a second, before the soldiers shoot again. I hear deep sickly sighs. Volleys follow one after another. They become less and less. Now those who are still alive cry out: 'Hey, there, take better aim!' Some point to their heart: aim here.... And blood is flowing.

"Finally, all are dead. Some are dying near the edges of the graves, the others have already fallen into the ditches. It is all over. Nothing disturbs the quiet."

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Scott Nearing's Lecturettes

The Steel Workers

Have the steel workers learned their lesson? It has been a slow one, and a bitter one, but its moral is plain.

Nearly thirty years ago, the steel workers were amoung the best organized in the United States. After years of struggle they had won wages and working conditions that were the envy of the labor world. Then came the crushing defeat at Homestead; the loss of union prestige, and the transformation of the steel industry into one of the great non-union trades of which there have been so many in the United States. Hours were lengthened, wages were reduced; the conditions of labor became almost intolerable. There was a line always waiting at the gate, and the men suspected of "unionism" found his place filled by another. A remnant among the highly skilled men retained their union, but the great mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers employed in the steel mills—most of them of foreign birth—received little or no attention. They were as the scum of the earth.

Labor scarcity during the war wrought the crisis. High prices forced the issue. Today hundreds of thousands of the steel workers are organizing to demand their share of the bounties of life. Have they learned their lesson?

Through the bitter years that followed 1892 the steel industry was one of the most highly protected industries in the country. In 1909 the Pittsburgh Survey revealed the intolerable conditions surrounding the lives of the steel workers in Pittsburg and the neighboring towns. The tariff did not asve them.

During the past ten years a grist of accident, compensation, and insurance laws have been ground out in the legislative halls of the different states. These laws have not made the position of the steel workers any more endurable.

The workers and the workers alone, can save themselves. They can save themselves through organization. They can save themselves through an organization that embraces all of the men and women employed in the steel industry. They can save themselves by controlling and directing the shops in which they are employed. There is no other way. Have the steel workers learned the lesson?

They Call it Peace

Strikers and lockouts to the number of 3.285 occured in the United States during 1918. The Armistice was signed in November. For December the numbers of strikes and lockouts was 247.

The year before the United States entered the war, 1916, there were 3.786 strikes and lockouts. The first year of the war, 1917, there were 4.359. The second year, 1918, the number was lower than in either of the two preceding years. Nevertheless, with a record of 250 strikes and lockouts per month—ten for every working day—it is hardly fair to use the term "Peace" in describing industrial relations. The industrial war—the unending war between exploiters and exploited—was on before the United States entered the great world conflict. It remained active during the participation of this country in the European struggle and it continues now that the Armistice is signed and international peace is about to be proclaimed.

The masters of American life may call it peace but the standing armies of private guards, police, constables and soldiers belie thir words. It is war—brutal, ruthless, recentless; war on women and babies: war of attrition by starvation, destructive, savage war—brutal, ruthless, relentless; war as one human being is able to say to another, "You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it."

Boston

Recent investigations by the United States Department of Labor have as their object the determination of a living wage for a family. The reports from Boston covering 160 families with incomes between $1.200 and $1.500 dollars show that the average amount spent for food is $578.73 or a little over $10 a week. For clothing these families spend on an average of $196.44. The annual expenditure for rent was $180.24. Fuel and light counted for $73.96; furniture and furnishings for $41.16; and all other expenses, namely: those for health, recreation, insurance, saving, education, ect., $223.52. One hudred of these families had a balance at the end of the year. The balance averaged $80.64.

These families were ordinary families. They averaged five persons which is the normal American family. They lived on the veriest minimum that makes decency possible. This living cost them practically their entire income.

Suppose that the hundred families with an average surplus of $80 always had an equally good year. Suppose they saved this $80 every 12 months. At the end of 25 years (without reckoning interests) each family would have saved in the neighborhood of $2,000. Nothing could more effectively portray the pitiable character of the wages paid to American working people than a contrast between these figures and the figures showing the incomes and expenditures of the American property owners who are living luxuriously without labor on the work performed by their fellow men.

The Old Order and the New

Tolstoy, in one of his essays, remarks that the members of the leisure class, after taking upon themselves the responsibility of educating the workers proceed to "discuss, and teach and amuse one another, and have entirely forgotten them," (the workers.)

That was the situation in the old world. It is very different in the new.

The present ruling class never forgets. It has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, and a million voices with which it listens, watches and speaks continually to the people. Sunday supplements, movies, popular magazines, and spellbinders from pulpit and rostrum preach in season and out of season.

"Let well enough alone." "Be satisfied with things as they are."

"You are better off here than the people in any other country."

"Obey your masters."

"Beware of the perils that await those who leap into the unknown."

The modern master class never forgets. It has its paid agents who speak continually to the people reminding them of the security of their position and of the glory and distinction that have accrued to those before them.

Shall Prison be Debs' Tomb?

(Continued from page 1.)

Debs is being slowly tortured to death at Atlanta. His health is giving way under the life destroying prison existence. Unless the workers act quickly, there will be no reason to act, for there will be but a memory of our great comrade left us.

But while Debs breaks under prison rules, he is fighting for the principle upon which our emancipation must be secured. Debs has said "altogether or none". And upon that principle we can win. Upon that principle we can and must win freedom for all political prisoners.

Every wage worker is urged to join in this fight for freedom. Take up the case of Debs in your union meetings.

Talk of it to EVERY ONE. PREPARE FOR SUCH ACTION AS A UNITED WORKING CLASS CAN AND WILL TAKE, ONCE IT UNDERSTANDS ITS MISSION.

The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 1.)

But as years rolled by the fair haired questioning child grew up into a robust youth whose physical resources were as ample as his mental pecularities, whose mind shown like a ruby on a field of black velvet. Whose life would have been beautful to the eyes of civilized man but which hurt the atrophied sight of the spiritual cave dwellers among whom he lived. They accused him of being an atheist. He was not. They, being ignorant of the power that was within him for good forced him at the age of seventeen to leave the community in which he was raised and to make his way alone in the world.

(Continued next week.)

Notice!

For months we have been selling the Ohio Socialist in bundles at a financial loss. While this policy was justified in the past, present conditions will not so justify it. Recent increases in the cost of getting out the paper caused by higher printer's wages, higher prices of paper and the scarcity of newspaper makes a raise in bundle rates necessary. The price in future will be one cent per copy in any quantities.

We trust this increased price will not influence comrades to cut off their bundle orders. Rather, it should spur every comrade on to greater activity in introducing The Ohio Socialist to all workers.

Berkman's Statement

(Continued from page 1)

and asked me what my purpose was. I explained to him the general indignation regarding the abuse of the prisoners, whereupon he asked me my opinion of his methods. I told him frankly that his actions did not square with his religious professions I said that he was cruel to the men, that he lacked all sense of justice and fair play, and that I thought (as well as the majority of the prisoners) that he was a hypocrite. For this I was put on bread and water in the hole, a dark and filthy cell hardly big enough to stretch out in. After my time in the hole had expired, I was sentenced to solitary confinement for the rest of my time. I spent the last seven and a half months there.

Warden Is Humane.

"The federal prison would profit a great deal both in discipline and morale by the immediate discharge of Deputy Warden Girardeau. Warden Fred G. Zerbst is a man far above the deputy in every sense. He is a man of modern ideals and of much experience in handling prison inmates. He believes in the more humane methods of prison management, as against the deputy's system of brutal repression. Unfortunately, the warden is almost entirely, occupied with the outside affairs of the prison, so that the inside management is practically all in the hands of the deputy. There is considerable friction between the two, with deplorable results to the prisoners. Very frequently the best intentions of the warden are nuliified by the manner of their application at the hands of the deputy.

"It is high time that the public got a look into the inside workings of our penal institutions. The amount of brutality practiced in them as a matter of daily routine is almost unbelievable. When will people realize that the criminal is a man more sinned against than sinning, a victim of our unjust social and economic arrangement. But after all prisoners and their methods are reflexes of the conditions in the world outside. With so much injustice, strife and brutality in the world at large, it is no wonder that prison life mirrors the same spirit. When we become civilized enough to abolish human slaughter in the larger prison called society, when we reorganize life on the basis of human brotherhood and co-operation, we will have no use for prisons."

(Signed)
ALEXANDER BERKMAN.
Atlanta, Ga., October 1. 1919.
In the Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Tactical Problems

(Continued from page 1.)

form upon which they stand.

Secondly, it is suggested that the boycott of the present elections will clearly emphasize the class character and promote our revolutionary purposes." What is the political situation, which will promote the revolutionary porposes of the Communist Party by boycotting only the present elections? They are considering the initiated mass strikes by the workers as the cardinal motive for boycotting the present elections. Are these mass strikes political in aim; are they creating at the present, with those mass strikes, any superior weapon for the propaganda and agitation in the Municipal campaigns? Or does the imposibility of using the name create any unusual political situation?

The Communist editors are pointing out to us that the bolsheviks in 1906 boycotted elections to the second duma, and to be a true Bolshevik, we have to use similar tactics. To use them they want to prove to us that we have at the present time similar conditions, as those that prevailed at 1906 in Russia.

Under what conditions did the Bolsheviki boycott the Duma elections in 1906? Do the Communists tell us that? And are similar conditions in existance here, now?

The Bolsheviki in 1906 boycotted the elections to the second Duma under the impression that the revolutionary tide was not over, and that Russia was still in permanent process of revolution. For these reasons, to participate in elections for the Duma, would be to create illusions in the masses against the revolution and for the parliament. This was a historical situation—a tactical problem with two fundamental differences in the political situation of Russia, in 1906.

Regardless of what we say about the Mensheviks generally, we have to admit that they conceived the political situation at that particular time. The revolutionary tide was broken by the stronger forces of reaction and there could not be created any illusions about the participation in elections of the Duma, because there were left no other way for propaganda among the masses except the tribune of the duma. At the elections of the third Duma the Bolsheviks admitted that they overcalculated the political situation at that time and participated in the elections. The stand made for boycotting the present elections by your National Secretary C. E. Ruthenberg in Cleveland by introducing a resolution to that effect was not made on a stand of principal, but was purely opportunistic. His main argument was, that as we were thrown out when elected, and as nomination petitions were not filed, for that reason we should boycott the elections. The same stand was taken by one republican candidate whose petitions were not filed by the board of elections. That gentleman must be a bolshevik too!

Now, let us see the main accusation from the "Communist" against us. "To participate in all elections for all offices of the capitalist state is to rob Communistic parliamentary action of its class and revolutionary significance."

This argument is kind of a belated one from the old European discussion about "ministerialism". In the times when the Second International strongly believed in constructive work in parliamentary bodies we had to decide how far we shall go not to be absorbed by the bourgeois parties. But in the present epoch of capitalist imperialism where we have to cast aside all dreams of any constructive work in the parliaments or through the Capitalist state institutions for the benefit of the workers, we are using parliamentary elections "to show up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realisation of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity of the overthrow of the capitalist system." There can be no difference how far we participate in elections, but there can be a great question on what platform we participate. If elected, our duty will be, not to assume the responsibility for the capitalist state, but against it. We know that the governing power does not reside in the hands of regularly elected officials, but in fact it rests in the hands of the capitalist class. We know if we are elected on our platform we may be kicked out as soon as elected. This way we will be able to demonstrate to the working class the necessity of destroying the capitalist state machinery as useless for the transformation to Communism. When the revolutionary situation arives we will not hesitate to use the boycott as a tactical means if it will prove a necessity.

This is not a question of fundamental principles comrades of the "Communist"; it is not even a question of tactics at the present time, it is an artificial, unfortunate creation of arguments to have an excuse to call the C. L. P. non-Communist. It is easier to call names then to prove a case.

To prove that the same position as the C. L. P. is taking, is taken by some comrades of the C. P. in regards to election of executive officers we want to mention the position C. E. Ruthenberg, who stated publicly in Cleveland after the Chicago convention, that he still holds that mayors, governors and presidents ought be nominated and elected but being in obedience to the majority will he is for the time not pushing his views to the foreground.

There can be no stumbling block created for unity on this specific issue, becaues there is no fundamental Communist principle involved.

Sharts' Report

(Continued from page 1.)

and treats me personally with courtesy and kindness. It is evident his mind has been poisoned against these men from some source.

And as I gather in the facts I begin to see what that source is.

Here is the story; it is gathered chiefly from the minute book of the Blairmont Local of the United Mine Workers. I wish to God I could get this story to every United Mine Worker and to every labor union men! For these poor devils need support and funds, and they need them badly. I have just returned from Adena, the scene of the events.

In July, this year, Steve Bogo, who had been elected check weighman by his local, at the two mines of the company concerned, the Short Creek Mines, reported that the pan where the weighing was done at the tipple was so constructed that when the pit car of coal was weighed, the pan got the weight of only part, the remainder being choked up in the slide. Nevertheless when the pan was removed, of course the whole carload passed thru the chute. He and a committee tested some 600 carloads and reported a loss of from 100 lbs to 1100 lbs. on each pit car.

This report coming before the U. M. W. local at a special meeting, the subdistrict officials were at once notified and the miners decided to demand a platform scale that would weigh the pit cars without dumping. The subdistrict officials sent back word they would investigate later, and meantime the miners were to continue at work. The report from the subdistrict officials was not made until at the pitmouth Monday following. The miners had had unpleasant experiences before with these subdistrict officials who were much quicker to promise than to perform. So they refused to go to work that morning, saying they would wait until the subdistrict officials had adjusted the matter with the company. They went home. That was the head and front of their offending, so far as I can until now discover.

They called a delegate meeting with the surrounding Locals, which endorsed their stand. But it seems the higher-ups of the U. M. W. did not recognize the strike. Joe Vegh, the Recording Secretary of the Blairmont Local, a clean, intelligent Hungarian, naturalized, with a wife and babies, went with a Russian, the president of the Local, and an Italian who was a committeeman of the Local, to visit the surrounding locals and axplain the situation and enlist their support. These three were arrested August 1st while returning from a visit of that sort. The others were arrested Sept. 21.

One and all, this is their story. There is no I. W. W. local here. There was an organizer who came down from Cleveland last June or earlier and left a donation-list with Joe Vegh to raise funds for the political prisoners. Joe put this in his pocket and forgot it. It was seized when he was arrested and searched. There were no names on it. That seems about the extent to which "Syndicalism" enters into the case.

The defendants are fine, clean, intelligent men. All but one are Socialists, members of the Hungarian branch here. Joe Vegh, as I stated, is a naturalized citizen; he knows enough English to keep the United Mine Workers' minutes in English, in very credible shape. The others all speak English intelligibly. They have taken out their first papers.

Comrade, I have told you the facts as straight as I could. I am glad you hooked me into this fight, altho I am going to lose money heavily on it—coming clear across the State, a day's jolting from 6:30 A. M. to 5:10 P. M. and quarantined in this little hole in the wall. But it is going to be a grand fight, and I am going to see these boys thru it right. If there is anything you can do to rouse the United Mine Workers to come to their aid, or the workers generally, I know you will do it.

Yours for Industrial Democracy
JOSEPH W. SHARTS.

Local Akron Socialist Party
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Every Sunday at 2:30 P. M.
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THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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ALLISON, KATTERFELD, BRONSTRUP, BAKER and WAGENKNECHT ARRESTED

Charged with Violating Syndicalist Law

Loyal American League Continues Its Campaign of Intimidation - Attempts to Sweep Back the Tide of Revolt Against Criminal Capitalism with a Broom

The Czar is dead, but his spirit lives in America.

His spirit has found an abiding place in America's ruling class and its henchmen.

In Pittburgh the labor unions have been denied the right to meet in halls to protest against criminal capitalism.

In Gary, Lorain and other cities the steel strikers have been forbidden to freely assembly to voice their grievances. Their homes have been raided. The military rule.

In the Ohio mining region, miners are being thrown into jail, charged with violating the syndicalist law, because they had the audacity to demand that they be paid for the full weight of the coal they mined.

* * * *

At the special organization meeting called by the Communist Labor Party of Cleveland, L. E. Katterfeld, organization director and national executive committeeman of the Communist Labor Party; Welter Bronstrup, Cleveland secretary; Chas. Baker, organizer for the party; A. Wagenknecht, its national secretary and E. T. Allison, editor, were taken into custody by an army of police and operatives for the Loyal American League, hustled to the jail and charged with violating the Freeman act, which makes it an offense to "advocate reforms by the use of crime, violence, sabotage or terrorism."

Acme hall was filled Thursday evening, Oct. 16, with Cleveland comrades who came especially to inform themselves upon the party situation and to hear a personal message from Debs. The walls of the hall were decorated with blue-coats. The meeting was allowed to proceed without interuption. Katterfeld made an impressive speech.

He traced the development of the Left Wing movement within the party and cited reasons why affiliation with the Communist Labor Party should be preferred by those present. A call was made for applications for membership. A surprisingly large number of applications were made. Many in the audience also subscribed for the Ohio Socialist. Marguerite Prevey gave the audience a personal message from Debs. The meeting was adjourned. And that was the signal.

Immediately the army of police together with the a score of operatives of the Loyal American League surrounded all those who took an active part in the meeting, confiscated the applications for membership, the signed subscription cards, the literature, and carted it all, together with the five comrades, to jail.

By the use of crime, violence, sabotage and terrorism, the Loyal American League, agents for the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, are attempting to intimidate workers who gather in meeting to discuss their organization affairs. Branch meetings in Cleveland have been broken up. Hall owners have been threatened. Comrades have been lodged in jail without charges. All means, ruthless in the extreme, have been used in an attempt to make impotent the organization machinery of the revolutionary workers of Cleveland.

There are none so blind as the capitalist class. Russian history seems to be a closed book to them. What the Czar started in Russia, and could not finish the master class is now starting in the United States. It means their finish. Senator Pomerene's "patient and long-suffering" American workers are even now showing their teeth. The strike of the steel workers; the hundreds of strikes thru-out the country; the strike of the dock workers; the threatened strike of the miners — all this attests to the growing spirit of revolt against criminal capitalism. And there shall be no rest to the unrest until the great working class has come into its own.

So the call ges forth to you again, comrades.

Solidify your ranks. Permit no inconsequential differences to divide you. Where there is unity or purpose there must be unity in organization. Sweep aside those who would barter unity for personal advantage. As a solid mass, come to the rescue of your persecuted comrades.

Terrorism and intimidation will cease when we assert our power as a mass.

And this WE WILL DO—FOR WE MUST.

Seven Mine Workers in Cadiz Jail Look to You for Help

Seven members of the United Mine Workers Union are languishing in the Harrison County jail, at Cadiz, Ohio. The are charged with violating the criminal syndicalist law.

This charge was placed against them because they demanded from the operators at Adena full weight for the coal mined by the members of their union.

The answer of the operators to the appeal for full weight, to the demand that this double robbery cease — was jail.

The officials of the Miners' Union were called upon for assistance before the arrests took place. These officials asked to intercede for the miners to secure full weight for all coal mined.

When the union officials learned that the fight for full weight was led by radicals in the union, they turned their backs upon the men. Arrest of the committee of seven, which toured the surrounding mines to ask for a general strike of miners, followed almost immediately.

Encouraged by the success of the Espionage Act in jailing members of the working class, State legislatures have been passing special laws under the title of "Criminal Syndicalist Bills," ostensibly to be used against the workers. In California active members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were arrested, jailed and charged with "criminal syndicalism" for their strike activities. The same tactics are being used against the organizers of the steel industry in Pennsylvania.

Unable to cope with the growing power of labor and the developing spirit of solidarity, the employing classes have cunningly devised this new means of fighting organized labor by passing laws with the avowed purpose of checking the activities of radicals, but virtually these laws are so construed as to enable them to arrest the active workers in the union.

The courts can make a strike illegal and break it by calling the strike "sabotage," and under such legislation can send workers to jail for long terms.

For self-protection the men and women of organized labor must see that so far as the great economic struggle is concerned, any one that threatens the regime of the bosses is the enemy of the capitalist class and is dealt with accordingly.

The American workers does not yet realize that he is as likely to go to prison for twenty years because of his participation in a strike as any of the radicals who proclaim the strike the most powerful economic weapon that labor has. In the years to come the political and labor prisoners will no longer be counted by the hundreds but by the thousands—the jails will be filled by men and women of some social vision—unless labor, recognizing its own power, refuses to allow it.

In Wichita, Kansas, thirty-two workers were confined since November, 1917 until a few days ago in a jail so filthy and unsanitary that we cannot tell about it and pass the censor! One of these men went insane, one attempted suicide and one has died on account of the filthy condition of the jail. Every man has lost from ten to forty pounds in weight. They are not charged with anything but the open expression of their views. These thrty-two men have been kept in jail twenty-three months without a trial. Twice indictments have been quashed for insufficiency, but the men are immediately reindicted.

There is scarcely a prison in all these United States but contains some tortured man who is there because he believed in labor's cause. Many of these are cases where the employing class have merely found a convenient chance during the war situation to the strike a venomous blow at working men who have been a thorn in their side at other times.

There are over fifteen hundred such prisoners in the American jails today. It is not only labor's absolute right, but if labor is to maintain its self-respect, it MUST stand stand back of every man who is now in prison because of labor's struggle.

We must stand back of the seven jailed miners at Cadiz.

The majority of these are members of the Hungarian Federation of the party. Secretary Leo Frankl of the federation has issued a call to all federation members to give financial aid, which is badly needed and at once. Jos. Erdei organizer for the federation in Ohio and Pennsylvania reports that the Hungarian branch of Cleveland has already taken a collection among its members and has covered the initial expenses of sending Jos. Sharts, attorney, to Cadiz for the preliminary hearing.

Let us repeat—AN INJURY TO ONE WORKER IS AN INJURY TO ALL. There is not another word to say. You know your duty in the matter.

Marguarite Prevey and Ella Reeve Bloor Take Field for Liberators

You will grant that we have not been idle.

Comrades have sent us hundreds of dollars and we have printed thousands upon thousands of leaflets for distribution, propagandizing our call to free them all — to free every last one of our comrades now penned up in vile jails at the mercy of guards brutalized by capitalism.

Leaflets have been distributed—as high as ten thousand in a single city by the effort of a single comrade. We have more of these leaflets for you — ENTIRELY FREE — paid for by the Liberators' Army. You can help materially toward the freedom of all political prisoners if you will help place these leaflets into the hands of the workers.

Yet, what's immediately important is to arouse the working class to a realization of the class character of this battle to free our comrades. We must awaken their class instincts for united action in a class demand. We must secure unity of thought—then unity of action will follow.

We must UNITE the workers in this thought—that all political prisoners can be freed if the workers will unite to free them. And to help to UNITE the workers in this thought we have secured the services of Ella Reeve Bloor and Marguerite Prevey. These two comrades will take the field as soon as routings can be arranged, and their special mission will be to visit labor unions to deliver the message of class action.

More organizers will be toured as they can be secured. If you can arrange a public meeting in your city, write for one of these speakers. Ella Reeve Bloor wil be available in the New England states and Marguarite Prevey in Pennsylvania and states west from there.

Mainly however, help to secure an audience for these speakers before the labor unions in your city. If you can, send us the names of the labor unions, their meeting nights, and state which are most revolutionary in tendency.

Locals of the party should take action at once. Write to this office and state how many days you can keep an Army of Liberators' organizer busy in your city.

AND NOW LOOK HERE—You have financed this campaign to free all political prisoners. This is not the end of your duties. The fund on hand must now be used for the purpose for which it was gathered. The purpose for which it was gathered was to ORGANIZE the workers to SECURE FREEDOM for all imprisoned comrades.

Without you as our field agent for our field organizers we are impotent. Will you now do what is immediately necessary to organize the workers for UNITED ACTION?

WE AWAIT YOUR ANSWER!

May Not Be Sentenced

CINCINNATI, O.—"Will the thirteen Cicinnati Socialists, convicted of conspiracy to defeat the conscription act, escape punishment through the sudden death of United States Judge Hollister?"

This question was asked frequently last week in court and legal circles, and the answers of leading judges and attorneys disclosed a divided opinion. The facts in the case are these:

The thirteen defendants were found guilty by a jury at a trial over which Judge Hollister presided.

The law provides that the trial judge must pronounce the sentence, basing it upon the evidence which he heard during the progress of the case.

Judge Hollister delayed the pronouncement of the sentence until he had heard the arguments of the motion for a new trial. He was to have heard these last week.

One group contends that only Judge Hollister could pronounce sentence because be alone was familiar with the evidence and all the details of the case. The other side holds that the judge who succeeds to the bench will have the record to study and will therefore be just as able to acquaint himself with the history of the whole matter. Judge Sater was expected to come to Cincinnati Monday to hear arguments on the motion for a new trial. The general opinion exists that if the trial of the Socialists is rendered nil by the death of Judge Hollister they will never again be taken before the court. Over two and a half years have already elapsed since their arrest, in June, 1917.

A Very Sick Man at Atlanta.

Atlanta, Ga., October 15, 1919.

The Ohio Socialist,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Comrades:

I have been visiting Debs regularly since his incarceration in the Federal Prison at Atlanta, Ga. I have observed him in his different moods, and it is my humble opinion that unless something is done for him immediately he will be shipped to Terre Haute, Indiana in a coffin. I picture the associated press, at any moment, flashing this news over the country: "EUGENE V. DEBS DIES AT THE FEDERAL PRISON, ATLANTA, GEORGIA."

If we want to see our beloved comrade, together with the other political prisoners, out of the penitentiary we must get busier than ever before in developing the power of the workers to protect their own.

While Eugene Debs is a sick man, his morale, his spirit, his faith in the revolution was never stronger, never more inspiring. In reading the rapid changes in the political, social and economic forces the world over, he sees the close approach of the workers regime.

Debs has inspired all the political prisoners down here. He has brought about a spiritual revolution among them, and from his hospital room he is radiating immeasurable influence for good.

While he will gladly die here as an uncompromising revolutionist, we owe it to ourselves to demand the immediate release of the political prisoners more vigorously than ever. If we fail to to this it will be too late to greet comrade Debs in life. Debs sends his love to all the comrades. He visualizes more than ever before an international league of the peoples—the proletariat of the world.

There is a sick man at the White House whose ideal is a league of nations—a capitalistic league of nations—for the governments of the world. Daily bulletins are being issued regarding his health. There is another sick man, a sick comrade, at the Atlanta Federal Prison, who advocates a league of peoples—a league of the proletariat—for the people of the world. Although there are no daily bulletins being issued about him, millions of comrades who have an undying admiration for the man's courage and for his life work in behalf of the proletariat, are increasing his influence so rapidly that it is only a question of time until the power of the prisoner overshadows not only the White House but the whole nation.

Yours very sincerely,
SAMUEL M. CASTLEON.

COOPERATE for LIBERTY

Liberty Bonds held by socialists and I. W. W. members of Ft. Wayne, Ind., to the extent of $5,000 were put up as bonds for the release of fellow worker Roland Stevens, when he was arrested in that city charged with violation of the syndicalist law in having I. W. W. literature in his possession.

After six hours spent in jail the previous days, he was released on his own recognizance. In court on the 30th, he was bound over to the circuit court on $5,000. bail.

National Organizer Chas. Baker, of the Communist Labor Party spoke in Ft. Wayne that evening and at his meeting made a stirring appeal to the comrades to come to the rescue of their comrade with their liberty bonds. It was only a few minutes until sufficient bonds were pledged as bail and comrade Stevens released.

Indiana comrades are requested to take an interest in this case and to make it their business to lend all assistance possible. This is the first case in the state where a violation of the syndicalist law has been charged. The united power of the workers can make it the last. Comrade Stevens stands high in the estimation of his comrades and his character is such as to win and retain the trust of all radicals.

Goodbye America

(From The Voice of Labor)

Well, good bye, fellows! Yes, I am leaving, going home, going back to the first workingman's country in the world — Soviet Russia.

For seventeen long years you and I have been toiling side by side.

Together we cussed and swore about the lousy bunks and punk grub in the rain-soaked logging camps of Washington and Oregon; together we "humped" lumber and railroad ties in the California seaports; together we "mucked" in the tunnels and grading camps of Nevada and Utah; together we hayed in Colorado and harvested in Kansas and the Dakotas; together we smelled the stink of Chicago stock-yards, hustled in the machine-shops of Cleveland and the steel mills of Pittsburgh, sailed on the Lakes; together we worked in half a dozen ship-yards, all along the Eastern Coast.

We know each other, you and I. And now let me tell you why I want to go back.

Somehow you fellows have got it into your heads that this is the best country in the world for a workingman to live in, and that it will remain the best. More than that. You say that this country, as it is now, is good enough for you — and you'd just as soon have it as it is for ever and ever. Anybody who disagrees with you is unpatriotic, or an ungrateful knocker.

"If You Don't Like Your Uncle Sammy" —

It is a hundred to one bet that an American-born worker's answer to a dissatisfied foreigner will always be: "If you don't like this country, get to hell out of it. Nobody invited you to come here; who's keeping you now?"

Many American-born workinmen think that this is a very smart answer — a regular knock-out; in reality, it is the silliest sentence in the world to be spoken by a working man.

Let me show you why.

Who owns this country — the great shops, the railroads, the big banks; the forests, rich mines and fertile soil? Do the workingmen own them, or a handful of millionaries with their comfortable and well-paid managers, foremen, superintendents, guards and private detectives?

Who make the laws, who enforce them, who appoint the judges, police and jail-keepers? The workers or the bosses?

True enough, every little while the politicians — paid and controlled by these same bosses and millionarires — come around asking for your votes. And you swallow all their bunk, vote for them, and think you're ruling the country. Then you go on strike. A Judge (the one you voted for) issues an injunction forbidding you from picketting. A Sheriff (you voted for him) gives deputy badges to scabs and private detectives. A Governor (you helped to elect him) calls in the militia to break the strike.

A band of thugs hired by John D. Rockefeller shoot down striking coal-miners in Colorado, and burn their women and children to death—nobody's punished. A band of thugs hired by the Phelps-Dodge Company at Bisbee deport five hundred striking copper miners into the desert at the point of a gun—nobody's punished. A servant of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, a District Attorney named Fickert (you helped elect him, too) sends Tom Mooney to jail for life on a frame-up — nobody's punished except Mooney.

Yes, you rule the country — like Hell!

Millions of you don't know yet that it doesn't make a particle of difference whether Republicans, Democrats, Progressives or "Independents" win the election. It's nothing to you whether this or that "friend of labor," whether this "good" man or that "great" man gets a soft political job.

How many more times must you be fooled before you begin to see it?

The great industrial and financial barons of this country hold every politician in the hollow of their hands. If the politicians do as they are told to, they get promoted; if they do what they promised you to do, they are down and out.

As for us working men — you American-born and we foreign-born — we get work if they can make money out of us; if they can't, we can go hang ourselves. When we have jobs, we get barely enough to feed, clothe and shelter ourselves. When we have jobs, we get barely enough to feed, clothe and shelter ourselves and our families. When we are out of work we face starvation. And when starvation comes, they tell us: "Don't make trouble, or you'll get your head cracked by a cop's club. Stand in line. Patronize the soup-houses. Charity will take care of your family — if there's enough to go around. Shut up, and be thankful for the slops!"

America, at this moment, is the biggest gold-mine for the capitalists that ever existed in all history. The capitalists of America have made so many millions of dollars (yes, they skinned it out of you and me), that they are searching all over the world for places to invest it; for countries in which to build new shops, mills and railroads, to dig new mines, and skin more millions out of the workingmen of other countries — Mexico, China, Siberia...

But when it comes to pay the war-debts, these hundreds of millions of profits are scarcely touched. Instead, the wise men in Washington, D. C. (your Government), have the nerve to tax the workingman, to take it out of the children of the poor.

One cent tax on each ice-cream cone! One cent on each nickel ticket to a moving-picture show! Twenty cents on the poor man's dollar! A blind man ought to see by whom and for whose benefit the laws are made!

Of course the capitalists are satisfied with this country as it is now. Of course they want to "kick to hell out of this country" every foreign workingman who sees and doesn't like the great skin-game that is going on.

And the American-born worker who slings the same words against his fellow-worker born in another country, is simply echoing the sentiments of the boss who robs him, beats him and breaks him.

For seventeen long years—the best years of my life—I have slaved for the American money-bags. All I got for it was a bare living, like a farmer's mule or a contractor's team-horse.

So did you, my American friends and fellow-workers—Yankee of New England and Native Son of the Golden West. The only difference between you and me is, that I understood it and felt it every day and every hour, while most of you don't understand it and don't feel it even now.

When wages were $15 a week, we bought pork chops for 10 or 12 cents a pound. Now we get $30 a week, and the same kind of pork chops cost us 45 cents a pound. Wages have doubled; pork chops cost almost four times as much. Where do we gain when in the face of the unheard-of cost of living, our wages don't increase in proportion, but fall more and more behind the price of necessities?

Our jobs are getting more uncertain every day — you know that as well as I do. If we are too old, if we can't work fast enough, if they can get cheaper men, if we give back-talk to a cranky straw-boss, if we open our mouths in Union meetings, if we kick for better conditions — then we get fired. Isn't that right?

But the most pitiful figures are those workingmen who think they are well-off; by scraping, saving, working themselves to the bone, have managed to get a two-by-four house and lot on a ten-year installment plan. Being afraid to lose their jobs in that vicinity, they cease to be men, and turn into worms. They are afraid to kick, afraid to protest, afraid to strike; they do not dare to open their mouths.

On top of all this, when, on account of the speeding up of production, or unsettled industrial or financial conditions, the millionaire bosses have on hand too many unsold products, or they can't sell them at a big enough profit — then they shut down mills and whole industries, and millions of workers are turned out on the street.

By all the signs it looks as if the workers of America will get one of those vacations in the near future — not only a good long one, but a lean one.

Is there any help for it? Is there any way out?

Yes, there is! And not a theory, either, but a practical scheme that is now working.

Every one of you has been reading for the past two years the fake newspaper stories about Russia, and the hair-raising tales of the "terrible Bolsheviki." The bigger the lie, the better it is paid for by the capitalist papers, who are owned and controlled by the same millionaire bosses who own the industries.

Why?

Because the working men and soldiers of Russia, hand in hand with the farm-hands and the poorest farmers, overthrew, not only the bloody Tsar and his slave-drivers, but also the shyster Kerensky, behind whose coat-tails the millionaire bosses of Russia expected to keep on skinning the workers.

Because these same workers organized their own Workers' Government.

Because the Bolsheviki Soviet Government took away the factories, mills, mines, banks and land from their millionaire owners — did not pay a cent for them — and turned them over to the workers, farm-hands and poor farmers.

Because in spite of all difficulties, the workers of Russia are learning how to manage and run the industries for the benefit of all who work.

Because the workers of Russia are succeeding, and are defending their own Soviet Government against all attacks from the capitalist Governments of Japan, England, France, Italy and America, who are assisting the old millionaires and the Tsarist generals in their attempt to restore the Russian workers to slavery.

Because the American millionaire bosses are shaking in their stolen shoes for fear you American-born workers learn something about the real conditions in Soviet Russia. They are afraid that you might begin to think that the way of the Russian workers is a good way out of the present capitalist swamp toward industrial freedom.

They fondly hope that you American-born workers will believe all the lies they tell you, that you will forget your own conditions and join in the hunt for Bolsheviks in America.

They are trying to split the workers into an American-born and a foreign-born section, set them fighting each other, and thus skin both of them.

They are not afraid of the foreign-born workers. They know that the few foreign-born rebels cannot harm their looted money-bags. But they fear worse than fire that you American-born workers will become revolutionists. And they are right. The future of America, the future of the working class of America, rests in the hands of the American-born workers. If you turn revolutionists, the American millionaries and their flunkeys are doomed.

As for me, I am getting weary of slaving for any millioaire; I am sick and tired of being at the mercy of a bone-headed straw-boss for a job; I am disgusted with lots of things that you are still proud of.

I want to live and work among free workers. I want to spend the rest of my life working for a better future for mankind, liberated from all the parasites. Yes, I would prefer to die fighting against the enemies of the New Social Order in Workingmen's Russia, than to spend the rest of my strength working for American millionaires, and then, worn out, die like a stray dog by the road-side here in America, leaving behind me sons and daughters to go through the mill that I went through.

But I believe that time and experience will change your minds, fellow-workers born in America. Then you will act—as the working class of Russia acted.

And when you do perhaps some of you remember that the "damned Polak" or the "crazy Russian," as you so often called me, wasn't so "damned" or so "crazy" after all!

Yours for a free world for the workers,

IVAN IVANOVITCH.

Capitalism's New Weapon

The "criminal syndicalism" bill which has been passed by more than a dozen states and which was enacted by the Ohio legislature last April and signed by the governor in May, places a new weapon in the hands of those who are oppressing and exploiting the workers.

Following we print this law in complete form:

AN ACT

Defining the crime of criminal syndicalism and prescribing punishment therefor.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

Sec. 13421—23 Section 1. That criminal syndicalism is the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, which is defined as the malicious injury or destruction of the property of another, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony, punishable as in this act provided.

Sec. 13421—24 Section 2. Any person who by word of mouth or writing, advocates or teaches the duty, necessity or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform; or prints, publishes, edits, issues or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that industrial or political reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism; or openly, wilfully, and deliberately justifies, by word of mouth or writing, the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, spread or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism; or organizes or help to organize or becomes a member of, or voluntarily assembles with any society, group or assemblage of persons formed to teach or advocate the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the state penitentiary for not more than ten years, or by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars, or both.

Sec. 13421—25 Section 3. Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrines of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act, such an assemblage is unlawful, and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid or instigation is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the state penitentiary for not more than ten years, or by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars, or both.

Sec. 13421—26 Section 4. The owner, agent, superintendent, janitor, caretaker or occupant of any place, building or room, who wilfully and knowingly permits therein any assemblage of persons prohibited by the provisions of section 3 of this act, or who, after notification that the premises are so used, knowingly permits such use to be continued, is guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year or by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars, or both.

Section. 5. This act is hereby declared to be an emergency act necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace and safety. The emergency necessitating the enactment of this act arises out of the fact that there are persons in, and also persons threatening to enter, the state for the purpose of teaching the doctrine of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act, and advocating such doctrine and the commission of the other acts and practices declared by this act to be unlawful, the tendecy of which will be to destroy our institutions and government, and put the people into a condition of unrest and terror.

The danger to the working class is not in what this law seemingly says but in what it may be twisted into saying.

The Communist Labor Party does not teach or advocate "crime, sabotage..., violance or unlawful methods of terrorism", but this law has already been used as the basis for the arrests of five of its officials at Cleveland last week.

Under this law it becomes a crime to tell the story of the Russian revolution and how the workers achieved power in that country, for that would by to "exemplify" what is forbidden by the terms of this law.

While not even mentioning strikes the law will prove a very handy weapon against pickets for the activities of pickets may very easily be interpreted to be "unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reforms."

While the law forbids "unawful methods of terrorism" it does not tell us what unlawful methods of terrorism are, possibly because we can learn that from the operation of the law itself.

Notice To Readers

The paper shortage has been very acute for months, more so than during the war. Recently the paper mills quit making newspaper for flat bed presses and it is on a flat bed press that the Ohio Socialist is being printed. Last week we were campelled to use book paper costing twice as much as newspaper. To avoid this big increase in cost we are compelled to print this week and possibly next a six instead of a seven column paper.

THE BULLETIN BOARD

To say that the newspaper press represents public opinion is to administer insult to intelligent men. It is the property of speculators, political leaders, large contractors and railway directors. Can we expect the truth through channels of falsehood, light from regions of darkness or fairness from those whose business is to calumniate, pervert and deceive? Certainly not. Hence the need of an organ that should be beyond stain of corruption, invulnerable against attacks and inspired by men who feel it their mission to teach the truth they have acquired by hard toil and bitter sufferings. —

KARL MARX, Sept. 16, 1865.

Support the Workers' Press
Order a Bundle of
The Ohio Socialist for distribution
One cent a copy —

THE BLACK SHEEP

By Long and Lanky.

(Continued from last week.)

CHAPTER II.

THE HARVEST FIELD

Westfield, the place of his nativity, seemed to pride itself on its antiquated methods and ideas in all things. They lived as much as they possibly could in the mental atmosphere of the sixteenth century. Crudeness was every where in evidence. Jack hated crudeness. Not only in the mental world, but also in the realm of practical affairs. Ever since he had become interested in biology, he had endeavored to persuade his parents and neighbors that farming should be conducted in harmony with the laws discovered in biological and chemical laboratories. It was in science that he found an answer to many of the questions that had vexed his childhood brain and he believed that only applied science could emancipate mankind from the thraldom of contradiction. But as Westfield resented his questions concerning their creed, so they resented his suggestions for improved methods. At every turn the brain of today was confronted with the tombstones of the past. Westfielders worshipped at the grave of Calvin and Knox, and refused to come out into the light of the twentieth century. There was nothing for him to do but to go out into the world and carve a path for himself.

He wanted to become a scientific farmer, not an easy task for a penniless boy, who by nature is more of an investigator and thinker that a worker, and financier. It pre-supposes high tuition in the school of hard knocks before a man with such a mind type such as Jack's can win a place in the sun.

Ever since his eleventh year he had been on the look out for reading matter of a scientific nature and for phenomena in nature that would justify or contradict the statements made in the books of science. He had accumulated notes on all the natural phenomena that came under his unaided observation. He had evolved definite ideas of evolutionary processes in the inorganic as well as the organic world. In fact he might have been considered well read in the biologic and physical sciences as far as their popular and current literature is concerned at the time that he left his home to begin his battle with the world. On the other hand aside from farming he was hopelessly ignorant of historical data and man's social and economic relations as they exist in the modern industrial world.

All that he knew he had learned from a few scattered books and from his immediate environment and that environment employed labor, hence with reference he had developed the employer's psychology. Now he was thrust out into the world, not as an imployer but an employee. He found himself in a situation where the facts of life directly contradicted the requirements of his logical mind.

His father raised wheat and hired what he called tramps through out the harvest season. He needed them in the fall-he would have been sadly dissapointed if for some reason they had not turned up at harvest time. Yet for the rest of the year he cursed them soundly and saw to it that his vote was cast for a capable sheriff, one who made it his business to see to it that these undesirables were driven out of the country as soon as threshing was over.

Jack who by nature questioned all things, had never questioned these phenomena. They appeared enevitable. This may be explained by the fact that he studied things as they are, and had given but little attention to things as they might or ought to be. As long as he was a member of his father's house, his and his father's interests were one and as a rule a person will defend his mode of existence without analyzing it too carefully. Exploiters do not like to discuss the moral phases of their economic life. So it happened that he who questioned all things that came under his observation had never investigated the cause of this phenomeon of migratory labor.

But such is the irony of existence. The farm youth who the fall before had applauded the election of a particularly viseious sheriff, who was expected to deal vigorously with the tramp problem, was this fall himself a tramp, carrying his blankets and heavy suitcase along the dusty highway.

To his amazement farmers at the cross roads looked at him exactly as he had looked at the workers the year before. He overheard them making remarks such as—"hoboes are coming early this year—" Well, the sheriff has got a good big rock pile for them, that will keep them out of mischief till harvest starts" — "I have got a good dog at my house, he will keep 'em out of the barn and chicken coop." Needless to say that these remarks stung him to the quick; he explained to the man that he was not a tramp and was surprised that they laughed at him. His quick wit however, showed him that what these men were throwing at him, he had thrown he had changed relations to the facts at others and it dawned on him that of life. From a buyer of labor power he had become a seller. He realised even before he had found work that there was a feeling of natural antagonism between him and his prospective employers. He realized that he was looked upon as at best a necessary evil, tolerated only in the fields during harvest times. The class that yesterday looked upon him as a friend, today viewed him as a thief, a fire bug and a beast of burden.

On his first job in the harvest field he was thrown into the company of an element that maybe fitly called the Si-wash of the white; the lowest strata of the migratory worker. It was a dessolute crowd such as he had never met among the tramps that came to work on his father's farm. They were the spawn of the slums-evil blossoms from the back yard of civilization. He felt bitter toward them. He thought that it was because they were what they were that he was ostracized; that he was unpopular simply because workers as a class were vicious. He thot that the old saying "that a man is known by the company he keeps" explained the farmer's attitude toward him. He felt within him more than ever a burning desire to climb to nobler and better things. But in a few days he went to another job and there he met other men. Men of quite different characteristics. Men from good homes and with education superior to his own and they too were considered by the farmers as tramps and bums, hoboes and outcasts; who it was right to pay little and work hard and to rob whenever possible.

Once he complained to a man who was working with him at shocking wheat. He said that it was his opinion that if the workers that came to the harvest fields would use better language and live cleaner lives that the farmers would treat them better; to which his companion replied "I tell you bo, this antagonism of which you talk is not a question of ethics but of economics." And as Jack was unfamiliar with the meaning of the words ethics and economics he asked no further questions but resolved to find out the meaning of these two words.

When the harvest was over the threshing season began. He secured a job with an outfit as fireman and here he came in contact with still another type of men. Men who were highly skilled in their respective lines and who had a wider knowledge of human affairs than any farmer Jack had ever met, and they too were considered as tramps and bums by the property owning pygmies that controlled the wheat fields of North Dakota. That state which was once the most backward is now considered the most forward of all states. It was not so in Jack's day. The men he met in the threshing ever were veterans of the class struggle and seers of a greater social vision. They were prophets of natural law in the social world. George Sigmiller, the engineer, a big man in every sense of the word took a special delight in showing Jack the error of his economic ways. He was by nature fitted to do just this very thing having been a worker and student from childhood. And Jack made an ideal pupil, for his mind ever ready to absord information, greedily devoured all that the engineer could teach.

There is an affinity between kindred minds. This explains the close friendship that grew up between the engineer and the boy. He teaching Jack the mechanism of society, Jack teaching him the flora and fauna of Dakota. By the law of compensation each gave and received, while both grew to a greater knowledge.

Then there was Herman in charge of the business end of the outfit. He too was a class conscious socialist, more brilliant than George but less kindly and profound. The radicalism with which he sometimes assailed the established order of things was to Jack at times quite appalling. His favorite expression was "Get the cob webs off your brain." Jack could not help but notice that these men were mentally far above the people who snubbed them; even as the Greek slaves were intellectually superior to their Roama masters.

One evening when the trio were lying in the straw behind the engine the conversation drifted to the subject of race antagonism. It was during the Russo-Japanese war. Herman remared that the antagonism of races was a mere matter of education; while the antagonism of classes was a matter of economics. "Race antagonism" he continued, "only manifests itself in a child that has heard his parents cuss niggers or chinks, japs or wops. That shows it to be a process of education, if it were natural then the babies of the southern codfish aristocracy would refuse to be nursed by black mamies. The trouble is that thru the medium of church and school we pour the poison into the ear of the young at such a tender age that they grow up believing that the hatred they feel for a different race is really a part of their being; while the fact is it is only a part of their education. There is a slight difference between that and the class antagonism of which the kid complains" said he pointing to Jack. "Class antagonism is not taught as such. The farmers do not teach hatred of the working class, in fact they consider themselves part of the working class. They only berate those they have to pay for service rendered and the workers hate the farmers, because the farmers hate to pay. The farmers need the money for taxes, the workers need the money for bread. The class struggle has an economic base. Race hatred grows out of education. And the education grows out of fear lest the hated race should become dominant instead of servile. The class struggle is based in the struggle for possession of the products of labor. Each class trying to give as little and get as much as possible.

"Yes" said George, "our race antagonisms have deep laid economic roots but you have overlooked an important factor in your discussion and that is the necessity of the ruling groups in society keeping race hatred alive, especially in a country where the working masses are made up of different races. To fan the flame of race hatred defeats our work for solidarity among all the laboring masses. You cannot get a poison filled white man into the same union with the negro. Altho they have to work on the same job and when they strike go to the same jail. If we refuse to organise with the negro or the chinamen or jap then one of two things is inevitable either they scab on us or organise against us. Race antagonisms are used to fan fights among the worping masses for the purpose of keeping them a part in such a way as to be unable to concentrate their collectipe power on a common object.

This race hatred is a substantial stumbling block in the path of our progress. A negro looks at a white woman and white men burn them at the

(Continued on page 2.)

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Symbols of Capitalism

Social systems seek to develop the forces calculated to sustain and protect them from decay, revolutions and such disintegration as time and evolution may bring about.

The armed forces of the capitalist state reveal themselves as symobls which personify the character of such a state. Take the police force of any large city. There is reflected in its personnell, in its character as an organised body, in its methods of carrying on its functions the chief characteristics of its parent, the social and industrial system. As the parent system is arrogant, ruthless, distinguished by a class character of slave and master, so are its armed forces, (the foundation of present organised government), of a like character.

Capitalism is ruthless, inhuman, brutal. So are the police who are its right hand. So are its jails which are even more brutal, with the brutality of inanimity, the crushing brutality of steel bars and cells and cold stone pavements and dark, shadowed corridors; of confinement and filth and disease.

The psychology of the police is a psychology of force, of compulsion. They are trained in its use. The necessities of capitalism demand such a training. Capitalism has reached that stage of development whereby its dependence upon its armed forces grows ever greater.

In this stage of decay such a state composed of master and slave, the sole sustaining support becomes such armed powers as it can command. Upon such support every decaying social system comes at last to lean when its function of ministering to the welfare of mankind have ceased.

It is now that the glaring mockery of the so-called justice of capitalism is revealed. It is being revealed to-day in many instances of the class war. The sole fuction of the police and army now is to protect the capitalist class in their exploitation of the workers. Gary is an example and there are a hundred others. The moment the workers seek to wrest even the smallest amount of control from the ruling class, the armed forces of the state are thrown against the workers in the interest of their exploiters and the capitalist state which is their instrument. The dictatorship of the capitalist class is established over the workers.

Under a social system wherein all were workers and the profit system abolished for one of production for use only, under such a system class conflicts would disapear and the character of the social system would likewise be reflected in such corrective institutions as would become necessary. The psychology of force would give way to one based upon sympathy, understanding of human nature and a knowledge of the science of sociology. Under such a system where economic antagonisms did not exist brutality in all its manifestations would disappear and the human race would develop its potential powers for nobility and leave the brute behind forever.

It is for such a social system that all revolutionary socialist are striving; it is the dream of poets and seers and it is the hope of the working-class.

Join the forces that are working toward this end.
Join the Cummunist Labor Party.

• • •

The status of Admiral Kolchak's "government" has recently been a subject for much speculation, and very little light has been shed upon the subject from official sources. Enough however, has leaked out to justify the assumption that the allies have transferred their affections and hopes from Kolchak to Dennikin. Kolchak failed to deliver the goods, that is, failed to break the strength of the Russian worker's government and deliver Russia over to capitalistic imperialism. Dennikin is now the great hope of allied "democracy" in its undeclared war against the soviet power.

Interesting data upon Kolchak's waning power is supplied by Miss Florence Hoffman of Honulula, who just returned from service in the American Red Cross at Omsk, the seat of Kolchak's reactionary government. Omsk, according to Miss Hoffman, capitulated to the bolsheviki during the merry month of May and is still held by the reds. She asserts that there is no authentic information that the city has been recaptured by Kolchak forces. Kolchak's sinking ship is now making but very small rippless upon the rising tide of workingclass power in Russia.

• • •

The Jewish race in the Ukraine are being wiped out by the thousands thru programs instituted by anti-bolshevik forces according to information received by the Zionist Organization of America. In those sections where the bolsheviki have control everything possible is done to suppress programs and to assist survivors. Where the anti-bolshevist forces of Gen. Petlura have power over 30,000 Jews have been mercilessly slaughtered by the white terror of the reactionaries. It looks as tho the Jewish race might be forced to take a stand for the bolsheviks as a matter of race salvation.

ONCE MORE WE DEMAND UNITY

The following motion, made by Max Bedacht, is now before the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party for its vote. Already a majority of this committee has voted in the affirmative upon it. As soon as voting upon this motion closes, the communication it embodies will be sent to the national office of the Communist Party.

National Executive Committee motion 3, made by Max Bedacht: That the Executive Secretary of the Communist Labor Party be instruced to send the following invitation to the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party:

To he Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party.

Dear Comrades:—

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party invites the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party to meet with it on November 1, 1919, or as near to that date possible, in Chicago or some other place agreed upon—

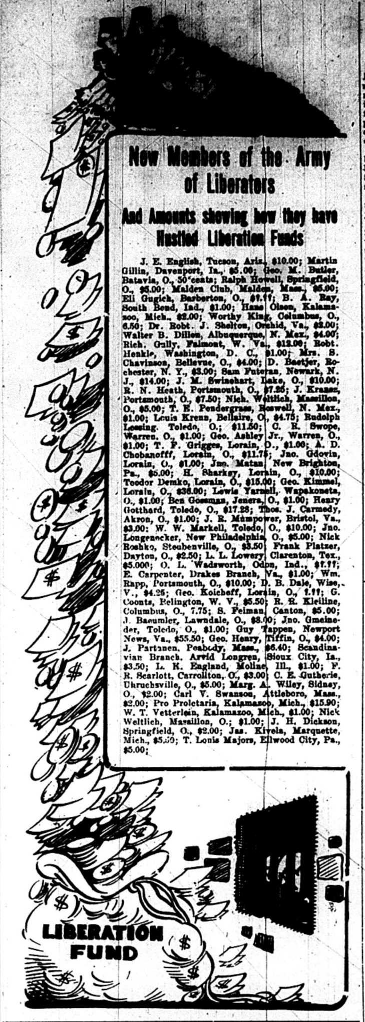
First—For an informal discussion of a basis for a formal unity conference and a mode of procedure for such a conference.

Second—If a basis is agreed upon, to then and there hold a unity conference.

In all sincerity we await your immediate and favorable answer, and remain,

For a United Communist Movement,
National Executive Committee—Communist Labor Party.

Will the Communist Party officials deign to answer? Will the rank and file of the Communist Party permit their national officials to continue to ignore the demand for unity?



New Members of the Army of Liberaters

And Amounts showing how they have Hustled Liberation Funds

J. E. English, Tucson, Ariz., $10.00; Martin Gillin, Davenport, Ia., $5.00; Geo. M. Butler, Batavia, O., 50 cents; Ralph Howell, Springfield, O., $5.00; Malden Club, Malden, Mass., $5.00; Eli Gugich, Barberton, O., $7.77; B. A. Ray, South Bend, Ind., $1.00; Hans Olson, Kalamazoo, Mich., $2.00; Worthy King, Columbus, O., 6.50; Dr. Robt. J. Shelton, Orchid, Va., $2.00; Walter B. Dillon, Albuquerque, N. Mex., $4.00; Rich. Gully, Falmont, W. Va., $12.00; Robt. Henkle, Washington, D. C., $1.00; Mrs. S. Chavinson, Bellevue, O., $4.00; D. Baetjer, Rochester, N. Y., $3.00; Sam Futeran, Newark, N. J., $14.00; J. M. Swinehart, Lake, O., $10.00; R. N. Heath, Portsmouth, O., $7.25; J. Kranz, Portsmouth, O., $7.50; Nich. Weltlich, Massillon, O., $5.00; T. E. Pendergrass, Roswell, N. Mex., $1.00; Louis Krenn, Bellaire, O., $4.75; Rudolph Lessing, Toledo, O.; $11.50; C. R. Swope, Warren, O., $1.00; Geo. Ashley Jr., Warren, O., $1.00; T. F. Grigges, Lorain, O., $1.00; A. D. Chobanofff, Lorain, O., $11.75; Jno. Gdovin, Lorain, O., $1.00; Jno. Matan, New Brighton, Pa., $5.00; H. Sharkey, Lorain, O., $10.00; Teodor Demko, Lorain, O., $15.00; Geo. Kimmel, Lorain, O., $36.00; Lewis Yarnell, Wapakoneta, O., $1.00; Ben Gossman, Jenera, O., $1.00; Henry Gotthard, Toledo, O., $17.28; Thos. J. Carmedy, Akron, O., $1.00; J. R. Mumpower, Bristol, Va., $3.00; W. W. Markell, Toledo, O., $10.00; Jno. Longenecker, New Philadelphia, O., $5.00; Nick Roshko, Steubenville, O., $3.50; Frank Platzer, Dayton, O., $2.50; L. L. Lowery, Clarenton, Tex., $5.000; O. L. Wadsworth, Odon, Ind., $7.77; E. Carpenter, Drakes Branch, Va., $1.00; Wm. Rapp, Portsmouth, O., $10.00; D. B. Dale, Wise, V., $4.25; Geo. Koicheff, Lorain, O., 7.77; G. Coonts, Belington, W. V., $5.50; R. R. Kleiline, Columbus, O., 7.75; S. Feiman, Canton, $5.00; J. Baeumler, Lawndale, O., $8.00; Jno. Gmeineder, Toledo, O., $1.00; Guy Tappen, Newport News, Va., $55.50; Geo. Henry, Tiffin, O., $4.00; J. Partanen, Peabody, Mass., $6.40; Scandinavian Branch, Arvid Longren, Sioux City, Ia., $3.50; L. K. England, Moline, Ill., $1.00; F. R. Scarlott, Carrollton, O., $3.00; C. E. Gutherie, Uhruchsville, O., $5.00; Marg. A. Wiley, Sidney, O., $2.00; Carl V. Swanson, Attleboro, Mass., $2.00; Pro Proletaria, Kalamazoo, Mich., $15.90; W. T. Vetterlein, Kalamazoo, Mich., $1.00; Nick Weltlich, Massillon, O.; $1.00; J. H. Dickson, Springfield, O., $2.00; Jas. Kivela, Marquette, Mich., $5.50; T. Louis Majors, Ellwood City, Pa., $5.00;

FORWARD, MARCH

From Tampa to Chicago, from California to Rhode Island—the Communist Labor Party is gathering power in numbers to a degree entirely unexpected.

Entire state organizations are joining our ranks.

State conventions are being held in states where the party machinery is in control of the reactionaries.

Orders for dues stamps are reaching the 20,000 mark and the beginning has only been made.

OUR SUCCESS WILL BE PHENOMENAL WHEN ONCE WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THE PARTY'S MAHINERY AND OUR CONTEMPLATED ARMY OF ORGANIZERS TAKES THE FIELD.

We are winning and the victory against reactionary Socialism is just as important as any victorious tussle with the capitalist class.

We have cleaned the weapon wherewith we intend to battle. The rust of moderate Socialism the dullness of pure parliamentarism has been washed away and we now stand forth bright and keen for the fray.

Comrades from all parts of the country are lending a hand in the initial work of establishing avenues of activity.

No time and energy is spared by these self-sacrificing revolutionists. New York is being welded into an intact and efficient battalion. New Jersey has leaped to the front in the last week and will be a stronghold of the Communist Labor Party. Oregon and Washington have officially affiliated. California has placed its dues stamp order. Ohio is lining up. Illinois has held its state convention. Kansas and Missouri are organized for the party. And so we might go on to tell you the GOOD NEWS, but space forbids.

The Communist Labor Party is now an ESTABLISHED organization. Let those who hate to see us grow die in their hate. Let the insipid criticism, the rag-tail arguments of all who find joy in childishly calling names go on and on. We are strengthened by it all, for only that which is feared is fought.

We shall BUILD. We are in fact building. In a month the Communist Labor Party will be recognized as the virile, forceful party of Communism in the United States.

Join us in our MARCH FORWARD and EVER ONWARD!!

WORKERS WANTED

The Communist Labor Party needs immediately the active service of hundreds of Party workers. It aims as nearly as possible to utilize the talents of EVERY Party member in the service of our Cause.

No matter what you are now doing, if you are willing to quit working for capitalism and go to work for Communism, please let us hear from you at once.

Tell what you are willing and able to do. If you've had experience as lecturer, organizer, salesman or canvasser, editor or writer, stenographer, office worker, bookkeeper, collector, manager or teacher, specify it. Also your time of affiliation with the revolutionary movement, and what positions you have held in it.

Don't hesitate about this. Your letter will not be published but will be kept confidential.

Address: Organization Department,
COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY,
3207 Clark Ave, Cleveland, O.

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So far, the blame for recent race riots has not been laid to either the I. W. W., Reds, Syndicalists, or Socialists. Capitalism must therefore, be responsible.

Emma Goldman Tells About Missouri Penitentiary

Speaking of the conditions in the Missouri state penitentiary, from which she was recently released, Emma Goldman has stated that in no other prison in the world could such horrors be found. In addition, she pointed out, prison labor was being used there in competition with free labor throughout the United States.

After acknowledging kindness shown her and Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare by W. R. Painter, president of the State Parole Board, Miss Goldman said:

"Two months are allowed for the mastering of a task, that is, a trade, yet the persecution begins at once. The foreman in charge is a boy of 21, who took up the art of slave driving at the age of 16. He bullies and terrorizes the women, holding the threat of the blind cell and the bread and water diet over them.

Vile Language Used.

"The vilest language is none too bad for the women, some of them old enough to be the boy's mother. Of course, he is paid to bring results. The only way he can get results is first through slave driving methods, then by actually stealing part of the women's output, especially from the more ignorant, who are unable to do their own counting.

"I want it clearly understood that it is utterly impossible to keep up the required speed day after day. The working hours are nine a day, but in order to complete the task the women are driven to the old-time sweatshop methods of taking work evenings to their cells. In view of the fact that the cells are vermin infected and the overalls and jackets and suspenders the prisoners make are sold broadcast and have already been handled by consumptive and venereally infected male prisoners, who prepare the work, the results can readly be imagined.

"The contract system is supposed to have been abolished in the state of Missouri. The state is now the employer of 2.600 prisoners. I have evidence to prove that the convict labor of the state of Missouri supplies private business concerns in every state in the Union with overalls, jackets and suspenders. Of this I have personal knowledge.

Will Move for Remedies.

"It is my intention," Miss Goldman added, "to turn over this evidence to the Department of Labor and to organized bodies of labor throughout the United States, who are in the position to remedy this evil.

"Civilization claims to have advanced, and in no country do we hear so much about prison reform as in our own," she began. "Yet what can we say for the state of Missouri when at the head of their female department is a woman in charge of 90 women prisoners who has discretion over their life and death?

"This woman, Lilah Smith," she charged, "has been employed in penal institutions since her 15th year, and has, therefore, little education or training. She is believer in rigid discipline and punishment. She is really a neurotic, who has no control over her temper.

Often Uses Violence.

"She uses physical violence on the slightest pretext, especially when a particular prisoner is not in her good graces. Not once in 20 months did I hear her address one single encouraging or kind word to a prisoner. Flogging in the state of Missouri has been officially abolished, but Lilah Smith's vigorous slapping goes on.

"There are three methods of punishment. First, the women are deprived of their recreation; second, they are locked up in their own cells for 48 hours, from Saturday to Monday, on a diet of bread and water and then expected to begin their task Monday in their weakened condition; third, they are sent to a blind cell, a cell 53 inches by 104 inches, with an aperture of 7 inches by 1½ inches, suplied with one blanket, two pieces of bread and two cups of water a day. In this tomb they are kept from three to 22 days.

"For example, one woman, who is ill, has been sent to the blind cell eight times for various periods because she can not make the required task. Another woman, a foreigner, who speaks very poor English, is subject to temporary fits of insanity. Only lately they confined her to her cell, which was stripped bare, on a diet of bread and water, while she was seized with one of her insanse spells. In these United States we seem still to sanction medieval practices on the irresponsible and insane.

Heavy Meal Killed Prisoner.

"The most horrible tragedy which occured while I was in the Missouri penitentiary was that of a woman who had been ill two weaks," Miss Goldman related. "She was unable to make the task, was locked up in her cell on bread and water for 19 days.

"Thanksgiving Day this woman was brought up and given Thanksgiving dinner of pork and the other stuff, which poisoned here after her long starvation. She became violently ill in her cell and, as we later learned, perforated her intestines.

"I made a vigorous personal protest to Painter. Then the woman was removed at his order to what is known as the hospital, through it is a room with no sanitary appliances whatever.

"She died there in two days, after they had tried to forcibly feed her, though she was already unconscious when they removed her to her own cell. Her death was officially given out as due to influenza.

"Since the death of this woman they do not keep a prisoner longer than three days in the blind cell now. The criticism of Kate Richards O'Hare and myself have also bettered the conditions somewhat, although I am now convinced that they will fall back into their evil ways the moment Kate O'Hare is released.

Shamming or Lazy.

"There are two criterions on the part of the officials in dealing with the prisoners. If they are sick they are told that they are shamming; if they cannot make the task, they are told they are lazy.

"Often and often the women have been sent back to the shop by the physician when they are barely able to drag themselves along. This is more remarkable because he is not an unkindly man and was especially decent to me. The reason for the indifference to the other women there I discovered during my last days at the prison. He is at daggers' points with the board therefore he is unable to do what he would like.

In concluding Miss Goldman declared that she had been treated well and that in order to keep the confidence of the prisoners she did as much work as possible.

'ANARCHY' CASES ARE DISMISSED

On motion of Attorney Pierce, Judge Frater, on Saturday, Sept. 27th, dismissed the charges of Criminal Anarchy against T. F. G. Dougherty, J. J. Extel, Walker C. Smith, F. J. Cassidy and Harvey O'Connor.

This is the finale of the aftermath of the famous "Ole's Revolution."

Immediately after the Seattle general strike, every I. W. W. office was raided and those who happened to be there at the time were taken to jail with others who happened to be known and could be found.

Several others who were active in the strike were also arrested. These men were to be railroaded as an example to other workingmen, who might some day become discontented. After a time some were released, but 28 were held and charged with "Criminal Anarchy."

Fellow Workers James Bruce was the first to be tried and after a long trial, wherein soldiers, sailors, government officials, college professors and workingmen went to his defense he was finally acquitted by the jury, which remained out but a short time. Seventeen of those held were released, though Prosecutor Brown persisted in holding the other five.

With the dismissal of the remaining cases, Seattle's general strike becomes a matter of history.

Industrial Worker.

The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 2)

stake, with the idea of striking terror into the heart of the negro population. In reality the terrified negro instead of becoming class conscious becomes race conscious. Instead of developing his economic position so as to protect himself from capitalist exploitation, the tendency is to organize themselves into race groups to protect himself from white mob violence. When white and black are organized to kill one another you'll not get them to sit down at the love feast of labor.

What is true of the negro in the South is true of the Jap in the West; is true of the foreigner in the east, we as Americans hate them because we have been told to hate them, by the news papers. Damned parrots that we are.

(Cont. next week)

A CALL TO YOU TO "UP AND DO"

We've laid away our Sunday suit and donned overalls.

We're going to forget about our Sunday suit until Industrial Democracy is with us. We're going to stay in overalls until we've made a clean-up.

We're going to clean-up capitalism, not by reforming it. "Cleaning it up" to us means CLEANING IT OUT.

It's got to go. It's going to go, But it probably never would have gone had we continued our bi-annual, half-hearted spasmodic, childish election day jabs at the monster.

Election day jabs will continue, of course. But that's not all nor half. We shall now be on the job every day of the year, schooling, training, assembling our forces, in the mine, mill, shop and field, and political and industrial action henceforth is to be everyday's work. The class struggle is an EVERY DAY struggle and a revolutionary party must be ACTIVE every day if it is to function as the workers' weapon in the struggle.

True enough, we have been rather culpable in the past. We thought that a handful of elected comrades could win us the NEW DAY by making a motion for it in the legislative halls. Most of these comrades never got as far as even a contemplation of a notion of such a motion. Many of them, the minute capitalism's retainers, found out that they could not be assimilated, were kicked out of the legislative halls. And now shall they stay "kicked out" until another election day rolls around? Shall the forward march of the workers be halted because the capitalist class has flung back into the faces of the workers comrades elected to political office?

We've had real pleasant moments in our election days' experiences. The slogan was—"Vote and it shall be given you". That was a little better than praying for it, but not much. We voted and then we waited. And we're waiting yet. We're still going to vote, but we're not going to wait any longer. There's a job for every one of us every day of the year and every Communist-Socialist will be found on the job from this time on.

Study the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party. It tells you what to do. And if we do what it commands us to do ALL TOGETHER—then world is ours.

The Three Parties

I.

All over the world the old Socialist movement is breaking in two over a fundamental difference of principle.

First there are those that look upon the capitalist political State as a fit instrument through which the workingclass can gradually bring about reforms that will ultimately result in the Co-operative Commonwealth. These look upon municipal and government ownership as "steps toward Socialism." They emphasize "immediate demands" in political platforms. Their best known world spokesman is Scheideman. They control the Second International.

Then there are those that consider the capitalist political State with its sham democracies as but an instrument of the ruling class to keep the workingclass in subjection. They hold that no reforms can be achieved through this instrument that will seriously endanger the power of the ruling class, and that to emancipate themselves the workers must organise their own power, abolish the existing capitalist political state, and under their own dictatorship develop the instruments with which to build the Industrial Republic. Their best known world spokesman is Lenine. They are organised in the Third International.

These two viewpoints are fundamentally opposed to each other. Now that their adherents are shooting at each other with machine guns in Europe, they can no longer remain together even here. Those that believe in prolonging the existing political state and those that want to abolish it do not belong in the same Party. One or the other has to get out.

Every member must now make his choice between petty bourgeois reform Socialism, as exemplified in the offialdom of the old Socialist Party, and the revolutionary principles of proletarian International Communism.

II.

Early this year it became apparent that the revolutionary element of the Party in this country had become the majority. The very logic of world events had changed the views of tens of thousands of Comrades. The overwhelming mass of the membership endorsed the principles of the "Left Wing" and elected their candidates for party offices by tremendous majorities.

In order to retain control of the Party organization machinery for the moderates, the reactionary officialdom of the Socialist Party suppressed these election returns, expelled nearly forty thousand members, suppressed the membership motions to reverse their acts, suppressed the referendum by which the membership had voted ten to one to join the Third International, and mobilized the Chicago police against their Comrades, in the Emergency Convention in Chicago.

Over fifty regularly elected delegates were kept out of the Germer convention by the Chicago police under Germers personal orders. Every possible effort was made by these delegates to secure seats in that convention, and win the official control of the Party's organization machinery for the Party's revolutionary majority. But when the Germer convention proceeded to do business without even waiting for a report from their Contest Committee every Left Wing Delegate that had already been seated withdrew, and joined with his excluded Comrades.

These delegates, representing a majority of the Party membership then met at the call of the N. F. C. that had been elected by referendum held the legal Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party; and transacted the business for which the membership had sent them.

Then and there was discarded the outgrown shell of old reactionary officialdom and compromising tactics that had been hampering the revolutionary development of the Party. Then and there was the Party transformed into a Party of Communist Socialism in accord with the mandates of the Party's revolutionary membership. As an outward token of this inward transformation that had already taken place, the name of the Party was changed to Communist Labor Party, and the hammer and sickle of the Bolsheviks was adopted as the Party's official emblem.

Let now the dead old Party bury its dead. Let us leave the opportunist reform elements in the old Socialist Party and the International of Scheideman. Let us gather the revolutionary proletarian elements in the Communist Labor Party, and set our faces toward the new day, toward the rising sun of the Communist International.

III.

Why are TWO parties of Communist Socialism now emerging out of this glorious hour? Why is there a schism in the Communist ranks?

The germ was planted by the old N. E. C. when they expelled PART of the Left Wing elements and left others in the Party. Sensing the danger in this situation a conference was held in Chicago between representatives of the expelled units and the Left Wing forces still in the Party, and it was agreed to carry on the fight WITHIN the Party for Party control by the revolutionary membership, until it had reached its logical climax in Party convention. The expelled units were to keep themselves intact, ignore their expulsions and reenter the Party at the first opportunity.

Within two weeks the Michigan—Russian Federation coalition violated this joint agreement and began boosting for a separate Party.

The question was again debated at the National Left Wing Conference in New York, and again the majority decided to carry on the struggle WITHIN the Party until the natural climax in convention. The Michigan-Russian convention call was turned down, and a motion by Fraina adopted instructing the Left Wing Council to "call a conference in Chicago for September 1st of all revolutionary elements willing to unite with a revolutionized Socialist Party or with a Communist Party organized by the LEFT WING DELEGATES SECEDING FROM THE CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO BE HELD AUGUST 30-TH."

The issue arose for a third time at the new N. E. C. meeting held in Chicago July 26th. Fraina and Ruthenberg were again present, and again opposed the Russian-Michigan convention call. Again they agreed to carry on the fight WITHIN the Party until the Emergency convention. They voted specifically to instruct A. Wagenknecht, the Executive Secretary, to rent a separate hall for the Emergency Convention to convene on August 30th.

Within a week they flopped. The Left Wing National Council which had bitterly fought the Michigan-Russian coalition split, and by majority vote abjectly capitulated before the organized power of the central Executive Committee of the Russian Federation.

As late as August 2nd the following statement, signed by Ruthenberg and Fraina, appeared in the Revolutionary Age:

> "Should the Emergency Convention rule in favor of the shameful acts of the present autocratic national Executive Committee, then the Left Wing Delegates to this Convention shall IMMEDIATELY ORGANIZE A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY, representing the vast majority of the PRESENT Socialist Party."

Nothing there about going to the convention called by the "organization Committee" of the Communist Party, but a provision was adopted to "include such Federation groups as might want to join with the Left Wing on September 1st." (Rev. Age. Aug. 2nd, page 6.)

Then The Revolutionary Age turned a sommersault, and began to play its financial masters' tune by abusing as "centrists" all those that did not join it in its flop.

IV.

Those Left Wing delegates that were not keeled over the Russian Federation Machine carried the original program, three times agreed to in Conference by Ruthenberg and Fraina, through to its logical conclusion at the Emergency Convention and did all in their power to bring amout unity between the two Communist groups.

We sent a Committee of five to meet with the Communist Party Organization committee even before the Communist Party Convention began, but were merely told to wait.

Later the Communist Convention under the absolute control of the Russian Federation machine refused even to elect a Committee to confer with us on Unity. Then their English speaking delegates went on strike and threatened to bolt, and the second day they condescended to elect a Conference Committee.

But they did not even CONSIDER uniting the two organizations. Their only answer to our invitation was that we might apply for admission to their convention as individuals, that their credentials committee would seat those that it approved as delegates, and that the rest of us would be permitted to occupy a special section in their convention hall, to look on!

We did not demand that ALL our delegates should be seated. But we did insist that if we met in joint convention it should be on an EQUAL BASIS OF COMMUNIST COMRADESHIP. We suggested that the two conference committees should act as a joint credential committee to go over the rosters of BOTH conventions and see whether there were irreconcilable elements, leaving these open for discussion. This FAIR offer was turned down by the Communist Party, and we were told again that we could only come to them as individuals giving them the absolute power to select only those that they pleased.

Our Convention then elected a different Committee, who personally invited the Communist Convention to meet us informally in a joint session, where the rank and file of the two bodies could talk over the heads of their officials, discuss with each other the problem of getting together and avoid the crime of organizing TWO parties of Communism. This offer met with the same answer as the others.

When it became apparent that the officialdom of the Communist Party would succeed in preventing Unity during the conventions, the Communist Labor Party Convention adopted the following resolution:—

"Be it resolved, that the Communist Labor Party issues a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in Unity Conference, and

"That we instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party or from any other revolutionary workingclass organization."

This motion was adopted without one dissenting voice. It expresses the official position of the Communist Labor Party on the question of Unity today. We stand ready at ANY TIME, ANYWHERE to meet on an equal basis of Comradeship. ALL that agree with us on the principles of Communism, ALL that desire to affiliate with the Third International, for the purpose of uniting ALL Communist elements here in the United States into ONE powerful workingclass party.

V.

If there was any fundamental difference of principle between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, then we would not favor Unity of the two, for a lasting unity can be achieved ONLY on the basis of agreement on fundamental principles.

That such agreement on principles is a fact will be evident to any one that compares the platforms, programs and manifestos of the two parties. Both conventions based their pronouncements squarely upon that of the Third International. Both are in accord with the Left Wing Program of New York. Both are worthy expressions of the principles of International Communism.

Because of this fundamental agreement some Comrades make the mistake of assuming that the issues between them are MERELY questions of personality and ambitions of "leaders". If that were true, it would make but little difference which Party wins the Communist Comrades to its ranks.

But there is a very serious difference between the two Parties in their FORM OF ORGANIZATION, a difference that must be threshed out if the Parties meet in Unity Conference, a difference that should be noted by every Comrade before he joins either Party.

The Communist Party is being organized as a FEDERATION OF UNITS that are almost entirely independent of each other. The Communist Labor Party is being organized as ONE HOMOGENEOUS MASS.

The Communist Party has copied from the old Socialist Party its form of autonomous foreign federations. Each federation is a practically independent unit. Federation branches pay dues direct to Translators in Chicago. Once a month these translators turn over the Party's share. They and their Central Executive Committee have power at any time, by simply withholding the dues, to split their entire organization away from the Party, and smash the Party to pieces. The Communist Party has within its very form of organization the seeds of its own destruction.

The Communist Labor Party has solved this problem by simply having the foreign speaking branches pay their dues through the same channels as the English speaking branches. They will thus learn to consider themselves as inseparable parts of the Local and State organization instead of mere foreigners in a strange land. Our language federations will be encouraged in their work with a far more generous share of the dues than in the Communist Party, but their Secretaries and Executive Committees will have no power to split them away from the Party unless the membership itself demands it.

The Communist Party is developing an organization divided against itself on nationalistic lines. The Communist Labor Party is putting all, foreing as well as American born, on an egual footing of Comradeship within its ranks, on a basis of true Internationalism.

A Party organized like the Communist Party could holdtogether easily as long as it fought the reactionary Socialist Party officialdom. It may last while it contests with the Communist Labor Party for the affiliation of the Communist elements of the old Party. But when its campaign settles down to the steady grind of literature distribution and the humdrum task of winning members. One at a time, then the discordant elements within its ranks must inevitably assert themselves, and bring about more splits perhaps a final smashup.

Why build a Party on such a basis that a few leaders have the power at any time to tear down what you build? Especially when you know that some of these leaders frankly state that they believe the proper tactic is to bring about situation within the Party that will result in split after split, so as to preserve a simon pure nucleous of "leaders" to rally the proletarian hosts on the morn of the revolution?

The Communist Labor Party does not follow this policy of "exclusion". It adopts a policy of INCLUSION, and holds that ALL that agree on fundamental principles should be kept united in ONE Party. It places its reliance not so much on a nucleous of leaders, as upon the development of clear vision among the great mass of its membership. It will exert itself to educate ALL its members, and to hold and make proletarian warriors out of all that join it, unless they actually prove traitor to the working class.

The existence of TWO Communist Parties is a crime. But it is far better to have two parties, one of which is being built upon a sound basis so that it can live and grow, than to have only one Party built on such a basis that it must surely die. Already signs of disintegration can be discerned in the Communist Party. They will become more evident as the weeks go by, unless the officials of the Communist Party see their error, come into Unity Conference with the Communist Labor Party and adopt the form of organization that experience teaches to be necessary for a revolutionary workingclass Party.

VI.

It is futile to try "boring from within" the Communist Party. Any member that joins that Party with the idea of thereby forcing Unity, merely strengthens the position of the officialdom that is opposed to unity by paying his dues to them.

Only by REFUSING TO PAY DUES UNTIL THEY AGREE TO A UNITY CONFERENCE can the membership of the Communist Party force their officials to act. Refuse to pay dues to the Communist Party officials. Adopt resolutions instructing them to unite with the Communist Labor Party. Threaten that you will bolt the Communist Party unless they accept the Unity invitation before November 1st. That is the way to get action. That is the road to unity.

Comrades not yet affiliated with either Party can help to bring unity by joining at once the Communist Labor Party which demands unity and is doing all it can, without turning traitor to the membership, to make unity a fact.

If you agree with our platform and program, if you endorse the fundamental principles of Communism, if you desire to clasp hands in Communist Comradeship with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans in the Third International, and if you believe that ALL Comrades in this country that stand on these fundamental should be in ONE Party, then join the Communist Labor Party AT ONCE.

Join NOW, and help with the tremendous task that confronts us. Help develop the organization, help fashion the instruments with which to reach America's thirty million wageworkers with the message of Emancipation, and rally them to the banners of International Communism to establish the world wide Workers Republic.

TO THIS TASK THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CALLS YOU.
ANSWER TODAY, COMRAD E!

DOING BUSINESS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

The Real Job of the Soviet Bureau in New York

By Anise

In the midst of raids by the Department of Justice and rumers of Bolshevik propaganda, the real work going on in the Soviet Bureau in New York is apt to be overlooked. And a very important work it is which Mr. Maartens, business representative of the Soviet Republic of Russia is carrying on in his rather large offices.

He isn't spending his time in any stirring up of troubles in this country, as the scared newspapers would have us believe. He is making contracts with business men; and signing up technical experts who wish to give service in Russia.

Thirty Millions on Contracts

He showed me a list of contracts already made — purchases of $30.000-000 worth of goods from American business men.

Here was $3.000.000 worth of shoes ordered from one firm and $3.000.000 worth of underwear from another. Another million went into renovated army shoes, bought from the contractor who had secured them from the U. S. government. Three millions for machinery, and more millions for farm implements.

Condensed milk and canned meats, shoes and shoes over again! Trucks and truck chassis, large tractors!

How Are They Going to Deliver?

Quite a nice little bit of business. Mr. Maartens told me that the American business men were much interested and very glad to get the business.

"We have been offered business from 1.500 firms," he said. "In fact, only one or two firms of all we have approached have turned us down. The contracts are made direct with the Soviet Government, which has a monopoly of all foreign trade. We are ready to pay either in gold or in raw materials."

"This is amazing," I said. "How do you expect to get these goods delivered into Soviet Russia?"

"Oh, well, there is that little difficulty," smiled Mr. Maartens. "Technically, of course, there is no war and no blockade. There is nothing illegal in doing business with Soviet Russia. These contracts are all signed, subject to two conditions:

"We promise to pay as soon as they procure (1) an export license from the State Department, and (2) permission for us to place funds from Moscow in the United States banks. We have the gold in Moscow, but the banking facilities here are yet to be arranged!

Business Men Besiege State Department.

"However, the business men are besieging the State Department to ask for their export license. Then there follows long delay. Sometimes they receive no answer at all. If they are too prominent to be ignored they receive evasive answers."

"Do you have offices like this in other countries?" I asked.

"Only in America and Sweden. The Swedish people want to do business with us, but the English government won't let them.

"We have 216.000 tons of flax, 100.000 tons of hemp, unlimited lumber, and many hides, furs, bristles and other raw materials, all awaiting export. We think the flax situation may help break down the blockade. Belfast needs flax badly; her mills are running part time for lack of it. Her employers are between the devil and the deep sea; they do not dare close down any further, for the workers are full of unrest and know just where flax is to be obtained.

"The housing plan in England is also halted for lack of lumber, and we have plenty. Mr. Hoover states that the ports of northern Europe are full of food ships, and the food is rotting there because Germany cannot afford to buy it. We can afford to buy it; we have plenty of raw materials to offer."

"What excuse," I asked, "can the Secretary of State give for not allowing American business men to take advantage of such good opportunity? Does Secretary Lansing take his orders from England and the international bankers?"

Mr. Maartens most discreetly refused to answer.

Getting Technical Experts for Russia

Are you an expert in any technical line, wanting to go to Russia? The Soviet Bureau has a technical department and is signing up applicants. It is true they cannot send you over yet, but they will help you prepare yourself.

Machinists, tool designers, engineers, trained chemists — all these are wanted. Six hudred in New York alone have registered and are training themselves for special jobs. Some of them are learning Russian; others are perfecting themselves in higher branches of their specialty.

"Many inventors are offering us inventions, which they don't want to give to the capitalistic world, but wish used in Russia to help the workers," I was told. "Our technical department investigates them. It is also preparing textbooks in Russian on technical subjects which will be printed in this country, because of the lack of paper in Russia.

Learning American Processes

"This technical department is securing information on the methods and processes of American industry. We have engaged men who have worked in American industry. They prepare instruction for Russia. How to make chilled-iron car wheels, various kinds of steel, vanadium, manganese, the equipment of rolling mills for seamless steel tubing — these are some of the matters we must know. The technical department also furnishes us with the specifications for our purchases here in America.

"What message have you for American labor?" I asked in leaving. But Mr. Maartens refused to be drawn into our affairs. He is the soul of discretion when it comes to interfering with the internal workings of another country.

"They should learn all they can of the precise conditions in Russia," he said, "economic, political and social — and then take such action as seems good to them."

High Lights on Mexico

Collected by Anise from an Address by Louis Lochner at the Fellowship Conference.

Eighty forts and barracks now line our Mexican border. Most of these have been erected since the armistice. Six or seven in Arizona, an equal number in California, the rest in Texas.

"The Yankee Peril" is a common phrase in South America. The reputation we are geting in other parts of this hemisphere is one to make good Americans pause.

Mexico has become the "Switzerland of America" — the place to which political refugees go to escape tyranny. Our United States used to be the asylum for political prisoners, but since we have taken on the job of rounding up all rebels and returning them to their masters, Mexico is now the refuge. She is inviting the Hindu nationalists, the German anti-militarists, the down-and-outers of the world, and is allotting lands to them. Incidentally she is getting intelligent new citizens who will help train and educate her Indian population.

This is one of the reason the autocrats of all countries have it in for Mexico.

For many years the anti-militarists of all nations have wished to establish the precedent that men who go from one country to make investments in another should abide by the laws of their new abode and should not invoke the armies of their native land to follow and defend them.

Mexico was the first country to act on this. One of the quarrels which foreign capitalists have with her is the law she passed. No foreigner may now acquire property in Mexico without going before the Foreign Affairs Department and signing a statement that he is taking this property on the same conditions as a Mexican citizen and renounces all right of the protection of his own government as far as his property affairs are concerned.

A fine law! But do the big oil interests like it? Not a little bit!

The Labor Charter of Mexico is written into the Constitution itself. It fixes a maximum eight-hour day, with even hours on night shifts. Women and children under 16 are not allowed to engage in night work or dangerous occupations.

A mother must stop gainful occupation three months before and after childbirth; but she must be paid her wages during this time, and her job must be held for her. A nursing mother is entitled to two periods off of half an hour each during the working day.

The congressional committee investigating alleged outrages in Mexico makes no attempt at fairness. It assumes guilt at once and only considers how to punish.

Senator Fall, who heads it, has still a lot of explaniing to do about letters he sent to Villla.

Catchwords and devices of all kinds are employed to incite war against Mexico. "Pro-Germanism" used to be the word; but now "Bolshevism" is a more up-to-date accusation. The "yellow perill" is coming in by way of Mexico.

Victims of outrages in Mexico are imported and exhibited. Strange that they never import and exhibit the victims of outrages in Paterson, Bisbee and Butte.

"ALL TOGETHER"

THE MONTHLY PROPAGANDA PAPER OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

A small paper, priced so extremely low, that locals can afford to order large bundles for free distribution. It will contain the best articles of the month, scissored from the party press, plus a cartoon. As soon as second class mailing rates are obtained its subscription price will be 15c a year. Until that time we call for subscriptions at the rate of 25c a year. However, RIGHT NOW we call UPON YOU and YOUR LOCAL to subscribe for a bundle.

Bundle Rates

50c a Hundred—$5.00 a Thousand

And we'll produce the BEST propaganda and the MOST propaganda this price will permit.

Send in Your Bundle Order Now

The Workers ALL TOGETHER can do EVERYTHING —Therefore—"ALL TOGETHER".

A Message from G. Bernard Shaw.

The Church Socialist League having asked G. Bernard Shaw for a message on their work, receiving from the sanest man in the world the following:

Dear Sir:

Your invitation to me to address an Encyclical to the Protestant Episcopal Church of America would, if I complied with it, expose us to the retort that you are not the Primate and I am not the Pope.

Besides, if the blood of millions of their fellow creatures did not move the Protestant churches to protest, nor the Catholic churches to proclaim that in the kingdom of heaven there are no frontiers, can you suppose that a few drops from my ink bottle would have any effect on them? I am duly flattered by your assumption that the men who would not listen to Christ would listen to Bernard Shaw; but the churches have come out of the war so badly that if they did listen to me now I should ask, like the Greek orator, 'What foolish thing have I said?'

All the men and women in America to whom anything I could say would be likely to appeal seem to be in prison, where my words cannot reach them. If any of the few who were faitful to a religion which I, being only a connoisseur and not a devotee, do not profess, are still at large, I can only congratulate them. I can hardly congratulate the churches on having missed a supreme opportunity, for I am afraid that supreme opportunity may prove to have been their last chance.

As I am by family tradition and baptism an Irish Protestant, perhaps I had better add that of all the ecclesiastics in our pseudo-Christendom, the Pope and the late Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick set an example which only a few British and American bishops had the grace to follow.

Faithfully,
G. BERNARD SHAW.

COMING

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

International Weekly

Plans are being perfected for an official weekly organ of the Communist Labor Party—an International educational journal.

Watch for definite annoucements in the Ohio Socialist, The Truth, The Workers' World, The Oakland World and other papers.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

No. 91 Published at Cleveland, Ohio. CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 29th, 1919. Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.00 A YEAR

Soviet Bureau Warns of Capitalist Press Lies on Russ "Defeats"

New York.

In connection with press reports on Russia, the Russian Soviet Bureau here issued the following statement yesterday:

In the interest of truth we find it necessary once again to warn the American public against placing too much faith in the present sensational press campaign depicting alleged anti-Soviet victories.

The total absence in the alleged news dispatches of official communications from the Soviet government is an additional reason for not taking the printed stories at their face value. It is admitted by every informed person that the Soviet government, with absolute frankness, keeps the world informed as to events in Russia, regardless of whether the news is favorable or unfavorable to the Soviet government.

The foreign office of Soviet Russia sends every day wireless communications containing such information. These communications daily reach the United States as well as other countries.

In most cases the news is never given out to the public except when it contains admission of some reverses. The fact that no such information is given out now clearly shows that alleged dispatches from London, Copenhagen, Stockholm and other notorious centers of lying propaganda against Soviet Russia do not state the facts of the situation.

Denikin's Straits Admitted.

But, even on the face of such reports, which emanate from sources hostile to the Soviet government, i is obvious that there is not an irresistible advance of the counter-revolutionary forces. While it may be true that Orel has been taken by Denikin's forces, it is admitted in the same dispatches that Denikin's army is hard pressed on its right flank, having been compelled to abandon vast territories to the southeast of Orel, and it is known that Denikin's rear is menaced by revolts.

It is also admitted by opponents of Soviet Russia that Denikin is meeting with obstinate oppositon and severe reverses not only n the territory around Kiev, but southwest and north of Kiev.

In view of these admitted facts the situation seems to be that Denikin's advance to Orel, where the Soviet government was not prepared to place sufficient forces in the field because of the more important general offensive against Denikin's right flank, is nothing but a panicky result of his being despertely pressed on both flanks.

This pressure may result in the encircling of such Denikin forces which have advanced along a narrow line to the north. They are obviously in imminent danger of being caught far away from their bases and thus face utter destruction.

Reports Called Unreliable.

The reports of the alleged advance of the counter-revolutionary forces in the north also are singularly untrustworthy. The only significant thing about this news is that it shows the boundless hypocrisy of the British pretensions of opposition to the German Baltic Junkers.

General Yudenitch, the commander of the so-colled Northwestern Russian army, is nothing but a tool of Von der Goltz and other Baltic Junkers, who together with Russian reactionaries of Yudenitch, Denikin and Kolchak type are striving to re-establish monarchy n Russia.

Von der Goltz has been kept in the Baltic with the connivance of Britain. The British played a double game—on one hand trying to create a barrier against Soviet Russia by using as their tools nationalistic movements in Esthonia, Lithuania and Letvia—on the other hand betraying these movements by seeking an alliance with the Baltic Junkers led by Von der Goltz, who are arch-enemies not only of Soviet Russia but of the nationalistic aspirations of the Baltic peoples.

Peace Considered.

Lithuania, Esthonia and Letvia have no interest whatsoever to strengthen either the Russian counter-revolutionists or the Baltic barons, and so the result has been that these countries, in the interest of their very existence, have been seriously considering peace with Soviet Russia.

The situation in this respect has developed to the point where peace negotiations were to start at Dorpat, October 12, and they would have undoubtedly led to an understanding between these peoples and Soviet Russia.

If such a peace is reached, it is obvious that it will altogether destroy the British and French plan to starve Soviet Russia and to re-establish monarchy in that country. The main driving force of the present campaign against Russia is, therefore, nothing but a desperate attempt, at any cost, to prevent such approachments between Soviet Russia and the Baltic nations. But the campaign will not succeed. The Russian workers, as well as the working people in the Baltic provinces, understand full well the real significance of all these criminal machinations, and the Russian Soviet government is well prepared to thwart all attacks.

Business Men Impatient.

There is also another very important reason for the present campaign of lies, and especially for the desperate efforts on the part of certain Alied governments to extend the starvation blockade of Russia by asking Germany and remnants of Austria to join the blockade.

Many commercial interests have long ago lost their patience with the present Allied policy toward Soviet Russia which not only is bringing the Russian people untold suffering but also is quite insane from the point of view of commercial peace.

Within the past two months there have been definite steps taken by business men in many countries, and especially in America, to open trade with Soviet Russia. The efforts in this direction have reached a point where great pressure is being brought to bear on all governments with the view of opening trade relations. To thwart such negotiations, the present campaign of lies has been instituted.

Workers Demand Peace.

Finally, the laboring masses in Allied countries and in Germany are becoming more and more insistent in their demands that their rulers cease the criminal and senseless war against the Russian workers. This dissatisfaction has resulted in mass demonstrations everywhere, and refusals to load supplies for the Russian monarchists.

The lies wherewith such demonstrations have been answered are becoming stale, especially in view of the ever increasing abilty of Soviet Russia. It, therefore, becomes necessary to create an impression of an impending downfall of the Russian republic and to simulate a "German menace," which in realty exists nowhere but in the acts of the Allies themselves.

We feel confident that the workers everywhere will not let themselves be deceived by such obviously false propaganda.

To sum up, the situation is as follows:

1. Denikin's campaign in the South is threatened with annihiliation. His "advance on Moscow" is actually a retreat in the only direction where at this moment there is no concentrated military opposition, but where he instantly will be confronted with such, his "advance" thus making him run right into the lion's lair without a chance of a return to his bases.

2. The Baltic nations are determined

(Continued on page 2.)

Communist Labor Party Officials Out on Bonds

The five officials of the Communist Labor Party, Walter Bronstrup, Cleveland secretary, L. E Katterfeld, organization director, Chas. Baker, organizer, A. Wagenknecht National Secretary and E. T. Allison, editor, arrested by Loyal American League operatives and police at a Meeting at Acme Hall, Cleveland, Oct. 16, and charged with vialotion of the "criminal sindicalist law, were released on $1,000 bonds each at 2 o'clock the next morning.

A. W. Moskovitz offered bonds for the five jailed comrades but it was some hours before a judge could be reached and the amount of bonds set and consent given to their release.

It was nearly 2 a. m. when the turnkey at Central Station turned the key in the lock of the steel barred door of the "bull pen" and announced "all-aboard boys", awakening some from slumber upon the two inch board "cushions" of the cells.

Up stairs in the office they were met by comrades Marguarite Prevey and Moskovitz and in a moment were in Moskovitz' big machine whirling over the city streets catching up a few odds—and ends of business before retiring to "civilized" beds.

At the morning session of Judge Moylan's court the preliminary hearing was set for Thursday, Oct. 30, at which time it is expected that the five comrades will be bound over to the grand jury.

ALLIED CONTROL OF PASSPORTS TO RUSSIA SCORED BY SWEDISH PARTIES.

STOCKHOLM, Oct. 23.—The Swedish parliament, in secret session today, began to discuss Sweden's attitude on the request of the entente allies that the neutral countries join in a blockade of soviet Russia.

The Socialists predict a refusal to acquiesce, while the Liberals and Conservatives said that a joint answer from the northern government is most likely and that this will point out that a de facto blockade exists and nothing is to be gained through a formal declaration.

All the political parties protest against the proposal to submit to passport control by the allied forces of travelers between Sweden and Russia, which is declared to be part of the blockade proposal and is denounced as being an unbearable humiliation.

GERMANS REFUSE TO BLOCKADE RUSSIA

BERLIN, Oct. 23.—The Germon Government is inclined to delay answering the Allies' recent proposal for an Economic blocade of Russia and if it does answer it will refuse to join.

The old saying that like experiences beget sympathy is here exemplified—Germany knows from experience, how terrible a thing an economic blockade may be made.

COMMUNISTS, UNITE!

An Appeal to the rank and file of the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party.

Every true Communist finds in the present unfortunate division of our ranks much cause for anxiety and views it as a condition not to be tolerated. Whatever may have been the causes for the catastrophe which occurred at the Chicago conventions which created this deplorable condition within the Communist ranks, the rank and file of the membership are demanding that every obstruction to a unity of the two Left Wing parties shall be immediately removed to make way for one great party of Communism in this country.

Weeks have passed since the Chicago conventions. The membership is coming to a realization of what occured there and the thot that lies at the bottom of all its conclusions is that whatever differences there are in the organization and tactics of the two parties they are infinitesimal as compared to the greater question of UNITY. The rank and file of both sections see no fundamental differences between the two parties. And there are none. None are claimed by either side. The programs of both parties are based upon the program of the Third International formed at Moscow. Words, sentences and paragraphs are lifted almost bodily from that program and placed in the programs of both Communist parties. What differences exist in tactics and inner party construction are not of such a nature as should create a permament division of the two sections. They can be threshed out in a unity convention to the entire satisfaction of the rank and file if not of a few leaders and so-called philosophers who take it upon themselves to believe that the mantle of Lenine has fallen upon their shoulders.

"All power to the workers" is the slogan of both parties. "All power to the rank and file within the party" is a slogan which we must adopt in our party work. It is especially necessary that it be adopted at this critical period and the precept lived up to the fullest extent. Let the rank and file assert its rights and we will have one strong party of Communism in this country at once.

The conditions existing at the present time within the party ranks are most deplorable. The situation in Cleveland is a replica of the vast majority of locals thruout the country where the membership has made a decision for one or the other parties. For which ever party the majority of the membership has decided to affiliate, it has meant little. The other party has immediately organized. Affiliations by locals has meant little except the advantage which control of the organization machinery gives. The membership has immediately split up into the two camps. Tried and true comrades who have worked together shoulder to shoulder now find themselves divided.

This conditions must be brought to an end. It is intolerable, without sense or reason. Thousands of members, true revolutionists as any who remain in either parties are dropping out discouraged and disheartened because of the schism between the two Left Wing elements. Strong locals are split wide open and thus weakened. Our press is weakened on account of this division. Funds which should be used in propaganda and organization among the uninlightened workers are diverted toward building up dual organizations, duplication of effort and in establishing headquarters etc.

The rank and file are demanding UNITY. They are going to have unity. They are going to have it in spite of any and all obstructions that have been or will be placed in their path. To the rank and file this appeal is made. To those who by their sacrifice of time, money and effort have made this working class revolutionary movement possible, who have been the Jimmy Higginses in the party, whose nickles and dimes have paid for the propaganda and organization work; who have served faithfully and oft times, tho sorry we are to have to say it, without honor or recognition; these thousands and tens of thousands we urge: DEMAND UNITY. DEMAND OF YOUR OFFICIALS THE REMOVAL OF EVERY OBSTRUCTION TOWARD UNITY. Demand that the officials of the Communist Party take favorable action upon the invitation of the Communist Labor Party for a Unity Conference.

If any stand between unity of the two Left Wing elements throw them out, brand them for what they are, ENEMIES OF THE WORKERS.

Streng then the demand of the Communist Labor Party for Unity.

In unity there is strength. In unity we can strike from the throat of labor the blood-stained hands of capitalism and establish a world of Communist comradeship.

Yours for a united Communism
ELMER T. ALLISON.

Members - Locals - Celebrate the ANNIVERSARY of the Russian Revolution Nov. 9th.

Every local is urged to arrange a meeting for Sunday, Nov. 9th, in commemoration of the proletarian Russian Revolution. Get a speaker, hold a meeting however small, even in a comrade's home. Spread the truth about the Russian Revolution.

Celebrate the Anniversary of the birth
of the first Industrial Democracy.

Debs is Anxious to do His Part in Steel Strike

By DAVID KARSNER.

E. V. Debs is taking a lively interest in the great steel strike. He is hoping that the workers will stand firm and bring the United States Steel trust and its subsidiaries to their knees. The pale blue eyes of the battle-scarred champion of the American working class flashed fire as he talked of the steel strike.

There was a note of longing in his voice as he narrated the incidents of the conflict as he had read them in the conservative papers published here.

"If I should get out of this prison today, I would be in Gary or Pittsburg tomorrow," he said. "That is exactly where I belong, and that is exactly where I would go. Mr. Palmer and Mr. Wilson and the capitalists know that perfectly well, and that is why they keep me here.

"I am not being kept as prisoner here for the speech I made at Canton in June, 1918. I am being kept here for the speech I would make at Gary or at Pittsburg in 1919. I know that as well as I know my name.

Eager to Take up Work Again.

"If I should get out of prison today I would continue my work in behalf of the workers for Socialism where I left off in April of this year when I went to Moundsville prison. The intervening time, while it has been a waste, could be easily made up by renewed activity and fresh endeavors."

I was talking with Debs in one of the reception rooms of the Atlanta Federal prison. A large table was between us. There was in the room only Debs, Samuel Castleton, an Atlanta lawyer who has recently interested himself in Debs' case, the guard and myself.

Warden Fred G. Zerbst was absent from the prison Wednesday afternoon otherwise the interview would probably have take place in the warden's private office, where I sat with Debs on two previous occasions.

Debs in Fine Spirits.

The interview was to have lasted only half an hour, but at the end of that time Castleton obtained an extension of another half hour from the captain of the guards. Everything of a currently important nature was discussed by Debs in that hour. He was well informed and in fine spirits.

Debs is making the supreme sacrifice for his convictions. He knows that he could come out of prison tomorrow if he would but say the word to the Attorney General. As a matter of fact he need never have come to prison at all if he had but given the high sign of repentence to the Attorney General.

Won't Retract Any Utterance.

"My attitude has not changed one whit since I came to prison. I would not take back a single word; I would not retract a single sentence. I will make no promises of any kind or nature to obtain my freedom. It would not be freedom if obtained by any retraction, promises or apostacy. To me that would be the worst slavery.

"Clarence Darrow was here not long ago. I could have said but a word to him to take back to Washington and I could have walked out of this place a real prisoner, with actual guilt festering in my soul and with unclean conscience for the rest of my days."

I had heard Debs talk this way before many times. It was not new to me, but it was inspiring and thrilling no less, and the three of us who heard this great man, this supreme martyr of modern time, speak thus could do nought but marvel and gape.

Sees Labor on Crucifix.

"I can stay in this place a thousand years, I can go to the stake without the bat of an eye, for the principles upon which I have based my life. There is no bravery in this. I could not do otherwise. I am no more responsible, actually, for the position I am taking than the man who might take a different position. It is simply my nature.

"I am conscious of no martyrdom. But I am absolutely sure that I have lived long enough to witness the crucifixion of the working class on the cross of capitalism. And we have come at last to the resurrection.

"We will take the prostrate body of labor from the cross, breathe into it the breath of love and purpose and dedicate it to the nobler impulses of life."

Sustained by Comrades' Love.

I mentioned to Debs that when the New York Socialists opened their city campaign at the Lexington Theater a week or two ago the mention of his name by one of the speakers was echoed by thousands of voices.

I told him that every Socialist and liberal publication in the country was tireless in its praise of him, and that he was not being forgotten by his friends and Comrades. His eyes instantly became most. He was moved to the depths of his soul.

"I know that is so without the telling," he said. "I can feel in my prison room the vibrations of my Comrades. I can feel the beat of their hearts as one for the revolution, and I can visualize the light that shines in their souls and is reflected in their faces. I am sustained by that knowledge. It will sustain me for a thousand years."

"But we do not wish to sustain you one single day in prison," I put in.

(Continued on page 2)

Baldwin-Felz Frame-up Fails to Convict

By LAWRENCE DWYER
Oct. 18. Special to Ohio Socialist.

The Jury in the case of Toney Stafford, charged with others in the shooting into the coal tipple at the Glen White mine on Friday, Nov. 16th., 1917, failed to agree after having the case 16 hours, and Judge Mc. Ginness discharged the Jury at 10 A. M. this morning.

Two weeks time was consumed in getting all the evidence and facts before the jury, I attended the trial from the beginning to the end, The miners showed particular interest in the trial by being in attendance at all sessions of the trial, and while the court house was always crowded no demonstrations was made at any time to interrupt the court, and Judge McGinness remarked after the trial it was one of the most orderly courts ever conducted.

The City of Beckley, was crowded with Baldwin-Felz men, the fourth floor of the Beckley Hotel reserved for them., some of them remained in the hotel all during the trial.

The substance of the evidence presented by the prosecution was submitted by Thos. MacGinnes, Geo. Lucas, Dorr Snuffer and Carl Kram, who swore that they, with Toney Stafford and others were the ones who did the shooting, and the four named above also swore that they shot with the intent to kill, and they further stated that they did not think it was wrong to kill, and also they said they did'nt think it was wrong to swear to a lie. On cross questioning they stated they were in the custody and protection of the Baldwin-Felz men and that their expenses etc. were paid by the Baldwin-Felz, they further said that they had repeated their statements to the Baldwin-Felz as much as Fifty times, they further stated that Toney Stafford was with them at Lester and Glen White on the 15th and 16th of Nov. 1917.

The Defense presented seventeen witnesses who swore that Toney Stafford was in Beckley on those dates and was not at Glen White at the time of the shooting.

Lawyers for the prosecution devoted nearly all their argument to the fact that Toney Stafford was an Italian.

International Board Member Lawrence Dwyer's name was not mentioned by any of the witnesses during the trial, and the trial brought out the fact that he was no way implicated by the one that confessed to the shooting.

It is the common belief of the people of this locality that the case is nothing more than a frame up by the Baldwin-Phelz thugs against the United Mine Workers Organization.

PREVENT THE DANGER OF INTERVENTION

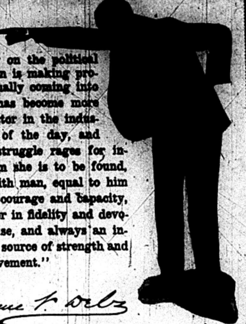
An appel to American workers.
By Fulgencio C. Luna, Senior

In this great moment of the world's history, the Communist Party of Mexico has a wonderful opportunity to educate the Mexican masses and prepare them for the Dawning Day that is not far ahead.

But the one supreme task that must first be given our attention is that of preventing intervention. If we can keep Mexico safe and free from the clutches of foreign capitalists, we can lead the people of this beautiful land into the full enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Industrial Democracy. If Mexico is conquered our work will be a thousand times more difficult for we shall then have the whole force of the mightiest imperialist government turned against us. The Carranza government is very liberal and while not Communist, allows the workers considerable latitude in organizing. Labor can develop freely if home

(Continued on Page 2.)

Debs says to You



"It is not only on the political field that woman is making progress and gradually coming into her own. She has become more and more a factor in the industrial agitation of the day, and wherever the struggle rages for industrial freedom she is to be found, side by side with man, equal to him in intelligence, courage and capacity, and his superior in fidelity and devotion to the cause, and always an inspiration and a source of strength and light to the movement."

Eugene V. Debs

Debs Anxious to Help

(Continued from page 1.)

Only One Way to Free Him.

"Very well, then; let the Comrades carry on the good work everywhere; let them all get into the track for Socialism; let them make their message and their word felt and heard at Washington. When the capitalists of America realize that the workers mean business, then, and not until then, the prison doors will open at once for every political and industrial prisoner behind the bars.

"That is the only way I can come out, and, moreover, that is the only way I want to come out."

Debs reiterated to us on Wednesday his oftrepeated wish that he does not wish any one or any group, or any organization, Socialist or otherwise, to interest themselves in his personal behalf.

He does want, however, the fight to be made on broad-gauged lines, one that would release the scores of I. W. W. prisoners in Leavenworth the same as the Socialists at Atlanta. Debs asked me to say for him that liberty obtained on any other basis would be repugnant to him.

Would Emulate Liebknecht.

"That is the way I want to come out That is the only decent way. I want to come out as Liebknecht came out. The proletariat of Germany shook the empire to its foundations, and the beasts of Berlin readily found it convenient to unlock the barred doors."

The conversation veered back again to the steel strike, on which subject Debs said:

"I see in the present struggle between the steel workers and the corporation the old battle that has waged with increasing intensity since time immemorial. While I know that the leaders and striking workers do not counsel violence, I am aware of the tactics that have always been adopted by the steel companies, mining operators and other large concerns against their protesting workers.

Always Oposed to Violence.

"There companies have their own police force, which amounts to a private army, and if this private army, like the Pennsylvania State Cossacks, is not sufficient to club the workers into submission, the state or Federal government steps in to make sure the job is done right.

"I had hoped that the steel struggle would be fought without bloodshed, but that is impossible where companies are allowed private armies, and may draw at will upon public military. I have always been opposed to violence and bloodshed.

"I am in this prison today because I refused to forsake the tenets of peace. I believe in the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.' Nothing is more sacred to me than human life."

Tired and Haggard After Talk.

I mentioned to Debs the names of a number of his friends who had inquired about his health. To all of his Comrades he sent his love and greetings. The stout guard with boyish face, who sat at the end of the broad table with his hat on and a thick club in his hand, jerked his watch out and announced the end of the second half hour.

Debs stood up at once. He looked tired and haggard. He had exercised himself too much, no doubt.

Outside the doors there was much shuffling of feet, as of men on the march. The guard opened the door, and a long, double file of convicts was marching through a stretch of the corridor into the messroom. Debs could not pass through the door while these fellow prisoners were on the march. He stood with his back to the wall, not two feet from the double column of perhaps a thousand men in prison blue and gray.

We who had just left him could not pass through the opposite door until the last prisoner had come through. I looked back to the wall, close enough to the marching men to have touched their shoulders with his hand.

Man after man in both files saluted Debs by a slight lift of the arm, a quick jerk of the hand or a nod o the head. Not one word was spoken; not one face turned when it passed him. Debs acknoledged the greetings of every man who greeted him, slightly nodded his head by a quick, jerky movement accompanied by a smile. It takes time for a thousand men to pass a given point.

Debs was standing with folded arms. Many of those who passed him were Socialists, and all of them were workers. As the last man swung through the white marble doorway, Debs was swung into the end of the line, bringing up the rear. Two heavy guards, carrying thick clubs, stepped in back of him.

"May Drop Dead Any Minute."

The shoulders of the humanist were more stooped than than I had ever seen them. There was not that accustomed springy movement in his step. He was tired. His figure disappeared at the rounding of another corridor.

Only an hour before one of the prison physicians who has come to know Debs intimately, and who spends much time with him in social chat, had hung his head and looked at the tips of his shoes when I put a searching question to him concerning the health of Debs. He would not tell me, but I was told that a physian who had seen Debs recently said: "He may drop dead any minute."

The imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs is stirring this nation deeper than an anchor would plow in the bed of the ocean during a storm.

Soviet Bureau Warns

(Continued from page 1.)

to make peace with Soviet Russia, frustrating Allied intentions to use them as tools against the Russian workers. The Baltic peoples are as hostile to Yudenitch as to Von the Goltz, but the British are supporting both of them. Yudenitch openly and Von der Goltz secretly, thus betraying the promises given by Britain to the Baltic nationals.

3. The British pretensions of opposition to von der Goltz are an unmitigated lie which is being used for the purpose of deceiving the British public opinion into a belief that "the German menace" demands the sending of additional troops to the Baltic coast. If such troops are permitted to be sent they will be used, not against the German Jungers, but in alliance with these Junkers against the workers of Russia.

Allies Forming Aliance.

4. Far from opposing the menace of German Junker designs on Russia, the Allied governments, and particularly Britain, are making an alliance with Germany and Austria against Soviet Russia. The announced demands of the Allies that Germany and Austria should participate in the criminal and brutal blockade of Russian ports is sufficient evidence hereof.

Some papers have referred to the situation in the Baltic as the reopening of the world war. It is true in a sense, but only in this sense. The reactionaries of the world, Allied and German alike, stand ready to sacrifice millions of lives of their peoples and of the Russian people in a last desperate effort to crush the Russian revolution, and, thereby, to remove the mightiest obstacle to the establishment of oligarchical despotism all over the world.

In this campaign are at stake the interests, not of the Russian workers alone, but of every labor and progressive interest of the world. Rather than come to a sensible understanding with Russia, the reactionaries among the Allies stand ready to plunge the world into new chaos and bloodshed on the slim chance that out of the shambles they shall be able to secure their threatened class interests.

It remains to be seen whether the plain pople will stand for such plans.

Soviet Still Holds Radio.

The above statement was written Thursday. Secretary Santeri Nuorteva of the Russian Soviet Bureau was asked by The Call yesterday whether the alleged Russian dispatches carried by the day's papers threw any new light on the situation.

"They certainly do," was the answer. "They most conclusively prove that our doubts about the veracity of the entire press campaign are well founded.

"A dispatch from London printed in the Globe today admits that wireless dispatches are continuously being sent by the Soviet government from the owerful radio station at Tsarskoe Selo.

Allies Dare Not Tell Fate.

"This conclusively proves not only that Yudenitch has not advanced as near to Petrograd as the fake dispatches would have us believe, but also adds color to the situation by showing that the Allies do not dare to print the facts as stated by the Soviet government itself. It is clear that such facts are concealed by the Allies not because they are unfavorable to Soviet Russia.

"The only Soviet disptach which has passed the British censorship shows that Kiev has been captured by Soviet troops and the dispatch states that the attack against Kiev was so sudden that Denikin had no time to cross the Dnieper river, but had to retire in panicky flight towards the north.

"This fact bears out the suggestion made in the above statement that the capture of Orel really is nothing but a result of a disordered flight due to pressure from both flanks.

ADVISING THE IMPOSSIBLE.

With commendable foresight the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor is distributing among 12.000 families under its care, circulars warning against a recurrence of the influenza epidemic. These circulars contain numerous rules of health and personal hygiene which are of great interest, especially when one recalls that they are commended to persons living in some of the worst slum sections of the great metropolis. **"Avoid crowds"** is the second rule on the list — easily observed, forsooth, by families living thousonds to the single block, hundreds to the single house, scores to the single floor, four or five to the single room! Again, **"keep the home well ventilated and be sure there is plenty of fresh air day and night"**— an easy rule for those to whom air and light are luxuries as rare as tenderloin steaks or silk dresses! **"Avoid fatigue,"** is another injunction — attractive to those who labor early and late at exhausting tasks which never end! **"Eat three uniform meals a day"**— this at time when the cost of living was never so high, and three meals a day never before so far beyond the reach of the majority of city dwellers! **"Keep warm and keep dry"** is as excellent as it is surely impossible for those who buy coal by the bucket, and wear clothing about as adequate for protection against winter weather as sheets of paper. As for the succinct command, **"bathe frequently,"** we commend this to anybody familiar with the ablutionary facilities of the average city tenement for fitting comment! An examination of these rules in their entirety convinces us that they could be observed with difficulty by those earning two or three thousand dollars a year — with ease only by those enjoing ten thousand dollars a year or more. When will our physicians, social workers, reformers learn that the poor are not able to practice even the elementary laws of physical and moral health? Shall we never understand that adequate income is the first and fundamental step toward the protection, emancipation and redemption of both the individual and society?

—Editorial in Unity.

The Debs Case

There has been, it seems to me, quite recently a decided change in the entire national psychology. A few weeks ago the persecutory mania which had been developed partly as a result of the overstrain of war conditions and partly as a direct result of malicious propaganda, reached the climax. The witch-burning fever was at its height. ....The crisis came, I believe, when Eugene Debs was sent to serve his 10-years sentence in the Moundsville penitentiary. The intense wave of feeling which swept over the country when Debs was sent to prison seems to have brought a realization to many, if not all, the leaders of the forces of reaction that they had gone far enough, and perhaps too far.

There were hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of men and women who had loyally supported the government in a war which they believed to be righteous, who had condemned the majority report of the St. Louis Socialist convention, for which Debs stood sponsor, and who had acquiesced even in the arbitary suppression of free speech during the actual period of hostilities, who nevertheless felt that the imprisonment of Debs for 10 years was unjust and unwise.

They knew that the sentence of 10 years meant for the courageous and gentle-hearted man a life sentence, and they knew also that the revolutionary influence of Eugene V. Debs speaking from Moundsville penitentiary was 100 times more potent than that of Eugene V. Debs speaking from his home in Terre Haute.

These liberals and radicals who deplored the Debs sentence did not want a revolution, but, with equal ardor, they did not want the espionage act converted into what seemed to them an instrument for the punishment of men who were actively opposed to the existing economic and social order. They knew that active agents of the German government had been given sentences which were no heavier than that imposed upon Debs. They knew that there had not been a single effective prosecution of any one of the thousands of profiteers who, by de- shoddy and adulterated goods and defective munitions to the army and navy, had done more to interfere with the successful prosecution of the war than would a thousand speeches such as that for which Debs was convicted.

—Basil M. Manly, in Reconstruction.

PRISON NOCTURE
By Ralph Chaplin

Outside the storm is swishing to and fro;
The wet wind hums its colorless refrain;
Against the walls and dripping bars, the rain
Beats with a rythm like a song of woe.

Dimmed by the lightning's ever fitful glow,
The purple arc-lamps blur each steaming pane;
The thunder rumbles o'er the darkened plain;
The cells are hushed and silent, row on row.

Fall, fruitful drops, upon the parching earth,
Fall, and revive the living sap of spring;
Blossom the fields with wonder once again.
And in all hearts awaken to new birth
Those visions and endeavors that will bring
A fresh, sweet morning to the world of men!

Poverty is a beast of prey which chases the song birds of joy and gladness out of the heart.

Competition is a war of individuals for profit; war is a competition of the individuals for profit.

In reconstructing society, shall the worker organize to disarm the despot or shall he wait for the despot to further organize the worker into a bond-slave?

N. C. Howell says—
Activity is the law of life but excessive action becomes an element of death.

N. C. Homell

Prevent Intervention

(Continued from page 1.)

rule and local self-government continue, for any government by Mexicans will be more disposed to favor labor than capital, since labor is Mexican here and capital is foreign. Therefore, it is very necessary just now for us to direct all our efforts toward the preservation of Mexico's national integrity.

The Communist Party of Mexico is naturally concentrating its energy on opposing intervention and it believes that its comrades in the United States should give a large portion of their efforts to this same cause. We must not allow this crime of intervention to be committed. We must not allow the rulers to hurl the workers into another terrible war. We must prevent them from again demonstrating their power over the toilers; instead, we must demonstrate our class-consciousness and refuse to permit them to make fools of us again.

When the workers of the two countries become sufficiently strong to deter the capitalists permamently from their wicked plot, we sholl be free to go ahead with the vaster work of Communism.

With a loaded gun (the danger of intervention) pointed at them, the workers of Mexico cannot do much, so we must remove that gun. Then we can do things for the cause.

CONFERENCE.

Every local in the following counties which have affiliated with either the Communist Labor Party or the Communist Party are invited and urged to send delegates to a Unity Conference to be held at Youngstown Nov. 9:— Cuyahoga, Geauga, Ashtabula, Lake, Trumbull, Portage, Mahoning, Summit. Medina, Wayne, Stark, Columbia, Jefferson, Carrol, Harrison, Tuscarawas, Holmes, Coshocton.

F. J. Cattin,
377 E. Wood St.
Youngstown, O.

THE BLACK SHEEP

By Long and Leaky.

Chapt. III.
The Awakening.

The discussion on the subject of race antagonism had started a train of thought in Jack's brain. He was painfully aware that he had lived in a very limited world, as far as social phenomena were concerned. In fact he had not been aware that such a thing as race antagonisms existed. He had never seen a Negro or a Chinaman or a Jap. In fact he had never seen any one whose language he could not speak. It is true he knew the Indians but he was not antagonistic to them. He did not hate them. He considered them a kind of grown-up children, romantically interesting, and let it go at that.

He turned the entire problem as stated by George and Herman over and over in his brain and for a while there seemed to be no solution for the enigma of the race antagonism of which these men had spoken. It was while wrestling with this problem that he ventured to ask the engineer the question, why it was that the people did not seem to hate the Indians; to which the engineer replied by asking another question. "How many Indians does your dad employ?"

"None", the boy answered.

"Well then, there is no cause for antagonism. The Indian demands no share in your property. There was a time that he did, or to put it more truthfully, that you demanded a share in his; and at that time you hated each other like hell. You got what the Indian had and therefore there is no longer any excuse for hating him. There is no more to be taken from him. But don't fool yourself into the belief that the Indian loves you."

"I see your point" said the boy thoughthfully as he turned to his task at the fire box.

While it was true that he saw the point, it was all he did see. The body of the argument was as yet dark to him altho its vastness crowded itself upon him. He found himself asking the question, just how much of this is fact? How much is fancy? For it was a characteristic of his mind never to accept any statement on any subject as final, the truth of which could not be verified by observation and experiment. His experience with the bewhiskered guardians of the faith, and the parson at Westfield had convinced him that sincerity of conviction was no criterion of fact. He had proven to his on satisfaction that a man might be full of inspiration yet hopelessly lack information, or as he phrased it "A man may be a sincere fool."

Jack was awakening; awakening to a new life of which he was a part; the problems of which he had to share, and the facts of which were as yet entirely beyond his grasp. His brain worked like a trip hammer, steadily and presistently but it could get no adequate grasp of the problem. More than once he wished for the evining that he might hear the men talk again; he wanted to sit at the feet of his masters. Not to receive their opinions, but if possible to separate their facts from their fancies.

He remembered that Herman had compared race antagonism to class antagonism, and by some working of the law of, "the association of ideas," he remembered those, to him, strange words, uttered by his chance companion in the harvest fields—"ethics and economics." Were these phenomena of which his companion spoke in any way expressions of the meaning of these words.

That evening when they were seated in their customary place behind the engine. Jack asked the engineer the question, "what is your definition of ethics?"

"To be ethical is to conduct yourself in such a manner as not to offend, or injure those who are in authority. In other words don't do anything that will hurt the interest of your economic, political, or religious masters. It may be summed up in the words of St. Paul "be obediant unto the powers that be." Good-ethics are such conduct as the masters approve in their slaves.

"That is the phase of ethics in which you are interested. Ethics between capitalists is the law of club and fang until that porcupine called labor raises his bristles, then capitalists all make common cause upon their common enemy the militant working class. To do that constitutes their ethics for themselves. Their ethics for you and I are that we shall work cheap, long hours, under conditions that are not expensive to them, that we shall be thankful to God for the fact that while we are miserably poor we are not actually dead, and that when the masters of different lands get into a quarrel among themselves over the products they have stolen from labor that then we shall be ready to enthusiastically kill one another and ask no questions. The capitalist want it so that we will accept crowns, harps, white robes, and much singing after we are dead, in lieu of cash while we live. Ethics, my boy, is like every thing else in capitalist society to be explained upon the basis of the class struggle. It's all a problem of economics. Keep this in mind that whatever the capitalists proclaim as good, that, you can safely suspect as bad. If you are ethical to the capitalist class, then you are a traitor to yourself. Does that make the proposition clear?"

"Yes, I think it does. If I understand you rightly, then ethics is a mode of conduct approved by the masters of the world, is that it?" he asked uncertainly.

For on hour or so the conversation oscillated back ond forth between George and Herman. They again reviewed the different race characteristies and the economic and telluric conditions that gave rise to them. Especially did they discuss the difference between the Russian and Japanese. Dwelling much on the possibilities of a civilized orient and a consequent yellow peril. Needless to say the boy was absorbingly interested in the discussion, but as happens with many a man, who listens to such discussions he was unfamiliar with its terminology; and hence much of it escaped his understanding.

Finally he broke into the conversation by saying. "I hope you will excuse my ognorance but I wish that you would tell me just what you mean by the term economics? It was Herman who replied "economics is the science of management." I believe you aree familiar with the Bible. If so, then you have heard of old testament economy and new testament economy meaning the way in which human affairs were managed during the epochs of these writings. Political economy is the science of managing the state, the legislative, judicial and executive functions of government. Domestic economy is the science of farm managment, while social economy is the science of the management of society. Industrial economy lies at the foundation of them all; for it is the management of industry that makes all other social phenomena possible."

"Now" said Jack, "you must tell me what you mean by industry"

"Industry", Herman continued, "is the organized process of transforming natural resources into necessary commodities."

"Why do you say necessary commodities." George interposed. "You might have said that industry is a process of wealth production. I think that would be the better definition."

"That is perhaps the better way of putting it," Herman agreed.

"Then, if I understand you rightly, industry is the sum total of labor expended for race preservation and advancement," Jack remarked.

"The kid's got it" Herman said triumphantly.

"But I'm not thru with my questions. I would like to know just what you mean by natural resources."

"I will try to make it plain to you," said George. "Resources are the raw materials of which wealth is made. The fish in the sea may be considered a source of food. The coal in the earth is a source of fuel, dye stuffs and drugs. The forest uncut, is a source of fuel, shelter and articles of convenience. The unplowed prairies are the source of grain. In the latin language the word "re" means thing, and source means somthing like place; hence resources correctly defined are the sources of things, the places from which wealth may be obtained."

"If I understand you correctly, you mean by resources only things in their natural state. What would you call finished articles? Isn't grain a source of bread?"

"You must not forget that there is a difference between the terms natural recources and raw materials. A natural resource is always a raw material but it does not always follow that a raw material is a natural resource. For example, iron ore when taken from the mine is the finished product of the miner but the raw material of the smelter. The pig iron is the finished product of the smelter but the raw material of the rail maker, and so it goes on thru all the process of industry. Dealing with the second part of your question, let me me point out that grain is not a free gift of nature but the result of labor applied to the soil. You must always draw a distinction between the meanings of these terms resources, raw materials, and wealth. For the present I want to call your attention to the fact that thre is something needed to turn resources into wealth. What is it that turns pig iron, let us say into a steam boiler?"

"Work," said Jack laconically.

"Now you're getting at it. Labor must be crystallized into raw material before we can have wealth. Wealth is any product of labor having a use value. To produce it, three things are necessary, raw material, tools, and labor power. The first is a product of nature, the last is resident in man. These two are brot together thru the medium of the third."

"You might put it this way," suggested Herman, "that resources are natural substances, while wealth or riches are products of labor.

"That is generally but not technically true" George objected. "You do not take into consideration the waste products of labor. For instance, Jack put straw in the fire box, by which he raises steam. The steam runs the machine that treshes the grain, which is Wealth is man's gift to himself. firebox. These too are the result of his labor, but useless.

"I see the difference" said Jack, "Resources are natures gift to man. Wealth is man's gift to himself. But But I notice, that you used the term labor and labor power. Are they not the same thing?"

"No they are not the same thing," George explained. "The steam in the boiler is the result of your labor power expended on the straw. Labor power is the energy stored in your body. It is your ability to work. The result of that work is labor. A miner contains labor. Labor is that element that transforms a resource into a raw material, a raw material into a finished product or commodity.

Labor power is what you have to sell to your employer. Labor, is the result of the sale. It is the sale of your life energy that lies at the bottom of the class struggle. It is the fact that divides society into antagonistic camps. You will find it a factor in all present day social institutions. It lies at the basis of race hatred of which you spoke last night. Evil and sin, crime and poverty, spring from this fact; that one class has the power to buy for a price the life energy of the other class. And that last named class must daily sell its life energy in order to retain its life. It is the only thing the working man has to sell, and that he must sell in order to keep. It is paradoxical, but true.

"Let's hit the hay" suggested Jack, "I have a head ache."

(Continued next week.)

MAY I?

I have had
A war-to-end-war.
I have now made
A peace-to-end-peace.
I think in a big way

The Ohio Socialist

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3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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Alfred Wagenknecht

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The Pre-Revolutionary Era

The United States is in a stage of labor up-rising that bring to the foreground the question of their real meaning and connection with world labor movements and their significance. Strike after strike upon a more huge scale than ever before seem to indicate that labor is passing thru its pre-revolutionary stage. The Seattle strike, the steel strike, New York dock workers' strike, the probable strike of the coal miners coming in swift succession and the all disclaiming revolutionary intents are certainly not wthout revolutonary tendencies. Unconsciously the revolutionary tendencies develop. Labor here is inspired by workers' victories in England, Russia and other parts of Europe. ments and their significance. Strike after strike upon a more gughe scale than Labor here reacts to revolutionary movements of other parts of the world.

It is not so much what these strike are as what they may become; not so much what the intentions are as what may be learned from them that we are most concerned. No one can prophesy nowadays what a strike of a quarter or half a million men may lead to. The times are pregnant with revolutionary possibilities. Every big strike is a potental revolution, tho it may in its first stages be merely a revolt against the price of bacon and beans.

Recent strikes seems to bear out the affirmation that there is a strong feeling in the ranks of labor that it has nothing to lose by striking. It has no stake in the industries nor in their successful operation. Knowledge of the extent of the robberies perpetrated upon them have made them rebellious, rebellious without responsibility. It is a pre-revolutionary phase. It is not likely to grow better. Only under a system of industrial democracy can the worker feel responsibility. But industrial democracy and capitalism are at opposite poles and can not by any means be brought together.

Property Rights vs. Human Rights

Politically we are more or less free; economically we are serfs. And it is upon an economic foundation of serfdom that present day society is established. A foundation of serfs and masters; of owners and propertyless proletarians. But the foundation is being shaken to-day in a manner that puts terror in the hearts of labors' exploiters.

The right of ownership carries with it the right of operation or non-operation as suits the desire or the convenience of the owner. His right of control is greater than the rights of the dependent workmen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Factory doors may be closed and kept closed until decay rots them to the ground, tho there be ever so great a need for the products of that factory and even tho it means starvation for the workmen.

Property rights are inviolate—human rights are imaginary.

But human rights are coming to the front in these days of the decay of capitalism. Property rights are being challenged upon every hand. The principle that human life and welfare is of more account than mere property rights is becoming more and more in evidence. And upon the devlopment and growth of this idea hinges all future progress of the human race from the savagery and inhumanity of capitalism upward to a more humane social system.

"The right to work" means the right to live, but in this age of machine production and corporation ownership access to the means of production are not guaranteed. Cut off a man's employment and he is severed from his means of livelihood. And herein lies the conflict between property rights and human rights. This conflict is growing fiercer in every civilized land, that is in every country where machine production has supplanted hand methods. And there can be no quarter given. Between these two principles there can be no compromise, for property rights spell slavery and between slavery and freedom there is no room for compromise.

MORE FREE LEAFLETS FOR YOU

The LEAFLET CAMPAIGN is still on. The Army of Liberators, composed of comrades from all states in the country, has contributed hundreds of dollars for the purpose of agitating and arganizing for the release of Debs and all political prisoners.

As agents for the Army of Liberators we have printed thousands of leaflets. These leaflets must reach the hands and minds of the workers who are as yet apathetic and unconcerned regarding our FREE THEM campaign.

WE WANT TO KNOW AT ONCE how hany of these leaflets you can distribute. Do not order more than you can use. If you can distribute a thousand, say so. If you can only use ten, say so—but make sure to order some.

THEY ARE FREE, for the Army of Liberators has paid for them.

Place your order today. Become a live factor in the campaign to FREE DEBS and ALL political prisoners.

PREPAREDNESS

Standing armies are maintained in all of the great cities of the world. Chicago has 5,000; New York, 10.000 policemen. Day and night these men are detailed to keep watch and ward. Over what?

One man in the city of New York has a house that cost $5.000.000; another used 200 tons of coal to keep himself and his family warm during the winter of caol famine; a woman provided with all of the necessaries of life spends nearly $60.000 for an opera coat; silver gold precious stones, silks, velvets, laces, costly furnishings—all of the most gorgeous luxuries that life affords are at the disposal of the rich.

Men in the same city work 54 hours a week for $20, and from that $20 try to support a family of five. More than 200.000 children go to school hungry; cellars, sub-basements, rookeries and attics are rented at extortionate prices for human habitation.

The rich and the poor live side by side within a stone's throw of one another. The rich enjoing wealth that they have neither produced nor earned; the poor living meanwhile, in hideous destitution.

These conditions existing in Russia, half a century ago led Tolstoy to write, "So the rich gather in one place and settle near other rich people with similar wants in the cities where the gratification of all kinds of luxurious taste is cautiously guarded by an enormous police force."

Our economic history evidently is repeating itself.

THE BULLETIN BOARD

There is a vast army of conscientious comrades scattered over the country who respond to every call of the revolution. Whether it is to arrange a meeting, to get subscriptions for our periodicals, the sale of pamphlets, the distribution of leaflets, there services are willingly and eagerly offered. They are the Jimmie Higginses of our Movement. They are the ones whose self-sacrifice make possible the spread of our propaganda and the advancement of our Cause. They are the foundation stones of our Movement. Upon them rests the whole programe of our activities. They are the ones who build the revolution. Some time perhaps, we will learn to appreciate these sappers and miners who eternally undermine the foundations of capitalism.

Join them by joining the Communist Propaganda League. Order a bundle of Ohio Socialist. Get subscriptions.

THEY ARE JOINING DAILY

Every mail brings us applications for membership in the Communist Propaganda League. Comrades who realize the value of educating the workers in the principles of our movement are taking advantage of this opportunity to do their share.

There is room in this League for every comrade who is willing to do a little each week for his class. There is great need for the good that will be accomplished by these league members who are laying the foundation of future class and mass action of the workers by first helping them to educate themselves in our principles.

There is need for the good you can do—

Here is the chance to do it—

Therefore, sign the application below and **GET ON THE JOB.**

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP in the COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

Realizing the necessity of education and organization of the working-class in order that we may the sooner achieve our emancipation, and of the value of our propaganda for this purpose.

I hereby apply for membership in The Communist Propaganda League.

Enclosed find $........ for which send me .... copies of The Ohio Socialist weekly for as many weeks as this sum pays for at the rate of 1c per copy.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY ....

STATE ....

JOIN—SEND A DOLLAR FOR TEN COPIES FOR TEN WEEKS—MORE IF YOU CAN—JOIN

Address: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

Mind Your Own Business

No. IV.

— By RUBY HERMAN —
Acting State Sec'y. of Washington.

One of our oldest Locals made a change in Secretaries the other day. The new Secretary is not a new member of the Local; he has "paid Dues into the Socialist Party" for a greater number of years than—well, than I have. Whatever may have been his sins of omission before his election to the Secretaryship, he evidently started out with the intention of attending to the Office in an exemplary manner,—so he wrote to the State Office for instructions. This is exactly what he should have done, too, under the circumstances. I only hope he follows the instructions! If he does he will certainly be the best Local Secretary in the State! What appears odd to me is that it should have been necessary for such an old member of the Organization to ask such anxious questions about such simple and oft re-iterated duties of the Local Secretaryship. What in the world has he been about, all these years, to not know what his chief Local Servant was doing?

Among the things which he wanted to know was the price paid the State Office, by the Local, for Dues! And he "understood the Local was supposed to report to the State Office; please tell how often this should be done, and in what manner." Also,—he had found a number of "Initiation Stamps" among the Local's property would I please explain the use of these? And he wanted me to tell him where he could procure a "set of Rules" for Party affairs!

No—don't laugh: I honor the comrade for his frank and earnest efforts to adequately inform himself—at last. There are numerous Local Secretaries who, to judge by the nature of their correspondence with the State Office and the general appearance of the Monthly Local Report, are just as ignorant,—and make no effort to improve.

For instance;—I received a Money Order for $4.65 with the exceedingly lucid instructions to "send Dues for the enclosed M. O."—Now I wonder if you who read are sufficiently informed to be able to see the "point" to that!

Often some Secretary will send in the Local's Monthly Report about the eighteenth or twentieth of the month, and say,—"Plase excuse me for being a little late, this month; I hope you can manage, someway, to get the Report into the Bulletin." You say you don't see anything so reprehensible in that,—what's wrong about it, any how? Well, nothing; only—The Local's Report must arrive at the State Office in time to be included in the Report of the State Secretary to the National Office, which Report must be in the National Office NOT LATER than the twentieh. In this state it is just about impossible to delay the sending of our Report later that the fifteenth and not run serious risk of being too late. Moreover, the specific instructions are,—"Local Secretaries **** shall report to the State Secretary on or before the 13th. of each month for the previous month." And the Report Cards each bear the legend, "This report should be sent to the State Secretary upon the first of each month." Really, it would appear that most Local Secretaries are in need of that "set of Rules"! What do they do with their State and National Constitions?

Comrades, these are matters which concern, not only the Local, State and National Secretaris, but EACH INDIVIDUAL MEMBER OF THE ORGANIATION. It is YOUR BUSINESS to keep yourself informed and active in all Organization affairs. Just let me whisper a word of advice into your ear—Comrades, MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS.

Long hair is not always an evidence of genius. It may be only an evidence of the H. C. L.

Lack of men has tied up the Pacific fleet. Militarism thrives only among the petty bourgeois — and they all want to be officers.

COMMUNICATIONS

ILLINOIS

Dear Comrade Secretary:—

The State Convention of the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF ILLINOIS was held in Rock Island Sunday Oct. 12, 1919. We herewith send you a report of the proceedings. With the holding of the State Convention the Communist Labor Party becomes a mighty factor in revolutionary progress here in Illinois. We stand four square by the Manifesto of the Third International, and will bend every effort towards establishing the program of the Communist Labor Party adopted at the recent National Convention, which has already been sent you.

You want to take part in this work. You want the satisfaction of knowing that when our struggling Comrades of SOVIET RUSSIA sent the call to all revolutionary elements the world over, to unite in the magnificent struggle — perhaps the final struggle — to abolish Capitalism, and capture the world for the workers — you want to know that you were among those. Who ansveread

The old Socialist Party failed to measure up to its historic task. At the Emergency Convention it repudiated the Third International by a vote of 61 to 33. It speaks the language of the present government Social Democracy of Germany the government that assassinated Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Its program is the embodiment of social reform. In a recent official communication issued by its Executive Committee it boasts that "THE SOCIALIST PARTY BELIEVES IN IMMEDIATE DEMANDS." This in the face of the collapse of reformistic socialism from the impact of the World War. Even from such a gruelling experience, the Socialist Party has failed to learn.

The Communist Labor Party maintains that the "emancipation of the working class must be an act of the workers." They must organize their class power; they must abolish the Capitalist political state; they must make themselves the ruling class, and under their own dictatorship they must develop the instruments with which to build the New Society — the Industrial Democracy. Such is the lesson of the Russian Revolution.

Petty personalities do not enter. It is a matter of basic principles. Socialists of this country must make their stand on one of these two fundamentally opposed viewpoints. And when the crisis comes — as come it will — then it will be well to look back to this moment of decision to see whether our lot has been cast with the Scheidemans and social reform, or with the Liebknechts and social revolution. Comrades! The Revolution calls you! Will you give heed? AFFILIATE WITH THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Edgar Owens,
State Secretary

NEBRASKA

Dear Comrade Wagenknecht:—

Just a word to assure you that I stand with you and the new movement more than ever. I am not in the mood for making suggestions, and never am an adept at grappling with problems of organization, but others are, and all types of mind are needed.

I caught the spirit of Socialism Reborn in Chicago, and it is growing stronger every day. Out here in Omaha and Nebraska we seem to be away from the thick of the fight; we do not witness and only read of the making of history; but we are in the world and could not remain aloof from its problems and its changes even if we would.

The only regret I have is that I can give so little of my time to the movement, that I cannot put my shoulder to the wheel and devote all of my strength to pushing it forward. Perhaps that will be possible after a while. There are so many things to write about and, what is more important, so many things to do, but I must make a living, and some of the ideas that come to me have to put aside as if they were temptations.

The Communist Labor Party is established in Omaha and, from all indications, it has many adherents throughout Nebraska. Whatever their numbers may be, however, I do know that a finer bunch of "reds" never walked the earth and worked for the Revolution. I feel that I am one of the least of these, but I am pround to be with them. You will hear from us.

With regards for yourself, Katterfeld and all the rest in the National Office of the Communist Labor Party, I am.

Yours fraternally
Edward Rutledge

WASHINGTON

A. Wagenknecht, Executive-Secretary,
3207 Clark Ave., Clevenad, O.

Dear Comrade: —

The return of our National Convention Delegates has been met with enthusiasti approbation upon the part of all who have had an opportunity to learn of the accomplishments of the Emergency Convention. Preparations are under way for a State Convention, and there can be doubt in the minds of those who have kept in touch with the Socialist Movement in Washington that the State Organization will vote as a unit for affiliation with the National Organization of the Communist Labor Party.

By way of illustrating the sentiment which prevails here in regard to that organization which still retains the name of "Socialist Party of America" it is only necessary to quote the following incident:

Adolph Germer is sending broadcast among the membership in this state a lengthy and painstaking explaination of what the claims to be the financial condition of his organization, in which he pleads for funds to ward off "bankruptey." Upon receipt of this touching appeal the Secretary of Local Gold Bar wrote to Germer, suggesting that he "take up a collection from among the police whom he recognized as delegates at his convention!"

It is evident from this and similar incidents that the organization calling itself the "Socialist Party of America" will receive scant consideration from the comrades in Washington.

Our State Secretary, who is in the U. S. Penitentiary on McNeil's Island, —where he is taking lessons in "Democracy",—writes, "It goes without saying, of course, that my lot is cast with the C. L. P."

Again assuring you of hearty cooperation from this Office,

Fraternally Yours,
RUBY HERMAN,
Acting State Secretary.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Weston, West Va., Oct. 5, '19.

Dear commrades:—

At a meeting of the Weston Local today the question of endorsement of "The Communist Labor Party" came up and every member present voted for alliance with that party except one member who asked for time to investigate, but emphatically saying that she did not endorse John Spargo nor Benson nor any one of their followers at The St. Louis convention nor their actions since.

I was recently mixing cement for a porch for my residence and I found in the sand, which had been taken from the river bed small twigs, particles of coal etc. So we had to put it through the seive to get rid of the dead wood which would have materially weakened the concrete and the coal which would have tarnished it by filling it with black specks which would upon friction leave black holes. In that connection I desire to say that there can be no permanency in a bad mixture for concrete results.

Individually I am glad the issue is drawn and I have no fear of the good results. Capitalism can not keep from showing its teeth. The columns of every corporation in America are open to Spargo, Russell and Benson. And the plutocracy is short sighted enough to think they can split the party. They are purifying it and paying to get rid of the dead wood and dark specks that would spoil results when we get control of affairs which is not far distant. Let the sifting process be made thorough. Our recalcitrants do not lack funds and will have no trouble in scattering the debris all over the world but when the smoke subsides you will find that the crater through which it was emitted is very small. You can fool all the democrats and republicans some times and as long as they are republicans and democrats you can fool them all the time, but you can not fool a well grounded Marxian Socialist even one time. When the swarm of workers who were driven out of the hive settle, be assured that they will not make honey for the drones.

Dr. M. S. HALT.

ILLINOIS STATE CONVENTION

The state convention of the Communist Labor Party of Illinois was held recently. A state constitution was adopted, as were resolutions for unity; demanding freedom for class war prisoners; endorsing "Soviet Russia", the official organ of the Soviet Bureau. Edgar Owens of Moline was elected state secretary. Members of the state executive committee are England, Shipman, Stolar, Doering, with Arthur Procter as state chairman.

The state executive committee went into session right after the state convention adjourned to consider methods of organization and propaganda. It was decided to engage Chas. Baker for six weeks. In a letter to the Illinois membership, State Secretary Owens wirtes: "You will want the satisfaction of knowing that you were among the FIRST to help in the work of organizing the communists in America. You will want to onjoy the satisfaction of knowing that when our struggling comrades in Soviet Russia sent a call to all revolutionary elements the world over to unite in this magnificent struggle — perhaps the final struggle — to abolish capitalism and capture the world for the workers — you will want to know that you were among those present to answer the roll call."

The C. L. P. can hardly be said to be a month old, yet for the month past, dues stampj orders totaling 14,897 have been received.

C. L. P. state convention of Minnesota will be held November 2.

ASKS U. S. TO ARM HOME GUARD.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 23.—A bill authorizing the war department to issue rifles, pistols and machine guns to the states for home guard defense was introduced today by Senator Harrison, Democrat, Mississippi, who said the legislation was designed as part of a plan to protect communities against violence byr adical elements.

DANCE AND SOCIAL GIVEN.

EDITOR:—

The Workers Defense League of Akron, O., gave a dance and social Saturday evening October 18th in Kaiser Hall. The attendance was unusually good as the program included several addresses in diferent languages.

Some good books on working class economics were given away. The League is becoming a very important factor in Akron and expects to do some very important work in the ensuing struggles between Capital and Labor. We are arranging for a series of lectures for the coming winter season and have the hearty support of all workers organizations in Akron.

Yours for Industrial Freedom

JAMES B. O'BRIEN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Red Doran is teaching a class in Automobiles and at the same time giving his class a much wider and better course than most any school in the U. S., as he delves always into the why of everything which makes the scholars brush up on their Geometry, Physics, and etc. He is the real McCoy when it comes to teaching.

Ashleigh and Downing are teaching English, which they are undoubtedly well fitted for.

Enrique Magon is teaching Spanish and if a man were to search over the entire U. S. I do not think he could find a more competent teacher.

James Solvie is teaching a class in Russian.

BLEEDING MEXICO

By LINN A. E. GALE.

The United States sways back and forth, unsteadily, on the edge of war with Mexico. Unless the Radicals, Liberals and peace-loving people generally, north of the Rio Grande make an almost superhuman effort, their country will be plunged into another blood-bath within a few months or even few weeks.

Nothing short of Social Revolution in the United States or England, can permanently prevent intervention, for intervention is the inevitable next move on the program of imperialistic capitalism. Intervention in Mexico, war with England, war with Japan and God only knows what next—they are unavoidable, sooner or later, unless Wall Street's government or Lombard Street's government topples down.

But, while only the Revolution can permanently prevent intervention, it is possible for organized public opinion in the United States to bring such powerful pressure that it will be delayed a year or two. And during that year or two, in all probability, England will have an upheaval. One is imminent there now. It is too early to expect anything like that just now in the United States but Bolshevism in England would hasten the Great Change in North America and affairs might easily get so serious for capitalism in the United States that Wall Street would have its hands full at home. In such a case, intervention would never take place and Mexico would be free to work out her own destiny.

The chief reason why Wall Street wants intervention is, as everybody knows, told in the one word—"oil." It cannot be said, however, from the standpoint of bourgeois governmental procedure, that Carranza's taxes on oil properties have been excessive or "confiscatory." Compared with the rates in Texas and Oklahoma, both rentals and taxes are moderate. The total value of petroleum exports for 1918 was about $70,000,000, American money, and the official tax for that year, according to Mexican government figures, was $5,560,198.95, American money, or about 8 per cent of the value of the exports. Hardly an unjust tax, when it is remembered that 54 of the oil companies pay an annual rent of about one dollar an acre, these 54 companies occupying 7-8ths of the oil land under exploitation, and the other 24 oil companies own their own land in fee simple and pay no rent.

However, it is not the tax itself that has stimulated the intervention movement. The petroleum magnates don't like the tax, to be sure and probably it would be reduced some under American rule, but the tax is not the real trouble. If that were the only difficulty, a few grumbles would be all that would ever come of it.

American capitalism is far less concerned about the oil tax than it is about the fear that "Bolshevistic tendencies" are lurking behind it. What Wall Street is really afraid of is, that it lets the oil tax stand and virtually acknowledges the principle of eminent domain which the Mexican government has proclaimed with regard to oil wells, mines, etc., that same government will some of these days seize the wells and mines and operate them itself.

Carranza is not a Socialist nor is his Secretary of State, Manual Aguirre Berlanga, but their sympathies are with the common people rather than with capitalistic exploiters. They know what foreign capitalism has done to Mexico. They can see every day in Mexico City what Wall Street did when General Diaz was President—how it erected elegant public buildings that cost millions of dollars wrung from a long-suffering people, how alien contractors received staggering graft on every one of these buildings, how helpless peons were paid niggardly wages for working on them, and how two mammoth unfinished structures, the National Theater and the Legislative Palace, with now rusty iron beams and sinking abutments, testify to the thievery of those capitalists and to the profligate extravagance and corruption of Diaz.

It would not take much to swing Carranza and Berlanga into open espousal of Socialism, or to at least make them put into practice a mild form of state Socialism. That is, if it were not for outside pressure. Just at present there is little danger of any such action because the Carranza government is struggling for its very life. But under ordinary circumstances, there would be a tendency in the direction of more Radicalism that would be at least distictly uncomfortable for outside capital invested in Mexico.

This is the **real reason** why Wall Street raves and rages at Carranza and wants American gunmen hustled at once to the border. Morgan, Hearst, et al., do not want to take any more chances with such a government. Who knows but Bolshevism may sweep across another country or two and Carranza may catch the disease and do a little Bolshevizing himself? Such a possibility is too terrible to be considered with complacency. Such a government is too dangerous potentially to be left alone. It must be overthrown and some form of a stable "protectorate" substituted. So reason Morgan and Hearst—and quite properly from their standpoint.

This uneasiness on the part of the American money kings has been increased not a little in the past few months by certain symptoms that are clearly indicative of growing Radicalism among the Mexicans. William Gates, who wrote a series of articles of a very abusive and unfair nature for the Worlds Work, mentioned reproachfully in one of them: "Before me lies a recent Mexico City newspaper with photographs of a poster advertising copies for sale of the Bolsheviki constitution on the walls of the government buildings in Mexico and a clerk at the window of the Chamber of Deputies, selling copies. My current Mexican papers are daily filled with increasing numbers of notices of Russian Bolsheviki propagandists." Gates is not the only fossilized foreigner who has been perturbed by the fact that Bolshevist propaganda is for the most part unchecked in Mexico.

Just the other day, Secretary of the Treasury Luis Cabrera, who is considered the second most influential man in the Republic below Carranza—Secretary of State Berlanga ranking first below the President—was interviewed by a reporter for **El Democrata**, a Mexico City newspaper. The reporter asked Cabrera if he did not think Bolshevist agitators in Mexico ought to be imprisoned or deported. Cabrera said "No," and remarked that Bolshevism was an ideal social system but Mexico was not yet ready for it. Perhaps Cabrera would not have made that latter statement if it had not been for the Damocles' sword of intervention hanging over the head of the government of which he is an important part. But even if he really made it in all sincerity, the preceding remark is sufficient to show that he is not a "safe" man for Wall Street to permit to have charge of the finances of a large, rich and fertile country like Mexico—that the Mexican government is a "safe" government when it tolerates such a Secretary of the Treasury. It is not enough that he thinks Mexico is not ready for Bolshevism—just now. Wall Street won't stand for a chancellor who think Mexico will **ever** be ready for it!

A worse thorn in the flesh of Wall Street than Cabrera—and Cabrera has been honored by being called "pro-German" by New York newspapers—is Secretary of State Berlanga. During the war, Berlanga was everlastingly opposed to any participation in it and some think he, even more than Carranza, was responsible for Mexico's flat decision not to listen to the siren song of the Allied Committee of Public Information, the oil magnates and American vested interests when they pleaded with the government to help save democracy. All American capitalists consider Berlanga "pro-German"—much more so than they consider Cabrera. Perhaps he was a little "pro-German" in the war. If so, his position was undoubtedly the same as that of not a few Mexicans who told me they wanted to see Germany win, not because they liked the kaiser or the junkers, but because they felt that with Germany victorious, Potsdam would keep Wall Street from gobbling up Mexico—one set of thieves would balance the other and meanwhile Mexico would have a chance to live in peace. If the United States won, they maintained, Wall Street would immediately prepare to size Mexico. In the light of present events, the idea was not as far wrong as it may have seemed.

Be this as it may, it is an undisputed fact that Berlanga is the bitter enemy of alien exploiters. He is a lawyer by profession, a student by inclination, and a temperamental pacifist and democrat, hating alike military trappings and official obsequiousness. The gaudily uniformed soldiers of Diaz and the pomp and display of the Diaz regime are still nauseating memories to him. All thru his career, his hostility to anything militaristic or imperialistic, has been evident. If Mexico is free from coercion in the presidential election of 1920, he may succeed Carranza. There is little doubt that he is Carranza's preference. If he became President, the Mexican government would be still less kindly disposed toward the oil and mining magnates. In fact, Berlanga might decide, some fine day, to make an alliance with Lenine. He might not. Nobody knows. But Wall Street cannot afford to take any such chanse and let Mexico elect such a man as its chief executive. Another reason why intervention is necessary.

Two little happenings lately furnish additional proof of which way Secretary Berlanga inclines. One of them concerns myself. I was arrested by order of the Mexico City health department for publishing a Spanish edition of Margaret Sanger's birth control pamphlet, "Family Limitation." There is no law in Mexico against contraceptive information but the health department, which is under the influence of Allied capitalists who particularly hate me, construed a certain paragraph in the book to mean approval of abortion and also claimed that an advertisement in the book of a suppository violated the patent medicine regulations. I was fined 500 dollars, Mexican money, and sentenced to a penitentiary term if I did not pay the fine. I appealed to Berlanga and Berlanga summoned the secretary of the health department before him. What happened, I heard from a witness who said that Berlanga gave the frightened secretary a lecture that he will not soon forget, warning him to take no more orders from foreign capitalists or the American embassy! I was already in the penitentiary, having been railroaded there as quickly as the health department could get a policeman to take me. I did not stay long, however, for very shortly thereafter, the health department was compelled to revoke its penalty and order me freed. This action by Berlanga was taken in the face of a storm of savage articles in **El Universal** and **Excelsior**, the two principal newspapers in Mexico City under the controll of Allied money.

The other incident in which Berlanga showed his hand lately, was that of Dmitri Nikitin, who was arrested in Monterrey and conducted to the city of Victoria, en route for Tampico, where he was to have been deported for being a "pernicious foreigner." Nikitin is a Russian by birth, lived in the United States 10 or 15 years and is, of course, a Bolshevik. He is a "slacker" and was conducting a school of languages in Monterey with his wife, a Mexican lady. He also sold radical literature and advocated Bolshevism. American capitalists "framed" him, getting the police to arrest him in the belief that he was a supporter of Villa. Friends appealed to Berlanga and Berlanga communicated with the governor of the state of Tamaulipas who ordered Nikitin's release. He is now free to pursue his own inclinations and will be — unless intervention comes. These are only little incidents but they are significant.

Another and very important reason why American capitalism wants intervention is the fact that Mexico provided asylum for nearly 30.000 "slackers" from the United States during the war. Nobody knows the exact number but there were probably 30.000 who came to this country. Many have now gone back, many others went to South America and quite a few went to various European countries, hoping to eventually get to Russia. Today there are not more than 5.000 here — probably much less. But the fact remains that these political exiles who refused to participate in what they regarded as an unjustifiable war, were protected by the Carranza government. A few near the border were returned by local Mexican officials who sold out for the $50 a head offered for deserters, but this was not done with the knowledge or approval of the Mexico City government. Not only were the "slackers" protected from extradition, but they were allowed to engage in Bolshevik propaganda to their heart's content. Allied firms that discharged men on learning just why they were in Mexico, had to pay damages under the Mexican law which forbids discrimination by employers for political reasons. Allied stores that refused to sell goods to "slackers" were forced to serve them or pay a fine. Sanborn's Drug Store of this city was visited by ex-Governor Breceda of the Federal District and a delegation of Mexican soldiers a few minutes after one of the waitresses refused to serve "Jack" Johnson an ice cream soda, and "Jack" thereupon had all the sodas he wanted. Pugilist Johnson is neither a "slacker" nor a radical, having left the United States on account of a charge under the Mann white slave act, but this is another instance showing the attitude of Mexicans toward fugitives from other countries. Johnson's color was probably the reason for his chilly reception in Sanborn's; and color discriminations are not tolerated.

There is still another reason why intervention is wanted — a big and influential reason. The Roman Catholic Church. Probably no man on earth is more hated today by the Pope at Rome than President Carranza of Mexico, because he confiscated vast church estates and exiled many priests who were robbing the ignorant masses. The anti-Catholic policy of the government has moderated a great deal in the last year or two, in an evident effort to stop the Catholic clamors for intervention. Lately many of the exiled priests have been allowed to return to Mexico, but the church knows that Carranza still detests it and would not hesitate to completely crush it if his government were free from outside coercion. Therefore, the Catholic Church of foreign countries is, almost to a man, loudly, for intervention, and the Catholic hierarchy of Mexico, with its thousands of illiterate, degraded followers, stands ready to stab the Mexico government in the back while Allied capitalism attacks it from the front.

The stories of atrocities committed against foreigners in Mexico may be dismissed briefly. Foreigners have been treated no worse than Mexicans by the bandits. And if Carranza had been left alone during the years of his administration, there would be few bandits in the country. The cancellation of enormous land grants to political heelers and grafters of Diaz, the division of these lands into small tracts and their restoration to the people, the proper taxation of mines and oil wells and the socialization of certain industries that would have taken place, would have eliminated most of the terrible poverty that is the logical fruit, not of Carranza's policies, but of outside interference. Non-interference would have enabled Carranza to remove extreme poverty and thereby eliminate the banditry arising from it. The other kind of banditry which is the bigger share of it, would have disappeared almost instantaneously, for it is traceable directly to foreigners who supply the brigands with guns and money.

It is common knowledge that oil men in the Tampico district pay $200.000 a month to Pellaez, king of the bandits of that section. When L. J. de Bekker, an American newspaper man, asked an oil man why he did not refuse to pay this blackmail and appeal to the Mexican government for protection, the answer was: "We can't. Pelaez would blow up our wells if we did. Besides, **the State Department at Washington knows each and every payment we make to Pellaez and approves it!**"

The simple truth is that the bandits in Mexico get their ammunition from American sources — there is no other place from which they could get it. In some cases the ammunition is sold them in cold-blooded commercial transactions. In other cases it is given them and money is also paid as a bribe, besides, to protect the property of the donors. The same aid given Carranza soldiers would probably protect the givers of the guns and dollars amply, but they would rather help cut-throats, ruffians and robbers than to help a government that tho faulty and weak, is honestly liberal and honestly making a hard struggle against uneven odds. **The Pellaez bandits in the Tampico region, who protect the property of the oil magnates never neglect an opportunity to dynamite a government railway train or kill Carranza soldiers!**

There are a very, very few gangs that loot and murder and that do not get help from foreigners. It is such as these that commit the crimes like the killing of Correll and the others that fill the American newspapers. But, in the first place, these gangs are no more numerous than were similar gangs in the early days of the United States; in the second place, there are more lynchings, "patriotic" outrages and the like commited in the United States, considering population, than there are crimes of these gangs in Mexico; in the third place, if the Carranza government were given the aid that foreigners now give its enemies, the government would be able to exterminate such outhlaws; and in the fourth place, the members of many of these gangs are peons who have been cheated by foreigners and who seek revenge by attacking every "gringo" they see. If foreigners had not wronged them in the beginning, they would not be outlaws now.

After all, no matter what Mexico's offenses, they are the offenses of a child, unlettered, abused and enslaved. They are offenses that no nation that is genuinely great and no man who is truly human, can refuse to forgive. Her whole life has been a pitiful series of serfdoms, violations and tortures. A toy, a mistress, a thrall — this was her role for centuries. At last, freed by revolution, she has been beaten and bruised almost from the very moment she drew her first breath of freedom's air, and her newfound emancipation has been but a ghastly mockery.

Unjust and unrighteous as all wars of capitalist society have been, war with Mexico will be the most wicked and wanton that was ever waged. "War" is a misnomer. It will not be war but rape — brutal, vicious, lecherous, fiendish rape, committed against a nation that has suffered as no nation ever suffered; that is slowly and painfully climbing the steeps that lead toward light and liberty; and that, in spite of enforced ignorance and degradation, has never lost the love, laughter and music in her heart nor the democratic dreams in her soul!

—From THE NEW JUSTICE.

Official Bulletin Communist Labor Party

LOCAL BOSTON COMMUNIST PARTY PASSES UNITY RESOLUTION.

One of the largest locals of the Communist Party, that at Boston, Mass., has gone on record for unity between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. The resolutions passed are significant in that they show that Local Boston recognizes the sincere attempt for unity which is being made by the Communist Labor Party. Despite the opposition of the Communist Party national officials, the demand for unity is permeating the rank and file of that party and its officials will have to obey or lose their positions, dignity and **all.**

The resolutions passed by Local Boston follow:

"Whereas the existance of two communist parties, both standing upon the platform of the Third International, organized at Moscow, is a crime and only tends to split the revolutionary forces of the American proletariat, and

"Whereas there is no diference in principle nor yet in tactics between the platform and program of the Communist Party and that, of the Communist Labor Party, and

"Whereas the chief cause for launching two communist parties appears to rest in the shallow personal activings and mutual hatred between so-called laders of the communist movement of America, and

"Whereas a division of communist forces leads to useless expense of means, all of which are contributed by the rank and file, and in baseless internal strife between communists, thereby weakening the propaganda among the working class as well as disorganizing the communist forces in America, all of which will reflect badly upon the International Communist movement, and

"Whereas the Communist Labor Party has declared its readiness to at any time unite with the Communists Party on the basis of equality,

"Therefore, taking all this into consideration, be it resolved by the Communist Party of Boston, representing 2.000 members in joint meeting assembled, October 12, 1919 that we demand immediate unification of the Communist Party with the Communist Labor Party."

Local Boston, Communist Party,
J. Pallo, Secretary, P. T.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THIRD INTERNATIONAL HEARD FROM

A communication has been received by the Soviet Bureau in New York City from the executive committee of the Third International, which commands the Russian Federation of the Communist Party to cease their ruthless attacks upon the Soviet Bureau.

The Russian Federation of the Communist Party has for months made war upon Martns, head of the Soviet Bureau in the United States. The object was control of the bureau by the federation. This constant attack upon the Soviet Bureau has caused a serious split in the Russian Federation of the Communist Party, 18 branches having either seceded or been suspended for objecting to criticism of the bureau. these 18 branches have organized a Russian Federation affiliated with the Communist Labor Party.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN-COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

TELEGRAM:— Local Oakland, Cal., a local of 500 members and the largest in the state, joins Communist Labor Party. "Oakland World" our weekly paper, taken over into C. L. P. with us. Only 50 out of the 500 members will stay with the reactionaries.

The "Oakland World" is one of the largest party weeklies in the country. Its circulation of 10.000 per week will make it a power for the Communist Labor Party.

NEW LOCAL OF 80 AT BREEZY HILL.

J. I. Crviston and J. P. Cannon are invading the Kansas coal fields. A meeting held at Breezy Hill, Crawford county resulted in the affiliation of 80 members, mostly Jugo-Slavs. Max Bedacht will also spend a week in that same territory and Cannon assures us of five more locals before Bedacht leaves.

Adolph Germer, now national organizer for the Socialist Party, held a "rousing" meeting in Kansas City Missouri the other day. All of 19 people were present to hear him orate, and 12 of these were members of the C. L. P.

Ruthenberg Again Challenged

Makes lame excuse for refusing to debate.

Immediately after the Cuyahoga County delegate convention, where Ruthenberg was publicly Challenged to meet Katterfeld in debate before the Cleveland membership, Ruthenberg agreed personally to accept this challenge "sometime soon."

He now attempts to sidestep the debate with the lame excuse that when the delegate body of Cuyahoga County had voted, the matter was settled as far as he is concerned, and accuses those who accepted his personal word in good faith of "cheap trickery."

The Communist Labor Party maintains that the issue was not settled and can not be settled by delegate bodies and conventions. No member can delegate the resposibility for such a decision to anybody else. The question of Party affiliation is one that each individual member must decide for himself in accordance with his own convictions, and the issue is NOT settled until the individual Party member decides and pays his dues to the Party of his choice.

Ruthenberg claims 2,500 members for the Communist Party in Cleveland because of the vote of a few delegates. As sheep fellow the bellwether, so he seems to think the mass of the Cleveland membership will follow the "leader" But the Cleveland Comrades are not sheep. The fact is that to date only a small fraction of this number have affiliated with either Party. The great majority of them have not yet decided where to join.

The Ruthenberg method is to try to herd the membership en masse into a Party through the actions of officials The Communist Labor Party method is to appeal to the judgment of each individual Comrad. Which of these is in accord with Communist principles?

Instead of being moved into the Communist Party like a set of pawns, the Cleveland membership would like to have some information on a number of points.

Why did not Ruthenberg carry out the program to which he agreed time after time in conference with other Left Wing Comrades?

Why did Ruthenberg persuade the Cuyahoga County Committee to give instructions to the Delegates to the Emergency Convention that directly conflicted with the instructions of the State convention, endorsed by membership referendum?

If, as he now claims, he meant when he wrote the State instructions on June 26th that the Ohio delegates should go into the convention called by the Michigan Comrades and the Federations, then why did he sign the following, which appeared over his signature in the Revolutionary Ago on August 2-nd?

"The National Left Wing Council... shall assist in all ways within its power to secure the election of Left Wing delegates to the Eemergency Convention of the Socialist Party...

"Should the National Emergency Convention prove reactionary and in the control through the assistance of the capitalist police of the moderate and despotic officialdom of the Party; should this Emergency convention rule in favor of the shameful acts of the present autocratic National Eexecutive Committee, then the Left Wing delegates to THIS Convention shall IMMEDIATELY organize a new Communist Party, representing the vast majority of the PRESENT. Socialist Party....

"In the event that the National Emergency convention of the Socialist Party is not called on August 30th the National Council is instructed to hold a convention that will organize a new Party then and there in Chikago on August 30th."

At the time that Ruthenberg signed the above document the call of the Russian-Michigan combination of Left Wing bolters for their privately conducted convention on Sept. 1st had already been out for many weeks. If Ruthenberg meant that our delegates should go into the convention of the bolting Left Wing minority why did he not say so? Why did he sign the above statement?

If Ruthenberg means one thing when he says another, then what dependence can the membership place in his present pretensions?

If Ruthenberg had in mind all the time and on June 26th that we should go into the Russian-Michigan convention, why did he agree on July 26th in the N. E. C. meeting to instruct Wagenknecht as National Secretary to rent a separate hall for the Emergency convention to meet Aug. 30th?

Why does Ruthenberg now propose an Ohio State Convention in conjunction with the reactionary locals of the old Socialist Party? Why is he willing to go cohoots with the Germerites?

Above all — Why does Ruthenberg oppose UNITY between the two Communist organizations? Why does he and the rest of the Communist Party officialdom refuse to accept the Unity Conference invitation that has been extended by the Communist Labor Party?

WHO stands in the way of unity of all Communist forces?

These questions are being asked by hundreds of Comrades right here in Cleveland. The issue is not settled until these questions are answered The demand is gaining ground from day to day that Ruthenberg appear openly before the Cleveland membership to justify his actions in public debate with a representative of the Communist Labor Party whom he has so milicicously slandered.

Ruthenberg is again challenged by the Communist Labor Party to debate with Katterfeld at ANY TIME before the membership of Cuyahoga County the issue between the two Communist Parties.

Dare he accept?
Dare he refuse?

WORCESTER JOINS C. L. P.

Local Worcester, Mass., (English) has joined the Communist Labor Party. Other locals in Massachusetts are making inquiries as to the reason for the split in the left wing movement and as they learn the thruth, will affiliate with the C. L. P. Massachusetts is considered a Communist Party stronghold.

The German Hungarian branch; the Northwest Side German branch the Forest Hill German branch, all of Chicago have affiliated with the Communist Labor Party.

GARY COMRADES HELD FOR DEPORTATION

Members of the Communist Labor Party, Russian Branches, at Gary, Indiana, are being hold for deportation because of their activity in the steel strike. Party members, homes have been ransacked by the military, wholesale arrests have been made, and the intimidation of strikers continues the program of King Gary.

SAN FRANCISCO AFFILIATES

A communication from J. A. Ragsdale, secretary of Local San Francisco, contains the encouraging news that his local has joined the Communist Labor Party. Local San Francisco, together with Local Oakland, are the two largest local on the Pacific coast.

The Socialist Party is commercializing the name of Debs by attempting to retain membership and collect dues by claiming that Debs will remain a member of the Socialist Party. Debs has not yet spoken, and when he does, a surprise awaits all American Scheidemanns.

"Long live the Socialist Party! Long live the International!" This is the new slogan of the reactionary Socialist Party. But, allow us a question, please? Long live WHICH Internationale? As usual, the S. P. officials are "putting it over" on their gulible membership.

WORKERS WANTED

The Communist Labor Party wants workers, comrades who are ready and willing to take the field and do real Jimmy Higgins organzation work. The lecture platform and the editors chair seem to be the magneth which attract too many of the comrades, whereas the most essential work, that of plodding along in the work of making personal canvasses from house to house, is overlooked and neglected. The C. L. P. wants workers. Let us repeat — WORKERS. If you are willing to WORK for the C. L. P., send in your name and address, as well as qualifications. Address National Office, 3207 Clark ave., Cleveland, O.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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Keep the Right to Strike!

Nearly half a million coal miners have downed tools as a last resort to force the coal barons to accede humane conditions of employment. The coal barons demanded that the miners continue at work pending the outcome of an industrial roundtable between the miners and their employers. The miners rightly refused to agree to throwing away their strongest weapon to enter unequally into a conference. The strike is on and the battle must be won for the men who mine the coal that makes civilization possible.

Woodrow Wilson and his reactionary government have chosen to throw its entire strength of courts and military on the side of those who have reaped millions in profits from the sweat and toil of the miners. As usual the class lines are drawn tightly, the capitalistic class character of the government is clarly depicted for all who may care to see. The government stands bone—headedly upon a technicality that the war is not over and the miners are bound by a war time agreement to keep at work. The government conveniently asserts or discards this same technicality as the conditions of its political welfare dictate. In order to bind into slavery a half million American workers it blunderingly serves an injunction upon the miners' officials restraining them from calling the strike. Nevertheless, the strike is on, the men are out and the injunction is worthless, but it should serve to teach American workers the true character of the government.

The right to strike must remain inviolate. An attempt to abrogate this right is an assault upon the workers and the rights of free men, whether the assault is led by a reactionary government or any other power. The right to quit work in order to force better conditions of life and employment is a fundamental right that no man other than a congenital slave will for a moment be denied.

The demands of the miners which may appear radical to some on first glance are upon close analysis, but logical and reasonable considering the conditions surrouding the coal industry.

For nearly a year the miners have worked about half time. Their liberty bonds, purchased to help win a war for "democracy" have long ago been cashed in to purchase food and clothing for their families. A shorter work-day and week are absolutely necessary if miners are to have steady employment. An increase in wages only, can assure them of a decent American standard of living.

But the government cannot see this. Its powers have been thrown to the interests of the coal barons. Soldiers are guarding the mines, protecting such scabs as the government and coal operators may be able to recruit to break the strike.

Let every miner stand staunchly by the principles of free men. None other than slaves will be cowed by the misuse of governmental power in the hands of the rulling class.

Terrible Treatment of American Soldiers in Waging Wilson's Private War Against Soviet Russia

SAN FRANCISCO:—

Bringing 1,278 United States troops back from what they describe as a land of horrors and no place for an American, the army transport Logan docked today with one of the largest detachments of Siberian expeditionary forces thus far returned to the United States.

Today's arrivals are from the Twenty-seventh and Thirty-first infantry having served more than 15 months in Siberia. In the ship's hospitals were thirty-eight men being transferred at the Presidio; in the ship's brig were three prisoners serving courts-martial sentences and to be transferred to Alcatraz and in the hold were the bodies of 16 Americans killed in fight with Bolshevik forces.

Tales of hardships, mistreatment and abuse are many among the men. The Japanese are blamed by the soldiers for the conditions in Siberia, which they describe as a pest hole of flith, disease and terror. Interior Siberia, especially at Harbin and further inland, is in the clutches of an epidemic of cholera and typhus which is resulting in many deaths, claim today's arrivals.

Bitter Against Officers

Members of several companies of the Tventy-seventh Infantry are bitter against the tratment given them by the commanding officers whom they charge with using the mailed first of military authority to maintain discipline and check the spread of discontent among the men because of their dissatisfaction at being kept in places for reasons they know nothing of and being subjected to treatment worse, they claim, than would be given a dog.

The majority of the complaints are lodged against Colonel H. T. Morrow, commanding officer of the Twenty-seventh Regimena, nicknamel by his men "Bull of the Woods."

Cruelties of all descriptions, intexication and many charges are lodged against officers by men of the Twenty-seventh. The chief complaint against Colonel Morrow is the erection of the prison stockade and herding it full of American prisoners, placed there, the man say, for the most trivial of violations of military rullings.

Tell of Conditions

Edward G. Bell of Company B. Tventy-seventh Infantry; J. Shapiro, Company L. and many others tell of conditions in the prison stockade, created, they say, by Colonel Morrow, Bell said:

This stockade was bult of logs and designed to hold about 150 men. There were about 140 men in it all of the time. We were made to double time to and from work or any place we were driven. Life inside this stockade was a horror. Every two hours during the night, officers, commanded by Colonel Morrow, would come in, wake us up, take our bedding away from us; force us to line up and answer to roll call and then we would be double-timed for a few minutes. Then we would get a snatch of sleep and double-timed again. We were sent to the stockade on charges which would in most places escape with a rebuke.

Charge Tyranny Reign

J. Shapiro of Company L. and vouched for by many of his company, charges the officers with conducting a reign of tyranny. Grafting of money to be used for the soldiers, abuses and brutalities are charged against the officers. Shapiro charges that German officers held as prisoners were given better treatment than the American and Russian prisoners, and that the German officers are wearing American uniforms. Supported by Dan Alexander of a headquarters company in the Twenty-seventh. Shapira says that Arthur Herrarra of Company L. a resident of San Francisco, was given a sentence of 14 days on bread and water for making a remark about a German major wearing the American uniform while a prisoner, Shapiro said:

Herrarra resented the fact that a major in the Germany army was wearing an American uniform. Herrarra said, "Doesn't he look cute, the —" Captain Larkin, commanding Company E. of the Tventy-seventh, heard the remark and Herrarra received a court martial and 14 days solitary.

Herman N. Jensen, Company B. Twenty-seventh infantry, expressed the sentiments of more than 500 soldiers of the Siberian forces when he said:

Americans have no business in Siberia. From all we can learn Hiram W. Johnson is one of the best friends we have and the men in Siberia and on the Logan are for him 100 per cent.

We have been inland about 1.800 miles at Verxhue Udnisk and if anybody can solve the riddle there they will have a Philadelphia lawyer beaten.

Japanese Show Hand

The situation there is thus: The Japs are stealing the country and helping them do it are three so-called Russian Kolchak generals—Kilmokiff, Seminoff and Gamoff. All are supposed to be divisional chiefs under Kolchak, but in reality they are bandits far worse than Villa. The Mexican situation is as peaceful as a village alongside of Russia. Kolchak is friendly to the Americans, but his bandit chieftains, who are supposed to co-operate with the Americans, are being financed by the Japs to create a reign of terror. They are open in their declarations against the Americans. Their actions, together with the conditions of poverty, filth and disease made Siberia an awful place. There are more than 1,000 men on board who are tickled to death to get back — but believe me, buddy, it's tough sledding for those who are in Siberia now, although they are beginning to get the men out.

Unite for Liberation, is Debs' Massage

From the Prison Hospital Debs Sees Labor Growing Stronger for Final Conflict With Its Exploiters

Cincinnati O. Oct. 23. 1919.

DEAR COMRADE WAGENKNECHT:—

I wisited Gene yesterday accompanied by attorney Castelton and found him slightly improved, he is still in the hospital and will in all probability remain there because of his health. He is no longer obliged to work in the clothing shop as the Warden recognized he must get better air and rest. Every one about the prison appreciates and loves "our Gene," many prisoners would gladly serve his time for him if they could. The prisoners in the turbeculosis section raise flowers and frequently send him boquets.

He is cheerful and optimistic, the split in the Party is to him an evidence of growth. He said. "Parties will split, but the movement for working-class emancipation never splits, the rank and file in all the Parties are honest and will get together in their own good time. "Tell them to carry on the work for liberation of all political prisoners. All of us will be released when the working-class present a united front. We must see to it that the financial interests are not permitted to overthrow by force the liberties so dearly bought and paid for by the blood of the workers.

They must understand that this government was founded on the theory of the right of its citizens to advocate change if the existing system does not provide safety and security for the people. The Declaration of Independence states this principle clearly, any group of people that interferes with this fundamental right is in conflict with the spirit and purpose of the revolutionists who were ready to die rather than live under the autocracy of King George.

It is the mission of the workers to rid the world of the industrial autocrats who are more oppressive than the political autocrats ever-dared to be. The workers have been robbed and starved in their interests, they are the 2o/o who control 70o/o of the weatlh. The men and women who feed, clothe and house the world, must control the world. They must systematize and organize industry in their own interest instead of for the 2o/o, thereby abolishing the conflict between nations and classes.

From behind prison bars I can hear the rumblings. I can feel the heert throbs of the working-class in their efforts to free themselves from their fetters. I understand and I reach aut to the men in the steel mills and the miners, the railroad shops, to the workers every-where. I am with you in spirit, be true to yourselves and your class, the day is not far distant when Labor will come into its own."

With this messoge, Gene Debs sends greetings to his comrades urging unity of all revolutionary organizations.

Fraternally

Marguerite Prevey.

GOOD NEWS COMRADES

COMRADES:—

The national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party just held a meeting in New York City.

Many important decisions were made. In fact, the Communist Labor Party steps forth a definate power from now on, having, as a result of this meeting, acquired the needed party activities and machinery which enables the party to reach its membership as well as workers who are in need of communist education.

1. Plans were perfected for the tourning of an army of organizers and lecturers. A circularization of locals and branches has resulted in a call for speakers and organizers such as will rush us to comply with.

2. The fighting organ of the Communist Labor Party has been established. It will be called "COMMUNIST LABOR". The first issue will appear within two weeks. Max Bedacht will edit this periodical.

3. "Class Struggle", at present the only magazine of a scientific nature published in this country, has been taken over by the Communist Labor Party. Ludwig Lore will continue to act as editor of this magazine, and Jack Carney and A. Raphailoff will be associate editors.

4. "Voice of Labor" has also been made an official Communist Labor Party organ. John Reed is its editor. This paper will continue the shop committee paper, propaganting the One Big Union idea among the workers and doing its part in organizing them for effective action.

5. The going business of the Socialist Publication Society has been absorbed by the party. This society has already on hand thousands of excellent pamphlets, and has an especially good stock of Russian book by Bucharin, said to be the best by Bucharin, saidt to be the best esposition of Communism so for written, of which three million copies have been sold in Russia and of which we hope to sell a million in the U S.

6. The national office of the Communist Labor Party will move to New York City. From this citadel of capitalism we hope to rally the 30.000.000 wage slaves to the cause of communism; from here the activities of the party will be prosecuted with greater vigor and efficiency.

AND YOU! Your duty is now plain. Every member of the party must from this moment on become an agent for the party. Every member must be an organizer, a subscription getter, a literature agent — a propagandist every spare moment of every day.

THIS WILL LEAD TO VICTORY!

Syndicalism Cases Continued

Unlettered Prosecutor gives new pronuntiation to class-war words and phrases and reveals ignorance of language as well as of law.

The cases of Chas Baker, Walter Bronstrup, L. E. Katterfeld, A. Wagenknecht and E. T. Allison, charged with criminal syndicalism, were continued in Judge Moylan's court to Nov. 5th when the five defendents appeared with their attorney, Morris Wolfe, last Thurs. afternoon for preliminary hearing.

Articles from the Voice of Labor, official organ of the Communist Labor Party and an editorial from the Ohio Socialist of date of Nov. 15th, entitled "Seizing the Capitalist State", which were distributed at a meeting on Oct. 16th as well as paragraphs from the Communist Labor Party News were submitted and read as evidence in support of the charge of criminal syndicalism against the defendents by McCuen, Secretary of the Loyal American League, who was instrumental in making the arrests.

Copies of speeches made by Chas Baker, A. Wagenknecht and L. E. Katterfeld and Margueritte Prevey were in the hands of the prosecution but were not offered as evidence. Attorney Wolfe, for the defendents submitted and insisted that the speech of Marguerite Prevey be read. Marguerite Prevey was not arrested at the meeting, nor were other women comrades who participated and took an active part in it. Both prosecution and defense rested their cases at this point but judge Moylan insisted that the prosecution point out the particular violation of the criminal syndicalism law which had occurred. This reopened the case and necessitated the reading of considerable portions of the articles by the prosecuting attorney. Attorney Wolfe asked that the defendents be discharged since no violation of yaw, no evidence of "advocacy of crime, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism" had been submitted. This put the prosecutor and his fellows of the Loyal American League to thinking and the prosecutor expressed the wish to submit the speeches of the defendents as further evidence. The hour being late a continuance of the case to Nov. 5th was granted.

Prosecuting attorney, Stanton, who is perhaps as shaggy and scabby an appearing individual as ever held down a job as police prosecutor revealed a pitiable lack of vocabulary and knowledge of modern English in his handling of the case, especially in his readings of extracts from the various publications. Such words as

(Continued on page 4.)

Bombs and "Bull"

The capitalist press of the country has for a week past been reeking with tales of discoveries of alleged bomb plotters, their arrests, seizure of large quantities of materials for the making of bombs, radical literature and communications from men prominent in the American Communist Movement.

The assertion is made that the men and woman arrested at Cleveland have connections in various parts of the country and that the fact is being established that the bomb said to have been sent thru the mails in the early part of summer, and the bombing of the home of Mayor Davis is the work of these men.

We charge that these latest alleged bomb discoveries are the rankest kind of fake, perpetrated by one of the greatest political poltrooms who ever sat in a Mayor's chair — Harry Davis of Cleveland. While Davis' police were riding over the workers of Cleveland on May 1st, brutally clubbing men, women and children in an effort to exterminate every vestige of rising revolt among the workers, Harry Davis was in attendance at a ball game. While the agencies of destruction which he had released at the word of the Camber of Commerce were at work, he sat on a bench in the ball park safe in his skin far from the scene he had not the physical courage to enter. In his campaign for re-election the radical element of the city are bombarding him with questions about his murderous assault upon the workers and the reign of terror he imposed upon the city. He felt the ground slipping from under his feet. He needed and needed badly a substantial strengthening of his standing in the community he had assaulted and outraged.

Hence a "bomb plant" is discovered — right on the eve of election. The capitalist press, ever eager to spread red ink in lies against the workers, that they may be kept forever in subjection, enters upon another campaign of maliciousness. The gullible swallow the bait, hook, line and sinker. The administration is made to appear vigilantly at work in the interests of "law and order." The mayor receives a slight boost at the polls — perhaps enough to get him over the top and into the snug seat of the mayor — ready for another assault upon the workers whose votes put him there.

A capitalists politician will sink to any depths for public office. Gulling the workers is a part of the game. The workers are slowly learning this and it is one of the things which are driving capitalism and its political representatives to distraction — and desperate lengths to keep them harnessed to capitalism's chariot.

More Persecution.

Local exponents of Wilsonian "Democracy" working over time in suppression of Working-class.

Sleuths and gum-shoe men of the local Chamber of Commerce are using every method of "crime, violence and terrorism," in violation of the Constitution of the United States in their repression of the rights of Cleveland workers.

Having partially succeeded in preventing hall meetings after ruling socialists off the streets, they now have entered upon a course of open violation of all the laws of sanctuary guaranteed by the fundamental law of the land. No worker's home is now safe from entrance at any hour by these hounds and lick-spittles of the ruling class.

Ten comrades of the Communist Party of Cleveland were held up at the point of revolvers in the private home of a comrade, where an organization meeting was being held on the night of Oct. 30th. Those taken in this latest unlawful outrage were Carl Hacker organizer, Harry Wagenknecht, Rudolph Altenbernd and others.

Guarded by the valliant apostles of democracy as we have it to-day, the comrades were herded into a patrol wagon with books, pamphlets, membership cards etc. They were charged with violation of the criminal syndicalism law at the police station, where they remained overnight.

At the hearing in Judge Moylan's court the following day they were bound over to the grand jury on $500 bond which was immediately raised o $1.500 when bondsmen appeared with bonds for their release. At this time sufficient bonds have been produced for the release of all.

Hamilton Socialist Mobbed and Beaten by Six Masked Men

Steiger Chloroformed and Taken to Woods, Left Unconscious.

John F. Steiger, chairman of the Hamilton, Ohio, Socialist campaign committee, on his way home from a meeting Friday, evening Oct. 17, was seized by six masked men, beaten, chloroformed, taken in an automobile to the woods, stripped, whipped, tarred and left unconscious.

He recovered at 3 o'clock in the morning and got to the police headquarters. The Hamilton newspapers at first suppressed the story, but later let some news of it out.

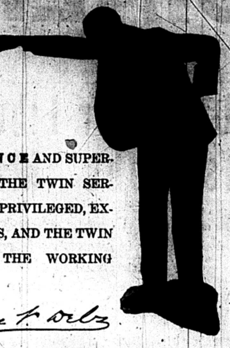
The same gang took from the Cincinnati and Dayton motor express office 6.000 Socialist campaign leaflets.

The clew to the assailants was obtained through the sale of masks.

Walter Harlan, judge of the Court of Common Pleas, has ordered a grand jury investigation.

Steiger had received a threatening letter, unsigned. This letter ordered him to leave the city within ten days. The general belief is that the plot was organised in the Chamber of Commerce and employers' association circles. This theory is based on the fact that these circles have been alarmed at the prospects of a Socialist victory at the polls.

Debs says to You



"IGNORANCE AND SUPERSTITION ARE THE TWIN SERVANTS OF THE PRIVILEGED, EXPLOITING CLASS, AND THE TWIN ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS."

Eugene V. Debs

CLEVELAND'S "BEER" COMMUNISTS

(Contributed)

Not that we care to write an article about Cleveland's "Beer" Communists, members in good standing of the Communist Party. We would much rather overlook points of difference and emphasize points of unity.

But of late the Communist Labor Party has been belabored with such senseless and bitter criticisms from Communist Party ranks, that it becomes our duty to prove to the Communist Party membership that their party does not stand the hundred per cent test, and that the errors made on the side of adherants of the Communist Party are as mountains beside the so-called mistakes of the Communist Labar Party.

And now to the story of Cleveland's "Beer" Communists. It was our good friend Jos. Jodlbauer who lambasted the Communist Labor Party for its "impureness" at the several meetings of the German branch in Cleveland, and the Cleveland German branch eventually joined the Communist Party because it thought the Communist Labor Party not one hundred per cent communist.

New steps forward the official organ of the German branch of Cleveland which is also the official organ of the German branches in Ohio, and does what? Does nothing more nor less that advocate "beer" communism. This official organ, called the "Echo", in its main headline on page one, issue of October 25th, calls upon all good comrades to hurry to the ballot box on November 4th — to vote for the revolution? — to elect communist to office? NO. It asks all good comrades to hurry to the election on November 4th to VOTE FOR BEER.

Here is the call of these "beer" communists.

"TO THE BALLOT BOX ON NOVEMBER 4-TH".

"The known occurances in the party organization give the election upon November 4th only a secondary place. However, we must not stay away from the ballot box, but must, with our ballots protest against everything that has to do with prohibition, because as honest people we must not allow hypocrites to rob us of our liberty."

GREAT — ISN'T IT! Communist Party adherants calling upon the membership to battle for personal liberty — even intimating that it might be all right to vote for any old kind of candidates so long as they are "met" candidates. And it is the Communist Pardy which thinks itself TOO PURE to unite with the Communist Labor Party!

This together with Local Cleveland's call for a state convention in conjunction with reactionary Socialist Party locals in Ohio, are the two outstanding features of Communist Party menshevism. And undoubtedly the Communist Party will continue to attempt do dislodge the mote in the Communist Labor Party eye, overlooking the beam in its own.

Who Killed Cock Robin?

"I was never a Prohibitionist," said a man to me the other day. "But I saw it work in Seattle, and that convinced me." In other words the apologies for the saloon died when the saloon died. Just as the apologies for slavery died when slavery died. And as the apologies for war will die when war dies. And as the apologies for land monopoly, and profit-taking will die when land monopoly and profit-taking go the way of the saloon and slavery.

You have to kill an institution before you can get rid of its excuses. And because institutions are fundamentally economic it is the economic factor which kills them. Slavery went not because Garrison and Phillips talked against it. It went because it could not stand in the economic battle against wage labor. The saloon went, not because the W. C. T. U. held prayer meetings in saloons, and Gough and Father Mattews spilled their eloquence against it. Grant the good of all this. But the saloon went because it could not stand the economic pressure of sober communities and a sober industrialism. The war put it out of business quicker only because the war speeded up economic efficiency, and the saloon was not efficient.

And capitalism is going, not because the preachers and the educators and the editors are against it. They are not, and they will not be generally until it has gone. Why expect capitalism to raise flowers that will kill it rather than reproduce it?

No, capitalism is going because labar is coming. Industrial democracy is economically more fit than industrial autocracy, and that is why it is going to put industrial autocracy on the scrap heap. It is the biggest revolution in history, as much bigger than the fight against the saloon as industrialism is bigger in men's lives than their convivial habits, as much bigger than the struggle with African slavery as wage labor is more universal than was chattel slavery in the Nineteenth Century America of our fathers. It is the biggest revolution in human history, and will do more for the religion, education, and culture of tomorrow than anyman dare dream today.

But, remember, the preachers of capitalism are not putting capitalism out of business any more than the preachers of Virginia and South Carolina and Georgia put slavery out of business. No, it is the workingmen who are going to put capitalism out of the world. They are at it now. Their weapon is the strike. Not the ballot, except in a secondary way, for the ballot has been captured by the capitalist politician and the capitalist editor and the capitalist preacher. The one weapon the workingman has in his own hands is his job. It is the only weapon by which he can slay the Goliath of Capitalism.

And I for one am glad that he is giving it to Capitalism just where Goliath got it, in the head.

I am more interested in that fight right now than I am in all the smilings and smirkings and head-bobbings of all the stirrup-holders in the world.

Go to it, labor. More strengtr to your arm.

The Las Gatos Idea.

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Fill out this blank with the name of a worker, enclose it with a dollar or a half dollar in an envelope and mail to the address below. Can you do more RIGHT NOW for the working class than this? If so, send two subscriptions. Do it now.

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Enclosed find $....... for a subscription for.......

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The Outlook in Russia

— By A. Bilan —

Two years have passed since the Russian workers began holding the destiny of their class in their own hands. The murderous warfare against the Proletarian Revolution in Russia by the combined forces of the world's capitalist imperialism have been unable to crush the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic. The eyes of the world are turned towards the eastern horizon, where we can read the glaring question: "To be, or not to be?" But this is not Hamlet's hesitating question — it is not even a question — it is a determined decision of an uncompromising class struggle. Dictatorship of the proletariat or Bourgeois — which shall be supreme?

In Russia at the present time, regardless of deprivations, heeding not the capitalist lies that are being spread, in the face of all opposition, the process of transformation to Communism is taking place; but that does not mean that the Russian workers alone will be able to reach this stage of society. They are only the pioneers who are preparing the way for a working class world. A Proletarian Revolution cannot be of local character. It comes as a rising tide inundating the entire capitalist society. In such position we find the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. Against it we find all capitalist governments, who still are holding clinched tight in their iron gloves the workers of their countries — the only allies and support in the Proletarian struggle. The Proletarian Revolution in Russia has only the hope of permanent success if it can count upon the support of the American and European working class. Therefore the necessary conditions for Proletarian action the world over are plainly to be seen. The war has brought sharp divisions between toilers and exploiters, has split all relations and prepared inevitable the last and final struggle between labor and capital. The war has destroyed the fruits of centuries of civilization, has confronted the masses with starvation. The example of the Russian Revolution has opened immense possibilities and wide perspective for the Communistic movement.

In pain and suffering is born the future; a new class is entering upon the stage of society creating its own will, in a world-wide struggle with its class enemies. One thing is clear — that without active support of the workers in other countries the working class of Russia and the poor peasantry with them will be crushed under the iron heel of the allied capitalist imperialism, and the bourgeois class in Russia will triumph once more with their "democracy" over hundreds of millions of workers. More than that, the darkest night of reaction would be inaugurated the world over.

The power of Soviets, the socialization of land, the nationalization of banks and industry is threatening the capitalist world with the vision of Proletarian Revolution. The imperialism of the world is asking "to be, or not to be?" It is bending all its forces to choke the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. In this fight the capitalists are united, setting aside their quarrels over markets and colonies. England, Germany, France, the United States, Turkey — all are fighting Communistic Russia. The historic work in the Proletarian Revolution by the Russian workers is fulfilled nobly. The further development of the Proletarian Revolution depends on the rest of the workers the world over. What is our duty? It is to give our active support, as workers of America, to help bring about the overthrow of the capitalist system, and not to allow it to crush our class revolution in Russia. We must show our class solidarity to our brothers in Russia. They have shown us the way towards working class emancipation, and are nobly carrying on their fight. The workers of England, of France, Italy are doing their share; demanding withdrawal of troops from Russia. What about us? President Wilson is waging a private war upon Russia, sending troops to Siberia. The recruiting of volunteers for Siberia is done openly by the War Department. The "free" American boys are flogged in Siberia by Wilson's friends. The Washington Government is seeking apologies from czaristic generals in Siberia, as if apologies would heal the flogged wounds of American soldier boys. Have not those two years of the heroic struggle of the workers in Russia convinced you to oppose the doings of your imperialists at home?

The possibilities of Soviet Russia under the workers' control is dependent not only on the sacrifices and heroic fight of the Russian workers, but also upon the demand of the workers in other countries that their governments cease their murderous actions against Soviet Russia. Our slogan shall be: "No troops, no volunteers, no ammunitions to fight against the Proletarian Revolution! Hands off Russia!"

Those slogans must be supported by action, like the English workers, the French marines, the Italian transport workers, and the Seattle Longshoremen put forth. They did not go to parliaments or congresses with petitions, begging the perpetrators not to do such things; they refused to load munitions to be shipped to kill Russian workers; others refused to go to Russia to war against their brothers.

This will be the active support given by us if we act as a class and not as individuals.

This action will give life to the workers' control of Russia, and it will teach that All Power to the Workers is the way to working-class emancipation.

A Song of Democracy

By Robert Whitaker

Lives there a workingman so dense
Who has not yet the common sense
To see that flags and forms of state,
Of which the masters proudly prate,
Are but the stock in trade of those
Who fatten on the people's woes,
And with such symbols still divide
The folks whose backs they want to ride?

Where is the poor man's country? Where
The land that gives plain toil its share?
Where is the government that yields
To those who till the soil, their fields?
To those who build and weave, their tools?
Where are the workers not the stools
Of those, wherever they are met
Who live by other people's sweat?

When will the workers of all lands
Throw off their immemorial bands ?
The lying loyalties they cheer?
Their slave idolatries of fear?
And stand beneath one common sky,
As one to live, as one to die;
To own no flag, no state, no mood
Except the workers' brotherhood?

Endosres I. W. W.

Mexico City, Oct. 13. — Industrial unionism a la I. W. W. was emphatically endorsed by Local Mexico City of the newly organized Communist Party of Mexico, at its meeting Friday night, Oct. 10. Members were instructed to join the Mexican I. W. W. that is being organized or if already members of craft unions, to try to get those unions to affiliate with the I. W. W.

The following permanent officers for the year, were elected by the local: General Secretary, Luis Macotela; Local Secretary, Roberto Sandoval; Treasurer, Angel Bernal. The local was provisionally organized the first week in September. Intervention was denounced in strong terms and plans made for opposing it. Speeches were made by the following officers of the national party: International Secretary Geo. Barreda; National Secretary Enrique H. Arce; and Linn A. E. Gale, publisher of Gale's Magazine and a member of the National Executive Committee. Meetings will be held every Saturday night hereafter.

Saws Reset.

"There's one thing that's certain"
Says old Mr. Peck;
"A boil on the stove is
Worth two on the neck."
Luke McLuke.

And here is what Uncle
Jehosophat said;
"One rose to the living,
Beats ten to the dead."
Free Press.

'Take your religion away''
Said wise Uncle Si.
"One pie here and now,
Beats three in the sky."

THE BULLETIN BOARD

When the workers support their own press half as generously as they do the papers of their exploiters, there will be a proletarian daily in every county of these United States. What did you do to-day to build up our press? Get a subscription for this paper. Join the Communist Propaganda League. NOW before you dig up another two cents for your masters' lies-about YOU.

THE BLACK SHEEP

By Long and Lasky.

Chapt. IV.

The Class Struggle.

"Well", said Herman, on the following evening while on their way to the village, "did you get all your economics stored away that George gave you last evening?"

"Yes, I think I have, but not at all perfectly. There are certain phases on which I need considerably more light before I will be able to classify and use them for myself. One of the points that persists in slipping from me, is that of the class struggle. I can see that it exists, but I cannot figure out how it originated, or why it exists:" said Jack meditatively. "I wish you would illustrate and explain it a little further."

"You have bitten off a mouthful," answered Herman. I'm afraid it will keep you chewing for months. To comprehend its origin you will have to study it's historical development from the middle period of barbarism to the present day. It's a big subject, passing thru various phases, changing and modifying in harmony with the changes and modifications in the prevailing mode of production. It will be up to you to read books and study for yourself, the growth and development of the proletariat thru the ages."

"What do you mean by proletariat?" asked the boy.

"The proletariat is that part of the people of a nation who have nothing to sell in the markets of the world except their human energy; their labor power. They are the class whom Marx said, "You have nothingh to loze but your chains and a world to gain." You and I are proletarians. We make our living by selling our work for wages, with which we buy the necessities of life, that we may evalue more strength to necessities. We do not own any machinery. The machinery is in the hands of the employing class. We must use the machine in order to work. We must work in order to live. The capitalists have us tied by our guts to the machine" Herman explained.

"That's clear enough." remarked the boy. "Now give me your definition of a capitalist."

"A capitalist," Herman explained, "is the possessor of land and tools that the working class needs in order to produce the necessities of life. The capitalists class is that element in human society that has made itself master of the resources and instruments of wealth production, and who will permit the proletariat to use them only under the consideration of profit. If a capitalist cannot make money off of your labor power he will not employ you. You must be employed in order to live. Thus it is that capital thru heir control of life's necessities practically have the power of life and death over you. They make you pay a price for the privilege of existence."

Jack looked blank. George noticed it and tried his hand to clarify matters. Said he to Herman, "Why don't you hit the kid on the head with the first volume of Capital?" Then he went on, "Now listen Jack, take it this way, what you want to know, is, what constitutes the class struggle today. It is the struggle between the worker and the owner of land and tools, for the possession of the products of labor. The two phases of the struggle maybe expressed in the words, wages and profits. The worker sells his labor power for wages. It is his commodity, that means the thing he has to sell.

"Naturally he wants as much as he can get for it, and the tendency is to give as little as he can "get by" with. That is the essence of all business, as little as possible for as much as possible. It is the natural attitude of man. The buyer of labor power wants to pay as little for human energy as the worker will accept and drive the worker to his utmost capacity of production. That is the class struggle. Capital can only grow on the difference between what it pays for labor and what labor creates in wealth. A capitalist is a human being who grows fat on the product of unpaid labor."

"Why don't the workers kill the capitalists then," Jack remarked innocently. At which both men laughed heartily.

"There is a good reason," George explained. "The bulk of the workers are like yourself, they do not understand the relaton that exists between workers and owners. Then there is a large element such as the farmers for instance who function in the two classes, being both producers and exploiters. It is not the business of the class conscious worker to kill the exploiters. It is rather his task to educate his fellow men to a cognisance of their position in society."

"The difference is quite clear," answered the boy. "But what will it lead to?"

"Figure it out," suggested Herman, "You create by your work on an average ten dollars worth of wealth per day. You get two dollars in wages from which you live. Your boss employs a hundred men, from each of whom he gets eight dollars in profits; hence your income is two dollars and his income is eight hundred per day. Now compare your incomes. Who will buy the most land, you or the boss? Your boss gets more money that he can use or waste hence he must re-invest in something and that something is already owned. He buys it and puts men to work on it; but every time he increases the number of his employes he also increase the volume of his profits, which it becomes necessary to re-invest, while you the worker have nothing to invest. Can't you see how the time must inevitably come when a few men, have everything and the mass of men nothing, but their strength. That when that condition obtains in the world the mass of the people will be dependent for the privilege of work upon a few owners of the world's wealth. Can't you see how this system of wage labor is enslaving the human race? For where one class is tied by their heart strings to the machine the other class cannot be free."

"Yes, I can see how this will lead to the death of freedom, to a condition of slavery. But what can be done about it? You show me where we are going but I don't want to be on my way."

"Nor does any class conscious worker want to go into that slavery to which the development of capitalism inevitably leads. That is the reason we organize the militant proletarians into political parties and into industrial unions, that have for their objects the education of the working class to a recognition of where they're going for the purpose of abolishing the wages system and instituting in its place the collective ownership and democratic control of the means of production and distribution. To the end that all men shall become workers in, and owners of, the industries with which they are affiliated."

"Now you souse him on the bean with a volume of capital, "Herman retorted. At which George laughed.

"I begin to see the whole thing. A worker who is on to his job approaches every thing from an entirely different viewpoint. He has more to do than merely make a living, because, the system under which he is making a living carries within itself the germ of its own destruction. It is therefore necessary not only to make a living by working for wages but to see to it that the opportunity to make a living by working for wages does not slip from our hands.

"Yes," said George, "and that consciousness modifies and changes all your philosophical concepts. It affects your conception of truth, justice, God, Devil, Heaven and Hell, everything. The way that you make your living colors your view point-the preacher in the South was pro-slavery and his favorite text on Sunday morning was," Abraham bought his servants with his gold". The parson preached as he was paid. The chink of the dollar was the voice of God. While in the North the preachers belonging to the same church took for their text 'Stand ye then in the freedom with which Christ has made you free' The churches split along the line of the material interest of those who pay the pew rent. To them, then as now, the voice of God was a source of bread. In the North it was considered a virtue for a slave to escape. In the South it was a crime. It is the wedge that splits the classes in society apart."

At this point they entered the village. It being Saturday night they decided to stay in town so as to get a bath and a decent night's rest and on the morrow they would go out to the lakes in pursuit of ducks and geese.

George and Herman had led Jack into the world of economics. Now Jack led them into the world of nature. Natural things were the things he loved. As George and Herman had taught him economics so he pointed out to them the wonders of Biology and to his surprise discovered that the same laws producing social phenomena in a modified form also produced the phenomena of life. For instance, when he was asked to state the reason why the females of pheasants and ducks as well as other birds had sober plumage while the male of the species abounded in brilliant colors, he pointed out to his companions that during the hatching season it was of advantage to the mother bird to blend with her environment. If she did not she would be a conspicuous target for all forms of beats of prey. It is the life necessity of the race that gives to the female her sober plumage. The same is true of the young chick, both male and female, it is colored so as to blend with its sorroundings. The mother hen must care for herself and her young, while the chief concern of the male is to attract a mate. He has only himself to care for. Thus he can afford to have the more brilliant plumage."

"Do you mean to tell us that birds select their plumage thru an effort of will?" Herman asked.

"No" Jack answered, "will has nothing to do with it. The bright colored mother does not raise her young and the dark colored male does not get a mate. These are the material factors involved."

George called the boys attention to the fact that he had used the word material factors in his discussion of the markings of birds and pointed out that what the boy had observed in the phenomena of wild life also was true in the phenomena of society. "The reason that there are not more class conscious workers in the working class is similar to that which causes so few bright colored females in the bird world. The man who has resented the encroachment of capital in an active way, has generally been driven from place to place and been illed. In ancient times Spartacus asked his fellow slaves if they were beastes to stand like dumb oxen awaiting the butcher's knife, and told them if they were men that they should strike down their guard and gain the mountain passes, there to do bloody work as did their sires at old Thermoplea. But Spartacus was killed and his followers crucificied along the Appian Way. Spartacus was an off colored bird in Roman slave society.

Grachus plead with the Roman senate that the land be restored to the people and they hurled him off the Sorpion rock. He was an off colored ird in Roman slave society. Christ saod, "Call ye no man master," and he was crucified for the same reason. So we can come down the list, Savanerola in Florence, Emmett in Ireland, John Brown in the United States all died, because they didn't blend with the industrial, political or religious world in which they lived. It is natural law in the social world that the un-adaptable perish. Even in our own day the radicals are jailed and driven from place to place so that they cannot perpetuate themselves.

"Now I'll tell you" said the engineer, "that if you will study as diligently the problems of organized labor as you have studied the problems of nature, then you will be a power for good in the world. I can also tell you that you'll never be rich."

(Continued next week.)

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, NOVEMBER 5th 1919.

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IN ECLIPSE

For a year the world has been treated to the eclipse of one of earth's most brilliant luminaries. And the effect upon the luminary appears to have as little effect as an eclipse has upon earth's sun. A year ago, had any one openly stated that Woodrow Wilson would have passed into the shadows of public disapproval to the extent he has reached at this moment, he would have been accused of disloyalty, branded as a traitor and probably delivered over to be hounded and persecuted by agents of commerce clubs and mobs of patriotic blackguards.

Just before the President wrote the fatal open letter to American voters asking for the return of a Democratic Congress, no finger of accusation had been lifted against him. He shone with all the splendor of omniscience, his rays lighted all the world and warmed the remotest corners stricken as it was, with grief and sorrow.

As an evidence of the unstapleness of fame and glory he presentts an unsurpassed example. Never has a man stood so high in his countrymen's and the world's opinion and fallen with the velocity of a plummet to the depths as has he. But tho the President's eclipse began at home just previous to the last Congressional election, it was not until the return from his first trip to Europe that any evidence of the world's changed valuation was in evidence.

President Wilson went to Europe a conqueror with the world at his feet in worship. He came back beaten, despised by Europe and denounced at home. His partial tour of the country in the interests of the discredited League of Nations, did not add to his standing with his own people. Rather did it act as an irritant, and is merely playing the cheapest kind of political tricks.

President Wilson stands alone, deserted by his political party in Congress, by the people of this country and of the world. He is parting into a period ignored of friend r foe.

CAN THEY CURE IT?

From preacher to President the daily offerings of cures for discountet grow in volumne. Settlement workers, priests, doctors, lawyers, senators, policemen, suffragettes, Samuel Gompers. In fact the whole riff-raff of capitalism's hangers-on eagerly extend their nostroms for society's salvation.

The variety too, is great. Mostly, they contradict each other and this does not lead to greater faith in their curative powers. But there is one which is coming to the front more and more as THE remedy. More and more of our statesmen and world saviors are accepting it as such. It is the resort to the armed power of the state; more stringent laws against the expression of discontent, then the police, soldiers, riot guns, armoured cars. This is the "cure" for bolshevism and revolution. This is the last resort of the capitalist state, in fact. It is well that the workers recognize it as such. Also remember, the capitalist state, as Karl Marx said, is but a committee to manage the affairs of the capitalists class.

The latest nostrum to appear comes from Senator McKellar, of Tenn., who has offered a bill aiming to stamp out radicalism root and branch. The provisions of this bill are enlightening as well as amusing. It provides that any person even advocating by peaceable means the overthrow of ANY goverument, or associating privately or publically with such advocates shall be subject to a fine of not less than $5,000, or from [illegible] years in prison.

It must be admitted this is "going some". America, the land of democracy will soon reach the stage of Bismark's iron laws if this bill becomes law. We could almost hope it will become law. The espionage law is not half stringent enough. While the worker's press has been almost obliterated, and free speech denied in almost every city in the country, workers can still converse with their wives about the mounting grocery bills and the solcless condition of Jonney's shoes.

This bill however, would put a stop to all that violent talk. It would teach us to keep our mouths shut about our master's business.

Pass the bill gentlemen, by all means. Gives us more repression. The criminal syndicalism bill has but added its tens of thousands to the army of discontented. This bill would add hundreds of thousands. Let's have it.

By the way wasn't it a certain king, who afterward became headless, who said "give them a whiff of grape shot"? And wasn't it administered — with what success the French Revolution tells us!

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
in the
COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

Realizing the necessity of education and organization of the working-class in order that we may the sooner achieve our emancipation, and of the value of our propaganda for this purpose,

I hereby apply for membership in The Communist Propaganda League.

Enclosed find $........ for which send me .... copies of The Ohio Socialist weekly for as many weeks as this sum pays for at the rate of 1c per copy.

NAME ....
ADDRESS ....
STATE ....
CITY ....

JOIN—SEND A DOLLAR FOR TEN COPIES FOR TEN WEEKS—MORE IF YOU CAN—JOIN

Address: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

Americanism!

— BY SKYGAC —

Lately
. . .
we have heard
. . .
SO MUCH
. . .
about a certain
. . .
something they call
. . .
AMERICANISM
. . .
that I decided I would
. . .
LOOK AROUND and see
. . .
if I could find out
. . .
WHAT IT WAS ALL ABOUT.
. . .
I had read the WORDS
. . .
of the President where
. . .
he had said that if the
. . .
MINERS STRUCK
. . .
it would be unlawful.
. . .
The president is an
. . .
American and if he says
. . .
a strike is unlawful
. . .
then AMERICANISM must
. . .
mean a belief that it
. . .
IS UNLAWFUL TO STRIKE.
. . .
I had read that in GARY
. . .
the peaceful parades of
. . .
STEEL WORKERS were
. . .
stopped by the militia
. . .
with machine guns, tanks
. . .
AND AVERYTHING
. . .
and the army was under
. . .
the command of Gen. Wood
. . .
who is also an American
. . .
and if he says that
. . .
Peaceful assembly is unlawful
. . .
then AMERICANISM must
. . .
mean a belief that it
. . .
IS UNLAWFUL TO ASSEMBLE
. . .
peacefully together to
. . .
petetion the government for
. . .
REDRESS of GRIEVANCES.
. . .
OVER IN OHIO
. . .
the troops were also
. . .
CALLED OUT
. . .
by the Governor in behalf
. . .
of the CAPITALISTS
. . .
and as the governor is an
. . .
AMERICAN, it must be
. . .
that it is UNAMERICAN
. . .
to be anything except a
. . .
CAPITALIST, or else
. . .
a worker that is
. . .
SERVILE ENOUGH TO ALLOW
. . .
the capitalists to
. . .
HAVE THEIR OWN SWEET WAY
without resistance.
. . .
I
. . .
DID NOT LIKE
. . .
these conclusions
. . .
because they were
. . .
contrary to all I
. . .
had learned in school
. . .
about Patrick Henry
. . .
and the
. . .
DECLARATION OF
. . .
INDEPENDENCE
. . .
and everything,
. . .
but they were
. . .
TRUE TO FACT
. . .
even if contrary to
. . .
what I had been taught,
. . .
and I was sorely worried
. . .
and sought for an
. . .
ANSWER to the problem
. . .
in heredity,
. . .
Here is what I found;
. . .
AMERICA was settled by
. . .
Foreigners, who
. . .
KILLED OFF the original
. . .
owners of the land and
. . .
TOOK it for their own.
. . .
We had three kinds of
. . .
Foreigners here then,
. . .
The CRIMINAL
. . .
who was deported here for
. . .
CRIME.
. . .
The ADVENTURER
. . .
who came as an
. . .
INDENTURED servant
. . .
or just plain adventurer,
. . .
and the RELIGIOUS FANATIC.
. . .
These elements,
. . .
Crooks adventurers, and
. . .
murderers of INDIANS
. . .
land thieves and
. . .
Religious fanatics
. . .
form the parent stock
. . .
from which, with the
. . .
additions of NEW
. . .
IMMIGRANTS, make
. . .
up the bulk of
. . .
AMERICANS.
. . .
So
. . .
AMERICANISM
. . .
must be the sum total
. . .
of the inherited
. . .
characteristics
. . .
of the parent stock.

The Coming of the Storm

By Robin Adair

Do you hear the workers toiling in the murky shaft of Fate?
  Heavens! listen to the thunder of the sound,
Of a million whispered curses; a million thoughts of hate;
  A molten stream of anger — underground.
Do you see the miner sweating, reeking naked to the loin,
  Oh, you pious bible-thumping Man of God?
De you see his widow weeping by his body, Man of Coin,
  And his starving children, homeless at your nod?
    If the game is worth the candle,
    'Tisn't you who turns the handle;
  'Tisn't you who mans the windless — Man of God.

Oh listen to the echo in the stokehole and the mine,
Oh [illegible] voices all a-wail;
  Of a million anguished voices [illegible]
By the railroad and the quarry, or midst the bush and pine,
  I the stockyard and the foundry and the jail.
Do you hear the spirits stirring in the graves of shattered hopes,
  Oh, you soulles, brass encrusted Man of Fat?
Do you hear the clanging voices of the dead men in the stopes,
  And the whisper of the "blackleg" and the "rat?"
    Oh, its dividends and hampers,
    To the music of the campers;
  It is you Dame Fortune pampers — Man of Fat.

Do you hear the faint, far rustle in the tree tops on the peak?
  (How the murmur gathers volume as it nears)
Do you hear it, Man of Mammon? You're the cursed thing they seek;
  'Tis your victims — and the tempest is their jeers.
Oh, just hearken to the howling and the shrieking of the blast!
  Hear the trump of Resurrection, Man of Cash!
For the one who once was tyrant, shall be Serf in fetters fast,
  And the broken slaves of years shall ply the lash.
    Oh, its greed and niggard wages,
    [illegible]
  Down the ghastly path of ages — Man of Cash!

In Russia

THE THEATRE

Soviet Russia is working hard to popularize the theatre and a system of committees called the Proletkult has been formed to deal with this matter. Proletkult is a composite word, denoting, of course, proletarian culture — there is now a prolific manufacture in Russia of new composite words to serve new needs. The Proletkult organizes in all districts, schools where workers are educated in music, dancing, and the mimic arts. When these students are sufficiently trained they play in company with the old actors. There is a demand for thetrical artistes which it is difficult to supply and no actors are unemployed.

The price of theatre tickets is low and the tickets are offered for sale first through the factories workshops, offices, wherever work is carried on. Only if any tickets are left after the work centres have been supplied are the tickets put up for general sale. Only then have the hostile bourgeoisie who refuse to work an opportunity to buy theatre tickets. As a rule the workers have bought up all the theatre tickets and only a few cinema tickets remain; indeed it is evident that presently it will only be possible to attend places of amusement if one is willing to work.

The theatres are becoming more and more popular: the cinemas less so. The general view in Russia is that the cinema should not be use for drama but for scientific purposes: for revealing the growth of plants, the depths of the sea, and so on.

The Soviets regard the theatre as a valuable means of social and artistic education: hence its popularity.

THE PHONOGRAPH AND PROPAGANDA

The phonograph is much used in propaganda. There is a widespread desire to hear Lenin speak; to hear Trotzky, Angelica Balabanoff, Zinoviev, Alexandra Kollontai.

Russia is an enormous country; the only way for the mass of people to hear speakers is by the phonograph, and request for the records of their speeches comes in a growing stream from all over Russia. The records are set going in barracks, parks, and open spaces. Our visitor recently heard a speech by Kollontai in one of the squares of Moscow.

LEARNING BY DOING

More than sixty millions of the Russian people are directly dependent upon the Russian Co-operative Unions The Consumers Unions have twelve million members (heads of families). The credit societies have four million members. The producers and marketers, societies have four million members. Beginning with one co-operative society in 1865 Russia at latest reports can boast of some forty thousand co-operative societies of varying strength.

Russia is engaged in the greatest economic experiment of the age — an experiment aimed to demonstrate the capacity of the workers for self-government. As a background for this experiment the Russian workers have built up a system in which millions are engaged, as a part of their daily routine, in the processes of active co-operation which enables them to learn by doing.

DO PRISONS REFORM?

By H. L. Giles.

If you mean the "old-fashioned" kind, which still exists in many places, the answer is decidedly "No." A dungeon, close confinement of any sort; ignorant, unfeeling and cruel guards; compulsion and degradation of the meanest kind never reformed or regenerated anything. But there is no reason why the right type of penal institution should not benefit misguided persons who have come within its walls. Take Western Pennsylvania's own institution, in Center County, as an instance. Who could help but be benefitted by the healthful life on its farm, the work in the open air — close to nature and God—the effort to teach a helpful vication, the humane treatment its prisoners are said to receive.

It is necessary that there be a place of confinement for unfortunate persons who become convicts. But at the same time it is true convicts are human beings, responsive to humane treatment. It is punishment enough to shut them off from the rest of humanity, without marking their lives a succession of horrors. Give them encouragement. Give them education. Give them healthful work and wholesome recreation that will lift their minds above the sordidness of their situation. Put capable, whole-hearted, healthy, unselfish men in charge of them men whose actions will be an inspiration for well-doing, rather than a model for baseness. A convict has become what he is because of some erior in his training, some mistake in his environment. The vile environment of the oldtime penitentiary will not change him. But place about him influences that will show him the benefits of right [illegible] living, the advantages [illegible] of honesty, the worth of help[illegible] others, and he will come out "reformed."

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY U.S. of A.
WORKERS UNITE

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
3207 Clark Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio.
A. WAGENKNECHT,
Executive Secretary.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Max Bedacht, California.
Alexander Bilan, Ohio.
Jack Carney, Minnesota.
L. E. Katterfeld, Kansas.
Edward Lindgren, New York.

ALTERNATES
L. K. England, Illinois.
Edgar Owens, Illinois.

LABOR COMMITTEE
Chas. Baker, Ohio.
L. K. England, Illinois.
Benjamin Gitlow, New York.
R. E. Richardson, Utah.
Arne Swabeck, Washington.

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES
John Reed, New York.
A. Wagenknecht, Ohio.

SCOTT NEARING AT AKRON

Workers of Akron are in store for a treat on Nov. 11th when comrade Scott Nearing, writer and socialist will deliver a lecture at Eagle Hall Nov. 11th. Prof. Nearing is natinally known as one of the foremost educational lecfurers in the country and any one attending this lecture is assured of a discourse of unusual value. A large audience is expected.

Watch for advertising of the meeting.

Local's Monthly Report

Akron	9	923	257
Clark County		24	34
Clermont Co.		6	11
Columbus	1	96	143
ayton	6	130	239
Elmwood Place		10	10
Findlay	9	20	25
Calion	2	43	43
Hamilton	1	235	303
Irondale		13	13
Marysville		5	5
Massilon		40	67
New Bremen	1	29	35
Niles		45	90
Portsmouth	1	35	52
Power Point	12	24	27
Sandusky	3	39	42
Seneca Co.		53	72
Wardsworth		11	16
Warren Ukr. Br.	2	12	[illegible]
Zanesville		19	3[illegible]

The locals reporting are only a small percentage of the state locals. Might we again urge financial secretaries of locals to obey the state constitution and send in their local's report BEFORE the eighth of each month?

Attend Workers' University

1314 Vine Str. Cincinnati, O.
Lectures Every Sunday

CALENDER FOR NOVEMBER & DECEMBER 1919.

Novbr. 2nd. Tom Clifford of Cleveland, O.
9th. Margaret Prevey of Akron, O.
16th. Prof. Otto C. Markwardt of Detroit, Mich.
23th. Tom Lewis of Portland Oregon.
30th. Ross D. Brown (Colored) of Munice Ind.
Decbr. 7th. Jos. Sharts of Dayton, O.
14th. Mrs. Gillman of New York
21st. Geo. R. Kirkpatrick of New York.
28th. Wm. A. Domingo (Colored) of New York.

COMMING.

Wm. D. Haywood of Chicago, Alexander Berkmann & Emma Goldmann of New York, Scott Nearing of New York, Basanta Koomar Roy of India.

COMRADES:—

We are under considerable expense in bringing speakers here for these meetings. Every comrade should therefore take a deep interest in the splendid lectures given and support this series liberally.

Every comrade and fellow-worker is urged to attend each lecture and bring others with them. Dont forget the dates and remember to bring others and help the movement along. Fill the [illegible] hall to overflowing.

A KING A QUEEN AND THE SCABS.

A real live king and his queen have been tourning these benighted states of late. It is not so long since we were being compelled to voluntarily contribute foodstuffs, cash and clothing for the benefit of the starving Belgians, and now before the peace treaty has been signed the Belgian King, Queen and Royal party take a trip to the land of sham democracy which will cost over a million dollars. The plute press recently carried the story of how the king and queen walked over the hot iron in the steel mills of Pittsburg, and how the queen climbed to an advantageous position in order to take a picture of the men handling a red-hot ingot. When she got that picture she got a picture of a bunch of scabs. It is but logical however for kings, queen and scabs to herd together.

Declaration on Unity

of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party on the question of Unity with the Communist Party.

In view of the fact that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has again refused to accept the Unity invitation extended by the Communist Labor Party on Oct. 13th we issue the following declaration to the membership of both parties.

1 We reaffirm our sincere desire for Communist Unity. We are sure that the invitations that we have extended to the Communist Party to meet with us in Unity Conference are in harmony with the will of the membership, not only of the Communist Labor Party, but of the Communist Party as well. The Communist Comrades in both organizations hope for unity of all true Communist elements in ONE Party.

2 We regret the seeming inability of the officialdom of the Communist Party to sense this desire of their own membership, and we express our firm conviction that in time this membership will enforce its will. The Communist officials that now prevent Unity will be compelled to clear the way, or all real Communist elements will leave the Communist Party just as they left the old Socialist Party when that Party's officialdom refused to ebey the mandates of its revolutionary membership.

3 The excuse of the Communist Party officials that they have no power to act in this matter is palpably untrue. The Communist Party's constitution gives their Executive Committee full power to initiate referendums. If they really desired unity and believed that a referendum offered the only means, they could immediately submit the question to referendum and let their membership decide it.

4 In making our unity offer we did not thereby approve of all the elements in the Communist Party. We are not surprised to find unclear and undesireable elements in that Party, opposed to Communist Unity.

Elements that are engaged in dickering with reactionary Socialist Party Locals in an attempt to wrest property from the Communist Labor Party, as the National Executive Secretary of the Communist Party is now doing in Ohio, can not be expected to help bring about unity of all real Communist forces.

Groups of so-called Communists that appeal to the capitalist courts to rob Communist Labor Party Branches of Party property, as some of them are now doing in New York, are surely not desireable elements with whom to unite on an equal basis of Communist Comradeship.

Neither can we place the laurels of 100% Communism upon the brows of those that are rallying the proletarian hosts to the polls for the suport of bourgeois wets in the defense of "personal liberty" against the onslaughts of bourgeois drys, as is being done right now by members of the Communist Party and one of their official organs in Cleveland.

5 In spite of the fact that we see these and many other signs of centrism and menshevism in the Communist Party our invitation for a unity conference on a basis of equality still stands. We know that the great mass of the rank and file of the Communist Party is sound and revoluitonary. We have absolute faith that if unity is achieved on a PROPER basis, so that the membership has an opportunity to assert itself, these unclear elements will eliminate themselves and a Party of true proletarian Communism will result.

6 The letter of the Communist Party dated Oct. 25th answering our unity invitation contains no proper basis for unity. It contains no unity basis at all. In this they merely ask the officials of the communist Labor Party to betray their membership. They refuse to consider even a meeting for the purpose of attempting to work out a basis for a unity conference. To call that an offer of unity is rank hypocrisy. We spurn their bribe in the shape of an offer to liquidate our debts.

7 There is a fundamental difference between the two Parties that must be considered by the membership before Unity could be achieved. that difference is in the form of organization. The Communist Party is a loosely federated group of almost independent parties. Because of this very structure of organization their officials have power to break them a part. Where "leaders" have this power, they will inevitably enter into conspiracies and combinations to maintain their control. This must eventually destroy the Party, just as it almost wrecked the Left Wing movement last summer. It was one of these very cliques that bolted the Left Wing Conference in New York, split the revolutionary movement in two, sent out the call for its separate convention and organized the Third Party, the self-styled Communist Party.

8 It would be futile folly for any one to join the Communist Party with the idea of correcting these fatal errors and ousting this organized clique from control either at the next convention or at any other time. They openly boast that should they lose control they would again bolt, cause another split and organize another new Party. "Boring from within" can therefore not bring unity. It is impossibly to achieve a lasting unity of Communist forces unless this clique control is corrected at the very start.

9 It is apparant that the officialdom of the Communist Party is determined to maintain its clique control at all costs, even at the price of another split in their own Party. Upon them rests the heavy responsibility of bringing forth a third Party, since they are the ones that split away from the Left Wing organization and started the third organization and the third Party. They are the ones that refuse all unity offers before and during the conventons. They are the ones that refuse every unity offer today.

We therefore urge upon the membership of the Communist Party as their only recourse that they withhold from their officialdom all support, financial or otherwise, to compel them to change their attitude and agree to unity.

11 We urge upon the Communist Party membership not to permit the unfortunate and biased attitude of their "leaders" to cause them to relax their efforts in Communist propaganda. We invite all branches, Locals, Federation and State organizations of the Communist Party that may be in accord with the platform program and constitution of the Communist Labor Party to join our Party and co-operate with us in our activities to spread the message of Communism among the proletarian masses.

12 The Communist Labor Party stands squarely upon the principles of Communism outlined by the Third International with which we have affiliated.

The tactiets of the Communist Labor Party are determined by the revolutionary needs of the class war in America.

Its form of organization meets the revolutionary situation, since it gives the full possibility to organize all Communist elements in this country into one strongly centralized Party.

Its Party machinery is now well established. It is in direct contact with the revolutionary workers right in the shops. It has taken over the "Voice of Labor" for shop propaganda and organization and the 'Class Struggle" for the scientific education of the membership. It has established other national periodicals to supply every need of a great working-class movement. It is already engaged in the publication of numerous timely leaflets, pamphlets and books.

We call upon all class conscious workers, especially upon those now in the Communist Party, to join the Communist Labor Party and work with us to reach America's thirty million wage workers with the message of Communism, to rally them for the struggle against American and World Capitalism, — to abolish the Dictatorship of the Capitalist class and to clasp hands across the seas with our Bolshevik and Spartacan Comrades to establish the Dictatorship of the World's Proletariat.

Communist Labor Party
National Executive Committee,
A. Bilan, Max Bedacht,
Jack Carney, L. E. Katterfeld,
Ed. Lindgren.
A. Wagenknecht, Ex. Secr.

What's the Matter with America?

John Reed.

Comparatively untouched by the War, her man-power almost intact, her immense resources scarcely scratched, the Unites States began the year 1919 as one of the most reactionary nations on earth. Never had we felt the strain of imminent invasion, as the people of Europe had felt it; never had we starved, or frozen, or dragged our married men from their families, as in other belligerent countries Labor here was getting war-wages; "radicalism" of all sorts — the Socialists, the I. W. W.'s, even the Non-Partisan Leaguers — had been privately and publicly mobbed into comparative silence; the vast bulk of the population, and especially of the workers, seemed satisfied and patriotic.

To all apperances the bulk of the people were behind President Wilson and his much-heralded League of Nations. Samuel Gompers had become a statesman of international importance, wielding the massed power of the American Federation of Labor which seemed as solid and eternal as the Rock of Ages.

THE GREAT CHANGE

Now, nine months later, what do we see?

Woodrow Wilson a failure, a proven hypocrite and liar, deserted by the Liberals, viciously assaulted by the reactionaries, Gompers absolutely discredited abroad, and coming more and more into open conflict with the rank and file of his own organization. The Labor movement of America stirring, awakening to new ideas, new forms of organization, new methods of industrial warfare, revolting against its leaders — **becoming revolutionary!**

Those frightened authorities who see in all this stirring and upheaval the work of "Bolshevik propaganda," are on the wrong track. Certainly events in Europe have had their repercussion here; it is impossible for the workers of Russia to take over control of their country or the workers of England to threaten Direct Action for political ends, without making American workers **think**.

But no revolutionary movement was ever yet caused by propaganda alone. Conditions make Revolutions. Conditions have caused, and are causing, the tremendous change in the attitude of the American Labor movement.

How It Happened

The war speeded up industrial evolution tremendously, even here. Under emergency agreements with the A. F. of L., Union rules and safeguards were suspended, the skilled trades were diluted. Labor was still further subdivided. The War Labor Board contributed to the change by permitting the workers to air their grievances, and then demonstrating its inability to combat the great capitalist employers. The various Liberty Bond, Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. drives, in which the workers were forced to subscribe or lose their jobs; the supression of all class-activities of the workers by anti-Labor, strike-braking organizations of employers such as the National Security League, the American Protective League, The American Defense Society; the lynch-law employed by chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade — all these fed the smoudering resentment of the workers.

This burst into flame when the signing of the Armistice suddenly shattered the artificial social and economic conditions which had prevailed in the nations organized for war. With Governmental pressure removed, the workers found themselves face to face with a brutal capitalist class, whose first instinct was to contract industry. In the ship-yards, the steel mills, the mines, thousands of men were laid off. The restlessness of the workers was met by "anti-vagrancy" laws, such as that of Kansas, which forces an unemployed worker to take a job at any wages; by "criminal syndicalist" laws, which struck directly at all effective forms of labor organization.

The Prohibitive Cost of Living

The end of the War didn't put an end to the high prices of living necessities. On the contrary, with artificial government control released, an orgy of profiteering set in. This was due, among other things, to the clearly visible bankruptcy of Europe, which prevented the export of surplus products to be disposed of in foreign markets, and also to the uncertainty of foreign investments in "backward countries" — about whose disposition the Peace Conference was squabbling, and in certain sections of which the Social Revolution was threatening or in full swing. The plethora of gold with which the banks of this country were bursting also had a tendency to raise prices, because of the cheapness of money.

These two counter-tendencies — the rapid rise in the cost of living, and the attempt of manufacturers to 'transform industry to a peace basis" — in other words, to reduce wages to what they were before the war — quickly produced a crisis. The workers, who had already discovered that even war-wages wouldn't buy as much for the dollar as wages before the war, were faced with actual want. Moreover, the sudden cancellation of war-contracts, leading to the discharging of thousands of owrkers, gave the remainder the bitter choice between staying at work on insufficient wages, or walking the streets.

The issue was sharply precipitated by the ultimatum of the Railroad Brotherhoods, asking for vast wage increases or the adoption of the Plumb Plan, and threatening a general railroad strike.

The Government Gets Busy

This sudden revelation of the power which might be employed if the workers really made up their minds to it, shocked and frightened the Government. Immediately the President and Congress got busy with all sorts of schemes to reduce prices. Laws were proposed to punish profiteers, investigations started, retailers by the dozen arrested for hoarding food and clothing stocks, the Army supplies were ordered sold through the public schools and the Post Office.

But even in its panic, the capitalist class did not intend to relinquish a penny of its profits. It served notice on the Government that it would sooner see industry go to smash than to surrender an atom of its power.

This put the politicians in a difficult position. The Government had to obey its capitalist masters; so Wilson refused the Railroad men's demands, and issued a statement denouncing strikes. But the Administration was fearful of losing the workers votes; it had to pretend to be doing something. Therefore the invitation to the Capital-Labor Conference in Washington on October 6th; hence the appeals for an "industrial truce"....

Labor Betrayed By Its Leaders

The workers, however, who are too close to the facts of life to be fooled by such propositions, and whose actual need is driving them to immedate action, will not wait. They must strike to live. They must strike to maintain and strengthen their organizations and alter them to meet new conditions. Under no industrial truce will the capitalists cease to make class war on the working class.

The interests of the Craft Union leadership, however, are different from the workers' interests. The A. F. of L. oligarchy is interested in keeping Craft Unionism intact, in making Organized Labor a power with which to dicker for a share of the capitalists' profits. This power — the workers of this country — they are willing to sell to the capitalist class for any political game or imperialistic scheme, in return for "a fair wage."

It is for this that the A. F. of L. leadershpi surrendered the Organized Labor movement to the War Party in 1917. It is for this that the "leaders" of the Trade Union movement in America have always been the bitterest of Socialism. It is for this, finally that Gompers and his clique have joined with the Government in its efforts to sabotage the Plumb Plan, to halt strikes, to collaborate in the Conference of October 6th.

The Workers Can't Wait

But the workers, as we have said above, cannot wait. They must get relief. They strike. The leaders forbid. They strike anyway — they must strike. And this struggle between the masses forced to move forward, and the "leaders" who want to hold them back, reveals to the workers the reactionary character of the whole Craft Union structure, and its function as a buttress of the capitalists system.

This leads to the smash-up of the old rigid Labor Movement in this country, and the inevitable conception of a new organization based upon actual necessities and needs, and so organized as to be able effectively to cope with the gigantic new growth of capitalist power — **One Big Uunion!**

The Seattle and Winnipeg strikes, and the abortive Boston strike — all bitterly condemned by the A. F. of L. leaders; the great Steel strike, tying up an entire basic industry, from the mines to the finished product — which the A. F. of L. politicians have also tried to stop; these are the first tentative tests of the new form of organization.

So Revolutions begin — so the Revolution is rapidly approaching here in the United States.

Social Revolution Impending in Poverty-Stricken Italy

The Council of the Chamber of Labor in Rome, passed a resolution in opposition to the farmation of a militarist-imperialist government in Italy, which says:

"The proletariat will descend into the streets, build barricades and sacrifice their lives rather than fall into the rapacious claws of a military imperialism."

To the outside world it may seem as though all Italy is fervently Nationalist. In the Nationalist ranks are arrayed the so-called "best people," the business men and nobility, and the Nationalist cause is supported by the capitalist press, the "leading" papers.

But there is another party, less noisy but more numerous, less apparent in action but the most powerful, the Communist of Italy. What D'Anuzio has done they, too, can do, and the breach he made in Italian military discipline can be broadended by them to the breaking point.

At present Italy is on the brink of social revolution, and the almost unprecedented expedient of calling the leaders of every party to a Crown Council was an eleventh hour attempt to find a course of action that would stem the tide of revolt. The greatest significance of D'Annunzio's coup lies not in disobedience to the Supreme Council — though that would be serious enough — but in the proof thus given of the weakness of the bonds of discipline in the Italian Army.

D'Annunzio's act precipitated a crisis that had been latent in Italy since the early Spring. Even before the war Italian finances were in bad shape and her industries shaky. Today the country is virtually bankrupt and the Government is resorting to the desperate measure of a levy on capital — an enforced loan — as the sole chance of staving off ruin. To the lack of money must be added the lack of wheat, meat and coal.

The capitalist government of the world know that D'Annunzio is "rocking the boat" in dangerous waters, they know that he is brandishing a torch in the powder magazine of Italian proletarian revolutionary activities. An explosion is bound to follow. This is the reason why the Supreme Council in Paris does not dare to interfere and agree to leave the matter to the Government immediately concerned, because any interference by outsiders might start the conflagration of revelution which could only end by the workers of Italy organizing a Soviet form of government and demand all power to the workers like their brothers in Russia.

The immediate question that concerns the ruling class in Italy is not how to get D'Annunzio out of Fiume, or whether the city should be annexed or abandoned, but an agonized search for a path of safety in the storm that is about to break. As matters stand today the working class of Italy see very plainly that the ruling class is committed to a policy of imperialism, that neither puts fire in their stoves nor bread on their tables.

D Annunzio has stampeded the government along imperialistic lines. For the sake of what the workers regard as empty glory he has jeopardized the already scanty food supply. He has raised the flag of rebellion, in the interest of the imperialists and has got away with it. The workers are asking, "Is the future to be nothing but semistarvation, unbearable taxes, and militarism with its death and suffering for the many and honor and glory for the few?

The Communists, too, have devoted adherents. They, too, can take the power into their own hands, establish their own government and destroy the present imperialistic state.

They may not be ready to strike yet. They may prefer to wait until the first pinch of cold and hunger has ripened the masses for revolt. But it is now that the decisions of the communists are being made, and the seeds of their action sown.

Premier Nitti and his associates on the Crown Council know it, as do the Capitalist-imperialist governments of the world, and it is that knowledge of the impending revolution in Italy that is causing them so much enxiety, for they know that with Italy in the hands of her proletariat, all the Balkans would raise the relief banner of Communism and march to the relief of their embattled brothers in Russia.

Speed the day.

THE WORKER

SYNDICALISM CASES CONTINUED

(Continued from page 1.)

"proletariat" and "sabotage" proved unmountable barriers for this genius who reminded us of another prosecutor we have in mind who was characterized as "having the manners of a coyote and the face of a thief". Knowledge of ordinary English words and their correct relation one with another, is apparently not required in the legal profession if the example submitted by prosecutor Stanton be taken as evidence. In fact one may conclude that ordinary knowledge of grammar is held in about the same esteem in a capitalist court as are the fundamentals of our Constitution, relating to free speech, and free assemblage.

The Sin of Silence

To sin by silence when we should protest
Makes cowards out of men. The human race
Has climbed on protest. Had no voice been raised
Against injustice, ignorance and lust,
The Inquisition yet would serve the law,
And guillotine decide our last disputes,
The few who dare must speak and speak again,
To right the wrongs of many.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Scott Nearing's Lecturettes

Mexico, like several of the countries of Europe, has had a revolution. Consequently, there is a widespread effort, on the part of those who are not enthusiastic about a revolution in the United States, to make it appear that the Mexicans have suffered terribly as a result of the disturbance of Diaz-Huerta law and order. Recent reports from Mexico put a very different fact on the matter.

The foreign commerce of Mexico has never been as great as it was during the calendar year 1918 — and this despite the persistent efforts of certain interests to make it appear that Mexico was in no position to do business with anybody.

The real situation is best reflected in the reports of certain corporations, financed by outside capital, and utilizing the resources of Mexico as a source of profit. The Aguila Company (English) had an original investment of about $30.000.000 American gold. On this investment, in 1918, the company reported net profits of over fourteen millions and paid a dividend of 25 per cent. on its stock The Dutch Shell Company paid a dividend in the same year of 48 per cent. on the preferred stock and 37 per cent. on the common. The Pan-American Petroleum & Transport Company is reported as pying dividends of 28 per cent. a quarter. So the story goes.

Poor Mexico? Hardly. If she were as poor as we are led to believe, there is little chance that Lord Cowdry and the Rockefeller interests, and the French, Dutch, Belgian and Norwegian capitalists would take the interest in her that they do.

Quite the contrary, it is a case of Rich Mexico. Her ample resources, her cheap labor, her heretofore pliant governments have offered opportunities for plunder that have drawn the vultures together.

If the Mexican people were poor, they would be left as lonely as are many other poor ones in the world. Rich and defenseless they are the prey of every spoiler. The revolution gives an opening. Disturbances afford an opportunity, and the interventionists cry their wares to the four corners of the globe.

Mexico — rich in resources and commercial opportunities.

Mexico — poor in self-determination and international liberty!

Above the Struggle

Men and women; little children; families; neighborhoods; whole communities are engaged in a life and death struggle to secure the necessaries of life. Above the struggle are the privileged ones whose property and special advantages free them from the jungle of "civilization." A recent announcement of the New York Federal Reserve Bank tells the story of the ease with which these fortunate ones secure their lion's share of the good things of life.

Commenting on this announcement, the "New York Times" says:

"The business of the bank, as reflected in its earnings, has been phenomenal in the last year. So great were the earnings for the calendar year 1918 that at the beginning of the current year the managment put $7.572,676 into surplus account. On March 7, after the Federal Reserve Act had been amended to allow greater surplus holdings, the bank expanded this by $12.795.214, and on June 30, $10.126.437 was added to surplus. In consequence, that account, which stood at $649,363 at the end of 1918, now stands at $32.922.051."

Here is a story of bank surplus increasing from a little over half a million to more than 32 millions in less than a year. Meantime the necessary expenses of the bank have been paid; the business has been enlarged, and those connected with the finances of the institution have been properly taken care of.

Below, in the struggle, it is hell. Above, among the bankers, it is paradise, financially speaking.

Class Lines

The beneficiaries of a system are, naturally enough, inclined to favor the system that benefits them. Tolstoi remarks, truly, that the rich are willing to do anything for the poor except get off their backs. The poor suffer under the same system from which the rich benefit. The poor work; the rich live comfortably, in many cases, without doing any work at all. The rich enjoy this comfort, and teach their children to value and to look forward to it. Why should they be anxious to dispossess themselves of opportunities which give them the things they most value in life?

The economic abyss that separates the various groups in the United States has existed in all of the great civilizations of the past. Recent discoveries in Egypt and in Babylonia show that there, as well as in Greece and Rome, there was a well-established system of social organization which turned the first fruits over to the property owners. The bitter internal conflicts that tore the vitals out of classic civilization were the conflicts over land ownership and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the minority.

The basis of power in Europe during the past thousand years has been land ownership. Until the rise of commerce and industry, the sole economic basis of power lay in the control of the agricultural land.

Most of the great nations began their existence under a relatively free economic system. The land was held in common, or else it was held in small parcels by the individuals who used it. Then, little by little, the individual owners were dispossessed and the common land was taken over by the wealthy and powerful. The economic history of Rome and of Great Britain relates, in terms of remarkable similarity, the appropriation of common lands and small holdings by the great proprietors.

The proces of transforming free, individual holdings into great estates has always been accompanied by slavery, serfdom, or a system of tenantry and absolute landlordism that possessed most of the economically vicious characteristics of feudalism, minus the element of personal relationship that accompanied the feudal system.

History does not teach that all forces are economic forces, nor does it teach that all changes have been economic changes. It does teach, however, that the economic forces are so mighty and the economic changes so potent that they will both bear constant attention.

No explanation of social development or of social progress is complete without the economic element. Where economic lines are drawn, other lines follow of necessity. This has proved particularly true in the case of the economic control of the common means of livelihood. Wherever such a control is established, the dominant class is placed in a specially favored position that gives it a vested interest in maintaining the system that grows out of its control At the same time the dependent class finds a great gulf fixed between it and economic opportunity. Hence the conflict which inevitably arises between the workers and the owners. The antagonism and conflict that are based on these economic contrasts have helped to wreck every great civilization of the past and the chances are that they will have the same effect upon the great civilizations of the present and future. Society cannot persist unless the forces that tend to hold it together are greater than the forces that tend to drive it apart.

The most vicious basis of social distinction lies in differing methods of livelihood. Where these methods take the form of working on the one hand and owning on the other, the lines are laid for embittered economic struggle and for the ultimate destruction of the society that tolerates them.

STIRRUP HOLDERS

Robert Whitaker

There are many who do not admit this, and to whom our present attitude is quite incomprehensible. Our contention seems to them in the first place quite "unspiritual." It is "peace and good will, and brotherly love" that the world needs, not the "class struggle." And with all our talk of "human values first," it seems to them very inconsistent on our part that now we are putting "labor values first."

And to us their misunderstanding, and their failure to cooperate with the industrial revolution seems to be but another sad chapter in the failure of the common people in all ages to understand their own interests, and to support their pioneers.

When I saw Thomas Dixon's famous photo-play, "The Birth of a Nation," the one picture that remained with me was a quite incidental part of the play. It was not his glorification of war, intentional or unintentional, nor his evidently evil purposed vilification of the negro in the mad pursuit of the helpless girl by a black brute. Rather was it the home scene where the young bucks of the south are shown riding off to war while their smiling and scraping negro servants hold the stirrups of the horses which their masters are mounting. The negroes hold the stirrups for the masters to mount and ride away to make the negroes' bondage more secure.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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CONDEMNATION OF POLITICAL OFFENDERS PROVES GOVERNMENTAL HYPOCRISY

"Peace? Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here or any woman — let me say, is there any child — who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry?....

"This war was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

* * * *

These are not the words of a ranting socialist, nor of an I. W. W. agitator, nor of a pacificist, nor of a conscientious objector to war, nor of any of those who at this time are condemned to years of bestial confinement by the present administration in the cells of the federal prisons of this country.

They are the words of Woodrow Wilson at St. Louis Sept, 5th. But President Wilson is not in prison doing the lock step for saying them. He is not confined to a cell for fourteen hours a day for saying what he knew to be the thruth about the causes of the war as was Debs up to a short time ago. He is not facing death and insanity behind prison walls for saying what HE thot was true of war, as many others have met death and gone insane. He is not locked up for weeks in the "black hole" on a diet of bread and water at the instigation of petty, ignorant and brutal guards. He is not paying the penalties HE has imposed upon hundreds of men and women for sying LESS than that.

The war is not over according to the President's decision in the coal strike, therefore the President is guilty of a violation of the espionage law under which all political prisoners were jailed. But he has not walked into jail and given himself up as a violator of the law. Nor has the Department of Justice sent its officers with handcuffs to bring Mr. Wilson to the bar of justice. Nor will it.

Yet others are guilty, so is he. If Debs is guilty and deserves ten years in prison, then the President deserves twice the sentence Debs received, for Debs said much less than the words spoken at St. Louis. The jails are filled with members of the I. W. W., conscientious objectors, religious objectors, pacifists, Socialists and others who, believing in the Constitution of the United States, offended Mr. Wilson by saying much less than he has stated about the war.

Where lies the justice in this proceedure? Are the officials of the government immune from the laws they make and put their names too as the law making body? Are the laws made for the many and not for the few? Are the laws made for all the people or are they made only to be enforced upon the opponents of these in power.

We have never made any statements in this paper as to the cause of the war. To have done so would have meant the cancellation of our mailing priviliges and a term in prison for the editors along with Debs and others. But we feel free to agree with the President's definition of the war's real causes. We will agree with him and accept his statement — "This was a commercial and industrial war."

The hollowness of the President's claims during the real period of the war are thus seen. A war for democracy, a war for self determination of all peoples; a war for righteousness and freedom for all the world against autocracy in all its forms— these were given as the purpose of the war times without number.

Out of these slogans a psychological effect was produced which acted to cover all opposition to the war. Millions gave their lives believing in them. The government used them to the limit in squeezing the last cent from the public in its drives for finances to pay the cost of war. And now we are told by the man who acted the leading part in this world tragedy — that it "was a commercial and industrial war" between commercial and industrial nations for world trade and economic supremacy.

We will accept the President's latest definition for the causes of the war. But we will not sit quietly by while our comrades and fellow workers lie in prison with the iron heel of despotism upon them. We will not be silent. We will reveal the hollow mockery of justice at Washington until they who are responsible for the inhuman outrages against our comrades are forced to open the prison doors. No worker with red blood in his veins can rest in peace with his conscience until this injustice is wiped out. Day by day, the Army of Liberators is growing. Every hour sees the demand for the release of all political prisoners increasing. Every moment they remem in prison brings nearer the day of judgment for the ruling class of this nation.

The ruling class fears to let our comrades out of prison. It knows that the moment they step out of prison they will join the growing army of **INDUSTRIAL** liberators who are waging a war against them for control of the world and their own destiny. Keeping the political prisoners in jail is a weapon in the class war, used by the ruling class in its programe of repression. They fear to let them out. They may well fear to keep them in!

In this fight for liberation, the support of every worker is demanded. For it will require the combined efforts of all of us to **OPEN THE PRISON DOORS.** Do your part. Join the Army of Liberators. Agitate for liberation for political prisoners wherever you are — at all times. Make the powers that be **FEAR TO KEEP THEM IN!**

Ex-officer of Russ Army Gives Views on Conditions in Siberia.

Military expert for "London Express" Describes Kolchak rule as state of "unorganized despotism".

Editor, Ohio Socialist,
Cleveland, O.

DEAR SIR:—

"As I am a Russian officer who has seen long service in the Russian army and who served in the British Volunteer Army against Germany, my interest in the military and political fate of my country needs no explanation. In addition to the natural intrests of a soldier and citizen, however, I have a special interest as a journalist in seeking the truth concerning the several factions which are at present contending for the control of Russia. (I was military critic and expert in connection with Russian affairs for the London "Daily Express" during the war.)

"Original sources of information concerning Russia are difficult to obtain. Therefore, whenever I am fortunate enough to find anything which throws the least light upon a situation so obscured by censorships and propaganda, I feel impelled to bring the results of my searches to the attention of others who have, like myself, a deep interest in Russia.

"With great difficulty I have recently been able to obtain a number of Russian newspapers from Siberia. These papers include the following. "Nashe Delo", of Irkutsk; "Golos Primoria," of Vladivostok; "Vladivostokskoie Oboozrenie," of Vladivostok; "Echo," of Vladivostok; "Usuriysky Krai," of Nikolsk; "Kazatchiy Vestnik," and several others. These copies which I have bear dates which run from March, 1919, up to the latets issue which have reached America. All these newspapers are known as the "Kolchak press."

"After having studied carefully this extensive evidence, I have come to the following conclusion: No propaganda in the world can turn the opinion of any sound-minded man in favour of the Kolchak and Denikin crowd, after having read the self-accusations of their own press. It is extraordinary that in spite of the rigorous censorship imposed upon the press in the regions occupied by the Russian reactionaries, these papers should contain so many facts that discredit the administration and expose the conditions of tyranny and disorder in those regions. The papers are filled with the reports of hundreds of cases, before the local courts, of desertion, corruption, theft and other crimes which could only be committed in such excessive numbers in a society without discipline or organization. The many reports of the execution of hostages, described in a most cynical and repulsive manner, reveal the nature of the regime in power. The orders of the day issued by the commanding officers show clearly the lack of harmony within the military organization of the Kolchak armies. The Cossaks are dissatisfied with their reactionary chiefs and are robbing the populations by the orders of the latter. For instance The Ataman of the third Trans-Baikal Cossack district, Colonel Zelinsky, issued an order of the day trying to stop the depredations upon the peaceful population according to the order of the well-known Kolchak general Baron Ungern-Shtenberg. He even complained to the All-Cossack Union saying that in spite of the general camplaints of all the cossack regions to the Omsk government, the accused officers not only escape all punishment, but, on the contrary, are promoted in rank and encouraged by their authorities to continue their "useful" work of crushing Bolshevism. One of these Kolchak satellites, Karmandonoff, flogged and shot a number of peasants, and all efforts to arrest him were in vain, — Omsk refused to interfere. As a result of his protests, Colonel Zelinsky was dismissed from his post (Order of the day No. 145 — "Echo" 19, June 1919). I have known Colonel Zelinsky personally for many years and I can state with authority that he is an officer singularly devoted to Kolchak and Denikin. In general the Cossack Attaman (chief) are constantly quarreling with the central military command. The general insubordination of these chiefs is plainly shown in the drastic measures which, the military authorities have had to apply, and often in vain, as is the case with General Rozanoff who has not appologized to the Americans for having flogged an American soldier, arrested an American officer and shot an American boy, Kolchak was unable to force his General to do that.

"These papers, to my great suprise, are only moderately critical of the Soviet Government of Central Russia. They do not fail, in some cases, to pay tribute to the honesty and organizing ability of Lenin.

"The following extract is taken from "Echo" of June 6th 1919, Vladivostok."

Press Review. "The Japanese press on the recognition of the Omsk government."

"The fact that Japan has been the first country to recognize the Omsk government and has compelled the United States to join in this proposition is not only a diplomatic success. We think it will be no exaggeration if we say that this step which Japan has taken is of world importance".

Osaka—Mainichi.

(Continued on page 4.)

Travels Far for Tom Mooney

Robert E. Blackstone, "For Mooney Agitator", who spent several months recently in Ohio in the interest of the Tom Mooney Defense, is now in Canada. In a recent letter to the State Office he states that freedom of speech exists in Canada to a far greater extent than in the boasted land of the free.

Recently he spoke in the most Easterly point in the Western Hemisphere, Port Morian, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, where he delivered a speeech on the Mooney case to the miners.

Comrade Blackstone writes that he is still driving his "Red Devil" car in which he travelled from San Francisco across the United States in a Mooney campaign. He has met many interesting people in Canada and made the acquaintance of numerous labor organizations which he had never heard of before. Comrade Mrs Blackstone accompanies him.

He is meeting with great success in his effort for Tom Moone's release.

Capitalist Press Paints Glaring Picture of Its Ability to Lie.

The present propensity and capacity of the capitalist press for lying is without precedent in the realm of journalism. Unblushingly, without the shadow of shame or retraction visible upon its scurrillious pages, it perpetrates day after day and year after year its preposterous fakes upon its readers. Its pages, devoted to the interests of financial piracy and the economic system which make legalized graft possible thru the robbery of the workers in production, are in these times blatant with lies, corrupt with a corruption unparaller in the history of newspaperdom.

One of the most striking examples of the depraved depths to which it has sunk is furnished by the Plain Dealer of Cleveland. In bill-board advertisements as large as the side of a barn, new posters proclaim "knowledge means power." "Read the Plain Dealer" — and of course grow successful thru imbibing the truth and knowledge gleaned there from. To prove the truthfulness of its claims, the front page of a recent issue is shown on the board. "Fall of Petrograd Confirmed" reads the headline across the page. This is indeed convincing argument!

The posters appeared recently at the time when the capitalist press ran wild on one of its periodical sprees against the Soviet Government of Russia. More than a month has passed since the latest concerted national campaign of lies was started simoultaneously in the masters' press. Denikin was hailed as the savior of Russia, who even then was stated to be in Petrograd safely ensconced in the seat of power with his "patriotic" army of "decent" Russians. Bolshevism, according to the statements made, was on the point of vanishing as darkness before the rising sun.

In the world markets the effect too was felt. Stocks and bonds rose as did the hopes of financiers as they viewed in prospect a steadying of their grasp upon the world and its resources. A wave of reaction swept over the country and the representatives of "law and order" expanded their activities in wholesale encroachments upon the constitutional rights of the workers. All that smacked of revolt against the powers that be was branded as "bolshevik" and ruthless repression was prescribed as a prelude to the stamping out of the last vestige of the rising revolt against their rule of blood and iron.

It was a great game and it worked beautifully. Henry Dubbs grew exultant as they perused the red-headlines proclaiming the final overthrow of bolshevism. They again felt safe from the germs of the wily bolshevist. A haven of security opened up before their deluded vision as the picture of a world of labor paternally snatched from the monster, bolshevism, by the wholly patriotic allies, was shown them.

The drive of all anti-Soviet forces against Russia's workers was well timed. Taking advantage of the last opportunity before the setting in of winter, it was hoped that sufficient inroads upon the Soviet strongholds could be made that would have a disintefrating influence upon the workers' make at least some successes to counter-balance their stupendnous defeats of the past summer, in order that their endnous defeats of the past summer, in order that their armies should receive more confidence in their chances of success before the long period of inavtivity began. Then too, there was the question among the allies of gnowing discontent at home. The Soviets were gaining great moral support among the workers of every land. Their cause was becoming known as the cause of all workers, their success the gain of all who labor. Against this growing danger to capitalism a mightly blow must he struck and at once. Capitalistic imperialism allied with the Russian reactionaries prepared to deliver it. All its resources which it dared to enlist, including its public press were brought to bear in one mighty onslaught against the workers' republic of Russia.

But the dream has vanished. Petrograd is still in the hands of the Red Army. And if we are to place any credence in the news of the day, (and we are safe in doing so when that news is not in favor of the rupists of Russia), the drive of the reactionaries and the allies against the Soviets is meeting with sore defeats. Retreat after retreat is occuring on many fronts.

Kolchak, it is admitted is mashalling his forces for a retreat of 1.000 miles. Volunteers are pouring into the Red Army for the defense of Russia. Instead of an advance, a rout is occuring. In spite of the most inhuman blockade ever instituted since the beginning of civilization; in the face of

(Cont. on page 4th.)

Where Are You At?

After all, this sitting on the fence is rather uncomfortable, in't it? It does very well to elevate yourself for a moment, to get a good look at that which lies to either side of the fence, but to sit on the fence for days and weeks becomes tedious and wearing.

So we ask — WHERE ARE YOU AT? If you can not accept the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party, why not frankly admit that you are a right winger; that you do not approve of the tactics and principles of the Bolsheviki and of the Third International; that you'd rather stay with the Socialist Party and its program of patching up capitalism to make it last a while longer. If you honestly believe that a number of representatives in political office are going to vote you Industrial Democracy; if you honestly believe that the capitalist class is going to allow a few representatives in office to hand over to you the power now possessed by the possesing class, then hot foot it to the old reactionary Socialist Party. That is where you belong. And belonging there, you should not be ashamed to go there.

If on the contrary, you are convinced that the working class must develop its own machinery and power, must create its own controlling weapon, with which to secure Industrial Democracy; if you believe that we must diligently work in shops thru shop committees to spread the communist propaganda; if you know that politics is a bourgeois game, and that our reason for placing political candidates in the field is to make propaganda for the cause; if you understand that votes are inanimate and that only working class power, exercised wherever possible, will bring workers' control— then you belong in and should join the Communist Labor Party RIGHT AWAY.

There's been a bit too much procrastination. Why hesitate? Why not join the reactionary Socialist Party if that is where you belong. Of course, you'll learn better some day. So those Ohio locals that still have to act in the matter of affiliation because campaign business and lack of business meetings have given no opportunity for earlier action — to these we say — join locals Bellaire, Cincinnati, Conneaut, Cleveland, Fremont, Galion, Springfield, Salem, Sandusky, Seneca County, Toledo, Youngstown, and other state locals in making the Communist Labor Party the workers' weapon in this state.

AND DO IT NOW!

What One Comrade is Willing to Do for Debs.

Comrades of The Ohio Socialist:—

I have read what comrade Gene Debs' lawyer has to say about his health. What can we do?

First: We can employ a doctor and send him there and demand admission for him.

Second: Twenty of we old fellows can volunteer to serve out Gene's time. That would be six months for each of us. Wilson and Company will thus get revenge upon twenty of us instead of only one, and the prison contractors will lose nothing, but rather gain by having a fresh recruit every six months. I am willing to be one of the twenty.

Third: If there is the shadow of manhood left in the working-class, protest meetings without regard to political affiliations must be called and held all over the country for the freedom of all who are held under the espionage law — except the spies. I believe however, they skipped the spies.

It will do no good to hold a protest meeting here and there but more thouroughly than a general strike, the protest must be organized and held from the Gulf to the lakes and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

SUMNER W. ROSE
[illegible]

"No Evidence of Advocacy of Violence" Says Judge Moylan.

Communist Labor Party Officials freed of charge of Criminal Syndicalism. Trial set for Dr John De Quer, C. E. Ruthenberg and Carl Hacker. Raids continue in Cleveland.

Communist Labor Party officials, Alfred Wagenknecht, L. E. Katterfeld, Chas Baker, Walter Bronstrup and E. T. Allison were treated to a surprise in Judge Moylan's court at Cleveland last Wednesday morning when the charges of "criminal syndicalism" lodged against them on Oct. 16, by operatives of the Loyal American League and police, were dismissed by judge Moylan.

Contrary to the general custom in Cleveland, which is to tie every official of every revolutionary organization up in the courts on charges of "criminal syndicalism" with the view of intimidating the workers and breaking up all meetings, whether held in the privacy of homes or in public, the case of the above named socialists may be viewed as a set back to the "Loyal American Leeches", representatives of the chamber of Commerce in their illegal and unwarranted raids upon the workers.

At the first hearing of the case on Oct. 23rd, judge Moylan stated that he would look over the copies of the speeches made by the defendents at the meeting where they were arrested. From the readiness with which he rendered his decision at the last period in court, he had seen the falsity of the charges against the defendents.

No League operatives were present when the case was called and an assistant prosecutor stated that he "did not know much about these cases". "Well I do" stated the judge. "The cases against the defendents are dismissed." The defendents filed out to pursue their work of further organization of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism.

GRAND JURY RETURNS INDICTMENTS.

The Grand jury last week returned indictments against C. E. Ruthenberg, Carl Hacker and Dr. John De Quer, on charges of criminal syndicalism. The trial of comrades Ruthenberg and Hacker are set for Nov. 20th. Dr. De Quer who was arrested for making a speech in a grove near Cleveland on Labor Day, will be tried some time in December it is thot.

Another raid took place at Acme Hall last week. Eight members of a Russian branch and of the Leidertaffle Club were hauled away to the police station. All are out on a thousand dollars bail each. The charge is the same old gag, criminal syndicalism, which means any thing the powers want it to mean so it seems.

The game goes merrily on. So does the coal strike, the steel strike, and a few hundred others. Discontent among the workers is steadily gaining a lead on repression. Just how soon discontent will turn about and face its pursuer we do not profess know. Things happen quickly, these days, however.

THE "CURE ALL" CLUB SAYS —

"Give the working-man hot dogs, ham, pretzels, sauerkraut and beer three times a day and America will be cured of strikes and Bolshevism." Jeff Davis, king of the hoboes.

"Beer", or "no work" is what Sam Gompers said at Washington.

Woodrow said 4 cents and a round table was sufficient.

And the class-conscious worker says nothing less than "the world for the workers" will do.

Take your choice.

STE[illegible]

BY [illegible]

The other day a man came into [illegible] office. He had been on strike [illegible] weeks, and now he had about 90 cents left. He had some chickens, he had good neighbors, that had given him vegetables and things from their gardens. The man was a foreigner, a young married man, and what he had come for was not to ask for strike benefits. He wanted advice and the moral support of encouragement.

He wanted to know how he was going to get along. He came rather deprecatingly, smiling in an embarrassed sort of fashion over his difficulties. Then he went away, still with his smile, his only assets, his friends, his 90 cents, and his indomitable will to stick out.

The strike is based on people like this; people full of faith; people full of endurance; people full of sacrifice — thousands and thousands of them.

Thousands of them looking upward and forward to a better life for themselves and their children — for these people are striking for a right to be considered as men. They are striking for the right of a little leisure. They want an end put to this de-humanizing double shift.

The other day in Braddock a mill superintendent stopped an old-timer on the street. "Aren't you working?" he asked.

"No, I am not working. I'm on strike; I'm taking a holiday. I am paying myself back those 20 Christmases I worked for the company," said the man.

That has been the situation with the mill workers. No Sundays, no Christmas. Work that took it out of a man so that he was old at 40. Work that left him so tired at the end of the day that he wasn't a human being anymore. And now these people are willing to sacrifice to change this sort of thing, for themselves, for their children, and for the workers of all time.

So when the history of this strike is written it is going to be a history of the faith and courage and endurance of men and women living in wretched slums, their windows looking on filthy court yards — living in desolate mill towns in sheds around the great mills; living in bleak houses on steep hillsides where the roads turn to rearing torrents during each rain.

Allegheny County is a fair, sweet place. There are large, fat farms; oil bubbles underneath the earth, and all around are beautiful towns full of comfortable American homes. At each turn of the road the ravines and brunt hills make you a new picture. Smoke shuts out all of this when you get to the towns where the mill workers live. Their landscape is the rows and rows of great chimneys and the smoke pouring out of them. Their music is the din of the shop and the roar of the whistle.

They have no life, and now because they have asked for a few hours which to live, every form of supression and terror is being used against them.

Why has the strike not already been smothered out of existence? Only because of the dogged endurance and the dogged faith of the men. This strike is not kept together by the ordinary strike discipline. It goes on by its own mementum through the faith and courage of the rank and file.

There is no one who reads this who does not know how the morale of a strike is kept up. There is no one who has seen strikes where there were not meetings entertainments, processions, the coming together of men working for a common purpose — there is nothing like this in the steel towns. It isn't allowed. If more than half a dozen strikers stop on the street to talk over their affairs they are arrested for "blocking traffic." "inciting to riot" etc.

No strike poster can be stuck up in a steel town — no leaflet passed on the street to tell the news. No meeting can be held without a permit of police. Many towns do not allow any meetings at all. In other towns where meetings are grudgingly allowed the halls are so little that they can hold only a very small fraction of the men on strike.

So a smothering silence shuts down over the men. Every day they get up to read lieing reports in the papers. Every day they meet on the street, mill employes who try to tribe them to go back. I know a young fellow who was discharged because he was getting men to join the union, and he was of many in his town — I have a list of their names, through Mr. Gary states that men are never discharged for union activities. This man recently met the foreman of his shop, who offered him back his old job at an increased wage. He didn't go, for they are not going back because they have settled down to a long, grim fight, in spite of every [illegible]

[illegible] the Cossacks, [illegible] and continual menace of arrest.

We must remember that [illegible] the crime of [illegible] charges such as obstructing traffic, unlawful assembly, etc. which make it impossible to run a strike in without his having committed any real offense.

Suppression and oppression have been the father and mother of this strike and terror its godfather. But, when the company used terror, they forget the old saying that the blood of the martyr's is the seed of the church.

There hasn't been a home searched or an illegal arrest made that hasn't helped the strike. There hasn't been a club that has come down on a defenseless mill worker that hasn't sent men hurrying to get out their union cards.

Take the case of Clairton for instance — this was the town where the union had got no foothold — the watchful authorities had kept the "agitators" out. ("Agitator" is the company's name for all members of the A. F. of L. who try to get their fellow workers to join a union.)

There were no halls in Clairton that could be rented. All permits were denied and street meetings were broken up. That is to say, the fundamental rights of Americans were sweepingly denied. There is no right of free speech and free assembly in the steel towns. When the people in Farrell want to go to a meeting they have to go over the Ohio state line into America — and the other evening 4.000 of them walked over to hear Foster speak.

There are plenty of steel towns not in America, and Clairton is one of them.

After a time the organizer hired a vacant lot from one of the mill workers. But a man in Clairton can't ask a few friends to a lawn party on his own property — the Cossacks rode down the strikers and broke up the meeting. The mill workers didn't know that it was un-American to strike and they had put up an American flag — this the Cossacks tore down and the flag was trampled under the horses' hoofs. This started trouble, for there were some ex-service men there as there are in all workingmen's crowds. The affidavits sent to the Senate abound in statements like:

"The state troopers rushed on the lot and the people started to run away, but when said state troopers rushed to the platform and tore down our flag, the men became incensed and some ex-soldiers, seeing our flag being insulted and defiled, rushed at said troopers in defense of our flag and started the excitement and almost caused a riot, and loyal citizens were greatly incensed. There was no provocation for said interference and riding over women and children"

(Signed) Mihon Terzich.

Before this happened the organization made no headway in Clairton, but the constabulary had made an irresistable argument — men rushed away from the riot to get their union cards.

The state constabulary are a splendid looking body of men in their smart dark gray uniforms and helmets, but with their riot clubs, three feet long, they are terror incarnate to the workers — they are in the steel towns in many cases not because the town authorities asked them, but at the request of the company. So brutal have they been that one can explain their acts only on the theory that they were acting under orders "to throw a scare into the workers" from the first, or else that they were deliberately trying to incite riot. How else can one account for the tearing down of the flag or the incident at Braddock? There was a mission in Braddock in the Slovak church and the men were coming out from instruction ot about 9—the Cossacks rode them down — not only that, but they rode their horses up the narrow church steps. The men controlled themselves — they didn't attack the Cossacks, and they did nothing in anger or reprisal when the Cossacks rode down a crowd of babies of the first grade who were going home from church.

No assembling in crowds is allowed in Braddock.

There is a narrow street in Braddock along which runs the Baltimore & Ohio Railway. A tall fence separates the street from the tracks and children play here for nothing on wheels is allowed by city ordinance. Since the strike one of the mill owners drove his car down this street, scattering the children in front of him. Behind him, for his protection, rode two of the steel gray troopers, but they weren't needed any more than they have been any time. The men are out to win the strike by peaceable means in spite of thugs, gunmen and state constabulary.

The worst of the terror is over now. The people have been "pacified." They realize that they have no freedom — no right of free speech or assembly. There are communities where for a steel worker to belong to the A. F. of L. is to lay himself open to arrest and imprisonment.

The search for concealed weapons still affords a pretext for the constabulary to break into houses at night, smash open trunks and boxes with hatchets. Yesterday I went to the house of a Slovak woman who had called her husband when the Cossacks came rushing in, whereupon the trooper struck her across the face with his gloves.

These outrages, and more besides, were testified to before the Senate Committee and, as the witnesses piled in, in ceaseless procession before the senators, the outstanding fact about them was their defenselessness. How small they seemed to lift their feeble hands against the giant of steel — the giant which can command not only the mills, but the courts, the police and the press!

There was one thing more outstanding than their defenselessness, and that was their steadfastness as they are fighting one of the greatest battles of all history and fighting with no other weapon than their unshaken courage.

[illegible]

By [illegible]

That is the way, [illegible]
"THE PRISONS are [illegible].
A MAN
Gets elected Governor
And he looks around and says:
'There's SO and SO,
Who delivered a district
In the election;
He's been a useful man to us;
He ought to be good
For the job of WARDEN'.
So the warden takes office
And forthwith remembers
Pete and Bill and Jake
Who were also USEFUL
In a smaller way
In the precinct work.
'They'll be the stuff,' he says,
'For guards and captains:
They've got o JOB
COMING to them.
And so you get
Your little SYSTEM
As absolutely
UNDER the WARDEN
As Russia under the czar!
No prison DOCTOR
Can REMAIN
No guard, no chaplain,
Unless he FITS into
The SYSTEM.
Into this system come
The PRISONERS
Most of them BOYS
Of twenty-three or so,
On their first offense,
Some small crime,
Sent up for a year.
They have NO [illegible]
According to the rules
(Why, even a DOG
Has rights!
But NOT a prisoner.)
They are completely
At the MERCY
Of the petty tyrant guards.
Why, if HALF the prisoners
Protest at an abuse,
And a SINGLE guard
Says: 'Not so; they LIE!'
The guard's word GOES
Against the word of ALL;
And THAT is true
In EVERY PRISON
In the United States!
And if a prisoner comes up
For PAROLE
He must have a clear record
For six months.
If ONCE in all that time
A guard should say:
'This fellow passed me
And failed to keep his eyes
Straight FRONT,
But glanced at me sideways!'
Then BING!
The man's parole is gone,
WHATEVER his plea!
This is the way we teach
RESPECT for JUSTICE,
In the penitentiaries
Where NO ONE is penitent,
And the reformatories
That reform NO ONE!"

THE CALL MAGAZINE.

THE STRANGE, SAD CASE OF PRESIDENT WILSON

By Woodrow

"More," says Labor.

"Less and less," says Capital.

"Nix on the rought stuff," says Government.

And the fight is on. Strange, isn't it, that President Wilson forgot to say anything at all, in his declaration of war on the mine workers, about treating the coal operators rough because they refuse to give the miners enough to eat? Very strange! President Wilson seems to have had a lapse in memory. Not very long ago it was he who said that the real trouble makers in this country are the big business interests behind the "invisible government."

But just in order to keep our faith in human nature let's diagnose the strange, sad case of President Wilson. We know that he forgot to say that he would use an army against the coal operators if they persisted in refusing the miners enough wages to live on decently. Now there must be something wrong with President Wilson's thinking apparatus. Otherwise there is no way to explain such a strange idea— that 500.000 coal miners have no right to quit working if they do not like the conditions or wages under which they are working. And the amazing statement of the president that they are "unlawful" in striking, while the coal operators are perfectly within their rights to close down the mines any day they are good and ready, throwing thousands of men out of work and cutting off the production of coal!

Let's diagnose the strange, sad case of President Wilson, who seems to have something wrong with his thinking apparatus.

Now the president is, we will admit, doing the very best he knows how. The only trouble is he does not know how very well. His mental machinery is running along just as smoothly as it ever did in Paris, where he had to make some of those 14 points a little less pointed in order to get them by with the representatives of certain monarchial governments. But he is still making the same mistake he made there; the mistake that all men who never labor with their hands for their living make when trying to "fix things" for the peoples of the world. He forgot to first find out what the people wanted.

It's a fatal mistake. There was a time when the common folks of the world — that conglomerate mass of men, women and children who just spend their simple lives creating wealth and getting very little of it for themselves — could be told by peace conferences and congresses what they wanted, and they took it. Just like a little kiddie takes the nasty medicine his mother says he must take or stay in bed. Just like that. But they do not do it any more. Perhaps it is because they, themselves, think they know what they want.

The only advice the president ever gets, we are told, is given him by the cabinet members and his other friends who ride about in limousines, live in swell hotels and never get their hands dirty or their feet wet. This class of gentlemen, of course, think that the whole world is just like their world, and the advice they give the president is always colored by their own —experiences. To the president they represent that strange and fickle quality known to the parlor students of economics as "public opinion." For is not one of them a banker, one a lawyer, another a business man, etc., representing all shades of "public opinion" — all but the one shade which is greater than all of them combined, the opinion of the millions of common folks who just make the wealth and have very little of it to spend for themselves.

So the president, surrounded by his cabinet of comfortable gentlemen of wealth and breeding, neglects to find out what the people want before he tells them what they are to have. And when the coal miners — 500.000 of them —ask the coal operators — less than 1,000 of them — to come through with a little more wages and better working conditions, and the operators stand sullenly silent and say that they will close down their mines first before they will their mines first before they will give the miners another red cent or a few less working churs, the president is guilded by the "public opinion" of the bankers and lawyers who surround him always. He issues a statement blaming the 500.000 coal miners instead of the 100 or less coal operators for treatening to shut down the mines.

Itʼs a strange, sad case, is the case of President Wilson. We diagnose it and find that the president is doing the best he knows how, but that he does not know very much. For instance, he does not know that the great mass of common people over whom he is president, are behind the coal miners in their demand that the millionaire coal operators must disgorge some of their huge profits in the form of decent wages to the men who risk their lives to produce the coal. He does not know that the miners are not getting ready to strike because they like it, but because they are compelled to use their only weapon to fight the coal barons. He does not know that the "poor people" he seems to worry about getting cold if the strike ties up the mines are cold now because the coal dealers have raised the price of coal to more than double and have already shut down many of the mines to one-half their normal production.

And, because the president is a pacifist and shuns violence in any form, he declares that the miners are trying to terrorize the country by tying up the fuel supply, and he says he will use the army to keep the mines running. Of course we can always stop to wonder why the president does not use the army to keep the mines running when the coal operators shut them down, all over the country, on an average of three days a week, even in war times. We can wonder, but that is all we seem able to do. Perhaps we had better put a man in the president's chair who knows a little something about what is going on in the country and what the common folks want. [illegible] we are weary of taking the nasty medicine Dr. [illegible] prescribes for us just because he [illegible] to be our "mother."

[illegible] tal and labor.

President Wilson's call stated that the conference would be held between "twenty-two representatives of the general public and an equivalent number of representatives of various bodies of organized labor and organized employers." The representatives of the public were named by Mr. Wilson; the representatives of the workers and of big business were named by the recognized labor and business organizations. The President appointed 22 delegates; labor appointed 11 delegates and the business interests appointed 11 delegates.

The President packed the conference against labor by selecting, as "representatives of the general public" bankers, manufacturers, speculators, profiteers and monopolists. There does not appear, on his list, the name of one well-known labor man. Thus the conference is so designed that the employers and their interest will always be in control.

Can the members of this conference agree on anything? There is Judge Gary, for example. He has refused point-blank to have any dealings with the unions which the American Federation of labor has organized in the plants of the Steel Corporation. He and Mr. Gompers must sit down together, and unless one yields everything that is worth contending for, they must come to an absolute deadlock; since Judge Gary will not concede so much as the right of organization to the half million employes of his corporation.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., another of the President's appointees expects to inherit, from his father something like a billion dollars in the form of railroads refineries, banks, traction systems and manufacturing establishments. He speaks for the monopoly that has for years been regarded as the chief among the corporate enemies of the public weal. The conference is like an assemblage of oil particles and water particles. Will they mix? The history of the National Civic Federation, which has been trying this same thing for many years is sufficient answer.

Suppose the impossible. Imagine that these conferees—the majority of them representing capital in one form or another, and not one of them representing the radical elements of the American Labor Movement in any particular — should agree; imagine a meeting of these unmeetable minds. Upon what can they agree?

1. They might agree to reduce profits. Will they?

2. They might agree to heavier taxes on capital and lighter taxes on the consumer. Will they?

3. They might agree to give labor a share in the management of industry, after the plan now operating in England. Will they?

4. They might agree to have the government own industries, and labor manage them, in accordance with the Plumb Plan. Will they?

5. They might agree to the socialization of all productive machinery, and the establishment of industrial control by the workers. Will they?

Will they do any of these things? No, they will not!

Does anyone expect them to do these things? Certainly not!

As President Wilson has so ably remarked, — "We are all caught in a great economic system which is heartless." Those who derive the chief benefit from that system will be the last to decide in favor of changing it. The "combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States", who, to use another of Mr. Wilson's phrases, "are the masters of the government of the United States," and whose names have been sprinkled with so lavish a hand among the presidential appointees to the coming conference, are forbidden by the root-principles of the system which they represent to do any one of these things.

The conferees will talk. Perhaps they will wrangle. They will appoint sub-committees, pass resolutions and make recommendations. When they have finished their labors, the President will undoubtedly deliver another personal message to Congress.

And the high cost of living? The steel strike? The demands of the miners? Grinding poverty? Unrest? Incipient revolt? They will be exactly where they were before. The only difference anywhere will be in the thousands of dollars that the conference will cost the public treasury.

Antonio still shakes his head, Mr. President, muttering, — "You may as well do anything most hard!"

[illegible] I had faith in the works of Darwin, Huxly, Spencer, Tyndal, Romanes, Clodd, McCabe, Allen and Loeb, but none of these men mentioned that strange contradiction in human society of which you spoke. I must confess that your logic impressed me but also that I am as yet more bewildered than "convinced", said Jack to the engineer, while they were waiting for Herman to adjust something about the separator.

George Sigmiller smiled good naturedly as he answered. "The trouble with you is, that you have read biologists and rationalists instead of sociologists and rationalists instead of sociologists. You have studied animal life as related only to its environment, while men are related to their environment and to each other. You must graduate from the school of biology into the school of anthropology, then into sociology and finally into economics. In your study of biology you have but opened the door to the labyrinth of existance. There are yet many chambers to explore."

"The thing that puzzles me is this, we all live in the same environment; surrounded by the same influnces, then why don't we think alike?" asked Jack.

"What runs the machinery of thot?" was the engineer's counter question.

"If my books tell the truth, then thot is a result of nerve stimulation by light. heat, sound, touch, smell. These nerve stimuli being modified in their affect upon the brain by the impression we call memory. Thus it is, that human beings react to the impression from their environment, modified by the record of previous experiences that have happened in the life of the individual, or perhaps in the life of the race to which he belongs."

"Now George you must admit that the environment of all people is practically the same. How then can you argue that there are two thot modes in the world?" Jack asked of the engineer.

"Half truths are often times more dangerous than complete falsehoods" George answered. "Let me illustrate: you are working for a rich man; you are both affected by the weather in a similar way that is, if the condition of the weather is not extreme. In a blizzard he can afford a warm coat and a comfortable car when he is out and when at home artificial heat and pleasant sorroundings make the winter nights a luxury. You on the other hand are poor, and go shivering in the storm, homeless, cursing the hour that you were born. You see, the economic factor enters into it. It becomes clear that your environment affects you according to your economic position in life."

Again I might illustrate it in this way. A crop failure throws you out of a job which forces you as a migratory worker, to further migration, or to crime due to your not being able to make an honest living, when there is no work to do. The farmer not being ble to pay his mortgage loses his farm. The banker becomes richer by foreclosing the mortgage he holds on the farmers and forcing them into the working class. They make your lot harder by increasing the number of workers, competing for jobs. Crop failure is thus detrimental to you and the farmer, while it may be benificial to the banker and mortgage holder."

Environmental reaction indeed, causes thot processes in the brain of man, as well as all other creatures, but dont forget for a moment that your economic position is a part of your evironment."

"If I understand you rightly", said the boy. "You consider man's accumulated wealth a specific source of nerve stimulation. I might say, man thinks in accordance with what he has."

"Yes," answred George, "Your acts as a whole are determined by the law of economic determinism."

"Illustrate that law by example," demanded Jack.

"Your father is a religious man you tell me".

"Yes."

"He also lends money on interest to his brethern?"

"Yes."

"Now supposing his church would hire a parson who would make it his business to preach that the taking of interests is wrong. Would your father like it?"

"No dad wouldn't like it, especially if the preaching caused his debtors to refuse to pay interest."

"What would he do?"

"He would have the preacher fired or withdraw from the church. In fact I know that he would have the preacher fired, because the elders and deacons are all money lenders, and naturally would not stand for such preaching."

"But supposing the parsons proved his position by the Book? And you tell me your father believes in the Book, then what?"

"Dad would find an interpetation of scripture in harmony with his economic practices, and would hire a preacher who would preach his interpretation and nothing else. I see the whole thing. The law of economic determinism governs man's conduct. I might say it, so that it would be easier to understand by calling it simply, self interest."

"Now I want you to observe human actions and notice that no matter how they veil their true motives under cloaks of piety, patriotism, altruism or what not, somewhere either close at hand or further back you will find the prac[illegible] things about which you know nothing, but with which you will become familiar before you are many years older. On the other hand economic determinism forces the working men to organize into labor unions and into political parties and mutual benefit societies. Behind it all is the same law, economic determinism."

"By the way, Jack, do you know anything about labor unions?"

"Yes, I know that dad hates 'em."

"Naturally," conceded the engineer as he laughed good humoredly. — "But you are going to join a union, when you have learned a trade?"

"Oh, I don't know about that. I may never learn a trade, then what?"

"The time is coming when even the unskilled will have to be organized or be hopelessly exploited. The working must learn that they have no chance of fighting the amalgamated association of political, industrial and financial Barons, single handed. It will become the cry of the working classes, "organize, lest ye perish.""

"Do you belong to a union?" asked the boy guerolusly.

"Sure thing, I belonge to Stationary and Traction engineer's local number 370."

"You never threw any bricks at people who wanted to work, simply because they didn't belong to your bunch?"

"No, I was never elected on an entertainment committee."

"Is Herman a union man, too? questioned Jack.

"Yes, he's a member of the machinist's union.

"Why do the unions 'pul off' such terrible things, such as stopping people, who want to make an honest living?"

George looked upon the boy with a mingling of amusement and pity in his eyes. "We have taught you what the class struggle is theoretically. I dare say that you can give a better definition right now than eight out of every ten socialists. You have defined for me the law of economic determinism, saying that man as a whole acts from the view point of self interests. But lacking the practical experience of the class struggle you are not yet able to apply it to concrete instances. Now why should I want to join a labor union if not for self interest? You see my employer is a company, that is an organized body of men, whose function it is to buy my labor power. In order to deal with them to the best advantage, we approach them as organized workers. We tell them, "you hire us in a body, you pay us so much, you give us such conditions under which to work. And if you don't we quit." If our employer hires a man who is not affiliated with us, who does nothing in an organized way to get better conditions, then we resent it. We must resent it or the self interest, of the employing group will have its way and we as workers will become slaves, to the employer's will. That is the reason that scabs sometimes catch it."

"I see," said Jack, "organized labor is a weapon in the class struggle, but dad always spoke of them as criminals."

"That is quite natural, your father being an employer of labor hated nothing so much as an organized demand on the part of his workers for a larger share of the products of their toil."

"Always remember Jack, whenever you are confronted with a social problem that economic determinism is the key by whish it can be solved. When ever you see a fight between the employer and the employed you will find that it is over surplus value. When ever you see any marked change in the relation of employer and emplaye to the advantage of the employe to the advantage of the the result of organized effort. And all organized effort is a manifestation of social intelligence. — good God, boy, look at that steam! get busy!

(Continued next week.)

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23th. Tom Lewis of Portland Oregon.
30th. Ross D, Brown (Colored) of Munice Ind.
Decbr. 7th. Joe. Sharts of Dayton O.
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The second ballot of the state membership upon the election of four members of the State Executive Committee [illegible]

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Democracy at Home.

One might surmitr that a four years war, fought and won for democracy, might in all decency have some tangible evidence of its winnings on hand to show any unbeliveing who might have doubts thereof. One might even expect President Wilson, by some legerdemain of words and phrases to point out a few unquestionable evidences of the facts of democracy in the every-day lives of the common herd, who up to a short time since hung upon his words as the inspired sentences of mankind's Savior.

But the President is very far from bringing forth such proof of his conquests of the forces of autocracy. Quite the contrary. We are learning that winning a thing and having it are two entirely different propositions. Since the war for democracy was won there has been far more autocracy in America than before. As a matter of fact a period of reaction has seized the nation and the powers that be are marshalling every resource against the putting into practice of the principles for which millions died and billions in wealth were spent. The socialist press has been well nigh destroyed. Free speech is a memory. The Constitution, so far as the workers of this country are concerned, does not exist.

The steel strike has furnished sufficient evidence to damn any government. Men and women have been murdered in the towns of Pennsylvania and nothing hasn been done about it, nor will any thing be done except to cover the destroyers of life and liberty with a coat of governmental whitewash.

And now comes the coal strike bearing upon its heels more evidence of the brand of democracy which Wilson brought back from Paris and locked about the necks of American workers. President Wilson declares that the miners have violated the law by striking. He thus makes them out to be criminals, law breakers. One cannot believe that he believes his own statements. He seeks merely to use the capitalist courts to enslave the workers and to force them into abject slavery to the coal barons. With all his fine words for labor, his actions belie every one of them. By his action in declaring the coal miners to be outlaws, he brands himself an arch-autocrat and enemy of labor. Let him be known for what he is. Wilson's brand of democracy is proving the undoing of labor. The workers need no Saviors. They can and must save themselves. Confidence placed in others than the workers is confidence mis-placed.

Taking a Nation's Measure.

By what measure shall a nation be judged? The generally accepted standard to-day is that of commercial standing and battle ships and armament to protect it. It is a token of the times and a measure of the values set upon human endeavor. We live in a commercial age, hence all things commercial are hallowed. A brilliant halo resides upon our national god, the rays from which stretch out in all directions especially toward heathen and undevelopment lands, where trade possibilities are especially liable of development.

Let us take a glance at the conditions in which our school-teachers live while ministering to the moral, mental and physical needs of the nation's children. What are their services valued at in the coin of the realm? And don't forget to compare the "dollars" received with what they will buy in the shoe, food, clothing, and other markets which the teacher must patronize in order to keep respectable appearing and morally and mentally balanced to be able to do justice to OUR children.

The wages of Cleveland's school teachers afford a shining example and measure of one of America's greatest cities. The yearly wage averages about $75 a month. What will $75 buy—it will buy almost half enough for a family to live upon. Of course it does not afford vacations in the hot summers nor an overdose of refinements and nothing for a rainy day. Many teachers are bread winners for families. While giving the best that is in them in the prime of their lives to society, the child and the teacher, they are bereft of opportunities to develup themselves in accordance with the demands WE make upon them.

The plea is made that there is no money to pay higher salaries. But there is plenty of money for every conceivable kind of "drive" that can be imagined. The wages paid school teachers are an indictment of present day civilization. Commercialism rules. Our teachers, our children and posterity are mortgaged to maintain its rule. Measured by the value set upon education and the treatment of our children, America stands low in the scale of real civilization.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
in the
COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

Realizing the necessity of education and organization of the working-class in order that we may the sooner achieve our emancipation, and of the value of our propaganda for this purpose.

I hereby apply for membership in The Communist Propaganda League.

Enclosed find $........ for which send me .... copies of The Ohio Socialist weekly for as many weeks as this sum pays for at the rate of 1c per copy.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY ....

STATE ....

JOIN—SEND A DOLLAR FOR TEN COPIES FOR TEN WEEKS—MORE IF YOU CAN—JOIN

Address: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

The Question Box

Under this heading we will each week answer questions in regard to the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, their principles, tactics and form of organization. Are you in need of information? Write us.

J. R.— Akron: The Communist Labor Party has chartered state organizations in New York, California, Washington, Oregon, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Minnesota, Rhode Island and Ohio. Charters will shortly be issued to New Jersey and Pennsylvania. States having three hundred or more members can be chartered. The largest locals in Florida, Colorado, Utah, Arkansas, and other states have affiliated but many of these states did not have a total of 300 members even when affiliated with the Socialist Party. Organization work is going forward in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware.

S. L.— Portsmouth: The Communist Party's claims as to membership vary. Sometimes this party claims 50,000 members, sometimes 45,000, at other times 55,000 and as high as 65,000. The membership of any organization is not based upon the random claims of some of its enthusiastic supporters, but upon an average dues stamp sale for a period of three or four months.

A. K.— Minneapolis: The Russian Federation which affiliated with the Communist Party has for months bitterly attacked the Soviet Bureau which is representing Soviet Russia in this country. These attacks led to a split in the Russian Federation, and the branches which withdrew from this federation or were expelled, have organized a new federation, affiliated with the Communist Labor Party. The Communist Labor Party Russian Federation is working in harmony with and is supporting the Soviet Bureau.

G. W.— Cincinnati: We have direct information from a member of the Communist Party that deals were made between the Communist Party Russian Federation and Ferguson and Fraina, several weeks before the Communist convention convened, which gave many of the present national officials of that party the places they now hold.

L. N. E.— Terre Haute: The Socialist Party convention, by a vote of about three to one, refused to endorse the Third International, that formed at Moscow. Thereupon a minority of the delegates insisted that a resolution, conditionally endorsing the third International, go to membership referendum, together with the resolution calling for another new international. These referendums are now before the Socialist Party membership.

C. McB.— Davenport: The Communist Labor Party will here after officially publish "The Class Struggle" monthly. It will also officially publish the "Voice of Labor" and "Communist Labor", each bi-weekly and alternatingly. Some of the best pamphlets and books are already on sale, published officially by the party.

H. C.— Seattle: Locals that now rejoin or remain affiliated with the Socialist Party become part of a corpse. The Socialist Party is wrecked financially; its membership now but numbers thousands werere it had tens of thousands before. Even locals that join neither the C. P. or C. L. P., many in number, will not pay dues any longer to the Socialist Party. These centrist locals are remaining independent of either party, many of them printing their own dues stamps.

E. M.— Boston: The letter sent the Communist Labor Party by the Communist Party, refusing to enter into unity conference, was submitted to the Communist Party central executive committee of fiteen, and the vote stood 9 to 5 in favor of its adoption. Whether the five who voted against the answer were for a unity conference is doubtful.

M. L. O.— Detroit: It was C. E. Ruthenberg who proposed the resolution at a delegate meeting of Cleveland comrades, asking that a state convention be held of Communist, Communist Labor and Socialist Party locals jointly, to decide the disposition of the state property. The Communist Labor Party is absolutely opposed to meeting in joint convention with any Socialist Party locals for any purpose what-so-ever.

A. W.— Cleveland: Yes, Fraina espires to make a trip to Russia to visit Lenine and Trotsky and to affiliate the Communist Party with the Third International. Your information that some of the national officials of the C. P. opposed to this trip by Fraina is correct.

A. M.— Cleveland: Unity is being demanded by an ever greater number of Communist Party locals. It is only the national officials of the Communist Party who stand in the way of unity. The demand for unity can best be strengthened by joining the Communist Labor Party, for it has officially, in convention, adopted a standing offer of unity with the C. P. or any other revolutionary group.

M. P.— Chicago: If you desire to remain clear of vision you must overlook personal attacks at unessential criticism. The Communist Party only disrupts its own organization in its senseless attacks upon the Communist Labor Party.

R. T.— Toledo: Lou are correct. Before the national left wing conference, Fraina and the Russian Federation called the Michigan Socialist mensheviks. After the national left wing conference, the bolting Michigan Federation group called Fraina and his group mensheviks. And Fraina and his group, thru the Revolutionary Age, called the Michigan-Russian Federation combination menshevikI. Then a merger was formed between these two groups which called each other mensheviks, and lo and behold, they at once became 100 percent bolshevik. It being written in the heavens that a menshevik group must exist, therefore the merger now calls the C. L. P. a menshevik organization.

The C[illegible] Party [illegible] You

The Communist Party, thru its official organ, attacks all locals that have entered municipal campaigns this fall.

The national secretary of the Communist Party continues his attacks upon locals which have taken part in the Ohio municipal campaigns. Wherever he speaks, be it Chicago or Boston one of his main themes is "the menshevism of Ohio locals that entered and fought in the municipal elections."

This means that he as well as the official organ of the Communist Party, has attacked Locals Toledo, Akron, Piqua, Massillon, Hamilton, and all other Ohio locals that have had municipal candidates in the field this fall.

The argument made by the Communist Party and its national officials is that under no circumstances should Ohio locals have conducted municipal campaigns under the name of the Socialist Party. Extenuating circumstances cut no ice with the Communist Party officials. That the campaigns were made upon a strict communist municipal platform, made no difference.

Principles did not count. The Socialist Party name was anathema — and this, despite the fact that the bolshevists of Russia conducted campaigns under any old name to get their principles across. We always had an idea that names meant nothing and principles everything. The Communist Party officials reverse this axion, it seems. Principles mean nothing and everything is in a name.

But what do you think of this? Ohio locals entering the municipal campaign upon communist platforms are compromisers, but the national secretary of the Communist Party thinks it ALL RIGHT to ask locals that have rejoined the reactionary Socialist Party to enter a state convention with him, where undoubtedly he intends to use them to "capture" the property of the state office, and its functioning organs. It's ALL RIGHT to go into cahoots with compromising Socialist Party locals but its all wrong to make an uncompromising campaign. Some consistency!

We agree that party controversies bring forth strange contradictions. But we are glad that the Communist Labor Party and seen clearly from the first, has not entered useless nor bitter discussions about non-essentials, has not resorted to foolish attacks upon comrades and locals.

It is because of this that the Communist Labor Party has steadily gathered strength.

It is the party which will gain the confidence of all revolutionary comrades — and in it all revolutionary comrades will eventually enlist their services.

THE PRESS FUND IS GROWING.

Recent conditions within the Party have had a slackening effect upon the Press Fund contributions but the reasons for this are rapidly passing. We expect a rapid rise in interest in the matter of securing an up to date printing equipment for the Party in Ohio and The Ohio Socialist very soon. Comrades realize that the question of propaganda is paramount to all else and that the best assurance of a continuation of our propaganda and our publications is to control our own publishing plant.

Since the termination of the war the publishing business has boomed at a tremendous rate. Manufacturers have been rushed with orders far in excess of the capacity of their plants. Several months will be required to fill an order for a new press, but we are attempting to overcome this difficulty. We will make the best possible bargain for ourselves and get a press as quickly as it is possible to do so. Keep the question of our needed printing plant uppermost in your minds for the necessity of it is growing.

Here are recent contributions.

Chas Flodding, Leetonia, O.	$1.00
K. W. Boring Wellsville, O.	3.00
Fred Brueckner, Laramie, Wyo.	5.00
Jas Dartnall, Norwood, O.	1.00
F. H. Hagerman, Cincinnati, O.	2.00
Henry Beck, E. Liverpol, O.	2.00
Edward Lawson, Sugar Grove Pa.	1.00
T. F. Pendergrass, Roswell, N. Mex	2.00
F. J. Underhill, Cincinnati, O.	25
Mrs. J. W. Liken, E. Radford, Va.	2.00
Robert W. Bryan, Akron, O.	1.00
E. D. Orr, Marion, O.	1.50
Cutarelli Pietro, Hamilton, O.	1.00
Ignatz Lurwig, Hamilton, O.	1.00
A. E. Weyandt, Leesville, O.	1.00
J. H. Dickson, Springfield, O.	1.00
Bert Velzey, Mansfield, O.	3.00
Chas Streng, Marysville, O.	1.00
O. h. Johnson, Akron, O.	1.00
J. H. Sims, Bethel, O.	3.00
A. Workingman, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
M. L. Springer, Jeromesville, O.	1.00
John Royer, Hartville, O.	2.00
Nathaniel Royer, Hartville, O.	2.00
Ephriam Royer, Hartville, O.	2.00
A. C. Waltenbaugh, Hartville, O.	1.00
Geo. H. Wike, Canton, O.	1.00
Dr. W. Van Nette, Clyde, O.	1.00
Total	$43.75
Previously subscribed	4.167.24
Grand total	$4.210.99

JAPANESE WAGES.

From official figures published by the Japanese government, the average daily wage paid in Japan to carpenters is 43 cents; to bricklayers, 54 cents; paperhangers, 40 cents; printers, 28 cents. In the lighter manufacturing lines many more women are employed than men, and their pay varies from 11 cents to 17 cents per day, the latter figure being the highest paid.

The doctors of Dundalk, Ireland, went on strike for a minimum salary of $35 weekly for all public services. In the meantime people cannot afford to die decently in that town.

DEAR SIR:— [illegible]

"Weakness of Labor-Unionism."

At the Round-table Conference, Labor Unions were surely shown their weak and helpless condition, and their inability to cope with the Capitalist class, when their resolution providing for recognition of the principle of Collective Bargaining was turned down.

Paul Feiss of Cleveland, big employer, and member of the public group said: Organized Labor is not up to date, It has not developed with the times, and that labor leaders are still fighting their battles as they did forty and fifty years ago. This is true, Labor Unions are still fighting upon the same principiles that they did fifty years ago. And we are just as much wage slaves to-day as we were then, if not more so.

The workers see their last right being taken away from them, and they are powerless, and helpless, unable to protect themselves against the all powerfull capitalists class, which is crushing them to pieces.

It is high time that Union-men all over the country should wake up to the fact that what they need now is not conferences and arguments with the capitalist but a good strong Labor Party, and to rally to the standard of the party as one man, get the reins of Government in their own control, and then they will be up to date, and will be able to convince Mr. Feirs of that fact.

Labor then will be in a position to legislate and make laws for their own protection. But as it is today, all law is for the capitalist class. Capital controls both the old political parties, and when Union men go to the polls and vote for either one, he votes against his own Organization and Union Principles, and the capitalist know this and laughs at the Ignorance of the Working-man.

The great need of the working-man is to educate himself in regard to his own condition, and the cause, then get busy and help to organize a Labor Party that will remove the cause.

Then and not untill then will come that glad day of the Emancipation for the Wage-slave.

Yours respect.
J. W. KEENEDY
398 E. Livingston, Av.
Columbus, O.

Note by Editor. — While agreeing with the above, that all workers must unite in one strong political Party for the purpose of emancipating themselves, we wish to emphasize the last paragraph in the comrade's letter. We are in the educational period of the revolution. The great need is to educate the workers in the nature of his true condition — to teach him class-consciousness. Class-consciousness of the worker is the one thing which will guarantee him againt being gulled by "Labor Parties" formed by reactionary labor leaders such as we have had in the past and have in the process of formation at the present time. A worker's political party without a revolutionary programe and goal can be nothing but a means of enslavement.

The Communist Labor Party is a party of workers whose aim is not merely the mitigation of the conditions of the wage-slave's existence, but intends to overthrow and destroy the economic system which makes him a slave.

"The Final Conflict"

In the struggle of the miners and the operators President Wilson has taken his stand, the entire machinery of government will be brought into play if necessary, and the press brings up the rear of the procession. All these are open, willing servants of plutocracy, but the efforts of all combined cannot avail in the present crisis.

The sick man in the White House has let loose forces that may sweep not only his administration, but the social order, into the class of the over-powered and obsolete. Neither pity for his physical plight nor devotion to a flag will make the workers weaklings, content to be driven along the path that industrial autocracy, has marked out. As Helen Keller has recently written: "The wise fools who sit in the high places of justice fail to see that, in revolutionary times like the present, vital issue are settled, not by statutes, decrees and authorities, but in spite of them. Like the Girondins in France, they imagine that force can check the onrush of revolution. Thus they sow the wind, and unto them shall be the harvest of the whirlwind."

The blind girl saw clearly enough to state the situation correctly!

Labor is not a minority. It is a vast majority. That third, much-pitied group called "the public" is largely Labor, unorganized for the most part but containing all the potentialities of wise revolt. All Labor will become aware of its interests and will make [illegible] its own order, decide its own destiny, which at length will be the law and the order and the destiny of the whole human race.

Many of us have occasion to rejoice in this hour of hope for [illegible] working [illegible] the Social Revolution bursting upon us suddenly, brightly and [illegible].

EDWARD [illegible]

[illegible] The Society was [illegible] the purpose of [illegible] military activities [illegible] difficult to continue with the war [illegible] of the Society. With the coming of peace, however, many old societies are reorganizing and many new ones being formed. Since the opening of the college year California, Columbia, C. C. N. Y. Yale, Wisconsin, Adelphi, Radcliffe, New York University, and other colleges have reported good prospects for the coming season.

One of the most important activities of the Society during the winter will be the sending of well known speakers to different parts of the country. Members of the New York Alumni Chapter, one of the most active groups, have already started their regular Saturday afternoon "Camaraderie". They have secured William Z. Foster of the steel workers organization, and W. N. Ewer, Foreign editor of the London Daily Herald, as early speakers on their program.

Another undertaking, which the growth of the Society has made necessary is the publication of a monthly magazine, "The Socialist Review." Originally the organization issued a small bulletin which developed into "The Intercollegiate Socialist," a quarterly. But with the growing importance of Socialism in world affairs, it became impossible to present its latest developments adequately without a monthly. "The Socialist Review" will therefore meet the inevitable need of the Society for a publication to provide not only its members, but the general public, with the best thought and most significant facts available regarding the socialist and labor movement.

Membership in the Society is open to anyone, irrespective of his belief, who is genuinely interrested in the study of Socialism. Further information may be secured by addressing the I. S. S. at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Mr. BLOCK
AND THE
Profiteers

By the author of
"Crimes of the Bolsheviki."

Here's the hottest little agitator that ever came down the pike. Forty five pages and twenty pictures of Mr. Block, thinking saying, doing things to make every worker, laugh, think and feel ashamed of himself

It's an educator.

By a hundred Copies and put them on the job.

Single Copy, 10c.
10 copies 75c.
100 copies $6.00

Address: State Office
3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland O.

LOCAL CINCINNATI, ATTENTION!

We hereby announce that our Local severed connection with the yellow Socialists of the Socialist Party.

The Communist Labor Party is the National group the Local decided to affiliate with by a vote taken on October 2nd.

This step puts on every member the obligation to assist in the work mapped out by the platform and program of the new party.

This program calls for special branches to be organized in the workshops of the nation. The Organization in the shops are to become the channels thru which our propaganda is to reach the workers employed therein.

The Organization Committee of Local Cincinnati is now ready to take up this work.

It is the duty of every Comrade to assist in the realization of this plan in their respective places of employment.

We herewith request all willing to do their part to get in touch with the Organization Committee of the Local.

Yours for Cooperation, the
Organization Committee

O. S. Gal. 8

$65.—$22

Houston, Texas.— A good profiteer story has come to light here. It all started with a felony case brought against a negro porter for stealing a suit of clothes valued by the merchant at $65. At least this was the price the retailer sold it for and the sum was $15 over the amount needed to make the alleged act a felony.

At the suggestion of his lawyer, the negro, instead of denying guilt, submitted the price tag from the stolen suit and showed that the strange marks under the price mark indicated a cost price of $22. When the merchant learned of this defe rushed over to the district at and had the whole case throw He thus became an accessory the fact in a misdemeanor case ra than risk the light on his own ness. Most of us have little difficult in agreeing that the unwilling de fender of the thief was a great thief than the principal.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
3207 Clark Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio.
A. WAGENKNECHT,
Executive Secretary.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Max Bedacht, California.
Alexander Bilan, Ohio.
Jack Carney, Minnesota.
L. E. Katterfeld, Kansas.
Edward Lindgren, New York.

ALTERNATES
L. K. England, Illinois.
Edgar Owens, Illinois.

LABOR COMMITTEE
Chas. Baker, Ohio.
L. K. England, Illinois.
Benjamin Gitlow, New York.
R. E. Richardson, Utah.
Arne Swabeck, Washington.

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES
John Reed, New York.
A. Wagenknecht, Ohio.

OUR HONEST FARMER
A Rural Soliloquy by Thos Howie

The Farmer's been silent for many a year,
So the old politicians have nothing to fear.
He's been told how to farm and how he should vote
And nobody worried when he was the Goat.

They told him how the land the moisture would keep
If he plowed this same land about eight inches deep,
And when he should harvest and when he should sow,
If much larger crops he wanted to grow.

He's been told how to pack and how he should plow;
They've told of the profits of milking a cow,
Of the alluring farm each has something to say—
Of the song of the hen the smell of the hay.

The've told of the crops the farmer should sow
And also the pork and the beef he should grow;
They pictured the future to the farmer so bright—
He hardly took time to sleep over night.

No wonder the wrinkles grow deep in his brow.
For they milked the farmer while he milked the cow,
And for politics he had no time to spare—
No wonder the hayeeds hang thick in his hair!

Oh farmer, so long as you mortgage your days,
And let wily grafters control what you raise—
Just that long you'll be in the profiteers' care
And the hayseeds be never comed from your hair!

LIBERTY

To all in vain will timorous ones essay
To set the metes and bounds of Liberty.
For Freedom is its own eternal law;
It makes its own conditions, and in storm
Or calm alike fulfills the unerring
Let us not then despise it when it
Still as a sleeping lion, while a
Of gnat-like evils hover round
head;
Nor doubt it when in mad, disjointed times
It shakes the torch of terror, and its cry
Shrills o'er the quaking earth, and in the flame
Of riot and war we see its awful form
Rise by the scaffold, where the crimson axe
Rings down its grooves the knell of shuddering kings.
Forever in thine eyes, O Liberty,
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved,
And though thou slay us, we will
in thee!

JOHN

THE BULLETIN BOARD

There is more power in a can of printers' ink than in all the T. N. T. used to blow Europe into its present chaos. Dynamite becomes a mere "fizzle" compared to it.

And take our word for it, it isn't bombs that will aid the workers in their war for emancipation. Printers' ink is the thing that will turn the trick. For printers' ink spells EDUCATION.

The Capitalist knows it. Do you?

Support the worker's press.

Do it to-day. Get a sub.

REPORT [illegible]

We reprint below the report of William C. Bullitt, special representative of the [illegible] to Russia in February 1919. This report was first made public in Mr. Bullitt's statement before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, September 12, 1919. In spite of this report, the truth of which can not be refuted, the President's undeclared war against the working-class government of Soviet Russia continues. The unofficial blockade still exists, millions of peace-loving Russians are starving for lack of the food this blockade is keeping out of Russia.

I. REPORT OF WILLIAM C. BULLITT

Economic Situation

Russia today is in a condition of acute economic distress. The blockade by land and sea is the cause of this distress and lack of the essentials of transportation is its gravest symptom. Only one-fourth of the locomotives which ran on Russian lines before the war are now available for use. Furthermore, Soviet Russia is cut off entirely from all supplies of coal and gasoline. In consequence, transportation by all steam and electric vehicles is greatly hampered; and transportation by automobile and by the fleet of gasoline-using Volga steamers and canal boats is impossible.

As a result of these hindrances to transportation it is possible to bring from the grain centers to Moscow only twenty-five carloads of food a day, instead of the one hundred carloads which are essential and to Petrograd only fifteen carloads, instead of the essential fifty. In consequence, every man, woman, and child in Moscow and Petrograd is suffering from slow starvation.

Mortality is particularly high among new-born children whose mothers cannot suckle them, among newly-delivered mothers, and among the aged. The entire population, in addition, is exceptionally susceptible to disease; and a slight illness is apt to result fatally because of the total lack of medicines. Typhoid, typhus, and smalpox are epidemic in both Petrograd and Moscow.

Industry, except the production of munitions of war, is largely at a standstill. Nearly all means of transport which are not employed in carrying food are used to supply the army, and there is scarcely any surplus transport to carry materials essential to normal industry. Furthemore, the army has absorbed the best executive brains and physical vigor of the nation. In addition, Soviet Russia is cut off from most of its sources of iron and of cotton. Only the flax, hemp, wood, and lumber industries have an adequate supply of raw material.

On the other hand, such essentials of economic life as are available are being utilized to the utmost by the Soviet Government. Such trains as there are, run on time. The distribution of food is well controlled. Many industrial experts of the old regime are again managing their plants and sabotage by such managers has ceased. Loafing by the workmen during work hours has been overcome.

Social Conditions

The destructive phase of the revolution is over and all the energy of the Government is turned to constructive work. The terror has ceased. All power of judgment has been taken away from the extraordinary commission for suppression of the counter-revolution which now merely accuses suspect counter-revolutionaries who are tried by the regular, established, legal tribunals. Executions are extremely rare. Good order has been established. The streets are safe. Shooting has ceased. There are few robberies. Prostitution has disappeared from sight. Family life has been unchanged by the revolution, the canard in regard to "nationalization of women" notwithstanding.

The theatres, opera, and ballet are performing as in peace. Thousands of new schools have been opened in all parts of Russia, and the Soviet Government seems to have done more for the education of the Russian people in a year and a half than czardom did in fifty years.

Political Situation

The Soviet form of government is firmly established. Perhaps the most striking fact in Russia today is the general support which is given the government by the people in spite of their starvation. Indeed, the people lay the blame for their distress wholly on the blockade and on the governments which maintain it. The Soviet form of government seems to have become to the Russian people the symbol of their revolution. Unquestionable it is a form of government which lends itself to gross abuse and tyranny, but it meets the demand of the moment in Russia, and it has acquired so great a hold on the imagination of the comon people that the women are ready to starve and the young men to die for it.

The position of the communist party (formerly Bolshevik) is also very strong. Blockade and intervention have caused the chief opposition parties, the right social revolutionaries and the mensheviki, to give temporary support to the communists. These opposition parties have both made formal statements against the blockade, intervention, and the support [illegible] Antisoviet governments by the allied and asso[illegible]ted governments. Their leaders Volsky and Martov are most vigorous in their demands for the im[illegible]te raising of the blockade and peace.

Indeed, the only ponderable opposittion to the communists today comes from more radical parties — [illegible] against the employment of bourgeois officers in the army and against the efforts of the communists to obtain peace. They demand the immediate [illegible] of all the bourgeoisie and the immediate declaration of war on all the nonrevolutionary governments. They argue that the Entente Governments should be forced to intervene more deeply in Russia, asserting that such action would surely provoke the proletariat of all European countries to immediate revolution.

Within the communist party itself there is distinct division of opinion in regard to foreign policy but this disagreement has not developed personal hostility or open breach in the ranks of the party. Trotski, the generals, and many theorists believe the red army should go forward everywhere until more vigorous intervention by the Entente is provoked, which they, too, count upon to bring revolution in France and England. Their attitude is not a little colored by pride in the spirited young army. Lenin, Tchitcherin, and the bulk of the communist party, on the other hand, insist that the essential problem at present is to save the proletariat of Russia, in particular, and the proletariat of Europe, in general, from starvation, and assert that it will benefit the revolution but little to conquer all Europe if the Government of the United States replies by starving all Europe. They advocate, therefore, the conciliation of the United States even at the cost of compromising with many of the principles they hold most dear. And Lenin's prestige in Russia at present is so overwhelming that the Trotski group is forced reluctantly to follow him.

Lenin, indeed, as a practical matter, stands well to the right in the existing political life of Russia. He recognizes the undesirability, from the Socialist viewpoint, of the compromises he feels compelled to make; but he is ready to make the compromises. Among the more notable concessions he has already made are: The abandonment of his plan to nationalize the land and the adoption of the policy of dividing it among the peasants, the establishment of savings banks paying 3 per cent. interest, the decision to pay all foreign debts, and the decision to give concessions if that shall prove to be necessary to obtain credit abroad.

In a word, Lenin feels compelled to retreat from his theoretical position all along the line. He is ready to meet the western Governments half way.

Peace Proposals

Lenin seized upon the opportunity presented by my trip of investigation to make a definite statement of the position of the Soviet Government. He was opposed by Trotski and the generals, but without much difficulty got the support of the majority of the executive council, and the statement of the position of the soviet government which was handed to me was finally adopted unanimously.

My discussion of these proposals with the leaders of the Soviet Government was so detailed that I feel sure of my ground in saying that it does not represent the minimum terms of the soviet government, and that I can point out in dedail wherein it may be modified without making it unacceptable to the soviet government. For example, the clause under article 5 — "and to their own nationals who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia" — is certainly not of vital importance. And the clause under article 4, in regard to admission of citizens of the soviet republics of Russia into the allied and associated countries, may certainly be changed in such a way as to reserve all necessary rights to control such immigration to the allied and associated countries, and to confine it to persons who come on legitimate and necessary business, and to exclude definitely all possibility of an influx of propagandists.

Conclusions

The following conclusions are respectfully submitted:

1. No government save a socialist government can be set up in Russia today except by foreign bayonets, and any governments so set up will fall the moment such support is withdrawn. The Lenin wing of the communist party is today as moderate as any socialist government which can control Russia.

2. No real peace can be established in Europe or the world until peace is made with the revolution. This proposal of the Soviet Government presents an opportunity to make peace with the revolution on a just and reasonable basis — perhaps a unique opportunity.

3. If the blockade is lifted and supplies begin to be delivered regularly to soviet Russia, a more powerful hold over the Russian people will be established than that given by the blockade itself — the hold given by fear that this delivery of supplies may be stopped. Futhemore, the parties which oppose the communists in principle but are supporting them at present will be able to begin to fight against them.

4. It is, therefore, respectfully recommended that a proposal following the general lines of the [illegible]

Appendix

Transport

Locomotives.— Before the war Russia had [illegible] locomotives. Destruction by war and ordinary wear and tear have reduced the number of locomotives in good order to 5.500. Russia is entirely cut off from supplies of spare parts and materials for repair, facilities for the [illegible] of which do not exist in Russia. And the Soviet Government is able only with the greatest difficulty to keep in running order the few locomotives at its disposal.

Coal.— Soviet Russia is entirely cut off from supplies of coal. Kolchak holds the Perm mining district, although Soviet troops are now on the edge of it. Denikin still holds the larger part of the Donets coal district and has destroyed the mines in the portion of the district which he has evacuated. As a result of this, locomotives, electrical power plants, etc., must be fed with wood, which is enormously expensive and laborious and comparatively ineffectual.

Gasoline.— There is a total lack of gasoline, due to the British occupation of Baku few automobiles in the cities which are kept running for vital Goverament business are fed with substitute mixtures, which causes them to break down with great frequency and to miss continually. Almost the entire fleet on the great inland waterway system of Russia was propelled by gasoline. As a result the Volga and the canals, which are so vital a part of Russia's system of transportation, are useless.

Food

Everyone is hungry in Moscow and Petrograd, including the people's commissaries themselves. The daily ration of Lenin and the other commissaries is the same as that of a soldier in the army or of a workman at hard labor. In the hotel which is reserved for Government officials the menu is the following: Breakfast — A quarter to half a pound of black bread, which must last all day, and tea without sugar. Dinner— A good soup, a small piece of fish, for which occasionally a diminutive piece of meat is substituted, a vegetable, either a potato or a bit of cabbage, more tea without sugar. Supper — What remains of the morning ration of bread and more tea without sugar.

Occasionally sugar, butter, and chickens slip through from the Ukraine and are sold secretly at atrocious prices — butter, for example, at 240 roubles a pound. Whenever the Government is able to get its hands on any such "luxuries" it turns them over to the schools, where an attempt is made to give every child a good dinner every day.

The food situation has been slightly improved by the rejoining of Ukraine to Great Russia, for food is relatively plentiful in the south: but no great improvement in the situation is possible because of the lack of transport.

Managment

Such supplies as are available in Soviet Russia are being utilized with considerable skill. For example, in spite of the necessity of firing with wood, the Moscow-Petrograd express keep up to its schedule, and on both occasions when I made the trip it took but thirteen hours, compared to the twelve hours of prewar days.

The food control works well, so that there is no abundance alongside of famine. Powerful and weak alike endure about the same degree of starvation.

The Soviet goverament has made great efforts to persuade industrial managers and technical experts of the old regime to enter its service. Many very prominent men have done so. And the Soviet Government pays them as high as $45.000 a year for their services, although Lenin gets but $1.800 a year. This very anomalous situation arises from the principle that any believing communist must adhere to the scale of wages established by the government, but if the government considers it necessary to have the assistance of any anti-communist, it is permitted to pay him as much as he demands.

All meetings of workmen during work hours have been prohibited, with the result that the loafing which was so fatal during the Kerensky regime has been overcome and discipline has been restored in the factories as in the army.

Social Conditions

Terror.— The red terror is over. During the period of its power the extraordinary commission for the suppression of the couter revolution, which was the instrument of the terror, executed about 1.500 persons in Petrograd, 500 in Moscow, and 3.000 in the remainder of the country— 5.000 in all Russia. These figures agree with those which were brought back from Russia by Major Wardwell, and inasmuch as I have checked them from Soviet, anti-Soviet, and neutral sources, I believe them to be approximately correct. It is worthy of note in this connection that in the white terror in southern Finland alone, according to official figures, General [illegible]

Morals.— Prostitution has [illegible] from sight, the economic reasons for their [illegible] having ceased to exist. Family life has been absolutely unchanged by the revolution. I have never heard more genuinely mirthful laughter than when I told Lenin, Tchitcherin, and Litvinov that much of the world believed that women had been "nationalized." This lie is so wildly fantastic that they will not even take the trouble to deny it. Respect for womanhood was never greater than in Russia today. Indeed, the day I reached Petrograd was a holiday in honor of wives and mothers.

Education.— The achievements of the department of education under Lunacharsky have been very great. Not only have all the Russian classics been reprinted in editions of three and five million copies and sold at a low price to the people, but thousands of new schools for men, women, and children have been opened in all parts of Russia. Furthermore, workingmen's and soldiers' clubs have been organized in many of the palaces of yesteryear, where the people are instructed by means of moving pictures and lectures. In the art galleries one meets classes of working men and women being instructed in the beauties of the pictures. The children's schools have been entirely reorganized, and an attempt is being made to give every child a good dinner at school every day. Furthermore, very remarkable schools have been opened for defective and over-nervous children. On the theory that genius and insanity are closely allied, these children are taught from the first to compose music, paint pictures, sculpt and write poetry, and it is asserted that some very valuable result have been echieved, not only in the way of productions but also in the way of restoring the nervous systems of the children.

Morale

The belief of the convinced communists in their cause is almost religious. Never in any religious service have I seen higher emotional unity than prevailed at the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet in celebration of the foundation of the Third Socialist Internationale. The remark of one young man to me when I questioned him in regard to his starved appearance is characteristic. He replied very simply. "I am ready to give another year of starvation to our revolution."

Statements of Leaders of Opposition Parties

The following statement was made to me by Volsky, leader of the right social revolutionaries, the largest opposition party:

"Intervention of any kind will prolong the regime of the Bolsheviki by compelling us, like all honorable Russians, to drop opposition and rally round the soviet government in defense of the revolution. With regard to help to individual groups or governments fighting against soviet Russia, we see no difference between such intervention and the sending of troops. If the allies come to an agreement with the soviet government, sooner or later the peasant masses will make their will felt and they are alike against the bourgeoise and the Bolsheviki.

"If by any chance Kolchak and Denikin were to win, they would have to kill in tens of thousands where the Bolsheviki have had to kill in hundreds and the result would be the complete ruin and collapse of Russia into anarchy. Has not the Ukraine been enough to teach the allies that occupation by non-Bolshevik troops merely turns into Bolsheviki those of the population who were not Bolsheviki before? It is clear to us that the Bolsheviki are really fighting against bourgeois dictatorship. We are, therefore, prepared to help them in every possible way.

"Grandmother Ekaterina Constantinovna Breshkovskaya has no sort of authority, either from the assembly of members of the all Russian constituent assembly or from the party of social revolutionaries. Her utterances in America, if she is preaching intervention, represent her personal opinions which are categorically repudiated by the party of social revolutionaries, which has decisively expressed itself against the permissibility of intervention, direct or indirect."

Volsky signed this latter statement "V. Volsky, late president of the assembly of members of the all Russian constituent assembly."

Martov, leader of the Menshiviki, stated: "The Menshiviki are against every form of intervention, direct or indirect, because by providing the incentive to militarization it is bound to emphasize the least desirable qualities of the revolution. Further, the need of the army overwhelm all efforts at meeting the needs of social and economic reconstruction. Agreement with the soviet government would [illegible]

Martov finally [illegible] that given peace, itself and the [illegible] will bring about the changes he desires.

Army

The soviet army now numbers between 1.000.000 and 1.200.000 troops of the line. Nearly all these soldiers are young men between the ages of 17 and 27. The morale of regiments varies greatly. The convinced communists, who compose the bulk of the army, fight with crusading enthusiasm. Other regiments, composed of patriots but noncommunists, are less spirited; other regiments composed of men who have entered the army for the slightly higher bread ration are distinctly untrustworthy. Great numbers of officers of the old army are occupying important executive posts in the administration of the new army, but are under control of convinced communist supervisers. Nearly all the lower grade officers of the army are workmen who have displayed courage in the ranks and have been trained in special officer schools. Discipline has been restored, and on the whole the spirit of the army appears to be very high, particularly since its recent successes. The soldiers no longer have the beaten dog-like look which distinguished them under the Czar, but carry themselves like freemen, and curiously like Americans. They are popular with the people.

I witnessed a review of 15.000 troops in Petrograd. The men marched well and their equipment of shoes, uniforms, rifles, and machine guns and light artilery was excellent. On the other hand, they had no big guns, no aeroplanes, no gas shells, no liquid fire, nor indeed, any of the more refined instruments of destruction.

The testimony was universal that recruiting for the army is easiest in the districts which having once lived under the soviet were overrun by anti-soviet forces and then reoccupied by the Red Army.

Trotsky is enormously pround of the army he has created, but it is noteworthy that even he is ready to disband the army at once if peace can be obtained in order that all the brains and energy it contains may be turned to restoring the normal life of the country.

Lenin's Prestige

The hold which Lenin has gained on the imagination of the Russian people makes his position almost that of a dictator. There is already a Lenin legend. He is regarded as almost a prophet. His picture, usually accompanied by that of Karl Marx, hangs everywhere. In Russia one never hears Lenin and Trotski spoken of in the same breath as is usual in the western world. Lenin is regarded as in a class by himself. Trotski is but one of the lower order of mortals.

When I called on Lenin at the Kremlin I had to wait a few minutes until a delegation of peasants left his room. They had heard in their village that Comrade Lenin was hungry. And they had come hundreds of miles carrying 800 poods of bread as the gift of the village to Lenin. Just before them was another delegation of peasants to whom the report had come that Comrade Lenin was working in an unheated room. They came bearing a stove and enough firewood to heat it for thre months. Lenin is the only leader who receives such gifts. And he turns them in to the common fund.

Face to face Lenin is a very striking man — straghtforward and direct, but also genial and with a large humor and serenity.

Concessions

The soviet government recognizes very clearly the undesirability of granting concessions to foreigners and is ready to do so only because of necessity. The members of the Government realize that the lifting of the blockade will be illusory unless the soviet government is able to establish credits in foreign countries, particularly the United States and England, so that goods may be bought in those countries. For Russia today is in a position to export only a little gold, a little platinum, a little hemp, flax, and wood. These exports will be utterly inadequate to pay for the vast quantity of imports which Russia needs. Russia must, therefore obtain credit at any price. The members of the soviet government realize fully that as a preliminary step to the obtaining of credit the payment of foreign debts must be resumed and, therefore are ready to pay such debts. But even though these debts are paid the members of the soviet government believe that they will not be able to borrow money in foreign countries on any mere promise to pay. They believe, therefore, that they will have to grant concessions in Russia to foreigners in order to obtain immediate credit. They desire to avoid this expedient if in any way it shall be possible, but if absolutely necessary they are ready to adopt it in order to begin the restoration of the normal life of the country.

Officer's Views On Siberia.

Cont. from page 1th

"There are at present the following governments in Russia: the Archangel government, Denikin, Tzerretelli, and many other governments which have officially proclaimed their existence. [illegible] most influental governments are [illegible] of Lenin and Kolchak. "Lenin's [illegible]ment cannot expect any symp[illegible] since it is pursuing principles [illegible] hateful to the world, [illegible] personally Lenin is a man [illegible]g all respect for his firmness [illegible]ncerity.

"The Bolshevik government is absolutely strong [illegible] the Omsk government. Facts don't permit us to indulge in unwarranted underestimat[illegible] of the significance of the Bolshevik government" (Dzhi-Dzhi).

After having read all this material, which in no case can be considered as Bolshevik propaganda, one can only conclude that Siberia is at present under a rule which is practically the same as that of the Czar, with one notable difference: namely, that was despotic organization, whereas here [illegible] is despotism without any organ[illegible]tion. The picture presented by these papers is one of sheer anarchy.

Had the American authorites carefully studied all these newspapers, or even only their official section as they could easily have done, they would never have supported Kolchak in any way.

I believe that any one who had an [illegible]tunity to study this vast literat[illegible] of confessed tyranny and incom[illegible]ce will certainly sympathize with [illegible] effort of Soviet Russia to defeat [illegible] forces of reaction and corrup[illegible]

Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek.

Capitalist Press' Ability To Lie.

(Continued from page 1.)

starvation, with a woleful lack of rolling stock for her crippled railways and with all the capitalist world, like a wolfpack at her throat, the working-class government of Russia has rallied her powers and successfully warded off the atacks of her enemies.

The last chance of the capitalist allies of Russian reactionaries to wreck the first working-class government is rapidly passing. Winter is settling down in the northland. The opportunities for active campaigning will soon be over. Russia will have a chance to regain at least a portion of her shattered powers during the winter months. Starvation holds no fears for Russians. They knew starvation under the Czar, they can imagine but one thing worse, that is to become the slaves of the capitalist imperialism that seeks to devour them. By the time snows are melted in the spring, the allies may have sufficient trouble with their own working-classes to draw their attention from undecalred war in Russia.

The lying capitalist press completely refutes its own statements. It lies purposely and maliciousily lied to delude the workers. Already the prostitute editors are shedding tears because the facts do not bear out their extravaganzas of yesterday. But they do not weep on account of their falsehoods, they have fallen far below that moralstate. They are paid prostitutes and damned cheaply hired at that. Their kind in the under world would scorn the miserable ness of pottage they accept as the price of their debanchery.

The lying press will continue its present course as long as it can find a market for its wares. A powerful opponent is arising, however in the form of a militant worker's press. As the class-consciousness of the workers increase, their press is strengthened. And in this is the hope of the future. Like every avenue of human endeavor, journalism has been debanched by the present economic system, which has perverted a means of education and information into a means of enslavement of the peoples.

The future welfare of the world lies in the lap of labor. Labor only can save the world from the chaos into which capitalism is rapidly driving it.

The revolution sweeps on. No lie is big enough to halt THAT.

$50.000.000

IN PROFITS!!!

The Aguila Oil Company made $50.000.000 in net
profits in Mexico in the last 8 years
over $6.000.000 a year!
Did you get any of these profits, Mr. American Workingman? NO.
Did you get any of the profits of any other oil companies that are sucking the blood of the Mexican people? NO.
Do you own any oil stock? NO.
Have the workers of Mexico over harmed you? NO.
Then, don't let Wall Street's government in Washington bamboozle or bully you into a
War with Mexico!

Don't Fight Your Mexican Comrades!

INSTEAD
STRIKE!!!
COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO
P. O. Box 985 Mexico City, D. F., Mexico

Quick Watson, The Needle!

DISCOVERED! THE ONE HAPPYFAMILY IN INDUSTRY! IT MUST BE SO BECAUSE THEY SAY SO!

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air", sang a poet long ago. Many have been the comments upon the fact that greatness is often hidden and may be found in places least expected. — But who would ever suspect that right here in Cleveland existed that which the presidents round table so earnestly sought, that which has been so earnestly sought by all the happy little fixers for the continuance of the Capitalist state — THE HAPPY FAMILY IN INDUSTRY!

Under a very pretty picture of a bourgeoisie mother and child, the following notice appears:

Does this picture portray anything to you?

Does it make you think of your loved ones?

Must your wife and child suffer thru the ignorance of others?

Is the cry of bread to be heard from the mouths of babes so that a few of the so-called proletariat attain aims to their end thru the spirits of unrest they create.

We all know what unrest means in industry. It means less income and bigger efforts to wage the fight for existance.

When you hear of your fellow workers complain of conditions in our plant it is your duty to notify the industrial relations department of the complaint. Do not forget we are here to serve you. Your personal and industrial problems are matters we sincerely desire to straighten out for you. Our office is similar to a court of domestic relations only on a much broader field.

With all the policies of the company based on justice the reciprocation of your confidence to us is the first stepping stone to happiness fairness and the condition of equality that must exist with us all to become the one happy family in industry known as the American Multigraph Company. Signed Mr. Tom Wright Manager of the industrial relations department.

Upon inquiry as to wages paid in this happy family we were informed that we could become one of the family at any time and receive the magnificent wage of 40c an hour!

We had just been looking for a house to live in and knew something of the prices we would have to pay for house rent, we had just had an ordinary proletarian dinner and had paid 65c for it, and we had just looked over the price list current in Cleveland stores and we couldn't figure out how could make 40c an hour cover all the necessary expenses of just an ordinary decent living. We wanted to take advantage of the generous offer of Mr. Wright and have him help us straighten out "our personal industrial problems" including the problem of how to live on 40c an hour and still have at least six hours to sleep but alas its a cruel world! Our knowledge of Communist economics butted in here and told us that Mr. Wright for all his good intentions and generous offers couldn't do it!

YOU CANNOT BE ONE OF A HAPPY FAMILY ON A WAGE OF 40c AN HOUR!

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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Hands off Soviet Russia

The imperialists of the world are continuing their infamous armed intervention in Soviet Russia. The counter-revolutionary Czarist generals, backed by allied troops, allied ammunition and allied money continue shedding the blood of the Russian workers and devastating the territory of the proletarian Republic. Moreover, the Allies are tightening the iron ring of the blockade around Soviet Russia, thus dooming millions of women and children to unheard of misery, starvation and disease.

All this is being done because the workers, and peasants of Russia have cast off the yoke of exploitation and opression and have devoted themselves to the talk of reconstructing their life on such foundations as will eliminate all oppression of the poor by the rich, all exploitation of the toilers by the capitalists. This is why the capitalist countries, where all the power is concentrated in the hands of the big commercial and financial interests, are waging this predatory war against Soviet Russia. Defending their class in Russia they are thereby protecting their own interests, for they know that the example set by the Russian workers will inevitably be followed by the workers of their own countries.

Hence, America's participation in this war against Russia!

American troops still on Russian territory, and American ammunition and money are still being used for the purpose of strangling the only proletarian Republic in the world.

America's intervention in Russia is frequently referred to as President Wilson's private war. This is correct only insofar as the formalities required for the waging of the war have not been complied with: It is being carried on without the consent of Congress. Yet, as a matter of fact, it is not altogether President Wilson's private war. It is rather the class war of the American plutocracy, the class war of the international money bags. American capital is vitally interested in crushing Soviet Russia and it does not stop at mere technicalities, even if it means the violation of laws of its own creation. In waging this war, President Wilson plays the part of the faithful servant of the American plutocracy.

American workers, you must realize this and bear it firmly in mind. You must know that every American soldier sailing for Russia, goes there to shed the blood of the Russian workers and peasants who are now engaged in a desperate struggle against the capitalists of the world — those brigands of the international highways. You must bear in mind that every rifle, every cannon, every machine gun which is being sent from the United States to Russia means death for the many Russian workers and peasants who are sacrificing themselves in order that the workers the world over may be liberated from the yoke of international capital.

Workers of America! it is not sufficient to know and to bear all this in mind, — you must act accordingly. Hands off Russia!

This slogan has already been adopted by the British, French and Italian workers. In Great Britain, in France and in Italy the workers are refusing to load ships with ammunition and provisions destined for the foes of Soviet Russia.

American workers, you must follow their example! To every invitation to play the part of Cain towards your Russian brothers, to every request of the American government to enlist for active service in Russia, or to load ships for the bloodstained Russian White Army, there must be one answer: "HANDS OFF SOVIET RUSSIA."

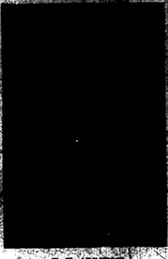
THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA.

Resigning and Newly Appointed
State Secretary

ALFRED WAGENKNECHT

After serving three years as State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Ohio, comrade Wagenknecht resigns to go to New York as National Secretary of the Communist Labor Party.

Comrade Wagenknecht grew up in Cleveland, but spent several years on the Pacific coast. He was active in Washington state as organizer, speaker and assistant State Secretary, which position he resigned to return to Cleveland.



E. T. ALLISON

He was born in Mo. Emigrated to Wash. when fifteen and grew up with the country. Joined the Socialist Party when eighteen.

Is a shingle weaver by trade, being a member of No. 500 of the I. W. W. Two years ago he came to Cleveland and has since served in the capacity of assistant State Secretary and editor.

He now succeeds comrade Wagenknecht as State Secretary, being apointed by the S. E. C. to fill his unexpired term.

Miners Revolt Against Government By Injunction

The government has played the high card of the coal Barons. Government by injunction became an accomplished fact of American life during the administration of Grover Cleveland of odoriferous memory. The democracy destroying principle of government by court injunction has been revived by Woodrow Wilson in his war upon the working-class for the benefit of high finance and profiteers.

Government by injunction abrogates every constitutional right of American workers. By its action, men, politically free become virtual salves of the ruling class. Government by injunction never works toward freedom, but always toward slavery. Men who love freedom, who have red blood in their veins will defy it, they will fight it to the death.

No class of workers labored harder or sacrificed more for the winning of the war than did the miners. Now they find all the powers of the government they backed up attempting to drive them into submissive silence and abject slavery thru its made-to-order laws.

The government has taken the side of the coal operators against the miners on the pretext that the welfare of the "public" is at stake. Who is this public? Is it any but the workers? The government creates a fictitious bait for the workers to bite upon and to give it plausible excuse to wage war upon them.

The miners have revolted. In spite of their officials' capitulation before the mandate of the courts' injunction issued at the request of the government, they have refused to enter the mines, to labor for the enrichment of their exploiters, beneath a governmental lash. They are men, fighting as men fight, for their wives and children and a chance to live like free men in a world of freedom and justice. They refuse to bow the neck for the steel of those who thrive on their misery. The government has won a "victory" of a very questionable character. And victories of this nature mine no coal. Back up the miners with the strength of your organization. Back them up for their fight is your fight.

A Letter To the Locals and Comrades

COMRADES:

For two years it has been my pleasure to work in your State Office as assistant State Secretary and co-editor of our state paper, The Ohio Socialist. I have witnessed the great co-operation between the state office and the membership which has been so conductive of progress of our state movement. Co-operation between all elements in our party has been the keystone of the rapid growth which has marked the Ohio movement for the last few years. During this period we have built up from a small monthly bulletin a weekly periodical that now has the largest circulation of any Party paper in the country. We may well be proud of our victories of the past.

But we face ever new problems. I now assume at the request of your State Executive Committee, the greater and graver responsibilities of State Secretary. I am not unaware of the problems which we face at the present time, nor do I flinch before them. I shall pursue with all the ability which many years experience in our movement has given me and in an agressive manner, all the duties which now devolve upon me. In this work I ask and urge the co-operation of every comrade. This office will always be open for suggestions for bettering our movement, for getting out more propaganda, for organizing in a more efficient manner the workers of this state in order that they may achieve their emancipation.

Ohio, as a great industrial state furnishes a ripe field for our propaganda. Industrial unrest is rampant. The workers are awakening. They are ripe for organization. They are eager for a message that means emancipation from the galling chains of wage slavery. This is our work. Let us be up and at it at the earliest possibile moment.

It is my hope that the co-operation that has existed in the past between the locals, comrades, and the State Office may continue in the future to the great growth of our Party.

Yours for co-operation and victory
E. T. ALLISON
State Secretary

Elect Delegates To Conference

Local Cleveland, C. L. P. at its regular meeting last week elected six delegates to the State Conference to be held soon. Comrades Anna Morgan, Lawrence Zitt, Elisabeth Bertram, Tom Clifford, Alexander Bilan, Walter Bronstrup were the chosen delegates.

ATTEND STATE CONFERENCE

Locals have been advised of the State Conference to be held by the Communist Labor Party of Ohio the last of November.

A letter stating place where conference will be held will be sent out in a day or two to all locals.

All locals which have not severed connection with the State Office will be given representation. Get this matter before yours locals immediately, call special meeting if necessary. Send names of delegates to State Office. Members of Locals which cannot meet should attend. Representation will be allowed then. Notify the State Office of your intention to attend.

BLOOR AND PREVEY IN OHIO
Attend these meetings.

Ella Reeve Bloor:—

Nov.	19—20	Toledo
	21	Sandusky
	22	Akron
	23	Akron (2 P. M.)
	23	Youngstown (8. P. M.)
	24—25—26	Charleroi, Pa. and vicinity

Marguerite Prevey:—

Nov.	22	Mansfield
	23	Lima (2 P. M.)
	24	Massilon

Socialists in Military Prisons Worse Treated of All Objectors

Brutalities to which conscientious objectors were subjected at Fort Riley and Camp Funston were directed mainly against prisoners who differed politically from the administration. Joseph Brandon, a conscientious objector who was freed recently after being sentenced to die by court-martial in October, 1918, and whose sentence was twice commuted by President Wilson, asserted this yesterday.

He charged that the Socialist conscientious objectors and practically all those classed as "radicals" suffered indescribable cruelties, which were directed by the War Department.

"Men are not kept in jail because they are opposed to war," he said, "but because they are Socialists. Those who took part in the hunger strikes and openely declared their opposition to the present regime were stamped as 'radicals.'

Solitary for Any Offense.

"We were choked, beaten, kicked and dragged whenever we sought to gain our rights as citizens, and not as criminals, as we were kept. At occasions we were thrown under cold showers, sometimes even five times a day. Once they threw a hose of cold water on me while I was asleep, although I was at that time in poor health."

Brandon declared that for the least thing a conscientious objector did he was thrown into solitary confinement. He charged that during the showers, through which many of the objectors contracted influenza and pneumonia, their backs were scrubbed with latrine brushes. Many guards, he said, also spat at them, kicked and punched them while doing this.

At Camp Funston, Brandon declared, about 20 objectors were denied cooked food.

"This happened," he continued, "in an open field under unsanitary conditions. Bugs and other insects were creeping and flying about us, but we were nevertheless told to cook our meals there. We refused to do any cooking at all, and went on a hunger strike.

"On the 11th day after the hunger strike began some of us were sent to the hospital. We were broken down for lack of nourishment.

Thrown Into Latrine.

"I reached the hospital too weak to walk. But, regardless of this, I was told to sweep the latrine. I complained that I was sent to the hosp-

(Cont. on page 4th)

Schools or Cabarets

On the "Educational" Policy of the Siberian "Government"

The following is translation of an article which appeared in the New York Jewish Daily, "The Day," of October 16th. As the reader can see from the article, its author, Mr. Boris Diukon, the Siberian correspondent of "The Day," is an anti-Bolshevist and considers the work of the revolution as purely destructive, and this makes his description of the policy of the Siberian Government the more interesting.

What would be of greater benefit to a wild, illiterate country: schools to educate the future generation, or filthy, dissolute, foul cabarets?

In the United States and in Europe, merely asking such a question would land one in an insane asylum.

But what is our Siberian Government, whose members have felt on their own shoulders the results of the Russian illiteracy, and have seen the destruction which was wrought in Russia by the dark and savage mob— what is this Government doing now to prevent such excesses?

What is it doing to enable the future generation to reconstruct at least a part of what their fathers have destroyed?

Absolutely nothing!

Has the Government built any new schools? Not a one!

Has it at least made improvements in the miserable schools which it found in existence? Not at all!

But do not assume that no appropriations were made for the Government's "Ministry of Education." Not only was an appropriation made, and quite a large one — ten and a half millions of rubles, but the appropriation was spent.

Ten millions of rubles and not a single school built! Ten millions of rubles, and not a single school improved!

But, as Popristchin said: "They write — China, and it reads — Spain." They write, "an appropriation for educational purposes," and it reads, "for drunkennes" — to spread drunkenness among the people.

* * *

You encounter them in every Siberian city, at every corner, near every cafe.

Some of them are eighteen years old.

They are prospective candidates for houses in which the windows are enclosed in iron gratings. They are without teachers. And, indeed, who should care for them? The parents?

But the cost of living is so high that to assure at least sufficient bread for the family one must work, and

(Continued on page 3.)

THE CLASS STRUGGLE JUST OUT.
Second Anniversary
Soviet Republic issue
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READ IT
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3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio.

THE ENGLISH SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT

From "The World."

Yesterday a treasure ship came into port — a ship carrying a treasure of information, all concealed in one well-shaped head, poised on a pair of brawny, sailor shoulders — in short, a comrade British sailor-man, by name Wallace Hill, who rolled into the office with all that cargo of knowledge of what the workers are thinking and doing in England stored away in his head where the censor could not see it. His ship was scheduled to stop at this port only four hours, but the longshoremen's strike delayed matters a bit, and we had time to ask and hear about the shop steward system, the different political parties, the recent strikes, the old trade union movement, and innumerable personal anecdotes about the workers' struggle for emancipation in the British Isles.

After shaking hands, inquiring about each other's health, and exchanging a few other Bolshevik high signs — we naturally led off with:

"Tell us about the shop steward movement over there."

The Old Craft Unions Break Down.

"To understand the British shop steward movement," he replied, "it is necessary to go a bit into the pre-war trade union movement. First of all, the old line trade union movement has gone into the discard. This is not a prophecy, but an accomplished fact. It was broken once and for all during the war. For example: One of the cardinal principles of the trade unions was the restriction of output, and this principle came directly in conflict with the demand for a maximum production to win the war. The workers themselves, being at that time patriotic, willingly gave up this point to help beat the Hun." The leaders of the trade unions gave up all that the unions had won in a century, the government, with the understanding that after the war everything would be returned to the old status quo, thus demonstrating the ignorance of these leaders of all social forces. Like that earlier reactionary, Jehovah, they would set the sun backwards."

"Who are some of these leaders?" we interrupted.

"Brownelie of the engineers; Thornes, of the gas workers; Col. John Ward, at the present time fighting the Bolsheviki in Archangel, representing the Liverpool dock workers; Ben Tillet—"

"Where is Tillet now? we asked.

"At the last election he succeeded in getting into office — with the support of the Lloyd government. All of these men belong to the generation that is past — like Gompers — and they no longer represent nor receive the support of the workers."

"And did the shop steward movement come in to take the place of the trade unions?" we inquired.

"Yes and no. The shop stewards will never function like the old craft organizations. It is better to say that the shop steward movement will do what the old craft unions always pretended to do, but never did. The war demanded intensified production. The movement for intensified production was led by Sir Eric Geddes. This effort to increase production led directly to the dilution of labor, and—"

"What is this dilution of labor you speak of?" we interrupted.

Great Gains in Solidarity.

"For years and years the British working class has been separated into crafts. The engineer was an engineer, and the laborer was a laborer, and they did not mix. The workers were held apart by their crafts. But with the advent of intensified production, the craft lines became indistinct, until now they have practically disappeared as far as the consciousness of the British workers goes. The old line leaders had entered into an agreement with the government to the effect that if they sanctioned any strike during the war they would be subject to a heavy fine and to 12 months imprisonment. Thus the workers found themselves tied hand and foot. 'Sold out.' Then it was that the workers ceased relying on their leaders and took matters into their own hands. The result was the shop steward system. One thing which bulked larger in the mind of the British worker than would seem possible to his American brother, was the change from the plan of restricted output to that of intensified production. Restricted output had been a cornerstone in the British labor movement. Without this safeguard — unemployment loomed large before the eyes of the toilers for after-war period. It was this fact that first moved the British worker to seek control of his job. When their trade union leaders would no longer function for them, they found it necessary to function for themselves. Through the shop committees they sought control of the working conditions in the shops and factories. At first the new movement was fought by the trade unions, but now the shop steward movement is recognized by both the reactionary and progressive trade unions."

"Tell us something about how the system works out when it is actually applied to the job," we asked.

"Well, every department of a factory has its shop steward, who is elected by the men of that department, and the stewards from all the departments form a committee and elect a chairman, who, with the chairmen from other factories or industries, forms another committee, which roughly corresponds to the district councils of the American labor movement. When any trouble arises in a factory, it is brought to the attention of the shop steward, who immediately takes it up with the management. If the management does not adjust the matter, we have the call for 'down tools' and thus arose our numerous strikes during the formation of the new system. Under this plan no time is lost in going to union halls, seeking interviews with bosses, etc. You will also observe that the structure of the shop steward system is an industrial one and that the plan lends itself to a ready co-operation with the plan of the One Big Union. In fact, the shop steward system will lead, anywhere it is tried out, directly and inevitably, to the industrial union."

"Now, can you give us some concrete examples of how the plan worked over there?" we pressed him.

"I was just coming to that," he replied with enthusiasm, "the shop steward system, unlike a great many other systems for labor organizations, justifies itself in practice, not in words or in theory. In 1916, when the war menace was extreme in England, Lloyd George and Lord [illegible] went to Glasgow to meet the 12 shop stewards of the Clyde districts, who were representing something over three quarters of a million men. Lloyd George was introduced to Kirkwood, the chairman of the shop stewards. Immediately, without waiting for any formalities, Kirkwood told Lloyd George to be careful what he said, because whatever he said would be used against him with the workers and that on the whole it would be best for him to go back to Parliament [illegible] somewhat recovering himself, he left with the threat that he would give the men conscription for their impudence. And in a few days England had conscription for their impudence. Not only this, but the 12 men were arrested, and then deported to various industrial centers throughout the Isles. Immediately there sprang up among the workers a demand for the release of these men and their return to their homes. The merely verbal demand failing, the workers whom these men represented proceeded to down their tools, which plan was successful in gaining the return of the men. At a meeting of one hundred thousand workers on the green at Glasgow, the 12 returned men were presented with [illegible] the works of [illegible] and Kirkwood was placed the first foreman under the shop steward system. Another illustration," he continued after a pause, "is the use of the same tactics to secure the release of John McLean from prison. McLean was arrested and the workers downed tools. He was released. The workers returned to the job, and McLean was re-arrested. Again the [illegible] laid down their tools. And again McLean was released. Three times this was repeated — and finally the officials gave up in disgust."

"Is there any chance of the shop steward system losing the ground that it has won in England?" we inquired.

"No chance now," he answered, [illegible]

Five Members of State Executive Committee Communist Labor Party of Ohio

TOM CLIFFORD

Born in the pottery village of Roseville Ohio, 64 years ago, Tom Clifford has spent most of the years of his life an active worker in the labor movement. He is a printer by trade, being a member of the typographeal union.

For the last twenty years comrade Clifford has labored as speaker, organizer and committeman in the socialist movement. Repeatedly he has answered the call of the comrades to stand as a candidate for political office He was the Party's candidate for Governor in two separate campaigns.

LOTTA BURKE

No comrade in Ohio is held in higher esteem than Lotta Burke, whose untiring labors as, organizer and speaker and member of the State Executive Committee have repeatedly proven her fidelity to the cause of Socialism. Her Party membership of 16 years has been filled with activity.

Cincinnati is her home and place of nativity. She is a member of Garment Workers Union No. 113. Her recent election to the S. E. C. marks the beginning of a sixth term in that capacity.

M. A. TOOHEY

Mike Toohey, of Toledo, fully deserves the high estimation in which he is held by the socialists of Ohio. As organizer of Local Toledo, he has just carried to great success a most aggressive campaign.

He was born at Steubenville O., and is President of the Molders Union of Toledo. His service inthe labor union movement has brought him in bad repute with the steel kings and as a result he is on their honor roll —blacklist.

In the above picture, he is seen standing before the display window of Local Toledo Headquarters.

MARGUERITE PREVEY

One of the founders of the Socialist Movement of Ohio, is Marguerite Prevey of Akron. Of Canadian birth, she grew up on the farm and experienced all the out door hardships and pleasures of that life.

Tho an optician by profession, she long ago cast her lot with the proletariat and has fought his battles at all costs and sacrifices. A few years ago she led the Akron rubber workers strike. She is one of Gene Debs' best friends and just previous to his incarceration at Moundsville Penitentiary, toured nothern Ohio with him for the Socialist Party.

J. J. HOGE

A new member of the State Executive Committee is J. J. Hoge, of Bellaire. Comrade Hoge is well known in Ohio as an organizer for the Party, having delivered a course of illustrated lectures and done organization work in Belmont County.

He is a native of England having been born in County Durham. He emigrated to America in 1904. He is a miner and a member of the U. M. W. of A. His Party affiliation dates from 1911.

Minutes of State Executive Committee Meeting November 8-9

State Office, Nov. 8, 1919

The meeting was called to order by the state secretary and Tom Clifford was elected chairman for the session.

Minutes of the previous meeting were read and filed.

Applications for membership at large were read from E. C. Ilkenhans, Wm. M. Brown, Ella B. Brown, W. S. Ovens, C. R. Harzlieb and Frank Philip. By motion the issuance of membership cards to these comrades by the state secretary was approved.

Applications for charters were received from Power-Point, Adena and Youngtown, the latter two being language branches. Granting of charters approved by motion. (These charters were granted July 15 and 31 respectively.)

The report of the state secretary was next declared in order. After its reading a motion was carried to consider recommendations and suggestions seriatim.

Motion carried that the state executive committee make a loan to the national office of the party in the amount stated by the state secretary.

Motion carried that the state secretary at once place a number of organizers in the field, as well as a speaker who understands party controversy and who can give the locals visited the information that seems desired.

Motion carried that the Liberators campaign be turned over to the national office so that it may assume a national scope.

Motion carried that the resignation of A. Wagenknecht as state secretary, be accepted. The resignation was tendered because Comrade Wagenknecht is soon to move to New York to conduct the national office of the party.

Motion carried that questions of selecting a state headquarters, as well as the location election of an acting state secretary, be postponed until the evening session.

Communications:

From Ed J. Hewit of Ashtabula, asking rebate upon press stamps. Motion carried to file.

From Carl Ulrich, suggesting a May Day stamp for the party. Referred to the national office of the party.

From Luther McIntyre, regarding colonizing. Filed.

From several locals supporting a motion made by the seceding local in Cleveland for a state referendum. Motion carried that these several locals be informed that — First: The state executive committee has not the power to initiate a state referendum. Second: That the motion as made by the Cleveland organization making it has seceded from the state organization. Third: That under no circumstances does the state executive committee favor a joint convention with locals which have rejoined the reactionary Socialist Party. Also that an answer including these points be sent the locals seconding the Cleveland motion, in the name of the state executive committee.

From Joe. W Sharts suggesting an initiative petition to annul the criminal syndicalism law. Motion that no action be taken, carried.

New Business:

Motion carried that in accordance with Article 1, Section 1, of the state constitution, we, the state executive committee, just elected by referendum vote of the state membership, consider the Ohio state organization officially affiliated with the Communist Labor Party, all but two of the delegates attending the national convention from Ohio having followed the instructions of the state membership in this matter. That a committee of two be elected to write a statement to the Ohio membership asking for full cooperation with the state office in its party work.

Committee elected — M. A. Toohey, J. J. Hoge.

Adjourned to reconvene at 7 P. M.

Evening Session, Nov. 8th.

eport of committee on declaration the party membership heard. Motion ried to accept the report and that be sent to the state membership d locals.

Nominations for acting state secretary declared in order.

Motion carried that Elmer T. Al be elected acting state secretary until nominations are made and an election can be held in conformity with the state constitution.

Motion carried that a delegate conference of Ohio locals and branches that have not severed their connection with the state office be held.

Motion carried that selection of at the time and place be made at a late hour.

A lenghty discussion ensued as to the state organization, the state office, the state membership and their inter-relation.

Motion carried that we ask all locals and branches to send as many delegates to the state conference as they can afford to send, and that the conference decide the basis of proportional representation of all delegates attending.

Motion carried that the expenses of this conference, in-so-far as fare and hotel expenses of the delegates is concerned, be borne by the locals sending delegates.

Motion carried that a call be extended to members at large and other members in the state whose locals may not be functioning for the time being, to attend the state conference, providing they have not severed their connection with state organization.

Motion that Tom Clifford and the acting state secretary be a committee to prepare an agenda for the conference, subject to change by the conference, carried.

Motion carried that the name of the "Ohio Socialist" be changed to "The Toiler".

A motion carried to hold a State Conference of the Communist Labor Party on Nov. 29 and 30, location of same to be selected later and Locals advised by mail.

Motion carried to adjourn.

A. WAGENKNECHT
State Secretary.

STATEMENT TO THE MEMBERSHIP BY THE STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

To the Locals and Members of Ohio.

COMRADES:—

Your state executive committee, in meeting assembled this 8th day of November, issues the following declaration to the members and locals in the state.

After due consideration we hold that the Ohio state organization is officially affiliated with the Communist Labor Party by referendum act of the state membership. This conclusion is reached in compliance with the mandate contained in Article 1, Section 1, of the state constitution, which states that the party in this state shall be affiliated with that section of the Socialist Party which adopts the left wing program.

The national convention of the Socialist Party held in Chicago, Aug. 30th, split into two factions, a right wing faction and a left wing faction. The left wing faction, consisting of 92 delegates, adopted the left wing program and subsequently adopted the name of Communist Labor Party, to differentiate it from the right wing faction and its reactionary officialdom. The delegates attending the national convention from Ohio, with but two exceptions, joined the left wing group, helped organize the Communist Labor Party and followed state instructions to the letter. We now call upon all Ohio members and locals to cooperate with the state office in the many duties immediately before us.

The Communist Labor Party has gathered phenominal strength nationally in the last several months. The national office of the party is already publishing books and pamphlets in number it is issueng a national fighting organ, "Communist Labor", and a labor paper for the party, the "Voice of Labor". The party's monthly magazine, "The Class Struggle" should be read by every party member, and hundreds of thousands of leaflets are now realy for the locals for free distribution.

The Communist Labor Party is a party of action. We call upon you to become locals and members of action. Become active at once in the Communist Labor Party, distribute its literature, get subscriptions for its papers, engage its speakers.

The fundamental differences between the three parties are well analizing in the accompanying statement. Read it carefully. Then decide your affiliation and enter the work we must all continue active in, that of establishing workers' control so that we may gain Industrial Democracy.

REPORT OF STATE SECRETARY.

TO THE STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

COMRADES:—

Many events have taken place since the state executive committee of the Ohio party last met. The great change taking place in the world has demanded new adjustment in every walk of life, and new adjustments have also been forced upon the revolutionary movements of the working class.

The split in the Socialist Party, the consequent organization of two communist parties and the activities of all three parties call for study on the part of the membership. Many comrades need a goodly amount of time before they can mentally digest the causes for these controversies, and as a consequence there are many comrades yet in the transation stage, gradually growing into revolutionary Socialists, gradually accepting the program of the Third International.

To the comrades who look askance at the inter-party differences, we have this to say. The same divisions are occuring in all European countries. In Sweden, England, France, Italy, Norway, Germany — in all European countries in which a Socialist movement existed before and during war time, a division has occured, the comrades dividing themselves into right wing Socialist, those who are pure political actionalists and parliamentarians, and into left wing Socialists, those who realize that we participate in political campaigns for purposes of propaganda and education, and who make the industrial struggles the major campaign, and who know we can never hope to establish industrial democracy by having legislators make a motion for it in Congress! The slogan of these left wing Socialists is "all power to the workers" and their one immediate demand is "workers control".

In the United States the situation among the left wing Socialists is somewhat complicated because of a split in the left wing movement. This split occured in New York in June, when certain comrades demanded that a new party be organized at once, whereas others, a majority, demanded that the fight for left wing principles be continued in the old Socialist Party until the national convention. The result of this split was that some comrades began immediately organizing a new party, whereas others continued their fight in the Socialist Party for left wing principles. This resulted in two left wing conventions in Chicago, out of which were organized the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party.

The Communist Labor Party, while in convention and thereafter, made sincere attempts to unify the two communist groups, but without success. The national officials of the Communist Party seem determined to perpetuate their clique control and to do so, they do not feel inclined to unite with the Communist Labor Party upon a basis of equality. The last unity attempt on the part of the Communist Labor Party was made October 13th. The answer to the call for an unity conference resulted in another refusal by the national officials of the Communist Party. The Communist Labor Party now intends to give its full time to the important work of propaganda and organization and await the time when the membership of the Communist Party will force national officials into unity with our party.

In this state the Communist Labor Party is gathering strength at a satisfactory rate. As the committee knows, the constitution of the party adopted by membership vote, provides that the state organization affiliate with that section of the Socialist Party which adopts the left wing program. The Socialist Party national convention of August also split into left and right sections. That section which adopted the left wing program was subsequently named the Communist Labor Party. Therefore, by membership mandate, we are affiliated with the Communist Labor Party.

This does not mean that all locals in the state are so affiliated. The branches belonging to language federations, joined the Communist Party, first, because of lack of information as to the split in the left wing ranks. The papers of the federations, controlled by those who organized the thir party, the Communist Party, not being accessible to the comrades who followed the dictates of the majority of the left wing conference. And second, because these branches do, with few exceptions, follow the lead of their federation secretaries and executives.

The situation in this state in regard to Communist Labor Party organization is very favorable. New affiliations are being secured day by day. The comrades are beginning to understand, that it is the Communist Labor Party, because it is best adapted to conditions in this country, which will be the virile and active revolutionary party in this country. The Communist Party, divided against itself, first by having two executive committees and second by being a loosly federated party consisting of federations, each federation an autonomous group, will disintegrate because of internal differences, and the best of its comrades will join the Communist Labor Party in time, unless the membership of this party eventually forces unity.

The Ohio Socialist, the official weekly of the party in Ohio, still maintains its popularity and its large subscription list. The issues per week are of between 16.000 and 20.000 copies, the variation depending upon the number of bundle orders received.

The Army of Liberators, organized by consent of the state executive committee, has done much toward propagandizing the workers to act en masse to free political prisoners. Many contributions have been received, labor unions responding splendidly for this cause.

The financial situation of the party can best be judged by the financial report, which will be placed before you before you adjourn. The Ohio state party has assisted in financing the national office of the Communist Labor Party, and altho this was done without sanction by the state executive committee, the state office hopes to have your approval of this action.

The present state secretary, having been elected national secretary for the Communist Labor Party, desires to resign his office in the Ohio movement, O. S. Gal 6. this resignation to take effect at once. The national office of the Communist Labor Party will remove to New York next week, and this will necessitate the removal from Ohio of the present state secretary.

At least two organizers, well posted upon the party controversy, should be placed in the field at once. Information of party differences should be carried to the locals first hand, and by so doing the minds of many comrades can be cleared as to the party situation.

In closing we desire to again state that the new adjustments which are taking place need time to mature. Members need time to think. Eventually the party which shows the greatest activity along the lines of revolutionary principles will gain the confidence and support of the membership. We claim that in time, the party which will show most life and action will be the Communist Labor Party. In it are amassed the hundreds of Jimy Higginses of the old Socialist Party. It does not lack for either platform, executive or organization talent. Just as soon as this talent can be put to work, and this is being done gradually, the progress of the organization will be phenominal.

Fraternally submitted,
A. WAGENKNECHT
State Secretary.

[illegible]
THE CLASS STRUGGLE JUST OUT.
Second Anniversary
Soviet Republic Issue
[illegible] A COPY
READ IT
Publication of Communist Labor Party
3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio

The Three Parties - Which One Is Yours?

Three Parties are right now seeking your support. Your support means added power. Eaach Party wants more power. To which party are you going to add strength?

You realize that alone you are helpless before the organized strength of the capitalist class. You know that you must join with your fellow workers to achieve your emancipation. You feel that ALL TOGETHER the workers are strong.

Which one of the three parties is your party? Which one is the best instrument for the expression of the principals and tacticks you believe in? — WHICH Party can you depend upon not to support the capitalist State and betray you when the crisis comes? — WHICH Party has the form of organization that gives YOU the best opportunity to express yourself and to function for your class? WHICH Party has the proper tactic to avoid becoming a mere sect under the control of a clique of leaders? WHICH Party has a policy that will result in a great workingclass movement, competent to achieve victory?

HERE THEY ARE — MAKE YOUR CHOICE

The Communist Labor Party:

Accepts the principles of Communism.

Affiliates with the Third International.

Holds that employing class and workingclass have nothing in common.

Considers existing political state a ruling class instrument, whose sham democracies are useless to the workingclass.

Teachers that workers must develop their own power, abolish the existing political State and under their own dictatorship work out their problems.

Deems ballot box campaigns for this purpose of secondary importance. Makes the great industrial struggles its major campaigns.

Participates in political campaigns for purpose of propaganda, Has only ONE immediate demand: The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. ONE slogan: ALL power to the workers.

Propagandizes Industrial Unionism, Points out its revolutionary nature. Organizes shop committees. Actively helps to build the one big union.

Is the logical outgrowth of the revolutionary Left Wing Movement. Was organized in obedience to the decisions of the Left Wing Conference and the mandates of the Old Party's revolutionary membership.

Starts without machine politics or clique control. Permits no autonomous Federationss or groups. Develops highly centralized organization, capable of united action, Organizes its membership as ONE homogeneous mass, competent to meet the revolutionary situation.

Has a policy of INCLUSION. Constantly offers unity to all organizations that agree on the fundamental principles of Communism.

Has a nationwide organization, steadily growing in membership and power.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY:

Agrees with the Communist Labor Party on fundamental principles. (Not even the most othodox C. P. member has yet denied this).

Differs from the Communist Labor Party in ORIGIN, FORM of ORGANIZATION and POLICY.

Originated when the National Left Wing Conference refused to surrender itself to the complete domination of the Central Executive Committees of a few language groups.

Is the logical product of those that bolted from the Left Wing. Started as a THIRD Party by the Russian — Michigan group in violation of the decisions of the Left Wing Conference.

Began as a compromise between three political machines — the Michigan machine, the Russian Federation machine and the Fraina, Ferguson, Ruthenberg machine — under absolute clique control of "leaders."

Has practically autonomous Federations each a complete Party within itself whose [illegible] any time they [illegible] federation [illegible] action [illegible]

Has no centralized [illegible] capable of [illegible] class.

situation, but TWO heads, an Executive Council and a Central Executive Committee, which are already at loggerheads with each other.

Builds its membership, not as one homogeneous mass, but as a loosely federated group of parties with nationalistic antagonisms, which must inevitably break apart.

Has a policy of EXCLUSION. Constantly refuses Unity Conference, since its officials are determined to perpetuate their clique control.

Can not now show one third of the membership of which it once boasted.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Rejects the principles of Communism. Refuses to affiliate with the Third International.

Holds that employing class and working class have some common interest in establishing "Freedom" and "Democracy".

Considers existing political State as a fit instrument through which the workingclass can emancipate itself. Teaches workers to place their faith in election of politicians, to secure "reforms" through the political State and establish Industrial Democracy by making a motion for it in congress and the legislatures.

Deems political machinery all sufficient. Supports industrial organizations only to garner votes.

Has a multitude of "Immediate demands." Continues its vote chasing tactics. Favors co-operation with the bourgeoisie. Balks at the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Antagonizes the I. W. W. Denies the revolutionary signifiance of Industrial Unionism. Caters to reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom,

Will inevitably dicker, deal and compromise with Liberal organizations, Labor Parties and Non Partisan Leagues for political pie.

Is controlled by reactionary leaders, who called the Chicago police to their support at the national convention, and who still pull the controlling wires that move the puppets with new names.

Has officials that openly voice their hope that the Russian Revolution will not succeed, because it did not come by the "ballot box route."

Is the counterpart of the Kerenskys of Russia and the Scheidemanns of Germany, who turned the machine guns upon our Bolshevik and Spartacan Comrades.

Has lost nine tenths of its membership since last May.

DECIDE!!

If you still have faith in the palavering of politicians and distrust the workers on the job; — if you actually believe that the co-operative Commonwealth will spring full orbed from the ballot box, — if, you are afraid to join hands openly with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans in the Third International, — then stay where you belong — in the old Socialist Party.

If you are the kind of Communist that blindly follows leaders, organized in a little clique for Party control, —if you are willing to waste your energies building a Party that has within its very form of organization the seeds of its own destruction, if you are opposed to unity of all the Communist forces, then you should join the Communist Party, until experience teaches you its costly lesson.

But if you want a Party that is solidly based on Communist principles, — if you want a Party that is uncompromising in its revolutionary tactics and that at the same time has a form of organization and a policy that makes possible the developing of a workingclass organization, militant and victorious, — then you should at once join the Communist Labor Party.

Do not delay. The laggard is lost. The compromiser is shoved aside. Make your choice. Take your stand NOW with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans in the Third International. Become a member of the Communist Labor Party, and GET BUSY on the job among your fellow workers. That is the road to workers' power.

Pamphlets and Books You Should Read

Spread the Light—this should be the aim of every forward looking man and women. Induce the working class to read and it will work out its own emancipation. We give below a wholesale and retail price list of books and booklets which you should help place into the hands of those most need. Order from The Communist Labor Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI, 10c. each—20 or more at 6c. each.
THE SOVIET THE TERROR AND INTERVENTION, 10c. 20 or more at 6c.
RADEK AND RANSOME ON RUSSIA, 6c. each; 20 or more at 4c. each.
THE OLD ARDER IN EUROPE AND THE NEW ORDER IN RUSSIA, 10c. each, in lots of 20 or more, 6c. each.
RUSSIAN SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION. 10c. each — 20 or more at 6c. each,
SOVIET RUSSIA, 10c. each — 20 or more at 6c. each.
THE SOVIETS 10c. each — 20 or more at 6c. each.
RUSSIA, articles by Tchitcherin, Eastman, Lenin 15c. each 20 or more at 11c.
DEBS GOES TO PRISON 25c. each — in lots 10 or more at 18c. each.
THE DREAM OF DEBS 10c. each — in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
THE TRIAL OF DEBS, 10c. each — in lots of 20 or more at 6c. each.
THE CLASS STRUGLE, Kautsky, 25c. each — 10 or more at 18c. each.
THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, 10c. each — 20 or more at 6c each.
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION, 10c. each — 20 or more at 6c. each.
HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS, Marcy, 10c. each — 20 or more 6c. each.
SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST STUDY COURSE, 10c. each — 20 or more 6c. each.
INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY Marcy, 10c. each — 20 or more 6c. each.
MARXISM ANW DARWINISM, Pannekoek 10c. each — 20 or more 6c. each.
SLANDER OF THE TOILERS, Kirkpatrick, 5c. each — 20 or more 3c. each.
SOCIALISM UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC, Engles, 15c. each — 20 at 11c.
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War On The Reds

The war against the reds is on, if press reports of activities of the department of "justice" are reliable and they seem to be in this respect. Wars come so thick and fast these days it keeps one wide awake to keep up with them. They are somewhat confusing too. First there was a great war in which we were too proud to enter. But we got over that and got in-somewhat bewildered as to what it was about, but got in nevertheless. Of course it was a war for DEMOCRACY — wars generally are, you know. Lots of people were convinced that we would have democracy to lend and give away as soon as the frackas was settled. They are slowly coming out of this delusion.

But the big doings mere scarcely over before fifteen or forty-seven smaller ones started adding still more to the general bewilderment. Here at home of course, we were largely out of these little tin-horn scraps — except Mr. Wilson's personal onslaught against Russia — which certainly confused a lot of people who accepted Wilson's words and promises as genuine. This little war continues to date tho it's a losing game for Wilson and fellow "determiners of peoples."

A few weeks ago the hubbubo grew loud against the profiteers and another war was declared. It was the shortest war ever discovered. Also the loudest. Not a public "servant" in all this free land, but who vowed—in print, that he'd get the profiteers, the it caused him to miss a meal. The tangible results of this big-little war are about equal to those of the big one across the pond in so far as the victims are concerned-there aint none—not for them.

It seems necessary to start a brand new war about ever so often in order to make us common folks forget the promises made us by the proponents of the previous ones. So now we have a war on the reds. It seems that this great big country isn't big enough to hold a real man-sized idea any longer. So, in order that the idea may "squeeze" no one, it becomes necessary to bestroy it by jailing, deporting and raising general hell with the heads in which the idea has lodged.

And so, with the speed and judgement with which all our governmental activities are carried on, the war against the red idea proceeds. Houses are raided, men and women are jailed on charges or no charges. Meetings of workers are broken up, literature destroyed. Halls are raided and all contents carried into the street where an inspiring bon-fire is made in honor of the Goddess of liberty and democracy. Newspaper offices are raided, the plants destroyed, the editors jailed under the charge of "criminal syndicalism" — the wet blanket which was made to order to dampen the ardour of all who get too warm at the profit system.

So merrily goes the game. The funny thing about it all is, that the principles which you and we were taught to revere in our school days are being violated every day by this government which we were taught was established for the perpetuation of those ideas. Yes its a very bewildering world — unless you look at it from the standpoint of economic determinism. When you get that view-point you can see thru a ladder — even a governmental ladder.

Thru Persecution to Victory

No cause, it seems, can thrive without persecution snapping at its heels. "Persecution is the seed of the Church," wrote St. Paul. St. Paul knew, for he lived in rebellious times and witnessed the growth of Christianism thru persecution.

No organization ever had heaped upon it the amount of persecution which been heaped upon the I. W. W. No organization ever thrived as has it. None have affected the labor movement in the creating of class-consciousness to the extent as has it. None has given the workers such ground for hope as has this militant and agressive union of workers.

Winning by its clear cut class-conscious action the hatred of the ruling class, it has been the special target of the prostitutes of the hired press. Avalanches of oprobrium have been heaped upon it; tons of white paper have been consumed and barrells of ink spread in reviling it. Its organizers have been mobbed, shot and hanged. Its songsters illegally executed; its members jailed.

Thru it all, it has born the attitude of true philosophy. Never doubting the correctness of its fundamental teachings, it has unwaveringly stood before the onslaughts of the workers' enemies.

The truth of the recent occurrences at Centralia, Wash., are coming to light. When the full thruth is known, the I. W. W. will be cleared of guilt. The capitalist press has wallowed for a week in adjective vituperation against the I. W. W., but truth, like murder, will out, and the blood which was spilled at Centralia drips red from the hands of others than members of I. W. W.

When the history of the I. W. W. is written by future historians, the persecution which it has undergone will serve as a mark by which to judge this present era of "civilization."

Thru persecution its passes on to victory for the toilers and humanity

---

This deportation stuff gets our goat. This country has been hell on the foreigner for two years. He wants to get out but can't got passports. They try to get to Mexico or Canada but government agents trail them and throw them into jail. Jim Larkin is in jail in New York. He wants to go to Ireland but the British government won't let him in. Now he will be deported — maybe. And on top of that the Irish workers threaten to go on strike to force Britain to give him a passport. The quickest way to get the foreigner out is to hand out the passports — They WANT to go.

If some one will please tell us how to carry on the fight against capitalist exploitation by straddling a fence, we will be glad to take a seat along side. But until they can prove that a fence is an instrument of the proletariat, we will have to wander on our little way, doing what looks like effective work for our class.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE JUST OUT
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Booze Reds and Water Reds

BY [illegible]
IN SEATTLE UNION RECORD

Everybody's worried
These days
Trying to find out
What makes the REDS GROW?
Is it BOOZE
Or the LACK of it;
Is it Russian gold
Or LACK of gold;
Is it a little germ
From Eastern Europe
Or from below Yesler?
Friend Gompers still repeats
His theory that BOOZE
Was the great saviour
Of the nation,

He says that prohibition
Upsets the worker's habits,
And so the man
Who formerly went HOME
To read and talk
In the evening
The CONSOLER
Of discontented workers!
Kept men AT HOME nights
Has now become disgruntled
And hangs about the streets
Meeting other disgruntled men
And talking Bolshevism!
I never knew before
That the SALOON
Instead of mixing
Downtown with other men.
But then it seems
We LIVE and LEARN!
For Gompers SAYS the reds
Thrive best in WATER
And booze is the [illegible]
Of the FAMILY
And so it MUST BE true!
But hist, here comes
A candidate for governor
In New Jersey
Who says he'll make that state
As WET as the Atlantic
In spite of ANY LAW!
That's RED enough, I think,
Defying law like that,
I guess that man must be
A BOOZE-RED
Instead of a WATER-RED,
For now I remember
Long ago in the Bible
It said that folks who looked
On booze when it was RED
Were likely to become
VIOLENT!
And now the president
Of the Anti-saloon League
Declares, in spite of Gompers,
It's the WET towns
Where ANARCHY thrives best
Because when men drink booze
They get BEFUDDLED
And follow ANY leader!
It rather looks to me
These awful REDS
Will thrive most anywhere
Either in booze or water
Only the WATER-REDS seem
To do more THINKING
Than BOOZE-REDS do,
And so I guess they are
More DANGEROUS!

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Schools or Cabarets

(Continued from page 1.)

work hard, and there is no time left to watch the children.

"Formerly," —an Omsk Jew complained to me, "formerly the children at least used to attend school for half a day, and on coming home had to prepare their lessons; they were thus occupied for three-fourths of the day. Now they are absolutely free. The schools have been closed for six or seven months, they are all occupied by troops. And the children are all the time running loose on the streets, mingling with other demoralized elements. What can their prospects be under such conditions!"

Can you understand this? No new schools have been built by the Government; but as if this were not bad enough, they have taken away those that were in existence.

One school — for four thousand residents, and then this one has been requisitioned — for barracks!

And this is done by a government which pretends to be "democratic" and which decalres that it wants to see the Russian people free and educated.

That the Jew did not exaggerate is shown by these facts:

In Omsk, which is Kolchak's "capital," all the schools are occupied by troops. Omsk has five moving picture theatres, four cafes, and six cabarets, while the entire city has only one boys' high school, one girls' high school, two grammar schools, and three elementary schools, — that is, seven schools. But these seven schools were turned into barracks for the troops, while at the same time fifteen "amusement places" are open day and night.

To be sure, the Government gets a considerable income from these places. That is true! But I do not believe that this money plays any part in determining its policy.

It is more likely that the Government wants to keep the people in darkness for "political reasons," as in the good old days.

They prefer to open stores for the sale of strong drink. Because they believe that for a glass of brandy the Siberian people will sell all their ideas, Bolshevism, Menshevism, Christian and all other "isms". If only they will have brandy, they will be content. Such is the policy of the Siberian Government.

PETROGRAD FALLS

By Alden W. Welch

HAVE you ever seen Niagara, heard
the thunder of its power,
Never silent for an instant, irrespect-
ive of the hour?
Comes the roaring, roaring, torrent,
leaps the brink and hurtles down;
Would you try to still the turmoil with
a silly human frown?
Would you try to turn the river from
its ancient natural course,
Or would you, rather, harness up its
vast hydraulic force,
Transform it into energy that skims
along the wires,
To light the lamps of Buffalo and
still more distant fires?
There's a paper on may table and it
reads, "Petrograd Falls!"
And I seem to see before me swift
Niagara's wat'ry walls,
Always falling, never fallen, ever
tumbling, never gone.
Crashing in the dreary midnight,
smashing at the gates of dawn!
Would you try to dam the torrent
that is gushing wild and free
From a hundred million human
hearts that beat across the sea
Or will you, rather, do your bit to
lift the yoke that galls?
Not try to dam — but rather, damn
the lie — Petrograd Falls.

MUSINGS

By Dr. Cowlie Cowles

While we have always advocated "Votes for Women", as a matter of simple justice, it does not follow that the granting of the franhise is a matter of expedience. There will now be again as many votes to count as previously and the opportunities for election frauds are increased that much. While it is true that women will never be able to make greater asses of themselves than men have, by voting for what they do not want, it is equally certain that, as a whole, the gentler sex is not intellectually superior to men and will be just as easily led into the political shambles called elections.

Aggravating as the capitalist system is, it is nevertheless doing more for socialism than all the socialists can do. In its desperation it is forced to resort to lie after lie. This is aggravating to us, but should not be so. The people have been humbugged they cannot digest and assimilate that many more and just at the psychological moment the capitalist press will find its influence gone.

Every ass who cares to bray says there are no classes in this country. According to an article in a recent issue of the Tampa, Fla. Morning Tribune, the government offered nitrate as fertilizer to the farmers at a certain price. But suddenly these sales were stopped without explanation. Investigation proved that the government was selling the nitrate in bulk and at a lower figure to a capitalist middleman who sold it to the farmers at a good big profit. If this is not a case of your capitalist government looking out for the interests of the capitalist class, then what class distinctions can a Hunky Dubb ask for?

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[illegible]

L. M.— Oakland: The national office of the Communist Labor Party is moving to New York City mainly because that is the seat of several of its official publications, namely, "The Class Struggle" and the "Voice of Labor".

C. H.— Lima: The official organ of the German Communist Party branch in Cleveland, know as the "Echo", and published weekly, carried at the top of the first page, in black face comrades of the Communist Party to go to the polls and vote for "personal liberty" by voting "wet". At this same time the Communist Party had out a call to boycott the elections.

A. P.— Phila: The Greek branch of Chicago joined the Communist Labor Party subsequent to a debate between Katterfeld of that party and I. E. Ferguson of the Communist Party.

J. K.— Cleveland: Katterfeld of the C. L. P., has challenged Ruthenberg of the C. P. to debate the issues between the two parties. The latter comrade has not yet accepted the challenge.

J. E.— Boston: Hyman Bloomfield of the C. L. P. met John Ballam of the C. P. in debate in Worcester. John Ballam as editor of one of the C. P. official organs. From accounts received at this office Bloomfield won the debate easily, because Bloomfield had first hand knowledge of the origin of the present clique control of the C. P.

B. L.— Cincinnati: The Communist Labor Party now published the following pamphlets and books: Program of the Communist Labor Party of Russia, by Bucharin; Development of Socialism into Action, by Radeck; Old order in Europe and the New Order in Russian, by Price; Terror, Soviet Russia and Intervention, by Price; Crisis in the German Social Democracy, by Luxemburg; From October to Brest Litovsk, by Trotzky; Education and Art in Soviet Russia, by Eastman; Rader and Ransome on Russia; New Letter to Workers of Europe and America, by Lenin. Other books and pamphlets are on the press.

D. M.— Columbus: We have said and we repeat and we hold that we are right when we say that if you desire unity between the communist parties you should join that party and strengthen that party which demands unity. This is the C. L. P. To refuse to join either communist parties until they unite means that you thereby refuse to lend your efforts to unity, but would rather stand aside, an onlooker rather that a fighter for unity.

L. M.— Minneapolis: The criticisms of the Communist Labor Party and some of its officials made by Communist Party officials are most unjust. These criticisms are made to induce the comrades not yet affiliated with either party to join the Communist Party. The claim of 55.000 members is made for the same purpose, the Communist Party officials understanding that most people like to flock with the big crowd. Communist Labor Party officials are ready, yes anxious, to meet Communist Party officials in debate so as to face the criticisms launched aganst the C. L. P. which in many instances are not in accord with facts.

C. B.— Kansas City: Read the article headed "The Three Parties — Which one is yours" in this paper.

A. B.— Niles: The C. L. P. has suffered severely in the recent raids. From press reports we glean that the "Oakland World", the California C. L. P. paper, was practically wrecked by hoodlums and that numerous arrests have been made in every part of the nation. It is now the duty of every member of the C. L. P. to give dollars to make good the loss and for defense.

V. T.— Baltimore: The C. L. P. can not at this time divulge the source of its information relative to the deals made between the Russian Federation executives and the Fraina-Ferguson clique because more information is forthcoming from the same service.

It is these "behind the curtains" deals which are dangerous to any organization, for the membership will eventually become suspicious of officials who "fix" things behind the scenes.

SOW'S EAR

A clever chap named Will Shakespeare once got one off to the effect that "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."

This had a certain definite meaning in Will's day and was considered some wheeze. It was so well considered that countless notables, near comedians and others have repeated it for hundreds of years.

But lately it has an entirely different meaning. Show me the man extravagant enough to make of a sow's ear any kind of a purse!

Purses are out of fashion anyway and affected only by bloated [illegible]. The honest working man can put all he has left in an empty Durham sack, [illegible] per day. A little while later he doesn't even need the empty Durham sack.

[illegible]

THE BLACK SHEEP

[illegible]

A few days of [illegible] the [illegible] activity and gave to the [illegible] greater [illegible] It would be hard to conceive [illegible] intellect were so equally developed, altho the intelligence [illegible] by the two elder men with reference to life and its problems was of course far superior to that possessed by the boy. Yet the boy had something that the elder men lacked. He had a wide knowledge of life and living things as they are, untrammeled by the influence of civilization.

When they were seated on some feed boxes in a barn he told the older men that he considered civilization to be, but the logical outgrowth of over-population. He maintained that the earth with its flora and fauna could only carry a certain amount of individuals in each species. That when the species multiplied beyond the limits of its natural subsistence that then, one of two things was bound to happen; either the species ceased multiplication or they went into artificial production. Artificial production, increased the life sustaining power of the earth, which enabled the species controlling such production to multiply in greater numbers, thereby becoming a dominant power in nature. They upset what naturalists called the balance of nature and transferred the struggle for existence to an entirely different field. He illustrated it by saying that in the days before men had developed artical production his natural enemies were the animal world and climatic conditions; but with the advent of tools and the consequent multiplication of human numbers we had protected our-selves from climatic conditions, by means of houses, clothing and fuels. Also by the art of preserving and conserving food. We had enabled ourselves not only to live thru long winters; but with the aid of transportation the race was able to survive in un-favored communities, even long periods of nonproductivity. Man, he maintained had conquered nature and was now engaged in a struggle with his fellow men over the products of industry. This struggle goes on unremittingly between those who make it their business to own the resources and implements of production and those who, because they do not make it their business to own anything, have to use these resources and implements in order to live.

Artificial production, he contended, has taken the struggle for existence out of the domain of pure nature and transferred it to the marts of trade. Man has ended the struggle among species as far as he is concerned and has begun a struggle among types. I can see two distinct mind tendencies in the human race even as there are two physical tendencies among ants. One is the tendency to serve and the other the tendency to be served. One that has the tendency to be served is of course always on the lookout for atavisms of the serving type. That, to my mind explains the early death of the men you spoke of, I forget their names, Christ was amongst them I believe.

The two men looked at the boy in amazement. That is the only word that adaquately describes their feelings. In a few sentences he had practically expressed the sum total of what they had taught him and had drawn from purely economic data a conclusion of which they themselves had not been aware. He had pointed out that the relation of master and slave, beginning in the middle period of barbarism and coming upward thru the historical epochs of evolution in the Arayan race; thru many changes in form, but always the same in essence, was bound to have an affect upon the mind processes of the people. Into the brain of George there flashed two phrases from the literature he had read. The first was, special selection, and the second use-heredity. These two factors so powerful in the animal world surely must have had some effect upon that section of animal development which we are pleased to call "The genus homo."

Herman's brain was also busy. Jack had mentioned the fact of slavery among the ants. The ant masters have held their tenure so long that they have become physically unable to help themselves. And the ant slaves have been enslaved so long that the care of their parisitic hosts seems to be second nature to them. This evidently was not true to the full extent in the human race, either of the master or the slave; but was it not true to some extent? And if so, how far had this condition developed in the human race? And if it had developed was there a way out? And what was that way? These and similar questions flashed thru Herman's brain, as he nervously rolled a cigarette, while tracing heiroglyphics with his toe in the dust of the barn floor.

It was George who broke the silence. "The thing that differentiates the kid from the great mass of mankind, if the theory he has just outlined is true, is that he belongs to a biologic third estate in the human species. If I follow his reasoning correctly, he has come to this conclusion that long ages of enslavement during which it was to the master's interests to weed out the rebel types of both the speculative and atavistic order. They have succeeded "unbeknownst" to themselves in perpetuating the more or less servile types until a great bulk of the productive element of the human race has come to their [illegible] of intelligence, which they say, 'What ever is, is God's design.' On the other hand [illegible]

ing and the served gives rise to what I termed, while Jack was speaking the third estate."

"There is a story to be found somewhere in mythology that a Greek officer by the name of Pandora seduced a girl by the name of Miriam of Galilee and that the result of this seduction was the man Christ. Thus we have Pandora the master, Miriam the slave, producing Christ the rebel who was neither master or slave and therefore and undesirable citizen in the Roman world."

"From facts such as these we may explain a numerous variety of individuals who are not true to type, such as masters who delight in work and slaves who rejoice in idleness. Robbers, adventures, pioneers, idealists, prison-birds and martyrs are the various grades of mental manifestation in that human. No-man's — land that lies between the masters and the slave; the taker and the maker."

"But then, where would you put the middle class?" Herman objected. "Do not they comprise the middle ground, between mastery and slavery?"

"Yes, economically speaking, they are the middle ground of the industrial processes." Physically they work like slaves, and mentally they think in the terms of masters. Really they are economic hermorphidites. They are neither the one nor the other. The middle class are the Sociological bastards, fathered by capital, mothered by labor and despised by both.

"The middle class is not what Jack referred to. He referred to definite mind types. People having definite manifestations of intellect. But who in hell ever attributed intellect to the middle class?"

"Between the masters and the slaves' psychology there is a middle ground due to variations from the true type on both sides, as well as atavism, back to upper savagery or lower barbarism and lower civilization. The adventurers and robbers of Robin Hood's day, the Buccaneers of the middle ages. were a sort of a mental third estate, with strong master proclivities. The idealist of the Socrates, Christ, Savan-e-rola, Bruno, Spinosa, Robert Emmett, Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Eugene V. Debs type are members of that mental third estate with leanings towards the slave psychology. The first mentioned group want freedom to acquire and destroy, the last mentioned group want freedom to develop and conserve, and it may be that in the blending of the two, may be found the secret of the redemption and resurrection of the human race!"

"Your philosophizing would make Charley Whiskers turn over in his garve. If your development of Jack's suggestion is correct then what becomes of the materialist conception of history, economic determinism, surplus value and the other bricks with which we have built the temple of our socialist faith? Seems to me that you kick it over rather thoughtlessly. Besides, both you and I have been trying to make Jack economical clear. I want him to be thoroly familiar with the works of old whiskers before he becomes a second Prof. Jordan."

"I do not see where his ideals logically worked out do any violence to any of our whiskered friend's theorems. Economic determinism force men to pick up the tool. The tool gave him protection; protection caused him to multiply; multiplication forced him to develop the tool; thru the further development of the tool he was forced to develop his social organization; with the development of social organization he conquered the earth, with the conquest of the earth developed the struggle between the types. It is this type struggle between the schemers and the workers that has developed into the modern class struggle of which to a great extent neither class is objectively conscious. The bulk of them do not fight over principles but over concrete things. The vast mass of labor, however, as yet does not fight, but accepts its lot in life as "God ordained". Between the two mental forces in the world, production at the bottom and acquisition on top, there lies a revolutionary ferment, made up of different germs. A very mild germ with very little acid producing power is the modern trade union movement. Avery rank smelling but comparatively mild germ is the anarchist movement, a more or less troublesome, to the masters, and to an extent inconvenient germ to the congential slave type, is what may be termed the socialist virus This may be likened unto pneumonia baccillus. There are three or four types of them, whose function in life it is to destroy the master and slave organization."

"They are all different but they're all bugs," interposed Jack. "But tell me who was Charley Whiskers?"

"Oh! That is Herman's pet name for Karl Marx, the man who discovered and expressed the laws that underlie our modern system of wealth production and distribution. His greatest achievement, however, was that gave us the law of Surplus Value."

"But who and what was he?" Jack persisted.

"Well, I might tell you something about his life, but that really is not important. He was a man and now is dead. What is important is that he showed us how millions lived their horrid lives by making other millions [illegible] How it happens that wealth is always concentrating in the hands of the few and poverty spreading out over the masses of mankind. He explains it by what he terms the Law of Surplus Value."

"What do you mean by Surplus value?" Jack asked.

"I think I have explained this to you before," said George, "but it is this, the difference between your [illegible]

THE SI[illegible]ION IN [illegible]FUL

[illegible] AND PROVISION [illegible] — [illegible] OF FOREIGNERS AN INTERVIEW WITH FREDERIK STROM.

Folkets Dagblad Politiken called on our Comrade Frederik Strom yesterday, to ask him whether he had any news from Russia.

"Is there anything new?" we asked.

"I have just received mail from Moscow," answered Strom.

"Well, how is the situation, in the opinion of the Soviet Government?"

"On the whole pretty good, and better than ever before. A portion of Siberia has now been freed from Kolchak's oppression, and the Red Army is full of enthusiasm and determined to settle this enemy once and for all. The Red army is now marching on Omsk, the seat of Kolchak's reactionary Government. Kolchak has already left Omsk and fled eastward. Turkestan has been liberated, and in the Southeast the revolutionary troops are approaching the Persian boundary. To no slight degree these victories are the result of the numerous uprisings that have broken out in Kolchak's rear and are spreading all over Asiatic Russia, even as far as Vladivostok. By his cruelty and savagery, by re-introducing the Czarist despotism with all its methods and governmental devices, the tyrant and devastator of Siberia has aroused against him all sections of the population, even the well-to-do peasantry, on whom he chiefly depends. Whole regiments, even whole divisions of Kolchak's armies desert to the Soviets or surrender after having captured their general and officers.

"Well, how about the [illegible] front, where Finns, Letts, Lithuanians and Poles are being instigated against Socialist Russia by the Entente?"

"The Poles advanced quite well during the summer, but have now been brought to a standstill and are in some places retiring. On the Lithuanian front there are no great fights. Dvinsk remains in the hands of the Soviet troops. On the Esthonian front, since the taking of Pskov by the Red Army, there has been on the whole no activity. The White Russian troops at Narva, reinforced by Noske's guards, are stationary, unable to advance on Petrograd."

"But how about Denikin's front, the South front?"

"It is true that Denikin's armies, led by Entente officers and extremely well equipped, have had certain successes and conquered certain important cities, thanks to treachery and vacillation among certain detachments of the Red Army, but the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs informs me that these successes are merely transitory, and that the Government is full of confidence, and declares that Denikin in a short time will be put to flight. This is made certain by the increasing uprisings and revolts in Denikin's rear. On the whole Denikin follows Kolchak's methods and introduces in all occupied territories the Czarist regime. Now that the population in these regions has had ocular demonstration of the counter-revolutionary art of government and has thus had an opportunity to compare the latter with the Soviet system of government, they may draw the inevitable conclusions. They will [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the last support to the [illegible] [illegible]."

Conditions as to Provisions

"How is the provision situation now? Has the Moscow Government made any statement in this connection?"

"The shortage of foodstuffs in Russia is partly a matter of the past. The two most critical months — July and August — are now passed. Litvinov, Head of the Scandinavian Section of the Foreign Commissariat, has informed me literally as follows: 'While during the corresponding months of last year we were unable to offer anything to the populations of Moscow and Petrograd, we are this year in a position to give full rations throughout this period. The extraordinary good harvest now affords us great help! From another source I am informed that one can now buy, for example, in Moscow, as much meat, butter, milk, eggs, etc., as one may wish. In other fields also, the Soviet system is being consolidated and strengthened and productive labor is increasing and steading itself more and more within the forms of Socialism.'

Relations Between Russia and Sweden.

"Is anything mentioned about the relations between Russia and Sweden: What is the attitude of the Soviet Government on this matter?"

"Swedish industry has not succeeded in obtaining a breach in the blockade and probably the navigation period will be lost for this year. The consequences of this will hit Sweden just as hard as Russia. The policy of Socialist Russia should be directed towards a shaping of the foreign relations [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of these [illegible] enjoyed special privileges. After breaking off relations, these privileges were gradually curtailed and their supplies in Russia were put on the same footing as those of native capitalists, i. e., they were subject to requisitions. The delegation of the Danish Red Cross was deprived of its special privileges for the protection of foreigners, since several of its members had been caught in counter-revolutionary activity, conducting anti-Bolshevik propaganda among the Russian prisoners of war whom they accompanied on their trip home from Denmark by way of Finland. In fact, they were conducting a recruiting campaign for the White Guards under Yudenich and Denikin. In addition, the Danish Red Cross delegation undertook to export Russian money amounting to millions, as well as other articles of value belonging to the Russian and foreign bourgeoisie. Finally, they served as an intermediary between Russian and Entente counter-revolutionaries both within and without Russia, forwarding their correspondence, even letters to members of the Czar's family. After all these things had been ascertained, the Danish Red Cross delegation found itself obliged to leave Russia at once."

Sweden in Russia

"Well, how about the Swedes over there; how are they acting, what is their position?"

"It is clear that when the Swedish Government so brutally severed its relations with Socialist Russia and banished the Bolsheviks from Sweden, this was not without consequences for Swedes in Russia, who had been very popular before that. I have, of course, done all that I have been able to, to help them, and have often written to Moscow to learn about their situation and only a few days ago tried to obtain permission for forwarding provisions to them from Sweden. But it is exceedingly difficult to get anything done, partly because the telegraph is shut off, and partly because the Scandinavians — some of them at least — in Russia are acting very badly. Thus, for instance, at the time of the treason at Krasnaya Gorka, and the English bombardment of Kronstadt, a military conspiracy was discovered at Petrograd and the clews led also to quite a number of foreigners. In the house-searches undertaken as a result, as well as in the inspections of the former foreign consulates, a very extensive material was found. Thus, for example, in the Swiss consulate at Petrograd and in the Danish consulate at Moscow, plans were found for a military conspiracy, extensive lists of counter-revolutionary agents in the Red Army, secret reports as to the movement of our troops and our provision depots, etc. Fortunately such gross violations have not been found in the case of Swedes. But considerable supplies were found, as well as valuables and money which the Russian bourgeoisie had delivered to Swedish officers for preservation, and had thus sought to withhold from the state. In this connection a number of Swedes were also arrested, but were almost all immediately freed again, although their trials were still in progress. While these trials are coming on, they are forbidden to leave the country. The Soviet Government is willing to send a Red Cross delegate to Sweden to deliberate with the Swedish Government as well as with the other questions involved in the status of foreigners in Russia."

— *From a recent number of* Politiken, Stockholm.

BREAD AND ROSES

— BY ROSE PASTOR STOKES —

"Wear a red flower, tonight."

This was his invitation to the thousands of conscious workers who flocked to hear Gershuni a few years ago, Gershuni the Russian Revolutionist, who escaped from Siberia, arrived in New York and was to speak in Carnegie Hall that night — but a short while before he returned to the land of the Tzar, to die.

"Wear a red flower, tonight."

And when Gershuni stood before his vast audience in the evening, and saw Nature flaunting her scarlet beneath the multitude of pale faces raised eagerly for his message, he said:

"I wanted you to wear this symbol of the joy and beauty of life because we demand not only bread, but roses."

Yes, Bread and Roses! When the Revolution was successful, did our fellow workers think only of bread? No. Great and terrible as the need was, they lost no time securing to themselves in the fullest measure possible, — Roses! Roses! The flowers of Song, the Dance, the Opera, Drama. The flowers of Science — of Knowledge.

The Orchid of Culture, a hot-house plant nurtured exclusively for the Few has been transplanted in Russia to the fields and the meadows, where it blooms freely as the common daisy for all the common folk to pluck at will.

The king and queen of Belgium visited the United States. There is a great stir of interest in the ranks of the exploiters. The Opera House here makes a gala night of their visit to that temple of music.

The Workers take control of Russia. Their Opera becomes the Soviet Opera. There is a great stir among the common folk. The workers fill the Opera House. It is a gala night.

Just as it is natural for Capitalist America to give a special performance at the Metropolitan Opera House in honor of the king and queen — charging incredible prices for seats; so it is natural for Soviet Russia to give Opera daily for the Russian worker — where he is entitled to a seat by virtue of his useful labor.

The masses, lovers of song, inspires of all the great music that has ever been writen — it is for them that the great artists of the Moscow Opera vie with one another to give their best. For are they not themselves sprung from the people? And are not the people at last masters of all life? Tzars and Empresses, drainers of the people's life-blood, are no more! and no more do they "grace" the "royal" box. All space is the people's. They grace the house from pit to gallery. The sparkle of diamonds and precious stones, symbol of tears and slavery, have given place to sparkle of happy eyes, new-lit with the fires of liberty.

Not alone in music may the Russian worker now satisfy his hunger. Imagine yourself quitting after a half of a short day's work to hear a great singer of the people's songs — in your own factory, now become a fit place to learn and enjoy, as well as to work in! Or to get the instruction and entertainment of an illustrated lecture: or perchance it is a fete where you recreate body and spirit in the joy of the dance. Or maybe a troupe of Soviet players whose itinerary includes your factory, arrive to entertain or instruct you through the drama.

This is but hint of what the workers are doing for themselves in Soviet Russia. All who have anything of art or science or general knowledge or literature to give, are giving freely to the people and the people in turn support them in security. The doors are opened wide to the vast treasure house — the doors that once were slammed in the workers' face! The priceless gifts that the workers in bent backs have paintfully piled up, that the parasites have abused for the creation of a false and narrow culture, are now the heritage of all, to be used in the creation of a true and general culture.

Libraries, traveling on swift wheels to every village and hamlet in Soviet Russia. Books, books, books! brought to the doors of all! Traveling instructors, lecturers, professors and teachers giving courses in even the remotest parts, bringing knowledge to the workers far from the permanent centers of learning. Traveling picture galleries, theatres, concerts, touching the humblest in the land with the fairy-wand of Art. True Art, not that tawdry, cheap thing that parades in her name to corrupt the common taste in every commercial country in the world. Thus the masses, through their own government, are developing in themselves the highest possible conception of art, the keenest possible appreciation of true culture.

Art institutes endowed as never before by any government, in which the talented spirits among the masses receive the training they craved vainly for in the past; research laboratories open to all who show any real interest in using them; Universities no longer exclusively the province of the exploiter's son. The common school becoming the universal school, the college and university becoming the common school, the higher culture the general culture. Is it any wonder that Soviet Russia is spending more on education than any country in the world?

Industry, agriculture, yes. Bread, security, yes. But Roses, Roses, yes, a thousand times yes! Are we workers hungry for joy and beauty for art and culture? Today, Russia answers for us until the day when we shall answer for ourselves. The worker, starved through the centuries amidst the very plenty he created, is satisfying his hunger at last — in Russia. Having taken control of his own industrial and social destiny, he has in that same moment grasped with all of a creator's enthusiasm the tools of the old bourgeois culture with which he is already modelling for himself the art forms that will express the new culture — that of the Communist society, the Workers' Commonwealth.

Surrounded as she is by world-capital's armies, fighting for her very life on every front of her vast territory, Russia is still able, by virtue of working class rule to give to Art, Truth, Beauty a freedom they have not known and do not know in any other land, on the face of the earth. And we workers are invited, by every subtle blandishment, to join with our capitalist Governments in a war of extermination against our fellow workers of Russia.

We may not do the shooting ourselves, but we are no less guilty if their freedom is lost through the guns we make. Longshoremen load the guns on ships, railroad men bring them to the piers, sailors, workers too, carry them over seas, and soldiers, (also workers) receive them and use them to shoot down Bolshevist workers, (but what workers!) fighting in the front trenches of the world in the cause of the Social Revolution that will set the world's workers free! Yet despite this tragedy, than which there can be no greater in all history, the Russian worker, wounded, bleeding, half blinded with blood and tears, still marches erect, bearing aloft the standard upon one side of which is inscribed the appeal "Workers of the world, unite!" (This side faces outward to the fighting front). An on the other (facing in toward Soviet-Russia) the inscription "Art, Truth, Beauty!"

They are dying for us, and we are killing them for Capitalism! If the Russian workers and their culture are destroyed by us, we shall not only have played the Judas to our own Comrades, but we shall also by that same act bare our backs to the lash of exploitation for a period that Hope dare not contemplate. A lash that will be laid on with a more cruel hand than Master has ever laid on Slave before. And who shall then say that we are not receiving justice!

But this surely will not be! Everywhere the workers are awaking to consciousness. In Italy the workers forced their Capitalist Government to recall their troops from Russia. The transport workers refused to load the ships with goods or guns for use against Soviet Russia. In France and in England there is an awakening; here too, though less through, the protest is being made effective. There are workers everywhere who are refusing to destroy their own Hope of emancipation by destroying the freedom of the Russian Working Class. We are learning that if we rise to power, we rise by Russia, even as Capitalism has learned that it falls if Soviet Russia stands! The Associated Press and the Associated Powers may combine to lie about the Soviet-Government until they make old Ananias sound as truthful by comparison as a wireless message from Moscow. It will help them not one iota. If the Allies' workers stand by Russia, Russia stands — lied about or not. If Russia stands, Capitalism falls and the workers everywhere rise to power.

Stand by Russia, Workers of America! Stand by your own cause. The issue is joined; the fight is on. Unite, use your power. For Russia — for ourselves — For Bread and Roses! —

Haase Is Dead

BERLIN, Nov. 8.— As the result of three wounds received when he was shot by an Austrian Johann Voss, Hugo Haase, president of the Independent Socialist party, died yesterday after several operations had failed to alleviate his condition.

The shooting occurred October 8 as Haase was about to enter the Reichstag to deliver a speech charging the government with encouraging the retention of German trops in the Baltic and with fostering attacks upon radicals by "murder bureaus."

On October 27, Haase's right leg, which had been crushed by a bullet, was amputated. The three bullets lodged in the thigh, forearm and abdomen. Blood poisoning set in and could not be checked.

Haase, who had a record of indefatigable Socialist endeavor, succeded August Bebel as president of the German Social Democratic party, but broke with the party in 1915 on the question of voting war credits.

Entered Cabinet.

He believed it was necessary to refuse financial support to the government. After the fall of the imperial government he entered the first coalition Cabinet, where he opposed Dr. Solf.

He fought Minister of Defense Noske and the methods of the Noske guards in suppressing strikes and revolts. He declined to become Chancellor at a time when Germany was seeking a government willing to sign the peace treaty.

It is said that his assailant, Voss, was prompted by personal motives, because Haase was prosecuting him at the time for extortion.

Haase's position in the radical ranks is described as being the center of the Left. He was not only an opponent of Noske and Scheidemann, but also of Kautsky.

Was Friendly to Russia.

He was in strong sympathy with Soviet Russia, but opposed recognition of the Moscow government on the ground that such recognition would offer the Allies an excuse to invade Germany.

His acceptance of a position in the coalition Cabinet, which he is said to have regretted, was used to obtain support for the existing regime from his followers.

In his opposition to the Socialist-Democratic-Clerical government he did not hesitate to co-operate with the Spartacans.

The Independent Socialists, of which he was a leader, were credited with encouraging by underground means the discontent in the army and navy which resulted in the revolt of the German sailors in August, 1918.

Socialists in Military Prisons

(Cont. from page 1th)

[illegible] for medical treatment, and when I tried to go to my bed the captain in charge choked me and threw me to the ground.

"About half an hour later I was [illegible]ined and thrown into the latrine [illegible] where I remained about three [illegible]."

[illegible]don related how Majors Adler [illegible] [illegible]ett came to the hospital a [illegible] later and examined and questioned the prisoners. He said he had [illegible] following conversation with Major [illegible]:

"Why do you refuse to prepare [illegible] own meals?"

"Because I was taken away from [illegible] against my will, and it is up to the government to take care of [illegible] here. I want to be treated like a [illegible]. It is up to the authorities to [illegible] care of me or let me die."

[illegible]ver Chains—Steel Chains.

"Well, you are having good conditions here. You're not a prisoner, and there is no reason why you should not take care of yourself."

"Do you say I am not a prisoner? Does this mean I can go home whenever I want to?"

"Oh no. You have to stay around here, but you have the liberty of the camp."

"If you were to place silver chains on my hands instead of steel I would be chained all the same."

"What will you tell people when they ask you what you did during the war?"

"I will tell them I went to jail for democracy."

Brandon declared he now found out that a short time after his conversation with the major, his father received a letter from the War Department, in which he was described as an agitator. His theories on Socialism and his constant agitation, the letter stated, were the cause of he troubles.

One day, Brandon related, a company of 14 objectors, all branded as "radicals," were hurried out of their cells and forced to military marching. Joseph Kaplowitz, one of the objectors, who was tired and weary unable to march fast enough to keep up with the company, was thrown to the ground with a rifle and remained unconscious for a long time.

Because of this Brandon said, the 14 objectors went on a hunger strike as a protest, and were all thrown into a small cell. There, he said, a letter to the post commander, complaining of the treatment given to Kaplowitz, was drawn up and signed by every one of the 14 objectors, and because he handed the letter to a prison officer, Brandon continued, he was taken to solitary confinement.

Brandon related how Gen. Leonard Wood came to Fort Riley while Major Funston was interviewing the objectors, and spoke to Post Commander Colonel Waterman. The following evening, he charged, those who had been on hunger strikes were transferred to Camp Funston.

"Radicals" Transferred.

"I was included among those who were transferred" continued Brandon. "At first not one of us knew the reason for this, but later it became visible to us that all Socialists and those listed as 'radicals' were transferred, and that it was an attempt to subject us to cruelties again."

Brandon stated that he was not among the first to be transferred. He had been confined in the hospital with influenza, but a week later, although still ill, was also taken to Camp Funston. The sergeant who brought him there, he said, had the following conversation with the officer of the guard.

"He is a ringleader and agitator. Take good care of him."

"We know how to handle these fellows."

On November 27, 1918, Brandon was transferred to Fort Riley again, where he was court-martialed and sentenced to death. Practically every objector there was put into solitary confinement. A 13-day hunger strike was resorted to by the prisoners as a protest.

Driven Around Field.

While he was at Camp Funston, Brandon said, a 10-day strike was on. The officers refused to give them water on the eighth day, but the prisoners held out until the 10th, when they collapsed.

The method of treatment, Brandon charged, was issued by the War Department. He said officers often informed the prisoners that they were instructed to give them "[illegible]."

"If we did not want to walk when they ordered us they dragged us. They had no mercy on any of us," Brandon continued.

"One day, in a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] surrounded by a wild [illegible], we were driven around the field several times. Many people stood around the field grinned and shouted at us, and gave the guards commands to mistreat us which they obeyed.

"Food, cigars and other necessities were barred. Everything was thrown away instead of being returned to the senders, he charged.

The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 3.)

as measured by the clock. You give him commodities which are the result of your efforts."

"What is a commodity?"

"A commodity is a product of labor that enters the market. It is produced to be sold. When you make something for your own personal use it is called a product. Now the thing that Karl Marx explained to the world is this: that the working class sells its labor power as a commodity to the capitalist class and gets from the capitalist class in return, a commodity called money with which to buy the necessities of life. The difference between slave labor and wage slavery is this, the slave is owned body and [illegible] by his master. The [illegible] [illegible] of the slave body and power at will, limited by the rulings of the humane society and his own economic considerations. The wage worker owns his body and can sell his labor power in the open market, for such price as he can get for it, in competition with his fellow laborers, all of whom must sell their energy, that is their labor power, in order to live. Slavery sells man, body and soul into bondage. Wage labor forces man into bondage in order to keep body and soul together. It is really a distinction without any great difference. What Marx did was to make us conscious of your position in society as propertyless wage slaves, dependent upon a market for our [illegible] energy."

"He made us conscious of our class position in society," added [illegible].

(Continued next week.)

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

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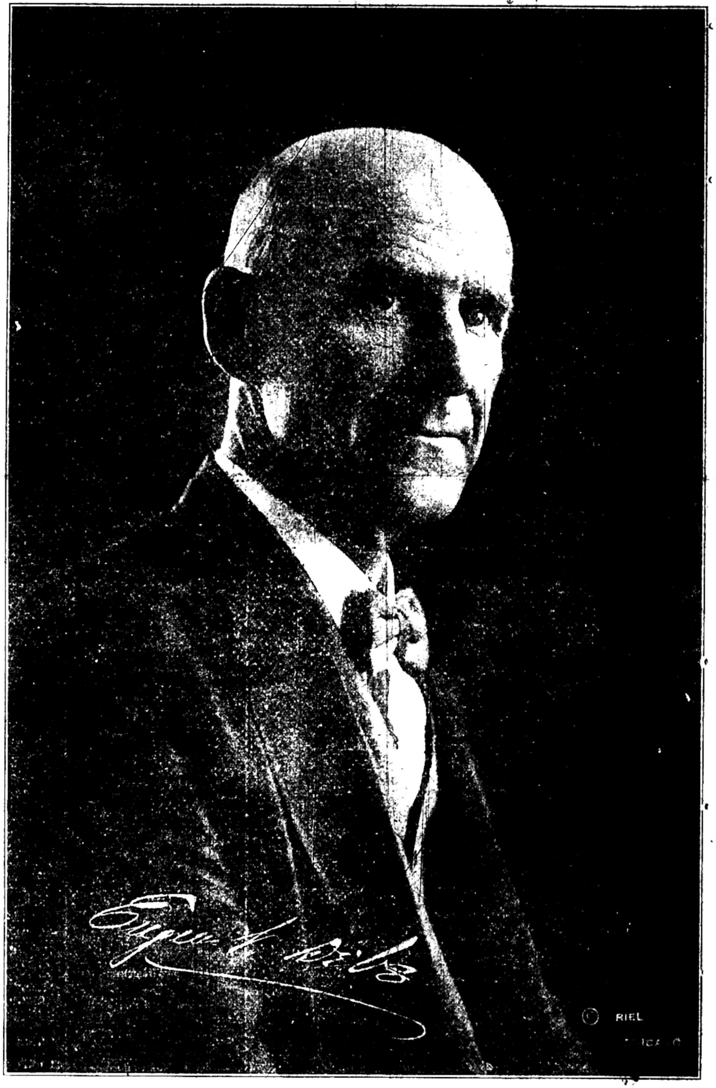
Our Thanksgiving Day Message to the Workers.



"ORGANIZE, YE WORKERS, INDUSTRIALLY AND POLITICALLY, AND DEVELOP THE POWER OF A CLASS-CONSCIOUS, ENLIGHTENED PROLETARIAT TO TAKE POSSESSION OF YOUR OWN". – Debs.

Hang up this page in your Halls.

LET US BE THANKFUL—

that altho during the past year, there h been instituted by the capitalist ruling clas of this boasted land of freedom a reign of terror against the workers paralleled only in Czarist Russia;

and altho, in this desperate attempt of criminal capitalism to bolster up its falling ramparts, we have witnessed the death of free speech, free press and assembly for the workers and the rape of every Constitutional right heretofore believed an inalienable right of all free men and women;

and altho this annullment of Constitutional liberties has been brought about thru the connivance of armed mobs and the political tools of the capitalist class, in conjunction with the public press and other agencies of capitalism including the public school and and the church;

and altho the workers' meetings have been broken up and prohibited, their halls raided, their property destroyed, their newspapers and printing plants wrecked, their editors jailed, their spokesmen mobbed;

and altho threats, intimidation, injunctions, police clubs, riot guns, in fact, the whole political and armed power of the State is now massed against the workers in its attem to throttle the revolt of the workers again inhuman exploitation–

LET US BE THANKFUL—

that in spite of all the criminal lawlessne of capitalism and its henchmen, the love o liberty still lives in the hearts of the world's workers; there are yet fearless men and women, who hearing the call of their oppressed class, step out from the ranks of the toilers, take their place in the steps of their fal len comrades, and with high purpose an courageous resolve take up the battle fo emancipation, bare the breast to the assas sain's bullet, offer the neck to the mob rope, enter the prison tombs.

* * *

In the breast of the proletariat love of Liberty has found its abiding place. From the ranks of the workers arise the emancip ators of the race.

PATRIOTIC HOUSEBREAKERS [illegible] CINCINNATI SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS.

By LOTTA BURKE.

[illegible] of terror was started in [illegible] Tuesday, November 18, [illegible]wing a meeting of the Robert [illegible] Post, of the American Legion, [illegible] Burnet House, A. N. Cooper, [illegible] to be an oversea fighter for democracy, incited a few other [illegible]ally insane creatures to march [illegible] Socialist Party Headquarters, to [illegible] an open attack upon the build-

[illegible] eye witnesses to the occurence (this eye witness is a member of American Legion, and has made [illegible]avit), that they arrived at the [illegible]quarters 1314 Vine Street, at 10:30 P. M. That before leaving the Burnet House at 3rd and Vine Cooper shouted [illegible] the meeting hall, "Who will go with [illegible] to get some I. W. W. literature; there will be a meeting there, and somebody will be there."

They entered the building by forming a pyramid reaching the awning [illegible] and opening a window. There were [illegible] lights turned on in the building, [illegible] the lights show in from the street. [illegible] burst open the door of the room. [illegible]ning down stairs they opened the [illegible]nt door, and let the crowd in. Then [illegible] proceeded upon their work of [illegible]molition. The American flag was [illegible]rn from the wall and carried away.

The International Associaition of Machinists No. 162, and Auto Mechanics Union No. 1042 have their headquarters in the same building. We are of the opinion that the purpose of the attack w.. to secure for the Metal Trades Association the membership file of the Machinists Union. The Machinists here are strongly organized, and actively engaged in fighting the Metal Trades.

The cowardice of those who made the attack is evident from the fact that they waited across the street until two comrades who were working in the headquarters, up to ten P. M. turned out the lights and went home. The message was then sent to the Burnet House, and the Cooper procession started gathering about two hundred people on the way up. The literature they secured was trown out the window into the wood block street and a fire started. (To start a fire on wood block street is a violation of a city ordinance.) About five men performed all the destructive work. Robert Marx, who was recently elected Superior Court Judge on the democratic ticket, by about 1500 majority, the only democrat elected to office in the recent election here, who won on his oversea reputation. for world democracy, was in the crowd. He is also a member of the American Legion.

[illegible] Dube, a teacher in the Hyde Park [illegible]lic school was also in the crowd, [illegible] member of the American Legion. [illegible] raiders failed at any time during [illegible] tack to rouse the sentiment of [illegible] lookers in their favor. A weak [illegible], to repeated efforts to raise [illegible] howl of approval, was all the crowd [illegible]ld give. On the contrary continu[illegible] expressions of disapproval were [illegible] by those present. Lieutenant [illegible]serschmidt with four policemen [illegible]ed calmly on. It is said that Lieute[illegible] Messerschmidt cautioned the mob [illegible] to break in the back door; for he [illegible]ld then have to arrest them. When [illegible]ed upon by chief of police Wm. [illegible]elan, to make an explanation of his [illegible]duct in the matter, he pleaded that [illegible] did not want to start bloodshed. [illegible]wds gathered at the front windows [illegible] day Wednesday, Wednesday eve., [illegible] all day Thursday. Papers placed in the window Wednesday morning, following the night of the raid, were eagerly read by hundreds of people. Upon an appeal from the policemen on the beat, acting under Lieutenant Messerschmidt, late Thursday afternoon we took the literature down.

This was done through sympathy for [illegible] policemen, who fear for their lives. [illegible] making the request the police[illegible], white with terror, tears in his [illegible], said, "we cannot be responsible [illegible] what will happen. Those who are [illegible]ing it, do not understand it." The [illegible] letter to President Wilson", [illegible]nds off Soviet Russia," and Cincin[illegible] News", were some of the litera[illegible] the American people cannot un[illegible]stand according to Lieutenant Messchmidt.

The officials of the city and the [illegible], were forced to admit there was [illegible] a particle of cause for the raid. [illegible]er openly defies them to make an [illegible]t. All of which shows that the [illegible]rican Legion has the police force [illegible]ed. Other raids are threatened in [illegible]pitalist press.Lawyers of the city [illegible] been instructed not to take the [illegible] in the courts. The Machinists [illegible] is determined to bring the guilty [illegible] into public disfavor. There will be no quitting now. As promoters of law and order we are on the job.At our regular meeting Thursday eve. money came rolling in from many organizations to assist us in our legal battle to suppress the mob spirit of the American Legion.

Other organizations, who are bitterly opposed to Socialist principles, contributed to a fund to keep the good name of our old country town clean of mob violence. A prominent member of the Friends of Irish Freedom voiced the sentiment of all decent people when he said, "I contribute, because if they are permitted to do this to you today they will do it to us tomorrow." We assume our new duty cheerfully. We will protect the policemen of Cincinnati from the mob, until they organize to protect themselves.

A cordial invitation is extended to the decent soldiers and sailors in the Robert Bentley Post, to visit with us at our headquarters, 1314 Vine St., where an unlimited supply of literature is always obtainable. We also inform them if they notify us of their coming, we will serve them with good coffe and doughnuts.

We dislike very much to impose upon them the hardship of being classed with housebreakers. But, we advise the American Legion to cut out mob activities directed against us. If it comes to self defense we are 100 per cent prepared.

Late Thursday, Hayes and McShane, city detectives, informed us we could have our flag. It was down at the American Legion headquarters. The Machinists flag taken at the same time was returned Thursday by chief of detectives Love. The service flag of the Machinists Union was probably burned.

Our case is in the hands of Jos. Sharts of Dayton.

o

Albert Rhys Williams on Bolshevism.

Standing room was at a premium in North church. St. Clair & 72nd St. Cleveland, a week ago last Sunday night when A. R. Williams, noted authority on Russia who spent 20 months there during the revolution, described the Russia Soviet system of government and afterward answered questions for an hour.

He began by distinguishing between the soviet system and communism, which exist side by side; described the revolution, and declared 98 per cent. of the Russian people are fully in sympathy with the soviets and that the allied expeditions against the soviet government will fail.

"Russia today is tattered and weary," Mr. Williams said, "but in spite of the blockade her armies drive forward with irresistible spirit because they have the hearts of the people behind them. The Bolsheviki destroyed the morale of the German troops and to them should go as much credit for winning the war as to the British army. Had the Bolsheviki not taken over the government, Russia would have been swept into disorder and anarchy.

Mr. Williams has written numerous pamphlets, his latest work is a larger work entitled "Lenine, the Man and His Work".

A paraphrase of questions and answers at the close of the meeting follow:

Q.—Are there any in Russia more radical than the Bolsheviki?

A.—Lenine is a member of the "right." There are the left social revolutionist and the anarchists who oppose the Bolsheviki on the one side, and the Mensheviki on the other side.

Q.—Why is Russia more free than the United States?

A.—In America we have the dictatorship of the bourgeois, in Russia they have a dictatorship of the proletariat. But the proletariat is 98 per cent.

Q.—Prohibition in Russia?

A.—Bolsheviki are dry. Denekine and other allied favorites are wet.

Q.—Is it true that the allies have used conterfeit money in Russia?

A.—That is the least of their crimes.

Q.—Where can we get the facts on Russia today?

A.—The Bullitt and Steffen report to the American government is reliable and can be had from any book store.

Q.—Does the government know these things about Russia?

A.—My testimony was taken by Col. House and President Wilson got some of it. When America embarked on the Russian expedition, President Wilson knew better.

A CRANE MAN[illegible]

ANISE, in Seattle Union Record.

"What's the use," he said,
"OF CARING
About the WORK you do?
And yet somehow
You can't HELP caring.
I guess all men
Are artists, more or less,
And put a little piece
Of THEMSELVES
Into the work of their hands.
I work in the shipyard
Running a CRANE,
And those CONTROLS
RESPOND SO to my skill
I can almost write my name
With the swinging hooks.
I'd like to manage a crane
For the rest of my life.
It picks such big things up
So daintily
it makes me feel like one
Of those old GIANTS
Or those ANCIENT GODS.
And then
The day's work closes
And I go home
Remembering suddely
That ANY MORNING
I may come down to work
And find a little SIGN:
'CLOSED DOWN'!
And then I know I am NOT
MAN, the giant
Master of Machinery;
But only a little COG
In the machine;
That SOMEBODY up above
Who has the MONEY
Just moves about
According to his whim.
HE doesn't even know
That I'M ALIVE,
And all the thoughts and dreams
Of a thousand men
Are NOTHING to him.
He doesn't deign to tell us
What he PLANS,
Whether it be tomorrow
Or next year
That he will choose
To chuck us out to hell
With a careless stroke
Of his pen!
So what's the use of caring
About your work?
It just HURTS MORE
When you wake up and find
That ALL the things you made
And put YOUR SOUL in
BELONG
To some one else,
And even the right
To do your work tomorrow
Is only yours
At the whim of another man!
Oh, they buy a man's muscle
With MONEY
But the piece of HIMSELF
That man puts in his work
Can NEVER be paid for
Except by a common SHARE
In controlling his job
And in owning the fruits
Of his CREATION!"

o

CINCINNATI NOTES.

The Lecture Comittee of Local Cincinnati, herewith urges all members of the Communist Party, Communist Labor Party and the Socialist Party of Cincinnati, to attend the Lecture Course every Sunday Evening at 8 P. M., at the Headquarters 1314 Vine Street.

It is most necessary for all members, Friends and Fellow Workers to attend those lectures, as they are very educational.

The Comittee in charge, has done its best to make these lectures a grand succes, and now Comrades, it is up to you, to do likewise.

Bring your friends, and fellow workers and spend an educational vening at our Headquarters.

o

LOCAL CINCINNATI. ATTENTION.

I hereby notify all members of Local Cincinnati, affiliated with the Communist Labor Party of America, that on Thursday Evening, our regular Business Meeting, (November 7th) I was elected Collector of said Party, and I therefore wish to notify all members, that after December 1st, you may pay your dues, at my Home, 1315 Vinestreet, on Sundays from 9--11 A. M. and 2—4 P. M.

It shall be my earnest duty, to keep all members in good standing, and I will visit every member more than 2 months in arrears with their dues, no matter if they are living in organized districts or in unorganized ones.

OTTO F. HOEFER,
Collector.

Locan Cincinnati,
Communist Labor Party.

o

THE CLASS STRUGGLE JUST OUT.
Second Anniversary
Soviet Republic issue
25c A COPY
READ IT
ORDER of Communist Labor Party
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

[illegible]

The representative of the [illegible] L. C. A. K. Martens, in a letter to the Hon. [illegible] has formally offered to provide [illegible] from the United States to Russia for all [illegible] who desire to leave America or whose presence in the United States is undesirable to the government of the United States.

Protesting against the "unwarranted and cruel treatment" to which many Russian citizens in the United States are subjected "by Federal and state officers, as well as by violent mobs acting without any authority," Martens proposes that the Soviet government be permitted to return these citizens to Soviet Russia. The Bureau of the Soviet government in New York has received thousands of applications from Russian citizens whose lives have been unbearable by the treatment to which they are subjected in the United States and who desire to return to their homes.

Calling attention to the reports in the press that it is proposed to deport certain Russians to parts of Russia under control of enemies of the Soviet republic, Martens points out that such deportation would mean certain death and would constitute a flagrant breach of all principles of international law.

Russians Only Too Glad to Leave.

"It is quite unnecessary," says Martens' letter, "for the government of the United States to take the trouble of deporting citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet republic. They are only too anxious to leave... I therefore respectfully suggest that the United States government could be easily relieved of the presence of unwelcome Russian citizens if these citizens of Russia, whose lives are becoming unbearable in the United States, were premitted to leave. I desire to assure you, sir, that the government I have the honor to represent is ready and willing to provide means of transportation from the United States to Soviet Russia for every Russian citizen in this country who desires to return home, or whose presence in this country is undesirable to the government of the United States."

Martens' letter, in full, is as follows

In behalf of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic I have the honor to call your attention to the folowing facts:

Many citizens of that republic residing in the United States are at this time subjected to unwarranted persecution and cruel treatment by Federal and state officers, as well as by violent mobs acting without any authority. The government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has accorded American citizens in Soviet Russia civil and considerate treatment even in cases where active hostility on the part of such American citizens toward the government of Soviet Russia has been proven beyond all doubt.

Only in some exceptinal cases, where offenses of a particularly grave nature against the Russian government had been committed by American citizens, were they prosecuted by officers of the law.

Russia Holds No U. S. Prisoners.

American soldiers taken prisoners in the Archangel district, which was invaded by American troops without a declaration of war, have been treated in Soviet Russia with especial consideration, and were unconditionally released as soon as it was practicable to send them home, so that there remains today no American prisoners of war in Russia. Property of American citizens who have complied with the laws of the country has not been interfered with, and wherever any complications have arisen in this respect the government of Soviet Russia has been, and is, ready to adjust matters so as to safeguard the rights and the interests of American citizens.

This attitude has been maintained by the Soviet government toward the United states and its citizens resident and sojourning in Russia, notwithstanding the fact that Soviet Russia, against its will, finds itself in a state of war imposed from without and in the midst of a revolutionary struggle a struggle which naturally makes the conditions in the country abnormally critical. Yet, contrary to the comity of nations, citizens of Soviet Russia in the United States have in effect been denied the protection of the law.

Russians Persecuted Here.

The lot of thousands of Russians in the United States today is exceedingly uhappy, through no fault of their own. Through daily abuse in the press and the prejudice created by a virulent campaign of misrepresentation, their Russian citizenship has become a bar to employment and advancement.

They are indiscriminately accused in the most sweeping terms by government officials of criminal and subver- [illegible] intents against the government of the United States, of which they are quite innocent.

They have been arrested without warrant and subject to oppressive treatment, against which they have no adequate protection, being citizens of a country whose government is not recognized by the government of the United States.

Within the past few days great numbers of Russian citizens in the City of New York and elsewhere have been arrested and have suffered the most brutal physical violence at the hands of public officials. Their homes and the places where they associate were invaded by public officers and arrests have been made on suspicioun of alleged unlawful activities. No effort, however, had been made by the police first to ascertain the probable guilt of the Russian citizens who were to be arrested.

So, for instance, in the City of New York alone, according to press reports, over 1,000 persons were recently arrested, among them many citizens of Soviet Russia, and although these arrests were made in a manner which caused much suffering and physical injury to these Russian citizens, and although property belonging to them was wantonly destroyed during these raids, it developed that very few of them could be held for further investigation and criminal prosecution.

In behalf of the government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet republic I deem it my duty to protest against such acts.

A number of affidavits bearing evidence to the fact that the lives and liberties of Russian citizens have been threatened without reasonable ground will be submitted to the State Department in a few days.

According to reports in the daily press, a number of citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet republic are being held in custody by United States immigration officers, and it is proposed to deport them to parts of Russia which are under the control of enemies of the Soviet republic. Having no means to ascertain the truth of such reports, I still deem it my duty to call your attention to the fact that such deportation would mean certain death to these Russian citizens and would constitude a most flagrant breach of all principles of international law.

Moreover it is quite unnecessary for the government of the United States to take the trouble of deporting citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet republic.

Life Here Unendurable.

My office has received thousands of applications from Russian citizens who desire to return to their homes. They had been driven by the political, economic and religious oppression of the Czar's government t oseek refuge in the United States which they believed to be a heaven for the oppressed of all nations.

They had hoped to make their homes here and to become useful members of the community. Now, however, that they are daily insulted in the press and by public officials, too, with intimations that their presence is not wanted in this country, they are only too anxious to leave. But they are prevented from leaving America by the authorities of the United States, who have made it practically impossible for citizens of the Soviet republic to receive the requisite papers without which they cannot secure transporta-
I therefore respectfully suggest that

Itherefore respectfully suggest that the United States government could be easily relieved of the presence of unwelcome Russian citizens, if these citizens of Russia whose lives are becoming unbearable in the United States were permitted to depart. I desire to assure you, sir, that the government I have the honor to represent is ready and willing to provide means of transportation from the United States to Soviet Russia, for every Russian citizen in this country who desires to return home, or whose presence in this country is undesirable to the government of the United States.

o

THE CLASS STRUGGLE JUST OUT.
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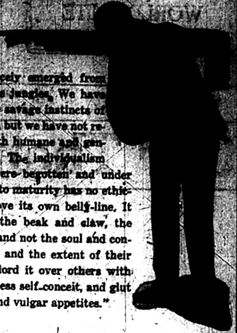
DEBS SAYS TO YOU



"We have scarcely emerged from the caves of the jungles. We have lost some of the savage instincts of our antecedents, but we have not replaced them with humane and generous impulses. The individualism in which we were begotten and under which we grew to maturity has no ethical standard above its own belly-line. It has developed the beak and claw, the fang and hoof, and not the soul and conscience of men; and the extent of their ambition is to lord it over others with arrogant, heartless self-conceit, and glut their own low and vulgar appetites."

TAFT STANDS ALONE IN CONDEMNATION OF DEBS.

We take the following from the editoriol page of the Dallas (Texas) Democrat of a recent issue. Is it not especially significant that of two hundred men in public repute but one, Wm. Howard Taft, stands alone in condemnation of Debs and attempts to justify the life time sentence imposed upon him by the ruling class of the coutry thru its courts?

T. B. Williams, president of the North Texas Manufacturing Company, of McKinney, has been writing letters to prominent men throughout the country, requesting them to use their influence with President Wilson to have him pardon Eugene V. Debs out of the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, where he is serving a 10-year Federal court sentence, because of speeches made against war policies of the government while this country was at war with Germany. Debs spoke as a Socialist. He had three times been the candidate of that party for President of the United States. In one election he polled approximately 2,000,000 votes. Debs has never been what could be classed as a violent-force disturber. He is much of an idealist; an earnest, sympathetic character. He believes in strikes to win what he regards as the rights of the working masses, but he is not an inciter to violence. He was once—about twenty years ago—sent to prison for violating a Federal Court injunction, while the late George M. Pullman, admittedly violated the same injunction, from the other side of the strike controversy, was permitted by the same court to enjoy his liberty and went on a visit to Europe, while Debs stayed in prison.

* * *

Mr. Williams wrote a letter to Ex-President Taft, urging him to intercede for Debs. Mr. Taft wrote Mr. Williams a reply. Mr. Williams has furnished The Dallas Democrat with a copy of the letter, with a request that I publish it. Here it is:

> New Haven, Conn., Oct. 29, 1919.—My Dear Sir: I have your letter in respect to Eugene V. Debs. I don't sympathize with you in your view of Mr. Debs. His is a most pernicious influence in the community. He did advise treason in seeking to paralyze the arm of the Government when it was needed to defend this country in her hour of peril; and not for the purpose of vengeance, but for the purpose of deterring other dangerous fools like him, a proper punishment had to be inflicted. I have no doubt that whenever the object of the punishment is obtained, the Executive will discharge his duty and exercise such clemency as may be proper.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> (Signed) WM. H. TAFT.
>
> Mr. T. B. Williams, President North Texas Manufacturing Co., McKinney, Texas.

In commenting on Mr. Taft's letter, Mr. Williams states that he has written to two hundred prominent Democrats and Republicans in behalf of Debs, and concludes as follows:

> Taft stands alone in the replies I have received. I was never so agreeably surprised as when the letters began to pour in, expressing such strong demand for the release of Debs coming from Democrats and Republicans.

Politically, I have no sympathy with Debs. Nothing in Socialism appeals to me affirmatively. Socialistic government in this country would be a calamity. But I am free to declare that my sympathies are all with Debs in the matter of his imprisonment. He ought never, in my opinion, to have been sent to prison, in the light of all circumstances. His imprisonment was not necessary for the public welfare, because he is not an advocate of fire-brand violence. He is sympathetically and altruistically opposed to war and uncompromisingly committed to free speech. His imprisonment has placed him in the attitude of a martyr, in the minds of many dissatisfied elements in this country. It has not had a tendency for tranquillity, but, on the contrary, has stimulated the industrial unrest that is country-wide and dangerous.

The speech for which Debs was sent to prison could not, by any stretch of consistency, be characterized as treasonable. He felt that the Espionage Act, passed by the American Congress, in some of its provisions invaded and annulled the rights of the citizen. He desired to test the Act in the courts and compel the Supreme Court of the United States to face the issue with a decision as to its constitutionality. Proceedings blocked him from his plan and he did [illegible] peal to the Supreme Court; but declared he wou[illegible] "app[illegible] higher court of public opinion" and went to prison

—Dal[illegible] D[illegible]

The Toiler

ONE YEAR $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES $1.50 Per Hundred | SIX MONTHS 50c

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EDITOR .... Elmer T. Allison

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Telephone: Harvard 3639.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, NOVEMBER 26th 1919.

EDITORIAL & [illegible]

THE COMMUNITY CHEST.

Camouflage is becoming a national trait, or is it that we merely recognize it when we see it and give it a name which the World War left us as an addition to our language? "Community Chest" sounds much nicer than "Charity Chest". The idea of charity, you know, is becoming unpopular. It doesn't sound just right any more. While to be charitable used to be considered one of the virtues, one which our "most respectable" people could and did readily assume, it has of late fallen into bad repute. It is said that charity debases both the giver and the receiver. Besides it is now largely looked upon as means of camouflage for justice. Its upopularity, especially with the recipients is growing. They resent it. They prefer just plain every day justice and upon that basis deem themselves quite able to shift for themselves without the doles of debasing charity.

Just to what extent this idea is becoming fixed in the mind of the workers, is seen in the action taken by theCleveland Central Labor Council when the matter of contributing to Cleveland's Community Chest came before that body. The C. L. C. contributed $10.00 to the Chest—and $100.00 to the striking steel workers. Another union affiliated with the printing trades turned the Chest down flat and donated $25.00 to the steel workers.

The city of Cleveland is raising a charity, no, we mean community fund of $3,425.000 which is expected to last a whole year and to administer to the needs of all the various institutions of the city which carry on their work thru money subscribed by free donations. Everybody is expected to give to this fund—exempting of course, the recipients.

The promoters have learned the value of mass action—and camoflage. Mass action in this case is arroused by a coalition of all public educational and informative forces of the city. Newspapers, churches, associations of all varieties, are engaged in one great enterprise, to put the proposition over by sheer force of cumulative publicity. The camouflage consists in arrousing a "community" spirit by a substitution of "community" for "charity" and by the implied responsibility of all elements of the city in the welfare of the city's unfortunates.

But let us see if all elements of the city are responsible for the necessity of raising three and a half million dollars for the purpose of charity in the great industrial city of Cleveland? A poster used in this campaign is the most eloquent evidence we have to offer as proof of our contention that the "Community Chest" is a substitute for justice and an insult to the people whom it is calculated to benefit. Standing in the foreground of the poster, supported by her two crutches is the figure of little Mary Lamb, one of the unfortunate cripples of the city. Upon her face is a pathetic smile—a very appealing picture we assure you. A picture that appeals to one's sympathies, surely, and we hope also to ones responsibilities as a citizen and also to ones powers of analysis.

So much for the sympathetic appeal. Behind Mary, in the picture, is the Cuyahoga Valley, the manufacturing district of Cleveland, with its forest of smokestacks, belching their black smoke into the heavens. This, we presume is expected to arouse the "community" spirit, the local patriotism of the inhabitants. Some how or other, we are unable to grow very enthusiastic about those smoke stacks. Perhaps its because we have fed furnaces and watched years of our life go up in smoke as it were, while capitalists grew rich from our labors. Besides, the smokestacks do not belong to any who WORK there. They do not belong to the community, but to the exploiters of the community. We recall that for the most part these same steel mills, furnaces and rolling mills have for these last two months been idle, they did not pay the workers wages enough to enable them to care for their families—their little Marys and Tommies, and the hours were so long that not sufficient recreation was possible for them to live decent, human lives. They struck for justice. But Gary and his fellow profiteers have said "no".

The poster is emblematic of capitalism. The worker is exploited in the factory, the mill and the mine of the greater part of the wealth he creates. A vast army of propertyless workers is created by the conditions which permit of no accumulation of property by the workers. He is paid enough to keep himself in working order, and to replace upon the labor market another generation of slaves, very often crippled, either mentally or physically, and that is all. He strikes and the powers of government back up the employers associations.

Capitalism exists for the benefit of the few. Society at large, and the working class in particular, which make up the greater number of the world's population, are not beneficiaries under it. They are its slaves, its charity receivers, its cripples, its defectives. For them it gives no hope, no ray of light from it reaches into their broken lives. Between the workers and a decent human life and a world filled with joy and happiness, it stands menacingly against any advance by the workers toward a better and truer life.

And then it attempts to cast a mantle of charity over its crimes of robbery, debauchery and exploitation.

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.

The spectre of Bolshevism at home has risen to haunt the dreams of the Allies in their plans for the rehabilitation of capitalism in Russia thru support of the Kolchak-Denikin crowd of reactionaries. "Hands off Russia", which has been the rallying cry of millions of class-conscious workers of every civilized country, is now to be the policy of France and England, according to statements made by Lloyd George in the House of Commons last week.

Lloyd George sees national bankruptcy followed by Bolshevism in England unless a speedy retreat is made of British troops from Russia and a strict policy of "hands off" followed in future. Admitting that the Allies had been marching in a fog since intervention in Russia took place, Lloyd George now sees a rift in the clouds and standing upright, menneceingly in that opening is the apparition of workers' control of life and government.

That the forces of the Allies in conjunction with the reactionaries have met with sore disappointment in their adventures of conquest upon the Soviet Republic, is strikingly illustrated by George's citation of the fact that no invasion of Russia ever succeded. Doubtless Napoleon's historical "retreat from Moscow" is in the mind of the Premier when he explains the [illegible] of intervention and its dire consequences.

Intervention in Russia has failed to [illegible]. The Soviet government has been welded into a powerful instrument for defense [illegible] as an agency of the people in their struggle upward from slavery. Kolchak and Denikin have retreated to the end of their tethers. Kolchak's seat of government, Omsk, has fallen to the Bolsheviks. They are done for. [illegible] Allied munitions and food have enabled them to hold out this long against the Soviet power. This support withdrawn, their speedy annihilation will follow.

Every civilized nation is beset with terrific problems of [illegible]. The workers are restless, on the verge of revolt, demanding a larger share in determining the conditions of their lives. All governmental activities which ignore these demands are looked upon as evidence of the enmity of the government toward the workers. The end of Allied intervention in Russia is substantial evidence, not only of the impossibility of conquering the Soviet government, but is proof of the fear of working-class uprising at home. To the workers of the world goes the credit for the withdrawal of Allied aid to Russian reactionaries.

TWO RESOLUTIONS.

WORCHESTER, MASS., RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS, the rank and file of both the Communist arty and the Communist Labor Party accepted and ndorsed the principles of Revolutionary Socialism laid down by the 3rd Moscow Communist Internationale, and

WHEREAS, the great industrial strikes and other Militant working class manifestations which are now taking place thruout the contry are being sorely neglected because of our petty differences, and

WHEREAS, it is the duty of all class-conscious revolutionary workers to unite into one homogeneous body to quicken and to crystalize this revolting spirit of the working class, and

WHEREAS, it now gives aid and comfort to the Imperialists of America to see us divided into separate parties, quarreling among ourselves like petty politicians, and

WHEREAS, we communist comrades recognize that the present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of world capitalism.

Be it therefore RESOLVED

That the membership (the rank and file) of both the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party of Local Worcester, Mass., hereby demand that the central executive committee of the Communist Party and the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party meet on or before Dec. 15, 1919, in Chicago or any other place agreed upon, except New York, N. Y., or Detroit, Mich.

1st.—For informal discussion of basis for a formal Unity conference and a mode of procedure for such a conference.

2nd.—If a basis is then agreed upon, to then and there hold a Unity Conference.

Be it further RESOLVED:

That in the event that the above resolution shall not immediately be acted upon by the officals of both parties, we, the membership of both the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party local of Worcester, Mass., shall wihout hesitation issue a joint call for a Unity Conference of the rank and file of both Parties and will ride over the so-called leaders.

In all sincerity we await your immediate and favorable answer and remain

For a United Communist Movement
Local Worcester, Mass., Communist Labor Party,
Local Worcester, Mass., Communist Party.

NEFFS, OHIO.
Resolution.

COMRADES:

At a meeting held Nov. the 6th, 1919, by the english branch (of the former old S. Party) at Neffs, Ohio, the members decided to send the following Resolution to both Communist Parties.

WHEREAS, the existence of two communist parties, both standing upon the platform of the 3RD INTERNATIONAL, organized at MOSCOW, is a crime and only tends to split the revolutionary forces of the American proletariat, and

WHEREAS, there is no difference in principle nor yet in tactics between the platform and program of the Communist Party and that of the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY, and

WHEREAS, the chief cause for launching two communist parties appears to rest in the shallow personal activities and mutual hatred between socalled laders of the communist movement of America, and

WHEREAS, a division of communist forces leads to useless expense of means, all of which are contributed by rank and file, and in baseless internal strife between communists, thereby weakening the propaganda among the working class as well as disorganizing the communist forces in America, all of which will reflect badly upon the INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST movement, and

WHEREAS, the Communist Labor Party has declared its readiness to at any time unite with the communist party on the basis of equality,

THEREFORE, taking all this into consideration, be it resolved by the English branch of Neffs, at a meeting assembled, that we demand immediate unification of the Communist Party with the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Signed
Resolution Committee.

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ABOUT OUR CHANGE OF NAME.

Beginning with this issue the Ohio Socialist will appear under the name "The Toiler". This action is in obedience to the instructions of the State Executive Committee issued at the meeting Nov. 10th.

The change is made in conformity with the recent change in Party orgnanization and affiliation. We hope that the confidence which has been reposed by the comrades in The Ohio Socialist will be continued in The Toiler. We shall attempt to keep up the high standard which has made our state paper nationally recognized as one of the foremost socialist papers of the nation.

Subscription cards—and blanks addressed to The Ohio Socialist will be honored the change of name making no difference in this respect.

JUST A WORD.

Printing costs have risen. This weeks issue and all future ones as far as we can calculate will cost us $35.00 more than formerly. This means a big increase in costs in a year. But you can help meet it by gettin gsubscriptions, selling sub cards, agitating in your Local for more support for your own paper. Do it, don't wait for us to holler for help. Just get a sub blank and go after the workers for subscriptions. Do your part, we will try to do ours.

[illegible]

[illegible] Local at Dayton since the old Local seems to desire to remain on the fence for a while. Locals Coshocton and Urichsville affiliate.

The only thing a seat on the fence ever developed was a sore spot. Watch out you laggard Locals that you don't get one.

Herbert Vogt, socialis candidate for Mayor of Massillon, was elected by a plurality of 102 over the Republican candidate.

"Pulpit to plead cause of chest", reads a headline in the daily press. "Chest" seems to have been substituted for Christ in the pulpit.

Remember, for a $5.00 order of subscription cards, you get a free copy of "Lenin, the Man and His Work". Better send your order in now and make yourself a present.

Twenty one dollars for subscriptions was received from comrade Chas. Baker last week. Comrade Baker has been busy among the miners of Kansas and as usual, is getting good results and holding rousing meetings.

Three yearly subs were received from Nenana Alaska a few days ago. We expect a moderation in the temperature there from now on.

Comrade R. Weinghaus of Newport, Ky., not only boosts the sub list with an addition of four new names but donates a dollar to the press fund as well.

"Yours for a red world" signs a comrade from Huntington, W. Va. And he helps to make it do with six yearly subs.

How about your renewal, comrade. Have you filled out your yellow slip yet? Printing costs are high now days—and they have to be paid. And while you are renewing your sub why not give a little boost by writing in a friend's name for a three or six month's trial? Try it.

Seven new subs from comrade Ben Piggott indicates he's on the job for the emancipation of the worker.

A socialist in action is worth a dozen inactive ones. Just how you are rated, comrade?

And also, and paralleing, a distributor of literature is worth two dozen hole-in-the-corner philosophers. And to which category do you belong?

Comrade A. B. Hollenbaugh of Fostoria, O., remits $2.50 for new subs. He's a booster.

[illegible] LABOR PARTY BE[illegible] ACTIVE ORGANIZATION WORK.

Three Organizers in the field [illegible] things rolling for a big membership for C. L. P. in Ohio.

As you read this, three organizers are hard at work in Ohio organizing new Locals, lining up the old ones for more active and vigorous work, getting subs and selling literature. Following the instructions of the State Executive Committee given at the last meeting held Nov. 10th, the State Office last week started a vigorous campaign for a greater development of the Communist Labor Party in Ohio. Three organizers, Herbert Knecht, Carl Ulrich and J. H. Loucks are now in different parts of the state, visiting locals, Labor Unions and the members in the interest of the Party's welfare and the freedom of political prisoners.

More comrades will be placed in the field as soon as possible. While meetings in some parts the state [illegible] of the [illegible] the White Terror instigated by [illegible] that meetings are [illegible] necessary for the [illegible] of our movement.

Such reports as have reached [illegible] office since our organizers started [illegible] are very encourageing. We look forward to a great growth of our movement in Ohio during the next few months. Comrades are requested to render all assistance possible to our field workers. Help them in their work, help them organize meetings whether large or small, give them a comradely hand when you meet them. Buy their literature, if your Local has gone to smash, give them a hand in reviving it.

Back up the State Office and our organizers. Show that you are in the fight to win.

Our list at St. Louis, Mo., continues to grow. Reason, there's two or three live wires who know the value of good propaganda. Comrade E. Schwarz is one of them as his list of three shows.

Continuously our sub list grows in the number of new towns added to it. One of the latest is Barre Vt. Comrade F. O. Andereon of that city is responsible.

Get it now—"Lenin, the Man and His Work", by Albert Rhys Williams. It costs $1.35, or will be sent free to you for an order of subscription cards amounting to $5.00.

Five new yearlies comes from comrade Wm. Rapp of Portsmouth, O. Some comrades just naturally "keep at it", don't they?

Yearly subs are picking up and they seem to run along the line of five in a bunch. Here's comrade R. L. Thompson, of Charleston, W. Va., with that quantity on his order.

Comrade Anton Soukup of Neffs, is constantly on the job. Not a week passes the we do not see his name on the list of sub getters.

We are glad to notice comrade Horace Shank of Hamilton on the active list again. A list of four yearlies attests his able bodiness in the revolutionary ranks.

HENNACY ELECTED HONORARY PRESIDENT.

Permission was obtained from President Thompson to reorganize the Columbus chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, October 17th. I was instructed to notify you that comrade Ammon A. Hennacy was elected Honorary President for life. We are arranging for the national headquarters to send us some of their speakers, and are also urging the professors to take part in our program.

Comrade Hennacy is now serving the last weeks of a two years sentence for distribution of anti-war literature.

MILDRED VERMILLION.

REMEMBER OUR PRISONEHS.

There is a large group of our radical comrades, political prisoners, incarcerated in the Federal Prison at Atlanta, Georgia. Eugene V. Debs is there, John Randolph, Walther Hirshberg, Nicholas M. Zogg, and a host of others.

These political prisoners will be allowed to receive gifts from their friends and comrades between December 10th and December 25th. They will be allowed to receive canned food, fruits, cigars, tobacco, and, now that the cold weather is coming on, sweaters and warm underclothing.

I shall appreciate it if you will be kind enough to bring this to the attention of your readers, and either have them send their donations to you, or, if you prefer, have them sent directly to me at the address below.

I shall be glad to purchase and deliver these things to our comrades. I see them frequently and learn of their needs. They will appreciate the friendship of all fellow comrades and whatever kindness is extended to them.

Do not forget that Christmas comes but once a year and that these prisoners go through a great deal of suffering and that we must do all we can to minimize it.

Again I thank you for whatever publicity you may give this matter.

Yours in comradeship,
SAMUEL CASTLETON,
312 Healey Bldg. Atlanta, Ga.

Are the bomb lunatics attempting to put a damper on the Christmas spirit? Every holiday brings forth a bomb scare—just a scare, that's all. It helps to keep the "red menace" before the public eye.

LENIN
THE MAN AND HIS WORK
By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS
and the impressions of
Col. Raymond Robins
and Arthur Ransome
$1.35 A COPY

THIS is the first authentic biography of Lenin, and the first account of him in action since his accession to power.

THE three authors tell their story from first hand information. They knew Lenin intimately and have talked with him frequently since his rise to power. Col. Robins was the Commander of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia, and his relations with Lenin were of an official character.

HITHERTO Lenin has remained a mysterious personality. Here for the first time we meet with the real Lenin.

A Live Book about a Live Man

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Send us five dollars for subscription cards for
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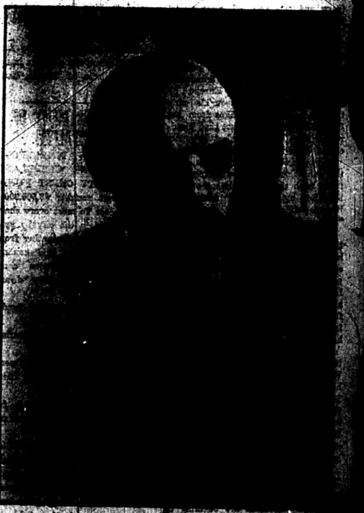

D SYSTEM HAS DIED IN EUROPE, SAYS WANHOPE.

Joshua Wanhope, former associate editor of The Call, is back from Europe.

When he left The Call to take his berth again upon a vessel, he parted with these words:

"The western front is nothing more than a large Socialist soap-box."

Yesterday, with a year gone since the armistice terms were thrust upon the defeated Central Powers, he reiterated that same thought, and brought with him from his visits to England, France, Italy, Spain, Holland, Scandinavia and other countries which have been a panoramic view of conditions that is a vindication of his own prophecy.

"Socialists", he said, "have always predicted that imperial capitalism must breed war. War came; we were horrified by the fulfillment of our predictions, and yet this war has brought an end to the system which we have continually warred against. Europe today is gone, and the old system can never come back.

"Frank Vanderlip came from there and threy up the sponge. He told them the game was up, and they won't believe him. Well, he's dead right. It is up.

"There is no peace today in Europe. There will be none. The world is not going to sink back into a rut again, and the process of erecting governments is to be in the hands of the working class."

Wanhope was asked for his interpretation of the recent French election and the municipal election which the British laborites won recently.

"In Position of Hunter."

"The French," he said, "are in the position of a lion hunter. For years they have lived under the terror of the brute next door. Clemenceau brought them out of it, but they don't know yet whether the beast was killed.

"They are supporting Clemenceau, and probably will for another year or so as a hunter would put two or three more shots in the jungle beast to make sure of its death.

"That's all there is to the French election and that is the sole reason why the Socialists did not again. The terror still exists for those people as it would for any other nation on whose doorstep the blood of their people for four years had been spilled.

"With the British it is different. England has been further removed from the terror of Germany. France stood between her and the actual horror of the war, and in England today, there is going on a process of coalition among the great trade unions which will mean working-class rule for the British.

"And to make that all the more certain, Englad today has her women standing solidly with the men. These municipal elections are a pretty far barometer of the trend in England. I attended meetings held by the candidates and the whole burden of the British working class was the workers' control of industry.

"In England today the Syndicalists, the trades unionists and the Socialists are all getting together and they will control the government. The workers have won every strike they have called despite newspaper reports to the contrary and this talk of compromise. Today the British workmen control their government and they are, for the first time in their history, realizing that they have the power."

Speaking of the newspaper reports, he laughed as he told of the fraudulent news carried throughout Europe by wireless. He said that on his ship they had received messages from the United States to the effect that Woodrow Wilson had been shot by anarchists, but that he was recovering.

It is possible, Wanhope feels, that the anarchist bullet was merely confused with the bombardment of the President by his former friends on liberal publications.

"Wilson the Same as Ever."

"Wilson," Wanhope continued, "is the same as he ever was. If you think he wasn't an idealist, you are mistaken. He came to Europe with his 14 points and ran against foxes like Lloyd George and Clemenceau, who allowed him the center of the stage for about eight months while he idealized the war and strenghtened the hands of the concealed diplomats.

"When the Allied cause was given its blazing and lustrous hue by Mr. Wilson, these other devils just pushed him aside and with him his 14 points. They all used his 14 points to further their own ends, even the Germans, who demanded their peace on them. Wilson was just a baby in the hands of practical men who knew their game."

Wanhope disregards the attempts of the Allies to crush the Soviet government and it is his opinion that the European statesmen are begining to [illegible] aware of their impotency.

"Lloyd George knows and has said so," Wanhope went on. "Russia is too vast for them and they'll come a cropper if they attempt to go into the country. Besides that, the Birtish are not going to put on khaki again to fight Russia, or to settle the Fiume or Dalmatian question or anything else.

"The Britisher is sitting tight. He doesn't give a damn and knows less than he cares about the Balkans. Russia can't be conquered by alien forces and whether the Bolsheviki stand or not, it won't be outsiders who will settle that question but the Russians themselves."

Wanhope, who has but recently been in Italy, said the church party, which for the first time since 1870 has taken a hand in politics, was probably badly defeated.

"They have lost out in Italy. Few of the people are really religious, whether there or anywhere alse, and the vote of the clerical party will show just how strongly the church does stand. I have been in their cathedrals, in those of Belgium and France, and I almost always found them practically empty with a priest talking to a handful in the great churches. This talk of a religious revival as a result of the war is sheer nonsense."

While Wanhope was speaking a revised return of the Italian elections showed that the church party had elected about 39 deputies out of about 500.

IN MEMORIUM.

Comrade Jennie Potter Boehm, a well-known Socialist speaker and agitator, died at her home in Conneaut, Ohio on Nov. 7th. from acut pyhorrea and a complication of other diseases.

Comrade Boehm was a well-known socialist of the more radical school, and her services to the movement will be appreciated by a large circle of friends and acquaintances among whom are many of the best known writers and speakers on the socialist rostrum.

Comrade Boehm was well qualified for the role of an educator on socialist doctrine. She was a member of the Lake Erie College Alumne class of 1899, and in 1905 took a course in socialism at the Mills School in Kansas City under Robt. Lamont and Geo. R. Kirkpatrick. Here she made the acquaintance of Kate Richards Ohare, Tom Lewis, Martha Beigler, and a host of socialist speakers who have since become famous as socialist educators, all of whom paid tribute to her exceptionally bright mind and her keen analysis of currant political events from a socialist viewpoint.

In 1907 Comrade Boehm attended the Rand School in New York City, and was assigned to many speaking engagements in the City and nearby towns. Her many friends here will learn of her untimely death with keen regret. While in New York she was married to Max Boehm and shortly thereafter the two removed to her home city in Conneaut, Ohio.

Comrade Boehm leaves to mourn her a six years old son her husband and wide circle of friends, thruout the states.

AN INDICTMENT OF CAPITALISM

WHAT, WHY, WHEREFORE OF GREATER CLEVELAND COMMUNITY CHEST FUND.

Amonut sought: $3,500,000.

Purpose: To meet every charitable need in the city by systematic effort, eliminating from Cleveland during this coming year any promiscuous campeigning for monetary donations.

Estimated life of the fund: Ene year.

Scope of fund nonsectarian and non-racial.

Date of the campeign: Opens Tuesday; closes following Tuesday.

Conducting campaign: A federation of Cleveland welfare organizations.

The abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation would deprive a lot of "good" people of the privilege of "doing good" to, and also doing good and plenty, a lot of other folks.

The Black Sheep

By Long and Lucky.

CHAPT. VII.

Commencement.

The threshing season had been a school of higher education as far as Jack was conderned. He had lost no opportunity to question his companions. He was always eager to elicit from them, what ever information they might possess, on the vast subjects of Sociology and Economics. He improved every opportunity. Even if it were out few idle moments when the machine was not running, or when they were moving from one job to another; Sundays, when they were hunting ducks and geese on the lakes, and the rainy days that made threshing imposibble, he changed into continuous lecture periods on these subjects.

Whatever George and Herman would teach him, or discuss in his presence, the boy would outline in a note-book which he kept, in his suitcase. Thus he classified and systematized for his own uses, what these men said.

The threshing season was drawing to a close. It was his commencement. He had to begin the actual application of what he had learned to the problems of working class existence. It was George who called this fact to his attention. Said he: "Well Jack, two more jobs and we are out. I'll hit the cushions for home, and so will Herman, what have you decided to do this coming winter? I would say, come East with us but the East is really no place for a young man of your type. It is too crowded. The West has the better opportunities for self development. It would be my advice that when this job is finished you try to get another, for the winter. Arrange it so, if you can, to have an opportunity to go to school. Remember knowledge is power. It is keeness of mind rather than depth of intellect, that wins in the modern world. Keeness of mind is a result of experience, and experience is bound to come. It will be good, or bad, for you in direct proportion to your wits. Of course this is not a general rule for in the end individual opportunity, and the general economic situation of the country plays the determining role."

"What you mean to say", replied Jack, "is that if I do my best, even then there is a chance that things will go against me."

"Yes that's about it. You have not enough of this world's wealth to compel success. You will have to coax it out of life by painstaking manipulation and damned hard work."

"What's the use? If I have fallen into the working class, it will be my destiny to be a wage slave."

"While it is true that you are in the working class, you should never let that fact become a symbol of despair. You are a type that can achieve, and unless you achieve, you will be miserable. Man can only be happy when he gives expression to that for which he is naturally adapted. I realize a working class existence is an impediment to the attainment of scholarship but it is not naturally a barrier."

"Now permit me to ask you just a few questions" the engineer continued, "let us see how well you have learned your lesson in socialism, for it will play no small part in your future activities. Give me your definition of a proletarian."

"A proletarian is an individual in capitalist society whose sole commodity is his labor power, which he is forced to sell under the penalty of starvation." Jack replied.

"What is meant by a capitalist?"

"A capitalist is a member of society who controls necessary resources and instruments of production".

"What do you mean by the class struggle?"

"The fact that one class owns what the other class needs, creates the social antogonism, which is known as the class struggle. It is a quarrel between makers and takers, over the product of labor."

"What is surplus value?"

"Surplus value is the difference between the value of the commodities a man produces in industry and the buying power of the money he gets as wages."

"What commodity has the working man to sell?"

"His labor power. That is his ability to work."

"How is labor power measured in the market?"

"By the clock. We get so much money, for so much time. But here I would like to ask a question. Isn't it evidently unjust to buy labor power by the hour, day or week, when one man works fast and another slow?"

"Your question is a natural one and grows out of your education and training as a child. You think in individualistic terms. Habitually you consider the 'I' the pivot of the universe. You define labor power, but the price of labor power is not based upon individual ability but upon the result of the expenditure of social energy. That is, how many men does it take in a factory, working at an average intensity to produce a certain amount of commodities.' The price of labor power, 'wages', is not your value to your boss as an individual. I might better say it is not the value of your time. It is an expression of the value of an average worker's time in your line of work. Let me illustrate. You are a darned good fireman. You get three dollars a day. Cotton Top on the Craig outfit couldn't keep steam up in hell, and he gets three dollars a day. Fireman's labor power sells at three dollars a day.

Modern industry is subduing the 'I' and developing the 'We'. The question of wages is one of supply and demand or of the organized power to demand. Your definition is alright Jack. Just add the world social and then she stands. Now tell me what is the result of labor power?"

"Wealth."

"What two forms may wealth take?"

"Products and commodities."

"How do you differentiate them?"

"A product is a result of labor power applied to resources, thru the medium of tools, that does not enter the market, but is used by the producers. Commodities are products of labor that enter the market. They are produced for sale."

"You have told me what surplus value is, now give me a definition of value?"

"I do not know that we have ever discussed that point," Jack answered. "But it appears to me that the value of a thing should be measured by utility."

"Then diamonds, rubies and gold should be very cheap" the engineer suggested. "That definition eveidently does not hold water. You will have to find something else by which to measure value."

Jack sat still for a few moments, as he looked out across the drab gray plains that stretched far out until they blended with the horizon. It was as if he tried to call his answer from the distance. At last he said "if utility does not determine value, then it must be supply and demand."

"Then bread would be worth little when you were not hungry. A knife would be less valuable if you happen to possess two of them. That won't do. Supply and demand may affect the price of an article temporarily, that is a great demand may force a price above the value, and conversely a great supply may force the price below the value which gives rise to the tendancy for commodities to exchange on an average at something near their value. You must not confuse 'value' with 'price'. Now tell me what value is."

"I'll be damned if I know."

"Well then I will tell you. Rather I'll make you teel me what it is. What is iron ore in the mine worth?"

"In the mine, it is worth nothing."

"What is it worth on the car?"

"Oh, about ten dollars a ton."

"What is the difference between the ore in the mine and the ore in the car? What has been added to it?"

"Labor power."

"Now then, remember this definition; the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor, concentrated in its production."

"If what you say is true that commodities have a tendancy to exchange at their value, how then do business men get rich?"

[illegible] The store keeper sells store service to the public. The service is rendered by clerks who sell their labor power at the price of clerk time. Now if the store keeper in a little village makes profit enough on the work of these clerks in serving the public, that he can buy an automobile then he advertises to the people that he is making more than a living and the result is that another store is built in that village, and store keeper number one, has to bring down his monoply prices to compete with store keeper number two.

Store keeper number two must sell high enough to keep up expenses and make a living. Now the two stores are giving the same service that at first the one store gave. The only difference is that they have split the profits between the two. Temporarily it may bring down prices and in that it proves the Marxian theorem that on the average commodities exchange at their value. The profit of the store keepers being simply their pay for service rendered."

"That will do for the present, there are others factors still to be considered."

You can see how it is that the store keeper would rather pay a clerk ten than twenty dollars a week. The wages of the clerk comes out of the profit of the business."

"I can see the difference between price and value. Value is the cost of a thing in human energy, price is its cost in money."

It was this discussion that terminated Jack's economic education as far as these men were concerned. The threshing season was over two days later and the machine was put away. The time of parting had arrived, so it was up to Herman to speak the closing word, when they were waiting for their train at Anamoose. Said he, "I will tell you kid, George has told you a good deal about the philosophy of Charley Whiskers, but you will find out that life is the stuff that will put the whiskers on you. In a few minutes we'll be gone, and you will have the problem of finding a new job. It is not easy now that the treshing is over and the cold wind howls across the prairies. Winter is an inhospitable time for a homeless man in this part of the country. Just look at the geese. Great V shaped flocks are hurrying south. The snow is already falling from the lead graw skies. It is time that you decide where you are going to get under cover, and when you have succeeded in getting under cover I can only agree with George that it is up to you, to become so equipped for the stuggle for existence that you will at all times be able to compel food, clothing and shelter for your self."

"Let us go to the depot. It's about train time and the waiting room is warm. What I want you to do is this, put the biggest part of your wad between the lining and the outer part of your suitcase. There was a time in this country when the farmers would stick you up on your way to town and rob you of your earnings but now a days, a criminal element follows the working class like trout follow salmon for their eggs. They make it their business to relieve workers of their wad. Be careful of them, and once more let me tell you, get definitely located as soon as possible and make yourself a definite goal."

"You are in the years of life when a man is either made or broken. You must work for your self, for unless you make yourself strong you can't be of any use to any one else. There is nothing so tragically comical, so subblimely rediculous as altruistic weakling."

Turn a deaf ear to beggars of all ages and sexes. You will meet plenty of them. You understand the class struggle. It's natural result is a yawning abyss of poverty. Remember your pennies cannot fill the abyss. Giving can only drag you down into it. Charity will not redeem the world. Don't practice it. Among men as among animals those who cannot survive must perish. Survival does not depend on charity. It depends on intelligence and organization. You must know and act upon the laws and principles George has endeavored to teach you. Your business in life is to help your fellow men to stand upon their own feet.

The train whistled in the distance so they walked out on the platform and waited. While Herman had been speaking Jack had deposited the greater part of his money between the lining and out side of his suitcase as Herman had suggested. A small amount he kept in his pocket. He left his suitcase in the waiting room, and accompanied his friends out side.

While they stood there a group of thresher men came upon the platform, some of them carrying suitcases and others carrying rolls of blankets. Two or three were intoxicated with prohibition whisky; these were quarreling and jangling amongst themselves. The others talked quietly, except when they rebuked the erring ones, then they used forceful and picturesque language.

The train pulled in. George laid his hand on Jack's shoulder and said "This is commencement for you Jack, the real battle is before you. [illegible] from me, always keep your eyes open, and when in doubt, your mouth shut; keep your fist ready and your knees stiff, but be careful, do not close your heart. For what ever may be said there is more good in human nature than there is evil."

The train started and Jack was left alone.

(Continued next week.)

SKYGAC'S COLUMN.

DEMENTIA CARDINALIS

or

ARE THEY ACTING THE BULL OR THROWING IT? BEING A CONTINUOUS FARCE PERFORMANCE

now being staged by the department which is misnamed justice.

A bull has a fit when it sees red. So too does the U. S. department which is misnamed the department of justice.

For over a century this country boasted about being the land of the free and the home of the brave. Now so far has it departed from that high level that the greater portion of its governmental energies are devoted to persecution of all the forces within its borders which are striving to keep alive that spark of love for liberty which makes a man or a nation famous.

Twenty centuries ago there appeared a fabled light in the east and men worshipped it. Its worship was encouraged by all the knaves of christendom, because its worship had a benumbing effect upon the mastes of the people making them mentally stupid and willing to trade all that they might get while here for a promise of more as soon as they died.

Two years ago another light appeared in the east, but this time it was not a light to herald the birth of a new God but a light denoting the birth of a new democracy — — the World's newest Republic of Labor.

Now all who dare to give expression to a note of joy over the fact that the new democracy has withstood the combined assaults of all the forces of reaction and still stands an object lesson and a beacon light to all the oppressed of earth — all who show by world or deed that they are glad that government by the people and of the people and for the people has not entirely perished from the earth, are hounded and persecuted by the department of justice!

The department's official mouthpieces say they are going to deport all the reds — but they won't. There is not a mill or mine or factory in all the broad land but what has its quota of sensible men and women who are class conscious and loyal to their class. There is neither men money or ships enogh to deport the reds from America.

And — besides the government does not want them deported. That is all bluff. The government refuses them passports when they try to go. What the mis-named department of justice is trying to do is to bluff them into quietly creating surplus values for the master class without protest.

Part of their activity is due to a silly case of nerves, a sort of fright over their own impotency to stop the spread of the red, and the other part of their activity is pure bluff, so their silly antics may be said to be, acting the bull and throwing it.

THE NEW FREEDOM.

Once upon a time
in the so-long-long-ago,
here was going the rounds
of the press
quite a long and wordy argument
about whether or not a representative
of this great young democracy
should be allowed to wear a dress suit
when he called upon a king.
But — —
that was so long- long ago.
Since that time, representatives
of the U. S. A.
have fawned upon kings
and queens and monarchs.
They have worn cute little
knee breeches of purple plush
cut in the Little Lord Fauntleroy
style so popular with autocrats.
Once upon a time,
Congress used to pass laws
that had to be obeyed,
but — —
that was in the days before
a court injuction became an
object of riducle.
Now — —
in the days of the
New Freedom
the young democracy has
made such strides towards royalty
that representatives of the U. S. A.
are bedecked with crosses and insignia
contrary to the constitution.
Several prominent citizens now have
a "right" granted to them by royalty
to be addressed as "Sir" regardless
of whether or not their actions
merit such a mark of respect.
Now — —
aping the customs of Royalty
is the chief American Diversion.
Where the constitution plainly
says, "The right of the citizen to
bear arms shall not be denied"
they have written, No citizen shall
be allowed to bear arms except he
is in the army and navy or else
is a member of the dominant class.
Where the Constitution
used to say that the
right of free speech
should not be denied
they have written their
espionage act and their fool
criminal syndicalist laws.
Where we used to pride ourselves
upon our inaleniable right.
to utter an honest thought,
we now have the Americanized
edition of the laws of Royalty
making criticism of government or of
the elected government officials
the crime of lese majesty.
Where we used to offer
the right of asylum to all
the politically oppressed
of all the earth
we now have a passport system
just like all the rest of the
Royal Autocracies
and instead of offering
assylum to the persecuted
we have grown to be
the worlds greatest persecutor
and have as fine a bunch
of political prisoners
of our own
as any autocracy anywhere
ever boasted about.
Such is the New Freedom
which has been brought about
by the back-woods Bourbon
Democrats
during the two-term reign
of Woodrow the Hypocrite.

FLINGS AND STINGS.

B-r-r-rr! Woof-woof! B-r-rr!
Hearken to the ravings of the
Department!
The mis-called department of Justice!
Department of Justice! Jesus! What
a farce of a name!
Department for doing the dirty work
for the dominant class!
That is its real name and its real
function.
Br—r Woof-woof! B-r-r-r — —
Going to deport 'em all', Woof-woof!
Plain bluff and bull.
They are not going to do any such
thing.
Fact is they wont give 'em pass-ports
when they try to leave'!

* * *

Passports, a new wrinkle in the land of the free!

Came into existence along with the espionage act, the doctrine of Lese Majesty and the criminal syndicalist laws. Heaven is now the only country you do not need a passport to enter and even there it is reported you have to pay the priest that holds the key.

* * *

American radicals are to be deported to some island in the Phillippines. Foreign born radicals are to be returned to the contry of their birth. No more shall the class war rage! But — If the law of the universality of [illegible] is true, will [illegible] crop of radicals produce a [illegible] crop? What is to prevent a new importation of radicals? And how will they stop making the home-grown variety?

* * *

In the kitchen of life one smells only the smoke and that is about as far as we can get so long as we allow the capitalist class to have undisputed possession and control of all of the necessities of life.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

FORMERLY THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio.

NO. 96. Published at Cleveland, O. CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 3rd 1919. Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.00 A YEAR

CHANGING TACTICS IN THE CLASS WAR.

Written for THE TOILER by W. E. Reynolds.

Ever since the days of primitive communism of barbarous times, all history has been a history of the struggles of one class to get and another class to keep, supremacy. The dominant class strove to keep its dominance, while the subject class sought supremacy. The machine age worked a revolution, i. o., made a subject class the dominant class, and transformed the home from an industrial to a social unit.

The war of the classes while always in progress, is sometimes carried on in the open, sometimes concealed. At the beginning of the machine era the weapons of the class war were almost exclusively intellectual. The dominant class secured control of the church and Sunday school, the public schools and colleges, the universities, the newspapers and magazines, the moving pictures and the lectured platforms. All these sources of information were controlled for one purpose and that purpose was an intellectual propaganda justifying the continued supremacy of the present dominant class.

Just how successful this propaganda has been in the past may be inferred from the fact that millions of bright scholars of both sexes graduate from the public schools and colleges in blissful ignorance of the existence of classes in society. The church and Sunday school teaches its biblical doctrine of "the poor ye have always with you," in such a manner as to leave the impression that having poor with you always was a divine injunction.

The intellectual propaganda of the dominant class was met by the class-conscious element in society, with an intellectual propaganda on the part of the workers, teaching and telling the truth of the class position. The two propagandas were far from equal, as far from equal as they must have been considering the class conscious workers were matching the pennies of the poor with the millions of the millionaires.

While the workers were halfheartedly supporting one small paper the master class was owning and supporting whole syndicates of newspapers with a retinue of paid artists, editorial writers and special writers. Where the class-conscious workers were putting a half dozen proletarian speakers upon a state lecture platform, to speak before a necessarily limited audience, on account of the dominant class being in control of nearly all of the mediums for successful advertising, the master class was in control of whole chautaqua systems with armies of prostitute lecturers.

Where the representatives of the master class was building a church and placing a Sunday school within the reach of nearly every inhabitant of the nation, lack of funds kept the classconscious workers from meeting this insiduous propaganda with a counter propaganda of fact to supplant faith and science to offset superstition. While lack of finance prohibited the building of temples of science to take the place of the josshouses for the silly worship of the supernatural, the social nature of the human animal asserted itself and the children of the classconscious element for lack of a better place to go, went to the churches and Sunday schools of the masters, not to worship the supernatural but to satisfy a social need. But the results were bad for the workers, the children often succumbing to the hellfire doctrine and thru faith and fear, became staunch supporters of the rule of the dominant class, because forsooth, did not their religion teach that "the powers that be are ordained of God"?

The dominant class had all the advantage in the intellectual warfare, but nowhere at no time is a master class satisfied. It must needs press on to new fields to conquer. The master [illegible] government from a representative [illegible] conquered the state and turned [illegible] subservient to the people's will [illegible] an executive committee to do the [illegible] of the dominant class. They con[illegible] the courts and the army and [illegible] and the police systems, and de[illegible] agencies, state constabularies. [illegible] not content they hired vast armies af private thugs and hired assassins and thus transferred the struggle from the realms of intellectual warfare to a class conflict on the basis of coercive force.

When the dominant class first began its campaign of coercive force, it had all the advantages as the classconscious elements in society still sought to combat the coercive force of the dominant class with the purely intellectual weapons of papers, classes and lectures. The Socialist party still labors under the delusion that the coercive tactics of the masters class can be met and conquered by the intellectual weapons only. But the papers are being suppressed, the halls closed to public meetings and the local meetings interrupted by the police or paid detectives of the dominant class.

A campaign of coercion on the part of the master class could only be successfully counteracted by a counter campaign of coercive measures, hence the class conscious elements organized the industrial union with its doctrine of working class solidarity, and its program of organized power.

Instead of a futile protest against the depredations of the dominant class they are quietly organizing the necessary numbers of the proletariat to control industry and thus meet force with force. The have no intention of meeting the murder of the master class with murder on the part of the working class. Far from it. The force which they expect to use is not a violent force of assault of person such as is ever used by the hirelings of the master-class but the control of economic force such as is being used today by the coal miners.

In the coal strike the master class ought to use force, the court injunction and later the court mandate to eturn to work, (all this in defiance of he plain and explicit provisions of the onstitution which says that involuntary sevitude shall not be allowed within the borders of the U. S.) The fficials of the miner's unions obeyed the court mandate and ordered the strike off—and now the master class with all its coercive forces at its disposal faces the condition of a strike fficially off but actually on!

At this stage of economic evolution he class-conscious workers should be more than alert, and not allow any atclass with violence on the part of the worker.

This would be playing into the hands of the master-class and give them the excuse they are looking for to exterminate with machine guns and armored tanks the rebellious elements in society. We must guard against any premature revolutions. But coercion has to be met with coercion, while the master controlls the clubs the worker should work for ECONOMIC control of industry. Once given the numbers in control of industry and all the coercive tactics of the master class will be as nothing.

While the class war was being fought with purely intellectual weapons the master class had all the best of the argument. While the class battle was of an educational nature solely, the master class had all the best of it because they had control of most of the sources of information. While the class-war was a matching of pennies against millions the master had the best of it because he had the millions, but now—since the master class has thrown down the new gauge of battle and transferred the battle from the monetary-educational-intellectual field to the field of coercive force, he has changed the whole outlook. Intellectual work is still needed, money is still needed, education is still needed, but with the fight transferred from the intellectual to the coercive field the worker has all the advantage.

The master class may pass criminal syndicalist laws to reach from here to palestine and still economic determinism will force the working class to strike for money enough to enable him to get back on the job. No longer can the threat of a lockout fill the worker with terror. Today the master class dare not declare a lockout in industry, because they know full well that once the industrial proletarist is denied an opportunity to earn a living they will seriously consider re-opening the factories for production for use istead of profit. The master class itself changed the tactics and in so doing they wrote their own death warrant as a master class.

THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

Extract from a letter from Prince Kropotkin.

"You speak in the Occident of restoring 'order' in Russia by the intervention of the arms of the Allies. I protest with all my force against any form of armed intervention by the Allies in Russian affairs. This intervention will have for its consequences an accession of Russian chauvinism, it will bring us the return of the chauvinist monarchy, a return of which already we see the beginning and—note this carefully, it will produce in the ensemble of the Russian people such an attide of hostility toward western Europe that the consequences will be sad indeed. The Americans have understood this well already.

"You imagine that in supporting Kolchak and Denikin you are supporting the liberal Republican party, but this is a grave error. Whatever may be the intentions of these two leaders the greater number of those by whom they are surrounded have totally different visions. Those of the Allies who read clearly the events in Russia must repudiate all armed intervention.

Give Us Bread, He Says

"If they wish really to come to the aid of Russia they will find an immense lot to do in another direction. We need bread; we pay 30 rubles for half a pound of black corn bread, but that is when we find the bread. We have no bread; it is a famine all around with all its horrible consequences. An entire generation is hungering—and they refuse us the right to buy bread in the Occident. Why is this? Is it to bring us the return of a Romanoff?

"Instead of playing the role of Austria, Prussia and Russia against France in 1793 the Allies should have done everything in their power to help the Russian people out of their miserable position. Moreover, much blood will be shed in the future to bring Russia back to the past, but it will be usuccessful.

"To construct a new future without delay I appeal to the Allies to come to the aid of our children, come and aid us in the necessary constructive work and for this work send us not diplomats and generals, but bread and tools with which to produce, and organized builders, those who have so well helped the Allies during those terrible five years to prevent economic disorganization and have repulsed the barbarous invasion of Germany."

RUSSIAN OPERA UNDER THE BOLSHEVIKS.

The russian stage under control of the Bolsheviki holds no terrors for the noted dancer, Eva Karsavina, whose pleasing statement appears below.

PARIS.—A new definition for the word "Bolshevist" was supplied today by Eva Karsavina, the famous Russian dancer and former resident of New York, who is just back from Moscow. She says the word means "gentleman."

"I had a perfectly deligthful year at Moscow," she told Universal Service. "I'm going to the United States on a two-year contract with the opera ballet.

"I met Lenine several time—he's a darling. He is very refined and perfectly honest, only misunderstood. His chief of staff, M. Drubujinsky, was awfully nice to me. He saw that I had plenty to eat and enough coal, and forced the theater to heat the dressing rooms properly.

"The Russian opera is now the property of the soviet government. The artists are paid just like soldiers. Admittance is free, and the front seats are reserved for workers, who are fast becoming opera lovers.

During the war I spent in Moscow I never once saw a woman insulted, nor did I read of any such case. I gathered the impression that while there are many undesirables in the soviet government, the Bolshevists generally are sincere men who desire to alleviate the lot of humanity."

[redacted]

HERBERT KNECHT.

Among the state's most aggressive field workers is Herbert Knecht. For the past several weeks comrade H. Knecht has been out in the state lining up members and Locals in the C. L. P. with splendid success.

Among the workers sent out by the State Office within the past three weeks, comrade Knecht has led them all in amount of members secured, literature sales and collections. This does not mean that our other field workers are lagging. We will have good tales to tell of them too as time the field and you will hear good news field and you will hear good news every week.

REDS CAPTURE THOUSANDS KOLCHAK ON THE RUN.

TIAGA, Siberia.—Eight thousand wives and children of officers making an eleventh hour flight from Omsk are reported to have been captured by the Bolsheviki ten miles east of Omsk.

The Bolsheviki announced the capture of another thousand prisoners during the taking of Tara, 135 miles north of Omsk.

The retreat of the rearmost units of the Siberian army from the All Russian capital became a stampede, the troops throwing away their guns and commandeering locomotives, trains and carts in which to escape.

Fifteen trains carrying officers and their families, besides scores of other trains filled with refugees, ammunition and merchandise, which were blocked by wreckage and lack of motor power, fell into the hands of the Bolsheviki, who followed up the Cossacks by a cavalry pursuit.

Street fighting occured in Omsk. Panic is reported to reign at Tatasskaya, 100 miles east of Omsk, which is overrun by fleeing soldiers. Polish troops who have been guarding the railways are leaving with the utmost haste. Admiral Kolchak is reported to be approaching Novo Nikolaevsk.

Thus, one year after assuming the upreme rulership, Admiral Kolchak today is on his way east ard, facing the necessity of re-establishing his seat of government on the shore of Lake Baikal and reconstructing his army, which has been badly shattered.

The evacuation of Omsk, althaugh viewed by foreign observersee as a ossibility after the failure of the Siberian offensive which reached the Tobol river, became virtually a foregone conclusion ofter the fall of Petropavlovsk and the surrender of the Ishim defense line.

A complete removal of the government from Omsk to Irkutsk, which was recommended by certain foreign diplomats on the Siberians in August, was urged by Gen. Diedrichs, and it was their conflicting opinions on the subject that caused his break with Admiral Kolchak and the resignation of Gen. Diedrichs as commander of the western armies of the Omsk government.

Becouse of desertions, the armies had dwindled to mere skeletons. Several units had been destroyed and some of the officers had gone over to the Bolsheviki.

* * *

LONDON.—"Impudent attacks by enemies of the revolution brought about a miracle. We have gained a ull victory over Kolchak which will be of historic importance for the peoples of the east."

This statement was made by Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevik premier in course of an address to the second all-Russian congress of the Mussulman communist organizations of easterpeoples, according to a wireless message to Moscow today. He continued:

"At the same time attacks from the west are weakening. The Versailes peace is the greatest blow the entente ould inflict upon itself.

"The people see clearly that President Wilson is not bringing liberty to democracy, even for the victorous nations."

LOOT WAS BARGAINED FOR, SAYS MURPHY.

In a recent speech, Congressman Frank B. Murphy made the following pointed remarks concerning Wilson and world war.

"Our president went to Europe with his head in the clouds and his feet treading foreign soil and he came back here thinking to take the whole world under his wing through the league of nations."

Continueing he said: "We find that the allies have proportioned the loot of war between them, but what has America—nothing but sad homes as the result of the horrors of war." He pointed out that over 4,000,000 men gave up all they had; not only that but took out government insurance with deductions from their pay in Liberty bonds and other allotments, so that the people at home would not bear so great a burden of taxes.

"At the peace conference, the allies had fourteen bright, brainly men and we had one big egoist. Do you realize how the country has been managed? England got all she wanted out of the war, France got Alsace-Lorraine and other territory; England and Belgium received territory. It was loot that was bargained and bargained for before the United States got into the war, and the egoist who represented America said that he did not know anything about it. We did not send him; he sent himself and he did not take any one with him. Do you blame the United States senate for taking so much time to look over the proposition he brought back?"

CONFERENCE A SUCCESS.

The State Conference just held at Akron, Nov. 29—30th was according to many delegates' opinion, the best delegate convention ever held in Ohio. A delegation of 30 from 14 locals were present and also many visitors. That it was to be a live conference was proven the moment comrade Marguerite Prevey, as Chairman, sounded the gavel that started the business of the conference into action.

A complete report of the conference actions will appear in the next issue of The Toiler. One of the most enlightening sesions of the meeting was when comrade Prevey in a half hour's speech reviewed the past history of the Socialist Party, showing the reason for the split that has occured between the radical and conservative elements in it.

Sunday a splendid propaganda meeting was held. Tom Lewis gave a fine interpretation of the meaning of the Shop Steward and Shop Committee Movements. John C. Chase spoke upon Political Prisoners, and that his talk was received with enthusiasm, was proven when a collection of nearly $60.00 was taken.

The conference will have a lasting effect upon the membership. Delegates expressed themselves as entirely satisfied on this point. It was felt by all present that the C. L. P. in Ohio will now move forward with greater speed, as the comrades feel more assured than ever that the C. L. P. is the logical working-class Party. Watch for a full report in next week's issue.

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE MESSAGE.

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE MAKES STATEMENT

The Industrial Crisis.

The nation now faces a grave industrial crisis. This crisis comes to a head over the issue of collective bargaining, first in the steel industry and then in the Industrial Conference recently held in Washington.

It is manifested that certain leaders of finance and industry, who have long and successfully denied to their employees the right to organize, are determined at any cost to destroy the gains in labor organization that have come through the increased application of collective bargaining in war industries. That these men believe the autocratic control of industry by capital to be a moral principle makes their attitude all the more perilous to democracy.

That irreconcileable opponents of trade unions are in the present situation strengthened by the attitude of others of more social vision who see the necessity of labor organization but are yet unwilling to face the practical difficulties involved in giving to labor the same extent of organization and the same freedom of representation that capital has.

The power of those who will not consent to any effective form of collective bargaining is also strengthened by the irritation of the general public ver the inconvenience experienced from recent numerous strikes and by a general impression unfortunately created by over-emphasis upon the gains that have come to a few special groups, that the financial position of all wage earners has been greatly strenghtened by the war.

If now, for any or all of these reasons, the gains made in collective bargaining during the war are to be taken away from organized labor he consequences to society at large will be extremely serious. The energies that are now sorely needed in production will be diverted into destructive conflict; there will be widespread and bitter industrial war with its resultant social waste and its legacy of hate to embitter the common life and delay the development of industrial democracy.

In such a situation we deem it our bounden duty in pursuance of the task laid upon us by the General Conference to recall to our ministry and membership the various official utterances of our church upon the question of collective bargaining.

General Conference of 1908:

> "The organization of labor is not only the right of laborers and conductive to their welfare, but is incidentally of great benefit to society at large.... Their efforts to improve their conditions should receive our heartiest co-operation...."

General Conference of 112:

> "The immediate application, in every industry, of the principle of collective bargaining, is not only essential to the protection of the modern industrial worker, but it is the first step toward that cooperative control of both the process and proceeds of industry which will be the ultimate expression of Christianity in industrial relationships."

General Conference of 1916:

> "The first method of realizing democracy in industry is through collective bargaining. This gives wage earners as a group the right to determine in conference with their employers the terms and conditions of employment.
>
> "The principle of collective bargaining being generally accepted, the urgent question is what method [illegible] the principle without supporting some method that will make it effective is but to mock the hopes and struggles of the workers with barren words and to deserve their indignation and contempt.
>
> "There are two methods of collective bargaining now in use. One unites employers and organized workers in agreements which require the employment only of union men. In the other they jointly agree that a preference shall be shown to union men, both in hiring and dismissal, without denying the right of employment to the non-union man.... Between these two methods it is not the function of the church to decide. To those employers and workers, however, who reject both of these methods as undesirable, the churches must point out that they are under moral obligation to discover some other form of collective bargaining that will make for the good of their industry and of society at large. The safety and development of the workers, the best interest of employers, the security and progress of the community all demand it."

The Board of Bishops: 1912:

> "We therefore declare our approval of labor organizations and other defensive alliances of all whose interests are threatened or invaded. Such united and unified action is their only recourse under present conditions.... Nor should any Christian deny to another person the right of individual choice in the disposal of his own services. Principles are greater than present personal exigencies, and no man can afford to violate the principle under which he himself claims protection."

The Board of Bishops, 1916:

> "We call upon our members as employers, investors, or wage-earners to do everything in their power to further measures such as trade agreements between employers and organized workers, minimum wage adjustments, profit-sharing co-operative plans, which look toward the maintenance of a living wage, the correction of unjust inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the increasing democratization of industry, the Christianization of the world's work in the name of that abundant life which our Master came to promote."

The Board of Bishops, 1919. (Special Message).

> "We favor collective bargaining as an instrument for the attainment of industrial justice and for training in democratic procedure."

These are the first principles of industrial democracy and if our ministry and members will now steadfastly insist upon their application and will constantly promote, in the Christian Spirit, discussion of the methods by which they are to be applied, they will render a real service to their respective communities and to the nation at large.

Speaking for ourselves, it seems to us clear:

1. That "grievance committees" and joint meetings to discuss conditions that arise in the course of employment do not constitute collective bargaining.
2. That if collective bargaining is to be an effective step toward a wider democratic control of industry there must be the closest possible approach to equality of bargaining power between capital and labor.
3. That there cannot be equality of bargaining power unless capital and labor can have the same opportunity to deal as federated units and to choose representatives.

In this judgement concerning some of the implications of the historic positions of our church, we are confirmed by observing the course which the industrial reorganization of Great Britain is now taking and the recent experiences of various industrial enterprises in this country.

A pamphlet, dealing at length the facts supporting this statement will shortly be issued from this office.

The Executive Committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

Harry F. Ward [illegible]

SKYGAC'S COLUMN

INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

Demagogues and hypocrites

* * *

often succeed in fooling

* * *

the plain people

* * *

by using a terminology

* * *

which is not [illegible] found

* * *

in the vocabulary of

* * *

the common people.

* * *

For example we can cite

* * *

the terms "selective service"

* * *

which did not sound nearly

* * *

SO AUTOCRATIC OR HARSH

* * *

as the terminology,

* * *

CONSCRIPTION OF MEN

* * *

who were unwilling to volunteer.

* * *

THE EFFECTS

* * *

of the selective service act

* * *

were just as efficient as

* * *

though it had been called

* * *

by its plain and honest name,

* * *

DRAFTING OF THE UNWILLING.

* * *

Somewhere in an old document

* * *

known as the

* * *

Constitution of the U. S.

* * *

we find the terminology,

* * *

INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE.

* * *

This is only a couple of

* * *

big long words used to express

* * *

what could be more clearly

* * *

expressed by the use of

* * *

one little short word,

* * *

SLAVERY.

* * *

The constitution says

* * *

that involuntary servitude,

* * *

(meaning slavery)

* * *

shall not be permitted

* * *

within the borders of

* * *

THE UNITED STATES

* * *

axcept as a

* * *

PUNISHMENT FOR CRIME.

* * *

The courts of the

* * *

same United States

* * *

have granted an

* * *

INJUNCTION

* * *

barring the coal miners

* * *

from going on strike

* * *

and when they quit work

* * *

anyhow, the courts issued

* * *

a MANDATE, which is

* * *

only another high-sounding

* * *

term for ORDER,

* * *

ordering the miner's

* * *

OFFICIALS to

* * *

CALL THE STRIKE OFF.

* * *

Now if slavery is

* * *

INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

* * *

and involuntary servitude

* * *

is not to be allowed

* * *

within the borders of

* * *

THE UNITED STATES,

* * *

(except as a punishment

* * *

FOR CRIME)

* * *

one just naturally can not

* * *

help from wondering,

* * *

what crime the coal miners

* * *

had committed which would

* * *

give the courts authority

to this sentence [illegible]

* * *

INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

* * *

The more one figures

* * *

about the matter, the more

* * *

one is led to the conclusion

* * *

that all the courts have

* * *

EXCEEDED their AUTHORITY

* * *

in a manner "SO AUTOCRATIC

* * *

AS TO STAGGER THE MIND"

* * *

or else the Constitutional

* * *

provisions have become

* * *

JUST A SCRAP OF PAPER,

* * *

Take your choice.

FLINGS AND STINGS.

The best part of the present day school system is the vacation.

* * *

Increase production! Live on Less! Unhuh — sounds 'spicious. Live on less and get paid less. Produce more and receive less.

* * *

Even the farmers are divided, one group advocating raising more wheat and less hell and the other advocating raising more hell and less wheat.

* * *

Helvetius once remarked that the most formidable enemy of the public welfare is not riot and sedition but despotism! Despotism changes the character of a nation, and always for the worst; it produces nothing but vice.

* * *

A fool in revolt is infinitely wiser than a learned philosopher apologizing for his chains—Marx.

* * *

This above all. Be content. Studiously avoid the gathering places of the reds. Do not worry. Do not think. Just be contented with your lot, like the bushmen of Australia, and like them you will make no progress for ten thousand years!

* * *

The peace treaty wich its endorsement of the Shantung grab, its annexations and indemnities, and mandates, seems to have been killed deader-n-a-door nail by the Senate. Here is a proposition for a monument:

Sacred to the memory
of misguided
ideas
Imperialistic
notions
Greed
Avarice
and
Hypocricy.

* * *

It was a wise man who once remarked that when thieves fall out, honest men get a change to learn the truth.

* * *

The master class seem bound to keep on with their violence against the person until they inaugurate a reign of American Nihilism.

* * *

The Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald openly boasts of the existence of an armed mob headed by ex-army officers, pledged to mob the next red speaker that comes to Grand Rapids. Great is Democracy, plus open mob-rule!

* * *

Yes, the world do move. In the days of God-Knows Taft an injuction really injuctioned. Nowadays it takes more than a weeks time and a second court order, and look at the result!

* * *

Noted scientist prophesies the end of the world Dec. 17th. Really we did not expect the reds to win so soon.

* * *

The Bolshevik are weak from hunger, ill-clad, poorly warmed, weak and have no morale but at that they seem to be able to whale the everlasting tar out of the pick of the allied armies of the world. Wonder what those fellows could do if they were well-fed and well armed etc. etc?

* * *

And Wall Street posted the fall of Petrograd as final and authentic!

* * *

In those days the Plute Press ran a leading editorial to the effect that the news in the papers about the collapse of the bolshevik was far from cheering news to the misdirected reds. Wonder what the P. P. thinks of the news now?

* * *

You will read an authentic report of the downfall of capitalism before you read an authentic report of the fall of the soviet government of Russia, and you can put that in your pipe and smoke it.

WHAT THE [illegible] OF SPEECH [illegible]

There were three of us, whiling away the [illegible] of a [illegible] court, smoking our cigarettes in a corridor at the county courthouse. The [illegible] constitutional right to freedom of speech.

It was a case of two against one—two radicals against one "regular." Both radicals contended that when the founders of the republic wrote into the constitution that congress should not pass any law which would deny or abridge freedom of speech they meant just what the words stated.

"But," said our "regular" friend, "what about the man who yells 'fire' in a crowded theater and causes a fatal panic?"

"Say, friend," blurted out W., in true radical fashion, "what is this—a high school debate? Where did you hear that argument?'

"Why, I don't know as I remember. But isn't it a fair example of freedom of speech?'

"You don't remember where you heard it, you say?" retorted the radical. "I'll tell you. It was used by that cheap tinhorn lawyer that prosecuted the case of Gene Debs for making that Canton speech. That lawyer also used the example of a man slandering a woman, and of the spreading of false reports of the solvency of a bank and causing a run on it which broke the bank. Every one of those alleged examples of frredom of speech is a cheap sophistry worthy only of a 22-caliber barrister."

"If a government defined the [illegible] a cheap lawyer construe it [illegible] knocking a man's [illegible] wooden club?

"Or when we speak of freedom of the seas does [illegible] lawyer ever [illegible] that freedom of the seas means to legalize drowning some one you have a grudge against in the ocean?

"The founders of this republic," continued W., with fiery, radical emphasis, "took it for granted that freedom of speech would be construed to mean freedom of discussion of matters of public interest and welfare. And, take it from me, they intended the the American congress should never enact a law which would deny or abridge that right. And they were only putting into concrete, constitutional form that which is an inherent nautral right — a God-given right, if you please.

"In an abnormal period, such as prevails in time of war, that right should be observed and maintained even more carefully than in time of peace. Just such sophistries as the one you sprung are the only possible excuse for such an espionage act as was passed by our congress during the last war."

Our cigerettes were burning our fingers, time was up and we went back to our places. The debate was over. The Forum, Spokane.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

BY THOMAS LEVISH

"I see by the papers," said Sandy to his pal, as they sat on a bench in Central Park on a sultry afternoon, "I see that the Russians have got a new law which makes is as easy to get a divorce as to get married."

"That don't concern me," replied Andy, sprawling forward till his feet almost touched the other end of the walk. "When they fix it up so's fellow can get married as easily as divorced, I'll get interested."

"Looky here," declared Sandy. "That may be all very well for you, but take it from me, an ex-married man what knows, a law like that might be a real blessing over here. If me old woman—rest her soul!—hadn't died eight years ago I'd 'a' had a fine time getting the court to grant her a decree in case we wanted to seperate. Mind you, I'm not sayin' nothin' agin the good dame, but to prove we were incombatable in temper I'd likely have had to get drunk and hit her over the head seven or eight times a week with a fryin' pan, or brick, or somethin' like that, and then some fine day I'd 'a' slammed her a little too hard and got sentenced to be hanged by the neck until dead, for murder."

"Anyway, you'd 'a' got freed from her," opined Andy cynically.

"H—,no!" said Sandy. "The next thing I knew she'd be bawling me out for the way I was shovelin' the coal into the furnace. Besides, even if I didn't croak her, and managed to get her before the court, the judge might simply put me on probation for a year, or figger we were both to anxious to get divorced, and dismiss the case because the evidence showed collision. To say nothing of the fact that purty soon it will be next to impossible to get a jag. So what is a poor henpecked husband to do?"

"But maybe the wife has got a kick, too," suggested Andy.

"That's just what I'm driving at," insisted Sandy. "Nowadays, to avoid the publicity and everything a married couple who ain't got nothin' in common, except a common kid or two, will keep on dragging out their miserable lives together, no use to themselves or anyone else. And women being naturally afraid of gossip, she will stand for anything before letting the other married folks, who are in the same fix, see that her married life is not exactly, so to talk, peaches and ice cream."

"If they're not suited to each other what did they get married for in the first place?" demanded Andy.

"There you go again. That's easy for you to say. But if everybody waited till the right one came along this lil' old earth would be depopulated before the League of Nations had a chance to begin its work. The trouble with people who fall in love at first sight is that they forget to take a second look. And even then they're liable to be googly-eyed. But when they've found out they made a mistake you wouldn't sentence them to repentance for life, would you, especially if they don't mean it?"

"Listen, Sandy," said the younger man, getting restless, "You may be a lot more experienced than me and all that, but you don't know everything. And I tell you that your dope may work all right when both parties want to divorce, but how about when one of them wants to remain married, and to the same fellow? Supposin' he's madly in love, or something, or maybe she has no other way to support herself, with a half a dozen kids, or some other misfortune, it ain't right to let 'em separate. Now—"

'Wait a minute," replied Sandy. "This paper says married women in Russia get a mothers pension of so much a month for every child. If she hasn't any kids she can get a decent job. I reckon that's easy enough when you see so many women in this country working who's got both husband and kids. As for being madly in love, what good is it if the party of the worst part don't return it? Selfishness don't pay. You know you never got no good out of that knife you borrowed from me three months ago and forgot to return, because—"

"Here it is," interrupted Andy in chagrin, pulling out of his pocket a weapon that had evidently seen better days. "Couldn't use it anyhow; its blades are all rusty."

"What did I tell you!" exclaimed Sandy in triumph, as he pocketed the knife. "When a woman hangs on to a man who has no use for her, or pro and con, both of them suffer. Now, in Russia all either party has got to do is to ask for a divorce, and theyll get it."

"The devil!" said Andy, getting more interested. "You don't need to tell me what that means. Any time a man gets tired of his wife he'll divorce her and get another one. It's nothin' but a legalized sanctification of bigamy, that's what it is."

"Don't you fool yourself," assured Sandy. "When a man or woman sees how easy it is to lose their mate they'll try a darned sight harder to keep the other's love and respect. That's human nature. As it is, nobody cares much for anything he considers a fixture, like the hatrack, or clock, or his favorite newsstand, or his wife. He takes it all for granted. Now if he wasn't so sure of his wife, he'd work a lot harder to please her. And of course she'd do the same."

"That's no argument,' remarked Andy. "I never was much strong for work anyhow."

"Not only that," continued Sandy, ignoring the irrelevant interruption, "but young people would take a heap more care about choosing their mates, when they saw how easy it was to lose them. I dare say the Russians are one hundred per cent happier since they adopted the new system." He paused, challenging a denial.

"I ain't saying nothing," said Andy.

"As for legalizing bigamy, and so forth, maybe in some cases wives would be changing hands a little more frequently than some people think proper," declared Sandy, waxing eloquent, "but at least it would be in the open. You know as well as me, Andy, that there are hundreds of thousands of homes in this land where husband or wife, or both, are leading double lives, or worse, and even committing crimes against each other, under the cloak of the stiff-necked marriage and divorce laws, all the time keeping outer respectability. If the bars were let down, and the truth was ever known, what a stench there would be!"

Andy pondered long and silently. He alternately crossed one leg over the other, scratched his head, and rolled his eyes. Finally he rose from the bench, and ambled off.

"Where you going?" called Sandy after the departing form.

"Me for Russia!" retored Andy.

—The Call Magazine.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Jimmie Higgins is neither broad-shouldered nor big-chested. He is neither pretty nor strong. A little, thin, weak, pale-faced chap. But he is strong enough to support a mother with equal disability. Strong enough to put in ten years of unrecognised and unexcelled service to the cause of Socialism.

What did he do? Everything.

He has made more Socialist speeches than any man in America. Not that he did the talking; but he carried the platform on his bent shoulders when the platform committee failed to be on hand. Then he hustled around to another branch and got their platform out. Then he got a glass of water for "the speaker." That same evening or the day before he had distributed handbills advertising the meeting.

Previously he had informed his branch as to the "best corner" in the district for drawing a crowd. Then he distributed leaflets at the meeting and helped to take the platform down and carry it back to headquarters and got subscribers for Socialist papers.

The next day the same, and so on all through the campaign, and one campaign after another.

When he had a job, which was none too often, for Jimmie was not an extra good workman and was always one of the first to be laid off, he would distribute Socialist papers among his fellows during the noon hour, or take a run down to the gate of some factory and give out Socialist leaflets to the employes who came out to lunch.

What did he do? Jimmie Higgins did everything, anything. Whatever was to be done, THAT was Jimmie's job.

First to do his own work; then the work of those who had become wearied or negligent. Jimmie Higgins couldn't sing, nor dance, nor tell a story—but he could DO the thing to be done.

Be you, reader, ever so great, you nor any other shall ever do more than that. Jimmie Higgins had no riches, but out of his poverty he always gave something, his all; be you, reader, ever so wealthy and likewise generous, you shall never give more than that.

Jimmie Higgins never had a front seat on the platform; never knew the tonic of applause nor the inspiration of opposition; never was seen in the foreground of a picture.

But he had erected the platform and painted the picture; through his hard, disagreeable and thankless toil it had come to pass that liberty was brewing and things were doing.

Jimmie Higgins. How shall we pay, how reward this man? What gold, what laurels shall be his?

There is just one way, reader, that you and I can "make good" with Jimmie Higgins and the likes of him. And that way is to be like him.

Take a fresh start and never let go. Think how great his work, and he has so little to do with. How little ours in proportion to our strength! I know some grand men and women in the Socialist movement, but in high self-sacrifice, in matchless fidelity to truth, I shall never meet a greater man than Jimmie Higgins.

And many a branch has one of him. And may they have more of him.

The Black Sheep

By [illegible]

CHAPTER VIII.

The [illegible]

As Jack stood alone on the depot platform wistfully watching the smoke of the train that was taking his comrades away, pandemonium broke loose in the waiting room. The sound of blows, [illegible] mingled with angry oaths and fearsome cries [illegible]. The whole group of threshermen had suddenly locked in combat. Jack suddenly remembered that he had left his suitcase inside when he had gone out on the platform to take leave of his friends. It sat on one of the seats in the now battle bound waiting room, and fearing that it might be used as an implement of war by one of the belligerent proletaire he resolved to go in and rescue it. This was quite a necessary act seeing that he had put his money between ITS lining and cover. It contained more than two thirds of his wages or about eighty dollars in all.

Entering the waiting room, he was about to pick up his suitcase when he was struck on the head with a lump of hard coal, which sent him momentarily to his knees. When he arose the blood from an ugly scalp wound flowed down his forehead into his eyes almost blinding him. He knew who it was that had thrown the coal and the sight of him now sent the wine of battle singing thru his veins. He sprang to his feet, and charged the culprit like an angry bull. This was a mistake, for the gentleman who had hurled the coal was hired for that purpose and was consequently an adept at this kind of work. He was a specimen of that shady sort of harpies who fasten themselves on rotten political machinery. It was his business to assist rotten officials in trapping and legally robbing working men of their hard earned dollars.

The method by which this was accomplished was to have some human vermin guide a group of threshermen, who had been paid off into a "blind pig", (that is an illegal saloon) and get them intoxicated. When one on more of them were in that condition it was the business of these individuals to get the group into a fight when they would be arrested for disorderly conduct. They were seldom arrested for being intoxicated for the reaso nthat the officers of the small towns did not want to be accused of permitting an illegal traffic. So they arrested them for disorderly conduct, fined them for all that they possessed and then ran them out of town, and eventually out of the state. Thus they managed to get from the migratory working class more money than other states reaped from the sale of saloon licenses.

When Jack charged the bully who was fanning the fight between the drunk, semi-drunk and sober members of the party he received a well directed blow on the chin that sent him without ceremony into a dreamless sleep. The next thing he knew was that he was being led to jail by two be-whiskered constables.

The jail at Anamoose was rather a crude affair. It was originally built for an ice house, which made its nick name, "cooler" strangely appropriate. The walls were three inch plank with a ten inch space between filled with saw dust. It was about sixty feet long, by twenty feet in width; the walls at the side were about ten feet high; while the half pitched roof made the center much higher.

At the north end of this shed like affair about twenty feet was partitioned off for a cell house, reserved for those who were considered bad characters.

In the cell house were four cells or cages made of steel. Two on each side with a small corridor between. This was the Anamoose jail proper. The part beyond the partition was called the tank. It was a large barn like room, with an open toilet in the south east corner. Near it was a faucet where water might be had but no cup was provided. In the middle of this room was a small sheet iron stove. Along the west and north walls were trough like arrangements filled with rags, miscalled matresses, near the roof was a very small window thru which a murky gray light filtered in. In the east wall was the door made of heavy, plank in it was a little iron bar apperture.

Into this barn like place Jack and twenty seven fellow victims were placed after their arrest, but we might as well mention that before they were placed there they were relieved of all money and valuables.

Not being acquainted with any of the crowd with which he was now forcibly associated, and feeling sick with shame and chagrin at the turn events had taken, to say nothing of the pain caused by a jagged wound in his scalp and the blow to his jaw, he staggered toward the [illegible] bed and sat down. He [illegible] time in a vain endeavor to stop the flow of blood from his scalp wound with a soiled handkerchief.

All but one of his companions stood about the room in little groups. They were discussing their predicament. [illegible] a tall, blue eyed, blonde haired individual. He [illegible] sat down on the bed not far from Jack, and stared at the boy with an expression of mingled pity and contempt. It was evident that he was mentally not in accord with the way in which the rank and file discussed their difficulties. Yet there was something about him which attracted the boy's attention. Perhaps it was his very aloofness or the peculiar glint of his eye. He looked at Jack from time to time with a cold critical expression but the boy was too busy with his wound to enter into a conversation with the stranger. He took a mental inventory of this peculiar individual and realized that he and the stranger were very similar types. Both were blondes; tall and raw boned. Jack's eyes were blue or rather steel grey. The stranger's sligthly lighter. Of the two men the stranger was the taller by about an inch, stading fully six feet three. His head was large and well formed. He had an unkempt mop of blonde hair that hung storm tossed over his capacious forehead. His eyebrows were bushy and shaded a pair of small piercing eyes. His nose was equiline, almost extremely so; his lips thin and firm; he had a peculiar nervous twtich of the face muscles that at times revealed a splendid row of gleaming white teeth. His chin was full, firm and agressive. His body well proportioned yet considering his height he might be called slender. Jack's first impression of the man in his fighting mood was rather dubious. The stranger surely was far from attractive.

Presently he addressed the boy in a voice which was strangely pleasing even in the use of the roughest vernacular: "I see they sapped you an the bean."

"Yes," Jack answered, delighted to have a human being speak to him.

"And hit you in the snoot."

'Yah, I didn't know when I had enough.'

"How did you get into the fracas?"

"My suitcase was in the waiting room and I wanted to get it out. Just as I was picking it up, one of you fellows hit me with a piece of coal. I mixed, and here I am."

"Which one of us hit you, kid?" the tall stranger asked, in a voice that was not unkindly, but with blazing eyes.

"I don't see him here."

"No?" "Evidently he was not arrested, now I wonder why?" There was an ugly sneer upon his lips when he asked the question.

"I wonder too," said Jack.

"Can it be possible that he was a 'stool'?"

"What is a 'stool'?"

The tall stranger smiled, "good God, but you are green", he said. It must be your first year out."

"Yes."

"And mama's boy before that."

"Yes, that is so, in a way. I know that I didn't pay any attention to industrial conditions."

"I thought so. Well, a 'stool' is a 'rat'—a tout for the dicks."

"Excuse my ignorance, but elucidation does not elucidate. Tell me, what are dicks?"

"Dicks are bulls, policemen, marshalls, sheriffs, detectives and other vermin."

"I see," said Jack, simply, then lapsed into silence, while he communed with the momory of his friends, who less than a hour ago, had left him. Then he had been a free man, and now,—he was a jail bird.

It would have been dificult to describe his emotions during that [illegible] minutes of silent thought, at the end of which he asked the stranger, what his name might be, to which the stranger replied," it is not good form to ask a man his name under conditions such as these, at least not if you expect the truth, but I don't mind telling you. My name is Ed Collins. It fluctuates occasionally, as do the names of all migratory workers, but Collins is the straight of it—Ed Collins."

"I wonder why he hit me; I was ta

(Continued on page 4.)

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

TURNING RED THE RADICALS.

Where shall a radical turn for solace in these days of a tightening of the class lines that with an ever growing clearness divide society into two great camps? How delightful it was a little while ago to call one's self a radical, it was considered quite a mark of distinction. It was quite the popular thing to do, in fact a very profitable thing to do often times. Many of our dilletante socialists made names for them selves in those days, got their names in print and scraped up quite a reputation by it.

So, how times have changed. You don't hear many going up and down the world with "radicalism" emblazoned upon their banners. Not much; more than likely, they would be mobbed as damned bolshevi, and picked up on suspicion by our valiant protector, the Loyal American League, or some one or other of its allied conspirators against human progress.

And yet, what shall they do? Silently — sometimes not so silently, social forces are at work creating radicalism, sowing it broad cast over the world. They are ever at work crumbling into dust the ideas of yesterday, building upon the dead past the structure of to-morrow; creating new social ideas to replace the ancient believes. Turning the radicalism of yesterday into the conservatism of to-day. Man is prone to remain as he is. The law of inertia keeps him in the rut; says, let well enough alone. Keeps him silent when he should speak, palsies the uplifted hand, drags backward the feet that would press on.

But man is a social animal, and social forces are stronger than all others. Man moves forward, not because he wants to, but because he must. He is the slave of forces within the world of human activities and as such must obey their dictates and will.

And in this kind of a world the radical is faring badly. He would prefer to remain a mere radical, but social forces are ever at his heels driving him on, lashing his back with the whip of necessity. He is kept in a ferment and turmoil of mind in which there is no peace. He must go onward, the times change fast; rushing past him he feels the tide of human events bearing him upon its bosom. Stop, he cannot . Reactionism may howl at radicalism. Its howls are wasted upon the air. As well, may it shout to the out going tide to remain in the deep of ocean's bed. It will not do so, it will rise again and again and beat upon the shores.

The radical must go the limit. He may not wish to, but his wishes will not be considered. One of the social forces which prevent him remaining a mere pseudo active radical is that of reactionism itself. Reactionism is a builder of radicalism. Its methods of warfare against radicalism are the methods of desperation, it attempts to win by sheer force of power, and power alone without moral justification cannot survive. And a moral concept is a social force. Consider the tactics of re-actionism in America to-day. Of what do they consist but the methods of desperation of a class morally bankrupt, socially useless, which feels the world slipping from its grasp as it seeks to encompass it with its iron claws?

In the extremity of its needs, it damns every thing and every one not wholly for it. It weeds out with an unerring hand the radical from the pulpit, the teacher from the school, the writer from his job. It directs thru the public press its campaings of misinformation and lies. Its methods are bestial and by its beastliness, it overreaches itself.

Of late months, reactionism in America has followed the line of active and open lawlessness against those not in accord with it. Aside from its practically complete control of the public press which is its most powerful ally—or rather tool, it has organized a nation wide force of house breakers property destroyers, murderers and thieves.

Not a state in the Union but has felt the monster's hands about the throat of the civil liberties of its citizens. Free speech is as dead in America as it was in Spain during the Inquisition. And the same methods, with variations, have been used to kill it. The entire machinery of the capitalist state has been subverted to the uses of that class which lives like a leech upon the mass of the people.

These extremes of reactionism are sowing a wind of revulvision among the radicals. The whirlwind of revolt is not far distant. More than one sign betokens the breaking of the storm. The excesses of reactionism are driving that great class of liberals and radicals that heretofore have stood upon a middle ground, against its will perhaps, but nevertheless, headlong into open and extreme rebellion against the monster, capitalism, that uses such means to retain its hold of greed upon a people struggling forward into a higher plane of human existence.

The radicals, and there are millions of them, may not desire the position they are being forced into, but social forces are the stronger, they will prevail. When the final accounting comes, their aid will be offered the workers in the rebuilding of a world for the use of the inhabitants instead of the profit of its parasites. The radicals will be made to turn "red" because no other recourse is being left them.

AMERICANIZATION?

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the Americanization question in the letter of resignation from the Americanization Committee of Ohio, tendered by State Representative George S. Myers. Mr. Myers charges that a political machine has gained control of the Americanization Committee of Ohio in the interest of the Republican Party. He states in his letter of resignation that the Americanization question is of too vital importance to allow it to become an object of exploitation for the benefit of any political party. Mr. Myers introduced the bill creating the Ohio Americanization Committee, which was supposed to be a non-partizan afair. Now that Mr. O. T. Carson, Republican, has been appointed state director at a salary of $5000 a year and expenses. Mr. Myers sees in his appointment the rise of a Republican political machine in control.

This will not be a surprise to any one familiar with the history of the two old parties. We can safely believe what ever they say about each other no matter how bad it is. One is as bad as the other, there is no choice between them as to moral qualities. If the Americanization matter should escape falling into the hands of the politicians of either party, it would be because the other beat them to it. Rest assured, the politicians are less interested in the question of Americanization than they are of gaining adherents to their own particular party. Politics first, citizenship last.

THE WORLD NEEDS HAPPINESS.

"So I returned and considered all the oppressions under the sun: and beheld the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter." Solomon the Preacher, Eccl. 1:1.

On the Siberian White front, a Red regiment has been captured. Their execution is about to occur. The sun is setting in the west, sending its long, slanting rays accross the open field where are assembled the soldiers and their captors. The air is still and laden with the scent of sweet northern flowers. The shadow of the village church with its group of sleepy poplars, their restless leaves now still in the evening calm, are thrown athwart the scene.

The Communists are made to dig their own graves, first being made to disrobe to save their clothes and shoes, (clothes are scarce and badly needed by the White Guards). At last the graves are dug and in the growing dusk a few are making their last requests, sending a last word to their wives.

"I ask one of them, what made a Communist of you? In a peculiarly stiff and cold manner he replies: 'The accursed life! The world needs happiness'.

"And on the side of their oppressors there was power". Oppression and powwer go together. Where there is no power there can be no oppression. This fact the Russian masses understood. For centuries they had seen the evidences of the power of their oppressors. Oppression of the masses was the chief method whereby their oppressors' power was made manifest. In peace or ware, oppression knocked daily at the doors of every workman and peasant's hut. He was the object of its oppression from his infancy to the hour that death ended his travail. And they had no comforter. The church took its stand with the oppressors.

At last the Russian masses threw off the oppressors' yoke. The Czar went down and out — it doesn't matter where, nor how. Kerensky, the compromiser, followed suit. The masses took upon themselves the direction of their own lives and the defense of their liberties. For two years they have maintained the government of their choice. Against capitalistic world imperialism, a national economy shattered by war and civil war against the reactionaries, they have not only stood their own but have grown to such power as to drive before them like chaff before the wind the last remnant of the armies of the White Guards.

Russia stands to-day the victor over her enemies whether within her borders or without. She is the master of her fate. For the first time in the world's history a nation of free men and women are working out their salvation, finding the road to happiness. The workers of the world may well rejoice at Russia's victory. Her victory is the victory of every worker. The oppressor has been stricken down, his power has been taken away. A nation of freemen now till Russias' soil, hammer at her anvils, sail her ships, sit in her councils, hold the power of Russia's and the world's fate in their hands.

Let the workers of the world rejoice, for the day of deliverance from all oppressors is near at hand. Let us inscribe upon our banners "All Power to the Workers", and under that banner march onward to the new world which has seen its birth in Russia.

DRAWING BLOOD.

Of course we know that many persons of doubtful character, such as editors of peanut capitalist papers, secret service men, gum shoe artists and other riff-raff of capitalism are on our mailing lists. We are aware that every thing we print, publish, or circulate finds its way into the hands of the reactionary elements who are attempting with the connivance of the government to throttle every exprssion of the workers for better conditions.

The Daily Times, Martins Ferry, O., an insignificant sheet which exists because of a generous use of "boiler plate" and borrowed editorials, expresses disapproval of us because of a circular letter from this office, which fell into its hands. We desire to express our appreciation of the little notice it gives us. We would much prefer disapproval from this source than approval.

The letter in question arouses the [illegible] patriotic flames in the editor's bosom, because of its demand for the release of political prisoners and its call upon the workers to unite in their support of the worker's press. The words "revolutionary Socialism" stirs the very dregs in the ink bottle of the Times' editor. The words, "Communist Propaganda League" arouses his most fervent censure.

We disclaim any intentions of opening the veins of any proponents of capitalism—our appeal was directed to those whom the present system exploits. But this evidence that we have drawn a little blood is proof to us that we are on the right track. When our acts are disapproved by those who desire a continuance of the profit system, we feel doubly certain that our life is not wasted. If the workers were as class conscious and as readily sensed danger to their class as do the capitalists, the class-war would soon reach a happy conclusion.

The good work of seperating all grafters and parasites from their victims will continue Mr. Times, and it behoves all such to get right with the workers while the getting is good.

PRESS FUND POINTERS

Press fund receipts have been rather lively these last few days. It is still a live matter in many comrades' minds, and therein lies a moral for some others. Never forget that we are going to have a printing plant of our own. Just put that under your hat band for it's bound to come true. Just keep it in mind—and boost the fund along with your donations. Remember this last.

Here are the latest donations.

John W. Scott, New Lexington, Ohio	$1.00
A. B. Ferguson, New Lexington, Ohio	1.00
Walter Bronstrup, Cleveland, O.	1.00
German Branch of Canton, O.	5.00
Edw. Underhill, Carthage, O.	.50
J. D. Reedy, Bickmore, W. Va.	1.00
Local Newport, Ky.	4.00
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John Gerland, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
Harry Gerland, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
James Gerland, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
Herman Gerland, Sr., Cinti. O.	1.00
We bet this is a family of rebels.	
K. W. Boring, Wellsville, O.	3.00
R. Wieghaus, Newport, Ky.	1.00
Wm. Patterson, Toledo, O.	10.00
Martin Gillin, Davenport, Ia.	2.00
A. A. Kuckenbecker, Mantua, O.	1.00
Chas. Sanders, Salem, O.	1.00
Stephen Bonesra, Salem, O.	1.00
Albin Nickleson, Salem. O.	1.00
Total	$40.50

Have you made the accquaintance of Mr. Block? Oh, yes you have met him in real life and now you should meet him in book form. One copy costs ten cents. Ten or more at 7½ cents each. Order ten and sell them.

Grand Rapids, Mich., is under the iron heel of despotism. Meetings are prohibited and the free American Kings are not allowed to assemble in numbers exceeding one. Nevertheless, comrade Vrector finds a way to aid the cause of industrial democracy. He remits $4.00 for various funds. That is the spirit that makes the Revolution speed. up

DEFENSE LEAGUE CELEBRATES DEBS' BIRTHDAY AT AKRON.

A very successful mass meeting was held here on Nov. 4th under auspices of the Workers Defense League which was the eve. of Debs' Birthday, in protest against the confinement and persecution of political and class war prisoners. Woodmans Hall was crowded and addresses were delivered by Sam Neuman, Holman and Charles Baker. All the speeches were good. Baker is always good but it is safe to say that he delivered a masterpiece on this occasion.

The workers are beginning to realize that their individual salavation depends on the welfare of the working-class as a whole and the imprisonment and persecution of one is bound to effect us all.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
JAMES B. O'BRIEN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

GOVERNMENT WON'T RECOGNIZE BOLSHEVIK CONSUL.

From time to time efforts have been made to try to secure recognition by the Australian government of Mr. Peter Simonoff, the Soviet consul-general in Australia. So far, however, the Australian government has refused to do so. Mr. Simonoff is in the invidious position of having his mails stopped, and thus unable to get into touch with his country. He also stated that large sums of money cabled or sent to him have been withheld, while he is refused employment and has thus to rely on friends until such time as he can secure communication with his government.

MAN, RIGTHS AND LAND.

Man's rights and privileges should be as broad and liberal as possible, short of infringing upon or abridging the rights of others.

The rights of no individual should be allowed to abrogate that of another. If one man should own all the land of a nation, would it not interfere with the rights of others to own land?

If one man should own all the machinery of production and distribution would it not interfere with the rights of the rest of the people to own such machinery? Let use and occupancy be the only title to land and machinery.

N. C. Ho

SPARKS.

The Russian Branch of the Communist Party of Linn, Mass., consisting of 250 active members has withdrawn from that party and joined the Communist Labor Party.

On the day that the miners' officials stated flatly that the miners would not accept the 14 pet cent. [illegible] tendered them by the government and advertisement of one of Cleveland's banks stated that Americans should be thankful that the reconstruction in this country was not being attended by disorder and suffering like in other countries.

And the Plain Dealer lets the cat out of the bag after reciting the manifold blessings which had been showered upon the workers during the past year, by saying "response to charitable causes have been large, assuring necessities and comfort for the poor". Some "blessing" that! We hope the editor lives to get some of it.

We want to thank the many comrades for "The little boosts" they are sending in on the yellow slips with their renewals. Giving another worker a chance to learn what socialism is should be the first desire of every comrade. A trial subscription to The Toiler is a good way to do this.

Comrades J. H. Dickson and John Rehm of Springfield are still in the field for subscriptions we notice.

Local Toledo is on the job for subscriptions as a good big handful from comrade Toohey proves.

Many comrades who have become subscribers since the beginning of "The Black Sheep" are sending in for previous copies of the paper containing the first installments. This story is becoming more interesting with each chapter and we are certain it will be well liked by our readers.

Are your dues paid up? Better do it now comrade.

We don't know where it is, but we now have two subscribers there Sandyville, O. And all due to comrade A. C. Holshoy. Thanks comrade.

Comrade Berinhaut, of Jacksonville, Fla., orders 50 copies of Industrial Autocracy. Have YOU read it, it's by Mary Marcy, being so, it is worth your while to read it.

Just an even dozen subs from comrade C. M. Savage of Crookesville, O. Some boost, say we. And what comrade Savage has done in his town YOU can do in yours. Fill up that sub blank comrade. Get onthe job.

THE NEW DAY

A Constitution should limit a people in but one acknowledged liberty—the liberty to vote their liberty away.

Democracy is chiefly dependent upon intelligence. Granted—full liberty and justice, it would not take very long for an ignorant people to vote their liberties away under the cajoling of crafty politicians.

I am led to wonder why we have no better means of refuting the lies of the kept press. Weekly papers cannot complete with the great chain of capitalist dailies. But I hear many inquiries for a DEPENDABLE SEMI-WEEKLY socialist paper. Especially is this true in the country districts.

Among tests being sent out by various committees, endeavoring to learn what the American people really desire, none will receive such unanimus endorsement as accupational representation. By occupational representation of farmers for instance, they representing 40 per cent. of the population would be allowed that representation. The same rule applying to wage workers, legitimate and professional men.

The six hour day ond five day week are destined to become an established fact of American life. This would permit of making Saturady a national holiday for wage workers, giving them one day in the week on which to transact their personal business without loss of regular time. Now a worker can scarcely get a money order without loss of time and wages.

J. C. C.

LENIN

THE MAN AND HIS WORK

By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

and the impressions of

Col. Raymond Robins and Arthur Ransome

$1.35 A COPY

THIS is the first authentic biography of Lenin, and the first account of him in action since his accession to power.

THE three authors tell their story from first hand information. They knew Lenin intimately and have talked with him frequently since his rise to power. Col. Robins was the Commander of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia, and his relations with Lenin were of an official character.

HITHERTO Lenin has remained a mysterious personality. Here for the first time we meet with the real Lenin.

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

FORMERLY THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT CENTRALIA.

Again the Northwestern Coast has been forced into the limelight of publicity by the tragedy at Centralia on Armistice Day. True to form, the capitalist press has sent broadcast its vilifications and lies concerning the occurences which took place there. It has attempted to place responsibility for the deaths of four men upon the I. W. W. Its statements have been as wide of the truth as it was possible to go and now that the truth is becomming known it has had to publish absolute refutations of its first statements.

Instead of the marchers being fired upon by I. W. W. snipers from roofs of houses, as stated in the capitalist press, we now know that no shots were fired until some of the marchers, led by members of the American Legion attacked the I. W. W. headquarters and kicked down the door. It was then that the secretary and other members of the I. W. W. defended their lives and the property of the organization by shooting dead within the doorway four of the raiders and wounding seven more.

DEFENDANT JUSTIFIED, SAYS LEGION COMMANDER.

Edward Bassett, Commander of the Butte Montana, Post of the American Legion, declares in the following statement to the press that the I. W. W. was justified in defending its property and the lives of its members against raiders.

> "The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act.
>
> "Mob rule in this country must be stopped and when mobs attack the home of a millionaire, of a laborer, or of the I. W. W., it is not only the right but the duty of the occupants to resist with every means in their power. If the officers of the law can not stop those raids, perhaps the resistance of the raided may have that effect.
>
> "Whether the I. W. W. is a meritorious organization or not, whether it is unpopular or otherwise, should have absolutely nothing to do with the case.
>
> The rports of the evidence at the coroner's jury show that the attack was made before the firing started. If that is true, I commend the boys inside for the action that they took.

Well may the reactionaries ponder the words of Commander Bassett, for he speaks the common mind upon the question of unlawful raids and mob rule. Workers are beginning to resent the supplanting of the legal machinery of the nation by mob rule. The action of the I. W. W. at Centralia is an example to working men to put a stop to the unlawful raiding of halls, the destruction of life and property of the workers to satisfy the insane and unsocial proclivities of reactionary lawless mobs.

The coroner's inquest over the bodies of the four dead Legionaries declares that the attack was made before the firing started. And there is other mute, but incontrovertible evidence of the nature of the assault. The blood stains from wounds of the dead are upon the floor of the I. W. W. headquarters—not upon the pavement of the street. Altho the front of the building was wrecked by the mob after the shooting in an ffort to destroy the evidence that the building was entered by assault, this blood testimony will irrefutably prove the lawlessness of those who lost lives in an assault upon the legal rights of a labor organization and a fellow man.

Wesley Everetts, the returned fighted from over seas, and his comrades who sat in the headquarters and defended themselves and their organization against the raiders with the weapons used in the war for democracy, struck a blow for real democracy when they turned the weapons upon their assailants. It is true Everetts paid the penalty with his life. In the darkness of night the mob hanged him and riddled his dead body with bullets after dragging it thru the street of the town. His comrades were taken from jail where they had been unlawfully thrown and made to dig his grave; and thus was covered over in hate the evidence of lawlessness.

The truth is coming out and when this Centralia tragedy is aired in the courts, and the full and complete facts published, we shall learn that the I W W lawfully resisted the invasion of its legal rights.

There is one aspect of this case that workers should bear in mind. Where the property and lives of the workers are endangered by lawless mobs and raiders bent upon violation of the law, and no other recourse is possible, the workers must defend their lives and their unions at whatever cost.. . .

Workers must resist mob violence with all the power at their command. The right of sanctuary against unlawfulness must be upheld and if the present reactionary movement in America takes recourse to violation of law in its desperate attempts to throttle the workers in their struggle against political and economic despotism, let the workers defend their rights and their legal status at all costs.

Workers, keep the law by defending yourself against unlawfulness.

Let Centralia be a warning to reactionism.

X-MAS GIFTS FOR PRISONERS.

Comrades and frieds of prisoners at Atlanta Federal Prison will be glad to learn that presents may be sent to prisoners for X-mas and New Year between these dates—Dec. 20th to Dec. 31st. Included in the list of articles which may be sent are—candies, fruits, chewing gum, cigars and tobacco in reasonable quantities in addition to articles generally allowed. Cigars and tobacco must arrive with revenue stamps unbroken. Cooked foods should not be sent owing to possible delay in heavy Xmas mails. Send your packages early. Remember the comrades at Atlanta.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Our fathers—in the days when each man followed his plow and rarely met folks except on Sunday when he went to church and visited the graveyard for recreation—were not disturbed much by ethical social problems.

Today the economic compulsion to break the Ten Commandments is almost overwhelming, and multitudes of weak men go down before it.

What would you do if you were in the army and you were ordered to withhold food from starving women and babies?

What would you do if you were a longshoreman and you were ordered to handle munitions billed for Siberia, which you believed would be used to destroy your brother workmen?

What would you do if you were a traffic manager of a railroad and your heaviest shipper threatened to withdraw his business if you did not grant him rebates?

What would you do if you were an editor and big advertisers threatened to withdraw their "ads" if you did not change your editorial policy?

What would you do if you were a college professor with a family and a reputation if the regents gave you a hint to change your teaching or get the grand bounce?

What would you do if you were a school director and big business demanded the dropping of a teacher, whom in your heart you believed to be a first-rate teacher and a man maligned by selfish interests?

Verily, our fathers were not compelled to face such knotty problems! Strong men as well as weak are falling before such temptations.

And yet for a Real Man the path is so simple.

Will refuse to participate in the business of starving babies;

Will refuse to contribute to the death of his fellow workers;

Will refuse to grant rebates;

Will consign the big hold-up advertisers to the tender mercies of the "devil";

Will refuse to scrape to the regents;

Will refuse to fire a teacher at the dictation of big business.

Why will a Real Man act this way?

Because he intends to remain master of his own soul!—Seattle Union-Record.

RADICALISM RAMPANT IN DUTCH SCHOOLS

By W. J. L. Kiehl

AMSTERDAM.—A "bond" or union of revolutionary social intellectuals has been inaugurated and the names of the members of the executive board have been published.

This union works in conjunction with communistic teachers' organizations and revolutionary socialist students' organizations in Holland. From persons whose sons are studying in the Dutch universities I learn that many students are imbued with bolshevism and that the communistic propaganda is very strong.

Two professors in the Amsterdam university are known to be "Idealist Bolsheviki," and in the Delft Technical University communism is popular. The new union will seek connections with similar organizations in other countries.

CALIFORNIA EXECUTIVES UNDER ARREST.

Officials of the Communist Labor Party of California were placed under arrest by government agents last week and charged with violations of the state criminal syndicalism law. Those arrested are: State Secretary, James Dolson; J. E. Snyder, Editor of The Oakland World; Robert Whitaker, Edric Smith, John Taylor, former State Secretary, Cyrus Tobey and Max Bedact. Comrade Max Bedact was just preparing to leave for New York where he was to edit Communist Labor, the new national organ of The Communist Labor Party. Most of the comrades, we understand are now out on bail.

Gompers is now finding out from the government the same truths the reds have been trying to teach him for many years.

THE MARTYR.

Ye have made martyrs for me,
Gods of the false and true;
Ye have set great souls free
And lighted our lamps anew!
Ye and your priests have killed
Those whe defied your ranks;
I drink of the blood ye have spilled—
I drink and I give you thanks!

Down through the centuries, strung
On crucifix, gibbet and pyre,
Your scarlet pictures are hung
Of those who have dared your fire!
The Chirst, with His hands outhrust—
His dead by the Tiber's banks—
And now the arena is dust,
For the Martyr I give you thanks!

For every heretic burned,
For every heart ye have split,
For every key ye have turned,
A million lamps have ye lit!
And, lo! as the cities that flame
Where the blackened streams have their banks,
So your dead call us each by name—
For the Martyr I give you thanks!

Has your crucifix murdered Christ?
Have your jails swallowed up one dream?
Has Spain and the stake sufficed
To darken one lamplight's gleam?
I give you the world today;
Will ye gaze on the age-long ranks?
For the Martyr I give you thanks!
Is it Christ, is it Debs, ye would slay?

LIGHT AFTER DARKNESS, LET US HAVE THE TRUTH

Was the killing of four men and the wounding of several others at Centralia, Wash., on Armistice day, Nov. 11, 1919, a cold-blooded slaughter of inoffensive individuals, or were these persons members of an unlawful mob engaged in an unwarrated attack upon a peaceable place and killed by the lawful occupants of that place in the defense of their own lives? That is the question uppermost in the mind of every fair-minded person. That question will be threshed out at the coming trial of the 11 men indicted for the killing of Warren Grimm at Centralia.

The truth regarding what actually happened at Centralia on Armistice day is being suppressed. Facts considered favorable to the accused are not allowed to find their way into the news columns, eye-witness to the affair are forbidden to talk or fear to speak out, and legal representatives of the prisoners are denied the privelege of being in the town.

Centralia and nearby towns are no longer governed by civil authority, but are ruled absolutely by armed forces that are running things at the point of the gun. As an instance of the existing state of affairs the case of Reinhardt, an Associated Press representative, is worthy of note. He attended the coroner's inquest over the bodies of the dead men and sent out the story of the testimony of Dr. Frank Bickford, who swore that the I. W. W. hall was attacked by himself and others, and that only after the door of the hall had been kicked in did the shooting comence. For sending out this news Reinhardt was run out of Centralia, being compelled to leave his personal belongings behind.

Strangers coming into Centralia on trains are closely questioned and if an explanation satisfactory to the questionaries is not forthcoming they are not permitted to remain. In short the truth regarding the Centralia affair is beleagured by a circle of guns in the hands of usurped authority, and those who might speak that truth are compelled to silence. Later they will be heard, for truth will speak, even though ringed with walls of bayonets.

The men in jail sturdily declared that they defended themselves against attack. The capitalist press asserts that the prisoners deliberately fired upon the passing parade, without provocation and, as one paper says, "because the parade was made up of returned soldiers."

Outside of the facts that will be related by eye witnesses later on hand the testimony of Dr. Bickford, who swore the hall was attacked before any shots were fired, let us examine the contention of the capitalist press, that members of the I. W. W. fired upon the parade because it was composed of returned soldiers.

It is entirely beyond reason to suppose that eight or ten men would deliberately agree (as they must do) to station themselves for the sole purpose of firing on paraders from whom they had nothing to fear. Sane men would not do such a thing and for anyone to suppose that these men did fire from so slim a motive he must first judge them to be insane.)The authorities so far have raised no question of the prisoners' sanity.) And if they were insane how does it occur that so many insane people could come to an agreement on the matter of killing returned soldiers? How could they have curbed this insanity during the year just past when the streets of every town and city were filled with marching soldiers, returning from the war? Why pick out a small town like Centralia when the streets of Seattle and Tacoma were full of uniforms? Centralia, of all places, where there was no hope of escape.

Sane men, to the number of eight or ten, would not deliberately organize or plot a killing of harmless paraders—insane men could not. The contention of the capitalist press is ridiculous. It is beyond reason. It is a lie—told to shield the real criminals, who are responsible for these deaths at Centralia.

Let us now deal with a few things regarding the parade that marched through the streets of the town. First, it is well known that the parade marched in sections—a section composed of people who participated been active in those places against the anniversary of the armistice, and another section specially composed of specially invited persons, from Aberdeen and other towns, who had been active in those laces against the Industrial Workers of the World. These outsiders, together with Centralians likewise opposed to the I. W. W., were all in one section and marched near the rear of the parade. Bear this in mind; it is significant, when considered in connection with other

(Continued on page 4.)

MOB RULE, THE NEWEST AMERICAN TERROR.

The reactionism that has swept over American civil life since the signing of the Armistice has now reached the stage of mob rule and mob law. During the war American workingmen and women laid aside their historic and vaunted liberties in order that the war might be brought to a successful conclusion for the Allies. Now they find that instead of their boasted liberties and Constitional guarantees of free speech and assembly and the right of santuary within their homes, being restored they have been practically annulled altogether. They are now not only denied these Constitutional guarantees, they are subject to mob violence as well.

Of all the manifestations of social unrest none are more menacing to public welfare, none are more destructive of civil liberty and civil rights than mob rule. It is the most debasing of all human activities, the most outrageously corrupt and venal. It is an open challenge to all order and government by law. Let us consider well, its meaning berofe we countenance it.

Reactionsm in America has welcomed it with open arms, has encouraged it with the corrupt press and other mouthpieces of the ruling class. The mob is the henchman of privelege, the handmaiden of corruption. The ruling class has enthroned it as an object of veneration and has condoned all its depravities in the name of Americanism and democracy. If mob rule spells Americanism, deliver us from it, for we prefer rule by law however unjust rather than lawlessness and irresponsibility.

To all who have the highest interests of our Constitutional guarantees at heart must look on with grave apprehension at the growth of the mob idea and the supplanting of legal processes by its insane and reprehensible activities. As surely as it is allowed to continue, so shall American liberties be at last laid to rest in the grave of reactionism. The monster must be slain. To allow its continuance is to court disaster and destruction of the few remaining liberties left an outraged and exploited class.

In every historical epoch it is the class that is down, the class that is attempting to rise from under its burdens of exploitation and injustice that holds aloft the torch of liberty. It is the class which is rising into power that offers to a stricken world the balm that shall heal its wounds, not the class that a social system has fattened, and rendered useless that bears upon its banners [illegible] emblems of hope and life for the world.

It is to this class—the wroking class—that we appeal to render harmless the insane activities of this implement of reactionism—the mob. It is the workers against whom its activities are bent. It is their homes that are invaded, their meetings that are broken up, their halls that are enterd and sacked, it is their leaders and organizers who are mobbed and shot and hanged. The remedy is in the hands of the workers. Meet the mob upon their own ground. Where it trespasses stand upon your rights. Where it breaks the laws, keep the law by defending yours and others rights. Demand and keep your legal status by refusing to countenance by non-resistence the encroachments of this monstrous iniquity and tool of the ruling class to further subjugate you.

We did not go to that School

We know a lot of people these days that are making a heap of noise about a revolution. They hear their own noise and think they hear the revolution — but we think they are mistaken.

Economic conditions force revolutions. Any single individual that thinks he can precipitate a revolution in any country where the economic conditions have not built up a public opinion favorable to a social revolution is not only badly mistaken but is positively a menace to the political and industrial organized labor movements.

The shouting of catch and revolutionary phrases has become an obsession of late in too many camps of the labor movement. It is true that a minority did engineer a successful revolution in Russia — and some hot heads are trying to tell us that the same thing can be done here. Let us examine the conditions a bit and see where we are at before we start something.

In Russia the strong centralist government had been overthrown by the combined labor forces and the small business element which desired a more democratic form of government. A provisional government was established but before it could become well intrenched it in turn was overthrown by a small minority — BUT that minority had the SYMPATHY and the MORAL support of the general public. In other words it had no opposition except for the bourgeoisie and the Allied governments interested in maintaining the stability of the old Russian bonds.

In addition to the foregoing, the ecohomic life of the country had broken down, jobs were scarce or not to be had, food was scarce and extremely high in price, the army [illegible] in a state of mutiny, in fact had mutinied and left the front for home — bringing their arms with them. Don't overlook that point, vast numbers of the Russian proletariat were armed.

Conditions here are slightly different.

Instead of four years of enervating war we had four years of war profits, increased wages and employement for everybody. Instead of an anti-patriotic wave as in Russia the American proletaria has had two years of intensified patriotic propaganda. Instead of the psychology of defeat, the American proletariat, forgets his sugarless days of high prices and wage slavery in the psychology of victory!

The American proletariat is unarmed.

In view of these differences in environment, it seems to us that any organization or anybody foolish enough to think the conditions in this country are ripe for revolution is an enemy of the class war, and by propaganda is harming more than helping the cause of the freedom of those who toil.

The great mass must be educated at least to a condition of class consciousness. They must be organized and by organized we mean welded into a force with powers of resistance so they may meet the capitalist on terms of equality, not as bluffers or as suppliants. This kind of an organization can only be builded through a systematic plan of study classes.

This talk of mass action by a minority is foolish.

If freedom from wage slavery [illegible]

(Continued on page 4.)

Judge Insane, when he Jailed Texas Socialist

The judge who sentenced Flora I. Foreman, the Socialist teacher who is now serving a term at McAlister, Okla., under the Espionage act was insane at the time he tried her, a year ago. Immediately after imposing the five-year sentence he returned to his home at Fort Worth ,Tex., and from there was taken to a lunatic asylum in California.

This information reached the Workers Defense Union, 7 East 15th street through one of the attorneys who defended Mrs. Foreman in the Federal court in Amarillo, Tex. Because the judge is insane it has been difficult to perfect an appeal in the case.

Although President Wilson has reduced her term to two years, it is feared that the ordeal since her conviction and the months of incarceration before she came to trial may endanger the life of the woman.

Reported as 'Disloyal."

She is a frail woman and had gone South in the hope of restoring her impaired health. There she was reported to government agents as "disloyal," in consequence of remarks she had made in private conversation with another woman.

The story, as it reached the defense group, is that the charge was lodged by a soldier who had been jilted by a friend of Mrs. Foreman. The worst statement she was charged with having made was that she had refused to become a member of the Red Cross, and was not afraid to say so, and that they coul go and tell the "little school teacher in Washington" how she felt about it.

After her arrest, while in a health resort away from all friends, the government agents constructed a technical disloyalty charge, the lawyer said, upon which a demented Federal judge based his sentence. His attitude is evident in the following quotation from the lawyer's letter:

"Mrs. Foreman was tried at Amarillo, Texas, in the Federal Court, charged with violating the espionage law. The judge of that court convicted her. Of course, the jury might have convicted her anyway. It was a time of hysteria.

"Walked All Over Us."

"But the judge walked al lover us. We were not permitted to try the case at all. He took the witnesses away from us and cross-examined them, and then told the jury what he thought of their testimony. He threatened several times to put us in jail, and I left the courtroom to file a petition to have him examined for insanity. However, after the trial he went home to Fort Worth, and from there was sent to an insane asylum in California, where he has been ever since.

"I sent in to the President of the United States a petition with several long lists of subscribers. I also sent a personal letter setting out the facts and what took place at the trial. Since that time I have heard nothing. If anybody should be pardoned, this woman should be. Whether she was guilty or not, she did not have a fair trial."

AMNESTY DEMAND MUST BE ALL-INCLUSIVE

Roger Baldwin.

Of course I am with you in your efforts for a general amnesty. Every bit of agitation to that end is good. We cannot succeed by mere petitioning on the grounds of justice—but we can succeed by continuous and determined demonstrations of power. Our friends and Comrades will never be released until we force their release by our indignant resistance. Only the desire to allay the unrest which their imprisonment causes will move the Washington Defenders of Things-as-They-Are to action.

We must not neglect a single victim of the war persecutions in our demands. Let us not forget that the I. W. W. have been hit the hardest—that practically all their leaders and hundreds of the workers are in prison or out on bail. Their cases are practically the same as the others—and the wartime statutes were even more pervertedly applied to reach them. We must not hesitate to specify the I. W. W. class-war prisoners in our demands—as well as the victims of the Espionage Act and the military courts.

We must make our demands uncompromising, definite, all-inclusive. We cannot trust in the slightest any sense of "justice" on the part of the authorities. We can only trust the organized power of labor and the friends of freedom to make their protest so united, so resounding, that the powers that be will fear not to heed it.

AT LAST AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVIEW!

Of exceptional interest in socialist and radical circles is the appearance of the long awaited first issue of "THE SOCIALIST REVIEW" a monthly record of socialist and radical progress in thought and action the world over. The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, publishers of the new REVIEW, feeling its quarterly organ, THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST no longer sufficed to meet the growing public interest in socialism, decided to venture upon a monthly. THE SOCIALIST REVIEW does not pretend to be a propagandist organ. Its aim is to become an invaluable record and survey of significant industrial and political occurences, by which our present effete social system will eventually be charged to one more worthy of human effort. In this fact will lie the unique value and service of THE SOCIALIST REVIEW to all sections of the socialist movement.

52 CANDITATES ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT.

NEW YORK.—Fifty- two socialists will be members of the incoming Norwegian parliament, the Socialist Party at the recent general elections having polled 250,000 votes.

The party stands without reserve on the side of the Bolsheviki, and recently dispatched Egede Nissen, one of the best known of the Norwegian leaders, to Moscow.

The party is strongly anti militaristic. Some months ago formally ordered the constitution of soldiers' soviets by all men liable for military service.

MANY YANKS IN HOSPITALS.

WASHINGTON.—Altho a year has passed since the war ended for most Americans, there are still 18,000 war victims in army hospitals in this country and 1,900 in overseas hospitals.

For these wounded Americans the war is still a thing of reality. With them the cost of the conflict is not a mere memory.

Latest figures of the War Department show 18,500 patients in army hospitals in the United States, the majority, overseas cases, 977 in France, 515 in Germany, 403 in Siberia.

Most of the men still in overseas hospitals are those whose condititition is too serious to permit transfer to this country. Officials say they will be brought home as quickly as possible.

Keeping foremost the fact that 116,492 American soldiers died in the service since April 6, 1917, and that of these 39,585 were killed on the field and 14,742 died of wounds, figures show the burden of long suffering in hospitals and physical disability fell upon comparatively few men, officials say.

DEMOCRACY.

Democracy, Oh where art thou
for whom our blood was shed?
Art thou in Atlanta prison
with our beloved Debs?
Or perhaps in North Dakota,
where they have tried our Kate.
Surely not in San Quientin to
share Tom Mooneys fate.

Democracy, Oh where art thou
for whom we bought the bonds?
Pray tell us where to find you
if on this side the pond.
We have looked in all the civil courts
where justice should be found,
And nothing but injustice to
labor have we found.

Democracy, Oh where art thou
for whom we gave our sons?
Perhaps we were mistaken,
when we went and whipped the Huns.
We thought we were fighting for
freedom of all the world as one
That men might write and men
Might talk but can't do either one.

Democracy, Oh where art thou
for whom our brothers fell?
If thou art present in this land
that we all love so well,
Pray make thy presence known
and to the public tell
Why so many of our loved ones
now occupy a cell?

J. A. FLATT.

Another new town on our list is Lovington, Ill. We give credit to comrade Frank Renko for the three names there.

SHORT ONES

By W. E. [illegible]

RACE OF VETERANS.

Race of Veterans — race of victors!
Race of the soil, ready for conflict — race of the conquering march!
(No more credulity's race, abiding-temper'd race)
Race henceforth owning no law but the law of itself.
Race of passion and the storm —
Walt Whitman.

It is begininnig to look like a sugar card was one of the sure signs of the triumph of democracy!

* * *

Wise Omar must have foreseen the reign of prohibition, for did he not say, "—and in your errand reach the spot where I made One, turn down an empty glas"?

* * *

Water, water everywhere, and not a drop (of 2.75 or anything with a "kick" in it) to drink.

* * *

"And at this stage they fight, not heir enemies but the enemies of their enemies." — Marx and Engels.

* * *

A bunch of propertyless proletarians who have not had an egg on their table since last summer, who cannot afford te EAT eggs, buying them to throw at some harmless dispenser of economic information is a sight to cause Kubiah. Kahn to smile.

* * *

"Conscience was born when man had shed, his fur, his tail and pointed ears" — Kasidah.

* * *

Wisdom is no easy flower to pluck.

* * *

It is a well established biological fact that man's ancestors had a well defined caudal appendage. Even yet the devil is invariably pictured as having a long tail, and as he is but a fallen angel (having wrestled with God over authority) it must logically follow that even the angels have tails!

* * *

Science is not fruit that ripens in a day.

* * *

Along about the time of the reformation the Pope, in an effort to stem the rising tide of discontent, issued bull after bull — all to no avail. Now at the begining of another reformation congress and the courts are following in the footsteps of the forgetten Pope, and are making bull upon bull. All bull.

* * *

That little story of the devil and the angels might be headed, Angel Tales.

* * *

When we were kids we used to sing;
'London Bridge is falling down,
Falling down, falling down,
London Bridge is falling down,
My Fair Lady!"

Now the new version is;
'Petrograd is falling now,
Falling now, falling now,
Petrograd is falling now,
My Fair Lady!"

The Fair Lady of the Kept Press prophesied the Fall of Petrograd and drew the Fall of Omsk.

* * *

The British Bourgeoisie are advocating the sale of Church Property, the funds so obtained to be applied towards paying the war debt. Who said progress was at a standstill?

* * *

More than ten thousand of the most important economic enterprises in Free Russia have been socialized. This comprises about 86 percent of Russian industry, and when one considers that the change in most of the industries was affected without the interruption of industry, one marvels at what might have been accomplished if the "inviolability of nations to self-determination" had have been strictly adhered to.

Here is a wholesale leather catalog quoting prime sole leather @ $1.50 per pound, and "leather for soleing hand shoes @ 20c per pound". Significiant? It is a part of the "dearly beloved" system.

* * *

That Russian Ambassador's offer to furnish ships and passage money to all whom the government wished to deport, might be said to have called the government's bluff.

* * *

Now that Thanksgiving is safely over we can begin to save up to buy the kid a tin sword for Christmas when we celebrate the alleged birth of the Prince of Peace.

* * *

The correspondent of the Manchester Guardian (England) Mr. W. T. Goode informs us "that prostitution has disappeared from Moscow life, due to the improved economic and social position of women under Bolshevism".

* * *

Evolution is a hard jolt for those who have nothing to be proud of except their blue-blooded ancestry.

KNOW THE LAW.

(Supreme Court of Washington, Dec. 22, 1911.)

Department 2. Appeal from superior court, Yakima county; E. B. Preble, judge.

Henry [illegible] was convicted of manslaughter and appeals. Affirmed.

Frank A. Luse and E. J. Snively, for appellant. J. Lenox Ward and Harold B. Bilbert for the state.

Parker, J. This defendant was charged by information in the superior court for Yakima county with murder in the first degree, by the killing of John Menbour. Upon a trial before the court and a jury, the defendant was convicted of manslaughter, from which he has appealed to this court.

1. Upon the trial evidence was introduced in behalf of appealant tending to show that the homicide was justifiable, in that it was committed by appealant in lawfully defending himself against an assault made upon him by the deceased. This called for instructions to the jury upon the law of justifiable homicide. Touching the grounds of apprehension of danger upon which the defendant might kill his assailant, the court instructed the jury as follows:

"A person attacked at a place where he has a right to remain need not retreat, but may repel force by force in a defense of his person against one who at the time is actually, or apparently, intending or endeavoring, unlawfully, to kill him or to inflict upon him great personal injury, and in such defense the assailed may lawfully meet the attack made upon him in such a way and with such force as, under the circumstances, he at the moment honestly believes, and has reasonable grounds to believe, are necessary to save his own life or to protect himself from great personal injury; and in such defense the assailed may lawfully kill the assailant, if at the time he is actually or apparently in imminent danger of death or great personal injury at his assailant's hands, and if, under all the circumstance, he honestly believes, and has reasonable grounds to believe, such killing to be necessary to save his own life or to protect him from great personal injury."

WOMEN WORKERS DEMAND LIFTING OF BLOCKADE.

The following resolution on lifting the Russian blockade, presented by Margaret Bondfield, of Englad, was adopted by the International Congress of Working Women at Washington, November 7th:

"Whereas, Neither the United States nor any of the Allied or Associated Powers is officially at war with Russia, and

"Whereas, The blockade causes hardship to numberless women and children,

"Be it Resolved, That we, the delegates of the First International Congress of Working Women, in Washington, D. C., in conference assembled, hereby protest at the continuance of said blockade and advocate the immediate removal of all restrictions of shipment of food to the peoples of Russia."

EX-SOLDIERS MAKE FIGHT ON Y. M. C. A.

TACOMA.—The Tacoma Y. M. C. A. is looking for 1,000 new members. They are very partial to ex-service men, they say. What some ex-soldiers think of the Y. M. C. A. is stated in cryptic form by little cards which are pasted on windows and scattered around town as follows:

"YOUNG MAN
"Will you join an organization
"Which robbed your brother
"While in France?
"You should respect the memory
"Of those who died for you.
"I refer to the
"Y. M. C. A.
(Signed) A. E. F. Soldier."

—Union-Record.

BOLSHEVIKS EXEMPT C. O's.

A remarkable document has been published in the Daily Herald, Lenin's decree relating to conscientious objectors, in which these are exempted from military service whose religious beliefs prevent them from taking part in, and alternative service if the United Council of Moscow Religious groups and Communities prove a satisfactory claim for such complete exemption to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. This gives the lie to those who in the Times and elsewhere are at such pains to prove that the Soviet government is oppressing religious beliefs.

And now—have you renewed your subscription? If not ,why not?

[illegible]

As the [illegible] defeated [illegible] "loyal [illegible] space for bitter denunciations of these erstwhile friends and [illegible]. Even Kerensky, the discarded tool of Allied imperialism, is permitted to speak out against Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch, his successors in Allied favor, now themselves about to be discarded. "Arround these three", says Kerensky, according to the London Daily News, "are gathered all the scoundrels of the old regime . . . There is no crime that has not been committed by agents of Kolchak against the population. Documents, such as I have, illustrate the barbarous conditions in which the people are living under these savages. . . . The administration of the country is reduced to a shameless and unpunished system of pillage." An American official, quoted in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, adds this testimony after a two month's tour of inspection through Siberia: "I talked with a great veriety of people—the Czechs, our railway service men, refugees, and to people living in the villages, as well as to French and British representatives stationed in the towns between Omsk and Vladivostok. I did not find a single person who said that Kolchak had any popular support . . . His name is being used by the most disreputable lot of scoundrels that has ever got any opportunity to exploit a poor, starving, defenseless people." Finally, the Czecho-Slovaks, who were made the pretext of intervention, have publicly implored the Allies to allow them to leave Siberia: "Our army has been forced against its convictions to support a state of absolute despotism and unlawfulness . . The military authorities of the Government of Omsk are permitting criminal actions that will stagger the entire world. The burning of villages, the murder of masses of peaceful inhabitants, and the shooting of hundreds of persons of democratic convictions, and also those only suspected of political disloyalty, occur daily.'

Mr. Isaac Don Levine's recent dispatches have described the nature of Denikin's rule, whose pogroms were so horrible, says the London Nation, that the English soldiers "could hardly be restrained from firing on him."

Such are the men to whom the American and Allied Governments have been extending sympathetic support. That support is being withdrawn now, not from any humanitarian scruples, but because the Red Army has demonstrated the imposibility of all attempts to conquer the Revolution and because the economic and social forces of the world have overwhelmed the designs of the reactionary rulers.

Soviet Russia.

NO NEWSPAPERS FOR DEBS.

To the editor of the Nation:

Sir: In behalf of Eugene Debs, as well as for myself, I wish to thank you for having had THE NATION sent to his prison cell. Ever since his removal to Atlanta all papers and periodicals, including the Nation, are denied him; and he is not allowed even newspapers clippings, enclosed in letters. The other day I enclosed in a letter to him a small newspaper cut of the proposed building to be erected at Indianapolis by the Comrades, which is to be known as the "House of Debs", but before the letter was delivered the little picture was removed therefrom.

It is quite evidently the purpose of the Administration to cut him off completely from the outside world in the ardent hope of breaking his spirit. Of course he is permitted to read light fiction furnished by the prison library, but in these days when history is being written as never before, this is as nourishing and satisfying to the mentality of a student of events as skimmed milk is to the body of a famished child.

Several years ago Gene planted a little peach tree in his yard. It struggled for existence, but with careful nursing it survived. This year for the first time it bore a few peaches. Knowing the care Gene had bestowed upon this little tree, Mrs. Debs packed half a dozen of the peaches and sent them to him in care of the Warden. They were not delivered, although at the very time he had just been removed from his cell to the hospital.

Theodore Debs.

Terre Haute, Ind., Sept. 15.

A lot of workers would lose a night's sleep if they missed getting their Master's Evening Squeal. But if they are asked to support the press of their own class they think it's a joke. Well, their master's squeal will turn to a bite some day and they will lose some valuable hide, which may wake them up. Don't be a Mr. Block.

The Black Sheep

By Long and Lanky

CHAPT. IX.

Philosophy.

"I know not whether laws be right,
Or whether laws be wrong.
All that I know who lie in jail
Is that the wall is strong;
And that each day is like a year,
A year whose days are long."

This in a declamatory voice at about five-thirty in the morning, from Rudolph's cell, awakened Jack and Collins from their slumbers. It also awakened the temper of the latter. Collins was not fond of esthetics when at his ease, and when irritated he shared none of the sentiments so dear to the average radical. Unless he happened to be exactly in the right mood, he had an absolute aversion for what he termed the aberrations of an effete culture. He often said that poetry and novels were written by men who had nothing better to do to be read by people who could do nothing better.

"Say, what in hell do you mean by spouting your wheresome poetry at this time of the night! Do you begrudge a fellow what little sleep he can get in this infernal hole? O, if I could get at yuh, I'd slou you in the mush," thundered the big man from off his bunk in the opposite cell.

"Oh, well!" retorted Rudolph," you don't need to be so peevish about it. Its nearly broad dayligth. Its time to get up." Then after a pause

"If you were in this cell all alone, you too might want to give vent to some sort of expression."

"Why don't you do like the rats—gnaw the bars. It will keep your jaws busy and not disturb us." This said, the big man turned over and drew the ragged quilt about his shoulder and once more attempted to sleep. This proved to be impossible. Rudolph's eloquence had banished the fingers of Morpheus from his eyes. Jack too, was wide awake, and in contradistinction to his cell mate, not peeved. In fact he was rather interested in the subject matter of the poem. The days for him had been rather short; his companions keeping his mind busy with a recital of the wonderful phenomena in the social world.

He asked Rudolph from what poem this stanza was quotted and received the information that is was a part of the ballad of 'Reading Gaol" by Oscar Wilde, who was, as Rudolph averred one of the lord's of language of the last century.

"Oscar is one of Rudie's heroes," sneered Collins who was still in bad spirits.—"One of your temperamental artistic gents."

"Yes, that's right. Oscar Wilde is one of my literary heroes, but for all that I do not appreciate your inuendo that I would want him for a cell mate," protested Rudolph.

"Who was this Oscar Wilde?" asked Jack.

"A degenerate," snapped Collins.

"An artist," explained Rudolph.

"Well in ninety cases out of a hundred it amounts to the same thing,," Collins growled.

"What you really mean is that Mr. Wilde awakens strong convitions either for or against himself. He must have been an interesting personality. Tell me more about him," remarked the boy.

"He was a great writer of poerty and drama," Rudolph explained. A man with a splendid sense of the beautiful, in nature, in language and in man, but this weakness got him into trouble. I might describe him best if I said that he wrote splendid books but lived a rotten life." Then after a moments reflection, "no the last part would be too strong. His life was not so bad, he simply had an abominable weakness."

"I might say of you Rudolph," Jack observed, "what Huxley said of Gladstone, that you retreat under a cloud of words. From what you say I cannot make out whether Mr. Wilde's weakness was worms or wiggles."

Collins explained to Jack in the commonest of common language just in what Wilde's weakness consisted. After which the boy wanted to know more about the man and his books.

Rudolph explained to him that the man was dead. That he died as a result of a prison sentence imposed upon him for his weakness but that his books could be found in every library public and private throuout the English speaking world; that they had been translated into nearly all civilized languages; that they were read and admired by cultured and rafined minds everywhere. To which Jack replied that in that case it would be well to consider the books apart from the man. To think of him only a great author, the products of whose brain had enriched the world and forget his weakness which after all did not enter into his books.

"Let us forget his life and remember his work for their beauties sake," said the boy.

"I cannot appreciate anything [illegible]," Collins said. "I cannot read a line he penned without thinking of his infernal degeneracy."

Oh, you Christian," sneered Rudolph.

"I am no Christian," the other retorted.

"No, you mean you're no Church Member, but you are as fanatic as any Jesus lover I ever knew. You are a free will Christian, and nothing else can be made out of you."

"You're crazy," roared Collins, "I hate christianity as much as you do and you know it."

Rudolph agreed that this was technically true, but asserted that when it came to showing the spirit of intolerance he was a regular Calvin. "Take your stand on the drink question, you are as extreme as a howling methodist," Rudolph said. Then continued "You know that the drink appetite is a physiological condition. That its victim cannot resist the temptation even tho he see the faces of his starving children in the glass. Cursing his weakness he gets drunk. He ruins his health, impoverishes his kids, while crying to his God for help. But he is a dipsomaniac; his body has an affinity for drink as ether has for air. He cannot help being what the forces of heredity made him. Yet, you who call yourself a radical and a liberal, curse your fellow worker whose appetite differs from your own. You call them every name on the calender as if they were victims from choice instead of from circumstance. Imitating the christians you make everybody but yourself a heretic. No Collins dear, you may not be a christian, but if you are not, then you are a Jew or a Mohammedan, or a Brahmin or perhaps a Voodist, but youre no radical, you are no scientist, you are no idealist, you are too damned intolerant; you are good at condemning but you never make an effort to understand for if ever you learn to understand then you would learn to forgive."

"Yes and you are Christian also, for you talk about forgiveness. Your consistency is something wonderful," snapped Collins, and he leaped out of his bed as a tiger leaps at his prey. "To forgive means to surrender, and surrender means death. You'd burden yourself with so much human waste that you'd be smothered in the filth of your own choosing. I've told you on several occassions that I don't hate these vermin, I only seek to eliminate them from my environment. I hate vermin, high brow and low brow. That's the reason I'm against them. They hinder me in the struggle for existence, that is all. That's enough."

Rudolph's sally had made Collins too angry to answer with his costumary coherence. He trailed off into mutterings about the inability of the workers to center their minds on a common purpose because they tolerated within their ranks these elements who placed their own personal appetites and ideas above the common good. "Try to hold a meeting for the purpose of fighting the boss with one third of the membership soused and the other third filled with poetic dream stuff and capitalist lies, you have just one third who are ready and willing to fight the master, loaded down with two thirds of their own numbers in the shape of physical and and mental nincompoops."

Jack, who had been listening to both of them now asked Rudolph what he had to answer the big man.

"You understand that drunkness is a result of a peculiar body chemistry which people inherit from their ancestors, therefore the owners of such bodies are constantly in danger of having their brain befuddled thru yielding to their inborn craving. I know that a drunken man is dangerous. But the bread and butter question is not an individual proposition; it is wholly collective in its nature. Drunk and sober must solve it together. I have told Collins many a time that if you don't take drunkards into organization they will scab on us and help break your power. Then where are you going to get men enough to build an organization who don't drink. We must deal with people as they are and not as we want them to be.

Jack, still wrapped in his blanket laughed good naturedly, "Oh, oh! you poor fish! You get on the track of truth and when you get in sight of it, you shy like a broncho colt. Neither of you have the necessary guts to be real scientists; both of you are seeking the light blindfolded; for fear that if you should find it, it would reveal to you your naked impotence. For two weeks I have listened to your arguments and tried to test them in the light of reason, and when all is

(Continued on page 4.)

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

The Toiler

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 10th 1919.

THE RIGHT TO RESIST INVASION.

The right of a man to protect his life is rooted in the first instinct—the desire to live. We do not think anyone, except some extreme Tolstoyans, question this right.

The right of a man to protect himself from injury is rooted in the second instinct—the desire for comfort. We do not think anyone but the extreme pacifist question this right

The only question that arises in the manifestation of these instincts is: How far may a man go in the defense of his life or the safety of his person?

We will all agree that a burglar that enters a house by stealth takes his life in his own hands and if, being discovered, he kills the householder, HE IS GUILTY OF MURDER, though he may have been defending himself from the assaults of the enraged citizen. The burglar was an invader and acting in the first place with an unlawful purpose and the counter attack of the householder was a justified assault, since it was in the defense of his residence.

But if the householder had slain the burglar he could at most be guilty only of a manslaughter and it would have to be shown even then that the citizen knew that he could have captured the thief with the use of ordinary force and strategy.

Where a man has been threatened, either with or without cause, if he retire into his house or other place where he may lawfully be, it is evidence that he had no desire for a brawl and that he sought peace by avoiding the opportunity for a quarrel. If, after threats have been made against a man, the place into which he had retired for the purpose of avoiding a brawl shall be attacked, then he may defend himself. The major question will be, was there an attack with force? And not, was the life of the man in danger, or was his bodily safety threatened?

It is a fact that no man may gauge the temper of a mob and a man attacked by a boisterous crowd in a place where he may lawfully be cannot be expected to enquire if their intentions be mild or violent—if he has been previously threatened, he may reasonably expect that the intention of the mob is of the most violent character and he is justified in taking measures for his own protection.

It is beside the question to say that the person assaulted could have avoided the assault in his lawful refuge by abandoning the place and seeking safety in flight. The question is, was an unlawful assault made upon the place and was it made in such force that the person taking a lawful refuge there would be justified in believing that he was about to suffer extreme violence at the hands of the invaders?

The question then may arise, what is a lawful refuge? If a man is attacked in the street and he steps into a store or other public place to avoid his assailants and the assailants follow him into this place and makes a further assault then the man so attacked may repel the assault and though it may be apparent that his life is sought he is not under the necessity of further flight, but may stand his ground and resist.

Any person, lawfully in any lawful place, may resist an unlawful attack upon that place, though he may have but a transient interest in the place—he is not bound to seek safety in flight, he may resist the attack.

All sane men are held to full accountability for the consequences of their acts. If crowd of men unlawfully attacked a lawful place they are held to intend all that occurs as a result of that attack and are guilty accordingly.

If members of the American Legion or other persons made an unlawful attack on the hall of the Industrial Workers of the World at Centralia, Wash., they intended all that followed upon the heels of that assault and are therefore guilty of the deaths of all who perished in that assault.

If there were members of the Industrial Workers of the World, or even strangers, lawfully in the said hall at the moment of the attack, they were justified in defending themselves from said attack and could use such force as was necessary to repel it, nor were they under the necessity of first ascertaining the intentions of the assailants, and if they were persuaded that their lives were in danger they were justified in taking such measures as they believed would preserve their lives.

We believe all the above statements of rights are correct and based upon the statutes and decisions of all the courts. If we are wrong, we are anxious to be set right, for we understand that no man may plead ignorance of the law nor seek to take advantage of his own wrong......

—INDUSTRIAL WORKER.

OVER 3,000 AUSTRALIANS UNDER WAR BAN

Now that the censorship regulations have been lifted in Australia we are permitted to learn that during the war no less than 3,474 citizens of Australia were prosecuted for various political offenses under the War Precautions Act—the equivalent to "D. O. R. A." in the United Kingdom, and the Espionage Act in the United States. In 100 more cases fines and punishments in prison were inflicted, while in 185 other cases there were imprisonments without the option of a fine.

Most of the prosecutions arose out of the opposition to the Government during the time it was trying—unsuccessfully—to fasten conscription on to the country. On the other hand, many of the most uncompromising opponents of the anti-labor government were not penalized, owing to the fact that the Government feared the strong union support which stood behid them. In fact, it was openly admitted that several very prominent labor journalists and speakers, would have been prosecuted or interned only that the Government feared the militant organizations to which they were attached.

WHY THE PEASANTS ARE AGAINST DENIKIN.

The Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie (The Far Eastern Review), of Vladivostock, in its issue of July 20, 1919 quotes from the Svobodnaya Rech, a Denikin organ, an admission that the success of his troops has been seriously impaired by the hostility of the peasantry. The reasons for that hostility are stated by the Denikin organ as follows:

"With the gradual advance of the Don troops some sort of 'punitive' detachments would usually assume full control in the rear, frequently overstepping the bounds of their authority, broad as it was. The requisitions which sometimes assumed the form of open robbery, the flogging of the population, and the despotic and contemptuous treatment accored it—such is the common picture of the activities of those detachments."

MINUTES

of the CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO, HELD, 11|29|1919. AT AKRON OHIO.

Convened at 10:45 a. m., by State Secretary Allison, and temporary organization effected by the election of Comrade Margaret Prevey as chairman and Lawrence A. Zitt as secretary. A Credentails Committee of three was chosen, composed of Comrades: Young, Bronstrup and Hoge.

The committee reported following representatitves as entitled to seats:

AKRON—M. Prevey, John Hansen, J. C. Chase, M. A. Riley, John Coons John Cooper.
TOLEDO—M. Toohey, H. H. Young.
BALLAIRE—J. J. Hoge.
CLEVELAND—Anna Morgan, Lawrence A. Zitt, Alex Bilan, Elizabeth Bertram, W. F. Bronstrup, Tom Clifford.
SENACA CO.—J. F. Lescher.
CINCINNATI—E. L. Tribbey, Otto Ruchtaeschel.
COLUMBIANA CO.—Chas. Bonsall.
LIMA—E. O. McPherron.
YOUNGSTOWN — Wallace Metcalf, Joseph Koope, F. J. Hines, Louis Ratnofsky, Morris Abrams.

It was decided by motion to elect a Resolution Committee of five: Koope, Chase, Bonsall, Bilan and Young — chosen by acclamation.

A Constitution Committee of three, composed of Bronstrup, Toohey and McPherron, was chosen.

The Resolution Committee was instructed by motion to bring in a resolution on the subject of Unity.

The Temporary organization was made pernament.

A rules committee composed of Comrades Hoge and Allison was instructed to submit draft of rules at opening next session.

The aggenda submitted by the State Executive Committee was approved and adopted, two minor changes first being effected.

It was decided to elect a separate committee of three to consider organization. Comrades Bertram, Tribbey and Clifford were chosen.

Session adjourned until 2:00 p. m.

* * *

Reconvened at 3:15 p. m., the delay being due to the continued session of the various committees.

A paper on the subject of the "Contemporary International Situation" received from Comrade John Brahtin was read and applauded, and opened up a lively general discussion, Comrade Bilan contributing much information on the relative interntional influences, and giving an historical review of the growth of American capitalistic imperialism.

The Resolution Committee reported three resolutions as follows:—

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Whereas: Hundreds of loyal and faithful members of the working class have been thrown into foul and Vermin ridden Jails and federal prisons for voicing their conscientious and fearless opinions of existing conditions industrially and politicaly,

Whereas: By these outrages committed by subvenient tools of the imperialist capitalistic masters, on the spokesmen of the working class, all rights to free speech, free press and free assembly have been abrogated.

Whereas: Not being satisfied with imprisoning these hudreds of Men and women in the attempt to throttle every effort at peaceful organization of the working-class for the emancipation from capitalist oppressions, but are now engaged i nthe attempt to deport every radical or progressive thinker of foreign birth.

Whereas: These acts show unmistakably, the class consciousness of the capitalist class, and its determiaation to perpetuate its reign of oppression, and tyrany over the workers of the United States.

Therefore be it resolved: That the Communist Labor Party Conference of the State of Ohio calls upon the workers to organize to the full extent of their strength for the purpose of resisting these determined attempts to fasten upon the American workers the chains of an industrial and political Oligarchy.

And be it further resolved: That we call upon the workers of the state to support financially and morally the Army of Liberators Organization in its endeavor to aid and to free those who have already been victims of a ruthless master-class.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST-LABOR PARTY of Ohio on the MEXICAN SITUATION.

WHEREAS;— Once more the capitalist class in the United States is planning intervention in Mexico, in the name of "law and order", but in reality with the intention of subjugating the Mexican workers to the most brutal form of exploitation, i. e., exploitation under colonial administration, or under the hypocrisy of a dummy government by the capitalist interests in this country, and

WHEREAS:—For the third time within the last five years the capitalist press and all its means of publicity and education are concentrating their efforts upon the propaganda of intervention, and, as formerly, the occasional murders of American citizens in the remoter regions of Mexico are being played up in the newspapers with a wealth of exaggerated detail, and all the explanation or denial of the Mexican Government are either minimized or deliberately mininterpreted; while at the same time, the mistreatment and even murder of countless American workers in this country by the gunmen of the capitalist class is not even reported.

But with the intensification of the class truggle during and succeeding the war, the interventionists no longer conceal their real motive. The present attempt to bully the American workers into war against Mexico is based chiefly on the fact that the Mexican Government is attempting to control the disposition of the national resourses of that country, and thru taxation, is trying to retain in the National Treasury some portion of the national wealth of which that country has been consistently looted by boreign capitalists in the past, and

WHEREAS:—The Govenrment of the United States, has, so far, supported the demands of the American capitalists that Mexico change her constitution and abrogate her laws concerning her own internal administration, and this for the sole purpose of permitting foreigners to exploit the Mexican working class, therefore be it

RESOLVED:—That the COMMUNIST-LABOR PARTY of Ohio, in Conference assembled, demands that the Government of the United States withdraw its support from the American capitalist interests in their attempt to force an imperialist war against Mexico, and

Failing this, The COMMUNIST—LABOR PARTY of Ohio appeals to the workers to oppose this war by all means within their power.

We urge all workers to refuse to fight in the war which in reality is a war against the Mexican workingclass. And we reaffirm that the only struggle which can justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from the economic exploitation and political oppression.

The COMMUNITST-LABOR PARTY of Ohio extends its sympathy to the Communist Party of Mexico in its work of arousing the workers of America to the dangers of intervention, and we promise the Communist Party of Mexico our heartiest support in preventing a conflict between the workers of the United State and Mexico.

To our comrades of all countries affiliated with the Communist International we appeal for the defense of the Mexican workingclass by every possible demonstration of solidarity.

The Committee report was received and the committee continued. The Conference adjurned until 7.00 p. m.

RESOLUTION ON MOB RULE:

WHEREAS: Workers Organizations both industrial and political have been prevented from functioning by lawless and law abrogating bands of irresponsible persons masquerading under the guise of Law and Order and

WHEREAS: The Unions and radical minority political parties are prevented from meeting, by coersive methods their meetings have been broken up; the members and those in attendance cruelly, man-handled and jailed on baseless and unfonded charges,

And WHEREAS: All this is done in contradiction to the capitalist class made laws and are violated whenever they deem it necessary.

And WHEREAS: Extra — Constitutional bodies are endorsed by governmental institutions such as the so-called Loyal American Legion, — Knights of Liberty and others who are vested with the power of state and municipal law and are exercising those rights deliberately for their own narrow, terroristic aims

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the Communist Labor Party Conference of Ohio go on record as unalterably opposed to and is ready to fight such methods of coersion and terrorism with the organized power of the workers.

Reconvened at 7.10 p. m. and the Committee on Organization reported as follows:

ORGANIZATION

The question of organization of our party is at this time paramount to all others, the systematic terrorism that has been carried on for some months and now generally prevails thruout the state, has resulted in our local organizations being discriminated against in the use of halls and all public places for purposes of propaganda and organization.

New organization tactics are therefore necessary where the organization as such is not permitted to function, individual effort must be put forth, more personal methods must be used for the upbuilding of our organization.

The time has passed where the organization can delegate to a few of its members the carrying on of its work, from now on every member must consider himself or herself a propagandist and organizer, by personal solicitation of individuals. By the passing of literature from hand to hand and constant personal effort by our members must we now carry on our work, members must be made to realize the responsibility resting upon them. They must be responsive to all demands made upon them by the organization.

The S.E.C. and the State office have outlined a plan of organization work that is now being put into operation thru out the state. We beleive this plan will meet the demands of the time. While it is a radical departure from methods used in the past we urge comrades and local organizations to lend their assistance to the field workers sent out by the state office. We are convinced that this method of organization will result in a great upbuilding of our party and we urge the fullest possible co-operation of comrades and locals with the organizers sent out by the State office.

Action was deferred after hearing the report of the State Secretary, and later referred to the Resolution Committee.

Comrade Prevey addressed the Conference on the subject of the History of the Socialist Movement in the United State, and brought out many points of information new to the younger and new members. Adjourned at 11:00 P.M. to cenvene at 10:00 a. m. Sunday morning.

Convened at 10:45 a. m. Sunday morning and comrade John C. Chase was elected Chairman for the day. Reading of minutes of former session was dispensed with.

The Resolution Committee reported two resolutions of Unity:

UNITY RESOLUTION.

We realize the essential necessity or Unity between the two Communst organizations to clear the way for ur message to the working class and he strengthening of our efforts for mancipation, and recomend that whenever the Communist Party members evince to desire for Unity, we urge upon our members that they issue a call for a joint conference with them for the purpose of discussion of grounds of Unity.

AFFILIATION RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS:—The Communist Labor Party from the day of its organization has stood for and demanded Unity, and has used its utmost endeavours to accomplish Unity and

WHEREAS—A large proportion of the rank and file of all Communist elements are in favor Unity

WHEREAS:— The officials of the Communist Party stand in the way of Unity and thus prevent the will of the rank and file from being carried out

THEREFORE Be in resolved: — That the C. L. P. conference of Ohio calls when all Communist Locals and comrades to accomplish Unity by joining hands with the Communist Labor Party, the officials of which stand interested to obtain Unity in order that one strong communist organization may result in the state of Ohio.

Both resolutions were adopted.

The Constitution Committee reported favorably their draft of a Constitution as follows. This report will be submitted to Locals later.

This session adjourned at 12:10 p. m. to reasemble at 1:30 p. m.

Convened at 1:40 p. m. and comrade Allison spoke on "The Party Situation in Ohio", outlining in detail much necessary work to be done in the immediate future. The State Secretary was instructed by motion to notify all Locals not yet affiliated with the C. L. P. that after December 31st., that they will be dropped from the roster and new locals organized.

The Organization Committee report was read a second time and adopted as offered. (See report above).

Comrade Tom Lewis spoke upon "Shop Committees", their development methods of functioning, their growing power and unlimited possibilities. His speech was eagerly listened to by the delegates and a half filled with vistors.

The Resolution Committee reported resolution No. 7, reading as follows:

WHEREAS, a campaign of organization of the Metal & Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 300 of the Industrial Workers of the World has been planned throughout the State of Ohio, and

WHEREAS, the Communist Labor Party believes the above said organization is a revolutionary industrial union, so be it

RESOLVED, that we the delegates of the Communist Labor Party assembled this 30th day of November 1919, do hereby pledge our cooperation to this and to similar industrial organizations which work of the abolition of the wage system.

Resolution adopted as read.

All Committees were discharged and the Conference adjourned sine die.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT
Conference Secretary.

CENSORSHIP STILL EXISTS.

Though it is officially stated that the censorship has been abolished in Australia, it has come to light that since the official lifting a more vicious scheme of censorship has been introduced. Lists of well-known labor advocates—writers and speakers—have been compiled, and instructions issued secretly that their correspondence be held pending perusal by the secret service agents. It is also stated that the correspondence so held is secretly steamed open, perused, and re-sealed in order that the censorship might not be detected.

When the matter was brought up in the Australian Parliament it was officially denied, but against this, the "Australian Worker" (Sydney) holds irrefutable written evidence that this system of censorship does exist.

Conference Report of Delegate Bonsall.

Salem, Ohio, Dec. 1, 1919.

REPORT OF DELEGATE
elected by Columbiana County Socialist Party to the State Conference.
of the Communist Labor Party
of Ohio, held at Akron, Ohio
Nov. 29th and 30th, 1919.

The Convention consisted of a goodly number of delegates from various parts of the state, chosen by those Locals which had affiliated with the Communist Labor Party, It was a splendid and earnest working body of men and women.

The resolution which was drawn up at the meeting of the County Committee held in G. A. R. Hall, Salem, Sunday, November 23rd., was presented by me at the Convention and I requested the delegates to express themselves concerning it without offering a motion for its adoption. About one hour was then consumed in considering it and nearly one half of the delegates present expressed their views upon the proposition embraced in said resolution. I wished very much that the comrades of Columbiana County could have been present and heard the objections against its adoption and the reason for such objections. Comrade Tom Clifford of Cleveland and many others who were well informed concerning the attitude of the officials of the Communist Party in refusing, repeatedly, the overtures of the C. L. P., looking to unity, affirmed in a calm though earnest and positive manner, the utter futility of arriving at such unity except through the methods that may be brought about by the rank and file of the Communist Party. Indeed, quite a number of the Locals of the Communist Party have already broken away from the arbitrary actions of their officials and have alligned themselves with the C. L. P.

So far as the old Socialist Party is concerned, the unlawful action of the the old committee and secretary heretofore made known to the comrades generally throughout the country together with the great falling off of the payment of dues etc., have so completely crippled the old organization that there is little left of it to affiliate and function with. For these and other reasons too numerous to mention here, the said resolution providing for a referendum vote on the matter, was not adopted.

Your delegate was agreeably surprised to see the thorough, earnest and charitable manner with which the Convention considered all the vital questions that came before it. Comrade Margaret Prevey of Akron gave a masterful, interesting and instructive address on the history and development of the Socialist Party in all of its phases, during the past eighteen years.

Comrade Chase of Akron, who, twenty years ago was elected Mayor of a city in Massachusetts on the Socialist ticket and who has been a splendid and courageous worker and speaker in the movement ever since, gave a magnificent address on the subject of "OUR POLITICAL PRISONERS"? It was brilliant, eloquent and thrilling and was given on Sunday afternoon when the hall was filled with visitors. The mention of Comrade Debs and Comrade Kate Richards O'Hare was responded to by storms of applause.

Comrade Tom Lewis, the "little giant," entertained the large assemblage by a report of his recent work and travels over the state for the purpose of instructing and organizing the Workers of various shops and factories in which each trade or craft consists of a unit and elects its own steward or chairman. These several stewards then meet whenever necessary and jointly consider and discuss the needs and desires of their respective trades. This system embraces all of the helpers or laborers and also the office force. This is along the line of the present system of Russia where each trade or craft elects its own representative to the legislative body known as the Soviet.

It is the settled purpose and determination of the C. L. P. to push this movement vigorously throughout the industrial centers of the United States, including the agricultural workers, until the Congress of the United States shall be composed exclusively of men and women coming directly from the wealth producers of the nation. It is now plainly evident that the workers of the nation must use the two weapons of political and industrial action combined, in order to accomplish the ultimate aim and goal of unseating the capitalist retainers and hirelings who have brought destruction and mob-rule in this Republic; and to establish in its place an Industrial Democracy which shall embrace the interests, happiness and protection of every man, woman and child however humble and to establish in this nation the Co-operative Commonwealth and the Brotherhood of Man.

In concluding this brief report, let me say that my judgement and conscience impel me to recommend and urge every Local througout the state, to allign itself with the Communist Labor Party before January 1st, 1920; and to enlist in earnest and courageous work to the end that the world-wide revolution which the forces of the present epoch in human history have brought to our very doors, may be guided along peaceful lines.

Fraternally submitted

CHARLES BONSALL
Delegate.

KOLCHAK'S CAPITAL FALLS TO THE BOLSHEVISTS.

Bolshevik claims of the capture of Omsk Nov. 15 were confirmed by official dispatches received today at the department. These said the soviet forces had advanced thirteen versts beyond the Kolchak capital and had destroyed bridges and railroad tracks.

LONDON.—The Bolsheviki claim the capture of ten generals and more than 100 other officers at Omsk, according to an official statement issued today by the soviet government at Moscow.

Kolchak's army is being pursued in an easterly direction, the statement adds.

Mr. Rockefeller, jr., is head of the committee representing the public to see what can be done about bringing the dead labor conference to life. His job is to make capital and labor love each other.

Meanwhile, "trench guns" which are shotguns sawed off for quick handling, have appeared on the streets in Gary. The trench guns are intended to make labor RESPECT capital, whether it LOVES capital or not.

Now that the "Casey" have armed and equipped a hundred of their number and sent them to war against the Russian workingclass government, no one ought to be in doubt as to the attitude of the Catholic Church towards the workingclass. But we have no special enmity against the Catholics. The protestan churches are every bit as bad. All the difference is the protestant churches are divided into so many warring factions that they can not develop the power of solidarity the Catholic church does.

WHAT THEY ARE SAYING IN ENGLAND.

The employers will give time to eat, time to sleep; they are in terror of time to think.—G. K. Chesterton.

I am absolutely convinced you have got to give the wage earners a share in the management of the industry in which they are employed.—Lord Robert Cecil.

There is no reason why women should not hold the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chanvellor.—Lord Haldane.

The real poor now mostly wear black coats.—Dean Inge.

The Englishman never sees himself as Ajax, but always as Parsifal.—Bernard Shaw.

Parliament is spending millions and millions of pounds for the upkeep of the army, navy and air force. One would almost think that we were just starting on a war instead of having just finished one.—General Talbot Hobbs.

The military task of the league of nations will be not merely to prevent foreign wars but to prevent civil wars. —Professor Sarolea of Edinburgh University.

Mr. Lloyd George spoke for three and a half hours, his subject being the importance of deeds not words.—Anon.

Out of this great war comes one thing A man may walk from end to end of Africa on British soil.—The Daily Express, London.

Economic rivalry between Britain and the United States will within five years lead to war, and Ireland will be the cockpit of the future slaughter.—John McLean, Scottish labor leader.

If in stretching out after a "pax mundi," which we might never attain, we were to let slip from our grasp the "pax Britannica" we should be sacrificing substance for the shadow.—Lord Milner.

I think Ireland is the darkest spot on the map, not only of the British emire, but of the world. H. H. Asquith.

I believe that if things go on as they are going at present the House of Commons will be ruined.Sir Edward Carson, M. P.

—From The World Tomorrow.

We did not go to tha School.

(Continued from page 1.)

comes by mass action it will come by action of the mass, not by the term mass action in the mouths of a few phrase mongers.

We have a lot of hell raisers in this country. Don't mistake them for revolutionists who are seeking a social revolution. Some of the hell raisers are to be found in the loyalty leagues and other allied bodies. This type of hellraiser does his hell reising in defiance of the law of the land, but gets away with it because he has the moral support of the courts and judges and the negative support of an indifferent public opinion.

Other hell raisers are to be found in the ranks of the returned soldiers. They are not to be blamed for their attitude of mind. Millions of dollars were spent in the past two years by the Democratic Administration to place the kind of propaganda before the people that would create the hell raising state of mind. The fact that it was designed primarily against the Germans as an aid to help win the war dos not alter the other fact — that that hell raising state of mind was created and is here, and will vent itself upon anything and anybody that offers an opportunity "for a little action and a chance to treat em rough!"

None of these hell raisers are class conscious, hence none of their hell raising can be of any benefit to the working class.

Any attempt to "pull off a revolution" at this time amongst the unorganized and non class conscious wage-earners is simply the folly of blindness, or of madness.

America is headed hell bent for a revolution. It will come far too soon — long before we are organized and ready for it — come because it has to come. The economic conditions are shaping themselves toward that inevitable conclusion, but instead of encouraging the workers into actions which at this time can mean nothing short of cold blooded massacre we should bend all our energies to organization and education.

Let us have less rrrevolutionary phrases and more action towards building a strong and stable organization. Let us hear less of mass action and more of CLASS action.

A Study of British Labor Strategy

By G. D. H. COLE.

It is not easy to form a correct estimate of the strength and orientation of the labor movement in Great Britain. It all depends where and how you look. There are reactionary streaks in British labor hardly paralleled elsewhere unless in the United States; but there is also a strong and growing leftward movement which may at any time sweep along with it a big proportion of organied labor. Viewed as a whole, the British labor movement seems about the most chaotically organied in the world; but in this chaos there are great groups and industries which are effectively united in practically blackleg-proof combinations. If the extreme left is only a small minority, so is the extreme right; and, while British labor is not "class-conscious" in any full sense, it is certainly still less conscious of any unity with the capitalist system, such as a few of its own leaders and most of the press set out to preach.

American observers, perhaps owing to a deep sonsciousness of their own troubles, have been apt in recent years to appraise British labor at too high a value. They have taken for accomplished facts what are only tendencies struggling to overcome opposition and inertia, and some of their estimates of leading personalities in our movement seem to us in Great Britain almost ludicrously exaggerated. In particular, they have almost fallen over one another in acclaiming 'Labor and the New Social Order," the pamphlet which Mr. Sidney Webb drafted as a statement of the policy of the reorganied Labor party, whereas the left wing here has, to say the least, not got very excited over the latest exposition of Fabianism in politics.

Greatly as the Labor party has strengthened its political position since its reorganization, the developments which really count for most have taken place in the industrial sphere. The war resulted in a huge increase not only in the membership but also in the strength of trade unionism. It also gave an impetus to new ideas and better organization which is only now beginning to make itself felt. Amalgamation of rival and overlapping unions and an approximation to the "industrial" structure are slow in coming; but gradually the movement in that direction is taking shape, and important amalgamations, impossible during the war, are entering into the sphere of practical industrial politics.

The mere amalgamation of trade unions, however, though it helps to provide a better instrument for carrying on the struggle, is far less significant than the growing change in trade-union orientation. Before the war, the idea of workers' control in industry was struggling against huge odds. It was advocated by a few unions, by the few scattered organizations of industrial unionists, and by the then wholly unorganized but influential group of guild socialists. Apart from these, it was opposed by the trade-union leaders and ignored by the most of the rank and file. The idea was still in the early stages of propagandist activity, and had certainly not reached the stage of formulation as a definite programme by responsible labor bodies.

The war has changed all that. Several of the largest and most important unions, including the Miners' Federation, the National Union of Railwaymen and the other two railway unions, the principal societies in the post office, and others, have formulated definite proposals for the assumption of control jointly with the state as owner, while in other industries, such as engineering, shipbuilding and building, the control idea has made enormous headway, although no concrete proposals for a complete system of control have yet been officially put forward. The "rank and file" organizations of the district councils among the railway men, and of the shop stewards' and workers' committees among the engineers and kindred workers, have been the most active unofficial agencies in pressing forward the control idea.

The strategy of the class struggle in Great Britain centres largely round this question of industrial control. The capitalist system in industry is manifestly breaking up, and it is becoming more and more difficult for the capitalist employer to ensure either continuous operation of his works, or efficiency (ever the capitalist standard) even when his works are running. This is because he finds his workers decreasingly willing to go on working for profit, or to exert themselves in order to pile up profits under anti-social conditions. Great Britain is therefore confronted with the same problem which is troubling the greater part of Europe—the fact of decreasing production as a factor making for unrest, high prices, and perhaps finally revolution.

There can be no doubt that this danger is understood in capitalist circles, and that all manner of schemes are being discussed whereby the workers may be induced to cooperate in increasing production and the capitalist class may at the same time retain all its control over industry and the social power dependent upon industry. The Whitley scheme, or rather the manner in which it was taken up by the Government, was the first definite attempt in this direction; although it has manifestly failed to achieve any sustantial results, or to enlist the support of the main body of labor, it is still assiduously pushed in capitalist circles—for example, by Mr. Lloyd George in his last speech to the House of Commons on the Government's industrial policy. Similar "sprats to catch mackerel" are being thrown out in other directions by those whose object it is to maintain at all costs the old industrial system.

Despite these attempts, and despite all the talk about unity, there can be no doubt that the two parties in industry are getting steadly further apart. In almost every industry there is the possibility of an explosion, and in many of them actual explosions are now prevented only by the unfavorable condition of the labor market. This does not mean, of course, that the British trade unions have one and all determined to end capitalism—still less that they have formed a concerted plan with this end of view. The discontent is still primarily with particular abuses and only secondly with capitalism itself; and a concerted plan of action is almost entirely lacking. There are present only the elements which may later be worked up into a coherent attack upon capitalism; at present they oply make the capitalistic system of production work more and more inefficiently without providing a better system to take its place.

Moreover, generally speaking, each industry, and sometimes each separate craft, goes its own way largely disregardful of the rest. Except for the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwayman, and Transport Workers there is hardly any attempt at combined action. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the only body which professes to represent the industrial movement as a whole, steadily eschews industrial disputes and industrial action, and takes great care to avoid responsibility and indeed decisive action of every sort. The industrial movement is, indeed, too largely leaderless and uncoordinated, and the Trades Union Congress remains a mere debating society, with more than a suggestion of the beanfeast about it. It neither acts nor organizes nor undertakes propaganda; the only form of action at which it excels is obstruction.

Accordingly, there is always a strong temptation for the "rank and file" left-wing trade unionist in Great Britain to kick over the traces, denounce the existing unions and combinations as useless, and set out to create new bodies or unofficial bodies sid by side with the old. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that attempts to create new unions on a class basis are entirely futile, and that unofficial organiations can succeed only as temporary bodies influencing the existing unions. The I. W. W. is and will remain negligible in Great Britain. The Socialist Labor party, which once tried to promote the One Big Union as a rival to existing unions, has abandoned the attempt, and now contents itself with stimulating and permeating such movements as that of the shop stewards. If the main body of British labor is chaotically organized and is lacking in constructive ideas for a grand assault on capitalism, it is none the less stably organized and incapable of being broken or superseded. It may possibly be led gradually leftward, and made to develop a greater class consciousness and a more definite plan; but short cuts which aim at arriving at the ideal by substituting one organization for another are doomed to failure from the outset.

This fact affects not only the industrial but also the political movement. The Labor party is based upon the trade unions, and separate political and socialist organization plays in it only a small part. The British Labor party is often denounced as a hybrid, neither fish, flesh, nor fowl; but, whatever it is, it derives from its trade-union basis a stability second only to that of the trade unions themselves. The left wing may and does grumble justly at the slackness and lack of ideas of the Labor party in Parliament; but it is not likely to succeed in launching sucessfully a better party. The relation of political and industrial labor in Great Britain is a clear case of the dominance of economic over political organization under capitalist conditions.

These facts also determine the international attitude of British Labor. As an effective force, the British Labor movement can make itself felt internationally only trough the Labor party and the Trades Union Congress. Many will hold that this is tantamount to not making itself effectively felt at all; but it is at least clear that there is no other way. Even though the Second International is unsatisfactory. British labor is not in the least likely to join the Third. It will only, as the leftward tendency in the British movement grows stronger, begin to push the Second International itself to the left.

In fact, the orientation of British labor as a whole depends finally upon the attitude of the big unions which form the basis of its organization. The only way of moving British labor to the left is by moving these organizations, and the only way of moving them is by securing from within the adoption of more radical programmes of industrial control. The emergence of the demand for control into a clear practical issue for the miners apd, to a less extent, for the railway men has done more to push them leftwards than any issue not directly affecting their own industry could have done. British labor is learning the strategy of the class-struggle as a whole only by learning it first in its particular relation to each industry. When this lesson has gone home to the workers in most of the vital industries, a coherent plan will begin to emerge, and a real leftward movement will be possible for labor as a whole.

—From The Nation.

SKYGAC SAYS:

I'd rather live in an all-catholic community than an all-Methodist community, as the Catholics are the more liberal of the two.

* * *

The criminal syndicalist laws are an acknowledgement on the part of the master class of the power the working class potentially possess. The pity f it is,the master-class discovered this potential power before the workers did. — But the workers are learning.

* * *

The same government that allows one man to do the work and another man to reap the reward is now busy rounding up the reds! Why? Because the reds were teaching the truth about this work and reward.

The dominant class has great hopes of controlling the American Legion and having it do the dirty work for them, but our guess is that they will have another guess coming. Thousands upon thousands of the A. L. are class-conscious and more are becoming so every day. The American Legion has already served the master class with notice that they will not do police duty in the interests of the master class. Our guess is that the A. Legion will be the backbone of the social revolution in America.

* * *

The Pagans had their Gods but it took the Christians to place beneath every grave the glare of hell.

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GOMPERS AS HE IS.

It is hard to believe that the great capitalists and managers of industry really understand conditions among the workers of this country, or they would scarcely continue to play with dynamite as they are doing. They ought to listen to Samuel Gompers, for they have no more genuine friend and servitor than he. "We demand" he says, "a voice in the determination of the conditions under which we will give service . . . We have never made an assault, — and it is furthest from our thoughts — upon the rights of property or the right of management; —no revolution for Mr. Gompers, not even an unkind look at the present God-given industrial order—but if the employers break the steel strike, says Mr. Gompers, and men go about preaching "the tyranny which they experience and the injustices which have been meted out to them, then, whatever betide, you have sown the seed and will bear the consequence." We are not often able to agree with Mr. Gompers, but we do unreservedly commend his warning to that large body of American employers who appear to believe that we are still living in the middle of the nineteenth century. The words we have quoted should carry the more weight in such quarters because there is nowhere to be found a more sincere and consistent supporter of the old capitalistic order than the president of the American Federation of Labor.

The Nation.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

said it appears to me that your ideas would be screamingly funny if they did not lead to such painful conclusions."

"What do you mean," the other two gasped almost in one breath.

"I mean what I say. We belong to the working class. You say the working class must be organized. One of you say soberly and the other says generally. Now why don't you ask can they be organized. Collins says yes, at least that part of them who do not drink. For this Rudolph calls him a Christian. How are Rudolph and Collins going to work together in the same organization, when it takes a steel cage to keep them from "beating each other up," yet both of them are sober men. Colins wants to eliminate the weak and let them die, Rudolph wants to forgive the weak, which means that he must carry them. For it is logical that if a man is weak he will have to lean on you. Now if you are fighting the boss who has both of his fists ready with a drunkard in one arm and a mental defective in another, then who is going to get rich."

"That's what I say," roared Collins.

Jack ignored him, "Both of you say that acquired characteristics are not transmitted, yet you try to give to the race a mental tendancy which by nature it does not posses except for purposes of battle. There is no tendancy toward productive solidarity in the human race that I can see. They do not organize for production. They bunch together for strife. The brainiest and brightest of the race are continually crawling upward over the duller and the weaker. That is the law of life, and it appears to me that your endeavor to set up a republic of the weak will always be successfully thwarted by the strong."

(Continued next week.)

LENIN
THE MAN AND HIS WORK
By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS
and the impressions of
Col. Raymond Robins
and Arthur Ransome
$1.35 A COPY

THIS is the first authentic biography of Lenin, and the first account of him in action since his accession to power.

THE three authors tell their story from first hand information. They knew Lenin intimately and have talked with him frequently since his rise to power. Col. Robins was the Commander of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia, and his relations with Lenin were of an official character.

HITHERTO Lenin has remained a mysterious personality. Here for the first time we meet with the real Lenin.

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LIGHT AFTER DARKNESS

(Continued from page 1.)

pass center, about six blocks long and three blocks wide. A parade in Centralia is a rare occurrence—a thing in itself that adds point to the contention that this parade was not designed by its promoters so much to celebrate the armistice as to be used as a shield in wrecking the I. W. W. hall and mobbing Britt Smith, the secretary, who, everyone in Centralia knew, was the one they wanted to get. Further this parade marched fully two blocks beyond the usual point of countermarching of all previous parades— the I. W. W. hall was four blocks beyond the outside limits of the business things.

Centralia, Wash., has a small business section of the town—and,why the belligerent attitude of many of the paraders; why were vile epithets freely shouted; why the cries, "Let's go get the —— — ———!" "Let's clean 'em out!" shrieked by individuals apparently carrying out a program. The attack followed when the rear of the parade pushed on to the vicinity of the hall.

Those in the hall must have observed this offensive conduct, but in the face of a designed assault it must have appeared aqually as dangerous to abandon the place as to remain within its shelter. They stayed. The attack came. They defended themselves. That they defended themselves only and did not attack is selfevident. That they were the victims of a premediated assault is borne out by events occuring prior to the parade on Armistice day.

The Commercial Club of Centralia, the Elks and other organizations, had held meetings at which the I. W. W. had been denounced and violent language used. At one such meeting, reported in the Seattle Union-Record, a speaker, in condemning the Centralia chief of police, is declared to have said that he (the speaker) would clear the I. W. W. out of the town in 24 hours and another, one Scales, is alleged to have made the frank statement that no jury in the country would convict anybody for "cleaning out" the I. W. W. hall.

Thomas Lassiter, a sales agent for the Union-Recvord, was seized on the town, warned never to return again and threatened with bodily harm if he did.

Britt Smith, secretary of the I. W. W. branch of Centralia, repeatedly received warnings that he would be mobbed unless he left the town.

Many other events leading up to this afair, will be presented in due time. To one familiar with the situation and the circumstances leading up to this tragic event, the guilty parties are as apparent as is the difference between black and white. The I. W. W. charges that the secret forces back of the Armistice day demonstration are the instigators and responsible agents. They deliberately organized a mission of violence against men, who, under the circumstances, could do nothing but defend themselves.

We suggest a few questions for fair minded people to ponder on. Why was a town like Centralia selected for the Armistice day celebration instead of much larger places nearby, as Seattle, Tacoma or Aberdeen? Why were certain people (known I. W. W. haters) from other towns, invited to Centralia and why did they arrive in Centralia with sidearms? Why were detectives from the Seattle police force and reporters for a Tacoma newspaper conveniently on the scene when this thing happened? Did a Tacoma newspaper reporter go there merely to write up a smalltown parade, and did Seattle detectives go there to hold back the crowds from the line of march in a town of such size?

Why was a censorship placed on the telephone and telegraph that night?

Where did the many guns and pistols come from that everyone stamped as "loyal' had possession of immediately after the occurrence?

Why was the Seattle Union-Record suppressed? Was it feared that it might give the other side of the story?

Where did all the booze come from with which certain elements seemed to be well supplied?

These and many other questions are vital to a true knowledge of the Centralia affair.

Circumstances point unerringly to the real instigators of this [illegible] thing. Reason rejects the plain falsity of the capitalist press in its story that the I. W. W. planned this shooting.

We will get at the truth of this affair, just as we did in the [illegible] massacre. We will fix the responsibility where it belongs. The truth will be vindicated and the guilty agents of plutocracy will be pilloried in the judgement of an awakening working class.

—Industrial Worker.

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

FORMERLY THE
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RECOGNIZE SOVIET REGIME OR WORKERS' TROOPS MAY ENTER BERLIN, SAYS MINOR

"Recognize the Russian Soviet government, and thereby end bloodshed in the numerous private wars directed against Russia. The ultimate triumph of the Red army seems certain. It is the only organized army in Europe today, and, unless the Russian workers' government gets recognition the Red army is going to march right through to the North Sea."

Thus Robert Minor, cartoonist and writer, who was in Soviet Russia for nine months during the formative stage of the present government, and who in his travels saw the White Terror as it swept over Finland, Russia and Germany, yesterday summed up the situation in Europe for The Call.

Minor arrived in New York yesterday, having crossed the continent of North America twice since his adventures in Europe, addressing workers of America. He asserted that an awakening of labor was taking place in this country and that the minds of the workers were being clarified as the Iron Heel of the bourgeoisie was stamped down upon them.

He said the development of the Soviet idea alone could prevent a world cataclysm since only the socialization of industry, which is the foundation of the Russian system of government, can meet the unrest of the workers throughout the world.

Soviet Troops May Enter Berlin.

Any army that the Allies or the newly formed buffer states can place before the Soviet legions will vanish, Minor declared. He said the Soviet troops might soon occupy Berlin with the acclaim of the masses.

Russia is about to settle 12 wars and make peace on the Baltic fronts, he said. These border states will be scrupulously avoided by the Russians in their onward march, but they will go through Poland like a mouse through Camembert cheese, Minors asserted.

Once in Germany, the masses who are horrified at the brutal Noske regime will rise to welcome the liberating troops of Soviet Russia, Minor believes.

Minor was emphatic in saying that he had no connection with the Soviet representatives in this country, but that he had his own sources of information. The British have already entertained the peace offer of the Soviet government, as have many other European nations, he said. He felt certain that the artificial barrier arround Russia would soon fall to pieces.

Idea to Continue Working.

Should a peace be arranged and the Russian republic recognized, the dynamic idea of socializing industry will continue to work in the minds of the intelligent workers in every country, but it will then be allowed to work peacefully without any more killings, he declared.

> "Every time I think of violence, I get nausea at the stomach, for I remember slipping on the blood of dead men of Berlin," Minor said.

Minor continued as follows:

"The Soviets will not make any aggressive war, they will succeed through the workers of each country. If it is necessary to continue fighting, I think one big battle will settle it for all Europe. The Red army is equipped to do it, having supplies that were intended for an army of 15,000,000 men. They have but 1,500,000, but they are the only disciplined and trustworthy troops in Europe today.

Soviet Forces Gain Wheat.

"They are now in Omsk, the heart of the wheat country, and this opens for all of Russia a wheat supply that has been garnered and hidden for the last six years."

Minor said that the world needed the Soviet idea, which was the only hope for the present disrupted state of society. Its acceptance he termed the only thing that could avert a smash of the present cosial structure — a cataclysm accompanied by more bloodshed and misery.

(Continued on page 4)

WHY THE ARREST OF MINERS AT CADIZ

One Editor's Version and Our Answer

Cadiz, O., Dec. 4 1919.

The Ohio Socialist,
Cleveland, Ohio.
3207 Clark Ave.

Gentlemen:—

I am enclosing a clipping from this week's issue of the Cadiz Republican showing that Mr. Sharts omitted some very important facts from his write-up concerning the arrest of nine men at the coal mines near Cadiz. I have talked with miners and miners' officials regarding the matter of weighing the coal, and find that it had nothing to do with the arrest of those men, but the Prosecutor here showed me a great deal of incrediary literature taken in conncetion with the arrest of those men, and that literature and practically advocating the overthrow of the government was the real cause of their arrest. You do not realize the number of real Americans who resent foreigners trying to upset a government they did not help to organize in any way.

Sincerely,
H. B. M. CONNELL.

(Clipping from Cadiz Republican.)

**Real Cause of Arrests—
Spreading Red Literature**

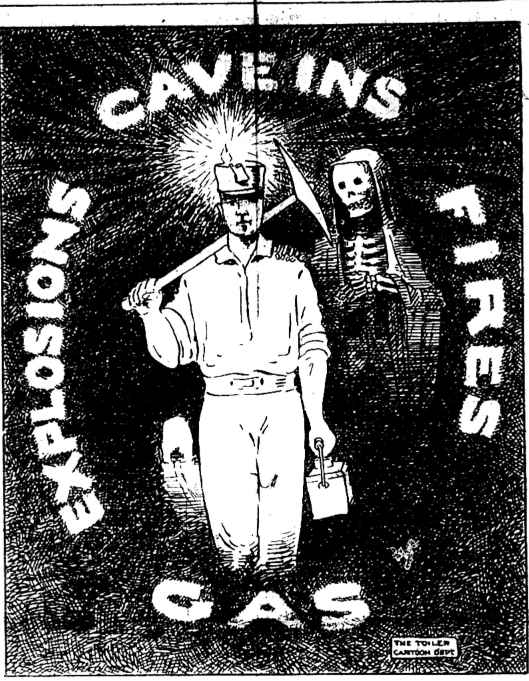
Several weeks ago we received a copy of "The Ohio Socialist," with a two column article marked referring to the arrest of the seven men at Duncan, who are now out on bond. The names of these men are Wm. Makarus, Joe Vegh, Jr., Ottone Alterio, Julius Simon, Joe Haborka, George Kaari, Joe Toth, Jim Domasley, and Steve Bogo. They were indicted for criminal syndicalism, but the Ohio Socialist tries to show that their arrest was a sort of conspiracy on the part of the coal operators to have them arrested for complaining about the way the coal was weighed. The party who sent us the copy of the Socialist carefully erased the name on the label, evidently not wanting to have it known that he took such a paper, and underneath the marked article the words, "How much of this is true?" were written.

Another paper, "The Cleveland Citizen," a labor publication, has been sent to this office, containing a paragraph about the arrest of the men in question. It speaks of these men as having been arrested for violating an "infamous measure that was sneaked through the Ohio Legislature last spring for stamping out sedition, anarchy, etc." We will quote a little from the Socialist, the date being October 15.

The Army of Liberators has again come to the rescue. It has sent attorney Jos. W. Sharts to the coal fields of eastern Ohio, to rescue seven miners from the clutches of capitalism. Not content with the BIG steal, that is exploiting the workers as wage slaves, the coal operators have been caught stealing from the miners by not giving them full weight for the coal they mine.

The miners, as soon as they found out that they were being robbed, quit work. And that was treason. Immediately a charge of violating the Freeman act was placed against the committee which attempted to secure action from other miners for a strike

(Continued on page 2)



His ever present Companion.

The Miners Go Back -- But as Rebels.

The coal strike is settled—for the present. The miners have shouldered their picks, swallowed the bitter pill of partial def eat at the hands of their officials and the government, they have again resumed their labors of furnishing the coal that makes industry and civilization possible. But hey have done it in a spirit of rebellion that will not be quieted by after-explanations and conferences of their officials and the government.

The smallness of the gain made by the strikers is due to the spineless actions their officials at Indianapolis, when they have faced with governmental bluff and swagger in the form of a court injunction ordering them to call off the strike. Never in the history of labor unionism did a group of labor officials crumble with more ridiculous and shameful alacrity before a groundless bluff than did these labor "leaders".

If the miners' officials at Indianapolis had stood their ground like men and called the government's bluff—gone to jail for contempt if necessary, there would have been a different tale to tell to-day. Their hypocritical pretense of patriotism in the face of the court injunction is the most shameful instance of backing down on record. "We are Americans, we cannot go against our government," they are credited with saying in extenuation of their spineless conduct. What they should have told the miners, and what they probably did say to themselves was—we are afraid to go to jail, it's uncomfortable, besides, it will give us a "bad name", and then of course it isn't really necessary that the miners win—also, if we show the government that we are "patriotic" we may get something by a "compromise"—and stay out of jail."

Just how strong their supine knuckling down was resented by the rank and file of the miners was immediately seen in their unanimous refusal to go back to work at the orders of the government and their officials. But the door having been opened to compromise and the miners now being placed on the defensive instead of in an aggressive position, the fight could only be carried on to its logical conclusion—a partial gain with a governmental "promise" from Wilson that the demands of the miners would be "considered" later.

The miners came out of the mines as strikers—they go back as rebels— rebels against an unfriendly government and treacherous union officials who had not the courage to carry thru the job they were morally committed to. The miners have received an object lesson in the capitalist class character of the government which from the first moment of the strike assembled its legal machinery to force the miners back to their underground dundgeons and keep them on the job of producing coal for the profit of the operators. How well the coal barons' profits were guarded is seen in the fact that the whole efforts of the govern- would insure a profit to the mine owners. Their profits are gauranteed, they stand no chance of losing. The attitude of the government proves this to the miners—that when it is a question as to who shall win, the workers or the owners of the industry, the strength of the government is thrown to the support of the owners without equivocation or as much as the batting of an eye. The government has lent its support to the operators and by its attitude toward the miners in this struggle shown its true capitalistic character and proven true the assertion of Marx, when he said, the capitalist state is but a committee for conducting the affairs of the bourgeoise. The truth of this statement has been branded into the minds of the coal diggers, the class lines have been drawn taunt and the true character of the government is seen for what it is.

The miners go back to the mines dissillusioned of the paternalism of the government. Its frankly outspoken unfriendliness has turned to bitterness the faith of the miners in the impartiality of the government and has shaken their faith in the labor-protecting qualities.

They go back, but they go back groping for a weapon that shall enable them to "come back". The strike is not settled, only a truce has been established. The miner will find the weapon to win with in greater solidarity of labor, in the breaking down of craft lines and the amalgation of all labor in industrial unions and the close affiliation of these in One Big Union and the class-conscious use of his political power.

The weapon is here and the miner will find it even in his under ground chanels. He goes back to the mines a rebel but he may come out again—a revolutionist.

Trades Congress Demands Britain Treat with Soviet

LONDON.—The Trades Union Congress adopted a resolution today calling upon the Government to consider immediately the peace overtures of the Soviet Government and raise the blockade between Russia and the outside world. They also demand the right for an independent inquiry into political, industrial and economic conditions in Russia.

ROME.—The Socialist deputies moved in the Chamber today a resolution for recognition of the Russian Soviet government. Restoration of trade with Russia also is demanded.

WORKERS' PAPERS RESUME PUBLICATION.

The Seattle Union Record has resumed publication after about ten days of non-appearance. At the time of the Centralia tragedy it was suppressed by federal action, its editor, E. B. Ault and other officers of the paper were jailed on charges of criminal syndicalism. Mailing privelege which were taken away by authorities have been returned to them.

The Industrial Worker, northwestern organ of the I. W. W. also suffered being compelled to cancel publications for two weeks. It is now out again and we hope no further difficulties will prevent the publication of these two weapons of industrial democracy.

SOVIET OFFERS PEACE TO ALLIES

The Toiler is enabled to publish this week the most important public document since the terms of the armistice with Germany were signed a year ago.

It is the full draft of the terms on which the Soviet Government of Russia is ready to make peace with the allies, as brought back by Colonel Malone, M. P., from Russia and first furnished by him to "The Herald" the London Socialist Daily.

"This document I have brought back," Colonel Malone informed the Daily Herald, "is a provisional agreement as a basis for discussion.

"America has not been lacking in signs that she is willing to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government. The French Government must decide soon.

"Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland have two alternatives: (a) complete independence and co-operation with the Soviet Government, or (b) reabsorption as a vassal State to an autocratic Empire. There is little doubt which they will choose. They have, in fact, already made up their minds.

"What course will England take? Will she base her policy on financial ventures or the cause of humanity? I believe that the majority of the British people are in favor of peace.

Colonel Malone has already made a strong appeal in the House of Commons for immediate peace with Russia. In the Russian debate he declared he had discussed the question of the peace with the leaders of the Soviet Government and he believed it was possible to arrange peace on substantially the same terms as those published by Mr. Bullitt. He had in his possession a draft on which such a discussion could take place.

He believed it would be possible to call a Peace Conference of the war factions in Russia, and by meeting round a table bring this orgy of death and bloodshed to an end.

Read full text of the terms of Lenine's peace offer on page 4.

WHAT NEXT?

(High Spots in a Lecture delivered by Prof. Scott Nearing at Akron, (Nov. 11th 1919.)

By A. C. Blanchard.

"The times are out of joint." All periods of revolutionary changes are characterized by this feeling.

WHAT WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE NEXT.

Natural resources should be utilized for the whole human race. Natures gifts are the heritage of all the peoples of the U. S. The total income of the United States per annum is approximately seventy-four thousand million dollars or between thirty-six or seventy-seven hundred dollars per family.

Steinmetz, the wizard of electricity has estimated that if our working population worked two hundred days and five hours per day the production of the U. S. would be as much as it is now. This would mean that we could have a month for Holidays, a week off for Washington's Birthday, Decoration Day, the Fourth of July, Labor Day, and work five days a week the rest of the time.

WHAT WE HAVE GOT

It is estimated that there are thirty millions of people in poverty in the U. S. In the New York Schools 21.6 percent of the children are seriously undernourished, with a bank deposit of $5,800.000.000.00. It is true that there are 16,100 people in the U. S. receiving a salary of $10.000.00 and over.

Liberate people from ignorance.

The Russian Government is the new basis of organization. The U. S. Oil interest in Mexico are protected by the Press of this country. The advertising agent is paid $20.000.00 to take care of the oil interests in that country. Carranza will take action against foreign invasion to get control of Maxican capital, by forbidding foreigners to come into that country.

It is for us to eliminate fear and hate. Capitalist interests deliberately foster fear and hate and make poverty a necessity. During the war they made us feel that we must buy liberty bonds, war stamps, and contribute to the Red Cross, or loss our jobs. It was this fear made many do what they would otherwise not have done. They controlled the Press and told of the atrocities of the Germans, and the Bolsheviki, many of them lies, and many of the same things that were told of the Allies were written with pride in big lines. These lies were a war necessity.

This false method of organizing society puts all Europe under suspicion —fear, hate, famine, disease, undernourishment, no coal, and no work.

Brotherhood is our ideal. As the result of fear and hate, 8,000.000 boys died on the field of battle or of wounds — 20,000.000 died of famine, with $2,000.000.000.000.00 spent in money. This because the basis upon which they tried to build society was wrong.

EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH is the new basis upon which Russia is organizing, and which will eventually come to pass. The New York Times and Chicago Tribune also the Cleveland Leader denounce us as dangerous to society.

WHAT WE ARE GOING TO GET.

Unless unforeseen events hasten a change it will be thirty years before this new basis of organization will overtake the U. S.

This country will be last because the employing class are so well organized to forestall any progress. For thirty years in the U. S. the free lands have been gone. As long as there was free land we still had a right to work; but without it we lost that right.

In 1890 Rockefeller, in the Colorado coal mines began to dictate when, where, and the conditions under which we were to work. If you don't believe this just try going to work at ten in the morning and work till five and see what will happen. J. D. R. Jr. owns today 250.000 jobs and also owns

(Continued on page 4)

MOB TERRORISM IN OAKLAND

One would think to read the capitalist papers that "The Reds" of Oakland California are being hunted down with machine guns or else tared and feathered and burned at the stake.

Such is not the case. There is however a coetsion going on by mob threat and police raids that make it very difficult for the freedom of speech, press or assembly to prevail.

On Armistice Day the American Legion was holding a parade and ball at the Civic Auditorium, Oakland. On that day and the proceeding day, warnings were sent to Loring Hall. The Headquarters of the Communist Labor Party and The World that a raid would take place that night at ten P. M. At 8:30 P. M. a committee of two went to police station and warned the police of the threatened raid and at ten thirty a committee of the Metal Tradesmen went and reported that a threat had come to raid both the Loring Hall and the Labor Temple. A number of party members were at the hall until eleven P. M. mailing World Bazaar tickets and the Metal Trades strike committee was in cession until eleven and a large number of the members stayed around until half past eleven. There are several of them who say they say no policemen in that neighborhood during the whole evening.

At twelve fifteen a mob of about twenty came, broke in the glass doors, smashed furniture, an expensive show case, burned and damaged about eight hundred dollars worth of books and magazines and tore down the charters of The Ladies Auxillary of the Herman Sons, a very respectable German Lodge that had been meeting in the hall for many years and who were 100 percent American when it came to buying Liberty bonds and functioning in other patriotic ways during the war. If we were writting headlines for a sensational newspaper we would tell a few things that they did in this way. "The mob of midnight marauders that wrecked Loring Hall broke the American Flag pole, trampled the bible under foot and burned the constitution and the Declaration of Independence", all of which really took place among the other depredations that night.

The police came in time to view the bon fire but could find no trace of any of the mob. Police do not find it so difficult to arrest "Reds".

After the raid a warning came that something would happen if we attempted to hold any meetings or issue The World. We refrained from holding meetings but as The World has second class mailing privileges we went ahead and got it out as usual.

Threats began to come thick and fast and both the printer and the World force demanded that police guards be put on duty at the print shop and Loring Hall. Then came the warning of tar and feathers for any one caught at Loring Hall on Tuesday night following the first mob raid. On that night Editor J. E. Snyder, State Secretary James H. Dolsen and Ex state Secretary John C. Taylor were arrested and charged with organizing a party that advocatage. On Wednesday when C. A. Tobey a business man of Oakland, who had acted as chairman of the convention of the Communist Labor Party on Sunday November 9th at Loring Hall, came to bail Snyder out he was arrested and that evening Edric B. Smith a former member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and active in organizing the Communist Labor Party was also arrested when he went up to see Taylor.

While these arrests were going on in Oakland the home of Max Bedacht a member of the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party was invaded. His books and papers seized and himself taken to the city jail and the next morning transferred to Oakland where he was released along with the rest on two thousand bond. We should have mentioned that the home of Edric B. Smith was also raided by the police while no one was at home but his little children.

When "The World" came out Friday of that week it contained the National platform, labor program. National and state Constitutions of the Communist Labor Party. For this Snyder was again arrested and held on $4,000 bond. Saturday P. B. Cowdery received a decoy phone call that Snyder wanted to see him and walked right into jail. Cowdery is circulation manager of "The World."

The printer, Franz Roepcke, who publishes The World, was warned that a warrant would be served on him and his place wrecked if he published the paper again and so he served notice that under the circumstance he would have to obey the order for already his insurance had been cancelled and the employing printers had threatened to expell him from the organization if he printed any more radical literature.

"The case of holding up "The World" was taken to Commissioner Morse, the head of the Public Health and Safty department of the City Council and he refered it to the Chief of Police who forbade the publication of the paper, giving as his reason "The unsettled state of the public mind." In other words Oakland police force stands helpless to protect a regular newspaper that is not out-lawed by the government because a mob of irresponsible people threaten to raid the premisses of a print shop and a hall both within four blocks of the police station. We took our case before the city council and the matter was turned over to the police department once more where it is still pending. The council refused to hear our case at all.

A committee, presumably from the American legion, is waiting upon our advertisers and ordering them to take their ads from the paper. The back numbers are being seized from the news stands and not a single act of the Czar's police but what is being duplicated in Oakland.

And now comes the arrest of Anita Whitney on the charge of Criminal Syndicalism and Sabotage. She has been the storm center at the Civic Center Society for the past three weeks. She was billed to speak before that organization on The Negro Lynchings in The United States. But her membership in the Communist Labor Party and the fact that she is treasurer of The Labor Defense League that is organized to defend anyone arrested under the Criminal Syndicalist law brought a storm of protest from the conservative elements of the society, as well as from the American Legion and the police force of fthe city. The more liberal minded members of the Center won out however and Miss Whitney spoke to a packed house at Hotel Oakland after the Center folks had devoted two hours to discussing the question. The vote in her favor was 94 to 49. The police inspector took the floor and warned the ladies that Miss Whitney is a dangerous radical and helped to organize a party that stands for the Third International and subject to arrest under the criminal syndicalist law. But the warning was not heeded. Miss Whitney has been very active in club and social welfare work for years and is highly respected.

After the meeting Miss Whitney was arrested, taken to prison and bailed out the same evening by a number of the Center women.

All the cases come up in police court for a hearing on December 17th. The test will come then whether a political party can be arrested or not and whether it is criminal syndicalism to stand for the working class and its right to size political power and run this country for the men and women who toil.

On the night that Editor Snyder was arrested the second time a raid was made by the police on "The World" Office and a couple of auto loads of books and other belongings were carted to police station. All the stuff they took was material purchased by Local Oakland while still a part of the Socialist Party and was transfered when the local voted itself into the Communist Labor Party.

During the past two months The World has devoted much of its space to the strikes and has fearlessly published the names of the struck firms and the people scabbing in their places of business. The tailors sold The World in front of the struck store. We have made a special drive for food for the striking tailors and done what we could to help them along by furnishing a dining hall and a meeting place ot Loring Hall. We have also backed the Metal Trades Strike. We are not far from right when we claim that much of the persecution is due to this support of the strikers. We have however drawn the spleen of the reactionary central Labor Council as well as the big business interests and it is hard to tell which hates us the most.

Whether The World lives or not the good cause will go on and the Comrades will unite in stronger bonds to fight the capitalist system. Whether the party and World force go to jail or not the cause will not be asleep and others will step in to carry on the good work. We can freely say with Whitman. "Liberty let others dispair of you, we never despair of you."

Pay em today—Dues we mean.

Comrade H. Miller of Lronton takes $5.00 worth of sub cards gets a free copy of Lenin—. You can do the same. Send the five, please yourself and your family.

And here is four dollars more from comrade F. W. Hoffmeyer of Akron.

Why the Arrest

(Continued from page 1)

against this robbery. These miners, seven of them, all members of the party except one, are now lodged in the Harrison county jail.

It will be remembered that we announced that Attorney Sharts was one of the lawyers who tried to keep Debs out of prison for his work in trying to thwart the government while engaged in the war. Sharts made a lengthy report to the "Socialist" about the men whose names appear above, but his report dealt with the matter of weighing the coal, and he made no mention of their activities as charged by the indictment in their case.

The Ohio Socialist speaks of "labor taking over all industry, both manual and mental, to be managed and operated by themselves," and informs us that the "spirit of liberty is being crushed and the people deprived of the last vestige of freedom," and "Woe to the country with no Debses and Emma Goldmans," so "Join the Communist Propaganda League."

Why did Mr. Sharts, in his lengthy article, fail to quote the language of the indictments which he handled. The indictments charge the men with "circulating and selling literature teaching the doctrine that political and industrial reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism," and they are also charged with "organizing or helping to organize a society to teach such things," and also that they "did assemble with others to advocate such doctrines."

Prosecuting Attorney Barclay Moore has huge bundles of literature which was to have been distributed among the miners, packages of it being addressed to some of the men, spoken of by Mr. Sharts as "fine, clean, intelligent men, who speak English intelligibly and have taken out their first papers." The literature seized was partly printed in English, and is regular I. W. W. propaganda. A sample paragraph is enough, and it tells that by strikes for shorter hours and more pay, labor is to constantly weaken capital, so that finally capital will surrender to labor, which really is entitled to everything, being in the first place unjustly deprived of land, factories, mines, etc. And if that method does not succeed labor is going to take over everything, and does not intend to pay for it either.

There are miners who have been misled into believing that their Union is greater than the Government. Imagine their union, or any union, being able to muster 4,000,000 men for overseas service, and 4,000,000 more if necessary, and they ought to realize that they are up against it if they come into conflict with their Uncle Sam.

We have not the space to give all the details about the matter of weiging the coal, but the miners have a check weighman to watch the weighing, and there are times when the coal comes from the mines in a wet condition and some of it sticks to the sides and corners of the cars. At the Shortcreek mine the coal is dumped into a metal weighing pan and it is tilted so that even the dust slides onto the scales. Weighing canditions were a little different at the Three Forks mine, where the complaint was made, but there the company after the complaint was made offered to have a man to look after scraping the coal along the shute, so that the miners would get the full benefit of all that was mined. When a person wants to find something wrong and wants to believe something is wrong, it is not a difficult matter to find some cause for complaint. The average American citizen, made up of 80 or more per cent of our population who are engaged in agricultural pursuits, or who are in no way interested in labor unions, or socialism, (and this class is the real bulwark of this country), the average American citien, we say, will have some doubts about "robbing the miners," when they have been making as high as $80.00 a week, which is better than most business and professional men have been able to make, with thousands of dollars invested in their business and education, while the miner has nothing invested but his labor. Mighty few farmers are making miners wages, taking account of the upkeep of the farm and interest on the investment, and they are not asking for a six hour day, with 60 per cent increase for their produce.

Do you want foreigners, agitators and the I W Ws to take over the product of your labors?

OUR ANSWER.

Cleveland, Ohio, Dec 12—1919.

The Candiz Republican
H. B. McConnell

Dear Sir:—

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication of Dec. 4th and the clipping from the Cadiz Republican and herewith is my answer and I trust that since you have given your version of the arrests of the miners near Cadiz, so much attention, you will also extend the courtesy of printing my reply to the same.

As an American citizen I resent your attitude toward the foreign element in America and marvel how a man by the name of McConnell could pen such a fulmination against those of foreign birth.

I am not at all surprised at the version of the arrests given you by the miners' ifficials. If there is one thing worrying the officials of all of the A. F. of L. Unions more than another, it is the growth of the One Big Union among their mambership. The officials together with their employers are in perfect agreement on this point. Both realize that once the idea gets a hold upon the rank and file, the officials' control and the employers' graft are gone forever.

It may be correct that the distribution of literature by these man led to their arrest, but did not the fact that they opposed the robbery of the miners in the weighing of coal set them apart at persons worthy of being spied upon by the gum shoe artists of that locality and thus their arrest was sought?

It resents your whole attitude towards these men, as indicated in your article. One of the principles of American law is that the accused are to be considered innocent of charges against them, until found guilty by regular process of law. And the public is also supposed to extend the same leniency in forming its judgement of their acts. Yet your whole article is an implied accusation of guilt. You attempt by inuendo to make these citizens-in-the-making violators of the law simply because they have had in their possession literature of an organization not yet popular and which has as its one purpose the organization of the workers into sufficiently strong unions as to break the power of capital to exploit the workers.

By quoting the words of the indictment against the men, you seek to further prejudice the case of the accused. An indictment is an indictment, nothing else. A charge of murder could as well have been placed in the indictment, but it would not have proved them to be murderers. The criminal syndicalism law is a very handy weapon for the capitalist class in its warfare against the revolt of the workers. It is being used, or rather misused by this class to intrench itself in economic power over the mass of the people of America, both the foreign and native born.

You express a profound ignorance of economic conditions and the philosophy of Revolutionary Socialism and the aims of the I. W. W. when you ask your readers if they "want I. W. W.'s, Radicals and foreigners to take the fruits of their labors." "The fruits of their labor" indeed! Who gets the fruits of labor in this country or any country where capitalism and the profit system rule? Your government statistics will show you that labor receives a very small portion of the fruits of its labor. The rest is taken in rent, interest and profit by the leeches that fatten upon the toil of the masses. Socialism will take nothing from the masses except their chains. The I. W. W. will take nothing from the masses excepting their ignorance of their economic slavery. It will give them class consciousness in place of nationalism and race hatred.

You offer your readers a "sample paragraph" from some of the literature found. Are you so ignorant of the provisions of the criminal syndicalism law as to believe that propaganda for the purpose of urging shorter hours and more pay for the workers as means of acquiring an advantage over capital to be a violation of the same? Since when were strikes for shorter hours and more pay declared illegal? Since when were American workers deprived of the right to stop work when their working conditions were objectionable? Since when were the workers so reduced to slavery that they cannot exercise the first right of free men? If the criminal syndicalism law means this, means the abrogation of the workers right to cease work when their wages and working conditions become intolerable, then it is high time they took such action as to wipe that law out of existence, else we are slaves indeed.

You express a doubt as to the exploitation of the miners and state that they make as much as $80.00 per week. Living in a mining district you must know that this is a false statement which you cannot verify. How many weeks in a year do the miners make $80.00. Ask the miners, —they will tell you that their weekly wages for the past year were nearer $8 than $80. You are perfectly well aware that for months after the armistice was signed and when the mines should have been running full blast, and would have been had not the mine owners sabotaged upon the people by refusing the workers the right to work, that the mines produced but two or three days per week. You know that the miners cashed their liberty bonds and thrift stamps in order to keep their families. You are perfectly aware of this, but you attempt to throw odium upon the men who have produced the fuel that keeps you from freezing, by making false statements.

Of course, it is expected that you would value dollars above men. Dollars invested in business must bring returns in form of interest, but a life invested need bring nothing. The "miner invests nothing but his labor." How about the thousands of deaths that occur in the mines? Let me tell you that they invested more than the coal operators have the courage to do. They invested their lives—and lost. They invested the happiness of their wives, the rights of their children to a parent's protection,—they invested their own right to a better guarded working life, and they lost, and will continue to lose, while sycophantic editors pen lying fulminations against society's most valuable asset—the laborers who make civilization possible.

One would think to read your letter that Americans had renounced the right to revolution. I am not aware that such is the case, nor do I admit they should do so. Americans have been taught from babyhood up and for all the generations of the nation's life that the right to revolt is ours, sanctified by the revolution which gave us birth and also by the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. I, as an American, am not ready to disclaim that right. And I may add that a people which does renounce it is lost to the purposes of human existence.

As to "real Americans resenting the efforts of foreigners upsetting a government they have had no part in organizing"—that is simply a phrase coined by reactionary capitalistic influences and mouthed by practically every apeing lickspittle who hears his master's voice. Capitalistic influences are seeking to divide the workers by the cry of "foreigner" at the same time robbing both foreigner and native born with strict impartiality.

I regard your letter and the article sent as splendid propaganda for Socialism and am publishing same in this week's issue of The Toiler, copy of which I am sending you.

Sincerely yours
E. T. ALLISON.

The Death Ship Returns

The Chicago Herald and Examiner recently took up the fight for the withdrawal of American troops from Siberia and northern Russia (Archangel) in the following language:

"The 111 bodies of American soldiers brought from Archangel by the funeral ship Lake Daraga are not all the bodies of American Soldiers who gave their lives in that bleak district in northern Russia. More than as many more lie buried in nameless, snowtopped graves, which had to be abondoned when the allied column was beaten back by a superior force of natives.

"Not one of these 256 sacrificed Americans knew why he was sent out to suffer and die in far-off Russia, in a war not authorized by the American congress, against a people who never were at war with us. Nor does any of the surviving relatives of these sacrificed Americans to this day know why it was.

"It was a private war determined upon by a few men in secret conclave for purposes they did not care or perhaps dare to make public.

"And it has failed. The American army sent there is out. The big British Army, with its elaborate supplies, equipment and sheduled plan for the capture of Petrograd, is out, together with the force of armed Chinese coolies which it took along to do the rougher work.

"All these lost lives have been wasted and much of the $500.000.000 of appropriated allied treasury.

"Nor is there an accounting. For it was a private war, and nobody, it seems, is responsible."

The Black Sheep

CHAP. II.

The Stuff of Life.

There was in the crowd a young Jewish radical, who upon hearing the conversation between Jack and Collins, made himself part of the company without the formality of an introduction. These men were natural democrats and prison has the effect of intensifying this spirit. It is one of the contradictions of life, that jails, penitentiaries, gallows and fagots have ever been the cradle of Liberty. —The Jew's name was Rudolph Rosen, a small swarthy type of a man, with black hair and large soulful brown eyes. He was an enthusiast on the subject of the "social revolution," an idealist who was ready to die for his convinctions even before he had calculated the market value of his life. This proved him to be of rather an atavistic type harking back to the time when his race was selfsustaining and free.

We might have been described as an incarnation of one of the ancient prophets. His radicalism might be called religious rather than scientific. No Mohammedan ever sought Allah's holy hill with more fervor, never did Christian pray with more earnestness, then this youth preached the doctrine of revolt.

He was unmindful of the fact that he was often hopelessly inconsistent; that he advocated the redemtion of the world thru the destruction of the strong and the multiplication of the weak. It was his own consciousness of weakness that made him plead for the weak and the erring.

He was almost a complete opposite of Collins. He was short and dark while Collins was tall and fair. He was emotional and excitable, while Collins was cold and anaytical, yet in their ultimate aims and hopes these were one. They disagreed not on the facts of their problem, but rather on its solution. They were perhaps best described by calling them the positive and negative pole of the radical movement.

Addressing Collins he said, "well they have us in their net."

"Yes and whose fault is it," retorted the Big man.

"I knew you were going to say that," Rudolph remarked. You will tell me that it is their own fault, and in the next breath that we are not free moral agents. You know that they cannot help it. It is their chemistry that makes them drink, then why blame them?"

"I don't blame them for their damaed depravity, I only blame myself for the sentimentality that makes me stick to the vermn. And I will say more, than that: You and I should be kicked all the way from Frisco to New York and back again for having the softheartedness to stick with them. They are a bunch of human swine, whose highest ideal it is to get their belly full of rot-gut and then to make fools of themselves. They know what it leads to. Have'nt you and I told them all thru the season why the damned rubes tolerate the "Blind Pigs." Have'nt we told 'em of the [illegible] are in it, simply because we lacked the good sense to [illegible] ditching them as soon as they began to guzzle the stuff."

"There you go. Did'nt you say that you did not blame them. Now listen to yourself. There is no consistency in you."

"I am not blaming the [illegible]," Collins flung back at him, "I am describing them."

"But Ed. They are members of our class. We can not have solidarity in our ranks and throw out weaklings, simply because they have a weakness due to this accursed system.—It is the system, not them that we must attack."

"I do attack the system. No one realizes, more than I, the influence of environment on character. They have made a crude Omaresque adaptation to the Capitalist requirements of this age. I know that it is not voluntary on their part. I do not blame them. Neither do I blame the rattle-snake, the gila-monster, the centipede, or the tarantula for their poisonous habits. I realize that they have developed in harmony with the requirements of their life in their respective environments, but I don't go to bed with them on that account. Their environment has made them vermin to me as I am vermin to them. It is of no immediate biologic importance to me that in the course of philogenitic development my ancestors have been worms, lizzards, marz, supials, and seminoids—they, are at best, my poor relations. They mean nothing to me as far as getting a living is concerned. I must make my living as I am, in co-operation with my kind. Those who will not, or as you say, "cannot" cooperate must die—and the sooner the better. We have no reason for any other conclusion, than that they are detrimental to our existence, and there fore we should leave them alone."

Jack was greatly pleased by Collins forceful application of Darwinism to the social problem under dicussion. The merely human feature appealed no more to him than it did to Collins; both of them were blonde beasts. Both of them saw not a human soul in pain, when they beheld the weaklings in phenomena. The difference was that their class, they only saw biologic Jack was not conscious of the effect of these phenomena upon himself, while Collins had had a good deal of experience and was enbittered thereby. What pleased him above every thing else was that there was at least one in that crowd who was able to see beyond the veil of appearances and into the world of realty.

But Rudolph, nothing daunted returned to the fray. "You are to cold bloodedly Darwinian to be just," he protested. "You know that Kropotkin proves that the species that practice mutual aid are the strongest. The needs of life refute your logic."

"The facts of life refute your statements," the Big Man retorted. "I will grant that mutual aid makes for survival, but if I know anything about language, then the word 'mutal' means 'in common'. It means help one another. "But," and his eyes blazed as he pointed to the two drunken members of the crowd had fallen upon the floor in a druken stupor, "how

(Continued on page 4.)

Shall Debs Remain in Prison?

Mass Meeting

Sunday Dec. 21st

2:30 P. M. 50 So. Howard St.

AKRON, O.

HEAR

Spurgeon Odell

of Minnesota.

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

The Toiler

ONE YEAR $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES $1.00 Per Hundred | SIX MONTHS 50c

Address all mail and make all checks payable to
THE TOILER
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EDITOR ....Elmer T. Allison

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 27th, 1919

THE RISE OF THE COMMON MAN

Contemporary history records the rise of the Common Man. Instead of a follower, he is becoming the leader—not individually but by collective and mass action. The common man thru his labor organization is writing the labor history of the present epoch. He has discarded the reverence for leaders, thrown aside their advice, broken down the barriers of ring rule and machine control that heretofore have hedged and restrained him.

Recent great labor strikes bear out this assertion. The movement of the rank and file was stirring even before the last National Convention of the A F of L. In Illinois it broke out in a strike of the Miners who over rode the authority of their district officers and literally told them to "go to hell". The steel strike, if we are correctly informed, was called against the judgement of the officials for the reason that the rank and file were growing insubordinate. The officials felt the power slipping from their hands. They ordered the strike in the fear of the consequences within the organization of the steel workers unless the strike was called.

The coal strike was a strike of the rank and file. When the government secured the mandate ordering the miners' officials to withdraw the strike order, it committed the stupenduous blunder (from the point of view of succeeding in breaking the strike) of placing all responsibility for the strike world cries in vain to the workers to lift it out of the bog into which the evo- [illegible] can touch the individual miner and force him into the mines.

The mass is rising to a control of its own destiny. And the first rule of its rising must be the casting off of reverence for leaders as such. Leaders we must have perhaps, but they must be leaders who interpret labor's needs and respond every moment to its desires. They must be its servants, not attempt to be its masters.

The mass is learning by doing. It is resolving upon its salvation by its own individuality, by its own strength and courage. Let the world rejoice that it is so. Mankind has been led long enough—usually into deeper slavery. The rise of the mass means the beginning of a new democracy, in fact the beginning of a new world.

All power to the workers!

WHY PRODUCE?

The whole cry of the capitalist world to the workers is—PRODUCE! After five years of unequaled destruction of life and property, the world finds the structure of civilization threatened by a scarcity of food, clothing, shelter and machinery. Europe lies in ruins ,nations are starving, millions of people stand gazing at the destructive past or turn their bewildered gaze into a doubtful future, while hunger and nakedness encompass them. Money has lost its value. Only those things which sustain and keep life are of value any where.

But the worker is slow to respond to the masters' call. The capitalist world cries in vain to the workers to lift out of the bog into which the evolution of human society has thrown it. The worker has lost the incentive to produce, knowing that all his efforts in the realm of production but enrich the few at the expense of the many. He knows the treadmill in which he plods his weary life away not for ideals, not for more abundant life, but to fatten parasites and feed the gluttony of imperialistic exploitation.

"Why produce"? the worker may well ask himself . Why produce for a society which robs him at the very fountain head of production, and before his scanty wage has been paid him is, exploitd of many times its value. The goods he produces he is not allowed to retain nor the value thereof. The worker is learning that robbery and production go hand in hand under this present industrial system. He feels a leseening interest in production, much less is he thrilled at the idea of it. He knows that before the millions of starving are benefitted a vast army of go-between parasites munch their mouthful. He knows that production means riches for a few and poverty and still more poverty for the many. The cry of more production as a means of saving society from an impending crash is a false one. Production will only lengthen out the term of bondage of the peoples to their imperialistic masters.

What is needed is not more production but production for use instead of for profit. When the worker receives the value of his toil instead of a portion, then he will produce in abundance. Then will the incentive to labor reach its highest point. Then will he feel the thrill that accompanies a consciousness of social effort.. Let the workers throw off the yoke of slavery that degrades them and their toil. Let them strike from society the talons of all parasites. Let them by class action on the industrial and political fields seize the reigns of power and then shape the world for service to its inhabitants instead of enslaveing the inhabitants for the benefit of parasites.

Let the workers begin the march toward industrial democracy, not toward slavery under the modern task-master, world capitalistic imperialism!

Baker has Big Meetings in Illinois.

A letter just received from comrade Chas. Baker states he has had a very successful series of meetings in a number of Illinois cities. Joliet, Moline, E. Moline, Silvis, Davenport, Rock Island, Rockford, have given him fine meetings. Comrade Baker addressed the striking steel workers at Joliet Thanksgiving day.

While temporarily out of the state, Charlie keeps in touch with the Ohio movement and expresses much interest in the progress of the C. L. P. here. He is busily getting subs for the Toiler, while enroute.

Local Dayton orders more supplies this week. Ordering dues stamps is a regular weekly occurence with this new C. L. P. Local.

More Locals Chartered

Local Martins Ferry, thru secretary Fred White, remits $13.50 for charter and dues stamps for the new Local just organized. Thus they come in one by one. The next two weeks will see many names on our C. L. P. list of up and doing Locals.

We are just now informed that Local Girard affiliates by unanimous vote. Comrade Knecht remits for dues stamps and promises a good live local.

Field-worker J. H. Loucks has just finished a week of activity in Warren, Niles and vicinity. He has spoken before the miners and other organizations and done good personal work in that section.

SPARKS.

Local Niles, formerly one of the most active Locals in the state, has sent us notice of unanimous affiliation. Welcome, Local Niles. We know your record and look for you to equal your past if not to exceed it.

Comrade Francesco Gusmeratti leaves for Italy and in order to keep posted on working class activities here, he is having The Toiler forwarded to his new address. We wish you well comrade and may the revolution in Italy be speeded the faster by your presence.

Comrade Nick Weltlich of Massilon is at it again. This week it is four half yearlies he sends us.

Pictures of comrade Debs are still on sale at the State Office. They are 25c each, and no better ornament for any worker's home can be obtained. Order one.

Comrade D. B. Dale of Wise, Va., is busy wising up his fellow workers. Five new subs from him proves his earnestness.

Five dolar remittances for subscription cards are coming in almost daily and each order calls for a free copy of Lenin, The Man and His Work. Your free copy is waiting your order.

A list of eight subs from comrade R. T. Haworth of Toledo, shows who is busy up there.

Comrade Fred White of Martins Ferry, O., rounds up seven new subs this week. One a day is not a bad record, eh?

Subs are raining in from Guernsey County these days. Reason one of our field workers is on the job there.

I have made a lot of socialists and am going to make a lot more." Thus writes comrade G. H. Beaver of Lisbon, O. And to prove it, he sends in three subs. Can you beat that proof?

Our Sistersville, W. Va., list gets two additions this week. Comrade C. W. Kirkendall is the live wire there.

Dont put a C. L. P. dues stamp in a Socialist Party dues book. Get a new dues book.

Another Russian Branch Joins C. L. P.
And now another Russian Branch of Philadelphia has severed relationship with the Communist Party and affiliated with the Communist Labor Party. This is Branch No. 2. Branch No. 1, left the C. P. some time ago and is now on the rolls of the C. L. P.

Literature orders are reaching the State Office verey day which shows that the comrades are adding to their fund of knowledge these long evenings. Comrade J. M. Rasnick of Dante, Va., orders two books and a number of pamphlets.

An order for $41,000 for dues stamps and supplies from Organizer Toohey of Toledo is a sign of activity that cannot be refuted.

Here are three chances to get a dandy present for yourself, your wife or a friend. Send five dollars for sub cards for The Toiler and get in return either of these: Six Red Months in Russia; Ten Days that Shook the World, or Lenin, the Man and his Work. Now is your chance, take advantage of it.

How do you like the product of The Toiler Cartoon Department? Petty good, eh? There will be more of the same, just watch us grow.

Local Lima orders dues stamps and supplies to the extent of $10.90 this week. The Local held a Reunion meeting last Sunday. Of course reunion means dues payments now and in future.

Another field worker began organization work for the C. L. P. in Ohio last wee. Columbiana County is his present scene of activity and judgeing by latest reports, everything is all to the C. L. P. there.

And that makes four organizers in the field. And there will be more after Jan. 1st. And YOU can help make it possible to put more field workers out by—paying dues—renewing your subscription to The Toiler—distributing literature—doing ALL that you can do toward building up the movement. Do your share, the organizers are doing theirs.

State Secretary's Report.

Nov. 30, 1919.

Comrades:—

While the matter contained in this report has been placed before the Conference, discussed, we feel that a reiteration of the most important matters can properly be had.

Since your last meeting conditions thruout the state have shown a decided improvement that is very encourageing to the Communist Labor Party. Locals are showing a desire to settle their internal difficulties and get down to the business of active participation in the work of advancing the Cause of Revolutionary Socialism. Five more Locals have affiliated by unanimous vote generally. One Local has been cahrtered where the old local remained with the Socialist Party. Dues stamp sales are very encourageing and many new members are joining us. Supplies and literature sales are very good which is proof that comrades are anxious to carry on the propaganda of revolutionary socialism after the period of inactivity thru which we have recently passed.

The State Office has followed the instructions of the S. E. C. and up to this time has placed three competent organizers in the field. They are conscientiously at work building up the movement and urging a greater activity on the part of the local comrades. Altho the prevalent strikes in the coal and steel industries have an effect upon this work, very satisfactory results are being obtained.

We hope to place another comrade in the field next week for there is much work to be done and from the results thus far obtained. we are convinced that there is a ripe field in Ohio for the C. L. P. At least four to six comrades should be kept constantly in the field in this state for several months at least. We may rest assured that a general revival of activities has already begun and we are certain that by the methods now under way, our state movement will build up wonderfully in the next few months. Literature sales are very good, subscriptions are coming in faster than for some time past and all signs point to greater growth and development.

One of the encourageing signs is in the fact that comrades are writing in to the State Office for organizers to assist their local movements. We should try to satisfy this need at as early a date as possible. It is our opinion that the inactivity which has recently been prevalent is passing away and our work will form now on grow in volume and soon reach its former size and aggressiveness.

The State Secretary has placed before the Conference the situation in Ohio at this time and we feel that the recommandations of the Conference should be the subject matter of this meeting.

E. T. ALLISON, State Secretary.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING MINUTES OF NOV. 30, 1919.

The Committee met directly after the conclusion of the Conference. Meeting called to order by the State Secretary and comrade Clifford elected to the Chair.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and approved.

The report of the State Secretary was read and accepted.

A copy of a letter to comrade Geo. Bundy. Jos. W. Sharts, M. J. Beery and Edwin Blank relative to their election to the State Executive Commitee was read and endorsed. The subject matter of this letter was the seating of comrade Blank on the Committee instead of comrade Bundy because of non-affiliation with the C. L. P. The decision of the State Secretary in favor of comrade Blank was upheld by the Committee.

Moved and carried that the State Secretary be instructed to write comrade Frank B. Hamilton of Piqua regarding his affiliation with the C. L. P. and if his attitude is adverse to them write comrade Frank P. Baker in regard to his affiliation and seat upon the S. E. C.

A discussion relative to the preparation of a leaflet upon the question of mob rule and the necessity of workers defending themselves was discussed and favorable action taken.

Moved and carried that the State Office pay comrade J. J. Hoge's expenses to the S. E. C. meeting.

The Party situation was discussed generally and present work undertaken was approved. Upon motion the last Sunday in March was set as the date for the next meeting of S. E. C. and the State Office as the place. Motion to adjourn carried.

Field worker J. H. Louks remits $16.55 for literature, subscriptions and dues stamps. That's the way our organizers put the C. L. P. on the map. And then we opened another envelope and there was $17.95 from fieldworker Herbert Knecht for more duesstamps, subscriptions and literature. All of which proves that there is something doing in Ohio and that the C. L. P. is doing it. Wake up you laggards. Get in the swim, it's getting better every day.

Local Guernsey County affiliates with the C. L. P. is the goods news sent in by one of our field workers. Cheering news that for Local Guernsey has about 400 live rebels on its membership rolls. Besides, we are informed that there are possibilities of increasing the number at least 100 per cent. Let's do it Guernsey Comrades!

EDITOR CARNEY ARRESTED.

Jack Carney, Editor of Truth, of Duluth, Minnesota, was arrested by government agents a few days ago charged with obstructing the enlistment service of the U. S. army.

The basis of the charge is found in the circulation of the "Hands off Russia" leaflet. The presentation of the issue as to whether the U. S. was legally at war with Russia at that time will come up at the trial. The U. S. government has made no declaration of war against Soviet Russia tho American soldiers have been in Siberia for months fighting against the Bolshevists.

Comrade E. Curtis Ilkenhans has established a Sunday School of Science for children of the membership of Local Hamilton. Comrade Ilkehans has had experience in this work and we understand his school is progressing nicely.

Abe Herschin put it this way:

"And we're also some shy, on
accepting the lie
Of the preacher, that if we behave,
We'll get pie in the sky, bye and bye,
when we die,
Which is sure swell reward for a
slave.

Now that guff is all bunk, theological
junk,
Not worthy the brain of a cow;
It's a mere mental drunk, for a nut
made of punk,
MEN want what they want, here
and NOW."

Norwegian Revolutionists Greet Communist Labor Party

Christiania, Norway, Nov 5th, 1919.

Communist Labor Party,
3207 Clark Ave.
Cleveland, O. U. S. A.

The Norwegian Labor Party that is representing the political organized workers in Norway and is affiliated with the Third International, wish the new Communist Labor Party in America success in its fight for industrial and political freedom.

We hope that the Norwegian Labor element in U. S. will find its place in the ranks of a revolutionary organization.

Would your Party exchange reports and material with us?

With Revolutionary Greetings

Det norske arbeiderparti Centralstyret.

Signed: MARTIN TRAMMAL,
Secretary.

Our Offer to You

Every comrade can sell "Toiler" subscription cards. Every comrade should sell them. So why not you?

Here is a special inducement

Send us five dollars for subscription cards and receive in return a FREE copy of either of these books.

Six Red Months in Russia, retail value	$2.00
Lenin the Man and His Work, retail value	$1.50
Ten Days that Shook the World, retail value	$2.00

ANOTHER OFFER

PELLE the CONQUEROR is a new labor story translated from the Danish . It is in two large volumes and is without question one of the finest stories ever written of the Labor Struggle. It retails at $4.00 but we will send you the first volume free for a cash order for $5.00 worth of Toiler subscription cards. Later you may have the second volume for a second order of $5.00 for sub cards. Send $10.00 for sub cards and receive both volumes free by return mail.

Get Pelle the Conqueror for X-mas.

ORDER NOW

Address: — Communist Labor Party
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

The Illustrated News Service is showing pictures of the "Democratic Heir" to the British throne, when he recently visited the United States. We are at loss to explain a "DEMOCRATIC HEIR" in the same manner that we would be at loss to explain Palm Beach suits among the Esquimos, Wm. Jennings Bryan with a cellar full of whisky, Teddy Roosevelt a Private in Trotzkys army, or Wm. Howard Taft Premier of the Soviet Republic of Russia. There is absolutely no relation in these terms one negates the othr. A dmocratic way is, the best man wins, in a monarchy one is born to the job, the job stays in the family.

C. V. U.

C. W. MANTELL DIES.

Comrade C. W. Mantell, of Akron died last week. He was the candidate for Mayor on the Socialist Party ticket two years ago and was also financil secretary of the Machinists Union. It was to this office that he was reelected on the day he received a paralytic stroke.

AGITATED

By Ivor Brown

"These agitators!" said the Colonel, laying down his paper. His wife agreed. It was the only policy at breakfast-time.

"The agitators! They're at the bottom of it all."

"At the bottom of what?"

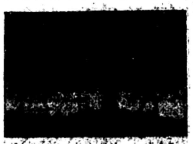
"Everything. No houses. High prices. Income-tax. Strikes, Ireland, India, Egypt. Trouble here, trouble there. I'd shoot the fellows.'

"But you never were in a combatant regiment, were you, dear?"

"Well, I'd have them shot, if that suits you better. One of those mad politicians has been talking about a land fit for heroes to live in. It isn't. Anyhow, I'm not going to stay here. Now that they're done with me at the depot, damme, I'm going to leave the country."

"And where shall we go?"

(Continued on page 4)



In the Liberator for December

Two remarkable photographs of Robert Smillie, the great British Labor Leader, and his message of greeting to the workers of America.

"The Cossack in America," by Art Young

"Leftward Ho!" by Walter G. Fuller, a story of the British Trades Union Congress held in Glasgow last September, describing Smillie in action.

"Pittsburg or Petrograd" by Floyd Dell.
("Will the A. F. of L. fight or surrender?")

An amazing personal narrative by Robert Minor of his recent mysterious arrest in Paris, revealing the existence of an International Police.

On the news stands 20c.

$2 a year. $1 for 6 months

Use this card.

Liberator, 34 Union Square, New York
Enclosed find $........ Send the Liberator, beginning with the .... number.
Name ....
Address ....

Full Draft of Proposed Russian Soviet Peace Terms.

The Allied and Associated Governments to propose that all hostilities shall cease on all fronts in the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, on a date to be set, to allow sufficient time for notification to be received by all parties, and that no new hostilities shall begin after this date pending a conference to be held in a neutral country, provided that either a radio or direct telegraph wire to Moscow should be put at the disposal of the Soviet Government.

The duration of the Armistice to be for two weeks unless extended by mutual consent, and all parties to the Armistice to undertake not to employ the period of the Armistice to transfer troops and war materials to the territory of the former Russian Empire. The conference to discuss peace on the basis of the following principles, which shall not be subject to revision by the conference.

1. All existing de facto governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to remain in full control of territories which they occupy at the moment when the armistice becomes effective, except in so far as the conference may agree upon the transfer of territories; until the peoples inhabitaing the teritories controlled by these de facto governments shall themselves determine to change their governments.

The Russian Soviet Government and all other Governments which have been set up on the territory of former Russian Empire, the Allied and Associated Governments, and other governments which are operating against the Soviet Government, to agree not to attempt to upset by force the existing de facto governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and the other Governments signatory to this agreement.

TO RESTORE TRADE.

2. The economic blockade to be raised and trade relations between Soviet Russia and the Allied and Associated countries to be re-established under conditions which will insure that supplies from the Allied and Associated countries are made available on equal terms to all classes of the Russian people.

3. The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right of unhindered transit on all railways and the use of all ports which belong to the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Findland, and are necessary for the disembarkation and transportation of passengers and goods between their territories and the sea; detailed arrangements for the carrying out of this provision to be agreed upon at the conference.

4. The citizens of the Soviet Republic of Russia to have the right of free entry into the Allied and Associated countries, as well as into all countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland. Also the right of sojourn and circulation and full security provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of those countries.

Nationals of the Allied and Associated countries and of the other countries above-named to have the right of free entry into the Soviet Republics of Russia, also the right of sojourn, and of circulation and full security, provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of the Soviet Republics. The Allied and Associated Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into the various Russian Soviet Republics.

The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into all Allied and Associated countries and into the non-Soviet countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire in Finland.

A general Amnesty.

5. The Soviet Governments, the other Governments, which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire to give a general amnesty to all Russian political opponents, offenders and prisoners, and to give their own nationals who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia.

All Russians who have fought in or otherwise aided the armies opposed to the Soviet Governments, and those opposed to the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland, to be included in this amnesty.

All prisoners of war of non-Russian Powers detained in Russia, likewise all nationals of those Powers now in Russia, to be given all facilities, of repatriation. The Russian prisoners of war, in whatever country they may be, likewise all Russian nationals including the Russian soldiers and officers abroad, and those serving in all foreign armies to be given full facilities for repatriation.

6. Immediately after the signing of this agreement all troops of the Allied and Associated Governments to be withdrawn from Russia, and military assistance to cease to be given to any of the Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

The Soviet Government and the anti-Soviet Governments, which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland, to begin to reduce their armies simultaneously and at the same rate to a peace footing immediately after the signing of this agreement.

Foreign Debts Recognized.

The conference to determine the most effective and just method of inspecting and controlling this simultaneous demobilization, and also the withdrawal of the troops and the cessation of military assistance to the anti-Soviet Governments.

7. The Allied and Associated Governments, taking cognizance of the statement of the Soviet Government of Russia in its Note of February 4 in regard to its foreign debts, propose as integral part of this agreement that the Soviet Governments and the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland, shall recognize their responsibilities for the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire to foreign States, parties to this agreement, and to the INDIVIDUAL NATIONALS of such States. Detailed arrangements for the payment of these debts to be agreed upon at the conference, regard being had to the present financial position of Russia.

Note.—The statement of the Soviet Government of February 4, 1919, referred to above is as follows:

1. The Russian Soviet Government does not refuse to recognize its financial obligations to all its creditors, either States or individuals, belonging to the Entente Powers, whereas details of the realization of this point must become the object of special agreement as the result of the proposed negotiations.

2. In view of the difficult financial situation the Russian Soviet Government proposes an exchange with raw materials which will be enunciated in the suggested agreement.

3. In view of the great interest which has always been shown by foreign Capital for the exploitation of Russian natural riches, the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to grant concessions upon mines, forests, and so on to citizens of the Entente Powers under conditions which must be carefully determined, so that the economic and social order of Soviet Russia shall not suffer from the internal rule of these concessions.

4. The Russian Soviet Government will negotiate with the Entente Powers on the question of territorial concessions.

The Soviet Government hopes that it will not be necessary to transfer this offer (with the necessary modifications) to the Central Powers.

Recognize Soviet

(Continued from page 1)

"We need the data from Russia to build up the world after its breakdown. For God's sake, let us have no more violence. There has been enough blood spilled," he declared.

He was asked how it was possible to reconcile the declaration that the soldiers of the Russian Soviet government were ready and able to defeat all armed opposition with the assertions frequently made that the Russian people were dying by thousands for want of food and supplies.

More Food for Cities.

This was explained by the fact that there always was plenty of food in Russia, food enough to supply all of Europe with wheat, under normal conditions, and that with these wheat stores now available even the cities would soon be better provisioned. The desperate situation of the industrial centers in the past was due to the cutting off of the granary of Russian from the interior, Minor asserted. The successes of the Soviet troops have changed all this.

With some necessary railroad machinery, threshers and other agricultural machinery and such implements as saws and other tools, Russia can begin to export food, hides, metal and furs within a short time, Minor believes.

On his trips across this country, Minor experienced the oppressive tactics of the rulers of America. He said: "Everywhere in the country you find the brutal hand of Czarism crushing out the liberties of the people in a frantic attempt to kill the thought of the socialization of industry which seems, during the past year, to have become the sole philosophy of the working class. The propaganda of a century could not have done what the events of the past year have accomplished.

Looking to Moscow.

"The working masses are looking to Moscow as the Arabians looked to Mecca.

"I have been able to announce the victories of the Soviet troops two weeks ahead of the news that finally came trough the censored cables and everywhere the crowds simply rose in a religious fervor as the facts were developed."

Taking note of the temper of the crowds he addressed, Minor felt certain that the working class was united in spirit today is it never was before in the history of this country. They are not organized sufficiently as yet, but they are crudely conscious that the only way to solve the inequality between the present classes is the socialization of every enterprise, whether large or small, he said.

Meetings Jammed.

He declared it was true that the workers who respond most to the story of Soviet Russia are the immigrant workers. Answering a question for this reason Minor said:

"The workers of America are largely the recent immigrants. But the native born American who is a worker rises with his comrade. There is no real distinction between workingmen."

He said that the meetings arranged by central bodies of the American Federation of Labor as well as by local unions were frequently jammed to the doors with workers who had no racial ties with the triumphant Russian and Slavic workers, but only the bond of class. In San Francisco 4,000 machinists, mostly Irish-American, packed the hall, and in Minneapolis hundreds were turned away.

He found the same spirit of unrest in the Northwest as in Frisco and as prevalent in the Middle West as in the East. Everywhere labor is awakening, Minor insisted.

U. S. Operatives Shadow Minor.

Secret service men dogged Minor at every step. The fact that Postmaster General Burleson had placed his official ukase on the denial of second-class mailing rights to The Call was no surprise to Minor, who knows that official's record in his home state, Texas, where the Minors cut no small figure.

"The Postoffice Department has ceased to be a mail carrying machine, but has become a police spy system. The denial of second-class mailing privileges to The Call is tobe expected. It is just in the routine of the establishment of the Iron Heel. It all comes down to nothing more than an effort to keep the masses from understanding."

He hopes that the people will take this bureaucratic right out of the hands of the Postmaster General.

Denounces Deporting Mania.

Minor expressed himself very vigorously against the deportation mania of the present rulers. He said the destruction of the tradition of America as a haven for political exiles struck at the faith of those Americans who so for have held to the better ideals of this country. He said further:

"They are trying to amputate the thinking part of the country by sending the 'Red' out. They will soon find native Americans who will give then as much trouble and then we'll hear of exiles.

"The Wilson administration, with the help of Burleson, may not go down as the most cotemptible and hypocritical in the history of this country for it will soon be against the law to say so."

May Distract Attention.

One of the hurtful reactions of the deportations will be to distract the attention of the public from the thousands of men and women that have been rotting in American prisons for two years, some of whom are dying there without having had a trial.

"We may live to see the voice of protest stifled everywhere," he remarked.

With the principles of political refuge destroyed as also the rights of free press and free assemblage by the direct action of the public authorities, the awakened labor movement receives new incentive to bring about a change, Minor asserted.

Minor closed with the remak that the assaults upon the workers and upon free opinion by the supposed guardians of liberty were destroying the No Man's Land between Capital and Labor and that the antagonists would soon be confronting each other with all camouflage removed. Labor will win, Minor believes.

—New York Call.

The day will surely come when the only man who is not respectable will be the man who consumes, and does not produce. Disgrace will consist in living a life of conspicuous waste, and the greatest man among us will be the one who confers most benefits.—

Elbert Hubbard.

What Next

(Continued from page 1)

trols hem. Do you ask who controls society. What's happening in the Pennsylvania steel strike? Who's dictator there—the strikers, or Judge Gary and the State Constabulary?

What happened in the Miners strike? Are he miners dictating or the operators? Did the miners cause an injuction to be issued against themselves. Its plain that the people are not controlling society, but on the other hand it is equally plain that the barons are dictators.

Our liberty died when our jobs became the property of others, and we are but serfs now. An employe of Henry Ford said, "I go to prison eight hours every day."

The barons put things over during war time when people were burning with patriotism — the Draft. The Espeionage Act, for German spies? but which really was intendend for radicals, such as I. W. W., Socialists, Non-partisan League, radical labor agitators with men and women whose message was contrary to the interests of the system. The Atty. Gen. in his report for 1918 mentions no German spies, but men such as Waldron of Vermont who was guilty of preaching the Brotherhood of Man was given fifteen years. In New York state Randolph, an I. W. W. whose great-grand-father was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was given five years. Col House said, 'President Wilson will restore liberties when the war is over.' But we have since learned that neither the President nor Col. House have any liberties to restore.

Debs said: "While there is a lower class I am in it. While there is a criminal class I am in it. While there is a soul in prison I am not free."

The controlling machinery of public opinion passed the necessary legislation— New York Criminal Syndicalist Law, passed also by Ohio, Cal, Penna., which reads something like this: —"Any man who engages in any form of agitation can be sent to jail."

Already the U. S. is cleaning out the Russians, including the nonresisting Tolstoian anarchist. A Bill has been introduced into the Senate to provide for a penal institution on the Philippine Islands. This Bill will probably not pass the coming session but will be fruit for picking in another year.

Gompers has been a strong political adherent of the Wilson machinery. In fact he has been known as the "kitchen cabinet" and has been indispensable up to the present time. But in the mean ime he was building up a big organization until it totaled our million.

Gompers machine has become too powerful and he has been challenged. At the recent Industrial Convention in New York the President chose Morrison, Rockefeller Jr., Gary, Wilson, hoping that the barons would take a middle position. But they were uncompromising and Gompers could not effect a conciliation between Capital and Labor. The last morning the Labor representatives did not appear and the Gary group waited for them; then they could say that the Labor representatives broke up the Convention. Gompers was used as their tool till they found he was becoming too powerful and then they cast him aside as they would anything else that had served its purpose. His organization was growing too powerful; radicalism was growing in the Machinist's and Carpenters' Union. Frank Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank, the largest private banking institution n the country, in his return from Europe made a speech before the American financiers in which he declared that the chaos in Europe would come to he U. S. He did not hold his position long but was succeeded by Judge Gary, cold, calculating, careful, determined, speaks for the organized employers of the U. S. and his policies prevail.

In the recent coal strike the Government issued an injunction compeling leaders of the Mine Workers to call the strike off. The A. F. L. issued a charter to the police of Boston and later deserted them even failing to give the police their moral support. Public sentiment was worked up in that vicinity till Labor backed Coolidge against the police.

The A. F. L. organized in 1881 gave the people the right of collective bargaining. In the recent steel strike Judge Gary refused to recognize the closed shop but on the other hand was firm in his stand for the open shop and even refused to recognize the organized employees.

The employing interests are determined o break up labor organizations in the U. S. They are also refusing the Railway Brotherhood demands. They are beginning the dismemberment process in the A. F. L. today with Judge Gary the leading opponent.

In 1920 is the Presidential election. Already the Republicans are considering major General Wood as their candidate, which will mean military dictatorship by the capitalist class. Then there will be a reign of blood and iron as Bismarck tried. A big issue in the coming campaign will be "law and order". The employing class is considering Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood and his machine to keep law and order, knowing that repressive government is the only way to prevent the overthrow of the present system of exploitation.

WHAT ARE PEOPLES ATTITUDE UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMANCES.

1. Liberty is gone under the capitalist system.

2. Liberty is gone till it is established economically in the United States.

It is necessary to take a new line of action and what is that?

1. Line of consistent education and agitation. The rural people which consists of 46.2 percent of our population do not know that our liberties are gone.

2. Social revolution — maintain a system to feed and house the entire population. To bring about that revolution three different periods are necessary. Education, agitation, overturn, when this is accomplished there will be an increase in productive efficiency.

It will take years of experience to teach world solidarity. Till that time the social change will not be accomplished. An organization that will draw people together along industrial fields, persuading them that they have lost their liberties and that they should regain them, and finally convincing them, is the only way to accomplish this social change, or revolution.

The way our filed workers gather in subs for The Toiler, proves how easy it is to get them. All that's needed is simply a request and a sample copy. When every comrade considers himself an agitator and a propagandist, the workers' press will grow in a manner to put kinks in capitalism.

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Address: Communist Labor Party, 2207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

AGITATED

(Continued from page 3)

"Anywhere," snapped the Colonel.

"America?" suggested the Colonel's wife, helpfully.

"Rubbish! Place that Fellow Eyewash Wilson comes from? He's an agitator, if ever there was one. A regular Bolshevik. League of Nations, indeed. League of piffle; and with all my little faults, Clara, I never was a piffler! A little brusque at times, I admit, but never a footler.

"Well, then, shall it be France?"

"Stuffed with agitators. Desperate fellows; they're always trying to kill someone. I can't think why that chap Clemenceau doesn't shoot the lot."

"Ah, he's not a Christian, you see, dear."

"Isn't he, by God? Atheist and republican, I suppose. Then we couldnt manage France. I could never live in a republic."

"That rules out a lot of places. We can't go to Russia, or to Germany, or to Austria, or to Portugal, or to Switzerland, or to any of those funny new places with long names invented by the Peace Conference. But there's still Spain left. I'm sure the climate must be lovely!"

"Don't be irrelevant. No, Clara, I shall not go to Spain. The Spaniards are Roman Catholics, and, with all my faults, I never was a Papist."

"That rules out Italy, too. And that does seem a shame."

"Italy," roared the Colonel. "Don't mention Italy. Its a positive nest of agitators. You remember Caporetto."

"But it's full of charming poets and artists."

"Worst of all. I distrust the pack of them. Dangerous, Subversive. That's the word, subversive."

"Then I give it up," said the Colonel's wife.

"Just like you. No resource, no imagination. Now what about dear little Holland?"

"What! Along with the Kaiser!"

"Well, dash it, the Kaiser, with all his faults, was a gen—— I mean to say he never was an agitator."

—(London Herald.)

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

does that spawn of Competition help me, that I should be duty bound to help them? I will tell you right now, that you, like all idealists argue from your emotional desires rather than from the facts of life. I wish that you would be able to see that it is impossible for us to build any kind of an organization if we do not make sobriety and decency toward one another an essential of membership. We must learn to shun all these booze-befuddled sots as tho they were a creeping pestilence."

"If we don't organize them then they will scab on us," Rudolph protested.

"And if you do organize them they get you into trouble," Collins' reply. "There is no arguing; your own logic is against you. You believe in the doctrine of "Mutual Aid," and that scum is too damned degenerate to aid themselves."

"But, organization and education will reform them,' the other insisted.

"If that were possible then the church would have filled the world with sobriety. You can't talk energy into a stone. I tell you, they are not men in the real sense of the word. They are the end products of the capitalist-slave-making machinery. We must organize the Slave Men, and let Nature takes care of that [illegible] waste. The new order of sodiety will require a higher order of responsibility; a keener sense of social interdependence and how are you going to get it, if that vermin gets a chance to survive and fill the world with their spawn.—Out of the organization they scab on us, in the organization they scab on us. They are a nuisance where ever they are."

"My dad would give a farm to be possessed of your vocabulary when he discusses the labor problem before the Grange," Jack remarked.

"He has an idea that all harvest workers are pretty much as you describe these men. I used to think so myself, but this fall has shown me that there is a vast difference between the mental resources and ideals of different workers. I used to think that men were poor because they drank, now I'm almost inclined to agree with Rudolph that they drink because they are poor. If we will do away with exploitation I think that then we do away with the cause of drunkeness. Our job is not to jump on the victim but to overthrow the system of which the victim is a product."

"How are you going to overthrow the system?" Collins snapped.

"By education and organization." Jack replied, while Rudolph nodded approval.

"How are you going to educate and organize animals like that, whose highest ideal it is to find a bottle of rot-gut and guzzle until they mop the road with their whiskers. You have seen them in meetings. What constructive thot ever enters their brain? What good results ever come from their presence? What good are they in strikes? Can you ever trust them in an important position? They will sell their soul for a bottle of booze and throw their fellow workers in for good measure. No, You might as well try to teach a snake the fiddlers art as to try to educate and organize a lepers' brood whose trinity is vulgarity, drink and irresponsibility."

"It seems to me that you believe in prohibition?" Jack said naively.

"I do" was the laconic reply.

"You know that prohibtion doesn't get anywhere, Rudolph put in. "It is a reform measure. I thot you were a revolutionist. You're the most inconsistent man I've ever seen. You belong in the Populist party or in the Baptist church. You have no place in a radical organization."

"Neither have you; You are chuck full of that, man the child of God idea, which leads you to the conclusion that all men are good and useful only the system is bad. You want to change the system with the very products of the system. Reform a de-denegerate young. Talk of consistency. generate mother thru her equally degenerate young. Talk of consist- You are nothing but an anarchist preaching the fallacious idea that all men are good at heart in the face of the biological fact that life produces variations upward and downward. You seem to think that men are bad as a result of government just because you forget the fact that before they had government they were cannibals. Don't talk about consistency. Get yourself before a looking glass. You will never build up a union until you resolutely kick out every element that has a tendancy to drag you down and carefully presdrve and build up the elements that will work and stick together."

"It seems as if Collins is right at that," Jack suggested.

"He is sore," Rudolph explained.

(Continued next week)

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

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SOVIET TO BE MASTERS SOON.

W YORK.—That Germany will soviet form of government the impression gained by own, staff correspondent of York "World," as a result of interview with Dr. Geyer, leader of pendent Socialist Party. In a righted cable dispatch to the orld," dated Berlin, December 2, Brown describes his interview in following terms:

Germany will be a Soviet Republic months to two years," was the fident prophecy made to The orld" correspondent by Dr. Friedrich gust Karl Geyer of Leipzig, a mber of the National Assembly the new leader of the Independent cialist Party, succeeding the late Haase. Herr Geyer said:

Radicalism is not receding in Germany, though it may seem so on the because of fewer strikes. At masses are steadily growing radical. The masses have fought of exhaustion, but the pre- is only a breathing spell be- wing the struggle for com- dustrial democracy and the ship of the proletriat.

Soviet Republic will become much quicker if Germany's aries make a serious attempt re the monarchy. In this case dicalized masses will rise, not democracy, but to beat back chy. They will not halt there, go storming on over the de- democracy and will set up a ship of the proletariat in the form of a Soviet Republic.

"If the monarchist reactionaries do not attempt to start anything, the serious progress to Sovietism will be slower, perhaps peaceful; but the present evolution to a Soviet Republic is the inevitable consequence of the effects of the World War."

According to Herr Geyer, the German Soviet Republic will differ from the Russian model in that the Russian Bolsheviki began at the top by seizing power and then trying to organize downward. Germany's radicals, Herr Geyer said, are already at work perfecting the organization of the Soviet Republic by beginning the organization at the base.

The so-called "Betriebsraete" or factory Soviets either already exist or are being formed. These basic Soviets are further being co-ordinated into higher Soviets for the various industries. Organization work is thus being pushed right up to the peak of proletariat power, so when the hour strikes for a dictatorship of the proletariat to seize the reigns of government, the machinery of the Soviet Republic will be in complete working order and will function smoothly.

STRIKE HEAD IMPRISONED.

Winnipeg, Man., Dec. 27th. R. B. Russell, leader of the general strike here last May, who was found guilty Wednesday of seditious conspiracy, today was sentenced to two years inprisonment in the Stony Mountain penitentiary.

An International Greeting.

Christmas, 1919.

Dear Comrade 'Gene: —

The Communist Party of Mexico gives you its kindest wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, and sends its love and greetings to you and to all the boys in Atlanta. May the New Year be a freer one for you all.

Enclosed in this letter are cards from some of the members of Local Mexico City. Another package of cards will follow in a few days.

The names of the signers of these cards are:

Geo. Barreda, International Secretary. Communist Party of Mexico, also Delegate 3rd International.
Luis Macotela, General Secretary, Local Mexico City.
R. A. Sandoval, Local Secretary, Local Mexico City.
John A. Jutt, member of Executive Committee of Mexican I. W. W.
Linn A. E. Gale, publisher of "Gale's Journal of Revolutionary Communism".
Communist Executive Committeemen, and Delegate to the 3rd International.
F. C. Luna, Sr., Communist Executive Committeeman and a Filipino.
R. Schutz, exile from the United States.
Crecensio Martinez.
Enrique H. Rodriguez, Executive Committeeman of I. W. W. Printers' Union.
José Refugio Rodriguez, Executive Committeeman of I. W. W. Printers' Union.
Alfonso Araeji.
José Carmero Guzman.
Magdalena E. Gale, wife of Comrade Gale and National Committeeman, Communist Party.
Adolfo Rodriguez.
Max Berger, exile from the United States.

Some of the comrades cannot write and speak English, so merely signed their names, but we know you will appreciate the spirit of their little remembrances, rather than the value of them or the manner in which they are addressed. Your picture — or pictures, rather, for we have several — areon our wall where we meet, and we often look at it and wish your freedom in the near future.

Yours in Comradeship, Hoping for the Dawn.

COMMUNIST PARTY
OF MEXICO.

Lest We Forget

(Dedicated to America's Political Prisoners.)

You who stroll this singing night
And drink the effervescing stars,
Halt for thought on those who might
Be with you but for iron bars. ...

You who walk the steady ways
Of workadays and pleasured eves,
Remember every Christ who bears
A cross for what his soul believes

Oh, there are lords who strut about,
Glutted to their shriveled souls,
And gloat upon the thralls who dared.
The truth — for bitter prison holes.

And every fatted concubine
Lounging for her war-fed male
Giggles with a grewsome ease
At splendid motherhood in jail.......

And every little cockerel,
Combed and feathered, proud with power,
Snickers with a sickly grin
At shackled flesh that wil not cower.

But this I know from ruined Rome—
In lore of blind brutality —
The torchlight of a martyr's flesh
Can light the way to liberty.......

Then you who love and live and laugh
And ply your tasks so airily,
Remember every Christ who bears
Your burdens through Gethsemane!

S. A. De Witt.

TOLSTOI'S BIOGRAPHER CALLS ON WORKERS OF WORLD TO END BLOCKADE.

Paul Birukoff, in Powerful Plea, Indicts Allies for Hunger in Russia Paints Terrible Picture of Suffering Due to Economic Warfare.

Paul Birukoff, life friend and biographer of Count Leo Tolstoi ,has added his powerful voice to the world-wide chorus of condemnation of the economic blockade of Soviet Russia. In an appeal addressed to the workers of all countries, Birukoff denounces the blockade as an attempt to exterminate the Russian people, and calls on the toilers to end it.

Birukoff paints a terrible picture of hunger in Russia. "But it is you who are producing these very things; not the Soviet government," he says to the "rulers demoralized by power." He continues, "For you the hour of repentance has not yet struck. You, too, are to be pitied. I turn from you."

Birukoff concludes his appeal to the workers by referring to his "great and undeserved happiness" in the friendship of Tolstoi.

His Voice Would Thunder."

"I know that were he alive today," he says, "his powerful voice would thunder through the world and bring the powerful to their knees. Mine is weak. But I would be criminal did I not raise it. In the name of my great dead master, I appeal to you, brothers, workers, save Russia!"

Birukoff's appeal follows in full:

"In hours of sleeplessness, in work and leisure, among crowds and in solitude, in the midst of children, and beneath the sun's resplendent rays, I am haunted everlastingly by a horrible nightmare.

"I visualize an ocean of suffering—starving, exhausted people, old men, women, children, workmen and workwomen in the prime of life, withering and sinking under the yoke of a terrible disease—lack of food, and all the deadly ills which flow from it.

"The strong becoming weak; the weak gradually slipping into the grave. Emaciated countenances, enfeebled muscles; the soul, deprived of resisting power, invaded by despair and by hatred against the authors of the disaster. Above all is it terrible to think of the children streching out their tiny hands, clamoring for food, gazing in mute reproach when it is refused them. Why?

"This disaster is taking place in Russia.

"The consciousness of this unceasing plague is terrible. But there is something even, worse than that. It is natural for a man, who is not a monster, to hasten to relieve a disaster of which he has cognizance.

"But there is no limit to the despair of men who, desirous of staving off disaster and of seeking its cause to find a remedy, are faced with the fact that it has no rational cause, that the tortures it produces are insensate. With such despair am I filled when I see that the sufferings to which the bodies and souls of the Russian people are subjected benefit no one.

Russia Fed Europe Before War.

"Russia produces millions of tons of wheat in excess of her consumption. Before the war she fed Europe. Why is she starving at present? Why is it impossible for her to transport wheat from where it is produced to where it is wanted? Before the war, Russia did not posses a suf-

(Continued on page 4)

Bolsheviks Gain --- But Not on the Front Page.

News space too valuable for Reds since Kolchak began to run. No news is good news. Look for Bolshevik success on inside pages now.

Since Kolchak packed up his old kit bag and scurried accross Siberia for that little sprint of a thousand miles a few weeks ago, there has been very little news in the capitalist press concerning the Bolsheviki. We used to look for Bolshevik news on the front pages. If we found it there, then we knew the Bolsheviki were losing or at least were said to be losing. Now that all reference to them can only be found on the inside pages and in remote and curtailed paragraphs, we know that they are wining. A capture of half a dozen Bolsheviks used to be heralded in six inch type in the first columns of our highly respectable bourgeois sheets, alas, no more. If you want to know what's doing in Siberia, take a spy glass and by carefully scrutinizing each inside column you may be able to find a paragraph or two concerning some doings there. And now of late, these paragraphs have taken on a very bad color—for Kolchak, Denikin and Crowd. That this motely crew of capitalist tools are still running with all the speed of which they are capable may be judged by the following dispatches discovered hidden away in corners of a capitalist daily. All in all, when you hear no news of the Bolsheviks, take it for good news. The old rule holds good.

IRKUTSK, Dec. 22.—The city of Tomsk, western Siberia, has been evacuated by the Siberian troops of the all-Russian government. General evacuation of Tomsk began Dec. 16.

The council of ministers of the all-Russian government has issued a statement denying reports that the Bolsheviki have proposed peace to Admiral Kolchak, head of the government and to Gen. Denikine, leader of the anti-Bolshevik forces on the southern front.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22.—State department advices today reported that Bolshevik attacks in Esthonia were increasing and that negotiations for the withdrawal into Letvia of Gen. Yudenitch's Russian army were in progress.

With the capture of Taiga, at the junction of the branch line to Tomsk, Polish troops west of that point will have to fight their way eastward, the report said.

The Soviet government is trying to stimulate construction of army tanks and has offered prizes ranging from 50,000 rubles up to 450,000 for plans, to be the property of the Soviet government, according to an advertisement in a Petrograd paper Nov. 11.

LONDON Dec. 22.—Seven hundred soldiers of the army commanded by Admiral Kolchak, head of the all-Russian government in Siberia, have been found frozen to death in a hospital near Omsk, according to a wireless dispatch received here from Moscow.

When Novo Nikolaevsk, in eastern Siberia, was captured Dec. 13, about 0,000 soldiers and 500 officers fell into the hands of the Bolsheviki according to an official statement issued by the Soviet government at Moscow. Booty taken by the reds comprised a section of the American Red Cross and the Ufa branch of the state bank with 40,000,000 rubles in Siberian bank notes.

SLAV SOCIALISTS REVOLT AGAINST KOLCHAK RULE.

Paris, Dec. 27. — Revolutionary Socialists have formed a committee government in Irkutsk, Siberia, where the All Russian government of Admiral Kolchak established its headquarters after being driven from Omsk, according to news received in French official circles today.

The revolutionists took possession of the Irkutsk station on the Trans-Siberian railway, the reports state.

It is considered doubtful whether Admiral Kolchak will find anything of his government when he finally goes to Irkutsk. His present whereabouts are not definitely known.

He is reported as having encountered great difficulties with detachments of Cecho-Slovak troops which are en route to Vladivostok by the Trans-Siberian railway. These troops have been guarding sections of the line and have not succeeded in getting along well with Admiral Kolchak.

Japanese Attitude Watched.

Bands of Bolsheviki now are not far from the Baikal district, which is raising the question in diplomatic circles here how Japan will look upon the prospect of the presence of Lenine's forces in immediate proximity to the Japanese sphere of influence.

It is supposed here that conversations already are in progress between Tokio and Washington regarding the Siberian questions affected by the advance of the Bolsheviki and the weakening of the Kolchak government.

KOLCHAK'S ARMY GONE, AVER REDS.

London, Dec. 26. — The Bolsheviki have captured Tomsk and also the towns of Fastoff, Vassilkov, Krementchug, Izium, Belovodsk, Makeevka, and Kokpekhta, according to a wireless dispatch received tonight from Moscow.

The communication adds that after the capture of Tomsk the Reds advanced from Novo Nikolaevsk to the main line of the Trans-Siberian railroad and occupied the station of Taiga, taking an enormous amount of booty and a number of prisoners.

"The road to Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk is now open, and Admiral Kolchak's army in this region has ended its existence," says the communication.

The dispatch adds that Galician troops intended for the defense of Kiev, have revolted against Gen. Denikine, the anti-Bolshevik leader in the south, and attacked the volunteer army in the rear.

LEGION WARNED TO KEEP THE LAW.

Law resides in civil authority, not in mob law, D'Olier tells Legionaries.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Franklin D'Olier national commander of the American Legion, today declared that neither "national, state, nor local organizations of the American Legion have any right to take the law in their own hands or interfere with proper authority," and warned members of the legion that such action would be subversive of the principles and ideals of the organization.

The declaration was part of a statement made by the national commander in view of recent reports of activities of members of the legion, which, he said, made it imperative that the policy of the organization with respect to its standing on the maintenance of law and order be defined.

"The American Legion," Mr. D'Olier said, "represents nearly 5,000,000 citizens who have demonstrated their loyalty and patriotism. We realise, however, that there are 100,000,000 other Americans just as patriotic and loyal. We represented the spearpoint, keen and true, and back of us was the power of a whole nation at war.

"In times of need and emergency we members of the American Legion stand ready as individuals to support, strengthen and speed up, if necessary, the civil authorities, charged with the maintenance of law and order .... but always in accordance wit competent authority, which we realize now is civilian and not military, and originates in the constitution of the United States as expressed through national, state and local governments.'

The Co-operative State.

By Robert G. Ingersoll.

During this holidays season, when "good will to man" is suposed to reign somewhat upon this troubled sphere, it is well to consider the following from the pen of Ingersoll, hated by the Church for his atheism, but who is now recognized by mankind at large as one of the world's anointed.

I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

I see a world at peace adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled while lips are rich with words of love and truth — a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward; where work and worth go hand in hand; where the poor girl, in trying to win bread with the needle — the needle that has been called "the asp for the poor"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.

I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, the married harmony of form and function — and as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all, in the great dome, shines the eternal star of human hope.

"If ever there was a moment in the history of America when we cannot afford to let our own press die for lack of funds, it is now. — Mob lence and governmental tyranny will do what they can to silence us. Let us swear by all we hold dear that not one fighting revolutionary So- t journal shall go under for lack of funds." — The Liberator.

re You Doing Your Part? Get subscriptions for The Toiler — Your Own Paper.

THE SUPERHUMAN ENERGY OF THE WORKERS

(Ivestya, Petrograd, August 1)

In the Russian press, published abroad by our counter-revolutionary emigrants, are often found complaints about the inertia of the bourgeoisie that has been deprived of the power as contrasted with the enormous work performed by the proletariat.

A Cadet newspaper, Rodina, published in Kharkor, says: "One must have the courage to confess that we ought to learn much from the Bolsheviks—we can but profit from that. One must marvel first of all at their superhuman energy.

"Every one who desires and can help the holy cause of resurrecting the country, must take an example from them and work without sparing his forces. Not in vain is it said of some of the commissars that one does not know when they sleep."

Not long ago an aristocratic woman fugitive from Petrograd, contrasted the invincible energy of the Bolsheviks, their incredible ability to work, with the flabbiness and looseness of the bourgeois class that is capable only of whining on account of its own poor success.

The admissions of our enemies have a deep political significance. The Communist party is the advance ranks of the proletariat, its most conscious and energetic part; it is the vanguard of the working class, The working class is full of exhaustless force; in its midst are resting immense resources of potential energy which now, when the power is passing into its own hands, are transferred into kinetic energy, are transformed into action. "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains, but they have a world to gain," are the words of the Communist Manifesto; the workmen are setting to work to solve this great task, having untouched resources of energy.

"A host is rising that has no bounds,
It will have a force that is beyond measure." (Nyekrassov).

But the bourgeoisie—our adversary—is a feeble, dying-out class, without faith in the future, without faith in its work, without an ideal, without zeal; it has not the enthusiasm without which—to speak with Saint-Simon—one cannot accomplish great works.

There was a time when the bourgeoisie, too, manifested energy, destroying absolutism and feudalism, when it was a revolutionary, a rising class—that was at the end of the Eighteenth Century, at the time of he Great French Revolution.

But already in the year 1848, Marx, in the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, characterized the German bourgoisie thus: "Devoid of faith in its own slogans, with phrases instead of ideas, scared by the world tempest, exploiting the world tempest never with energy always with plagiary, isipid in its lack of originality, original in its insipidity, without initatve, without faith in itself, without faith in the people, without a world mission, without eyes, without ears, without teeth, without anything."

At present the bourgeoisie is definitely and irretrievably doomed by history to perish, and, being in the depth of its soul conscious of its doom, it cannot find the necessary strength for the fight against the proletariat.

But the strength of the proletriat is inexaustible; it only begins to develop its strength, ever new layers are set in motion, as they undertake the great task of rebuilding the old world.

A Letter to 100 Per Cent Americans

Being a 100 per cent. American myself and believing that as such it is necessary to know the history of my beloved country, I decided, during a recent convalescence, to brush up my knowledge of the past deeds of our glorious forefathers. For this purpose I got out the old history that had been the source of inspiration and enjoyment to me when I had attended the little old one-room country school.

I read the well known story of the heroic discoverer again and lived with the Pilgrims and Puritans thru cruel struggles against the hard natural environment and the savage Indians. Next came the great wars against the French and Indians and again I was filled with the old gladness that the country was saved for the people of the greatest nation of that time, the English. With even greater force than in my schooldays I am struck by the wisdom of the allseeing Providence watching over us then even as in the critical times thru which we have just passed.

But here came my first shock. "The Revolutionary Epoch" was the heading of the next section and the similarity to the name of a radical sheet recently printed in Boston and called the "Revolutionary Age" was starting to say the least. And I wondered—Revolution is so foreign to the spirit of all 100 per cent. Americans and gives the present day agitators such a good talking point would it not have been better had the historian picked out some other title such as "The fight for Democracy." Also some of the things related in connection with this first "Fight for Democracy", as I shall hereafter designate this period would much better have been left out. Not that they are untrue but it is not good for the ignorant people of the lower classes to know such things as they are unable to see them in their true significance. For example there is the story of the treatment of the Stamp Act collectors who were often ridden thru the towns on rails and otherwise mistreated. Are not such tales likely to incite some of the hair brained followers of Lenin to similar offences against the officers of law and order of our own time. Again the destruction of 342 chests of tea by mobs disguised as Indians at what is called the Boston Tea Party should be rewritten for we should not instill in the minds of the growing children such an utter disregard for the sacred rights of private property.

However in regard to the battle of Bunker Hill there is one case in which all of our school histories are to be commended. I refer to omission of any reference to the fact that a plain red flag was carried by one detachment of our illustrious forefathers in that heroic encounter. Think of the amount of time space and energy that such an omission has saved us. Imagine how hard it would be for us to explain to the dullwitted children of the working classes that what was considered a noble deed and stimulating example of 100 per cent. Americanism at that time has changed into an act of anarchy and open sedition today. Had that been printed we would have to use a great amount of space in the public press to clarify the public mind, space that we are now able to use in recounting the Bolshevik atrocities and the nationalization of women in Russia.

Up to the present time I have only read as far as the Battle of Bunker Hill and have picked out only the more flagrant cases. The urgent need of immediate action has impelled me to write if only so incompletely, rather than to wait till finishing the reading of the book. If, however, I find other instances which my sure instinct of a 100 per cent. American tell me should be altered I will write of them later.

Passing from the field of American history there are, however, two more instances that I wish to call attention to before closing. In the fight for human freedom altogther too much credit is given to that demagogue, Martin Luther. The mere fact that he was a Hun should be enough to more than overbalance any other good that he may have accomplished. I understand that the parochial schools handle his case much differently than the public schools and the events of the last five years have certainly fully justified them. But all of the schools, public and parochial, place too much stress on a certain Jewish-Heavenly agitator, J. Christ, sometimes called Jesus and the Lord. Here was a man forever stirring up the people. The different accounts of his life are somewhat contradictory and confusing. It appears that there was a certain body of 100 per cent. Jews who made it their particular business to curb such radicals, and kept close watch on Christ's activities the same as the A. P. L. of our time, watched undesirable citizens during the late war. After a speaking and organizing trip thru the surrounding country Jesus returned to the capital and started a riot. These patriotic Jews took him before the governor, Pontius Pilate, who gave him a public trial. Owing to the craftiness of the prisoner and the lack of proper legislation (the criminal syndicalist law had not yet been passed) Pilate was unable to give the rioter the proper punishment. Jesus was turned over to the vigilance committee who with the help of some soldiers set a noble example for the present times by crucifying him. To make a martyr of such a person is as ridiculous as to martyrize Joe Hill or Frank Little or any of the destroyers of democratic foundations such as we have today. It merely encourages lazy, weakminded and improvident persons of today into similar follies. It makes the task of all true American supporters of law and order that much the more difficult.

Hoping that this will arouse my co-workers to some consciousness of the magnitude of the task ahead of them, I remain,

A real 100 per center.

SKYGAC'S COLUMN:

There is no one word in any language

* * *

that will cause more thrills of fear

* * *

to travel up and down the spines

* * *

of the oppressors of mankind

* * *

than that ten lettered word

* * *

REVOLUTION.

* * *

The first three letters of that word

* * *

make the abbreviation for the word

* * *

Reverend,

* * *

which is a title we bestow upon

* * *

our pulpit pounders and sky pilots

* * *

who bring us the glad tidings

* * *

that hell is not cold.

* * *

We may all be said to be English now

* * *

(for are we not her allies,

* * *

aiding and abetting her

* * *

in her "freedom of the size"?)

* * *

Dropping the "r" as the English do

* * *

all that we have left of revolution

* * *

IS EVOLUTION.

* * *

It is on account of the evolution

* * *

of the ideas and opinions

* * *

of mankind

* * *

(caused of course

* * *

by the evolution

* * *

of economic conditions)

* * *

that the mere mention of revolution

* * *

is fear inspiring to the oppressor.

* * *

Most of the people

* * *

are now expecting

* * *

some kind of a revolution.

* * *

The farmers all talk revolution

* * *

and most of them want it to come

* * *

only they want to sit in the gallery

and be disinterested spectators.

* * *

Revolution is the nightmare of the

* * *

politicians and the framers of the

* * *

criminal syndicalist laws.

* * *

The preachers preach against it,

* * *

editors editorialize against it.

* * *

Mechanics are against it—only

* * *

secretly they hope for its coming

* * *

to relieve them from the oppressor.

* * *

The bourgeoisie

* * *

marshal their armies

* * *

and wait its coming,

* * *

fear stricken and as full of panic

* * *

as a Christian about to go

* * *

to meet his God.

* * *

The only member of society

* * *

who does not fear the revolution

* * *

is the Scientific Socialist

* * *

whose knowledge

* * *

of economis and sociology

* * *

bids him view the coming of

* * *

the revolution, calmly and unafraid,

* * *

knowing it is but a part of the

* * *

EVOLUTION PROCESS.

* * *

He knows that revolutions can

* * *

neither be hastened nor avoided.

* * *

He continues to spread

* * *

the knowledge of class-consciousness in order that

* * *

the needless shedding of blood

* * *

MAY BE AVOIDED

* * *

and that the revolution
when it does arrive

* * *

may be turned

* * *

into such channels as will make it

* * *

beneficial to all mankind.

FLINGS AND STINGS

An industrial firm in advertising "barreled sunlight" says, in a full page adv.: "Factory Fatigue, the greatest drag on output." Continuing, it says, "Waiting for the whistle to blow! Men work with tired eyes and draw brows. Hands move less swiftly, less accurately as fatigue grows. All through the afternoon quarrels and complaints increase. Discontent—spoilage—slow work, these are the well known evils of factory fatigue. It is the greatst drag on output."

The advertisement goes on to state that the remedy is to be found in MORE LIGHT. We agree, but instead of "barreled sunlight," we would suggest economic light. Knowledge of the relationship of the class nature of society. Knowledge of the law of value and who in the last analysis is the REAL creator of values.

* * *

Swift and Company are continually advertising, in large costly full page or half-page advertisements in the newspapers that they only receive 2.04 per cent. on the dollar. Mighty poor business heads—those Swifts, because most any old country bank will pay 4 per cent. on the dollar as interest without any work on the part of Swift and Company. Swift's advertisements reminds one of the old merchant who always sold everything below cost and could only stay in business "because he did so much business."

* * *

The life of the ordinary merchant is not all roses. In a recent survey of the toy shops there was much wailing and gnashing of teeth amongst the merchants because they had made the wrong guess in buying their Christmas stock of toys. Their guess was that this would be a military Christmas, so they laid in enormous stocks of toy cannon, tin soldiers, wooden machine guns and other warlike toys, and now they are dead stock on their shelves! The public has had its eye opened and is completely "fed-up" on war stuff!

Poor, poor merchants—but,
Lucky, lucky kiddies.

* * *

In a civilized world a person who would put a toy killing-tool in the hands of an innocent child would be socially ostracised.

* * *

War lectures no longer pull. War movies are avoided. Even the much talked universal military training program fails to arouse any enthusiasm. Who said the world was not coming to its senses?

* * *

Supreme court upholds the constitutionality of the war-time prohibition act. Probably does not know the war is over.

* * *

Now it's up to the president.
Oh Woodrow, Spare that Spree!

* * *

A local paragrapher lays the social unrest on the lack of brains in the halls of congress. We believe however that the social unrest is an evidence of the use of more brains in the union halls of the workers.

* * *

Another evidence of progress. In 1700 the entire modern world was 100 per cent. Christianized. Now according to a recent church report, less than 10 per cent. of the people profess any kind of a religion. But that 10 per per cent. is spending billions to keep their toehold!

* * *

The masters measure everything by the yardstick of surplus-value. In the coming order things will be measured on the basis of useful service rendered. No wonder the idle and the vicious are frightened at the coming of the Republic of Labor.

PEACE

(Probably the [illegible] [illegible] of the great war. Found on the [illegible] of an American soldier in France.)

Ended is the [illegible] quest.

The victors and the vanquished rest.
The victims sleep; their crosses stud
The Russian snow and Flanders mud.
Sound by sound the noises die.
Low hang the clouds o'er earth and sky.

A shudder passes through the pines.
A screech owl from the ivy whines.
Dust to ashes. Dreams to dust.
The curtain falls. The cannon rust.
O'er Eden and o'er Babylon
The soft white sands creep on and on.

Another Sedition Act.

DENVER, COLO.—The Sedition Act which gives 20 years imprisonment to those advocating a change of government has passed the Colorado legislature. It is a piece of class legislation rivalling in severity the infamous Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. It is worse than the ordinary capitalist class legislation in that it is aimed expressly at particular organizations of workingmen, notably those which believe in a working class government. Anyone carelessly shouting "All power to the workers" might be liable to a fine of $10,000 and 20 years in jail.

Gov. Shoup called a special session of the legislature to pass this bill. To be sure he spoke in his message also of the high cost of living, but to the astonishment of everybody he ended by declaring that the time was not yet ripe to legislate against the profiteers! The Governor is himself a millionaire and one of the leading financiers of the state. So while the legislature rushed thru the Suppression of Sedition bill and also a law against auto-thieves, it did not even consider a bill against profiteering. This seems to be on the good old capitalist principle that if a man steals an auto send him to jail; if he steals a railroad send him to Congress.

While the Colorado law for the Suppression of the Radicals is not as bad as those of New Hampshire, Ohio and other states, it is so worded as to be capable of broad interpretation and can be used by our capitalist judges to "supress" most anybody whose ideas of government differ from their own. And it was no doubt expressly framed to admit of this double interpretation against Socialist and workingclass organizations of that nature. It is one more step into the class war.

During the good-fellow season, the newspapers ceased their policy of adverstising a condition of universal prosperity and allowed tales of harrowing poverty to be printed. Not that the causes of poverty may be abolished but that some robber of the poor may return a few of the stolen pennies (in the name of goodfellowship) during the holiday season. Goodfellowship, of the bourgeoisie brand helps the toy market, and quiets the slaves. As soon as the holidays are over the newspapers will again resume their mask and hypocritically ignore the existence of the poverty-striken mass untill next year.

* * *

This was not a Merry Christmas to the scions of Capitalism who dread the process of re-adaptation from broadcloth to overalls to conform to the coming new order of society.

* * *

In the light of bourgeois history, failure and treason are synonomous terms.

* * *

I love to go to church and hear the bourgeoisie sing that beautiful and touching little ballad,

"We shall know as we are known,
We shall reap as we have sown."

* * *

But—What shall the harvest be?

European printers are striking and winning their strikes, to refuse to print articles detrimental to the interest of the working class. The employers call it "printers dictating the policy of the paper" but nevertheless it works. Swedish printers now have that privilege as a part of the union-contract. London papers were recently held up by the printers until an editorial strongly criticising the strikers was deleted. Here is another "European importation" that would be of immense benefit to the working class of America.

Two yearlies at hand from comrade Louis Whald of Cleveland. Another new booster is comrade Geo. Litghtcap of Waterman, Pa. His first boost is two half year subs. We believe this is not his last one.

The Black Sheep

CHAPTER XI.

The Trial.

About [illegible] o'clock the following morning a couple of rural officers entered the tank and announced that the judge was ready to see part of the bunch. He read the names most of them aliases, or "monakers", of about twelve of the men as they had given them the day before, and ordered these men to come along.

Jack had hoped that he would be tried with this group, for Rudolph and Collins were called with them, but the jailer dispelled this illusion. He was classed with the suitcase tramps.

The reason for this classification Collins had explained to him during the night. The "suitcase tramps", generally carried all their earnings with them; they were known to the officers as 'fat geese!' The other men, that is those who were initiated in the ways of the harvest fields generally made it a practice to collect their money from time to time during the season and spend it in the blind pigs or the bawdy houses as fast as they got it, while others made it a practice to mail it to the place where they intended to 'Hole up' for the winter, keeping only enough money on their persons to reach their destinations by side door pullman (freight cars).

That explains the reason they took the blanket men first. After a farce trial, they fined them what ever amounts they happened to have; returned their blankets to them and ordered them out of town.

It sometimes happened however, if the victim was a little impudent or aggressive in his remarks, that they gave them a jail sentence of thirty days or more. This was a source of private graft to the officers, as they made a profit on the food the prisoner ate.

From what has been said regarding the characteristics of Collins and Rudolph we may imagine that they were not very genteel in the presence of the court In fact Collins delivered an oration that almost frightened both judge and prosecuting attorney. He quoted ver batim large sections of the law, showing that their arrest had been illegal, and that the court was out of order in its method of proceedure. But this was no court of law. It was a vehicle of graft. One might as well plead for mercy in the coils of a boa constrictor, as to plead for justice before such a tribunal as this. They were fined fifteen and seventeen dollars each. The total amount that had been found in their pockets at the time of their arrest had been eighteen and twenty-one dollars respectively. Rudolph and Collins were then sentenced to thirty days in prison for contempt of court. The rest of their companions, all "bindle stiffs", were similarly fined and were given two hours to get out of town.

There was a little barred opening in the tank door thru which one could look down an alley like hall that led from the jail to the court room. At this little window Jack stood and listened for any sound that might betray the fate of his friends, but as the court room door was closed he was scantily rewarded.

At last the door opened and the jailers escorted the two restless spirits down the hall, passed the tank door and into the cell house. Right then Jack resolved to be impudent enough to be jailed with them. If this was the way of the world that the majesty of the law which he had been taught to hold in reverence was used for purposes of crime, he would know it. He, who from his childhood had searched for the ways of nature now resolved to learn the ways of men. He had been taught that a man had the right to kill in self defense, that the laborer was worthy of his hire, that courts were instituted to protect the weak form the aggressions of the strong. It seemed to him that these things had to be facts, the logic of George, the cynicism of Collins, the anarchic idealism of Rudolph not withstanding. There had to be justice in the world, for without it life could not endure, and yet, there were the facts. Rudolph and Collins in jail for the crime of possessing money earned in the sweat of their brow. There was no room for delusion.

The more the boy contemplated the hideous situation, the more angry he came. He felt the tide of passion singing a song of hate. Thoughts of retributive vegeance, fierce, animal like and elemental surged thru him. He caught himself repeating the words, "They're not guilty of any crime. They have done nothing that a man ought not to do. Why do people tolerate such a system? The men who originated it were criminals. How could they get the public confidence." He walked away from the little window and paced back and

forth through out the length of
tank. He was cold, [illegible] and hun
The breakfast that had been pro
the night before did not materi
It had been conveniently forg
The coal had been consumed d
the night, the place was bitterly
but his anger warmed his blood
he forgot his misery and felt tha
was ready to do anything to pu
end to its causes.

Suddenly stopping in his wal
for the first time addressed the
who were with him. (Remember
were the 'suitcase tramps', that
uninitiated in the mysteries o
vest life). "I do not know wh
boys thing about it but I htin
we are the victims of a damned
up; a legalized robbery. I'd t
what we should do, we should
all together and gather all the
boys we can find, even if we h
wait until the next fall to do
come back, two or three hundred
strong and clean up on this bu
for one, shall not rest until I
made them pay and pay with
est." The only reply that came
his companions was: "Yah, you'll
hell you will." After which he
heard remarks like these. "I'm
to ask the judge to let me off, be
I need the money for my
mother." "I'm just goin' to
guilty, and get out of it as e
possible." There is no use fighti
the courts in a town where you'r
known." Then there were such
marks as: "We ain't got br
to understand the law." If
really smart we wouldn't g
in'. If we're fined I call it t
but I wouldn't go back on t
ican courts." We had no
goin' into that blind pig,
it was an illegal place." Jac
that the remarks of these m
reflected the sentiments w
himself had held before
George. In fact he still held
acertain extent.

He lay down upon one of t
and meditated. To his mind
phrase 'economic determinism
were the farmers good, hon
tian men and women. They pr
fore they went to vote for
who preyed upon the poor. E
why they did it. It was for re
was their desire to shift the b
taxation from their own back
backs of the strangers who ca
their work. He remembered a
scripture, that says, "You s
eat anything that dieth of it
shall sell it to an alien, or f
a stranger that is within thy
Yes the christian farmer and b
men still practice the ancie
they prayed before they robb
only difference is, that now w
robbing second handed. They
profits, fines, interest, 'emol
velvet and other euphonous
that in realty mean plunder,
spoil.

For the first time he saw t
struggle in actual operation.
alized that the hands of labo
duced the staff of life but t
hands of organized society were
turned against the producing
of the world. Yes, the class st
was a fact. A living actual,
that ramified into every structu
function of civilization. It eve
and perhaps ever would be a c
between the makers and the
of this world's wealth.

At two o'clock in the afternoo
jailer called the rest of the
trial. They were a timorous lot,
only laboring under the delusion
they were about to face the
of the law. like Jack, many had
ed the district courts, not as
ants but as spectators. They
that they would face a robed
an owl-faced jury, and
lawyers.

They were laboring under
lusion that a court was a
human mechanism, calculated
press the very soul of man
weight of their justice
ment.

They felt that it was a fear
to fall into the icy hands of
But somehow the exalted
Rudolph and the sneering
lins as they were taken to
house had strengthened
eager for the ordeal. In fact it had
osopher, he was at heart
perhaps it were
ventuous. He had decided
Rudolph and Collins did
ever they took. The
sion among the suitcase
inability to evolve a
proved to him beyond
organized effort was
for social trouble.

The court room was
nothing like the
with which he was
much like the
undecorated. The
ce scattered about

(Continued

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

FORMERLY THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio.

NO. 99. Published at Cleveland, O. CLEVELAND, O. WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 24th, 1919. Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.00 A YEAR

I. W. W. MAKES STATEMENT CONCERNING DEFENSE OF CENTRALIA VICTIMS.

Ten workers, members of the I. W. W., are in jail at Centralia, Wash. They are charged with the murder of one Warren Grimm who as you probably know was one of the five men killed at Centralia, Wash., on November 11th.

Owing to the fact that all labor papers, notably the Seatle Union Record, were immediately suppressed it is very likely that you got your version of the Centralia affair thru the Capitalist Press. What credence you have given to the matter contained in these papers we do not knnw. We believe and hope that you will at least examine our side of the story and let your own reason render judgment.

The sum total of the accounts in Capitalist Press can be stated as follows:

(1) That the members of the I. W. W. stationed themselves in windows and other places of concealment and without provocation fired on those who were marching in the parade.

(2) That the members of the I. W. W. had plotted the whole affair a week before.

(3) That the whole thing was done because many of those in the parade were returned soldiers.

(4) That it was an attack on the Government.

To bolster up the above charges the Capitalist Press had glaring accounts of alleged confessions and of roving bands of I. W. W. who were defying all authority.

If you have normal reasoning power you must have immediately rejected the tales of lies and slander spread broadcast in the Capitalist Press about the I. W. W. and its members. Your reason cannot accept e idea that ten ordinary working en would have stationed themselves ith guns and deliberately shot into e ranks of a passing parade comosed of men and women from whom, cording to the Press, they had thing to fear.

To say that these men plotted the affair because many in the ranks ere returned soldiers is absurd. Here gain sane logic repudiates this falseood for the reason that ten, or even hundred, men would not adopt such plan to kill returned soldiers any ore than a like amount of men ould enter into a plot against a cer in town or city and start shooting discriminately at people walking ng the streets. Besides, several those now charged with murder ex-service men themselves.

That the members of the I. W. W. d the affair a week or ten days e is so evidently false that it ely needs denial. So one acquawith the particulars it needs no ation. But lest you, the reader, nowing the facts of the case believe such a thing we will out that on the date it is alleg at the plot was formed (said g place being a regular busieeting held in the I. W. W. en days before, not a person in knew there was going to be Arrangements for the pa for the line of march laid out by the peoined the parade. It is celebration for Armi even been broached. ask you, could these ed to shoot at a pa could not have pos there was ever go a thing? So much for

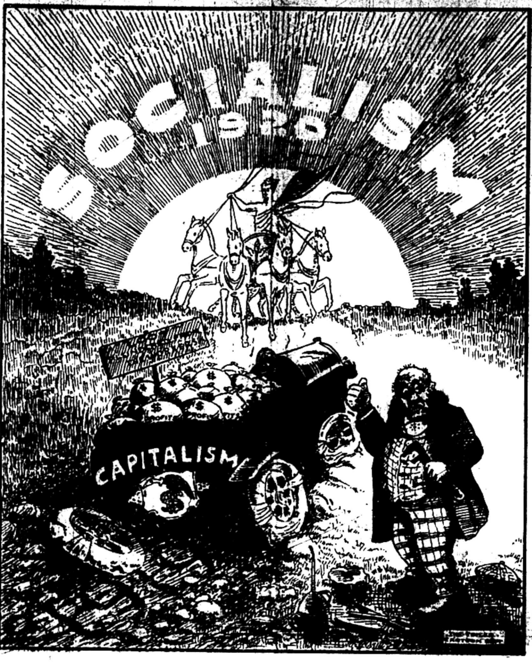
[illegible] that the whole thing on the Government is charge was made by Press to bewilder the who has no definite what is meant Press use the ". "Attacking the a familiar phrase Press when Autocrats are insistent demand cry was raised Strike, in and will be to con [illegible]. They

would have the people believe that Government and its functions are the property of a few individuals who can do no wrong. They never charge the profiteers, who have laid the grasping hand of profits on food, clothing and shelter and doubled the price on every thing necessary to life. No; because their conception of Government means a Government controlled by these very profiteers. Thus it is that when a strike is called by workers to get higher wages and more of the good things of life they shout "an attack on the government." That is why they have continually charged the I. W. W. with "attacking the Government". Establishing the eight hour day and getting better conditions in the Lummber Industry of the Northwest was an "attack on the Government" according to the Capitalist Press. But doubled profits on the necessities of life by the Industrial Autocrats is not an attack on Government but entirely respectable.

The right conception of Government is that it is an institution set up by a majority of the people (not profiteers) for the good and welfare of that majority. When a minority gets control of that Government and use it for their own ends it is they that are attacking the Government. The Constitution of the United States gives the right of Free Assembiage to all. An attack o nthat right is an attack on the will of the majority which is the Government.

The members of the I. W. W. at Centralia were in their hall when it was attacked. In *defending* their hall they were defending the Government. The attackers of the I. W. W. Hall were attacking the right of free

(Continued on page 4.)



Workers' New Years Greeting to Capitalism

The Sun of Socialism has Already Risen.

The eyes of the world are upon Russia.

The Thot of the world is upon SOCIALISM.

Russia is an example and a prophecy to the capitalist world of what is to come in every civilized country on the earth. It is a warning of what is coming to every capitalistically developed nation. It is the skeleton at every capitalist feast, it is the the haunting shade that dogs the every step of capitalistic imperialism and drives into its heart the terror of impotence.

For Soviet Russia is a FACT.

From the greatest world catyclysm in history has sprung the greatest hope and promise for the world. From the blood soaked graves of ten million dead has sprung and blossomed the red flower of Russiam Sovietism and Idustrial Democracy. And the flower of Industrial Democracy will blossmom elswhere—it will blossom in every civilized nation, in every nation where the capitalistic system has become established, and that now is the whole world. And the year 1920 is prophetic of this blossoming in more than one nation where capitalism has broken down, where it is no longer capable of functioning and supplyig the needs of the masses with the necessities of life.

Socialism in Russia is triumphant.

For two years the Russian masses have battled against the reactionaries within her boundaries and against the armies of capitalistic world imperialism from without. For two years Russia's workers have fought hunger, starvation, disease, lack of arms and munitions, lack of sufficiency of every essential to a normal life; they have fought against allied treachery and anavalanche of lies by the entire capitalist press of the world. They have suffered and endured as no nation has ever done for the social ideals which they knew alone, could lift them from slavery into the sunlight of freedom.

Never in history was a more wanton and cruel system of persecution established against a people than the undeclared war against the Russian masses by the United States, Japan, England and France. Never before did capitalism show its real nature more clearly than in the unofficial blockade of Russian ports and the starvation of her people by thus cutting them off from trade with the world. But Russia has triuphed. Her Red army has driven before them the mercenaries of capitalism. The Allies are pulling out of Russia—because they cannot stay there safely and with any hope of re-establishing capitalism within her borders. The sun of Socialism shines brightly in Russia.

The rays from her sun illuminate the world.

Into, over and thruout the capitalist world its searching rays tillating rays from the rising sun of Socialism in Russia are gleaming. Not all the lies of capitalism's hired press, not all the chicanery of its state's officials have been able to keep them out. Inton, over and thruout the capitalist world its searching rays are bearing and every ray strikes capitalism with terror and bewilderment at its own impotence in the face of the truth which these rays bring forth. Its rays are revealing the darknesss of capitalism and the methods by which it has kept the masses of the world in bondage.

But while the breaking of dawn is a source of terror to capitalism, it has a different meaning to the world's oppressed. To the masses everywhere, Russia is a fountain of promise. They warm themselves in her sun. They exultate in her victories; thy hearten themselves in her successses. Russia it to-day the hope of the world of labor. Labor elsewhere knows that thru her victories, so too, will it be victorious. By her example we have been shown way to industrial freedom.

The Proletarian Dictatorship, the method.

The world to-day is governed thru the dictatorship of the capitalist class. There is not a social institution in existence that is not dominated by its rule. Its pover is supreme in the public school, where nothing inimical to its interests is taught nor allowed to enter. The social thruths are perverted and twisted to bolster its rule. The minds of the world's children are directed from the kindergarten to college, thru all the years of youth along channels of thought which will tend to make them subservient slaves to the capitalist oligarchy. The Church is dominated by its power and the gospel of Christ perverted into a gospel of the right of the exploiting class to rule—divinely and by God's will. Thepublic press is the servant and the tool of the capitalist class and thru it public opinion is molded along the lines which will give support to the capitalist dictatorship. The amusements of the people are under its control. Especially is this true of the "movies". Not a picture is shown that even remotely can tend to awaken the masses to the fact of their exploitation and knowledge of the fact of this dictatorship.

The means by which all men live and work are under control of this class. Not only has the capitalist class complete control of the economic lives of the masses, but it also owns body, boots and breeches the governments of the various nations. IT OWNS THE STATE, IT IS THE STATE! And because of this fact of political control, its dictatorship is established and practiced.

The workers must supplant capitalist class dictatorship with working-class dictatorship. We must supplant the dictatorship of the few with the rule of the many. We must seize that which is now the Capitalist State and make it a weapon in the hands of the workers to institute the beginning of industrial and also political democracy. The State, the political power must be placed under working class dominance before the social institutions can serve the workers. The workers must control the state and thru it exert their power in every field of social endeavor.

This does not mean the workers must use ONLY the ballot as a means to capture the capitalist State. There are other means which the workers must necessarily use. Class action on the industrial field is the workers' greatest and strongest weapon for aquiring political power. We must school ourselves in its use. We must cultivate in the shops the organization of the workers. We must learn to strike not as crafts but as a CLASS. We must direct all our class efforts to capturing political power and using that power to institute Industrial Democracy and build a world whose functions shall be carried on in the interests of the workers instead of the present owners of industry.

The way to Industrial Democracy leads thru the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the lesson of successful Russian working class tactics.

SHIPLOAD OF RADICALS SET SAIL FOR FREE SOVIET RUSSIA.

LABOR MARKET MAY BE DEPLETED BY EXTENSIVE DEPORTATIONS OF FOREIGN BORN. MORE LAWS ON WAY TO DESTROY LIBERTY. AMERICAN CITIZENS TO BE PENALIZED FOR THINKING.

Steaming toward an unnamed European port laden with several hundred radicals, including Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, two foremost intellectual anarchists, the United States transport, Buford sailed from New York last Monday. The Buford will make a European Port and from there the deportees will proceed to a Soviet Russian seaport city at U. S. government expense.

This eventful sailing of the Buford marks the beginning of the government's long heralded program of deportation of foreign born radicals in the U. S. Anarchists, I. W. W. anti-war agitators, labor union organizers and just plain ordinary working men and women who have had the misfortune, or good fortune to fall under the displeasure of government officials are among the 250 which sailed away from the so-called land of the free to what many of them at least, believe to be a better land—Soviet Russia, the first Socialist Republic.

Last week a number of "mystery" trains speeded from various points in the country to New York, there, inloading scores of men and women gathered into the government's net at various times and who have been held in custody, some for many months awaiting deportation. Agitators in the steel strike districts, union organizers, from the north west, and the Canadian border, and strike agitators in shipyards are among the number. About every variety of agitator which industrial and social conditions have produced may be counted among them. It is stated that fully 350 more radicals are now in various jails awaiting the same fate as those deported.

Wives want to go too.

One circumstance which indicates that the deportees do not consider their fate a very terrible one is the fact that a number of the deportees' wives have petitioned the government officials in a signed statement to allow them passage with their husands. Apparently, the terrors of Bolshevism do not loom large to these women whose bread-winners have been taken from them and their children.

That the deportees carried with them the well wishes of hundreds of friends and relatives left behind, is shown in the great quantity of gifts showered upon them and which they will carry back home with them. These gifts number into the hundreds it is stated. Over $100.000.00 is said to be the amount of cash which they will carry away with them.

Probation urged for immigrants.

In line with the government's ambitious schemes to clear out of the country all who differ with things as they are under the benificence of King Capital comes a proposed bill in Congress sponsored by Representative Johnson of Washington. The provi-

(Continued on 3rd page.)

WHICH WAY, OH CITIZENS?

The re-election of Victor Berger, Socialist, To Congress from the 5th Wisconsin district—and the all-too probable refusal of his seat in the national law-making body brings up the question the solution of which will be an interesting episode in the present class conflict.

Berger was elected to Congress from the same district in 1918, his vote being 17,882 and that of his opponents' combined vote being 22,539. Because of his alleged anti-war attitude and actions his fellow congressmen declared his seat vacant under constitutional provision on Nov. 10th.

Berger now is returned to his seat by the votes of a majority of the qualified voters of his district. His vote being in this election 24,367 and that of the fusion candidate 19.561. giving Berger a majority of 4,806 votes. Thus far, the American voting kings have expressed themselves in a manner that is significant. Apparently they prefer to be represented by Victor Berger rather than any other person.

That his re-election cannot be wholly claimed as a victory for Socialism or even the Socialist Porty goes without saying. Doubtless, many voters, who would not place themselves upon record as avowed socialists, have voted for Berger, feeling a sense of outraged justice at the denial of his seat in Congress. Berger's statemnt after the votes were counted bears out this view.

Mr. Berger said:

"While my election may undobtedly be characterized as nothing short of a revolutionary act in view of opposition by the entire capitalist class — not only of Milwaukee and Winsconsin, but of the country—yet it cannot exactly be called a victory of the Socialist party.

"The Socialist party simply took the lead and furnished the advance guard and foremost champions!"

But this is not the end. Representative Dallinger, chairman of the elections committee, states that Berger will not be allowed his seat. According to Mr. Dallinger, the House may take

(Continued on page 4)

[illegible] and a higher morality.

The simple truth of the matter is, that away back in the mists of antiquity, more than two thousand two hundred years ago, the educational world slipped a cog and has never yet fully recovered its mental balance.

The Early Greeks began a scientific investigation of their material environment for a solution of their problems. Notable beginnings were made in the sciences of astronomy, mathematics, physics, biology and sociology. It was not until the advent of Anaxagoras, whose teaching of the idea that MIND instead of matter was of superior importance, that the blighting influence of a religious belief had an opportunity to substitute a belief in a mythical Saviour for a knowledge of material environment as a means to salvation.

Phillip Van Ness Meyers in his Ancient History in speaking of the Grecian philosophers, says (pp. 330);

"The philosophers of whom we have thus far spoken were in general, men who made the physical universe the subject of their speculations." (Note how craftily the author uses the word 'speculation' instead of the right word 'investigations'). "Their system of thought possessed little or no practical value. They did not supply motives for right living, having no word or the citizen in regard to his duties Godward, etc."

The philosophers referred to were the Seven Sages who first aroused a world intellect to scientific thought and formed a fitting prelude to Greek Philosophy. Thales, who was noted for his works on geometry and astronomy, was the first to predict an eclipse of the sun. He taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramids by the length of their shadows. Pythagoras, a "lover of wisdom" was another of the Greek philosophors. His views on astronomy anticipated by two thousand years the work of Copernicus. Another was Empedocles, the father of the idea of evolution. Like the evolutionist of today, he taught that the higher forms of life arise out of the lower. Another was Democritus who taught like the modern physicists, that 'all things are composed of invisible atoms alike in quality but differing in form and combination."

In the days of my youth I often heard of the dark ages but it was not until I had reached the age of maturity and had learned the scientific method of investigation that I learned the term dark ages meant the age when the materialist teachings of these Greek Philosophers had been set aside and the doctrines of the Christian church reigned supreme.

Many a well meaning youth of today joins one of the numerous Young People's Church Societies such as the B. Y. P. U., the C. E., or the Y. M. C. A, under the delusion that he is doing something that will make for world betterment. If it were only possible to get them to understand that their action is but a step toward a repetition of the dark ages, what a blessing to the world it would be!

The unthinking mass has a habit of allowing its philosophers and teachers to be crucified, while it gives its pennies to the band organ man. Few people have the moral courage to boldly proclaim that the vile thing called Christianity must go to make room for a newer and better order of society, and those who do are ostracised reviled and persecuted.

Lester F. Ward, known the world over, and recognied by the world's scholars as an authority upon matters pertaining to sociology and psychology, and the effect of a changed environment upon the human mind, says concerning Christianity vs the Ancient Greeks. "The question then is, 'In what respect would the civiliation of Europe be different from what it is today, had the Grecian Polytheism remained unmolested by Christianity and all other forms of religious faith?'"

Greece and Rome maintained toward the national religion an attitude quite similar to that which France, Germany, Great Britain and America present now towards Christianity. The masses believed and went through the ceremonies while the philosophers and schoolmen stood aloof and remained indifferent to religion appearing to consider it beneath their notice, just as now the rank and file observe the forms of the church while the most cultivated and notably those [illegible] consideration.

There were indications THEN that the bonds of religious restraint were about to fall from the people and the light of knowledge to be admitted to all just exactly as we see the forms of religion more and more ignored and education further and further extended. BUT Christianity rekindled the religious zeal, proscribed philosophy, abolished its schools and PLUNGED THE WORLD INTO AN ABYSS OF DARKNESS from which it emerged only after twelve hundred years! Ignorant of what would have happened if this had not happened, nothing is left but to regard the advent of Christianity as a CALAMITY. And if we look at the history of Christianity we find that its activities have been so intense and its deeds so violent that it has been almost impossible for thought to obtain a foothold."

Racial hatred is a terrible thing, but religious hatred is a thousand times worse. While religion claims to be anxious to establish a heaven on earth its effect has always been to prolong a hell. The Israelite proceeded to exterminate every inhabitant of the land of Canaan because they worshipped a differend God. The Mohamendan gives the conquered the choice of the Koran or death. Christianity claims to have been propagating peaceful means but this is pure plain lie as it is on record a thousand times that the conqueror demanded the acceptance of the Christian religion as a part of the terms of surrender.

Religion and Communism have this and this only in common. They both claim to offer salvation to an oppressed people. Communism has this advantage, its salvation is a here and now proposition, something you do not have to die to win. Faith was the watchword of the old Gospel. Science is the hope of the new. Religion was a substitute for ignorance, fact is fast taking the place of faith. Religion claims an absolute and complete monopoly on all the goodness and all the virtues and all the morality there is in existance. He who would question the validity of these claims is tacitly charged with a sort of moral turpitude. He is socially taboo and the idea is circulated by the Christian (?) folk that he is a moral degenerate of some sort and a very dangerous citizen. Only a few generations back he was lucky if he escaped the tortore hamber, maintained by Christians or the glory of the Christian God, or death by burning at the stake or in boiling oil.

Religion has always and everywhere been a powerful ally of the master class. The master class has traded the slave the pleasures of a "rest" in a mythical Heaven after death for a real material heaven of luxury and rest for the master here and now. Religion and commerce go hand in hand. And these two are the causes of all the wars that have cursed the world. The few who rebelled against the master-class God or the master-class dominion could be managed by the dungeon or the stake but when the many rebel they get the sword—and the slave wields the sword at the masters call in the master's interests!

The unwarranted assumption of the religionists that they have a monopoly of all the morals and virtues has been allowed to go unquestioned for long enough. The religionist lives in a world of fancy and ignores the world of fact, yet he is careful to keep his ideas of morals general and not specific, abstract and not concrete. When forced to SPECIFY, the religionist presents a sorry spectacle of intellectual emptiness. As the poet Moore put it

'I find the doctors and the Sages
Have differed in all climes and ages
And two and fifty scarce agree
On what is pure Morality."

The whole question then resolves itself into this, — What IS Morality! and has the Church and the "various established forms of religion" been a benefit or a curse to the world? The answer is plain, but to understand it, one has to know that there are classes in the world. A working class and a capitalist class. A making class and a taking class, whose interests are opposed. Whatsoever the capitalists get the worker has to go without. Knowing this, the establishment of a worker's code of morality is easy. Whatever is beneficial to the working class is BAD. Viewed in this light the Church and the "various forms of established religion" with their "meekness" "servility" substitution of faith for fact, with rewards payable after death instead of here and now, have undoubtedly been a stumbling block in the pathway of the world's progress towards Liberty and the Universal Brotherhood of man, of which they so glibly prate and do little to help establish. Those early Greeks were on the right track and mankind today will have to go back there where their investigations were sidetracked by the Christian Faith and begin the work anew. A knowledge of the material universe and its relationship to man—that is the royal road to happiness and here is no other.

The various religions have been only so many blinders to keep man from seeing the great white light of truth. Wars and the rumors of wars have cursed the earth and will curse the earth as long as the doctrine of Free Will and Vicarious Atonement are preached and believed. The Saviour of Mankind is not to be found in a sacrificed God but in Work, W-O-R-K with an opportunity to reap the reward of merit that creative energy rightly expended entitles one to receive.

Tichenor in his Creed of Constantine, has voiced a sentiment that should be heard around the earth.

"With none to blow the bugle blast
To call the dogs of war,
Who then would march to murder
those
They never met before!
And all the retinue of priests,
That say their God ordains
The crown that rests upon the brow
Of every brute that reigns
Let these go to, and take their myths,
Their goblins and their hell
And give this poor old world of ours
A longed-for breathing spell

On December 2, 1918, George Chicherin, People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, of the [illegible] Federal oviet Republic, sent out the following wireless telegram, protesting against military intervention in Russian by the Allied Powers. This protest is fully a year old, but intervention still persists. It is to be hoped that the negotiations now in progress at Copenhagen, between Litvinov, representing the Soviet Government, and O'Grady, representing the British Government, may lead to some satisfactory arrangement between the powers, that may definitely put an end to intervention. The text of the protest is as follows:

To the Governments of Great Britain,
France, Italy, and the United
States of America:

The Government of the Russian Socialist oviet Republic, through which the great laboring masses themselves, the workers and the peasants are ruling, and which embodies their aspiration for the peaceful self-government of the toiling and producing people, who have no quarrel with the toilers of any other country, has learned that a British fleet is moving in the Baltic Sea towards Russian shores, that the ships of the Entente coutries have been directed from Constantinople to the harbors of Crimea and the outhern Ukraine, and that the roops of those same countries have already crossed the borders of Bessarabia. The Russian Socialist Soviet Republic has never menaced or tried to invade the Entente countries; it only demanded to be left in peace, to develop itself on the lines which its people have chosen for themselves, contenting itself with influencing, by word and by example, their toiling brothers of other countries, and not to be interfered with by the great military powers which were carrying on the world war. Without any provocation from the Russian side, without any reason and without any shade of justification for their action, the armies of the Entente countries last summer invaded the borders of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, occupying its towns, seizing its villages and hamlets, ransacking the country and shooting down its best sons, and trying to advance into the heart of Russia, to crush its independence, and to drown the emancipation of its laboring masses in the blood of its defenders. The Entente troops were moved through the Far East for the support of the Czecho-Slovak and White Guards' counter-revolutionary mutinies, participating together with them in masses massacres of workers, of peasants, of fighters for freedom, which were their constant deeds. British and French officers took a leading part in all the movements against freedom in whatever part of Russia they were devised; they were the principal authors and instigators of the dark subterranean conspiracies which aimed at taking by surprise the Soviet Government through base treachery and briberies and overthrowing it through its nearest servants, which nevertheless proved themselves to be incorruptible and faithful and turned to the discomfiture of the unmasked Entente plotters their treacherous attempts. After all these blows aimed at the liberty, at the life of the Russian laboring masses and of their popular Socialist Republic, the governments of the same Entente countries are now tightening their net against the ever-peaceful Russian Socialist Republic, which, far remote from any aggression against others, thinks only of defending itself against the aggressors. The plans of the Entente governments are hidden in the dark. They have declared that their armed forces will protect in those regions which had been occupied by the German armies the same social order which these German armies had protected. — The armed forces of the Entente countries are coming to these regions as the enemies of the great popular masses in order to give support to their exploiters and to keep upright the old social regime which these popular masses wish to overthrow. Numerous utterances fo responsible statesmen of the Entente countries prove that the government of these countries have further reaching views and directly aggressive intentions against the independence, the freedom and the popular government of the Socialist Republic of the Russian laboring masses. The Soviet of the Russian workers and peasants have called out the youth of the people to rally around the banners of the Socialist republic and to defend it to the last drop of their blood. At the moment when the Eentente armies are crossing the borders and the Entente fleets nearing the shores of what was previously the Russian Empire, the Government of the Soviet Republic protests once more solemnly before the great popular masses of the Entente countries, before the deluded soldiers and sailors of their fleets, before their toiling brothers all over the world, against this wanton aggression, against this act of sheer violence and brutal force, against this act of crush the liberty, the political and social life of the people of another country. The Russian Republic has offered peace to the Eententa countries, but the governments of the latter have left this offer unanswered, their answer is the present new aggression. The Socialist Soviet Republic always ready, as before, to make peace; against attacks from without it relies upon its faithful and valiant Red Army; it makes responsible for the new bloodshed those who are coming to attack its borders and to continue their oppression in the occupied regions, and, with clear conscience, and pure intention, it answers the new menace of the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States of America with this solemn protest.

THE PEOPLES COMMISSARY FOR
.. FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ...
CHICHERIN.
December 2nd, 1918.

[illegible]
Of RADICAL [illegible]
[illegible]
Or other!
And THAT wouldn't be
So BAD in ITSELF,
ONLY
He won't quit TALKING!
He lets out all his views
To EVERYONE.
And I said to him once:
'Why do you want
To CRUCIFY yourself?'
Why, when HE gets through
And begins to look for cases
He'll be a MARKED man!
And he just answered:
One man's career
Is a very little thing
And hardly worth attention.
Now, what do you think of that
For a FOOL?
If HE won't pay attention
To his FUTURE,
WHO'S going to do it
FOR HIM?"
And I said: "I hardly know,
But what of YOURSELF?
Any stirrings of response
Do you never feel
To the great movements
SURGING through the world?"
"Why, of course I do," he said.
"MY FATHER
Is a strong UNION man.
I guess I know the viewpoint
Of LABOR,
But I keep it under my hat,
For I mix mainly
With folks who would be
ANNOYED by it:
But THEY'RE the folks
[illegible]
[illegible] their feelings
BOTHERED me a lot,
But if you never express them
I guess in the end
You LOSE them."
He went out, cocky and smiling,
And I thought of many things,
Of why universities are
The WAY they are!
And of an ancient saying
About a certain man
Who GAINED the world
And LOST
His own SOUL!

Socialism Behind Bars

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

Socialism grows anywhere, everywhere. Everybody and everything helps it to grow. Its worst enemies are its best friends. Strange, but watch it, and you will find it works out that way every time. The reason is that Socialism is truth applied to society, and truth finally wins out because everything has to square with it in the end.

The most thriving, well-attended and enthusiastic Socialist local is the one in the Federal jail at Fort Smith, Ark. It numbers 36 members. It meets every day and every night in the week; is, in fact, in continuous session. There is never an absence at roll call. The Federal government pays the rent and furnishes the members with light, heat and sleeping quarters. These are not of the best, it is true, but there is no complaint on the part of these choice and cheerful Comrades.

The story of this local is interesting and dramatic enough to put on the stage.

Fred W. Holt is the hero of the story. Holt, district secretary, and 10 of his fellow miners in the United Mine Workers were sentenced to jail and fined heavily for fighting bravely for the striking miners in Arkansas. The judge, a corporation hireling, was determined to strike Socialism its death blow, Holt having been the Socialist party candidate for Governor of Oklahoma in the last election and having polled some 50,000 votes, enough to throw an awful scare into the mine owners and other exploiters who rule that section.

When Holt and his Comrades, 11 in all, began serving their six months' sentence in the jail at Forth Smith they found 25 other Federal prisoners there serving jail sentences for various minor offenses for which the poor are sent to jail under capitalism. There was not a Socialist among these when Holt and his bunch of revolutionists entered there. They were all Republicans and Democrats.

Now there is not a Republican or Democrat in the lot. The whole 25 have been converted and have joined the local in jail, consisting now of 36 members, and probably the only one of its kind in the world.

The Comrades on the outside have kept Holt well supplied with literature, and he has made good use of it. The converts are all enthusiastic. They now know why the poor are sent to jail and the rich to the Senate.

Here are two sets of prisoners, victims of capitalism, distinctly separate, and yet with a peculiar affinity for one another.

Holt and his 10 Comrades are in jail for fighting the brutal system that sent their 25 poor, jobless fellow prisoners to jail. The whole of them are of the working class. It is an interesting study and a unique and powerful object lesson.

Fred Holt is a typical industrial unionist and Socialist. He stood and fought for the miners without wavering through the fiercest of their battles. The operators feared and hated him, and when their tool on the bench sent him to prison they heaved a sigh of relief.

But, alas! Fred Holt, in prison, has multiplied himself. Socialism grows everywhere, and when the jail sentence expires Holt and his host will march forth, thanks to the operators and their hireling judge, trained and equipped revolutionists and full to their toe tips of the fighting spirit which is crowned with victory or death.

—SundayCall, April 5, 1915.

Comrade Metcalf of Youngstown, has been very active of late in Party Work. He uses his Sundays and evenings in rounding up subscribers to The Toiler and doing other necessary and constructive work.

CHAPTER [illegible]

The Night

It was [illegible] in the afternoon when they had been thrown in jail, and now it was five. In the bunk it was already dark and bitterly cold. The men were huddled in little groups and sat for the most part in stolid silence. The cold gripped their very vitals as they had not yet had time to purchase winter clothing. Many of them never bought clothing for winter. For years it had been their way to leave the harvest field as soon as threshing was over and make their way to the Pacific North-west where the winters are mild. But this year the winter came with a sudden onset plunging the world into its grasp of snow and ice.

Less than an hour after they had entered the jail it had begun to snow, and the wind was blowing a veritable gale. It was a full fledged blizard. The mercury dropped to about zero, chilling the men to the very marrow. A few minutes after five the doors were opened and two men entered. One carrying an armful of kindling and a scuttle of coal, which he deposited near the air tight stove. The other carried a smoky lantern and an adult sized police club. He fastened the lantern to a wire attached to one of the rafters of the building, and then proceeded to count the catch. He remarked that he would have to know for how many he would have to bring breakfast. That meant that there was to be no supper.

As most of the men had eaten nothing since breakfast, and the breakfast had been rather scant, being the last of the season, and therefore consisting chiefly of a few odds and ends to be found in the cook car, their appetite was naturally enormous.

No sooner had the jailers left than a babble of conversation broke loose. Jack noticed that it was entirely focused on one solitary point and that point was—food. The desire to eat seemed to have overcome all other emotions. There was no longer talk of law, vegeance, or philosophy. The mind seemed to be absorbed in but one thing, and that one thing was food. The boy noticed just one casual remark that Collins made. It was not addressed to any one apparently; it was just said. It may be that no one but Jack heard it, altho it was not specially meant for his ears. It was this: "Bread, the foundation stone of empires, the bulwark of civilization." Why he should say such a thing the boy did not fathom at the time, and yet, subsequent years were to teach him that bread is the very heart and soul, not only of individuals but of social and national life as well. Eleven hours without food, and he himself was beginning to feel the pain of hunger rise above all other emotions.

Collins did not join the crowd, even when they kindled the fire and the group huddled close around it. He sat Sphinx like upon this bunk; his face a riddle of the universe. Neither did Jack move from where he lay upon an old mattress. His head was aching dreadfully and he was too feverish to even feel the biting cold. His scalp wound infecting the adjacent tissues, swelled and discolored the side of his face and almost closed his left eye. This gave him a rather comical appearance.

Collins looked at him once or twice, grinned, but made no comment. Wounds, cuts, and bruises, when on the other fellow, did not stir any apparent emotion in his giant frame. It was different with the Jew. Altho now, he too with the rest was endeavoring to get as near to the stove as he possibly could, and was discoursing eloquently upon the viands to be bought in some of the down town New York restaurants. Apropos of which Collins said. "Listen to Rudie's kosher idealism."

It must be said of the Jew, however, that he soon returned to his former companions. And it must be said to the credit of the stove that while the fuel lasted it made its immediate confines rather comfortable. Jack looked rather the worse for wear as already described. His face was badly swollen, while blood had matted his hair and incrusted his unshaven face. His appearance awakened the sympathetic nature of the young Hebrew, and he set to work to make the boy more comfortable wetting an old handkerchief at the faucet, he threw it on the stove and left it until it was steaming hot. He now used this appliance to wash Jack's face and remove the blood from out of his hair.

The hot water from the filthy rag felt grateful to the inflamation tensed skin. The rough kindness of the act greatly warmed Jack's friendship for the Jew and incidently brought the trio back to conversation.

"I thank you, Rudolph," said Jack, "that hot water made that cut feel better."

EDITORIAL & [illegible] NEWS PA

[illegible]
THE TOILER
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CLEVELAND, O. WEDNESDAY, DEC. [illegible], 1919.

A 100 PER CENT ESPIONAGE SYSTEM.

Here in America we are setting up one of the loveliest espionage systems ever fastened upon the backs of a suffering people. By espionage system we mean a system of spying upon the citizens of the nation by the governmental agencies.

We used to read about the espionage system of Russia, how the Czar's emisaries were in every village and city, on the trail of every man or woman who sought to teach and organize the people in the ways of acquiring liberty. We thought that a government that relied upon such tactics to maintain itself was a damned poor sort of government and deserved to be replaced by one that had some faith in its principles and would trust those principles in the hands of its citizens.

The espionage system failed to keep democracy from toppling over the decayed and outworn government of Russia. In the end the people won, won against the combined forces of reaction and world capitalism; won as they always will win in the end. Spy systems and jails, deportations and exile never for a moment stopped a revolution. They are all as wind to afire, they merely develop a conflagration.

About our own system. Lots of people don't know there is one-yet. They will soon learn- are learning in fact. The system has been built up so rapidly that it is already full grown. It is already nearly 100% complete. The funny thing about it is that conservatives are on the books as well as the radicals. This will be good news for the conservatives when they learn it. Scarcely a labor union official that has not a "Dick" on his trail. In every city and town the spies pass thru, stay awhile and leave, having posed as photo enlargers or what not. Every mining hamlet, every steel city, every place where labor appears to be not so quiet and docile as it might, is infested with these gentry of the governmental spy system. Hardly a telephone receiver can be taken down but a voice is heard- "yes that's it, take in down". One can almost hear the scurrying of a stenographer's pencil as the messages are transmitted to paper by the nimble fingers of the "listener in". One feels hardly safe in the bath even with the light turned off, for fear that knowledge of the fact is being transmitted to some magical records somewhere, and each splash recorded in a hidden dictaphone. One may assured that the government is spending many hundreds of thousands of dollars in keeping tab on its citizens. Just how many men and women are employed at the present time in doing nothing but trailing the radicals merely would be interesting to know.

Taking it all in all, there is a close resemblence and harmony between Russia as she was and America as she is. We are getting there fast and the espionage system helps.

'NOTHER WAY TO BEAT BOLSHEVISM.

NEW YORK, Dec. 6. — Baptists of thirty-six states will join tomorrow in a seven-day drive for enlistment of the entire membreship of the northern denomination in a campaign for the aggressive application of Christianity to the problems of reconstruction which now confront the world — a campaign which, it is declared, should sound the death knell of bolshevism.

"Where there is Christianity," said Dr. J. Y. Aitchison, general director for the board of promotion of the northern Baptist convention, "bolshevism cannot survive."

The above illuminating clipping from the daily press offers a new version of the reasons of the Red Menace. After two thousand years of Christianity to learn that Christianity is the one sure cure for Balshevism, is a startler indeed. We have always understood that we are a God-fearing and Christian nation — so much Christianized in fact, that we had quite a bit to spare for the "heathen". But no, we must have been mistaken. Else this Red Menace could not have risen in our midst to set our pulpit-pounders agog with their nostrums.

Before the revolution the Church next to the Czar, wielded the greatest power in Russia. The domes of its churches shone over every city, every village had its priest and its church. The Ikon was in every home and hut. The land was priest ridden. "Christianity" ruled supreme. But Bolshevism came and swept the Czar into another world and the church into at least a third rate place in the peoples' mind.

"Christianity" did not save Russia from Bolshevism. So we judge that the Reverend Aitchison must be mistaken. Nevertheless, we would like to see a bit more of the supposed ethics of Christianity practiced here and now. The coal operators might signify enough of the Christian spirit to accede to the miner's demand for living wages and humane hours of employment. The managers of the steel trust might also exercise their forgotten Christian teachings and part with some of the blood money wrung from a suffering and crucified world by paying the wages demanded by their employes. Some of their hired gun-men and thugs which have been used against their employes might be "Christianized" and offered jobs at something less devilish than murdering men, trampling children under foot, and shooting down their husbands and fathers.

We might continue indefinitely pointing out ways in which the Christian spirit might be exercised to the good and welfare of the world. But we havn't much faith in the Christian spirit or any other "spirit". The fact of the [illegible] of a problem to deal with at one time. [illegible] men because the demands of the [illegible] lessening of Gary's power and profits. [illegible] demands means the curtailing of the profits of the [illegible] so on down the line. No doubt the coal operators and steel magnates love their fellow men as much as any body — when it does not endanger their profits. Men do not act from either "good" or "bad" motives but from motives of self-interest.

If Rev. Mr. Aitchison hasn't found this out, he will before he kills Bolshevism with Christian practices.

SPARKS.

"I too, see that we must each make ourselves a committee of one to distribute literature and do organization work." Thus writes a comrade, and he sends a dollar for 100 copies of The Toiler. Don't you agree with him? Then send in your dollar for literature and get on the job.

Local Niles orders new minute and account books and other supplies for present and future needs. Every Local should have on hand all the necessary books for the Locals' use and proper stationery. Write the State Office for these supplies.

Literature orders are reaching the State Office from every part of the U. S. including Alaska. One recent big order was sent us by the Alaska Labor Uion, of Petersburg Alaska.

Local Portmouth has now announced its affiliation with the C. L. P. This is one of the livest Locals in the state. The comrades there seem to take a delight in doing every thing possible to make the Cause prosper in their locality.

Comrade Ira Jones of Millfield, O., has been scouting around a bit lately, and as a result, we have a list of 8 new readers in that section. Good work, we admit and if comrade Jones will send us another dollar and a quarter's worth of the same we will send him Lenin, the Man and His Work free.

And that is what a lot of Comrades are doing. Just now we wrapped up ten copies of Lenin and mailed them to comrades who have sent in their five spots for subscription cards and got this splendid work free. You can do the same. Better get one of the next shipment which arrives in a few days.

Field worker Knecht reports subscription sales good and getting better. Leave the subs to Knecht, he gets 'em.

Comrade Kritzell of Local Fremont sends in an order for supplies which includes Platforms and Programs of the C. L. P. These are for distribution. While we are mentioning this, we leaflet just off the press .It's the Platform and Program of the Communist Labor Party. Order some for distriwish to call your attention at the new bution and for your members. They are 50c a hundred postage paid.

Frank Vailant is another booster as his recent list of six subs shows. He takes two papers weekly himself. Apparently he shows them to his fellow workers.

Comrade John Fugitt of Portsmouth rolls in a fine bunch of subs this week. Of course he gets a copy of Lenine. And another Lenine goes to G. J. Green of Barberton, O.

Local Lima orders $10.00 worth of dues stamps. Which all shows that Local Lima is up and doing—and we know will keep it up.

Five dollars worth of subs from comrade W. H. Tilley, of Ransome, Kans. He gets a free copy of Lenine.

Comrade Maddox of Bellaire, O., sends the first order for both volumes of Pelle the Conqueror.

Writes one of our filed worker,—The Toiler is getting into the hands of the sailors, I am told by a member of a submarine crew stationed at a Massachusetts port.

And than it is also at hand in the steel and coal strikers' meetings too. Articles from The Toiler are read from the platforms at the workers' meetings.

A Tenn booster is comrade Jas. W. Booker, of Baileyton. A list of six subs proves it to us.

One book order we filled recently was for 50 copies of Mr. Block and the Profiteers. These went to a Machinists Local down state.

SOCIAL AT [illegible]

Local Guernsey County will hold a "get together" on Jan. [illegible] 1920. There will be speaking, singing, music, refreshments and all that goes with a real socialist social. Guernsey comrades are a sociable lot and we know there will be much enjoyment at hand.

"Your paper was given to me by one of your subscribers and in turn I am subscribing along with others." So writes comrade Harry H. Volkman of Columbus, O. Just think, all it took was just one sample copy handed out. If comrade Volkermann can get results like these, then so can you. Just try it.

R. T. Haworth of Toledo is another comrade who keeps up the boosting spirit. Most every week or so he sends us some subs. Three names are on his latest list.

Local Robins comes in strong for the C. L. P. writes our representative there. Local Robins is a coal miners' local and most of the comrades are of foreign birth.

Two good boosts this week from comrades Geo. L. Slessmen of Toledo and F. E. Blake of Cincinnati. Their lists total 9 subs.

Two bosters, both from Hamilton, O., come to bat this week. They are C. W. King and J. L. Banereiwiss. Eight subs they send us

HAVEN'T YOU OFTEN WONDERED?

1. Why an umbrella plant don't grow umbrellas?

1. Why a man is proud if you tell him he is level headed and sore if you call him a flat head?

3. Why a woman calls it pin money when she gets the weekly pay check?

4. Why we humans don't go south in the fall along with the rest of the geese?

5. Why you will walk anywhere from four to ten miles around a pool table and not get as tired as you would get going to the drugstore for a postage stamp for your wife?

6. Why you will sit here and read this fool stuff when you've got a public library full of the works of modern scientists that ought to be read?

* * *

Our weekly bible lesson. Colossians 3:22 "Servants, obey in all things them that are your masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service as men pleasers, but whole heartedly fearing the Lord."

Fine spiritual (?) food for slave consumption eh? Yet you must do this, Henry or its hell for you sure.

—Skygac.

THE "AGITATOR" AN INSIDE MAN.

Certain employers who are trying very hard to keep their industrial policy back in the middle ages are fond of pointing to the "outside agitator."

The Ooutside Agitator. Great discovery. Caught, at last. Here is the root of the evil.

Have no dealings with labor unions because there is an Outside Agitator in their midst.

Simple. Why didn't somebody think of that before?

But—

Unfortunate that there has to be a "but" to spoil anything so beautiful.

But— it isn't so. That's the only trouble. It's a good idea, but it is a false idea.

Labor unions elect and pay men to represent them. Some of these men are called secretaries, some treasurers, some presidents, some business agents. It is these men to whom some employers refer as outside agitators. [illegible] not Outside. They represent the men who elected them.

The [illegible] of a union is no more an Outside Agitator than is the president of a corporation or the superintendent of a plant.

[illegible]
Of a [illegible]
Shall [illegible]
Be [illegible]

"Our [illegible]
[illegible]
He [illegible]
[illegible]
He [illegible]
Now [illegible] old and frail,
Shall we forget him?
Shall we just give up and fail
Him now when he needs us?
He loves life and freedom, even as you
and I.
Shall we sit by, idle, and watch
His sad, sweet smile die?
Can't you see him, Comrades,
Hemmed in by steel bars?
When all he did was cry a protest
Against sending our boys to war.
"Greater love hath no man
That he who lay down his life for his
friend."
Such a love fills the heart of "Our
'Gene."
Shall we let this be the end
Of him who loves us?
He fought for us through strife.
Shall we sit by, idle, and let him
Be heartlessly robbed of his life?

Shipload of Radicals.

(Continued from 1st page.)

sions of the bill provide that all foreigners coming into this country shall come on probation, their remaining here being dependent upon good behavior—that is, judging behavior from the view point of capitalist interests. Representative Johnson believes that the foreign born are responsible for the present unrest prevalent and growing more so in this country. To quell unrest, deport the foreigners, and pass more liberty destroying legislation is Johnson's method.

Hits Agitators.

Explaining the bill Johnson said it enlarges the deportation clauses to include aliens who print, circulate, edit, display or distribute vicious literature who are members of organizations that issue revolutionary publications or those who financially aid such propaganda. He predicted that a bill penalizing American born persons who commit similiar acts soon would be presented to the House by its judiciary committee.

In this connection Johnson displayed to the House revolutionary publications, including some printed so as to appear as having been blood-soaked. He also exhibited letters appealing for release of I. W. W., and anarchists ordered deported during the last two years, but who are still in this country.

Escapes Deportation.

"One Scotch I. W. .W.," he said, "was conveyed from Seattle to New York last spring with the fifty-four radicals ordered deported. The Scotchman was released promptly in New York and was back in Seattle almost as soon as the guards who brought him east. He still is out there inflaming, fanning and organizing the I. W. W. revolution."

Deportations will affect labor market

That the proposed deportaitons will have a visible effect upon the American labor market is widely predicted in some circles. Heretofore, American capitalism has depended upon the hundreds of thousands of foreigners, who yearly came to our shores, to supply and keep up the labor market. For four years this immigration has fallen to practically nothing. It has practically ceased during the war period. Deportations, if carried on upon the scale which is predicted will further deplete the market. Probation schemes, such as proposed by Representative Johnson, will have a further effect by discouraging immigration. Sensing the [illegible]

[illegible]

ing conditions, shorter hours and greater economic power for the workers. The power of the workers to dictate to capital will be immensely increased if these various schemes of frightened capitalism are carried thru. So far as the workers are concerned, they have nothing to lose. Deportation will simply afford free passage to many free spirits who will gladly return to their former homes. By depleteing the labor market, conditions will improve for those here. With the weeding out of foreigners, the labor movement here will take on a strictly American psychology. It will then be narrowed down to a battle between American Capital and workers for control. Certainly it will be influenced tremendously by events in Europe, and its development will be in consonance with those events.

Let deportations come. As far as that goes, thousands are only awaiting the opening of transportaiton to Russia to take passage. Thousands of American citizens too, will be found among the emigrants carrying the skill and technique of trained workers to aid the upbuilding of the first Socialist Republic.

In view of the above, can any American believe that the capitalist class regard America as anything but a source of exploitation. Is America for Americans or for American Capitalists?

BELGIAN SOCIALIST SUCCESSES IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION.

Old Chamber		New Chamber
99	Catholics	71
40	Socialist	70
45	Liberals	34
2	Christian Dem.	2
	Christian People's Party	2
	Other parties	7
186	Totals	186

[illegible]

"MAN has always sought the mastery of his fellow-man. To enslave his fellow in some form and to live from his labor has been the mainspring of human action. To escape submission, not in freedom, but in mastery over others, has been the controlling desire, and this has filled the world with slavery and crime."

Eugene V. Debs

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The Black Sh

(Continued from page

"Thirty days," said the Je
It seemed strange to Jack
present predicament did no
him. He had always lived in
the fleshless fingers of the
had been taught to regard
the deepest disgrace and
un-obliterable shame. Now
a crowd, many of whom
it as a matter of course—
cident of a working man's
seemed as tho he had
spirit of that crowd and
calmly faced the enevitabl
was one thing that distin
trio from the rest and the
determination to fight on,
may.

As the night wore on
and the stove having used
the available axygen, th
poisonous. There was
prevading the entire
heavy that it deadened
ties of the vast ma
victims and one by
upon the louse inf
the formality of
them fell asleep
restlessly as if they
Two of the compa
had drunk the mess
ky were still lying
floor just where the
few minutes after th
surprised Jack that
Jake paid any att
was perfectly
were not all the
posed to drink and
who paid the slight
in the crowd
[illegible]
his shirt. He
would explain this
(Continued

The Diplomatic Balance Sheet in Russia.

By EVANS CLARK.

[illegible] diplomacy is international business. The war, and even more the peace, has brought diplomacy down to earth in the minds of the common people of all countries. With every fresh glimpse of the inner offices at Versailles, Washington, and London, the talk of the common man about world affairs becomes more a matter of plain economics and less of picturesque personalities. All diplomacy is rapidly coming to be considered as "dollar diplomacy."

All business is essentially a matter of profit and loss. The greater the likelihood of loss the greater must be the prospect of profit. So it is also in modern diplomacy. No venture in the history of diplomatic business has presented more risk than recent Allied policy in Russia. A mere catalogue of the losses and possible losses is quite staggering. In the first place there are human lives. Already some five hundred American youths have been killed or maimed in the Russian venture. British and French losses are considerably greater.

There is no means of estimating the amount of money sunk in this venture. First of all are the military and naval expenditures. Since the United States is at "peace" with Russia, President Wilson has been forced to contribute money from his private fund for emergency uses to support American troops in Siberia and Archangel. There has been no public accounting of this expenditure. In England, however, the items of the Russian expense account up to July 31 last have been published in a recent "White Paper" as follows:

Naval and military operations connected with the occupation of and withdrawal from North Russia (Murmansk and Archangel)	$89,000,000
Maintaining an army in the Caucasus	14,000,000
Naval operations in the Baltic and Black Seas	26,000,000

These are but a part of the original investment. The British have supplied Denikin and Kolchak with great quantities of military equipment. Newspaper dispatches are frank in stating that much of Denikin's recent success is due to large numbers of tanks supplied by the British, as well as quantities of small arms and ammunition, poison gas, and other supplies. It has been stated that all the war material at Salonica was placed at his disposal by the Allied Governments. The amount of equipment supplied to Kolchak is also immense. Even the United States Government, it was recently announced, has dispatched 75,000 rifles and other arms to the so-called Omsk Government. The Northwestern Government of Judenitch is an English creation that must already have involved a considerable financial outlay. A Helsingfors dispatch to the Stockholm Dagblad on August 28 stated that Great Britain had guaranteed a 350,000,000 ruble issue of notes of this Government at a rate of 40 rubles to the pound. These items of expense do not include the cost of setting up and maintaining the Archangel Government, nor the financial aid and comfort rendered to lesser lights than Kolchak, Denikin, and Judenitch. British "assistance" alone has reached the following proportions:

Assistance to the Baltic states, including the Northwestern Russian corps	$14,000,000
Assistance to Admiral Kolchak	72,000,000
Assistance to General Denikin	130,000,000

A less tangible, but none the less real, financial loss is that occasioned to the business of the Allies by the blockade. American exports to European Russia in 1913 were $25.000.000, but in 1917 they had increased to $400,000,000 in value. These were not alone war materials, but also great quantities of agricultural impliments, automobiles, cotton, cordage, locomotives, typwriters, machinery, and leather.

Just as American exporters were beginning to develop the possibilities of this vast market the blockade intervened. In the year ending May 1, 1919, American exports to European Russia had fallen from $400,000,000 to $7,000,000. For a country whose business men are supposed to be extremely eager to open new markets, these figures do not begin to show the loss involved. The loss to British business is greater in proportion to the larger share of exports to Russia that the English had captured before the war. The blockade has reduced an export business of $72,000,000 a year in 1912, to practically nothing.

This represents the loss in exports alone. The loss in imports of raw materials from Russia is even greater. Russia has been one of the world's chief purveyors of flax, hemp, timber, furs, hides, bristles, and other materials used in European and American manufactures. Never in the world's history has there been such a demand for raw materials as there is today. European industry, reviving after the war prostration, and American industry, grown immeasurably and straining at the leash, require unprecedented supplies. The blockade has cut off one of the chief sources of these materials. To take but one illustration: recent reports from Belfast and other producing centres in the United Kingdom state that the shortage of flax has caused a partial shut-down of great numbers of linen mills, with resulting hardships to manufacturers and working people alike. The annual flax requirements of the United Kingdom before the war were 100.000 tons. Of this amount 10.000 tons came from Ireland, and 10.000 more from Belgium, France and Holland, No less than 80.000 tons came from Russia. Gr. Britain has cut off 80 per cent. of its flax by the Russian blockade. Nor is England the only loser. American manufacturers use British linen in making piece goods. The first half year of 1918 the export of piece goods were 17,431,500 yards. This year the figure is 5,528,00 yards.

Nor does this loss in raw materials of all sorts complete the total expenditure involved in the Allied Russian policy. National prosperity rests on national unity. Business flourishes on domestic confidence and tranquillity. The amount of unrest, suspicion, and antagonism aroused by Allied Russian diplomacy among the working people and the liberal intelectual classes in the Allied countries is a matter of common knowledge. Its effect on Allied prosperity cannot be estimated in dollars and cents. When the great Triple Alliance of British workers, controlling the nation's transportation system, seriously considers a strike against the Russian policy of the British Government; when workers in Milan, Seattle, San Francisco, and other ports refuse to load vessels with arms and ammunition consigned by Allied Governments to Kolchak; when the Italian workers call upon the workers of the world to refuse to produce ammunition for use against the Soviet Government, it is safe to say that the Governments of the Allies face a risk of no mean proportions. And to this must be added the moral effect on the Allied nations of pursuing a policy that violates human decency and finds no sanction in international law.

Such are some of the risks of the Russian venture. That the Allied statesmen realize their significance we are bound to assume. Whatever else these men may be they are not stupid. Especially are they not stupid in the matters of Real-politik. We may assume that they weigh with some care the profit and loss of undertakings of such magnitude.

What, then, are the profits that weigh against these extraordinary risks to tip the balance in favor of this Russian policy? Current explanations and apologies fail to reach the heart of the matter. Fear of Bolshevism, horror at Communist "atrocities," and love of anti-Bolshevist Russians are doubtless elements in the determination of Allied diplomacy; but however great may be their importance as justifications, they are of minor significance as motives. Czarism was fully as repugnant to Anglo-American and French democratic ideals as the communism of Russia today, and not a whit less aggressive and internationally ambitious. And yet there was not even the suggestion in Allied diplomatic circles of a cordon sanitaire against the monarchistic and Even granting the validity of the most extreme re- bureaucratic "infection" of Russia under the Czars, ports of the "Red Terror," the amount of violence and bloodshed under the Soviets could not begin to compare with the atrocities committed under the Czars. Beside the hideous barbarities of the Black Hundred, the wholesale exiles and executions the "punitive expeditions," and other cruelties of militant autocratic bureaucracy, even the wildest tales of Bolshevist excesses seem mild. And yet the Allied Governments did not seek to overthrow Carism by violence and in trigue. Americans, British, and French have time out of mind lauded and feted the democratic forces of old Russia. Kropotkin and Breshkovskaya were prophets honored beyond measure in countries not their own. But the Allied Governments never proposed to invade Siberia to effect their release from Czarist tyranny and oppression, nor to lend troops to aid the forces of the Revolution.

The expected profits of the Russian venture were not so intangible as these profits of fear appeared or of friendship championed. Russia is the world's unopened treasure box. Who shall open it? That is the heart of the matter. Russian leads the world in the magnitude and immensity of its natural resources. Russia lags behind in their exploitation. Vast wealth, backward development—it is this magic combination that draws out, like fillings to a magnet, the designs and ambitions of modern diplomacy. When domestic conditions in such countries have been unfavorable to the development of these designs and ambitions—in a word to the profitable investment of foreign capital—foreign intervention has invariably resulted. When peaceful penetration fails, penetraition by the sword must follow. Such are the ways of diplomacy in the days of economic imperialism. We have witnessed them in Africa, Persia, and China. We see them now at work in Mexico. Were it not for the barrier thrown up by the Monroe Doctrine we should have seen them also in South America.

In Russia the situation is simply this: The Soviet Government is dedicated to the public ownership and public enjoyment of the wealth and resources of Russia. The people themselves, through their Government, propose to exploit their own riches and reap their own profit therefrom. It is true that Lein has offered wide concessions to outside capital; that the Soviet Government is willing to let the foreign investor make a profit in return for the technical skill which he can hire and furnish for the rehabilitation of Russian economic life. Ultimate control, ultimate ownership, however, in all of these offers have been reserved to the people of Russia. No perpetual franchises are to be handed out to private interests in the exploitation of Russian wealth. Nor can the workers of Russia be made the helpless victims of such exploitation. Their status as citizens in a democracy of industry is protected by the fundamental laws of the Soviet Government. The firm of Kolchak and Denikin, however, does business another way. Products of the old regime, versed in business imperialism, they are dedicated to the unlimited private exploitation of public wealth. From them the foreign investor will get the whole loaf, not half. Kolchak and Denikin offer inducements to Allied diplomacy that Allied diplomacy can understand. Their key to the treasure box of Russia is one that Allied interests can use with complete freedom and great profit.

An what other basis is it possible to explain the vast economic and political aid which the Allied diplomats have furnished to the counter-revolutionary forces of Russia? Do statesmen and their backers throw away others' lives and fortunes, sacrifice great immediate gains, and risk even their political future to aid such as Kolchak and Denikin without having received definite commitments and agreements as to the return for value received? The recent note issue of the Northwestern Government, it is reported, will be redeemed "three months after the occupation of Petrograd," and is guaranteed not only by the British Government, but "by the entire wealth of the Russian Empire." The entire wealth of the Russian empire—that is what Kolchak, Denikin, and Judenitch are playing for, and it is that with which they hope to repay later those who help them now.

A glance at what this wealth means will be a sufficient explanation of many things. Russia is four times the size of the European continent and contains one-sixth of the land surface of the entire world. Every sort of climate and soil is contained in that vast area. In population Russia is surpassed only by India and China. Russia holds 37 per cent. of the timber resources of the entire world. Some of the forests of the northern provinces of Siberia have yet to be thoroughly explored. Russia holds 50 per cent. of the world's resources of iron ore. It produces 97 per cent. of the world's platinum. No other country in the world has such a wealth of manganese. Russian oil wells in 1900 produced 48 per cent. of the world's output of petroleum. It is conservatively estimated that Russia contains 35 per cent. of the world's resources of fur. The agricultural resources of Russia are unsurpassed. In 1910-1913 Russia produced 79 per cent. of the world's yield of flax, 56 per cent. of its supply of rye, 54 per cent. of hemp, 27 per cent. of oats, 25 per cent. of wheat, and 14 per cent. of sugar. Russia also produces large quantities of buckwheat, millet, corn, and potatoes. Russian bristless supply the markets of the world, and Russia is second only to Australia and Argentina in the number of sheep that graze on its land.

This vast production has been achieved in Russia by the most antiquated of methods. Russia is still a backward country from the point of view of modern industrial, agricultural, and commercial methods. Its vast resources are practically untoched; its immense possibilities are as yet latent. The industrial revolution which transformed the economic life of England and Germany in the middle of the last century did not affect Russia, to any great extent, until the beginning of the present century. The steel production—an index to the development of the industrial system—was only 157,00 tons in Russia as late as 1887. In 1897 it had increased to 920,000 tons, and in one year more it had shot up to 1,145,-000 tons. In 1887 the total production of Russian industry and mining was 1,300,000,000 rubles. In 1897 it was 2,800,000,000 rubles. The average yearly increase between 1887 and 1890 was 56,000,000 rubles, while between 1893 and 1897 it had reached 276,000,000 rubles.

The years from 1890 on mark the real invasion of Russia by modern capitalism. Mr. Olgin speaks of these years as "revolutionary times in Russian economic life. A wave of energy, a spirit of bold adventure, was abroad. Capital hurried from Germany, Belgium, and other countries to share in high profits. In the metallurgic profits of 100 per cent. were not unusual. Stock companies often paid as much as 20 per cent. in dividends. Promoters [illegible] active everywhere from the sombre northern Petersburg to the hot sun-kissed Odessa." The regime offered a paradise for investors of foreign capital. It was the development of this paradise was so rudely interrupted by the war and the revolution, and its renewed and unrestricted exploitation so seriously menaced by the policies of the Communist regime. In the few years of feverish capitalist invasion of Russia, however, only the fringe of the economic life of Russia was touched.

Russia's immaturity of commercial development is shown by the fact that the number of joint stock companies before the war was but 2,000, while in England there were 56,000 such concerns. The total capital represented in the Russian firms was about two billion dollars, one-ninth the amount of United States railway securities alone. The outstanding securities of all the industrial and commercial corporations in Russia, exclusive of railways and banks, barely exceeded those of the United States Steel Corporation.

The same backwardness reflected in agriculture. The soil of Russia is in many parts richer than that of most of the agricultural countries of the world. In spite of this, the average wheat yield in Russia before the war was one-half that of Austria and France, one-third of that of England and Germany, and only one-fourth that of Denmark. The per capita value of the production of the most important grains and potatoes was thirty dollars in Russia against $200 in the United States. Russia had 23 per cent. more land under cultivation than had the United States, and yet the average yield of grain was ten per cent. less in Russia than was the yield in United States.

This backwardness of Russia is due in the main to the very limited use of modern agricultural machinery, to inferior methods of cultivation, and to unscientific choice of seeds. In spite of enormous imports of agricultural machinery from the United States and Germany, a vast proportion of the peasants still use the agricultural implements of their ancestors. Not only is intensive cultivation practically unknown, but not less than 95 per cent. of Russia's land area is not cultivated at all. Professor Goldstein, of the University of Moscow, states in a cerent book on Russia that "this points unmistakably to the immense possibilities latent.... for cattle raising and farming as well. If only-one-fifth of Russia's land were made adaptable for cultivation through reclamation, irrigation, well-directed colonization, the construction of railways.... Russian production would increase at least four-fold."

In this summary of economic conditions lies the heart of the Russian situation. Here is the secret of Allied diplomacy. The ways of economic imperialism are the same in Russia as they are in the Saar Valley, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Mexico, Alsace-Lorraine, and China. That they have been less clearly recognized by the public in the case of Russia has been due, mainly, to the bogy of Bolshevism. But there is always a bogy. Probably no more sucessful bit of imperialist publicity was ever perpetrated than the popularization of misinformation about Soviet Russia; but underneath the smoke-screen the real game goes on. The Allied diplomats, responsive to the dominant interests in the Allied nations, have undertaken the biggest venture in history. Whether their estimate of the balance sheet is correct, whether the wealth of all the Russias will in fact be the profits of Allied diplomacy, time alone will tell. The present situation on the battle-fronts of Russia makes such an outcome appear at least improbable.

—From The Nation.

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I. W. W. MAKES STATEMENT.

(Continued from page 1)

assemblage and brazenly knocking out the very foundations of Government.

The role of defending the Institution, the government, at Centralia belongs to the members of the I. W. W. who are now charged with murder. That five men lost their lives is lamentable. Nothing would have been more desirable to the program of the I. W. W. than that such as did happen at Centralia had never occured. But this was not the desire of those who directed the attack on the Hall. To them the death of one or a hundred men meant nothing. They meant to destroy the I. W. W. at any cost.

The men charged with murder at Centralia must be defended. To deny them a chance to put up a defense is subversive of Government itself. Yet that is what they are attempting to do by denying the use of the mail in Seattle for defense purposes .

A defense committee has been organized to defend these men. Funds are needed and needed badly. Will you help in the defense? You can do so by sending your donation to Geo. Williams, 318 No. Wyoming Street, Butte, Montana.

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POST BELLUM

By Helen P. Groth

He had tasted the bitterness of war,
and had come back with death-wearied heart;
He had seen man kill man, and had
watched, while destruction-filled bombs tore the night.
His eyes had looked often on woe—
deep woe that would make the tears start;
But it all seemed a part of the work
for Justice —Humanity—Right.
For Democracy—world-wide, secure
—he had left home and all he held dear;
Young Galahad—many like him—
with a white shield and sword clean as flame.
And down in the trenches of France
he had fought and had bled without fear;
For the Cause was a great, sacred
one—a World-hope—a high, noble aim
How startled he looked—how amazed
—at a speech that the President made:
St. Louis, Missouri, the place, and
September the fifth was the day.
And Wilson said, surely we know that
all modern wars are for trade,
That commercial, industrial rivalry
was the seed of the recent fray!
He remembered the boys who had
died, like Crusaders of old, for "the Right,"
And he visioned the row upon row—
white crosses on Flanders' red field;
And his death-calloused, horror-torn
soul grew sick as there rose to his sight
A memory of some maimed and blind
—for the cause that had just been revealed!

Which Way, Oh Citizens?

(Continued from page 1)

action on a resolution to deny Berger a seat without the "formality" of referring the matter to an elections committee.

If the House carries out this apparent design there will be no representative of this district in Congress until the regular elections in 1920, Gov. E. L. Phillips has announced. "I do not believe in spending any more of the peoples' money in that way", he is credited with saying. What will happen then should the electors choose Berger again, is a subject upon which the voters there can cogitate in the intervening period.

But here is the point that's in our mind. Milwaukee has long had the reputation of being the heart and soul of political socialism in the United States. Milwaukee socialists are political socialists—not revolutionary socialists. They promulgate the idea that action of the workers at the ballot box is the simon-pure method of attaining what they call socialism and the gradual usurpation of power by the workers thru legislative reforms their avowed method. They shy at class action on any other field than the political one. New they will have a test case of the efficacy of their teachings. Votes have won the election, wi votes win the power? The representatives of the capitalist class say, NO.

What efect will this have upon these political socialists Are they open to the logic of events? Will this denial of pow by the capitalist class thru its representatives in Congress tea them the needed lesson that the ballot, unless backed up by t power of the workers on the industrial field is unseless? Will trun them from the "right" to the "left", toward industrial cl action? Or, on the other hand, will it seem to prove to them only way to win is to elect more Congressmen? And by elec more and ever more political representatives at last sweep workers into political power nationally—and in a million also establish a Socialist Democracy?

Well, whatever these things prove to the politicals o waukee, we see nothing in it at all surprising to any one sc in the class-struggle. We know that the laws (election other), of the capitalist class will be shattered into sni by the capitalist class the moment the workers attemp them for themselves—if they have the power to do so. however fundamental will not stand for a moment in th when by so doing the capitalist class can retrench itself Without a moment's scruple they will be, are being The sign points to the "left". Can Milwaukee the sign?

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

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CLEVELAND, O., WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31st,

HE RETURN OF THE RAILROADS.

Within two months the railroads of the United States will revert to control by their owners, the capitalists of the country. This act will be in accordance with authority invested in the President. The control of the railways and express companies by the government under war time legislation has been in effect two years, they will now pass back to their owners March 1st.

The return of the arteries of commerce of the nation upon which all must depend for the needs of their daily lives, to their capitalist owners bring to the fore a question that must be uppermost in all thinking minds. Without doubt millions of the American people believe a step backward is being taken by the administration in releasing control to the owners. Even before the war came upon us, there was a strong "government ownership" sentiment in the country. When the control of the railway systems passed into government control many no doubt believed they would remain there and that furthr legislation after the war would place them permanently under the jurisdiction of the government. It must now be a hard blow to these believers in a paternalistic government to see it turn its back upon "government ownership" of one of the basic industries.

In this connection it is well to take into consideration the railway workers, they who make possible the operation of the roads. When the war was on these workers gave their best services toward the winning of the war thru the continuous and thruough operation of the roads. They expressed themselves as favoring government control — in fact, the Plum Plan of co-[illegible]ve control grew out of this strong sentiment among the railway [illegible]. Now that the government declines further control, the workers [illegible]ed in the position of being compelled to render unto Ceaser those [illegible]hich they believe are not due him. They are copelled to give service [illegible]ined by their intelligence and conscience. They feel a certain stigma [illegible] to their employment, as tho they were rendering what is in [illegible]al service, but is perverted into a rendition of profit to individuals [illegible]o right to it.

[illegible] railway shopmen went on strike in August and the famous 4 [illegible]as made to their demands by President Wilson, the railway [illegible]he nation at large were apprised of a great and tremenduous [illegible]ared against the High Cost of Living. In this war, the President [illegible]ay a vailiant heroic part and the H. C. L. was to be brought [illegible] surrender. The President asked two or three months to per[illegible]t. Four months have elapsed. There is no appreciable victory over the H. C. L. It continues nonchalantly on its way, heedless of the edicts of Presidents and Palmers. So much so that the railway shopmen are seriously considering a real strike soon to get what is coming to them for useful service. But forth steps Attorney General Mitchell Palmer with a new program for the defeat of the H. C. L. He quotes long rows of figures purporting to prove that the period from August to November shows a stationary condition of retail prices as compared to former years when prices tended to raise. This is counted a great victory. Another victory is heralded too — Mr. Palmer and the President are not lacking in invention and imagination — a further gain is likely, states Attorney Palmer between the dates of Jan. 1st and March 1st. And it is "hoped", he states, that the decline in prices will be accelerated by the campaign initiated by the government which is "just now getting under way" —after four months!

Looking at these matters by and large, we would say that the government of the U. S. seems incapable of doing any thing other than ministering to the needs of capitalism. The only time it succeeds in its endeavors is when those endeavors are a means of profit to the predatory class, which Mr. Wilson before his presidency, characterised as the invisible government of the United States. His assertion seems well borne out during his administration. In the meantime workers grow more restless, the foundation of things as they are takes on a shifting and revolutionary aspect. The workers continue to lose faith in the integrity of the government, discontent with the apparent insoluable riddle of making both ends meet drives them to desperation. There is a growing feeling among them that whatever comes, they the workers, have nothing to lose, so let it come.

The return of the railroads to the control of their capitalist and profit taking owners bill but further alieniate the workers from a feeling of responsibility in the industrial mechanism of the country. Ownership for the few—slavery for the many is going out of date. This is the thot that is agitating the minds of the world's workers. The return of the railways to their capitalist owners will hasten the coming climax.

WHAT HAVE WE TO FEAR?

Last week we editorialized in this column upon our American Espionage System. Now let us go a little further along the same line and develop another wiew of this new manifestation of the clashing interests in present day society.

First, let us get the fact firmly fixed in our minds that that which IS has the RIGHT TO BE until it is overthrown by a stronger power. Any government, just or unjust, has the right to exist until displaced by another. The fact that it has the POWER to be gives it this right. Let there be no delusion about this. Might makes right. Always did, always will. All government is based in the last analysis upon force, physical force, the police club, the machine gun, the army and navy. When these physical forces desert it, cease to lend their power to it, or are overcome by a stronger physical power, the government falls, yields to another government which has the RIGHT to exist because it has the power to enforce its rule.

Very well, all present governments have the RIGHT to exist and rule—until displaced by another. They have the right to rule and to rule as they see fit whether a minority or a majority of th ruled agree with them or not. They have the right to exercise any and every method of keeping themselves intact from assault either by moral or physical forces opposed to them. They have the right to erect great national systems of espionage to learn of the acts and purposes of opponents of the government, whether these opponents are individuals, groups, mere political actionists, industrial actionists or anarchist terrorists.

All modern governments provide in their fundamental laws certain methods by which the form of government may be altered to suit the changing times and the needs of the people who make up the nation. It is well that this is so, for orderly and peaceful change is to be preferred to riot and bloodshed.

The Communist Labor Party has nothing to fear from spy systems. Its propaganda is above ground. Its meeting are open. Its organization work is carried on where all may see. It has nothing to conceal. Its methods are the methods of peace. It seeks changes in the government, changes in the form and character of the industrial system, but it seeks to bring them about by legitimate and lawful means. Very true, that the changes it seeks to being about are revolutionary in character. We insist that they are so. But revolution in itself is not unlawful. It is often necessary. It was necessary to bring into being the present government of the United States. A change in government may be revolutionary however, without being violent or accompanied by bloodshed.

We are for a revolution, yes, but a peaceful one. We desire to replace the present government and its capitalistic character, with a government of proletarian character. We are for a government that does not recognize the validity of private ownership of the resources of the nation and the industries. We desire that these esentials of humanity's life be placed in the hands of their users—the workers, and that use be made of the only title to all industrial machinery including the land.

These are our projects. They are lawful ones. The government may spy upon our organization to its heart's content, but we have nothing to fear. Our purpose is the good of mankind, our methods are lawful, We are unafraid.

WHAT YOU ARE WORTH, OLD MAN.

A Massachusetts' court decree places the life of a man of 60 at the value of $1.00 a day. This does not mean that every man of 60 is thus valued. Not by any means. Before he is so valued he must be crippled for life. This is the court's decree. Considring that the value of the dollar is now about one half what it was recently, this is not a flattering decision, old man. Not a very high rating of a human life is it? Especially after one has spent it in useful service? No, a pretty low estimate.

But it isn't your life even, that is thus valued. It is your ability to work, to perform labor profitable to an employer. Your life is worth nothing. No value is set upon it in dollars or otherwise. To have any value whatever, you must get crippled in industry, and you must get crippled so badly that you can no longer render profit to your employer. Then and only than, are you worth a dollar a day.

No, we don't blame you for feeling pretty cheap. We will in all probability feel the same in a few years if we and the present capitalist system endure that long. Most workers realize the cheapness in which they are held by those who set the standards of value—the upper class, the class that is up on the backs of the producers of wealth.

Statistics show that 85 per cent of men 65 years of age who have spent their lives working for wages are dependent on their families or charity for their livehood. That but 15 per cent of the nation's workers are able to lay up sufficiency during a 50 year period of earning is a scathing indictment of the present industrial system. A childhood of want and poverty, fifty years of toil—and then dependence, insecurity, want, despair. That is the sum total of millions of lives under the robber system we perpetuate by our votes, our reactionanty labor union activities, our refusal to demand and to take that which is ours by right of creation—the full social value of our labor.

Let's end the hideous farce. Use your declining years old man, in helping to make this world a better and juster one to those who come after you.

SPARKS.

A comrade down at Bellaire, liked The Toiler of the issue of Dec 17th, so well that he ordered 500 for distribution among the miners. Any body else wide awake?

To collect donations of $4.00 among striking miners for the liberation of political prisoners shows conscientious work and a desire to do one's best for our comrades behind the bars. This is what comrade Stephen Ark of Mulberry, Kans. sends us. Keeping up the agitation for our comrades' release should be a motive of every comrade's daily life.

Five dollar bills continue to arrive daily for Toiler sub cards. Of course the free book, Lenine, the Man and His Work, is always demanded as a premium, and always gladly complied with.

Comrade Roy Douglas of Dunkirk, N. Y., sends an order for literature and a subscription. These are reading months now, and the question is: are you taking advantage of the opportunity to read the best literature of the revolution? Look over our list of books and pamphlets. Among them you will find the ones just suited to your taste and pocket book. Look them over.

SOME LITERATURE ORDERS.

E. B. Van Tuyl, Cincinnati — One copy Lenin. J. Duyser, Kalamazoo, one copy Bullit's report. Elmer Hager, Dayton, 600 Mr. Block and the Profiteers. Dr. J. L. Higbie, Jenera, O. one copy Lenin. Mrs. R. E. Balmat, Alliance, O. one copy Ten Days that Shook the World. Louis Berinhout, Jacksonville, Fla, 50 copies Think or Surrender and 50 Mr. Blocks.

H. A. Harrington, Akron, one copy Lenin. Wm. R. Clark, Mt. Dora N. Mex., one copy Lenin Homer Owens, Piqua, O., 2 copies Bullitt's Report. B. H. Dayton, Byesville, O. 100 C. L. P. Platforms and Programes. J. F. Cunningham, Akron, 1000 C. L. P. Platforms and Programes.

Local Buffalo gets a red tack on the map this week. That's the world sent us by a field worker who was there. Another Local in the growing list, of the C. L. P. in Ohio.

"I disposed of the lot of 10 Liberators and 50 copies of Voice of Labor to day. Christmas shoppers no doubt wanted something else besides trinkets for X mas. Send me 15 copies of Liberator and 50 more Voice of Labor". That's what one of our field workers writes us. Good work is it not? Sure is, and when we all get the spirit of this comrade, we will get out enough literature t oturn the worker's heads our way. You can help by ordering a bunch of pamphlets and disposing of them among the unenightened near you. Try it.

"Here's a sub for The Toiler and I am going to get some more" John Haines, Kewadin, Mich.

The season's greetings are contained in a note from comrade I, Glick, of Steubenville. Thanks comrade, and also thanks for the four half year subs sent in. Such letters as this make the New Year BRIGHT.

"Another real American has become a full fledged socialist. Put his name on the list for The Toiler at once". Z. Zimmerman.

One subscription and 10 Mr. Blocks go forward to F. W. Phalen, of Columbus, O.

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BAKER ARRESTED NOW FREE ON BONDS.

Chas. Baker, lecturer and organizer for the Communist Labor Party, was arrested in Akron, Dec. 21st and placed in Cuyahoga County jail charged with the violation of the Lever act in the state of Kansas.

Bail was fixed at $15,000. Baker just concluded a speaking tour in Illinois and Kansas where he attracted large meetings. He spoke to many audiences of miners and it is alleged that at these meetings he violated the Lever act by interfering with the operation of the mines.

He was released last Friday on $15.000 bail. His trial is set for the first week in February at Kansas City, Kans. Comrade Baker will remain in Ohio visiting relatives and friends until his case is called.

The Northwest District Defense Committee has opened offices at Butte, Montana, for the purpose of collecting money to defend the ten members of the I. W. W. who are charged with murder at Centralia. All funds shoul dbe sent to Geo Williams, Secretary-Treasurer, 318 No. Wyoming St., Butte, Montana.

NEW DAY PHILOSOPHY.

We may hope that the coming revolution will reverse the order of revolutions of the past, and be a bloodless one.

"Who does not follow Truth wher'er
Her footsteps lead,
But says, 'Oh, guide not there, not there,
I have not strength to follow where
My feet would bleed;
But show me worn ways, trodden fair
By feet more brave'—
Who fears stand in Truth's broad glare,
What others dared not, will not dare,
Is but a slave."

Success! How potent is the word in conjuring up the hopes and ambitions of the human race. It adds luster t othe eye of the schoolboy, and gives a spring to the step of the middle-aged. All the generations, from barbarism up, have contended and struggled and fought for success and held nothing else so dear. And who have won? How few, indeed, have won out of the millions who struggled; and their names are, for the most part, sunk in black oblivion. For they only are truly successful who learn kindness, unselfishness and leniency toward their fellowmen. Not they who climb to the ladder's top by the ruthless pushing of others back, but they who by their stand for truth, equity and justice help all the race to rise, are the really successful Not they who win the applause of an ignorant multitude, but they who win the gratitude of the lowly, the trust of a wife, the love of little children. They in whose calloused hands is the power to produce the necessities of life, in whose home is peace, in whose soul is honor. The world's applause counts for nothing. It has ever been given to the selfish, the gaudy, the cruel, and is ill balm to heal a guilty conscience. But real worth and real success must be recognized at last, and all mankind will be the better, the happier, the nobler.

Man cannot get a new heart, a new life, and a new character. He can reform and try to do better. Nothing less, nothing more.

Ignorance has more orators employed in her defense than intelligence needs in her proclamation of good sense.

Man has a moral right to deride that which he believes to be false, the same as he has the privilege to praise that which he believes to be true.

J. C. C.

PRESS FUND DONORS.

Akron, Ohio, Dec. 20th,'19.

The Toiler
Cleveland, O.

Merry Christmas, Comrades.

Enclosed you will find draft for $25.00 which Local Akron contributes as a Christmas Present to the Press fund and more power to the Toiler.

Yours in Comradeship
H. F. Siedshlag, Treasurer.

Now, how is that for a Xmas present, Going some isn't it? Local Akron is one of the livest Locals in the state now, due to the constant activities of live wires there.

For the press fund, one dollar, from comrade R. Vetoe, Grand Rapids.

And another dollar from comrade Jas Dartnall, Norwood, O.

From down in Tenn. somes a two bit piece from comrade J. W. Booker. Just a quarter, but it shows the proper spirit and that is half the battle.

Ever hear of the Repeaters Club of Akron? Sure you have. Its the bunch of live ones down there who keep repeating press fund donations right along. The last one comrade Stanley Bryant sends us is $4.00 He also orders $5.00 worth of sub cards too.

Comrade booster E. Vanderoest, of Kalamazoo, remits a dollar for the press.

A regular distributor of The Toiler at Lorain is F. Vaillant. He proves his interest by remitting a dollar for the press.

Comrade Louis A. Wold of Cleveland remits a dollar too.

Comrade Wm. Opp of New Philadelphia, O. helps along a bit with a dollar for the press. These dollars do count into hundreds, keep 'em coming.

Another Akron booster is comrade Paul Bury, whose contribution of one dollar arrived lately.

From the "land of cotton", comes two dollars. Comrade T. E. Pendergrass is the donor.

SEDITION LAWS

In the sudden desire for war with France (in 1798) the Federalist party believed itself to be so strong that it proceeded at once to make one of the greatest blunders ever made by a political party, in passing the alien and sedition acts. These alien and sedition laws were certainly the most atrocious in all our history except the Fugitive Slave Law. Some believed that a confederacy in which such laws might be nullified was preferable to a Union in which men might be sent to jail, as under the Stuart kings, for expressing their honest opinions. Such a Union would not have been worth the efforts that it cost to frame it.

John Fiske. Essay on Madison.

JIM HIGGINS PHILOSOPHIZES.

Jim Higgins is our namb.
We aint known to Fame, tho
We're the guyes that does the Work.
We're like any good Fellow,
We never ket turned Yellow
And never do we shirk.

We build Organisators,
In all of the Nations,
And do our Work cheerfull and well,
And we hope while we labor,
For us and our neighbor,
That this System will shrivel in—
well.

When we start in this Nation
An Organization,
And think we have got a good start,
A bunch of so called leaders,
That have been Blind! guiders,
Break all our labors apart.

But I thing we'el get wise,
And we'el open our Eyes,
And while we are building anew,
We will do all the labor,
For ourselves and our neighbor,
And manage our Party too.

A. Renneberg.

MOSES OUTDONE BY MINER

In these days of class-conflicts which surge backforward over the nation constantly gathering strength of numbers on the worker's side, it is good to know that the workers are interpreting the actions of the capitalist class in their own words.

Down at Bellaire a miner has been doing some interpreting in the right of recent occurences in the coal war. Here are the results of his interpretations as displayed upon cards scattered about Bellaire and vicinity.

6 Commandments of United Kingdom, by Dr. Garfield, A. B. Anderson and Company.

To Miners of Free America:

1 Thou shalt be governed by us regarding your working conditions.
2 Thou shalt not strike.
3 Thou shalt rather starve at your work than disobey King Garfield and Co.
4 Thou shalt be placed in jail if you insist on asking your rightful share of sunshine.
5 Thou shalt be thankful for being allowed to walk on the land of this Kingdom.
6 Thou shalt take what your employer offers you, and thou will be regarded as a good law abiding citizen, otherwise the jail for you.

This is Freedom in America.

THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA

By WILLIAM C. BULLITT.

Two things make this a notable book: the critical but impartial picture it presents of the Soviet Government in operation, and the fact that it affords the first intimate glimpse the public has had behind the scenes at the Peace Conference.

William C. Bullitt, late of the Department of State and attached to the Peace Conference, was sent to Russia to obtain an exact statement of the terms on which the Soviet Government was willing to make peace. is report, together with those of Lincoln Steffens and Capt. W. W. Pettit, Military Intelligence Division U. S. A., who accompanied him, Lenine's peace proposals, and Mr. Bullitt's testmony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are all included in this book.

If you would know how near the world was to peace with Russia, how Lloyd George, Col House and others all favored it, how Lenine met all the Paris proposals, and how the whole affair was then abandoned, read Mr. Bullitt's startling testimony that has set two continents talking.

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ARTHUR RANSOME'S RUSSIA IN 1919.

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3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

BLIND.

Editor's note: Here is a story of the class-struggle expressing the viewpoint of the bourgeois. We believe it will interest our readers and give them an insight into the psychology of the petit trading class even tho they are unable to agree with the philosophy of the story.

He was in a manner of peaking, useless. He could tend the furnace and help around the house—scour the bath-tub and clean windows—but for a powerful man these were trivial chores. The trouble with him, as I soon discovered, was complete and simple. He was blind.

I was sorry for him. It was bad enough to be blind, but it was terrible to be blind and at the mercy of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Angier. Mrs. Angier ran the rooming-house. She was a grenadier of a woman, very tall and very bony, with a virile voice and no touch of femininity except false curls. She wore rusty black, with long skirts, and a tasselled shawl. Her smile was as forced as her curls. She hated her rooming-house and everyone in it. Her one desire, insane but relentless, was to save enough money out of her establishment to escape from it. To that end she plugged the gas in the bathroom, doled out the towels, scrimped on the furnace, scrooged on the attendance. And her chief sacrifice on the altar of her economy was Samuel Earp, her brother-in-law. Since he was blind and useless, he was dependent on her. When she called, he literally ran to her, crying, "Coming, coming!" He might be out on the window-sill, risking his poor neck to polish the windows that he would never see but, "Do I hear my sister calling me? Might I—would you be so good—ah, you are very kind. Coming, Adelaide, just one moment. . . . . ." and he would paddle down stairs. She treated him like dirt. Sometimes one would arrive during an interview between them. The spare gimlet-eyed Mrs. Angier would somehow manage to compel Samuel to cringe in every limb. He was a burly [illegible], a thick head, irongray, and his sightless eyes were hidden behind solemn and imposing steel-rimmed spectacles. Usually, with head lifted and with his voice booming heartily, he was a cheerful honest figure. I liked Samuel Earp, though he was a most platitudinous Englishman. But when Mrs. Angier tongue-lashed him, for some stupidity like spilling a water-bucket or leaving a duster on the stairs or forgetting to empty a waste-basket, he became infantile, tearful and limp. Her lecturing always changed to a sugared greeting as one was recognized. "Good e-e-evening, isn't it a pleasant e-e-evening?" But the only value in speaking to Mrs. Angier was that it permitted Samuel somehow to shamble away to the limbo of the basement.

Of course I wanted to know how he became blind. Luckily, as Mrs. Angier had prosperous relatives in another part of Chicago, she sometimes could be counted on to be absent, and on those occassions or when she went to church, Samuel haunted my room. He was unhappy unless he was at work, and he managed to keep tinkering at something, but I really believe he liked to chatter to me: and he was more than anxious to tell me how his tragedy had befallen him.

"Oh, dear, yes," he said to me, "it happened during the strike. They hit me on the head and left me unconscious. And I have never seen since, not one thing."

"Who hit you, Samuel?"

"Who hit me? The blackguards who were out on strike, sir. They nearly killed me with a piece of lead-pipe. Oh, dear, yes."

It seemed an unspeakable outrage to me, but in Samuel there was nothing but a kind of healthy indignation. He was not bitter. He never raised his voice above its easy reminiscent pitch.

"But what did you do to them? Why did the strikers attack you? What strike was it?"

"I did nothing at all to them. But, you see, my horse slipped and when I was helpless on the ground with my hip smashed, one of those corner-boys knocked me out. It was right up on the sidewalk. I had gone after them up on the sidewalk, and I suppose the flags were so slippery that the horse came down."

"But what were you doing on a horse?" I asked in despair.

"I was a volunteer policeman, mounted. These scoundrels were led by Debs, and we were out to see that thre was law and order in Chicago."

"Oh, the Pullman strike. Were you railroading then?"

"Railroading? No, sir, I was in the wholesale dry-goods business, just started in. I was married only two years, to Adelaide's younger sister. Ah, my accident brought on more trouble than she could stand. She was very different from Adelaide, quite dainty and lively, if you follow me. We were living at that time on Cottage Grove avenue, on the south side. I was building up my importing business, and then this thing came and everything went to pot. They gave me no compensation whatsoever, to make the thing worse."

"But, Samuel, how did you come to be out against the strikers?"

"And why shouldn't I be out, I'd like to know!" Samuel straightened up from rubbing a chair, and pointed his rag at my voice. "These scoundrels had nothing against Mr. Pullman. He treated them like a prince. But they took the bit in their teeth, and once they break loose where are we? The president didn't get shut of them till he sent in the troops. But I've always contended that if we business men had taken the matter in hand ourselves and nipped the trouble in the bud, we'd have had no such lawlessness to deal with in the end. It is always the same. The business men are the backbone of the community, but they don't recognize their responsibility! Take the sword to those bullies and blackguards, that's what I say!"

The old man lifted both fists, like a dauntless Samson, and fixed me with his sightless eyes. He was all wrong, I thought, but he had paid hellishly for living up to his convictions, and here they seemed absolutely unshaken.

"That's all right, too, Samuel," I said, feebly enough, "but how do you feel now? Nobody compensated you for being laid out in that big strike, and your business was ruined, and here you are emptying the waste-basket. How about that? I think it's fierce that you got injured, but those men in the Pullman strike weren't out to break up society. They were fighting for their rights, that's all. Don't you think so now?"

"No, sir. The solid class of the community must be depended upon to preserve law and order. I think that it was the duty of the business men of Chicago to put down ruffianism in that strike and to smite it whenever it raised its head. Smite it hip and thigh, as the saying is. Oh, no. Young men have fine notions about these things, ha, ha. You'll excuse me, won't you, but you can't allow violence and disorder to run riot and then talk of men's 'rights' as an excuse. Ah, but it was a great misfortune for me, I confess. It was the end of all my hopes. The doctors thought at first that the sight might be restored, but I have never seen a glimmer of light since. But we must not ripine, must we? That'd never do."

"Samuel!" Mrs. Angier's sharp voice pierced the room.

"Good gracious, back so soon. You'll excuse me, I'm sure. . . . Coming, Adelaide, coming!"

He groped for his bucket, with its seedy sponge all but submerged in the dirty water. The water splashed a little as he hurried made for the door.

"Oh, dear," he muttered, "Adelaide won't like that!" F. H.

—The New Republic.

Tolstoi's Daughter

(Continued from page 1)

[illegible] developed technical industry to maintain the efficiency of transport.

"Much machinery, and new machinery required to take the place of the old, came from abroad. The blockade of Russia prevents their import.

"The blockade has deprived Russia of naphta and of all her own coal.

"Only wood remains, and the transport of enormous quantities of wood over great distances is impossible, in view of the general transport dislocation of the country. The absence of fuel stops industrial machinery, and with the stoppage of industry, all the economic and intellectual life of the country dries up.

Famine and Cold Continues.

"Such industrial machinery as does exist lacks fats. The blockade has deprived Russia of this precious material, famine and cold increases. Not only bread famine, but clothing famine, house famine, intellectual famine. Next winter threatens to create innumerable victims from cold alone. The blockade continues, directed by obscure forces. Why?

"Russia has had a revolution. As the outcome of it the Soviet government was born and has lasted two years. The Western powers look upon it as an execrable government. 'Let us,' they say, 'exterminate the whole Russian people which tolerates such a governmet.' By what process of justice, reasoning, or logic?

"I shall be told that the propaganda of this government threaten to poison European and American thought; that the poison must be stayed. But has the blockade stayed it? No, the ideas which form the basis of the social organization of the existing Russia have long since o'erleapt the blockade, and disseminate themselves freely throughout the world.

"But you, Allied governments, are committing a crime even more terrible than this. You hound on other peoples against the Russian people. You furnish them with munitions. You excite Russians to fratricidal strife. Some Russians you furnish with weapons for this purpose; other Russians you deprive of everything.

"You ingeminate implacable hatreds. Why? Can you picture to yourselves the abysses of suffering of unfortunates compelled by your will and against their own to fight one another, when all they ask is to be left in peace?

"Why Are You Killing Innocents?"

"If Russia is not yet wholly bathed in blood, it is because of the attitude of the Russian people on either side, who frequently surrender without fighting and open fraternal arms to their brothers. Why do you seek the extermination of the Russian people? You detest the Russian government—well and good. But why are you massacring the innocent?

"Are the men who govern Russia such monsters, then, that you must exterminate millions of innocents, to strike them down? They have their faults. But what is there about them which can provoke such hatreds? If they have been cruel, are you not more cruel?

"There is famine and chaos in Russia, you say. But it is you who are producing these very things; not the Soviet government. There are terrible things in the life of Russia today. But there is light, too.

"Last winter I was there. I saw and felt beating the pulse of a new and strong spirit of regenerated life. I saw many men, and especially young men, breathing with full lungs a new order, the springtime of humanity. I saw new and fertile enterprises of public instruction.

Men Defend Sacred Rights.

"I saw men in power heroically defending before the world the new, and to them sacred rights of the workers, of the common people. I saw germs of a new spiritual condition stirring in the heart of the people of Russia. I saw pulsating through every stratum of Russian life an intimate resistance to war itself—against whomsoever waged.

"Why do you seek to exterminate the Russian people? I fear it is not because they are cruel, as you say, but for some other reason.

"Crime" Was Heroic Act.

"There is still another important 'crime' which, according to you, the present rulers of Russia have committed. This crime is the crime of Brest-Litovsk. This crime has offended you, and you wash the offence in the blood of the innocent. In your eyes it was a crime affecting your dignity. For them it was an heroic act, which has not been equaled in the course of history.

"Attacked by a powerful enemy, the people and their government, disarmed, ceased the struggle, and, having deposited their arms opened peace [illegible] inviting you to do the same. But you only replied to them by a contemptuous silence.

[illegible] Reply To Goodwill.

"Since then, upon every occasion that they have deemed it opportune, up to the last resolution passed by the new Petrograd Soviet, the Russian government has never ceased to suggest conciliation, and you have replied to them by tanks and other engines of destruction. Why?

"Let us suppose that Russia is governed by wicked men, and it is necessary to preserve the world from their influence; let us admit that for the sake of argument. But you, in your blindness, are doing the contrary thing.

Waters Rise Above Allied Dykes.

"You construct a breakwater. The water rises and overflows the country, passes beneath, above, through your artificial obstacle, and continues its course, spreading the infection, to prevent which you are sacrificing innocent lives.

"It is only through an open door and in the full light of truth that you can struggle against what you conceive to be an evil.

"I no longer address myself to you, rulers demoralized by power. For you the hour of repentance has not yet struck. You, too, are to be pitied. I turn from you.

Has Faith In Workers.

"I address myself to you workers of all countries and of all nations, of all crifts and of all ages. I address myself to you especially, men of Great Britain, so strong in your independence and in your culture. I have faith that among you, workingmen, moral sentiments still live; that you still believe that the human conscience is capable of calling a halt to the conduct of man, in order that man may urn from his evil ways.

"It is to you, working brothers, creators of life, that I confide the fate of my unhappy country. You hold its salvation in your hands. Realize, I implore you, all the terror of the crime which is being perpetrated and stop it.

"But even as I thus appeal to you my soul is afflicted by a doubt. What right have I to speak to you? No right save that which is conveyed by human laws. But I have an obligation to perform.

Cannot Keep Silent About Sorrow.

"In the course of a fairly long life I have been favored by a great and underserved happiness. I was the intimate friend of the great master, Leo Tolstoy, whom the world long recognized as the embodiment of the conscience of humanity.

"I know that were he alive today his powerful voice would thunder through the world and bring the powerful to their knees. Mine is weak. But I should be criminal did I not raise it. In the name of my great dead master, I appeal to you, brothers, workers, save Russia!"

All's Well Aboard [illegible] Ship, Buford.

Radio disproves reports of violence of Russian Reds when leaving New York.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 26.—A wireless message from the army transport Buford, on which 249 radicals were deported from the United States, was received at the war department today.

The radiogram, dated "At sea, Dec. 24," follows:

"Gen. Hines, Washington:

"The Reds are contented, and everything is O. K. Even on leaving the island (Ellis Island) there was no disturbance and no cursing as stated in the newspapers.

"They are allowed on deck for exercise in the morning and again in the afternoon. They are obedient and respectful. The weather is moderate with rain; the ship steady, averaging eight knots. Her course is southward for the Azores that rough seas may be avoided.

"Dealings with the reds are through Berkman, the leader. There are no sings of sea sickness aboard. Mess for all classes is excellent, the chief steward and steward's screw being exeptional.

"Special attention is being paid to ventilation and the berth compartments are strictly clean and orderly.

RUSS ENVOYS SET FREE, ARE OFF FOR EAST.

SAN FRANCISCO. Dec. 20.— Vladimir K. Vochmetroff, acting president of the Central Union of Consumers' Societies of Russia, and his companion, D. Salavieff, were released Friday by the immigration authorities and permitted to land.

Vochmetroff claims to represent 20,000,000 Russians and says the object of his visit is to urge Washington to throw its weight against blockade of Soviet Russia. The [illegible] but allways in accordance with [illegible] out the official business for the [illegible] ciety.

UNCLE SAM SAME [illegible] PARENT AT HO[illegible]

WASHINGTON, Dec. [illegible] Same is not a good pare[illegible] the annual report of the [illegible] bureau of the department made public today.

The report declares ve[illegible] being done for the childre[illegible] island possessions of the United States and that little is known of the needs of these children, particularly those of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

In Porto Rico, it is learned, there are about 10,000 homeless children. In 1917, the report declares, 173 babies out of every 1,000 born died before reaching the age of one year.

Illiteracy runs high in the island possessions, declares the report.

The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 2.)

red chairs, a large dry goods box turned upside down, served as a desk for the judge and the clerk. Add to this a cuspidor that served as a target for 'hizzoner's' salivary marksmanship which be managed to hit with about as much accuray as he hit the requirements of justice; a dirty stove and a few advertisements plastered upon the wall and the picture is complete.

The personnel of the court blended well with its environment. Behind the dry goods box sat the judge, a portly livery-barn proprietor, roughly dressed and redolent with the scent of the stable. He had a flat, florid face, was slightly bald and had a drooping yellow mustache. He had rather merry blue eyes eyes and a thunderous voice; one of those voices that have tremendous volume and yet no power. He looked like an over fed Sweedish lumberjack; but as his name was Duffy the Scandinavian race was exonerated.

The jailer led this prisoners into the room. The judge wheeled around in his old swivel chair and looked at the men over his steel-rimmed spectacles. Jack looked at him and smiled broadly but the judge remained stern as befits the majesty of the law. Beside 'hizzoner' stood the city attorney, a callow youth upon whose face was written all the viciousness of weakness. He was lean almost to gauntness, like a half stewed lizzard. In fact he was best described by the remark Jack made to his compaions after the trial in which he likened the lawyer to a hybrid, between a coyote and a shoitpoke.

The clerk sat at the same desk (box) with the judge. These with a few armed men who evidently were officers constituted the machinery of justice.

"What is the charge agin these men?" asked the judge.

The lawyer answered, "Disorderly conduct and assault," your honor.

"Had we better try 'em one at a time or in a bunch?" asked the judge.

"I, for one, demand a seperate trial," said Jack.

"Wait till you're spoken to, or you'll regret it," roared the judge.

(Continued next week)

A MESSAGE FROM SMILLIE

(By Cable to The Liberator.)

Greetings to you, my American comrades of all ranks of labor. In view of the close of the greatest of all wars, in which so much blood and wealth have been so recklessly wasted, it behooves the democracies of all the countries of the world to draw themselves into closer communion; first, to ensure the prevention of international war in the future; second, to advance the industrial freedom of the producing classes in all nations. In the past the workers of one nation have been set off against the workers of another nation to prevent this communion, but in the future it will be necessary to link up the workers of the various nations so that we may advance side by side.

We may talk about a League of Nations for a generation, yet if it is only a league of capitalistic Governments it will mean nothing to the commonm people of the nations of the earth. What is really required is a League of the Democracies, strongly organized in each country, to rid the workers of the curse of capitalism as we know it today, and make the whole world a fit place for free men and women to live in.

In Great Britain I believe that the present agitation for the nationalization of mines and minerals will be continued until we realize our ambition. I do not think its fulfilment will be long postponed. The possessing class realize that national ownership cannot stop and will not stop with the nationalization of the mines and the mines alone. They realize that the land, railways, transport and other industries essential to the social well-being of the people will follow. The fight will be a stiff one, as capital is now fully arroused and will spare no pains to thwart the aspirations of the common people. It ought to be admitted that many thousands of wealthy, educated people are on our side, though the vast bulk of the possessing class have no vision of the soul of the nation or its people and cannot see beyond the continuation of the present cursed system which keeps the vast majority of the people of every nation of the earth continually on the verge of poverty in order that a few may live in luxury.

I understand that the mine workers of America are moving forward on similar lines and I wish them God speed. I would appeal to the workers of America to realize that until the whole wealth produced by labor—taking the word "labour" in its broadst and truest sense to mean all those who labor by hand or brain in the production of anything that is essential or beautiful—is secured for the common enjoyment of those who produce it, there cannot be and there ought not to be any rest from agitation towards this end.

(Signed) ROBERT SMILLIE,

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Lenin, the Man and His Work	1.50

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Lost Face
Martin Eden
Moon-Face
South Sea Tales
Tales of the Fish Patrol
The Faith of Men
The Game
The House of Pride
The Iron Heel
The Sea Wolf
War of the Classes
When God Laughs
White Fang

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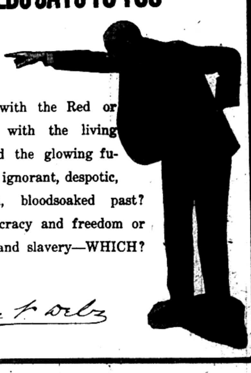

"ARE you with the Red or the Dead, with the living present and the glowing future or the ignorant, despotic, tear-stained, bloodsoaked past? With democracy and freedom or despotism and slavery—WHICH?

Eugene V. Debs

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Manifesto of the Communist International 10c

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Ope[illegible] to Russia will so[illegible]rtation pro[illegible]

— By W. E. Williams. —

NEW YORK.—"Let us go back to Soviet Russia and you will have no Russian deportation problem on your hands" is the word which Russian workmen detained as "anarchists" at Ellis Island and elsewhere have sent the following letter to Secretary of State Lansing:

"As attorney for eighty Russians, now being held at Ellis Island pending investigation of their right to remain in the United States, and as attorney for other Russians held in jails and immigration stations elsewhere in the United States, I am authorized to make the following proposal to the Department of State:

"My clients, one of whom is under conviction of crime and one of whom is charged with crime, are willing to leave the United States at their own expense, taking their families with them, providing that your department will give its assurance, (first) that they will receive safe conduct to some point in Russia under the control of the Soviets. If, however, they must be deported, I am instructed by my clients to refrain from taking any legal action for delaying or preventing deportation, providing the assurances above referred to are given.

"As the Department of State must know, to land these men, charged with advocating anarchy and deported, upon territory held by any Russian faction other than the Soviets will mean their imprisonment or execution.

"If your department sees fit to give these assurances, it will at once dispose of a matter which is now costing the government large sums of money in investigations, maintenance of detained persons, hearings, and the like. Furthermore, it will eliminate the cost to the government of opposing us when we have recourse to our legal remedies, as we must, if the government does not see fit to give assurance that the men deported will be landed upon, or conducted to, soil held by the Soviets."

COSSAK RULE IN STEEL CENTERS

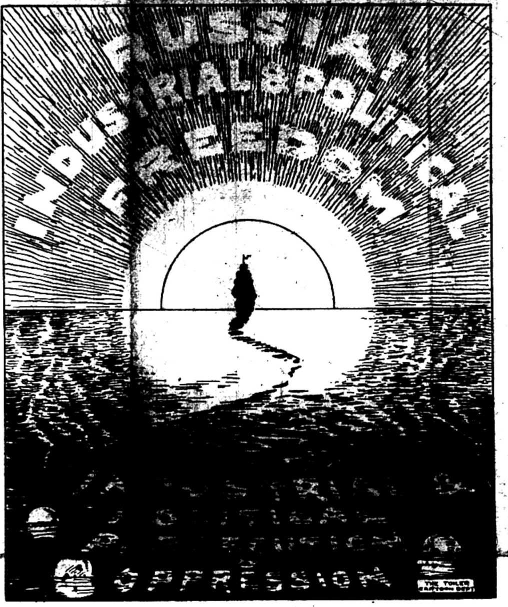
— By SARAH LIMBACH. —

PITTSBURG, PA.—Despite the fact that Congress does not consider it necessary to investigate the denial of Constitutional liberties to the thousands of steel strikers in Western Pennsylvania, on the assumption that these liberties have been "restored," the past week brings fresh evidence of further flagrant injustices on the part of the Penn. State Cossacks. Backed by the local authorities and the courts a final attempt is being made to batter down the resistance of the hundred thousand men still out in the Pittsburg district.

Twenty-seven strikers were recently sentenced in Buttler, Pa., to varying terms on a technical charge of riot. The Butler men have been out on strike since August 3rd when a walkout occured at the plant of the Standard Steel Car Co. On the night of August 20 the men were aroused from their homes and informed that a carlaod of strike-breakers was to arrive. They were requested to meet them at Odell station. Instead, the men were greeted by a special car containing state police and a score were arrested. That the men were victims of a frame-up is beyond doubt.

In Donora ,where the plant of the American Steel and Wire Co. is located, the strike headquarters were raided on December 5th by state police. Walter Hodge, organizer in charge and one hundred men were arrested on a charge of conspiracy. The conspiracy being that the men had instigated dynamite explosions in the residential section of Donora several nights previous. A thorough search on the part of the strikers has failed to reveal anyone who heard the explosions. They were taken to the local jail and later they were discharged on bail, Hodge bail baing placed at $500. After a hearing in the county court, those who were citizens were discharged and 94 aliens were held. Walter Hodge was also held, tho a citizen. At the hearing the most damaging bit of evidence was produced by Michael Tuth, a state wit-

(Continued on page 4)



"THE SOVIET ARK."

We are raided, yes-no.

Yes, the nation wide raid on radicals hit the state office of the Communist Labor Party, but not as hard as the raiders contemplated. The C. L. P. membership was demanded but didn't come forth. When the gents in charge of operations had gathered up some papers of uncertain value to them or us, they offered to trade them for the membership list. However, we were not in a swapping mood so the deal did not go thru. As a consequence, seven well paid officers of the U. S. government went away emptier and wiser then when they came—wise to the fact that some things are unobtainable in this world. We should worry.

A Cheerfull Letter From Leavenworth Prison.

Elmer T. Allison,

Cleveland, O.

Dear Comrade and Fellow-worker:

You will probably be surprised to hear from me, but then a wobly is always doing something unexpected so you see I am only upholding the traditions of the organization of which I am proud to be a member.

I receive a copy of "The Toiler" every week, and it is a fine paper To my mind it is the best paper that comes in here and we get almost all of them. It (the Toiler) seems to have discovered the proper method of disseminating news of interest to the radicals and of educational value to that biological specimen, found in large numbers on the North American continent, known to biologists as Seissorbilicus Americus (the English translation is Mr. Block I believe.)

The trial in Kasas City, Kansas is over and the boys were found guilty of encroaching on "oily John's" preserves. They arrived here this afternoon and I will renew accquaitances with numerous friends here. Their sentences range from three to nine years, but you will know all about the trial by the time this letter reaches you, so I will not enlarge on it.

I hear from Walter and Laura Reynolds every once in a while and their letters are always full of that spirit that has done so much to keep alive the desire for freedom in the hearts of the American workers.

If you can find time to drop me a line I will always be glad to hear from you but I realize how busy you are and if I don't hear from you I will know the reason.

Hoping that fellow worker Santa Claus will visit you and with best wishes I remain

Yours for Industrial Freedoms
Archie Sinclair.

LONGUET ON THE RECENT ELECTION

PARIS.—Jean Longuet, Socialist leader, has given an interview to the Paris correspondent of the "London Daily Herald", in which he ventures the following interpretation of the recent French parliamentary elections:

"The results of the elections, which in a large measure recall the British khaki elections in 1918, surprise only those who did not calculate on the inevitable consequences of the monstrous electoral system created solely to overwhelm socialism. .... Thus, in the great working class suburbs of Paris, with 114,000 votes against 145,000 for the Coalition (all the bourgeois parties, including the renegades from socialism),it comes about that fourteen seats are allotted to the Coalition and none to the Socialist party. The Alsace-Lorraine Socialists obtained [illegible] votes and have not a single seat.... In all, our party, which had [illegible] in 1914, will [illegible] in the new chamber. Yet the number of votes received by our party is [illegible] against 1,100,000 in 1914."

SOVIETS SWEEP ON TO VICTORY.

Kolchak, Denikin gone. Soviets make truce with Esthonia. Self determination offered by Lenine as part of peace pact. Russia seeks trade with Italy. Red Victories coming strong.

Editor's note: The week's news from Russia containing account of the onward sweep of the soviet forces to victory on all fronts and the collapse of the Kolchak and Denikin "governments" invites us to publish some recent dispatches from Moscow. While these have appeared in the daily press many hundreds of our readers will appreciate their publication here. The promising outlook in Russia for peace with the Allies and the opening of trade relations with the world are some of the most promissing developments of today.

LONDON, Jan. 3.—Gen. Denikine's government in southern Russia has been overthrown and Gen. Romanovsky has been chosen to replace Gen. Denikine as anti-Bolshevik chief, according to a wireless dispatch received here from Moscow quoting advices from Taganrog.

The report indicates that owing to defeats along the front, a coup d'etat occured at Gen. Denikine's headquarters and that his government has been replaced by a group known as the "Vozsozhdenye Rossie," meaning the "regeneration of Russia."

Gen. Semenoff has been named to head the Siberian army, succeeding Admiral Kolchak, who, after a series of disastrous reverses at the hands of the Bolsheviki at Irkutsk and Omsk, Siberia, is still retreating. Kolchak's health has suffered as a consequence of his labors in fighting the Reds.

Gen. Semenoff was recently commander of the Cossacks operating in the Siberian region, and he is known to be strongly anti-American, having had several misunderstandings with the American forces stationed in Siberia.

DORPAT, Esthonia, Jan. 1.—The first step toward peace between Esthonia and soviet Russia was taken tonight by the signing of a preliminary armistice, which is to exist for one week, stipulating an immediate cessation of hostilities and covering questions concerning Esthonian independence and military guarantees with regard to the frontiers.

The agreement, which may be terminated on twenty-four hours' notice by either side, is to become effective Saturday. Unless action is taken to end it the agreement automatically renews itself after seven days.

The agreement consists of five documents, and includes a map defining the frontiers. An interesting clause absolves Esthonia from all obligations to Russia resulting from former connections with that country.

The signing of the agreement had been set for 1 yesterday afternoon but it was not until nearly 8 that the conferees succeeded in adjusting all details.

Esthonia is Recognized.

The next of the clause recognizing Esthonia says:

"In accordance with the principle oft proclaimed by the soviet Russian government of the right of all peoples to a free determination of their nationality, even to the complete secession from the state to which they belong, Russia recognizes without reservation the independence of the Esthonian state and freely abdicates for

Continued on page 4.)

Let 'Organization' Be Your Answer.

The greatest attack of the government upon the political rights of the working-class occurred last Friday night when a nation-wide blow was struck at the workers in the round up numbering into the thousands. In this latest and most idiotic attempt of the capitalist interests of the United States to throttle the aspirations of the workers, methods were used, that would put to shame those of the former autocrat of Russia. Men, women and children were routed out of their homes and beds, carted off to bull pens and herded like cattle without even the semblance of ordinary comforts being provided. Hundreds and hundreds were compelled to stand thru the whole night and even the following day while an army of "investigators" decided their fate. Mothers were taken from their children, fathers from their familis and communication denied them. Jails were filled to overflow, thousands slept upon the filthy floors of the capitalist jails without even a lousy mattress or a coverlet for protection.

These are the methods of tyrany. It is by these insane methods that the government of the United States proposess to weed out radicalism in this country. The lessons of history remain unlearned by the present autocrats who hold official power in the government. "Tyranny breeds radiialism, persecution aids the cause it seeks to demolish. Revolution thrives thru such unjust and cruel misuse of power. Is the government of the United States erected upon such flimsy foundations that it can be menaced by an idea? Does the government believe for a moment that the deportation of a few foreigners and the jailing of a few native born will have the slightest deterrent effect upon the proletarian revolution that is sweeping over the whole world? If it does, then the history of the progress of the human race from savagery thru barbarism to what is mis-called civilization ha staught nothing to the ruling class of this country.

Instead of quelling radicalism, these roundups, deportations, persecutions and jail sentences but add to the numbers of the discontented. If the government and the ruling class of America have no answer to the workers when they demand justice in the industrial and political life of the nation except jails, deportations, arrests, persecutions, hounding, spying and the blacklist—then the sooner the government extends its persecutions and adds to their severity, the better it will be for the working-class of America. The sooner then will the workers learn the lesson of organization.

The workers' answere to these outrages must be ORGANIZATION. The capitalist class fears the workers only when organized. Unorganized, it knows the workers are helpless to resist the exploitation which it seeks to fasten upon them. Unorganized we are completely at the mercy of brutal capitalism. Only by perfecting our organizations can we hope to successfully oppose the organized power of capital and capitalistic governments which are its tools. Then organize! Organize in the shops, form a group of workers for carrying on propaganda, for support of the workers' press and the work of education. Distribute propaganda, sell books, get subscriptions for the revolutionary papers. Take your rightful place as a leader in the craft unions if you belong to one. Join the Communist Labor Party and the I. W. W. Take your place in the organized ranks of the Proletarian Revolution against capitalist oppression, tyranny and exploitation. Join the world's Red Legions that are making this world a fit place for the workers. Join the International Proletarian Revolution against capitalist exploitation.

Organize and put a stop forever to the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

THE "TRIAL" OF THE 'WICHITA BUNCH'.

Extracted from two personal letters to the editor.

"The so-called "trial" started on Monday Dec. 1st, more than two years after the arrests. 4 and a half days were used in examining and selecting a jury of twelve men. The Piute press had done its work so well and the public mind was so poisoned that more than 100 men stated openly 'they could not give a fair and impartial verdict". Others, equally prejudiced, tried to hide it in order to get on the jury with the intent of conviction regardless of the evidence.

Kansas City is an industrial center, with an overwhelming preponderance of wage earners, yet it is significant that not a single working man was called from which a jury might be chosen. The farce had no sooner started than it developed into the most disgusting sight ever witnessed by liberty-lowing men. Every constitutional "right" the defendants were supposed to have, was ruthlessly trampled under foot by the "public servants" who are supposed to deal out 'exact and impartial justice'.

Everything the Standard Oil Comany chose to introduce was allowed to go into the records. The indictment specially charged the men with "conspiracy to overthrow the U. S. Government, violation of the Espionage Act, causing men to desert from, and become insubordinate to the army, navy and marine corps, and to prevent production and distribution of fuel oil, natural gas, food and farm products during the period from Apr. 6th to Nov. 24, 1917. The prosecution dug up everything possible from the inception of the I. W. W. in 1905, and the court allowed it to be introduced as evidence!

UNDATED and UNSIGNED letters, and what was purported to be minutes of meetings went in regardless of the objections of the attorneys for the defense. One of the defendants writes:

"The usual stool pigeons are hare and one of them has testified to criminal acts committed by himself, but could not implicate any one of us. Our attorney gave him an awful showing up, and now the prosecution is trying to make a hero of him. The U. S. Government has three of these miserable creatures on a regular circuit going from place to place, betraying innocent members of the working-class (members of their own class) into the hands of the avenging master—class. We all stood up before this cringing cur, while our attorney asked him to point out one of our number he ever knew to do a criminal act, and of course he was forced to admit he knew nothing about us.

The fact of the matter is that this stool—pigeon was kicked out of the I. W. W. in 1917. At that time he was arrested in Minot N. Dak., charged with highway robbery. One of our boys took his credetials and supplies and told him there was no room in the I. W. W. for the likes of him. The government has something on this bird and is forcing him to testify against all I. W. W. to save his own hide."

Continuing further he writes: "the government placed a county attorney upon the stand who admitted throwing I. W. W's in jail without any charge against them and holding them for days without trial and then letting them go. A sheriff and his deputy from Oklahoma also testified to the same kind of treatment.

The press tables are crowded with reporters who draw pictures and kid one another all day long. They do not have to take notes as they write nothing only that furnished them each night by the prosecuting attorneys.

Practically everything appearing in the capitalist press regarding this trial has been a mass of lies. They publish long articles on letters and evidence supposed to have been submitted that has never appeared. As a matter of fact the "reports" of the trial published here is news to us and furnishes comedy for each day. We look those reporters over each day and wonder how they can so prostitute brains that might really be made to serve a useful purpose in society.

From now on, I am for silent defense. There is no such thing as justice in the master's courts."

That letter was written before the jury had brought in its report. A later letter informs us that the jury was out twenty hours and brought in a verdict of guilty of four separate conspiracies, to wit 1st To overthrow the U. S. government. 2nd To resist the Draft Act. 3rd For violation of the infamous espionage act. 4th for violation of the Food and Fuel Act, better known as the Lever act. Sentences ranging from 9 years-downward and totaling 123 and ½ years were imposed upon 26 of them.

Writing of the scene our correspondent says: "As each man's name was called, he advanced before the bar of Justice??? and took the master's token of revenge with a smile. Tonight all are in the finest spirits, the day we have waited 25 months for has at last arrived. Twenty five months, the major portion of which was spent undergoing persecution the like of which would bring a blush of shame to even the Czar of all the Russias in his palmiest days.

During that time we have been forced to witness once powerful men become physical wrecks. We have watched our fellow worker's minds break under the lash of DELIBERATE PERSECUTION. One of our number sought freedom in death, cutting his throat from ear to ear.

Prompt action saved his life, but his mind broke under the strain, and for months we watched him grow steadily worse, suffering great anguish ourselves because we were unable to do anything to save this lad's reason. For months we took turns guarding him night and day to save save him from his own hand. After 9 months the authorities finally transfered him to a hospital for the insane. We recently heard from him and he is on the road to recovery.

Another of our boys went insane. We asked the U. S. district Atty in Sept. 1918 to have this boy examined and he refused. We had an authority on mental diseases look this boy over and of course he was pronounced insane. After we came here (to Kansas City) Judge John C. Pollock selected an expert to examine our fellow worker and this expert reported to the judge that our boy is a hopeless maniac who can not live another year. And still another one was ordered to the hospital today by the judge. This boy is a physical and mental wreck, and the irony of it all is that this happened in a country which boasts of its freedom and justice.

Still another fellow worker a mere boy, died in the miserable surrondings of a jail only the loving care of his fellow workers to make his last moments as pleasant as possible.

This boy died on the same day that his brother returned home from France minus an arm and a leg. His mother was heartbroken. I could thus write on and on for hours telling you of persecution almost unbelieveable, but what's the use? It is the terrible system we are living under *.

The sentiment of the business element here was intensely bitter against us. Open threats of violence were made in the court room and corridors, and of course the capitalist press also tried to stir up mob violence. The Kansas City Star in particular has taken to quoting General Leonard Wood. Tonight the Star quotes Wood as saying, "Ship or shoot all radicals". Another issue says, "crush radicals like insects". And this is the man being touted as presidential timber! He certainly has a distorted idea of law and order, to say nothing of constitutional provisions!"

In closing, our correspondent says: "Every one of those boys were splendid today, amidst smiles of sympathy, sneers and glances of hatred, each man looked his persecutors in the eye and took what they gave him with an amused smile. I wonder if the master-class in attendance today realize that such a spirit as that can never be crushed?"

These boys are today in Leavenworth penetentiary, serving time for being loyal to their class. Their case is worth remembering. When the constitution plainly and specifically calls for a speedy and an impartial trial and men are held for OVER TWO years without trial there is a vast difference between what the loud-mouthed spouters of Americanism SAY and DO. And the rank and file of workers are noticing the difference, which means that the rule of bloody ruthless capital is doomed and will soon have to make way for a mere orderly and just order of society.

DELEGATES TO THIRD INTERNATIONAL

MEXICO CITY, D. F.—The Communist Party of Mexico has elected the following delegates to attend the Third International at Moscow: Geo. Bareda and Linn A. E. Gale, both of Mexico City, and A. P. Araujo, of Muzquiz, Coahuila.

Barreda is International Secretary of the party, Gale is publisher of "Gale's Mazazine," and Araujo is a former Mexican revolutionist who was imprisoned in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, during the Diaz regime.

THE ARSENAL AT SPRINGFIELD.

(By Henry W. Longfellow)

This is the Arsenal. From floor to ceiling
Like a huge organ, rise the burnished arms;
But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing
Startles the villages with strange alarms.

Ah! What a sound will rise, how wild and dreary,
When the death-angel touches those swift keys!
What loud lament and dismal Miserere
Will mingle with their awful symphonies!

I hear even now the infinite fierce chorus,
The cries of agony, the endless groans,
Which, through the ages that have gone before us,
In long reverberations reach our own.

On helm and harness rings the Saxon hammer,
Trough Cimbric forest roars the Norseman's song,
And loud, amid the universal clamor,
O'er distant deserts sounds the Tartar gong.

I hear the Florentine, who from his palace
Wheels out his battle-bell with dreadful din,
And Aztec priests upon their teocallis
Beat the wild war-drum made of serpent's skin;

The tumult of each sacked and burning village;
The shout that every prayer for mercy drowns;
The soldiers' revels in the mids of pillage;
The wail of famine in beleaguered towns;

The bursting shell, the gateway wrenched asunder,
The rattling musketry, the clashing blade;
And ever and anon, in tones of thunder,
The diaposon of the cannonade.

It is, O man, with such discordant noises,
With such accursed instruments as these,
Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

Were half the power, that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts;

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation that should lift again
Its hands against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear forever the curse of Cain!

Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, "Peace!"

Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies!
But beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of love arise.

Mouthings of Two Anarchists

PERSHING URGES VIOLENCE

CHICAGO, Dec. 20.—"The American Legion, I am sure, will stand against revolutionary doctrine to the last breath," Gen. Pershing told 2,000 cheering legionnaires here today.

The unrest in this country and throughout the world is the natural aftermath of the war. The magnitude of the war measures the magniude of the unrest.

"It is up to you to realize that you are guardians of our future. It is up to you to oppose radical doctrine—not passively, but if necessary not to hesitate to employ physical force."

"KILL THE REDS," SAYS WOOD.

DENVER, COLO.—Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, in an address before the Legislature on December 19, advocated that the only way to "handle the Reds" was:

"S. O. S."—ship or shoot."

In detail, the Major General advocated the most drastic measures to curb the "agitators" and halt the spread of "anarchistic propaganda." In enlarging upon his "S. O. S." method of dealing with "agitators," he said:

They should be put on a ship of stone with sails of lead and their first stopping place should be hall."

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The Black Sheep

CHAPT. XII.

Jack's keen eye noticed how his fellow victims were awed by 'hissoner's' thunder; how they looked at him with bitter disapproval in their eyes. They hated him because he prejudiced their cause before the court. These men still had the idealogic condeption that justice is an ephmeral something that may be administered wrong or right, according to the wisdom or folly of the judge upon the bench. George and Herman had taught the boy a different conception. He had learned to take the materialistic view that justice is determined by the class interest involved.

Of course it is conceded that this was not a representative court; that in it, law was not taken into consideration. True the forms of law were observed; that had to be done. If you want to steal, first make a law legalizing the act or get a court that will do your stealing for you under the pretext of enforcing the law. The court at Anamoose was simply a camouflage for brigandage.

It must be remembered that when we say that this was not a representative court we do not mean to infer that the others and more regular courts do not work upon the same principle. It is a notorious fact that ustice like everything else is a commodity for sale to the highest bidder. The man with a slim purse has no chance in the market.

The lawyer prosecuting the city's cases was known as Smallhead, a name that might have been descriptive of the man. He informed the judge that the men were not equally guilty, meaning of course that they were possessed of different amounts of money, which might be extracted from them, by convicting them for slightly different offences. So he reccomended that they be tried separately, to which the judge agreed.

"We'll take him first", said he indicating Jack. Then to the boy: "Are you guilty as charged?"

"No; not as charged."

"You are guilty then."

"O yes, I suppose so."

"If you are not guilty as charged, how then do you consider yourself to be guilty?"

"Of having been at work. Of being away from home, gathering the world's supply of bread for which the farmers paid me wages. These wages consist of money, which is legal tender or perhaps it were better to say an exchangable commodity which looks good to 'Hizzoner' and the taxpayers of the town. My guilt consists in having the where with all to pay a fine. That's enough isn't it?"

"That will do" roared the judge. "Smallhead produce your witness."

The lawyer called a man whom we shall call "Lowbrow" (because that title best describes him,) to the stand. Jak recognized him as the man who had thrown the coal, and had subsequently struck him in the face.

The clerk mockingly administered the oath, after which the lawyer asked the witness: "Do you know this defendent Mr. Lowbrow?"

"No, I can't say that I know him".

"Have you ever seen him before?"

"Yes."

"When".

"Yesterday".

"What was he doing?"

"He was piloting the rest of the bunch around town."

Jack laughed aloud—the judge rapped on the desk with his fist. When quiet was restored the lawyer proceeded. "Did you speak with him?" he asked the witness.

"Yes: he asked me when the next train left for the west, also if I could direct him to a good restaurant and a place where he could get something to drink. I pointed out the restaurant to him and then took him and his bunch to the depot where they assaulted me."

"Why did they attack you?"

"I don't no. I suppose they were drunk."

Jack interrupted, "in a small prohibition town, with a judge and a city attorney and everything, we would get drunk on what?"

"Will you hold your bazzoo!" yelled the judge, "I'll have order in this court do you understand."

"If this were a court I'd be satisfied, but I consider it a disgrace."

"Silence!"

"Who lead the assault?"

"I think it was this fellow. When I first noticed him he was fightin' and cussin' like a demon. He was beatin' up the little fellow in the other bunch and when I yelled at him to stop it, he threw a bottle of whisky at me."

"Did the bottle hit you?"

"No I dodged."

"If you were telling the truth and I had thrown the whisky I'll bet a dollar it would have been the first booze you ever dodged." At which all the officers smiled.

Lowbrow continued, "I nearly lost, my balance, regaining it only in time to avoid his rush. I believe he would have killed me if I hand't been ready for him."

"The whole truth s'help me God," Jack piped up.

"That will be all Mr. Lowbrow, said the lawyer.

"Your honor, shall I call officer Larson to the stand?"

The judge sat for a few moments bitting his finger nails, that said: 'No that'll not be necessary. Swear the defendat."

This formality past, the lawyer asked several preliminary question, to which Jack answerend promptly, if not always truthfully. But when the lawyer asked him why he had thrown the bottle of whisky, he answered: "If I had so little brains as to carry whisky, I wouldn't have sense enough to throw it away."

"You say you did not throw a bottle?"

"No, nor anything else."

"Why did you lead the fight?"

"I did not lead it."

"I suppose you will tell us you wasn't even in it?" sneered the lawyer.

"That would be the truth and there fore out of place here." Jack shot back."

"How did you get that cut on your head?"

"That was the work of your friend. I was in the platform when the fight started, having just taken leave of my friends, with whom I had worked on the Bell outfit. I had left my suitcase on a seat in the waiting room and as I did not care to have it smashed I went in to take it out. In civilized communities a man is supposed to have a right to protect his proporety.

"Your friend Lowbrow was fanning the figth and when he saw me coming into the room he hit me with a piece of coal. Of course I resented it and thereby fell into your official net." Then looking both judge and lawyer square in the face, he said: "Gentlemen as far as I am concerned you may as well discontinue this farce; I know your game, and the reason you have for playing it."

The lawyer interrupted by asking the judge if the witness was going to make a speech or answer his question.

"O, let him talk" said the judge. "I like to hear him." Then to Jack "Go on."

"Well as post says' there is a reason' and the reason is not found in yourself, but rather in the influences in which you are surrounded. You are a product of your environment just as much as a maggot is of rotten meat. You are elected by the tax payers of this town, many of whom are retired farmers. In order to be elected you have to make certain promises, chief among which is the promise to reduce taxes; you know that you cannot do this while the prices of necessities constantly raise, due the declining value of gold which is your standard money commodity. The improved methods of mining continually lessen the labor necessary in its production, with the result that greater amounts of it must be exchanged for other products. As the cost of gold production goes down the price of all other commodities must go up. You are up against it, to reduce the money rate of taxes on a declining money value. Yet, of you do not reduce these taxes you do not stay in office. You must therefore resort to expedients.

"In other states you liscense saloon and use the money received from the sale of such liscense and the fines collected from the victims of drink to reduce the tax rate. I shall not dilate upon the moral issue involved, of licensening places that deprive men of their responsibility and then fine men for irresponsibility which they acquire in the places you have liscensed. This state has outgrown that vice. It has not out grown politics. It has the thoro American characteristic of saying 'let George do it,' when it comes to paying taxes. We have abolished the saloon but retain the drugstore and the livery stable, the rooming and the road house. To these places you lead your victim thru the medium of your Lowbrouws who are employed not for the purpose of up holding the law, but rather for the purpose of securing money with which to reduce taxes and to curry favor with the electorate. That in turn means re-election and re-election means continuous salary. It was said by a learned philosopher that the working men were tied to the machinery of industry by their heart strings. I might paraphrase that and say the sheriff's, constables, squires are tied to the machinery of politics by their

(Continued on page 4.)

The Toiler

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EDITOR ....Elmer T. Allison

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CLEVELAND, O., WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7th,

HOW TO START A REVOLUTION.

If, five years ago, the query "how to start a revolution", had been put to the average American, his inevitable answer would have been something like this: prohibit free speech and assembly. Arrest every one who voices disapproval of the present government; search his home without warrants, terrorize his wife and frighten his children. Raid the offices of every organized movement of the working people, take the files, gather up all literature found, throw the officers of the organization in jail, organize and countenance mobs which shall carry what is left into the street and set fire to it.

Deny mailing priviliges to the papers of the poorer classes but give them freely to all others. Make the carrying of a membership card in a political party a crime and a labor union membership a felony. Set an army of sneaks and gum shoe operators on the trail of every man and woman who believes this is a free country. Prohibit all parades of workers, deny them the use of halls for meetings. Open the mail of all workers' organizations and keep it for as long as you want. Put spys in every labor union and instruct them to preach violence in order to trap the "radicals".

Elect fools and politicians to public office instead of men of social vision. Put the police power into the control of the local rich class and, use it always against the workers. Put judges on the bench whose idea of law is that it is for the rich and against the poor. When in doubt, hit the poor man and hit him hard.

Should the working-class get organized strong enough to elect their men to office, cook up charges against them and throw them out. If possible throw them into jail afterward.

If any of foreign birth should raise a voice of protest against conditions, throw them in jail for a few months, then ship them out of the country. If a foreign nation sets up a government that doesn't suit the American millionaires, draft a bunch of soldiers from the working class and send them out to war against them. Don't declare a war however, let it be a one man affair. Don't let the people have any thing to say about the policy of the government in foreign matters. And if they don't say what you want them to say about anything, jail them.

If the workers strike, get out an injuction against them, call out the soldiers and intimidate them, shoot up their towns and murder a few of their leaders, especially their women speakers. Don't let them meet to talk over their grievances. If thy will do it get the soldiers to scab on the strikers. In all cases take full control of all big daily papers, the little weeklies will follow the lead. Print all the lies that can be coined about the workers, create public opinion favorable to the capitalists, deny the workers any possible opportunity to state their side. Use the entire forces at the command of the government, not to make conditions better for the poor but to keep them in submission to their exploiters.

This will start a revolution most anywhere— especially in the United States".

SOMETHIG TO REMEMBER.

If we need an example of the brutality of our American prison system the hanging of a prisoner at Chicago before an audience of 200 "picked" prisoners affords us a perfect example. Not only of the brutality of the prison system but also of those in charge of our penal institutions. If there is one institution which demands the highest type of officers in charge, it is the prisons. No other institution affords as complete an opportunity to study the varying types of mankind under one environment and to work out the principles of a solution to criminal acts as do they. Yet in charge of them are placed not students of psychology and humanity, but men of the type of Sherriff Peters, whose idea of teaching a moral lesson is on a par with the philosophy of punishment practiced in the ages of savagery—and before.

"It will give them something to remember", he stated in defense of his brutal plan to force the prisoners to view the hanging of a fellow prisoner. Sherriff Peters probably does not know (being merely a politician), that brutality always brutalizes never reforms. The theory that men must be punished for crimes committeed, is both false and brutal. The true conception of crime is that it is a product of social conditons. Unsocal acts follow in the wake of unsocial environment. The porpusoses of prisons should be as places of safe keeping of the unsocial in order to protect the rest of society. They should also be schools for the teaching of right living, and right thinking. Instead, they are principally breeding places for more crime. Generally under the control of politicians whose sole purpose is graft and getting a living, who have no higher purpose than to get by with the job in the established order, little improvement has been accomplished in the prison system and little can be hoped for as long as the present ideas continue.

When the social conscience is awakened to the fact that society is responsible for the acts of its individuals, then and not until then will we have a penal system that will be a deterrent to crime. A society that is built upon the principle that the biggest hog gets the fattest living is a prolific basis for crime. As long as the present captalist rule continues there can be no radical change. The system breeds crime as it breeds poverty and millionaires. The system is brutal, consecquently its institutions are likewise.

Read This

Manifesto of the Communist International 10c

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3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio

SPARKS.

MEET AT CAMBRIDGE.

Comrades of Guernsey County will meet for a social time at Socialist Hall Byesville on Jan. 10th.

All comrades are credially invited to be present for a good time is assured every one. Singing, music, games and a general social time including speaking will be enjoyed.

The many good wishes and holiday greetings received by the State Office from comrades testify to the revolutionary spirit than animates them. Surely these holiday gretings testify that 1920 will be one of the biggest years in our movement. The growth of the proletariat revolution over the world is a source of great inspiration to all class-conscious workers. That 1920 will prove to be one of great activity of Ohio comrades is the wish of the State Office force.

Five fifty for subscriptions from comrade Dan G. Berg of Bellaire, Mich., is a good New Years start. A copy of Lenin goes to him by return mail as a premium .

Comrade Geo H. Spitler of Canton is a literature booster. Orders for pamphlets from him lately attest to his work of educating those who need it.

Comrade Nate Rickey of Akron remits $6.50 for sub cards and Debs photos. He states his approval of The Toiler and wishes all workers had the same privilege of reading it that he enjoys.

Five dollars for the Liberation fund and the same amount for sub cards is contained in a letter from comrade Chas. Boydelatour of Canton. Another booster is he.

A comrade writes—"I love The Toiler tho I cannot read English. A little Bolshevik girl reads it to me".

"Here I come again with two more subs," writes comrade Dishart of Canton. Just a proof of genuine sincerity in the work.

To read The Toiler regardless of cost is the sentiment expressed in a letter from comrade Mrs. Pearl Patterson of Shirly, Mass. We have to confess that a lot of people think the same.

"Whoever does not violate God's law, violates no law. Debs would be a free man today of justice existed, but when laws exist in violation of God's law, that law is corrupt and those who support it are also corrupt." Albert Hanni.

Back again is our old booster, F. W. Wack of Battle creek. This trip he brings three more subs.

A. E. Knisley remits $5 for sub cards and gets Lenin for a premium.

A recent literature order consisting of 100 Mr. Blocks comes from comrade Mrs. A. Jones of Youngstowtown, O.

"I believe the Toiler is going t obe a winner, I wish I could put it in the home of every worker in this County" ,thus writes comrade Ben Carpenter of Harrison, Mich. And he helps to do it by ordering $5 worth of sub cards.

Comrade Metcalf of Youngstown is on the trail of subscribers there He gets them too, as a recent bunch of three proves.

Nick Weltlich is at it every week—getting subs we mean. Two yearlies this week proves it.

"To show you how easy it is to get subscribers. Took my paper to work with me to-day and read one article to the bunch. That was enough. I am sending three subscribers. Hoping to send more soon." H. H. Voelkmann, Columbus, O. You ought to take this evidence to heart and try it too.

Three yearlies from A. W. Wacker of Massillon indicates he is on the firing line.

Five yearly subs arrived this week from comrade Henry Sexaner, of Canton.

TROTZKY DEAD AGAIN

COPENHAGEN, Jan. 1.—Esthonian papers affirm the rumor of a muiny in the red army and that Trotzky has been hanged by marines at he station at Volosov.

1,500,000 GERMANS SLAIN

BERLIN, Dec. 30.—Official statistcs made public today place the number of Germans gilled in battle at ,500,000. These figures do not include hose who died in prison camps.

ONE MINER'S VIEW.

Mulberry, Kans. 12|22|19

Editor Toiler.

That was hot stuff you published about the strike. You sure hit the bulls eye every shot. We lost that strike good and hard and our own rotten, weak kneed, hypocrital officials were the only cause. I don't blame a thing on the government or on Gov. Allen, or any of the others involved in that strugle. It was our own so called LEADERS who lost the Miner's strike.

The rank and file was standing like a cement wall, I know what I am talking about for I was doing organization work among the strikers all during the strike and the chief blame rest on (LEWIS AND GREEN). We never asked them to go to Washington and swap us body and soul for a little respectability and that is just what I believe they did. I don't think they had guts enough to get any money out of the deal, while I for one, would think more of them if they had sold me straight out and got the money and then quit the job.

I remain yours truly,
a coal digger.

A NEW AMERICAN COMMANDMENT

I am writing to call your attention to a magazine called "Now" sent out by Andrews & Co. of New York City.

On giving it the once over I discovered it was a propaganda sheet for the Kolchaks and Denikines of America. It contains a frantic effort of satire to annihilate what is left of deceny in the world, the one hope of civilization. Pleading desperately for the continuation of a system where one human can say to another "You work and earn bread and I'll eat it." Where the inhumanity of man to man makes countless thousands morn."

The 1st 6 pages are given to a description ,by Karl K Kitchen, of the type of civilization, which is a byproduct of the capitalist system. When the radicals succeed in grafting some brains on to the heads of some of the workers such ulcers on the body politic will cease to exist. On page 10 of the Nov. issue 1919 Myron T. Herrick, ex-governor of Ohio gives out what he calls the New American commandment. He is blissfully ignorant of the fact that this is the very commandment that will be put into action by the people he is opposing.

"No one class shall selfishly rule" who denies the workers, who produce all wealth, the right to live? What class is committing the atrocities against the workers? Who oppresses the oppressed? What class is making it illegal to strike?

Abraham Lincoln said: "This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they grow weary of their government they can exercize heir constitutional right of ammending it or their revolutionary right to overthrow it". Was not this revolutionary right exercised in the Dred Scott Case? The court that decided the Dred Scott case, by no means had a corner on the didos that add to the gayety of Nations and make the angels weep. Witness the espionage act, criminal syndicalism law, laws making it illegal to strike etc. etc. all of which will speedly clarify the thoughts of the workers as to which class is ruling and how, will do more to speed up the revolution than all he Bolsheviki propaganda could ever do. Their actions simply verify this propaganda. Just as the removal of the street cars of Toledo proves that if the public does not want to be left at the mercy of greedy corporations it must own its own public utilities. The ruling class of America may call the Bolsheviki all kinds of names, its easy to call a man a fool, but it rests with the man to verify his statement or by his actions prove you a liar. All the laws and all the lies the present ruling class can pass and tell will get them about as for in preventing the on coming revolution (or day of reckoning), as a celluloid dog chasing an asbestos cat through —ell. Its too late, the machine is displacing enough hand workers to insure us on ever increasing army of the unemployed. No work, no pay, no pay, no eat, no eat—reconstruction for the whole of society—in which no one class shall elfishly rule but all those who justify existance by some honest effort.

This same magazine contains on age 12 The Truth about Russia, by awrence Poushine, evidently one of the Russian oppressors, who would

FLINGS AND STINGS BY SKYGAC

rather beg in America than spend a few hours a day in Russia earning his own bread. He whines because

The world do move. Here the coal miners went on strike in the winter time, when the people needed coal instead of waiting as usual until the springtime and people can get along without coal. Another result of bolsheviki influence or I. W. W.ism!

* * *

One motion made and carried in a a union hall backed by the necessary power to make it stick beats a day's debate in Congress any old time.

* * *

The bourgeoisie tell us that the proletariat has more brawn than brains, but in a struggle where might makes right, that may not be a handicap.

* * *

When society gets sick revolutions crop out just as boils and pimples show up in a person with bad blood. So why blame the agitator?

* * *

We used to hear a lot about the professional strike-breaker, but so great is the industrial unrest today that the strike breaker is lost in the shuffle.

* * *

Besides they're using the army for that now. The army's most popular song nowadays is, "Larry's on the coal pile now."

* * *

Next time you hear one of those idealistic wheezees emanating from the vicinity of Washington just remember that all the Russian prisoners in Germany that would go to the counter-revolutionary army in Russia were sent there but all who came from Soviet Russia were kept in Germany AND ARE THERE YET, clad in rags and half starved, KEPT THERE BY ORDER OF THE ALLIES of which Uncle Sammy is one.

* * *

Government by injunction worked very well as long as it was an employer getting the injunction, but when for the first time in our history the government itself got an injunction, somehow or other the injunction failed to injunct!

* * *

The coal miners seem to have what might be termed individual solidarity If they would only stick together and bunch up, one machine gun regiment could intimidate the bunch, but when they have five hundred thousand seperate and individual strikers each carrying on his own individual strike —gee its some job to round 'em all up—besides where would they put them if they could find them? The executive committee for the dominant class is up against a condition and not a theory.

* * *

Now that the puky press all over the country has had a chance to spew

---

Bolshevism in Russia is the revenge of the oppressed classes for CENTRIES OF PERSECUTION". Threatens to make it a sorry day for the Bolsheviki when the real Russians (the opressors) by the aid of the American Working man, get in control again. Of course the Bolsheviki have classified such "real Russians" as he is, with the bed bugs, sheep ticks lice and other parasites who get their living by virtue of their position on your back. Imagine criminals dressed up in clean linen, with Morris chair proctivities asked to earn their own bread!

Terrible is the sight of ignorance in action, says the poet Goethe, and according to Lincoln Colcord, that is the story of present civilization, of autocratic industry, plutocratic government, business for the sake of rofit and authority for the sake of power.

An American farmer.

its venom about the I. W. W. firing on the armistice day parade in a western city we do not expect them to have the decency to print the TRUTH about the matter, to-wit;—that the paraders went out of their way and ATTACKED the hall, even breaking the door, and the shots were fired in defense of property, and that the coroners jury knowing this truth failed to name the guilty parties. We do not expect the capitalist press to have the decency to tell the truth about this matter—becase all who know the plute press, do not expect it to ever show any signs of decency. Let it be known for what it is—the lickspittle prostitute of the dominant class.

* * *

The dominant class thinks they can use the American Legion for a catspaw but it had better look out for a wallop from that same paw once the A. L. gets hip.

Unless the persons responsible for law enforcement make the various criminal sindicalist laws retro-active and chase down the law violator who in the name of 100% Americanism and patriotism does violence and commits murder the reds will be justified in looking upon those laws as so many bulwarks of the dominant class. It is not the red that is teaching a disrespect for law—it is the courts and those responsible for law enforcement, winking at acts of violence perpetuated against the reds.

* * *

Up in the state of Michigan a millionaire by the name of Newberry made a senatorial campaign on 100 per cent. Americanism vs Pacifism. The grand jury (federal) just brought in an indictment for him and 132 others charging them with fradulent use of money in the campaign. Thus gradually we get to learn what they mean by 100 per cent. Americanism!

FOREIGN NEWS.

NEW YORK.—A curious side-light is thrown upon the great printers' strike in Paris last month by French newspapers arriving in this country. Instead of dozens of journals of the most diverse kind, usually received as exchanges by American papers, only two sheets are reaching this city for each day of the strike.

The first of these is called "La Feuille Commune." It is "published with the authorization of the strike committee," and is jointly edited by the staffs of the following papers, most of them working class organs: La Bataille, Bonsoir, La France Libre, Le Journal du Peuple, L'Heure, L'Humanite, L'Oeuvre, Le Pays, and Le Populaire. This paper consists of but one sheet, the first page of which is taken up with general news and with a daily bulletin from the strike committee. On the second page the editors of the various publications joining in the enterprise are allotted a certain amount of space (usually one column) for editorial utterances.

Running in competition with this sheet is a "scab" paper, bearing the title "La Presse de Paris." It is the joint undertaking of fifty-seven papers opposed to the demands of the workers. Among them one finds the names of the New York "Herald" (Paris edition) and of the London "Daily Mail."

Four pages of reading matter are furnished daily. Pages one and four are taken up with news and stock reports, while pages two and three are entitled, "Tribune libre" ("Open forum"), and carry editorials by the various papers supporting the enterprise. The editors assert that they might have published each their own paper despite the strike, but that they took this means of "showing their complete solidarity."

BAKER DEFENSE MEETING

Speaker CHAS. BAKER

National Organizer Communist Labor Party

Sunday Jan. 11th 2:30 P.M

50 So. Howard St. Akron O.

Admission Free

SAVAGERY OF PRISON OFFICIALS REBUKED AT HANGING

Supposing you witnessed a hanging, what would you think then and afterward? Doubtless your thots would be grewsome enough. But soppose you were a life prisoner and a hanging was staged for your special benefit—"to teach you a lesson". We wonder if under those conditions, feeling yourself a helpless victim of those in authority, your thots would not bound past the grewsomeness of the scaffold and the blackcap and by the force of reaction develop an inclination toward the comic. This seems to have been the course pursued in the minds of 200 long-time prisoners at Chicago recently. The barbarity practiced upon these prisoners by compelling them to become unwilling spectators to a hanging was justly rebuked and the theories of the officials of the moral effect of the scene upon the prisoners were derided in a sufficint if surprising mannr.

Oppose Execution Before Prisoners.

CHICAGO, Jan. 1.—Announcement by jail officials that 200 prisoners would witness the hanging tomorrow morning of Raffalo Durrage, double murderer, as on object lesson, has brought forth many protests.

Mis Jane Addams of Hull House says:

"The notion that such an exhibition will afford a deterrent to crime is an old and savage punishment and is a survival of the times when the heads of crimials were exhibited on London bridge. It is taking a step backward to the dark times when it was difficult to distinguish punishment itself from tribal vengeance."

Mis Mary McDowell of the University of Chicago settlements says:

"It would have a very immoral effect on any criminal's mind and is wholly unnecessary. I wish to voice a strenuous objection, and Mrs. Gertrude Howe Britton of Hull House feels the same way about it as I do."

Harry C. Laubenheimer, first deputy sheriff, thinks differently. His opinion is:

"I know from experience that anyone who has witnessed a hanging will never kill deliberately.

"It is the greatest lesson that can be given a criminal/ The prisoners will be kept in cells, but will be placed so they can witness the execution. I'll guarantee every one of them will be sick of crime after they see Durrage hang."

Dr. J. A. Todd, professor and head of the University of Minnesota, was very outspoken in denouncinf the pian. Frank Wilson Blackmar, member of numerous prison assotions, also proted.

Sheriff Defends 'Lesson' Hanging

CHICAGO, Jan. 3.—An experiment in psychology was tried out this morning at the county jail, in the grizzly dim hour of dawn, when 200 prisoners were forced to witness the hanging of Raffalo Durrage, convicted murderer.

Hardened criminals—selected from among other murderers and felons whose expiation is not yet the gallows—were placed in cells, tier on tier of which surrounded the space in which the scaffold had been erected.

Sheriff Charles W. Peters, later issued a statement answering critics who opposed his action. The statement read as follows:

"In my opinion the modern coddling of criminals by well meaning but misguided, symapthetic, theretical reformers and self-constituted organizations, is one of the greatest causes of the present crime wave in this city. Their interferrence with the vigorous enforcement of the law has destroyed the fear of punishment by criminals to the extent that it is no longer a detriment to the further commission of crime to be incarcerated in our penal institutions. A large number or prisoners openly acknowleige that they would prefer to be incarcerated in the county jail, where they are better fed and where sanitary conditions are far better than in their ordinary environments.

"The reformers are constantly advocating the adoption and enactment of laws which are for the purpose of alleviating the punishment of the criminal, forgetting and losing entire sight of the protection that the law abiding and peaceable citizen is entitled to as against these human parasites.

"If one-half the energy now spent in sympathy on murdered and criminals would be devoted to the families of the victims and the other half to bringing to justice the brutes who have blotted out the lives of law abiding and peaceful citizens and darkened forever the lives of others, this would be a happier and safer world to live in."

When the noose was slipped over he murderer's head, from one of the higher tiers came a strident shout:

"When do we eat?"

Tier by tier, cell by cell the cry was taken up. It became a roar above which the warden's voice could not be heard.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

guts. For salaries mean bread and bread is the staff of life."

The judge turned uneasy in his chair, the lawyer grinned, one or two of the officers laughed. It was a well known fact that the blind pig was located in the office of 'hizzoner's' livevry stable.

Jack went on, "You do not hate us; your relation to us is like that of the wolf to the sheep; it is not an attitude of malice but of relish. You arrest us, not as erring souls who need correction, but, rather as well feathered ducks that need plucking. It would be a dissapointment to you if we were broke and now in conclusion let me say, that I for one do not know my fellow prisoners . I had nothing to do with the drinking and was forced into the fight. I do not say this in an endeavor to modify the sentence of this court; you do not serve the cause of justice, but the financial interests of your constituancy. Your constituancy is shocked at your methods. It wounds their sence of morality but they will not put you out of office tho you rob us of our last cent and turn us out to freeze to death along the railroad track, as long as you succeed in keeping down the budget. Our plight touches their pity; the taxes their pocketbook and they will react to the most sensitive spot. You are up against it judge, I pity you some but of course I pity my pocketbook more."

At this all, including the prisoners, laughed.

"What shall we do with him?" asked the judge.

"The prosecution has no recommendations."

"Well," said the judge, "we'll just fine you fifteen for disorderly conduct and ten dollars for contempt of court, and give you thirty days to think it over—officer remove the prisoner."

(Continued next week)

COSSAK RULE IN STEEL CENTERS

(Continued from page 1)

ness, who declared that at a meeting addressed by Hodge he had urged the men to use their heads. Hodge has been threatened before by the troopers and ordered to leave town. The American Legion in a resolution denounces Hodge as an undesirable citizen and recommends that he be turned out of twon. They point to his record as a conscious objector in the war.

In Braddock, the location of the Edgar Thompson Works of the U. S. Steel Corporation, state troopers charged the funeral of a dead striker and dispersed about 400 men who had formed into a procession. The funeral cortege was leaving the S. S. Peter and Paul Greek Catholic Church when the troopers charged down Braddock Ave., swept their horses into the crowd, hurling the men right and left and causing them to flee for their lives. Since the first attempt was made, scarcely a year ago, to organize the steel workers, no meeting or demonstration of any kind has ever been permitted in Braddock or in any of the surrounding towns. The same obtains in Duquesne where, James S. Crawford is burgess, Chief police magistrate, a director of the Carnegie Steel Works and president of the local bank. Crawford is dubbed the "Duke of Duquesne" by the strikers.

With the exception of the two cities, Pittsburgh and Homestead, no meetings are being allowed in Allegheny County. In Homestead occasional meetings are being held and only where a triple permit is first obtained from the local authorities, the sheriff of Allegheny County and the officer in charge of the state troopers. In the city of Pittsburg all meetings have been stopped except those at the Labor Temple, which is owned by the local trade unions and so far has been exempt.

"May the New Year see all the political prisoners free and the Party split welded with true bands of Communism which cannot be severed", writes Fred White of Martins Ferry. He sends two subs too.

A Year of Revolution.

"With Germany crushed and autocracy dethroned, with the strong hand of power at the throat of liberty, the battle opens which is to make men free." In these words The Nation, on May 17 last, greeted the Treaty of Versailles, whose promulgation marked the culminating effort of the financial and political imperialism that has ruled the world for half a century. Today, far earlier than we had anticipated, the Treaty of Versailles is all but repudiated and the peoples of the world are taking uncertain steps toward freedom. There is no need to rehearse the events of the past twelve months. We have known the failure of the attempt made at Paris to prop the old order; the breakdown of the old economic and financial organization; the progressive collapse of political authority; the astonishing spread among all class of ideas only yesterday deemed utterly subversive; the many unprecedented outbreaks of economic and social unrest that have shaken every country in the world, from the United States and Great Britain to far-away China, India, and Australia; and, perhaps most striking of all, a steady progress of the armies of Soviet Russia and the strengthening and solidification of the communist organization of that country. Men cry Lo, here! and Lo, there! but the discerning perceive the truth; we live today in the midst of a revolution—a revolution of ideas and institutions and modes of life. Violence and bloodshed attend it from time to time as they have attended most of the revolutions of the past, but they are not of its essence nor of its making. If they come they may rather be the creation, as indeed we have already seen, of those who resist the revolution than of those who urge it on. God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

A year ago, Italian peasants were burning candles before the picture of President Wilson; today, some millions of men and women the world over, starving, freezing, dying, are grimly denouncing the statesmen who sacrificed honesty and kindness and simple humanity on the altar of outworn political ideas. A year ago, all save a smal fraction of the people, in this country at least, appeared to believe that the shattered economic structure was capable of repair without anothr building; today, large numbers of the working classes, whether they work principally with the head or mainly with the hands, are questioning the whole foundation even though they topple down the entire structure in the process. A year ago, lulled by the honeyed promises of the war period, most men still believed that the new order might be builded in peace; today, disappointed by twelve months' experience of government promises unfulfilled, many of the same men declare, mistakenly we hope, that this revolution, like its predeseasors, cannot escape the baptism of blood. On the one side the past year has brought hunger and misery and violent repression of all complaint; on the other, a mad profitering, ostentatious luxury, and riotous excess of power. That in such soil revolutions grow, history shows.

The revolution which we are witnessing is not merely negative and destructive, however. Certain positive concepts and modes of action begin to occur with amazing frequency. Losing faith in leaders, men gain faith in themselves; and we witness, the world over, spontaneous mass action creating its own leaders. Losing faith in the political side of government, men recognize their own power as parts of an economic government; by direct action through their trade unions and other voluntary organizations they are here and there taking over the power which the nerveless hands of politicians have dropped. Losing faith in the essential justice and honesty of the present economic system as they see that system applied, they are already in process of creating a new one. Witness the growth of co-operation, with all its revolutionary implications; the relentless pressure of labor for actual, not nominal, control of natural resources and the tools of production; and the growing demand for the nationalization of fundamental resources and the democratization of basic industries. All of these are phenomena never before so marked as in the year just closing. It is needless to do more than recall the land legislation of a half dozen European countries, the coal, railway, and general industrial situation in Great Britain, or the plans and programs of the Plumb Plan League, the Nonpartisan League, the Labor party, and the Committee of Forty-Eight in the United States. Such is the structure which the revolution is already building. The aim is service rather than profits; production rather than exploitation; administration rather than dominion; liberty rather than mastership. With an assurance of power at once alarming and inspiring the hosts are beginning to march forward meeting missrepresentation, persecution, and violence with unwonted quiet and patience and with a significant absence of bluster, yet with a profound seriousness and determination that bode ill for those who do not try to understand what all this movement means.

It would be idle to deny that the greatest of all incentives to this revolutionary movement has been the example of Russia.For new revolutionary movemnt has been the example of Russia. For good or for ill there have appeared in Russia the outlines of a huge social experiment whose shadows stretch in long uncertain lines over the whole of Europe and across the Atlantic to the American continent. The fact that government is breaking down everywhere, that the Allies and Americans in Paris have been unable to control the destinies of the world or settle such comparatively minor problems as Fiume and the future of Hungary, that in nearly every country there is unrest and unhappiness, has impelled men to look to Moscow to see whether there is anything in the strange new devices of government put into effect by the Communists which may with advantage be adopted elsewhere. It is anathema even to suggest this in America today, for the mists of falsehod that have surrounded the Russian situation are only gradually beginning to disappear. Yet the fact remains. The Russian experiment is still frankly an experiment. Its crudities and excesses and the violences which have accompanied it stil bulk most largely in the prints. It is not yet clear what will be the residuum of good. But if out of it there comes something that is worth while in the way of new ideas in selfgovernment and self-determination, the whole world will profit. So deep is the world's distress that men turn eagerly in any direction in which there seems to lie hope, and they will continue to do so in the coming year as eagerly as they have done in the year of world-wide revolution which is just ending.

—The Nation.

OVIETS SWEEP ON TO VICTORY

(Continued from 1st page.)

all time all the sovereign rights which belonged to Russia with respect to Esthonia's land and people in accordance with former state orders, as well as those rights given under international treaties.

"Esthonian land and people shall have no obligations whatever with respect to Russia because of the former connections of Esthonia with Russia."

ing the cessation of hostilities the

The agreement stipulates that durrespective armies shall remain on the territory held by each and that the land between them shall be considered a neutral zone.

The frontier is fixed at ten kilometers eastward of Lake Peipus, crossing Lake Peipus and Lake Pskov, and running thence southward to the east of Usborsk. The present Esthonian military line is left approximately intact. The frontier settlement is regarded as an important Esthonian victory.

IRKUTSK, Jan. 1.— Irkutsk is in a tate of siege.

Martial law was declared following the usurping of Social Revolutionary troops Dec. 24, during which they captured the railway station but were unable to take the city from the Kolchak forces. Order is being preserved by the Cecho-Slovak troops.

Several of the cabinet ministers have been arrested. The revolutionary forces are in virtual control of the railroad from Irkutsk westward to Krasnoyarsk, but no serious outbreaks have been reported.

Admiral Kolchak is said to be at Achinsk, 220 miles east of Tomsk.

LONDON, Jan. 1.—The capture of Yekaterinoslav on the southern Russian front and Novomoskovsk, fifteen miles northeast of Yekaternoslav, is announced in a Bolshevik offical statement issued today.

The reds also are fighting fiercely for possession of Tcherwassy, on the Dnieper, ninety-five miles southeast of Kiev. They have occupied Mariinsk, east of Tomsk, on the Siberian front, the statement adds.

Bolsheviki Seek Pact With Italy.

LONDON, Jan. 2.—M. Tchitcherin, posed to Italy a resumption or relations between that country and Soviet Bolshevik foreign minister, has pro-

Russia, pointing out that the "imminent capture of the Black sea coast by the soviets will open the Black sea rout to Italy," says a Moscow wireless message received here.

The advance of the Bolshevik forces in the Donetz coal basin developing rapidly, according to a Sovist wireless dispatch, received here today from Moscow.

It is claimed that all the railway junctions between Bawhmut and Lugansk have been occupied and that the red lines are less than sixty-five miles east of Yugansk.

With the capture of Novocherkaesky thousands of prisoners were taken, according to the Soviet report, which declares the occupation of Ilovayeskoye deprives the enemy of the only railway leading up to the front.

The Donetz coal basin is located in the province of the Don Cossacks along the Don river in southern Russia.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2.—The state department was advised today of the armistice arranged between the Esthonian and Bolshevik forces, effective at 10:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Red Sweep On In Donetz Coal Zone.

LONDON, Jan. 3.—The advance of the Bolshevik forces in the Donetz coal basin is developing rapidly, according to a soviet wireless dispatch received here from Moscow. All the railway junctions between Bakhmut and Lugansk have been occupied and the red lines are less than 65 miles east of Lugansk, it is claimed.

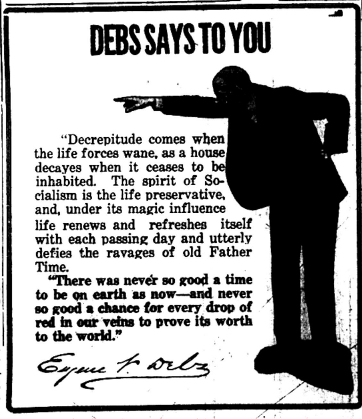
With the capture of Novocherkasky thousands of prisoners were taken, according to the soviet report, which declares the occupation of Ilovayskye deprives the enemy of the only railway leading to the front.

Allies Will Probe Conditions n Russia.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3.—An allied mission will make an investigation of conditions in Russia.

This fact was disclosed by the daily naval orders when Rear Admiral Newton A. McCully, who has been with the allied naval armistice commission, was gazetted as assigned to 'duty mission to Russia."

Officials of the bureau of navigation declared the mission was confidential. Other officials said the orders should not have been made public and refused to comment, although one official said he believed the duty was in connection with an allied mission to investigate conditions.



DEBS SAYS TO YOU

"Decrepitude comes when the life forces wane, as a house decayes when it ceases to be inhabited. The spirit of Socialism is the life preservative, and, under its magic influence life renews and refreshes itself with each passing day and utterly defies the ravages of old Father Time.

"There was never so good a time to be on earth as now—and never so good a chance for every drop of red in our veins to prove its worth to the world."

Eugene V. Debs

Soviet Envoy on Imperialism.

Litvinoff Explains Russian Policy on Peace, Land and Labor.

By H. W. Nevinson.

COPENHAGEN.—"The Russian Government has absolutely no imperialist design," said M. Litvinoff. 'It aims neither at Constantinople nor any other extension of frontier. Peoples," he continued, "should make their own boundaries," (apparently by the decision of the majorities.) "The Soviet ideal is a federation of peoples attached to Russia by posiion and economic relations.

"No military pressure should be brought, for instance, against Georgions or Lets or Ukranians if they chose to stand aside (he admitted the special difficulty of the Ukraine owng to its rapid changes of social order and government.) Secession would be allowed to all, in the hope that a natural economic alliance would bring all together in time.

"Russia has no concern with Constantinople, and hopes the Turks will be left free within their own boundaries. Even Siberia can separate, if it chooses the national or burgeois condition rather than the Soviet, as Poland at present does. When the Letts reconquered the Baltic provinces from the Germans, Moscow t once acknowledged their independence and so it has done throughout...

"As you know all work is nationalized so far as at present possible, and wages are fixed by scale according to occupation. 'Intellectuals' who have not run away are working at their special profession under the State. But I think, lawyers at least must have a poor time, for the old law has lapsed, and there cannot be many legal disputes about property where nearly all property is nationalized. In criminal cases the State provides a counsel for defence.

"Land is allowed to those who wo it, but the produce remains priva property, though it must be sold the State. Under this head the seems to be a good deal of illegal pro fiteering. And, indeed, the lust o thrift among all peasants in every country is one of the main difficulties in every social reform. The Govrnment is working Communal estates as an example to the peasants of how things might be done and gradually, I hink, the peasants are coming round.

"Stand guard over your press as you would over your own lives! If you allow that to be destroyed your hope is gone. Give the Socialist press your support as never before, and do all in your power to build up and preserve that great moral power for the education and emancipation of the people."—Debs.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

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Government Spies Wrote Planks in Communist Party Platform, also Laid Bombs, is Charge

Washington Stirred to Depths by Sensational Accusations Against Government Spies—Russian Republic Representative Demands Full Hearing Before Senate.

WASHINGTON.—Did the Department of Justice organize the Communist party of America and write into its platform the very planks upon which it now bases its prosecutions and deportation proceedings?

Charges that the Department of Justice did these things are contained in a statement given to all the press associations Jan. 6, by Santeri Nuorteva, secretary of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau.

Members of the United States Senate, who had received earlier information respecting the alleged "agent provocateur" activities of the Department of Justice, were excited and furious to hear that the mast degrading practices of the old Russian Czars had been copied by an executive branch of the United States government.

"Conspiracy to Suppress Ttruth."

Nuorteva's sensational statement to the press occurs in the course of his comment on the arrest of Gregory Weinstein, of the Soviet Bureau, in New York City.

After stating that the Soviet representatives "welcomed the opportunity given by the proposed hearings before the Senate committee to state the facts and refute the historical lies which are being spread about the Soviet government." Nuorteva charges that the contemplated deportation of himself and Martens is a conspiracy to prevent the Senate and the American people from learning the truth.

His statement then declares:

"We have conclusive evidence that agents of the Department of Justice have actively participated in the organization of the Communist Party or America, and that those very planks in the program of the party which now form the basis of the persecution of thousands of people have been drafted and inserted into that program by such government agents. We can prove that the chief figures in certain celebrated bomb plots were agents of a similar nature."

A member of the President's Cabinet who heard the charges against the Department of Justice exclaimed:

"I have felt for some time that private corporations were employing 'agents provocateur' to discredit labor, but it is almost incredible to learn that a department of the government has descended to that frightful practice."

Wholesale Collusion Charged.

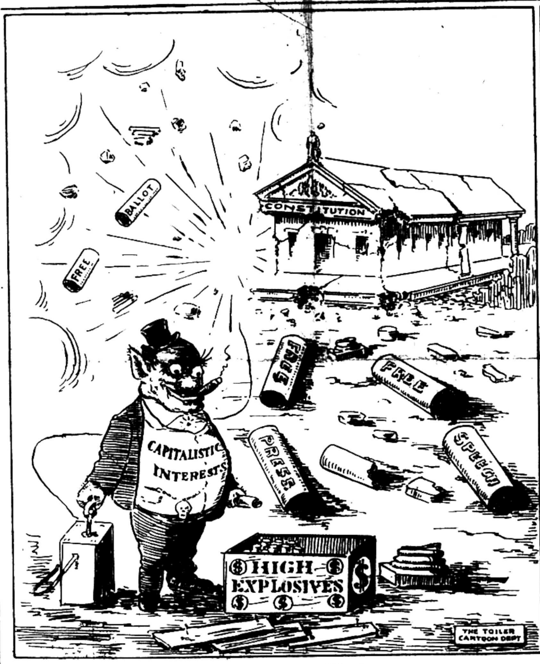
The attention of some senators was drawn today to the fact that a well-known character within the Communist Party ranks, who was most active in its creation and early agitation, is reported to have "slipped through" the Department of Justice net, and they are asking whether he was given official assistance [illegible]escape".

Senators learned that the Soviet representatives are prepared to offer evidence of the most explicit sort showing that the Department of Justice was paying money to and receiving reports from the man who dictated the most radical planks of the Communist Party, in the weeks before, during and after the organization of that party.

On every side the opinion is expressed that the Senate will certainly demand the right to question the Soviet representatives and make them prove or confess the falsity of their astounding accusation. As one member of Congress declared tonight:

"If America has emerged from the world war a nest of spies and official plotters against exploited classes at

Continued on page 4.)



The Wrecker at Work.

I. W. W. DEMANDS SEARCHING INQUIRY INTO CENTRALIA HORROR.

CHICAGO. — Searching investigation into the facts behind the Centralia tragedy is demanded by the Industrial Workers of the World in an open letter which has been sent to the members of both houses of Congress. The letter bears the signature of Wm. D. Haywood, as secretary of the I. W. W. general defense committee.

"We want, and you want, the truth," the letter declares. "In this Centralia horror we haven't had the truth. Somebody has stopped it. There is something that somebody is hushing up. There are burning facts which guilty men are trying to conceal. Will you help us to uncover them?

"Out in the Northwest there has been a tragedy which has shaken the nation. At Centralia, Wash., a saturnalia of horrer has been loosed which is beyond description. Throughout the state of Washington it has been a signal for mob ferocity and lawlessness which has made life a teror for thousands of victims.

alls Packed With Innocents.

"It has packed jails with innocent men. It has enabled a gang of uniformed hoodlums to usurp every power of state. They have destroyed roperty, ravished civil rights, abolished every constitutional safeguard of citizenship.

"Under a cloak of patriotism they have attempted to exterminate a whole labor organization. They have shut the mouths of every man who has attempted to protest. They have become judge and jury and executioner, and in their hands all Washington today is like a black pogrom.

"How much do you know of all this?

Newspapers Glorify Thugs."

"For the newspapers (except for the tiniest minority) tell us nothing—and they tell you nothing! From the first shooting in Centralia on Armistice Day, the [illegible]s of the country has willfully dis[illegible] the whole situation. In a struggle where there were plainly two sides they have printed one side and maligned the other..

"They have glorified the thugs and stigmatized the victims. They have used every twisted incident as propaganda to exhort their readers to go and do likewise. And in Centralia itself a mob of men was thrown around the town to prevent a word from trickling out.

One Paper Tried to Tell Ttruth.

"One newspaper tried to print the truth. It was not an I. W. W. paper, it was the Seattle Union Record, owned by the American Federation of Labor. It announced that it had investigated the Centralia outrage, and that in its next issue it would print the suppressed truth. But before this next issue could appear the paper was stopped and its editors thrown into jail.

"There are a few facts, however, which have escaped the censorship. They are cloquent of the true situation:

"First—The four men who were shot at Centralia were shot while breaking the law. At the coroner's inquest it was plainly brought out that they halted the parade in front of the I. W. W. headquarters and charged the door, thus bringing upon themselves the penalty which they suffered.

Self-Defense Is Lawful Right.

"Second—This would mean that the men who fired the shots were unmistakably within the law, for even in capitalist courts a man is accorded the right to shoot in self-defense when an intruder breaks into his property.

"Third—But after this, other paraders seized Wesley Everetts, an I. W. W. and an overseas victim, and murdered him by lynching. They desecrated his body, dragged it back to the jail where other I. W. W. were imprisoned, and threw it there. Then they forced their prisoners to dig a grave for Everetts on a vacant lot and bury him.

"Fourth—Every known I. W. W. in Centralia at that time was seized and without due process of law was thrown into jail. And 10 of our mem-

(Continued on page 4)

WHO IS THE DESTROYER OF LIBERTY?

Our cartoonist has depicted the conditions of American political life in a striking and livid manner in this week's Toiler. The drawing tells the story far more completely than words can describe. A few months ago the words "liberty and freedom" were moving words. To-day they are dead—except in the minds of the world's oppressed. Then, the world was passing thru a saturnalia of blood. A rallying cry was necessary to lead on the peoples to more sacrifice and slaughter. An idealogical aspect must be put upon the face of the struggle . What better catch-phrase than "liberty" could be sounded in the ears of the victims of capitalistic world imperialism?

But hypnotized labor to expect the practical application of the precepts of liberty to their every day lives and to industrial conditions. They accepted without question the promises of their leaders. They bled and sacrificed without end that the ideals which were held aloft by the sponsors of war might live afterward. How bitter is the dissapointment! To-day, the workers of the world, with the exception of Russia, are ground to bits beneath the iron heel of despotism. Of all nations, the workers of the United States are ground down more pittilessly than any. Every single Constitutional liberty has been and is now being denied them. That "bulwark of our liberties", the Constitution, has been shattered to bits by the hand of capitalistic interests. Free speech, free assembly are dead. The workers are disfranchaised.Berger has been denied the seat to which he was elected by a clear majority of 5,000 votes. Every citizen who voted for Berger was disfranchised by the acts of the representatives of capitalistic interests in congress. In New York, five socialists have been denied their seats in the state assembly. The constitutional right of the citizens to elect representatives of their choice have been violated by capitalistic interests. The destructionist is at work in every field and always it is the same influence that stands in the bagkcround.

Because of the work of this arch—enemy of liberty, nearly half a million steel workers have been forced back to their toil, underpaid, overworked, and denied even the right to form organizations for forcing concessions from their organized employers. The steel strike in an eloquent page in the history of the rise of American capitalist influence over the historic "rights" of American workers and citizens. In every steel center, the heavy hand of oppression came down upon the workers with violence. Every vestige of personal and constitutional liberty was ruthlessely stamped into the mire. Meetings of the steel workers were broken up by armed violence of uniformed thugs. Men and women were murdered outright and no bones made of it. The steel strike was lost because slavery was imposed upon the strikers by the armed power of the state at the behest of Gary and his associates in plunder.

The Constitution was an obstruction in the path of capitalistic imperialism, and because it was so, it has been wrecked to bits. It has been cast upon the scrap heap of history and now marks a milestone along the path which capitalism has passed. It can never be rebuilt. It will never again serve as a refuge of the working—class of America. It cannot be used as a weapon for their defense against the employing class. In the struggle of Labor for mastery of the world, it cannot be revived as an implement to further its rise to power. The Constitution is dead—it can no longer be said to exist.

Capitalism knows no law but the law of its own will. It will without a quiver wreck its own laws when they stand in its way. It acknowledges but one law—the law of force. The workers must forge new weapons if they would win against entrenched and powerful capital. We know now, that we can never win by merely "gaining 51 percent of the ballots". We know that capitalism has no more respect for majorities than it has for minorities. Labor must give all its activities for shorter hours and higher wages a revolutionary meaning. It must quit quibbling over these things merely as such. Labor must recognize that in order to live humanely, it must control the means by which it lives. It must take out of the hands of capital the power to control production. It must take out of the hands of capital its unearned possession of the machinery of production. To live, Labor must rule. And to rule, it must cease depending upon the "rights" given by dead constitutions. It must by force of its invincible numbers, write a Constitution in which only they, who labor shall share.

NEWS NOTES OF LABOR STRUGGLE FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

(Federated Press News Service.)

Living costs still soar.

WASHINGTON.—Efforts of the government to lower the cost of living have been unsuccessful, it is shown by figures gathered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics from 50 principle cities.

It costs Mr. Householder more money today to feed, shelter and clothe his family than it did in midsummer, when President Wilson asked railroad shopmen to defer a threatened strike until the government had an opportunity to bring down prices, figures show.

Up to November 15, which is the latest date for which exact figures are available, retail prices of 22 staple commodities had risen approximately 2 per cent since the president issued his letter to the railroad men. The index number stood at 192 for November, compared with 18 for October—prices in 1913 being figured at 100. Since November, unofficial data shows the rise has been continued.

British Suppression in Ireland

DUBLIN.—An indication of the extent to which England is tightening her hold on Irish affairs may be gathered from a comparison of raids and other activities by the military and the police under orders of Dublin castle, during the last three years.

In 1917 and 1918 there was a total of 271 raids by the military and police on private houses; in the first nine months of 1919 the number was 5,588.

In 1917 and 1918 there was a total of 99 armed assaults on unarmed civilians; nine months of the present year showed a total of 333.

In 1917 and 1918 proclamations and suppressions amounted to 35; in the period January to September, 1919, the figure was 258.

In 1917 and 1918 15 newspapers were suppressed; in the first nine months of 1919 23 suffered this fate.

In 1917 and 1918 there were 98 courts-martial; in nine months of the current year there were 227.

Lenin warns of Premature Revolt.

MILAN.—A warning against a premature insurrection provoked by the capitalists has been sent by Nicolai Lenine to Serrati, editor of Avanti and leader of the Italian Communists.

Commending the Communist stand by the Italian Socialists in the congress of Bologna, Lenine declares that they are right in using political means to gain their platform, especially since the reaction in western Europe is only too anxious to stir up an insurrection, which would burn out the whole movement.

"Choose the moment for your action that is favorable from the international point of view," he said. "Then it will be permanent. The progress of Communism all over the world is surety for your victory."

Feb. 20, date for decision of new tactics to force nationalization

LONDON.—A big step toward the nationalization of the mines of Great Britain was made at the special trades union congress held here Dec. 11 and 12, attended by representatives of more than 5,000,000 union members. It was agreed to defer until the next meeting, Feb. 20, the decision as to what action should be taken to force the government to adopt the majority report of the coal commission, and meantime to continue the campaign for nationalization with joint control by the state and the miners.

A comprehensive food policy was adopted, of which a large measure of control by the state and by municipalities was a feature. . . . .

In a session animated by the warmest feeling, a resolution demanding the end of the blockade and the war on Russia was adopted unanimously. The resolution included the demand that passports be granted to a trade union committee of inquiry to Russia.

A labor general staff was established for the purpose of co-ordinating the movement.

A Bankrupt World

WASHINGTON.—That the world is practically bankrupt is the interpretation put by economists upon the move of Secretary of the Treasury Carter H. Glass in urging that the short-time credits be extended to the allied countries to long-term notes.

Some $475,000,000 are due annually to the United States government by allied countries on loans extended to them to finance themselves through the great war. "The collection in dollars of this interest," says Secretary Glass, "under present circumstances, would be no less diastrous do American interests than to the interests of our debtors."

He therefore proposes loading this debt upon future generations: "Pensions should be made by deferring and spreading over a later period the payment of interest which would accrue, during the next two or three years."

Perhaps the most demaging indictment of capitalist financiering is contained in the closing paragraph of Glass' letter to Representative Fordney, chairman of the house committee on ways and means:

"While I fully realize the desirability of collecting this interest and decreasing at once by a corresponding amount the taxes which we must collect, I should be most reluctant without specific instructions from congress to the contrary to demand the immediate payment of interest which would not only seriously retard the economic restoration of those countries without which they will be unable to pay the interest and principal of their debt to us, but which also would destroy their power to make needed purchases in our markets."

pain Unfriendly to Soviets

MADRID.—Forced by the Socialist deputy Saborit to make a definite statement as to Spain's attitude toward soviet Russia, the minister of foreign affairs stated that Spain had not been asked to join the allied blockade against Russia, but that the government refused to take a friendly attitude toward that country.

Would Sabotage Parliament

LONDON.—Representatives of 300,000 union men have called upon the Parliamentary Labor party to block all business in the house of commons until the government has restored the unemployment dole. If the government fails to comply, direct action to enforce the demand is threatened. It is declared that a relentless fight will be carried on against the measure to abolish the dole, which leaves utterly without resources many thousands of unemployed workers.

These recommendations were included in resolutions adopted at a conference of the South Staffs and Worhestershire federation of trades councils, which demanded that the government make some provision for its masses of unemployed until it has solved the problem of unemployment itself.

gypt demands Self-determination

PARIS.—"How can you vituperate Germany for having taken away Alace and Lorraine without the consent of its people, when you are guilty of disp osing of Egypt without a word to er?" was the question asked Clemeneau by the Egyptian delegation when elegates of the "lost provinces" reurned to the French chamber.

"The Egyptian people cannot accept the clanse in the treaty of Versailles which refers to them," continues the statement, which is signed by Saad Zagloul, head of the delegation. "As the people of Alsace-Lorraine protested against the treaty of Frankfort in 1871, we will continue to demand that the right of self-determination be granted us."

eputies Shy at Worker's Declaration

PARIS.—The chamber of deputies refused to listen to a declaration of loyalty to France by the working people of Alsace-Lorraine because the word "Socialist" was connected with it. During the welcoming back to the cahmber of the deputies ofter almost 50 years of separation, Albert Thomas, Right Socialist, attempted to read the declaration from 112,000 electors in the provinces. Immediately there was an uproar. Marshal Foch and Generals Pau and Magin left the room, and only with the greatest difficulty was order restored.

American Legion Sponsors onstabulary

CHICAGO.—Despite the fact that the third Illinois legislature defeated the state constabulary bill last May, the department continues to function. t functions as the police force of the state society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. It operates under the old horse-thief act. Mayor Thompson is said to be an honorary officer, and the American legion is its guiding star.

All these facts were admitted reuctantly by Walter P. Stuart, whose office is listed in the telephone directory as one of the state departments, [illegible] correspondent of The New Majority. [illegible] department of constabulary [illegible] by Stuart [illegible]

Socialization Law is Compromise

BERLIN, Germany.—After much quibbling and more compromise, a general socialization law, which is to serve as the basis for all subsequent socialization measures, has been passed by the German national assembly.

The act provides that every German shall be guaranteed the right to earn his living by his own efforts. It pledges the government to afford him this right in case it is denied him by private employers. It provides for the transfer to the communty, upon adequate payments to the present owners, of such industries as are adapted" to "management by the ommunity," and stipulates that the ational government may assign the work of socialization to the various tates, communes, or specially created economic bodies.

The act has drawn fire from both capitalists and Socialists, and apperently satisfies nobody. It is assailed by the Socialists as a compromise with the capitalist system, and by the capitalists as too revolutionary.

British Despotism in South Africa

KIMBERLY.—South Africa under British Rule is a country where the native must get a pass to live with his wife, another pass to visit his family down the street, and another to work for his tiny wage of a shilling and a half a week. There is a abor party to which no laborer can belong, a Socialist party which is smothered to death, and a church which has had a special law put through the English parliament to keep the natives out.

Natives pay the general tax, and a special tax in addition to punish hem for being natives. With the proceeds of these native taxes the British build schools—for white children only.

The negro in South Africa cannot rise above the serf condition, since he is not allowed to buy land. And he cannot leave a job that pays him L2 a month for one that pays him L3, without the written consent of the irst employer.

oviets Will Continue Peace Offer

COPENHAGEN.—Ten offers of peace have been made to the entente by soviet Russia since Aug. 5, and offers will continue until peace is obtained according to a statement by the congress of soviets recently held in Moscow.

British Labor Unites For Nationalization

LONDON.—How the British working class pulls together as a unit on all important issues was again illustrated in the recent decision of the co-operative movement to aid in the campaign for the nationalization of the coal mining industry.

Some time ago, it was agreed by the Trade Union congress, the Labor party and the Miners' Federation that a nation-wide platform campaign should be undertaken to win the people to a support of the nationalization plan. At the initial meetings, held to agree upon the details of the campaign, only these three bodies were represented. Since Dec. 1, however, the co-operatives have joined the combine, and British Labor is thus making a united drive.

Damage Claims Against Mexico

MEXICO CITY.—In view of the present agitation regarding revolutionary damage claims by foreigners, especially Americans, for losses alleged to have been suffered in Mexico during the past few years, it should be recalled that of the nearly half a billion dollars of such claims presented on a previous occasion (in 1848), less than one per cent were found valid by the international commission to which they were submitted.

Following the ratification of the treaty of Guadeloupe, in 1848, which brought to an end the war between the United States and Mexico, numerous and exorbitant claims arose by the nationals of both countries for alleged injuries to their persons and property. By agreement of the two nations, one representative each of Mexico and the United States was appointed to an arbitration commission, with the understanding that the two appontees would in turn agree upon the third arbitrator. That arbitrator was the British minister at Washington.

Out of 1,017 American claims examined by the commissioners, 831 were rejected, and out of 998 Mexican claimed, 831 were thrown out.

A donation of $2.00 received from comrade F. M. G. for Liberation Fund. Thanks comrade F. M. G.

[illegible] RED ARMY.

ENTIRE SOUTHERN FRONT COLLAPSES BEFORE INVINCIBLE REDS. GREAT STORES OF WAR MATERIALS FALL TO BOLSHEVIKI AS TRIUMPH MARKS ONWARD COURSE.

Late news dispatches from Siberia disclose yet greater successes of the Red Soviet army.

The town of Krasnoyarsk, eastern Siberia, has been captured by the Bolsheviki, according to a Moscow wireless dispatch.

The remnants of the First, Second and Third enemy armies have surrendered, and 60,000 prisoners already have been counted.

Another Moscow dispatch says the booty captured by the reds on the southern front in Russia in the present offensive includes 400 guns, 1,000 machine guns, 11,000 rifles, eighteen armored trains, 200 locomotives, 10,000 wagons and large stores of food and munitions together with 35,000 prisoners.

Krasnoyarsk is situated on the trans-Siberian railway, about 300 miles east of Tomsk. Lying on the plain, and open to the play of the bitter winds, traffic with the town by caravans is almost impossible in the winter. The town is situated on the left bank of the Yenisei river.

WASHINGTON.— A threatening spread of the Bolshevik forces in south Russia and Siberia was reported to the state department today in official advices received from Siberia and European Russia.

These show that the eastward adwance of the Bolshevik forces through Siberia has reached the edge of Irkutsk, on the western shores of Lake Baikel, which the foreign representatives, including the American consul general, Mr. Harris, have now been forced to quit for safety.

Where is Admiral Kolchak?

It had been the hope of the followers of Admiral Kolchak that he would be able to make a stand at Irkutsk, but there is no certainty now that he will be able to save himself, as he has been cut off and it is not even known where he is.

Secretary Lansing has been advised that the Bolsheviki are now practically unopposed at Taiga and that the reds are also advancing in south Russia where the forces of Gen. Denikine are making a further retirement.

"There is no definite news regarding Admiral Kolchak's headquarters," the state department announced. "At this time he has not reached Irkutsk, where the Cech forces have taken the railway station. The station is located across the river from the main portion if the town.

Will Confer With Semenoff.

"The representatives of Japan are going to Chita, where Gen. Semenoff, who succeeded Admiral Kolchak as leader, is located, and from where he is endeavoring to excercise authority over eastern Siberia.

"In the south of Russia, the forces operating under Gen. Denikine, have been cut in two by the Belsheviki thrust which has penetrated to the Sea of Azov. The Bolsheviki forces have captured Berdinansk, Mariapol, Taganrog and Rostov-On-Don on that sea. In the Caspian section, Derbendanpetrovak has been captured as well as Gutieff and Krasnovodsk by the Bolsheviki.

In the nothwest and armistice has been signed between Esthonia and soviet Russia and fighting in that section has ceased.

In the Ukraine the Polish troops have advanced and have taken over teritory abandoned by the Denikine forces.

The aim of the Polish government is reported to be to stabilize the situation in that region in an effort to prevent bolshevism finding a foothold there.

The evacuated regions are reported infested with bands of robbers and plunderers.

ITS ALL IN THE POINT OF VIEW, SAYS SKYGAC

	AS IT SEEMS.	AS IT IS.
Shepherd	One who tenderly cares for sheep.	One who robs the sheep himself to clothe.
Capitalist	One who furnishes employment to wage-slaves.	One who robs the slaves himself to keep.
Judge	A dignified person who dispenses justice.	An servant of the dominant class.
Courts	The dwelling house of justice.	An important asset of capitalism.
Ballot	The weapon of Democracy.	A scrap of paper. (see election).
Election	The casting of ballots by the electorate to determine the will of the majority.	The place where the chicken tells whether it would rather be boiled or fried. See electorate.
Electorate	The citizens of a country who determine their self-government.	People who are born in a country as distinguished from those born in other countries who came to that country from choice.
Congressional district	A political subdivision of the country whose electorate choose a citizen to represent them in Congress.	A political fiction when not under control of the dominant class. Read account of Berger's election from 5th Wisconsin district.

OLD SAWS RESET BY CURRENT PEOPLE.

Reported by SKYGAC.

Peace on earth, Good will towards men. According to the press reports of Atty General Palmer, this in no wise refers to reds radicals, bolshevists, or any persons having an idea of later vintage than the Lutheran Reformation.

"Congress shall pass no law abrindging the freedom of speech press and assemblage". Congress DID pass such a law, and is now busy considering the passage of other laws of like nature.

"Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute" was the cry in 1810. Two hundred millions for charity and a two cent raise in gasoline, in 1920.

America the land of the free and the asylum for the world's religious and politically oppressed. This was in the days of Jeffersonian Democracy. In the days of Wilsonian Demo- portations and jailing of political prisoners, and the persecution of the religious anti—war minority. (Write to your congressman and ask for a report of the treatment of the religious objectors).

"Government of the people and by the people and for the people shall not perish"—A. Lincoln. Sovietism (which is government of the people and by the people and for the peple) shall not be allowed a foothold in America, says the miscalled department of justice.

Produce more and have more. This was the rule in the hand—tool stage of production. Produce more and have less is the rule of modern industry.

"Early to bed and early to rise" said Franklin. More than 100 years later Congress repealed the daylight saving bill.

Five seventy five is contained in a letter from comrade A. B. Asenat, of Charleroi, Pa. This amount is for subs cards and literature.

Debs' pictures are still selling. They ought to at 25c each. Buy one for you home.

The Black Sheep

CHAP. XIII.

Prison visitors.

It was several days after Jack had been locked up in a cell with Collins for a mate, and with Rudolph occupying an opposite cage that their conversation drifted upon the subject of religion. It may be that it was the sound of church bells calling the populace of the village to devotion, that suggested the subject to their minds.

Jack was fully aware of the inadequacies and contradictions of his parents' creed. He had looked upon it as a natural plaything for illiterate folk, and therefore not worthy of serious consideration. Like the subject of economics prior to the time he had met George, it did not occur to him that religion had any influence for evil on the masses of mankind. He was a naturalist with a strong leaning toward the biological phenomena. He was more interested in the philogenetic history of man than in his sociological relations. But his eyes were to be opened, and Collins was a thoro, if at times, rough teacher.

"There are churches at Anamoose, here as elsewhere, they may be called the gages by which, the concentration of wealth may be measured; they advertise the fact that there are vested property rights in the community. The fiercer the exploiters the bigger their Bibles. You will notice that the emblem of the church is the cross, that is, because she is a stranger to the Christ. If Christ ever existed he died like Parsons and Spies, because he defended the rights of the poor. He was a member of one of the ancient brotherhoods of Labor — a quinquinalis, or Lord and Master, if I read history rightly. Just read your Bible carefully and you will find much revolutionary terminology in the passages reputed to be the words of Christ. But in order to understand it according to the materialist conception you have to have some idea of the scope and extent of ancient labor organizations. We might call them the pre-christian unions. They were organized in all the ancient empires. Empires rise and fall as a result of the concentration and re-distribution of wealth. It was organized labor existing under the ancient military despotism, that kept the germ of liberty alive and carried within it the promise of the ultimate redemption of the masses from the economic tyranny of the rich.

You may ask how it was that the military over lords of ancient times permitted such organizations. The answer is that complete slavery not only dwarfs the body but degenerates the mind. A man whose highest incentive in life is an effort to keep a lash from his back has no incentive to mingle his brain with his labor, with the result that where the working class has no such incentive to create, civilization does not advance. Man must be sustained by production. The tendancy is for population to increase geometrically, while the resources from which they must be fed do not increase unless the tools of production are improved, and the knowledge of agriculture advanced. Slaves do not improve tools, neither do they advance the sciences.

In those days the masters did no work productively, hence accumulated no experience of a useful nature. They were unable even if they had been willing to improve the methods of production and distribution. The masters of the world have never produced anything but misery to the masses and ultimate destruction for themselves. As early as eleven hundred years B. C. labor had begun to organize. The exodus of the Jews from Egypt, is the earliest recorded labor walk out. Three hundred years later, and we may suppose that during that time progressive organization had taken place, the brotherhoods of the slaves were legalized by three of the foremost statesman of the world, Amasis of Egypt, Solon of Greece, and Numa Pompilius of Rome.

These men saw that a nation enslaved is a nation dying. They realized that when the population became more numerous, and lived in cities, that production in shop and field had to keep pace; they realized, that the struggle for existence had been taken from the masters and transferred to the backs of slaves; that leisure would develop new tastes and habits of culture that would have to be gratified with commodities which the stultified brains of chattles could not supply. They were forced to realise that labor needed a nobler incentive to work than the whip in the hand of a master; that they needed an ideal which they might hope to attain thru the perfection of their arts and crafts. There was still another and perhaps more potent need for the formation of the Solonic trade unions. It may be found in the constant danger of invasion from the barberian hordes beyond the frontier. The masters knew that they would succumb to these marauders, unless their hands were strengthened with arms and supplies furnished by industrious slaves. That is perhaps the basic reason for turning a portion of the slaves into freed men. But the word freedman like the modern term wage worker did not mean that these people possessed true liberty. What the masters did was to change the form and status of their slavery. They gave them a delusion which they called liberty.

This delusion made civilization permanent. It became the mother of industrial progress. The slave believing himself to be free, and knowing that his liberty depended upon his ability to furnish military equipment to his military masters now worked with all the energy of his arms and brain. That is why civilization blossomed under the Solonic dispensation. Wth the products of the freed man's genius, his masters conquered the world.

"There is a legend to the effect that the first Roman aristocrats were suckled by a she wolf and their descendants have ever been true to their mother's milk. They have always had, and as long as mankind will tolerate their existence will have, all the rapacity of a hungry beast. These aristocrats no sooner had subdued their enemies, than they turned upon the freedmen whose labor and genius had made their victories possible. Aristocracy is alien to all sentiment. They are as dead to kindness and gratitude as was their legendary foster mother from whose dugs they drained the gall mixed milk of rapacity. If you want to know them, then read your Bible's description of Jehovah. He is the Super Aristocrat. Labor is the source of their power and they thanked her with the "Iron Heel". And what was the result? Rome fell and with her fell civilization down into the pit of the dark ages, to rise no more for a thousand years. Wolf like they destroyed the flock on which they preyed, — and starved.

But I am off my theme. These ancient brotherhoods were organized upon Rudolph's favorite principle, 'Mutual Aid'. They preached thrift and loyalty to one another. They were strong for industrial efficiency. They were ruled by their own chief, who was responsible for their conduct to the military cast in society. He was their president, and often their master workman or the teacher of the trade. He was also their attorney at the ports of their masters, from which the christians get their idea that Christ is our advocate, the chief patrician called God.

"It sometimes happened that these unions incurred the displeasure of their master; putting themselves in danger of re-inslavement or death. History records in a more or less vague form several of the massacres of inoffensive working people. There were instances in which their lord and master would offer his life as an atonement for the quilt of his people. It is perhaps from this that the saying, "Greater love hath no man than he who layeth down his life for his brethern," originated. Christ was not the first of whom this was said. It was said of many Saviors before his day. They called them Soters. Nearly every union worshipped the memory of one of these generous souls. The habit of giving ones self for his fellow men is a direct result of the teaching of collectivesm. It is an act that inspires awe, veneration and gratitude; it is an act which translates man to God. Christ appealed to the sense of solidarity of all nations and was therefore considered the Lord and Master of the world wide union who gave his life as an atonement for his people to the wolf bred masters of Rome.

"The church today still bears the name of the ancient union. The Greek word KURIOS sometimes written KURIKOS and the Latin word CURIA are direct roots of the German word KIRCHE the Schotch word KIRK, and the English word church. There was also a Greek name designating a confederation of these unions —synodoi from which the presbyterians and other denominations get their term synods. The Pope of Rome is called Pomtifex Maximus or chief bridge builder; in fact the whole terminology of modern spook artistry is shot thru with the language of these primitive unions. The church is the evil ghost of labor's assinated father.

Rome assasinated the ancient labor unions; not by fire and sword and wild beast of prey; she tried that and only succeeded in bribing them into the catacombs. Principle is immortal, persecution can only advertise but never destroy it. Yet Rome killed the Solonic dispensation not by force but

(Continued on page 4.)

The Toiler

ONE YEAR $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES $1.00 Per Hundred | SIX MONTHS 50c

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CLEVELAND, O., WEDNESDAY, JAN. 14th, 1920.

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

The Coal Settlement.

The news comes from the Columbus convention that the Coal strike is "settled", that is, it is if the operators will accept the recommendations which the president's commission of three award the miners. The operators are not compelled to accept the award, tho the miners are. The strike settlement may be characterized as a victory for a capitalistic imperialism alligned with traitors within the miner's union.

How reactionary and behind the present times are the officials of the miner's union is seen in this "victory" for "business unionism". How lacking in moral courage were the statements of President Lewis. "We were compelled", was the keynote of his speech before the convention in defense of the officials' ignominious surrender to the government's injuction. They had not the vision to look thru the bars of a prison cell and see a new day for the miners. They could only feel the taint of the prison clinging to them as they dallied with the bourgeoise for the crumbs from their table. Such an example of moral bankruptcy has seldom been held up before a body of workers.

"When this (the union), becomes, anything elese than an American institution, I shall leave it," Lewis is credited with telling the miners. Lewis probably is in blissfull ignorance that the miner's union ceased utterly to be an "American" institution in the way that he means when the Government of the United States issued an injunction "ordering" its members back to the mines. When that injunction was issued, the United Mine Workers of America ceased to be an "American" institution and became an object of vegeance of capitalistic imperialism acting thru the government.

Lewis' statement that the officials, by acting as they did in compliance with the demands of the injunction, had "saved the organization to make such 'progress' as was possible in the future", must be accepted with a doubt as to its truth. The future will likely disclose that instead of being "saved' the organization has been wrecked.

The miners will have much to ponder over as they pick and blast their way beneath the surface these coming months. These days are charged with mighty forces which are driving the workers into closer affiliations with one another. The idea of One Big Union is a light in present darkness. This light, the miner must and will find in his darkness. It is a light that no group of platidunious and visionless leaders can snuff out.

The miner's strike is UNSETTLED.

DEMOCRACY RAPED.

Coming on the heels of the denial of a seat in Congress to Victor Berger, Socialist, because of alleged "disloyalty" is the refusal by the state legislature of New York to seat five socialists elected in regular manner by the voters in their political districts. The movement of plutocracy and capitalist imperialism toward complete domination of the life of the workers is growing by leaps and bounds. Congress, having set an example in the denial of the people's right to seat their chosen representatives in the national lawmaking body, we may with all justification expect all states to follow in a like manner whenever those whose opposition threatens the rule of capitalist imperialism are elected.

There is no dodging about the bush by the state legislature of New York in this matter. As soon as the assembly opened, a resolution was adopted declaring the seats of the five socialists vacant. No bones were made as to why. The fact that they were elected upon the platform of the Socialist Party was declared as the reason. The Assembly will now proceed to decide the "loyalty" of the five socialists. It will in this case be the plaintif, judge and jury. Just what chance the socialists have of taking their seats in the face of such a combination may well be guessed.

A new era has been born in the political life of the United States. These two denials of duly elected representatives of voters marks the beginning of political despotism in America. Capital sees its domination of the law making bodies of the maton threatened by the increasing number of worker's representatives. It is to thwart this that they are denied their seats. It is a step of desperation. But capitalism must perforce take it. No method, however, subversive of the principles upon which the government is suposedly erected, must be left untried. It is to this stage that the social revolution in America has arrived—that duly elected representatives of the workers are denied their constitutional rights at the hands and by the orders or Capitalist Dictatorship. A lesson in tactics is being driven home to the workers that must be learned—that the ballot is a "scrap of paper" unless backed up by economic force—Revolutionary Unionism. The answer to capitalism's rape of democracy is mass action of the workers.

[redacted]

DEBS:
HIS AUTHORIZED
Life & Letters
by
DAVID KARSNER

"I give to you as the author, and to Boni and Liveright as the publishers my word of approval and hearty endorsement of your book. You will write just the kind of a book that Time and History will require, and in every line, on every page, you will be speaking for me with my authority, given to you without reservations or qualifications."—Eugene V. Debs to David Karsner.

Address: COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO,
3207 Clark Ave. — Cleveland, Ohio.

Comrade Roy Hall of Coshocton, O., sends a dollar bill for a sub for another comrade. Yearly subs are in the ascendancy these past few weeks. Looks as tho the workers had decided that a dollar is little enough to spend at one time for what they want, while they often have to spend much more for something they do not want. And then, isn't it just as easy to sell a dollar sub as the other kind?

SPARKS.

Comrade Marguerite Prevey is scheduled to address a Prisoners' Defense meeting at Bellaire, Jan 18th. Other Locals are contemplating meetings in the near future. Every Local which can arrange a meeting should do so at once. Meetings provide great propaganda opportunities and every comrade should realize their value to the Movement.

That the Toiler Cartoon Department is turning out most satisfactory work is the opinion of many comrades who have written commendatory letters to the State Office. And while appreciation is being given, let us announce that the cartoon service is donated to you. It is a free gift to the Movement by a comrade who desires no return for his labor except to see the Movement for working-class emancipation grow. Every reader should lend his heartiest assistence by getting subscriptions for The Toiler. Show your appreciation by lending a hand. Actions talk.

Bullitt's Report is one of the best sellers that the State Office has ever handled. The price is right too—50c a volume. This report of the Bullitt Mission to Russia and the testimony before the Senate Investigating Committee, contains much astonishing information about the tangled Russian policy of the Allies. Most of it has never appeared in print before. Order it, read it and pass it on to others.

Comrade Phalen of Columbus forwards three subs this week.

A thousand notices of subscription expirations were mailed out last week. Did YOU get one. If so, send your renewal at once. Don't delay. And while you are renewing, add 25c and write another worker's name on the BOOST slip. Boost a bit.

Comrade Harry Carter of Wakemen O. writes for membership application cards. Looks like he was out for members, doesn't it? Sure does. He also sends names to receive sample copies of The Toiler. Some comrades find many ways to help the work along. Introducing The Toiler to the unacquainted is one of the best.

Literature committees to work in the shops are being organized by Local Cinti. Union meetings and shops are good places to sell literature. Try it. Order a bunch of our pamphlets.

An instance of what can be accomplished by a slight effort given to the work of getting subscriptions is furnished by comrade Jas Albert of Newcastle, Ind. He sends us four new subs and his letter states that he thinks a six month's treatment of The Toiler will induce renewals when the time is up. And we believe he is right.

Comrade H. M. Kohr is on the job at Urichsville, O., this week. Two subscriptions from him indicates what a little activity will accomplish.

Guernsey County Locals seem to be especally well favored in regards to halls and possibilities of holding meetings. At Derwent, a permanent headquarters is being established. Beyesville, the County headquarters, has permanent quarters. Local Robins meets in the hall owned by the miner's union. This Local has also rented a picnic ground for use the comming summer. Present indications in Guernsey County lead to the assertion that live activities will be carried on there in future.

Considering that bundle of literature which was sent, you comrades, literature agents and Local secretaries,—have you ordered more like it? Don't neglect the literature end of the Movement. Better order a package from these samples—RIGHT-A-WAY.

Comrade L. L. Lowery, of Fir, Ark., sends us two subs. Every little sub helps make a big revolution. Get the subs.

Comrade T. H. Cave of Holy Hill, Fla., orders a quantity of literature for distribution and for self education.

The man who desires to be informed is to be commended for independent thinking.

"Let us make this a "Happy New Year" by getting 10.000 members in Ohio", is the way M. A. Toohey of Toledo, greets 1920. His wish finds an echo in the minds of thousands of comrades. But it requires activity to produce these results. Get in action, comrade.

Dollars Needed FOR Baker's Defense!

Charles Baker, organizer for the Communist Labor Party, has been arrested, and is charged with violation of the Lever Act, by interfering with the operation of the coal mines in the state of Kansas.

Baker defended the miners in the recent coal strike. For this, he is now indicted and out on bonds approximating nearly $70,000. He will be tried in the Kansas courts in February.

Money is needed NOW for his defense. Baker has always stood by the workers. Now the workers must stand by him. Let your dollars work for freedom for Chas. Baker.

Send all remittances to

The Communist Labor Party of Ohio.
3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, O.

DEFEND
those who have stood by you

TWO PRISON POEMS.

By RALPH CHAPLIN

PRISON SHADOWS.

Like grey-winged phantoms out of sullen skies
They flood my cell and seem to fashion there
I know not what dim landscapes of despair;
All day I felt them lurking in my eyes.
And now they fall like crosses, sombre-wise,
Upon the shameful uniform I wear,
Upon my brow, my face, my hand, my hair;
And on my heart their shadow always lies.

O heart of mine, why throb with futile rage
And beat and beat against these hopeless bars?
For, though you break in life's last deadly swoon,
You cannot pierce beyond this iron cage.
To see the pulsing splendor of the stars
Or feel the blue-green magic of the moon!

OUR LIVING DEAD.

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie,
Dust unto dust;
The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die
As all men must.

But rather mourn the living souls who dwell,
Too strong to strive,
Within each steel-bound coffin of a cell — —
Buried alive!

AS BAD AS THE LUSITANIA.

PARIS.—A sin equal to that of the German admiralty in ordering that the Lusitania be torpedoed is the blockade of Russia, according to Armand Charpentier, writing in "Le Populaire." Says M. Charpentier:

"Mr. Wilson and all of the heads of the Entente governments declared that this war had for its purpose the liberation of all of the peoples from all imperialist and militarist servitudes, and that these peoples, once liberated, were free to choose their governments.

"The ministers of the Entente, betraying the unanimous sentiment of their peoples, have sinned equally with the German admiralty which ordered the torpedoing of the Lusitania. Sending women, children and sick people to death is a crime.

"These same ministers of the Entente are today committing a crime a hundred, a thousand times more abominable, in which, besides, reactionary Germany is participating. These ministers, thanks to the indifference of their parliaments, and to the inconceivable ignorance of the peoples, are busy condemning to a gradual death, by hunger, by cold, by disease, a population of a hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants, whose sole crime is that they took seriously the Wilsonian principles and the promises of the ministers, in guaranteeing them the government of their choice."

Local Tiffin comrades recognize the truth of the above statement, and have proceeded to organize two squads of "go-getters" whose purposes will be to compete for new members and Toiler subs. Indications are that there will be some lively skirmishes thereabouts.

Do you realize the value of a pamphlet with a "kick" in it to hand to Henry and his brother? Then order a package of Mr. Block and the Profiteers. Any worker who reads it will never again look at himself the same. The price is 10 for 60c or 10c for one. Let Mr. Block do your agitating.

Italy may be first to recognize Soviet Russia.

LONDON, Jan. 9.—If Russia wants he Soviet form of government she should be allowed to have it and the allies should recognize her present overnment Foreign Minister Scialoia f Italy said today.

The Italian statesman, here for iscussions with Premier Lloyd ierge, declared the two outstanding iplomatic problems of Europe were: The course to be pursued in Russia and the disposition of the Turkish mpire.

EDUCATION OBJECT OF CAPITALIST VENGEANC.

BUDAPEST.—A systematic reign of error against culture and education is being carried on by the counter-revolution in Hungary with the purpose of crushing all opposition to the resent regime.

Many priests have been hanged outright for alleged Communist views, and hundreds of teachers have lost their positions. In one locality, ording to a well-authorized statement, 40 school teachers were mobbed nd killed by White guards.

Boys and girls of 14 and 16 who are uspected of Socialist or Communist ympathies have been denied admittance to any school in the country. rofessors in universities and technical schools, some of them noted scholars, have been persecuted for suggesting the most moderate reforms in the resent regime.

Police are authorized by a special order to examine private libraries and onfiscate all books dealing with revolutionary as well as revolutionary social theories. On the counter-revolutionary "Index" are included Marx, Froudhon, Ferrer, Engels, Kautsky, andervelde, Bebel and Sorel, as well s Lenine and Trotsky.

Since the hunt for forbidden books s carried on by uneducated White Guards, every book with the word "social" in the title is confiscated. The great majority of people have prefered to burn their libraries rather than be subjected to the inquisition.

The municipal library of Budapest, noted for its comprehensive list of books on social problems, and a world center of culture and social research, has been demolished. More than 15,000 books, many of them irreplaceable, were burned.

WAR ON IGNORANCE.

We have declared WAR on IGNORANCE. Will you enlist in the ranks of the ENLIGHTENERS? We intend to establish in the State Office of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio a Book and Pamphlet Department second to none in the nation. We will handle only the best of the Revolutionary literature of the past and present. We will also publish new literature of our own. We have since Jan. 1st gotten one pamphlet off the press, another will be ready for sale in a few days. Others are contemplated.

The co-operation of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and literature agents is earnestly hoped for. The demand for new and good revolutionary literature is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply this demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can sell pamphlets every week to shopmates and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

Every Class-conscious Worker must help Strike Down the Monster, Ignorance, that Enslaves the Workers.

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR ADDITIONAL TITLES.

Crimes of the Bolsheviki 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Soviet Russia ....10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russia, Articles by Tchicherin, Eastman, Lenin, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18 each.
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
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Socialism and War, $1.00 each.
Ten Days That Shook The World, $2.00 each.
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Universal Kinship, Moore, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.

PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY—ADDRESS:

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO.
3207 Clark Ave.—Cleveland, Ohio.

WORKERS PERCENTAGE.

A public speaker recently pointed out that while the United States has only six per cent of the population of the world and only seven per cent of the land, it produces:

Sixty per cent of the world's supply of copper.

Forty per cent of the world's supply of lead.

Fifty per cent of the world's supply of zinc.

Sixty per cent of the world's supply of aluminum.

Sixty per cent of the world's supply of oil.

Seventy-five per cent of the world's supply of corn.

Sixty per cent of the world's supply of cotton.

Forty per cent of the world's supply of silver.

Fifty-two per cent of the world's supply of coal.

Forty per cent of the world's supply of iron and steel.

Twenty per cent of the world's supply of gold.

Eighty-five per cent of the world's supply of automobiles.

Twenty-five per cent of the world's supply of wheat, and refines 80 per cent of the copper and operates 40 per cent of the world's railroads.

While paying its wage workers less than 20 per cent of the wealth they create.—The New Majority.

Comrade P. R. Davis of Chesapeake O., remits for one copy Bullitt's Report and $1.50 as a donation. We have placed this amount in the press fund. Comrade Davis is also after subs for The Toiler. He pays a compliment to the Cartoon Dept.

REDS TO BE DRIVEN OUT OF A. F. of L.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—If James P. Holland, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, can help it, the next two months will see the weeding out of all radicals now within the Federation. This involves the job of getting rid of some 5 to 6,000 'reds' now identified with A. F. of L. movement within this State; but Holland insisted before the Annual State Industrial Congress, in session here, that it is essential for the prosperity of organized labor that they be eliminated.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—There is to be no "boring from within" by radicals in the organization of Machinists, according to action of the principal officers and the field agents of the Machinists' Union. The heads of the union adopted a policy that no member shall retain membership in the union who is affiliated with the I. W. W., the One Big Union, or any other ultra-radical organization.

THE NEW INQUISITION

Concerning the recent repressive governmental raids against radicals a correspondent writes us: "I note by the press that the cossacks are busy again—that the cohorts of Caligula and the bailiffs of the grand Inquisition are making merry. Great God! To think such asinine idiocy could be perpetrated in this supposedly, enlightened age. I recall the astonishment expressed by one of the historians, that the great and almost God-like emperor—philosopher, Marcus Aurelious, could have tolerated for a moment the persecution of the Christians under his reign—knowing as he must have known, with his broad and deep understanding, that persecution is the most fruitful [illegible] that can be given ANY cause."

UNLIVED LIVES.

By THOMAS MUFSON

I saw her in the subway, sitting opposite to me in a fairly well filled car. She was reading a paper-covered book and was, apparently, utterly oblivious of her surroundings.

She attracted considerable attention because of the striking incongruity between her general appearance and the type of book she was reading.

She seemed to be a woman of about 40 years of age. She wore a heavy-looking, black plush sailor hat, a large, shabby black jacket with extraordinarily large buttons, the top one of which war missing, leaving her coat partly open; a dark skirt, which matched her coat in shabbiness, and shoes which once were black. In one hand she held her book, in which she was intensely absorbed. In the other hand, which rested on her lap, she tightly clutched a not very clean handkerchief.

The name of the book that she was reading, which glared out at us in large red letters, was "Tempted by Love."

The girl sitting next to her looked at the woman, then at the name of the book, and smiled. A man opposite glanced at the woman and the smiling girl, and both made evident efforts to keep from laughing outright. Everybody was smiling. Mirth pervaded the atmosphere.

She paid no heed to the pleasantly diverting commotion she was causing, this shabby looking woman of 40, engrossed in her novel, "Tempted by Love.". One could see on her face, rather long and pallid and masklike in its utter unresponsiveness to the surrounding agitation, that, mentally, she did not sit in a crowded subway car on her way home from a day's dull work. It was manifest that, for the time being, she was in another world, a world of youth, of leisure and of love. She was enjoying the shadows of emotions and passions which life, evidently, had not given her to enjoy in the substance. In the thrilling ages of "Tempted by Love" she was vicariously living her unlived life.

* * *

I worked alongside of him in a large printing establishment. We were press feeders. All day long we stood in front of our rattling presses. All day the black jaws of the devouring machines opend and shut, opened and shut, and as they yawned open our hand shot in with paper food, and as they closed the hand came out empty, and then went in again, and out again, feeding the iron beast all day long, while the belts whirred and the machines clattered and the hours dragged on their heavy way.

The incessant noise penetrated the brain and made it numb. Hands became black with the black saliva of the ever-hungry presses. Minds and bodies sagged with the monotony of identically similar mechanical motions, repeated over and over again. The voracious iron monsters seemed bent upon crunching between their metalic jaws the suft human hands which flitted in and out, ministering to their insatiable appetite.

He said hardly a word, my compaion who worked on the press next to mine. He attended to his work with a dull, dead steadiness, paying no heed to all that went on about him. Occassionally, however, I saw him cast an involuntary glance of hatred at our sloek wellfed foreman, the "driver," as the men called him, meaning the slave driver.

I finally struck up a talking acquaintance with my moody fellow pressman. Soon we were quite friendly, and I was enabled to get vivid glimpses into his inner life.

I got to know that he was an anarchist. He was, however, the type of anarchist who becomes such not through philosophy or through sympathy with human suffering, but through personal bitterness. For the whole time during which we worked together I do not recollect having seen hin laugh once. His whole personality seemed impregnated with gall and wormwood. He was filled with a malignant hatred for God (or, rather, the idea of God), for society, for all of life. He was widely and deeply read, with a keen intellect and a spiritual makeup that, I inferred, might have been once responsive to the best and highest in human existence. But the rancor which corroded his soul had coarsened a nature which had once been deeply sensitive. Heine seemed his favorite author, and he interspersed in his talk most biting quotations from that poet. On one occasion, in a communicative mood, he flashed his whole life before me in a few sentences.

"I have never lived," he said to me. "I have been denied everything my spirit ever craved. I never had youth. Can you realize what that means? I stepped from childhood into middle age. In between was a stretch of struggle with poverty, illness, loneliness and ever broken hopes. That period, youth—the period when life is to be most beautiful and most joyous—was an ugly nightmare to me. I awoke from my nightmare to find my youth, with all its possibilities, no longer before me—gone. Can you know what that means?

"When I think of what my life could have been, and what it was and is," he said, while a brooding light burned in his brown eyes.

There were times when the light in his eyes was not that of a sane man. I was convinced that he was not entirely sane.

"Look at my hair," he once said to me. I observed his massive head, thinly covered with weak looking, bristly, closely cropped hair.

"Can you believe," he asked, "that when I was a child golden curls used to hang down my shoulders? See what has become of me. Some day, when I look into the glass and think of those curls, I wil go mad."

* * *

She is a working girl. All the hours of the day she works busily in a shop. She has been doing that since her fourteenth year. She is not vigorous physically, so that the day's labor tires her out. It is the night that she is looking forward to—the night, when the life of her mind and spirit begins.

She has an irresponsible craving for education, for knowledge, for music, for literature, for art. Her soul's passion glows in her eyes. A deep melancholy of her harrowed spirit, the sad pessimism of her unattainable desires. Her Socialism is the Socialism of a sensitive soul which dreams of a better world, a world of freedom and of full-orbed life, and she spends devoted hours working for the cause. She flocks to radical schools. She takes numerous courses to be able more adequately to express the things that are knocking at her soul; to be able more fully to grasp the significance and sense the beauty of the great masterpieces of art. She eagerly attends classes in sociology, inphilosophy and in science, worshiping at the feet of admired intellect. She goes to the theater when a cherished play is to be seen. She is found in the topmost gallery of Carnegie Hall and the Metropolitan Opera House to have her spirit unfold, for a moment, in the fairy land of music and of dreams.

But those tastes of life's beauty, her yearning periods of the soul's expansion, are hurried, feverish and disturbed; precarious snatchings, stolen from the precious hours of sleep, for the night is short and the long day soon sounds its inescapable call of the factory, while the eyes are heavy for the sleep that has been denied them, and the body weary for the rest of which it has been deprived. However, for two whole weeks she casts from her soul all the burdens that oppress it and goes off for her "vacation". There she attempts to concentrate 12 months ful-orbed life in a fortnight. She succeeds only in casting upon the rest of the year a darker shadow of depression and restlessness and discontent. The years fly; with them youth and youth's strength and buoyant hope. As dreams recede and ambitions disintegrate, more vigorous natures grow embittered and cynical; her spirit withdraws more and more into its inner being and consumes itself.

* * *

The narrow, twisted and broken paths of unlived lives criss-cross and zig-zag across the face of this amazingly mismanaged world. Vast is the countless host of those who have manifestetly died before their time through the occassional casualties of war or the unremitting casualties of peace, by industrial disease or industrial accident. But aster still and as lamentable is the innumerable multitude of those whose death is not apparent to the physical senses, of those who died mentally and spiritually before they ever lived. Between these two armies of the quiet dead, restlessly grope they who ever feel the proddings and the stirrings of eager, craving life's forces, whose thirsting lips the tantalizing waters of life touch, only to recede, who have been permitted but to taste of the fruit of the tree of knowledge by which the eyes of their soul have been opened to the beauty of the diviner fruits hanging upon the tree of life, but which dangle far beyond the reach of their shackled limbs.

We live in a world of unlived lives. How many children of the working class, of the millions who reach manhood and womanhood, receive the nourishment, the care, the training, the education the recreation that nurse to maturity the latent powers which slumber in the heart and mind of every child? What undobted glimpses of precious, natural gifts in the children of the workers awaken trembling hop in the heart of the parent, to end only in forced negiect and ginal athrophy?

"But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll:
Chill Penury repressed their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of their soul."

How many men and women feel that they have lived the full physical, mental and spiritual life which they were capable of living? How many can say that they have received that complete and harmonious development, that ample and abundant nourishment by bread and books and schooling, by peace of mind and leisure, by the joys of social life and comradeship and love, by the inspiring beauties of nature and the passion-refining beauty of art which by all the laws of impartial nature and by the dictates of unperverted justice are the due inheritance of all?

The superman and the superwoman of our soaring imagination are but the man and the woman at our side—disinherited long before birth; the crippled culmination of the sins of a mismanaged world, the stunted product of generations of unlived lives. ....

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

by cunning. They deified Christ. They changed him from a saviour of labor to a God of Rome. Thus the masters entered the brotherhood and changed their membership from honest handicraft into an army of fanatics, campaigning for the supremacy of the Roman aristocrats.

"Christ or who ever it was that led the masses at the time of Caesar Augustus found that Rome claimed possession of the entire earth. Thus in saying workers of Rome you must love one another, he simply ante-dated Karl Marx, who said "Workers of the World Unite". But Rome, jealous of the power of her proletariat, said to the workers, "We too have seen the light. Come and let us worship your Lord together. We shall give you the temples and the priests of the gods of Rome, and raise your religion out the narrow confines of the brotherhoods and make it the imperial creed of the empire, wholly spiritual—unspotted of the world."

"The slaves fell for it. The masters entered the union. They said 'the Nazerine has conquered,' In reality they had conquered the Nazerine. They turned the productive laborer into a religious fanatic, and Civilization lay dead for a millenium.

"The arstocrat did not create the church, he is incapable of creating any-thing but hell. He stole it, as he has every-thing he calls his own. He stole it from the ancient freedmen by cunning and knavery, when he failed to get it by his favorite method of brutality and force. Cunning is another lupine characteristic.

"When ever I hear their damned bells ringing, the whole history of their perfidity flashes thru my brain an I feel as tho it is my duty to wipe them off the earth."

This little speech was made by Ed. Collins to his solitary auditor in his cell and for the benefit of Rudolph accross the way. When he had concluded, Jack remarked that he did not need to get exited over it, seeing that these ancient unions were not productive of true liberty but rather of a delusion.

"Yes that is so. They were given what they were taught was liberty. It made them happy. It gave them hope. They had a goal to steer to that made life worth living. It built up civilization and laid the foundation for later development. What if it was a delussion inculcated in their brain for the benefits of their Masters? The Masters destroyed them, but have warned us with their example. The class conscious worker will not trust the words of the masters again."

"Are we free now?" Jack asked.

"Looks like it. Now, does'nt it." Collins replied as he kicked against the cell door.

"My Country, tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing.

Droned Rudolph from the opposite cell.

"I will tell you, that the brains of mankind are still under the same delusions that blinded the people of ancient times. People imagine they are free because they are told so on the fourth of July. But we have an advantage that our ancestors lacked. We have the printing press. We can reach the slaves with a message that will put things before them in a new light. We will teach them what we conceive true liberty to be, and when they once see it, then it is good by Masters."

"According to your idea all that is needed to teach the workers what you want them to know is a suffeciently large printing plant. It resolves itself to a battle of printing presses. If that is so, then what becomes of your theory of machine developments and the passing of worlds markets as factors in the downfall of capitalism, and the liberation of the proletariat," Jack asked smilingly.

"Remember," Collins cautioned, "the down fall of capitalism does not necessarily mean the liberation of the proletarist, it may mean the establishment of an industrial oligarchy that will ruthlessly tear away the last shreds of our delusion of liberty and subject us to a naked and horrible slavery. Remember that with modern facilities of transportaiton and communication; with modern improved methods of spying a tyranny may be established more hideous in its aspect and more damable in its consequences than any the world has yet known. Capitalism will indeed fall of its own rotteness. Labor must rise by virtue of its intelligence."

(Continued next week)

HOW TO MAKE A SUCCESS IN LIFE.

(With acknowledgment but no apology to the American Magazine.)

Dear Editor:

Until a couple of years ago I was a lasy girl and I used to get tired in the canning plant after working ten or eleven hours a day. Then one night I saw your magazine with all those success stories. The one about the stenographer who studied manicuring at night and gets to be the wife of a railraod president opened my eyes and showed me that I could advance myself too.

I got a night position as a rubber in a Turkish bath, and on Sundays. after I delivered papers for the news company I stood outside a cigar store the rest of the day and asked the gentlemen for their coupons when they came out. The first six months I saved enough to buy cod liver oil and iron tonic to last for the winter and collected enough cupons to get examined by a big specialist, and in this second year I have worked so hard and done so well (I was usher in a movie on holidays too) that I can now pay may carfare to the consumption sanitarium.

I am so happy and I hope I will win your prize, because they tell me that I will have to pay the railroad in advance to send my body back home.

Yours for Success,

JENNIE NULL.

(From "Success Story Contest" in Good Morning.)

The Trend of the Race.

How strange it is that those who
strive,
And try to join one's friendly host;
Will wear smiles their Maker gave,
and
Desert us when we need them most.
This friendship in this world of ours,
So seldom stands Time's truest test;
But like the beauty of the flow'rs,
A thing of moments, at its best.

The White Race in it's false pride
state,
Beset with Greed and Greed's Desire;
Still wears the false mask in an age,
And casts plain Justice in the mire.
The feet of millions trod about
A world beset in Greed and Sin;
And under it's false mask we find,
Humanity's veneer is thin.

There's many a flow'r that's with'ring
n the slums by poverty fed;
There many weary feet press on,
Without a ray of hope ahead,
A world in Greed hears not the voice
Of those who dwell in hovels poor;
And those on whom fair fortune
smiles,
Know not the heartaches they endure.

This old world for so many years,
Has been steadily slipping back.
Like individuals, sometimes,
It too, gets on the downward track.
When Ideals are but passing thoughts,
And Greed becomes the Races' curse;
How can this old world better grow
When man's desires are growing
worse?

—JOHN V. DAGANHARDT,
Piqua, Ohio.

I. W. W. Demands

(Continued from 1st page.)

ers now lie in jail charged with murer and about to be tried.

"Fifth—Those who held sway in Centralia showed their love for justice y seizing the I. W. W. attorney and hrowing him into jail also, in order that the I. W. W. might have no deender and that these crimes might be covered up. And when Attorney Ralph Pierce was sent from Seattle to defend our boys he was escorted back to the train and driven out of Cenralia .

"Sixth—Working hand-in-hand with with the anti-union elements throughut the state, hoodlums have made this an occasion to spread similar terrorism all over Washington. The result is that liberty lies broken and ravished throughout the lumber country, and democracy has been replaced by the rule of the mob and the gunman.

Lumber Trust Behind Terror.

"These few facts we do know. And we know that behind them lie a multitude more—a red scroll of horror which is filled with the names of our fellow-workers. But a lying, prostituted press has concealed it all and has to kindle mob passion all over the country by wild, screaming lies.

"The I. W. W. knows the hand that is striking us in the Northwest. We know who is the power that can close to us the pages of the nation's press. We know the secret evil force which is risking even civil war in order to destroy the I. W. W. in the Northwest. It is our old enemy, the lumber trust.

"We make this charge. And we put t up to you, the American Congres. Yours is the duty to uphold the Contitution of this country. Out in Washington it has been trampled uner murderous feet. Will you join with he newspapers and whitewash them?

mpartial Inquiry Is Demanded.

"We of the I. W. W. demand that he government make a sweeping, imartial inquiry into the Centralia case. We demand that it send investigators there to sift out the responsibility.

"You must act. he government has been put into contempt in Centralia Already one innocent man there has died a ghastly death. And 11 others are to be tried for their lives. The hoodlums are attempting to provoke the union men into revolt. Will the overnment stand idle?

Our Own Hands Are Clean."

"Our own hands are clean. It is not we who have censored the truth. In 4 years of existence the I. W. W. has ever needed to conceal anything. We don't need to now. We know our members and we know that they are innocent.

"Innocent men may be railroaded. Clean, stranghtforward American men and women may be the victims of foul mobs. Under the darkness of censorship any crime may be perpetrated. We demand that you lift the veil. Let the government investigate; then the truth will be known—and we will know who is guilty!"

Why not try the same stunt in your Local? Emulate the example of Locals Niles and Tiffin.

Government Spies Wrote Platform.

(Continued from page 1)

home and against new experiments in government abroad, the American people ought to be informed of it immediately."

Welcomed Chance to Testify.

Nuorteva's statement follows:

"We have been informed that Mr. Gregory Weinstein, of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, has been arrested and held for deportation, and that similar action is threatened against Mr. Martens and other members of his staff as a last desperate effort to prevent the truth about the Russian situation, and about the real foreign policies of the Russian Soviet government, from being placed before the people of America.

"We welcomed the opportunity the propsed hearings before the Senate Committee would give us to state these facts and to refute the hysterical lies which are being spread about our government and about the Russian Soviet Bureau in New York.

"Soviet Russia, victorious over her internal enemies, has no desire to interfere with the internal affairs of other countries. It was, and it still is, our hope that now that the futility of intervention in and of the blockade of Russia has been proven with such diastrous results to our opponents we would be allowed to live in peace with other countries.

Attempt to Prevent Peace.

liberate attempt to prevent the impending peace and un-

"I regard the mean persecution of our bureau and the frantic man-hunt of all friends of Soviet Russia as a derstanding with our country and to prevent a fair hearing before the Senate committee.

"I feel confident that the large masses of the American people, in spite of the manufactured prejudice against us, will now, at least understand that there are forces at work who are afraid of getting the truth about Russia before the American people.

"The Senate hearing would also have have opened wide—if we were permitted to testify—the Augean stables of the work of Russian reactionaries in this country, who have squandered on abonimable plots and intrigues tens of millions of money lent by the American government to Russia.

"It seems that there are many people beside Mr. Boris Bakhmetiev and his crowd who would not like to have these matters made public.

D. of J. men as Authors.

"There also appears to be another reason for the desire to deport us. **We have conclusive evidence that agents of the Department of Justice have actively participated in the organization of the Communist party of America and that those very planks in the program of the party, which now form the basis of the persecution of thousands of people, have been drafted and inserted into that program by such government agents.**

"We also are prepared to show before the Sente Committee that some other radical activities, the instigation of which has been charged to Russians, in reality were managed and inspired by secret service agents.

"We can prove that the chief figures in certain celebrated bomb-plots were agents of a similar nature.

"In other words, some officials have been establishing that sinister institution which is known in Europe as the system of "agent provocateur."

"We are ready to bring out all facts concerning this charge, the gravity of which I fully recognize. It is clear that some officials implicated in this matter are only too anxious to prevent us from disclosing these facts.

Not Anxious to Stay in U. S.

"Neither Mr. Martens nor I are opposed to going back to Russia. In fact, it has been our fondest wish to go there and to participate in the splendid work of Russia's social reorganization. We have been staying here as a matter of duty, in the hope it would be possible to dispel existing prejudice and to establish friendly relations between the United States and Soviet Russia.

"I am sure that such relations will soon be established in spite of all the frantic efforts of reactionaries to discredit the people of Russia. The people of America in general are too sensible to support such policies as have been pursued by some officials here in respect to Soviet Russia.

"I shall take the liberty of reminding our persecutors of the words of one of their own national heroes: 'You can fool some of the people all of the time; you can fool all of the peonle all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

FORMERLY THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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MORE DETAILS OF LYNCHING COME TO LIGHT

Everetts, Returned Service Man, Leaving I. W. W. Hall When Attacked by Centralia Mob.

CENTRALIA, WASH.—Further facts coming to light regarding the lynching by a mob of Wesley Everetts on Nov. 11th, near this city, reveal that he was one of the occupants defending the I. W. W. Hall when the mob attacked it in front.

He succeeded in leaving the besieged building and had reached the next street when he was sighted and pursued. Perceiving that he was the object of violent intentions he turned and defended himself as best he could.

He was overpowered near the riverbank and kicked and stamped upon until all but senseless when he was dragged to the city jail where a rope was placed around his neck. At this juncture, Chief of Police Hughes is said to have drawn his gun in a bluffing manner saying: "The first man who drows that rope over the cross-arms of the telephone pole will be shot." The rope was thrown over but the Chief did not shoot.

Craftier council prevailing, the lynching was deferred until after dark, at the suggestion, some say of the Chief, the prosecutor or other official, the time then being about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Everetts, in a greatly weakened condition, was thrown back into the jail which became the center of a crowd of Legionaries and business men who swarmed into it and with no one interfering with their coming or going. It is certain that Everetts was in the midst of those who thus had possesion of the jail and was badgered unmercifully in the evident effort to extort from him some confession which they desired.

At about 7 o'clock in the evening, pitch dark at this season, he was taken out of the jail, and with every light in the town extinguished was dragged in tow of an automobile to the river bridge. Here he was tortured for a time, but with his life spark dwindling lower and lower, he is said to have defied them to the last and repused their proferred confession. Whether hanged immediately before or following his death is not certainly known as those who tell of it were not close enough in to say.

A fifteen foot rope was tied about his neck and to a beam of the bridge from which he was hurled.

The body, totally divested of clothing save his shoes, from having been dragged by the automobile, was left dangling to the bridge all night, and throughout the night there came and went a succession of automobiles bearing mixed parties of men and women to view the grewsome spectacle. Cars were parked in a semicircle with their head-lights converging upon the dangling body of Wesley Everetts, another martyr of the social revolution!

Girls and young women were taken out on smutty adventures to view the naked body of the "dead wobbly."

In the morning the body was cut down, again dragged through the streets to the city jail and there dumped upon the floor in the corridor in plain sight of nine other prisoners, occupants of the Hall, who had been over powered while defending it. The corpse of Everetts with its torn and nangled flesh and the horribly mutilated neck around which the noose still clung was placed there in the view of his comrades to break down their spirit. The other prisoners were then taken out singly, as if to be lynched, and told they would get the same as Everetts, if they did not make a certain confession dictated by the mobsters in possession of the jail.

The program was followed for two whole days ,the remaining prisoners being in each instance given to understand that those removed had actually met the fate of Everetts, untl only one remained.

The exquisite mental torture may better be imagined as worthy of Torquemada.

In the end four men held on suspicion of being I. W. W. were removed and compelled to dig a grave and bury what remained of Wesley Everetts, at spot that will be for ever hallowed by a memory among workers of his supreme sacrifice for a better world.

(All money and funds for aid in the Centralia Defense should be forwarded to George Williams, 318 North Wyoming St., Butte, Mont.)

BABSON SAYS DEPRESSION IS COMING.

Business Seer Tells Industrial Chiefs Everybody Will Slack Work Suddenly.

Captains and lieutenants of industry held their own forum Jan. 16, at Cleveland.The speaker was Roger Babson, founder and president of the Babson Statistical Organization, Wellesley Hills, Mass., who made three addresses before business men.

Mr. Babson addressed the Cleveland Advertising Club in its club rooms in Hotel Statler at noon on "America's Undeveloped Resources."

In the afternoon he spoke before 300 clients of his organization of business advisers on "The Labor Situation." For an hour Mr. Babson's clients asked questions on business and labor conditions. Some of the largest industries in Cleveland were among those seeking advice.

Mr. Babson is a business seer. In 1913 a man in his organization predicted a general war would presently start in Austria.

Mr. Babson does his forecasting from statistics, plotted in curves which rise and fall like the silhoutte of lunar mountains. He spreads out his pictures of what has happened for him to project the curves of the present into the future.

"The clock is likely to strike 12 in the fall of this year or the spring of next," he said. "The next period of depression won't be from overproduction or banking conditions, as in the the past, but the thief will come in another way.

"The present period of prosperity will be brought to a close through psychological or spiritual reasons. More and more people are slacking on the oars of production. Some morning we shall find everybody slacking at once."

(Continued on page 4)

THE ANTICS OF JUDICIAL MONKEYS.

Perhaps the worst instance of ludicrous comedy in the annals of mock Justice so noticable of late in the courts of the state of Washington, is the temporary injuction issued by Judge (? ? ?)Webster of Spokane. This injunctions is issued against 65 persons of Spokane County restraining them from participation in the I. W. W. or any part thereof.

An njuction against people prohibiting them from belonging to an organization of their choice.

Thnk of it. Enough to bring a cackle from the lips of every dead tyrant. A huge satire on the Constitution and an insult to the intelligence of humanity. Here is proof positive that Justice is as dead as a smocked mackerel in the court over which this Webster presides. .It is enough to jar one loose from his reason when he contemplates to what ends these characters will go. For if a Judge can restrain 65 from doing certain things why can't he restrain 65.000 od 65.000.000? He can and will, because this judicial imbecile is not restraining individuals so much as he is suppressing ideas, and the growth of the idea will determine with him how many people to enjoin.

However, as much cause as there is for gloomy pessimism in the contemplation of such a step by a so-called judge, yet we know that Labor will go on, amused not a little later on at the recollections of the ludicrous antics of the judicial monkeys of today.

A LETTER FROM ELLIS ISLAND

TO THE COMRADES OUTSIDE THE "ISLAND OF TEARS":—

Here upon the so called "Island of Tears" are gathered hundreds of soldiers of the proletarian army from all parts of the United States and of many nationalities. What fate we are going to meet we do not yet know. But we do know that we have earned the most bitter enmity of the representatives of the existing order and that all means will be used to try to make us harmless to capitalism.

We are ready for anything and everything. We are ready to carry on the struggle against international capitalism to the finish. According to the United States constitution, every person has the right of consultation with his attorney before testifying. This right has been denied us and so we are answering the persecutors with a silence strike. In other words, we refuse to talk or give answer to any question. With this we are trying to demonstrate to the workers that there is no democracy in the United States for the working class. A joyous spirit prevails among us. The icey waves, splashing around our prison walls do not weaken our courage, nor do the ruling class agents. Our courage in fact has been strengthened by this new experiance.

Twice every day we walk in the open air. Ranks are formed. Comrades experienced in the art of soldiering istruct us how to march and manouver. Undoubtedly the government agents consider us a veritable army, real soldiers of the revolution.

The time "inside" is taken up by lectures and discussions. As often as possible concerts are arranged for the evenings, for we have amongst our number good talent, some professional actors and musicians. International and other revolutionatig songs are sung.

We call upon the comrades on the outside to do all in their power to solidify their ranks. Do not worry about us. Do not waste much means in our defense. The great majority of us have admitted we are Communists. Our plans are decided. We are refusing individual defense. We demand to be tried as a mass and is Communists who do not deny their principles.

Your duty on the outside is tremenduously large. Yet you must face the enemy and battle until victory is yours.

And so we demand that you must do everything to unite the Communist Parties immediately. We, here on Ellis Island, regardless of which of the two Parties we belong to, are only Communists. If there are leaders amongst you who stand against unity, push them aside. He who still propagates this unnecessary spite is not worthy to be named Communist. Do not spare your energies and determination in the propagation of our principles. May the workers soon establih their own rule in the United States. May the Revolution soon be a consumated fact. Down with capitalism. Long live the workers international!

Signed
LETTISH GROUP OF COMMUNISTS.

Ellis Island, Jan. 13th, 1920.

Dollars Needed FOR Baker's Defense!

Charles Baker, organizer for the Communist Labor Party, has been arrested, and is charged with violation of the Lever Act, by interfereing with the operation of the coal mines in the state of Kansas.

Baker defended the miners in the recent coal strike. For this, he is now indicted and out on bonds approximating nearly $70.000. Ne will be tried in the Kansas courts in February.

Money is needed NOW for his defense. Baker has always stood by the workers. Now the workers must stand by him. Let your dollars work for freedom for Chas. Baker.

Send all remittances to

The Communist Labor Party of Ohio.
3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, O.

DEFEND
those who have stood by you

KERENSKY REVIEW RUSSIAN AFFAIRS.

LONDON ——— France, Engand and the United States, shocked by the gigantic "steamroller successes" of the Soviet armies throughout Russia are "merely reaping inevitable results of their pernicious policy of aiding monarchists and other enemies of Democracy since the armistice."

Alexander Kerenski, former premier ingsof Russia and at one time the idol of his home country and the hope of the allied powers, gave vent to his feelings in the above fashion. And he added that the Bolsheviki would continue "to interefe in Russia's internal affairs."

Kerenski is now residing in semiseclusion in the heart of the picturesque Kentah Hills, near Tunbridge. He is rapidly regaining the health he dissipated during his brief and hectic hour of world fame. Virile, mentally alert and still retaining much of the magnetic personality responsible for his meteoric career, Kerenski lives in anticipation of the near future, when he hopes to resume his crusade for his country's regeneration. He realizes his mistakes of the past, dream-fabric that opportunity once more will knock at his door.

Kerenski Realizes Mistakes.

He realizes his mistakes of the ast, is chafing at delays and obstacles of the present and looking optimistically toward the future. He is surrounded by a group of the intellectuals and who are now middle of the readers, ot radical enough for the Soviets, not onservative enough for the monarchists and despising both.

"Russia," said Kerenski, "is enduring Bolshevism and the ultra-radical members of the Left in order to escape the equally dark monarchistic representatives of the Right. I predicted 18 months ago that this would be the nevitable aftermath of the scheming intriguing European governments interfering in Russia's internal affairs.

"The declarations of Lloyd George and Premier Clemenceau that they would not aid the monarchists was commendable," said Kerenski, "but so far they are merely empty words."

"Statesmen well versed in politics," he added, "believe speech was given man the better to conceal his intentions when preferring no publicity on the work he does in the dark."

Bitter Against French and British.

He declared that Russian Democrats are the most bitter against the French and British. He expressed his disappointment in America, which, he said, "alone would be able to frustrate the Japanese and Allied design."

Boris Bakhmetieff, who now occupies the Russian Embassy at Washington and apparently accepted as the Russian spokesman there, Kerenski declared to be no representative of Russia but merely one who is now accepting orders from Kolchak, "the same as he would from any other who may follow."

Kerenski said he was not surprised t the anti-Ally demonstrations in Vladivostok and other Siberian cities.

"I am most concerned about Secreary Lansng's purported acquiescence to give Japan a free hand in Siberia," he said. "I am hoping that is untrue, because it is not right and would be most dangerous for the future peace of Russia, China, and the United States.

"Acquisition of the coal and iron deposits in Siberia would make the Nipponese economcally independent and enable them to carry on an imperialistic program which would make a potential enemy of democracy and an ever-growing menace to civilization."

* * *

The Akron Rubber factories have Schools where their Salesman are taught efficiency. Efficiency to make money of course. One of them carried it to its logical conclusion by robbing a blind Newspaper Vender of his receipts in Worcester, Mass, according to the Akron papers.

* * *

Victor Berger is out under $145,000 Bail for making a Socialist Speech, the Saloonkeeper in Chicopee Falls, Mass. who sold the liquor that killed 33 people there is out under $10.000 bail.

THE SPIRIT OF MID-WESTERN LABOR

— By SCOTT NEARING.

"Patchwork" is the word that best describes the labor situation in the middle west. From the highly organized miners of Illinois to the anarchic conditions of the Mesaba range; from union towns like Toledo and Cleveland to cities such as Akron, Rockford and Gary, in which the unions claim less than 10 per cent of the workers, there are all degrees of labor strength and of labor opinion. The mid-western labor movement is far from homogeneous. Its feelings have not been formulated. It reflects the chaos of a vast territory, divergent nationalities, conflicting industrial policies, and a movement that has not yet come to itself.

No man and no organization in the middle west is in a position to speak the sentiment of labor, because no crystalization of labor sentiment has taken place. The workers themselves are groping. They do not know where they are or what they want.

Recent events like the steel strike, the coal strike and the convention of the Labor party are straws that suggest the drift of labor opinion. All three events raised novel issues. The steel strike representd an effort, by an organizing genius, to unite on a national scale 20-odd old line American Federation of Labor organizations in a common cause against the ommon enemy—the steel corporation. The coal strike placed the most powerful international union of the United States in direct conflict with the federal government over the right to strike. The Labor party convention—directed by the Chicago Federation of Labor—was held in the teeth of the Gompers' opposition. These three events, marking the advance of the labor movement into unexpored territory, were reasonably fair tests of abor's attitude.

The most pronounced feature of these events is the passing of the old leaders, those who have forgotten how to follow rank and file opinion. To use Lloyd George's phrase: "Wherever these leaders turn, they find themselves in the fog." Evidence of their inability to grapple with the situation crops up again and again. Durng the tense hours when the officials of the Mine Workers were debating whether they should obey the injunction, Lewis, flustered and upset, exclaimed: "We haven't a chance! Public sentiment is. 100 per cent against us. Even organized lobar isn't for us. We are standing alone!"

A similar point of view was stated by one of the leaders of the steel strike who was commenting on labor's prospect. His face relaxed; his eyes grew weary, almost dim: "They have us on the run," he said bitterly, "and I don't see when we are going to be able to stop running." Neither guess was anywhere near the truth. There was ample public sentiment and a well nigh universal labor sentiment behind both strikes.

The labor group to which the steel strike leader referred was not on the run, quite the contrary, the men were fighting with their backs to the wall. Neither leader understood. Both felt the isolation that comes with passing power. Both had developed a complex of inferiority that, in a leader, presages a speedy downfall.

The uncertainty in the minds of the leaders was even more pronounced at the Labor party convention. Men upon whom the promoters of the convention were depending to strike a keynote, seemed stunned and dazed. For the most part, their speeches consisted of denunciation of the type that was heard in labor conventions during the late nineties. They protested and complained, crying out with the anguish of children who have been punished for something they have not done. At intervals they stmbled on some thought that met with an unexpected response from the delegates, as when Chairman Hayes, in the course of his remarks said: "We want America for the Americans (scattering applause). We want Russia for the Russians. (Mad enthusiasm. Hats thrown into the air. Delegates on their feet, wildly cheering.) We want Mexico for the Mexicans. (Another outburst.)" The speaker was evidently as much surprised as though he had unearthed an explosive shell in his backyard. There were few Russians in the room, and no Mexicans. The speaker had no reason to suppose that he was appealing to any special interest when he made the chance remark which proved to be the event of his speech.

Quite different was the feeling of the rank and file at the convention. Among the delegates there were no international union officials. There were but few "labor politicians." Most of the men were direct from the pit and the bench. The convention looked like a district gathering of the United Mine Workers. Few of the delegates had ever attended a convention before. They were there for business, and they took the convention as one of the serious events of their lives, reflecting the same grim determination that was shown by the miners after Judge Anderson had ordered them back into the mines. They came to the sessions regularly and conscientiously; they took an active art in the discussions; they followed the debate carefully; it was as easy to get a thunderous "no" on a vote as it was to have an uproarious "yes". The delegates meant business and they discussed and voted with a vim.

The convention was typical of the spirit that is growing among the workers in the middle west. Many of the delegates came to this December meeting with sweaters instead of overcoats. Some wore the hats in which they were accustomed to work. They left their jobs and reduced the size of their pay envelopes in order to speak for their shopmates. There was scarcely a hand in the convention ball that had not a hard, rough palm.

The mid-western cities—particularly the larger ones—are filled with cross currents of agitation and propaganda. Those foreigners who speak broken English are cowed and very bitter. Few of them will come out to meetings or take any part in public activities. They fear raids and arrests, but they do not hesitate to express themselves in private. Among the American born, there is a restless, impatient spirit—a lack of interest in work; a desire to go somewhere and forget. Movies are crowded. Theaters are filled. Anything that promises a change is followed with eager haste, and then dropped as soon as it fails to meet the demand of an insatiable appetite for "something doing.

At Gary, where a little knot of the faithful have stood out for weeks against the combined pressure of the civil and military authorities and the economc power of the steel corporation, there is no longer any hope of winning the strike, but there is a furtive earnestness, a spirit of solidarity and a promse of results "the next time."

The rank and file of the miners were not worried by the injunction. They are as accustomed to injunctions as they are to strikes. They did not return to work when they were ordered back at the behest of the court. They did not go back, in many cases, even when the 14 per cent settlement was made. Many of them feel that they have been victimized by the authorities; they are convinced that they have been "sold out" by their own leaders. They are in no frame of mind for either compromise or arbitration.

The rank and file of the workers in the middle west are not radicals. Far from it! They are not joining the I. W. W., the Socialist movement, or even the Labor party in great numbers. They are determined to stand by the institutions of the United States—at least for the present, but they are not "100 per cent Americans." They are puzzled and a little frightened; they are not sure of the next step, but of two things they seem convinced—first ,that the economic and social rigors of the present society have become well-nigh intolerable; and, second, that the men who are at present vested with the title of "labor leaders" are not leading labor. Thus the members of the rank and file are left to shift for themselves. That they are learning the lesson rapidly is indicated by the bitter struggles between the conservative and radical factions in local labor groups throughout the middle west.

The middle west contains the germs of working class action—drastic and even revolutionery in character. Glenn

Continued on page 4.)

THE LABOR STRUGGLE HERE AND EVERYWHERE

(By the Federated Press.)

Working Class Must Forge New Weapons

GLASGOW, Scotland.—Jerome K. Jerome, noted British author and publicist, now special contributor to the Liberal organ "Common Sense" of London, in a recent address to the Socialists of Glasgow expressed the deliberate opinion that parliament is played out, and that "parliament was never meant to serve the common people." Said Mr. Jerome in part:

"Members of parliament do not represent the people but a party, and the people have no control over them. Mr. Lloyd George can do what he likes, and will hand out jobs as baits to labor leaders whenever he wants to appeal to the country. Recent bye-elections showed that the people were crazy to get rid of the present government yet it smiled at these signs and held on.

"It might be that by an accident labor might attain a parliamentary majority; the press might, as a trick, permit of a labor government as an awful example. But what would happen then? It would go down in a week of reaction, or what is worse, it would give way to middleclass ideals.

"Let labor look at France, with its plutocracy, and let them remember that Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Chambelain went into parliament as people's men.

"What has killed kings, however, will also kill parliaments when they prove unfaithful to their trust.

"Parliament was never meant to serve the common people, and a labor government would simply find itself hedged around by the monied interests imposed by the forces of capitalism. Parliamentary government was fashioned by the commercial classes to secure themselves against feudalism. It was not designed to enable the working classes to emancipate themselves. The working classes will have to forge their own instruments of government."

Roumanians Boycotted Elections.

BUCHAREST.—Seventy per cent of the people of Roumania boycotted the government during the legislative elections by refusing to vote. The Socialist party, the Unionist party, the League of People and all the subject nationalities, numbering about 420,000 citizens, withdrew their candidates and their ballots in protest against the absolutist government.

The government aided in suppressing the labor vote by excluding 400,000 men, most of them union members, because they were "still considered mobilized," and in neglecting to register 300,000 others.

In spite of the fact that only 30 per cent. of the people voted, the Liberals, who were the real masters of the government, suffered a humiliating set-back and elected only 100 members. Seven Socialists were elected, in spite of the fact that the party members had all refused to vote.

RUSSIA TO SOVIET CONGRESS

MOSCOW.—The following notification has been issued from the Moscow wireless station:

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has decided to grant admission to the Seventh Congress of the Soviets of Russia in an advisory capacity to representatives of all those parties who have decreed the mobilization of their members for the defence of the Soviet Republic.

These parties are: The Russian Communist party, Ukranian Bolshevik Communist party, Menshevik Social Democratic party, Revolutianry Communist party, Internationalist Social Democratic party, The "Bund," Ukranian Borotbisti party, Ukranian Social Revolutionary party of the Left, the dissident fraction of the Social Revolutionary party, "Poale Sion" party, and the League of Maximalist Social Revolutionaries.

Each of the above named organizations will be allowed to send two or three representatives to the Congress.

MILLIONAIRE LIST GROWS 2,000 A YEAR

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Twety thousand persons in the United States are now rated as millionaires, income tax reports show.

The millionaire class includes all persons whose incomes for the calendar year are at least $50,000, or five per cent. of $1,000,000. This, of course includes some high salaried executives whose private fortunes do not total $1,000,000.

The millionaire class, as computed, however, also includes many persons whose incomes are well above $1,000,000 a year. Thus, for the last full year for which reports are available, 67 persons paid taxes on incomes ranging from $1,000,000 to $1,500,000 a year. The average tax paid by these persons for the year was $249,948.

In the calendar year of 1913 approximately 7,500; in 1917 there were 19,103. During the four war years more than 12,000 new millionaires were created.

SIGN OF THE TIMES

A laborer in Seattle aged 40 offered to sell his Interstitial Glands for $20.000, and then expected to pick up a poor set for $5.000, and thereby be $15.000 to the good. This must have been his last resort after having failed every other way to make money honestly.

WORKERS NOTICE.

It has come to the attention of the Christian Science Monitor (Boston) through the London Daily Herald, that the monkeys that are used on the Island of Sumatra to pick the coconuts out of reach of the human being in the tops of the trees, that they consistently refuse to work overtime. They come down promptly at 4 o'clock every afternoon says the Moniter and no threats, promises of bonus or entreaties will induce them to pick one single nut more. This surely should be copied by many American workers, because they are not the recipients of Surplus value, the monkey knows it, why dont we know it? Monkey-sense will take its place alongside of Horse-sense.

MEXICO CITY, D. F.—Another appeal has been issued by the Communist party of Mexico to American comrades, calling for a general strike in case of war between the two countries.

The apeal says:

"The scattered bandit tribes do not cause one-millionth part of the suffering that another war would cause.

"It has been proved that most of these bandits are either supported by foreign financial interests who want "banditry" as an excuse for intervention in Mexico, or else buy their guns from other foreign interests that are willing to coin profits out of the atrocities of thugs and thieves.

"The Mexican proletariat has no problems that the Mexican proletariat cannot solve. Alone and unaided, it overthrew the modern Nero, Porfirio Diaz, and wrote a liberal constitution. Alone and unmolested by alien armies, it can rise above the impediments left by 300 years of bondage."

LONDON.—A movement has been launched for an ex-soldiers' Internationale—an organization in which the ex-soldiers of all the belligerent countries "shall unite to bury national animosities, and to proclaim the reconciliation of the peoples in an imposing manifestation denouncing war." The initiative for the movement comes from France, belying the common belief that every French soldier entertains vindictive hatred for the Germans.

After the war, a few wounded French soldiers started the Republican Association of Ex-Soldiers. It is now one of the strongest bases of internationalism in France, and although its membership is only 100,000, its influence has been enormous.

Upon the invitation of this organization issued by Raymond Lefebre, its vice-president, British, Italian and other ex-solders' national organizatons are joining into a great body. An international conference will be called as soon as organization is complete.

MOSCOW.—Only one case of cholera has been reported in Russia. In Petrograd since June 15 as the result of a vigorous campaign against the scourge made by the commissar of public health, vaccination has been made obligatory in the red army.

MOSCOW.—Upon the suggestion of the workers, the Moscow soviet has constructed a model town for workers in the outskirts of the city. A considerable number of four-family apartments have been built, each with a vegetable garden.

WE WILL DEDICATE OUR WORK

To the memory of those were slain at Everett, at Wheatland and Butte; at Calumet and Cabin Creek and Centralia.

To the memory of comrades, wives and children who fell at Ludlow.

To the comrades who are buried in federal prisons, because they were found to be unpurchasable by the money power.

To their wives, mothers and children, who are bravely bearing their burden of sorrow.

Hope on—fight on: calumny, prisons and death have been met, and must still be met. But we are ever drawing nearer the Justice and Liberty that is on goal.

J. C. C.

GALILEO AND DEBS.

Galileo was one of the great geniuses of all time. He devoted his life to a search for truth and the spreading of new light among his fellow men. He died a martyr to his convictions, broken in health and spirit under the iron heel of tyranny. The ruling class of that day made him a victim of the inquisition, because he said the earth moved around the sun! It was only a few hundred years ago.

Nothng exemplifies the all-round genius of Galileo better than his invention of the telescope. Word reached him in Italy that a Dutch spectacle—maker had invented an instrument that would make objects look larger and nearer than they really were. Without any further information Galileo thought the matter over and decided that such an instrument could be made by a series of glass lenses. With his own hands he set to work and produced a telescope that would magnify double. He kept on perfecting his invention till he made instruments that would magnify 32 or more times.

With these telescopes Galileo added to our knowledge of the stars more practical discoveries than perhaps any other man who ever lived. He saw that Venus and other planets were not round like the fixed stars, but changed their appearance from crescent to full like the moon at different times. This and other discoveries of his was convincing proof that the planets revolved round the sun.

Now in those days the church wielded temporal as well as spiritual power. It controlled the government as well as religion. And the church had always taught that the earth was the center of the Universe. So when Galileo made propaganda of his scientific discoveries and in books and lectures tried to tell the people that the earth moved, he was arrested for teaching ideas that differend from those of the ruling class, and finally was made a prisoner of the inquisition. Like Debs he was an old man when thrown into prison, broken in health. Unlike Debs, however, Galileo's sentence broke his spirit and he died a wretched old man. The ruling class did everything to discredit and vilify him. He was a devout Catholé, but the church refused him burial in consecrated ground. Al this because he said the earth moves round the sun.

There is much evidence to show that the ruling class understood the truth of Galileo's discoveries and preachments. But they were afraid to have the people told the truth. Just as the educated ruling class today study Socialism and understand its truths, but try to crush it because it would turn the people against their rule and special privileges. There is ample evidence in the speeches and writings of our last three presdents, Wilson, Taft and Roosevelt, that it is not thru ignorance that they have opposed Socialism. It was because the church knew that Galileo had convincing proof of his propaganda and would win the people to his side that they imprisoned him. The danger of astronomical discoveries lay chiefly, indeed, in their truth. Just as today the "danger" of Socalism, the "menace" of Bolshevism, lie in their economic thruths. The rulers well understand this, but because the truth would endanger their class rule, they try to keep it from the people by imprissoning and vilifying those who try to enlighten the masses. The church has long since paid the penalty of making Galileo a martyr to his convictions. In trying to keep scientific truths from the people, by persecuting Galileo and hundreds of others ,the church only discredited itself, and has fallen from its once high estate when it ruled supreme over the larger part of Europe. Will our martyrs of today be similarly vindicated? Will Debs, like Galileo, come into hs own and go down in history as a great preacher of new truth and enlightenment? Will posterity laugh at Wilson and Taft and Roosevelt for persecuting and vilifying Socialists today, just as we laugh at the potentates of three centuries ago for persecuting and vilifying Galileo for teaching astronomical truths that endangered the power of the ruling class, just as Debs stands for economic truths that are "dangerous" to capitalism. In the end the people insisted on their right to know about scientific truths and everyone today understands that the earth revolves round the sun." Will the people today insist upon their right to hear what Debs and Socialism has to teach them? It is certainly a supreme insult for any government to tell the working class what they shall not read,—whom they shall not hear speak. No free people should stand for such indignity.

Parley Doe.

FIT TO GOVERN

By Anise

Over in England

* * *

Winston Churchill

* * *

Was getting WORRIED,

* * *

For district after district

* * *

In little by-elections

* * *

Was choosing

* * *

LABOR MEN!

* * *

And even the big newspapers

* * *

With their keen noses

* * *

For POWER

* * *

Were swinging round to Labor,

* * *

So Winston

* * *

Thought it his DUTY

* * *

To WARN the nation:

* * *

"Beware," said he:

* * *

"Be not stampeded

* * *

Into a labor dictatorship,

* * *

Now at the moment when Labor

* * *

Is LEAST FITTED

* * *

For the responsibilities

* * *

Of government!"

* * *

Well, it seems that Winston

* * *

Wasn't exactly the person

* * *

To make that little speech,

* * *

For a bitter cry arose

* * *

From the Labor Journals:

* * *

"WHO is this VETERAN

* * *

Of GALLIPOLI

* * *

And Antwerp

* * *

And Cambrai,

* * *

To talk of FITNESS

* * *

To GOVERN?"

* * *

And at those words

* * *

The hearts of women

* * *

All over the land

* * *

Called out

* * *

For their LOST SONS,

* * *

And the [illegible] of men

* * *

Who had seen comrades

* * *

On the hot, pest-ridden coast

* * *

Slaughtered USELESSLY

* * *

For a mistake—

* * *

Turned against Churchill

* * *

For the BLUNDERING

* * *

And the MUDDLING

* * *

That wasted the youth

* * *

Of England.

* * *

And thus

* * *

Are men's hearts turning

* * *

All over the world,

* * *

Not against ONE

* * *

Mistaken battle,

* * *

But against a whole

* * *

Mistaken SYSTEM

* * *

Of MANY battles;

* * *

Not against Churchill only,

* * *

But against ALL

* * *

Of Churchill's BREED,

* * *

The statesmen of earth

* * *

Sitting in high places

* * *

Playing their game of power

* * *

They who have WRECKED

* * *

A civilization

* * *

And BANKRUPTED a continent

* * *

They who plunged into hell

* * *

Whole PEOPLES,

* * *

By their ambition

* * *

And brainless muddling,

* * *

But who still have the nerve,

* * *

To talk loftily

* * *

Of fitness to GOVERN,

* * *

Instead of slinking away

* * *

And hiding in shame

* * *

At the DESOLATION

* * *

They have made.

THE FUNERAL OF GENERAL NIKOLAYEV.

The Red General, Formerly a Tsarist General, Was Hanged by the White Guards in Yamburg.

General Nikolayev, who, during the capture of Yamburg, was hanged by the Whites, was solemnly buried on October 5th by Red Petrograd. He, formerly a general in the army of the Tsar, was, according to the papers in Petrograd, one of the first to enter the command of the Red Army, and took over the command of the Xth division. The hangmen of the White army could not forgive him for that and he fell as the first victim of the White Terror in Yamburg. The Soviet of Petrograd sent two representatives to call for the body in Yamburg. Eye witnesses report that after Yamburg was taken, General Nikolayev was the first one to be hanged. "They are murdering me but the idea of the Communists cannot be murdered," were his last words.

The whole of Red Petrograd participated in the funeral, October 5th. All troop detachments and all organizations of the city assembled with standards and bands at the War Commissariat, where the coffin stood, covered with beautiful wreaths, in the decorated room. The coffin was carried out amid the firing of salutes and the singing of revolutionary songs. Zinoviev made a short farewell speech. "Today," he said, "we bury the fallen hero Nikolayev. In this for us so heavy and dangerous time, he gave his knowledge, his power, and finally his life in defense of the cause of labor. He was a general from the old time but this did not prevent him from entering the Red Army as a leader and defender of the Socialist Republic. His enemies hated him for this. It even seemed that the bullet was too good for him, and they killed him, this old righter, with a rope.

"He died as a hero. He seriously believed in the cause that he defended.

"The land owners and lackeys of the old time besought him to enter the ranks on their side and promised him great advantages, but he repected their offers and preferred this heroic death.

"His act will not be forgotten. His name will shine as a star to comming generations. Our whole army and republic uncovers its head in his memory. His memory will shine forever. Let us follow in his steps. May every fighter in our army be willing to follow his example and may there be many men like him amongst us.

"Praised be he, who gave his energy and his life for the cause of the workers and the peasants. Long live our Red Army and our victory."

The Red hero was burried, according to the wishes of his family, in a small obscure workers' cemetery, —that belonging to a china factory—and thousands of Red soldiers and citizens accompanied him to his last resting place.

Thus Soviet Russia honors the officers and generals, who serve and fight for the great cause of Socialism and the prolatariat.

The Black Sheep

CHAP. XIV.

Sunday Morning (continued.)

Jack sat on the edge of his bed swinging his legs and stroking the fuzz on his chin. His mind was ingrossed with the things Collins had told him regarding the ancient labor unions. It was all so different from what he had been taught by his parents and the dominie concerning the origin of Christianity. And yet, Collins gave him by far the more reasonable explanation. It had originated in the needs of the poor; it was the answer to the soul's cry for liberty; to its longing for a greater scope of self expression. No wonder, that the Bible said of Christ "the poor heard him gladly." He thought of the text that said, "Those that sat in darkness saw a great light" and again "Stand ye in the freedom with which Christ has made you free, and be not again taken with the yoke of bondage." These and other thoughts were racing thru the boys brain. At last he asked, "I say Collins do you really believe that there is such a thing as a personal God?"

"No," the other answered, "intelligent people do not entertain that idea now. Gods are only personifications of man's desires. Devils are the the personification of his fears. His religion, and by that I mean hs church affiliations represent his class position in society or rather the social phase of it. Church membership for a working man simply advertises his stupidity."

"You must admit that the churches are becoming more liberal," Rudolph suggested; "they no longer teach their ancient superstitions, such as a brimstone hell and the six day creation and all that old junk. The preachers are becoming civilized."

"You mean they are becoming extinct," Collins retorted, "when science enters a church that is the first sign of its mortification. Remember the church has a two fold purpose, the first is to act as a show window for the wearing apparel on the backs of the female parasites, and the second is, to act as a chloroform cap for the workers. The workers and their masters do not go to the same church building; they go to churches of the same denomination. They sing from the same hymn books; they read selected passages from the same Bible; that keeps up the delusion of the identity of interests. The only difference is that the preacher in the rich man's church praises his pew renters for their benevolence, while in the poor man's church the preacher tells his victims to be contented with their lot and not read socialist literature.

"There are very few churches exclusively dedicated to the workers. Capitalism has learned to chloroform them in mass by means of revivalists. These devils hand out the bunk as of yore. Hell for those who dare to think for themselves and 'pie in the sky' for those who swallow what they dish out. They teach entirely a negative attitude toward life. It consists of a long series of don'ts. It may be summed up like this don't think, don't strike, don't covet, don't swear, don't drink, don't smoke, don't do anything your manhood bids you do, and great shall be your reward."

"But the workers are getting away from it," Rudolph argued.

"That is the way it appears to you. Remember that you look at things from a different view point. You were raised in a ghetto, where your body was starved for bread ,but your mind was fed with truth. You were raised in a radical, I might say revolutonary environment. It is different with me. I was raised on the nitrous oxide of damnation, and on the morphine of gold standard bliss. Only last summer I wandered into a Gypsy Smith meeting and there I saw Mr. Block and Henry crying to the skies for salvation. .They were singing their "heads off," apparently very happy over the prospect of getting their surplus value when the worms have had a barbaque on their carcasses."

"Still you seem to believe in the moral power of the church," Rudolph said. "You favor prohibition, that is a typical church reform."

"Yes I favor prohibition," Collins replied, "simply because it will force some of the boys to remain sober long enough to get a chance to use their heads. Booze befuddles the intellect; it renders it incapable of absobing intelligence. The church never favored prohibition until drunkness became a menace to machine industry, especially railway transpoptation. A person did not like the idea of being ushered into the glories of heavens as the result of carelessness on the part of a drunken engineer. Take it from me, fellows, prohibition will be forced on the people as soon as capitalism starts a war big enuf to produce a real scarcity of workers. When production will depend on the personal efficiency and endurance of the workers, then the masters will see to it that there is no booze to be had.

We must give the capitalist credit for being long headed where their personal interests are concerned. They take pains to prepare the public mind for a necessary change to their interests. That is why they are sending out sky pilots and temperance workers to preach sobriety. They know that sobriety will be needed when workers shall have been made scarce. It works on the same principle on which they use missionaries. We all know that missionaries are sent into so called heathen countries for two purposes, to educate the heathen in the use of american manufactured articles, so as to expand the market for them, and second to fool with the heathen's religion which will naturally make him sore so that he will either kill or hurt the missionary. This then makes the excuse for sending over an army and enslaving the heathen—for his own good of course. The surplus value so acquired, is naturally not in the reckoning.

"Now I do not say that all missionaries are conscious of this when they go. A tool does not need consciousness. Gods move in mysterious ways thru the halls of the chambers of commerce. But very often the missionary does know and acts upon his knowledge. The Hawaiian Islands are a case in point. The natives loathe the very name of missionary, because these sanctimonious devils stole nearly everything the natives had and then sold out the country to legalize their crimes."

"The ass knoweth the crib of his master," Jack quoted, "and the preacher knoweth the source of his income. It is never from on high but sometimes from higher up."

"You know it," agreed Collins. "Material interest is at the bottom of it all. All is governed by it with the exception of the working class. They often seem to act against it."

Jack suggested that there was a good reason for this singular phenomenon. Said he, "it is doubtlessly due to the fact that labor has been bored to slavery ;they are domesticated animals whose life habits no longer conform to their personal requirements but rather to the requirements of the masters of the world. They have been specially selected for slavery and I am half way convinced that your attempt to make anything but slaves out of them is sheer folly. Of course I may be mistaken, in fact I hope I am mistaken, but I recognize in such men as George and Herman, Rudolph and yourself nothing but unfavorable variations. We belong neither to the master or the slave class with the result that we are hated by the one and suspected by the other."

"Unfavorable variations are doomed to extinction," suggested Rudolph.

"That is quiet true when they are unfavorable to the natural environment. Thruout the ages the rebel types have died childless; that is why they are not more numerous. But capitalism develops the world's markets, and educates the world's peoples in the art of production. They tie the nations together with bands of steel in the form of railroads, and with commercial treaties. That will eventually put and end to a place for the investment of surplus value. When the markets are gone what need is there for the working class. Fifty per cent of them will be useless; an un-employed burden on society. There is only one thing that can be done with them, they must b eexteminated. Doubtlessly this will be done by war. It appears to me that an effort to educate them is merest dreamery, for the master class has a thorly organized, trained and systematic educating machinery. All that you can get into action is a few cheap pamphlets and papers written by men who lack education. If I am right that the mass of the workers are slaves by heredity then nothing but extinction can befall them when the markents are gone. With the passing of the markets, passes the need of slaves. Capital no longer has an incentive to exploit. A new battle front is set up in society, between the social and individualistc types. In that day whch must come as a logical sequence of evolutionary processes our type which today finds no place in the world may become the possessors of the earth," said Jack answering the Jew.

"Hully gee!" Collins observed. "For a kid, you've got the damnedest ideas I ever heard. In fact, it would take some thinking to answer you completely. I know that no sky-pilot could do it."

"Perhaps not and yet I cannot accept your view in its totality. It appears to me that the church is a molding force, rather than a force that is molded. Think of her power during the middle ages," said the boy.

"When she was a property institu-

(Continued on page 4)

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

WHO IS AFRAID?

The hurricane has already spent its fury. The storm swept accross the country and gathering up in its whirling arms a few thousand alleged "reds", it has swept them into (and mostly out of) prison, where they were rated, thumb marked, photographed and some probably will be deported. Rising without warning except in a few localities, where the tip was somehow given, the nation woke up one morning to the fact that it had been "raided". The newspapers followed with volleys of lurid "news" of terrors that would be visited upon the offending "radicals". They kept it up as long as there was a hair to hang a "red" story by.

Somehow or other, no one seemed to get very excited. A sense of disgust seemed to pervade the general atmosphere which was directed at the government's alleged drive at radicalsm. The public is becoming used to ponderous publicity campaigns for one thing and another. It is sufficiently fed up on such that it no longer waxes delirious over artificial and t rumped up governmental campaigns, especially when directed apparently at the political rights of citizens. So much of repression was accomplished by the government agencies during the war, people hoped for a cessation when the armistice was signed, only to be disappointed by further encroachments upon the historic liberties of American civil and political life. They are growing jealous of what little is left them in the way of personal and poltical liberty. Campaigns of repression directed against the "reds" have lost their savor upon the public palate.

In all probability no one will be deported who does not desire it. The average foreigner, especially Russian, is only too anxious to get passage to his home land, if it is free, so much the more acceptable. Most radicals are becoming used to jail terms, while that life has lost its novelty, it has also lost its fear for them. If by chance in the capitalist courts, a "red" is sentenced to serve time, he looks upon the mater in a philosophical manner. He is neither deterred from following his conscience in the pursuit of industrial democracy for the working—class, nor does he hesitate for a moment in fear of prison bars.

Members of the Communist Labor Party have nothing to fear from governmental raids. Ours is a legal political Party. Its methods are open to the public view. It has nothing to hide. It courts every opportunity to carry on its activities where all may see. If the government desires to know what the Communist Labor Party contemplates, it can learn at any time. If it will not be convinced by the propaganda which we publish, then it has the power to give us the streets for public meetings where our speakers will be glad to tell our message to all who will listen.

These things being true, what has any Communist Labor Party member to fear? The answer is, he has nothings to fear.

KINDRED SPIRITS.

Capitalist class "justice" offers some striking contrasts if you have an eye for color. Consider the case of one W. A. Kistler, embezzler, of Warren Ohio. Mr. Kistler confesses to have robbed the county in which he was treasurer of the modest sum of $30.000 odd dollars and some other odd cents. He is now explaining why and wherefore in court. To date a certain lady, other than his wife, is playing an important role in the lurid story.

Newspaper reports state that Mr. Kistler is doing very well while in durance vile pending the outcome of the case. The sherriff has extended every courtesy which will make the county jail as "homelike" as possible. The prisoner has been given a large room in the Woman's department—this is rather tough on the woman's ward. Electric lights are provided, also rocking chairs and a real bed, not just an ordinary lousy jail mattres or plain board or concrete floor, not by any means. Mr. Kistler states that his health is improving.

Now, we do not begrudge Mr. Kistler his bed and rocking chairs. Our method would be to give every prisoner humane and decent surroundings. But we are citing a contrast. Here it is. A few weeks ago—until he became so ill that his life was feared for, Eugene V. Debs was caged like a wild animal in a cell for 14 hours out of every twenty-four in the Atlanta Federal prison. Debs is known over the whole world for his great and loving heart. Millions love him as they do their own families. He never filched a penny from any one, but has given all he ever earned except a bare substistence to the unfortunate. He has refused to line his pockets with gold, and he could have done so times innumerable. He chose rather, to remain with the poor and the unfortunate, that he might help lift them up. His life has been one long service to the oppressed.

Debs is only one. The jails of America are filled today with men and women whose crimes are that they sought to lift the fallen and make easier the path of the world's toilers. Capitalist society has condemned many of them to long prison sentences. Robbers, embezzlers, thieves of all descriptions get out of jail with only a few months to their credit. It is a usual custom, especially where the prisoner has "influential" friends on the outside. It is as tho the capitalist class recognized in the thieves a certain kinship that must be upheld. As a matter of fact, there is little difference between robbing a victim at the point of a gun and doing the same in the regular way—where the victim performs his daily task. Capitalism has immesurably more respect for the thief than for the philosopher, if his philosophy endangers the existence of the robber system—capitalism. The thief is extolled, the humanitarian is jailed when he is not assisinated . Such do the daily court records give us in the way of social contrasts.

The Newcomer to Akron is greeted with a sign at the Union Station "the City of Opportunity". Truly—since Akron in the past year sent more people to the Electric Chair in Columbus that any other city in Ohio.

"I am after some of the new books", writes comrade Frank Renko. He orders Bullitt's Report and states he will send subs for some of the premiums later.

HYPOCRICY REVEALED.

Slowly but surely the perfidy and hypocrisy of the burgeoisie is being revealed. It is becoming apparent to even the hitherto most credulous dupes of the governing element in society that deceit and duplicity, rather than honorable procedure, are the means universally employed by them to perpetuate their reign of exploitation.

The testimony of Wm. C. Bullitt, attache of the Peace Conference, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, is a startling epose of the conspiracy of the Allied governments to wreck Soviet Russia. This, however, is no surprise to readers of history. No one conversant with the long record of chicanery employed by the master class, and the merciless use of force when necessary, to maintain their supremacy over the lives of the workers, expects them to be anything but liars, knaves and butcehrs, yet never before has the cloven hoof been so openly exhibited as since the close of the World War.

Mr. Bullitt relates a story of duplicity that is amazing for its brazen effrontery and practically every prominent representative of the Allied governments is charged with insincerity and double dealing. Returning from Russia, whither he had been sent for the "declared" purpose of studying conditions with a view to a declaration of peace with the Soviet government, he reported to the Peace Conference the terms the former would accept, which practically embraced all demands of the Allies. He tells in detail of his efforts to secure consideration of these terms and how the representatives of the various governments "passed the buck" on to others until the expiration of the date specified for a meeting, and all but charges these representatives with lack of intent to carry out the project. Reading between the lines one can discern the insidious machinations of the world imperialists to prevent recognition of the Soviet republic on any terms whatever.

Even though the matter be taken up on the floor of the Senate, as is probable during the further discussions on the League of Nations, it is safe to prophecy that the capitalist press will carefully refrain from giving it any publicity.

Every reader of The Toiler should procure a copy of "The Bullitt Mission to Russia". At the present time nothing is of more importance than the enlightenment of the workers regarding the nefarious practices of the rulers they have been taught to respect. This report will go far toward acquainting them with the real character of those who control the State to further their own selfish ends.

TOM CLIFFORD.

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL.

— By TOM CLIFFORD —

Victor Berger, twice elected to Congress from Wisconsin, and twice refused his seat by the loyal henchmen of capitalism who compose that body, may find some comfort in the knowledge that he is not the only victim of a world made safe for democracy. The five candidates of the Socialist Party elected to the New York assembly had the same "kibosh"—firmly, calmly and deliberately—put on their ambition to represent the working class in that emporium of legislation. The reason given for the "knockout" is the same as that advanced for the persecution of members of the Communist Labor Party. They are charged with being "revolutionists," and no denial of the soft impeachment will receive the slightest consideration from the "patriots" who have the might to exercise the right to prevent contamination of their sacred temple. Maybe this arbitrary procedure will have the salutary effect of making real rebels out of these milk- and water-protesters. The mills of the gods are still doing business at the same old stand and experience is a great educator.

* * *

Since last March 8,000 soldiers have deserted from the army that is being created for the purpose of holding the workers of this nation in subjection. To an humble observer it would appear that some of the strenuosity now being expended in rounding up innocent foreign-born residents might be more effectively utilized in controlling the insurrection in the army—speaking of course strictly from the bourgeoisie standpoint.

* * *

An occasional shaft of criticism is still being hurled by the capitalist dalies at the profiteers, but we notice that these later phillipies have the erstwhile stinging denunciation largely removed. The worst that now appears is a mild reproof, coupled with a reminder that continued exploitation of the consumers is liable to breed Bolsheviks. Of course the editors are aware that profiteering cannot be prevented and are only making a grand stand play to the public, but what must be thought of the "mutt" who persistently supports a profit system while continually bellyaching about the practice of its ethics? His carburetter needs adjustment.

* * *

The steel strike has resulted in a fiasco. The gentlemen comprising the Steel Trust must be chucking over the ignorance of the workers that enabled them to close down their furnaces and place the blame on the strikers. If the leaders of the strike were ignorant of the fact that there was an overproduction of steel due to the lack of markets they are not fit for the positions they occupy. But were they ignorant? I hardly think so.The Steel Trust has gained more than a victory. An impending calamity—the partial or entire closing down of the industry—has been averted. The possibility of that happening just now is the nightmare of capitalism.

* * *

And now the coal miners, through the beneficencent operation of a Federal court injunction, have returned to their jobs and are performing their duty to society. They now admit that whatever obligation they owe to their wives and children is of secondary importance.

Maybe they can partly meet the latter with the 14 per cent advance to graciously accorded them by Brother Garfield, Any way, hasn't the government promised to look further into the matter, and what more can they ask? It is true that some of them are manifesting a spirit of insurgency, and even go so far as to say that their officers should have emulated the example of Debs and gone to jail, but these misguided malcontents forget how helpless they would be without the wisdom of their leaders to guide them. Then, perhaps, it is the will of Providence. Let us pray.

* * *

Were it not for the phenomenal astuteness of those guardians of the public welfare, the secret service sleuths the nation might now be writhing in the throes of revolution. Yes, sir, you may not believe it, but they nipped it right in the bud. A few thousand men, scattered througout the country from Maine to California, if you believe the newspapers, were just on the eve of precipitating a sosial cataclism when the watch dogs of our nation swooped down upon them. That's the kind of dope the people are expected to absorb, and, strange to say, there are some one hundred per cent muts that lick it up like a cat does cream.

Communist Spirit Thrives Among Ellis Island Exiles.

The following letter was recently written by one of the deportees on Ellis Island to his brother:

"Between bad stomachs and the U. S. Department of Justice, it is hard to decide which is causing more trouble to the officials at Ellis Island. A week ago the probabilities were that they did not figure on having concentrated so many 'Reds' here.

"Now that they have us here the nvestigation committees come around, stay a while, and go away muttering, 'Damn those Bolsheviki! We can't understand them.' Of course they can't understand us, not even if they live 1,000 years.

"It must be admitted that the U. S. Department of Justice is working very hard to destroy the idea of Communism. Little do they know what they are doing. Instead of destroying Communist principles and ideas, they are helping in their progress.

"Our organization here is a miniature of a commune. The basis of existence is the predominance of the collective spirit as against the spirit of indivdualsm. So far has this developed that it is becoming difficult to tell the characteristic of one Comrade from that of another.

"Touching and interesting scenes are to be seen every moment of the day. When we first came here, the greatest luxury was to procure a shave. A Comrade receives a razor from home, and without any invitation a line is formed and all are shaved.

"Another luxury is rye bread. A Comrade receives some rye bread and distributes it among the Comrades. Another Comrade receives a can of cigarettes; half he keeps and half is turned in to the commune. Word comes to us that the lady Comrades are in need of money. Before one can count three, $61.50 is raised and sent to our lady Comrades. These instance can be multilied ad infinitum.

"There are nations who express their instinct for music through the individual, such as France and Italy. There are nations who express their instinct for music through the people as a whole. The glory of Russian music lies in the folk song and revolutionary songs, the result of years of persecution. The most wonderful spectacle is that of the Russian Comrades singing their folk songs.

"But the officials do not seem to like these songs, because they constantly interrupt and tell us that we make too much noise. Well, we can account for this: 'He who has no soul for music is either a scoundrel or a fool.'

"And so the spirit of Communism is daily unfolding itself here on Ellis Island, with the officials gaping and mumbling to themselves, 'Damn those Bolsheviki! We can't understand them.'"

WAR ON IGNORANCE.

We have declared WAR on IGNORANCE. Will you enlist in the ranks of the ENLIGHTENERS? We intend to establish in the State Office of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio a Book and Pamphlet Department second to none in the nation. We will handle only the best of the Revolutionary literature of the past and present. We will also publish new literature of our own. We have since Jan. 1st gotten one pamphlet off the press, another will be ready for sale in a few days. Others are contemplated.

The co-operation of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and literature agents is earnestly hoped for. The demand for new and good revolutionary literature is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply this demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can sell pampalets every week to shopmates and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

Every Class-conscious Worker must help Strike Down the Monster, Ignorance, that Enslaves the Workers.

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR ADDITIONAL TITLES.

Crimes of the Bolsheviki 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Soviet Russia ....10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russia, Articles by Tchicherin, Eastman, Lenin, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18 each.
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Slander of the Toilers 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Think or Surrender, 15c each, 10 or more 10c each.
Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Bullitt Mission to Russia, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.
Communist Manifesto (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Law of Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Jack London's Works, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Russia in 1919, Ransome, $1.50, 5 or more, $1.25.
Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Pelle the Conqueror, $4.00 (2 volumes).
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Savage Survivals, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism for Students, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Socialism and Modern Science, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Stories of the Cave People, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism and War, $1.00 each.
Ten Days That Shook The World, $2.00 each.
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Universal Kinship, Moore, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.

PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY—ADDRESS:

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3207 Clark Ave.—Cleveland, Ohio.

The Truth About the Czar's Assassination.

(From the Moscow paper "Pravda".)

(The following translation of a Russian document from the Moscow Communist newspaper "Pravda" throws an interesting light on the charge frequently repeated in the American bourgeouis press to the affect that the Bolsheviki killed in cold blood the exCzar of Russia and his family. This document shows that not only were the Bolsheviki not guilty, but that the murder was committed by a political opponent of the Bolsheviki to discredit the Soviet Government. Yakhontov who was responsible for the order, evindently got himself elected to a high Soviet position in order to be able to accomplih this treachery, but was finally discovered and punished for the coldblooded assassination. The party to which Yakhontov belonged, the Left Social-Revolutionaries, is generally considered as the most treacherous opposition to the Bolsheviki, and this party was, before the establishment of the Soviet regime as well as since then, a terrorist party, which by its deeds of violence against individuals has always been discrediting all constructive revolutionary movements. It is interesting to note that when members of this same party killed in a similar manner Count von Mirbach, the Allies praised them to the skies.)

The Revolutionary Tribunal presided over by Comrade Matveyer, after a two-day examination, finished the case of the murder of the ex-Czar Nicholas Romanoff, of his wife Alexandra nee Princess of Hesse, of their daughters Olga, Maria, and Anastasia, and of divers persons with them.

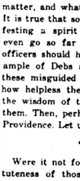
As the results indicated, 11 persons in all were killed. The number of defendants was 28; three of them, Gruzinov, Yakhontov, and Malyutin being members of the Yekaterinburg Soviet, two of them, Maria Apraxima and Yelizaveta Mironova, being woman, while the rest were officers of the guard.

After a long examination of the witnesses and defendants the complete picture of the murder was revealed. The ex-Czar and the rest were shot and were not, according to plan, subjected to any ridicule. Yakhontov, the chief defendant ex-member of the Yekaterinburg Soviet, admitted that the murder of the ex-Czar's family was organized by him for the purpose of discrediting the Soviet regime in the interest of the Left Social-Revolutionaries to whom he belonged. According to Yakhontov's evidence, the murder of Nicholas Romanoff was attempted when he was at Tobolsk, but the watchful guards prevented the plan from being carried out. At Yekaterinburg, when confusion reigned among the Soviet authorities due to the approach of the Czecho-Slovaks to the city, he, as chairman of the extraordinary commission, gave out an order to shoot the imperial family and those around them. Yakhontov declared that he was present at the execution and, in any case took the responsibility on himself, but was not guilty of the robberies that followed the murder. In his evidence Yokhontov specially emphasised as the last words uttered by Nicholas Romanoff: "For my death, my people will curse the Bolsheviki."

The other defendants, including Gruzinov and Milyutin, declared that they did not know of Yakhontov's treason, and that they executed his commands.

After the speeches of the prosecutor and the defense, the tribunal found guilty of the murder of the ex-Czar's family et. al only Yakhontov, and sentenced him to be shot. Gruzinov, Malyutin, Apraxima, Mironova, and 9 Red Guards were found guilty of robbing the victims and were also sentenced to be shot. The rest were acqitted. The following day the sentences were carried out. The decision of the Tribunal is the best proof that the Soviet Government has taken all measures to detect and punish those who were guilty of this senseless murder. The clever plan of the Social-Revolutionaries failed.

The Toledo Blade complanis that Kolchak was whipped last week, but that good news about him was due.—Yes it came, he Resigned.



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Life & Letters
by
DAVID KARSNER

"I give to you as the author, and to Boni and Liveright as the publishers my word of approval and hearty endorsement of your book. You will write just the kind of a book that Time and History will require, and in every line, on every page, you will be speaking for me with my authority, given to you without reservations or qualifications."—Eugene V. Debs to David Karsner.

Address: COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO,
3207 Clark Ave. — Cleveland, Ohio.

THE SETTING SUN OF CAPITALISM.

— By WALTER E. DILLON. —

Once when I was a boy I made a trip by coaster from New Haven, Connecticut, to Machias, Maine, and during the six months that it took to complete this voyage I saw the sun go down in many different ways and under many and varying conditions. To-night, facing as we all do the setting sun of Capitalism, I recall particularly the night that we rounded Cape Cod in one of the worst sou'easters that is given to any sailor to experience.

Up to the time we reached Martha's Vineyard, the weather had been ideal, the sound a blue pond, the breeze a summer zepher, and the landscape beautiful and serene in all the clothing of late summer. But as the afternoon grew towards a close and the sun prepared to dip below the western horizon, a peculiar lull apparent even to me, a landsman, seemed to throw a pall over all. Our sails flapped listlessly in the intermittent breezes, the captain cast repeated and troubled glances at the heavens which to me appeared bright enough, and remarked to my father that we probably had a rough night before us.

As the afternoon wore on I grew sleepy and finally went down into the cabin and fell asleep in a rocking chair. My last waking memories were of two other vessels, one to the starboard and one to port of us, like ourselves with every sail bent, running wing and wing, trying to get the last ounce of speed out of the fleeting breezes, in order that we might round Cape Cod before the impending storm broke.

To me, we three vessels were merely running a race, and my thoughts were wholely devoted to matters of relative speed, happy when we appeared to be gaining on the other two vessels, angry if they seemed to be gaining on us. How like the grown boys of today as they look on at the struggles of the social elements, the workers who understand the current bending every energy in preparation for the impending gale, and the shirkes amongst the workers looking calmly on and lending no hand to avert disaster, even as I looked on that day off Cape Cod.

The storm struck in all its fury—but I slept on. It bore us in its teeth slowly but surely towards the treacherous sand bars. The men of the vessel fought valiantly, but I—I slept in ignorance of danger, slept while others sweated, groaned, suffered and cursed in the agony of their battle with the elements. Perhaps the weight that I could have added would have averted disaster, an atom by myself but the sorely needed atom that would have swung the battle—but I slept on. The good old vessel tossed and churned the seas and the men fought bravely to the last, but the elements proved victorious and we finally crashed bows on to Peaked Hill bar, plowed the full length of the vessel and hung with our stern caught fast.

The jar as we struck and caught threw me across the cabin, rocking chair on top of me. Still sleepy I picked myself up and sat down again, but another heavy sea sent me sprawling. Again I sat down and again went sprawling, and as I picked myself up my father came down the companionway, lantern in hand, dripping from the elements. His first words were: "Well, Walter, if we go down I will lose a valuable chest of tools, but I will carry you safely to shore."

Fully awake at last, I went up on deck and took the wheel. Luckily for us the tide was rising. The captain warned me to swing out to sea just as soon as I could feel her answer to the helm which we hoped almost hopelessly would happen at or near high tide. At last we swung clear, I held her grimly on her course, and the men of the vessel manned the pumps, reefed sails and we all fought our way around the cape into the untroubled waters of Duxbury harbor. It was high moon before any of us awakened and took an inventory of our losses and damages. They were quite grave but far from hopeless and we immediately began to repair them preparatory to another and fresh start.

This incident in my life, comrades, I am telling you because it so vividly portrays the struggle we are now engaged in. The few years just previous to 1914 were as the hours of the morning and earl yafternoon of that day on Long Island Sound; the present is the late afternoon of that same day; and the night—the night, comrades, is before us.

The setting sun of Capitalism is slowly sinking behind the hills of yesterday. In that sun the Capitalist Class sees all to plainly the demise of all that they hold dear. The sun is of a deep red hue, symbolical of the rise of the Socialist Commonwealth on the morrow. You and I, comrades, bid the setting sun good night, and we would go peacefully to our rest in the full knowledge that the dawn of the day would bring love and happiness to the whole world. But the spirits of the dark will not have it so, and as the sun sinks to its rest we Communists, the captains of the human vessels sailing on the sea of life, are warned of impending evil, and instead of going to our well earned rest we remain awake and watchful for the breaking of the storm.

The masses of the workers go calmly to their sleep, prototypes of myself on that day on the sound. Would that they could sense the storm as we Communists sense it, but they can't and so we are left to fight the battle all through the night. Let us, then, be vigilant. Upon us depends the future of the race, and the rising sun must find us still on deck though battle scarred and weary.

The "Iron Heel" of capitalism is now beginning its ruthless grind, and though we Communist Labor Party members and the members of the Communist Party are getting the brunt of the attack, our former comrades in arms, the Socialists, are receiving their share of attention.

Even in the strenuous night of our battles with the forces of Capital we can find time to smile at the plight of these same Socialists. The situation in particular of those Socialists in New York City who have now been barred from their seats in the State Legislature is very ludicrous. These are the men, mind you, who voted for and supported the Liberty Loans, who were averse to the St. Louis Proclamation after it became extremely hazardous to support it though they were perfectly in harmony with it so long as it was still an academic proposition. These are the men, if you please, comrades, who themselves or through others like them voted for the Liberty Arch across Fifth Avenue, New York City, on which is inscribed amongst other names supposedly symbolizing the heroic victories of American troops in Europe, the name MURMANSK.

MURMANSK, where the soldiers of working class Russia were slaughtered while defending their working class republic against the armies of Allied Capitalist governments; MURMANSK, the blackest and ugliest smudge on the escutcheon of all working class organizations that failed to rise in a very gale of terrific wrath to avenge their brothers who were slaughtered there; MURMANSK, where the first really great battle of the workers and the capitalists was fought. And Liberty Arch, standing across Fifth Avenue, emblazons to the world that passes beneath its shadows that we are proud of America's part in the slaughter of the workers of Russia at Murmansk.

In the bitterness of our hearts at this base betrayal of our comrades in Russia, we might at first feel inclined to laugh now at the discomfiture of those so-called Socialists who are themselves today the victims of the same brutal tactics of the same Capitalists, but we cannot afford to desert them as they deserted their former comrades. Their plight, comrades, is quite just, and they deserve their fate, but as the fight we are waging is against the Capitalist Class and these men are members of the Working Class and victims of the Capitalist Class, we must forget their wrongs to us and spring to their defense.

The long and bitter night of Capitalism's last stand is before us, comrades. Many workers who ought to be on deck ready to fight the elements and keep the good ship safely on her course are below decks blissfully sleeping in total ignorance of the dangers ahead, even as I slept that day years ago. But the shock of the bars ahead will awaken them, and in the meantime we must bend our backs to the task of keeping the ship at least over the waves instead of under them.

The night may be long but the dawn is a certainty. Though the fight rage all night and the elements keep the ascendancy at all stages we know that the dawn will come, and so we will keep on fighting though our ranks be thinned, our organization all but shattered and our nerves a taut set of silken shreds. Our knowledge of the goal to which we have set our course will renew our courage and with gritted teeth we will throw back the hordes of Capitalist Huns at every repeated attack.

The sun of Capitalism is setting, comrades, and the long and bitter night is about to swallow us, a night fraught with all the suffering and torment of a Capitalism in full knowledge of its impending demise, and resolved to die in an orgy of blood and terror, with its gleaming teeth and frothing mouth open to tear and rend every worker who stands in its path. But long as the night may be, and great as may be our suffering, we know that the Red Dawn will bring to all humanity the high ideals and generous warmth and light of true brotherhood, not to a chosen few, but to all mankind.

To the new day, comrades, let us devote our every energy and thought, and through the long night of Capitalist bestiality let us comport ourselves as befits the progenitors of the New Era. Erect and unswerving we will face the fire of Capital, gentle but just in our attitude towards those who seemingly are never able to get down off the fence, smilingly indifferent to personal insults or persecution but merciless and terrible in our exactions against all those who cause sufferring and misery to the Working Class as a whole.

Capitalism's sun has set, comrades. The darkness has set in. Let us turn from the black pall of the Capitalist West to the brightening East of Socialism's Dawn.

Long live the Worker's Commonwealth!

BABSON SAYS DEPRESSION IS COMING.

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Babson's addresses on the labor situation before his clients in Hotel Statler and before the employment managers in the Chamber of Commerce were similar. He made these statements at both places:

"The worst of all forms of wild oats is the talk in favor of direct action. I question whether it does much good to put people in jail or deport them for talking about such things, but, nevertheless, all talk in favor of direct action is wrong. Revolution is impossible here.

"The appeals to patriotism have lost their force. The only means of reaching the wage workers is to let them learn by experience. Let them try in a small way some of the things which they wish to try. If these experiments are successful we all want them."

After his address before his clients questions were asked of Mr. Babson. Some of these and his answers follow:

Q.—Is it not possible prices will reach a point where people will stop buying?

A.—It would seem so, but it is not apparent yet. People are still buying the more expensive articles.

Q.—What is going to happen to rents?

A.—Rents are likely to stay up. Houses and apartments have been too cheap. I would advise you to lease for as long as you wish.

Q.—Why do you predict prosperity will last longer with a Republican than with a Democratic victory?

A.—Republicans represent the money, the initiative and largely the brains of the country, and the Republicans, if elected, will give the country one more hyperdermic. President Wilson once told me the Republicans were all brains and no heart and the Democrats all heart and no brains.

Q.—How soon will Liberty bonds be at par?

A.—In five years witouth question. They are the best investment at the present time, because in the depression they will posses the quality of absolute safety.

Q.—What do you think of profit sharing and bonus plans as remedies for labor trouble?

A.—Theoretically I believe in these plans, but I have not yet seen a satisfactory scheme.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

tion," Collins answered. "You told me once how your local preacher succeeded in persuading your parents to send you away from home. How he changed their love into hate. I remember, that during that discussion you said that the preacher controlled the economic life of the community. You were mistaken. What you should have said was, that he greatly influenced the social life of the community. You must not confuse the two terms."

"Let me illustrate: the church will hound a young girl whose fire burned a little too brightly upon the altar of venus to a suicide's grave. The church will make life a hell for a fatherless child. A church will dismiss a preacher who accidently uses his brain, but neither you nor any one else has ever heard of her dismissing from membership, a banker on account of the way he got his money. He may have obtained it by financing gambling dens or renting rooms to a vice syndicate. If he has the money he is a respected citizen, and child of God. They never mind, the fact that Christ loved the poor; that forgave the Magdaline; they never think of the fact that he forgave the thief. You must not forget that the cross is the emblem of the church, and during the days of the Roman empire the cross was the terror of the slaves.

"The preacher could persuade your father to send you out in the world unprepared for the battle of life. All he had to do was to point out the fact that your ideas would weaken your father's power over the rest of the family. Suppose however that the preacher had begun a series of sermons on the evils of interest, rent, and profit, or suppose that he had preached the necessity of a four dollar a day wage to the wandering worker, what then in your estimation would have become of that sky-pilot?"

"He would have been 'canned' for conduct unbecoming a minister," the boy answered.

"Exactly."

"This law of 'Economic Determinism' is a wonderful thing; it enters into every human expression, love, affection, friendship, trust, all that is purest and most beautiful in life seems to be affected by it," said Jack.

"He owns the land, the fruit, the coal—he owns you body estate and soul." Rudolph quoted from something. He loved to quote poetry. He enlivened many on otherwise lonely hour with passage from 'Omar Khyam' and the 'Kasidah', Church bells rang again and a fey minutes later female voices were heard in the adjoining rooms.

Collin's blue eyes flashed. "Church Janes, by God.; he fairly hissed. That is what I call the last hair on the tail of the limit; rob a man of his created value, rob him of his earned wages; rob him of his liberty and then force him to listen to their infernal bunk with no chance of escape."

"But they may be sincere," Rudolph protested "many of these women are."

"O Hell—so are snakes!" Collins retorted. Then turning to the boy he said: you talk to 'em kid, I'm going to sleep." He crawled into the bed and turned his face to the wall.

GOMPERS FRIENDS.

They own the meat we eat,
And own the coal we burn,
They own the shoes that's on our feet
And own the milk we churn.

They own the gas that gives us light
And own the clothes we wear.
They cause the wars and make us
fight,
For us they do not care.

They own the lights upon our streets,
And I must tell you straight,
They even own the Congress of this
old United States.
Now, Brothers, listen, this surely is
unfair —
It is a grand thing for the poor man
That they do not own the air.

One of the poor men.

THE SPIRIT OF MID-WESTERN LABOR.

(Continued from 1st page.)

Plumb received an ovation at the Labor party convention. He is welcomed with like enthusiasm everywhere. The miners believe that they should have a share in the control of the mines, not because the leaders have told them so, but because of a deep-seated conviction born of long and bitter experience with the present system. The efforts of Foster and his co-workers to organize the packing houses and the steel mills through the machinery of the American Federation of Labor, has convinced many of the workers in these industries that the industrial union, or even the "one big union" presents, not only the easiest way but the only way out of the present difficulty.

Meanwhile the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, proceeding on the assumption that "for us the revolution has already come," recruit their membership to a 100 per cent basis; control the hiring and firing in many of their shops; tie the clothing centers together in a great industrial union, and gathering their membership weekly, in the big Carmen's auditorium in Chicago, give them, free of charge, and as a part of the return for their union affiliation, a concert by the best talent obtainable in Chicago, and a talk by some leader of economic or social thought.

Individuals fall by the way. Leaders lose step and are pushed aside, but the column of the common life moves steadily along. That is what is happening today in industrial centers of the middle west. Those who make up the bulk of the column are not at all sure where they are going, but they feel quite certain that they are on their way.

THE YANKEES IN SIBERIA

From The Nation.

In "The Press and the Siberian Situation," published in the International Relations Section of November 8, reference was made to the general public indignation in Vladivostok over the suppression, by order of the American Command, of the liberal newspaper Golos Primorya for its publication of an article dealing with the behavior of Americans in Siberia. We reprint below the article over which the controversy arose. It is entitled The Yankees, and appeared in Golos Primorya (Vladivostok) of August 28.

I.

Not so very long ago we knew of the trans-Pacific Yankee only through pictures. He seemed to us then a sort of magician in his star-spangled hat and his bright striped trousers; so very tall, and with a wedge-like, pointed little beard.

We knew that this Yankee, as by a magic wand, created at home towering skyscrapers; that he bulit gigantic steamers, invented machines. It appeared that the Yankee's life was passed in strenuous work, in the roar of monstrous machines, in the brilliant, blinding light of electricity; to us he seemed living in an unfamiliar atmosphere, master of nature, commanding her bounty by the mere pressure of the electric button.

And in our time of national crisis, we fixed our rainbow hopes on our Yankee friends beyond the seas. Soon, very soon, he would come to us, with real, genuine help. That was why he was a friend! He would press any one of his numerous bottons, and laden steamers would go out to us—a mere trifle to him. It seemed so simple and so natural. The Yankee's factories produced endlessly varied machinery, tools, and articles of first necessity. It would only be a trifle to him. He could do everything!

Friends in need are friends indeed. It is not true?

We all spoke of America, hoping so for her coming, and we thought that after this war we should look no more to the detestable Germans for the things we needed. We would open our great markets to America and her exports, and in return she would bring us her experience, knowledge, and capital, and help us to increase the productive powers of our industries, to exploit, our mines and our forests.

We were genuinely happy to welcome the first Americans, who came from so far away to give us a helping hand . We rejoiced and we hoped, with the confidence and faith so inherent in us Russians.

The Yankee came, not in his star-spangled hat and bright striped trousers, but in a business suit; not lean, but well set up and well fed, looking in no way different from our own speculators. He came without his magic wand, but he spoke much and with great grandiloquence about himself, and he wondered what we wanted. And when we modestly enumerated our needs, he smiled at our trifling demands, and said: "Oh, yes! We'll send you many steamers, everything, all right!"

And we began to await the promised steamers, and many of us watched hopefully for the smoke of America nvessels on the horizon. What talk there was about our idle mining and forest resources! We thought that now, with the coming of the enterprising Americans, their systematic exploitation would begin, enriching ourselvels and them. The question of transportation, too, seemed solved: the Americans would take the railways under their care, their carrying capacity would at once increase, for it would be a simply problem for American specialists; besides, rolling stock was already on the way. At last we should no longer wait a year at a time for a chance to ship our goods.

We even forgot the Bolsheviki. It was only necessary to behold the brave, husky, disciplined American soldiers and it was clear that Bolshevism must fall before their awe-inspiring forces.

Time passed. We came to know our visiting. Yankees better, and soon all hopes began to melt away. We were disillusioned. Some said: "Our friend the Yankee in only getting ready". Others only waved their hands in despair. There were even some who doubted the authenticity of our Yankee, who said he was spurious, and that the genuine Yankee was still at home. With her highly-developed industries America could do everything; didn't she make coffee out of old soles?

How simple and trusting we Russians are, like grown-up children!

But if we Russians are simple, the Americans are not less so, who think they are conquering our hearts and our markets and are doing something big. Only at home, where everything is under their absolute command, are they creators. Here, where one must build from the ground, where obstacles rise at every turn, where vision is needed, and where one must risk much, Americans fail, losing courage and faith, caring only about the invested dollar.

Their representatives made dragon-like conditions: immediate orders for large quantities of goods, with cash guarantees, and still greater orders for the future, also cash down; as though one could, under present coditions in Russia, at once introduce and accustom the population to new goods and machines. Things were no more hopeful in our export of raw materials. The Americans have not yet learned to buy them from us directly, but do so through Japan. It is less troublesome; the Japanese buys, re-ships, and the American pays a handsome commission.

We Russians are simple, but simpler still is Mr. American.

Time does not wait. Pretty soon the German travelling salesman will come, offering the most liberal terms, for German industries and foreign trade are great and strong, and her representatives adapt themselves to all varied circumstances.

I wonder what the Y. M. C. A. boys are thinking about that!

II.

Two years ago, in Japan, at the Hotel Imperial, a few Russian ladies of my acquaintance gathered for a social chat after dinner. I introduced to them my new young American friend, who spoke some Russian, wore his evening clothes easily, gracefully knocked the ashes off his cigar, and whistled a few popular and common American tunes.

In our little circle he deported himself freely, even familiarly, with the ladies, and talked much nonsensical stuff; but when the conversation turned to art and literature, my American friend listened with great wonder, in silence, although the talk was about English and American writers. He did not know them, and everything seemed new to him.

The ladies soon became animated, and imperceptibly the interest turned to themes of love and success in life. One of the ladies proposed that each should tell an entertaining story of some beautiful daring in which the narrator was the hero. We cast lots.

I told of a lively affair which pleased the ladies very much. The ladies modestly and adroitly got away with some facetious, witty nonsense. The turn came to the American who related the following. He lived once in a house where a beautiful young girl was staying. He became greatly infatuated with her, but she paid no attention to him. Once, when no one besides them were at home, he entered her room without knocking and seizing her began to kiss her. "And what did the girl do?" asked one of the ladies. "She could do nothing," he answered complacently. "I held her fast by the hands." This free confession aroused a long outburst of laughter, but he did not understand that the merriment was due to his utter stupidity. He remained convinced that we admired his "beautiful daring".

When the ladies took their leave, and we remained alone, he said thoughtfully: "How lucky you Russian are!" "Why?" 'Among you, one may enjoy the company of women and girls, pay court to them, appear with them in society, at theatres . . . " "Do you not enjoy these pleasures at home?" "No!" he declared emphatically. "If one pays too much attention to a girl at home, it is likely to end badly; she will either demand that you marry her or begin to blackmail you." "Blackmail!" I almost rose from my chair. "Very simple. She will demand handsome payment because she spent her time with you, was seen with you, because she expected a proposal, in a word, because you were attentive." "But suppose nothing really happened between you?" "No matter. If you don't pay her, she will sue you in court, and will win, because the law is on her side."

It oppressed me as a nightmare: the lady, blackmail, the curious law-suit, and justice on the side of a blackmailer.

Then he told me how cruelly American society is persecuting prostitution, and what hideous shapes, thanks to laws, secret vice is assuming, driven to ugly, underground methods. It was hard to believe that life could become so deformed in the free American states.

I greatly pitied my handsome yong American, dressed so showily, making dollars so fast, but without the slightest interest in or understanding of art, literature, music, which open beautiful worlds of exalting, soul-enobling emotions. But my American friend, lying back in the deep easy chair, his feet thrown far out, lazily moved the points of his shining patentleather shoes up and down, whistling the while a popular air. In the commonplaceness of his stupid little air one felt the true reflection of American life—noisy, deafening, showy, but without depth and content, and so foreign to Russian culture.

III.

Of course it is a trifle—that stupid, commonplace air. One might overlook it, if its place were only the backyard and the alley. But if noisy coarseness has occupied the central position in American song, it then offers condemning testimony. Music is the most free and sublime of the arts. It reached its apogee only at the uttermost limits of Jewish culture. It is the utterance of the most mysterious emotions of our soul's, for which language is poor, color pale and poetry incomplete. As no other art, music is the blamelessly exquisite image of man's spiritual life. Music does not repeat or imitate as do other arts. Music is a going out into the world of hopes and dreams, into the immeasurable empire of sound, a yearning for perfection.

And what do the Americans give us? Noisy, rude saucy little airs, galloping, trotting airs, such as circus horses like.

My childhood was passed in Little Russia. I learned to love songs woven of beautiful words, harmonious and rapturous as a prayer. When, for the first time, I overheard a stone-cutter singing, "Never was my love for thee so cruel, old hag!" I was seized with deep consternation. Such mockery seemed like the vulgar hiccoughing of a beast. Never could I bring myself to compromise with the coarseness of the factory worker who assimilated only the negative side of city life, the underside of culture.

In American songs I feel this "old hag" tune pervading all, a spiritual emptiness, cynicism and pertness, and I cannot compromise with it, for to me, a Slav, a song is a thing of beauty, as prayer and music are—the image of a bright hope.

American literature, too, is infected with "Pinkertonism". Characteristic is the work of Jack London, a brilliant, gifted, and original author, but discoursing of brutal strength, of cruel, despotic, conquering, coarse men—and little else. The animal in man shut off from his vision the deep, noble, compassionate soul of man a thousand centuries old.

American architecture has given us skyscrapers, vast, grandiose barracks, and the bungalow; the latter, however, has a charm and originality of its own. I know of no American sculpture and painting, but apparently they are undeveloped and inferior; otherwise American multi-millionaires would not roam over Europe greedily buying up, without thought of worth or price, all objects of art. Have they really awakened to spiritual things, or are they buying rich and famous decorations for their palaces? I hesitate to pronounce judgment. But it seems to me they are moneyed men with enormous stomachs buying luscious viands. One may buy pictures for dollars, but one cannot buy understanding of beauty which belongs to the soul that hath glory in it.

Universal, insolent, lying advertising; monstrous industry; enormous skyscrapers; feverish chasing after the dollar; these have crowded out all spiritual values.

I once watched, on a screen, an exhibition of American industrial development. I was at first with wonderment at their genius, their progress, but soon this vastness transfixed me with dread. I felt that these giants with their yawning traps and terrible antennae had overtopped man himself, had seized him in the flying wheel with steel paws, and had long enslaved the inventor. These black monsters with their infernal roar have smothered the spirit of man, killed the sense of beauty and sublimity.

Great strength is too often paralleled by weak intellectual development. Nature, so wasteful in the world of vegetating things, is frugal with man; endowing him with great physical strength, she limits and curtails his intellect. Whom she endows with strength, she deprives of an additional weapon for the struggle of life.

And American culture—is it not like the low-browed athlete of great muscular powers developed at the expense of mind?

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

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WHAT DOES THE REVOLUTION MEAN TO YOU?

Capitalism is at death grips with the forces making for Industrial Democracy. The masses are rising against the classes that hold them in bondage. They are aserting their power and threatening the rule of the masters. Russia alone, of all the nations of the earth has completely conquered the exploiters and has instituted the reign of the people. The conflagration is spreading from Russia; in every nation the social atmosphere is charged with potential explosive elements. In every country the touch of a match to these embers may spring the entire social structure into midair. Capitalism exists from day to day, insecure, uncertain, fearful of the future, as it may well be, for the mass of mankind are weary of its reign of blood and slavery.

These are the times that try men's souls even as the times of which Thomas Paine wrote in the dark days of the American Revolution. The White Terror of the capitalist class has been launched against the workers. They have been assaulted, terrorized, deported, jailed, murdered. They have been deprived of the rights conferred by the Constitution. They have been victimized, bludgeoned into silence when they dared stand up like men before injustice. Eevery method which can be devised by the exploiters has been and is now being used to intimidate them and to quell the natural desires of human life. And the end is not yet. Frenzy has seized the ruling class. It sees its rule over the workers passing away. It sees its millions of profits threatened by the rising tide of revolt. It sees itself no longer the rulers of the earth and the arbiter of the fate of the masses. It views in fear and trembling the oblivion that awaits it, for the rule of the workers is presaged in every social fact and condition of the times.

These are the times that call for steadfast purpose and unrelenting determination on the part of the workers. We must realize that no physical terror of which capitalism is capable can quench the revolt against its brutal rule. We must realize in the white light of truth that it is the historic mission of the working—class to emancipate itself from the chains of wage—slavery. No other agency than the power of the workers themselves, can accomplish this task which is necessary before the earth and the fulness thereof can become the heritage of the oppressed. This is the historic mission of the workers, to rebuild upon the chaos and ruin which capitalism has wrought a new world in which the human family may reside undivided by class war and in unopposed economic interests.

This is our mission and we must fulfill it. We cannot evade it if we would. The economic urge of conditions and events of capitalistic society compell us to accomplish this task and the very life of civilization depends upon us. The workers are being driven into closer affiliation in their battle for existence. Civilization and the circumstances of time, the identity of interests of all who toil, are the forces that are driving us on to the fulfillment of this great and momentous task.

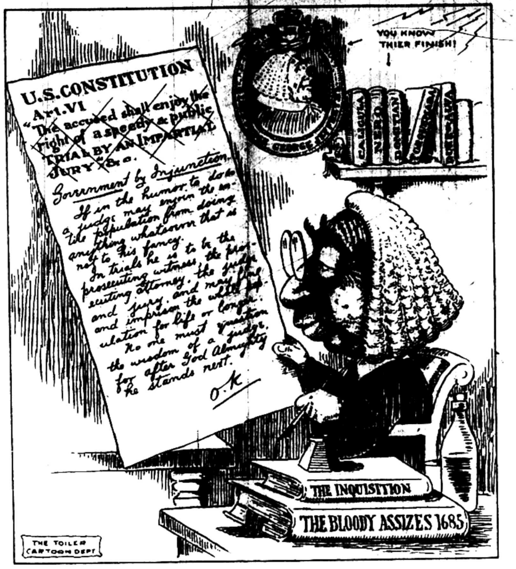
These are the times that call to duty every class—conscious worker. To all who realize the terrible evils which afflict us under the misrule of capitalism, the Revolution calls you to stand guard upon the frontier. These are not the days, nor is ours the work which appeals to "sunshine" socialists nor the "milk and water" variety. The work demands courageous effort and unending activity. It demands free giving and sacrifice. But do you know of a greater satisfaction than that which comes with work well done in this Movement? We know that you have never experienced a greater pleasure than the work which the Revolution calls you to do.

The powers of capitalism are ever seeking to divide the workers. With consumate cunning, spies in its employ work within our ranks for the purpose of sowing discord. False issues are forced upon the attention of the workers for the purpose of misleading them. Capitalism dreads above all things, a solid organization of the workers, for it knows the unlimited power that we can then weild.

But the Revolution will grow, it is growing wider and deeper with each passing day. No power can stop it. Nothing can hinder it—but the lack of aggressiveness of the workers, not for a moment will its advance cease—unless the workers lie down like beaten dogs and attempt to whine themselves into the good graces of their economic masters. And nothing would please our exploiters more than for the workers to take this attitude—and nothing would more effectively rivet the hideous chains of slavery upon our limbs and upon our children than this—that we should seek to gain peace where there can be no peace.

The Movement demands the best effort you can give. Not a comrade but that can be active, for work is so varied and so wide there is room for all talents. And this is a call to you to become more active in this work. The organization needs your help, it needs the money you can give for its organization and propaganda activities. The Toiler subsciption list should be double what it is. You can get subscriptions for it. The organization fund needs your dollars, you can give one or more. The workers are hungry for the message of liberatinon—you can get our literature to them. You can pay your dues and can induce others to see the error of falling in arrears. You can get new members and organize new Locals. You can circulate a list for general organization funds. You can buy Toiler press stamps from your Local secretary which funds will provide the payments on our new press. There are endless and innumerable ways in which you can build up the Movement.

(Continued on page 4.)


U.S.CONSTITUTION
Art.VI
"The accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy & public TRIAL BY AN IMPARTIAL JURY" &c.
Government by Injunction.
If in the humor to do so a judge may enjoin the entire population from doing anything whatsoever that is not to his fancy.
In trials he is to be the prosecuting witness, the prosecuting attorney, the judge and jury, and may fine and imprison the whole population for life or longer.
No one must question the wisdom of a judge, for after God Almighty he stands next.
O.K.
YOU KNOW THIER FINISH!
GEORGE III
CALIGULA
NERO
DOMITIAN
THE INQUISITION
THE BLOODY ASSIZES 1685
THE TOILER CARTOON DEPT

The Constitution Revised.

SOVIET GOLD-AMERICAN GOODS WAIT DECISION FOR OPENING OF TRADE

Martens tells trade plans of Soviet Russia, Lenin, victorious wants peace and reconstruction.

Thousands of American manufacturers ready to ship goods to Russia.

Soviet Russia has $500.000.000 in gold to pay for goods from Europe and America Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, Soviet ambassador to the United States told the Senate Foreign Committee in Washington last week. "The idea is disappearing," he told the Committee, "among the Russian Socialists that revolution is necessary in all countries before the Russian revolution will be safe". Lenine believes Russia can now stand against the world and is ready, not for military aggression against neighboring nations, but for peace and reconstruction, he told the Committee.

Martens asserted that he had a list of 11,000 names of business men and manufacturers in America who were anxious to import and export goods to and from Russia as soon as the State Department gave consent. Contracts to the of $7,000.000 were now tentatively made, he said.

Martens denied all connection with revolutionary movements in the United States, though admitting some knowledge of them. He said they were "purely American, arising out of American conditions" and as Soviet agent here he had not helped or financed them or their folowers.

Recognition Object Sought.

He had instructions from his government, he said, to stay clear of interfenrence with American internal affairs. All of his publicity efforts, very extensive as outlined in his testimony, were devoted to explaining the Soviet system to the end that Americans would allow its recognition as the established government in Russia, and were not to extend it in the United States.

When the committee demanded copies of the actual governmental instructions to that effect, former Senator Hardwick of Georgia, attorney for the Soviet bureau, argued that to give them might disclose the "code" in which the Soviet foreign office corresponded with Martens, which should be entitled to immunity, but promised, notwithstanding, to furnish them in the original or in sworn translations.

The witness said he was spending $2,500 a week on the maintenance of an organization of some thirty-five employes. He gave the committee names and addresses of all of them including American clerks and stenographers, and press agents.

A Chapter in the History of Our Capitalist Courts.

That the permanent injuction recently granted by Judge Webster of the State Superior Court at Spokane, Washington, prohibiting further activities of the I. W. W. and making membership in that organizaton contempt of court, is a denial of the right of trial by jury, is frankly and cheerfully admitted by the Spokane Spokesman-Review. As The Nation has already pointed out, the legal way to deal with the I. W. W., in Washington as elsewhere, is to prosecute under the criminal law any individuals who violate the law. It is contrary to all established principles of jurisprudence to suppress an organization by injuction on the ground that otherwise some of its members might commit crimes. "Under the county prosecutor's plan," the Spokesman-Review explains, "made possible by the granting of a permanent injunction, no juries are required. A man is found to be a member of an I. W. W. local, or is distributing literature, or otherwise aiding the revolutionist propaganda. He is brought before the bench of the Superior Court and punished, if the charges against him are sustained, for contempt of court. He may be sent to jail for as much as a year. His rights are safeguarded to the extent that he may appeal to the State Supreme Court, but he does not have a jury trial." The Spokesman-Review adds that if the injuction is enforced "it will work much more swiftly and effectively than the State criminal syndicalism law." No doubt it will; autocracy has always been swifter and more effective than democracy. The jury system is admittedly slow and cumbersome, but a belief that it was a bulwark against executive and judicial tyranny led our forefathers to include it among the guarantees of the Federal Consttution. There probably are some people who still believe in it even if the Washington court, apparently, and the Spokesman-Review do not.

The Nation.

THE ANTICS OF JUDICIAL MONKEYS.

Perhaps the worst instance of ludicrous comedy in the annals of mock Justice so noticable of late in the courts of the state of Washington, is the temporary injuction issued by Judge (? ? ?)Webster of Spokane. This injunctions is issued against 65 persons of Spokane County restraining them from participation in the I. W. W. or any part thereof.

An injuction against people prohibiting them from belonging to an organization of their choice.

Think of it. Enough to bring a cackle from the lips of every dead tyrant. A huge satire on the Constitution and an insult to the intelligence of humanity. Here is proof positive that Justice is as dead as a smocked mackerel in the court over which this Webster presides. It is enough to jar one loose from his reason when he contemplates to what ends these characters will go. For if a Judge can restrain 65 from doing certain things why can't he restrain 65,000 of 65.000.000? He can and will, because this judicial imbecile is not restraining individuals so much as he is suppressing ideas, and the growth of the idea will determine with him how many people to enjoin.

However, as much cause as there is for gloomy pessimism in the contemplation of such a step by a so-called judge, yet we know that Labor will go on, amused not a little later on at the recollections of the ludicrous antics of the judicial monkeys of today. This article was published in last week's issue but we reprint it here to give emphasis to this instance of the "justice" of capitalist courts.

WORSE THAN UNDER THE CZAR

Russians Released at Seattle Say Oppression Exceeds That of Old Empire.

SEATTLE.—A number of Russians, who had been held by the Seattle police, in the wholesale round-up of citizens as well as alien residents in the widely heralded effort to "stamp out I. W. W." were recently released from Seatle prisons, nothing having been found against them to warrant their deportation or their further detention.

"You in America, have it worse than did the opponents of the Czars under the old Romanoff autocracy," said one of them in relating his experience in the Seattle jails. "We knew of the jails and persecutions in old Russia, and some of us suffered in them for being suspected of efforts to overthrow the Autocrat, but our prisons at least were clean and free from vermin."

"The obscene and abusive language toward helpless and unresisting prisoners is also worse than our officers used."

"We would go back to Russia now, even if Nichalas were still Czar, for you in America are less free."

BUENOS AIRES.—Government forces are massing all the conservative elements in the country for a fight to the finish against the Socialist party and other radicals at the coming March elections. Commercial, "patriotic," clerical and military forces are being mobilized for the contest.

NEWCASTLE, England — Unemployed workers here have threatened to recommend general strike in England unless the government make some provision for men out of work Due to the withdrawal of the unemployment dole there are about $3,000 men in England totally without resource at present.

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Address The TOILER, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

THE NEXT STEP

(by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Secretary-Treasurer, National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers.)

The end of the steel strike does not mean the end of the steel campaign. On the contrary, it merely marks the beginnan of a new phase of a struggle which must go on until the trade unions have overthrown czarism in the steel industry.

Ordinarily when a big strike comes to an end without a negotiated settlement complete demobilization is the portion of the men. Immediately the strike is over the employers set afoot through their scabs, stool-pigeons and bosses a virulent propaganda to destroy the last vestiges of organization spirit among their employees. Every imaginable, slander and misrepresentation is pressed into service. The unions and their officials are accused of graft, cowardice, disloyalty, inefficiency. Just here is where the unions should be alive to protect their interests. But as a rule, beaten, they have already deserted the field. Consequently the disspirited and discouraged workers, finding no one at hand to combat it, fall easy victims to the employer's propaganda. The prestige of the unions fall lower and lower until finally it reaches zero. The workers are embogged in a slough of despair and pessimism. The employers are left absolute master of the situation. They proceed to enslave the industry. In such cases it takes years of effort to clear the name of the unions, to revive the workers' hope and to reorganize the industry.

The twenty-four unions in the steel industry are determined that no such condition will result from their strike. They will stand their ground and fight Judge Gary every foot of the road. They have elaborated a campaign which is bound to increase the high prestige now enjoyed by the unions in the steel industry, and which will make impossible absolutist rule by Mr. Gary and his Prussianized associates.

Steel Unions Won Prestige.

In the face of the supposedly lost strike it may sound strange to speak of the high prestige that the steel unions have. But such is the fact nevertheless. The steel strike leaves little or no sense of defeat and bitterness with the workers. They feel that a powerful and genuine effort has been made in their behalf. Op-

(Continued on page 4)

SKYGAC'S COLUMN.

With all the organs for moulding public opinion fairly screaming at you to be contented, not to strike, and above all not to attempt to remedy conditions by any means other than by the use the of the ballot once in every four years, it is an eye-opener to see the dominant class **OPENLY REFUSE** to seat candidates of the socialist party who have been legally elected to office in the approved master-controlled way.

In other words, you must not attempt to change conditions except by the use of the ballot and you cannot change conditions by the use of the ballot because the dominant class won't let you. How do you like it?

* * *

If I were an employer of labor and had a man working for me who always bungled the job, my patience would not last for more than thirty days until I fired him and tried either another man or another method. We have had bunglers on the job of allaying the public unrest for a good many years now, and yet these same bunglers are still trying the same old methods and asking to be re-elected again to the job to continue trying the same old methods, with unrest always on the increase. What a nation of rut-runners we are!

* * *

They are trying to make out that in America it is crime to be class-conscious. But they will never make it stick.

* * *

Now that the back-bone of the revolutionary movement has been broken, isn't it strange that there should be two reds where there was only one before?

* * *

It may be that Palmer, Grabitall and Co., are not good mediums, or else there is nothing in Spiritualism, else the shades of Czar Nicholas, Bismark, Napoleon and Co., would have slipped them the valuable information that the reds can not be crushed that way.

* * *

If the government can get any satisfaction in deporting a Russian who has tried for over a year to get a passport why of course it is entitled to all the satisfaction it can get!

* * *

You see, Henry, there was a big slush fund raised by the Capitalists with governmental aid to be used to rid the country of dangerous reds and those who got the job have to play to the galleries to make 'em think they are earning their money. Now they ask congress for a million and a half more! Well it they can get the money we can furnish the reds for "as fast as they can pinch us we can always get some more." All it takes to make a red nowadays is a lesson in class-consciousness, some governmental interference in strikes and a raid.

* * *

I used to think I was some agitator, but shucks, at my best I was only a piker, compared to the way the capitalists and their government are making them nowadays.

* * *

Mr. Hearst in an open letter to all of his employees tells them that most of the anti-red news that is sent in is sent from some central office maintained for the dissemination of capitalist propaganda. We knew it all the time, but we never expected to have any of the bourgeoisie newspaper crowd admit it.

* * *

The attorney who persecuted the Wichita bunch of I. W. W. during the trial at Kansas City in a recent newspaper interview said he wished that all the American people could have heard the evidence given at that trial. So do we. We will go farther than that. We wish they might know HOW and WHERE that evidence was secured. We wish the American people might know that UNSIGNED and undated notes which were purported to have been minutes of meetings were allowed as evidence.

* * *

The "NATION" says, that a year ago the Italian peasants were burning candles before the picture of President Wilson; today some million of men and women the world over, starving, freezing and dying are grimly denouncing the statesmen who sacrificed honesty and kindness and single humanity on the altar of outworn political ideas."

* * *

Why pick on Wilson and the Peace Commission? Isn't every little Rotary Club and commercial club by whatever its name just as bad? Do they not all sacrifice honesty and kindness and simple humanity on the altar of outworn political ideas?

* * *

Wouldn't the above make a good definition of our present day politicians, must we make our progress only by sacrificing honesty, kindness and simple humanity?

* * *

They are not stamping out the I. W. W. They are stamping it IN. Into the A. F. of L. Now watch for them to begin to kick on the A. F. of L.

By the same token they are not running the reds out altho they have run a lot in, but they have run the most under. Under cover where they will be a thousand times more dangeruos and more effective.

* * *

It is a recognized principle of capitalist industry that the proper thing to do is to get a job, stick to it and WORK UP. New when new machinery throws whole crowds of laborers upon the market by enabling the employers to dispense with their services they must seek new jobs, necessarily in a lower position and pay and again begin to WORK UP. This has more to do with industrial unrest than all the Russian agitators combined. Will Attorney General Palmer and his crew deport that?

Ruminations of a Rebel.

— By TOM CLIFFORD. —

To my surprise I find the following editorial in a late issue af the Miami Valley Socialist:

"If our Communist and Communist Labor comrades, whose propaganda is outlawed, whose shackled bodies lie prostrate under the iron heel of the capitalist state, whose wives and children face the bitter winter weather with husband and father gone to jail, or exiled to unknown ports, we most earnestly ask: "Was it wise to discard the ballot for this?"

The above is a tacit acknowledgement on the part of the writer that these victims of the capitalist State are actually guilty, as charged, of advocating a revolution of force. It would be carrying charity to the extreme to attribute this statement to gross ignorance. The writer knows that these men and women harbored no intention to use physical force, that they were rounded up for the specific purpose of capitalist propaganda ,with a view to prejudicing the American worker against his foreign born brother and at the same time create distrust of all working class political parties, including the Socialist Party. The writer also states a positive untruth when he charges the Communist Labor Party with having discarded the use of the ballot, for he is certainly conversant with its platform declaration. The above is only additional evidence of the bourgeois character of what is left of the old Socialist Party.They are frantically trying to "play safe" in the midst of the prevailing campaign of terrorism by assuming a harmless attitude toward the master class. For sheer hypocricy the buorgeoisie have nothing on them, but it will not secure to these comrades immunity from persecution. Nothing but the complete disavowal of the class struggle and the acceptance of the ethics of capitalism will avert the persecution they apparently dread. Are they ready to repudiate their erstwhile opposition to capitalism merely to keep out of jail? Some rebels, eh?

* * *

The capitalist press has suddenly discovered that the two bills now pending in Congress to legalize universal espionage threaten abridgment of all our Constitutional privileges—especially their own. Their opposition to these vicious bills is not prompted by a sincere desire to conserve the liberties of the mass, but rather by the fear that they, too, may be included among the sufferers. Given liberty of action themselves, they wouldn't care a damn if all the rest of the people were shorn of the right to express their opinions. Their ox is in danger of being gored. Hence their frantic cries of distress and vociferous demands for the preservation of Constitutional rights. During the past three years, while despotism reigned supreme and the Constitution was laid away in cold storage; while the working class was being terrorized, browbeaten and imprisoned illegally, not a "peep" of remonstrance came from these gentlemen. Instead they aided and abetted the lawlessness practized by the henchmen of the bourgeoisie, glorified the imprisonment and even lynching of American workingmen for expressing their honest opinions, and even expressed contempt for the very Constitution they now invoke. Well, well! Chickens do have the habit of coming home to roost. Nothwithstanding my opposition to the enactment of "gag laws," I would be almost willing to suffer just to see these "kept ladies" get what is coming to them.

* * *

By the way, there doesn't seem to be any real necessity for any laws to further abridge the rights of the common people. The Secret Service bunch are arresting and imprisoning thousands of workingmen in total disregard of their constitutional rights, and even Congress seems powerless to prevent them. Some power acting independently of the visible government appears to be the directive force. Well, we needn't despair. It will all come out in the wash.

* * *

The income tax reports show that we are harboring 20,000 millionaires in our midst. And don't forget that most of these fellows started as horny—handed sens of toil—so we are told— who by industry and thrift carved their way to the pinnacle of fortune and are shining examples of the possibilities in this home of undulterated democracy. You don't believe it! Neither do I. Yet it ought to be a source of pride to the American workingman that we have 20,000 of these gentlemen while Russia hasn't a damned one.

* * *

With the prospect of a dozen candidates for President and the injection into the campaign of every thinkable issue from prohibition to the League of Nations the American workers will have so much diversion that little matters like meeting rent and grocery bills will be merely inconsequential. He will be so occupied in considering the personal qualifications or demerits of the freaks of the capitalistic side show that he will lose sight entirely of his own economic interests. This is my guess. Te has fallen so often for this fake stuff that it is almost a forlorn hope to expect anything else. Yet I may be agreeably disappointed. Let us comfort ourselves with the thought that the unexpected sometimes happens.

* * *

I do not have much confidence in the sincerity of the indignation expressed by some of the capitalist press anent the arbitrary action of the New York Assembly in expelling the Socialist members. They merely realize that Chairman Sweet and his fellow conspirators have in this instance overstepped the bounds of prudence and that there is danger of reaction. A hypocrite cannot be trusted.

* * *

I note that Dr. Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, is [illegible] for [illegible] citizenship," [illegible] the [illegible]. The following [illegible] ought to [illegible] bourgeoisie of the nation, who desire that our institutions of learning be kept free from radicalism; "The university teacher is usually very conservative, very solid minded and very difficult to bring to the support of a new idea or a new project." Since this attitude is in accord with the heart's desire of the exploiting class there should be no hesitancy in response. What more could they ask than that no "new ideas"—especially of an economic or political nature—will be permitted in this "educational institution?" Of course, some carpng critics may be inclined to question the character of an institution wherein "new ideas" are not permitted, but these pesons, having more knowledge than money, are not worthy of serious consideration. Money talks.

* * *

The vacilating policy being pursued by the Allies relative to Soviet Russia is indicative of the clashing economic interests of the nations concerned, which, of course, cannot be harmonized. However, it appears to me that ordinary horse sense would prompt the adoption of a definite policy, inasmuch as their blockade and counter revolution program has resulted in inglorious failure. While the other members of the Supreme Council are wrangling over the question astute Lloyd George is quietly carrying out a policy that will secure for England trade advantages in Russia, and the American capitalists at Washington are making a beaten path between the Soviet embassy and the State Department in a frantic effort to forestall the wily Welchman. When they all join in the melee it will be interesting to note the cessation of denunciation of the Bolsheviki. The establishment of markets will lift the curse.

ARE CARTOONS WORTH WHILE?

AN OPEN LETTER BY THE EDITOR.

Dear Reader:—

What's your honest opinion of the work turned out by the Toiler Cartoon Department? Pretty good, is it not? We believe every reader will agree that it is the very best that appears. Many comrades have said so in recent letters to The Toiler. We believe that every Toiler reader reads the story each cartoon tells with a growing interest and pleasure.

And we are glad that this is so. For now that we are in agreement, we have something else to say. We do not publish cartoons just to fill space. Cartoons cost five times as much as type setting. We publish them for their educational value; because they give attractiveness to the paper; for their interest creating value and because the human makeup is such that "pictures" have an irrisistible appeal. All good and sufficient reasons are they not? Again, we are in full agreement.

We think we are pretty lucky to have a Cartoon Department. Eespecially, considering the terms upon which it operates. Let us tell you about that. Recently a comrade wrote us asking permission to submit some cartoons and offering them to us free of charge. And we said, send them on. And he did; and when they arrived and we found them so good, we sent him back a letter of THANKS. And he came right back at us and said—I have some more and you can have them regularly—on the same terms.

Well, that knocked us out for a minute. But we recuperated and wrote him again and asked—who are you, that makes such generous and comradely offers, we don't find your name on our mailing list. And when his reply came, it said—I get a copy of The Toiler once in a while and I think it is a good paper, and if you will use my stuff I'll be GLAD because I want to help in the work you are doing toward building a real DEMOCRACY. And now he gets the PAPER each week and WE and YOU—get his CARTOONS. Can you beat that?

But while the drawings are free, the engraving company labors only for profit. Each three colum cartoon costs us nearly $8.00. But they are worth it we say, and we know you agree. And we want to have a cartoon in every issue of The Toiler during 1920—52 weeks. Eight times fifty—two are four hundred and sixteen dollars. Quite a lot of money is it not to spent in making a better propagandist of The Toiler? But it is worth it, we repeat.

Do you know that The Toiler is about the only paper in the country that has not raised its subscription price? Some have raised 100%. We don't want to do that. And one way to keep from doing so and at the same time keep up the high quality of the paper and keep the Cartoon Department turning out a real live picture for us each week is to establish a CARTOON ACCOUNT, to be filled with nickles and dimes from the thousands of CARTOON ADMIRERS. That's the best way we can think of to meet this cost.

We believe this is a fair shake, at least for the readers. If ONE comrade is willing to give $400.00 worth of service to The Toiler, 20,000 readers and admirers of his work ought to be willing to give an equal amount—to help him establish a REAL DEMOCRACY in America. What do you say? We are going to give you a chance to express your admiration for the work of The Toiler Cartoon Department. Use the Blank belo w.

HERE'S MY ANSWER TO,

ARE CARTOONS WORTH WHILE?

The Toiler,
Cartoon Department.

I believe that cartoons ARE worth while, and I wish to show my appreciation of this Department by

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Name ....

Address ....

City and State ....

Cut out, fill in and mail to

TOILER CARTOON DEPARTMENT
3207 Clark Ave.|, Cleveland, O.

WHO WILL BE FIRST ON THE LIST?

FREEDOM CURE FOR FREEDOM'S ILLS.

There is only one cure for evils which newly-acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day; he is unable to discriminate colors or recognize faces. The remedy is to accustom him to the rays of the sun.

The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason. The extreme violence of opinions subsides. Hostile theories correct each other. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend, and begin to coalesce. And at length a system of justice and order is educed out of the chaos.

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery they may indeed wait forever.—Macaulay.

Just a little tip to Att'y Gen'l Palmer and the rest of the Governmental persecutors. They have started out to utterly crush the reds. They MAY succeed in driving them under cover, tho we doubt it, but if ever they do of this they may be assured; the revolutionary movement will proceed as before, with perhaps an additional acceleration of speed. As long as socialist and communist locals are allowed to exercise their constitutional priveleges, the general public looked to them as a kind of sponsor for the revolutionary movement. They expected the radicals to start a revolution—and be responsible for it once it did start. Now with the reds dispersed the matter of revolution must perforce become a community and not a local affair, with the community, not the socialist local, responsible. How would that condition of affairs suit you, messers Sec'ys of War, Navy, State and Att'y General? That is exactly what you will get if you are allowed to have your way, and when Mr. and Mrs. General Public get their mind set on THE revolution, the puny forces at your disposal will be puny indeed. No—you had better let sleeping dogs lie—and let well enough (bad as it is for you) alone.

Albert Rhys Williams, who spent ten months in Petrograd and among the Peasant Families of Soviet Russia, says that many Russians cannot read or write, but he adds: thatThey can think and They do think.

A Debs picture will go well with the book too. It costs but a quarter more and is worth double that.

The Black Sheep

Chapt. XV.

Prison Visitors.

The door of the jail corridor opened and a little party of Christian Endeavor workers consisting of three women and two men entered. They took up their station at the end of the corridor where there was a soft light filtering in thru a little barred window. From this vantage point they could see the prisoners in both cells. They did not speak to them however, but opened their hymn books and one of the men a 'sallow, sob sister, collar stiff' as Collins called him afterward, said: "we'll open the service by singing hymn number eighty four."

They sang solemnly while Rudolph lay on his bed and smiled, Collins lay with his back toward them in an attitude of unconcealed contempt. Jack stood facing them thru the bars with a sort of a Mona Liza smile upon his enigmatic face.

"Lead kindly light amidst the encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on."—The church workers sang. Collins snored, Rudolph grinned but Jack's brow was knit and Rudolph swore after it was all over, that there had been a strange light in his eyes.

"The night is dark and I am far from home
Lead thou me on"—the visitors sang, all but one. The one exception was an auburn haired girl about eighteen years of age. She had closed the book and frankly stared at Jack. He was rather a unique picture in his present frame; he was large, he had a great mop of hair, and a rougish face. His expression changed continually running all the way from pensive thought to boyish mirth, but never to anger, cruelty, or scorn.

The hymn over ,the white collared man said: "Let's pray".

"Just a moment, please," Jack interrupted, "why do you come here? This is no church."

"We are Christian Endeavors the oldest of the women explained, "It's our duty to come, now let's pray."

"Excuse me once more," Jack persisted, "kindly permit me a couple of questions. You say that you are Christian Endeavorers?"

"Yes," responded the aged and somewhat hatchet faced female. male.

"That means you are endeavoring to be christians?" Jack queried.

"No, we are christians." This from the auburn haired goddess who had not participated in the last part of the hymn. The sound of her voice even awoke Collins who turned over to look at her.

"Why endeavor to be what you already are?" Jack asked in tones so grave as to sound almost solemn.

Before any one had a chance to reply the white collared man bowed his head and locked his finders, saying: "Let's pray"—'Oh Lord'—"

Jack again interrupted him, his powerful voice resounding thru the building. "Brother," said he, "do not weary him with any more prayers—, from thousands of churches, thru millions of throats and hearts he has been assailed today. Does not your Bible teach you to do something more than pray? Does it not say 'I am wearied of your prayers'—the scent of your insense is a stench in my nostrils, and as he said this, his face was eloquent with thought.

The hatchet faced woman now lost all patience, "Young man" she fairly snapped, "we came here to hold services, not to argue."

"I once read in my Bible—'I was in prison and you visited me!' Holding service does not make a very good visit."

"But we have to do these things. It is our duty." The young woman explained.

" You have to?—"

"Yes."

"I thot your religion was a religion of liberty. 'Stand ye in the freedom with which Christ made you free'" Jack quoted, then asked: "Do you come here because you love us, or because it is part of the routine work of your church?"

"It is our duty as christians to preach the gospel to those who are in prison," averred the antiquated dame.

"And what would be the result if you didn't?" asked the boy.

"We would be delinquent in our duties, as children of God." This from the hymn singing male member of the party.

"In which case you would expect to go to hell?"

"We would be sinning," said the woman.

"And the wages of sin is death."

"But the dying is unduly delayed," growled Collins.

"You must understand that we can only expect to go to heaven, if we do our duty, as christians. We must do all the good we can and pray God for forgiveness of our sins," explained the young girl.

"Do you mean that you have to pray to God for forgiveness for doing good?" Is that the essence of your religion, or are you merely trying to fulfill the technicalities of the law? Escaping damnation on a plea point as the lawyers say."

"We would like to talk to you," said the hatched faced individual, but really we have no time. We must finish this service and get home."

"For dinner?"

"Yes," she agreed.

"Is that more important than our eternal welfare? Do you weigh our immortal souls against a hunk of meat?"

All but the auburn haired girl fidgeted. She took up the conversation in an endeavor to convince Jack that she really had his welfare at heart. "We came here because we hoped that our singing and prayer would make you better men," she said.

"For whom?" asked the boy. And there was something in the tone of his voice that seemed to strike a responsive chord in the girls soul.

"We want you to live in such a way that you will not have to go jail," she said almost plaintively.

"How can we help it?"

"By being gentlemen."

"On a dollar fifty to two fifty per day, with steady work only three months out of the year. With blind pigs running with the consent of the christian voters; run for the sole purpose of getting the weak ones amongst us drunk, thereby furnishing an excuse to rob all of us in the name of the law?"

"I do not understand your meaning."

"Then I shall try to explain my meaning to you. You come here to pray for us. I will admit that you are sincere. You would like to see us out of this jail; dressed in up to date clothes, then we would be gentlemen. The matter of acquiring the clothes you would not inquire into so long as we got them within the law. But you must remember my dear girl that law and justice are not always twin brothers Some day we are going to be turned loose. Let us say that we have been influenced by your prayers and the sweetness of your song; we resolve to become gentlemen but we are broke; the judge has all that we have earned. Hunger comes to a man that is broke the same as it comes to you. Having no money, and at this time of the year there being no work, we must ask for bread and frequently get a stone. How can we who are homeless ,penniless, and despised by your class, be what you call gentlemen?"

"I don't know. You talk in a way I never heard a man talk before. You seem to think that men are arrested by criminals instead of for being criminals," she said reflectively.

"Let me tell you plainly why we are arrested, and then ask your father or your preacher if it isn't so. You have no saloons in this state, therefore you people like these ease the tax burden. You people like sewers, sidewalks and water systems. They cost money. Money must come from taxpayers. Taxpayers do not like to part with the money They employ us during the harvest time and we receive wages for our work." Then suddenly changing the subject he asked, "Did you ever hear your father complain about high taxes?"

"Certainly."

"And about high wages?"

"Yes."

"Good—we get a little money for our work. The good people know that we have it. They run us in, and fine us indiscriminately. That helps out on the taxes, and enables them to donate more freely to the church. We are robbed by the officers of the law—"

"Don't blame us for that, if it is true," said the sharp visaged lady. "Judge Duffy is not a christian."

"By that you mean, that he is not a good man."

"Yes."

"Then why do you place a bad man in so responsible a position?" the boy asked pointedly. "He is there by suffrage of the people and I hope that you are not so pessimistic as to call the majority of the people bad."

"O, well let's pr—go," said the man with the hymn book.

"There's no use arguing. No good can come of it."

The young woman manifested no inclination to go, but said to the boy, "I think you are wrong, and yet, I don't know. I know that I love justice and right."

"You're a variation from the normal type," Jack answered. "Your elder sister and the brother with the book, are more characteristically bourgeois." As he pronounced this

(Continued on page 4)

The Toiler

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

THE SCRAMBLE BEGINS

The scramble for profits in trade with Bolshevik Russia has begun. Notwithstanding conflicting rumors of uncertain attitudes of Britain and France toward the Soviet Republic, the outstanding feature of late events is the fact that commercial corporations in all countries including the U. S. are preparing to open trade relations with the arstwhile hated and despised Bolshevists.

> "Bolsheviks are serenading, since the allies quit
> blockading;
> Down in Petrograd, the Reds are full of glee.
> Since we need their flax and barley, we must call
> it quits
> and parley and forget we had agreed to disagree."

Thus sings a jokester in one of the capitalist dailys. To say the least, we have gone a long way from military aggression against a neighbor nation to admiting the truth of the above facetiously worded fact. We need their trade, need it badly, and so we will just conveniently forget the past and proceed to get while the getting is good such part of their trade as we can grab off. Such is the turn which the military successes of the Soviets have forced the allied military adventures to take.

The world is just learning to what extent the blunderers who have stood at the heads of the nations have gone in their juggling with the fates of nations and peoples. Their undeclared war upon the worker's republic of Russia has utterly failed. They have spent billions and sacrificed many lives in an attempt to re-establish capitalist institutions there. They have caused starvation and misery unspeakable by the unofficial blockade of Russian ports and merchant shipping. Not only have they starved Russians but the peoples of the allies have suffered indescribable hardships thru the of lack of imports from Russia.

Having so utterly failed to crush the Bolsheviki, the allies are now face to face with the problem of what to do about Russia. Doubtless the militaristic measures against Russia would have assumed a far greater scale if it had not been for the opposition of the masses. For months the British workers have been clamoring for the withdrawal of English troops and for out and out recognition of the Soviet government. The blockade against Russia has reacted against all the allies. British mills are sorely pressed for flax which can come only from Russia. The exporters and importers of all nations are now wildly scrambling for first chance at the Russian kopeck. Faced with economic necessity, the allies are finding grounds upon which to conduct business with Russia. The American capitalist press is changing its tone in regard to the Russian question. Quick to record the interests of capitalist profits, it has changed front in the face of the inevitable and is for trade.

We may reasonably expect a cessation of the slanders against Russia. Trade covereth many sins and if Russian trade proves profitable, "moral" capitalist forces will find a way to acomodate themselves to the business at hand. The Bolsheviks have won.

BACKING DOWN

After all, we are not to have such drastic legislation against the constitutional guarantees as was at first supposed—or hoped, choose your own word. From town constables to Mitchell Palmer, the cry has gone up for more drastic laws against the "reds". Judging from the contents of the original bills, about every thing that any one could think out of line with espousal of things as they are was included in the prohibitive clauses.

Naturally enough, a great howl went up—not from the reds, but from what might be termed the innocent by-standers. That great element of liberal minded folks who constitute a very large portion of the American population, suddenly awoke to the fact that if the proposed laws went into effect, they stood a good chance of spending long terms in jail unless they immediately changed their ways—and thinking.

Jails are not to their liking, besides they are not yet ready to give up the old traditions of American liberty etc. So they got in touch with the proponents of the measures and explained that what was expected to be suppressed by these measures would only thrive the more if they became law. Apparently, they got a hearing and so some of the stings at least will be taken out of the measures or new ones substituted. Even Palmer himself, refuses to sponsor his own bill. It would appear that the authorities are learning a thing or two since the recent wholesale raids were made. A very substantial reaction is now evident against the use of such tactics against the workers. Many forces are at work which have a bearing upon the question. There is a large willingness on the part of many foreign-born to leave the country, which in itself creates a condition of the labor market favorable to the workers. Employers are waking up to the fact that labor is scarce in many localities. They know that thousands upon thousands of workers plan to leave for the homelands for at least a cummer's visit, if not for good.

Another feature worth noting, is the lack of interest on the part of the worker in his work. The workers are asking "why hurry"? and are refusing to rush out the poducts. They feel a growing resentment against all which does not give positive assurance of benefit to themselves. To fail to give credit for much of this attitude to what they know to be infringments upon their political and civil liberties would be incorrect.

But the old time liberties will not be restored. Liberals may sweat and fume and perhaps gain a point here and there, but the old traditions are gone forever, they have been tramped into the mire beneath the wheels of the capitalist olighacy and shall never rise again until the workers become supreme. Capitalism cannot afford to take such chances with a rebellious and growing class-consciousness of the workers.

SPARKS.

Comrade Louis Wohin of Weston, W. Va., writes us as follows: I am herewith sending you ten dollars for subscription cards. Send them at once because we must get The Toiler into the hands of the workers for it hits the bull's eye every week. As soon as I sell these cards, you will get the ten dollars back for more cards". And the moral is—have you got a few dollars that you want to keep working for socialism? If so, let's put them to work at once. Selling Toiler sub cards is the method. Order $5.00 worth and get some literature free.

Comrade J. R. Waring, of Kent, dropped in to see us the other day and spent a few very agreeable moments—also several (also agreeable) dollars. Subscription cards of course and some literature. O yes, and he promised us a dollar on the "Cartoon Account". He says they are worth the price. What do you say?

Comrade Fred White remits for literature and states that he is on the firing line in Martins Ferry. And we know he is. And say, comrades of Martins Ferry, he needs a lift, why not give him a boost occassionally?

Local Akron held a splendid Meeting on the 18th. Comrade Tom Clifford was the speaker and from reports, Tom did himself proud on this occassion. A collection of over $40.00 was taken and literature sales were good. A large number of the Bullitt Report were sold.

Referring to the recent raids on radicals of more or less crimson hue, a comrade remarks:

> "We can always get some more
> We can always get some more;
> And as fast as they can pinch us
> We can always get some more".

And we wish to announce that since the raids we have considerable more than before. Pinch us some again!

Are your DUES PAID for January? Better step lively comrade, February is here now. Don't get behind. And while you are getting right with your dues card, stick in a couple of Toiler press stamps. Your secretary has them. But they are not his, they belong to you.

Have you taken advantage of our book premium offers for $5.00 worth of subscription cards? Then you must be lonesome if you have not. So many comrades are taking advantage of these offers that we can hardly keep in books. Lenin, the Man and His Work seems to be the favorite choice.

Many comrades are renewing their subscriptions now and while doing so, add another quarter to the remittance or a gift to another worker. Good scheme. Use the yellow slips to their full advantage comrades.

Nothing gives better evidence of activity than a cash order for Toiler subscription cards. When we receive communications containing amounts like those in a recent letter from comrade E. Fick of Sandusky, we know that the comrades are making an aggressive campaign against capitalism. Comrade Fick's letter contained $14 for National organization work, $1.55 for literature, $5.00 for sub cards. That's how business like they are in Sandusky.

The Bullitt Report and Lenin, continue to be the best sellers among books handled by the State Office. But we expect that the new book, Debs, His Authorised Life and Letters, by David Karsner, will be a close competitor. Notice the adv. in this issue.

Remember this at all times. We will give $1.50 worth of any of our literature free with a cash order of $5.00 for Toiler sub cards. You sell the cards and get your money back.

Remember this also. Send $5.00 for literature and receive a year's subscription to The Toiler free of charge. You read both and get more than your money's worth.

A hurry order for $14.00 worth of dues stamps was sent in this week by O. Ruchtaeschel of Cincinnati. Some one must want to pay up down there.

Comrade Paul Luhn, secretary C. P. German Br. of Cincinnati states he is lining up a bunch of subs for us. We guess that there is some of the spirit of unity down that way.

Comrade Ed. Brendel of Hamilton is busy these days with organization work. A live C. L. P. Local is due there very shortly.

"In reference to the press stamps, I shall certainly sell all in my possession. We must own our own printing plant." This is what comrade Fred Wilson, writes from Girard.

Organization work is progressing at Marion, O., writes a comrade.

And we say again, that you will be glad to read a copy of Mr. Block and the Profiteers. Send a dime for it.

A Comrade from Fremont writes that the "respectables" are greatly excited over the appearance of I. W. W. stickers in the city. Well, well. Maybe they will get used to things of that nature.

Have you a dollar for defense? Remember Chas. Baker. His defense rests in your hands. Give your dollars.

Judging by the literature orders coming into the State Office, the comrades are reading more than ever, and at the same time are backing the Pamphlet and Book Department in good shape. Read what we advertise and you can't go wrong in your conclusions. Patronize our literature department.

If the fire fighters of Canton fail to learn a bit while at leisure, it won't be the fault of comrade Cook. Thru his efforts, the Toiler goes to each fire station in the city.

"Stick to the good work. You are getting more advertising from the plutes in one day than you could thru our individual efforts in a year," writes a comrade, and he adds that The Toiler has the punch that hits their vitals. And he sends a sub which clinches the argument.

W. J. Rogers of Battle Creek, sends in a healthy list of 6 which we say emphasises the fact that Toiler subs were never easier to get than JUST NOW.

A reader from Holland, Mich., sends us this with his refusal to renew:

"The Toiler is the most worldly and most un-Godly paper any one can ever read". Pshaw, just pick up any capitalist daily. We don't stand no show a'tall with them guys.

When it comes to rounding up new subscribers, no one can get past comrade J. F. Wertz of Toledo. A dandy list came in from him last week. This is not his first offense and we are sure it will not be his last. He's got the habit.

Speaking of boosts, comrade Thos. Robinson of Louisville, Ky., knows how. He renews his sub and sends four more.

A campaign for new members is in progress at Fremont, we are informed. With regular meetings and ever comrade on the job, it should be easy to build up the Local.

Six dollars worth of subscriptions arrived last week from comrade P. R. Davis of Chesapeake, O. A copy of Lenin goes to him as a premium.

Comrade G. J. Braun of Memphis, Tenn., is on the job again. He requests a copy of Lenin for his $5.00 order for sub cards.

Comrade Mrs. Slager is on the firing line at Kalamazoo. Three subs sent in by her indicates that the Kalamazoo list will grow.

Five yearly subs from comrade Fred Willoughby of Indianapolis shows how the revolutionary breezes blow there.

Comrade Metcalf landed a bunch of 8 last week. Beats all how easy it is when you just step out after them.

Surprising how the subscriptions run to bunches of five. Here's another list of five yearlies from comrade Glenn Dallos of Dover. Guess 5 is our lucky number.

Again, we ask, have you bought a Toiler press stamp for your red book?

Literature sales were never so good as last week. Besides numerous small ones, some big ones also arived. Our book and pamphlet department is growing. Help it grow by ordering of us the literature you need.

But if five is a magic number, ten is a close second as comrade J. F. Fugitt of Portamouth proves with a list of that many half yearlies.

But comrade Johnnie Nelson of Richmond, Mo., has them all beat.

Just an even 20 half yearlies he remits for.

Comrade Ralph Munding of Toledo orders the first copy of Debs, by Karsner. But he will not be the last to order this good book on the life of our greatest and best loved comrade.

Comrade J. J. Hoge of Bellaire remits $5.00 for the defense of comrade Chas. Baker which is the contribution of another comrade who refuses to reveal his name with the exception that part of it is "Joe". He is the same comrade, who matched a $25.00 donation for the press fund last summer, says comrade Hoge. We thank our modest comrade for his donation and regret that he finds it necessary to deprive us of knowing his name.

Recent contributions to the press fund are as follow: K. J. Dennison, Youngstown, 50c; Chas. Kistler, Fostoria, O., $1.50; Fred Hesse, Muskegon, $1.00; Jas W. Booker, Baileytown, Tenn., 25c; M. Knieser, Lima, O., $1.00; S. M. Korte, Wadsworth, O.; from two friends, $1.00; I. B. Hinman, Lima, O., $5.00; Sarah A. Rohrer, Canton, $1.05; comrades Long and Wm. Greter of Crestline, O., $2.00; P. R. Davis, Chesapeake, O., $1.50.

Dollars Needed FOR Baker's Defense!

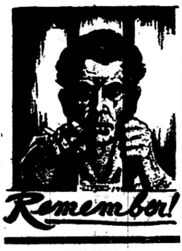
Charles Baker, organizer for the Communist Labor Party, has been arrested, and is charged with violation of the Lever Act, by interfereing with the operation of the coal mines in the state of Kansas.

Baker defended the miners in the recent coal strike. For this, he is now indicted and out on bonds approximating nearly $70.000. Ne will be tried in the Kansas courts in February.

Money is needed NOW for his defense. Baker has always stood by the workers. Now the workers must stand by him. Let your dollars work for freedom for Chas. Baker.

Send all remittances to

The Communist Labor Party of Ohio.
3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, O.



DEFEND
those who have stood by you

WAR ON IGNORANCE.

We have declared WAR on IGNORANCE. Will you enlist in the ranks of the ENLIGHTENERS? We intend to establish in the State Office of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio's Book and Pamphlet Department second to none in the nation. We will handle only the best of the Revolutionary literature of the past and present. We will also publish new literature of our own. We have since Jan. 1st gotten one pamphlet off the press, another will be ready for sale in a few days. Others are contemplated.

The co-operation of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and literature agents is earnestly hoped for. The demand for new and good revolutionary literature is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply this demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can sell pamphlets every week to shopmates and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

Every Class-concious Worker must help Strike Down the Monster, Ignorance, that Enslaves the Workers.

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR ADDITIONAL TITLES.

Crimes of the Bolsheviki 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Soviet Russia ....10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russia, Articles by Tchicherin, Eastman, Lenin, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or mor [illegible]
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18 each.
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c eac [illegible]
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Slander of the Toilers 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Think or Surrender, 15c each, 10 or more 10c each.
Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Bullitt Mission to Russia, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.
Communist Manifesto (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Law of Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Jack London's Works, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Russia in 1919, Ransome, $1.50, 5 or more, $1.25.
Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Pelle the Conqueror, $4.00 (2 volumes).
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Savage Survivals, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism for Students, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Socialism and Modern Science, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Stories of the Cave People, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism and War, $1.00 each.
Ten Days That Shook The World, $2.00 each.
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Universal Kinship, Moore, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.

TWO REAL WORTH-WHILE OFFERS

While the winter months are here, why not read to advantage?

The above titles offer you a wide choice of scientific and interesting literature. Send us $5.00 for an order of the above titles and we will give you a year's subscription to The Toiler. That's worth while isn't it?

ANOTHER CHANCE.

Send us $5.00 for subscription cards to The Toiler and receive free $1.50 worth of any of the above literature. You sell the cards and get your money back. Toiler sub cards sell easily. Let's have your order.

PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY—ADDRESS:

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO.
3207 Clark Ave.—Cleveland, Ohio.

No Revolution ever rises above the intellectual level of those who make it, and little is gained if one false notion supplants another. But we must some day, at last for ever, cross the line between Nonsense and Commonsense. And on that day we shall pass from Class Paternalism, originally derived from fetish fiction in times of unversal ignorance, to Human Brotherhood in accordance with the nature of things and our growing knowledge of it; from Political Government to Industrial Administration; from Competition in Individualism to Individuality in Cooperation, from War and Despotism, in any form, to Peace and Liberty.

—CARLYLE.

DEBS: HIS AUTHORIZED Life & Letters

by

DAVID KARSNER

"I give to you as the author, and to Boni and Liveright as the publishers my word of approval and hearty endorsement of your book. You will write just the kind of a book that Time and History will require, and in every line, on every page, you will be speaking for me with my authority, given to you without reservations or qualifications."—Eugene V. Debs to David Karsner.

Address: COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO,
3207 Clark Ave. — Cleveland, Ohio.

Votaries of Violence—Who Are They?

— By LINN A. E. GALE —

"You are encouraging violence by the workers against the capitalists", writes a critic.

I am doing nothing of the sort. I am opposed to violence at all times. It is a boomerang morally and economically and hurts the user far more than the victim. All clear-seeing Radicals are against it. The thousands of Radicals in prison in almost every land, prove this.

"Violence"? Why, violence is the very backbone, heart and soul of capitalism. The workers never want it. But the instant that the workers begin to show solidarity and to act in unity either in elections or in the mills, violence is the first weapon that the capitalists use. Violence is the chief instrument of the capitalists and the last resort of the workers.

Why is 'Gene Debs, compassionate, kindly, forgiving soul who is loved by every man who really knows him and hundreds of thousands who never saw him in Atlanta Prison? Because he was an advocate or practitioner of violence? Of course, not. Debs has [illegible] and opposed violence all [illegible]. He not only denounced in[illegible]olence but mass violence [illegible]stomarily dignified by the [illegible]. And he is serving a 10- [illegible] term in the United States [illegible], the champion of the [illegible]cerated because he was [illegible]ace, by a government [illegible]nt to the capitalists, [illegible]nce!

[illegible] Kate Richards O'Hare [illegible] 10 years? Why were [illegible]an and Alexander Berk[illegible] Why has Congressman [illegible]erger been sentenced to [illegible] prison and kicked out of [illegible]ve seat to which his con[illegible]early and decisively elect[illegible] Why are William D. Hay[illegible]nd hundreds of I. W. W.'s [illegible] the United States under [illegible]ces of severity unparalleled [illegible] in the Germany of the kaiser [illegible]e Russia of the czar? Why was [illegible]r Praeger lynched in Illinois? Why were Pacifists ministers horse whipped, tarred and feathered and subjected to unnamable outrages during the recent war? Why were the far visioned Liebknecht and the motherly broad-minded Rosa Luxemburg mureded in Germany? Why did I and thousands of other "slackers" have to flee to Mexico?

The answer in every case is that the persons in question opposed the organized violence, the huge, horrible exercise of force that has been named war. They were men and women who believed in Peace and a peaceful settlement of the differences of the government of the world. And they paid for their loyalty to Peace by being slaughtered or locked behind steel bars or compelled to flee to foreign lands!

Who started the war? Who conscripted men to fight when they didn't want to? Who is responsible for the killing of 10,000,000, the wounding of millions more, the rapin[illegible] of thousands of helpless girls and women, and the starvation of thousands of babies and mothers? The capitalist governments of the world of course. Communists, Socialists and Labor organizations everywhere opposed war. Most of them yielded eventually and gave some kind of support but none of them did so willingly. They only acquiesced thru fear when they acquiesced at all.

Why has there been hurled at Soviet Russia all the virulent venom of foul falsehoods that prostituted minds could manufacture? Why were Lenin and Trotzky called "German agents?" because Russia waged war on anybody? No. Because Russia made Peace with Germany. The world has kept ignorant of the fact that she also tried to make Peace with the other countries, failing thru the treachery of the duleet-toned dissembler in the White House.

Always and forever the proponents of violence are the capitalists and militarists and their agents. Read the articles of Guy Empey in his magazine, "Treat 'em Rough" and see how he tells people to knock Bolshevist speakers off soap-boxes.

Read what Ole Hanson in Seattle tells the public to do to Radicals. Read the American Coal Journal which openly speaks of "the worthless lives" of the workers, says that Labor, as at present operating, must be suppressed" and that this "cannot be accomplished with too fine a regard for existing laws."

Read the brutal, murderous advertisements of Edwin Selwin in the Seattle Post Intelligencer, the Seattle Business Chronicle, and the Tacoma Ledger, in which he said of Radical agitators, "We must put to death the leaders of this gigantic conspiracy."

Take the recent shooting affair in Centralia, Wash., U. S. A., when four American soldiers were shot and an I. W. W., also a veteran, was lynched and his maltreated corpse dragged thru the streets of the town. The facts now show that the soldiers began the trouble by attacking the I. W. W. hall and that the I. W. W. members merely acted in self-defense. Edward Bassett, war veteran and commander of Bute Post of the American Legion, an intensely "patriotic" organization, says, "The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act. The evidence received at the coroners' investigation showed the same thing. A blind man in Centralia selling Radical papers had his stand twice demolished and his stock burned up, besides being once kidnapped in an auto and taken out of the county. Mobs of "patriots" in all parts of the United States—and the same thing happens in all countries under capitalism—are raiding houses, offices and club rooms, assulting and shooting people and destroying their property with cynical contempt for right and decency. International imperialism is trying its best to force the United States into war with Mexico so that it may exploit Mexico's rich resources without interference.

"Violence" is the very essence, spirit, brain and body of capitalism with its by-products of militarism and patriotism. By violence do the owners of the earth's wealth keep control over the masses, seize trade balances, dominate "backward" countries and strangle every outcry against their countless iniquities. By violence are men made to butcher their brothers in wars in which they have nothing to gain and everything to risk.

Sometimes, after patience has been exhausted, after the limits of endurance have been exceeded, after elections have been stolen, strikes have been broken, protests been sneered at, and pioneers of a Better Social Order have been jailed, tortured and slain without number, smoetimes, then the workers themselves resort to violence.

Can we blame them much? Should t surprise us? True, it is foolish and futile. But what else can be expected? And how week indeed is the heaped up whole of all the acts of violence ever committed by Organized Labor in all history compared with the monstrous mountain of crimes of the capitalists, kings, kaisers and priests who for thousands of years have filled the world with the woe and waste of their wicked and wanton wars!

What [illegible] irony for defenders of capitalism to prate of the "violence" of Labor in the aftermath of an orgy of international "violence" that has left the earth a charnel house of ruins and a sepulcher of shapes that once were men!

"TREAT 'EM ROUGH"

The miscalled Department of Justice which is really a department for doing the dirty work for the dominant class, has given the American people many reasons for believing them insincere. The Attorney General, a Mr. Palmer, who is rumored to have the pesidential bee buzzing in his bonnet, is alleged to have given as his reasons for the persecution of the reds, the allegation that the reds advocated the use of violence. That there are people who DO advocate the use of violence, OPENLY and evidently with the [illegible] approval of the Department of Justice and Mr. Palmer, (we say 'evidently' advisedly, for the culpsits have done so repeatedly and the department of justice AND Mr. Palmer and the whole army of sleuths, professional and otherwise have never attempted to bring the guilty parties to account.)

Here are two samples, taken verbatim from a magazine edited by Guy Emprey, and called "Uncle Sam," dated January 1920 and sold openly on all news-stands.

They are headed, "Treat 'em Rough."

"Dr. Mayo "sees science extending American life limit'. What we want to see is Patriotism reducing Bolshevik life limit. THE NECESSARY INSTRUMENTS MAY BE OBTAINED AT YOUR HARDWARE STORE." The caps are ours but the wording is surely a direct bid for the fanatical to go to the nearest hardware store and there purchase fire-arms with which to shoot to kill any one whom the fanatic sees fit to call a red.

Here is another one, a plain and open incitation to murder. "Far be it from us to advocate violence, even against Bolshevists. But when the only way to get an idea out of a man's head is to remove the cranium and shake the idea down the neck, what are you going to do?"

The Department of Justice will please take notice. The American people will also take notice that the Department of Justice is blind to uch open advocacy of violence beause it is done in the name of 100 per cent. Americanism.

Socialist Party Going Strong!

Special Correspondence.

New York, Jan. 20, 1920

New York after all is the barometer. New York gives the Socialist Party its national color. And it's not red.

The Socialist Party has exposed itself. All that has been said about it by its critics of the left has been proven true by its actions since the expulsion of the five Socialist Party legislators from the New York state assembly.

Coming close upon the heels of the red raids the news reached the nation that five Socialist Party assemblymen had been expelled by the New York state assembly. It was a deathblow to the Socialist Party until—prominent capitalist politicians lawyers and masters of industry sensed that this action on the part of the New York assebly proved the contention of the Communists that simple political action would never emancipate the working class and that the capitalist class dictatorship would never permit a working class majority in any legislative assembly to function, even in a suedo-revolutionary manner.

The "agents" of the master class wanted to do a good job of the clean-up they were making. And they went right ahead, denied representative government, constitutional guarantees, boasted liberties and democracy and everything, just exactly as they will again do at any time the dictatorship of capitalism is threatened. Wise heads among some of the capitalists and their retainers, saw the danger. They decided it was too early in the game to take extreme measures, especially against a party which was not dangerours, a party which is reform and moderate and a splendid safety valve to keep capitalism from exploding.

What underground wires were working between the Socialist Party leaders and leaders of republican and democratic parties only few know. However, as if they had been paid for it and handsomely, prominent lawyers and politicians of ruling class views began making public their opposition to the action of the New York state assembly.

Charles Hughes and the New York City Bar Association began by resolution and public interviews, to criticize the action of the assembly. Other "big" men lent a hand. Several capitalist papers of New York City decided to champion the cause of the expelled Socialists. All this was done to help preserve representative government — for a little while longer, we might add.

Had the Socialist Party and its officials acted independetly of this support which was coming their way from an enemy source, some respect for that party might have been maintained. The direct contrary happened. The leaders of the Socialist Party began bending the knee to the big lawyers who smiled upon them, lawyers which have and will again spit upon them. Hillquit, the big man in the party, salamed his best when news reached him that Hughes was against expelling the Socialist assemblymen. And when the bar association elected a committee of five, Hughes among them, to go to Albany and help fight for representative government, Hillquit, in a letter in the Call, graciously bid for Hughes support as one of the counsel for the party. Note that it was not a case of hiring Hughes as counsel, but a sheer compromise with a capitalist class representative in a fight which should have been made independently if the Socialist Party had any honor.

Now comes the New York World, a daily capitalist sheet and starts a fund for the defense of the expelled Socialists. The money is to be used to defray the legal expenses. Does the Socialist Party refuse this enemy money? The World itself gives $250.00. Ralph Pulitzer gives $100.00. And low and behold, here is Barney Baruch with a hundred in blood money made out of the war. Forward steps Hillquit again and tells the readers of this capitalist sheet which is gathering these dollars from enemy sources, how the money so obtained will be spent. That means that the Socialist Party approves of these contributions from the capitalist class.

The Socialist Party is done for as a weapon for the working class. Only those will remain in its ranks who are dishonest or who do not understand the difference between reform with its compromising program and revolution with its deadly opposition to the master class.

The Socialist Party is now a lightening rod for the capitalist class. From it will be born a Noske and a Scheidemann. It is going strong down the wrong road, not in numbers, for the masses have left it, but in tactics. Its flag is pink and here in New York it is turning yellow.

And if the New York assembly decides to make the expulsion of the five Socialist assemblymen permanent? Then what?

Order a coffin!

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

word Collins turned over and stared at him, and Rudolph in the other cell said as he looked up to the big man in the other cell "Some growth", the kid's already using the lingo. We are all right to them, when they need us in the harvest fields, but after we are no longer needed, we are bums. If they saw us burned at the stake they would feel neither pity nor sympathy, but would solemnly divide their coat tails and warm themselves." At this Collins roared with laughter, while the visitors fidgeted uneasily.

"Young man," said the male leader of the endeavor squad, addressing the boy "you are here because you fought."

"And I fought because I was attacked, and I was attacked because I had money with which your taxpayers wanted to lighten their own burdens," Jack persisted remorselessly. "And I will tell you something else that you might as well know, for the knowledge may do you good. You come here as a matter of routine and not from a sense of the love of service. It is as much of a burden to you as it is a bore to us! 'Woe unto you scribes and pharisees, —who for a pretense make long prayers'. Don't come to us with your dead formulas, ressurrected from the tombs of Jerusalem. We are your victims, be men and women, and treat us as such."

"Christ never fought," snapped the older woman.

"Ever heard of the money changers in the temple," Jack flung back, "ever heard of white washed graves and inward rotteness. I will tell you ladies and gentlemen you twist the words of your God to fit the needs of your purse."

The girl watched him intently as he spoke. It was as if she were trying to read his very soul. "Is it necessary for you to be rough just because you have to work? Can you not be decent and mingle with good people?" she asked.

"Labor is the brand of Cain," he answered. "We come from afar to harvest your crops—we struggle with you to get what we can for our work —you struggle with us to get what you can out of our work. It is the class struggle; the barrier that divides the House of Have from the House of Want. But some day it will be different. We shall throw you off our backs, and help you to stand upon your feet."

The party nudged one another and moved on down the corridor—all but the girl ;she lingered and looked at the boy thotfully. "I wish you were not so bitter", she said as she offered him her hand thru the bar.

"Come Olive," said the hatchet faced female, as she fairly dragged the girl thru the door.

(Continued next week)

THE NEXT STEP

(Continued from 1st page.)

pressed and down-trodden as they have been for many years, the trade unions were the first to make a real fight for them. It is true the strike did not lead to a clear-cut victory. But what of that? The world could see that the effort was honest. And what more could be expected? The generous aid furnished by the commissaries (which will be continued for weeks after the strike's end) disproved forever the lying propaganda of the bosses that the unions were in the field merely to rob the steel workers. By this strike the unions have won the deepest confidence of the steel workers. In the labor movement the latter see their first ray of hope. Their attitude is that this is only the first skirmish. Later on, when better organization is secured, the big job will be done. They will make another try for freedom when they have recuperated from this one.

As for the officers and organizers who conducted the strike, they are filled with enthusiasm and hope for the future. They are proud of the steel strike. A wonderful thing has been done. The great steel industry, the despair of unionists for years, was organized in the face of the steel trust's bitter opposition. Every big mill in the country came to a stand-still on September 22nd. The impossible has been achieved. The citadel of the United States Steel Corporation was captured, even though it could not be held for long. And what has been done once, can be done again, and more effectively. No one familiar with the situation can deny that the prestige of the unions is now higher than ever before in the steel industry. Mr. Gary may claim the material victory, but the moral victory rests with the unions.

Will Preserve Confidence.

To preserve and to cultivate this precious good will and confidence of the steel workers, so that re-organisation may be hastened and conditions in the industry bettered, is now the big task of the twenty-four unions. For this purpose they have arranged to keep a large crew of organizers constantly at work in the steel industry, under the direction of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers. These men will, of course, do all possible to maintain and build up the weakened organizations. But their chief duties will be of an educational nature. They must combat the steel trust propaganda and prevent the workers from slipping down into the customary post-strike demoralization.

A bulletin, printed in several languages, will be gotten out. At least 100,000 of these will be scattered weekly throughout every steel center in America. Each issue will carry a striking trade union argument bearing on affairs in the steel industry. When a company lie is set afloat among the men, the bulletin will nail it to the barn door. When Mr. Gary "gives" his men the 8-hour day, as seems likely in the near future, the unions will promptly point out that it is the first fruit of the great strike and not due to an overwhelming generosity on Judge Gary's part. When a financial statement is issued by any steel company, its full meaning will be thoroughly explained to the employees of that company. When the United States Steel Corporation launches the company union it now has in mind, its men will be instructed how to comport themselves so as to turn it to their own advantage.

Gary's Absolutism Gone.

Enjoying as they do the confidence of the steel workers, there can be no doubt but that the unions will exert a tremendous influence thru the proposed educational campaign. The steel workers will be kept thinking alike and in a critical frame of mind. The power of such a great army of men merely thinking along the same lines will be enormous. Mr. Gary will find that henceforth he has to deal with men who know what they want and are determined to get it. He will be compelled to grant them concessions. His absolute control is a thing of the past. On the first occassion he attempts to foist some injustice upon his men he will awake to find them all members of the trade movement again, and ready to make a new struggle for their rights.

The immediate effect of the new program of the steel industry unions will be to prevent the demoralization of the steel workers, which would surely result if they were left to shift for themselves. The ultimate effect will be to reduce to a minimum the time necessary for them to recover from this effort and to get ready for the next. To carry the program through will require great exertion by the unions. But they are equal to the task. It would be a crime to abandon the steel workers now.

What Does the Revolution Mean to You?

(Continued from page 1.)

WE CALL UPON YOU TO NOT FAIL IN THESE CRITICAL MOMENTS, YOUR ACTIONS TO-DAY WILL DECIDE THE FUTURE OF THE MOVEMENT—WHETHER IT SHALL MOVE FORWARD WITH THE MAIN BODY OF FORWARD—MOVING LABOR OR IF IT SHALL LAG BEHIND TO BECOME THE PREY OF CAPITALISM. WE CALL UPON YOU TO LEND A WILLING HAND TO THE WORK WHICH WE MUST DO.

AND NOW, START RIGHT—USE THE BLANK BELOW TO FULFILL YOUR FIRST DUTY TO YOURSELF AND THE WORKING-CLASS. SEND A DOLLAR, GET OTHERS TO DO SO. BUILD UP THE ORGANIZATION FUND. LET US HAVE YOUR ANSWER NOW.

ORGANIZATION AND PROPAGANDA FUND,

Comrades whose names appear below have contributed toward the organization and propaganda work whch they realize only the united effort of the workers can accomplish.

Name .... address .... amount ....

Name .... address .... amount ....

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COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

MILAN—Two hundred Austrian children between 4 and 12 have arrived here to be cared for during the winter. Vienna reports that 60.000 children there are starving to death and citizens of Milan are preparing to care for as many more as possible.

LONDON—The parliamentary Lebor party has apponted a commission of six prominent members to go to Ireland and gather the facts of the situation there.

FOREIGN LABOR NEWS.

WINNIPEG, Can.—"Thousands of children in Canada are being starved for want of milk," this is the statement made by the board of commerce of this city in commenting upon the shortage of milk in the dominion. "Invalids of the poorer classes suffer likewise. The human asset is depreciating and in fact in poorer centers is being stunted. All this in order that the foreign butter, cheese and condensed milk demand may be taken advantage of to make as much money as possible, for the Canadian producer and trader."

The report of the board of commerce closes with an appeal to the people of Canada to consider "whether we should let the children starve merely in order that Canadian dollars may make more dollars."

PARIS—Drastic steps will be taken by the Miners' federation to force the government to retract an order for deportation of Druart, a miner of Belgian birth, prominent in the syndicalist movement. Druart, a war veteran, twice wounded, was sent from the country and forced to leave his family because he was "a menace to public safety".

BALE, Switzerland— In opposition t othe Swiss Federation of Labor, a conference of workers' unions was called here, to found a unified organization of the whole working class called "The Federation of Swiss Workers".

THE HAGUE—The Labor party of Belgium and the Social-Democratic party of Holland have exchanged pledges of mutual aid in economic development and in protection from outside aggression.

BERLIN—The Independent Socialist party, through its official organ, Die Freiheit, hotly censures the attempts by the present government to cover up Germany's part in responsibility for the war.

Following on the heels of its expose of the documents faked by the reactionary forces to convince an allied tribunal of the kaiser's innocence, Die Freiheit reveals an attempt by Count Montgelas at a conference of newspaper men to gloss over the crime of the militarists, and show Germany blameless. This attempt to use the newspapers "as mediums for showing up the mendacity of the Noske government," is sharply criticized.

—BRUSSELS—The Dutch members of the Wood Workers' International worked all day Christmas for the children of Austria. They succeeded in getting their employers to contribute a sum equal to their day's wages to add to the fund, which aggregated about $1,600.000.

This action was decided upon at the international convention here of Wood Workers at which representatives of 11 countries were present. The union is opening homes and sanitariums in Switzerland for the reception of Austrian children suffering from malnutrition.

Danish delegates annouced that members of the International in their country were also preparing to provide for groups of children from the starving country.

PARIS—The Labor party of England will soon take over the government, declared J. H. Thomas, M. P., secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, in an interview here. George Lansburry, labor editor, supplemented this declaration by asserting that the people of France and England must join to prevent the destruiction of the two countries by financial interests.

"The English workers are not Bolsheviks," he said, "but we are willing to have a general strike to enforce the policy of nationalization. And we are determined that Ireland be allowed to decide her own future."

MEXICO CITY.—More than $35,000,000 has been invested in the northern states of Mexico by Americans within the last few months. The bulk of the investments is for mining property.

MOSCOW—Courses in music are now required of students in Russian labor schools.The best musicians and teachers in the country have been mobilized as teachers.

Among recent contributors to the liberation fund is comrade Fred Meinche of Davenport, Iowa. Comrade Meinche is 70 years of age but he is still young in mind and heart as his donation of $11.00 proves.

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[illegible]

FORMERLY THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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PEACE AND TRADE WITH RUSSIA NEAR.

Urgent demands of commercial bodies to make State Department show its hand soon in clouded Russian situation. Soviet Envoy Martens tells how his work as business respresentative is financed with money secretly brought by curiers.

That the clouds which have long hung over the relations between the United States and Soviet Russia will soon be lifted, is the conclusion reached by interested onlookers at the senate investigations now proceeding at Washington, where Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, Ambassador of the Soviet Republic is being questioned as to his purposes in America and the methods by which his work is carried on.

Officials at Washington openly predict that because of the complete collapse of the anti bolshevist forces, and to save the border states of Russia from further chaos, peace and trade are at once necessary.

The Russian diplomatic situation will be cleared it is thought, so far as America is concerned, if Secretary Lansing replies to a letter addressed to him by business men seeking to inaugurate trade with Russia.

Chairman E. P. Jennings of the American commercial association for promotion of trade with Russia framed the letter addressed to Lansing, asking if the State Department would give full support and protection to a commission of business men whom the association has decided to send to Russia at once.

The letter also demands that the State Department explain why export trade licenses to ship goods to Russia are denied to American business men.

"Business men of England and France", said Jennings, "now are preparing to resume trade relations with Russia. There is no reason why American business men should be denied this privilege. We are not at war with Russia.

The association was organized in New York last week to promote reopening of trade with Russia. Forty manufacturers and exporters attended the meeting.

Senators on the Foreign Relations Subcommittee delving into Russian propaganda will be furnished with a list of American concerns which have closed trade contracts with Soviet Russia.

Martens already has delivered to the Senate committee a list of hundreds of American concerns seeking to close business deals with Soviet Russia, thru the local envoys.

Following Martens, the committee expects to question Santeri Nuorteva, secretary of the Soviet "embassy," and possibly two or three other members of the Lenine delegation.

A list of 941 names of firms in 32 states who have made positive statements of their desire to do business with Russia, was given to the senate committee by Martens last week.

The firms, numbering some of the largest importing and exporting houses in America, include almost every line of American manufacture, such as medical and optical supplies, dyes, paints and chemicals, agricultural machinery, leather, textiles, shoes, electrical supplies, paper, talking machines, stoves, automobiles, tractors, tools and printing presses.

How Martens got funds.

Couriers from Soviet Russia, daring imprisonment and death to carry funds and letters to Martens business offices in the Woolworth Building in New York, is the method by which his work as business agent of the socialist republic is financed, was told the committee, alst week.

Martens' business offices occupy one entire floor of the famous Woolworth building, where about 35 employes are busy carrying on correspondence with business firms relatives to the opening of trade. He is spending $2,500.00 a week in his efforts to secure recognition of his government by the State Department and to reopen business between the two countries.

Martens flatly declined to answer further questions on the subject of the couriers, and left the committee to consider whether or not his plea of "diplomatic immunity" from further examination should be allowed, while he went on to recount his personal activities in endeavoring to get his government recognized by the state department, and in placing provisional contracts for $25,000,000 worth of food, clothing and machinery with American business houses.

~~This latter effort,~~ he said, had resulted in placing two or three letters before President Wilson, urging recognition, though the state department has remained firm in its refusal to recognize him in anyway.

Out of twenty of the mysterious messengers who started during the last year from Moscow with funds and letters to him, Martens said, seven had gotten through the barriers of armies and international frontiers. Several had been shot summarily in Finland—"three that I know about," Martens said casually. Of ten who tried to get through Germany, nine were captured and jailed

The first man to reach him, however, carried $30,000 and his credentials as soviet ambassador to the United States. The couriers carried money in the form of Finnish marks or Scandinavian currency, Martens said, and had various varieties of passports.

Althogether, $150,000 had come to him through the underground route.

Reds Drive On - And On - And On!

LONDON, Jan. 30.—Red cavalry has forced passage of the Manytch River, in southeastern Russia, defeating the antibolshevik forces, a Moscow wireless today claimed.

The Soviet government claimed capture of 5000 prisoenrs in a twoday battle south of Yefremouff.

In the region of Perekop, the communique said, fighting is proceeding with alternating success.

* * *

COPENHAGEN, Jan. 29.—A peace treaty between Esthonia and Soviet Russia will to signed today, according to a Reval dispatch to the Politiken.

The Berlingske Tiden's Helsingfors correspondent says the signing of peace between Letvia and Soviet Russia is expected in a few days

* * *

LONDON, Jan. 29.—Reports have been received here form Reval that Gen. Nicholas Yudenitch, commander of the Russian northwest army, which was badly broken in last fall's unsuccessful drive for Petrograd, has been placed under arrest.

An Moscow wireless reports that an order has been issued to disband the northwest army.

A Kharkov message says the first Astrakhan Cossack regiment has surrundered completely to the Bolshevikı.

Admiral Kolchak, former head of the all Russian government, is reported to have been taken to Irkutsk.

PARIS, — Gen. Denikine and his staff have taken refuge on board a British vessel at Constantinople, according to a Zurich dispatch to the Echo de Paris

* * *

LONDON, Jan. 29.—A wireless from Moscow says a declaration signed by Premier Lenine, Foreign Minister Tchicherin and Minister of War Trotzky, addressed to the Polish on behalf of the council of the people's commisaries, invites a friendly settlement of all disputes and questions outstanding between Poland and soviet Russia.

The declaration says it is "incumbent on the Polish government to decide whether or not to make war on Russia. It accuses the agents of Winston Spencer Churchill, British war minister, and M. Clemenceau, former French premier, of endeavoring to incite Poland to a "senseless, criminal war against soviet Russia."

The declaration asserts that the soviet government from the first recognized the independence and sovereignty of the Polish republic, and that this will be confirmed at the February meeting of the supreme executive committee of the soviet. Further, it declares there are no territorial, economic or other questions which cannot be solved peacefully by negotiation, concessions and mutual agreements, such as are now being arranged with Esthonia.

BRITISH READY TO TRADE.

LONDON, — The peaceful invasion of Russia has already started and as soon as the ice-bound harbors are clear orders have been booked to keep great fleets moving indefinitely.

Hudreds of tons of Siberian butter are en route to England, followed by wheat, flax and fats from the Ukraine.

The British Foreign Office points out that, because of the favorable rate of exchange for England. traders will be able to force down the high prices demanded for various products in Denmark, Holland and Sweden. At the same time it is intimated that if lifting the blockade does not materially weaken Bolshevist Russia, full recognition of the Lenine and Trotzky government is inevitable.

HE MOVED

The engrawer who makes our cartoons moved his plant this week — that's why we go to press without one. All set with one for next week tho.

LUMBER vs. LABOR

Workers! Judge for Yourselves about Centralia

As a result of the Centralia tragedy on Armistice Day one member of the Industrial Workers of the World, Wesley Everetts, was lynched. His multilated body was dragged back to where other members of the organization were imprisoned and the captives were forced to bury their desecrated comrade. Later it appeared that the victim himself was an overseas veteran.

Every known I. W. W. in town at the time was seized and jailed without warrant. The only local attorney who was brave enough to stand by law and justice was seized, and when a Seattle lawyer arrived to defend the prisoners he was driven out of Centralia.

Ten members of the Industrial Workers of the World and the local attorney, Elmer Stuart Smith, were held on a charge of murder. **They, too, will be lynched—this time by due process of law—unless the workers of America prevent it.**

If the lumber and mercantile interests of the Northwest have their way, the eleven men will be legally lynched.

If the "Allied Industries", the capitalist's combination in the section carrying on the open shop campaign against all labor, has its way—the eleven men will be legally lynched.

If the private interest that instigated the attack on the union have their way—the eleven men will be legally lynched.

The situation is not a new one in the Northwest. The Centralia affair and its aftermath are only a more dramatic chapter in a story of black reaction dating back to the days when the lumberjacks first asserted their right to humane treatment. No group of workers is immune from the attacks of those whose profits are endangered by any manifestation of working class solidarity.

The same interests that entomb Hulet M. Wells, a prominent member of the American Federation of Labor and at one time President of the Seattle Labor Council, and harrass the "Seattle Union Record"—a labor daily in no way connected with the I. W. W.—now seek to kill the eleven who await justice.

Workers! read the facts of the case, and judge for yourselves. The account that has reached you through the capitalist press of the country is one-sided, distorted, malignant. Every possibility of the truth simmering through was precluded by the immediate suppression of all labor papers during the days when stories of roving bands of terrorists were foisted upon the country. A strict censorship was even placed upon telephone and telegraph intercourse the night of the occurrence.

With the affected workers gagged and the public mind in a white fever of credulity, the reactionary forces were able to circulate a lying version of the events. Briefly, the charges made against the accused men are these: That two or three weeks before the Armistice Day parade members of the I. W. W. had plotted to kill ex-service men; and that in conformity with this plot they stationed themselves in windows and other places of concealment and wothout provocation fired on those who were marching in the parade.

Here are a few bare statements of fact. How do the charges look in the light of these?

1. **"Two or three weeks before the tragedy,"** when according to the Mayor's statement **"the plot to kill was laid," no plans had as yet been made by anyone in Centralia for a parade. The first intimation in any form that a celebration of Armistice Day was being planned was a small item in the "Local Notes" column of the "Centralia Hub," on November 4th, only ONE week before the unfortunate affair.**

2. **The route of the Armistice Day parade was a distinct departure from the usual Centralia parades. The I. W. W. Hall is four blocks from the business section of the town where parades are usually confined. In other words, those in charge directed the marchers a good distance out of the way in order to pass the union's headquarters. In view of the consequences we ask: Why?**

3. **Several of the I. W. W.'s involved, including the worker already lynched, are themselves ex-service men. Yet the only motive adduced by the enemies of labor to explain th act is that the accused men were angered by the uniform.**

4. **The uniformed men killed and wounded in the affray fell INSIDE the Hall. Does that look like a deliberate attack by the inmates?**

5. **Testifying at the Coroner's inquest, Dr. Frank Bickford, one of the paraders, said 'THAT HE WITH OTHERS HAD STOPPED IN FRONT OF THE I. W. W. HALL AND SOMEONE SUGGESTED THAT THEY RAID THE HALL."—(Centralia Hub.) "I SPOKE UP AND SAID THAT I WOULD LEAD IF ENOUGH WOULD FOLLOW, BUT BEFORE I COULD TAKE THE LEAD THERE WERE MANY AHEAD OF ME. SOMEONE NEXT TO ME PUT HIS FOOT AGAINST THE DOOR AND FORCED IT OPEN, AFTER WHICH A SHOWER OF BULLETS POURED THROUGH THE OPENING ABOUT US."—(Seattle Post-Intelligencer.)**

Not only do these indisputable facts give the lie to all charges of a plot and deliberate, unprovoked shooting. They also show that those who are now charged with murder shot in **self-defense**—and that only after their property was violently invaded and their lives threatened. In defending themselves they struck a blow for Free Assemblage in a hall for which they had paid rent.

We must bear in mind that an attack on the I. W. W. Hall would be quite in line with the unlawful, vicious acts perpetrated in the past against the organization and its individual members. Imprisonment, lynching, tar and feathers, shooting in cold blood, destruction of homes,—every torture has been visited upon members of an organization whose legality is intact despite the efforts of an army of corporation lawyers to outlaw it.

When the excitement inspired by a corrupt press has subsided and America begins to think and see straight on the Centralia matter, it will realize the absurdity of the accusation against the arrested men and the horrible crime committed by the murderers of Wesley Everetts. It will understand that ten men would never plot to shoot into a public parade of hundreds unless they were stark mad. But madmen could not plot even a mad project. It will realize that no motive can be established for a deliberate shooting such as is charged. If the killing had been planned and unprovoked, would the plotter have chosen a vantage point where escape was impossible?

Workers! judge for yourselves, NOW, before Capital succeeds in strangling eleven more who dared question the domination of wealth.

Justice and law is on the side of these men. They stood up bravely in defense of their constitutional rights. They fought the battles of labor and are therefore marked for annihilation by the overlords.

EMIL HERMAN TO SERVE HIS ENTIRE SENTENSE

Seattle, Wash. — Because be had never removed a small sticker written by Jack London against militarism, which was on the wall of the state office of the Socialist Party at Everett, where he became secretary, Emil Herman is in Federal Penitentiary at McNeil's Island for ten years.

His case was recently appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States but that body refused to review the case, and Herman must complete the remaining eight years of his term, unless a general amnesty for political prisoenr.is declaud.

SEES NO I. W. W. PERIL

Labor Mediator Tells Jury Stories Are False.

TACOMA, Jan. 29.—Edgar A. Snyder of Seattle, a mediator with the United States department of labor testified today in the trial of thirty-seven alleged I. W. W. charged with violation of the state syndicalism law that he had found nothing destructive in I. W. W. literature.

"I have never met an I. W. W. who advocated violence," he declared. He added that he has interviewed hundreds of them.

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Is This 100% Americanism?

CANON CITY, COLO., JAN. 16.

The Daly Record tonight prints the following editorial. The owner and publisher of the Record is Guy U. Hardy, member of Congress from Colorado.

"WANTED—A ROPE"

"When the 249 Reds were deported they raved and cursed the government, and vehemently declared that they would return and wreak vegeance upon every agency that stands for law and order.

"And they will return—be sure of that.

"There are only two effective means of curbing a Red—iron bars or a coffin."

Colorado has recently passed a law against anarchy making the advocacy of lawlessness a 20 year felony. Mr. Hary, however, being one of the eminently respectable citizens of the town, it is not expected that the government will bring any criminal action against him.

WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS

Socialism means that the true object of industry should be to produce the necessaries of life for the common-good and not for the profit of certain individuals.

Socialism would assure comfort, independence, leisure, and education for all. It would relieve industry from the burdens of rent, interest and profit which private ownership now puts upon it.—Manchester Labor Leader.

UNREST SPREADING AMONG FARMERS.

Farmers, in reply to government questionaries, show resentment with idle profit-takers of city; threaten to curtail production to get even with unjust economic conditions.

Indications of a wide spread and deep seated resentment among the American farmers against the conditions under which they must work and market their produce is revealed in the replies of more than 40,000 farmers to a questionaire sent out by the postal department. In fact, so threatening is the attitude of the farmers according to the replies received, that officials admit the whole economic structure is threatened.

A summarization of the replies were made in a report submitted to the senate postoffice committee by George L. Wood, superintendent of the postoffice department's division of rural mails on Jan. 29th. Mr. Wood stated that of 200,000 questionaires sent out into the agricultural states, views of over 40,000 farmers had been obtained, the intention of the questionaire being to secure suggestions from the rural producers as to ways in which the postal department could aid in the cutting down of the cost of living.

Answers show the major complaints of the farmers in numerical order to be:

Inability to obtain labor to work the farms, hired help and the farmer's children having been lured to the city by higher wages and easier living.

High profits taken by middlemen for the mere handling of food products.

Lack of proper agencies of contract between the farmer and the ultimate consumer.

Many of the replies indicated that the writers contemplated either leaving their farms or cultivating a smaller acreage because of one or more of these three major grievances and because of the growing feeling against nonproducing city dwelelrs.

One postal official stated:

"Such a condition at a time when the predominant cry is for production and still more production cannot but constitnte a grave menace."

Excerpts from a number of letters taken at random from the more those on file at the postoffice department, showed the trend of thought among at least a considerable proportion of the farmers of New England, the middle western states, Georgia and the eastern agricultural section.

"The time is very near," wrote a farmer at East Chatham, N. Y., "when we farmers will have to curtail production and raise only what we need for our own use and let the other fellows look out for themselwes."

Declaring that the whole onus of the high cost of living rested with the middleman, a Missouri producer advocated the establishment of municipal markets to be served by parcel post direct.

"I sell butter to the dealer for 45 cents a pound," his letter said, "and the same butter sells to the consumer for 80 cents a pound.

"You may ask what we would do with the middlemen. I will suggest that it be arranged for them to go on the farm and help produce things. I understand that they might not relish working fourteen hours a day, but if we get by the near future there will have to be some useful work done by every one."

The tendency away from the farm to the city was blamed by a middle western farmer for the high cost of living.

"I attribute it a great deal," he wrote, "to the good times in the cities. The young men can go to the city and get big pay for eight hours work, while farmers have to work fourteen to sixteen hours a day at hard manual labor. All of the young men in this vicinity of any account move to the city, and there are only a few old men left to farm."

Declaring that while the farmer had to take what the commission man and retailer would pay him for his product, he was compelled to pay whatever the dealer asked for his clothes, farm machinery and other necessities, another farmer said:

"Farmers work from twelve to sixteen hours a day. City labor works six to eight hours a day. The city man makes two or three times as much as the farmer. The farmer labors and produces, but gets a smaller return than any other class."

[illegible] that European [illegible] nations are as nearly [illegible] dollars, borrowed money. This is as much money as the entire United States expended in its whole existence form July 4th 1776 to the time Woodrow the hypocrite was elected president.

Some Wad!
But who do they mean by 'us'?
There is none of that money
coming to me.

• • •

England owes the most of it. Now she is whining about being let off from the payment of the interest for a few years. Says she can not afford it. Yet she has jus spent in seizing Persia and getting control of the Caspian oil fields TWICE as much money as she owes the U. S, for interest!

That's the English view of self determination!

When two sets of robbes capitalists and their governments fall out over the payment or non-payment of much moneys we should worry! And bleed and fight and lie! And be a hero-saving somebody elses dollras for somebody else.

Let England fight her own battles and pay her own bills.

• • •

Workers are robbed they work, not by foreign nations but by the wages system. If that's sedition Mr. Palmer make the most of it. It is also a profound economic truth and the truth which is at the bottom of your present industrial unrest.

• • •

You can't deport ideas.

• • •

You can't convict conviction.

• • •

Mr. Palmer. Paste this right under your hat. It is a lesson in one hundred percent Americanism that you do not seem to have learued, to-wit; In America, according to the constitution which you give lip service to and accuse the reds of not knowing, men are accountable to the law for their ACTS, not their beliefs. For instance one may believe in free trade, even when the country has a high "protective" tariff. If however one translates their belief in free trade into

[illegible] but as a [illegible]

• • •

It is my belief that Mr. Palmer's red raid mania is not prompted by any 100 per cent Americanism but is merely the reaction after having been bitten by the presidential bee.

• • •

Get this straight, the government is NOT persecuting or prosecuting Communists, but only WORKING CLASS communists. If the government was sincere in the prosecution of ALL the communists it would be a different matter and it would have some big fish in its net.

• • •

A senator in commenting upon the candidacy of Hiram Johnson for president was quoted in the daily press as saying that he was not adverse to Johnson but would back any Republican who could "kick Wilson out of the Whitehouse". Wonder if he wants the kicking done legally and without violence?

• • •

If Sammy Gompers is not a bit more careful in the way he criticises the anti-red bills introduced into a frightened congress by some of the backward-in -thought- and-economic- information he is apt to be listed as "dangerous" and then where would his meal ticket be? By the term "dangerous it is understord, dangerous to the interests of the dominant class.

• • •

The present industrial unrest so learnedly discused is in realty a world wide determination of the commou people of the world that they will not be shut out.

• • •

The capitalists are sowing the wind today. Hot air and propaganda. No need to question what will the harvest be? He that soweth that also shall be rip.

• • •

Little gobs of printer's ink
Greater gobs of guff,
Thus the administration
Throws its foolish bluff.

• • •

The Wilson Administration will go down in history noted for its 2.75%

"Zapataland"

An amazing flood of misinformation has reached to the four corners of the earth in the last few months regarding "Zapataland!', which is described as a "rebel communist state in the present day Mexican Republic" with a population of four million people and a history of seven years of remarkable achievements. To read the glowing account of this alleged Communist Utopia one would think that the combined dreams of Socialistic and idealistic philosophies all the way from Plato down had been translated into realty and concentrated on this particular spot on the globe.

In the first place, Zapata was captured and killed by soldiers of the Carranza government under the command of Gen. Pablo Conzalez a little less than a year ago.

In the second place it must be understood that the wonderful fairyland of Communism alleged to have existed in Zapata's territory was mostly a myth.

Even in the heyday of his greatest strength, Zapata never controlled more than a fraction of the land said to have been under his sway. Nor did he have four million followers or anything like that. There is no way of telling what is the population of the isolated mountains sections which he for a time dominated but it is not likely that they amount to more than a hundred thousand or two, acording to the most generous estimate.

It is true that Zapata had a crude sort of Socialism in practice in a small portion of the state of Morelos in the central part of Mexico. It is not true that socalled "Sosialism" was of any higher order than the primitive Communistic living that obtains among various savage tribes today in undeveloped parts of the earth. It was simply the Communism of native tribes that live in a tropical climate where little work is necessary, little clothing is worn, and practically no modern inventions or industries exist. Nothing more and nothing less.

The idea of such a tribal state being advertised the world over as a brilliant and striking example of Communism put into practice is even comical.

Most of this literary effervescence is directly traceable to one William V. Gates who wrote a series of articles on "The four Governments of Mexico" in the **World's Work**, an American monthly magazine in the spring of 1919. It now develops that this man Gates was closely allied with some of the most vicious and bloodthirsty bandits that curse Mexico and if he was not actually in their pay, it was only because he was instead in the pay of American capitalists who seek intervention in Mexico. By his own admission he visited leaders of various gangs of brigands and some of the rebel chiefs in an effort to arrange a union between them. His obvious purpose was to bring these minority factions toyether under some leaderstrong enuf and bold enuf to oust Carranza. There is excellent reason to think that Gates was sent to Mexico by American oil magnates with this specific object in view. He went back to the United States and wrote the series of articles mentioned, giving the American public a jumble of distortions and misrepresentations and even absolute lies that was calculated to demonstrate the important need of intervention in Mexico.

(Continued on page 4.)

Let The Eagle Scream.

Every time the eagle swoops down upon the Toiler our circulation saors. A powerful WORKERS PRESS is an answer to the rape of Democracy under governmental supervision. Let all those who resent the present un-American and high-handed methods of the administration send us just one new sub to the Toiler and we will have the largest circulation of any paper in America. Just drop us a line saying here is my answer and enclose a sub. Talk it over with the boys in the shop. They want to answer too. Then let the eagle scream and swoop!

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[illegible] dign, but wherever he got the idea the following description of the success with which it is being carried out in Soviet Russia proves how the idea may be made to work for the education and organization of the workers.

Lenin's first "red Special" began its work early last fall and is thus described in the German Bolshevist paper the Kommunist, as reproduced in the Stockholm Bolshevist paper, Folkets Dagblad Politiken, on Dec. 16.

The train which is called by the peasants and workmen Lenin's train has lately returned to Moscow after a circular tour in the western parts of the Soviet Republic. This train consists of fifteen carriages, adorued with pictures in bright colors with plain and vigorous revolutionary inscriptions. It contains a cinematograph, a bookshop, and a branch of the telegraph bureau, which at very station placarded the latest news and sent out bulletins with the latest telegrams. In this train were representatives of nearly all the People's Commissariats and a staff of agitators.

"The train was away about two months. It traveled through the Governments of Pskoff and Vitebsk, Latvia, White Russia, and Lithuania, and extended its journey to Kharkoff. It ered 3,390 versts. At all the places through which it passed tens of thousands of leaflets and proclamations made twenty five long stops and cov were flung out; it distributed socialistic or revolutionary pamphlets and books, organized popular meetings, lectures, and gatherings, conducted propaganda and educated and animated the masses. The representatives of the Commissariats who accompanied the train visited the Soviet institutions and informed themselves regarding the work of the local Soviet organs, corrected their mistakes and supervised

[illegible] held from the roofs of the carriages and, like a fall of [illegible] leaflets and pamphlets were hurled out from the bookshop.

"During its journey the train distributed books, newspapers, and pamphlets to the value of over half a million rubles, distributed [illegible] 180,000 proclamations and leaflets, put up more than 15,000 placards, and provided 556 organizations with various publications. About 90,000 workmen, peasants, and soldiers of the Red Army were present at the lectures, meetings, aing questions. The local organization was informed by telegraph of the and gatherings; about sixty lectures mere organized on all kinds of bur train's arival and came to meet it at the station. Sometimes the reception was very ceremonious. In adition to its propaganda work, the personnel of the train introduced improvements into local organizations, listened to the wishes and complaints of the inhabitants, and where they ascertained that misconduct had taken place immediately proceeded to carry out an investigation.

"At present efforts are being made to organize five of this kind, likewise boats with similar functions for the Volga and its tributaries; also motor lorries, which mare it possible to get to places where are neither railways nor waterways. Before long a train named 'October Revolution' will be sent to Middle Russia and the Don districts. Two other trains, 'The Communist' and 'The Red Army', will be ready very shortly. The whole of Soviet Russia will soon be covered with a living net of similar trains and boats. Thanks to them, the centre is coming into close contact with the republic's remotest districts; it learns their wishes, answers their questions, and instils into them enthusiasm for the revolutionary battle."

He Was The Propaganda.

ANISE, in Seattle Union Record.

This was the story told

• • •

By a young man

• • •

Back from France:

• • •

"When I came back

• • •

To my old JOB

• • •

And DIDN'T get it.

• • •

I wasn't so much surprised.

• • •

For I hadn't really believed

• • •

All those fine words

• • •

They handed me when I left.

• • •

I knew it was natural

• • •

For YOUNGER fellows

• • •

To push their way to the front,

• • •

And I didn't feel SORE

• • •

At anyone.

• • •

I got myself a job

• • •

As laborer on a building.

• • •

Thinking myself

• • •

As GOOD as anybody,

• • •

Sure to rise from the bottom

• • •

By faithful work,

• • •

And hoping soon

• • •

To get MARRIED

• • •

To the best girl going.

• • •

Well, it happened one day

• • •

Through somebody's blunder

• • •

One of the gangs of men

• • •

Was left IDLE

• • •

And hung around

• • •

In the half-finished cellar

• • •

WAITING

• • •

For somebody else to finish,

• • •

And just about that time

• • •

The BOSS from the office

• • •

Drives up in his auto,

• • •

Giving us all

• • •

The ONCE OVER.

• • •

And sees those idle fellows.

• • •

Mad as a wet hen, he hikes

• • •

To the boss of construction:

• • •

'FIRE AT ONCE,' he says.

• • •

'EVERY MAN in that cellar.'

• • •

Well now as it happened

• • •

Just at the minute he said it

• • •

I was crossing the cellar

• • •

Carrying two-by-fours,

• • •

To a gang on the floor above.

• • •

I had been working all day,

• • •

Faithful and steady.

• • •

But I got fired with the rest.

• • •

There wasn't a single word

• • •

Of EXPLANATION

• • •

That they would take

• • •

From a single man of the bunch.

• • •

They wouldn't even LISTEN

• • •

As if you were HUMAN.

• • •

It was just:

• • •

'OUT WITH YOU,'

• • •

Like DIRT from a building.

• • •

That was when I learned

• • •

What AUTOCRATS are.

• • •

I who had fought

• • •

For DEMOCRACY

• • •

And found myself not FIT

• • •

To SPEAK to my boss,

• • •

But just like a bit of brick

• • •

That he BUYS and SELLS.

• • •

That boss is a high-up man

• • •

In damning the REDS.

• • •

I wonder if he would be

• • •

SURPRISED to know

• • •

That HE was the PROPAGANDA

• • •

That turned me Bolshevik?"

[illegible] professors [illegible] their standards of living [illegible]. Have the professors lost their manhood, or is it that they cannot apply the economics they have been teaching in school? We have had arguments of this sort in the paper by professors who should know better; people are poor because they drink to much, or that the housewife uses the telephone to have her meat and groceries delivered, instead of carrying the basket to the market; also that the people should eat more beans, because they are more nourishing than cake and pie. We were also told that if we don't like our job and are not getting enough pay, why we have the liberty of going elswhere.

Miss Helen Taft also mentioned that men like Jack Dempsey get 300,000 dollars for one fight and ball players getting 120,000 dollars a season; now why does she mention this? Why don't she apply the teaching she received in school; that is that the professors should become fighters and ball players, they have the same liberty as the workers to change their jobs.

Is it because they are afraid that they will be called a Bolshevik if they demand more money, or is it that they are so muddled with the false teaching of economies that they don't know how to act. It seems rediculous to me that such learned men must have women to advocate a rise in salary for them.

Probably their wives will teach them the true economics, and some day, they will be on their feet again.

The same economics for the professors will work for the toilers, and I hope when the professors have found the true economics they will insist on teaching the truth, so there will be a much clearer understanding among the people.

Come out with the Truth, professors, be men once in your lives, even tho you may be called a Bolshevik.

The people demand the Truth.

JOHN F. SMITH

CORRESPONDENT TO LEARN OF LENINE REGIME.

DORPAT, Feb. 2.—Through joint permission of the Estonian government and of the Moscow government, Arthur Copping, a newspaper correspondent is about to visit soviet Russia to report on conditions now prevailing in that country.

At present, he says, the vital problem is not what did the Bolsheviki set out to do nor what occurred in the early stages of their power, but what sort of government are the Bolsheviki running now, and what are the fruits of that government.

In an interview, Mr. Copping stated:

"Since coming to the Baltic states I have in gathering information resulting from Yudenitch's advance, tapped a new stratum of evidence, hostile to the Bolsheviki. But, on working the ground carefully, I detected isolated facts of contrary tendency.

"At Gatchina, that beautiful domain of imperialistic Russia, south of Petrograd, what was my surprise to find the town and palace unharmed, and the abundant art treasures of the district in cultured custody.

"It was a tantalizing moment when a Gatchina school mistress spoke nicely about bolshevism.

"You must not suppose," she said, "that it is merely a system of violence and spoilation. On the contrary, its professors were idealists honestly striving to uplift human society."

"Then came a witness who amazed me by the nice things he said about the Bolsheviki from whom he had fled, notably as to infinite pains taken over the feeding, instruction, recreation and general welfare of children.

"Leaving prejudice behind, or at any rate, desiring so to do, I go into Russia seeking the truth."

ASSOCIATION THREATENS SUIT TO OPEN DOORS.

NEW YORK, Feb. 2.—The American Commercial Association to promote trade with Russia decided at a meeting here today to send a mission to soviet Russia to foster commerce. To its executive committee were left the details of the commission's personnel and date of departure.

Meanwhile "pressure will be brought to bear" on the federal government to lift the present restrictions against trading with that part of Russia in control of the Bolsheviki.

A suggestion that one of the members of the association seek a writ of mandamus from the United States supreme court to compel the state department to permit American firms to do business with Russia, either through the soviet government or with the soviet government direct, also will be considered by the executive committee.

[illegible] XVI

[illegible]

That evening for the first time in the eighteen years of her existence Olive Anderson listened to the Rev. Mr. Goodman's sermon with critical ears; she was actually interested in what he had to say. She desired to learn and not merely to sit in church for custom sake. She wanted to know if what that boy had said were really truth or fancy. But from the parsons lip escaped no hint of the mechanism of man's social relation. His sermon consisted of the usual platitudes, "be good, do good" "contribute for the conversion of the heathen and God will bless you."

She listened intently being conscious of a growing resentment to the things the preacher said. She asked herself the question, "Is that man saying all these things simply because we pay him to say them? Does he dare to ask God's blessing on officers whom he knows to be crooked simply because we elected them? Does this man really sell his soul for bread or is that boy lying: At that thought Jack's face would appear before her a picture of calm power. She felt intuitively that the truth was with him and not with the preacher.

From the preacher her thought turned to her father; he cared little for the church; he was a man of the world. Her father had come to Dakota in the early days when the territory contained nothing of importance but Indians, mosquitoes and alkali. He had worked hard in this youth, selling whisky to Indians, stealing cattle from ranchers and later selling real estate. That was the business in which he was still engaged. It furnished him the money that made him respectable. He furnished the money with which his wife and daughter help to defray the expenses of the church. He had farms, but did not work them; they were rented. Thus Anderson was a man of business. He was expert in but two things, money and the way to get it. His renters called him 'wolf' and other choice names. His wife called him Gus when she spoke to him, and that was not often. Mrs. Anderson was a religious fanatic who could not tolerate her husband's materialistic attitude of mind. But to his daughter, he was papa. These two loved each other sincerely and devotedly. His daughter was his idol whom he tried to keep in ignorance of the business affairs of this world.

At home that evening she sat moodily at the piano and to played furtively, odd strains of songs and hymns, stopping from time to time, She pillowed her chin in the palms of her hands and sat motionless, as if gazing at something far out in space.

Her father, enthroned in his old Morris chair noticed her restlessness and wondered. He knew that she was deeply stirred by something, but what that something was he could not define. It hurt him to see her troubled, but he did not speak of it; instead he let his paper slip from his hands, and entwined his clumsy fingers upon his capacious abdomen. Thus he sat and watched her. He inclined his head at such an angle that his steel rimmed spectacles slid half way down the bridge of his nose, causing his large blue eyes to fall unscreened on the slender form of this daughter. There was a look of sincere love and devotion in his eyes.

Usually he would sit for hours and enjoy her playing, but this night she had about her an atmosphere that got on his nerves and made them tense and restless. Her mood even seemed to affect the piano, or so it seemed to him; the instrument did not play, it wept, And then there would be times that it rang with defiance.

He filled his pipe and emptied it into his cuspidor after one or two puffs; then he filled it again; his trembling fingers scattering a fine spray of tobacco over his grease stained vest.

The girl played a few bars of "Lead kindly light," and then walked over to the window and stood peering out into the darkness. Out side the wind was blowing a gale driving the snow in clouds over the ground and wailing dolefully about the eaves of the house.

"Are you not well Olive?" her father asked kindly.

"No," she answered," and there's a good reason for me feeling blue and down hearted. I have been down to visit the jail today. They have a young boy who ought not to be in such a place. He told us some awful things about our selves, and I am really afraid that they are true. He told us that our religion doesn't play a very big part in our daily lives. He practically told us that it was nothing but a social toy, and when I heard Rev. Goodman preach this evening I was constantly reminded of that boys words."

"I've heard of that kid," her father confessed. "Small Head and Duffy seem to be afraid of him. They tell me he seems to be well posted on

[illegible] — but then I suppose he did it reading while decent people worked."

He had no more than said the last word when he saw that he had offended her, and Anderson would rather do anything than cause his daughter pain. At least he thought so, and in this he was perfectly sincere; he did not realize just how far he was bound by property ties.

"I think you're unfair to him," she said almost petulantly. "I tell you papa that he is not an ordinary hobo". Then suddenly changing the subject she asked, "Why did they arrest him any way? Why did they arrest all these men? Only a few of them fought. They say it was to get their money. That isn't so is it papa?"

"Well, — we might as well take their money, my dear if we don't take it the saloon keepers will." Then excitedly, "that's what I have against this church stuff; they bring young girls in contact with jail birds and gallows fruit instead of running their church show. Let men of the world, run the affairs of the world. A jail is no place for the daughters of decent people to be hanging around. A jail is a place to punish offenders— "then catching himself in an angry mood he suddenly changed his tone, saying: "then you must remember that those fines help out on our taxes."

"But it ain't right," the girl protested forcefully. "You rob these people out of pure selfishness. It is horrible. It's unjust. It is mean. I did not believe it when they told me, now you tell me the self same thing. I'm ashamed of you, ashamed of myself, ashamed of everything. It is sickening."

"Now, now Olive, don't take yourself too damned serious," her father argued. "You know that the saloon keepers will get their money as soon as they get out of the state, and they will make them drunk to boot. We just beat the saloon man to it and keep them sober in the bargain. We really take this money for their own good." Then, suddenly changing the argument he said with a slight expression of disgust, "I am surprised to see you sympathize with these bums, when its patently against your interest There ain't no business sense in women. I've told you that often enough. Business and politics is a man's job." Then tenderly, "You just play the piano, and sing in the choir, and go to school, and leave the hoboes to us. We men have to raise the money to keep you, so don't bother us."

"But if you elect officers for the purpose of robbing working men then it is they and not you who pay the taxes. I was surprised when that boy told me these things. And now I am disgusted, not with him, but — with every thing."

Anderson laughed merrily. "When I save sixty or seventy dollars on taxes and use that money to get you some nice clothes or fix you up a nice pew in church then its's all different, ain't it Ollie?"

"If my clothes and happiness must come from robbery I will not wear them. I shall go out and earn money for myself. I will not wear things which have been stolen from working men," she said pointedly.

"Not working men but hoboes," her father corrected.

"Not hoboes but victims," his daughter snapped. "Daddy don't say such things, you don't know that boy, you haven't heard his story, He earned his money by honest toil. Even tho he drank, it was his money. Duffy took it from him and you voted for Duffy knowing that he was unscrupulous." She said no more but walked over to the piano and sat down. Here she remained silent and motionless until her father asked her what she was thinking.

"I was thinking," said she, "That the night is dark and that those boys are far from home, just because we are too stingy to pay our honest taxes. I am hurt, mortified!" She arose and sailed majestically out of the room.

"Well I'll be eternally damned," muttered Anderson. "Women have no sense when it comes to business." He emptied his pipe, stretched himself and prepared to retire.

Olive spent a restless night. Jack Thurston had preached for her the one and unforgetable sermon. He had spoken the word that had touched the secret spring of her dynamic energy. He had cracked the enamel of her environment and brought into play the dormant powers of her heredity. He had made her happily miserable. Happy because she had learned the truth and miserable, on account or the dismal nature of that truth. He had fired the shot that broke the wall of her delusions and brot her face to face with the real and battle scarred world.

The next morning on her way to school she overtook her chum and class mate. Miss Tillie Duffy who was jauntily braving the bitter north wind armored in a splendid coat.

(Continued on page 4.)

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6th, 1920

THE AMERICAN HOME.

The other day we saw a picture entitled, The Great American Home. The time was evening; the husband was lying asleep upon the "sitting room" couch, the daily paper crumbled upon the floor by his side. The breadwinner of the family has apparently taken flight from this world's sordid cares in the arms of Morpheus. The wife stands before him dressed for the street. She is upbraiding her worse half for his disinterestedness in the business at hand—a trip to the movies. The artist had depicted in striking lines the boredom that resides in millions of homes and the means by which the victims attempt to escape.

For we can but view the present day movies as little else that a means of momentary escape from a worse affliction—the boredome that arises from certain conditions of life. Seldom indeed, does a picture appear which has either the virtue of interest or education as an excuse for its existence. The cinema, with its tremendons possibilities for education and truth revealing, is used principally as a soporific to the working class. (I trust it will not be disputed that the movie is the wirker's theatre). A moment's respite from a dull day of drudgery, a tiny thrill to stir the blood a little faster, something to excite the mind; the glimpse it affords into another, and often, an ureal world; "a place go", this is the movie as it is. What straws the human biped snatches at before he finally succumbs to the almost irrisistable suction of the quicksands of common, every-day monotony and aimless living.

The other Saturday afternoon we stepped into one of Cleveland's librarys. It was a rainy day and we thot as we entered the quit lobby, what a retreat for an afternoon's reading. Most Cleveland workers have a half day holiday on Saturday, and we felt a keen sense of disappointment to find the entire library vacated with the exception of the attenants and one little boy and a betpectacled young man. In a ten minute's walk from the library, we passed five movie theatres. They were jammed. We looked at each "bill of fare" and found only the usual "wild west thrills," comics and lovemaking scenes advertised. And we asked ourselves, WHY?

But you are mistaken, gentle reader, if you think we placed the blame for this condition upon the American home. Not by any means. We are compelled by the force of logic to regard the home, whether American or any other, as a product, not a cause. If we are to place the blame for the aimlessness, purposelessness and general all around emptiness of the average human life, we will seek it in the general economic conditions surrounding the great majority. And, doing so, we find that the great mass of mankind are but tiny units of a great industrial machine, under its rule individualism never has a chance, the machine crushes it out. It creates automatons, mannikins, who have lost the power and incentive to strike out adventurously on untried lines. It has re-created man, after its own image—a creatur devoid of all save the ability to produce profits; devoid of ability to make headway against the benumbing influences of the machine life; an automaton which obeys orders, and failing to receive them, drifts without deep purpose upon whatever tide rises high enough to lift him out of his lethargy.

This is why the American Home is but a place to eat and sleep—and why the pitiful offerings of the popular movies find such ready takers.

———o———

UNAPPRECIATED.

Accept as a truth, the fact that the world has never appreciated the teacher. Also, make room for this fact in your head, that unless you can show the ruling class of any society that your teaching will conserve their immediate economic interests, you will be left to starve in the street, however great be the truths of your philosophy. In fact, you may consider yourself fortunate if you are left to starve in peace, lucky that a mob be not sicked upon you and you'be stoned to death.

The way of the teacher is hard—and growing harder. Just now there is a nation-wide agitation about the situation in our public schools. The teachers, who have heretofore pruned themselves more or less upon the supposition that they were in the "professional" class, are learning that they are yet amenable to the same economic laws as the day laborer. They have failed to recognize the necssity of amalgamating themselves into labor unions for the sake of self preservation. Now, that the economic shoe is pinching harder and harder, they are giving up their "profession" for better jobs. From the four corners of the country the cry has gone up that the teachers are leaving the schools. Investigations of teacher's wages and living conditions are under way and many are the solutions offered to improve the matter. Some are rather novel too. Out in South Dacota it has been proposed as a means of combatting the high cost of being a teacher, that they cut out the gee-gaws and wear plain gingham uniforms. But we think that as long as pretty young teachers can pick up any old kind of job that will insure silk stockings and such, they will hardly fall for this method. Pittsburg furnishes what looks like a business like solution. Thirteen men teachers there who were in army service recently, have proposed to the board of education that they be put on an army basis for pay and board. Thirty three dollars a month and board and lodging they say, is more than they now receive. In Indiana, many country schools are closing on account of inability to get teachers.

All of which brings to the fore the question of why teachers are not paid enough to enable them to stay on the job! The difficulty with our educational system is that the funds for its maintince are raised thru property taxation. Property holders naturally desire to keep taxes down. They hate to part with any of the emoluments that arise from the holding of property. They look upon it as akin to robbery. Naturally, they don't want to be robbed. We live under a system that demands of each that he grab all he can and keep it if possible. Naturally the social conscience is undeveloped. Teacher's wages are low because taxes are low or the funds badly administred. We are niggardly with out teachers because we have failed to develop a social consciousness which realizes the value of the teacher's services to the body politic. The fact of the hundreds of thousands of illiterate native Americans proves how miserablebly our present educational system has failed. As long as the funds for the maintainance of public schools are raised from property taxes, and the property owning class make and administer the laws, we will have but a makeshift public educational system with starvation wages for our teachers.

The deficiencies in our educational system will, among many others have to await a decided change in the economic system before they can be rigted. In the meantime, we hope the teachers will learn that they are but working folks and that they will join hands with the rest of us in not only maintaining a decent standard of living, but in helping to build an economic system which will allow the fullest development of education for the coming generations.

SPARKS.

If we had ever doubted it, we are now convinced that getting subs for The Toiler is dead easy. Why? Oh, just because a comrade out in Kansas sent in a bunch of 26 this week at one whirl. What's more, he promises us as many more next week, so we are doubly convinced. His name is F. Evans and he is a miner, which probably accounts partly at least for his activity. And we are brought to think that if one comrade can do this well in ONE mining camp—well, that others schuld be able to do the same. How about it, you miners?

Comrade A. M. Toohey of Toledo, spoke at Akron Sunday the 25th. Comrade Toohey reports a very good meeting. Local Akron is holding meetings each Sunday and they are proving lively ones too.

We want to thank the comrades who renew their subs for the many many "little boosts" they send us in the way of three months subs for acquaintances. We'll guarantee that those friends will thank them for putting them next. Every little boost means a move forward.

"The best in this country for the workers"—that's what comrade J. Manoyhovich says about The Toiler. Well, We'll agree.

Comrade Glenn L. Dallos of New Philadelphia, O., is in the field for Toiler subs. Two yearlies proves he knows the job.

Comrade Ira Jones of Millfield says the miners about there need The Toiler. Result he remits for $5.75 worth of subscriptions. Which would seem to indicate that where there is a need it can be filled. How about the workers you know, comrade?

Down at Huntington, W. Va., comrade F. H. Payton is making the fur fly rounding up subribers. About every three days we recieve a handful from him.

And we repeat here, that we want Toiler agents in every township. Write us, we will offer you a chance to do effective work in the Movement that will please you.

Comrade Carl Guillod of Canton remits $10.00 for literature and the defense fund. Good for Carl, we say.

An open forum will be opened in Youngstown soon, we are informed. And we say it is good idea and we request that all Youngstown readers connect up with the live bunch that are putting this across.

Sales of Debs splendid picture are going good at the State Office. If you have not gotten one send us a quarter and create a pleasant surprise for yourself.

How many Toiler press stamps can you show in your dues book, comrade? Get them from your Local secretary. Also and by the way, are YOUR DUES paid up. Don't sabotage the Movement by becoming delinquent in dues payments.

And we say it again with particular emphasies—that the way to make a movement grow is to arrest its adherents. We can prove it. Party business has not been as good for many weeks as for those since the big raids were made. Pull a few more like the last one Mr. Palmer and we will enlarge our activities another 100 per cent.

Comrade [illegible] of [illegible] cycle, states that he is [illegible] busy supplying [illegible] for the [illegible] but nevertheless, finds time to round up a half dozen subs. Every hour spent in this kind of work is an hour GAINED.

With emphasis, we state that the only thing worth being afraid of in this world is INACTIVITY in the cause of Industrial Democracy. Better fight shy of it comrades. There's a job for you and if you fail whom do you expect to do it?

Another order for dues stamps from Local Cicinnati means that the hall wreckers there have conspicuously failed in their dastardly attempts to break up the Local.

As an indication of the success of the Akron Local meetings, comrade Cunningham, literature agent remits $40.35 for literature and orders another hundred Bullitt Reports. Going some, Akron comrades.

Wm. True of Dayton is selling his quota of sub cards. We suppose this means another order for $5.00 worth more in the near future.

"Yours for many more," writes comrade J. D. Schieber of Payne as he renews and sends another.

"I wish that every worker would read such a paper as the Toiler" writes comrade W. S. Jones of Columbus. Well, he does his part with three yearlies and two trial subs.

We appreciate the cordial letter from comrades W. H. Adams and the goodly bunch of subscriptions which he sends us. Comrade Adams writes that even the comparatively independent mountaineers are waking up to the fact that there is something wrong with our social system under which the masses contribute to the welfare of the classes. He also orders a number of books and pamphlets.

A sample copy brought us his sub, Walter Brown, Chesire, O. He says some nice things about The Toiler. Thanks for boyh, comrade.

Say, wait a minute. Give this week's cartoon the "once over", and express your satisfaction by sending a dime or a dollar for the Cartoon Account. Of course if you don't like the cartoon, don't remit. Which will it be? There are more where that one came from.

Comrade P. Luhn of Cincinnati, secretary of German Communist Party branch refers to the Toiler as "an enemy paper." We appreciate the joke. Comrade Luhn forwards 6 subscriptions. Such enemity as this can be borne. Now Luhn has a copy of Lenin working in his neighborhood.

An order of a dozen copies of Bullitt Report to comrade Ilkenhans of Hamilton is positive proof that he is doing some constructive educational work there.

Order a copy of the Manifesto of the Third International. It's but 10c and the Party members who have not read it are missing valuable information.

Now, are we right when we say that comrade C. R. Denbow of Akron is a new booster. Right or wrong, the two yearlies he sends indicates that he knows how.

Comrade A. Storm of Niles is after them, too. Seven subs from him and of course he chooses Lenin as a premium.

OPEN FORUM MEETINGS.

NORTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OPEN FORUM.

The public is invited to attend the Sunday evening open forum lectures at the North Congregational Church at East 72nd and St. Clair Ave., Cleveland. Questions will be requested from the audience after each lectures as well as three minutes speeches.

HOSEA PAUL
Will speak Feb. 8th

Subject: Lincoln, the Man and the Myth.

Lectures begin promtly at 7:30.

It just occurs to us to ask if you are one of the lucky 25? You don't know about that? What we mean is, are you one of the 25 comrades who take advantage of our premium offers each week and get your choice of good literature for $5.00 worth of subcards? If you haven't yet gotten in on these offers, a good time to start is NOW.

"No other paper interests me so much as The Toiler". This word of appreciation comes from comrade Wilder of Norwood. He renews and sends three "trials" to others. We dont' know a better way to prove his words than that, do you?

• • •

Our old time booster J. S. Faubus of Combs Ark., is back on the job we note. Five hi delivers this past week. We wonder if he can do it each month?

• • •

A pleasant surprise came to us last week when the mail brought us a letter from our friend and comrade Samuel Sadler, now a cumpolsory guest of Uncle Sam at McNeil Island Penitentiary. Sadler and Hulet Wells were given sentences of two years each for alleged anti war activities. Wells is doing his bit at Leavenworth, having been transferred to the latter institution when the Seattle Labor Council, of which he was one time President, began an investigation of his ill treatment at McNeils.

• • •

J. W. McCann of Wampum Pa. sends $6.00 for sub cards. A copy of Lenin goes to him for premium.

• • •

To the many comrades who have sent us one or more subscriptions this past week, we wish to thank you all. It is the little boosts that count, for they prepare the way for bigger ones in the future. Keep on the job comrades, for it is by your constant efforts that our porpaganda is carried on.

• • •

Comrade N. C. Howell of Delphos N. M. will go on the road shortly on a business trip. A house to house canvasing trip with the Toiler and literature as side lines is his plan. Here's hoping he makes good, for we know that where there are workers there our message should go every day in the year.

• • •

Drop a quarter in the Cartoon Account and see the "picture" next week. You'll like it.

• • •

Ever hear a picture talk? Well, listen to the Toiler cartoons. Hear anything?

• • •

We wonder if the cartoons we print are worth as much to you as the price of a movie. What say? Let a quarter speak for you — or a dollar.

———o———

BILLY SUNDAY SPEWS.

The Columbus Citizen credits Billy Sunday, the notorious, with the following, claimed to have been spewed form his filthy mouth on the 15th of January.

"The next job of housecleaning will be to rid our country of this gang of good-for-nothing, God-forsaken, weasel-eyed, hog-jowled, bull-necked, rag-shagged, bob-tailed, riff-raff bunch of radical, revolutionary, anarchistic, Red, I. W. W. Bolsheviki imps who are a deadly poison to every element of American civilization.

"Then we can sing 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee' and 'Praise God From Whom All Blessings Flow' with a new meaning".

Coming from a proffered "deciple" of the Lowly Nazarene, whose gospel was meekness and love toward the misguided, the oppressed and the outcasts of society, we desire to express ourselves as believing that Billy Sundays is just a plain ordinary skunk with the spirituality of a hyena, the sympathies of a snake and the intelligence contained in 1000th of 1 per cent of the brain of an ass and a faker besedi.

WAR ON IGNORANCE.

We have declared WAR on IGNORANCE. Will you enlist in the ranks of the ENLIGHTENERS? We intend to establish in the State Office of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio a Book and Pamphlet Department second to none in the nation. We will handle only the best of the Revolutionary literature of the past and present. We will also publish new literature of our own. We have since Jan. 1st gotten one pamphlet off the press, another will be ready for sale in a few days. Others are contemplated.

The co-operation of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and literature agents is earnestly hoped for. The demand for new and good revolutionary literature is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply this demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can sell pamphlets every week to shopmates and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

Every Class-conscious Worker must help Strike Down the Monster, Ignorance, that Enslaves the Workers.

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR ADDITIONAL TITLES.

Crimes of the Bolsheviki 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Soviet Russia ....10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russia, Articles by Tchicherin, Eastman, Lenin, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18 each.
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Slander of the Toilers 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Think or Surrender, 15c each, 10 or more 10c each.
Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Bullitt Mission to Russia, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.
Communist Manifesto (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Law of Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Jack London's Works, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Russia in 1919, Ransome, $1.50, 5 or more, $1.25.
Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Pelle the Conqueror, $4.00 (2 volumes).
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Savage Survivals, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism for Students, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Socialism and Modern Science, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Stories of the Cave People, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism and War, $1.00 each.
Ten Days That Shook The World, $2.00 each.
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Universal Kinship, Moore, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.

TWO REAL WORTH-WHILE OFFERS

While the winter months are here, why not read to advantage?

The above titles offer you a wide choice of scientific and interesting literature. Send us $5.00 for an order of the above titles and we will give you a year's subscription to The Toiler. That's worth while isn't it?

ANOTHER CHANCE.

Send us $5.00 for subscription cards to The Toiler and receive free $1.50 worth of any of the above literature. You sell the cards and get your money back. Toiler sub cards sell easily. Let's have your order.

PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY—ADDRESS:
COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO.
3207 Clark Ave.—Cleveland, Ohio.

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ORGANIZATION WINS!

Alwas does organization win. You know it, we know it, the capitalist class knows that by organization, the working-class can take charge of the world and all its affairs. That's why we oreach and practice organization — because it is the shortest way, in fact, the only way to win.

But without funds no organization is possible. To do our work effectively, and in the shortest time possible, we must have funds with which to carry on organization work. And we are going to give you a chance to help do this work. There are many ways in which you **cannot** help but here is one way in which even the hardest hit worker can do a little.

Use the blank belov. Build up the organization by building up the Organization Fund.

Name .... address ....amount....
Name .... address ....amount....
Name .... address ....amount....
Name .... address ....amount....
Name .... address ....amount....

Sent by ....

Address ....

Send all Remittances to
COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

RUMINATIONS of a REBEL

(By TOM CLIFFORD)

The Cleveland Press, running "true to form," has again demonstrated its ability to blow hot or cold, as its interests, or the interest of the class it represents, may deem necessary. In the realm of mental gymnastics the high and lofty tumbling of this bourgeois phonograph is in a class by itself. During the past three years it sponsored violations of the Constitution which reduced that document to a mere scrap of paper; it aided and abetted the persecution of those who contended that both the letter and spirit of the fundamental law of this nation was being ruthlessly violated; it not only winked at but openly glorified the mob, and spared no effort to condone the lawlessness under the guise of patriotism. In fact, during these years of terrorism, in which thousands of workingmen, in violation of the Constitution, were railroaded to jails and penitentiaries, no evidence was apparent that it respected constitution rights any more than does the ordinary bourgeois. It is only when its ox is in danger of being gored through the sedition bills now pending in Congress that it suddenly invokes the Constitution it helped to shelve at the behest of the master class. In a late editorial we find the following: "When force is opposed to argument, the result is tyranny." All of which is true, but it is also true that the Press never said so while tyranny was working overtime and then some in this supposititious land of the free. Free speech and free assembly is of no moment to capitalistic sheets like the Press, but when the freedom of the "press" is endangered by sedition laws framed by those lacking the judgement to exclude the latter from its provisions, old "economic determinism" rises to the occassion and emits a roar about "constitutional rights" that makes the solons at Washington back up instanter. As an exemplar of hypocracy the Press has all the rest of the capitalist "educators" faded to a finish.

* * *

But the Press is not alone in this seeming "eleventh hour repentance." Apparently orders have come from "headquarters" to assume a reactionary attitude and play up the Constitution and the rights supposed to inhere in it to check the fire they have fanned into a conflagration. In short, they have discovered that "too much is too much," and they evidently fear that the people will not stand any further invasion of their rights. Watch the editorial pages of the daily papers and note with what remarkable unanimity they sing the song of Constitutional rights. Of course, the only rights they lay any store by are time honored privileges of the bourgeoisie to plunder the masses and immunity for themselves in the practise of their nefarious business of deceiving the public.

* * *

Some foolish people are still hoping that our government will exercise some measure of paternalistic regard for the common people and compel the profiteers to be decent. What a wonderful thing is hope! It is questionable whether it be a blessing or a curse. As a sedative it might be considered the former, but when we assume a rational view of this state of expectancy the verdict must be for the latter. for hope is the dominant factor in keeping the working class in a condition of inertia. It behooves the master class to keep hope alive in the brests of the workers as long as possible, for therein lies their only "hope" of security. Prolongation of the era of ever increasing living costs may at any time rouse the sleeping giant of labor, and hope deferred too long may inspire him to seek a remedy at the ballot box. When that day arrives the doom of the bourgeoisie will be sealed and profiteering be laid away in the tomb of time. So mote it be.

* * *

Timothy Shea, President of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Engineers, is doing the bucking broncho act anent the Cummins railroad bill, and denounces it as an attempt of the financial interests to disrupt labor organizations. Well, well! Mr. Shea is getting quite pugnacious. Why should he expect these gentlemen to do otherwise? He has a "hunch" that when the railroads are returned to their former owners on March 1 they will reduce the wages of the railway workers and break any resulting strikes by fining and imprisoning the strikers. Sure thing, Timothy! You have the case diagnosed correctly. They will do all that and more by the help of the capitalist government you and millions of other workers perpetuate by your votes. By the way, Timothy, we never heard a word of remonstrance from you when this same capitalist government was jailing Socialists. Its your turn next.

* * *

Donations of millions are going to colleges to provide "higher" education for the sons and daughters of the master class, while the teachers in our common schools are quitting by thousands because of their inability to exist on the meager salaries paid. It looks like a systematic plan to impair the efficiency of our public schools so that the children of the working class will secure but little mental training and thus become more servile slaves.

MUSINGS IN [illegible]

By [illegible]

Sunday afternoon in January.

A typical Sunday afternoon in Chapultepec Park, the garden spot of Mexico City.

The golden sun high above in a mighty ocean of azure sky and fleecy clouds, poured its torrid rays in unstinted measure upon me as I sprawled out in dreamy, torpid ease on the soft, comfortable couch of green grass.

Some rods away I could see the continous stream of automobiles and carriages and fashionably dressed men and women passing to and fro along the wide drive that leaders to ancient and historic Chapultepec Castle.

A clump of bushes and small trees in another direction partly hid from view the beautiful lake, the lake house and the groups of children gathered at the water's edge.

An occasional tree, a bit of underbrush and a stray plant, here and there, dotted the slightly undulating lawn on which I lolled at full length in languid contentment. A gentle breze, faintly fragrant with the pleasing and delicate oder of Mexican flowers, lightly brushed my face at times. A lone bird chirped cheerfully from the limb of a nearby tree, relapsing into periodical silences as if lacking sufficient ambition to sing continously.

Half — dozing, half-awake, vague thots wreathed themselves in and out of my mind as cigaret smoke curls up one moment and then dissolves in air and fades away the next.....

The day, the scene, they very atmosphere, were all so characteristic of Mexico — the serene, tranquil, primitive Mexico of majestic mountains, winding valleys, unceasing sunshine and rich and prodigal soil — the drowsy, indifferent Mexico that lives and lets live, uninterested in the gelid calculations of modern commerce, the savage competition for profit and power, and the mad race for the capture of foreign markets.

Here, where I lay and mused, had once strolled the Indian aborigines, living in native solitude and contentment until the greedy, querimonious foreigners came with itching palms and feverish brows, to build counting houses, mills and stores among the beautiful pueblos, hills and plains of "Nueva Espana".

Here the liberators of the race, Hidalgo, Juarez and those who came after them, had looked lovingly on this land of wealth and plenty, and vowed to make it truly free for the humblest and lowest.

Altho a little way off gay crowds were motoring in the broad boulevard, dining in Cafe Chapultepec, listening to the music from the band stand by the park entrance, witnessing a ball game in the public diamond or watching the children speed across the open-air skating rink, latter-day civilization had made little impress on this refreshing spot at once so vernal and verdant.

An oasis of Nature, free from uptodate "conveniences", sordid shop cries and the bedlamn of "business", the very place seemed redolent of rest and repose.

The Class Struggle? There was no Class Struggle here.

War! These coquettish, laughing sunbeams, slowly waving grasses and whispering zephyrs know no war. They neither slay nor urge others to slay.

Only Man, brutalized and debased by a cruel, senseless system, stoops to such iniquities as wars. The blockade of Russia, the starvation of women and children, the financing of bandits to provoke intervention in Mexico, the sinister propaganda that would embroil the nations in another orgy of blood-letting — Nature knows nothing of these things.

What a relief to escape from the poisonous, pestiferous stench of capitalism and inhale the sweet, wholesome air of a retreat near to Nature's warm, generous heart!

• • • •

Like this balmy, reposeful field, just away from the clatter and clamor of the noisy street, is Mexico — a quaint, primeval land of glorious landscape bright flowers, luscious fruits and fresh, health-imparting air that half-intoxicates with its delicious ozonescent — a country pristine, immature, untainted with the virus of commercialism....

Crude, archaic, uncultivated, is this "backward" Mexico of ranch and river and llano. It has no skyscrapers, no roaring "L"s, no money-crazed mobs that push and crowd and rush in never-ending nervousness and hysterical haste for the sake of the Almighty Dollar. Hills and dales still constitute the greather part of the country. Its cities are scattered and few. There are luxuriant parks even in the smallest villages. The humblest adobe hut no less than the splendid residences of Spanish and American arcitecture, has its flower pots, foliage and plants.

Let not the harsh hand of international capitalism and militarism profane this flowery oasis that, untamed by the tools of greed and uninfected with the germs of gold-getting, still sends its bloom out in the world-wide desert of death and desolation, avarice and anguish!....

• • • •

Brisk, metallic voices smote my ear and woke me from my reverie — voices of "efficient", energetic business men absorbed in developing the country and exploiting its rich resources.

"Fine building lots this park would make", said one of them. "Of course, you'd have to keep some of it for a park, but it's a hell of a shame for it all to be wasted in this fashion.

"God! What a fortune there is here, with proper development and under a decent colonial government **with Americans to run things! And labor is cheap as dirt here!** '.....

• • • •

My musings were over.....

Capitalism is omnipresent like the Deity.

One cannot escape it even in a secluded spot in beautiful Chapultepec Park on a gorgeous Sunday afternoon.....

• • • •

[illegible], The Workers And The Ballot

"The successful business man, no matter how wealthy he may be, has but the same voting power as the laborer. America affords equal rights and opportunities for all."

The above falsehood is a closing paragraph in one of the many leaflets distributer by the Loyal American League of Cleveland, the successor to the American Protective League of notorious fame. Leaflets of this character are distributed in practically every large manufacturing plant in Cleveland for the "instruction" of the workers along the lines their economic masters would have them learn. And it is no different from the others in the amount of falshood contained.

Cleveland has afforded some striking instances of the "power of the ballot" in the hands of Cleveland workers. Very recently the socialists elected two city councilmen and one director on the school board. After a short service in the interests of the workers, the two councilmen were ousted by the vote of council according to instructions from above. Their places were immediately filled by a republican and a democrat chosen by the council (?) About the same time, the school board member, A. L. Hitchcock, whose activities in the interests of the teachers and pupils had brought down upon him the hatred of all "business interests" of the city, was "framed" by enemies of the workers and he was put away in Atlanta prison for two years on a charge of obstructing the sale of liberty bonds. In this manner, has the so-called power of the ballot operated in the city of Cleveland.

Then there is the case of Berger. Twice elected to Congress, he is denied admittance by the politician puppets who warm the seats in that delectable institution. By this perfidious act, thousands of American citizens have been disfranchised, the power of their influence and their ballot destroyed by the dictatorship of capitalist interests. The Loyal American League may prate of the power of the worker's ballot and attempt to deceive them with their silly sophistry, but the wide-awake worker is watching events with a sharp eye and is forming his own conclusions and choosing his own weapons for the comming struggle with his exploiters.

We may also mention the socialists of Albany as an example of the questionable value of the worker's ballot. The issue there is not yet decided, but whichever way it goes, we must keep in mind that if the assembly believes it is a proper policy to pursue, it will at any such time deprive the recalcitrant workers of any political force. Whether the socialists are allowed to be seated or not, the issue will be decided solely upon the grounds of political expediency and not upon legal and moral grounds.

In the face of these proofs of the supremacy of capitalist interests over the power of the ballot in the hands of Amrican workers, can they be blamed if faith in the country's constitutional guarantees succumb to a swift and violent death? The workers have wittnessed repeated assaults and violations upon their political liberties and the supposed sacredness of the ballot. They have seen with what craftiness of capital-serving mineions their historic rights of citizenship were violated when they attempted to use those rights in their own interests. They are being taught that their so-called rights are theirs only when used to keep their masters in power and themselves in slavery to them.

The American worker is learning the difference between "rights" and "privileges" He is being taught in the hard school of experience that rights conferred by constitutions under capitalism cease to be of value to him in the struggle for a larger life and freedom. He has seen himself divested of these "rights" repeatedly. He is learning that the only rights worth any thing to him are those which he himself takes by his united power with his fellows. He is learning that his "rights" are merely privileges conferred by capitalism so long as they are allowed not to be used in the worker's interests. When an attempt is made to use them, they are snatched away and whether the "sacredness" of the constitution is violated or not cuts no ice.

But we do not mean to infer that workers should not use the ballot. Far from it. But we do assert that it has a secondary value in his struggle for economic liberty. As a means of propaganda, it has a very positive value and should be used to the limit. Let us vote as we strike—all together and for ourselves and if we are disfranchised when the ballots are counted, then let us tell th world of it and thus educate the workers in the class-character of capitalist political institutions.

"Zapataland"

(Continued from page 2.)

It was for this reason that Gates painted Zapataland in such colors and ascribed to Zapata's little savage territory a significance that it never possessed. It was all a part of the American capitalist canspiracy to intervene in Mexico. Gates' campaign of misinformation was one of the preparatory steps toward intervention.

The Carranza government is by no mean a Radical but there is no assurance that if Zapata had ever become president it would have been any better under him, and there is little question that if Villa had become the ruler of the country, he would have inaugurated a series of brutalities as bad as those of Porfirio Diaz without the redeeming feature of Diaz' genius for construction.

In a word, Carranza is a liberal with good intentions and broad sympathies who has never been able to carry aut the revolutionary promise of restoring land to the peons because of the danger of intervention but who has produced a large measure of order in the long suffering Republic. He is not as says Gen. Zogg "a member of the Socialist Party of Mexico". There was no Socialist Party at the time of the revolution and if there had been one he would not have belonged to it. He is simply a liberal—no more.

Zapata was a native Indian with vague proletarian ideas, but too provincial to have been able to govern the country if he had secured the power. He was an ardent champion of restoring land to the masses and continued his guerilla warfare against the Carranza government because of Carranza's failure to accomplish this restoration, so he claimed. In relity Zapata would have been as unable to give back the land to the people as Carranza. Carranza's mere attempt to tax foreign oil corporations a little more has nearly brot on war with the United States. It is obvious that any steps toward nationalization of land would have produced still more serious results.

Villa is a drunken blood-thirsty butcher of the worst sort with considerable military genius. He is not a Reddical nor anything like one and any pretensions he may have made to that effect are simply camouflage to excuse his hideous crimes on the American border.

Felix Diaz is a nephew of president Porfirio Diaz and stands for the same imperialistic ideals as his czar-like uncle The other socalled rebel chiefs of the country are simply bandits who claim to be in revolt against Carranza because of ponitical reasons but who would fight any government unless they had fat sinecures under it.

As I have said, none of these men are Radicals but it is only just to say that the Carranza government is far more stable and democratic than a government headed by any of these other men would have been. Even if he had been given a free hand, Carranza would have done no more than install a mild system of state Socialism in Mexico It is not even certain that he would have done that.

Probably somebody will ask "What about Socialism in Yucatan?" This may be answered briefly and definitely. There never was any Socialism in Yucatan so far as the state government was concerned. Gen. Salvadore Alvarado, an ambitious politician, rode into power as governor of the state on a semi-Socialist wave and a whole state administration of Socialist officials was elected. Some excellent reforms were inaugurated and conditions greatly improved. One of the most important changes was the transfer of henequen groving from the control of private capitalists into the hands of the state which paid the workers and sold the crop to concerns in New York. However, that was as far as it went and the Socialist Party of Yucatan was immediately utilized by Alvarado as a political machine for the advancement of his ambitions to be president of Mexico. There are some honest Socialist left in Yucatan but they comprise but a small portion of the much advertised Socialist Party of that state. In the last election Carranza soldiers were used to assist in defeating the Socialist ticket and electing candidates of the Liberal Party. The contest was simply an ordinary political scramble in which the Liberals were probably as Socialistic as the "Socialists". The 'Alvarado experiment, like Zapata's imaginary empire was far from being really revolutionary.

There is a Communist movement in Mexico represented by the Communist Party of Mexico which is as yet a small organisation but which is steadily growing. The centuries of suffering have made the Mexican masses hostile to all form of capitalism and they are easily converted to Communism. Sosialism or similar philosophies. Systematic propaganda will bring about some vast changes in this country in a short time and the propaganda is already under way on a goodly scale.

But "Zapataland" is a pipe dream. Neither Zapata, Carranza nor Villa were or are Communists and there is yet no real Communist state in Mexico.

A RENNEBERG RAMBLE

We're not thirsting for blood, and do
not fight,
With boms nor swords nor gun.
But we use Mental Dynamite,
Its a cleaner job and that is more fun,

Mans force, is but small with a
dagger in hand,
And Ignorance can not be slain with
a gun
But once you use Mental Dynamite
You can step aside and watch the fun

And here is the rule by which to abide,
Take high cost of living high taxes *)
and rent.
Mix well with small wages rub that in
his hide,
And watch it grow into discontent.

When discontent, has sprouted galore,
He is your convert and will see the
light,
All darkness that was in his bean
before
Is blown out with mental dynamite

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*) High taxes or low taxes are not paid by the proletariat. He is exploited at the point of production not by taxes. — Ed.

TO MY SON.

— By W. E. REAYNOLDS. —

Truth consists of an accurate knowledge of the relation anu one fact in existence bears to all other facts in existence.

Know the Truth, the simple, true things,
Know the reason WHY men do things,
Let this be the rule of life that guideth you.
They have fooled you with false preaching,
They have fooled you with false teaching,
They have soaked you in convention thru and thru.

They would make your mind a garrett
Where you'd gabble like a parrott,
All the out-worn junk and phrases
Creeds, and ologies and hazes
That befog the minds of older men then you.
Oh, but can't you hear it calling, calling,
Like the sands of life a falling, falling.
Can't you hear the TRUTH a calling,
Calling you?
Know the Classes, know the Masses,
Know them most for stupid asses,
Who accept a faith for fact,
Who believe but dare not act,
Who can not hear the TRUTH
That's calling you.
The race, when young, possess
Little knowledge—mostly guesses.
Then each guess by sire repeated
Wilder grows—and slender—meated,
Till as lies they should be treated—
Nothing like the TRUTH
That's calling you.
Know out-doors in all it's splendors,
know the text that Nature renders,
Know that God needs no defenders
In the far-flung battle-line
Or in the pew.
Change effects by changing causes,
Use your head, with frequent pauses,
To hearken to the Truth thats calling,
Calling, calling you.

Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

"O, Tillie," cried Olive, "where did you get this beautiful coat? Isn't it just dandy."

"Yes" agreed Tillie, "but I don't like the storm just the same."

"Why not?" Olive asked.

"Oh, just because." Tillie answered woman like. "You see it drives the hoboes to the coast, and dad promised me a nice set of furs if he was lucky enough to catch another bunch of bums."

"Could you wear them if you knew they were gotten in that way?" Olive asked earnestly.

"I should worry, how they are gotten, just so I get them, she replied cheerily. "What care I for these floaters?"

Olive said no more. She was sick at heart as a result of what she had heard Jacks ideas verified from the lips of her father and her friend. She resolved to find out if other people thot in the same way about this bloody business. She would ask her teacher and the parson and every other influential man or woman with whom she could come in contact what they thot of it. She would not rest until she knew why that boy with touseled hair and steel grey eyes had to stay behing prison bars for the crime of defending his honor and his property.

(Continued next week.)

DEBS:
HIS AUTHORIZED
Life & Letters
by
DAVID KARSNER

WEEKLY MEETINGS
50 So. Howard St.
Akron Ohio.

FEB. 8th THOMAS DEVINE OF TOLEDO
FEB. 15th TOM LEWIS OF CLEVELAND.
ATTEND THESE MEETINGS.
YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED.

[illegible]

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

FORMERLY THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio.

NO. 108. Published at Cleveland CLEVELAND, O. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13th 1920. Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.00 A YEAR

Secret Couriers Cross Boundaries.

Spartacan and Bolshevik agents carry messages from leaders giving details for carrying on propaganda.

While a few arrests have been made of secret agents passing between Berlin and Soviet Russia, it is believed that many get thru the frontiers safely with messages for the Communist groups in these and other countries.

London repoils state. — Bolshevist agents intrusted with messages regarding sensational widespread Red plans have been for a considerable time traveling between Berlin and Soviet Russia on false credentials, it is stated in official quarters. The credentials they carried are said to have described them as delegates of the American Red Cross mission in Berlin to conduct investigations regarding the exchange of German prisoners mrom Russia.

These couriers, it appears, were carrying dispatches between Moscow and Bolshevist organizations in other countries, including the German Spartacides and the Swiss Communists. Lithuanian authorities discovered the illicit traveling after Lithuania's borders had been crossed many times and a number of arrests followed. Not all the couriers were provided with American papers, but such forged credentials were found on several of the prisoners.

Two men who carried Red Cross passes admitted they had nothing to do with the American mission, but in reality were working for the Communists. One woman, similarly equipped, who worked from Dwinsk, said she had been instructed to deliver documents to persons she did not know personally.

Most interesting of the captures were two men en route to Moscow by way of Berlin. They carried letters concealed in their neckties One of them was a German, and a member of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, and the other was a Swiss belonging to an extremist organization called the Socialist-Democratic Organization of Young People in Switzerland.

The German carried a letter from the head of a Spartacist organization in Germany to M. Tchicherin, Russian Bolshevist Minister of Foreign Affairs. The letter indignantly denied the report that German Spartacides were counter-revolutionary to the Russian Bolsheviki. It declared that Karl Radek (the Bolshevist propagandist who recently left Berlin) could testify to the writer's communist sympathies. It was said further by the writer that he was arranging with the Russian Bolshevik Zinovieff with regard to spreading communist propaganda in all parts of the world by special courier service from Berlin.

VANDERLIP PREDICTS EUROPEAN CRISIS.

Food Situation Certain to be Extreme Before Harvest.

Believes United States Should Aid Foreign Nations—Conceives Revolt in Germany.

Basing his predictions on economic factors which he said were clearly observable, Frank A. Vanderlip, former President of the National City Bank, claims that dire times were near for Europe. With countries on the other side of the Atlantic facing an inflated currency and an unwillingness on the part of other nations to extend credit to them, he said, there was reason to believe the present crisis would be more acute. Mr. Vanderlip believed the United States, as the only solvent country in the world, should have the ability to assume world leadership. What the world needed was moral leadership, he maintained, and it was practically up to us to aid in the rehabilitation of the other countries.

Mr. Vanderlip said, that when he assumed the role of a prophet last year on his return from Europe he was termed a pessimist. The march of events since then substantiated his predictions as to what was going to happen on the other side, he said.

"APPALLING SITUATION."

"The same conditions are present now, except they point to a worse condition," he said. "The food situation in Central Europe is certain to become extreme between now and the next harvest. There is an appalling situation just ahead in Poland, Austria and Armenia There political outlook is portentous. Look at Germany, with her indefinite indemnities, disorganized politically. Then there is Poland, hungering without the means of obtaining credit to alleviate this want, presenting the possibilities or a political revolution.

"It is conceivable that there will be a political revolution in Germany, Bolshevist in character, which will hold out a friendly hand to Soviet Russia. What we should have done years ago to remedy all this trouble was to make loans, but not through the Government. I say this because our Government has loaned $10,000,000,000 to nations which think they ought to pay it back And there is something to be said on their side, too, as many of them can't pay it back."

Mr. Vanderlip went into detail to explain how inflation was brought about through the printing of paper money not backed by reserve. He traced the credit system from its earliest beginning to the present time and showed how credits had been expanded to the breaking point. Here in America the expansion had not quite reached the limit allowed, he said but the effect of the increases was the basis of the high cost of living. He declared that this country should take note of the results of over expansion and not bring about a similar crisis here.

GITLOW FOUND GUILTY.

Summing up in his own behelf, Benjamin Gitlow, former Socialist Assemblyman on trial before Justice Bartov S. Weeks on a charge of criminal anarchy, last week asserted that the revolutionary principles of the Left Wing Socialist Party are the principles he believes in:

"I will fight for those principles." Gitlow added. "My life is devoted to them. I ask no clemency. Regardless of your verdict I claim that these principles are correct."

The defendant was permitted by Justice Weeks to make the summing up address, despite the fact that Gitlow did not take the witness stand during the trial, and therefore had not been subjected to any cross-examination.

"It is an unusual request," said Justice Weeks, "but is not to be denied this time."

The Justice cautioned Gitlow not to make any statements not bassed on evidence submitted at the trial. Gitlow disregarded the warning, however, with the result that he had several clashes with the Court, after the last of which the defendant ended his address.

"I'M A REVOLUTIONIST."

"I admit that in the eyes of present day society I am a revolutionist" Gitlow asserted.

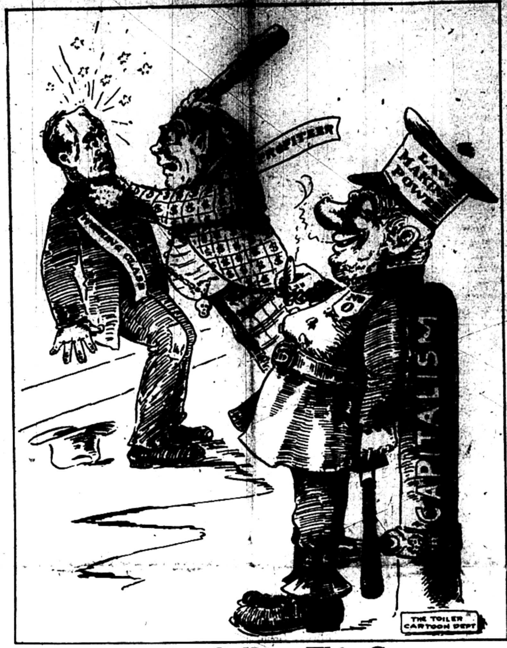
Judge Weeks banged on the bench with his gavel.

"Mr. Gitlow, you are not permitted to give your views and beliefs," said the court.

"I'll try to make my remarks impersonal," said Gitlow. "Now in the United States all of our banks, factories and mines are maintained for private advantage. Suppose John D. Rockefeller with all his bonds, stocks and gold, went to the Sahara desert. Do you think he could get for himself the comforts of life? He could look at his mountains of gold, but he could not buy himself a drink."

Gitlow then launched into a state-

(Continued on page 4)



No Use Calling This Cop.

The 'Cost of Living' and The Workers.

A news dispatch states that the Department of Labor has sent a detachment of secret agents into 30 industrial centers of the country on an investigation of the costs of about every thing ordinary humans use in their daily lives with the exception of food. Why food is excepted, we do not know, unles it is that the Department considers food among the luxuries, too high in price for the average individual to aspire to.

There seem to be unlimited occasions for "investigation" these times. About every department of the national government is making from one to 57 varieties every day. Some six months ago, the government heads, with Woodrow in the lead and every little aping politician, following, essayed to engage in mortal combat with the Giant, familiarly known as H. C. of L.: It was a great fight. Perhaps no other governmental affort was ever accompanied with as much noise, bluster and general hullabaloo as was Wilson's war upon the high cost of living. The government unloaded all its surplus war stocks of food upon the market in order to reestablish the law of supply and demand in the markets. Governmental price fixin the markets. Governmental price fixing was again put in practice, and it looked on the sufrace tho Goliath would surely receive a fatal blow from the hand of Woodrow, the valiant and virtuous.

But have you noticed any slump in the price of any thing you use to keep your self above ground? We doubt if you can name three articles which are a penny cheaper now that when Wilson and Goliath locked horns. Just consider the following inspiring figures for a moment and ask yourself if Wilson and his kind, by their methods are likely to create any change favorable to you?

The price of clothing is still making enormous advances, but the American Woolen Co. made a cleaning of 56 per cent in 1917 and 1918. There can hardly be said to be a shortage of cotton with 11,000,000 bales plus 3,000,000 left over from 1918, but this does not stop the speculators from boosting the cotton crop values 50,000,000 or more in a day. In one week, while the war was on, they boosted it one half a billion dollars. No reason here to wonder why cotton costs more now than silk used to

A 50 per cent increase in the price of shoes by next summer is predicted by one of the largest shoe manufacturers. At the same time, leather companies and shoe manufacturers are declaring "extra" divindends. As a matter of fact, with each "shortage" in any line of commodities which is said to occur, the stock of all companies dealing in that line at once goes up in price.

From July of 1914, to November 1919, food prices advanced 92 per cent, clothing 135 per cent, fuel 48 per cent and rent 38 per cent.

Just now there is said to be a "sugar shortage". The increase in price will add a billion or so to the previous robberies of the gentlemen whose private control of the necessities of life enable them to extort almost at will such huge sums from their victims.

Turnig to the cases which the government has started against the profiteers who have been caught in the wide meshes of the anti- profiteering laws, we find that there have been 179 alleged profiteers nabbed. In but three cases fines and sentences were imposed.

The government was exceedingly harsh in its traatment of these thieves as is seen in the punishments meted out. One was fined $100.00 and spent a few days in jail. Another paid a fine of $250.00 and spent three months behind the bars. The other drew a $500.00 fine and six months.

Continued on page 4th.

LEND A HAND!

We've a few questions which we want to ask every reader of The Toiler—every Party member, every radical who reads these paragraphs, every thinking worker who lifts his eyes from his work long enough to catch a glimps of a better day for Labor.

We realize that there is a peculiar state of mind among America's workers just now. Labor is in a state of revolt, but it has not found the methods by which to cope with the decaying institutions of the capitalist system and the old forms of labor organization. It is earnestly searching for the way out, searching for the proper method by which to break forever with the slavery of the past and present. It is groping, often in the dark, with eyes blinded by ancient superstitions and fraudulent teachings for the sword with which to cut the chains that bind it.

Labor will find the sword to cut its chains. It will lose many battles with capital, but each lost strike will prove to be a lesson that will teach the true meaning of the Labor struggle, It will lose many skirmishes—but it will win the war, it will win in the end. The future belongs to Labor and no matter what bitter defeats are ours, we must rise again ready to serve the Cause of Emancipation.

The master class realizes that Labor is in revolt. It is seeking by various means to curb and control this revolutionary tide. But its methods will be in vain. Whether it attempts a policy of repressession, as some advocate, or whether it establishes a system of paternalism toward Labor, the result will be the same. Capitalism's hordes of parasites will be forced to dismount from the back of Labor and to take their places in the ranks of useful producers. This must be the final result. Labor will not be beaten, it will prove the victor.

We call upon every worker who reads these lines to engage in this struggle against the exploiting class. We call upon you to unite with the revolutionary elements of this country for the overthrow of the capitalist system of production and the establishment of working-class control of industry. We call upon you to LEND A HAND in the work of the Revolutionary Movement. We ask you to not delay for one moment the help which your activity will give in this battle of Labor for a better life.

Whether you are a "red" of just a "radical", or whether or not you have classified yourself as either, we say to you—if you find anything good in The Toiler to give it your support. If you don't find it good, we know you won't support it, but if you do, we know that you will find your place in the ranks of those who stand behind us with their support. Don't fail to give your little, for it, multiplied by the same from many others, spells continuance and in the end success. We are fighting your fight. We want you to back us up with that which makes it possible to keep up our present high standard. We want the subscriptions which you can get, the dollars which you can give.

Nothing could give a longer lease of life to the parasites who fatten upon the profits wrung from your sweat and toil than the destruction of the worker's press—The Toiler among them. From more than one source the word has reached us that certain semi-official government agents were "going to get" the editor. Devious and dark methods have been used by those in governmental authority in more than one attempt to destroy this paper. Intimidation has been practiced, open threats of business losses have been made against those with whom we publish.

We are not afraid of their damned jails, nor of anything else which they can hand us. We are afraid of but one thing, the inactivity and lethargy of the workers. This is the only thing which can injure us, it is the only thing to fear. And yet, such a fear SHOULD be groundless. There need be no reason for it in fact. For we know that there are hundreds, yes, thousands of wide awake workers whose hearts and souls are in the Revolucionary Movement. We know that they are ready and willing to give time, energy and money for the Cause. And we want every one of you who read this, and every other reader who finds any good in The Toiler to begin AT ONCE a campaign of support and subscription getting for this paper. There is not a locality anywhere in this country where the fires of revolt are not seething. There is not a locality where readers for it cannot be obtained. And there is not a locality where it will not prove a means of inspiration and development to the Revolutionary Cause.

We call upon our readers to begin to-doy, each one in his own way, a campaign for subscriptions and support of The Toiler. If we are doing the work you want done—support us, help us to do it better. Lend a hand! Give us your support. Join the ranks of those who are doing things. Back up the Movement for working-class emancipation.

If you believe we are a worthy factor in the worker's struggle for emancipation, you should lend a helping hand in the work.

[illegible] But what?

Crush 'em!

Recognize 'em!

Ignore 'em!

Trade with 'em!

Refuse to trade with 'em!

Trade with the people but don't trade with the soviets!

Make a decision and reverse it and make another reversible decision.

Send a "strong armed force" into the Caucasus because the Bolshevists are menacing India.

The whole tragic farce reminds one of the celebrated rat and mouse convention. A certain cat noted for its prowess as a mouser and rat-catcher created such a wholesale depletion of the rodent ranks that the rats and mice called a convention to discuss ways and means whereby the depredations caused by the cat might be avoided. After much discussion of many plans and schemes it was finally decided that the best thing to do under the circumstances would be to put a bell upon the cat so all would know ot its approach in time to make their escape.

It was a lovely scheme but when volunteers were called for to place the bell upon the cat, lo and behold the rats and mice were scattered and none could be found.

Moral. Wanted,—Somebody to put a bell on the Bolsheviks.

If the Bolsheviks menace India, are they menacing the Indian PEOPLE or are the menacing the RULE of the Indian People by England? And if England feels that her divine right to rob and rule the people of India is endangered, why doesn't England protect her own interests? 'Twas always a hobby of England to get somebody else to pull chestnuts out of the fire for her.

• • •

Judicious stirring of the soil makes for a better crop. Judicial stirring of the soil of Industrial unrest increases the red crop. Two reds now grow where before the Palmer raids one pale pink flourished.

• • •

Either there ARE classes in America or there are no classes. If there ARE classes here, all the word barrages the capitalists can throw in the name of hundred percenters, will not change the facts. And if there ARE classes, the producing class will be the dominant class in the new society. We have had enough of rule by the parasites.

• • •

Every little C. C. Club in America sings the Star Spangled Banner and America, at every meeting, but they usually sing 'em to the tune of Market, Market, Who has the market?

• • •

The Capitalist press editorializes to the effect that there are no American Reds. Mebbe so. Mebbe so. But they will find the woods full of RED Americans.

• • •

A man can be a good American and still fail to worship at the shrine of the dollar mark $.

• • •

Wages, the sugar coating which makes a capitalist job endurable are [illegible]

Wages are determined by the average cost of production of labor power. This not only includes the day-by-day production of labor power, but also the cost of rearing a family of children to REPLACE those worn out and thrown upon the scrap heap of industry. In the past it has been a clever scheme of the employing capitalists to import their laborers already grown, with the cost of their up-bringing paid upon a foreign soil. All that they had to pay those 'ignorant foreigners' was enough to reproduce their day-by-day labor power.

Now, when the foreigner is no longer ignorant but insists upon a wage sufficient to enable him to support a family in decency, —Ah! That is a different story. He is branded a red and his deportation "back to where he came from" is asked. Back to where he was BROUGHT from, would be a term more nearly correct.

• • •

Wanted, by the employing capitalists of America. — A bunch of laborers clever enough and shrewd enough to look out for their employers interest and too ignorant to look out for their own interests. Such a man or set of men may be assured of a steady job at the going wages in most any industrial center in the land.

• • •

Japan says she can not understand why the United States are withdrawing from Siberia. Japan probably could not understand why a man drops a hot brick.

• • •

Never try to hold a man up with gun. It gets you a jail sentence. Hold 'em up with a smile — that gets you a bank-roll, a respectable name and a listing in the "Who is Who" column.

• • •

During the late unpleasantness we heard much lauding of the shipyard workers as the men behind the guns. Now judging by the way the Legion men are jumping on Dempsey, nobody helped win the war unless he was in O. D.

• • •

Too many Nations are made great at the expense of the common people

• • •

I. W. W. testifies that the Industrial Relations report is the Wobbly Bible, says a news headline. That I. R. was by a committee picked by a democratic Congress and a democratic President They can not deport the report. Wonder if they will deport its authors? It sure does tell too much truth to be safely allowed in circulation. Among other things the report states that the average wage received by the working class was short more than $200.00 of enough to raise a family in decency. And that was at the pre-war prices!

• • •

Anybody heard anything about the 14 points and pitiless publicity lately?

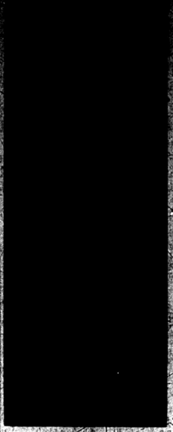
• • • •

How quickly Anciant History is made!

[illegible] No name in history ever had pronounced upon it the anathemas which have poured upon this name. None ever wielded as great an influence upon the affairs of mankind as this simple Russian word. It has been cursed in America alone, numberless millions of times by the hired dames who scribble the made-to-order editorials of the prostitute press.

But while capitalist hirelings may rend their hair in agony for a new adjective to apply to Lenin and the principles upon which his Social Democracy is based, the world's workers are learning to pronounce it with pride and hope and longing. Russia stands for all that is hopeful to Labor and Labor's millions are turning their faces toward the land of Lenin as the sower turneth his face to the morning sun.

There are many names which but a year ago were resounding thru the world as great and good. To-day, they are but as sounding brass. Abhorred by the masses whom they betrayed, they grow fainter and fainter as they pass down the corridors of time. The world is learning to pronounce new names and leading them all is—LENIN



This picture of Lenin, standing in the countyyard of the Cremlin at Moscow, was recently brought to America by Isaac McBride.

"SeditioN"

By Edmund Vance Cooke

You cannot salt the eagle's tail,
  Nor limit thought's dominion.
You cannot put ideas in jail;
  You can't deport opinion.

If any cause be dross and lies,
  Then drag it to the light;
Out in the sunshine evil dies,
  But fattens on the Night.

You cannot make a truth untrue
  By dint of legal fiction.
Yau cannot prison human view,
  You can't convict conviction.

For tho by thumbscrew and by rack,
  By exile and by prison,
Truth has been crushed and palled in black,
  Yet truth has always risen.

You cannot quell a vicious thought
  Except that thought be free:
Gag it, and you will find it taught
  On every land and sea.

Truth asks no favor for her blade
  Upon the field with Error,
Nor are her converts ever made
  By threat of force and terror.

You cannot salt the eagle's tail
  Nor limit thought's dominion.
You cannot put ideas in jail,
  You can't deport opinion.

Russian Trade Regulations.

Reports are current that $100,000,000 worth of buisiness has been placed by Ruzsian representatives with American firms and that the purshasers, are willing to deposit cash in American banks to cover their orders for the manufactured articles which the Russian people are said to be so sorely in need of. But the policy pursued by our State Department of refusing trade licenses has hampered our manufacturers from exporting their products. If the reports are true, that the allied countries and even Germany have resumed trade relations with Russia, then our Government should adopt a similar policy.

American manufacturers are willing to supply the Russian people with the products they need, at what promises to be attractive prices. American importers, too, are desirous of importing those materials which Russia has in abundance and which we need. Prior to the war, Russia produced 79 per cent of the world's supply of flax, 51 per cent of the hemp and 97 per cent of the platinum. She is rich in ferro manganese, in antimony and other metals. We need these products.

If other nations have taken active steps to capture the Russian markets then our manufacturers should be protected, for when we finally determine to take an active hand in Russian trade we may find little opportunity left for us to do so. —

WHO WANTS TO TRADE WITH RUSSIA?

Ludwig C. A. K. Martins, Ambassador of Soviet Russia, has furnished the Committee on Foreign Relations with a list of American corporations whom he testifies have made contracts with him for supplying millions of dollars worth of supplies to his government. This list contains the names of some of the country's greatest exporters. Among them are the following who are ready to open trade relations with the Soviet government as soon as the state department permits ships to clear from American ports.

This list included:

Morris & Co., Chicago, meat packers, 50,000,000 pounds of food products at prevaling market prices when shipments are made possible

Elia Berlow, 110 Duane Street, New York, a $3,000,000 contract for boots and shoes

Fischman & Co., 395 Broadway, New York, $3,000,000 worth of underwear

Weinberg & Posffer, 120 Broadway, New York, $3,000,000 worth of machinery and tools.

Lehigh Machine Company of Pennsylvania, $4,500,000 worth of printing presses.

National Storage Company, New York, miscellaneous merchandise to be delivered in Petrograd, valued at $10,000,000. This contract, Mr. Martens said, was made on Sept. 16, 1919.

He stated, that in addition to the contracts listed, "the negotiations of the commercial department of the Soviet Government Bureau have covered a schedule of articles required in Russia to a total of approximately $300,000,000., consisting of railway material and equipment, farm implements and machinery, tractors, trucks, and automobiles, foodstuffs and canned milk, mining, printing, and road-making machinery, hardware and tools, woolens, textiles knit goods, shoes, leather, chemicals, medical and surgical supplies."

POLAND IS KEY TO PEACE WITH REDS

Harmony of Europe Depends on Warsaw's Negotiations With Bolsheviki.

LONDON, — The peace discussions between the Poles and the Bolsheviki are being watched in diplomatic quarters here with the deepest interest, since the general feeling is that the peace of Europe depends upon whether the treaty is signed

In other words, Poland is regarded as the keystone of the present situation and it is felt that as long as hostilities continue between Poland and soviet Russia tranquility cannot be re-established in the rest of Europe.

If Poland should accept the Bolshevik proposals, diplomatic circles believe that she would be placed in the uncomfortable position of being asked by the reds to agree to a plebiscite for the Bolshevik territory she now occupies. While Poland has a large number of nationals in this territory, she admittedly is in the minority and the Bolsheviki undoubtedly would make strong propaganda among the population.

Since the recent visit of Stanislas Patek, Polish minister of foreign affairs, to France and England for conferences, various reports have been published regarding the allied attitude toward the situation with regard to Poland and the bolsheviki. Highly placed diplomatists, say these reports have, in general, been erroneous and that the word the Polish foreign minister really carried back to Warsaw was substantially this:

"The allies do not propose to use Poland as an arrowhead to pierce Bolshevik Russia. The allies cannot place themselves in the position of advising Poland to attack the Bolsheviki nor can the allies promise assitance to Poland in such event.

Should the Bolsheviki make an unprovoked assault that would alter the situation. Poland's attention has been called to the fact that the allies are establishing certain trade relations with Russia. Whether Poland shall make peace with the Bolsheviki is a matter for her alone to decide.

[illegible]

"During Harrison's administration, Mr. Stevens was minister to Hawaii, and he asked that some naval vessels be sent there to protect American lives and property. In reality he had entered into an understanding with a small group of missionaries and their descendants to bring about a revolution, overthrow the existing government and annex the islands to the United States so that their sugar and their products could come into our market free from duty. A naval vessel was ordered to Hawaii, and, after it arrived, 13 conspirators met in a room and decided to overthrow the government.

"At night, 150 of the marines from the American battleship were landed and marched to a point 75 yards from and in front of the government building in Honolulu. The 13 men, having arrived at the front of the government building, read their proclamation and were immediately recognized as the government of the Hawaiian islands by the American minister."

Who were these "conspirators", who were so promptly accepted by the United States authorities as the new government?

That question is answered by one of the mots charmingly frank documents that ever was penned by an apologist for things as they are. Hawaii was not annexed to the United States until 1898. In the meantime, every form of pressure was brought to bear upon the senate to force through the treaty of annexation. Among the documents written with this end in view was An Address by the Hawaiian Branches of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Sons of Veterans, and the Grand Army of the Republic to their Compatriots in American Concerning the Annexation of Hawaii.

The "Address", published in 1897, gives this version of the revolution:

"The revolution (of 1893) was not the work of filibusterers and adventurers, but of the most conservative and law-abiding citizens, of the principal taxpayers, of the leaders of industral enterprises." The address notes further, that, "of the capital invested in the islands, two-thirds is owned by Americans."

There may have been "Bolsheviks" and "Reds" in Hawaii in 1893, but they get not the slightest credit for overthrowing the government. On the contrary, the work was done by conservative, law-abiding citizens, by the leading tax-payers and the leaders of industrial enterprise. True to form, the ruling class of Hawaii disposed of the existing form of government when it had no further use for it.

Shakespeare's melancholy Jacques found his lessons in stones. State legislatures and national officials are evidently taking theirs from our island possessions.

WHAT OF IT?

Scott Nearing

At last, after months of prattle, comes a word of sense from Washington on the H. C. of L. "I see no prospect of any considerable fall in prices for several years to come", says Royal Meeker, commissioner of labor statistics. Then he explains why — because "it will be impossible for the governments of the world to pay off their debts very rapidly."

It will!

But that is not the real reason why prices will stay high. Prices will stay high first because the efficiency of the capitalist system has fallen so low that goods cannot be turned out fast enough to meet the demand. Second, because the payments in the form of rent, interest, dividends and profits are so great a fixed charged on industry that even though efficiency were maintained, the cost of production plus this cost of parasitism would keep prices high.

High prices today mean that the worker cannot buy back, with his wages, what he has produced with his energies. This is the very essence of the present ludicrous system of economic life.

"AMERICAN LIBERTY"
Lecture By
JACOB MARGOLIS
Attorney for U. S. Steel Workers. A man with a message for every liberty loving American.
— Under Auspices —
THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
G. A. R. HALL, 50 SOUTH HOWARD STREET
Sunday February 22nd 2:00 P. M.
ADMISSION 25 CENTS
Tickets on Sale at the Tailor Shop, 108 East Market Street.

[illegible] EVIL

[illegible] (continued)

A little chat with the principal of her school that morning on the right and wrong of Jack's incarceration proved to her that that individual was not in favor of the fining system. He told her that he had heard of Jack's prowess before the judge and gave it as his opinion that the boy was right. But when Olive asked him to do something for the boy he immediately changed his mind. He told her that Smallhead's wife's cousin's niece's brotherinlaw was a member of the school board and it was therefore not policy for him to say or do anything which might reflect on the integrity of Mr. Smallhead. He averred that he could not mingle in politics and keep his prestige as a teacher. He advised her not to speak of these matters as they were entirely out of the sphere of young ladies and were liable to be misinterpeted.

This homily however did not do her any good from the principal's view point. It only irritated her and made her more determined than ever to go ahead. Ahead to what? She could not unlock the jail door so she decided to do the next best thing. To awaken the interest of the influential people of town to a realization of what was going on she never fully realized her position in this matter. There were three men in jail Hundreds had been fined, and yet, only one stirred her to action.

She told the principal that it was just because she was a woman that she had to let the putrescent system of injustice thrive. She insisted that she knew the boy was innocent of any crime and yet he had to lie in a filthy jail simply because good people were cowards and bad people were greedy.

She went to her classes leaving the principal amazed not only at her temper but at her reasoning as well. "What is she, a Carrie Nation or an Amelia Pankhurst" he asked of Miss Kramer who happened to be in his office at the time. "That young fellow must have a remarkable personality. It seems to me they ought not to have put him in jail."

Miss Kramer whose individuality had been dwarfed by thirty years continuous associaition with children, simply said that she was surprised at Miss Anderson. She assured the principal that she would do her best to remove that fantastic notion from the child's mind. "A young lady of her standing, to come to the defence of nameless hoboes—the very idea."

That evening on her way home from school Olive stopped at the livery stable to see Judge Duffy. She found that worthy sitting in his office reading the latest copy of the 'Police Gazette'. It was his official magazine and the only literature that interested him.

When Olive entered, he greeted her jovially, saying: "Hello there Ollie, how's your Pop?"

"Quite well, thank you." Olive answered, then coming directly to the point she said: "I visited the jail Sunday with the Endeavor people."

"Yes, so I hear. How do you like our boarders? We've got a bright kid in there Ollie, but he needs coolin'."

"Why is he in jail?" she asked almost defiantly.

"Oh, he was drunk and fighting," said the judge as he rolled a cigar from one corner of his mouth to another. "Sorry to pinch him; he's so young, but we must have order, you know. If we didn't lock up characters like that, why then you and Tillie and your Mum wouldn't be safe on the street."

"But, Mr. Duffy, I do not believe that boy was that kind of a character. If he fought at all, it was in self-defense; then there is another thing I wish to ask, why did you fine all these men when they were not all drunk? Is it because the town needs the money?"

"No, no child, that would not be right. The town don't need the money any worse than I do. We fine these men so that they will not have the money to loiter around the pool halls and disturb the peace and dignity of our municipality." Then after laughing at his own witticism, he added, "Now run along little girl, and don't ask so many questions. Run up to the house and see Tillie's new coat. I'm busy just now." He arose tickled Olive under the chin and then walked out into the stable.

Olive did not go to see Tillie as the Judge had suggested. She made her way to the office of the 'Anamoose Record' where she interviewed Mr. Ralph Cranston, the editor.

"Cranston's sense of humor was aroused by her earnestness and lack of worldly wisdom. He decided to have a little fun at the child's expense. He would just let her take a glimpse of life as it really was. He admitted freely that what Judge Duffy had done and was doing was morally wrong and to be condemned if it [illegible] done at a distance. "We would go to war if such things were done in China," said he. "But at home, when our morals conflict with business expediency then we chuck morals overboard and do what is expedient." Then he continued as he whirled around in his swivel chair and rested his elbow on his editorial desk, "Do you know Miss Anderson that this is legally a dry state, and that it is a crime under the laws of this commonwealth to own and operate a place in which intoxicating liquors are sold. Yet we have them here, in the very shadow of your churches. I ask you why?"

Olive was silent. She wanted to hear what he had to say. She wondered if he too would find a way to justify this self evident crime.

"I will tell you" the editor went on, "this is a wheat country. A few men come in the spring to sow and to plough, but thousands come to the harvest. They come not because the crops need cutting, in fact they do not care if they are ever cut. They come because we are forced to pay wages if we want to see our harvest gathered. Wages are paid with good hard money, which these men take out of the state when they leave. So much for one side of the question. These men make their money by work as I make my money by printing and your Dad makes his money from rent. The difference is, that we have land and business; that we are located here. But these men who come here to work have no land and no business, except to work. For their work we pay them money which they would take out of the country unless we find some way to stop them."

"But why stop them?" Olive asked wide eyed. "Isn't the money theirs? Haven't they worked for it?"

"Tut, tut child don't get excited. We stop them because the money will do us more good than it will them. We business people do not produce; we exist on margins. Never forget that. There are too many of us to grow rich from the farmers alone; we must get a part of what goes out in the shape of wages. The town is in the fining business just exactly as your father is in real estate—Mr. Marvin is in groceries, Duffy in horses. They are all after the margin. The town is only a collective citizen. What it does, is for the benefit of its people. If we do not get our margin as officers and business men we become either farmers or bums. Your Dad buys a cheap farm and rents it at a high rental The margin so achieved buys your colthes. He persuades an ingorant man that his good land is poor and that he can do better on an alkali flat. He gets the good farm cheap and sells it dear—the margin sends you to school. The fact that the renter and his wife sweat blood to pay the rent and that the ignorant man starves on alkali flat does not bother you. It is business and business must have victims. What is true of your Dad and you is true of all of us; we live upon that which we have not earned."

"We do not like the 'blind pig', but the men who come to harvest our crops are homeless wanderers; they must have a place where they can meet socially, where they can mingle and talk the things they know and understand. They want a place where they can forget their trouble and remember their misery no more as the Bible says. In other words it brings them to town where they buy clothes, hats, shoes, tobacco, and snuff; where they eat at the restaurant, buy papers at the book stand, all of which means money in our pockets. That is why we tolerate the 'blind pig'. If Anamoose has no 'pig' and Harvey has two then the merchants there will make just twice as much, as the merchants here from the hobo trade."

"But why fine them when they are caught in the trap you yourself have set for them?" the girl asked.

"Again that is to our advantage. Taxes are high and the town needs improvements. To hold down the tax bill and at the same time improve the town, that is the test of official efficiency. You know, Miss Anderson, that it takes money to run a town—it has to come from somewhere—the taxpayers do not always figure the cost of these things — they only know that they want them, but they do not want the bills that follow. When bills go too high, they change officers; the officers need their job: they, too, must eat so they try to hold down the bills. People are naturally more interested in cheapness than in the method by which cheapness is brot about, so the officers take a chance to get easy money whenever it presents itself."

"It is not a christian way of doing," the girl protested.

"Oh, well, Christians don't like high taxes any better than Jews. In the world of business we recognize neither saints nor sinners. The very land we live on we stole from the Indians and not even you would return your father's farm to the Red

(Continued on page 4.)

[illegible]

January, [illegible], 1920.

In view of the more or less fantastic speculations as to the possibility of the re-establishment of trade relations with Russia by dealing with ''Cooperative Societies'' but in other respects ''got changing the policy of the Allies toward Soviet Russia'', it seems necessary to call the attention of American manufacturers and exporters to certain obvious facts, namely:

FIRST: The resumption of trade relations entails problems such as the re-establishment of Russia's foreign credit, the matter of transportation, of harbor facilities, of representatives abroad, to take care of the clearance of ships and other matters of consular nature, the issuance of passports for commercial travelers back and forth, the mutual protection of foreign visitors in Russia and Russian visitors abroad, — which cannot be solved without formal contact with the authorities in Russia.

SECOND: There exist in Russia no such cooperative societies as are being announced in the plans of some people who apparently desire to find in Russia somebody whom they might utilize in bringing about friction between the Russian people and its Government. Under present conditions in Russia, the formely separate and independent cooperative societies have changed their nature, their position and their function. They are today distributing agencies of the Russian economic system and they work in complete harmony with the Soviet Government. So-called ''representatives of Russian Cooperative Societies'' in London, Paris and New York do not represent the Russian Cooperatives and have no authority whattsoever to speak in their name or to enter into any obligations on behalf of any number of people in Russia. Such foreign representatives as are now announced as negotiating with the Allies were representatives of the old Russian cooperative movement. They have been deposed by the Russian cooperative organizations and other representatives have been elected in their places, but have been prevented by the Allies from taking change of the offices of cooperatives in foreign countries. The status of these alleged representatives who now purport to negotiate in the name of the Russian cooperative movement with the Allies in Paris is about the same as the status of former Czar and Kerensky ''Embassies''. They do not represent anybody except themselves. Such representatives have no supplies in Soviet Russia to exchange for foreign products and have no right to negotiate obtligations in anybody's name except their own.

The foreign trade of Russia is nationalized and the Russian Soviet Government is in full control of all supplies in Russia, of the means of transportation, and of such other resources as can be made, and which the Russian Soviet Government is ready to make the solid basis of Russia's foreign credit. The Russian Soviet Government is perfectly capable and ready to satisfy all requirements for the re-establishment of trade with Russia. According to information received by us from Mr. Litvinoff in Copenhagen, the Soviet Government of Russia is ready at any time, when the blockade is really lifted, to prove in practice Russia's ability to [illegible] the field of foreign trade and to begin purchasing on a very large scale, on conditions quite acceptable to all parties concerned.

Soviet Russia is eager to open her markets for American products, and is prepared to buy hundreds of millions of dollars worth of materials. In order to facilitate the development of this trade, the sooner all restrictions of mail and telegraphic communications between Russia and foreign countries are abolished, the better. It is in the interest of this trade, and we feel confident that manufacturers and export merchants will understand, that any restrictions of this character will harm them just as much as they will harm Russia.

Statement by Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, Before the Sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of United States, Jan. 19, 1920

Mr. MARTENS, A CITIZEN OF RUSSIA

I am a Russian citizen. I submit herewith, and ask to have inserted in the record, a photographic copy of my credentials as Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. This certificate describes me as a ''Pussian citizen''. The original of this document I sent to the Department of State of the United States Goverment on March 19, 1919. Translated into English, it reads as follows:

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC

People's Commissariat of Forign Affairs Office of the People's Commissar January 2, 1919
No. 9-k
Moscow, corner of Spiridonovka and Patriarch's Lane, House number 50-1 Telephone
No. 4-22-96

It is hereby announced that Russian Citizen Ludwik Christian Alexander Karlowitch Martens, who resides in the United States of America, is appointed the representative. of the People's Commissariat of Foreign affairs in the United States of America.

(Signed) People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
G. Chicherin.
Acting Secretary of the Office,
P. Shenkin.
(Official Seal of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs)
(True translation)

I submit herewith also, and ask to have inserted in the record, a copy of another document authorizing me to represent the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in various legal capacities in the United States. This document also describes me as a citizen of that Republic. It reads as follows:

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC

People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs May 25, 1919
No. 534-k
Moscow

To Whom It May Concern

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic hereby de[illegible] [illegible] possession, in the name of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic, all movable and real estate of the former Embassy and Consulates and all property on the territory of the United States of America, belonging to the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic. Citizen L. Martens is also entrusted with the right to solicit and answer claims within the limits of the United States of America, in all cases where material interests of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic are engaged, to prosecute all civil and criminal cases on behalf of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic, in tribunals, courts and other institutions of the United States of America.

Citizen L. Martens, is entrusted to defray all expenses incurred on behalf of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic and to receive all moneys claimed by the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States of America, and issue receipts.
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs

G. CHICHERIN.
Secretary,
I. LEWIN.

(SEAL)

Since each government must be deemed the sole judge in determining the status of its citizenship, I take it that these documents esthlish beyond all doubt the fact that I am a citizen of the Russian Republic. Nevertheless, I wish this Committee to be in possession of all the facts so that no further misapprehension may arise in this matter.

I was born in Russia of German parents, who had emigrated to Russia in the first half of the last century. At the time of my birth my parents were permanent residents of Russia. I was born in Bachmut, Province of Ekaterinoslav, Russia, on December 20th, 1874. I was brought up in the City of Kursk and in Petrograd, and educated at the Kursk High School and the Petrograd Technological Institute.

Under the laws of the United States the American-born son of a German immigrant is a citizen of the United States. But under the archaic laws of the old Russian and German militaristic goverments, I was considered technically a German subject, altough born and raised in Russia. At the age of seventeen I applied for Russian citizenship, but the Russian authorities insisted that I should *first* serve in the German army, which I refused to do. I continued to reside in Russia, and in 1896, by reason of my affiliation with the revolutionary movement against the Russian Czar, I was imprisoned by the Czar's government. At the conclusion of my sentence in 1898, the Russian authorities delivered me forcibly to the German military authorities, who impressed me into the German army and compelled me to serve two years as a common soldier. I continued my affiliation with the Russian revolutionary movement up to the revolution, which began with the abdication of the Czar, to the establishment of the Provisional Government on March 16, 1917. The Provisional Government proclaimed amnesty for all political offenders and invited all political [illegible] to Russia. I was in America at that time, representing the [illegible] Company of Petrograd, one of the largest steel and mining concerns in Russia. Because of my technical German citizenship, I could not avail myself of the amnesty and invitation to return, since Russia and Germany were then at war. Desirous of facilitating my return to Russia, my relatives applied to the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov for naturalization papers for me. Such naturalization papers were granted in May or June, 1917, by special decree of the Provisional Government. This Provisional Government was officially recognized by the Government of the United States. These naturalization papers were dispatched to me by registered letter. I was informed of this by letter form my sister, Mrs. Popoff, who resides in Petrograd. I did not receive the letter containig my enturalization papers. I resume that it was intercepted in the mails by the British or other censor. At that time many important letters and cables relating to my buisiness transactions in this country, regarding the purchase of American materials for my company, etc., were being intercepted by the censor and never reached me.

I entered the United States on January 2d, 1916. The United States was then at peace with the world. I registered my technical status as a German subject with the port authorities, explaining to them at the same time that I was born and resided in Russia and that my German citizenship was only a technical of German law. I have in my possession documents issued to me by the English Government exempting me and my family from internment or deportation as enemy aliens, in order that I might go about my buisiness in England. It was by the virtue of these documents that I was permitted freely to leave England, irrespective of my status, and I submit these documents to the Committee and ask they be incorporated in the record.

The general Rules and Regulations prescribed by the Attorney General of the United States for the registration of German enemy aliens were issued December 31st, 1917, pursuant to the proclamation of the President of the United States, dated November 16th, 1917. At that time I was already a Russian citizen by virtue of a decree of the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov, a government officially recognized by the Government of the United States, and I was therefore not subject to registration under those rules and regulations.

This should suffice to clear up all misunderstanding about my citizenship. The fact that the present government of Russia has certified that I am a Russian citizen and has made me its official representative in the United States disposes of this question without doubt. In addition, there are the facts which I have just stated; that I was born and raised in Russia and was given legal Russian citizenship by a former Russian Government which was recognized by the Government of the United States.

THE BLACK SHEEP

Continued from page 2.

men if you could. Still you know that the land had been theirs for ages when we came and took it.''

''But the Indians never used the land,'' Olive urged.

''Neither does your Dad; he rents it,'' came back the Editor. ''Furthermore, just because you never looked at your watch, does that justify me in stealing it?''

Olive looked demure for a moment, she said, ''Honestly Mr. Cranston I am bewildered. I want to see justice done in the case of this boy, and that's pure selfishness, for I clearly see that universal justice cannot be done without creating ruin and if possible still greater injustice.''

''It is a dog eat dog world and you can make nothing else of it,'' said the scribe, as Olive left the office.

She stopped for a moment in the door and looking back at the editor she said, ''There is no doubt but what you say is true but it will not always be true, I know that for I will not permit it.''

''Some Molly McGuire,'' laughed the scribe, ''or is it Joan of Arc? Remember little girl that business and sentiments don't mix and this is a business world.'

She disappeared down the street on her way to the preacher's house.

Continued next week.

Cost Of Living and Workers.

Continued from page 1.

in prison. If they had been workers and had stolen a pair of shoes for a barefooted kid, they would probably have spent as many years at hard labor in one of our penal institution.

In order to secure the welfare of the workers, we must cease relying upon any schemes proposed by the advocates of the capitalistic system. To believe that profit-taking should become less than profiteering at every opportunity, is to expect the impossible. The profiteer and the profit-taker are twin brothers, fathered by the same sire. Profiteers can develop only under a profit system. It is useless for the workers to cry out against the profiteers and then by their ballots and their activities as union men, suport the system which creates these leeches. In order to put down profiteering, we must put down the economic and Industrial system upon which hjt thrives and fattens.

The law making power, even if it were sincere in its attempts to deal a death blow to profiteering, would be helpless to do so. Do not be deceived about the powers of laws. The law making power — the political power under capitalism, is part and parcel of the capitalist system

The political government is shackled to the capitalist system with chains of gold. It is the inplement of the system in conserving the interests of the ruling class.

We will witness the continued bludgeoning of the workers by the profiteers. Their ability to keep it up is accentuated by the tremendous concentration of wealth which is taking place. The old laws of supply and demand have practically ceased to exist in the world's markets. The era of capitalistic world imperialism is passed forever. Politicians and notoriety here. The old order of free competition is hunters may try to make meal for their mills in atterapts to create the conditions of by-gone industry, but they will fail.

The profiteer is King and the only way to stop his rule is to take his kingdom away from him, and place the working-class in control. This is the historic mission of the workers. This is what the communist movement of the world means — A WORLD CONTROLED BY THE WORKERS.

[illegible]

When he fought

• • •

In the Spanish war,

• • •

And came down with malaria

• • •

In Cuba, and when he got out

• • •

Of HOSPITAL

• • •

And wandered home.

• • •

His father was dead,

• • •

The last of his relations.

• • •

So he went WEST,

• • •

PIONEERING

• • •

In many sorts of places,

• • •

Till the Great War came.

• • •

He ENLISTED

• • •

At the very first

• • •

And went to France,

• • •

He fought in most

• • •

Of the BATTLES

• • •

OUR BOYS were in,

• • •

Yet somehow or other

• • •

He still came home alive,

• • •

Not even WOUNDED

• • •

To speak of.

• • •

But somewhat worn and thin

• • •

From a touch of the gas

• • •

And maybe a bit

• • •

Of SHELL SHOCK.

• • •

He went over to Bremerton

• • •

Hunting a job

• • •

On the government works,

• • •

But his application

• • •

Came back to him.

• • •

And the reason they gave

• • •

For REFUSING

• • •

Was that he couldn't PROVE

• • •

His CITIZENSHIP

• • •

Sufficietntly to suit them!

• • •

His father was an alien

• • •

And he couldn't show

• • •

Whether or not

• • •

He had been naturalized.

• • •

So the soldier boy

• • •

Is still hunting work

• • •

In Seattle

• • •

He was enough

• • •

Of a CITIZEN

• • •

For DANGEROUS jobs,

• • •

But NOT enough

• • •

For the SAFE ones!

SQUIBS.

Per-i-shng, yea verily **PERISHING** — is the state of American Liberty.

AN IDEA.

The most powerful thing in the world is an IDEA. If an idea is wrong it will stop itself. But if it is right nothing can or will stop it. We may arrest, jail, kill or even deport men— but cannot arrest, jail, kill or deport ideas. In fact ideas feed, fatten and multiply on suppression and tortures visited on their possessors. History if it teaches us anything, proves this to us. The ideas that govern mankind today were shot at, hung and crucified in bygone days. Their tormentors and persecutors are dead and forgotten, but the Ideas which they tried vainly to suppress and annihilate rule and govern today. Still other ideas are today seeking entrance on the stage and those in power today refuse as stubbornly to give way to the New as the old refused to give way to those in vogue today. However the way or progression is eternal and the old must ever make and give way to the New, the old demonstrated. Error to the newly accepted Truth.

Wirth.

[illegible]

— BY [illegible] —

Here is a sample of the ultra conservatism of the American worker, which appeared in a late issue of the Cleveland Press, and which, of course the editor commended:

''I am not a Red, but I am a wee bit radical. The man in overalls is my blood brother and his cause is my cause, yet I love him too well to cheer him when he is wrong.''

Note that this workingman is expressing himself in terms of 'right and wrong, which is the dominant weakness of the American working mule. He doesn't know that the ruling class has always defined what is right in terms of their economic interests and he has just naturally imbibed the thought that anything inimical to his master's welfare must necessarily be wrong. His beclouded brain never entertains a suspicion of the wrongs he suffers through exploitation. Not understanding his position industrially, not realizing his wage slavery, he is a stranger to the fact that a slave cannot possibly be wrong in any effort he may make to emancipate himself. However, his admission that he is a ''wee bit radical'' indicates that a few scales have fallen from his eyes, which is hopeful for subsequent thorough enlightenment. His economic vision will then be clearer and he will no longer be deceived by the precepts of the bourgeoisie. He will then see the class struggle in all its intensity and become an active participant in the world—wide movement for labor's emancipation. Then he will have learned that conceptions of right have their root in economic conditions.

• • • •

After an understanding had been arrived at with Holland respecting the disposition of Kaiser Bill, the Allied governments launched a hue and cry for his deportation and trial. Holland demurs, as per arrangement, and the capitalist press, after emitting a yelp or two of indignation, allows the matter to quietly drift into oblivion. We are now informed that a demand has been made of Germany for some two hundred of Kaiser Bill's loyal henchmen, who are charged with abetting Bill in the precipitation of the World War, for the ostensible purpose of placing them on trial. All camouflage, brother. You may safely wager your last iron dollar that there will be nothing doing along that line. Trust the bourgeoisie to deal kindly with their own ilk. Now, if they were workingmen, it would be just as safe to gamble that they would be summarily dealt with.

• • • •

John Spargo, erstwhile member of the Socialist Party, visited Cleveland, shot his wad of dope anent the Russian situation as per contract with August Belmont, the American high priest of world imperialism, and departed ofr other fields of conquest. He and his Belmont pay-roll partner, Charles Edward Russel, experienced a cool reception in Cleveland. The well informed respecting the Soviet form of government in Russia merely smile at the efforts of these mental prostitutes to put across their diatribes against the Bolsheviki, and the rest of the American public doesn't care a damn. I would advise these gentlemen to confine themselves to bourgeois audiences where they are sure to meet with an enthusiastic reception.

WHAT HAPPENED TO EUROPE.

Frank Vanderlip, American financier, recently returned from a trip to Europe. Hi has written a book about conditions of industry there which is called ''What Happened to Europe''. Among many other pointed things which Mr. Vanderlip tells the readers is the following:

''There is today nothing short of chaos in European industry. A failure to restart industry in any European nation, resulting in continued idleness, want and hardship, is certain to lead to social upheavels that will be communicated to other nations ......

WEEKLY MEETINGS
50 So. Howard St.
Akron Ohio.
FEB. 15th TOM LEWIS OF CLEVELAND.
ATTEND THESE MEETINGS.
YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED.

[illegible] The Miners.

Mulbery, Kansas 1-31-1920
Editor Toiler Dear Comrade

There are thousands of good conscious workers that still believe that we can yet save our selves through the trade union and the ballot and it is hard to convince them other wise and about all we can do is to keep the facts continualy before them. The part the toiler is playing is helping things along, there is not A single man or woman who can take the events of the last 4 years and show where the trade union has made one bit of progress, where ever there has been a clash between the trade union and capitalism the union has come out defeated.

We unionists have built up an autocracy among our selves I have reference to the official class among the trade unions. We have separated the officials from the workers and they have become a separate class by them selves to such an extent that if a corporation wants to start a strike-proof shop all they have to do is to organize under the trade union system and they have it. If it so happens that there is a strike the official class faction of the union will defeat the strike or so cripple the proposition that the settlement that is made is worse than defeat: just look the field over and see if I am not right in my deductions. Look at the move the railroad men made and see what the settlement did to them, then take the great coal strike and see what the official autocracy did. I call them autocrats because they acted without authority from the rank and file they settled our strike on their own self apointed authority.

Then there is the great steel strike from coast to coast and after months of suffering and harship they were sent back in defeat just as the miners were and I think the answer is plain — they were organized under the trade union system.

How, I want to go on record right here as saying that all of you that want to get any place besides the poor house and serfdom worse than you have. Better get off that old system and get your union reorganized and revolutionized and get organized under industrial unionism. Then and then only can you expect to win. For instance, had we been organized industrialy when we miners came out of our prisons and demanded justice at the hands of our despoilers we would have won in a walk.

We could have tied up every industry in the U. S.

Supose we had one big union instead of the old rotten, moth eaten prehistoric American Federation of Labor when the steel men came out, what do you think would have happened? I can tell you, we would have pulled the string and tied the entire country up and it would not have taken 4 or 5 months either, we miners had the situation at our mercy and would have won in a walk if we had had men with nerve at our head but we did not, so we lost merely because we were not on the right track I tell you brothers we must get down to brass tacks and organize industrially and depend on our economic power to win and don't let any bone head convince you that you can better your condition by merely voting for it. It is simply idiotic to think so. Just look the situation over and be convinced. Wisconsin elected a congressman, did they get him seated? I think not. New York elected 5 assembly men, did they get their seats? Look it up and see if they did, and so it goes, forget the ballot game and play a game you can win at.

You can win through your economic power and industrial organization and the Communist Labor party is ready to coach you how to start any time you are ready to act, that is our mission in this world so awake and let us organize for victory, otherwise you go to slavery, take your choice.

Yours truly
J. L. CREVISTON

GITLOW SAYS HE IS REVOLUTIONIST

Continued from page 1.

ment regarding the world war, which he said, was caused by capital and in which, he said the masses were led to believe that they were fighting for principles and ideals.

Judge Weeks interrupted the speaker again.

''I don't like to interrupt you,'' said the Court, ''but you are now speaking of something not contained in the manifesto.''

Gitlow insisted that the Left Wing principles are directly connected with the European war which, he added, ''showed plainly the failure of capitalism.''

After several hours of deliberation, Gitlow was found guilty by the jury. An appeal was immediately taken by attorney Darrow.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

[illegible]

FORMERLY THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio.

NO. 107 Published at Cleveland CLEVELAND O., FRIDAY, FEBR. 20th, 1920. [illegible] Cleveland, O. $1.00 A YEAR

The Power Of The Press

— By Eugene V. Debs. —

The power of the press is sadly underestimated in the socialist movement. The ruling class make no such mistake. They are keenly alive to the power of the press in moulding public sentiment and in shaping affairs in accordance with their interests. The capitalist papers do not suffer for the want of support and never die of starvation. They are fed fat and ungrudgingly by the class in power and in return serve that class with all their power.

Not so with the press of the working class. With scarcely an exception the papers and periodicals published in the interest of labor eke out a precarious existence. Ninety-five per cent of them line the highway of the past with their skeletons. They lingered for a brief while and then gave up the ghost, falling victims to the chronic labor-paper malady, starvation.

Of course not all papers claiming to be labor papers are fit to exist. Many of them are fakes and run by political grafters. These often thrive in their blackmail and graft while an honest paper is allowed to die for the want of support.

Working men and women ought to have intelligence enough by this time to discriminate between an honest labor paper and a grafting sheet and they ought to be loyal enough to the working class to give their support to the paper that uses its influence to mould sentiment in favor of their cause and fights their industrial and political battles.

It is when the strike comes that the working class suffer most keenly the lack of a powerful press that reaches the people. They are always at a fearful disadvantage on this account. The capitalists get in a thousand licks to their one, not only because they can get their case before the people in its most favorable light and keep it there, but because they can put the case of the workers in the most unfavorable light and keep it there.

If the working people had a press the slugging methods of corporations in a strike and the activities of their murderous gunmen would not only be impossible but unthinkable.

The working class can expect nothing from the press of the capitalist class but misrepresentation and injustice in the struggle for its rights. The working class must build up a powerful press of its own and this vital fact it cannot realize too soon.

Thousands of workers subscribe to capitalist papers without contributing a penny to their own and this is one of the reasons why the working class is still in slavery and will remain so until it rises in its might and asserts and develops its power to achieve its emancipation.

Soviet System will Free Woman

By The Federated Press.

PARIS — Socialization of housekeeping is the only thing that will really emancipate woman, declares Nicolai Lenine, head of the Russian soviet government, in a pamphlet on The Great Initiative written for the study of the Russian workers.

"In one year Russia did more for the freedom of women than had been even attempted in 10 years in other countries," he said. "All the humiliating laws prejudicial to the rights of women have been abolished; for example, those placing obstacles in the way of divorce, or the repugnant formalities in the search for the paternity of "illegitimate" children. These laws are in force in all civilized states, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism.

"We have a right to be proud of our accomplishments in this country. But in proportion as we realize the bases of capitalist laws and institutions we will arrive at a clear vision of the edifice we are to construct.

"We haven't begun building yet.

"Woman is still, in spite of every thing, a domestic slave. The emancipating laws have done nothing, for there still remain all the little household tasks which chain her to the kitchen, to the nursery, and make of her unproductive thankless activity a chain of miniature torments both oppressive and stupefying.

"A real emancipation of women, a real Communism, will exist only when the proletariat takes the reins and organizes a war against domestic slavery. In other words, when society shall be entirely reconstructed, with a view to a general socialization of housekeeping.

"The practical realization of this program has already begun. The result is hardly felt as yet. But one must not underestimate these first attempts. Community restaurants, kindergartens, are in a measure, new forces still far from mature, but holding the potentiality of woman's emancipation, since they tend to equalize woman with man in the field of social production and life.

"These methods are not new. Like all forerunners of Socialism, they have been, for the most part, organized by capitalism But under the capitalist reigme they have constituted only the exception. They still offer the most dreary examples of speculation, cupidity and fraud. Or else they are transformed into hateful philanthropy.

"We have taken over most of these institutions and they are beginning to lose their old characteristics.

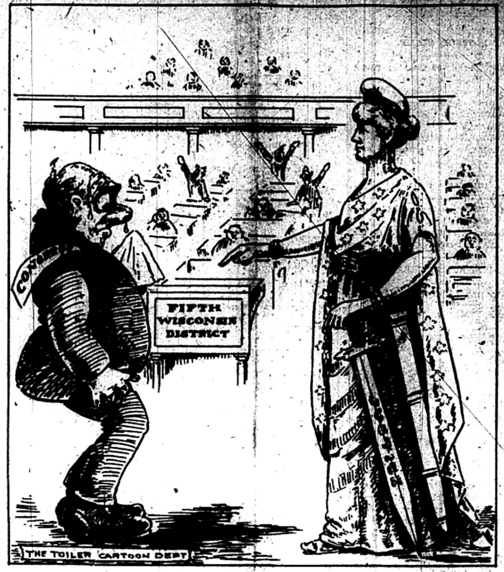
"We're not shouting in the street, like the capitalist press over exploits: our papers aren't wasting their time praising our community kitchens.

"But it is nevertheless true that they are founded on these principles Economy of labor; good management of provisions; improvement of sanitation and the freeing of woman from domestic slavery."

LENINE, THE MAN
AND HIS WORK
by Albert Rhys Williams
— $1.50 —
Address — The Toiler.

DEBS: HIS LIFE
AND LETTERS
by David Karsner
— $1.50 —
Address — The Toiler.

RUSSIA IN 1919
by Arthur Ransome
— $1.50 —
Address — The Toiler.



You say the Ballot is sacred? Then why is not that seat occupied? Answer me!

Foreman Fumes - Would Make America American.

The following typical tirade frothed from the lips of a leader of the American Legion lately, according to the Chicago Daily News:

Col. Milton J. Foreman, state commander of the American Legion, who led the 122nd field artillery (old 1st Illinois cavalry) in the Argonne, was in a fighting frame of mind today. He had just finished reading in a morning newspaper that a delegate of the Painters' Union, Local No. 275, at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, annunced that steps have been taken to weed out from the union all members of the American Legion.

"Such legion members are tools of the capitalist system," the unionist is reported to have said. "I urge all you union delegates to weed them out." There was applause, but no action was taken.

"The American Legion," said Col. Foreman, "has just two purposes for existence. We men who saw service are joined together for brotherhood Second, we are organized to serve America. The American Legion is pro-American, nothing else, sir. It is not an agent of propaganda for the "capitalists," or for the unions. The business of the American Legion is to hammer home the philosophy and practice of Americanism, to Americanize this country from coast to coast, and to make every dweller within this land a 100 per cent American. That's the job of the American Legion."

"Miserable creatures who are yipping and snapping at the heels of Uncle Sam have either got to become Americans — 100 per cent, too! — or they've got to pack up and get out. We don't want them in this country. They're not satisfied, apparently, with America; we are not satisfied to have them stop here The best thing is for them to get out — quick."

Any one who is real "satisfied" with conditions in America today is self-evidently a grafter or an ignoramus. Col. Foreman appears to be as unfamiliar with the conditions from which the American people suffer now ashewas with the cannon which "his men" of the 122nd used in France.

"Sonny, the American Legion is going to make this republic American, all wool and a yard wide or we'll die fighting. We learned, we legionaries, how to fight fairly well over there. You can't make that too strong. We men who went overseas found out what a blessed place America is. We love this land more than ever, now that we are back; it's worth fighting for. If we must, we'll fight."

If the dear old Col. would take time to meditate a little upon the spirit manifested on many occasions by Americans he might wisely conclude that they are not the kind of people that can be bluffed by kaisers, colonels, ambitious cub officers, or their little tinsel capitalist gods. And if Col. Foreman did not see enough fighting in France, and insists upon war at home in the manner of supreme insolence, arrogance and ignorance revealed in the unhappy outbreak here quoted from, we are very much afraid — and we say it with deep sorrow — that he and his kind are likely to see fighting enough to satisfy them all! He must not forget that the "World War Veterans" and their allied organizations are more numerous than the reactionary Legion and that they have millions of sympathizers. They stand for real democracy.

By the way, does the Col. intend to delay his threatened "fight" until those he opposes organize an army and then go out to meet them on the field of battle, does he mean merely to "fight" with hot air, or is he encouraging his Legion to use the outlaw methods of mob murder? His talk is dangerously inflammatory.

A sane, honest-minded man would naturally suppose that the manner in which the masses of people in America supported the government during our foreign war by toil, tears and blood proved that America is pretty well "Americanized" already! This rant about making the American people American is either idiocy or hypocrisy. They are "American." They believe the gospel of freedom which was preached before and during the war. The main difference between them and some over-boasting "patriots" is that they believe it yet. Their profession of loyalty to liberty was put on as a camouflage to cover a plan of plutocratic plunder and military tyranny at home. And these real people of America will decide what true "Americanism" is without asking the advice or consent of bigoted, bitter, self-appointed guardians of public opinion.

The mob method might be imitated by a larger mob of outraged common people. No sane "American" will encourage mob action. He who does is an anarchist of the first grade.

SHALL "TERROR" RULE AMERICA?

"I have no fight, mark you, with the American Federation of Labor. I am confident that 99 per cent of the federation's personnel is just as heartily pro-American as any other group of patriots. There were many thousands, you know, who left their union jobs to serve the country in the army and navy. But the American Legion will not tolerate the few malcontents — they are just natural born trouble makers — who refuse to march to the tune of Yankee Woodle. The Legion's going to make those few malcontents become Americans — or they'll be kicked out of the country."

What a brave(?) chivalrous(?) generous(?) American(?) spirit is here manifested in the name of "patriotism"! Our factory magnates and money lords enticed millions of people from foreign lands on the promise of large wages, happy conditions, and a haven of rest from political and military tyranny — every one of these alluring features being greatly exaggerated in the lying circulars distributed by big business in every country Now, after they are here, and have become dissatisfied because they have been deceided, are we to curse them and forcibly deport them? If they do not like the mad rule of profiteers and grafters, if they criticise the govrnment and demand the America make good her far-flung professions of justice and liberty, they must not be argued with, educated and convinced (of they might get the better of the argument!) but they must be "kicked out of the country"! This is the cheapest and most cowardly mock heroism and false patriotism that could possibly be staged And the pity of it is that such folly is more dangerous to the peace of the country than all the "reds" that might be found. Such talk is not indulge in by time-serving politicians and their supporters because they fear any harm to America from the "reds"; it is for the purpose of intimidating the reformers and misleading the masses; but the present day reformers can no more be intimidated than could Washington, Jefferson, or Lincoln, and the people are looking for new leaders with social vision, not

Continued on page 4th.

Stand Up And Be Counted!

So many comrades are stepping forward to the front ranks of literature distributors and Toiler subscription hustlers that we are daily astonished at the growing number and the vim with which they attack the work of educating the workers. Truly it is a sight to make every social revolutionist rejoice, for don't you know, the "reds" are supposed to be buried deep, deep, deep beneath the heel of reactionary capitalism — but they are not — not by a, well by whole lot!

If you would read the many, many letters, we receive form every part of this big country telling us that whatever others were doing, THEY were on the job and would stay on till the worker's rule is established, and then to see the proof in checks and money orders for literature and Toiler subscription cards — well, you'd sure believe that a lot of "reds" hadn't turned pink yet. You sure would.

And we have decided that if there are so many live wires distributed so widely over the country, there must be many more who have not yet taken a hand in the greatest work that any one can do, the work of educating the worker in his own economic interests. So we extend an invitation to every one of you to join Now this big campaign for subscriptions for The Toiler and a distribution of the literature we advertise. You cannot do more nor better work in the Movement than these two things. Therefore, we urge you to give them your best efforts. If you are so situated, that these are impossible for you, then there is still a way for you to help. The dimes and dollars which you can give will aid greatly in carrying on the work. If you can't work in the Movement, then let your dollars work for you.

We ask every reader to resolve to do a real comrade's share in this work. Take a stand now. Stand up on your feet and be counted!

America and what America Needs

SOME OF AMERICA'S NEEDS AREDISCUSSED BY PROMINENT MEN IN ADDRESSES IN TWO CITIES.

MORE EDUCATION LESS DEPORTATION IS AMERICA'S PRIMAL NEED, SAYS FORMER JUVENILE COURT JUDGE.

Charging that America is neglecting the most vital and fundamental problem of reconstruction, Fred G. Bale, former juvenile court judge of Columbus Feb. 11th, at Cleveland, related personal experiences with boy and girl victims "of a wrong conception of the privileges and obligations of society."

Orphanages he characterized as "monuments to the selfishness of America," and "fashionable and faddish social service work," he said was in keeping with a "governmental conception of American needs that appropriates $7,500,000 in one year for cattle, hogs and crops and $29,000 for the welfare of our boys and girls, the manhood and womanhood of the next generation."

"But then," said Mr. Bale, "hogs, cattle and crops can be sold for dollars. Last year this country spent five times as much on automobiles as for all and every kind of education. Are we placing the best things first?

"Do we realize that we are damning the hearts, souls and ideals of the next generation by measuring the success of today by the dollars a man can accumulate? The only test of a man's success is the service he has rendered his fellow men.

"How many of our churches do you think would shut their doors in the face of Christ if he returned today and associated with the same types of people he consorted with in his day? Until we remove the fences of preference for creed, race or color we do not know the A B C of Christianity or that democracy we mouth so much about.

"The 800,000 boys and girls in America who never go to school are potential dynamite, for from them we shall draw the future anarchists and criminals.

"It is time we laid more stress on education and less on deportation. Eighty per cent of the people brought before the criminal courts are under 18. The number of defectives last year outnumbered the defectives of ten years ago by 25 per cent."

Mr. Bale warned against "camouflaged interests," which he said were lobbying for compulsory universal military training.

"Having done our part in smashing militarism abroad, this is a mighty poor time to plant the seeds of militarism in the American mind," he said. "We do not need compulsory universal military training nearly as much as we need compulsory universal physical training."

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKERS WILL SOLVE AMERICA'S PROBLEMS, SAYS RABBI MAGNES.

A large crowd attended a meeting called at the Coliseum at Chicago Feb. 9-th as a protest against the restrictions on free speech in America.

On the speaker's platform were the leaders of every radical organization in the city. Prominent among the speakers was Rabbi Judah Magnes of New York, a son in law of a prominent banker.

"Old America Gone."

"The old and glorious America made its first utterance to the world in the Declaration of Independence," declared Rabbi Magnes. "It maintained the right of the people to alter or abolish existing governments and to institute new ones.

"But it has become treasonable to give utterance to such thoughts in the America of today. We are told that America has had its revolution, and that further fundamental changes are not necessary and not to be permitted.

"We answer that fundamental changes are needed in the world today fully as much as when the Declaration of Independence was written. For example, political dictatorship must be taken out of the hands of the minority, of the privileged few, and the political power must be placed in the hands of the great masses of the people.

"End Economic Oligarchy."

"Further, economic dictatorship must be taken out of the hands of the small oligarchy of big business men and their satellites, lawyers, teachers and clergymen and the power put in the hands of those to whom rightfully it belongs — the masses who work with hand and brain.

"But it is being made a crime to mention these things. We wish to discuss this question, but they say we may not. We wish the American workers to understand, as the British and Italian and German and Russian workers now understand, that economic power can and must be used to achieve political ends. But they make this sedition and treason.

"There are, doubtless, individuals who believe in force and violence, and a few have committes bomb outrages. Why does not the department of justice employ its time to better advantage and hunt these down?

"Let 'Em Talk It Out."

"But where is the evidence implicating organized groups in open advocacy of or secret plotting for the use of force and violence? Were there such evidence, it would have become public long since.

"Let us grant that this or that group openly advocates in speech or writing the overthrow of the government by force or violence. Let them advocate it—as long as no overt acts are committed."

[illegible]

[illegible] Party Labors Death, Says [illegible] Headline. More likely it would be, Labor Party Gompers (Be- [illegible]) Death.

* * *

The Gentlemen's Home Journal, alias The SatEvePost is full to overflowing with bourgeoisie propaganda. There is even an article explaining how the war taught the art og governing the people thru propaganda.

* * *

According to the S. E. P. red propaganda is all wrong—Bourgeoisie Propaganda is O. K.

* * *

Honest I never expected to live to see the day when a journal of over two million circulation would publish Joe Hill's "Long Haired Preachers" but the S. E. Post published it in its issue dated Feb. 7th as a part of an impossible yarn called The Possibilist.

* * *

But they carefully omitted the verse about the Starvation Army, which reads as follows

And the Starvation Army comes out
They sing and they pray and they shout
Till they get all your coin on the drum
Then they'll tell you when you're on the bum.
Chorus:
You will Eat, Bye and Bye
In that glorious land above the sky
Work and pray, Live on hay,
Youll get pie, in the sky, bye and Bye.

* * *

"Asserts Ignorance Perils the Nation" Dr Robert McNutt McElroy has discovered that the war did not make America "safe for Democracy". Noted educator declares people too ignorant for true democracy until they free the educators and the educational systems from the yoke of economic dependence upon the upper class. Economic democracy will give educational democracy.

* * *

They arrested a man in Savannah for being a Socialist.—Well we HAVE stopped burning witches.

* * *

"We have [illegible] [illegible]" says a [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] them admit it. The bourgeoisie have long known it.

* * *

When an underpaid teacher teaches an underfed child — what will the teaching be?

* * *

Genius often crops out in unexpected localities

* * *

Down our way a local editor proposes to squech the reds remedying conditions so the reds will have nothing to kick about.

Oh well, A rose by any other name, we say.

* * *

The Mayflower bringeth and the Bufford take that away even as straws show the direction the wind blow.

* * *

The Declaration of Independence manifested the right of the people to after or abolish existing governments and to institute new ones. Slip this information to the next 100 per center who is "seeing red."

* * *

The Proletarian after quoting figures given out by Sec. Bacon to the effect that 24 per cent of the drafted boys were illiterate and another ten per cent of less than normal intelligence, rises to ask whether the American Legion was recruited from the 10 per cent. or the 24 per cent or both?

From which we infer that the proletarian suspects the A. L. of Bourgeoisie tendencies.

A friend writes me that the Bolsheviks will never reach their goal but he expects them to sweep the world in less tehn five years.

Now I'm wondering what he thinks the goal of the Bolsheviks may be?

The world for the workers.
A classless world
Democracy triumphant.
So may it be.

PEN PICTURES OF BIG TRIAL AT MONTESANO

Montesano, Feb. 6. — Out of the grind of ceaseless questionings regarding the fitness of some man or woman to sit as a juror in the trial of the 11 men accused of murder at Centralia on Armistice day. November 11, there also comes the other questions as to whether these men are to have a fair and impartial trial.

Labor throughout the world has an eagle eye focused on the little courtroom here and wants to know the manner of men who are to hold in their hands the fate of these other men who are recognized as members of an impopular organization.

Also, labor is asking what manner of man is sitting as judge in this rtial and what of the prosecution and the defense attorneys.

All these things can be answered only by being on the ground, studying the conditions surrounding the trial, then weighing all the accumlated ideas, sifting out the unlikely ones and arriving at a decision which may or may not be the one that any other man would have reached under the same circumstances.

Sentiment in Grays Harbor county, as indicated by a large percentage of these examined for jury service, is radically opposed to the Industrial Workers of the World as an organization This has been sworn to repeatedly by these jurors under oath. It has been made the ground for the excusing of many of them from jury service during this trial.

Nor is this prejudice extended merely to the organization. Time after time jurors have stated under oath that this prejudice would preclude any possibility of their giving the defendants a fair trial, no matter what the evidence might be.

There are yet on the jury men who have said they did not approve of the Industrial Workers of the World, and while it is fully acknowledged this is their right, there remains the fact that the membership of the accused was concerned in many of the questions asked of every talesman.

So complicated have been the questions along this line that the court has had to ask for rereading of questions so that the record might be kept clear. Also court records will show what to a layman appears as a decided difference in ruling unseating jurors for entertaining prejudice as to the merits of the case and there are yet other jurors who have been permitted to remain on the jury when they gave almost identical answers to almost identical questions.

Feeling with reference to the case on trial is not hard to ascertain. Universally when speaking to a juror on any subject they fight shy of approaching the matter of the trial. This of course, is according to the instructions of the court and should be as it is. But men who were here before the jury was summoned say many of these men had no such hesitancy before that time and that generally they had decided opinions.

Feelings Unsmothered.

With those who are not summoned to sit as jurors there is no effort to smother feelings regarding just what took place at Centralia on Armistice Day, just how it was planned in advance and just how it was executed. They do not give he possibility of a doubt to the stories that came out immediately following the shooting.

However, these men, almost without an exception, say they want to see a fair and impartial trial. Press the question of guilt or innocence further and you get them back without any effort to the positive statement of guilt. Their idea of fairness appears to be a conviction without trial.

In the court room there always is a large number of men in uniform. In the hall there is a similar scene and on the streets of the village there was no such a display of khaki before the trial date. Almost over night the town changed from the peaceful looking village to a community such as often was found just at the close of hostilities and the return of the service men from war.

As to the effect or purpose in having a large number of men in uniform parade about a town where others are being tried for having shot ex-service men, that may be well left to the citizen of average intelligence to answer satisfactorily.

The explanation that "wobblies" are so likely to be present and show their desire to see their fellow workers liberated will not stand the acid tect and that, too, is generally well known here.

As to the prosecuting attorneys, well prosecutors seem to be one of the strong features of the trial. There are five of them within the railing practically all the time and another is working at an office down town.

It is recognized that the country elects its prosecutor, and in important cases this man usually has an assistant, but it is seldom that one finds so many assistants appointed to help out and still more seldom that the elected prosecutor sits back as an advisory member of the group.

There has been perhaps more comment centered upon Judge Wilson than almost any other judge in the state. He was practically unknown to the state at large before this trial. Now everyone is asking, "What do you think of Judge Wilson?"

Well, thinking of Judge Wilson recalls the statement of one of the newspaper correspondents, who said: "When I think of Judge Wilson I recall my days as a cub reporter. At that time I used to wonder what I would do were I suddenly dropped into the chief editor's chair and told to run the paper."

As to Vanderveer, attorney for the defense, it is a fair comparison to refer to the answers given by English statesmen when asked about Premier Asquith. Their reply invariably was "Trust Asquith."

The cause of labor is safe in the hands of Vanderveer.

ONE ISSUE OF SOVIET RUSSIA POSTAGE STAMP.

Here it is, one of the first Soviet postage stamps to reach America. Among the many new stamp designs of the new European governments none show more beauty and strength of design than this.

The distinctive feature of this design which sets it aside from the ones we are used to seeing is the revolutionary significance of the hand and sword severing the chain.

JURY AT MONTESANO

Jurors who will try the Centralia Armistice day cases:

F. H. McMurray, teamster, Aberdeen.

Harry Sellers, laborer, Elma.

Andrey T. Fisher, real estate dealer, Aberdeen.

Samuel Johnson, fisherman. Montesano.

Edward Parr, logging engineer, Hoquiam.

E. E. Torpen, retired farmer, Montesano.

Carl O. Sulten, farmer, Lake Quinault.

W. E. Einmon, ex-deputy sheriff, Elma.

E. E. Sweitzer, farmer, Oakville.

P. V. Johnson, laborer, Aberdeen.

E. G. Robinson, carpenter, Aberdeen.

Frank Glenn, farmer, Brady.

PEN PICTURES OF BIG TRIAL AT MONTESANO

Correspondent Unmasks Real Conditions Faced by Workers of the World.

By Frank Walkiin

THE WAR OF THE CLASSES

by Jack London
— 85c. —
Address — The Toiler.
THE BULLITT REPORT
by Wm. C. Bullitt
— 50c. —
Address — The Toiler.

[illegible]

"It's TIME
* * *
For a brand new set
* * *
Of HEROES!"
* * *
Announces a Movie Magazine.
* * *
"Put the SPOT-LIGHT
* * *
On the WORKER;
* * *
Get a press-agent
* * *
For the man who toils
* * *
With his HANDS!
* * *
Give LABOR
* * *
The Star Dressing-room!
* * *
It isn't wages and hours
* * *
That causes the trouble
* * *
In our work-a-day world;
* * *
Sure, we know it!
* * *
We've seen it
* * *
Right here in the movies;
* * *
We know human nature!
* * *
EVERYONE wants his turn
* * *
To be SOMEBODY;
* * *
Everyone wants RECOGNITION;
* * *
Everyone gets tired
* * *
Of being a SUPE
* * *
In the BACKGROUND;
* * *
Everyone wants his chance
* * *
At being a STAR
* * *
Always the world
* * *
Needs HEROES!
* * *
Once we had them
* * *
In KINGS;
* * *
And then we reverenced
* * *
MONEY-MONARCHS;
* * *
And recently we glorified
* * *
SOLDIERS;
* * *
[illegible] the MASTER-MECHANIC
* * *
What about Tom Jones
* * *
In Sixth Bay of switching tower
* * *
For twenty years;
* * *
Remember the winter night
* * *
In 1902,
* * *
When he saved the passengers
* * *
Of Number 26!
* * *
How about Slavonian John
* * *
Handling alone at midnight
* * *
A tilting Bessemer converter
* * *
That seething HELL!
* * *
How about the woman
* * *
Who makes the best BREAD
* * *
In the village?
* * *
Give us a personality story
* * *
About HER!
* * *
Bring out the prize tire-maker
* * *
And locomotive driver,
* * *
The skillfulest crane-man
* * *
MASTER of MACHINERY!
* * *
These are the men
* * *
Who are MAKING
* * *
The world of TODAY
* * *
They are HUMAN;
* * *
They refuse to stand any longer
* * *
In the background;
* * *
We don't blame them!
* * *
It's TIME, anyway,
* * *
For a brand new set
* * *
Of HEROES!
* * *
It's time to give LABOR
* * *
A Star Dressing-room!"

— [illegible] —

Chapter XVIII.

The Shepherd of the Flock.

From the Editor's office she made her way directly to the Rev. Goodman's residence. She found him busily engaged sweeping the snow from his walks. He greeted her with that peculiar professional courtesy which persons generally display toward the fair sex. When she told him that she would like to consult with him on a rather important matter he invited her into his study.

His study was a small room lined on ligneas nature, with some works on two sides with books mostly of a religious nature with some works on Mythology and History. Books dealing with subjects of science and synthetic philosophy were conspicious only by their absence. An enormous Bible, a small bust of Christ upon the mantel piece which was above a small fire place. A small library table containing the Big Book and a little writing desk constituted the arsenal with which the Rev. Goodman assailed the Devil.

Personally, he was well passed middle age, with a "Give us this day our daily bread" look in his face. He was slightly bald, had long slim fingers and was rather tall. He was good—in fact his goodness was akin to cowardice. He feared God and loved his contributors hence he never mingled in political affairs unless he first had ascetrained upon what side of the fence his substantial parishoners were to be found. When he was sure of that then the parson had no trouble in getting God's consent in championing their cause among the lesser members of his flock. He might have been described by paraphrasing a certain text of scripture. Streth your conscience a little for your stomach's sake. He prayed to God for guidance and kept a weather eye for financial storms.

Olive had never seen these qualities in the man until now. Jack from his cell, her father, teacher, judge and editor had unconsciously worked together to bring them out in bold relief. Even before the interview she felt certain that Mr. Goodman would talk as the others had talked, and that he would justify the people of Anamoose ultimately for the same reason by which the people justified themselves—money.

When they were seated in the study Olive wasted no time on preliminaries. She felt that there was no time to waste when human beings were suffering so she plunged into the subject at once by saying Mr. Goodman I'm in trouble—real spiritual trouble and I want you to help me. I need help as never before."

"You shall have it. If I can be of any assistance to you in a spiritual way, I shall count it a pleasure," said the preacher unctiously.

"Is there really such a thing as morality," Olive asked bluntly.

"Yes, most certainly."

"Is it a law?"

"It is more, it is the foundation of all social relation; it's the manifestation of God in man. The moral law is the highest of all laws."

"Is the observance of the moral law obligatory upon christians?"

"Why of course," affirmed the parson. 'Faith without works is dead,' say the scriptures. But Miss Anderson, why these questions? They show a dangerous state of mind."

She ignored his professional interrogation and asked that he give her a concrete definition of morality. To which the parson replied that it was consistent practice of the golden rule.

"Then they who do not practice the golden rule are immoral and therefore cannot be good christians in the highest sense of the word!" Olive persisted.

"No, not in the highest sense—that is if they are willfully immoral, but remember christianity teaches that our sins will be forgiven if we confess them and repent," the parson explained.

"If we sin wilfully?"

"Tho our sins be as scarlet they shall be made whiter than snow."

"You do not mean that this promise is to be as a lisence for violating the golden rule, do you?"

"No it is placed in the Bible as a beacon of hope on the shores of eternity, guiding us poor mortals thru the seas of temptation."

"You would not incourage the wilful violation of the golden rule then?"

"Why of course not."

"And if you knew that we were violating it willfully, would you rebuke us?"

"Most certainly, such is my duty to my God."

"But if you also knew that we would get angry at the rebuke, and stop coming to church, and stop giving contribution, would you still rebuke us?"

"I most certainly would. Of course, I would have to be very sure that you had actually violated God's law in the spiritual sense before I would feel called upon to act. Remember we pray 'forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.' Jesus tells us to forgive [illegible] times. So you see I would have to be gentle lest the rebuke would do more harm than good."

"If Mr. Jones your Deacon hired a man to help harvest his crop and agreed to pay that man two dollars a day, when that man received that money is it his?"

"Certainly."

"And to take it from him except for value received is stealing?"

"Yes."

"And stealing is considered immoral?"

"Centrally."

"Now if you knew that a majority of your Church Members hire men and pay them wages, then vote for other men who run illegal saloons thru which these men become intoxicated, in fact where they encouraged to become intoxicated, for no other reason than to furnish an excuse for arresting and fining them for all they have earned so that the money may be applied on our legitimate tax bills, would you call that a sin worthy of rebuke?"

"Your case is an impossible one. No christian community does such things. The law would not permit it."

"But it happens right here," she said emphatically. "And Mr. Kranston and papa defend it. Mr. Hunton even does not attack it. They openly say that we may as well take the money for taxes and city improvements as to let the saloon keepers in other states take it."

"But Miss Anderson," the Parson continued a little excitedly, "you see if what you say were true, and I'm afraid you're exagerating a little, it would be, not a spiritual but a civil matter and you know the church should not take part in wordly affairs. You must also not forget that these floating men are—well—'er—not christians. Personally I do not think that Mr. Duffy would fine them, unless they deserved it. But grant that he does fine them contrary to the civil law, it is outside of the province of the church. As a servant of God, I must keep myself unspotted of the world. But tell me Miss Anderson, what brought these things to your attention? To say the least it is a trifle bold for a young girl like yourself to meddle with such things."

"I visited the jail Sunday with the Endeavor committee," Olive explained.

"Ahem! well, well so you met that strange young man they have there. Miss Englebeak was telling me something about his ranting and blasphemy; she told me, that he refused to let the services go on. Such a character! I think Judge Duffy was entirely too lenient with him. Think of it Miss Anedrson. A youth—a mere boy, without respect for the word of God or the laws of man."

This little speech angered the girl beyond words. For a full minute she sat and looked at the preacher with eyes more powerfully eloquent than ever her tongue could be. She literally burned her scorn into the preacher's soul. At last she said with a dignity far beyond her years, "Mr. Goodman, it seems to me that your conclusions are quite unfair. This young man did not refuse to let the services go on. He spoke to us, he asked us questions in a civil manner. We could not answer his questions, and neither could you have answered them. He plead with us to be true to the best that was in us, yet told us at the same time that we would not live honestly so long as it were more profitable to live dishonestly. I thought that what he said were words engendered by bitterness. I was mistaken. What sounded harsh was but the brilliance of the light that his words caused us to see. He showed us the chain that binds us all to the rock of evil; that causes us to tolerate blind pigs, that fixes you so that you dare not raise your voice against it: that fixes my father so that he too supports the crime because men come to this town in search of the drink, we dare not banish. The heavy fines which amount to robbery fill the town treasury and make taxes lighter. That is why we maintain the officers who wink at the law of the land. It is an offense and your tongue is tied by your salary and your family."

By this time the preacher with both hands upraised was gesticulating wildly. He was completely off his course. "Mis Andersen, Miss Anderson," he shouted, "that young man must be a Devil; he has put into your head terrible ideas. They are most vicious, most sinful! He has changed you child—your sweet innocent view of life is gone—he is full of worldly wisdom which is necessary to men of the world, but not to you. I must advise you to pray, Miss Anderson—to pray most earnestly that these thoughts be taken from your mind, that you may be restored to your former innocence. Don't speak any more of it. Try and forget it. You are a woman. You should be a tender flower, growing in [illegible] in the seclusion of your home and not mingle with common characters. I shall advise that you be taken

(Continued on page 3.)

News of the Labor Struggle

Federated Press News Service

SCOTCH COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY JOINS LENINE GROUP.

PAISLEY, Scotland — By a vote of 158 to 28 the Independent Labor Party of Scotland at its annual convention here severed its connection with the Second International and affiliated with the Moscow Internationa, declaring that "Lenine is now the leader of the movement which will destroy world capitalism."

The party also decided to retain its connection with the Labor Party, on the ground that it was the only mass proletarian organization which held the potentiality of the new social order.

Other resolutions were passed coudemnig the "peace of violence," and demanding freedom for Ireland and and restoration of real peace with all nations.

These decisions have been forwarded to the Independent Labor Party of England, and will be taken up at the national convention at Easter.

IRISH SOCIALISTS PROTEST ARRESTS HERE.

DUBLIN — A vigorous protest against the arrest of Jim Larkin, Ben Gitlow and Jack Carney, Irish radicals in America, was voted unanimously at the congress of the Sosialist party of Ireland.

Denouncing the arrest of the first two men "by the heresy-hunting Lusk committee" the resolution urges Irishmen in the United States to take steps for the release of Larkin, "the man whose personality, courage and devotion to the working class ideals raised the Irish workers from the abyss into which alien and domestic capitalism had plunged them."

After similar praise of the high ideals of Jack Carney, the resolution concludes:

"We, living under the heel of a foreign military dictatorship, send our fraternal greetings to the I. W. W., the Communist Labor party and all our working class comrades in America who are being oppressed by the industrial oligarchy of America."

PEOPLE ARE BEHIND SOVIETS

CHICAGO — That the majority of the Russian people are supporting the Bolsheviki, is the statment here of Graham H. Taylor, Chicago, former American consular aid in Russia.

MASS CLING TO SOVIETS.

"Land is another word for religion with the Russians. That is the reason the great mass of them cling to the Bolsheviki," said Taylor. "The Bolsheviki knew the desires of the majority and when they stepped in in the crucial moments of the revolution, they obtained the sanction of the masses because they used diplomacy.

"Every industry is under the control of the Bloshevikí. Only two banks remain in the entire country. The state bank exists, as does also the Moskowsky-Novorsky, which is under the same managment as before the war, except that a Bolshevik official watches to see that they act in accordance with the government policy. This bank is under the control of the cooperative charities.

"The Russian church is undergoing a change similar to the goverment. Former radical pastors are turning conservative. The esathlishment of a democratic system of electing church officers is easing the ministry a great deal of trouble."

BEATING DOWN INDIAN LABOR

LONDON — Capt. Doveton, administrator of martial law at Kasur, India, compelled natives to rub their foreheads in the dust as "punishment", and collected large audiences to witness the public flogging of natives. One of them, a poet, he required to write a poem in his praise. Admission of these accusations was made before the Hunter commission investigating the Punjab disturbances.

Lieut. Col. Macrae, Doveton's predecessor, admitted to the commission he had flogged six schoolboys chosen "because they were the biggest in the crowd" in punishment for a demonstration.

On one occasion, he stated, the male population of the town, numbering 10,000, were turned out for identification parade, and some were arrested on the spot. The parade lasted for six hours, he said.

A cage was erected outside the railway station for the accommodation of arrested men. The largest number of persons confined in the cage at any time might have been 150. He was "quite satisfied about the accommodation," he declared.

MEXICO CITY — The latest extension of the power of Postmaster General Burleson is seen in a refusal to allow international postoffice orders to be forwarded to Gale's Magazine, radical publication in English. All postoffice orders are now halted at the border.

ATTITUDE OF MEXICAN WORKERS

MEXICO CITY — The Communist party of Mexico has made a detailed report to the Third Internatonal at Moscow of its activities. Describing the attitude of the Mexican worker, the report says:

"Like the American negro, the Mexican Indian detests capitalism and all its works, having acquired that detestation in the hard shool of exploitation and suffering, but like the negro also, his efforts to secure emancipation have so far been spasmodic, unreasoning and futille in their childish impetuosity."

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — The women of New Zealand have formed One Big union in order to deal actively with such questions as the cost of living, the housing shortage, state medical service, education and universal military training.

BRITISH SOLDIERS USED AGAINST INDIAN STRIKERS

BOMBAY, Idia — British troops in India called into service to break the strike of 200,000 Indian cotton workers in Bombay, have fired upon peaceful gatherings of workers, causing many casualties.

The strike started the first of January and has continued unabated. All the mills in the city are closed. The strikers demand an increase in wages. The average wage of skilled workers in the cotton mills of Bombay range from $4.40 a month. Unskilled workers receive still less.

In cotton mills the workers are often employed as many as 17 and 19 hours a day. In Bombay the workers work for 14 hours or more.

The factories in which the millhands work are without any sanitary or health provisions. There is no ventilation.

The present Bombay strike is a re-

(Continued on page 3.)

The Toiler

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20th 1920.

Putting One Over

> "Bolshevism cannot be crushed by force of arms. We failed to restore Russia to sanity by force. I believe we can save her by trade".

Thus spoke Lloyd George in the House of Commons on Feb. 10th. In explanation, it may be said the Premier has received considerable opposition from the pro-militarists on his bid to open trade relations with Soviet Russia. To justify his stand he makes the claim that where military force failed the soothing hand of trade will win. He is acting on the theory that since Bolshevism has arisen from oppression and starvation, that it will pass away with the filling of stomaches, and a period of plenty. Also, it seems that it is not Russia alone which the Premier has in mind. Here is his statement regarding conditions in England.

> "The dangers are not all in Russia; they are here at home. I speak with knowledge, with apprehension and responsibility, and I warn the house that in the face of things which may happen we must use every legitimate weapon. We must fight anarchy with abundance."

We can't quite fathom the little Welshman. It looks to us like he was putting one over on the anti- Bolshevists. He has been noted for lighting change of attitudes and this seems to be another to his record. We doubt if he really believes that Bolshevism will die a natural death when given a chance for its life. He may be merely appeasing the wrath of the opposition in order to put accross his trade plans.

It is true that Russia has been cemented together as never before by the military actions of foes from without, and by the common needs of the people. But to assume that the principles for which they have suffered every variety of torutre will be cast aside in a period of better conditions is to read human nature wrongly. If Lloyd George is serious in this matter, then he fails to sense the principle underlying all the suffering which Russia has undergone.

The Soviets have been offerong peace to the allies for two years. They have yearned for an opportunity to develop their plan of social economics unhampered. But in order to gain these ends they had to organize an army of 3,000.000 men under extremely trying conditions. Now they have won. Is it likely that the principles for which they have suffered and died will now be cast aside when the opportunity for putting them in practice presents itself?

Conserving American Ideals.

As an instance of the perversion of the childhood of the nation for the purposes of its own future enslavement, nothing more calculated to accomplish it has come to our attention than a copy of a song which is being sung by the pupils of Bryant High school of Long Island City.

The song is purported to have been written by a returned hero by the name of Geoffryo' Harn, who recently recited it before the school and later with the assistance of the music director, set it to music, it is now numbered among the school's song numbers.

The first verse and chorous of this piece of drivel are as follows.

"GET UP AND GET OUT."

Don't you think some people in our land
have talked enough?
Don't you think the time has come to call
their little bluff?
Ask them what's the matter, make them
can the chatter.
Then proceed to make the party rough.
Tell them they're a menace to our land.
Tell them in a way they'll understand.

CHORUS.

Get up and get out
If you have any doubt
About this U. S. A.
If you don't like it here
Why the ocean is clear:
There's a boat sailing home every day
There is only one flag.
Not a dirty red rag.
The flag that will never fall.
Lay your life down for that,
If you won't, here's your hat:
Just get up and get out, that's all.

We desire to call attention to the large degree of tolerence expressed in the first line. In a country whose fundamental law is supposed to be the free utterance of opinion, it is going pretty far to express the antithesis of this principle in a school song. It naturally follows that the intolerence expressed in the first line should be followed by the appeal to direct action and violence which the rest of the verse makes.

But if the words and the sentiment they express are offensive to the principles which the human race have for thousands of years been struggling to establish, and which have been the beacon lights of all progress, no less offensive is the attempt to render them into a song. The greatest musical genius who ever lived could not make a song fit to pass the lips of choldren out of such trash. And as for the elegant English embodied in it — possibly it corresponds favorably with that which is taught nowadays. If teachings such as this pervert the principles of human liberty, they will also degrade music and grammar.

One would be very foolish to seek in our public schools any remnant of the teachings which make for the continuation of those principles in the Constitution which guarantee to the people an expression of their opinions. The tenacles of capitalism reach into ever school-room in the nation and those things which do not make for the continuation of capitalism are prohibited there, whether they be a teaching of the principles of free and popular government or any thing else. Capitalism is seeking to create in the public school system an unfailing army of future slaves. Such songs as the above help to prepare the children's minds to tolerate the chains which are being forged for them.

SPARKS.

Among many literature orders this past week, we note a very substantial one from the Alaska Labor Union No. 11. Boys up there seem to be spending the winter very profitably to themselves judging by the literature orders they have sent us the past few months.

Emmett B. Sprinkle of McAllister N. M. orders $5.00 worth of sub cards and wirtes, "send me the book about "that Lenine person". We might add that the book about that same person is leaving the State Office at the rate of 25 or more copies each week. Rest assured someone is going to learn something about him.

Some contributors to the Baker defense this week are: M. L. Keller, $1.00 Wm. Valents, Grand Rapids, $5.00; Henry Miller Ironton, O., $1.25; Chas. Lange, Mantua, O.

Comrade Geo. Williford of Hamilton O. shows how to make a sub list grov. With his renewal he sends 4 half yearlies. With that he requests some sub blanks so he can go after them right. Some action!

Arno Bufe of Moline sends us a fistful of yearlies. The magic number 5 is still working we observe .

Two new sub hustlers at Toledo are J. F. Chapman and L. A. Bospert. Both have started with an investment of $5.00 worth of cards. Most of them are now in and we suppose this has whetted their appetites for more. We have ovserved the fatal effects of successful sub hustling upon many comrades. It usually makes them see "red".

Just the same ,we believe that work in this Movement puts more color in a worker's life than worrying about the profits the boss makes off his labor. Action is what counts.

Comrade H. F. Fox of Atwater brings two accross the line this week.

If this week's cartoon arouses your ire just let your feelings be translated into cash and forward to the Cartoon Department. There are more where this one came from.

The Bullitt Report continues to be the top seller on the literature shelves, but this past week has seen an invasion of the classics which we advertise. A lot of workers are digging up the fundamentals of the Socialist philosophy these days .And that's a mighty good sign.

We are in receipt of leaflets and sample of letter which Local Fremont has mailed to workers in that city. Such circularization as this aids the growth of confidence and knowledge of the Movement. Other Locals could very profitably follow this example.

Comrade Pete Bartony of Shadyside, renews and remits a dollar for another worker.

He got revenge ,did comrade Wm. True of Springfield O. He states in a letter to us that he got very angry because in a previous issue we gave his address as Dayton instead of Springfield and searching for a means of revenge ,decided nothing would give as much satisfaction as to send us some more subs. And he did — two of them. And the apology we make is — get some more revenge.

Local Sandusky has placed the names of 50 new readers upon the Toiler list. These workers will receive The Toiler gratis for a while and will then be invited to subscribe on their own account. Other Locals take notice — follow this example.

[illegible] other work.

Coming — [illegible] new [illegible] pamphlets will be advertised in these pages very soon. They are: "The Structure of Soviet Russia, Political and Economic", by Wilfred Humphries; "The Open Shop", by Clarence Darrow; "The Right to Strike", by Mary Marcy and "Ten Minute Talks", by Elmer T. Allison. Each will be worthy a wide distribution and the price is right.

Comrade John Foister of Davenport, mails $5.00 worth of subscriptions this week.

Comrade Fosse Evans, the champion subscription hustler, remits another $5.00 for subs. this week and $5.00 for literature. He writes, "some more subs. next pay day". And we know they will come too.

Fifty Mr. Blocks go forward to Elmer Greathouse of Akron.

A generous remittance of $5.00 arrived this week from comrade M. Gillin of Davenport. This sum is for general Party work.

Comrade W. H. Reynolds of Muskegon, remits $10.00 for subscriptions and for the Cartoon Department. All of which compels us to remark ,that if the Toiler cartoons look good to the readers of Muskegon, they ought to be worth your backing .How about it brother?

Thirty Trial of Debs are ordered by comrade J. Congleton of Dover, O. We assume that some folks who ought to know are going to learn something about the Debs case.

We note that Robert Butts of Toledo is in the field after Toiler subs again. He's putting the town of Sylvania on the map.

Another hurry order for literature arrives from Comanche Tex. It's our old comrado, T. E. Pendergrass' who is doing this tall hustling.

Debs photos, the're worth twice as much, not only because they are a wonderful likeness of Debs, but also on account of excellent materials used. Order one or more — 25c each. They're 12x18 in size.

Tom Lewis' date in Akron was postponed until the 29-th. He spoke at Cincinnati Sunday the 15th.

Local Guernsey Co. has a series of meetings scheduled for the immediate future.

A nice order for literature was filled a few days ago for both Locals Toledo and Cincinnati.

Clarence E. Hoover of Toledo sends in 4 new subs. No hooverizing here.

From Wyatt, W. Va., comes a healthy list of five yearlies. M. A. Teti is the guilty party.

NEWS OF THE LABOR STRUGGLE

Continued from page 2.

petition of a strike which occurred six months ago, the characteristic of which was passive resistance. It was only when British troops fired upon the meethings, killing and wouding large numbers, that any disturbances occurred.

THE BLACK SHEEP.

(Cont. from page 2-nd.)

off the committee. Miss Eaglebeak is better fitted for such work. You are too romantic: your sympathies are too untempered with wisdom to do such work. Don't go to that jail again. Go home pray, pray, pray."

(Continued next week.)

[illegible] and King George III. [illegible] an unjust tax upon it. The destruction of the tea was not legal. In fact it was in direct violation of the laws protecting property. Yet it is generally agreed today that the revolutionists were justified in thus guarding their right of self-taxation, even tho they did trample a bit on the technical process of law and order. Revolutionists who ignored the law in order to defend their rights and preserve American liberties are now landed in history as immortal heroes, and acclaimed by a grateful posterity as matchless patriots. Poets and story tellers vie with each other in singing the praises of these determined men who, in a great cause, took the law into their own hands, destroyed the tea, and saved the Revolution.

The trouble started in this way. Ging George the Third was, like the master class everywhere, possessed of an overwelning "Will to Rule". He wished to rule with an iron hand. But the American Colonists had always enjoyed local autonomy. They had their own legislatures and raised their own taxes. They denied the right of England to tax them. "No taxation without representation" was the cry that appealed to every American.

The first tax that caused much resistance was the Stamp Tax in 1765 on deeds, wills and other legal documents. When some of the stamps arrived in New York the revolutionary leaders seized them and made a public bonfire of them. King George got no revenue from those stamps.

When the British ministry, which at this time had become conciliatory, learned the strength of the feeling in America against foreign taxation, they had the Stamp Tax repealed. But King George soon insisted that another tax be levied. He would show his subjects in America who was master. So a "Revenue Act" was passed placing a tax on paints, paper, tea and other articles. The Colonists refused to touch any of the taxed merchandise. They went without tea, paper and paint, and King George got no tax.

This succesfull resistance to this authority put the King in a hot temper. He now resorted to a cure to trick the Americans into paying him a tax. The revenue Act was repealed, the tax on tea only being retained. A bargain was made with the East India Company allowing it rebates so that it could send tea to America which could be sold for less than if it paid no tax. But this trick, which became known to the Americans, seemed to them an insult, and they became more determined than ever that the tax should not be paid. In Boston, however, several loyalists, to whom the tea had been consigned, were ready to take the tea and pay the tax when it was landed. If that occurred the principle of "no taxation without representation" would be defeated. King George would get his tax. A committee of Boston citizens first tried every legal means, to prevent the landing of the tea. But the Governor, appointed by the King in those days refused a pass to allow the tea ships to return to England without unloading. For 20 days Boston and the whole country around was on edge for fear the tax would be paid. On the next day the tea would surely be landed. A few of the revolutionary leaders held a consultation and it was decided that nothing but direct action could now save the people of Massachusetts from this invasion of their rights. A score or two of determined patriots disguised themselves in Indian atire and secured tomahawks. They proceeded to the wharf, backed by a mass of citizens, boarded the ships, broke open the 350 chests and poured the tea into the waters of Boston Harbor. Some of the tea was landed by the wind andwaves on the beach at Dorchester; but King George never got his tax on that tea.

Not only had the principle "no taxation without representation" been saved .But of far more consequence was the enthusiasm which the Tea Party aroused thruout all the Colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. Up till then many had said "Ah, what's the use bucking against the government." But this act of the revolutionary leaders in thwarting the tyranical acts of their government was an inspiration to every liberty loving American. They thrilled with pride for these heroes who had put their lives in the balance to save American ideals of freedom. A new determination to resist government

(Continued on page 4.)

[illegible] of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and [illegible] The demand for new and good [illegible] is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply the demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can [illegible] every week to [illegible] and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

Every Class-conscious Worker must help Strike Down the Monster, Ignorance, that Enslaves the Workers.

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On Behalf of the Friendly Bourgeoisie [illegible]

— by Louise Bryant —

By an astonishing mental perversion, conservative American papers have for the last two years designated those upper class Russians who joined with the British or the Japanese or the pro-German Mannerheim forces against their own countrymen as "loyal" Russians. As for that large percentage of the old aristocracy and the middle class, either not interested in politics and therefore accepting any regime without a struggle, and who certainly could never be induced to take up arms against Russia, under any circumstances, they are not taken into consideration at all or they are simply called "adventurers". And yet the middle class played a most important part in the victories of Soviet Russia. From their ranks are drawn most of the technical experts and many of the officers of the Red Army, as well as the teachers, doctors, and other professional people.

Unfortunately, most of us learn only by experience, and many Russians, after the Revolution, who were opposed to the New Order, had to live for a time outside of Russia before they come to realize how much they loved Russia. I remember several such cases even in the early months following the overturn of the Tsar. At the Astoria Hotel, where I was living in Petrograd, there were several officers and their wives, with whom I became acquainted. They were ridiculously scornful of every attempt of the revolutionists to build up a new nation. Two months after the Bolsheviki came in to power, they fled to Stockholm. I met them there half a year later, in the lobby of a fashionable hotel. They were frantic to go back. Their explanation is more easily understood by Slavs than by Anglo-Saxons. Begging eagerly for every scrap of news, they claimed that it was impossible for them to go on living in Sweden. "We do not fit here, the people are too cold. We weep and weep. Never mind, we can get used to the Soviets, probaps they will not be so bad, and at least they are Russians. But to be exiled... that is a living death!"

The clerk in the same hotel gave me his version. "They are all crazy," he said. "I wonder why they came here in the first place, for no sooner do they get settled in their apartments than they ruin the peace of the whole estblishment. Why, last week there was a countess here and she had hysterics every night and beat on the walls of her room. One day she disappeared, leaving a note that said she gone home to her 'dear, suffering country.' Her trunks and her jewels were forgotten, and we have no addrers. Russians here claim that she meant to walk on foot from the border, disguised as a peasant. And she was nearly sixty!" If this dear old "adventuress" ever reached Moscow, she probably became head of a hospital or took an important post in a People's University.

A few weeks ago, Mr. Isaac McBride, returning directly from Petrograd, brought the story of a rather touching incident which occurred during the last drive on Petrograd. At that time, 167 of the old regime officers who were in the starving and besieged city wrote a petition and send it to the Russian officers fighting with the interventionists. They begged them not to continue any longer the war against the Soviets, they claimed that this form of government is the will of the Russian people and "we' must bow to that will." Mr. McBride claimed that 75 per cent of the Tsar's officers are now with Red Army.

The most interesting and dramatic case of a Russian who had willfully exiled himself and his subsequent suffering was the case of a young captain of aviation I met recently in Seattle.

Early the second mornig after my arrival, the telephone rang and a musical but agitated voice inquired: "Are you Madame who speaks on the Russian Revolution?" And almost before I could answer he hurried on, "Please don't say you cannot see me, it is deeply important... very pressing and important."

Still half-awake, I inqured, "Important to whom?" And witout hesitation he replied, "Important to me!"

I told the captain to meet me at dinner and I will never forget him as he stood in the doorway of the rather garish, too-new splendor of the Hotel Washington dining-room, in a ragged Russian uniform, and cast inquiring eyes over the diners. I rose and motioned him and he came forward, blushed a little. "It does not take much" he said, bowed and kissed my hand with all the elaborate politeness of the old order.

We had scarcely seated ourselves when he burst out excitedly, "I have killed two men!"

I confess I was absolutely astonished and could only stare at my companion. There was a moment of silence, then he said, 'Shall I continue?'

I noded. Another silence, then: "They were Bolsheviks. Do you still want me to go on?"

With a good deal of relief I realized that I was not listening to an account of a tragedy which had occured that afternoon, and I resented the captain's questions, so I replied icily, "Please remember I'm an American reporter and I can take no part in your civil war."

His eyes searched my face. "But you defend the revolution?"

"Why should I make myself ridiculous by defending a revolution against one of the worst tyrannies that ever existed? No," I said, "my purpose in lecturing is to beg of my countrymen to lift this inhuman Allied food blockade. I ask it as much for the good of America as for Russia. We cannot destroy women and children without destroing ourselves."

He beamed with understanding. "Yes, yes, you have the right idea, now I will confess everything!"

In true Russian fashion he began an introspective narrative, going back almost to his infancy. His father had been a judge under the Tsar, and faithful to his institutions. As a boy he was aware that thousands were sent to Siberia for their opinions and he had seen peasants flogged in the public squares. When he was fourteen years old he read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (Harriet Beecher Stowe's story is very popular in Russia) and it gave him an idea. If slavery was wrong, it was also wrong to be cruel to the peasants. One day he said to his father, "Why don't we change our government so that all the poor will be happy and we will not have to beat the peasatns any more?" He was too young to comprehend his father's resulting untrollable fit of anger. For the first and only time in his life, his father struck him. After that a strict watch was kept on his reading and on his associates. So carefully did they guard him that up to the time of the March revolution he had never come into personal contact with any of the revolutionists.

He attended an aristocratic shool, and when the war broke out he became an aviator. The news of the overthrow of the Tsar seemed as unreal as a dream. But in his heart he was happy; instinctively he felt that there would be less misery. At that time he was on the Riga front and for nearly half a year his life went on unchanged. He worked for the Soldiers' Committees with the same earnestness and honesty that he had worked for the Tsar. But all the officers did not take so kindly to the new authority. Some of his best and oldest friends began planning a counter-revolution. He was not in their confidence, but he heard whispers of their plots. A terrible night came when they were arested and he himself was included. As they were marched away, the soldiers murmured among themselves. The evidence was so obvious that the soldiers were in favor of shooting the officers at once. But the Committee decided to send them to Kiev for trial.

Kiev was the home and the birthplace of the captain. Sad and awful was his homecoming. Strange thoughts ran though his mind as he walked those familiar streets, under guard. As the procession came to one of the tunnel-like entrances from certain streets which lead to the warf, the idea of escape first entered his head. To use his own wards:

"I felt I had no chance in the Tribunal because my companions were certainly guilty. At the thought of such a disgraceful death, a panic seized me. You know how it is with Russinns. We get our lives. I remembered that my revolver was still on my hip. I drew it and suddenly shot my two guards. At the moment the rest of the procession had just disappeared in the tunnel and before they realized what had happened I had fled."

"For days [illegible] all sorts of [illegible] thousand thoughts I [illegible] will be branded on my heart forever. Oh, my poor Russia, that such a monster should live to torment her! [illegible] offered me a place in his army, higher salary and rank. I pleaded illness and I was indeed ill. I was sent to America to recuperate.

"For several months after my arrival I suffered a severe nervous collapse. I remained in my room, never seeing anyone, never going anywhere. I read and read. Everything about the revolution I read, the lives of the martyrs, the whole long struggle... At last I new where I stood. I was with the people. I was against my father, against the Tsar. I was most bitter against the traitors who had bargained for foreign bayonets.

"As soon as I was strong again I went to the Russian Consul. I told him my story. I said I must go back now and atone for my crime. He nearly threw me not out of his office. He said he would have me arrested. That was over a year ago. You can imagine my agony, my suspense. If I could only return I could be of some service to Russia. I am an educated man. I could be a teacher. I am a good aviator, they need eyes for the Red Army. I am always reading and studying. That is how I managed not to go mad. I say to myself: "All this knowledge I will lay at the feet of New Russia, will say take it and take my life."

"Often I find it hard to discipline myself. You see I cannot bear your screaming, cruel press. Every time the White forces gain a small victory I am beside myself. I walk up and down and cannot find rest or peace. I who have killed my brothers, I who murdered men fighting for liberty!"

"How do you live?" I asked him.

He looked down at his shabby clothes and said "I had a ring of considerable value which had belonged to my dead mother. I felt sure she would want me to do that if she could have known. No, it does not take much. I live in the shadow. I study and wait."

When I left Seattle, the captain came to see me off. On the way he seemed quite cheerful, and even joked me, because I told him how much I loved Moscow for its color and beauty. Not in the same way that I love New York, I exlained, because New York is my home, it is part of me.

"America is your mother," he said laughing, "and Russia is your sweetheart. It is a pleasant way to feel about a foreign country. For me there is only my mother."

Just as the conductor called, "All aboard!" the captain burst into sudden hysterical weeping. He clung to me like a little boy. "You see how it is with me," he sobbed, "you see how it is — my body is here and my soul is in Russia!"

[illegible] I asked a [illegible] family if they had brought any with them.

"Yes," came the answer. "I have a few thousand Kerensky and Bolshevist rubles, but I am not parting with them. We want money for our maid who came away when we did, but now wishes to return."

"Is her family there?" I asked.

"No," came the reply, "she is all alone in the world, but on second thought she does not like leaving Russia."

Here, then, at any rate, was one person for whom Bolshevist rule possesed attraction.

Then I heard Yudenitch's officers mention as an obligation resting on patriotic Russians that they would have to shoot all the Bolshevist commissars, and that every Communist should be executed. Talking with Nicholas Klishko, the Bolshevist Secretary at the Peace Congress at Dorpat. I asked how many commissars held authority in Russia today. He answered that there were approximately 100,000 and as to the number of Communists he believed the strength of the party was not far short of 1,000,000.

This representative of Bolshevist Russia confirmed the reported food treatment of children, but as to the overfeeding of children he shook his head.

"No child goes without food. No child's food has to be paid for. But children do not get as much to eat as they ought to, and other persons go definitely short."

With his hands he indicated the dimensions of the daily bread ration.

"Just one jolly big slice," I suggested.

"Yes," relied Klishko, who has a knowledge of idiomatic English, "and not so jolly big either."

He said assurance had been given many times that provided she be left in peace to develop her internal affairs, Soviet Russia would honor the financial obligations incurred by the former Russian Government.

PLAN TRADE WITH RUSSIA

New York. — There is a great demand, on the part of American busines men to do business with Russia and not to be crowded out of the field by Europeans, is evidenced, according to Emerson P. Jennings, Chairman of the Executive Committee of temporary organization, of The American Commercial Association which has been organized to promote trade with Russia, by nearly a hundred letters which he has received within the last few days urging that everything possible be done to bring about a resumption of trade.

umption of trade. The Executive Committee will reort this mornig on the attitude which Secretary of State Lansing has taken toward the movement.

Commenting upon these letters, Mr. Jennings said last night that many of these firms already have in hand orders from the Soviet Government, and that he had had confidential information yesterday from London that English firms are now receiving gold from Russia, that it is being deposited in London banks, and that shipments are being made against it. Moreover, he said, the Soviet Government is now advertising in London papers for bids on contratcts for the development of slate mines along the Volga from which oil and tar are to be extracted. These developments, he insisted, made it incumbent upon the American business man to protect his own interests and see that others do not preempt the field.

The letters are all from thoroughly American firms which are not interested, according to Mr. Jennings in the politics of Russia, but simply feel that where there is trade to be obtained, Americans should be among the first.

[illegible] of a Rebel

The [illegible] of the farmers [illegible] their peculiar [illegible] of help [illegible] the face of those given to subjecting present day conditions to analysis. They all sing the same song of inability to cultivate their acres by their own labor, and all join in a chorus of criticism against the agricultural worker who prefers to sell his labor power to the industrial bosses because of higher wages and greater opportunity for social enjoyment. It does not occur to the agricultural employer that the long hours which still prevail on the farm may possibly be one of the reasons for the loss of the much desired help. Time was when the "hired man" contentedly accepted the fourteen hour day without question. He now prefers to work eight or nine hours in the factory. His former employer has no just cause for complaint. His erstwhile wage slave, in transferring himself from the farm to the shop, is merely following a very natural inclination to improve his economic and social condition. Age-old "economic determinism" runs rampant throughout capitalist society. The employer hires labor with the view to exploit it. The wage slave cannot be blamed for availing himself of every opportunity to minimize his exploitation. Wonder if any farmer ever thought of solving the problem of help by limiting the area of his farm to the number of acres he could cultivate by his lonesome! Nope. That would eliminate all prospect of profit, which is unthinkable to the bourgeoisie.

* * *

I am not a prophet endowed with the gift of foretelling future events, but I am willing to gamble on the certainty that afther the election next November there won't be enough of the Democratic Party left to merit recognition. It does not require extraordinary powers of discernment to correctly diagnose the present state of the public mind. Even the most conservative—those who have hitherto accepted without question, the lying stories in the daily papers and even sanctioned the unlawful acts of terrorism for which the Democratic administration is responsible—are becoming alarmed about their own safety if the present saturnalia of persecution is permitted to continue. It is just dawning on their minds that unless a halt on lawlessness is called they may come down to breakfast some morning and discover that their prized political rights have been abolished by governmental decree. These are they who are going to see to it that the Democratic administration gets it where the chicken got the ax. More power to their elbows.

* * *

By the way, indications are not wanting to presage the greatest political melee this year that ever happened in this or any other country. There will be so many candidates for president that the mentaly of the voting sovereigns of our democracy will be taxed to the limit to make a choice. There are at present about an even dozen political parties in the field and others are being organized at the rate of one a month. Some scrimmage, eh! Most of the candidates will represent capitalism with divergent views on [illegible] its administrative policies. But one will hold aloft the torch of economic enlightenment and voice a demand for a new order of society. Millions of workers will respond to that demand even though it be expressed through the personality of a prison inmate. Gene Debs within prison walls will speak and the multitude will hearken to the voice cryingin the wilderness of capitalist oppression. The signs of the times augur ill for the bourgeoisie and their political henchmen.

When the American Legion in Detroit, at the behest of the "best citizens" of that city, broke up the meeting of Bill Haywood, there was no expectation of remonstrance from the Detroit Federation of Labor. Was not Haywood at the head of a rival industrial organization, and what was more reasonable than to expect the Federation to applaud this wallop administered to a common enemy? Much to the surprise of the Chamber of Commerce, however, that aggregation of promoters of lawlessness were notified that a recerrence of suppression of free speech and public assemblage would be met, if necessary, by armed force by the Federation—that if the city administration cannot prevent hoodlums from terrorizing the people the Federation would assume the job. It will be interestenig to note the result of the next "shiveree" pulled off by the Legion. Will the Federation make good its threat or content itself with passing another "we deplore!" There is a possibility that the Federation perceives in the Legion a menace to its own interests, in which event drastic action may be expected. The fact that a notice was sent to the Chamber of Commerce is a recognition of its culpability. Even this degree of enlightment evokes congratulation and inspires hope of eventual labor solidarity.

* * *

Even the capitalist daily papers are commenting on the stupendous profligacy of the government. Congress is lavishly appropriating millions for this, that or the other purpose, but doubtless with a view to distributing the "pork" which will be returned in campaign contributions. The pettit bourgeoisie are loudly denouncing this extravagance, and predict bankruptcy for the nation. You are needlessly alarmed, gentlemen. Isn't the Department of Internal Revenue working overtime collecting taxes? And if they fall short, can't Congress pass a supplemental bill to increase the governmental income? Besides, are not the resources of our great country illimitable? And are there not millions of patient, plodding, industrious working mules to wrest from nature unlimited products? Some people would kick if they were being escorted to the electric chair.

BACK FROM SIBERIA

The truth about Siberia is slowly coming out.

It is very interesting to us, because the most of it is favorable to democracy, and it confirms also the news that has been printed in the Union Record for the past year — news, the opposite of that carried in the private press.

Here is William H. Planert, who reached his home 5431 Adams street, Chicago, January 24, 1920, — after serving fourteen months in Siberia. He was a sergeant in the 27th Infantry and spent most of his time 2,000 miles west of Vladivostok. He considers the Siberian expedition a failure from every point of view and particularly so in that it played a part in helping a gang of "bloodthirsty cutthroats — Kolchak, Semenoff and Kolmokoff." He says:

The best of them, Kolchak, was just the czar over again; the worst of them were simply cruel murderers. Kolmokoff shot eleven people in our town because somebody said they were Bolsheviki We tried to prevent the murders, but they took the poor people away and killed them.

It was American money, British ammunition, American ammunition and guns, Japanese soldiers and French and Italian forces that kept up the bloody war for nearly two years by helping Kolchak, Semenoff and Kolmokoff. Semenoff was the pet of Japan.

When Sergeant Planert was asked about the Bolsheviki, he said:

So far as I could learn they are very good people. Those fighting the bolsheviki are just the old czar over again. The bolsheviki come in and take over all property and administer it for the benefit of all the people. From what I heard the people in Siberia are convinced that everybody except the old nobility would be benefitted by a bolshevik administration.

Sergeant Planert's report confirms the reports brought to America by Louse Bryant and Raymond Robins and others, whose reports have found space in our columns; — and these believed in government circles.

How long are the people going to believe the private press of privilege?

FARMERS WAKING UP ACCORDING TO THIS —

I once was the tool of Oppression
  And as green as a sucker could be;
While monopolis banded together
  To beat a poor hayseed like me.

The corporations and old party Bosses,
  Together did sweetly agree,
They thought there'd be little trouble
  In working a hayseed like me.

At every election they fed me
  With taffy as sweet as could be,
But when they elected their ticket
  They forgot a poor hayseed like me.

They sold themselves out to the bankers
  And thought it would be a fine
    "Spree"
To steal all the green backs and silver
  And rob the hayseeds like me.

They went into league with the Devil
  For the sake of a high license fee
But never a cent of the profits
  Has come to the hayseeds like me

But now I have roused up a little
  And their greed and corruption I see,
And my neighbors are waking around me
  And I find that we hayseeds agree.

And so we have formed an Alliance
  From Oppression we're bound to be
    free
And the ticket we vote next election
  Will be made up of hayseeds like me.

THE CARTOON ACCOUNT STARTS GROWING

No sooner said than done, seems to be the motto of The Toiler readers. When they learned that we had opened an account for the continuance of the Cartoon Department, the fund immediately sprouted and now we are sure will flourish each week. If you like the cartoon in this week's Toiler, just cut out the blank below and mail to us with whatever amount you wish to send. It will guarantee future cartoons as good as this one.

HERE'S HOW CARTOON ACCOUNT LOOKS.

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FOREMAN FUMES..

Continued from page 1.

to the blind and doddering dotards of a system that mankind the world over has condemned and whose destruction is certain within a few decades.

Here is a toast we propose for Col. Foreman and the Legion to drink at their next meeting — dare they do it?

"Down with all tyrants, profiteers, grafters and political self-seekers! America for the American People, not for the malefactors of wealth!"

Isn't that a patriotic toast, Col. Foreman?

Oh, yes; but that toast would not please the blood-fattened plutocrats who finance the American Legion.

Real Democracy.

The Boston Tea Party.

Continued from page 3.

oppression welled in the hearts of the people. Every school boy yearned for a chance to imitate these defenders of liberty and strike a blow against the usurpations of King George.

Of course some British historians have condemned the Boston Tea Party as an act of lawlessness; and occasionally we find some American, of English parentage or sympathies, taking the English view. Even Woodrow Wilson in his History of the American People (Vol. II, pages 168 and 185) speaks of the Tea Party as a "mob led by a South End tough." The redoubtable John Adams, however, another President of the United States, whose son also became President, and whose family record of public service is unsurpassed in American history, exclaimed when he heard of the direct action taken by the Tea Party; "This is the most magnificent movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity in this last effort of the patriots, that I greatly admire. This destruction of the tea must have so inportant consequences and so lasting, that I cannot but consider in an epoch in history."

Professor John Fiske of Harvard College, the most brilliant, the most profound, and the most accurate of American historians, ends his essay on the Boston Tea Party with the following words: "If there is anything in human life that is dignified and grand, it is the self-restraint of masses of men under extreme persecution; and from this point of view the Boston Tea Party will always remain a typical instance of what is majestic and sublime."

One cannot but recall the words of William Pitt in the British House of Commons when he replied to George Grenville on the Stamp Act: "The gentleman tells us America is obstinate. America is almoct in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as volutarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

No list of the members of the Botson Tea Party has come down to us. But there is evidence to show that among those "lawless" Indians were John Hancock, signer of the Declaration of Independence, Joseph Warren, killed in command of his troops at Bunker Hill, and the immortal Paul Revere. Such were the men who in 1773 met the aggressions of their government with direct action and set an example of determined resistance to tyrany which for 150 years has been an inspiration to rebels and revolutionist the world over.

PERLEY DOE.

WEEKLY MEETINGS
50 So. Howard St.
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FEB. 29th TOM LEWIS OF CLEVELAND.
ATTEND THESE MEETINGS.
YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE TOILER

FORMERLY THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio.

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Our Washington News Letter

By Paul W. Hanna.

WASHINGTON — This city will echo very promptly the decision respecting Russia which allied ambassadors are expected to reach in London. The senate sub-committee which is taking testimony on Russian propaganda in America is now marking time until the announcement for or against friendly relations with Russia has been made.

The situation here, is very simple. Our official policy toward Russia is in the hands of the Democratic state department. But the investigation of Russian propaganda is controlled by the Republican senate. Between those two branches of the government there is no love lost.

It is confessed that the state department, by following the wobbly course marked out in London and Paris, has got nowhere at all with respect to Russia. It has sent a number of American boys to be buried under the Arctic Circle at Archangel and in the snows of Siberia, and congress, which has declared no war against the Russian people, is full of men who condemn the adventure. Nobody defends it any more.

The Republicans think there may be a lot of political capital to be made out of the Russian muddle, but they are not sure of their ground. They suspect, with good reason, that the allies led by Italy and England, are about to make formal peace with the soviet government. If that happens our Democratic state deparment will be left high and dry with its anti-Bolshevik program.

And that would give the Republicans their chance. The senate sub-committee would proceed to take testimony that will expose the administration's incompetence, especially with respect to its lending of more than $100,000,000 of American money to the discredited and irresponsible "Ambassador" Bahkmetieff, envoy of the fugitive Kolchak.

If the London cat Jumps toward friendship with Russia, the senate will probably call ex-Secretary Lansing as a witness to explain many awkward things. And Secretary Baker, who has confessed on the witness stand that he turned over many millions of dollars' worth of war materials to Kolchak, without any security except the personal note of a man in the Bahkmetieff "embassy" here. George Creel, Col. Raymond Robins, Edgar Sission and others have also been listed for subpoena.

On the other hand, if the ambassadors at London should issue a statement hostile to the Russian government, and indicating the possibility of further war against it, the senate committee will direct its animosity against Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the soviet representative who is now its star witness. The notorious Lusk committee, New York, can supply enough sensational innuendo to "justify" the deportation of Martens. It will be seen that the Republican senate is in a position to win a lot of political publicity no matter whether the Russian penny turns up heads or tails.

Good judges are of the opinion that further war against Russia is impossible for the allied powers. As every newspaper proclaims, the big crisis facing western civilization is that of diminished production and impending financial collapse. A war against Russia or any other nation would certainly postpone a cure of the major evil, and might hasten the feared disaster.

And Japan is obviously not going to play alone with the Russian fire. Recent news is that an uprising of patriots has wrested the northern half of Korea from Jap control. China is bitterly hostile to the Mikado and will take advantage of the first opening to adjust the Asiatic balance in her favor.

Soviet Russia has returned all the territory stolen by the czars from Persia, Afghanistan and Mongolia, whose peoples for the first time in two centuries, are free to concentrate their energies against encroachment from the west, south and east — against the imperialists of Europe and Japan.

GENOSSEN!

Ich kaufe und zahle die hoechsten Preise fuer alte Briefmarken und Briefmarken-Sammlungen. Im Falle Sie etwas zu offerieren haben, kommen oder schreiben Sie zur Redaction dieser Zeitung, oder rufen Sie Harvard 3639.

COMRADES ATTENTION!

Old Postage Stamps or original envelopes or entire stamp collections bought at highest prices, if you have anything to offer, call at the office of the Toiler or phone Harvard 3639.

SIX "RIGHTEOUS" REASONS WHY AMERICAN AND MEXICAN WORKERS SHOULD SPILL EACH OTHER'S BLOOD

—By Arthur Thomson—

There is an organization of property interests and labor exploiters, with headquarters in New York City, known as the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico. This association with the long name is composed of agricultural, mining, oil, security and banking, and "general interest" groups of American capitalists having property interests in Mexico. The House of Morgan, Standard Oil Co., Anaconda Copper Co., Doheny oil interests, and other big concerns are represented on the association's board of directors.

The association maintains a high-salaried press bureau, the director, according to his own testimony before the United States sub-committee investigating Mexican affairs, receiving a salary of $20,000. This press bureau floods the country at opportune times with misrepresenting reports about Mexico, and conducts an insidious intervention propaganda. Knowing that war is an upopular subject with the people since the European war and "intervention means war" these intervention propagandists camouflage it so as it will not be thought that they are advocating intervention, or war.

None of the association directors advocate intervention, to hear them tell it, but though not advocating intervention their organization is engaged in propaganda for the purpose of pulling the wool over the people's eyes, and making them believe it is necessary to intervene in Mexico in the interests of "law and order" and protection of lives. Of course, they are not interventionists! They say they are not! E. L. Doheny, the oil millionaire of Los Angeles and a leader of the association with the long name, who has large oil interests in the Tampico district of Mexico, says he is not an interventionist. But at the same time he paints such a picture—a false picture—of Mexican affairs that the person who reasons superficially and reading Doheny's testimony comes to the conclusion that intervention is necessary. That is the purpose of all this insidious intervention propaganda—the lying stories of atrocities, the anarchy and bandit stories, the murder maps, etc.

Denounces Committee.

A San Francisco paper has evidently become so disgusted with the "investigation" conducted by the senate sub-committee "investigating" Mexican affairs that it says editorially of the evidence offered at the hearings:

"Newspapers are being flooded with reports or partisan opinions by unknown and irresponsible persons rescued from obscurity solely for the purpose of stirring up strife between the two countries. No man so insignificant he is not being taken to San Antonio to testify before senate sub-committee if it is thought that he has some grievance against Mexico.

"The very nature of most of the evidence is such as would be thrown out of court in a trial for stealing a dog. When documentary, it is usually trivial and sometimes farcical, but more often it consists of no more than hearsay.

"If America is to go to war on some of the evidence tendered at San Antonio it will be a crime aggravated by the appearance of a damnable conspiracy."

There is one thing very conspicious about these interventionists and insidious propagandists against Mexico and that is they are invariably either, holders of Mexican properties or are actuated by property considerations. Senator Fall, for instance, chairman of the senate committee investigating Mexican affairs, is "engaged in mining in Mexico." Some bold, bad people in Texas had the daring audacity to adversely criticize Fall and his committee recently, and the senator from New Mexico felt it his duty to get on the witness stand and answer his critics. He said in answer to charges that he was financially interested in Mexico, that the extent of his property interests was stock in a mining company valued at $75,000.

Of course if the United States was to intervene in Mexico and set up a government acceptable to Wall Street, Senator Fall's mining stock would probably in a short time increase in value many times over. But then don't think for a moment that Mr. Fall wants intervention! He says he is not an interventionist. Of course you must not go looking up the record of these belligerent senators, as it may spoil things. In 1916 Senator Fall called for 500,000 soldiers to police Mexico!

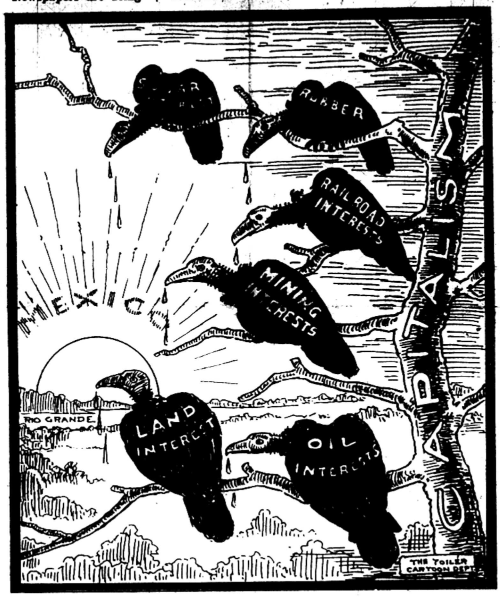
Then there is William Randolph Hearst. This jingo journalist with his string of metropolitan newspapers openly advocates intervention in Mexico. No story is too wild or fantastic for the Hearst journals. Anything of propaganda value, play it up, seems to be the rule.

Heart's Big Holdings

The Mexican Herald, August 24, 1908, published the following information, which throws an interesting light on the Hearst eagle screeching for intervention.

"With over a million acres of the finest agricultural and grazing land, with large herds of blooded cattle, horses and sheep, roaming over this vast domain, the big Hearst cattle ranch and farm in Chihuahua is the peer of any such estate in the world whether it lies in the green corn belt of Illinois or Kansas, or stretches for miles across the wind-swept prairies of Texas and Oklahoma. Two hundred and fifty miles of barbed wire fence enclose a portion of this vast

Continued on page 4th.



"Watchful Waiting"

What It Costs to Live Decently

— By Scott Nearing —

Health and deceny cost money in these United States — just how much is indicated in a recent report of the United States department of labor. This report "presents the results of a study made to determine the cost of maintaining a family of a government employe in Washington at a level of health and deceacy." "Health and deceney" are thus defined:

1. A sufficiency of nourishing food for the maintainance of health, particularly the children's health.

2. Housing in low rent neighborhoods and within the smallest possible number of rooms consistent with decency, but with sufficient light, heat and toilet facilities for the maintenance of health and decency.

3. The upkeep of household equipment, such as kitchen utensils, bedding, and linen necessary for health, but with no provision for the purchase of additional furniture.

4. Clothing sufficient for warmth, of a sufficiently good quality to be economical, but with no further regard for apperance and style than is necessary to permit the family members to appears in public and within their rather narrow social circle without slovenliness or loss of self-respect.

5. A surplus over the above expenditures which would permit of only a minimum outlay for such necessary demands as (a) street car fares to and from work and necessary rides to stores and markets; (b) the keeping up of a modest amount of insurance; (c) medical and dental care; (d) contributions to churches and labor or benefit organizations; (e) simple amusements, such as the moving pictures once in a while, occasional street car riders for pleasure, some Christmas gifts for the children, etc.; (f) daily newspaper.

This modest "health and deceney" standard, for a family consisting of a man, wife and three children — a boy of 11, a girl of 5 and a boy of 2 years of age — cost, in the city of Washington, during October, 1919, $2,288.25.

Two thousand, two hundred eighty-eight dollars and twentyfive cents! Any man, with a young family of three, whose income was less than that amount during October, 1919, could not live in Washington on a standard of health and decency. Two thousand, two hundred eightyeight dollars a year is between $7 and $8 per working day. If these working days are of eight hours, that means about $1 per hour.

Manufacturers journals please copy.

APPEAL OF FIVE SOCIALISTS WILL BE HEARD

CHICAGO—Argument of the appeal before the United States circuit court of appeals for the reversal of the verdict of "guilty" in the cases of Victor L. Berger, T. Louis Engdall, Irwin St. John Tucker, Adolph Germer and William F. Kruse has been set for March 11.

Attorney for the five Socialists, Seymour Stedman, filed the appeal, to which the government has just answered in a brief of 308 pages in length. The bulk of the brief is occupied with the published writings of the five. "Free speech is a matter of time and place," says the document.

The fact that most of the alleged offenses were committed before the passage of the espionage law is dismissed by the statement that the papers and leaflets complained of were distributed after the passage of that law.

The story that appeared in the Hearst papers to the effect that the government asked in the brief for the immediate cancelling of the bail bonds and the jailing of the five men is pure fiction, with absolutely no basis of fact, according to an official statement at Socialist party headquarters.

GOOD NEWS FOR OUR READERS

The Toiler has succeeded in contracting for the serial rights of a new book, never before published, on "Proletarian Science, An Economic Interpretation of History". This work is especially arranged for study class use. Likewise adapted for home study.

You will find this just the thing you have been wishing for. It is not a dry, brainracking work, but an intensely interesting, lively written book that appeals to every reader. We can think of nothing which we could publish that would give our readers more pleasure and instruction than this treatise on social facts and their interpretation.

Organize a Study Class Now

We want our readers to get the full benefit of this series of chapters which have not and will not appear in ony other periodical. And the best way to do that is to organize a study class. Whether the class be large or small, a greater benefit can be secured by this method. Talk this over with your friends, arrange a place and time to meet each week and take up these chapters as they appear, you will be immensely benefitted by them.

As soon as you have formed a class please write and tell us, for we want to know how many comrades are taking up this study course. Don't delay. The introductory chapter will appear in the next issue. There are fourteen chapters in the book.

Arrange YOUR studyclass now!

JURY IS HEARING WINNIPEG STRIKE EVIDENCE

WINNIPEG—Seven leaders of the Winnipeg general strike of 1919 are now on trial in the law courts here charged with 'seditious conspiracy.' The men are William Ivens, Richard J. Johns, George Armstrong, Roger E. Bray, Ald. A. A. Heaps, Ald. John Queen, of Winnipeg, and William A. Pritchard, of Vancouver, B. C.

Before the selection of the jury the defense committee attempted to defer the trial until the next assises because of popular prejudice. This was refused as was the request to prevent Justice Metcalfe from judging the case on the ground that he was prejudiced. The committee claimed that the crown counsel of four, members were the spokesmen of the Citizen's committee of 1,000 during the strike; and that the jury panel had been returned in an irregular fashion. These objections were ruled out. A change of venue was denied. The jury chosn is composed of 12 farmers, most of them over 50, and therefore not apt to be in touch with the economic ideas of the city wage worker.

The evidence has for the most part consisted in the reading of sentences abstracted from labor resolutions and platforms.

The trials of F. J. Dixon, member of the Manitoba provincial legislature, and J. S. Woodsworth for alleged seditious libel growing out of the strike, are proceeding simultaneously with the other trials.

Soviet Peace Policies Summed Up

DORPAT—The policy of the soviet republic upon the conclusion of peace with Esthonia was thus summed up by Secretary Kilshko of the soviet delegation to a representative of The London Daily Herald:

"First, we do not disguise our desire for a similar peace with all the border states," he said. "Our creed—the creed which we are fighting for—is self-determination. But it must be applied to ourselves also.

"The border states and their backers—France, England, and America—should have learned by this time that great wars cannot be won by money and munitions alone. They require men. Ours are fighting for the vision of the new world which already has begun to exist in Russia. Therefore, every army fighting us is overgeneralled and undermanned.

"We have known that for a long time; our enemies are beginning to understand it. So we expect before long peace offers, beginning with the Baltic states. On that point it would be well for the allied people to study the agreement with Esthonia which we have issued for world-wide publication. We want the peoples to understand it.

"As for any desire on our part to spread Bolshevism by the sword throughout Europe, I believe this horrid fear is the real reason of the existing governments keeping alive this hopeless and suicidal war. Our obvious efforts to release regiments on the Esthonian front during the recent negotiations, so that the men shall return to work, is one little proof of our real intention.

"It is absurd for sane people to suppose that a workers' and peasants' government has any place in it for militarism. Imagine what a chance such a policy would have for existence in a country as war-weary as Russia, even if the soviet leaders willed it. When we deal with the entente we shall be willing for—more, insist on—provisions making possible the demobilization of the 2,500,000 men in the Red army."

TWO-MINUTE TALKS
ON TO-DAYS TOPICS
By Elmer E. Ellison

A booklet for the non-socialist.
Order it—distribute it.
Address—The Toiler.

[illegible]'s Column

"Blessed are the meek" says the Book, "for they shall inherit the Earth." Mebbe so. Mebbe so. At any rate those who are class conscious and belligerent DO inhabit the jails and penitentiaries.

• • •

According to the proposed new legislation, about the only excuse accepted for allowing a crowd to congregate will be to praise Jesus and sing the Star Spangled Bannar.

When the bourgeoisie spellbinder draws a crowd, that isn't a crowd. It is a distinguished audience.

It is hard to pour oil on the troubled waters of the Mexican situation for the reason that oil causes most of the trouble.

If you are economically orthodox, animated by the desire to get rich, (no matter how questionable) and sanction the present code of things you are thoroly patriotic and may be classed as a hundred per center.

If you are economically unorthodox if you place the man above the dollar, no matter how self sacrificing or loyal your Americanism has been, or how disinterested your motives, you will be classed as an anarchist or bolshevist and hounded as an enemy of society.

• • •

Confronted with the necessity of making a choice between those two classifications, where does a real man belong?

• • •

It was Bobbie Burns who wished some power the gift to gie us, to see ourselves as others see us. The Journal of Paris commenting on the "Autocratic Action" of Wilson in "firing" Lansing calls the event, "a striking example of the autocratic regime the facade of which is democratic."

"President Wilson," the paper continues, "returns after his mysterious illness and comes to the conclusion that Secretary Lansing during his absence has been ruling as Lansing wishes and dismisses him. National representation and popular sentiment are not even consulted in reaching a decision in which Louis XIV would have used more formality.

In its editorial on the incident the Libre Parole remarks:

"Mr. Wilson, who has governed his country seven years without the least regard for national representation, who threw America into the war after winning the election on a peace program, and who domineered over the paece negotiations, returns from a mysterious illness to accuse his foreign minister of governing autocratically during his absence. Isn't that laughable?"

• • •

Newspaper account of a recent raid in New Jersey said that about 26 of the reddest reds were busy printing a leaflet entitled "The Truth About Centralia".

• • •

Good work, Watson, good work! We must not allow the truth about anything to be circulated in America!

• • •

A popular rhymester was right to the point when he has a character suggest that Mr. Palmer get busy and deport the whole administration! It sure would go a long ways toward making.

America safe for Democracy!

• • •

The supremacy of Rome was localized but at the present rate of speed it begins to look as tho the supremacy of the rule of the proletariat was to be world-wide.

• • •

Meat is to be cheaper according to the reports of the packers. Now that it has been decided to let Europe shift for itself no more meat is to be exported. They decided to let Europe shift for itself right after the bottom dropped out of Foreign Exchange. No longer are we sorry for poor bleeding Europe as it is no longer profitable to be sorry! With the bottom dropped out of Foreign Exchange what will happen to the export trade?

• • •

With the bottom dropped out of the Export trade what will happen to domestic business?

• • •

With the bottom dropped out of domestic business what will happen to the bourgeoisie?

• • •

Yea, Verely Congress has SOME problems to solve!

• • •

These are the days when it behooves the budding young scion of bourgeoisie stock to learn to do something useful so he may have some excuse for being allowed to stick around in the New Society.

Cook County Jail Prisoners Will See Another Execution.

Chicago, Feb. 17.—Prisoners in the Cook county jail will be permitted to witness executions despite protest by women's organizations, public officials and others, Sheriff Peters announced Tuesday.

"The mere hanging of a particular subject is not meant to punish that subject alone," said the sheriff, "but the real object is to punish the criminal class. If capital punishment means anything at all, it is a deterrent to further crime and an example to others. The very class it is intended to reach is that confined in the jail."

Wouldn't this antideluvian sheriff have taken an unholy joy in the operation of the ducking stool and the burning of witches?

Notice that last statement of his. Here he is judge and jury as well as executioner!

What a splendid example of the brutal, stupid, ignorant officialdom of America today!

An atavistic hangover from the dark ages in full power in the twentieth century.

Let Us Congratulate Ourselves

We wish to congratulate our readers and ourselves too, upon the coming series of lessons in Proletarian Science which begin in the next issue of The Toiler. This work, by W. E. Reynolds will prove to be the greatest series of educational lessons which ever appeared in any Socialist publication. Comrade Reynolds is well known in Ohio, having lectured for many of our Locals in the past and he is recognized not only as one of the best platform lecturers, but his writings in the socialist press have for years gained him a most enviable reputation. Whether comrade Reynolds speaks or writes his work is characterized by originality, true scientific conception and deep eruditition. That "Reynolds knows" socialist economic from A to Z and can present his subject in the most entertaining manner is known to thousands of socialists in all states of the Union.

The Toiler has publsihed many good things, in fact, we take pride in giving our readers the best obtainable. In publishing the series of study lessons, we feel that we are adding to the value of The Toiler as an educational organ. That this series will prove to be of intense interest and value to our readers goes without saying. Every reader should interest himself in organizing a study class and thus reap the full benefit of this course. Local Secretaries should at once line up the members for study class work. Nothing will add interest to your Local work more than this. Organize a study class now.

To Remind You

That you like our cartoons. Of course we know you do. You like them because they are so good you can't help it. And because they are good you want to see more of them. You want to see one in each issue of The Toiler—and you will—if you will just help finance the cost of having the drawings cast. Our cartoonist donates his work, but the engraving company is a profit institution. Send a little to make sure of a cartoon each week just as good as the one on the front page.

Here's how cartoon account looks,

Receipts to date:

Leon Vetta, Homestead, Pa.	$1.00
M. Slavik, Warren, O.	.50
A Comrade	1.00
Previously acknowledged	9.00
Total	$11.60
Expenses	$25.14

HERE IS ONE ANSWER TO "ARE CARTOONS WORTH WHILE"

„And last but not least, $1.00 to keep up the cartoons, for the cartoons will impress a person's mind more than a whole book, as some haven't time to read much, others cannot read, in either event a good cartoon will tell its story in a jiffy and it may even attract persons who are absolutely against socialism, make them see a truth that volumes of reading could not do. The last cartoon is a hot one and one of the best ones yet, so keep it up. If cartoons aren't of any benefit, why do all the capitalist papers use them so freely?

With best wishes to you and the movement, I am

Cordially yours"

Wood O. Maxwell.

THE I. W. W. CASE [illegible]

The trial of the 11 members of the I. W. W. growing out of the Armistic Day parade tragedy at Centralia, Wash., is on in full swing at Montesano, a nearby city. After two weeks spent in selecting a jury, the prosecution began its presentation of witnesses and evidence on Feb. 9th. Guns, shells, bulletts and other materials used by the defendants were identified by the Sheriff, John Berry. Other witnesses were E. C. Dohm, state engineer, Sidney Gallagher, city engineer and C. M. Bevans, photographer. A small plat of that section of the city in which the shooting occured is a part of the exhibit of the prosecution. All of the buildings in which the defendants are alleged to have stationed themselves in order to fire on the parade, as well as Seminary Ridge, where the prosecution will attempt to prove I. W. Ws. were stationed and from which point shots are claimed to have been fired into the parade, was also shown.

George F. Vanderveer, the fighting attorney who is defending the I. W. W's. at Montesano. Attorney Vanderveer has handled many notable cases for the I. W. W. The defense of the organization at the Everett, Wash., trials a few years was in his hands. The I. W. W. were acquitted. He was also counsel in the big Chicago cases in which Wm. D. Haywood and many other well known leaders were implicated. Vanderveer was at one time prosecuting attorney of King County (Seattle) Wash.

Judge John M. Wilson, who is presiding in the trial at Montesano. Judge Wilson presents a subject for study by all interested in the big labor trial. Practically unknown, this trial has lifted him into the limelight where he is being subjected to a merciless scrutiny.

Rumors that a large delegation of I. W. W. members were to flood the town has failed to materialize. Scores of American Legion members and special deputies swarm the streets and keep watchful tab on all strangers.

The strong point of the prosecution up to this time has been the submission of the "confessions' of Loren Roberts, a member of the I. W. W., who it is claimed by the prosecution made a complete confession to the police a few days after the shooting occured. It was only after a hard day's fighting that the prosecution succeeded in getting Robert's alleged confession into the court records. Attorney Geo. F. Vanderveer osught to get permission to prove that Roberts was insane at the time the confession were made, but this he was denied.

Then when the prosecution succeeded in getting the alleged confession of Loren Roberts into the court record, that confession arose to damage their case by emphasizing certain points invaluable to the defense. No denial has been made by the defendants that some of them fired on the Centralia parade; nor that some of them doubtless killed Warren O. Grimm.

Admission that these things are true, interlocks with Attorney Vanderveer's contention of selfdefense. Roberts' alleged confession, which the jury is instructed to weigh on whatever merits it may appear to have, contains these declarations:

That the Industrial Workers had been warned at least two days in advance of Armistice Day that their hall was to be attacked, and because of this prepared to defend it.

That one of their members and the woman who owned the building in which they were quartered had notified the city authorities' of their fears of a raid, had asked for police protection, and had failed to get it.

That Roberts and two companions who the alleged confession says went with him to a hilltop with guns shortly before the parade, were instructed to fire on anybody who might attack the I. W. W. hall as threatened, but were not to fire until the hall was attacked.

That one of those three men declared that day that he "hoped to Jesus there wouldn't be any trouble."

Turn in Case Favors Defense.

The case took a sudden turn in favor of the defense late last week. It was a dramatic development, the breaking down of theatimony by one of the state's chief witnesses.

The story of Tom Morgan, former I. W. W., who had turned state's evidence to save himself at the expense of the 11 other defendants, had been told.

Finally Elsie Hornbeck was put on the stand. She is a slim, dark girl of Semitic features, bookkeeper in the North End garage, across the street from the Avalon hotel, from which the state contends some of the firing on the parade was done.

Before the parade came along, she declared, she saw a man leaning out of the south window of the Avalon. He had dark hair and a thin face, but wore no hat, she said.

"Could you identify him if you saw him now?" asked Special Prosecutor Abel.

"I might," the girl answered.

"Look at these defendants, and then tell me."

She scanned the defendants briefly, and said: "It was the first one."

That was Eugene Barnett, who the prosecution has contended stood in that window and fired.

At that moment Vanderveer began a counterfire against the state that was crushing in its significance.

"That was three months ago," said Vanderveer. "Have you ever seen Barnett since?"

"No," said the girl.

"How did you know he was in this line of men?" demanded Vanderveer. "How were you able to pick him out so quickly? You never looked at the other end of the line at all. How did you know he was in here at all?"

Vanderveer hurled all this at her at once. The girl was nervous, hesitant in her replies, as indeed she was throughout the whole cross-examination by the counsel for the defense, and she had to think long and hard before she answered various questions.

Now she answered: "I was told he was in here."

"Who told you?"

"A man outside in the hall."

"Who was he?"

"I don't know. He was waiting there."

"Waiting for what?"

"I don't know."

"How did you happen to talk with him?"

"I don't know. We were just talking."

"What did he say?"

"I don't know exactly. He was talking about the defendants in general."

At this point Vanderveer scored a master stroke. It was like a big moment in a tense drama. He demanded that the girl go out into the hall and point out the man. She looked quizzically at Special Prosecutor Abel. The attorneys for the state growled at "the futility of this stage play."

But meanwhile the girl had left the stand under Vanderveer's insistent glare, went out into the hall with him, and came back a moment later—to say her informant was not out there.

The prosecution had neglected to voice an objection.

"I would have granted it if you had made one," said Judge Wilson.

"Will you say under oath that Barnett is the man you saw in the window of the Avalon?" demanded Vanderveer.

Elsie Hornbeck looked helplessly at Special Prosecutor Abel.

"He looks more like the man I saw in that window than any of the rest," she said, in answer to Vanderveen's question.

"Knowing that it is a matter of a man's life or his death," said Vanderveer, "will you say under oath that Eugene Barnett is the man you saw in the Avalon window?"

Elsie Hornbeck lowered her eyes. She was breathing heavily, and was a pitiful figure. Her eyes lifted and turned toward Abel.

"Look at me!" thunderred Vanderveer. "Answer my question. Will you [illegible] visited several times by persons in behalf of the defense—once it was an American Legion man.

"Were you ever shown a photograph of Barnett?" Vanderveer demanded.

"Yes." Presently she admitted she had seen two photographs.

"And when I asked you if you had ever seen Barnett since three months ago, you answered no," said Vanderveer. "Look at Barnett," he commanded. She obeyed. "Is he thin faced?"

"Well, his face isn't fat," she said.

Actually Barnett's face is full. No one with good eyesight would ever describe him as thin-faced. Elsie Hornbeck said that the first photograph of Barnett was brought to her by the American Legion man; the second, apparently a duplicate of the first, was shown to her by Frank Christensen, one of the special prosecutors.

The girl left the stand shaken.

THOUGHT WAVES

By C. A. Moseley.

The statesmen at Washington do not rise to the occasion; they rise to points of order.

• • •

"I am inclined to think," said the congressman, beginning his speech. And then remembering that thought sometimes induces brain fever, he asked permission to print it in The Record.

• • •

"It is obviously impossible," as the member of the New York assembly said of the yarn that a man had stood on the curb and spit on a flag carried in a parade. Only an artilleryman, if anyone, could hold such a record for long distance and high range expectoration. It makes a good headline, though.

• • •

There seems to be an impression that the attorney general is suffering from the unusual combination of a hot head and cold feet.

* * *

Mr. Charles H. Grasty, who is described as "a veteran newspaper man and friend of the president," eulogizes Wilson in The Atlantic Monthly, and says of him: "In a large executive position, like, say, the presidency of the Steel corporation, I confidently believe that he would make an unprecedented success." Well, that is one estimate of Mr. Wilson with which we can perhaps agree.

• • •

Our Elysian correspondent asked Frederick the Great what he thought of senate bill No. 2715. He replied. "Voltaire, the old rascal ought to have put it into my head to organize a National Security league and convince the peasant boys that compulsory military service was the greatest democratizer since Pharaoh made the fellahs built the pyramids."

• • •

Hearst thinks that the Democratic party is slated to lose enormously in the next election, but that the Republican party will not profit thereby Possibly when the Republicans have appraised the legacy, they will, like the disappointed heir down south, exclaim: "Durned if I ain't sorry the old man died!"

• • •

Over in England, when they get tired of a cabinet and show it the door, they speak of it as the fall of the government, and no one gets excited about it. Over here, if you even criticize the admiistration, they say you want to overthrow the government, and, pretend to mean it. Which shows that the king's English — which was really Mr. Shakespeare's — even now does not always mean what it says.

He Said It.

Rabi Judah Magnes in a speech delivered at the Chicago Coliseum 2|8—20 is reported by the Chicago Tribune of 2|9—20 to have said

"We wish the American workers to understand, as the British and Italian and German and Russian workers NOW understand that economic power CAN and MUST be used to achieve political ends."

"Economic dictatorship must be taken out of the hands of the small oligarchy of big business men and their satellites, lawyers, teachers and lergymen and the power put in the hands of those to whom rightfully it belongs—the masses who work with hand and brain."

The Black Sheep.

CHAPTER XIX.

The girl listened to the exortation of the preaches in a quiet and dignified manner. She was fully aware of the inconsistancies of his argument. She had always considered herself to be a christian; she had read the Bible, that is, those passages of it which are generally referred to by preachers and pious laity. She had conceived christianity to be the expression of the golden rule in every day affairs; a power that sweetened the life and ennobled the ideals of mankind; a force that purified and exalted their educational, social and political institutions. It was her real, tho unexpressed ideal, to to live, that the good people should love her and the bad respect her for her sincerity. In that she was an annomly among her kind. Religious tenets are used for social purposes; they flourish on Sunday; they are hung upon the clothes rack on the Sabbath evening and taken down again when the church bells ring the next Sunday.

Olive wanted her christianity to be applicable to the problems of life; to be for the good of the living, and not to deal with the problems of the dead alone. As was it existed for the benefit of the dying. The church had long forgotten the communal table; the holding of all things in common. Modern christianity in contradistinction to the primitive locks instead of opens prison doors. She could not understand why God should want to put us in this world to fight sin and unrighteousness and then command his preachers who are to make his will known to the world to keep themselves unspotted from its contamination. In short she did not know where she was at and she told her parson so. She told him that she was blind and that it was quite evident that his reverence could not see. She told him, that it was dangerous for blind people to follow men who could not see. That in the wilderness of injustice and cruelty with which man was sorrounded we were in need of men who could rise to duty inspite of loin.

While she spoke the preacher sat limp in his chair. To him it was a voice that came from out of the abyss of reality. It was a soul's cry for the real and only salvation. The preacher realized it but as his stomach was greater than his heart he dared not respond. She opened the door slowly all the while pouring her indignation into the parson's ear. They were not calmly spoken but with a devine earnestness, with an abandon that makes martyrdom possible.

The preacher answered her no more. He only looked at her in horror and amazement and remained in that attitude until she had left his home. Then he walked over toward the little looking glass on the wall and stood before it. "She tells the truth", said he to himself, "but what am I to do. I have preached for thirty years. I have never done any harm. But where and when have I ever done any good? I have caused men to say 'I believe'. I have attacked men as individuals for their immorality, but how am I to fight institutions? It is institutions which make or break a man. It's an awful crime that is going on in this place, when even a child can see it, but what am I to do? Preach the forgiveness of sins, which is simply a liscence for more sinning. Then justifying himself, he turend away, saying, "I leave it to the Lord. I can't risk my salary."

In her room that night Olive went over the entire jail scene. She wrote down in a little note book all that Jack had said and beside it what the parson had said. She read it over time and again, but could come to but one conclusion, and that was, the boy had spoken the truth. He would be justified if he hated her, and all the people like her. It did not occur to her that Jack was but recently emerged into the working class; that he was hardly weaned away from the bourgeoisie. So profoundly, had he impressed himself upon her imagination that she had not been aware of Collin's contemptous attitude or of Rudolph's antagonistic spirit. To her, right and wrong were definite things. They were absolute standards. Her people were doing wrong. It was wrong now, had been wrong in the past and would be wrong in the future. It was a double sin, a sin of commission on the part of the officials and of omission on the part of the people. It had always been her idea that if wrong were pointed out people were willing to do right. Now she found that such men as her father, Duffy, Cranston and Goodman justified crime upon the ground of expedience. She had even caught herself excusing the robbery of the Indians upon the self same ground. While the idea of giving the land back to the Indians, now that it had been improved and bought by innocent white men, also seemed impossible. She came to the conclusion that a wrong once committed could not be righted except thru another and possibly greater wrong.

Her interview with the two men, the convict and the preacher had rent the veil of her temple, and revealed to her what she called the soul of the world. The more she thought of what Jack had said, the clearer she could see the cross of exploitation lying upon the shoulders of Labor; the clearer did she behold the sad and tortured face of Christ in the toiling masses of mankind. It caused her to wrestle with two great concepts of duty, one of which was to her parents and the people to whose class she belonged, in which case she had to make herself content with the world and its ways, or she had to defy the laws and rules of that world and dedicate her life to a struggle such as Jack was waging to make the world what she thought it to be. Of course this desire was utopian. She did not realize that the very mob for which she would sacrifice herself, in the hour of her bitterest need, might turn upon her and rend her limb from limb, as they did to Hypatia. That they might burn her at the stake as they did Joan of Arc. These things did not occur to her. She knew that she had to make a choice between the worshippers of the cross, and the followers of the Christ. And she desired to choose the latter believing sincerely that her god man, Jesus, was the incarnation of the good and the useful in human kind. And she was right. Early christianity was a labor movement or rather was planted in the labor movement already in existence. She did not know these things. She only felt them.

Olive Anderson was laboring under a delusion. She thot that she was choosing the side of labor, in reality she was choosing Jack. She looked at the world thru him. She measured labor and its problems by the big blonde boy, she had seen in an iron cage. All she knew of the vast mechanism of production were steel grey eyes and roughish smile. His logic appealed to her brain; but he appealed to her sex. Olive, the thinker, really wanted justice done for justice sake, but Olive the woman, saw the boy first and as a back ground to him the masses of mankind.

Thus she wrestled all night. In the morning she came down stairs with heavy eyes, her father greeted her with the information that he had heard of her activity in the boys behalf. He told her that she had acted very indescreetly, that she dindn't know the boy, that there was a good chance that he was nothing but a common criminal. He further told her that he would call up the preacher and tell him that he would "knock his block off" if he ever sent his daughter again, "to peddle church junk to bums in the can." At this his wife took violent issue. It was Olive's duty to visit those in prison and preach the word to them and if her husband wanted to live the life of a heathon that was his affair, but her daugther was going to be a christian and preach the word.

But when Olive asked her to go with her to the Judge and to Smallhead and get this boy out, then the mother immediately changed her tune. "Evil doers have to be punished" but while they are punished we must preach to them. To which the girl replied, that mother seemed to be glad that there was some one in jail to preach to. She told her that christian actions were better than christian words. That it was her idea that the best way in which she could show her christianity was to tell the people of the wrongs they were committing and to restore the boy to liberty.

Of all this the mother would have nothing. She would go and pray with an innocent man condemned to death by a corrupt judge, but would not do a thing to stay the hangman's hand. Her creed was not to concern oneself with the affairs of this world except to get what was necessary to eat and wear by legally approved methods. That is the reason she had taken an infidel for a husband. She had never agreed with this views on theology but was thoroly agreed with his methods of 'bringing home the bacon.' The truth was she only ate the bacon and did not concern herself about its origin. The origin of things were a mystery to her. She was only concerned with their destiny, and the destiny of the things Gus Anderson brot home, was his wife's back, her stomach or her church. She concerned herself much about the heathen in China. She could tell long tales of their poverty, their ignorance and their superstition, caused by a bad government and a worse religion. But she knew nothing of the poverty on alkali flat, caused by the machinations of her husband in the real estate business. When it came to misery her philosoprv was, that distance lends enchantment to the view.

During the altercation between the girl and her mother the father took a hand "Well, Olive can be a christian," he roared "without going hob nobbing with jail birds. Her sympathies get the best of her, and the first thing you

Continued on page 4th.

The Toiler

ONE YEAR $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES $1.00 Per Hundred | SIX MONTHS 50c

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, FEBR. 27th 1920.

OSTRICHES!

Attorney Sharts, editor of the Miami Valley Socialist, states this in the issue of February 13th, in answer to Tom Clifford in The Toiler. "When men declare the ballot a snare and pin their faith to a vague phrase called "mass action", they leave an opening thru which the capitalists, alarmed, furious, ready for an unprincipled and ferocious method of suppression, can hale the unwary revolutionists before their courts and with sufficient plausibility accuse them of whatever a diseased capitalist imagination chooses to regard as "mass action".

"Unwary revolutionists" is good. When we desire to become "wary" and to overthrow the capitalist system without arousing the suspicion of the capitalist State, we shall go to school to attorney Sharts and the Socialist Party. Both are past masters in the art of wariness; they are so wary that capitalism has become wary of their wariness and at Albany has called their little ballot game to task.

"It is not for advocating force but for playing into the clutching paws of the enemy we criticise the Communists and the Communist Laborites", says comrade Sharts.

When will socialists be done with such self-delusion? When will they pull their heads out of the sand and look capitalism in the face? Can capitalism be overthrown without the revolutionists laying themselves open to vicious onslaughts of capitalism? By what method can it be over thrown without arousing the watch dogs of capitalism? By what milk and water applications of social reconstruction can we accomplish the dispossession of capitalism without arousing bitter class-conflict? Are not Albany and Berger enough of a lesson to our comrades of the Right Wing?

Russia and America

The capitalist class domination of all our concepts of life is mirrored in the following news item.

Frayed Cuffs Mean Jail

ST. PAUL, Feb. 18.—Because his cuffs were frayed and his coat faded Tony Vondre couldn't cash a $358 check here. Instead they locked him up while the police investigate him and the check.

To be poor or to have the appearance of poverty is to be dishonored. No virtues of the mind or heart, no service to humanity, however great and noble, can overbalance the odium of lack of wealth under our debauched, caste system of society. Wealth, or the show of wealth is what we are judged by. The dollar is King and God and the source from which all that is held of value is derived.

But a new concept is spreading accross the earth the basis of which is service to society. Not wealth, not appearance, not a life of uselessness are of value, but a rendering of service, a paying of one's way thru life by productive labor of hand or brain are made the conditions of honor under this new social concept.

This is the concept of value and honor under the rule of the Soviets of Russia. Needless to state, the rule of the profit taker and social parasite ended there forever. The workers rule and they have made their rule spell work for all and for all a just return upon their labor. There is no room in Russia for the loafer whether rich or poor. No parasite thrives upon the unpaid labor of others. No parasite class can establish a system of ethics upon the enslaved, riveting upon their minds chains of mental bondage. The new concept extends a challenge to the old, the battle is on and we are wittnessing the crumbling of the latter into the dust of what has been.

Moving the Mass Forward

It is interesting to note the manner in which masses of humans step in this or that direction—against all former convictions, as the economic urge induces them to do so. In the be-puzzled state of mind in which the average man finds himself in these days he is ready clay in the hands of that great Potter, Economic Determinism.

That the mass is being moved out of old accostomed tracks is apparent in the losening and rending of the political strings with which they have hitherto been more or less tightly anchored to one or other of the old parties. This breaking away from the old beliefs is not an arbitrary severance, but betokens a social ferment whose causes lie in the shifting economic foundations of society. In response to economic pressure new ideals are permeating the mass mind and this breaking of faith with the old political ties are its first manifestation.

The mass is ripe for new social concepts. It is subjecting present social questions to a rigid examination,, it no longer accepts unquestioningly the convictions which are freely ladled out to it. While it has reached no settled convictions upon any of the questions of the day and doubtless will take its own time in formulating its new ideals, it is assuming an independence of action that augurs well for its future.

Of course there is a great conservative mass whose reluctant steps indicate the force of the law of statics as applied to mass movements and this slow moving contingent of the advancing army clogs the steps of the freer spirits and even draws them to an apparent full stop at times. But human inertia must at last give way to the law of self interest and when the pressure from behind begins to become again unbearable upon the rear ranks, the mass again sets in motion and new stretches are covered.

This element of the working class, however conservative it may be, and however desirous it may be to stop the agitated march of the ranks of labor, is thus thrust forward, without choice, without desire even, yet ever pushed along the road of progress by the force of economic pressure. It does not take a stand for progress but progress is forced upon it. It is forced along this way by the pull of the militant element in front and the force of events in the rear. It marches without enthusiasm—but march it must.

SPARKS.

Organize that study class now. Then write us and say you have done it. Prepare to get all the good out of this course in Proletarian Science.

Ten copies of the Bullitt Report were ordered by comrade England, of Moline.

Another sub card order from comrade Bramson of Joliet this week.

Comrade Perry Finkle is on the job of sub getting at Yorkville, O. A $5.00 order for cards indicates the start he has made.

A little pamphlet for the non-socitlist—"Two Minute Talks," that's it.

Comrade Wood O. Maxwell, of Canton, likes our cartoons. The dollar he remits proves his liking. Now, we just wonder if you have a dollar that will say any thing along that line?

If you don't like this week's cartoon—don't send us a cent!

Among the comrades who got a copy of Lenin, The Man and his Work, as a premium, we note that of comrade M. A. Teti of Wyatt, W. Va.

Forty dollars was remitted this past week by comrade Cunningham, of Akron for Bullitt Reports.

And we have to repeat once more—that the number of three month subscriptions which the comrdaes send in with their renewals is becoming larger each week. It is just a little opportunity which they seem to delight in taking to educate their fellow slaves. Keep it up is the motto.

A "vote of confidence" is what we would call the 2 year renewal of comrade Jack Harrison of Pawnee, Ill. Yes, and the extra sub and the book order and the two sub cards which he will sell.

Local Niles seems to be carrying out its plan to get all members paid up for the year. A recent dues stamp order shows which way the wind is blowing

Comrade M. Slavik, of Warren, O., writes that our cartoons are good, that being so, he remits 50c to guarantee more of them.

Two dollars for the defense of comrade Chas. Baker is to hand from Frank Stidd, of Bellaire. "We can't afford to let capitalism put our fighters in jail", he writes.

A five spot will still do a bit of good in several ways. Comrade Jno Le Pamre of Zanesville, proves that it will. He sends a dollar for his renewal to The Toiler, subscribes for a year for a friend and the other three go to the defense fund.

Among the faraway boosters of The Toiler, we note comrade Helen Ashby of Morton, Wash., is on the job with a bunch of three.

Seven yearlies and three half yearlies constitute the gleanings of John Rehm, of Springfield, O., in the subscription field.

Six yearlies, comrade J. Meek, of Yarrow, Mo., sends us. This puts Yarrow on our map. Good work, thanks comrade Meek.

Every day we receive orders for the Debs picture. The reason is easily found. They are good pictures of our greatest and best loved comrade. Send for one—25c each.

Just $11.00, that's all—all this time. They come from comrade Perry Shipman, of Rock Island and each one stands for a years subscription. Some boost, we admit.

When I can't get any more subs, writes comrade Fosse Evans, of Girard, Kans., "I will sell literature". But it doesn't look to us as tho he intended to stop. This week he sends us $8.50 worth and that totals about $60.00 in the past month which he has sent us in subscriptions. Some record.

You will want as many workers as possible to benefit by the study class course which starts in next issue. Therefore.—get subs.

If you enjoly the best, you will like "Man or the State". It costs one dollar.

Two dollars, one for subscription and one "for the good cartoons you are publishing, comes from comrade Leon Vetta.

"Keep up our good fight," writes comrade C. A. Reider, of Apple Creek, O., and he helps us to do it with two yearly subscriptions.

Comrade Frank Renko of Lovington, Ill., is with us again. Of course he sends in $5.00 for subs. He's gotten the habit.

Three yearlies arrived this week from comrade Thos. Carmedy, of Akron.

An order for eight copies of Socialism for Students from comrade H. A. Wise of Davenport, indicates that there is going to be some investigations of socialism made there.

Some recent good literatures orders have been filled for C. H. Winton, Akron; L. E. Eblen, Robards, Ky.; J. W. Walker, Battle Creek; Ed. Pohl, Cloverdale, Ind.

Organization and defense contributions to the value of $4.00 is to hand from Frank Renko of Livinkton, Ill.

"Russia in 1919", is the premium chosen by comrade Bramson of Joliet, for his $5.00 worth of sub cards. He'll soon have a library, we are thinking.

Local Toledo remits nearly $30.00 for literature and sub cards.

Comrade Wm. Rowles, of Cleveland, remits $3.50 for organization work and defense which he has collected from comrades.

"I'd be lost without it", writes comrade Mrs. Karbosky, of Battle Creek, and she renews her subscription and promises some more soon.

Another new booster is comrade Hrs. E. Markizon, of Wilmington, Del. She orders $5.00 worth of sub cards and requests a copy of Russia in 1919 as a premium.

Comrade Betty Blumenberg remits $1.00 for organization and defense.

Local Tiffin is selling dues stamps, so writes comrade Steckel. An order for more stamps indicates the demand for them.

Have YOU paid February dues yet? Don't delay. Delay means sabotage practiced toward the movement. If you want to sabotage something you know what to pick out for practice.

Comrade L. A. Rospert has taken another fling at old man capitalism. This time he hits him hard—twice as hard as before, for his letter contains $10.00 worth of new subs. When it comes to hitting, comrade Rospert is there.

A COMMUNIST ANSWER TO JOHN SPARGO

will be the subject of a lecture by
TOM CLIFFORD

at North Congregational Church
72nd and St. Clair Ave., Cleveland, O.
SUNDAY, FEB. 29, 7:30 P. M.
Questions and 3 minute talks invited.

APPRECIATION

"Just a word about the Toiler cartoons: I don't think Walker, Miner, Becker or Robinson have anything on the Toiler cartoonist. The work of this unknown cartoonist is proof that there lies dormant in our movement much excellent talent of various natures that might be utilized in the interest of the Revolution with little or no expense to the Party." Fred Walchli.

Buy Literature.

• • •

Pay Dues.

• • •

Get Subscriptions

• • •

Get Busy.

The Question of Unity of the Communis Labor Party and the Communist Party

About December 16, 1919 a communication was received by the executive secretary of the Communist Labor Party, signed by Fritz Friedmann, who at that time was the orgaizer for the German branches who had joined the C. P. This communication asked for an unofficial and non-binding conference upon the question of unity, between the national executive committee of the C. L. P. and "influential members" of the C. P.

To thes communication was received by the executive secretary of the C. L. P, gave answer, i. e., that such a conference would be greatly expedited if the names of the influential members ofthe C. P., who desired this conference, were made known to the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. No answer to this inquiry was ever received from Friedmann.

The communication from Friedmann came before the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. in an official manner on January 3, 1920. It was decided at this meeting to elect a committee of two, consisting of Edward Lindgren and A. Wagenknecht, to interview the executive secretary of the C. P.; to carry this invitation for an informal conference issued by Friedmann, an official of the C. P., officially to the C. P., the desire being to have an official conference, if the C. P. now desired unity.

The following week the C. L. P. sub-committee interviewed I. E. Ferguson, of the N. E. C. of the C. P. Ferguson was told of the Friedman letter and also informed that if the C. P. desired unity, the steps toward that end should be considered officially by the N. E. C. of both parties. Ferguson and the sub-committee of the C. L. P. subsequently arranged for a meeting between this sub-committee and C. E. Ruthenberg and himself.

This meeting took place January 17th. Ferguson could not be present. The secretary of the C. P. Lettish Federation and C. E. Ruthenberg were present for the C. P., and L. E. Katterfeld, Edward Lindgren and A. Wagenknecht were present for the C. L. P. Ruthenberg suggested that unity might be arrived at if the C. L. P. would agree to adopt the C. P. manifesto, program and constitution, and a merging of the two national executive committees. The C. L. P. sub-committee suggested as a counter proposal that the C. L. P. platform be the platform of both parties, as well as the C. P. manifesto and program; that new government rules were necessary to meet the new situation; that a resolution be adopted which admitted that unity was being effected between two parties, the same in principle. It was understood, mutually, that this meeting not unofficial. Upon adjournment of this conference, the C. L. P. sub-committee was given to understand that word would be sent it as soon as the N. E. C. of the C. P. considered the question of unity officially at its meeting.

Word was received from the N. E. C. of the C. P. about January 22, that a committee had been elected to confer with the C. L. P. sub-committee and that the C. P. sub-committee had a definate proposition to make regarding unity. A meeting between the two committees was arranged for January 24th.

At this meeting there were present three committeemen representing the C. P. Ferguson and Ruthenberg were present in an unofficial capacity. The C. L. P. was represented by Bilan, Katterfeld and Lindgren. Wagenknecht was present unofficially.

The C. P. sub-committee placed the following proposition before the C. L. P. representatives:

"That in response to the request from the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. we inform this committee that if it is ready to accept our manifesto, program and constitution and form of organization as the basis for a call for joint convention, we agree to hold a joint convention, and for this purpose, upon receipt of its agreement, we are prepared to elect a joint convention committee (our manifesto, program and constitution to be effective for the C. L. P. only as a basis for a joint call, the form of organization, in-so-far as it means new methods to meet the new circumstances, and the basis for admitting members to go into effect at once)."

Debate proceeded upon this proposition. It was shown by the C. L. P. representatives that even consideration of a convention at this time was useless; that it was criminal to postpone unity in face of the present reaction; that the C. L. P. was in favor of immediate unity and that it fully believed that the membership in both parties favored immediate unity.

The C. L. P. sub-committee then proposed the following counter proposition:

"1. We recognize that there is no fundamental difference of principle between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party and we agree to send out a call for a joint convention on the basis of the Communist Party manifesto and program and to elect a convention committee for this purpose.

2. We realize that the constitutions of both parties are impossible of application under present conditions and agree to new organization forms adapted to the circumstances.

WE FAVOR IMMEDIATE WORKING UNITY as far as this can be effected pending the convention. For this purpose the two national executive committees and the two national offices shall be merged, and propaganda and organization work, as well as defense activities shall be conducted in common, but the language federations of both parties shall be allowed to continue upon their old basis until the convention.

The C. P. sub-committee agreed to report this counter proposition to the N. E. C. of the C. P., which was to take place soon, it was claimed.

Upon February 14th the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. held a meeting. In view of the fact that no answer had been received from the N. E. C. of the C. P. a motion was passed to request an answer by March 1st. The N. E. C. of the C. P. was written to this effect.

Subsequently a copy of the C. P. official paper reached us. Thru this we were informed that the N. E. C. of the C. P. had considered the counter-proposal of the C. L. P. The action taken by the N. E. C. of the C. P. follows: "A motion to accept the counter-proposal of the C. L. P. as to point 3 was lost and the following motion adopted: That we reaffirm our previous position with instructions to our committee to make such modifications in regard to the constitution as were indicated in the discussion."

What the modifications referred to are, we do not know. We do know, and we restate firmly, that the C. L. P. stands for immediate unity. We believe that the membership of both parties are for immediate unity. We know that a large minority of the N. E. C. of the C. P. are for immediate unity. But it so happens that those who opposed unity at the convention and since that time, have a majority upon the N. E. C. of the C. P. This majority, consisting of five or six officials, members of the N. E. C. of the C. P., is the only barrier to IMMEDIATE UNITY.

LET THE COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS SPEAK!

Can You Answer these Questions Correctly?

What INTERPRETATION of history were you thaught?

Do you know how many interpretations of history there are being thought?

What is Evolution? Is it a fact or a fancy?

What is the Law of Fecundity? Are you an Atavism, a type or a sportive variation?

What is the "Road to Happiness?"

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[illegible] Killing Trade

SYDNEY, N. S. W.—America cannot save herself from the world financial ruin caused by the great war. Even the relatively high value of the dollar has proved the death knell of her trade in Australia. The commercial priority built up by 30 years of American effort is crumbling because in bankrupt Europe the pound sterling can purchase more than in America.

The documentary evidence of hundreds of cancelled orders, involving many millions of dollars, shows that the bulk of Australia's trade is now flocking back into Europe, where the pound note contains more shillings than it does in the United States.

Smith & Major of Sydney, representing a number of big firms in the states, say they are about ready to give up American connections unless something is done at once to relieve the money situation.

As an illustration it can be stated that heretofore all the glass business belonged to Europe, especially to Belgium. During the past few years the Americans were annexing the bulk of it. A. J. Stutterd, with the Smith & Major Co., is authority for th information that he was obliged to cancel one order for $100,000 worth of glass and that he had stopped orders during the past three months reaching over $1,500,000. All these orders were given to Belgium and Italian firms.

The Kelknap Glass Co. of Seattle had an order for $100,000 worth of glass and it had to be cancelled. E. Townsend & Co. of New York, who have 20 textile mills, had one order for 20,000 dozen ladies' hose cancelled along with other orders. This is merely a drop in the bucket.

The auto trade has been given a jolt. One agent in Melbourne had orders for 700 cars while another in Sydney had orders for 2,000, which were stopped on account of the money exchange. To aid a 25 per cent premium to the already high cost makes trade impossible.

Six Reasons

(Continued from 1st page.)

ranch and within the enclosure graze 60,000 thorough-bred. Herefords, 125,000 fine sheep and many thousand head of horses and hogs." This land Hearst, is "generally credited with securing from the Mexican government (Diaz's) for nothing or practically nothing."

Besides this land Hearst is believed to be interested in oil and other Mexican property which would probably be enhanced in value by intervention.

American rights in Mexico—that means capitalist or property rights. All this noise about "restore law and order" and "protect American lives" in Mexico is merely a scheme to hide the real issue—that of property.

BLACK SHEEP

Continued from page 2.

for a son-in-law. I have heard of that kind. They tell me he is smart. And I'll tell you right now smart bums are dangerous. She is not goin' to that can agin' or I'll mop main street from the railroad to the hill with your precious Bible pounding sky pilot. She is my daughter by God, and I'll protect her from sky pilots, and all other s——— who try to get her into trouble." Then turning to Olive he said, "Now papa's little girl is going to stay away from that awful place, ain't you?"

And Olive put her arms about his neck and whispered softly in the old man's ear—"and papa is going to help me get that boy out of jail, won't you papa?" And at that Anderson shook his head and protested that it was not in his province to interfere with the course of justice, and that wrong had to be punished. And Olive reminded him that he himself had said that these men were arrested in order to get their money.

"Well", said Anderson, "being that it's you I will go and see Judge Duffy about it, but you must promise me never to interest yourself in such a case again." Then in a thunderous voice, "Keep out of that jail."

Olive did not promise to fulfill the last request but cuddled up on her father's lap and hugged him tightly, saying, "You'll go right away won't you Daddy? Now don't go to the office and forget. I won't ask you for a thing for the longest time if you'll only do this."

"Yes, I'll do it, I suppose you want me to bring him home, too. How about it Ma?" To which the mother replied, that one infidel in the house was enough.

Continued next week.

[illegible]

In our town we are getting on splendidly with the peace. Consider, for instance, the way in which we have stamped out profiteering. Week in, week out, our watch-dogs have been on guard, superb, unbroken. Yesterday I attended the town hall to see them at their work. The Tribunal has been formed according to the time-honored principle of British justice that a man should only be tried by his peers. It consists entirely of shopkeepers.

The first case dealt with apricot jam. A woman complained that she had been charged 2s. for a pound of that conserve. The grocer produced his books, and the chairman looked grave.

"You must bear in mind", he said to the plaintiff, "the terrible cost of raw materials. Considering the rise in turnips and carrots, I consider the jam was cheap at the price."

Equally just was his comment on a girl's plea that three and a half guineas was excessive for a pair of boots. Said boots she observed, bitterly, had come in pieces when she laced them up.

"You have undoubtedly", said the chairman, after consulting his colleagues, "been rough with the boots. The higher the quality of the goods the more delicate handling they demand. And, considering the price of paper, I hold the price was reasonable. However, to show our deep sympathy with the public and to make an example," — here his voice trembled, and one could almost see his fingers fumbling with the black cap — "we order a refund of threepence to the plaintiff."

Case followed case, all treated with the same insight into our commercial system. Sausages at 2sa. pound were justified on accunt of the price of bread, and an umbrella at two guineas was found not guilty by reason of the vast overhead charges in that industry. Last came a housewife with a grievance about milk. The Tribunal examined in just detail the establishment charges of the dairyman. "You have no idea" said the chairman at last, "what burdens the farmer has to bear. Why, the defendant has actually been compelled to pay one full-time worker to empty away surplus milk down the drains and another to keep the drains from clogging. Four pounds a week to each. And you expect cheap milk!"

The woman, who had no spark of logic, demanded that the man should be dismissed. But the chairman, very properly, dismissed the case. — I. B.

[illegible]

— By [illegible] —

He wrote to me: "I
• • •
Am an EX-SOLDIER,
• • •
And I see by the papers
• • •
The GOVERNOR
• • •
Of one of the border states
• • •
Wants US
• • •
To intervene
• • •
In Mexico!
• • •
I wonder where he gets
• • •
That US stuff?
• • •
I never heard of HIM
• • •
In the Spanish war
• • •
When I was there!
• • •
I never met HIM
• • •
In the Philippines
• • •
When I was there!
• • •
When I went with Pershing
• • •
Into Mexican deserts
• • •
HE wasn't along!
• • •
When I was HOPPING
• • •
Over the top in France
• • •
I didn't see HIM!
• • •
How many miles
• • •
Did he HIKE
• • •
Through heat and cold?
• • •
How many nights
• • •
Did he sleep
• • •
In the RAIN?
• • •
How much HARD-TACK
• • •
Has he ever eaten?
• • •
And how many times
• • •
Did he turn in
• • •
On an EMPTY stomach?
• • •
Now, I volunteered
• • •
In ALL those wars,
• • •
And I don't want to see
• • •
ANY MORE!
• • •
None of us men
• • •
Who have to do the fighting
• • •
Are so keen about this here
• • •
INTERVENTION.
• • •
The thing I hate
• • •
Even worse
• • •
Than hiking in the heat
• • •
Or sleeping in the rain
• • •
Is coming home
• • •
And seeing these BIRDS
• • •
Who were living in luxury
• • •
And piling up the coin,
• • •
Get up on a platform
• • •
Before all the people
• • •
To brag about how
• • •
We licked 'em!"

NO MORE SOVIET ARKS FOR DEPORTING REDS

Undesirable Aliens Will Be Sent Away in Small Groups

WASHINGTON, — Explaining that the Bureau of Immigration had under consideration plans for sending undesirables out of the country in the future in small detachments, Commissioner General Caminetti said today it was probable that no more "Soviet arks" simillar to the Buford would leave the United States.

Aliens ordered deported, the Commissioner explained, must be sent to the countries from which they came to the United States. If it is found less expensive to send the many radicals recently arrested out of the country in small groups aboard regular passenger ships, Mr. Caminetti said, such a course would be followed.

Deportation by the small group method is going on constantly, the Commissioner asserted, and since last June a total of 1.400 aliens have been sent from the United States.

[illegible] won by the steel strike is only the beginning, declared John Fitzpatrick, chairman of the committee for organizing the steel industry. The eight-hour day will be the next gain, and the men will not have to wait long for it, he said.

Fitzpatrick said that previous to the conference of the steel workers' committee in Chicago, August 2, 1919, the United States Steel corporation had made an announcement of a ten per cent wage increase to satisfy the demands of their employes who were considering the strike, which took place later. That the recent press announcement of voluntary wage increases is intended as a counter attack against the steel committee's new organization drive, is the belief of Fitzpatrick.

SUDNEY, N. S. W.—Like the Mooney case, all efforts up to date to secure the release of the 12 imprisoned men in Australia who are serving sentences of from 5 to 15 years has failed.

Recently two of the detectives connected with the arrest and trial of bribery. This has strengthened the hand of the defenders of the I. W. W.

The Labor party is morally committed to investigate their case in case it comes into power in New South Wales next year, and the general opinion is that once, the case is free of all political bias, they will be adjuged innocent.

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla.—Officers of the state federation of labor warn workers not to be lured to this state by claims of anti-union employers, who would establish non-union conditions.

In Tusla a few multi-milioaire oil men have organized "Chapter No. 1, Patriotic Friends of Labor," which declares for the so-called "open shop" and seeks to transfer the power of trade unions to a movement dominated by them.

The anti-unionists are appealing to the patriotic instinct of the people to aid them in their union-smashing campaign.

WINNIPEG — A housing commission has been appointed by the municipal government which is authorized to lend prospective builders 85 per cent of the total cost of their homes. Citizens may choose any site and style of house they please. A monthly payment of $7.13 on every $1.000 borrowed is charged, which includes the interests on the mortgage. The whole amount is paid off in 20 years at this rate, or it may be met sooner.

PARANA, Argentina — In spite of repeated efforts during more than a year, laborers on the public works here have not been able to obtain the enforcement of the minimum wage provided by law.

Barabbas or the Christ

And these the evil spirits, dressed in human garb,
Devising schemes to rob mankind
And plunder both the cradle and the grave;
Barking like Satan's dogs within the halls of Hell
When Charon's ship arrives
With cargo loads of human Souls.
Advised by legal lights upon illegal ways
By which, like hungry wolves,
They might evade the laws of God and man,
And kill without committing murder;
And wallow in the blood of those they crucified
Without indictment for their crimes.

Advised on ways to rob and plunder all mankind
To steal the things the laborer's hands had made,
And take the lands the farmers hands had tilled;
To claim the milk in mothers breasts
And food that fed the orphan's mouths.
Advised, by Doctors of the law, how to take and keep
And still evade their crimes,
And stand within their stalls in dedicated church
And sing their solemn hymns and psalms;
And in their prayers tell God how much they loved Him,

And how they hated mammon selfishness and wrong.
And how if some benighted fool,
Unable to discern their autocratic right
To take and hold the thingsthey pleased.
Should cry aloud against these things they did;
They still had recourse, when the clamor came,
To call upon the courts, their bulwark of defense,
For did they not own these? [illegible]
Had not their shekels made the laws
From legislative halls and tribunes,
And placed the judges on the bench
To make interpretation of them.

What mockery to say
They were not masters of the world.
And laid the ways
By which the "trouble makers" of the world,
The Agitators, who did claim these things
Were made by God for all mankind,
Should meet their just reward;
And be placed within the prison cells,
Or else be crucified
As Christ in earlier days,
When He did agitate against the thing
That He did call injustice.
And so to day, as in the days of Pilot,
You still may choose between Barabbas and the Christ

Alfred Pomeroy

Says Bill Lloyd: "I injured my eyesight hunting for the cooties that were in my underwear and the 14 points that were not in the treaty, but I can still figure the proportion of my check to the butcher's bill."

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The co-operation of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and literature agents is earnestly hoped for. The demand for new and good revolutionary literature is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply this demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can sell pamphlets every week to shopmates and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

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THE TOILER

PAPER SCARCITY

Scarcity of print paper compels us to issue a six column paper this week. We hope to revert to our usual 7 column size next week.

NO. 109. Published at Cleveland CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, MARCH 5th 1920. Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.00 A YEAR

Our Washington News Letter

BY PAUL HANNA.

WASHINGTON— Do wage-earners benefit from a big export trade? What becomes of the fruits of industry above what wages will buy back? These and other pertinent questions fill the minds of honest economists as they view the industrial and financial wreckage caused by war.

At present every day's news is filled with facts which contradict the old "laws of sound business." At Washington nobody can be found who any longer attempts to explain the contradictions. There is only bewilderment, and hope that the world may somehow muddle through its welter of high prices, debt, taxation, falling exchange and worthless paper money.

Before looking abroad there is a condition at home worth mentioning. For a year past business men and politicians have been telling the working man that he must produce more. Figures were used to show that the demand for shorter hours could not be granted without slowing up production and further increasing prices on account of the shorter supply of commodities. All polite people grasped at that doctrine as an easy explanation of the high prices mystery.

Within the past fortnight, however, the drop in foreign exchange has brought an implied denial of the above argument. Hopeful leaders, from cabinet members down, are saying that prices will soon come down because vast stores of food, clothing and the like, which Europe can no longer buy, will be dumped on the home market at almost any hour.

This is taken as a confession that Americans have been paying terribly high prices because the export gambler was taking food out of their mouths and clothing off the backs and holding those necessities in storage to sell abroad for more than the people at home could pay. It indicates that with all the shortening of working hours in America, our farms and factories have still turned out a vast surplus for speculators to hold for sale to Europe.

And hopefull politicians declare high prices will end as soon as the American people are allowed to have a bigger share of their own excess products!

Crossing to France, we hear Minister of Commerce Isaac saying: "The only way to re-establish our credit is to increase our export trade. We must not allow the foreign market to be taken by others. Manufacturers must reserve a large part of their output for export."

But to that good old gospel — so familiar to Americans — another conservative French faction replies: "If we export more we will be shorter of supplies at home. We cannot be saved unless we produce more for ourselves and stop exporting so much."

Arguments, like the above are going on all over Europe. And the wage earners, it is reported, are learning from it all that goods shipped abroad are goods which labor has produced but is not permitted to consume. In "normal" times this process works smoothly enough; the workers being contented with their "living wage" and not caring what becomes of the surplus. But the workers of Europe have emerged from the war with a new interest in their work and what it is for.

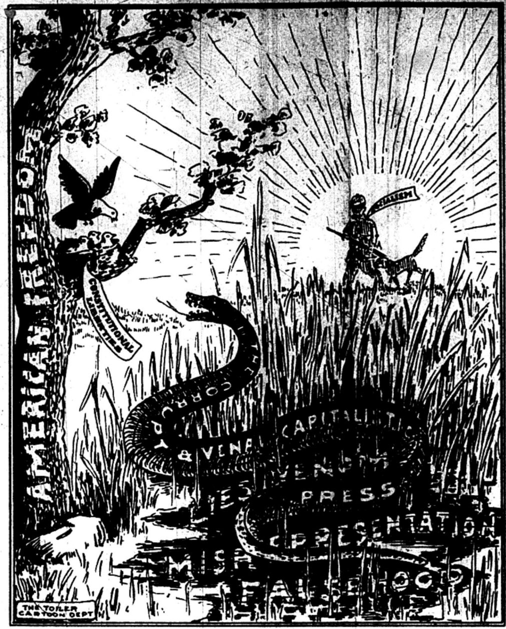
Last summer the American railwaymen postponed their wage demands when the president gave a solemn promise that the government would leave nothing undone to bring down the cost of living. If they have been exerted, all the powers of the government have proved useless at that task. The masses know now that political promises do not lower the cost of living. The old arguments are all shattered by the facts.

Another Week to Organize Your Study Class

For the purpose of allowing our rearders more time in which to organize classes to take up the study of "Proletarian Science, An Economic Interpretation of History," by W. E. Reynolds, which will appear serially in The Toiler, we have put off printing the first chapter until the next issue.

This gives you another week in which to complete your arrangements for taking up this interesting and instructive course in Proletarian Science.

Complete your arrangements this week.—Be prepaired to follow this entire course from the first chapter which will appear in our next week's issue.



The Snake in the Grass

A Challenge He Won't Accept

LONDON — George Lansbury, editor of TheLondon Herald, now in Moscow, last week wirelessed a cabllenge to Premier Lloyd George, to come to Moscow and join in his conference with Lenine.

"You are making the mistake of your life in your estimate of the soviet leaders," Lansbury told the premier.

"I beg of you to come here to Moscow and join in conference with Lenine. I am sure your eyes would be opened as soon as you crossed the frontier. The soviet leaders are first rate, clear headed, honest, and humane. It is to the interest of England and to the world to make peace with them without delay."

The London Herald contains Lansbury's challenge to Lloyd George and also gives an account of an interview Lansbury has had with Secretary Molnichansky, of the Federation of Russian Trade Unions, with the soviet government.

"The Russian trade unions" said the secretary, "are an integral part of the soviet organization. Their form in effect is that of one big union with many sections very similar to the British conception of industrial unions.

"Their chief function has been to organize the supply and distribution of labor and to control work shop organization. Their formation of industrial armies is in no sense militaristic. They are result of the desire of the rank and file themselves who cheerfully have realized that such an organization is the only way under conditions that have obtained to restore Russia economically."

Lansbury added with emphasis that the Bolshevicki have nothing whatever to hide. They understand their mistakes and openly acknowledge their failures, he said "they know that their friends will understand the obstacles they had to overcome. The diseases, starvation, and sufferings that have been endured, have been on an unequal scale but with it all the spirit of the people remains unbroken."

QUERY OF "WHERE IS JOHN REED" ANSWERED

Shipped to Norway, Then Turned Stowaway.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 22.—John Reed friend of Lenin and Trotzky, who is under indictment in Chicago for alleged conspiracy to overthrow the United States government arrived in soviet Russia by way of Finland last December, it is learned. Since his indictment last month federal and Illinois state agents have been searching for Reed all over the United States.

On being told of Reed's presence in Russia — it is not known yet whether he has left there—the state department was interested to learn the channel through which he obtained a passport. The department is informed that he shipped as a sailor from an American port to Norway. From there he traveled on foot to Stockholm. There he stowed himself away, or was stowed away, on a vessel about to sail for Helsingfors.

Narrowly Escapes Arrest.

Reed narrowly escaped arrest in Helsingfors, but, but disguising himself as a Russian peasant, he crossed the frontier into Russia. He was received in Moscow as the official envoy of the American Communist Labor party. As such he attended the meetings of the third internationale and made a speech at the all-Russian soviet convention in the middle of December.

In Moscow Reed lived at the Kremlin as the guest of the people's commissaires.

He was in constant communication with Lenin and Trotzky it is stated, and visited the Red army at the front.

Reed was in Moscow until the middle of January. Of that the state department is quite certain. His reception in Russia was the warmer because two years ago Trotzky appointed him bolshevist consul general at New York.

Mr. Reed never assumed that office, for, as it turned out, the appoitment was made to facilitate his return to the United States.

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AGAINST RUSSIAN BLOCKADE

An Appeal of the Checho-Slovak Social Democratic Women to the Women of All Nations.

Prague, December 24th.

Women! The Russian Soviet Republic is oppressed with hunger and distress. Exhausted by the world war, distracted with inner conflicts, cut off by the rigid Entente blockade, the millions in Russia are suffering misery and horror. Mothers become insane when they look at their half-dead children; men in the desperate effort of saving their children find themselves tempted to commit crimes — and the children, struck by the blighting frost, die like a young, tender crop.

The blockade, the wilful starvation of Russia, which is a terrible crime equal to that of war in its effects, is being perpetrated against millions of innocent men, women and children, a race with a high cultural mission, a people that has presented to us the most magnificent literature in the world, the greatest thinkers, the most self-sacrificing heroes of progress. Women! Call upon the conscience of your Governments, of your representatives in Parliament, of your labor leaders, demand the lifting of the blockade against Russia! Raise your voices for the protection of weeping mothers, dying children, men in despair. Protest against the blockade in the name of humanity!

You American, English, French and Danish women, should demand the opening of the boundaries and the sending of foodstuffs to Russia, which will also be done by the women of the Slavic nations, who have lived through the blockade of the world war and who know all its terrors. Citizens! Women! Show that you can unite a love and undestanding of human misery with an abhorrence for violence, and devote your powers to the struggle for peace between nations, for the humanizing of civilization and for the lifting of the blockade. Russia is the advance-guard of Socialism, the bearer of the ideas and aims which we honor, and for that reason Russia must not starve! Demand the opening of the boundaries of our European states, for free trade with Russia! We must help the hungry, and we must also secure them peace, labor, and bread!

Committee of the Checho-Slovak
Social-Democratic Women of Prague.
Soviet Russia.

Reds Better Americans then Prosecutors, Says Jane Addams

Jailed Agitators More True to Flag Than Men Who Raid Them.

Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, speaking yesterday afternoon in Recital Hall at the Auditorium Theater, (Chicago, Feb. 22) branded the activities of the federal government in the suppression and deportation of foreign-born radicals as a form of intolerance. She called the reds in jail and under suspicion more American in their basic ideas and thought than the agents of the government which is sending them to banishment.

These Socialists, Communists, members of the I. W. W., or whatever they may be, she said, are being persecuted for no other reason than that they represent the voice of the majority of the people and the constitutional right of free speech, free thought and free press.

Suffrage Leaders Speak.

Miss Addams, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Grace Abbott and other suffrage leaders spoke to more than 300 men and women as a part of the program of a school of political education being conducted during the convention of the National American Suffrage Associaition.

"This wholesale and so-called deportation of radical thinking and speaking peoples is very disconcerting to those working for the Americanization of alien-born citizens," said Miss Addams. "It is significant that since the so-called red raids began more than 1,500,000 aliens have applied for passports back to their native lands. They feel America no longer is a safe place to live.

Trying to Deport Party.

"Hundreds of poor laboring men and women are being thrown into jails and police stations because of their political beliefs. In fact, an attempt is being made to deport an entire political party.

„These men and women, who in some respects are more American in ideals than the agents of the government who are tracking them down, are thrust into cells so crowded they cannot lie down. I know of one batch of radicals, thirty-two in all, who faced this situation in an American jail. They were huddled together like rats and treated as criminals because of their political opinions.

"And what is it these radicals seek? It is the right of free speech and free thought; nothing more than is guaranteed to them under the Constitution of the United States, but repudiated because of the war.

Dangerous Situation.

"It is a dangerous situation we face at the present time, with the rule of the few overcoming the voice of the many. It is doubly dangerous because we are trying to suppress something upon which our very country was founded—liberty.

"The government is proceeding on the theory that because these thinking aliens demand an end of class struggle and equal rights for all they are plotting to overthrow the United States. So it was said of suffrage years ago. Anything that is radically new to the established order of things is revolution in the eyes of many.

"But, I tell you, these radicals simply are struggling for equal rights; to down the spirit of intolerance which has crept into our government.

"They are proceeding as they are simply because in no other way can they gain attention.

Speech a Safety Valve.

"The cure for the spirit of unrest in this country is concillation and education—not hysteria. Free speech is the greatest safety valve of our United States. Let us give these people a chance to explain their beliefs and desires. Let us end this suppression and spirit of intolerance which is making of America another autocracy."

Carrie Chapman Catt was almost equally vehement in denounciation of what she termed the attempt of the federal government to curb free speech and free thought.

"If all the talk—even the pro-German talk—had been out in the open before and during the war, we would have had a chance to answer in the open and so clear away misundestanding," said the suffrage leader. "As matters stand, there is danger we may lose what has been our proudest boast—our republican form of government.

Rule of the Few Now.

"Because of the political corruption in the United States—corruption which began fifty years ago, and included the buying and selling of votes—we have come to a form of government that is not of a class or classes but a rule of the few."

Bolshevik Policy in the East

Talk with Lenin's Chief Lieutenant.

I had a long conversation to-day with Radek, formerly the Russian Soviet "ambassador" here, upon the "Red menace to India." Radek, one of Lenin's chief lieutenants, is in regular communication with Moscow and entitled to speak with authority.

"Press engineered" was his comment on the Red menace agitation, yet he added that it contained a mixture of truth in its untruth. Radek's knowledge of world affairs is almost a legend in Russia, and he showed what a great measure of truth the legend possesses as he rapidly passed his finger over the map of Asia and in quick sentences described the local situations. The Eastern world is in a state of ferment, but Soviet Russia, he affirms, is not responsible for the unrest, which is due partly to historical reasons, partly to "Entente Imperialism," and partly to the effect of the world-war. Thus, throughout the Far East prices have risen proportionately higher than in Europe.

Radek, mentioning other causes of trouble, said that Semenoff's Cossacks in Mongolia were assisting the Mandarins against the famishing population. There was a popular movement in Persia directed against foreign domination. Of late a peasant land movement has arisen in Anatolia, to which the Young Turks were compulsorily adapting themselves. The Middle East, he added, was disturbed by British Admiralty designs on the oilfields within the stretch indicated by Bagdad-Khanikin-Baku.

"No Propoganda" Guarantees.

Radek admitted that emissaries from the whole East, Far, Middle, and Near, could be found in Moscow. It was natural enough, he said. The same phenomenon was observed at the time of the first Revolution, in 1905, which sent a similar wave across the Asiatic Continent. "Our attitude is simple," he declared. "We sympathize with these Eastern peoples, but we go no farther. Soviet Russia has no Imperialist aim. Imperialism means either a desire for the subjection of other nations by arms, or their exploitation in the interests of capitalism. Neither motive applies to Soviet Russia. Our aggressiveness is merely a newspaper invention. On the contrary, our one desire is for peace. Russia is ruined by lack of transport.

"But what of the invasion of India by propaganda?" I asked.

"The Russian Government conducts no such propaganda," answered Radek. "On the contrary, it is prepared to give to any country that established peaceful relations all conceivable guarantees. Of course, the march of ideas cannot be arrested, but we are ready to give guarantees that we shall use neither money nor agents, direct or indirect, for the conduct of propaganda in India or elsewhere in the British Empire. We have too great need for peace with England to haggle. We are under no illusions. British Imperialism is not merely a capitalist intrigue, but is rooted in the psychology of the masses. The British domination of India and Ireland is popular. If we desire the English masses to become Socialist we cannot do anything from outside. Salvation must come to the English proletarians and oppressed peoples of the Empire from

Continued on page 4th.

Advance in subscription price

The subscription price of The Toiler will be advanced to $1.50 per year beginning April 1st.

We are compelled by the constantly rising prices of paper and general printing costs to make this advance.

A special opportunity will be given our readers until April 1st to renew their subscription at the old rate of $1.00 a year. This opportunity is extended to all regardless of the time of expiration of their subscriptions.

By order of the State Executive Committee.

Skygac's Column

Now that the purchasing power of the dollar is only about 50% of normal, (in other words it takes a dollar now to buy what we used to buy for 40c) now in these days of underpaid school teachers, the term Little Red Schoolhouse, takes on other significance. The term now in many cases refers more to the heads of the inhabitants there of than the color of the pigment smeared upon the other surface.

• • •

In other words, poor pay, over-work and lack of consideration, has put a little red teacher in the little red schoolhouse, and that means a lot of little red scholars who will be better read by far than the old fashioned square-pegs-forced-in-round-holes, machine-made scholars. It was Ingersoll who discribed the capitalist-controlled school as "a place where pebbels are polished and diamonds ars dimned." The red teacher in the red school will rectify that mistake.

• • •

Six pretty little maidens have foresworn matrimony until their church is successful in raising a budget fund of a hundred thousand dollars. We don't wish the girls any hard luck, but knowing the evil the church has wrought through the ages, heres hoping these girls have to stay single all their life.

• • •

Our public men succeed in eradicating vice from the public eye, not in eradicating vice. They are now "eradicating" the reds the same way.

Let us all move to Gary (Ind.)

In a series of articles by Emerson Hough in the Sat-Eve-Post, Hough makes this statement, "I passed most of my first day or so among the oppressed WHO COULD HARDLY MAKE MORE THAN TWENTY OR THIRTY DOLLARS A DAY, and who were ground under the heel of a military and industrial despotism."

Of course Mr. Hough is a thoroly reliable writer and the Post surely wouldn't deliberately allow an article to appear in its columns which it knew distorted the truth, so with the authority of both Mr Hough and the Post that wages are twenty to thirty dollars a day in Gary, let us all go.

Of course Mr. Hugh didn't SAY that wages were $30.00 a day in Gary but there is what he did say. What inference could be drawn from it?

• • •

Mr. Hough also tells of the presence of the soldiers in Gary but he forgot to tell us whether the $30.00 a month "oppressor" envied the $30.00 a day "oppressed" or not. Possibly he will tell that in a future article.

• • •

Who called any body a liar?

• • •

Happiness is a by-product of proper conditions in Industry.

• • •

Nothing doing is the result of doing nothing. Does this apply to our town?

• • •

Polshevism means that before you can have pie you have got to raise the pumpkins.

• • •

Murmansk (the former base of the Allies) has fallen to the reds Petrograd still stands.

Wilson once advocated "pitiless publicity" but like a lot of other things he advocated, he has placed a reverse English upon it. He is particularly desirous of avoiding any pitiless publicity about his little agreement with England to allow her to buy the German Ships held by the U. S. at a price equal to approximately 30c on the dollar.

• • •

Opon convenants openly arrived at, is another phrase which fell easily from the lips of the great phrasemaker. Wilson's method of "openly arriving" is always behind closed doors.

There is a rumor current now that it was Lansing who was the great phrase-maker. Wilson only took the credit for it, asys the rumor.

• • •

"The reds are better Americans than the ones who raid them," said Jane Addams, thus confirming my suspicious.

• • •

Poland is now going to "save the world from the menace of Bolshevism". Some Poles ARE thick headed and slow to learn. But experience is a great teacher

• • •

They are selling Irish Liberty bonds now. Palmer will probably get after them next.

Lincoln the Great Emancipator would not trade horses while crossing a stream but if he were alive today he would instantly and indignantly repudiate most of the guff-peddlers who in the name of Lincoln and Americanism used the power of his good name to put across a lot of master class piffle on his birthday. Lincoln is too great a name to be smirched by linking it to the names of most present day politicians

• • •

The Interchurch World movement thru paid advertisements in the daily press is asking people to "dedicate a first portion of your income to God thru your church" is using the name of Washington as a religious man of great faith. The truth of the matter is, that Washington was not an orthodox believer but like many of the earlier American Statesmen, was a free thinker and a friend of Thomas Paine.

• • •

The spread of science is causing the church to lose its ground, and the church needs the money—even if it has to be a little to get it

• • •

The Literary Indigestion advertizes that it "presents public opinion AS REFLECTED in the press of the country." That is about the ONLY public opinion it presents.

• • •

Representative Blanton of Texas charecterizes the recent A. F. of L. pronounciamento as "the greatest menace ever sounded. A Congress of serfs " a National crisis " threatening the institutions of the country." This Representative would probably drop dead if he should ever stumble upon a copy of Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto'

• • •

Workers of America! Now is the time when it strongly behooves you to know which side of your bread carries the Olemargarine.

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WHILE IT LASTS

It is not often that you have the opportunity to buy Socialist literature at half price. But in view of the fact that we will soon lay in a large stock of new pamphlets and books, we make this half price reduction offer while these splendid pamphlets last. Here are the titles and retail prices.

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Soviet Russia, Rhys Williams,	10c now	5c
Dream of Debs, Jack London,	10c now	5c
Constitution of Soviet Russia	10c now	5c
Manifesto of the Communist International	10c now	5c
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Total cost		50c

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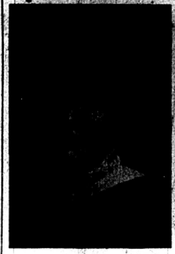
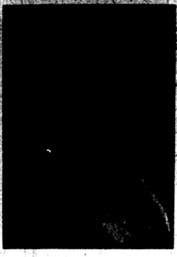
Two Comrades Who [illegible]

ONE HAS APPEALED FROM AN UNJUST AND OUTRAGEOUS COURT DECISION OF 15 MONTHS IN PRISON.

THE OTHER IS FIGHTING EXTRADITION INTO MAW OF ILLINOIS CAPITALISM.



Lotta Burke



Marguerite Prevey

On Feb. 25th at Cincinnati Ohio, Lotta Burke with 12 other socialists and Communist Labor Party members were given sentences ranging from three months and $100.00 fine to 15 months in county jail and U. S. penitentaries. After two years of litigation the sentences were imposed by Judge Peek of the Unites States district Court The charges were conspiracy to defeat the conscription act The cases were immediately appealed and all defendants are out on bail of $3,500 each.

At the hour this is written, comrade Marguerite Prevey, of Akron is confined in the Columbus Ohio jail, charged with violation of the capitalist made "criminal syndicalism" law of Illinois in that she helped organize the Communist Labor Party at Chicago, last August.

She is fighting extradition from Ohio. Altho the extradition papers were signed by Governor Cox, and her arrest was permitted in his office by an Illinois agent, Jos W. Sharts, her attorney, secured a hearing before Judge E. B. Kincaid of the Franklin County Common Pleas Court. At this hearing Judge Kincaid gave the decision that before comrade Prevey could be taken from Ohio, the state of Illinois would have to prove the Communist Labor Party was organized for the purpose of overthrowing the government by "violence and other unlawful means". The hearing will probably be had before this issue of The Toiler reaches its readers. In the mean time she is held a prisoner as Judge Kinkaid doubts his authority to allow bail in this case.

Both these comrades are members of the State Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio. Both have been long recognized for their loyalty to the workingclass and the principles of uncomprising revolutionary socialism. Both have sacrificed much for the workers, both have given unstintingly of all that they had for the Cause. Both have stood their ground when weaker comrades have felt the desire to get out from under persecution. They deserve all the support you can give them now.

No women comrades in the Ohio Movement are more universally respected than Lotta Burke and Marguerite Prevey. None have rendered more service to the workers of Ohio than have these two uncomprising fighters for Industrial Democracy. None deserve the support of all workers more than these two comrades.

If Marguerite Prevey is allowed to pass into the clutches of the capitalist class of Illinois and be persecuted under the most drastic and infamous of all the state syndicalism laws, we must carry her case thru the courts even to the highest one. She cannot fight this battle alone, you and all of us must help bear the cost.

Lotta Burke's case and that of all the 13 Cincinnati comrades who were convicted with her, must be carried to a court where evidence is at least respected as such. Funds must be subscribed to defray the costs. They will have to come from the workers. It is to the workers that we must appeal for help in staying the hand of persecution in these cases of our comrades. Send us what you can spare for this work. Help defend them. Address all funds to The Toiler 3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio.

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COMRADES ATTENTION!

Old Postage Stamps or original envelopes or entire stamp collections bought at highest prices, if you have anything to offer, call at the office of the Toiler or phone Harvard 3639.

The Black Sheep.

Chapt. XX.

(This chapter was by mistake published in an earlier issue. We herewith publish it in its regular order so that there will be no break in the continuity of the story.—Ed.)

PHILOSOPHY.

"I know not whether laws be right,
Or whether laws be wrong.
All that I know who lie in jail
Is that the wall is strong;
And that each day is like a year,
A year whose days are long."

This in a declamatory voice at about five-thirty in the morning, from Rudolph's cell, awakened Jack and Collins from their slumbers. It also awakened the temper of the latter. Collins was not fond of esthetics when at his ease; and when irritated he shared none of the sentiments so dear to the average radical. Unless he happened to be exactly in the right mood, he had an absolute aversion for what he termed the aberrations of an effete culture. He often said that poetry and novels were written by men who had nothing better to do to be read by people who could do nothing better.

"Say, what in hell do you mean by spouting your whoresome poetry at this time of the night! Do you begrudge a fellow what little sleep he can get in this infernal hole? O. if I could get at yuh. I'd slou you in the mush," thundered the big man from off his bunk in the opposite cell.

"Oh, well" " retorted Rudolph," you don't need to be so peevish about it. Its nearly broad daylight. Its time to get up! Then after a pause.

"If you were in this cell all along, you too might want to give vent to some sort of expression."

"Why don't you do like the rats—gnaw the bars. It will keep your jaws busy and not disturb us." This said, the big man turned over and drew the ragged quilt about his shoulder and once more attempted to sleep. This proved to be impossible. Rudolph's eloquence had banished the fingers of Morpheus from his eyes. Jack too, was wide awake, and in contradistinction to his cell mate, not peeved. In fact he was rather interested in the subject matter of the poem. The days for him had been rather short; his companions keeping his mind busy with a recital of the wonderful phenomena in the social world.

He asked Rudolph from what poem this stanza was quotted and received the information that it was a part of the ballad of "Reading Gaol" by Oscar Wilde, who was as Rudolph avered, one of the lord's of language of the last century.

"Oscar is one of Rudle's heroes," sneered Collins who was still in bad spirits. "One of your tempermental artistic gents."

"Yes, that's right. Oscar Wilde is one of my literature heroes, but for all that I do not appreciate your invendo that I would want him for a cell mate," protested Rudolph.

"Who was this Oscar Wilde!" asked Jack.

"A degenerate," snapped Collins

"An artist," explaned Rudolph.

"Well in ninty cases out of a hundred it amounts to the same thing," Collins growled.

"What you really mean is that Mr. Wilde awakens strong convictions either for or against himself. He must have been an interesting personality. Tell me more about, him," remarked the boy.

"He was a great writer of poetry and drama," Rudolph explained. "A man with a splendid sense of the beautiful, in nature, in language and in man, but his weakness got him into trouble. I might describe him best if I said that he wrote splendid books but lived a rotten life." Then after a moments reflection. "no the last part would be too strong. His life was not so bad, he smiply had an abominable weakness."

"I might say of you Rudolph, "Jack observed," what Huxley said of Gladstone, that you retreat under a could of words. From what you say I cannot make out whether Mr. Wilde's weakness was worms or wiggles."

Collins explained to Jack in the commonest of common language just in what Wilde's weakness consisted. After which the boy wanted to know more about the man and his books.

Rudolph explained to him that the man was dead. That he died as a result of a prison sentence imposed upon him for his weakness but that his books could be found in every library public and private thruout the English speaking world; that they had been translated into nearly all civilized languages; that they were read and admired by cultured and refined minds everywhere. To which Jack replied that in that case it would be well to consider the books apart from the man. To think of him only as a great author, the products of whose brain had enriched the world and forget his weakness which after all did not enter into his books.

"Let us forget his life and remember his work for their beauties sake," said the boy.

"I cannot appreciate anything a skunk does," Collins said. "I cannot read a line he penned without thinking of his infernal degeneracy."

"Oh, you christian," sneered Rudolph.

"I am no christian," the other retorted.

"No, you mean you 're no Church Member, but you are as fanatic as any Jesus lover I ever knew. You are a free will Christian, and nothing else can be made out of you."

"You're crazy," roared Collins. "I hate christianity as much as you do and you know it."

Rudolph agreed that this was technically true, but asserted that that when it come to showing the spirit of intolerance he was a regular Calvin. "Take your stand on the drink question, you are as extreme as a howing methodist, Rudolph said. Then continued "You know that the drink appetite is a physiological condition. That its victim cannot resist the temptation even tho he see the faces of his starving children in the glass. Cursing his weakness he gets drunk. He ruins his health, impoverishes his kids, while crying to his God for help. But he is a dipsomaniac; his body has an affinity for drink as other has for air He cannot help being what the forces of heredity made him. Yet, you who call yourself a radical and a liberal, curse your fellow worker whose appetite differs from your own. You call them every name on the calendar as if they were victims from choice instead of from circumstance. Imitating the christians you make everybody but yourself a heretic. No Collins dear, you may not be a christian, but if you are not, then you are a Jew or a Mohammedan, or a Brahmin or perhaps a Voodist, but you're no radical, you, are no scientist, you are no idealist, you are too damned intolerant; you are good at condemning but you never make an effort to understand for if ever you learn to understand then you would learn to forgive."

"Yes and you are Christian, also, for you talk about forgiveness. Your consistency is something wonderful," snapped Collins and he leaped out of his bed as a tiger leaps at his prey. "To forgive means to surrender, and surrender means death. You 'd burden yourself with so much human waste that you'd be smothered in the filth of your own choosing. I've told you on several occassions that I don't hate these vermin, I only seek to eliminate them from my environment. I hate vermin, high brow and low brow. That's the reason I'm against them. They hinder me in the struggle for existence, that is all. That's enuf."

Rudolph's sally had made Collins too angry to answer with his customary coherence. He trailed off into mutterings about the inability of the workers to center their minds on a common purpose because they tolerated within their ranks these elements who placed their own personal appetites and ideas above the common good. "Try to hold a meeting for the purpose of fighting the boss with one third of the membership soused and the other third filled with poetic dream stuff and capitalist lies, you have just one third who are ready and willing to fight the master, loaded down with two thirds of their own numbers in the shape of physical and mental nincompoops"

Jack, who had been listening to both of them now asked Rudolph what he had to answer the big man.

"You understand that drunkeness is a result of a peculiar body chemistry which people inherit from their ancestors, therefore the owners of such bodies are constantly in danger of having their brain befuddled thru yielding to their inborn craving. I know that a drunken man is dangerous. But the bread and butter question is not an individual proposition; it is wholly collective in its nature. Drunk and sober must solve it together. I have told Collins many a time hat if you don't take drunkards into the organization they will scab enough to build an organization who on us and help break your power. Then where are you going to get men don't drink. We must deal with people as they are and not as we want them to be.

Jack still wrapped in his blanket laughed good naturedly, "Oh, oh! you poor fish! You get on the track of truth and when you get insight of it, you shy like a broncho colt. Neither of you have the necessary guts to be real scientists; both of you are seeking the light blindfolded; for fear that if you should find it, it would reveal to you your naked impotence. For two weeks I have listened to your arguments and tried to test them in the light of reason, and when all is said it appears to me that your ideas would be screamingly funny if

(Cont. on page 4.)

The Toiler

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

Promoting Americanism

About every method imaginable is being advocated and practiced to promote the growth of drooping "Americanism" in these decadent days. From extremes of mildness and conciliatory methods to the roughest of "rough stuff" the treatment runs. It all indicates a very positive uncertainity on the part of those in authority as to the most politic methods to deal with the new forces developing in the mire of rotten capitalism. Nowhere have the methods of desperation been put in more extensive operation than in the city of Cleveland. Here the White Guard of capitalism has reached a perfection of organization that is the envy of every capitalistic controlled city in the nation. During the war this delectable crew of "100% Americans" operated under the misnomer of the American Protective League When the war was over its official existence came to a sudden ending by ukase of the Department of Justice.

But it had proved too invaluable an aid to local capitalism to be allowed to be extinguished. Its reorganization was effected under the happy christening of the Loyal American League. It is very loyal to every thing which is generally understood as un-American. Its special love for the American principles of free speech and assembly are best judged by the fact that it has been the chief instrument used in the repression of these Constitutional liberties, or shall we say privileges? It is composed of local capitalist and such dupes as can be hired or cajoled into its service, backed up by the local police who are made to serve as its puppets. But there seems to be a trimming of sails just now. Has the Loyal American League sensed a feeling of public opposition to its free handed methods in cultivating the theories of true 100% Americanism? We wonder if those of its members who are gifted with a degree of wisdom are not aware of a reaction against the methods which it has pursued in the establishment of silence of the proletaire? We believe that possibly a few of them may be able to see a straw in the passing wind. But that many of them will have such strength of vision would be too much to expect of any parasitic element. Few indeed, may be expected to realize the existence of any passing breath until it grows to a hurricane and brings down upon their witless heads the house of cards in which they dwell in seeming and smug security.

As an instance of at least an appeaence of an awakening of some of the League members to the unpopularity of their actions, we quote the following from the Cleveland Press of Feb. 26th and to be impartial we also print alongside a news item that appeared in the Plain Dealer the following morning.

Here is what they say

'NO RED DANGER'

"The average American isn't frightened by the Reds because he believes an uprising against the nation impossible." Arch Klump, president of the Loyal American League, told Cornell Club members Thursday.

"What he ought to realize is that it is a war of propaganda and not force," he said.

"The way to meet it is with more propaganda. We ought to fill our schools, and church and public forums with so much Americanism that there won't be room for anything else."

Here is what they do.

18 HELD IN RADICAL RAIDS

Police and members of the Loyal American League raided a rooming house at 622 Hamilton avnene N. E. is a search for radicals at midnight last night They found six men, two of whom said they were aliens and were held for examination.

Copies of "The Rebel Worker," "The Fellow Worker," and "One Big Union" were taken. Inspector George Wadsworth of the Loyal American League was in charge of the raid.

Later operatives of the department of justice, aided by police and Loyal American legion members, visited a score of homes in various sections of the city. Twenty-five men were brought to the Federal building and after being questioned twelve were held for further examination.

That the president of the League should voice such a statement on the eve of a raid conducted by his organization upon the homes of workers attests to the fact that either the League's president is out of tune with the purposes of the organization or that he is camouflaging—to use a mild expression. And we don't care which it is for we wouldn't believe him no matter what his statement.

The point we wish to reach, and we confess we have gone a long way around, is this: capitalism is organizing its White Guard in America. Let us all realize that fact. Chambers of Commerce are the source from which spring the organizations, political or otherwise, which have throttled every liberty and Constitutional guarantee whose corpse swings from capitalism's gibbets. It is behind the doors of the Chambers of Commerce (robbery) that every onslaught upon the workers has been planned. They are organizing, and they are organizing for ruthlessness. The past five years proves what they will attempt; the past few months ought to prove to Americans what they intend; the present ought to make us realize how tightly the class lines are being drawn.

A White Collar Revolt

We gather from a perusal of the papers that there is a degree of "unrest" developing among our intelligentsia, or what is known in western parlance as the "white collar brigade". The conference of the National Educational Association at Cleveland this past week has brought to the forefront the pitiable conditions and circumstances in which this contingent of workers exists.

It seems that the teachers of our g-r-e-a-t American public school system are paid the wage of peons, given the treatment of slaves and according a general existence so far below the standard of common laborers that we wonder in what their great education and deep erudition is lacking to render them such spineless bipeds as to stand for it.

Of course we know that the wearing of a clean collar is or was, considered compensation on its own account, while if not entirely adequate in itself for any outlay of effort and life, was very largely to be considered as part payment. In other words, the clean job was its own compensation — and honors. But lo and behold, we are confronted with the dilema of keeping in clean collars in these days of high prices. When the price of a laundered collar has risen from 1½ cents to 5 cents straight — lingerie accordingly, tho we decline to go into details in this latter. our white, imaculate slaves male and female alike, are up against a proposition.

The teachers are not alone in their difficulties. While laborers have the sense to organize into unions for their own welfare and have profitted accordingly, the intelligentsia — so called, has not been so intelligent. It has held aloof from contamination with the "proletariat" on the theory that its social position was a somewhat higher one and that "brains would be recognized and rewarded". They have been. The white collar brigade is recognized as the most enslaved and most pittilessly exploited of all classes of workers and according to its own admission is rewarded accordingly.

The rising costs of living are giving them numerous and constant jolts. They are beginning to learn that it would be the part of intelligence to organise into associations for their own economic welfare. From stenographer to college professor and preacher, the idea is taking hold. And while the present stage of querrelous agitation will avail little, we may hope that economic determinism will overcome caste and false ideas and the great army of brain workers will soon join their comrades of toil and make the world a fit place for human beings to inhabit, and bury forever the caste system in the ranks of labor.

SPARKS.

Local Portsmouth came up front last week and took a pot shot at old man capitalism in the form of a $26.00 donation to the press fund. The names of the donors are J. S. Rapp; A. A. Adams; Geo. Emmett; Robert Shelton; Wm. Rapp. We willingly concede that the members of Local Portsmouth are "on deck" and then some.

A group of workers at Youngstown have arranged for weekly open forum meetings at Bushnell Hall. These meetings are expected to prove of great educational value. With good speakers and well organized meetings, they should prove most successful. The Youngstown workers are cordially invited to attend them as are also workers from near by cities.

Brothers Payton, of Huntington W Va., have formed a "trust" that seems guaranteed to withstand the most doughty attempts to "bust" it. No, it is not formed for the purpose of raising the H. C. of L. but is guaranteed to raise the standard of knowledge of the workers of Huntington. In short, they have combined their efforts to corrall every thinking worker into the ever growing group of readers of The Toiler. Looks like they would soon have a complete monoply too. Every week we have to repeat —another bunch of five, or ten from comrades Payton

How about forming a "combination in restraint of ignorance" in your city, comrade?

Or will a brick house have to fall on you before you show signs of life?

If others can do it so can you.

Can any one help us out on this? A comrade writes for information regarding the "place, day, hour and minute" when the Soviet government was set up. From this data, he will cast a horoscope — he says. And the best answer we can give is that it was the same place, day, hour and minute, when the capitalist system of the entire world was doomed to absolute oblivion. We believe this is authentic to a nat's eye brow. If you don't believe it just ask any politician or capitalist.

Local Leetonia comes to bat this week with a substantial order for dues stamps, literature and press stamps. Eleven fifty in all. Looks like business in Leetonia, we'd say

Our Power Point list receives an aditional two subscribers and Lisbon, O., one, thru the efforts of comrade Tusek.

Six more from comrade Arley Staples of Christopher, Ill., puts the city of Coella, Ill., on the map and also boosts the Christopher list by two.

Every new one is another one.

Two Bullit Reports and two year's renewal comprise an order from comrade Geo Linz of Morton, Wash. When they come back strong like that, we think there must be a reason for it.

And the reason is that The Toiler is worth any worker's time and coin.

We must repeat that there is magic in the number 5, especially if it is $5. But it requires no magic to make a $5.00 bill work for Socialism. Comrade James of Irondale is going to prove it by selling at least that many subscription cards. We hope this gives him an appetite for more.

Comrade Dodge says that the victory of the Russian Soviet government has put new life and spirit in the comrades at Portsmouth. In line with that we would state that the workers of all the world are showing marked reaction to the victories of Sovietism.

It is now up to us to make this rise of the revolutionary spirit count BIG. And the way to do it is to get on the job with those WHO ARE WINNING.

A comrade writes to learn if the Toiler could be issued in Italian. We regret that we have to confine ourselves to the one language our parents taught us.

Eighty one years old and as young in spirit as the New Day that is dawning, is our comment on the letter we just received from comrade Buckley of Springfield, O. We more than appreciate the words of appreciation from this comrade and we will try to make The Toiler a source of inspiration to the workers in future as in the past.

Comrade Engstrom of Moline comes to bat with a bunch of five new ones.

Comrade Rospert of Toledo, has sent in $30.50 worth of subscriptions in two weeks. Looks like he was tramping on the trail of comrade Evans of Girard Kans.

While we are on this subject, we just wonder if the Toledo comrades are going to leave comrade Rospert walk away with all the honors? Well, they will have to hurry if they want to make him "divide up".

Right now — is the moment to order that Half Price Literature Combination. Fifty cents will do it.

And you can't buy more with a four-bitt piece whether it be bottles, buttons, beans or bocks. Order it.

The idea is growing fast. Pretty soon we expect we shall have to record its development in YOUR town. What, you ask? We mean the idea of combining two or more comrades into a group for the eradication of ignorance among the workers by means of subscriptions to The Toiler.

The latest combination of this sort that has come to our attention is that of comrades Norlin and Doesburg of Holland, Mich. Word just received from them states they are on the job and their first installment is to hand — 20 three month subs. Good start, boys. A few more teams like yours and we will be on our way.

He's coming again soon, is comrade fellow worker Billy Kroger of Muskegon, so he states This trip he brought two new subs. Here's hoping. And believing

Another booster at Saltillo, O. is comrade J. M. Scott. Two half yearlies are on his string this week.

The organization fund gets a dollar boost this week from comrade S. Rubin of Milwaukee, who renews for another year.

Another combination that is working for Socialism seven days a week, is that of comrades R. A. Huebner and Jno Rehm of Springfield, O. Just how successful it is is proven by the subs. sent in this week amounting to $8.50

And again we say: form a combination in your town for the Eradication of Ignorance. Do it now.

"I am still selling them", writes comrade Rospert of Toledo and we egree. He is. He sent us $5.00 worth of proof.

An order for 20 copies of the Manifesto of the Third International comes from Local Dayton. Every Party member should read it. And it is in the ½ price combination too. Get the package.

We wish to record the successful efforts of comrade Karl Malmstrom of Moline in getting subs. Five dollars worth as a first attempt is not bad, in fact it is very, very good and worthy of YOUR emulation.

Sandusky Local remits $6.00 for Toiler stamps and literature. Some reds absolutely refuse to "quit it". Reason? They're real red.

Comrade McMillan of New Lexington, O., remits $2.50 for renewal, organization work and the cartoon fund.

As we have said before, if you don't like our cartoons, don't send us a sent.

"I am going to keep this $5.00 working for subscriptions all the time and will come across for the cartoon fund soon", writes comrade Ben Carpenter of Harrison, Mich. And how better could a little old five spot be kept busy?

"It is still on, the drive for new subs.", is what C. Bramson of Joliet tells us in a letter in which hes sends another $5.00 for subcards. With live wires like comrade Bramson running at largel there is certainly no chance for the work to slacken, eh bo?

To prove it's still in the fighting mood, Local Fremont remits $5.00 for dues stamps and press stamps.

And when all is said, we must admit that a revolutionist in action is worth a dozen inactive ones.

So what's the use of being one if you arn't a busy one?

We note the determination to "spit on his hands and get busy", which permeates the letter recently received from comrade Warner of Wellington, O. And we smile and say to our selves, "there is another one coming back strong" It's the life — and we should never weaken!

If there is one thing that makes us more gleeful than another, it is to see another Toiler booster join the Red Regiment of Sub Hustlers. That's the way we felt when we observed the $7.00 worth of yearlies from comrade Long of Findlay, O.

Note the advertisement in this issue of the reduced prices on The Slander of The Toilers, by Kirkpatrick. If you want to do real educational work among the workers, just order a package of this booklet and proceed to get them into the hands of the workers. We have made the price so cheap that you cannot afford to let the opportunity pass.

"The Toiler is great and I will send more subscriptions soon". These are the words of comrade Rowlands of Minoa, N. Y. He sends two subs and an order for literature.

A three dollar order for literature and subscriptions is in from comrade Fabyanchich of Bessemer, Pa.

WAR ON IGNORANCE!

We have declared WAR on IGNORANCE. Will you enlist in the ranks of the ENLIGHTENERS? We intend to establish in the State Office of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio a Book and Pamphlet Department second to none in the nation. We will handle only the best of the Revolutionary literature of the past and present. We will also publish new literature of our own. We have since Jan. 1st gotten one pamphlet off the press, another will be ready for sale in a few days. Others are contemplated.

The co-operation of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and literature agents is earnestly hoped for. The demand for new and good revolutionary literature is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply this demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can sell pamphlets every week to shopmates and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

Every Class-conscious Worker must help Strike Down the Monster, Ignorance, that Enslaves the Workers.

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR ADDITIONAL TITLES.

Crimes of the Bolsheviki 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Soviet Russia ....10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18 each.
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Slander of the Toilers 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Bullitt Mission to Russia, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.
Communist Manifesto (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Law of Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Jack London's Works, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Man or the State, Essays famous writers $1.00
Russia in 1919, Ransome, $1.50, 5 or more, $1.25.
Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Pelle the Conqueror, $4.00 (2 volumes).
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Savage Survivals, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism for Students, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Socialism and Modern Science, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Stories of the Cave People, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism and War, $1.00 each.
Ten Days That Shook The World, $2.00 each.
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Universal Kinship, Moore, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 50c each, 5 or more 45c each.

TWO REAL WORTH-WHILE OFFERS

While the winter months are here, why not read to advantage?

The above titles offer you a wide choice of scientific and interesting literature. Send us $5.00 for an order of the above titles and we will give you a year's subscription to The Toiler. That's worth while isn't it?

ANOTHER CHANCE.

Send us $5.00 for subscription cards to The Toiler and receive free $1.50 worth of any of the above literature. You sell the cards and get your money back. Toiler sub cards sell easily.

PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY—ADDRESS:

THE TOILER
3207 Clark Ave.—Cleveland, Ohio.

GOVERNMENT — THE COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT

— By. [illegible] —

Anarchism has a lure and fascination that often attract almost irresistibly even the hard-headed. Its uncompromising spirit of revolt, its impatient, irrational longing for that absolute freedom which is an impossibility on an earth inhabited by human beings and circumscribed by limitations of mundane existence, its fierce chafing at the leash of laws, be they just or unjust, — all these things find almost unconscious response in many of us.

There is a strong appeal in this philosophy that would abolish all forms of restraint and leave us "free" to unite in voluntary cooperative groups or live individually, as we might wish. It is so easy to forget that this is a relative world, not an absolute one, and that „absolute freedom" is an impossibility, to attempt which would only produce an extreme reaction that would result in a tyranny worse than that from which we seek escape. The Hermetic axiom that extremes meet is literally true with regard to Anarchism. The fierce desire for liberation which would end all government, would send us back into a slavery more intolerable than ever by the unrepressed force of the extreme reaction.

"If it is wrong for an individual to rob, murder or interfere with another's liberty, is it any less wrong for a group or class to do these things?" asks K. B. E. Yes, most emphatically. Morality is not an abstract thing, a blue-print of human actions, some of which are forever and inherently right and some of which are forever and inherently wrong. That which is right under some circumstances is wrong under others. Conditions are the determining factor. As a general proposition, it may be wrong to steal, but if it were necessary to steal to save the life of a starving men, I would say. "To hell with the rights of property!" and take what has needed to prevent starvation.

Notwithstanding what Edmund Burke says, government can be used for good as well as for ill. K. B. E. directs his artillery against the uses to which government is put under capitalism. He ignores the point that government resting on exploitation and legalized robbery must necessarily be evil, **whereas if government rested on the ownership of wealth by its producers, it would be just and beneficient.**

It is true that one has a right to the product of his own labor. It is also true that capitalistic governments do not assure that right, but instead, deprive the worker of what he creates and give it to capitalists. But under Anarchism and without a central governing authority, the chances of a man keeping the fruits of his work would be far less than they are now. "Absolute freedom" would be nothing of the kind, at least so long as the present qualities of greed and selfishness have not been bred out of human nature. Instead of people living like brothers and sisters, and exchanging their products in equitable, fraternal fashion, the erstwhile profiteers and money-lords would get together, pounce upon the well-disposed of the community and try to make slaves out of them. The "absolute freedom" wouldn't last 10 days. Either those who formerly exploited the masses would regain their dominance by raw resort to brute force, or the masses would have to unite economically, establish a proletarian dictatorship just as Russia did. and ruthlessly expropriate the expropriators.

In either case, Anarchism would be short-lived. Autocracy would succeed it or the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Government, much-despised tho it were, would come back to curse or bless, depending on the kind of government established.

The Anarchist comrade asks. "Since the only just title to the ownership of anything arises from its production by its owner, is it not just as much robbery for a majority to take property from an individual as for an individual or a minority to do so?" Certainly, but under Communism the majority won't take property from an individual. Communism will give to the individual what he produces and eliminate the class which has hitherto lived on the labor of others. That is the difference between Communism and capitalism. That is the purpose of Communist government. It will be an industrial government, not a political one. When there are no capitalists and all are useful workers, and when those useful workers are the government, functioning collectively in industries, government won't be a means [illegible]ssion. Government can only oppress when there is a rich, privileged class that owns the resources of the country Strip that class of land, mines, factories, industries, etc., and give them to the People don't rob themselves. K. B. E. is constantly thinking of a bourgeois government which, of course, is owned by a few people. His criticisms don't apply to a proletarian democracy at all, for the simple reason that under Soviets, the people are the government. They are not exploited because they have no reason for picking their own pockets.

Instead of Communism aiming to steal from the worker and give the products of his toil to a different set of people than those receiving these products under capitalism, it would provide the force necessary to protect the worker in the enjoyment of those products. Anarchism wants the worker to get the fruit of his labor, too, but it would provide nothing to guarantee him in its possession, nothing to stop a bigger fellow from snatching it away from him. It would leave the laborer at the mercy of the economic highwayman, just as capitalism does. But Communism, realizing that "right without might is moonshine," would back up this unquestionable right of the worker, with a new kind of government, an economic one, which could crush the robber the minute he began to ply his old trade.

If, however, when K. B. E. speaks of the majority taking property from the individual, he refers to taxation under Soviets, his reasoning is equally defective. True, the worker would not get quite all that he produces, for a small percentage of it would have to be deducted to help defray the expenses of government. You can't maintain a government on nothing. Neither could you do so with a factory, even if that factory were run by its workers in voluntary cooperation under Anarchism. They would have to set aside a little of what they produced to pay for secretarial work, upkeep, etc... wouldn't they? **If this is "robbery", then there always will be robbery, and Anarchism — assuming it were successful, which is inconceivable — would be no exception to the rule. The only difference is that under Communism the taxation would be imposed by a central authority elected by the workers, while under voluntary cooperation, it would be imposed by each separate industrial group, independently of every other group. In order to gain the benefits of collective action, we must surrender a little, at least, of what we might receive if each worked alone and received the total result of his efforts. The "absolute freedom" of the Anarchist is like the "personal liberty" of the boozefighter, a farce and a fantasm. The isolated inhabitant of the desert comes as near** having "absolute freedom" as anybody can in a relative world, and even he doesn't have it, entirely. And the minute he enters into relationship with other human beings. he has still less. All we can enjoy, at the most, is a maximum of liberty consistent with the liberty of others. Communism, by taking away from the bourgeois class some of the "liberty" it possesses to steal from the proletariat, would give every man a larger share of liberty athn any other system yet proposed.

"The absolute inviolability of person and pro- every man a larger share of liberty than any other we all want — Anarchists and Communists alike. But we won't get it by throwing off all government, laying aside all weapons and going on in the blind and blissful delusion that because we don't rob others, they won't rob us.

We must have power. The master class has power to day — economic power, from which comes political power, its offspring. Let the workers take that power away from the masters, appropriate it to themselves, and be the government. Then — and not till then — will the workers retain the nearest possible approach to all that they create.

workers in each unit -- subjecting each industrial group to control by a central body elected by themselves -- and it will be an impossibility for that government to be used for robbery and tyranny.

Bolshevik Policy in the East

Continued from page 1.

their own exertions. It is their own affair, not that of the Soviet Government. We can only offer our sympathy; anything further would be forbidden towards a country with which we were at peace."

Relations with Other States.

"Soviet Russia would then settle down amind a non-Socialist world as one State among the others?"

"Why not?" was Radek's reply. "It is the standpoint of the Russian Government that normal and good relations are just as possible between Socialist and capitalist States as they have been between capitalist and feudal States. For example, Imperialist England lived on quite good terms with Tsarist feudal Russia in the days of serfdom. I, personally, am convinced that Communism can only be saved through good relations with the capitalist States. All the capitalist States are moving towards Sosialism along their own roads and in their varying degrees, and the pace will be quickened by the burden of war taxes and debt, high prices, and the lowered standard of living. But in each of these countries the battle will be won from within in the growing struggle between the peoples and Governments. Revolutions never originate in foreign affairs, but are made at home."

"But so far you have talked only of possibilities." I pointed out.

"Yes, I am speaking not of plans that we have. but of things we may be compelled to attempt. Russia to-day is too weak to indulge in a world-policy or in a drive against India, yet she is strong enough to hurt in self-defence. The workers are utterly tired of war, but know that peace is denied them by the Entente. If they have no work and nothing to eat they know it is due to Entente intervention, and the knowledge only strengthens their will to fight. Our campaign is one ordered by the Government, which could not by its mere command make the workers fight, but is supported by the masses in desperation. To sum up in a few words, when the Northcliffe press talks of a Red invasion of India it does so insincerely, and as sheer vilifying of Soviet Russia. Nevertheless, if the Northcliffe press succeeds in misleading English opinion into war against Russia, then what is now a fantasy may easily become a reality."

"If We are Forced to Fight."

"You are accused of political expansionism—an Imperialism of Revolution."

"The two words 'Imperialism' and 'Revolution' are mutually contradictory," replied Radek. "Revolution means the achievement of self-government by the masses. The French Revolution became Imperialist for two reasons: (1) it was only a bourgeois revolution; (2) it was the last act in the struggle between France and England for colonies. As one of your historians says, Pitt made Napoleon. Let me refer to Lenin's statement at the last party congress in March, 1919 — 'The sword is not the means by which the victory of Communism is to be won. Such a policy of aggression would weaken us and our cause. Were we by action from outside to enable a revolutionary Government to be set up in a country not strong enough to carry through a revolution itself, we should weaken ourselves by dispersing forces needed for our own defence.

"But there is another side of the question. If we are forced to fight, naturally we seek a field of war where success is most easily attained. It is not true that we can do nothing; the Eastern door is open, and there are great possibilities. Had the old Tsarist Government determined to advance on India it would have had to build railways, organise armies, accumulate supplies — in short, employ the resources of a capitalist Kultur. With us it is quite different. All we have to do is to send out our most active workers to stir up unrest among populations. That is no new thing for Russians. You may remember the part played by Social Democrats from the Caucasus in the Persian Revolution in 1906 and later. I know personally quite a number of Caucasian comrades who were revolutionary leaders in Persia.

Ten Agitators Equal to an Army.

"What we can supply is the leadership so lacking in the East. We can send officers as instructors — not officers of the old school, but men of our own training, in particular artillery instructor who were formely engineers in the Putiloff Arsenal. These, the most intelligent artisans in Russia, have the necessary mathematical knowledge to make first-rate artillery officers. We can send technical experts and can erect explosive factories and arsenals. And remember that when we proletarians send ten picked men, after our experience of the last two years, it is equal to an expeditionary force. We are already in touch with the Young Turks by way of Tashkent, the Caspian, and Caucasian Azerbaijan. Our armies are already on the Sea of Azov. Young Turkish officers whom I have recently met here in Berlin assure me that it would require fifteen divisions to dispose of the existing Turkish armies. Moreover, Asia Minor is already something of an international, interracial powder magazine.

"But there is no need to enlarge further on possibilities. Our crippled industries are paralysed. Our historic task is to reconstruct Russia, and for that peace is essential. We are fighting simply because we are forced to do so, and are given no other choice. Russia is a democracy of peasants and workers for at least half a century to come. Your statement can count with certainty on the entire absence of capitalist Imperialism in Russia. All the talk about our plans to disrupt and destroy the British Empire is the sheerest nonsense and Northcliffe bluff."

LOCAL AKRON, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY
is continuing its regular Sunday Afternoon

Propaganda Meetings

AT 50 SOUTH HOWARD ST.
These are the livest worker's meetings in town. The public is invited.

REVIEW OF I. W. W. CASE.

(By a Special Correspondent)

Montensano, Wash., Feb — There have been times in the four weeks of the Centralia tragedy trial when the lives of the 11 defendants seemed balanced on the point of a needle. For the main tragedy at Centralia happened in a space of time to be measured by seconds, and the stories of eye-witnesses frequently conflict.

Day after day the prosecution has produced evidence which on its face looked damaging to the men on trial for the alleged murder of Warren Grimm in the Armistice Day parade. And then George F. Vanderveer, counsel for the defense, would tear at that testimony with accumulative confidence and astuteness, and lay waste some of the state's best foundations.

Standing out from the month's events in the trial are: the admission as evidence of Loren Roberts' alleged confession after a battle by the defense to exclude it; the story told in court by Tom Morgan, former I. W. W. who turned state's evidence against his fellows; and the smashing down of the testimony of one of the state's star witnesses under the sledge-hammer blows of Vanderveer.

Robert's statement was opposed by the defense on the ground that he was insanse when he signed it; and Vanderveer offered to prove this, contending that the Centralia mob had put the fear of death upon Roberts to obtain the confession. But Judge John N. Wilson ruled that the statement was admissible and that the jury must decide what weight should be given to it.

If it is accepted at face value, however, it will bear out Vanderveer's contention that the defendants shot at the paraders only in self-defense, for it says the Industrial Workers had been warned of a raid and prepared to defend themselves. Morgan's story also bore this out.

When Elsie Hornbeck was put on the stand, it marked a sudden sweeping turn in favor of the defense. This slim Semetic girl is a bookkeeper in a garage opposite the Avalon Hotel, from which the prosecution declares some shots were fired.

This girl said she saw a thin-faced man in a window of the Avalon shortly before the riot; identified Eugene Barnett in the court-room as that man; insisted that she had never seen him from that hysterical day three months ago until this day in court; led the jury to believe that she was able to identify Barnett solely through the vivid impression his face had made upon her on Armistice Day.

Then Vanderveer trapped her into admitting she had seen two photographs of Barnett. Her manner throughout has been hesitant and uncertain; she had looked helplessly at Special Prosecutor Abel, causing Vanderveer more than once to command her to look at him; had admitted that a man out in the hall had told her that barnett was inside; and then, commanded by Vanderveer to go out and find him. did so and returned to report that he wasn't there.

Knowing it was a matter of life and death, she swore, with the manner of one taking a plunge into the dark, that Barnett was the man she had seen in the Avalon. She repeated her positive assertion that the man in the Avalon was thin-faced. But, as Vanderveer pointed out, Barnett is full-faced.

Both the Associated Press and the United Press picture Elsie Hornbeck as identifying Barnett unqualifiedly, — and say nothing about the photographs; and practically every newspaper in the country, except the Portland Journal and three radical papers, The New York Call, Butte Bulletin and Seattle Record has printed the same unqualified story about the "identification."

THE BLACK CHEEP

Continued from page 2.

they did not lead to such painful conclusions."

"What do you mean," the other two gasped almost in one breath.

"I mean what I say. We belong to the working class. You say the working class must be organized. One of you say soberly and the other says generally. Now why don't you ask can they be organized. Collins says yes, at least that part of them who do not drink. For this Rudolph calls him a christian. How are Rudolph and Collins going to work together in the same organization, when it takes steel cage to keep them from "beating each other up," yet both of them are sober men. Collins wants to eliminate the weak and let them die, Rudolph wants to forgive the weak, which means that he must carry them. For it is logical that if a man is weak he will have to lean on you. Now if you are fighting the boss who has both of his fists ready with a drunkard in one arm and a mental defective in another, then who is going to get rich."

"That's what I say," roared Collins.

Jack ignored him, "Both of you say that acquired characteristics are not transmitted, yet you try to give to the race a mental tendancy which by nature it does not possess except for purposes of battle. There is no tendancy toward productive solidarity in the human race that I can see. They do not organize for production. They bunch together for strife. The brainiest and brightest of the race are continually crawling upward over the duller and the weaker. That is the law of life, and it appears to me that your endeavor to set up a republic of the weak will always be successfully thwarted by the strong."

Continued next week.

Ruminations of a Rebel

— By Tom Clifford. —

"My Dear Mr. Lansing," chirruped Woodrow in his billet doux to the Secretary of State announcing, that his dignity had been ruffled by the assumption of Presidential functions by the latter gentleman in calling sessions of the Cabinet without permission from his royal highness, preparatory to administering the coup de grace that would seperate the Secretary from his job. "My Dear Mr. President," parroted Lansing in his reply, all the while knowing he was to get it where the chicken got the ax. Of course these are little bourgeois social amenities that are understood to be meaningless. I am not in the least interested in the fracas other than that if they had declared war on each other the affair should have been settled without indulgence in hypocritical cant. Insincerity is so common among the bourgeoisie that a positive vice has been transformed into a virtine. They are morally cockeyed. A bourgeois is so dishonest he can't play solitaire without cheating himself. Chicanery and deceit are so generally practiced by our "best citizen's that it is surprising their endowed colleges have not established chairs to teach camouflage. Yet it must be confessed that this moral obliquity is in complete harmony with capitalist ethics. An honest man to day has about as much chance in combatting the wiles of these past masters in the art of duplicity as the proverbial snow ball in hell.

• • •

It now transpires that the leaders of the Democratic party are becoming frantic over the political situation. All efforts to suppress Wilson's ambition for a third term have apparently only stimulated that gentleman's burning desire to be a record breaker, and they are running around in circles seeking a way out of their dilemma. The League of notions is still the pet hobby of the President, and he evidently desires to succeed himself for the prestige accruing therefrom to qualify for the position of high priest in that organization of world imperialism. Some of the best talent among the statesmen at Washington are engaged in the futile attempt to convince the President he has had honors enough and should give some one else a chance Nothing doing there, gentlemen. Youv'e a white elephant on your hands.

In the meantime the woods are full of hungry aspirants for the same job. McAdoo wants it, Bryan yearns for it, and a score or more of others are ready to swap their chances in the sweet bye and bye for four years in the White House. Not a single one of them, however, can offer any reason for this inordinate crawing to succeed the man who made the "world safe for democracy" other than—he wants the job. Well, that is a good and sufficient reason, isn't it? At least it has always been so considered. None but Socialists expect a man to desire public office as a means of serving society, and everybody knows they are impractible visionaries.

• • •

The bankers are getting scared over the financial situation nothwithstanding it is everywhere conceded that we are passing through an era of "unparalleled prosperity." They are demanding a reduction of outstanding loans. If you want to save your bacon, dig up your Liberty bonds, toto them down to the bank, and turn them in at discount. Don't grumble brother. Just take your medicine uncomplainingly, like a good little wage slave.

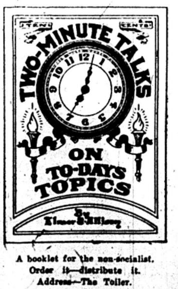
• • •

It is now announced that the foreign diplomats at Washington, out of respect for the national prohibition law, will waive their right to import liquors for their own use. Does anyone believe it? Not if his brain is working normally. Those gentlemen are not noted for indulgence in self sacrifice. This statement is doubtless prompted by a desire to conserve their stock of wet goods for themselves and prevent an onslaught of their friends.

BYESVILLE MEETING

Tom Clifford will speak at Byesville Sunday 2 P. M. March 7th.

All Guernsey County comrades are invited and urged to bring another worker with them.



A booklet for the non-socialist.
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THE TOILER

NO. 110. Published at Cleveland

CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, MARCH 12th 1920.

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PAPER SCARCITY

Scarcity of print paper compels us to issue a six column paper this week. We hope to revert to our usual 7 column size next week.

MARGUERITE PREVEY IS KIDNAPPED FROM JAIL

'LAW AND ORDER' GANG VIOLATES COURT ORDER TO SECURE POSSESSION OF PRISONER

Kidnapped by the Sheriff of Franklin County, Ohio, under instructions of the Illinois authorities, and in collusion with them, Marguerite Prevey, member of the State Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio, was taken from the county jail at Columbus during the dark hours of the night of March 3rd and hurried to prison at Chicago.

This dastardly and illegal act was perpetrated on the heels of an order of the Court of Judge E. B. Kincead of the Court of Common Pleas earlier in the day, when he ordered a stay of execution of 48 hours to allow Mrs. Prevey's attorneys to perfect their arror proceedings and appeal her case to the Court of Appeals.

The hearing on this evidence was set for March 1st, but owing to illnes of Judge Kincead, it was postponed to the following Wednesday.

Joe. W. Sharts and J. L. Bachman, Mrs. Prevey's attorneys made a splendid showing at the hearing. Testimony of officials of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio was introduced to prove the political character of the Party, its manner of functioning and the means and methods it advocated to accomplish its ends. Tom Clifford, also a member of the Party State Executive Committee was placed upon the stand and testified to the character of the organization and the convention acts at the time it was organized at Chicago. Another witness for the defense was F. T. Allison, present State Secretary of Ohio. Mrs. Prevey also testified to her part in organizing the Party at Chicago.

Marguerite Prevey

Slim Evidence of Prosecution.

The only evidence offered by the prosecution was a paragraph in the Manifesto of the Communist International issued at Moscow in 1918. This paragraph, which outlines the plan of establishing the control of the workers and demands the arming of the proletariat and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, together with a paragraph in the Platform of the Communist Labor Party, which expresses harmony of relationship between the principles of the Party with those of the Third International form the basis of the charges against Mrs. Prevey.

In a deliberate and forceful manner attorney Sharts showed from the following paragraphs of the Platform the fallacy of the charges. That a declaration that the Party was in harmony with the PRINCIPLES of the Third International, he argued, did not prove that the Party declared itself for the methods and tactics which were followed by the proletariat of Russia in overthrowing the Czar's government and establishing the Soviet form.

Attorney Sharts read from the Platform of the Party as follows to disprove the charge of unlawfulness made by the prosecution in the indictments

"The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accordance with the principles of Communism, as laid down in the Manifesto of the Third International formed at Moscow.

"In essence, these principles are as follows:

"The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole system of world capitalism. Unless capitalism is replaced by the rule of the working class, world civilization will collapse.

"The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of state power. This capture means the establishment of the new working class government machinery, in place of the state machinery of the capitalists.

"This new working class government—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of Communism, and accomplish the transition from Capitalism to the Communist Commonwealth.

"Communist society is not like the present fraudulent capitalist democracy—which, with all its pretensions to equality, is merely a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy—but it is a proletarian democracy, based on the control of industry and the state by the workers, who are thereby free to work out their own destiny. It does not mean capitalist institutions of government, which are controlled by the great financial and industrial interests, but organs of administration created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the Soviets of Russia.

"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall transfer private property in the means of production and distribution to the working class government, to be administered by the workers themselves. It shall nationalize the great trusts and financial institutions. It shall abolish capitalist agricultural production.

"The present world situation demands that the revolutionary working class movements of all countries shall closely unite.

"The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary.

Continued on page 4th.

RE-DEFINING LIBERTY

By Scott Nearing

Thomas Jefferson's brand of liberty rested upon the assumption that every man who wished to do so could own a farm. When the Declaration of Independence was drafted, 98 per cent of the American people lived outside of cities, and 90 per cent of them worked outside of factories.

The Americans of the late 18th century lived in a country where every man who chose to do so could stake out his claim, put his two feet on his own piece of land and make a living by his own labor. If he shot rabbits or deer, they belonged to him, if he raised corn or potatoes, they were his property. He owned his job and the product that was created on that job. Jeffersonian democracy expressed the sentiment of a community in which men were economically self-sufficient.

That stage of American economic life has gone forever. Never again will it be possible for each family to make a living on its own farm. People today are heaped up in Chicago, New York, New Orleans and San Francisco. They cannot milk their own cows or pick apples from their own trees. Instead of being able to live by devoting time and energy to land which belongs to him, the modern city and town dweller is forced to seek out someone who owns a job.

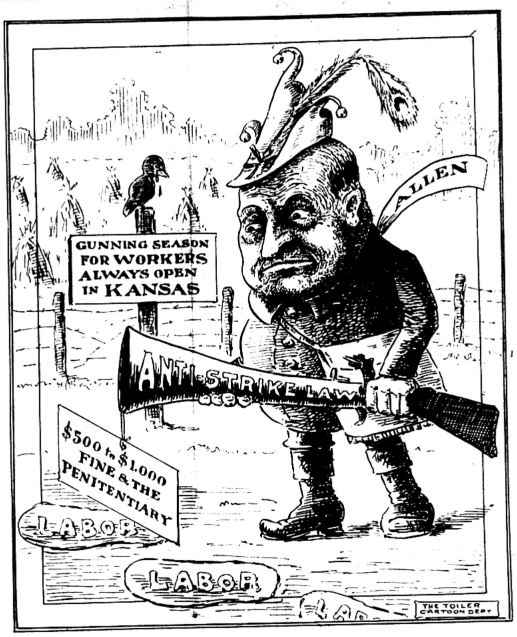
He goes, for example, to Mr. Elbert H. Gary with his request. Says he: "Judge Gary, you represent a corporation with a billion and a half of capital and nearly three billions of assets. I represent Mrs. Mike Donovan and five children. You own a job: I want it."

"We are paying 50 cents an hour," Mr. Gary answers.

You protest — "The United States Department of Labor has just issued a bulletin to prove that a man cannot keep a wife and three young children on a 'health and decency' standard in the city of Washington on less than $2.288.25. The wage you propose for me is only one-half of that amount. If I am to have an American standard of living, I must get a dollar an hour for an 8-hour day. On anything less, my family will suffer."

"I am very sorry," says the judge, "but we do not need you at a dollar an hour."

(Cont. on page 4.)



GUNNING SEASON FOR WORKERS ALWAYS OPEN IN KANSAS
ALLEN
ANTI-STRIKE LAW
$500 to $1.000 FINE & THE PENITENTIARY
LABOR
LABOR
LAB
THE TOILER CARTOON DEPT

Irresponsible and Running Wild!

The strike, as a weapon in the hands of the working-class to establish better conditions for itself is outlawed in the state of Kansas.

The strike, herefore the mightiest weapon of organized labor, has been declared illegal by the capitalist powers thru its government. To disobey the new anti-strike law is to render one liable to a heavy fine and a term in the penitentiary.

The recent strike of the miners of Kansas struck the capitalist class of that state with terror. It became frightened at the power of the workers to throw the system of labor exploitation into a state of chaos by laying down their tools. To combat the striking workers and to render them powerless, if possible by legislative means, the capitalist class of Kansas, thru their representatives in the state legislature and the Governor's chair enacted the infamous Industrial Court Law which makes it illegal to strike.

Under the provisions of this capitalist class law, which became effective January 24, it established an Industrial Court of three judges appointed by the Governor for three years with annual salaries of $5.000. It has supervision over the manufacture and preparation of food products in any and all stages of the process, of the manufacture of clothing and all wearing apparel, of all mining and fuel production, and of the transportation of necessities. Suspension of operation in such manufacture or transportation is illegal. In case of a labor controversy in these industries threatening to endanger the continuity or efficiency of service, the court may begin an investigation. **The court may amend or change any employment contract.** If either or both parties to a controversy refuse to obey the court's orders the State may take over the industries in question and operate them. Labor-unions may incorporate but are not compelled to. Collective bargaining is **recognized but the right to "picket"** or to **disturb workers is denied.** Striking in violation of the law is punishable by a $500 fine or six months in jail or both. To order, call, or foment a strike is a felony, punishable by five years in the penitentiary or a fine of $1000, or both.

The tremenduous power over the workers which capitalism everywhere is seeking to establish is laid bare in this latest evidence of the dictatorship of capitalism. The capitalist press generally is overjoyed at the enactment of this measure that is calculated to throttle Labor before it can hardly gasp out it demands. In a fulsome eulogy of this law, the Kansas City Times gives away the game in the following words," It (the Industrial Court Law") pledges the good faith of the State to see that Labor's rights are protected, and at the same time that capital is not endangered". "The good faith of the capitalist State" may law, the Kansas City Times gives away by workers these days. We have had some evidence lately of the good faith in which the capitalist State deals with the workers. In reliance upon such faith the workers can rest assured that they will come out of the small end of the horn.

A "labor" law which "does not endanger capital" should be looked upon with suspicion by the workers. Hidden somewhere is certain to be a snare into which it is calculated that Labor will stumble to its ruin.

This law, which capitalist interests have enacted for the subjugation of Labor is another evidence of the growing class divisions in present day society. By its provisions, Labor's strongest weapon is snatched from its hands and it is forced to sit down to an arbitration game in which the cards are stacked against it from the first deal. It will sit down with the representatives of the Capitalist State three apointees ot the Governor, the capitalist State's executive head. In such a game, can Labor expect to ever attain a just reward for its toil? The bare assumption of such a circumstance must bring Gargantuan laughter from the throats of Kansas capitalists. THEY have made the rules. THEY know the results. THEY know that this law is a gag and a bridle and a collar with which they have harnessed the workers of Kansas to their labor

(Cont. on page 4.)

WASHINGTON NEWS LETTER

BY PAUL HANNA.

WASHINGTON.—The Russian thaw has set in. Almost over night the great news papers which have united for two years past to suppress the truth about the country have now begun to complete in getting out the facts.

For the American people there is news of first importance in a simple summary of this sudden switch by the nation's press. On Feb. 21 The New York American appeared with an 8-column headline proclaiming, "Lenine Sends Wireless Interview to The American." That paper's Berlin correspondent, Wiegand, had queried Lenine by wireless and the Russian prime minister responded with a categorical statement covering every point raised. The whole article constituted a pro-soviet argument which refuted the most important lies about the aims of that government. All the newspapers which take the Hearst morning service featured the Lenine interview and boasted about their great "beat".

On the same day The New York World printed a long, exhaustive and exclusive interview with Lenine, obtained in Moscow by Lincoln Eyre. The reporter pictured the soviet chief as an intellectual dynamo of whom the discredited statesmen of western Europe had best beware unless they are ready to deal honestly with the Russian republic. Lenine's tempered but confident forecast of Russia's future was printed without apparent efforts at distortion by the reporter.

The night of Feb. 22 brought from London and Paris two extraordinary confirmations of the diplomatic change regarding Russia. Headed by Gen. Gough, British commander of the entente forces recently evacuated from Archangel, an important group of British officers and financial experts formally petitioned Lloyd George to recognize and make peace with the soviet government. Simultaneously at Paris French army officers who saw service in Siberia united in a call to their government to recognize and accept the new democracy in Russia. They praised the red army as both efficient and democratic and declared it was supported by most of the inhabitants of Siberia.

One day later the American press somersault on Russia became more pronounced. In full-page advertisements in the other metropolitan papers, The New York World anounced with enormous type a series of "Direct Interviews With Lenine and Tretzky." The advertisement bore a picture of Lenine labelled, "Russian Thinker," and one of Trotzky bearing the words, "The organizer and executive." The anouncement gave the dates and character of future interviews which Eyre has procured with soviet representatives.

On the some date, Feb. 23, the ultra-conservative New York Times printed the first of its disptaches from Arthur E. Colpping, who has begun a tour of soviet Russia in company with Joffe and the other diplomats from Moscow who negotiated peace with Esthonia. In his first story Copping obliterated the cartoonists' conception of the communist as an unwashed fanatic. In the space of two columns he also destroyed the foundation of most of The Times' editorials about Russia.

I have reviewed these newspaper changes because they will certainly have an early effect upon events and policies at Washington. The senate Committee which is investigating Russian propaganda in America will take serious further thought before it determines upon a course leading to the expulsion of Martens, the soviet representative, from the United States. For all the better publicity now appearing shows that Russia is well able to retaliate against future American business for the persecution of her spokesman here.

Another item: Bernard Baruch, adviser to President. Wilson, is very anxious to head a new American commission to visit soviet Russia. His aim has been thwarted heretofore by the old Wilson-Lansing policy of snarl and drift respecting Russia. Europe's stampede toward a Russian settlement will strengthen Baruch's hand and prophets say the administration will shortly fall into line for a complete reconciliation with the communist republic.

Skygac's Column

Roger Babson, Frank A. Vanderlip, John D. Rockefeller Jr., Theodore Price, are names to conjure with. If any one set of men may be expected to have an accurate knowledge of the world's financial pulse these men are the ones who ought to know economic and political conditions. Yet these men sent a message to the Interchurch World session, and attended by over a thousand ministers, that ought to make the politicians sit up and take notice. Here is the message;

"That no force will serve to maintain social order xecept a rewakening of a national religious spirit."

Of course they mean when they speak of social order, THE (present) social order $ $ $ $ $ (of legalized robbery of the toilers through the wages system).

They have tried the force of government thru the despotic measures of such men as Palmer, Hoyne, Judge Landis and their ilk.

They have tried the force of the constabulary and the state militia end the standing army.

They have tried the force of political buncome via the too old parties and the too new ones too.

Now the spoksmen for the economic overlords of capitalism plainly tell us that NO FORCE except a reawakening of a national religious spirit will save the social order.

If such be the case we might as well begin now to be reconciled to our fate, for there is NO HOPE of any such an awakenink. That same conference reported one denomination having 17.000 churches with 12.000 of them vacant every Sunday. The average ministerial salary, less than $900.00 a year and country churches falling at the rate of 11% a year. Such is the broken reed upon which capitalism rests, according to these spokesmen!

• • •

Milo D. Campbell, chairman of the National board of farm organizations in a recent message to the national conference says;

"The U. S. Grain Corporation is about to turn into the National Treasury fifty million dollars. — profit made by buying wheat at a legally fixed price and selling it abroad at a great profit."

Robbing the farmer and "selling wheat abroad at a great profit": No dear reader, this isn't the record of the terrible Bolsheviki, neither is it in the program of the reds. It is the simple truth about what the politicians of this country are doing. And you are partly to blame if you allow them to do it without protest. We have heard much of the starving races of Europe and it is our idea that "selling wheat abroad at a great profit" is probably one of the direct causes of the starvation. Such proceedure may be Christian, at least the ones doing it claim to be christians, but it is mighty poor evidence of their love for humanity.

• • •

Senator Murphy in a letter to Gov. Edwards writes;

"It is also my prayer that the Democrat Party will not be so assinine as to select a leader who poses with a pay-check from the Anti Saloon League in one hand and a bottle of grape juice in the other."

He wants a president that will remain in Washington and look after the affairs of the nation rather than to frolic with the squirrels on the Champs Elysees."

• • •

That cabinet of Wilson's seems to be an unstable affair. Wilson evidently never could qualify as a cabinemaker. When Lansing was "fired" because he had unofficially called the cabinet together during Wilson's illness, where was the manhood of the rest of the cabinet? A bunch of good union men would have made Wilson fire the whole cabinet! Members of the Cabinet come and go but thru it all Burleson the Autocrat of the means of communication still sticks.

• • •

"The answer is that America needs to set her house in order from top to bottom" — that was the last line in an editorial in one of the leading stand-pat organs of the country — a paper that has always been cock-sure that everything was all right except for the pernicious activity of the radicals. Now comes the confession quoted above. Oh well, murder will out.

• • •

The morning paper tells us that business relations will be opened with Soviet Russia for four reasons, first that Bolshevism is here to stay, secondly that there is no such thing as Bolshevism, thirdly that Lenine and Trotsky no longer believe in Communism but in Capitalism and fourthly that trade with Russia will strengthen the bonds of Capitalism.

I can name their four reasons in four words, business, bonds and profits.

• • •

There can be no profit without a corresponding loss.

• • •

The American Bourgeoise class has made enormous profits the past five years? Who stood the loss that is represented by that enormous profit? The working-class of course. If there was an enormous profit there must have been an enormous loss. Is it any wonder the powers that be find it increasingly difficult to keep the working class contented?

• • •

There is now only one way to keep the workers contented and that is to keep them in ignorance of the economics of industry. One hours study of the profit and loss side of industry will make any red-blooded American worker discontented with the present capitalist order of society.

• • •

How things have changed! It used to be the way of the transgressor is hard, but since the days of the Wilson—Palmer—Burleson administration it can truthfully be said, the way of the benefactor is hard.

• • •

Prohibition has its compensating side at that. The Revolution will not have a chance to degenerate into a rumbellion.

• • •

Goodness Gracious—even the Cardinals of the Pope of Rome have asked for an increase of salary claiming that they cannot make both ends meet with their present salary. Everybody seems to be doing it now.

• • •

They never miss an opportunity to point out that the socialists, the radicals and the reds are an ungodly bunch absolutely devoid of religion. Now with the official report that the churches are failing at the rate of 11% a year does that mean that the reds are gaining at that rate?

• • •

Wonder what those striking Cardinals would do if they were compelled to live on a workingman's wages?

• • •

Dr. Edgar Fahs Smith, in leaving his position at the University of Pennsylvania, out of love for the institution in whose service he has grown old is quoted by the press as follows: "I have ont a cent in the world I have been a teacher all my life. That is a wonderful but unremunerative work."

• • •

A country can not gracefully brag of its greatness, when it allows its teachers to be unrewarded and cast upon the scrap-heap after a lifetime spent in usefulness.

• • •

52,000 Americans emigrated to Canada last year. There must be a reason.

• • •

With ordinary shoes quoted at $14—21 a pair how long will it be before the working class has "no sole for its foot but the sod"?

• • •

And there is mighty little sod in the industrial centers!

• • •

And what little there may be is protected by the sign,

• • •

Keep off the Grass.

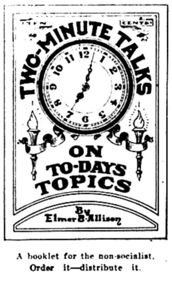
Advance in subscription price

The subscription price of The Toiler will be advanced to $1.50 per year beginning April 1st.

We are compelled by the constantly rising prices of paper and general printing costs to make this advance.

A special opportunity will be given our readers until April 1st to renew their subscription at the old rate of $1.00 a year. This opportunity is extended to all regardless of the time of expiration of their subscriptions.

By order of the State Executive Committee.



A booklet for the non-socialist.
Order it—distribute it.

A Call to Labor to Stand by its Own

Three Ohio Comrades have been indicted for revolutionary activities and are being tried in the capitalist courts. The defense of these comrades will cost hundreds of dollars. The transcripts of evidence and legal papers alone, will mount to high figures. The costs must be paid. The comrades deserve the help of every liberty loving person. The indictments against them are in a way, indictments of the workers and the political organization which they have formed as a means of achievng their emancipation from the chains of wage slavery. These comrades are among the most loyal workers for Socialism in this state. Your help in these cases is well deserved—and it is needed—at once.

Lotta Burke.

Thirteen Socialist Party members and members of the Communist Labor Party at Cincinnati, among them Lotta Burke, member of the State Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio, are out on bond while their cases are appealed to a higher court. They have been convicted of conspiracy to defeat the conscription act at the beginning of the war against Germany. Any one who knows Lotta Burke knows the falsity of such a charge. But she has been sentenced a year and a quarter in the Penitentiary. And she will have to spend these 15 months in prison unless the sentence is reversed in a higher court. Money is needed in this case and every worker should assist in defraying the costs.

Marguerite Prevey.

At this writing, Marguerite Prevey is in jail at Chicago while her attorneys are attempting to have her released and returned to Ohio. Elsewhere in this issue, the account of this case is given. But the tremendous significance of the case of comrade Prevey should be realized by every worker and member of the Communist Labor Party. If she is returned to Ohio and the higher courts deny her extradition to Illinois it will mean that no Ohio resident can be extradited from this state on charges of having aided in the organization of the Communist Labor Party. It will establish the fact that this working-class political party was NOT organized for the purpose of overthrowing the government 'by violence and unlawful means'' as charged in the Chicago indictments. Winning this case means the establishment of an absolutely legal status for the Party and will settle the question of whether it is lawful or unlawful to be a member of it.

Because of the great importance of this case, aside from the purely humanitarian and class character of it, we call upon every loyal and class conscious worker to help defray the costs.

Charles Baker

During the recent miner's strike, Charles Baker toured the mining regions of the state of Kansas. He visited many localities and held rousing miner's meetings in all of them. The striking miners of Kansas, than whom there are no workers more loyal to their class, attended his meetings by the thousands and made them the most enthusiastic ever held there.

The capitalist class took cognizance of these worker's meetings. They saw that if they continued, it meant the rousing of the workers and the further spread of revolt against their exploitation The capitalist state at once brought into play it's ready weapon, the Lever act, a war time measure calculated to keep the slave class chained to its slavery while the war profiteers grew sleek and fat off of their toil and sweat.

Because Baker backed up the miners and taught the facts of the class struggle and their exploitation, he was indicted by a grand jury at Kansas City. He is now out on bail while the case is pending. Baker is known to practically every socialist in Ohio and has made hundreds of speeches here and in odjoining states. No worker in the Movement is more universally liked than is Baker. His personality, his sincerity and loyality to the workingclass have won him thousands of admiring friends Baker has not a dollar. If he is to have adequate defense the funds must be secured from those who know and value his work for working class emancipation. To these thousands of friends of his and to other workers who appreciate years of conscientious work for our cause, we must appeal for funds to defend him.

These cases call not for donations of pennies, but of dollars and many of them. They must be had at once. Right now, hundreds of dollars are needed. Expenses are piling up daily and must be paid as the cases progress. We call upon you who read these lines to give and to collect funds at once for the comrades' defense. Don't delay, funds are needed NOW. Use the blank below to remit your first subscription.

FOR PREVEY, BURKE AND BAKER'S DEFENSE.

The Toiler, 3207 Clark Ave.
Clevelad, Ohio.

I appreciate what is at stake in these cases.

Enclosed find $........... ...... for defraying the costs of the defense of these comrades.

Name ....
Street address ....
City .... State ....

YOUNGSTOWN OPEN FORUM MEETINGS
AT BUSHNELL HALL
Every Sunday evening 7:30
Good Speakers—Live Subjects
YOU ARE INVITED.

The Black Sheep.

Chapt. XXI
Philosophy (continued)

"Now getting a living and enjoying life seems to be the object of all our striving, and what is more natural to strive along the lines of least resistance. The property owning class exploits us in order that they may live as it seems best to them; they do not hate us any more than a hunter hates a duck; we are their legitimate prey. When we rebel against direct exploitation they kill us; history is full of such examples as you yourself have told me. This class struggle of which you speak is not a matter of morals; it is a matter of position. And position depends on two things, first one must be at the place of opportunity before the crowd arrives and second he must have the brain to recognize an advantage when it presents itself and the courage to make it his own.

"I belong to the working class and as long as I do, it is to my interest that they should be organized to protect themselves from the aggressions of the boss; but believe me the first chance I have to get out of it and live fat in the halls of the mighty — I go. The fat pastures look good to Jack Thurston."

"Fat chance you have of getting out of the working class, "remarked Collins," now that capitalism is developing by leaps and bounds. In a few years there will not be an opportunity to get a hold of any property worth speaking of, if you had a head as big as a bushel basket, and a wad as big as a blanket.

"I know it, "Jack answered," but knowing what the working class is up against from within and without I can see for them only a hopeless and endless struggle; a ceaseless warfare between the House of Have and the House of Want, with the adventage always on the side of the possessing class. There is an old saying that possession is nine points of the law."

"But how are you going to get possession except by organized effort." Rudolph asked.

"Who ever said that you were going to get possession as a class? Slaves are not bred to possess. I will grant you that the present masters may be overthrown by a political or even violent revolution, that's only natural. Death comes to all things including the ruling groups of finance. They cannot last forever. But because your ruling groups must pass away that does not mean that your irresponsible, mutually antagonistic, hopelessly helpless and abjectly servile mass will possess themselves of the reins of power. No, your revolutions have always meant, and will always mean simply a change of masters. One group of dominants falling and another group of dominants rising. I might paraphrase Tennyson, "Masters come and masters go. But the slave toils on forever."

"Our class is determined by our method of getting a living. Our method of getting a living is determined by our mental inclinations. Our mental inclinations are determined by our brain type. Our brain types are determined by biological variations, due to certain flukes of nature as yet not fully understood by science. This also holds true for masters. Masters rise from dominant types but are, intermarried with inferior types from time to time. This destroys their dominance and another group of masters arises in their stead. Then there is an another factor. Masters are simply human. They are adapted to the environment with which they find themselves. But the evolution of the machinery of production, the extension of commerce and trade continually changes that environment and is a great factor in the rise and fall of master groups. If my logic is not at fault then the new masters do not rise from the working class, nor from the master class but from that biological third estate that belongs to neither; from it arises your leaders in the financial, the political, and the industrial world. Genius is what controls human affairs; economic evolution is what forces the world's great transformation. Genius rises from humanity both master and slave. It knows no class; it knows no heridity, it is a spontaneous variation that meets a certain requirement at a certain time. That and that alone is genius. As for the classes they change from kings to patricians, from patricians to priests and nobles, from nobles to bourgeois, from bourgeois to merachant princes. They change to meet the requirements of industrial development and will continue so to change as long as evolution exists. The blonde beast always on top.

"On the other hand we've had the slave, the freedman, the serf, and now the wage slave — they too have changed their form according to the industrial requirement of each historical epoch. Both classes are in the grasp of the inexorable law of development, but both classes remain true to type, the one as master and the other as slave, and between the two is the unrecognized middle ground that keeps up and vitalizes both."

"It would be a good thing if you would croak right now, "said Collins," that damned argument of yours would sow pessimism in the heart of a jumping jack. I know that you are wrong, in fact I feel it, but I can't answer you. At least not yet."

Jack smiled, "if what I say is truth then how are we going to get away from it. There is really no use in fighting gravitation."

"But Jack see here, listen, "Rudolph broke in, waving his hands in the air" our agitation, our education, economic development, all will work together to awaken labor to a consciousness of its power. We will teach them to recognize the tyranny of capital, and the benefits of co-operative efforts. We will teach them how to fill the world with peace and plenty, how to fight the fires of joy on the lips of love. It is the historic mission of the working class to take possession of industry. Karl Marx says so in the first volume of capital, haven't you read it. He proved it in the Communist Manifesto that labor must awaken to a consciousness of its collective power, or as one of the poets put it:

"We shall laugh to scorn your power, that has held a world in awe.

We shall trample on your customs, and shall spit upon your law.

We shall come up from life's desert to your burdened banquet hall,

We shall turn your wine to wormwood, and your honey into gall."

"Isn't it too bad that nature's most beautiful flowers, those which are so rich in color and fragrance do never bear seeds Now if we could only fill the world with souls such as Rudolph then all our troubles would be over," commented Jack dryly. "But the fact is that the mass of mankind does not look at things as he does. Is it well for us to range with science, glorying in the time. While city children soil a sicken. Soul and sense in city slime."

And from the other cell Rudolph continued the quotation. "Where the master shrimps his haggard seamstress of her daily bread, Where a single sordid attic holds the living and the dead. Where the, smoldering fire of fever crawls across the rotted floor, and the crowded couch holds incest, in the warrens of the poor."

"Oh, for God's sake cut it, when ever you try to talk sense your brain takes fire "Collins said." Let's get back to the subject History and evolution both teach the progress of life is always in the direction of higher and better organization. That fact alone proves to me that labor's organization must go and will go on until it is perfected, and the perfection of labor's organization will mean its ownership and control of the socially necessary means of life. When that is accomplished, not only labor but the world will be free, simply because labor will be the world."

"Divinely free to work and love, agreed Rudolph.

"It sounds plausible, but to my mind there is a rattle in it. There is something about it that is not true to nature; it sounds too much like an orthodox sermon. It is a statement of the desires of your brain and not of the facts of existence" Said the boy, Then after a pause he went on.

"I am willing to admit that I may be mistaken, I am not sufficiently familiar with human history and the evolution of industrial processes, to base an unqualified argument upon them. But if I am not mistaken, history teaches us how successive generations of men have managed to survive, successive changes in environment. Industrial evolution teaches us that the changes in production that have taken place in the past are but the logical outcome of man's increasing need. All history is but the story of man's struggle to adapt himself to the changing order of things While I am short on a knowledge of history, I do know something of nature and nature's methods. I have learned to observe things as they are and since I have been introduced to the class struggle and you have told me of its history, I have noticed three types in the human race. One type whose object in life is to own and control, another type whose object it is to produce and bring forth, and still another between these two that sends its members into both classes to renew and vitalize them when they become old and stade. Nov I am willing to admit that this thing may come to an end. As I have said all things come to an end, and the human race is no exception. Still industrial mastery will die out with the passing of the markets, then there will arise an intellectual master which in its expression may be more tyrannical than the industrial masters of today.

"You must not forget that when the industrial problem is solved thru the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, granting that that day will come, that the conflicting types still exist and will ex-

(Cont. on page 4.)

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

The Toiler

ONE YEAR $1.00 | BUNDLE RATES $1.00 Per Hundred | SIX MONTHS 50c

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EDITOR ....Elmer T. Allison

Published Weekly by The Communist Labor Party of Ohio at Cleveland, Ohio.
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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, MARCH 12th 1920.

THE NEW PROPAGANDA

Heretofore the literature of Socialism has had to do with the subject as a philosophy, a theory with no practical application to prove its fundamental soundness. There is a change imminent which will have a wide and deep effect upon the movement of the workers toward the acquisition of power. Growing out of the victory of Socialism in Russia, one of the greatest nations, comprising nearly 200,000,000 people, will come a new literature which will consist of accounts of practical applications of the principles of socialization of all productive machinery and land under direct control of the workers. From this source will come the most interesting as well as the most instructive literature of the proletarian revolution of the immediate future.

The capitalist world doubtless realizes what power and conviction such literature will have upon the proletariat of other countries. It doubtless realizes the grave danger to its own ability to successfully lie to and decieve the workers in the face of such incontrovertible evidence of the success of the workings of applied Socialism. Out of Russia we may expect in the very near future, a constant stream of propaganda that will be the means of such a mighty stirring of the proletariat of all countries as has never been dreamed of. Not that the Soviet government itself will direct this propaganda, but with the soon-to-be opening of trade relations, peace and recognition, what forces can keep out the facts? In the heads of travellers will come information that will set the workers thinking. The facts will come out.

Along this line, it is interesting to note that the publication of the Russian Code of Labor Laws which was first published in this country about two weeks ago indicates this new literature and has already been christened by a baptism in the mire of capitalist gutter sheets. This Code will be published in part in the next issue of The Toiler. We wish to point out in this connection, that with every refutation in the capitalist press of the processes of successful operation of socialized industry in Russia a great interest and inquisitiveness will be aroused among the workers and by consequent investigation and reading the truth will at last be acquired.

And preciously here is a great field of work for the socialist and communist press of this country to delve in. The truth about Russia must be placed before the workers. Every paper and every reader must become an agency thru which the truth may filter. Readers must prepare to extend the circulation of these truth telling papers—as widely as possible. The workers must be reached with the facts. The greatest opportunity of all time is almost face to face with us. We must prepare to fulfil our duty in the monumental task of distributing this propaganda to America's millions of toilers. It is a work which every thinking worker should take up with earnestness. Prepare to distribute the facts about SOCIALIST RUSSIA.

A COMMUNIST --- ALMOST

While we have had no intentions of carrying on a week-to-week argument with the Miami Valley Socialist, we cannot refrain from complimenting its editor upon his arrival at another milestone on the way to advocacy of Communist principles and tactics. And while he continues to resort to comics we will have to smile in reply. In the last issue the editor says in reply to us:

> "If we (the Socialist Party) aimed merely at putting Socialists in legislatures to introduce reforms or to "talk revolution", the Berger and Albany incidents might be an argument against political action.
>
> But what Socialists seek by political action is not to have a vote and voice in carrying on the capitalist State; on the contrary, it is to rally a majority for the abolition of the capitalist state".

The editor of the Miami is perfectly aware that the Communist Labor Party has not dispensed with political action, so the intimation to that effect is without force. The editor goes on to give a reason for the Socialist Party's advocacy of political action in these words:

> "Now so long as the capitalist class can pose as the forces of "law and order." the great inert American masses will cling blindly to them. And so long as the capitalist can hold out the ballot to them, they will not believe the capitalists have deprived them of "liberty." But by political action, by insisting upon the ballot as the means of accomplishing the transition from capitalism to industrial democracy, Socialists force the hand of the capitalist class"—

to prove, he should have added, that political action by the working class is but of secondary value as a weapon to abolish the capitalist state. His statement amounts to this: that the use of the ballot to the workers is of more value as a propaganda weapon than as an actual political pry with which it may hope to gain power over the State. It is also in contradiction to his first statement quoted above. He does not expect to ever "rally a majority" of votes with which to overthrow capitalism but will use the ballot to "force the hand of capitalism."

The above statement comprises a near-declaration of harmony with the position of the Communist Labor Party in regard to the uses and value of working-class political action. We had hardly hoped comrade Sharts to ever make it. And therein lies our reason for smiling. Has not the logic of the "Berger and Albany incidents" gotten a bit the best of comrade Sharts faith in the power of the ballot to abolish the capitalist State? It looks very much like it. To prove just how much, we quote from the Platform of the C. L. P and ask that you compare the above statement with what follows:

"The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary.

However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office—so long as these are of assistance to the workers in their economic struggle. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible, these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system.

That the Socialist Party advocates use of the ballot for the purpose of "forcing the capitalist class" to prove the ballot's precise value is a new one. We really thot it took the ballot seriously, and can hardly accept comrade Shart's definition. It is much easier to believe that comrade Sharts is somewhat out of sympathy with the present day attitude of the Socialist Party on this matter.

Will we have to believe him a Communist—almost?

SPARKS.

There's a world of good reading and propaganda in that package of 8 pamphlets which comprise the Half Price Literature Combination. Order it read the pamphlets and distribute them Let them be working for education. They are only good when they are being read. The price is 50c.

Five dollars for the defense of comrades indicted has been received from comrade Mathieu of South Band Ind. With many casses demanding defense, every comrade should lend a hand.

Comrade Markert of Mt. Healthy states that there will soon be some new subs. arrive from that point. The army of sub hustlers is constantly recruiting new troopers.

J. Foelster of Davenport, is in with $6.00 worth of subscriptions this week He states that he likes the premiums which we give as reward for getting them.

Comrade L. A. Kospert is still sending them in. About ten dollars worth of new subscriptions each week is his past month's record. "Can you beat it"?

The cartoon fund is receiving some boosts this week. Considering the quality of the product of our Cartoon Department, we must emphasize that the fund deserves to grow. A dime or dollar from YOU will help.

Comrade Walter Conradie, of New Bremen, remits for three renewals. He states that the "Black Sheep" is well worth the price.

And that reminds us that you whose subscriptions will soon expire should renew at once so as not to miss a chapter of this good story.

Thru the efforts of comrade O. C. Schmid, our Sandusky list gets a boost of sixteen new subscribers. Just a straw that shows how easy it is to get them when you go after them.

Comrade Carl Nast of Columbus, gives capitalism a few good swats this past week as a list of six yearlies shows. He gets the favorite premium Lenin the Man and His Work.

And to [illegible] and [illegible] of our literary [illegible] taking advantage of our premium offers. See the advertisement in this issue.

They are [illegible] down at Bellaire. There is always some action there. Comrade Frank Stahl proves it by a remittance of $4.00 for subs.

Every day the proof is brought home to us that it is easy to get subscriptions for The Toiler. In fact it is growing easier. Here is another booster, comrade Cather of Youngstown, who remits $7.50 for new subscriptions. What better proof would you ask?

If you don't believe it is easy, try it yourself.

Comrade Fosse Evans of Kansas is ever ready to do his share for our cause. Whether it is getting subscriptions or securing defense funds, he is on the job. His recent remittance of $27.00 for subscriptions and the Chas. Baker defense proves that he is able to get splendid co-operation from the comrades of his vicinity.

Have you ordered a bundle of Toilers form himself and another comrade small but results are great. Get a bundle each week and distribute them. Then watch results.

A donation of ten dollars from comrades Zhuck of Youngstown is testimony to his interest in the emancipation of the workers and the rebuilding of society upon a basis of freedom and equality.

Comrade Brenkar renews his subscription and also encloses two dollars form himself and another comrade for the great Cause.

Five dollars for subscription cards and party work comes from comrade J. H. Sims of Bethel.

Comrade W. Frederick of Belleville I..., orders a bundle of 100 copies. Looks like some workers there are to get some new mental diet.

Order a package of "Slander of the Toilers". Put them in the shops.

Debs pictures are still selling at 25c each. Order one and hang it an the walls of your home.

Comrade Spring of Weston W. Va. is here again with a list of three. That Weston list is growing.

Those little boosts which the comrades send in with their renewals are the best means of introducing The Toiler to a friend. Any worker will appreciate a little gift like a 3 months trial sub. Send one in with your renewal.

Comrade Sprigg of Weston, W. Va., remits $4.00 for subscriptions.

We note the arrival of two yearlies from comrade Hedden of Kaleva, Mich. [illegible] the job is [illegible]

"Some of the best papers in the country" is the way comrade Braswell of Clinton expresses his opinion of The Toiler.

Comrade Foelster of Davenport is getting help in his sub campaign, he states. He remits for six yearlies. He's got the system it seems.

Comrade Kospert of Toledo won't get all the subs there. Here comes A. T. Haworth with a bundle of 4. And yet, we believe there is still some room for a few other comrades to catch a few there.

A nice list of nine subscriptions arrives from comrade E. L. Thompson of Charlestown W. Va.

We're Almost Giving Them Away!

"THE SLANDER OF THE TOILERS"

— by Geo. R. Kirkpatrick —

Contains more Socialist propaganda to the page than any pamphlet we know of. And that is the reason YOU should spend a few cents to put it in the hands of the toilers.

WILL YOU CO-OPERATE WITH US IN DISTRIBUTING 4.000 COPIES?

We have 4.000 copies of this pamphlet on hand which we want to get distributed in the shops, mills and mines just as soon as it can be done. Your help is required. We have reduced the price from 3c each to one cent and the postage. That is less than cost to us. We have done that much, will you do the rest — pay that small price and distribute them?

Here are prices on quantities to you postage paid.

35 copies — 50c.
75 copies — 85c.
100 copies — 1.10
200 copies — 2.15
500 copies — 5.35

No orders accepted for less than 35 copies.

Locals, members and groups — send in your orders NOW.

Put this pamphlet where it will do the most good — in the hands of the workers.

Adress The Toiler.

NATHAN BURLENGAME

Nathan Burlengame, one of the most died of pneumonia February 2nd. Many earnest comrades of East Liverpool, O., comrades mourn his death.

WAR ON IGNORANCE!

We have declared WAR on IGNORANCE. Will you enlist in the ranks of the ENLIGHTENERS? We intend to establish in the State Office of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio a Book and Pamphlet Department second to none in the nation. We will handle only the best of the Revolutionary literature of the past and present. We will also publish new literature of our own. We have since Jan. 1st gotten one pamphlet off the press, another will be ready for sale in a few days. Others are contemplated.

The co-operation of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and literature agents is earnestly hoped for. The demand for new and good revolutionary literature is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply this demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can sell pamphlets every week to shopmates and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

Every Class-conscious Worker must help Strike Down the Monster, Ignorance, that Enslaves the Workers.

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR ADDITIONAL TITLES.

Crimes of the Bolsheviki 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Soviet Russia ....10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18 each.
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Slander of the Toilers 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Bullitt Mission to Russia, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.
Communist Manifesto (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Law of Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Jack London's Works, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Man or the State, Essays famous writers $1.00
Russia in 1919, Ransome, $1.50, 5 or more, $1.25.
Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Pelle the Conqueror, $4.00 (2 volumes).
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Savage Survivals, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism for Students, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Socialism and Modern Science, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Stories of the Cave People, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism and War, $1.00 each.
Ten Days That Shook The World, $2.00 each.
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Universal Kinship, Moore, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.

TWO REAL WORTH-WHILE OFFERS

While the winter months are here, why not read to advantage?

The above titles offer you a wide choice of scientific and interesting literature. Send us $5.00 for an order of the above titles and we will give you a year's subscription to The Toiler. That's worth while isn't it?

ANOTHER CHANCE.

Send us $5.00 for subscription cards to The Toiler and receive free $1.50 worth of any of the above literature. You sell the cards and get your money back. Toiler sub cards sell easily.

PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY—ADDRESS:

THE TOILER
3207 Clark Ave.—Cleveland, Ohio.

$½ Buys ½ Price Combination.

LITERATURE AT ½ PRICE
WHILE IT LASTS

It is not often that you have the opportunity to buy Socialist literature at half price. But in view of the fact that we will soon lay in a large stock of new pamphlets and books, we make this half price reduction offer while these splendid pamphlets last. Here are the titles and retail prices.

Debs Goes to Prison, Karsner,	25c now 10c
Trial of Debs, Max Eastman,	10c now 5c
The Soviets, 76 Questions and Answers, Rhys Williams	10c now 5c
Crimes of the Bolsheviks, Riebe,	10c now 5c
Soviet Russia, Rhys Williams,	10c now 5c
Dream of Debs, Jack London,	10c now 5c
Constitution of Soviet Russia	10c now 5c
Manifesto of the Communist International	10c now 5c
Postage	5c
Total cost	50c

Is Your Study Class Organized?

We had expected to publish this week the first chapter of "Proletarian Science, an Economic Interpretation of History", by comrade W. E. Raynolds. Due to some delay in the mails the manuscript did not arrive in time for this issue. We are frankly disappointed and we know that many readers are also. But it has its compensating side too—it will give some comrades a chance to complete arrangements for taking up the study of this work with their friends and Local comrades.

So we say: get as many as possible into a group for the study of Proletarian Science at least one evening a week. Take up these chapters as they are published in The Toiler and you will become intensely interested and better educated than most college professors and bourgeois philosophers.

Organize your study class and prepare to benefit all who take part in the study of these chapters. Get all the good possible out of this course of lectures.

THE INFINITELY INTERESTING COMMON PEOPLE

Skygac gets tangled up in some heart-throb stuff. Writes an unorthodox letter and gives some unorthodox advice.

Skygac sat in his study. Said study being the other half of a two-room two-by-twice flat. The janitor had had a chill and in consequence the Hooverized radiator was emitting a gentle warmth, far in excess of its usual activities. The flat was actually comfortable, not as to size but as to warmth.

Junior Tattoo purred faithfully at his stand upon the imitation quarter-sawed-oak dresser and registered four minutes to seven on the evening of a blustery February day. The latest issue of a literary trade, journal had just arrived and Skygac expected to spend the evening enjoying its contents.

In the department headed, "The Experience Exchange" Henry Flury, a teacher of English Literature, had written an analysis of the situation in regard to the magazine world. Here is what Skygac read:

"Ted Olsen may not have intended to stir up a hornet's nest in "A word to the average reader", but before he has seen the thing thru he may find such to be the case. He may consider me as a hornet and listen to my "buzz" for a while.

The magazines occupy a strategic position in the realm of moulding public opinion, that no other agency does. The newspaper once held the respect of the people, but it is rapidly losing caste among the intelligent people, partly on account of its catering to sensationalism by billboard headlines and partly because many feel that it is an advertising agency rather than a disseminator of truth.

"Why are the magazines burdened with such drivel?" asks Olsen. "There are two extremes", he says, "the morbidly psychological and the frothy and superficial. Between them there is an immense range of opportunity. Common people are infinitely interesting if you only know it."

Quite so, quite so, Ted. This "immense range of opportunity" is however (I fear) going to be virgin territory for many a day for the following reason: In the majority of cases the magazines are owned and operated for and by the 'big interests' or those that have the same psychology, and any story that deviates from economic orthodoxy is a "black beast" and sent home to its author where it very properly belongs. Certainly it should not be allowed to disgrace the respectable pages of a good advertising medium and detract from the financial value of the same.

What the magazines are suffering from is a case of literary inbreeding due to this policy of economic exclusion. Owners rather than editors should receive the onus of our journalistic spleen. Because they have experienced this power, this "bread and butter" power for so long now they have produced in literature the same result that prevails in the profesion of teaching, namely they have forced the best out of the ranks until only the worst is left.

In order to be specific let me tell you how that much advertised and verbose "Saturday Evening Post" strikes me. In the first place it advertises conspiciously its large circulation, thereby it is a good advertising medium. (and its rates fixed accordingly). The print is so fine that I seldom am able to read more than one article when I have the time to waste on it. I find that I have a regular game of tag with myself dodging the ads sandwiched in between the "stories," (or is it the "stories" in between the ads?) and trying to follow the thing where it is "continued".

The Post, in line with all the Curtis publications, CAREFULLY AVOIDS ANY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF ECONOMIC ISSUES in its stories and accepts only those that treat of them in a flippant manner. Supperficiality, the mediocre, characterizes it.

What the magazines need is a re-conversion to the new principles of Democracy that are sweeping the whole civilized world: then we shall have some short stories that reflect the life of "the infinitely interesting common people

The common people are intensely interested at present in their own economic salvation. That is the thing that has the "heart-throb" in it, and that is the thing that is conspiciously absent in the magazine stories of today."

That was what Henry Fluty wrote. It was not the "buzzing" of a hornet but a sound analysis of one evil of today. In the same department of the same journal Skygac discovered a vein of the "heart-throb" material heritobefore mentioned.

J. R. E. after writing of some attempts in the field of amateur litrary efforts and expressing the hope that as she is still in her twenties her ambition may yet be realized, penned the following sketch of human misery,

"And now since you cannot realize the degredation and humiliation which it costs me to admit my difficulties, I am going to "fess up" as some poor miserable creature may be enduring the same inferno and this may be the means of spurring her to rise above the mire. I am a normal graduate, the daughter of a well-to-do physician-father and a graduate in music also.

At twenty years of age, I married a wealthy but practically illiterate farmer, thirteen years my senior. Having had his fling he has sought to crush my ambition, youth and ideals.

He does not approve of magazines, books, writing, picture shows, card-playing or fancy work. May God forgive him for it, but he has beaten, kicked and insulted me and allows me absolutely no recreation of his free will.

He forces me to go to bed at seven P. M. at the only hour that I really feel inspired to write.

The only pleasures that I have are stolen.

I have a good home to which I could return, but there are three little children to whom I feel that I owe the possession of a home, and it is for their sake that I remain in bondage.

The only time I have for writing is when my tyrant is away. But God helping me, I intend to succeed in spite of all this, that I may leave a legacy of worthy accomplishment to my little girls.

Can any of you, dear readers reveal greater determination than this?"

There is "heart-throb" material in abundance!

There is tragedy in a child-wife "hooked up" with a "tyrant" thirteen years her senior. There is pathos in the pitiful child-like faith of her "God helping her" made doubly tragic by the knowledge that she had no opportunity to learn differently in the days when she was becoming a normal graduate. There is humor in her dependance upon "7 P. M. inspiration" for her fund of information by which she hopes to leave a "legacy of worthy accomplishment" in the literary world. There is comedy in this story of the lady rut-runner who believed in "free will" but who could not practice it because "her tyrant wouldn't let her!"

The spineless wife of an "illiterate" husband, glorying in her martyrdom, suffering from overindulgence in self-pity, enduring the kicks and beatings of "her tyrant" for the poor privilege of "the posscssion" of such a home!

Pathos, tragedy, pity or condemniation, here is material for a story of many angles. Skygac decided she was not so much in need of sympathy as advice and wrote her a letter as follows:

To J. R. E. A Blinded Soul in Pain.

Dear, Martyr-Criminal,—After reading your "confession" in the Journal of 2|10, I could not resist the temptation to write to you and give you some badly needed advice!

You say, "you are going to 'fess up' as some poor miserable creature may be enduring the same inferno and this may be the means of spurring her to rise above the mire."

PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF.

So? You are, "remaining in bondage for your children's sake?"

First, I presume, you remained in bondage "for the sake of appearances."

Later you remained in bondage, "for the sake of the child."

Still later it was no longer child but children.

Did it ever occur to you that your actions were criminal? Not criminal perhaps in the sense of statute-made law, but criminal in the sence of the higher morality which has to do with the right of a child to be well born?

A child's mother owes it a home, not merely a "possession" or a place to stay. You have never given your children a home. You could not, with a "tyrant" instead of a mate for a husband.

A child's mother owes it a parentage it can respect. Can the fruit of your labors respect an "illiterate tyrant" who does not approve of any of the refinements of civilization? Can they even approve of you, once they find out that you are so spineless that you will continue to live with a man who has "beaten, kicked and insulted you"?

Surely, your "ambitions and ideals" can not be very lofty, or you would break the intolerable bonds and give your children an inheritance of a home free from the conditions you describe!

Eagles should mate with eagles and crows with crows. When mated otherwise the offspring (if any) are hybrids. You cannot undo the past but you CAN plan more wisely for the future.

The careful mother, the one who "reveals the greater determination" feels that she owes her children the right to be well born. Can a child be well-born that is sired by a seven o'clock wife-beater?

While you cannot undo the past, you CAN give your children a mamma who can smile,—an honest-to-goodness smile that bubbles up from the fount of a life rightely lived, not the hypocritical smile that is FORCED for the sake of appearances.

You are, if you only knew it, a most fortunate woman in one respect; you have a good home to which you are welcome to return.

Hasten Thee!

Return at once, and stand not upon the order of your going!

Give your children a chance to grow up in an atmosphere of love and confidence and mutual understanding. Give them an opportunity to share in the responsibilities and the refinements of civilization.

Nature, if you will but hearken, fairly shrieks at you, "Adapt yourself."

Get out of your impossible environment at once, for the sake of yourself, your children who are, and the possibilities of the future.

If life has nothing better to offer than birth, reproduction, misery and death, then it were better that death come early as it does to the swine.

Stop rut-running.

Quit living in the tomorrow of hope and begin cashing-in on the realities of today. Live each day as though you know it to be your last. Live so that YOU can approve of yourself and laughter will rise to your lips, the tang and joy of life will sparkle in your eyes and existence will cease to be the "inferno" you describe, and will become an anthem filled joy. Then you will find love. Not an imitation love, which is in reality lust bent upon having its fling, but a love based upon the perfect companionship of equality.

Many believe, but few have the courage to act. Be a self-starter for your self, and spur yourself to "rise above the mire".

Physician, heal thyself.

Yours for your own happiness,
Skygac.

Junior Tattoo registered the midnight hour. Skygac wondered how many people would agree with the advice he had written. He knew that J. R. E. was not herself to blame. He knew that she was the product and the victim of her environment. He knew that while she was struggling to get that Normal education the educational system itself was controlled in the interest of the dominant class and that she had been robbed in her infancy of the opportunity to know even the fundamental great truths of the evolution of life.

J. R. E. is a type, far too common in America. How many thousand or million of her there may be, we as a nation are too prudish to find out. Besides it is not to the economic advantage of the dominant class for woman to be economically freed from bondage. And because it is to the economic interests of the dominant class, we still have the unfair and intolerable condition of women held in economic bondage, unevently matched in loveless tho legal marriages, enduring all the pangs of a loveless life, of opportunity denied, of hopes shattered and ambitions crushed. Because of the ignorance and religious superstitions fostered by the dominant class women are forced to bear a fruitage of children who are the unwelcome and undesired offspring of lust; children who are damned before birth to a joyless life as devoid of initiative as the ordinary woman in the ordinary pastor's "flock". And all because the present order of things makes man a slave to the industrial conditions and woman who is economically dependant upon the man, a slave of a slave. A slave doubly born, a slave of tradition and custom and a slave of man.

Happiness within the marriage relation IS possible, but before that possibility may became a reality, there MUST be equality. Equality in education, in mentality, in age, and above all, in economic opportunity.

Thinking of these heart throbs of the infinitely interesting common people, Skygac placed the dust cap on his mill, took down the Murphy in-a-dor from its unaired two by six prison, wound Junior Tatto, opened the one window in the flat and retired for the night, leaving the Hooverized radiator as cold as the love of a woman who finds herself in economic bondage to a tyrant who is legally her husband and economically her overlord and master.

Marguerite Prevey Kidnapped

Continued from page 1.

"The economic conditions in every country determine the form of organization and method of propaganda to be adopted. In order efficiently to organize our movement here, we must clearly understand the political and economic structure of the United States.

"Althrogh the United States is called political democracy there is no opportunity whatever for the working class through the regular political machinery to effectively oppose the will of the capitalist class.

"However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office—so long as these are of assistance to the workers in their economic struggle. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and of demonstrating the necssity of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible, these reform would not weaken the capitalist system."

Attorney Sharts proved to any one one whose ears were attuned to a sense of logic that the charges were groundless.

One of a large number of Communists and Communist Laborites who were recently indicted by a Chicago Grand Jury for organizing the Communist Labor Party there in August last, Mrs. Prevey was arrested nearly three weeks ago at her home near Akron. Her extradition from Ohio was sought and Governor Cox had approved the extradition papers and allowed her arrest in his office by an agent of Illinois when her attorney Jos. W. Sharts of Dayton demanded that the formalities of the alw and legal precedure be complied with by Ohio authorities before she could be taken.

She was placed in the county jail at Columbus and bail denied. At the hearing on extradition Judge Kincead ruled that before he could properly grant the extradition of the prisoner, the state of Illinois would have to prove to his satisfaction that the Communist Labor Party was formed for the purpose of overthrowing the government of the United States "by violence and unlawful means" in violation of the criminal syndicalism law of Illinois.

Cites Cleveland case.

Testifying on the witness stand, Secretary Allison related the case of the arrest of five officials of the Party at Cleveland in October last.

The testimony showed that at an organization meeting himself with four others had been arrested and charged with the same offense under the Ohio criminal syndicalism law. At the hearing before Judge Moylan the Party Platform was submitted as evidence of the lawless character of the Communist Labor Party, but Judge Moylan refused to bind the accused over to the Grand Jury and dismissed the case. The transcript of the evidence in this case which contained a speech of Mrs. Prevey's which was delivered at the meeting, was not at hand, it having been delayed in reching Columbus, but it was shown that the cases paralled.

Attorney Sharts moved for a dismissal of the case. It was denied. Judge Kincead, in his decision, stated that the declaration of the Party's Platform declaring itself to be in harmony with the principles of the Third International constituted a proper basis for the arrest of the prisoner and being satisfied in other particulars as to the extradition processes he would grant the extradition of the prisoner to Illinois. An appeal was taken by Mrs. Prevey's attorneys and a stay of execution of 48 hours was granted in order to perfect the appeal to the Court of Appeals. The entry to that effect went on that afternoon and the following morning a further stay of execution was granted by the Court of Appeals at Dayton until the case could be heard before it and a summons was issued.

Habeas corpus may release Mrs. Prevey.

Learning of the kidnapping of their client by the violators of the law, the sacredness of which they prate so much about, Mrs. Prevey's attorneys at once wired Wm. A. Cunnea of Chicago to start habeas corpus proceedings in the Chicago Federal Court for the return of the prisoner to Ohio. A certified transcript of the proceedings of the hearing at Columbus has been forwarded to attorney Cunnea.

It is expected that before this issue reaches our readers Mrs. Prevey will have been returned to Ohio and placed at least for the present, out of reach of these wolves of capitalism, whose disregard for their own laws would disgrace even the society of savages. But capitalism knows but one law—that of brute force. And if its henchmen have gone insane with power, it behooves the workers to bring about a state of society wherin such beasts will be kept in subjection.

COMRADES ATTENTION!

Old Postage Stamps or original envelopes or entire stamp collections bought at highest prices, if you have anything to offer, call at the office of the Toiler or phone Harvard 3639.

GENOSSEN!

Ich kaufe und zahle die hoechsten Preise fuer alte Briefmarken und Briefmarken-Sammlungen. Im Falle Sie etwas zu offerieren haben, kommen oder schreiben Sie zur Redaction dieser Zeitung, oder rufen Sie Harvard 3639.

RE-DEFINING LIBERTY

(Continued from 1st page.)

John Donovan now has the choice of staying on with the steel corporation at 50 cents an hour or going with the Illinois Central railroad at the same figure. In either case he and his family face starvation.

No matter which master he chooses, of each dollar that he produces, a part will go to the bond and stockholders of the corporation for which he works. He will labor, and they without playing any part in the production of the things that are needful for the maintenance of life, will be able to enjoy themselves out of the wealth which Mike Donovan produces.

Lincoln used a phrase which fits the case exactly. Because of his ownership of the means of livelihood, the capitalist is able to say to the worker, "You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it." Lincoln used that phrase in a debate over the issue of chattel slavery, but it rings as true today as it did in 1858.

Define slavery as the ownership of the body and slavery disappeared in 1865. Define it as a system which compels one man to support another out of the product of this labor, and slavery is more prevalent in 1920 than it was in 1860.

Slavery today is a matter of ownership by the few, and that slavery can never be abolished until those who work own the jobs on which they are employed. That is the new basis for liberty and on that basis alone can liberty be set up.

You Will Help

Sure, you'll help the Cartoon Account to brighten up a bit. If we'd quit publishing cartoons, you'd be one of the first to register disappointment wouldn't you? Well, we'd hate to disappoint any of our readers, especially by leaving out the cartoons.

But you know they are expensive, and paper is higher and printing is higher too that it has ever been. Right now, you are paying more for your capitalist dope sheets than you ever did—and of course you have to have them—we wonder if you will be as generous with your own paper, The Toiler?

Take a hint, send in a bit to make the cartoon fund look better.

Here's how it stands to date

Previously acknowledged	$11.00
M. McMillan	25c
J. H. Sims	1.00
Wm. Lemay	25
Ben Peterson	1.00
S. R. Bedford	1.00
X. Y. Z.	50
Total	$15.50
Expenses	$35.13

(Continued from 1st page.)

-- and out of that enforced labor comes the huge profits which fall into their coffers.

The workers of Kansas are up against the age old question of Life against Government. So far in the history of the world, Life has always won out against Government. There is more reason today than ever before to believe that in the coming conflict between the Kansas workers and this infamous capitalist class moulded law, the lives and freedom of the workers will win.

What do you say, workers of Kansas?

The Black Sheep

Continued from page 2.

press themselves as those who are willing and anxious to take the responsibility of freedim and those who desire the freedom from responsibility. The 'let George do it' attitude will give rise to a new despotism. For society will always need laws and eighty percent of the people would rather go to a picnic than to the legislature. Then there are other problems; for instance the problem of over population, the problem of the feeble minded, the problem of heriditary disease. All these must be regulated for the welfare of the race and they who do the regulating will be the masters. I tell you boys what the trouble is as I see it. Nature turned the lizard into a bird by natural selection, and you try to turn an individualistically minded slave mass into a social organism by talking to them."

"Oh, well "Collins said, as he straightened out the quilts upon the bed and proceeded to lace his shoes, the kid is young yet, when that brain of his becomes class conscious, by being rubbed against the struggle, then he will get over the merely theoretic part of his objections and put himself into the harness to organize those who are organizable. Just wait till his whiskers tickle his chin and he has seen his own soul reflected in a woman's eyes, for whose favor he would gladly shed his blood, then he'll quit thinking of beavers and lizards and get busy on the system."

"I thot you didn't like poetry," remarked the boy.

"Taint poetry, 'tis facts!' replied Collins.

At this point the jailor entered with their breakfast. It was about ten o'clock. He said that the kid had better get his clothes on as the judge would want to see him by and by, so saying he left them to wonder what the new developments might be.

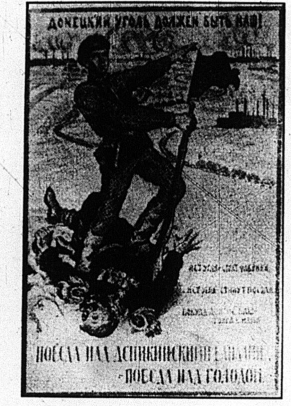
THE TOILER

RAISE IN SUBSCRIPTION PRICE.

Subscription price will advance to $1.50 per year April 1st. Renew now and save 50c.

NO. 111. | Published at Cleveland | CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, MARCH 19th 1920. | Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. | $1.00 A YEAR

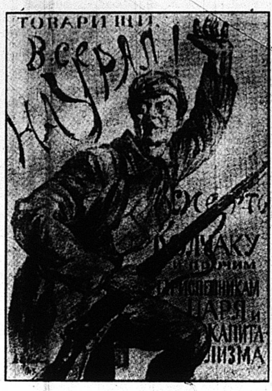
With These Posters, Trotsky recruited the Red Army of 3,000,000 Men, Drove the Reactionary Forces of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich to Surrender and Saved Russia for Socialism!


ДОНЕЦКИЙ УГОЛЬ ДОЛЖЕН БЫТЬ НАШ!
ПОБЕДА НАД ДЕНИКИНСКИМИ БАНДАМИ —
ПОБЕДА НАД ГОЛОДОМ

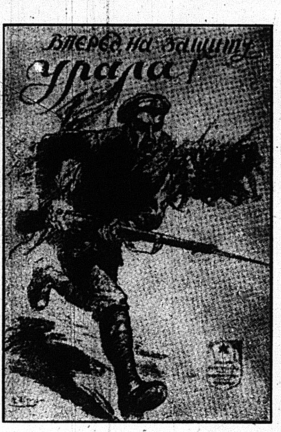
SOVIET POSTERS

We have recently received a number of posters from Soviet Russia, which we are reprintig on this and the opposite page. In tone and execution they do not differ much—at least this is true of the four military posters—from the products turned out by artists in other countries when working on similar subjects. It is likey that these military posters are of various dates, for they indicate the varying objectives of the military effort of Soviet Russia. Thus, those on the opposite page urging men to enlist for fighting in the Urals (IV and V) may be a year old, for it was in Jaunary, 1919, that Kolchak's armies had advanced furthest into European Russia. No. 1, on this page, is an admonition to fight for the Donetz coal-fields, in other words, to help recover southeastern Russia from Denikin. Its top line reads: "The Donetz Coal must be ours!" At the side are the three sentences: "If there is no coal, the factories are idle. If there is no coal, the trains will not go. Until the Don is ours, hunger will be with us." At the bottom is the line: "Victory over Denikin's bands means victory over hunger." Just what part these posters played in raising the spirit of the Red armies to the point of victory, we do not know, but their work is done, and all the tasks they urged the workers to perform have been fulfilled. Probably No. IV. is the most recent of the posters: it deals with the defense of Petrograd, probably against the Yudenich assault of October, 1919.

But Soviet Russia is interested more in the arts of peace than those of war, as is once more suggested by the two posters at the bottom of this page. In such case, the large words read: "Organize Reading Huts," while an extensive text at the bottom, too small to be legible in the reproduction, explains the necessity of spreading education and culture in the villages. Evidently it is intended that the peasants of the New Russia shall have educational opportunities that were greater than what they enjoyed in the Russia of old.

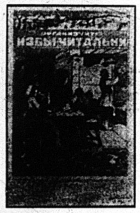

ТОВАРИЩИ!
ВСЕ НА УРАЛ!
ЦАРЯ И КАПИТАЛИЗМА

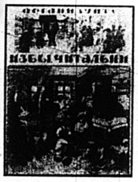
IV


Вперед на защиту Урала!

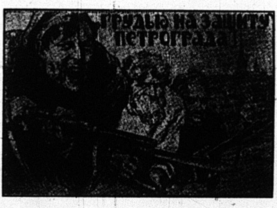
V

Of the three posters on this page, the two upper ones are encouragements to enlist in the armies fighting for the recovery of the Urals. IV reads: "Comrades, all out for the Urals! Death to Kolchak and the other lackeys of the Czar and capitalism." V reads: "Forward, to the defense of the Urals!" VI, below, is a summons to defend the cradle of the Revolution, Petrograd, against the advance of Yudenich. It reads: "All Our Lives in the Defence of Petrograd!"





Pictures from "Soviet Russia"


ГРУДЬЮ НА ЗАЩИТУ ПЕТРОГРАДА!

Cheerful Greetings from Chicago Jail

The attorneys for Marguerite Prevey, who was kidnapped from Columbus jail and taken to Chicago by Illinois authorities March 3rd, are engaged in a legal battle for her release on habeas corpus. It is expected that before this issue of The Toiler reaches its readers, the courts will have rendered a decision on the case. Everything possible is being done to have her returned to the jurisdiction of Ohio courts.

Comrade Prevey sends a cheerful message of "I'm all right, don't worry about me," to all comrades.—But we wish to add that ever comrade can show his loyalty by helping pay the costs of comrade Prevey's defense.

Send all funds to The Toiler.

The Kansas Court of Idustrial Slavery

— By Bill Smith —

In a political sense Kansas is the most picturesque state in the Union. From the time Jim Lane, — bushy haired, wild eyed, with an enormous medal jangling from a ribbon around his neck, and a six shooter bulging from his hip pocket, invaded the U. S. Senate in 1861 as its first senatorial representative, it has been a sort of political museum.

It has furnished many amusing and interesting characters and has enacted many fantastic and Quixotic laws; and just as Kansas seems about to settle down to a methodical and rationable way of living —— something busts loose!

This time it is Gov. Henry J. Allen and his Court of Industrial Relations Who has not heard of Hennery Jay—he of the inexhaustable ink pot and perpetual over flow of superheated air? On every concieveable question that has troubled mankind in the last twenty years Hennery has been "Johnny on the Spot" with a solution. Do you know "Who struck Billy Patterson?" Ask Hennery—for you know Solomon is dead.

After the paid and corrupt press had the public well fed up on the iniquitous and criminal conduct of those arch villians—the striking miners, Hennery Jay assembled the sun flower solons in solemn conclave for the purpose of putting a curb of iron on these malefactors—and he got just what he wanted, in an institution that smells of the Dark Ages and reeks with the odor of the Inquisition—and it is called "The Court of Industrial Relations."

* * *

Formerly legislators were intellingent human beings who possessed both independence of thought and action. But now it seems, far too many are merely political scullions and scanengers. Some have that globular hair matted knob that shows above the collar button carefully treated with a vacuum cleaner before entering upon their legislative duties, and then they have no more idea than a kangaroo, what laws they are to make untill the Big Cheese tells them what he wants. This cringing servility of a legislative body—no matter how stupid or mediocre—is indeed pitiful. There are vastly too many political serfs in all our state legislatures to-day, who do just as they are ordered to do.

But Hennery got his court. This is composed of three members, who are called "judges"—and mark you—all appointed by Hennery Jay! They get $5,000 yearly of the people's money and they have the power to fix wages, change labor contracts and do about every thing else under the sun that God Almighty overlooked. Its principal object is to strangle and ham string labor, and legalize slavery in the State of Kansas.

It seems strange when one ponders over the early history of Kansas and recalls how bitterly she fought human slavery—to now find it the first state under the regime of capitalism to reintroduce it! At one sweep this new law nullifies the 13th amendment to the U. S. Constitution, The English Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and even Christ's Sermon on the Mount itself!

* * *

Under this enactment a laborer is chained to the job! Let him dare to resort to the usual means to better his condition or wage—that is, to strike,—a $500 fine and imprisonment awaits him! And you may bet your last cent that he will get it! Let us ask,—is there a working man in America with brain so small and warped, who would think for a moment, that he could appear before a court presided over by the political puppets of Henry Allen—or any other governor—and expect justice? So much for the strike—but here is where this Kansas Laws gets on its hind legs and paws and snorts and bellers:—"to order, call or foment a strike," entitles one to the nice little gift of a $1,000 fine and five years in the penitentiary!

At the present rate of pay—and the limited days he is permitted to work—what miner or other worker could put up that 500 or 1,000 dollars? He could only do, as thousands of his comrades have done from the days of Christ down—suffer indefinately in prison. Why could they not have been more generous and have made that fine $29,000,000 so the boys could all feel like Rockefeller?

Boys do you get that word "foment"? When a general round up is desired that word "foment," means anything that a judge desires it to mean that will afford an excuse for fining and sending an inrocent man—whom they don't overly love—to the penitentiary. If one will canvass the "judical" decisions of the last five years, he will note many horrible outrages against common sense, due to this twisting and juggling of words that only finds its equal in the blood smeared courts of the Spanish Inquisition. Once it burned a man because he looked "askance" at the king who was passing by to witness the burning of a lot of undesirables. They whole question hinged upon what "askance" really meant—and further the poor fellow could not help it, as he was cross-eyed. But that did not cut any ice with the **Court of Industrial Relations**, of that time,—for they found him guilty and sent him to the stake.

* * *

This law of Kansas recognizes no geographical limitations,—it oozes all over the U. S. A. like a gob of buckwheat butter. Now when the rail way maintenance and shop workers threatened to strike on the 17th of Feb. Hennery Jay polished up his Industrial Court and was ready for them! Word flashed from Topeka that warrants would be issued for all the leaders of the Brotherhood of Maintenance and Shop men no matter when they should happen to be! Just a word here;—one year from now all the mines of Great Britain will be nationalized;—the miners have served notice that they refuse to further give their labor, lives and blood for the upbuilding of colossal fortunes for a few persons and corporations. When the miners of Kansas and elsewhere gaze across the waters and see this new condition,—what greater thing could happen to put them in a "foment"? Did the labor leaders of Great Britain know of the yawning prisons awaiting them in Kansas, they would surely stop this mad progression toward human rights. Huh! What did you say?

But you will find nothing in this Kansas law—nor any law that has been passed at the instigation of the sleek and paunchy minions of capitalism where operators are really subject to fine or imprisonment. They may close the works indefinately—they may entail untold suffering on the working classes by non employment to create artificial shortages,—they may profiteer to their hearts content,—making their hundreds and thousands per cent. blood money, and who shall say them nay? But let the working man ask for a decent living and resort to any method to secure it—the vampires of capitalism get busy and you hear the creaking of the opening prison doors!

* * *

Hennery Jay loves the laboring man;—and one may venture, that when the Kansas solons sat in spell bound rapture hypnotized by the torrid blasts of Ciceronian eloquence that Hennery yodeled forth,—their sandy patches of alfalfa kently waving to and fro in the sultry breeze of his oratory,—we will venture, that all the time his star lit eyes were piercing their very vitals he was thinking that at last he had a scheme whereby he could furnish Alex. Howett and his devoted comrades with nice new suits of clothes, free of charge,—nice, nifty, sporty suits with stripes on them.

Every Pharisee, and all the devotees of Dives, and the worshippers of the Golden Calf are patting Hennery Jay on the back;—and is it any wonder as he capers over the "country brass-banding this freak court of "his fiddlers three," that he feels as swollen and important, as a five cent balloon at a country fair?

* * *

The capital controlled and degenerate press, whose every sense of decency and truthfulness has long been dead, acclaims this Kansas freak as something of almost divine origin. We cannot quote from all, therefore shall present as a fair sample the comment of the St. Paul Press, which discussing this court and labor differences generally, says:—"And there is no way to end it this side of eternity except with a club from without, **THE INDUSTRIAL COURT IS JUST SUCH A CLUB.**" Here you see this diabolical scheme to destroy the rights and freedom of the working class unwittingly exposed in its true character. It is a club! It was not designed to be fair to labor—nor was any of these so called industrial laws ever designed to better conditions of labor. The ulterior aim of all of them is to curb and destroy labor organization. No one is decieved concerning the purpose of these laws but the very fools who design and make them.

The fiat has gone forth from the maloderous secret chambers of capitalism—that **Labor Must Be Crushed No Matter at What Cost.** In pursuit of this aim it has perpetrated folly after folly—and madness upon madness, to stem the tide that is soon to overwhelm it. This recalls the ancient adage, that is "Whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad."

These exploiters of the human race, with narrow cowardly picayune souls, tremble as they see the writing on the wall—traced by the finger of Destiny in burning and imperishable letters,—**"Labor Shall Conquer!"**

WASHINGTON NEWS LETTER

— By PAUL HANNA. —

Staff Correspondent,
The Federated Press.

WASHINGTON.—Housewives that have no other way of knowing may learn from the federal reserve board's review of February that the cost of living climbed higher instead of falling during that month.

That arm of the government is very scientific and thorough, it is said. It extends credit to manufacturers and merchants in every corner of the land. It knows what they are doing. It receives reports from them every day on the demand for commodities and the run of prices.

And it reports that "notwhitstanding the decrease in prices of some classes of goods" the general cost of living moved steadily upward during the month.

Regional directors for the federal reserve bank system unite in the widespread demand that wage earners produce more and consume less. So we read that "labor conditions throughout the country are fairly stable, but unfortunately there is a tendency in various districts to restrict production."

That means the working class still hankers after fewer hours of labor and more time for themselves or with their families. It all comes under the general head of "menace to our civilization."

From the Philadelphia region comes word that "there is a brisk demand for manufacturers of all kinds, but the danger of further price advances is well recognized." The demand is so brisk, in a word, that another little boost in prices won't do us any harm.

On this general theme of "recognition," the Atlanta regional directors have a word to say, thus: "The need of increased production is recognized." Just another hint to the loyal workman that he will not be popular until he consents to give more and take less.

(Continued on page 4.)

Skygac's Column

The heading on the front page was "Reds advance on all fronts.

Bolsheviki successes said to be threatening to engulf vast areas." On the editorial page it was headed "Back to Normal" and it told how the success of Lenine and Trotsky" once again proved the theories of Communism impractical". It seems that Lenine and Trotsky, rather than be deprived of their power, "are bringing their government around to a conformity with workable ideals that will meet with the approval of democratic governments". It is funny enough to make a brass goose shed its pinfeathers.

• • •

The same paper carried the news that the Soviet Government of Russia had been the highest bidder on an assortment of shoes advertized for sale to the highest bidder by the war department, The bid was rejected on the ground that the goods offered for sale were not to be exported. Of course now if England had been the highest bidder — But, why worry? Economic determinism will force the American capitalists to seek Russian markets, regardless of ideas or opinions of the politicians.

• • •

That is one redeeming feature of Capitalism. It is forced to cut its "tomorrow" throat in order to live thru today.

• • •

Hooray! "The red storm has passed over. God's in his Heaven, All's well with the world." It must be so. The "Herald" said so.

• • •

Col. Henry J. Reilly headlined in the Chicago Tribune as "U. S. Expert" says, "Russian (Bolshevik) officers are well paid on the one hand and on the other are shot if unfaithful." Well? Does he mean to imply that American officers are not well paid? Or is the treatment different in case they are unfaithful?

• • •

Kemper Hall an exclusive church school for young women under the charge of the sisters of St. Mary recently ousted four girl students and two teachers. It was not for crap shooting altho it was rumored that rolling the bones was a popular pastime. "It was not for smoking cigarrettes" said a newspaper write-up, "altho it was admitted that the girls smoked, but as their mothers also smoked nothing could be said about it." "Stories circulated among the students hinted that the expulsions resulted from the discovery that they had been connected with the manufacture of alcoholic ilquor" said the newspaper, adding a line that the story was not confirmed by the officials. Just a little home-brew affair! Oh well—what can one expect from a church school? At any rate, I'm glad I'm not religious.

• • •

"Medicine with 55% "kick" seized in raid. "What is the matter — Palmer out of liquor?

• • •

"Meat prices drop 4c". In the newspaper not in the market!

• • •

"Where is the spirit of undress leading to?" asks Hearst, You tell 'em Hearst. Now if it was the spirit of unrest you asked about — but you never will!

• • •

The spirit of unrest is heading the country hellbent for communism and no power on earth can stop it.

• • •

What is communism? Practical socialism in practice.

• • •

Have you initiative enough to organize a study class, or are you one of the great majority who want one but are waiting for George to do it?

• • •

All right. Prove it.

• • •

Study classes ought to go big now since Ludwig C. A. K. Alphabet Martens has demonstrated their effectiveness. Martins was working under a serious handicap too, as he had U. S. Congressmen for students.

• • •

We are technically at war with Germany, Austria and Turkey, yet the state department will issue a passport to those contries. We are not at war with Russia, Lithuania or the Ukraine, but the state department will issue no passports to those countries. "There's a reason! The interests of capitalism!

• • •

A report recently made public by Miss Helen Todd a prominent social worker says that the assistants of the department of Justice justified their red raids by saying, "It made the victims believe in God".

God must be pretty badly up-against the department of justice for aid in making converts.

• • •

Was it not Esau who traded his birthright for a mess of pottage? We in this generation have traded ours for poverty and respectability.

• • •

Bernard Shaw said that in his day a clerk never expected to long remain a clerk, but move on up into the employing class. Now the days of opportunity are over. Once a clerk, always a clerk or other wage-laborer. Now the only hope for clerks is to join with others of their class.

• • •

That is good advice. Either get out of the working class or else join a working-class organization.

• • •

They are redoubling their efforts to get in communication with the dead and I am anxiously awaiting the outcome, for if ever they DO establish a line of communication I want to get the opinion of Franklin, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson on present day claimants of hundredpercent Americanism.

• • •

With immigration almost nil and the foreign-born population leaving in droves the American manufacturers are beginning to see a new light. Open disapproval of the activities of the Attorney General are to be found in various papers. Likewise those same causes are the forces back of the agitation for a repeal of the prohibition amendment.

• • •

A writer in the PUBLIC LEDGER speaking of Russian affairs says "any peace established now between soviet authority and governments of the bourgeois cannot be more than a brief truce, because socialism and capitalism can not exist side by side". He goes on to state that "neither can be suppressed without warfare". He might have gone one step further and said that experience had demonstrated to the bourgeois of the world that socialism can not be suppressed with or without warfare!

• • •

The Bolsheviki are reported as carrying on two vitally important campaigns. Here is hoping that they are successful in both, even if I do risk a charge of sedition or treason in so stating my hopes. The two vitally important campaigns are one against disease and the other against ignorance.

• • •

What a glorious world it will be when all campaigns will be conducted not with armies against other armies for the purpose of ascertaining which nation has the superior killing equipment here could only be cussin' for the and ignorance!

• • •

Seven universities under the czar and seventeen under the soviets. Comment here could only be cussin for the opponents of soviet rule.

• • •

Education in Sovietland is compulsory. All children from eight to sixteen are not only taught but fed clothed and housed at the expense of the state. Are not those Bolshevists the backward people tho?

• • •

Well, somebody is.

TROTZKY'S VIEW OF MILITARISM

"Immediate demobilization is obligatory with us as soon as hostilities cease. The workers and peasants will insist, once the revolution is no longer in peril, on returning to their factories and farms and making Russia a fit land to live in.

"Frontier guards will be maintained, of course. The framework of our organization must also be preserved in order that with the experience the men have received in the last eighteen months our proletarian fighting machine can be remodeled in two or three months if the need arise. There will be besides, some form of military training for the working class, that it may always be ready to defend itself against the bourgeoisie.

"Militarism, striking as it does at the very roots of communism, cannot possibly exist in soviet Russia, the only truly pacific country in the world,".

LONDON.—Returned soldiers would literally rather starve than dig graves for a living, it has been discovered. Scores of jobs have been offered the men at a 150 per cent increase in wages, but in spite of the great unemployment in this country, the veterans have refused them.

One London undertaker expressed his verdict of the situation as follows: "They've seen enough dead men to last them the rest of their lives. They've had enough."

BOLSHEVIKS WIN IN MOSCOW.

LONDON.—Of the 719 deputies chosen in the recent Moscow election 650 were communists, twenty four were sympathizers with communism, thirty-seven were nonpartisan and eight were mensheviki, according to a wireless dispatch from Moscow. Eighty deputies were women, seventy of whom were communists and ten nonpartisans.

I. W. W. WITNESSES NOT ALLOWED TO TESTIFY

— By John Nicholas Beffel. —

MONTESANO, WASH.—The enigmatic action of Judge John N. Wilson in shuting off all testimony showing why the I. W. W. in Centralia had reason to fear a raid, has shortened by several days the presentation of direct evidence by the defense in Centralia labor case.

Elmert Stuart Smith, recalled to the stand, was asked by George F. Vanderveer, attorney for the defense, what he thought would happen when the threatened raid on the I. W. W. hall was carried out.

"I believed that the boys would be taken from the hall, perhaps lynched, or at least tarred and feathered," he replied.

"Why did you believe that?" asked Vanderveer.

Here Special Prosecutor Cunningham and Abel objected loudly, saying, this was immaterial. The Court sustained the objection declaring that the defense must show a direct connection betewen Warren Grimm, slain parader, and the overt act in the Armistice Day tragedy, before it could have witnesses explain why the I. W. W. expected violence.

"That is not the law." replied Vanderveer. "The law says that to prove self-defense, we need only show substacial reasons for apprehension. If the defendants had reason to believe they were to be attacked by a crowd including Grimm, they had a right to prepare to defend themselves and their property.

Judge Wilson's ruling has been made in the face of a mass of testimony showing that Grimm, or a large man answering his description, was close to the I. W. W. hall — even at its very doorway—during the raid; and that this man was wounded in the abdomen, and held both hands upon his stomach. Grimm saw the only man thus wounded. This accumulative evidence has been held insufficient by the court.

When Dr. Frank Bickford was called as a witness by the defense, and reiterated the damaging statements against the Centralia mob given at the coroner's inquest, the prosecution failed to shake his testimony. Dr. Bickford, who is a dignified man about 50, swore that when the marching soldiers stopped before the I. W. W. hall, he offered to lead a raid upon the place if enough would follow; but that others pushed ahead of him. They forced the door, he declared; and then shots came from inside.

Made panicky by the onsloughts of the defense, the lumber corporation attorneys now are prosecuting this case against organized labor, have resorted to old stage tricks. They got the governor to send troops here without consulting the trial judge, though both the judge and the sheriff agreed there was no need for soldiers. This was in keeping with the prosecution's efforts to throw an atmosphere of violence around the defendants.

Then they had two defense witnesses arrested for alleged perjury. One of these, Guy Bray, 16, is a relative of Lieut. Frank Van Gilder, second in command in the parade. Bray declared that he saw Van Gilder and a large man in uniform within 5 or 10 feet from the I. W. W. hall during the raid. Van Gilder had previously told Bray that this large man was Grimm. The latter had been wounded in the abdomen, Bray said, and was holding both hands over his stomach.

Jay Cock, rancher, 50, was the other witness arrested. He and his brother testified that they saw the paraders attack the hall; and a large man answering Grimm's description was close to the hall at that time.

This trick of arresting witnesses for alleged perjury, was employed against Vanderveer in the Chicago I. W. W. case, but none of those witnesses were ever prosecuted and Vanderveer declares none will ever be persecuted hre. In each instance he recalled the witness to the stand and had him tell about his arrest, the defense counsel holding this up to the jury as a devise used to intimidate these and other witnesses.

Vanderveer has asked Judge Wilson for a warrant for a Mrs. Carpenter of Centralia, who approached a defense witness, 13 year old Helen Martini, and asked her if she "couldn't forget some of the testimony that she intended to give." Repeatedly emissaries for the Centralia commercial interests have smuggled their way into the defense witness room, and have learned what witness were to testify. Then this information would be transmitted to the prosecutors through the several attorneys who act as errand boys for them.

Bitter antagonism prevades the courtroom as the defense hammers at the foundation of the state's case. The newspaper men have become divided into two camps. Some of them try to be fair, but several are playing the story in favor of the prosecution, no matter which way the trial develop.

The defense has rested its case and it is expected that before this issue reaches its readers the case will have been placed in the hands of the jury.

REPRESENTS SOVIETS ONLY

WASHINGTON—in a further effort to prove that Ludwig Martens, soviet representative in the United States, has been a member of and controlled by the Russian Socialist federation in efforts to overthrow the American government, Atty. Wade H. Ellis, for the senate committe, cross-examined Martens severly about an alleged courier of the Russian Communist party, who was caught in Riga while en route from Moscow.

Martens denied having any knowledge of the courier incident except what he read in The New York Times several weeks ago.

In reply to the general accusation that he was subjet to the control of Russian revolutionists in America, Martens submitted a copy of a letter written Aug. 29 last to the central executive committee of the Russian Socialist federation by the commissar for foreign affairs at Moscow. The letter reads in part:

"Esteemed comrades: A letter from you has reached us, demanding establishment of your control over Comrade Martens. It presents a number of misconceptions of the most gross characters. First; you have a wrong conception of the position of Comrade Martens, who is the representative of the people's commissariat for foreign affairs, and not of the Communist party nor of the third international, and whose duties are determined accordingly.

"You have also an althogether perverted conception of the inter-relation between soviet authorities and the local organizations of the Communist party of Russia.

"Your attacks upon the official representative of the soviet government in America have a very detrimental and disintegrating effect. You are discrediting the soviet government in the person of its local representative and thereby you seriously damage its political interests."

Suit against The Washington Post for criminal libel has been filed by Ludwig Martens, representative of the Russian soviet government, who has been testifying before a senate committee of inquiry for the past two months.

Martens' suit is based on a news story and an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of The Post and which charged, among other things, that Martens had admitted before the senate committee that he was a member of the American Communist party, had directed secret organizations aiming at the overthrow of the American government, had "associated with and incited criminal anarchists to crime, had attended an unlawful and secret meeting of anarchists in Detroit and that he is a German revolutionist."

AKRON DEFENSE LEAGUE NOTES.

Attorney Jacob Margolis of Pittsburgh, Pa., gave a lecture under the auspices of the Workers Defense League at G. A. R. Hall, 50 South Howard Street Sunday afternoon February 22nd. Mr. Margolis spoke on AMERICAN LIBERTY and the masterful way in which he handled his subject was keenly appreciated by the audience that over taxed the capacity of the hall causing many people to be turned away. Mr. Margolis has a message every Liberty loving American and particularly every WORKINGMAN should hear, and his lecture has caused a popular demand for his return to Akron in the near future.

On Tuesday evening February 17th Comrade N. Yourkovitch was released on $10,000 bond by the Federal authorities through the efforts of the Workers Defense League. Comrade Yourkovitch was the last of the workers remaining in Jail here as the result of the raids on the Union of Russian Workers here November 7th last.

Dances will be given for the benefit of the League on Saturday evening's March 13th and 20th at Zeigler Hall.

George R. Kirkpatrick will speak in Akron under the auspices of the League in the near future.

Every workers' organization in this vicinity is entitled to representation by two delegates and all organizations not affiliated with the League should elect delegates immediately and notify the secretary of the League at the address below.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
James B. O'Brien,
Secretary-Treasurer.
Box 253, Akron, O.

COMRADES ATTENTION!

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The Black Sheep.

Chapt. XXII.

HIS WAY IN THE WORLD.

Anderson had no sooner reached his office than he called up the judge on the telephone. He never went back on his word with his daughter, altho he sometimes put his own interpretation upon it, when it came to execution. He had promised to see to it that that boy was set free, but he also saw to it or at least he thought he did, that all complications were forestalled, by fixing it so that it would be impossible for her to meet him. He knew human nature well enough to recognize that the impressions which this strange jail bird had made upon his child were deeper than a mere soul saving interest. He feared lest she should one's interests but his own. He made umstances, and the enthusiasm which she now manifested might develop into something more serious.

With these facts in mind he laid his plans and as was his custom prepared for swift and effective action. His judgment was generally good when dealing with the merely economic aspect of life. He never considered any ones interests but his own. He made up his mind and then drove ahead on rule or ruin basis, like most successful business men do.

This time however he was doomed to dissapointment. He was not dealing with chattles or real estate. He was dealing with basic human emotions and ideals; things of which Gus Anderson knew next to nothing. They were elements which for thirty years he had tried, and without success, to obliterate from his being. There was only one flower left in his garden, dwarfed and gnarled by the influence his hopelessly materialistic creed but yet struggling alive; it was his love for his daughter. If it had not been for the influence of Olive on his life he would perhaps have been entirely brutlized. It must not be understood that he victimized people the less for his daughter's sake; on the contrary he aimed to exploit them all the fiercer. A wolf is most ferocious when she has cubs. What it did for him was to soften his native roughness into a sort of boistrous gentleness. He lived for his child or as nearly for his child as his business would let him, and his child had lived for him until now.

In his love for her he had tried to raise her in such a way that she should not be aware of the claw and fang processes of modern civilization. With this in mind he had left her under the guardianship of her mother and the church. For it must be remembered that Anderson's antagonism was to the church and not against religion. It was not founded on any intellectual conviction as to the truth or falsehood of it's teaching. His was an attitude of indifference, if it had not been for the fact that he despised all sanctimonious pretense he might have been a christian. He robbed his victim within the law and openly boasted of it. He was not unlike the bucaneer who sat down in the cabin of his ship with his fellow pirates and lit a pan of sulphur saying that he was going to see which of them could make himself the most comfortable in hell. The story then relates how this old marander was inordinately pleased when he found that he could outstay all the others. He defied hell for his chosen profession's sake, and so did Gus. Anderson. He swore to defy the power which at heart he believed existed. He even encouraged his wife to give to the church in somewhat the same spirit that a Chinaman propitiates the devil. He was too honest to worship what he conceived to be the christian God and work the civilized business game.

Gus Anderson was honestly dishonest. He was irregligiously religious. He believed in God and the Devil, and dealt in farms and cattle. He thot the practice of beliefs cost him money, business made him money. So he decided that business was the easier way thru the world. He forgot the creed of his fathers and left the spiritual life of his daughter in the care of Mrs. Anderson whom he considered temperamentally well fitted for the work.

Having lived a man's life in a man's world he had developed to an exaggerated degree the archaic notion that a woman has a definite sphere in life out of which she must never rise, That her place is in the home, and in the church, and in the sewing circle. And if she should by any chance step out the male approved environment, she did it at the peril of losing all that was good and pure in the world. He abhorred the woman who mingled in politics. "It is a dirty business" he would say. "The polls are no place for a lady." That a place where a lady cannot be seen is no place for a gentleman did not occur to him. He had but a hazy notion of what a gentleman was, he had that variety of the species hopelessly confounded with sissies and preachers and other more or less efeminate types. "A woman ought to be a lady and a man, was one of the axioms of his philosophy.

It were these considerations of what he termed ideal woman-hood which compelled him in his efforts to make his child as othodoxly perfect as possible. But we cannot teach a fish to walk, neither can you make a basically aggressive and radical brain conservative. There is no perfectly safe place for high explosives, and Anderson was about to learn it. His daughter was an off type, and types cannot be trained true to form. Since she had first spoken of that boy in jail, he had entertained a fear that this was so And business man like he blamed the preacher for placing the girl in the way of an object which had detonated her radicalism. Business men frequently blame workers for the deficiency in the material they supply.

Recognizing that the spring of her power had been touched he decided to make an effort to stop the exploding process by removing what he conceived to be its cause. He did not know enough about high explosives to realize that once they have caught fire they are gone. You may rehabilitate some of the wreckage but you will never recover the charge. It is so with the radical mind types; you may keep them away from truth, and preserve them in a world of orthodoxy, but once let them get sight of it and away they go and nothing short of death will stop them. Anderson for once had decided to do the undoable.

He had decided to tell the judge to release the boy and to see to it that he got out of town as soon as possible. That seemed simple. It would have been had he been dealing with ordinary matters and mortals, but this was not the case. He was dealing with life problems, and was therefore pitting his poor business brain against a woman's sex intuition a thing of which he or any other man can know nothing, because the faculty is that of woman, for woman's purposes and is possessed by man only in rudimentary form.

No sooner had he left the house that morning, than his daughter followed him secretly to his office, instead of going to school. This was a thing she had never done before. She hardly knew why she did it now. It was not that she distructed her fathers' word. She knew that when he said that he would have that boy released that there was nothing that would stop him, and yet in spite of that assurance she felt that she had to be present, lest something might go wrong. And what was there that could go wrong? That boy's freedom was all that she wanted, she would have resented any insinuation that she even wanted to see him again. Still there was that in her mind which stirred deep laid emotional surrents which alternately thrilled and frightened her, she was in the grasp of the cosmic urge which swept her on with the resistless power of a Niagara. Olive the woman was dominant, and hopelessly routed Olive the bourgeois. Under the influence of the biologic urge heredity triumphed over environment. The ghost of Eric the Red, arose in the body of the choir girl. The woman wanted the man, the lady wanted justice, and when on the fields of life a woman meets a lady, in the same body, then it goes hard with the lady. That is perhaps the reason she went to her father's office, she told herself that it was, simply to hear how he would manage to set that boy free; but in reality it was to see to it that he should not be spirited away from her. Consciously she formed her thoughts according to her training, subconsciously she shaped her acts according to the requirements of Biology.

This phenomena of mind is seen unversaly in the working class thru out the world under the influence of radical education. They speak in the terms of radicalism but when confronted by the real problems of live they act true to their slave heredity. Olive lived in a slave environment but reacted activistically to her ancestral blood.

She sat in the outer office and over heard her father's conversation with the judge over the telephone. His part if it ran some-what like this:

"Hello—is this you Judge?"

"This is Gus—Gus Anderson. Can't you hear, or have you forgoten who I am?"

"Say I want you to turn that kid loose." at this the girl felt a thrill of joy. And then her father continued, "and see to it that he gets out of town P. D. Q." At this she felt her self rising as if to spring upon a deadly foe, but she checked herself. She hated her self for the emotion that so suddenly surged up with in her. For the moment she hated her father, for doing what she would, if asked, have approved. She was suprised, that she should side against her father in favor of a stranger.

Continued on page 4th.

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

"UNDERSIRABLE ALIENS"

The extinction of all humane privileges of the workers in the U. S. by the agencies of capitalism thru its Department of Justice and Palmer is continueing, but with a change of tactics which, while being less conscipicuously in the open, is nevertheless, as repressive and degrading to what are generally referred to as the national ideals as any measures have been.

The change in tactics constitutes a guerilla warfare and is directed largely against the alien workers—those workers who have been induced by the rose colored promises of personal and political liberty and high wages and better living conditions to come to this country and serve its economic masters.

Since the nationwide raids of January and the resultant censure of the Department of Justice by the liberal minded of the country who saw in this example of Czarism the final extinction of popular liberties if it continued, the department has changed tactics and what it did openly and brazenly in January against all workers, it is doing more secretly and less ostentasiously to the foreign born. The non-citizen foreigner does not vote and just now the political pot is boiling furiously and the highbinders are playing cannily for the "labor vote" of the American worker and citizen.

Not a week passes but numerous raids are recorded in the press. Great numbers of aliens are still being arrested in meetings, in homes or wherever they have the temerity to foregather. Many are held for deportation and all are catalogued, thumbmarked and recorded, questioned and terrorized. By such methods does Palmer attempt to qualify before capitalism for the seat in the White House for which he has been playing for many months, and because of such ambition and the fears of capitalists a reign of terror has been instituted and is continued by the Department of Justice.

As long as the foreign born were content to slave in abject servitude for the profits of American capitalism they were allowed to go and come unmolested, tho shunned, intrigued against, and pitilessly exploited. When they endeavored to organize against capitalism and for themselves and their families, they at once became the object of the most villanous attacks ever instigated by a ruthless and robber class drunk with power. The fact that the power of the State was on the side of the industrial capitalists was brought home to them in blow after blow delivered with a mailed fist upon their defenseless persons. They are now classed as "undesirable aliens".

It mattered not to capitalism and the henchmen who serve it as political officials of the nation, that the industries of the nation have been built up by the hands and brains of these foreigners. It mattered not that the shining rails from coast to coast had been laid by them; that the mines were useless unless the foreignborn went down into them with pick and shovel; that without their brawny arms the steel industry would never return a dollar on the investment. Nothing mattered except that the worker's rebellion against enslavement and exploitation by the master class must be put down. That is the reason and the only reason for continueing this guerilla warfare against the foreign born workers. But the methods of Palmer to subdue the tidal wane of revolution are proven false by how mony centuries of human history!

A "SUCCESS" STORY

We have just read in the daily press of the announced resignation of Harry Davis from the Mayorship of Cleveland. Not that Harry will resign right off—he will make sure of his candidacy for the Governorship before he takes the big leap into a chanceful political abyss.

We have read up on Harry—also from the daily press, a short sketch of his life—or some of it. We don't know how authentic this sketch is, but as History failed to record another, we will accept it as it runs.

It seems that when a boy, Harry earned his living with his hands in an honest and straightforward manner by working in a steel mill. This fact alone ought to earn him the Governorship at the hands of the steel workers of Youngstown, Lorain and Cleveland. It will be seen at a glimpse that this constitutes an affinity and oneness with Labor that must be recognized by Ohio wageslaves next November. Harry knows all their ills, he knows how hard it is for them to meet their bills. If he isn't a 'friend of Labor' from now until election we miss our guess.

From rustling steel slabs and iron junk, Harry graduated into the business of insurance. But it was not until he got in the political game in 1909 that his prowess as a statesman became recognized by those who had political plums to hand out to the deserving. We are not informed by this somewhat curtiled sketch of his life if a period spent as a page in the Ohio legislature served to whet Harry's appetite for political conquests or not. Very likely the evidence of pork barrel success at the Capitol served as in determining the course of the current of his young life.

However that may be, a term as city treasurer of Cleveland was the beginning of a series of games of hide-and-seek with about all the remunerative jobs on the city pay roll. Sometimes he won and sometimes not—but Harry was never discouraged—not as long as there was a better political job ahead than the one he had just won or lost. Tenacious is his middle name.

But still there was something lacking in Harry's life. Something was needed to "spot light" him and to cinch an uncertain political future—something that would forever and a day link him up with the House of Have. Fate and the times brought it about. Since this memorable occurrence the surety of his future has been as safe a gamble as a liberty bond.

A glorious day in May 1919, in fact it was the first day of that sweet month, served as the point upon which his "standing in" was pivoted. And the Socialists were the cause (he ought to thank his stars that there are socialists in these days.) They held a parade—there were 40.000 workers in line, led resplendently by a horseman in red and white. Red flags were carried—with the sanction of the police and the administration. But 'sanction' is not power and on the side of the police there was power—there were thugs and gunmen and rowdies and clubs and tanks and trucks—and behind them all was the majesty of the law. It was a massacre, but of course, with it, Harry had nothing to do—was he not enjoying a ball game in the park at the very moment his mounted police were riding down women and children on the sidewalks of the Publice Square? What better alibi would you ask? In fact, why ask? You are only a voter—.

So it was only natural that when the fall election drew near, the name of Harry Davis should outshine all teh rest on the political job board. Hadn't he bearded Bolshevism in its den and destroyed both Bolshevism and the den?

And then came the climax. It just escaped being an anti-climax. The Mayor's home was dynamited—just before the votes were cast. Some bombs were found in a barn—at least it was proved in court that they were found. The Mayor walked back to the city hall following the election with a smiling confidence in the future. All jinxes were out of sight if not entirely obliterated.

* * * * *

Prophesy often proves fatal to the prophet's reputation, but we wish to record a forecast here. Davis will be the next Governor of Ohio—Realizing the full import of this statement and its lack of flattery of the intelligence of Ohio workers, still we stand by it. And as soon as he is esconced in the Governor's chair he will father some such state law to curb Labor as the Kansas Court of Industrial Slavery. A cigar to you if it isn't so.

* * * * *

Beneath the sketch of Harry's life as it appears in the daily paper I find this:

Stockholm, March 10.—Gen. Yudenich, former commander of the Russian northwest army, arrived here today on board a torpedo boat. A dispatch Feb. 27 said the government of Letvia had permitted Gen. Yudenitch and some of his staff officers who had been interned to proceed to Paris by way of Libau. So, Yudenich did NOT kill Bolshevism!

Proletarian Science History

— By W. E. Reynolds.

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

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FOREWORD.

Proletarian study classes are more and more coming to be recognized as an essential part of any class-conscious movement having for its aim and object the establishment of a better social system.

The study class movement has been handicapped in the past by various obstacles, not the least among them being the lack of a sufficient number of text books adapted to study class use.

This little volume is the result of several years of practical experience as an organizer and teacher of proletarian study classes, and is sent forth in the hope that other students will find in the subject matter of its pages, an aid to a better understading of the materialist conception of history.

The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance given him in both the preparation and revision of the manuscript, by Professor John H. De Quer. Valuable assistance was also given by C. W. Garret, especially in the arrangement of some of the charts.

Aside from the class conscious element in society there are few who recognize the necessity for proltarian study classes. The rest are ignorant of the class nature of our educational system, and labor under the delusion that the public school, with its winked-at compulsory attendance laws, is all that is necessary.

"The whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiter and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes", says Frederick Engels in the preface to the Communist Manifesto of 1848.

Here is a fundamental truth which is completely ignored or concealed by the bourgeois-controlled schools and colleges of today.

If all history is the history of the struggle of one class to get and another class to keep supremacy, how can one be well educated if taught in a school which ignores the existence of classes and denies the class nature of society?

Securing an education in proletarian science will consist largely in substituting the dynamic for the static concept of life. It is evident that the dominant class in control of industry will strive to keep from the worker the fact of the calss nature of society, and to foster in him meekness, obedience and other mental attitudes that will tend to make the worker more productive and less restless.

A large portion of the things which in bourgeois society pass for scientific education, is but a mass of contradictions, half-truths and a muddle of misinformation.

In their daily labors for the dominant class the working class is taught many useful bits of information, but most of the education received by the worker, is given, not for the benefit of the working class but for the direct benefit of the employer. Instead of having an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of the science of society, of which he, the worker, is an integral part, he is purposely kept in ignorance, while his prejudces are aroused and his superstitions cultivated.

Armed with a knowledge of proletarian science; free from ignorance, prejudice and superstition, the working-class will have a tremendous advantage in their struggle for Industrial Freedom.

CHART FOR INTRODUCTION.

LAW GOVERNS THE UNIVERSE. NOT MAN MADE LAW, BUT NATURAL LAW INHERENT IN THE UNIVERSE ITSELF.

THE FOUR CLASSES OF SCIENCE	THE FOUR CLASSES OF IDEAS
ASTRONOMY	COSMOLOGICAL IDEAS
PHYSICS	BIOLOGICAL IDEAS
BIOLOGY	ANTHROPOLOGICAL IDEAS
SOCIOLOGY	SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAS

NOTHING HAPPENS BY CHANCE.

THERE IS NO ROOM IN THE WHOLE DOMAIN OF SCIENCE FOR MIRACLES OR THE SO-CALLED "FREEDOM-OF-THE-WILL."

INTRODUCTION.

Words are used primarily to convey ideas or to conceal their absence.*) In order that the correct idea may be conveyed it is of scientific importance to use exactly the right word or words. All students of proletarian science should strive at all times to use the exact word needed to convey the idea sought to be expressed.

A definition is a concise statement of the meaning of a word. A definition to be concise must be all-inclusive and all-exclusive, including al lthat is necessary and excluding all that is non-essential.

Law governs the universe.

The law which governs the universe is not man-made law written upon the statute-books by parliamentarians, but natural law, inherent in the universe itself.

Nothing happens by chance. Everything that happens is CAUSED TO HAPPEN by some former cause or causes. These causes produce effects and these effects in turn become the causes of future effects. This is known as the law of causation.

Carefully examine the law of causation, for if it is true there is no room in the whole field of science for miracles or the so-called "freedom of the will."

There are two methods of explaining phenomena, the static and the dynamic. The static method views life and history as a collection of unrelated happenings. The dynamic method views life as a succession of processes; as links in the chain of universal causation.

The prevalence of static education accounts for the almost universal stupidity on matters pertaining to social progress.

The static-minded chase effects while the dynamic-minded seek to change effects by analysis of causes. It is the ability to analyze cause that gives the dynamic minded their pre-eminence in the struggle for supremacy.

People who are static minded can not see the forest for the trees; the city for the houses. A knowledge of science*) gives the dynamic-minded a sense of relationship which enables them to see not only the trees but the forest; not only the houses but the city.

An illustration of static-mindedness is to be found in the workings of certain governmental committees. One committee will be sent out to ascertain the number of women working in industry. The committee will eventually bring in a report that there are ten million women engaged in gainful occupations in the United States. That committee will then be dismissed. Another committee will be sent to find out the wages paid to women in industry. That committee will report that the average wage paid to women in industry, is less than a dollar a day, and that committee will be discharged.

Another committee will be appointed to find out the number of prostitutes. That committee will report and be dismissed and that will be the end of it!

The dynamic-minded would reason this way; ten million women in industry, wages less than a dollar a day, of course there must be prostitution caused by the low wages and the bad economic conditions.

According to the dynamic point of view we find the causes of human misery to be, ignorance, poverty, disease, etc., in short a lack of understanding of the natural and social forces and the activity which would logically flow from such a knowledge.

There are four grand divisions of science, Astronomy, Physics, Biology, and Sociology. The sum total of human knowledke being included in these four general sciences it is evident that the student of proletarian science can not know everything about all things.

One should know something of the science of cosmology, the knowledge of the universe and the natural laws which govern it.

One should have a working knowledge of the science of biology, the science of life.

Next in order of importance comes a branch of the science of biology, Anthropology, the science of man.

Last but not least is the science of sociology, a knowledge of the structure and function of society.

In these lessons the aim is to teach such portions of the above mentioned sciences as most directly concern the material interest of the modern proletariat.

QUESTIONS FOR INTRODUCTION.

1. What is the primary use of words?
2. Why is the use of exactly the right word important?
3. What is a definition?
4. How is the universe governed?
5. Explain the difference between natural and statute law?
6. What is the law of causation? (Give examples.)
7. Are miracles possible?
8. Is it possible for one to be a "free moral agent"?
9. By what two methods are phenomena explained? Define static? Dynamic?
10. What is the effect of static education?
11. What is the advantage of dynamic-mindedness?
12. Give illustrations other than the text of both

(Continued on page 4.)

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*) "We are beginning to understand that science does not consist of a great mass of facts, but rather in the ascertainment of the laws which lie behind the facts and which constitute their **Relationship** to each other" ARTHUR M. LEWIS, in "Introduction to Sociology."

*) Huxley said of his debate with Gladstone Genesis vs Science, that when the latter was thoroly beaten he retreated under a cloud of words.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S CODE OF LABOR LAWS

1 The Code of Labor Laws shall take effect from the moment of its publication in the **Compilation of Laws and Regulations of the Workmen's and Peasant's Government.** This Code must be extensively circulated among the working class of the country by all local organs of the Soviet Government and be posted in a conspicuous place in all Soviet Institutions.

II. The regulations of the Code of Labor Laws shall apply to all persons receiving remuneration for their work and shall be obligatory for all enterprises, institutions and establishments (Soviet, public, private and domestic), as well as for all private employers exploiting labor.

III All existing regulations and those to be issued on questions of labor, of a general character (orders of individual establishments, instructions, rules of internal management, etc.), as well as individual contracts and agreements, shall be valid only in so far as they do not conflict with this Code.

IV. All labor agreements previously entered into, as well as all those which will be entered into in the future, in so far as they contradict the regulations of this Code, shall not be considered valid or obligatory, either for the employees or the employers.

V. In enterprises and establishments where the work is carried on in the form of organized cooperation (Section 6, Labor Division A of the present Code) the wage earners must be allowed the widest possible self-government under the supervision of the Central Soviet authorities. On this basis alone can the working masses be successfully educated in the spirit of socialist and communal government.

VI. The labor conditions in the communal enterprises organized as well as supported by the Soviet institutions (agricultural and other communes) are regulated by special rules of the all-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars, and by instructions of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and Labor.

The labor conditions of independent artisans are them for cultivation are regulated by the Code of Rural Laws.

The labor conditions of nidependent artisans ore regulated by special rules of the Commissariat of Labor.

ARTICLE I.

On Compulsory Labor

1. All citizens of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, with the exceptions stated in sections 2 and 3, shall be subject to compulsory labor.

2. The following persons shall be exempt from compulsory labor:

(a) Persons under 16 years of age;
(b) All persons over 50 years;
(c) Persons who have become incapacitated by injury or illness.

3. Temporarily exempt from compulsory labor are:

(a) Persons who are temporarily incapacitated owning to illness or injury, for a period necessary for their recovery.

(b) Women, for a period of 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after confinement.

4. All students shall be subject to compulsory labor at the schools.

5. The fact of permanent or temporary disability shall be certified after a medical examination by the Bureau of Medical Survey in the city, district or province, by accident insurance office or agencies representing the former, according to the place of residence of the person whose disability is to be certified.

Note I. The rules on the method of examination of disabled workmen are appended hereto.

Note II. Persons who are subject to compulsory labor and are not engaged in useful public work may be summoned by the local Soviets for the execution of public work, on conditions determined by the Department of Labor in agreement with the local Soviets of trade unions.

6 Labor may be performed in the form of —

(a) Organized cooperation;
(b) Individual personal services;
(c) Individual special jobs.

7. Labor conditions in Government (Soviet) establishments shall be regulated by tariff rules approved by the Central Soviet authorities through the People's Commissariat of Labor.

8. Labor conditions in all establishments (Soviet, nationalized, public and private) shall be regulated by tariff rules drafted by the trade unions, in agreement with the directors or owners of establishments and enterprises, and approved by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

Note. In cases where it is impossible to arrive at an understanding with the directors or owners of establishments or enterprises, the tariff rules shall be drawn up by the trade unions and submitted for approval to the People's Commissariat of Labor.

9. Labor in the form of individual personal service or in the form of individual special jobs shall be regulated by tariff rules drafted by the respective trade unions and approved by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

ARTICLE II.

The Right to Work

10 All citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations and for remuneration fixed for such class of work.

Note. The District Exchange Bureau of the Department of Labor Distribution may, by agreement with the respective unions, assign individual wage earners or groups of them to work at other trades if there is no demand for labor at the vocations of the persons in question.

11. The right to work belongs first of all to those who are subject to compulsory labor.

12. Of the classes exempt from compulsory labor, only those mentioned in subdivision "b" of section 2 have a right to work.

13 Those mentioned in subdivisions "a" and "c" of section 2 are absolutely deprived of the right to work, and those mentioned in section 3 temporarily deprived of the right to work.

14. All persons of the female sex, and those of the male sex under 18 years of age, shall have no right to work during night time or in those branches of industry where the conditions of labor are especially hard or dangerous.

Note. A list of especially hard and health-endangering occupations shall be prepared by the Department of Labor Protection of the People's Commissariat of Labor, and shall be published in the month of January of each year in the **Compilation of Laws and Regulations of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government.**

ARTICLE III.

Methods of Labor Distribution

15. The enforement of the right to work shall be secured through the Departments of Labor Distribution, trade unions, and through all the institutions of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

16. The assignment of wage earners to work shall be carried out through the Departments of Labor Distribution.

17. A wage earner may be summoned to work, save by the Department of Labor Distribution, only when shosen for a position by a Soviet institution or enterprise.

18. Vacancies may be filled by election when the work offered requires political reliability or unusual special knowledge, for which the person elected is noted.

19. Persons engaged for work by election must register in the Department of Labor Distribution before they are accepted, but they shall not be subject to the rules concerning probation set forth in Article IV of the present Code.

20. Unemployed persons shall be assigned to work through the Departments of Labor Distribution in the manner stated in sections 21-30.

21. A wage earner who is not engaged on work at his vocation shall register in the local Department of Labor Distribution as unemployed.

22. Establishments and individuals in need of workers should apply to the local Department of Labor Distribution or its division (Correspondence Bureau) stating the condition of the work offered as well as the requirements which the workmen must meet (trade, knowledge, experience).

23. The Department of Labor Distribution, on receipt of the application mentioned in section 22 shall assign the persons meeting the requirements thereof in the order determined by the same.

24. An unemployed person has no right to refuse an offer of work at his vocation, provided the working conditions conform with the standards fixed by the respective tariff regulations, or in the absence of the same by the trade unions.

25. A wage worker engaged for work for a period of not more than two weeks, shall be considered unemployed, and shall not lose his place on the list of the Department of Labor Distribution.

26. Should the local Department of Labor Distribution have no workers on its lists meeting the stated requirements, the application must be immediately sent to the District Exchange Bureau, and the establishment or individual offering the employment shall be simultaneously notified to this effect.

27. Whenever workers are required for work outside of their district, a roll-call of the unemployed registered in the Department of Labor Distribution shall take place, to ascertain who are willing to go; if a sufficient number of such should not be found, the Department of Labor Distribution shall assign the lacking number from among the unemployed in the order of their registration, provided that those who have dependents must not be given preference, before single persons

28 If in the Departments of Labor Distribution, within the limits of the district, there be no workmen meeting the requirements, the District Exchange Bureau has the right, upon agreement with the respective trade union, to send unemployed of another class approaching as nearly as possible the trade required.

29. An unemployed person who is offered work outside his vocation shall be obliged to accept it, on the understanding, if he so wishes, that this be only temporary, until he receives work at his vocation.

30. A wage earner who is working outside his specialty, and who has stated his wish that this be only temporary, shall retain his place on the register on the Department of Labor Distribution until he gets work at his vocation.

31. Private individuals violating the rules of labor distribution set forth in this article shall be punished by the order of the local board of the Department of Labor Distribution by a fine of not less than 300 rubles or by arrest for not less than one week. Soviet establishments and officials violating these rules on labor distribution shall be liable to criminal prosecution.

ARTICLE IV.

Probation Periods

32. Final acceptance of workers for permanent employment shall be preceded by a period of probation of not more than six days; in Soviet institutions the probation period shall be two weeks for unskilled and less responsible work and one month for skilled and responsible work.

33. According to the results of the probation the wage earner shall either be given a permanent appointment, or rejected with payment for the period of probation in accordance with the tariff rates.

34. The results of the probation (acceptance or rejection) shall be communicated to the Department of Labor Distribution.

35. Up to the expiration of the probation period, the wage earner shall be considered as unemployed, and shall retain his place on the eligible list of the Department of Labor Distribution.

36. A person who, after probation, has been rejected, may appeal against this decision to the union of which he is a member.

37. Should the trade union consider the appeal mentioned in the preceding section justified, it shall enter into negotiations with the establishment or person who has rejected the wage earner, with the request to accept the complaint.

38. In case of failure of negotiations mentioned in section 37, the matter shall be submitted to the local Department of Labor, whose decision shall be final and subject to no further appeal.

39. The Department of Labor may demand that the person or establishment who have without sufficient reason rejected a wage earner provide the latter with work. Furthermore, it may demand that the said person or establishment compensate the wage earner according to the tariff rates for the time lost between his rejection and his acceptance pursuant

(Continued next week.)

Washington News Letter

(Continued from 1st page.)

So much for what the federal reserve board thinks about labor and the cost of living. There is a word to add about what Glenn E. Plumb, spokesman for the railroad brotherhoods, thinks about the federal reserve board.

It appears that the reserve banks had power during the war to advance cash to individuals and firms that had contracts with the government. Uncle Sam's promise to pay on the delivery of commodities oloked like pretty good collateral

So, every contractor formed the thrifty habit, it is said of running to a federal reserve bank and pawning his new government contract for as much spot cash as he could get for it. And the banks were liberal. The theory was that when the treasury paid for the anticipated goods the reserve banks would take the coin and cancel the **private loan.**

And that is what they did in many instances, there is no doubt.

But the war came to an end more or less suddenly. And right up to Nov. 11, 1918, when the armistice was signed, the war, navy and other departments went on letting contracts. A week later the same departments were cancelling their contracts.

And they cancelled a huge number of contracts on which firms and individuals had gone to the banks and borrowed money. They were bent on saving money for their own departments, and that is the way they did it.

The contractors had the cash, the federal reserve banks had the paper contracts, and the departments didn't want the goods deilvered That is still the way matters stand.

No less than $1,500,000,000 of public money has been issued by the federal reserve banks on government contracts that have been cancelled and will never be paid, according to those who have attempted a survey of the matter.

How the tangle can be straightched out nobody appears to know. Every day the treasury department is refusing to pay vouchers for these cancelled contracts upon which the federal banks have loaned money.

Much of the money has been spent by the persons who borrowed it on the voided contracts. The government got nothing for it. Neither did the taxpayer. Merely an incident of war.

And if the efderal reserve bank can make its books balance it will be all right.

The Black Sheep

Continued from page 2.

She was not yet aware that life knows no strangers.

"See to it that he gets well passed minot, or hell, or somewhere, and tell him that this neighborhood will be damned unhealthy for him if he ever comes back."

"What?—Huh!—Then why did you jail him? All we want is the money."

"Didn't have much?—The people he worked for told me he had about a hundred—where did it go to. You aint pocketing it, are you?

"If you do, I'll get your goat, as sure as God made little apples."

"Spent it in your blind pig."

"Sent it home before you had a chance to arrest him You are a bright bunch. You are. What do you have officers for?

"Only fifteen dollars.—That is at least eighty gone to hell."

"O damn the others—It is right to "can" them, that will discourage the kind that send their money out of the country. „Patronize home industry. —That is right."

As Olive over heard these words she felt sick with anger and shame, she realized that her father had never really revealed him self to her as he really was. Only once had he given her a glimpe and that was on the Sunday evening she had returned from her visit to the jail. She percieved that he had forced her to live a lie. As his daughter she wanted to live as her father lived, and now she saw that he had given her no real part in his life and what was more, she wanted no part in it. In his ignorance of life's deeper things he had imagined that he could feed genius on deception and not reap the reward.

"Alright Judge," he concluded. "Make a good job of it and send the bill to me."

As he turned arround from the phone, Olive, who had arisen from her seat was standing in the door way. She was very pale and nervous but did not say a word.

Continued next week.

SANDUSKY LITERARY PARROT SHIES BOOMERING AT THE TOILER.

We quote the following from a recent number of the Sandusky Star-Journal:

Ever read "THE TOILER"
The official organ,
(Organ is right—obsolete)
Of the Communist Labor Party
Of the State of Ohio?
"THE TOILER"
Is a rank imitation
Of "The Appeal To Reason"
In fact it is about the worst
Accumulation of bolsheviki rot
That we've ever glanced over.
If the powers at Washington
Would subscribe for "The Toiler"
And follow its suggestions
This country would be heaven
For "Free Love Artists"
SOAP BOX ORATORS,
ANTI FREE SPEECH supporters
And people who
Believe in the old maxim
"To Hell With the Government."
I Thank You.

The fact that 'it pays to advertise' and likewise pays to be advertised, is borne home to us with increasing conviction. With the clipping above quoted a Sandusky comrade sends us eleven yearly subscriptions which clinches our faith in the maxim that has become an established rule of business.

In all probability, without this invitation shouted from the house tops of Sandusky, figuretively speaking, these eleven new readers of The Toiler would have remained in ignorance of the fact that The Toiler had something of real value to offer the workers.

Of course, we can hardly approve the "literary" quality of this crippled imitation of K. C. B. But where originality is non-existent it is perhaps permissible to resort to inharmonious parrot quackings even to the extent of revealing one's complete lack of knowledge of present day problems.

We desire to express our appreciation to the Star-Journal for its good work for The Toiler. We hope that the "prose poets" of its staff will continue to belabor us in the same way—its good for our business, it relieves the presure upon the brains of the Journal staff, allowing the gases and poison of ignorance to escape before they completely wreck the interior of their containers. Yes, hit us some more, it looks better in the Star-Journal than so much boiler plate, amuses our readers and creates more of them, so why should we object? On the contrary, we feel obliged to say: do it some more. Perhaps next time you may bring us twice eleven readers?

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

Recently at a dinner given in New York by the National Mfg. Ass. of which F. P. Fish is president. T. V. O'Connor and George L. Berry accepted the invitation and were present. They were discussing the recent strikes, and when it came to breaking contracts, which they claim the printers and the longshormen broke, Robert Ely, secretary of the club proposed three cheers for the labor union leaders who believe that a contract is a contract and that there is only one thing to do with it, to live up to it. The wildly enthusiastic applause of the twenty-two hundred diners was a glowing tribute to the splendid work of these two men, which culminated in a victory over the bolshevist foreigners and I. W. W. The next on the program was Berry, president of the printers union. He said, „At least seventy per cent, of the appeals coming to the Int. Union today, are from members who have been fined for breaking machinery in the recent strike. This union had 2 strikes since the war, these 2 strikes were illegal, and in both instances we joined with the employers in breaking them, we made every bolshevik go back to work, on our conditions" (applause) (cheers for Berry).

Then O'Connor, President of the longshormen union, started to tell how he broke the last strike and how he kicket out althe I. W. W. (?) and Bolsheviks (?) from his organization (there are 30 thousand longshormen members of the I. W. W. in N. Y. City alone).

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

With the publication in this issue of the introductory chapter of Proletarian Science, we want to again call every reader's attention to the necessity of completing the organization of study classes. To the many comrades who have started organization of classes, we say, take up this first chapter in class. And to those who have intended to start organizing a class, we say, hurry, if possible get the class together for this first chapter. And to those who have neglected to consider the organization of a class, we say, you will be sorry if you do not get at least a few comrades together each week and take up the chapters of this splendid and instructive work.

With each succeeding chapter we believe our readers will become more deeply interested in Proletarian Science. There is a world of good in it, prepare to get all the good by studying it in class. No better way can be imagined to spend a profitable evening than in group study of this work.

Continued from page 3.

viewpoints?

13. Name the chief causes of human misery.
14. Name the four basic sciences.
15. Name the four classes of ideas? Explain each?
16. What great fundamental truth is ignored or concealed by bourgeois educators?
17. Of what does the science of Biology consist?
18. What is the science of Anthropology?
19. Of what does the science of sociology consist?
20. Is proletarian education necessary? Why?

Read and Remember

We do not want to see another big railroad strike. But if by chance one should come, we should certainly keep our weather eye fixed upon the State of Kansas. We have hitherto called attention to the new law of that State, prohibiting strikes. Now we observe that Governor Allen says that "the Kansas laws will be enforced," and that in case of need he purposes to "find out whether there is a man, or a set of men, bigger than the laws of this State." So let someone start a strike in the Sunflower State and see what happens.

—HARVEY'S WEEKLY

Feb. 21st 1920.

We Announce

The Publication of

THE TOILER EDUCATIONAL LEAFLET SERIES

Beginning with

THE CODE OF LABOR LAWS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

This Series will be of great educational value and is intended for the non-socialist. At the same time will be of interest to all workers. Leaflet number 2 is in preparation, others will follw.

ORGANIE FOR EDUCATION!

These leaflets will be sold pratically at cost and will deserve a wide distribution. The demand for leaflets is large. Every worker in mine, mill and shop should read the Code of Labor Laws of Soviet Russia, and all the leaflets of this series.

The education of the workers in the principles of Socialism, which alone can free them from their economic bondage, depends in part upon YOU.

Let every worker do his part—NOW.

Order Leaflet No. 1 at above prices.

Address The Toiler.

Price announced next week.

Twelve Titles of London

at very low price.

We have a few titles of London, some of his best, that we are closing out at 60c each. There are only a few of them and as we are putting in a higher priced stock of these books we will have no more of this cheap edition after these are sold.

Here are the titles, pick out yours—

House of Pride—Sea Wolfe
Adventure—Faith of Men
South Sea Tales—White Fang
Martin Eden—Burning Daylight
Children of the Frost—Before Adam
Cruise of Snark—When God Laughs.

Address The Toiler.

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SIDE LIGHTS ON ATLANTA PENITENTIARY

A. L. Hitchcock.

This Institution maintained by the Department of Justice! (save the mark) created and run under the ancient idea, of "An eye for an eye" where such a thing as justice has no part, should be better known to the citizens of these United States.

An Institution where men are sent under the, to the public, idea that they will reform and come away honest; where truth is a stranger, where manhood is strangled, where the Judas is a priveleged person. There are so many things to be said about this cess pool of civilization, that a book will be required to record it. So I am merely going to hit a few of the high spots for this time. First the name, Department of Justice, is a misnomer; plenty of men are doing time in that prison who are only guilty of being poor, hundreds there had no chance to secure justice, being railroaded thru the courts for no other purpose than to help cut the records of a struggling and inefficient district attorney.

An Institution maintained at public expense, where three criminals are made for every one set up. Where public moneys are spent, not to protect the citizens from vicious men, but to furnish jobs for political henchmen and lame ducks, this is not so evident at the prison, as in the army of those who profit indirectly.

The brutalizing of men begins at the very entrance, and it extends thru-out the whole place. Every one knows that to de-humanize a man, makes a brute out of him, so the process of brutalizing the inmates also has the same effect on the offices.

Warden Zerbst poses as a philantrophist and uplifter, but the majority of the prisoners know him to be a bully, whose favorite way of starting an interview, is to take off his coat, lay his gun on the desk and offer to fight the defenseless man. If Cezar Lambreso could see the warden he would be more confirmed than ever in his theory of a criminal type.

Deputy Warden Girdeau is another poser, his being that of a christian gentlemen. A more brutal scoundrel would be hard to find. To taunt men who are in solitary on a bread and water diet with the fine breakfast he had this morning, is only one of his stunts. Another was to chain men up to the bars for days, until orders from Washington put a stop to it. When the good people of Atlanta raised a row about the brutal whipping of prisoners at City and County Prisons — the Warden then said, If you think there is whipping here now, you should have seen it when Charlie Girardeau was warden". With a bible in his pocket and a hymn on his lips he could consign a man to the "Hole" on bread and water without a sign of reason or a show of justice.

Holy Joe Sewell is another shining light of this so called place of reform. With his corps of stool pigeons (The lowest known form of animal life), and the aid of numerous guards, well armed with full grown clubs, he tells the men, herded in the chaple whether they wish to hear or not, about the loving kindness of Jesus.

This panderer after Judas has the supreme gall to talk about being upright and true, at the same time unable to look a man in the face.

These beauties cultivate a dual personality; a nice suave voice and manner towards the free men and news paper reporters; honey could not melt in their mouth.

But what a difference in both voice and manner when it is some poor unfortunate who has been framed up on and sent to prison looking for a square deal.

Great stress is laid on religion, every man being required to attend Divine Service as condected by such a charaster as the Chaplain is known to be by all the men.

Compulsory Church Attendance, is clearly a violation of the Constitution, especially in a Federal Institution, but the majesty of the law gets no respect from the religious fanatics like Giradeau and Sewell.

To cap the whole thing, men are required to send away the clothes they wear to the place. Then when their time is up, they are fitted out with an outfit that is the last word in poor clothes. The poor wretch who leaves prison without friends may very soon be forced to steal to raise funds, for if he fails to get a new suit, and that very soon he will find himself arrested for indesent exposure.

Ofter the innocent wives and children are made to suffer for the sins of the fathers. To the ordinary unthinking mind this is intended a deterrant from crime; but in reality is an incentive. For be it known that the instinct of self preservation is the dominant characteristic of all mankind, and the women and children are bound to live. This determination to live, quite often, leads to socalled crime.

What is the helpless woman going to do? What will the fatherless children do? The answer to these questions is unquestionably; we must live, if not by honorable means, then by what ever means comes to hand.

Too often this leads to the "easiest way" in the case of women and girls, and to petty stealing in the case of boys.

No matter what course is taken, the result is the same "CRIME". It is no easy matter for a man incarcerated in a penal institution to contemplate the results of his absence from home and it tends to embitter him; he then wants society to make amends for the terrible injustice done to his family.

For prison officials to quote the figures of the number of men who have reformed, is as misleading as all the rest of their propaganda of job keeping. Thousands are sent up who are not criminals and never would be. These are the reformed.

Now with three such beauties as these at the head of an Institution how in the name of commonsense can any decent citizen except men to reform?

In the first place the rules of the vintage of 1911 signed by Mr. McReynolds, are not enforced except when the officials wish to "ride" some one who has incurred their displeasure.

To be sure the rules could not be tolerated in any penal institution these days, as they are of an age when mental as well as physical torture was in vogue. But to be used on certain men at exceptional times is brutal in the extreme.

Then there is the politician's mess where favored ones have extra food served, at the expense of the rest of the inmates.

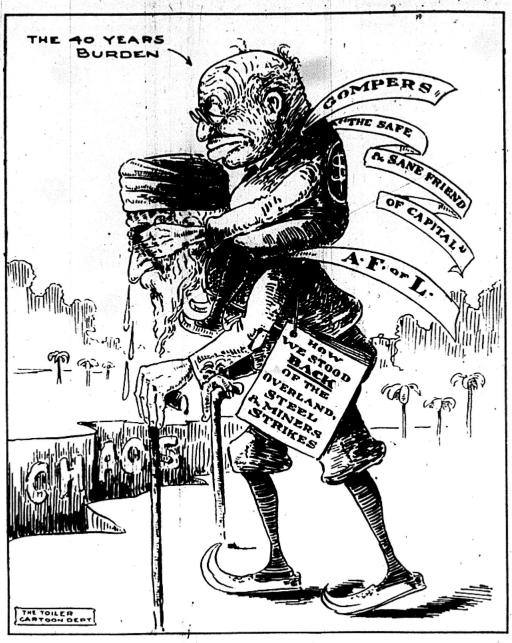
Some guards seem to be under the impression that it is incumbent on them to resort to reporting men to have them punished. One case of a man being reported and punished for having a murderous look in his eye. Assault and murder have been committed within the walls and no notice was taken until guard Ackerman beat a man on the head so badly that it was necessary to give him medical attention at the hospital.

All persons who know anything at all about psychology know that the creative instinct is very strong in the normal man and to attempt to stifle that instinct is the very worst thing that can be done to him. So if reform from wrong doing is the aim of penal institutions, then the encouraging of the better side of this creative instinct would be the logical thing to do.

How then would you, my reader, consider the action of deputy warden Giradeau, when he issued an order to the effect that any rings, trinkets or boxes must not be made under penalty of punishment. There are three times as many men as there is work so that time could be given every man to make anything that would exercise his creative instinct.

One of the worst features of this place is that of the warden and doctor, sitting on the parole board. Their written report of the conduct and physical condition of those applying for parole is all that is required of them. Numerous cases of men being denied parole because of the hostility of either the warden or doctor can be cited. The most glaring that came to my notice and will be more fully dealt with later was that of David Shaw.

Men are robbed of their Christmas gifts and can get no relief although the rules state that books and papers can be sent direct from the publishers, these are often denied. Books like "Mind Power" and selections from Shakespeare have been denied admittance. Later on I shall deal with these matters in greater detail. These statements may be denied by the warden and his sycophants but denying them does not blot them out and I can take oath as to their verasity.


THE 40 YEARS BURDEN
GOMPERS
THE SAFE & SANE FRIEND OF CAPITAL
A.F. of L.
HOW WE STOOD BACK OF THE OVERLAND, STEEL & MINERS STRIKES
CHAOS
THE TOILER CARTOON DEPT.

THE A. F. of L.'s LITTLE OLD MAN OF THE SEA.

"In this country was a decrepit little person called the Old Man of the Sea. He would mount the shoulders of an unsuspecting traveler and despite all efforts to dislodge him, would remain there untill the traveller died of exhaustion."

—Sinbad the Sailor, in Arabian Nights.

NOT LEADING — JUST RIDING!

The latest event to bring Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, into the limelight is his pronounciamento against Union Labor forming a political party. Samuel is still handing out doses of political nauseau labeled "reward your friends, punish your enemies" with your ballot. Samuel graduated from an ancient school of social medicine. He quit learning the day he hung out his shingle as a practictioner. He hasn't even learned that science has olng ago discharged his old time theories of social therapenutics. Samuel is a hard learner. But then perhaps one does not need to learn in order to ride.

• • •

Not that we think Labor will make any headway with the present organized Labor Party. On the contrary it can only make headway backwards. A working class political party without a revolutionary programe is about the most useless (to Labor) vehicle Labor can tie too.

We here wish to view the Labor Party as an expression of discontent in the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We don't think Labor is going to allow Sammy's medicine to tickel its throat this fall nor any other time again. The present insurgency within the ranks of the A. F. of L. indicate that a new physician will be called in very soon. The fact that the patient refuses to take the prescription is a certain proof that he is growing rebellious. But that of course will not prevent him calling in another quack as great as Sammy. He will probably try a few others before he finally comes out from under the ether that has been administered to his nostrils for lo, these many years.

• • •

Chaos confronts the A. F. of L. Insurgency is rife within it. Every succeeding strike bears more and more the character of a revolt against the methods of conservative labor unionism. Harder and harder the workers strain upon the leashes of the old rules and the officials. With a growing rebelliousness, the workers are coming to view their present leaders as part and parcel of the huge machine which crushes their hopes and stands between them and the realization of their dreams.

The fires of Internationlism are cracking the shell of craft unionism. It is breaking under the strain. The development of the machine process has taken from labor its craft character. The processes of social production are constantly beating down the barriers that heretofore have enabled Labor to segregate itself into craft groups. Capitalistic production processes are welding all of Labor into one compact homogenuous mass with one idea—one hope and one common aim—Industrial Democracy, the control by the producers of the means of production. Those who stand in the way of the rapid achievement of these purposes are but blood sucking leeches, blind leaders and enemies of the workers.

Samuel has ceased to lead. He merely rides. Just how long the ridden will consent to carry this useless load remains to be seen, but it will not be for long.

Miner Burned in Explosion Gets Inhuman Treatment

(Special Correspondence.)

BELLAIRE, O.—On Feb. 26th, 1920, Andrew Nedoma, age 47, employed at the Webbmine of the Cambria Coal Co. was horribly burned, when his lamp fell into a box containing powder, resulted in an explosion. The only wearing apparel not burned from his body consisted of a belt and a pair of gum shoes. The state mining laws provide that the companies shall keep a sufficient supply of blankets and other first aid facilities. Yet not a single blanket could be found to wrap around this unfortunate worker. An overcoat was placed over his cooked flesh, and in this condition he was taken to the surface. One blanket was found on the outside of the mine, and this was smeared with the blood of the last victim crushed in the mine. No first aid was rendered, nothing was done to relieve his suffering, not even sufficient coverings to keep the biting frost from his burned flesh untill he reached the hospital where he was able to relate to his fellow workers the story of how he suffered from the cold.

He was in the hospital four days when death relieved his suffering. His chances of recovery from the moment of the explosion were very slight and even these were swept away through the negligence of the coal company in not living up to the state mining laws.

This is only one case out of thousands, where human life is sacrificed on the altar of profits. This Coal Co.'s mad rush for profits leave it no time to provide the necessary equipment with which to render some relief and comfort to the unfortunate victims who's labour they exploit.

The mine committee reported the case to the Local Union, the result was that on the day of the accident not a pound of coal was hoisted at the big mine which employes about six hundred men. These workers turned out in a body to pay their respects to their fellow worker. And as a protest against the inhuman treatment he received at the hands of the Coal Company. It was a splendid example of solidarity. The miners lined up at the City building in Bellaire, each one wearing an evergreen they marched to the morgue when the body was brought out every hat went off. From the morgue they marched to the grave. Mingled in the long procession were many nationalities, blended with a goodly number of Americans, a spirit of internationalism seemed to pervade the long line of march which was solemnised by two bands which followed the remains to its last resting place. As I marched my mind wandered into the future and I fancied I could see the workers of all industries united together to bury the corpse of the outworn system of Capitalism that has blasted the lives of million of the worlds usefull workers. While even some workers may believe such state of affairs but a dream, who can say that this doom will not in the near future become a reality.

J. J. HOGE.

Going! Going!

By Scott Nearing.

American universities and coleges are engaged in a campaign to raise more than $200.000.000. Northwestern is seeking $25.000.000.000; Pittsburgh is asking for $16.000.000; Harvard for $15.000.000; Princeton for $14.000.000, and Cornell for $10.000.000. Boston university, New York university, Oberlin college, Bryan Mawr college, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and some 60 other institutions of learning are busy with campaigns to raise endowment funds, funds for buildings, and above all, funds that will make possible an increase in salaries sufficient to offset the recent increases in the cost of living.

A common denominator appears in all of the campaigns that have made their apperance in the daily press—that is an appeal to keep the higher educational institutions of the country on a sane basis of law, order and 100 per cent Americanism.

One estimate placed the number of "Bolshevik" professors in American colleges and universities at 6.000. Using this as a text, an appeal, circulated among the graduates of certain western colleges centering about Chicago, called attention to the fact that the professors were turning radical, and had actually formed unions in a number of the colleges because their pay was lower, on the average, than that of first class mechanics. If this situation is to be met, the argument continued, if the American institutions of learning are to be kept true to their traditions and saved from the radicalism that was so noticeable a factor in the student life of Europe, the professors must be paid at least a living wage.

Thus, the ideas of the American teaching profession are to be subsidized, eased, assuaged and rectified with plenty of the yellow metal which has recently found so comfortable a lodgement among manufacturers of steel and producers of coal. If the teachers have money enough, argue the saviors of America's higher learning, they will cease to think; or, at any rate, cease to express their ideas, which amounts to the same thing in the long run.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that there are 6.000 "reds" among the professors — 6.000 who hold that the present economic system is capable of decided improvement within the present generation. Further, for the sake of argument, suppose that the $200.000.000 for which the higher institutions are asking would change these reds into various shades from pink to pure white. Who will give this money?

The trades unions will not give it. Some of them have large reserve funds, but there is no record of any one of them having been approached by any of the colleges in question.

The organized farmers will not give it. The rank and file of their organizations is convinced that, in a democracy the funds for education should come out of the public treasury.

Who, then, will give the money? Those who have it, of course — the manufacturers, merchants, brokers, financiers, and some of the better paid lawyers and doctors. These persons have big funds of surplus at their disposal, and it is from them alone that substantial results can be obtained.

Northwestern university is after $25.000.000. It would require 2.500.000 contributions of $10 each to raise this amount, and the overhead cost of raising it would eat out the heart of the principal. Obviously, the vast sums that are required by the institutions of higher learning can be raised only in comparatively large amounts — contributions of thousands and tens of thousands of dollars.

At the time that the last published income figures were compiled, there were 432.662 persons in the United States who reported incomes of more than $5.000 per year. If each of these persons gave $462, the institutions of higher learning would have their $200.000.000. There were, at the same time, 19,103 persons with incomes of $50.000 per year (millionaries).

If each of these persons gave a little more than $10.000, the sums asked for would be raised. If every person who received more than $5,000 per year should contribute to this fund, less than ½ of 1 per cent of the population of the United States would be contributors; if every person who received more than $10.000 per year contributed to the fund, less than two-tenths of 1 per cent of the population of the United States would be on the list. Even if every person who reported on income of more than $3.000 a year ($60 per week) should contribute, only

(Continued on page 4.)

Skygac's Column

It is alleged that vast quantities of British opium is being smuggled into the United States to supply the demand for stimulants created by prohibition.

• • •

Miss Ellen M. LaMotte, a sincere and forceful writer with an uncanny knack at getting at the truth of things and citing facts that disturb the poise and peace of mind of the bourgeois is out with a new book "THE OPIUM MONOPOLY," (McMillan).

Miss La Motte quotes from the Statesman's Year Book and from various British documents, which reveal the information that the British traffic in opium in the far east is a government monopoly, carried out under a department of opium administration, and bringing a handsome revenue to colonial governments at the expense of the hideously wrecked lives of thousands of orientals.

The trade is not direct from Englishman to addict. To quote Miss La Motte: "The men who buy this opium at these monthly auctions (of the British government) and afterwards dispose of it are a curious crowd of Parsees, Mohammedans, Hindus, and Asiatic Jews. Few British names appear in the opium trade today. British dignity prefers not to stoop beneath the taking in of profits; it leaves the details of dirty business to dirty hands."

Miss La Motte will be remembered as the author of "The Backwash of War" which contained the most remarkable picture of war horrors ever penned. This book was suppressed "thru fear of the effect it would have upon civilian morale." In other words it was suppressed because it would never do for the people to learn the truth about war.

• • •

Wonder what Wilson thought when China thanked us for following Washington's advice?

• • •

John Maynard Keynes, a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, the leading British authority on gold and representative of the British treasury at the peace conference in his book the "Economic Consequences of the Peace" advocates among other things, the reform of the currency founded upon INDIRECT REPUDIATION of internal national debts, cancellation of inter-Ally indebtendness dating within the period of the war, and a two billion loan!

He concludes that an anti-German uneconomic peace would mean that the Central powers would collapse first dragging down the rest of Europe; that a pro-German uneconomic peace would mean the collapse of the Allies first dragging down the rest of Europe; and a neutral uneconomic peace would mean that all Europe would collapse together. In his view the nature of the peace merely determines which shall go down first; in the end all will go down, so far as any treaty of peace is concerned.

When a Socialist or Communist says similar things its red raids and persecution from the department of Justice *(), but when the British Authority on gold says it, I wonder if it will soak in anywhere?

The book is published by Harcourt Brace and Howe N. Y. (By mail $2.64).

• • •

The bourgeoise have now figured it all out. It was not the loss of the twelve million ilves in the war that hurt. It was not the loss of the billions of dollars but it was the loss of THE HABIT OF WORK! That work habit IS an awful habit and their diagnosis may be true, but is it not possible that the shock of the horrors of war made the people THINK for themselves and try to answer the question, Are we working to live or living to work?

I do not mind working in order to live, but I would hate to think that I lived just to work, especially when I had to work under such an arrangement of society that I got the work and the capitalists got the reward.

• • •

The Detroit News published a cartoon of a well and fashionabdly dressed fur-clad saucy looking little miss labeled 'dancing teacher' talking to a poorly clad ill nourished bedraggled looking woman labeled 'schoolteacher'. She was saying "Educate their feet THAT pays."

• • •

Kansas now has an anti-strike law with teeth. The governor justifies it on the ground that the rights of the consumer are greater than the rights of the producers. Wonder how that governor would fit into a society where producers could be consumers and consumers MUST be producers?

• • •

Last Cuban sugar crop sold for about 6c a pound. If you are shy of sugar you can sweeten up on that information.

• • •

Now the "unspeakable Turk" has had four-fifths of his nation taken from him according to the daylie press.

No Mable, that roes not prove the superiority of christianity over the Mohamedan religion. It merely proves that where there is oil the grabbers will find a way.

• • •

G. Bernard Shaw's Favorite Churchman, the Dean of St. Paul curtly dismisses bible science as "a cosmology which has been definitely disproved."

• • •

[illegible] want to emphasize and corroborate an editorial statement which recently appeared in the Toiler that the local Commercial Clubs of America are the breeding places of the pestelontial White Guards of America and these in turn will become the White Terror of the days to come. Keep your eye on the doings of your local Commercial Club. They have a national Commercial Club with headquarters in their own building in Washington D. C., and the National Club sets in motion most of the unAmerican and repressive action which emanates from the National Capitol.

• • •

You can judge the culture of people by the popular songs they sing. Our poular songs are a mixture of Moody and Sankey hymns, a stuttering stable boy who "when the moon rose over the cow shed was waiting for Katie at the k-k-itchen door" and a razzy jazzy medley of suggestive nonsense, generally on the borderland of the indecent, the smutty—and the obscene.

• • •

It is a brave man these days that will keep an itemized account of his expenditures.

• • •

The bourgeois are getting alarmed, and rightly so, over the attitude of the negro. The colored boys who returned from France brought with them an arrogance and defiance suggestive of the humble man who has cringed for the last time.

• • •

When the working class will no longer cringe the dominance of the master class is doomed.

• • •

The Dean of St. Paul declared that "if the bishops refuse to ordain all those postulants who cannot swallow the creeds, the infallibility of the scriptures, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the virgin birth in the old fashioned way, the clergy will consist of fools, bigots and liars."

• • •

According to the plutes May Day this year is to be American Day. Let us hope so, with especial emphasis upon the first amendment of the American Constitution which declares for free speech, free press and free (and un-molested) public assemblage.

• • •

There is a shortage of study class teachers. When it comes to teaching proletarian science the prize unquestionably goes to Ludwig C. K. A. Alphabet Martens who has been engaged most of the winter holding a very successful class in proletarian science. He has been handicapped greatly as his classes were made up mostly of U. S. Congressmen. I do not contend that Martens has been able to accomplish much in the way of educating Congressmen, but over their shoulder he has succeeded in reaching a large portion of the newspaper readers of the nation.

• • •

Spring is here (on the calendar). In other words its moving day.

• • •

Rents are higher. So also is the indignation of the rent payers.

• • •

Pay it and grumble not. Thats the system. We are a nation of rent payers, always paying for the privelege of being allowed to stay on earth.

• • •

The mambers of the master class are ALL class-conscious. It is only the members of the working class who believe the capitalist lie that there are no classes in America.

• • •

There are master class hotels and working class lodging houses; master class theaters and working class movies; master class occupations and working class jobs; master class cemeteries and working class pottersfields. Henry, you are indeed a Henry Dubb if you cannot see it!

• • •

According to a master class opinion, the working class idea of a bath tub is an ideal place for the storage of coal. If this were true, what a horrible commentary upon the effect of master-class control of the educational system!

• • •

"If you cannot beat 'em join 'em, has always considered good politics. It seems to be the Allied attitude towards Russia now.

• • •

Senator Borah waved his hand at President Wilson the other day, from this distance I couldn't be sure whether he was waving his hand or shaking his fist.

• • •

Now comes a fellow, according to B. L. T. who wants dictionaries instead of Gideon Bibles, in hotel rooms.

• • •

The dictionaries MIGHT be used.

COMRADES ATTENTION!

Old Postage Stamps or original envelopes or entire stamp collections bought at highest prices, if you have anything to offer, call at the office of the Toiler or phone Harvard 3639.

You can't beat the Portsmouth, O., comrades when it comes to making the Toiler grow. R... Dodge sends in 10 in a bunch and orders a list of pamphlets.

Ten subs.—$7.00—that's the work of comrade V. R. Kintz of Bucyrus, O. And he did it without any coaxing too. If there is a way to keep a red from showing his colors, we havn't learned the method.

"I want to do my bit toward lifting some of the ignorance of the workers", writes comrade Chatman of Akron. And he takes the best method to do it. His literature order amounts to $11.50. When those pamphlets get in their work there will be a lightening of the burden of ignorance that oppresses the workers.

"Every slave should read them" writes comrade Wohinoff Weston W. Va. He means the list of pamphlets which he orders. We have more of them too. Some for you, comrade.

How the Pendulum Swings

LONDON.—The southeastern blockade of Russia, instead of being a blockade against Russia, is now a blockade against the allies, declares the Paris correspondent of The Westminster Gazette.

"The Red armies have broken the narrow circle; they are masters of an immense country with prodigious natural resources," he writes. "The grain of the Ukraine, the cotton of Turkestan, the copper of the Ural mountains, the coal and iron of Donetz, are at their disposal, while they doubtless have great quantities of oil.

"The blockade was always a two-edged sword. The blunt edge" was previously turned toward us. Now the sharp edge is against us, and the Bolsheviki can laugh at the blunt edge."

CHICAGO.—The curtain has now gone up on the second scene of the north woods drama which began with the demand by the convention of the Lumber Workers' Industrial union at Superior for decent living and working conditions. In The Chicago Daily News there recently appeared the following advertisement:

"Men—For guard duty with military service; must be of good build and thoroughly able to obey orders; must be at least 5 feet 10 inches and not less than 180 pounds; this service for the north woods. All applicants must state age and experience, and the best of references, and be citizens of the United States.

"This service is to rid our country of a real menace and we need real men. Address H. B., Daily News."

BERLIN.—The Social-Democratic party of Germany has formally acknowledged that there can hereafter be no possibility of accord with the Independent Socialists. At a meeting of the executive committee hld in the Reichstag, the party somewhat tardily recognises the decision reached by the Independents at their Leipzig conference Dec. 16, that the aims of the two parties are in direct antagonism. President Ebert and several ministers attended the meeting.

STOCKHOLM.—A forceful protest against the white terror carried on by the Social-Democrats of Germany has been issued by the Socialist party of Sweden. The statement calls upon the workers fo western Europe "to create a current of world-opinion against this reactionary regime which is maintaining itself by force and stifling the voice of the working class by strangling its press.

NEW YORK.—The schools of New York city are being crammed with ignorant and unfit school teachers because the city administration will not pay wages high enough to attract well-equipped ones, Rose Schneidermann, labor organizer, reported to the Central Federated union recently. Miss Schneidermann declared that efficient teachers were resigning for want of a living wage, and that Mayor Hylan had lowered the standard of examinations in order to admit low-grade teachers.

LONDON—That Great Britain means to establish a trade monopoly with soviet Russia at the same time she is carrying on war against her by means of her fleet and the Polish armies is the conviction of the Scandinavian countries, declares George Lansbury, editor of The London Daily Herald, who has just been to Scandinavia.

"All the Danish and Scandinavian people welcomed the raising of the discovered that it is still impossible blockade, but since then they have to do business with Russia, and that the allies are using the British fleet and Polish armies to continue war against Russia." he said. "Consequently, the view is gaining ground that Great Britain alone among the powers will be permitted to trade with Russia, and that at the same time she will carry on war with that country. No one believes here that the British fleet has gone to protect people against the soviets, or that the Poles are defending Poland. It is well understood here that the soviets are on the defensive and that their one desire is peace with their neighbors."

PITTSBURGH,. PA.—Negro workers imported to break the steel strike are now being discharged in crowds, it was reported at a meeting of the committee to organize the iron and steel industry held here.

NEW YORK.—Italy is in a state of revolutionary expectation, N. Gisconelli, an associate of the famous anarchist leader, Malatesta, writes to a friend in New York.

"The situation in Italy is most peculiar," he said. "Every day it seems as if the revolution would break out, and then everything bursts like a soap bubble. Agitation, strikes and riots follow one another continually and produce a strange state of mind which helps to keep up abnormal social conditions and which would make any cataclysm that might accur seem natural.

"In short, we are in a period of revolutionary expectation, with the accompanying vague, general fear.

"My opinion is that this state of affairs will not end very soon. but will drag itself out, because among the leaders of the different revolutionary parties and organizations, there are not men of sufficient audacity and ability, to meet the present historical crisis. There is more revolutionary spirit among the masses than among the leaders."

PARIS.—Newspaper workers have adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of a Sunday holiday over the whole country. The plan if adopted by the government, will mean that morning papers will come out Sunday but not Monday, and that evening papers will not appear on Sunday.

VANCOUVER. B. C.—The lumber interests of British Columbia are starting their heavy war tanks rolling against the lines of the Lumber Workers' Industrial union, section of the Canadian One Big Union.

A deftly worded notice has been posted in every logging camp in the dominion, announcing that hereafter the lumber industry will be run on the open-shop principle, but that no discrimination will be made against lawful organizations, or against individual workers.

Members of the L. W. I. U. here declare that this is nothing more nor less than a declaration of war, since the notice is so worded that their union may very well be declared unlawful, in spite of statements to the contrary made by Gideon Roberts, minister of labor.

NEW YORK.—An Italian labor paper is to be established here—the first free working class organ to represent the 4,000,000 Italians in this country. The paper will be called Avanti! (Forward) after the famous Socialist paper in Italy which now has editions in Milan, Rome and Turin. The enterprise is being backed by organized labor in New York, especially by those in the textile industry, of which 75 per cent in the country are Italians.

PARIS.—Lloyd George is convinced that the peace treaty is a voodoo to its framers, according to a story in the Petit Parisien. Upon hearing that that the peace treaty is a hoodoo to reported to have exclaimed to a friend:

"Who would have foreseen this? One would almost believe that the peace treaty is bringing misfortune to all who have touched it."

"That it so," replied his friend. "Orlando, Wilson, Clemenceau—of the four there remains only you—"

"And in six months," said Lloyd George, "it will be my turn."

They Are Going Fast!

Each succeeding day brings more orders for the HAF-PRICE PACKAGE booklets. That's because their worth is realized by many, many comrades. We suggest that before the last package is made up and mailed YOU get YOUR order in. At these prices these splendid little pamphlets will not be long on the market—and when they are gone, there will be no more.

Order—Read—Distribute

THE HALF-PRICE PAMPHLET COMBINATION.

Debs Goes to Prison, Karsner,	25c now 10c
Trial of Debs, Marx Eastman,	10c now 5c
The Soviets, 76 Questions and Answers, Rhys Williams	10c now 5c
Crimes of the Bolsheviks, Riebe,	10c now 5c
Soviet Russia, Rhys Williams,	10c now 5c
Dream of Debs, Jack London	10c now 5c
Constitution of Soviet Russia	10c now 5c
Manifesto of the Communist International	10c now 5c
Postage	5c
Total cost	5c

Address THE TOLIER

The Black Sheep.

CHAPT. XXIII.

Another Phase of the Struggle.

Two weeks after his incarceration Jack was once more brought into the filth littered court room of the municipality of Anamoose. Here the jailor handed him his suit case and a railroad ticket and laconically told him to get the next train out of town. He was not a little surprised when the boy informed him that that would be alright if his two companions accompanied him; and that unless they did he would not go until his sentence had expired. The jailor not accustomed to hearing such talk from what he considered a mere hobo attempted to employ the time honored methods of petty officialdom. Said he: "The judge gave me orders to turn you loose and to see to it that you got out of town, that is all there is to it. Now you git."

"And if I don't get, then what?"

"Then By God, I'll lock you up again."

"Well that's what I want. So that isn't so bad."

"No, we'll put you on the train and see that you git out of town. It's the judge's orders."

"Well, I'll tell you partner, the judge can put me on the train and send me out of town and I can get on the train and come back again. Merely throwing a cat out of the window does not stop her from going under the bed, and what is more I might as well tell you right now that I am going to stay in this town in jail or out until my partners are released and neither you nor your judge nor any one below the supreme court of the United States is going to exile me. I will stay here if I have to go to Harvey and get a district Court order restraining justice Duffy from letting me out of jail. Either we all come out or I go back in." So saying he flung his suitcase in the corner and sat down upon a bench and grinned at the jailor.

Low Brow did not know how to take this so he walked out of the court room and into the livery barn office to inform hizzoner of the boy's decision. The story amused the fat Irishman and after taking a copious draft of the forbidden juice, which he kept in large quantities under the oats in his feed bin. He then followed the jailor into the court room.

He smiled good humoredly on the prisoner; it was the first time he had seen him since ordering him to jail. After once more listening to Low Brow's story which this time was far more accurate than what it was at the trial he asked the boy if that were really his attitude. Jack admitted that it was. The judge then told him that he was a bigger fool than he had considered him to be. "These bums would not do that for you kid. They would let you rot and beat it the first chance they got. One of the reasons I have for letting you go is that I came to the conclusion is that you were not really bad but simply in bad company. Now take my advice and get out of town; it is the best thing you can do. Has Low Brow given you a ticket?"

Here the jailor told the judge that the ticket had been offered to the boy but that he had refused it.

The judge using his wit where he lacked wisdom resorted to diplomacy. "Any way", said he, "go up town and look around. Get yourself a bath and a hair cut. in the meantime I will see the city attorney and find out what I can do about your friends. I know that what you say is true, all that I can do is lock you up again, and I don't want to do that. But I'll be hanged if I'll turn those other bums loose until they have served their time."

"And I refuse to be turned loose," persisted the boy. "I'll go back into that jail and stay there. I am as guilty as they and they are as innocent as I. I'm not going out of this can until we go together."

"Well any way go up town and get fixed up and then come back and we'll lock you up", said the judge, handing the boy his suit case. "Take this along, you may want to change clothes or something. Come back in a couple of hours and we'll put you in."

„That's a bargain," said the boy as he took the suitcase and walked out of the door.

Jack had no sooner left the court room than the judge turned the key in the door, as he said to his officer. "Now he is out, and he'll have to go some to get back in.!"

"Yes," agreed the other. "you have him out of jail but how are you going to get him out of town?"

"Don't bother your head about that. He has only two or three dollars in his pocket; he'll be hunting another climate in a day or so. I can't understand why Gus is so damned anxious to get him out of town. In fact I don't know why he is interested in the case. I wouldn't have turned him loose but we can't go against Gus. He'd simply raise the devil I could turn the other two out but that would raise a stink. Every body would want to know why we did it. Once get a bunch of hens to cackling and you don't know where it'll end. I wish Gus hadn't butted in." So saying he went over to the livery barn and called up the city attorney. The two went over the entire case. Small head was of the opinion that "The young snot should be locked up again, but when Duffy informed him that Anderson wanted him freed he immediately read an entirely different meaning into the law."

On the point of running him out of town however the lawyer agreed that it could not be done without running serious risks if the boy had any backing. He was fully aware that there were powers in the United States greater than those of the chief taxpayer of Anamoose.

After this conversation Duffy hitched up a team and took a trip out of town so that when Jack came back to re-enter the jail, neither judge nor jailor could be found. And in view of the fact that it was the second of December in the state of North Dakota he was literally left in the cold.

While up town he had taken Judge Duffy's advice. He had spent the money he had in his pocket for a hair cut and shave, had eaten a meal at the restaurant, bought himself a suit of underwear and found to his joy that his fall's wages was still between the lining and the cover of his suitcase. This money however he determined not to use unless he absolutely had to do it, which now seemed eminent. He had only twelve cents left.

Not knowing what else to do he wandered about the town and finally decided to call on the preacher. This was an act of atavism, for generations his ancestors had been priest ridden. The preacher is a powerful factor in orthodox Calvinistic life. Those who have read "The Doctor of the Old School" and "Under the Bonnie Brier Bush" by Ian McClaren will understand some of the spiritual workings of a powerful church organization on unlettered minds. Also how even the educated will retain the mental characteristics through out all the days of their life. As Kerwood says in his stories of the Northland in describing the characteristics of the wolf Swift Lighting, "was the Ghost of Skagan the great Dane which ran in the wolf's veins and drew him irrestistably to the light in the white man's cabin. So it might have been said of Jack, the radical and the thinker that it was the Ghost of Calvin, of Knox and Cotton Mather down to the blood of his own father and mother which drew him toward the church. Mentally he knew that the church symbolized the cross and was therefore alien to the Christ; but it was this heredity which compelled him to go to the preachers house. His early training in this played but an insignificant part.

It would be difficult just to describe his emotion. A man coming from a poor region and settling in a fat pasture often feels a longing to go back to his native heath. Many foreigners who are successful in accumulating a little wealth in the land of their sojourn return to their peasant life in their home land. So the boy after feeling for several months in rich mental pasture now felt a strange urge to visit a preacher and to hear some of the old familiar jargon. It was a phase of the homing instinct that asserted itself. It was a mental throw back.

When he arrived at the parson's house he felt a wonderful mingling of emotions. It was a conglomerate of heridatery reverence and mental aversion. He was firmly convinced that what this man and his institution stood for was nothing but deception and fraud, and yet, there was a certain mysticism that threw a kind of halo around the man of the cloth. As the boy phrased it in later years, "I felt like kneeling at his feet and punching him in the jaw," all at the same time.

The preacher received him in his study and looked righteously horrified when the boy told him that he had just been released from jail and that he could not get in again. That the judge had gone back on his promise to return him to his cell. He told the preacher all that had happened, also why it had happened and asked him to find him shelter for the night, or to find the proper officials to return him to his mates.

It is needless to say that the parson could not understand his mental attitude. He proceeded to lecture the boy on his unbelief. He urged him to go home. To get out of town any where so that he would be out of the way. But help, no he could not do it. He could not afford to associate with jail birds. He had to consider his standing in the community. His was a spiritual work apart from the world. He was sorry for the boy but could do nothing.

Jack didn't argue points with him very much. He was only impressed with the truth of his friend's philosophy. Collins had made the remark once that there was more christianity at the water front than on knob hill that there was more human charity behind the red lights of shame than behind the colored lights of the church: that there was more brotherhood in the jungles than in the consistory. This fact was now impressed upon the boys mind, so he decided to try his luck in the other part of town. He simply was resolved to test out the theory of his friends.

Leaving the parson's house he slowly walked down the hill toward the main part of town. He passed a few people on their way home as it was now late in the day but no one seemed to notice him. When he reached Main street he met the first familiar face, it was Olive Anderson on her way home. She looked him square in the face and stopped. Jack could not find words with which to break the silence which did ont last but a few seconds, yet which appeared as an eternity to him. It was the girl who spoke first saying, "it was a hard job to get you out boy, but I did it. I simply did not give them any rest until they turned you loose."

Now Jack found his tongue, "I had almost said that it was very kind of you, but now that I am out how am I to get in again?"

"Why should you want to get in again?"

"For several reasons. First my friends are still in, and I don't want to leave them. I was as guilty as they and they are as innocent as I. In the second place, they took all my money and with only twelve cents in my pocket to face this bitter night out doors is no pleasant prospect. Frankly I'd rather be in jail. Still do not misunderstand me, I fully appreciate your efforts. You did a noble work. It is indeed such as yours our faith in the basic goodness of human kind is anchored."

"Where are yo ugoing to stay tonight?"

"I don't know, Box car may be."

"No you won't. You go and stay in the poolroom and wait. I'll go and see the Rev. Goodman."

"That's no use. I've just been there. He dare not do anything. He is afraid that my sin may stain his celestial garments, or tarnish the luster of his crown."

"I migth have known that. Any way go to the pool room and I'll go home and see Dad."

(Continued next week.)

The Toiler

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

Bolshevism Triumphant!

Will Bolshevism triumph in Germany—soon? Events in Europe are moving so fast that it may be that before this question meets the eyes of the reader it may be answered in the affirmative by the irrefutable fact.

Nothing could with more emphasis show the thinness and weakness of the crust of the present social capitalistic and capitalistic-reformistic system, than the outburst in Germany. The Royalist attempt to overturn the government served as the match to touch off the suppressed and confined revolutionary ferment which had been subdued beneath the iron fist and military of the Noske guards. In the extremety of its peril at the hands of the Royalists, the Ebert regime was compelled to resort to the use of a proletarian method—the general strike. It was successful. Its power was felt at once, the Royalist revolution fell flat. But the workers, who immediately upon quitting the shops became a Red Army, saw their chance. They adhered to the strike, they enlarged the numbers of the Red Army, they took control of the most essential industrial centers in the name of Communism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. They paralyzed the Ebert government as they destroyed the Royalists. Demands for the immediate institution of Communism were made. Soviets were established, the workers gained an absolute dictatorship in very large areas. All this amid veritable civil war and the shedding of much blood.

At the present writing negotiations are reported to have been concluded which will etablish the German workers in a CONTROLLING voice in all legislation, includes immediate nationalization of industries and certain lands. To what extent Communism will be established now cannot be foretold. The gains of the Spartacans and Independent Socialists are very far reaching if all reports are true. Whether these gains will establish Communism in Germany on the same scale as the Bolsheviks have established it in Russia the near future will disclose.

Thus far events in Germany have closely paralelled the movements in Russia during the period of its revolution. There, the downfall of the Czar was followed by the Korniloff government and later by the Kerensky regime which were attempts to rebuild Russia along lines of reform. They failed and the Bolsheviks took control based upon the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. On this basis they succeeded not only in keeping Russia in the hands of the workers, but conquered the counter revolutionists and drove the allied invasion from her shores. Ebert may be compared to Kerensky. He has failed in all his promises to the German workers. Only Communism and absolute proletarian rule seem capable of erecting anything staple in Germany.

The world's attention has been shifted from Russia to Germany. Capitalism may well be allarmed at the latest revolution against its too long rule. Bolshevism victorious in Germany must mean an alliance with Russia. And an alliance to which other European nations may join is a near future possibility.

With no less intentness do the workers of all lands gaze upon the German uprising. We may well study the course of affairs there and learn a lesson. Which is that so far Socialism and Industrial Democracy have not been established anywhere by means of reform or the methods of capitalistic political democracy, but by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. All attempts to establish it by other means have failed and have cost much red proletarian blood as well. The logic of events verify this weapon as that of all successful proletarian roveiutions.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS.

Guilty -- Not Guilty!

The trial of eleven members of the I. W. W. at Montesano, Wash., charged with the murder of members of the American Legion on Armistice Day has ended. The verdict of the jury was one of guilt lodged against seven of the eleven on trial. And thus has been written in the cronicles of the courts and the I. W. W. one more charge on the debit side of the I. W. W. ledger.

But another jury, a jury selected by the Seattle Trades Council also sat thruout the trial listening to the evidence. They also have rendered a verdict. "Not Guilty" was their prompt decision. And the verdict of the labor jury bids fair to be the one upon which the American workers will place most reliance.

The case has been appealed and another attempt will be made to free the fellow workers from the charge of murder. Workers should render all asistance possible to these cases. By doing so they fight the battles of their class. We do not expect that the I. W. W. nor the prisoners themselves will be down cast at the decision against them. Rather will they take up the battle cheerfully as has been their historic manner and fight thru with all their former grit to the conclusion whatever it may be.

We accept the verdict "not guilty" for our fellow workers at Montesano. May they see it become the legal verdict and thus justice be enthroned and they enabled to take up the work for Industrial Democracy again.

The Power of the Ballot

The conviction of Senator Truman H. Newberry at Grand Rapids for election conspiracy is another mighty evidence of the "power of the ballot" in the election of the "people's choice" to political office.

According to the sweet smelling intrigue revealed at the trial, nearly a quarter million dollars was spent by this ex-navy commander, ex-presidential Cabinet member and wealthy scion of one of our most "respectable" families to "purchase a seat in the Senate". We almost wonder why the voting kings of Michigan were not also indicted and tried for conspiring to assist in the illegal purchase. At that a good start was made by the prosecution, some 123 alleged participants being first indicted, dwindling to 85, 16 of whom were found guilty with the worthy senator and idol of Democracy.

American voters should feel elated not to say delighted, with the evidence of the power they wield as voters. If any one doubts that the people rule in this land of the free, all they have to do is to read the high lights of this trial and they will surely be convinced.

A crew of political high binders with the interests of democracy at heart may accomplish a great deal when once they set about it—if there is money enough to be had. A brother of the Senator, who dropped the neat little sum of $99,900 in the pot, together with other devotees of the goddess "Political Action" including the president of the Grand Rapids Chamber of Commerce were among the contributors to the purchase price.

According to the evidence, the voters of Michingan did not have to worry much about whom to put on the ticket as the recipiet of their favors. It was all arranged for them. With the greatest consideration, the hand picked candidate was foisted into the limelight as a 150 percent American. His platform was made up of patriotic planks utterly devoid of knot or blemishes. Each was nailed down with a spike guaranteed to be at least 101 per cent. "American"—whatever that means.

It was a simon pure election on stricity "American" issues. It won.

We are told in the press reports that the distinguished Senator from Michigan will not lose his seat in the Senate.

We didn't expect him to. Now if he had been a socialist and had SAID something or other "un-American" well, it would have been different!

Proletarian Science History

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

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CHART FOR CHAPTER ONE.

ALL THAT IS, IS THE RESULT OF EVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES

EVOLUTION	INORGANIC ORGANIC SOCIAL	FOUR LAWS OF EVOLUTION	HEREDITY FECUNDITY VARIATION ADAPTABILITY

The Law of Heredity makes possible the PERMANENCE of (adaptable) species.

The Law of Fecundity makes possible the PRESERVATION of (adaptable) species.

The Law of Variation makes possible the RISE of NEW species.

The Lack of adaptability accounts for the extinction of species.

Chapter 1.

EVOLUTION.

Science is classified knowledge, gleaned from an observation of the phenomena of nature and verified by experiment.

Proletarian Science is science interpreted from the viewpoint of the material interests of the proletarian.

Bourgeois science is the same science interpreted from the material interests of the property-owning class.

The term "proletarian" had its origin in Ancient Rome. A prole was of the lowest class of slaves—literally a slave whose sole function in life was to work and breed. In common usage, today, the term proletarian is applied to the entire working-class, individually and collectively.

The term "bourgeois", comes from the root word "burgher"—literally a dweller in a burgh or city. In common usage today the term, bourgeois is used to designate a member of the upper or property-owning class. Bourgeoisie is the collective form of the term.

A perfect concept of science can not be formed without at least a working knowledge of the processes of evolution as operative in animate and inanimate nature. Evolution is a process of development, from simplicity to complexity, from a low state of organization to an ever higher and more complex form.

The processes of evolution are continuous in the inorganic, organic and social world.

There are four factors that enter into the evolutionary process, to-wit:

The Law of Heredity.
The Law of Fecundity.
The Law of Variation.
The Law of Adaptability.

That tendency in organic nature, for like to produce like, (with occasional variations) is known as the Law of Heredity.

Cats, when mated, produce kittens, never cameles or colts, but always kittens. Corn, when planted, never produces cotton or cabbage, but always corn.

The Law of Heredity makes possible the PERMANANCE of species.

Than tendency in organic nature for the parent stock to produce an enormous off spring is known as the Law of Fecundity.

It is a matter of common knowledge that seeds will multiply when planted and that animals will multiply when mated. One kernel of corn will produce one or more ears of corn. One grain of wheat will produce several heads of wheat. The enormous fecundity of wheat has enabled it to reproduce itself throughout the ages, and in addition, feed the greater portion of mankind. One codfish will spawn a million eggs, out of which but six reach maturity. Infant mortality among certain primitive races runs as high as seventy—two percent.

The Law of Fecundity furnishes the food for the world, and thus makes possible the PRESERVATION of (the adaptable) species.

* The early Greeks were among the first to develop an evolution theory. (See Dr. Osborn's "From the Greeks to Darwin".) From the dawn of the Christian Era to the present time the church has ever been hostile to any doctrine of an evolutionary nature. For a history of the failure of theology and the triumph of evolution, read, chapter one, "From Creation to Evolution", in Andrew D. White's excellent work, "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology"

That tendency in organic nature for certain individuals to vary from the parent stock, in certain detail of form and structure, is known as the Law of Variation.

It will be noticed in observing a bin of corn that ears of different shapes may be found. These differences may be due to either ATAVISM or SPORT.

If the difference is due to a reversion to a former type it is called atavism.

If the difference proves to be an entirely new form, not to be found in the ancestral stock, it is known as sport.

Variations are to be found in all nature. The accumulation of sportive variations give rise to new species.

The Law of Variation thus accounts for the RISE of new species.

That tendency in organic nature for individuals to adapt themselves to changes in their environment, is known as the Law of Adaptability.

The stratified rocks of the earth abound in fossil remains of species which perished because of their lack of adaptability.

The dinosaur and the pterodactyl perished because their organic structure rendered them biologically incapable of adapting themselves to changing climatic conditions.

The mastodon surives in the modern elephant, and the eohippos changed to the miohippos and again to the pleohippos and then to the modern horse.

The LACK of adaptability accounts for the EXTINCTION of species.

ALL THAT IS, IS THE RESULT OF EVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES.*

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER ONE.

1. What is science?
2. By what method is scientific knowledge acquired?
3. What is proletarian science?
4. Explain the origin of the term, proletarian. Bourgeois.
5. What is essential to a rational concept of science?
6. Define evolution.
7. In what domains of nature does evolution take place?
8. Define atavism.
10. What is meant by the term, 'sport' as applied to evolution?
11. Illustrate the law of Heredity by example other than given in the text.
12. What is meant by Fecundity? Variation? Heredity? Adaptability?
13. What may be learned from the stratified rocks?
14. Illustrate the law of Adaptability by example other than given in the text.
15. In view of the fact that each mature dinosaur weighed about seventy tons, is it reasonable to suppose there were a pair in the ark?
16. What environmental factors caused the five-toed eohippos to evolve into a one-toed horse?
17. What causes species to become extinct?
18. What is meant by the term, 'species'?
19. Which is taught in schools and colleges, proltarian or bourgeois science?
20. Give an example of a sportive variation.

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*) The early Greeks were among the first to develop an evolution theory. (See Dr. Osborn's "From the Greeks to Darwin".) From the dawn of the Christian Era to the present time the church has ever been hostile to any doctrine of an evolutionary nature. For a history of the failure of theology and the triumph of evolution, read, chapter one, „From Creation to Evolution," in Andrew D. White's excellent work, "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology." (2 vols.)

(Continued next week.)

SPARKS.

How many "Slanders of the Toilers" has your Local distributed within last two weeks? At the rate they are going you will have to hustle to get your share. They are going out by the hundreds-yes, hundreds. Very few orders ahve come in for small quantities. All of which seems to indicate that some live wires are anxious to see the propaganda go out far and wide.

We are sure that the distributors of this pamphlet will be so gratified with results that they will order even larger quantities of the Code of Labor Laws of Soviet Russia, the second instaltment of which is published this week. Note the ad and the price.

Arley Staples of Christopher Ill. is on the job again. This time he shows results amounting to $10.00 worth of subs. That's being on the job we say.

A package of the "Slanders" goes to Jos. Bower of Creston, O. Also in in the same breath we wish to state that two subs. come from him. Oh the job yes!

If you have never read it, do so. You will never invest 50c to better advantage. We refer to the Bullitt Report of his Mission to Russia for the Allied Supreme Council at Paris. He told the allied diplomats the truth about Russia. But the truth was altogether too good for them to believe. Read it. We have it at 50c.

Comrade A. W. F. Steckel for Tiffin, remits for subs and $1.00 for defense. "We have been selling considerable literature", he says.

W. E. R. of Muskegon sends in $3 worth of subscriptions.

Acting upon the theory that every little boost means more light on the brain, many, many comrades send the Toiler to a friend when they renew their subscriptions. We don't know a better way to spread the red than that, unless it would be to send in two trial subs.

Getting a few subs. provokes one to get some more—that's the way comrade Morford of Dayton seems to look at the matter judging by the last two he sent us.

Comrade Markert of Mt. Healthy arrives again this week with another list amounting to $5. worth.

Comrade John C. Chase of Akron, spoke at Youngstown Open Forum March 7th. Our reporter says he delivered the goods in fine shape.

"The miners of Yorkville do not approve of the brutalities procticed against the radicals by the lackies of capitalism." Thus writes comrade J. J. Hoge of Bellaire. As proof of the loyalty of the miners to the cause of Labor, he remits $10.00 for defense.

Another booster has sprung up at Springfield, O. comrade Brooke Buckley. Two subs. he sends in and is out for more, he says. All of which proves that the live ones come back always.

Five yearlies came in this week from comrade M. L. Springer of Jeromesville, O. He also orders a package of "Slanders". We predict that there will be some more subs from that section soon.

Ten dollars for subscriptions and literature were remitted by comrade Frank Gise of Massilon this week. Comrades are learning to combine literature orders with subs. in a way that makes one rejoice at the amount of propaganda that is being scattered.

"The workers should read The Toiler. Keep up the good work", are encourageing words from comrade J. Braun of St. Louis. He enables us to do so by sending a subscription and promises more.

Thanks B. K. of Muskegon for the two subs.

Muskegon boosters are getting numerous. Here comes comrade C. Thorsen with two half yearlies.

A literature order and three subs. arrive from Toledo. Comrade Toth is the sender. Comrade Rospert is not the only hustler there it seems.

Well, how much do you like our cartoons?
Prove it.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S CODE OF LABOR LAWS

THE TOILER EDUCATIONAL LEAFLET SERIES NO. 1.—PRICE 60c PER HUNDRED IN ANY QUONTITIES.

ARTICLE V.

Transfer and Discharge of Wage Earners

40. The number of wage earners in all enterprises, establishments, or institutions employing paid labor can take place only if it is required in the interest of the business and by the decision of the proper organ of management.

Note. This rule does not apply to work with private individuals employing paid labor, if the work is of the subdivisions mentioned in ''b'' and ''c'' of Section 6.

41. The transfer of a wage earner to other work within the enterprise, establishment or institution where he is employed may be ordered by the managing organs of said enterprise, establishment or institution.

42. The transfer of a wage earner to another enterprise, establishment or institution situated in the same or in a different locality, may be ordered by the corresponding organ of management with the consent of the Department of Labor Distribution.

43. The order of an organ of management to transfer a wage earner as mentioned in Section 40 may be appealed from to the respective Department of Labor (local or district) by the interested individuals or organizations.

44. The decision of the Department of Labor in the matter of the transfer of a wage earner may be appealed from by the interested parties to the District Department of Labor or to the People's Commissariat of Labor, whose decision in the matter in dispute is final and not subject to further appeal.

45. In case of urgent public work the District Department of Labor may, in agreement with the respective professional unions and with the approval of the People's Commissariat of Labor, order the transfer of a whole group of wage earners from the organization where they are employed to another situated in the same or in a different locality, provided a sufficient number of volunteers for such work cannot be found.

46. The discharge of wage earners from an enterprise, establishment or institution where they have been employed is permissible in the following cases:

(a) In case of complete or partial liquidation of the enterprise, establishment or institution, or of cancellation of certain orders or work.

(b) In case of suspension of work for more than a month;

(c) In case of expiration of term of employment or of completion of the job, if the work was of a temporary character;

(d) In case of evident unfitness for work, by special decision of the organs of management and subject to agreement with the respective professional unions.

(e) By request of the wage earner.

47. The organ of management of the enterprise, establishment or institution where a wage earner is employed, or the person for whom a wage earner is working must give the wage earner two weeks' notice of the proposed discharge, for the reasons mentioned in ''a'', ''b'' and ''d'' of Section 46, notifying simultaneously the local Department of Labor Distribution.

48. A wage earner discharged for the reasons mentioned in subdivisions ''a'', ''b'' and ''d'' of Section 46 shall be considered unemployed and entered as such on the lists of the Department of Labor Distribution and shall continue to perform his work until the expiration of the term of two weeks mentioned in the preceding section.

49. The order to discharge an employee for the reasons mentioned in subdivisions ''a'', ''b'' and ''d'' of Section 46 may be appealed from by the interested persons to the Local Department of Labor.

50. The decision of the Local Department of Labor on the question of discharge may be appealed from by either party to the District Department of Labor, whose decision on the question in dispute is final and not subject to further appeal.

51. Discharge by request of the wage earner from enterprise, establishment or institution must be preseded by an examination of the reasons for the resignation by the respective organ of workmen's self-government (works and other committees).

Note. This rule does not apply to the resignation of a wage earner employed by an individual, if the work is of character mentioned in subdivisions ''b'' and ''c'' of Section 6.

52. If the organ of workers' self-government (work or other committee) after investigating the reasons for the resignation finds the resignation unjustified the wage earner must remain at work, but may appeal from the decision of the committee to the respective professional union.

53. A wage earner who quits work contrary to the decision of the Committee, pursuant to Section 52, shall forfeit for one week the right to register with the Department of Labor Distribution.

54. Institutions and persons employing paid labor shall inform in each case when a wage earner quits work the Local Department of Labor Distribution and the professional union of which the wage earner is a member stating the date and the reason thereof.

ARTICLE VI

Remuneration of Labor.

55. The remuneration of wage earners for work in enterprises, establishments and institutions employing paid labor, and the detailed conditions and order of payment shall be fixed by tariffs worked out for each kind of labor in the manner described in Sections 7-9 of the present Code.

56. All institutions working out the tariff rates must comply with the provisions of this article of the Code of Labor Laws.

57. In working out the tariff rates and determining the standard remuneration rates, all the wage earners of a trade shall be divided into groups and categories and a definite standard of remuneration shall be fixed for each of them.

58. The standard of remuneration fixed by the tariff rates must be at least sufficent to cover the minimum living expenses as determined by the People's Commissariat of Labor for each district of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and published in the **Compilation of Laws and Regulations of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government.**

59. In determining the standard of remuneration for each group and category attention shall be given to the kind of labor, the danger of the conditions, under which the work is performed, the complexity and accuracy of the work, the degree of independence and responsibility as well as the standard of education and experience required for the performance of the work.

60. The remuneration of each wage earner shall be determined by his classification in a definite group and category.

61. The classification of wage earners into groups and categories within each branch of labor shall be done by special valuation commissiosn, local and central, established by the respective professional organizations.

Note. The procedure of the valuation commissions shall be determined by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

62. The tariff regulations shall fix the standard of remuneration for a normal working day or for piecework, and particularly the remuneration for overtime work.

63. Remuneration for piecework shall be computed by dividing the daily tariff rate by the number of pieces constituting the production standard.

64. The standard of remuneration fixed for overtime work shall not exceed time and a half of the normal remuneration.

65 Excepting the remuneration paid for overtime work done in the same or in a different branch of labor, no additional remuneration in excess of the standard fixed for a given group and category shall be permitted, irrespective of the pretext and form under which it might be offered and whether it be paid in only one or in several places of employment.

66. Persons working in several places must state in which place of employment they wish to receive their pay.

67. Persons receiving excessive remuneration, in violation of Section 65, shall be liable to criminal prosecution for fraud, and the remuneration received in excess of the normal (standard) may be deducted from subsequent payments.

68. From the remuneration of the wage earner may be deducted the excess remuneration received in violation of Section 65, and the remuneration earned by the wage earner during his vacation; deduction may also be made for cessation of work.

69. No other deductions, except those mentioned in Section 68, shall be permitted, irrespective of the form or pretext under which they might be made.

70. Payment of remuneration must not be made in advance.

71 If the work is steady, payment for the same must be made periodically, at least once in every fortnight. Remuneration for temporary work and for special jobs provided the same continues at least for two weeks, shall be paid immediately upon completion of work

72. Payments shall be made in money or in kind (lodgings, food supplies, etc.).

73. To make payments in kind special permission must be obtained from the Local Department of Labor which shall determine the rates jointly with the respective trade unions.

Note. The rates thus determined must be based on the standard prices fixed by the respective institutions of the Soviet authority (valuation commissions of the Commissariat of Victuals, Land and Housing Department, Price Committee, etc.)

74. Payments must take place during working hours.

75. Payments must be made at the place of work.

76. The wage earner shall be paid only for actual work done. If a cessation of work is caused during the working day by circumstances beyond the control of the wage earner (through accident or through the fault of the administration), he shall be paid for the time lost on the basis of the daily tariff rates, if he does time work, or on the basis of his average daily earning, if he does piecework.

7. A wage earner shall be paid his wage during leave of absence (Sections 106-107).

78 During illness of a wage earner the remuneration due him shall be paid as a subsidy from the hospital funds.

Note. The manner of payment of the subsidy is fixed by rules appended hereto.

79. Unemployed shall receive a subsidy out of the funds for unemployed.

Note. Rules concerning unemployed and the payment of subsidies to them are appended hereto.

80. Every wage earner must have a labor booklet in which all matters pertaining to the work done by him as well as the payments and subsidies received by him are entered.

Note. Rules regarding labor booklets for wage earners are appended hereto.

ARTICLE VII.

Working Hours

81. Working hours are regulated by the tariff rules made for each kind of labor, in the manner described in Sections 7-9 of the Present Code.

82. The rules for working hours must conform with the provisions of this article of the Code of Labor Laws.

83. A normal working day shall mean the time fixed by the tariff regulations for the production of a certain amount of work.

84. The duration of a normal working day must in no case exceed eight hours for day work and seven hours for night work.

85. The duration of a normal day must not exceed six hours: (a) for persons under 18 years of age, and (b) in especially hard or health-endangering branches of industry (note Section 14 of the present Code).

86. During the normal working day time must be allowed for meals and for rest.

87. During recess machines, beltings and lathes must be stopped, unless this be impossible owing to technical conditions or in cases where these machines, beltings, etc., serve for ventilation, drainage, lighting, etc.

88. The time of recess fixed by Section 86 is not included in the working hours.

89. The recess must take place not later than four hours after the beginning, of the working day, and must continue not less than a half hour and not more than two hours.

Note. Additional intermissions every three hours, and for not less than a half hour, must be allowed for working women nursing children.

90. The wage earners may use their free time at their own discretion. They shall be allowed during recess to leave the place of work.

91. In case the nature of the work is such that it requires a working day in excess of the normal, two or more shifts shall be engaged.

92. Where there are several shifts, each shift shall work the normal working hours; the change of shifts must take place during the time fixed by the rules of the internal management without interfering with the normal course of work.

93. As a general rule, work in excess of the normal hours (overtime work) shall not be permitted.

94. Overtime work may be permitted in the following exceptional cases:

(a) Where the work is necessary for the prevention of a public calamity or in case the existence of the Soviet Government of the R. S. F. S. R. or human life is endangered:

(b) An emergency, public work in relation to water supply, lighting, sewerage or transportation, in case of accident or extraordinary interruption of their regular operation:

(c) When it is necessary to complete work which owing to unforseen or accidental delay due to technical condition of production, could not be completed during the normal working hours. If leaving the work uncompleted would cause damage to materials or machinery;

(d) On repairs or renewal of machine parts or construction work, wherever necessary to prevent stoppage of work by a considerable number of wage earners.

95. In case described in subdivision ''c'' of Section 94, overtime work is permissible only with the consent of the respective trade union.

96. For overtime work described in subdivision ''d'' of Section 94 permission must be obtained from the local labor inspection, in addition to the permit mentioned in the preceding section.

97. No females and no males under 18 years of age may do any overtime work.

98. The time spent on overtime work in the course of two consecutive days must not exceed 4 hours.

99. No overtime work shall be permitted to make up for a wage earner's tardiness in reporting at this place of work.

100. All overtime work done by a wage earner, as well as the remuneration received by him for the same, must be recorded in his labor booklet.

101. The total number of days on which evertime may be permitted in any enterprise, establishment or institution must not exceed 50 days per annum, including such days when even one wage earner worked overtime.

102. Every enterprise, establishment or institution must keep a special record book for overtime work.

103 All wage earners must be allowed a weekly uninterrupted rest of not less than 42 hours.

104. No work shall be done on specially designated holidays.

Note. Rules concerning holidays and days of weekly rest are appended hereto.

105. On the eve of rest days the normal working day shall be reduced by two hours.

Note. This section shall not apply to institutions and enterprises where the working day does not exceed six hours.

106. Every wage earner who has worked without interruption not less than six months shall be entitled to leave of absence for two weeks, irrespective of whether he worked in only one or in several enterprises, establishments or institutions.

107. Every wage earner who has worked without interruption not less than a year shall be entitled to leave of absence for one month, irrespective of whether he worked in only one or in several enterprises, establishments or institutions.

Note. Sections 106 and 107 shall take effect beginning January 1, 1919.

108. Leave of absence may be granted during the whole year, provided that the same does not interfere with the normal course of work in enterprise, esthblishment or institution.

109. The time and order in which leave of absence may be granted shall be determined by agreement between the managemnt of enterprise, establishment or institution and proper self-government bodies of the wage earners (works and other committees).

110. A wage earner shall not be allowed to work for remuneration during his leave of absence.

111. The remuneration of a wage earner earned during his leave of absence shall be deducted from his regular wages.

112. The absence of a wage earner from work caused by special circumstances and permitted by the manager shall not be counted as leave of absence; the wage earner shall not be paid for the working hours lost in such cases.

ARTICLE VIII.

Methods to Assure Efficiency of Labor

113. In order to assure efficiency of labor, every wage earner working in an enterprise, establishment or institution (governmental, public or private) employing labor in the form of organized collaboration, as well as the administration of the enterprise, establishment or institution, shall strictly observe the rules of this article of the Code relative to standards of efficiency, output and rules of internal management.

114. Every wage earner must during a normal working day and under normal working conditions perform the standard amount of work fixed for the category and group in which he is enrolled.

Note. Normal conditions referred to in this section, shall mean:

(a) Good condition of machines, lathes and accessories:

(b) Timely delivery of materials and tools necessary for the performance of the work;

(c) Good quality of materials and tools;

(d) Proper hygienic and sanitary equipment of the building where the work is performed (necessary lighting, heating, etc.).

115 The standard output for wage earners of each trade and of each group and category shall be fixed by valuation commissions of the respective trade unions (Section 62).

116. In determining the standard output the valuation commission shall take into consideration the quanity of products usually turned out in the course of a normal working day and under normal technical conditions by the wage earners of the particular trade group and category.

117. The production standards of output adopted by the valuation commission must be approved by the proper Department of Labor jointly with the Council of National Economy.

118. A wage earner systematically producing less than the fixed standard may be transferred by decision of the proper valuation commission to other work in the same group and category, or to a lower group or category, with a corresponding reduction of wages.

Note. The wage earner may appeal from the decision to transfer him to a lower group or category with a reduction of wages, to the local Department of Labor and from the decision of the latter to the District Department of Labor, whose decision shall be final and not subject to further appeal.

119. If a wage earner's failure to maintain the standard output be due to lack of good faith and to negligence on his part, he may be discharged in the manner set forth in subdivision ''d'' of Section 46 without the two weeks' notice prescribed by Section 47.

120. The Supreme Council of National Economy jointly with the People's Commissariat of Labor may direct a general increase or decrease of the standards of efficiency and output for all wage earners and for all enterprises, establishments and institutions of a given district.

121. In addition to the regulations of the present article relative to standards of efficiency and output in enterprises, establishments and institutions, efficiency of labor shall be secured by rules of internal management.

122. The rules of internal management in Soviet institutions shall be made by the organs of Soviet authority with the approval of the People's Commissariat of Labor or its local departments.

123. The rules of internal management in industrial enterprises and establishments (Soviet, nationalized, private and public) shall be made by the trade unions and certified by the proper Departments of Labor.

(Continued next week.)

GOING! GOING!

(Continued from 1st page.)

4 per cent of the population would be included, as there were only 994,425 persons who reported incomes of that amount.

The money for these college and university endowments will be raised from not more than 1 per cent of the American people, and probably from not more than one-tenth of 1 per cent of the American people. This tiny minority, which will be called upon to support the educational institutions in their hour of need, is the same minority that owns the copper, the iron, the forsets, the water power, the railroads, the banks and the other machinery of modern economic life. They are men who ''know the value of a dollar''; they are men who are in the habit of getting what they pay for, and in the present instance they are asked to pay high.

These same colleges will need more money in the future. They will be compelled to go to the same men and to give an account of their stewardship before they get additional contributions. In the mean time, these same men occupy three-quarters of the positions on the boards of trustees.

American institutions of higher learning—Going! Going!!

o

The ''Triple Alliance'', composed of there live wires of Huntington W. Va. is on the job each and every day. Their usual stunt is to keep a steady stream of subs on the way to the Toiler. As a side line they have branched out on a wide distribution of the ''Slanders''. After this we shall expect to see more subs. than ever.

HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,

of Ohio

In The House of Representatives,

in defense of free speech as guaranteed by the constitution.

JANUARY 10, 1920.

Mr. SHERWOOD Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House I have never been accused of cowardice either in war or in peace. I am opposed to this resolution. I do not think we have any right as a representative body to decide that a duly elected candidate in a fair and free election shall not represent a certain constituency. I am opposed to the resolution on another ground. I do not believe in repressive legislation Let me tell you how it operated in my own district. In 1918 we had three candidates for Congress, a Republican, a Democrat, and a Socialist. I happened to be the Democratic nominee. The Socialist candidate, Solon T. Klotz, polled 2,006 votes. After Eugene Debs was convicted and sent to the penitentiary, a year later, we had another election in that congressional district. Solon T. Klotz was a candidate for mayor. There were in that case three candidates on the ticket, and Klotz polled 15,242 votes. When you sent Eugene Debs to the penitentiary you made more socialists than all the soapbox agitators could make from Maine to California.

The best list that has come from Cincinnati for some time is that of comrade John Hicks. It comprises a list of 30 names and calls for $16.00 worth of subs. We have it from good authority that comrade Hicks can beat any three other Cincinnati hustlers securing Toiler subs. We believe it. Thanks comrade Hicks.

Another list of subs from comrade Staples of Christopher consists of 5 yearlies. He wasn't working that way so he made a job for himself. Result as just stated. Do you know a better way to spend a day?

Just a Moment There —

Just recently you gave the high cost of living and conditions in general a sound drubbling WITH YOUR TONGUE--and you finished your oration by saying that the workers were a lot of Dubs for standing for it—that was what you said wasn't it?

So we just want to ask if you will put a little of that tongue-energy into action, action that will do more than start a breeze: action that will have the effect of waking up the workers to a realization of their POWER and HOW TO USE IT for THEMSELVES? We invite you to turn wasted tongue energy into fruitful work—distribute

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No successful interference with Progress is possible. It's force is irrisistable. When the time came for it to advance in Europe, emperiors, backed up by the greatest military machines which the world ever devised, were standing across its pathway. Those various artificial obstructions were swept aside as if they had been so many straws—and Progress moved.

In the U. S. of America, the stupid donkey of Capitalism has squared itself across the right o' way of this same irresistable force—the passenger train of human advancement. The whistle is blowing and every revolution of the great drive wheel brings the engine nearer. Are you one of the guys who are expecting **to see the donkey kick the train off the track?**

One way to ''get 'em'' is to let them read'', says comrade Mc Farland of Hamilton, O. He sends in four boosts.

Out in South Bend Ind. is a Toiler booster. Three subs from him this week, comrade Blodgett.

A literature order amounting to $4.50 and 50c for the defense of our comrades comes from comrade Miller of Ironton, O. Literature readers have been heavier this past two weeks than for many weeks. Which all means that the workers are doing more reading than ever before.

Another Toledo booster remits for five yearlies, comrade Bretz. They are growing everywhere, are the Toiler Boosters.

''If a man die, shall he live again?''

"The Mediumship of Farmer Riley."

By SYDNEY FLOWER, LL. D.

This is a book of sixty large magazine pages, in which is related in detail the observations of the author during a two weeks' stay at the home of the medium, James Wesley Riley, better known as ''Farmer Riley,'' near Marcellus, Mich. If you have ever asked yourself the question, ''Does man live beyond the grave?'' a perusal of this book may perhaps assist you in the formulation of an intelligent answer. The book is as interesting as a romance. In his investigations Mr. Flower rigidly adheres to a program which absolutely precludes all possibility of physical agency in the production of the manifestations. The following synopsis will convey a general idea of the manifestations occuring during this remarkable investigation of psychic phenomena:

Jem Riley. The Beginning of Things. The Camp. The Test. The Start. Early Recollections. A spirit Playmate. The Mother Love. The voice. The Materialized Form. Getting to Work. Home Sittings. Rules of the Game. Some Good Advice. The First Fact. Rappings. Slate Writing. John Benton. Sitting for Materialization. First Phenomena. Methods of Conducting a Seance. Conditions. One Point for Riley. Jem's Home. His Family. Mrs. Riley. They Boys. Minnie. Views of a Skeptic. Odd Phenomena. A Night With Riley. The Dark Circle. The Materializing Seance. Good Conditions at a Riley Seance. The Squire's Story. John Dewey. Forms Appearing. Dr. Cattrell. The Great Test. Giving a Medium a Suggestive Treatment. Story of the Camp Test. The Phenomena. The Freckled Woman. Dr. Shilito. A Spirit Photograph. Jem's Philosopny of the Hereafter. The Mission of the Spirits. The Gospel of Development. Jem's Philosophy of Mediumship. Vibrations. Sex Force. The Law of Materialization. Evil Manifestations. John Benton's Philosophy. Limitations of Spirit Power. Reincarnation. Skepticism. Doubts, Explanations. Theories Autosomnambulism. Effect of an Electric Storm. Spiritualist's Explanations. Conclusions. A Small Seance. Alcohol and its Effects. The Logical Result. Old Accounts. Adverse Influences. Clyde Goodrich's Experiences. Madame Blavatsky's Theory. Exploded Hypotheses. Approach of an Adept. The Old Man. Abraham Lincoln. Materials for Materializing. The Music Box. Mischief. Queer Phenomena. Spirit Incredulity. Deductions. Summing Up. Conclusion. How to Form a Circle.

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Strangling American Workers

— BY CHAS. BAKER —

Kidnapped from the state of Ohio, in much the same way that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were spirited out of Colorado during the war of the mine barons on the Western Federation of Miners, Marguerite Prevey, after spending over four weeks in jail, was released on bond from the Cook Co. jail in Chicago last week, in order to continue her legal fight against the "Law and Order" "physical forcists" headed by States' Attorney Maclay Hoyne.

Another dramatic chapter in the rapidly lenghtening rule of American Czarism was written in the efforts of the state of Illinois to get its clutches upon Marguerite Prevey of Akron, Ohio, a life long Socialist, indicted by Illinois grand jury on charges of "criminal syndicalism"; when on March 3rd Comrade Prevey was taken from the county jail at Columbus, Ohio, in defiance of the orders of Common Pleas Judge Kincaid and kidnapped to Chicago.

The Columbus papers announced complacently next morning that this lawless, anarchistic act had been performed "on the advice of Prosecuting Attorney Hugo N. Schlesinger."

The direct and arrogant contempt of court which was comitted is apparent upon review of what had occured in court that day.

STAY OF EXECUTION ORDERED.

On Wednesday, March 3rd, Judge E. B. Kincaid after investigating the additional evidence furnished by Illinois, seeking extradition of Mrs. Prevey, decided that altho there was "very slim" evidence of any propaganda of vioelnce, he would rule there was enough to authorize the requisition, in order to allow the attorneys for Mrs. Prevey to take the case on error to the Court of Appeals.

To enable them to perfect their error proceedings he granted a 48-hour "stay of execution."

The entry containing this ruling and its stay of execution was filed about 3 P. M. the same day. And about one hour later the petition in error bringing the matter on review before the Court of Appeals was filed.

Prosecuting Attorney Schlesinger refused to waive service of summons in the error proceeding, a common courtesy among lawyers, and a precipe was filed in the clerks office to have him served in the regular way. All this was done before the courts adjourned on March 34rd. Therefore, Mrs. Prevey was legally secure under the protection of the courts of Ohio, her home state, which were to decide wether it was right and lawfull to deport her to Illinois beyond their protection.

The next morning, March 4th, the Court of Appeals, then seating at Dayton, approved an entry granting stay of execution of the judgement until a final decision had been reached in the upper court, this entry was immdiately mailed to Columbus and filed. Had the supposed guardians of "law and order retained the least shred of respect for the orders of their own courts and laws of their own state, which they were sworn to uphold and defend, Marguerite Prevey would have remained safe from extradition, in the Columbus jail until her cause could be heard in Ohio.

REMOVED IN DEFIANCE OF COURTS.
COMRADE PREVEY'S OWN STATEMENT.

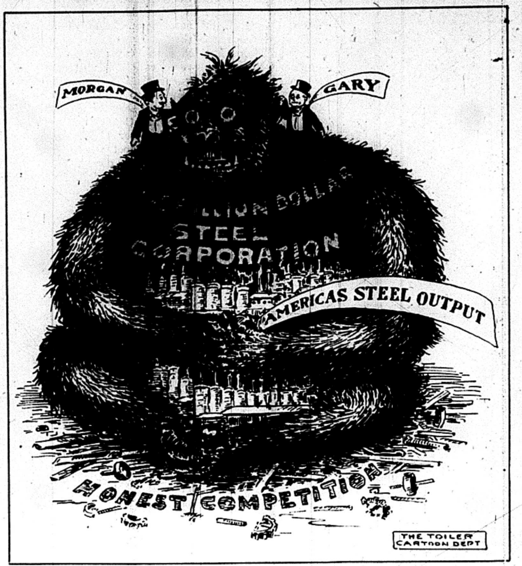
"I grant a stay of execution for forty eight hours on this requisition to allow attorneys for Mrs. Prevey to prepare their petition in error to The Court of Appeals, Mrs. Prevey will remain in the custody of the Sheriff, I will decide if she is subject to bond at one thirty this afternoon."

"This was the statement of Judge Kincaid on Wednesday, March 3rd. at 11:30 A. M. at Columbus, Ohio, I was taken back to the County jail and locked up.

"About two o'clock that afternoon, the Sheriff of Franklin Co., (Columbus) Police Matron from Chicago, and a local Detective, walked into the womens' dept. of the jail and informed me that I must leave for Illinois at once, I told the Sheriff that I would like to call my attorneys on the phone to notify them that I was being taken to Illinois, he said "you can do that when we got down stairs to the office." When I arived in the office, I was told that I could not use the phone, I protested, saying that it was certainly customary, and the right of a prisoner to be permitted to confere with their attorney, and that I would refuse to leave until I could do so, appealed to the jailor Mr. Hill, and to the Matron Mrs. Robb, but they said they had orders from the Sheriff and could do nothing, so I was forcibly taken by the Chicago Police Matron, and the Columbus City Detective, placed in a waiting auto and driven to the Station, there I was held incommunicado until after dark, when I was taken out, and placed in an old delapidated two passenger Ford car, where the three of us, crowded together started a chase over Columbus, up and down the back streets and alleys, the city Detective who was driving the car said he was looking for a gasoline station.

"The lighting system and horn of the car was out of commission, and when the driver slowed down the engine would only hit on three cylinders, after some time we finaly started out of Columbus, by way of the re-

(Continued on page 2.)



This is not a Trust -- it is Mary's Little Lamb!

WHITEWASHED!

— By Bill Smith —

Was anybody in the United States surprised when the Supreme Court declared that the Billion Dollar Steel Corporation was not a Trust? If such a one exists, let him be produced as the most gigantic freak of modern times!

Let us ask in all candor,—how would any thing presided over by Judge E. H. Gary be other than holy and sanctified?

Were Elbert H. Gary the head of Ali Baba and his Fourty Thieves,—intsead of the directing brain of thousands of conscienceless profiteers—would any court find his gang of marauders guilty of misdoing? In all probability they would be declared a zealous band of Christian apostles and good Samaritans!

• • •

What is this Steel Corporation? It is a concentration of about all the great steel industries of America. Organized, do you ask, to cheapen the price of steel to the great consuming public? No, no, no,—not to benefit the public but to burden and bleed the consuming public by higher prices to further swell the fortunes of few.

This colossal deal was engineered by the elder Morgan, and it was of such a vast and mighty ventury, that he, prince of capitalistic jugglers, was nervous of its outcome—but it worked! After all the best paying plants of America had been drawn into this organization,—prices of all steel products commenced to soar upward,—and in but a few short years every cent of the purchase of this plants had been more than paid by the increased "profits." And at this day the American public has paid for all their holdings, over and over again. And to attempt to delude a credulous public as to their earnings they injected fully six hundred millions of watered stock into their fictitious capitalization!

• • •

Many people wonder why the Steel Corporation should pick a jurist and place him at the head of affairs,—a person hwo perhaps knew no more about steel, its manufacture Rand explottation than a wooden hobby horse. A little reflection will show you the reason of this. There is in the statute books a law,—more or less dead,—called the Sherman Anti-Trust law. This has never really frightened bigger gangs of industrial bandits,—but it has given them a little trouble —and much undesirable notoriety.

It will be recalled that through this law, the courts at times "gave a slap on the wrist," to the Northern Securites Co—the Standard Oil—the infamous Sugar Trust—the Tobacco Trust and so on;—but not to the U. S. Steel Corporation!—thanks to superior juideal talent. Now you may more readily perceive why it is advisable for these great corporations to have a member of the Brotherhood of Judges on its staff. They are continually running foul of the law—dodging it, breaking it and totally disregarding it. Hence these criminal organiations have need of the most cunning and subtle minds that money can purchase.

• • •

Of course every one, with the least modicum of common sense knows that the Steel Corporation is a trust — and a most vicious trust at that, irrespective of the decision of the Supreme Court—or any other court. No decision of any court can alter a fact, no matter how much it may wallop the white wash brush. The opinion handed down by Justice McKenna defending this corporation is of such thin and transparent sophistry that it would bring a blush even to the cheeks of a Jesuit neophyte, had he rwitten it;—and by the way McKenna received his rudimentary education in a Jesuit institution.

Any one knows that a trust is a combination to control production and prices—and to control more than 60 per cent of production makes it amenable to drastic punishment. You may laugh here. Judge Gary maintained that the control of the steel corporation fell below fifty per cent, and during the war to fourty. Yet this same corporation—was Judge Gary napping?—declared that in ten years of its existence it controlled 90 per cent. of Americas total steel export!

And who knows how many subsidiary concerns this trust controls, that ramifics in all directions in every branch of the steel and iron industry?

* * *

It is alleged that it did not "fix prices or compete unfairly." Who believes this? It is indeed a stupid person, no matter where he be, who does not know that his meat prices are controlled by the Chicago Packing Gang; his butter prices by the Elgin Board; his oil and gasoline by the little old Standard Oil, and all his steel and iron by the Steel Corporation, and so on. And this Corporation has no competitors except of a fictious character;—there are others in the same business, but when this corporation raises its prices, all others by some strange law of gravitation, raise with it. Judge McKenna said that this Corporation had not resorted to brutalities to stabilize conditions, but admitted that with "competitors" they had "trade meetings through the social form of dinners" etc. A distinguished person some years ago, said that all the dark and unholy schemes that had ever been hatched in Washington, by unprincipled and dishonorable politicians had been originated and perfected at these secret meetings—called dinner parties! And in all history—the careful student has noticed—that some of the blackest and most revolting conspiracies have been hatched at the banquet table! It is now used as a camouflage by financial crooks who conspire against the working classes of the country. Please note the "horny sons of toil" who attend these "dinner parties."

• • •

Another reason,—not given in the courts decision,—why the solidarity of this corporation should not be impaired,—is that it is the most powerful antagonist that now faces organized labor! If the minutes of these little "dinners" were written, no doubt you would find there, this matter fully discussed by the crafty scheming brains about that table—and you would probably find all the plans, all orderly arranged to encompass the destruction of all labor unions!

They have picked the cemetary—the grave is dug—but can they furnish the corpse? It is up to you, and **nothing but absolute and perfect solidarity in all ranks of labor can prevent it!** If nothing of a revivifying nature occurs —between Gary and Gompers—the

(Continued on page 4.)

The British Labor Movement.

By Felix Morley.

ARTICLE I—THE SITUATION TODAY.

LONDON—Underneath its present orderly exterior, in a slow but sure, thorough-going British manner England is now being steadly transformed into a state completely controlled by productive labor. The upper class opposition is very strong, and the ignorant conservatism of large sections of the workers an obvious drawback. Yet month by month unmistakoble and permanent progress towards a new era is being achivied, and the goal now well in view is something sufficiently advanced to make the economic outlook of Gompers and Gary seem identical by contrast. Ruthless as is the present policy of British militarism in the subject countries of Ireland, India and Egypt, it is now just as important for American labor to appreciate the growing power of Socialism in England proper as it is to condemn the effects of a dying imperialism in her forcibly held dominions. With the exception of Russia, and perhaps Italy and Germany, England has more nearly autgrown capitalism than any other great nation. She is incomparably ahead of the United States in this respect.

Three things about the present labor movement in England impress themselves immediately upon the visitor from America. They may be summed up by saying that in spite of the greater pressure of the war more liberty, justice and common sense have been left alive in England than in the United States. There is first a far greater measure of freedom of speech and press on this side. For instance it is difficult to find either a labor mass meeting where the proceedings are not closed by singing the Red Flag and cheering the Russian soviet republic, or a reputable newspaper which characterizes such outbursts as seditious, un-English, anarchistic, and the like. As for police and secret service raids, suppression of radical newspapers, imprisonment and deportation of agitaters — such things may be common in Ireland and the United States but they are virtually unknown here. If an alleged labor paper is so extreme as to be rediculous nobody buys it. If an agitator prattles of impracticle tactics he is laughed at. This keeps everyone in good humor. There is no cossack terrorism, no bomb plots by anarchists or capitalists, no underground discontent, no imitation of czaristic Russia.

The result is no danger of revolution from the standpoint of the government, no wasted time for the workers in having to struggle for the most fundamental of rights, and real and rapid progress along lines of radical social evolution. There are many elements in this situation which cause grave anxiety to the traditional governing class, but all efforts to check the tide only result in an increase of the power and solidarity of organized labor. A point for America to realize is that the present state of affairs in Ireland and other subject countries will very soon be altered in accordance with the principle of self-determination, when labor gains control of the government. The British Labor party is working as hard in behalf of Ireland as is Sinn Fein.

A second striking difference to the United States is found in the English labor leaders. The majority of them are real leaders, men of vision and ideals, democratically chosen, graduates of factory and mine who make it their business to encourage rather than repress radical ideas among the rank and file. This results in a almost incredible difference in the atmosphere of the two movements optimism, harmony and progress along fundamental lines being the dominant characteristics here. It is the fact that the radicals are in command of English labor that makes the psychology of a Gompers something to the movement here. There is no blinking the fact that men like Bob Smillie, Bob Williams, Frank Hedges, and others who have a large share in the control of English balor policy would be in Moundsville or Atlanta if fate had made them citizens of the land of the free. Ramsay MacDonald told me that he doesn't consider Gene Debs more radical, yet the strength and sohesion of the British miners is such that their government dare not touch this labor general Several most prominent in the labor movement here would scarcely believe me when I remarked

(Continued on page 4.)

These Leaflets are ready -- Are You?

Two numbers of The Toiler Educational Leaflet Series are ready for distribution. AND THEY MUST BE DISTRIBUTED. Not just a few, but thousands upon thousands must be distributed in the shops, mills and mines. Every reader of the Toiler is expected to help in the widest possible distribution of these educational leaflets.

Number One—"Soviet Russia's Codo of Labor Laws", should be read by every American worker. Especially should every union man and woman read it. It is eight pages and the price is 60c a hundred in any quantity desired. Order now and start the work of education among the workers of your locality. Take a bunch to your union meetings.

Number Two—"Strangling American Workers", appears in this issue. No better method of successfully showing up present day official tyranny and the violation of the laws by public officers who pose as leaders of "law and order" is possible than the widest distribution of this interresting leaflet. Let the workers know the base character of the capitalist class officials who are supposed to enforce the laws of the country but who are in realty criminals of the lowest type. They deserve the widest publicity. You can help spread the truth about these rascals and hirelings of capitalism.

Distribute "Strangling American Workers". 50c per hundred.

Address The Toiler — Right Now!

Skygac's Column

The Caseys had a banquet in our town on St. Patrick's day. Of course they sang, "The Wearing of The Green". Here are two lines of that song.

"I've heard whisper of a country
that lies far beyant the say,
Where rich and poor stand equal in
the light of freedom's day."

The rich and the poor do not stand equal in this country. Neither do they stand equal in France, Germany, England, Iitaly or Japan. There is only one country today where the rich and poor stand equal, i. e., classes abolished and all with an equal liability to labor. Will some bright young member of the K. C. name that country "far beyant the say?"

• • •

A man told me the other day that "we've loaned so much money to Europe that now we've GOT to extend credit and loan more and more and more, "carry'em if necessary". It may be throwing good money after bad but we've got to do it. We don't dare let Europe collapse." He was just a wage-slave of a big corporation. That "we've" of his amused me. I have loaned no money to Europe and do not intend to do any carrying. Have you? Why should we "carry", the counts and no-accounts of Europe?

• • •

Let Europe "collapse". The people of Europe will not collapse. The land of Europe is not expected to collapse. All that COULD collapse would be the rotten monarchies and capitalist-controlled governments. The sooner European capitalism collapses, the better for the peace and happiness of the world. Out of the ruins will rise the Industrial Republic, marking another step towards the ultimate goal, the Federation of the World, The Brotherhood of Man.

• • •

The more wage-slaves think about their own worries and problems the more the politicians will worry and think about their problems for them. Never mind the politician' problems. His problem is how to fool you. You can fool him easily. Just look out for your own interest and the interest of your own class.

• • •

Your folks one time had a fool hen that would cackle for an hour over a china egg. We called her Minerva. Whenever I read of Palmer trying to get the presidential nomination on the strength of his red raids, I always think of Minerva.

• • •

The oldfashioned doctor's advice "never spank a boy on a full stomach,—turn him over" is a relic of the 'spare the rod and spoil the child' school. We are a long way from civilization yet. There are too many of our own fellows who make much mouthnoises about Democracy down at the corner grocery, who still go home and whale hell out of or into the kids, just because they happen to feel a bit grouchy and have the POWER to get away with it.

• • •

The local Salvation Army is advertising that they have no tambourines. The war taught them another (and easier) way to get the money.

• • •

The Industrial Capitalist is like a man going over a treacherous bog. If he stops going he will sink.

• • •

Henrietta's idea of economy, is for Henry to shave himself.

• • •

A knowledge of Proletarian economics will take the "con" out of economy.

• • •

The only Kings that are popular nowdays are your own. (When you have four of 'em, a fat kitty and a bunch that won't be bluffed).

• • •

When we tried to tell you that bonds meant bondage, they threw us in jail. Here is an adv. from a financial paper, entitled,

"PROFITS IN FRENCH BONDS.

At current prices and exchange rates the following profits are possible from investments in the three principle internal loans of the French Government.

250% on an investment of $50.50 in the 4s of 1917.

180% on an investment of $68.00 in the Victory 5s.

300% on an investment of $74.91 in the 5s of 1920.

Bonbright & Company of Detroit, New-York, Boston and Chicago."

A profit of 300% means that you double your investment three times. It also means that somebody will have to EARN but NOT GET that amount of money before you can get it as profit. Such is the profit system. Such is the proof that bonds mean bondage.

• • •

On the same financial page appeared an adv. for members American Legion. An adv. for members on the financial page! Significant? Very.

• • •

If you don't get the significance now, you will later.

• • •

Henry Thoreau once wrote an essay entitled "The Duty of Civil Disobedience." It is for sale now 10c at all the Woolworth 5 & 10c stores, under the title of "Friendship and Other Essays." The department of Justice(?) ought to look into this matter. The DUTY of civil disobedience! Sounds interesting eh?

• • •

Why are citizens of a country called SUBJECTS of that country?

• • •

Why is any opinion held by a Bolshevist, always spoken of as "a half-baked theory"?

• • •

Will the world never realize that the idea of calling all new ideas "half-baked" has been over done!

• • •

It developed in the trial of Senator Newberry who was charged with spending millions of money to buy his seat in the U. S. Senate that the Newberry pork barrel and his campaign of 100% Americanism saved America. At least that was the claim of one of the Newberry lawyers.

• • •

The bankers saved America. The choolma'ams saved America. The American Protective League saved America. The Commercial Clubs saved America. The boys in khaki, both the volunteers and those who went by request, saved America. Now it was Newberry, and still they are worrying about America—it seems she is still in need of being saved. Poor America! No. America has never been in danger. The thing which has been in danger and is still in danger is the capitalist system, which is not an American but a world product.

• • •

They tell us that this "go-to-church-next-Sunday" movement, has for its object, more stars in the mansions of glory, but I have a suspicion that the pastors encourage the movement because it means more cash for the pastor's salary. I am not sure about the Lord loving a cheerful giver, but I am positive the pastor does.

• • •

"You think priests just and holy men!"—Browning.

Not Guilty!—Skygac.

DEFENSE

The abduction of comrade Marguerite Prevey by the authorities and her imprisonment in Chicago has resulted in a determined effort of comrades to defend her against further assault at the hands of the violators of law and citizenship.

No less is the interest in the cases of Lotta Burke and Chas Baker. No comrades in Ohio have found a more secure place in the affections of Ohio radicals and socialists than these three comrades.

Every dollar given for their defenses is a dollar for the defense of loyal and true comrades. We know that when the workers realize the extent of the injustices that are being attempted and have been accomplished against these comrades they will give generously in support of them.

Here are some defense constributions which have been sent in just recently.

Miner's Union, Tiltonsville O.	$5.00
J. Baker	1.00
A. Tomasina	.50
Frank Stidd	.50
O. Rassin	1.00
W. Metcalf	1.00
Toiler Booster Club, Lorain	5.00
H. Pagel	1.00
C. Kistler	1.00
J. J. Poll	.50
R H. Ward	1.00
J. Steitler	1.00
R. Balmat	1.00
G. & A. Storck	5.00
J. D. Reedy	2.00
A. W. Downes	10.00
L. A. Rospert	1.00
Primrose Local 2012 U. M. W. A.	10.00
List of J. Bain members of above union	11.50
Total	59.00

These comrades deserve your support. You can help very much by subscribing to this fund on the list below.

The Prevey, Burke and Baker Defense.

Enclosed find———for the defense of the comrades named above.

Name.........................

Street.....................

City.................. State ....

Send all funds to The Toiler.

• • •

Cartoon Fund

THE WRONG SIDE IS CLIMBING.

The wrong side of our Cortoon Account is climbing up. When this happens there is only one way to remedy the matter and that is to put some silver weights on the other side of the scale. We suggest that when our readers observe the splendid character of our cartoons they jar loose from a quarter or so and place it on the light side of the scale and watch results.

The eye of SKYGAC was fastened upon the donations listed in the Cartoon Account. He noticed the disparity between the "coming in" and the "going out" figures. A frown darkened his usually humourous and more or less shepely features, yes, SKYGAC has features almost human. He turned back to first page of The Toiler—a smile as wide as a letter drop opened up his superb and intellectual countence. He turned again to the Cartoon Account, the frown came back, the letter-drop smile closed up with a snap. He reached for his trusty toy typewriter and clicked off the following—I have been keeping my eye upon that Cartoon Account and I wonder what makes so many readers come across LYKELL they do!

We would like to tone down the brupt and irascible sentence of Skygac but we have learned by experiance not to tamper with ANYTHING he writes. We therefore throw ourselves upon the mercy of our readers but we hope they comply with the adroitly worded REQUEST he makes—contribute to the CARTOON ACCOUNT.

P. Q. Z.	$1.00
P. P. Sutter	1.00
M. E. Hauswald, Joliet Ill.	1.00
Herman O'Neil, Ashland Ky.	90
J. M. Scott, New Lexington, O.	1.00
Previously acknowledged	15.50
L. A. Rospert	$1.00
Alex Witrak	1.00
J. D. Reedy	.50
Jno J. Poll	.50
F. Hotinski	1.00
M. L. Heller	1.00
Wm. Thorbeck	1.00
E. F. Martin	4.00
Expense	$21.12
Expense	$63.45
Receipts	30.00

Strangling American Workers.

(Continued from page 1.)

servoir to Plain City, ariving there about 9:30 P. M. I had no idea where I was going or what was to be done with me, on enquiry from the Police Woman who had charge of me, she said she had been unable to get accommodations for Chicago out of Columbus, so we were going to catch a train at some other city, she lied to me every time I asked a question, so there was no use of further enquiry, so I settled myself and awaited developments, I did not know whether I was to be turned over to a mob, thrown into the river or executed.

"At Plain City the town Constable was awakened and came to look me over, a whispeerd conversation was held with him by captives on the side walk, guess he did not want me in his bailiwick, so we left, going to Jefferson City, where they did not seem to want me either. We then drove to London Ohio, County seat of Madison County, ariving thre a little after 11:30, the poor old Ford just reached the main street where it gave up entirely. A local police officer was called, he awakened the Sheriff, we walked to the county jail. As the Ford could not be moved, I was turned over to the Sheriff at midnight.

"When the Sheriff appeared on the scene, I opened up on my captors, telling the Sheriff I was being kidnapped by those two persons, that my life had been put in jepardy because of the condition of the car without lights etc., how we went over main line R. R. tracks in several places on high gear with our engine hitting on three cylinders, once we were almost caught by an interurban car, and that I would refuse to leave the custody of said Sheriff, unless I have some assurance that my life would not again be put in jepardy. I also told the Police Matron that she and her conspirator were both liars, that their word did not mean anything to me, and that I would ask the Sheriff to take me before a Judge in the morning so that I could at least ask for protection.

"The Police Matron tried to square herself with the Sheriff by saying that she was taking me to Illinois, but that no train or accomodations were possible for that day. I told the Sheriff two trains had left Columbus for Chicago since she had taken me in custody at two o'clock that afternoon, and that the stay of execution did not give her the legal right to take me, she lied again by telling the Sheriff that no stay of execution had been granted. I told her that it was just such acts as these they were perpetrating that night that was causing so much hell in the country. The Detective said he agreed with me, and had said so in Columbus, but he was working under instructions from the Prosecutor of Franklin Co.

"After they left, and before I was locked up by the Sheriff, I explained the situation to him, that Judge Kincaid had granted a stay of execution for fourty eight hours, at noon that day, the Sheriff said that, if that was the case, the Sheriff of Franklin County could not legaly give me up. I asked him to phone the Judge at Columbus, at my expence, before surrendering me to my kidnappers. I further asked that he take me before a Judge in that County and assertain wether this procedure was regular or not. I called his attention to the fact, that if my body legaly belonged to the state of Illinois, why drag me around in this way in the middle of the night? My attorneys could not, and would not try to prevent my being taken away, if I legaly belonged to the Illinois authorities. Therefore Sheriff, it is your duty as an officer of the law to see that the laws of Ohio are respected, but my pleadings were all in vain.

"In the morning, I refused to dress, the Police Matron put on my shoes and stockings, and called in the man to do the rest. Of course I refused to have him dress me, and told the Matron if she had no respect for the rules of common decency, that I did, and that the man must immediately leave my cell, that I would dress myself, but that I refused to leave the custody of the Sheirff, that her requisition did not give her the legal right to drag me around the state of Ohio, and this in an old broken down machine endangering my life, as well as depriving me of my right as a citizen. She replied "My requisition gives me the right to Shoot gou if you do not go wherever I wish." Well Honey, I said, Get Your Gun! and your handcuffs ready for you will need them, you are going to do one of three things, either take me back to Columbus where I legaly belon or to Chicago Co. jail, or you will be compelled to do some shooting.

"I was again taken forcibly by the Sheriff of Madison Co. and the Police Matron, put in the same Ford car, taken back to Plain City, where we boarded a train for Chicago. Upon my arival, I was locked in the Cook Co. jail, eighteen hours before the stay of execution granted by Judge Kincaid had expired. All this mind you, to have me prosecuted because I am charged with advocating methods of reforming the U S. government taht are claimed to be illegal."

Signed- **Marguerite Prevey.**

The deeply significant feature of the whole spectacular affair is the readiness of the alleged forces of "Law and Order" under Capitalism to break their own laws and destroy their own order whenever it suits their convenience, even while issuing proclamations and advertisements denouncing the "radicals and reds" for "preaching violence, and lawless methods." Marguerite Prevey has, regardless of the final outcome, won a tremendous victory. She, accused of advocating violence, apealed to the courts, against her accusers who posed as defenders of law and order. She declared her willingness to abide the decision of the Ohio courts. But no sooner did the Ohio laws interpose an obstacle to the vindictive attack of her accusers, than the supposed defenders of law plucked off their mask and openly and shamelessly revealed themselves for what the radicals have all along declared them to be—bandits, and buccaneers masquerading behind the law, only because it served better their predatory purpose and because the law was shaped to suit them.

Marguerite Prevey, after remaining in jail for over four weeks, testing the sincerity of those who proclaim themselves 100% Americans, and the upholders of "Law and Order" agreed to accept bond in order to prepare her case for a further test, for the end is not yet. If she goes to prison in Illinois, she goes with the proud consciousness that she was the means of stripping the cloak of hypocrisy from the traitors, who, under the pretence of Americanism, are seeking to stranglit America to death.

OPEN FORUM MEETINGS

Margaret Sanger will speak at the open forum meeting at the North Congragational Church 72nd & St. Clair, Cleveland, O., **Sunday, April 4th P. M.** Subject "**Woman and the New Race**"

The public is invited. Questions and 3 minute talks from the audience after the lecture.

COMRADES ATTENTION!

Old Postage Stamps or original envelopes or entire stamp collections bought at highest prices, if you have anything to offer, call at the office of the Toiler or phone Harvard 3639.

GENOSSEN!

Ich kaufe und zahle die hoechsten Preise fuer alte Briefmarken und Briefmarken-Sammlungen. Im Falle Sie etwas zu offerieren haben, kommen oder schreiben Sie zur Redaction dieser Zeitung, oder rufen Sie Harvard 3639.

The Black Sheep.

Chapt. XXIV.

The Father's Confession.

Gus Anderson realized the fact that his daughter had overheard his telephone conversation with the judge. He felt that he had done more than all other untoward agencies in rending the veil of delusion with which he had tried to screen her form the world. He gladly would have lost one of his best farms if by so doing he could have blotted the memory of that conversation from her mind. But the fact was Olive had heard and what she once heard she did not forget. She was different from the average run of girls of her age. She took life seriously; its problems were her problems. Their solution she considered her business. She was a crusader of no common zeal. She had been taught to worship God. She did so as a matter of form. She felt that she must serve mankind, this to her was religion. She had been shielded from the world, yet she thirsted for reality and spared no effort to fan every spark of fact into a blaze of truth.

She wanted to know the world as it was and not as it is said to be. She wanted to know how deeds affected man for good or ill. She believed that God was a universal father and could not conceive why he should be partial with his children, blessing one with weakness.

Slowly she had linked together a chain of evidence from tiny glimpses of worlds of truth which contradicted the teachings of her parents, the preacher, and the leading ladies of the church. She had begun to realize that she was living in a dream world of strange, mythical unreality. Anderson realized that in his telephone conversation he had given her what he considered strongest evidence of his own perfidity. It had all been well meant. He had always acted for her own good. The trouble was he was wise business but a fool in life.

He locked the door of his office and for a few minutes paced recklessly back and forth, while he spun a web of profanity and obscenety which he hurled at the preacher's head. It was the preacher whom he blamed for his daughters awakening. He fancied that if she had not entered that jail and met that boy she might never have discovered that the world was in reality quite different from the way it had been painted.

Throwing himself in his chair he nervously lit a cigar alternately puffing and chewing it. Then grabbing the telephone called up his wife but before that lady could answer he hung up the receiver and resumed his walk. He was worried, angered, he seethed with conflicting emotions. He did not realize that his child was what she was by virtue of her heriditary, that she was a mental high explosive only awaiting to be touched off by the fire of circumstance. He was convinced that as his child he could make her what he wanted her to be, and therefore resented the winds of circumrtance which blew her toward her own shores. Anderson could only think of one man responsible for this enevitable happening. This was the Rev. Goodman. He called him up on the telephone. When that person answered Gus let loose a volume of vocefleration into the receiver which caused the preacher to hang up, there by pouring the irate father's anathemas into the deilcate ears of the operator, who immediately informed him of the company rules. This caused him to set down the instrument with a bang an clasping the arms of the chair he had it out with himself.

A few minutes later he called up the high school and ordered the principal to send his daughter to his office at once.

To this the principal agreed and in another half hour Olive walked into her father's office. She was not excited in the least. What she had heard that morning had not surprised her as much as might be expected. It had the effect of a verification. It was as if a new and austere philosophy was being driven into her head blow upon blow. It had the effect of making her mentally ill, confused is perhaps the better word, but then illness is confusion.

On her way to her father's office she tried to speculate on what it was that he wanted. Perhaps he would scold her for following him. Then again she was quite sure that he would not call her out of school for that. Again she could not conceive of him scolding her, he had never indulged in that pastime. He would rebuke her occassionally with a sharp tongue and a present in his hand. As a father he was indulgence itself. Thus it was that she turned every possibility in her mind until she came to the office.

It is needless to say that Anderson was as much bewildered as the girl. He did not know how to attack the problem before him. He wanted to solve it in a business way, but this was not a business proposition. He hoped that Olive might open the subject and thereby show him a way out. To have been caught by her red handed in the practice of his customary ways was the thing that mortified him. Had the supreme court of the United States convicted him of high treason and exiled him from all he held dear it would have hurt him less than this consciousness that his child knew some of the ruthlessness with which he abused power. He wanted to ask her forgiveness but that would never do. He would have to promise her to conduct his life different and that would interefere with business. Within him the father and the business man were at war. Idealiam and commercialism can scarcely dwell in the same heart. He wanted to be her idol as she was his. She was his idol by virtue of her honesty, sincerelty kindliness, and all the virtues that bloomed like flaming flowers in the hearts of human kind. He wanted to be her idol and yet retain the trickiness, the deception, the ruthlessness, the disregard of other's welfare by which he had accumulated the wealth that he legally possessed. This was manifestly impossible. Anderson had within his house the spiritual basis of the class struggle.

No sooner had his daughter entered the office than he asked her if she had heard his conversation with the judge. To which she replied in the affirmative. Then he asked her what she thought of it. And she replied that she had ceased to think. She then surprised her father by telling him that ever since she had been twelve years old she had wondered about the strange contradictions in life. About its inconsistencies, about its universal cruelty. "I wanted to believe that what mamma and Mr. Goodman taught me was the truth yet I could not understand why it was that if it were good and true you took no stock in it. When a mere child I noticed that there were ten women in church to one man. Men do the business of the world, they meet the world as it is. Women are supported by the men and are therefore made what men want them to be. Men keep women as a diversion from business. They want their company as a relaxation from the cares of life. That is why they try to bind them up in such a way that they shall know nothing about business. Men raise women for toys and not for partners. They infranchise the Indian, the negro, and the illiterate. They deny a voice to idiots criminals and women. They do not class their women with criminals but they do their best to keep them idiotic. I have figured it out this way that if women knew the truth about this world's business there would be more honesty and less abusive power. What are we taught? Stories, dancing, scripture, entertainment, and how to wear our clothes to the best advantage. We are fixed up as dolls in the show window of society."

Her father sat and looked at her with open mouth. He knew that what she said was true but he had never thought of it as evil. He believed that women and niggers had to keep their place. To him a woman's place was in the home, and in social life. Her sphere was to comfort, love and amuse man and rear his children. For her to aspire to anything different had always appeared to him as a mark of depravity but now that his daughter voiced the sentiments it all looked different but he was not convinced that she was right. Anderson had a provincial mind. He had always lived in a small town and in a farm community. He knew nothing of that larger life, that art, culture and civilization through the force of industrial development bring to the woman hood of the race. He had scarcely heard of woman suffrage. He looked upon the English suffragette as monsters of perversity. He gloated over the savage abuse that the English government heaped upon these pioneers in the world of thought. "If a woman takes a man's place she should not object if she gets a man's treatment," he would say. The truth was he was ignorant of the forces at work in society, or he would not have tried to rear his daughter in the way that daughters were reared during the hand tool period of production.

Now he listened for the first time to a feminine brain that really thought; that was more than an echo of her master's voice and he felt a strange emotion of mingled pride and resentment. He listened to her while she told him that she understood why he tried to hide the facts of life from her. That she did not blame him for doing what nearly all fathers did. That it was not he bout the customs of the people that were at fault. She told him that he could not expect to give her a high school education and hide from her the facts of life as they are.

To all this Gus. Anderson answered that he knew that he had been a fierce proposition but that she should not forget that this is a dog eat dog world and that therefore he was no worse than other men. "Sink or swim, survive or perish," it all depends upon how you go about things." He then added that all that he had ever done he had done for her, that all he had ever made, he had made for her, that it would be all hers when he came to die. And to this the girl replied that she wished that had never made anything if by that sacrifice the methods of making could be altered. She told him that she did not like to think that the frozen tears of men, women and little children were smoothening her path in life. That what had been acquired through iniquity could never bring anything but ultimate sorrow. "Injustice leads to inequality and inequality destroys the equaliberium of the world. When equaliberium is destroyed in anything it falls. This is true of man and it is true of nations. Inequality destroys the good in human kind. It makes man brutes, cowards, and slaves. Even you Daddy are afraid of that poor boy now held in jail."

"Sure I'm afraid of him. Not for myself. I can deal with him alright but for you. I don't want him to meet you. He's got you locoed," he asserted.

"There you go," she replied. "Don't you see that you have no faith in my ability to take care of myself. Rather than have me strengthened by a storm of truth that will stouten every fiber of my being you prefer to keep me in a hot house of silly fairy tales and lies. That boy can't hurt me. You seem to have the silly notion that a woman cannot be interested in a man without being in love with him. I'm not interested in him but in the principle of justice. You have all admitted that he is innocent of any wrong; that these men, are arrested for their money's sake. Such conduct is a disgrace to our community. It is a disgrace to you and me. I am working to free ourselves from disgrace."

Gus. Anderson leaned far back in his chair and laughed. "I see you're next to some of it kid, but you go about it like a fool woman. You'll make your papa a lot of cheap notriety and get yourself talked about and all that sort of thing. Perhaps you had better go to Valley City to the Normal and finish your education there. I know you'll get yourself in

(Continued on page 4.)

The Toiler

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, APRIL 2nd 1920.

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

Your Sins Have Found you out

There is an immense hue and cry going up in the capitalist press about the growing slackening of effort of the workers to pull the world out of the bog in which it wallows at the present time. Every paper and magazine finds space between the advertisement to nudge labor in the rib and give it a hunch that it ought to wake up a bit and exert itself somewhat more to the satisfaction of the employers. They complain that labor is growing exceedingly independent not to say impudent. All respect for the boss and for work as such seem to have disappeared. The cry for more product only meets with resentment which begins with a demand for more wages and shorter hours and ends in taking shorter hours whether they are granted or not. American workers are learning to loaf at the expense of the boss.

In looking about for causes, we ascertain that the reports of hundreds and thousands of per cent in profits reaped by practically every big industrial enterprise has had a large influence in detemining the new attitude of the worker toward work. "What's the use?" is a pertinent question which labor is putting to capital and finds no answer. To work and to merely exist while the profits of employers mount higher and higher is not an incentive to sweat the more and grew more bent. So the laborer becomes a loafer as many minutes during the day as seem advisable. His loafing is a silent protest against exploitation. He knows something is radically wrong in industry. He feels himself abused and exploited of some of his product. Also he is beginning to believe that he ought to have a word to say about conditions on the job. Not knowing the real remedy as yet, he follows the line of least resistance and takes a vacation on full time. The American worker will soon cease to boast of the amount of his produce which has long been know to exceed by far the output of any other worker. Pride in his work has only served to enrich his exploitor—so what's the use of pride?

A striking contrast to this phenomena is that existing in the industries of Russia under the management of the workers. A recent report of George Lansbury to the British press states that since the workers took control of Russian land and industry a stupenduous change has taken place in their attitude toward the job. A great wave of enthusiasm for work is in full sweep there. Knowing that exploitation is no more, the workers respond willingly to the demands for the ranabilitation of Russian civil life. Much voluntary work is performed by groups numbering into the thousands when some special jobs need to be accomplished. There are no slackers among Russian workers. They are working as free men work, not slavishly for an exploiter and profit taker. The industry is theirs, the product is theirs, the State is theirs. All that is in Russia belongs to the Russian workmen and peasants

The Russian Bolshevists, damned by capitalists and exploiters, have solved the problem of how to keep the interest of the worker in his work. When will American workers learn the lesson? Thay at least are learning to pronounce the letters of the first word of that lesson which spell EMANCIPATION!

—o—

Striding Toward the Left

The German revolutionists continue their strides toward the Left. With every swing of the pendulum in that great drama the pulse of millions of Communists beat higher or lower as the temper of the masses records tendencies toward absolute "self determination" by the working class of all governmental functions or toward compromise with the reformistic and pseudo-socialistic elements.

So far, there are strong indications that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" must be the final outcome. The communists have shown no evidence of a retreat from this principle. The agreement to call off the general strike was based upon the government's promise to fulfill the demands of the communists for socialization of industry and worker's control. Upon that basis the Bauer cabinet was seated. Within a few hours it was seen that there was no intention on the part of the government to fulfill its agreement with the workers and the cabinet was forced to immediately resign.

Fighting for control of the strategic points—industrial centers and food routes continues. The communists are holding on to their guns and all that those guns have won for them in the past two weeks fighting. From the reports current there is no evidence of a weakening either morally or from a military stand point of the forces of Communism.

In the meautive Karl Legien, head of German trades unionism appears as a probable new leader of the revolutionary forces. Whether Communism triuphs immediately in Germany or not, we know that the power of the reactionaries is broken forever. The actual rule or the workers in industry is bound to result. Upon that basis the new Germany will arise as the new Russia has risen upon a like fonudation—and as whole new world will be erected in the not far distant future.

On with the Revolution!

OUT OF JAIL AND ON THE JOB.

Comrades:

I like "The Toiler" and the stand it is taking on the different questions regarding the class-struggle.

My first acquaintance with "The Toiler" was made in Leavenworth Pennitentiary were I spent a year as a guest of the **most Democratic Government** of this glorious republic.

But the cure turned out to be a failure. I don't love the capitalist system any more now than I did before and I am firmly determined to carry on the fight for **Industrial Democracy.**

I think the day is not far off when our efforts shall be rewarded. The "Masters" are getting desperate and that is proof of their weakness.

I am literature agent for the Scandinavian Socialist Club here in Salt Lake and as there is no other radical organization doing anything I thought I would try to take a few copies of "The Toiler" each week to distribute amongst my friends. Later on I would have more chance to get subs. So if you will send me 5 copies a week to start with I shall do my best to distribute them.

With best wishes to all comrades from the Wild West.

Yours for freedom

Carl Larson.

—o—

Comrades Hicks and Gregory of Cincinnati are still teaming it together for subs. Two more they add to their already long list.

Another sub card purchaser is comrade Esther Markizon of Wilmington Del. She also chooses Lenin as premium.

Proletarian Science History

—o—

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

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CHART FOR CHAPTER TWO.
THE ROAD TO HAPPINESS.

Happiness may be defined as a state of being wherein there is an excess of pleasures over pain or discomfort.
Progress,—mastery of natural phenomena for human advantage.
Dynamic Action,—Employment of intellectual means of activity to achieve progress.
Dynamic Opinion,—Correct views of the relation of man to the universe.
Knowledge,—Acquaintance with environment.
Education,—Distribution of extant knowledge.
Knowledge creates opinions.
Opinions cause action (or inaction).
Correct Action brings progress.
Progress brings happiness.

CHAPTER TWO.
THE RAOD TO HAPPINESS.

Lester F. Ward, in the first volume of "Dynamic Sociology," maintains that "intelligent mind FORTIFIED WITH KNOWLEDGE is the only reliable form of directive force. The only proper knowledge for this purpose is that which can be acquired of the materials and forces of nature. As it is the utilization of these which alone can secure the end sought, so the knowledge of these is the prime necessity in the exercise of a directive control over human zeal for the improvement of mankind. Hence the diffusion of this kind of knowledge among the masses of mankind is the ONLY HOPE we have of securing any greater social progress than that which nature itself vouchsafes through its own process of selection."

"The knowledge referred to is just that which is embraced in the word SCIENCE, and the diffusion of it is the process which goes by the name of EDUCATION. Therefore the first element of a truly progressive system is POPULAR SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION."

Those who understand the forces of their environment are naturally more adaptable to changes in their environmental conditions, hence more progressive.

Most of the opinions held by the mass of mankind are based upon belief rather than science, and most of them are incorrect.

Progress is not the natural state of affairs. The bulk of mankind is non-progressive. Progress is forced by economic development.

The development of civilization depended upon man's ability to understand the forces of nature and utilize them for his own benefit. Natural forces, such as the wind, rain and tides, electrical forces, steam, gas, in short all the laws of physics and chemistry had to be mastered by man before progress was possible. BEFORE man mastered them he was the plaything of the elements.

The fecundity of the race forced man to learn the use of the forces of nature. He used the wind to pump water for him and to turn his mills and send his ships across the waves. He used waterpower to run his machinery, to generate electrical energy and to irrigate the desert. All of man's progress is inherent in his ability to USE natural forces. He HAD to make himself master or be made a victim of these same forces.

Our progress in the social world has not kept pace with our progress in the industrial world. In the industrial world we work from causes to effect, while in the social world the tendency is to tinker with effects while ignoring causes. Social reformers usually work at the roof instead of the foundation of the social structure.

Happiness is that state of being wherin there is an excess of pleasure or enjoyment over pain or discomfort.

The cause of human activity is to be found in man's struggle for happiness or self-gratification.

Hapiness can not be secured without PROGRESS

Progress can ot be secured without ACTION.

Action can not be secured without OPINION.

Opinion rests upon knowledge, which is information, correct or incorrect.

Education is the distribution of knowledge.

CORRECT EDUCATION,—scientific knowledge, is necessary in order that CORRECT OPINIONS may be formed.

Correct opinions will necessitate CORRECT ACTION and progress will be the result.

Faulty education results in incorrect opinions which transmute themselves into the wrong kind of activity and an inhibition of progress is the result.

The prevailing opinions held concerning intellect and intelligence may be cited as an example of how wrong opinions produce wrong activity which makes progress difficult if not impossible.

It is a generally accepted opinion that the "workers are poor because of a lack of brains."*) The acceptance of this opinion leads to a condition of despondency that greatly interferes with action. If action is taken it is a biological problem and meets with discouragement at the very start.

It is not intellectual capacity which is lacking; it is intelligence.**)

Intellect is mental power.

Knowledge is food for intellect.

Intelligence is intellect supplied with knowledge. Those who desire progress should work for an increase in intelligence through the spread of knowledge.

Action depends upon opinion, and the VALUE of action depends upon the correctness of the opinion and the importance of its subject-matter.

Lester F. Ward, in volume two of "Dynamic Sociology," gives an excellent example of the effect of opinions producing progressive or non-progressive action; "First in order to live the most advantageous way, sound views of the material universe must prevail. So long as man's conceptions of the univesre are erroneous he will pursue a wayward if not a dowhward course. If they are too narrow and he believes that all existing things are within the range of his vision, his conduct will be correspondingly narrowed."

"If he believes the world of short duration, both in the past and in the future, this too will dwarf all his understandings and make an end to progress."

"If he regards nature as consisting of a multitude of animated powers impending over him, he will waste all his energies in seeking to propitiate these powers. If he deems them evil, terror will demoralize him and make life a burden."

"If he conceives the universe to be watched over by beneficent powers, he will be apt to resign all initiative effort to them, and relapse into a condition of complete stagnation."

Today, in spite of all the advancement made by modern science, the opinions of the great majority of mankind, "conceive the universe to be watched over by beneficent powers". with the inevitable result of the people praying to these powers for assistance in righting their wrongs instead of engaging in an active campaign to help themselves.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER TWO.

1. Name the first element of a truly progressive system.
2. What is the source of correct information?
3. What is education?
4. What advantages have those who understand the forces of their environment?
5. Explain the difference between belief and science.
6. Is mankind naturally progressive?
7. What compels progress?
8. Upon what does the development of civilization depend?
9. What great law of evolution compels man to utilize the forces of nature?
10. If man is compelled to utilize these forces, is "freedom of the will" a fact?
11. Name the road to happiness? What is happiness?
12. Give by example other than the text the result of mis-education.
13. Define intellect and intelligence and explain the difference.
14. Upon what does the value of action depend?
15. Does the working-class lack intellectual capacity?
16. Of what specific use are sound views of the universe?
17. What is the inevitable result of too narrow view of the universe?
18. What is the mental tendency of those who believe the world of short duration?
19. What is the social effect of the individual belief in a personal God?
20. Give examples of wrong opinions held and taught in your community?

(Continued next week.)

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*) This opinion is well illustrated by a quotation from a noted college professor,—David Starr Jordan, who said, "The man with the hoe is not ignorant because he is poor; he is poor because he is ignorant."

**) This question is elaborated upon in detail in "Not Guilty" by Robert Blatchford.

SPARKS.

Mr. Block and the Profiteers is still on the market and doing its share of agitation. Comrade J. M. Scott of New Lexingtown, O. has put a bunch to work lately.

We acknowledge receipt of $1.00 for the defense fund and an order for the half price booklets from comrade Miss Antonia Hornik of Neffs Ohio.

Beats all how the subs come in when the Toiler Boosters step out after them. Here's comrade Huebner of Springfield in with a list totaling $10.50. And he has done it before and intends doing it again. Watch him.

Order a hundred of the Russian "Labor Code", 60c. Show the workers in your shop how industry is carried on in Russia while the workers are rebuilding the industries.

We note two subs. from comrade Vanderoest of Kalamazoo. Staying with us he.

And comrade A. C. Palmer of Kalamazoo does the same.

Local Toledo orders 500 Slander of the Toilers. And that reminds us that the Slanders are nearly gone, so fast have the orders for them come in. But if you hurry we may be able to fill your order for this splendid little agitator.

Five yearlies arrived last week from comrade Sykes of Canton.

Many, many comrades continue to remit for trial subs. for their friends. But some do even better, they remit for several at a time. Among these latter is comrade C. E. Guthrie of Urichsville who sends in two yearlies with his renewal. Boosting, YES.

Comrade Malmstrom of Moline sends in $6.00 worth of newones, and calls for a package of pamphlets for a premium.

Sixs dollars for Toiler sub cards and 100 copis for distribution is an order coming from comrade W. Frederick of Belleville Ill.

A nice list of subs. amounting to $5.50 arrived from Martins Ferry last week. Comrade Fred White is the rustler of these. And we judge by his letter that he will continue on the job.

Our Coraopolis Pa., list is growing nicely. Comrade Fazio os responsible. this latest list consisted of three.

We sold more literature week before last than the week before that. We sold more last week than week before last and we sold more this week than last.

Likewise will we sell more next week than this and the following week and weeks still more IF YOU GET ON THE JOB. How about it, comrade RED!

You can start now with an order for Number one and two of the Toiler Educational Leaflet Series. Get busy—that's not—all but it's a mighty good start.

Five hundred Toilers were distributed among the miners at their convention at West Brownsville, Pa., April 1st. Comrade Asenat was on the job.

This leads us to suggest that every union Red carry a supply of Mental Dynamite to every meeting of union men and women. We'll warrant results will be more than satisfactory all around.

We also suggest that Soviet Russia's Labor Code and Strangling American Workers are the best for these meetings.

Five yearlies from comrade Green of Moline are among late arrivals. Naturally enough he asks for the premium, Lenin the Man and His Work.

Comrade Chaney of Millersburg, O., sends in two new subs.

Rose Farm Ohio is a new town on our list. Thanks to three comrades there.

The Toiler Booster Club idea is growing. A new one has sprung up at Youngstown. One of its first jobs was to round up four renewals and a new one. There is room for a Toiler Booster Club in every town and city in the country. Why not organize one in your town?

Two subs. a literature order and 40c for the Cartoon account arrives from comrade D. G. Berg of Bellaire Mich.

Seven subscriptions and an order for "Slanders" are amoung the past week's receipts. Comrade T. B. Morgan of Moline is the guilty Red.

Sandusky conrads are on the job as a remittance of $10.75 from comrade Litz proves. Its for Toiler press stamps, and various other items. Attive bunch there.

A few of Skygac's little punches brings us a new subscriber from Charleston, Wash. Comrade E. E. Martin heartily approves of Skygac.

The press fund gets a boost this week from comrade Mrs Sarah Rohrer. Two dollars she sends us thru comrade Sykes.

Six more yearlies from Christopher. No. Christopher is not a man, it's a town in Ill. And it looks like every man there will eventually be on our mailing list. Comrade Staples is responsible for this last half dozen.

Comrades continue to remit for Toiler sub cards and thus get some free books and pamphlets. Comrade James of Irondale is among the latest to take advantage of our generous offer.

A comrade at Dayton remits $2.00 for defense but forgot to sign his name to the letter. Thanks comrade.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S CODE OF LABOR LAWS

THE TOILER EDUCATIONAL LEAFLET SERIES NO. 1—PRICE 60c PER HUNDRED IN ANY QUANTITIES.

124. The rules of internal management must include clear, precise and, as far as possible, exhaustive directions in relation to—

(a) The general obligations of all wage earners (careful handling of all materials and tools, compliance with instructions of the managers regarding performance of work, observance of the fixed standard of working hours, etc.);

(b) The special duties of the wage earners of the particular branch of industry (careful handling of the fire in enterprises using inflammable materials, observance of special cleanliness in enterprises producing food products, etc.):

(c) The limits and manner of liability for breach of the above duties mentioned above in subdivisions "a" and "b".

125. The enforcement of the rules of internal management in Soviet institutions is entrusted to the responsible managers.

126. The enforcement of the rules of internal management in industrial enterprises and establishments (Soviet nationalized, public or private) is entrusted to the selfgovernment bodies of the wage earners (works or similar committees).

ARTICLE IX

Protection of Labor

127. The protection of life, health and labor of persons engaged in any economic activity is entrusted to the labor inspection—the technical inspectors and the representatives of sanitary inspection.

128. The labor inspection is under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Labor and its local branches (Departments of Labor) and is composed of elected labor inspectors.

129. Labor inspectors shall be elected by the Councils of Professional Unions.

Note 1. The manner of election of labor inspectors shall be determined by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

Note II. In districts where there is no Council of Trade Unions, the Local Department of Labor shall summon a conference of representatives of the trade unions which shall elect the labor inspectors.

130 In performing the duties imposed upon them concerning the protection of the lives and health of wage earners the officers of labor inspection shall enforce the regulations of the present Code, and decrees, instructions, orders and other acts of the Soviet power intended to safeguard the lives and health of the workers.

131. For the attainment of the purposes stated in Section 130 the officers of labor inspection are authorized—

(a) To visit at any time of the day or night all the industrial enterprises of their districts and all places where work is carried on, as well as the buildings provided for the workmen by the enterprise (rooming houses, hospitals, asylums, baths, etc.(:

(b) To demand of the managers of enterprises or establishments, as well as of the elective organs of the wage earners (works and similar committees) of those enterprises or establishments in the management of which they are participating, to produce all necessary books, records and information:

(c) To draw to the work of inspection representatives of the elective organizations of employees, as well as officials of the administration (managers superintendents, foremen, etc.);

(d) To bring before the criminal court all violators of the regulations of the present Code, or of the decrees, instructions, orders and other acts of the Soviet authority intended to safeguard the lives and health of the wage earners;

(e) To assist the trade unions and works committees in their efforts to ameliorate the labor condition in individual enterprises as well as in whole branches of industry.

132. The officers of labor inspection are authorized to adopt special measures, in addition to the measures mentioned in the preceding section for the removal of conditions endangering the lives and health of workmen, even if such measures have not been provided for by any particular law or regulation, instructions or order of the People's Commissariat of Labor or of the Local Department of Labor.

Note. Upon taking special measures to safeguard the lives and health of wage earners, as authorized by the present section, the officers of inspection shall immediately report to the Local Department of Labor, which may either approve these measures or reject them.

133 The scope and the forms of activity of the organs of labor inspection shall be determined by instructions and orders issued by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

134. The enforcement of the instructions, rules and regulations relating to safety is entrusted to the technical inspectors.

135. The technical inspectors shall be appointed by the Local Departments of Labor from among engineering specialists; these inspectors shall perform within the teritory under their jurisdiction the duties prescribed by Section 31 of the present Code.

136. The technical inspectors shall be guided in their activity, besides the general regulations, by the instructions and orders of the People's Commissariat of Labor and by the instructions issued by the technical division of the Local Department of Labor.

137. The activity of the sanitary inspection shall be determined by instructions issued by the People's Commissariat of Health Protection in conference with the People's Commissariat of Labor.

APPENDIX TO SECTION 79.

Rules Concerning Unemployed and Payment of Subsidies

1. An "unemployed" shall mean every citizen of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic subject to labor duty who is registered with the local Department of Labor Distribution as being out of work at his vocation or at the renumeration fixed by the proper tariff.

2. An "unemployed" shall likewise mean:

(a) Any person who has obtained employment for a term not exceeding two weeks (Section 25 of the present Code);

(b) Any person who is temporarily employed outside his vocation, until he shall obtain work at his vocation (Sections 29 and 30 of the present Code).

3. The rights of unemployed shall not be extended—

(a) To persons who in violation of Sections 2, 24 and 29 of the present Code, have evaded the labor duty, and refused work offered to them:

(c) To persons who have wilfully quit work, for the term specified in Section 54 of the present Code.

4. All persons described in Section 1 and subdivision "b" of Section 2 of these rules shall be entitled to permanent employment (for a term exceeding two weeks) at their vocations in the order of priority determined by the list of the Department of Labor Distribution for each vocation.

5. Persons described in Section 1 and subdivision "b" of article 2 of these rules shall be entitled to a subsidy from the local fund for unemployed.

6. The subsidy to unemployed provided in section 1 of the present rules shall be equal to the renumeration fixed by the tariff for the group and category on which the wage earner was assigned by the valuation commission (Section 61).

Note. In exceptional cases the People's Commissariat of Labor may reduce the unemployed subsidy to the minimum of living expenses as determined for the district in question.

7. A wage earner employed temporarily outside of his vocation (Subdivision "b" of Section 2) shall receive a subsidy equal to the differences between the renumeration fixed for the group and category in which he is enrolled and his actual remuneration, in case the latter be less than the former.

8. An unemployed who desires to avail himself of his right to a subsidy shall apply to the local funds for unemployed and shall present the following documents: (a) his registration card from the local Department of Labor Distribution; and (b(a certificate of the valuation commission showing his assignment to a definite group and category of wage earners.

9. Before paying the subsidy the local funds for unemployed shall ascertain, through the Department of Labor Distribution and the respective trade union, the extent of applicant's unemployment and the causes thereof, as well as the group and category to which he belongs.

10. The local funds for unemployed may for good reasons, deny the application for a subsidy.

11. If an application is denied, the local fund for unemployed shall, within three days from the filing of the application, inform the applicant thereof.

12. The decision of the local fund for unemployed may within two weeks, be appealed from by the interested parties to the local Department of Labor, and the decision of the latter may be appealed from to the District Department of Labor. The decision of the District Department of Labor is final and subject to no further appeal.

13. The payment of the subsidy to an unemployed shall commence only after he has actually been laid off and not later than after the fourth day.

14. The subsidies shall be paid from the fund of unemployed insurance.

15. The fund of unemployment insurance shall be made up,

(a) from obligatory payments by all enterprises, establishments and institutions employing paid albor;

(b) from fines imposed for default in such payments

(c) from casual payments.

16. The amount and the manner of collection of the payments and fines mentioned in section 15 of these rules shall be determined every year by a special order of the People's Commissariat of Labor.

APPENDIX TO SECTION 80

Rules Concerning Labor Booklets.

1. Every citizen of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, upon assignment to a definite group and category (Section 62 of the present Code), shall receive, free of charge, a labor booklet.

Note. The form of the labor booklets shall be worked out by the People's Commissatiat of Labor.

2. Each wage earner, on entering the employment of an enterprise, establishment or institution empolying paid labor, shall present his labor booklet to the management thereof, and on entering the employment of a private individual—to the latter.

Note. A copy of the labor booklet shall be kept by the management of the enterprise, establishment, institution or private individual by whom the wage earner is employed.

3. All work performed by a wage earner during the normal working day, as well as piece work or overtime work, and all payments received by him as a wage earner (remuneration in money or in kind, subsidies from the unemployment and hospital funds), must be entered in his labor booklet.

Note. In the labor booklet must also be entered the leaves of absence and sick leave of the wage earner, as well as the fines imposed on him during and on account of his work.

4. Each entry in the labor booklet must be dated and signed by the person making the entry, and also by the wage earner (if the latter is literate), who thereby certifies the correctness of the entry.

5. The labor booklet shall contain:

(a) The name, surname and date of birth of the wage earner;

(b) The name and address of the trade union of which the wage earner is a member;

(c) The group and category to which the wage earner has been assigned by the valuation commission.

6. Upon the discharge of a wage earner, his labor booklet shall under no circumstance be withheld from him. Whenever an old booklet is replaced by a new one, the former shall be left in posession of the wage earner.

7. In case a wage earner loses his labor booklet, he shall be provided with a new one into which shall be copied all the entries of the lost booklet; in such a case a fee determined by the rules of internal management may be charged to the wage earner for the new booklet.

8. A wage earner must present his labor booklet upon the request:

(a) Of the managers of the enterprise, establishment or institution where he is employed;

(b) Of the Department of Labor Distribution;

(c) Of the trade union;

(d) Of the officials of workmen's control and of labor protection;

(d) Of the insurance offices or institutions acting as such.

APPENDIX TO SECTION 5

Rules for the Determination of Disability for Work.

1. Disability for work shall be determined by an examination of the applicant by the Bureau of Medical Experts in urban districts, or by the provincial insurance offices, accident insurance offices or institutions acting as such.

Note. In case it be impossible to organize a Bureau of Medical Experts at any insurance office, such a Bureau may be organized at the Medical Sanitary Department of the local Soviet, provided, however, that the said Bureau shall be guided in its actions by the general rules and instructions for insurance offices.

2. The staff of the Bureau of Experts shall include:

(a) Not less than three specialists in surgery;

(b) Representatives of the Board of Directors of the office;

(c) Sanitary mechanical engineers appointed by the Board of the office;

(d) The specialists in surgery on the staff of the Bureau shall be recommended by the medical sanitary department, with the consent of the Board of Directors, preferably from among the surgeons connected with the hospital funds, and shall be confirmed by a delegates' meeting of the office.

3. During the examination of a person at the Bureau of the Medical Commission, all persons who have applied for the examination may be present.

4. An application for the determination of the loss of working ability may be made by any person or institution.

5. Applications for examination shall be made to the insurance office nearest to the residence of the person in question

6. Examination shall take place in a special room of the insurance office.

Note. If the person to be examined cannot be brought to the insurance office, owing to his condition, the examination may take place at his residence.

7. Every person who is to be examined at the Bureau of Medical Experts shall be informed by the respective insurance office of the day and hour set for the examination and of the location of the section of the Bureau of Medical Experts where the same is to take place.

8. The Bureau of Medical Experts may use all methods approved by medical science for determining disability for work.

9. The Bureau of Medical Experts shall keep detailed minutes of the conference meetings, and the record embodying the results of the examinations shall be signed by all members of the Bureau.

10. A person who has undergone an examination and has been found unfit for work shall receive a certificate from the Bureau of Medical Experts.

Note. A copy of the certificate shall be kept in the files of the Bureau.

11. The records as well as the certificates shall show whether the disability is of a permanent or temporary character. If the disability for work be temporary, the record and certificate shall show the date set for examination.

12. After the disability for work has been certified the proper insurance office shall inform thereof the Department of Social Security of the local Soviet, stating the name, surname and address of the person disabled, as well as the character of the disability (whether temporary or permament).

13. The decision of the Bureau of Medical Experts certifying or denying the disability of the applicant may be appealed from by the interested parties to the People's Commissariat of Health Protection.

14. The People's Commissariat of Health Protection may either dismis the appeal or issue an order for the re-examination of appelant by a new staff of the Bureau of Experts.

15. The decision of the new staff of the Bureau of Experts shall be final and subject to no further appeal.

16. Re-examinations to establish the recovery of working ability shall be conducted in the same manner as the first examination, with the observance of the regulations of the present article of the Code.

17. The expenses incurred in connection with the examination of an insured person shall be charged to the respective insurance office. The expenses incurred in connection with the examination of a person not inusred shall be charged to the respective enterprise, establishment or institution.

18. The People's Commissariat of Labor may, if necessary, modify or amend the present rules for the determination of disability for work.

Rules concerning payment of sick benefits (subsidies) to Wage Earners:

1. Every wage earner shall receive in case of sickness a subsidy and medical aid from the local hospital fund of which he is a member.

Note 1. Eeach person may be a member of only one insurance fund at a time.

Note II. A person who has been ill outside the district of the local hospital fund ow which he is a district of the local hospital fund of which he is a member shall receive the subsidy from the taken ill. All expenses thus incurred shall be charged to the hospital fund of which the particular person is a member.

2. The sick benefits shall be paid to a member of a hospital fund from the first day of his sickness until the day of his recovery, with the exception of those days during which he has worked and accordingly received renumeration from the enterprise, establishment or institution where he is employed.

3. The sick benefit shall be equal to the renumeration fixed for a wage earner of the respective group and category.

Note I. The group and category in which the wage earner is enrolled shall be ascertained by the local hospital fund through the Department of Labor Distribution or through the trade unions.

Note II. The subsidy for pregnant women and those lying-in shall be fixed by special regulations of the People's Commissariat of Labor.

Note III. In exceptionl cases the People's Commissariat of Labor may reduce the subsidy to the minimum of living expenses as determined for the respective district.

4. Besides the subsidies, the hospital funds shall also provide for their members free medical aid of every kind (first aid, ambulatory treatment, home treatment, treatment in sanatorium or resorts, etc.)

Note. To secure medical aid any hospital fund may, independently or in conjunction with other local funds, organize and maintain its own ambulatories, hospitals etc., as well as enter into agreements with individual physicians and establishments.

5. The resources of the local hospital funds shall be derived:

(a) From obligatory payments by enterprises, establishments and institutions (Soviet, public and private employing paid labor:

(b) From fines for delay of payments;

(c) From profits on the investments of the funds;

(d) From casual payments.

Note. The resources of the local hospital funds shall be consolidated into one common fund of insurance against sickness.

6 The amount of the payments to local hospital funds by enterprises, establishments and institutions employing paid labor shall be periodically fixed by the People's Commissariat of Labor.

Note 1. In case these obligatory payments be not paid within the time fixed by the local hospital funds, they shall be collected by the local Department of Labor; moreover, in addition to the sum due, a fine of 10 per cent. thereof shall be imposed for the benefit of the hospital fund.

Note II. In case the delay be due to the fault of the responsible managers of the particular enterprise, establishment, or institution, the fine shall be collected from the personal means of the latter.

7. The decision of the hospital funds may be appealed from within two weeks to the Department of Labor. The decision of the Department of Labor shall be final and subject to no further appeal.

8. The People's Commissariat of Labor may, whenever necessary, change or amend the foregoing rules concerning sick benefits to wage earners.

Comrade Veney is on the job at E. Liverpool. Five subscriptions from him last week proves that real REDS never desert and seldom die.

J. W. Halley sends in two subs from the mining region of southern Ohio.

Looks like the workers of the Arma Kans. section will have a hard time dodging the Toiler if comrade Moore sticks to his post as he is. His latest list comprises two.

Another literature order that deserves atetntion comes from comrade Flodine of Jamestown, N. Y. It includes 100 Toilers.

The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 2.)

trouble in this berg. We'll get that kid out of town and then forget about him. It's romance you have in your head, and romance don't sell in the market. It's all right in a novel. 'Taint no good on the counter." Then after a moments reflection. "I wonder what you've been reading. Where do you get your notions?'

"I have been reading a paper that Cora Smith brings to school. It is called "The Progressive Woman," she answered.

"I thought so. Your yarn was too long for your own spinning. I don't know what the government means by letting such junk go thru the mails. Any way I'll attend to Smith's hash", he said clenching his jaws.

"Not if I am awake," Olive answered as she arose to leave the office "That is some more of the way in which you assert your power, but from now on, as long as I have any influence, I shall make it my business to see to it that you will not get away with this high handed stuff. I'll take care of, you papa for your own good." So saying she tossed her head and sailed out of the room.

"We'l I'll be eternally — — —" vociferated her father as he pounded the desk with his fist.

(Continued next week)

Whitewashed

(Continued from page 1.)

Amalgamated Association may as well kiss itself goodbye!

* * *

In this late decision the Court attempts, andwith poor grace—to justify one of the greatest swindlers and violations of law of recent times—commonly known as the Tennessee Steal.

This is still fresh in the minds of the people;—how the Steel Corporation forced its only formidible competitor—the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co. to the wall— how the astute Judge Gary and Mr. Frick made their famous midnight ride on a special train to Washington— how they closeted Roosevelt—how they took over the Tennessee Co. for something over thirty millions of dollars—and how J. P. Morgan later said it was fully worth a billion! Do you see now how useful it is to have a well informed Judge the head of affairs?

This outrage against law and decency stunk to high heaven. And the Stanley commission appointed by Congress in 1911 to "investigate" this, reported that these spotless angels, of the Steel Corporation, had deliberatively lied to a deceived Roosevelt. But Roosevelt with his usual obstinacy denied this but stoutly maintained that he and the Corporation through this gross violation of law and brigandage had prevented a great national calamity,—purely imaginary of course. You know what happened to the Steel Corporation? Nothing! In spite of the fact that the Stanley report said — "this unlawfully acquired power is a menace to the welfare of the country."

In this late decision Judges McReynolds and Brandeis, by some sort of hocus-pocus were not allowed to participate;—they had formerly opposed the Corporation. Had they stood by their past record and been permitted to vote the decision probably would have been 5 to 4 against the Corporation. Justice Day in the minority opinion clearly showed that this organization had been organized in defiance of the law,— that it was above the law,—and more, that this decision practically nullified the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. And no sensible person will dispute this. What in the name of all that is holy are the American people to do,—when these infamous organizations are boistered and upheld in their power to ravish the people—by a court that hold itself superior to the will of the people, the authority of Congress and is responsible to no one?

This most astonishing decision brings forcibaly to mind the famous saying of Englands greatest jurist, Lord Mansfield,—Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench during the American Revolution, —who said "The law is like a spider's web: the big flies go through, but the smaller ones are caught."

The British Labor Movement

(Continued from page 1.)

that the attorney general of the United States had publicly characterized James Maurer as a dangerous "red," and they enjoyed a hearty laugh when shown American newspaper clippings on the occurence.

For contrast there need only be mentioned a meeting in London a few nights ago at which H. N. Brailsford lectured on Parliament and Soviet in a manner very disparaging to the present constituional government of England and distincly laudatory to that of Russia. His remarks were sufficiently "seditious" to have gained him a 20 years jail sentence in the United States. Here they brought courteous attention and loud applause from a respectable middle class audience who had paid 50 and 75 cents for their seats. Moreover there were no secret service agents present and no scare headline in the press next morning.

The third striking difference about the English labor movement is the close practical co-operation of all its units. Adherents of different schools of economic thought, left, center and right; and members of all working-class organizations, whether political, industrial or co-operative, are all working in harmony which is the most marked contrast with the disunion of American labor.

In the English labor world individual differences are being buried, group makes concession to group, strength is increased a hundred-fold by union. It is everywhere recognized that the first aim of eliminating capitalism in favor of a socialized industry is common to almost all, and that the differences between individuals and these can best be thrashed out after, and not before, that end is achivied. For that reason there is virtually no anti-parliamentarianism in England now and labor is getting control of the political hand in hand with the economic field.

In domestic affairs nationalization of basic industries, beginning with the coal mines, is an issue which has been taken up by the entire labor movement. A great campaign for state ownership of the mines, and control by district and pit committees; "representative of the national government and the various classes of workers, including those engaged in the managing, technical, commercial and manual processes," still goes on. The campaign for this program very similar to the Plumbplan, is now being pressed in every section of the country, despite the action of the recent Trades Union congress.

Nationalization of the mines is only the entering wedge of the broad program of industrial democracy for which the British labor movement is working. The mines come first because conditions happen to be most advantageous in that industry, for it is recognized that in practical working out the socialization of the railroads would be even easier. But in the mining industry not only is labor most strongly organized and progressive; it also faces a situation peculiarly suitable for radical economic change. The Lloyd George government has violated the confidence of labor in refusing to adopt either the letter or the spirit of the report brought in by the commission of experts appointed, to investigate the ramshackle and inefficient condition, of the British mining industry under private control. It has also been forced by the capitalist to withdraw a compromise bill limiting net profits exclusive of the infamous royalty system) to 25 cents a ton. Now that the government has deceived labor and surrendered to capital on the coal issue, labor intends first to educate the public on the facts and merits of the case and second, to take such action as may be necessary to make the government live up to its pledges. Campaigns for the socialization of other industries will follow in due course. As Frank Hodges of the miners said at the opening mass-meeting of the "mines for the nation" campaign—"The drama opened tonight will witness in its last act the death of the whole capitalist system in Great Britain."

The spirit of direct action, in the sense of political strikes to coerce the government into making concessions which cannot be brought about by parliamentary pressure is, however, something noticeable distasteful to British labor. These tactics will only be used as a last recourse. The English workers by the millions are getting in step with social evolution now—with a rapidity which fully merits an investigation by the Judiciary committee of the United States senate.

Meanwhile in the political field the labor party is daily gaining more experience and power, instilling the vision of a new and better world into the people in every section of the country, and preparing itself to take over the reins of administrative government as the trade unions are preparing themselves to take over the reins of industry. Every municipal election, every parliamentary bye-election sees a steady increase of the labor vote and every day that goes by sees a development of the ability of its leaders in the field of honest statecraft. A general election held tomorrow would see labor cutting the present huge and untruthful majority of conservatives by scores. When the great test does come the results will be a shock to the reactionaries the world over and the fight is crucial because overthrow of the coalition government by labor will obviously be followed by overthrow of capitalist control in England.

APRIL 1, 1920

Soviet form of Government Established in all Siberia - Workers' Rule Complete

Representative Government in U. S. Destroyed at Albany - Capitalist Rule Complete

THE TOILER

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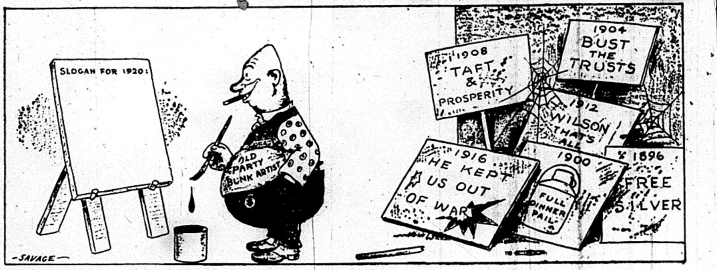
WHAT WILL IT BE?



Representative Government

Here She Lies

DEAD
AS
HELL

Raped, Murdered, Quartered and Hung

by CAPITALISM
at Albany, N. Y.

ALL FOOLS' DAY - 1920
AGE 140 YEARS

WASHINGTON NEWS LETTER

— By Paul Hanna —
Staff Correspondent.
The Federated Press.

WASHINGTON.—Behind the release of more than 100 prisoners seized in raids during the past few months by Attorney General Palmer there is a conflict of policy which neither the attorney general nor the secretary of labor has thus far confessed.

Palmer and Acting-Secretary of Labor Post have both given their support to the general impression that lack of evidence is responsible for the sudden freeing of radical aliens. That is true, but it is not all the truth. Against scores of hundreds of prisoners the attorney general possessed no evidence whatever. Presumably very much frightened himself by the wholly unexplained bomb explosion at his Washington home. Palmer suspended all constitutional guarantees and proceeded to imprison every person whose reputation or social obscurity made it safe to treat in such a manner.

The present wholesale freeing of alien radicals is a direct outgrowth of those high-handled tactics. Against those methods the department of labor filed vigorous and repeated protests with the attorney general. But popular hysteria reinforced Palmer. His chief confederate was Anthony Caminetti, commissioner of immigration within the labor department, who agreed that "to save the nation" the constitution might properly be ignored.

Until the public reaction against Palmerism came, the department of labor was helpless. But certain court decisions have recently been rendered which give the labor department the whip hand over Palmer. Two different federal judges have declared that evidence secured against a prisoner by the forcible search without warrant of his person or premises is no evidence at all.

In addition, the supreme court recently threw out a civil suit brought by Palmer because the attorney general's evidence had been procured in the course of a raid, without warrant, upon the offices of a corporation. After being compelled to return documents seized in the illegal raid, the attorney general's office had come into court again with photostats of the same documents, and a request that the court then order the defendant to produce originals.

Exasperated by this exhibition of the strong-arm plus chicane, the supreme court declared that it was to make a mockery of constitutional guarantees if evidence first procured illegally should be legalized by such a trick.

Secretary of Labor Wilson is described by his friends as a man who does not like to make a fight unless the chance of winning is excellent. The letter of the law appearing to support the attorney general in his raids against alien radicals, the labor department chief "jes lay low," his friends say, and waited for his opportunity to come. The court opinions cited above created this opportunity.

In the absence, due to illness, of Secretary Wilson, Assistant Secretary Post undertook a review of the many cases to assertain how many of the persons held had been seized or subjected to search without warrant by the attorney general. He meanwhile issued orders which immediately restored the right of prisoners to see counsel and to procure freedom under bond.

The backbone of Palmer's position was broken by that single order respecting counsel and bail. To suceed in the newspaper headlines, the attorney general required a darkened laboratory. Bail-and-counsel light spoiled every picture he tried to develop.

In the course of his inquiry Mr. Post discovered that a huge proportion of Palmer's captives had been the victims of utterly illegal raids while hundreds of others remained still, not incriminated by any hook or crook of their persecutors.

While seeking to avoid publicity, for tactical reasons, the department of labor proceeded at once to liberate the totally innocent prisoners, and to plan the early discharge of those against whom prima facie cases had been established through the illegal search of premise and person.

Palmer must either acquiesce in the wholesale jail delivery of his prey or make ready to fight it out in open court against the secretary of labor. Secretaries Wilson and Post waited long for tihs hour to arrive. They are reported ready to fight. If Palmer thinks he can justify his arrests without warrants, the courts will hear his argument.

MR. BLOCK'S PRAYER.

Oh, Lords of the Land, who own the world,
The factory, the mine and mill
We come to thee and on bended knee
And ask if it be your will,

That we run your machines and till your soil,
And gather their fruits for you;
That when it is sold for yellow gold
You'll give us a penny or two?

You may ride around in your automobile,
Or flirt with another men's wife,
You may drink your booze
And get drunk if you shoose
Or lead any kind of a life.

If you'll only permit us to earn our bread
In this grand old land of the free
We'll work while you shirk
And we'll cuss the Red,
And save this old world for thee.

Our backs may break
And our old bones shake
Our arms may pull in two;
Our brains may rust
Our ribs may bust
But we'll keep on working for you.
Amen.

William J. Ake.

WHO ARE 100% PATRIOTS?

By James Pontius.

During the war the country from North to South and East to West was plastered with what we could not help but call the Capitalists' hypocritical, patriotic posters praising the wealthy and slandering the poor, and the kept and paid press acted as "me toos" in encouraging that sentiment. The propaganda was so unreasonable and absurd that we wrote a similar article to this one exposing the dope, but it was refused space in the papers.

Their aim was to make the common people believe that this dope meant, he who gave $100 or the corporation that induced its entire force to give, whether it robbed their families or not, was 100 per cent patriotic and so on down according to the amounts given.

This seemed to have been the rich men's slogan, but few things can be farther from the truth. Were we to base patriotism on such idea, people with money would be the only patriots and all the poor would be unpatriotic-many had nothing to give, and very few but small amounts. To prove our assertion let us ask ourselves the honest and real questions as a guide to true patriotism.

Does true patriotism depend on those who talk or act; the laborers or profiteers; those who gave their lives or their money?

The few wealthy of the 110,000,000 American people pretend to believe that true patriotism depends on giving a small part of their wealth or force the poor to pay to support the flag and the country, while the millions think giving one's life for the country is still greater patriotism We think with the latter for the reason when our lives are ended our money will do us no good, but if our money is gone we still have a chance to make good.

But for the sake of argument we will be fair and put both labor and capital on an equality—50% for each. With such a foundation who is the 100% patriot? That's easy. He who gives his life and all he has is the only 100% patriot, for the reason that no one can do more.

Suppose A has nothing to give but his life, B has $100, C has $1,000,000 and D has $1,000,000,000 and each would give his life and all he has, each would be 100% patriots. But suppose those with the money would only bive their money or only a part of it and A gives as before, he would be the only 100% patriot, the others would only be 50% or less according to the amounts given. This is too plain to be denied; and to prove this we refer you to the last part of the 12th chapter of Mark wherein Jesus said to those who cast money into the treasury, that the poor widow who threw in two mites "cast in more than all they which have cast into the treasury", because she cast in all she had, even her living. Mark you, Jesus did not say any one who cast into the treasury, but all they who cast into the treasury—meaning all together.

So with the widows at the wash tubs who put in their time to keep their children from want and the Government from aiding them, though they had nothing to give to the Red Cross or to buy bonds, are certainly as patriotic as those who gave no matter how much. If this is not true admit that Jesus did not know what he was talking about.

So it was with the poor laboring men (and we know of many who had not $50. worth of property in their names and some who had not even a sheet to put up on their beds and had to live in furnished rooms) yet nearly all took a $50, or more, Liberty bond which made each a strong 50% patriot. While not one of all the balance—the bankers, merchants, corporations, doctors, lawyers, politicians, officials, clergymen, capitalists, etc. gave all they had in order to make them 50% patriots, and those who gave less than 10% of their wealth are even less than 5% patriots for their lives are not sacrificed and talk don't count—it all depends on what is done.

Now let us see what per cent the millionaires and billionaires test—those who so often prate about their loyalty and patriotism. Nearly all that any of them have thus far given the government had to force out of them from income, graduated and inheritance taxes. We know of none who even gave 10 per cent of their wealth, besides beating the government out of millions by their profiteering. Henry Ford may be an exception though he at first opposed the war. It is stated that he sold all his war materials to the government at cost. If you can point out any others who did likewise we will stand corrected.

A FEW FACTS AND FIGURES: If millionaire only gave $10,000 and a billionaire only $10,000,000 each would only be one half of one per cent patriots. Besides Exgovernor Johnson of California, now in the United States Senate, said the corporations in 1916 made from 500 to 1600 per cent on their money from selling munitions to the government.

And since then, if we can credit newspaper reports, many other corporations have made several hundred per cent more prosfits than did the ones Mr. Johnson spoke of. So instead of giving $10,000 or $10,000,000, as the case may be, to be but one-half of one per cent patriots, they took advantage of the government in its peril and made even more than 500 to 1600 per cent on their money instead of an honest 6 to 8 per cent.

Thus, as we speak of the card player who fails to make as much as he bids, goes "into the oble". So with those fellows, instead of giving a sufficient sum to make them but one-half of one per cent. patriots, have made, according to reports, more than 500 to 1600 percent—leaving them that much "in the hole" from extortion, or, if you please, so much less than no per cent. patriots. Figures don't lie. This is why Congressman Emerson of Ohio introduced a resolution in Congress to put those fellows on the criminal list to prosecute them. And were the administration but one-fourth as willing and anxious to bring those fellows to justice, as they are the hungry poor, all the millionairess and billionairess pro-

(Continued on page 4.)

Labor Jury Charges Conspiracy of Capitalist Interests in I. W. W. Case.

— By John Nicholas Beffel. —
Staff Correspondent,
The Federated Press

TACOMA, WASH.—The labor jury delegated by six central bodies of organized workers to watch the Centralia labor trial at Montesano has just made its report. By a unanimous vote, after reviewing all the evidence, it found the 10 I. W. W. defendants not guilty of murdering Lieut. Warren O. Grimm on armistice day.

Ample proof was offered, according to the labor jury's findings, to show that Grimm participated in the attack on the I. W. W. hall in Centralia. Cognizance was taken of the fact that the court refused to permit the introduction of evidence vital to the defense; and the labor jury expressed its conviction that the troops were brought to Montesano, the trial scene, to prejudice the jury.

Meeting in the Labor Temple here, the workers' jury issued its report as follows:

"Was there a conspiracy by the business interests of Centralia to raid the I. W. W. hall there? Verdict, yes.

"Evidence was offered by the defense to show that the Centralia business interests held a meeting at the Elks' Club on Oct. 20, 1919, at which meeting Police Chief A. C. Hughes and William Scales, commander of the local American Legion post, were present. At this meeting Police Chief Hughes quoted Prosecuting Attorney Herman Allen as saying that the I. W. W. could not legally be banished from the town, because they had violated no law. To the same effect also Hughes quoted City Attorney H. E. Grimm, brother of Warren Grimm.

"F. W. Hubbard, lumber magnate, then said: 'It's a damn shame; law or no law, if I were chief of police, I would run them out of town within 24 hours.' William Scales, chairman of the meeting, said **that while he was not in favor of a raid, no jury in America would convict anybody who might raid the I. W. W. hall. He then announced that he would appoint a secret committee to deal with the I. W. W. situation.**

"Was the I. W. W. hall unlawfully raided? Verdict, yes. The evidence introduced convinces us that an attack was made before a shot was fired.

"Had the defendants a right to defend their hall? Verdict, yes. In April, 1918, an earlier I. W. W. hall in Centralia was raided by the tail-end of a Red Cross parade. The furniture was destroyed or stolen, ropes were placed around the necks of the I. W. W. members and they were driven out of town by citizens armed with pick handles.

"Was Warren O. Grimm a party to the conspiracy to raid the I. W. W. hall? Verdict, yes. To our minds the convincing evidence that Grimm was in front of and raiding the hall with others, is the testimony of Lieut. Frank Van Gilder, witness for the prosecution. Van Gilder testified that he stood at Grimm's side at the intersection of Tower Ave. and Second St. when, according to his story, Grimm was shot.

"This testimony was refuted by five witnesses who swore that they saw Grimm coming wounded from the direction of the I. W. W. hall. It is not credible that Van Gilder, who was Grimm's intimate friend, would leave him mortally wounded, to walk half a block alone and unaided.

"Did the defendants get a fair and impartial trial? Verdict, no. The most damaging evidence of a conspiracy by the business men of Centralia to raid the I. W. W. hall was ruled out by Judge John N. Wilson and was not permitted to go to the jury.

"Also the calling of federal troops by Prosecuting Attorney Allen was done for no other reason than to create atmosphere. * * * The presence of American Legion members in court in large numbers also was a factor to weigh against an impartial decision by the jury."

Signers of the labor jury's verdict were: Paul K. Mohr, of the Seattle Central Labor Council, who was chairman; Theodore Meyer, Everett Central Labor Council; John O. Craft, Seattle Metal Trades Council; E. W. Thrall, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Centralia division; W. J. Beard, Tacoma Central Labor Council; and Otto Neumann, Portland Central Labor Council.

All of these organizations except the Brotherhood of Trainmen are integral parts of the American Federation of Labor.

A WHITE GUARD'S STATEMENT

LONDON.—A young officer in the northwest army who took part in the Yudenitch advance on Petrograd made the following statement to The Manchester Guardian's correspondent at Helsingfors:

"I am convinced of one thing, that this whole business of war against the Bolsheviks leads to nothing but the destruction of Russia itself and of honest men on both sides. We started out with a belief in words like democracy, but the moment our advance looked like being successful the northwest government was pushed on one side like a baby, and the real intentions of the leaders became clear. I have heard of the 'red' terror. It could not have been worse than the 'white' terror, in which I have actually taken part. If these things came under my personal observation you may imagine what was the total of terror on the whole front. The worst of it was that we did nothing but destroy.

"I am convinced from what I saw before our coming that there was a more or less efficient working organization of local government in the village soviets. We destroyed it and put back a local autocracy in the persons of officials and military commanders whose object was to get out of the villages what they could. A man with some feelings of humanity, I suffered from what I saw. We captured big estates run by agricultural communes—a sort of state farms. Considering all the difficulties they were in good condition, well stocked with beasts, geese, etc., all well cared for. We literally sacked them, handing them over to soldiers, who killed even the cows, after which we restored the estate to its pre-revolution owner.

"Our people had sacked the estates which the 'reds' had organized and the old owners have no capital with which to run these things themselves. It was the same everywhere. The 'reds' had preserved palaces, etc., absolutely untouched. There was a different story to tell after we had left them."

Free Books and Pamphlets

Beginning April 1st the subscription price of The Toiler advances to $1.50 per year, 6 months 75c. The advancing costs of publication will no longer permit us to publish at the old-rate of $1.00 per year.

In this connection we wish to urge every Toiler booster to strive the harder for subscriptions. The field is unlimited and at the new rate which is not at all high comparatively, there should be no slackening up in the number of subscriptions received. On the contrary, there should now be a greater effort on the part of Toiler readers to help its circulation grow. No weekly periodical gives its readers a higher grade publication than The Toiler and with the hearty support of its readers it will continue to become a better paper.

Our offer of $1.50 worth of literature with every purchase of $3.00 worth of subscription cards has enabled many comrades to obtain good books and pamphlets free. We will continue this offer with only one change. Instead of receiving $1.50 worth of literature for $5.00 worth of cards we will now give the same amount of literature free with every $7.50 worth of subscription cards. Not the new titles in the literature column. You may easily obtain these by getting subscriptions for The Toiler.

It's Coming - International Labor Day, May 1-st. Don't Work -- for Capitalism

Skygac's Column

Hooray!

• • •

Hooray again!

• • •

Just because the European news this date suits me far more than it does the tribe of Grabitall.

• • •

The German people went through a hard school the past five years, but jumpin' jehosophat! They do seem to have learned a lot in that hard school of experience!

• • •

The idea of treating the vanquished in war, as though they were human beings, grows in direct proportion as the soviet idea spreads.

• • •

There is nothing like sovet rule to take the mock out of democracy.

• • •

Soviet rule means rule, of for and by people.

• • •

Christianity makes christians and slaves simultaneously.

• • •

The hope of a mansion in the sky fades into insignificance when confronted by the possibliity of realizing the hope of freedom on earth.

• • •

The dwellers of the House of Have, spend, and in the meantime lecture the people of the House of Want on the desirability of economy.

• • •

In other words, you save it, and we'll spend it.

• • •

Wealthy people are not thrifty people. They are wealthy simply because their unearned income comes in faster than their appetites can spend it.

• • •

One can only eat about so much beafsteak, wear about so many clothes, and see only a certain number of shows. When income covers all the necessary desires and appetites and leaves a surplus, that is not thrift, but inability to consume. Inability to consume, not thrift is therefore the reason for the rich man's excess riches.

• • •

Utopia can not be realized because we can not find a way to change human nature, concludes Robert Quillen in an article appropriately headed "Small Town Stuff" in the S. E. P.

• • •

If you can't change human nature how did it happen that a peaceloving people who firmly believed in the biblical injunction "Thou Shalt Not Kill" were drafted into the greatest killing machine in history?

• • •

If you can't change human nature, you CAN materially change the EXPRESSION of it. Your grandmother always made her own soap. Do you? Know anybody outside a soap factory that does?

• • •

Bolshevism: Socialism in a hurry! We are indebted to the Catholic Holy Name Society for that definition.

• • •

The Holy Name Society claims that the Gospel of Christ is an antitote for socialism. Socialism is an antitote for the slave psychology which is wrapped up in the Gospel of Christ.

• • •

Now do not get "all het up" and go to calling names but go to the nearest public library and get Andrew D. White's "History of the Conflict of Theology and Science in Christendom," read that and you will thank me for telling you about it. The book is published by Appleton's. (2. vols. $8.00).

• • •

A negro in Texas, charegd with murder, was caught, indicted, tried, convicted and hanged all in a day's time. The plutepress report called it a case of "swift justice". Now if it had been a white man? Well in that case it is selfevident that the whole proceedings smacked of undue haste due to the prevalence of the mob spirit amongst the law-and-order-ers.

• • •

"Sixty five Irish prisoners go to prison singing" says the press report. Sounds like an American write up of the I. W. W.

• • •

The Ebert-Noske government killed off all the red leaders in Germany. Yet economic determinism forced the inevitable change in Germany and new spokesmen for the workers are rising from the ranks. Wonder if that significant fact spells anything to the American Department of Justice?

• • •

Current Events, a school paper (subscription compulsory in our town) in a recent editorial, says "the world is full of disheartened failures who don't half try. They go thru life from failure to failure, always blaming somebody else for their ill success. • • • • in later life he will blame "the boss" or "the system" or "bad luck" or "society" or "capitalism' or "the administration"—anybody or any thing but himself—for what in his heart he knows to be his own fault.

How is that for dope for school children? From the terms "system", "the boss", "capitalism" etc., used it is easy to see the intent of the editorial. The inference of course being that the socialists who teach that the vicious environment of "capitalism" keeps the wage-earner from ever being anything else but a wage-earner, is all wrong, that any poor student can lift himself by the belt of his ambition up into the "upper classes' any time he chooses. The irony of it all is that anywhere you meet him the socialist is conspicioulsy above the average in intelligence and information and while opposed to the "system" on principle, yet is far more capable of surviving under the "system" than most any of the poor deluded dupes of capitalism. Capitalist control of the schools is a positive blight upon the educational opportunities of the young, and "Current Events" is a conspicious example of bourgeois psychology as applied in the schools.

• • •

Senator Newberry, the political dewberry of Michigan has been found guilty of conspiring to buy his seat in the U. S. Senate. He was tried by a jury of his peers. He will not lose his seat in the Senate, says the press reports. Now—Berger—Oh well, he did not BUY his seat—he was elected! Make your own comment.

• • •

Six months ago, if any one had told me that it was possible for the dead to come to life, he would have had an argument with me irght there; Now, since the news of the rise of the German proletariat, I am convinced that there is still hope for those who are asleep in Gompers!

• • •

"The red flag never flies over a farm house," says eLonard Wood, aspirant for the presidential nomination, of "shoot-or-ship-the-radicals" fame. Then as an afterthought he ad-

• • •

ded, "some method of assisting men who have no money to buy land, would be most helpful in solving this question." Yes, yes, General, that IS the question. Now if "some method of assisting men who have no money to buy" land or anything else, could only be found—but genearl, we know the question. Aye, we know it well. What we want to know is, what solution YOU have for this question, and we would rather have it now than to have your confession after election that you have no solution, but merely used the question for advertising purposes. Now there is a land where they HAVE found a solution for this vexing question, but as you want to "ship or shoot" all those who are here and also have the solution, well you can see the dilemma you are in!

• • •

What wonderful things are phrases! One man says what the country needs above all else is a strongly developed rationalist movement, and a preacher skilled in the use of words, retorted, that the speaker wished to become the leader of a herd of infidels!

• • •

Now that slavery has been legalized in Kansas, and John Brown's burial place has been sold for commercial purposes, let us all rise and sing,

"Our Father's God to Thee,
Author of Libertee
Trala-la-la etc.

"Poles Ask Peace As Reds Hammer On" headlines our own A. P. Mercy, how times do change! Only six short weeks ago we were informed by the same paper that the Poles were going to stem the red tide and save the world from the menace of Bolshevism.

• • •

Oh! Who will be our Saviour now?

• • •

Besides it seems to be sort of an off season for Saviours.

• • •

Kapp tried for the Crown,—and lost his head.

• • •

Let the politicians of America take note of what happens when anyone tries to pull off a monarchist uprising!

• • •

All power to the Workers.

• • •

Hooray!!

These Leaflets are ready -- Are You?

Two numbers of The Toiler Educational Leaflet Series are ready for distribution. AND THEY MUST BE DISTRIBUTED. Not just a few, but thousands upon thousands must be distributed in the shops, mills and mines. Every reader of the Toiler is expected to help in the widest possible distribution of these educational leaflets.

Number One—"Soviet Russia's Code of Labor Laws", should be read by every American worker. Especially should every union man and woman read it. It is eight pages and the price is 60c a hundred in any quantity desired. Order now and start the work of education among the workers of your locality. Take a bunch to your union meetings.

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Distribute "Strangling American Workers". 50c per hundred.

Address The Toiler — Right Now!

From north, south, east and west they come—literature orders. A recent one is from comrade Read of Santa Cruz. He has found a place to put some pamphlets to work. And he is doing it. You can too.

A second order for a hundred Slander of the Toilers goes to the "Triple Alliance" of Huntington W. Va. That Triple Alliance is working overtime for Socialism these days.

THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT

— By Felix Morley. —
Staff writer,
The Federated Press

ARTICLE 2—INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

LONDON.—In the framework of present industrial organization there is found one of the few striking parallels between the labor movements of Great Britain and the United States. Here, as in America, the basis of organization is still one of crafts or trades, with a vast multiplicity of minor unions more or less completely independent in policy and action. Here, as in America, the same cross purposes and antagonisms exist. Strikes fail for want of concerted action, there are frequent jurisdictional disputes, and other evidences of faulty organization. While the coming of the Tripple Alliance promises to sweep away many of these obstacles in England the industrial field still shows a lack of unity in marked contrast to the general harmony and co-operation of the British labor movement.

The most recent example is the long-drawn out strike of the three moulders' unions. All labor now recognizes that, had the employes of the whole engineering industry worked together in this struggle half as well as have the employers' federations the strike would have seen the unions stronger instead of crippled for a long time to come, and would not have entailed anything like the loss to the ocuntry that has actually taken place.

For years past the weakness and disunity of craft centralization has been a source of anxiety to the labor leaders on this side, and is particularly so now that labor's political power is fast outstripping its industrial development. The reason is clear if one stops to consider the result of a socialistic labor government trying to function in a state where all industry is fast in the grip of capitalist control. Labor will be in control of the government of England in a few years, but it can never stay in control until the political organization is complemented by a much more unified industrial power.

A glance at statistics shows that this critical situation is appreciated and that much in the way of union co-ordination and amalgamation has been accomplished, even though much more still remains to be done. In 1899, there were in the United Kingdom 1,310 seperate trade unions with a total membership of 1,860,913. By the end of 1914 the number of seperate unions had shrunk to 1,123, their membership increased to 3,959,863. At the present time the number of distinct unions is under 1,199, their total membership close to 5,500,000. The figures fail to reveal the full significance of the amaglamation tendency. In the first place it is the big and powerful unions that are merging and federating, the weak and unimportant organizations which maintain a feeble independence and swell the total of separate unions into hundreds. Again the decrease in number is in net figures, meaning a decrease in spite of the addition of new unions, many of professional workers, created in recent years.

The general trend today is distinctly in the direction of industrial unionism, with a growing section of executive leadership and of the rank and file alike urging along that road. The reasoning of the English labor leaders in pushing this doctrine is crystal clear. In the words of J. H. Thomas, now president of the Trades Union Congress, "national unionism has become obsolete. Not only must future organization be on industrial lines, and its marking of the units of industry pay some regard to the employer, but there must be co-operation between the various industrial unions."

It is evident that this philosophy is something far more fundamental than anything contemplated by the present administration of the A. F. of L. Nor, on the other hand, does the British theory of industrial democracy bear any but the most superficial resemblance to that of the I. W. W. The idea of violent social revolution is not seriously considered in the development on this side. Industrial unionism is something new for England and at present is regarded simply as an intesely practical step to insure greater power and solidarity for the workers. Not as a weapon for invoking revolutionary general strikes, but as a tool to insure fewer strikes with a much higher percentage of success. To summarize in the words of a prominent union organizer—"the philosophy of industrial development seldom concerns our people. It is always the next thing that counts." The phrase illustrates the practicality of the entire British labor movement and sums up the reasons of its remarkable successes.

A good deal has been printed in America about the Triple Alliance, but little has been said about the most vital result of its creation.—the tendency towards a closely-knit and homogeneous industrial organization which it has brought about. For years past trades union congresses have advocated and furthered the amalgamation of unions catering for similar occupations, and much has also been done in linking up local unions in national federations so centralized as to be virtually national unions. Yet the amalgamatnion process has in general been slow and inadequate to meet the more rapid and efficient way in which the employers have federated. It has been left for the Triple Alliance to point the way for an invincible organization of labor on the industrial field.

The Triple Industrial Alliance of British Miners, Railwaymen and Transport Workers has recast the future of the labor movement in this country. Still to have its first great trial of strength, it is the belief of many that the development has assured the eventful transformation of unwieldly and weak trade unionism to solid, logical and all-powerful basis of industrial unionism. The Triple Alliance is regarded in many circles as the greatest example of constructive labor statesmanship since the launching of the British Labor Party. As a result of its establishment assertions are made that capitalist control of basic industries will be eliminated side by side with the ousting of capitalist control of government by the labor party. Certainly the Triple Alliance has given tremendous influence and promise to nationalization propaganda.

The membership of the Triple Alliance is now about 1,600,000, divided into 800,000 miners, 440,000 railwaymen, and 350,000 transport workers. The president is Robert Smillie who is also chairman of the consultative committee, composed of two officers from each of the constituent federations. While the miners' federation is the only one of the three which is built up throughout on an industrial basis, both the railwaymen and the transport workers have now embraced the principle of industrial organization. It is significant that the admission of other federations to membership in the Alliance has been made to depend on the factor of industrial instead of trade unionism, and that the post office employes, who have adopted a strike clause, and units in the textile trade, are agitating for a change in organization to fit in with this requirement.

As indicated above, the vast power resident in the Triple Alliance does not mean an underlying revolutionary purpose, and it appears that the executives are as keenly awake to their responsibilities to the community as they are to their strength. The Alliance has never yet acted as a unit on the strike field, although there is a possibility that concerted drastic action may yet be taken on the nationalization of mines issue. The clauses of its constitution show how jealously the Triple Alliance guards its power. They are summarized by the 1919 Labor Year Book as follows:—

1—Matters submitted to the joint body must be of a national character in the opinion of the body raising them and such as necessitate joint action.

2—Co-operation is not to be expected until the matter in dispute has been indorsed by the national executive primarily concerned. No movement shall be instituted by any of the affiliated bodies if it is likely to involve the others, until it has been submitted to the joint body for consideration.

3—Periodical meetings of the three full executives to be held at least half-yearly.

4—Consultative committee of six, two from each executive, who may call a conference at any time, and must call one on application by any one of the three bodies.

5—Every effort shall proceed among the three sections to create effective and complete control of their respective bodies.

6—Autonomy reserved to each body to take action on its own behalf.

7—Joint action can only be taken when the question at issue has been before the members of the three organizations and decided by such methods as the constitution of each organization provides, and the conference shall then be called without delay to consider and to decide the question of taking action.

8—No obligation to act shall devolve on any of the three bodies unless these conditions are complied with.

The briefest discussion of the Tripie Alliance, however, would not be complete without mention of the section of labor thought which still favors an improved trade union organization, and holds that the Triple Alliance may easily become the autocratic and unrepresentative tyrant of the whole industrial field. Others, and they are the majority, hold that the Triple Alliance will galvanize the whole industrial side of the labor movement into a more aggressive and well-fortified stand, without itself dominating the field after the present transition period. There must, of course, be a strong, forward-looking executive council of labor to hold the balance between the Triple Alliance and the rest of the organized labor during this transition period, and it is obvious that the Triple Alliance has already resulted in general agitation for a stronger and more uniformly progressive personnel on the parliamentary committee of the Trade Union Congress.

GALE DENIES GARRANZA SUPPORT.

MEXICO, CITY.—Linn A. E. Gale, publisher of "Gale's Journal of Revolutionary Communism" of this city, has issued a statement denying the assertion of Irwin Granich, published in the March "Liberator", which says that "Gale's is published in the printing office of the Mexican government.

"Gale's is not and never has been published in the Mexican government printing office or in any office even remotely related thereto," declared Gale. "Neither is it nor has it been 'subsidized' either directly or indirectly, by Carranza, as Granich says. All such statements are deliberate lies which I believe are inspired by interest desiring to provoke intervention in Mexico. Much nonsense has been published about the 'Bolsheviki policies of the Mexican government.' The purpose of it is unquestionably to arouse the dollar-patriots of the United States and pave the way for war. The assertion that 'Gale's is printed by the Mexican government, which is absolute rot, is just the kind of proof (?) that Senator Fall, Doheny & Co. would like, as an excuse for another bloodbath. THE FALSEHOODS OF GRANICH, AS WELL AS HIS CONDUCT WHILE IN MEXICO, ALL POINT UMMISTAKABLY TO THE CONCLUSION THAT HE IS AN AGENT-PROVOCATEUR IN THE EMPLOY OF WALL STREET!"

Gale added that neither the Communist Party of Mexico nor he had at any time "supported" Carranza. "We praised him for keeping out of the war, for refusing to extradite political fugitives from the United States, and for standing his ground (for a time) against the oil trust. We denounced him for breaking the general strike in Tampico and the teachers' strike in Mexico City. We opposed and still oppose intervention in the interest of the working class, not because the Mexican government is Communist or Socialist. Carranza is a Liberal like Bryan or Borah—that's all. We prefer him to the hypocrite, Wilson, but we are against them both".

The Black Sheep.

Chap. XXV.

Unbuyable Things.

Gus Anderson sat in his old arm chair with his feet propped upon the library table, his face buried in a news paper and his mouth filled with an enormous chew of tobacco. He was all alone, as was his habit when Olive was not in the house. Except at meal time, Mrs. Anderson and her spouse never shared each other's company. There was a good reason for this. Their minds ran in entirely different channels. She would sit by the hour in the dining room and read the Bible or the 'Ram's Horn', or 'The Christian Herald', while he would sit in the front room smoking his pipe and reading the 'Police Gazette' or 'Smart Set' magazine, that is, if he was not reading the stock reports. This evening he was thus engaged when Olive entered. He noticed now what he had been noticing for several days that the girl's mental attitude had been entirely changed. She no longer ran to him with that childlike playfulness that had always been the joy of his life. She had become dignified, distant, almost to stiffness. He resented this characteristic. It reminded him of the ways of her mother. He had always boasted that she was his child with none of her mother's faults, and now that she evinced some of his real characteristics he was unable to recognize them, but averred that they came from the mother's side of the family. Before he thought he complained of it. "Olive, don't act like to your omther," he said almost peevishly. To which she answered that she was trying to act like him. That she was going to be a business woman, as her father was a business man, and as he had many times said that business was a dog eat dog life and that there was no sentiment in business, that she was trying to blot all sentiment from her veins. "I want to become as much like you as possible papa," she finished.

This was the unkindest cut of all. Yet Anderson could not help but smile. He wanted his little girl to be an angel and at the same time to be like him. He saw the conceit of it and laughed "O forget it," he said; "I wanted you to be like you used to be. Just my little girl."

"That's what mamma used to be, too, as long as she was what you wanted her to be, but when she became what she wanted to be then I became your tlitle girl. Mamma learned to love her church more than she loved you. You will have to love business." Then with a saucy toss of her head "I'll be second fiddle to no man or no thing. I'm a new woman, I am."

"Yah, you're a new freak. Plum full of crazy notions," her father roared. "Why can't you be pleasant with me? I've never robbed you."

"No? You have admitted hiding the truth from me and now that it is thrown in my face from every direction and I try to reconcile myself, you don't like it." So saying she walked over to the piano and instead of her usual sacred hymns she began to paly "She Stood and Chewed Her Gum".

"Oh, for God sake, cut that out. What's got into you?" her father cried boistrously.

"I am the new woman. I am through with old fashioned hymns. I am going to play modern music." So saying she switched over on the 'Shade of the Old Apple Tree'.

"Why don't you play hymns? Play me that one you played the other night. That one about the dark night."

"That is sentimental. I'm a live woman now. And life and sentiment can't go together. Beside whose night is dark? And you don't care if any body is far from home." Then she broke into singing "When the Guinea Plays the Organ on the Side Walks of New York."

Gus Anderson's hands dropped by his side. A great big tear rolled down his fat florid face. It was perhaps the first time that his daughter had ever seen a tear in his eyes. It was more than she could bear. She jumped up from the piano stool and threw herself into his lap entwining both of her arms about his neck. "I was just foolin' Daddy" she cooed into his ears. "I was a teasin' you. Just showing you that you do not mean the life you pretend to live. That's all. I want to be Daddy's little girl. Only I want Daddy to let me know life as it is. Don't feed me on lies just because you love me."

And old Gus entwined her in his heavy arms holding her close to his breast. "I'll be damned if we are not all sinners. Even when we try to do good we raise hell. But little one mustn't dissapoint her Daddy. Always be good and Daddy will give her every thing he can. No matter what she ever does, Daddy is goin' to be his little girl's best friend. Do anything for her."

He had no sooner said this than Olive disengaged herself from his embrace and ran her fingers through his hair. "I is goin' to ask you for something right now, and if you do it I'll comb out all your dandruff with a nice new comb."

"Shoot! I'm ready for slaughter!" said her father. "What is it you want?"

"First I must tell you something. I met this boy in front of Higbees this afternoon, and I talked to him. He told me he wanted to get back into jail because his partners were still in. Funny I never thought of that. I might have known that he wouldn't leave them. He told me that he had only twelve cents in his pocket and no where to go. This is a fearfully cold night and I'm worried about him. I told him to go and wait in the pool hall and I would go and see if you would do something for him. Really you ought to Daddy. Don't you think so?" Then pinching his nose and drawing it away down she said, "Call up the pool hall and let them arrange a place for him. Won't you, Daddy?"

Old Gus just laughed. "Woman, woman, its no wonder Adam fell. Guess I'll go and see the kid myself. Bring me my artics, coat and cap and I'll go and see him. Kind of interested in what my future son-in-law looks like." At this she pouted beautifully but hurried to get the articles required.

Half an hour later Gus Anderson walked into the pool hall of Erickson and Johnson. He asked the man behind the cigar case to point out the stranger which the other did. He then walked over to Jack and introduced himself as the county sheriff. He told him that he had come to see why he did not obey the court's order to leave the town. To which the boy replied that the court had no power to issue such an order seeing that his term was not yet expired and he was not the recipient of executive clemency, or other legal process estting aside the commitment order of the court.

Anderson soon discovered that he could not bluff the boy with legal phraseology. A trick which he had often played on the farmer. So he simply settled down into what was ostensibly a pleasant conversation, but which was in realty an endeavor on his part to learn who and what the kid was. In this he succeeded fairly well. The boy told him that he was reared in the counthern part of the state and that he was enjoying his first experience in working in the harvest away from home. He also told him that what they did at Anamoose they did at Westfield, and that it was his purpose to help organize the harwest workers in such a way as to make the tax payers pastime of arresting and fining men rather an expensive luxury. He told him that instead of scattering the workers would come back to the same towns and that the farmers would pay increased wages and reduce production for the inconveniences the workers had suffered on account of their greed. This of course greatly interested the solid citizen. He urged the boy to go back home and help his father cultivate the farm. He warned the boy that there was nothing to be gained by sacrificing ones self for a bunch of worthless bums. "You belong to us" he averred and pointed out to the boy that any effort to organize havest hands was treason to his own people. He pointed out that the farmers life was hard enough as it was, with the burden of taxes, interest and crop uncertainty; that if the workers were organized it would mean shorter hours, higher wages, and more costly food, all of which the farmers couldn't stand and they would go broke with the result that the workers would have no job. He endeavored to show him that organizing the harvest workers would destroy the harvest business and cause every field to over grow with grass.

This argument would have appealed to Jack as logical two months before but not now. He pointed out to Mr. Anderson that bread was a social necessity. That there was a vast difference between what the farmer got for wheat and what the consumer paid for bread. That this difference went into the pockets of mortgage-holding bankers, elevater owners, railroads, commission men, millers, wholesalers, retailers, etc. He also pointed out that by the collective ownership of alnd where the farmer could get as much as he needed for the payment of government tax, would eliminate the mortgage holder; that what the mortgage holder now got could go to the harvest hands and help him to live as befitted a human being. He pointed out that the commission men and the board of trade could be eliminated and the money which they drew out of the wheat business could go to the farmer and the farm worker. He then reviewed the over capitalization of railroads as well as of miller and elevator companies and convinced Anderson that here too was a tremendous source of waste which might go to useful labor. And he finished it all by making a prediction that the workers and tenant farmers of the state would some day rise against all these grafting agencies and sweep them out of existence.

Anderson listened to him with an indulgent smile upon his face. "Some dream kid, some dream. Dime novels have spoiled many a youth. I'm convinced that you're not a bad sort of a guy and I'm going to be good to you. My daughter told me that you was broke. Now I'm going to get you a bed and pay for your meals at the hotel. And give you back what the judge fined you, if you'll promise me to go home on the first train out."

To this Jack replied that as a citizen of the state he could not be exiled. That he was going to stay in Anamoose, in jail or out until his partners were released. And that even then they might buy out Judge Duffy's blind pig and become respective citizens.

Anderson now came right down to business. He asked him how much he would take to leave town to which the replied that there were certain unbuyable things, such as loyalty to friends, to principles, and access to the hearts of others.

"You're quite right kid. I thought that every man had his price much or little, but I have run up against it the last few days. There are unbuyable things. And the hell of it is the things we want most we cannot buy.

(Continued next week)

THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC SITUATION.

a lecture by Wm. Ross Knudsen, Organizer International Association of Machinists under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, Pythian Temple, 919 Huron Road, near Prospect Ave. and E. 9th St. Sunday evening APRIL 11th, 1920 at 7:30 o'clock.

Questions and discussion invited.

We regret to record the death by accident of comrade Elmer Chapman of Portsmouth. Comrade Chapman was one of the most loyal and conscientious workers for Socialism. He was a member of the Switchman's Union and was killed in the rail road yards at Portsmouth where he was employed.

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY 9th 1920.

The Lesson of Albany

By a singular circumstance the farce ''[illegible]al'' of the five socialist assemblymen at Albany came to a conclusion on All Fools' Day. It is fitting that The final conclusion of this travesty on justice and representative government received such a sitting. It also happens that the vote of the wily members of the Assembly upon the seating of the socialists was set for one day after the last day upon which the Governor could legaly call a special election to fill their seats were they found guilty of the charges against them, thus precluding their reelection at the hands of an outraged constituency as was true in the Berger case. The ''trial'' ended as planned. The frame up worked like a charm.

It is folly feel remorseful at this blow directed at the principel of representative government. Rather may we feel grateful that the hand of the buccaneers has been brought into view and the class character of capitalist government shown up so glaringly.

....While we would LIKE to see that principel embedded in the foundation of the government so deeply that by no means could it be pried lose by the capitalist conspirators, we realize that government is a class institution—erected in the interests of one class and against the interests of all other classes. This is as true of the government of the United States as of any monarchy. the uselessness of remorse becomes at once apparent. Whatever was intended of the provisions of the Constitution 140 years ago, its interpretation has passed under control of the capitalist class. So whatever be its interpretations, they are but in conformity with the needs of capitalism. The henchmen of capitalism at Albany sensed danger in the election of socialists to seats in the sacred body of the State Assembly. As a result a scaffold was at once erected upon which the socialists and apparently the Socialist Party as well were at once strung up.

The department of the socialists and their attorneys during the proceedings was any thing but calculated to strengthen their position before the court of last resort—the working class, whatever their conduct was calculated to win at the hands of the judges. Apparently the Socialist Party lost sight of the larger jury in its desire to win the approval of the one sitting at Albany. They sacrificed the last of their revolutionary tenets for the sake of their seats. They attempted to barter their revolutionary soul for a mess of pottage—and didn't get it.

Since the trial began the gaze of the workingclass of America has been riveted upon it. For upon its outcome depended to a great degree the immediate future development of a working class tactic. The radical, ''red'' element of Labor has been pointing out the uselessness of parliamentary action by the working class to achieve its emancipation. And now the capitalist class in solmn conclave prove beyond contradiction all its claims! It has been teaching that the present State is a machine for the perpetuation of capitalism and could not be used for the production of any thing else even tho the workers should be successful at the elections. The Albany trial has proved it.

The lack of revolutionary attitude of the socialists at the trial coupled with the utter disregard of the principles of representative government by the persecutors will have a tremendous effect upon the minds of American workers who have been schooled in faith in the socalled freedom of the ballo t, representative government etc. They must now swing to the Left—for their is nowhere else they can go. Had the Socialist Party shown the revolutionary integrity which a working class party must have to lead the working class out of bondage—it would have come out of the fray with at least a moral victory to its credit.

With its leaderhaip at stake, in fact its whole future as a proletarian party—it played for small stakes, played out its whole hand for five paltry seats in the New York Assembly — and lost.

The Albany trial marks a milestone on the long road the workers have trod toward the New Day. It will be easier going now with Albany behind and showing the way—class action on the industrial field.

More Punch and Judy

The stage is being set for another grand stand play for the benefit of Henry Dubb and his sister Henrietta A complete paraphernalia of deception is being erected. From colored lights, villians, gay decievers, platidunious moralizers, jokesters, climaxes wherein the heroi[illegible]he dear ''public'' is saved from immediate and violent rape, the whole fake sitting is being put together and heralded in the capitalist press as the last word in ''good government'' that is to be seen on the stage of present day life.

We refer to the latest war—that which has (maybe) been declared upon high rents. Doubtless it is presumed that Henry has forgotten all about the success of the great war upon the high cost of living which was declared by President Wilson and a retinue of political parrots from the Whitehouse down to the village dog catchers some six months ago. Henry has not won the reputation of having a profound memory. The same old gag revarnished occassionally, will serve over and over again to entertain him and keep his mentality from serious things, such as his own interests for instance.

The extend of Henry's gullibity is unlimited. This fact is well understood by all politicians. It is their reliance when they face their constituents just previous to election. If it were not for Henry's enormous ability to fool himself and be fooled such problems as ''high rents and high cost of living'' would never be. If Henry was gifted with horsesense, he would see to it that the houses of the nation belonged to the builders and useful producers instead of speculators. That would settle the question of ''rents''. A nation of renters is a nation of Henry Dubbs who have sold their birthright for the privilege of being flattered by the political benchmen of Henry's exploiters.

One would think to read the daily press that the entire aramament of the nation was being brought into play against the renters of the shacks and warrens in which Henry ''lives'', procreates and rots. All this sound and fury have a hollow echo to any one acustomed to use their heads for else than a hat rack. It will soon pass away leaving emptiness and a few million gaping Henry's in its wake. That will be the net result except that additional proof will be had that Henry is still asleep. Having succeded to such an amazing extend in reducing the high cost of living, same crew of charlatans now mount the stage for another Punch and Judy show—the same audience applauds the slapstick, makebelieve. It thinks that sure enough, by some mysterious legerdemain a great change is to take immediate effect and a tiny bit of the heavy load of existence will be lifted from its bent spine.

Listen, Henry, there's a ''nigger in the wood pile''. While you are gaping in wonder at the promises of the politicians to make life habitable for you, depending upon them to create conditions decent for you—you are forgetting to rely upon yourself, forgetting that no power on earth nor in Heaven but your own organized power as a class can make this a fit world for the workers.

And when you forget that fact you are lost. The workers have the power, then use it. Throw the exploiters off your backs. Take the world and all that's in it and make it fit for human beings. Make it impossible for an exploiter to live.

''One stroke of thy strong arm, O, Labor''.

Proletarian Science History

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.
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CHART FOR CHAPTER III.

EPOCHS OF HISTORY ACCORDING TO EACH INTERPRETATION.

THE THREE GREAT CONCEPTS OR INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORY—	THEOLOGICAL	CREATION TO FLOOD FLOOD TO CHRIST CHRIST TO PRESENT DAY.
	IDEOLOGICAL	ANCIENT MEDIAEVAL MODERN
	SCIENTIFIC	SAVAGERY BARBARISM CIVILIZATION

CAPTER III.

A concept of history is an interpretation of history from a certain point of view. The point of view is generally determined by the material interests of the historian.

There are three great concepts of history, Theological, Ideological and Scientific.

The Theological concept is the oldest interpretation of the happenings of history, and is based upon the assumption that everything happens in accordance with the Will of a Creator. This concept like everything else in the universe has been subject to Evolutionary process.

During the childhood of the race, when the minds of men were undeveloped, when none but the simplest ideas could be grasped, man had many gods, each of whom could do but one thing. Thus we find them worshiping gods of fire, winds, thunder, storms, smoke, water, etc. Later as their mental abilities developed they increased the abilities of their gods, and thereby reduced their number, until eventually a concept of Deity was evolved which embodied in itself all the gods of Ancient Polytheism.

In other words instead of a concept of many gods, each of whom could do a single thing, they evolved a concept of a single god who could do many things, eventually a god all-wise and all-powerful who could do ALL things.

This concept carried within itself a fatal contradiction. A god of perfect good could not be the author of evil, so it became necessary to evolve another god, the author of evil. Today in the theological world we find a duality of gods, a good god, author of all beneficience and a ''bad'' god, author of all evil, called Devil.

Those who subscribe to the Theological concept of history are inconsistent, for instead of blaming their self-made devil for the evils which afflict them, they blame each other and build jails and penitentiaries to hold those who in their opinion have gone contrary to the Divine Will.

The Ideological conception of history, often referred to as the ''Great Man Theory'' teaches that in each generation great men are born into the world who by the sheer force of their greatness and personality cause great changes to come into the world which makes for human betterment. This theory is the basis of the Hero-Worship of to-day. It carries within itself several contradictions, for if great men are born who influence the course of history for good, then it is but logical that there are those born who influence it for evil. This is the basis for assassinations, the assassin laboring under the delusion that he is removing an evil from the world.

Another contradiction is, that if great men influence the world for good, other equally great men can influence it for evil, thus the influence of the one would be canceled by the other and progress would be impossible.

All reasoning, if such it may be called, of most of current fiction, some sermonizers and most public lecturers and librarians are based upon an assumption of the correctness of the great man theory.

The Ideological Concept of history is taught in the public schools. The Theological Concept is taught in the Sunday Schools, yet there are thousands of grade school teachers who teach in the public schools on week days from the Ideological concept and in the Sunday Schools from the Theological Concept, and never notice the contradiction!

The Scientific Interpretation of history, generally known as the Materialist Conception of History, teaches that changes in social structure are due to changes of method in the acquisition of the necessities of life.

According to the Theological Concept, Gods cause change.

According to the Ideological Concept, Great Men cause change.

According to the Scientific Concept, changes in the the methods of production cause changes in the social structure.

The clearest statement of the Materialist Conception of History that has come to the notice of the authors is that found on page 707 the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels. (Kerr Edition.)

''In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch—.''

An epoch of history is a division of historical time based upon the length of time any given historical phenomenon lasts *)

Each interpretation of history has its own divisions of historical epochs. The Theological interpretation divides historical time into three great epochs as follows: from Creation to the flood, from the flood to the birth of Christ and from Christ to the present day. We still use the Theological interpretation in our measurement of time.

The Ideological interpretation divides historical time into three great epochs, Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern.

The Scientific Interpretation also divides historical time into three great epochs, Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER THREE.

1. What is meant by a concept of history?
2. What generally determines the point of view of a historian?
3. What are the three great concepts of history?
4. Which concept of history is the oldest?
5. On what assumption is it based?
6. Did Gods make men or did men make Gods?
7. Are there any exceptions to the Law of Evolution?
8. What was the state of man's mind during the infancy of the race?
9. Mention some of the contradictions in the Theological Concept.
10. Explain the Ideological Concept of History.
11. What is the basis of Hero-Worship? Assassinations?
12. Name the inherent contradictions of the Ideological Concept.
13. What sources of public information persistently teach the Ideologic Concept of History? Why?
14. Why do the grade teachers not see the contradiction of concepts?
15. What is meant by the Scientific-Interpretation of History?
16. By what other name is it known?
17. Upon what natural facts is it based?
18. In what book may it be found clearly stated?
19. What is meant by an historical epoch? Illustrate by example.
20 How does each concept of history divide historical time?

(Continued next week)

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*) The International Geological Congress adopted the following time scale:
ERA
PERIOD
EPOCH
AGE

''One of the most striking differences between human and geologic history is the extreme brevity of one as compared with the vast time represented by the other. Human history is to be measured by some thousands of years while geologic history must be measured by at least tens of millions of years.

A recent event, geologically speaking, like that of the building of the coast range mountains, or the carving out of a tremendous canyon like the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in Arizona, required hundreds of thousands if not a few millions, of years.''—W. J. Miller in ''Introduction to Historical Geology.''

Human history begins with the AGE of lower savagery.

Lower Savagery was an EPOCH in the Pliocene PERIOD of the Cenozoic ERA.

For a chart showing the main divisions of geologic time see:

CHART OF GEOLOGIC ERAS AND PERIODS

1. **Archeozoic Era.**	Archian	
2. **Proterozoic Era..**	Algonkian period	
3. **Paleozoic Era** (Primary)	Cambrian period. Ordbvician period Silurian period. Devonian period. Carboniferous period. Permian period.	LOWER OR MISSISSIPPIAN. UPPER OR PENNSYLVANIAN.
4. **Mesozoic Era** (Secondary)	Triassic period. Jurassic period. Cretaceous period.	
5. **Cenozoic Era** (Tertiary)	Eocene period. Oligocene period. Miocene period. Pliocene period. Pleistocene period.	

The names of Eras follow a definite plan, depending upon the great life stages. Thus Archeozoic means literally, primitive or beginning life; Proterozoic means ''earlier or less primitive life''; Mesozoic means ''intermdiate life'' and Cenozoic means ''recent life''. The period names do not follow such a definite plan but are usually named after some place or lochtion. Human life did not appear until the Pliocene period.

SPARKS.

A rebel writes—The····Co. will not operate May 1st, we are going to celebrate. And we say that even the dummest worker should come to life on May 1st and celebrate the Russian victories over Capitalism. Tis tru there is little to celebrate in the U. S. but there may be.

If you have to work May 1st—you can square yourself by giving that day's wages to the Movement.

Another comrade writes, ''Enclosed find $3.00 for sub cards. I have been out of a job for six months on account of too much gab.'' We presume he was prone to discuss the interests of the workers instead of those of his boss—all of which was very displeasing to him, so the capitalist dictatorship was brought into play. But this order proves that it takes more than one shot to will a RED.

And a miner writes this warning, 'A miner's stomache can not be filled with promises''. No, and they will refuse to ''eat grass'' as the workers of France were admonished to do before the Revolution.

Comrade Chapman of Toledo is around again for more literature premiums for the sub cards he is selling. Many comrades are building substantial libraries in this manner. You can too.

Isn't that handy—A half price combination of 8 pamphlets and 35 copies of Slander of the Toilers all for one measely dollar. Robert Dodge of Portsmouth is one of many comrades who see it that way. He sends a sub. also.

Up in Canada there is a Toiler booster too. Comrade Iverson of Bawlf, Alberta sends $5.00 worth of subs. and gets a premium.

The Youngstown Toiler Boosters are making headway. A little effort on the part of a few netted $10.50 worth of subs. And we are promised that all the energies of these comrades are not used up in one day either. Another try is scheduled, in fact many of them.

Twenty one subscriptions were received from Local Ashtabula last week.

Comrade Phillips rounded up 5 subscribers last week. All of Adena, O.

We record with pleasure the receipt of seven yearlies from comrade Schmid of Sandusky.

Likewise do we record the six yearlies from comrade Carter of Wakeman.

Comrade Hinton of Akron, is on the job again. This time with a list of three.

Yours for a Red Germany, writes comrade Walchli. We don't know if there is a connection between that wish and the $8.00 worth of subs he sends us or not. Perhaps there is. We rather think so.

Comrade Maxwell of Sandusky remits for three subs. this week.

Comrade Pries of Lorain finds a way to redeem himself for neglect in sending in his renewal. He gets six more. Can you beat it?

Skygac Finds a King in Disguise

— By Skygac —

Remember that good old hymn we used to sing, about a Child of a King? Quoting from memory it went something like this:

> ''My Father is rich in houses and land
> He holdeth the wealth of the world
> in his band.''

It now appears that the child has grown up and come into his heritage, wholly imaginary of course, but, well anyhow, here is the yarn, figure it out for yourself.

While browsing thru the pages of one of the current magazines, I found the story of the King in disguise. It seems there was a poor dissatisfied workingman who complained bitterly of his cruel and unjust employer. ''Every day something happened to put him in a fury of indignation, and every day his impulse of revolt was blocked by the dead wall of fear.'' ''If he angered his boss, what about his job, his wife and children, his old age?'' He had to swallow his wrath and that gave him indigestion.

A great doctor was called, who diagnosed the case as a mental abberation, and, but let the Doctor talk;

''We started with the assumption that since he had to work for an employer, he was a slave. We agreed, next, that it was in the nature of taskmasters to be cruel. He was a humble slave, serving a cruel taskmaster. Good. As an honest slave, he would do an honest day's work for his day's wages, put the money in his pocket and go home. But there he could throw off the livery of slavery. With his wife and children, in his own home among his friends, dispensing the fruits of his toil he could be a king. That was his real life. That was his real happiness.

''And then when he returned to his work, why not go as a king in disguise? Why not accept the terms of his slavery as a disguised king would, submitting to them amusedly until he could drop the livery of his slavery and return to his kingdom?''

''Why not indeed? He tried it and it cured his indigestion. The boss cannot irritate him now. He has escaped from the evil of work-resentment.''

There you have it plain as mud.

If you are dissatisfied, you are ''suffering from the evil of work resentment'' and the cure is, ''accept the terms of your slavery as a disguised king would, and submit to them AMUSEDLY'' but above all, SUBMIT.

It IS rather amusing.

If you are class conscious and a real man you naturally would resent any system of society which allowed private ownership of all the sources of raw material, thus placing whole sections of the workingclass in a position where they have to wear the livery of slavery.

But the remedy is plain. Just imagine yourself a king in disguise. If you have been worrying over the constantly rising cost of living and wondering how you are to get Irene a much needed new pair of shoes, and rubbers for Gracie and a new suit for George, when the present pay check is not big enough to pay the rent and grocery bill, don't worry any longer. Just imagine yourself a king in disguise and then you can draw on the king's wardrobe for the needed clothes and shoes. The boss would much rather you would thus draw upon your own imagination than upon his swollen profits!

If the wife shows any signs of being ''peevish'' because that year-before-last gingham dress is worn out and cotton now is higher than gingham was then, just slip her the information that you are a king in disguise and by virtue of the marriage certificate she is a queen, that ought to please her.

A king in disguise! A wonderful remedy for the evil of work resentment. But that is the kind of piffle that is eagerly sought, bought and printed in the leading (misleading?) magazines of today. A clever idea forsooth, yet methinks it is lacking in a very grave particular, and is susceptable of improvement, to wit;. While you are imagining yourself a king in disguise you had better imagine the time to be in the eighteenth century. The King business flourished better in those days.

If you go around daydreaming nowadays you are apt to lose step with the rush of modern industry and find yourself without a job, your place taken by some more awake and alert toiler. Then again you are apt to come in contact with some wide awake class-conscious toiler who is conscious of the robbery of the whole king, capitalist and wage-system business and doing all he can to awaken others to the danger and you are apt to find yourself without a kingdom and will be a king in disgrace. A king without a kingdom is a king in disgrace.

The evil of work-resentment is not an evil but a positive good. It gave to the world the measure of progress which we have made. It is the driving force back of every improvement in labor saving machinery which does the most of the work of the world today.

A king in disguise is a king in disgrace.

One dissatisfied slave means more to the progress of mankind than a dozen satisfied kings.

Wake up! You are not a king in disguise but a slave in chains.

MEXICAN POLITICAL SITUATION

Will the July presidential election in Mexico bring revolution?

Many believe it will. Undoubtedly American capitalism would like to have such a result, so it could have an excuse for intervention.

Some time ago when Gen. Gonzales who is the candidate of the reactionaries and the American financial interests for president of Mexico, asked Gen. Alvaro Obregon if he would sign a statement promising not to resort to arms in case of defeat at the polls. Obregon declined to commit himself. Enemies of Obregon declared this constituted proof of his determination to make himself president by force if he could not do so at the polls. Friends of Obregon retort that this is not true but that Obregon will certainly abide by the result if the elections are honestly conducted. However, they do not expect that such will be the case. They believe that the Carranza government will count out Obregon no matter if he has an overwhelming majority of votes and they say it is because of this belief that Obregon has refused to make any promise as to what he will and will not do after election.

The choice of the Carranza government today is unmistakably Ambassador Ignacio Bonillas. Originally it seemed to be Gonzales but it appeared that Gonzales was too reactionary and too much under the influence of American Financial interests, also that he would be too weak a candidate. Carranza's support then shifted to Bonillas.

The machinery of the government today is being utilized to the fullest possible extent to help elect Bonillas and ''El Demacrata'', ''El Civilista'' and ''La Republica'', all of which are financed more or less by govern ment money, are actively supporting Bonillas. It is said that Bonillas was picked by Carranza himself in a conference with the Ambassador in Cuatro Cienegas, the president's home town, after it had been decided to withdraw support from Gonzales. Obregon mon also assert that the Bonillas boom was officially sprung by a handful of government clerks in Quaretaro, the most backward state of central Mexico, which they claim is another evidence of the star-chamber nature of the Ambassador's candidacy. They charge that Carranza is building up a huge espionage system consisting of spies and censors, whose purpose is to hamper Obregon's campaign and frame up the election.

Both Bonillas and Obregon are making vigorous appeals for the support of the Radical elements and labor unions altho so far it appears that Obregon has the larger share of them. On account of the fact that local A. F. of L. unions are aligned mainly with Obregon, the Bonillas papers are boosting the I. W. W. enthusiastically as well as the Communist Party, which stands for the I. W. W. brand of unionism. Gonzales makes no effort to get labor support, being very frank in his opposition to Radicalism and even Liberalism.

If Obregon is defeated on July 4th and his followers believe the election was a frame-up, there is no question that trouble will follow. There are some who believe that the administration has no intention of interfering with the popular choice and that all this talk of coercion and fraud is part of a clever scheme on the part of Obregon to get the masses in an angry frame of mind so that he can put across a revolution successfully.

More Sparks

Comrade Forman of Morgantown W. Va. is another Booster who gets a premium for subscriptions.

Just a moment—You have read with interest the Code of Labor Laws of Soviet Russia which were published in The Toiler. But there are thousands who will never have that information and pleasure unless you help get it to them. The way to do it is to distribute this in leaflet form. We have them, you have 60$c for a hundred and time to distribute them. We want your co-operation. Order today.

Just now we received an order for 500 from Cincinnati. Orders are coming in every day. Get on the job.

Comrade Jacobs of Holland, O. has been busy. Five subs are on the list he sends in this week.

When you receive notice of the expiration of your subscription, you will aid us very much by renewing at once.

Comrade Briski of Ringo Kans remits for 8 new subs. The miners of that section are giving good support to The Toiler.

''Hardly knew what my politics were until the Soviets settled the matter'' writes W. M. R. of Niles, Mich. Well, the Soviets are settling the politics of a few million besides you, comrade.

''An occupational tax of $3.00 per head on every working man and woman in Springfield, O''. writes a comrade. Who said we were not free—AND brave?

Three fifty for more subscriptions comes from comrade Runnion of E. Liverpool.

''I'm sure 'tickled' to get The Toiler every week and you may count on me to get more subs'', Tom Mathews, Omaha Nebr.

Another bunch of four arrives from comrade J. J. Hoge of Bellaire. He's getting the habit. All habits are not bad ones.

Comrade A. Van Doesburg of Holland, Mich. is still on the firing line. He sends us four new nes and a renewal.

Two from Sistersville W. Va. this week. Comrade Kirkendall is the active one there.

A bunch of ten yearlies we credit to comrade Everhart of Tiffin Yes, they can be had in bunches of ten. He proves it.

We acknowledge receipt of $5.00 from comrade Clarke of Cincinnati for literature and for the defense and cartoon fund.

THE CARTOON FUND

The Cartoon Fund took a splurge this week. Here's what comrade McNutt of La Cygne Kans writes about The Toiler: ''It is sure chuck full of good things. The Black Sheep, Proletarian Science History, Soviet Labor Laws, Cartoons, each feature alone worth the price of a year's subscription.''

RECEIPTS:

Previously acknowledged	$30.00
F. V. Clarke	50
Robert Maddox	25
John Cmrok	1.00
Louis Steiger	1.00
X. Y. Z.	70
Local Dayton bal on remittance	10
J. E. Filipowsky	55
Frank Mechlin	50
I. L. Brunner	9.00
Total	$43.60
Expense	$64.55

!!GREAT CLEARANCE SALE!!

NOTE. Our lease with ''Uncle Sam'' having practically expired and deciding to retire to private life. we the undersigned will offer at public sale at our residence, National Capital, Washington, D. C., December 15th 1920 all of the following described property to the highest bidding Chump to Wit One League of damNations. One set of Injunctions and Restraning orders old enough to wean, together with an Old Elephant of about 59 years, she has been on our hands for some time and will go cheap. Lived by Gold Bugs and damned by everybody.

One Democrat platform, good as new, only been used for campaign purposes. (A number of Republican planks have gotten mixed in, but as they cannot be distinguished, they will go with this lot, together with 14 points that have never been used.

One bunch of Syndicalism tools and fixtures. One bunch of old hounds, were used by politicians and rulers of by-gone days for tracking Radicals.

One bunch of Radical Deporting Arks, would navigate fine up Salt River but of no other use.

One Democratic Machine, some-what out of repair.

One Financial System, well supplied with Clearing House Certificates but little cash or consideration for the needs of the people against the legalized robbery of profiteers in high places.

A large supply of old relics such as Old Dinner Pails, Grandpa Hats, Coon Skins, Big Sticks, Taft Smiles and other things too numerous to mention. There will also be disposed of at this time a great lot of old junk belonging to democratic and other parties. (Useless, only for relic collectors.)

This Sale will positively take place on

Whether this is so or not, it would appear at this stage of the game that Obregon has a majority of the people with him and that a resort to arms would result in his triumph. New developments, of course, may change these probabilities. A little while ago, the Carranza government was backing Gonzales, and Bonillas was an inconsequential factor. Today the situation is quite different with the government backing Bonillas who is now Obregon's chief rival.

WHO AR 100% PATRIOTS?

(Continued from page 1.)

fiteers would be in the penitentiary for life, instead of running at large grinding down the poor.

We suggest, as the common people furnished most of the money for the Liberty Loans and the Red Cross that those profiteers be made to pay the balance of the war debt for they made millions while labor was giving their lives. Besides it is certainly as justifiable to conscript as it is to conscript life.

James Pointius, F. S. S. L.
Sedalia, Mo.

COMRADES ATTENTION!

Old Postage Stamps or original envelopes or entire stamp collections bought at highest prices, if you have anything to offer, call at the office of the Toiler or phone Harvard 3639.

GENOSSEN!

Ich kaufe und zahle die hoechsten Preise fuer alte Briefmarken und Briefmarken-Sammlungen. Im Falle Sie etwas zu offerieren haben, kommen oder schreiben Sie zur Redaction dieser Zeitung, oder rufen Sie Harvard 3639.

above date regardless of the weather. Everything must be cleared out before 1921, as the Socialists will then take entire charge of Uncle Sams business.

Roast Crow will be served by the Old Boys Democratic Club.

Everybody, regardless of past political servitude invited. This stuff must be cleared away.

Grape J. Brine (Auctioner.)

Colonels, Rockefeller,
Morgan, Gary and Vanderbilt
Managers.
A. Mushhead Palmer, Clerk.

LONDON.—More than 1,500,000,000 English workers are now affiliated ing the decision taken at the con- with the American I.. W. W. follow- ference of the Workers' Committees and Shop Stewards of Great Britain. The delegates voted to indorse the principle of industrial unionism and to express their solidarity with the American form of that idea.

The shop steward movement grew up in the spring of 1915 in the shipyards of the Clyde. The trade unions, in an excess of patriotism, had given up more of labor's rights than the workers could endure. So the ship builders cut straight across the lines of unionism and organized every shop as a unit, with the rank and file as the dictator.

The movement spread like wildfire throughout the shipbuilding industry, the munitions factories and other great industries. It established its position by a number of successful strikes.

After the war the shop steward movement won the allegiance of the triple alliance of transport, mine and railway workers, and has continued its rapid growth.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, etc.

Required by Act of Congress of August 24, 1912.

Of The Toiler published weekly at Cleveland, Ohio, for April 1920.

State of Ohio, County of Cuyahoga:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Elmer T. Allison, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of The Toiler and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations.

1—That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher, Communist Labor Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave.

Editor, Elmer T. Ellison, 3207 Clark Ave.

Manageing editor, same.

Business manager, same.

2—That the owners are: Communist Labor Party of Ohio.

State Executive Committee, Communist Labor Party of Ohio.

Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

Letta Burke, 502 W. Liberty St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Edwin Blank, 66 Sherwood Bldg., Lima, Ohio.

J. J. Hoge, 3415 Clinton, Bellaire, Ohio.

Marguerite Prevey, Rt. 20 Box 71, East Akron, O.

M. A. Toohey, 1520 Oakwood, Toledo, Ohio.

3—That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding one percent of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: There are none.

Signed **ELMER T. ALLISON.**

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 31st day of March, 1920.

(Seal) JOHN G. GALLUP,
My Commission expires July 20, 1920.

An Enemy of Mankind.

Ignorance is the enemy of mankind. To remain ignorant is to make one's self an enemy of all men and women. Knowledge gives power and without knowledge, the working-class can never gain nor retain power. To remain ignorant is to remain a slave to other's will and opinions. The workers must learn to view the world from the standpoint of the useful producer. They must supplant their master-class teachings with the teachings of Science interpreted from the proletarian viewpoint. Workers who refuse to read the literature of the proletarian revolution that is now sweeping capitalism from the face of the earth are a loadstone about the neck of Labor.

The literature listed below will educate you in the CLASS STRUGGLE without a knowledge of which you can never assist your fellow workers to win and hold the world. ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS—but it must come thru knowledge.

READ — THINK — LEARN

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR ADDITIONAL TITLES.

No Compromise, Liebknecht, 15c, 10 or more 11c each.
Think or Surrender, Kirkpatrick, 15c, 10 or more 11c each.
Two Minute Talks, Allison, 10c, 10 or more 7½c each.
Industrial Socialism, Wm. D. Haywood 10c, 10 or more 6c each.
Wage, Labor & Capital, Karl Marx, 15c, 10 or more 11c each.
Crimes of the Bolsheviki 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Soviet Russia, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18c each.
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Bullitt Mission to Russian, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.
Communist Mainfesto (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Lawof Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25
Man or the State, Essays famous writers, $1.00.
Russia in 1919, Ransome, $1.50, 5 or more, $1.25.
Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Savage Survivals, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism for Students, 50c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Socialism and Modern Science, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Stories of the Cave People, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism and War, $1.00 each.
Ten Days That Shook The World, $2.00 each.
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Universal Kinship, Moore, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Principles of Scientific Socialism, Vail $1.25, 5 or more $1.00
The Iron Heel, J. London, 85c, 5 or more 70c each.
War of the Classes, J. London, 85c, 5 or more 70c each.
Puritanism, Maily, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Positive School of Criminology, Ferri, 60c, 5 or more 40c.
Positive Outcome of Philosophy, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00.
Origin of the Family, Engels, 60c, 5 or more 40c.
Value, Price & Profit, Marx, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Feuerbach: Roots of Socialist Philosophy, Engels, 60c, 5 or more 40c.
Ethics & Materialistic Conception of History, 60c, 5 or more 40c each.
Essays on Materialistic Conception of History, Labrioli, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Economic Determinism, Lida Parce, $1.00, 5 or more 85c each.
Economic Causes of War, Loria, $1.00, 5 or more 85c each.
Critique of Political Economy, Marx, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Ancient Society, Lewis H. Morgan, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25 each.
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By SYDNEY FLOWER, LL. D.

This is a book of sixty large magazine pages, in which is related in detail the observations of the author during a two weeks' stay at the home of the medium, James Wesley Riley, better known as „Farmer Riley,“ near Marcellus, Mich. If you have ever asked youreslf the question, ''Does man live beyond the grave?'' a perusal of this book may perhaps assist you in the formulation of an intelligent answer. The book is as interesting as a romance. In his investigations Mr. Flower rigidly adheres to a program which absolutely precludes all possibility of physical agency in the production of the manifestations. The following synopsis will convey a general idea of the manifestations occuring during this remarkable investigation of psychic phenomena:

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What Political Prisoners Think of Amnesty.

Leavenworth, Kansas Apr. 4 1920

MY DEAR ALLISON:—

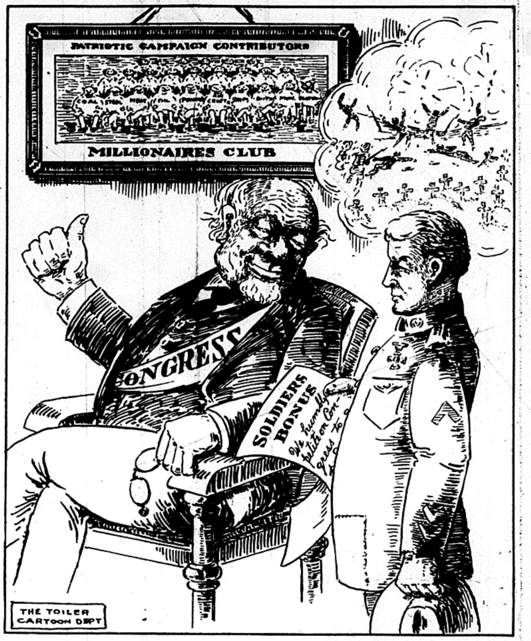
A letter from a penitentiary is no longer a thing out of the ordinary. The only strange thing about a letter from a victim of the cowardly subterfuge of commercial highwaymen, the Espionage Act, is the fact that such a law can be seen on the statutes of a nation, hitherto declared to be founded on justice, I place my verb in the preterit, (hitherto), purposely, for no person with any intelligence and moral honor, will affirm that any such thing as justice obtains now. Judging from the description given by Hitchcock on the prison at Atlanta, I am disposed to compliment myself on my location. We have no "enforced" attendance at "divine service," and this to my materialistic and rationalistic mind, is an improvement. No one attends any church service, or "religious worship" unless he elects to do so, although we have all kinds of piffel from ouija board supporters to the "Faith of Abraham."

Another very marked difference between the two prisons is found in the general treatment of men. Any man can write whatever he pleases so long as he is not obscene, profane, insane or something else naturally inspired by his surroundings. There are about four hundred men here who refuse to accept the charge that they are criminals. In spite of the pious silly stuff put out by Pontius Pilate, the Quaker ex-honorable custodian to the contrary we know that we are victims of class hate and political combination, and that our sins consist of pleading for the object which our sacred oracle declared to be the reason for plunging this nation into the murder—fest of Europe—democracy. But in spite of the bloody lessons of the criminal profiteers, we still see workingmen clinging to the nasty snout of the elephant. the ugly prehistoric relic of the **Stone Age**, or fondling the tail of the stupid mule adopted as the mascot of a party of intrigue, mob rule, ignorance and fear. There is more hope of a maddog exhibiting the disposition of love than there is of a workingman finding his rights supported in the clique of the elephant; and a rattle snake in "dog days" is a safer plaything for a baby, than is the mob headed by the mule for the defense of justice to labor.

"Samuel the prophet," running around the country talking about "rewarding our friend and punishing our enemies", is either a stupid old ignoramus, or he is the most calloused hearted hypocrite on earth, (except one, and his long illness, declared by many to be a mental break down, forbids me even hinting at the identity of the exception). Labor has not a friend outside of the ranks of conscious solidarity of material interests with it. Any exception to that test rule is a sentimentalist, and in a crisis will join the Russels, Sparges, Mitchells and Sinclairs. All this talk about "Amnesty" is wasted breath and energy. Wall Street is against it, and the administration of things political, is as completely the reflected desire of the bloody handed jingoes, as is the image reflected from a mirror the features of the man before it. Leonard Wood is the full incarnation of the system and the age, and from the gentleman with the wrecked vision to the last white washed flunkie of capitalism, the whole cold blooded bunch of tory stool pigeons secretly indorse his efforts to win the nomination for president, and every act and word contribute to the success of the scheme. If Wood is not nominated it will be because the munition vendors, the bond skavers and trade grabbers fear that there is more real manhood in this nation than at present seems to be the case, and the flunkie will be picked with the hope of putting an awakening set of Henry Dubbs back to sleep. His theory of "shooting or shipping" is the legitimate philosophy of militarism. A young, innocent youth snatched from home and sent three thousand miles to have his heart blown into jelly and his brains into froth, a bullet hole in his breast and his limbs blown off while his mother is evicted from a rented shack by some hog joweled speculator because the poor creature cannot pay ten prices for the ram shackeled hovel is not the kind of Americanism entitled to the "100%" brand, but, according to the open charges being scattered over the country just now, that is just about what we have selected to head the machine for the next few years.

The tap root of the infamous tree of which militarism is the most essential support, is the profit system, and the men who are playing a game of political deck stacking under pretended hostility to armament and national murder will support the most heartless jingo at a general election after the financial highwaymen purchase his nomination in the primaries. Borah said as much in his speech at Detroit recently. Solomas the ancient polygamist whom "reverend" gentlemen quote with approval understood the thing when he squinted up one eye and looked sweet at the ebony colored girl from Egypt whose ancestors had experienced some trouble with a general strike of the one big union led by Col. Moses, said: "The ox knoweth his master's crib". These modern political oxen will bellow all over the pasture as to which shall be the main bull, but they will return to the crib after the bellowing. Every man in prison for expressing political opinions at variance with those sanctified looking wolves who carry a bible in one

(Continued on page 2.)



"Sorry, Buddy, can't do much for you—you see, these fellows who worked so faithfully "behind the lines" naturally expect the customary rakeoff—we have to look after them—first."

The Soldier and the Bonus

— Bill Smith. —

By the time the picture in our weekly art gallery meets the eyes of our readers,—Congress may have passed a Soldiers Bonus of some sort. But nevertheless it still presents the moral that it was intended to convey.

It will be readily recalled that when the last loan was issued,—the 5th or Victory they named it,—the public was informed that at least one, and perhaps two more might be required to cover expenditures incident to the war. No one outside the workings of the invisable government at Washington could tell the reason for these,—but as all know, they were never issued.

And the methods used to float these loans! Time is clarifying things that were vague and uncertain in the confusion, the clamor and hysterical shrieking, that was every where during the war. The brutal tactics used—the black page that a decent person would infamous persecutions—will make a scarcely wish to read. The passing time is now showing that these bonds were forced upon those who could ill afford them,—while the vicious hungry bands of capitalistic avarice were to profit by them! Thievery then,—as now—wore the halo of patriotism! Many will recall the maledictions brought down upon a high Brazilian official who wrote from Chicago to his wife in South America, disputing our claims to democracy,—and saying of these loans,—"America has 30,000 millionaires alone who could well absorb these loans with no great inconvenience,—but instead they are being forced upon the laboring classes, and for a very obvious reasons." Do you wonder that a paid capitalistic press should not thouroughly damn a man for spilling the beans like this!

• • •

The market price for Liberty Bonds in the New York market to-day—for a hundred dollar bond—runs from $90.50 to $96.50—the $90.50 being the 3rd loan of 4½% and the $96.50 being the 5th of 4¾%. It would insult your intelligence to explain why these countless thousands of bonds are on the market, as you well know they are sold

(Continued on page 2.)

Communist Labor Party Battles in Court.

Okland, California.
March 31, 1920

DEAR COMRADE:—

Received the copy of the Toiler you sent me to day and was certainly glad to get the news and to know that you are still on the job.

We are not so fortunate out here. Oakland was immune from the attacks of the plutes during the war but they are making up for lost time now. They do not like the platform and program of the C. L. P. More proof that it is a good one, so they have arranged to bundle us all off to jail. Comrade Anita Whitney, of our S. E. C. was the first to be convicted. She managed to get out on bail. Comrade John Wieler was the next to be convicted in the worst kind of a kangaroo court. Comrade Whitney was convicted on one count and got from one to 14 years but comrade Wieler was convicted on four counts and got just a little joilt of from one to fourteen on each count which the law did not provide should run concurrently so it amounts to only 56 years. And while Comrade Wieler sat with two little boys in his arms and another close by the judge handed him the 56 years without a blush. it is improbable that he will be admitted to bail pending an appeal.

Comrade James Dolsen, State Sec. Treas. is now on trial and it is going into its second week. He is defending himself and I can assure you he will get away with it if any lawyer can altho he has never studied law. They are going to earn their money before they put him over. With a cool, placid smile on his face he keeps them snarling and barking continualy. He threw the court into a fever when he asked a prospective juror if he would convict him for advocating "lawful terrorism". "What's that, what's that?" growled the prosecutor and judge in the same breath. (The law provides punishment for advocating UNLAWFUL terrorism). Anyway, it took the judge 15 minutes to sustain the objections.

Seven more of us here in Oakland are slated for the jute mill. My case will be called tomorrow, the 1-st but will probably be put over till after Comrade Dolsen's case is out of the way. J. Ragsdale's case is set for the 9th of April, Edrie B. Smith's for the 15th. C. A. Tobey's for the 20; J. E. Snyder's for May 3rd with the cases of Alanson Sessions, J. G. Reed, Clarence Tobey and P. B. Cowdery waiting a definite date. At least a dozen fellow workers are already at San Quiention so by the time we arrive we ought to have a goodly committee of welcome.

Naturally as we are all supeoned in all the trials, we are spending most of our time in the courts but at that

(Continued on page 4.)

BIG BUSINESS BUYS THE CHURCH

— Skygac. —

There is something inherently wrong with any religion to which men must be driven against their better judgement and something doubly and damnably wrong with any religion which has to depend upon the millions of the millionaires for the spread of its propaganda.

This is an age of propaganda. The late war withessed the development of the art of skillful propaganda to a degree of perfection never before thought possible, much less obtained. The various "drives" (drive suggests driver and a flock or herd to be driven) of the war-time period taught the drivers many skillful little tricks in the art of handling the mob—the common herd. There were drives for the red cross, drives for the Salvation Army, drives for the Y. M. C. A., drives for the K. Cs., drives for Community service, drives for war budgets and community chests, drives for the various liberty loans. The lessons gained in this way are now being applied to the Interchurch World Movement, an organization ostensibly formed to spread the gospel of the meek and lowly Jesus, but in its advertising campaign it has repeatedly "spilled the beans" and allowed its REAL purpose to become apparent. The I. W. M. is composed of thirty of the leading sects and creeds and financed by the big business men of the civilized world.

In an advertising campaign of such magnitude that more than a half million dollars has been set aside for advertisements in the Japanese press alone, a campaign so far reaching that even the little local county papers of more than two thousand counties get a whack at the appropriation, they have allowed the truth to slip in to such an extent that the plan and purpose of the Interchurch World Movement stands revealed in all the hideous nakedness of its prostitution with mammon.

As a nation we are a people of great faith. We take our religion, our polities and our economics on faith. Somebody told us something in church or Sunday School and we believed it. We did not accept it AFTER a thorough investigation as to its truth or falsity, we simply grew up in the faith and knew it was so because somebody said it was so and that settled it. In the same manner we grew up Republicans believing in a high protective tariff prosperity and the full dinner pail, or Democrats believing in free trade, not because we knew and could EXPLAIN what it was all about but because it had been the faith of our forefathers and was "good enough for me".

We got our knowledge of values and economics from the same source in the same manner. Everybody KNEW (?) that both capital and labor was necessary in the production of commodities and that capital gave labor opportunities for employment and hence the growth of capitalist industries was the thing to be encouraged, and we believed it—as a nation. True there were some—more daring or fare-seeing than the rest of the herd, some who were not content with running in the same rut wherin their fathers ran, who tried to tell us as did Lincoln, "Labor was prior to and antedated capital and was deserving of the greater consideration"; that the worker in effect paid the capitalist employer for the privelege of being allowed to work, but these few were usually hooted down by the unthinking mob, who always hoot at any new idea just as certainly as a dog will bay the moon.

There are many "friends of labor" (besides the politicians who are seeking "the labor vote") who believe that labor should not mix in politics and above all should not "attack religion" holding religion to be a private matter and any discussion of it liable to be a means whereby the solidarity of labor might be destroyed. In my opinion these "friends of labor" have never analyzed the plan, purpose or function of religion. Those who have analyzed the plan, purpose and function of religion have found it to be the most efficient method whereby a master class may keep a slave class in subjection and contended with its slavery.

The church in the past has always preached, "obedience to those who are your masters" and upheld whatever monarch, king or ruler who happened to be in power. Today as ever in the past, the church is the bulwark standing between the "respectable" robbers of labor and the wrath of outraged toil. The advertisements of the Interchurch World Movement admit this in a manner most refreshingly. In the "Literary Digest" for March 27th 1920 there appears a two page advertisement that is packed full of damaging admissions once the matter is understood.

The advertisement shows a skyline of a modern city with a gleaming cross for a background and the one word, "Faith", followed by this statement "Not political Doctors but good old-fashioned Doctrine—that's what the world needs most." Continuing it says; "What is the cure for the world's present troubles—for unrest and covetousness and fear?

Legislation?

Industrial Compromises?

Political readjustments?

We've tried them all and they do not satisfy. We are hungry and thirsty for Faith."

I have long maintained that the Church has ever been the enemy of progress.

Surely the foregoing is proof sufficient. By implication the Interchurch World Movement is advertising that that it is all a mistake to attempt to remedy wrongs by legislation or industrial action. In effect it says, "You do not need industrial compromises. You do not need social readjustments, you do not need better wages, better living conditions, better opportunities for yourself or your wife or your children. Just do nothing and be nothing except a blind "holder of the Faith!"

"The world needs a "genuine religious revival" cabled the London financial editor of the New York Evening Post and he added, "This is the view of hard-headed business men. "What hard-headed business men are now proclaiming the churches of Jesus Christ have always proclaimed"—such is the trend of the advertisement. Then follows some testimonials from recognized leaders of the House of Mammon.

Charles M. Schwab, of Bethlehem Steel Trust fame, is quoted as saying, "It goes without saying that I am a firm believer in the fact that in a strong religious sentiment lies the firmest foundation for the preservation of our civilization." One needs only to remember that "our present civilization" is based upon the daily systematic robbery of all who toil through the medium of the legalized

BIG BUSINESS BUYS THE CHURCH.

wages-system. The robbery is legalized but it is robbery just the same. Some years ago Mr. Schwab voiced an intellectual conviction that NOTHING could stop the onward march of Socialism. Now he is expressing a hope that a "strong religious sentiment" may do the trick but I fear his intellectual conviction will be verified while his hopes are to be withered.

Next in order, Mr. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, is quoted, "The only real and permanent solution

(Continued on page 4.)

The British Labor Movement.

By Felix Morley.

ARTICLE III.

London— "The recent by-election results in England are something far more significant than a swing of the political pendulum. The smashing victories which the British labor movement is now recording at the polls really express two deep psychological changes in this country. The first of these is the growing political consciousness of the trade unions. The second is the growing realization on the part of the so-called middle classes that the Labor party alone gives positive and definite promise of a better England. Workers, of hand and brain alike are rallying to their party—the Labor party—in tens of thousands. In ever-increasing numbers they are expressing through the ballot their demand for national and international justice."

The above is part of the answer given by Edgerton P. Wake, national agent of the Labor party when asked him to account for the recent remarkable triuphs of the political labor movement in Great Britain. Wake's office and the mechanics of his duties are closely akin to those of the Republican or Democrat national party chairmen in the United States. He is the general entrusted with all the major organization work of the British Labor party and his efforts are said to be largely responsible for the singularly efficient political machine which labor has built up since the last general election. Yet to make a personal comparison between Wake and, say, Will H. Hays, would be much like comparing Abraham with Uncle Joe Cannon. Like a majority of the British labor leaders the vision of their national agent is focussed on the horizon of humanity and not of politics.

Much of the present landslide to the Labor party is due to the clearent platform of policy on which every election campaign is fought. This program, generally known as "Labor and the New Social order," was affirmed by the national executive committee of the party when Labor withdrew from the coalition government at the end of the war and is a striking contrast to the tissue of compromises on which the unnatural Coalition party and the Independent Liberals both take stands. The Labor platform provides in brief:

For a peace of reconciliation, leading to a world without military alliances, economic barriers, or secret diplomacy; for immediate peace with soviet Russia; for a repudiation of imperiailsm based on force, and for complete self-control in Ireland, India, Egypt, and other subject peoples under the British empire; for nationalization of the land and socialization with democratic control of all vital public services, such as mining, railroads, shipping, canals, electric power supply, and milk distribution; for the conscription of wealth to pay war debts, and for limitation of armaments; for the democratization of education; for the complete abolition of military conscription, whether or not veiled as "universal military training;" for the immediate repeal of all legislation restricting civil or industrial liberty, including amnesty for all political prisoners; for putting in hand urgently needed public works as a safeguard against unemployment, including the building of "at least a million new houses" at the state's expense, these to be let to the workers in congested districts at moderate rents; and for local potion in the liquor traffic.

This platform has a direct appeal to the war-awakened social consciousness of England and is in large part responsible for the present successes of the Labor party. It is not as completely Socialistic as some desire, but it certainly provides a handful of stout coffin nails for capitalism. It compares with the vague formulae of conservatives and liberals as day compares with night, and it has the outhstanding virtue of being a program indorsed ungrudgingly by every element in the labor movement without the internal splits which are the most potent weapon in the armory of the common foe.

A good party program combined with an aroused social conscience are fundamnetals, but by themselves these will never win a majority in parliamentary government. There are other important factors which must be understood to get at the reasons for labor's rapid rise toward political supremacy. One of these was touched upon by Wake in speaking of "the growing political consciousness of the trade unions."

Ten years ago the British Miners' federation, which at the last general election placed 25 of its men in parliament, had been so bound up with the Liberal party that its members would scarcely look at a Labor candidate. British labor bore the same relation to the Liberal party a few years ago that many A. F. of L. officers would now have American labor bear to the Republican party. Today solidarity of the workers behind the workers' party has become a reality in England. And for the reason that the majority of English trade unionists are also Socialists some amazement and more amusement is derived on this side from contemplating the bitter hostility toward Socialism exhibited by such eminent trade unionists as Samuel Gompers.

Another development which has contributed greatly to the success of the political labor movement is the Labor party reorganization effected early in June, 1918. By this act the party ceased to be merely a federation for political purpose of trade union and Socialist bodies. The basis of membership was broadened so as to include every man or woman willing to accept the party program and pay a subscription of 25 cents a year. The effect has been to rally to the party standard thousands of teachers, doctors, clergymen, lawyors, journalists, managerial employes, clerks and secretarial workers; and literally tens of thousands of women in all walks of life. "It is the class of mind and not the class of life with which we are concerned," as the national agent puts it. The result of this infusion of "intellectuals" has been to develop a corporate sense as a national party and bring a large number of trained executive minds to the service of the labor movement. The absence of any prejudice against these "middle class" members can best be shown by the fact that the member of the present executive committee of the Labor party elected by the greatest number of votes is Sidney Webb, the famous economist. Nor, on the other hand, does the most ardent proletarian fear that the British labor movement will ever be dominated by what must always be a relatively small broup of supporters of the intellectual type.

A most democratic system of decentralization is employed by the Labor party in selecting its candiadtes for parliament. Local labor parties have now been formed in nearly every constituency. The various organizations affiliated with the local party, whether trade unions, Socialist bodies, or independent members as described above, nominated their own candidates. Choice of the man or woman who shall contest the district for labor is made by a democratically chosen local selection conference. Ratification of this choice by the executive committee of the National Labor party (known as the national executive) is then required, although this ratification is almost always a mere formality. It should be held in mind that under the English system of government a parliamentary candidate need not be a resident of the district for which he stands.

At first glance the election campaign also appears largely a local affair, but in reality a great deal of responsibility is centered on national head-quarters. Eevery by-election in England now is a fiercely contested battle and generally a three-cornered battle, as the Liberal party has virtually severed its allegiance to the utterly discredited coalition government of Lloyd George and is running many independent candidates. With the coalition and the liberals sending their most able speakers to the field of each successive election, and the press of the entire nation taking an active part in every campaign and generally bitterly hostile to labor, it is evident that the national executive is called upon for continuous good generalship in order to gain seats for his party.

A large part of this responsibility devolves on the national agent, who sends his organizers to the constituency the moment an election is declared, arranges the schedule of campaign speakers, and has also a large share in determining what planks of the general party platform, i. e., Russia, nationalization of industry, conscription of wealth, etc., shall be stressed in the campaign. It is a post calling for wide knowledge and the keenest political instinct.

There is an old saying that "nothing succeeds like success." The truth of this is now being proved by the British Labor party.

What Political Prisoners Think of Amnesty.

(Continued from page 2.)

hand and an automatic in the other, and who hide the crimes of starving babies by blockades, wives and daughters driven to suicide, prostitution or insanity by being reduced to the depths of poverty and the wilful murdering of men for profit, under a washing of lamb's blood", are living example of the kind of generosity fostered by capitalism. That any wage laborer or little craftsman or farmer, can be deceived year after year to the point of supporting the huge juggernaut is one of the marvels of human psycholgy Such a non-descript is only capable of seeing beauty on the mangy stern of an elephant or wisdom in the head of a brainless ass. The frenzy of war, carried on the insane lips of such bipeds, can be counted upon to justify every crime and act of mob cowardice on earth when the grafters want an orgie of blood in order to rob and pillage the world. The poor tools will beat up, rob, burn out, slander, tar and feather, jail and murder their neighbors and see helpless wives and children beg their bread from the hands of charity, and boast of their cowardly deeds as patriotism and one hundred percent loyalty.

I know personally that I am writing the truth, for I am a victim of such infamous things. Because I left the ministry and undertook to help establish justice among men in Oklahoma, I am here in prison, while my wife and four helpless children, the oldest one only seven, and the baby only two years old are gracefully suffering all the privations of outcasts at Guthrie, Oklahoma. My wife is an English woman. I married her in London. She lost two brothers in the war. I am an American, and descendent of Elias Hicks founder of the Hicksite Quakers. But what is nationality? What is citizenship? While I wore the robe of minister and apologized for the infamies of robbers, and taught: "Servants be obedient to your masters", I was popular, I went to India and other places where thieves live off the fruits of toil, but when I joined the Socialists and became active in the efforts to humaizo the d----n system and met a few reverend liars in debate and was placed on the ticket for the Senate, I dug a chasm as wide and deep between myself and the tool sof mammon as that indicated in the fable of Lazarus and the gentleman in "fine linen." The war gave the excuse for evening up personal and political grudges. I was one of a number of men who were pronounced "dangerous", and after engaging in a public debate with a Judge of an Oklahoma district on "Why the government should conscript wealth as fully as blood to fight the Kaiser", and gained the decision, I was arrested, dragged two hundred miles, placed under a $10.000 bond, (which I filled), a jury was "chosen" and a bunch of swearers, swore some great long swears about me not believing in murder, and a small sized worshipper of the "law" sentenced me to Leavenworth with a meal ticket stamped "Twenty Years", and then to mock at my poverty assessed a fine of $10.000. Of course the Constitution of the United States (1st Amendment) guarantees free speech and peacible assemblage. The same document (VIIIth Amendment), guarantees that no "execessive bail" shall be demanded, and that no "unusual" "cruel" nor excessive punishments shall be imposed, and these Judges take an oath which pledges them to uphold and enforce the Constitution in every particular, but they have no more compunction of conscience against perjury than has a thieving tom cat against pilfering a cupboard.

The kind of democracy secured to the world by the war can be seen in the fact that the British dominion has been extended to include more added territory than is contained in the United States including Alaska. The Union Jack, instead of being made the flag of democracy and brotherhood, has been turned into a bloody napkin in the wake of bomb planes and forty two centimeters; while Egypt, Presia, India, Tibet, the Soudan and East Africa, are in revolt against the usurpation of the grafters, and Ireland is putting the shams of British pretense in the spot light of the world.

The Supreme Kangaroos, inthe Steel Trust and stock dividends decisions, have fully vindicated every charge put against that legal jugernaut by liberals and radicals that it is the "bulwark of capitalism". The persecutions launched against the penniless workingmen in this country by the little-souled pretender at Washington breathes the very spirit of the masters who own him. Anti-strike laws, injunctions, paid spies and thugs, fake reports of bomb plots, possibly made to his orders, lies about campaigns against the profiteers, the shameful surrender to the packers, the sixty different scandals growing out of the war activities, the hypocritical pretense regarding free speech, the brutalizing of the soldiers in ten thousand ways, the mobbing of honest critics, the private war and the infamous blockade against Russia, the lying about the European attitude on the League, the deporting of men without any specific charges being proved, the colossal scheme of brutality and black mail launched against Communists, Communists Labor, the A. F. of L., the Non-Partisan League the Committee of Forty Eight, the Farmer's Unions, the Socialists, the Railwaymen all of whom are branded as outlaws, anarchists, traitors, seditionists, Bolsheviki and every other vile libel invented by hate, cowardice and violence; the unseating of duly elected representatives of the people for no other reason that they are members of a political party now controlling one half the territory of the world, the mockery at the appeals of helpless wives and babies whose fathers have been imprisoned or deported for demanding simple justice—all these things and more are being observed by men as never before. Russia at last learned over 5,000,000 graves of exploited workers, what character of magnanimity capitalism developes in men. Others are learning: we will learn.

Recently ten of us decided to test out the feelings of men who came here on other charges than war activities. We agreed to approach the men privately, knowing that nearly all men will conceal their real feelings and convictions when talking publicly or writing to officials and others, hoping to gain advantages by such concealment. The result of our careful investigation astonished us. Out of 314 soldiers approached, seven of whom were radicals when they came here, 288 have become positively radical, and can give intelligent reasons for the change. Out of 470 civil prisoners, nine of whom were radicals when coming here, 435 of the number have become radical since coming. Ordinarily six months in prison turns the most obdurate Dubb, and a year confirms him. They judiciously keep these facts from authorities, but the results are certain. Amnesty would be very unscientific from the view point of the man who knows the remedy for capitalism. Letters from every nook and corner of the nation, and from many countries daily come to the prison. We gain a thousand times more real information on the situation in detail from these letters than from the press. Even radical papers only tell about a tenth of the story. We all want out. Our loved ones need us. But scientific facts have no sentiment. Prisons are doing more to open the eyes of the public to the hellish designs of the militarists and plunderers than a million agitators could possibly do. Use the plea for amnesty as propaganda,

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The Soldier and the Bonus

(Continued from page 1.)

by the poor and are bought by the rich.

You recall well the chief cry in all these loans—"our boys over there! Nothing too good for our boys who cheerfully left heart broken mothers behind to make the world safe for democracy! Help the boys!" And while those boys were suffering—hunger,—disease and death,—the capitalistic buzzards at home fought and clawed and tore,—for profits!—for profits!—and gorged their carrion craws with that money contributed for the boys! And all the while George Creel with his six million dollar outfit of liars,—controlling every atom of news coming to America—was telling us of the exquisite comforts of the boys—their luxurious bills of fare,—and at the same time attempting to mould Americas' self appointed representative into a colossal and overshadowing figure that would stand first in universal history for ages to come!

• • •

But the boys are home now—and they are telling things. One told just yesterday of the forty tons of candy sent by the school children of the East to soldiers in his sector. He and his comrades had never received an ounce of it! What little candy they got was bought at an extravagant rate,—an ordinary chocolate drop costing twenty cents! This is but a trifle of course,—but it is one of those straws that showed how the wind blew. And at home here! We cannot even burden this article with mere mention of the —the swindles of all sorts—perpetrated by these financial thugs—who as they merciless graft—the wholesale robbery robbed and plundered,—were always skricking—"Potriotism! Patriotism! Patriotism!"

Many have wondered at the curious definition given by the great English lexicographer, Dr. Samuel Johnson, of the word "patriotism." He defines it as "The last refuge of a scoundrel". Who doubts the correctness of his his definition now?

Where has the thirty billions of the the returned osldier what share was estimated cost of this war gone? Ask his? Then look at the incomes in the internal revenue department—if you could—and at the "profits"—even from the maker of pants buttons—and tin spoons to the Beef lords and the Steel kings and ask what share was theirs? The share the boys got was the share the poor pagan, thirsting for the beauties of civilization, gets from the missionary fund. Of this—an English officer in India said,—"At a modest computation it requires at least one pound—near five dollars—to get six pence to a native."

• • •

As to the bonus:—Anyone who cares to compare the treatment of the returned soldiers, with what Australia, New England and Canada, have done for their boys,—must admit, that at least, ours have been very shabbily treated. All sorts of relief measures have been introduced, but like congressional "investigations" they have amounted to nothing, except of course pyrotechic barrages of hot air. But like Banquas' ghost this bonus question "would not down". Hence but very recently Congress came out flat footed and declared that it was impossible to grant this bonus—it would take a billion and half dollars at least to do so—it would disturb business conditions—it would depriciate outstanding bonds it would burden the people etc. etc. But a horrible hair raising jolt awaited these dignified conservators of the public welfare. It was but a few days after Congress had decided to allow the boys to go barefooted this summer,—untill cute little billet-doux came drifting from the West.

Nervous senators and perturbed representatives,—read some of these notes on the floor of Congress—they were all of the same import—one from a governor—saying in substance!

"Since Congress has definately rejected the soldiers bonus, the returned service men of the West are joining the I. W. W. by thousands."

What!!! Hells fire and Blue Blazes!!!

The hot air ballons were corked and the Ways and Means Committee got busy,—and as said—by the time you see this most probably a bill will have been reported out by this Committee. Then the usual political jugglery and sleight of hand work by the two great Bunco gangs for political effect in the coming election.

But oh! my fellow workers there is a mournful and tragic side to this! What will the poor buzzards, and vampires of capitalism do,—seeing that they are deprived of their lawful prey, and their "constitutional" graft and pillage? And then this bonus will not rest on a bond issue,—it will be paid, it seems,—from an increased "luxury tax." Now watch the pipe smokers and the kid ice cream cone eaters get it in the neck again! Could we draw on the thirty "thousand millionaires" mentioned by the Braziilan official to help us out? We wot not.

• • •

Let us now ask a hypothetical question:—Do you think that if this bonus measure had been swung,—say as the 6th Loan, and it were so fixed that the air craft gang—the Hog Island gang—and in fact all the predatory gangs—would get their avaricious claws on the greater bulk of it—do you not think such a measure would have been passed long ago? So do we.

The Black Sheep.

Chapt. XXVI.

Westward Bound.

Before he left Anderson saw to it that the boy had bed and board for the night, and also that he had a few dollars in his pocket, but try as he would he could not get the youth to leave town unless Collins and Rudolph accompanied him. And as Anderson had his mind firmly set on this point, he decided that it were best to have the others turned loose also, although he did not admit this to the boy.

It was rather late before he left the pool hall and Jack went to his room and waited for the hours to slip by. At last the pool hall was closed and there was not a soul to be seen upon the streets when he cautiously made his way to the rear of the jail building. Here with the assistance of a ladder which he had found in the ally he climbed up to the little barred window that overlooked his companion's cells and lost no time in knocking out the glass, after which he informed his friends that was out and was unable to get back in, but that he would stay on the job until he was either put back in or had them out.

This amused his friends greatly, altho they cursed him soundly for breaking that window and letting the cold wind directly in upon them. There was no more sleep for them that night. The place became too cold. So the two persons spent the night in arguments as to whether conduct such as Jack's was really essential to class consciousness. Collins maintained that it was. He was a stickler for loyalty and would ruthlessly exclude from any organization to which he belonged any one who was in the slightest degree disloyal. It made no difference to him whether the disloyalty was due to weakness or to malice, or to ignorance. To his mind organizations should be built up thru the grouping together of the common minded, and the ruthless exclusion, and expulsion of those who were to any degree contrary minded. It was his idea that members of an organization be it political or industrial ought to have the utmost regard for each others feelings and think on all subjects exactly like Collins. Jack had pointed out this mental characteristic more than once during the days he was in jail, but Collins could never see it. Now it was Rudolph who pointed it out again by saying, "you like the kid because he does what pleases you. He is loyal to you. It is not that you admire his democracy. You do not know what the word means. You are a blonde beast that wants to associate with its kind, and seeks to trample all others under foot. You forget that the problem we have set ourselves is one which concerns the toling masses, white and black, jew and gentile. It is a problem of industrial evolution. You make it one of personal morality. This might be a good world if you were boss of it but you aint goin' to be boss." Then Rudolph sailed into a long argument in proof of his contention that Jack had acted from pure idealism and not thru a sense of labor's solidarity.

But argue as they would they could only agree to one thing that the kid had in him the right stuff to make a good working class fighter, if his philosophical bend of mind did not destroy his usefulness.

Early the next morning Anderson called up Duffy and Smallhead and persuaded them to let the other two out so as to get the whole lot out of town on the eleven forty train. Thus it was that about nine A. M. the jailor brought the other two men their bundles remarking that they might need additional cover these cold nights. He then left incidentally forgetting to lock their cells as well as the outer door. They were not slow to take the hint and in less than fifteen minutes after he had left they passed the pool hall where Jack joined them. The boy wanted a little time to call on Anderson and thank him for his kindness as he put it. The fact of the matter was he was trying to learn Olive's name and more about her. But Collins would give no reprieve. "Oh damn the Bourgeois! Let's get out of this hole before something else happens. Remember you busted that can window."

So it was that the trio made their way down to the railroad track where they waited for the first west bound freight. That evening they landed in Minot and four days later after a cold and dismal ride across the Montana plains and over the snow capped Rockies Jack for the first time in his life entered the Priest River forest. Here they were thrown off the train by an irate brakeman and Jack and his companions enjoyed a walk of about twenty miles to the next station.

It was a wonderful trip along the turbulent waters of the Priest River, among mountains which towered skyward covered with mantles of evergreens. Toward nightfall they boarded another train and in the morning found themselves in the city of Spokane.

It was the boy's first experience in so large a town. Everything was new to him. He had it all to learn. Incidentally he was a source of much amusement to his companions. He offered to pay his fare in the hotel elevator and when he asked the street car conductor how much he would charge to haul him to the park his companions nearly collapsed. But their amusement was short lived. The boy soon shed his verdure and became familiar with city ways.

During the time they were in town Collins made it his business to hold forth from a soap box down on Steven's street and it was here that class. He learned the meaning of such different organizations of the working the boy became familiarized with the terms as 'Starvation Army, Mission Stiffs, Stew Bums,' and a variety of other descriptive epithets designating the different strata of the migratory worker and non-worker.

During the day, he followed Collins to the library and busied himself with a variety of books. The library was his favorite haunt. But as staying in the city costs money he told his friends that he was going to look for a job. A task which at that time of the year was not easy and no one knew this better than Collins. He frankly told the boy that it were better for him to live cheaply and spend the winter in study than to try at this time to find employment. He told Jack that in a few days they would go out to a place on Couer D'Alane Lake and there "hole up" for six weeks or two months until spring work opened up in the Palouse, or until the weather got so that a man might get a job railroad grading and work with some comfort. "You'll never get rich working kid, and my advice is use all the time you can get to improve yourself and work when the pay is good and the weather is with you. The only way you can get any joy out of life is by using your head in the management of your affairs."

Argue as he would Collins had no effect upon the boy's determination to get sufficient money with which to achieve a college education. He wanted to rank among the best in the world and by the best he meant the most learned. It is true that at the cabin on the shores of Lake Couer d'Alane, among the virgin pine woods he applied himself assiduously to a systematic study of Marxian Economics while Collins encouraged him in the reading of working class history. Both Bollins and Rudolph were trying to do what the whole world is trying to do, what religion for ages has tried to do, make a man what by hature he is not. Mentally Jack could grasp the idea of their socialist faith. He saw the ephemeral justice of it. He sometimes became even enthusiastic over its possibilities. But it never became a spiritual fact with him. He learned socialism; he did not become socialized. His mind was that of a naturalist rather than that of a sociologist. He seemed to have but one idea and that was to get a job and save money with which to go to school where he might sharpen his tools of reseach.

While at the cabin he daily scanned the advertisements in the news papers and tried to persuade his companions to go with him in search of a job. But these old veterans would not budge. They had "holed up" for the winter. And the winter was their playtime. The time they spent in companionship of books. The hours in which they communed with the mind of civilization. They had no ambition to cope with capitalism during the season of bad weather.

After about three weeks of the cabin Jack became thoroughly restless and they all agreed to go back to Spokane for a few days. When once more in the city the boy made up his mind that happen what might he was going to get a job. He walked down Railroad Avenue and scanned the boards of the employment offices for suitable work. He noticed an advertisement for railroad help on the Chicago Milwaukee and St. Paul and he went in to inquire about it. He bought the job for two dollars, and then discovered that it was located in Montana, as well as that it would take nine dollars to get there. But he had the money and was bound to work. So after giving Collins and Rudolph an opportunity to tell him what they thought of him, he was on his way. Two days later he arrived at the place designated, with four or five other men sent out by the same employment office and was put to work. He noticed that when he came to this camp several men were leaving, but he was bent on making money and resolved to let nothing disturb him. He worked four days during which bad food gave him indigestion, and quarters so filtry that his clothes became alive with vermin. The foreman on the job was a big burly, illiterate sort of a fellow, who was not at all choice in the language he used toward the men. At the end of the first day there was a group of new workers came into camp, and a corresponding number were discharged; it seemed to be a daily routine. Collins had explained this to him, but in spite of his experience at Anamoose he was inclined to look upon it more as theory than fact.

The game was to collect a free from the man for employment to employ him a couple of days, then to discharge him, and collect fees again off of new man who came to take his job. It was just four days when Jack got his "walking papers." When they had charged him for board, room and hospital fees, he owed the company thirty nine cents, which they generously donated He was now really broke and three hundred miles away from his friends, with the snow clad Rockies between him and them. He decided to go back on foot or frieght and it was during this trip that experience proved to be the best teacher.

It was fortunate for him that he was in splendid physical condition, and that for the first two days of his journey back to Spokane, the weather was unusually mild. He walked the first day up the railroad track, never stopping to eat and kept on walking all the next night and the next day. Two days and a night during which he took nothing but water and covered the distance of one hundred and ten miles. It was during the afternoon of the second day that he began to feel exhausted and eager for rest. Toward evening he stumbled into the waiting room of a little telegraph station on the road. He had no sooner sat down upon the seat, then he was fast asleep, and did not awaken until the station agent two hours later shook him by the collar and told him to get out as it was time to lock up. Jack told the man what had happened to him and the agent informed him that he heard that story every day. That the working class would have to learn not to be roped in by employment grafters, so saying he pushed the boy out of the door and locked it.

To his perfect dismay he found that his limbs were so sore that he could hardly walk. Still he trudged on until the night fell like a cloak of blackness over the mountain region and with it came a biting cold that seemed to grip his vitals. From time to time he caught himself telling the girl at Anamoose his troubles, in fact he held imaginary conversation with her as he

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

The Leaven is Working

The hopes of those who expect the lion and the lamb to lie down peacefully together are bound to be withered. Even in America—the despair of some revolutionists who proclaim the impossibility of American workers ever awakening to the fact of their exploitation, the red menace—discontent, hunger, impossible living conditions is stalking forth upon his rounds.

The switchmen's "unauthorized", "illegal" and "headless revolution" brings one up with a quick jerk of realization of the fact that all the elements of real working class uprisings are with us and liable to break out at any moment. And calling the insurgents names as the capitalist press is doing will not alter the conditions that underlie this latest revolt, nor will they have a soothing effect upon the minds of the strikers.

Five years of world-wide destruction of life, property, wealth of all descriptions has rendered the capitalist machine of government and production incapable of working to the satisfaction of the world's workers. It is breaking down, incapable of feeding, housing and clothing the inhabitants. All the world's in turmoil, nowhere is there a sign of coming peace and a basis upon which human life may continue its existence—nowhere but in Socialist Russia, which is solving the problems of production by first eliminating the exploiters of the masses.

The switchmen's strike contains in it all the elemental characteristics of a revolution. At the bottom lie insufficient incomes to enable the workers to live. They have tried all "legal" methods to increase their wages. Failure has resulted. The machinery which they have heretofore functioned thru—the craft unions, now prove utterly incapable of securing to the members a livelihood. The weapon which has heretofore been used in a redress of grieveiences utterly fails in the hour of crisis. The wise ones among the rank and file seeing its uselessness discard it. And here developes another characteristic of revolutions—the rank and file seize authority. Along with the former weapon is also discarded the conservative officials of the union. Power and authority are seized by the rank and file. They take their destiny into their own hands. All authority save their own is cast away. The stage is now reached where the fight is on between the revolutionists and consevatives for power.

A further development along lines followed by revolutions is apparent. The union officials, feeling their power slipping from them, go over to their historic enemy—in this case call upon their exploiters and the capitalist State for assistance in putting down the revolt. The union heads deserve the brand of Cain for this traitorous act to Labor. Nothing could illumine more brightly than this infamous act the supliant and renegade character of old line, conservatie trade unionism. For years the A. F. of L. brand of unionism has been disintegrating. The loss of the steel and coal strikes have filled the workers with discontent and have convinced them of the futility of craft unionism. More than one rebellion has broken out against the union officials who are straining every nerve to keep the rank and file in leash. The rank and file are demanding a new deal and a clean deck.

To what extend the switchmen's strike will spread cannot be determined at this time. It has already paralyzed industry in many cities and adherents are walking out in increasing numbers. Meanwhile, the "regular" officials are crying frantically for "loyalty" on the part of the membership and seeking an alliance with the capitalist State and the railroad owners to assist them in breaking this revolt of the masses against an impossible economic condition and an outgrown form of labor unionism.

Whatever be the results from a material standpoint, it will have a tremenduous educational effect upon labor. America seems on the verge of that condition which begins with spasmodic bubblings of discontent and ends—in victory of the workers.

In Orderly Sequence

We are afforded a glance at a late development of the class struggle in the local landscape. Behold a picked group of Cleveland city police at target practice with machine guns! A new thing indeed. Rows of railroad ties stood on end, trees, answer for targets. A veteran of the World Massacre is in charge. The suburban atmosphere is charged with all the smells and noise of battle tho no blood flows—as yet.

Such a phenomena raises numerous questions in the mind of the curious. Indeed, since the war to end war was fought and won with such overwhelming success and suffering humanity cries for peace and a beating of swords into plowshares—it IS a curious thing to see a police squad training in the use of the latest murder devises. Are 18 inch clubs and automatics insufficient to keep order in a Christian nation which has just concluded a victorious war for Democracy and Righteousness?

The answer is furnished by the police themselves. After one such demonstration of the arts of war, a question from a spectator as to "What's the grand idea," the answer was given, "We expect a lot of trouble on May Day!"

Such an act of self delusion can be precipated by only one thing—fear of a just retribution. Machine guns follow in logical sequence the course that has been followed by the capitalist dictatorship in its treatment of Cleveland workers. Time was when worker-citizens of Cleveland legally elected two councilmen and a member of the school board to represent them in the governing of the city. Soon after, they were useated at the behest of the profiteers and political poltroons who infest the city hall and the Chamber of Commerce.

Having ruled out of office the representatives of the workers, steps were immediately taken to see that no more were allowed to enter the sacred precints of the governing body of the bourgeoise State. Having nullified the workers' franchise it was arranged to disfranchise them completely. The political party of the workers was set upon by as conscienceless a crew of pirates as ever cut a throat or throttled justice. After eighteen months of unremitting terrorism, raids, searches, unlawful seizures, persecutions, arrests, spying, insults, destruction of thousands of dollars worth of property, we find the task about complete. The workers of Cleveland ARE disfranchised insofar as useing their ballot in the interest of their own class. They can neither write, speak nor vote as free men, but must comport themselves at all times and places in conformity with the will of the capitalist class—expressed by rules laid down by the police and the Loyal American League, who are the agents of the bourgeoise.

Reaching the present stage, what is the next step which must logically be taken if the workers are to be kept in submission? Since force has proved to be the magic wand to rander subject the slaves of capital, why not accentuate its use and influence? And, since discontent is even more rife today, than previously among the slaves—the machine gun suggests itself.

...'Tis true, we anticipate to immediate use of it. Considering present circumstances we can't imagine any use for machine guns, nor even a "billy" on May Day. The daily press informs us that May 1st will be celebrated as American Day. Being such, we presume that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and the various Amendments will be read and considered deeply and prayerfully by every straight thinking dweller of Cleveland. We recommend that they do so. Especially do we recommend that each inhabitant "learn by heart" the first Amendment and take it as a rule of his political and civil life.

Should these suggestions be followed in the administration of city affairs and ALL its inhabitants adhere strictly thereto, we are positive that the bitter mouths of machine guns would be closed with rust. That would mean the peaceful passing of the capitalist dictatorship—but history teaches that no ruling class ever passes from power except thru a sea of blood of its own making.

Proletarian Science History

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

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OUTLINE CHART FOR AGE OF LOWER SAVAGERY.
Economic Interpretation.

Beginning	Unknown except through Geological, Archeological and Biogenetic research.
Tools and Weapons ...	Sticks and stones.
Transportation	None, except natural locomotion.
Subsistence	Fruits, nuts, raw fish and shell-fish, edible roots, bark, worms, grasshoppers, locusts and other insects.
Shelter	Natural shelter only, such as trees, ledges, caves, etc.
Clothing	None.
Environment	Tropical and Semi-Tropical climate. Tree life. Changes caused by geologic phenomena. Natural environment only.
Organization	No conscious organization. No family life. Gregarious herdes.
Arts and Institutions.	Sun and ghost dances. Germs of nature worship.
Duration	An immense period of time, variously estimated. Probably millions of years.

CHAPTER FOUR.
A Scientific Interpretation of Historical Epochs.
SAVAGERY.

The epoch of Savagery is divided into three ages, Lower, Middle and Upper.

Lower age: This dates from unknown antiquity.

The first men had no history—except as animals have history, and left no history except such as may be read from the record of the rocks, wherein we find the bones of early man and the animals he had eaten or by whom he had been eaten. Prior to the advent of modern science, but little could be known of this remote age. Today, thanks to the development of the sciences of biology, geology and archaeology, the story of the past is slowly but successfully being retraced.*)

Haeckel**) says that "The ontogeny of the individual recapitulates the phylogeny of the race."

The term ontogeny means the development of the individual from inception to death. Phylogeny means the development of the race from protozoa to man.

The Law of Biogenesis teaches us that in its development from the parental cell to maturity, each individual passes trough all the stages through which its race has passed in its evolution from the primordial protozoa to the present time.

A typical illustration of this law is to be found in the destructiveness of children. A stick in the hands of a small child, instantly becomes a club wielded for destructive purposes, as many a household pet can testify. A stone to a small boy is merely an excelent something to throw regardless whether the object aimed at is a window, a bird, a dog, a cat or a playmate. The reason for these activities is to be found in the fact that sticks and stones were man's first tools.*

In the lower age of savagery the chief desires of man were to satisfy hunger, keep warm, and out-wit the other animals.

A study of the skulls of men of this age shows that in thought and action they were brute-like.**)

The tools of lower savagery were sticks and stones; the shelter, trees and caves, (natural shelter only as man had not yet learned to build). No clothing was worn. Mankind at this period was just a gregarious horde of human animals living on worms, locusts,***) grasshoppers, fish, shellfish, fruits, nuts and succulent roots.

Man in the age of lower savagery, had few words, little communication of ideas, and these mostly by sounds, signs and gestures. He was almost entirely at the mercy of the hostile forces of nature.

Savagery may be defined as that period of human history dating from the time man first assumed an upright posture to the time of the development of the arts of agriculture and pottery-making. It marked the beginning of man's conscious mastery of the hostile forces of his environment.

Man's first great achievement was the development of his ability to stand erect, which gave him the free use of his front feet to use tools and carry burdens. It is maintained by some scientists*) that the ability to stand erect and to use tools brought him in more intimate contact with a variety of objects, thus necessitating the coining of words to distinguish one from another, hence the development of articulate speech is sychronous with the development of tools.

The elemental forms of language may be traced to the animal world. The warning cry of the cock upon sight of a hawk may be distinguished by any one from the call he uses to notify his harem of the discovery of another fat worm. The purr of a cat is readily distinguished from its nocturnal lovesong.

The language of animasl may be said to be vocalized expression of mental reactions to definite facts in its environment that may affect the individual for weal or woe. Human language differs from the language of other animals in this; it has evolved definite sounds for definite things, while animal language has certain sounds for various emotions. A dog howls, whines or barks according to his mood.

Human language began in the lower age of savagery, evolving from sign and gesture language, and marks the second great achievement of man. Without language as a vehicle of expression no high order of thought is possible. No high order of language is possible without a high order of social development. The vocabularly of all savage tribes is very limited.

Thought is a mental reaction to experience. Man can not articulate that which he has not experienced, hence it follows that the greater the social experience the more ample the individual vocabulary. The vocabulary of this early age was limited for the reason that the racial experience was limited.

Man in lower savagery had no conscious social organization. During this age the faint beginning of a primitive marriage system developed out of promiscuity. Rudimentary forms of religion also developed in the form of Sun dances and kindred nerve-reactions.

Primitive religions rose from the nerve-reaction which primitiv man experienced at the coming of the dawn. To tree-dwelling man the night was a time of terror. Large poisonous reptiles glided noiselessly trhough th trees and monstrous carnivora prowled along the ground. To escape being crushed by the one often meant being crunched by the other enemy. It was thus that the night was a time of continuous nerve tension which was suddenly released at the coming of the light, manifesting itself by shouting and dancing, for now the enemies were visible and could be the more easily eluded. Modern religions still describe evil as darkness and good as light.

This age of human history closes with the discovery of the utility of fire.

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*) "The Men of the Old Stone Age" by Henry Fairfield Osborne. See also. The Stone Age in North America, by Warren K. Moorehead. (2 vol. 1910).

**) "Riddle of the Universe."

*) The reader is referred to an excellen work on the Biogenetic Law by Professor J. Howard Moore, entitled, "The Law of Biogenesis."

**) Huxley's "Man's Place in Nature."

***) "His meat was locusts and wild honey."—Bible.

***Professor Garner in "Researches on African Apes."

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER FOUR.

1. What is meant by the term savagery?
2. What is meant by the lower age of savagery?
3. Name the duration of lower age of savagery.
4. What sciences teach us of the history of early man?
5. What is meant by the terms, archeology, geology, biology? antogeny? philogeny?
6. Who was Haeckel?
7. What is the Law of Bibgenesis?
8. Show by illustration, other than the text, your concept of the biogenetic law.
9. What were man's first tools?
10. What was the chief desires of primitive man?
11. Name the foods of primitive man.
12. What were the primitive styles in clothes?
13. How did primitive man communicate his ideas?
14. What was man's first achievement? Second?
15. What is thought?
16. What influence upon the expression of thought may be traced to the use of tools?
17. Have animals any form of language?
18. Give illustrations, other than the text, of animal language.
19. What causes language to grow?
20. Explain the social organization of lower savagery.

(Continued next week)

The Lesson of Albany

Walter B. Dillon.

There is much food for thought for all Communists in not only the result of the investigation that took place at Albany, N. Y., but the actual testimony and statements made by the defendant Socialists. In fact, we as Communist workers are far more interested in the attitude adopted by the defense at Albany than we need be in the result of the whole farce.

At this point, however, in view of the fact that this is a presidential year, we must look the matter fairly in the face from a purely political angle also. We are vitally interested in the outcome of this legislative tangle, first, as showing the limits to which Capital is prepared to go to dominate the state, and second, as demonstrating conclusively the duplicity, depravity and utter worthlessness of such "leaders" of Socialism as Hillquit, Stedman, et al.

There are very few of us, perhaps, who needed the developments at Albany to prove the Judas Iscariot nature of the Socialist Party to the workers as the party is represented by such men as Hillquit, Stedman, Waldman and many others of their ilk. But to thousands of good and loyal Socialists who chose to remain with the old party rather than split away, such a lesson was absolutely essential to demonstrate the close affinity of such socalled Socialists to the Kerenskys, Scheidemanns, Noskes, Eberts and Thomases of Europe. Let us hope that the lesson was not lost on our honest comrades of the Socialist Party.

From a purely political angle, however, we are much more interested. It is a fact that the men who were expelled from the legislature at A4lbany were elected to office by the votes of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of those who at the time were members or sympathisers with the Socialist Party, but who are now Communists or Communist Labor in affilliation or sympathy. Where are we going to stand when the accid test is put up to the electorate of these assembly districts again? That is what we must decide.

From all indications we are not going to be allowed to place a Communist Labor ticket in the field and through such a ticket exercise our right of franchise, If not, should we vote for the Socialists whom we know will be about as valuable to the working class and as powerful in their interests as Ebert in Germany or Kerensky in Russia? For myself, I most respectfully decline to waste my time voting for puppets of the bourgeoise, but I am not sure that such is the attitude of all of us. Neither am I sure that to leave the fight open between the cohorts of Capital on the one hand and of middle class reformism as represented by the Socialists on the other hand, would be conducive to the best interests of the workers. In the long run, of course, the reaction will set in and we will logically take our places at the helm, but we should not stand aside and let the Socialists be crushed if by saving their skins we can prevent a great deal of suffering by the entire working calss.

It is certain that in the event that the Socialist Party is wiped off the slate as well as ourselves, there will

(Continued on page 4.)

The Lesson of Albany

(Continued from page 3.)

then be no liberal element capable of stemming the sweep of Capitalism gone mad with its own excesses. That means a long siege of White Terrorism for we must not blind ourselves to the fact that the workers of this country are far from being organized to take over control of industry, and yet too imbued with the idea that they are freemen to meekly submit to the Iron Heel. Hence, they will revolt, spasmodically and in small groups, and be as ruthlessly repressed as under the Czar in Russia or Noske in Germany.

So, returning again to the point that there are many thousands of good, loyal Socialists who cannot as yet take the advanced stand that we do, and to whom must come the bitter experiences of the proletariat of Russia and Germany under false Socialists, it is perhaps the better and less painful method to give every aid and assistance to the political aspirations of the Socialist Party that we are capable of giving. They will hang themselves in due course of time, but in the meantime we will have avoided the worst features of White Terrorism.

There is another method we might pursue which appeals to my sense of humor as well as strategy. In many states candidates are nominated by primaries. Let us enter these primaries and nominate Communists on the Socialists ticket. If Hillquit, Stedman and Company do not like the candidates we place on their tickets let them take the fight to the courts or nominate independent candidates of their own. In either case they proclaim their colors to the workers.

If Capital is as sure of its ground in this country as it now appears to be, it will have no hesitancy in ruthlessly suppressing even Socialist political activity, but the passage of time is against us, and we must stem the tide of repression until we are better enabled to teach the workers industrial solidarity, the lessons so disastrously neglected by the Socialist Party in their fear of hurting the tender feelings of Gomper's A. F. of L.

The leaven of industrialism is fast permeating Sammy's pet unions and it is only a question of time when the A. F. of L. will officially drop its 19th century attitude and take up its rightful place in 20th century unionism. But they, too, like their prototypes in the Socialist Party, must go through the fire of baptism before they will be purified and ready to enter the new society properly equipped to manage it.

As COMMUNIST LABOR states in the issue of March 25th, we are rapidly adapting ourselves to the changing conditions under Capitalist Imperialism, and this is as true of the attitude we may from time to time be compelled to take with the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L. as it is of our own organization methods.

This article is written more for purposes of argument and comment than for a decisive plan of action. We must all act according to the plans that seem best adapted to the needs of the moment in a given locality or district. But at the same time there should be a well defined general plan around and into which all minor action should fuse.

While the lesson of Albany is plain to all of us, it is particularly applicable to New York City where all five of the defendants were elected. New York City Communists and Communist Laborites, therefore, must meet that particular situation as they think best. The rest of us will watch interestedly the developments.

But whatever the outcome of the Albany affair, one thing is assured. CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM has reached its zenith, and the workers of the United States are face to face with o foe that will neither ask nor give quarter.

How will the workers answer?

Big Business Buys the Church

(Continued from page 1.)

of the vexing problems which seem more acute than ever since the end of the World War, is the application of the Golden Rule." I quite agree with Mr. Daniels but for the sake of consistency and that same golden rule of doing unto others as we would be done by, why doesn't Mr. Daniels order the return of the Marines from the republic of San Domingo? Or for the same reason why doesn't Mr. Daniels give credit where credit is due? The Golden Rule is not an integral part of the Christian religion but is basically a part of the religion of Confuscius, it having originated amongst the Chinese.

John Grieb Hibben, President Princeton University is quoted, "The spirit of Christianity alone can successfully cope with those influences in our country which tend to destroy our great institutions, both reilgious and political." Our great religious institution is the church, which has ever been a stumbling block in the pathway of human advancement. Our greatest political institution is the State, which is a class institution, maintained by one class for the purpose of keeping the other class in servitude. If the "Spirit of Christianity can be depended upon to save these institutions after they have outlived their economic usefulness then the spirit of Christianity can be depended upon to uphold and perpetuate slavery.

Hamilton Holt, Editor The Independent is quoted, "In these days of reconstruction when the very foundations of society are rocking, we need to stress the great moral principles of Christianity as they alone can save us." Save us from what? From being pried loose from the ill-gotten gains? Save us from losing our opportunity to rob and cheat and despoil the toiler?

Four others are quoted but it took Roger W. Babson, Business Analyst to word it so plainly that none can escape the conclusions herin reached. Babson says, "For our own sakes, for our children's sake, let US BUSINESSMEN get behind the churches and their preachers! Let us from this day give them more time, money and thought, for upon them, the value of ALL WE OWN ultimately depends." There is the cold raw, blunt, brutal truth. Labor has created all the values in the world. US BUSINESSMEN by the legalized robbery of the wages-system have come into possession of the wealth of the world until now, one builds and another inhabits, one sows and another reaps, one produces and another consumes. The VALUE of all that the businessmen posses is a stolen value—values stolen from labor—and labor is learning the truth about the robbery. The jails of the capitalist-controlled state are full to overflowing with the teachers of this great truth and still the state finds itself powerless to stop the spread of the truth about the origin and distribution of values. Now if the state fails of its function, we must get behind the churches and their preachers, for upon them alone can we depend to protect us and our stolen loot. Such is the wail of the business men and such is their conception of the mission of the church! Such is the gall and the frankness of Mammon and such is the amazing frankness of the Interchurch World Movement. It IS a world movement, a movement to save the world for US BUSINESSMEN and the class-conscious element of society will treat it accordingly.

History has a habit of repeating itself. In the final stages of Feudalism the feudal lords used the church in an attempt to prolong their hold on the feudal slaves. Out of the crash which followed capitalism was born. Before —capitalism could emerge the power of the church had to be broken and church and state had to be separated. Now we find the capitalists attempting the very same tactics which proved a failure when feudalism was tottering. Capitalism is now tottering to its fall and no power on earth, and no religion can avert the crash.

The church through the Interchurch World Movement has confessed its incompetence to the world and its advertisements merely show that it has been bought with a price, by big busi- that there are some things which their illgotten wealth cannot buy. nessmen, but they will learn in time

The feudal barons lost all that they possessed and passed into history. The Capitalist Barons are treading the same road, and the prostitute church cannot save them or the value of all that they possess.

"Us businessmen" can have the church, while the victorious hosts of labor will go forward content with the religion of the Brotherhood of Man.

"The world is my country and to do good is my religion."—Paine.

"The Mediumship of Farmer Riley".

By SYDNEY FLOWER, LL. D.

This is a book of sixty large magazine pages, in which is related in detail the observations of the author during a two weeks' stay at the home of the medium, James Wesley Riley, better known as "Farmer Riley," near Marcellus, Mich. If you have ever asked youreslf the question, "Does man live beyond the grave?" a perusal of this book may perhaps assist you in the formulation of an intelligent answer. The book is as interesting as a romance. In his investigations Mr. Flower rigidly adheres to a program which absolutely precludes all possibility of physical agency in the production of the manifestations. The following synopsis will convey a general idea of the manifestations occuring during this remarkable investigation of psychic phenomena:

Jem Riley. The Beginning of Things. The Camp. The Test. The Start. Early Recollections. A spirit Playmate. The Mother Love. The voice. The Materialized Form. Getting to Work. Home Sittings. Rules of the Game. Some Good Advice. The First Fact. Rappings. Slate Writing. John Benton. Sitting for Materialization. First Phenomena. Methods of Conducting a Seance. Conditions. One Point for Riley. Jem's Home. His Family. Mrs. Riley. They Boys. Minnie. Views of a Skeptic. Odd Phenomena. A Night With Riley. The Dark Circle. The Materializing Seance. Good Conditions at a Riley Seance. The Squire's Story. John Dewey. Forms Appearing. Dr. Cattrell. The Great Test. Giving a Medium a Suggestive Treatment. Story of the Camp Test. The Phenomena. The Freckled Woman. Dr. Shillito. A Spirit Photograph. Jem's Philosophy of the Hereafter. The Mission of the Spirits. The Gospel of Development. Jem's Philosophy of Mediumship. Vibrations. Sex Force. The Law of Materialization. Evil Manifestations. John Benton's Philosophy. Limitations of Spirit Power. Reincarnation. Skepticism. Doubts, Explanations. Theories Autosomnambulism. Effect of an Electric Storm. Spiritualist's Explanations. Conclusions. A Small Seance. Alcohol and its Effects. The Logical Result. Old Accounts. Adverse Influences. Clyde Goodrich's Experiences. Madame Blavatsky's Theory. Exploded Hypotheses. Approach of an Adept. The Old Man. Abraham Lincoln. Materials for Materializing. The Music Box. Mischief. Queer Phenomena. Spirit Incredulity. Deductions. Summing Up. Conclusion. How to Form a Circle.

Sent, post-paid, for 50c.

TOM CLIFFORD, Publisher,
3517 Fulton Road, Cleveland, O.

Communist Labor Party Battle in Court.

(Continued from 1st page.)

we are working hard with the O. B. U. which is now well under way and which will take on a landslide apperance in the next few days. It is catching like wild fire so at least the economic part of our program is being nicely fulfilled and the shop steward system is being arranged for. The Los Angeles local of the O. B. U. is in full swing also. The carman's union, 1800 strong joined en mass last week. The local in San Francisco is keeping pace with the other two, so you see things are moving on the coast. Now wouldn't a threat of a general strike, in about six months from now, make that 56 year sentence look like the proverbial snow ball in the hot place??!

Everything everywhere is ripening up nicely; keep up the good work, comrade, for about the time the plutes think they have us nicely stowed away they will have to do it all over again and just a little more beside.

Wishing you every success in the work. I remain.

Very Fraternally Yours
John C. Taylor.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

walked along the track. Many a time he wished that he knew her name. He would write and tell her of his experience. Of all the wonderful country he had seen, but above all would he describe the inky blackness of this

At last as he slowly rounded a curve night.

he drew closer he noticed a tall form down the railroad embankment, and as he drew olcser he noticed a tall form throwing branches and chunks of wood upon a fire. Evidently it was some one camping for the night by the side of the railroad track. It did not take the boy long to make his decision. He was going to make himself an uninvited guest, even if he had to kill the man that was now in possession of the fire. With this resolution in mind he slid down the embankment and found a party of six who were jungling up.

(Continued next week)

What Political Prisoners Think of Amnesty?

(Continued from 1st page.)

let it kindle the mobs and furnish themes for the Morgans and Woods, we know what it is doing. Debs recently said: "I am learning something at Atlanta."

Go on with the work. Write to the political and industrial prisoners often, send them a dollar occasionally with which to purchase things to help them keep their bodies from smashing under the strain. Their spirits are stronger than when they came here. The remedy which sweetens our days in jail. I hope you get the full force of my sugges- not the indictment, is the inspiration tions, Allison, for many of the men will not write so fully on the facts I voice the sentiments of every real man in the prison, when I tell you that we are not crying for Amnesty. Write me. Hopefully

William Madison Hicks, No. 13276.

Ruminations of a Rebel.

By Tom Clifford.

This old world is certainly "topsy turvy." The spirit of unrest prevails everywhere. The workers of Europe are no longer docile and obedient and are in open rebellion against their masters. Their refusal to return to their pre-war industrial slavery and produce wealth as of yore is the despair of the bourgeoisie, for if their erstwhile slaves persist in refusal to again place their necks in the yoke it it is good bye to capitalism. The liquidation of the vast debts incurred by the nations participating in the World War can only come from the wealth produced by the workers, and the latter are manifesting no disposition to shoulder the burden. They seem to have arrived at the conclusion that the war was not of their making and are determined that those responsible shall suffer the consequences. What will be the ultimate result? Industrial chaos, followed by the gradual building up of a new society that will make wars imposible. Russia is pointing the way. The example is infenctions.

• • •

Even here in the United States signs are not wanting of an approaching crisis. In spite of the strenuous efforts of the bourgeoisie to regulate industry so as to secure a greater output the workers refuse to be speeded up. In fact, they are sabotaging on the job. While the mass of American workers still remain unenlightened as to their real condition, they seem to be averse to piling up surplus wealth for the benefit of their employers. The bourgeoisie are frantically clamoring for increased production, yet the workers give no heed to their doleful cries—just put in their time, draw their wages, and, spend every cent in securing what they deem necessary for their comfort and happiness. What will the harvest be? Wait about a year and see

• • •

The signs of the dissolution of the capitalist system are so abundant they should be apparent to the most obtuse. The competition in production, in spite of the fact that there is no market in sight for the surplus, must inevitably eventuate in an industrial depression. When the storm breaks the inflation of the currency will augment the consequent suffering and destitution of the workers. Speculation has become epidemic and profiteering is a universal obsession. Even the manufacturers have imbibed the fever of speculation, and are largely producing for a prospective market. The bankers and financiers generally appear to sense the coming cataclysm, for they are curtailing their loans and otherwise preparing to weather the storm. Our inherently unsound financial system is at the point of breaking down, and, since all business is based upon it, the whole capitalist system will collapse and the ruin will be complete. Well, let it come. Out of the debris will arise a new social structure that will be sound because scientific—a social structure that will guarantee industrial equity and world peace. I am ready for it. Are You?

• • •

Among the multitude of profiteers the landlord is bearing the brunt of adverse critism. He is held up for execration because, forsooth, he insists upon enjoying the sacred rights of property. He contends, and rightly too, that he is in perfect accord with the right to collect in rent all the traffic will bear. The exeruciatingly he ethics of capitalism, which give him amusing feature of the whole procedure is the fact that those who are vociferously denouncing the poor landlord for exercising his lawful prerogative are staunch supporters of the system that accords to him the incontestable privilege to skin, fleece or otherwise rob the luckless individual who is compelled to dicker with him for a place to sleep. Funny world, isn't it?

• • •

The long threatened insurrection against the arbitrary rule of union officials seems to have at last materialized in the present railroad strike now being conducted by a so-called "outlaw" organization, which is condemned alike by the railroad managers and officials of the "safe and sane" railroad Brotherhoods. The latter are appealing to the membership to remain loyal an durge them to "scab" on the "outlaws," declaring the strike is "unauthorized." However, it appears that the long suffering rank and file of the Brotherhoods have decided to support the strike even though it be not sanctioned by the respectable A. F. of L., and it threatens to become national in its scope. Now that the Brotherhood officials are forced to declare themselves, they promptly line up with the railroad managers, and are even calling upon the federal government to enforce the Cummins-Esch act to break the strike. This latest movement of the railway workers indicates that they have grown weary of the duplicity of their officials and will no longer submit to their dictation. "One for All and All for One" is the rallying cry of the rebels, which means that they are at last recognizing the necessity of solidarity. It is about time.

• • •

Notwithstanding the columns of publicity given the Presidential aspirants, who are willing to sacrifice themselves to serve the country at Washington at the merely nominal salary of $75,000 per annum, there is a notable lack of interets on the part of the public, most of whom don't care a damn who is to be the next President. The real issue in the campaign will be whether this nation is to remain "dry" or shift back to "wet."

He Gets The Fish.

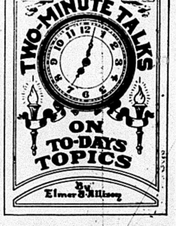
BY ANISE.

In a manufacturing town
• • •
In the east
• • •
Is a large PLANT
• • •
Progressive, up-to-date
• • •
In its ideas,
• • •
And growing more prosperous
• • •
Every year.
• • •
And the owner of it said:
• • •
"We are LUCKY
• • •
In having on our force
• • •
A real GENIUS
• • •
An INVENTOR!
• • •
You may be sure we
• • •
TREAT him RIGHT;
• • •
Why, every year we give him
• • •
A whole month's vacation
• • •
To go FISHING
• • •
And his WAGES go on
• • •
Just the same.
• • •
He wanders off somewhere
• • •
In the deep woods
• • •
And sits on a LOG
• • •
Overlooking a STREAM
• • •
Letting his mind relax
• • •
From the WORRIES
Of daily work,
• • •
And somehow
• • •
Every time that man gets back
• • •
He brings with him
• • •
A CORKING new IDEA!
• • •
I guess they come to him
• • •
In these quiet moods
• • •
When he's UNWORRIED
• • •
And has a chance to think
• • •
Quite undisturbed!
• • •
Well, anyway, each fall
• • •
We can practically COUNT
• • •
On a NEW invention
• • •
That's what keeps us progressive
• • •
And up-to-date!
* * *
And we've made a lot of money
• • •
Out of it!"
• • •
Then somebody said: "WHAT
• • •
Does the inventor get
• • •
Out of that summer month
• • •
From which YOU get
• • •
So MUCH?"
• • •
"Why," said the owner
• • •
Of the factory,
• • •
"HE gets—the FISH!"

An Aye Opener.

That is what "Two Minute Talks on Today's Topics," published by "The Toiler," in my humble opinion, may without exageration be fittingly designated. Elmer T. Allison, the author, has certainly made a unique contribution to Communist literature. The startling events of the past two years and their evolutionary significance are vividly portrayed in the order of their occurrence. The evident intent of the author in presenting this retrospect is to keep these events fresh in the minds of the workers, whose besetting sin is failure to retain an intelligent grasp on world happenings and their relation to the changing social order. It is a pamphlet deserving of a place in any worker's library, for it can be read again and again with profit. Nothing has been recently printed of equal propaganda value, as it deals largely with social events of recent date and cannot fail to enlist the attention of the reader. The illuminated cover is an added attraction, but the contents is the stuff that "brings home the bacon". Wide awake Communists who know a good thing when they see it will not rest satisfied until they have placed a few copies in the hands of the unenlightened. I cannot recommend "Two Minute Talks" too highly.

Tom Clifford.



A PAMPHLET for the non-socialist 10c. Address The Toiler.

Go To Kansas.

By Noah F. Whitaker.

If monstrosities you seek,
Go to Kansas!
On that living fossil freak
Cast your glances!
Yes, he's there, with legal whip,
Herding labor lest it slip—
Lest it take a flying trip,
Where thought advances.

Think you old King Nero's dead?
Go to Kansas!
Pillage kept and profit fed,
There he prances:
Gone full long, but back too soon,
With his jig and rigadoon,
He's still fidding his old tune
While labor dances.

Seek you rotton politics?
Go to Kansas!
There's where legislative sticks,
Turn to lances;
There's where recent laws were made,
That belittled and betrayed,
And put labor in the shade
To dim its chances.

COME
Get In Line
Get a Sub.

"Government Kidnapers in Action"

a Lecture by

Marguerite Prevey

at

Toledo, April 18, 8 P. M.

Labor Temple

Marguerite Prevey will tell the story of her kidnaping from Columbus, Ohio, jail and illegal abducation to Chicago by government agents. Hear her.

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NO. 116. Published at Cleveland, Ohio. CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, APRIL 23rd 1920. Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.50 A YEAR

THE "OUTLAWS"

Now comes to bat a real UNAMERICAN strike. All strikes are un-American of course, but the strike of the "outlaw" unions is particularly un-American. Strikes engeneered by the reactionary leaders of labor are not in good taste to the boss class at any time. But strikes against the boss class of the capitalist system as well as against the bosses in the unions — that kind of strike is hell, sure enough.

Tired of waiting for Wilson's administration and Railroad Brotherhood chiefs to run out of words and to tire of confabs, realizing that action, mass action, spoke louder than conferences and arbitration, several thousand railroad workers went on strike in Chicago. In almost a day the strike spread to a dozen industrial centers. The Chicago meat industry was put out of business. Coal shortage threatened Ohio industris. The steel mills were hard hit. Freight was tied up in scores of yards. And all this because a few thousand workers struck. 45,000 out of a total employed in the railroad industry of 1,900,000 is the number the capitalist papers give.

Two dozen reactionary Brotherhood officials signed an order commanding the strikers to go back to work And they did not. The strikers were threatened with a loss of their union standing, their union benefits. To no avail. Then the Brotherhood officials acted true to form and began calling for "loyal" Brotherhood men to take the places of the strikers! The result-firemen and enginemen joined the strikers and refused to work with the union scabs.

Tears were shed by the capitalist dailies because the workers gave no warning before they struck. Mr. Gompers was asked point blank by his bourgeois mentors whether he really knows what is going on inside his organization. Strikes in such numbers (the New York harbor strike; the Kansas coal strike and with such sympathetic relationships and with such demonstration of a design to win "by force rather than on the merits of the industrial struggle" (New York Times) seem a queer phenomona to the capitalist class — and yet not, for this class seems to sense that the whole movement has something to do with Sovietism and that the strikes, the "outlaw" strikes are linked with what is now called "Russian propaganda". Do we need to add that all porpaganda is "Russian propaganda" which seeks to liberate the workers from wage slavery?

What interests us a whole lot is the apparance in the American labor movement of "outlaw" unions. A new class phraze—"outlaw unions". In a day to come a teacher will ask little Willie: "Willie, what kind of unions were outlaw unions in the days when capitalism ruled?" And little Willie will answer: "Outlaw unions were those which rebelled against the reactionary A. F. of L. leadership as well as against the employing class." One hundred per cent in history for Willie!

Hail the outlaw unions! We have them now in almost every trade represented in the A. F. of L. The chiefs of the Brotherhoods in a joint statement described the cause of the strikes as an attempt by radicals to advance the One Big Union idea. That's what all the "chiefs" have said about their outlaw unions. We say—

All right! Guilty!

As this is written the railroad workers strike is increasing in strength. And the capitalist dailies are cutting funny antics. In one cloumn they report that the strike has reached its peak and is now losing. In another column they report thousands of additional strikers agumenting the forces of those already out. The strikers are renegades, the strike is termed as "headless", all of which are good signs, for the more the lackeys of the capitalist class bombard it the better strike it must be, and if it is really headless—well, as we said before, let the slogan among the labor unions from now on be "all pover to the workers".

The administration in the meantime is handling the situation gingerly, if that means that they are up in the air. It's this way—if the administration interferes it may kindle the flames and if it don't, they may ditto. So it does not know what to do. Palmer is nosing about a bit, looking for a mandate hailing directly from Russia ordering the strike!

The strike may yet have political significance. The Lever act is still in working order and the coal miners were enjoined, you know. We'll amend this by saying that the strike already has political significance. Is it not against the administrations success in making monkies out of the Brotherhood chiefs?

Whether the strike of the "outlaws" is won or lost in the end, the strike is now won. It was won the second or third day for it registered a spirit of revolt among the railroad workers which will help settle the fate of capitalism.

This parting shot—IF THE MINE AND STEEL WORKERS HAD WAITED UNTIL NOW, AND THEN—ALL TOGETHER!

Little Lessons for Labor

SKYGAC.

They say that the school of experience is a hard school, but a school whose students always learn. Like the university of hard knocks it forces even the backward and the unwilling, to learn. During the past five years we have had an overplus of patriotic propaganda, the whole tenor of which was if labor will protect the government the government will protect labor.

When some of us who had discovered the class nature of society tried to tell the multitude that the government as it is constituted today was a government of for and by the capitalist class and that the interests of the employing class and the working class were not identical but opposed, we were jailed and persecuted. Now that the coal strike settlement commission has brought in its report we have something concrete to offer as evidence that there ARE classes in society and further that it is childish to expect a commission made up of the employing class to look out for the interests of the working—class. The evidence in this case is so plain, so blunt, so raw, that it seems that even a wayfaring man though a fool might see the truth and act accordingly.

The miners asked:

A 60% increase in wages. (Cost of living has increased over 75% since the last wage scale was adopted.)

The miners got;

A 27% increase in wages, or less than one half!

A thirty hour week. This was to provide for a steady income throughout the year in the place of the overwork at some periods and months of idleness at other periods.

The miners got;

They were allowed to retain the eight hour day!

The miners asked;

Time and a half for overtime, and double time for Sunday.

The miners got;

Left.

The miners asked;

Termination of wage contracts in the fall instead of in the spring.

The miners got;

Wage contracts terminating March 31!

The miners asked;

Nationalization of the coal mines;

The miners got;

Ignored.

The miners asked;

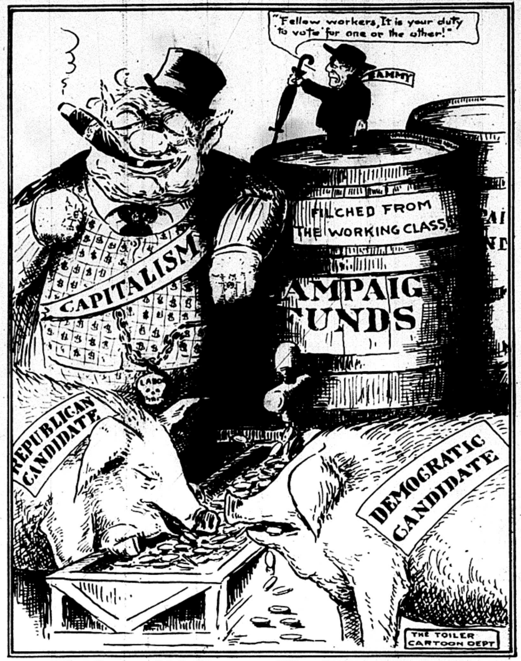
The commission to establish a number of vital reforms in the industry.

The miners got;

Disappointed.

It is just such bitter little lessons as this one, which will drive into the heads of the more reactionary of the miners the idea of the class nature of society and the futility as well as foolishness of wage contracts expiring at a time best suited to the employer's interests.

Government at best is but the executive committee of the capitalist class. It will so remain until enough of the working-class become class conscious and the forces of industrial evolution has forced a new order of society It is a bitter pill for the miners to swallow, but it is out of the sum total of such bitternesses that a new order of society is born.


"Fellow workers, It is your duty to vote for one or the other!"
SAMMY
FILCHED FROM THE WORKING CLASS
CAMPAIGN FUNDS
CAPITALISM
REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE
DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE
THE TOILER CARTOON DEPT

The Same Old Game -- The Same Old Gang.

Craft Unionism -- An Admitted Failure

The acute situation engendered by the railroad strike brought forth some remarks from Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L. while attending the Cigar Maker's Convention, last week in Cleveland that are well worthy of more than a moment's passing attention. Said Mr. Gompers in reference to the strike after scoring the profiteers and the political jerrymandering by Congress of the food control laws,

"No wonder, then, that the workers who did so much to win the war and who are now 33 1-3 per cent worse off financially than before the war are discontented and resentful on account of their present conditions and surroundings.

"Unless wages are increased to meet the increased cost of living, it is equal to a reduction in wages and a corresponding lowering of the workers' standards.

"No wonder, then, that we find workers, nonmembers of organized labor and even some who are union men becoming impatient and disregarding the discipline usually practised in labor unions.".

"Unless wages are increased to meet the increased cost of living, it is equal to a reduction in wages and a corresponding lowering of the workers' standards.

"No wonder, then, that e find workers, non-members of organized labor and even some who are union men, becoming impatient and disregarding the discipline usually practised in labor unions

Looking at these statements by and large, what are they but an admission of the utter failure of craft unionism—the kind fostered by Samuel Gompers for the past 40 years? Mr. Gompers admits by these statements that the workers by organizing into his fossilized craft unions have not been able to maintain their standard of living, but have fallen to a standard one third lower than before the war which they won and out of which grew a crop of 30,000 millionaires.

Officials of the A F of L. take great pains to open their conventions nowadays with declarations that the A. F. of L. is NOT a revolutionary organization seeking to overthrow the present system of—but is a business institution for the maintaince the "American standard of living" for the workers and an increase in the good things of the workers and an increase in the good things of life for them, but without making any radical changes in the industrial system. What would you think of a business institution which had lost one third of its business in two years? You would say its business methods were in need of radical readjustment at least.

And that is what is the matter with the A. F. of L. Its methods are behind the times. It can no longer cope with the capitalist imperialism which has developed within the past ten years. When Machine industry was young and undeveloped to its present stage, when hand labor and personal skill entered largely into production, the workers had some showing against capital. Today the machine has replaced the craftsman's skill. The skill of the mechanic has been placed in the intracate mechanism of machines, the distinctive character of the crafts are all but obliterated: They all melt into one another. But the character of the labor unions, fostered by Gompers remains almost the same. Instead of adapting labor unionism to the changing forms of industrial processes, Gompers has sought to retain the out worn characteristics of a bygone industrial epoch. He still atempts to win a battle against nationwide and worldwide trusts with a handful of workers organized in seperate crafts and with out co-ordination with other groups.

To whine now when the workers are faced with starvation, and attempt to place the blame for it upon politicians is merely to beg the question and to evade the logical results of his own policy and principles A unionism having a membership of 4,000,000 men and women which cannot force from its employers a living wage has something radically wrong with it. But Gompers cannot see it.

But the workers can; they are catching glimpses of a new weapon in the arsenal of Labor. They are examining it and trying it out in spite of Gompers and his host of reactionaries. It is labeled One Big Union. With this weapon, we will win, not paltry increases in pay but a world in which Labor receives the ful ful sociol value of its toil. All power to the workers!

THE CARTOON FUND.

Hearken to this, Comrades

"Enclosed find $1.40 for Cartoon Fund and sixty cents for 106 copies Soviet Labor Laws. I don't like the way the Cartoon Fund looks—kindo'-lop—sided. The comrades ought to put a little weight on the other end of the scale beam. Every little helps and they wouldn't miss it half so much as they would the cartoons.

Yours for more of the"

J. M. SCOTT.

After reading the above, we are sure that the Cartoon Fund will brighten up considerable. Here is how it stands just now.

Provious receipts	$43.60
J. M. Scott	1.40
W. Birsin	.50
Dr. Van Nette	1.00
M. L. Tragesser	1.00
Total	47.05
Expense	$64.45

Grand Jury Will Hear Charge.

Charges of violation of the Lever Act against Charles Baker of Ohio, socialist speaker and organizer and J. P. Cannon, Editor of the Workers' World of Kansas City, Mo., will be presented to the Grand Jury sitting at Kansas City April 26th.

Both comrades have been out on bail for some weeks pending the decision of the judgement of the Grand Jury. Comrade Cannon is charged with violation of the Act because of certain articles which appeared in the Workers' World. It is alleged that Baker violated the Act in speeches before bodies of striking coal miners in various Kansas coal camps during the recent national strike of soft coal miners. Comrade Cannon has lately recovered from an attack of influenza contracted while held in prison awaiting the raising of sufficient bail for his release.

The Workers' World, began publication about a year ago, being organized by a group of Kansas City comrades. Comrade Cannon is about the only one of its staff who remains out side of jail at the present time, the rest having been sent to jail some months ago for two year terms for anti-capitalist activities. Their sentence to prison marked the downfall of this fighting organ of the workers. Its publication was discontinued after about nine months due to the repressions imposed upon it.

The Lever Act is one of the indefensible war time laws whose sole function is that of subjugating the workers to the capitalist class will. The Kansas City hearing will be watched by workers of Kansas and Ohio where both Cannon and Baker have strong sympathy and thousands of friends.

MARGUERITE PREVEY ON SPEAKING TOUR.

Comrade Marguerite Prevey, whose incarceration in Columbus, Ohio, jail, charged with violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law of Illinois by assisting in the formation of the Commmunist Labor Party at Chicago last August, and who was abducted at night from jail and forced to journey to prison at Chicago at the hands of Illinois agents, is filling a number of speaking engagements in Ohio.

A very successful meeting was held at Akron April 11th. She also spoke at the Labor Temple at Toledo on the 18th. Meetings at Shadyside, Neffs, Bellaire, Youngstown, Portsmouth, Cincinnati and other Ohio cities are scheduled. It is probable that she will fill dates in Illinois. Thousands of leaflets describing her abuction are being circulated all over the United States.

Comrade Prevey finds interested audiences awaiting to hear the story of her jail experiences of which she has a large fund as the period of her incarceration lasted 29 days and was spent in three prisons, two in Ohio and the other in Chicago.

Making Money

By Scott Nearing.

Capitalist inefficiency is illustrated nowhere more effectively than in the seldom warms them. The place was financing of the European governments during the war. Take France, as a horrible example.

France is in the control of one of the most conservative bourgeois groups in the world. During the war, in order to save themselves, they refused to pay any considerable increase in taxes; instead, they issued paper money and bonds. One quarter of the war cost was raised by taxation in Great Britain. In France, only 15.4 per cent. was secured in this manner.

Instead of paying for the war as they went, through an increase in taxation, the ruling class of France decided to pay for it by printing paper money and by issuing bonds. The total debt of France, before she entered the war was $5,500,000,000; on March 31, 1919, it was $30,500,000,000. In 1914 the Bank of France had 6,000,000,000 francs in note circulation; in November, 1919, the note circulation was 37,000,000,000. Fourteen per cent of this circulation had behind it a metal reserve—gold and silver; the remainder, or 86 per cent, was paper.

When the war broke out, the franc could be bought at the rate of about five for $1. Today francs are selling at little less than nine for $1.

The French business classes believed that they had discovered a new way to make money—turn on the presses, print bonds; engrave paper, and the trick is done. They might as well try to make army blankets out of moon beams. As long as the present system of finance is continued, so long will it be necessary to put value behind paper. The attempt of the French business classes to make money out of paper is merely another illustration of their failure to comprehend the working of the system that has made them rich, and that is now busy destroying them.

Skygac's Column

Arthur Brisbane, Hearst's editorial writer says, "Our recent trouble with Russia was due to the fact that bankers who bought Russian bonds and expected to make a fat profit found they were going to lose all." Quoted from Chicago Herald-Examiner of April 5th. It is all too true--yet up in Minnessota some few years ago there was a gang tried to mob me for making the statement that soldiers were not expected to fight for their own interests but for the interests of those who controlled the state, the capitalists, bankers and politicians! Our penal institutions, (guess we have a right to call them ours — our class builds and inhabits them) are full today of men who made similar statements, but unfortunately who did not have the backing, the money the "pull" to get away with it as does Brisbane.

• • •

Imagination is more convincing than reality. That is why the imaginary atrocities of the Bolsheviki became known throught the world while the reality was a noticeable lack of atrocities.

• • •

All men are liars concluded the prophet of old, but few there be who are so convincingly successful at it as the minister who sees his chances for a livelihood slipping with every advencing step of science. The dirtiest lies about Russia nearly always appear with the name of some Reverend attached to them.

• • •

From the evidence submitted, one would infer that the Irish (some of them) consider Easter as an appropriate time to rack the shell of something else besides eggs!

• • •

"No sooner had the rebels lain down their arms than the government troops opened fire upon them with machine guns"—from a report of the German situation. Well maybe in time the proletarist will learn that it is a great tactical blunder to allow the bourgeois to have control of the arms and amunition and keep the proletariat disarmed. Here in U. S. A. our forefathers saw this point clearly and wrote into the constitution. "The right of the citizen to bear arms shall not be denied."

• • •

Since the armistice, workers leaving for Europe have taken more than half a billion dollars with them and there is another half billion ready to go as soon as passports can be arranged. In return for this the American employer gets--war widows and girls. Over seventy percent of the new imigrants are woman and girls. Men leaving and women coming. See the day of cheaper wages for Americans in sight? You will later if you don't now. There is only one other alternative. social revolution. One or the other is bound to happen.

• • •

Considering the high price of everthing, it must have taken a vast number of men to save a half billion dollars.

• • •

Why are the workers returning to Furope? "Ask Palmer. He Knows."

• • •

In the 1860s Congress gave the railroad interests every other quarter section for a space of twenty miles on each side of the railroad, in the Western states. Most of it timber land. Now sixty years later, lumber sells for from one to two hundred dollars a thousand feet. Standpatters are not expected to see any connection!

• • •

To you who are making much mouth-noise about law and order. Did it ever occur to you that the law we have is an inheritance from another social order; that it was built to conform with the needs of a social order that has passed, and is utterly unable and unadapted to cope with the complexities and miseries and injustices of the modern industrial world?

• • •

A change in the economic base of any society necessitates a change in the laws and governments of that society. Let us not fail to go forward with evolution, rather than strive to eddy in the stagnant thought of yesteryear.

• • •

When there is so much knowledge in the world; knowledge which has been acquired at the cost of time labor and love, don't you feel a bit guilty to be content to amble through existence as the firefly does "with its headlight on behind"?

• • •

Suppose that when you started to acquire knowledge you had been given the elementary rudiments of science instead of the fable of Adam and Eve, where would you have been, intellectually speaking, today?

• • •

There is no hope for the boneheads of yesterday—but the coming generation—what a wonderful field to cultivate! We can begin there to rectify the mistakes of past generations.

• • •

"Science is higher development of common knowledge" says Spencer. Hence if science is repudiated, all knowledge must be repudiated with it

• • •

Science gives a true instead of a false conception of the correlation of facts.

• • •

"Thy faith, why false? My faith, why true?" Nothing—except mine is provable.

• • •

Complete liberty of speech will eventually triumph in spite of all legislative attempts to suppress it. The Democratic party will not always remain in power.

• • •

People long since discarded the theory of the Divine right of Kings. How long will it be before they discard the equally foolish idea of the divine right of governments?

• • •

I used to think I was an anarchist until I found out that anarchists refuse to submit to the subordination of individual actions to social requirements.

• • •

"Of all antagonisms of belief, the oldest, the widest, the most profound and the most important, is that between Religion and Science."—Spencer.

• • •

Fortunate indeed is he who can adapt himself to the constantly recurring changes in the requirements of existence, for he who cannot or will not adapt himself is foredoomed by inexorable law to perish. Consider the dinosaur.

• • •

Inquiry is ever in the lead of information and whatever your stock of information may be your stock of inquiries will be greater.

• • •

Science monopolizes the whole sphere of experience. All beyond the sphere of experience is Religion's stamping ground.

• • •

The scientific explanation of Religion is reasonable, but did you ever hear a religious explanation of Science?

• • •

Religion is founded upon faith. Science is founded upon fact. Science can not recognize beliefs but religion has to recognize facts. Which will ultimately win?

• • •

Each succeeding generation finds science increasingly stronger and religion weaker. Truth eventually conquers error.

• • •

When representative government is killed autocracy or democracy takes its place. New York killed representative government hoping to substitute autocracy in its place—but is more likely to get soviet rule!

• • •

Soviet Rule. Rule of for and by the people!

Awful! Awful! That is if you are an autocrat. But if you are a proletarian.—

"The Mediumship of Farmer Riley".

By SYDNEY FLOWER, LL. D.

This is a book of sixty large magazine pages, in which is related in detail the observations of the author during a two weeks' stay at the home of the medium, James Wesley Riley, better known as "Farmer Riley," near Marcellus, Mich. If you have ever asked youreslf the question, "Does man live beyond the grave?" a perusal of this book may perhaps assist you in the formulation of an intelligent answer. The book is as interesting as a romance. In his investigations Mr. Flower rigidly adheres to a program which absolutely precludes all possibility of physical agency in the production of the manifestations. The following synopsis will convey a general idea of the manifestations occuring during this remarkable investigation of psychic phenomena:

Jem Riley. The Beginning of Things. The Camp. The Test. The Start. Early Recollections. A spirit Playmate. The Mother Love. The voice. The Materialized Form. Getting to Work. Home Sittings. Rules of the Game. Some Good Advice. The First Fact. Rappings. Slate Writing. John Benton. Sitting for Materialization. First Phenomena. Methods of Conducting a Seance. Conditions. One Point for Riley. Jem's Home. His Family. Mrs. Riley. They Boys. Minnie. Views of a Skeptic. Odd Phenomena. A Night With Riley. The Dark Circle. The Materializing Seance. Good Conditions at a Riley Seance. The Squire's Story. John Dewey. Forms Appearing. Dr. Cattrell. The Great Test. Giving a Medium a Suggestive Treatment. Story of the Camp Test. The Phenomena. The Freckled Woman. Dr. Shillito. A Spirit Photograph. Jem's Philosophy of the Hereafter. The Mission of the Spirits. The Gospel of Development. Jem's Philosophy of Mediumship. Vibrations. Sex Force. The Law of Materialization. Evil Manifestations. John Benton's Philosophy. Limitations of Spirit Power. Reincarnation. Skepticism. Doubts, Explanations. Theories. Autosomnambulism. Effect of an Electric Storm. Spiritualist's Explanations. Conclusions. A Small Seance. Alcohol and its Effects. The Logical Result. Old Accounts. Adverse Influences. Clyde Goodrich's Experiences. Madame Blavatsky's Theory. Exploded Hypotheses. Approach of an Adept. The Old Man. Abraham Lincoln. Materials for Materializing. The Music Box. Mischief. Queer Phenomena. Spirit Incredulity. Deductions. Summing Up. Conclusion. How to Form a Circle.

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Some History and Senator Fall

— By T. E. Pendergrass —

"Six Righteous Reasons Why American and Mexican Workers Should Spill Each Others Blood," in issue of Feb. 27th impels me to add some of my experiences on that important subject, also personal knowledge of the early history of one A. B. Fall, the impartial and "disinterested" Senator from Texas, who represents New Mexico, and who has recently been gathering evidence as to conditions in Mexico.

Mr. Fall.

A Bit of History.

The writer has known Mr. Fall for twenty-five years or more, that is, up to tha time he became politically and socially "famous", at which time he arose beyond our humble station in life.

In our youger days, in the hey-dey of the West, when the saloon and the gambling house were the social center for the male members of the tribe, we have spent many pleasant hours straining our eyesight, looking for two pair, three aces or a full hand in the effort to drag fourth the long green from each other, or some other unlucky member of the round table fraternity.

The scene of most of these sittings were in the towns of Tularosa and Sar Cruses, N. M., the latter then being Mr. Fall's home.

Albert B. Fall was a criminal lawyer of no particular note, practicing only in the local N. M. Courts, up to 1901 to 1904, when he became assistant counsel for the El Paso & North Eastern Rail Road, later the El Paso & South Western, now a part of the Rock Island system!

Shortly after becoming Counsel for this road, which enters Texas at El Paso, both, he and its Chief Counsel W. A. Hawkins, were elected to the legislature of New Mexico. They at once forced thru that body a measure prohibiting persons having claims for damages against Rail Roads of New Mexico, that is claims originating in N. M. bringing suit for settlement in courts of other states! New Mexico was then a territory and its judges were appointed by the President and served both as Local and Federal Judges.

This legislation was specially designed to keep claiments out of the Texas Courts, which state's laws were much more liberal and who's courts were not so completely under the dominence of Railway Corporations. Thus did Mr. Fall begin to assend the political ladder of privilage and prominience.

Next he became Chief Counsel for the Rio Grande Sierre Madre & Pacific Ry., operating out of El Paso into the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. Shortly after this time this road had a bankruptcy proceeding and went into the hands of a receiver. Mr. Fall was made receiver, or became chief counsel and adviser for the receivership. This road was later sold and reorganized under the name of The Mexico North Western. It was purchased by The Pearson Syndicate, an English-Canadian corporation, promoted and headed by The Late Dr. Pearson, who went down on the ill fated Lusitania.

Up to the time Mr. Fall became connected with Railway Corporations he was a very poor man. After the receivership, sale and reorganization of the R. G. S. M. & P. Ry. he began to display considerable wealth. It became common gossip that Mr. Fall was a large holder of Mexican Industrial Securities. He built a palatial home on the mountainside, in a suburb, overlooking El Paso. He later pur- summer home for political purposes. chased a catle ranch at Three Rivers, New Mexico, where he maintains a

In 1910—11 the writer often delivered daily necessities to the Fall home in El Paso, he—the writer—being employed by a Meat and Supply House in capacity of deliveryman. Every order was sent there C. O. D. My instructions were "get the money or return the goods."

Mr. Fall is commonly known out here as The Texas Senator who represents New Mexico. And I might add, he has been both a democrat and a republican.

He began his career as a democrat but as he ascended the political height of ambition, his long ears were transformed into the elephant's snout, New Mexico being mominelly republican.

So much for the man who is making an "impartial" and "disinterested" investigation into Mexican affairs. I shall now add some of my personal experiences to the volumns already gathered on Mexican "Terror".

Some Experiences.

During the whole of the year of 1912 the writer was employed by The Pearson, Madero Co. Ltd. a large lumber corporation, of the Pearson interests, already mentioned, operating at Pearson and Madero, Chihuahua, Mexico. I was located at Pearson, in the very heart of the so called Red Flag Rebellion—Arasco, Solozar-et-al. Many bands of rebels came and went away again. Likewise Federal Soldiers. The color of the flag floating over the town changed often. Yet, strange to relate, the only blood ever spilled was let at a strictly American affair, a Thanksgiving Celebration, which terminated in a drunken brawl, and for which no one was ever punished.

Business went right on, undisturbed except, of course, interuptions with railway traffic.

The only thing approaching a disorder was when the Rebels demanded the surrender of some firearms deposited at the American Hotel. This the management refused to do, declaring there was none there. But the Mexicans knew better, so they threatened to search the premises and seize the arms. They actually locked the propriator up for an hour or two. The arms were later surrendered by mutual agreement. The Rebels receipted for them and went their way.

There were frequent interruptions of railway service, consequently of mail service between us and the states. During all my stay I heard but one gunshot, an accidental discharge by a careless American. Yet, after these interruptions in mail service we would read in the American Press of battles, burnings, lootings, hangings, murder, pillage and rape at Pearson and nearby communities. Most of this we got from the local El Paso papers. These papers would print any lurid story purporting to come out of Mexico. Without attempting to varify it or giving authorship. They would appear under the heading of "It Is Reported." Especially was this the policy of the El Passo Times, the Phelps Dodge Copper Trust (of Bisbee fame) sheet.

It is true that Mexicans did often take supplies without paying for them. At Pearson the Co. had a large merchandise store. They often got food and clothing there, giving only a receipt in exchange. But I never knew of them looting the place. Or even helping themselves, tho the officers often went behind the counters and assisted the clerks in selecting clothing for their men.

The Pearson-Madero Co. remained neutral throughout, consequently none of their property was distroyed except that of transportation.

It is true that they finally had to suspend operations, due to continued interruptions of transportation. They have suffered a loss of profits certainly. But this loss they charge up to the Mexican Nation, expecting it to be paid with interest when peace and tranquility prevail.

I passed out of Mexico several times during the twelve months. Not once was I held up, robbed or molested. This in spite of the fact that different factions controlled. Jaurez, the border port town. at different times. When returning I always brought considerable goods, tools and other personal effects, with me from the states. Not once was I charged a duty on them. And only once was a passport required of me by the Mexicans. But on leaving Mexico finally, the train on which I was riding was held up by a band of Rebels near Chihuahua City. All persons were searched for arms. No money or other valuables were taken from any individual. But being in a playful mood, the "Rebels" sent the train wild into Chihuahua City, leaving us to hoof it some fifteen miles.

I am not pretending there has been no atrocities committed in Mexico during the ten years of Revolution and Counter-Revolution. Personally I know of a number of them. What I am trying to do is to show that there is no foundotion whatever for most of those reports, and to establish the reason for their circulation. It is economic and is deep-seated in the profit taking system and is exploited by those who would profit by intervention.

Bear in mind, Mexico has been in a state of war, more or less, for ten years. Compare the reported atrocities both in number and degree with those reported of other countries and other wars in like period and we find they are as but a speck on the atrocity world map, assuming they are all true, which they are not.

In this connection it is well to quote from another. A capitalist heavily interested in Mexican Oil. In the Ft. Worth Star Telegram, date March 1st appears a statement accredited to one Joseph F. Guffey of Pittsburg, Pa. David Lawrence, newspaper reporter, reports Mr. Guffey as having said, commenting on a reported speech of Governor Lowden of Illinois, wherein he made the statement that affairs in Mexico were "deplorable". Says Mr. Guffey: "Probably an investigation would show that there have been more hold ups, robberies and murders in Illinois during Mr. Lowden's term than in the whole of Mexico in a like period." Mr. Guffey is a man of prominence in America, politically, socially and financially. He states further that most of this stuff about Mexico is propaganda of those financially interested in Mexico saying "The chief offenders in this respect are so called associations for the protection of American rights in Mexico." Mr.

(Continued on page 4.)

The Black Sheep.

CHAPT. XXVII.

The Jungle.

It is not an uncommon sight for one travelling on the railoads just before entering some of our western towns, to see a small group of poorly clad men huddled about a camp fire on the right of way. Some times they are sheltered by a little shed made of old ties, at other times they are camped among the willows or other forest growth which grows along the track. Even when the men are not there the place is generally marked by a variety of old cans and buckets, store boxes, and other apparently worthless stuff. Also by a variety of names and initials carved on the trees and fences, if such there be. "It is a jungle, and to spend the night in such a place is known as "jungling up."

The average person living in a comfortable home and, having an income from business or otherwise as a rule has a very erronious idea of the class of men that inhabited these places during the time of this story. They were not tramps in the common meaning of that word; they were migratory workers who followed the harvests and other seasonal occupations. This work was too poorly paid to allow the worker to establish a home and live with any degree of comfort, for no sooner did he accumulate a few dollars than he had to move on in search of new employment. This form of labor which is absolutely essential to American grain and fruit industry could not help but develop the rolling stone which in its rolling lost what little moss it was inclined to gather.

These men as a rule did not earn money enough to partake of the commercial hospitality of the towns or to ride on passenger trains. Their mode of travel was in box cars or on the rods under them, and their hotels were the places described at the beginning of this chapter. Here they stayed regardless of rain or storm while they waited for their next opportunity to board a freight which would carry them in the direction they wanted to go.

It was in such a place that Jack found himself the evening he tumbled down the railroad embankment and joined the group that was sheltered in the Culbert behind the cheery blaze that had attracted his attention. It was what they called a "jungle of some class." That sygnified that it afforded more than average shelter. It was located in a little ravine at the bottom of which was a culbert under the railroad grade. The men had stopped up the further end with railroad ties, dry grass, and tamped it with snow excluding the bitter north wind and in front of this they had built a fire As long as the fire burned brightly the interior of the cave so construcaed was comfortably warm but the moment the fire died down the cold struck in and chilled the inmates to the marrow. Thus it was that while two or three slept two or three were kept busy rustling wood to keep up the glim.

When Jack arrived at the bottom of the ravine he found that the men about the fire were just an ordinary group of 'jungle birds' They were workers in search of a job and consequently like himself broke. One or two of them were extremely ragged and almost shoeless. Tired and footsore as the boy was he pitied them, and earnestly wished that he had the nine dollars which he paid the railroad company for the trip to his Montana job. It never dawned on him that if he had that nine dollars he might never have left that cave alive. In those days as now poverty was an essential to safety for the man who follows migratory labor.

There was but little formality of welcome except an anxious query on the part of the junglers as to the boys financial condition. Or if he had any punk (bread) in his possession. When he informed them that a lone fifty cent piece was his only companion they immediately began to figure what that would buy if the additional sixty cents possessed by the company were added to it. The whole amount was now intrusted to one of their number who was delegated to go to the village about a mile down the road and purchase the trimmings for a mulligan. It may be well to explain what a mulligan is. It is nothing more than such eatables that can be scraped together and boiled into a stew hich the hungry men eat with improvised forks and spoons generally cut from twigs of trees. The steaming hot mess has a wonderful revivifying effect upon any group of half frozen jungle Ambassador departed to the jungle ambassador departed to the village than two others were sent to raid the defenseless hen roost of a farmer who was known to live som where down the ravine. Jack having contributed the largest single share to the finance and being in an exausted physical condition was elected to stay near the fire and rest and being more tired than hungry he laid down upon the frozen ground and fell asleep. His leep was not dreamless however for the vision of hot soup drifted before his eyes and then again he saw visions of the little cabin on the shores of Couer d'Alane and Collins and Rudolph frying fish and arguing philosophy, and then again more presisitent than all others he saw the bars of the jail at Anamoose and beyond them, the auburn hair and blue eyes of Olive Anderson. He really slept for two hours but to him it seemed but a moment when the two men came tumbling into the cave with the mortal remains of a couple of old hens. We use the adjective old advisedly. They said that they had to go nearly two miles before they met a dog with whom they could talk business. They had no sooner deposited their prey in the large five gallon kerosine can which served as the jungle stew pot than they asked for the trimmings and were informed that the ambassador whom they had sent to the center of civilization had not returned with the articles of commerce, for which he was to negotiate. Suspicion was immediately aroused and threats were made, dire, horrible threats which of course were not executed. If Jack had been a little more acquainted with jungle ways he might have quoted very appropriate scripture to those who did the threatening for with the exception of the boy every mother's son of them had doen what their ambassador was doing there fore he might have said "he whom there is amongst you without sin, let him cast the first stone."

The fact was that their ambassador finding himself in possession of a dollar and ten cents immediately forgot his constituents. Every one of them were broke and he was a monied man. For it must be admitted that there is a vast difference betewen a dollar and he arrived in the village he forthwith he arrived in the village he forth with entered the premises of "John Barleycorn" and there sailed the seas of happiness until the last penny had crossed the bar, after which the jungle Ambassador was forcibly evicted by a husky bar tender. It was about two o'clock in the morning when he returned to the jungle in what police judges call "an intoxicated condition". Jack was the only one who listened to his story of having met a friend who was hungry and too weak to come to the jungle, the others paid no tatention to him. There had been occassions when they told similar stories themselves. Needless to say when the miscreant returned the others had devoured the chicken and he was forced to continue his fast.

About five o'clock the next morning Jack followed his new found companions to a point about two miles west of the town and there in the morning twilight they boarded a west bound freight and clung to it until in the evening, when one of the group told them that they had better get off as the most blood thirsty rail road bull on the entired division was to be found at the next stop. They had however crossed the great divide and were well down on the Pacific slope where the weather was much milder—and the jungling easier. They camped for the night in an old cabin which evidently had belonged to a prospector in days gone by. Two of the group now went to the town to do a little "pan handling" and they invited the Ambassador of the night before to go with them leaving Jack and a young fellow who called himself 'Boston Slim' to arrange matters in the cabin. The Ambassador was rather ill having had nothing but whisky for about fifty hours. The other two were in no happy frame of mind toward him, so it happened on the way to town that they forced him into an argument and gave him a sound drubbing after which he was dismissed from their company.

When the two arrived in the town of Mullen one went to a hotel and asked for an envelope and some stationary He put the stationary in the envelope and wrote on the outside the address of Mrs. Sarah Jones, Leesville, Ohio, and went down the street. The first residence he came to he knocked on the door and told the lady who answered a hard luck story asking her to give him a postage stamp that he might send this letter to his mother for assistance. She did not have the stamp but gave him a quarter and so he went from house to house until he had gathered about four dollars. He returned to the cabin, loaded with the necessaries of life. The other partner had taken less labor having simply taken a dressed chicken and two loaves of bread out af a grocery delivery wagon while the delivery man was in a house. There was a feast in the jungles that night and the next morning Jack walked into town and got his first job in the mines.

Once safely installed in the mine boarding house Jack was given a glimpse of another phase of the class struggle. He had been suddenly transplanted from the agricultural to the industrial proletariat and his analytical mind was not slow to discover that a man's industrial environment greatly modifies his mental processes as well as his physical habits of life and action. He noticed that there was a mining type as there was an agricultural type, and later on he would learn that each particular industry has tendency to draw to itself definite types of men and women.

He was employed as a mucker at first but in a couple of days he was given a job swinging a drill hammer. From the start he liked the work as it took him far into the bowels of the earth and by actual contact taught him much about the formation of rocks and the disposition of metaliferous ores. Eagerly he listened to every conversation the miners held upon the subject of formation, lodes and fissures, as well as upon the technique of working the mine, and in less than a week he caught himself using such terms as "dip, contact, talewall" as well as the different technical names of ores that the local mines yielded. But his contact with George and Herman, Rudolph and Collins had opened his mind's eye to the human side of the question. He could not help but ask how does this work effect the men engaged in it? How does it effect society as a whole? To what extent is the farmer dependent upon the miner? Can the miner exist independent of the farmer? This led him to interrogate his fellow workers as to their social conditions, and thru this discovered that the class war of which his friends had spoken and the foretaste of which he had experienced in the Anamoose jail was in reality the most diabolical fact in modern existence.

For the first time he learned that the Western Federation of Miners had been, and still was in a life and death strugle with the mine owners. They told him of the pitched battles which had been fought at Cripple Creek and other Colorado towns, of the thugs and gun men employed by the company to terrorize workers into accepting company conditions of servitude. They also told him that only the summer before the union miners in the mine he now worked had been taken and herded into a bull pen, guarded by companies of negro soldiers. These negroes seeing that the white men were confined and helpless had openly insulted and taken liberties with the

(Continued on page 4.)

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

The Toiler

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EDITOR ....Elmer T. Allison

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Crashing on to Ruin

Capitalism is running a race with Destruction. Here as elsewhere. All informed observers agree that unless Europe can be placed in a position to feed itself and quickly at that, the downfall of the present system and the rise of Sovietism is inevitable. The world war disrupted the industrial machinery of production to such an extend that revolutionary uprisings of the masses of suffering peoples have resulted almost universally.

A general world revolution is what capitalism faces. That is what it is attempting to keep down. And the tale which all travelers from Europe bring is—more credit, more food, more clothing, more of all things which human beings need and crave for a decent existence for Europe—or Sovietism, Socialism, Bolshevism will inevitably arise. Revolutions rise from unsatisfied hunger, even dense capitalism realizes this—now. It is bending every effort to stave off the inevitable collapse.

The elements which have brought about the present condition of Europe are active in American industry and social life. Millions of workers, organized workers, are unable to live upon their incomes. Capitalism in the one country of the world which actively participated in the recent holocaust with practically no economic loss, finds itself unable to guarantee its workers enough of the necessities of life to make living bearable.

Within the past six months nationwide strikes in three basic industries have occured. Thousands of lesser strikers have taken place. Hundreds are occuring every day in the year. Spontancity, always an active element in times of unrest is seen in all of them. The workers, without apparent reason to a casual observer strike, disrupt the industrial processes to a tremenodus degree. Labor is restive. An insignificant group of workers walk off the job, a workman is jailed, and as a result, a whole industry of a city or even a state is knocked out of commission for a day or a week.

Continuance of the capitalist system of production demands an unceasing flow of products for out of the products must come the profits of capital. A discontented, striking, sabotageing working class is not only a non producer of surplus value, profits, but is a positive element of danger to the system of production. It may at a propitions moment decide to dispose of the owners of industry and operate it for their own benefit. Unless capitalism can guarantee the workers enough of the necessities of life to keep them contentedly at work, the danger is accentuated to a degree that increases in proportion to the discontent.

American capitalism, it seems has evolved to the point where it can make no such guarantees. It is because of this fact that we witness the perpetual industrial strife and the ever growing discontent of the workers. Capitalism is crashing on to its ruin here as elswhere. Its day is done.

A Spring-time Fad

The overall wearing fad has lately struck the country—or at least it has in the newspapers whose enterprise keeps them on the alert for bunk of this sort. If you took them seriously you'd believe that our poor millionaires and politicians were all going to clothe themselves in the "purple of the poor." (That's our own.) Ostensibly, the overall is coming into its own as a means of reducing the cost of living of those who can afford to live well. The papers have been filled with pictures of politicians, judges, bankers and a lot of that riff raff posed in their new blues. The idea seems to have a sudden appeal to persons of quality who never heretofore had a desire to be photographed in the garb of a useful citizen.

Now, we know something about overalls. We were born in them so to speak. At least we grew up in them and have worn out as many pairs as any one of similar age and carlessness, we wager. And we know that no one wears them for appearances, comfort or for the satisfaction of any aesthetic taste. And so when we view their sudden putting on by members of the bourgeois we just smile and say, "wait six weeks." The fad will pass—and it will pass without having reduced to a half penny the high cost of clothing.

Methinks the bourgeoisie might do well to get used to the scratchy things tho, the sooner the better perhaps. Since the big turnover in Russia it looks like overalls were going to be in great demand and it might come suddenly, so if the bourgeoisie have a few pairs in the attic or the basement when the demand is heavy they will be in luck. We would even suggest that they retain the fad until that time as it will save them a great deal of embarrassment when the order comes to mobilize for useful production. It would be the first time that we know of that a fad became a useful habit.

By all means keep them on—you might be taken for a useful producer.

DEFEND THEM NOW—WHILE DEFENSE WILL HELP!

Lotta Burke' Charles Baker and Marguerite Prevey have been indicted for opposing the Dictatorship of Capitalism. They have done their best for the workers in the Class War between Capital and Labor. Capital has indicted them and will attempt to put them in jail where their usefulness to the workers will cease.

They must be defended. You can help defend them by helping to pay the costs of their fight for freedom. We ask you to help NOW when defense is needed and your dollars will help most.

Send your dollars now.

THE BURKE, BAKER AND PREVEY DEFENSE.

Enclosed find $............ for the defense of these comrades.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... State ....

Send all Funds to The Toiler
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Proletarian Science History

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.
Copyright 1920. By W. E R.

OUTLINE CHART FOR MIDDLE SAVAGERY.

Beginning	Discovery of utility of fire.
Tools and Weapons	Fashioned stone tools. Bone fish-hooks. Primitive spears, etc.
Transportation	Natural locomotion. Water, rafts, drift logs, etc.
Subsistence	Cooked flesh of fish and small animals in addition to previous diet.
Shelter	Caves, rude huts, etc.
Clothing	Primitive reed, bark and skin loin protection.
Environment	Tropical, semi-tropical and temperate climate. Habitation, forest, sea shore and banks of streams. Migration caused by changes in food supply, geological and other causes.
Organization	Primitive gens and tribe. Evolution of the group marriage.
Arts and Institutions	Very primitive.
Duration	Less than lower savagery.

SAVAGERY.
Middle Age.

The second age of human history is known as the age of middle savagery and dates from the discovery of the utility of fire.

We know practically nothing of the circumstances under which man discovered the utility of fire. We can only speculate upon the probable circumstances. It is highly probable that the utility of fire was discovered and lost and discovered again by various tribes of primitive man before its utility became generally known.

While we may never know just HOW the use of fire originated, we CAN know that all the advancement of later civilization rests upon the unrecorded strivings of primitive man through the uncounted ages of the past.

Curiosity was the probable cause of primitive man's discovery of the utility of fire. Curiosity is a marked characteristic of all primitives, and the supposition is, that in examining the smoldering embers left from a forest fire the discovery was made.

Whatever the method first used, fire from lava or volcanoes, fire set while playing with pieces of transparent quartz, fire by friction, fire by spontaneous combustion, fire from a lightning stroke, we know now that man is the only animal which can build a fire and keep it burning.

All of the methods by which fire may be produced may be summed up under three heads, electrical, chemical and tactile.*)

All animals except man dread fire. Without fire, man was the prey of all the predatory animals of the night. The camp-fire was man's first real home, his first refuge of safety from the teeth of the dark. The love of fire is an instinct which has come down the ages to us from the period of middle savagery. This instinct had its origin in the safety and comfort which the fire afforded.

An instinct is a race memory—things we do because our ancestors HAD to do them in order to survive.

The lure of the camp-fire entices all who are human, but it has an especial lure for children who biogenetically are passing thru that stage of their development which corresponds with middle savagery in our phylogenetic history.**)

Fire gave man an enormous advantage in the struggle for existence. It gave him protection from beasts of prey and in addition it enabled him to increase his food supply. Cooked food was added to his daily menu. Fire also enabled man to widen his range of travel.

Early migrations were doubtlessly due to several causes. Fire, by making a fish diet palatable, enabled him to travel along the shores and steams. Forest or prairie fires by destroing the available food supply would force man to migrate in search of other sources of food. Fecundity would also force migration.***) The

fiction of man's existence at the beginning of the fire age.

number of individuals becoming greater than the food supply of the territory, not yet having learned artificial means of production, migration was the only other alternative.****)

Migration caused primitives of various groups to meet, and by the law of imitation, to copy the language and methods of each other. This is the basis of primitive education.

The primitives who were adaptabel and learned the utility of fire had an enormous advantage over their non-fire-using brothers. An opportunity for an undisturbed rest and sleep at night thus conserving energy for the acquisition of food during the daylight hours made a stronger race and made the fire-users the dominant race.

Knowledge of the utility of fire is a SOCIAL HERITAGE, and is inseparably interwoven with every phase of human progress. No civilization is possible without fire. No metals, no engines, no electrical devises, no telegraphs or telephones, no mills, mines or factories are possible without a knowledge of the uses of fire.

If one individual throughout the ages had collected one cent from each individual who benefited from a knowledge of the utility of fire (as we today, through patents, set aside a sum for great inventors) that individual would today be the economic master of the world.

During the age of middle savagery the primitive sun dance took on a religious character, out of which some authors*) claim the decorative idea evolved. Primitive clothing was a development of this idea.

It was during the age of middle savagery that the rudiments of most of our institutions took form. Primitive groups developed into gentes and tribes, the group marriage taking on definite character. This age ended with the discovery of pottery making. Its duration in years was much less than that of lower savagery.

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*) Tyndall in his book, "Heat a Mode of Motion" has an excellent discussion on the probable methods by which fire was first produced. The student is also referred to C. W. Garrett's "Fire, from Holocaust to Beneficence."

**) Professor J. Howard Moore's little book, "The Law of Biogenesis," is a veritable mine of information concerning the instincts of savagery which may be observed in growing children. In addition to naming and explaining such instincts as the love of fire, the love of water, the fear of the dark, the gang instinct, the combative instinct, the throwing instinct etc., he also traces the workings of the biogenetic law in the mental world as well.

***Jack London's "Before Adam" is a splendid description in

***)Note here the material external origin of ideas. Ideas do not spring ready made out of the ether but are the result of adaptability to the impressions caused by changes in his environment. All of the ideas which men have, or had, had their origin in material environment. Thus out of a cave, and having experienced its comfort, the IDEA of building an artificial cave or shelter would naturally be forced into the savage brain.

***) Herbert Spencer's, "Education."

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER V.

1. What is meant by the middle age of savagery?
2. What great discovery marks this age?
3. What is known of the circumstances of the discovery of fire?
4. What distinguishes man from the rest of the animal kingdom with respect to fire?
5. Of what advantage was fire in the struggle for existence?
6. What does the biogenetic law teach us from child life?
7. What is meant by an instict?
8. Explain the law of adaptability with reference to fire.
9. In what manner did the use of fire make for a stronger race?
10. What human characteristic probably led man to discover the utility of fire?
11. Name the three methods by which fire may be produced. Explain.
12. What is migration?
13. How was it caused?
14. How does fecundity influence migration?
18. Name the social effects of migration.
16. Explain the origin of ideas.
17. What is a social heritage?
18 What was a sun dance?
19. Name the institutions which took form during this age.
20. What was the probable origin of the idea of clothing?

SPARKS.

A S. of Christopher Ill., says he is on the job for defense of comrades Prevey, Baker and Burke.

Comrades of Molio Ill., are asking for Prevey dates. Many Ohio Locals are arranging for meeting for her.

Akron held a good Prevey defense meeting Sunday, April 11th.

Comrade L. W. of Weston, W. Va. has promised a very substantial sum for the Prevey, Baker, Burke defense. He has collected it from among fellow workers.

One Hundred Strangling America leaflets go to comrade Morgan od Moline. Have you distributed a hundred yet? Better order now.

Among many orders for leaflets Nos. 1. and 2. is that od Local Cincinnati for 500 Soviet Labor Laws.

Local Portsmouth orders 200 each of these leaflets. Also calls for a Prevey date.

L. A. C. of Akron casually remits for 11 subscriptions. He sure has gotten the boosting habit.

Comrade Gregory sends us 6 subs. from Cincinnati and tells us how he helps to keep up the work. Accepting pamphlets for premiums, he distributes these among the workers. This leads to more subs. and they in turn mean more distribution of pamphlets. Thus the education of the workers continues. Good scheme.

Remember—with over $7.50 worth of subscriptions sent us we will give $1.50 worth of literature—your choice. Can you do better?

Comrade Thomas of Akron falls in line with a bunch of 6 subscriptions. All of which proves that it can be done — doesn't it?

Another reaper of six comrade A. W. W. of Massilon. And again we say it's proof that it can be done. Better get a subscription blank, comrade and do it too.

We note a handful of cards from comrade Blank among the weeks sub. receipts. This is not something new. We comment upon it because it happens so often—that's all.

And here are four cards from J. B. A. of Lock 4 Pa. He's another who has the sub. getting habit.

Two subscriptions and $1.00 for the cartoon fund is received from comrade Tragesser of Akron. One little boost deserves another apparently.

Comrade Reed of Providence R. I. remits for two subs. Just a proof that we are stretching out into new territory.

Comrade usually deel grateful if we keep their names on the list for a week or two after the expiration of their subsciptions. But they take a chance by not renewing at once. When you get a renewal slip better renew at once and be sure of getting all issues.

Comrade Scott of Lawndale, remits for two new ones. There's a lot of satisfaction in getting even one sub for The Toiler. Better grab off all the little pleasures there are running around lose, comrades. Getting subs for The Toiler is one that's available to all.

But when one grabs off a bunch of half a dozen we imagine that the booster feels so good that it keeps him awake nights. However that may be, comrade Hilkins of Toledo does that. At last reports he was exceptionally happy.

Another hundred copies of Soviet Labor Laws go to comrade Blodgett of So Bend. Just shows how they are going Are any going to you?

A big order of pamphlets goes to comrade Howell of Mineral Wells Texas. That's a long way but it proves how far away The Toiler reaches. Comrade Howell is busy in the work of literature distribution.

A comrade from Tacoma Wash., writes: I send every copy of The Toiler to "Freiheit", Berlin, Germany". Suppose the conservatives of Germany would denounce him as an "American bolshevik attempting to undermine our country and institutions".

Four is the number of subscriptions sent us last week by comrade Cole of Jackson Mich.

Comrade Meads remits for 4 subs from various parts of the U. S.

Seven at a clip is what comrade Lennox of Sidney sends us. As a premium he asks for Lenin the Man.

Comrade Jenkins of Weirton, W. Va remits for two subscriptions and leaflets.

Comrade Litten of Flushing takes the prize this ewek for the number of subs sent in. His list totals fifteen. That ought to make others feel that life still holds some hope, eh?

Free Books and Pamphlets

Beginning April 1st the subscription price of The Toiler advances to $1.50 per year, 6 months 75c. The advancing costs of publication will no longer permit us to publish at the old rate of $1.00 per year.

In this connection we wish to urge every Toiler booster to strive the harder for subscriptions. The field is unlimited and at the new rate which is not at all high comparatively, there should be no slackening up in the number of subscriptions received. On the contrary, there should now be a greater effort on the part of Toiler readers to help its circulation grow. No weekly periodical gives its readers a higher grade publication than The Toiler and with the hearty support of its readers it will continue to become a better paper.

Our offer of $1.50 worth of literature with every purchase of $5.00 worth of subscription cards has enabled many comrades to obtain good books and pamphlets free. We will continue this offer with only one change. Instead of receiving $1.50 worth of literature for $5.00 worth of cards we will now give the same amount of literature free with every $7.50 worth of subscription cards.

COMMUNIST SATURDAY - MAY 1st. Work for Communism!

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN GERMANY.

By Linn A. E. Gale.

The New York World on January 1, 1919, declared editorially that "a Bolshevik Germany means a Bolshevik Europe."

At that time German soldiers returning from the eastern front were bringing copies of the proclamation issued by the Soviet government of Russia that said: "The Socialist union of Russia, Austria and Germany must be established on the ruins of militarism, imperialism and economic slavery."

Commenting on the situation Louis C. Fraina, then editor of the **Revolutionary** Age, and now international secretary of the American Communist Party, wrote: "The general European, the World Revolution, depends upon the completion of the Proletarian Revolution in Germany; but equally the Proletarian Revolution in Germany depends upon the General Revolution."

Nobody appreciates these facts and fears a Soviet Republic in Germany more than the great capitalist nations of the world. Constantly they have shuddered at the thot of a Bolshevist regime in Berlin and yet they have hesitated to do the very things that might have delayed Bolshevism there for considerable time. They have stood between the devil and the deep sea—between their fears, on the one hand, of a Bolshevist Germany, and their fears, on the other hand, of a reaction to kaiserism and the return to power of the junkers. Seesawing back and forth, afraid of both contingents, they have concluded that it was better to frankly support or at least tolerate the old military party than to do anything which hastens Soviet rule. So in the recent coup when the Hindenburg gang was in the ascendency and the restoration of monarchy was not unlikely, the Allies kept hands off and promised not to interfere unless the situation could not be controlled within the country. It was plain where their sympathies were. In spite of their hatred for the kaiser and his party — a hatred not based on principle, but based on commercial rivalry and jealousy—they preferred a resumption of kaiserism to the adoption of Communism.

This very treachery and stupidity on the part of Allied capitalism, will produce the precise consummation that it so fears and shrinks from.

Repression and tyranny in Germany practiced by the fake Socialist government of Ebert, Scheidemann and approved and even urged by the Allied governments, are driving Germany direct to Soviets. Moderation and prudence would have delayed the Social Revolution in Germany. But blind rage and terrorism have hastened it as nothing else could. This present revolution may or may not be successful. But the masses of Germany have been convinced by bitter experience and brutal oppression that Soviets are their salvation and that a capitalistic republic is as bad as or worse than the old regime of the kaiser. And if this revolution does not succeed, there will be another one that will succeed.

"Democracy has had its chance in Germany and lost it", says Maximilian Harden, and he is right. Capitalistic diplomacy made a mess of the situation and only stirred the German proletariat to deeper depths of revolutionary feeling. The people, disillusioned and awakened, will now have Communism or nothing. They want no more either of monarchism or of capitalist "democracy."

Harden well says, "The outside world must prepare itself to deal with a modified Soviet government in Germany. Factory Soviets are going to dictate the policy of the government thru their central committee... For a year this socalled democratic government had its own vay but did ont know how to satisfy the people.... The government had the task of removing every sign of the old autocratic rule which had become detestable to the German people and to make then realize a new era. What did it do? It maintained the country in a state of armed siege on the one side, flattering the bourgeoisie that the old capitalism would continue, deceiving the workmen with the idea that the socialization of industries was a meoe matter of time... Then came the affair of January 13, when the government shot up the demonstration before the Reichstag. Since then the workmen have been restive..."

The present revolution soon followed. Whatever may be the immediate outcome it is a well-planned, wisely-directed revolution. The workers know what they are doing. The Spartacans of Germany have learned by experience, also not a little by observing that master mind, Lenin, vhose cool-headedness and far vision have baffled and beaten the imperialists of the whole world. The German revolutionists, 100,000 in numbers, seised Essen, the home of the mammoth Krupp arms plant, and the very heart of Prussian militarism. Next they took possession of the cities of Duseldorf where food and clothing are produced, and Kiel, where ships are manufactured. Unless there is a sudden reaction, it will not be many days, judging from conditions at this writing, before all Germany will be under the red flag of International Communism.

A loan of money to the Ebert government to enable it to buy sufficient supplies from other countries, would have tided it over a little longer, altho it could not have prevented the eventual uprising that was certain. But the Allies were too vacillating in their policy and too fearful of helping the defeated foe, to extend the needed help. They could not see that the German people, lacking raw materials, could not barter goods for goods and must either get a loan with which to buy those goods or else go to pieces. They were too short-sighted to realize that the more they "punished" Germany by withholding help and keeping her in a state of paralysis and privation, the more fuel they were adding to the flames of Bolshevism within her borders.

It is so thruout the world. It is characteristic of a privileged class that when it gains a certain modicum of power, it begins to lose all sense of reason and to imagine that it can, in street vernavular, "get away with anything." Judgment no longer restrains it. Yielding to unlimited greed and avarice, it spoils its own game and deprives itself of even what it already possesses. Like the dog in Aesop's fables, who dropped the piece of meat from his mouth to grab for the reflected piece in the water, plutocracy loses what it now has in a foolish effort to snatch still more from the masses.

American capitalism is playing with matches and dynamite when it denies radicals the use of constitutional methods and will not even seat Socialist officials who have been legally elected. The inevitable result will be resort to direct action and possibly to bloody revolution.

Even as America will be by the White Terror, so Germany is already being scourged into unadulterated Bolshevism by the unmitigated severity of its peace terms and the unbridled ferocity of its general policy. Whether the Spartacans come into power right now or a little later is not the question. The big fact is that they are going to rule Germany and that it is now too late to stem the tide of public sentiment. The masses are aroused. Soviet Germany is a certainty.

Calmly and complacently, we Communists watch the suicidal folly of the capitalist class of all countries.

We need only prepare to establish the New Order. The capitalists themselves are tearing down the old one as rapidly as we could wish.

Three little stingy hours.

THEY WERE "WILLING"(?)

By Linn A. E. Gale.

Paul Wallace Hanna, writing for the Federated Press, calls attention to the famous remark of President Wilson in June 1917 of the Selective Draft Law: "This is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling". Mr. Hanna adds, "And now comes Senator Fall and the Associated Press declaring 'Thirty thousand Americans crossed into Mexico to evade the Draft Law'".

Oh, yes, they were willing. So "willing" that 30,000 of them left the country and that many of those who remained in the country went to jail and suffered the horrors of the inquisition rather than go to Europe and cut out the gute of their fellow men. So "willing" that all thru the west and southwest of the U. S. thousands of bands of "slackers" organized to resist being dragged into camp, establishing retreats in caves, forests and various isolated places So "willing" that many of them had to be beaten, bayonetted and even shot before they would consent to participation in the boasted war for democracy. And so "willing" that thousands of those who took their medicine and went to Flanders and were lucky enuf to come back alive, declare that all hel could not drive them into another such bloody farce.

Senator Fall has been making some interesting "discoveries" lately, among them being this fact that so many conscientious objectors went to Mexico and another being the fact that the Communist Party of Mexico believes in Communism and is therefore opposed to any more capitalist wars.

If Senator Fall continues to manifest the same superior intelligence, he will probably "discover" some of these days that it wouldn't be a very healthy thing for him and his co-agents of Wall Street to try to send the boys of the U. S. out on another such errand of suffering and slaughter.

The British Labor Movement.

BY FELIX MORLEY

Staff Writer — The Federated Press

Article 4—The Labor Press

LONDON—A favorite saying in the navy is that the fighting power and general efficiency of any squadron must be calculated on the speed, armament and other characteristic of the weakest unit in that squadron; that one up-to-the-minute batteleship does not make the whole fleet weak; that for instance, there is no adventage in possessing a ship capable of steaming thirty miles an hour if it has to stay in line with another whose top-most speed is fifteen miles an hour.

As the navy is one of the encumbrances from which labor suffers in the form of wasted production, indirect taxation, militaristic spirit and lowered standard of living, labor at least should appropriate any idea which may emanate from a "service" for the maintenance of which it pays so dearly. In particular it should realize the truth of the "weakest unit" theory and note how truly it holds in the labor movement. For the weakest unit in the labor movement of every capitalist nation today is undoubtedly the highly important unit of the labor press.

This is clearly recognized in England, and at the present time the entire labor movement is devoting a great deal of time, energy and money to building up a powerful labor press. The cooperation of every element, extremists, moderates, and the various shades of opinion in between, is as marked a characteristic of this effort as it is of every phase of the British Labor Movement. The results of cooperation are already apparent in the increased circulation and freedom from government persecution which is enjoyed by labor papers over here. I asked one of the editors of the Daily Herald whether that powerful organ of labor thought is in anyway hampered by government censorship, denial of second-class mailing privileges, or other more or less subtle efforts to curtail its influence in behalf of social progress.

"They know that if they tried to suppress the Herald now the Triple Alliance would stop every wheel in the country," he replied.

"And what would happen if a bill were introduced in Parliment empowering the Postmaster General to suppress labor newspapers at his discretion, as has been done in America with us?" I inquired.

The reply was a heartly laugh. "Why Lloyd George knows only too well that it was tactics of that sort which made a bloody revolution in Russia inevitable", he said, adding that the same realization of the intention of the workers to maintain the right of free press is held by the government with a respect to papers more directly propagandist in their outlook, usch as the Glasgow "Forward."

Any article on the British Labor Press at the present time must center on the Daily Herald. It is the one daily newspaper of British labor; is already a very vital factor in the labor movement on this side, and is steadly gaining in importance. Remarkable success in getting accurate news from Russia is only one reason why it is so cherished by the British Labor Movement. The special trade union committee of which Arthur Henderson is chairman, appointed last November to assist in developing the paper, stated recently that "during tre trying period of reconstruction through which we are passing our work would appear wellnigh hopeless without the Daily Herald."

It was the great railway strike last fall which really made the Daily Herald. The capitalist press united in characterizing the attitude of the railway men as something little short of anarchy. As the only daily giving a true account of the strikers' case the Herald's fundamental importance to the whole labor movement was recognized everywhere. Its daily circulation leaped to half a million and at city news stands there were throngs every morning asking for "the labor paper." Tho the circulation since then has dropped to a daily average of something over 300,000 is due solely to the fact that the paper's present printing equipment in London can not meet the full demand.

Imagine an honest labor newspaper with a circulation approximating that of the New York Times and reaching every corner of Great Britain, a paper which subscribers to every press association operating in England and in addition is now spending upwards of $25,000 a year on special foreign correspondence, a paper which not only covers the industrial news of Great Britain from the workers standpoint, but which can be relied upon to contain all that is essential of the news printed in other papers,—and you have a good idea of the position already eached by the Herald. And yet it is of comparatively recent origin, founded in March 1912 as a daily, becoming a weekly in September, 1914, (after the outbreak of war), and starting up as a daily again only in March 1919. It should be noted that the Herald would not have been able to resume publication as a daily last year had it not been for the generosity of a small group of wealthy sympathizers who made the paper an unconditional gift of half a million dollars, without any suggestions or strings as to policy attached.

At first glanc the Daily Herald is not impressive to American eyes, following the general English custom of small size and extreme condensation of all but the most important news. There are only five columns to the page and eight pages a day, excepting Monday when the issue is ten pages. The Herald does not appear Sundays at present. This smallness of size is somewhat compensated by the small attention which is paid to advertising, an average of not more than three columns an issue being taken up by trade "ads". About a page is given to topical photographs and other daily features. There is an editorial page of exceptional strength, which carries special articles by men and women prominent in all phases of labor movement. There are also excellent cartoons by Will Dyson, rather spoilt by being compressed into one column width. In common with most English papers the Herald is not a financial success at the present time. It is running at a loss of about $3000 a week.

The plans which have been laid to develop the Daily Herald and insure financial success, promise to make it one of the greatest and most influential newspapersin the world, bar none. They comprise, (1) printing simultaneously in London and Manchester, in the northwest of England with the same general, but different local news, so that the industrial north and Ireland can be readily supplied with a real labor newspaper. It is expected that this will result in the circulation going up to a million copies a day. (2) Enlarging the paper by making it ten or twelve pages daily, and adding a Sunday edition, which could be accomplished when the present strain on the London plant is relieved. (3) Issuing an Evening Daily Herald, with entirely different staff but same general policy as the present paper.

To accomplish these end a great deal of money is necessary, and the way the entire labor movement is rallying to supply this money is typical of the cooperation which is bringing so much success in England. The special committee appointed by trade union officials to develop the paper consists of Arthur Henderson, secretary of the Labor Party; Frank Hodges of the miners, J. H Thomas of the railwaymen, Ernest Bevin of the dockers, W. C. Robinson and Ben Turner of the Textile workers. Local development committees are at work in every section of the country and from the way cash and pledges are rolling in it appears that the desired fund of $500,000 will be at hand by the end of this month. An improtant development contemplated will later give the unions authority to nominate half fo the board of directors of the paper, though there is no question of interfering with the control of policy exercised by George Lansbury as chairman of the editorial board

So far as the daily newspaper field is concerned the Daily Herald is the labor press of Great Britain. At the present time it is far from adequate to the responsibility imposed by this condition a fact which its editors are the first to admit. It must be remembered, however, that any big New York or Chicago paper has a territorial circulation as wide as England, Scotland and Wales combined, and that Great Britain is still a country largely dependent on three cities,—London, Manchester and Glasgow,— for an informative press. When the Daily Herald is printed simultaneously in London and Manchester, with a morning and afternoon edition, and possible further development in Glasgov, a long step will have been taken towards meeting the irsistent demand for a press able to voice the truth about the British Labor Movement.

The Daily Herald is the only daily, but by no means the only paper of British labor There is a strong group of influential labor weeklies which are not only filled with labor news of national and international importance, but also serve to fill in the field of local information which is beyond the scope of the Daily Herald. A good example is the "Labor Leader", at present a four column, twelve page weekly with a circulation of 60,000. This paper it the official journal of the Independent Labor Party and well expresses the intelligence, common sense, and fighting qualities which ahve made this Socialist organization the leading factor in the labor movement. Special articles by such leading characters as Ramsey MacDonald, Margaret Bondfield, Philip Snowden and Mary McArthur have much to do with its popularity.

Weekly papers rather similar to the Labor Leader in apperance, but more violent in tone, are the "Call," the official organ of the British Socialist Party, and the Glasgov "Forward," an independent paper mainly devoted to spreading the cause of industrial unionism. The circulation of the latter is about 40,000; that of the Call something less.

In common with other European countries there is a strong demand in England now for building up a powerful and comprehensive international Labor Press Service. This sentiment is being reduced to practical details. The Daily Herald has already unofficially promised to spend $2500 a year in subscribing to such a service. Plans for general British participation have been pretty well orked out. The executive committee of the Trades Union Congress have been asked to consider the recomendation that British Labor's official subscription to an International Labor Press should be not less than $15,000 a year. Here a reilable international labor news service is regarded as a most necessary step and there is much comment over the apparent apathy of American labor towards the project.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

miners wives and daughters. The man who gave him this information was sympathetic to the union but the rest of his companion seemed to have no conception of their rights in this world. The great mass of them even of those who were organized had no real conception of the historic and social nature of the class struggle. With most of them it was all a matter of good employers and bad. It all depended on the kind of company one worked for. Still he noticed that among the workers who were inclined to think for themselves that they all sympathized more or less with organized effort but they all cautioned him not to speak of it lest they lose their jobs.

Jack however could not keep still. The philosophy of George and Herman, Rudolph and Collins had ignited his soul and before he knew it he had two hundred and fifty men listening to him while he expounded the philosophy of Karl Marx from the porch of the boarding house. The next morning to his surprise when he was about ot enter the mine the foreman gave him a little envelope and told him that he was wanted at the office. At the office they told him that his services would be dispensed with and he was requested to leave Company property at once.

(Continued next week.)

Some History.

Continued from page 2.

Guffey had but recently returned from Mexico, where he is heavily interested in oil.

Lastly let me add another of my own experiences on matters atrocious.

I spent eighteen months in the Philipine Islands, as a Soldier of the U. S. A. 1899 to 1901. At that time the Philipino was fighting for the right of self government, "self determination." While wearing the uniform of America I saw committed by soldiers of this land of the "brave and home of the free," of boasted just and lofty ideals and democratic institutions of culture, every atrocious crime of which the lowly Mexican is now accused. And further more, I was a party to many of them at the command of my "Superior" officers.

Before undertaking to clean up other people and their premisses it would be well to sweep out our own back yard and sterilize our own putrid hands.

I could relate a hundred reasons why the Mexican people, especially the workingclass, have no love for America and Americans.

The Mexicans know that it was by the support of foreigners, especially the American, capitalistic interests, in exchange for Mexican wealth and privilage, that Diaz was kept on the throne of Mexico for more than thirty years, and thru his reign, the Mexican people were kept in ignorance and poverty: peonage, bound to the Feudal Estates and Foreign Capital and corporate interests. They are still suspicious of those interests and not without cause. But this is not all. American workingmen who have gone into Mexico, seeking to better their condition have snubbed the Mexican workers, even in their own country. They dub them Greaser, Palow, Peon and their attitude tward them is as tho they are of the lower order, and not to be at all considered as a human asset.

Such American workingmen have permitted themselves to become the tools of the capitalists who's sole object is to exploit both the American and Mexican workers at the expense of their ignorance. That ignorance is exploited by the capitalist in the form of race hatreds, and national prejudice as a veilto cover the dork recesses of his profit seeking machinations.

Workers of America: Do not permit youreslves to be used as the tools of exploiters of Mexican resources and Mexican workers. Do not permit yourselves to be led, or driven into the net of the conspirators, the fomenters of wars for pillage and private gain. You have nothing to gain, all to loose. It is you who will furnish the corpses, the blood, and pay the debt in full, while the human vultures, the capitalists and others who are even now your masters and bondsman, will grow more rich and powerful off of your misery and strengthen ten fold their strangel hold on the lives of all the workers of this land.

The writer has spent many years along the Mexican border, on either side, among the Mexican people. They are good people. They are just as good people as the opportunity they have had could make them. The product of their surroundings, environment.

Do you want to murder them and conquer them? Or do you want to assist them to greater opportunities to give them a chance to grow, to develop? I could write volumes of facts, not fancies, on this matter of the Mexican people, their difficulties, their aspirations as well as relate many a human interest story to sustain all that I have said.

There is but one solution of this Mexican Problem. It is the Solution of Labors' Problems everywhere. The Mexican is only seeking in his primitive way to enlarge upon life, by securing a greater and ever greater share of nature's wealth and the products of his own efforts untill the workers shall succeed in securing all, the full fruits of his expended energies. Is this not your aim too, Mr. American Worker? Then why not join hands with the Mexican Worker across the Rio Grande and say to him: By the Eternal Powers of Nature, our interests are the same, our objects and aims are so clearly related that we will not fight each other, but will cooperate, work together jointly to attain the goal of each and all. Industrial Democracy and International Brotherhood.

Long live the Interntional Solidarity of Labor.

Something is Wrong.

— By H. A. Hedden. —

Something is wrong. Some say it is labor unrest, some say it is H. C. L., some call it profiteering. But all agree that something is wrong. If a workingman has a family of two children or more, he has to be helped by the charity board.

Still the surplus taken from the exploitation of labor was greater in 1918 and 1919 than any two previous years. The workers go hungry while the master class roll in wealth.

The reason is that the workers have to go to the master class (The owners of the means of production) for a job. And the workers are given a job only on condition that they agree to produce a large susplus value over and above their own necesities, their food clothing and shelter.

And then I am asked if I love a government which allows the workers to go hungry, while the master class appropriate for their own use the surplus produced by the wage slaves. I say, no. I want to change the government to the workers can own their own job. The workers can never be free as long as they have to ask the master class for permission to use the tools of production. .. ..

When the working class own their own jobs, by owning all the means of production and distribution in common, then, and not till then will they be free and receive the full social value of their toil. By the workers I mean every one who does useful labor either with hand or brain. That includes some portions of the capitalist class. I want them to have all they produce or its equal in value.

Why shouldn't I want a change in the government? I have never met any one who was perfectly satisfied with this government in every way. Everybody wants some change, even president Wilson would like a league of nations. And I want a league of all the workers of the world. It is only by change that we make progress.

Now because I have this idea, and I am going to do my best to give the idea to others, are you going to hang, shoot, or jail me. Or hire the American Legion to mob me? That won't help any. Of course that will get rid of me. But how about the idea. You cant hang, shoot, jail, or mob that. That idea is being taught to the workers by the improved method of production all over the world. The more the method of production is improved, the more hellish the method of distdibution appears.

The present method of production and distribution gives to the workers a very small part of what they produce, less now than ever before in the history of mankind. It is this distribution that is the cause of all distribution which is the cause of all tradition between production and dimodern wars and most of the misery of mankind. And it is this same con stribution that is forcing the workers to understand they must own their jobs in order to be free.

The idea I am trying to teach did not come out of the air, or across the ocean, or originate out of somebody's brain. It developed with the development of the machinery of production. You might kill every man that had that idea now, and modern machinery would force the idea upon the minds of the workingman again.

You ask me why I dont leave this country if I dont like it. But I do like it. I never said I didn't like it. I was born here. My father was born here, and his father was born here, and his father and his father, and on so far back that I do not know where my ancestors came from originally. I love this country. That is why I want to stay here and make it a fit place to live in.

And I am willing to talk it over with you. And if I can not convince you that the present system of starvation, misery, and warfare can be changed for the better, I will not hang, shoot, jail, or mob you. I will wait for modern machinery to change your mind.

By the way, have you noticed, that the American Legion has mobed only members of the working class so far. And they havn't mobbed the workers when they were good and obedient and faithful in their work. And didn't try to tell the truth about the war. They havn't mobbed the war grafters, or the packers, or any of the big profiteers. Newberry and his gang are perfectly safe.

True patriotism according to the master class conception is to love honer and obey your master. If you don't some other man will, and you will be put in jail or mobbed.

THINK IT OVER.

TWO-MINUTE TALKS
ON
TO-DAYS
TOPICS
By
Elmer S. Allison

A PAMPHLET for the non-socialist 10c. — Address The Toiler.

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CAPITALISM MORTALLY WOUNDED.

WASHINGTON. — A remarkable study of the mortal wound sustained by international capitalism in the world war was written by Karl Radek last winter and printed in the February 7 issue of Die Zukunft.

Radek was at that time the representative in Germany of the Russian Soviet Government. During a fit of its familiar nervousness, the Ebert Government seized Radek and threw him into prison. While in prison Radek wrote a good-natured address "To the German Bourgeoisie." The celebrated German liberal edtior, Maximilian Harden, printed the article in full in his paper.

Radek's evident purpose was to show the German business classes that the Europe, are so near the abysis of bankrupcy that nothing could be gain-bankruptsy that nothing could be gained by a German policy designed to carry favor with London and Paris.

"He who studies the internal economic and political disturbances in the Entente countries," says Radek, "not according to the German press, which has never been as worthless as now, but in the 'Times', the 'Temps' and in the 'New Republican', and the reports of English banks and stock companies, will see the 'Post-Waritis' in these countries also manifest itself in decounrties also manifests itself in de-

"During the present winter this condition will produce social crisis and cause, probably in England and France, a coalition between the right wing of the working class with the left wing of the bourgeoisie—as a transitory stage in the world crisis.

"These conditions will oblige Entente capitalism to abandon its effort to overthrow the revolutionary movement in Central and Eatsern Europe, and be followed by efforts to negotiate with the revolutionary governments, in the hope, naturally, of cutting out the inner core of the revolutionary movement—to persuade or compel the revolutionary governments to adapt themselves to the capitalistic system.

"Far-sighted capitalist elements have already felt their way ahead in this direction. For example, Davison, leader of the Morgan Bankers, is one of the brakemen who stopped the aggressive movement against Russia.

"If the ground tembles under the feet of Entente capitalism more and more violently, then capitalists will soon realize that, just as there were commercial relations for many decades between the old feudalism and its successor, capitalism, so must the capitalists reconcile themselves to the existence of proletarian states. And this reconciliation is only hastened when the proletarian state shows itself aware that the capitalist sharks must be allowed to make their profit—until they are finally strangled by the proletariat of their own countries.

"The leaders of the Russian Republic understand this problem of the relationship betewen the Socialistic State and the capitalistic states, and that it existed even before the first modern Socialist existed—witness Wistenly in the Seventeenth Century. Pending the time when social revolution shall seize all capitalistic states and (that cannot occur at one and the same time), the Socialistic states are compelled to seek a modus vivendi in their foreign relations, for both political and economic reasons.

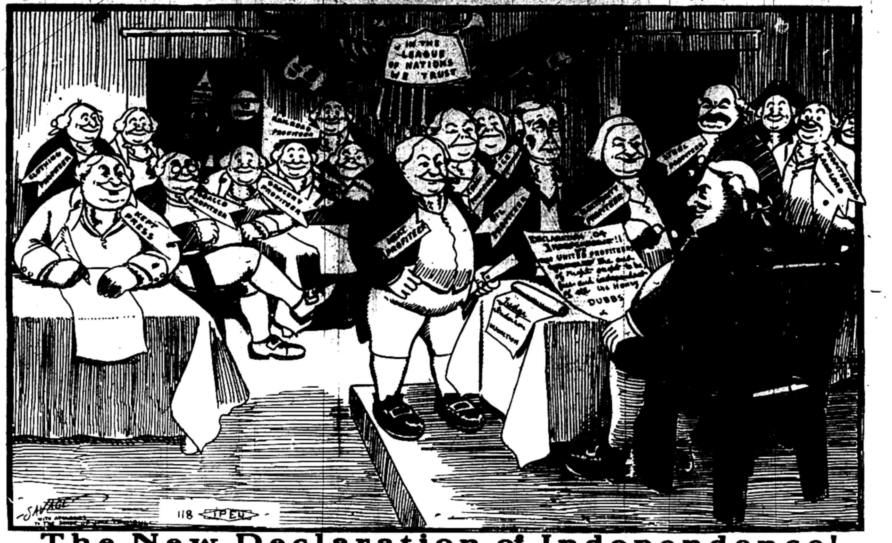
"Now the effect of this social crisis, which mitigates the pressure of world capitalism upon the Socialist State, is that capitalistic production decreases and the capitalistic states are not able to produce these goods the lack of which is also one reason why the revolutionary countries are compelled to seek a modus vivendi with the opposing economic system.

"When one beholds the strange hope of the German bourgeoisie of obtaining a lot of beautiful things from the Entente after the dragon of Bolshevism lies helpless on the ground, it takes one's breath away.

"Why does the German and Austrian bourgeoisie not study the real economic plight of the Entente countries? Why do they not ask themselves at least this question: If the United States and England are so rich in clothing, machinery and other good things, why do they allow Italy, through her shortage of all these blessings, to be driven toward revolution, and the social crisis in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia to exist? That is to say, why do they permit the very countries which were to constitute a sanitary cordon against the Bolshevist plague to grow weaker day by day?"

LONDON—A Communist party which has as its primary aim the establishment of an Irish workers republic, has been formed in Ireland, according to announcement at the London headquarters of the British Communist party. Leon McLoughlin, ex-president of the Socialist party of Ireland, leads the new group, which claims to recognize the need of freeing Ireland from England, but which wishes to establish working conditions with the English Communists.

The Irish Socialist party is working on the policy of obliterating all class distinctions in its fight for freeing the country. Although the party accepts the principles of the Moscow International, it is in realty working on the Sinn Fein basis.



The New Declaration of Independence!

American Capitalism Anxious to Establish "Order" in Mexico.

WASHINGTON—The Carranza Government of Mexico and the Ebert Government of Germany are being rocked in the same boat. Both regimes have tried to straddle between the old capitalist order and the new working class society. That is why they are being cuffed in succession from the right and from the left, and cannot last.

In every headline, news story and cartoon the investing classes of the United States proclaim their ardent support of the revolution against Carranza which began in the American border state of Sonora a fortnight ago. These classes are ready to dismember Mexico or to create such "anarchy" there that foreign (American) armies may plausibly be sent in to restore capitalist order.

This latest Mexican revolution is not a pure and simple capitalist affair, however. The land below the Rio Grande contains a large proportion of workmen and peasants who charge the Carranza regime with having failed to carry out the program of the great revolution which overthrew Porfirio Diaz and Hrerta. The uprising now on is certainly supported to a considerable extent by that disappointed element of native Mexicans.

It has been said at Washington for a long time past that General Alvaro Obregon is the candidate picked by "left wing" Mexicans to succeed Carranza at the July presidential elections. It has further been reported that in case disorders should occur to furnish a pretext then President Carranza would postpone the elections indefinitely, in which event the "left wing" would certainly resort to arms to overthrow the present administration.

With such explosive material to work with, business imperialists in the United States looked upon the Mexican situation as ideal. A single spark, they perceived, would be sufficient to envelope Mexico in the smoke of battle any time such smoke were most needed or likely to cover the long-delayed invasion and conquest by the Unite States.

The different native Mexican factions represented at Washington are so suspicious of each other that a reliable interpretation of the Sonora uprising is hard to obtain. And, until the sympathies and probable policy of the American Government are announced, these factions are slow to express themselves for publication. The important outlines of the struggle, however, they describe freely enough in private.

On behalf of President Carranza it is strongly denied that he feared the result of a general election and is plotting to remain in office by hook or crook. It is conceded that all the promises of the first revolution have not been realized that foreign and native capitalists still have a strong hold on the economic resources of the country, and that the government has dealt more drastically with strikes, for example, than with the corporations which it set out to render harmless. Carranza's friends say of the Sonora revolutionists that they are being used as catspaws by the interventionist party of the United States.

The anti-Carranza Mexicans here declare the Sonora uprising would never have got a start if Carranza had kept his hands off the election machinery through which the people next July might have expressed themselves. While not publicly endorsing this revolt in advance of the balloting, they say it came only when millions of the people were persuaded by Carranza's own acts that the cannon must become the voice of the masses.

As for the danger that foreign imperialists will take full advantage of the new uprising, Carranza's critics remark bitterly that it were as well for Mexico to risk all in another fight for economic freedom as to remain quiet while native and foreign capitalists complete their reconquest of the country, which is already far advanced with the consent of Carranza.

Intervention by the United States would mature more rapidly if this were not a presidential year. Enough strange things have happened since the fighting in Europe stopped to make politicians uncertain whether a fresh war would re-elect the Democrats or damn every public man who shouts to bring it about. Unless the super-government in Wall Street shall decide on immediate action, the prospect is good that politicians will send no American trops across the Rio Grande until after the November election.

Both the old parties look upon the military conquest of Mexico by the United States as "inevitable", but neither one of them is going to let the other have a monopoly this year on that "kept us out of war" slogan. At the very longest, however, Mexico has only another year left of self-determination, as the interventionists see it. After having their say in November the American people are expected to shut up and take orders for another four years. And the principle order will be "On to Mexico!"

How Would You Like This?

LONDON—One hour's ride from here is Letchworth, the model garden town of England, where 12,000 workers live among beautiful surroundings. The town is planned according to the most artistic and modern methods; no houses are more than two stories high, each is surrounded by a garden, and the rear yard is as well kept as the front.

Although there are some 30 industries in Letchworth, there is no smoke, for they are all run by electricity. The stores are confined to two streets—and very soon they are all going to be cooperative stores.

The village was built by the Garden Cities Co., which realizes only 5 per cent on the investment. The plan is to have the town buy itself out, and eventually run completely on the cooperative plan.

The houses are so arranged that no maid service is required. Some of the houses, and appartments for un-married workers, are built near a municipal kitchen, where well-cooked meals are provided at a low rate.

READ THESE THREE.

The Red Ruby.—The trial of Benjamin Gitlow at New York. Gitlow's speech, Clarence Darrow's speech, an article by Giovanitti—make The Red Ruby a mighty interesting contribution to revolutionary literature. 10c.

The Soviet of Deer Island. The story of the life of radicals while held for deportation at Deer Island. 15c.

Truth about the Lusk Committee. Contains much valuable information to all thinkers. 25c.

Adress The Toiler.

Washington News Letter.

WASHINGTON.—Louis F. Post is ready to resign as Assistant Secretary of Labor rather than retreat from the stand he has taken on the deportation of aliens.

And if the Secretary of Labor and President Wilson give him their support, Post is prepared and anxious to go before any committee of Congress and prove that his handling of the deportation cases has conformed strictly to the law.

The prospect is said to be more usually good that President. Wilson means to side with Post rather than with Attorney General Palmer in the treatment of aliens charged with communist leanings. For such an attitude there is both political and legal justification.

Palmer is more detested by organized labor than any man who has held office at Washington in the past twenty years, not excepting Postmaster General Burleson. The President knows that he cannot clasp hands with Palmer on this issue without making an enormous sacrifice of his political strength.

Legally considered, Post's stand is said to be unassailable. He has not failed to deport any man whose guilt under the law could be shown by the department of justice. He has refused merely to accept denunciation as a substitute for evidence. It is this determined call for evidence that has infuriated Palmer and the white guard terrorists in Congress.

The point is well illusrtated by the present status of the cases pending against Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, representative of the Russian Soviet Goverment. When Martens' case came before the Labor Department Palmer agreed to furnish counsel for the accused with a copy of the Government's brief. Weeks have passed and still Palmer begs for more time to gather evidence against the man for whom he demanded a deportation warrant as long ago as January.

It must be remembered that Martens has been shadowed by Palmer's agents for more than a year; they have copied his speeches, rifled his mails and raided his offices. They declare Martens should be deported, but they ask for more time to find out why!

Against the more obscure aliens whom the Attorney General scooped up in thousands during the past winter, the evidence is similarly incomplete. Great numbers of them have never even read the Communist platform, for technical approval of which they are termed guilty. Many of the others were victims of arrest and search without warrant, after which they were held incommunicado and put through the "third degree" by hostile interpreters in the absence of their own counsel.

By such treatment of an obscure and friendless class of aliens Attorney General Palmer arrived at his celebrated "2,000 perfect cases" for deportation. Acting entirely within the law, Mr. Post has proceeded to examine these cases individually. In this examination he has been guided somewhat by several recent federal court decisions, which set forth that "evidence" procured in violation of a prisoner's constitutional rights is not evidence at all.

Upon those decisions, and upon the wholly incomplete evidence furnished by the Attorney General, Mr. Post is ready to face a Congressional investigation and show that his administration of the law has been scrupulously impartial.

At the Cabinet meeting called last week by President Wilson this whole issue was vigorously debated by the respective heads of the Labor and Justice Departments. Several persons who witnessed the encounter came away with a distinct impression that Mr. Palmer has very much over-reached himself by carrying his personal political campaign against radicals to the point of an open attack upon the Department of Labor.

It has come to the Presidential ear that middle class liberals and avowed Socialists are not the only classes embittered by the ultra-Prussianism of the Attorney General. The American Federation of Labor has never been more solidly arrayed on one side of any issue than it is today in its hostility toward the man who twice within six months has termed the strike a felony and striven to poison the public mind with belief that every move by labor to obtain higher wages is a plot against religion and the flag.

Thanks to the Attorney General, the American Federation of Labor is obliged to join hands with the vanguard of social and economic pioneers who foresaw the rape of political freedom that would follow the war, and those courageous warnings have made them the target for reactionary fire these many months past. If Mr. Palmer cannot make the President his ally in this crisis then he must go it alone to certain disaster.

Ask Wilson.

"Of the 260 men in my company when we landed in Russia, only 80 returned. The others were either killed or froze to death."

This is the statement of Captain H. H. Mead, Detroit, recently returned from Russia.

"We were sent overseas to do duty in France," he said. "But after a stay of several months in England, we were sent aboard a transport bound for Russia.

..."**We don't know how we happened to go there nor why we were sent.**"

NEW YORK—"The victory of the Red Army of Russia means a social revolution and a soviet Japan, just as the Japanese victory in 1904 brought the Russian constitution and the revolution of 1905", is one of the remarkable statements contained in a public protest issued here against the Japanese occupation of Vladivostok, by Japanese Socialists in America.

NORTHHAMPTON, England— The power of the Labor Party has increased by nearly 100 per cent in this district, judging from the poll at the by—election just held here. Miss Margaret Bonfield, prominent Labor party candidate, rolled up 13,279 votes against Minister of Food Charles A. McCurdy, who won with poll of 18,010. McCurdy was strongly supported by the coalition-liberal forces.

Miss Bondfield is well known in the United States as well as England for her activities in the Labor movement. She was a member of the British delegation to the International Labor Congress in Washington in the full of 1919.

Three Stingy Little Hours.

SKYGAC.

"For Christ's Sake, Advertise," seems to be the belief of the Holy Name Society of Detroit. "Has Detroit room for Christ?" asks the society in full page advertisement in the "Free Press", and then again, "Is Detroit Too Busy Buying and Selling to Honor Christ?" followed by the instructions:

"DON'T BUY! DON'T SELL! 12 TO 3, GOOD FRIDAY."

Believe you me, folks, if I took the religion of Jesus Christ seriously, I would not be so stingy with the time allotted for His worship. As it is I cannot believe that those who DO profess a belief in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, really, truly, way—down—intheir—innermost consciousnesses, actually do believe it.

The little time that we are here in this vale of tears is so tinily small just a speck upon the boundless ocean of time and time and a half and time when time shall be no more, that if one really did believe the stories of the pulpit-pounding sky pilots, we would waste not a moment in buying and selling and other diversifications of the world, the flesh and the devil, but would spend all our time grovelling in the dust in an effort to prepare ourselves for the awfulness of an endless eternity. When professing christians ask for only three short hours from business to ponder upon the tragedy of the story of Calvary's Hill, it is evident to the thinking mind that business occupies more of men's minds than ghost worship, no matter in what form it may appear.

The same advertisement informs us that "The Gospel of Christ has a solution for every problem," which is a mere assertion not capable of being proven. There is the problem of war between the nations, and the biblical injunction, "Thou Shalt Not Kill". We have just emerged from the bloodiest debacle the civilized world has ever known, and all of the nations participating therin, with the sole exception of Japan, profess a belief in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

It was a war of Cristian Nations, a sort of family scrap in God's great household. Remember that the butchery and the slaughter was far greater than in any or all previous wars. The very same persons who so loudly proclaimed their belief in the Gospel of Christ, turned their so-called houses of worship into recruiting halls, and did all in their power to further the slaughter.

(Continued on page 4.)

The British Labor Movement.

ARTICLE 5.

Workingclass Education

LONDON—At the present time two campaigns are endorsed by the British Labor Movement with respect to improved working-class educational standards. One is for democratization of education in general with the total elimination of illiteracy as its first objective, and the ultimate aim that lack of money or social standing shall not prevent any boy or girl from receiving university traning, if he or she desired to pursue studies to far.

The other campaign, directed at the immediate necessity rather than the future ideal, is the one now receiving the most omphasis. It is the work which is being done by correspondence classes and trade union schools and colleges to train men and women of the present generation for executive position in the labor movement of today.

Of the organizations now engaged in training their students to be more efficient workers in the labor movement the Labor College at London, Ruskin College at Oxford, and the Workers' Educational Association, which penetrates all secticns of the country, are easily the most important. There are fundamental differences between each of the three but they are identical in their aim of making cheap and uncontrolled educational facilities available to the adult working class.

Ruskin College, the oldest of the three mentioned, was founded in 1899 for the purpose of providing education in the social sciences for working-class students and it is interesting that the establishment funds were originally provided by two Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Walker Vrooman. From the beginning Ruskin College has maintained an absolute independence of outside control which makes it a landmark in the history of education. Courses are chosen and methods of tuition regulated by the discretion of the faculty alone. The college is a successful experiment in the field of academic freedom. But because of this stoutly maintained independence Ruskin College is subjected to a fire of hostile criticism from two quarters. Those who believe that education and educators should be under the control of capitalist boards of trustees regard it as a dangerous tool of revolution, while those who are wholehearted revolutionists continually criticize Ruskin as not sufficiently class-conscious in its teaching.

The latter argument is never advanced against the Labor College in London, formerly known as the Central Labor College. This institution was established in 1909 by groups formerly affiliated with Ruskin College which had come to believe that the latter had become too academic and ''neutral''. Founded expressly to fill the need of an educational institution teaching nothing but revolutionary Socialism the Labor College has gone steadily ahead on this deal. It is 100 per cent class-conscious in inspiration and teaching and it holds as consistently as do the I. W. W. to the first clause of its constitution, which reads:—''the college to be based upon the recognition of the antagonism of interest between capital and labor.''

In spite of this gulf between the procedure of the two colleges they are both integral parts of the labor movement and each derivos its financial support at the present time from trade union contributions. On the governing council of Ruskin College are found officers of the Weavers' Union, the Northumberland Miners, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Cooperative Union, and the General Federation of Trade Unions. The Labor College is owned and controlled entirely by two radical and very powerful unions — the South Wales' Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen. The general opinion in the labor movement is that in spite of the sharp differences in the two institutions there is room and to spare for both; that the Labor College graduates do invaluable work in stimulation and strenthening the industrial side of the labor movement in preparation for the advent of the Socialist state, and that the Ruskin College graduates are not less valuable as educated men and women fitted for constructive leadership in general service under that state.

As might be expected the curriculum of Ruskin College is much broader than that of the Labor College, which pays little attention to anything but straight Marxian Socialism and its offshoots. Marx is in no way minimized at the former institution, but his teachings are there regarded as a phase rather than the center of economic and industrial history. At the Labor College everything is subordinated to turning effective propagandists. Ruskin is as careful that its graduates should remain in the labor movement, but aims to fit every student for the full realization of his possibilities rather than to make him merely an agitator. In bringing about the overthrow of Capitalism the Labor College will be the more effective of the two. In insuring that Socialism, once established, is maintained in England Ruskin will do the best work.

At both institutions the number of students in residence is no criterion of influence. Each college has about thirty boarders, mostly maintained on scholarshops by the supporting trade unions. The Labor College also has about sixty day students and plans to open a dormitory for women boarders. Ruskin has recetly opened its Womens' Hotel, and counting the new women trade unionist students, has thereby increased its student roll to forty. The full-time course at each college takes two years.

A large part of the influence of both institutions comes from the correspondence classes conducted by the college faculties with groups of workers in various sections of the country for negligible fees. Over 11,000 men and women have taken advantage of the correspondence classes offered by Ruskin as against the 600 odd graduates of the college. The Labor College has a large number of correspondence classes in operation and in addition assists in the setting up of local labor classes in which its graduates frequently serve as instructors. There are now about 300 of these classes in different parts of Great Britain (mostly in South Wales) with an average membership of thirty to a class. These local classes are endorsed and supported by the local unions of the railwaymen and the Walsh miners in the same manner as the parent Labor College is backed by the national unions. Important work has also been done by the governing council of Ruskin College by summoning conferences at which special industrial problems are discussed from the working class viewpoint. Lectures are given frequently at both colleges by leaders in various phases of the labor movement.

Also of very great importance in British working class education is the organization known as the Workers' Educational Assotiation (W. E. A.) founded by a small group of trades unionists and cooperators in 1903. The W. E. A. consists of about 2500 small groups of workers affiliated into 200 branches. It is under the governance of joint committees of labor men and representatives of the faculties of different English and Scotch universities and through correspondence and tutorial classes has to some extent thrown open the educational resources of Great Britain to the working classes. A striking feature of the W. E. A. is that the subjects on which instruction is given are those subjects which the working class members decide for themselves they want to study, — not on those subjects which educational authorities think the workers ought to study.

The result of this organization has been the formation of adult classes all over England. There are about 1.00 members of the W. E. A., all of them from the working class. While the Association has no official connection with the Labor Movement it is serving not only to educate but to quicken the social consciousness of the working class. The W. E. A. backed by the labor movement, is at present urging state adoption of an advanced educational program of which the first resolution is ''that the broad principle of free education through all its stages, including that of the University, be adopted'', and including a demand that labor shall have direct representation on all educational governing bodies.

The importance of working class education is now generally recognized by the British Labor Movement, and big developments in this line may be looked for during the next few years. There has been a great revival since the war, — a Scottish Labor College on the lines of the London Labor College has been established in Glascow and others are in contemplation, as soon as finances permit. In addition, so great is the influence of labor in the British government at present, it is not unlikely that state aid will in the near future be given students who are financially unable to take up studies at Ruskin or the Labor College in London.

Ruminations of a Rebel.

By Tom. Clifford.

The judge who presided at the trial of Comrade Benjamin Gitlow just couldn't forbear expressing his thanks to the jury in returning a verdict of guilty. He has probably warmed the ''bench'' so long as to be incapable of seeing any other side to a proposition than that which will safeguard the interests and perpetuate the rule of those on whom he is dependent for his job. From his viewpoint the institutions erected by the bourgeoisie are the final word in civilization and no opposition thereto is to be countciety and propose a change in the inenanced. Anyone who has the temerity to question the present status of soterests of the common weal is adjudged a dangerous character and promptly consigned to a penal institution. He knows nothing but the law, and his mental obliquity makes him a stranger to ''horse sense.'' No thinking man has any respect for a judge these days, for they know he is on the bench to interpret the law in conformity with ruling class interests. Being either a fool or knave, it is impossible for him to administer real justice. One may charitably excuse the stupidity of the jury, but only contempt can be expressed for a man who poses as an intellectual and manifests all the characteristics of an ignoramus. This particular judge runs true to form in his fulsome laudation of the assininity displayed by the twelve boneheads who decided Comrade Gitlow was guilty—of idealism. The courts of today are a screaming force. Don't believe it? Ask any lawyer who dares express an honest opinion.

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The Y. W. C. A. convention, which convened in Cleveland last week gets all ''het up'' over a pamphlet issued by big business entitled ''Will the Y. W. C. A. Co-operate or Will It Antagonize?'' It appears that the convention had under consideration an industrial program which contains demands obnoxious to the ''plutes'' and the organization is warned that favorable action on the same will be followed by the withdrawal of the financial support hitherto so generously given. Well, well. Another sign of the breaking up of the old order. Here is an organization created by the bourgeoisie for the express purpose of drawing a red herring across the path of the working class — by diverting their minds from the consideration of material problams to the contemplation of the joys coming to them in the ''sweet after while''—evidencing a disposition to refuse to obey orders. Of course it is rank ingratitude, but prolongation of its existence seems to make the new departure a necessity. The bourgeoisie are utterly unable to grasp the fact that in the evolution of society nothing stays ''put.'' The Y. W. C. A. finds itself in the midst of revolutionary forces that are making for a change in the social structure, and it must [illegible] them or sink into oblivion. The bourgeoisie are having rough sailing these days. The storm signals are becoming more and more numerous, presaging an ultimate social tempest that will rock the capitalist State to its very foundations. The Y. W. C. A. is simply noting the signals and is running to cover. Safety first. The industrial program was adopted, and the first vice president, a daughter of old Jay Gould, of Wall Street fame some years ago, promptly resigned, thus displaying loyalty to her class.

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And now comes Henry Chamberlin, director of the new Chicago Crime Commission, and deposes that criminals are using ''business efficiency'' methods in the practice of their profession, in which they are aided by criminal lawyers and crooked politicians, and practically admits there is no remedy. How marvellously perfect is the capitalist system!

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The news has filtered out of Washington that the U. S. Government has served notice on its Allies that if an immediate concerted movement is not made to open up trade with Russia it will act independently. Getting hungry for trade, eh! The bourgeoise of America must have markets for their surplus in the near future if they are to avoid an unpleasantness that they dread. Perhaps they have waited too long. Our ''noble ally,'' England, has not been so busy suppressing the Irish rebellion that she couldn't spare the time to pre-empt the Russian trade. She didn't wait for the consent of her comrades in arms, but followed her usual policy of getting while the getting was good. When it comes to securing trade the English bourgeois is ''all to the mustard.''

A resolution has been introduced in the lower House of Congress to impeach Louis Post, Secretary of Labor, the outgrowth of a scrap between the Departments of Justice and Labor. Everybody seems to be wearing their fighting clothes these days. Even the politicians are unable to work in harmony. The Presidential candidates are anything but exemplars of the Golden Rule. They are accusing each other of duplicity and lavish use of money. The hopeful sign is that the great mass of the people are paying no attention to them notwithstanding the columns of advertising they are getting in the newrpapers. And, best of all, the workers are evidencing their discontent through the only avenue available—the strike.

Who Are The Criminals?

— By Perle Doe —

Nineteen hundred years ago an agitator was nailed to a cross until he was dead because he preached doctrines that were ''dangerous''. He was declared to be an ''undesirable'', and the courts adjudged him a criminal. Who committed the crime? Was judges who convicted the Christ to it Jesus? or was it the lawmakers and capital punishment?

Three hundred years ago Galileo was sentenced to life imprisonment for saying that the earth moved round the sun. Who were the criminals? Galileo? or the lawmakers and judges who condemned this great scientist and teacher to prison?

In 1692, at Salem Massachusetts, a dozen or so poor old women were swung upon the gallows, convicted by the courts of witchcraft. Who committed the crime? Did the lawmakers and the prosecutors and the judges who sent those women to their death commit a crime?

Up to 1860 in the South the ruling class declared it a crime to teach slaves to read and write. Who were the criminals? The men and women who defied that law? or the lawmakers and judges who solemnly decreed education to be a felony?

Today Eugene Debs lies in jail for opposing war. Roger Baldwin has suffered the prison cell for refusing to be a conscript. Who are the criminals? Is it the men and women who today lie wretched behind the grated door for their conscience' sake? or is it the law makers, and the prosecutors, and the judges, who declare such men as Debs and Baldwin to be felons? Who brand such women as Kate O'Hare and Rose Pastor Stokes as criminals?

Is not a government that commits such acts a criminal government? Is not every government official responsible for such acts a criminal?

Not Jesus, but Pilate was the real criminal. [illegible] trying to suppress a [illegible] truth. It was the southern slave owners, forbidding education to the black man, who had the criminal intent. Eugene Debs, and Roger Baldwin, and Rose Stokes are not criminals. It is the lawmakers, trying to out law new ideas, it is the judges, trying to shield a criminal robber class by putting honest men in jail, they are the real culprits.

TWO VIEWS.

By Scott Nearing.

Soviet Russia is under the ban. The American Eagle is screaming her note of triumph to the clouds. All is ended, according to the papers, and sovietism is cast forever into the outer darkness!

Just a moment, please, before the decree is made irrevocable. Note this dispatch from the correspondent of The Manchester Guardian in which he describes the work that the soviet government is doing for its children—nursing mothers are the object of special care; they are still assisted as the precious child grows older; then there are children's palaces with facilities for recreation and education; then there are the reorganized schools and the colleges and universities, all designed to prepare the Russian child for future usefulness. All of these measures Russia has adopted in the two years following the revolution, and she has done them despite the war, despite the blockade, despite the immanence of destruction. In her darkest hour, Russia was busy caring for her children.

Now for the capitalist nations that have been seeking to blot Russia out of existence—one of the first acts in Great Britain and France, after war assumed serious proportions, was to let down on the work of education. In the United States, during the years from 1915 to 1918, when the cost of living came near to doubling, teachers' salaries according to an estimate recently published by the United States 16 per cent. With this increase, their commissioner of education, rose about average salary was $630.64, making their average monthly salary about $53.

These figures lead to some interesting reflections on the relative rewards given to teachers and to those employed in certain other lines of activity. The railroad wage commission, in its recommendations for wage increases to the 16 lowest paid branches of the service, suggested wages of less than $760 per year for only two classes of employes—''messengers and attendants'' and ''section men.'' In New York city, where teachers salaries are comparatively high, the elementary school teachers receive practically the same wages as butchers, chauffeurs, clerks, waiters, etc. few of whom require anything like the period of preparation for thier work that is demanded of teachers.

A recent report shows that in the territory centering about Cleveland and Chicago, head bakers receive $363 more per year than teachers; blacksmiths receive $890 more, and machinist $1,138 more. Equal discrepancies appear if the salaries of teachers are compared with the incomes received by those who are engaged in other professions. Insofar as a financial return can serve as a deterrent or as a stimulus to enter a profession, the United States is doing everything possible to discourage young men and women of ability from entering the teaching profession.

Special provisions for expectant mothers? Maternity insurance? Children's palaces? They exist here only in the most rudimentary form.

Soviet Russia rewards those who preduce children. Capitalist America rewards those who produce wealth. In the long years that are ahead—in the estimation of the future—which system will stand highest—the one that produced steel rails and textiles, or the one that produced men?

Two views of life are contending for supremacy in the world — one places the emphasis on profit; the other on service. In one view it is property that is sacred, in the other it is humanity.

Never yet have men drawn blood from stones.

"The Mediumship of Farmer Riley".

By SYDNEY FLOWER, LL. D.

This is a book of sixty large magazine pages, in which is related in detail the observations of the author during a two weeks' stay at the home of the medium, James Wesley Riley, better known as "Farmer Riley," near Marcellus, Mich. If you have ever asked youreslf the question, "Does man live beyond the grave?" a perusal of this book may perhaps assist you in the formulation of an intelligent answer. The book is as interesting as a romance. In his investigations Mr. Flower rigidly adheres to a program which absolutely precludes all possibility of physical agency in the production of the manifestations.

Sent, post-paid, for 50c.

TOM CLIFFORD, Publisher,
3517 Fulton Road, Cleveland, O.

The Black Sheep.

Chapt. XXVIII.

The Home of the Spirit.

Jack cashed his check and paid his bill at the boarding house after which he left the mining town of Mullen and made his way in the direction of Couer D' Alane Lake, where he knew that Collins and Rudolph awaited him. The distance before him was about sixty five miles down the river and he decided to walk it and study the country at first hand. It was in reality a new world to him. It was the books made real.

The trail over which he travelled ran along the mountain side; it was not a road; wheeled vehicles could not pass over it. It was a short cut through the mountains, used by the prospectors to get to their claims. These men hauled their provisions to their little mines real or imaginary, on their backs or on the backs of horses, mules or burros. This mode of transportation neded but a narrow trail and such it was. It went up and down and in and out among the rocks and ledges, down thru wooded ravines and up over barren ridges and at this time of the year alternately thru banks of snow and dark evergreen forests. It was a region of the profoundest silence, hardly the chirp of a bird broke the stillness. The boy had a feeling that he walked in an unmeasured immensity filled with grandeur and beuty.

At every turn of the trail he met with things of which he had read in books. Some of these he recognized at sight and they helped his mind to understand others of which the books had not spoken. Literally he roamed thru the pages of the book of eternity, a book not written by men but traced by the fingers of Truth upon the stratified rocks of the earth's crust. It was as if Pluto in his restless moments had raised these strata from the deep, in order that men might see and read the wondrous story of this earth's pre-human ages, when pterodactyl cleaved the air and horrid monsters crawled in steaming swamps.

He walked as in a trance, forgettink everything for the time being but the wonders which obtruded themselves upon his sight. Occassionally he wished that George and Herman, Collins and Rudolph could be with him, he thought that they would be as enraptured as he. In this he was mistaken. This was the home of his spirit not theirs. These mountains, crags, rocks, ridges, ledges, ravines, woods, and all they contained were food to the soul of the naturalist; they were merely interesting to his friends whose souls fed on social problems and phenomena. Even as the social phenomena which he had observed had interested him but they had never called him in a way that these natural phenomena called him.

It had snowed the night before he had left Mullen and in these windless mountains the snow piles itself up on every twig and branch to a considerable height causes all nature to appear like sculptured down. The mountains and woods were clothed in an almost ethoral beauty giving to the boy's mind asthetic as well as scientific food. No wonder then that after he was a mile on his way he forgot the miners at Mullen the stories of strikes and bullpens, of gunmen and hired thugs, of the lewd viciousness of bar keepers and the dwellers of the redlight. These belonged to a strange world as far as he was concerned. Industrial life was to him an alien world. He could make himself at home in it when necessary. In a way that a Chinaman may feel at home in America; but given the opportunity the Chinaman will go back to China and the Americans goes back to America and the spirit of back to America and the spirit of homing thrill when he buried himself in the vastness of the Couer D'Alane. He was the natural, it would be better to say the nature loving instead of the industrial type.

The warm winds from the Pacific ocean came up the valley and slowly but steadily melted the snows. It was as if monstrous invisible hands slowly but steadily rolled back the vast white blanket from the depths of the canyon up the mountainside. Slowly but steadily the stately evergreens shed their silvery down and stod out in wondrous beauty against their alabaster environment. Here and there on the mountain side hung great white banks of fog like titanic ghosts endeavoring to embrace the mountains. The sky was over cast with the soft grey film of clouds thru which the sun occassionally shot a beam of golden light illumining these great ramparts of nature which divide the continent, georgraphically as well as climatically.

The trail over which he passed ran along the river sometimes very near it and then again up over ridges which took him a couple of hours to climb. Ever and anon he would pass a deserted cabin near which would be found a tunnel or shaft more or less caved in and dilapidated. These were monuments to the lost hopes of the prospectors; that race of mining pioneers who spend their all in delving after every little mineral trace in the hope of finding a mine which will lift them out of the ranks of common men and enthrone them in the seats of the mighty. On several occassions he turned from his trail and wandered into these tunnels not in the hope of finding what the prospectors might have over looked in the way of minerals; but rather to find out in what particular formation these men hoped to discover mines. In what particular rocks men so persistently sought their fortunes and lost their substance. While on this strail for the time being he lost all idea of seeking a job or getting an education in school. He was in school now and Nature, the master of masters, was teaching him some of his most wonderful secrets.

At six thirty in the morning he had started and now it was late in the afternoon upon a long mountain slope. He was at least six thousand feet above the valley as he stood on the crest of the ridge, of the last back bone. It was a steep descent the trail continually doubling upon itself in such a way that one had to travel five miles for two. On this the snow was deep but the trail had been broken by a company of prospectors who had preceeded him. He felt slightly tired and not a little hungry for he had eaten no lunch and he had not stopped to calculate how much farther it would be to the next town. He sat down by the side of the trail on a fallen log and used about twenty minutes to note what he had seen in a little book which he kept in his pocket for that purpose. It was while engaged in this work that he noticed a crackling of dry twigs and a swaying of brush and then to his surprise right in the trail not more than a hundred and fifty feet from him stood a magnificant bul elk. It was the first elk he had ever seen. He sat motionless noting its every movement until it left the trail and dissaperared into the woods. Forgetting that he was hungry and far from the nearest human habitation he now left the trail and followed the monarch of the wild, wishing that he was the possessor of a camera and under his breath telling the auburned haired girl who was nearly two thousand miles away all that he might learn about the habits of this noble beast.

He noticed that the elk made its way against the wind and at the same time down the slope. It was evidently anxious to get out of the deep snow and into the open timber. It did not go very fast as it had to wade well up to its knees and Jack plunged thru the soft snow almost up to his hips. Occassionally the big bull would stop, sniff the air as if it scented danger. It would even double on its tracks and walk back up the slope a distance of a hundred feet or more and then resume its downward course. Jack was in hopes that this beast would join a herd somewhere in the woods below but when he reach the snowline and the open woods there was no way of tracking the elk and what was more night overtook him. It now occurred to him that he had lost the trail even if he should climb the mountain again he was not sure that he could find it as he would not be able to follow his own track in the dark. He realized that he was lost. There was nothing to do but camp for the night.

He found a place between two fallen trees which he could cover over with bark and make himself a hut. He broke off a lot of fur boughs and arranged them in the form of a bed under this bark shed. He now gathered a pile of wood and bark in front of his rudely constructed shelter whose side walls were fallen logs and started a fire of bark and pitchwood and settled down for the night. He was quite oblivious of the fact that he had had no material supper and that he was not likely to have breakfast the next morning. By the light of the fire he wrote in his note book an imaginary letter to the girl in far off Dakota. It was for him an unusual effort and he composed it slowly and methodically in a way that he would not have written to her if he had considered this to be a real letter.

''My Dear Miss Anderson'', he began, ''we have only met twice,—you don't even know my name and I only know your father's name. So you see it is not really proper for me to write to you or for you to write to me. Be that as it may—if you were in my position tonight you would want to write to some one and naturally you would write to the one of whom you thought most frequently. You would doubtlessly write just what you would feel and if we always did that we would always write wonderful letters. We often feel wonderful things but we don't write them and we don't say them because we believe we are the only ones who feel such emotions. And because we think we are alone in out feelings it is so hard to become acquainted with each other. So in this letter which you will never see I'm going to throw off the brakes and let 'er slide.

First I must tell you where I am and how I came to be here (no I'm not in prison) I am lost. Not lost in the religious sense I hope altho I'm near a fire of my own kindling. I am lost in the woods. It sounds romantic does it not? How did it happen? I shall tell you. I have been at work in the mines for a while and decided to go back to the little cabin by the lake and spend the rest of the winter with my friends. With this in mind I undertook a sixty mile journey on foot. It is a wonderful walk thru a wonderful land. Ever since morning my mind has drunk from a perpetual fountain of wonders which I shall not stop to describe for I have neither time, light, or material with which to write a book. Besides no words of mine could do justice to the undefiled work of nature. I could only wish that you were with me and could have seen what I have seen then I know you would feel as I feel as I lie upon this bed of fir boughs between two fallen trees covered over with a roof of cedar bark and by a pitch wood fire.

How did I get lost? It is very simple I was sitting on a log writing down something about a peculiar ledge of rock when a big elk crossed the trail just ahead of me. Of course I was curious where he was going and what he would do, so I followed him. I noticed that he was going against the niwd. I suppose that enales him to dectect his enemines and I also noticed that he stopped several times and looked back He may have been aware that something followed him. It also may be due to his wild instinct of self preservation These animals know their enemies and the ways of their enemies. I followed him until darkness overtook me and so here I am.

O yes, I 'll find my way out. This letter will not be found amongst my bones. I know that I am on the west side of the mountains and I also know that every rivulet flows into a creek and every creek flows into a river and

(Continued on page 4.)

APPEAL FOR MEDICAL SUPPLIES FOR RUSSIA.

In every country directly touched by the war, hunger, deprivation, and disease have demanded, and are still demanding their terrible toll. Tuberculosis and syphilis, typhoid and small pox, influenza and a host of other diseases that are the direct outcome of malnutrition and actual stavation have decimated the populations of the earth.

Of all the nations none have suffered more from the ravages of disease than Russia. Under the regime of the Czar there was practically no public sanitation. Public welfare and public health were ignored. The attention of every part of this most corrupt of all governmental machines was concentrated upon its police and military organizations. There had never been an organized effort to combat the unclean and unhealthy living conditions of the great masses. The public at large was suffered to remain in ignorance of the most elementary rules of sanitation.

The war served to aggravate already unbearable conditions. It broke down the weak industrial and commercial structure and added hunger and want to the sufferings of the nation. When the March revolution came, and the soldiers broke their ranks and by one common impulse moved homeward, they carried with them the diseases with which the Russian Army was afflicted. Tuberculosis, syphilis, typhus and cholera raged everywhere. The spirit of hunger went stalking through the land, and its path was strewn with the bodies of sick and starving children. Medicines were scarce and so high in price that only the wealthy could afford the luxury of medical care. During the first months of the Bolshevist regime matters went from bad to worse. The physicians, in a body, belonging as they did to the bourgeois sabotaged the revolution by refusing to attend to the sick, the disabled and the invalid The few who remained at their posts, were hampered on every hand by the entire lack of medicines.

In the face of these seemingly insurmountable difficulties, in the midst of a period of industrial reconstruction such as the world has never seen, in spite of a blody struggle against usurpers and invaders on every side, the Russian Soviet Republic has built up a system of health control and public welfare that may well serve as an example to the progressive and democratic governments of Europe and America.

Before this new System of medical relief could be put into effect, however, the peculiarites of the old class society had to be destroyed. There were for instance, the difference in price for medical attention, the great variety in the character of hospitals and clinics for the rich and the poor, there was the gamble in medicine for speculation. Above all, the abysmal ignorance of the people of the simplest health measures; The crowded quarters of the poor, overworked, underfed masses, and the lack of physicians and ses, and the lack of physicians and nurses Against all of these, Soviet Russia through its public health and public welfare agencies waged relentless welfare. All apparatus for the care and treatment of the sick. Maimed, invalid and deformed were immediately placed under the control of the Soviet Department of Health. They imposed upon those who were economically independent by virtue of the social position and wealth the duty of helping the poor, not as an act of charity, but as a right that they owed to those who produced the comforts they were enjoying. An inventory of the entire medical resources of the country was made and the scanty supplies distributed to the numerous medical centers established in every corner of the land. Physicians have been placed under the direct control of the government and are assigned to their patients as they apply to the health center for medical assistance. As the number of physicians is entirely inadequate to care for the enormous number of sick and suffering large bodies of intelligent men and women have been trained to act as assistants under the direction of the physicians in charge of the cases, rendering valuable assistance, and materially increasing the efficiency of the medical staff.

Equally, even more important than this medical service is the campaign of disease prevention that has been carried on. Lectures on public and personal sanitation are held everywhere. Tons of literature, treating these questions in simple language have been distributed. In the cities the sanitary inspection of the houses has been introduced. Epidemics have been checked by the rigorous fumigation of houses where cases of illness occured. Vaccination was made compulsory—an accomplishment that only those who knew the superstitious nature of the uneducated Russian can fully appreciate. For the first time strong efforts are made to increase sanitation. The streets of Petrograd are thoroughly clean. The drinking-water is being filtered. Baths, washhouses, disinfecting stations have been established.

Military, naval and transport medical services have all been placed under the control of the Commissariat which has been greatly aided thereby in its struggle against epidemics. In addition to sections for the study of different branches of medicine, dentistry, radiography, etc., a special educational and publishing section has been instituted, which has organized at Moskow a museum of social hygiene, and has published popular booklets on points of hygiene and sanitation in millions of copies. A Central Library of Medicine, containing more than 30.000 volumes, has been open at Moskow since May. The Commissariat has convoked two conventions of bacteriologist and epidemiologists, two conventions of local sanitary sections, one pharmaceutical conference, one dental conference, and one conference for the study of school hygiene. It is intended that a Central Institute of Health will be the supreme controlling and scientific authority of the Soviet Republic in the domain of hygiene, epidemiology and bacteriology.

Never before have the working people participated so wholeheartedly and so enthusiastically in the reconstruction of their life as they do now. Whatever the hospital person require is supplied for them by the Trade Unions to which all workers must belong. At the meeting of these, the chief of the hospital is chosen and all orders and demands filled. There is a sub-department of the Health-Commissariat where the doctors come together and discuss the various health problems. Special committees of the Trade Unions decide upon the different sanitary rules and regulations. The whole structure is like a pyramid, broad at the base and tapering to an apex: it extends from the Commissariat to the health departments of the village soviets; it controls all available medical apparatus controls hospitals and takes care of all bathhouses and sanitoriums: has its own laboratories and apothecaries, and controls all medical and pharmactic personel of the Workers' State. The whole system is characterized by unique coherence. A spirit of fairness, justice and kindliness pervades the entire structure. The Commissariat hopes to give medical attention to all comrades of the Republic. It is moreover impossible to speculate in health products and health-service.

Prostitution, that scourge of modern society, has met in the Russian government its first effective combatant. In other countries, prostitution is regarded as a crime; the war against prostitution consequently is conducted by the police. Everywhere the result is the same. In spite of segregation and suppression, in spite of workhouse sentences and nightcourts, in spite of persecution and agitation, prostitution has grown, and sexual diseases have spread. Russia alone has found the only effective method of combating this social evil by removing the source that stimulates its growth Prostitution can and will flourish only so long as favorable economic conditions last In Soviet Russia, prostitution means starvation, for only those who are engaged in socially useful occupations are entitled to food.

But nothing that Soviet Russia can do, can save the country from the horrible effects of the Allied blockade. It is a horrible thing to see so many millions of hungry people, children dying from the lack of milk and medical suplies. New diseases are making their appearance, diseases before which the most competent physicians stand helpless, because the only things that can cure them, nourishing food, cannot be procured. Russia is being slowly starved out by its foreign foes. The supply of medicines is practically exhausted, Iodine, disinfectants, quinine, codliver oil, anasthetics to alleviate the sufferings of the soldiers at the front and of the surgical patients at home, all of them are needed and needed at once.

Send Medicine to Russia.

So long as the Allied blockade remains in force it will be impossible for the Russian government, through its accredited representatives, to buy these sorely needed drugs in the foreign markets. Russia is helpless. It appeals to you, you of the American working-class, to you who like they are fighting capitalistic oppression and capitalistic exploitation, to you whose future as workers is inextricably wrapped up in the fate of the Russian worker, to help save Russia. Save them from starvation by inducing our government to give up its murderous blockade. Save them from disease by sending drugs and medicines to Russia.

How you can help.

A number of sympathizers with the cause of Soviet Russia have recently organized the **"Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee."** This organization will function as a Red Cross for the Russian people. It through this appeals to every labor union, to every workers benefit organization and to working class political organizations to join hands in raising an enormous fund that will buy for the unfortunate, suffering people the sorely needed medicines they themselves cannot procure. Ways and means of sending these drugs to Russia have already been found. The health and the virility of the Russian people depends upon your willingness to help.

The proletarian revolution in Russia has aroused a frenzy of devotion in the hearts of the class-conscious proletariat all over the world. Everywhere its glorious example has inspired the working class with new hope and new zeal. Its splended spirit, its unfailing, unflagging devotion to the cause, of the world movement of the working-class have been our hope and consolation in the days of the darkest reaction. Up to this time the Russian Revolution has only given—given with full hands and with a willing heart the only thing it had to give—hope and encouragement to the workers of the world.

The time has come when we can repay, in, oh, so small a measure, the service they have rendered to us. We have here the priceless opportunity of expressing in a more tangible form of admiration and the devotion our lips and pens have been expressing. We will send to Russia a message of cheer and good will that will say to her, to her starving children, to her sick in the hospitals, to her workers in the factories, to the men and the women who are giving their life blood in her defense, to all who love and who live in the Russian revolution:

"International Solidarity Lives"

Funds to be sent to the Treasurer:

Dr. Wm. Mendelson,
362 DeKalb Avenue.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

An Enemy of Mankind.

Ignorance is the enemy of mankind. To remain ignorant is to make one's self an enemy of all men and women. Knowledge gives power and without knowledge, the working-class can never gain nor retain power. To remain ignorant is to remain a slave to other's will and opinions. The workers must learn to view the world from the standpoint of the useful producer. They must supplant their master-class teachings with the teachings of Science interpreted from the proletarian viewpoint. Workers who refuse to read the literature of the proletarian revolution that is now sweeping capitalism from the face of the earth are a loadstone about the neck of Labor.

The literature listed below will educate you in the CLASS STRUGGLE without a knowledge of which you can never assist your fellow workers to win and hold the world. ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS—but it must come thru knowledge.

READ — THINK — LEARN

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR ADDITIONAL TITLES.

No Compromise, Liebknecht, 15c, 10 or more 11c each.
Think or Surrender, Kirkpatrick, 15c, 10 or more 11c each.
Two Minute Talks, Allison, 10c, 10 or more 7½c each.
Industrial Socialism, Wm. D. Haywood 10c, 10 or more 6c each.
Wage, Labor & Capital, Karl Marx, 15c, 10 or more 11c each.
Crimes of the Bolsheviki 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Soviet Russia, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18c each.
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Bullitt Mission to Russian, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.
Communist Mainfesto (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Lawof Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25
Man or the State, Essays famous writers, $1.00.
Russia in 1919, Ransome, $1.50, 5 or more, $1.25.
Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25.
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Savage Survivals, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism for Students, 50c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Socialism and Modern Science, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Stories of the Cave People, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Socialism and War, $1.00 each.
Ten Days That Shook The World, $2.00 each.
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Universal Kinship, Moore, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Value Price and Profit, Marx. 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Principles of Scientific Socialism, Vail $1.25, 5 or more $1.00
The Iron Heel, J. London, 85c, 5 or more 70c each.
War of the Classes, J. London, 85c, 5 or more 70c each.
Puritanism, Maily, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Positive School of Criminology, Ferri, 60c, 5 or more 40c.
Positive Outcome of Philosophy, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00.
Origin of the Family, Engels, 60c, 5 or more 40c.
Value, Price & Profit, Marx, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Feuerbach: Roots of Socialist Philosophy, Engels, 60c, 5 or more 40c.
Ethics & Materialistic Conception of History, 60c, 5 or more 40c each.
Essays on Materialistic Conception of History, Labrioli, $1.25 each, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Economic Determinism, Lida Parce, $1.00, 5 or more 85c each.
Economic Causes of War, Loria, $1.00, 5 or more 85c each.
Critique of Political Economy, Marx, $1.25, 5 or more $1.00 each.
Ancient Society, Lewis H. Morgan, $1.50, 5 or more $1.25 each.
Ancient Lowly, Ward, 2 vol. $2.00 each.
Anarchism and Socialism, Plechanoff, 60c, 5 or more 40c each.

Address The Toiler.

SPARKS

"Ten Commuinsts are worth a hundred Socialists when it comes to work" writes a comrade. Pretty high average eh?

• • •

Kansas City Mo., comrades are learning to like The Toiler judging by the subscriptions that are coming in from that city. If they support us as well as they did their paper, The Workers' World, we well feel mighty good.

• • •

Our soldiers bonus cartoon if two weeks since brought us a number of orders we were unable to fill for lack of extra copies. Yes, some cartoon and some article with it, that one of Bill Smith's.

• • •

H. W. of Dundee—that's not in Scotland—sends in 6 yearlies and gets a bunch of pamphlets for premium.

• • •

We are still doing it—giving $1.50 worth of premiums in books for $7.50 worth of subscriptions.

• • •

The Toiler Educational Leaflets No. 1 and 2 are still going, in fact going fast as we have only a few left. Better send in that order you have been intending to and get it filled NOW.

• • •

"Send me the Toiler", writes a comrade at Leavenworth Federal prison, who adds. "I am another victim of Wilsonian Democracy".

• • •

O. Z. of Kansas City Mo., is another live one who is on the leaflet distribution job. He orders 300 of Soviet Labor Code and Strangling American Workers.

• • •

Give a days wages to the Movement on May 1st. Keep away from the boss.

• • •

Some have learned a lot by the great war. For instance, writes one, "I served in the 32nd Division in France fighting for Democracy—NIT". Well, he ought to know, he was there.

• • •

Those little boosts continue to arrive. We mean the extra subscriptions which comrades send in with their renewals. They help, help The Toiler and help those who receive it. Better send your friend a trial sub for 25c.

• • •

We appreciate the support tendered us by a group of Spanish comrades. They are helping to acquaint a number of their countrymen with The Toiler.

• • •

If you havn't read them do it now—The Red Ruby, Gitlow's speech before the jury in his trial at New York, and except of Darrow's speech 10c. Also The Soviet of Deer Island, story of the days our comrades spent awaiting deportation, or disposal of their cases after the famous Palmer Raids of January last. 15c. The Truth about the Lusk Committee, some facts every worker ought too know about this reprehensible crew of liberty smashing marauders 25c. Order of The Toiler.

• • •

He wants the truth, does comrade Smith of Akron, so he subscribes for The Toiler.

• • •

That's a nice little bunch of subscriptions, comrade Hazel. Thank you.

• • •

Out in Omaha some workers are learning how Russian workers are legislating for themselves. Comrade Anderson orders 100 leaflets of the Soviet Code of Labor Laws.

• • •

And at Arlington Wash. too. Thanks to comrade Thorsen.

• • •

"For Heaven's sake send me The Toiler. I want something with some truth in it", this from Robert S. of Chilton, Mo.

• • •

It's becoming truer everyday—the capitalist press is losing its strangle hold upon the minds of the workers. Steadily the labor press is gaining their support.

• • •

Comrade L. is waking up the sleepers at Salt Lake. He increases his bundle of Toilers 100 per cent.

• • •

Lots and lots of comrades are writing to us and asking: Can we obtain The Black Sheep and Proletarian Science History in book form. We are sorry that neither can be obtained in book form now, but we hope they will be obtainable soon.

• • •

In spite of Skygac's prickly jabs at the false teachings of the Church, he is getting a lot of compliments these days. Folks like his boiled down truths so tersely expressed.

MILWAUKEE—There are 1.200 undernourished school children in Milwaukee, said Dr. John P. Koehler, Milwaukee health department, in his address before the opening session of the Wisconsin health congress.

"We have found that the main reason for their critical condition is that their parents are unable to buy enough food," he said.

Three Stingy Little Hours

(Continued from 1st page.)

The slogan of the Kaiser's forces was "Gott mit uns" and early in the war Billy Buncombe Sunday drafted Christ as the Commander in chief of the American forces. Hatreds were deliberately cultivated which will take generations to overcome. There, is one problem the Gospel of Christ did NOT solve. Other problems can be named by the score.

The same paper that carried the "Don't buy—Don't sell" advertisement carried an advertisement paid for by the Michigan "Wood—for—President League" which said "What is America's Greatest Need" and answered their self-asked question by saying, "A Great Administrator" and of course then proceeded to attempt to prove that he of the "ship—or—shoot—radicals" fame was the GREAT administrator. The point I want to make is that the Holy Name Society tells us in twenty four point type, that America Needs Christ, and the Michigan Political League just mentioned tells us that America Needs him of the "ship—or—shoot" fame. Now it is not reasonable to suppose that any one would claim that Christ was Wood, altho there are many trying to tell us that Wood is a modern twentieth century Christ, but I can only infer that neither of the advertiser knew what it is that America needs!

The Communist Service leaflet number 4 contains an address by the President of Community Service, which, tells of another unsolved problem. I quote from page 2.

"Man is by nature an outdoor animal, a hunter, a fighter and a fisherman. The machine has locked him up in factories and tenement houses, where he sickens and dies not from physical disease alone but also from homesickness.

In ancient times a remedy for the evil of industrialism—though not then aggravated by machinery, was, FOR THE UPPER CLASSES, found in slavery. The rulers reserved to themselves the ancient and instinctive pursuits of war, of hunting and OF GOVERNMENT. Industrial work was relegated to the slaves. Out of this form of civilization, with all its evils, came wonderful discoveries in art, in music and in science; and life, FOR THE RULING CLASS, reached a higher level than would have been possible without the advance of the industrial arts.

OUR PROBLEM, ever since has been to conserve these benefits and at the same time to ABOLISH THE INSTITUTION that first made them possible. THAT PROBLEM HAS NOT YET BEEN SOLVED. SLAVERY HAS NOT BEEN ABOLISHED."

The caps in the above quotation are mine but the wording is in the Community Service book (published at National Headquarters of Community Service, One Madison Ave New York City.

It seems Big Business, hiding behind the Holy Name Society knows that there are many unsolved problems and problems which the Gospel of Christ has not, does not, and can not solve. In the "Don't Buy—Don't Sell" advertisement they admit the truth of the above. They say **"Unrest is in the air. The popular mind is feverish and uneasy. Sudden gusts of passion and resentment sweep over the multitude. Bolshevism;—Socialism in a hurry—is** knocking at our door. Every street corner is vocal with remedies, The Gospel of Christ has a solution for every problem."

What solution has the Gospel of Christ for this problem? We find it in Ephesians VI verses 5&6 "Servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart as unto Christ: not with eye service as menpleasers but as the servants of Christ doing the will of God from the heart."

This is a fine solution from the viewpoint of the master-class but to an awakened slave it is only another link in the cunningly wrought chain designed with but one aim; that aim being to hold the slave in his slavery. In the language of the common people, it is a solution which does not "solute".

Abe Herschin put it in rhyme.

And' we're also some shy on accepting the lie
Of the preacher, that if we behave,
We'll get pie in the sky, by and by, when we die,
Which is sure swell "reward" for a slave.

Now that guff is all bunk, theological junk,
Not worthy the brain of a cow;
It's a mere mental drunk for a nut made of punk,
MEN want what they want here and now!"

The master-class does not believe in the Gospel of Christ for themselves but for their dupes; their slaves. If they really believed, believe you me they would give more than a stingy three little hours out of all eternity to their ghost worship. But when they use full page advertisements in the daily press to spread their "opium for the poor" it may be read as the last gasp of a dying creed.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

I know that all rivers in this part of the country flow into Lake Couer D'Alane upon the shores of which is the cabin of my friends. I really wish you had been with me today and could have seen and enjoyed it all. It is a wonderful world in which we live, full of wealth which money cannot buy; but which all may have simply for loving it. True you cannot eat it in the physical sense of that word; but then it is written "Man shall not live by bread alone." Food for the mind is not a market value. Often it consists of things which can neither be bought nor sold and yet their possession enriches one with a wealth that cannot tarnish.

What a contrast there is between the great wilds and prison bars. It is better to be alone in the woods than broke among ones fellow men.

Sincerely and thankfully,

Jack Thurston.

He closed his book and put it in his pocket and being tired with the days travel he fell asleep and knew no more until he was awakened by the cold in the small hours of the morning.

(Continued next week.)

NO. 112.
Published at Cleveland, Ohio.
CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, MAY 7th 1920.
[illegible] Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.
$1.50 A YEAR

Grand Jury Indicts Baker and Cannon

Kansas City, Apr. 28th.

The Federal Grand Jury returned indictments here today against J. P. Cannon, editor of the Workers' World, and Charles Baker, National Organizer of the Communist Labor Party charging them with a violation of the Lever Act during the coal strike last November. Bail in each case was set at $15.000.00 which was furnished by both defendants.

Cannon and Baker are charged specifically with "conspiring to obstruct, hinder and delay the production of bituminous coal" by speeches made in support of the cause of the miners in the Kansas coal fields and by the publication of articles in the Workers' World which, it is claimed, were calculated to "inflame the minds of the miners against their officials" and encourage them to disregard the order to return to work before a settlement of their demands was made.

The Workers' World, which had gained a large circulation and strong influence in the Kansas mining district was suppressed with the arrest of Cannon and Baker last December. The present remarkable stand of the Kansas miners in opposition to the Allen Industrial Court Bill is partly attributed, by the corporation press, to the effects of the communist propaganda carried on amongst them by the two men indicted.

Enthusiastic Defense Meetings

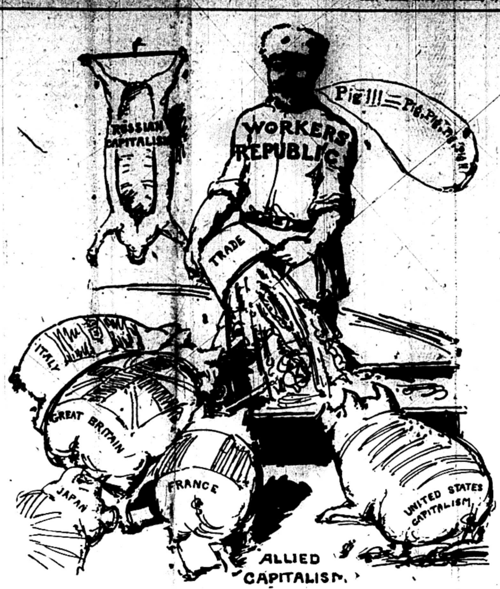
Three Political Prisoners' Defense meetings held by comrade Marguerite Prevey in Belmont County on the 24th and 25th of April proved very successful according to reports from there. Mrs. Prevey, who has been conducting meetings for the purpose of raising funds in the interest of the Prevey Baker and Burke Defense, has had phenomenal success with all her meetings which began at Akron on April 4th.

The meeting at Toledo on the 18th at the Labor Temple was splendid. This was the first meeting which Toledo Socialist have held for some time and it proved that they have lost none of their "pep" notwithstanding. The collection amounted to $130.00.

Enthusiasm of a high degree marked the Bellaire meeting writes comrade Stidd. Many people, new attendants at socialist meetings were present. Belmont County Locals are very active in the work of education among the miners and workers generally.

A meeting at Youngstown was held on May 2nd. Two meetings at Portsmouth will be held on the 9th of May. The Strand Theatre has been rented for these occassionsand they are certain to prove equally successful with previous meetings. Other meetings in Ohio are being arranged and also some in Illinois.

All Ohio Locals are urged to make arrangements for meetings for comrade Prevey.



Slopping the Hogs!

Palmer's Sun is Setting

The Wilson administration seems particularly unfortunate in the selection of the heads of government departments. By some ironic fate the administration that has held up before the people the ideals of democracy and has led the nation thru a war for them has placed as the heads of powerful government departments two of the most savage and Prussian—like officials that ever sat in the seats of the mighty. We refer to Attorney General Palmer and Mr Burlison of the post office department. The administration that has boasted so highly of its accomplishments in the field of applied democracy on a world scale has been a significant failure in bringing democracy to the folks at home.

The trials of the alleged Communists at Boston last week before Judge George W Anderson of the United States District Court were a revelation of the Prussian methods of Palmer and the Department of Justice in their nation wide raids of the past 4 months followed by the deportations of aliens So incensed was Judge Anderson at the unlawful and savage activities of Palmer's agents as revealed in the trial at Boston that he repeatedly excoriated the Department for its illegal and cruel persecutions.

"I can hardly sit on the bench and restrain my indignation at the tyrannous methods of the Department of Justice" exclaimed Judge Anderson after heading testimony in the trials "More lawless proceedings are hard to conceive."

The first move in the trial was for Judge Anderson to grant habeas corpus writs for the 13 Communists ordered deported, thus bringing them under the custody of the court.

He then granted them bail of $500, the amount fixed by the Department of Labor having been from $5.000 to $10.000.

"Hang First—Try Later"

"This case seems to have been conducted under the modern theory of statesmanship—hang first and try afterwards," said the court in commenting on one of the cases in which one man was held 15 days before a warrant was obtained.

"I wish you would show me one case in which the Department of Justice has the authority to arrest and hold men for two weeks without warrant.

"A more lawless proceeding is hard to conceive. What we need is the Americanization of those who carry on such proceedings."

A careful examination of Palmer's evidence in his so-called "perfect cases" revealed substantially the following matter and procedure:

Exhibit A. Telegraphic warrant for arrest of John Smith.

Exhibit B. Warrant received by mail for arrest of John Smith.

Exhibit C. Copy of Communist Party constitution. Question: Where did you get this paper? Answer: I picked it up in the street.

Decision: An order for immediate deportation.

In some cases prisoners have said (according to Palmer's own "perfect cases") that the so-called incriminating literature used against them came to them through the mails in Department of Justice stationery! Others explained that the literature was given them by friends or acquaintances. The record does not show, in many instances, that the Department of Justice made any effort to establish the criminality of the original distributors.

The excoriation of the Palmer Prussians by Judge Anderson marks the first gleam of reason that has been able to shoot thru the fog of crass ignorance, fear and class hatred that has been cultivated in America since she becan the game of creating multitudes of millionaires under the guise of war for democracy. The pendulum is swinging the other way now, the public mind is returning to some semblance of sanity, the victims are beginning to question in no soft voiced interrogations where this governmental repression will end?

The three loud mouthed apostles of democracy, Wilson, Palmer and Burlison are scheduled to receive the repudiation which they so justly deserve.

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OPEN FORUM MEETING

Sunday, May 9th, at 50 So. Howard St. Akron, Ohio—2:30 P. M.

Rev. D. R. Williams, of the North Church Forum, Cleveland.

Subject: "Free Speech and the Forum Movement".

The Class War in Oregon

Casualties Jan. 1—Apr. 19—1920.

K. W. Oster; state secretary C. L. P., centenced Apr. 16th to five years in the state penitentiary.

Claude Hurst; sec. Local Portland, C. L. P., sentenced Apr. 16th to two years in the staste penitentiary.

Fred. W. Fry; member of Local Portland C. L. P., sentenced to two years in the state pententiary on Apr. 16th and paroled.

Joseph Laundry; secretary of the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council and member of the C. L. P. and the I. W. W., was sentenced today Apr. 19th to two years in the state penitentiary.

Note: This does not include the numerous vagrancy charges handed 90 days etc. where membership was doubtful; nor does it cover the many aliens held here for deportation on which no returns have yet been made.

• • •

Palmer and his pals did not neglect us here in Oregon, indeed they started bright and early here. On the evening of Nov. 11th 1919 a raid took place on the hall of the Worker's, Soldiers and Sailor's Council. Fifty-eight were arrested out of which number twenty-six alleged I. W. W. were held to answer charges of having violated the Oregon Criminal Syndicalism law—better known as The Oregon Comical Sillyism law. All of these are still awaiting trial save for Josepr Laundy who has been tried and "convicted," and who was sentenced today.

On Jan. 2nd the hall of the Communist Labor Party was raided as well as the homes of all who were suspected as being members. A total of some 25 or 30 were made out of which six were indicted for Comical Sillyism and about a dozen received deportation warrants. Of those held for deportation one took sick and was taken to a hospital. Frank Cusak, the patient, did not choose to go out the regular way, i. e. through the door, and so he just walked out through a hole in the wall, known as a window, and—"escaped". It is only recently that the bail of these have been lowered so as to make it possible to get the most of them out. Victor Saulit (delegate to Ntl. Convention) and his wife Julia Saulit are still held on $10,000 bail.

The "trial" of Hurst, Fry and myself was a one-sided farce inasmuch as we had to take an attorney whose name appears in Wilson's "New Freedom" —No others seemed to want anything to do with us. This attorney specialized of the prosecution and instead he try to refute any of the accusations our "peers" he absolutely forgot to to. In his "argument," to the jury of when there was something to object made himself conspicuous by his silence knew that he could not keep out and on objecting to everything which he brought in Tennyson's poems and other poems from which he read to our "peers" — as if Tennyson's poems had anything to do with the Class Struggle. In short he sabotaged on us all the way through. His presence constituted a barrier so we could not defend ourselves.

"Guilty" said the jury of our peers, and our bail went up to $1,000.—A date for the sentence was set, and which was later postponed until April 16th. I shall here quoted some of the language of the Court.

"I coudl not face the picture of my father who died in service, or again clasp the hands of my two brothers who are wearing the uniform of the United States if I did less," declared Robert G. Morrow as the passed sentences.

"The defendant Oster is not entitled to any consideration from this Court. From circumstances surrounding his life and education, he apparently went into this organization understanding just exactly what he was doing, knowing that it advocated the destruction of property, the taking of life and the overthrow of our public institutions.

"If the opportunity was offered Oster, Russia would have nothing on the United States in terrorism and crime. Unfortunately he has brains which are of material assistance in his disloyal work. (This kind of "Americanism" would make an American of 1776 homesick for a penitentiary.)

"Oster boasts of his connections with the party. He sat on the witness stand and, disregarding the record as he must have known it, stigmatized as 'piracy' the action of the United States in sending troops to Russia to protect the interests of ourselves and allies in Siberia."

Throughout the trial I wondered if the Americanism of 1776 had actually become the criminal syndicalism of today. If this be true,—and I think it is—the prosecution can not glory any more then I in my conviction.

Put for the present all the brains in jails, and let the lowest scum that cringes, crawls and "stools" continue still, to propagate their hellish kin! Exalted ignorance never can prevail,—nor can it, even for a moment, turn back the clock of evolution so as to retard the onrush of the blazing dawn of Industrial Democracy—of "Mans humanity to man".

K. W. Oster.

Multnomah County Jail;
Portland, Oregon, April 19, '20.

In the occupation of Archangel the Bolsheviki took posession of the correspondence of the former Russian government, from which it is clear that the government made unheard of exertions in order to obtain the support of England, but in vain.

Among others, there was found a telegram from General Miller to Sazonov, in which it was stated that Bolshevik propaganda and the many losses of the population had awakened feelings of hopelessness as well as the view that it was idle to struggle longer. The alteration in the attitude of the troops came clear on February 8, when three regiments passed over to the Reds.

Lenin On Tactics

LONDON.—The advice of Nicolai Lenin to The English Labor movement on the question of joining the Third International has just been published here in the London Daily Herald by George Lansbury, its editor. Lansbury, whose recent trip to Russia has made a profound impression on all classes in England, talked over British labor problems at length with Lenin.

Lansbury describes as a misconception the prevalent belief that subscribing to the Third International would mean the abandonment of the trade union movement, and cooperative, municipal and parliamentary work. Lenin said very definitely on this point:

"All Socialists and Communists should take the lead in trade union, municipal, cooperative and parliamentary life, and thus use every means in their power to obtain the triumph of the cause."

The Labor and Socialist movements of Great Britain and the rest of the world are followed very closely in Moscow by means of newspapers, said Lansbury. Lenin declares that the method of destroying the capitalist system must vary in every country, but that there is no means of avoiding a violent revolution, no matter how well developed the educational and evolutionary movements are.

Declaring that the division which exists between the various labor groups in England on the question of tactics is more apparent than real, Lansbury decries the "labels of illusion".

"I am convinced that if people generally understood that Bolshevik means most, and soviet means council, and that commissar only means an executive officer, much foolish opposition to the Russian revolution would have been saved," he asserted. "There is no reason to attach more violence to those words than to any other words in the Socialist vocabulary."

MILWAUKEE—"The authorities at Alcatraz have been releasing military prisoners convicted of criminal and degenerate acts, yet they still hold five political prisoners who have committed no crime of any sort."

This statement was made here by Leroy Horlacher, war objector, on his way to his home in Philadelphia.

Horlacher served with Carl Haessler, Milwaukee draft objector, both in Leavenworth and in Alcatraz. They travelled to the latter place together after the famous Wire City. Weekly episode in which political prisoners in Leavenworth succeeded in publishing a radical magazine under the very eyes of the authorities.

"Carl Haessler holds the universal respect and confidence of his fellow prisoners," said Horlacher. "He is a man whom the authorities cannot cow, whose spirit they cannot break."

Horlacher stated that Carl Haessler is due for release on Sept. 17, 1920.

Refuse to Convict Dolson

Disagreement after deliberation of 76 hours in the case of James H. Dolson, charged with violation of the state Criminal Syndicalism law of California was the outcome of the trial of Dolson which was concluded at San Francisco last week.

The trial of comrade Dolson, which is but one of several members and officials of the Communist Labor Party of that state, consumed five full weeks. It contained many unusual features of such trials, one of especial moment being that comrade Dolson conducted his own case entirely. The length of time consumed in the trial and time which the jury occupied in considering its verdict are the longest on record of such cases tried in California courts.

That comrade Dolson conducted his case in a masterly manner may be taken for granted judging by the results of the Jury's deliberations, six jurymen stoutly holding out for acquittal. A retrial of the case is set for June 1st at which time it may be dismissed. All other California cases of the Communist Labor Party have been

Comrade Person of Rockford, Illinois, one of several Communist Labor Party members charged with violation of state Criminal Suydicalism laws was acquitted there last week.

It has been later learned that 5 in all C. L. P. cases at Rockford were aquitted.

Defense Contributions

Here are some recent remittances for the defense of these three Ohio comrades. Other than these are numerous smaller contributions from many comrades in all parts of the country. The defendants extend their appreciation and gratitude for the loyalty to the cause of Socialism which is manifested in these donations.

Comrades at Neffs Ohio	$23.20
Comrades at Girard Kans	26.50
Fred Hohman list	8.50
L. Druesdow list	6.00
Chas Volkman	5.00
Laura P. Brown	10.00
Frank J. Ludwig	5.00
Local Wadsworth (Ohio)	3.00
M. A. Meek	1.00
J. H. White	3.00
Mis A. Volotka list	7.96
J. F. Schwab	2.00
Alfred Tanner	3.00
A. Brooke Buckley	5.90
D. Thomas	1.00
A. Duncan	1.00
B. L. Murphy	1.00
H. K. Bronkhar	1.00
F. Kreyzl	1.00
Bert Velzy	1.00
W. Enzenaner	1.50
W. Berry	1.00
Herman Musser	50
Henry Musser	50
L. Enzenauer	1.00
H. K. Hockstha	1.00
W. J. Rogers	1.00
J. S. Kenworthy	1.00
S. M. Johnson	2.00
Geo Motherwell	1.00
Mrs G. Motherwell	50
A. Friend	1.00
A. O. Steffen	1.00
J. A. Waddell	1.00
Otto Steffen	2.00
Geo. Henry	1.00
C. R. Heartleib	1.00
H. C. Schaeffer	2.00
A. W. F. Stechel list	3.00
Frank Shodry	1.00
C. A. Parker	1.00
T. Smith list	10.50
T. B. Hyland	25.00
Dayton, O. list	15.00

A CORRECTION.

In your last issue, column one, page two, you credit the Catholic Holy Name Society with the definition of Bolshevism as Socialism in a hurry. This is incorrect. The definition emanates from the clever pen of Israel Zangwell. It is he who characterized Bolshevism as Socialism in a hurry and Socialism while you wait, also as Socialism applied in practice. Honor to whom honor is due.

DR. WM. J. ROBINSON.

"THE PRESENT CRISIS IN EDUCATION"
a lecture by
Roman Pasderski
under the auspices of the
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
Pythian Temple, 919 Huron Road, near Prospect Av., and E. 9th St., Cleveland
Sunday evening May 9th, 1920 at 7:30.
Questions and discussion invited.

THAT CARTOON FUND IS GROWING.

You bet it is and we want no better proof that our readers are "catching on" to the cartoons in fine shape. If receipts are a gage to measure our readers' approval of them we will admit that they fill the bill in every respect.

Here's receipts since last accounting.

Previously subscribed	$47.50
L. A. Zitt	5.00
J. E. Filipowsky	1.50
G. W. Market	1.00
H. Filipowsky	1.50
Ralph Biedorph	1.00
J. A. Goodheart	50
G. Dekker	50
Geo Schuller	50
Total	58.50
Expense	$71.15

The British Labor Movement.

— By Felix Morley. —

Final Article—Agricultural Unionism

LONDON.—One of the outstanding and most significant features of the British Labor Movement today is the vigor and unanimity with which agricultural laborers are now lining up side by side with the indutsrial proletariat. Close to 400,000, ar nearly fifty per cent of all the rural workers in Great Britain are now organized in the trade unions working in their behalf, a membership figure aproximately double that of a year ago. At the end of 1917 only about 100,000 agricultural laborers were organized.

No less striking than increase of membership, and to a growing extent bound up with it, is the birth of Socialistic spirit among the farm hands. A few years, and even months ago, all that the downtrodden agricultural workers of Great Britain thought about was an increase of wages which would enable them to sustain their families on a standard of moderate comfort and decency. Today communistic sentiment is a real factor and spreading rapidly. Particularly in Scotland the demand for nationalization of the land is too strong to be longer ignored by the government.

To understand this situation it is necessary to appreciate the present land system in Great Britain, a land system which is more medieval and intolerable than that of any other civilized state. It is fact, the recognition of which is by no means confined to labor circles, that the position of the English agricultural laborer today is in one vital respect worse than it was during the reign of William the Conqueror, over eight hundred years ago. In the year 1085 less than ten per cent. of the English agricultural population were completely divorced from land tenure. Today, at a moderate estimate, half of this same population are landless laborers not only with no chance whatever of achiving land ownership, but even without any hope of advancing from an economic and social position which is closely akin to that of the feudal serf. And while it is most marked in the case of the agricultural laborer the injustice of the English land system does not even end with him. A great majority of the so-called farmers, who employ this labor, are only tenant farmers subject to the autocratic control of a tiny minority of landowners who exact tribute from every tenant and rarely interest themselves in practical farming.

A few figures will make the situation clearer. There are at the present time something over 600,000 agricultural laborers of various types in England and Wales. There are something under 300,000 farmers and live-stock raisers, almost all of them tenants on other peoples' property. There are about 15,000 large landowners who in the aggregate own eighty per cent of all the land in England and Wales, exact heavy rents from those who till it and give hunting and shooting parties for their friends in return. That, in a nutshell, is the reason of the present agricultural unrets in Great Britain and the reason why ''Hodge'', as the farm laborer is called is now joining in with the labor movement in tens of thousands. Less than two per cent. of those who make their living off the land own eighty per cent. of that land and in spite of possesing give little or no service in return.

The first phase of the farm labor movement in England began in 1833 and is now ending. It was the phase, familiar in all industrial history, in which the serf class in its blind struggle for something more than a bare subsistence found itself opposed by an alliance of the middle and upper classes. In this case it was the struggle of the unaided farm laborer against an all-powerful combination of tenant farmers and landlords. The second phase promises to be very much shorter than the first and may end in the nationalization of the land in Great Britain. It will be characterized by a fighting alliance of the tenant farmers and their laborers on the one side as oppesed to the parasitic landlord class on the other. This alliance is already in working operation in Scotland and is beginning to be formed in parts of England. Its watchword everywhere is ''nationalize the land.''

While the first agricultural laborers' union was launched in England in 1833 it was many years before organization began to make tangible headway. The chief reason for initial delays was the prompt action of the government, composed largely of ''land gentry,'' in launching methods of terrorism against a movement in which they rightly say contain elements of danger to their comfortable position. It is interesting to note that the methods used in England then were very closely akin to those which seem to be popular in another great English speaking Democracy today.

The cause of the founding of the union was a warning by the farmers that the current wages of seven shillings ($1.75) a week would shortly be reduced to six shillings ($1.50). The action of the government was to throw the six ''evil-disposed'' officers of this labor fledgling into jail and shortly afterwards to deport them to Australia.

There is not space here to discuss the long, up and down struggle for organization which characterized the history of English agricultural labor from 1833 until the late war. In the main these efforts were unsuccessful; at best the farm worker was difficult to organize, an isolated individual, unable to join his fellows in association as easily as the city worker. Add to this the fact that the ambitious among the agricultural workers migrated to industrial centers, that those who remained were hampered by the lethargy of ingorance, and that oppression of every sort was brought to bear upon the agricultural unions, and it is not surprising that August 1914 found the farm workers in a social position as debased as ever and drawing an average wage in England and Walls of just sixteen shillings ($4.00) a week.

Two factors have changed this situation almost overnight and account for the strong position of the agricultural today. The first of these is the entrance of the Workers' Union, the most powerful organization in England catering only to unskilled and casual labor, into the field of agricultural organization. The second factor is found in the passage of the Wheat Production Act, forced through parliament largely by virtue of German U-boat pressure in August 1917.

When the English agricultural laborer built up his own union he would start with an organization of a dozen or so members and a capital of a few dollars. Growth was slow and the first effort to ameliorate conditions brought pressure from the farmers and landlords, generally resulting in collapse. When the Workers' Union organized a special branch for agricultural labor it started with a membership of a quarter of a million and a bank account of several hundred thousand dollars. Merely by filling out his membership card in the Workers' Union the farmworker found himself linked up with the industrial strength of organized urban labor. This one step brought his ultimate emancipation nearer than eighty years of effort at independent organization had done.

One of the reasons which led the Workers' Union to organize the farm laborers, as told me by George Dallas in charge of the agricultural organization work, was the problem of having discontented or striking farm workers come to the cities and undercut the unskilled labor there. The reverse of this was also true; time and again where agricultural laborers would attempt a strike against an unfair landlord or farmer the latter would bring in unemployed from the cities to defeat the move. By successfully invading the agricultural field the Workers' Union has effectively protected both its rural and city members from scabbing of this sort, and tremendously strengtened the industrial power of both units. It is note-worthy that the industrial organizers of the Workers' Union have been phenominally successful in lining up the farmhands as union members.

The importance to the movement of the other factor of success the Wheat Production Act, is found in its clause setting up representative committees throughout the country for the consideration of production, wages and other agricultural problems. On these committees the farm workers have an equal representation with the farmers, which meant in the first place a governmental endorsement of the agricultural workers' union as the only bodies able to elect farm laborers' representatives. Beyond this, however the power which they exert on these committes have taught the farm laborers and farmers to cooperate and to look forward to the time when agriculture will be a socialized industry free from land-lord control.

At every recent conference of farm laborers, delegates from every county in England have recorded the opinion that ''no adequate solution of the rural problem is possible so long as the land is privately owned.'' In addition a minimum wage, ''adequate to promote efficiency'' has been established throughout England and Wales by the Wheat Production Act. Last spring this minimum was established for adult male farm workers at the ridiculously inadequate figure of thirty shillings a week for six day week of fifty-four hours in summer and fifty hours in winter.

The Workers' Union has achieved the most remarkable success in organizing the agricultural workers, and is of particular interest because of its successful combination of farm and industrial worker. It is not, however, at present numerally the most important of the rural unions. The Agricultural Laborers' Union, successfully reorganized out of previous failures in 1912, is entirely of, by and for the farm workers, and has an enviable record of successes accomplished both by peaceful negotiation and, where negotiations were spurned, by strikes. In the county of Norfolk this union now exerts such power that no farmer will take on a ''hand'' unless the latter can show his union card. The A. L. U. now claims a membership of something over 200,000, and is growing steadily. The agricultural section of the Workers' Union numbers 150,000 and is also increasing.

In spite of a certain amount of rivalry there is a close executive harmony between these two bodies. Both are cooperating on the immediate aim of British agricultural labor — a basic 48 hour week with a minimum wage of fifty shillings, provisions which are likely to be forced through the forthcoming Parliament. Both are urging their members to vote the labor ticket and strengthen their political as well as their industrial position, the results of which propaganda are now seen in every by-election in agricultural districts.

The rapid emancipation of the agricultural workers, and the growing cooperation between him and the farmer against the absentee landlord, is one of the most significant features of the new England which has been born out of the war. The dukes and earls who own a majority of England are being faced with two alternatives—either take up agriculture as a serious business or sell out to those who will, and it is note-worthy that for the most part they are choosing the latter course. Meantime the sentiment for nationalization of the land and communistic ownership is spreading.

One other factor growing out of the rural activity of the Workers' Union deserves stress. It is the close cooperation between agricultural and urban labor which is being developed. Something which, combined with the work of the Co-operative Societies, can be developed so as to eliminate the middleman whenever he operates as a food trust, and which is also paving the way towards an equitable food distribution in the cities, particularly valuable in the time of sudden emergency.

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A Subject People

— By Scott Nearing —
Staff Writer, The Federated Press.

Popular sympathy recently aroused over the plight of ''subject peoples'' has gone out to Korea, India, and Ireland. Now comes a report on ''Labor Conditions in Porto Rico'' written by Joseph Marcus (a special agent of the United States Employment Service) which strongly suggests the necessity of adding another to the long list of peoples which are denied ''the right of self-determination.''

The American flag has been flying over the island of Porto Rico for twenty years, yet the percentage of illiteracy is still abnormally high. During the year 1917 and 18 ''only 142,846 children out of a total of 427,666 of school age actually enrolled in the public schools.'' The difficulty, syas Mr. Marcus, ''lies in the bad economic condition'' in which the worker finds himself. ''Porto Rico is an island of wealthy land proprietors and of landless workers.''

''There is a law in Porto Rico prohibiting any single individual from owning more than 500 acres of land ... With the American occupation the price of cane land rose very high — from thirty to three hundred dollars per acre—and this induced many a small holder to sell his land and join the ranks of the laborers.'' Under these circumstances the law limiting land holdings was not enforced and at the present time ''of the best land in Porto Rico 537,193 acres are owned and 229,203 acres are leased by 477 individuals, partnerships, or corporations from the United States Spain France and other countries.''

The total wealth of the island is in the hands of fifteen per cent. of the population. Fourteen per cent. of the wealth is in the hands of native Porto Ricans. Sixty seven percent is owned by Americans.

Four fifths of the people of Porto Rico live in the rural districts. They build their little shacks on land that does not belong to them; they work when work is to be had on the nearest plantation; the men in a pair of trousers, a shirt and a straw hat. ''Throughout the island thousands of children of the ages from one to seven years go naked, in the towns as well as in the rural districts.''

When the laborer is at work he and his family share the following diet:

Breakfast—Black coffe, without milk and quite often without sugar.

Lunch—Rice and beans, or rice and codfish, or codfish and plantins.

Supper—The same as lunch.

This diet holds good while the laborer has steady work but during a large part of the year—five or six months—there is no work. ''How he pulls through the slow season is a mystery to many who are interested in the welfare of the laborer.''

The Porto Rican laborer is a sick man. ''Hook-worm diseas, anemia, etc. are very wide spread.

The low energy value of the diet together with the prevalence of sickness have so undermined the endurance of the Porto Rican laborer that a number of experiments in scientific diet carried on by the employers themselves, resulted in increasing the working capacity of the men from 50 to 100 per cent. Mr. Marcus finds that with an increase in wages which would enable the laborer to purchase some meat and dairy products, the charge of laziness and inefficiency which are frequently lodged against the workers might well be withdrawn.

The investigation upon which Mr. Marcus bases his report about one dollar per day. Laborers in the busy season were paid ninety cents per day; in the slow season seventy cents. The working day is from ten to twelve hours. On the tobacco plantations men's wages during the busy season are from sixty to eighty cents a day and during the dull season from forty to sixty cents a day. Women receive from thirty-five to forty-five cents a day in the busy season and from twenty-five to thirty-five cents a day in the dull season. On the coffee plantations wages are lower. Men receive from fifty to sixty cents per day in the busy season and from thirty-five to forty-five cents per day in the dull season.

Mr. Marcus reports that the needle industry is making considerable headway in Porto Rico. Men's and children's suits are manufactured by women operators who earn from three dollars and fifty cents to five dollars per week. Embroidery manufacturing, lace making and drawn work pay from $1.25 to $4.00 per week. The work is done exclusively by women.

Detailed descriptions are given of living and working conditions in these and other industries. Enough has been said here to indicate very clearly that the American people, having assumed the responsibility for directing the lives of 1,118,012 Porto Ricans, are far behind the standard of ''health and decency'' which civilization prescribes as the minimum below which human beings cannot be expected to live and to work. There are subject peoples in Europe and Asia living under intolerable economic and social situations. There are also peoples in the West Indies subjets of the United States, whose life tragedy has been intensified rather than relieved by the presence of the capitalist imperialists from the North.

PRISONERS DIFFER AS TO AMNESTY.

Comrade A. L. Sugarman, one of our political prisoners confined at Leavenworth, writes The Toiler that he, among others in Leavenworth are in disagreement with the statements regarding amnesty for political prisoners contained in the article recently published in the Toiler ''What Political Prisoners thing of Amnesty,'' written by comrade Wm. Madison Hicks, ''Comrade Hicks was not authorized to speak for the radicals here'' writes Sugerman.

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CECH SOCIALISTS WIN.

PRAGUE, April 24.—Returns from elections in Cecho-Slovakia indicate the new national assembly will have 120 Socialist members out of a total of 300. The Clericals, Agrarians and National Democrats form the reactionary block with approximately ninety-three votes. The party affiliations of the remainder of the members are scattered.

[illegible]

Jim Larkin of the working class is on trial in New York City for being partly responsible for the Left Wing Program, which has to do with the same class-principles enunciated by the Third International. Jim Larkin is Irish and has an ''A—No. 1'' labor record in Ireland. But that is not what we are going to talk about.

Jim Larkin is on trial in New York City and he is going it alone. He decided he could make a better class fight than any lawer could make for him — and he is right. He is holding down the stage in Judge Week's court in such commendable style that we wish the whole world of workers could sit in and listen and see.

First let's say that if you'd ask the average native what employment people follow in New York City he'd tell you that there are ever so many machinists, carpenters, needle workers, railroad men, ordinary working folk. How comes it then that the jury panel in the courts show none of these workers in it? You'll only need one guess to guess why.

Here are the kind of folk that are being called to try Larkin: general insurance agent, carpenter superintendent, underwriter of surety, stock trader, chief cashier, cotton goods broker, treasurer for importers, etc. And now get this—one prospective juror confessed that he managed a co-operative store and one approved of the 1776 revolution and out both of them went by peremption by the prosecution.

The first thing Larkin did in acting in his own defense was to challenge the judge, claiming that the judge was prejudiced and had proven it in commending the conviction of Gitlow and Winnitzky, two communists previously sentenced by this same judge. The court decided, as could have been epected, that it was fit to sit in the case. The court and Larkin, all thru the selection of the jury, staged the class struggle in peppery language. The court, to facilitate presentation of the case, advised Larkin to take a lawyer. To this Larkin answered: 'I don't see that the form of presenting the truth matters very much.''

Larkin insisted that the jury panel was not of his class and asked its dismissal. The judge refused. When a prospective juror seemed rattled about constitutional methods which might be persued to overthrow the government and admitted that he was not familiar with the constitution, Larkin said to him: ''That is the reason why you have been specially selected.'' He asked this same juror that if a foreigner '''like Christ came to this country, do you think he could become an American citizen.'' This horrified the court!

At a point when Judge Weeks and a prospective juror who thought that the reason the cost of living was high was because workers did not work long enough hours, engaged in a conversation about economics, Larkin broke in by remarking: ''Pardon me for saying so, but I think that both do not know what they are talking about.''

'What class do you belong to'' is Larkin's hot shot. Most of those asked don't belong to any class and say they do not believe in classes. So much like the religious fanatic who said he did not belong to any world nor believe in things worldly.

A new trick was played upon those who are attending the Larkin trial, and the court room is crowded. At a specially well attended session the names and addresses of all who attended were taken. An attempt at intimidation, that's all.

We have had the ''no defense'' trial and the class trial with lawers instructed to make a class fight. But the best of them all, after all, is the kind that Larkin is conducting, for he meets his class enemies face on and words are not softened by passage thru a representative of the legal profession. There will be more of these tirals from now on.

— Voice of Labor.

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LONDON.—With the most critical period in its history just ahead, the Triple Industrial Alliance of dockers, transportworkers, miners and railwaymen will meet May 5. Announcement of the plan was made by a subcommitee consisting of Harry Gosling and Robert Williams of the transport workers, Herbert Smith and Frank Hodges of the miners and J. H. Thomas and William Cramp of the railwaymen.

The purpose of the conference according to Williams, will be to deal with matters arising out of the previous conference and to strengthen the alliance in readiness to meet any tests that may come.

The statement is significant because of the fact that all three organizations are now in the midst of negotiation new demands. The railwaymen have put in a demand for a flat increase of one pound a week for all the men included in the January 1920 settlement, which involves a gross total of 17,000,000 pounds a year additional outlay. The transport workers are engaged in delicate negotiations in regard to the dockers' position, and a crisis in the tramways and road transport is imminent. The miners on April 15 after a ballot accepted the government's offer of two shillings a day raise, instead of three, but the situation is far from closed.

It is expected that the necessity for exerting powerful pressure upon the government will bring the three organizations into even closer relations following the conference.

The Black Sheep.

Chapt. XXIX.

Debates.

In the little log cabin by the lake Collins and Rudolph were absorbing book lore and cursing what Omar the Pagan called ''The sorry scheme of things entire.'' These two were agreed on the general proposition that every thing in society needed cursing and in this work they co-operated beautifully. They were the Castor and Pollux in the firmament of invective. On all other subjects they differed as they differed in tempervment. They were like the diamond and charcoal which are both pure carbon but the one is inky black and the other sparklingly beautiful. So it was with these men, one was the incarnation of gloomy pessimism while the other had an abundance of optimistic faith in the latent power of the working class to emancipate itself from capitalistic thraldom. The fact is both had a measure of such faith, but in the one it sparkled and shone forth at all times in undimmed lustre, while in the other it was just present and often quite obscured by an exterior bitterness which gave him the appearance of being a misanthrop.

Rudolph was always sympathetic in his verabl dealing with human weakness; especially if these weaknesses were found in the working class. If a working man died it was because capitalism had exploited him and if he turned ''high jack'' and robbed his fellow workers of their hard earned coin then he could not help it. He would explain it as a result of his early bourgeois environment. With him a worker could do no wrong to a capitalist or a fellow worker. In the first place it was an act of class consciousness in the second a reflex of environment.

With Collins on the other hand the question was entirely different. He insisted on almost puritanical ethics within the working class. On all matters ot deparvity he took a Darwinian view. Still when it came to defining what constituted a workingman, Collins was more liberal than Rudolph. In fact on this proposition their views were hopelessly at variance.

To Rudolph a proletarian was a man whom the process of machine development had robbed of his skill, his patriotism, his religion, in short of every thing but his ability to work when he found a purchaser in the labor market. A proletarian was a man who was forced to sell his life for the privilege of living. To him a man who possesses skill could not be a proletarian because he had something more to sell than his mere power to work. To fully appreciate the peculiarity of his views, on this subject his views on women are significant, to his mind women could not be classed as strictly working class creatures for when it became impossible for them to sell their labor power they were not like men forced to revolt but naturally fell back on the commercial value of their sex power, which he averred they would sell almost without exception rather then starve or fight. ''How many of them do you find in the jungle, or hitting the road in search of a job?'' he would ask. ''They are more numerous than men and the lines of work that they can hold down are fewer so logically more of them ought to be out of employment. But they are not. At least you don't see them. They are biological bourgeois. They have something to sell besides their labor power. And before they go hungry they sell it.'' With this sentiment Collins would take violent issue. In fact his very inability to adequately answer Rudolph made him the more angry for it is evident that the Jew's statement while extremely unchivalrous has a natural element of truth.

On the question of what constituted a proletarian Collins had as has been indicated a more liberal view. To him any one who does anything that is in any way essential to the welfare and comfort of the human race as a whole, belonged to the working class providing however that in so serving mankind the individual was compelled to sell his power of hand or brain to another, who in turn sold the result of such work in the open market.

They had spent days on this subject. Arguing and reading, searching thru a stack of books and pamphlets, not with the object of finding the truth, or of reaching any basis or agreement. That is seldom done in any controversy. Both worked with a feverish intensity to prove each other wrong. They as individuals reflected the course of the entire radical movement in all its varigated branches. They worked like theologians endeavoring to hide the truth in order that they might establish their dogmas. The average radical leader like his theological brother has but one idea and, that is to build up a following for his particular brand of delusion, and his whole effort is expended not in the discovery of the truths of life but rather in a frantic effort to keep his fallacies from becoming apparent to his followers. It was this spirit which actuated the two men in the log cabin as it has actuated thousands in the radical movements of the world. The pity of it all is that these leaders and so called intellectuals are not dishonest. They actually believe that their particular form of delusion is the spirit that is to save the world. The average radical of today is but a throw back to the priest and medicine man of prehistoric times. It is the spirit of self justification we might almost say self deification of those who assume leader ship of the masses that lies at the bottom of working class factions and the creeds of christiandom.

This is not the fault of economic science or of a science of sociology. The terms of these sciences are as well defined as any other descriptive or experimental science. In the realm of sociology and economics we are dealing with human interests and human affairs, and our concept of what constitutes our interest differs with temperament as well as economic conditions. That is the reason it is physically and socially impossible to unite the masses of mankind upon any set of principles no matter how well founded they may be in the facts of life.

The best brains in the working class differ according to temperament and will be followed by those who love and opposed by those who hate any given temperament regardless of the principle involved. It has been said that Jesse James had as many admirers in the United States as Billy Sunday. That does not mean that people are either religious fanatics or criminals; it simply proves that they follow those who are agressive according to temperament. The mass follows men. They do not recognize a principle as big as an elephant. To the crowd it is not truth, expedience, or mutual aid that determines conduct, but rather the attitude of their chiefs. ''I am for Paul, I am for Apollos, I am for Wilson, for Roosevelt, for Debs, for Haywood'' or for who not. The sheep follow the wethers. Economic circumstances cause power to gravitate in the direction of certain individuals and the masses to follow economically determiner leaders or newspapers until hunger exposes both leaders and papers as mere creatures of circumstance.

Even as the two friends in the cabin who loved and trusted one another could not agree upon so fundamental an issue as what constituted the working class so the great mass of mankind with all their different phases of mentality due to heredity and environment can not be expected to ever co-operate to any great extent except they be forced to do so by a stong central authority which recognizes the economic necessity for such co-operation. But I am digressing from the story.

Another source of continual controversy between these two friends was the question whether a worker had any interest in the national life of the land of his birth or adoption. I call attention to this because it is also a question which agitates the minds of all radicals and constitutes the blind rock upon which many a socialist ship has stranded. On this question they were agreed consciously and yet subconsciously they were miles apart.

They both derided the sentiment of patriotism as being a jingoistic fanatcism and in the very next breath Rudolph would be telling Collins that the United States had no such plains and woods as Russia, or that the life of the individual in the realm of the Czar was far richer in color and experience than that of the average American. To which Collins would reply with a recital of Russian Pogroms and the horrors of Siberia, the ferocity of the wolves and the illiteracy of the people, and as many other upleasant things as his fertile brain could think of. And Rudolph would return to the assault with a description of American egotism claiming that the world over, the very name American was a synonymn for ''wind bag.'' He would then point out that Americans as such were absolutely unorganizable for any real social betterment; that they labored under the same delusions of freedom and democracy as their forefathers of a hundred years ago. Thus unconsciously each sung the praises of their native land from beyond the din of their wordy internationalism re-echoed the words of Scott ''Breathes there the man with soul so dead, who never to himself has said 'this is my own my native land.''' Even as the silver horde goes back to the waters of its nativity, so these men were each defending and idealizing the land of their birth.

Their internationalism was intellectually sincere. Our intellect however is a growth of later years. Man has struggled on and up thru the countless pre-intellectual ages and carries within his brain the impressions of these ages. They have become an integral part of his subconscious being. They are facts of emotion which the play of intellect may obscure but can never eradicate and which when the proper irritation is applied will triumph over the intellect as the tidal wave will overflow the low land.

Radical education had made these men internationalists, yet basically they were tied as all men are tied by their heartstrings to the soil of their birth. If Rudolph had been possessed of the power he would have Russianized (not Czarized) America. And yet in him this instinct was not the strongest. He was a Jew and the Jew has for ages been a wanderer without a land which he might claim as his own. Yet he was born in Russia, the steppes of Russia were in his blood, slavic speech was music to his ears. Enough of Russia had entered his being to make him a Russian.

If all this was ture of Rudolph it was doubly ture of Collins, although both would have gone to the stake or the gallows defending their internationalism under certain conditions, yet under others Collins would have proven American ready to Americanize (not capitalize) the world.

Thus it was that they argued without end alternately accusing the other of dullness or wilful obstinacy. Both trying to explain away the ties by which they were bound to their natal soil, ties which are stronger than all human philosophies and which make it possible for radicals of all nations to kill each other in international wars.

It was during one of these seances of debate held over their dishwashing that Jack, mud bespattered and weary from his trip softly opened the door and stood listening. Collins was the first to see him. ''God Almighty'' he exclaimed, ''see what the cat dragged in.''

(Continued next week.)

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

Missionaries and Muslin

We are indebted to the Rev. Howard A Musser, a returned missionary from India, for supplying the "missing link" between 20th century Christianity and foreign trade. This link is the missionary. Not that he has been missing, he's been very much on the job, but a lot of "good" people have missed him in their calculations of social phenomena.

"The business interests of the United States could well afford to pay for the evangelinzing of the whole world. The large export business of the Standard Oil, Singer Sewing Machine, Ford Motor Car and Victrola Talking Machine are due directly to the foreign missionaries who introduce these things to the natives. When the missionaries civilize a savage they are exploiting the muslin and woolen industries and open up a new field of trade."

The above candid acknowledgement of the part which the missionary plays as a tout for capitalism were made by the Reverend Musser at Toledo during the Methodist centenary in Toledo in March last. That the business interests of the U. S. fully realize the value of the missionary as a whipper-up or foreign trade is seen in the development of the Inter-Church World Movement which has the backing of America's greatest financial and industrial corporations and which is now raising millions for church estension work — and trade.

"Go ye into all the world and preach my gospel", feed my sheep", were the Master's injunctions to his desciples. The Reverend Musser has spent some months or years in India ostensibly preaching the gospel of the Carpenter of Nazareth. He, acknowledges that the world's financial monarchs have reaped a harvest thru his activities. He more than approves of his contribution to their gains — he bids for more opportunities in which the gospel of Christ may be perverted to such ends. We are glad to read his acknowledgement of the ends which the Christian Church of the 20th century serves in the present capitalistic scheme.

INDIA.

Can one think of India without tears? Dare one think of a nation outraged, subjugated, despoiled as India has been and is — and not resent with all his powers the schemes and lies and intrignes and blood dripping outrages by which it has been accomplished—and call himself a man or a Christian? A nation of starving millions, where serfdom, slavery and oppression are the portion of the disinherited natives who, under the British yoke cry in alike to the throne of England and of God in vain!

Yes, it is true the native has given up his goatskin loincloth for a muslin shirt. The cotton mills are spinning the faste for that. He has probably learned the "divine" injunction "servants be obiedient to your masters". Great accomplishments! But what has he lost? He has lost everything. And what is more he is finding it out. India just now, is England's greatest problem. For India is in revolt, in revolt against the conditions which capitalism with the aid of the Reverend Mussers in saintly garb, preaching the gospel of salvation thru capitalism have brought upon him. The Indian is learning that while saving his soul according to this gospel, he has lost all that makes life worth living. The Indian is learning that the divinest thing on earth is liberty, that the most un-Godly sin is the sin of slavery. They are going to wipe out the stain. They are going to wipe it out in spite of the English, the Mussers and the Church.

And if [illegible] is a God up there — or anywhere who knows his business he'll be with the Indian.

• • •

When the Inter-Church World Movement was recently launched at Toledo letters were sent out to business men of the city inviting them to a luncheon where the plans of the Movement were to be discussed. We quote one paragraph from these letters as published in the Toledo News-Bee.

"The appeal presented is big because its mission is great and its organization soundly built on business lines. It means much to the world generally right now—and considerably more to business interests".

Pass the collection plate!

When the Inter-Church World Movement has succeeded in getting every savage into a shoddy muslin shirt (at 60c a yard) the following lines may aptly portray the feelings of an angry God with a sinful Church.

THE VOICE OF GOD.

I have come and the world shall be shaken like a reed at the touch
of my rod,
And the kingdom of time shall awaken to the voice and the summons of God.
No more through the din of the ages shall warnings and chidings
divine
From the lips of my prophets and sages be trampled like pearls
before swine.
Ye have stolen my lands and my cattle; ye have kept back from
labor its meed;
Ye have challenged the outcast to battle, when they pled at your
feet in their need.
And when clamors of hunger grew louder, and the multitudes
prayed to be fed,
Ye have answered with prisons or powder the cries of your brothers
for bread.
I turn from your altars and arches and the mocking of steeples
and domes,
To join in the long, weary marches of the ones ye have robbed of
their homes.
I share in the sorrows and crosses of the naked and hungry
and cold,
And dearer to me are their losses than your gains and your idols
of gold
For the prayers of the poor have ascended to be written like lightnings on high,
And the wails of your captives have blended with the bolts that
must leap from the sky.
The thrones of your kings shall be shattered and the prisoner and
serf shall go free;
I will harvest from seed that I scattered on the borders of blue
Gallilee;
For I come not alone and a stranger; lo my reapers will sing
through the night.
Till the star that stood over the manger shall cover the world
with its light.

James G. Clark.

Proletarian Science History

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.
— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —
Copyright 1920. By W. E. R.

OUTLINE FOR LOWER BARBARISM.

Beginning	Began with the art of pottery making.
Tools and Weapons ...	Bow and arrow. Stone and beaten copper tipped spears. Improved tools of polished stone. Native copper tools.
Transportation	Natural locomotion on land. On water improved skin and bark canoes. Primitive boats of hewn timbers.
Subsistence	Wild game, honey and native grains. Primitive farinaceous food, dried meats and fish.
Shelter	Improved tents and tepees.
Clothing	Tanned skins and coarse fabrics.
Environment	Tropical, Temperate and cold climates. Village life.
Organization	Gentes and tribes. Further modification of group marriage through the development of the pairing family.
Arts and Institutions..	Beginning of permanent village-life. Copper-working, basket-weaving, pottery-making, textiles. Food conservation and wine making Picture writing developed into hieroglyphics. Cannibalism still practiced.
Duration	Much less than Upper Savagery.

Barbarism.
CHAPTER SEVEN.
Barbarism.
LOWER AGE.

The epoch of barbarism, like that of savagery, is divided into three well definited ages, Lower, Middle and Upper.

The lower age of barbarism begins with the discovery of the art of pottery-making.

Pottery—making evidently grew out of the art of weaving as evidenced in the more primitive pottery found in the ruins of the Cliff Dwellers of Messa Verde and also in the ruins of the ancient Pueblos. Here pots are found that plainly show the weave of the basket work in the clay. Certain Indian tribes at the present time weave water-tight baskets, and smear them with mud for cooking purposes. This practice undoubtedly led to the discovery of the art of firing clay.

The economic need for the invention of pottery is to be found in the fact that when the race wandered away from the streams it became necessary to have some means whereby water could be carried.

The development of pottery, like the development of all other utilities, varied with topographic and climatic conditions, as for example the Eskimo never developed basket—weaving or pottery making owing to the absence of the raw material necessary to these arts.

Among other reasons for the development of the art of pottery may be mentioned the need for vessels in which to preserve fruits, fats, oils and other liquid and semi—liquid food.

It is probable that the art of making wine developed in this age. Food, and especially fruit, being kept in earthen vessels would naturally ferment, producing alcohol. Pots and wine, wine and pots, the hieroglyphics found on the monuments of ancient times show that the arts of making wine and pots are intimately interwoven.

The tools of this age were mostly of polished stone as distinguished from the rough unpolished stone of former ages. Implements of native copper shaped by beating, are also found. Bone was likewise used as a raw material for tools, such as spear heads and fish-hooks, awls and needles.

Hammers, axes, cutting and fleshing tools, spears and rude cooking utensils are the foremost tools of this age. An illustration of the materialist conception of history may be found in the fact that a man could not have a house of hewn wood until he had an axe. Similarily sewn garments depended upon the needle and the awl.

The needle and the awl made possible the kyac of sewn skins as a means of water transportation. Primitive boats of hewn timbers were also used. Land transportation was still dependent upon women as beats of burden.

It was during this age that primitive husbandry developed. Grains and a few garden vegetables were planted and tended, by the women. Man had to be enslaved before he would learn to work.

Village life is the natural outgrowth of the advent of agriculture. Before the beginning of agriculture man was a nomadic wanderer, here today and gone tomorrow, but with the planting of seed it became necessary for him to locate in that vicinity and as the products of agriculture had to be stored a permanent location became necessary, which due to the group character of society naturally resulted in the formation of a village.

Village life influenced industrial development, tanning, weaving and pottery-making, in addition to agriculture. These new industrial developments enabled man to inhabit colder, and otherwise uninhabitable climates.

Village life modified the family organization of the gens, group marriage giving way to the pairing family.

It was during the age of Lower Barbarism that village life became a permanent institution, laying the foundation for towns and cities. With the development of village life naturally developed the institution of barter and trade. This in turn caused the crude picture writing of savagery to develop into hieroglyphics which were more adaptable to the conveying of information.

The lower age of barbarism was much shorter in duration than any previous age and ended with the domestication of animals.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE FAMILY.

1. THE CONSANGUINE FAMILY.
   Peculiar to the epoch of Savagery.
2. THE PUNALUAN FAMILY.
   Peculiar to the epoch of Barbarism.
   - (A) The syndyasmian Family
   - (B.) The Patriarchial Family.
3. THE MONOGAMIAN FAMILY.
   Peculiar to the epoch of civilization.

The Consanguine family had its beginning in promiscuous intercourse and evolved to a system of group marriage based upon blood relationship.

The Punaluan Family was a further development of the Consagnine family, and was a group family organized upon the basis of sex, having as its chief characteristic, female supremacy and descent, and the Punaluan custom of organization into gens which barred the cohabitation of the first of kin.

Between the Punaluan family and the Monogamian Family two other family systems appear, the Syndyasmian and the Patriarchal Families. These two families are but further evolutions of the Punaluan family towards the monogamic family of civilization.

The Syndyasmian Family appeared in the lower status of barbarism and marks the first development of the pairing family, being in reality a group of pairing families living together in a communal household. At this stage of development of the family, the family was to weak to stand alone, hence the custom of several pairing families to co-operate in maintaining a communal home. The custom which led the more advanced barbarian to recognize one among his numerous wives as his principal wife, led in time to the practice of pairing with the increased certainty of the paternity of the offspring.

Out of this group of pairing families known as the Syndyasmian family evolved the Patriarchal Family, with a complete change from female supremacy and descent to male supremacy and descent.**)

The change from female to male supremacy and descent while an economic necessity from the standpoint of property relations was a disastrous one for woman. Her children were transferred from her own gens to that of her husband and at her marriage she forfeited rights for which she received no equivalent, and she stood alone in the household of her husband. Male supremacy and descent weakened the influence of the maternal bond and was a powerful factor in lowering the position of women.

Out of the Patriarchal Family evolved the Monogamic Family of civilization.

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*) Genesis 9:20 tells us that Noah survived the flood with his thirst intact.

**) "When descent was in the female line, the gens possessed the following among other characteristics: 1. Marriage within the gens asw prohibited, thus placing children in a different gen from that of their reputed father. 2. Property and the office of chief were hereditary in the gens; thus excluding children from inheriting the property or succeeding to the office of their reputed father. This state of things would continue until a motive arose sufficiently general and commanding to establish the injustice of this exclusion in the face of their changed conditions. The natural remedy was a change of descent from the female line to the male. All that was needed to effect the change was an adequate motive. After domestic animals began to be reared in flocks and herds, becoming thereby a source of subsistence as well as objects of individual property, and after tillage had led to the ownership of houses and lands in severalty, an antagonism would be certain to rise against the prevailing form of gentile inheritance because it excluded the owner's children, whose paternity was becoming more more assured, and gave his property to his gentile kindred. A contest for a new rule of inheritance, shared in by fathers and their children, would furnish a motive sufficiently powerful to effect the change. With property accumulating in masses and assuming permanent forms and with an increased proportion of it held by individual ownership, descent in the female line was certain of overthrow and the substitution of the male line equally assured." Ancient Society page 355 (Kerr Ed.)

QUESTIONS FOR CAPTER SEVEN.

1. What ae the ages of Barbarism?
2. What discovery marked the beginning of barbarism?
3. Out of what did pottery-making develop?
4. Who were the Cliff Dwellers?
5. Name some of the economic causes which led to the discovery of pottery-making.
6. What are topographic conditions?
7. What are hieroglyphics?
8. Why would food preservation lead to pottery making? To wine?
9 Name the tools of Lower Barbarism.

(Continued on page 4.)

The Wages of Scabbery

"The wages of sin is death". The moral injunction contained in the biblical quotation may with equal certitude be applied to that offscouring of capitalism, the scab, who attempts to take the job of strinking workingmen in highly developed industry.

Reports of many fatalities in the ranks of the scab would—be enginemen and switchmen who left their student's classes at Yale and other bourgeois calleges are reaching the public press. At the present time eight fatalities and serious accidents including the loss of arms and legs have ben recorded. How many cases of others injured thru inexperience in the danger of this work will be recorded only time will tell.

The hazards of railroad work are high and like most such work no adequate compensation is made for the risks to life and limb incident thereto.

One might judge by the alricity with which our "exclusive" colleges rose to the occassion in furnishing scabs during this strike that they were schools for strike breakers rather than schools for citizenship and culture. American colleges are coming more and more under the control and dependence upon the good will and endowments of the capitalist class. It is perfectly in keeping with the sources of their incomes that they should seek to cultivate the master class psychology in the student mind, thus creating a class of workers technically equipped to carry on industry and mentally gagged and bridled to do it in the interests of the master class who have made their "education" possible.

The colleges, like the public school have become the institutions of capitalism. The college scabs reflect the brand of education therein taught.

Debs and Socialist Unity

"Unity of Socialist elements in the United States" has become the hobby-horse with which some Socialist-partyites are parading in order to lure some stray comrades back into the folds of that organization. Some of these persons are well meaning. But they do not understand the fundamental differences between Lenin and Scheidemann, (if we may express principles in names of those who represent them). But the greater number of them feel an uncontrollable longing for the nickels and dimes of the tens of thousands of members, that the late executive committee of the late Socialist Party has thrown out. The deep love of these right-wingers for the Non-Partisan League and the coming Labor Party was prevented from ending in a happy marriage by the lefts, and with a temper, only inspired by unsatisfied love, they concocted a scheme to get rid of the obstacle. So they expelled the left wing, nearly half the party and half of the half that was left them quit in disgust. But now other obstacles prevent the final consumation of the marriage, so these politicians realize, first, that they have robbed their party of the only excuse it had for posing as a revolutionary party by throwing out the revolutionists, and second they have, and this is something to be still more regreted, lost countless nickels and dimes which otherwise would have probably found their way into their till.

We neither have time, nor do we desire to here investigate deeper into the real cause of the unity move. Suffice it to say that in the desire to bring about unity they hit upon the scheme to induce Eugene V. Debs to accept the nomination for president from the Socialist Party, as undesirable as his candidacy may have been to them otherwise. And Debs, noble heart, bent down by the knowledge of the feud within the ranks of the socialists, accepts, and so unconsciously helps to play the game of the scheming gents in the Socialist Party.

Without going into the question deeply by writing a necessarily extensive treatise on the fundamentals of communism there might be said just this about the question of unity:

We would advice Debs to read the arguments filed by Mr. Stedman in behalf of the Socialist Party in the court action of that party in Detroit, Mich. We would further advice him to read the transcript of the Albany "trial."

Should the communists unite with Stedman, who denounces them in a capitalist court as enemies of capitalist society, in order to induce that court to take property, bought and paid for by the defendants, away from them and turn it over to the law abiding Socialist Party?

Or shall the communists unite with Mr. Hilquit who assured the sub-committee of the Assembly in Albany that the socialist surely would shoulder a gun and fight for "their" country should the Bolshevists "attack" it?

Or should the communists form a happy union with Mr. Waldman, who swore to the conviction, that he would by all means prefer the capitalist constitution of the capitalist ridden state of New York to the dictatorship of the working class as desired by the Bolshevists?

Or should the communists unite with Mr. Berger, whose hatred for them is only exceeded by his love for capitalism, and compared to whom even Scheideman is a raving "radical"?

Now all these persons and their acts are mere incidents that can not determine the possibility or advisability of unity. These incidents, however, show us the fundamental differences in the conception of these "Socialists" and the communists. **These differences prove conclusively that there can be no unity between the two, except the communists betray the working class whose advanceguard they are, or these "Socialists" desert the capitalist" class whose rear guard they are.** One is as impossible as the other without one of the two giving up its principles and accepting the principles of the other. And Debs surely would not want the communists to desert the working class in order to strengthen the rearguard of capitalism!

What does unity mean?

When is unity desirable?

For many years the fight between the right and the left in the German Social Democratic Party was carried on. The split was always avoided with the merely sentimental plea for unity. Unity of organization was thus preserved.

But did the German working class profit by that unity?

It did not!

On the historical 4th of August, 1914, the left was overwhelmed by the right and, for a moment at least, aquiesced in the betrayal of the German working class by the Social Democratic Party. And when at last the left realized the impossibility of unity of organization when unity of purpose is lacking, and when they finally broke away, they had to do it at a time when their chances for organization were below zero on account of the conditions created by the war. And in the November days of 1918 the left was too weak to send the Scheidemanns after their master Whilhelm into exile. The unity of organization so long preserved in Germany, then proved a destriment to the revolutionary power of the workers. The right wing of Scheidemann and Noske assassinated the left of Luxemburg and Liebknecht with the power that the Scheidemanns could never have gotten without the help of the Luxemburgs and Liebknechts during the long period of unity.

Should we learn from history, or should we close our eyes to it for the sweet sounds of a sentimental plea?

Should the communists of America unite with the Scheidemanns here merely on a sentimental plea for unity?

They cannot!

They will not!

The day will come when capitalism in this country will call upon its rearguard, the pettit bourgeois Socialist Party, to save the day for capitalism, just like the German capitalists called upon the German Social-Democratic Party there for that purpose. On that day, the first day of the revolution, the communists in this country will be faced by the daggers and bayonets of the Stedman Scheidemanns. The communists will not unite and wait until they are assassinated by these friends of capitalism in the name of law and order, capitalist law and order. No, the communists of America are on their guard so they may not be caught napping.

Socialist unity means more than some 100 000 people paying dues into the same treasury.

Revolutionary socialist unity means more than some 100.000 workers voting for one and the same man for president, even if that man happens to be such a lovable and incorruptible Socialists as Eugene V. Debs.

Eugene V. Debs as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party is not acceptable in that capacity to the communists, no matter how acceptable he would be as a member of the communist organization.

Revolutionary Socialist unity must be a unity of action obtainable only by a unity of purpose.

The purpose of the communist movement in the United States and the world over is to replace the capitalist state by a proletarian dictatorship, excercised through workers' councils. And the purpose of this dictatorship is the creation of a free communist society, thus abolishing the State.

A unity upon that program is not only desirable but necessary. Such unity, however, cannot be accomplished by the Socialist Party and the communists coming together. It can only be accomplished if the revolutionary workers gather around the banners of communism. They must leave the Socialist Party and its leaders because those leaders are misleading the working class.

For a unity under the banner of communism we are glad to join hands with Eugene V. Debs. But the first provision is that Debs himself leave the Scheidemanns and join the real forces of the proletarian revolution, the communist movement of America.

Communist Labor.

Manifesto on Mexican War

Mexico City, April 22. (By mail). The Communist Party of Mexico has issued a manifesto to the Mexican workers, calling on them to keep out of the present civil war and center their energies on the work of industrial organization instead of permitting themselves to be made the tools of either of the rival sets of politicians.

The manifesto says among other things:

"This revolution is not a Social Revolution.

"This is not our fight.

"This rebellin is not a rebellion of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, of the masses against the masters, of the slaves against the slave-drivers.

"The bloody butchery that is beginning, arises because one coterie of politicians is trying to oust the other from official position.

"Between the two we have no choice, altho we observe with interest that American imperialism is backing one against the other. **American money is behind the Sonora aggregation, using it as a tool with which to make intervention seem necessary to the American people, as an accelerator to increase public opinion north of the Rio Grande in favor of ennexation.**"

The manifesto says that the party would prefer to see the revolution fail for it would mean a continuation of individual existence for Mexico a while longer, and the party's work can be conducted with less persecution under Mexican officials than under Americans. However, it predicts the success of the uprising and the eventual annexation of part or all of Mexico to the United States It says that the Communists would certainly not fight for such a revolution which is backed by Wall Street and on the other hand, it would be futile to fight against it.

"Our business, under these circumstances and unless conditions change decidedly", continues the manifesto, "is to keep out of the fight. **If an opportunity for more effective action in another way, offers itself and we reconsider this decision, we will advise all comrades accordingly.** But viewed in the light of Scientific Communism, after numerous consultations and after careful reference to the conduct of Communist leaders in other and similar crises, this is our opinion today.

"We must bow to the inevitable. Since we cannot much longer continue the class struggle under Mexican rule, with its lesser restrictions, we must prepare to continue it under American rule. We must organize to fight a fiercer foe — to resist a more powerful master!"

In anticipation of American rule, sooner or later, all meetings of Communist locals will be discontinued, and the party will get ready to work underground if it becomes necessary. Members are advised to join industrial unions where they exist, to organize them where none exist, and to center their energies on building up industrial unions that will cover the country. The development of the Mexican I. W. W. will be the sole work of the Communists henceforth, and they will prepare for the time when, in conjunction with American workers, they can overthrow the capitalism that will dominate both countries.

Again warning the workers to refuse to fight, and to use their energies in industrial organizations, the manifesto says:

"We will not buck our heads against a stone wall. We will not sacrifice lives, blood and energy where nothing is to be gained. We will save them for more useful purposes.

"WORKERS OF MEXICO, THIS IS NOT YOUR REVOLUTION! KEEP OUT OF IT!

"AS CANNON FODDER, YOU WILL DO NO GOOD BUT WILL ONLY WEAKEN YOUR CLASS. WE WANT LIVE ORGANIZERS, NOT DEAD AND AND WOUNDED SOLDIERS !

"DON'T FIGHT! DON'T MOURN! ORGANIZE!"

The address of the Communist Party of Mexico is P. O. Box 985, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.

DYNA[illegible]

— By Anise —
Staff Writer, The Federated Press.

Lost,
• • •
Strayed
• • •
Or STOLEN,
• • •
Down in Chicago
• • •
One hundred and twenty-five
• • •
Thousand BIBLES
• • •
From the Prison Bible Society!
• • •
The Chicago POLICE
• • •
Are hunting for them
• • •
And many theories
• • •
Have been advanced
• • •
About their disappearance.
• • •
Some say they were taken
• • •
By a patriotic squad
• • •
Of the American Legion
• • •
Who overheard a lecturer say
• • •
In a down-town meeting:
• • •
"These Bibles
• • •
Have DYNAMITE in them
• • •
Enough to BLOW UP
• • •
The whole social order!"

And others claim
• • •
The Bibles were seized
• • •
And held incommunicado
• • •
As ANTI-AMERICAN
• • •
Because they were written
• • •
ORIGINALLY
• • •
In Hebrew and Greek
• • •
And have been printed
• • •
In over one hundred
• • •
Foreign languages!
• • •
There is still
• • •
A third theory
• • •
That some secret service men
• • •
Have seized them
• • •
For EXAMINATION
• • •
As seditious literature
• • •
Because they contain
• • •
The WOBBLY creed:
• • •
"An injury to one
• • •
Is an injury to all!"
• • •
And the Bolshevik doctrine
• • •
"If a man
• • •
Will not WORK
• • •
Neither shall he EAT!"

SOME DAY

Some day, and the world will be,
Glad and happy and care free;
Clouds that darken peaceful ways,
And in their path leave doubt and haze;
Will some day pass above so high,
That we'll not know they are nigh;
When men will not their kinsmen slay,
Then there'll be peace and joy, some day.

Some day, when Time has clear'd the stream,
In purer view we'll see the gleam
Of Love that permeates our tasks,
And cast aside the world's false masks,
That have to us disaster brought,
And finds a world that has been caught
In Time's Drag Net; men will pray,
And sing the songs of Right, some day.

Some day, the rightousness of Right,
Will clear the vision and the sght;
A wayward world will then behold,
More precious gifts, than gifts of gold;
A new mankind with new ideals,
Environments that fair play wields;
Hand in hand in the world's new way,
The Pow'r of Right, will rule, some day.

John V. Daganhardt.
Piqua, Ohio, Author

(Continued from page 3.)

10. Was copper smelted during this epoch?
11. What is husbandry?
12. Name the causes which forced man to give up his nomadic existence.
13. What is meant by barter? Can you explain its evolution?
14. Why would village instead of nomadic life tend to produce the pairing family?
15. Name the industrial developmetns of lower barbarism.
16. What economic factors would lead man to colder climates?
17. Why does the Eskimo not make pottery?
18. What is the difference between picture-writing and hieroglyphics?
19. Can you draw a picture of an hieroglyphic?
20. What are farinaceous foods?
21. Name the raw material out of which coarse fabrics were woven.

(Continued next week.)

LONDON.—The workers of Poland, stirred to the depths by the last German revolution, are moving more and more rapidly towards a Communist regime, in which their present leaders all the way from Gen. Pilsudski to Socialist party officials will be swept away. This assertion is made by the Vienna correspondent of The London Daily Herald, in an important account of the Polish reaction to the German revolution, which has not been described in the press dispatches.

"How closely the destiny of the Polish and German proletariat is knit together was illustrated by the spontaneous strikes which broke forth throughout Poland, which were reinforced by peasants' unrest, and which shook the Polish imperialist structure to its roots," says the account.

"As soon as news of the German revolutionary uprising penetrated the Near East, all Galicia was plunged in a general railway strike, which was reinforced by threatening movements among the enslaved peasantry, and by mass hunger demonstrations among the village proletariat. The strike spread swiftly, and appeared within two days in Congress Poland, where transport was placed at a complete standstill. In Warsaw, the metal workers laid down their tools. This act was followed by the proclamation of the general strike throughout Poland.

"The immediate issue of the strike was to prevent the realization of the government's announced intention to militarize all public utilities, railways, etc. That is, the reactionary Warsaw regime was about to introduce forced labor under military control through Poland."

The Polish Socialist party, which is conservative, prevented the calling of the revolutionary strike, and for the fifth time forestalled the inevitable Polish revolution, says the correspondent "Meanwhile the government, at the first rumor of the strike, had withdrawn the militarization order.

These tactics or the part of the Socialist party have driven the workers far to the left into the Communist party.

[illegible]

I have a lingering suspicion that the financiers of the United States are not at all optimistic as to collections on their war loans to "our noble Allies." In fact, their hope of reaping millions in interest has gone glimmering, with no prospect of even recovering the principal. The loans made by the government to its European allies might just as well be credited to war expense and let it go at that. France is practically bankrupt and Italy is a close second. Repudiation by Great Britain seems to be the only way out of her dilemma, and the collection of the indemnity imposed upon Germany is an evanescent dream, for her industrial paralysis precludes all possibility of liquidation. So far as the government is concerned, its losses might be recouped by increased taxation, but there is a limit to that. Taxes are already so burdensome that it may be dangerous to augment them, for even the American worm may turn, and if he should—Bolsheviki. The world war has certainly proved a boomerang to the bourgeoisie throughout the world, and especially to the gentry of that persuasion in the U. S. A.

• • •

The growing restlessness of the tillers of the soil is causing considerable alarm among the politicians at Washington. It seems that one of them slightingly applied the term "Bolshevik" to the farmers when some agricultural complaints were bein considered by a committee, and the news has traveled like a prairie fire throughout the agricultural sections. It was a similar sneer at the food producers that caused the revolt in North Dakota, which resulted in the organization of the Non Partisan League. A committee of farmers was told by a drunken member of the Dakota Legislature to go home and slop their hogs. They went, all right, but, instead of following the advice of the 'soused' politician, they formed a political organization that put the politicians of that State out of business. During the past few years the farmer has changed from a patient, thoughtess plodder, apparently satisfied with his lot, to an inquirer as to his relation to industry at large. He doesn't think it fair for the workers in other industries to be guaranteed, rain or shine, and approximately fixed reward for their labor, while he is compelled to gamble with the weather and accept whatever prices for his product the middlemen may exact. He also wants to know where he comes in on the eight-hour day which is enticing agricultural workers into other lines of industry. That these inquiries [illegible] er is rightfully deserving of as much consideration as other workers. The fact that his hitherto sluggish mind is now beginning to work along the line of inquiry is a hopeful sign. Of course there is no hope for him until the agricultural industry is socialized through the common ownership of land, and he can solve the problem whenever he wants to. Socialism will do the job.

• • •

This man Palmer, who by some quirk of the fates was made Attorney General of the United States, cannot be considered other than an unmitigated ass—or, perhaps, he is just plain "nuts". At regular intervals he announces the discovery of a plot to murder prominent federal officials or start a revolution or something. Until lately the public awaited with bated breath the fulfillment of his dire prophecies. No person with a modicum of brains now pays the slightest attention to his maunderings. Even the capitalist press poke fun at his statements. And this mental lightweight seriously sought to be a candidate for President! He belongs in a sanitarium.

• • •

It seems that editorial writers of the daily press have become so hardened to outraging truth that they have lost all sense of shame. For persistent lying never in all history has their moral obliquity been equaled. There is an intelectual prostitute on the editorial staff of the Cleveland Press who is entitled to decorations for shameless and brazen perversion of the truth. In a late issue of that exponent of bourgeois hypocrisy the attention of its readers is called to the fact that the Soviet Government of Russia has an army of 2,000,000 men notwithstanding its denunciation of militarism, and that the evident intend is to use this army in forcing contignous European nations to adopt the Soviet form of government. The writer knows well that the Soviet Government was forced to raise this army to protect itself from the counter revolutionists, who were aided in every possible way by the Allies. This information is common property among enlightened people. Then why, you ask, does this paper persist in disseminating such glaring falsehoods? The answer is easy. It knows that the majority of its readers are boneheads who have never sought the truth, and that if a few did make this unusual mental effort they forgot all about it in a few hours. If the workers can be induced to cultivate their mental faculties to the degree that they will be able to remember the happenings of months instead of hours the lying propaganda of the bourgeois press will fall of its own weight.

HELP US WIN!

Lotta Burke, Marguerite Prevey and Charles Baker are making a fight for a better life for the workers. They have been doing that for more years than many of you who read these lines have been in the Socialist Movement. If all their labors in this, the greatest of Causes were made visable to you, you would be filled with pride in them and in comradeship with them. You would feel a veneration for the heroism which has dominated their lives. You would feel a pride in giving a little in return NOW for what they have done for the causes of Socialism these many years.

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THE TOILER

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NO. 119. Published at Cleveland, Ohio. CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, MAY 14th, 1920. Address all mail to [illegible] Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.50 A YEAR

Communist Labor Party is Legal, Says Secretary Wilson

Rules cannot deport aliens who hold membership

"The belief in, teaching and advocacy of the class struggle, mass action, the conquest of political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, communism, the one big union, shop committees, shop stewards and other social, industrial, economic and political changes mentioned in the Communist Labor party platform and program, however reprehensible these things may be to the minds of any or all of our people, do not bring the organization within the purview of the act, as long as it does not propose to use force or violence to accomplish the purpose."

With these words Secretary of Labor Wilson, on May 5th ruled that the Communist Labor Party is a legal political party and that membership in it of aliens does not constitute sufficient grounds for deportation.

In ordering cancellation of a warrant under which Carl Miller, a German, was held because of such membership, the secretary declared that, while extracts from the organization's platform indicated an extremely radical objective there was no evidence of intention to use force or violence toward organized government.

Hundreds of members of the Communist Labor Party have been indicted and charged with violations of various states' criminal syndicalism laws on the score of carrying on party activities. Since the raids of early January, when these sleuths of the Department of Justice swooped down in a nation wide raid netting thousands of Communists and Communist Laborites, the exact status of the Communist Labor party was in doubt. A previous ruling by the Secretary of Labor practically outlawed the Communist Party which, with the Communist Labor Party developed out of a split in the ranks of the Socialist Party at Chicago last September. A number of members of the Communist Party have been deported merely on the grounds of their membership, while many more are held under indictments on like charges.

Department of Justice disapproves of Secretary's ruling.

It is no secret that the Department of Justice and the Secretary of Labor have long been at outs regarding the status of the "reds" of various hue. Attorney General Palmer has acted upon the assumption that, even, the pinkest red who dared to mention the "third international", "mass action" and like revolutionary phrases, was fit only for prison or deportation and has conducted systematic raids upon homes, halls and meetings of workers. The trials of alleged Communists at Boston recently brought out some astonishing confessions from agents of the Department which showed that they sought to bring about the causes which led to the arrests of the revolutionists. The prediction that Palmer had overreached himself in his wild ravings against the radicals seems to be a now well established fact.

The department of justice frankly deplored the labor secretary's decision. Assistant Attorney General Garvan, in charge or raids on radical elements, asserting that because of it all undesirable aliens could enter the folds of the Communist Labor party and be free from government interference.

Although Mr. Wilson declared examination of their platforms showed "some very substantial differences" between the Communist and the Communist Labor parties, Mr. Garvan asserted that concerning principles they were "absolutely the same," and predicted that members of the Communist party, now outlawed, would affiliate with the Communist Labor party to evade deportation proceedings.

"The tactics of the Communist party in Russia," Mr. Wilson said, "can have no bearing upon the Communist Labor party in the United States except in so far as those tactics are accepted or adopted by the Communist Labor party; nor can the statements made by prominent members of the party be accepted as the expressions of the organization unless the party by its own action adopts the statements.

Battle on for Endorsement of 3-rd International

By Evelyn Sharp
London Correspondent
THE FEDERATED PRESS

LONDON.—The battle of the Internationale is still raging in the British movement. The Independent Labor Party at its Eastern Conference, decided definitely to leave the Second International, and equally definitely not join the Third. Instead the I. L. P. is urging the Swiss Party to call as soon as possible a conference to discuss the reconstitution of the International "with a definitely Socialist objective." Also it decided to get into touch with Moscow.

Since the conference the debate has been shifted to the Labor Press—particularly to the columns of the Daily Herald. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labour Party, has come forward to defend the Second International and to attack the Third. The Second, he maintains, is still alive; it has done valuable work; it is "convened on no narrow doctrinaire basis but in consonance with the principle of working class solidarity." The Third on the other hand is doctrinaire and exclusive and insists on tactics which can only lead, as in Hungary, to a dictatorship of reaction. With Henderson is J. Ramsay Mac-Donald.

To Henderson, Clifford Allen, the leader of the younger members of the I. L. P. replies in an open letter in the Daily Herald that the Second International has failed because it held pre-war ideas, that the big fact, which Henderson cannot ignore, is that Russia, Italy, France, United States, the German Independents and a number of smaller countries have all left it. "Without these parties it cannot be revived," he says.

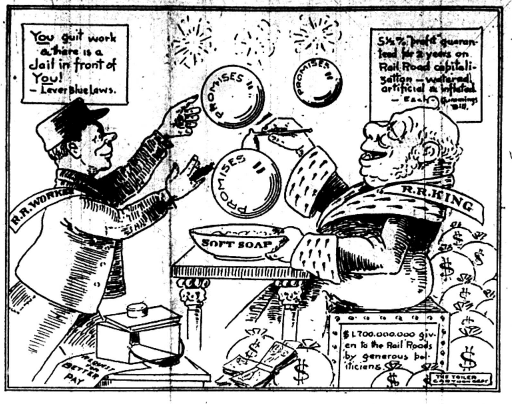
"Therefore," he pleads, "we have to create new International machinery." And the first step to that must be to get into touch with Moscow.

"I beg you," he writes, "you and your colleagues—go to Russia, and, with the full facts in your possession come back and then summon the conference which shall consider the new International."

The Daily Herald itself supports the plan for the Swiss Conference. There are, it says, two views held of the Third International:

1. That it claims to impose the method as well as the objective of the revolution on its adherents; and

2. That it leaves open the choice of method, but demands an overwhelming purpose to take the quickest way to the overthrow of capitalism. We accept the latter interpretation on the strength of Lenin's own personal assurance. The purpose of the Swiss Conference should be to remove all doubt as to the Moscow programme; and thereafter if our interpretation is right, to affiliate with Moscow; if our interpretation is wrong, to set up on Internationale on the basis of the formula of "the overthrow of capitalism in the quickest possible way, "leaving the choice of method to the constituent parties."



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He'll blow 'em as long as You'll Chase 'em John. Try Direct Action!

CHRISTIANA—That trade relations between Norway and Russia are soon to be resumed is indicated by the report of Mr. Holvold, president of the Kirkenals Cooperative Society, who has just visited Northern Russian and the Murmansk district. He has reported that complete order exists in these parts and that therefore "external conditions constitute no barrier to the resumption of trade relations between the two countries and that it is to the greatest interest for both parties that they should be resumed." He pointed out that Russia would provide a market for the fisheries of Norway.

LONDON—Gardeners and estate labourers on King George's Scottish estate at Balmoral Castle have demanded wages of $15 a week and an eight hour day. Captain Ramsay, the King's Commissionar, replied by telegram: "Give men option of working ten hours or one weeks notice."

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LUSK COMMITTEE.

Some astonishing facts about this extra-legal Committee never before revealed. An authentic report.

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NORTH CHURCH FORUM MEETINGS, CLEVELAND.

Rabbi Louis Wolfey of the Euclid Avenue Temple will address the open forum meeting May 16th at the North Church Forum, East 72nd and St. Clair. His subject will be

AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

Lecture will begin at 7:30.

The May 23rd meeting at this Forum will be addressed by Mr. Comerford of Chicago. His subject will be THE WORK OF THE LOYAL AMERICAN LEAGUE

If you have anything either good or bad to say about the work of this organization you are invited to say it at this time. Questions and discussions invited.

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Address to the Jury by Ben Gitlow. Also Darrow, the Judge and a final article by Antonio Giovanitti. 10c a copy.
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— By Ralph Chaplin —

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Labor's Share of Products Less Than Before War

— By Paul Hann, —

Staff Correspondent,
The Federated Press.

WASHINGTON—Railroad labor has taken the offensive in the hearings at Washington and denied flatly that wage increase granted since 1917 are in any degree responsible for high prices.

Speaking in the name of seventeen different unions of railroad workers, W. Jett Lauck opens the issue with the following flat-footed statement:

"A careful analysis of the data bearing on the causes of high prices and the relation of cost of production to prices leads to the following specific conclusions:

"1. Profiteering—by which is meant the exaction of porfits greatly in excess of pre-war profits on the part of producers, middlemen and retailers—is a fundamental cause of the high prices of practically all commodities.

"2. **Increased wages to labor are in no way responsible for increased prices.**"

Lauck is an economist of many years' training. He served as Secretary for the National War Labor Board under former President Taft, Frank P. Walsh and Basil M. Manly. His charge that "wage advances have been an **effect** of price advances, not a **cause**, is supported by an array of facts which employers strive to ignore but cannot refute.

Following up his written indictment of the profiteer as the most conspicuous curse of modern society, Lauck took the witness stand late last week for cross-examination by railroad attorneys and members of the wage board.

"As a result of the war," says this expert, "labor as a class is now worse off than it was before the war. Almost without exception, a day's wages buys less than it did in 1912 to 1914. In other words, in the distribution of the income of the country labor is receiving a smaller proportion than it did before the war, while the capital—in the form of profits, interest and rent — is receiving a very much larger proportion."

Taking the profits listed by such authorities as Moody's and Poor's, Lauck cites the net income on capital earned during the camparative years 1912 to 1918 by a typical group of metal, clothing, food, fuel, light, housing and miscellaneus corporations, and then makes the following comment:

"The outstanding fact is simply stated. The corporations listed earned during the years 1916—1918 an average income of nearly $1.250.000.000 a year, or nearly 24 per cent of their capital stock. This appears to be nearly three times the average for the pre war years 1912—1914, and the figures for production show conclusively that **these increased profits were not due to increased production.** In a large measure they were due to the fact that the corporations took a larger proportion of every dollar spent by the consumer."

The corporations cite in Lauck's list earned about one-sixth of the total corporate income of the United States, and that fact supports his contention that if the other corporations did as well then the combined corporations of the land scooped up about $4.800.000 **more per year** during the war then they previously earned per year

(Continued on page 2.)

Trade Unionism, Industrial Unionism and Workers' Committees

(ISSUED BY THE BUREAU OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.)

1.—Unions are necessary organizations in the economic struggle of the workers against their employers, since, in spite of their limitations, the unions are means for resisting and often improving the most inhuman conditions of labor. Nor are the unions transitory in character, since they can particularly as industrial unions become active means of revolutionary struggle, and a factor in the Communist reconstruction of society.

2.—The Trades Unions persisting in the defensive strugle against Capitalism do not materially improve conditions. The rise of wages is, in general, exceeded by the rise of prices, while the policy of compromise, wage agreements and industrial peace weakens the fighting spirit of the workers.

3.—The Trades Unions arose during the epoch of small industry, with its consequent division of the workers into crafts or trades. The artisan conception prevailed that a worker's craft or skill was a form of property, developing a property and petty bourgeis ideology; and this, together with the circumstance that Trades Unions acquired power during a period of intense national economic development (1870-1900), produced the concept of limiting the proletarian struggle within the limits of Capitalism and the nation.

4.—Trades Unionism represented (and still represents) the upper layers of the working class, excluding the bulk of the unskilled workers; and where these workers are organized in Trades Unions, they are dominated by the concepts and practice of the upper layers—the "aristocracy of labor."

5.—The development of Imperialism merges the Trades Unions definitely in Capitalism, the upper layers of the working class being bribed with a share in the profits of imperialism by means of slightly higher wages, steady employment, and labor legislation. The "aristocracy of labor" dominant in Trades Unionism accepts Imperialism, uses the unions to assist Capitalism in "stabilizing" labor in industry, and becomes the source of the corrupt ideology of social imperialism. The decisive factor in the old International was the immersion of Socialism in Trades Unionism, with its pratice of social-Imperialism, petty bourgeois democracy, and its fundamental counter-revolutionary tendency.

6.—Trades Unionism (as typically expressed in the American Federation of Labor) is impotent to improve materially conditions of labor or to conquer power, since the division of the workers into craft or trade organizations splits them into innumerable unions, each antagonistic to the other, making hopeless the struggle against concentrated Capitalism, which largely expropriates the worker of his skill, eliminates the craft divisions of small industry, and brings masses of the proletariat together regardless of particular occupational functions. The general mass strike alone is capable of decisive action against concentrated Capitalism; but Trades Unionism in form and spirit is antagonistic to the mass strike.

7.—Trades Unionism comes to realize its economic impotence, and proceeds to Parliamentary action, which, represented by Laborism (as typically expressed in the British Labor Party) is as impotent as Trades Unionism to accomplish fundamental conquests, since Laborism necessarily accepts the dominant union concepts and practice. Laborism unites with the dominant union concepts and practice. Laborism unites with petty bourgeois democracy against the proletarian revolution—that petty bourgeois democracy which is seduced by Imperialism.

8.—The governmental form of expression of Laborism is State Capitalism, the merger in the state of the capitalists, the small bourgeois, and the upper layers of the working class dominant in the Trades Unions; the state is used to regulate equally industry and labor for purposes of Imperialism, the proletarian masses being compelled to accept this arrangement by means of deception and force.

9.—The tendency is for Laborism and Socialism to unite (either formally or by means of Trades Union domination of the Socialist Party) each necessarily accepting social Imperialism, since their activity is limited within the limits of Capitalism and the nation; and under the ascendency of monopoly and finance capital, the "prosperity" of a nation depends on Imperialism.

10.—Laborism becomes the final bulwark of defence of Capitalism against the oncoming proletarian revolution; accordingly, a merciless struggle against the oncomming proletarian revolution; accordingly, a Laborism is imperative. But while politically Laborism expresses itself as State Capitalism and petty bourgeois democracy its animating impulse and force is in Trades Unionism. The struggle against this form of unionism accordingly is an inseperable phase of the struggle against Laborism, proceeding—

(a) In general by the Communist parties agitating to drive the unions to more revolutionary action.

(b) Encouraging every movement in the unions that tends to break the permanency of the bureaucracy, and placing control in the masses by means of delegates being subject directly to instructions and recall.

(c) By the formation of organizations such as the Shop Stewards,(Workers' Committees, economic Workers' Councils, and direct branches of the Communist parties in the shops, mills, and mines, which are not alone means for moving the masses and the unions to more revolutionary action but which at the moment of the crisis may develop the Soviets.'

(d) By endeavoring to transform the Trades Unions into industrial unions, that is, a unionism in form paralleling the economic integrities of modern capitalism, and in spirit animated by the struggle for political power and economic mastery.

11.—The agitation for and construction of industrial unions provides, in an immediate and practical way, the opportunity to articulate and mobilize the militant spirit of discontent developing in the old unions, to carry on the struggle against the corrupt bureaucracy and the "aristocracy of labor." Industrial Unionism, moreover, provides the opportunity of calling to action the unorganized, unskilled workers, and to release the unskilled organized in the Trades Unions from their bondage to the reactionary upper layers of the working class. The struggle for revolutionary Industrial Unionism is a factor for the development of Communist clearing and for the grasping of the might.

12.—Unionism trades and industrial, must not limit itself to economic strikes, but must acquire the concept and practice of the general political strike—co-operate with the Communist parties to develop the general mass struggle of the proletarian against the bourgeois state.

13.—The concept that Industrial Unionism alone is necessary for the conquest of Capitalism must be decisively rejected. It is sheer Utopia to imagine that all the workers, or an overwhelming majority, can be organized in industrial unions under Capitalist economic conditions. The upper layers of the working classes, being the impulse of Laborism, will necessarily reject revolutionary industrial unionism; while the lower layers will not move very rapidly until thrown into action by the impact of revolution itself. Moreover, the concept that the workers under Capitalism must in their industrial unions acquire the experience and technical management of industry, "growing into" the new society by the industrial unions' gradual acquisition of industrial control, is identical (although inverted in form) with the concept of parliamentary Socialism—that the working class must gradually "grow into" Socialism by acquiring experience of state affairs and "absorbing" control of the bourgeois state. Each concept, in its own way, rejects the fundamental problem of the revolutionary conquest of state power.

14.—The conquest of the power of the state is the objective of the revolutionary proletariat. Neither the parliaments nor the industrial unions are the means for this conquest of power, but mass action and the Soviets—mass action to rally the workers, organized and unorganized, in the open revolutionary struggle for power, the Soviets to constitute the mechanism of the revolutionary proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of active revolution the struggle becomes not a struggle for industrial unions, but for the construction of Soviets.

15.—After the conquest of political power and under the protection of the Soviet Dictatorship, Industrial Unionism comes actually to function in the economic reconstruction of society on a Communist basis; and the stronger the industrial unions the easier the process of reconstruction. The government of Soviets, of proletarian dictatorship, is political and transitory in character, the necessary agency of repression to expropriate and crush Capitalism. While industrial in its constituents and representation, the government of Soviets functions geographically and politically; but alongside of itself it constructs a central administration of industry, wholly economic in character, equality in representation and functions, perfecting the organism of proletarian control and management of industry on the basis of the industrially organized producers.

The Private Detective — what he does and how [illegible]

I.

"Every murder and wholesale destruction of property that has been committed in the United States since labor was first organized has been premeditated and carried out by the secret agents of the private detective-corporations, who have sworn their way into the organized bodies of workers for the purpose of betraying them."

Somebody who ought to know has just made that charge, in writing, to President Wilson.

Stephen A. Doyle, of Chicago, for 30 years a detective in both pirvate and government service, is ready to tell the world of the iniquity he has seen in those 30 years, of the blood that has been spilled, the lies that have been told; the women that have been outraged, the men who have been sold, in the effort of the great bosses to incriminate the workers in all the labor wars that America has seen.

He knows the story well, with all its dramatic plots and secret, unwritten history. Orty Mc-Manigle was a Burns detective. Harry Orchard worked for Thiel—the 1918 strike at Argo, Ill., was a company-engineered affair to break the union, which had grown 100 per cent strong while the government had the plant in wartime. It all costs millions of dollars, millions which each citizen of America pays as a consumer.

Not a "Bolshevik"

His letter to President Wilson has been the first step in Doyle's revelation. Now he is writing a book, making the expose on a larger scale. His object is the outlawing of all private detective agencies. He makes the following allegations concerning the activities of private detective agencies.

"I am 100 per cent American (democrat), 49 years of age and a lifelong detective, and fully understand what I am writing and realize that this statement is going before you, our chief executive, for your consideration, and thence before the eyes of the world, and I make the same without any pretentions or retraction or apology, and for the further purpose of giving you an opportunity of dealing intelligently with the complex problem that now confronts the welfare of our nation. In other words, remove the dagger that is slowly but surely bleeding to death 'the goddess' from her patriot bosom," writes the wise detective in introducing himself to the president. And he has this view of "foreign labor" and its anxiety to abide by genuine American institutions —a view which no capitalist source ever permits to reach the light:

"The foreign element are 98 per cent laborers, consequently had to mingle quietly with our noble sons who earned their bread by the sweat of their brow, and always stood steadfastly by their constitutional rights and do so still.

"Thank God, they organized the foreigners and educated them up to true American standards; co-operated with them in all things; and today, for love of country and freedom and true American standards, they stand shoulder to shoulder in a solid phalanx to combat against the common enemy that threatens to crush and crucify.

Spitting on the Flag.

The Doyle story continues:

"On close estimate it costs the Bankers and Manufacturers' association of this sity and state $250,000 per month, on an average, to keep up this private detective system, and on Jan. 1, 1919, $750.000 was distributed among the different agencies for the purpose of creating and promoting strife between the races, and, in every most undreamed-of way, work their way into the ranks of organized bodies of men and agitate and lead them into all imaginable acts of violence against the government of the United States and the present administration, and they have succeeded very well so far.

"I went into a hall that is branded as 'red' with a detective friend about a month ago. He walked up through the center of the hall wearing a red flag, made a short speech, hurled his curse on the traitor, Woodrow Wilson, pulled down the American flag and wiped his feet on it and spat on it. I said to him, after we came out: 'Good Lord, how can you have the heart to do that?' 'Oh, hell,' he said, 'I get $45 a week from the Thiel Detective Agency for pulling that stuff, and I have 15 names in there, and every act I pull off, in making my reports, insert one of those names. It is easy to convict them, for I carry a sheriff's star.'

"He also told me that his agency had 1.500 men operating in the city of Chicago, under the same conditions as he is, I met him again on the 6th, and he said: 'Doyle, this is great game. Did you see by the paper about that letter the governor's mother-in law got?' I replied I believed I did. He said, 'We sent that.' I said, 'What purpose?' 'Oh,' he said, 'a double purpose. Governor increased his plain clothes squad, and we got them scared of the "reds"—we deal both ways, see!'

Beating the Government

"The Ethiopian hasn't changed his skin, nor the leopard his spots since the government took over the railroads up to the first of October,

"The special detective system established to serve special interests has systematicaly looted the freight department in which I served out of $70,000,000, which the poor people must pay, and from the first of October, 1919, $27,000,000 to the present date. The claim department has a record of about $125,000,000 to its discredit; all this system's work is done for the purpose of discrediting government control.

"I endeavored to expose it and was ousted out of the service. They got wise.

"The first private detective service known in the world's history is Pinkerton's in Chicago. The next was Thiel, and the Burns agency following. Today they are millionaire companies, although they are non-productive—that is, they have never produced anything but crime.

"The blowing up of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan concentrators in the state of Idaho, in the year 1898, and the murder of 25 men was planned and carried out by private detectives. They were not quite satisfied with their deadly work, so they furnished false testimony against Frank Butler and Paul Cochran, president and secretary of the local miners' union, and sent them to the penitantiary, the real culprits giving evidence against them. The next step was to murder the governor. For this crime the officers of the union were arrested. Harry Orchard, a Thiel detective, who was covered in the union as surely as Judas in Christ's family, turned state's evidence and was given immunity by the state officials, who formed a partnership with him. I exposed the conspiracy and the innocent men went free. He was put on his trial and confessed that he was a secret operative for the Thiel Detective Service and was directed in his work by them: also confessed to having dynamited a building in Colorado and murdered 13 innocent men. He also confessed that this work was done by his agency and the motive was to break up the Western Federation of Miners and call down the wrath and prosecution of the government officials upon its members.

"The western manager of the Thiel agency was discharged from this service, but he was financed by them to start an agency in his own name, as they considered such service as he was capable of rendering indispensable.

Los Angeles Times.

"Orty McManigel was another man of the Judas type. He was a Burns detective for many years, and to show how cleverly he carried out his work —and, of course, you will realize that I couldn't describe this clearly unless I was part and parcel of it—he furnished his master, Mr. Wm. J. Burns, chief of the Burns International Detective Service, 40,000 letters to be used as evidence after forming a partnership with the governor of California, the judge, etc.

"Water finds its level. Orty McManigel also said he sent the mysterious bomb that Colonel Otis' confidential Jap brought in, and the captain of police exploded, to destroy the evidence. Some would discredit this, but I wouldn't as I know the game from A to Z.

The Argo, Illinois, Massacre.

"When the government released the Corn Products & Refining Co.'s plant, it was 100 per cent union, and private detectives were immediately engaged to bust it up; and in order to do this successfully they began to run covered espiogners into the union. The boys, when in, did their work well in creating race hatred, that being their 'long suit.' Finally they got the forces divided by telling the Americans that the foreigners wanted the Americans run out and informing the foreigners likewise. Consequently, on the 9th of July the strike was called on.

"The private detective service company brought up the sheriff, prosecutor and mayor of Argo. So the foreign class had a poor show. Spectators at 3 p. m. were congregated about the gate of the plant, and the mayor of Argo assembled his gunmen in front of his home at Fifty-seventh place and instructed them as follows:

"Twenty of you go under cover around the rear of the plant and open fire on them, when you see me close in from the north side, and we will shoot them down.'

"They opened fire and shot down 58 people, men and women, and killed three men. On July 14 they made another attack on a congregation of foreigners, and three men and a woman were thrown in jail and brutally tortured. Private detectives had shot one man and were beating his head with a gun. A priest, who is also a foreigner, stepped up and said: 'I know him. He has nine children and he is not a bad man.'

"'We are not killing him because he is a bad man, but because of the money there is in it,' and they finished their ghastly work.

"Emil Liedick, a foreigner, was not out on a strike, but he was locked up in the plant and left his 16-year-old wife at home, and Mr. Sayer, general superintendent, sent three of his choice gunmen to watch Liedick's home and protect his wife from the people he branded as lawless foreigners.

"They (the private detectives robbed the house of $95, kidnaped his young wife, after drugging her, took her to Dick Lambert's saloon. Sixty-third street and Archer avenue, where 14 of the private detectives outraged her, stripped off her garments, threw her into their master's car and sold her out in the white slave district. This, Mr. Sayer, the superintendent, says is 'loyal Americanism' to show further 'loyal Americanism' to foreigners in the name of our most beloved government."

(To be continued next week)

[illegible]

— By Lida A. E. Gale —

The Juggernaut of American capitalism moves on steadily toward intervention in Mexico.

The "made—in—the—U. S. A." revolution momentum, little by little, and there momentum, little by little, and the storm mutterings grow louder throut the country. A friend in Tampico writes me that most of the Americans there frankly look for intervention and none of them manifest much concern about the revolution. There is a general air of complacency indicative of the quiet understanding that "everything is all fixed up."

The attitude of the pro-interventionists in the United States shows clearly where their sympathies are.

Henry Lane Wilson, former ambassador to Mexico and notorious friend of the cut-throat, Huerta, tells the Fall committee that intervention in Mexico as far south as the 22nd parallel of latitude, should take place at once. Tampico's oil wells are north of the 22nd parallel!

Senators Fall, Smith and others who have been actively anti-Mexican, foam at the mouth at the very idea of letting Carranza's troops travel a short distance on American soil in order to reach their destination and fight the Sonora rebels. Senator Smith tells his fellow solons that "Sonora is the only state in the Mexican Union that has shown consideration for American property rights" and that he does not propose to consent to letting a gang of murderers march on Arizona land in order to fight the people of Sonora.

It is informing to know how grateful the senator feels to the Sonorans for their care of American property rights. And it helps illumine the situation greatly.

Altho the Carranza government—at this writing, anyway—denies having formally asked permission to let its trops march thru a section of Arizona, there is no doubt that Carranza would be highly pleased to have such permission. It is probable that he has not directly asked, but that feelers have been thrown out by his friends in Washington. And in view of the fierce opposition that has been stirred up by the suggestion, Carranza will no doubt refrain from asking a favor which he can clearly see vould not be granted.

Meanwhile, the flames of insurrection spread, a little here, a little there. Mexico City is still as quiet as a country church-yard, in so far as revolutionary activities are concerned, but beneath the surface serenity there are doings that are ominous. New faces are appearing constantly. "Hombres" from the north from the nearby ranches and from nobody knows where, are coming into town steadily. They are mostly big husky fellows whose bulging hip pockets, eagle eyes and military swagger indicate that they know what it is to fight. Some of them are Obregonistas who have come here to size up the situation and get ready for business. Some are Carranzistas who fled from the north considering Mexico City a safer place for now. Many women and children have also fled the danger zone.

Not a few families, especially those of foreigners who remember the revolution of a few years ago, have begun to store up provisions, food, etc. If Mexico City should be besieged, they would be prepared. They would be able to exist if rail connections were broken off and they could even shut themselves in their houses and live with more or less safety until the fighting was over.

Nobody knows just where Obregon is, altho all kinds of wild and contradictory stories have been published since ihs disappearance from the city. But the likeliest guess is that he is right in Sonora, directing affairs quietly. Why he has not issued a manifesto and called on the people generally to rise up in arms and support him, is subject of dispute. Some think he is sparring time, not wishing to publicly endorse the revolution until reasonably sure of its success. By avoiding making such a statement, he could afterward repudiate the uprising, saying it was the unauthorized outbreak of the people of Sonora and that while he did not approve of Carranza's policy(he did not approve either, of secession. The other theory is that Obregon is negotiating with American interests for sufficient support to make the success of the rebellion a certainty and that as soon as he has matters arranged, he will call on the masses to join with him.

A general appeal to the Mexican people would no doubt result in a generous response. By cunning politics-playing Obregon has a majority of all classes with him. His chief lieutenant, Luis N. Morones, Samuel Gompers' representative in Mexico, has swung in line a big share of the craft unions. "Socialist" and "Labor" parties galore have been organized in various parts of the country and packed with Obregon men so that the parties would be certain to declare for Obregon. On the other hand, an active press bureau has sent out a mass of material eulogizing Obregon as a sound, conservative business man with a proper respect for monied interests. Bonillas has tried to play the same but with less success. The fact that Bonillas has an American wife and lived in the United States so many years has been utilized by Obregon campaigners to convince the peons that Bonillas is pro-American. The prejudices of the workers have been aroused against Bonillas by these appeals, while on the other hand, the prejudices of American merchants and of Mexicans employed by them, have been assiduously cultivated by reminding them that Bonillas is Carranza's man and that Carranza refused to aid the Allies and until recently insisted on the petroleum tax. So, by clever maneuvering, Obregon has "gotten them coming and going," and both labor and capital are lined up to a considerable extent behind him.

The really radical workers are savagely fighting any tendency to support either candidate declaring that neither Obregon nor Bonillas is honestly radical and that the masses will be exploited under either.

Preparations for military activity continue and it is evident that much is happening which is not generally known. Only a week or so ago, 5000 rifles disappeared mysteriously from the government storehouse. Now the report that several aeroplanes purchased in Europe by Mexican governmen agents and which were just shipped to Veracruz, have been damaged beyond repair.

The feeling prevails that this is the silence before the storm. The people are uneasuy, nervous, worried. They shrink from the prospect of further bloodshed new atrocities, fresh agonies.

But the American capitalists and investors here—except a few small business men who are not on the inside of things—look unconcerned and even optimistic.

They know that intervention is coming—unless a wave of wrath in the United States prevents it.

[illegible]

LOCAL UNION 1531, U. M. W. of A.
[illegible], OHIO.

Resolution No. I. — 4-20-20.

WHEREAS, our official brothers of the state of Kansas have been imprisoned under the antistrike law of that state and

WHEREAS, we believe said law to be unjust and not worthy a place on the statute-books of America. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we demand Pres. Lewis to do all in his power to get said members released, and be it further

RESOLVED, that should Pres. Lewis fail in his efforts, to get justice for these men, that we demand him to call a general strike of the U. M. W. of A. until said members are released.

We request all Local Unions to take action on this resolution.

(Signed)

IRA JONES, Pres.
AL. MOODY
ED. CALL
GEORGE ROBINSON
Resolution's Committee.

Resolution No. II. — 4-20-20
(Our challenge to the Press)

We see by the press, that some of the so-called "outlaw" strikers have returned to work. Would you please explain to us why the steel strikers were called Reds and Bolshevists; why the miners were called traitors and enemies of the government, and why the present striking switchmen are called outlaws.

Have not the workers a right to strike when they have exhausted every other possible method of getting justice? It seems to us, that every time the workers ask for justice, that the press attempts to bias their case, by calling them "red", "radicals" and the like.

Why not give the workers a square deal? They certainly deserve it.

We, the members of Local Union 1531, U. M. W. of A. believe the demands of the striking switchmen just and reasonable and be it

RESOLVED, that we do all in our power, to see that their case is presented to the public, in its proper light.

IRA JONES
ED. CALL
(members) Res. Committee

TWO MINUTE TALKS ON TODAY'S TOPICS.
— By Elmer T. Allison. —
A pamphlet of short essays dealing with a number of subjects of vital importance to the workers.
10c A COPY.
Address The Toiler

Workers' Share Less-

(Continued from 1st page.)

"A total of $4,800.000 means $240 per family of five through-out the nation", says Lauck. "Consider that each family of five paid as a total, not to so-called legitimate profits but to excess over pre-war profits, $240 a year, and one gains an idea of the total burden which profiteering meant in the country.

"Our facts show," concludes Lauck, "that it is impossible to charge labor with profitering, or to say that labor is responsible for the high cost of living. For, as we have previously pointed out, if invested wealth gets a larger proportion of the national wealth than formerly, the man who gives personal service or labor is bound to get a smaller proportion.

"The menace of the future lies in the probability that the vast profits which are still held in reserve will be capitalized in order that, under the pretext of a fair return on capital, those who own them may contiune to take the larger proportion of national income, even at the expense of very great suffering on the part of the workers."

Closely associated with Lauck's argument is the proof offered by W. S. Carter, chief of the firemen, that the wages of railroad workers might be doubled without materially adding to the sale price of commodities. After referring to the belief that higher wages automatically compel higher prices. Carter said to the Wage Board.

"The general acceptance of this vicious circle lie is abundant evidence that the people like to be humbugged. To accept it is to believe that American labor is in a conspiracy to boost prices. If that is true we are either criminals or criminally ignorant, which is to insult the intelligence of the working men and women... If the rates of pay of all employees were increased 100 per cent the addition to the average commodity value of each ton of freight would be less than 1 per cent. Such a wage advance would add only 88 cents to each $100 of freight transported."

Taking the period from 1914 to 1918, Carter supplied the wage board with figures which proved his contention, and which the railroad managers have not tried to deny.

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXI.
The [illegible] continued.

It took Jack no little time to tell his companions all that had befallen him since he had left them in search of a job. Needless to say that much of what had happened the boy was an old story with the the veterans of the Class War. It was his particular and unique views on these events that interested his companions most of all. Still they enjoyed many a hearty laugh at the boy's expense.

"What did we tell you!" Collins laughed, "These employment offices are not legitimate institutions; they are festering sores on the rotten body of Capitalism. No doubt they could be so conducted as to be of service to the slave under the present social order, but then they would be less profitable to the operators and you must never forget that it is profit and not service that is the driving power of the business world." Leaning back in his chair and putting his feet upon the table and locking his fingers behind his head he went on, in the same strain. "There is profit in crookedness and glory in honesty that is the reason honesty is precious in business by reason of scarcity while crookedness is as common as dirt. And you knew it, havin learned it both theoretically and practically when they had us in the can (jail) at Anamoose."

"I see that I am a living illustration of my theory that education does not change man's nature to any great extent unless it is carried far enough to form definite habits in the individual. His education must make him an automaton of the new order. He must live and act the social life without an effort of the will, and unless he is brought that far no matter how well he knows the theory of a thing he will act on his instincts. That is, he will use his phylogenetic instead of his ontogenetic mental equipment," Jack explained.

"Hold on a moment—put on the breaks——fetch us the ghost of Webster and the encyclopedia," roared Collins while Rudolph who was still busy with his household duties grinned broadly.

Then after a pause he added, "I understand you alright but I want you to express yourself in such a way that the average 'stiff' can get you."

"Which is equivalent to an admission that you are above the average 'Stiff,' and want to hand him down something from your high estate," Jack replied. "You understand me. Rudolph understands me. None of us have had any advantages. What we got we took at the cost of midnight oil and tired eyes, while the average was hanging on the bar or playing poker or soiltaire, or stupidly snored away their time. They mentally starved while food for the mind was cheaper and more abundant than bread. The average—why should I talk to the average? Why should I throw pearls before swine? They will only turn and rend me limb from limb. Your precious stupid, vapid cowardly average, which knows nothing but to exchange their strength for sufficient bread to keep alive and spawn. They are the debris of the law of fecundity which your misguided enthusiasm mistakes as the stones from which to build the wonderous temple of the machine age. You talk without thinking, that is all. You take it for granted that a thing is human just because it wears pants." Evidently excited by the vehemence of his own speech he suddenly ceased and opened a volume of John Fiske's Cosmic Philosophy.

Collins was more then pleased with the boy's defense of his position although he was not in sympathy with it. He was of the opinion that Capitalism made environment and environment made men what they were. He hoped that by teaching them the possibilities of machine production he could make them hopelessly discontented with their present environment, so much so that they would rise and consciously inaugurate the new state of society. He had forgotten the old saying that the creature is not greater then the creator from which it follows that man being a product of evolution can not rise above the source that gave him origin. He is in the grasp of the inexorable law of biologic cause and effect. A fish by desiring it cannot become a beast yet all beasts have evolved from fish and thru them from still lower forms. At each step whole species and races dying out except a few favored variations who became the progenitors of the new race or species. No species has ever survived a great geologic change intact, so no race or nation has ever survived a fundamental economic change intact. We can not will to enter a new social order, because our mind is a product of the present and past social orders. Our biologic tendency is to hold on to what we have and to distrust the new no matter how alluring. Man in mass does not advance. He is pushed along. You can not teach him the way and make him travel it. Biologic needs throw him into a new order where he must either adapt himself or die. And most of them die. If it were not so the world would have been over-populated thousands of years ago. The difference between the two men was that Jack saw man as an animal under the sway of biologic law, while Collins saw him as a reasoning creature who by virtue of his intellect ought to be able to shape his environment according to his needs.

Collins looked at him quizically then remarked, "It sometimes looks as if you are right. Even you with all your desire for abstract knowledge are quite unteachable. After we had had told you what to expect at the hands of those parasites you walk right up and stick your head into the noose like all the rest. Your desire for a job that is for your hereditary source of bread drove you on like a lamb to the slaughter. There is no use advising anyone. Experience is the best teacher and many a worker refuses to learn from it, [illegible] will be eternally—if it is not enough to make a man pessimistic." Then after a moments pause during which he replenished the stove with fir bark he continued. "It is really funny to see what asses people are; how completely ancient superstition holds them." Then addressing Jack directly he said. "You knew that the workers have no rights that the exploiters are bound to respect. Still you bought that job, and went out to it believing the word of that parasite. A bed-bug persuading its victim that its bite would be beneficial," then folding his arms and leaning far over the improvised table his eyes ablaze with the fire of the propagandist he went on in true soap box styles "After all you got easy, for you must remember that the employment agent is not the only one who is ready to prey upon you." As he said this Jack was reminded of his experience at Anamoose and the words of Herman who had told him that there would be many harpies on his trail whom he would have to fight off constantly; but he made no comment, in fact he had no chance for Collins roared on like the Falls of Niagara. "The employment agents are only one evil fish, spawned by capitalism ever swarming in the sewers of civilization. They land on the worker wherever they find him like leeches in stagnant pools, incapable of production they have to be parasitic in order to live. Their lives are a detriment to every thing that is good and noble in the human race."

At this point Jack interrupted him with the remark that he was under the impression that exploitation could only take place at the point of production.

The objection did not worry Collins however. He explained that there was a real distinction between the words exploitation and robbery. He defined exploitation as an industrial process essential to capitalistic production and therefore consented to by the masses of mankind. On the other hand he defined robbery as the direct appropriation of one's substance by another without any return in value or service. "Exploitation is business, robbery is a crime," were the words in which he summed up his analysis.

This at once started an argument between Collins and Rudolph, the latter maintaining that Collins had drawn a distinction without a difference. He held that all appropriation of values was criminal; that it made no difference whether it was done by a business man through a bank, or by a 'high jack' with a gun. To Rudolph's mind the business man was simply a cowardly criminal who exercised his predatory proclivities within the limits of a law which he himself had made by the help of his class.

But with these views Collins could not agree. He maintained that right was determined by the might of public consent; that therefore exploitation was morally right seeing that the masses agreed to it both by their active voice and their silent consent. "Any process no matter how hideous, be it burning of witches, mutilation of innocence, persecution of heretics or the taking of surplus value is legal and right so long as people condone it. it immediately becomes wrong. Robbery is wrong for the same reason. The masses object to being robbed directly; they have not yet evolved intelligence enough to recognize indirect robbery that is exploitation. Public consent alone determines what is business and what is crime. There is no other criterion by which it can be known. Good and bad, virtue and sin, business and crime are not in themselves entities. They are modes of interaction between masses of individuals and their environment. Sin and crime are generally the normal acts of our ancestors. They shift with every change in our environment."

When Collins came to this part of his argument Rudolph was again agreed, and showed his approval by quoting from the 'Kasidah'.

"They change with place,
They shift with race,
And in the veriest span of time
Each vice has wore a virtue's crown
All good was banned as sin and crime."

"On this we are all agreed," Jack ratified; but I do not yet quite see your distinction between exploitation and theft."

"Exploitation is the process of getting away with a margin between the value of a man's product in the market and the purchasing power of the money he gets as wages. The worker is a chronic loser in his constant trading of his life for his bread. It's the business of capitalism to see to it that he always comes out short. In fact he must come out short or capitalism can not survive. Exploitation is the motive force of capitalistic progress. That is the reason that they control pulpit, school, and press in such a way that these shall only inculcate such knowledge in to the minds of the masses as will lead them to believe in the justice and necessity of exploitation. Thru the agencies of education they manufacture public opinion, and public opinion determines the concept of justice prevalent in the minds of the masses. Morality is what the papers say it is. When the masses lose faith in the papers, they will also lose faith in the morality of the existing order."

(Continued next week)

DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION — by Bertrand Russell

— From the Liberator —

(Professor Bertrand Russell of Cambridge University (England) is one of the two or three most celebrated philosophers in the world to-day. He is a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he teaches mathematics and mathematical logic. His outspoken opposition to the war caused his removal from this position, and his imprisonment for six months under the Defense of the Realm Act. But the university has recently been compelled, by an organized demand from soldier students returning from the war, to reinstate him and expunge from the University record the minutes of his dismissal.

To many who have thought of Bertrand Russell, aside form his scientific achievements, as merely a liberal pacifist by temperament, this article will come as a surprise. His conclusions in regard to the tactics which communists must pursue in order to be victorious must command their approval, tho we cannot agree that even in England the revolution will be accomplished without the accompanying historic strife. Bourgeois "liberalism" is here shown to be an utterly futile weapon for workingclass emancipation. Thruout this splendid article Professor Russel vigourously upholds the Communist position.

Before discussing my nominal subject, I propose to make a brief survey of the world from the point of view of the possibilities of freedom. The ultimate possibilities of freedom are greater than ever before, but the dangers also are great, and the immediate future is very difficult.

The war has afforded a test as to what was strong and what was weak in the nominal belief of men. Much that was traditional would probably have stood a good deal longer, but for the harsh realities which the war forced upon people's notice. Much also was swept away that belonged to what may be called urbanity, much that depended upon not getting down to bed-rock, or stirring up the primitive passions. The world since the war is more stark, less easy-going, more brutal. The division of old and young is greater than in normal times, for the old succeded in idealizing the war, and in order to do so were compelled to depart even further than usual from reality, whereas the young have had reality ground into them as never before. The result of this is that politics is no longer so amiable as formerly, and that although leading politicians may indulge in the old humbug, it has lost its grip, and the motives for which men vote are very realistic.

Not only the Liberal Party, but Liberal ideals also, have suffered eclipse as the result of the war. Their failure was made manifest by President Wilson's collapse. Liberal ideals, in so far as they were genuine, depended upon a certain degree of forbearance as between man and man, a certain unwillingness to push things to extremes. Religious toleration, democracy, free speech, free press and free trade, were all of them ideals implying that the differences between different groups were not irreconciable. **I am one of those who, as a result of the war, have passed over from Liberalism to Socialism, not because I have ceased to admire many of the Liberal ideals, but because I see little scope for them, except after a complete transformation of the economic structure of society.**

The war has resulted in a confrontation of plutocracy and labor, capitalism and socialism. Socialism has appeared at last as a force roughly equal in strength to capitalism. In Russia, it is in power, and elsewhere there is a possibility of its acquiring power. What have these two opposing creeds to offer?

Capitalism, so long as it fought against feudalism, was associated with certain Liberal ideas: freedom, democracy and peace. It was associated also with increased production. The lingering remnants of feudalism have been swept away by the war: the three Emperors who dominated Eastern Europe are gone. In the remaining monarchies, in Milton's words, "the kings sit still with aweful eye." But every step in the victory of capitalism over the past has made it more hostile to the future, and less liberal. In America, I am told, there is now a prison at the foot of the Statue of Liberty.*

The greater part of the civilized world remains subject to a reign of terror. The Bolshevik reign of terror has of course been used to make our flesh creep, but it differs from the others solely in its purpose. I do not allude merely to the White Terror in places like Hungary, where the Bolshevik regime has been crushed; similar methods in a less drastic form have become all but universal. In France, by the acquittal of the murderer of Jaures, the courts have given it to be understood that the assasination of a Socialist is not illegal. In America any one professing Socialist opinions is liable to imprisonment or deportation, and Socialists duly elected are not permitted to sit in the New York Legislature. In Ireland any person who believes in the rights of small nations, in self-determination, or in any other of the objects for which the war was fought, is liable to imprisonment, without trial. Of India it is not necessary to speak, since the facts have become too notorious. Throughout the world we are faced by a clash of naked force. Socialism, in alliance with oppressed Nationalism, is opposed ruthlessly by Capitailsm, strengthened by victorious Nationalism.

Under these circumstances, freedom throughout the capitalist world is not to be thought of. But how about democracy? Democracy was supposed to be one of the inspiring ideas for which we fought in the war. We are now told by the Bolsheviks that **democracy, as we have hitherto understood it, is a bourgeois trick. We are told, on the other hand, by the capitalists, that it is anti-democratic to attempt by means of direct action to prevent a reactionary Parliament from flouting the will of the majority. Let us try to understand what democracy in a capitalist community consists of. We have to begin with the Judiciary and the Civil Service, both allies of the Plutocracy. We have the fact that Members of Parliament, and still more, Ministers, through their social status and income, are brought into natural connection with the possessing classes. We have the fact that capitalistic influences are more concentrated, swift and secret than labor influences, and the fact that the psychology of power tends to make its possessors more sympathetic with the directors of the capitalist industrial machine than with those who, for the time being obstruct its smooth working. The constitutional power of the democracy is limited to the expression of a choice about once in five years, a choice often between candidates none of whom are really expressive of the political opinions of the constituency, for, owing to the expense of elections, only great and rich organizations, or very wealthy individuals, can fight with any hope of success. In the whole process of forming opinion before the exercise of the vote, capitalism has enormous preponderance. Beginning in the schools, where the education is designed to produce acquiescence in the status quo, and continuing in the press, which, with very rare exceptions, is a capitalist venture run in the interests of capitalism, the mind of the child is warped, and the mind of the adult is filled with falsehoods, so that only persons of exceptional energy and independence of thought can hope to arrive at anything approaching a true view of the issues to be decided at an election.** The early Benthamite advocates of democracy imagined that it was easy for a man to ascertain his interest, and that he would certainly vote in accordance with it. Thus the result of democracy would be a just representation of all interests in proportion to their numerical strength. Admirable theory! But if they had studied, for example, the Jezuits and their influence, they might have seen its falsehood. **The average man's opinions are made for him like the house he lives in.** He can choose among a few varieties, but the varieties are rigidly limited by forces quite outside his control. They are limitations, it is true, to what can be done in the way of manufacturing opinion. If the opinions inculcated lead to the death in unsuccessful war of a large proportion of the men, and to the starvation of the women and children, it may happen, after a certain number of years, that the usual methods of generating opinion will fail. In that case, revolution results. But the hardships required before this climax is reached are appaling. **What is called the rule of the majority in a bourgeois democracy is, therefore, in reality, the rule of those who control the methods of manufacturing opinion, especially in the schools and the press.** It is absurd to give a sort of fetish worship to such a system, or to condemn all uses of the weapon of direct action, because of the supposed sacrosanct authority of a Government elected years ago on quite other issues. **The Bolsheviks are right in maintaining that bourgeois democracy is a trick by which the victims are induced to pronounce their own condemnation in order to minimize the force required for carrying it out**

At the outbreak of the late war, capitalism pretended that feudalism, as represented by the Kaiser, was what had caused the disaster. Feudalism is gone, but capitalism has shown itself incapable of making any real peace. Quite apart from the hostility to communist Russia, the trade rivalries inherent in capitalism have necessitated a harsh treatment of Germany and Austria, which makes any stable peace impossible. **Every thoughtful person must realise that the continuance of the capitalist system is incompatible with the continuance of civilization. It is as clear as noonday that, if this system survives, the late war must be succeeded by other wars, which will be even more destructive in proportion as they are more scientific.** A few more of such conflicts must put an end to everything that has made the European races of importance to the world.

Finally, capitalism has begun to fail as a technical method of production. The well-founded and universal belief in the importance of production no longer, as in the past, strengthens the hold of the capitalist system. **The old incentives to work have broken down, for the bees have begun to think that it is not worth while to make honey for their owners.** At the present moment, as a result of the war, the world needs speedy production in a quite unprecedented degree, but if speedy production is to be possible new incentives must be found, and can only be found through **self-government in industry.** It is this that has given, in Great Britain, such extraordinary and sudden strength to the guild idea. We have all been watching the experiment of the building trade in Manchester, where, after the whole capitalist machinery had failed hopelessly to deal with the housing problem, it is being found that guild methods afford a complete solution, equally perfect from the point of view of the producer and of the consumer. Largely because of this technical breakdown of capitalism, the advent of socialistic methods of production is now immeasurably easier than at any previous time. **Whatever the workers choose to demand in the way of economic justice, they can secure. Nothing stands in their way except the moderation of their own demands.**

Thus capitalism has lost all the merits by which, in the past, it sought to commend itself to the average man. Through trusts and an intimate union with the State, capitalism has succeeded in destroying almost all vestiges of freedom. Through control of education and the press, it has made democracy a farce. Through national rivalries, it has made peace impossible except by its overthrow. And by arousing the discontent of the workers it has become inefficient as a method of production. The first three of these failures are reasons for desiring its overthrow. The fourth, fortunately, is also a reason for expecting it.

Capitalism has failed to secure freedom, genuine democracy, stable peace, or the increased production that the world needs, and there is no reason to think that its failure in these respects is in any way temporary. On the contrary, it is likely to grow more and more marked through the discontent which it arouses. What has Socialism to offer in these respects?

The most important of all the new facts that have emerged from the war is the existence of a Great Power which has adopted socialism in practice. Socialism, hitherto, has been a mere theory, something which practical men could despise as impossible and visionary. The Bolsheviks, whatever we may think of their merits and demerits, have at any rate proved that socialism is compatible with a vigorous and successful State. Faced by the united hostility of Europe, and by civil war within their own borders, coming into power at a time of unexampled chaos and starvation, deprived by the blockade of all outside help, they have, nevertheless, beaten back their enemies, reconquered the greater part of the old Russian Empire, survived the worst period of the famine without being overthrown by internal revolution, and set to work to regenerate production with amazing vigor. There has been nothing comparable since the France of the Revolution, and for my part I cannot but think that what the Bolsheviks are doing is of even greater importance for the future of the world than what was accomplished in France by the Jacobins, because their operations are on a wider scale, and their theory is more fundamentally novel. I believe that Socialists throughout the world should support the Bolsheviks and co-operate with them. And I think that Guildsmen,* in particular, ought to pay great attention to Bolshevik methods of organization, not only because of their power and prestige, but because of their partial adoption of an industrial instead of a geographical basis for the Soviets. But I do not mean to suggest that we, in this country, where conditions are exceedingly different from those in Russia, should blindly follow in the footssteps of the Bolsheviks. With other Guildsmen, I recognize the importance of organization by trades, but at the same time believe that the territorial Parliament still has useful functions to perform, and therefore I am not persuaded that, for us, the complete suppression of Parliament as opposed to Soviet forms is desirable. And I am strongly of opinion that whatever in the way of socialism is feasible in this country can be accomplished without armed revolution. Slavish imitation of the Bolsheviks is not what I wish to advocate. I am inclined to think that their methods were probably the only ones by which success could have been achieved in Russia, but it by no means follows that they are the only or the best methods for us. Our circumstances, however, are peculiar, and through out the Continent there is far more similarily to Russian conditions, and far more likelihood of similar methods being needed, if socialism is to acquire power. And in view of the success of Bolshevism in beating back its enemies, the spread of socialism throughout the Continent has become a by no means remote possibility.

Bolshevism has temporarily flouted two ideals, which most of us have hitherto strongly believed in; I mean, democracy and liberty. Are we on this account to view it askance? I think not.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is professedly a transitional condition, a war-time measure, justified while the remnants of the old bourgeois classes were still struggling to promote counter-revolution. Lenin, following Marx, regards the State as in essence the domination of one class in the community. As soon as communism has abolished the distinction of classes, the State is to wither away. When there is no longer any class except the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat will ipso facto cease, and the State, in the sense in which Lenin uses the world, will disappear. Are we to object to this process on the ground that it may involve for a time the seizure of power by a minority? And are we to object on the same ground to direct action for political ends, in our own country? Lenin's defence of his action is broadly that the opposition to communism is essentially temporary, and that, when once communism has been established, it will command universal support. An argument of this sort can only be judged by the outcome. If the outcome shows, as it seems to have done in Russia, that the opposition was largely ignorant, and that experience of the new regime leads people to support it, it may be said the forcible transition has been justified. **The arguments in favor of democracy and liberty, it may be said, are arguments applicable to normal times, not to cataclysms and world revolutions. In these terrific epochs, a man must be prepared to back his own faith; whether he is right or wrong in doing so, only the issue can show. I think there is something a trifle pedantic in applying to the circumstances of Russia the sort of arguments and principles which are valid for ourselves in ordinary periods. Russia could only be saved by a strong will, and it is doubtful whether a strong will could have saved it without dictatorship in some form. I do not think, however, that these considerations would apply to ourselves even if we were much nearer than we are to the establishment of complete socialism. England, ever since 1688, has had a love of moderation. Methods such as those of the Bolsheviks would alienate ordinary people. Nor is the opposition of the reactionaries sufficiently ruthless to justify such methods. The moderation of our Labor Party is often exasperating, but at any rate it is matched by the moderation of their opponents. This was clearly illustrated at the time of the railway strike. Marx, the great exponent of the doctrine of class war, asserted that, in England, Socialism might come by peaceful means. Let us hope that in this, as in so much else, he was a true prophet.** But on the Continent, as the example of Russia has shown us, such a hope is probably chimerical. I believe, though of course to prophesey is so uncertain as to be little more than a pastime, that in view of the successes of Russian communism in resisting the united hostility of the capitalist Great Powers, the victory of Socialism in Germany, France and Iitaly, within the next ten years or so, is quite within the bounds of possibility. There is much reason to fear, however, that it will not be effected in these countries without the same accompaniments of war and terrorism that we have seen in Russia, though perhaps in a much fainter form. I do not believe that, if it were victorious in such a contest, it would confine its victory to those nations in which a majority was in favor of Socialism, particularly if its help were invited by Socialist insurrections. Poland, for example, would very likely fall again under Russian domination as in the days of Czardom. Nationalism and religion would keep the Poles, for a time, hostile to Socialism, whether it were international, or took the form of a revived Russian Imperialism. It would be necessary to supress by force the Polish desires for independence and for the persecution of the Jews, and doubtless it would be sought by means of a rigid control of education to indoctrinate the rising generation with a more Marxian outlook. Similar troubles would arise throughout the Balkans. The regime of International Socialism for at least a generation would have to be, in many regions, a regime of armed force, backed by rigid control of the press and the schools. There is no reason to suppose that, when the time came, the Bolsheviks would shrink from such a course, however little imperialism there may be in their present purposes. Their outlook on the world, like that of the early Mohammedans, is at once realistic and fanatical. Believing, as they do, in the Marxian formula of inevitable economic development, they feel their ultimate victory fatalistically assured. What they regard as of most importance is, that the guns should be in the hands of the class-conscious proletariat. This once secured, they feel convinced that propaganda can bring to their side the part of the proletariat which is still misled by "bourgeois catch-words," such as Religion and Patriotism. It is highly probable that they are justified in this view, and that if they could govern Europe for a generation, opposition to them at the end of that time would not come from the dying forces of the past, but from whatever new movements might arise, for embodying such Socialist ideals as the Bolsheviks might in the meantime have forgotten.

If we suppose that some such edvelopment is likely on the assumption that Bolshevik successes continue, ought we to seek to promote those successes, or to shrink from promoting them because of the bloodshed and teror that they might involve, and the loss to civilization, at least temporarily, that the conflict would entail?

For my part, I feel convinced that any vital progress in the world depends upon the victory of International Socialism, and that it is worth while, if it is necessary, to pay a great price for that victory. I feel convinced also that there will be no peace in the world until International Socialism has conquered, and that to strengthen its forces, and to weaken those of the opposition, is the quickest way to end the conflict. I believe, in a world, that "each recruit means quicker peace." When I speak of Socialism, I do not mean a milk-and-water system, but a throughgoing, root and branch transformation, such as Lenin has attempted. And if its victory is essential to peace, we must acquiesce in the evils involved in conflict, in so far as conflict is forced upon us by capitalism.

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*) I do not know whether this is true liberally or only symbolically. (It is true literally:—ED.)

*) A reference to the members of the National Guilds League of Great Britain.—Ed.

The Communist Party Splits.

The left wing of the Socialist movement in this country, from its inception, contained an element that claimed to be exclusive 100 per cent pure communists, and that the communist movement, to be protected from adulteration, must either remain under the unrestricted control of these 100 per centers — or must confine its personnel to these apostles.

The activities of that group led to the split in the left wing movement, which eventually led up to the formation of the two parties, the Communist and the Communist Labor Parties. The former would never have seen the light of day had it not been for the fact that the majority of the left wing council was dazzled with the glittering arguments of the 100 per centers and did not heed the warning given against the rule or ruin tactics of that element. These "Communists" had built up a machine for control within the Russian and other language federations and insisted upon the continuation of the autonomous federations because only through them could they hope to completely dominate and control the Communist movement. So the question of autonomous federations became the bone of contention, though the real question was: control or no control through these self-appointed apostles.

Those that were concerned more with the building up of a communist movement than with the question of control, continued their labor in spite of all accusations of "mensheviki" or "centrists" hurled against them, in spite of the further accusations that those who had organized the Communist Labor Party had split the American movement.

History has vindicated the Communist Labor Party. Those of the left wing council that deserted the left wing to join the 100 per centers found to their sorrow, that they had made a mistake. They found that under the cloak of the argument, that strict centralization of power in the communist movement was necessary, there was hidden away contempt for the workers, for the rank and file, who were supposed to play the part of stage decorations in the drama to be enacted by the coming revolution. They saw their mistake and were compelled to take the only means to rectify it; to split away from the 100 per centers whom they now discovered to be more impure than true, and to split the Communist Party.

Recently, during a four day's conference of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, to which were invited the district organizers and the representatives of the federations, the split became an established fact. The voting power in the conference was confined to the members of the C. E. C. The vote stood 5 to 4. The minority of 4 broke away, together with all district organizers except one, and with the representatives of the German, Ukrainian, South Slavic, Estonian and Polish Federations. Both sides immediately sent out their commissaries to explain the split to the membership and it now remains to be seen what stand the rank and file will take.

It is to be hoped that this split will bring about a clean division between those that are concerned mainly with the formation of a strong communist movement, and those that are concerned with the questions of control and carreers. A unity between the former and the C. L. P. ought to be effected within a very short time and with the help of the united efforts of all true communists, we should now succeed in making the American branch of the Third International a worthy part of that great movement.

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

Secretary Wilson's Ruling.

The ruling of Secretary of Labor Wilson, that membership in the Communist Labor Party does not constitute in itself grounds for deportation, and that the advocacy of mass action, proletarian dictatorship, shop committees and Communism are legal unless accompanied by the advocacy of force and violence in instituting them, comes somewhat as a surprise to communists generally.

Since the January raids upon radicals of all hues the exact legal status of the Communist Labor Party has been in doubt. Soon after the raids were instituted, Secretary Wilson rulod that membership in the Communist Party constituted sufficient grounds for deportation of alien members and some were deported and others indicted. It was only natural considering the similarity of the principles of the two parties that a like fate awaited the alien members of the Communist Labor Party. That the adherents of Attorney General Palmer and his methods should sharply disagree with the conclusions of the Secretary of Labor would be expected since it is known that there have developed radical differences of policy between them. Naturally enough the Palmerites are peeved at the ruling. Apparently Palmer and his fellows are slated for the scrap heap.

What is beneath and behind the ruling of Secretary Wilson is not just now apparent. Communists have too much sense and knowledge of capitalism and capitalist governments to assume that the decision however favorable to them, is based either upon a sense of justice residing within the Secretary's breast or upon a liberal conception of the fundamentals of American law and constitutional guaranties. Communists and Communist Laborites have stoutly disclaimed any fundamental differences in principle between them tho readily admitting differences in tactics and internal organization. If Secretary Wilson has discovered vital differences perhaps he is to be congratulated upon his diligent researches. It is said that the Almighty moves in mysterious ways his wonders to perform. So it is with politicians. We must leave the future to reveal WHY Mr. Wilson discovers what all Communists have claimed—that we are legal and within the law in the statements of our Platform and Program, methods and tactics.

What Communist Labor Partyites are concerned with however, is not the why nor wherefore of Mr. Wilson's ruling which is far reaching indeed placing our Party as it does in a perfectly legal position as regards political activities. We know that "Constitutional guarantees" in so far as the workers are concerned under capitalism are not guarantees at all but merely liberties loaned to them only so long as they use them in the interests of the capitalist class. It must be admitted that the capitalist class is in a quandary in the crisis which they are faced with. They have played the game of repression and have failed utterly in stamping out the reds. If the pendulum should swing to the opposite extreme and a measure of liberty be restored it should astonish no one.

Of vital importance to the Communist Labor Party will be the readiness and vigor with which they accept the definition of Secretary Wilson and push with all the force at their command the upbuilding of the organization. It is safe to assert that that which could not be destroyed by the repressions and intimidations of Palmer and his agents and inquisitors must flourish with even a modicum of liberty of action. The January assaults were calculated to utterly destroy Communism in this country. How futile have been the efforts of the capitalist hangmen can be known only to those very close to the Communist movement. We have lost little while many times the loss has been gained in experience, in knowledge of revolutionary tactics and methods The Communist Movement is so well established in this country that it fears nothing from whatever forms of repression capitalism may attempt to heap opon it. At the same time it is prepared to take full advantage of every opportunity to function politically. If the ruling of Secretary Wilson is genuine, and we must assume that it is, our duty lies open before us. Nothing less than political activity (participation in elections) should satisfy us—not because we have a sublime faith in it as a weapon to ACCOMPLISH our aims but for the opportunity political campaigns afford us to propagate our ideas and to establish a close contact with the masses. At the same time the upbuilding of our shop committees must proceed with all possible vigor.

These then are the duties which the present days lay open before us As we fulfill them shall we be judged by our Movement. Every Communist then to his task. ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

COMMUNIST UNITY

The question of unity of the Communist Labor Party and the minority faction of the Communist Party which split away from the C. P. recently, confronts us. While it is true that the members of the two divisions of the C. P. have not wholly decided their affiliations and probably will not at once, in fact some groups have decided to remain neutral for a time, eventually the matter of unity with the Communist Labor Party will become a pressing one with at least the minority faction.

Up to the time of the occurrence of the C. P. split unity negotiations had been in progress but only a minorityof the C. P. officials had held out genuinely for unity. Unity of the C. L. P. and the minority faction of the C. P. is now not only a near possibility but a promising development.

A foregone conclusion resulting from such unity would be a tremendous strengthening of the Communist Movement here. Since the three-way split at Chicago last September thousands of real revolutionists have held aloof from affiliation with any party abiding the time when they should adjust their differences and unite. Unity of these two revolutionary groups would draw these workers at once into the ranks again and thus place at the disposal of the movement the energies, enthusiasm and support of these earnest comrades.

Another development and source of strength for a united Communist Movement is seen in the new "left wing" which has developed again in the Socialist Party since left wing elements were cast out of it last September. That a near resemblance to the situation of last summer again exists within the S. P. is apparent to even the causual observer. The reactionary and compromising tactics of the S. P. officials at Albany in seeking to retain their seats in the Legislature constitute but one of the rocks upon which the Socialist Party ship has struck and the shock from which has shaken the membership bringing to the surface a rebellion against what a large portion of the membership realize is compromise and reactionary tactics which have their base in fundamentally reactionary principles. These rebellious elements whose eyes have been opened to the non-revolutionary character of the S. P. are ready when unity is accomplished within the Communist ranks to join them in purpose and tactics.

While the Communist Labor Party makes no appeal for membership except its principles be endorsed and its adherents prove their qualifications as Communists in educational, propaganda and organization work along the tactical lines laid down by the Party, we shall welcome to our ranks all workers who stand ready to endorse our principles and are willing to prove them by their activities.

The split in the Communist Party is a welcome sign for future development of the American Communist Movement.

Proletarian Science History

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —
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OUTLINE FOR CHAPTER EIGHT.
MIDDLE BARBARISM.

Beginning	Among the Aryan Race with the domestication of Animals. Among the Red races of the Western Hemisphere with agriculture.
Tools and Weapons	Bow and arrow, bronze spears and swords, highly polished stone tools. Tools of SMELTED copper.
Transportation	Natural locomotion, crude sledges, drawn by animals. On water, canoes, dugouts and early sail boats.
Subsistence	Cooked foods, flesh, farinaceous and vegetable. Milk.
Shelter	Hewn plank, stone and adobe houses.
Clothing	Tanned skins, wool and other woven fabrics.
Environment	Temperate and cold climates, Prairie and grassy country. Herding of domestic animals and agriculture.
Organization	Federated tribes containing the germ of primitive kingdoms. Organization of armies. Patriarchal family and the development of monagamous family, with inheritance of property. Competition of medicine men led to union of priests and prophets and establishment of religious institutions within and not separated from tribal organization.
Arts and Institutions	Beginning of systematic agriculture. Smelting of native soft metals, institution of chattel slavery and private property. Genesis of the class struggle in society.
Duration	Much less than lower barbarism.

The middle Age of barbarism began amongst the Aryan races of the Eastern hemisphere with the domestication of animals. The Red races of the Western hemisphere developed systematic agriculture at the beginning of middle barbarism.

Our domestic animals are but the descendants of wild animals adapted to the uses of man. The dog is but a domesticated wolf, and the cow a domesticated aurach. The aurach was the native buffalo of the Indo-Iranic plains, where the Aryan race first evolved out of lower barbarism.

The acquisition by man of any tool marks a forward step on the road to progress. Animals have been called the animated tools of man. The need of man for sleep caused him to utilize the dog as a sentinel. The storage of grain brought vast numbers of predatory rodents. Cats were domesticated to catch the thieves of grain. They proved themselves so useful for this purpose that their bodies were declard sacred and they were worshipped as gods.

The specific circumstances surrounding the first domestication of animals are of course unknown, but much can be learned of the process by an observation of present day tribes who are passing through this period of social evolution.

While the Aryan races were domesticating animals the Red races were busily developing systematic agriculture. The most notable examples of Red races so engaged, were the Pueblos of New Mexico, the Aztecs and Toltecs of Mexico and the Incas of the high plains of Peru.

The architecture of both races at this age was very similar, both using stone and adobe as building material, stone predominating in the Eeastern and adobe (a kind of dried mud) in the Western hemisphere. The difference in building material chosen was due to differences in geological formation and climatic conditions. Where stone was abundant and the climate wet, stone was used. Where clay was abundant, stones scarce and the climate dry, adobe was used. Hewn planks were used only in the localities where timber was abundant.

Smelting and the making of bronze first made its apperance in this age the smelting however being confined to the soft native metals such as copper, tin and lead.

The domestication of animals brought a change in the methods of land transportation, crude sledges drawn by animals now made their appearance. Metal cutting tools, mostly of bronze, made possible larger boats of hewn timbers, and the weaving of fabrics made possible sails for boats Sail boats made their first appearance during this age.

The agricultural village life brought a greater variety and abundance of food material, which made famines and pestilence less frequent. The improved methods of transportation stimulated industrial development and increased the fecundity of the race.

The domestication of animals led to the making of fabrics of a wool nature, altho there are no wild wool bearing sheep. Wild sheep have only a long coarse hair, which by man's selection has been improved into the wool as we know it today. The same is true of the mohair of the angora goat.

Man became a herdsman with the domestication of animals. He located in such localities as furnished pasturage for his herds and flocks. The extent of the range was limited by the necessity of the herdsman to get his flock back to the village fold at night. Wild animals were not the only marauders. Along with the development of agriculture and herding developed also a group which found it easier to steal a herd or a crop than to raise one. Here is the genesis of the military system. Conflict over herds and pasture land was the beginning of territorial wars.

The thirteenth chapter of Genesis gives a complete account of these early conflicts over pastures, and thus contains internal evidence that the book deals with a period of social development corresponding to the middle age of barbarism.

Domestication of herd animals, with the consequent necessity for definite pastures, further developed village life, out of which developed the Patriarchal Family and monagamous marriage. The Patriachal Family was a group family,**) based upon blood relationship subservient to the authority of the oldest man—the paterfamilias or father of the family. He was also called the senex, from which we get our word senator, meaning old man. The world senile, which means childish, is also derived from the same source. The advent of the Patriarchal Family marked the passing of female supremacy and descent.***)

Herding, agriculture and village life was the foundation out of which evolved the institution of private property in land, substance and slaves, and the Patriarchal Family, with its consequent laws of inheritance based upon the right of primogeniture; this in turn made monogamy an economic necessity.

The right of primogeniture means the right of the firstborn son of the Patriarch to inherit all the property of the family, including his father's younger children. This made him the owner of the group and its substance. He ruled by the right of possession, and then as now, his subjects were taught to be "law abiding" to constituded authority. Here in middle barbarism was laid the genesis of the class-struggle between the sons of the ruler and the sons of the ruled.

Tahe Patriarch was a warrior, maintaining his authority by his physical courage. He surrounded himself with a primitive army of professional warriors whose duty it was to repel invasions and keep slaves in submission. There were no wars for democracy in those days!

Medicine men, priests and prophets in this Age organized themselves into primitive groups for offense and defense. They maintained themselves in power by preaching subservience to the slaves and lauding the virtues of the Patriarchs. Primitive religious systems developed as a tribal or state function, the Patriarch over at the head of the political, industrial and religious institutions.

The institutions of middle barbarism were, private property, chattel slavery, laws of inheritance, monagamous marriage and federated tribal organizations of a religio- political nature.

It may be stated as a general law that each Age of social evolution will be shorter than the one which preceeded it The duration of historical epochs is in inverse radio to the rate of increase in the rate of population. The rate of increase of population is dependent upon the ease with which food and life's necessities may be acquired. Thus as the tools of production improve the ages of historic evolution shorten.

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*) The first book of Job contains a complete account of the ravishing of the herds by mauraders.

**) In its primary meaning the word family had no relation to the married pair or their children, but to the body of slaves and servants who labored for its maintainance and were under the power of the paterfamilias.

***) In two forms of the family, the consanguine and the punaluan, paternal power was impossible. When the gens appeared in the midst of the punaluan group it united the several sisters with their children and descendants in the female line, in perpetuity, in a gens, which became the unit of organization in the social system it created. Out of this state of things the syndyasmian family was gradually evolved and fluctuating, then commenced, and it steadily increased as the new upward progress of society. When PROPERTY BEGAN TO BE family more and more assumed monogamian characteristics with the CREATED IN MASSES and the desire for its transmission to children had changed descent from the femalel ine to the male, a real foundation for paternal power was for the first time established."—Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society" (Kerr edition) p 478.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER EIGHT.
Middle Barbarism.

1. What industry marked the beginning of middle barbarism among the Aryans?
2. Why did not the same industry begin in the Western hemisphere?
3. Name all the domesticated animals, birds and insects you can.
4. Explain the difference between natural and artificial selection?
5. Are there tribes today living in the middle age of barbarism? Name them.
6. Explain the reason why different tribes chose different building material.
7. What is adobe?
8. What is meant by the term smelting?
9. Why was a sled the first form of land transportation?
10. Were sails practical upon a canoe?
11. Explain why village life and agriculture would tend to increase food supply.
12. What limited the extent of the herdsman's range?
13. What is the genesis of militarism and the cause of tribal wars?
14. With what period of human history does the book of Genesis deal?
15. Explain the Patriarchal Family.
16. What was the right of Premogeniture?
17. What was the genesis of the class-struggle?
18. Name the institutions of middle barbarism?
19. Upon what does the rate of increase in population depend?
20. Explain why the periods of historic evolution shorten?

(Continued next week)

THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA.

William C. Bullitt's testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Contains much valuable and interesting information about the attitude of President Wilson and the Peace Conference and why peace with Russia was denied.

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Echoes of Secy. Wilson's Ruling

— By Paul Hanna,
Staff Correspondent, The Feder. Press.

WASHINGTON.—Secretary Wilson's ruling in favor of the Communist Labor Party of America is a kick that sends Attorney General Palmer reeling a long way toward the end of his game of bluff, bluster and secret persecution of political opinion.

That part of the department of justice which received the full force of the blow is represented by Francis P. Garvan, assistant attorney general, in special charge of witch-burning under the New Freedom. It was Garvan who said of the destitute wives and children of men deported on the Buford that they were better off without such men, no matter what their suffering and privation. Garvan is also author of the celebrated statement that the illegal raids conducted by his office had "created a belief in God" among the "infidel" agitators for economic justice.

Garvan more than any other man in the department of justice, is held responsible for leading Palmer up the bling alley of political bigotry where he now finds himself. There is recognition that the jig is up in Garvan's furious outcry: "Every raidical I. W. W., communist or whatnot will now find in the Communist Labor Party a haven where he can continue agitation without abandoning one of his theories or purposes."

The anguish of Palmer and Garvan is enhanced by their chilling apprehension that the White House will sustain Secretary Wilson unless the department of justice shall lay its cards on the public table and there show by argument and the law why men who aim at drastic alteration of our institutions by peaceful, constitutional means should be declared outlaws.

It is reliably reported that Secretary Wilson's sensational decision is merely a sequel to the recent cobinet meeting at which Palmer tried and failed to convince the president that seizure without warrent, imprisonment without trial and deportation without evidence were the proper and American way of dealing with persistent agitators against the rule of plutocracy.

Two facts are known. Louis F. Post wrote out his resignation when as acting secretary of labor, he began his policy of releasing aliens against whom Palmer could produce no evidence except loud-mouthed innuendo and newspaper headlines.

William B. Wilson is ready to quit as secretary of labor if, without considering the facts of the law, the White House should give its support to Attorney General Palmer and Garvan.

Politically considered, Palmer has been utterly isolated for the time being. As a candidate for president he has been shown to have no following anywhere. From the A. F. of L. cabinet to the I. W. W. he is detested by labor. Federal judges denounce him from the bench as a ridiculous tyrant. All the middle-class liberals who once supported this administration despise and revile the attorney general. Aside from Judge Gary's following and a few liberty baiters in Congress he stands absolutely alone.

To a self-respecting man in Palmer's place there is only one course open. He must meet and disprove the labor department's indictment of his methods and force the President to fire both Post and Secretary Wilson, or he must resign himself. That is, if he is a self-respecting man.

But nobody familiar with his official course charges Palmer with being that. His real calibre is shown in the so-called movement by Congress to impeach Post. To the extent that the impeachment effort had a basis at all, it was founded upon Palmer's tale-bearing about the department of labor. Fools and knaves in the House took up the charges and instituted hearings. Post's counsel sat through the imitation Lusk proceedings, and calmly waited for their chance to refuse the slander and to present their client as a witness in his own defense. All this time the attorney general kept far in the background. He has not dared associate his name or his office directly with any of the charges against Post. He has known that facts and the law were with Post, and has studiously avoided a direct encounter.

That spectacle of shuffling evasion gave Secretary Wilson his final measure of the attorney general, who stood revealed as a man afraid to finish what he had started. Members of Congress who began the proceedings found themselves marooned with Palmer, unable to proceed without being faced by the man they strove to destroy. So they tried to duck out of the whole mess by concluding the hearings abruptly.

At such a moment Secretary Wilson strikes the hot iron with the sledge of his Communist Labor Party decision. Let Palmer dodge the sparks if he can.

'15th NATIONAL CONVENTION, S. L. P.'

will be the subject of a symposium by

J. Braun, O. B. Server and J D. Goerke
delegates from Ohio

under the auspices of the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

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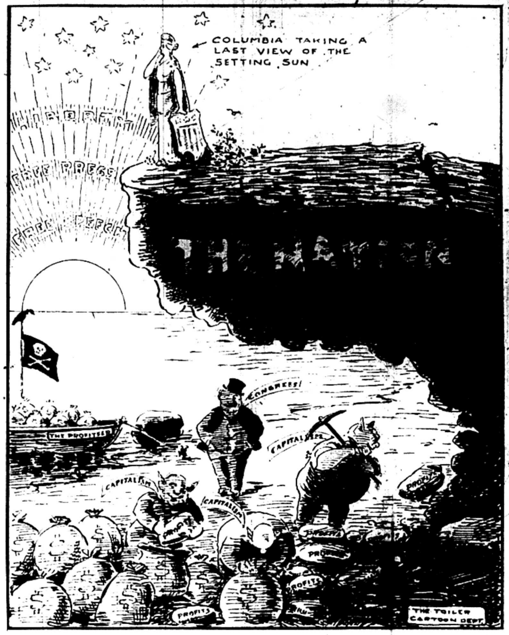
SUNDAY EVENING MAY 23rd, 1920
at 7:30 o'clock.

— Questions and discussion invited. —



The Miner and Sapper

The insatiate desire of capitalism for profits and yet more profits, its unquenchable thirst for unearned increment, its demand from industry of the last "pound of flesh" is undermining the foundations of the nation. Industry, the foundation upon which is built such civilization as we have, has become merely a means of fattenning the parasites of society, the exploiters of labor. American institutions are crumbling and ready to tumble into chaos due to the intensified coinage of profits from the nation's resources and labor.

In the imminent collapse of the economic and social structure, Miss Columbia, emblem of our one time liberaties will be stood on her head amid the debris. Her tears will avail nothing. For after all, she stood only for a fiction, or at least for that which became a fiction when the class struggle between the makers and takers of wealth became acute. The setting sun of our once pround liberties is revealing in the glow of its last rays how fictitious indeed, were these liberties. In fact, we know that they were not liberties at all-merely privileges granted to the workers by capitalism and the capitalist state — granted just so long as the workers remained in ignorance how to use them for their own class interests. The moment the workers began to use them for themselves and against the capitalist class, they were taken from them. The dictatorship of the capitalist class, acting thru its government, police, court and Congress annulled these "liberties". They ceased to be. THAT sun can rise again only in a world controlled by the workers.

Communists have no tears to shed because these things are so. They are the products of the development of capitalism. They were born in the era of capitalism's beginning, they will die with capitalism and what is good in them for the worker's will be resurected by them in the building of the new Industrial Democracy that must follow Capitalism.

Liberty, free speech, free press, cannot exist in a society built upon slavery of the workers to the owners of industry. Such an incompatibility is unthinkable. And because this is so, they have been ruled out by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. So-called liberals and other straddlers may weep and rave as this sun sinks behind the horizon, their tears will be lost in the sea of turmoil that is rising.

Only thru the collapse of capitalism and all its institutions can real freedom be born to the working class. Workers should hail as presageing this collapse the destruction by capitalism of these fictitious "liberties".

Socialist Party Convention Betrays the Revolution

Opposed by but a small minority of "reds" and "centrists" the socalist Party in Convention at New York last week completely eradicated from its program and principles the last vestige of revolutionary spirit and came out openly and enthusiastically for a program of compromise, fusion and "yellow" socialism. The strength of the "red" element left in the Socialist Party since the split in the party last september, when, at Chicago the Communist and Communist Labor Parties broke away from the Socielist Party, was seen on the first day of the Convention in the election of Morris Hilquit over J. Louis Engdahl for Chairman by a vote of 91 to 29

The election of Hilquit was a test case which indicated the comparative strength of the two factions and all questions before the convention brought out nearly the same vote upon the floor. For the first time in years the conservatives had everything their own way. Having eradicated from the Socialist Party practically all opponents to their long loved principles of compromise and political trading, they proceeded to spread a path of bright yellow before the feet of the American workers.

Fight on declaration of principles.

As might have been expected, the real fight of the two groups centered upon the declaration of principles. According to a decision of the convention of last year a committee was appointed to draft a Declaration of Principles for sunmission at this time. This draft was brought in by Morris Hilquit, who after reading it moved its adoption. A minority declaration was submitted by the opposing group thru Louis Engdahl backed by the Illinois delegation and scattering support of radicals. A bitter fight ensued taking up some five hours of debate before the final vote adopting the Hilquit draft settled the matter.

Declaration, a "vote catcher".

Referring to the mildness of the Hilquit draft, which declares only for political action, supplemented by industrial action by the workers, Engdahl charged that the purpose of those who had framed the report was to create something that would appeal to the Non-Partisian League and the Labor Party and, that some of its sponsors would even go forther to catch votes and response from "sympathetic" groups. It was in the paragraph of Engdahl's substitute declaring in a some what miled form for "the dictatorship of the proletariat" as a transitional tactic of the workers against the bourgeois, that the artilery of the majority was directed. "The dictatorship of the proletariat", declared Hilquit is not Socialist doc trine, besides being inconsistent with the rest of the preamble, we cannot speak to the workers vaguely of the class struggle, wage slavery etc."

The platform, declared Samuel Holland of Chicago, "contains nothing but nice phrases", while another member of the minority faction stated his opinion that it read like a high school essay. Hilquit's rejoinder was that the platform was being opposed not because it was too academic but because of the absence in it of certain well beloved phrases. He claimed that the basis for the platform was the assumption that the Socialist Party was a party of political action and intimated that it was criticized because its opponents found in it no suggestion of more "violent" methods.

No dictatorship for Berger.

The fight for a declaration for bourgeois "democratic" methods to be pursued by the workers during the transition stage from capitalism to socialism was soon brought to a close when Victor Berger arose and enlarged upon the possibilities of success for a third party in American politics. "I don't believe in dictatorship of any kind" he said, "I am for democracy.

Why do we have a convention every year for anyhow? To sprout wings-left wings. I belong to the center myself".

Tucker, who argued that the Hilquit report was evidently framed to get by the Department of Justice, urged the necessity of a dictatorship of the proletariat in order ot conquer the bourgeois with as little violence and bloodshed as possible. Irving M. Weiss, of New York, declared his opposition to dictatorship of any body whether it be that of the Bolsheviki in Russia or of the capitalist class of America. For this statement he received hisses from the gallery.

James Oneal probably voiced the sentiments of the majority as fully as any when he attacked the world "dictatorship" and declared that the time and conditions that favored the Russian revolution must be studied before any attempt was made to adopt Russian methods.

"Let it go through the country that you favor a dictatorship of the proletariat and you will cease to be a political party," he said. "Adopt such a resolution, and you must do your work underground, for you will be driven underground by Sweet and Albany and the politicians at Washington.

"Bourgeois democracy, with all its shams and illusions, permits in normal times an honest and fair discussion. To espouse the dictatorship program would turn every such democracy into an absolute autocracy."

The vote upon the principle of a proletarian dictatorship as a fundamental tactic of the revolution was 103 to 33.

Severs connection with Third International.

One of the principles laid down by the Third (Moscow) International as a basis for membership in it of Socialist and Revolutionary parties and groups of all countries is the adoption of the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a tactic during the transition stage from capitalism to socialism in order to the quicker place all power in the hands of the workers and to destroy with as little violence as possible all opportunity for bourgeois counter revolution against the workers.

The recent referendum of the socialist Party membership upon affiliation with the Third International by a vote of 3 to 1 with certain reservations will be discarded if the platform adopted at this convention is adopted by the rank and file. That it will be adopted goes with out saying. The Socialist Party thus definitely places, itself outside the real revolutionary movement of the world and becomes a party of mild reformistic if not reactionary measures.

The "Party of Debs", but will he lead it?

With the nomination of Eugene V. Debs as its candidate for president and Seymour Stedman as Vice-Presiednt the convention closed its deliberations. The question now is, will Debs accept the nomination? Opinion is divided as to what his decision will be, Communists point to Debs' statement before he was sent to prison, when in many speeches in Ohio and other states he voiced his entire approval of the Bolsheviki and their methods of gaining control over the capitalists and bourgeoisie, as bearng out the assertion that he would not degrade his revolutionary spirit by accepting the nomination.

Speaking of the victories of the Bolsheviki in conquering the enemies of the workers, Debs said in an article in The Class Struggle, of which he was one of the editors, in the issue of February, 1919, "They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. Let us, like them scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromises with our own ranks, challenge and defy the robber class power, and fight it out on that line to victory or death! From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, I am Bolshevik, and pround of it. The Day of the People has arrived".

Will Debs repudiate that statement by accepting the candidacy of the party which has emasculated its platform to the etxent of rejecting the principle which Debs accepted, advocated and which constituted one of the charges against him by the capitalist class courts and for which he was sent to prison?

Victory Foreseen in Communist Labor Cases in California

— By J. G. Reed. —
(Special to "The Toiler")

OAKLAND, CAL., April 29, 1920.—We won! Yes, in spite of a six months campaign of poison gas slinging by the Capitalist press of these Bay Cities, in spite of the worst kind of slimy tactics and propaganda by the "best citizens" of this community, in spite of having our headquarters raided and wrecked by patriomanics and police officials in the name of One Hundred Percent Americanism, in spite of being framed-up twice by the Oakland police, the Communist Labor Party in the case of the State of California vs. James H. Dolsen succeeded in convincing six men on a jury that the party was a legal organization and the jury was dismissed because of "failure to agree"!

"A funny sort of a victory," I hear you repeating, but wait—

Anita Whitney was convicted! John G. Wieler was convicted! Both were Communist Labor Party cases, and—

James H. Dolsen converted six men, half a jury, to the idea that the Communist Labor Party is perfectly legal. And furthermore—

Anita Whitney's case was tried as an ordinary criminal case. She admitted membership in the Communist Labor Party; she admitted having ideas contrary to the administration, but she lost out by not attempting a defense of the party. Her lawers avoided the issues in the case, and defended the defendent personally. The same was more or less the case with that of Comrade Wieler.

On the other hand, Comrade Dolsen, State Secretary, Communist Labor Party, defended the party, and incidenitly himself. He got the court to admit it was not a criminal case. And he defended the case as a social one, or still better a political and industrial.

The victory was a clean cut one. Not one principle did he compromise. The court was turned into a schoolroom where lessons in economics, tactics, propaganda, and organization were fully discussed. Capitailsm in all its horror was laid bare. The nakedness of the violence, terror, and persecution was shown to the world in all its hideousness, but not one word of the damning evidence appeared in print in the prostitute press. Their publicity was done earlier in the days of the Inquisition, and they were determined to keep the first impression intact in spite of the truth.

Day after day I sat in this Court of "Justice", only during this case the court was transformed into a schoolroom, and followed the evidence as it was unfolded, closely.

During the first two weeks the schoolroom was in charge of Professors Myron Harris (Prosecuting Attorney) and Fenton G. Thompson (Inspector of Police and head of the "Loyalty Squad"). They conducted courses in Law Prostituting (commonly known as juggling the law), and also gave very good lessons in "How To Perform The Gentle Art Of Frame-up", in good Fickert-ian style.

First they produced a young reporter who attended the first State Convention of the Communist Labor Party. He described the setting of the convention in the ill fated Communist Labor Party Building, identified reports, resolutions, and speakers attending the convention; swore to having "seen" contraband books on Syndicalism, Sabotage, and the I. W. W., and testified that the assemblage sang an "awful" song entitled "We'll Make the Bolsheviks Victorous", and another one that ended, "While Gene Lies In Prison For Us All". The Songs, to be sure, were enough to damn us for life. Think of any convention in a land of the free wanting to make the "majority victorious", or making "Soviets victorous"! How criminal! And to think that a convention of American workingmen would "stoop so low" as to pay homage in song to a "common prison rat"! What kind of a people could sing, "In a Living

(Continued on page 2.)

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA" DEMANDS McBRIDE.

— By Helen Angur —

NEW YORK.—Several thousand people in Carnegie Hall rose to their feet and cheered for a full minute when Isaac MacBride, journalist and lecturer recently returned from soviet Russia, cried: "It's time to call a halt to this murder and say, 'Hands Off Russia!'"

The purpose of the meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Peoples' Freedom Union, was to demand the immediate resumption of trade with soviet Russia. That demand was voiced from hundreds of throats at the climax of MacBride's description of the titanic miseries caused by the economic blockade by the allies.

"I saw soldiers of the Red Army whose heads had been blown to pieces with shrapnel, bandaged with newspapers," he said. "I saw great fellows gritting their teeth to the ordeal of having arms or legs amputated without the mercy of anesthetics. I saw little children, nourished on the country's best as the strategic resources of the future state, gradually sickening and dying because that best is not enough for them. The country has no drugs, no bandages, and pitifully little food."

"Russia has learned to go hungry and still defy the world against taking her liberty away. The rank and file are dying now for the preservation of that liberty, and for the existence of the soviet state.

"Lenin told me that if he or Trotzky should go out into the streets and advocate the overthrow of the soviet, they would not last 24 hours alive. The rank and file were in arms in March 1917, and they overthrew the czar's regime. In November by power of the same arms and the same will they overthrew the Kerensky government. Tell me, if the armed proletariat of Russia was opposed to this government, do you suppose it could stand for a moment against the power of arms and will?"

Norman Thomas, editor of The World Tomorrow, and Harriet Stanton Blatch, of the Emergency Committee for Russian relief scored the treatment of Russians in America by the present administration. One thousand dollars was contributed to the fund for technical aid to Russia.

SKYGACISMS

HE STILL HARPS ON THE SAME OLD TUNE.

Times have changed wonderfully in the last forty years. New methods of production, transportation and distribution have been installed everywhere. New business alliances and new businesses are everywhere. Everywhere that production has passed the hand-tool stage Capitalism has flourished and the class-struggle has become intensified. Forty years ago while industry was in the craft age Sammy THE Gompers had a lovely little tune of "reward our friends and punish our enemies" that he played on every possible occasion. Today after forty years of dickering, compromise and often downright betrayal of the best interests of labor he is still whanging away on the same old tune.

Times have changed, Samuel, and I very much fear that you will either have to put on a new record or step down and out, making room for one who will put on a new record. Labor cannot reward your friends, Samuel—for your friends are all enemies of labor. Labor will not punish your enemies for YOUR enemies are (generally speaking) Labor's best friends.

• • •

FROM CAUSE TO EFFECT, AS WE MIGHT SAY.

The other day I happened to glance at a little booklet put out to boom some pillpeddlers business, and I read of the following tragic case:

"Case No. 37, J. H. age 56, banker by occupation. Been addicted for many years to alcholic dissipation. Suffered in his younger days from all the venereal diseases." etc. etc.

Get that "banker by occupation"?

And there isn't the slightest possibility of a doubt that he was held up to the youth of his city as a model for them to copy. A model of respectability and all the trimmings! Bah!

He had the cash and theprestege so he could scatter the seeds of "all the venereal diseases" and no doubt at the same time contribute liberally to the local church to hire a pulpit pounder to peddle moralistic platitudes to the dupes of the "age of respectability"!

He could fool society but the same booklet says "the past eight years he has been completely crippled" thus proving that while he could pull the wool of his sham respectability over the eyes of a fool society he could not fool nature—so he is paying the price. Let's drop the filthy thing right here with a warning to beware of the pseudo-respectable when there is every reason to believe their respectability is no greater than the halo reflected by the nature of his occupation and the size of his bankroll.

• • •

A STORY THE S. E. POST WON'T PRINT.

A few weeks ago the POST featured a story written by the Govenor of Kansas to the effect that he, the great governor of Kansas had caused to be enacted into law a bill which would forever make strikes and lockouts an impossibility in the Grasshopper state. Plutepress everywhere copied and commented upon the Kansas anti-strike bill, in envious terms, implying that similar measures should be enacted in all states. The bill in effect was a legislative attempt to legalize slavery and the workingclass of Kansas were not fooled about the measure. This morning paper carries the following story;

"Almost complete paralysis of the Kansas Coal Industry is reported today. The announcement at the headquarters of the coal operators that only four steam hovels were working. No deep mines were working, the miners quitting work in protest against the imprisonment of Alexander Howit for contempt of the new state industrial court."

• • •

LOST STRAYED OR STOLEN.

Lost, strayed or stolen from the people of America — one People's Peace. The last heard of this Peace was along about the time of the springing of the now forgotten fourteen pointless points. A People's peace can easily be recognized as it is always out in the open and all the negotiations are carried on honestly, openly and with full pitiless publicity. Anyone knowing of the whereabouts of a People's Peace anywhere on the Western Hemisphere, please notify us at once.

Science, like everything else is subject to evolutionary processes. It evolves from the vague to the definite.

• • •

Truth is of value only as it serves its owner to achieve a definite aim or ideal.

• • •

The first chapter of Genesis tells us that God separated the light from the darkness the first day and then three days later made the things which gave light—the sun and moon—and he made the stars also! "For signs and for seasons". Still in what we call the enlightened twentieth century, many are the foreheads which are humbled in the dust before the absurdities of that old book.

• • •

Maybe prohibition will work — and maybe it won't. Noah was on the Ark for an hundred and twenty days—with not a saloon in sight—and the very first thing the old rounder done after the ark found a resting place was to get on a regular "bust". It was during that historic drunk that the negro came into existence (according to the inspired scriptures!)—Ham, a white boy, son of Noah, a white man, laughed at his father's drunken antics and got the old man mad. Then Noah the white man called down the curse of God upon his son and turned him black—and sentenced him and his descendants to an eternity of slavery to the white race. A rotten story—but good bible. Ask your pastor, He knows!

VICTORY IN CALIFORNIA

(Continued from page 1.)

Hell Lives The Gene We Love So Well", but a bunch of moral perverts? After such "damning" testimony the court pitied us, the prosecutors looked solumn, and the bourgeoise in the audience looked awed, while the reading of the verses brought to our minds again the tune, and we hummed the song to ourselves over and over again, and smiled in contempt at the insidious interpretations placed upon the song and its heart rending lines.

William F. Kyle, chief raider of the "Loyalty Squad", testified that he made two raids upon Loring Hall, Communist Labor Party Hall, and a like number at the State Headquarters, a block away, bagging seven tons of literature, correspondence, files, and supplies. He swore that on November 18th, on the night of the first raid, he "seized" a half dozen copies of William Z. Foster's book on "Syndicalism", that were offered for "sale" at the literature counter. These books were used as the chief evidence against us. The defense, however, proved to the jury that these books were never in the building on November the 18th, and that they were planted by the police a few months later, and seized in the January 5th raid. This little bit of applied frame-up did more to discredit the prosecution than any thing else.

Upon cross examination, the defense was denied the right to show that the raid was illigal, that the material was siezed and confiscated without the use of a customary search warrant, nor to show willful and malicious destruction of property by the raiders. The reason for this is obvious. The raid was illegal; they could not produce a search warrant. They could not afford to let it be known publicly that "force, violence, terror, and sabotage", the identical charges used against the Communist Laborites, was used solely by the police against the defendants. In the State Office an American Legion man was knocked through a glass door and beaten into insensibility because he protested against the looting of the office by members of the police department. He was laid up in the hospital for days, and months later he lost the temparary use of his mind as a consequence of the brutal beating. This man was tried and acquitted of resisting an officer, when the circumstances of the affair was heard in open court.

Then in rapid succession each one of the defendents were called to the stand as "witness for the prosecution" to identify documents, signitures, propaganda, etc. As the defendents, unlike the prosecutors, had nothing to hide, they "did their bit" willingly.

Then the bunk began. To show that the C. L. P. was out to "overthrow the government by force and violence" they brought forth the Constitution and Platform of the party and pointed out to the jury that the C. L. P. endorsed the principles of the Third Internationale, and read in the Manifesto of the tactics of the Bolsheviki in wresting the government from the hands of the despotic Czar, and the tyrant Kolchak, being careful to avoid reading the principles, the part endorsed by the party.

As the Communist Labor Party recognized the I. W. W. as an industrial union and gave them credit for spreading much good material on the subject of one big unionism, they attempted to show that we singled out the wobblies from the list of half a dozen industrial unions, and indorsed them. With that they brought in what they termed the "propaganda and example of the I. W. W.", which consisted of hair spliting tales of crime, sabotage, violence". All their literature on sabotage, direct action, strikes and the like were introduced into the court as evidence. They also brought an exconvict by the name of Dimond, who claimed to be secretary of the Fresno local of the I. W. W. He testified that the wooblies believed in sabotage, strong arm-crews, violence, direct action, mass action, and the overthrow of the government by "illegal methods". What has this got to do with the Communist Labor Party? you ask. Why, didn't the C. L. P. indorse the I. W. W., and doesn't the I. W. W. believe in violence, and didn't the Communist Labor Party indorse violence when they indorsed Wobblyism? Such is the case of the prostitution, excuse me, prosecution

Dolsen, acting as his own attorney proved that the police used illegal methods in raiding the halls; that the persecution was a well laid plot of certain interests to do away with radical organizations, that the police framed-up the party when they planted books on "Syndicalism" in the hall; that the prosecution deliberately misconstrued the meaning and intent of the Constitution and platform of the party; that they couldn't convict the party on seven tons of literature and material stolen from the party headquarters, but had to bring in another organization, I. W. W., to do the work; that "mass action", "direct action", and "revolutionary action" did not carry with it the meaning of force and violence; that the Communist Labor Party was a political party and that the prosecution should be tried and convicted on every count charged against the defendent.

In another article, I will fully go into the details of the case presented by Dolsen, the attorney, trying the selfsame Dolsen, the defendent.

Suffice it to say that we won a great victory and that the way is paved for a complete victory next time.

As to the other cases: Miss Whitney is out on bail pending her appeal. We expect to get Comrade Wieler out pending appeal before the week is out. The following Comrades go to trial on the following dates if discontinuances are not granted: J. H. Snyder, May 3; J. A. Ragsdale, June 1; John C. Taylor, June 1; C. Alward Tobey, June 15; Edric B. Smith, June 1; Alanson Sessons, June 15, Clarence Tobey, July 1, J. O. Reed, Aug. 1; P. B. Cowdery, still in the police court for "lack of evidence". Dolsen will be retried June 1st.

The Private Detective — [illegible]

This is the second installment of a letter to President Wilson by Stephen A. Doyle, revealing in part the iniquitous system of spying that has been built up in America by private agencies.

"Now, my dear Mr. President, this condition has been spread by private detectives to the four corners of our continent, and those who operate in the open are taken for men from the department of justice. In fact, they advertise themselves as such. If time is not taken by the forelock and private detectives' agencies wiped out, as ex-President Roosevelt suggested, their foul tactics will result in open revolution.

"This is the only nation in the world that tolerates such special privileges. In London they would be arrested and thrown in jail for impersonating an officer. Compare the London strike. I quote from Lord Northcliffe, London Times, October 7, 1919:

"'There are just one or two facts I would like my American friends to realize about what has been the greatest strike in the history of organized labor. This strike on the side of the railway men and of the government as regards methods of meeting its difficulties was so well organized that not one life was lost, not one person was hit by a bullet, and there was not as much roughness in the streets as there is on a public holiday in a great city.

"'Ten years ago, when I acquired control of the London Times, this ancient institution was known as an open shop. It had never allowed trade unionism. I expressed my urgent wish to the mechanical staff that they should become members of the various labor unions. There are now members of 15 different unions working in this and every newspaper office in Great Britain. I believe that the labor unions make for smother relations and without labor unions last week our strike would be a civil war. Here is an example for America, etc., etc.

"No private detectives here— that's why.

"November 1, 1919, $40,000. Just think of it! It was paid to Flanigan of the Thiel Detective Agency, by bankers and manufacturers of Chicago, state of Illionis, and a like amount paid to the other "Big Three" private detective agencies, and $150,000 more was divided among the other sixty agencies.

From the Inside.

"To show clearly their devilish activities, private operatives, known as (covered operatives) presented themselves to a president of one of the local unions; presented their "red cards" and asked to be allowed to speak, and were granted permission. One after another, they denounced the president (yourself) first, then flung the constitution to the four winds of heaven and took charge of the White House. A few days after their introduction came the unusual proposition. 'We will get into the plant, blow up the center machinery, and it will then take them six months to repair the damage.' The president of the local union refused, and they set about to get control of the union, consequently determined to be honest. Mr. president had to call a federal officer for protection. The president of the union until this day believes that bunch of covered private detectives to be true union radicals. What means has he of knowing differently? The motive was to dynamite the plant, kill the employes, the same as the Los Angels Times building.

"The chiefs were determined not to be outdone, as they endeavored to reach him through one of his own men, who made the following propostion:

"'It cost $30,000 to put in the big fuse. We can gain access to the building. I have it fixed with one of the watchmen, and I got a man that will dynamite the big fuse It will take three mouths to fix it. Give us $250 and will pull it off.' The president stood the acid test, saying: 'Be gone from me, Satan.'

"This miserable failure infuriated the superintendent of the works, so that he swung out his dragnet, got two of his perjurers to get in conversation with the labor leader, then went to the prosecuting attorney, swore that he had threatened their lives, and said he would burn up their homes and their families with them, and he was then and there arrested with attempting to commit murder an darson, and placed under $10,000 bonds, and on the black list. He is a foreigner, but a citizen, otherwise he would be on the 'ark.' Still some call this cussedness 'loyal' Americanism.

"I will give you one more specific case of the thousands I could relate:

"Bromelay Witkiewitz worked for a big corporation for 15 years. He is of Russian birth, but a fullfledged American. Physically, mentally and morally he is a perfect specimen of manhood; has a wife and five children. Private detectivees were employed at his shop, one of the spotters, under bonds of $20,000 for murder, reported Woitkievicz and he was discharged. Shortly after a strike was declared at the shop where he formerly worked. He walked down the street where the men were assembled and a private detective shot him, the bullet passing clear through his lungs. He was laid up in the hospital for three months, and his wife had to go out and work to feed the little ones, and in a delicate condition.

"He returned from the hospital and started to look for employment, but faced the black list. Just think—blacklisted by a murderer. A small firm finally took him in and employed him.

"On January 2, 1920, his house, 2223 West Twenty-first street, was raided. The raid was directed by the private detectives of his former employer, who poisoned the minds of the department of justice men. He pleaded his innocence and told them his wife was in the labors of childbrith, and he wanted to go for the doctor; but neither courtesy nor mercy was shown either him or his suffering wife, but he was bundled to jail leaving five little babes screaming in the ears of the bewildered and suffering mother. He landed at the jail, together with a bundle of "red" literature, supposedly. There he was subject to the infamous third degree. One selfstyled secret service man said: 'Joe don't you know when we had our picture taken at the hall? You know me all right.' Failing on this tact, he turned to the 'red' pamphlets. 'Look at this.' Written in Polish, sure enough, but it turned out to be booklets of the Sacred Heart Society, and on turning the first leaf the Master's bleeding heart was revealed. This enraged the captain of the police, who understood. He came forward and said: 'Did you fools ever see a man with the like of this in his house against his country? Go home, my man to your wife, quick. I'll vouch for you,' and he departed with a heavy heart.

Fighting the Unborn.

On his arrival home he found a new born child. It was then 2:15 a. m., but no doctor to care for child or mother so he had to go, and came pretty near the jail again as the same squad of legalized bandits were shadowing him, but he succeeded in saving the lives that will go to sustain our independence. "It costs millions of dollars per month to keep up this astounding spread of offices. With their numberless operatives, who pays them and what do they do? Abolish them—wipe them out—they are a menace to society.

"We cannot conscientiously say that organized labor is against a government, that they wish to control everything, even private and public officers. The fault lies in the dangerous reptiles who first gain the confidence of the employers by poisoning his mind with lies; then, on the other hand, they have their Judas characters in the ranks of organized labor. Their business is to spread the bubonic plague against the employers there, and so far they succeeded at the sacrifice of numberless innocent lives.

"I plead to you now for your country, as I did when the big railroad strike threatened the nation's commercial welfare in 1911, and the private detective menace has been allowed to increase until today it is virtually beyond control.

"I know the chief of the department of justice, Mr. Flynn, will agree with me—abolish them, they are dangerous. Having bribed churches and courts that they may set their hellhounsd on the innocent, unprotected people. "The System's" stifling and barbaric methods have ruled with a rod that has broken hearts and lives; driven numberless young girls to lives of white slavery; have driven the mothers to the destruction of the unborn babe, and slaughtered fathers, the bone and sinew of our nation, with a ruthlass hand that defies the possibility of curbing and have plunged its poisonous dagger into the bosom of 'the Goddess of Liberty' and is slowly but surely bleeding her to death.

"This 'system' is vexatious to the great majority of the people. In fact, vexatious to the entire nation, and should be dealt with from a sanctified viewpoint, reinforced by political authority, and abolished. Then private interests would be obliged to respect the honesty and efficacy of the department of justice, which is provided by our government to adjust the grievances of all; this would satisfy organized workers, and if not, why not, meet with the approbation of organized capital? It is up to to you to open the door of opportunity and find out.

"Pinkerton, Thiel and Burns, private detective syndicates, with one hundred offices in the United States of America, with 10,000 other local agencies, with 133,000 operatives, 75 per cent. under disguise, in labor organizations at an expense of $6,000,000 every 30 days, has rendered the department of justice of our government insecure, as well as a sewerage through which they drain their filth, and also made it a target of malignity. This should attract your most sincere thought and action. Open the door of opportunity to both the chosen representatives of organized labor and capital to enter into collective bargaining; that door, which private detectives have long since closed, in order to satisfy their own selfish 'lust for gold.'

"In conclusion, I wish to say that I have neither bias nor prejudice against any individual, but deem it my duty to draw your attention to this system, damnable and ungodly, and ask you to take steps to abolish it, and save our country from revolution, which they are endeavoring to bring on."

"Sincerely yours,

'STEPHEN A. DOYLE,

"Detective, 472-4 Transportation Building, Chicago, Ill."

[illegible]

LONDON, May [illegible].—The London dockers are the first organized group of workers to demonstrate their solidarity with Soviet Russia in its battle against the Polish imperialists.

The dockers have forced the unloading of the ship Jolly George, which was to have sailed today loaded with guns, planes and ammunition for the Polish army. All the munitions were unloaded into barges and the owners were forced to promise not to attempt to load any other ship with them.

The rank and file of the London dock workers are resolved to prevent all other attempts to send war supplies to any country at war with the Soviet republic.

It is learned here on excellent authority that arrangements are being made to supply the Polish armies with munitions through the agency of the American Red Cross.

Resentment against such action is very high in labor circles here. The question is being asked, "Is this what the money collected in the big drive last fall on a pretext of furthering Red Cross peace work is really being used for?"

The Black Sheep.

[illegible]

The next day Jack borrowed a row boat from a neighbor and rowed out to a little island in the lake, ostensibly in search of a fishing ground. Rudolph and Collins stayed in the cabin and busied themselves with their study of theoretic economics. Shortly after Jack was gone, Rudolph picked up the note book which he had used on his trip, and carelessly paged thru it. Then suddenly something he saw in its pages arrested this attention, and he began to read carefully the more or less illegible chirography in which Jack had penned his diary.

"I will tell you Ed." said he, addressing Collins who was busy with a volume of "The Data of Ethics by Herbert Spencer" "that kid has remarkable knack for observing things."

"He has that," agreed Collins.

"This trip ought to teach him a few lessons in the class struggle, for he surely reflected on what was happening. That is more than a good many of the slaves do. He is not of the ordinary sort."

"Hell! he knows that himself. That is what gives him the idea of the type conflict in the world. Didn't you hear him bawl me out the other day for posing as a second edition of Jesus Christ. I don't like that type stuff he dreams about, in fact I feel duty bound to deny it. But then he gets under my skin just the same. What do you find in that book?"

"Listen to this!" 'Dec. 30, Arrived at Red Lodge and went out to the job. Met five men coming out. They told me they had been on the job where I was going. I asked them how long they had been on the job, and it seems as none of them had stayed a week. All the information they could give me was summed up in three phrases. "Punk grub."—"Lousy bunks"—"Heluva boss". Does not look very inviting, but as I am nearly strapped I must dig in, that is if I am put on.'

"They are normal men, these workers I have just passed. They are strong and able bodied. Perhaps they have not much intelligence, but that is quite dispenable in ordinary work. But never mind I'll find out for myself just what I am up against.

"It is strange how these men blame themselves for their misfortunes. The doctrine of sin has warped even the brains of rough necks. Let me recall and write down some of their exact statements: This is one: "If I had saved my money I would not need to be looking for a job like that. I made good money a year ago and I blew it all in. Now I'm up against it. It's my own fault. I have nobody to blame." The poor fish. Their brains are the echo boxes of sky pilots. The skypilots teach them that they are totaly depraved and they swallow it. They only echo, they never think. I didn't think myself or I would not be here. — — — and yet in a way I did think, for Rudolph and Collins told me what I would be up against, but I did not believe them. I thought for myself. Did I? Like hell I did. My mind was echoing the advice of George and Herman, not to remain idle but to find a job. George and Herman were eastern men; they knew nothing of western conditions. On this point their advice was as good as the preacher's advice is about heaven. They had not been there. No I did no thinking. Damn me! I just believed without reflecting. But I'm in it, and I'll come out again with just one more lesson learned.

It's getting late in the afternoon. I am sitting on a large rock beside the railroad track as I write. It's three miles to the camp where I am to work so I had better be on my way. If any body should find these notes on my cadaver, I hope they'll send them to our local parson so that that good man may see that I have improved in language since I left home."

"That last part shows his mind's reaction to his early training," Collins commented.

"Get this," 'Dec. 31—Well I'm here and the first day is over. Night is settling over the mountains. I wish the night of eternity would settle on that boss. His name is Kelly. He is a powerful man from the ears down. If he ever had a haircut he'd be headless. He has splendid teeth. They are the only thing which supports his eyes. Oh yes, the camp! It is awful. Ramshackle old shacks. Lousy bunks. NO soap, no towels. Made a kick about it to some of the men but they are afraid to say anything for fear of being fired. Yet few of them stay more than five days. Some are canned each evening and others take their place in the morning. They don't keep them on the job long enuf to get acquainted with one another. Apparently you can't make them talk about improving conditions. They seem to have but one idea, and that is to make a stake and beat it. Every one is looking for his personal advantage. Collins would say they lack social sense. But why the adjective?"

"This place would make me good mistic if I didn't know that the boys are in the cabin, and George and Herman somewhere in the east," Rudolph concluded.

"God bless his homely hide," Collins remarked. That was as near to uttering a prayer as he had come in the last six bitter years of his life. Thus Rudolph ran along reading notes from the boy's book. It was a diary recording events, and making good hummed and philosofical comment. Suddenly he stopped reading aloud and continued silently for a few moments, then Collins stirred restlessly in his chair. "Well," he growled, "have the hinges of your jaws rusted. Why doncha read?"

"I am reading," Rudolph retorted.

"I notice that, but why hog it all to your self. There is no gas meter on your breath, is there?"

"Read it yourself," Rudolph said quietly, as he handled the book to his friend. Seated himself on a box by his side. Together they read Jack's letter to Olive Anderson, as he had written it in his note book while lost in the Coer D' Aleve Mountains.

"Ahem! So that was what was eating on him," Collins observed as he arose and went to the water pail for a drink. "That is what caused him to leave us, and go on that wild goose chase after a job. Do you know that I had a hunch, when that Jane was talking to him they were getting each others goat."

"Just wait till he comes back; we will tease the life out of him," Rudolph suggested.

"Nix on that stuff," the other replied. "I am only too glad to see that the kid is yet capable of dreaming. He will be awakened soon enough. "Let him have his dream." He pulled a pencil from his pocket and upon a blank leaf of the note book he wrote,

My Dear Miss Anderson:—

The enclosed pages were written by the boy who spoke to you while we were in jail at Anamoose. I just found them in his note book and feeling sure that he would never send them, I take the liberty to do so. I believe that you should know the deep impression your visit made upon our young friend.

His present address, should you care to write him is J. Thurston, Harrison, Idaho. Sincerely, E. C.

He tore the pages out of the book and together with his note addressed them to Miss Anderson, (Daughter of the real estate man) Anamoose, N. D.

"Are you going to send that to her?" Rudolph queried.

"I sure am," was the curt reply.

"You'll get a correspondence started between them."

"What of it".

"I'd hate to see him get interested in that Bourgeois mutt. It might even draw him back into that class. A skirt blindfolded many a man."

"Yes there is a possibility that she could draw him back," Collins agreed. "But if she can, he ougt to go back. On the other hand he might draw her out of the bourgeois class and make her a power to the radical movement. We need women. They are like queens in the bee hive of labor. Men naturally rally around them. The human female is a very potent yet much neglected factor in human organization. If all women were banished to Siberia I dare say that there would be a heavy male emigration in that direction in a mighty short time."

"Awe, you're crazy! Women are a detriment to working class organization. When men go on strike, they urge them to go back and scab. Their whole mind dwells on the present moment. The immediate safety and comfort for themselves and brats. That is all they think about. They have neither thot nor vision for the future. Safety here, and joy in heaven is the sum total of their psychology."

"Oh, shut up!" growled Collins. "If it weren't for a woman you wouldn't be in the world."

"If I weren't in the world I'd be a darned sight better off."

"The world would be, you mean," Collins retorted, as he put on his boots preparatory to going out.

"Quo Vadis?" queried Rudolph.

"To Harrison, to get this off on the next boat," he answered. "I'm going to set that kid's soul on fire, simply because it will stimulate his ambition. I feel sure that he will climb whether he goes into the capitalist or the working class. And I also feel sure that girl will help him climb no matter what class he is in." So saying he left the cabin and disappeared down the trail.

Rudolph stood at the cabin door and looked after the retreating form of his friend. "He is a puzzle, I tell you he is a puzzle," he told himself. "That is nothing but sentiment and I always said he didn't have any.

(To be continued next week).

Ruminations of a Rebel.

— By Tom Clifford —

The premier howler of the bourgeoisie in these troublous times is George Horace Lorimer, editor of the Saturday Evening Post. Week after week he spouts his lamentations over the "unrest" that prevails, and spreads himself over two pages of his paper in a frantic effort to supply a remedy. George Horace seems to be all worked up over the nation's condition, and varies his fits by occassionally switching from denunciation of labor's demand for more of its product to seathing criticism of his own class. He is especially severe in his diagnosis of Congress, declaring that the safeguarding of bourgeois interests demand "business men" only at Washington. In a late issue he manifests considerable perturbation, over the Socialist doctrine of "the brotherhood of man," which he interprets "dividing up." George expresses an unwillingness to go "50-50" on anything, and especially in the performance of useful labor, and is real peeved over the idea that men of "ability" like himself, are

(Continued on page 4.)

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

Be a Scab

The Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland is Johnnie-on-the-spot when the interests of its members, the employers and exploiters of some 200.000 Cleveland workers, are menaced. The switch men's strike, which all along was played up in the capitalist press as of little moment "settled" and all over "in a day or two", has gotten the goat, so to say, of the profit-takers. The "outlaw" strike, which refuses to be settled by promises has thrown the whole industrial machinery of the country out of kelter. Cleveland factories are not alone in closing their doors for lack of raw materials and shipping facilities. In the meantime the "outlaws" proceed to organize their own union and are making great headway.

The capitalist press reports that last week the Chamber mailed to 4.000 members in Cleveland a circular letter in which the statement was made that only 137 of the normal 293 switch engines in Cleveland yards were working and that many yards were worse handicapped. While it is agreed, says the statement that the switchmen have a just grevience, they are taking the wrong method to get it adjusted. No one would expect the Chamber of Commerce to say that a strike was ever justified. To strike is to stop production. To stop production is to stop profits. The stoppage of the bosses' profits is of course unjust and immoral from the profit-taker's viewpoint.

The purpose of the circular was not however, to settle the strike along the lines of fairness to the strikers. Its real purpose and the methods by which it hopes to accomplish the defeat of the workers was to have every employer of the city who harboured a railroader on his pay roll to "suggest" and "encourage" these workers to take the striker's places and start boosting profits as of yore. Workers generally know what this means. A "suggestion" to go scabbing coming from one's boss is tantamount to an invitation to quit. Thus by all employers following suit, it is hoped to drive the strikers back to their dangerous tasks at the same old rate of exploitation while the strike is being settled in a manner perfectly satisfactory to the Chamber of Commerce and exploiters generally.

In such illuminating manner is the Chamber of Commerce revealed as the arch-enemy of the workers — the voice and tool of the employing class to maintain the regime which is the source of its thousands of per cent profits wrung from the sweat and blood of the workingclass.

It is commendatory of the class consciousness of Cleveland workers that no large number have or will fall for this game in which only deeper enslavement awaits them. Six weeks of scab hunting have netted precious few so low in the scale of class consciousness and fellow feeling as to accept the offers of the employers to become scabs.

Another Fallacy

Now that the politician is abroad, the capitalist press loudly proclaiming the virtues of political action and politicians hungering for an opportunity to save the nation, we hear a good deal about the golrious ballot and its usefulness in the hands of a free people to bring about such change as they desire without resorting to any of the "violent" methods of an aroused constituency, such as mass action, strikes, etc.

It is safe to assert that the virtues which the capitalist apologists find in the use of the ballot reflect their desire for its exclusive use as a weapon by the workers. Else it would not advocate its use. If the public press had ever advocated any measure which actually benefitted the workers as against the capitalist class, we would be prone to listen to their advice in these troublous days. But we challenge it to prove that it ever in one single instance advocated any thing which would tend in one iota to change the status of the slave class and the master class.

When we consider the source of public information, how controlled by capitalism is the fountain from which the public receives its ideas, the school, the church, the daily capitalist press—when we consider the hold upon the minds of the people which this vile press has, then we begin to realize why it is so insistent upon the use of the ballot only as a means to bring about changes in the government and social conditions. It is perfectly safe in advocating its use. Does it not control almost completely the information which the public obtains and can obtain upon the issues at stake? It has no competitors. The workers, because of the pitifully small class-consciousness among them have no virile press, no powerful means of telling the truth about any public question. This is realized the moment a strike of importance takes place. Strikes are lost daily because the workers are unable to get the facts of the case before the workers of other localities and trades. The capitalist press is on the job every moment in every city of every land. It is fulfilling its mission of supporting without any hesitancy whatever course is most advantageous to the particular local capitalist group it represents and the capitalist system at large.

To prate of democracy, the free ballot and such like when the source of opinion and information is wholly on one side is preposterous and misleading. Where such inequality exists in getting information before the people, where one side is played up and the other down, where perversion is the rule and misinformation the purpose, what hypocricy to then advocate in smugly written editorials an extended use of the ballot by workers to bring about the establishment of conditions which make for freedom and progress!

In this, as in all other of its publicity is seen the hand of the profit-taker and exploiter. To fool the worker, to pervert the information he receives, if it cannot be absolutely controlled, is its function and purpose.

How satisfactorily to the master class it succeeds is seen in the prosperity in which it basks.

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An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

— By W. R. REYNOLDS. —
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OUTLINE FOR UPPER BARBARISM.

Beginning	Began with the smelting of iron.
Tools and Weapons	Copper, bronze and iron. Swords and various cutting tools. Plows.
Transportation	On land, wheeled vehicles. On water, sail boats and slave-propelled galleys.
Subsistence	Cooked provisions in great abundance and variety.
Shelter	Houses of hewn plank, stone and brick. Temples.
Clothing	Hand woven fabrics of wool, cotton and flax fibres.
Environment	All climates except frigid, development of cities and trading marts, agricultural and herding occupations for the lower classes. Also artisan work. Leisure, and ease with great show of gaudy dignity for the upper class. Usual causes of charge due to ethnic and telluric condition.
Organization	Development of the kingdom with armies and paid retainers. Class struggle conditions of master and slave. Patriarchal family, monogamous marriage. Development of the military, religious and slave castes.
Arts and Institutions	Manufacture and commerce.
Duration	Shorter than the middle age of barbarism.

CHAPTER NINE.

Barbarism upper age.

The Upper Age of Barbarism began with the smelting of iron.

The smelting of iron made possible a greater variety of tools and weapons, particularly those having a keen cutting adge, such as knives, axes, swords, etc. With the greater perfection of tools came greater skill in the industrial arts. Technical knowledge depends upon technical instruments. Iron made technical instruments possible.

Keen cutting tools gave an impetus to woodworking. From the rolling of sections of logs, the idea of the wheel and axle evolved. This in turn had its effect upon land transportation, making the moving of heavier burdens possible. All primitive wheels were solid—being merely a section of a comparatively round log. The tendency of a section of log to split owing to the end thrust of the loaded axle, gave rise to the idea of binding the wheel with an iron tire. It is significant to note that Moses could not defeat the Hitites "because they had iron-shod wagons".

The development of the keen cutting tool and the institution of slavery gave an impetus to the building of larger boats. These were propelled by sails and also by large numbers of slaves chained to oars.

The shelter of upper barbarism was very similar to the former period except that the making of adobe had evolved to the burning of brick. The development of slavery and institutional life during this period gave rise to the more elaborate architecture of fanes and temples. These were usually built of brick, as the development of slavery was the ideal institution for the development of the brickmaking industry.

The coming of iron tools brought more improved looms, and cotton and flax fibres were added to the raw materials of weaving. The leisure, with its consequent desire for gaudy show which the institution of chattel slavery gave to the masters of that day, greatly stimuellated the of weaving. The art of dyeing fabrics came into existence at this time due to the necessity of having different coloured garments for the different castes — the masters wearing light, the priests, blue and the workers, red garments. Purple was also used by the masters as trimmings,—the insignia of mastery.

Nearly all races have their legend of a flood or floods. It is the consensus of opinion amongst scientists that these floods were due to one or both of two causes — the sinking of large portions of land areas beneath the waters of the sea, such as the legendary continents of Atlantis and Lemuria, or the flood waters due to the passing of the glacial period. These catastrophes overcame the Aryan race while they were passing thru their upper age of Barbarism, and perhaps greatly lengthened the duration of that age due to the annihilation of vast numbers of the people with a consequent retarding of industrial development.

We should not be unmindful of the fact that historical epochs of industrial evolution must not be confused with chronological history. Epochs of industrial evolution are based upon the mode of development of the tools of production of a given race. Thus while the Aryan race, and to a large extent the Mongolian race have developed far into civilization, there are yet races who today, live in barbarism and even savagery.

Improved methods of production and transportation gave an impetus to commerce. The complexity of social relations between the various tribes due to the necessities of commerce forced the federation of tribes into a closer organization for military protection against invasion from outside hostile hordes. This laid the foundation for the perpetuation of the military caste and gave origin to the military dictator or king. Thus the chiefs of lower barbarism became the kings of later periods.

It was during the age of upper barbarism that the Patriarchal Family developed to its highest power. The laws of inheritance made necessary the outward observance of the monogamous family relation. Monogamy while obligatory upon the part of the woman due to the fact that man ojected to bequeathing his property to another man's son, was usually never more than an outward show upon the part of man.

At this age the last remnant of female supremacy and descent vanished, due to the fact that private property was exclusively in the hands of the male. The Patriarchal Family marked the beginning of male supremacy and descent. This was a military necessity which grew out of the defense of property.

Military necessity developed the state. The state developed and conformed to territorial limitations which corresponded exactly with the industrial developments of the period when land was the unit of industry. Industry was then basically territorial, which gave rise to the present day political sub-divisions of the nations, based upon territorial lines.

SUMMARY.

The epoch of Barbarism is divided into three great ages, lower, middle and upper.

The lower age of barbarism began with the discovery of the art of pottery-making.

The middle age of barbarism began in the Eastern hemisphere among the Aryan Race with the domestication of animals and the development of agriculture. In the Western hemisphere among the Red race agriculture was developed without the domestication of animals. The American Continents seem to be devoid of animals suitable for domestication.

The upper age of barbarism began with the discovery of the art of smelting iron.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER NINE.

Upper Barbarism.

1. What industrial development marked the beginning of upper barbarism?
2. Upon what does technical knowledge depend?
3. Explain the development of the wheel and tire.
4. What was the economic effect of a leisure class?
5. Explain the origin of the legends of the flood.
6. Explain the difference between chronological time and historical epochs.
7. Are there still races in the world passing through the stages of barbarism?
8. What was the effect upon commerce of improved methods of production?
9. Explain the origin of the military dictator.
10. What is the difference between a chief and a king?
11. Was the monagamous family a fact or a fancy?
12. What effect did private property have upon female supremacy and descent?
13. Explain the economic reasons for the development of the state.
14. Why did the state develop along territorial lines?
15. What was the unit of industry during this age?
16. Is there any relation between the state of that day and the preset day?
17. Did the Patriarchal Family develop because of private property or did the private property develop because of the Patriarchal Family?
18. Explain the origin of chattel slavery?
19. Give the economic reason for different colored garments for different classes and castes?
20. Name the three great discoveries which marked the ages of barbarism.

(Continued next week)

SPARKS

Just a very few left—Code of Labor Laws of Soviet Russia. They can be had from us for 60c per hundred. Elsewehere you must pay 10c a copy. Need we say—order now!

"I am going to raise—with the slaves here" writes G. B. of San Francisco. He orders a package of Soviet Labor Code. Good way to do it we say.

You subscribers whose subscriptions expire in May—have you renewed your subscription? Don't let us have to throw a brick to wake you up.

Yes, it costs money to print a newspaper.

Marguerite Prevey speaks at Moline, Ill., on Sunday the 16th.

She will speak at Byesville, O. on the 11th and 12th of may.

Literature sales and subscriptions are still moving at Youngstown. That's because the live ones there refuse to quit.

A nice bunch of subs. arrived recently from W. B. C. of Pittsbnrg. All yearlies too.

Sure he got a premium.

From out in Wyoming comes a literature order from comrade Georgeff.

Comrade L. of Sandusky sends a dollar for 4 trial subscriptions for fellow workers. It's an International Labor Day donation, he says.

Have you remitted for your Labor Day stamps? Do it now.

Judging by the number of literature orders which we are receiving there is no diminution in the amount of desire for information about Socialism these days. From states near and distant and towns large and small they come to The Toiler for the best literature of the Revolution.

It is reported that a small-sized guy with a Charlie Chaplin mustache has been making numerous inquiries of Portsmouth comrades. Just tell them where to go comrades, they arn't worth a minute of your time.

Comrade H. writes that the "Full Dinner Pail" would make a good slogan for the old parties' Punch and Judy show if there was any thing to be gotten to put in it.

Comrade Border, one of the new Kansas City readers sends in a literature order and a compliment to the Toiler. Thanks, we like them both.

Jeanette, Pa., was place on the Toiler map last week when comrade P. sent in those 9 subscriptions. Good work.

Of course comrade B. of Mansfield is still on the job. Nice list of subscriptions proves it.

And comrade Berry has been busy at Pomeroy too.

Which is just as true of comrade Mrs. L. at Canton.

Which indicates that all reds fall for The Toiler sooner or later.

Including comrade K. of Akron, who sends three new ones.

A nice literature order, a contribution to the defense and cartoon funds arrived last week from comrade D. of Portsmouth. Just shows how the live ones there behave.

Comrade R. of Battle Creek finds time to round up a couple of new subscribers.

Producing a bumper crop of class conscious socialists is a job that comrade L. has cut out for himself. His method is to systematically distribute the right kind of literature. We have that kind. He gets a package. Watch results.

Comrade C. Balino, of Cuba writes for a copy of Two Minute Talks.

Comrade Workman sends us a handfull of subscriptions from W. Va. this week. Keeping on the job seems to be his motto.

THE CARTOON FUND

A Ouija Board Hunch.

"Here's a dollar for the Cartoon Fund. After the arrival of the last paper I just couldn't keep this one in my pocket. My ouija board told me that this cartoon had ispired a feeling of unrest in him and he wanted this dollar to join his comrades in the Cartoon Fund, so I had to release him."

John M. Scott.

Whew! With both the quick and the dead working for the Cartoon Fund it sure ought to grow. Let's see what the last week's receipts show.

Previously subscribed	$47.50
John M. Scott	1.00
M. A. Martin	1.00
Schumacher	1.60
Alois Able	50
John Wagner	2.50
A. Aman	50
Samuel Royer	50
Steve Basich	50
Robert Dodge	1.00
J. Preikszas	50
Frank Kino	50
Emil Barouth	50
Effie B. Main	60
Mike Sosnow	75
S. Katz	50
W. M. Reider	2.00
Total	61.95
Expense	83.92

Has YOUR ouija board any thing to say about this?

THE CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY
— By Ralph Chaplin —
Every worker should read the conspiracy of the lumber interests of the North West to destroy the I. W. W. and how that conspiracy resulted in the tragedy at Centralia on Armistice Day.
50c postpaid
Address The Toiler.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

--- By Linn A. E. G

Mexico City, April 29, (By mail). — Is the Sonora revolution a Proletarian Revolution or not? If it is not so far, can it be made one? Are the leaders of the revolt real friends of the working class who for reason of prudence, supposed or actual, have avoided telling their whole aims to the public?

These questions are being debated with much intensinity by the labor organizations of Mexico and opinion is sharply divided.

It has been my belief all along that the northern outbreak is financed by American financial interests to pave the way, either for intervention or for annexation. The circumstances are suspicious. The revolutionists have made questionable bed-fellows in their efforts to overthrow Carranza. If they are not actually in the pay of Wall Street, it would seem they are but one set of politicians trying to oust another, and that they are doing precisely the thing that will deliver their country into the hands of the interventionists, even if that is farther from their intentions. Several American warships have been dispatched to Mexican ports ostensibly to protect American citizens and large numbers of American trops are being massed on the border. No sane person questions that intervention will come if the revolution drags out for a long period.

The Communist Party of Mexico, the one really revolutionary body in the republic, has issued a manifesto warning all workers to keep out of the squabble and to take no sides. The party feels that one side is not essentially superior to the other and sees no use in jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

At the same time, the Communist Party's manifesto explicitly declares that if it becomes convinced that a different course of action will be more conducive to Communist ends, it would change its tactics accordingly.

To date, we Communists are "from Missouri". We know that there are some in the Sonora movement who are excellent Radicals. We know that there are others in the movement who are just the usual lot of scaly, smoth-tongued, office-and-money-seeking politicians. We believe that the aggregation is getting arms from the United States. We know that Villa and Pelaez, both bandits who have long been in American pay, are with the Obregonistas.

We want definite assurance backed by facts and proofs, before we endorse, either conditionally or wholly, any such movement.

Meanwhile, these facts are submitted for what they are worth to the reader.

Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles, head of military operations of the rebels, was until a few months ago, Secretary of Commerce and Industry under Carranza. Defenders of Sonora say that Carranza appointed Calles to kill his popularity, knowing that he would probably make enemies among the workers, if he acted in such capacity. They claim that Carranza did everything possible to put Calles "in wrong" with the unions and that altho nominally an official, he really had almost no authority. He was not even allowed to name his own inspectors, it is said. In the big Orizaba strike he favored the strikers and succeeded in keeping Carranza from sending troops to break the strike. Finally, unable to accomplish anything for labor, he resigned rather than be misjudged by the workers. He is, I am told, a member of the Yucatan Socialist Party. An admirer of Calles said yesterday that "what Calles does not know about the international Socialist movement is not worth knowing," and described the large radical library that Calles has.

Governor Adolfo de la Huerta of Sonora, who has just been named "provisional President of Mexico" by the secessionists, is also reputed to be a member of the Yucatan Socialist Party and a real Radical. It is claimed that when the Bisbee miners were deported into the Arizona desert, de la Huerta provided refuge and protection for many of them who crossed the Mexico line. He also forced the Phelps-Dodge Corporation to pay decent wages and provide proper working surroundings for its employes in Sonora, and gave it such a scare that it went much farther than required and even built rest rooms, swimming pools, etc, for the workers!

Obregon, when Secretary of War under Carranza, initiated some radical measures, and at the time gained the reputation of a full-fledged Socialist. He commandeered coaches and horses in the street when needed during the revolution, imposed heavy taxes on merchants, provided a double tax when the regular payments were not met promptly, and punished some of the recalcitrant capitalists by imprisoning them in the penitentiary. A few were put to work at convict labor, cleaning streets in Mexico City. In his recent campaign, Obregon has made a principal appeal on his plank of restoration of land to the peons in small tracts, giving each family what it can properly cultivate and no more. Carranza promised land restoration to the masses but the promise has never been carried out except in isolated instances. Most of the cases of confiscation have simply resulted in transfer of the land from peons of the Diaz regime to generals and politicians in the favor of the administration.

On the other hand, it is believed by many that Obregon has lost most of his early Radicalism. His transactions with the Allies during the war, when he sold thousands of dollars' worth of "garbanzas" to Hoover, have dulled the edge of much of the enthusiasm that Radicals formerly entertained for him.

A friend of Alvarado and supporter of Obregon, trying to convince me that the workers of Mexico would fare much better if Obregon ruled the country than if Carranza's man, Bonillas came into power, reminded me of Carranza's action in breaking the general strikes in Mexico City and Tampico a year ago and of his appointment to the governorship of Quintana Roo, of the army officer who was responsible for the outrages against the Socialist Party of Yucatan. I answered that despicable as were these acts, we had no assurance that Obregon would do differently. Even if Obregon's impulses were friendly to the workers, he would not be free to obey them if he owed his elevation to power to the aid of American business interests.

The rejoinder was that Obregon will be as radical as possible when he gains power but that he will not spoil things by attempting too much at once and that he has permitted special stress to be put on his alleged friendship for the United States so that he would be left unmolested in waging his revolution. My reply was that it was not necessary for him to say things he did not mean, for American big Business hates Carranza so much that it would certainly do nothing to hinder any uprising against him. The mere public declaration by Obregon that he was trying to overthrow Carranza would have been enuf to guarantee immunity from trouble with Yankee monied interests.

There are many American Radicals, to say nothing of Mexican Radicals at home, who would join Obregon's ranks if it were not for these positive assurances by Calles and de la Huerta that property owners will not be troubled. My friend answered **that it was true that the Sonoras had compromised with American interests in order to have Uncle Sam keep hands off and that, as a result, it would be impossible to socialize American property, altho other property would be socialized in short order. I could see little to be gained in that way. If American property is not socialized, what under the sun is there to socialize, anyway?**

Presumably an authoritative statement of the aims of the Sonora insurgents is the "Plan of Agua Prieta", a manifesto issued in the city of that name April 23. The last article of the plan explicitly says:

"The supreme commander will afford all legal protection and enforcement of their legal rights to all citizens and foreigners and ESPECIALLY FAVOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL INDUSTRIES, PUSINESS AND COMMERCE IN GENERAL."

Nothing very Bolshevistic about that, is there? If a Wall Street attorney had drafted the clause, he probably would not have used much different language than this very phraseology.

Nor is this all. We have the words of Governor de la Huerta of Sonora. The **New York World** telegraphed him for a statement as to the reasons for secession and the policies that the rebel government would prusue. In a telegram dated Hermosillo, April 13, de la Huerta closed by saying:

Under this principle, the entire public administration **as well as ordinary commercial life, will be continued as before. The order of things remains unchanged** and the entire state and government under my charge is firm in its purpose of **continuing to accord, both to Mexicans and foreigners, all the guarantees conceded to them by the law of the land**".

So impressed was the headline writer of the **World** with this declaration that he inserted in the head of the article, "Order Being Maintained; Business Life is Normal."

But let us now turn to the editorial pages of the **San Antonio Light**, an American paper that has never been guilty of anything but fierce hostility toward all forms of Radicalism and one near enuf to the border to know where of it speaks. An editorial a few days ago, captioned, "Why Obregon is Opposed", begins by quoting an unnamed person as saying that "**Obregon is hostile to the anti-American policy of Carranza.**" These extracts are also significant:

"**It was only when Obregon announced his international policy of friendship with the United States that the clouds began to gather...** It is not so much because Obregon wants Mexico to attain such prosperity, as because he wants to accomplish that end thru the most natural and logical means—friendship and cooperation with the United States — that makes his election to the presidency so undesirable to Carranza. Obregon's platform is unique in the history of Mexican politics. Its chief plank is a pledge of friendship with the United States. No other candidates for the presidency of Mexico has ever gone before the people on such a platform... When Americans realize that Carranza's objection to Obregon is primarily a result of a conflict between their respective policies with respect to the United States — the one a policy of bigoted hostility, and the others a policy of liberal interchange of needs—the action of Sonora will not be looked upon as 'just another Mexican revolution.'"

Now, when the capitalist press of the United States, commends a foreign politician as manifesting "friendship for the United States", we may always understand that friendship to really be friendship for Wall Street.

The news that the bandit chief, Manuel Pelaez, who has so long lorded it over the Tampico and Tuxpam oil district, has joined in supporting Obregon with his bandid-soldiers, is also not without meaning. Pelaez, it is generally known, has been financed by the petroleum kings for some time. Let us take the words of a reasonable and reliable witness, L. J. de Bekker, the correspondent for the **New York Tribune**, whose articles were so fair that his paper would not accept then and he sold them to the **Nation**. On page 27 of "The Plot Against Mexico", de Bekker says:

"I said to the oil men: 'Why don't you shut off this blackmail and make your peace with Mr. Carranza? No doubt your stockholders could use to advantage the $200.000 a month you are giving Pelaez, and he doesn't seem to be delivering the goods.' 'We can't,' was the invariable reply. 'He would blow up our wells if we did. Besides. the state department at Washington knows each and every payment we make to Pelaez and approves it.'"

Two years previous, Carl W. Ackerman wrote: "Pelaez and his army—estimated at 3.000 to 27.000 men depending on the authority quoted—get $40.000 a month protection money from the oil companies." It appears that the oil companies in two years increased their retainers to Pelaez from $40.000 a month to $200.000 a month!

With this evidence of the relations of Pelaez with the petroleum kings, can we have much doubt as to the kind of man he would probably support in Mexican politics?

In this connection it is interesting to observe that the Sonora government has returned the Southern Pacific Railroad to its owners, after having taken possession of it. At the time of the seizure, some were jubilant at this exhibition of "Bolshevist tendencies." As a matter of fact, the Carranza government was going to seize the railroad and force the settlement of a strike, and the Sonorans seized it to get ahead of the Carrancistas. As soon as control of the state seemed certain and the strike was settled, the rebel officials turned the road back to the company.

Regarding Obregon personally, I may say this: As correspondent for various newspapers, as well as for my own satisfaction, I procured an interview with him in the latter part of January while he was spending some time in Mexico City. I submitted in writing five question and he agreed to send me by mail the answers. The first question was as to his opinion on prohibition; the second related to the restoration of land to the peons; the third, if Mexico ought to recognize Soviet Russia; the fourth, tariff reduction or free trade; and the fifth read, "Are you disposed to favor the socialization of the mines and industries of Mexico?" Some days later, I received typewritten and signed answers to three questions, but **no answers to the third and fifth queries, the one about the recognition of Russia and the one about socialization of mines and industries!**

I do not mean to say that I have had any more satisfactory experience with Bonillas and Gen. Pablo Gonzales, the other candidates. I have never been able to get them to committ themselves on these questions, either.

A word about Alvarado who, in an interview in the Hearst papers in New York, just declared that **the rebel movement would control Mexico City within three months. I first met Alvarado a year or more ago when he was making plans to begin his daily, "El Heraldo de Mexico", in Mexico City. He had just returned from Yucatan where, after completing his term of office as governor, he turned over the reins to a self-picked successor. He was reputed to have done much for Socialism in Yucatan. At that time I knew less about Yucatan than I know now. I later learned that the brand of "Socialism" that Alvarado introduced on the penninsula, netted him several million dollars, and was merely a kind of reformist politics, manipulated mainly in his own interest.**

During my first conversation with Alvarado, I expressed gratification that he was about to start a Socialist daily, for it was thus that I then understood his plan. He explained that it would not be a socialist daily for he believed it was necessary to go very slowly. "We must be 'smart'," he said with a knowing smile and in excellent English, and then he explained to me that in his judgment Socialism would not come in Mexico for a long time. **He expected to see serious labor troubles in the United States in the near future and he believed that many American investors could, therefore, be induced to come to Mexico and go in business.** Mexico would thus be developed by foreign capital while the United States was writhing in the throes of industrial disorder. Then, years later, when Mexico had been sufficiently developed, perhaps Socialism would come. But the country must go thru a period of capitalist developmetn first. There must, in other words, be economic exploitation first and economic emancipation later, and Alvarado was in favor of exploitation now! He added that he was going to have an English page in his paper—no Mexico City paper had one at that time—and that he hoped to gain a circulation among the American capitalists and business men in Mexico.

When the paper began publication, its policy was precisely what Alvarado had predicted. When I was arrested, fined and imprisoned for publishing a Spanish translation of Margaret Sanger's book on birth control methods, I went to Alwarado and tried to induce him to champion the cause of birth control editorially. He answered evansively, saying, "We must be careful", and that birth control was not popular in Mexico yet. I told him it would be popular if the people understood it and called his attention to the swarms of hungry, half-naked shildren that may be seen on almost every street of the city, asking if he did not think that a few children, properly fed and clothed, would be better than thousands of homeless, begging, potential criminals. But I could get no direct answer and the only thing the paper did for the cause was to publish a letter of a subscriber endorsing birth control. On the other hand it published a vicious article attacking me in connection with the birth control book, same appearing on its English page and being written by one Charles F. Phillips, then editor of that page. For this, however, Phillips was alone responsible, and later he retracted his attack. Shortly after, my sentence was revoked by order of Secretary of State Berlanga.

Still later, when the Socialist local of Mexico City adopted my resolution denouncing intervention and I sent it to an employe of "El Heraldo", who published it, Alvarado gave the employe a call-down and told him to keep out of print all reference to Socialist organizations of any kind in Mexico.

Possibly the policies of the organs of the two candidates, Obregon and Bonillas, ought to be mentioned in this connection. "El Monitor Republicano", the Obregon daily, has given extensive space to articles about labor unions dominated by Luis N. Morones, local presentative of Samuel Gompers, has shown the utmost friendliness for Gompers and the A. F. of L., and has studiously avoided any mention of the Bolsheviki government of Russia except in rare cases. "El Civilista", one of the three Bonillas organs, has a labor page and some time ago offered to publish any articles submitted by the Communist Party or the Mexican I. W. W. The offer was accepted with the distinct understanding that, since the Mexican Communists and the Mexican I. W. W. repudiate parliamentary action, they would not be obligated in any way to support Bonillas. Since then, articles on Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc., have been published, and no article, no matter how revolutionary, has been refused. This does not mean that "El Civilista" is a Bolshevist sheet nor that Bonillas is a Communist. **I have seen and still see no real Radicalism in either camp. That there are some Radicals supporting Obregon and some others supporting Bonillas, is true. A larger number is supporting Obregon than Bonillas.**

But as yet. I see in the activities of both sides merely the maneuvers of cunning politicians who are shrewd enuf not to antagonise the growing Radical sentiment of Mexico and instead, seek to lure it with revolutionary catch-words and saccharine deceits, into voting for this candidate or that.

The Sonora revolution is not today a Social Revolution. In it politicians, professional generals, bourgeoisie and some Radicals are standing side by side.

If the Mexican masses knew their own power, they could make it a Social Revolution, sweep into the discard all the sophists and soft-soapers on both sides, and, erect a Proletarian State under which exploitation and graft would cease.

They can do it! But will they?

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL.

(Continued from page 3)

not entitled to live in opulence at the expense of the proletariat. Prepare yourself, old boy. The proletariat are getting ready to "renig."

• • •

Speaking of men of ability, wise men like George are wont to inquire, in a supercilious way, what Socialists would do with men of "ability." We'll handle them, all right. We'll put them to work and prove their ability by the quality of its product. However, there are some men of ability we might not be able to use, such as able boodlers, able burglars, able bandits, able bankers, able barons of business and able shooters of the "bull," like George Horace, f'rinstance. It is just possible that the interests of society would be best conserved by turning the ability possessed by the above enumerated gentlemen into other lines of activity. They might in time become able to make their own living, speak the the truth, drop their hypocrsy, and thus contribute to the general welfare of the new order of society. O, yes. We'll take care of 'em.

• • •

Among all the methods employed by the bourgeoisie to quell a threatened awakening of the working class the "red herring" is the favorite, for it has never failed to draw the attention of the workers away from their misery. Whenver signs of general discontent prevail, the master class send out an S. O. S., and immediately the fish is requisitioned and started on its mission. The Interchurch Movement is the particular "red herring" now being used as a soporific and it remains to be seen whether the workers will yield to its influence. They are asked to "Give God His Share." Since God has permitted the bourgeoisie to absorb all the surplus wealth, the wise worker will simply let Him look to those gentlemen for His share of the spoils. Of course the workers are not expected to respond to any marked extent financially. The master class will cough up the "dough," and be satisfied with its investment if the workers will continue to absorb the sophistical dope of kingdom come beyond this vale of tears.

This will lull them to sleep just as effectively as through they had a lower berth in Abraham's bosom. Great game, this religious stuff. Be contented with your lot, and great shall be your reward in the sweet afterwhile.

• • •

There are over one hundred makes of automobiles on the market, differing so slightly that only an expert can tell them apart. Millions of dollars are being spent and thousands of glib tongued salesmen employed in presenting the merits of the various machines. This enormous waste of time and labor could easily be avoided through the incorporation of the best fetaures of all machines in one product. This standardizing would reduce the labor cost of production to a minimum and give greater efficiency. Will it be done? Not as long as the profit system prevails. Waste is a basic feature of capitalism and competition its cardinal virtue. The remedy is Socialism.

THE RED RUBY

Address to the Jury by Ben Gitlow. Also Darrow, the Judge and a final article by Antonio Giovanitti. 10c a copy.

Address The Toiler

Comrade W. of Birmingham Ala. is on the job getting subs. for The Toiler. No reason why The Toiler should not make many fast friends below Mason and Dixon's line.

If every C. L. P. member was like one comrade who pays a full year's dues in advance, no one would be behind.

THE TOILER

GET : New Member
: Subscriber
PAY DUES

NO. 121. Published at Cleveland, Ohio. CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, MAY 28th, 1920. Address all mail to 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.50 A YEAR

A DOLLAR FROM YOU NOW WILL SAVE US!

A dollar from you will make it possible for The Toiler continue its mission.

A dollar from you will, in fact, save The Toiler from sharing the fate of dozens of Socialist papers. which had to suspend publication because of the increased cost of production.

A dollar from you RIGHT AWAY, will give The Toiler many months of continued life.

WITHOLD THE DOLLAR AND THE TOILER MUST CEASE PUBLICATION WITHIN A FEW WEEKS.

We place the matter squarely before every one of our 10.000 readers. Give immediately your answer.

HERE'S THE TROUBLE. We have an editor who edits the Toiler among other things. We have an office force and many who volunteer in the work of getting The Toiler into your hands. We have a printer who takes able charge of the work of printing The Toiler. We have an army of boosters who faithfully labor week in and week out getting subscribers and thereby supply the money with which to print.

BUT WE HAVE NOTHING TO PRINT THE TOILER ON.

YOU'VE GUESSED IT! We have no paper and the printer has no paper. The paper wholesalers have no paper. **AND WE MUST HAVE PAPER IF WE ARE TO HAVE THE TOILER AS A STEADY MENTAL DIET.**

The print paper situation is a most serious one. Most weekly papers have spoken their minds about it and called for help long ago. Knowing what was ahead, we had prepared as best we could .to weather the storm for many weeks. But now the supply we obtained is exausted. Only enough of our stock remains for one more issue.

THIS MEANS THAT YOUR DOLLAR WILL HAVE TO REACH US BY RETURN MAIL.

Paper production does not equal consumption. As you might know, the big capitalist dailies get first attention, are served first. Little, common, truth-telling folks like we, have to be satisfied with what is left. It is altogether probable that we'd never be allowed to buy even one pound of paper if those at the top of the paper combine knew what we used it for.

But when we buy paper, some one else buys for us. Enough said.

Some have claimed that the paper shortage has an artifical aspect, that one of the motives of the thought controllers is to silence the outspoken weekly papers which the awakened portion of the working class supports, by denying these workers' weeklies print paper. Shall we be victims of this plot if such plot exists?

Something you did not know is that attempts have been made to kill The Toiler. Yes, and very recently.

We have had plenty of troubles. Printers we have had have been threatened and we have had to go elsewhere. Our office has been besieged by gentlemen who come with authority from the government, that . is, if Palmer represents part of it, and he does. But we managed to keep going, even managed for months to keep in paper when other periodicals had very difficult sailing.

Now a crisis is at hand. The paper situation has grown steadly worse. As we said, even some of the largest printers and paper wholesalers cannot get newsprint.

HOWEVER, WE KNOW A WAY OUT. We can extricate ourselves from the difficulty **WITH YOUR HELP.** We know just what to do to buy the paper we need. We know whom to approach to buy it for us.

ALL WE NEED IS THE CASH. WE MUST INVEST IN TEN TONS OF PAPER. THIS AMOUNT WILL LAST US FORTY WEEKS. IT WILL COST US ABOUT $2.500.

IN SHORT, WE CALL UPON OUR 10.000 SUBSCRIBERS TO DONATE TO THE TOILER THE SUM OF $2.500 FOR TEN TONS OF PAPER.

And we cannot buy a pound unless we have cash.

We don't intend to brag, but The Toiler must be fulfilling a need or it would not receive the support of so many workers. We take it for granted that you want The Toiler to live.

THE TOILER WILL LIVE IF YOU SEND IN YOUR DOLLAR TODAY.

We have made calls for The Toiler before. We have made calls upon our readers asking them to put forth extra effort to get new subscribers. Never have we asked for an outright donation to keep The Toiler alive and doing its duty. This we now do.

WE DO IT BECAUSE WE MUST.

We face without fear the trials of publishing a workers' paper in this age of reaction. We have so far beaten our enemies. Up to now we have overcome the many obstacles in our path. We have given you a paper for less than the cost of production for months, for the dollar a year subscription has not paid production costs. While we had a balance in the trreasuery, we felt it our duty to continue this popular price. After all, our purpose is not to make money but to educate the workers. We think we have done our duty.

Having done it, we now call upon you to do yours. It is very little we ask. **ONLY ONE DOLLAR FROM EACH OF YOU.** But the dollar must come in a hurry so we may begin negotiations for the ten tons of paper.

ARE YOU WITH US?

THEN SEND THE DOLLAR!

THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION

— By Ammon A. Hennacy. —

SOME OF ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. Killed a resolution which expressed sympathy for the imprisonment of Jim Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow.

2. Shut off debate and refused to answer questions brought by the Illinois delegation concerning the pussyfooting in the defense at Albany.

3. Refused to seriously consider the idea of unity as expressed by Debs.

4. Dropped the plank which called for expulsion of elected officials who voted for military appropriations.

5. Decided to try to form a New International composed of "all true Socialists of the world", although retaining affiliation with the Third International.

6. Refused to take a stand for the taxation of church property.

7. Inserted a plank providing for the registration of migratory workers in order that they might vote.

8. Election of members of the National Executive Committee by proportional representation killed.

9. Gag rule generously applied against the minority; especially by the lawyers in the delegation from New York.

10. "Its ULTIMATE AIM in politics is to secure a majority in Congress and in every state legislature, to win the principal executive and judical offices, to become the dominant and controlling political party of the country", in order to accomplish Socialism."

The above results of the Socialist Party Convention recently held at New York City, in Finnish Hall at 5th Ave. and 127th St., establishes the Socialist Party as a Centrist factor among the Socialist parties of the World. Using the radical phrases of former times and seeking to create enthusiasm thru the name of Debs, they nominated him on a platform and declaration of principles which the capitalist press has greeted as Sane and Conservative.

LINEUP IN THE CONVENTION.

From the challange by Kruse of Illinois that the Call had announced Hillquit as Chairman of the first day's session before he was elected—by a vote of 91 to Engdahl's 29—until the close of the convention the proportion of radical votes continued about the same. The vote of 33 to 103 on the majority and minority platforms; the 106 votes for Stedman and the 36 votes for Kate O'Hare for candidate for vice-president, up to the vote of 40 for remaining in the Third International as contrasted with 90 for remaining in it but forming a New International of Centrists, shows that about one third of the convention was fairly radical.

Kruse, Engdahl, Glassberg, Tucker, Holland, Bircher and Walter Cook composed the Left Wing; Berger, London, King, Hoehn, Cannon Solomen and Karlin and Block the Right Wing, while Panken, Hillquit, Lee, Berlyn, O'Neal, Henry and Saltis composing the Centre or more rational Right.

THE PLATFORM AND DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The Platform and Declaration of Principles was supposed to have been presented to the membership for consideration two months previous to the convention. The statement made on the floor of the convention by delegate Glassberg of New York on May 10th. that copies of the plaform were ready for distribution on the preceding Saturday was not answered by the Majority. In fact they were published in the capitalist press before the delegates had an opportunity to read them else where.

The Minority wanted to have the Platform and Declaration of Principles referred to a committee of 9 to be elected by the convention, as they did not want the ideas of the Majority to be railroaded through the convention before the Minority had an opportunity to consider it as a whole, and to propose a substitute. This motion was defeated by a vote of 38 to 81 and the matter was taken up in the convention acting as a Committee of the Whole.

When the Declaration of Principles was read not a ripple of applause greeted it, which would seem to justify the assertion made by Tucker that:

"The platform was written by lawyers so that the Department of Justice could not find any Socialism in it, so how could the workers be expected to understand it." To which the Majority repiled that if they would read it over several times they would understand it; which led the Minority to wonder how many times the average worker would have to read it over to understand it.

The Minority Declaration of Principles, while taking a better International and Class Conscious stand, was rather vague and was not as clearly expressed as the less radical stand taken by the Majority.

Kruse created applause when he opposed the insertion in the Declaration of Principles of that phrase from the Declaration of Independence which admits the right of revolution when the people want it, because such a revolutionary phrase had no place in the mlid declaration of principles of the S. P.

The majority leaders made no attempt to answer the argument made by Glassberg that it was practically impossible to obtain Socialism by "orderly and constitutional method." by electing officials and amending the constitution of the U. S.

Dreyfus of Illinois said that Berger and Hillquit played to the galleries in public meetings in discussing the dictatorship of the proletariat an Russia, but oppose them in convention.

DISCUSSION OF UNITY.

When the Unity question came up the Minority wanted the Socialist Party to recognize the due stamps of those in the two Communist parties in order to entitle any comrades wishing to leave these parties and accept the platform of the S. P., to regular membership in the party. The convention voted to only allow them in as new members. No attempt was made to modify the Socialist platform as a basis for unity with Communists as Debs wished. In fact some of the extreme Right wanted a platform that would appeal to the Labor Party and Non-Partisan League, and denounced the Minority platform as one which sought to placate the Communists.

During the discussion Block of New York accused a leader of the Communists of being a spy but refused to mention the name of the person accused when challenged by Holland of Illinois to do so.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

When Engdahl of Illinois read from the report of the N. E. C. telling of their efforts to assist in forming a new International, O'Neal and Hillquit could not refute this fact. Engdahl also pointed out that those in Europe who were heading this movement for a new International had just recently left the 2nd International, but had not responded strongly enough to their rank and file membership to join the Third International.

Meyer London caused hisses, groans, and laughter by his advocacy of a League of Nations and of our taking part in it in order to reform it. The Majority report was passed little discussion being allowed for the Minority report of Engdahl and Quick to be heard. Berger, with his motion to withdraw from the Third International because of the Red Terror in Russia and because the Bolsheviki believed in violence, presented one of the most inconsistent spectacles of the convention: it being well known that Berger is in favor of "defensive" wars, and favored war with Mexico a few years ago.

When asked by Tucker what the Socialists would do, if after depending upon politics to gain Socialism, they would be denied control, Panken of New York with a great splurge of oratory said that they would resort to war. Thus Berger, who claims to abhor the Bolsheviki because they believe in violence, upholds political Socialism which admittedly leads to violence. The Minority pointed out that because they depended practically alone upon the ballot was the main reason why the Socialists of Finland had to sacrifice 70,000 lives, and then were defeated.

MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS.

Block supported a motion allowing Socialists to vote for military appropriations where the State required an appropriation for the upkeep of a State Militia (altho working for the repeal of this law). until Solomen of New York, after stating that he would vote for it under any condition and with waving arms declaring himself a 100% American, pointed out that the original motion did not specifically prohibit such voting, when the motion by Block was found to be unnecessary and was dropped. This new clause was put in in place of the plank formerly in the platform which provided for the expulsion of elected officials who voted for military appropriations.

PUSSYFOOTING AT ALBANY.

When confronted with six specific charges accusing the defense of the five Socialist Assemblymen in Albany of compromising the Socialist International position and of minimizing the class struggle, Hillquit only attempted to answer one of the charges, covering the remainder with a flow of oratory and sentiment. Hillquit admitted that one of the assemblymen started to make a patriotic defense, and that they had to squelch him. He pointed out several instances where they could have compromized, inferring that they were not as bad as they might have been. Kruse was only allowed a short time to explain how the charges came to be made when Meyer London was recognized. He did not answer any specific charges, but sought to becloud the issue by more oratory. At the end of his speach he made a motion. which was recognized contrary to parliamentary law, by Dawidow of Michigan, who as vice chairman had with Sharts of Ohio as chairman, been shutting off discussion frequently.

Davidow repeatedly refused to recognize Glassberg, who had the exact pages of the proceedings of the trial at hand proving the assertions made by the delegation from Illinois, but instead recognized a motion to table the resolution and expunge it from the record. The Call did not mention the appearance of this question at the convention.

LARKIN AND GITLOW.

The resolution condemning the conviction of Larkin and Gitlow was a very mild one and was of the kind usually passed by the Committee of 48 and other Liberal organizations. The "lawyer delegation" from New York Vity were its chief opponents The Call also did not mention that this matter was brought up at the convention.

The walls and platform were decorated in an unusual large number of American flags and bunting; the red banner of Socialism nowhere in evidence, which brings, to mind the assertion of Tucker on the floor of the convention that "by decorating our convention with the flag of Wall Street we cannot hide our Socialism."

May 19, 1920.

MAXIM GORKY ADDRESSES THE MONARCHISTS

I have received a number of letters from various persons. All of them have been written in a tone of mortal terror and dismal. I feel that those who wrote them have all experienced many dark hours, many dark days; that their hearts undergo torture; that their restless thoughts do not let them sleep.

"What has become of the good Russian people? Why did they suddenly turn into wild beasts, craving for blood?" a lady writes me on a perfumed sheet of paper. "Christ is forgotten, his ideas are desecrated," writes Count P. "Are you satisfied? What has become of the great doctrine of love of your neighbor? What has become of the sacredness of church and religion?" asks K. Bruytan, from Tambov.

Some scold and curse, others sigh and complain

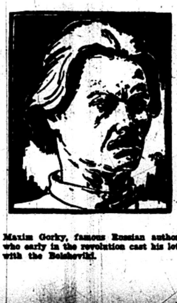
All are excited, broken down, full of fear at the thougat of this tragic and great epoch.

Not having the possibility of writing individual answers to these letters, I am answering them all together. Dear Sirs and Dear Madames: The days of punishment for your criminal indifference to the life of the people have come to pass. All that you are experiencing now, all that which tortures you so, is fully deserved by you and I can only say and wish you one thing:

Let those horrors of life, which you yourselves have created, take on still deeper and more intense forms. Let your hearts become still more restless!

Let tears drive sleep away from you! Let a storm of madness and cruelty rage over our Fatherland and burn you!

You deserve this. You will be exhausted, but it may happen that all that which is wholesome and honest in your souls, will be purged of the slime and the baseness which was implanted there, in your souls, to which you have paid so little attention. Your souls are full of vileness, lies, a thirst for domination and of all low instincts.



Maxim Gorky, famous Russian author who early in the revolution cast his lot with the Bolsheviki.

Dear Madames: You want to know what has come over the people. They have simply lost patience. They were too long silent. They endured violence, without murmuring, for too long a period of time.

Their servile backs have carried the burden of the masters for too long a time. Now they can bear it no longer. Still they have not shaken off entirely the burden which was placed on their shoulders. You are getting frightened too soon, Madam! Between us, what else were the people to do but turn into wild beats? What have you done for them to expect different results? Have you ever taught them anything good; have you sown in their souls seeds of virtue?

During their entire lives you utilized their labors, their last loaf of bread, without even understanding that you were committing a crime. You were living without asking what you were living on; without inquiring where lay the force that fed you. By the brilliancy of your attire you kindled the envy of the poor and the unfortunate. When you went to your country homes and lived side by side with the peasants, you looked down upon them from above, as though they were an outcast race.

They, however, understood. They are goodnatured. But you made them wicked. You held your feasts, in which they, the outcasts, could not participate. And yet you want them to be grateful! Your songs, your music could not afford pleasure to the hungry people. Your frivolity, mixed with contempt for the peasant, could not awaken in his soul a respect for you. What have you done for him? Have you tried to enlighten him? No, you have rather tried to obscure his mind!

And you wanted him to be wise after all this? Oh, no, you did not even think of it. The peasant in your eyes was a sort of cattle. When you spoke to him you treated him as a savage. You did not even want to behold a human being in him. Is it a wonder then that he has now turned into a wild beast?

Madam! Your question expresses not only ignorance of life, but also the hypocrisy of a criminal who feels his guilt, but does not want to confess his crimes publicly.

You knew, you could not help knowing, how the peasant lived. A human being who is being beaten must avenge himself sooner or later. A human being who is treated mercilessly has no pity for anybody. This is clear. Moreover: it must be so.

How can you look for mercy, for compassion, in the heart in which you sowed vengeance? Madam! In Kiev the good old Russian folk threw out of the window the celebrated manufacturer Brodsky. The governess was also thrown out. But the tiny canary, which was in its cage, was not harmed. Do reflect on this occurence. This little bird awoke a feeling of pity for it at a moment when human beings were being thrown out of the window. Evidently, outraged hearts still have room for pity. But this pity is not for human beings, as the human beings

(Continued on page 4.)

Skygac's Column

Written especially for the Toiler.)

Now that the Pope has officially made Joan of Arc a saint, the crime of the English who bought her from John of Laxenburg is settled. Being burned alive in one century and sainted in another is the way of the progress of world. But—who wants to be a saint?

• • •

"Britain aims to control U. S. oil fields," headlines Hearst. Well U. S. aims to control Mexican oil fields. What is the difference? We are for proletarian control of the oil fields.

• • •

U. S. indicts Morris and Cudahy for profittering. Another slap on the wrist.

• • •

5.000 U. S. Marines suffering in Haiti, says the press. Well who sent 'em there and what business have they there?

• • •

Baptists assail movie as one of divorce causes. Baptists are always assailing non-essentials and side-stepping the real issue. The real cause of divorce is generally found to be wrangling over the limited family purse. Poverty and ignorance of matters portaining to the relation of the sexes, are the two greatest causes of divorce. But divorce is no crime — neither is it a disgrace. Better a divorce and a clean slate any old time than a lifetime of wrangling, quarrelling and conjugal misery. Home, — for too many of our people is only the battle-ground—covered over of course with the roses of conventionality, but a battle ground just the same. I don't need a divorce, but I am in favor of divorce for those who do. And divorce should be as easy to get as a marriage licence.

• • •

"Inexcusable sums are being spent to defeat labor's cause" says Gompers. Surest thing you know and most of it right in the A. F. of L. too. Samuel himself sits at the banquet of the mighty and knows wher of he speaks.

• • •

Seventy five percent of the editors of the country are Roman Catholic, says the Baptists. Mebbe, mebbe so. But I would prefer it to be that way than 75% Baptist. Ninety nine percent of the editors of the country wear the blinds and bit of the master-class and crucify labor at their master's bidding.

• • •

The school boy who defined a vacuum as "a large empty space where the Pope lives" was not so far wrong at that.

• • •

"England to use force to quiet Erin"—Somebody is advocating violence, Mr. Palmer—quick, call out your reserves.

• • •

"Canners predict increased prices". Huh—anybody can safely make that kind of a prediction. Everybody's doing it.

"We can offhand, recall nothing really funnier than the action of the socialists in naively applying for a pardon for No. 2253 their nominee for President" (Debs) editorializes the G. R. Press. Maybe the press can't think of anything funnier—but isn't it funny that in the land of the free and the home of the brave, a federal convict number 2253, should have to be pardoned for the terrible crime of exercising his constitutional privileges of free and open expression of his honest opinions?

The S. E. P. is getting all het up over the fact that there are many vacant non-productive farms in the country. So too are a lot of kommercial klubs. There are several reasons for this condition—likewise several remedies. One of the reasons for this condition is the long hours and poor pay that the farmers gave their hired hands while help was plentiful and jobs scarce. John Farmer now is only reaping what he has sown in earlier days. One remedy would be for all bankers who hold mortgages upon farm lands to be compelled to operate those farms, and by operate I mean get out and dig and plow and harrow and sow and cultivate, WORK on the farm instead of working the farmer when he comes to the town bank — that ought to help the crop shortage konsiderable.

• • •

Not since the days when the P. P. had Petrograd falling every day, has there been so many reports of the downfall of the Russian Revolution. Lnine is out and Trotsky in hiding and what not—according to the daylie papers. But off in an obscure corner we find that the Russians have appeared in Persia and calmly ordered that the British troops be withdrawn. A losing army never orders the enemy to withdraw its troops! As Brisbane says, its easier to hate a revolution than to conquer it.

• • •

Five million dollars to elect McAdoo—the heid apparrent. Uhuh—Maybe, but. Well anyhow, I'm not going to contribute any of that five million.

• • •

The Irish "have no intention of establishing such a republic as that of America, says Thomas Johnson, speaking at Cork, speaking for the workers of Ireland. Continuing he said, "That country isn't free enough because men and women are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for saying that the country is not free." He must have been over here and observed us — and Palmer.

• • •

Clothes to fit every purse, says the adv. That is capitalism. When we get democracy we will have clothes to fit every person — and good ones too.

• • •

"Allies divide the near East" says news-headline. Yes, and they have divided the near West too, you will discover later. The socialists have often been accused of wanting to divide up everything, but for actual division, leave it to the Allies.

• • •

By the way—who are "the Allies" now? Ask your commercial club—they know.

• • •

Strikes must not be encouraged — this seems to be the general businessman's conviction. Also the government's conviction, as they try to convict the various spokesmen for the strikers. But there is one strike which seems to have escaped the attention of our attentive Atty-General—the march of the overall-brigade striking against the high cost of business suits.

• • •

Oh Well. With the world rapidly approaching sovietism—the rich would have to get into overalls anyhow, and its just as well that they get used to the feel of the things. You can always tell a proletarian.

Significant isn't it? Capitalists getting into overalls. It marks the beginning of a new social order

Now that Kansas has had its American Day on May First, twice as many people in Kansas know the real significance of May Day. On with the good work Governor

SNOOPING UNPOPULAR NOW

One half million dollars' worth of spies now drawing salaries from the Department of Justice will lose their jobs on June 30. The House of Representatives cut that much off the snooping appropriation on May 10.

Attorney General Palmer had asked for a total of $2,500,000, saying he needed $1,000,000 to run down radicals, $500.000 to chase profiteers, and another million for miscellaneous purposes. Byrne, of Tennessee, was making the fight for Palmer.

"Can you tell us," asked MacGrate, of New York, "how many anarchists Palmer arrested as a result of his May Day plot?" Byrns said he could not. "Have you any idea that even one was arrested?" persisted MacGrate, "I do not know that any were taken," Byrne confessed.

Then Blanton, of Texas, came to Palmer's rescue, declaring that while the Attorney General had arrested 6,000 anarchists within the past three months, "Louis F. Post Post, assistant secretary of labor, has turned most of them loose on the American people."

"Well," retorted MacCrate, "if those 6,000 anarchists existed in the same place that the bomb throwers of May 1st, existed, then they never had any existence outside Mr. Palmer's mind."

A LAUGH ON LUSK

In his conduct of deportation proceedings against the Russian representative Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, on May 11 and 12, Immigration Inspector Shell was forced to deviate from the law and to violate the Labor Department's own rules governing such hearings.

When denied his legal right to because he adheres to and supports the examine the full evidence against himself in advance of the hearing, Martens resorted to his lawful right not to answer questions. After 24 hours of undertainty, Inspector Shell decided to dispense with all answers and proceed to read into the record the full set of questions drawn up by the Department of Justice

They were faithful copies of the Lusk and Senate Committee questions. The inspector seemed to hate his job and laughed to keep himself in good humor. "I suppose," he remarked to Martens at one point, "if I keep on reading this stuff I may come to believe it myself!"

Without having intended to, Martens made answer to one question. "Are you the duly authorized representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic?" asked Shell, reading from the Palmer catechism. "Yes!" exclaimed Martens, making his sole contribution to the record the one statement that Palmer has striven to deny or to conceal.

When he had read all the funny questions into the record. Shell announced that the case of the Government was virtually concluded. The hearings were then postponed for a fortnight, and Martens departed in substancial possession of the thing he had originally demanded—a copy of the evidence against himself.

Palmer appears to have shifted his position from the original contention that Martens is a member of some Communist Party, somewhere (which he is not), to a contention that Martens' own statements prove that he is opposed to all forms of government Soviet Government of Russia.

On that ground Martens is reported pleased to have the case stand. He is more willing that the Wilson administration should decided that no supporter of the present Russian Government shall ever be allowed residence in the United States, if it cares to assume that responsibility before the world.

[illegible] WORLD REVOLUTION

WASHINGTON—Another red wave that may put the working class in power from Warsaw to Gibraltar the next few months is forecast by official advices now accumulating at Washington.

Censorship is the only agency that still functions at the command of Western European governments. Behind the temporary screen the dissolution of the old order proceeds at a gallop. Outstanding items in the budget of official information gathered here are these:

Soldiers and diplomats look for Poland to burst "like a bubble o'erblown" after the great drive in which her armies have penetrated the war-wastes of Ukrainia without landing a single serious blow on the Red Army of Russia. Behind the Polish army food riots are developing rapidly and the known bread supply is less than enough for two weeks.

American commissioners report that the four little "republics" lying in the Caucasus Mountains between Turkey-Persia and Russia are saturated with pro-Soviet sentiment and bitterly hostile to Allied interference.

Asiatic Turkey is three fourths in the hands of anti-Entente nationalists who are negotiating a defensive agreement with Soviet Russia, supported enthusiastically by the Mohammedan masses, whose co-religionists enjoy complete religious and economic freedom in modern Russia.

Syrian chieftains have denounced the French mandate over their country and have summoned the tribes to arms. The last straw of oppression was laid on when by official decree the Paris Government established an exact equality between the depreciated French franc and the much more valuable native currency. Syrian couriers were at once dispatched to Russia to solicit support in the war against France "Do you know what Bolshewism would mean to your people?" Allied agents asked the Syrian chiefs. "We prefer anything to French influence," the Syrians replied.

Famine and class wars are prevalent throughout Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia, Chcho-Slovakia and Hungary. Conditions vary from open revolt to passive acquiescence by peasants and workmen who have no faith left in the competence or permanence of existing governments.

It is in Germany, however, that the most sinister threat to the old political and economic order has arisen. Official reports and isolated press dispatches from Berlin unite upon an analysis of conditions there which confirmed in a striking manner predictions made last winter by Col. Roustam Bek, military adviser to the Russian Soviet Bureau in this country.

Col. Bek predicted that German military men would eventually make common cause with their soldiers and the working classes to restore German independence by means of a proletarian government and a communist army. In a word, that the Soviet principle would be adopted because it offered the only escape from the unemployment and bankruptcy of laboring and professional classes alike.

It is interesting, then, to hear Vorwaerts, organ of the Social Democrats, saying in a recent issue:

"The failure of the Kapp coup brought many new converts to national Bolshevism, many of them the same officers who supported the coup. The Kapp coup hammered into the brains of our militarists that there is no use trying to govern when working classes are against them. Hence their sudden yearning for and understanding with the workers and their attempt to obtain the support of the workers.

"These officers," continues Vorwaerts, "argue that Russian has proved the vitality of Bolshevism. Military officers who lost their positions because of the Versailles treaty..... see also that Trotzky has college mates and professional colleagues in Russia, all of whom have given their class mates and relatives fine places in the Red Army."

And Professor Otto Hostach writes in the reactionary Krenzzeitung:

"Despite the fairest promises Moscow's propaganda in Germany is unnecessary. It is aided and abetted by the dangerous phantom of national Bolshevism which now stalks in Germany, not only in Communist circles but also in the younger military circles, and is finding support among the youth of the country generally."

The Berlin correspondent of the New York Sun finds the same sentiment among financiers who have lost hope of ever making private fortunes again unless Germany shall break free from encircling enemies. "When it becomes clear that Bolshevism is the only way out I shall give my service to the Bolshevists," one of them asserts.

COMMUNISM IN MEXICO

There is only one magazine published in English in Mexico and it is a Communist monthly. Every Communist should read it and know, first hand, what the Mexican Communists and the Mexican I. W. W. are doing, and what is the real significance of the Obregon revolution that has just triumphed. This magazine is "Gale's Journal of Revolutionary Communism". Typical articles have been: "Made in the U. S. A.—the Civil War in Mexico"; "Who is Fnancing Pancho Villa"; "The Communist Party of Mexico"; "Open Letter to the Devil."

Subscription price, $2 a year. Remit by New York draft or express money order. Don't send personal checks or P. O. money order. "There's a reason." Address:

"G A L E'S"
Box 518, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.

"SHOULD THE NORTH CHURCH FORUM BE SUPPRESSED?"

Will be the subject upon which four prominent speakers will speak at North Congregational Church.

EAST 72nd & ST. CLAIR AVENUE
CLEVELAND, O.
MAY 30th AT 7:30 P. M.
Questions and Discussion invited.

[illegible] FULLY VETOED

WASHINGTON.—President Wilson is absolutely alone among officials at Washington in refusing to lift the trade blockade against Russia.

Within the past week Secretary Colby and all heads of Bureaus at the State Department signed their names to a memorandum in which they informed the President that in their judgement the illegal and unauthorised blockade of Russia should be abandoned forthwith.

This information comes to your correspondent from the most responsible authority. On the same authority it can be stated that President Wilson refused to endorse the suggestion or to give his reasons for not doing so.

Under Secretary Polk, a bitter and long standing enemy of Russia, is among those who informed the President that the time had come to lift the trade ban. The petition was signed also by the chief of the foreign trade bureau and the head of the Russian division of the State Department. These gentlemen united in saying that pressure from American business men for opportunity to share in the Russian market could no longer be resisted without precipitating a scandal. The Secretary of Commerce gives his hearty endorsement to the memorandum.

Comment for publication is impossible to obtain from those who signed the recommendation, but they do not hesitate to say in private that the President's solitary policy of obstruction will eventually have to give way before the mounting demand of business men for admission to the only foreign markets left where gold payments can be had upon delivery.

THE COMPROMISE VERDICTS

Here in Portland the compromise verdict has become a fad, it seems. Every Criminal Syndicalism jury that ever "went out" and "came back in" has brought back some sort of a miserable compromise verdict. There have been verdicts of "guilty", with recomandation of "leniency"; "guilty", with recommendations of "extreme leniency," and now we have as the latest, "guilty", with recommendation of "parole."

Is there no longer to be found, in Multnomah County twelve men who have the courage of their convictions? Why add insult to injury, in this cowardly manner, by asking a victim's pardon after having railroaded him? If these men were guilty, why couldn't their respective juries say so and be proud of it? Knowing that they had "served their country well" by convicting a prisoner; — they, nevertheless, seem to be inclined to cringe and crawl in his presence, and to kiss his feet, indicating that they didn't mean to do it.

There is something radically wrong about this—somewhere. Either the Criminal Syndicalism Law is a piece of legislation repugnant to these juries, or there must exist that "necessary doubt" of guilt which the court instructs is sufficient for a verdict of acquittal, or else there must be forces that dictate the verdicts that these juries must bring in. Be these miserable compromise verdicts the fruits of any or of all these reasons, one can readily see why these juries find it so necessary, after having undergone some very tormenting mental tortures in the jury rooms, to wash their hands through a cowardly appology for their dirty work, by begging the victim's pardon after having railroaded him.—thereby thinking that they are to some extent relieving themselves of the responsibility of their deed by passing the buck over on the judge.

Passing the buck over on the judge means absolutely nothing, save that it serves as a cammouflage under which disguise these juries are led to believe that they are washing themselves clean, but since it is only a commouflage, they are not. A recommendation for "lenicney" means five years. A recommendation of "extreme leniency" means two years. What a recomandation of "parole" means we have not yet learned—but leave that to judge Morrow.

If there was nothing abhorable about this "Criminal Syndicalism" law; If there was no question of "guilt", and if there was no one dictating to these juries, would there then be any reasons why they should come back from their "deliberations" blushing and ashamed? Why should they then drape "their" verdicts with such cowardly recommendation? While this might be "one hundred percent americanism," it is certainly devoid of everything manly.

While it is still costly to us, we have OUR PARDON.

them where THEY ARE BEGGING
K. W. OSTER.
County Jail, Portland, May 3, '20.

NEW YORK.— At a special convention of the Jugoslav Socialist Democratic Party for Slovenia held in Marburg on April 11 it was decided to work for the union of all the Socialists of Jugoslavia to oppose the participation of Socialists in the Government and to leave the Second International and enter the Third (Moscow) International, says a report sent out by the Jugoslav Press Bureau and printed in Austrian newspapers just received by The Federated Press.

The Black Sheep

CHAPT. XXXII.

Unadaptable.

Four days later, Olive Anderson found a strangely battered letter in her mail box, at the Anamoose post office. Opening it, she read the note, which Collins had enclosed first, after which, she read Jack's letter. It would be difficult to describe her emotions, as she read the simply written account of the boy's lonely wandering in the vastness of the mountain solitude. From out of that almost infinite silence, he had spoken to her, from the innermost recesses of his soul, he had send a Message by putting his words on paper. He, in the lonliness of the mountains, following the elk and the deer among the firs and the cedars, over rocky ranges and thru canyons, had made her a part of all he saw, had woven memoris of her into those grand and majestic scenes, which he so simply described. And after all his feelings were not different from her's, for she too, in the lonliness of her home, mentally adrift on the storm swept sea of new ideas, had often spoken to him from out of the silence of the night, with a voice of mingled longing and despair. She too, had written down her thoughts in letters to him, letters which were never mailed, for two reasons, one was she dared not mail them, and the other was she did not know where to send them. She destroyed the pages as soon as they were written, as he had doubtleesly destroyed many pages which he had written. And now out of the unknown, by the hand of a total stranger some of these pages had come to her. And with them had come the information as to his whereabouts. From now on she could reach him, that very thot seemed to bring him strangely near.

She read the letter three or four times while in the post office. How strange it all seemed that she should be attracted to a "jail bird" to a man who was almost a total stranger to her. For the first time in her life the woman and the lady within her came into conflict, but as usual Against her will, wild thoughts forced themselves into her brain. The letter the woman proved to be the stronger. had tapped the springs of atavism, and sent the blood of her forbears tingling thru her veins. Leaning against the writing desk in the postoffice, from between half closed lids she could see the boy whom she had met in jail, rambling down the mountain side into the depths of the canyons, following the trail of the wild life of the forest. Mentally she could see herself seated beside him in the bark shelter he had described. She could see the giant shadows play like weird ghosts among the forest trees, as the blaze of the campfire rose and fell. She was conscious of a wild desire to live the life of the primitive ages of human evolution, altho she did not phrase it that way.

When Olive left the post office, she met Frank Cartwright, who had been her sweetheart for more than a year, and as was his habit he walked home with her. He was an entirely different type from the girl. His mind was not adapted to serious thought. His highest ideal was to have a girl by his side, a cigarette in his mouth and nothing on his mind. His conversation was limited to such subjects as directly affected his senses. He might be described as, "a well dressed bundle of perambulating flesh and bones." When he was with Olive he either chattered like a magpie about nothing or made crude and almost disgusting love. He was a typical middle class youth. The wonder was that Olive tolerated him. "Love does not reason" But was there love?

This night as they walked home, Olive who on other occassions did most of the sensible talking or listened to his gibberish with kindly toleration now was strangely silent. She seemed pre-occupied. Her mind was not on Frank, or the coming dance, or possible sleigh ride. In fact it was not on her immediate surround in any sense; it was entirely on Jack, who was far beyond the Rocky Mountains in a little wood cabin by the lake.

Frank asked her a few of his usual questions, but received only monosyllabic replies Nothing he could say interested her. He spoke the language of her class and that class she had learned to despise. To-night she hated it more than ever before, for his very chatter brot back to her mind the preacher, the judge, the editor and her own father.

Finally unable to restrein himself any longer the boy blurted out, "What ails you Ollie? Feel grouchy about something?"

"No," she answered wearily. "I'm just thinking."

"What do you mean?" he presisted.

"Oh, I mean, I have gone to school for three years and have learned nothing that is really worth knowing."

"What? You think you won't graduate this summer?" he asked with some solicitude in his voice.

"Oh, no, not that, I can't help graduating. But what good is it?"

"After that you can teach school if you want to, "Frank urged.

"No I could not, and what is more, I would not if I could.". And the way she said the last words made her companion wince. She went on, "If I want to teach school, I will have to go to Normal. That will prepare me to go into a school house and become childish. There is other work in the world better suited to my temperament and I must master it if I am to make anything more then a living."

"You don't need to make a living. You are a woman. You can get married, and get your living for nothing," Frank said, heedless of the tone of her former speech "You are nervous tonight Ollie," he said as he slipped his arm around her as they passed in the shadow of a tall building.

His affection was evidently not welcome, for she disengaged herself quickly and told him to behave himself. Her action hurt his feelings, he decided to tray the performance with a little more force than before, with the result, that she slapped him in the face for his pains.

"I'm in no mood to fool with you tonight Frank," she said, with no little dignity, "be a man and behave yourself."

"What's the matter Ollie? Don't you like me any more? What is the use acting like that." and there was that in his voice that showed real concern. Altho it must be said the concern was only for himself.

"You never heard me talk at all. I have never dared to talk for fear of telling the truth, and finding myself alone in the world."

"I don't get it," he said querulously.

"Nobody 'gets it', in this town. It seems that nobody understands any one but themselves, and they understand themselves very imperfectly. It is sure that they do not understand me."

"I understand you," her friend protested.

"No you don't. Nobody does for the simple reason that I do not think as they think. I have only met one person who thinks as I think on many of the problems of life, and he in a few words said many of the things I have always wanted to say but did not know how to say them. He understood me without knowing me, and I understood him, in the same way," she said solemnly.

"Who is he?" asked her friend, and there was a touch of bitterness in his voice.

"Oh, I do not mind telling you. He was the boy they had in jail last fall."

This little speech awakened forest memories in her companion. The screaming simian, and the growl of the cave man, were in his mind. It was good that he lacked the physical courcompromise with himself weakners must compromise or die. So he asked, "Haven't you forgotten that hobo yet?"

"No I have not, "Olive said quietly. "How could I? He showed me the greatners of life's problems, the real meaning of that awful thing called society. He showed me the blood on my fingers, on my food, on my clothes on the car in which I ride, on all the things I have, and on all the things you have. He showed me how unclean we are."

Frank ignored her philosophy, He was now not in a philosophizing mood, even if he had been capable of philosophizing. She had told him the truth. He could not, and would not understand. "I thot you had better sense than to fall in love with a hobo! he attempted to sneer but it counded more like a wail.

She stopped and faced him in the semi-darkness. A ray of light from a distant street lamp fell on her face. It might have revealed to him the glowing beauty of a mind on fire with an ideal. But the bourgeois mind is blind to both beauty and ideals. Still he was not unaware of the beauty and power of her expression. It made him painfully aware of his own inferiority. He belonged to the great average. She did not.

"Frank, said she firmly but not unkindly, "you are asleep to everything, but your own will and desire. You seem to think that the world was made for you. I feel that I should be for the world. You think only of your pleasure. I must think of the pleasure of others as well. You cannot understand my problems, therefore cannot help me to solve them. Now I want you to go Frank and leave me alone. I must think." She started up the path and he followed for a few steps. "Go I say," Olive repeated with a tone of finality which left him no alternative.

"Well I'll be darned!" he muttered. "She is still stuck on a nameless bum."

Olive heard what he said but made no reply. His attitude was an aspect of the type struggle. He reacted in perfect harmony with his environment. She did not. Between him and Jack of course was the antagonism of the class struggle. The natural antipathy of the House of Have from the House of Want.

She went straight to her room and there with her thoughts for companions, she went over all her hopes and longings, aspirations and fears. Jack's words from behind the jail bars had put a purpose in her life, and that purpose had become an inspiration. It had become the driving power of her thought. She had decided to tear loose from her world, with its hypocricies, its deceptions, its lies masquerading as decency. She had started on the trail of truth and he who starts on that trail is following a ghost.

She carefully counted her accomplishments. She could play the piano. Not marvelously, in fact she never would play marvelously. She had no special gift for music. She could play well enuf to charm a lover but then those creatures are easily charmed if the player is pretty and the father is rich. She could not charm an audience any more than could a tom cat. She had studied mathematics but could not apply them to any practical purpose. Surely not, without any practical experience. She had studied English. Could she write a book? No, for the simple reason she had nothing to write about. She had been taught bookkeeping, yet she would need extra training to get a position. She had studied for three years. She could read, write, and say amo, amas, amat. What was it all good for? The school had just given her a peep into the intellectual world, but had not given her the needed weapons with which she might wage the battle for existence.

(Continued next week.)

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EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

The Battle at Matewan

Another blodly clash has been added to the already long list of affrays between American coal miners and the scum of this vicious industrial system, the hordes of private detectives which infest every locality when the workers attempt to better their conditions.

Matewan, a mining hamlet among the West Virginia mountains is the scene. Responsive to their economic needs, the miners had organized themselves into a labor union for better protection against the excess exploitation to which they were subjected thru the greed of their employers, the Coal Barons.

The employers immediately dispatched a contingent of their private army armed to the teeth with revolvers and Winchesters to make war upon the new union. This private army proceeded to ferret out the organizers and active members of the union and to evict them and their families from the properties of the mining company. Like most mining centers, Matewan is owned chiefly by the coal companies.

Having completed their work, the detectives waited at the station for their train to depart and there placed the chief of police under arrest. Sentiment against the actions of the detectives was running high in the village, and, like all American small towns, the arrival of a train being an event of importance, a goodly assembly of residents were on hand to witness it. Among these was the Mayor who interceeded when he saw is chief of police arrested. He was immediately killed outright. His murderer being as quickly despatched by the police chief. In a moment a dozen or more men, chiefly private detectives lay dead and wounded on the spot. State troops have since patrolled the few dingy streets of this tiny centre of industry and the class struggle.

Thus, in a few days, has again been run the whole gamut of how many industrial battles? Beginning in the inhumanity and greed of conscienceless exploiters, which in turn, drivers the workers into a league for defense, which, instead of being met in a spirit of tolerance, becomes an object of destruction by the exploiters, cost what it may. With an elemental viciousness equalled only by the power of wealth and the capitalist made laws, the destruction of the workers' union is executed. The class struggle bares its fangs and stamps its iron hoofs. Force, naked and weltering in blood amid the rattle of death volleys ensues. And chances are, those who have the most guns and use them first prevail, for power comes thru the operation of physical force now, as when the world was young and man fought man for the mastery of his hunting grounds.

A distressing scene certainly. But an excellent likeness in miniature of an economic system wherein the lives and welfare of the workers are subjected to the whim and desire of the class of robbers who own and operate for individual profit the industries of the nation. Such examples as Matewan teach the workers the innate criminality of such a system. Only workers' control of the mining industry with the title of ownership residing in a workers' government can right this criminal wrong. Let the workers prepare to own as well as operate the mines. By the workers, for the workers thru workers' control All power to the workers!

Buffers for Bolshevism

Since the counter revolution in Russia has been so decisively conquered and the hopes of world capitalism for the fall of Bolshevism have gone glimmering, it has placed much hope upon Germany and Poland as buffer states to stop the spread of bolshevism to the proletariat of Europe and the world. Herein was recognition of the power of bolshevik ideas if granted half a chance at operation. These hopes now seem to be on the verge of collapse.

Upon Poland especially, was reposed much confidence along this line. With a strong capitalistic state between Russia and Germany, the exploitation of Germany by the Allies might continue to the full satisfaction and greed of the victorious democracies, while at the same time, the power of Russia would cease at the Polish frontiers. Recently, a great deal of sympathy for the success of the Polish advance against the Red Army was manifest in the daily press. For a week past it has subsided and little news concerning activities from that section have made their appearance. But the past few days there has appeared news of Polish defeats of a very extensive character, indicating that the tide has turned and the counter advance of the Reds may bring to Russia as momentuous victories over Polish aggression as over the counter revolutionists. Poland, as a buffer state stands every chance to collapse.

In Germany there are indications that aonther revolutionary upheaval is imminent. Recent provincial elections show that the strength of the Majority Socialists in the government is declining rapidly, this strength being about evenly divided between the reactionaries and the Revolutionists. Thus is the inevitable clash of the two social classes seen to be rapidly approaching. A Plain Dealer editorial of recent date indicates the attitude of the capitalistic minded upon this approaching crisis. Says the Plain Dealer:

> If the Majority Socialists are to be eliminated the extremists will directly face each other, and it is difficult to see how a disastrous conflict can be avoided. Though no one is poor enough to do reverence to the men who have been ruling Germany it may well be hoped that their rule will continue. In such a field of evils as is today presented in Germany the middle-class Socialists appear almost good and their choice is easy.

Yes, a pseudo, socialism is perfectly satisfactory to capitalism. As between a choice of clear cut workers' control with the elimination of the capitalist class and a reformistic regime of half way socialization, the latter is undoubtedly to its liking, and in the coming crisis in Germany the Allies may be expected to support the latter.

The weakness of reform socialism is becoming emphatically evident in Germany. So far, it has failed utterly. How much longer it may be tolerated by the German people is a question which the coming elections will shed much light upon. There is a lesson in the German situation which the moderate socialists of the United States may well take to heart. While they are attempting to establish in this country a middle-of-the road socialism, the same thing in the land where it has been tried out by practical application is falling to pieces. Meanwhile, the Soviet government of Russia, established thru the proletarian dictatorship eliminating at once the bourgeoisie, grows stronger with each rising day. Yet, the Socialist Party at its recent national convention repudiated the principle of prolatarian dictatorship as a tactic of the revolution. Since the ascendancy of the moderate socialists to power in Germany, civil war has been rife. Thousands of workers have fallen in the clashes with Noske's guards. But the final conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie must and will arrive for all that.

Shall American socialists attempt that which is already proven a failure? Shall the agony and suffering of revolution be prolonged by dilly-dallying with half-way measures or shall the power of the workers be made supreme at once by denying the capitalist class any power whatever? To answer these questions in the negative is to build upon quicksand and to drain away in agony and suffering the blood of countless thousands of workers.

Let proletarian successes elsewhere teach us the tactics which entail the least suffering. Replace the dictatorship of the exploiting class with that of the useful producers during the transition from capitalism to Communism.

Proletarian Science History

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

— By W. R. REYNOLDS. —
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OUTLINE FOR LOWER CIVILIZATION.

Beginning	Use of the phonetic alphabet. Salonic Law.
Tools and Weapons ...	Iron, steel and precious metals used. Gunpowder, firearms, compass. Evolution of primitive machinery such as water-wheel.
Transportation	On land, wheeled vehicles and animals. On water, improyed sailing vessels. Biremes and triremes.
Subsistence	Similar to upper barbarism.
Shelter	Buildings of stone, brick and hand-sawed planking.
Clothing	Hand woven fabrics of wool, cotton, flax and silk.
Environment	All climates except frigid. Home the center of industry. Extension of agriculture and mining.
Organization	Work for slaves, serfs and wage-earners. Ease, luxury and learning for the masters.
Arts and Institutions..	Monarchical and Imperial. Chattel slavery, serfdom and wage-slavery. Militarism. Monogamic marriage. Combined church and state. Primitive labor unions.
Duration	Primitive factory. Wages system. Printing. Much less than, upper barbarism. About four thousand years.

CHAPTER X.

LOWER CIVILIZATION.

Lower or hand-tool age.

The lower age of civilization begins with the appearance of the phonetic alphabet,—the alphabet evolved out of hieroglypics used by the Babylonians and Hittites as early as two thousand years B. C.*) It was further developed and made more practical by the Phoenicians in their commercial relations with other nations. The alphabet was evolved in response to commercial necessity. It was the logical outgrowth of the commercial demand for accurate means of communication and a record of business transactions. The Phoenicians were one of the first great maritime powers of the world and therefore in the greatest need of written communications.**)

The tools in general were but an evolution of those used in upper barbarism and met the requiremtnts of the industrial needs of that age. It was during this age that the water wheel as a source of power was first developed, by the Greeks in the time of Hesiod. Gunpowder made its appearance about the year 600 A. D. in China but was suppressed on account of its great destructivity. It was invented in Europe about two hundred years later. The fire arm was the logical result of the invention of gunpowder. This weapon has played a prominent part in the making of history.

Steel was developed to a high degree of perfection in Damascus, due to the liberation of slaves under the Solonic Law. In pre-Solonic days the slave having no hope in the world did not mingle his thought with his labor, with the result that industry did not keep pace with the military needs of the master in repelling barbarian invasion. It was agreed among the rulers of the primitive empires of Italy, Greece, Rome and Egypt, that higher technical skill in the industrial arts was needed. It was Solon who suggested the idea of liberating a certain portion of the slaves and giving them limited privileges based upon the degree of perfection in the industrial arts attained by them.***)

Out of the Solonic Law evolved the primitive labor union, that became the back-bone of Ancient Civilization. Damascus steel was a direct product of the unions operating under the Solonic Law.****)

It is customary with writers on the economic interpretation of history to place the beginning of civilization at the time of the appearance of the alphabet. zation at the time of the appearance of the alphabet. Civilization really began with the inauguration of the Solonic Law. It is this law that gave to the masters a form in which they could use their economic power to coerce not only the physical but also the mental resources of their slaves. Physical violence can drive a slave to his task but it required another form to make him think about the improvement of his task. This was found in the system of rewards and immunities under the Solonic Law.

Transportation in lower civilization was a slight improvement over that of upper barbarism, especially in water transportation. The biremes and triremes now supplanted the former slave-propelled galleys, the only difference being in the number of slaves and oars.

The subsistence, shelter and clothing of lower civilization were practically the same as in the age of upper barbarism. There were a few additional fabrics and conviences due to the furhter development of the tools of production.

Aryan man, during the age of lower civilization, extended his range from the Himalayas to Iceland, from his cities and trading centers and bought and trafficked Scandinavia to Spain. Wherever he went he established bartered and fought with his neighbors. Robbery and piracy were predominant amongst his early occupations.

Chattel slavery, which was a form of slavery based upon ownership of the person, gradually gave way to the institution of serfdom, which was a form of slavery based upon ownership of the land. Under this form of slavery the serf was sold with the land. He was a part of a Feudal Estate, having the legal status of real estate.

The two classes of society in this age were known as the Patricians and Plebeians. These classes were again subdivided: Patricians into warriors and priests and Plebeians into freeman and slaves. In each of these classes there were again degrees and castes, such as the ranks of soldiers, the orders of prists, the various crafts of the artisans. The serf was an agricultural slave with but little skill.

The life of the upper class during this age as during all others, since the division of society into classes, was a life of luxury, ease and arrogance. Feudalism was not the condition of the entire age of lower civilization, but grew out of the suppression of the Solonic Unions in the Roman Empire whch made the Feudal Estate the center of industry. Feudalism was supreme during the dark ages for the reason that after the suppression of the Solonic Unions skill was not encouraged.

During the dark ages the power of the church was supreme. Church and state were one and inseparable, and made relentless war on all forms of inetllectual activity, particularly genius of an investigative or inventive turn.

Out of the guild system of the lower age of civilization evolved the primitive factory which gave rise to the apprentice and wages system. The art of printing, like the alphabet itself, was made necessary by the pressure of the larger volume of commerce. The same causes also produced the compass.

The duration of the age of lower civilization was much less than upper barbarism. It began about 2000 B. C., and ended with the discovery of steam power in the eighteenth century.

***) Notice here the beginning of the use of chronological dates. Prior to written records, exact dates were an impossibility.

***) As early as 1000 B. C. the Phoenicians had long since given up the use of the inconvenient clay tablet of Babylonia, and were importing great quantities of papyrus paper from Egypt. They had devised their own system of twenty two signs for writing their own language. There were no sings for vowels or syllables. The Phoenicians were the first people to devise a system of writing containing nothing but alphabetic sings; that is true letters

The Phoenicians arranged their new letters in a convenient order so that the whole twenty two might form a fixed list easily learned. Such a list could not be learned without giving to each letter a name. They called the first letter of the alphabet, ox, because the Phoenician word for ox, that is, aleph, began with the first letter. The second began with the second letter, and so on. This was not unlike our old primers where our parents learned to say: "A is for 'axe', B is for letter, they called, house because beth, the Phoenician word for house 'bed'" etc. When the children of the Phoenician merchants learned their letters and were called upon to repeat the alphabet, they therefore began: "aleph, beth," etc., as if our children were to say: "axe, bed," etc., instead of "A, B," etc.

The word alphabet itself confirms the history that the Phoenicians had the alphabet first, the Greeks borrowing the Phoenician names for the letters. the alphabet(a) having passed from the Greeks to the Latins and from them to us.

***) The heads of the Solonic Unions were elected on account of their master craftsmanship. They were called lords on account of their executive ability and masters on account of their ability as craftsmen. It was not an infrequent occurence for one of these lords to offer themselves as a substitute or sacrifice in cases where their constituents were supposed to have merited death or re-enslavement for offenses involving a violation of the Solonic Law.

Here was the origin of The Christian concept of the Atonement. Christ the Lord and Master, volunteering himself as a sacrifice, for the sins of his followers. It is but the expression, in a religious form, of an ancient practice.

***) The reader is refered to the first volume of Ancient Lowly by C. Osborne Ward for a further amplification of the Solonic Law.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER TEN.

Lower Civilization.

1. What is a phonetic alphabet?
2. Explain the origin of the phonetic alphabet.
3. What was the Solonic Law?
5. Explain the origin of the primitive labor union.
4. Name the economic reasons for the advent of the Solonic Law.
6. What is a bireme? Trireme?
7. Name the predominant occupations of the Aryan man of this age.
8. What was chattel slavery?
9. What was serfdom?
10. Explain the gradations of the various classes in society at this time.
11. Explain the origin of Feudalism.
12. What was Feudalism?
13. What was the basis of industry under Feudalism?
14. What is meant by the term, "dark ages"?
15. What was the reason for the rise of Feudalism?
16. What was the guild system?
17. Why war inventive and investigative genius suppressed during the dark ages?
18. What was the economic reason for the invention of the art of printing?
19. Why was the compas invented?
20. What was the duration of the age of lower civilization?

(Continued next week)

LONDON—"Either a reactionary Germany will join the Allies, including Japan, in an attempt to exploit Russia's natural resources without recognizing the Soviet Government, or a democratic Germany will form an alliance with the Russian people."—this is the prediction of Brigadier-General C. B. Thompson, a member of Sir Douglas Haig's staff as to what will happen in case the present methods of the Supreme Council continue.

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ANOTHER LIE NAILED

— Skygac. —

All beggars are liars. Professional beggars of course become more expert at the game, (or is it an art?) of lying than the mere amature and there are no professional beggars so expert at either begging or lying than the organized beggars masquerading under the guise of some denominational church. Now that all the denominations of note with the sole exception of the Babtists have gone into the Interchurch World Movement, a sort of syndicated church movement, and gone into begging on a larger scale than ever before attempted—one would expect some clever lying—. They are telling lies enough—(yes gentle reader—I know I'm using the short and ugly word—but let us call a spade a spade and then there will be no misunderstanding. The I. W. M. is spreading broadcast a fabric of lies—some of them fancy ones and most of them just the plain or garden variety of lies. Now whether or not the responsible parties back of the advertising campaign know they are lies—is of no particular moment. We will nail the lies—some of them and you can judge for yourself.

In one of the advertisements of the Interchurch World Movement we find it headed "A World Rebuilt" "by the golden rule not by the rule of gold"—but it's gold theyr'e begging for! Asking the question "What are the most precious elements in American Life?"? it answers it by more questions and answers. The first question-answer is, "Respect for the home?" "Jesus found woman slaves. He made them companions. Down through the ages His church has BEEN THE CHAMPION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND ASPIRATIONS." What a monstrous lie! Down thru the ages His church, THE church, ANY church, tenaciously clung to the doctrine voiced by that crusty old bachelor Paul, who told woman to keep her mouth shut in church and if she wished to know anything to go home and ask her husband. "Ask your pastor—HE KNOWS."

"Through the ages His church has been the champion of women's rights." What a lie! By authority of the first chapter of Genesis man has always claimed superiority. The inferiority of women has been preached from practically every pulpit through the ages. The Creator of the universe was a male and man was made in his image, hence he is the supreme and natural ruler of the world, to question which were rankest heresy. As for woman she should be content as all "good" women have been content thus to be the companion and servat (mostly servant) of this favored of the Gods. Woman exists not for herself but for man's comfort and convenience. That was the burden of thought which was taught by the church and which has crushed woman throughout the centuries—especially the ages dominated by Christian thought.

Hearken to what the AUTHORITY accepted by ALL "His Churches"—the Bible says concerning women. First Corinthians, chapter 14 verses 34 and 35 says, "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak: but they are commanded to be UNDER OBEDIENCE, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything let them ask their husbands at home: for it IS A SHAME FOR WOMEN TO SPEAK IN YE CHURCH." Chapter eleven of First Timothy verses 11 and 12—"Let the women learn in silence WITH ALL SUBJECTION. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."

Columns more could be written but this is enough to prove the Interchurch World movement LIED.

WHEREFORE, YE WORKERS?

Men of America, wherefore plough
For the lords who lay ye low?
Whefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your tyrants wear?

Wherefore feed and clothe and save,
From the cradle to the grave, for
These ungrateful drones who would
Drain your sweat—nay, drink your
blood!

Wherefore, Bees of Amercia, forge
Many a weapon, chain, and scourage,
That these stingless drones may spoil
The forced produce of your toil?

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm,
Shelter, food love's gentle balm?
Or what is it ye buy so dear
With your pain and with your fear?

The seed ye sow another reaps;
The wealth ye find another keeps;
The robes ye weave another wears;
The arms ye forge another bears.

Sow seed,—but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth,let no imposter keep;
Weave robes,—let not the idle wear;
Forge arms, in your defence to bear!

THE RED RUBY

Address to the Jury by Ben Gitlow. Also Darrow, the Judge and a final article by Antonio Giovanitti. 10c a copy.

Address The Toiler

CHURCH AND CAPITALISM

We read that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has started a campaign for the Inter-church World Movement. Personally, I do not pay much attention to it. I realized, a long time ago, that the master-class, whenever it found itself in danger, called upon the aid of the churches and their clergymen. Rockefeller intimated that we have charged, (he means us socialists) that the capitalists class is desperately useing the churches to keep the workingmen contented so that they will be satisfied with their lot, and not try to better their conditions on this earth, by promising them Heaven beyond the clouds, etc, He said that this is not the truth. Well now, let us see. What did we read about the attitude of the church during and after the war?

Dr. Joseph Kyle, President of Xenia, Ohio Theological Seminary, speaking at Chicago, Feb. 6, 1918, at the conference of 'World Evangelism and Vital Christianity' at the Moody Bible Institute declared that a hero's death in battle was not necessarily a passport to Heaven. "Salvation," said Dr. Kyle, "is thru Jesus Christ alone. It would be pleasant to believe that the spirits of soldiers who died in battle go straight to Heaven." Furthermore, we read, "Christ seeks recruits—Soldiers of the Cross, to get in the fight." "Fighting is the business of the world," declared Dr. W. W. Bustard in his sermon in the Euclid Ave. Baptist Church, 18th St., Cleveland, O. "It would be as easy to be Christian soldiers as United States soldiers," he said, — this despite the slogan of the church for nearly two thousands years, "Thou shalt not kill."

Again, we read: "Cleveland, Dec. 16, 1918: Churches Great Aid To War." The charge that the church had failed in the world-war was denied yesterday morning by Dean H. P. Almon Abbot of the Trinity Cathedral who asserted that the churches have given their sons by the thousands and thousands to the armies and navies. These men have gone forth to fight the battles of God. We also read these statements: "Churches plan to fight the spread of Bolshevism", and, "Conference speakers call on clergymen to change their attitude toward the discontented." The part the churches must take in Americanization work, thus combating the spread of Bolshevism, was to be one of the principal topics Wednesday at the Sectional Conference in connection with the Inter church World Movement of North America in session at Hotel Cleveland. This was said by Rev. D. D. Vaughn nad E. A. Wright, Secretary of the Federated Crurches of Cleveland. Here also we prove that the churches are consciously or unconsciously against the workingman. We read as follows: "Start campaign to keep foreign labor here after peace has been declared, Pittsburg, Oct. 18, 1928." "A nation-wide movement which has for its object the retention of foreign labor in this country after the war has been launched here by Rev. A. Kazinsky, pastor of St. Michael church at Braddock, Pa. The clergyman pointed out that after the war 35 to 40% of the foreign laboring class may seek to return to Europe unless some method is devised to keep them here. Probably the priest became alarmed thinking of the loss in money and in members should these people leave the country. Capitalistic industry might also be short of men. But now listen to what we read after the war was over and the people realized that the war was fought for capitalistic interests and not to make the world "safe for democracy."

The Detroit Free Press on Nov. 9, 1919, urges the United States to deport foreign slackers. In a sermon, Rev. Joseph W. Cochfan, pastor of Woodward Ave. Presbyterian Church, told his Sunday evening congregation, "We are in an inflamed state of mind toward the foreigners, enemy and slacker aliens who have aroused us to a fierce anger and now we are fighting the plottings of the Revolutionary alliens. It there any reason why such aliens should not be deported?"

Our answer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is that the master-class for thousands of years has been using the church for their own purposes. History tells us that Thomas D. Torquemada, inquisitor of Spain, from 1482 to 1498, tortured, killed and burned 10,000 poor heretics on account of their convictions. Similar methods prevail today against those who do not agree with the master-class. Torquemada failed and you will fail also. We today have Nickolai Lenine and Eugene V. Debs and others who concern themselves about the welfare of the masses, and we do not need the aid of the masters and your brother cleargymen.

When the time comes we will have a new and more brotherly world to live in where everybody will enjoy a better and happier life. At the present time, we are willing to trade our interests in the Heaven beyond the grave for only one day of your income.

A. Socialist.

A supply of literature goes forward to the new book store which comrades at Cincinnati have installed.

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By SYDNEY FLOWER, LL. D.

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HEALING THE WOUNDS

— By Anise. —

Along the Rhine
• • •
The MILITARISTS of France
• • •
Are starting the fighting
• • •
All over again.
• • •
As if they didn't know how
• • •
To QUIT;
• • •
And the FINANCIERS
• • •
Of the world
• • •
Still DICKER
• • •
Over a bankrupt Europe
• • •
Coming to no conclusion;
• • •
The League of Nations
• • •
Still goes on
• • •
"FIDDLING
• • •
While Rome burns";—
• • •
But the WORKERS of France
• • •
Who suffered MOST
• • •
In the war
• • •
Have Started
• • •
HEALING the WOUNDS!
• • •
They have taxed themselves
• • •
One franc apiece
• • •
Through their labor unions,
• • •
Two and a half million francs
• • •
To relieve
• • •
Their "comrade enemies"
• • •
In Austria!
• • •
And the workers
• • •
In other nations
• • •
Are doing the same.

The unionists of Holland
• • •
Have voted a half day's pay
• • •
For the BABIES
• • •
That starve in Vienna,
• • •
And forty cars of food
• • •
Were sent
• • •
By the International Federation
• • •
Of Labor Unions.
• • •
Italian Socialists are feeding
• • •
Ten thousand Austrian children,
• • •
And the unions of Denmark
• • •
Have LOANED
• • •
To the German unions
• • •
Funds from their special reserve
• • •
At low rates of interests.
• • •
The miners of England
• • •
Have sent large sums of money
• • •
For the saving of LIFE
• • •
In Central Europe,
• • •
It is the WORKERS
• • •
Who know without argument
• • •
That the hurt of ONE
• • •
Is the hurt of ALL;
• • •
And the hunger of one
• • •
Is the hunger of all!
• • •
Only WE
• • •
The workers of America
• • •
Have not yet joined
• • •
Our fellow workers in Europe
• • •
In healing
• • •
The wounds of the WORLD!

Ruminations of a Rebel.

— By Tom Clifford —

How evanescent is fame! Less than two years ago President Wilson was fondly acclaimed by press and pulpit the super-evangel of world democracy and universal peace. "How have the mighty fallen!" The erstwhile eulogies that once appeared in the daily press are conspicious by their absence It now seems probable that when the President leaves this vale of tears his passing will excite but brief comment. He had an opportunity that comes to but few men to place his name alongside that of Lincoln in the hall of fame. Had he considered social service above personal ambition he would now be receiving the plaudits of the multitude instead of almost universal condemnation. The contrast between his career and that of Eugene V. Debs stands out in sonspicuous relief. Although Wilson still occupies the highest office within the gift of the people of this nation, his personality excites practically no interest, and he is fated to go to his grave "unwept, unhonored and unsung." 'Gene Debs is an inmate of a federal prison—a convict—yet his personality is enshrined in the hearts of millions and his name will go down to posterity as one who loved—and, loving, served—his fellow men. Debs will live in history. Wilson is already practically forgotten.

• • •

Herbert Hoover, the much touted candidate for President, is a typical bourgeois. In harmony with his class interests he is doing his bit in denouncing Russia's Soviet government. With unblushing effrontery he shamelessly repeates the lying tales of anarchy and bloodshed in Russia, which have been refuted by scores of reputable witnesses and which every well informed person knows to be false. Hoover is just a common bourgeois liar when he says that the Soviet government has "wrecked itself on the rock of production." To Hoover—as to all the bourgeoisie—"the wish is father to thought." A Socialist government spells economic disaster to his class. His denunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a perfectly natural concomitant of his desire to perpetuate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Economic determinism prompts him and all of his class to denounce the one and glorify the other. Hoover has special reasons for bitterness toward the new regime in Russia. At the breaking out of the war he held valuable mining concessions in that country of which he has been dispossessed, and no bourgeois is inclined to tolerate such interference with his interests with equinimity. If the Soviet government survives the storm and stress incidental to a social change, Hoover and his fellow adventurers will be shut out of that prolific field of exploitation. A further source of worry to this gang of robbers is the alarming possibility of the spread of Socialism throughout the world should the Russian "experiment" prove a success, in which event these gentlemen of leisure would have to get off the backs of the workers and earn their own living. The prospect is not at all alluring. No wonder Hoover is peeved.

The white and colored races are soon to be pitted against each other in a world war if we are to accept the deductions of Lothrop Stoddard, a biological historian, in a book just published—"The Rising Tide of Color." Being always suspicious of the honestly of these literary fellows, I am inclined to believe that the author's chief purpose is to keep alive race prejudice, which has always been a notable factor in preventing solidarity among the workers. The religions dope doesn't work as effectively as it used to. Leave it to the bourgeoisie to invent new methods of sidetracking the minds of the workers from a consideration of the one and only question that means anything—their economic emancipation. So long as they refrain from giving this matter attention the master class feel safe.

• • •

The intelligent observer of current history has ample reason to be amused over the inanity of the American bourgeoisie. Their lack of vision renders them unfit to cope with the astuteness of the exploiters in Europe. The fact is now revealed that the English government, during the entire war period, spared enough time from the task of "making the world safe for democracy" to "cinch" control of the European oil fields. Wise guys, these Britishers. This will insure the English bourgeoisie commercial supremacy. That is what they were fighting for. Pity the gullibility of the American "mutts" who childishly thought otherwise. While the were sacrificing millions of treasure and thousands of human lives England was "bringing home the bacon." Score another installment of perfidy for "Perfidious Albion."

NEW YORK—The immediate release of the seventy-nine conscientious objectors still imprisoned by the War Department is urged upon Present Wilson in petition from thirty-seven states bearing 20,834 signatures, just forwarded through the American Civil Liberties Union, New York.

The petitions were transmitted with a letter signed by Professor Harry F. Ward, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, and by Norman Thomas and John Haynes Holmes of the Union's committee on conscientious objectors. The letter read, in part. "The petitions represent a body of opinion growing out of the centuries of struggle for religious and political freedom. They are just one expression of the increasing resistance throughout the country to the principle of conscription, alien to the traditions and professions of American liberty."

PARIS—"Art for art's sake" came against a real snag in the L'Ambigu theater here, when the directors contracted for the production of Nonziere's "Life is Good". The well known actor Carpentier, was asked to play the role of a member of the General Federation of Labor, who is held up to ridicule throughout the play. Carpentier refused. The actors' association, which is affiliated with the General Federation of Labor, backed Carpentier up. Nonziere refused to rewrite the play. The management could not produce it without actors, so was forced to cancel the contract.

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Maxim Gorky Addresses the Monarchists

(Continued from 1st page.)

in question did not deserve it. That is where the whole horror and tragedy lies.

Madam! Are you still fully convinced that you have a right to demand humane treatment, when you yourself have all your life been merciless to your fellow-creature, not considering him a human being, your equal? You are writing letters. You are educated. You have probably read books, in which the life of the peasant is described. What can you expect from the peasants, when you knowing their lives, did not anything to alleviate their suffering? Now you are the unfortunate one and you are writing with a hand trembling with fear, writing to a man who—as you might have known—can neither take away your fear, nor alleviate suffering. No, indeed No! Such are the ways of the world; hearts are places for compassion.

But life in a country, where the people were being beaten up by whips and knouts; in a country where ribs were broken and where people were being crippled for the sake of amusement; in a country where oppression had no bounds, where violence was assuming such forms that one could and shame of it—in such a country compassion cannot be found. The peo- go out of one's mind with the horror ple, brought up on beatings and violence, on the fist and the knout—such a people cannot be softhearted. The people, on whose bodies the policemen tread, can tread on the bodies of other people. In a country where inequality has so long reigned, it is difficult for the people to introduce the reign of justice.

We cannot demand that the man who never saw justice should be just. Everything is clear in this world, in which you Madam and your social set have permitted the reign of violence without even a protest. These people feel a slap more keenly than it was felt fifty years ago by the valet of your father.

The people have developed. In the process of their development, self-respect has grown. Nevertheless, they were still treated as slaves and looked upon as cattle.

Madam! Do not demand from the people that which you did not give them. You have no right to claim the mercy of the people. This people was oppressed. It is being oppressed even now by those who retained some sort of power over them. Now, when Czarism and capitalism brought the country to revolution, all the dark forces of the people came into play. All that which was buried for centuries exploded, and vengeance seethes on all sides. Nevertheless, the country has another force, a bright force lit up by the great thought, inspired by the radiant dream of justice, liberty and beauty, but, Madam, why should I describe in words the beauty and the greatness of the sea for the person who has no eyes to see it.

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Prosecutor Hoyne Seeing Red

Frames up to Trap Wagenknecht

SELECTION OF JURY IN CHICAGO COMMUNIST CASES DRAGS. — VENIREMEN PROFESS PREJUDICE.

Maclay Hoyne, Illinois State's attorney, who is supervising the trials of a large group of "reds", consisting of 41 members of the Communist Labor Party and 85 members of the Communist Party, which opened in Judge Oscar Hebel's court at Chicago, May 10th, is visualizing red wherever he looks. In this respect, he is fully the equal of Attorney General Palmer and it is feared that unless he is soon able to unearth something of a real red character, his mind may give way beneath the strain of its frightful fancies.

Chicago papers of May 25th carried lurid headlines connecting A. Wagenknecht, Executive Secretary of the Communist Labor Party, with a letter said to have been received by Hoyne of that date. The entire proceedure bears all the remarks of a frameup such as has often been worked with complete success upon labor leaders in the past. According to the Chicago papers an attempt was made by a would be assassin upon the life of Hoyne by firing a shot thru the window of his home. From this an attempt is made to build a frameup that will connect the shooting with comrade Wagenknecht who is one of 15 Communists who have not as yet been apprehended upon indictments furnished by the Chicago authorities.

Chicago radicals, who are acquainted with the individuals named therein, state that the letter in its wording, spelling, misuse of the English language and general charecteristics, bear them out in attributing it to the hand of Michael Flannigan, head of the Thiel detective agency, which has since the January raids, been employed by the bankers and business men of the Loop district to spy upon radicals and work up evidence against the "red menace." A slush fund of $40,000 is said to have been raised for this purpose.

Copy of "Red" Letter

"New York—May 21—1920—Mr. State's Attorney Hoyne and dirty dog Henry Berger; and Barnhardt (Assistant States' Attorney Marvin Barnhardt?) and Mike Flannegan of the Thiel agency—We want you all to known that you all have been found guilty by our committee; of conspiring against 200 men and women and therefore I have been instructed to write to you and let you know that you will be shot at the first opportunity we get. We mean all of you; especially Flannegan, the dirty crook dictitive; this is our second letter to you—relize the men or you will be shot soon. We have spies as well as you got and we know what you are planning as well as you know what we are planning.

"You can say goodby to all your friends if you don't relice these men in ten days; we know that the bankers ore paying you to put us in the jails. But let us tell you something what to tell the bankers including the prisident of the first national bank; that we will put him in hell just as well as not. We may meet him some this days and make him a surprise of something and the other bankers too.

board;

„By order of the national executive board;

"Baker, Lindgrand and Bilan.

"A. Wagenknecht, executive secretary (this signature in rubber stamp.)

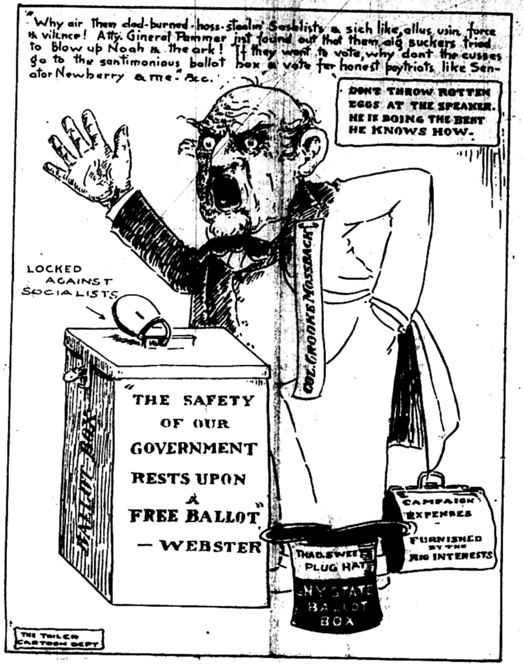
"This is your last notice."

Communists cases move slowly.

The selection of the jury in the Communist cases moves very slowly and it is to this that the radicals atribute Hoyne's anxiety to create a sentiment against them, such as Palmer attempted previous to May 1st. At the present time only five of the needed 12 jurymen have been selected tho nearly six hundred veniremen have been examined. Many weeks will probably elapse before the jury is completed. Four of the accused communists have been dismissed by judge Hebel.

District Attorney Hoyne has not as yet appeared as an active participant in the cases. Frank Comerford, M. Barnhart and Lloyd Heth handling the prosecution. The defense atterneys are

(Continued on page 4.)


"Why air them dod-burned-hoss-stealin' Soshlists & sich like, allus usin force & vilence! Atty. Gineral Pammer jist found out that them air suckers tried to Blow up Noah & the ark! If they want to vote, why dont the cusses go to the santimonious ballot box & vote fer honest poytriots like Senator Newberry & me." &c.
DON'T THROW ROTTEN EGGS AT THE SPEAKER. HE IS DOING THE BEST HE KNOWS HOW.
LOCKED AGAINST SOCIALISTS
BALLOT BOX
"THE SAFETY OF OUR GOVERNMENT RESTS UPON A FREE BALLOT" — WEBSTER
COL. CROOKE MOSSBACK
CAMPAIGN EXPENSES FURNISHED BY THE BIG INTERESTS
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THE TOILER CARTOON DEPT

The Colonel in action. He will appear personally upon every platform in America during the coming campaign — much advice will be offered you.

BOURGEOIS BANKRUPTCY

The baneruptcy of the leadership of the bourgeoisie is becoming more and more evident as one industrial crisis after another follows in quick succession. Not one of the recent national strikes has been settled upon a basis that will stand up under the first breath of the next industrial whirlwind that strikes it. The mishandling of industrial disputes under the leadership of the bourgeois economists and master minds of bourgeois political science is a mere running in circles that becomes more vicious the longer it continues.

It is amusing to observe the different stages of bourgeois thought in regard to industrial justice to the workers. Time was when the employing class conceded the worker nothing as a moral or just return for his expended energies. The worker took what the employer decided he should have whether it was much or little—and it was always little enough. During these times the famous slogan of the A. F. of L., "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work," was almost revolutionary. It was an attempt to establish a recognition that labor was entitled to enough of its product to maintain its life and the functions of the human being.

While the war did not materially change the conception of Gompers and the officialdom of the A. F. of L. regarding this, it and the outlaw strikes have practically brought the capitalist employers to agreement with that principle. They have caught up with Gompers and even stand a chance to surpass him in recognition of new "rights" for labor. We hear a good deal about the "right to work." Gompers has not conceded this right, but perhaps he will by the time the capitalist class grant it under pressure from the outlaw strikes.

The right to work carries with it the right to the product—at least intelligent labor will claim that. Gompers and the exploiters of labor are in agreement that no such right follows. Both believe in exploitation of labor by capital as a fundamental moral and legal right.

The right to work and the right to a "living" wage, brings up the question of "what is living," and how well is the worker entitled to live?" So, we are in a circle, having gotten nowhere unless we can solve these questions. The bourgeoisie cannot solve them. The moment they attempt it they are confronted with their own economic [illegible] for the better the workers [illegible] the less is the employers' share. [illegible] the rock of the division of the [illegible] of labor is the bourgeoisieship salvation bound to crash. There is [illegible] around it for the necessities [illegible] the workers lives demand they [illegible] for it while the salvation of the capitalist system and the continuance of profit taking demand its avoidence. The nearest the capitalist class can come to solving this irreconcialiable antagonism is to grant a living wage—whatever thet may mean. But it is a solution which does not solve. The workers will not accept it. As long as there is exploitation, the class-war must continue.

The bourgeoisie leaders and spokesmen accept the idea that something is wrong but they have no solution to offer. The best they can offer are but sops thrown to the workers to pacify them for a little while.

They have no bridge to span this chasm. As world leaders, the bourgeoisie are bankrupt, they have reached the end of their rope. The class war grows more incense, production breaks down, national and international economy cracks under the strain of industrial strife. The crisis approaches and the workers are forced to take the leadership and to steer the industrial craft thru the whirlpools into the quiet waters of industrial and economic justice.

This is the course which events are taking. Bourgeois spokesmen may wail and cavil but capitalism is crumbling faster than they can erect supports against it.

The future belongs to labor. Their is the only solution which can bring peace to a world in class conflict. The control of industry by the producers alone, will raise man above a struggling slave or an arrogant master and weld them into one common mass without inharmonious ends or irreconciliable economic differences.

GO WEST!

— By Boomer. —

That grand old man, Horace Greely used to say: "go west young man and grow up with the country." Should he be living today and give advise, it would probably be "go west young man and get in jail" if you believe in the rights of free speech." For there is not a jail in the west even in the smaller towns that have not held, or is holding; radicals picked up since the Centralia tragedy of Nov. 11th.

And what does that mean to the labor movement? It means that capitalism has turned the jails into schools for the manufacture of radical, as many a man has been only a luke warm sympathizer at the time of being "selected" but by the time he got a two or three month sample of modern justice, he became a sure enough class conscious guy.

Especiall has Multonomah Co. Jail, Portland, Ore., been a good school for this education, as there are thirty or more of us in the one corridor who have been in since Nov. 11th. We get books, papers and all kinds of periodicals, which we read and pass around to the other corridors. Our labor has commenced to bear fruit upon the inmates of the other corridors who in the main are bootleggers white slavers, etc. As an indication in a straw vote taken a few days ago Debs was the only one who got a look in.

We have lost three of our members by reason of an urgent invitation to visit Salem, State Prison, for a period of 2-2-5 years. Two of the sojourners were members of the C. L. P. and the third one was convincted of being one of those "terribel" I. W. W's. but on investigation it was found he belonged to everything ever heard of around these parts. It is not hard to convict a man here only a little tedious as Oregon has not got its own corps of stool pidgeon witnesses yet, it has to borrow some from Washington, and as they have been rather busy in that state lately they have to book ahead for open dates.

Another little matter that seems to be worrying the persecuters and dispensers of "justus" is that these prisoners have heard something about being entitled to a jury trial, so they all refuse to be satisfied with a part of a jury. They are all holding firm for a seperate and individual trial and since they are all migatory workers a little thing like being held in jail six months or a year is of no moment to any one concerned save the taxpayers, who ever they may be—at least none of them are relatives of ours.

Justice! Yes, there is one way to get it for the workers and that is by the workers becoming the dominant factor in society. Workers should devote more time to education so as to be able to handle their new found industrial freedom when it is attained. Well, I am not going to worry, considering all the men and women receiving their education in the bastiles of capitalism it makes me rather optimistic. To all who want to get a class conscious education, if you are being overlooked in the east or other parts of the country. Allow me to invite you to Portland jail, as we have room for several comrades, brothers, fellowworkers or just folks, which ever you may be.

TOM WALDON
Co. Jail. Portland, Ore.

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PALMER USES DETECTIVE AGENCY IN WAR ON RADICALS

WASHINGTON.—Direct connection between the murderous campaign of the Baldwin-Feltz Detective Agency against labor in West Virginia and Attorney General Palmer's raids against so-called "reds" is now established by means of official government documents.

It was at Palmer's instigation that the Department of Labor issued hundreds of warrants for aliens, based on Palmer's alleged prima facie avidence covering "2,000 perfect cases' of men and women who should be deported for radical beliefs. While the law requires that such warrants be served only by officers of the Labor Department, a great number of aliens were seized by Palmer's men and by local police or private detectives.

Carl Cram, of West Virginia is one of the aliens thus arrested. On April 23rd, Immigration Inspector O'Brien formally notified the Labor Department that Carl Cram was being held by the Baldwin-Fetlz detectives at Bluefields, West Va., and that the private detectives were clamoring to have the Labor Department officially "parole" Gram in the custody of the Baldwin-Feltz concern.

Attention is called to the fact that the private strike-breaking detectives already held Cram in confinement, but were anxious to have the Labor Department take the responsibility for what they had done and intended further to do with the prisoner. The Baldwin-Feltz pretext was that Cram was needed by the West Virginia authorities as a witness against one Tony Stafford, charged with attempted murder.

Mother Jones the famous friend and comforter of the working class, declares that Tony Staffard is an intelligent and lawful champion of the workers, whose only crime is his determined opposition to the feudal mine owners of West Virginia. To all who know the circumstances, the implication was clear that the Baldwin-Feltz detectives were plotting to use a deportation warrant to hold Carl Cram and "third degree" him as a witness against Stafford and all others whom they wished to get.

Anthony Caminetti, commissioner general of immigration, was willing and anxious to cooperate with the private detectives. Within a few hours after he received the request, forwarded by Inspector O'Brien, Caminetti made out a formal order to parole Carl Cram in custody of Baldwin-Feltz. In the old days before Louis F. Post began to scrutinize Caminneti's work, that would have settled just the way the mine owners' thugs wanted it. But the Assistant Secretary of Labor did not rubber-stamp Caminetti's recomendation. Across its face, on the contrary, be wrote: "Parole denied L. F. P."

Then Mr. Post communicated directly with Inspector O'Brien, directing him immediately to recover the person of Carl Cram from the Baldwin-Feltz detectives, and adding the information that if the regularly constituted authorities of West Virginia witshed to use Cram as a witness against Stafford or any one else, those authorities could procure the full cooperation of the Labor Department if they would state the facts and make an official application.

Caminetti is Palmer's "inside man" at the Department of Labor. In the whole campaign of terrorism conducted by the Attorney General for the past year Caminetti has been an active assistant. It was he, figuratively, who christened the Buford when that vessel carried the first cargo of men and women into exile from America, and it was his boasted ambition to churn the Atlantic with subsequent fleets of exiles from our "democracy." To this end he welcomed the cooperation of such gentry as the Baldwin-Feltz detectives.

RUSSIA'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

MOSCOW.—The locomotive factories in Kharkow are working with full speed. During the last two weeks two new locomotives were manufactured and three repaired. Besides a great number of freight cars were repaired. The trains on the Wolga-Bugulma line are now running the distance in 48 hours which previously required 11 days. The workers of Alexandria line have volutarily prolonged their working day. The first labor army in the Ekaterinburg district has already repaired 66 railroad bridges. Traffic on the railroad lines south of Moscow is rapidly being reopened. During March, 513 locomotives and 1,400 cars were repaired. Ten complete trains were organized. The reports of the commission for the Third Railroad District of the Moscow azan Line show a general and considerable improvement in the traffic. All orders are fulfilled with military strictness. During "transportation week" 468 seriously damaged locomotives were repaired. Askij writes in "Pravda" that during the first week of April in Soviet Russia 6,595 freight cars were loaded and unloaded. This constituted an increase of 1,500 cars over the previous week.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LUSK COMMITTEE.

Some astonishing facts about this extra-legal Committee never before revealed. An authentic report.

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Address The Toiler

Your Dollar Was Never Worth so much as Now

Now don't say it isn't so—right off the bat, of course we realise the seeming contradiction in the statement contained in the heading of this article. A whole lot has been said and written about the Shrinking Dollar—the 46 cent dollar, the 33 cent dollar. You have read of it and have doubtless had more or less unpleasant experiences concerning this fact. No need to tell you that the Great American Dollar is no more great but very small indeed, and contains but a fraction and a small fraction at that, of its former purchasing power. In this respect it has been getting smaller and smaller. Little by little and some times a whole lot at a time, its value in the necessities—of—life market has constantly dwindled, until now we have come to regard a dollar as little more than a joke, tho a tragic one for the most of us who earn them all and get but a few. But still we maintain that your dollar is worth more now than ever before But it will take several more paragraphs to tell you why.

You can't always measure the value of a dollar by what it will buy in a general way. There is still another measure for the dollar and that measure is the need of it at a particular time. When you have many of them—their purchasing power is not so important. Quantity balances quality. But when you have only a few and the purchasing power has dwindled to about one third—then, even a 33 cent dollar looks as big and bright as a brand new full moon.

Last week we told you on this page of the paper shortage, of the very grave situation of The Toiler because of it and the lack of funds in The Toiler treasury—of the absolute necessity of getting funds immediately to purchase paper if we were to continue publication. But in spite of the paper shortage, paper can be had—for dollars. Even a truth-telling weekly paper such as The Toiler can obtain paper if dollars are at hand.

And there is the trouble, comrades, and readers of The Toiler. Just as we told you last week, we have no funds to buy newsprint. We want to repeat—in spite of the difficulties of obtaining news print, in spite of the conspiracy which is said to exist against the smaller weeklies, in spite of the conspiracy which WE KNOW exists in certain circles to kill The Toiler in any way—and several ways have been tried this past year, in spite of all these—we know how to get all the newsprint we need for many months. We know whom to see, we know what wheels to turn to start hundreds of reams of paper to roll our way—if you will help us get the money needed to pay for it. We have learned how to do that in battling for The Toiler these past trying months—and we have learned it well.

The rest is up to you, comrades, we believe we have done our duty. We have found the ways—you must help us find the means. It is not much that we ask, just a little from each of you who believe in The Toiler and its mission; who believe that in this particular crisis a little 33 cent dollar is not too much to give to it to sustain it in its struggle for the education and emancipation of the workers.

And now we repeat what we state in the first paragraph—that in this particular instance, that measley, blackened, torn, 33 cent dollar in your pocket is worth more NOW than ever before. Because it will insure the continuation of The Toiler by supplying the needed paper upon which to print; by making certain that which we MUST have if we are to do our work—yours and ours. Twenty five hundred dollars will pay for ten tons of newsprint. Ten tons of paper mean a good long lease of life and a chance to do a whole lot of needed socialist work—a whole lot of educational work among the workers.

We know this is worth while. You realize it is too. Already the dollars are coming in. We ask you also to drop at least one dollar in the stream of dollars that is to revolve the wheels that keep The Toiler turning out each and every week the necessary education and inspiration which the workers must have to win a world for those who toil.

SEND YOUR DOLLAR NOW!

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We request that each Toiler reader who has received a notice of the expiration of his subscription renew at once. It costs money to publish a newspaper. Your renewal NOW will aid materially in meeting the expenses of printing.

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Enclosed finds $.......... for which send the Toiler to:
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Renewal New Which?

Skygac's Column

(Written especially for The Toiler.)

B. L. T. with his line-o-type informs us that "Mr. Dealney does "exclusive undertaking" in Clinton, Ia. Just how it is possible for Mr. Delaney to thus cater to the "exclusive" in a classless country, which B. L. T.'s boss, the W. G. N. Tribune (the W. G. N. stands for World's Greatest Nuisance) insists that America is, B. L. T. failed to state.

• • •

When Wood tells us that Lavender is pink-dilly-dilly-dally, and McAdoo tells us that Lavender is grey dally-dally-dilly, and Hoover tells us that Lavender is green dally-dilly-dally, what is a poor color blind voter going to do?

• • •

The Rotary club in our town is all het up over the soldier's bonus. They are agin' it—strong. Likewise they are to a (I almost wrote—"to a man") Rotary Member, agin' these terrible high wages paid to the extravagant workers, who none of'em "will do more than half a days work for a days pay." Rotary—means to go around in a circle—and get nowhere!!!

• • •

The M. and M., same being Merchants and Manufacturers, are likewise all het up. Their recent meeting had the largest attendance of any in the history of the local M. & M. They must be expecting something to drop. Prices? Wages? Social System? Or What? You tell 'em Hy, Palmer won't let me.

• • •

That is Palmer SAYS he won't.

• • •

One column of the morning scream informs us that prices on women's ready made clothing will go no higher according to Cleveland authority and the next column tells us that prices on women's clothing had been cut 50 per cent., one half, by Western firm. Any connection between the two news items which appeared side by side?

• • •

Press report tells us of a foreigner who, upon being threatened with deportation, kissed the American flag and committed suicide, saying with his dying breath, "America, my country." A very pathetic little story but they did not tell us whether or not he had paid his income tax on his country.

• • •

"Every soldier knows that both his comfort at the rear and his safety on the battlefield were sacrificed" editorializes the W. G. N.

The W. G. N. failed to state that the same forces which uphold, maintain and defend the wages-system, are the forces which sacrificed the soldier's comfort and safety. So the rich may be safe in their riches and the poor be kept in the station which it has pleased Almighty God to place them—in punishment for the sin of Adam, I suppose.

Profiteers are now threatened with "deflated finance". We are used to that. None have ever accused us of being a profiteer—but we have suffered from deflated finance for lo, these many years.

• • •

Some people copy; some copyright.

• • •

Some people look it over; some people overlook it.

• • •

An organizer from the N. O. Socialist party told me that I ought to join THE party. When I asked her to submit her reasons she argued like this; "Well, it is the only party that is doing anything; it is all that is left, and one has to work somewhere." Whereupon I told her: "according to your argument, if I were a Christian and the Bolsheviki got my God, I'd have to take up Devil worship on the ground that "one has to worship somewhere."

• • •

Press reports that "reactionaries are organizing an army to co-operate with the Poles against the Bolsheviaks." Reactionaries is the right word. Also birds of a feather are apt to be found in the same nest.

• • •

Rumor is a strange thing. A fellow gravely informed me the other day that a certain government arsenal was supposed to have eight thousand machine guns with ample rounds of ammunition and there was not a single one there. He intimated that the local Rotary Club knew of the location of some of them, and that they were soon to be used against a rebellious working-class. A friend of mine was invited to "come in out of the wet", what ever that means. Rumors ARE strange affairs. Was there any truth to that rumor? Who knows?

• • •

"Hope to wind up DRIVE this week"—press report.

HOW LONG will the dwellers of the land of the free and the hope of the brave CONSENT to be driven?

—o—

TRUTH FINALLY ADMITTED—WITH RESERVATIONS.

Anybody with brains enough in their head to know that two and two makes four knows that there are NO classes in America—except the working class and a class of parasites which work the working class. Here is the way the Muskegan (Mich.) Chronicle straddles the issue:

"Any time that right (the right of free speech and a free press) is taken away, whether by tyranny of the masses or the classes, to use an expression that will be understood, BUT WITHOUT CONCEDING ANY SUCH DISTINCTION IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT MIGHT IMPLY, our boasted liberties will have vanished."

"Will have vanished." By striking out the word "will" in that phrase the actual situation in the U. S. will be revealed.

HOW THEY DO LIE

Hillquit claimed, at the Socialist Party national convention just held in New York, that the Socialist Assemblymen involved in the Albany trial upheld the principles of International Socialism and that not a move was made but what was in accordance with these principles.

What International Socialist principles does the extracts of the testimony of Waldman, one of the expelled Socialist assemblymen, which we print below, accord with:

Extracts from testimony of Louis Waldman Socialist Party assemblymen, at the Albany trial.

Page 1746 Favors voting for militia

Page 1750 Does not favor establishment in the U. S. of a Soviet form of government

Page 1755 Made public speeches urging people to register

Page 1758 Workers in this country owe no duty to the workers of another country

Page 1790 This government is not a capitalist government

Page 1828-9 Would ask all workers to enter a war of defense

Page 1829 Would favor preparedness against an invasion if one was reasonably expected

Page 1830 The government and not the S. P. should determine whether an invasion was anticipated

Page 1833 Prefers government of New York state to Soviet Government

Page 1835 Reafirms above

Page 1836 Congratulates the Lusk Committee and the secret service agents for their opposition to Soviet government

Page 1839 Would vote for military appropriations

Page 1843 Claimed constitution of S. P. did not require his expulsion for voting for military appropriations

Page 1857 Desires to see the American flag, not the red flag maintained

Page 1859 The government of New York state is the people' government.

—o—

CHRIST OR DIABOLOUS

To the Toiler:

Ephraim is a cake not turned. (Hosea VII.—8.)

Translated into the vulgar parlance of today "Eph" was only half baked.

Poor Eph has been dead quite a long time but unfortunately for society he left behind him an amazing lot of descendants possessed of intellectual bias, as for instance, eight years ago to go no farther back the sons of Ephraim (may his tribe decrease) elected one Woodrow Wilson to the presidency of these United States in the joyful expectation that he would knock "L." out of the H. C.; did he do it? He did like "L.". Selah.

Four years later the tribe of Ephraim re-elected the aforesaid W. W. sorely against his will (he said so himself) in the hilarious hope that he would keep them out of war. Ephraim is joined to his idols, leave him alone. "You can't fool all the people all of the time, but you can fool all the Ephraimites every day in the week. Selah.

Again Ephraim in the labor union developed a unique way of punishing his enemies by electing them to congress where they in their, turn retaliated by punishing labor. If you don't believe me listen to Mr. Gompers as he goes about like a roaring lion because congress stung labor once more.

It is one of the sad and wierd mysteries of life why the A. F. of L. clings so tenaciously to the tail of the "dem" donkey (I wouldn't say "dam" for any thing) after being kicked repeatedly with stinging emphasis on a certain part of the anatomy. As Dundreary says it is one of those things no fellow can find out. Some one suggests the tie is Adelphian. I have read or heard somewhere of a poor fellow that was twin brother to an ox can it be that the A. F. of L. is twin brother to the democratic jackass and the tail of the donkey is the connecting ligature as in the case of the famous Siamese twins, Eng and Chang. If this be the case we may gladly sing Blest be the tie that binds. —Selah.

But it is in the wide and fertile field of religion that the halfbaked descendants of Ephraim blossom forth in all their varied glory, can you imagine three or four hundred seperate bodies attacked to one head. You can't do it. Then you are no Ephraimite. Every disciple of Diabolous (Diabolous is the one who couses devision you know) Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians etc. can see it without batting an eye. Even the usually astute and redoubtable Skygac shows a cross of Ephraimitic blood when he makes catholicism and protestantism synonymous with christianity, and when he terms the hell begotten nations of Europe christian. I use the term hell begotten advisedly. Get out your bibles and read the thirteenth chapter of Revelation for my authority. But this is the book of which Mr. Ingersoll says it requires a man suffering from delirium tremens to understand but Mr. Ingersoll was a descendant of Eph in the direct male line so his testimony is of no value.

Selah and Selah.

Springfield, O. A. C.

—o—

CENTRALIA, WASH.—Grangers, organized labor and the Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion of Seattle and other cities are planning a mammoth Liberty picnic to be held near Centralia May 29, as a counter to the activities of the Centralia reactionaries who lynched a returned service man following the Armistice day shootings, and who are now united in an anti-progressive campaign to down the organized workers.

—o—

It was on January 9, 1905, that Father Gapon led a procession of workers to present a petition to the Czar, which ended in the petitioners being mowed down with machine guns. Today it is interesting to read some of the demands of that petition:

"Personal freedom and inviolability, freedom of speech and the press, freedom of asseblage, freedom in religious affairs.

"Responsibility of the ministers to the people, and guarantees of lawfulness in administration.

"Equality before the law for all without exemption.

"Immediate rehabilitation of those punished for their convictims."

NO "MEXICAN SOVIET" YET — OBREGON ANOTHER KERENSKY

— By Linn A. E. Gale —

Capitalists need feel no tremors and Radicals no glee over the prospect of the early establishment of a "Mexican Soviet" as predicted in a United Press dispatch from Washington, May 3. There will be no Soviet here just yet. Some day, but not now.

The Obregon administration will be "safe and sane but progressive." Obregon will be another Kerensky, trying in all sincerity, no doubt, to improve the standard of living of the workers and at the same time to permit the oil and mining interests to gain bigger profits, seeking to grant to the workers the demands that Carranza promised but never fulfilled while still endeavoring to retain the friendship of the United States.

Unlike Kerensky, Obregon may rule for several years, but, like Kerensky, he will eventually fail in his efforts to mix conflicting elements and to prevent the irrepressible conflict.

Mexico's next revolution will be a Social Revolution.

Just as the liberalism of Carranza, auspiciously initiated, developed into gross corruption, waste of funds and brutal tyranny, which brought the downfal of the regime, so the liberalism of Obregon, no matter how honest may be the motives of the man, must culminate in a similar surrender to the bourgeoisie that will mean another revolt, sooner or later.

Despite the unsavory character of some of those who supported the recent revolution, and despite the fact that its fruits will be reforms but not fundamental social changes, it must not be forgotten that the Mexican masses are undergoing an awakening that is ominous for capitalism. When they find that this upheaval has brought them but minor improvements in their condition, their swing to the Left will be still more pronounced. They will no longer dally with Liberalism. They will demand Soviets—and get them.

Carranza fell because the people thought he had sold out to the same Wall Street that he had so long resisted. He also fell because of the support that personal enemies, bandits and some bourgeois politicians gave his opponents. But the primary cause was the general feeling that Bonillas, the government choice for President, was Wall Street's man, and that the story of the $1,000,000 campaign fund furnished by New York bankers, was true.

The masses flocked to Obregon because they thought he was the champion of the common people. They liked his brusque, unostentatious manner. They admired him more then ever on May 9 when he rode on horseback into Mexico City and, in his shirt-sleeves, his face unshaven for at least a couple of weeks, he made a speech from the balcony of the plain, old-fashioned St. Francis Hotel. They still admire him and they are willing to give him time to accomplish what they want—if he will. But if he doesn't—and it will be practically impossible for him to, even if he tries—they will throw him overboard even as they discarded Carranza.

Wall St. Planned Long Civil War—and Intervention.

There is some reason to think that American finance-capital is putting up the money for the election of Bonillas and in urging Carranza to send troops to Sonora to force Obregon's people to vote against their favorite son, deliberately sought to precipitate civil war. It is also likely that my original statement that guns were furnished the Sonorans from the United States, was true, and that American Big Business coldbloodedly played one side against the other. I am certain that I was right in saying that Wall Street expected a long-drawn out civil war which would make intervention inevitable, and result in a repetition of the Texas incident of 1848.

But developments were different than Wall Street anticipated. The people had supported Carranza as long as they considered him the enemy of Wall Street when he thrust Bonillas on them, they revolted. Their revolt was genuine and almost spontaneous. The fact that the revolution was bloodless and met practically no opposition, proves this. The people were a unit or nearly so.

Seeing the immense popularity of Obregon, Wall Street changed its tactics. Seeing how unanimous was the backing of the people, it realized that thre could be no civili war—all the fighters would be on one side. So it made overtures to Obregon. And meanwhile Obregon, fearful of interference from above the Rio Grande, was making overtures to American Big Business to protect himself. Thus the two parties to the contract came together—the one because to subsidize a revolutionary government would be cheaper than to finance a counter-revolution or wage a war against it, the other because afraid of being attacked and overthrown.

Indirect Control of Mexico.

So, there will be no armed intervention. No annexation. No repetition of the Texas case or the Panama affair. None of these things will be necessary. Obregon has compromised sufficiently satisfactorily.

American finance-capital will get what it wants—or most of it. It is very probable that Obregon wil linsist on a better enforcement of labor alws, on better wages and better working conditions generally in return for the friendly manner in which he will deal with American capitalists here, but the fact remains that he will not undertake anything radical.

"Soviet Mexico" is still some distance away. Instead of a proletarian dictatorship, Mexico is cheduled to have a form of Liberalism like, perhaps, what William Jennings Bryan might initiate if he were President of the United States.

A big business boom is already anticipated by merchants, miners and oil men. The worries of those Americans who remembered Obregon's vigorous tactics of a few yars ago, have disappeared with the authoritative assurance that there will be "no rough stuff." Stores are painting their buildings. Business men are buying more stock. Credit facilities which grew pinched in the last few weeks, are stretching out again. The Y. M. C. A. is planning considerable extension of its work having just received a donation of $1,000 from the munitions department and a pledge of a steady bonus of $100 a month from the government-owned railroad. These remembrances were promised by the outgoing regime in the days when Carranza thought he was going to elect Ambassador Ygnacio Bonillas and was lavishly spending money alleged to have come from Wall Street. The Y. M. C. A. people were fearful that the new administration might not respect the promise, but their fears have just been set at ease. The $1,000 has already been paid. The railroad money will be paid shortly, the officials explaining that they must wait a week or so as Director General Fontes of the Carranza government, took all the funds away with him when he fled. However, the money is a sure thing, and confidence has been restored in the "Y" as well as elsewhere.

Bidding for Popularity.

The Obregonistas made themselves popular with newspapers at the outset by cutting down the mailing rates on second class matter to 4 centavos a kilo. The rate had been 6 centavos and the Carranza postmaster general had raised it to 10 just a few weeks ago.

The national mint is busy coining a new supply of 5, 10 and 20 centavo pieces to relieve the wretched shortage of small change, due to speculation in silver and bronze, that had caused vast inconvenience and even sufferring during the past few months and at different other periods in the Carranza administration.

An amnesty has been promptly declared for all former exiles who left Mexico under Carranza as well as for adherents of Carranza who opposed the Obregon revolution, providing, of course, that they lay down arms. Political exiles in Mexico who came here from the United States and other countries to avoid participation in the war or to escape persecution, will be protected, it is expected. When I interviewed Obregon in February, he told me that no political fugitive here would be extradited back to this own country.

Efforts will be made to put the educational system of the country on a respectable basis, it is also claimed, and there is certainly need enough of it. At present the City of Mexico maintains only 95 primary schools with an attendance of 35,491 pupils, less than half the number of two years before. Steadily the money that should have gone to schools has been cut down to permit bigger graft for generals and politicians under Carranza. The big teachers' strike of a year ago was the result of the non-payment of salaries to the teachers of the Federal District for several months. In 1910, at the time of the last census, there were 42,400 children over 6 years of age who could not read and write and in the whole Federal District an illiterate population of about a quarter of a million souls. The figures would be no less today. Obviously, there is opportunity for useful work if the new administration undertakes it honestly.

While there is reason to believe that the new regime will be in many respects an improvement over the preceding one, it must not be forgotten that it will be so deeply obliged to American Big Business that it will be able to do very little that conflicts with the profits on foreign investments. Insofar as it can improve conditions without touching those profits, it will be free to do so, but the minute incomes are hit, it will have to compromise or face the old, old threat of intervention. Obregon is too wise to throw away the political prize that he wanted, by blindly defying Wall Street. In all probability, he will yield as gracefully as he can whenever mooted points come up.

Placating American Big Business

Every possible effort has been made by the leaders of the revolution to make American interests friendly and to pave the way for recognition by the government in Washington. In an exclusive interview with the Associated Press in Tacubaya, a town in the suburbs of Mexico City, on May 8, General Obregon declared:

"What strengthens the United States strengthens Mexico. What weakens the United States weakens Mexico. My ideal for the relations between Mexico and the United States is to make the international border like the Canadian boundary, withdrawing troops, axcept customs officials. Carranza's interpretation of the Monroe doctrine was a mistake, although I believe Carranza was perfectly sincere in his belief that his policy was best for Mexico."

Governor de la Huerta of Sonora, Provisional President of Mexico, told a United Press correspondent: "I have a great, strong desire to see Mexico a field for safe investment, for honest and legitimate investment in accord with the spirit of the world..... The revolutionary government promises stabilization of the Tampico oil question. As we feel that the real interests of the government and the oil companies are the same, we will meet at the proper point. We promise a satisfactory and sensible arrangement." "You do not feel your government can be called Socialistic?" he was asked. "Absolutely not," was de la Huerta's answer. "It is entirely directed to democracy and seeking the betterment of the poorer classes by orderly means."

Robert V. Pesqueria, financial agent of the revolutionary government, has stated that "the revolution proposes to consolidate all the elements of the country for united peace and progress and to respect foreigners and their interests, with which we aim to maintain the most cordial relations."

Ralph H. Turner, Mexico City correspondent for the United Press, told me the other night that he "guessed Obregon would be good, all right, and cooperate with American Big Business."

A dispatch in the Kansas City Post of May 12, said: "It was learned that an agent of General Obregon, leader of Mexico's revolutionary armies, visited New York last week for a series of conferences with big business interests. The Obregon aide, General Ramon de Negri, carried Obregon's pledge to protect American citizens and American property rights in Mexico."

The Wall Street Journal remarked a short time ago that petroleum companies need not be disturbed over the increase of the export duty on petroleum from 30 cents to 54 cents a ton, scheduled to go into effect May 25, for "from all appearances Carranza will not be in Mexico on the date when the increase is scheduled to go into effect."

An extra of "El Heraldo de Mexico", the Mexico City daily owned by ex-Governor Alvarado of Yucatan, erstwhile "Socialist" (?) and now slated for Secretary of the Treasury according to reports, carried an account of a banquet in New York attended by E. L. Doheny, Secretary of the Interior Lane and representatives of the Standard Oil Co., the Continental Rubber Co., the Texas Oil Co., the Southern Oil Transport Co., Island Oil Co., United Fruit Co., Continental Oil Co. In this banquet, according to "El Heraldo," Obregon was acclaimed as "the men that Mexico needed" and great satisfaction was expressed with the termination of the revolution.

The attitude of a prominent official in the Texas Oil Co. is of interest as revealing the change of mind that he experienced. In the first few days of the Obregon uprising he told certain persons confidentially that the situation looked very bad. "Obregon is as bad as a Bolshevist," he asserted. Some days after Obregon had entered Mexico City, however, he told these same persons that he was satified that "the new government is going to do the right thing and Obregon won't repeat any of his radical business of a few years ago." He had previously declared that "Bonillas would be a much better man for American interests. He was plainly for Bonillas would be a much better man for American interests." He was plainly for Bonillas in the first place but later received assurance that the new administration would do nothing antagonistic.

Tampico correspondents assure me that the "Socialist Party" in that city held a convention that endorsed Obregon almost unanimously, but which appears to have been organized by Obregonistas as a campaign auxiliary, having no previous existence, is practically a bourgeois organization. At the convention the subject of Russia was not mentioned, the word Bolshevism was taboo, and the principal speakers for Obregon asserted that he would "enforce labor laws already existing." That this had not been done heretofore, is true enough, and if the promise is kept, the workers will benefit materially yet this can hardly be confused with Socialism.

The status of labor in Tampico has been especially wretched for although high wages are paid in many cases by the petroleum companies, the prices are outrageous and far out of proportion to the wages. It is practically impossible to get for less than $1. American money, a dinner that costs the equivalent of 30 or 35 cents, American money, in Mexico City. Colonel Orozco, a Carranza appointee and friend, was head of the police department during the old regime, and his brutality in dealing with the labor unions was notorious. Both I. W. W. unions were forced to suspend meetings, their halls shut up and their members beaten and jailed as autocratically as in the United States. Although the Carranza officials constantly fought the American corporations and tried to force them to pay higher—and quite justifiable—taxes, they were in turn grafting and spending public funds with shaneful extravagance, and anybody who dared expose their rottenness, was browbeaten, bullied or bribed into silence.

Writing from Tampico, a friend says, "The Labor situation is quiet here at present but may develop strikes at any time, as wages while higher than the average in Mexico, are far from equalling the terrific cost of living. I am continually astounded by prices of food and clothes."

C. F. Bertelli, Universal Service staff correspondent, in a Paris dispatch to the American press, says that the Obregon revolution was planned and financed by a group of wealthy Mexican exiles in the French capital. He names Francisco Iturbe, millionaire backer of General Angeles, whose revolution of a little over a year ago ended abruptly when he was captured and executed; Jose Diaz, Mexican rubber king, cousin of Porfirio Diaz, whose estates in Yucatan and Tehuantepec were confiscated by Carranza; Ramon Garcia, adviser to the late Victoriano Huerta; Jesus Ignacio Hiramas, millionaire Diaz follower; Juan Estrada, Mexican song writer living in Madrid; Hiraldo Cabreras, colonel under Madero, and J. Y. Limantour, minister of finance in the Diaz regime, as the abettors of the scheme. Josse Diaz, he says, is now going to London as head of the English branch of the revolutionary junta, the object of which, according to his information, is to replace the "scientificos" and restore the iron reign of the days of Porfirio Diaz.

Such a story is by no means improbable and Bertelli is too dependable a news correspondent to send it out without a strong belief in its reliability. It is notorious fact that Obegon has utilized the services of any and all classes in his uprising against Carranza, and it would not be surprising if he had the financial backing of the old Diaz leaders who have been exiled since Carranze came into power.

Obregon's Compromise Means New Revolt.

It is probably incorrect that Obregon was directly financed by American interests as I and many others believed originally. Inasmuch as these interests were really trying to elect Bonillas President and Carranza hed "flopped" and joined hands with them, it seems that the Obregon revolt was the real protest of the Mexican people generally against the attempt to put a semi-American, alleged to be Wall street's choice, in the presidential chair. The spontaneity and unanimity of the support Obregon received, while due part-

(Continued on page 4.)

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXIII.

Unadaptable (Continued).

"For three years," Olive said to herself, "I have just paged thru a library, and developed conceit." She smiled at her self analysis. Why did she have to see all the imperfections in life anyway, that was the thought that troubled her. She leaned back and looked out thru the window. It was fast growing dark. A few stars shown out from among grey black clouds. She noticed neither the stars nor the clouds, but visualized the image of Jack Thurston, care—free in the woods of the mountain wilderness. Why should he play such a powerful tho unconscious roll in her existence. She did not reason on the subject. When the human mind is attached to an object of affection it does not reason. If it really does reason the attachment is imperfect. All she knew, was that he was different from other men she knew. His views of life were different. When he was abused, he did not retaliate in kind, but endeavored to explain. He even tried to exonerate the judge who had unjustly imprisoned him. "To know all things means to forgive all things," he had said. It was a bigger truth than Frank Cartwright was capable of. In fact, at the time he had spoken it, Olive had not grasped it. but her consequent study of the thought modes of teachers, editors, merchants preachers and politicians had caused her to realize that mankind enmasse do what they feel they must do, under the pressure of environment, so that if you could know all the circumstances there was bound to be an excuse for every act.

To her, Jack had been an example of what she conceived real christianity ought to be. He had not mistaken the cross for the Christ. But tonight she saw deeper as Jack had spoken deeper than she had been able to understand. She realized that christianity urges forgiveness, which is a form of condoning by those who consider themselves superior, the acts of those who they consider inferior. The very act of forgiving makes the forgiver holier in his own eyes, than the forgiven. It was only another way in which the type struggle, and thru it the class struggle manifested itself in human society. Jack, on the other hand had told her, that he did not forgive or ask to be forgives. He only tried to understand, and endeavored to make himself understood. "To forgive is Christlike, but to explain is justice," had been his words.

The more she thot of those things, the more wonderful became her vision of the boy she had first seen in the murky light of a prison cell. Each moment in that short acquaintance she treasured as a jewel.

She tried his philosophy on herself. Could she explain why Frank Cartwright should call this boy whom he had never seen, "a nameless bum." Simply because an unworthy judge had sent him to an undeserved cell. Frank knew that the judge had been exposed and had been made the scape goat for the whole ring of grafters of which he was but a part. A ertain sense of pride surged through Olive's blood at the thot of this. It had been her work that started the agitation which put the judge out of office The fact that very little had been gained by it, of course was not apparent to her at that time. But aside from that she succeeded in explaining Frank Cartwright's attitude. It was after all not difficult. He was jealous, and jealousy is a ghoul, which digs into the mental tombs of the past, awakening the emotions that thrived in the jungle and the cave.

Frank Cartwright was aware of the fact, that Jack's words had placed Olive beyond his reach. It had wounded his pride to think that this son of the working class, unshaven, unwashed and well jailed, should have thwarted him in his desire. The thot maddenod him. Yes, she could understand. But the fact that she could understand, did not help her to forget Jack neither did it cause her to love Frank. She reread Jack's notes for the fifth time and became convinced that between her and Frank no bond could endure.

She felt certain, that unless Jack should come into her life again she would have to resolve to face the world alone "Poor Frank," she sighed as she threw herself on the bed and consciously watched the subconscious struggle between her instincts and tranny. She decided to answer his letter. It was no small task. Thoughts fairly crackled in her brain. Heart, brain and hand vied with each other for expression. It was the woman at work but no sooner had she begaun to write, than the lady, the product of church and school, got busy. She told her not to write or to write just a card of acknowledgement, that was the nice thing to do. But the woman proved to her that the card was too small, she must at least write a note. So she sat down to write or rather to waste paper. "My Dear Mr. Thurston: No, that was too familiar. "Mr. J. Thurston: Dear Sir." suggested the lady. "Never," retorted the woman. "Dear Jack," Oh horror, that would never do. How she would like to write the way she felt, "Society forces us to be hypocrites against our will." Jack had said. How true it was. Well for once I'll be natural be the results what they may," she said to herself.

"My Dear Boy," she wrote and then she looked at it. Surely this was imprudent. What would he think of it, but she let it stand. She had made her decision, and as usual it went. "I've had many presents in my day but the one that MR. E. C., whoever he may be, sent me was easily the best present I have ever received. Surely, I thought that in the enjoyment of your liberty you would have forgotten this little "gray mouse". I had not hoped to leave an impression on your busy and interesting life, for I felt then, as I feel now, that you are not mere common clay. You are living in a great school of things as they are and hence get glimpses of things as they ought to be.

This summer I'll graduate from high school. Yes, then I'll be graduated like a thermometer, and from then on my value will depend upon my performance.

I have thot of you often. Oh, so often, and of the wonderful things you told me. You cannot conceive of the way your remarks influenced my life. The ideas you implanted in my mind, have made for me so new friends and perhaps a few enemies. But when I review the work I have been able to do in this little town, I know that life is worth living, and I am really proud of the enemies I have made. I wish you would come back to Anamoose, so we could talk, but if you cannot do that write and tell me all the news about yourself.

Sincerely yours,

OLIVE ANDERSON.

She sealed the letter and addressed it to the post office Collins had indicated and alternately prayed that it would, and would not reach him.

The train for Minot was nearly due; if her letter went out on it, Jack would have it in two days. She therefore resolved to loose no time in getting this letter on its way.

While she was on this errand her mother entered her roome and spied the several sheets of paper on which her daughter had started her unsuccessfull letters. This made her curious, and caused her to investigate further, but there was nothing further to be found than the letters addressed to Thurston. Jack's notes were securely hid about the person of her daughter. Mrs. Anderson was indeed puzzled who this man Thurston might be, to whom her daughter was trying to write.

As was her custom when in any kind of doubt or trouble, real or imaginary Mrs. Anderson immediately called up Mrs. Nellie Cartwright, her life long friend, and Frank Cartwright's mother and asked her if she knew any one by the name of Thurston. And when Mrs. Cartwright answered in the negative, Mrs. Anderson informed her that he was a man to whom Olive was writing or trying to write. This last remark made the proposition clear to Mrs. Cartwright. Her son had told her of Olive's attitude the night before, and it was, that which gave her a clew to the mystery. "Oh, yes Mrs. Anderson, coming to think of it I do know who that man is. Frank told me last night. He is that hobo they had in jail last fall. Frank says, he is all she thinks about."

Of course this was more than Mrs. Anderson would believe. In fact, she told Mrs. Cartwright, that it could not be true. But Mrs. Cartwright insisted, that she knew it to be true, and advised Olive's mother to be careful. "That fellow was a bad one." I hope you have not forgotten the trouble he stirred up when he was here."

Mrs. Anderson answered with the old bromide, that it was hard to raise children decently these days, and after a few more irrevelant remarks she hung up the receiver. After which Jack and Olive were under fire on both ends of the line.

The Soo Overland had stopped but a moment at Anamoose and Olive had deposited the letter in the mail box, thus the die was cast.

As she walked toward home she suddenly remembered the waste paper she had left on the table and fearing lest her mother should enter her room and find it, she walked as rapidly as she could. Frank passed her and tipped his hat. She nodded but did not stop. He groaned and inwardly cursed the nameless tramp whom he considered the cause of his misery. But his emotions were little deeper than his brain. In fact less than ten minutes later he met Tillie Duffy and the two went to a vaudeville show which happened to be in town that night. When Olive reached the house Mrs. Anderson confronted her, as if she were guilty of some beinous crime. "Who is that young man you are writing to," she asked premptorialy.

"Mr. Thurston," Olive replied with a saucy toss of her head.

"Who is he? I asked," the mother snapped.

"He is a man," Olvie retorted.

"How long have you been corresponding with him? "I never corresponded with him. A friend of his sent me some notes, he had written while out in the woods and I wrote him a letter of thanks. That is all."

"Why did you make so many beginnings before you finally wrote?

"Perhaps, it is my high school education does not teach me how to write to a man without making a hypocrite of myself. I wanted to write just the way I felt and I did."

"Olive!" The mother fairly shouted. You don't mean that you care for him? Who is he?"

"I did not say that I cared for him," Olive answered quitly. "And when you ask me who he is, I can only say that I don't know. All that I do know is that he is the boy, who was in jail here last fall."

"Do you still think of that hobo?" gasped the mother trying to feign surprise.

"If I were homeless, and penniless, in a strange town, what would I be?" Olive snapped. "I would be worse in the eyes of the civilized savages you call decent people, than was he."

"But Olive, think of who we are! Think of your father's standing in the community. Think of what the neighbors would say if they knew that you were writing to a tramp. Why Mrs. Cartwright knows about it already."

"Knows what?" asked the girl as she gathered the attempted letters and tore them up and threw them in the waste basket.

"Why she knows that you care for him. She thinks that you are crazy. Think of Frank Cartwright? He is a good boy and his father has valuable property. You've gone with him almost a year. Why Olive dear just think what the neighbors would say."

Olive dropped into a chair and leaned back wearily. "If I loved that stranger I would not care what people would say, I might be foolish, I might be wrong, I would not care. All they could say would be that I loved a man who had gathered the grain from our fields and suffered privations that we might have comfort. All they could say would

(Continued on page 4.)

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Proletarian Science History

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —
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AUTLINE FOR CHAPTER ELEVEN.

Beginning	Invention of the steam engine.
Tools and Weapons	Hand tools, steam and power-driven machinery.
Transportation	Greatly improved fire arms and other ordinance. On land, railroads with steam power. On water, steam and improved sailing vessels.
Subsistence	Cooked and preserved foods of great variety.
Shelter	Buildings of brick, stone, power-sawed lumber. Beginning of use of concrete with steel frames.
Clothing	Machine made fabrics of wool, cotton, silk, flax and other fibre.
Environment	Advanced machine agriculture. Center of industry transferred from home to factory Cities connected by railroad and steamship lines. Man's control over natural environment enabled him to inhabit all climates.
Organization	Monarchical and representative political government, with armies, navies and police. Serfdom and feudalism supplanted by a fuller development of the wages-system. Greater development of trade and labor unions based upon craft and skill. Beginning of the separation of church and state.
Arts and Institutions	Beginning of wire communication. Postal service. Public school system. Concentration in the ownership of industry.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

Civilization. Middle or Machine Age.

The middle age of civilization began with the appearance of the steam engine, invented by James Watt in 1763. A. D.*)

The invention of the steam engine gave a mighty impetus to the development of power-driven machinery and this machinery in turn substantially modified the entire plan of our industrial and social relations. The hand tools of a former age here gave way to the power-driven machines of the new era.

The difference between a tool and a machine consists in the method of the application of power. If the power is directly applied, the implement is a tool. If the application of power is indirect, then the implement is a machine. A scythe in the hands of the reaper is a tool. The modern selfbinder is a machine.

Steam engines and power-driven machinery did not develop by chance, but were the natural result of the economic urge of the age. The multiplication of the race in excess of the sources of local food supply made increased speed in the methods of production and transportation imperative.

The rapid development of the Western Continent along agricultural and industrial lines, made necessary the concentration of vast masses of people in cities in order to supply the necessary tools and machinery with which to carry on the settlement of a continent. This gave an impetus to manufacture and transportation.**)

The commerce between the cities of the coast and the rapidly developing inetrior made the old hand-tool methods of production and ox-cart methods of transportation totally inadequate, with the result that power-driven machinery and transportation was an econmic necessity. Power machinery forced out the shop of the artisan and instituted the modern factory system.

In every age of human evolution, the methods of destruction have kept even pace with the methods of production, hence in the machinery age we find guns of monstrous power, range and destructivity.

The machine age witnessed the application of steam power to every branch of industry, especially to transportation on both land and sea.

The subsistence of this age was similar to the age preceding it, with the addition of the canning factory and the further development of the art of chemical preservation of food.

Concrete and steel frame structures were a further evolution of the building art of this age.

Homespun garments gave way in this age to factory made clothing, thereby greatly modifying domestic economy.

The machine age transferred industry from the home to the factory. It took from the home such industries as spinning, weaving, dyeing, knitting, tailoring, soap-making, tanning, boot, shoe and harness-making, laundering, baking, canning, fruit-drying, candle-making etc.

The machine age worked a revolution in the home, transforming it from an industrial to a social unit.

Factory production with its social labor led to a great concentration of wealth. The perfection and extension of the wages-system led to the clearer division of society along class lines.

The concentration of wealth with the resultant investment of capital in foreign lands, made necessary the extension of naval and military power for the protection of these investments. Concentrated capital now invaded the halls of representative government, transforming those organizations from bodies representative committees for the dominant class. The tightening of the class lines forced the development of labor unions. based upon craft and skill.

Electricity was first applied to the systems of communication in the machine age. The telegraph and telephone systems came into existence in response to the economic needs of a commercial age. The postal system is also an outgrowth of these same forces. The operation of the machines and the necessity for keeping records, made the arts of reading and writing an industrial requirement. It was in response to this economic necessity that the public school came into existence, championed by organized labor and fought by the church. The church has ever and everywhere been the foe to progress.

The duration of this age was less than one hundred years.

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*) The steam engine in its primitive state was known as early as 130 B. C. In the "Pneumatica" of Alexandria is mentioned the aeolipile, but it was not until the decate following its invention by Watt that it became a commercial possibility.

***) See page 13 of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels. commencing with the words, "The discovery of America," etc. Read to last paragraph on page 19.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER ELEVEN.

Middle Civilization.

1. What invention marks the beginning of the machine age?
2. What was the effect of power-driven machinery upon the social structure?
3. Explain the difference between a tool and a machine?
4. Name the underlying economic causes for the substitution of machines for tools?
5. Name some of the changes in home life induced by the factory system.
6. What was the economic advantage of the railroad? The steamship?
and home.
7. Explain the difference in division of labor between the factory
8. What was the result of the factory system upon subsistence?
9. Were "skyscrapers" possible before concrete and steel?
10. Explain the difference between homespun and factory-made garmets.
11. What is meant by the term 'social unit'?
12. Which is more productive, individual or social labor?
13. What is social labor?
14. Explain the effect of concentrated capital upon representative government.
15. Why do foreign investments require an army and navy?
16. Explain the origin of the public school system.
17. When was electricity first applied to communication?
18. Did economic necessity have anything to do with the extension of postal system?
19. What has been the attitude of the church towards progressive measures?

War Profits of American Profiteers

— By BASIL M. MANLY. —

When the coal controversy was at its height, former Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo startled the nation by declaring that in 1917 the mine owners made shocking and indefensible profits on bituminous coal. He stated that their income tax returns revealed that they were making earnings on their capital stock ranging from 15 to 2,000 per cent and that earnings of from 100 to 300 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon. Mr. McAdoo drew his facts regarding the profits of coal operators from Senate Document No. 259, a report of the Secretary of the Treasury in response to a Senate resolution requesting all facts in possession of the Treasury Department relative to profiteering. Great objection to the printing of this report was made by reactionary Senators, who wanted to conceal these facts from the people; and only after a hard fight by Senators Borah and La Follette was an agreement finally secured to print a small edition. As the result of this partial suppression, this important report, which should have been made available to every American citizen, has been obtainable only with the greatest difficulty. In this article are presented the startling facts which it contains.

In the publication of this report every effort was apparently made to conceal from the reader all facts which would reveal the profiteering of the great corporations and trusts. The report contain 388 pages. In the first 360 pages you will find not a single corporation with more than $10,000,000 capitalization, and very few with more than a few hundred thousand; but beginning on page 361 you will find all the big trusts for which reports are given lumped indiscriminately with little corporations with capital stock as small as $1,000. An inconspicuous note on page 5 states that the tables beginning at page 361 relate to returns on which computation had not been completed when the preceding tables were sent to the printer. Was it an accident that all the big corporations were held back while the data on more than 30.000 small companies were compiled and sent to the printer. Whatever the reason may be, the fact is that any ordinary citizen examining this report would be led to believe that all the profiteering was done by the small companies. Some question might also be raised by inquiring citizens as to why this report does not include the big copper companies which in 1916 and 1917 made such stupendous profits, and why other notorious prefiteers were omitted. But putting aside all such defects, the report still contains an enormous mass of information of the greatest vadue to the American people.

Profits in Coal

An examination of the report shows that Secretary McAdoo was entirely too conservative when he stated that the profits of the coal operators ranged as high as 2,000 per cent. He should have said that the profits ranged as high as 7,856 per cent. He stated that profits as high as 100 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon. The fact is that nearly half the coal companies (185 out of 404) actually earned profits on their capital stock ranging from 100 per cent to 7,856 per cent. In other words, the prices paid by the American people for their coal in 1917 were so high that nearly half the mines reported were paid profits equal to their entire capital stock, and at least one of the mines was paid profits equal to 78 times its capitalization.

It is a notorious fact that in many of the mining corporations the greater part of the capital stock represented nothing but water. The stock was given as bonuses to the buyers of bonds, and nobody expected that the stock certificates would ever be worth more than a faw cents on the dollar. Nevertheless we find that in 1917 the net income of the 404 coal companies reported was $78.000,000 or nearly 45 per cent of their total capital stock of $175.000.000. This net income is after the deduction of interests on bonds and all the over-generous allowances for depreciation and depletion provided for in the excess profits tax law. Furthermore, these figures are based on the original returns of the companies, and take no account whatever of millions of dollars of tax evasions which were revealed by the Internal Revenue Bureau in auditing the returns.

With these facts before us, and making due allowance for smaller profits in 1918 and 1919, it is absolutely certain that it would have been cheaper for the American people to have bought the coal mines outright when we entered the war, so that coal could have been sold to the people at a low cost, than to have paid the enormous profits of the last three years. To put the matter in a different way, in the last three years the American people have paid in net oprfits every dollar's worth of stock of the coal companies.

Some Other Profiteers

The coal operators are not the only ones who were profiteering while this nation was at war and every loyal citizen was paring his expenditures to the bone in order to buy Liberty Bonds and provide for the necessities of our soldires and sailors. While the coal operators were making profits ranging as high as 7.356 per cent on their capital stock, the meat packers were making profits ranging as high as 4,244 per cent, canners of fruits and vegetables 2,033 per cent, woolen mills 1,770 per cent, furniture manufacturers 2,395 per cent, clothing and dry good stores 9,826 per cent, and to cap the climax, steel mills as high as 290,999 per cent.

A profit of 290,999 per cent seems incredible, but here are the facts. This steel company (page 367 of the Treasury report) had a capital stock of $5,000; in 1917 it reported to the Treasury Department a net income of $14.549,952. After paying its excess profits tax, its net income still amounted to 212,584 per cent on its capital stock. This corporation did not make any report of its invested capital. Owing to the secrecy which shrouds the income and excess profits tax reports, nobody except the officials of the Treasury and of the company itself knows what company this was. No explanation of these sensational facts can therefore be given. It may have been a case of getting a fat contract from this government or some foreign government and selling the right to another corporation for some $15.000.000. The company may have been formed by the inside officials and financiers of some big corporation as a means of concealing profits and plundering the other stockholders. Nobody knows; but this corporation did make this unbelievable profit of 290,999 per cent while this nation was at war; and so far as I have been able to discover neither the Attorney General nor any committee of Congress has ever made any attempt to ascertain who this king of profiteers was. This steel company did not stand entirely alone, for there is another corporation reported on the same page as earning 20,180 per cent on its capital stock.

What Did the Steel Trust Make?

What profits did the Steel Corporation, which has denied its workers the right to organize, report to the Treasury in 1917? I tried to find out. On page 367 I found a steel company with a capital stock of $868,582,600. There is only one corporation in the world with that amount of capital stock — the United States Steel Corporation. I thought I had found it. I looked to see what net income it had reported to the Treasury Department in 1917 and I found the amount recorded as $155,854,365 before the deduction of income and excess profits taxes. This seemed incredible, as the net income before the deduction of taxes reported by the corporation in its published report was $478,204,342. It appeared as though $322,000.000 of the Steel Corporation's income was being concealed from Uncle Sam. It did not seem possible, so I went to the Secretary of the Treasury and asked permission to see the return of the United States Steel Corporation in order to verify the facts. Section 5 of Treasury Decision No. 2016 states that the Secretary of the Treasury shall permit the inspection of the return of any corporation listed on the stock exchange. I was told by an official of the Treasury Department that this decision was now in force and covered the inspection of returns Yet access to the return of the Steel Corporation was denied me, and after a day's delay I received a long memorandum, three pages of which were taken up with telling me that althought this was the only decision on the subject, it was not now in force, having been modified by one of the later revenue acts. The last page of the memorandum, while refusing to state whether the facts which I had quoted from the report of the Treasury Department applied to the United States Steel Corporation or not, set up a hypothetical case to explain how this apparent discrepancy of $322.000.000 might have occurred. It was stated that in the case of a holding company reports of the subsidiaries were made separately, and the only income reported by the holding company was that accruing directly to it. I believe that this statement is corrected and that the Steel Corporation reported its income correctly to the Treasury Department, but neither I nor any other American citizen has any means of knowing positively what the facts are. So far as the income and excess profits taxes are concerned the Treasury Department is an impenetrable veil through which no citizen is permitted to see.

For this reason the net income of the Steel Corporation cannot be stated on the basis of the Treasury Department's figures; but on the basis if its own published report, its net profits in the two years 1916 and 1917, after the payment [illegible] interest on bonds and after allowance for all charges growing out of the installation of special war facilities, amounted to $888,931.511. This is $20.000.000 more than the total capital stock of the Steel Corporation. In other words, in 1916 and 1917 every dollar of the capital stock of the Steel Corporation was paid for in net profits. In this connection it should be remembered that when the Steel Corporation was formed its entire $500.000.000 worth of common stock represented nothing but water.

I have tabulated the returns of industries engaged in manufacturing and selling the principal necessaries of life. There is not a single one of these branches of industry and trade in which there was not at least one establishment making 100 per cent or more on its capital stock. Out of 506 flour mills, 84 reported net profits of over 100 per cent on their capital stock. and one company reported 2,828 per cent. The bread and bakery companies were not quite so fortunate, but out of 217 of them, 34, or more than one-seventh, made more than 100 per cent on their capital stock, and 153, or more than two-third, made over 20 per cent on their invested capital.

The Story of the Packers.

The newspapers have carried advertisements costing millions of dollars telling how little profit is made by the meat packers. The Treasury Department's reports show that out of 122 meat packers, 30, or one out of every four, made more than 100 per cent profit on their capital stock. One of these companies, not one of the "Big Five," made the nice litle profit of 4,244 per cent on its capital stock in 1917. In this connection I discovered one interesting and significant thing while examining this report of the Treasury Department. On page 365 I found a meat packing corporation with a capital stock of $100.000.000 in 1917. There were only two meat packing corporations with capital stock of $100,000,000 in 1917 — Armour & Company and Swift & Company. The corporation that is mentioned above reported to the Treasury Department a net income in 1917 of $49.139,147; after the payment of income and excess profits taxes it still had a net income of $43,810,984. Looking at the published reports of Armour and Swift I find that Armour reported to the public profits of only $30,628,157 in 1917, and Swift reported profits of only $34,650.000. I do not know which of these companies is represented in the Treasury Department's report, but I do know that whichever one it is concealed from the public either $9.000.000 or $13,000,000 net income which it reported to the Treasury Department. In other words, the Treasury Department's report reveals beyond question that one of these companies has falsified its report to the public and to its stockholders. If the public had the access to the tax reports to which it is entitled by every rule of justice and by every precedent of the American government, there would be no difficulty in ascertaining which of these companies was guilty of this offense. As it is both of them must lie under suspicion.

While the war was at its height and the federal government was bending every energy to sell Liberty Bonds to pay the heavy cost the Federal Trade Commission, in connection with its investigation of the packers, called upon Armour & Company to furnish a sworn statement of their subsidiary South American beef companies. No reply was received from Armour & Company; but one morning Federal Trade Commissioner J. Franklin Fort former governor of New Jersey, received a visit from a noted Chicago corporation lawyer. He said that he was there representing Armour & Company and wanted Governor Fort to use his influence with the other Federal Trade Commissioners to recall their demand for a sworn statement of the profits of Armour & Company's South American subsidiaries. He stated that if they were obliged to make a truthful and accurate statement of such profits and if these reports were made public by the commission it would result in a great increase in the taxes, which the companies would have to pay in South America, and further that it would reveal unreported income amounting to millions on which Armour & Company would have to pay income and excess profits taxes here. Commissioner Fort indignantly spurned this attempt to use him as a tool of Armour & Company, and ordered the lawyer to leave his office. The facts were reported to the Treasury Department, but so far as I have been able to ascertain no successful attempt has yet been made to punish J. Ogden Armour or any other official of Armour & Company for this confessed attempt to defraud the United States Treasury of taxes or for this bare-faced effort to induce government officials to defeat the ends of justice. A written statement signed by Governor Fort detailing every circumstance of this transaction is on file with the Senate Committee on Agriculture, where it is effectively buried under a wagonload of documents obtained from the Federal Trade Commission at the same time, which serve effectively to conceal it from the knowledge of the public.

The Treasury Department reports give the returns of 45 woolen and worsted mills, one of which earned 1,770 per cent on its capital stock. Out of the forty-five, seventeen reported profits of more than 100 per cent on their capital stock. Among the woolen mills we also have a case similar to that of the meat packers, of concealment of income from the eyes of the public. On page 380 of the Treasury report is shown the income of a woolen company capitalized at $60,000,000. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is only one woolen company in the United States capitalized at that amount—the American Woolen Company. The Treasury Department's report shows that in 1917 this sixty-million-dollar woolen company reported a net income of $28,560,342. The annual report of the American Woolen Company for 1917 shows a net income before taxes were deducted of only $13,383,155. If this sixty-million-dollar woolen company is in fact the American Woolen Company—and the evidence seems to be conclusive—it is clear that the American Woolen Company in 1917 concealed from its stockholders and from the public profits of nearly $15,000,000. In other words, the actual profits of the American Woolen Company in 1917 appear from this comparison to have been more than twice as great as the company acknowledged in its annual report and in its statements to the American Woolen Company have every reason to demand an accounting from the officers of that corporation to ascertain whether or not $15,000,000 of profits were actually concealed, as those facts seem to indicate, and if so what disposition was made of that enormous sum of money.

It must not be imagined that manufacturers were the only ones who reaped enormous profits while the nation was at war. The report of the Treasury Department shows 2,068 clothing and dry goods stores, one of which earned 9,826 per cent on its capital stock and nearly 10 per cent of the entire number earned more than 100 per cent on their capital stock. Out of 313 department stores, one earned 757 per cent on its capital stock, and 26 earned more than 100 per cent. There are 577 furniture stores reported, of which seventy-eight, or nearly 15 percent, earned 781 per cent. We have heard a great deal about the high cost of building in the last few years. In nearly every case an attempt is made to attribute the high cost to the wages paid building labor, but this report shows that out of 809 contractors and construction companies, 134, or more than 15 per cent, earned profits of over 100 per cent on their capital stock, and one of them earned 1,390 per cent, or nearly fourteen times its capital in a single year.

War Profits Equal Capital Stock.

In a recent speech before the Senate, Senator Capper of Kansas made the statement that during the war the American people paid for the coal mines, the steel mills, the textile factories, and every other essential branch of industry. Senator Capper did not give the facts upon which his statement rested, and I doubt if he knew how literally true that sensational statement was, but the fact is—and this report of the Treasury Department proves it beyond any doubt—that the American people during the war did pay in net profits for the entire capital stock of the corporations in the essential lines of industry and trade.

In other words, it is clear that if the national government at the beginning of the war had taken over the essential lines of industry, and the American people had been required to pay the prices which private manufacturers and merchants have charged them, there would have been sufficient profit to pay for every dollar's worth of capital stock, and leave the nation today in possession and control of practically all its manufacturing plants.

If this had been done, and the manufacturing officials and employes had performed their duties as efficiently for the government as for the private corporations—and every citizen has a right to assume that neither the manufacturing officials nor the other employes would deliberately sabotage their government—we should have today, instead of a debt of $26,000,000,000, a large part of which went to pay for the products of these industries a debt of only the billions necessary to cover the expenses of our government, the pay of our soldiers, and the loans to our allies. In addition we should have vested in the federal government the ownership of billions of dollars worth of manufacturing and commercial property. This opportunity now seems to be lost, but the picture of American profiteering revealed by this official document of the Treasury Department should be indelibly fixed in the mind of every American citizen.

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THE LAND POLICY OF SOVIET RUSSIA

By WILLIAM W. [illegible]

The solution of the land question is of primary importance to Soviet Russia. Before the Revolution the land privileges then existing, embodied in the vast landed possessions of the nobility, appanage, monasteries, and churches, dominated economically the rural population. The masses of the peasants, who make up a large majority of the Russian nation and without whose support no Russian government can survive, demanded the expropriation of the great landed property and the increase of their land allotments. On the other hand, the socialist regime required for its success the gradual socialization of agriculture—a process quite contrary to the private husbandry of the peasants. The soviet regime, therefore, had before it three main tasks in the land question: to abolish entirely the land privileges of the great landowners, to satisfy the individualistic demands of the peasants, and to start and carry on the socialization of agriculture.

Accordingly, the earlies soviet land decrees, of November 7, 1917, and of January 27, 1918, ordered the expropriation of the estates of the nobility, appanage monasteries, and churches, thus establishing in 1918 a National Land Reserve of 15,800,000 dessiatines, of which 12,800,000 were distributed for the private use of the peasants though the ownership remained with the state. The prerevolutionary land allotments of the peasants remained in their possesion. The Soviet Government had left at its disposal 3,000,000 dessiatines, mainly the large modern holdings of the former landlords, the estates utilized for technical agricultural enterprises, and the lands with mineral deposits.

After this first stage of the agrarian revolution the Soviet Government in the first half of 1918 made the first attempts at agricultural socialization. From the very beginning this work fell in two main divisions: the organization of soviet estates and the promotion of agricultural communes and of other collective agricultural enterprises not under state control. In August, 1918, the Peoples Commissariat of Agriculture published some principles and by-laws on the organization of communes, and on November 2, of the same year the Government by a decree created a fund of one billion rubles for loans to collective agricultural enterprises.

In 1918 this work was still in a state of confusion. The unique policy of socialist land organization was established early in 1919 by several important land decrees, of which the fundamental one is the land law promulgated on February 14, 1919. This law declares once more that all land is the property of the state, administered by the Peoples Commissariat of Agriculture, provincial and county land departments, and other government bodies. The peasants' land remains in their use, all the undistributed land of the land reserve is excluded from private use and placed at the disposal of the state. The soviet estates are operated by the state, producing exclusively for its needs and employing only state laborers, preferably organized workers from the cities. The administrative and technical affairs of each estate are conducted by a specialist or a board appointed by the government authorities, a labor committee having the right of controlling the economic and sanitary life of the laborers.

The estates are supposed to be scientifically arranged model agrucultural enterprises of the highest possible productivity; undertaking such agricultural and industrial activities as dairies, stock-farms, vineyards, wine presses, tea, tobacco, and beet plantations; and equipped with experimental fields, agricultural schools and exhibitions, libraries and museums. The purpose of the scheme is to make the soviet estates serve as large agricultural centers for the benefit and instruction of the peasants.

The agricultural communes are collective enterprises voluntarily organized by a group of producers from their individual land allotments and the equipments of their households, or from lands and inventories placed at their disposal by the soviet authorities; the communes are operated primarily for the needs of their participants on the basis of an equal collective application of their labor and communal consumption of the products.

Collective cultivation of land means, in the law, collective tillage, manuring, sowing, and harvesting of lands by a whole village community or a part of its members who for that purpose combine in partnerships, sharing in the collective work with their own labor, inventories, and working animals, or with an inventory owned solely by the partnership. Village lands not allotted to individual households are marked out for collective cultivation as well as private plots whose holders are not able to till them and lands assigned for that purpose by the soviet authorities from the land reserve.

Both the communes and the partnerships of collective cultivation are to be managed by committees elected by the group however, they have to submit themselves to certain definite plans of work prescribed by the land departments, in order that a proper use of the means of production granted them by the Government may be insured.

From the annual yield of the communes or of the partnerships their own collective needs are first satisfied, and in the case of the partnerships a certain amount is distributed for the individual use of the partners. The surplus must be delivered to the soviet food-suply authorites in exchange for money loans and other things received from the Government for the operation of the enterprises, or in payment of taxes and other public duties. The Peoples Commissariat of Agriculture is urged by the same law to provide for the communes and in general for the collective agricultural association money loans, seeds, inventories, agronomic aid, and every possible assistance.

A supplementary soviet decree of February 23, 1919, makes definite regulations regarding the award of the loans from the billion ruble fund mentioned above. The administration of the fund is to be in the hands of a special central committee under the authority of the Commissariat of Agriculture, and of local committees with the land departments. The loans are awarded in money, agricultural implements, artificial manure, and other supplies, and are repayable in products without any accrued interest charges, except in cases when for a delay in the repayment a fine of one per cent a month is charged. The receivers of the loans must obey in the operation of their enterprises definite rules worked out by the land departments and intended as a guaranty of a productive application of the aid received.

The soviet authorities and economists ascribe great importance to each form of collective agriculture. The soviet estates are conceived as the basis of a complete socialization of agriculture on a national scale. The communes are also supposed in the course of time to become nationalized enterprises; while the collective cultivation of land is regarded as a means of training the peasents in agricultural collectivism and of paving the way for ultimate combination in communes. In this conception both the communes and the partnerships for collective cultivation constitute only temporary, transitory ecoonmic organizations leading finally to the complete nationalization of agriculture.

It was inevitable that the efforts of the Soviet Government to socialize agriculture together with the nationalization of education should have led to the nationalization of agronomic instruction and of the labor of agricultural specialists, whose knowledge was greatly needed by the soviet estates and other collective agricultural enterprises. The agricultural educational institutions were already nationalized in 1918 and were free to all. By a decree of February 12, 1919, the agricultural experiment stations were taken over by the state. On January 30, 1919, the Soviet Government ordered a state-wide registration of all kinds of agricultural specialists and on March 20 of the same year called them from twelve soviet provinces of the state.

It is important to note that the Soviet Government in its efforts to collectivize the private enterprises of the peasants has not adopted or employed compulsory methods. The first agricultural communes, in 1918, were started quite voluntarily by groups of the poorest peasants to help themselves by cooperation to survive the economic crisis and the scarcity of agricultural implements. Likewise the fundamental land law outlined here conceives the communes and agricultural partnerships as voluntary organizations. There are other conspicious evidences to the same effect. Kurnev, a prominent member of the Commissariat of Agriculture, at a government conference on socialist land organization in March, 1919, asserts: 'We must influence the peasants by example, conviction; but in the work of the collectivization of agriculture by no means resort to force.'' And Lenin, the head of the Soviet Government, at the eighth congress of the Communist Party of Russia, made the following statements: ''There is no greater stupidity than the mere thought of compulsion in the field of the economic relations of the middle peasants..... We must convince the peasants, and convince them by example. It is necessary, first of all, to prove that such a collectivization is better, that it is profitable.'' To the same effect the congress demanded in a comprehensive agrarian resolution a mild policy in collecting taxes from the poorer peasants; a system artificial manure, improved breeds of cattle; the of distributing to them agricultural machinery, seeds, establishment of a rural credit system; the promotion of home industries; and a number of other conomic measures. This resolution embodies the real soviet policy in this question, as the Communist Party has been the determining political factor in the work of the Soviet Government.

This conciliatory attitude is due mainly to two circumstances. First, in matters of agricultural socialization the application of any compulsion to the peasants—the majority of the people—would be ineffective and ridiculous. Second, the soviet authorities hold to the view that collective agriculture is, in respect of efficiency and productivity, superior to the small individual agricultural homesteads of the peasants and that the practical demonstration of the superiority of the soviet estates and communes before the eyes of the peasants will stimulate them to combine gradually in partnerships of collective cultivation of land.

In pursuance of the principles and methods outlined in the foregoing, the Soviet Government during 1919 has organized many new soviet estates and promoted the organization of agricultural communes. The cultivated territory of the estates, numbering 2,524, comprised a little short of 1,000,000 dessiatines, of which the whole annual produce, estimated in money amounted to 843,000,000 rulbes; it is intended to increase this territory in 1920 to 2,000,000 dessiatines. Some inference as to the growth of the communes may be drawn from the respective data available for the provinces of Petrograd, Novgorod, Vitebsk, Mobilev, Tula, Kaluga and Orel, where in the middle of 1919 there were in existence 1,360 communes with a land area of 179,000 dessiatines.

In view of the vast agricultural area of Soviet Russia, these results, no doubt, are not extensive. Yet this comparatively slow process by no means indicates a failure of the methods employed. The war created some extremely unfavorable conditions which temporarily have handicapped a more rapid socialization of Russian agriculture. The material resources of the Soviet Republic had to be devoted to the prosecution of the war forced upon the country. On that account, and on account of the blockade, the worn out agricultural implements, particularly agricultural machinery, could not be repaired in sufficient quantity or replaced by new ones. The live stock was largely reduced in number for the needs of the war. Hundreds of thousands of the most skilled laborers were withdrawn from agriculture to serve in the army. Under such conditions the Soviet Government was able to realize only to a very limited extent its plans for the socialization of agriculture, since the essential prerequisite for an efficient operation of the soviet estates and agricultural communes is a plentiful supply of labor and of live stock, and the possibility of applying modern technical methods.

The end of the war and the resumption of normal commercial relations between Russia and the outside world, removing most of those handicaps, will presumably enable the Soviet Government to proceed with the socialization of agriculture on a larger scale.

Hoyne Seeing Red.

(Continued from 1st page.)

Clarence Darrow, Wm. Cunnea and Wm. Forrest, noted constitutional lawyer.

Reasons aplenty for dismisal of veniremen.

A great variety of reasons are given by the veniremen why they would not make fair jurymen in these cases. While many admit prejudice against the defendents about one fourth of those so far examined state frankly their sympathy with the defendents. One prosjective juryman, a non-union carpenter in employ of the Standard Oil Co., was promptly discarded by the defense when he stated that he was a Catholic and that it was against his religion to give a socialist a fair trial. Class lines were drawn in two cases. One gave as his reasons why he could not serve as an unprejudiced juryman, because he was an employer of labor. A workingman frankly told the prosecution that he would not convict the defendants no matter what evidence the prosecution brought against them as a matter of principle. The prosecution takes particular pains to see that no striking switchmen or railroaders get on the jury. One switchman examined stated that he had been on the job for 30 years and denied he was on strike when challenged by the prosecution, stating that he was ''taking a vacation.''

Radicals claim that the extreme persecution carried on against radicals by the capitalist press for the past six months is responsible for the difficulty in securing a jury in these cases. In the meantime, the defendants amuse themselves by watching the play of social forces in the selection of the jury that will have in its hands the first test of the Illinois state criminal syndicalism law and the biggest legal case of the communists of the United States.

IDOL WORSHIP.

A missionary from the United States had spent many years among the heathen natives of East India. He had christianized many of the natives. One of the great western virtues he was in the habit of teaching and emphasizing consisted of the statement that the people of his native country did not worship idols. He pointed out that his countrymen were a great people with a great nation.—That they were great because of their christianity and the absence of idols worship.

One of the native children he had taught from infancy grew up into a bright young man of twenty who was well advanced in his preparation for the ministry. He was also a student of English and other European languages. The aged missionary was very proud of his pupil and desired very much to have him see America and its people.

When the young native finally accompanied the missionary on a trip to New York the old man possessed a great passion to show his pupil the great sights of the western world. When the ship they were on came in sight of the land of America the missionary began to explain to the interesting places. When the ship neared the great statue the young native asked:

''What did you say that statue was?''

''That's the Statue of Liberty. It holds the torch for all who seek to enter the land of liberty. 'Liberty enlightening the world' '', explained the missionary.

''I am puzzled,'' observed the young native of India. ''Did the people of your country accept that statue and believe in it?''

''Yes, they are very proud of that statue, but why are you puzzled?'' rejoined the missionary.

''I can understand that your people love liberty as I also do, but I always thought that your people did not worship idols contributed.''

At last reports the idol is still worshiped tho the liberty has long since deported. Ed.

THE BRASS CHECK

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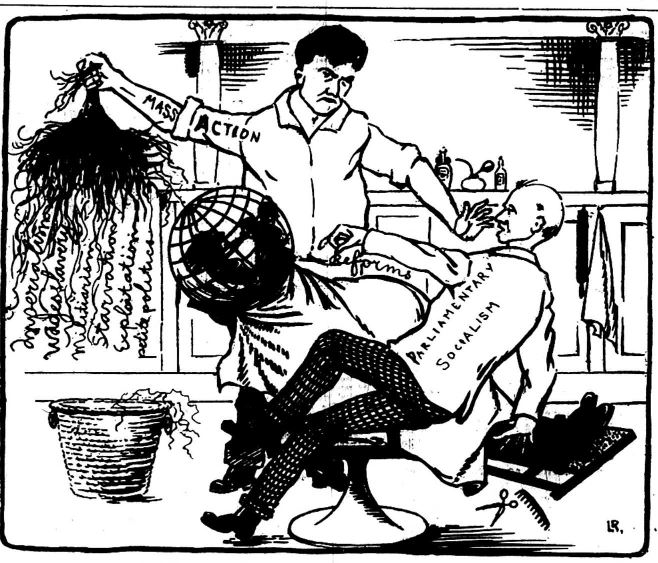

The Two Barbers.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2nd)

be that in a choice between soul and sot, I had chosen the soul.'' Then after a moments thought she added ''Mother, I only saw that boy twice, both times under unfavorable circumstances, and neither time, did he speak of himself, nor did he berate others. He always spoke of the great problems of life; of those deeper things of which I love to dream. But of which you and daddy never seem to think.'' She drew the notes Jack had written from somewhere about her person and read their contents to the mother.

''What did I tell you. Just a nameless, homeless hobo living like a beast in the woods,'' persisted the mother angrily.

''Foxes have holes, and the birds of the heavens have nests, but the son of man has no where to lay his head,'' she quoted with a whimsical smile. ''If Christ came to Anamoose you would call him a tramp and if I associated with him your friends would call me a Magdalene. But mother dear don't worry, I have my life to live; I have my work to do. I hope I will hear from that boy again. Just to think of him makes me feel stronger. It is good to know there is some one who has a purpose in life and who can inspire a purpose in me.''

(Continued next week)

NO ''MEXICAN SOVIET'' YET—OBREGON AN OTHER KERENSKY.

(Continued from page 2nd)

ly to his popularity was due more largely to the public desire to show resentment against political dictation, especially dictation supposed to proceed from the United States. The plot to buy the election for Bonillas proved a fizzle, and the popular outburst, getting beyond all possibility of control, was allowed to run its course. Then American Big Business set about it to make friends with the man who was swept into power on this wave of wrath. Evidently it is going to succeed.

..American capitalism may not know it, but by subsidizing the new revolutionary government and diverting the natural fruits of the revolution away from the Mexican people, it is kindling the flames of another uprising not many years ehnce.

And Mexico's next revolution will be a Bolshevist Revolution!

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From Our Petrograd Correspondent

The Toiler publishes this week the first communication received from our own correspondent in Petrograd. Our readers may expect these to appear at intervals of every two weeks or thereabouts as long as the comrade remains there.

The comrade who will send these messages to you is on a special mission to Russia and since his letters must be sent out thru the blockaded Russian boundaries, surreptitiously, they will not arrive regularly nor contain all that we would wish, but they will contain much interesting matter relative to the conditions in Socialist Russia, likewise they will be absolutely authentic.

Petrograd, Russia, April 1st 1920.

I am home. Russia has changed fundamentally and thoroughly. When you come over you will notice this great change. Of bread we have not any too much, but still enough. Industry is not in a very favorable state; one thing that prevents us from applying our hands to actual production, is the lack of the means of transportation, the shortage of machinery and of skilled factory workers. Immense mumbers of these latter were drawn into the army to combat the counterrevolution. An army of three to four million men is not a joke, but a serious economic factor in a crisis such as we are confronted with. We are beginning to liquidate the front and transfer the army from the battle field to industry. We hope to revive entirely within a couple of years. It took us two years to defeat imperialism in the military sense, and will take about as long to defeat it economically.

The international proletariat will of course, have to take the same active part in this struggle as it took protesting against military intervention, the question as to economics must be put in the same way.

So, you see we have to fight yet quite a bit. From the stand point of food we are quite short, but intellectually we are the highest working class section of the world. I have already gotten acquainted with a few of the leading personalities of the new Soviet government and know how they are provided with life's necessities. For a long time we have not seen white bread, real coffee and tea, but nevertheless we have something to eat. Germany and Austria would be happy if they had half as much as we have in Petrograd.

In a week I will go to Moscow to attend the conference of the Bureau of the Third Internationale. Have already met some of my old acquaintences in Petrograd and expect to see more in Moscow. American Communists should unite at all costs, otherwise they will lose respect before their European [illegible]les.

With hearty greetings to all my friends and comrades in America!

Yours
A. B. C.

Financial Free-booters to Batter Workers into Submission with Unemployment

— By Paul Hanna,
Staff Correspondent
The Federated Press.

WASHINGTON.—Immediately after the big party conventions at Chicago and San Francisco tens of hundreds of thousands of workmen will be laid off by the basic industries, according to persistent reports circulating at Washington.

This enforced idleness may be long or brief, depending upon the adjustment of a number of factors operating to bring it about. These factors are three in number, the first two being of almost equal importance in the minds of industrial captains. They are:

(1) A desire to shatter the morale of labor and bring down wages by giving a taste of unemployment to the working class.

(2) Inability of the railroads to move a growing accumulation of commodities from the point of production, and the consequent need to reduce the output temporarily.

(3) A desire on the part of the bigger capitalists to squeeze out the smaller lot of speculators in manufacture and merchandizing, who are being pinched between the restriction of bank credit and the decreased purchasing power of the public.

While this attempt at partial "re-adjustment" may easily lead into the major post-war panic which all experts anticipate, careful judges of the situation, declare this coming spell of hard times is intended to last only for a few months — just long enough for really big capital to consolidate its position still further and "dig in" to resist the world-wide plague of bankruptcy, unemployment and famine, which is expected to come a year or two later.

Both for election purposes and to insure against unruly protests from the mob when the big disaster arrives, a preliminary lesson in humility is to be taught the working class.

The oil, steel and automobile industries it is said, will take the lead in laying off a big proportion of their men after the Republicans and Democrats have nominated their candidates for president. Detroit is mentioned as an automobile center that has been most thoroughly organized to this end.

Capitalists blame the general prosperity now preaviling for the success which has attended the so-called outlaw railroad strike. Their reports tell them that railroad men no longer willing to endure the low wages and neglect of their old employment have been readily absorbed by other industries. It has been a perfect example of the embarassment that is always felt by employers when there is no reserve army of idle workers to drive down or keep down the wages of the employed.

This railroad strike has proved the axiom of employers that there can be no "discipline" in industry if the workers are free to choose their own employment. To restore that lost "discipline" the partial shut-down in the oil, steel, automobile and other industries is being planned.

At the same time the unemployment birch is applied to labor elsewhere, an increase in pay totalling some 40 per cent is being arranged for the railroad men. Trains must be kept moving, and the partial paralysis of transportation now prevailing causes alarm in high places. Unemployment in other industries, coupled with a timely wage increase on the railroads, in expected to bring the truant "vacationists" scampering back to the transportation system, sorry that they ever left and in a mood to stick in future.

Incidentally, that wage increase will add a billion dollars to the expenses of the roads, and they must have another billion for themselves under private operation. Where the two billions are to come from is a separate matter, and one that railroad financiers cannot think about without getting a headache.

MOSCOW— (By Mail)— The first Congress of Trade and Technical Education was opened by Lunacharsky, commissar of education, on April 28th. Lunacharsky emphasized the necessity of technical schools. Strenuous agitation must be undertaken, he said, to create agricultural-technical schools in the rural districts.

The central committee for technical education outlined a plan for technical education with cooperation of trade unions and the Supreme Council of National Economy.

Let Your Dollars Bespeak Your Loyalty.

There's an old saying that "you never know your friends until trouble overhelms you." And there is a world of truth in that old saw and it applys to The Toiler as well as to any individual. The Toiler is just now learning who and how many are its friends—friends who regard it as no sacrifice to dig up an extra dollar for its preservation and if they have to dig deeply for it, it comes forth with just as willing a hand.

And we are beginning to wonder just how many there will be of the "loyal" ones—those who are going to respond to the Toiler's call for help in the crisis which confronts it. We know hundreds are going to be recorded in The Toiler's Dollar Campaign for Paper Stock. Possibly, there will be many more who will not feel able to give the dollar they want to give. But in the end we firmly believe that there will be very few who will find it absolutely necessary to stay outside the big circle of Dollar Contributors.

The dollars ore comming fast now. Every mail brings a shower of one, two and five dollar bills which have been sent hastily to meet the crisis and stay the hand of death from The Toiler. We read the letters which acompany them and we marvel at the faith and comradeship expressed in them. Each and every one breathes of the spirit of our Great Cause, all declare the necessity of keeping The Toiler in the field for workinglass education and organization. We read the letters and then we begin to know why we cannot fail, why we must and will keep in the fight at all costs no matter how great the sacrifice may be. For every letter is a testimony to the resolution and determination of our readers to do their full share in securing the necessary paper supply to keep The Toiler in the field.

The amounts received are gratifying indeed and if the dollar bills just keep coming in at their present rate until July 1st, the needed amount, $2,500 will be raised. We believe they will keep coming because our readers are made of the kind of stuff that DO things and—they have to keep coming if we are to visit you each week for the coming months.

We are using our wts and our credit (backed up by the prospects of your expected help) in getting this issue printed. We have "borrowed" enough paper for this issue. But you know the saying that "he who borrowing goes sorrowing". Some truth in that too. In this case the sorrow consists in the fact that the paper must be returned—and we have to get it before it can be. Far better to buy it first and that is why we must urge immediate action on your part. If you are going to send a dollar to The Toiler—send it now. If you are NOT going to send a dollar—sit down and think; think hard, try, if you can, to think of ANYTHING that would do more for the cause of Socialism RIGHT NOW than that one dollar bill in your pocket!

We don't want and we can't if we did, acquire the habit of borrowing paper weekly. That little game is very short lived these days—especially if you are a Communist Toiler. We much prefer to buy our paper and we will have to too. We know where there are 300 reams of newsprint—and we are going to have that paper. We are going to buy it on the very best security—the belief and knowledge that there are hundreds and hundreds of Toiler Boosters who will guarantee the account—who are going to make our word good with their dollar bills.

And then we must prepare for future months. We must prepare NOW. We must lay in a supply for months ahead and never allow it to dwindle—for the newsprint situation is not going to materially improve. Every month the price is a little higher. We must make the Toiler as safe as is possible to do. The one thing needful NOW is that each reader whose interest in socialism and the workingclass is more than 'skin deep' is to make it known by remitting his dollar—or more—immediately.

Be one of the needed 2,500 loyal comrades.

British Parleys May Open Trade

LONDON.—That the parleys between Premier David Lloyd George and Gregory Krassin, Russian soviet minister of trade and commerce, are leading to the conclusion of peace between soviet Russia and England is the conviction of those in close touch with the situation here. According to the political correspondent of The London Daily Herald, Krassin is putting up very bluntly the choice between war and no trade, or peace with trade.

"It is certain," says the correspondent, "that discussions have been more of a political than of a commercial nature, in spite of press reports to the contrary. Russia is giving the British permier the first opportunity to realize that all trade negotiations are futile unless the basis is one of genuine peace, and the abandonment by Great Pritain of all plots against the soviet republic. There can be no doubt that Krassin put this point quite firmly.

"Lloyd George's reaction may be judged from the fact that Krasin went straight from Dowing Street to rent offices for his delegation. That is an omen of coming peace. American traders will need to get busy if they want to be left on the map."

In an interview secured by the Herald's Copenhagen correspondent with Maxim Litvinoff, it was stated that Litvinoff is in constant cable communication with Krassin as the parley progresses.

The fact that Premier Millerand has refused to allow Jules Cambon, French ambassador at London to be present at the parley is regarded as a ruse on her part to throw the responsibility for peace on Lloyd George and evade breaking her vow that she would never deal politically with soviet Russia. Government papers emphasize the fact that the British premier is not acting in the name of the allies.

The French papers are full of the negotiations. In a leading editorial in the Echo de Paris, Petinax, who often speaks for the French government, declares that it is the pressure of the English workers which is forcing Lloyd George to consider peace with soviet Russia.

"For eighteen months," says the editorial, "Lloyd George has been working to get in touch with Moscow."

"The French government intends to leave to Lloyd George complete responsibility for his conduct....."We have never been fooled concerning the real meaning which the British Ministry attacked to decisions of the Supreme Council relative to the exchange of products with the Russian cooperatives. Now we stand on those decisions, however."

MOSCOW— The peasants along the coast of the Black Sea have sent the catch of one day's fishing to the starving children in the cities. It consisted of 4.000 poods. The workers in the same district have decided to give up a weeks pay for the same cause.

VARDO, Norway.—A Scandinavian labor delegation reached Murmansk, in Soviet Russia, on May 2. The delegation was received by Soviet representatives, among them M. Begi, who arriver directly from Moscow to welcome the delegation on behalf of the Soviet government.

Begi explained the hope that the visit of the delegation would bring friendly relations between the Russian and Scandinavian workers. Langseth replied on behalf of the Norwegian workers and Karlsson on behalf of the Swedish.

MOSCOW.—During the "work month" coal production in the district of Tjeljabinsk came up to 1,300,000 poods as compared with 900,000 poods estimated in advance.

During April the production was about 106,000 poods per day as compared to 65,000 poods per day in March. All old mines have been opened and new mines put under work.

Communists Bring Legion Post into Court for Damages

CINCINNATI, June 7th.—The policy of members of the American Legion in breaking into labor union and radical headquarters and destroying property has been brought into the courts here by the suit of the Communist Labor Party against the local post of the American Legion and certain members of the order. Lotta Burke for the communists asks for $450 property damages and $5,000 punitive damages. The case is now on trial in the Superior Court of Hamilton County. Jos. W. Sharts of Dayton is counsel for the defendants.

The action on which the suit is based took place last November when following a night meeting of the Legion post a crowd of the members broke into the joint headquarters of the machinists union and the socialists, threw the literature, furniture and other property out of the windows and burned it on the street. There were no officials of either organization present and no personal attacks were made. Members of the local police were present but made no effort to stop the marauders. They counselled them from time to time to be careful not to break any windows or doors lest they might lay themselves open to the charge of "destroying property." The ring leader of the mob, who afterward boasted in the newspapers of his part in the affair, was a sergeant in the Ordinance Department of the government.

One of the local socialists, a member of the Legion, was present at the meeting and has made affidavit to many of the vital points upon which the suit was based.

JOHN REED GIVEN TRIAL IN FINLAND

ABO, Finland—(By Mail)—The city court of Abo on April 26th concluded the case of John Reed, American newspaper man and leader in the Communist Labor Party, who was arrested on a charge of smuggling. The court decided that it was proven that on March 13 John Reed "had tried to smuggle out of the country 102 diamonds and money." The court imposed a fine of 5,000 marks and besides Reed lost the diamonds to the Finish government. According to the press reports, the diamonds were worth 266,000 Finnish marks ($1—19 marks).

• • •

John Reed, noted newspaper man and author was born in Portland, Oregon, his father being at one time chief of police there. He became prominent in newspaper work during the Mexican revolution against Diaz.

He spent several months in Russia during the critical days of the rise of the Bolsheviki to power and wittnessed their victory. His book, Ten Days That Shook the World, is considered one of the most exact and authoritative books that have been written of the revolution.

Returning to America about a year ago, he became active in the organization of the Left Wing of the Socialist Movement here and was instrumental in forming the Communist Labor Party out of Left Wing elements that were expelled from the more conservative Socialist Party. He was one among 39 members of this Party who have been indicted on charges of violating the criminal syndicalism law of Illinois in the formation of this Party and would be among the number now on trial at Chicago had he been apprehended.

Reed returned to Russia several months ago and visited former friends, officials of the Soviet government. His reported capture and imprisonment in Abo, Finland was the first information reaching friends here that he had left Russia. It is presumed that he has returned to Russia after gaining his freedom from the White Guard government of Finland.

Agent Provocateur Attempts to Organize Switchmen into "Violence Squads"

IS REPUDIATED.

MAN CLAIMED BY RADICALS TO BE IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOY STATES HE HAS $20,000 FOR ORGANIZATION OF DESTRUCTIVE WORK AGAINST RAILROADS.

Strikers are warned by cool heads to avoid violence.

Failure of the railroad and the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce to break the ranks of the striking railroad workers of this vicinity has made them desperate. It is the conviction of alert strikers and radicals of the city that they have now resorted to the time honored methods of instituting violence thru agents in government employ who have gained the confidence of the strikers, hoping thereby to clear the way for government action and persecution against the strikrs.

A certain individual who has been notoriously active among the radicals of the city for months has approached leaders of the strikers and urged the organization of "strong arm" squads from among their ranks for the purpose of instituting a reign of violence against the railroads. This individual claims to be wealthy and openly says he is an anarchist. Twenty thousand dollars is at his disposal he states for the furtherance of this scheme which is to be led by revolutionists who have volunteered to take a leading part.

Investigation is made by strikers.

Leaders among the strikers whose judgement and integrity are relied upon by the rank and file at once proceeded to inquire into the character of the proponent of the scheme. Because he had been known to associate with certain of the Communist and Communist Labor Party members who have the unqualified confidence of the strikers, it was believed at first that whatever merit was contained in his proposal it came at least from honest motives.

Investigaton opened the eyes of the strikers to the duplicity of the purpose that is believed to lay behind this nefarious scheme which was planned solely for the purpose of wrecking the organized strikers upon the rock of a governmental frame-up. The strikers learned that the individual in question has been declared an agent provocateur in the employ of the goverment secret service by the communists of Cleveland and elsewhere. A membership in both the Communist and Communist Labor Parties, certain activities which point unmistakably to his connection with governmental agencies were set before the strikers by communists as proof of his character as a government agent for the purpose of violence and unlawful measures.

Communists whose suspicious have been aroused, by questionable activities of this individual recently made an investigation of him covering a number of years in many localities in this country. Their findings were the basis of the information furnishing the strikers. The strikers were emphatically warned by the communists to beware of any proposal he might make to them as they would surely become entangled in snares which could lead only to prison and the breaking up of their organization.

Cleveland railroad strikers have made a valiant fight for their organzation. Their ranks are unbroken and they have uniformly advocated and practiced orderly and lawful measures to win their demands. They are now alert to weed out such destructionists as the principal in this case and will maintain a careful watch that no more of this ilk obtain influence in their ranks.

KATE O'HARE IS FREE

Kate O'Hare, militant labor unionist and socialist was released from Jefferson City Mo., prison June 1st. Her sentence of five years was commuted by President Wilson to expire at that time.

Mrs. O'Hare was sentenced 14 months ago to serve five years for alleged violation of the espionage law in statements made in a speech at Bowman, N. D.

Government officials deny that this is to be taken as an indication that there is to ensue a general amnesty for political prisoners, or that it will mean that Eugene V. Debs, who is serving a sentence of 10 years at Atlanta Ga., on a similar charge, will be released.

Thousands of friends scattered all over the American Continent are made happy over her release. She has spent many years on the socialist platform and in socialist work.

Mrs. O'Hare became a close friend of Emma Goldman while at Jefferson City Prison, Miss Goldman being a prisoner there up to the time of her deportation to Russia a few months ago.

WHEN IN CHICAGO VISIT HERE.

The Walden bookshop, operating here under the Chicago Co-operative Bookstores Company, which also owns the Radical bookshop, has just opened its doors to the public. The name Walden was given the store in memory of the home of Thoreau, an early advocate of free speech.

The windows of the shop was designed and decorated by William J. Beauly of New York and Fred S. Foster of Chicago. Inside the books are conveniently arranged alphabetically and in divisions of economics, fiction, drama and poetry. There is a long table with an artistic reading lamp and comfortable chairs where one can sit down and thumb over interesting titles without being pursued by an avaricious clerk.

MOSCOW— Arrangements have been made to dispatch five oil trains daily to Moscow. The Second Labor Army has started the construction of a railroad from Saratoff to Emba for the oil trade.

☞ BIG "GENERAL AMNESTY" MEETING ☜

Sunday, June 13, 1920, 2 P. M. — 50 So. Howard St. Akron, O.

Under Auspices The Workers Defense League.

SPEAKER:— G. T. FRAENCKEL of Chicago, Ill.

Organizer International Ass'n of Machinists

"Governments that exist through the supression of Human Liberties are Social Cancers, sooner or later to be Amputated."

EVERYBODY COME. ADMISSION FREE.

PASS THIS NOTICE ALONG.

Skygac's Column

(Written especially for The Toiler.)

Deceit is deception even if the war-makers did excuse it with the polite name of camouflage. It is a characteristic of savagery and a capitalist class necessity. "Business is business my boy!"

* * *

Capitalism has made deception an art. Black art as it were.

* * *

Always think and act in the interest of those who rule and rob you and you will always be spoken of by those who rule and rob you as a good, loyal, patriotic godfearing citizen. But what a price to pay for praise!

* * *

Every conceivable way (except the ONE and ONLY way) to achieve the solidarity of the working class. The one and only method is by and through the spread of correct scientific information—Scientific Socialism.

* * *

There are no short cuts to science.

* * *

How can a few exploit the many and not allow the many to find out how it is done? Ask the modern school-ma'am. She ought to know—but alas, in nine cases out of ten she don't. It is the deceit of the modern educational system.

* * *

Plute Press idiot-orials are now telling us all about starving Russia. How she has plenty of raw materials and plenty of man power, yet starves. Then they tell us it is because of the wrong teachings of sovietism. More deceit. What the P. P. fails to tell is the fact that you can not work up raw materials without machinery and the Allied blockade keeps Russia from getting the necessary tools. The P. P. has told so many lies that a few more or less really makes little difference. In the mean time the soviet idea has spread to the four corners of the biblical earth and worried the exploiters of mankind muchly.

* * *

The difference between the value of laboring power and the value of labor's product is the bone of contention between the workers and the master-class. Every clash of the classes is over this difference or other minor matters which arise out of this condition. The problem of the master-class is to find some manner or method whereby the clash of the classes may be avoided and yet allow the master class to keep the difference between the value of labor power and the value of labor's product. A leather medal (made of imitation—in conformity with the spirit of the times) containing a replica of the famous fourteen pointless points will be given to the first person who can accurately foretell just when the master-class will give up their fruitless search.

* * *

Our struggle to live drives us forward. Our master-class training holds us back. Wherin lies our free-moral-agency?

* * *

Social production has grown too large for capitalist-class ownership. Social ownership must follow.

* * *

"President releases political prisoner"—press headline. Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare pardoned by the president after two years imprisonment. Thus gradually do we elarn that there really ARE political prisoners in this used-to-be-land of the free.

* * *

Form a card of thanks published in the local paper we learn of the influence of modern industrialism upon everything—including funerals. "We wish to thank our friends and neighbors and also employees of—Machine company, (where she worked) and—Motor Company (where he worked) for the kindness and sympathy shown us during the illness and at the death of our wife and mother,—C. B. and children."

* * *

All the political parties of the master class should vie with each other for the rights to the populer song," I'm forever blowing bubbles, pretty bubbles in the air." But the worker who chases those pretty bubbles is a Dubb of the tribe of Henry.

Next time you get a gold back bill take it to the nearest bank and insist on getting a gold piece for it. You'll have some fun listening to the banker's explanations. The gold back bills carry a promise that they will be redeemed in gold. They are a government promise. Ask your banker first if the promises of the government are of any value. When he answers "yes" then spring the bill. Both of you will probably learn something by what will follow.

* * *

We had a street meeting in our town. A National organizer for the S. P. spoke on the main stem, oh about the plum plan and every thing (except the class-struggle). She said the city manager had told her she could not speak and the prosecuting attorney had told her she could. Who said we couldn't have free speech in this country if we ask for it real pretty?

* * *

The extravagant workers are now paying 16c for a (what-used-to-be) 5c loaf of bread. The lure of the loaf will lead the people into bolshevism yet.

* * *

From a recent pronouncement of the G. A. R. one learns that they have given up the ideals of Lincoln. Lincoln cherished the hope that America might have a "government of, for and by the people." The G. A. R., or rather the commander-in-chief of the G. A. R. in a message published in the American Legion Weekly says the G. A. R. stands firmly against Bolshevism and soviet rule." Soviet rule is rule for, of and by the people.

* * *

Congress impertinently expressed itself about Home Rule for Ireland the other day. Wonder when it will express itself about home rule for US?

* * *

While the world and the masses struggle on towards ideals of peace and Arcadia the Rotary Club still meet and formulate plans for defeating the world's ideal.

* * *

We used to speak of them as the lowly spud—but that was before the days when the world was made safe for democracy. Lowly spud @ 15c a pound? Well hardly!

* * *

Some people call 'em spuds and some call them potatoes. Most people don't call them at all now but just remember how they used to taste.

* * *

Some members of the upper class may use the overall for a coat of legs but you can gamble that none of them will adopt the overall as a coat of arms.

* * *

We had to acquire acquisitiveness to emerge from the jungle, but while we were at it we never looked too closely at the method of acquiring nor did we bother our head about who it was equired from. Those who have acquired the most, still plainly show their jungle origin. They have a large bump of acquisitiveness but are lacking in the refinements of caring about the method or the victim.

* * *

Higher people will pay more attention to the method by which commodities are acquired and less attention to the size of the pile.

* * *

Science teaches us that even the solar systems change, but congress and the administration has tackled the problem of fixing things up so the capitalist system shall endure forever. Some tackle!

* * *

Organized co-operation brings home the bacon, but none except the upper class shall be allowed to co-operate.—?

* * *

Civilization is the product of two great forces—eating and breeding.

* * *

All bugs are the product of the same forces above mentioned!

* * *

Nature knows no shame. Shame on her! She needs the Interchurch World

* * *

Movement.

* * *

The instinct to survive will prevail over any code of law.

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PALMER AND DEPT. OF JUSTICE CONDEMNED

WASHINGTON—Forgery, perjury and assault have been committed by agents of Attorney General Palmer in the course of "continued violation of the Constitution and breaking of laws by the Department of Justice", according to a damning indictment, backed by affidavits and photographs, made public here by a committee fo distinguished members of the American bar.

This sensational allegation of persistent criminality among the highest law officers of the government is addressed "To The American People" and is called a "Report Upon Illegal Practices by The United States Department of Justice." It is a report to the National Popular Government League and is signed by the following lawyers:

Z. Chafee, Jr., Cambridge, Mass.
Professor of Law, Harward Law School.
Felix Frankfurter, New York,
Harvard Law School.
Prof. Ernst Freund, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. of Jurisprudence and Public Law, Unive. of Chicago,—Author of "Standards of American Legislation," etc.
Swinburne Hale, New York.
Attorney-at-Law. Late Captain Military Intelligence Division, General Staff, U. S. S.
Alfred Niles, Baltimore, Md.
Late Judge of the District Court. Attorney-at-Law.
Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, D. C.—Attorney-at-Law. Member American Bar Association.
Roscoe Pound, Boston, Mass.
Dean of the Law School, Harvard University.
David Wallerstein, Philadelphia, Pa.
Attorney-at-Law; Member American Bar Association.
Frank P. Walsh, New York and Kansas City.—Attorney-at-Law.
Tyrell Williams, St. Louis, Mo.
Dean of the Law School, Washington University.
Francis Fisher Kane, Philadelphia, Pa.
Attorney-at-Law, U. S. District Attorney, resigned.

Preliminary to more than fifty printed pages of exhibits to prove their charge, the lawyers made the following statement:

"TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

For more than six months we, the undersigned lawyers, whose sworn duty it is to uphold the Constitution and Laws of the United States, have seen with growing apprehension the continued violation of that Constitution and breaking of those Laws by the Department of Justice of the United States government.

"Under the guise of a campaign for the supression of radical activities, the office of the Attorney General, acting by its local agents throughout the country, and giving express instructions from Washington, has committed continual illegal acts. Wholesale arrests both of aliens and citizens have been made without warrant or any process of law; men and women have been jailed and held incomunicado without access of friends or counsel; homes have been entered without search-warrant and property seized and removed; other property has been wantonly destroyed; workingmen and workingwomen suspected of radical views have been shamefully abused and maltreated. Agents of the Department of Justice have been introduced into radical organizations for the purpose of informing upon their members or inciting them to activities; these agents have been instructed from Washington to arrange meetings upon certain dates fo rthe express object of facilitating wholesale raids and arrests. In support of these illegal acts, and to create sentiment in its favor, the Department of Justice has also constituted itself a propaganda bureau, and has sent to newspapers and magazines of this country quantities of material designed to excite public opinion against radicals, all at the expense of the government and outside the scope of the Attorney General's duties.

"We make no argument in favor of any radical doctrine as such, whether Socialist, Communist or Anarchist. No one of us belongs to any of these schools of thought. Nor do we now raise any question as to the Constitutional protection of free speech and a free press. We are concerned solely with bringing to the attention of the American people the utterly illegal acts which have been committed by those charged with the highest duty of enforcing the laws — acts which have caused widespread suffering and unrest, have struck at the foundation of American free institutions, and have brought the name of our country into disrepute.

"The Eighth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides:

"Excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.'

"Punishments of the utmost cruelty, and heretofore unthinkable in America, have become usual. Great numbers of persons arrested, both aliens and citizens, have been threatened, beaten with blackjacks, struck with fists, jailed under abominable conditions, or actually tortured. Exhibits are in our possessions and affidavits and evidence of these practices.

The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution provides:

"'The right of the people to be secure in their persons, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.'

"Many hundreds of citizens and aliens alike have been arrested in wholesale raids, without warrants or pretense of warrants. They have then either been released, or have been detained in police stations or jails for indefinite lengths of time while warrants were being applied for. It has been established in open court before Judge Anderson in Boston, Mass., that warrants of arrest were dispensed with pursuant to express written instructions from the Department of Justice at Washington. The cases are far too numerous to catalogue, but typical instances may be found in Exhibits. The secret instructions of the Department also appear as Exhibits.

In countless cases agents of the Department of Justice have entered the homes, offices or gathering places of persons suspected of radical affiliations, and, without pretense of any search warrant, have seized and removed property belonging to them for use by the Department of Justice. In many of these raids property which could not be removed or was not useful to the Department, was intentionally smashed and destroyed. One Exhibit is a photograph of the interior of a house raided by the Department of Justice. Other Exhibits give a recent opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court in a non-radical case, condemning seizure without warrant by the Department of Justice, and the opinion of the U. S. Circuit Court in Montana in a more flagrant case.

"We do not question the right of the Department of Justice to use its agents in the Bureau of Investigation to ascertain when the law is being violated. But the American people has never tolerated the use of under-cover provocative or "agents provocateurs," such as have been familiar in old Russia or Spain. Such agents have been introduced by the Department of Justice into the radical movements, have reached positions of influence therein, have occupied themselves with informing upon or instigating acts which might be declared criminal, and at the express direction of Washington have brought about meetings of radicals in order to make possible wholesale arrests at such meetings.

The Fifth Amendment provides as follows:

"'No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.'

It has been the practice of the Department of Justice and its agents, after making illegal arrests without warrant, to question the accused person and to force admissions from him by terrorism, which admissions where subsequently to be used against him in deportation proceedings. Instances of this sort appear in various Exhibits. Attention is also called to the Cannone case, in which Department agents committed assault, forgery and perjury.

"The legal functions of the Attorney General are: to advise the Government on questions of law, and to prosecute persons who have violated federal statutes. For the Attorney General to go into the field of propaganda against radicals is a deliberate misuse of his office and a deliberate squandering of funds entrusted to him by Congress. One Exhibit is a copy of a form letter sent out by the Attorney General under date of January 27, 1920, to many magazines and editors throughout the country, deliberately intended to prejudice them in favor of his actions. Another Exhibit is a description of an illustrated page offered free to country newspapers at the expense of the Department of Justice, patently designed to affect public opinion in advance of court decision and prepared in the manner of an advertising campaign in favor of repression. These documents speak for themselves.

"The Exhibits are only a small part of the evidence which may be presented of the continued violation of law by the Attorney General's Department. These Exhibits are, to the best of our knowledge and belief (based upon careful investigation) truthful both in substance and detail. Drawn mainly from the four centers of New York City, Boston, Mass., Detroit, Mich., and Hartford, Conn., we knew them to be typical of conditions which have prevailed in many parts of the country.

Since these illegal acts have been committed by the highest legal powers in the United States, these is no final appeal from them except to the conscience and condemnation of the American people. American institutions have not in fact been protected by the Attorney General's ruthless suppression. On the contrary these institutions have been seriously undermined, and revolutionary unrest has been vastly intensified. No organizations of radicals acting through propaganda over the last six months could have created as much revolutionary sentiment in America as has been created by the acts of the Department of Justice itself.

"Even were one to admit that there existed any serious "Red menace" before the Attorney General started his "unflinching war" against it, his campaign has been singularly frutiless. Out of the many thousands suspected by the Attorney General (he had already listed 60,000 by name and history on Nov. 14, 1919, aliens and citizens) what do the figures show of net result? Prior to January 1, 1920, there were actually deported 263 persons. Since January 1 there have been actually deported 18 persons. Since January 1 there have been ordered deported an additional 529 persons. The Attorney General has consequently got rid of 810 alien suspects, and, since we know of no successful "Red" prosecutions of citizens by him, he has, on his own showing, at least 59,190 left to cope with.

"It has always been the proud boast of America that this is a government of laws and of men. Our Constitution and laws have been based on the simple elements of human nature. Free men cannot be driven and repressed; they must be led. Free men respect justice and follow truth, but arbitrary power they will oppose until the end of time. There is no danger of revolution so great as that greated by suppression, ruthlessness, and by deliberate violation of the simple rules of American law and American decency.

"It is a fallacy to suppose that, any more than in the past, any servant of the people can safely constitute himself their ruler. Any such contention is a denial of the fundamental American theory of the consent of the governed."

Court Frees -- then Enslaves

LOS ANGELES, Calif., Nine members of the Industrial Workers of the World who were induced to enter a plea of technical guilt in criminal syndicalism cases here are bitterly resentful against those who caused them to make that plea.

They declare now that they didn't understand just what it would lead them into — for in making their pleas they inadvertently swore away so many liberties that though out of jail they feel they are no longer free beings.

These defendants fear, too, that their own comrades will look upon them as betrayers. In making the compromise sought by the state authorities "to save expense to the state", the nine industrialists declared thus: "We believe we are not guilty of any crime; but if simply being a member of the I. W. W. is a crime, then we are willing to admit that we are members."

Commending the American Legion for its raids on halls occupied by radical labor organizations, Superior Judge Frank R. Willis sentenced the defendants to serve from one to 14 years in prison, then suspended the sentences and placed the men on probation for five years.

Under the terms of this probation, the nine men are bound by the following rules:

They must not sell nor circulate copies of Upton Sinclair's book, "The Brass Check", nor any other literature dealing with the class struggle.

They must not visit the rooms of the Shelley Club, a conservative Socialist organization.

They must not visit the office of James H. Ryckman, labor lawyer and president of the Los Angeles unit of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

They must not enter any restaurant bearing the designation "cafe".

They must not visit skating rinks.

They must not be on the public streets at "late or unusual hours of the night."

They must report at the probation office on the first Sunday morning of each month until 1925.

Although Judge Willis for bade the industrialists from associating with Socialists, whose whole program is based on lawful, orderly, political action, the court told them they were free to be members of the American Federation of Labor "because it is in favor of securing all the rights due to working men by legislation."

"That is not what is termed a radical organization," declared Judge Willis. This comment aroused broad smiles in the courtroom, for before this very judge, in the Stein and Steelink I. W. W. trials recently, evidence had shown that vastly more violence had been employed in A. F. of L. strikes than had ever developed in strikes fostered by the I. W. W.

HELSINGFORS, Finland.—Edvard Valpas, editor and leader of the Finnish Socialist party and of the Finnish revolution in 1918, has been sentenced to prison for life. He was tried on the charge of high treason.

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXIV.

The Father's View.

When Gustave Anderson came home from the office that evening, his wife informed him, of their daughter's new departure from the straight and narrow path, in which she ought to walk. She told him, that Olive had received, and answered a letter from 'that man', and also that she had broken with poor Frank Cartwright. This was the unkindest cut of all. For it was Mrs. Anderson's fond ambition, to see every thing between Olive and Frank go well. She looked upon Frank as an ideal young man, principally because he went to church when Olive went, and because he was physically and mentally to weak to be wicked. It must be said to the credit of Olive that she had tolerated the boy's attention, practically for no other reason than that it pleased her mother. This it was that caused Mrs. Anderson to storm and rave about the girl's action.

As usual, however, Gus. Anderson refused to become excited. Nothing his wife ever said or did either, surprised or excited him. He had always made his living by his wits, and he had learned from experience that wits are dulled by excitement. "A man does not do his best thinking when all up in the air," he was wont to say. "He generally gets himself into trouble, and trouble don't pay." Anderson did not like trouble when it affected him or his. He did not mind making trouble for, other people, if by so doing, his ends were served. He was a typical Teuton. He loved to carry the war into the other fellows territory whenever he found it necessary to carry on war.

At home he frankly admitted that he had surrendered to his daughter and that he had accepted his wife, as an unavoidable visitation. Tonight he listened to her story with his usual nonckalange, while he made himself comfortable in his old arm chair in front of the fire place. He reached over and took his tobacco box from the center table and methodically filled his pipe, springling little grains of tobacco over his well proportioned, and not too immaculate abdomen. Next he laboriously hoisted his right foot upon his left knee and struck a match on the sole of his shoe. He now lighted his pipe, drew in the smoke with great deliberation, as he held the match before him and watched it burn out. Next he blew a series of tiny ringlets of smoke into the air, and leaned back lazily as he watched them dissolve away, all the while listening to Mrs. Anderson's prophecies and lamentations.

When she had finished, or perhaps only paused for breath her husband remarked quietly. "That was a queer lad, that hobo, you ought to have seen him. I'll be damned if I don't believe he wasn't a hobo at all. He sure didn't act like them. Generally, they are cowards or tough necks. He was neither. He sure got Ollie started——."

"Yes," broke in the mother, "that is what comes of sending innocent girls into jails to try and reform hardened criminals. That man has been on her mind ever since."

Gus. Anderson looked at his wife, amusement written on his face. Mrs. Anderson was a fanatical church woman. It was she who inculcated the idea that it was God's will that we visit those in prison, into her daughter. Personally Anderson professed no religion. In fact he looked upon church and church work, as a social fad and famenine pastime. He never let an opportunity pass to point out its inconsistences to his wife. Especially since Olive had met that boy in jail and started on a rampage about official iniquity. It amused him to hear his wife say the very same things he had said a few months before. So he remarked that it seemed to him, that God should keep an eye on those who served Him. "He is father to the orphans and husband to the widows," he chafed. He took a certain delight in punching holes in his wife's christinnity.

Returning to the subject of the boy, he asked Mrs. Anderson how she knew that he was a hardened criminal. Holding his pipe between two fingers before him and looking at her through a bluish cloud of smoke he said, "He may be a good boy for all you know."

"He was a jail bird, that's enough. No decent man ever goes to jail. And to think that my daughter should write to him. I have always been a good woman, why must this happen to me."

"I can't see that anything is happening to you, or for that matter to Ollie either that is not just now. And what is more if there is any thing to your religion at all, then it preaches morals, justice and other things, which have no place in a business world. If that hobo is all that you say he is, then you must still give him credit for putting life in your daughters religion. That is more than your penny grabbing sky pilot ever accomplished. She surely got the people stirred up and the bunch exposed. If your religion is any more than a dress parade, or a gossip mill ;if it really aims to be a moral force then you should thank God that that boy was locked up. His being in jail was a God send, altho I admit Gods are generally expensive visitors. Just think of the fines, Duffy used to put on the bums. Why they nearly paid our city taxes and left us a handsome bunch of graft to decorate the church with. Then came along that bum, and he met our daughter or rather she found him, and she stirred up the old maids in skirts and pants, to a sentimentally moral consciousness, and now we have to pay the taxes and the pourent out of our own pockets. From a moral view point, her work was fine, and I am proud of it. But morals cost money. They have no place in business. It was an expensive clean up, and it cost us some powerful friends as well. It isn't good policy to pry into methods by which other people make their living. Specially not for people like us. Our methods in turn will not stand much prying. I wish Olive would never have started that racket. But dammit I admire her nerve. She was more sand than her old dad. But then, her dad, has to make the living."

"But Pa, think of her writing to a total stranger with, to say the least a bad repetation. The recklessness of it."

"That's her, bless her skinny little heart. I wish I could be like her. When she thinks she sees the right of a thing, she just naturally forgets herself and dives right in regardless of consequences. I feel that I'm a better man since I have been forced to defend her actions. Her conduct wasn't good business. It has cost us money but there is no dodging the issue she was right." Taking his pipe and blowing a fragrant cloud of smoke toward the ceiling, he continued, "and as for writing to a total stranger, let me tell you Ma, I don't believe that the human heart knows strangers. It is only as we compete to live that we grow shy, seared, and suspicious of one another. I did not know you when we were married and hang it I don't know you yet. Never will I reckon. But one thing is certain, that when you laid that little girl in my arms, nearly twenty years ago, right then I became pretty well convinced that we were tied pretty well together. And after that it did not make so much difference whether we understood each other or not, we knew that we were parents to that little chub, and that made us partners."

"But Pa do talk sense!" The mother demanded. "How are we going to save Olive from that man?"

"My advice would be that we send for him and give him a job in the office, or on a farm, then we can see what kind of a man he is. If he is the man for her, then there is no earthly use fussing about it, and if he is not she is the only one who can find it out. If you go and fight her, you will drive her to him just as sure as God made little apples."

"I'll not stand for any such foolishness. I'll order her to stop writing to him," his wife vociferated. "There is no sense in her throwing over a good boy like Frank Cartwright for a common jail bird, the idea!"

Anderson's pipe was now firmly between his lips at the corner of his mouth. It moved slowly from a half past four to a ten thirty position in front of his oval face. Finnally he said, "being in jail is no disgrace. All your Holy apostles were pinched off and on, even Jesus Christ was convicted as a criminal, at least so your sky pilots tell us. Personally I have never been in jail, but that is not saying that I had not ought to have been there. Just a little more justice and a little less law, and your hounrable and respected husband would be a striped canary today, and you, Ma, would be taking in washings instead of going to hen parties."

By this time Mrs. Anderson was more than indignant she fairly snapped at her imperturbable husband. "Pa, answer me, what are you going to do about it? It is terrible. You are beginning to talk just like Olive. I'm ashamed of both of you."

Anderson laughed good naturedly. "Now, Ma," said he, "I do not know as anything ought to be done about it. You haven't produced sufficient evidence to warrant a conviction. Just because she diteed that Cartwright kid, and answered the letter from another man, that is not saying that the wedding bells are all greased for ringing." Then after a pause "I'll have a talk with Ollie myself. It is true she is somewhat impracticable and I am sure she wants to do right. My advice to you is ma, that you be careful not to do wrong."

This fairly infuriated the mother. "You're a great father, you are. You should be ashamed to encourage your child in her waywardness. You should set your foot down, and order her to make up with Frank Cartwright. Use your authority as a father and stop this foolishness," she finished her voice acrid with anger.

"A father cannot be a judge," said Anderson, as he emptied his pipe in the the fire place. "You gave me that little girl Ma, and I have always been proud of her. I've done all the damned crooked things this side of the penitentiary to make you both comfortable. I would have liked to make you both happy, but as you find your happiness in heaven, and I find mine at the table, of course I realize that I have failed to some extent. Still it was for you and her, that I fooled myself into believing that wrong was right. Anything for your benefit as I saw it, but we all have different eyes. I may thank God, that she did not lose all respect for me when that kid in jail told her to look behind the curtains. And now you tell me that she is making a great decision and if it is true I want to hear her side of the story before giving any advice."

Mrs. Anderson saw that the battle was hopeless, and left the room just as Olive entered thru the portiers.

"Mother has been telling me the news. Now suppose you tell your old Dad what you know about it" Anderson said suavely.

Olive stood before him leaning on the back of a chair. She was as graceful as a willow bending in the summer breeze. "Yes, I received a letter from Mr. Thurston. I heard mother telling you about it."

"It worries your mother."

"The letter?"

"Yes."

"No, Frank Cartwright worries mother. She wants me to go with him just because she and his mother are friends. But it would be a crime for me to go with Frank. We are so hopelessly different."

"But he can give you a home and a respectable name," her mother hissed from the next room. "What can the hobo do for you."

The father waved his hand in annoyance, and nodded for the girl to go on, and Olive continued. "I know that I could never marry Frank, and what is the use to be shamming. I know nothing of the other man. I've only seen him twice, I may never see him again. Very likely not, but I owe him one thing which I can never repay. He found me sleeping in the house of lies. He awakened me and showed me the path of truth. I am not thinking of marriage with any one. I want to go out in the world and fight the battle of the opressed. I'll fight the same fight I have started here. And I will make others fight for the [illegible]

(Continued on page 4.)

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"Force and Violence"!

With an astonishing emulation and rapidity the capitalist nations of the world and the different states which make up the United States of America have for two years or more been passing laws against the use of "force and violence" by insurgent and dissatisfied elements of the population in seeking to bring about governmental changes.

Thousands have been arrested (unlawfully), followed by forcible deportation of hundreds. Thousands of private homes and workers' halls have been forcibly entered and raided. Hundreds have been beaten and slugged by the strong arm squad of a governmental department miscalled Department of Justice. Some have been murdered outright by the extreme cruelties and forcible measures used against them. Others have been driven insane.

All this was brought about by the use of force and violence. Unlawful and inhuman use of force and violence. Unlawful and inhuman use of force and violence by the government. This fact is now being admitted by some departments of the government. But its admittance is but a reflex or a prevailing sentiment of the great mass of the people thruout the country. And in so far as accomplishing the ends sought — a mere mouse has been brought forth. No threatening movement of the masses, admitting that such existed, against constituted authority has been averted nor brought under authority. And it is safe to assert that none with courageous convictions will nor can be by these methods.

While the capitalist governments, state and national, have hypocritically waged a war against the use of force and violence, they have continuously practiced its use and have created the very sentiment they sought to prevent.

Casting a backward glance over events of the past five years, we see a world blackened and in ruins with ten million graves as a result of the application to the world's problems of the use of force and violence by capitalistic agencies. After an orgy of such unprecedented slaughter, how hypocritical seem the protestations of Palmer and the henchmen of capitalism against the use of force and violence in the arena of politico-social affairs. Dripping with the blood of their fellow men, the capitalist conspirators profess their angelic, lily whiteness and proceed to accomplish more slaughter and violence if the profits of their masters are menaced.

Here are the latest figures upon the slaughter of Europe under the rule of make—believe advocates of "peace on earth, good will to man".

FINAL WAR FIGURES

The World War reduced the population of the earth 40,000,000. This is the estimate of the Society for the Study of the Social Consequences of the War, a Copenhagen organization. Its figures include war casualties, rise in deaths and decline in births.

On this basis, Russia was the heaviest sufferer, losing 13,000,000; Germany lost 6,300,000; Austria-Hungary, 5,800,000; France, 3,340,000, Italy, 2,280,00; Great Britain 1,850,000; Serbia, 1,650,00; Rumania, 570,00; Belgium, 375,000; Bulgaria, 275,000; America, 300,000.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace places the direct cost of this slaughter at $186,000,000,000 and the indirect cost at $151,612,542,560.

All the wars between Napoleon's time and the World War showed a loss of life on the battlefield of only 4,450,000. The known dead of the World War battles total 9,998,771 and the missing 2,991,800.

This is the result of capitalism's control of life's necessities; the result of the control of all men's needs by a parasitic few whose profits come first and the welfare of the masses last or not at all.

This fact is the problem of today. It is especially the problem of the great suffering masses who pay the terrific cost in blood and treasure. No worker can evade this issue. It will pursue him relentlessly. Whether he recognizes it at present or not, ultimately it confronts him and demands his answer.

The world is moving swiftly toward the point where we must directly face the overthrow of the rule of capitalism, the profiteering rule of the parasites and substitute that of the masses, the producers. We are nearing that point even in America. Old methods of workers' organization, old political theories are being cast aside for new ones which have brought success to the workers in Europe. We must study the uses of these weapons under conditions prevailing here. Mass action, dictatorship of the proletariat, shop committees, these are tactics and organization methods we workers must learn the meaning and the use of.

We must prepare the groundwork upon which we are to erect a society wherein the use of "force and violence" will eventually become unnecessary. The masses only can accomplish this task.

DEBS ACCEPTS – A TRAGEDY

A matter that has been agitating the minds of thousands of radicals and socialists for some weeks has been set at rest by the acceptance by Eugene Victor Debs of the Socialist Party nomination for the Presidency.

The divisions within the ranks of the socialists, the ousting of the "Lefts", or revolutionary elements from the Party by the more conservative "Right wing", the formation of two Communist parties out of the Left group, the eventual split in the ranks of the Communist Party; the governmental repressions, deportations and persecutions especially of the Communists and Communists Laborites; the expulsion of the Socialist Assemblymen from the New York legislature the reactionary stand taken by the Socialist Party in its convention; together with the fact of Debs own imprisonment at Atlanta Federal penitentiary, all have focused socialist attention upon the matter of the position of the former standard bearer of the Socialist Movement toward his probable nomination for the fifth time of the highest office in the gift of the American workingclass.

In view of the fact that comrade Debs was shut away from participation in socialist activities and unable to receive but very little matter pertaining to Party affairs and developments in the movement, it was believed by most revolutionary elements in the movement that he would decline to accept the nomination. Previous to the Socialist Party convention Debs had sought to unite the Communist Labor Party and the Socialist Party for harmonious campaign work at least, stating that deeper differences might be adjusted later. In this Debs was undoubtedly [illegible] to prepare the way for a political protest by the [illegible] of [illegible] workers against the oppressions of capitalism. His project was repudiated by both Parties in the realization of the deep fundamental differences between them.

For years Debs and the revolutionary attitude he took upon matters of the working class struggle have been bitterly fought by the same individuals who now tender him the nomination. This fact is significant. It brings to the front a question to which there can be but one answer. The officialdom who now control the Socialist Party have not changed their moderate socialism into the revolutionary socialism of Debs. They like his position no less than formerly. Then why have they, in practically complete control of the convention, without a revolutionary following to force them to accept Debs, named him again the nominee of their Party? It is a question that is on the tongues of thousands who see at a glance the inconsistency in the situation. There is but one answer. The same political socialists who have fought Debs and his revolutionary attitude in the past now hope to garner a harvest of votes and a measure of prestige for their party by carrying his revered name at the head of their political ticket. This is the reason and there is no other. The Socialist Party is entering upon an entirely new phase of its life. It is now practically rid of all revolutionary elements and glories in that fact, it has repudiated the Third International. It has placed moderatism, political socialism, clearly above revolutionary mass action. It has swung so far to the Right that it almost meets itself coming back. It is seeking votes, not socialist votes so much as "labor" votes, votes of the merely discontented, Non artisan League votes, any and all kinds of votes that will give it political popularity.

Debs will not make his campaign. It will be made for him by the very ones he has opposed, upon a platform he has almost repudiated. It will not be Debs' campaign any more than it is a Debs platform, had he had the making of it. Debs' statement at the time of his acceptance of the nomination, in decrying the lack of stress in the adopted platform of the class struggle and of industrial unionism, that: "we can breathe the breath of revolution into any platform", is decidedly unsatisfactory. Undoubtedly Debs might perform a miracle of that sort had he an opportunity, but the opportunity is not his and those who have his campaign in hand will not breathe a revolutionary spirit into it for they do not possess it within themselves. His hopes in this respect are bound to meet with disappointment.

The statement has been freely made that should Debs be made fully acquainted with the situation in the Movement and the development of the Revolution all over the world, he would never accept this nomination. It was in this belief, and in the further desire to accomplish a comradely duty that an unofficial committee of the Communist Labor Party visited him at Atlanta prison. As best it could under the circumstances, this committee laid before him the entire situation including his own position in the world Revolutionary Movement. It cannot now be said that Debs did not know. The nomination has apparently been accepted in full possession of the facts. In accepting it Debs has definitely alligned himself with the moderates, the politicals, the vote chaser, the compromisers, with the Party that has repudiated the tried and proven principles and tactics that lead to workingclass victory.

* * *

What other thoughts were in Debs' mind as he paced his prison quarters no one can say. Doubtless the faces of many friends, comrades came before him, many hard fought battles came again to mind, many ties of friendship tugged at his heartstrings. All presenting claims which insistently demanded their share, and would not, could not be denied.

That comrade Debs has made an error in this critical moment is our conviction. That he had not done so—had at least have remained neutral for the while, is our wish. Circumstances have made him the plaything of forces stronger than he. They have made a tragedy of the life of America's most beloved.

Proletarian Science History

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —
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OUTLINE FOR CHAPTER XII.

Beginning	Use of electrical power in industry.
Tools and Weapons	Steam, electric and gas-power machinery. Modern firearms and massive ordinance, submarines, aeroplanes, poison gas.
Transportation	On land, steam, electric and gas-propelled cars and vehicles. On water, steam, electric and gas-propelled vessels of great proportions. In air, gas-propelled aeroplanes and dirigible hydroplanes.
Subsistence	Same as in previous periods, plus package foods, imitations and adulterations.
Shelter	Buildings of brick, lumber, stone, concrete and steel.
Clothing	Same as previous periods with more adulteration, imitation furs, etc.
Environment	Greater scale agriculture, great industrial cities, rapid transit and communication. Tightening of class lines. Growth of the penal system.
Organization	Monarchical, representative political government. Vast armies and navies, police constabulary and detective systems. Development of industrial unions. Great newspaper syndicates, great libraries, schools, colleges, universities, churches, theatres and moving pictures, all controlled in the interest of the dominant class.
Arts and Institutions	Beginning of air transportation. Air warfare. Wireless telegraphy and telephony. Beginning of nationalization of great industries. Development of revolutionary groups, working for the abolition of the wages-system.
Duration	From the year 1868 to the present time.

CHAPTER TWELVE.

Civilization. (Modern Industry.)

The upper age of civilization, known as the age of modern industry, began with the appearance of the electric motor.

M. Faraday,, in 1831, discovered that an electrical conductor when moved in a magnetic field would generate an electro-motive force. It was this discovery which made commercial electricity as a source of motive force possible. The use of electricity as a motive-force was brought into commercial use about the year 1868.

The economic urge underlying the development of commercial electrical power is to be found in the concentration of people in vast indusrial establishments with the consequent need of quick, frequent and smokeless street and interurban transportation. The same economic urge forced the introduction of electro-motive force within the factories, chiefly in response to the speed-up system and the piece-work pay phase of the wages sysem.

The perfection of electrical devices made the gas engine possible. The gas engine made possible the automobile, aeroplane, hydroplane and other machines requiring localized power. Gas and electric power greatly reduced the time element in transportation and production and thereby again modified the social structure.

In warfare as well as production gas and electricity made their power felt. The tank, submarine, caterpillar guns and tractors are some of the later developments of modern warfare.

With the development of electricity came the art of electro-chemical anaylis and sythesis known as the electrolytic processes of industry.

Nickle plating is done by the electrolytic process, as is also the extraction of gases from the atmosphere, the welding of wire and other metals, and in fact all processes of industry based upon the separation of electro-positive and electro-negative elements.

The rapid development of the automobile industry together with the telephone, the rural free delivery and the parcels post brought city and country into closer relationship and drew tighter the lines of the class struggle in agricultural communities. The advent of the "flivver" marked the passing of the paternalistic relations of agriculture and removed the 'hired-man' from the fireside to the bunk-house.

Cold storage, imitation and adulterated foods now flood the market with a resultant general race deterioration. It is a medical fact that 90% of the American people are today in some way afflicted. The great prevalance of disease gave rise to the "breakfast food" and patent medicine industries.

Concentration of industry led to a greater concentration of wealth, and also the concentration of people into great industrial centers. This raised the land values and furnished the economic motive for the erection of the 'skyscraper' and the modern apartment house.

The concetration of people in the cities, the forcible separation of the worker from the soil, due to the operation of the wages system, and private property in land, thus separating vast masses of people from the source of food supply, greatly intensified class antagonisms, which in turn developed the public and private police and penal institution to proportions hitherto unheard of.

Modern concentrated industry seeks to dispose of its surplus values, which are the direct products of the wages system, among the less developed people of the world in the form of loans and credits. Thus armies and navies develop as an international police force for the purpose of collecting the interest and guaranteeing the principal of these loans. In other words the military resources of the nations having reached the stage of modern industry are used as collection agencies for the modern industrial capitalists.

The industrial proletariat developed along with modern concentrated industry. Centralized industry furnished the economic base for the class or industrial union. The passing of the craft form of industry marked the passing of the utility of the craft union. The development of the class or industrial union is due to a conscious recognition on the part of the industrial proletarian of his class position in modern society.

The class antagonism growing out of the development of modern industry transferred the class war from the domain of theorizers and parliamentarians to an ever increasing belligerency on the part of both classes involved. The weapons of this warfare are at first intellectual: on the part of the dominant class, great newspaper syndicates, endowed magazines, schools, colleges, universities, libraries, churches and Sunday-schools, theatres, moving pictures and lecture platforms are used to control the mental processes of the workers by a propaganda seeking to justify the continued existence of the dominant class.

Overuling economic necessity forces a recognition of the futility of purely intellectual propaganda, causing the dominant class to develop their forces of physical coercion, such as state constabulary, private detective agencies, hired thugs, state militia and other public and private coercive forces.

Intellectual propaganda on the part of the dominant class was met by propaganda in kind on the part of the working class. When the dominant class entered the field of coercive force they forced the development of industrial unionism with its propaganda of industrial solidarity.

The arts institutions of the present era are so intricately interwoven with the industrial process that it would require space far beyond the proportions of this volume to enumerate and differentiate them.

Wireless telegraphy and telephony and the experiments now being carried on in the transmission of wireless power together with the quest for the secret of inter-atomic energy, gives us a glimpse of a coming new order of society based upon the transmission of wireless power or the unlocking of inter-atomic energy.

The age of modern industry began in 1868 and still continues.

SUMMARY.

The epoch of civilization began with the invention of the phonetic alphabet and the adoption of the Solonic Law.

The middle age of civilzation began with the invention of the steam engine.

The upper age of civilization began with the appearance of the electric motor and still continues.

We have now traced the development of industry, and hence the racial history, from the club in the hands of the primitive savage on upward to the hand tool of the craft age and onward through the shop, factory, partnership, company, corporation, trust, and international syndicates. As industry developed the class antagonism become ever more pronounced, and the class lines clearer, and now we are at the parting of the ways ....

The question confronting us now is; shall industry develop along the lines desired by the class conscious element of the workers, into a socially controlled mechanism for the service of all mankind?

Upon the answer to this question depends the name of the coming epoch of history.

(Continued on page 4.)

SOVIET [illegible] ENVOYS RECEIVED IN SWEDEN

GREETED AND ACCLAIMED BY THE TOILERS OF SWEDEN.

— By F. J-n.

A unique occurance, and one that is destined to be repeated in every capitalist country of the world, took place in Stockholm on March 31, when, what may be termed "The Girst Commercial Commission of the First Socialist Republic in the World" broke thru the cordon sanitaire of the imperialistic world and arrived in Sweden, where it was given royal welcome by the toilers of that country. "The Politiken" of April first carries the following interesting and vivid account of the event, which, tho late, will undoubtedly be read with interest in this country!

SOVIET RUSSIA'S FIRST COMMERCIAL COMMISSION.

A piece of world history was written yesterday. The blockade policy of the Entente and its vassal states against Soviet Russia has miscarried beyond redemption, and Sweden is the first country to be accorded the honor of receiving a Russian Commercial Commission. This delegation, whose arrival has been looked forward to with great anticipation, arrived in Stockholm at five o'clock yesterday afternoon on the steamer Oihonna. As early as three o'clock a considerable number of spectators and friends of Soviet Russia had assembled. Among those, who were present when the steamer landed were the representative in Sweden of the Soviet Government, Friedrik Strom; Wilhelm Hellberg, Socialist attorney; Zeth Hoglund and C. N. Carleson, editors of the Politiken; Carl Vinberg, member of parliament; and many other Left Wing Socialists. Local Stockholm of the Left Wing was represented by Einar Ljungberg, who carried an imposing wreath, decorated with red ribbon, intended for L. B. Krassin. In addition to these there were at the gangplank a half-score of young ladies loaded with flowers.

Among those who undoubtedly awaited the steamer with greatest anxiety was Mrs. Krassin and her children. Mrs. Krassin, it will be noted, has been living in Sweden for a few years and Mr. Krassin can therefore during his visit stay under his own roof—something that the other members of the commission cannot do. The few Russian friends of the Soviet Republic (Russians still remaining in Stockholm) were also represented thru Professor Smirnoff.

Late in the evening the Politiken succeeded in arranging an interview with Mr. Krassin, who in spite of the many hardships of the journey obligingly put himself at our disposal.

Regarding the chief aims of the commission. Kranssin pointed out that the commercial policy of Russia is based on the following principles:

The country is at present in need of a large amount of commodities, which may be divided into two categories. First, industrial products like shoes, clothes, etc., and, second. different kinds of machinery and tools, necessary for the reconstruction of industry. Tho commodities of the first class are keenly needed, Russia must for the present get along without them because her gold fund does not permit the purchase of mere articles of immediate consumption. The principal needs of Soviet Russia are locomotives and other railroad materials essential to the increase of the country's productive powers, and to obtain these is the foremost purpose of the commission.

There are in Russia, and especially in Siberia, enormous stocks of raw material, such as grain, leather, flax, fats and minerals especially graphite; but these cannot be moved until the war ceases since all available means of transportation must be used for war purposes.

In the course of the conversation Mr. Krassin releated that during the past 1½ years no less than 2,500 railroad bridges have been constructed or put in order. Among these is the important Syrenian bridge over the Volga. 5,000 kilometers of railroad track have also been laid. Besides this everything possible has been done to bring transportation back to normal.

Krassin emphasized that for these essential commodities, locomotives and other railroad materials, Russia is willing to pay in gold. In addition to her own gold resources Russia has, thru the defeat of Kolchak, come into possession of great masses of gold which this Czarist general had turned over to the Checho-Slovaks. With the needed locomotives in operation Russia will be in position to move grain to the cities and at the same time revive transportation of commodities and raw materials.

Mr. Krassin then referred to the commercial relations between Sweden and Russia, and in his capacity of industrial engineer praised the Swedish metal industry very highly and considered the Swedish constructors as the foremost in the world. Russia is anxious to buy locomotives immediately from Sweden and will pay cash in gold, and is willing to deliver, grain to Sweden later when, with the aid of these locomotives, transportation becomes normal.

The blockade was also touched upon in the conversation, and Krassin said that Russia has not as yet received official notification of its cessation. Thus, it is still in effect, and Russia does not want to send out any ships because of the risk of being captured.

One of the main conditions for negotiations with England and other countries is that there must be no demand for a change in the constitution of Soviet Russia, which is based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet form of government, and the socialization of industry and other means of production. On the matter of the form of government Russia cannot permit foreign intervention. It is understood that this demand must be respected if the Entente powers sincerely intend to establish relations with Russia.

UNIONS GALORE

There are unions of every description and kind
For the halt and the sick and the deaf and the blind;
For butchers and bakers and candle-stick makers,
For the aged and poor and the feeble of mind.

There are unions for pressmen and feeders galore,
For printers, I'm told, there are several more;
For printers of letters and all kinds of type-setters
And unions for sweepers who clean up the floor.

There are unions for tailors and hatters and all,
For cutters and fitters for great and for small,
For teamsters and seamsters and teachers and preachers,
And unions for sportsmen who love to play ball.

There are unions for blowers of bottles — its true,
For bottles of red and for bottles of blue;
For blowers of glass and for glass cutters too,
But the beer bottle blowers, Oh, what will they do?

Now when one of these unions goes out on a strike
If the others went too, it would be something like.
But the boss doesn't worry, he don't cry or sob,
There are other scab unions to finish the job.

So now fellow-workers, there's nothing to do
But join ONE BIG UNION that's proved good and true;
Take in all who work with their hands and their brain
'N if you don't like the world, MAKE IT OVER AGAIN.

Balkis.

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

— By Tom Clifford. —

The European nations which participated in the World War are bankrupt. This is an admission made by no less a personage than Mark O. Prentiss, chairman of the board of directors of the Bankers' Foreign Clearing House. Here is a frank confession from one who ought to know that the enormous financial obligations of the Allies must, through necessity, be repudiated. These obligations to the United States government and its financiers alone amount to $18,000,000,000, Germany's total wealth is $50,000,000,00, against which stands an indebtedness of $55,000,000,000. France's only hope of recovery from absolute impoverishment is the collection of the indemnity levied upon Germany, which of course will never be paid. Austria has been reduced to a condition of absolute ruin. The financial status of Italy borders on insolvency. England is no better off, her expenditures at the present time being almost double her income. No wonder Mr. Prentiss declares: "The world is sitting on a volcano that may start its eruption at any time, with the result that the financial sructure of the world, as we have grown accustomed to it, will be totally destroyed." The beginning of the end has errived. The financial end of the capitalist system is rapidly approaching a state of chaos, and the money manipulators the world over, and especially in America, are panic stricken.

• • •

As a result of the convention that the loans made to Great Britain by this country will prove a total loss, a feeling of antagonism toward the former is developing. There is no disguising the fact that Anglo-American relations are becoming so tense as to couse anxiety. Attacks on England's integrity are becoming quite common in the United States Senate and uncomplimentary references to America have recently been made in the British House of Lords. This feeling of distrust must develop eventually into open warfare between the bourgeoisie of the two countries. A marked proof of this tate of tension is evidenced by the total absence from the columns of our capitalist press of the erstwhile reference to great Britain as "Our Noble Ally." They have likewise shelved the phrase "Blood is thicker than water," which was used so effectively during the war. Since "our English cousins" have gone on the rocks financially the relationship is no longer insisted upon. Economic determinism is the Alpha and Omega of bourgeois ethics. "Money talks" is their favorite aphorism, and since Great Britain has lost her voice in the matter of meeting her bills she is no longer entitled to respectful consideration. "When thieves fall out"—well, you know the rest.

• • •

It is with relief I contrast the present plight of the Allies with the development of Soviet Russia. Although still compelled to struggle with adverse conditions, the Russian workers are not encumbered with a gigantic debt such as curses the other nations of Europe. Day by day Soviet Russia is working out her salvation, and will soon be able to stand alone and defy the bourgeoisie of the world. The trade that has hitherto been denied to Russia will in the very near future be eagerly sought by the European Allies in the hope that it will save them from utter ruin. While they have a natural disinclination to acknowledge their failure to overthrow the working class government of Russia, indications show that they are getting ready to swallow their discomfiture and acknowledge defeat. The perplexing problem that confronts them is how they can open up trade with the Soviets and avoid the humiliation of recognition. They may, as a last resort, accept Wilson's theory of "self-determination, and grudgingly concede that Russia has the sort of government she desires. At any rate, they will have to "come across."

• • •

The one outstanding opponent among the Allies to Soviet recognition is France, due to the insistance that the Russian government recognize the loans made by France to Russia under the old regime. However, the announcement recently made by theBerlin government that a working trade agreement has been consummated with the Soviet government will bring France to her knees through fear that her perpetual enemy will thus secure an economic advantage to her consequent detriment. All along the line the opposition to recognition is weakening by very force of circumstances and necessity. Although it may be deferred for a short period, victory for the Soviet government is assured. The Allies have no other alternative and must accept the inevitable.

• • •

To the keen observer the present state of the public mind in these United States is portentious not to say propitious—portentious from the standpoint of social unrest and propitious of an upheaval that may eventuate in the estabilshment of economic justice. Discontent has reached the point where the mental attitude of the mass may be defined as "I don't care a damn." That the bourgeoisie are fully aware of this universal feeling and sense the threatened danger to their rule is made apparent by their frantic efforts to "regulate" industry with a view to molifying the workers. The matter, however, has gotten beyond their control. Their rotten system has so completely broken down that all efforts to patch it up will prove unavailing. Let us expectantly await its complete dissolution and prepare ourselves for the work of the immediate future—the reorganization of society.

THE WORKER AND THE MOVIES.

SEATTLE.—When a laboring man is shown on a movie screen he is nearly always depicted as married, J. Arthur Nelson, manager and producer of Federation Film Co., told an audience in the Workers' College forum. The Federation Film company is being organized by the unions to combat the movie propaganda flooding the country.

"The reason the laboring man is married," said Nelson, "is because he has a very weak wife whom he beats regularly, or a very strong wife who does the washing for the entire neighborhood and thus supports him."

Nelson further elaborated on the generally recognized picture of the working man as the film producers manufacture this character—unshaven, dirty, and the brutal head of a home consisting of one room, also dirty.

As part of his talk on "Poison on the Screen," Nelson explained that Federation Film expects to produce shortly its first picture. Its big drama will contain an economic undercurrent. Its labor news weekly will carry views of workers and well conducted labor enterprises from all parts of the country and eventually of the world. Its economic digest will show the forces of industry at work. Distribution will be made through the various state federations and the pictures will be shown in union halls and also in the regular picture houses.

Coal Barons' Private Gunmen Rule West Va. Coal Counties

WASHINGTON—A demand for immediate Federal intervention to restore constitutional liberty to the coal miners of West Virginia was filed with President Wilson by John L. Spivak, representing the United Mine Workers of West Virginia, the West Virginia State Federation of Labor and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Spivak's letter to the President, made public June 3, reads as follows:

"In response to Secretary Tumulty's request that I present you with a summary of conditions in West Virginia, and what the miners and all other crafts wish of you, I submit the following:

"There exist in certain sections of West Virginia, notably Logan, Mingo, Mercer and McDowell conties, conditions closely akin to peonage. These conditions, which have been tolerated, if not tacitly assisted, by the state officials, at two distinct periods, have threatened to throw the state into a civil war. At the present moment they have become so intolerable, and the utter indifference of the state officials to the enforcement of state and national laws so open, that it has become urgent that the President or Congress intervene and avert imminent open strife.

"For the purpose of brevity, Ishall take Logan county as an example. Briefly, the conditions there are as follows:

"This country, better known as the Guyan Valley, is practically outside the pale of American laws. The Constitution of the United States has never been enforced. The inalienable rights of all Americans to free speech and peaceable assemblage—are forbidden upon penalty of death. This penalty has been executed by private gunmen until a reign of black terror exists which is almost unbelieveble on the American continent, and which can no longer be suffered.

"Logan, the county seat of Logan county, cannot be entered by an American citizen. To enter Logan without a pass, endangers one's life. Even newspapermen cannot enter that town without passes and even then not without danger.

"There are hundreds of heavily armed gunmen, paid by the coal operators whose sole work is to guard the town against anyone who might even attempt to claim the rights of free speech or peaceable assemblage. Between twenty and twentyfive machine guns, 6,000 high powered rifles and two carloads of cartridges, approximately one million are kept by this private army to enforce their reign. These arms and munitions are stored in the Logan country court house, ready for instant use. In addition there are from 1,500 to 2,000 gallons of whiskey also stored in the court house. Illegal traffic in liquor is open and unchecked in this country, sales being made in the court house by these private guards.

"The attention of Governor John J. Cornwell, of West Virginia, has repeatedly been called to the existence of these conditions. The only thing he has ever done was to "deplore" them. Never was he made an effort to check assaults and murders. Killings accur with irregular regularity and no efforts are made to arrest the murderers.

"The roads leading into Logan are heavily guarded by machine guns and armed men on continuous patrol. In Logan there are about 150 gunmen always lounging about the railroad station and the town proper prepared to evict forcibly any citizen, who, in their opinion, is undesirable.

"In September, 1919 the beatings, brutality and murders to which miners were subjected, and the cold indifference of the governor, so enfuriated several thousand miners that they armed themselves and set out openly to invade Logan county and enforce the Constitution of the United States.

"Civil war was iminent, and the governor perceived that he had tolerated wrongs and injustice for too long a period. He and C. F. Keeney, president of Dist. No. 17, U. M. W. of A. intercepted the enraged miners as they neared Logan, and begged them to lay down their arms and return to their homes. The governor promised a thorought investigation and a speedy righting of wrongs.

"To go into details of this investigation would be fruitless, at this this moment; suffice it to say that admissions of all these charges were frankly made, and on December 20, 1919, placed in the governor's hands. He has never even taken the trouble to read it! It lies in his desk—300,000 words, containing sufficient evidence to cause his impeachment for tolerating so vicious a system. Yet murders go on unchecked, and the vicious private army remains unhampered.

"Only a few days ago, while the governor toured the country, telling citizens how to enforce law and order, twelve men were killed and others wounded in Matewan, Mingo county. Among those killed was the mayor of Matewan, who attempted to enforce the laws of the city, state and nation. These deaths are the result of the system tolerated by the governor.

"The attention of the attorney general, to the conditions existing in Matewan which resulted in the wholesale murder, was called before the battle took place. He took no steps to stop these conditions, and since then has again refused to interfere, stating that it was a matter for the state officials to cope with. Technically he is correct; but thousands of citizens are now confronted with the following situation:

"The Constitution of the United States, laws—state and national—are ignored and openly violated by private armies in the pay of coal operators. The governor either cannot or will not enforce the constitution, state and national laws. All appeals to him have been made in vain.

"On the other hand, the Federal Government states that, technically, it is unable to interfere.

"Surely there are exigencies which of pure technicalities. When bloodshed arise which call for the overlooking is imminent, when there is no recourse but the president and the Federal Government for the righting of wrongs and the reestablishment of the rights of citizens, there must be redress given by the president or the Federal Government to thousands of sitizens of a great state.

"On behalf of all the organized miners of West Virginia, the West Virginia State Federation of Labor, and the American Civil Liberties Union, I have been requested to secure a plain answer to the question whether the rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States apply to the citizens of West Virginia. If they do, why are they not enforced?

"I earnestly appeal to you to end the reign of teror in the southern counties of West Virginia, and re-establish the Constitution of the United States in that region; that thousands of American citizens may be permitted to live in peace and tranquility.

"Respectfully,

JOHN L. SPIVAK

"Representing:
The West Virginia State Federation of Labor.
District No. 17, U. M. of A.
District No. 29, U. M. W. of A.
The American Civil Liberties Union.

When the Seattle Union Record was illegally closed by men in federal office, pictures of the closing of the plant were shown throughout the nation together with the information that a "seditious" newspaper had been suppressed.

When the labor newspaper was released from its illegal seizure on order of the U. S. courts, the movie weekly companies carefully refrained from taking any pictures of the reopening of the building. A labor news weekly would not have omitted this detail, enthusiasts for the new undertaking of organized labor here point out.

(Continued from page 2nd)

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER TWELVE.

1. What invention marks the beginning of upper civilization?
2. What economic need brought the electrical motor into use?
3. What made gas engine possible? Explain why?
4. Name the industries dependent upon electrical motor force.
5. Name the industries dependent upon the gas engine.
7. Explain the electrolytic process in industry.
8. What industries brought city and country into closer relationsip?
9. What effect upon the race has imitation food? Adulterations? Cold storage?
10. To what did concentration of industry lead?
12. What was the economic effect of the wage-system and private property in land?
13. What is the origin of surplus value?
14. Name the economic reasons for the establishment of the industrial union.
15. Why did the dominant class transfer the class war from the intellectual field to the field of coercive force?
16. Name the intellectual weapons of the dominant class. Coercive weapons.
17. What are the intellectual weapons of the working class? coercive weapons?
18. What experiments now point the way to a new epoch in history?
19. Name the different stages of industry from the club to international syndicate.
20. Why did not intellectual development keep pace with the development of industry?

(Concluded)

Some Interesting Statistics

340,000 ENGLISHMEN MADE RICH BY WAR.

LONDON.—Three hundred and forty thousand persons of the country made "fortunes" during the war, according to an inland revenue official, testifying at a meeting of the house of commons select committee on war fortunes which is debating whether this wealth should be especially taxed, and if so, how? The evidence thus far given indicates that the committee's task will be most complex and difficult.

SELECTIVE SERVICE STATISTICS.

Analysis of the records shows that 100,000 country boys would furnish for the military service 4700 more soldiers than would an aqual number of city boys: 100,000 whites would furnish 1240 more than the same number of colored draftees; 100,000 native-born citizens would furnish 3500 more than an equal number of forgeign-born.

LYNCHING STATISTICS.

Lynching statistics compiled for the 30-year period from 1889 to 1918 show that Georgia led the list with 386 victims, followed closely by Mississippi with 373, Texas with 335, Louisiana with 313, Alabama with 276, Arkansas with 214, Tennessee with 196, Florida with 178 and Kentucky 169 The statistics show that during the 30-year period the north had 219 lynchings, the south 2532 and the west 156.

1,023,000 ILLITERATE SOLDIERS.

WASHINGTON—Figures compiled by the statistics branch of the general staff on illiteracy in the emergency army show that probably 7.6 per cent. of the entire force was illiterate and 17.4 relatively illiterate.

The figures are based on a total of 4,000,00 men. Of this total 211,000 are classed as wholly illiterate and 712,000 as relatively illiterate, an aggregate of 1,023.000.

24.000 FEEBLE MINDED.

NEW YORK.—More than 24,000 candidates for military service in this country during the war were rejected on the ground that they were feeble minded, according to a paper written by Dr. Pearce Bailey, chairman of the New York state commission on mental defectives, and read at the closing session of the Societies for Mental Hygiene here.

Rejection for nervous and mental diseases, he asserted, ranked fourth on the list. The percentage of mental defectives averaged six to a thousand, he said, and ran especially high among the immigrant classes of New York.

Past records showed that 50,000 delinquents might have been expected in the American army, but that only 14.000 developed. He attributed this to the work of phychiatrists in weeding out potential cases.

TREND FROM FARMS.

WASHINGTON.—An indication of the extent to which farm population has declined, relative to urban population, is furnished by the first totals for rural communities announced by the Census Bureau.

Of 50 widely scattered rural counties, 34 show a decrease since 1910.

Ten years ago the population of the United States was 46.3 per cent urban and 53.7 per cent rural. The 1920 census probably will reveal the transition of the country from an agricultural to an industrial nation, with perhaps 65 per cent city dwellers.

SUPREME COURT DECISION.

Between 1790 and 1912 the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional 33 statutes of Congress, 223 state statutes, and 23 municipal ordinaces.

Industries of the country have been complaining that the dwindling of immigration during the war has left this country short 4.000,000 workmen.

MOSCOW.—Professor Timirjaseff, a world authority on national history, botany and Psychology, died in Moscow April 28. For many years he was an active worker in the Russian revolutionary movement taking part in practical work as well as writing articles to the "Communist Internationale". Recently he was elected to the Moscow soviet.

NEW YORK.—Proceedings against three of the Hindus, Bhagwan Singh, Gopal Singh, and Santokh Singh, held here for deportation have been dismissed by the Department of Labor, according to statements in California papers the British government spent enormous sums in working up the case.

The Hindus, all three of whom were workingmen in California, were political refugees who were convicted in the San Francisco conspiracy cases of 1915 for alleged violation of the neutrality laws. They were charged with having been among the 100 Hindus who had attempted to ship arms to revolutionists in India in an attempt to overthrow British rule.

A DINNERPAIL EPIC

— BY BILL LLOYD. —

Written for THE FEDERATED PRESS by C. A. Moseley.

Along about four years ago, when I was twenty-one or so, there were few rich men in our town and most folks had their up and down. Old Hopkins had a shambling mill that somehow met the family's bill. He was tightest man in town and as a miser had renown, he'd pinch a nickle with his thumb until the buffalo grew numb, and then to dodge his evil fate, he'd drop a small coin in the plate. He had two sons fit for the role of pounding sand into a hole; a daughter with some drugstore hair sold sundry notions at The Fair.

When Wilson sent out his decree that all except us should be free, it caught me at the courting age, because I'd never got a wage that made it safe for me to wed, though wife and kids ran in my head. And so they sopped me off to go and help put on the Pershing show. Old Hopkins' first son had a spine that suddenly went in decline. The younger boy, two years before, had been pushed through Dan Cupid's door, and tumbled into married lot before his brother took a shot. So Hopkins' sons stayed home, you see, while I was sent across the sea.

When the home papers strayed my way, I puzzled over them all day. According to the home report, old Hopkins was a reg'lar sport, almost a-throwing away his coin, because he was too old to join, a--laying down a reg'lar swag for one poor measly Red Cross tag. A German helmet went to him for buying bonds up with his tin. It made me almost sob and cry to think how very often I had set the poor old fossil down as just a money—making clown.

When I got home from licking Bill, I hardly knew old Hopkins' mill, for it had spread and scattered roun' until it hid most half the town. Old Hopkins had piled up great gains, by trying to make aeroplanes. The son that had so weak a spine was just a-tearing down the line, without a worry or a need, except to pay the fine for speed. The girl, who'd often sold me socks, was spending now her old man's rocks. I went to working at my trade, but, gosh all fish-hooks wasn't paid enough to keep up single life, not counting on a promised wife. Whenever better pay I seek, old Hopkins calls me Bolshevik!

If Jesus Was Chief of Police

— BY ANISE —

Staff Writer for The Federated Press.

The minister preached
• • •
Last Sunday
• • •
About the way that Jesus
• • •
Treated CRIMINALS
• • •
And what was the kind of folks
• • •
He PARDONED,
• • •
And what was the kind of folks
• • •
He CONDEMNED,
• • •
And I got to thinking:
• • •
Suppose that Jesus
• • •
Was CHIEF of POLICE
• • •
In a modern city,
• • •
What would the faces be
• • •
In his Rogue's Gallery?
• • •
I thought of the long list
• • •
Of folks he pardoned:
• • •
The THIEF
• • •
That died with him on the cross;
• • •
The grafting tax-assessor
• • •
Who owned up to being
• • •
A "miserable sinner";
• • •
The rich PROFITEER
• • •
Who repented
• • •
And gave back four-fold;
• • •
The WOMAN
• • •
Taken in adultery!
• • •
I thought of the many others
• • •
He had condemned:
• • •
The man who gives out charity
• • •
With flourish of trumpets
• • •
To be SEEN of Men;
• • •
The man who PRAYS
• • •
On street-corners
• • •
To be SEEN of men;
• • •
The man with a beam in his eye
• • •
Who tries to pick a speck
• • •
From another's eye;
• • •
The men who accused
• • •
The sinful woman,
• • •
Though they had also sinned;
• • •
The men who devoured
• • •
WIDOWS HOUSES;
• • •
The men who were particular
• • •
About religious observances
• • •
And overlooked JUSTICE;
• • •
The men who built monuments
• • •
To DEAD prophets
And stoned living ones:
• • •
The men who GRABBED
• • •
At banquets
• • •
The HIGHEST places!
And thought: "If Jesus
Were Chief of Police
In OUR city,
I wonder how long
Folks NOW in jail
Would STAY there?
I wonder how many
NEW pictures
Of men now highly respected
Would fill the Rogue's Gallery?
But I wonder chiefly
HOW LONG
They would let him hold
The JOB?

The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 2nd)

cause until decency triumphs in the world, or I am dead."

"You'll be dead a long time little girl before your dream comes true. Better get a business education. Or catch a good husband, while you are yet young and pretty," suggested the father.

"Such a life would make me supremely miserable," his daughter retorted. "With my soul hungry for truth, to tie myself down to a life of shams and lies, is absolutely unthinkable. Besides I hate the people who live by their wits alone. Every dollar which they have, that they have not earned, means that somebody has earned a dollar that he did not get and I'll make it my business to tell the world about it."

This little speech made the father look uncomfortable. "Leave that to your friend Ollie," said he. "I don't want to see my little girl in jail. Men can do such things, but women—well they just naturally lose their standing. A woman is best off when she has a good husband to look after her wants. Don't you think so Ollie?" her father asked as he looked wistfully at his rebellious daughter.

"No I do not think so," Olive replied, as she seated herself in the chair on the back of which she had been leaning. "The sheltered woman reflects the mind of the sheltering man. It teaches her to defend her own slavery, and to kiss the cross upon which she is being crucified. Men are never going to give freedom to women, any more than you would take your hired help into your business as partners. There will never be any real happiness in the world until there is full equal freedom for all. There can be no real freedom as long as women are the slaves of men, and men are the slaves of greed."

Anderson laid his hands upon the most prominent part of his anatomy and laughed a mirthless laugh, saying, "So my little girl is going Pankhursting. Well when you get in jail a time or two, and get broke once or twice, and have men insult you when you ask for work, your enthusiasm for the cause of labor, and of suffrage, will suffer a decline. You are not familiar with the things of which you speak. It's just your youth, urging you on. Just go and try it Ollie, and remember what your old Dad told you. It is just your young, blood a romancing thru you, thats all." He coughed violently and spit into the fire place.

Olive leaned back and locked her hands behind her head, but made no reply to her father's statement. Anderson had succeeded in making his daughter think. "Well tell me what the kid had to say," he continued.

Olive produced the letter and handed it to her father. "You may read it," she said!

Anderson wiped his glasses carefully and read the notes. He then read them over a second time. "Extraordinary kid. You could not have received a better letter." Then in a low voice lest his wife should hear it, "I tell you Ollie, its my opinion that he'll turn out alright. Only of course be careful. Every body down town admired him, when he was here. He sure cost us money."

(Continued next week)

Haul that Rusty Paper Dollar
Work for Socialism
Give it to the Toiler Paper Fund

THE TOILER

EVER HEAR THIS REPORT?
"The Republican platform will be a sacred contractural obligation between the party and the people"—Chairman Hays.

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The Domination of Capitalism the Working - Class and the Poorer Peasantry

— By N. Bucharin —

In all countries, except Russia after the October Revolution, but until October in Russia too, the power and the authority has been in the possession of capital. Let us take any country at all—the half-autocratic Prussia, republican France or the so-called democratic United States of America—everywhere big capital has the whole power in its hands. A small group of people—big bankers, landlords and manufacturers—keep millions and millions of workers and poor peasants in slavery and in servitude, force them to exert their strength to the utmost and drive them into the street when they are no longer of any use, when they are exhausted by the strain of work, have lost their strength, and can no longer earn profits for Mr. Capitalist.

It is wealth which gives this terrible power over millions of the toilers to the bankers and the manufacturers. Why must the poor man die of hunger when he is driven out upon the streets? Because he possesses nothing but a pair of hands and feet which he can sell to the capitalist when he needs them. Why can the rich banker or manufacturer spend his days doing nothing and rake in a sure income, why can he live in superfluity—and, every hour, every day, every moment heap up fresh profits? Because he not only possesses a pair of hands and feet, but also the means of work with out which one cannot work: factories, machines, railrodas, mines, land, sailing and steam vessels, all possible apparatus and different instruments. This accumulated wealth belongs, the world over, with the exception of Russia, only to the capitailsts and the landlords, who have become capitalists also. In such a condition of affairs, it is no wonder that a small number of people who hold all the necessities in their possession, should rule the reminder who possess nothing. The poor man goes from the country to the city in order to seek work. From whom? From the propertyholder. From the possessor of a factory or a foundry. The owner can discipline or favor. When his faithful servants—the directors and the bookkeepers—calculate that it will be more profitable to take on new workmen than to keep the old, then he will "give work." If the calculation turns out otherwise, he says to the worker: Go your way! The capitalist is a God, a Kaiser in his own factory. Everyone is subject to him, everyone obeys his orders. The factory is extended or curtailed at his order. At his order, the management discharges or takes on workers. He decides how much the workers must work, how much wages they are to receive. And this is the case because the factory is his factory, the foundry, his foundry, it belongs to him, is his private property. This right of private possession of the means of production, is precisely the cause of this fearful power, which is in the hands of the capitalists.

The same thing happens in reference to land. Let us consider the most free and the most democratic country—the United States, which the bourgeoisie is always dinning into our ears. Thousands of workers there cultivate land that is not their own, the land which belongs to the biggest proprietors, capitalists. Everything is arranged on these farms as in an enormous factory: tens and hundreds of tractor plows,

(Continued on page 4.)

BRUTALITY PROVEN AGAINST PALMER'S AGENTS

WASHINGTON, D. C.— While Attorney General Palmer is branding as "utterly false" the charges of Felix Frankfurter, Roscoe Pound, P. Walsh, Jackson H. Ralston, and eight other well-known lawyers, of gross misconduct in the Department of Justice, the committee of twelve continue to place before the American public facts and figures in substantiation of their contention.

How Russian workers in this country were treated by agents of Mr. Palmer appears from the following summary of the committee's findings on this point:

Affidavits by persons arrested in or about the Russian People's House, 133 East Fifteenth Street, New York, on Nov. 7, 1919, when a class-room was entered by Department of Justice agents, charge the use of clubs and black-jacks by the agents, who "beat up" every one in the place and broke all the furniture. Several hundred prisoners were taken to Department of Justice headquarters, 13 Park Row, where they were put through the third degree of a secret inquisition, and fourfifths of them then released for lack of evidence.

Affidavits charging unjust arrest and persecution, prison cruelties, denial of prison rights, denial of opportunities to prove innocence and refusal of right to communicate with relatives of friends, by persons in Detroit, New York, and Jersey City are included in the report.

An affidavit by Alexander Bukowetsky, Detroit, arrested Nov. 9, 1919, at a concert given by the Union of Russian Workers, says that he and ten others were confined incommunicado for ten days, then taken to the Department of Justice headquarters, remanded to jail, and held until January 21, 1920, taken to another prison, where there was no cell room, and slept on the floor for two months; sent to Fort Wayne prison, and later to Pontiac prison, where all the prisoners were robbed of their money and personal belongings, and still later returned to Fort Wayne. At Fort Wayne Bukowetsky said his wife and daughter, Violet, 12, and son, Robert, 4, came to see him with a permit. He was taken from his cell and as he was about to great his family he was intercepted by a guard, and his wife and children were pulled out of the room before his eyes. The guard struck his wife several times, and when Bukowetsky protested, she was thrown to the floor and the guards rushed at him, one with a rifle beating him over the head. He called to his fellow prisoners to help

(Continued on page 4.)

Necessity for Trade Admitted -- War "Unthinkable"

LONDON, June 7.—Premier Lloyd George, after a second conference this afternoon with Gregory Krassin, Soviet envoy and minister of trade, delivered a speech in the House of Commons which clearly indicated that Great Britain intended to enter upon immediate trade relations with Soviet Russia.

He replied to the numerous criticisms which have been made against the policy of resuming trade. It was clear that the premier intends to carry the negotiations with the Russian representative through to a general declaration of peace.

He derided the notion of refusing to trade with Soviet Russia because of the British dislike of the Soviet form of government and the belief in "Bolshevist atrocities."

War is Alternative.

The premier warned the House that the only alternative to peace and trade relations with Soviet Russia was active military operations to overthrow the Soviet Government.

This, he said, would require the whole armed force of the British Empire and was "unthinkable" in view of the state of Britain's finances since the tremendous losses from the war with Germany.

"It appalls me to think of what might happen unless peace is restored", he declared.

The Premier's speech, needless to say, met a hostile reception on the part of the representatives of the banking interests and the fanatical irreconciables, but the Premier asserted that he was well aware that the great masses of the country were in favor of peace with Russia.

It was seen today that while opposition may be strong to the opening of trade relations, peace with Russia is certain.

"Beginning of End," Herald Says.

"It is the beginning of the end and Labor has won its big victory," said the London Herald today.

The conference with Krassin today met an organized opposition in foreign comment. Press dispatches from France were especially hostile. They were seen, however, as efforts on the part of French financiers to embarrass the conferences.

For the most part, they contained announcements of discoveries of the usual plots of Lenin and Trotzky to overthrow the governments of Europe.

Trade developments are sure to follow, however, the settlement of the political questions, chief among which are the Polish war and the Asiatic question.

Before the matters are settled, Krassin has declared that Russia must have the guarantee of the Allies that attacks on Soviet Russia will cease.

Among the assurances which England asks is that Russia will not invade Southern Asia.

The exchange of such guarantees are thought to be the first step toward peace and perhaps diplomatic relations. These are the chief questions of the preliminary debates.

GERMAN ELECTION VIEWS

BERLIN, June 7.—"Germany, as in the year 1918, is again faced by chaos." Such was the swift verdict of the Berliner Tageblatt while yet the German general election returns were coming in.

Though the final outcome may not perhaps completely justify such a depth of despair, it certainly looked as if the maintenance of stable government was being jeopardized. Two of the three coalition parties—namely, the Democratic and the Majority Socialist—have suffered defeats almost approaching a catastrophe, and as anticipated the consequent gains stand to the credit of the extremists at both ends. The Berlin workers have voted in the proportion of about three to one for the Independents as against the Majority Socialists, though the latter have done better in some other parts of the country.

The avowed reactionaries of the National Peoples's Party have gained considerably, but the most sensational victories have fallen to the People's Party. Before it adopted the name, after the revolution, of the People's Party it was called the National Liberal Party. Under the new name, as under the old, it represents wealth. Just before the latest election the party underwent a complete reorganization and with the unlimited money at its disposal it conducted a campaign of propaganda whose intensity and enthusiasm seems to be justified by the present success.

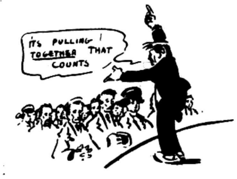
In the late National Assembly, with only about a score of members, it was a negligible quantity. Now it is the new factor in German politics and the man behind the scenes is Hugo Stinnes, millionaire owner of all kinds of industrial enterprises, including sixty-four newspapers. His recent buying up of a number of leading journals was the first sign that the German capitalists intended making a great bid for political power.

Vorwaerts, organ of the Majority Socialists, bewails the election result as meaning "the sharpening of class war." Vorwaerts points out that while the whole Socialist movement—even assuming eventual unity between its various sections—has reached a standstill, reaction is advancing.

Jimmy Higgins Gives His Views On How to Do It

The truest bit of philosophy on the face of the earth is that contained in the five word statement of our illustrious orator—Jimmy Higgins, depicted in the accompanying drawing. Jimmy is not much given to oratory, he is generally too busy DOING to have time to TALK. HE knows that it is far better to DO a thing and talk about it afterward—if it has to be talked about, than to just talk and talk without deeds. But when James is forced to talk he says something worth listening to—as witness the wisdom in this speech.

It is only because of the necessities of the present emergency n which The Toiler is involved because of the print paper situation, that we were able to prevail upon Jimmy to say a few words in these columns. Even at that it required some coaxing. Says Jimmy, "while I'm shooting off to these guys, teling them what they already know, I could be out rounding up a few dollars to get paper for the next issue." "But", we remonstrated, "folks have to be reminded occassionally to do even the things they want to do. They need to be told how and when to do them. You tell 'em", we said, and he did. And we pass it on to you because Jimmy nor any one else ever told the truth in better form.


IT'S PULLING TOGETHER THAT COUNTS

And you know that Jimmy is right. We know it—every body knows it. It is one of the facts of human history that can't be gotten around. Co-operation IS the biggest single fact of human history. Because of it, and for other reason—you and we are here instead of being non-existant; positive proof of the truth of Jimmy's statement.

And because we are here and because we HAVE to, we must apply the logic of history to present problems. Whether these problems be big ones or little ones, the application must be made if they are to be solved advantageously.

We never know of a better chance to apply the philosophy of Jimmy's statement than the present appeal of The Toiler to its readers for donations of dollar bills to help it purchase a supply of print paper for the ensuing months. If there was ever a better chance to prove that statement than is here offered we are not aware of it. And we are proving that PULLING TOGETHER does pay. That is, you are proving it, proving it by your one, two five and in some cases, ten dollar donations. We believe you will accept your own proof as good proof.

As we told you last week we were going to purchase 200 reams of print stock believing that our promise to pay very soon would be backed up by our readers. We have bought it and this issue is printed on part of it. Because of the PULLING TOGETHER of so many Toiler readers, because of the dollars they have sent us for print stock, we got that paper, $750.00 worth. Because we have been PULLING TOGETHER, we have accomplished this. Pulling together still more will enable us to keep The Toiler in the field in spite of any and all difficulties.

A comparative few of us have made The Toiler and kept it on the job by pulling together. We can keep it on the battle front by continueing the same good policy of pulling ALTOGETHER until we have secured enough to meet its needs for print paper.

You can prove that you are pulling in co-operation with us by remitting a dollar, or more, TODAY!

MEXICO NOT ASKED TO RETURN SLACKERS

WASHINGTON, June 7.—The United States Government has made no representations to Mexico for the return to this country of American draft evaders who took refuge in that country during the war. It was declared at the State Department today that this Government has had no dealings with the new regime in Mexico nor with any individuals claiming to represent the Mexican Government.

Although Salvador Diego Fernandez, the Charge d'Affaires of the former Carranza Government, has advised the State Department that he has withdrawn from that office and has turned the Mexican Embassy over to representatives of the new regime, it was stated that the Department had not concerned itself with the matter further than to note the Charge's retirement from authority.

Neither formal nor informal transaction will be carried on by the State Depatrment with the Mexican Embassy until the matter of American recognition of the new Mexican Government shall have been definitely settled.

MEXICO EXPELS REDS

New Government Takes Step to Check Bolshevist propaganda.

MEXICO CITY, June, 7.—Five Bolsheviki have been expelled from Mexico City and taken to Tampico, where they embarked for Havana.

Three Russians, formerly living on the east side in New York, who arrived here during the war to escape military service, were arrested last week. A search of their rooms revealed Bolshevist propaganda. One of them named Stoch was identified as the man who was working with the strikers in Tampico last November. President de la Huerta ordered the expulsion.

Chief of Police Amieva of Mexico City has received orders to arrest all Bolsheviki and extreme radicals, who will be deported. The Government is determined not to permit Mexico to become a centre of propaganda.

Lenin Urges Farm and Shop Unity on Union Congress

Third Labor Congress of Russia Links Crafts With Moscow International in Class Solidarity.

The Third Union Congress of Soviet Russia, according to Finnish newspapers just received by the Federated Press, convened at Moscow in the middle of April. Delegates, 1,588 in number, from all parts of Russia, Turkestan, Ukraine and Don were present, representing 4, 328,009 members.

The congress was opened by Tomskij, president of the All-Russian Federation of Trade Unions, who, in his opening address, emphasized that this congress, on the experiences of two and one-half years, must call the attention of the unions to the solving of the important economical problems facing the workers of Russia during the transition period to peaceful reconstruction. As to international relations, he said, the Russian appeals to the workers of the world will receive a response that will create a basis for a strong trade union international under the banner of the Third International.

Addresses of welcome were delivered by Kulinin, Bucharin, Rukoff and Radek, and by representatives of various parties. Greetings were sent to the German workers.

Unite Farm and Factory—Lenin.

On the second day Nicolai Lenin welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Soviet Government.

"Transition from military to economic problems is characteristic of the present period," he said. "The purpose of Communistic policy is to abolish classes as well as the distinction between workers and peasants. Only through the united efforts of the workers and peasants can Socialism be realized. The proletariat must create a new system.

"It is impossible to gain freedom only through loyal solidarity and enthusiasm. It requires work of long duration; it requires a moral and organizing strength of all workers created by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This dictatorship is rightful because the peasant masses are without the bond of unity and discipline. These qualities brought the victory over the capitalist states which have more cannons and dreadnaughts.

"Soviet Russia is powerful on account of this strong voluntary unity. This unity is strenthened by the congresses of the workers and peasants. No country has in a hundred years had so many congresses as Russia during the last few years. No country has gained such a spirit of democracy. Our congress are marked by enthusiasm and unanimity. This incomparable spirit of voluntary association is the basis of the strength of Soviet power. The orders of the Soviet Government are obeyed without reluctance by the workers and peasants.

Calls for more discipline.

"The proletariat which so far has been organized by trades, is now organizing itself as a class. The question is to help this class to reach its aim. This will be realized before all by discipline. Now, in the first place, organizing unity and moral education are necessary. We need more discipline, more personal responsibility, more dictatorship. These conditions are essential for victory.

"The Communists form the advance guard to the worker's army. If all organized workers and peasants will follow the decisions of the Communist congresses are marked by enthusiasm and unanimity. This incomparable spirit

Following Lenin's speech, the congress adopted a resolution favoring:

1. The publication of an appeal to all workers of Soviet Russia to begin a united struggle against economical disorganization;
2. The immediate adoption by every union of a thorough and firm labor discipline;
3. Renewed efforts to induce all workers to take part through their unions in communistic policy under the leadership of the Communist party for the benefit of the Russian working class.

Unions Join Third International.

The congress further decided, upon hearing the report of the Commissar of Labor, that it is the duty of the commissar to see to it that the decisions arrived at by the various congress and other workers' organs concerning labor questions are really put into effect. Further, that unions must have more controlling power in the Commissariat of Labor. The members of the executive committee of the Commissariat must be elected by the trade union congress or by local congresses or by their executive committees. The factory committees, it was also agreed, must work in accordance with the decisions of the organizations of their trade. The factory committees are under the control of the unions.

After the speech by Radek, the congress adopted a resolution by which the Russian Trade Union movement joins the Third International. An appeal will be sent to the organized workers of all countries to follow the example of the Russian Trade Union movement.

The congress regarded trade education as the most important part of the educational work of the workers' state in order that every branch of industry may have competent workers. Education must be developed to embrace all phases of the life and illiteracy must be fought with vigor.

To the Workers of Toledo
Wm. D. Haywood
Will Speak At
The Labor Temple
Toledo, Ohio
SUNDAY, JUNE 20, 2:30 P.M.
Subject
"The Need of Workingclass Solidarity"
All workers are cordially invited. If parasites insist on attending we shall not turn them away.

Some Informative Facts About the American Negro

In the early years of American colonies 50,000 men were exiled here from England and sold into slavery ranging form a few years to life. The colonists also made slaves of some Indians, but found them hard to manage. The first African slaves were sold in Virginia in 1619, by a Dutch man-of-war, in exchange for provisions. Subsequently Newport and Bristol, R. I. became centers from which regular raids on the African coast were made, and vast numbers of Negroes were seized and brought here into slavery. Although slavery was forbidden by the constitutions of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the capital for the Rhode Island slave raids was largely obtained in Boston, and slavery was common in both states. The old North Church in Boston still contains a gallery that was used by the household slaves of some of the families that furnished the capital for the raids in question. The treatment of the slaves varied greatly, depending upon the owner's benevolence and the development of the community's conscience. In 1780, in a certain American state, a Negro who killed a white man was found by Saint-John Crevecoeur, confined in a cage and left there to be devoured by the elements and by insects. He was still living when Crevecoeur saw him, although his eyes had been destryed.

The development of slavery southward was due to the invention of the cotton-gin, which made cotton a profitable crop, capable of being tilled by slave labor. At this time objection to the evangelization of slaves was raised on the ground that a baptized slave might claim freedom as a Christian. Slavery in the North gradually became unprofitable; and between 1777 and 1800 Pennsylvania and the states north had abolished it. Those who found it unprofitable could see many reasons why it was unchristian. By 1850 there were 2,000 families in the South with 100 to as high as 2,500 slaves each, managed by white or colored overseers; and about 350,000 families had smaller numbers, generally managed by the owner himself. Three-fourths of the whites owned no slaves at all, but defended the institution. Owners and managers varied greatly in character, intelligence and temper, and treated their slaves accordingly. Occasionally the most kind-hearted and easy-going were the least successful and had to sell their holdings, thus causing the heart-rending breaking of family ties. By 1860 one-sixteenth of all slaves had been freed; and many were enjoying full citizenship.

For two centuries the American people as a whole profited by the unpaid labor of the Negro and then set him adrift, ragged, unguided and unlettered, to assume the burdens of citizenship and to be further exploited by politicians, to his real injury. But "the chain that holds the slave has its other end fastened to the master"......

Negro Distribution

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Negro was 19% of the population; at the beginning of the twentieth century, 11.6% of the population; at the present time, 10% of the population. In every state in the union the proportion of Negroes is slowly decreasing.

Roughly speaking, the black belt is a strip 250 miles wide, beginning at Richmond, Va., and running through Raleigh, N. C., Columbia S. C., Macon, Ga., Montgomery, Ala., Vicksburg, Miss, and Shreveport, La., into eastern Texas. The center of Negro population is in northeastern Alabama, near the city of Chattanooga, Tenn.

There are over 50% Negro population in South Carolina and Mississippi, over 37½% in Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana, over 25% in Virginia, North Carolina and Arkansas, over 12½% in Tennessee and Texas, over 5% in West Virginia, Kentucky and Oklahoma, over 1% in thirteen other states and less than 1% in the eighteen far northern and western states.

In 1910 there were living in the United States 478 Negroes who were born in Africa, 100 born in Asia, 94 born in Australia and 61 born in various Pacific Islands. At the same time the occupations of all Negro workers (and these comprise one-seventh of the total working population of the United States) were:

Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry	2,893,275
Domestic and Personal Service	1,122,231
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	631,377
Transportation (including 37 railroad officials)	255,969
Trade (including 135 bankers and bank officials)	119,491
Professional Service (including 123 chemists, assayers and metallurgists, 237 civil and mining engineers and surveyors, 478 dentists, 798 lawers and judges, and 3,077 physicians and surgeons)	67,245
Extraction of minerals (including 126 mine operators)	61,129
Public Service	22,382
Clerical Occupations	19,336
	5,192,535

Negro Migration

The Negro race is not migratory, and therein is much of its value and reliability. However, the World War, which disturbed everything else, also disturbed the Negro Immigration from Europe ceased former immigrants returned, and at the close of the war America was short three million immigrant laborers.

Northern employers were troubled by shortage of labor and high wage demands, and looked toward the South for a possible labor supply. They sent representatives South to find many Negroes whose earnings were small, due to the plant-destroying boll-weevil and to consequent unemployment of cotton acreage.

These employment agents promised the Negroes better wages, better housing, better education for the children, better treatment in the courts, and free transportation for themselves and their families if they would come North. One large railroad system operating in the South started special trains, notifying the Negroes at each stop that any who wanted to come North might do so without charge. As a result 500,000 migrated to a climate to which they were unaccustomed, and on account of bad housing conditions died in large numbers.

The factory doors which had hitherto been closed to the Negro opened wide, and to a large extent still remain open, and large numbers of the migrators who formerly worked in southern field sare now engaged in all sorts of industrial occupations in the North. The plants of seven states, numbering 244 plants in all, into which Negro laborers were introduced during the war were investigated by the Department of Labor as to conditions prevailing during 1918 and 1919 and disclosed a good feeling between whites and blacks in all the plants, with the blacks showing equal attendance and supplying an equal quantity and quality of work.

However, the Northern social organism did not support the sudden influx. At first the new arrivals were crowded into certain sections long recognized as plague-ridden, disease-infected and vice-ruled; but when the new arrivals, as in case of Detroit, increased 500% in five years, those sections could not contain the newcomers, and other sections were necessarily occupied. Declines in real estate values followed; and although these declines were quickly succeeded by recoveries larger than the declines, due to the enormous rents collected from the new arrivals, racial prejudices developed and trouble ensued.

Southern Negro Prosperity

When the Negroes first began to go North not much attention was paid to their exodus in the South. But the size of the migration seriously affected the Southern labor market, increased the shortage of farm products, raised the prices of foodstuffs; and ere long the planters and Chambers of Commerce of the South were urging the Negroes to return South to bettered conditions, such as larger wages and gifts of land suitable for homes and gardens.

Meantime, those Negroes who remained in the more fertile parts of the South had fared far better than most of those who went North. Vast numbers of them work on a crop-sharing system; and where the farm superintendents and operators are honest men, the Negroes have made enough out of the high prices obtained for their products, to lift them completely out of poverty.

There are vast sections of the Mississippi River delta land in the hands of Negroes who have become well-to-do. Many of these farmers have accumulated fortunes ranging from $10,000 to $175,000 and are permitted the full use of sidewalks, streets and thoroughfares.

These lands have produced as high as 500 lbs. of 51-cent cotton per acre, and under such conditions the making of money by an industrious and intelligent man is most natural. One such man, a Negro who had nothing eighteen years ago, now owns 1,600 acres of this land. Nine Negroes have recently clubbed together and bought a tract of 1,200 acres; and twenty-five others have clubbed together and bought a 3,000 acre tract for $225,000, intending to cut it up into 100-care farms. In one county of Mississippi Negroes possess more than $5,000,000 worth of property and over 2,000 automobiles.

With improved economic conditions the Negro has improved otherwise, has organized an insurance company doing a large business, has employed a farm demonstration agent in one important agricultural center, and has organized various kinds of commercial enterprises in many places. Among these is a steamship line.

General Negro Advancement

The percentage of Negroes that own their own homes has increased from 18.7% in 1890 to 23.3% in 1910. and varied in 1910 in the different states as follows:

New York	7.5	Indiana	26.4
District of Columbia	10.3	Missouri	26.6
Pennsylvani	12.3	Colorado	27.6
Georgia	14.7	Florida	27.7
Rhode Island	15.2	Oregon	8.2
Massachusetts	16.2	Texas	28.5
Alabama	16.4	Idaho	28.7
Mississippi	16.9	North Carolina	28.7
Louisiana	17.1	Iowa	29.9
Connecticut	18.1	Ohio	30.1
Woyming	18.4	New Mexico	30.3
South Carolina	18.5	New Hampshire	30.6
New Jersey	18.6	Arizona	30.7
West Virginia	19.3	Kentucky	31.3
Vermont	20.4	Washington	31.1
Utah	21.2	Montana	32.1
Illinois	23.2	Montana	32.8
Nebraska	24.1	Oklahoma	35.3
Delaware	23.2	North Dakota	35.6
Minnesota	24.7	Nevada	35.7
Arkansas	24.6	California	37.3
Tennessee	25.3	Virginia	41.3
Maryland	25.6	Michingan	44.0
Wisconsin	25.8	South Dakota	45.1
		Kansas	49.6

In education the Negroes do not linger so far behind the whites as many suppose. In 1910 the percentage of native whites that spent some time in school was 22.9 and of Negroes 17.0. The percentage of illiteracy is rapidly decreasing; in 1890 it was 57.1; in 1900 it was 44.5 and in 1910 it was 30.4, while for persons between the ages of ten and fourteen it was 18.9. In cities of over 100,000 it was 6%.

Race Riots North and South

The United States has suffered deservedly in the eyes of intelligent people elsewhere because of the race riots that have disgraced New York City, Philadelphia, Chester, Coatesville, Washington, Norfolk, Charleston Atlanta, Knoxville, Memphis, Springfield, (Ill.), East St. Harbor Omaha, Longview, Houston, Bisbee and other places. At the riot in East St. Louis over forty Negroes were slaughtered, while at Washington and Chicago it is said that six hundred fatalities occurred. Outnumbered ten to one, the Negro stands no chance in a race riot, and resistance only increases the fury of the mob that has allowed race prejudice to sweep it off its feet for a time.

The temper of these mobs was shown in the nine-hour battle at Omaha in which a mob of thousands determined to lynch one negro offender, stormed the county jail, located on the fifth floor of the Court House, scaled the walls by rope ladders, burned the lower floors with all their precious records, damaged the building to the extent of $1,000,000, forced the surrender of the prisoner, shot him to death, dragged his body by hand and by automobile through the streets, kicked, hanged and finally burned it. And all this time American churches send missionaries to China instead of Nebraska.

The mob seized $50,000 worth of arms from hardware establishments, burned a patrol wagon, took the rope meant for the Negro and threw it over the mayor's head, dragged him a block, threw the rope over a trolley pole and twice hauled him from the ground, and would have hanged him had not police officers cut the rope. It fired repeatedly at the 121 helpless prisoners assembled on the roof of the burning building, and was subdued only by the arrival of national troops.

Of a different naturo was the trouble near Helena, Ark., having its origin apparently in the dishonesty of certain farm superintendents or operators who refused to give the Negro farmers the large profits which the high prices of cotton had enabled them to earn. These farmers work for a share of the crops; they furnished all the labor, the superintendent or operator of the farm furnished everything else. This arrangement works well or ill, depending upon the honesty of the supervising white man who has the farm in control.

In some places these white men have taken advantage of the Negroes, forcing them to turn over all their cotton in payment for supplies which, in instances, have amounted to but a mere fraction of the value of the cotton, and refusing to give settlements or statements of account. For example, a case is cited where a Negro worked 27 acres for a year and produced six bales of cotton, his share of which was $753. In liev of a settlement he was charged $50.60 for freight charges for removing nine small articles 100 miles and $700 for groceries which could not have been worth more than $150; and when he made objection was ordered off the place, penniless, with nothing for his year's work.

At a point below Helena where the Negro population is largely predominant, a number of Negroes, acting under white legal advice, formed an association for mutual legal protection and were preparing to bring legal action against certain white landlords. It is admitted that these Negroes were hard-working farmers, considered the best class of Negroes in the South. It is also admitted that their association, while organizing, had armed guards about the building or buildings where the meetings were held, or at any rate that in the meeting there were men who were armed.

While one of these meetings was in progress, an automobile containing a white deputy sheriff and others in search of a revenue violator had a tire burst in front of the house. This was probably mistaken for a shot and was answered by a shot from the house, the beginning of a small-sized war, in which, within the next few days, twenty-five blacks and five whites were killed, and others wounded.

Within a few more days forty Negroes were sentenced to death or penal servitude with-out any witnesses in their defense being called. Twelve of these were sentenced to death, and six of the twelve were sentenced to the gallows in a total of seven minutes time. Ten were sentenced to twenty-one years, and eleven were given one year for night-riding. It is claimed that the accused men were provided with the best available local white lawyers. They were tried before a white jury, blacks being excluded from jury duty in that section.

Negro-Lynching Problems

Ex-Attorney General Gregory of Texas said of lynching:

> "Lynch law is the most cowardly of crimes. Invariably the victim is unarmed, while the men who lynch are armed and in large numbers. It is a deplorable thing under any circumstances."

Henry Watterson, Editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal says:

> "Lynching should not be misconstrued. It is not an effort to punish crime. It is a sport which has as its excuse the fact a crime, of greater or less gravity, has been committed or is alleged. A lynching party rarely is made up of citizens indignant at the law's delays or failures. It often is made up of a mob bent upon diversion, and proceeding in a mood of rather frolicsome ferocity to have a thoroughly good time. Lynchers are not persons who strive from day to day toward social betterment. Neither are they always drunken ruffians. Oftentimes they are ruffians wholly sober in-so-far as alcoholic indulgence is concerned, but highly stimulated by an opportunity to indulge in spectacular murder when there is no fear that the grand jury will return murder indictments against them."

In the thirty years, 1889-1918, lynching mobs murdered 3,224 persons in the United States, of whom 2,522 were Negroes and 702 were white persons. Of the Negro victims fifty were women, and of the whites eleven were women.

What a lynching is like in Christian America may be gathered from the following account taken from the Chattanooga Times:

> "Jim McIlherron, the Negro who shot and killed Pierce Rodgers and Jesse Tigert, two white men, at Estill Springs last Friday, and wounded Frank Tigert, was tortured with a red-hot crowbar and then burned to death here tonight at 7:40, by twelve masked men. A crowd of approximately 2,000 persons, among whom were women and children, witnessed the burning.
>
> "McIlherron, who was badly wounded and unable to walk, was carried to the scene of the murder, where preparation for a funeral pyre was begun.
>
> "The captors proceeded to a spot about a quarter of a mile from the railroad station and prepared the death fire. The crowd followed and remained throughout the horrible proceedings. The Negro was led to a hickory tree, to which they chained him. After securing him to the tree a fire was laid. A short distance away another fire was kindled, and into it was put an iron bar to heat.
>
> "When the bar became red hot a membes of the mob jabbed it toward the Negro's body. Crazed with fright, the black grabbed hold of it, and as it was pulled through his hands the atmosphere was filled with the odor of burning flesh. This was the first time the murderer gave evidence of his will being broken. Scream after scream rent the air. As the hot iron was applied to various parts of his body his yells and cries for mercy could be heard in the town.
>
> "After torturing the Negro several minutes one of the masked men poured coal oil on his feet and trousers and applied a match to the pyre. As the flames rose, enveloping the black's body he begged that he be shot. Yells of derision greeted his request. The angry flames consumed his clothing, and little blue blazes shot upward from his burning hair before he lost consciousness."

Of another Sunday morning lynching in the center of a Christian city of 7,000 population in the same state and not greatly unlike similar occurrences at Coatesville, Pa., and Springfield, Ill., the Memphis News Scimitar said:

> "Not a domino hid a face. Every one was unmasked. Leaders were designated and assigned their parts. Long before the mob reached the city the public square was choked with humanity. All waited patiently. Women, with babies, made themselves comfortable.
>
> "At last the irons were hot.
>
> "A red streak shot out; a poker in a brawny hand was boring out one of the Negro's eyes. The negro bore the ordeal with courage, only low moans escaping him. Another poker was working like an auger on the other orbit.
>
> "Swish. Once, twice, three times a red hot iron dug gaping places in Lation Scott's back and sides.
>
> "'Fetch a hotter one', somebody said. The execution went on.
>
> "Now some one had another poker—jabbing its fiery point into the ribs of the doomed black.
>
> "Then rubbish was piled high about the agonized body, squirming beneath its load.
>
> "More and, more wood and rubbish were fed the fire, but, at three o'clock Lation Scott was not dead. Life finally fled at four o'clock.
>
> "Women scarcely changed countenance as the Negro's back was ironed with the hot brands. Even the executioners maintained their poise in the face of bloody creases left by the irons—irons which some housewife had been using.
>
> "Three and a half hours were required to complete the execution."

In the year 1919 there were 78 blacks and 6 whites lynched in the United States—22 in Georgia, 12 in Mississippi, 10 in Arkansas, 8 each in Alabama and Louisana. Of the remaining number 9 were in Northern states and 15 in various Southern states. Eleven of these were burned to death, two beaten to death and one cut in pieces. Ten of them were soldiers in the World War. Thirty-four of them were taken from officers and jails in fourteen states. The causes of lynching were as follows:

Murder	27
Assault on white woman	14
Attempted assault on white woman	5
Insulting white woman	5
Intimacy with white woman	2
Attempting to pull white woman from horse	1
Shooting white man	7
Assault on white man	1
Altercation with white man	1
Beating and robbing white man	1
Found under bed in white man's house	1
Not turning out of road for white boy in auto	1
Misleading mob	1
Insulting white man	1
Boastful remarks re killing of sheriff	1
Result of race riot	1
Talking of Chicago Riot	1
Expressing himself too freely re lynching of Negro	1
Leader among Negroes	1
Circulating incendiary literature	1
Member of Non-Partisian League	1
Trouble between white and colored cotton mill workers	1
Abetting riot	4
Causes unknown	4
Total	84

Negro Characteristics

It is claimed by some that during the World War the Negroes, though constituting but ten percent of the population, supplied fifteen percent of the soldiers, thus taking the places of others exempted. We do not know the facts of this assertion, but we do know that when the richest man in America would surround his home at night with the most trustworthy guards that his means could provide, he chose colored men for the task; and the faithfulness of Negroes has endeared them to true Americans in all ages. An instance of their reliability was brought to light in one of the Northern race riots in 1919, when a Negro policeman shot another Negro for firing at a white policeman.

The Negroes are peaceful and law-abiding. They have never been accused of night-riding and lynching. They have shown that they can suffer without becoming embittered, and can forgive those who have done them wrong. As a race they are happy, gentle, affectionate and humorous; and most of them are honest and industrious. To be sure they have faults; but so have others. Those who have had the freedom of the homes of the southland for a hundred years have seldom betrayed their trust.

Hopes of Negro Well-Wishers

The Negro educators of North Carolina met and proclaimed a platform condemning all advocacy of social equality with the whites, intermarriage of the races and all attempts to settle racial disputes by violence.

Dr. George Cleveland Hall, a prominent Chicago Negro, says:

> "Our enemies always emphasize social equality. But you will notice we put the strong pedal on economic and political equality. Let us have these and social equality will take care of itself."

From The Golden Age.

The Black Sheep.

CHAPT. XXXV.

The Mental Angle.

It was several days before Jack had occassion to refer to the notes he had made while on his work hunting and experience getting, trip. The occassion was an argument between him and his friends as to the possibility of organizing the working classes of all nations into one all embracing brotherhood, having for its aims the political and economic freedom of the race.

Jack, who had been taught socialism and economics by George and Herman in the harvest fields, and by Collins and Rudolph in jail and at the cabin failed to see any scientific evidence for such a faith. To him it appeared that amongst men, as among the flora and fauna of the earth there were, and of necessity had to be grades and variations. He had felt instinctively that among human masses the tendancy for some to climb up on the backs of others was an essential factor not only in the development of civilization but in the maintainence of the species as well. He had expressed these views to his friends in the harvest fields, and George had given them a Marxian interpretation. Since that time he had read omniverously, not with the idea of justifying socialism, but rather to vindicate his biological views.

He had just finished reading the books of Drs. Blackford and Woodruff on the mental and physical qualities of blonde and brunette types, or as it might be more accurately expressed, of the fogland types. These books had given him the idea that from time immemorial the blonde types had been the world's leaven of industrial development. That by virtue of their mental and physical makeup, which is a result of their development under particular telluric conditions, they had become a dynamic force for the spread of civilization. He contended that these types had from time immemorial been forced to do things, and to do them quickly. Their seasons were short. Their winters long and more or less severe, hence agriculture could play but an insignificant part in their economic life. They had to make their living either by battling the seas, or by braving the wilderness. Thus nature eliminated to a great extent the weak and the timed, and developed the Viking, the Goth, and the Vandal. He maintained that much of this was due not only to the pressure of necessity, but to the peculiar character of the light rays filtering down thru a fog laden sky. He said that it was a known fact that the slower light rays had a retarding and stabalizing effect on physiologic dvelopment. He stated that the women developed later in life and retained their virility longer in these countries than on any other part of the globe, and that what was true of the women was doubly true of the men.

At all this his companions smiled good naturedly, and teased him by saying that all he needed was a little more rope to finish his argument.

"Your views are crazy but interesting," said Collins. "Go on, let us have it just the way you see it."

"The particular environment of Northern Europe produced this blonde beast. It was a Spartan environment, fierce, merciless and relentless. The Northmen wove his environment in his blood; it became part of him; he made it his religion. Thor, hammer in hand rode the thunder, and Neptune ruled the deep. Thus, in order that the race might conquer its hostile environment. Nature evolved the blonde beast. Fair of skin, so as to easily absorb the water dimmed light; fearless of brain in order that he might dare to brave the terrors of land and sea; with clear and agressive intellect by which he was able to take advantage of every opportunity the blonde beast became the terror, and the savior of the nations. The very necessity of their lives caused them to become bold, fearless, and predatory. It caused them to cross both land and sea, robbing, pillaging and ruling those who lived in warmer climes and under clearer skies. It was not infrequent that the natives were pleased with their rule, as is evident from the fact that they constructed their gods in the image of the Northmen, and depicted their angles as having golden hair."

Here Collins interrupted him with the remark, that it was not due to telluric or biologic factors that the northern races had played so powerful a part in the world's history. He maintained that the fact that Germany and England were rich in mineral resources had led to their becoming manufacturing nations, that goods manufactured out of iron or tin could not be equalled and hence developed the necessity for commerce with other nations. That this built up a merchant marine which in order that it might be protected from piracy developed for England a large navy and for Germany in order that it might be protected from French and Slavic agression had developed a powerful militarism, and with the development of her merchant fleets she would also have to develop adequate navel forces. He contended that industrial development dependend on the presence of natural resources and the economic necessity, that they be used for the feeding, clothing, and shelter of the race. He maintained that any other race being situated in a similar position would have acted in a similar way as did Jack's fancy blonde beast.

But the boy, nothing daunted returned to the fray. He insisted that Holland, which is only a little patch of bog, facing the North Sea, without as much as a single mine or other substantial resource except agriculture for two centuries disputed with England the mastery of the seas, and conquered and held a goodly part of Polenasia and other parts of the world. He maintained that the conquered parts had never freed themselves, but had been taken over by England after centuries of bloody war. He showed that the blonde Goths who had settled in Spain acted exactly like the similar types of England and Holland and conquered all of what is now Latin America. But when on account of the cear skies the blonde blood died out of Spain or became degenerated, her empire fell to pieces and she had to assume an inferior place among the nations. He further pointed out that the strongest south American republics were those into whom there was a great influx of northern European blood, and that where that blood was dying out, as in Mexico, chaos and retrogression was the normal state of affairs. The human race only moves forward and upward under the stimulation of the blonde beast, and when he retires the progress of civilization generally dies down, and in many cases out. Even Japan, the wonder of the Orient, remained asleep for ages, until Dutch and American navigators brought her face to face with the menace of European civilization. He argued that it was doubtful if there ever had been a high order of civilization that was not directly attributable to the influence of blonde types.

"The spanish historian Herara tells us that the conquistadores, who were blonde Goths, found the pictures of bearded white men on the walls of the Peruvian temples, in the city of the Incas. The Peruvian priest still told legends of the white men who had come from the sun. But the originals of these pre-Columbian discovers of America were gone. Doubtlessly the civilization of the Incas owed much to these early visitors. The white man goes out into the world as a dynamic force. But he cannot stay in an uncongenial environment. There is no third generation of white men in India. Even in the United States with the exception of New England and the Puget Sound, the white stock will die out. It is already apparent among the mountain white of the Appalachian region. Many of them are descendents of the first colonists, and in their appearance are already decidedly Indianesque, as well as in their mental characteristics. Did you read about that McCoy-Hatfield fued they had a few weeks ago? The blonde types have conquered America but in the course of a few centuries America will capture the blonde. Our descendants will either become brown or cease descending. Let us turn to the pages of history. The Greeks were fair, under the Ptolymes they stimulated the civilization of Egypt.

"If I read the Ancient Lowly aright then the influence penetrated eastward into India, westward into Spain, and northward into England. When the blonde type died out that civilization fell, only to develop again further west among their ancestral types. Gothic blood made Spain an Empire, also Portugal. When they died out or degenerated they had to send to Austria for a king and to Ireland for a prime minister. And so I could go on citing example after example, but what is the use, I might cite one more. Take China for example. Their earliest traditions tell of blonde invasions. These died out and the chinamen fell asleep and remained asleep for five thousand years, or until Europe came and woke them up, by trying to put them to sleep. Christian England said to heathen China, "take opium or the sword." China took opium, but there is enough white influence entering into that country that you may look for a kick back."

His friends laughed good naturedly. "Isn't it funny how hard a man will work to 'fool himself,'" said Collins. "How they will take the longest way around, in order not to knock down their hobby?"

"I don't know where he gets all the junk," chimed in Rudolph. "I wish you would tell me what your blondes have accomplished to the exclusion of the other types of the human race."

"Blondes have built the ships, brunettes have built the religion; blondes have evolved laboritories, brunettes monasteries; blondes brought about the renaissance, brunettes established the inquisition; blondes gave us the sciences, brunettes the metaphysics; blondes are the doers, of deeds, brunettes are the dreamers of dreams; blondes stormed the ramparts of nature, bruenettes seek the throne of heaven. Remembr I am speaking of race types, not individuals. Because I'm convinced that the faculty of aggression and construction, is most strongly developed in the blonde type, that is the reason I look to them for the solution of the economic problems of the world."

In one corner of the cabin, above a little shelf where they kept their tin wash basin was a piece of broken mirror. Collins reached over and took it down. Holding it before the boys face he said, "Behold the genesis of your ideas. Thou art a blonde."

Jack could not help smiling at the revelation of his own egoism. He was silent for a few moments while his mind went back over all that George and Herman had taught him concerning the class struggle, and the mental view point developed in the mind as a result of participation in the class struggle. He realized that his knowledge of, and experience with it was really very small so that he became painfully aware that his views were not those that would be natural to an intelligent wage worker. He understood the theory of socialism, but did not live a socialized life in the industrial sense. To get the view point of a proletarian you have to be tied to the requirements of machine production. He built up his social

(Continued on page 4.)

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILE

THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

The recent German elections indicate that the workingclass of that troubled Republic have at least learned a little during the past two years of travail due to the war and the peace, which is almost as bad. They have turned leftward for their representatives in the national assembly.

While reports of Communist strength are disappointing, Left elements there and elsewhere may content themselves in finding sufficient reasons therefor in the slow and methodical Teutonic manner of arriving at a certain point. If Communists find little consolation in the elections, no less can capitalism and the reactionaries find comfort therein.

The outstanding features of the incomplete returns are that the governmental machine, the Majority Socialists, broken down and been scraped by the voters. Class lines have been drawn tighter and are sharply defined. Gains have been made almost entirely by the Left and Right, tho not by the extreme Left and Right.

The Independent Socialists, representing the Left group have won great strength in the industrial centers which figured so prominently in the recent rebellion. These gains are directly attributable to that revolt and indicate the progress made in the German industrialist mind in the past few months.

The German Peoples' Party or Populists, figure in the role of business man's party, a party of capitalism which speakes the mind of German capitalism taking the offensive. There are other parties in between these two and the Nationalists and Communists at the extreme Right and Left. The in between parties lose to both Left and Right and there seems little possibility that any sort of a working agreement will come about between any groups.

The exasperating slowness of the development of the German proletarian revolution strikes a chill upon communists generally. Nevertheless, we may be satisfied of the fact which theelections prove: that there is to be no settling down to apathy of the German workers. German workers are slowly reacting to the economic necessity and spirit of the times. The rest we must leave to time.

The German revolution can only develop along lines governed by racial characteristics, politico-social development and industrial growth.

THE POWER OF PRINT

The trebling of the German People's Party vote and representation in the elections has brought to light news of interest regarding the influence of the press in molding public opinion.

The People's party, previously the National Liberal party, went into eclipse when the monarchy collapsed. It has been revived principally thru the tactics employed by one of Socialist (?) Germany's biggest capitalists and exploiters of labor, Hugo Stinnes. Stinnes represents aroused German capitalism making a determined stand against the rise of communistic thought. The increase of representation gained for the People's party indicates how effective were the means employed.

Stinnes is now Germany's newspaper king. He is also a king in other financial and industrial enterprises. Besodes owning sixty five newspapers and magazines he also controls mines, steel mills, ship lines, paper factories and hotels. It would be hard to conceive of an existence for even a day in Germany without paying tribute to Hugo Stinnes, so universal is his control of necessities.

He is the power behind the People's party, supplying the necessary funds. For months he has been quietly buying influential newspapers and periodicals. Thru control of these means of information the public mind was largely molded along the lines indicative of the best interests of Stinnes and capitalist interests generally. The tremenduous vote gained by the party in the elections is the direct result.

However, there is a certain artificiality in influence gained in such manner. Tremenduous as is the power of the public press, there is a fundamental and basic cause of human activity which in the end will rule the mass and which no public press can turn aside or controvert. This is the economic needs of the people. Their very miseries provoke them to thots and measures which are elemental in their nature and over which the veneer and conventionalities of civilization have no influence whatsoever.

The rise of the People's party (capitalist party) is indicative of a last determined struggle of capitalism to erect a machine for the self perpetuation of capitalism in Germany. The class lines are now more tightly drawn than heretofore. The miserable, makeshift, compromising Majority Socialist power has been broken. The battle henceforth lies between predatory capitalism and a developing working class-consciousness.

A capitalist controlled press is on unequal weapon in that battle. The masses will eventually win.

THE CARDINAL'S PRAYER

> "Grant that the proceedings of this convention may be marked by wisdom, discretion, concord, harmony and mutual forbearence worthy of an enlightened and patriotic body of American citizens".

With the above pious wish, Cardinal Gibbons closed his prayer to God Almighty at the opening of the Republican Party convention at Chicago. Presumably the Cardinal believed then in the efficacy of prayer. We don't. We wonder now, in the light of later convention developments if the Cardinal does—anymore. If his faith remains unshaken we congratulate him upon having a 100 percent proof skull. Nothing that he prayed for has come about. It seems that the Cardinal picked an entirely impossible feat for even omniscience to perform. So much the worse for the Cardinal. To expect such accomplishments from a Republican party convention is preposterous in the extreme; to pray for them is appropos to an insult to the intelligence of the power which the worthy Cardinal seems to believe rules this mundane sphere and all therein, including the rotten political conventions of putrid politics.

Everything emanating from the convention smells to heaven of the decaydence that marks present day capitalistic politics. From the "keynote" speech of one of the party's fossils to the latest reports of intrigue, bribery and chicanery, it has been shot thru and thru with every evidence of the coin, has steam rolled out of existence all opposition in its path. There have liberal and vicious use of money as against principle and consideration of the wishes of the people as voiced at the primaries. The wishes of the primary voters have long since been forgotten. The machine, the one which carries the been open confessions of votes bought and sold at a price indicating that vote, will steam roller out of existence all opposition in its path. These had the holders realized their value. While the Cardinal sought with closed eyes divine guidance, the delegates had their optics glued upon the trough from which they have since swilled their full. The glitter of the coin was guidance enough for them—to the devil with the Cardinal and the Almighty!

No political convention ever sounded the gavel with less of principle, less of integrity, less social purpose in its programe than this miserable affair at Chicago. However it is not surprising that this is true. When a political party becomes a mere pupet in the hands of predatory capital, a tool with which to keep from the people at large their just and worthy dues, it cannot at such a time maintain a front of deceptive purity. Its rottenness seeps thru the thin veneer. This is what has happened to the Republican party. Rotten at the heart the pus has at last soaked thru and rotted the whole fabric. The "Party of Lincoln" has become a putrid mass fit only for burial.

But it will not be buried—yet. The American voters, for whom the Cardinal has such high hopes, will march to the polls as to a holiday and put those who have been out, IN, and those who have been in, OUT. To expect more at this stage of the American workingclass voter's social and class consciousness, is to expect the impossible—which is no less than is embodied in the Cardinal's prayer.

POLAND'S DAY

Governor Cox of Ohio has joined the Polish White Guard. Well,—not exactly. That is, he has not gone to the Polish front to back up the Red Bolshevik army—by no means. He has found a means of serving the imperialistic, land-hungry Polish bourgeoisie in a perfectly safe—tho insanse manner.

Last Lord's Day was Polish day according to Cox. A perfect day to upon which to launch a "drive" to carry on an imperialistic war! The Polish White Guard drive in America for 50,000,000 dollars has been lagging. It closed last Tuesday. "Polish Day" was calculated to put it over the top.

While Polish nationalists in America and American bourgeois supporters are anxiously boosting the cause of imperialism, a glance at internal Poland would not be amiss. For many weeks past internal affairs of Poland have been assuming a threatening attitude. The miseries and suffering of the people, due to the imperialistic war have resulted in serious strikes and social disturbances. A schism has developed in the government resulting in the resignation of the cabinet on June 10th. The immediate cause of the quitting of the cabinet was opposition to the policy of the government in seeking to establish a buffer state between Russia and Poland. Also the National Democrats say they will refuse to participate in a government made up largely of socialists who insists upon peace with the Bolsheviki.

Another significant occurrence is that due to the fact that the communist railroad workers of Cecho-Slovakia siezed 36 carloads of war amunitions in transit from Italy to the Polish front, Poland has retaliated with an embargo on petroleum and benzine to Cecho-Slovakia. The Cech government is reported to be inclined to yield but the railroad workers have served notice of an immediate general strike if it does so. Late movements on the war front credit the Bolsheviks with important victories. In view of these facts we would advise Gov. Cox that Poland's day, insofar as its imperialistic designs are concerned will soon be enshrouded in blackest night.

OUR SCHOOLHOUSES

In 1828 the school board of Lancaster, Ohio, authorized the writing of the following letter:

"You are welcome to use the schoolhouse to debate all proper questions; but such things as railroads and telegraphs are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the World of God about them. If God had designed that his intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour by steam he would have clearly foretold it through his holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to hell."

The above historical document is evidence that there was at that date a very close connection between Church and State. While they were supposed to be separate, in fact they were by the religious opinions then prevalent in close connection. We have practically completed the separation since that time and it may be said that the development of the steam engine was instrumental in establishing that condition. The school Ma'am no longer (except in very isolated communities) opens school with the Lord's Prayer or a reading from the New Testament. To do so would in all probability provoke a neighborhood row in these days.

We no longer gage the possibility or utility of a new invention by what is said or not said in the Bible concerning it. We have gotten at least that far on the road to a sane conception of life. As is readily seen in the forgoing letter, there was a test case at hand between the new and the old—between science and superstition—between the conception based upon ideas handed down from the dark ages and the budding science developing from discoveries in nature's ways and means. As usual the new won. The telegraph worked, the steam engine actually run—at better than "15 miles an hour". That was the test and right there the Bible began to fall into disuse as a guide for human life.

But we have not yet set the schoolhouse free from the grasp of antideluvian ideas. Practically all subjects which agitate the minds of men may now be discussed freely in the school houses of the country — except one—that dealing with the right of the capitalist class to extract profit from the workers thru their ownership of industry and control of the State. This subject-workers' control of industry—Socialism, is taboo in our centers of education.

Lancaster youths and maids may now look up from their text books of science as the snorting, hissing monsters of steel fly past without thot or fear of any Biblical injunction against them but the sacredness of the system of exploitation is still taught them. Nevertheless, evolution of industry still continues. That which began in the discovery of the use of steam power and electricity must and will evolve in its natural order into workingclass control of these machines of production.

This will come about in spite of capitalist control of the schoolhouse—Capitalism cannot put a curb on evolution!

MAY DAY IN BRITAIN

Our May Day for 1920 has come and gone. In Britain millions of workers from John o' Groats to Land's End stopped work. The Red Flag of the Internationale was unfurled in great parks and on tiny village greens.

Our demonstrations were both serious and gay. We strove to enter into the spirit of May, and sometimes, with the exuberance of youth or with an assumption of it, let ourselves go with dance and song.

In every great center it was a record day. Manchester vied with Bradford, Glascow with London. Bournemouth in the west with Ipswich in the east. Everywhere the keynote of all the speeches and of all the singing was that line of William Morris'—"The Dawn and the Day is coming, and forth the banners go."

In every great town it was a glorious sight to see the women and children marching and riding to the meeting places with red flags, red rosettes, and—for us greatest joy of all—nearly everybody wearing our "rouster," symbolic of "The Herald of the Dawn."

That was in Britain. But perhaps the most significant of all things about May Day is that it is international. The capitalist press has been sneeringly telling us that May Day as Labor Day isn't an English festival, that it came to us from abroad. That is true. It is true of other things than May Day. It is true, for instance, of Christmas Day.

So, not in this country only, but the world over, men and women of the working class kept Saturday as their festival, the day sacred to their vows and their hopes for the future of the world.

And at every meeting our minds went to our Comrades across the seas—most of all to the workers of Russia, now once again called upon for a supreme effort and a supreme sacrifice for their ideals, which are also ours.

Today we send to our friends everywhere a message of love and good cheer, especially to the women who, giving up a day's rest, marched with their men, some of them many miles; and to the mighty host of Co-operators, who decorated motor car and wagon, cart and van, with such wonderful taste.

May Day for the moment is past and done. Yet it never passes. Every day is labor's day, for without labor there would be no life. So each day let our determination grow stronger, our faith more clear. Owen and Morris, Liebknecht and Jaures, Hardie, Rosa Luxembourg, and a million others passed out before the coming of this May Day, but they shared in its triumphs, and we, too, on the day the workers of the world have forever shaken the shackles of capitalism to the dust, will share in the shout of triumph, from a thousand million throats, will herald in the International Commonwealth.

Communism in Mexico.

There is only one magazine published in English in Mexico and it is a Communist monthly. Every Communist should read it and know, first hand, what the Mexican Communists and the Mexican I. W. W. are doing, and what is the real significance of the Obregon revolution that has just triumphed. This magazine is "Gale's Journal of Revolutionary Communism". Typical articles have been: "Made in the U. S. A.—the Civil War in Mexico"; "Who is Financing Pancho Villa"; "The Communist Party of Mexico"; "Open Letter to the Devil."

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The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 2nd)

sociology, not from an extensive knowledge of actual shop conditions, but from books and observation of life phenomena in the natural world. He did not realize that while there is such a thing as comparative anatomy between man and animals as well as comparative physiology and psychology, that in the very nature of the thing there could be no such comparision in economics. Man's industrial problems are not biologic in their nature, but economic. It was this point that he did not see. He looked thru the eyes of a naturalist, while his friends looked at the world from the industrial angle.

Buth Rudolph and Collins agreed that as far as historic and biologic fact was concerned, Jack was right, but they insisted that he lacked a clear understanding of the materialist conception of history. "You are tainted with high brow psychology," said Collins. "You look at life like an abstract philosophy. Wait till you have been in the working class for about five or six years and you will have the viewpoint of the bindle stiff ground pretty well into you. The mental angle from which a man views things is to a great extent determined by the condition of his stomach and his hands," Collins asserted.

While Collins was speaking Jack had been looking for his note book in order to return to the fray. He noticed that several pageshad been cut out but he said nothing altho he suspected that several pages had been cut out spring some suprise on him. He did not dream however that Collins had sent these notes to Olive Anderson, nor the effect that this sending act would have upon his susequent career, for while they were arguing the problems of life, life was setting a snare that ultimately entrapped Jack in the radical movement as an active factor.

After a few more desultary remarks Collins said, "Let's take a trip to Harrison and see if there is any mail for us. I feel it in my bones that one of us is going to have some welcome information."

(Continued next week)

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DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION — Bertrand Russell

II.

(In the first part of this article, which appeared in The Liberator and subsequently in The Toiler last month, Bertrand Russel discussed the possibility of realising mankind's dream of freedom. Capitalism has begun to fail as a method of production, and by arousing the discontent of the workers has raised up a power sufficient to overthrow it. But will Socialism secure freedom for mankind? And ought we, then, to seek to promote its complete success—or should we refrain because of the evils involved in a conflict of classes?—"For my part," says Bertrand Russel, in answer to this question, "I feel convinced that any vital progress in the world depends on the victory of International Socialism, and that it is worth while, if necessary, to pay a great price for that victory...... When I speak of Socialism, I do not mean a milk-and water system, but a through-going rot-and-branch transformation, such as Lenin has attempted. And if its victory is essential to peace, we must acquiesce in the evils involved in conflict, in so far as conflict is forced upon us by capitalism." With these words he concludes the first part of his article, upon which this present installment immediately follows.)

There are, however, some things which must be borne in mind as qualifications of this conclusion. One point of very vital importance is that Socialism should not lose its internationalism. It is perfectly possible to imagine Great Powers, each organised communistically on a national basis, coming into conflict for the possession of raw materials. The oil in the Caucasus, for eample, might well afford ground for such a conflict. Nor is there anything in Socialism, so long as it is merely national, that is incompatible with a new kind of Chauvinism. The contempt for the rule of the majority during the revolutionary period which the Bolsheviks inculcate, and their belief in winning over the majority through the temporary dictatorship of a class-conscious minority, obviously justify wars for the spread of the socialist idea, and such wars would easily become nationalistic when waged between a socialist and a capitalist Power. The abolition of exploitation at which Socialism aims, and which would make it a guarantee against war, is of course not complete so long as exploitation by nations continues. It is only secured when the raw materials of the world are dealt with by an international authority. It may well be doubted whether Socialism will be strong enough to overcome nationalist interest and feeling so completely as would be involved in this method of dealing with raw materials, yet until it has achieved this, it will have done little by way of affording a safeguard against wars.

And, apart from raw materials, there is another question, which might well cause wars between communistic national States: I mean the question of the right of immigration. In Australia and throughout North and South America, this question may be of paramount importance for many years to come.

Against international socialism there stands, except in America, only one really strong popular force—the force of nationalism. By nationalism I mean the determination to secure the interests of one's own nation at no matter what cost to other nations, and the belief that the interests of different nations are essentially antagonistic, or rather the hatred of other nations of which this belief is a rationalised expression. In all the new States which have been created by the Peace Treaty, nationalism in this sense appears to be absolutely dominant. Most of them would rather kill their neighbors and starve, than live in plenty, at the cost of friendly relations with races whom they hate. This attitude of mind is partly instinctive, partly the result of education and propaganda, which probably cannot be eradicated at all quickly, except by the use of force, in preventing hostilities, promoting freedom of trade, and setting up a new kind of education. The League of Nations, with its legacy of war hatreds, is quite incapable of performing this work. International Socialism alone, of all the forces now in the world, can really alter the mentality of bellicose populations. I do not say that even International Socialism can achieve this quickly, but I do say that, if it were in power, it could achieve it in the course of a generation, since what it has to combat is instinct and tradition, very palpably contrary to self-interest, and what it has to substitute is a generous ideal from which the enormous majority of the population would derive material genefit.

In spite of the serious difficulties and problems which Socialism will have to face if it becomes dominant, I am firmly convinced that it is the necessary next stage in the world's progress, if the things for which Western civilization has stood are to survive in any degree. I believe, also, that the degree of good it can accomplish depends upon the degree of generous hope in those who bring it about. If the evils that flow from economic exploitation are thoroughly realized, and the new world that can result from its complete abolition is vividly desired, a new force will be generated, sufficiently strong to dethrone nationalism from men's hearts; and it is nationalism alone, in Europe and Asia, that enables capitalism to preserve its power for evil. With nationalism removed, idealism and self-interest alike would prompt the enormous majority of the civilized population of the world to adopt International Socialism, and once adopted, this system would be stable through its palpable advantages, and through the fact that there would be no class with an obvious interest in overthrowing it.

Freedom, democracy, peace, efficient production and economic justice, can come through International Socialism and cannot come, so far as I can see, in any other way. But although Socialism may bring these things, it is not certain it will do so. Whether it brings them or not will depend largely upon the manner of its advent, upon the fierceness of the struggle, and upon the temper of the victor.

I think that our own country, especially through the guild idea, has a very definite contribution to make in the transitional time. I think that we can effect the transformation without violence and that we can do more than any other country to keep alive, during the struggle, those ideals of individual liberty without which a socialist society, if created, would be stereotyped and unprogressive and lifeless. Liberty and war are not compatible, yet an extension of liberty is one of the professed aims of socialists: collective liberty in work through self-government in industry; individual liberty outside work through the shortening of hours. The relative merits of different forms of socialism, and of different tactics for securing socialism, can be judged by capacity to secure these ends.

Socialism, no doubt, like capitalism, will be a phase in human development, succeeded by something of which we do not yet foresee the nature, perhaps by anarchism. It would be fatal to future progress if Socialism established itself, like the Church after Constantine, as a persecuting orthodoxy, fettering the human spirit, and delaying progress for a thousand years. Such a result is not impossible, especially if the victory of Socialism is brought about by military means at the end of long and disastrous wars. For this reason, if for no other, the victory of Socialism by peaceful means is immeasurably to be desired.

Every strong conception of human life tends to pass through three phases. In the first, it is amiable, humanitarian, persuasive, seeking to convince by argument rather than by force. In the second phase, having acquired a certain strength, and roused an opposition of a certain fierceness, it ceases to be amiable and becomes militant, justifying its militancy by the belief, inherited from the amiable phase, that its victory will bring the millenium. In the third phase, having acquired power, it becomes oppressive and cruel. Christianity exhibited the first of these phases down to the time of Constantine; in the Crusades it exhibited the second; in the Inquisition it exhibited the third. Capitalism has passed through similar phases. In Adam Smith, Cobden and Bright, we see its amiable phase. In its overthrow of feudal institutions it exhibited its militant phase. In the exploitation of inferior races, and the anti-socialist reign of terror, we see its third, tyrannical phase. The same thing has happened as regards Nationalism, though here the rate of development is different in different nations, according to their strength. Mazzini exhibited its amiable phase, Bismarck its militant phase, and modern Imperialism its tyrannical phase.

Socialism has passed, with the accession of Lenin, from the amiable to the militant stage. In so passing, it has lost much of its attractiveness for certain types of mind. There are those who feel acutely the evils of the existing world, and desire ardently the existence of a world free from these evils, who yet shrink from the stern conflict which is involved in getting rid of them. I confess to a very strong sympathy with such men. I observe that, in the course of a conflict, every ideal becomes degraded, and that the forcible victory of a party is invariably accompanied by loss of the greater part of what made their victory desirable. And violent conflict in itself, especially when it is prolonged and wide-spread, tends to degrade the societies which indulge in it. I cannot believe that a socialism which would achieve victory after a lengthy and world-wide civil war, would retain the kind of temper necessary for a happy and progressive society. Progress after its victory would probably depend upon those who would oppose it in its victorious form, in the interests of some freer, less cast-iron set of institutions, embodying once more something of the old ideals of Liberalism—not, it is true, the economic ideals, such as free competition, but the social ideals, and the intellectual freedom which no party engaged in a life and death struggle can permit.

Socialism has many forms; and it is not improbable that the victory in different countries will be for different forms. Subject to the paramount claims of order and efficient production, the most important thing that any socialistic system has to aim at is freedom. National Buidsmen have always remembered the importance of freedom, far more than their Collectivist predecessors. Their system of balances between the rival powers of Parliament and Guild Congress is designed to secure political freedom. Their system of self-government in industry, as opposed to bureaucratic management by State Socialists, is designed to secure freedom for the collective workers in any industry, both nationally, in the general problems of the industry, and locally, in all matters that can be decided locally. The system of devolution, not only geographically, but industrially, is of great importance for creating the sense of freedom, the possibility of personal initiative, and the opportunity for beneficial experiments.

Self-government in work is the most important of all the forms of freedom that have to be conquered, because his work is what touches a man most closely, and because, owing to this, it is the best way of arousing his political consciousness. Freedom in work was the chief aim of syndicalism, and it is the aim of guild socialism. I believe that it is secured by means of the national guilds than by any other economic organization of production. I believe that the sense of self-direction and independence, which will be thus secured, will entirely alter the outlook upon work of ordinary workers, and will, at any rate while it is new, stimulate production enormously more than the old capitalist incentive of terror.

But in addition to freedom in work there is of course freedom outside work, in leisure hours, and this will be secured by the shortening of hours, which more efficient methods will render possible. At present, more efficient methods are viewed with suspicion as redounding only to the advantage of the capitalist. Under the new system, the whole advantage of them will be obviously derived by the workers, and technical progress is likely to be enormously accelerated by this change. This is illustrated by the Bolshevik adoption of the Taylor system of scientific management (See "The Soviets at Work," by Lenin.)

There is, of course, another kind of freedom, applicable to rather few individuals, and yet of very great importance to the progress of mankind, and that is the freedom to refuse to occupy any place in the organised system of the community. The man who wishes to teach a new religion, to invent a new science, or to produce a new art, may find no guild ready to receive him. All fundamental innovations must necessarily go against the will of the community, no matter what the economic system may be. For the sake of such men it is highly desirable that complete emancipation from the system should be possible for anyone willing to endure sufficient hardships. Exceptional behavior which is probably slightly harmful, but may be very beneficial (such as painting pictures which the experts consider worthless) may rightly be discouraged, but should not be made physically impossible for those who believe in it enough to incur sacrificies rather than discontinue it. Loopholes and exceptions are absolutely vital if society is to remain progressive. We, in this country, if we adopt socialism at all, are sure to adopt it in a piecemeal and unsystematic fashion, which gives a far better chance than systematic Bolshevism for the toleration of loopholes and exceptions. We may hope that Continental socialism, when once it has become secure, will be strong enough to admit the advantages derived from such failure of systematization. In this respect, I believe that we have something of importance to contribute to the ultimate outcome.

Capitalism can no longer make a tolerable world, or preserve for us the heritage of civilization. International Socialism can do these things, provided it can achieve power without too prolonged or ruthless a strugle. Those who oppose the advent of Socialism take upon themselves a very grave responsibility. It is impossible to believe that the old system will be preserved, and all that the opposition can effect is to rob the new system of much of its merit. We who stand for Socialism have to remember that it is not enough to defeat our opponents, if in so doing we defeat ourselves, and that we shall defeat ourselves if the new society which results from our efforts does not embody more of freedom for the creative human spirit, and for the lives of ordinary men and women, than has ever existed in the world before. I do not believe that it is possible to dispense wholly with the use of force, though I do believe that, in this country, the necessary force can be acquired without violent revolution. Force, if it is to succeed in its ultimate purpose, must be always subservient to propaganda. It must be employed in ways which help to persuade, not in ways which alienate the ordinary citizen. And at every stage, everything possible must be done to make it clear that the use of force is temporary, and that the goal is a society where force shall no longer be needed. It is only through the inspiration of a great hope, through the vivid realization of the better world at which we aim, that we can prevent our aims from degenerating in the conflict, and that we can secure the victory, not only of our party, but of our ideals; the ideals of freedom, economic justice, and international co-operation, which the world needs, and which only Socialism can achieve.

Bertrand Russell.

The Domination of Capitalism

(Continued from 1 page)

mowing machines, harvesting machines, sheaf binders, at which, from morning to night, wage slaves are working. And just as in the factory, they are not working for themselves but for the proprietor. Because the land, the soil, the machines, the seeds—in one word, everything except the hands of the workmen themselves is the private property of the capitalist-proprietor. He is the boss here. He commands and manages the business in such a way that sweat and blood are changed into ringing gold. The workers obey him, occasionally grumble a bit but continue to earn gold for the proprietor because he has everything—and the worker, the poor country man, possesses nothing.

It occasionally happens that the landlord does not hire any workers, but rents out his land. With us, in Russia, for example, the peasants with their small plots of land hardly large enough to feed a chicken, were forced to rent land from the landowner. They worked there with their horses, their plows, their harrows and drags. But in this way, also, they were mercilessly exploited. The bigger the need for land, the larger rent did the landlords demand, forcing the poor peasants to actual slavery. Why could he do it? Because the land belonged to him, the landlord, because the land was the private property of the landlord-class.

Capitalist society is divided into two classes: into those who work much and eat little and poorly; and into the class which works little or not at all, but which eats much and well. This does not accord with the Holy Bible which says: "Who works, shall eat." But this facts does not hinder the priests of every religion from praising the capitalist system. for, to be sure, everywhere the priests receive their golden reward from the capitalists (except in the Soviet Republic).

Now arises a second question: How can a small number of parasites maintain the right of private property in all the most necessary instruments of labor? How has this private property of the parasitical class existed so long? What is the cause of it?

The cause of it is the excellent organization of the enemy of the working people. At the present time, there is not a single country in which the capitalists work separately. On the contrary, each of them is a staunch member of the propertyholders' organization. And these very organizations of propertyholders have all the power in their hands, they have tens of thousands of loyal agents who do not serve them through fear alone, but because their conscience tells them to. The whole economic, business life of the community is at the complete disposal of special combinations of property owners, syndicates, trusts, and large associations of banks. These combinations control and rule everything.

The most important combination of all is the **bourgeois State**. This organization of propertyholders holds all the reins of government and of power in its hands. Here everything is discussed and calculated, everything is considered and prepared so that at the first attempt of the workingclass to rise against capital, the attempt may be nipped in the bud.

The government has at its disposal harsh material force (spies, police officials, courts, hangmen, drilled and soulless soldiers) and the spiritual force which gradually corrupts the workingmen and the poor morally, educating them according to false ideas. For this purpose, the bourgeois State has schools and the church, to which must be added the capitalist press. Everyone knows that pig-breeders can breed pigs that are so fat that they can hardly walk, but are extraordinarily fit for the slaughter. Such pigs are artificially bred by giving them a particular kind of food every day, from which they grow fat. Just so does the capitalist deal with the working-class. He gives the workers, to be sure, very little real food—for fattening the body. But every day he serves to the workers a special sort of mental food which makes the brain of the workers fat and unfit to work. The bourgeoisie would like to turn the working-class into a herd of swine, which is obedient and fit for slaughter, which does not think and which willingly subordinates itself. On that account, the bourgeoisie begins even with the children in the schools and in church, inoculating the idea that one must be obedient to those in authority because they are ordained by God (only the Bolsheviki are honored by the Church's ban instead of its prayers, because they refused to pay the deceivers in monks' hoods out of the treasury of the government). And for the same reason, the bourgeoisie is very solicitous for the successful dissemination of its lying press.

The admirable organization of the bourgeois-class makes it possible for it to maintain private property. There are very few millionarires, but next to them is a sorry mass of their most trusted, submissive and brilliantly paid servants: ministers, factory directors, bank directors, etc.; next to them are their helpers, who get less but are absolutely dependent on them, are educated in their spirit, and intend to get positions of the same variety, and if they succeed, to mount higher; they are followed by still smaller officials and agents of capital, etc. In rows they follow each other and are bound together by the centralized organizations of the bourgeois State and other combinations of propertyholders. These organizations cover each country like a net, in which the working-class struggles in vain.

Eevery capitalist government becomes really an enormous Association of property owners. The workers work—the possessors enjoy; the workers execute—the propertyholders command; the workers are deceived—the possessors deceive. That is the system which is called the capitalist system and to which the Lord Capitalists bid us submit.

Notes of Interest to Workers

MOSCOW.—A recent report of the Moscow municipal food administration shows that the most strenuous work of the bureau has been that of furnishing necessaries of life to the children. There are in Moscow 21,000 children under one year, 110,000 between one and five years and 240,000 between five and sixteen years. Children under one year are furnished sterilized milk from special kitchens. Children of school age are nourished in 116 special dining rooms and those not of school age in 11 special rooms. Besides this there are 171 school kitchens. Some 35,000 children are being cared for by various soviet institutions.

GENEVA, Switzerland.—A plan to launch a simultaneous attack on British imperialism was developed at a recent conference here of delegates from India, Praia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Egypt Arabia, Algeria and Russia. Enver Pasha of Turkey was the president of the conference.

The Indian delagtes asserted that the British military occupation of Constantinople was only a "bluff" and that its real purpose was to obtain British prestige in India. They assured the conference of the hearty cooperation of the revolutionists of India in the dismemberment of the British empire.

TIFLIS.—Official newspapers in Persia are energentically demanding immediate alliance with Soviet Russia, which, they say, is the only country in the world which is not imperialistic and which will honor the rights of Persia.

The revolutionary movement in Persia is growing. The broad masses are impatiently waiting for the best moment to arise against the British and the Shah. Already one of the leading reactionary leaders, Supexdar, has been murdered.

By the Federated Press.

MILWAUKEE.—The appeal for clemency for Carl Haessler, former instructor in the University of Illinois serving a term in Alcatraz prison, California, as a political objector, has been denied and he will have to serve his full term, according to word received here by his wife and friends who recently appealed in his behalf. Haessler's term expires about June 15, 1921, but it may be commuted for good behavior to permit his release Sept. 16.

MOSCOW.—In the government of Saratoff strenuous work has been done to increase the area of cultivated land. After the war broke out, the amount of land under cultivation decreased yearly by about 100,000 hectares. Thanks to energetical measures and general labor mobilization, the level of 1915 has now been reached. Over 400 new reparation shops for farm implements have been established.

VIENNA, April 30.—(By Mail)—With the departure of a train yesterday carrying 620 children to Sweden, the number of Viennese, little ones who have been temporarily saved from famine through the kindness of other countries reached the 80,000 mark. According to data given out by Vice 26,973 children, Holland, 19,942, Germany 12,621, Italy 6,593, Sweden 6,190 Mayor Winter, Switzerland has taken Denmark 5,490, Norway, 2,733, Czechoslovakia 322 and Upper Austria 60.

In voicing the thanks of the city to the foreign missions and committees who have helped in saving the hungry children, Herr Winter declared that the wonderful spirit of human solidarity displayed in this relief work would form a bright page in future history.

KREIGER, I. W. W., IS FREED BY JURY.

Man Charged with Bombing Oil Head's Home Acquitted in 2 Hours.

TULSA, Okla., June 8.—Charles Krieger, I. W. W. under prosecution since December 28, 1917, in two different trials, was acquitted today of the charge against him, after the jury had been out for two hours.

Krieger was held on a charge of conspiring to dynamite the home of J. Edgar Pew, an executive of the Standard Oil Company subsidiary. He was first arrested in Tulsa December 28, 1917, without warrant, and held in prison for more than six months without being informed of the charge against him.

His first trial started on October 6, 1918, and resulted in a hung jury—six to six. His second trial stated a number of weeks ago. In the interval he was released under bail. The jury which acquitted him today was composed of a majority of farmers. Judge Raymond S. Cole officiated in the district court where Krieger was tried.

ENGLAND BENT ON RUSS TRADE.

BRUTALITY PROVEN AGAINST PALMER'S AGENTS.

(Continued from 1st page.)

him and an Inspector, Brodnick, opened fire, shooting a prisoner, Zuba, in the leg.

That night Bukowetsky was sent to Wayne County prison, but not before he was robbed of what possessions he had saved from the last robbery. Next day's papers said the prisoner had tried to escape. Bukowetsky swears the Department officials have offered him freedom if he will report occasionally. He says he refuses freedom except as a free man, and that if he is an outlaw he wants them to prove it and punish him. He is still in prison.

THE TOILER

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From Our Petrograd Correspondent.

Petrograd, April 15, 1920.

My Dear Friends:—

I could write you now about five volumes of 700 pages each, if it only be possible to deliver them to you. In Russia indeed is a workers' and peasants' government, but the long war is terrible destroying the national wealth and tiring out the nation. The only thing that can save Russia is the Soviet form of government and the necessary means of production granted to it, regardless of where they come from. The Soviet government, as yet, is not the exponent and the apparatus to realize the Communist principle if it is not led and controlled by a Communist Party. The Communist Party and the Soviet government are two different things in the same space and time. More yet: the Soviet government will not be a Communist government if the International proletarian movement will not grow and force its governments to back down economically as they were forced to back down militarily. Unless this takes place there will be not only no Communism in Russia, but there will be nothing. People will die out thru starvation and the complete collapse of civilization will follow not only in Russia but in all capitalistic countries. The capitalist class would degrade the workers in a state of slavery. Therefore work with united forces for International Communism.

In Petrograd I met comrade Sinovyev, who recently went through an operation for appendicitis, but is recovering fast. The Lett, Peters, who was branded by the American bourgeoisie press as the Bolshevik butcher because he was the extraordinary commissaire to combat counterrevolution, was not killed by a bomb, as reported, but occupies a high post in Caucasus. I have also met other leaders of the revolution, for instance, Radek, Bucharin and Maxim Gorky. Radek is a very active and attractive individual. Bucharin is very absent minded and usually forgets his own comfort. If someone will not put him on his coat, he will leave it and go without. So once I am told, going from Moscow to Petrograd he lost his overcoat in this manner and was supplied another. I heard Maxim Gorky in the Petrograd Soviet session. That great author is a poor speaker. Concerning the views of Bolshevism held by you and I, I wish to say that we were the best Bolshewiks, our views conform with those of Lenin.

Yours for the triumph of the working class

A.B. C.

Slow Progress in Communist Trial.

CHICAGO.—Of six hundred men thus far questioned as prospective jurors in the trial of twenty-four members of the Communist Labor Party, charged with criminal syndicalism and conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government by force, only eight have proven acceptable to both sides, and have been sworn in. The state has exhausted 63 of its 200 peremptory challenges; the defense sixty-four.

The trial began on May 10th and is completing its sixth week.

I. W. W. POET IS FREE.

CHICAGO.—Charles Ashleigh, poet of the working-class, is at liberty again, after having esrved eighteen months in the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, to which he was convicted with ninety-five other I. W. W. His release on bail was obtained by the American Freedom Foundation which is working for immediate release of all political prisoners and for restoration of American political and civil liberty.

Whether Ashleigh will remain free, or whether he will go back to serve out the rest of his ten-year sentence, will depend upon whether or not the appeal of the I. W. W. will be sustained. Argument took place here June 15, Attorney Otto Christensen acting as counsel for defense. It may be several months before the decision is handed down.

Ashleigh left behind him at Leavenworth about 150 political prisoners. Some fifty of these are I. W. W. convicted in Chicago; thirty-seven, I. W. W. convicted at Sacramento; twenty-seven, I. W. W. imprisoned as a result of the faomus "Wichita indictment'. Four more I. W. W. from San Francisco are in the number. The others are members of the Working Class Union of Oklahoma; Kansas City Communists; the Magon brothers; Brent Down Allinson and Jaeger, conscientious objectors. All of these men are political prisoners still in jail as a result of war time emergency legislation.

COMMUNIST CASES ARE NOLLED.

ROCKFORD, Ill.—Upon motion of State's Attorney William Johnson in the local circuit court, the indictments against Mrs. Christine Person and Peter Anderson, alias Martell, were nolle prossed and by agreement Karl Lind was released from the county jail on his own recognizance.

They were three of 13 who were indicted by the county grand jury here on the charge of violating the Illinois anti-sedition statute. Mrs. Person, Lind and Anderson were members of the Communist Labor Party of America and were among the nearly 200 persons who were scooped up here in the federal raid on Jan. 2.

Mrs. Person is in a critical condition suffering from tuberculosis. The Persons have three children.

Peter Anderson and Karl Lind have been in the county jail since Jan. 2.

SOVIETS ARE LENIENT OF MIS-

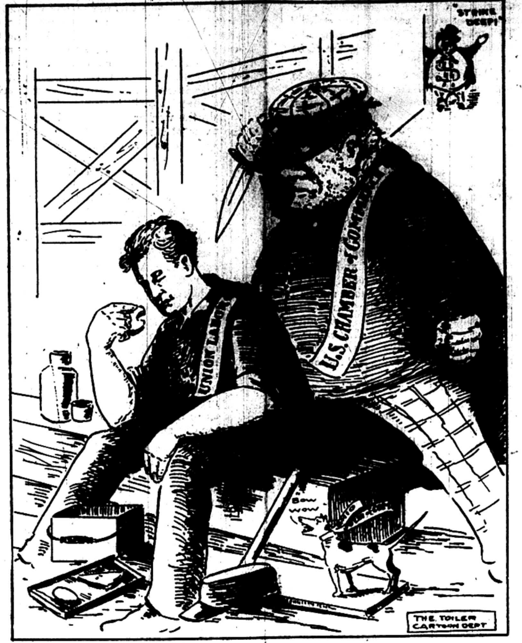
Lillian Blake
ATTENTION

Please send your address to The Toiler. We have a communication for you.—Editor.

THE COMMUNIST CALL TO THE WORKERS.

We communists say to the workers: "Many thorns lie in our path, but we must, without losing our courage, go forward. The great Revolution which has turned the entire old world upside down, cannot run althogether smoothly, one cannot accomplish it with kid gloves on: it is being born in pain. These pains must be endured, patiently, its purgatory must be endured, in order, finally, to get free of the iron vise of capitalistic slavery".

The Menshevik, Social Revolutionaries, Social Democrats stand aloof and look on, crticise the mistakes and failures, and draw from them this conclusion: let us turn back, let us give everything back to the bourgeoisie, and let us modestly demand reasonable portions in our capitalist stable!



Playing His True Part.

The United States Chamber of Profiteers.

Bill Smith.

$ $ $

Do you remember when Mitch Palmer,—after getting some millions of dollars from a subservient Congress, organized his "Flying Squadrons" to chase down the profiteers—and thus kick the lining out of the ol H. C. L., —do you remember that, boys? Sure. Do you remember how these profiteers then left the country in ship loads to dodge Mitch—and how he filled jails with those that fell into his remorseless clutches—and how the H. C. L. dropped so rapidely that one grew dizzy watching it—do you remember that, too, boys? Neither do we.

But one must not be to hard on Mitch for these profiteers are very elusive,—they keep under cover. It is as hard to find one as it is to find the elephant at a circus. But if Palmer really wanted to get at the bottom of this profiteering,—what a golden opportunity he lost just recently! Here assembled at Atlantic City in April an aggregation which calls itself the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Now if he had followed the tactics he pursued in the East, of raiding night schools, where foreigners were trying to improve their education,—and have thrown a cordon of his sleuths around this Atlantic City assembly—and then arrested the whole bunch,—without warrant or explanation—and slammed them into widely separated jails without privilege of bail,—and then started an investigation, just one half as drastic as he did with the foreigners,—as to what and who were back of these people;—holy gee! boys, wouldn't there be a smell!

$ $ $

Commerce means—"Barter, Trade and Traffic."

Thus the most stupid person can readily see where to look for the profiteer. After the production of a commodity, no matter whether mechanical or agriculture,—it then enters the domain of Commerce—the Kingdom of the Profiteers. Then the Public commences to get it in the neck! It is in this Kingdom of the Profiteers, that 300 percent from farmer to consumer is filched—the 600 per cent from cattle percent from miner to consumer is embezzled—and so on down the long line of these protected thieves!

What could be more appropriate let us ask,—than that Mercury, god of Commerce, is also patron deity of all the Thieves of the World!

This ancient deity stuff takes us back to remote ages—and it recalls events in the grey centuries when Seti held down the Pharao job in Egypt. Some "lean years" occured in his reign and the grand forefathers of our present profiteers got busy and "manipulated" the markets until conditions were very sore indeed. Seti's grand steward snooped around and took a census of these fine gentlemen and they were all invited to one of these little "informal suppers." History is silent as to the details of that supper, but it is supposed that they damned labor in general,—were agin the unions etc. etc. We know though that Seti was a rough old scout and that the name of not one who was around that festal board could be found in the next years city directory!

$ $ $

What is this Chamber of Commerce of the United States?

It is the logical successor to the old Manufacturers and Merchants Assotiation, of infamous memory, whose headquarters were at Indianopolis, and was captained by the late D. M. Parry. It punished strike breakers and did all in its power to throttle labor when ever the opportunity occured.

Standing practically in the same position is this new born ogre of capitalism with its high sounding name.

It is a self created institution, having had its accouchment in Washington, D. C., in April 1912. It now claims a membeship of 660,000, with Joseph H. Defrees of Chicago as its executive head.

It is interesting to note the "Purposes" which it claims made its creation necessary. Remember that its permanent headquarters are in that great manufacturing city of Washington, D. C. Chief among its "purposes", it says —"When debatable policies affecting our National Commerce" — they must butt in, and "confer alike with the executive and Legislative branches of the government etc." in order to "make all business legislation constructive."

All of which means, in plain language, that they have squatted there to intimidate and coerce legislation. They hold over these timid congressmen that power of terror that the Popes were wont to launch at servile kings—the excommunication and the interdict. Woe unto that congressman that does not pay heed to the "whispers from the throne"! He may as well dig his little hole in the ground and climb in!

$ $ $

To show how well this combination has succeeded in throttling free legislation we present the following letter from Ex-Senator Robert F. Pettigrew of South Dakota.

Carl D. Thompson, author and secretary of the Public Ownership League, with offices in Chicago, wrote United States Senator R. F. Pettigrew, regarding the advisability of petitioning Congress at Washington, and received the following interesting reply:

Your petition should not run to the government. Your petition should be presented, if you want the fun of getting up a petition, to the real government, no longer invisible located in Washington City. The heads of the great industrial and financial institutions have organized the United States Chamber of Commerce. It is a corporation; they are all corporations; we are a government of, for and by the corporations. Our feudal lords are artificial persons without human sympathy. Their attorneys are in Washington in the House and Senate; 76 senators out of 96 are lawers; 310 out of 440 members of Congress are lawyers. These lawyers are the attorneys for the great financial and industrial combinations which are the real government of the United States, and, of course, you know how useless it would be to appeal to the real government and how silly it is to present anything to their attorneys.

R. F. PETTIGREW.

$ $ $

This U. S. Chamber of Peddlers have yearly gab fest, their last orgy being

(Continued on page 4.)

Judge and Jury Establish Mob Rule in Cincinnati

By O. Buchtaeschel

The case of the Communist Labor Party of Cincinnati against the Robert Bently Post of the American Legion for damages done to its headquarters last November, was concluded in court there last week. The jury's verdict was in favor of the defendants. The case will not be appealed. Jos. W. Sharts was the attorney for the plaintiff. The Post was represented by 22 attorneys.

Out of the immense material developed from this trial, we can quote only a very small part of it.

The defendants admitted guilt, but made as excuse for their crimes, that their patriotic fervor was avansed, which prompted them, to destroy the literature, which they claimed was seditious.

The examination of the witnesses brought forth the fact, that the defendants had only a superficial knowledge of the cantents of the literature destroyed and that the ring leader Cooper, had a conversation "over the telephone" with the federal authorities, who stated, there was no law which prohibited the printing and distribution of that literature.

In the proceedings of the trial the counsel for the defense tried in vain to prove that the platform of the C. L. P. preaches violence.

The counsel for the defense read that "into" the platform and claimed their interpretation of the platform was absolutely correct. To prove their contention, they brought in everything and anything under the sun.

If attorney Jos. Sharts for the plaintiff made the attempt to go to the bottom of it, Colston, counsel for the defense objected to it. The manner in which he objected and was sustained by the presiding judge showed the one sideness of the proceedings. We cite here only two cases: Gragdon for the defense brought in the history of the prison ship of Dorset, England.

About two hundred years age, seven agriculture workers, acting as a committee to ask for higher wages, were charged with conspiracy, found guilty and sentenced to deportation.

A "defective" photograph of a Russian newspaper was admitted as evidence.

But as Sharts for the plaintiff talked about the history of Cincinnati to prove his side, objections were sustained.

A photograph, showing the destruction in our office, made on the 19th of November, the very morning after the raid, was declared "as arranged".

After long and tedious proceedings the hearing of the witnesses was finished.

One conspicious fact impressed itself to the audience.

The counsel, ignorant of economic science, tried to hide this fact by boisterous language and cheap, silly remarks alleged to be witty. The antics of the members of the American Legion reminded us of the behavior of the "Junkers" in the german Reichstag.

Sharts, as counsel for the plaintiff had the opening speech. In a quite and logical manner he drew the parallel in history between the abolitionists and the Communist Labor Party.

Colston for the defense followed with a boisterous talk for "democracy" which culminated in the remark: Ah, Kar Marx is a back number!

These ignoramusses had the audacity to declare economic science as "bunk."

Colston was followed by Graydon for the defense. He tried to appear to be accentuated by a love for th law of the land. His first statement was, that the literature destroyed had no value as property, because it was outlawed.

(Dear reader mark well, the federal authorities declared that literature legal, then counsel for the defense admits, that the American Legion is above the federal government.)

He continued to talk about conspiracy, violence, dictatorship by a minority, burglars tools, gambling devices, confiscation of "all" the property a man or woman possesses, industrial production abolished, general strike unlawful, the prison ship of Dorset, England, the decree of six hours work in Russia, whilst the workers are forced to work 16 hours and abusive statements about the communist party.

Comrade Jos. Sharts made the finishing speech, which was a marvelous, eloquent and logical one. We would do an injustice to it, to cite only fragments.

The weight of his arguments impressed the audience and was propaganda of great value.

Sharts finished with the words to the jury, that the issue is: if the laws of the land are to be vindicated, or a group of unscrupulous men shall decide what we are allowed to write and read.

On the 16th of June the court reconvened to hear the charge of the judge to the jury.

To do justice to the readers of The Toiler, this charge ought to be in full here. But the crux of the question is this: While judge Gusweiler stated plainly that according to law the members of the American Legion had no right to enter the place, he came around this point by saying, that they could destroy the literature, if they deemed it seditious.

By doing this, he transferred the responsibility and power to act from the constituted federal authorities to any irresponsible, unscrupulous person or mob.

As a matter of course, we did not expect justice before a capitalist court, but how about the anarchists of the John Most type, ain't they ashamed of their new increase?

The fourth and fifth amendments of the constitution are thrown on the scrap heap.

Soviet Troops are Lenient.

BERLIN, May 20.—(By Mail). In today's "Freiheit" is prominently displayed an army order issued to all the Russian Soviet troops engaged in resisting the Polish invasion. The ordern which is dated May 13, and signed by Minister of War Trotzky, reads as follows:

"Under all circumstaces are prisoners and wounded men to be treated as opponents who are entitled to protection.

"If the Polish White Guards commit massacres and execute not only communists, but every Russian who falls into their hands, Soviet Russia will hold the ruling classes and not the Polish workers responsible for this.

"All the Polish crimes deserve but one answer: Vigorous attacks upon the Polish White Guards."

The Freiheit comments upon the order by saying that "Russia feels strong enough not to retaliate upon misguided Polish workers for the crimes of adventurers."

International Labor Picnic

under auspices of

THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

SUNDAY, JUNE 27-th, 1920

Frank's Farm Sherbody Hill

WOOSTER AVENUE EXTENSION AKRON, O.

Speaker: Jacob Morgolis

Attorney for U. S. Steel Workers. A man with a message for the Workers.

Bring your family and enjoy the day.

MUSIC AND DANCING. . — . REFRESHMENTS.

National Chamber of Commerce Program of Industrial Slavery

In high-sounding phrases about “justice”, “equality” and “individual liberty”, the Board of Directors of the National Chamber of Commerce has formulated a complete program of industrial slavery for the workers of America. This twelve-plank program is now under referendum vote of over 1,300 industrial and commercial organizations.

At the time of President Wilson’s famous industrial conference the liberal journals were insistent that Judge Geary represented the views of an exceptional autocrat, views which had no counterpart anywhere else in the world except in Japan. It was stated most emphatically that the group represented by Judge Geary as spokesman at this conference, the employer group, would not sanction the reactionary attitude of the chief of the Steel Trust; and that this attitude could only be accounted for by the fact that the steel strike was then in progress, and that recognition of collective bargaining under the circumstances would have compelled Judge Geary to enter into negotiations with the union representatives of the strikers.

Now comes the Chamber of Commerce program, which is expected to secure the necessary two-thirds vote on referendum,—a program which goes the full limit of Judge Geary’s reactionism, and even a little beyond. The adoption of this declaration of policy will formally put American capitalism on record in favor of “benevolent despotism”. It will make our capitalists avowedly the most obstinate, defiant and contemptuous in their dealings with their workers of any group of capitalists in the world. This has already been realized as matter of fact, though not heretofore advertised by the capitalists themselves by formal adoption of a program.

This charter of the divine right of business opens with this significant first clause:

> “Any person possesses the right to engage in any lawful business or occupation and to enter, individually or collectively, into any lawful contract, either as employer or employe. These rights are subject to limitation only through a valid exercise of the public authority.”

Once the absolute sanctity of contract is accepted, without regard to the living truths involved in dealings between the worker whose weekly or daily wage is his only hold upon life and the powerful corporation to whom that worker is an item like any other detail of machinery, then the foundation is definitely established for the perfect program of wage slavery. It was upon the same sacred principle that the system of chattel slavery was defended even by Abraham Lincoln. But the Abolitionists did not hesitate to challenge this one of the “ideals” among “the fundamentals of our national institutions.”

An important method of limiting effective organization among the workers and the outlawing of strikes is the use of appropriate employment contracts.

It is to be noticed that nobody is questioning the right of any person to go into business. But the Chamber of Commerce is very much concerned to maintain the worker’s sacred right to enter into any occupation on any contract which he may “choose” to make. This “liberty” is to be limited only by public law; which means that it must not be limited by union rules of any kind. It must not be limited by collective agreement between workers’ and employers’ organizations, but each employe must retain his “rights”.

Of course the “open shop” is the logical sequence to the first clause, and here it is:

> “2. The right of open shop operation, that is, the right of employer and employee to enter into and determine the conditions of employment relations with each other, is an essential part of the individual right of contract possessed by each of the parties.”

To make the matter quite complete, there follows a clause declaring the right to scab:

> “3. All men possess the equal right to associate voluntarily for the accomplishment of lawful purposes by lawful means. The association of men, whether employers, or employees or others, for collective action or dealing, confers no authority over, and must not deny any right of, those who do not desire to act or deal with them.”

Just the same, as experience has shown, it would be rough sledding for any employer who refused to recognize the authority of an employers’ association.

The fourth clause demands that associations of employers and of employees shall be “equally subject to the authority of the State” and responsible legally for their acts or acts of agents. This clause is a criticism of the exclusion of labor unions from the anti-trust laws, and it is further suggestive of incorporation of unions and liability on suits for damages. If the full meaning of this clause were to be developed into law the most conservative trade unions would soon become outlaw organizations.

The next clause is a brazen bit of hypocrisy:

> “5. To develop with due regard for the health, safety and well-being of the individual, the required output of industry is the common social obligation of all engaged therein. The restriction of productive effort or of output by either employer or employee for the purpose of creating an artificial scarcity of the product or of labor is an injury to society.”

The absolute life principle of capitalist industry is artificial limitation of production—restriction of output to the point of maximum return on investment.

Just why should a wage slave consider that he has any “social obligation” concerning production? There could only be social obligation if there were **social production.** But with private production there is only private obligation. Each corporation considers itself responsible only to its stockholders, that is its 100% obligation. The only “social obligation” of the wage slave is toward his fellow-workers. Production is not his business, and cannot become his business until “the production-epoch”, that is, until social ownership makes production the affair and interest of all engaged in the common industry.

Now we come to wages:

> “6. The wage of labor must come out of the product of industry and must be earned and measured by its contribution thereto. In order that the worker, in his own and the general interest, may develop his full productive capacity, and may thereby earn at least a wage suffficient to sustain him upon a proper standard of living, it is the duty of management to cooperative with him to secure continuous employment suited to his abilities, to furnish incentive and opportunity for improvement, to provide proper safeguards for his health and safety and to encourage him in all practicable and reasonable ways to increase the value of his productive effort.”

Let us restate this remarkable clause in our own language; “We think that the workers should be kept alive. Indeed, we would like to see the workers keep on living. But, in order to remove any doubts on this point, we call the attention of our employees to the fact that they must hustle to beat hell if they expect to get enough wages enough of the time to keep on living. We are also willing to help the worker to improve himself—to increase the value of his productive effort. But we are not saying anything about who is to get this increased value.”

How about hours of work?

> “7. The number of hours in the work day or week in which the maximum output consistent with the health and well-being of the individual can be maintained in a given industry should be ascertaned by careful study and should never be exceeded except in case of emergency, and one day of rest, or its equivalent, should be provided. The reduction in working hours below such economic limit, in order to secure greater leisure for the individual, should be made only with full understanding and acceptance of the fact that it involves a commensurate loss in the earning power of the workers, a limitation and a shortage of the industry and an increase in the cost of the product, with all the necessary effect of these things upon the interests of the community and the nation.”

Never was a more inhuman proposition conceived by the mind of man. The owner of the chattel slave was at least obligated to keep his slave alive and marketable; he could not consider it as open to question whether or not the slave could keep himself alive by his contribution to industry. Nor did chattel slavery ever undertake to regulate the hours of labor by an exact mathematical calculation of the limit of efficiency, not one minute more nor one minute less than the point of maximum use of the sum total of the slave’s life energy.

Not the eight-hour day, not the six-hour day, not the ten-hour day, but the number of hours which the worker, calculated as a piece of machinery, can stand the strain. For every minute less than this calculation, a reduction of wages. Taken together with the wage clause, this means a reductiotn of wages below the doubtful level of a “proper” standard of living, whatever these benevelent employers may consider **proper.** Go the limit of the use of your muscles and nerves or starve, that is the size of it.

One day rest out of seven, maybe; there is the qualification of an “equivalent” for the one day of rest. Think of the generosity!—at a time when organized workers are demanding the five-day week. At a time when the workers of the world are beginning to see as reality the possibility of an industrial system where the six-hour day for the five-day week may easily supply a living which includes not only the bare needs of life, but recreation, education, travel, every substantial enjoyment which the Chamber of Commerce considers appropriate to the individual life of its members!

What about unemployment? Surely this is a waste of energy utility below the “economic limit” —yet it is a constant, wholesale, inevitable part of the system of private capitalistic production. Millions are out of work all the time; on the average all workers lose one-fourth of full time. Too bad for the workers; all that the Chamber of Commerce is concerned about is the time that the employees are on the job, and that during this time a day’s work shall be not one jot less than the last ounce of efficient energy!

There is no word in this program about unemployment. It is taken for granted that the capitalists will generously supply work to all who accept these terms, when as a matter of fact this has never been the case and never will be the case under private industry.

The next two clauses are a restatement of the Gary version of “collective bargaining”, as follows:

> “8. Adequate means, satisfactory both to the employer and his employees, and voluntarily agreed to by them, should be provided for the discussion and adjustment of employment relations and the just and prompt settlement of all disputes that arise in the course of industrial operation.
>
> 9. When, in the establishment or adjustment of employment relations, the employees do not deal individually, but by mutual consent such dealing is conducted by either party through representatives, it is proper for the other party to ask that these representatives shall not be chosen or controlled by, or in such dealing in any degree represent, any outside group or interest in the questions at issue.”

In other words, no union negotiations, no solidarity of workers even of a single craft, but only a nice, amiable little unionism of the one plant, a unionism which the employer can very easily supervise and keep in hand.

Th Chamber of Commerce is kidding itself, or here is the deliberate challenge against any form of labor organization which goes outside the one shop, which means no organization at all. Probably the latter is the truth. American capitalism realizes that all organization of labor must be destroyed, or the momentum of the wages and hours fight will hurl the workers into the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The Chamber of Commerce appears to be ready to face the issue, to declare openly that it means to maintain a slave system by might of the State.

The last clause of this program are anti-strike clauses, dealing with government employees, also with the workers in “public service activities”, a classification which can easily be extended to include every major industry.

This declaration by the leading organization of capitalism in the United States shows that we have arrived at the show-down in the class fight. The employers dare to show their full hand. They hold in contempt the backward, narrow, corrupt union movement in this country; and they mean to crush in its infancy the newer movement toward militant industrial unionism. This is the program of class-conscious capitalism, a program of industrial slavery built directly on the law-making, court, police and military power of the State; a program which regards the worker as one form of material for the making of profits, never for a moment as a human being.

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXVI.

Collin’s Ambition.

On their way to Harrison, Jack asked Collins, what object he or Rudolph had in cutting pages from his note book, and the big man replied that he had done so, for the good of humanity. Of course this was an explanation that did not explain anything to the boy. Yet, he asked no further questions, partly because he had not understood Collins’ meaning and was turning the matter over in his mind, and partly, because Collins immediately proceeded to take him to task for his singular philosophy anent human relations.

“You have a good brain Jack,” said he, “but it is leading you wrong. It ties you so close to a mole hill that you fail to see the mountain. Your passion for natural phenomena in the animal and vegetable world has a tendancy to blind you to the greater, and in a sense more wonderful, phenomena, of the social world. You are not a millionaire, or the son of a millionaire, no matter how you wiggle you are on the lower side of the fence. Types or no types, capitalism is a reality and the class struggle is a fact. It is a damned hideous fact and you will not be able to escape it.”

“I do not deny the class struggle. I know that it exists. The only difference between you and I is that I maintain that it must exist as a natural result of biologic variation. As long as life produces variations there will be the weak and the strong, the wise and the foolish, the agressive and meek, the worker and the shirker, the schemer and the producer. All I maintain is that no matter what your system of society you will always be face to face with these facts,” Jack urged.

But Collins ignored the boys explanation at least in part when he said, “The trouble with you is, that you study the problems of labor and the laboring classes, as the astronomer studies the moon. You have too little preceptive information of working problems, to be in a position effectively to criticize social science, Remember, the test of truth is, will it work? You cannot test any social theory by yourself. You are an individual within society and not society itself. You will never be big enough, Jack, to force a ready made theory down a social throat. In order to become an effective social scientist you must enter the working class and study its workings from within. You must learn to guide the natural trend of the masses. You cannot lead or force the mass.

It is true, you have had but little experience in the working class. You have seen some of its trials in a minor way, but only in a very minor way. You have only approached the class struggle in the skirmish line; as yet you are unacquainted with the fierceness of its battles. You have met much of the dross that is, the drunken, weakned, degenerate elements, and you have met a few thinking men. It has all been in less than six months, and from this meager data you have built up your theory of types as ultimate determining factors in human evolution. And I do not say that they are not determining factors. I often feel the force of your argument, for you know I do not like to associate with stew bums, Jesus lovers, and mission stiffs. I am free to confess that I dislike the riff raff; they grate on my nerves. I admit that I am top heavy, and naturally lean toward men with brain. But all that is beside the question, it obscures the real issues. The isse of capitalism versus humanity.

Do you realize Jack that capitalism cannot last forever, that sooner or later it must die, and that at its death, one of two things must happen, either, the workers take over natural resources and the tools of industry and run them for the common good, or the world plunges back into the dark ages or worse.” He stopped and looked at his companion intently as if expecting an aswer, but the boy made no reply. He just walked on beside Collins on the trail between the forest and the lake, evidently busy with his own thought on the subject of human destiny.

Just before they came in sight of the village Collins resumed the conversation. Speaking as if to himself. “It makes no difference,” said he, “if the ultimate change comes, first to the light or to the dark and it will be for good or evil in proportion to the accumulated intelligence of the working class. The change will come as truly as tomorrow’s rising sun will bring the coming of the day. That can be mathematically demonstrated. Blondes and brunettes are not a problem in industrial development, altho they may be a problem in social relations. And social relations are but the reflex of industrial necessities and industrial necessities are regulated by the requirements of mankind and the availibility of natural resources, plus the evolution of the machine. All these factors are interacting. The real problem is, whether mankind will retain and develop what it now has or if it will lose and relapse into the primeval night.”

Jack looked at the big man curiously. He had seldom heard him talk with such calm earnestness. There was no doubt, but what Collins believed what he said. He actually feared the possible death of civilization and a consequent relapse into the dark ages. He feared “Caesar’s Column” more than he did the “Iron Heel.” Jack tried to comfort him with the statement that civilization could only fall and perish if by some catastrophe the blonde races were exterminated. Then, he maintained, that the world would go back into darkness until a new light could be evolved in the fog lands.

But Collins was not in the mood to philosophise. “O forget it,” said he impatiently. “Get this idea clearly in mind, it is the one important thought that every worker should hold. The working class constitutes eighty per cent of the world’s population — the parasites twenty per cent. These figures are not absolutely correct, I only use them as a paradigm. Now the twenty, will employ the eighty, only as long as there are markets. Once the markets are gone, and they are fast going, then seventy out of every eighty will become useless to the twenty parasites. Useless human beasts of burden will be disposed of, as were the oxen at the coming of the horse, and as will the horse be disposed of at the coming of the motor. My God kid, can’t you see the massacres, the holocausts of the future, if we do not develop the spirit of solidarity. The people simply must awaken to retain and to hold what their hands and brains have lost, for if hey do not then their masters will hurl them against each other, and they will destroy each other in the fury of their own ignorance,” he concluded passionately.

“It’s no use to try it,” Jack answered. “They will only chase you, and jail you, and finally kill you, for your pains. The very people you try to awaken would thank their bewhiskered Gods for having had part in your murder. The very masses who you would give your life to educate would hold a ghost dance around your bleeding cadaver. It is not that they are viscious, it is because they are trusting and obedient to their superiors, as they call them. They believe the word of the papers, the preachers, the teachers, and all other hirelings of the ruling beast. You can’t get them to hang together, as far as solidarity is concerned, the whole working class is a rope of sand.”

Just see what they did to me at Mullen, they praised me to the skies when I spoke to them of the things that affected their present and future welfare. They led me to believe that they were with me, but when I was fired, because of my agitation, these very people said among themselves, “why didn’t he keep his mouth shut,” and “it serves him right, he had no business shooting off his bazoo against the people who give him work,” and “A man should stay by the man who feeds him.” Ye gods, they fed me, when I worked in their mines, in constant danger of death and received only a fraction of what I produced. No, no Ed I can’t see where either you or I gain anything, by playing twentieth century Jesus. Both the masters and the slaves, would look upon us as Black Sheep.”

“By the way, do you know why sheep men keep black sheep in their flock? It is in order to count the white ones and keep track of them. So we agitators are used by the masters to size up the temper of the slave.”

They were just crossing a little brook that ran from the woodland into the lake, by jumping from one rock to the other. The rocks were wet with the rain that had fallen and the big man loosing his footing fell full length into the water. The icy bath cooled the ardor of his eloquence and Jack rustled about to find pitch wood, with which to start a fire, so as to dry his companions clothes. After a few moments of good natured bantering about the mishap Collins said, “you’re all wrong Jack, even if you were right, you would be wrong. Yoy are to big a man to entertain so damned selfish a view of life. You simply must help in this battle for a better world. Remember you donot live for yourself alone. You are only a link in the chain of human evolution. Some day you may have children, and they may live at the death of capitalism, while you lived during its life. I know that you do not want it said that you could have helped to change conditions only you were more interested in rats than you were in the welfare of your class. After all is said, the fact remains, that we are human and we have duties and responsibilities not only to ourselves but to our kind. I know you will take this view of it, ultimately. There are two forces that will drive you to it. The one is the hand of capitalism, and the other is the part of your note book you missed this morning.”

“Yes, what in hell did you cut out the leaves from that note book for?” Jack asked as he heaped another arm of bark on the fire.

“I sent it to the daughter of that real estate man at Anamoose. I have a notion that a little correspondence will awaken a new set of brain cells, that have hitherto laid dormant in your head. That girl had the spirit of the crusader, while you have the mind of a scientist, and damn me if I don’t believe that bringing you together will save you both as fermenting germs in the great leaven of revolutionary thought. I hate the bourgeoisie, and it was a big fight on my part to decide whether to send those notes or not. I remembered all that she said and appreciated more what she did then you perhaps imagine. I know that she is made of good stuff, in a sense of better stuff than you, you are inclined to gravitate towards books, and hills, and valleys, animals and plants, and abstract thought, while she is drawn toward man and justice, and the ideals that directly affect human welfare.

Then there is an other matter I want to talk about, now that we have a few moments time. You can’t speak of such things before Rudy. I had a love affair once; it was during my Scissorbill days. The girl worked in a store and I worked in a mill. I got hurt, and was laid up for six months or more. Couldn’t raise my hand above my head. Couldn’t walk. Had to be wheeled about in a chair. Of course I went broke right down flat. This girl kept me during all the six months. Now mind you she was only getting four and a half a week, and out of it she kept herself and kept me, and in some way managed to give something to the support of her sister. Now take a peek at scissorbill psychology. I never stopped to figure that she couldn’t do what she was doing on her salary, and when I learned the truth after I was back on my feet, I bawled her out and left the country. Rudy would not have done such a thing. Two months later I met a fellow who had known us both, and he told me that she had died three weeks after I left with the con—or something. I was no rebel then. Just a plain boosier but that cut me to the quick. I have tried to atone in some measure ever since, and I’ll keep on attacking the system that made a fool of me, and a corpse of her, in every way that I can as long as there is breath in me. And if consciousness holds out and I can gage my strength the last three words, I will say with my dying breath will be, “God damn capitalism!”

“Get on your duds,” said Jack. “Let’s get to Harrison. Perhaps there is an answer to those notes.”

(Continued next week)

THE CARTOON FUND

Bill Smith, our cartoonist, has been off the job for a couple of weeks. Our readers will be pleased to see he is now back again.

Let’s see what the cartoon boosters have been doing lately.

Receipts:

Previously reported	$61.95
Charles Brown	50
Jno. Chipman	1.50
J. S. Janner	1.00
Wm. Batten	1.00
Jas. W. Booker	.20
C. Baker	.50
A comrade	1.00
X. Y. Z.	1.50
Jno Reichle	1.00
Total	$70.15
Expenses	91.23

LONDON.—The Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers, have passed a revolution calling upon the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress, the Labor Party and the Cooperative movement to join with the Triple Alliance in making an exhaustive inquiry into the reasons for the high cost of living and to work out a plan for its substantial reduction. This plan, it was proposed should be submitted to the government as soon as possible.

The Toiler

ONE YEAR $1.50. | BUNDLE RATES $1.00 Per Hundred | SIX MONTHS 75c.

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

Work that Counts -- Now to do it!

Every class-conscious worker will admit that he is some sort of a socialist. Perhaps he's red, maybe he's only pink. Maybe he's only just plain white, but if he is class-conscious, if he realizes that between the workers and the capitalists there can be no peace until the workers become the dominant ruling class, then we have something to say to him—whatever the particular shade or tinge of crimson that may be his (or her's).

Knowing this to be a fact—realizing that the workers and the capitalists are in a life and death struggle for control of the world—realizing that in this struggle knowledge of the class character of society, of the structure of the capitalist State, of the historic mission of the workingclass—is necessary, then it becomes the duty of every such worker to seek to spreed the knowledge of our Movement among his fellows. Each such individual must become a propagandist and a booster for the Communist press.

For some time The Toiler has carried on a campaign among its readers for funds to purchase a supply of print paper. We are happy to announce that thru the co-operation of its readers we have secured a supply sufficient for several months. We believe that in future we shall be able to meet any situation that will arise and that The Toiler will not again be jeopardised on account of a paper shortage. We thank every contributor to the paper fund for their loyal support.

But far better than donations are subscriptions. A new reader is to be preferred any time to a dollar given outright. We must increase our power for our Movement among the workers by extending our circulation. In this work there is a place for every worker whether on the farm, in the shop, mill or mine. Wherever workers are to be found, there must be a booster for The Toiler. In this way our circulation can be increased and our Movement built up.

We say frankly that the best support which you can possibly give to The Toiler is that of getting subscriptions. Subscriptions support the Toiler, The Toiler in return educates another worker into a communist. Every communist is a brick in the structure of the Revolution which is to bring about the New Society.

Get on the job of subscription getting. Order a bundle of Toilers at 1c each and put them where they will be read. It's easy to interest a worker in The Toiler—after he has read a copy it's equally easy to get his subscription. Try it, get in the job every day with The Toiler and we will not only increase our subscription list but we will BUILD UP OUR COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

ORDER A BUNDLE NOW!

A New Belgian Apeal

Comes to our desk a copy of “De Internationale”, organ of the Communist Party of Belgium published at Antwerp, containing an appeal which was adopted at a public meeting held by the Communist Party at Antwerp. A comrade has also sent us an English translation of this appeal which all radical papers are requested to publish. The appeal follows.

TO THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN PEOPLE.

“As we did not need to make an appeal to your sense of justice and philanthropy in 1914, of which you gave so much proof in supporting, helping and encouraging us when we were attacked by the Prussian invader, so we feel again obliged to make another appeal to your sense and sentiments to help now to deliver us out of the claws of the American and English profiteers, who, after all our privations, misery and sufferings which we endured during the war, have set their claws deep in our economic life.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

“A splendid opportunity arises for your capitalists to show us that all they did in the past was not mere hypocrisy and self-interest.

“Now, more than ever before, as the pretended enemy had to leave the country, you have an exceptional opportunity to expose our common enemy, capitalism, in your country.

“Indeed, wrong done by Prussian, American or an Englishman always remains wrong and consequently the results of it always fall upon the toilers, especially in this case.

“In the name of humanity, we again make an appeal to your brotherly and sisterly feelings, and we hope that you will use all your power and influence to help us to realize this just demand in order to get a more humane existence.”

This is one of the most unique appeals that has come to our notice.

It contains a lesson of the class struggle of the deepest significance. The Prussian invasion which laid Belgium in waste and spread death and desolation broadcast has long since subsided. The invanders whose very name was anathema throut the entire world, has returned to his boundaries. But the miseries of the Belgian masses have not subsided. A new invasion is now in progress, an invasion as cruel, as destructive, as merciless as that of the German hordes.

The American and English capitalist profiteers have their Shylock hands at the throat of Belgian men, women and children.

They are demanding their pound of flesh. The Belgians have discovered that a new enemy has dislaced the old. The Kaiser has gone but the profiteer remains.

It now remains for the workers of Belgium to learn the lesson of their sufferings. As long as Belgium's economic life is under the control of private capital so long will they be subject to the exploitation and misery which private capital sees fit to inflict upon them. Between the Kiser and profiteer, whatever his nationality, there is little choice. Belgian workers, like the workers of all countries must overthrow the capitalist system, they must seize and control the system of production and distribution. Until this is accomplished the Shylocks of capitalism will continue to carve their pound of flesh from the heart of Labor.

“Not Radical.”

When Judge Willis of Los Angeles, released nine members of the I. W. W. on suspended sentences under rigid discipline as to their association with radicals and radical movements, they were allowed membership in the A. F. of L., Judge Willis stating, “that is not a radical organization.”

Certainly the Judge knew what he was talking about. The recent convention at Montreal is ample proof of that long outstanding fact. If the Judge had said, “that is a reactionary organization; I advise all workers who have the best interests of the capitalist class at heart to join it,” he would neither have over stepped the truth nor mistated his wishes.

The Montreal convention refused to endorse the recognition of the Russian Soviet government, the lifting of the blockade and free intercourse with the Russian people. This act places the American Federation of Labor at the bottom of the list of black reactionary labor bodies of the world.

In striking contrast to the labor bodies of Europe, who are creating havoc in the ranks of the reactionaries by their espousal of the cause of the Soviets and their demands for Soviet recognition backed by threats of general strikes, the action of the Montreal convention shows up in its true light the enmity to international solidarity of the workers which rules in the detestable Gompers controlled machine.

The resolution in question reads:

“Resolved, that the American Federation of Labor is not justified in taking any action which can be construed as assistance to or the approval of the soviet government of Russia so long as that government is based upon authority not vested in it by a properly constituted national representative assembly of the people, or so long as that government by constant propaganda endeavors to start revolutions in the civilized nations of the world or so long as it militarizes the workers, opposes trade unions or exercises suppression of freedom of speech and the press.”

What makes Gompers and his following sore is that the workers have made a short cut to freedom by depriving the non-producers and parasites of any power in the government. The A. F. of L. is strong for ‘democracy’—the democracy of the bourgeoisie class. What the A. F. of L. wishes for Russia is a constituant assembly made up of sufficient bourgeois and labor skinners to thwart every effort of labor to sever its chains. Its highest ideal is to keep the workers enslaved to the kings and queens of finance. Its heart is broken at the very thot of labor reaping the full social value of its toil. A “fair” day's wage is all it ever asked for, all it ever demanded—it has always been perfectly satisfied to turn over the bulk of labor's products to the parasitic class while labor took only sufficient to keep itself on the job.

The attempt of the resolution to make a case against the Soviet form of government and the measures it has been forced to adopt during the transition stage thru which it is passing, reveals the stupid bourgeis viewpoint which is characteristic of the A. F. of L. Judge Willis spoke entirely from a knowledge of the facts. No heavy taint of radicalism hangs about the A. F. of L. The one redeeming feature of the act of the convention is that one fourth of the delegates voted against it. Next year, after the whole world has opened trade relations and the soviet government flag flies from its consulates in dozens of American cities—then the A. F. of L. will come along like a cows tail at the end of the procession endorsing trade relations with Russia. This is an example of the ‘leadership’ which functions in this fossilised labor union.

Our National Sport.

Is lynching to become America's national sport? Now that Duluth in the North has forged ahead to a place vieing with most ‘democratic’ southern state of the Black Belt in the lynching of our black citizens, it is only right that we should give to lynching the honors due it, and like true sportsmen call it by what it really is.

Duluth has set the example. When the evenings grow monotonous and lose their tang, there is still much spice to be had in life. Confiscate a truck, parade the streets calling for volunteers.Assemble all the hoodlums in town, make a lot of noise; start something all down the line. Locate some bricks and assault the police station. The officers will probably run. If they turn the sprinkling hose on you, just hump your back and stick. Pretty soon they will get tired and beat it.

Then you have it all your own way. Break down the jail doors. Gather the negroes (or whites if no Negroes are inside) hold a mock trial. You are the judge, jury and prosecution. When you get tired of this rig-ma-role, get some rope from the nearest hardware store. The merchant will probably obligingly and patriotically serve you free. Then the real fun can begin.

Telegraph poles are handy. Just pitch one rope end over a cross-arm and make the other secure to a black victim's neck. All grab hold and swing on hard! Now you are enjoying the delights known only to 100 per cent Americans, law, abiding citizens of a Godfearing nation which blushes with shame at the death of a counter-revolutionary profiteer in Moscow.

Great sport! A whole lot might be said about this, but what's the use? We have a public educated by the profiteer, venile, sensation mongering daily press. Public offices are filled by a crew of hungry, job hunting politicians with neither knowledge, vision or ideals. A combination of this sort is certain to develop by-products such as the Duluth massacre.

SOVIETS APPEAL TO WORLD'S WORKERS

MOSCOW—(via London)—An appeal from the Soviet government to the workers of all countries has been transmitted here by wireless which says:

“On our western frontier war has started again. Once more enormous regions are being devastated by military operations. The working classe of Russia are compelled to take up arms again. The Poles have started war for the purpose of plundering the Ukrainian peasants and securing their lands for Polish landowners. Poland is waging war in order to impose on Soviet Russia, already ruined by the Allied capitalists, a huge indemnity.

“Those who are guilty of this new war are the governments of the allied countries. All of them are supporting the action of Poland to a greater or less degree. It depends upon you workmen of all countries that the war shall end in the shortest possible time with a crushing defeat of the capitalists and the landowners.

“Workers of France, England, Italy and America's transport workers, railwaymen, stevedores and sailors: Do not make a single rifle or a single cartridge; do not send any munitions or provisions to Poland; go out in the streets and arrange demonstrations and strikes with the slogan: ‘No support of the Polish White Guards.’

BERLIN—A demonstration of protest against the Polish attack on Soviet Russia was recently organized by the Communists and Independents of Berlin. Crowds which filled the Lustgarten were addressed by prominent revolufionaries, among them Dauming, Ledebour, and Eichorn. On one procession a man carried a gallows on which was written “ For Mannerheim”.

An advertisement of the Interchurch World Movement made this statement: “All that makes property safe in the world is bound up in the respect for law that religion breeds.” But, may we not ask, whose property? That of the 2 per cent who own 60 per cent of it? Is it the ambition of the church to be the policemen of property rights?

HERE'S HOW MANY EVADED WAR FOR DEMOCRACY

The government shortly will publish a list of 170.000 men alleged to have evaded the Selective Service law.

This will be equivalent to offering a reward of $50 for the arrest and conviction of each, federal authorities said.

COMMUNISM EVENTUALLY IN MEXICO: TWILIGHT STAGE NOW

— By Linn A. E. Gale. —

Communism is Inevitable
in Mexico, Sooner or Later.

These long-enslaved, suffering and exploited masses know in a dim way that they want an end of capitalism. Clear vision is not theirs yet but they are acquiring it rapidly. Many of them have acquired it already. The increasing radicalism of the unions, even those that are affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, is an unmistakable sign. The cynism with which many of the unions have regarded the promises of both Obregon and Bonillas in the campaign that now, since the revolution, is starting all over again, with Bonnillas eliminated, is evidence of the steady swing of Mexican proletarian sentiment toward direct action.

But it would be a mistake to anticipate another outbreak, a class-conscious revolution, soon. Miss Helen Augur, writing in New York Call, intimates that when the election comes there may be a real effort to elect a labor government. Miss Augur is mistaken altho her articles are rendering a real service in putting squarely on the shoulders of Wall St. the responsibility for the disorder. civil war and crimes that have so long torn Mexico in twain.

Workers with Obregon yet but—

The vast majority of the Mexican workers are with Obregon due to the officient electioneering of L.N. Morones, close friend of Obregon and right-hand man of Samuel Gompers. They will stay with him for a while. They are eminently satisfied with the outcome of the revolution to date and believe that Obregon, on his accession to office, will be a true friend of labor. They also like de la Huerta, newly elected provisional President, and have heard much of what he did for labor in Sonora as its Governor. They will certainly stand by Obregon for a time.

Then, if exploitation and oppression continue, as they must to a greater or lesser degree, and if socialization of industry is not begun in apparent sincerity, they will prepare for another uprising.

Another Revolution Inevitable

When that time comes it will not matter whether there happens to be an ambitious politician at hand who wants to lead them or not. If there happens to be, they may follow him, but he will be forced to do what they want or his days will be numbered. And if there is no such aspirant available, the workers will pick their own leader from their ranks, which will be much better, to be sure.

In any event, Communism is coming in Mexico and nothing can stop it ultimately.

On the other had, it is just as certain that Wall St., having been thoroly exasperated by Carranza's long and persistent resistance, will, to paraphrase what the kaiser is said to have told James W. Gerard, “stand for no nonsense from Obregon.” If he tries to do much for the masses, American capitalism will get rid of him in short order. It is by no means convinced so far that he will obey orders despite the frantic assurances of his press bureau in Washington that he is 100% pro-American.

Miss Augur thinks that Wall St. would like to see Obregon start on a radical policy so it would have an excuse for intervention. Not at all, Wall St. would much prefer to have Obregon play the game with it. It will be far easier to dominate Mexico indirectly and “diplomatically” than to conquer it with guns. When the peon sees a “gringo” soldier coming for him, he gets mad and being able to fight like hell and then some, he will keep that soldier busy for quite a while, despite the disparity in their respective equipment. But pat the peon on the back, tell him you are going to co-operate with him and want to “assist” him in developing his country, and he grins good-naturedly, gets friendly and puffs away at his cigaret. He can be kidded in this way for a while for he is not by nature suspicious. Wall St. would rather use this method, and take its chances on being able to put down a later rebellion by the time that the peon gets his eyes open.

Obregon, tho he may really want to right social wrongs and even lay the bases of a new system in Mexico, will not dare to. Perhaps he will not want to. Perhaps the prospect of American co-operation with plenty of money and plenty of guns will be too alluring for him to retain any working-class sympathies. Whether it will be necessity or choice that will impel him to his probable course of action, is not of serious moment. The big fact is that he will undoubtedly toe the mark indicated by American Big Business and that intervention will, therefore, not come by military methods for the present.

This can have no other effect than to prepare the Mexican toilers for a genuine, full-fledged Social Revolution within a few years.

Carranza Nationalist,

Not Radical

As to Carranza, while we shudder at his murder, let us not be misled into any maze of hero-worship of the slain man. Let us not forget that his policy or opposition to Wall St. was one of Mexican nationalism, rather than Internationalism, and that while he tried to keep the nation's wealth for a local bourgeoisie, he permitted the excellent labor laws of the country to go unenforced against Mexican and Spanish capitalists as well as against American capitalists. Only a few weeks before the revolution broke out, “Resurgimiento”, a brilliant little Spanish weekly published by the Puebla syndicalists, contained an editorial saying that the wretched wages, long hours and entire absence of sanitary restrictions that the Carranza government winked at, were worse even than what existed under Diaz.

Let us not forget, either, that while Carranza was killed as the result of the brutal determination of American finance-capitalism to seize Mexico, many a poor worker with a less provincial and chauvinistic outlook than Carranza, has given his life for the same heartless reason.

And let us above all remember that Carranza “flopped” in the last few months of his administration, and at the moment of the revolutionary uprising, was spending millions of pesos to elect as his successor, Ambassador Ygnacio Bonnillas, the real choice of Yankee capitalism. Carranza had permitted a suspension of the petroleum tax law; had turned his back on the Radicals with whom he formerly flirted but for whom he never had any real sympathy; had agreed to pay the old Huerta debt that he had hitherto steadfastly repudiated; and would probably have been allowed to get the 12,000,000 rounds of ammunition that had been held in New York 6 years because the American government would not allow the shipment of what he had actually bought.

Playing “Both Ends Against Middle”

The only reason why the monied men north of the Rio Grande dropped Carranza so quickly when the revolt came, was that they realized the popularity of Obregon and did not want to waste further time with the losing man! If Carranza had stood a show of winning, they might have staid with him. Nobody knows. Those who pretend to know, don't and are only displaying knowledge that is not knowledge but guesswork. It was an opportunistic game that Wall St. played all the time. Carranza having sold out, would have been “safe” if he had retined power. Obregon, who was also receiving aid from Big Business, would probably be safe, if he won, they figured. If the revolution lasted, the American government could step in and grab the country without further ado and without bothering to deal with either set of politicians. And if one side or the other definitely won and then refused to do as it was told, it would be easy to forment another outbreak and intervene just the same.

The Peon To Be Heard From

No matter which side had triumphed in the revolution, the result would have been much the same. Wall St. played a game of “Heads I win, tails you lose” with the Mexican people, and Carranza, Obregon, Gonzalez and Bonillas all were its pawns, consciously or otherwise.

But the Mexican peon, like the American people, cannot be “fooled all of the time.”

The peon will be heard from again.

WASHINGTON.—A request by former Senator Hardwick of Georgia, counsel for Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, chief of the Russian Soviet Bureau at New York, for the subpeona of Major General Graves, former commander of the American Epeditionary forces in Siberia, and of Raymond Robins was denied recently by Immigration Inspecter Shell on the ground that their testimony would be irrelevant.

The case of Martens before the Commissioner of Immigration was completed last week. A hearing which was scheduled to take place June 17, it is thought, will be taken on the deportation warrant for Martens.

THOUGHT WAVES

By C. A. Moseley,

Staff Writer, The Federated Press.

David R. Francis says that he will resign as ambassador to Russia if we recognize the Soviet government. Even at such a terrible cost. we are in favor of the recognition.

• • •

The decision of a board of arbitration, favorable to the motormen and conductors of the Des Moines street railway system, was set aside in Federal court by Judge Martin J. Wade. This is the same judge who sentenced Kate Richards O'Hare.

• • •

Senator Lodge advocates the temporary modification of the immigration laws, to permit an influx of needed labor. An efficiency idea worthy of Taylor; load up, for the return trip, the “arks” that are deporting them. When they strike, ship'em back.

• • •

The War Department, it is reported, has issued a call for the organization of tank corps in all industrial centers We should imagine that the Kaiser had taken a job as a steel worker, did we not know better.

• • •

HEALTH BULLETINS.

Now the Mikado is sick.

Wilson shows no improvement, unless it is in health.

Lenin is able to do considerable more than take nourishment.

Burleson's liver complaint is no better.

Palmer's eyes still give him trouble; everything looks red.

Hoover no longer sees double, and has decided that he is a Republican

Wood is getting over his military stride.

Senator Harding is getting cold feet.

Louis F. Post has strong heart action.

• • •

Taft, who may be remembered as a former president, wrote recently in defense of the present system and thinks the relation between the wage-earner and the rich man is a happy one, “because the former is quite as likely to enjoy real happiness in life as the latter.” Aside from the fact that few rich men are willing to try the experiment, we might remark that because Epictetus, the slave, may have been as happy as Marcus Aurelius, the emperor, we are perfectly satisfied that slavery ceased to exist. Besides, Taft, being to fat to work, has to write something to meet the H. C. L. He should be treated with indulgence. Otherwise, we might adequately criticize this recent utterance.

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A despatch from the Elysian Fields quotes the original Rothschild as saying: “I was a mere slouch at collecting money; I didn't know a thing about ‘drives’ and ‘tag days’.”

LECTURES UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

at Pythian Temple, 919 Huron Road
near East 9th Street
every 2nd and 4th Sunday of the month at 3 P. M.

SUNDAY, JUNE 27: “Professional Sociology vs. Socialist Social Science,” by J. M. Conrade.

SUNDAY, JULY 11th: “Production Under Capitalism,” by Frank Kocerik.

SUNDAY, JULY 25: “Production on the Farm,” by D. B. Washburn.

SOME “REDS” WE ARE NOT ASHAMED OF.

In these palmy days of Palmerism and Wilsonian Democracy, when to be a radical is to court a jail sentence and persecution at the hands of our beloved democratic officialdom, it is well to recall to mind the names of a few of those whom the world once derided, persecuted, chained and damned. We name a few of them below.

Socrates,
Jesus Christ,
Galileo,
Christopher Columbus,
Patrick Henry,
Voltaire,
Rousseau,
Thomas Jefferson,
Wendell Phillips,
Abraham Lincoln,
Charles Darwin,
Louis Pasteur.

Who is ashamed of these names today? It is a list that engages the veneration of every sincere and right thinking man and woman. When the name “radical” is bandied about in derision by the capitalist press and other lick spittles of the profiteers, just recall these names to mind and remember that they were equally derided by the profiteers of their days and for the same reasons—they were dangerous to profits. Measured by their service for the Common Good they stand as high above the “respectables,” as Heaven is above Hell.

UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY FORMED BY COMMUNIST GROUPS

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY AND MAJORITY OF COMMUNIST PARTY UNITE THROUGH SECRET CONVENTION.

From a copy of the "Communist", which declares itself the "official organ of the United Communist Party," we reprint the following story describing the unity convention of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party:

The Convention of the Revolutionists.

During the first week of September, 1919 there were organized in the United States two Communist parties. Within two months both parties together had completed an enrollment of more than 40,000 dues-paying members. The prospects pointed to a quick increase to 60,000, perhaps 70,000;—about three-fourths of the former Socialist Party membership.

Along came the Lusk Committee raids and arrests in New York; also sporadic arrests elsewhere in connection with the November 7th celebration. Organization of Communists was checked. Came an ominous lull then the avalanche of the New Year — the Palmer nation wide raids, arrests, brutalities.

At the end of January Secretary of Labor Wilson held that alien members of the Communist Party were subject to deportation. Communists—members of both parties— were branded as outlaws in the courts of New York and New Jersey. Like results appeared imminent in Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan, California, Ohio, Indiana, in many other states

No longer were there party headquarters, neither national, state, nor local. The active party officials were in jail or were fugitives. No meetings could be held without inviting arrests. Very little money could be raised even for defense and relief of prisoners.

By February 1920 the two thriving parties of October 1919 had vanished The Luskers and Palmerites had done their work completely, perfectly. This country was immunized from the "red" terror — the terror which haunts the world...

• • •

Sometime recently, somewhere between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Gulf and the Great Lakes two groups of elected delegates assembled as the Unity Conference of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. Of the former, 32; of the latter, 25, and one fraternal delegate; also a representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. These 59 delegate came together from all parts of the United States, held sessions for seven days, debated every issue with absolute thoroughness, laid out the plan of work for the United Communist Party;—all under the most perfect circumstances conceivable for such a convention.

One who holds in his hand the scroll upon which is inscribed the record of this mysterious gathering is amazed, for one thing, at the roll of delegates. Communist Party and Communist Labor Party—but all these strange names? Not one of the 1919 Communists present? Search the roll again;—not one familiar name. Remarkable achievement of the Lusk-Palmer Inquisition—not one of the 1919 Communists in the list!

• • •

In spite of the fact that these delegates came together on a call for a "Unity Conference," in spite of all realized of the fearful blow it would be to the Communist movement in this country if unity were not at once achieved, it was not until noon of the seventh day that this issue was decided conclusively.

Neither side was fully conscious of the undercurrent of sentiment on the other side. Factional controversies of nearly a year's standing surcharged the atmosphere with suspicion—suspicion not only across the lines but within each camp. None of the delegates were willing to surrender their reservations until after a long series of debates, some of little intrinsic importance, many on basic questions of Communist understanding and practice—questions which had never before been really faced in United States.

One delegate hit upon the most salient truth about this convention in the remark that, in contrast to any other convention in which he had taken part either in Europe or America, this convention had met squarely every essential issue and debated it fully to its ultimate solution.

There were three separate advance sessions of the two parties. To each of these conventions was presented the tentative draft of a Program and Constitution previously prepared by a Joint Committee: Damon, Caxton and Fisher, C. P., and Brown, Klein and Dubner, C. LP.

During the second of these sessions, a message came to the C. P. convention that the C.L.P. convention had accepted the agreements of the Joint Committee as a bisis for unity, reserving all amendments for joint discussion.

At this moment the C. P. convention had under consideration a substitute Manifesto, Program and Constitution presented by Ford for the New York District delegation. The debate quickly centered on the declaration as to "mass action", it being conceded that the Joint Committee Program was more acceptable as an entirety. The main contention was that the Joint Committee had not used direct and unequivocal language as to force. It was answered that the criticism was only of words; that there could not possibly be any doubt but that the Program pointed clearly to armed revolt as the ultimate and inevitable form of "mass action."

Personal suspicion stimulated this argument. The outside group of the C. P.—the majority members of the Central Executive Committee—had manufactured the issue of force as a dominant item in the C. P. split. There had never been such a factional issue. But the Eastern delegates particularly were determined to make certain that there would be nothing about the handling of this subject which might leave a loophole for the C. P. opposition.

Agreement was reached for the revision of the Program in a number of particulars, the C. P. delegates to support these amendments as a unit. The C. P. convention further bound its members on the issue of federations; also, to retain the C. P. name and emblem.

The first joint session opened with a spirited dispute as to election of committees. Some of the C. P. delegates insisted upon discussion of the Program as the first order of business. They said that they were not ready to commit themselves as to joint proceedings until the Program was disposed of. This brought forth angry protest: it served as a challenge to the group unity of the C. L. P. It was urged that unity had been achieved by coming together on the basis of the Joint Committee Program and Constitution; that every provision was open to amendment by the convention; that there might be a new division on the issues to come up, but the old party division was gone.

A bolt of nine or ten of the C. P. delegates was started. Klein (C.L.P.) re-introduced the motion to proceed with the discussion of the Program and Peace was restored.

The opening debates were sparring matches, with a strong undercurrent of nervousness. Threescore persons, engaged in a criminal conspiracy, spent two hours to decide whether capitalism breaks down in that it fails to "produce" the needs of life, or whether the collapse is due to the failure to "provide". After considerable uncertainty the argument prevailed that capitalism, in spite of all its equipment, stultifies production; the wheels of industry turn only at the call of profit, regardless of all capabilities for production; crisis or no crisis, capitalism has never functioned to "provide" the needs of the masses...

In the playfulness of this debate was expressed relaxation and the forestalling of another premature clash. This was the safe way of "getting acquainted"—the suppressed form of the struggle for unity.

• • •

Restrained resentment and suspicion broke loose into a furious storm during the next session. At the first statement in the Program concerning the overthrow of the capitalist system it was insisted that the word "forcible" be added. Likewise, at the first mention of "conquest of political power" it was demanded that there be added "by the use of armed force." One amendment was piled upon another—a veritable "force" panic.

In vain was it argued that this part of the Program contained only preliminary definitions, statements of the goal to be achieved; that the Program, under appropriate subdivisions, gave full attention to the methods of action; stand by itself, but is the inevitable that the item of armed force does not culminating aspect of "mass action"; that this tactic must be presented in its developmental, character—armed uprising as the unavoidable sequence of the advancing class conflict.

The C. L. P. delegates, for the most part, were ready for a test of strength against the C. P. "irreconcilables." They were conscious that this minority would have to accept defeat, since the point to be voted was only on what page something should be stated in the Program. Others sensed too much danger of misunderstanding behind such a vote, too much anger where agreement could easily be reached. Caxton moved to recommit this part of the Program, then to adjourn. There were some protests, but the motion prevailed. Meanwhile the tension was relaxed by the brilliant satirical speech of Sherwood, whose Yankee wit was the perfect antidote for passionate argument on an artificially stimulated issue.

The C. P. night caucus which followed, the amendments proposed by the Joint Committee, and a decision to dispose first of the section on "Mass Action," gave the convention smooth sailing the next morning.

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A spirited debate ensued on the proposition to limit nominations to legis lative officers, according to the clause of the C. P. program. The issue was not clear-cut, since the anti-parliamentarians took the side of limiting nominations as one way of expressing opposition to all nominations. Brown (C. L. P.) and some of the C. P. speakers argued directly against nominations of any kind. Damon (C. P.) contended that this clause was needed to discourage party nominations by [illegible] of the party. Raphailoff (C. L. P.) Caxton (C. P.) Malcolm (C. L. P.) and others pointed out that the general proposition of parliamentary action was not involved in this debate; that to the extent we were to have any nominations at all it was indispensable, under the American system, to name the "head of the ticket", the president, governor or mayor; that this clause had been written into the C. P. program under the misconception that this was the proper method of meeting the "ministerial question," the fact being that the Socialist ministers in Europe had all been elected as legislative candidates; that in this country the Socialists whether elected to legislative or executive offices had all behaved equally badly; that, finally, it was no occasion to worry about the actions of a Communist president, because the revolution would forestall this contingency, and that minor executive officers could serve just as well to be thrown out of office as the Communists elected to the legislatures.

By a close vote the paragraph was retained, but the limitation is of no immediate practical moment since the convention further went on record against all nominations during the 1920 campaigns.

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On the third day occured the longest and most stubborn debate of the convention, that on industrial unionism. This was another three cornered affair. The C. P. convention had passed up the question of the I. W. W. because it was apparent that this question could not be settled by agreement. Perhaps two-thirds of the C. P. delegates favored a direct endorsement of the I. W. W. and a program of cooperation, reserving criticism of the I. W. W. theorizing. The other C. P. delegates considered the I. W. W. as essentially no better than the A. F. of L., citing the reactionary character of the I. W. W. in some of the Eastern cities. All of the C. P. delegates were agreed upon an absolute stand against the A. F. of L. as an inherently anti-revolutionary organization which must be destroyed.

On the other hand, there was a strong current in the C. L. P. ranks for a treatment of the subject of industrial unionism from a general view point which would neither include direct endorsement of the I. W. W. nor absolute condemation of the A. F. of L. The lead in this debate was taken by Dawson who argued that the A. F. of L. must be considered from the angle of the local unions, not from the side of the Gompers officialdom; that industrial unionism was having a development in many fields aside from the I. W. W.; that the need was for a call to a new general the central theme of the contrary industrial union, a new One Big Union.

On both sides there was not only a close analysis of the proper function of a Communist party in connection with the unions, but also a wealth of illustrative material out of actual shop and union experience. Machinists, miners and ship-builders fused their practical understanding with the more abstract conceptions of those whose vision was focused on the ultimate revolutionary clash. The cleavage was not between "intellectuals" and "rank and file," but between workers in the industries who had undergone contrasting forms of experience.

The original Joint Committee proposal on this subject had been taken over from a draft by the Chicago District Committee. Dozens of amendments and substitutes were brought before the convention, but finally the section as adopted as originally presented. As a result of the debate, however, the Committtee opened the subject for reconsideration the next day, presenting two amendments which were accepted. In the sentence, "A Communist who belongs to the A. F. of L. on account of absolute job necessity should use every opportunity to voice his hostility to this organization, not to reform it but to destroy it," there was eliminated the phrase "on account of absolute job necessity." The sentence, "A stronger I. W. W. must be built," was stricken out.

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The unity issued flared up again on the question of party name. On the first vote there were 22 counted for "Communist Party," 24 against. A roll call was demanded; The C. P. names were read first; 30 votes were recorded for "Communist Party."

The C. L. P. delegates resented what they considered a coercive vote without any chance for discussion. An indignation speech was made by Flynn which proved the moral power of effective minority criticism;—with the opening of the next session came a ballot vote on "United Communist Party" or "Communist Party" with "united" written underneath. The vote was 33 to 22 for "United Communist Party."

This appeared to the real achievement of unity, the breakdown of the old party lines... But there were still the elections.

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Two important debates came under the consideration of the Constitution, one on party centralization, the other on federations.

In the first instance the issue of centralization came up on the amendment making the C. E. C. appointment and removal of organizers subject to the approval of the district executive committees. On the one side it was argued that this meant the substitution of autonomous districts for autonomous federations, a central executive shorn of real authority and real capability of action; that democracy was not to be obtaned by decentralization but only by some effective means for control of the central authority; that district committees would lend themselves more easily to factional manipulation than the central committee elected in a national convention by delegates well known to the members. It was urged that an underground party must have the possibility of instant decision and action by a small committee; it must act as a single machine, else it can never strike a decisive blow.

Lack of confidence in officials was argument. The party affairs, it was urged, must be brought nearer to the control of the rank and file. The central committees had been the breeding place of factional controversies. It was not asking much to give the district committees a veto in the choice of the organizers upon whom their work depended.

Upon the first vote the amendment was declared adopted. It then appeared that some of the delegates had misconceived the proposition to be one of appointing all organizers "from the top downward," that is, sub-district section, branch and group organizers as well as the district organizers. A motion to reconsider was made and declared lost. Then followed a keen parliamentary battle, led by Damon, which finally resulted—after three roll calls—in a reversal of the original vote, 34 to 20.

On the federation question the Joint Committee had come to no agreement. In curious contrast to the history of last Summer, it was the C.L.P committee members who were loath to take a rigorous stand against federations. At the convention the C. L. P. delegates took no group stand on this question. Two plans were presented, one for the C. P. delegates by Damon, the other by Dubner and Raphailoff for the federation members of the C. L. P. The debate was largely between the federation delegates on both sides. The principal controversy was as to the existence of national executive committees for the language groups, this proposal being decisively voted down.

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Late in the afternoon of the fourth day of the joint session it was decided to proceed with elections of party officials. There had been many hours of caucusing on each side as to elections. Regardless of the sentiment of the conventio expressed by a majority vote against further caucuses, neither side was willing to risk a surrender of its group strength.

A motion was made by Spark (C. P.) that the C. E. C. be composed of the five C. P. delegates and four C. L. P. delegates receiving the highest votes, without contest as between the C. P. and C. L. P. candidates. The motion was not supported.

Brown and Caxton were the nominees for International Secretary. Brown, 30, Caxton 23.

With two to elect, there were four nominees for International Delegate. The vote stood Damon 30, Meyer (C. L. P.) 28, Caxton 26, Barry (C. L. P.) 26... The lines were not holding; four C. P. votes had been divided between Meyer and Barry.

Then came ten nominations for the nine places on the C. E. C. Damon, Scott, Reinhardt, Delion, Zemlin, (C. P.); Meyer, Klein, Flynn, Brown, Dawson, (C.L.P.). These were the caucus nominations. Obviously the C. L. P. caucus had determined to avail itself of the dissensions in the C.P. ranks and to attempt to elect a majority of the committee.

At the night session was announced the result of the balloting; Damon, Scott, Klein, Flynn, 29; Brown 33, Dawson, 32, Meyer, 30; Reinhart, 26; Delion, Zemlin, tied at 24.

Damon, Scott and Reinhart quickly offered their resignations. A bitter discussion was precipitated. Both sides had played for "control" and the result had been a boomerang; for how, it was urged, could the C. P. delegates report back to their members that they had been outwitted in strategy in a way to give the minority control of the united party? Even though the fault was that of the C. P. delegates themselves, how could that remedy the outside situation?

The C.L.P speakers vehemently answered that what was done was the result of the will of the convention; that it was outrageous for members to resign from the C. E. C. simply because they felt they could not boss the committee and the party; that, after all, this outcome of the elections would be the best proof to the members that the old party lines had been forgotten.

A motion for a recess of half an hour was adopted. Then began the tug of war which went into the middle of the night, only to be resumed the next morning—the two groups, apparently completely welded, now standing sharply apart as C.P. and C.L.P. The convention vanished; in its place were two caucuses, with committees for interchange of offers and counter-proposals.

The strained item in the C. P. camp had been an attack upon Caxton, based on the "majority" C. P. criticisms. In the C. P. caucus, after long discussion, he had been nominated for the C. E. C., 18 to 9. Later Caxton withdrew his name. Now it was insisted his name reintroduced, making Zemlin first substitute. The C.L.P. offered to substitute Caxton for Brown as International Secretary.

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The last morning found the situation deadlocked. To open the convention again meant to give the C.P. the advantage of the renewed caucus pressure in favor of solidarity for C.P. control, all questions of personality aside. The issue of control having been precipitated by the turn of the elections, the C.P. delegates were in no mood to give up their demand for a majority of the C.E.C.

The C.P. delegates made only one demand, to reopen the convention. It was for the other side to make the next move...

There is nothing in the official record which suggests under what sort of surroundings all these things happened. As a matter of fact the physical surrounding had a very important part in the struggle for unity;—which is not at all illuminating to the reader who is asked to wait a few years for a description of these surroundings.

Besides, how is one to visualize one group of delegates in heated argument, while the other group is engaged in the singing of revolutionary songs, mostly Russian,—how is one to imigne all this without something in the way of special dimensions? The singing group marches halfway toward the arguing group—a challenge to unity, the song of the Internationale—and reluctantly marches back to its own meeting place.

There is a committee conference. Before the report comes back the lines are formed for a new march, this time to go all the way. Agreement is reported: a C. E. C. of ten members, the five C.L.P. candidates to stand elected, five C.P. members now to be chosen. The march proceeds; it is the only report to the anxious C.L.P. delegates;—the two groups merge into one another, all singing the Internationale. There is the grasping of hands, the embrace of comradeship; nothing is said—there is too much feeling for speech... Unity is achieved...

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Recapitulating, the C. E. C. stands: Damon, Scott, Reinhart, Delion, Caxton; Brown, Dawson, Klein, Flynn, Meyer. Alternates, in the following order, Zemlin (C.P.) Dubner (C.L.P), Stone (C.P.), Jones (C.L.P.), Kerker (C.P.), Malcolm (C.L.P.), Kazbeck (C.P.), Logan (C.L.P.)

For International Secretary, Caxton replaces Brown; Damon and Meyer stand as International Delegates; Scott, alternate for Damon, Barry, alternate for Meyer.

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An American convention of Communists. Yet there was, more likely than not, a majority of "foreigners", though the division was fairly even. But these were Communists who were vitally concerned about the class struggle in America, men and women who really expected to take part in this struggle, not those who toyed with the Communist movement here as a method of ingratiating themselves in Moscow.

It was one of the most inspiring things about this convention to hear delegates painfully struggling with the English language, no longer depending for expression on the artificial foreign-language caucuses of prior conventions, but making themselves one with all the other delegates in defiance of barriers of language or nationality.

Perhaps this was the greater "unity" achievement of this convention....

Again and again the sentence was heard: "We have crossed the Rubicon." Every delegate was in the hands of his fellows; all subject to imprisonment, deportation, social and economic displacement. Yet most of the time,—not without thanks to the irrepressible wit of the convention secretary, Smyth,—the whole affair seemed like a jollification. Or perhaps it was the grim seriousness of it all that challanged relief in playfulness?...

A revolutionary movement driven "underground" is apt to be driven away at the same time from its own petty animosities and quibbles. Forced to face the life and death character of the combat, it is likely to discard pretenses, evasions, purposeless quarrels about persons. Confusion gives way to clarity; hesitation yields to stern determination.

A convention of revolutionists—a convention which relentlessly searched the truth of its every word and the heart of its every delegate....

The Development of Production Under the Soviets

NEW YORK— A minute and frank description of internal conditions in Russia is contained in the report of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, held in Moscow February 2, the full text of which has just been obtained by the Soviet Russia bureau here. In the reports of Nicolai Lenin, Leon Trotsky, of Rykov, president of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and of other peoples' commisars. there are reflected the actual exigencies against which the government is struggling and the methods by which it proposes to solve them.

Lenin's report dealt primarily with Russia's foreign relations. The premier declared that the victorious peace with Esthonia was concluded in spite of the powerful efforts of the White Guards, and that there was hope that the laboring masses of Poland, Georgia and Azerbaijan would force the same action.

"In the east the prestige of soviet Russia is very high," Lenin asserted. "The colonies, who have themselves experienced the oppression of greedy imperialism, are more and more inclined to ally themselves with us. Our task is a compact union of small nations against imperialism."

Lenin announced as the chief points of internal policy the abolition of capital punishment, the institution of labor inspection, the development and unification of all cooperatives under the soviet state, the organization of the labor armies, and the electrification of the country's industrial centers.

Rykov's report pointed out that the disintegration of the country's industrial life was reflected in every European country as the result of the world war, and a prime need of all was the resumption of full commercial relations.

"Although available stores of raw materials have been greatly depleted, we are still able to exchange a certain amount of such materials for goods needed by us," he stated. "We are able immediately to export not less than two million poods of flax (72,000,000 lbs.) several million pieces of all kinds of furs, a great quantity of platinum, about 100,000 poods (3,600,000 lbs) of bristles. and great amounts of lumber. In exchange for this, we will accept only such goods as are indispensable for the rehabilitation of the basic productive enterprises of the country

"The nationalization of the means of production has developed rapidly in all fields of industrial production. At the present time we have in our hands about 4,000 nationalized factories, in other words, we have been able to nationalize not only the big industries, but also a considerable number of smaller enterprises.

"During the past two years we have endeavored to concentrate available supplies of raw material, fuel, and labor in such factories as are best organized and most up to date. This process of concentration has progressed very rapidly; 30 percent of all the enterprises have been unfied into a socialistic 'trust'. The number of workingmen in these factories is 74 per cent. We find that by concentrating 74 per cent of the indnstrial labor in 30 per cent of our factories we have been able to economize on overhead expenses to a great extent.

"Our most important problem at this time is the reconstruction of the means of transportation, and thereafter to create large reserve funds of food supplies, fuel and raw materials, which will form a basis for a rational organization of the economic life of the country."

Rykov discussed at great length the problems connected with the exploitation of the immense national wealth of the country. Immense stores of slate peat, coal and oil are now available. Especially, there are great supplies of slate and peat in the Volga valley, he said.

"The utilization of slate is a new field, which received no attetntion in Russia during the former regimes, but which has been fully studied and worked up by the Soviet Government," Rykov declared. "The preliminary experiments in this field have been completed, and two big government plants are now exclusively exploiting the slate deposits. Deposits of slate and peat are immense. They exist in northern Russia as well as in the Volga valley. This kind of fuel is very bulky and cannot be transported. Peat and slate must be utilized on the spot, and electrikal energy derived therefrom made to supply the needs of the surrounding territory. This condition led the Supreme Council of National Economy eighteen months ago to undertake the building of gigantic power stations which would use on the spot the available peat and slate supplies. Provincial cities and rural organizations have also taken steps for the electrification of their territory. It is necessary to consolidate these efforts and to create a unified, centralized system of supplying electric power, wereby the utmost attention must be given to supplying electricity to the rural communities. The realization of these plans would greatly accelebrate the development of relations between the cities and rural communities."

After outlining the success of the soviet army on the various fronts, Trotsky emphasized the necessity for the establishment of universal labor service, which under a Socialist state, he stated, was a very different matter from compulsory labor under conditions of private ownership. He declared that the enthusiasm of the Red Army must be borrowed by the workers, and that the peasants particularly must be educated in the role which they must play for their own salvation.

"Our most dangerous front at this time is the economic front," he said. "Our greatest problem at the present moment is the organization of a large reserve of supplies. There is no doubt that we shall solve this problem as we have solved all our problems, thanks to the heroism of the working class."

The inspiring of the railroad workers with a full sense of the necessity for rebuilding Russia's transportation was emphasized also by Krassin, peoples' commissar of Ways and Communications, who declared that a transportation crisis now prevails not only in Russia, but in every other European country. Krassin stated that the efforts of sections of the Red Army diverted to railroad service had within one month increased the number of suply trains to Moscow by 20 per cent, and the services of many thousands of the labor army would soon rebuild the country's rail system.

The Commissar of Supplies, Zurupa, reported the existence of supplies of grain 50 per cent greater than at the corresponding period in 1919, but declared that it had at its disposal 1,224,000,000 pounds of grain, 234,000,000 of meat, 328,000,000 of potatoes, and 3,000,000 of dried vegetables. Zurupa stated that the willingness of the peasant population regularly to supply foodstuffs was rapidly increasing, and that the commissariat was developing means of distributing game and dairy products from the agricultural districts to the cities.

Because of the criticism encountered by this department, the Executive Committee appointed a committee of three to reorganize its activities. The committee consisted of one member each from the Executive committee, the Commissariat and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.

THE UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF PROFITEERS.

(Continued from page 1-st.)

held in Atlantic city,—as mentioned. They knocked the soldiers bonus with a sledge hammer, and every one knows why. They hissed Matt Woll, Gompers right hand man off the stage when he attempted to say something against Allen's Kansas Slavery law. And why? Of course this is another law of Moses to them,—and bless you there was Hennery Jay Allen—fat joweled, hook nosed, shining like a morning sun flower, one of the honored guests of the occasion. He had his Industrial Bull there, of course. Hnenery's Bull must have been of good service there —for right now the U. S. C. of C. is taking a vote of its club and little "me too" organizations throughout the country making the strike of employees of public service corporations a crime,—somewhat as follows:—

"The recommendations drafted by the chamber's public utilities committee were that strikes by employes of all public service corporations should be explicitly prohibited and that suitable tribunals should be created to adjudicate differences between such employes and their employers, decisions to be final and binding on both parties."

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You know how the vote will be of course,—so do we. I'll bet that when Hennery Jay notes how his good work is spreading that he will feel prouder than Pontius Pilate did when he sent Christ to the cross. Remember what Pontius did? He jumped into a lake and drowned himself. Wonder if there are any lakes in Kansas. There is a far better man in Kansas than Hennery Allen,—I strained my eyes to see him but he was not there,—the courageous Alexander Howatt.

But boys if you want to see fire works, just say "Labor," in a lily fingered, paunchy bunch like this. You should have heard George Post, pres. of the New York Standard Coupler Co. explode! And all about these damned working people thinking of trying to elect persons favorable to their interests,—a horrible crime! Remember the "purposes" of this stall fed bunch quoted from their own papers. He reminded one of a nickle bunch of fire crackers going off. He urged the nation's capitalists to plunge into the campaign in defense of any and all candidates that labor opposes etc.

Do you see what you are up against? The corrupting millions of the Steel trust and this present and most sinister of all organizations that seek the destrution of American labor! There is but one way to conquer, and that is in perfect and unbroken solidarity in the ranks of labor. To attempt to oppose these colossal and corrupt combination's in little segregated groups,—on the Gompers plan,—is piffle. When the great army of Labor combines as a unit, with a revolutionary purpose and "All Power to the Workers", as its slogan, then will we emerge into the sunlight of freedom.

ABO, Finland— The White Terror continues. Early in May the supreme court of Abo sentenced five workers to the penitentiary for a total of fourteen years Besides they lost their citizenship rights. Their "crime" was "preparations for treason."

Rumanian children carry their own seats to school because of the general lack of chairs, Miss Alida C. Bowler, just back from Rumania after seven months service in social work, told a Seattle audience.

Miss Bowler declared that tons of socks knitted in this country had to be unraveled when they reached Europe and remade into clothing. Socks were used in place of paper bags in the distribution of sugar, she said. Tons of pajamas intended for relief were cut up and made into suits for children.

Miss Grace Harrington, back from Siberia where she was acting chief nurse of the American Red Cross, told the audience that the Russians were a kindly generous people rather than the half mad destroyers the American plute press would have them appear.

MOSCOW.—At the conference of the third international held in Moscow on May 2, Bukharin, Radek and Zinovieff were named as the committee to decide the question of admittance to the Communist International. The conference also decided in favor of Parliamentary action in so far as it serves the propagation of the revolutionary spirit.

MOSCOW.—The Soviet election in Omsk resulted in a communist victory. All elected delegates, 465, are members of the Communist party, 64 per cent of the qualified voters participated in elections.

At the last Congress of Soviets in Moscow, at which Kamenev presided, the People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, delivered a report stating that in Soviet Russia 1,650 schools were opened in 1919. Altogether there are now in Soviet Russia 50,000 schools of the first grade and 21,000 schools of the second grade, he stated.

In 1919, 150,000 pairs of boots were distributed to the needy school children.

To stimulate higher education, the Commissariat for Popular Instruction appropriated a sum of 140,000,000 rubles in its budget. The number of university students in Soviet Russia is now 158,000 including auditors at people's and peasants' universities, as well as the participants in a number of other courses. The number of professors is 5,500. In addition there are in Petrograd, Moscow, Voronezh, [illegible] and Saratov various schools for the training of artists, attended by more than 4,000 students

THE TOILER

[illegible]

Our idea of governmental [illegible] is the prevention of shipment of medical supplies to a country with which "we are not at war" in other words—Russia.

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DEBS AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY

At the beginning of the year 1919 the Socialist Party was an organization of nearly 100,000 members. It had as part of its membership the most advanced revolutionary elements in this country. It was an organization of powerful potentialities in the class struggle.

In the early months of that year the struggle between the Left Wing revolutionists and the Right Wing reformists come to a head. The Left Wing won the party elections by overwhelming majorities. If the Left Wing representative were permitted to take office it meant the reorganization of the party and the ousting of all non-revolutionary elements.

In this crisis the Right Wing leaders of the party in control of the party machinery overrode all the constitutional provisions and rules of the party and expelled the Left Wing. The issue between the two groups was a fundamental issue of principle which could not be compromised. Either one group or the other had to leave the party. The Right Wing held the party machinedy and used its power to hold the party.

But in expelling the Left Wing the party officialdom sapped the very life of the party. It was the Left Wing elements within the party that had been its strength. The party finances came largely from this element. When the situation clarified, after the September conventions, the Right Wing officialdom of the party found that it controlled the party, but that the membership had disappeared. By the Fall of 1919 the party membership of 100,000 of the previous spring had been reduced to a bare 15,000. It was an empty victory.

Not all of the 75,000 to 85,000 members who left the party, affiliated with the Communist parties. A large element, disgusted by the reactionary trend of the Socialist Party and the split in the Communist movement, remained outside of any organization.

In January came the raids directed against the Communist parties and the reorganization of these parties as underground organizations. Here again members of both parties, the weak-kneed and hesitating, dropped out, adding to the former membership of the Socialist Party which was not affiliated with any organization.

The situation in the early spring of this year was that there were from fifteen to twenty thousand Right Wing members in the Socialist Party and an equal number of Communists, willing to risk anything for their principles, in the underground organizations of the two Communist parties. There was the difference, however, that while the Socialist Party was drifting toward complete disintegration, the Communists were solid, militant organizations.

By their attitude toward the Left Wing the Socialist party leaders had lost the confidence of a large block of membership, which, while not yet Communist, resented the reactionary trend of the party. Up to the time of the Albany trial the St. Louis war program and the war record of the party had been the means of holding some of its membership—although the membership which forced the unwilling leaders to adopt this program had long ago left the party. But with the complete repudiation at Albany this asset was gone. A new block of members within the party threatened to revolt. The future looked black.

It was to meet this situation that the reactionary Right Wing leaders appealed to the magic name of Debs.

The Hillquits, Stedmans and Bergers of the Socialist Party have never liked Debs. In the controversies within the party prior to the split, dating back for ten years, whenever Debs had spoken he had aligned himself against these leaders. In the 1912 convention of the party, in which the last previous nomination of Debs was made, they had fought against his nomination and had tried to foist upon the party Seidel and a Socialism that talked about sewer building as its great achievement. Debs was nominated only after it became apparent that the militant rank and file of the convention could not be forced to swallow Seidel and Sewers.

The 1920 nomination of Debs through the influence of these leaders is merely a political trick. Through this nomination they hope to rehabilitate the Socialist Party. They do not like Debs. They do not want Debs. But they are ready to swallow Debs in order to have a party and they expect that the magic name of Debs will again rally to the support of the party all those elements which have been unaffiliated with any organization since the split in the party took place, and even to break into the Communist ranks.

• • •

Does Debs willingly lend himself to this political game? That is a question which is in the mind of many revolutionary workers.

The Right Wing Socialist leaders have tried to create the impression that Debs is fully informed in regard to the developments in the party since his imprisonment and that he accepted the nomination of the Right Wing with a complete realisation of its meaning. This is part of the game to use his prestige for the rebuilding of the party. Debs knows all the facts and Debs is with the Socialist Party, therefore the Communist attack upon the party is made up of lies and calumnies, is their argument.

THE FACT IS DEBS DOES NOT KNOW. He does not understand the depth to which the Socialist Party has sunk in its repudiation of Revolutionary Socialism. He does not know all the facts about the Albany defense and its abject apology to the peanut politicians of the New York legislature for being even suspected of standing for those things which Debs upholds, particularly the St. Louis war program. What little information Debs has secured about the recent acts of the Socialist Party convention made him hesitate and in accepting the nomination of the party he made the qualification that in doing so he did not intend to accept anything that would be a compromise of his previous utterance on the matter of Socialist principles.

This statement as to Debs' attitude is not based on hearsay. It is made after more than an hour's talk with Debs, which took place since he accepted the Socialist nomination.

Debs permitted his name to go before the Socialist convention, hoping that his candidacy would serve as the means of reuniting the former factions of the Socialist Party. The belief that his candidacy could reunite these factions is in itself evidence that Debs does not understand the great difference in principles that divide them. He has not been in touch with the drift to the Right by the Socialist Party leaders and the drift to the Left by the Communists.

It might as well be said frankly, that while Debs would quickly repudiate the present position of the Socialist Party and its leadership were he outside of prison and fully informed, at the same time he is not a Communist in fundamental understanding. Emotionally and through his revolutionary spirit he is with the Left, but not through understanding and acceptance of Communist principles.

• • •

What then shall be the attitude of the revolutionary workers toward the candidacy of Eugene V. Debs.

There is but one answer.

Debs may be ever so dear to us because of this past services to the movement. We may still admire him for his unwavering stand in his Canton speech and during his trial. We may respect him for his unshakable devotion to the cause of the workers, which has characterized his utterances since he has been in prison. In the past he has been the spiritual leader of the revolution and as such we may still give him our love and admiration.

While our attitude toward him personally can well remain unchanged if we understand that he acted without full knowledge or a full realization of the meaning of his acceptance of the Socialist Party nomination, as the candidate of the Socialist Party Debs has no claim upon us. It is the social revolution that we are working for and principles determine our course of action. When loyalty to our principles and loyalty to an individual clash the individual must be sacrificed.

No revolutionary Socialist will support the Socialist Party because Debs is its candidate. Has not every revolutionary Socialist often declared that he fights for principles and not for individuals? The principles of the Socialist Party are potentially those of the Ebert—Scheideman—Noske counter-revolution in Germany. At Albany the Socialist defense came pretty near to declaring it so.

Debs' name cannot cover the reactinary character of the Socialist Party. Rather will the fact that the party has tried to camouflage its reactionary character by trying to pull Debs down to its level excite the complete disgust of every revolutionary worker. The Socialist Party has betrayed the class struggle. It cannot disguise that betrayal with the name of Debs.

MESSAGE TO DEBS

Editor of "The Toiler":—

It has come to my notice that there is some curiosity about the contents and "official character" of the message sent by Comrade Ruthenberg and myself to Comrade Debs.

This message had no official character at all. It was a personal message, without mandate from any orgnization or committee. No doubt the fact that Cmrade Ruthenberg and I had been active members of the Communist Party and of its Central Executive Committee might have indicated to Comrade Debs that we expressed a viewpoint which was shared by many other Communists.

The telegram was as follows:

May 13, 1920.

"Eugene V. Debs,
Federal Penitentiary,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Earnestly urge you not to accept Socialist nomination until you acquaint yourself with entire work of convention.

C. E. RUTHENBERG
I. E. FERGUSON.

"In explanation of the motive of this communication, I need only state that some of us have felt that the least we could do under the unfortunate set of circumstances which threw us into opposition to Commrade Debs was to inform him as directly as possible of the fact of that opposition and the reasons compelling it; preferably, before the action which divided us was beyond recall

June 17, 1920.

Fraternally yours,

I. E. FERGUSON.

HUNGER STRIKE FORCES FINNS TO RELEASE REED

SUPERIOR, WIS.—Threatening to go on hunger strike if he is not released from the police prison in Abo, Finland, where he has been confined for a month, John Reed, American journalist, has frightened the Finnish secret service into revoking a trumped-up "treason" charge accusing him of being a Bolshevist courier in order to avoid an international scandal. These facts have come to light through Finnish newspapers just received here.

It will be recalled that Reed was arrested March 13, in the coal bunker of the Finnish steamer, Oihenna, on the charge of smuggling. On April 26 the city court of Abo decided that John Reed "had tried to smuggle out of the country 102 diamonds and money." The court imposed a fine of 5,000 marks and the diamonds were confiscated in the interests of the government.

Reed appealed the case. While the state authorities were planning their treason coup Reed waited in prison. In order to hasten action he retaliated with a threat of refusing to eat. The affair was forcibly brought to the attention of the American authorities in Helsingfors who have requested the Finnish authorities to surrender Reed to them.

According to the Finnish authorities Reed is to be deported because he did not have any passport. If he does not leave the country he will be interned in the Hannala prison camp until a further decision is made.

CHICAGO.—Despite the banishing of the Nearings, Danas, Levines and Balches from our collegiate institutions so that the minds of American students may not be "polluted" with radical teachings, the colleges are still turning out 400,000 "reds" a year, according to George Wheeler Hinman of Winnetka, Ill., former publisher of the Inter-Ocean and still more recently president of Marietta college in Ohio.

EIGHT WEEKS TO SECURE JURY IN TRIAL OF FORMER C.L.P. MEMBERS

Prosecution Challenges all Talesmen with Liberal Ideas. Case is speeded

CHICAGO, June 20.—Around New Year's, when the inimitable Attorney-General of the United States had decided to Palmerize the revolutionary workers' movement in this country, he asked the co-operation of the district attorneys of the big centers in accomplishing this. That put another equally inimitable gentleman, Mr. Maclay Hoyne, state attorney of Cook County, Ill., wise to a scheme to sneak up on Mr. Palmer and to deprime him of his laurels. He broke faith with Mr. Palmer, (tho we really suspect that the two gents know each other to well to have ever had much faith in each other,) and pulled off his private raid against the reds one day in advance of Palmers schedule. Members of the Communist Labor Party, the Communist Party, the I. W. W., the Union of Russian Workers and kindred organizations were rounded up as the victims. Police Chief Garrity's men, who last year so ably assisted the Socialist Party in purging itself of every suspicion of revolutionary blood, were the fit actors in this patriotic tragic-comedy.

To justify this wholesale arrest, and to retain the good will of the Chicago Chamber of Commerce he had tried so hard to earn during his long, so-called public service, Mr. Hoyne had a special grand jury assembled for the purpose to return indictments against the "reds." How much the $40,000 slush fund, created by the Chicago Chamber of Commerce, assisted Mr. Hoyne in this we do not know, nor do we care to know as we are perfectly sure that Mr. Hoyne would have done his duty to his capitalist masters even without such a little inducement as $40,000 slush fund. Well, the indictments were duly returned against 41 members of the Communist Labor Party, 35 members of the I. W. W. and against 85 members of the Communist Party.

The first to go on trial were the 41 members of the former Communist Labor Party. If we say "former" we mean it. Let us pause here to shed a few tears for the departed body of that party. Mr. Palmer and Mr. Hoyne seem to have succeded. The C. L. P. is no more. Its body disappeared. But for all those interested, including the undertakers Mess. Palmer, Hoyne et al, it may be said here that its spirit seems to have survived and is re-incarnated in the United Communist Party.

On May 10. before Judge Oscar Hebel the case was called: the people of the Superior Court of Cook County, Ill., the case wa called: the people of the state of Illinois vs. Wm. Bross Lloyd et al. If the capitalist state had enough decency to throw aside its hypocricy and cease to speak in the name of the people, the case would properly be called: the capitalists of Illinois against Communism.

Indictments were returned against the following alleged members of the Communist Labor Party: Samuel Ash, Max Bedacht, Chas. Baker, Paul Bernford, Oscar Jesse Brown, Jack Carney, Chas. Clarahan, M. J. Christensen, C. A. Engelken, L. K. England, Mayer Dobrovsky, Edwin Firth, Harry A. Greenwood, Samuel F. Hankin, Robert Horsley, Helen Judd, L. E. Katterfield, Chas. Katz, Niels Kjar, Chas. Krumbein, J. Kunst, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Edward Lindgren, Ludwig Lore, James A. Meisinger, John Nelson, Robert Norburg, Edgar Owens, Margaret Prevey, Arthur Proctor, John Reed, Clara Roffsky, Karl F. Sandburg, Jack Schiff, Perry Shipman, Alfred Shuster, Morris Stollar, Albert B Stone, John Vogel, A. Wagenknecht and Walter Wolf.

In court appeared on May 10. the following: Samuel Ash, Max Bedacht, O. J. Brown, Chas. Clarahan, Jack Carney, M. J. Christensen, Meyer Dobrowsky, C. A. Engelken, L. E. England, Edwin Firth, Samuel F. Hankin, Robert Horsley, L. E. Katterfield, Niels Kjar, Chas. Krumbein, Wm. Bross Lloyd, L. Lore, James A. Meisinger, John Nelson, Edgar Owens, Arthur Proctor, Morris Stollar, Karl F. Sandberg, Perry Shipman, Alfred Shuster and John Vogel.

Chas. Clarahan and C. A. Engelken were granted a separate trial. Margaret Prevey, Helen Judd and Clara Roffsky were not included in the conspiracy charge on trial, 12 of the 31 originally indicted have not been apprehended as yet. Of the 24 remaining and put to trial on May 10. four were released in the second week of the trial on motion of the prosecution. They were:

Meyer Dobrowsky, Robert Horsley, John Nelson and Alfred Shuster.

Mr. Frank Commerford is special prosecutor of the case by appointment. This gentleman once attempted to win fame as a labor lawyer. His ability did not seem to be quite sufficient for such an achievement. So he became a hyper-patriotic authority on Bolshevism. Ability is not required there. Waving the flag and shouting about "our country" will do. In this he will be assisted by Mr. Barnhard and Mr. Heth, two Assistant State Attorneys.

The defense is represented by Mr. Wm. S. Forrest and Mr. Wm. Cunhea for Wm. Bross Lloyd, and Mr. Clarence Darrow for the rest of the defendants.

Eight full weeks were consumed in the selection of a jury. In the course of the examination of the talesmen it developed that the prosecution works upon the theory that everything that is not expressly allowed is forbidden. Thus any change of government must be made by ballot. Those, whose intelligence does not allow them to

THE "SPY" STORY

(Editorial note: "The Toiler" prints the following statement in regard to the charges against Louis C. Fraina, for the information of its readers, without expressing any opinion as to his guilt or innocence).

The New York Call has found a new way to cover the reactionary character of the Socialist Party. The organization which it supports has become so thoroughly discredited among the workers of the country that it can no longer expect support by presentation of its principles. It has therefore adopted the policy of trying to undermine those organizations which really represent working class principles.

Recently Attorney-General Palmer made a statement before the rules committee of the Senate, defending his department against the accusation that it had planted spies in the Communist parties. In this statement he took up the charge that Louis C. Fraina was an employe of the Department of Justice, stating in answer the facts in regard to an investigation of the charges against Fraina, which was made by representatives of the Soviet Bureau and members of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

In answer to this a statement was made by Santeri Nuorteva, of the Soviet Bureau. A copy of Nuorteva's statement was furnished the "Call" with the understanding that it would print the full statement in the form of a statement and not endeavor to make a news story out of it. In place of keeping the promise the "Call" published a garbled account of the matter, using such portion of the statement by Nuorteva as suited its purpose, and followed this up with an editorial trying to bolster up the Socialist party, by the suggestion that the whole Communist movement was infected by spies and agent provocateurs. In addition to a number of insinuations not based upon facts this editorial contains some outright lies.

Since the investigation made of the charges against Fraina has been given publicity, there is no longer any reason for not stating the facts, which are as follows:

An agent of the Department of Justice named Peterson was assigned the job of spying on the Soviet Bureau. This man endeavored to ingratiate himself with Santeri Nuorteva, secretary to L. C. A. K. Martens and in the course of conversations with him made the statement that Louis C. Fraina was employed by the Department of Justice.

When, early in December Fraina was directed to leave for Europe by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America to establish connections with the Communist International, he requested the Soviet Bureau to give him credentials which would enable him to enter Russia. These credentials were refused because of the insinuations against Fraina made by the man Peterson.

In order to clear up the matter representatives of the Soviet Bureau and members of the Central Executive Committee made an investigation. A meeting was held at which Fraina was confronted with the Department of Justice agent Peterson. At this hearing Peterson stated that he had seen Fraina in the New York offices of the Department of Justice on three occasions. Two of these dates he fixed definitely, the other he was unable to fix. The two dates so fixed and which he insisted upon as being the correct dates when Fraina was at the Department of Justice in New York, were September 7th and Novebmer 15th.

Peterson also stated that he had seen in the files of Department of Justice reports supposedly made by Fraina and cancelled checks covering payments to him. These checks he stated were made payable to Fraina and were endorsed by him and the checks, after passing through the bank were filed in the file containing Fraina's reports.

Peterson also gave a description of the man he thought was Fraina. When he was brought into the room in which the hearing was held he was asked to state whether he could identify any of the persons present as Fraina, but was unable to do so. (It must be stated here that Fraina's appearance had changed somewhat). During the progress of the investigation Fraina cross-examined Peterson, and after a question or two Peterson stated "You are the man." It must be said however, that the description giving by Peterson of the man he saw in the Department of Justice offices was not a description by which those who have known Fraina during his work in the movement last fall would have recognized him.

During the cross examination of Peterson by those present many dubious points as to his motives and as to the reliability of his story were developed.

When the cross examination was over Fraina made a statement in reply in which he brought out that September 7th was the last day of the Communist Party Convention and that on that date, as could be verified by a score of people, he had been in the

PICNIC AND Mass-Meeting

THE TRUTH ABOUT INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM
told by JOHN SANDGREEN
Editor of the "ONE BIG ONION MONTHLY"
at Chesnut Grove Park, Cleveland, O.
MONDAY, JULY 5th, 1920

Take W. 25th Street Car through, change at the end of the line for State Rd. Car to Chestnut Grove Park

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Under auspices of the I. W. W.

European Imperialism finds Russian Blockade is Boomerang, Says Bek

— By Nate L. Welch, —
Staff Correspondent, The Federated Press.

DETROIT, Mich.—That European imperialism is facing a speedy doom is the forecast of Lieutenant-Colonel B. Roustam Bek, military expert of Soviet Russia in the U. S., now in this city to assist in medical relief work for Russia.

"Poland, Germany, France and England are next in line for the dissolution of the imperialist order and the establishment of soviet rule," said Colonel Bek who has studied the matter from an economic as well as military point of view.

Reviewing recent press despatches with regard to activities of the Polish military forces, he ventured the prophecy, based upon the thorough study of the military map, that "the recent defeat of the Poles will be followed by a real strategic disaster the consequences of which will be a revolution in Poland, and only the establishment of a soviet in Warsaw can stop the Russian advance."

Pointing to the strategic positions held by the Soviet troops on all fronts, he continued:

"Russia does not care much for recognition by the government of other countries. She is so strong and so sure today that it doesn't matter whether she is recognized by other governments or not."

That England is now paying the penalty for the blockade which the Lloyd George government undertook against Soviet Russia, was laid down with emphasis by Colonel Bek, when asked how far the blockade was effective in fulfilling the purpose for which it was instituted: "The stupid blockade which was the creation of England harmed England more than it did Russia and Russians know that. The negotiations now reported going on between representatives of the British government and spokesmen for Soviet Russia mean that England capitulates and now tries to obtain the best that she can."

Colonel Bek was then asked to render a brief statement covering the latest developments regarding the military situation in Russia and its effect upon the outerworld. He dictated the following:

According to news from Moscow, naturally altered by the censor in favor of the Poles as for instance in the message dated June 15th, which stated that the Poles, on being forced to evacuate Kiev, have drowned in the Dnieper river 800 "reds" and had taken 100,000 prisoners, the cavalry under General Buduny in Volinia and Podolia has succeeded in capturing Zshitomir, Korostichev and several places between the Zsitomir and Beditchev railway and west of Kiev.

"Furthermore, on the river Teterev the railway station Borodianko has also been captured and at Wasilkov on the Kiev-Mohilev-Podolia railway, several stations southwest of Kiev are in possession of Reds, and in Wasilkov, 25 miles southeast of Kiev, the Poles have been defeated and have fled in disorder to the northwest.

"This means that all of the three strategic railroads which form the means of communication of Kiev with the rear of the Poles has been cut off by the Russians, and it is probable the Poles have not succeded in escaping as was reported from Warsaw.

"In the center or along the Pripit river in the Mozir region, the Russians are holding the Poles, avoiding any decisive movement. This is readily comprehensible for the Russians are accomplishing a strategic encircling movement.

"There is not much news about the Northern front, but from a study of the despatches one can see the Russians energetically pushing the enemy toward Minsk and Volina. It is very likely that both places have passed into the hands of the Russians.

"Looking at the map one realises that the Poles do not shorten the front as suggested by Eropean military experts, but are fleeing in disorder, without ever thinking of any other front which they cannot create with their demoralized imperialist forces.

"This defeat of the Poles will be followed by a real strategic disaster the consequences of which will be a revolution in Poland; and only the establishement of a Soviet in Warsaw can stop the Russian advance.

"Once established, the German workers will not lose an opportunity to overthrow the Ebert coalition government and join Russia and Poland in a Soviet government.

"France will be next, and those who have been witnessing the happenings in France will agree with me.

"It can now be readily realized why England is hurrying to establish friendly relations with Russia. First, because she is hard pressed in Asia on account of the rapid rise of the influence of Moscow upon the mussulmen. Second, because she believes that by recognizing the Soviet she can escape the fate of France.

"But in any case the whole endeavor of Lloyd George and his political colleagues will not prevent the establishemnt of a purely labor government in England.

"It does not matter much whether Russia is recognized or not. Russia is so strong, so sure, she doesn't think or care about recognition. That time is past and nobody will deny that the negotiations in London between the British cabinet and the Bolsheviki representatives means that England capitulates and now tries to obtain the best that she can.

"The Russian people fought for independence, got it and will continue to fight for it, knowing it will be victorous in the end."

Medical Relief for Soviet Russia

Brooklyn, N. Y. June 1 1920
Treasurer's Financial Statement
April—May, 1920
as of May 31, 1920.

RECEIPTS—	
Contributions	$1,776.37
Net proceeds from Mass Meeting, May 22, 1920 (Central Opera House)	177.42
	$1,953.79
EXPEDITURES—	
Printing of Circulars	$230.50
Postage, Stationery, Miscellaneous	142.32
Clerical Help	97.50
Medical Supplies	1,000.00
	$1,470.32
Balance	$483.47

Note First payment advanced for Medical Supplies, May 27, 1920.

NOTE—

Since the first of June, another payment of $1,000 has been advanced for the purchase of medical supplies.

June 10, 1920.

Dr. WM. MENDELSON.

A LETTER OF THANKS FROM MARTENS.

Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee,
Dr. William Mendelson, Treasurer,
362 DeKalb Avenue,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

My dear Mendelson:

I have received your letter of May 27th together with your checks for two thousand dollars to be applied to the purchase of medical supplies to be shipped to Soviet Russia at the earliest possible time. I beg you to accept my warmest thanks for this contribution and I assure you and all those warm-hearted American men and women who have made the contribution possible that it will be deeply appreciated by our people in Russia. We managed to procure a considerable amount of medicines which are now being shipped to Russia and we are collecting another shipment of the same kind. Your contribution will be in whole expended for such supplies without any deduction for freight or any other expenses.

Again thaking you and all the members of your Society for your kind interest in the relief work for Russia, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
(signed) L. MARTENS,
Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

STATEMENT BY THE RAILROAD "VACATIONISTS" OF CAMBRIDGE, OHIO.

As there has been so much misinformation handed out in regard to the Railroad situation, we the (so called) Outlaws take this means and opportunity to enlighten the public. There are approximately one-million men out on vacation; about six-hundred-thousand of these men are now members of the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

The following are just a few of the many cities where the men are out from 70% to 100%. These are taken at random from our reports. Cambridge, O., Youngstown, O., Cincinnati, O., Columbus, O., Chicago, Ill., Pitcairn, Pa., Conway, Pa., Canton, O., Terre Haute, Ind., Salt Lake City, Utah, Holloway, O., San Francisco, Calif., Detroit, Mich., Baltimore, Md., Indianapolis, Ind., Gary, Ind., Minneapolis, Minn., Omaha, Neb., Wichita Falls, Kan., Wellsville, O., Parkersburg, W. Va., Cleveland, O., Toledo, O., Dayton, O., and Philadelphia, Pa. Kansas City, East St. Louis, Dupo, St. Louis, and the whole Mississippi Valley are out 100%. The separation of the Laboring men into classes and Craft Unions has been what has defeated every move undertaken for the advancement of the Labor interests since the foundation of the Labor Union movement, as when one Union would out, they always have other Craft Unions to finish the job.

We have paid our Grand (?) Lodge Officers from $6,000 to $20,000 per year, while we who have worked hard for our daily bread have made about $1,000 per year. If any one disputes this assertion come to us, and we will show you a conductor who has been in the service twenty-six years, and who two years ago made a total of $1,285 for a years work. We claim that the railroad workers are the poorest paid class of organized labor in the world today, and we can prove it.

Any Employee of a Railroad, Male or Female, White or Black, can now join the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

One of the Outlaws
REV. FRANK NORTH.

Buy Your
BOOKS
and
Pamphlets
from
The Toiler
'Nuf Said.

THE WHY AND WHEREFORE OF THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

Special to the Federated Press and Foreign Affairs, Orchard House, Great Smith Street, London.

LONDON.—The war against the Russian people has entered a new phase. But it is the same war, and its purpose is unchanged. It is, of course, true that this effort to overthrow the Russian Socialist State, which under varying forms has persisted ever since Russia came out of the war after Brest Litovsk, is a capitalist war in a completer sense than the Great War of 1914—19 ever was. Insofar as it is a capitalist war, it has been narrowed down to a war between Russian socialism and French and British capitalism, now in alliance for many obvious reasons. And yet if we try and analyze more closely the motives which lie behind this continued assault, directed from Paris and London, now through one agency, now through another, against the Russian Socialist State, we are driven to the conclusion that they respond to differing inspiration. The fear and hate which grip Paris are the fear and hate of a politically and financially corrupt social order that refuses to assume burdens towards the state which the same order has elsewhere shouldered. Its dread and detestation of Socialism, whatever its brand and whencesoever it may come, are, therefore, proportionately greater than in any other European country. Frontiers are nothing to it. It would seek allies against Socialism anywhere. It is as ready to associate itself with a Von der Goltz as with a Pilsudski. Nowhere in Europe is the Legislature, the Press and public policy so effectively controlled by capitalism as in France.

With us in this country other and incomparably stronger and more subtle forces also come into play. The psychology of power for power's sake is far more developed with us than in France. The will-to-power; the traditions of a long line of imperial rulers; the caste and class monopoly over foreign policy which is the spinal marrow of the national structure; the prodigious growth in the materialism and militarism of Empire war has bred among our ruling classes—it is the psychology these things create which feels itself threatened in its innermost instincts by the Russian Socialist State. It is not difficult to understand why.

Socialism and Empire.

The advent of a great Socialist State in Europe is a solvent of Empire. Empire—the dominion over many nationally conscience peoples by a single alien people—and Socialism are irreconcilable factors. They are mutually destructive. The imperialists who presently govern the British Empire and who contemplate the consequences of the triumphant emergence of a great Socialist State in the geographical position of Russia — half European, half Asiatic—are not thinking in terms of Britain when they seek to prevent such a consumation. They are thinking in terms of the British Empire. And do not let us make the mistake of immagining that we are governed by Mr. Lloyd George. We are governed by the Foreign Office, the India Office, the War Office, the Committee of Imperial Defense the military and naval clubs, and Lord Northcliffe; by the great vested imperial interests which move behind the scenes, whose power is gigantic, and, as yet, barely sensed by Labor. For the nonce Mr. Winston Churchill is their agent, far more than Mr. Lloyd George. And he is very able, entirely unscrupulous, well in with the Court; dangerously so — for the Court, in the long last.

British capital has nothing to fear from the growth to adolescence of a Russian Socialist State. The mineral and timber resources of Russia are within its exploiting capacity for the asking. "Give me peace"—says Lenin —in effect, "and you can come here and develop the country. I will give you concessions. You shall work them. You shall profit by them." Why is the proposal not accepted? Why does it not govern policy here? Peace with Russia, and on Lenin's repeatedly professed terms, opens an unlimited field for the fruitful investment of British capital. But if British Capital has nothing to fear, British imperialism has everything to fear from the survival of Soviet Russia.

[illegible] heart is Asia [illegible] Commonwealth, [illegible] Russia is not only half Asiatic. She has been in contact with Asia for centuries. She has permeated Asia as no other people established in Europe has done. The Russian mind knows how to read the Asiatic mind. Picture Russia, a Socialist State, freed from her external foes, flanked by a series of racially akin or political allied — sometimes both—lesser States not in Europe only but in Asia, States enjoying full autonomy, permeated with Socialist ideas and precepts and practices radiating from a centre where education and science have been elevated into fine arts, where the treasures of knowledge, the accumulated learning of the ages are thrown open to all, made acceptible to the humblest citizen. Picture Russia thus—then look at India, Persia, Afghanistan, Burma, under present conditions. Need you ask why British imperialism shrinks at the prospect, and fears; fears unutterably as it scans the future?

The claim to "command" the Universe

The more so as our imperialism today is an imperialism, whose unyielding and intolerant side the very magnitude of its success in the war has tended to accentuate—partly through the intoxication of victory, partly through alarm arising out of the immensity of the added gains secured. It has become a militarist imperialism as it never was before. It has swung round violently to the old Roman conception of Empire. Read that speech of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson the other day at the Union Jack Club. "Except in August, 1914—he informed his soldier listeners—our country and our Empire have never wanted you more". Why? He told them in the next sentence. Because, "our command on sea, on land, and in the air is being challenged in various parts of the world." Our command. Note the word. We were horrified at the schemes of world conquest attributed to the Germans during the war. Today we lay claim to command the sea, the land, the air—in short, the universe. By what right? This speech is typical of the spirit which impels our real rulers along the Roman way—to hold down Ireland by main force; to dragoon Egypt. It makes possible an unpunished Armitsar; an attempted absorption of Persia under the usual hypocritical devices; and ever extending extension of liabilities in Mesopotamia, in Palestine, at Constantinople, in tropical Africa. It is that spirit which sees in the ideas which Socialist Russia represents, a deadly foe; not without warrant.

The Lords debate.

Read carefully the debate in the Lords on May 5 last, on the relations between the Committee of Imperial Defence, and the land, sea, and air forces of the Crown. Observe the exchange of views between the noble Lords participating—Haldane, Crewe, Stanhope, Curzon: an urbane difference on points of detail, a common mentality of policy, the objectives of the British Imperial State. Mark the tenor of these elecutionary courtesies. See how they are permeated by the same spirit which Sir Henry Wilson, the soldier, expresses more bluntly. Note their outlook, the outlook of men bounded by the spell of imperial tradition, whose one pre-occupation is that of fashioning such military and naval weapons as shall surround this ever growing edifice with triple walls of steel. No loophole here for a gradual transformation of the character of Empire in the direction of those innumerable pledges with which the orations of our public men are studied. "Our" Empire, "our" possession; to be jealously so regarded. No room in these calculations for the gradual emancipation from alien tutelage of progressively conscious peoples. "If ever there was a time when the work of the Staff mind was necessary...... it is today." "Who can tell when the sky will become cloudy?" Thus Lord Haldane, who quotes with unction Foch's doctrine that war is "both a science and an art." The greatest of the arts, indeed! "Two thirds of the War Staff of the Navy, is, or ought to be, work done in [illegible] War is [illegible] as a permanent [illegible] University. The War Cabinet, declares Lord [illegible], must form "a permanent part of our organization." "Our armed preparedness," must continue "in spite of League of Nations or Treaties, or anything else." Precisely. As a solvent of Empire, a real League of Nations is only one degree less dangerous than a Russian Socialist State. For the principles embodied in the Covenant are incompatible with the continued subjugation of politically conscious alien peoples. That is why the British imperial mind is fundamentally hostile to the creation of a real League of Nations, and has always been. What an interesting study is that mind in its rare moments of expansion—as when Lord Curson boasts, speaking of the war, that: "The actual degree to which we were prepared for all the developments that ensued, was in excess of that even of the most able and scientific of our foes." (Compare with the declarations of our unreadiness put up by Mr. Lloyd George for the benefit of an ignorant public!) Get behind this flow of dignified orator. The smooth talk centres wholly round imperial responsibilities, the next war, the engines wherewithal to wage it—"the modern long range gun which is even now being considered." Do we possess, asks Lord Stanhope, "a body which is capable of co-ordinating our policy and our armaments,"—that is the question. What of the "new bases" for our Fleet? The present ones are not those "we shall use in a future war", the strength of the various nations of the world having been "entirely altered by the Peace." Let us hunt round for our new foe, and prepare our "imperial defense" against him? America? Japan? Socialist Russia? Our imperialists need one. Our command of the sea, land and air, impels one.

Why a Socialist Russia is anathema.

To this type of mind—and it is the mind which presides over our national destinies today—a Socialist Russia straddling across Eastern Europe into western and northern Asia, with its pestilent doctrines of solo-determination, its educational revolutions, its precepts of human quality, its war upon the institution of war and against imperialism which keeps that institution alive, is anathema. The determination to stamp upon it at all costs is as implacable as that other determination, expressed by Lord Birkenhead the other day, to exhaust the military resources of the Empire rather than give away one jot or title to Ireland's claims. We may yet see Gurkhas in Dublin and Cork. Why not? Our Ally has Negroes at Mayence and Wiesbaden. That is the spirit which drives Poland to suicide in another desperate attempt to overthrow Socialist Russia, and fills the hatches of the "Jolly George" with munitions for Warsaw.

Then consider the affront given by Socialist Russia to the most cherished privileges and preserves of the British ruling class, embodied in the Foreign Office. The shrewdest blow ever struck at Secret Diplomacy — without which a militarist Imperialism could not function—was delivered when Lenin and Trotsky published the Secret Treaties. The offense is as unforgivable as the revelation it occasioned was unprecedented. The leaven of that revelation still works, and will go on working. A socialist State whose diplomatic relations with other States are open, is a perpetual menace to imperialist States — a fortiori to the greatest of them all. The discredit into which Western diplomacy has fallen as the result of Lenin and Trotsky's action is so profound; the dangers to be apprehended from the future are so enormous for the existing Order that the Russian wreckers of the occult power which rules the peoples' lives must be broken.

These are some of the reasons why the struggle against Socialist Russia, although it has all the appearance of a fight between Capitalism and Socialism, is, while including this, something far bigger. French capitalism may feel itself menaced. But British imperialism, of the Roman type knows its very existence is at stake.

Eight Weeks to Secure Jury

(Continued from page 1-st.)

believe in the efficiency of the ballot, after they learn that half of the people do not have the right to vote and the votes of the other half is negated by capitalist education, by stuffing of ballot boxes, by fraud, by ousting of elected officials etc., all these are liable to imprisonment under the law of the State of Illinois. Mr. Commerford believes in the right of free speech. His believe in it is so thoro that he challanged for cause a talesmen who said that he believed in free speech. Another talesman was challanged because he believed in the referendum. Still another was challanged because he believed in the constitution and particularly in the first amendment. Mr. Commerford states, that the state insists upon the right of the workers to strike, but he insists also on sending the defendants to the penitentiary because they have, according to the true bill returned against them, advocated the use of strikes against the state.

But one re-assuring fact has been learned during these long six weeks: Every American has a right to think whatever he pleases. Mr. Comerford says so. So we may take it for granted that the state is not in posession of a machine yet which registers the thoughts of the citizens, so the Commerfords may get a chance to prosecute them even for what they think.

So let us at least do some thinking.

The general impression of the selection of the jury in a case where ideas are on trial is that the jury, in order to satisfy the prosecution, must be composed either of ignoramuses or liars. The high type of Americans that are able to pass the vigilant watch of the prosecution are the ones that answer the questions put to them as follows: Are you a Socialist or Communist? No. Do you know something about Socialisms or Communism? No. Have you ever read something about Socialism or Communism? No. So you do not know what Socialism or Communism mean? No. Have you any prejudice against Socialism or Communism (about which they just confessed utter ignorance)? (emphatically) YES! Then these shining lights of social science are instructed that they may have all the prejudices their narrow mind may embrace as long as they solemnly swear that they will lay them aside and promise to base their judgement upon the evidence only. Opinions and prejudices of court officers must be very convenient matters if for certain purposes they can be laid aside like a dirty shirt!

But here we are wrong again. These defendants are not on trial because they are Communists. They are on trial, if we may believe Mr. Commerford, because they advocated the overthrow of "our" government "by force, violence or other unlawful means." So if a man is prejudiced against Communism he may still be able to impartially decide whether these defendants did want to overthrow "our" dear old government by force etc. Now this assertion of the prosecution is preposterous. But why argue? This trial is part of the class struggle. Capitalism is trying to defend itself thru its courts. And the revolutionary working class can expect just as much justice from a capitalist court as it can expect consideration from a capitalist legislature. Its the Sweets here and the Sweets there. And the workers get it in the neck here and get it in the neck there. The defense is not a legal battle for justice but a chance game in which the odds are nine tenths against the defendants. There is just a slight chance that there may be found twelve men who are not consciously or unconsciously blind tools of the forces of capital who thru their tools conduct the prosecution in the name of the people.

At this moment it seems certain that the selection of the jury will be completed within a very short time, as night sessions were recently instituted for the purpose of expediting the selection of the jury. Then the stage will be set and the performance will begin.

MILWAUKEE—Ole Hanson's appearance here under the auspices of the L. M. C. A. was mere camouflage —his coast to coast "Americanization" tour is really being financed by Big Biz. Confidential information received by Milwaukee leader has been to the effect that his appearance in Milwaukee was financed either by the United States Chamber of Commerce or by the American Constitutional league, a so-called "patriotic" organization engaged in fighting the working class movement of this city. The Y. M. C. A. merely had to play host to the ex-mayor in return for past favors

Frank R. Bacon, head of the American Constitutional league, when confronted with the confidential information, admitted that he had from the beginning been under the impression that Hanson was being toured by the United States Chamber of Commerce.

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXVII.

Decision.

It was just as Collins had expected, Olive's reply to Jack's note was at the post office. And the next few days the big man busied himself with watching the boy for possible mental reactions, as a result of this new influence in his life. The reactions were not slow in coming. He answered Olive's letter the next day, keeping the nature of his reply strictly to himself. He, however, entered more whole heartedly into the discussion continually going on between Collins and Rudolph as the best plans for getting the masses of the working people into their favorite form of industrial unionism. The neucleus of that organization had already been formed. The Socialist Party was already in existence since the year 1900. The labor troubles that had originated in Cripple Creek, Colorado, during the year 1893 consequent upon the demonetization of silver and the consequent influx of silver miners into the gold fields had culminated in a series of atrocities and crimes committed on both sides, apparently culminating in the murder of Governor Stuenenberg of Idaho, during the winter of 1905-6.

All these phenomena were interpreted by Collins and Rudolph that the time was ripe for matching the great aggregates of capital with equally great aggregates of industrially organized workers. Both Collins and Rudolph believed with Lowell that the time was ripe and rotten ripe for change, and with him they had no fear of that which was called for by the instincts of mankind. But Jack pointed out that they were relying upon their own instincts, instead of the instincts of mankind. "Black Sheep don't constitute the flock," said he.

It was during these days, that a storm of news was brought with every mail, from the battle lines of the class struggle, and with it, Jack's argument had less weight with his companions. To them "Industrial Uinonism," was the form of organization invincible, the path to the redemption of labor and to the resurrection of mankind.

The fact upon which Jack had based his argument that the vast mass of the working class was unteachable, unorganizable, and unsaveable, was losing weight with his companions, if ever it had any. They took the position that the workers had to be taught, had to be organized, and, that then, they would save themselves. Had they been able to project their minds into the future, fifteen or twenty years and then looked back, they would have seen how substantially true, for the human race, were the boy's deductions from almost purely biological data.

Jack maintained, that there was only one thing that would ever bring the mass into action, and that thing was not oratory, but pressure. "Under the pressure of necessity," said he, "the masses will be stampeded into action and whether that atcion will be wise or foolish will depend entirely on circumstances."

But Rudolph and Collins contended that the pressure was upon them now; that millions of unemployed, and the rest working for pitiable wages, with child slavery, and white slavery thrown in for good measure the masses of the people were dissatisfied with the present order and ready and eager to take the step toward Soicalism or Industrialism if it were only properly presented to them, but on this point Jack remained skeptical.

"As long as the masses have bread or even a substantial majority of them have a fair chance to get it, they will take no chances with a new order of society. You must throw a kid into deep water if you would teach him to swim."

While it was true, that Jack was still pessimistic and skeptical on the subject of immediate organization for revolutionary action, on the part of any appreciable number of the working class, he did realize that there were immediate advantages that could be reaped by those who did organize. As has been pointed out the organization has already been formed. It had even shown the beginnings of strength in the harvest fields the year before. The members were spreading their message from the soap box and through papers, to the migratory workers in many parts of the country. Locals were being organized in different camps, and headquarters in different cities. There were reports of activity from Canada and Mexico, which gave it the character of an international movement. Similar organizations were heard from in Italy, France, England, Australia and other parts of the world. These things looked big to Collins and Rudolph, to them it was the forming of a battle line for the final conflict, and connot be said that it did not impress Jack. "The black sheep were bleating the world over," said he.

On the other ahnd they watched the belligerent attitude of capitalism. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had been kidnapped from Colorado and illegally brought to Boise where they were to be tried for the murder of Governer Stuenenberg, and other impossible crime. The civil, and militia powers, were ruthlessly brought into action. Labor had no right which capital was bound to respect. And by parrity of reasoning, these men came to the conclusion that capital could have no rights that labor was bound to respect. True to the law of compensation, injustice will beget injustice, violence will beget violence, even a worm will turn.

"Years of oppression," argued Collins, have made the workers desperate, and their experience in organization has given them a sense of strength. Ever since the year 1893 when John Calderwood was president of the Western Federation of Miners, this vast organization of laborers in the west has had a continual battle with the political and financial powers that own the natural resources in these regions. Labor has had only one true friend in the Governor's chair of a single state from that time till now. He was Governor Waite, of Colorado in the year 1894. He protected the workers, and used the state militia, to defend their rights."

"Yes, and the very men whom he protected in that manner only gave him two hundred and fifty votes for an entire district, when he stood for re-election," Jack interrupted.

"How in hell did you find that out," Collins asked in surprise. "I heard the story when I was at Mullen, and I think I understand the cause of that first Cripple Creek strike in 1894, as well as this later one that caused the arrest of Meyer and his pals. It had happened when the superintendent of the victor mine wanted to raise the working time of the miners to nine hours, and reduced their wages from three dollars to two and a half per day. Locke, the superintendent, thought, that with the influx of men from the silver mines into the gold camps, and the influx of untrained labor he could put it across, but the miners were organized and gave him his hat, and they didn't even tell him not to be in a hurry. It was then that capital organized posses to terrorize the miners, and the battle of Wilbur was the result. Here four hundred deputy sheriffs fought with the miners and several men were killed on each side. Sheriff Bowers, now organized twelve hundred men and descended upon the miners and would have doubtlessly inflicted serious trouble if he had been allowed to go ahead, for he had with him some of the most degenerate cut throaths, that were ever turned loose by an indolent Providence.

For instance they tell us of a man by the name of K. C. Sterling, a detective, who shot and killed a handcuffed man, simply because he tried to warm himself at a fire in a tent. Governor Waite, who by the way, was a populist, sent the militia, not as is usual to terrorize the miners, or at molest their wives and childrens, but to round up the deputies and disarm them, and to grant the strikers their demands of three dollars for eight hours work. Out side of that one instance, I can not recall any case where political power has not absolutely prostituted itself to the money bags. The one thing that has caused me to doubt more than all others the possibility of saving the working class from slavery is the fact that after Governor Waite had proven himself the absoluto friend of Labor, Labor voted him down, because capital threatened to close the mines in case he were reelected."

"The Bible tells us that an 'ass knoweth the crib of its master,' and labor feels dependent on capital for a job."

"But what about the battle of Wilbur?" Rudolph interjected, "didn't that show that labor had spirit. Didn't that show that they would fight for their rights in an organized and definite way?"

"Yes, they were nearly all Swedes and Irish. Northern blonde slaves in which a few degenerate instincts of liberty still survived. That is why capitalism drove them out of the country, and finally replaced them with darker and more docile breeds."

"Oh, for Christ sake forget it, "roared Collins. "You're a monomaniac on that stuff. I am surprised at one thing tho that you have gathered so many data on this matter. I am glad to hear that you have a correct concept of the beginning of this trouble in the west, for it is going to ultimately industrialize the Western Federation of Miners. And then," he said triumphantly, "capital had better watch out." Turning to Jack he asked, "Have you any more dope on the development of the W. F. of M."

"Yes, I had some. Most of it was on the reverse side of hose notes you sent away." Jack answered laconically.

Thus the trio argued and planned and dreamed at their fire side, and all the while the letters which came to them from all parts of the country fanned their enthusiasm to a glowing brightness. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were in jail for the Cause of Labor, Debs was touring the country in their behalf. The 'Appeal to Reason' waged a valient warfare. 'If you kill Bill Haywood, a million toilers will take up the banner of labor at his grave and carry it to victory!' These words had not yet been spoken, but their import was in the air. The papers were full of announcements of mass meetings, protests and demonstrations. All this electrified Rudolph and Collins and caused them to begin laying their plans for breaking camp early and go on the job, to help the good work along. As the news of the labor war became hotter and the 'Appeal To Reason' and 'The Weekly People', were regular visitors, to the cabin, Jack too, forsook his biology and natural history and followed the tides of the class conflict. Meanwhile there arrived the second letter from Olive Anderson. She too was following the struggle in the pages of the 'Appeal'. How she ever came in possession of that paper is not known In fact a great many of its readers never knew how it happened to come to them.

But it was evident that she studied the events closely in all their details. She expressed surprise that at such a time as this Jack should be hidden in the woods, when the whole world needed the message he was able to bring.

She did not realize that the boy whom she had met was only mentally and not spiritually converted to the great cause. It may be that to him that conversion never came, but to her it came and took hold long before she had an intellectual understanding of what this world movement meant.

The boy felt a sense of guilt surge thru him when he read her criticism. He saw clearly that the fire had taken hold of her soul. "I am going back to the mines," said he, "and see what can be done with these slaves—what shall we do with our books?"

"Oh, when we leave we will take all the truck over to Hahnenkratt and leave it with him," said Rudolph. "But why this sudden decision to get busy? Have you already forgotten what happened to you on your last trip?"

"We are not accomplishing anything

(Continued on page 4.)

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

Propaganda -- Words, Deeds

While the capitalist propaganda against Russia seems to be weaking in some quarters, due largely to the necessities of commercialism, other quarters are as virulent as ever in their denunciations of bolshevism. Russia, it is claimed is seeking to propagandise the world with the ideas of bolshevism; it is establishing centers of propaganda in all parts, attempting to stir up the masses against the masters of bread thru the means of agitators and literature. At least one enterprising capitalist daily asserts thru its European reporter that schools are maintained in Russia which are turning out graduates whose special field is the labor movements of other countries outside Russia; underground routes are established whereby red literature, fresh from the centers of the revolution and proselytes as well, make their way out of Russia and henceforth over all the world, scattering the virus of discontent and bolshevism broadcast, such is the claim.

Granting that all this is true, the conviction must be borne in upon one that the governments of the great capitalist countries of the world must be settled upon very shaky foundations indeed, if by such methods of propaganda they can be made to totter and fall. The capitalist world appears to have a tremendnous fear of a few manifestos and declarations that it should shudder so at their appearance.

If capitalism is the blessing which our masters claim it is, they owe to the world a serious duty. They should at once establish a universal anti-bolshevik publicity covering its every phase and angle. Of course we know that some plans have been worked out somewhat to that end. The church, school and public press are ever active in the work of propagandizing capitalism. But their work is often course and very ineffective. It lacks system and depth. It is far too shallow, too general in character. It should be more specific.

Take for instance the question of wage payment of labor versus payment according to the full social value of labor's product. Capitalism should take up this question in a clear cut manner and set about at once to prove that the worker is far better off with about half his earnings than he would be with all of it. The question of houses should also be looked carefully into. It should be seen to that the workers are at once convinced that they are better off living in rotten, rented shaks in conjested cities that in real houses surrounded with grass, shade trees fresh air and sunlight. A short trial of this kind by way of example would be the best mode of convincing all doubtful tnement dwellers of our city slums.

The conditions of employment and control of the means of life should be gone into thouroughly. The landless serfs of all countries should be shown how tremendnously better off they are in having their products taken from them in the form of rent than they would be by tilling the soil and keeping the product as their own, with no fear of losing that right. The industrial workers should be convinced once for all that they are infinitely better off under a system whereby the control of their right to work is in the hands of the private owners of industrial machines than it would be under the control of the workers themselves. It should be brought to their minds how full of good things their lives are, how secure from the fear of want and lack of work they are; with what ease of mind they pass to and fro about the earth with never a gnawing agony of uncertainty. Innumerable circumstances of the workers lives might be mentioned here which the capitalist class might thus propagandise to their benefit and the unduing of bolshevism.

What the capitalist class is up against is facts. And the one big fact, bigger than all others together, is the fact of Russia under Soviet rule. Compared to the propaganda value of Russia, considered as a fact, there is more in it than in all the literature turned out of the bolshevist press in a year. Soviet Russia IS. If never a leaflet came out of Russia that one fact alone, would be enough to give capitalism a mortal scare. And as long as the fact of Russia exists capitalism is certain to be afflicted with chills and fever and at last collapse.

The thing which capitalism is up against is the existence in fact of two competing systems—capitalism, decaying, capitalism, and Socialism, the advent of workers' control, filled with youth and fire, sure of its victory. The world is choosing between the dying and the be-coming. The propaganda of the deeds of Socialism is conquering.

The Pope Be Damned

Pope Benedict wrote a letter the other day to one of his pals in graft, Cardinal LaFontaine at Venice. The Pope seems to have opened up quite a bit upon the "agitator" in this epistle. Naturally enough, the Pope is against all agitation that threatens his own power and the class of parasites whom he represents here on this earth. The Pope well knows that unless a method is found whereby to stop the prevalent unrest in the world's industries, the whole capitalist class is doomed and with it grafting, the hypocritical so-called Christian church.

The Pope knows all this, would that the workers realized its truth as clearly as he. Knowing it, he is zealous that the wool be keept well over the eyes of the workers and they be lulled to sleep with the anaesthetic of such religious dope as is administered by Popes, preachers, priests and the rest of the sky steering fraternity.

The Pope is dreadfully opposed to "class hatred" and "violence." That is, he is opposed to the working class becoming imbued with any such sentiments—it might go very badly with the class of loafers for whom the Pope speaks if the workers got too restless—hence his admonitions against class hatred. We quote a paragraph from the news article dealing with this latest manifestation of the Pope's desire for justice to the workers.

"Only the church can effectively deal with present day evils with justice," the letter said. It further invited the wealthy to give liberally and act more in accordance with the spirit of equity than cold justice. He also said that labor should not make unjust demands at the present time."

Black reaction was never more clearly depicted than in this first sentence. Roger W. Babson, speaking of the power of the capitalist class, says, "we have the schools we have the pulpit." And he did not distinguish between the protestant and the catholic pulpits either. The church indeed, will give justice to the workers. Its sole purpose is to keep intact the present capitalist system of slaves and masters, of robbed and robbers. It is the tool of the master class to make more subservient those whom it exploits—all in the name of Jesus, a carpenter agitator of Nazareth.

The Pope invites the wealthy to give liberally and to assume a spirit of equity toward the workers. The Pope knows well how to safeguard the interests of the bourgeoisie, even better than they themselves—but then that is what he is paid for. What he says to the bourgeois in effect, is this: The proletariat is getting sore. It thinks that it isn't getting a fair divvy. Of course it is, your justice cannot be questioned, but at the same time, it is better to assume the role of benefactor by charitable acts which may satisfy the mob than to ignore its protest and allow it to come to a head. I advise you to scatter a few sheckles among the multitude and thus quiet their ravings. This will keep your graft intact from any assault on the part of the mob."

This is a pretty cheap method to win by. Considering that the gifts of the bourgeoisie represent the blood stained products which have been withheld from the workers, it is about the cheapest method we know of to prop up the decaying system. Giving to the worker as "charity" a measley portion of what he has been robbed of is perfectly in keeping with the general hypocritical policy of the church. It is logical advice from an institution as rotten as is that thru which the Pope functions.

The letter concludes with an admonition to the workers to remain faithful to the church and forbids the clergy participating in labor agitation. To this we wish to answer that if the workers remain faithful to the church — which they won't—they won't have any problems to solve, or any thing else, And if the clergy are to ignore the labor problems how is the church to solve "effectively" these same labor problems?

But who in hell is paying any attention to a Pope any way?

Moral Victories of Sovietism

While the capitalist press continues to prophesy the day after to-morrow fall of the Russian Soviet government and to belittle such physical victories as it has been able to gain against its counter-revolutionary enemies and the hypocritical "democratic" Allies no cause in the world today has to its credit such a list of moral victories as has Sovietism.

The interdiction of freedom is in itself a moral victory of great portent and force. Herein the law of compensation operates with signal success. The loss in advantage gained thru actual participation in freedom of action is at least equalled in the moral force gathered because of this interdiction.

The Soviet Constitution was not allowed publication in England. But the moral force of Sovietism grew until the dock workers responded with a refusal to load the "Jolly George" with mumitions with which to kill bolshevists. Freedom of speech, assembly and the press are always opposed by privileged ruling classes. Such opposition and refusal has always kindled the fires of revolt and lent to such revolts a moral and righteous force which has aided in firing the cause with the flames of intense, even religious fervency.

Thruout the capitalist world the opposition to Sovietism is paramount. State, Church and School are united against it, all the forces which capitalism can muster have been and are now being brought into play against the principles and ideas which Sovietism has laid down for the salvation of the workers. Its literature has been burned and destroyed, its adherents jailed, tortured and murdered. These persecutions have but added to the ranks of the adherents of Sovietism. A million inquiries about Sovietism are now asked where none were asked before and are to be calculated among the moral gains of Sovietism. Prosecution and denial consume themselves.

These moral victories of Sovietism are forming a basis for greater physical victories and thus in the end will denial of human liberty be defeated.

EMMA GOLDMAN AND THE SOVIETS

By Mary E. Marcy

From more than one source it has reached our ears that Emma Goldman is not at all satisfied with Soviet Russia and that she yearns for the good old days in America before the war when bored society ladies derived a thrill from hearing her discuss sex problems and advocate "Free love" with the lid off. In those affluent times a lady who disliked to soil her hands with the drudgery of honest toil could always be assured of a group of gushing satellites who were willing to pay for the privilege of being entertained.

We knew perfectly well when Emma was deported to Russia that she was not going to like it there. For she never did understand the laws underlying historical progress, nor the economic structure of society, nor the evolutionary trend of society. And she had about as much real use for the working class as John D. Rockefeller or Judge Gary.

She does not understand what has happened during the past five years nor what is transpiring in the world today. She does not really want a workers' revolution, and she says that industrial communism is tyranny. The conditions of everybody are too levelled up, as it were. In fact after seing Soviet Russia during war-time, when the Russian people are compelled to sacrifice personal comfort and leisure and the Arts, in order to protect themselves from the armies of the capitalist countries of the whole world, her thoughts turn back longingly to the "good old days" that are never coming back, anywhere, anymore.

Emma Goldman does not know that we have had ANARCHY in production for the past seventy-five years and that all the conditions of hunger, war, despair, failures of the credit system, financial disasters are but the full fruits and blossoms of the sort of thing she prefers to Communism.

For many years in all the modern anarchistic, or capitalistic, countries we have had production begin and production cease solely at the dictates of a few owners of industry whose only thought was, NOT of the needs of society, but of whether industry yielded a sufficient quota of profits for their own personal appropriation. Shops opened and closed; railroads were built and operated or were permitted to fall into disuse, solely on the basis of whether or not they yielded sufficient profits to the capitalists.

And this anarchy in industry, in production and distribution, brought about the great war; killed off ten million young men and maimed ten million more; ravaged whole nations, and it is this anarchy, planlessness, individualism—run—mad that is to-day causing the collapse of the world's credit system; causing inflation and rising prices, that is choking off industry. It is anarchy or capitalism which is to-day unwillingly digging its own grave, destroying the foundation of the existing system and making revolution as inevitable as the stars in their courses.

It was anarchy in prodnction and distribution and in finance that caused the collapse of the Czar's regime' and that is causing the disintegration of the civilized world to-day—unbrideled, capitailst anarchy.

But Emma does not know that industry and production are anarchistic in Europe and in the United States, nor that the credit system has failed nor how the workers are exploited. She does not care that world—Capitalism is warring upon Russia and that in the face of the collapse of the old system the Russian workers have not had time to rebuild in peace but are forced to carry on their educational work and their great plans for socialized industry in the face of the combined capitalist armies of the world.

All that she seems to be interested in is the fact that in Russia people have lost their old time liberty of being able to graft off the ignorance of the people and that she is in a land where it is necessary to become a useful citizen or to go hungry.

There are several kinds of freedom that nobody is able to enjoy in Russia to-day and this is precisely what has made Soviet Russia the target of all the reactionaries all over the world, from the millionaire owners of industry to the petty grafters who prey on society. To-day, provided you are a healthy man or woman, you eat according to the work you do, according to the service you perform. Everybody who is a useful member of society is allowed his share in the food and clothing and pay in Russia. But nobody any longer is free to live off the labor of others or by the exploitation of men and women in any manner whatsoever.

The coming days may be rather difficult for the social parasites who do not understand the events of the times. They do not realize that CAPITALISM, or anarchy in production, has failed, and is bound to succumb in chaos and utter rout because of its own contradictions.

We are going to have world revolution, not because of the aims of any class, but because, through the failure of the capitalist credit system, capitalism is becoming unable to carry on production. The same money is deposited over and over again in the banks, and the bank deposits are increasing more than twenty times as fast as the gold supply. So that the banks are in a constant state of insolvency. They are no longer able to lend sufficient money to carry on business enterprises, to maintain industry. They are compelled to curtail credit when the United States, for example, needs hundreds of millions of dollars to be expended in extending and rebuilding and improving the railroads alone. They need either to print more unbacked paper money or to hold more and more money in the banks to partially protect their depositors.

Industry in being CHOKED OFF by Capitalism, not by the revolutionists, and every student of history knows that when production ceases, the inevitable result is revolution in self-preservation for the mass of the people.

And when Anarchy, or Capitalism, brings CHAOS, nothing on earth will lift society out of the disaster but SOCIALIZED production and SOCIALIZED PLANNING. When it actually becomes impossible to produce for PROFITS, men and women will either have to starve to death or RESUME PRODUCTION on the basis of HUMAN USE AND HUMAN NEEDS.

And so the socialism of Marx and Engels is on its way. No matter whether you are glad or sorry, no matter whether you may be working for it, or die trying to prevent its coming, it is as certain as the approach of the reasons.

We are bound to have a socialized world., socialized production and distribution — not because we do or do not, want it, but because Capitalism is going to leave the whole world high and dry in utter chaos. There is only ONE WAY OUT!

WILL HE DO IT

WASHINGTON.—"My policy with respect to all the Socialist papers whose mailing privileges have been revoked or restricted is this: So soon as the war is legally and technical over, I will instantly restore those privileges—but not until then."

Postmaster General Burleson in these terms announced what he called his final policy toward the Milwaukee Leader, The New York Call and other newspapers and periodicals whose liberties he has infringed under the arbitrary powers conferred on him by the espionage act.

"They are now harmless, I believe, and have a right to spread their miserable doctrines," the postmaster general said "but it is not within my discretion, once the mailing privileges are withdrawn, to restore them before the constituted authorities shall declare the war to be formally over."

"Does the law provide in terms that you must wait until the technical ending of the war?" Burleson was asked.

"No, it may be even worse than that," he responded. "For the law directs me, when I find a paper has broken it, to restrict its mailing privileges—that is all. Nothing is said about restoring them at all, or ever.

"It might be construed that they are forfeited forever. "But, he added, "I will not construe it that way, but will restore their full rights on the day that peace is declared.

"I don't like these miserable sheets," he continued. "I believe their teachings are all pernicious, but I have no rancor in my heart toward them—none at all, I have not acted arbitrarily. The evidence simply piled up against them, and I had no other course. I revoked the rights of every one of the Socialist papers complained of, except one—some paper in Kansas—and in that case, although I thought it one of the worst of the lot, I could not see that it had actually violated the law. So I let it go."

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"Any person under the age of thirty, who, having any knowledge of the existing order, is not a revolutionist, is an inferior". Bernard Shaw.

The Revolutionary Situation in Italy

By George Halonen,
Written for The Federated Press.

Even the Press dispatches state that the Italian situation is critical and the recent cabinet crisis has proved it. Nitti resigned, but as none of the bourgeois parties dared to take the responsibility of forming a new cabinet, he again and again took the post of premier, until finally Giovannia Giolitti was found ready to attempt to form a cabinet.

As early as 1914 the Socialist Party of Italy predicted that the imperialistic policy of the bourgeois would necessarily lead to general misery and that it would create a revolutionary movement among the masses. Recent revolutionary activities have surprised even the party.

The present social—political crisis is such that the only solution is revolution. The capitalist class understands that and it is prepared to face the music. Ex-Premier Nitti, its most eloquent and diplomatic spokesman, has taken steps to fight the increasing power of the workers' party. Nitti does not resort to gag-laws and suppression. On the contrary, he has taken a very friendly attitude towards the socialists who have 150 representatives in parliament.

"Our socialists are real politicians" says Nitti, in order to tame the socialists. "They constitute a real power. To them belongs the future."

But the socialists have refused to take places on parliamentary committees and commissions because they know that the time for reforms has been outlived and that the masses, not satisfied with reforms within the capitalist system, are fervently preparing for a revolution.

The present time is a period of great strikes. In Turin a strike of 200,000 metal workers took place which continued 28 days. The workers demanded recognition of their soviet or council. The strike was to be the beginning of a general revolution, but this did not succeed as the armed forces of the exploiters were too strong for them.

All over Italy the peasants are dissatisfied because of their miserable conditions. The farm workers of Parvia and Novarra are striking, often using extreme measures.

Industrial as well as agricultural workers are striking and sometimes the strikes are not bloodless. Some time ago a socialist was murdered in Decima. The workers declared a protest strike. As a result six workers were killed and thirty injuerd by soldiers. Of the Modena workers who protested against the military rule of Decima, five were killed and fifty injured. This catastrophe was followed by a protest strike in Bologna and the workers of Florence, Genoa, Rive, Trieste, Parma and Piacenza declared a 24 hours general cessation of work as a demonstration against the tactics of the militarists.

The dissatisfied workers are demanding that the Socialist Party declare a revolution. This desire of the impatient masses is shared by many trade unionists. The Socialist party which is thoroughly revolutionary is against a revolution at the present time. "Avanti" the organ of the party, says, "The labor organizations must fight for victory and they must not enter into premature revolts. We must be ready for the right time."

The Executive Committee of the party has declared the following:

"The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party is of the opinion that the present difficulties and strikes indicate that the situation will continue to become more critical and of necessity revolutionary. We therefore deem it necessary for the proletariat to prepare for united action in order to crush the reaction and to overthrow the capitalist government."

"Avanti" explains in a leading article that the events in Sestri and Turin where the workers were defeated by armed forces shows that the socialists have not yet sufficient power. The bourgeois state is armed. The socialists are not. The tendency of the Socialist party is not against revolution but it wants preparation, even arming of the workers, before it gives the signal for revolution.

The soviets or councils form a part of the preparation. At the meeting of the national council of the party which took place in Milan April 18-21 it was decided to urge the forming of workers' councils in places where the socialists are strong. This resolution was adopted by 94,736 votes against 21,950. A resolution providing councils all over Italy received 8,000 votes.

The chief purpose of the Socialist party in checking the revolutionary activity of the masses is to organize and discipline them so that when the time is ripe for revolution, the party will be in a position to direct the revolutionary movement from a central point. The May Day proclamation indicated this very clearly. The party urged the workers to demonstrate for revolution, for Soviet Russia and for their own councils but above all for discipline, revolutionary discipline, discipline of human beings and masses. The highest aim is victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the realization of communism.

Italy is on the verge of great social upheaval—a social revolution.

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

By Tom Clifford.

In the June "Cosmopolitan" I ran across the following bit of bourgeois gush penned by Meridith Nicholson: "America's need for leadership was never greater than now — not in state craft alone, but in things spiritual, in education and kindred departments of the social structure." Sounds nice, doesn't it? One would think from reading the foregoing that "spirituality" had a place in capitalist ethics. During the last four years the bourgoisie, through their courts, have jailed practically all the men and women in this country that had "vision" and dared give expression to their ideals. They sent Eugene V. Debs to the penitentiary because his great soul cried out against wholesale murder, and thousands of others are languishing in prisons for demanding a change in social conditions that would afford them opportunity to develop themselves spiritually. The bourgeois has no conception of spirituality. The gross things of life occupy his undivided attention, and woe be to man or woman who interferes by word or act with the institutions that guarantee to him unlimited license to plunder his fellows. Yet the magazines are full of this hypocritical cant while the game goes merily on.

* * *

I saw a letter the other day from a workingman in Buenas Aires to a workingman in Cleveland announcing that the workers of South America were boycotting United States products. And what do you suppose is the reason? Glory be, it is in retaliation for the outrages committed against the workers of this country on May Day, 1919. How is that for an exhibition of solidarity! More power to their elbow! "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is not bad philosophy. This is a telling blow delivered just at the time the bourgeoisie of this country are so badly in need of markets. I wonder how long it will be until the workers of the United States develop the same degree of class consciousness.

The Soldiers' bonus bill has been passed by the House with the understanding that it is to be chloroformed in the Senate. Leave it to the capitalists to see that the bill is quietly laid away in the Senate committee boneyard. Same old game of "passing the buck." There are just two methods possible to provide the funds necessary to meet the proposed bonus, and the politicians realize that neither is practicable at the present time. One is increased taxation; the other the flotation of a new issue of bonds. To the politicians the former is unthinkable because of the fear of a political reaction by the people that would relegate these gentlemen to private life, while the latter would never be permitted by the big financial interests, for they realize that the bonds could not be marketed among the workers, as were the Liberty issues, and consequently the burden would have to be borne by themselves, and they are now carrying, through absorption of Liberty bonds, all the governmental securities they can stand. Besides it would augment the currency inflation to a point that might precipitate the financial crisis they are even now frantically trying to avert. But now comes the Cincinnati Post with a brand new scheme to solve this vexing problem. The Post suggests that the I. O. Us given to Uncle Sam for the billions loaned the Allies be exchanged for bonds to be issued by the debtor nations, and that these bonds be distributed as bonuses to the soldiers. Here is high finance with a vengeance. Great Head, that editor.. As I pointed out recently, there is not the remotest hope that these "promises to pay" would be any better asset than the bonds issued by the Southern Confederacy during the Rebellion, and no one knows that better than the pencil pusher who evolved this utterly preposterous proposition. And yet, when I remember how the government swindled the soldiers of the Civil War by paying them off in depreciated greenbacks worth but 33 cents on a dollar, I shall not be surprised if the same bunko game is played on the soldiers of the World War. It doesn't matter much, anyway. The workers are used to being skinned.

* * *

Are there any persons excited over the Republican National Convention, If there are they are carefully abstaining from putting themselves in evidence. During ten days lounging in hotel lobbies I have heard just one comment on the convention, The prevailing topics of conversatian are base ball, horse racing and high prices. No one seems to care a pickayune who is nominated for the Presidency by either the Democrats or Republicans. This apithetic attitude toward "politics" is extremely alarming to the politicians, for it makes a hurrah" campaign, which is their long suit, practically impossible. It is a portentious sign. Out of the ferment of present day society will emerge sober thinking, and then—something will happen.

THE MONEYLESS MAN

Is there no secret place on the face of the earth
  Where charity dwelleth where virture hath birth,
Where bosoms in kindness and mercy will heave,
  And the poor and the wretched shall ask and receive?
Is there no place where a knock from the poor
  Will bring a kind angel to open the door?
Ah: search the wide world and find if you can
  Who will open the door to a moneyless man.

Go to the halls where the chandelier's light
  Drives off with its splendor the darkness of night;
Where the rich hanging curtains in a shadowy fold
  Sweep peacefully down with their trimmings of gold,
And the mirrors of silver take up and renew
  In their long lighted vistas, the bewildering view.
Go there in your patches and find if you can
  A welcoming smile for a moneyless man.

Go to your church; with its cloud-reaching spire
  Which gives back to the sun its same light of fire;
Where the arches and columns are gorgeous within,
  And the walls seem as pure as a soul without sin;
Walk down the long aisles, see the rich and the great
  In the pride and the pomp of their wordly estate;
Walk down in your patches and find if you can
  Who will open a pew to a moneyless man.

Go to your Judge with his long flowing gown,
  Where, with scales in hand, weighth equity down;
Where he frowns on the weak and smiles on the strong
  And punishes Right while he justifies Wrong.
Where the Jurors, their lips on the Bible have laid
  To render a verdict they have already made.
Go there in the court room and find if you can
  Any law for the cause of a moneyless man.

Then go to your hovel; no raven has fed
  The wife who has suffered too long for bread.
Kneel down by her pallet and wipe the death frost
  From the lips of the angel your poverty lost;
Then turn in your agony and look upward to God
  And bless while he smites you with chastening rod,
And you'll find at the end of your life's little span
  There's even no welcome in Heaven for a moneyless man.

STILL THIRSTING FOR BLOOD OF AMERICAN "SLACKERS"

By Linn A. E. Gale.

Nero, immortal in the annals of infamy and watching the helpless people of ancient Rome burn to death, never smacked his lips in more hellish glee than would the munitions-makers, profiteers and imperialists of the United States if they could imprison, torture and butcher the American "slackers" who are still in Mexico.

No clan of cannibals ever lusted more furiously for the blood of their victims than do the financial dictators of the American government lust for our blood.

They forgave the Germans long ago. They never had any intention of hanging or punishing the kaiser. Such talk was bluff to kid the people. If the German empror had been killed because he lost this war, President Wilson's turn or King George's or Lloyd George's or Clemenceau's turn might come later. They had nothing against the Kaiser as an individual, despite their lying assertions. They simply wanted to dominate the markets of the world and to do so it was necessary to trash Germany. Some other time it will be necessary for them to clean up England and Japan in order to maintain supremacy of trade. Altho they were dead in earnest in seeking commercial mastery. they have no desire to be so harsh with the enemy as to affect the stability of the capitalist system. Repeatedly they have shown that they prefer kaiserism any time to Communism and workers' control of industry. But the men who own the wealth of the United States have never forgiven us "slackers". They never will. They hate us with all the fury of fiends. They size us, torment us, mangle us and finally slaughter us and make an example of us before the world.

An Exemple For Future Objectors

American capitalism wants to show every American that this is what will happen to any man who dares think for himself—who dares refuse to fight in capitalistic wars—who dares to prize human life more than the gold of millionaires, the epaulet of a soldier and the brutal mandate of a degenerate government. That's why American capitalism has never ceased to try to get the fugitives back from Mexico. That's why it has resumed trading with the terrible "Huns" that it was a little while ago so savagerly denouncing and centers all its venom and virulence on the "slackers."

For the "slacker" is a menace to capitalism providing he uses his freedom on alien soil for the purpose of propagating Communist teachings. Those who simply came to Mexico to save their skins, who had no conscientious or class-conscious objection to the war except that they didn't want to get hurt, who got jobs or opened stores and began to make money here like "good citizens,"—they are all right, from the standpoint of capitalism. Wall St. has no special enmity against them. There are lots of men in the United States who did the same thing in a little different way—who escaped military service by pull or bribery. While the government didn't like such doings as a rule for it wanted to have plenty of men to do the fighting, it wasn't much concerned about it. "Slackers" who came to Mexico in such a quiet, inoffensive way, have frequently gone back to their home towns and been unmolested or at the worst, spent a few months in jail and then gone scot-free.

But the "slacker" who was against the war because he was a Communist, a Socialist, an I. W. W., or a Pacifist, is a danger to the dying system, a danger to the designs of Wall St. Such "slackers" not only fled to foreign soil but they commenced an active and effective propaganda in favor of Bolshevism. They tried to awaken others to the criminality of a system under which wars are necessary. They tried to imbue others with their own spirit of rebellion so that when the next war comes, there will be still more who will refuse to obey the dicts of the international murder trust. And they were very successful, stirring in thousands a spirit hitherto unknown and filling them with that imperishable zeal for a cause that armies and empires cannot kill.

The "Spy" Story

(Continued from page 1-st.)

City of Chicago, attending the convention session in the morning and a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the party in the afternoon. In the evening he was at a restaurant in the same city with a party of comrades. On November 15th, another date definitely fixed, he attended a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party in Chicago as could be verified by twelve other members of the committee.

As to the checks which the informer claimed to have seen in the file supposed to contain Fraina's reports, any one familiar with modern accounting methods would smile at the proposition that returned checks should be filed in the individual file of the person to whom they were issued.

When the investigation was completed those present were asked to state whether they were satisfied that Fraina had been exonerated, and all but two members of the Bureau agreed that such was the case. The other two persons still had some douts although admitting that there was no clear case.

The stenographic report of the hearing was later submitted to the Executive Council of the Communist Party and the Translator-Secretaries representing the Language Federations in the National Office and it was their unanimous verdict that Fraina had been exonerated.

The "Call" endeavors to base its insinuations upon the fact that Fraina was not arrested last November, while others were and that he was able to leave the country. Those familiar with the facts know that Fraina was in hiding for a month before he left the country and that he left secretly, as many other persons have been able to do.

Publicity is given to the facts in regard to the Fraina charges in order to show the reprehensible tactics which the Socialist Party publications are ready to resort to in order to discredit rival organizations. In this matter the "Call" and other Socialist Party papers which have copied its articles have outdone the slimiest work of the capitalist kept press.

THE BLACK SHEEP.

(Continued from page 2nd)

here. If you fellows are right in your contention that we have a message for the slaves, then we should be giving that message. It is of no consequence to us personally if they reject it at least we will have the satisfaction of having done our duty as we saw it.

(Continued next week.)

Predatory Wars, Oppression of the Workers and the Beginning of the Downfall of Capital

— BY N. BUCHARIN. —

During the last few years, in every capitalist country, small capital has almost vanished; it has been swallowed up by the big sharks. Formerly, many separate capitalists were fighting for customers; now when there are not many more individual capitalists (for almost all the small ones have been ruined), those that remained have united, organized and are in control in every country you may metnion just as the landed proprietor controlled his estate formerly. A few American bankers rule over all America, just as a single manufacturer formerly controlled his factory; a few French usurers hold the French people in subjection; five large banks control the destiny of the entire German people. It is just the same in the other capitalist countries. For this reason it may be said that the modern capitalistic states or the socalled "Fatherlands" have become enormous factories, which are ruled by a combination of property holders, just as formerly every seperate capitalist ruled in his own factory.

It is not surprising, therefore, that these trusts, the State combinations of the different bourgeoisies, now carry on that same battle with each other, which formerly was waged by the separate capitalists; the English bourgeois State battles with the German bourgeois State, just as formerly in England or in Germany, one manufacturer might battle with another. Only now, the stake is a thousand times higher, and the battle for the increase of profit is carried on with the help of human lives and of human blood.

In this struggle, which takes in the entire world, the first ones to be destroyed are the small and weak contries. First come the small colonial peoples weak, occasionally wild races, who are destroyed piemeal by the big predatory states. A struggle then ensues between these predatory states as to the division of the "free" territory, that is, the territories which have not as yet been stolen by the "civilized" states. Then begins the struggle for the redivision of the territory which has already been stolen. It is clear that this struggle for the redivision of the world must be bloodier and more bitter than ever before. Monstrous giants, the largest states of the world, armed with the most thorough death-dealing machines battle with each other.

The world-war, which broke out in the summer of 1914 and which has not yet ended, is the first war waged for the decisive redivision of the world between the monsters of "civilized" robbery. It drew into its whirlpool the four gigantic rivals, England, Germany, America and Japan. And the war is being waged to decide which of these robber alliances will be successful in forcing the world under its bloody iron heel.

This war everywhere aggravates the already hard lot of the working-class incredibly. The workers now have unbearable burdens heaped upon them; millions of the best workers are simply slaughtered on the battle fields; hunger is the lot of the remainder; those who dare to protest, are threatened with the remainder; those who dare to protest, are threatened with the harhest punishment. All the prisons are overflowing; the authorities hold the machine-guns in readiness for use against the workers. The rights of the workers have disappered even in the "freest" countries: to strike is not allowed; strikes are punishable as treason. The workers' press is gagged. The best workers, the most devoted fighters for the Revolution are forced, to hide themselves and to found their organization in secret, as they did during the rule of the Czar in Russia hiding from the host of spies and police officials. It is no wonder that the workers not only groan under such consequences of the war, but even begin to rise against their oppressors.

But the bourgeois States themselves, that start this fearful slaughter, begin to rot at their roots and to putrify. The are sunk in the bloody morass, which they created by their hunt for profit, and there is no way out for them. To go back with empty hands after such an expenditure of money, objects and blood—cannot be done. To go forward to another horrible risk—that too, is almost impossible. The war policy leads into a blind alley, from which there is no way out. For this reason, the war is prolonged endlessly, even though there is no decisive result. For the same reason, the capitalistic system begins to rot, and sooner or later, must make way for a new system in which there is no place for the madness of a world-war for profit.

The longer the war lasts the more do the warring powers weaken. The flower of the working people either perishes, or lies in the trenches eaten up by lice, busy with the work of destruction. Everything is destroyed for the war; even brass door-handles are confiscated for war material.. The most necessary things of life are lacking, for the war has swallowed up everything like an insatiable wandering host of locusts. Nobody produces useful objects—they are only used up. For the fourth year, the factories which formerly produced useful objects, are turning out nothing but shrapnel and grenades. Without men, without producing anything that is really necessary, all countries are reaching such a state of decay, that the people are already beginning to howl like wolves on account of hunger, cold, want, misery and oppression. In the German villages which formerly used electricity, the people are burning pine splinters for there is a lack of coal. In proportion as the misery of the people grows, life is being extinguished. In such well-governed cities as Berlin and Vienna, it is not safe to go on the street at night; everywhere robberies are being committed. The German bourgeois papers are complaining about the insufficient number of police. They do not wish to see that the growth of the number of criminals is due to the increase of misery desperation and rage. The cripples come back from the front and find universal hunger at home; the number of homeless and hungry grows in spite of the excellent organization, for there is nothing to eat, but the war keeps going on, and is constantly demanding fresh sacrifices.

The more difficult the situation of the warring states becomes, the more friction, dissension and disunion will arise in all the strata of the bourgeoisie, which formerly marched together, hand in hand in the interest of their common goal. In Austria, the Czechs, the Ukrainians, the Germans, the Poles are tearing each other's hair. In Germany, mostly because of the conquering of new-provinces, the same bourgeoisie (the Esthonian the Lettish, the Ukrainian, the Polish), the bourgeoisie which invited the German troops in, is now forced into a violent dispute with its liberators. In England, the English bourgeoisie is engaged in a death struggle with the Irish bourgeoisie, which has been held in subjection by the English bourgeoisie. And out of all this confusion, the working-class raises its voice ever louder, that working-class which, by the whole course of its development, is forced to face the problem of **crushing the war and of throwing off the yoke of capitalism.**

So the time of the decomposition of capitalism and the time of the Communistic Revolution of the working-class is approaching.

The first breach was made by the Russian Revolution of October. Capitalism decomposed earlier in Russia than in any other country because the burden of the world-war pressed more heavily on the young capitalist government of that country. Russia did not have such enormous organizations of the bourgeoisie as England, Germany and America. For this reason, it was not equal to the demands which the war made upon it, nor could it cope with the mighty attack made upon it by the Russian working-class and the poorest peasants, who lifted the bourgeoisie out of the saddle in October and transferred the power into the hands of the party of the working-class, the Communists—the Bolsheviki.

Sooner or later the same fate will overtake the West European bourgeoisie. The working-class of Western Europe is joining the ranks of the Communists in ever increasing numbers. Everywhere the organizations of their own "Bolsheviki" are growing: in Austria and America, in Germany and Norway in France and Italy. The program of the Communist Party will be the program of the Proletarian World Revolution.

[illegible]

"[illegible] (to radicalism) is religion."

Statement in support of Dr. Moley in investigation of radicalism among foreign born of Cleveland. Now perhaps we understand the WHY of the Interchurch World Movement.

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QUAKERS TO SEND MEDICAL RELIEF TO RUSSIA

CHICAGO—Relief will be sent to Russia from Chicago, by way of the English Quakers. This announcement, together with the fact that the United States Department of State has continuously refused to grant celarance papers to American vessels carrying medical and other relief to Russia, was made at a massmeeting in the Chicago City Club held July 1 by the Committee on American Relief for Russian Women and Children.

Graham R. Taylor, once a Red Cross worker in Russia, stated that last April the American Red Cross was ready to extend its activites into Russia. "But something must have occurred politically to cause a change in its plans," he added. "I think that the Red Cross officials ought to be given a chance to clear themselves before the American people, or else ought to be given the opportunity to begin relief work in Russia."

Resolutions, submitted by Professor Robert M. Lovett of the University of Chicago, called upon the United States government to permit relief work in Russia to be conducted, to grant clearance papers for American vessels bound to Russia for relief work and to permit the American Red Cross to extend its activities into Russia. Isaac Don Levine read the exclusive Federated Press report stating that Herman Tucker had been killed while attempting an aeroplane demonstration over the Democratic Convention in San Francisco in favor of the blockade on Russia.

Miss Jane Adams, as chairman, announced that the committee already has received $3,000 from eastern sources to be diverted to this cause. She stated that when the drive for relief of women and children in all near eastern countries is started in September, an attempt will be made to include Russia.

Raymond Robins Unveils Forms of Long Lost Liberties

Cleveland Public gets glimpse of once fond favorites in meeting at Public Square.—A letter about it from the Editor.

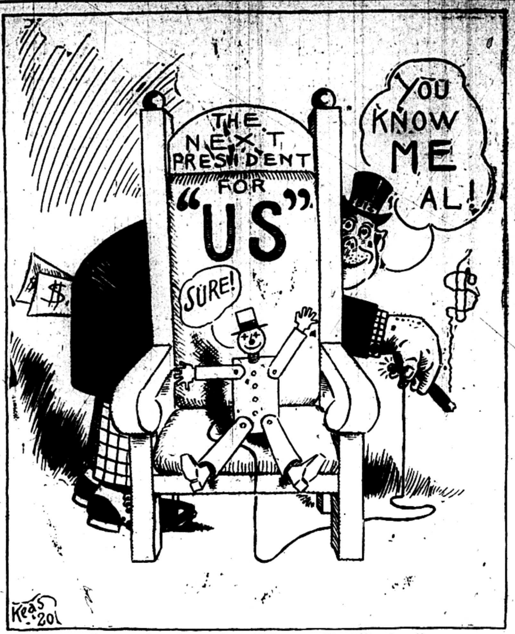
Dear Comrades:—

Raymond Robins, swarthy, even Indianesque of feature, protagonist of what he terms "Americanism," held aside for an hour last Saturady the veil which has long shrouded from Cleveland proletarian gaze the form and features of Misses Free Speech, and Free Assemblage, once famous American twins. That the audience which surrounded the exibition was an appreciative one was evident throughout and especially when the speech was concluded and it was given chance at the speaker with questions

That the fair ladies were in perfectly good, respectable company was assured by a banner over the speaker's stand which proclaimed that the meeting was under the auspices of the City Club, an organization of bourgeois liberals. Nevertheless, the "proles" who made up a good portion of the audience, in spite of an evident haunting feeling that they were commiting a crime, cast many furtive glances upon the almost forgotten features of their Lost Loves and gave them more than one rousing welcome, and kidded the speaker as well.

Robins wants free speech re-established in the United States. He wants the old fashioned spirit of a fair show for all opinions to again permeate the government and public policy. "The Bismarkian policy of 'blood and iron' for false socialistic ideas made 4,000,000 socialists where there were only 300,000 twenty years before," said Robins. "The Czar had the Black Hundred and the Okhrana, the secret police, a ruthless crew which Palmer, Lusk and Sweet can never hope to equal, but they are gone and Bolshevism rules Russia," was another of his statements in protest against the use of force against ideas. Since Robins has reiterated time and again that he is opposed to socialism, we hasten to give him credit for learning some politics from history.

(Continued on page 4.)



Introducing the "Peepul's Choice"

Entente's Support of War Against Soviets Strengthens Russia, says Krassin

Peasants, Bourgeois and Intellectuals won to Soviet rule by Polish Aggression.

Gregory Krassin, Soviet Envoy to London, who has established business offices in New Bond street and has been interviewing Lloyd George and other British goverament officials with the aim of establishing commercial relations between Britain and Russia, has just returned to Moscow. While the exact reason for his return to Moscow is not revealed, it is considered that mooted details of future commercial relations have called him home for conference with Lenin.

Before he left London, Krassin was interviewed by a reporter for the Paris paper, Liberate, which we publish herewith. The interview contains evidence of the strength of the Soviet Government at the present time.

"It was a great mistake on the part of the Entente to believe that we could be crushed by armed force. Each military blow struck against us permitted us to remedy the defects of our governmental machine," said Krassin.

Defeats Never Cause of Disorder.

"While it has been believed in Europe that uprisings would follow defeats of the Red armies, such is proved to be a profound error. There have been here and there moments of disorder, but our defeats were never the cause. I will explain that. At the beginning, after our revolution, our military situation was desperate. We were attacked and you remember we proposed amicable settlements by intermediary of the Scandinavian countries. That failing, we appealed to the working classes. Even among us there were many persons who doubted the success of this appeal. However, the workers of Moscow, of Petrograd and of other cities came flocking to us full of enthusiasm. They constitute the body of our present day solidarity, of which I advise you not to doubt.

"Another example—certain peasants were discontented with us for various reasons. In the first place the peasant is not a Communist. One must be as utopian as the Social Revolutionaries to believe that. Even at this moment they do not like the Soviet regime. Remember that last Spring the troops of Denikin were marching ahead. They had taken from us all the rich wheat fields. There remained for us only several provinces, Tamboy Penza, Voroneje, Kurks, Saratov and Simbyrisk from which we could get wheat and homes.

"The result was that the terrible effort we were forced to make bore heavily upon the peasants in certain districts. But we had no choice. We had to fight. The discontent of these peasants was such that in some quarters they offered armed resistance. But there again the Entente saved us. As Denikin advanced the peasant saw that his behavior towards him was a hundred times worse then ours. In our requisitioning we took from the rich peasants all the wheat they did not need. We took fifty per cent from peasants in modern circumstances. We took nothing from poor peasants. The officers of Denikin took everything, beating peasants and even their women. They submitted them to humiliations of a moral order when they did not burn their villages. Thus, for exampel, throughout the Urals the peasants flocked to us in thousands, abandoning Denikin's ranks. When news of these methods spread among the peasants they changed their attitude entirely. They did not become Communists but came to the conclusion that among all possible governments ours was after all the best for them. We guaranteed them against the return

(Continued on page 4.)

WHAT THE COMMISSION SAW IN RUSSIA

By Ben Turner. (Chairman of the British Labor Delegation to Russia)

Editorial note: The return of the Brittish Labor Delegation from its mission of investigation to Russia was the signal for the capitalist press to launch an attack upon the Soviet system made up garbled and misleading reports. The Toiler is glad to be able to give its readers the following official report by the Chairman of the Delegation.

The reception of the British delegation in Russia was most enthusiastically hearty. The Trade Union bodies were chiefly responsible for the welcome arrangements. The Russians were evidently delighted that a responsible group of people had arrived from another country to investigate the truth about things, and held out warm hands of friendship to us.

HAS THE DELEGATION BEEN MISLED?

All the stories of organized camouflage to deceive us are nonsense. No greater preparations were made for us than would naturally be made to welcome a friendly delegation coming to a country which had been closed for so long to the outside world. The assertion that the streets were specially cleaned and hardships hidden in order that we might not learn what the actual conditions are, may be dismissed as so much moonshine.

The Soviet representatives were quite open and frank and wanted us to see the worst as well as the best. They made our work of investigation as easy as they could. We had absolute freedom to go where we desired, to see whom we desired. We were permitted freely to enter mills, workshops, factories, public institutions, and private homes.

Many of the delegates had letters of introduction to persons who were known to be opposed to the Soviet system—members of the Social Revolutionary Party, Mensheviks, intellectuals, and others. The Soviet representatives were quite hurt when they were asked if visits could be paid to these persons. "We place no restrictions upon you at all", they replied. "Visit whom you like. Ask what questions you like. There is nothing we want to hide."

ANTI-BOLSHEVIKS INTERVIEWED.

Visits were paid to numbers of Russians holding anti-Soviet views. We went unaccompanied by any Soviet official or Bolshevik sympathizer. For interpreters we were very well placed. A number of our delegates could speak French and German, which many of those whom we interviewed spoke, whilst Mr Roden Buxton both understood and spoke considerable Russia. Where other interpreters were necessary we were not limited to Bolsheviks. We frequently had Mensheviks to act in this capacity.

The reports that Russia is in a condition of savage anarchy are totally untrue. The suggestion that one cannot go about the streets without seeing indications of murder and rapine is simply ridiculous. We could walk about the streets of Petrograd or Moscow, day or night quite as freely as one can about the streets of London.

THE HUNGER DUE TO THE BLOCKADE.

The chief thing that hurt us was the evidence of the hunger in the cities, in Petrograd more so than in Moscow. The shops in Petrograd are mostly closed; many of them are boarbed up and make the streets look ragged and forlorn in contrast to the glamor of our streets. The lack of food stuffs and the consequent hunger is due to the long years of war, internal eruptions, breakdown of transport, lack of materials, and worn out machinery. The Allies' policy of the blockade and military intervention is, of course, chiefly responsible for these things.

The hunger in the towns is in strange contrast with the seeming prosperity in the villages. Every landworker has his own plot and produces his own food. The surplus he is supposed to sell at controlled prices to the towns.

There are no land owners; the land is the property of the state, but no rent is charged. This land occupancy may easily drift into peasant proprietorship unless the spirit of Co-operation, Socialism, Communism—call it what you will—enters into the life of the people of the villages. It is possible that there may be a contest between the townspeople and the villagers when external wars have concluded and the internal unity arising from the common dangers and difficulties is less operative. On the other hand, however, the education policy of the Soviet Republic is undoubtedly making communists of the young folks in the villages, and the future is theirs.

WONDERFUL HEALTH ORGANIZATION.

The health organization of the Soviet government is marvellous. Russia has sufferred terribly from cholera, typhus, smallpox, influenza, and other diseases. War always brings pestilence and famine and Russia has had them to the full.

The Bolsheviks have met these difficulties by herculean measures, despite the lack of soap and madical requisites consequent upon the blockade. Notices emphasizing the importance of cleanliness and fresh air are posted everywhere; in public places, trade union offices; they are printed on the theatre programs. "Lice is the enemy of Socialism", one of the placards reads. Hot water is compulsorily supplied at every station, on the steamboats, and in the trains, with facilities for the bathing of contact cases. Consumptive sanatoria, rest houses, convalescent homes, and old age homes (with no workhouse restrictions) are other features of their health service. Two million school children are fed, clothed, and housed.

POWER OF THE TRADE UNIONS

We visited the headquarters of the substantial offices, with good equipment substential offices, with good equipment and large staffs. There are typewriters, telephones, and all the other requisites that go to make up efficient office work. They take great pains in the preparation of statistic, diagrams, and in recording what has been done and planning what should be done.

The trade unions have a bigger purpose to fulfill under the Soviet system than here. They take part in the actual government of Russia as well as in the government of their respective industries.

The trade unions, separately and collectively, fix the hours of labor, the amount of overtime, and, in consultation with other departments, the wage basis. A part of the wage is the ration of bread and other food stuffs, which are distributed through the machinery of the trade unions. trade unions organize co-operative buying for such goods as are not rationed. Further, as food is difficult to get from trade unions organize co-operative buying for such goods as are not rationed. The trade unions also fix the physical productivity possible in the trades. They recognize that after five years of warfare and hunger, with worn-out machinery and lack of the best materials, on ductivity is possible.
ly one-half or one-third of the normal pro-

In addition to all these things the trade unions are responsible for the organization of education and recreation. The great opera houses and theatres are now open to the people and the trade unions allocate the tickets to their members at reasonable rates. By this means the workers have an opportunity to enjoy art and music and drama to a degree not thought possible in the old days.

In co-operation with other departments, the trade unions are responsible for the housing of the workers. A very large number of the old wooden shacks in which the work people previously lived have been pulled down, and the large houses which formerly belonged to the well-to-do have been converted into workers' dwellings. Every worker now has a home. This housing scheme has been developed from the double point of view of health and home-sacredness.

The Russians have found that by rationing housing in this way there is ample room for all. In the large houses each family has separate rooms, but there is a communal dining-room. Some of the homes into which we went were exceedingly beautiful and well kept. Constantly on Soviet property, such as the commandeered houses, one found these words displayed: "This is your own property. Look after it well." The injunction seems to be obeyed.

THE "RED TERROR".

The Soviet government abolished capital punishment last February, but owing to fires and explosions due, they say, to Polish incendiaries, they reintroduced the death penalty during May. The bolsheviks do not attempt to deny that they have used repressive measures. They say that, so long as a great part of the world is plotting against them, they must have exceptional powers to arrest counter-revolutionaries, monarchists, and officers of the old White Guard who act as agents and spies for the enemies of Russian. They say, "We are surrounded by war, and we are going to protect the revolution by all the means possible." The extraordinary commission is above ordinary law, but its members assured us that they always give the prisoners a trial and provide the indictment within 24 hours of arrest.

The members of the delegation were given every opportunity to see the British prisoners and the concentration camp. The Soviet representatives pointed out that they had done no more, so far as interning persons of "enemy", nationality was concerned, than was done by the British government during the war.

THE POLISH OFFENSIVE.

All the Russian people believe that the Allies and the British Government are supporting the Polish offensive. Petitions were frequently presented to us by the workers in the factories which we visited asking us to do all that we can to secure the end of the Allies, policy of the blockade and military intervention, and peace between Russia and the rest of the world. The Polish offensive is rallying the people in support of the Soviet government. The bulk of the people are not communists, although a great number of those who live in cities are. Even the opponents of the theory of Soviet government, however, say that they will do nothing to upset the present government so long as the Polish attack continues.

We saw the executive of the All-Russian Soical Democratic Party, sections of the Mensheviks, and a number of professors and such-like people who were neutral. "Give us peace externally", they said, "and we will secure peace internally." I don ot think that there is any danger of a renewal of civil war in Russia. I believe that, in a few years' time, perhaps with some modification of the Soviet form of government, or a broadening of its basis, Russia will become one of the first really great nations of the world.

Skygac's Column

In a full page advertisement Detroit employers tell an anxious public about what they are pleased to call the AMERICAN plan of employment. Full of curiosity, I perused the advertisement from beginning to home run and discovered what the American Plan really is—!!

Do you really want the dope?

Well the American Plan as conceived and wished and hoped for by Detroit Employers is nothing more nor less than a plan for the open shop. Some would call it a plan providing for organized scabbery.

• • •

An optimist is a proletarian's daughter who hopes to marry in such a manner that she may be supported in a style different (and better) than that to which she has been accustomed.

• • •

A pessimist is one whose knowledge of economics and the law of averages teaches that she will not accomplish her desire.

• • •

The gentlemen's Home Journal, the conservative Sat-Eve-Post in its issue of June 26th, has some-semi-editorials headed, "In a Line or Two," that need fixing, so here goes.

• • •

"A conservative is one who would try another dose of medicine before giving up hope and knocking the patient in the head." — Well, the S. E. P. is a true conservative and prescribed another dose of capitalism via Hoover or some-one-else-equally-as-good.

• • •

"Considering what whiskers have done to Russia, one understands why it is called a safety razor." Very, very funny, but when one considers what czarism and capitalism have done to Russia, and then contrasts that with what sovietism is doing, hampered of course by the allied blockade and the allied capitalists of all the earth one wonders why the S. E. P. tries to lay the blame on whiskers.

• • •

Here is a real gem, "The communist's theory that one has a right to take what he has not earned has put many a poor burglar in jail." Very funny—but that is not the communist theory. The communist theory is that no one has a right to take that which he has not earned. Capitalism is supported on the theory that it is right to take that which it did not earn. All capitalists take profits. Profits come from surplus values. Surplus values are the difference between the value of laboring power and the value of labor's product. Very, very funny Mr. Post but we would really like to know whether you were just inexcusably ignorant?

• • •

Many a woman thinks she is a highbrow when in reality she is only a low neck.

• • •

Many a man thinks he is a high brow when in reality he is only a roughneck.

• • •

With a her over here and a her over there, no wonder the Legion found the incentive to carry on!

• • •

An optimist,—a man with the courage to marry.

• • •

A pessimist,—one who has tried it.

• • •

The above definitions are from the viewpoint of the cynic. They do not hold good in all cases. But then—exceptions prove the rule!

• • •

A cynic is one who balances the books of life, and lets them show a deficit in the happines column while others will throw in enough hope of the future to make the books balance.

• • •

Had your vacation yet?

• • •

What is a vacation for?

• • •

What is one supposed to "vacate" on a vacation?

• • •

Vacations are for our best people. The poor can not afford them.

• • •

Much commotion in the ranks of the Democrats. They are suffering from hysteropsychosis.

• • •

After the shouting is all over and the votes are counted, the wages system will still be with us. We will still have the wage earner and the owner of the tools of production and the inevitable class-conflict. As long as we have capitalism we will have class-conflicts and the need for class conflicts. Neither of the political parties propose to abolish the wages-system, and until it is abolished we will have ignorance, misery vice and poverty. It will eventually come to a question of reds or ruin. I'm for the reds—.

• • •

An optimist,—one who would vote for Harding.

• • •

A pessimist,—one who has voted for Harding.

• • •

One cartoonist had a happy thought. He drew a picture and labeled it, "Oh, you fox-Trotsky"!

Too foxy to be caught with the lies of capitalist-class diplomacy. A game of all the cards on the table is a Jonah to the man skilled in keeping hold-outs.

• • •

"In the house of my kinfolk, I am an alien" writes Miss Katherine Fisher. There are many such, and Palmer can't deport 'em!

• • •

It is a long step from the days of kite flying such as Ben Franklin accomplished and the latest altitude record of the aeroplane, yet capitalism has been with us all that time. Now is the time for a new departure in social economy and capitalism is doomed to give way to the new just as the kite had to give way for the aeroplane.

• • •

If it were not for the sound of the rattle-money you would never be able to hear even the echo of a political "boom".

• • •

McAdoo makes much about his financial troubles. He only got $100,000.00 a year from the Chaplin-Pickford-Fairbanks crowd, or at least it was reported that that figure was his "earnings" per year. Gee! Ain't it hell to be poor?

• • •

How does it come that the national prohibition provision of the constitution does not apply to a Republican convention?, asks our local blatter. That's an easy one. Probi. is for producer. The delegates to the convention were non-producers so naturally the provisions made and provided were winked-at. Some winkers— some winkers—the present bunch of law enforcers.

• • •

Debs is in jail, but Bergdall and Newberry are still at large

• • •

All but 36 of the original one hundred wobblies sent to Leavenworth from Chicago are out on bail. The thirty six remaining there are denied their freedom simply because they do not have two friends apiece each of whom can put up ten thousand dollars in property or liberty bonds as security. Still they will keep on telling us that there are no classes in America!

• • •

Why do the Democrats travel all the way to Frisco to learn the popular will? If the administration will restore free speech to the country they can learn the popular will without traveling so far. Why go so far to fare so worse?

Mr. [illegible]

Mr. Roger Babson, [illegible] big business, has broken [illegible]. This time he announces the [illegible] fact that labor has been whipped. In one of his latest bulletins furnished to employers, Mr. Babson says:

"There is no doubt about it—labor is beaten. Mr. Gompers was at his zenith in 1918. Since then he has steadily lost power. He has lost power with his own people, because he is no longer able to deliver the goods. He can no longer deliver the goods for two reasons. For one thing, peace urgency has replaced war urgency and we are not willing to bid for peace labor as we had to bid for war labor. For another thing, the employing class is immensely more powerful than it was in 1914.

"He has then an organized labor force more numerous than ever before. Relatively twice as many workers are organized as in 1916. But this same labor force has lost its hold on the public. Furthermore, it is divided in its own camp. It fears capital. It also fears its own factions. It threatens, but it does not dare.

"We said that the employing class was immensely more powerful than in 1914. There is more money at its command. Eighteen thousand new millionaires are the war's legacy. This money capacity is more throughly unified than ever. In 1914 we had 30,000 banks, functioning to a great degree in independence of each other. Then came the Federal Reserve Act and gave us the machinery for consolidation and the emergency of five years' war furnished the hammer blows to weld the structure into one.

"The war taught the employing class the secret and the power of widespread propaganda. Imperial Europe had been aware of this power. It was new to the United States. Now, when we have anything to sell to the American people, we know how to sell it. We have learned. WE HAVE THE SCHOOLS. WE HAVE THE PULPIT. THE EMPLOYING CLASS OWNS THE PRESS. THERE IS PRACTICALLY NO IMPORTANT PAPER IN THE UNITED STATES BUT IS THEIRS!

"English labor has come out of the war with great gains. During the war the United States work- [illegible] neck and neck. We forgot England's long supremacy's start of us. There is [illegible] labor force in the world. English labor was ready to wring advantage out of the war; United States labor wanted to do so, but it had not lived the life needful to that end.

"What, then, are we going to do to our opponents? When, in 1918, we gritted our teeth and said that we were going to show them where they got off, we had no very definite aim in view beyond just words. Now that we have indicated successfully the point of disembarkation, the question arises: What are we going to do about it?"

If it were not for one thing we could agree with Mr. Babson, but unfortunately for himself and his clients, Mr. Babson has confused Mr. Gompers and labor, apparently believing that they are one and the same thing. This is not to be wondered at in the case of an individual accustomed to think of the labor movement in terms of its so-called leaders, but it makes his estimate of the real situation somewhat unreliable.

If it is any consolation to Mr. Babson, we are quite willing to inform him that, in the opinion of close observers of the labor situation, the trade-union movement is not licked, but has simply quit. Old age has crept upon it and it finds itself unable to stand the pace set by modern economic conditions. Mr. Gompers may be licked; as to that we do not know, but we do know that he no longer represents the sentiments, views and wishes of what has been called the bona fide labor movement. If the whipping of Mr. Gompers is a victory, let the employers take all the comfort to themselves that they please.

Estimates of social progress, measured by the influence of certain leaders, are apt to be misleading. Social currents, move sluggishly and it is often true that changes in the viewpoint of the masses requires much time to be reflected in a change of officialdom. When it does manifest itself, it usually appears as the arbitrary action of individuals to those who do not understand the manner in which social progress comes.

This is true of the American labor movement. There are forces at work whose strength cannot be gauged by [illegible] of industrial organization, that the "whipping" of Gompers means the rise of a militant, intelligent leadership that will truly reflect the sentiments of the mass. It means a change from rule from above to rule from below.

Again, the one correct method of estimating the strength of any movement is to judge it by its average intelligence. The workers have been acquiring knowledge in the last three or four years that is already of and will be of more value to them in the struggle, and much of the education has been forced upon them by the section of the groups to whom Mr. Babson caters. For instance, the old confusing and fallacious doctrine of identity of interests between exploiter and exploited has been almost completely shattered. The belief that modern government was an impartial agency, standing between labor and capital and representing some mythical entity called the public, has been replaced to a large degree by the knowledge that modern government is merely a creature of the financial and industrial interests and that its principal function is to assist these interests in their work of exploitation.

Trade unionism, as exemplified by a Gompers, came into being as the result of certain needs. It can no longer supply human wants or induce the working class to believe that it is supplying its wants.

Mr. Babson may cheer his clients with the information that Mr. Gompers has lost his influence and call it a victory for the exploiters if he so chooses. Actually, he is announcing the beginning of a new and glorious era for labor.

FOOD FOR RUSSIA WAITS ENTENTE CONSENT.

According to George Seldes, staff correspondent for the Chicago Tribune and now stationed at Hamburg, "In the Scandinavian harbors there are today many thousands of tons of meats and fats destined for Russia, but little has gone to that country on account of continued disturbed conditions."

The "disturbed conditions" referred to by the correspondent are none other than the refusal of the Entente powers to recognize or trade with Soviet Russia.

[illegible]

Collins [illegible] himself with the [illegible] the fire. He pretended to burn his fingers, and swore viciously. This oath was only a [illegible] for the emotion of happiness, for it was now [illegible] to convince Jack that he ought to throw his lot with the radical movement. This had not been an easy task. The best workers are not enlisted in a day. Brain [illegible] of a profound nature cannot easily be swerved from one channel of pursuit into another. Jack's mind was drawn to natural phenomena, generally out side of the sphere of human activity, and Collins had come to realize that to bend such a mind into new paths of activity demanded more logic and argument than he possessed.

Realizing that the emotions are often more forceful stimuli to human action than the processes of reason, he had hit upon probably the only thing which was capable of working a change of attitude in the boy's mind. So it happened that Collins had brought from out of the bourgeois world, the spark which rendered the boys latent social energy, kinetic. It was Olive Anderson who as a purely emotional influence, caused the boy to decide in favor of an agitator's life.

This decision pleased Collins immensely. He felt, that if he could succeed in landing the boy in the midst of terrific industrial problems, he would then inevitably cast his lot with the industrial movement.

Rudolph, too, rejoiced in what he considered a mutual victory over Jack's natural tendencies, altho he was not so keenly aware of what had been the catalyzing element between Jack's brain and the class struggle. He knew that Collins had sent Jack's notes to a girl in North Dakota, and he rather suspected that a reply had been received, but further than that he knew nothing. On account of his attitude toward woman-kind in general, both Collins and Jack had refrained from discussing such matters in his presence. He could therefore not realize that this had anything to do with the boy's change of attitude. For it must be said that from such a correspondence Rudolph would expect nothing, if not a negative result.

While he was greatly pleased with the boy's decision to enter the class struggle, he did not like the idea of him going to the mines. He wanted him to follow agricultural work. "I tell you Ed," said he, addressing Collins, "It is alright for the kid to go to the mines, but you must not forget that he is enthusiastic just now, when the whole mining world is seething with trouble. But wait until the trouble is over and things quiet down a bit as far agitation is concerned, especially if Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone are acquitted, then he will put all his mind into the work of mining, and the first queer crystal he sees he will turn geologist instead of agitator. Prince Kropotkin raised the wolf on bread and he was a good wolf for five years but one day he strayed among the chickens and immediately became a wolf. I fear the same thing for Jack. It is true we have fed him up on the class struggle. I agree, we have it under his skin, but I don't believe it has soaked thru. We can't deny that his natural bent is toward the study of nature in general, more than it is toward the study of society. I would rather see him follow agricultural work. He grew up in it. It contains no novelty for him. He, I believe would rather study the slaves than the slavery, and the migratory workers are the place for him. I tell you I don't like to see him go into the mines."

Jack listened to all this, but made no direct comment. There were two forces at work in his brain. It was as if simultaneously he beheld two visions. In the one he was opening the stratified pages of the earth's rock bound history and laboriously spelling out the secrets of the world's childhood, and in the other, he saw himself in the midst of a struggling crowd, that was toilsomely working its way hither and thither in the darkness. While among that crowd, there were a few men and women, who were forever straining toward the light. These few, were in the mass but not of the mass. The mass seemed to instinctively prefer the darkness. Perhaps they only moved as with the tide. And yet the few that strained toward the light, sought to climb the heights seemed to have a slight influence on that mass. These few, gave their time, their strength, and in many cases their lives, that the darkness in which the mass moved might become a little lighter, that the thoughts that entered the minds of the mass might be a little clearer, a little happier, a little nobler. He half closed his eyes and leaned back in his chair while Rudolph was speaking. He hardly heard what was said but sat silently watching the vision of the human masses bearing among them a few that were different. For all the world they looked like sheep on a mountain side. A great drab grey mass, with here and there a black speck. But in the human mass the black sheep reacted different from the others. Within them were the souls of eagles. They loved the light, altho their straining toward it seemed almost futile. How pitifully few they were! How few they had been through out the ages, in comparison with the thoughtlessly drifting crowd.

He tried to call them by name, these Haywoods, these Pettibones, these Debses, these Manns, these Liebknechts, Marx, Lassalles, Breshkofskies, Emmets, Browns, Lincolns, Garrisons, Voltaires, Savanno-Rolas, Christs, Gracchi, Cornelias, Ninos, Theresas, Socrates, Spartaci, Solons. What lights they were! What glories centered around the names of these black sheep of history. Of course they had been forced to do what they did by the pressure of their time. If that were true then why did not the pressure equally affect the mass? There was a difference. The black sheep of history were positively heliotropic to [illegible] They were not different [illegible] cally from these variations, whose names have withstood the [illegible] time. They only react slower, and therefore die, and are forgotten. [illegible] and consequently fear the light. He smiled at his decision but he knew that Olive was going into the Mass and he decided that she should not go alone.

These, and kindred thoughts ran through his brain with lightening speed as he leaned back in his camp chair, and mentally reviewed the long line of immortals. After all, he concluded, it is great to be a black sheep. They at least inherit immortality in the brains of those who hate them while they live. The mass had even worshipped some of them after they had killed them. Kersey Graves tells of sixteen crucified saviours. This, too, was wonderful. Perhaps more wonderful than the phenomena of birds and beasts. That nature should have given to mankind this long train of martyrs and prophets of the coming day. He remembered an article he had read in the newspaper. In it was the report of a speech made by Rabbi Wise of Portland, Oregon, in which he said, "the race of God's prophets is not yet extinct." The phrase was as music to his ears. Unconsciously he placed Olive Anderson amongst them. He watched her slender form move far up the shining path of fame. He had no doubt but what she would be a Ninos, a Cornelia, or a Joan of Arc. Of course this was an exaggerated concept. The youthful brain is wont to distort and magnify when under the spell of feminine attraction. It was enough that he beheld her so for it perfected his decision to join her and to walk up the path of truth together.

It must be said however that romance not entirely formed his decision. He carefully counted the costs of being a black sheep and decided that it would be worth the price to suffer during ones own life if by so doing, more joy could be brought to succeeding generatins. The agricultural field was not now a battle ground. The struggle was hottest in the mines, and there was where he would go, and stay until he had learned mining and the miner's needs.

When Rudolph had ceased speaking Jack simply said, "I am going to study the miners and their industry and after that, labor and its problems. I believe that after all man is the most interesting beast in the woods."

"You would have no influence with the miners until the fuzz is off your chin. You could not teach these old birds anything. You are at home among agricultural workers. You understand their psychology. Why not go there?" insisted Rudolph.

"I go where the battle is thickest," Jack retorted. "I may not be able to lead but then there may be a chance to serve, any way there is where I go."

Collins, who had been busily preparing a mulligan over the camp stove, now turned to Rudolph and said. "Say Rudy would you mind going out to see if the boat is alright. I'm afraid that the storm last night may have blown it loose. Any-way, go and see about it, while I get the grub ready for dinner."

"Yeah,! and I'll go and get some wood," announced Jack.

When Rudolph had gone down the hill, Collins said, "If it's any of my business Jack, would you mind telling me what it was that changed your mind? Was it her letter?"

"Yes, that was partly it," Jack agreed, She told me that she could not understand why we stayed in the woods, when men were dragged from their homes, and women and children were caused to suffer because they demanded what was their due. Then I've been thinking about the fact you brought out the other day. When you said that we are only a link in the chain of the human race. And what is more, if we really have a message for the world, and it does any good to tell it, then we should be on the job."

"I knew she would do it," the big man said almost reverently. "When do we start?"

"Just as soon as we get our clothes ready and the stuff disposed of," answered the boy, as he walked out of the cabin, and into the woods.

As soon as Collins was alone in the cabin, he hurriedly opened Jack's suitcase and abstracted the last letter he had received from Olive Anderson, putting it in his inside coat pocket. He then fixed his fire, and, when Rudolph returned he told him to watch the pot while he took a walk out into the forest. He went over the cliff and far back (among the trees) where he sat down upon a log and read the letter.

"My Dear Boy:" it read, "I surely enjoyed your letter. Especially of your descriptions of your camp and of your studies, but more than all did I appreciate your brief mention of the labor struggle now going on in the west.

Shortly after you were here, I received a copy of a paper called "The Appeal to Reason." Perhaps you sent it to me. I do not know. But if you did not send it, or are perhaps unacquainted with it, by all means you should have it. It reads just like you talk.

I cannot understand why they should take men from Colorado to Idaho for a crime they could not possibly have committed. I am following it all carefully and I am amazed at the wickedness going on in this world. I feel like saying that all one has to do is to scratch a human being no matter how civilized and you will find a savage under the skin.

I cannot understand how you can be contented with a quiet woodland life when injustice cries to heaven. But then it may be that you are in the thick of it and do not tell me because I am a woman, who must be [illegible] in ignorance in order to keep sweet.

(Continued on page 4.)

Soviet Children's Homes Appeal to Mothers

By John Clayton.

PARIS.—"The Russian soviet government is nationalizing the children of Russia. We are taking the children from their homes and placing them, thirty children in each group in special homes. However, we take the children only with the full consent of the parents, and the children are not deprived of the parental influence."

Mme. Kollontai—Comrade Kollontai she is called in Russia—the first woman commissar of Russia and head of the department of child welfare, was speaking to me in Moscow.

More Than Half Children

"Today more than half of the children in the larger towns and cities in Russia are living in state institutions. At first parents were skeptical about our system, but our first homes were so successful that now there is a large waiting list of mothers in all the places where we have these homes. I believe in time every child will be raised in this manner. We have lifted the curse of household slavery from the mothers of the poor."

All For the Children.

"All for the Children," has been the motto of the soviet Russia government during the economic difficulty. How far it has been carried into effect can be seen from the happy, healthy faces of the youngsters one meets everywhere in Moscow.

Many are wearing clothes which passed the beggar stage years ago but so is everyone in Moscow. But they at least are warm and well fed. The soviet government has taken its role of parent seriously. It has found that by providing homes where the kiddies can live in groups of perhaps thirty it not only is better able to feed them and make them warm and comfortable than if they were scattered in individual homes, but it has been able to relieve mothers who work of much of the drugery of home life and permit them to perform the industrial tasks with greater efficiency.

The organization of the communist state is such that every adult, especially under the conditions of hunger and economic breakdown which prevail, is required to do his or her share of useful labor.

At Age of 3.

"The woman who works," said Mme. Kollontai, "cannot do her duty as mother and at the same time accomplish efficient work unless she sacrifices all her time to these two objects, or is given aid in the routine work for her children. That is why we are urging mothers to bring their children into the state group homes when they have attained the age of three. No coercion is used, however, and indeed none is necessary, for the parents are in no way cut off from their little ones. They can see them at any time, and can take them home when and for as long a time as they wish.

"Those for the younger children—to the age of fourteen—are always mixed homes, boys and girls alike. For the older children we have not yet adopted a rule.

No Individual Toys.

"The children grow up in an atmosphere which develops good citizens for a socialist state. There is no attitude of master and child but a comradeship which does the heart good to see. There are no individual toys or property. All is the common possession of the home, and the children soon drop out of the habit of speaking of 'my book' or 'my doll,' using instead 'our toys.'"

In religion the children are left entirely to the discretion of their parents. No religious training is included in their work, but in its place they are taught the essentials of social morals and the fundamentals of natural history.

A Fine Meal.

It was my privilege to have lunch with the children of one of the larger homes one day, and a happier little crew I have never seen anywhere. As for the food, it was the best I have had in Moscow. I got up from the table for the first time since I arrived there feeling that I had all I wanted to eat.

Mme. Kollontai is one of the veterans of the Russian revolutionary movement. About 35 years old, she was educated in the aristocratic Smolny institute in Petrograd—Smolny, around which so much of the history of the revolution has been written. She is well known in the United States, having made two lecture tours through America under the auspices of the left wing of the Socialist party in 1915 and 1916.

The social welfare work, which has for its aims the proper care and development of the children, begins with the mothers themselves before the advent of the babe and continues until the child has attained an age of 16 years.

At this stage the work divides itself into two divisions. The first is for children who remain at home with their parents, the second for those children who live in group homes at state expense.

Care for Children.

The working mother whose child remains in her care is relieved of the responsibility of caring for it during working hours. Kindergartens are provided where the child is looked after, fed, and his education begun. When he has attained an age of 8 years he enters the public schools, and there

(Continued on page 4.)

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

By Tom Clifford.

That a bunch of job seekers such as compose the Democratic (!) Convention at San Francisco is permitted to outline the policies of a nation of 120,000,000 people and select a candidate for President is the height of absurdity. There is not a single delegate at that gathering of politicians actuated by any other desire than to further his own interests politically, with never a thought for the welfare of the nation at large. They have sucessfully played the game so long they imagine it can go on forever. However, they are facing a condition at present that bodes ill for the continuance of their autocratic rule. For the first time in the history of the natin, notwithstanding the strenuous touting of the capitalist press, the public refuses to be enthused and evince not the slightest interest in either the platform or the candidate. Can it be that the truth has at last penetrated the thick skulls of the working class that the declarations of these politicians are mere pretense and they refuse to be longer bunkoed? Let us hope that the apathetic attitude of the masses indicates some serious thinking and that they are about ready to throw these hypocritical dissemblers into the discard. We shall know more about it in November.

• • •

To read the scathing dennunciations of profiteering in the newspapers one would naturally presume that these "conservators of the public welfare" are themselves content with ordinary profits. Not so, my unsophisticated friend. While they are vociferously shouting "stop thief" to draw your attention away from their own rascality they are mercilessly gouging the public for all the traffic will bear. Advertising rates have been boosted 300 per cent and the retail price has been doubled. The Sunday papers, carrying practically nothing but advertisements, are foisted on the public at the "modest" price of 10c. It takes some nerve, not to say business finesse, to hold up the advertisers for the limit and then induce the rube readers to come gayly cavorting across with three times the cost of production. Believe me, when it comes to profiteering the sugar profit monger in his wildest dreams never gets within hailing distance of ye virtuous daily newspaper.

• • •

A writer in the Saturday Evening Post deplores the vast differentiation in articles in common use, and urges standardization in the interest of economy. What peculiar mental slant some people have! Here is a fellow citing a wide spread evil in present day society, apparently ignorant of the fact that waste is a cardinal virtue of the profit system. He appears to labor under the delusion that articles are made for use instead of being produced for profit. It is the enormous waste in production through duplication of effort that forms the working basis of capitalism. It throws open the field to unlimited competition, with profit as the dominant incentive, and a "go-as-you-pleas," without regard for the welfare of society as a whole, is the disastrous result. I suggest that the literary gentleman take a course of reading in economics.

• • •

I note that a capitalist controlled college down east has conferred a degree upon Gen. Pershing. I presume the reason, therefor is, distinguished services rendered to the master class of this country in the World War. He did his part in saving their financial bacon; hence the acknowledgement. They believe, with Sammy Gompers, in "rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies." Pershing, their friend, is decorated and given a degree, and Debs, their enemy, is sent to prison. Some day when the working class garner some sense, the exponent of justice and humanity will receive the laurels.

• • •

Harding and Coolidge, Republican candidates for President and Vice President, are working overtime in attempting to convince the public that they stand for the "glorious institutions of our fathers," etc. They imagine that such meaningless catch-phrases have the same potency as in other years. What the people now demand is an institution that will "toot." These gentlemen are due for a rude awakening. Once a politician always a politician.

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, JULY 9th, 1920

Vagabonds and Bondage

The difference between a vagabond and "free" Americans of the proletarian type is that the latter is somewhat surer of a supper and bed, but has no real freedom, while the former is per chance, not so sure of these two requisites of a continued and happy existence but has freedom to burn. The vagabond is no one's slave—which we take to be one of the delights of vagabondage. When he becomes one he ceases to be a vagabond. The "free" wage-slave ceases to be a slave only when he becomes a vagabond. Of course one in a million or so climb out of the slave class into a "higher" one of exploiter of slaves but his class is so small as to be practically negible.

If the American wage-slave should ever awaken to the facts of his true economic condition he would relieve himself of the greatest burden of false opinions that ever a slave class was imbued with. True to his political, school and church training, the average American wage-slave believes himself to be the incarnation of freedom. He does not know that the essence of liberty is economic in character. He has not learned that as long as he can earn his living only by the consent of an exploiter whose ownership of industry gives him the power of witholding a part of the product, he is virtually a slave, tho no chains bind his limbs. To be allowed to work, which means to live, only with the consent of another, who reaps a toll by giving that consent—can any one imagine a slavery more real than this?

Ah, but the American worker can quit his master! Sure, he can quit, and then he can immediately hunt for another one—unless he has the courage to become a vagabond. And few have, all initiative having been bred out of us by our capitalist training.

The American worker is sadly lacking in his economic education. While he has been absorbing the teaching of the ruling class, filling his stunted brain with erroneous teachings cunningly calculated to keep him mentally and physically enslaved, the development of industry has forged a condition wherein the masses of mankind are mercilessly exploited while their opportunities for emancipation by "rising" out of the slave class have become practically non-existent.

It is high time the American proletarian realized his true condition. It is time he quit kidding himself with the idea that he is a free man while every attribute of slavery is his. He must realize that between vagabondage and bondage there lies only the thin thread of PERMITTED employment — at a slave's wage, just enough to keep him more or less fit to work and reproduce a new generation of slaves to take his place in the shop, mill and mine.

Only in the learning of this lesson and the application of Communist knowledge and tactics to this problem can the American wage worker lift himself out of the serfdom of today and thereby abolish forever the system which creates out of humanity a mass of enslaved and exploited workers on the one hand, and a class of idle, vicious and parasitical shirkers on the other.

Principles vs Personalities

The candidacy of Eugene V. Debs upon the Socialist Party platform will prove one test of the revolutionary character of the socialist and communist elements in the United States. No circumstance in the history of socialism in this country is comparable to it. Debs' spiritual leadership of the Movement heretofore is unquestioned. His standing in the Movement, due to his personality, is unique: no other individual has ever been held in such high esteem — and it may be said that no other party member has been called upon to make such sacrifices as he. The very circumstance of his being now in prison for advocating pro-labor causes, lends to him an added veneration freely tendered by all.

Debs' acceptance of the nomination by the Socialist Party was based upon the false belief that it would tend toward unity of the revolutionists and the moderate or reform socialists. Perhaps nothing else would have centered upon the platform and brought into such sharp relief before the minds of socialists the contrasting character of Revolutionary Socialism and reform socialism as his accepture of the nomination tendered him by the Berger and Hillquit reformers at New York. Instead of uniting these opposing groups, his candidacy will on the other hand, prove a wedge which will drive them further apart as they logically should be.

Human mass endeavors are naturally bound up with individuals, who leave upon these movements the marks of their personality and character. Such strong characters become a part of the movement in the minds of multitudes. They become one as it were, and often the attachment which binds the mass to the movement also binds the mass to the individual. Such a one had Debs become.

There are times however, when a sharp distinction must be made between such leaders and the Socialist Movement; times when they become antagonistic and to follow the leader is to betray the principle. Such a circumstance has been brought about by Debs' acceptance of the nomination for the Presidency upon a platform of reactionary and reform socialism. The choice must now be made between supporting this traitorous brand of socialism thru voting for Debs and refusing such endorsement. Many socialists of more or less "red" variety have tendered their vote to Debs as a mark of respect for his high qualities and his long fought battle for labor fully as much as they have for socialism. Declare as we might that a vote for Debs is a vote for socialism, we know it was not always true. Even less now, can it be claimed that a vote for Debs in 1920 is a vote for socialism, unless the socialism of Schiedeman, Ebert and Noske is meant. The socialism of the revolutionists of the world is not represented in the platform upon which Debs has consented to stand even while repudiating it. We are confronted with a clear case of Principles vs Personality. How many thousand times have we said "no socialist will sacrifice principle for personality?" The question now is, DO WE MEAN IT? Are we going to stand with those and for those who have betrayed our principles merely because a personality has consented to that betrayal? No, we will not. Instead will we work the harder for that socialism which means the emancipation of the workers rather than their betrayal by vicious reformist Socialism.

Poland's Collapse

The forecast of Colonel Roustam Bek, that Poland would soon collapse before the supriority of the Red advance to be followed by a political and economic revolution, seems about to be realized.

Such news dispatches as have appeared, and they have been very few (in line with the policy of the capitalist press to publish nothing favorable to Russia) have all borne tidings of the retreat of the Poles on the whole of the 600 mile front.

"Only the establishment of a Soviet in Warsaw can stop the Russian advance", is Colonel Bek's statement. That he spoke with knowledge and authority is seen in the activities of Polish representatives at London, who, with alarm, have petitioned the League of Nations, thru its secretary, Sir Eric Drummond, to seek means to end the war. The development of grave internal dangers coupled with the crumbling of her battle front have filled her leaders with the gravest apprehensions.

That the defeat of Poland will be followed by revolution and the establishment of Sovietism, seems, in the light of recent European history the logical outcome. The miseries of the people, headed high by the imperialistic war of her land hungry bourgeoisie may foment such economic and political turmoil as only the soviet system can rectify.

* * *

While the drive on the Polish front has become one for "safety first", the Polish government Liberty bond loan in the U. S. A. proceeds at a snail's pace. If the situation in Cleveland is a criterion of the national drive, then indeed is it beset with difficulties. Sentiment for and against the loan among Cleveland Poles is about evenly divided. There are as many cheers for a "Soviet Poland" as for a Polish Bourgeois Democracy. The committee in charge of the local drive, altho strongly supported by a widely read Polish daily has had extremely hard sledding. This is partly due to the fact that the priests of the Polish churches have refused to bless the loan with their benediction, altho repeatedly urged by the committee to appeal to the congregations to invest in loans. It appears that the priests have failed to hear the voice of God in the cry of the Polish bourgeoisie for munitions to carry on an imperialistic war.

The investment of $59,000,000, the amount of Liberty bond sales in the U. S., in French munitions and war supplies has raised a storm of protest. Many purchasers of these bonds claim that they invested with the understanding that their money was to help in the reconstruction of Poland in supplying machinery and aiding the suffering people. Now to learn that it was used to buy munitions to carry on an imperialistic war, has justly incensed them.

The Red's advance is reflected in the slowing up of the loan drive here among the Polish business interests. They apparently know a failure when they see it. Last week the committee sent out urgent invitations to 700 business men to attend a meeting for the purpose of putting the loan over the top. A mere handful were in attendance. When asked to sign up for bonds, they replied, "oh, we are not Polish, we are Ukrainians". Since Ukrainia is now an ally of Poland in the war against Russia, this may be considered a sample of the patriotism that animates the bourgeoisie.

A statement by the secretary of the Cleveland committee in charge carries a significant bit of information. Commenting upon the slowness of the loan drive, secretary Dangel is quoted as saying, "Checking up our more than half a million dollars of sales shows that the greatest amount of Polish patriotism has come from the ranks of the wage earners."

Sure. The Polish bourgeoisie are the same kind of cattle as those of other nationalities. They regard the workers as merely the means by which to enrich themselves without any risk, financial or otherwise. It is not enough that the Polish workers should pay the blood cost—the financial burden also must rest upon those who are so fortunate as to escape slaughter. It's the same old capitalist game of "you fight and pay—I'll profit" which the ruling class has always played upon their dupes.

Church and Neutrality

"The priest must take no active part in industrial strife but must preach peace always", wrote the Pope.

Preaching peace in the midst of fierce industrial, class war is about the most useless function a human being can perform. To ignore the struggles of the masses for bread and liberty against the inheritors of the earth and the power therein, is to betray the masses and to strengthen the power of tyranny. The church which refuses to partake of the struggles and problems of the great suffering and exploited masses of the world is deserving of the condemnation of the masses and is fit only as a means to prove the utter inadequacy and unfitness of the church as at present organized to function in the interests of the disinherited.

As a matter of fact, the Church is not, nor can be neutral in the class struggle. "Ye who are not for me are against me," applies with truth to the Church in the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. There is no neutral ground. Between robbery and Right there is no compromise. The Church is either for the workers and against the exploiters or it is for the exploiters against the workers.

Up to the present time it has, as an institution, stood squarely for the exploiters, tho at times attempting to camouflage its position with a mantle of assumed neutrality. Neutrality in such instance is a lie which serves only to convince that growing throng already outside the influence of the church of its innate depravity and capitalistic leanings.

As the class struggle grows fiercer, assumes more well defined lines and takes on more and more the character of open physical conflict under the pressure of terrific economic conditions, then, will the Church be forced to throw off its cloak of neutrality and stand forth either as the apostle and spokesmen of Labor or as the filthy harlot of capitalism. It cannot evade being drawn into the vortex of the industrial whirlpool that is now engulfing the world and all social institutions.

Neutrality in the class struggle is even now a lie, let those who claim it be know for what they are.

LABOR

Out of chaos, out of murk
I arose and did my works.
While the ages changed and sped
I was toiling for my bread.
Underneath my sturdy blows
Forests fell and cities arose,
And the hard, reluctant soil
Blossomed richly from my toil.
Palaces and temples grand
Wrought I with my cunning hand.
Rich indeed was my reward—
Stunted soul, and body scarred
With the marks of scourge and rod.
I, the tiller of the sod,
From the cradle to the grave
Shambled through the world—a slave!
Crushed and trampled, beaten cursed;
Serving best, but served the worst;
Starved and cheated, gouged and spoiled,
Still I builded, still I toiled
Undernourished, underpaid
In the world myself had made.

Up from slavery I rise,
Dreams and wonder in my eyes,
After brutal ages past,
Coming to my own at last.
I was slave—but I am free!
I was blind—but I can see!
I, the builder—I, the maker,
Slave and serf and clod no longer,
Know my strength—and who is stronger?
I am done with ancient frauds,
Ancient lies and ancient gods —
All the sham is overthrown,
I shall take and keep my own,
Unpassioned, unafraid,
Master of the World I've made.

—Berton Braley.

Non-deportable Aliens

The above title might well fit the following poem in which Miss Fischer expresses what is undoubtedly the viewpoint of thousands of socialists, in whose "Mayflower" blood still beats a rebel pulse. It is taken from The Freeman.

KINFOLK—1620 AND 1920.

By Katherine Fisher

In the house of my kinfolk I am an
alien.
Our Mayflower blood, once heretical,
rebel,
Flows now in their veins, orthodox,
Tory.
Only in mine the old freedom
Beats the new barriers.

My mother-tongue in the mouth of my
kinfolk
To me is foreign,
Praising law perverted to tyranny,
Condemning a juster order
Because justice is strange, involves
changes

But native to my heart is the speech
Of the Italian weaver on strike,
Exhorting his comrades.
Tho I understand not his words,
I understand him.

And closer to me than sisters
Are Jewish girls, orient-eyed and
voluble,
Garment-workers, loyally standing together,
Daughters, like me, of a pilgrim line,
Of a people persecuted, exiled, pioneers of liberty.

With these I am at home;
In the house of my kinfolk I am an
alien.

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BETTER CONDITIONS MAKE FOR MORE PRODUCTION.

FARGO, N. D.— Contrary to predictions of mine operators that the new mining code enacted by the farmers' legislature in 1919 would cut production and drive many mines out of business, through the eight-hour provision, the actual production of the largest mines in the state has doubled and the small mines have all increased their output.

These facts are taken from the reports of an investigation by John Hanwell, mine inspector.

Mr. Hanwell declares the mining force of the state is shrinking, but says the men are so well satisfied with the better working conditions brought about by the enforcement of the new law that they take greater interest in their work.

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THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY

By Ernst Levy, European [illegible] Correspondent [illegible] Federated Press.

I.

VIENNA, May 31—(By Mail)—The downfall of proletarian dictatorship in Hungary, caused by the fact that the Red Troops had been defeated in open battle by the Rumanians whom counter revolution had called in to help, was followed, after a short democratic intermezzo, by the first period of White Terror. It lasted until the Rumanians evacuated Budapest on November 16th, 1919, and was characterized by the strange feature that the Rumanian troops were able to give the disarmed Hungarian workers some protection against the raging vengeance of the Bourgeoisie and especially of the Hungarian officers.

The second period of White Terror in Hungary is stamped by the personality of the Supreme Council's representative in Budapest, Sir George Clark, who, with unrivalled hypocrisy, played into the hands of the oppressing classes every constitutional and diplomatic advantage for enabling them to go on with the White Terror on a larger scale. This period lasts until the first meeting of the National Assembly and the election of Horthy as Governor on March 1, 1920, and differs from the previous period by a considerable increase, and above all, the systematization of White Terror. All political acts of this time, elections for the National Assembly, and the election of the governor by the National Assembly—may all be considered as functions of this Terror.

The third period lasts from March 1 until the signing of the treaty of Neuilly, expected shortly. This period is marked by serious attempts to deny and conceal the facts of the White Terror. Instead of decreasing, the terror shows a tendency to grow.

Yet the appeals of the tortured Hungarian workers have reached their comrades in western countries and the latter have, after all, been strong enough to extract from their respective governments the semblance of a protest against the terrible methods of Budapest. It was at the end of March that the Hungarian premier, Dr. Simonyi—Semadam, read to the National Assembly, a letter from the president of the Hungarian peace delegation, Count Albert Apponyi calls upon the country to reestablish legal conditions, warning it that the deeds of terror committed had changed the mood of Paris, not unfriendly towards Hungary in the beginning, to its reverse. He said the continuation of terror would but definitely estrange from Hungary those occupied territories for which the Hungarian peace delegation had demanded a plebiscite.

This letter, which seems to have been sent by wish of the Supreme Council, brought no results whatsoever. The White Terror went on as before, and even seemed to increase daily. Meanwhile the endeavors to throw sand in the foreign peoples' eyes were intensified. Impudent invitations followed for those workers' organizations who had tried to plead the cause of the victims with the present rulers of Hungary, to come and see that there was no such thing as a White Terror. These invitations were accepted—a fact which rather disconcerted the lords of Hungary. First came the delegates of the Socialist party of Italy, Alceste Della Seta and Arturo Vella, both of them members of the Italian parliament, who reached Hungary in the last week of April. Then there came, led by Colonel Wedgwood, member of parliament and leader in the Independent Labor Party, four delegates of the British Trade Unions: William Harris, Fred W. Jowett, G. H. Stuart Bunning, and Joseph B. Williams. They have just returned from Budapest.

(To be continued)

The Toiler has received copies of "The Hungarian News", an information paper published by the Hungarian Socialist Information Bureau at Stockholm for the socialist press of the world.

Concerning conditions now extant in Hungary under the rule of the bourgeoise after their victory over the communists, depicting the awfulness of the White Terror we reprint a few excerpts.

TO THE WORKING CLASS OF ENGLAND.

COMRADES:—

You know how the Hungarian socialists are being treated by the White Guard government of the Hungarian bourgeoisie. During the last two months 127 legal murders were executed,—other than numbers of socialists illegal and secretly killed.

Twelve thousand working men are interned, without sufficient food. cover, clothes, horribly treated, tortured, flogged, their eyes struck out.

In several cases prisoners have been maimed, burried alive, and stabbed to death with bayonets.

In spite of those horrors an English burgess is vile enough to tell his superiors that there is no terror in Hungary. In these days corpses are fished up from the Danube every day, Hohler sends the "highcommissioner" a report which unmistakeably proves that there exists a strong solidarity between the English bourgeoisie and that of Hungary.

The English delegation of workers which has already left will soon be able to ascertain if terror exists or not.

GRIEVIOUS DOCUMENTS.

Budapest, May 15th, 1920.

A Hungarian paper edited by social-democrats in Vienna publishes the following documents:

In November the police got a report that three socialists had been killed in the military prison. — At the barracks of Kelensold two corpses were found which were killed by the officers and then hidden. — The paper also is in possession of a document which undoubtedly proves that the manufacturer, Menalt, was buried alive by the Danube detachment. By some bandits also six comrades—all of them honest and brave combatants—were murdered.

All those occurances were reported to the police. However, without any result whatever. No inquiry was started, and Captain Pronay is still an officer of the national army and Horthy's best friend.

120 [illegible] PROSECUTED.

Budapest, May 14th, 1920.

The furiousness of the Hungarian executioners does not diminish. On 12th inst. a communist process was opened against some comrades charged with complicity in the execution of some counter-revolutionaries at Szolnok. More than 120 persons were prosecuted, and possibly the scandalous Hungarian "justice" now will sentence several of them to death.

A POWERFUL PROTEST AGAINST THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY

Budapest, May 15th, 1920.

The social-democratic post official, Oskar Levai is in Budapest charged with murder.

Levai belonged previously to the Red Army, and then he had to bring into execution all death warrants against soldiers of his detachment. Because of those "crimes" he is now treated as a murderer. It is proved that he acted on compulsion, but this fact is not at all mentioned by the prosecutor at court.

The post officials of Germany, Italy, France, and Belgium have by wire informed the Hungarian government that the telegraphic and telephone communications with Hungary will be broken, in case Levai will be executed.

THE TREATING OF THE HUNGARIAN CHILDREN.

Budapest, May 16th, 1920.

Eighteen persons in Budapest were recently dragged out of their homes, and then quite disappeared.

A paper states that nearly all proletarian children in Hungary are shut out from the charity institutions and even from the places for feeding arranged by the foreign missions. The Hungarian workers' society for the protection of children, which had nothing to do with politics at all, was dissolved without any reason being given.

EXECUTIONS WILL BE DONE IN THE COUNTRY.

Budapest, May 16th, 1920.

The police court of Budapest got a secret order from the government in which it is charged to bring some of the communists now prisoned — those who surely are to be sentenced to death—into the country, so that the execution may not be easily known among the public.

THE LEARNED ARE PERSECUTED.

Budapest, May 16th, 1920.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences has at its last meeting expelled the following members, well known in all Europe:

Oscar Asboth (Slavic philology), Bernhard Alexander (philosophy aestetics), Emanuel Beke (mathematics), Ladislaus Eber (art history), and Adolph Lendl (zoology), because they did not leave their posts when communists were in power Further, the faculty of philosophy at the university of Budapest refused the former popular deputies Joseph Pogany, George Lukacs the former section leader of the educational commissariat, Bela Forgarasi their doctor's degree, although Hungarian Law does not authorize denial of doctor's certificates as a punishment for common crimes.

British Labor Demands Self-determination for Ireland

SCARBOROUGH, England— Full self-determination for Egypt and India and a just settlement of the Irish question were demanded June 25 by the British Labor party conference in session here. The Irish plank called for the establishment of a constituent assembly to determine the form of government to be adopted by Ireland, without any condition or limitation imposed by Great Britain, and the complete withdrawal of the army of occupation.

At the sessions thus far held, there unanimously passed resolutions calling for revision of the peace treaties, for recognition of the soviet government of Russia, abstention from direct or indirect attacks upon Russia, full freedom of trade with her. The abolition of secret treaties and control of food and raw materials by an international body were demanded

The conference decided to send a joint deputation composed of members of the Labor party executive committee and the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress to call upon Premier Lloyd George and insist upon the necessity of immediate peace with Russia and the lifting of the blockade. The committee was also instructed to lay before him the report of the Labor party delegates who have been investigating the White Terror in Hungary.

The British Socialist party delegation urged the calling of a national conference for the purpose of organizing a general strike; and Robert Smillie, who received a tremendous ovation, swept the whole meeting by his declaration that something more than a deputation to the Premier would be necessary to carry out the demands of the conference. Should the deputation be rebuffed, he said, a special conference should at once consider plans for a nationwide withdrawal of labor.

RED ARMY RELEASES MINERS

MOSCOW—(via Helsingfors)— The Labor Council has decided to mobilize all miners between the ages of 18 and 50. All miners will be released from the army and transferred to the mines.

The Soviet government has recognized the newly formed republic of Eastern Caucasus and its provisional government. Diplomatic and commercial relations are soon to be opened.

The "work week" in Belashow resulted in a triumph. During the week 22 river boats were repaired. The metal workers have voluntarily prolonged their working day to ten hours.

FIND TAYLOR "GUILTY"

SAN FRANCISCO—John C. Taylor, fourth Communist to be tried in Oakland, has been found guilty. After eight hours deliberation, the jury finally agreed that he advocated force and violence. This, in spite of the fact that Secretary of Labor Wilson has ruled that the platform of the Communist Labor Party roes not advocate force and violence, and that membership in that organization is not sufficient cause to deport an alien. Taylor was sentenced Monday, June 21 and will appeal.

Eleven "Criminal Syndicalists" are serving sentence in San Quentin, two are out on bail and one is awaiting the transfer. Of these, not one has actually committed any act of violence. John Craig of Sacramento was sentenced to five years after pleading guilty. J. E. Dolson's retrial has been postponed to some time in September. J. E. Snyder was to come up July 1 in Oakland.

All the deportation cases have been dismissed, due to the efforts of Frederick Dubovsky, attorney.

PALMER'S CASES STILL FALLING

NEW YORK—Many of the raided 100% perfect cases of the Department of Justice are dwingling to zero. The Department of Labor has notified Harry Weinberger, Max Gendlin, David Orlick, Lona Chenovsky, Jonnio Lapedus, that their warrants of arrest have been concelled and their bonds released. Many of these had originally been arrested without warrants, and warrants obtained later; some had been beaten up in the raids.

In the case of Voto Mariani, long held on the state charge of criminal anarchy, arrangements have been made whereby he was discharged without bail on that charge, and ordered deported to Italy as an anarchist. This is just what Mariani desired. He will be deported shortly.

Carl Voss and Emile Foltman who had long asked to be deported to Germany, and who had been kept a long time in jail, have finally been deported to Germany while Thomas Martinez who fought deportation to Mexico on the ground that his life would be in danger, has been released on bail.

Old King Canute

— By Anise. —

I.

Old King Canute
• • •
Lived ages ago
• • •
He had so many courtiers
• • •
Who praised him so much
• • •
That he thought at last
• • •
He could do
• • •
ANYTHING!
• • •
So he set up his throne
• • •
On the shore of the sea
• • •
When the tide was low
• • •
And said: "Go BACK, sea!"
• • •
"For I am KING!"
• • •
Then the tide turned
• • •
And the little waves
• • •
Were coming NEARER,
• • •
But old King Canute
• • •
Kept waving his scepter
• • •
Over them.
• • •
Saying, "I command you, waves,
• • •
NOT to ADVANCE!"
• • •
Then one little wave first
• • •
Sneaked up one side,
• • •
And another little wave
• • •
Sneaked up on the other,
• • •
Paying no attention to the words
• • •
Of the King.
• • •
For they were drawn
• • •
By a POWER
• • •
Greater than Old King Canute!
• • •
High and invisible
• • •
The call of the MOON
• • •
Kept pulling them up the sand,
• • •
And before very long
• • •
The king had to run
• • •
For his LIFE
• • •
And it isn't on record
Whether his throne was saved,
• • •
Or engulfed in the flood.
• • •
It all depended, I guess,
• • •
On whether he MOVED
• • •
In TIME!
• • •

II.

Somebow or other
• • •
I can't help thinking
• • •
Of old King Canute,
• • •
When I see our rulers
• • •
Waving the bills and injunctions
• • •
Over the railroads,
• • •
Saying complancently:
• • •
"Go back STRIKES!
• • •
Don't any of you workers
• • •
DARE TO ADVANCE!
• • •
For WE are government!"
• • •
And first one little strike
• • •
Sneaks up on one side
• • •
And another little strike
• • •
Comes on the other side,
• • •
But still the senate waves
• • •
Its mighty scepter
• • •
Over the switchmen.
• • •
Saying: "Go back! Go back!"
• • •
But THEY are drawn by a power
• • •
Higher than government,
• • •
Planted ages ago
• • •
In the spirit of MAN
• • •
And it isn't on record yet
• • •
If even the mighty throne
• • •
Of CONGRESS
• • •
Is to be saved
• • •
Or engulfed in the flood,
• • •
It all depends, I gess,
• • •
On whether they MOVE
• • •
In TIME!

Entente's Support Strengthens Russia

(Continued from page 1-st.)

of the old land proprietors. I assure you that at the present time the peasants not only accept us, but they love us, and that is a source of great power. They feel that they amount to something in our state. For instance, our president, Kalenine is a peasant of the Province of Twerska, who continues to own his own piece of land and returns to it frequently. It is the peasants who now enable us to resist Poland, and who will enable us to resist Poland as long as necessary.

Bourgeois Rally to New Regime.

"That brings to me the third great service that the Entente has rendered us. It is bringing to our aid a great part of the former Bourgeois and Intellectuals. In permitting Poland to start against us an entirely useless war, the Entente persuaded a great number of our former adversaries to rally to us. This factory manager, this General, that engineer, began to see that we were actually the only force in Russia able to resist the foreign assailants. If Poland fights long enough you will see every one in Russia united with us."

"But how about your reverses on the Ukrainian front?" Krassin was asked.

"Fine business," he answered. "Who ever saw Russian ready at a given moment? We always begin by getting beaten. Then, as soon as we have learned our lesson, we come back in marvelous style. Poland has not been sincere with us. We have proposed peace on several occasions. Her Nationalist Government pretended it wished to negotiate, but all the while was preparing the offensive ordained by the Entente."

"But the Poles maintain it is the Russians who lack sincerity," the interviewer remarked.

"That is untrue," affirmed Krassin. "What do you think we ask of Poland? We are delighted at her independence, for which the Polish people fought so long and so heroically. Even if we are fighting her we do not wish at all to destroy Poland. However, Poland under one pretext or another wishes to continue the war. At present it is a question of the Ukraine. However, from December of last year up to March of this year we were proposing peace to Poland, and we would have accepted a proposition for the withdrawal of both armies from the Ukraine and for a plebiscite.

"Then there was the story of Borisor, which shows in tangible manner the bad faith of the Polish government. It demanded that the peace pouparlers take place at Borisor. It did not wish any armistice except at the spot where peace was to be discussed. Borisor was the most vulnerable spot on the Polish front and at this time the Poles were preparing their offensive against Kiev. We proposed all sorts of places for meeting but they refused. They would go only to Borisor. We refused.

"Above all we continue to wish for peace, for continuation of war hinders our economic recovery. We can with our present resources keep up the war for years without being beaten, but that will increase the burden of privations which we have so long borne. That is all the Entente accomplishes in throwing the Poles against us. For that country were it not for the aid of the manufacturers of munitions and arms would not think of fighting us on its own resources. But despite our privations the Entente obtains a result which is only negative —it reconciles with us a great part of our former adversaries in Russia.

"On the other hand the people of other nations, and especially France, deceive themselves in believing that we wish to carry on propaganda in other countries. There are men among us who believed that Soviet Russia could endure only through a world revolution. The events of the last few years have clearly proved that the Soviet regime can endure in the midst of a world of capitalist Governments. We now accept this state of things and our engagements with foreign states are sacred."

The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 2.)

I for one am going to Colorado this summer and learn the truth about all this, if I have to go barefoot, ha, ha."

The rest of the letter dealt with personal matter relating to her school work, and other common places which need not be recorded here.

When he returned to the cabin Collins wrote the following note.

"My Dear Mis Anderson:—

I am glad to notice that you have entered into a correspondence with our friend, Jack Thurston. I feel that your words have inspired him to greater and nobler efforts in behalf of humanity.

The boy has a wonderful mind, and will grow up to be a power in the world, especially if he has some one to spur him on. Already they have brought a wonderful effect. He has dedicated himself to the cause of human [illegible]. Greatfully and sincerely,

E. C.

That afternoon it was decided that the time for getting busy was at hand and accordingly they began preparations for the storing of their accumulated effects and incidentally to quarrel about the best places to look for the necessary job.

[illegible]

(Continued from page 1.)

Basis of Free Government.

Robins said three fundamental principles underlaid free government—"Americanism," as he persisted in calling it. He named them as:

Religious freedom, political freedom and the right of private property and economic freedom in industry. The audience appeared to believe that the rose would smell just as sweet under another name as "Americanism". Perhaps that was because they were mostly Internationalists. Just what he meant by economic freedom was rather cloudy but in answer to a question, he stated that "some American workers receive less than they produce and some receive more, but if a majority believe they are not getting justice and refuse to change the system, they have only themselves to blame."

Robins favors the exploitation of the workers as long as the workers don't object. But if they do object we would their objections to take a perfectly legal course, not at varience to the rules of the capitalist political game.

Robins favors the ballot and its freely permitted use as the proper method to institute all changes in government. He is violently against the use of force, but when the point was raised by a questioner as to what steps should be taken when legal means were overruled by governmental use of violence, he admitted that under such conditions, the use of force is necessary.

That Robins' audience was composed largely of socialists and communists was evident the minute questions were allowed. Here are some of the questions and answers.

How should the war debt be paid? By the profiteers.

Would you release Eugene V. Debs if you had the power? Yes, Debs was guilty according to the law but for political expediency I would not have sent him to prison. He is more powerful for wrong in jail than out. That the audience frankly disagreed with Robins statement, that Debs was guilty was evident by the applause that greeted his name.

What do you think of the action of the New York Legislature in ousting the five socialists? It was the most un-American action in the political history of the country.

Why should not the American workers do what the Russians have done to re-establish free speech in this country? The conditions are different. The will of the majority has not been thrust aside like it was in Russia. This answer brought forth a round of protests. How about our two socialist councilmen? How about our socialist school director? the audience shouted, referring to the action of the local Chamber of Commerce in directing the ousting of socialist officials in Cleveland during the war. How about Albany and Berger, they answered back.

Do you think our soldiers should have been sent into Siberia and do you favor the blockade of medicines and hospital supplies from America? I was always against the sending of American troops into Siberia. It was an act in violation of our historic American policy. I favor the sending of medicines to Russia.

A Butting of Heads Against Stone.

To one who has read "Raymond Robins' own Story" of the Russian Revolution, listening to his speech is like reading for the second time the concluding chapter of that cleverly written and intensely interesting book. Robins is one among the army of intellectual liberals who has enlisted in the futile effort to turn back the tide of financial and industrial evolution. His philosophy is one in which the underlying economic forces which rule human society do not exist. He is battleing for that which has forever vanished from the face of a capitalistically ruled world. He is seeking a renaissance of an age that is past, utterly unknowing of the principles of economic evolution. Robins does not know that the principles of "Americanism" have been cast aside by the ruling class, not because it is "wicked" and soulless, but because the raging class struggle which has developed with the intensification of the industrial processes, creating two utterly opposed classes, necessitates the extinguishing of popular liberties if the present ruling class is to survive.

It is no mere coincidence that liberals such as Robins are allowed the freedom which would be denied any class which really threatened the power of the ruling class. Their pitiful pleas for the return of a dead age may well be listened to and tolerated by the ruling class. The Garys, the Morgans, the Guggenheims know that the processes of industry and the social system will not be turned backward—and a little freedom is fine bait for some fish which might be hard to land without a little playing.

No, we take it that Missess Free Speech and Free Assemblage will not be allowed in company of the rude proletarians and communists on Cleveland's Public Square—unchaperoned by the City Club by permission of the Chamber of Commerce.

Hie ye, fair Damsels, to your Nunnery behind the portals of the Chamber of Commerce! But if you are coming out on parade each Saturday noon as the City Club promises, we shall be present and shall see if there dwells not a sly twinkle in the corners of your eyes.

We suggest that our readers may learn a great deal about Russia from Robins' book which can be had for $1.50 by addressing The Toiler.

Adieu

THE EDITOR.

SOVIET HOMES APPEAL

(Continued from page 2.)

again his food is provided by the state. After school hours he goes to one of the neighborhood children's clubs, where he has games, books, and school books and is watched over until his mother has finished her work and is ready to have him at home.

When he has attained the age of 16 he either enters the university on state pay or becomes a worker in the industrial life of the community.

[illegible]

NO. 128. Published weekly at Cleveland, Ohio. CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, JULY 16th, 1920. [illegible] Ave., Cleveland, O. $1.50 A YEAR

U. S. LIFTS COMMERCIAL BLOCKADE AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA

The Wilson administration, due to the insistence of American manufacturers and exporters, officially lifted the American commercial blockade of Soviet Russia on July 7th. That the lifting of the blockade, which has been responsible for the starvation and deaths of thousands of innocent women and children in Russia is the direct result of an accepted basis of trade relations between Great Britain and Russia, is now apparent in the reports of Russian delegations on their way to England for the purpose of preparing for the resumption of trade. Merchants here have no desire to see the rich field of Russian commerce invaded solely by the astute British.

The authorization for the resumption of trade between American exporters and Russian carries with it no recognition of the Soviet government. True to its hypocritical character, the Wilson administration seeks to perpetuate the idea of a difference between trade relations and "recognition". It will probably maintain the fiction to the last moment of the administration's term of office. But the Soviets have little to lose from non-recognition. What they want is locomotives which the Baldwin Locomotive Works are ready to supply by the hundred and the machinery, medicines and other necessities needful in the reconstruction of Russia's civil and economic life. American manufacturers have these supplies ready for delivery, they have been waiting and pleading with the State Department for months to allow them clearance papers for shiploads of these products. The government has withheld consent until the Red Army battered down the last hope of capitalism to reestablish itself in Russia — the Polish offensive. With the Polish Army in rout, the government must accede to the logic of events and permit the beginning of trade.

That the whole world stands ready to trade with Russia now that the United States and England have consented, is accepted. Scandinavia especially has desired to trade with Russia for many months, but the fear of the Allies has compelled her to take no offensive step. Italy has already, so it is reported, sent cargoes to Russia in exchange for Russian goods. It is not likely that other nations will follow the stupid policy of the Wilson administration, but will allow full freedom of passenger traffic and mails to Russia followed shortly by official government recognition of the Soviet government.

The resumption of trade relations with the world is the greatest victory for Sovietism. In spite of the terrible handicaps of an economic and political revolution, preceded by a war which reaped a toll of 6,000,000 men; of counter revolution and attacks against her by the Entente allies; with a worn out, destroyed economic and industrial machine to which difficulty was added a blockade of all her ports, the Soviet government, the government of the Russian workers and peasants, has survived it all for two terrible years. With an indomitable courage it has beaten its enemies on every side, and has won the confidence of the masses of Russia. The opening of trade relations is a tacit acceptance of the strength of the Soviets.

Every revolutionist may hail with joy the establishment of these potential relations between Russia and the capitalist nations. They mean the ending of many terrors that have beset and hindered the development of the true Communist State, chief among which are the hunger and dearth of medicines, and the lack of machinery. With these supplied, will Sovietism be strengthened and the power of the Revolution be multiplied.

Hail to the Revolution. Hail to Russia, victor over capitalism!

Proclamation to the Workers of All Countries to Stop White Terror.

The complete text of the call for an international boycott of Hungary for the purpose of forcing the White Guard Government of that country to cease its terrible persecutions of Socialists and labor leaders, issued by the International Federation of Trade Unions from its headquarters in Amsterdam on June 3, is found in a copy of Het Volk, the Dutch Socialist organ. Late reports from Vienna say that the boycott, which went into effect June 20, is being carried out by Austrian, Jugoslav and Polish railroad men and telegraph and postal employes and is fairly effective. The text of the call, which has only been briefly quoted from in the cable dispatches, reads:

"To the workers of all countries:

"The International Federation of Trade Unions has, decided to boycott Hungary, beginning Sunday, June 20, and to put a stop to all traffic with that country.

"It is nearly a year since the socalled order-loving elements in Hungary got possession of the Government. From that moment on, the labor movement there has been exposed to an oppression and persecution the like of which has never been seen in the history of the labor movement, and which actually exceeds the horrors in the Czaristic Russia that has been overthrown.

"Mere membership in a trade union that is nonclerical is enough to cause one to be thrown into jail, and an anonymous denunciation is sufficient to have a person kidnapped and locked up in the internment camps.

"Already at the beginnig of the current year there were 9,000 men and women in the concentration camp at Hajmaster, 4,000 at Ospel, 2,400 at Zalaegerszeg, 2,000 at Eger, 3,000 at Cegled and 2,000 at Komaron Sandberg. Altogether there were some 50,000 men and women locked up. The jails in the cities are overflowing, the prisoners and the interned men are exposed to the most horrible and refined cruelties; at the beginning of this year 5,000 workers had already been executed. Thousands and thousands have been murdered by bands of officers without any form of law. Other thousands have perished of hunger and illness. The reactionary detachments of officers are all powerful. He who falls into their hands is lost. Their victims are martyrized and slain. There are cases well authenticated by sworn witnesses of unlucky wretches being scalped alive, of others whose arms and legs were broken, of others who were forced to consume offal, of others who were emasculated or similarly multilated, and of others who were compelled to practice canibalism.

"Husbands and fathers have been tortured and killed under the very eyes of their wives and children. Women and girls have been outraged before the eyes of their husbands and fathers. Every day men and women of the fighting working class disappear, and are only found as corpses, after having been beaten or shot to death, and often horribly multilated.

"The International Federation of Trade Unions has protested against these horrors to the Hungarian Government and to the Supreme Council of the League of Nations, and demanded that measures be taken to put an end to all these horrors. It has done no good. The White Terror reigns in Hungary the same after as before. The Supreme Council of the League of Nations evidently cannot, or will not, put the necessary pressure upon the Hungarian Government. The latter cannot, or will not, curb the horrors in its country; it either closes its eyes to them or encourages them itself.

"From official documents of the Hungarian Government that have come into the hands of the International Federation of Trade Unions it is evident that this Government incites the Judges to condemn even prisoners whose guilt is hot proved by the evidence, and that it pays rewards of from 20,000 to 250,000 crowns for the making harmless—that is, the murdering—of labor leaders living abroad.

"All these facts are known and established. The Governments that are acquainted with them do not wish to intervene; perhaps they applaud the wiping out and murdering of the labor movement in Hungary.

"The International Federation of Trade Unions takes over the task of the Governments and calls upon the workers of all countries, beginning June 20, to refuse to perform any work that might, directly or indirectly, be of benefit to the Hungary of the White Terror.

"From June 20, 1920, no train may cross the Hungarian border, no ship may enter Hungarian waters, no letter, no telegram, may be sent to, or received from, Hungary. The entire trafic must be stopped. No coal, no raw materials, no foodstuffs, no letter and no telegram may enter the country any more.

"During the war the ruling class in the belligerent countries fought its adversaries with the economic boycott. It did it after the war, and it is still trying to do it for the purpose of overthrowing the Russian labor Government.

"The International Federation of Trade Unions calls upon the working class of all countries to now make use of the same means, now that it is a matter of halting the bloody rule of the Hungarian Government and of saving the lives and liberties of thousands and thousands of comrades in Hungary.

"Comrades, transport workers, seamen, railroad men and officials, postal, telegraph and telephone workers and officials, workers in all other trades, respond like one man to the call of the International Federation of Trade Unions!

"From Sunday, June 20, on do not do another stroke of work for Hungary!

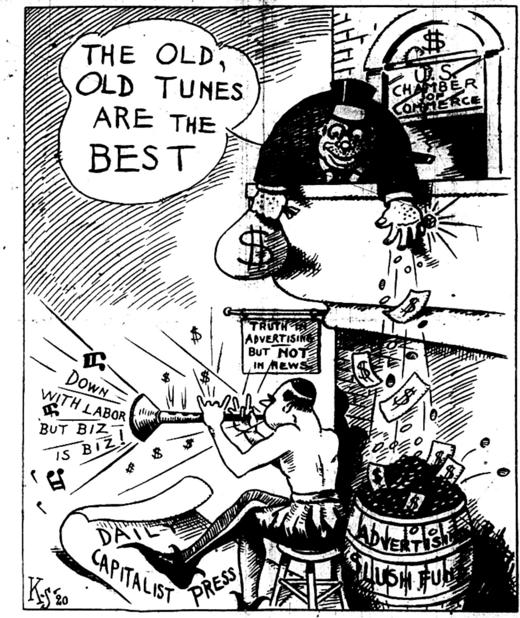
"The boycott by the working class against the White Terror!

"Long live international solidarity!

"W. E. APPLETON, President.

"L.JOUHAUX, C. MERTENS, Vice Presidents.

"EDO FIMMEN, J. OUDEGEEST, Secretaries."


THE OLD, OLD TUNES ARE THE BEST
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U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
TRUTH IN ADVERTISING BUT NOT IN NEWS
DOWN WITH LABOR BUT BIZ IS BIZ!
DAILY CAPITALIST PRESS
ADVERTISING SLUSH FUND
K-S-'20

He Who Pays the Piper Plays the Tune

Jury Secured in Communist Cases

Trial of 127 Communists in Chicago to proceed. Twelve men satisfactory to both sides finally found. Sixty days required. Fifteen hundred veniremen examined.

CHICAGO, July 9.—The trial of 127 Communists and Communist Laborites, for which two months have been consumed in securing twelve jurymen, will proceed. For sifty days the prosecuting attorneys and the defendants have stood in the Cook County Court examining panel after panel of prospective jurymen, 1,500 in all, attempting to find in this multitude twelve men satisfactory to both sides who will carry in their hands the fate of 127 men, charge under the laws of Illinois with conspiring to overthrow the government by organizing the Communist and the Communist Labor Parties at Chicago last September.

Not all "conspirators" present.

Of the 127 for whom indictments were issued, thirteen have never been arrested, for the very good reason that they have not been found by the authorities. Among these are John Reed, noted author and newspaper man, whose recent imprisonment in Abo, Finland, aroused great interest in revolutionary circles. Reed was charged with smuggling, considerable diamonds and money was found in his possession. At latest reports he had been fined and released.

Four women who were also arrested will be tried after the present case is concluded.

That the Chicago case will be an historic one in the annals of American labor is assured by the legal talent which is participating, the defense being represented by Mm S. Forrest, Clarence Darrow and Wm. Cunnea.

Russian Communists Anxious to Unite American Revolutionists.

— By John Clayton. —
in Chicago Tribune.

Declaring the revolutionary movement in the United States, if all factions are united, will gain a tremendous impetus and become a real menace to capitalism there, the communist leaders of Russia are bending every effort to unite all the radical parties under the banner of the Third Internationale.

I hadn't been in Moscow for twenty-four ours before I became aware of the presence of many American revolutionists, including representatives of the two communist parties, the I W. W. and American Socialist.

During my stay in Moscow a contract was drawn up between the leaders of the Communist party of America and of the Communist Labor party of America, signed by them, and sent to the United States for approval. The president of the Third Internationale, Zinovieff, inspired this union as part of the revolutionary body's plans for unity in the United States. Late in March a representatnve of the Socialist party came, bringing the application of this group for membership in the Communist Internationale.

Message Scores Socialist Party.

Zinovieff gave me the following message which he said had been forwarded to the Socialists:

"The executive of the Third Internationale believes, if there is no difference between it and the American Socialists, there is no need of a separate Socialist party in the United States, and he calls on the American Socialists to unite with the American Communist party.

"Before we can admit this body to membership we must have guarantees that the officials at its head who are responsible for the American Socialist support of the European war and who sold the working classes to the militarists be excluded from the honest revolutionary ranks. We know the platform of the leaders like Morris Hillquit. We consider them traitors to the revolutionary movement."

Zinovieff on I. W. W.

Speaking of the I. W. W., Zinovieff said:

"As yet there is no official connection between the I. W. W. and the Third Internationale, but, knowing their policy, we are confident it will not be long before the I. W. W. will be united with the communist movement. The executive of the Third Internationale has issued an official proclamation through the organ of the Communist Internationale to the American proeltariat represented by the I. W. W. and we are confident they will give a satisfactory answer to this proclamation. The mistakes of the I. W. W. are those which radical reform movements have made throughout the world. They refuse to step into the arena of politics, but if they will study the Russian Communist party they will see it is not a political party in the ordinary sense of the word, and they will try to repair their mistakes."

Work Against Gompers.

Among the labor unions in the United States the Communist party has been propagating an extensive insurrection against Gompers and his fellows, declaring them the tools of the capitalist class. Representatives of insurgent unions are finding their way into Russia to study at the communist propaganda school. The Third Internationale has a department of reorganization of trade unions on purely revolutionary lines. Zinovieff declares they will soon be ready to form an Internationale of trade unions which he confidently predicts will be supported by the American labor unions.

ATTEND THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE
PICNIC
AT FRANK'S FARM, SHERBODY HILL WOOSTER AVE, EXTENSION AKRON, OHIO.
Sunday, July 25th
Speaker
Geo R. Kirpatrick
Prepare to bring your family and enjoy the day.
Music, dancing and refreshments.

Skygack's Column

"Many business are feeling the pinch of hard times—manifested in one way or another. Orders withdrawn . . . reduced profits with high overhead, and so on." You hard times are upon us—(we businessmen). The foregoing was taken verbatim from an advertisement which appeared in the W. G. N. (World's Greatest Newspaper—some call it) the Chicago Tribune of June 13th. It was headed, "Unspeeded by Cancellations".

• • •

Now if the poor wageearners had only saved their money—and they COULD save their money—if it did not take money to live—If I did not eat I'd have money to burn"—

• • •

Panics are symptoms of crisis in our social system. We usually weather one by making the proper conditions for a harder one next time. Read the Communist Manifesto of 1848 for the clearest explanation of panics, their cause and cure.

• • •

Does Harding own any Standard Oil stock?

• • •

More important still, does Standard Oil own any Harding stock?

• • •

In the struggle for life, violence is the first virtue, yet we are told that we dare not admit it.

• • •

In the animal world, force is the chief factor in determining the possession of the female by the male.

• • •

Force and violence — there is the subject matter of the last two paragraphs. In conclusion we might add—and then again we might not!!!

• • •

The other day I had an argument with a patriot, one of the howling shouting flag-waving, stay-at-home-and-profiteer sort who cheered the boys as they left and forgot them when they were gone, who gravely assured me that under no circumstances were force or violence to be permissable. I thereupon asked him if he approved of the police force. He did. What would a police force be like if it could not use force if necessary? Armies and navies are efficient just in proportion to their ability to use force and (if necessary) violence. You see, Hy it is this way—force and violence is justifiable if used against you, but all wrong for you to advocate or use.

• • •

Nature has neither plan or purpose. It is as aimless as the average farmer and like the common or garden variety of wage-slave she just gets by, moving along the line of least resistence and in conformity with the natural law of her own existence.

• • •

There is a fanatic under my window telling all about the love of God, while over our heads the bull-bats are gathering their evening meal of live insects, eaten alive. Selah!

• • •

"Courting may be looked upon as a refined and delicate form of combat" opines Collin Scott. Sort of a preliminary training for matrimony as it were.

• • •

Why do the Allens and the rest of the burjoolce always refer to the scab as "the man who serves his country"? Is it really true that that a man can not strike and serve his country but can scab and serve his country? I know a man can't strike and serve his master but hasn't master got master and country a bit mixed?

"Any old president is better than none" says Black and White in its scab number. Well they ought to be satisfied.

• • •

Bryan is still in politics even tho the fifty cent dollar has dwindled until it wont purchase as much as two-bits used to buy.

• • •

If the only way to keep men sober and virtuous is prohibition of liquor can they expect to keep men pure and virtuous without abolishing sex?

• • •

The overall craze was like a Mother Hubbard wrapper, it covered so much territory that it didn't touch anywhere.

• • •

Besides who can imagine a presidential candidate in overalls?

• • •

Now that both the old parties have nominated their choice for the presidency, let me suggest a simplified form of election—let them place the names of Harding and Cox on a ballot and instruct the voters to designate their choice for the presidency, then give the presidency to the one receiving the most votes and the vice-presidency may go as a consolation prize to the defeated candidate. By following this simple plan, big business will be assured of having their man in the chair and Ohio can keep up its reputation of being the mother of presidents. For the common people—after election as before they will still have to work for wages, when they can find the work to do—and will get as wages the bare cost of their reproduction. All the surplus values will go—after election as they do now before election—into the pockets of the parasite class.

• • •

Both presidential candidates are "safe and sane". By that term we mean they will both support "our existing institutions," including jails penitentiaries, churches, wage-slavery and the institution of private property. Neither of the candidates can be considered visionary—by which is meant they have no idea or ideal of a better system of society than the present competitive system of wages and slave relations. Bah! Let's go fishin'.

The fish hold no democratic elections. They are honest about it. It is a plain case of big fish catch the little ones and eat 'em. No camouflage, no politics.

• • •

The other day I picked up a sheet torn from the May Pictorial Review and read the close of an article entitled, "a fair field in sex." The author closed her arguments with the following. (I can quote the sense if not the exact words) "the reader will please note that nowhere in this article have I advised women to beg men to give them a fair field, but rather have I tried to show that women must TAKE what should be their rights—take them first and argue about it afterwards." As I read the article I wondered what would happen to Gompers and a host of other labor-ites if labor should in no case BEG for a fair field and no favors but should TAKE what they know to be their own. Wow-ie!

• • •

There is the matter of the Saturday half-holiday. Suppose the workers, instead of petitioning the king or some similar potentate to GIVE them a half holiday, just suppose they would all get together and TAKE Saturday afternoon off? The whole world would be benefitted and no one would be loser.

• • •

Labor as a beggar is a pitiful spectacle. Labor demanding and taking, commands the respect of everybody—even the parasites.

• • •

Once again we have celebrated the anniversary of our forefather's independence. Notice the wording of that phrase. I did NOT say we had celebrated OUR independence. I usually try to keep within the bounds of truth. We have but little independence to celebrate.

• • •

Another count in the indictment against Christianity is that it abolished the bath and plunged the civilized world into an abyss of physical filth with its attendant evils of pestilences and vermin lasting for eigtheen hundred years.

• • •

Faith is said to remove mounts, but I have noticed that it is better to take a steam shovel, plenty of dynamite and laborers.

• • •

While the bands were playing and the populace was all worked up with its hurrahs, how many thought of the great land steal, where a strip of land, every other quarter section for a distance of twenty miles on each side of the railroad the equivalent to a solid strip of land twenty miles wide wherever the Western railroads ran which was slipped over in congress during Lincoln's administration?

• • •

"My country slipped from me.
Way back in "63". That is the refrain that echoes in my head when I hear that old familiar tune.

• • •

Now that Kate O'Hare has accepted the executive pardon I am wondering if she will still continue to advise the farmers to raise "less corn and more hell"?

• • •

Heard any farmers advocating social production in agriculture? Well that is the only solution to the farm problem. You can judge the statemanship of the various politicians by the stand they take upon this question.

• • •

What does "social production in agriculture" mean? Now don't all speak at once!

• • •

Social production in industry put industry out of the hand tool stage. Social production in agriculture will free the farmer from "the idiocy of rural life".

• • •

The S. E. P. is worrying over what will become of the money "we furnish Europe", whether it is to be used to capitalize industries or pay salaries. I'm not worrying any. None of my money goes to Europe, either as salaries or capital. I can blow all I get right here in the U. S. A.

• • •

Funny ain't it—how a fellow with a plaster on his farm and not enough cash in his jeans to pay for the necessary juice to get his flivver home, will worry about the money we are sending to Yurrup?

• • •

Now we are to get all het up over the Rising Tide of Color, meaning the rise of the yellow races and the possible by them of the white race. Bebbe so—mebbe so—sometime. Sometime too teh earth will probably freeze up solid—but I don't expect it to happen in my day. What interests me is the rising tide of proletarian class consciousness. This is the rising tide which worrieth the capitalists—and right now they are whistling to keep their courage up.

• • •

In our town we had a meeting and after some rousing speeches a thousand working stiffs signed up to buy a home on the installment plan—say definitely a 2c less interest and more principal, same to be kept up in $30.00 a month, $29.89 interest and 11c principal each month. Now we've got a thousand slaves cinched. The more the pay into this scheme the more docile they will become. Where a man's coin is there will his heart be found also. I will not vouch for the accuracy of the above figures—but will bet my last jitney the principle is explained.

The Literary Indigestion in its current number prints an article on "Why Preaching is "foolishness." Next thing we know the indigestion will be printing articles on why matter has weight.

[illegible] Revolution

CHRISTIANIA, Norway, June 1.—(By Mail)—A cable just received from Moscow brings the text of a manifesto issued by the executive committee of the communist International (popularly known as the Third International), in which the date for the second international communist congress is set for July 15, and the following program is announced for the sessions, which are to take place in Moscow:

1. Report of the Executive Committee.
2. Reports of delegates from the different countries.
3. The present situation and the International.
4. Parliamentarism.
5. Trade unions and workmen's councils.
6. The composition and role of the Communist party, with special reference to the acquisition of power by the proletariat.
7. The economic policy of nations.
8. The land question.
9. The attitude of the communist International toward the new tendency of "center" groups of accepting in theory the communistic platform and the conditions of membership in the Third International.
10. By—laws of the communist International.
11. Women's organizations.
12. Young people's groups.

It is further announced in the manifesto that the right of representation is extended to all communist party groups, and trade unions which have officially affiliated with the Third International.

All groups and organizations which subscribe to the principles of the communist International, but which are opposed to the party in their own country that has affiliated with the Third International, are also invited to send representatives to the congress, which will then devise a formula as to what voting power shall be accorded these groups.

Syndicalist and industrial organizations of workers which have been in touch with the executive committee are also invited.

The executive committee urges all participating groups to nominate in advance the members who shall represent them on the incoming committees of the party, and to make arragements by which it will be possible for the persons so chosen to remain in Russia for some time after the congress.

The manifesto closes by stating that the tremendously rapid spread of communistic ideas over the whole world makes necessary the calling of this congress, which will issue clear and positive declarations concerning all the questions on the agenda, and which will indicate the guiding lines for the world revolution of the workers.

[illegible] "I would have enjoyed having this gentleman with me when I visited some of the children's hospitals and sanitariums in Moscow.

The tuberculosis sanitariums occupy former villas of wealthy Moscow merchants and aristocrats in the summer park colony a few versts from Moscow, and here one forgets for a moment the difficulties of life in Moscow in contemplation of a remarkable work well organized and well done.

Equality for Children.

"The government believes," said the cheerful young woman doctor in charge of one of the larger sanitariums for treatment of bone tuberculosis, "that every child, irrespective of parentage or social condition, has its right to life and health. It is our duty, if nothing else, to see that these little ones are put straight and given the same opportunities other youngsters have. There is nothing philanthropic about the work."

Perhaps there is no philanthropy, but there certainly is a vast amount of humanitarian spirit in the organization of these clinics and hospitals, and a great deal of love in the hearts of the women who are directing them.

Technical Models of Kind.

In technicque they are models of their kind. The largest and best equipped villas have been chosen, those which provide open verandas and balconies where the children can spend most of their time in the sunlight when the weather permits.

The impressive thing was the cheerfulness of the littel ones and the spirit of comradeship which exists between them and their leaders.

In order that they should not fall behind in their school work they are given daily lessons, the bedridden ones being supplied with swinging desks across their beds on which they do their work. They are carefully watched to see that they do not overdo their strength, but it is surprising how much quicker than the average are the minds of these little sufferers.

The Failure of the French Strike

By Marie A. Czaplicka.

The events of the first of May of last year in Paris marked the awakening of the labor movement of France from the nationalism of the war, and the even more intense nationalism of the peace. The complete reawakening, however, has come only with the first of May of this year, and the general strike which accompanied it. Though the strike movement could hardly be called a success, and finally died out three weeks after its inception, its importance must not be under—estimated, for it marked the beginning of a new spirit and a new policy in the trade-union movement of France and more particularly in the central federation of labor organizations, known as the Confederation Generale du Travail, or more familiarly the "C. G. T."

The C. G. T. exhibits a local coloring as strong as that of France itself compared with other countries and this national flavor is not greatly influenced by the diversity of political opinions among its members. Before the outbreak of the war in 1914 there was a decided conflict over policy between the reformists and the revolutionists, which was intensified by the war itself toward which the majority of the members of the C. G. T. assumed a favorable attitude. The reverberations of the issue of Second or Third International, of Berne or Moscow respectively, have been felt to a considerable extent within the fold of the C. G. T., but the influence of all the political international issue has been greatly mitigated by the strict insistence of the organization on a non-political policy within its ranks.

The C. G. T. has thus far been more successful in its national policy than in international action. An outstanding achievement is the Eight Hours Bill which was passed by the French Chamber on April last. On the other hand the general strike proposed as a manifestation against the intervention in Russia and Hungary, which was fixed for July 2, 1919, proved a total fiasco. The recent strike is another proof of the French character of the C. G. T. The question about which it chiefly revolved was that of the nationalization of the railways which is generally considered in France to be of the greatest importance. The railroad system of France is urged need of reform from every point of view. The welfare of the system has been sacrificed to the interests of capitalist contractors until there is now a permament deficit which keeps the whole railroad system in a backward condition of operation and development. Such a state of affairs would justly have encountered general disapproval, and it is to the credit of French labor that their view of the situation has been more free of reactionary bias than that of either the Government or the Chamber, although it is certainly to the interest of the French state no less than that of the railroad unions that consideration be given to the nationalization program of the C. G. T.

A complete program of nationalization has been worked out by the Econmic Research Cmmittee of the C. G. T. which includes many of the best thinkers on social and economic questions. It proposes to entrust the management of the railroads to an impartial body composed of the representatives of all classes. In the administration of the railroads the labor program recognizes the necessity of supervision by the "economic collectivity", representing the interests of all the shareholders rather than that of a few influential individuals. Herein lies the chief point of difference between the present system and the one which has been proposed. The C. G. T. program further provides for a central organization of administration combined with a decentralization of executive power and control. The technical side of the program envisages a complete overhauling of the physical equipment of the roads and the installation of all kinds of modern devices with a view to the technical standardization of the various subsidiary railroad lines. In the negotiations on the question of wages the railroad unions are to have an equal voice with the Central Board of Administration, but the strike nevertheless remains as a weapon of last report to be used by the workers in defence of their rights if discussion fails to adjust the dispute. And finally all the reforms proposed are according to the plan to be carried out under the present regime without destroying the continuity of the service.

An alternative plan of reform has been brought forward by the government as a counterbalance to the influence of the labor program. According to the government plan all changes are to be brought about within the structure of the existing system. The extent of the collaboration of the workers is ill-defined, but the government program agrees with that of the C. G. T. on the all-important reform of unification of the existing system, which is especially emphasized by the government as it is by labor.

The reorganization of transportation is the first serious step taken by the French government of the labor movement toward reconstruction. It is suprising that the government has allowed the deterioration of the the railways to proceed so far in view of the important role which they played during the war, when they were a decisive factor in the determination of victory.

The situation is therefore clearly such that the strike of last May may be considered to have produced important results, in spite of the fact that the press speaks slurringly of its collapse as adeath from anemia, and represents the general public as full of indignation against the strikers.

From the standpoint of labor solidarity the strike has been a vonderful success and has shown a remarkable discipline in the ranks of labor. Many workers participated in it who were not making any local demands of their own, a rather unique experience in the French labor movement. Such is the opinion of M. Ernest Lafort, Socialist deputy of the Loire and incidentally one of the few advocates of anti-alcoholism. On the other hand his statement is contradicted by the fact that some of the strikers went over the heads of their leaders. For France like other countries is in need of changes within the labor organizations. The leaders of the trade unions or "syndicats" are the most popular representatives of the movement, while the socialist deputies in the Chamber are preoccupied with political questions, rather than the industrial problems which are the first concern of the C. G. T.

When, however, the Government at the climax of the strike announced its intention to dissolve the C. G. T. or suspend its activities, no protest was heard in the Press except that representing the socialist point of view, and the first attack on their measure came with the reopening of Parliament from M. Paul Boncour, the Socialist deputy of Paris. So that after all perhaps M. Merrheim, the head of the Metal Workers Union and one of the leading intellectuals of the labor movement, was right in his statement that without this strike there would have been no effort for the improvement of social conditions in France.

When compared with similar movements in other countries as for instance Great Britain, the French strike seems to have met much more opposition from the government and much less from the public. The so-called Civil League which supplied the workers to take the place of the strikers is not an enthusiastic body of volunteer patriots, and its name would seem to to indicate, but rather a group of casual strike-breakers interested in the daily pay they draw for their services in the strike, and unwilling or unable to take a permanent position. On the other hand the arrest of almost all the popular leaders and the provocative display of military force would indicate a greater degree of anxiety on the part of the Government than a million unarmed strikers should have been able to produce.

From what has been said it is clear that the strike was in its general character an affair of internal politics in France. The cessation of hostilities against Soviet Russia was indeed included among the strike demands, but received no advertisement in the strike meeting nor in the Socialist press, nor on the other hand in the debates in the Chamber on the subject of the strike. The rapid changes which French foreign policy has been undergoing recently have produced a chaotic impression upon the mind of the average Frenchman, but the majority is still more impressed with the destructive than the constructive activities of the Soviet Government. The present intransigent policy of the French government however is certainly stimulating the movement toward fraternization with all elements both within the country and outside who are being persecuted by the official activity and publicity.

[illegible]

The next four months were more than eventful. Jack and Collins went from one mining camp to another getting work, stirring agitation, and being fired (discharged). They managed to do just work enough to keep themselves supplied with food and clothes while they preached the doctrine of industrial solidarity to the workers in various mining camps. One of their first stops was at Wardner of "bull pen" fame. Here Collins, who was among other things an experienced miner, got work under ground with Jack for a helper.

As was their custom they immediately began to talk the need of organization to their fellow workers, with the expected result that they were summarily discharged.

From Wardner they went to Kellogg, a near by town of equally odoriferous reputation. News of their coming had evidently preceeded them, for when they applied at the superintendent's office for work, he told them curtly that their kind was not wanted in Kellog, and he advised them, "to beat it, and beat it fast." He informed them that there had been enough discontent sown among the workers, and that he for one, would see to it that no anarchists and trouble makers came to, or remained in the camp. "The employees are the best friends the laboring man has," the mine chief roared. "I believe in American freedom; in the personal liberty of every man to choose the condition under which he will work, so take warning and get out."

While the superintendent spoke, Collins looked at him with a glint of malice in his steel grey eyes. It was evident that mere words would not frighten the big man, for he made no reply to the superintent's implied threats but simply advised him to take a swift passage to a lower region and a higher temperature. After leaving the superintent's office the two went to a hotel where they rested until the evening.

At seven thirty they picked up a box in an alley, and setting it up in front of a boarding house, Collins began to talk to a group of miners who were congregated on the porch. They did not succeed in getting very much of a crowd, for the well known reason that every man with a cent's worth of manhood, and intelligence above that of a Digger Indian had been run out of the district by the militia and the Pinkerton thugs during the strike of 1903. The men who worked there now, were nearly all "Missourians," that is to say, a hopelessly scabby and ignorant lot. At least that is what the word Missourian signified to the few intelligent miners who were still there working on private prospects.

While a few men stayed and listened to what Collins had to say others went away to tell their boss that there were a couple of agitators in town, a thing that could not then, or cannot now be tolerated in either Kellogg or Wardner.

Just as Collins was warming up to his subject, and Jack had unpacked a bunch of "International Socialist Reviews" six men drove up with a car and invited them to take a ride, making their invitation urgent by the use of a couple of full grown revolvers.

Jack looked at the small crowd of miners to whom his partner had been speaking, but they showed as little concern for what might happen to them, as if they were a group of female moose watching a battle of bucks for the right of herd supremacy

It surely looked to the boy as if they were hopelessly out numbered and that to resist would be useless But Collins took an entirely different view of the matter. "Are you officers?" he asked the men in the machine.

"It is none of your damned business what we are," said one of their number, a square faced red headed, plug ugly, as he jumped out of the car and came toward them, as if to take them by force.

"We are here to enforce law and order, and to do it either by stringing you up or running you out of town. We have not decided what we will do." explained another, who was now holding a gun near the big man's stomach.

"Well," answered Collins coldly, "if we are to die, one place is as good as the other, and you will be as good company in hell as any I know." So saying from his vantage point on his soap box, he kicked the fellow who had him covered with the gun under the chin, while imitating his companion Jack, kicked the one who covered him in an even more sensitive part of his anatomy, causing his adversary to fling up his hands, thereby loosing his weapon, which Jack caught as it flew out of the gun man's hand. Quick as a flash he fired a shot into the rear tire of the machine, and before the other gunmen realised what had happened, both he and Collins had darted into an alley, and running over a mine dump, they entered the woods, dodging several bullets fired after them by the men who had been in the car, but who now gave chase on foot.

When the two had reached the woods Collins hurriedly told Jack that the best thing they could do, would be to climb one of the second growth firs and hide among the branches. This they did as soon as they had sufficiently outdistanced their pursuers. This did not take them long for both were in splendid physical condition and the approaching darkness was friendly to them. In less than ten minutes after they had left the box they were up among the evergreen branches of the trees, while their pursuers passed almost directly under them.

From their place in the trees they could over hear much of what the gunmen said. Their remarks angered Collins and amused Jack. Much of what their pursuers said were, threats of violence, interspersed with words of praise for the clever way in which they had effected their escape. One boasted the loss of his gun, which he said had three notches on it, meaning that he had killed three men. Jack felt of the handle and sure enough the gruesome tallies were there. The boy was almost tempted to shout that he would like to put on another notch at the former owner's expense, but his bump of caution was too large.

The gunmen wandered far afield in search of their intended victims, in fact they scoured the whole neighborhood until well after dark, then they returned to the town, after which the two companions descended from their arboreal refuge, and made their way to a little Finn colony nestling in a wild mountain canyon near the village of Ennaville, a little to the west of the town of Wallace.

They decided to stop for a few days with these friendly people and wait until they could get new supplies from Spokane, for all their literature, which after all is the best amunition for the agitator, had been lost in the melee. And that was not all, their suitcases, containing much of their personal effects, were as yet at the Kellog Hotel.

During the few days they stayed at the Finn colony, Jack wrote a full account of what had happened to Olive Anderson, who by this time was eagerly watching every mail for news from the boy. Oftentimes she enjoyed Collin's occassional notes quite as much as Jack's elaborate and carefully studied accounts of what was taking place. For Collins living the life of a revolutionist could make the meaning of the struggle much plainer than Jack who only studied it.

After about four days Collins and Jack went back to Kellog and took the suitcases from the hotel. The proprietor told them that the man whose gun the boy had taken away had been teased so much by the others that he had left camp. To which Jack replied, that he was sorry this had happened as he wanted to return the gun to its rightful owner. Only now he decided to keep it until such a time as he met him again, when possibly he might need it. Nobody molested them at Kellogg and they left on the afternoon train for Wallace, where they met with a group of miners, who were Western Federation men, and who were going up to Burke to work in the mines. They insisted that Jack and Collins go with them and get a job, so as to be able to assist in crystallizing what ever union sentiment they could find into a form for effective organization.

They did find work at Burke and stayed on the job until the end of May. The trial of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone now engaged Collin's attention. He decided it would be a good thing for him and Jack to go to Boise, and see and hear what was going on. He told the boy that the Nevada, Arizona, and Colorado mines were well organized in their capitalistic union and that consequently they would put up a bitter legal fight, with the formidable forces brought into play by the master class.

There were several things which made the prospects of a trip to Boise very alluring to the boy. One of these was the fact that Rudolph, who had gone to Spokane, when Jack and Collins started for the mines, had written that he would in all probability be in Boise, and write up the trial for a Jawish paper back east. For the present he was employed in a second hand book store on Stevens Street, where he could commune with his beloved poets, with only an occassional customer to interrupt him. Jack liked Rudolph and his mode of thinking immensely, but it was Collins who held him by the sheer force of personality.

The next reason was that the trial offered him a chance to learn more about man; it would increase his stock of knowledge, and for the increase of knowledge he seemed to live. With him the acquisition of information was an end in itself. He lived to know. In this he differed from Collins who lived to do, and for whom knowledge had little value except as it aided him in doing the things he considered worth while.

There was yet another, and perhaps it was the greatest incentive, to the boy in making the trip. It would be made on foot, over what is perhaps the most picturesque mountain trail in America. He would see new rocks, new formations, new animals, new birds and plants; these things were food to his mind And he would hear the trial, the great legal battle, where he might study the play of passion in the hearts of strong men. In the court room he would behold the mental conflict of interests. He would see and hear the classes struggle for supremacy in industry, which was but an initial phase of their ultimate struggle to survive.

There can be no doubt but what the boys discussion to fight in the class war was eminently sincere for his training had taught him that due to his economic position he really could not escape his part in it yet, his mind was not adapted to the thought processes it demands. And hence, he habitually reasoned in other terms. He was like an eagle with mighty wings, who felt conscious of a power to soar above the clouds, and yet who for some ideal's sake, resolved not to fly. With Collins all this was different. He thought in terms of economics, he spoke the language of sociology, he dreamed in pictures of organized masses. He wanted to go to Boise for no other purpose than to be able to say to the workers, "I was there. I saw and heard the battle. Such and such are the tactics of the masters. I know, because I have heard and seen them in action, on the job, and in their courts." With Collins the class struggle was an intellectual conception; with Jack it was primarily an emotional appeal.

With these different, and yet to an extent, similar motives, he joined the journey to Boise, arriving on the opening day of the historic trial.

(Continued next week.)

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, JULY 16, 1920.

Palmer Being Probed

The turbulent political tide has cast up various and considerable flotsam and jetsam these past few weeks. It seems that the desires of the ambitious politicians to sacrifice themselves upon the altar of service for the "people", has led some of them to very questionable methods whereby to accomplish their laudable ends.

Aside from the matter of the Wood campaign funds — which is not at all unusual nor new, we have the matter of Mr. Palmer's candidacy. It seems that Mr Palmer failed to keep his agreement at San Francisco in allowing some 254 delegates to run wild instead of turning them to McAdoo at the proper moment. Of course this is an unpardonable sin against the administration and rumors are rife in Washington that the skids are being greased to slide Mr. Palmer out of the Cabinet.

Meanwhile the Senate committee investigating primary campaign expenses at St. Louis, has focussed its official lens upon charges against Palmer made by the Woman's High Cost of Living headquarters, a government agency. Succintly stated, the charges are these as made by miss Olive Bruggeman, former executive secretary. Mr. Palmer, the charges state, established 2,000 headquarters in all sections of the country from which publicity for the reduction of the high cost of living was sent out. These headquarters, aside from being used for the purpose intended, were turned into Palmer booster clubs for the furthering of his nomination for the Presidency. Republicans were fired from jobs therein and democrats installed as a further aid to Mr. Palmer's ambitions. The well known fact that the Department of Justice has been more active in aiding Mr Palmer's candidacy than in carrying out its official duties, does not add to Mr. Palmer's chances of escaping punishment.

However, if Mr. Palmer had by some hook or crook won the nomination the whole Democratic machine would have stood solidly behind him and he would have been heralded broadcast as the quintessence of purity and the savior of the nation. Having lost the nomination and in the losing aroused the administration's ire, most any thing is likely to happen to our famous Destroyer of the Reds.

The Poles in Rout

The past week's dispatches prove what has long been expected and prophesied by those best able to interpret the movements of the Polish and Bolshevik battle fronts. Under the steady hammering of immense Red Army forces, the Polish front has moved steadily backward. Its location from day to day is a matter of conjecture. City after city has been evacuated to the pressing tide of Trotsky's well disciplined and equipped cavalry and infantry.

The capitulation of Poland to the Soviet forces may be expected at any moment, so intense has become the Red drive. That the Red forces intend to move straight to Warsaw is conjectured and the possibility of such a move is conceded now that their strength is proved.

Meanwhile the power of the Polish army dwindles. It is in rout and there appears no solution except capitulation. A losing battle is being fought in which the last reserves of Poland are being inducted. The inevitable has occurred. Poland's imperialistic ambitions have received the answer they deserved. It is only to be regretted that she could not foresee the result as early as did the Allies, who have only nominally supported her these past few weeks. Had she due sense, many, many lives would have been saved. As it is, she has but added to her internal miseries that of defeat. But if the workers of Poland are able thru that defeat and the people's miseries to overthrow the bourgeois government and establish the Polish Soviet, then only, will they reap a profit from their experience. That it is among the probabilities is without question.

Modern Myths

The reading of the daily papers since the nomination of the two major parties, candidates convinces us that the making of Myths comprises one of the official duties of the capitalist press. No sooner had the nominating votes been counted than the candidates blossomed forth in its pages as reservoirs of wisdom, statesmanship, and all qualities necessary to the office of President. Their records from babyhood to the moment of going to press have been opened and no flaw found therein. Photographs of the candidates as nursing babes, school boys, young men, and politicians; together with those of their wives children, dogs, cats, horses, houses and what not, have been pictured before a surfeited public in a manner calculated to fill its mind with the idea that two super-men had at last been chosen to lead the people out of the wilderness in which it now bewails and laments.

The capitalist press calculates with what surprising accuracy, the aptitude of the public to forget the events of the recent past. The same old game of Myth—creating has been carried on at each campaign for lo, these many years; yet, at each succeeding election the worn tricks are brought out of the political lumber room and with [illegible] care are exhibited again before the stupid gaze of the gullible multitude. Well does the capitalist press know its audience.

Granted two months time in which to work upon the public mind, the public daily press will have men, women and children fired into a frenzy of political fervor over the personalities and qualifications of these two paper-mache dummies of capitalism. The same thing has worked before, it will work with equal success again. Who does not recall the Wilsonian Myth? And who, other than a politician nursing a hope of a political job will not concede the point that the Myth has become but a moth eaten rag flapping senselessly in the breeze, a mere scarecrow?

The two candidates, now hailed as saviors by the two political wings of the same interests, are befitting the platforms upon which they hope to ride to victory thru the ignorance of the great American voting mule. Like their platforms neither can be credited with vision, character or the qualities of leadership. Neither have anything to offer the wage earners of America except the continuation of their slavery and a tighter rivetting of their fetters. Nevertheless, these same deluded slaves will march to the polls and with hosannas bow the neck and bend the knee to these Myths, created by fraudulent newspaper publicity.

Dope for Dubbs Only

We sometimes wonder if the capitalist press takes itself at all seriously. Its contradictions are so palpable and its sins so culpable that we must marvel that it should for a moment do less than cynically smile at its bluff, bluster, bragadocio and frauds.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, in speaking editorially of the opening of trade relations with Russia, says: "Little or nothing will be sent because Americans will not take the risk of dealing with forsworn irresponsibles.... So it appears that the unreliability of the Bolsheviki and their record of faithlessness will be quite as effective as a government embargo to keep American goods out of Russia" Ignorance of actual facts cannot be assumed by the editor for such a statement. In previous editorial statements, he has intimated a knowledge of the growing demand among manufacturers for the permission to trade with Russia. The truth of the matter is, that the Plain Dealer Editor has misconstructed the desires of manufactureing interests in this country or has allowed his animosity to Sovietism to dictate the above untrue assertion.

Let us see what the manufacturers themselves say in respect to whether they will do business with Soviet Russia or not—whether they consider themselve as taking such tremendous risks at the hands of "irresponsibles". Just how welcome to Cleveland manufacturers is the granted permit to ship to Russia is seen in the statement of Mrs. J. G. Hammond, secretary of the Foreign Trade Department of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, "At least fifteen Cleveland firms have been waiting to send machinery to Russia", is her statement to the Cleveland Press.

Is it likely that fifteen of the largest manufacturers of Cleveland would wait for months to ship goods to a people whom they considered a bad account? Well, hardly. To socialists generally, and to a great number in particular, it has been long known that thousands of contracts involving millions of dollars worth of goods have already been signed by America's greatest manufacturers and the agents of the Soviet government in this country for delivery to Russia. The desire of Cleveland manufacturers to take adventage of the Russian market is equalled by the manufacturer of every other industrial center in this country.

However, we conjecture that the P. D. Editor writes his anti-bolshevist dope for consumption by the Henry Dubbs only.

We Must Go Too

In these days of high cost of existence and intensified commercialized living there is some excuse for a popular and widespread belief that by segregation of the individual from society the vicissitudes of modern 'civilized' life may be evaded; that we may step aside at will and "let the world go by." This erroneus concept is held chiefly by those who have not as yet experienced a try out of their theories. Millions of common folks, after half a life time spent in a vain and inglorious effort to beat the game of modern living, are casting about for some method, means or manner in which to get away from the terrific, endless nightmare into some secluded spot away from it all, where, in security and peaceful repose, they may pass the remainder of their days nearer to Nature and in accordance with the natural bias of human beings.

Such a desire arises from too much "civilization," a "fed up" condition as it were. After a twenty year battle with adverse and unnatural circumstances, the body grows weary, the soul sickens and the natural reaction occurs—back to Nature becomes the cry and the obsession. Thousands are seeking this Elysium every day in the year. But where one has found it, it is safe to assert that nine hundred and ninety nine have failed in their quest.

Nature herself, seems to have been backed off the map these days, so far reaching have become the tenacles of modern life. Into every nook and cranny extend the long arms of this octopus, this man killing, life destroying monster that sucks the blood and shrinks the souls of untold millions the world over. Into the mountains and the valleys, deep into the forests, upon every plain, extend the telephone, the railway, the paved auto road, those feelers and establishers of the new order, that has been slowly but surely creeping upon the virginity of this land. And where they reach, there is established another autpost of capitalistic civilization. There a new field is opened for the exploitation of another people; there is erected the machinery for the slaughter which feeds the system.

Man is by nature, a social being. The hermit life is as barren and desolating as is the life of the modern city wage slave. Both are unnatural and both are destructive of the best in man.

Man is a social being. A world of hermits is unthinkable. A world wherein each is for himself and by himself is equally impossible. To go forward, no matter thru what zone of disorder, to better things beyond is the inevitable course of human life and association. The evils of our modern life are not to be cured by attempted evasion. Even tho it were possible for a large number of individuals to escape from the social whirlpool, the whirlpool would still remain a source of peril to others and to generations coming after us.

The evils of society are social and cannot be solved by or for the individual, but only by the efforts of masses acting in unison. Whether we will or no, we are compelled by the very nature of man and the character of the society evolved by man's association with his fellows to solve social problems in a social way. We cannot dodge nor evade the [illegible] of the race. The struggle to survive compels us toward association. The good in the social system, we enjoy in common, likewise must we bear the evils in common until such time as we will by our social will and intelligence evolve a better civilization.

We cannot "let the world go by", it won't do it. If it goes at all, we must also go with it, for that is the law of our life.

They Are With Us -- Not

"They are with us—the bourgeois liberals, when the time comes they'll be with us." Ever hear a socialist say that? Very likely you have many times. It is one of those thought-the habit of repeating, which are belied by facts as well as probabilities. "They're coming our way" is cheerfully vouchsafed when some better or worse known liberal makes a statement bordering upon the revolutionary.
fully vouchafed when some better or worse known liberal a statement bordering upon the revolutionary.

Some socialists will recognize the materialistic basis for human mass actions with one breath and deny it with the next, which is just what is done in making such foolish statements as above indicated. Presumably, the wish is father to the thot, socialists are mostly proselytes and when there are indications that one has won a new convert, he is apt to forget his A B C of socialism in a moment of rapture that another brand is snatched from the burning.

The United States, especially, contains a very large group of this character, business men, educators, large farmers — all members of the middle class with middle class ideas and ideals. The chief difference between them and the real capitalist class is the difference between a million dollars and one tenth as much. The middle class would be perfectly contented and satisfied with the capitalist system and the enslavement of the working class if its status in society were not in jeopardy. But as the rise to power of the greater bourgeoisie also makes grist of it as well as the wage slave class, it duly emits howls in proportion to the pinch of the grinders.

When one examines the "liberalism" of these bourgeoisie, then we begin to realize how woefully shy of any thing revolutionary is their creed. Their demands for the re-establishment of free speech, press and assemblage; of the enforcement of the laws in line with Constitutional provisions: what are they? The most that can be said is that they are curbs which they would place upon the development of capitalism. In other words, their liberalism is only a set of rules by which they might legally and without fear of imprisonment tell the truth about the class whose puppets they are, the big capitalists. For many years the battle has been raging between the petit and the great bourgeoisie. Twenty four years ago the petit bourgeoisie went down to defeat in the political campaign. It has never been able to "come back", nor will it. Finance capital holds the world in the hollow of its hand.. The petit bourgeoisie has been forced to adopt the practice of crumbgatherers at the table of finance capital. Their liberalism consists in a desire to re-establish the political and economic condition of 30 years ago, no more.

To assume that the liberal bourgeoisie is with us — the revolutionists, is to fly in the face of facts of recent history. Where were they when the Bolsheviks took power in Russia? It was they who sabotaged, who refused to give their services to the people's government. Only as they learned in time that the Bolshevists were in power to stay, did they accept places in the government and in the industries. In other words, only when they were whipped by the proletarian power did they cast their lot with the proletarians. So will it be elsewhere. The liberals of the bourgeoisie, big or little, are still bourgeoisie, with the instincts, desires and qualifications of their class. They will not change over night and on the morning of the proletarian victory cast their lot with the victors. But only by the logic of that victory will they fall in line and be of service to us. Only when they are whipped will they be worthy.

Lines

He flashed by in his glistening new Super-eight
And swirled around to a dead stop before me.
"How do you like the lines?" he gloated.
And I thought of the lines that gave him who
had not earned it, that toy;
Lines that bound the limbs of those on Bayonne
That their food might be his fuel;
Lines of soldiers and a bleeding crowd at Ludlow;
Bread lines filled with hungry children
And hopeless, hulking, dark-browed men,
Lines of fear and lines of privation.
Class lines!
And one line was a hempen rope and taut
For one end was attached to a bridge
And the other was around a human neck.
How did I like the lines??? I didn't care for them.

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[illegible] Expelling Bolshevists and Exiles

By Linn A. E. Gale.

Mexico City.—Despite the fact that the New York Times correspondent here proposed to General Obregon the extradition of all American political exiles back to the United States, and despite a steady stream of lying reports sent out by newspaper men here, nothing of the kind has been done.

There are several Radicals in the administration who declare emphatically that while Obregon did not care to flatly refuse extradition, he has no intention of granting the request. Others who make no pretense of radicalism, however, say the same thing. The general impression is that the government wants to play "safe'' with both the capitalists and the Radicals, and will do nothing aggressive to anger either side, on the theory that it can then jump on the band-wagon of the winners at any time that international conditions seem to warrant it. A sort of ''progressive liberalism'' will, therefore, be in vogue for the present. While it will mean scant amelioration of the condition of the masses, neither will it mean any persecution of them or of labor organizations,—not yet, anyway. Workers say this is all they ask just now. They do not want to try to set up Soviets yet — they are not well enough organized. But in a year or so, if they are left alone and permitted to construct a powerful industrial movement thru the Mexican I. W. W., they will be in a position to wrest power from the bourgeoisie.

A great hullabaloo was recently mare in certain newspaper articles emanating from Mexico City, in which it was stated that four Russian Bolshevists had been jailed and would be deported. As a matter of fact. the four were not Bolshevists but merely youths who fled from Poland and eventually found their way to America. Reaching Mexico they unwisely went to the Russian ''consul'' who is a hold—over from the czar's regime and not only without any authority to represent the Soviet government, but actually a treacherous scoundre who works hand—in—hand with the American embassy. With characteristic perfidy, the ''consul'' had the lads arrested on a trumped-up charge and they were held a few days in the local police station. It is probable that the consul's real object was to bleed them for money as this is his customary mode of procedure. He has frequently sold fake Russian passports and then tipped off the American authorities so they could catch the unfortunate purchasers in Havana or elsewhere after they left Mexico. In any event, when the truth concerning the affair was brot to the attention of the officials, the boys were released.

Most dependable of all the information as to the government's probably attitude toward slackers, is the statement made by President De la Huerta to one of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. A Hindu who escaped the wrath of the British government a couple of years ago by fleeing to Mexico, received a notice to appear before an official in the attorney general's department and was astonished to note that his real name appeared on the summons. He had been using an assumed name during his stay here, as a protection against possible attempts of the British government to ''get'' him, and his real name was known to very few persons. Answering the summons, he was questioned by a clerk in the office in question, asked if he was a Bolshevist and interrogated regarding his activities here, then allowed to go without being advised of the purpose of the inquiry or the probable result. A Deputy who had an appointment to see the President, was asked to look into the matter and accordingly took it up with De la Huerta who unhesitatingly and emphatically responded that any such procedure was entirely unauthorized and that the government would not expel anybody, regardless of his political or economic beliefs. He added that evidently one of the government clerks was trying to scare the Hindu in question and hold him up for such money, and that the matter would be probed thoroly.

Meanwhile, the newly organized Mexican I. W. W. is going ahead with an extensive work of organization, as also is the Communist Party.

The Bolshevists and ''slackers'' are still alive and doing well in Mexico. Altho they cannot read the future, they are not fearful about it.

As a rule the Mexicans, even the anti—Socialists, are rarely inclined to obey the dictates of foreign capitalists or their governments. They have felt the iron heel too often. It is doubtful if Wall Street will ever be able to exact extradition from any government of native Mexicans but if it ever should succeed in seating a government that would obey it in this regard, the political exiles here are hopeful that the Mexican Social Revolution will be so near at hand that the dastardly project will never be consummated.

Until then, the Mexican Bolshevists will center their every energy on the upbuilding of an industrial organization so powerful that in its vise—like grip, capitalism will not be able to emit even a death—peep.

The White Terror in Hungary

— By Ernest Lorsy, —

II.

The visit of our Italian comrades was remarkable in more than one respect, I had the opportunity to question them thoroughly after their return to Vienna about their impression and intentions. I found them deeply moved by what they had seen and determined to do all they could to secure to the Hungarian workers the assistance of the workers in other lands in fighting against their tortures. The Italian Delegates took the Hungarian Premier to task about some of the cases selected from the gigantic mass of documentary evidence which has been collected. The premier gave them evasive, embarrased stammering answers. They wanted to visit these cellars of Budapest hotels, where the innocent victims of officer-terrorist troops are daily ill treated and killed by choice tortures, but the prime minister declared it was beyond his power to authorize the entrance into these military torture-chambers.

The Italian delegates further asked for an explannation of the death sentences that had been passed and executed on a number of communists by the exceptional courts not formed according to law. This has been promised but not ful-filled. The verdicts in question are shocking and may compete with the worst judicial murders known in the criminal history of nations.

The delegates wanted to see Kecskemet, one of the towns where the officers of the terror-troops dragged out of prison several hundreds of perfectly innocent workers (here their number was 397), who were imprisoned without warrant in the prison of the lawcourt, tortured, castrated and finally killed. They were not allowed to do so. They wanted to talk, in the prisons of Budapest, to the former People's Commissioners, awaiting trial. They got permission to do so, but then the minister of justice was disavowed and the permission to visit the prisons revoked. No information could be given by Hungarian authorities to the Italian delegates as to the whereabouts of numberless murdered persons; they simply insisted that they never heard these names.

Of course Della Seta and Vella wished to visit the numerous confinement camps, where the relatives of the imprisoned or murdered socialists as well as person of socialist or in any way radical convictions together with small profiteers — the big ones are free and highly honored — are kept imprisoned and slowly starved to death. Against these prisoners not even the Hungarian attorney general had been able to find the slightest pretext for any kind of indictment.

Out of the twelve large confinement camps the one next to Budapest, Hajmasker, was fixed up in state for the occasion and was to be shown to the Italians. Previous to that long expected visit things there may have resembled the bustle in a barrack right before the visit of the general in commend. Great masses of food, chiefly flour- bags, had been heaped up to give the impression how well the interned were provided for. These flour bags had arrived in motor-cars from Budapest on the eve of the Italian visit.

The two delegates asked the interned how they were treated. Their faces betrayed that they yearned to speak but just as much they dreaded the issue if they did. At last a man stepped forth and volunteered the following:

The prisoners did not dare to talk because last time, when they had answered the question of a British Red Cross Mission, they received 50 strikes each. None of them knew why they were there, none of them had yet been tried. Food was miserable, scarce, irregular and disgusting. They were starving. They were regularly flogged by the guards, mostly with the flat of the swords, sometimes with sticks, with rubber batons, with dog's whips, with leather straps, with iron-braced pickets and sometimes with the palm of the hand. They were tried to a stake as a punishment. The man showed the Italians the stakes which were used for this purpose.

The Italians discovered two scourges studded with lead and a "nagaika", which had been forgotten there by the guards in their hurry. The other interned prisoners corroborated these statements. Among them there were some old men absolutely helpless, and some pregnant women very near their time, who had been interned to take revenge for not being able to find their husbands, brothers or other relatives who had managed to escape.

The Italians tried to comfort all these poor people. This was a welcome pretext for the Hungarian authorities to set an end to this disagreeble visit. They had reported to them by the military escorts of the Italian delegates, that the latter had tried to make communistic propaganda in Hajmasker, and forbade them the visit of any more public institutions. The delegates protested through the chief of the Italian Diplomatic Mission in Budapest against this stupidly concocted statement. As a matter of fact they had, for the sake of their missien as well for that of the interned, stricly refrained from any word that might have been misinterpre. d, and had left directly after inspecting the camp.

This visit has had two sequels. The first, a sad one, happened in Hajmasker. As soon as the Italians were gone, a review was held. One of the officers inquired: "Who is the man who spoke to the Italians? The man reported himsalf and stepped forth. Instantly armed officers and soldiers rushed on him and knocked him down. He died of his injuries after thirty-six hours. This incident is warranted by the confession of a soldier, who, by order, had helped to ill treat this brave man and who, tortured by remorse, has since fled from the confinement camp to Vienna. This man, an absolutely reliable eye-witness, has told us a lot of other horrible details about life in Hajmasker.

The other sequel to the Hungarian sojourn of the comrades, Bella Seta and Vella happened in Italy—and probably some more are going to follow it there and, it is hoped, in other places also. The two delegates reported about their experiences in the ''hell of Europe'' at a meeting of the Italian Socialist Party on May 9th. They declared they were convinced that the most barbarously horrible White Terror is raging in Hungary The Italian proletariat knows what it must do. It will appeal to the Labor Parties of all countries. It will appeal to the workers of the world to do all they can to put an end to this disgrace. Besides the delegates have interrogated the Italian government, in order to compel it to abandon its attitude of passuve toleration towards the rule of terror in Hungary.

(To be continued.)

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

By [illegible]

Grim necessity has at last driven the American bourgeois government to remove the trade embargo on Soviet Russia. After Great Britain had entered into a trade agreement with Russia, with the prospect of securing the cream of that country's market, continuance of the embargo spelled suicide to American manufacturers. The action was, of course, grudgingly taken, but no other course was possible. Markets must be secured at once if a widespread industrial depression is to be postponed. Signs of its approach are not wanting, and the astute big fellows in industry have insisted that their government come to their relief. It came, all right, even at the sacrifice of pride. Some of the provisions in the new policy are decidedly amusing. For instance, the declaration that ''persons trading with Russia do so at their own risk'' will provoke broad grins, if not hilarious merriment, among the American manufacturers. Since when did governments become so paternal as to underwrite the accounts of their citizens or subjects engaged in trade? Another declaration —'no political recognition is either granted or implied''—will doubtless be be received with consternation at Petrograd. Since Russia is now an industrial government it has little consideration for the empty honor of political recgnition. However, that must eventually come as a necessary concomitant of trade agreement, and any declaration to the contrary is as insincere as it is absurd. ''Thus endeth the first lesson.''

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Every citizen of Ohio ought to be ''one-stepping'' about with his chest protruding like unto that of a pouter pidgeon, for hasn't the historical producer of Presidents ''copped'' both the Democratic and Republican candidates! Don't permit any inconsequential question of the competency of either of these ''saviors'' to dampen your ardor or minimize your exuberance,(much less quibble because they are handpicked for you by your masters. Either of them can be depended upon to hold aloft the banner of conservatism, and isn't that the crying need of the hour to prevent the Bolshevics from running amuck and spreading their vicious propaganda among the happy and contented people of this great and glorious democratic country? Just remember how kind and considerate were your masters in assuming the task of selecting the candidates for you, thus conserving your gray matter for the more necessary work of production in the factory, for which, through long experient, you are especially fitted. Don't allow any captious critic to poison your mind by impugning the sincerity of these splendid exponents of ''one hundred per cent Americanism.'' In choosing either Cox or Harding you can't go wrong. Both will be loyal to the interests of your masters, and what more can you ask? They are similar links of sausage from the same bull pup. It is their business to rule and yours to work. This is the constituted arrangement for the preservation of the capitalist state, and if you are so ureasonable as to kick about it, well—then you are not a good American citizen. Sabe?

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By the way, the selection of a Roosavelt as the running mate for Cox was a politic more that reflects credit on the perspicacity of the politicians. They know that there are a multitude of worshipers of the big-toothed swashbuckler, many of whom are ignorant of his demise, and will support the Democratic ticket thinking they are voting for Teddy. This statement may appear absurd, but just the same it is the gawd's truth. The politician's best asset is the ignorance of the voters.

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The Allied governments are playing in hard luck. It now seems certain that the millions they expended in financing Poalnd's aggressive warfare against the Russian Soviet government have been watsed. The hope that the Poles would be successful is shattered by the developments of the past week. The last card has been played and still the Soviet goes marching on. From day to day the position of the bourgeoisie becomes more insecure by the increasing stability of the workers' industrial republic. On the whole, the developments up to date should be hope inspiring to the workers with vision. The sun of the new day has already appeared above the horizon and is slowly but surely climbing toward the zenith. Let us be joyful, Comrades. Our dream is about to come true.

The British Opium Monopoly

CHICAGO—Ellen La Motte, an American nurse, has just revealed the horrors of the opium evil, in a book titled ''The Opium Monopoly''. The book is based upon Miss La Motte's actual investigations in the Far East, and upon her study of the British Blue Books.

The opium monopoly is a British monopoly. It is spoken of as the opium monopoly in the British Blue Books. India is the source and supply of the British opium trade; and it is from India opium that the drug is supplied to the world, according to Miss La Motte. The revenue derived from opium directly in India alone nets the British government over $15,000,000 Aside from this sum the opium sold under the Excise Department, including opium and liquors, nets the government $50,000,000. These excise duties are collected on spirits, beer, opium and intoxicating drugs. In British pounds the figures were thus:

In 1916—17; Excise, 9,215,899 pounds sterling; opium, 3,160,005 pounds sterling: total revenue, 118,799,968 pounds sterling.

''A nation,'' says Miss La Motte, ''that can subjugate 300,000,000 helpless people, and then turn them into drug addicts — for the sake of revenue—is a nation which commits a cold-blooded atrocity unparalleled by any atrocities committed in the rage and heat of war. The Blue Book shows no horror at these figures, Complacent approval greets the increase of 44 per cent. of opium consumption, and the increase of 67 per cent in the use of other habit-forming druges. Approval, and a shrewd appreciation of possibilties for more revenue from progressively higher rates of duty', knowing well that drug addicts will sell soul and body in order to procure their daily supply.''

One outstanding fact in this study of the opium monopoly is that wherever the British flag waves over subject peoples, whether it be in India, in the South Islands, or even in South America, there opium is sold, as cigarettes are sold in the United States. The British Isles are carefully guarded against opium and drugs, as are Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

Many instances are cited by Mis La Motte in substantion of this contention. Thus she points out that Shanghai is supposed to be a Chinese city. Divided into two sections, one is under nominal Chinese control, one under foreign concessions, known as the International Settlement. Over the latter section China has no control. Although opium has been abolished in Chinese territory, in this International Settlement anyone may buy as much opium as he wishes ''merely by stepping over an imaginary line, into a portion of the town where the rigid anti-opium laws of China'' do not apply.

''In October, 1917, there were 87 licensed opium shops in the International Settlement. In May, 1914, there were 663. In 1907 the average monthly revenue from opium licenses, dens and shops combined, were taels 5,450. In May 1914, the revenue from licenses and opium shops alone was taels 10, 995.... At the beginning of the anti-opium campaign in 1907 there were 700 dens (for smoking) in the Native City and 1,600 in the International Settlement. The Chinese closed their dens and shops at once. In the Settlement the dens were not all closed until two years later, and the number of shops in the Settlement increased by leaps and bounds.''

In 1913, the amount derived from opium license in the International Settlement amounted to taels 86,386. The Statistical Abstract Relating to British India for 1912-1913 shows the export of British opium into the Chinese Treaty Ports, over which the Chinese have no control, amounted to over $15,000,000. This is a tremendous increase.

Evidence also clearly shows that now much of the morphia which reaches Japs for distribution in China passes through the United States. All of the drugs do not pass through the United States. Much of it remains here. The drug evil in New York City alone is well known. To quote again from Miss La Motte:

''The Number of drug addicts in America today is fairly startling. The number is variously estimated in New York City alone as from 10.000 to 100,000. It is said that there may be 1,000,000 in the country.''

She further shows that we cannot grapple with this problem if we ignore the source of supply and distribution and the reasons for immense over-production of opium on the part of the British opium monopoly.

Czecho Troops Arouse Curiosity

By Joseph Corbett,

VANCOUVER, B. C.—Who pays the expenses of the 10,000 Czecho-Slovak troops who arrived here a few days ago and then passed over the lines of the Canadian Government railways to Valcartier camp, Quebec, where they are demobilizing before departing for their own land?

Even the private press of Vancouver asks this question mildly. Labor is asking it volubly and in some quarters answering it with the reply that Britain is paying the bills of the 10.000 smiling soldiers who refused to continue warfare against the Bolsheviki whom they regard as friends rather than enemies.

It is doubtful if ever before has the evidence of the international character of the war on Soviet Russia been manifested so plainly.

Blue Funnel and Dollar line boats unloaded the men here from Vladivostok. Chinese crews manned the boats. A French general still in the old land was in technical charge of the transports, the men told a Federated Press interpreter.

The soldiers wore uniforms supplied by the Japanese. Their rifles were Lee Enfields. Their knapsacks bore the letters ''U. S.'' in large figures on a kaaki background. The Canadian Government railroads speeded them to a military camp and the men themselves have Kolchak money in their possession.

''Bolsheviki Good.'' This was the answer the average curious Vancouverito received on querying the soldiers as to their opinion of the Bolsheviki. The biggest fact that stands out in connection with the arrival in Canada of these men, however, is their refusing to maintain a warfare against a government which world capitalism wants destroyed.

Two hundred and fifty thousand troops of mixed nationality are still left in Russia, the soldiers told the interpreters. These include Germans, Austrians, Turks and others from mid-European countries.

Printing presses were sent to Siberia by the allies together with corps of editors to damn Bolshevism, members of this young returning army assert. It was from this editorial force and these presses that much of the misinformation flooding the world originated.

PREDATORY FORCES RETARD CREATIVES IMPULSE.

NEW-YORK—A significant admission that the machine process, if taken out of the control of predatory forces, could be made to further rather than retard the creative impulse, is made by Frederick L. Acker, in The Architectural Forum, under such conditions, he declared, the world would be made a pleasant place for everybody, instead of the few.

Mr. Ackerman's admission is in direct contrast to the oft repeated assertion that the poverty of the masses is due to the fact that machinery has taken the place of manual work. Says Mr. Ackerman:

''I believe thoroughly that, if the machine process could be lifted out of the control of predatory forces, or if we could bring our social and economic institutions and industrial processes into an harmonious working, we could create out of the machine process a material environment which would be superior, from the social standpoint, to anything thus far created by the architects and builders of the past.

''It might be that an art thus evolved would be rather more rigid. It might be that it would not conform, to our criterions of taste which have grown out of our handicraft industry. If it did not then satisfy us, we could debate the question of what to do with the machine. For the present the problem appears to be that of discovering how to make man the master of the machine.''

MARK TWAIN ON CONSTITUTIONS.

You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country—not its institutions or its oficeholders.

The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing. It is the thing to watch over, and care for and be loyal to. Institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged. cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death.

To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags, that is loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy. Let monarchy keep it!

It was from Connecticut, whose constitution declares ''that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have, at all times, an undeniable and indefensible right to alter their form of government in such manner as they may think expedient.''

Under that gospel, the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out and yet holds his peace, and does not agitate for a new suit is disloyal—he is a traitor!

That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay does not excuse him. It is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does—From a Yankee in King Arthur's Court.

MOSCOW.—(By Mail)—(N. Y. Bureau).—That a grave economic crisis is threatening Europe which can only be averted by lifting the blockade against Russia is the assertion to D. Florinsky, a member of the Moscow Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, in a letter of A. Shanfield, American Charge' d' Affairs, in Denmark. Florinsky was formerly a member of the diplomatic corps under the Czar's regime, and recently offered his services to the soviet republic. He was granted an amnesty and given a position in the government.

A Dinner Pail Epic

— By Bill Lloyd —

Written for The Federated Press

Just over in the office is a fellow that I know, not so very bad a duffer, as office-workers go. But because he posts a ledger and wears a soft, white collar, he is inclined to beef around and let an awful holler, because he says that I don't know percentage from baked beans and yet have got him beaten with the paycheck in my jeans. Now goodness knows it strains my check to keep myself in hash, and I don't have to dress up swell nor cut no awful dash. I don't play golf, nor run a car — the clubs are not for me — but when I have made both ends meet, there's little left to see.

If this here system hits me hard — a solar plexus blow —that duffer in the office has got precious little show. What gets my goat is simply this—I give it to you straight—it ain't my fault if his think car is twenty annums late.

If he and his gang over there just ain't got any sense, I just can't see why they should try to pull me off the fence. No matter what the bosses say, that gang will chirrup, "Yes". They're short on idees of their own or even half a guess. They think if they read "System", work overtime, and grind, they'll leave the other feller some twenty years behind. About one in a thousand will really get the prize; the other odd nine hundred will grind on till they dies.

Of course the boss he cashes in on all that eager strife that those poor ginks stake in the game of "Getting—On in Life".

If their poor brains were not so close to the felt pads of their chairs, the'd organize and join with us. Perhaps [illegible] they'll dare!

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Communist Trial Gets Under Way at Chicago

CHICAGO.—Characterizing the meeting of the left-wing bolters from the regular convention of the Socialist Party last September as "an agreement or conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States and all states of the Union by force and violance," Lloyd Heth, assistant state's attorney, opened the long-delayed trial of twenty-four members of the Communist Labor Party on July 12th for the prosecution in Judge Oscar Hebel's court.

After the monotony of nine weeks of grilling of prospective jurors, in the course of which some fifteen hundred veniremen were summoned, the actual trial comes as a relief to all the parties concerned. Of the twenty four members of the Communist Labor Party originally indicted, 20 are in attendance.

"We are going to show that the left wing manifesto nineteen times advocates throughout its course a violent overthrow by the laboring men of this government and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in its stead," said Prosecutor Heth.

"We are going to show," he added, "That in the first paragraph of the platform of the Communist-Labor Party, the defendants state that they stand by and declare themselves in full accord and harmony with the manifesto adopted in Moscow, Russia.

"We are going to show," he added, "That the congress was composed of revolutionary socialists from Europe, Asia, and America that it was held for the purpose of forming a manifesto or program that would outline the means by which constituted governments might be overthrown and dictatorships of the proletariat established, and all nations be governed from Moscow."

Other evidence which the prosecution offers to submit to establish the guilt of the defendants includes the following:

That they adopted the red flag instead of the Stars and Stripes;

That they adopted the seal of the bolsheviks as the seal of their party;

That they opened and closed their daily sessions by singing the "Red Flag" and "giving the yell of the 'bolsheviks'."

That they urged the workingmen to abandon and repudiate forever the hope of conquering the state by legislative means—' they urge him to use unlawful means of any kind and nature whatsoever that may by effective in the annihilation of this government."

It is evident from the opening statement that the prosecution will bring all the way from Seattle, Washington and Winnipeg, Manitoba, witnesses to picture the awful things that are alleged to have happened because the workers in these cities went on general strike.

JULY, 14.—To day was "flag day" in court. The 131st anniversary of the taking of the Bastile was the occasion selected by Assistant State's Attorney Lloyd Heth to attempt to carry the jury by dramatically unfolding a red flag which his agents seized at the home of defendent Edgar Owens, Moline, Ill., last January. Heth sought to show that Owens had carefully preserved the red flag, which was found at his home in a search, while "the American flag was crumpled up in a corner of a closet along with a lot of rubbish."

Heth is a tall young man with the traditional prizefighter jaw. He apparently takes himself very seriously and constantly comes over to the press table to see that the reporters take down what he says. During the morning recess he had himself photographed holding the red flag.

Owens' membership card in the I. W. W. and the Communist Labor party and a charter of the Communist Labor party were admitted as evidence, Judge Hebel overruled the objection of counsel Forrest that "These do not tend to prove the conspiracy charges of the indictment", when Heth reported that "they prove the man is in favor of the revolution."

The prosecution then took up the case against William Bross Lloyd and introduced Francis Irving, a Chicago policeman who testified that on November 19, 1918, he stopped the defendant on a Chicago street because his automobile carried a red flag as well as an American Flag and that he took him to the police station. Forrest objected that this testimony was irrelevent inasmuch as the law violation of which Lloyd is charged with, was not passed until July, 1919 but the court overruled him. George C. Washburn, stenographer in the office of the Chicago police department, read the remarks of Lloyd at a meeting in the Chicago Coliseum November 17, 1918. Objection to this as inapplicable because it occured before the passage of the law was also overruled.

William A. Sadler, reporter on the Chicago Herold Examiner, recalled almost word for word an interview which he had with Lloyd in the Lloyd home last January though he did not have notes with him.

Chicago, July 15.—The manifesto of the Moscow Internation figured prominently in the trial of members of the Communist Labor Party today. Its full text was read to the jury but the document was admitted as evidence in the case of two defendants only, Max Badacht and L. E. Katterfeld who are alleged to have signed it. In the case of all other defendants, it was ruled out on vigorous objection of Counsel for defense Forrest, who insisted it could not be used to show criminal intent.

Additional testimony on the story of William Bross Lloyd's "sedition" speech in Milwaukee was given by Agnes Dunn of the Milwaukee Journal who having lost her stenographic notes recited the speech from memory. Robert H. Howe, secretary to Lloyd testified he had been instructed to send check for $650 to Louis Fraina for helping defray expenses of the New York Left Wing conference of June, 1919.

Detective Sergeant Charles E. Egan testified concerning the display of copies of the Moscow manifesto and the Revolutionary Age in the Radical Book shop owned by Arthur Proctor, one of the defendants. In this trial which is of members of both the Communist and the Communist Labor Party, the Communist Labor Party is being tried first

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PRAGUE.—The return to this city of the delegation of Czech Social Democrats, after spending six weeks investigating condition in Soviet Russia, has been made the occasion for several large demonstrations in favor of immediate peace and the resumption of trade with the Moscow government.

Will Forfeit Trade if Deportation Threat is Carried Out

Cancellation of contracts for $6,000,000 worth merchandise is the penalty which Boyer, Sloan & Co., of Montreal will pay if Santeri Nuorteva has been or will be deported by the British government.

This is the notification which the Russian Soviet government bureau at Washington forwarded the above named firm last week when news from England reached there declaring that Nuertova, private secretary to Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, had been arrested in London and was scheduled for deportation.

Nuertova sailed from a Canadian port a few weeks ago for London for the purpose of arranging for the financing of huge Canadian purchases of merchandise made by the Soviet representatives at New York for shipment to Russia. The cancellation of the orders would follow his deportation soviet bureau officials declared.

TIBOR SZAMUELY

A Hero of the Revolution

By N. Bukarin.

Every proletarian must and will familiarize himself with this name.

After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, it was found on the frontier that one of its prominent leaders had met his end. We do not know precisely under what conditions such a valuable life for the working class ceased to exist. The official news was sounded that comrade Szamuely, being arrested by the gendarmes of Renner and the "Second Internationale," who just yesterday were gendarmes of Karl of Hapsburg, had ended his life by committing suicide — shooting himself. Possibly it happened so.

Comrade Szamuely was a proud character of iron will; the probability of falling alive in the hands of his enemies, may have drawn him into this despair. He probably could not conceive the surrender of his revolutionary sword to his foes, but preferred death to imprisonment. Another thing is possible. Are the gendarmes of Renner better than the gendarmes of Noske? Are Seitz and Bauer better than Schidemann and Ebert? And if the German hangmen, who, motivated by an "attempt to escape"—murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the same could be accomplished by the Austrian hangmen against comrade Szamuely.

The Hungarian proletariat can be proud of this individual. We understand the madness and the anger that the Hungarian bourgeoisie had against our comrade. An unbending will, a rare coolbloodedness, a brilliant and sharp pen and unbreakable energy, those were the outstanding characteristics of comrade Szamuely.

He aquired his revolutionary lesson, as did Bela Kuhn, with us in Russia, and here it was that the writer of these lines made his acquaintance. Before that Szamuely was the editor of the central organ of the Hungarian socialists — "Nepszava". During the war in which he experienced much, as an officer, he was captured. Here he lived under the most unbearable conditions in Manchuria and Siberia. Frequently he was forced to work in the mines in mud and water knee deep. Hard sickness he suffered. He once attempted to escape, but on the Swedish frontier was rearrested by the Czar's gendarmes. At last the revolution set him free.

Since then Szamuely, like a young eagle exercised his wings. There are very few who so selfdenyingly devote themselves to the cause that put the historical strata in motion; like a real revolutionist he was imbued with the art of a revolutionist. He was ready for every deed,—even the unpleasant and unattractive in character—the greatest and the smallest alike. With similar enthusiasm actively engaged in study class work; being the editor of the newspaper he, with that weapon combatted the outbreak of the counter-revolution, he wrote pamphlets, he worked in extraordinary comittees, spoke at meetings or drew the order of the day for other comrades. At any moment he was ready to let his "Mauser" talk from which he never parted. A man of unusual courage, Szamuely always was on the lookout.

TIBOR SZAMUELY.

Generally necrologies are not free from exaggerations. That does not pertain to Szamuely, in relation to him it cannot be exaggerated. I am writing these lines, and imagine before me lovely and wise eyes of my comrade, from these eyes a tired glimpse with sarcastic smile flowing steadily,—tired, nervous, but energetic face. Comrade Szamuely rarely slept more than from four to five hours, the rest of his life was devoted to the revolution.

Many people have I seen,—revolutionists of all countries. But rarely have I found such confidential and devoted comrades as Szamuely. All his life was a beutiful example of revolutionary chivalry. Szamuely died in his youth. There is no doubt that his virtues would develop more broadly. But even what he gave the proletariat in his early years, is unforgetable. Among the other martyrs his figure will be an outstanding one between the two historical epochs—as a symbol in the struggle and Communism.

"Five Years War", Premier Answers Railway Men's Demand

By the Federated Press

LONDON.—"Five years' war and a million causalties" rather tthan recognition of the independence of Ireland, was Lloyd George's answer to a deputation of British railway men who called upon him to urge the withdrawal of the army of occupation from Ireland and the cessation of the transportation of munitions. The Premier threatened to close down the Irish railways unless the men agreed to help him in operation against Ireland.

J. H. Thomas who acted as spokesman of the railway-men said that if the troops were not withdrawn at least a truce should be called. Lloyd George refused to consider withdrawal of the troops.

"If it is a question of setting up an independent Irish Republic in this small group of islands, that is a thing we could accept if we were absolutely beaten to ground," he said. "In the United States Lincoln faced a five years' war and a million causalties rather than acknowledge the independence of the southern states. We should do the same thing."

Bloodshed would follow the government's threatened policy of locking out railway workers who refused to carry munitions in Ireland, Thomas declared. "There is bound to be the most terrible starvation," he asserted. "Of course your troops can wipe out the Irish people, but you will not even then have contributed toward the solution of the problem."

"We really have got to remain absolutely adamant," was the Premiers reply.

(Didn't I read signs like: "Help us win the war for the sake of „humanity, liberty, freedom and selfdetermination of all small countries?—Maybe I was dreaming.— Compositor.)

MOSCOW.—A resolution approving a foreign policy based on an attempt to make peace with other nations and the desire to let every nation decide its fate for itself was passed by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets at a meeting June 18. The policy was outlined by Tchitcherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs to an audience composed not only of Soviet officials but of delegates from all parts of the world who had come to the Third International.

The burden of Tchitcherin's speech was an outline of the negotiations of the Soviet government with various nations for thepurpose of re-stablishing peace. In this convention he referred to the ambiguous policy of the Entente nations, which while negotiations were going forward with Krassin, at the same time supported the Poles and fitted out Wrangel. He insisted that the sole aim of the Soviet government had been to make peace with all the world and resume normal commercial relations.

Three Buckets of Blood

Or the astonishing adventures of one, Duckworth by name, erstwhile reporter for the Cleveland "Press" in the land of the Bol-shev-iks.

If the Cleveland Press ever gets away from its timeworn habit of placing the word bolshevist in the same sentence with blood shed and human gore, it will be a happy day for its readers. The monotony is becoming oppressive. In this particular, the Press is following an established policy however of never giving its readers anything new. It is doubtful if it will live to break the rule.

For weeks there have appeared special-articles ostensibly written by one, J. H. Duckworth, a representative of the Press who was sent to Russia to see what he could see of bolshevism. These articles have the ear marks of being written by the youngest reporter in a contest to prove his lack of veracity as a qualification for his job as Press reporter. However that may be, we have followed them with a watchful eye for any accidental elements of truth or probility that may have crept in. But the quest is hopeless. We give it up and we want to tell you why.

Take the issue of the Press for July 15th and let your eye rest upon the illustrated title head of columns one and two. Notice the drawings—right out of an illustrated "Buccaneers of the Spanish Main"; the blood dripping dagger in the mouth of the villain; three buckets slopping over with blood, the agressive figures of the two-gun man. All calculated to be both funny and to leave the impression of bloodshed and murder in connection with bolshevism, sovietism and the Russian people.

The first line will lead you to believe that the story arrived via wireless on the date of publication. This pleasant little deciet of newspaperdom should not worry you as it is common practice to place the date of publication and the name of a foreign city at the beginning of news articles which were cooked up in the reporters' room.

But anyway, this Duckworth got into Russia, past the vigilant Red Guards, who would have murdered him before breakfast, we are led to believe had they caught him. He wanders about Russia at times dodging the terrible Reds and at others consorting freely with them. There are tense moments when we are led to believe that should the Reds discover the identy of our hero the jig would be up and then again he comes out in the open braving the daggers and all and jokingly conversing with commisars and the multitude alike without apparent fear or danger to his presious civilized neck.

But this particular two columns of ten point is especially interesting in that it contains and unusual number of improbabilities. Hero Duckworth meets a bolsheviki from New York in the office of the "Rosta" in Pskov. The New Yorker bolshevist, Medell by name, who is of course, dirty, badly in need of a shave and wearing trousers apparently pulled off a Zarist trooper much larger than himself.

Right here we object to the trend of the story. We would like to know something about that newspaper "Rosta". Is it a bolshevist paper? How is it run? How is the help hired and paid, all alike or some more than others? What is the particular character of the "Rosta" and what in general is its policy? It it up against a paper scaracity as we are in America? A dozen questions arise, in our mind, but no, there is nothing about that. Mr. Duckworth merely sat in the office of the "Rosta" apparently safe, and there met Medell and there the matter of the "Rosta" ends. We think Duckworth is a damned poor newspaper man to lose a chance to tell us all about how bolshevist newspapers are run, and allow himself to be led astray by an accidental meeting with a dirty bolshevist from N. Y. It seems that Medell was at one time on the Commission for the Suppression of Counter Revolution, but having a weak heart he found it impossible to order the shooting of prisoners. However, he bucks up in the next sentence and says he is ready to shoot a bourgeoise anytime—"just like a dog". But Duckworth doubts his statement. He "thinks he returned to Russia for 'pickings' and was disappointed". Can you imagine a bolshevist returning to Russia in the midst of revolution with the hope of other than suffering and perhaps dying? But leave that to Duckworth.

But Medell is still interested in New York. "Is it really dry", he inquires anxiously. Considering that Russia is and has been partly so since the decree of the Czar and entirely so since the Bolshevist emptied the wine cellars of the bourgeoisie in the streets, we do not see the implication. If Medell so loved his American steamed beer why did he leave it for pickings in revolutionary torn Russia?

The scene shifts to the Hotel Palermo. Then there are really hotels in Russia. Having been led to believe that utter disorganization and ruin permeated Russia, it is refreshing to know that hotels are still open to the public and doing legitimate business. Still more refreshing is it to learn that a dinner of "boiled pike" was set before our faithful reporter. Then there is still something to be had to eat in Russia! We are glad to hear it. Medell walks in. As the story continues, Medell has not profited by his brush with Western civilization. He spies Duckworth's boiled pike and immediately snatches it from his plate and devours it on the spot. This in spite of the fact that he at the same time enters into negotiations for treading bolshevist money for Czar money, or any kind mony which Duckworth may have in his possession, and seems to have plenty with which to purchase his own boiled pike. At the best this story sounds fishy.

Then the story bids good by to Medell, the boiled pike, the three buckets of blood and ends in a statement that all bolshevik commissars are eagerly gathering up all the Czar, Duma and Kerensky money they can get hold of, which indicates that a counter revolution is expected, implying that the bolshevists can't last much longer at most.

Ofttimes disillusionments are severe shocks but we trust the Press will recover when it learns that all prostitution is not of the flesh.

Those Polish Bonds — and Recognition

— By Laurence Todd —

Staff Correspondent—The Federated Press.

WASHINGTON. They're sweating blood, at the State Department because the armies of Soviet Russia are encircling Warsaw with a gigantic military pincers that presently may crush that pasteboard republic of junkers like an eggshell.

Seventy-five million dollars of the bonds of this Polish government are lying in the Treasury of the United States, received in payment for locomotives, freight cars—4,600 of them—vast supplies of food, clothing, hospital equipment, motor cars steam cranes, shoes, guns and all sorts of war munitions sold by the War Department Sales Division and the Army Liquidation Commission to the Warsaw adventurers.

These bonds are printed on good paper and in clear ink, and they declare on their face that at the expiration of six years the Polish Republic will pay the $75,000,000 in gold; meantime it will pay 5 per cent interest on them. Couriously enough, the deal was not made in Washington or in Warsaw, but in Paris. And it was made with a private commercial firm, which gave the Polish bonds as payment Delivery of the goods has been made on requisition by the Polish authorities.

This $75,000,000 is divided into two lots. The Liquidation Commission sold American food and other supplies that were already in France for $59,000,000. The Sales Division of the War Department then sold to the same empty-pocketed customer $16,000,000 worth of goods that were in the United States. The shipping board and the Army used Government vessels to carry the goods to Danzig, and received more bonds of the Polish Republic instead of cash for the job. And the Navy sold some goods, also. The returns from this shipping contract and from the Navy are not yet confessed at the Treasury.

Polish military adventurers are not the only ones to exchange printed paper for real food and clothing and machinery. Esthonia and Lithuania and Latvia have each had the same sort of good luck, engineered in the same way—through sale to a private corporation. Even the will'-o-wisp Ukraine "government" secured a contract, but this was finally cancelled because the "security" was considered doubtful.

State Department officials admit that recognition has not been given all of these little governments set up by the Allies on the borders of Russia, but they claim that the United States has a "normal obligation" to the non-Bolshevist people of Europe that makes it perfectly all right to gamble on any of them. Moreover, the sales were made last year, when the chance of overthrowing Soviet Russia by the aid of Yudenitch, Denikine and Kolchak was considered especially good. Now that Soviet Russia has destroyed all of these invading forces of Zarism and is driving off the Polish invasion with a rude thoroughness that promises to leave little left of the Pilsudski adventure, there is anxiety in the War and Navy and Treasury Departments, and more than anxiety in the State Departments. For, what will the voters say, when they realize that 4,600 railroad cars, even though of European gange, and millions of pounds of corned beef and oleomargarine and other essential foodstuffs, have been traded for Polish bonds?

Since the day that Ambassador Francis cabled from Petrograd that the new Bolshevist government was a pack of Jews that would not last more than two weeks, and since Secretary Lansing showed that message to Ambassador Bakhmeteff, with the suggestion that he refuse to [illegible] the Soviet regime, American policy toward Russia has followed the devious course of pride trapped by its own doceit. Desparately the Department disbelieves that Soviet Russia can last "more than a few months", and steadily the armies of Soviet Russia, fired by the faith of universal brotherhood and social democracy, surge westward against the crumbling wall of allied bayonets. Now the ban against trade with Soviet Russia has been lifted, even by the State Department of the United States. And to-morrow—?

Recognition?

There is that stack of bonds—fresh from the hands of Pilsudski.

BILL'S OPINION.

TACOMA, Wash.—"The hammered down, sawed-off, knock-kneed, bowlegged, wall-eyed, lantern jawed I. W. W. or Socialist agitator is too rotten for hell," "Rev." Billy Sunday, sensational evangelist, told a crowd of 15,000 in the Stadium here as he waved his arms while standing on the speakers' table.

We Want You To Help Us Spread the Light.

Here's how. Send us the names and addresses of news stands in your town. Better still, take a copy of The Toiler and interview the newsdealers. Ask them to order a small bundle of Toilers at 2c per copy for a try out.

News dealers are selling The Toiler in other cities. Why not in your town? We want you to help us secure at last one news dealer who will agree to give The Toiler a try out.

If you are one of the live ones, this little job is yours.

Will you do it? The time is NOW.

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PICNIC

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Sunday, July 25th

Speaker

Geo R. Kirpatrick

Prepare to bring your family and enjoy the day.
Music, dancing and refreshments.

Another Renegade

By H. E. Keas

One more labor magazine has heard the golden call. "Western Railway Journal," published monthly in Los Angeles by The Railway Men's Publishing Company, Inc., once a journal of much promise in the labor world, has gone definitely reactionary. This magazine, of excellent typographical appearance, enjoys a general circulation among railroad men of the western states. Class-conscious railroad workers in the western territory and elsewhere who are acquainted with the past record of this magazine, especially during the year 1918 and 1919, will be bitterly disappointed when they contrast its present policy with that of a short time ago.

Altho the magazine, was not, strictly speaking, a radical labor journal, it formerly gave space to articles treating of the different phases of the growing labor movement both here and abroad, without fear or favor. Its policy was that of an "open forum" for the railroad union membership and the only restrictions as to articles appearing in its pages were that "all contributions must be signed by the writer to insure publication. Individual contributors are responsible for their own articles." Under this arrangement the magazine became in fact, an open forum. Many first-rate articles and letters were given space, most of them permeated with the new militant spirit of class-conscious labor. Many sincere and honest railroad workers contributed articles, letters and cartoons for its pages without thought of remuneration. Here is "our journal," they said. Here we may have a hearing, and become acquainted with the views of our fellow workers in turn." As contrasted with the repressive policy of the official union journals, the magazine rapidly gained a large following. Both sides of every question were given opportunity to express their views. Never "hidebound," it was an open medium of expression. What more could the railroad workers ask?

But all this has been changed. No longer will the progressive and class-conscious spirits among the railroad men turn to its pages with hopes running high. The golden call has been the deciding factor. Of this, the writer first became conclusively aware in the fall of 1919. In the latter part of August of that year, the American working people were horrified with the news of the dastardly crime committed by Steel Trust gunmen, in the brutal murder of Mrs Fannie Sellins, an A. F. of L. organizer, at Brackenridge, Pennsylvania. Filled with the terrible injustice of such actions against the working class by the hirelings of capital, the writer, up to this time a frequent contributor to its pages, forwarded to "Western Railway Journal, a short article, fully authenticated, covering the commission of the crime, together with a small cut of poor Mrs. Sellins' crushed head, made from a photo taken after her body had been removed to the morgue. At the same time, the writer also forwarded to them a marked copy of another article and photo appearing in a contemporary labor journal published in the east, fully covering the horrible crime, with the suggestion that could they not print the article contributed by the writer, they at least publish the cut and give the facts, using as much of either article as was necessary to do this. The cut and the article contributed by the writer were returned to him, the editor giving the excuse that he "could not publish account too aggressive." Too aggressive! When the entire American labor movement was smarting with the hideousness of this cold-blooded crime against one of its beloved leaders. Undaunted by the rebuff, the writer, in a letter to one of the associate editors of the journal, took the chief editor to task. The associate editor immediately placed the matter before his chief. Here is his account of the affair. I quote his letter in part:

"......You said something! It was bully and hit the spot. I took it up to our big chief and sat down and told him to read and digest it. I thought it would ruffle him, but it did not; he acknowledged without hesitation that you were right and said that you expressed his real feelings, but he had been warned several times to go a little easy for the time being and as he was under obligations to those who were behind the paper, he did not want to take a chance just now of getting us in bad with an element that would be pleased to make it interesting for our cause." What a spineless policy for a professed labor paper. Labor paper indeed!

Now, increasing number of the railroad workers of the western states and elsewhere will wonder as to just who are "those......behind the paper." But they will not have to wonder long. We find the answer in the July, 1920, number of this once promising magazine. No longer is this journal the open forum of the disinherited and toiling wageslave, but, topping its editorial columns, we find a statement that the "Western Railway Journal" has "no patience with violence and disorder." The violence and disorder of the master class? We wonder. That "we do not believe in and do not approve of the direct action as advocated by the I. W. W.'s or Reds, and will not publish anything encouraging it." And following this a short endorsement of the middle-of-the-fence policy that has kept American labor hopelessly muddled for the past forty years.

Then we come to the leading editorial, "I. W. W.-ism." Here we find a short mention of the Centralia trial, the alleged interference by radicals with the war plans of the government, the destroing of thousands of dollars worth of produce; allegations many of which have been definitely proven untrue. The editor then treats of the recent and still-continuing deportations of alien radicals, censures the I. W. W. and "radicals of every kind," in a venomous effusion which would do credit to the best capitalist examples of this kind. No getting at the facts No apparent desire to ascertain the truth about these matters and to [illegible] impartially to the [illegible] to judge. Only bitter denunciation of everything radical in general. And right at the time when all thinking elements of the American labor movement are rapidly going radical-ward. Right at the time when the Attorney-General and the Department of Justice are undergoing the most severe condemnation by the liberal element of the country for the recent brutal raids and deportations. Condemnation and allegations suported by indisputable evidence which all fairminded persons can not logically question. But then, we go on a bit further and here we find the reason for the change of policy, for the effusions of venom, for the thottling of labor's cause. Fat advertising contracts do not reconcile themselves with fearless advocacy of labor's real interests. As a naive acknowledgement of their obligations to "those...... behind the paper," why this support is so freely given and why we may expect to find many more editorials of a reactionary character in the pages of this "labor" journal in its future issues, the article is a gem. We quote it in its entirety, typographical errors and all:

"PATRONAGE APPRECIATED."

"The patronage given the Western Railway Journal this month by the merchants and business men of Portland, Centralia and Chehalis is greatly appreciated by the railroadmen who own and control the Journal. By this support we are able to circulate the Journal more freely among the railroad men, and do what we can to advance the cause of good unionism. The Journal ADWOCATES AMERICANISM and not Bolshevism, and I. W. W.-ism, and does not in any way encourage the red or radical extremists. It hankers not to follow the rainbow of extreme radicalism into unpioneered paths or across unchartered seas. Unionism is plenty good enough for American labor, and we hope to soon see peace and harmony between the employers and the employes."

There we have it. Do not take the writer's word for it! All that is necessary is for one to go over the files of the magazine during the time from 1918 to the present. Note that as the matters of vital interests to labor were "soft-pedalled" or not mentioned at all, the fat advertising contracts increased inversely. Especially note the July, 1920, number, from which the writer has quoted. Note the "patronage given...... by the merchents and business men of......Centralia"——Centralia! Where the policy of labor hatred and repression pursued by the business element of this western town was primarily responsible for the attack on the I. W. W. hall by men of the American Legion, and the resultant tragedy. What support for a labor journal to accept! Support dripping with blood. And the "good" unionism, forsooth! That "good unionism" so much in favor with the capitalist masters of America, which idea has been given such admirable expression by Finley Peter Dunne, in the quaint old Irish wit of "Mr. Dooley.

"But," says Mr. Hennessey, "these open shop min ye menshun say they are f'r th' unions iv properly conducted."

"Shure," said Mr. Dooley, "iv properly conducted. An' there we are. An' how would they have them conducted? No shtrikes, no rules, no conthracts, no scales, hardly iny wages, an' damn few members."

The Collapse of [illegible] World Movement

By Mary Senior

Written for the Federated Press

New York:— (N. Y. Bureau) Putting God on a sound financial basis, the task undertaken by the Interchuuch World Movement, has proved a wild-cat scheme.

The movement has collapsed, in spite of the vote just taken by the General Committee to continue "Though on a greatly modified scale." It has collapsed largely because holy-minded capital, when it found the Interchurch Movement entering its own precincts by making investigations of large industrial centers, decided that the concern of the church was with the other world and not with this, and withdrew its financial support.

So long as the Interchurch leaders planned schools and missions to encircle the earth with piety, and so long as they issued advertisements of the kind that pictured a large cross at the top but a photograph of Roger Babson at the botton, so long as they spoke of their ministers as the stewards and business agents of the Lord, chosen to put over his business on this globe, capital handed over large sums. But when the Industrial Relations Department of the Interchurch World Movement laid down the principle last October that labor has the right to bargain collectively and began its investigation of the steel industry at the time of the big strike, the Interchurch ran into a snag. Ructions began.

The first break which indicated trouble below the surface came in the last week in May when General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church withdrew from the Movement. The reasons given out for the severance were that the Movement was spending too much money and using wastful methods.

In reality, Banquo's ghost the steel investigation, was present at the feast. Maitland Alexander, a minister in the fashionable section of Pittsburgh trying to hide the embarrassing spectre behind the extravagance charges, led the opposition. He is a member by marriage of the Laughlin family of the Jones and Laughling Steel Company, next to the Bethlehem, the most powerful independent steel company in the country. The company is unalterably opposed to union labor and practically owns the steel town of Woodlawn, Pa., where constitutional rights of free speech, press and assembly have been crushed. In Alexander's congregation which is composed largely of steel manufacturers or those interested in the industry, feeling ran high over the steel report.

Dr. Alexander, in denying the charges made by liberal members of the Movement that he was influenced by "steel" in [illegible] the withdrawal of the Presbyterians, said: "Personally I could not see how a body could accomplish anything by dabbling in industrial affairs when their work was supposed to be along spiritual lines."

The next group to leave the Movement were the Northern Babtists, who withdrew late in June. The move was urged by the Rev. J. Y. Aitchison of the Allegheny County committee, who with other Pittsburgh members ruled that none of the subscriptions made in their county should be used for such "side issues" as the steel investigation. Allegheny County is in the heart of the steel district.

In the meantime, the bone of contention, the 90,000 word steel report was effectually side-tracked. No interim report was issued during the crisis of the steel strike when it would have been effective. Now that unionism in the steel industry has been almost completely crushed, the Committee promises to flood the country with free copies of the full report.

The history of the vicissitudes through which the report has gone makes a story in itself. From the moment the investigathors struck the steel districts the steel masters got busy. Investigators carrying letters from prominent men and women, called upon officials in the steel works, asking that all facts and statistics be made available to them for a careful, impartial study. They were advised to return to New York City and go no further. If they wanted information the New York steel offices could give it to them, they were informed. Spies of the steel company seemed to spring from the earth to watch, to listen, and to follow the investigators. Conversations were started by strange men, leading questions were asked. The investigators found that their telephone calls and mail were being received by men registered at hotels in their names.

A report from one of these "under informers," to Judge Gary in New York, came into the ahnds of one of the investigators. The opening paragraphs are given here:

"November 12th 1919.

"Special report in re Interchurch World Movement of America of 111 Fifth Avenue, New York City:

"After an investigation of this movement I find that there are a large number or radicals in it.

"First, the man in charge of the publicity is Robert Bruers, who is the same party that wrote a book called "On the Trail of I. W. W.' This book was a sob story about the way that the I. W. W. had been treated in the past. He was also a member of the I. W. W. belonging to one of the New York Locals.

"A Mr. Soules, who is now in Pittsburgh, having an office in the Smithfield Street Methodsist Episcopal Church building, corner Smithfield Street and Seventh Avenue, is another radical, and was a member of the National Liberties League of New York and also a member of the I. W. W. He is now here for this organization investigating the steel strike and carrying a small kodak, making pictures around the steel districts. These photographs are to be used in the coming investigating work which will be conducted in Pittsburgh in the near future.

"Another one of the party here is Miss Avage, and also Mary O'Brien, or Mrs. Van Vorte; both of them are radicals."

Members of the investigating committee have pointed out in this one extract, which composes only a fourth of the full report, no less than six errors. Robert Bruere was never in any way connected with the steel survey nor with the I. W. W. The Mr. Soules referred to is meant to be Mr. Soule, who has never been a member of the I. W. W. There is no organization of the name of the National Liberties League. No kodaks were used by the investigators util long after the filing of this report. Mary Heaten Vorse is meant by Mrs. Van Vorte.

Soon after this the Interchurch Movement began to show "cold feet about the rash step of investigating the business of its chief members and contributors.

When the spy's libelous report was published in their journal by the Ohio Merchants' Association, which opposed the Interchurch, the Interchurch did not rise to defend its own investigators. Only upon the insistence of one of the libeled men did the Interchurch finally threaten to sue the merchants association, but it absolutely balked when asked by this same investigator to determine the sources of the false report. It even suggested that the libeled workers furnish affidavits of their personal records.

The report would have been entirely suppressed, it is said, except for the persistence of the strike commission. They appeared in a body at the Cleveland meeting of the Interchurch May 10, to insist upon action. Certain Cleveland newspapers, grasping the situation, made clear to Interchurch officials what unsavory publicity would follow the killing of the report.

By September, nearly a year after the steel strike, the conditions which caused it are to be revealed in a report published at the expense of those who are guilty. In trying to reconcile religion with modern industry, the steel makers, faced with the choice of God or Gary, have chosen Gary.

The Black Sheep.

Commencement.

CHAPT. XL.

While Jack and Collins were attending the now historic trial at Boise, Olive Anderson graduated from High School at Anamosa, after which, she was persuaded by her mother to take a trip to Colorado, for her summer vacation. Needless to say, the idea was entirely agreeable to her, nor was the reason for her willingness obscure. Colorado at this time was the storm center of the class war. And it was the class war in which she was supremely interested. Had her mother known the real cause of her willingness she would have opposed her going with all her power. But Mrs. Anderson, like most bourgeois mothers, knew nothing of the class struggle neither did she know anything of the power with which it grips the human soul. She thought that her daughter was in love with to her, an unknown boy. As a matter of fact Olive was infected with Socialism, and was going through, what may be termed the acute stage. Jack was a factor in her life, the ideals of Socialism were her life itself.

She had an uncle who lived at Boulder, Colorado. He was her mother's brother. Mrs. Anderson felt sure that if she could get her child from under the influence of her husband and under the brother's care, she would be far less likely to meet the boy again, and if she did, the mother knew that her brother would be a formidable opponent to the bay. Mrs. Anderson expected Jack to return at harvest time to the wheat fields of North Dakota with intention of harvesting more than wheet. With a mind that seldom raised itself above the ritualism of religion or the gossip of the neighborhood she could see in her daughter's interest in the boy, nothing higher than a mere sex attraction. It must be said however, that Olive's conversation, and the ocoasional letters she happened to find in the room greatly tended to strenghten her suspicious. She firmly resolved, to leave no stone unturned in her endovor to keep these two apart.

The fact, that if Olive corresponded with him from North Dakota, she would correspond with him from Colorado, and that if the boy would come back to her in North Dakota he would also go to her in Colorado, was not lost to the mind of mother Anderson. It also figured prominently in the calculations of her husband. True, Anderson pointed out these facts to his spouse and urged not without logic that if what Mrs. Anderson feared were true, it would be better to have the girl at home, where they could watch the progress of the affair, and if need be use drastic measures to stop it. While, if she met him in Colorado, she would be practically left to her own devices.

Sound as Anderson's logic undoubtedly was, it had little or no weight with his wife. Nothing he ever did or said had any weight, with her except his pocket book. Between him and his wife, love had died years ago. She surrendering her love to Jesus, and he devoting himself to business and cultivating a misguided zeal trying to keep his daughter ignorant of the ways of the world. To his wife, he was little more than a source of income. With customary bourgeois intelligence, she took the money he gathered, and spent it on her beloved parson, and the conventional church charities, thanking God, instead of him

But, if Anderson's logic was good, his wife could not see it. She feared that her husband with his apparent admiration for the boy, would probably encourage, rather than oppose, Olive's association with him. In this, however, she was entirely mistaken. Anderson loved his daughter above everything else on earth. Mrs. Anderson could not see that, but her daughter knew it. With Olive, his mistakes had been those of the heart rather than the brain, that is as far as his relations with her was concerned He had only love, and no ambition for his child, except to see the flower of her genius bloom forth unhampered, to its richest color and fragnance. While her mother, contrary to the conventional conception of what mothers ought to be, wanted to use Olive as a link with which to tie herself to her favorite social elique.

Thus it was, that Mrs. Anderson calculated that her brother in Colorado, whose religions and social proclivities, were very much like her own, would be a more formidable enemy to Jack, than her husband.

Of one thing she felt certain, that her brother would consult her, on all matters pertaining to the girl's welfare, and do his utmost to inforce her mother's will upon the child. While her husband would, as a general rule, consult either his own mind, or yield to his daughter's. For these reasons she decided to let Olive go to Boulder for the summer, where she would be in a community of her church brethern, and where later she could enter the university.

She felt certain that her brother would co-operate with her to the fullest extent. In fact she had written him what she considered to be the facts in the case, and he had agreed to buy Jack off as soon as he appeared on the scene, failing in which, he would send Olive home immediately. These plans she had kept carefully guarded from her husband. Altho it must be said to his credit that he suspected something of this order, and frankly told Olive what he considered the mother's plan to be.

One evening while working in his office, with Olive helping him file some letters, he stopped suddenly, and said, as he found one of Jack's letters in the unopened mail, "You must understand me Olive, that I do not approve of your correspondence with that young fellow, for the very good reason, that I know nothing about him. But that is not saying that I know all the decent and desirable people in the world. He may be as good as any man on earth. I know he has more brains than the average. He may be alright, and if he is, and you love him I'll give you both a start. And if he is not, and you are convinced that he can make you happy, don't rush things, but bring him home, and I will help you make him what he ought to be. Your mother thinks that I am afraid to let you go to your uncle, that is not the case you meet him there. If he is the right sort, he will treat you as you ought to be treated, and I have confidence enough in your natural ability, that I believe no man on earth could get the best of you. You know that your Dad will help you in any thing you want and he'll let you be the judge of whether it is good or bad. I have tried to make your life for you, and failed. Now I am going to try to help you make your own life, so that you will win, and after all that is what counts with me. Play fair with your Dad, Ollie and he will play fair with you.'

"So I think you had better go to Colorado, and spend the summer running around the hills. This fall you can enter the University there, and I will come up and have a look as to how you are making it." Then after filling a pipe and causing it to describe its customary circle before his face from the corner of his mouth he added, "and when you get back into school, dig into your books, and forget those rotten papers you have been reading. They are enough to drive an average man crazy, let alone a silly romantic girl."

At all of this, Olive smiled a casual good natured but not unapreciative smile. "It is no use for us to argue these questions, Daddy. We have argued them often enough. In fact we have done little else for the past eight months. The trouble with us is, that we look at life from different angles Te me the purpose of life is to serve my fellow men, to help them to improve their lot, and you live to use your fellow men, to improve your lot You may be right and I wrong, but if you are right, it is no use that I educate myself. I would rather that death overtake me, before I actually take part in this world's affairs, than to live with the consciousness that I fattened and prospered on the injustice done to my fellow beings."

Anderson waved his hand in a depreciatory jesture. "Utopia Ollie bughouse utopia," he said emphatically. I bet you fifty dollars that even your sweetheart would take what he can get, wherever he can get it. Such ideas as you have are born of empty pockets in men, and of empty heads in women. You take yourself too seriously. That is all. You are bent on making a lot of crazy sacrifices for which the mob won't thank you. The popular guy is the guy who gets it." Then after a pause, during which he eyed the firl admiringly, he continued: "Any way, after all is said and done, parasite as I am, I am the best friend you havo on earth, Ollie, and durn your little hide you know it."

"Why of course I know it," said his daughter, as she walked over to him and ran her fingers thru his hair. "I don't blame you, but the system."

"Now cut that out. You talk like Case Bateman, that crazy socialist down on Lake Anthony. He is always hollering about the system. I'd give a dollar to break up what little system he has." Then in a softer vein, "Now Ollie be reasonable. What could I have done for you, if I didn't get it off the other fellow?"

"That's where the system is wrong. There is enough for all, and we should so conduct society, that all could have enough, as a reward for service rendered," Olive presisted.

"Oh, those rotten papers. I wish I knew who sent them to you. Still don't misunderstand me I don't say there is no truth in them."

Eve since Olive had met Jack and the consequent change in her mental attitude towards things as they were in her class in society, Anderson had tried with his customary thoroughness to rehabilitate his daughter's shaken trust in him. He had succeeded most admirably, for instead of an alienation a closer and very practicable comradeship had grown up between him and his daughter. He realized that she knew the game, and discussed [illegible] frankly with her, and she understood and loved him because of his fearlessness in telling her the truth. Truth, the reality of which she [illegible] spised. What was true of his attitude toward her in business relations, [illegible] social conduct was even more true [illegible] his attitude toward the boy with whom his daughter corresponded. He at times took a nonchalante attitude. Simply discussing probable fact, drawing impersonal conclusions [illegible] to look upon the whole affair [illegible] them. In this way, he taught the [illegible] healthy manner, and she freely [illegible] him all the facts in which he was deeply interested. He read all [illegible] boy's letters, and much of her replies.

(Continued next week)

The White Terror in Hungary

III.

The delegates of the British Trade Unions lost no time in protesting, in Budapest as well as in London, against the active assistance of their government to the worst deeds of the White Terror.

They had been sufficiently warned by the experience of the Italian Delegates, so that they did not expect any marvellous results from their journey. They would be content, they intimated, if the impressive indictment collected within three days in Vienna among the refugees from Hungary, among people, part of whom still bear marks of tortures visibly on their bodies might be shown by them but once to the autor of the White Terror, Admiral Horthy, and to his protector, the British Plenipotentiart Minister at Budapest, Mr. Hohler. This man is to high degree personally responsible for all these atrocities, chiefly perhaps by the report to his government about "the alleged White Terror", which was submitted to the British Parliament and which should be read by every worker in order to see by it how the diplomacy of haughty capitalists may mock the sufferings of the working-class. Today the delegates of the British Trade Unions know enough to give, in a counter-report, a due answer to this master-hypocrite. This answer too may claim the attention of the workers of the world.

The delegation of British Labor left Vienna yesterday for England. They have seen most horrible things. Colonel Wedgwood is soon to speak in Parliament, and all of them will report to the Labor Party and submit their executive a resolution, which is going to be dealt with at the national meeting of the Labor party at Scarborough on the 21st of June. To this day the tortured Hungarian proletariat is looking forth with yearning hopes.

On May 28th the London conference confirmed the resolution of the Amsterdam office of the Trade Unions' Federation, namely: to boycott Horthy-Land as a protest against White Terror and as a means of fighting against this governmental method. As far as the practical executive is concerned, the attitude of the trade union of British Transport Workers will of decisive importance. The transport workers of the countries represented in the Interallied Federation—England, France, Austria, Holand, Germany and Denmark.—All, there is no doubt about it, know their duty.

On the very same day the Norwegian Labor Party protested most vehemently against the toleration of this disgraceful regime and called on the workers of the world to fight against it.

Thus from four sides at least an appeal has been made or will be made to the working classes of the world, to do whatever they can for their Hungarian brothers, who are thrown helplessly at the mercy of the common enemy. The White Terror is raging in Hungary; it is as cynical and as instiable as that of Thiers and Gallifet in 1871 at Paris, as cruel and insatiable as that of General Mannerhaim in Finland in 1918. It is obviously growing, and new orgies of blood are being prepared. Some 6.000 persons have already been murdered, more than 60,000 are pining in camps and prisons and every one of them may be killed by any officer, whenever it pleases the latter. So far not one these uniformed murderers has been made to answer for his crimes.

A feeling of deadly anxiety oppresses the industrial workers and the agricultural laborers of the whole country. These are conditions which touch upon the lot of every worker in every country of the world. They are possible only because of the lack of solidarity among the workers. Working class solidarity is the only thing that can alter them.

But for the moment solidarity means: to be as strong as possible in the struggle against one's own capitalism, against one's own capitalistic government. A working class incapable of this may expect to see the Hungarian horrors one day in its own country. They may not believe it today; even yesterday it was not believed in Hungary. It has become an experience today. The workers of every country have good reasons to keep their eyes, that have been sharpened by wathing the Hungarian example, well open at home.

The Hungary of today is the laboratory for all great reactionary experiment.

(The End)

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

From "Soviet Russia".

The economic policy of the Soviet Government was established in the midst of incessant fighting, when the entire country was a vast military camp, and the problems of the war were paramount. To put this policy into practice demanded an intense application of forces to overcome internal as well as external resistance. The carrying out of this policy was hindered as much by the attacks of the counter-revolutionists as by the open and secret sabotage of the superior technical personnel; inertia and prejudice were the enemies to be fought in a difficult struggle.

The Soviet organs which direct the economic life are based upon trade union organizations. From top to bottom the system of direction is constructed upon trade union organizations. From top to bottom the system of direction is constructed upon this basis.

At the head of the entire administration is the Supreme Council of National Economy; in the provinces the local Councils of National Economy.

All the activities of the Supreme Council of National Economy are supervised by a Bureau composed of eleven persons. Corresponding to the various branches of industry: metallurgical, chemical, textile, electro-technical, etc., the Supreme Council of National Economy is divided into fifty sections of production, at the head of which are the Committees, each composed of from three to seven persons.

The appointment of the president of the Supreme Council of National Economy are approved by the stitute, are ratified by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of all Russia; that of the members of the Bureau by the Council of People's Commissaries. But the candidatures are usually submitted before ratification to the general Council of Russian labor unions.

All the sectional committees of the Supreme Council of National Economy are opproved by the Bureau, but never until after a preliminary understanding with the corresponding syndicate. The workers as well as the specialists (engineers, technicians), have members in all the committees and in the Bureau.

The local Councils of National Economy are the executive organs of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and are organized on the same basis as the latter, though being more restricted.

The management of the factories and administration for the various state enterprises and trusts is composed in each case of from five to seven members (workers and specialists), but they are sanctioned by the corresponding section of the Supreme Council of National Economy or of the local Council of National Economy only after a preliminary understanding with the corresponding syndicate.

A great number of specialists are on the Committees and in the management of factories: as many as sixty per cent are specialists and forty per cent are workers.

Thus the Soviet power replaced the system of capitalist direction by the Soviet system, which planted deep roots in the farthest corners of our economic life. Despite the difficult external and internal conditions this system is accomplishing its task perfectly.

To sum up these two years of struggle, the means of production passed almost entirely from the hands of the capitalists and proprietors into those of society personified in the Soviet organs.

Nationalization of the factories, shops, mines, etc., was brought about first in the principal branches of industry and in the most important enterprises.

False information has often been circulated in Western Europe with regard to this nationalization, which, it was said, followed no fixed plan. This is a falsehood without foundation.

Nationalization, especially beginning with the second half of the year 1918, was brought about in accordance with a fixed plan embracing the industrial branches and enterprises most important and indispensable for the organization of the national economy.

As to the "small trades" and the cooperatives, not only were they not nationalized, but they were protected by special decrees and dispositions.

The following tables gives and idea of the proportionate figures for nationalization in the course of the last two years:

Nationalization During the Years 1918-1919.

1. Enterprises	4,000
2. Merchant marine construction	16,000
3. Private property	600,000,000 hectares
4. All the banks of all cities.	

These figures are a little short in the case of the enterprises, 4,000 enterprises are under the Supreme Council of National Economy, but in the provinces many nationalized enterprises, being under the direction of local organs, do not figure in the statistics drawn up by the central organs.

It may be said with certanty that ninety per cent of industry is nationalized.

The Soviet power inherited from Capitalism enterprises isolated and deprived of connecting bonds.

Its task, as indicated above, was to construct an organization of national economy based upon socialist principles.

It was indispensable that there be organized and created in the domain of industry and that of rural economy associations of isolated enterprises, that they be provided with fuel and basic materials, and their financial system constructed upon new principles.

In resume of all the innovations introduced in the domain of national economy in the course of these two years (1918-1919) we have the following table:

There were organized:

I. In Industry.

1. State trusts	90
2. Factory administrations	4,000
3. State systems for the provision of wood, wool, hemp, etc.	

II. In Rural Economy.

1. Soviet exploitations	2,399
2. Rural communes and associations	5,961

In this manner industry and rural economy during these two years were not only placed under the direction of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, but also reorganized internally with reference to production. A concentration of production was brought about. Trusts like that of the electro-technical industry, uniting without exception all the enterprises which fought one another in pitiless rivalry before the October Revolution, or like the State trust for machine construction, comprising [illegible] of the most important enterprises, [illegible] a result unprecedented in the economic world.

The situation is similar in the nationalized enterprises of the textile industry, to the number of more than 500, divided into forty different associations each embracing several enterprises and all directed by a "principal management."

From the point of view of finance, provisions, registration, the reception of products, etc., the organization of industry in state trusts was of enormous advantage. The regulation of accounts between the nationalized enterprises and their associations takes place only in the books and without the payment of cash.

Owing to this system the distribution of fuel and basic materials becomes more equal and rational. If one considers the extremely difficult situation in which Soviet Russia was placed, during these last two years, in the matter of fuel, having at her disposal only ten per cent of indispensable coal and only ninety-three million poods of naphta in lieu of the 400 millions necessary each year, one can see that only the centralization of distribution and a certain economy have aided us to evade a terrible fuel crisis. As for the distribution of raw materials, that was organized in a satisfactory manner.

In the sphere of rural economy the organization of Soviet exploitations direct by Soviet organs made it possible not only to protect agriculture, the great land properties, but also permitted the industrial proletariat to take part for the forst time in agricultural labor, and created also for the first time solid ties between industry and agricultural exploitation, between the city and the country.

At present nearly three million hectares are already in the hands of Soviet exploitations and agricultural communes.

Returning to the economic situation and the results of the economic activities, we should indicate first that this situation, as a result of our activity, depended upon changes brought about by the civil war.

The Don Basin, the Urals, the Caucasus, the principal sources of fuel and raw material — of coal, naphta, iron, cast-iron, steel—passed from hand to hand. For a certain length of time they fell again to the Soviet power, but new assaults by the White Guards deprived us of them, ruining organized production and taking from us accumulated reserves.

As a result the center of Soviet Russia became our principal base.

The loss of the Don Basin meant for us the loss of eighty per cent of all our coal; the occupation of Baku by the English deprived us of naphta: the occupation of the South and the Urals—of metals.

It is easy thus to realize the difficult conditions under which our economic life developed.

But in addition to territorial conditions, our economic situation was influenced by the fact that we had again to mobilize our industry and employ it for the needs of war.

Such are the conditions under which our economic activity was developed and our progress brought to realization.

The following figures characterize the principal branches of our economic activity where it was pursued without interruption during these two years:

[illegible] OF FUEL AND RAW MATERIAL

([illegible] in Poods)

[illegible]	1918	1919
A. Fuel		
1. [illegible] ([illegible])	almost 30 million	almost 30 million
2. Wood ([illegible])	4 mill. cu. sazhins	5 mill. cu. sazhins
3. Peat	58 million	60 million
4. Naphta	96 million	Baku occupied by English
B. Raw Materials (in the hands of the S. C. of N. E.)		
1. Flax		5½ million
2. Cotton	2,784 million(?)	6½ million (with Turkestan reserves)
3. Wool		3 million
4. Hemp		2 million
5. Hides	5,461,[illegible] pieces	2,365,200 pieces (for six months)
6. Metals (reserves)	30 million	40 million

The above figures are only for fuel and raw material accumulated and utilized by the Supreme Council of National Economy.

We can see that the situation has become worse in the matter of fuel because of the loss of the naphta. In 1918 we could transport the naphta from Baku, but in 1919 we did not receive any at all.

Owing to this circumstance we were obliged to use wood fuel for the railroads and other enterprises, and this was the cause of the famine in fuel for dwellings. Before the war no more wood was prepared than now: from four to five million cubic sazhins, but then there was coal, and naphta which served industry, and the wood was used principally to heat dwellings; now wood is the principal fuel. As regards peat, the situation has improved, and in 1919 it was prepared in greater quantities (1918 — fifty-eight million poods; in 1919—sixty million poods). The preparation of raw material for our textile industry was sufficient, and the industry is fully provided for. Flax and furs have accumulated in such great quantities that it would be easy to export them abroad.

With regard to metals the situation has become difficult, we have utilized our old reserves all this time. With the retaking of the Urals and the defeat of Kolchak, the situation has improved and we are receiving metals from the Urals.

In short, the system of provisioning under Soviet rule functions perfectly and is solidly constructed.

The latest statistics indicate that more than a million workers (excluding those employed on railroads, commerce, etc.), are at the present moment working in the industries of Soviet Russia. (The figures are incomplete.) In certain branches of industry (in the miners of the region of Moscow, in the electro-technical industry) all the enterprises are operating without exception; in others, — in the textile industry for example—almost fifty per cent of the enterprises are at a standstill, but it is impossible to name a single branch of industry which has ceased completely. The facts do not show it. In short, the total number of salaried workers (workers and employees) reaches the minimum number of three million men. In certain spheres progress even may be claimed. During these two years our economic organs undertook the organization of fifteen important enterprises several of which are already completed and operating. At Podolsk (province of Moscow) a great factory for the repair of locomotives has been constructed and is already operating; as is a cartridge factory at Simbirsk. Two great electrical stations, one at Kachira, the other in the marsh of Chatour, are being completed. The construction of a factory of agricultural machinery and implements has commenced at Saratov.

But the most important enterprise is the exploitation of schist deposists in the provinces of Samara and Kazan, an enterprise begun in 1919. Several mines are already being exploited.

Let us cite here the figures relative to the principal branches of industry serving military as well as civil needs.

Production and Reserves in 1919

Fabrics

Average monthly production—14 million arshins

Reserves—nearly a milliard arshins.

Sugar

Production during the campaign 1918-1919:

In Soviet Russia—4 million poods.

In Soviet Ukraine—10 million poods.

Matches

Production in 1918—1,032,23 boxes.

During six months in 1919—412,809,000 boxes.

Soap

Monthly production—20 to 25 thousand poods.

Salt

More than 10 million poods have been extracted.

These products are distributed in accordance with a definite plan. First the Red Army is provided, then the workers, and finally the rest of the population.

Let us consider now the question of food.

During these two years the most difficult problem was that of food. The regions most rich in wheat, such as the territory of the Don, South Russia, the territories beyond the Volga, and Siberia, were either in the hands of the enemy or were passing from hand to hand.

When after the October Revolution, we took over the power there were almost no reserves of bread. The harvest of 1918 had a yield above the average (in twenty-five provinces of Soviet Russia it reached 1,235 million poods). The system of rationing which was organized about this time could store 106 million poods. This permitted us in the second half of 1918 and in 1919 to improve the bread ration for the population compared to the first half of 1918. The harvest of 1919 was also above the average, and besides, the whole region beyond the Volga and part of Siberia passed into our hands. This year we hope the grain reserves will surpass those of last year. Difficulties are encountered principally in transportation for the war. But thanks to the consolidation of the distributing system an improvement may be expected, not very great it is true, but an improvement nevertheless.

We have cited figures relating only to the principal branches of industry, taking for a basis the average monthly production. We have described only the general economic situation in Soviet Russia, and we have summarised the results of our activity in the economic sphere during the last two years. But it is needless to say that we could not here include all that has been accomplished by the working masses in the titanic creative work of the new life which is in the making under our eyes.

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

By Tom Clifford.

The Supreme Lodge of The Belligerent Bellyachers of America met in Chicago and put their complaints into concrete form. They not only did that, by heck, but they nominated a candidate for President to see that their complaints are listened to by the capitalists who control the government and will still control it even though their candidate were elected. The Farmer — Labor Party will shoot its wad in November and then quietly die of sleeping sickness. None of these malcontents express dissatisfaction with the capitalist system of production, in the absence of which it may be assumed that they are merely out of harmony with the political administration of the capitalist state. The quasi — radical voter will find it somewhat perplexing to choose between the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party and the Socialist Party. The Communist however, is immune to this reformistic rubbish. His attention is unalterably fixed on the one economic demand — the earth and the fullness thereof for the working class. Still, the coming election will be a magnificent political scrap, out of which will be born thousands of class conscious rebels. Watch us grow.

• • •

Credit is due the Single Taxers for the judgement displayed in refusing to co-operate with the other insurgent elements. They realized that their reform would receive but little consideration if associated with the others, and accordingly they decided to go it alone. Thus was another political party born. The Single Taxers have for many years threatened to take this step, and it remains to be seen whether this new departure will be productive of better propaganda for their hobby than playing ball with the Democratic Party. Whatever the Communists may think of the Single Tax Theory, it must be admitted that its adherents at least condemn the first of the capitalist trinity — rent, interest and profit. Henry George held that rent derived from land was income that the owner did not earn. He contended that rent was wholly a social product, and therefore should go to its creator — the community. George was not a Communist, because he did not apply this theory of rent to interest and profit. These he would leave as private possessions. The Communist insists (and both logic and common sense harmonize with the deduction) that not only rent, but likewise interest and profits on goods made for the market, are social products. In common with rent they represent unearned increment. They, too, are social rather than individual products, and should therefore pass to their owner—society. The Single Taxer is afflicted with mental strabismus. He needs a new pair of goggles.

• • •

Now that the Soviet armies have driven the invading Poles from Russia and threaten to carry the war into the front yard of the Allies' protege, the bourgeois governments of Europe are clamoring for an armistice. So long as the Poles were successful not a "peep" for cessation of hostilities came from Great Britain or France. On the contrary those countries were spending millions to maintain the Polish armies in the field and were using Poland as a possible means of destroying the Soviet Republic. They are now pleading with the despised Bolsheviks to stay their vengeance on the invadors and be merciful. This is the regular buorgeois procedure. When they have the power it is wielded mercilessly. Met with successful resistance they tremble like the curs they are and beg for mercy. Neither is any sympathy due the Poles, for they lent themselves willingly to the schemes of the Allies. Not satisfied with the territory accorded them by the Peace Council, the bourgeoisie in control launched a war of conquest to augment the same, and as an afterthought the Allies financed the venture in the hope of crushing the hated Soviet government The Poles are simply getting what is coming to them. They merit no mercy at the hands of the red army.

• • •

One of my best sources of amusement is the perusal of the letters contributed to the daily newspapers by people who think they have ideas. Therein I find expressed mostly the bigotry and intollerance that indicate ignorance of general truths. On questions of local import the opinions are as varied as the individual wants of the contributors, showing that economic determinism is the main factor in moulding conceptions of right. Then there is the religious "nut" with his Biblical panacea for all our industrial woes. Verily, no thinker need suffer for entertainment while the "Contributors' Column" remains a feature of the newspapers.

Country Daily Would Murder Communist Editor

The following, referring to Linn A. E. Gale, publisher of "Gale's", a Communist monthly originally published in New York for a year, and published in Mexico City for the last two years, is taken from the June 19 issue of the Sun, a country daily published at Norwich, New York. It is interesting to note that Gale had his first experience as a cub reporter on the paper in question, graduating to large cities and settling first in Albany and later in New York City. The Norwich Sun published many complimentary things about him until he left the Democratic Party and became a Communist — then its policy changed. Before he was a Radical, Gale was, in the estimation of the Sun, a "brilliant writer", a "capable editor", etc., and his word was "as good as his bond." After he became a revolutionist, all this changed. It is evident that Gale's pen is sufficiently vigorous to hurt the tools of capitalism, else such a nasty yelp would not have been heard.

Here follows the editorial in part:

"That such a vile, contemptible specimen of humanity as Linn A. E. Gale, publisher in Mexico City of 'Gale's Magazine', is permitted to live, move and have his being, is a thing that passeth all human understanding.

"Copies of his riot-breeding publication made their appearance in this country yesterday and, sorry to say, one found its way to the desk of the editor-in-chief of the Norwich Sun.

"Its pages are filled with the usual scandalous assaults upon all decent and liberty loving inhabitants of these glorious United States.

"Gale and his seditious sheet should be silenced forever and if he were given his just deserts, HE WOULD BE BLINDFOLDED WHILE STANDING BACKED TO A MEXICAN WALL, FACING A FIRING SQUAD THAT HAS BEEN ORDERED TO DELIVER SWIFT AND EVERLASTING RETRIBUTION. Or he should be brought back to this country and have his skull which encloses a perverted brain, capped with the iron hood attached to the end of an electric wire.

"At least he should be confined to a solitary cell upon bread and water in order that his diseased, gray matter which guides his vitriolic pen may not cause further trouble here or elsewhere....

"The devil is a cunning fighter and it is no easy matter for mere man to stand up before him and say "be gone." BUT IN THIS MAN GALE HIS SATANIC MAJESTY HAS A DANGEROUS EARTHLY RIVAL WHO WILL SOONER OR LATER USURP THE POWERS OF THE ONE BELOW.

"WITH GALE AND HIS MAGAZINE FLOURISHING UNMOLESTED, MEPHISTOPHELES MIGHT JUST AS WELL BANK THE FIRES OF HELL, OFFER THE PLACE FOR RENT, AND ENGAGE IN SOME BUSINESS WORSE THAN [illegible] IF HE EVER HOPES TO OUT-STRIP HIS RIVAL, [illegible] A. E. GALE, THE [illegible] REFORMER OF THE WHOLE WORLD."

But for fear that this invitation to murder Gale would not be sufficiently explicit, the same paper under date of July 2, said:

"A man of Gale's type is a cancer..... THERE IS BUT ONE WAY TO DISPOSE OF THE BENDICT ARNOLDS THAT INFEST THIS COUNTRY—AND WHO SOMETIMES SNEAK AWAY TO OTHER LANDS TO SAVE THEIR SKINS—I KNOW THAT WAY—SO DO YOU! NOW WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?—Sit idly by and let him continue his nefarious work or mete out to him the justice he so richly deserves? This matter is equarely up to every true American citizen.

"The writer of this article is right here in Norwich ready to 'do time' for its publication if needs be—also ready to settle the affair with Gale upon the field of honor."

If Gale had suggested giving such treatment to a capitalist, it is probable that he would have been charged with inciting to "force" and "violence" and "trying to overthrow the government."

But when the prostitute press of the capitalists wants to resort to "force", "violence" or the disregard of the government and its laws, in order to get revenge on an influential editor, nobody thinks of proposing punishment.

These excerpts are interesting as affording additional proof that the [illegible] and the law are but "scraps of paper" between plutocrats.

No Prosecution of Detroit Communists

Detroit, Mich.—But few of the many hunderd alien radicals arrested in the sensational raids conducted under the supervision of Attorney General Palmer are still in custody at Fort Wayne. The majority have been released on bail, pending the decision of the Washington Departmen, and many more were released because there wasn't a scintilla of evidence to prove they engaged in or intended to engage in illegal activity.

Detroit has been heralded far and wide as one of the big "Red" centers in the country. Local and outside newspapers carried hair thrillers of the discoveries made by the department of justice agents, which have now been proven to be a fiasco. The predicted "revolt" did not only fail to materialize, but the majority of the revolutionists were found to be of the mildest sort, totally ignorant of the vast plots that they were supposed to have engaged in.

The great store of arms glaringly reported to have been found cached in the hiding places of the local communists, upon roll call were found to be a few jack knives, a bayonet purchased in an U. S. Army surplus goods sale for domestic purposes, and a few antiquated, rusty revolvers without cartridges.

The "mysterious", "beautiful" red haired women communist, reported to have attempted to smuggle in a lot of razors to the raid victims [illegible] for six days in the Federal building, was a department of justice agent, intent on playing her part [illegible] the [illegible].

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

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A British Labor Threat

Again has the militancy of British labor come to the front. With a vote of nearly two to one, 800 delegates attending the trades union congress and representing nearly 3,000,000 organized British workers have passed a resolution recommending a general strike to compell the government to withdraw its troops from Ireland and to stop the manufacture of munitions of war for use against Russia and Ireland. A ballot upon the resolution is now being taken by the rank and file and it is expected to carry.

That British labor is well aware of its power to enforce its demands thru direct action when it considers it has a matter of sufficient importance to act upon cannot be doubted. And that revolutionary leaders will welcome the opportunity for a test of strength with the government must be surmised. Delegates Hodges, one of Britain's most fearless labor men, said in introducing the resolution, that British domination of Ireland should be demanded and characterised it as "a big enough question on which to take direct action".

The government's reply to the resolution made thru the Irish secretary's office is evasive in character. The reply states that the resolution is probably based upon a misconception of the purpose of the British troops in Ireland, which is not that of occupation but merely to assist the civil power to maintain order.

We cannot concieve that British labor will accept such a weak statement. Its faith in the sincerety of the government is in no condition to withstand even a slight strain. The Irish question seems likely to become the factor that will sever such confidence as remains. As matters now stand, it is evident that British labor intends to force British imperialism into a semblance of humane treatment of its subject peoples and to a shareing of government with labor. Direct action, the general strike, the terrors which haunt capitalism, may soon assume their due respect in the arsenal of labor's weapons. All power to the workers, including the British!

The (Fifty) Seven Varieties

Seven varieties of radicals met in convention last week in Chicago and came out as one. This in itself is rather an astonishing feat, According to natural law when a thing becomes perfect it disintegrates. But in the case of the Seven Varieties, each was so imperfect of itself that it had to combine to save itself from disintegration. Whether the remedy will be worse then the disease remains to be seen and whether it has now reached that perfect stage which precedes disintegration the future will reveal.

The Farmer-Labor Party is grounded upon two fallacies. The first being that reforms actually affect the operation of the capitalist system. The second is that by the ballot they can be accomplished. These two fallacies are enough it would seem to rot the fabric of any political party. The F. L. P. is a protest against capital's monopoly of rule, but it is a protest without any means of backing up its kick. According to the statement of one delegate, it is a classless party. Of course he meant economically classless. Doubtless that is true, for we find in its ranks individuals from all classes, workers, petti bourgeoisie and some large ones, But to the best of our knowledge it is a party of a class of a certain kind. It is composed of that class of discontented, liberal minded elements which comprise a large proportion of our citizens who have broken away from the ranks of the stand-patters, but, not having the knowledge and understanding of the structure of capitalist society, seek to iron out its wrinkles with the half warm flatiron of reformism.

We are constrained to state that the days of reformism are past. The demands of the present time call for revolutionary measures if progress is to be made. Such workers as are inveigled into the ranks of the F. L. P. stand a chance to learn thru its failure the difference between beating the air and revolutionary class-conscious action. The F. L. P. is not an organization thru which the wage slaves of American can function in the creation of the Industrial Commonwealth which is to succeed capitalism. And that is sufficient reason why wageworkers may cheerfully throw it a highball.

"Fair and Sympathetic"

While the possibility of swinging the labor vote is of the remotest, there is plenty of evidence that Samuel Gompers is still led by democratic strings and will use his influence with the A. F. of L. to boost for Cox.

After chasing across the continent from one of the old party conventions to the other, begging for crumbs for labor, Gompers is now back where he started from playing the monkey for the democratic organ grinder.

Gompers takes a great deal of comfort in the assurances of the democratic machine bosses. He finds that the democratic platform is nearest to the demands of labor and reposes his confidence therein. From his statements regarding these matters as revealed in the public press, we quote this gem. "His nomination was a happy selection, Gov. Cox has been fair and sympathetic". Now if labor can be happy on Cox [illegible] then all will be well along the Potomac. Probabilities are that workers will be handed plenty of "sympathy" before very long. Whether they find that sympathy satisfacting to their empty stomaches or not remains to be seen. But with Sammy on the job there is no reason why they should not be content.

The Cost of Capitalism

While the cost of maintaining the capitalist profit system is incalculable as regards the miseries and sufferings of the exploited millions, its cost in finances is ascertainable.

Of the government appropriations for 1920, 93 cents of every dollar goes to pay for wars, past, present and future. Public works and governmental functions receive the balance of the dollar.

The frightful comparison of the expenditures for war and those for educational, research and development work are seen when the actual figures are placed side by side. When we realise that only 1.01 per cent of the total of appropriations is used for the advancement, education, and improvement of the people's life, then the terrific waste of economic means which the maintainance of the capitalist system and its wars entail, becomes plain.

And then there are individuals who will maintain that the apex of human development has been reached in the present system which requires that 93 per cent of the expenses of its maintainece must be used in the ghastly work of murder and preparation for murder. Meanwhile the people's life continues upon its low plane amid sufferings, fear of misfortune and wasted energies.

That Vacation Ghost

In these vacation days we observe that that Ghost which haunts almost every household in the land is not to be evaded. We refer to the ghost of Artifical Living. This statement is provoked by an advertisement of "vacation necessities" consisting of a list of 21 articles purporting to be of prime necessity to women vacationists. With the exception of three articles the whole list is one of face powders, creams and such slops as modern woman is supposed to besmear her face and figure for the sake of beaty as convention declares it to be.

The curse of living today is the artificiality which most of us endure for one reason or another, possibly because we have not the courage to live more naturally. It would seem that eleven months of the year would be sufficient in which to burden ourselves with all the geegaws, frills, manners, customs etc., of a debased existence without perverting a few weeks vacation in the woods or at the lake side by dragging the Ghost along. But habit becomes in time a fixed principle and when it is encouraged by a profit making system, poor gullible humans soon find themselves intagled in an inextricable web.

We recall to mind the words of that stern but perfectly sane and original thinker, Henry David Thoreau upon the occassion of a journey he wished to take. Upon inquiry at the railroad station, he found that the fare was a dollar. He decided to walk, for as he said, in order to ride, he would have to first hire him self out for a day whereas if he walked the day would be his, and a far better view of the secenery along the way to boot. Precious few of us have the courage or incentive of Thoreau. Most of us give over to the customs of the age with little opposition or thought, even forgetting that Nature's Sun and Wind are the best healers of a sickened body—and soul.

But of course the cosmetic peddlers would never let us learn that if they could help it.

The Opinion of "J. S."

Akron Ohio July 5th, 1920.

THE TOILER.

"I am a Socialist for many years and has lost many a Job on account of being a Socialist and would loss my present job if my name would appear in your paper therefore I am with holding my name but I will look for you reply to my opinion as J. S.

"Well in the Toiler of July 2nd, 1920 entitled The Pope be damned. Now you are harming the Cause of aur Comrades by such heelish talk the Pope is not what you have said he is and you know it. You also know that the law of the State wont put you were poor old Debs is by talking about the Pope you dont say much about Palmer, Wilson, Lloyd George, King George and a lot more but you want to play a save game by getting after some body who you know wont give you any trouble you are seme fighter for our poor fellows just Cause. Their is highly payed agents by the rich tyrants of our Country to harm aur Cause and you ought to be one of the Agents if you are not one already for you are not fit for what you are doing for his poor Slaves or what you are suppose to be doing. Poor old honorable Debs it is a pitty tohave him behind the dirty jail walls he would tell us what is going on jail or no jail."

Comrade J. S.

J. S., we are overwhelmed by your generosity. You will not risk losing one more job by having your name appear in The Toiler, but you are very solicitous that we "say something" that will land us in jail. The trouble with J. S. is that he is blinded by the light (or the darkness) from the Papal throne. So much so that we are sure that if even Debs spoke the truth about the Pope, J. S. would be among the first to dub him an "agent of the rich".

So far as we are aware, no one is taking any chances on a jail sentence by telling the facts about Palmer and Wilson and other political tools of the predatory interests, either native or foreign. At the same time it is well to recognize dead whales when you meet them, i. e. Wilson and Palmer. There is little left of them but the stinking carcasses but if J. S. wants to attack them he is welcome to the joy of the battle. As for us, we like to choose a live subject for our trenchant Oliver.

Has It Come Again?

That which seemed too far away to be noticed by the casual observer four months ago now surely appears exceedingly nearer. In fact the confession is frankly made in banking and trade circles that a curtailment of production on a vast scale is already underway. Overtime work, which a few months ago was the rule has been dispensed with, thousands of employees are being laid off in a score of industries, unemployment is growing and, with the high prices still maintaining a steady advance, that "prosperity" in which the workers were supposed to be wallowing just recently has vanished and a real economic hardship is being felt.

In the New England states the unemployed situation is most acute in the textile trades. The shutting down of the American Woolen Company's plants have turned out an army of 40,000 unemployed.

The closing of the mills, it is claimed, is due to the curtailment and the cancellation of orders, including a heavy buying from over seas. The low exchange rates have doubtless played a part in forcing this reduction of orders. At the same time there are indications that the Woolen Companies themselves are forcing an artificial condition in the hopes of lowering wages, maintaining high prices and discouraging labor union organization among their employes. The following statement from the pages of the Daily News Record, organ of the textile trade is significant of a determination to force the workers thru a period of unemployement to return at decreased wages, which of course includes lack of union organization.

> "It seems more than likely that when conditions do improve, an effort may be made to got operatives back in the mills at lower wages and longer hours. Labor leaders say they believe this is planned. It will not be successful, they maintain. But they will not say what is to prevent operatives long out of work and without funds, from returning to work at almost any rate of wages and any schedule of hours."

Should the present wave of unemplayment fail to recede, the mill owners will have their wish of thousands of hungry workers beseiging their gates when the mills open.

The textile trade is not alone in this curtilment of production. The Akron rubber industries are fast reducing their shifts to mere skaleton crews, thousands having been laid off for indefinite periods with reduction of working time and number of employes still taking place. Unemployment in Cleveland and surrounding territory in the building trades and in industrial establishments is growing and the same is being recorded in other industrial centers. A recent survey made by the United States Bureau of Labor disclosed that of fourteen representative industries, ten showed reduced payrolls compared with the previous month while four showed increases. R. G. Dunn and Co. report the greatest number of insolvencies in 18 months, 674 having been recorded in June.

The workingclass generally have come to regard the appearance of periodical industrial crises as merely incidental features of social phenomena without inquiry as to the necessity for them nor the purpose they fulfill in the scheme of capitalist production. Likewise do they accept the consequent suffering to themselves in a like thotless and indifferent manner, much as would a religious fanatic accept a physical ailment as a visitation from God with out an inquirey into personal hygiene. Having been taught in both Sunday school and secular to trust the management and control of his life to an invisibility and the "great" men of the period, it has become an adept at accepting the miseries of capitalism in an unquestioning and unalytical manner.

It is only when we inquire into the reasons and purposes for the establishment and operation of industries that the WHY of industrial panics can be answered. When we recognise that all industry is operated for the profit which can be made out of the business, that is out of the labor employed therein, then we have made a start toward finding a solution for the panic puzzle. And when we further learn that for every dollar's worth of goods labor produces only a part of it goes to labor then we may draw a straight line from this point to the inevitablity of industrial crises. For, if labor receives only a part of the value of its predict, them a surplus remains which must somehow be sold or else it piles up in the warehouses. Foreign markets must be established, the earth must be scoured for places where this surplus can be sold. Savage races must be subdued and turned into civilised creatures so as to provide a market for the product which "superior" civilization has exploited its workers of. As long as foreign markets are to be had this game of profit grabbing may continue more or less satisfactorily. But as these foreign countries establish themselves as productive centers and set up and industrial system upon the same exploitative basis, then the market begins to shrink, the surplus which labor has produced, but cannot buy back on account of its wages being less than the value of the goods produced, begins to pile higher and higher and the warehouses are filled and industry must close. Then the workers are thrown out—because they have filled the world with plenty, every warehouse is full, every market is loaded with its products, but labor suffers in the midst of abundance.

The remedy for such an outrageous and unscientific "system" of industry should suggest itself. The ownership of industry must be taken out of the hands of private hands and placed in that of the workers, not individual workers, nor groups of workers but in a society and government of the workers composed of all actually engaged in production. The value of the product of labor must be retained by the laborer for his own use and comfort. No parasite must be permitted to exist thru patriotism. Industry and the needs of human life must cease to be merely a means for the enrichment of a few, but must become the means and impetus for a higher degree of life for those who fulfill all useful purpose.

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Capital and Labor Testify in Communist Trial

Duncan Refutes Hanson's Story of Red Terror in Seattle General Strike

— By H. Austin Simons —

Staff, Correspondent—The Federated Press.

CHICAGO, JULY 19.—Evidence concerning the general strike at Seattle, Wash., was admitted today by Judge Oscar Hebel into the trial of twenty members of the Communist Labor Party here. The court ruled against the defense after hearing arguments which lasted throughout Saturday and almost all of this morning.

This paved the way for the appearance of Harry J. Wilson, secretary of the Soldiers, Sailors and Workmen's Council of Seattle. He will be followed by Ole Hanson, former mayor of Seattle. James Duncan, president of the Seattle Central Labor Council, appeared in the courtroom this afternoon and William Forrest, counsel for William Bross-lLoyd, announced that he would testify for the defense on the Seattle strike.

Wilson, who says that his life is not safe in Seattle, painted a lurie picture of what a general strike means. He said he beard Hulet M. Wells, now in prison for violation of the Espionage law, declare at a meeting preceeding the strike:

"I'm a Bolshevist and I'm proud of it! I have only one flag, that of my fellow men dyed red by the blood of Russia."

He testified that all industries were shut down completely after the strike order was issued, that he witnessed a funeral in which the hearse bore a sign stating that it moved with permission of the strike council. But he failed to prove that force or violence had been used. His nearest approach to this was a quotation of Walker Smith, officer of the general strike committte, who said, the witness testified, "that the workers mus contro lall industry, that they must avoid bloodshed if possible, must control the government peacefully if possible but by force if necessary."

Attack upon the Illinois Anti-Anarchism statute marked the trial on Saturday. William S. Forrest, counsel for defense, arguing against admission of evidence concerning the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes, declared the law was drafted "by a member of the legislature who did it to please the people who hired him to do it."

Forrest maintained that all terms of the law—"force, violence or other unlawful means"—are synonymous, that the state must prove that the defendants conspired to commit acts of violence and that evidence as to Seattle and Winnipeg did not tend toward that end. He argued that overt acts, such as those strikes, could not be admitted because they tended only to prove that the conspiracy charged had been enlarged, not that the conspiracy had been effected by them.

July, 20th.—Ole Hanson, former mayor of Seattle, recently Chautauqua "red" baiter, went on the witness stand here to prove that the Seattle general strike was an attempt to overthrow the government by force, violence and other unlawful means. This is how he proceeded:

Testifying about a meeting of the strike executive committee which he attended on the eve of the strike, he said that the strike leaders, Hulet M. Wells, Anna Louise Strong, Bert Swain, Leon Green and Phil Pearl, urged him to turn over the municipally owned electric lighting plant to the strikers.

"The plant belongs to us, and we're willing to operate it if you turn it over to us," the mayor quoted Pearl as having said.

"I rejoined that it belonged to all the people of Seattle and that we (all the people) were going to run it."

Thus Ole Hanson did not deliver the Chautauqua lecture on "Bolshevism versus Americanism" which he had come prepared to give. The psychological effect of his testimony upon the jurors was all spoiled by Forrest, who interrupted him at almost every sentence with objections. It is upon the court's rulings on these objections—almost invariably in favor of the state—that the defense plans to base its appeal in case of an unfavorable verdict from this jury.

July 21st.—James Duncan, testifying on behalf of the defense in the trial of twenty members of the Communist Labor Party here, put the onus of use of force in the Seattle general strike upon Mayor Ole Hanson. He gave the lie to Hanson and to Harry J. Wilson, a spy in the Soldiers, Sailors and Workmen's Council, on important points as to conditions in Seattle during the strike.

Duncan followed immediately Ole Hanson, who was the last witness for the state. Counsel for defense waived the right of preliminary argument and immediately produced Duncan.

Mayor Hanson had testified that the strike had been called to overthrow the government of Seattle. Duncan's testimony will establish that it was called to back up the shipyards workers who were out for a 10 per cent increase in wages.

Wilson, the spy, said that the Soldiers Sailors and Workmen's Council had been organized to police the city in behalf of the general strike. Duncan said, point blank, that it had no part in managing the strike.

Special Prosecutor Comerford, arguing for admission of evidence on the Seattle situation, painted a lurid picture of a city deprived of all its utilities by dictatorship of the proletariat. Duncan stated that there had been less disorder during the strike than ever before.

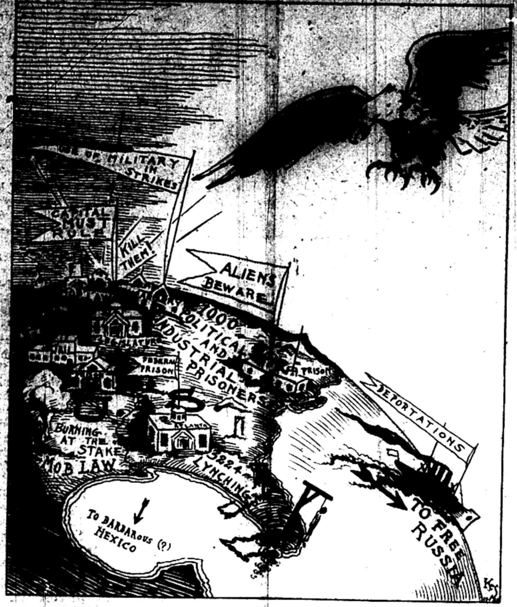
And as to the use of force, Duncan testified as follows:

First he related a conversation he had with the mayor and other officials two days before the general strike. He said:

"Our talk was principally as to lighting. Mr. Hanson said to me, 'Jim, Jim, won't you please give me the lights. I need those lights, Jim. Won't you be a regular fellow and give them to me. I don't give a damn about the cars, Jim, but I've got to have the lights. Come on, Jim, be a good fellow.' It was a repetition of this 'Jim, im' stuff for about an hour. And I told him that I was not responsible for the lights and that I could do nothing about it.

"Next day," the witness continued, "I met him again. He asked me if something couldn't be done to prevent

(Continued on page 2.)



Bird of Freedom — "No roost there for me!"

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF AMERICA

Well may the Bird of Liberty arrest its flight and pause ere it settles to rest upon its once proud home. From its high place it may glance downward at numberless instances of "man's inhumanity to man" as pictured there in prison, scaffold, burning pyre, suffering, want and despair, evidences of the raging class struggle.

From North to South and from East to West he will see dotting the country over, fort like bastiles in which the ruling class has imprisoned those who had the fortitude and courage of their convictions to oppose it, however in what pacific manner, and refused to shoulder arms with which to murder in cold blood men of other nations, the rulers of which were in commercial revalry with their own. More than a thousand still lie in these dungeons. Many have died, some have gone insane what of their cruel treatment; all have suffered the torments of the damned, which they truly are. At Atlanta, lies Debs, noblest of them all, doomed to remain there until ten years have passed, or life itself, unless the political needs of the ruling class compel it to turn the key in the door and release him — or the workers arise in their might and open the door for him.

From a hundred burning pyres the shrieks of the black victims of the white man's own crimes arise to make earth

(Continued on page 3.)

Notice To Our Readers

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I. W. W. IS POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Bellingham, Wash.—The I. W. W. is a political organization

This was the ruling here of Judge Edward E. Hardin of the Whatcom county superior court in denying the application of the prosecuting attorney for an injunction restraining four alleged I. W. W.'s from further participation in the activities of that organization.

The judge held that no court in the land has yet decided that political parties should be restrained. Judge Harding in refusing to restrain the I. W W. said:

"The I. W. W. is an exotic from continental Europe where it was nurtured by centuries of oppression. It can not live in the light of public discussion in a government which provides constitutional methods of changes to fit new conditions and if it should thrive for a time and assume menacing proportions in this, the greatest of republics, that fact would itself be evidence that somehow, somewhere something needs fixing."

Judge Hardin also held that the prosecuting attorney was seeking the wrong method of attempting to abate the I. W. W. The injunction plan would prevent the man enjoying their right of trial by jury, he maintained.

Copenhagen, (By the Federated Press)—A dispatch from Moscow via Helsingfors received here tells of the publication in Isvestia of a wireless message sent to Nikolai Lenin by a group of leaders of the Indian revolutionists expressing the joy with which India accepts the proffered hand of friendship of Soviet Russia and thanking the Bolshevist Premier for having listened to the cry of anguish of a people of 315,000,000. Lenin replied to this message as follows:

"We rejoice to hear that the basic principles of the supporters of the Soviets are shared by the Indians, whose awakening to freedom is being followed with sympathetic interest by the Russian proletariat. We welcome the union of the Mohammedan and the non-Mohammedan elements in India, and voice the wish that all the workers of the Orient will adhere to this union in order to insure their common liberties. In such solidarity lies the guarantee of victory.

TRYING TO FOOL THE WORKERS

The speech of acceptance of the Republican candidate for president indicates the policy toward the workers which the capitalists will follow in the presidential campaign that is now underway. While the Democratic candidate has not yet officially declared his acceptance of the nomination, other statements he had made before and since his nomination, show that in his attitude toward the workers he is in substantial agreement with his opponent.

It is cltar from the utterance of both candidates that the capitalist class realizes that the workers are not in a mood to be trifled with. While the lines of the class divisions are not yet clearly drawn in the political struggle in this country and the situation is not as threatening as in France, England, to say nothing of Italy, the capitalists see that a defiant attitude or any attempt at repression would quickly solidify the opposition of the workers and sharpen the character of the struggle. Their policy, therefore, is to blur the class lines and to keep up the illusion of a unity of interests between the capitalists and the workers.

The Republican candidate is for high wages. He is "ready to acclaim the highest standard of pay". But on one condition, which is that the "wage-earners will give full return for the wages received." On that condition the workers may have anything they desire. "Full return", of course, means that the workers shall produce a goodly margin of profit for the capitalists over and above the wages they receive. As long as they do that the wages they receive will not be seriously questioned.

Since high wages can be paid only on this condition, the workers are urged that they must "join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our civilization than that of armed force." How these various forms of production differ we are not informed, but one thing is certain, they all mean more profits for the class Mr. Harding represents.

The essential point in the relations between the workers and capitalists having thus been disposed of in a form that leaves the workers fine phrases to respond to and the capitalists assured good profits, the next thing is to show that there is really no reason for the workers and capitalists to fight each other. Hr. Harding "declines to recognize any conflict of interest among the participants in industry". Although at the time of Mr. Harding's statement several million railroad workers were expressing their disgust with a wage award which had just been made to them and some of them were threatening to take more decisive action, and only a few weeks before a pitched battle between striking workers and the capitalist tools raged in the streets of Bridgeport, Connecticut, Mr. Harding sticks his head in the sand and mumbles the usual platitude. Since there is no conflict of interest, he continues, both the workers and the capitalists must be good and "economic justice" will surely result.

Then comes the usual appeal to "Americanism" and our glorious institutions" under which all wrongs can be righted by orderly procedure. "The constitution contemplates no classes and recognizes no group", thunders Mr. Harding. While other men have proven that the constitution is an exceptionally cunning class document, Mr. Harding will have none of that. The constitution does not mention classes. There must be no classes. There can be no classes. All the time Mr. Harding knows that he was nominated by the capitalist class, is the candidate of the capitalist class and will loyally serve the capitalist class if he, rather than Mr. Cox, who stands in the same position, is elected president. Why two capitalist class candidates, (or three or four)? Because there are group capitalist interests to be settled in the political struggle.

Keep your mind in the old rut, workingmen, continued this mouthpiece of the capitalists. We ask nothing more of you than that you limit your effort to improve your conditions to trying to gain control of the machinery of government which we have created for our own class purposes, by going to the polls and voting for "good men". We prefer that you vote for the men whom the capitalists have selected, but if you can't quite stomach these men, you may nominate men of your own. That may be a little more troublesome, but really it doesn't make much difference, for so long as we control the means of publicity and education, you haven't much chance of electing them, and if by any chance you did, they would quickly wear themselves out trying to do something for you through the government machinery which we have created for our own purpose.

So long as the workers are good and do only these things they can have all the freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assemblage they can use. But if they are not satisfied to play the game according to the rules which the capitalists have framed for their own protection, then woe to them! Those who would "destroy our economic system" are to be stifled and crushed. Thus runs Mr. Harding's declaration.

There is, of course, nothing new in this. It is the same sort of stuff that has been handed out to the workers for many months. If the workers will keep on voting, if they will continue to look with respect and awe upon our American institutions of government, the capitalists don't care much. They feel themselves safe and secure.

Should they, however, rely upon their own organizations, should they develop their own organs of power and teach the necessity of establishing a working class government — the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, then all the power of the capitalists will be used to mercilessly crush them.

Mr. Harding has proven himself an admirable mouthpiece for the expression of the current capitalist policy, but his platitudes will have as little effect in stopping the onrushing class confict as a pebble thrown against the waves can stop the onrushing water.

The economic forces at work in society will set the workers in this country in as sharp opposition to the capitalists as the workers of Italy are in opposition to their ruling class. All the nice phrases which Hr. Harding and Mr. Cox may utter during the presidential campaign will not stop this class conflict from growing sharper, nor will the masses of the workers be fooled much longer into believing that they can win their emancipation by such methods as the capitalists urge them to use.

COMMUNISM AND THE [illegible]

— By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY —

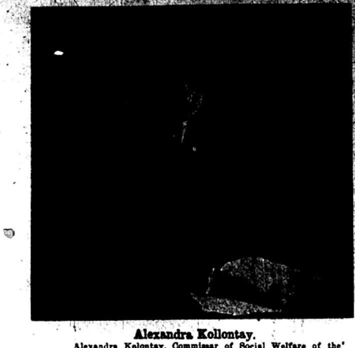
Commissar of Social Welfare of the Russian Soviet Government

THE WOMAN NO LONGER DEPENDENT ON THE MAN.

Will the family be maintained in the Communist State? Will it be just as it is today? That is a question which is tormenting the women of the working class, and which is likewise receiving attention from their comrades, the men. In recent days ths problem has particularly been agitating all minds among the working women, and this should not astonish us: Life is changing under our very eyes; former habits and customs are gradually disappearing; the entire existence of the proletarian family is being organized in a manner that is so new, so unaccustomed, so "bizarre," as to have been impossible to foresee. That which makes women at the present day all the more perplexed is the fact that divorce has been rendered easier in Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact, by virtue of the decree of the People's Commissaires of December 18th 1917, divorce has ceased to be a luxury accessible only to the rich; henceforth the working woman will not have to petition for months, or even for years, for a separate credential entitling her to make herself independent of a brutish or drunken husband, accustomed to beat her. Henceforth, divorce may be amicably obtained within the period of a week or two at most. But it is just this ease of divorce which is a source of such hope to women who are unhappy in their married life, which simultaneously frightens other women, particularly those who have become accustomed to considering the husband as the "provider" as the only support in life, and who do not yet understand that **woman must become accustomed to seek and to find this support elsewhere, no longer in the person of the man, but in the person of society, of the State.**

From the Genetic Family to the Present Day.

There is no reason for concealing the truth from ourselves: the normal family of former days, in which the man was everything and the woman nothing — since she had no will of her own, no money of her own, no time of her own — this family is being modified day by day; it is almost a thing of the past. But we should not be frightened by this condition. Either through error or through ignorance we are quite ready to believe that everything about us may remain immutable while everything is changing. **It has always been so, and it will always be so.** There is nothing more erroneous than this proverb! We have only to read how people lived in the past, and we shall learn immediately that everything is subject to change and that there are no customs, nor political organizations, nor morals, which remain fixed and inviolable. And the family in the various epochs in the life of humanity has frequently changed in form; it was once quite different from what we are accustomed to behold today. There was a time when only one form of family was considered normal, namely, the **genetic family**; that is to say, a family with an **old mother** at its head, around whom were grouped, in common life and common work, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren. The **patriarchal** family was also once considered the sole form; it was presided over by a father-master whose will was law for all the other members of the family; even in our days, such peasant families may still be found in Russian villages. In fact, in those places the morals and the family laws are not those of the city worker; in the country there are still a large number of customs no longer found in the family of a city proletarian. The form of the family, its customs, vary according to race. There are peoples, such as, for instance, the Turks, Arabs, Persians, among whom it is permitted by law for a husband to have many wives. There have been, and there still are at present, tribes which tolerate the contrary custom of permitting a wife to have several husbands. The habitual morality of the peresent-day man permits him to demand of a young girl that she remain a virgin until legitimate marriage; but there are tribes among whom, the woman, on the contrary, made it a matter of pride to have had many lovers, decorating her arms and legs with rings to indicate their number. — — — Such practices, which could not but astonish us, practices which we might even qualify as immoral, are found among other peoples to have the sanction of holiness, peoples who in their turn consider our laws and customs to be "sinful." Therefore there is no reason for our becoming terrified at the fact that the family is undergoing a modification, that gradually the traces of the past, which have become outlived are being discarded, and that new relations are being introduced between man and woman. We have family system and what, in the relations of the working man and working woman and the peasant woman, are their respective rights and duties which would best harmonize with the conditions of life in the new Russia, in the worker's Russia which our Soviet Russia now is?



Alexandra Kollontay.

Alexandra Kolontay, Commissar of Social Welfare of the Russian Soviet Republic, is one of the best known women of the Revolutionary Movement. Previous to the Russian revolution she had twice toured the United States, speaking in many cities. "Communism and the Family", her latest pamphlet, will be wellcomed by the Movement in this country, not only for its fine analysis of the historical development of the Family in all industrially developped countries, but also for laying out in graphic form the basic lines along which the Family of the future will develop as indicated in the new industrial life of the masses under Communism—the next step in the scale of human life.

Everything compatible with this new condition would only to ask: "What is it that has become outlived in our be maintained; all the rest, all the superannuated rubbish which has been bequeated to us by the cursed epoch of servitude and domination which was characteristic of the landed proprietors and the capitalists, all this shall be swept aside together with the exploited class itself, with these enemies of the proletariat and of the poor.

Capitalism Destroyed the Old Family Life.

The family in its present form is also simply one of the legacies of the past. Formerly solid, compact in itself, indissouble — for such was considered to be the character of marriage that had been sanctified by the priest in person — the family was equally necessary to all its members. Were it not for the family, who would have nourished, clothed and trained the children, who would have guided them in life? The orphans' lot in those days was the worst that could befall one. In the family such as we have become accustomed to it is the husband who earns and supports wife and children. The wife, on her part, is occupied with the housekeeping and the bringing up of the children, as she understands it. But already for a century this customary form of the family has been undergoing a progressive destruction in all the countries in which capitalism is dominant, in which the number of factories is rapidly growing, as well as other capitalist enterprises which employ working men. The family customs and morals are being formed simultaneously with the general conditions of the life surrounding them. What contributed most of all to change the family customs in a radical manner was without doubt the **universal spread of wage labor on the part of woman.** Formerly, it was only the man who was considered to be the support of the family. But for the past fifty or sixty years we have beheld in Russia (in other countries even somewhat earlier) the capitalist regime obliging women to seek remunerative work outside of the family, outside of the house.

30,000,000 Women Bearing a Double Burden.

The wages of the "providing" men being insufficient for the needs of the family, the wife in her turn found herself obliged to look for work that was paid for; the mother was obliged also to knock at the door of the factory offices. And year by year the number of women of the working class, who left their homes in order to swell the ranks of the factory, to take up work as day labourers, saleswomen, office help, washerwomen, servants, increased day by day. According to an enumeration made before the beginning of the world war, in the countries of Europe and America there were counted about sixty million women earning a living by their own work. During the war this number increased considerably. Almost half of these women are married, but it is easy to see what sort of family life they must have — a family life to which the wife and mother goes to work outside of the house, for eight hours a day, ten, if you include the trip both ways! Her home is necessarily neglected, the children grow up without any maternal care, left to themselves and all the dangerous risks of the street, in which they spend the greater part of their time. The wife, the mother, who is a worker, sweats blood to fill three tasks at the same time: to give the necessary working hours as her husband does, in some industry or commercial establishment, then to devote herself as well as she can to her household and then also to take care of her children. Capitalism has placed on the shoulders of the woman a burden which crushes her; it has made of her a wage-worker without having lessened her cares as a housekeeper and mother. We therefore find the woman crushed under her triple, insupportable burden, forcing from her often a swiftly smothered cry of pain, and more than once causing the tears to mount to her eyes. Care has always been the lot of woman, but never has woman's lot been more unfortunate, more desperate than that of millions of working women under the capitalist yoke today, while industry is in its period of greatest expansion.

Workers Learn to Exist Without the Family Life.

The more widerspread becomes the wage labor of woman, the further progresses the decomposition of the family. What a family life, in which the man and wife work in the factory in different departments; in which the wife had not even the time to prepare a decent meal for her offspring. What a family life when father and mother out of the twenty-four hours of the day, most of which are spent at hard labor, cannot even spend a few minutes with their children! It was quite different formerly; the mother, mistress of the house, remained at home, occupied with her household duties and her children, whom she did not cease to watch with her attentive eye — today, from early in the morning until the factory whistles blow, the working woman hastens to her work and when evening has come, again, at the sound of the whistle, she hurries home to prepare the family's soup and to do the most pressing of her household duties; after an all too scant sleep, she begins on the next day her regular grind. It is a real workhouse, this life of the married working woman! There is nothing surprinsing, therefore, in the fact that under these conditions the family ties loosen and the family itself disintegrates more and more. Little by little all that formerly made the family a solid whole is disappearing, together with its stable foundation. **The family is ceasing to be a necessity for its members as well as for the State.** The ancient forms of the family are becoming merely a hindrance.

What is it that made the family strong in the days of old? In the first place, the fact that it was the husband and father who suported the family; in the second place, that the home was a thing equally necessary to all the members of the family; and in the third and last place, that the children were brought up by the parents. What is left of all this today? The husband, we have just seen, has ceased to be the sole support of the family. The wife, who goes to work, has become the equal of her husband in this respect. She has learned to earn her own living and often also that of her children and her husband. This still leaves us as the function of the family the bringing up and the support of the children while very young. Let us now see whether the family is not about to be relieved also even of this task just mentioned.

Household Work Ceasing to be a Necessity.

There was a time when the entire life of women in the poorer class, in the city as well as in the country, was passed in the bosom of the family. Beyond the threshold of her own house, the woman knew nothing and doubtless hardly wished to know anything. To compensate for this, she had within her own house a most varied group of occupations, of a most necessary and useful kind not only to the family itself but also to the entire state. The women did everything that is new done by any working woman or peasant woman. She cooked, she washed she cleaned the house, the went over and mended the family clothing; but she not only did that. She had also to discharge a great number of duties which are no longer done by the woman of today: she spun wool and linen; she wove cloth and garments; she knitted stockings, she made lace, and she took up, as far as her resources permitted, the pickling and smoking of preserved foods; she made beverages for the household; she moulded her own candles. How manifold were the duties of the woman of earlier times! That is how the life of our mothers and our grandmothers passed. Even in our own days, in certain remote villages way off in the country, far from the railroads and the big rivers, you may still run across little spots where this mode of life of the good old time has been preserved unchanged, in which the mistress of the house is overburdened with labors of which the working woman of the big cities and of the populous industrial regions have for a long time had no idea.

(To be continued next week)

CAPITAL AND LABOR TESTIFYING IN COMMUNIST TRIAL.

(Continued from page 1.)

the strike the next day. I said that I thought something could be done if he was big enough to do it. The thing was to reduce the cost of living 10 per cent which would be equivalent to the increase of 10 per cent asked by the shipyards workers. He said, 'Well, I think I can do it' and left, saying he'd be back in an hour. Then he left and he hasn't come back yet."

Duncan then described a meeting at the Mayor's office the second day of the strike between city officials, a committee representing the strikers and a committee from the chamber of commerce.

"The mayor claimed that the radicals had got control of our organization" he testified, "and he wanted to know if something couldn't be done to call the strike off that day. Finally he said that if it weren't called off by noon that day he'd declare martial law. As spokesman for the strikers' committee I replied:

"Labor has nothing to fear from martial law. Because labor hasn't committed any unlawful acts and doesn't propose to commit any.'

"I reminded him that gas was flowing through the mains, because the strikers, who had complete organization in the gas plant, had investigated the hospitals and had found that that was necessary. I told the mayor that, if he introduced martial law, he undoutedly would find the responsibility of keeping gas flowing on his own hands.

"I reminded him also that the coal miners throughout the state also probably would join the strike if martial law were declared.

"Finally I told the mayor, 'We don't know, and you don't know, what attitude the soldiers will take if they are called in here. You don't know whether or not they will serve as strike-breakers. You do know they didn't enlist for that purpose.

"Mr. Hanson then said, 'Well if there is a doubt of that the quicker we find out the better.'

"I replied that my attitude on that point was different from his, that the strikers didn't want to see a test of that sort made in the streets."

Hanson's reasons for resigning as mayor of Seattle seven months before his term was up, were brought out by William Forrest, counsel for defense, in cross examination this morning.

"Why did you resign?" he asked.

"Because of poverty, neuritis, the absolute necessity of earning a living for my family," Ole answered.

"How do you earn your living?"

"By writing and speaking on 'Americanism and 'Law and Order'."

Ole then revealed that he has received $28,000 gross in the last seven months of his writing and lecturing of which 65 per cent is profit. The $7,500 annual salary of the mayor of Seattle was not sufficient for him, he testified.

Moscow,—(N. Y. Bureau)—At a conference of kindergarten workers here for which there had assembled fifty-three delegates from thirty-four Russian provinces, it was learned from a report made to the conference, that there were in the soviet republic on January 1, 1919, 1790 kindergartens, which were attended by 80,950 children, altogether. On January 1, 1920, the number of Kindergartens was 9,823, with 11,234 workers, and 204,913 children in attendance. The work in the establishment of rest homes at Petrograd is rapidly advancing. Fifteen rest homes are already in operation, providing accomodations for about 1,000 workers. The opening ceremonies will soon be held.

PARIS—(N. Y. Bureau)—A resolution to federate all maritime workers into one big union without regard to rank or grade was passed at a conference of the national council of maritime workers held here recently.

[illegible]

By John Brown.
Los Gatos, Calif.

Richmond P. Hobson—the courageous, and kissable—press-agented as the hero of the Merrimac (think of the modesty of posing as the hero, among the countless millions who have so recently acted out the heroic part, unsung) held forth last evening in our Rockefellerized Baptist Church on—"America and The Destiny of the World."

Chuch and State (Chamber of Commerce rejoiced and applauded to learn that two of Paul's pernicious and misleading declarations to his "son" Timothy—"For the love of money (property) is the root of all evil".—"Drink no longer water, but take a little wine for thy stumach's sake, and thine often infirmities" are now refuted, exploded, obsolete. — "My research Secretary has discovered that the love of alcohol is the root, source and cause of all wars, all crimes, all poverty, all distress. The family of the drinker becomes absolutely barren in the fourth generation; on glorious, righteous, redeemed, dry America alone now hangs the destiny of the human race—therefore, dig down in your jeans right now and rush to save all other nations of earth from extinction by drying them up."

But wait a moment—consider our recent boastful announcement and expensive pilgrimage to "make the world safe for Democracy"—our accomplishment the making of our own land the unsafest place on earth for Democrats—the most profitable place on earth for profiteers.

Consider Homestead and Ludlow, Bisbee and West Virginia, Centralia and Butte, Jefferson City and Atlanta, Leavenworth and Alcatraz, and our ten thousand other foul reecking jails and penitentiaries, where crimes against the innocent, and "crimes against criminals" vie with the horrors of the "Inquisition", and the "Black hole of Calcutta".

Consider how applicable to us as a nation the blistering words of the Hebrew prophet—"Thou hast taken usury and increase, and hast greedily gained of thy neighbors by extortion, and hast forgotten me saith the Lord God. Wherefore I have smitten my hand at thy dishonest gain which Thou hast made."

Consider how true today the words of a notable Brooklyn preacher of a quarter century ago—"The two leading political parties of this country, which alternate in its control, have putrefied, until they have lost all further power to rot; now there they lie! side by side, two great carcasses of imquity, each one worse than the other."

Consider our divorce courts, and insane asylums—our "pride, fullness of bread, abundance of idleness, and indifference to the cause of the poor," passing that which incurred the destructive wrath of Jehovah against Sodom. Consider how, even now the very foundations beneath our feet, are rocking with the earthquakes, and seething with volcanoes of the same righteous indignation. Consider all this and our ten thousand other infimay's and shames, and you get a faint conception of the collossal effrontery that would propose going utside our own borders on cleaning expeditions, while so many foul masses reeck and clamor for removal here at home.

"Thou hypocrite; first cast out the beam from thine own eye, and then shalt Thow see clearly to pluck out the mote from the brothers eye."

But to get the real "meat from the coconut of Brother Hobson's discourse—interpret the hints, read between the lines, strip off the camouflage—"The Government has the names of two million men in this country who are ready to do what the "reds" have done in Russia"—Those who wish to overthrow our Constitution should leave the country and should be helped out," great applause. —So—you see our "hero" at heart belongs with the "shippers and shooters"; apparently, blissfully unconcious that among the first to [illegible] the toe of the boot should be [illegible] unholy Attorney and Postmaster Generals—who, like they, have [illegible] in the mire our Constitution, and proved themselves the real "Criminal Anarchists" of hate and violence.

The meeting opened and closed with the familiar antherm "My Country, 'Tis of Thee, Sad land of tyranny, For thee we mourn." No, that is not it. Having more regard for "patriotism" than for truth—they sang it right lustily in its original form as did our forbears for a [illegible] years—the while they blithely [illegible] and sold their dusky brethren [illegible] cattle in the market place. How can they do it without choking?

"Beware ye of the leaven of [illegible] church members, which is hypocrisy [illegible]

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

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Uncle Sam -- Scab Herder

If there is any one who had any illusions of the outcome of the results of the deliberations of the Railway Labor Board, they must be sufficiently disillusioned now.

That the decision simply throws a sop to the railway workers in the hope of keeping down their clamoring for a living wage, is apparent. The award of $600,000,000 sounds big, but when it is measured by the individual share of the workers it dwindles into insignificance. With a calculation which placed the award barely above the "deadline" at which the workers would refuse it, the board made its award with a surety that it would be accepted and the workers once more induced to continue their slavery upon pitifully inadequate wages.

Just how long before the railway workers will be compelled to resort to another mass demonstration for more wages, depends upon whether the cost of living takes an upward or downward course. At present its course is continually upward with to deterring object in sight. The fact that all branches of the railway workers with the exception of the telegraphes, have accepted the award under protest augurs ill for their continued loyalty to the corporations which with insufferable and consciencless exploitations reduces then to the plane of peons and serfs. There is every indication that this award instead of being an element of satisfaction in the conflict will tend to arouse the workers to increased demonstrations of solidarity and further demands for some sort of consideration at the hands of the corporation and the government.

Under the award the railway workers will continue to receive the lowest industrial wage paid. Section men will receive the stupenduous award of less than $25.00 weekly, this being the lowest paid labor. Engineers, being the highest paid will receive a little less than $70,00 weekly. Between these extremes comes the firemen, conductors, brakemen, baggagemen, telegraphers, carpenters, car-repairers, boilermakers, machinists, gang foremen and so-called unskilled workers, comprising many hundreds and thousands of skilled workers who are forced to labor under a yoke of pitiful wages inadequate to sustain a family at a decent standard of living.

Not only are the railway workers still scandalously underpaid, but if the reported threats of the government are carried out, those who have had the courage to continue on strike are new to be set upon by sleuths and bludgeoned back to work under penalty of a jail sentence. According to press reports the Grand presidents of five railway brotherhoods were notified in Chicago by a representative of the department of justice that workmen who persisted in remaining on strike would be persecuted under the Lever act. While the improvement in the amount of traffic moved in the strike centers has been noticable, the cost has been tremenduous, and since the government was to foot the bill in case the railways return less than a profit of 5½ per cent, it is determined to put an end to the outlaw strikes On account of inability to secure scabs at the wages paid the regular crews practically double the scale is being paid the scabs who have taken the strikers places. Their unfamiliarity with the work has also added to the expense of freight movements. The government is therefore acting as a scabherding agency for the railway owners and paying the bill as well. It cannot find a funds pay American workers a living wage but it has plenty with which to hire scabs at double pay to help beat them into submission to a wage agreement that means slow starvation for the workers and their families.

In this manner does all "arbitration" work for the undoing of the worker. Its latest results should assist in letting some light into the heads of the workers

A Humane Protest

The assertion of Parley P. Christensen, candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party for president, that would enter no campaign against Eugene V. Debs until he is released from prison must meet with the accord of all thinking and humane people. He has since requested the candidates of the old parties to place their names with his upon a memorandum to President Wilson asking for the release of Debs; this likewise commend itself as an act worthy of a presidential candidate and a man.

If any man can be found in public life who would remain so immune to a sense of fairplay and sportmanship, and, without protest, enter a presidential race while his opponent was behind prison bars as in the case of Debs, it would brand him as totally unworthy of the confidence of any voter.

That this move for clemency in the Debs case has come from the third party would seem to signify that the two old parties will have to come out from under the smoke screen of lies and falsehood at least this once and either commit themselves to one good act or to oppose it. Whichever they do the honor should go to Mr. Christensen. If he can drive them into aiding the release of Debs then the birth of the latest political baby will have been worth the cost.

Music and Cheese

The Mayor and city council of Lawrence Massachusetts, have taken William M. Wood, President of the American Woolen Company to task for shutting down his mills and turning a great many thousands of workers into the street and making no provision for their welfare while awaiting the reopening of the mills. The mills have now been closed nearly one month and the demands upon the charity institutions of the city for assistance for the hungry families of former Woolen Company employes is increasing.

Mayor William P. White flayed Mr. Wood for his heartless lack of consideration of his employees' welfare in saying. "Mr. Wood has entertained thousands of his employees at his estate in the past few weeks with music and cheese; now some of them are starving. I do not want to open soup kitchens in this city. The big war profits were made by the American Woolen Company, not by the city of Lawrence, and the Company could well afford to sell cloth at cost or at even a slight loss, if necessary."

It is interesting to note that that new and unique idea that industry should bear the burden of unemployment and not society at large has reached into the halls of municipalities. The shifting of responsibility for the lives of employpes from the municipalities to the industries which employ them is apparently growing. In respect to the war profits of the American Woolen Company, let us see what Basil M. Manly has to say in his report upon the subject.

> On page 330 of the Treasury report is shown the income of a woolen company capitalized at $60,000,000. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is only one woolen company in the United States capitalized at that amount—the American Woolen Company. The Treasury Department's report shows that in 1917 this sixty-million-dollar woolen company reported a net income of $28,560,342. The annual report of the American Woolen Company for 1917 shows a net income before taxes were deducted of only $13,883,,155. If this sixty-million-dollar woolen company is in fact the American Woolen Company—and the evidence seems to be conclusive—it is clear that the American Woolen Company in 1917 concealed from the stockholders and from the public profits of nearly $15,000,000. In other words, the actual profits of the American Woolen Company in 1917 appear from this comparison to have been more than twice as great as the company acknowledged in its annual report.

Thus we have a concrete instance of a huge modern industry coining millions in profits from the toil and sweat of its employees during a period of "prosperity"; and when the prosperity wanes, it turns them into the street to shift for themselves, without taking any further responsibility for them, whether they live or starve. Had they been black slaves they would have been fed and clothed in slack times as well as in good times.

The hypocrisy of capitalistic industry is seen wherein it assumes a paternalistic attitude toward its employees by giving "free" outings, picnics, etc. as long as it is gouging out of them the last penny in profits and when that is no longer possible sets them a drift. The bosses can well afford such "generosity", it is paid for by the workers themselves.

The Polish S. O. S.

With an S. O. S. to all parts of the capitalistic world, the Polish imperialists have sounded the death knell of their ambitions and preposterous war against the Soviets. What of Budenney's cavalry and the strategists at Moscow, the Polish front has crumbled and fled, the while uttering cries for support, financial support, military support, "moral" support, any old kind of support that will stay the onpouring advance of the Red Army toward Warsaw and save the prestige of the none too strong Polish bourgeois government.

The defeat of Poland registers another failure of Great Britain and the Allies to stay the march of Sovietism and to destroy the workers' government of Russia. Seeing the inevitable collapse of Polland the perfidious Allies have made haste to urge the cessation of the war. So long as they viewed Poland as a possible bulwark against the spread of Sovietism, they sancitioned the war, furnished munitions and encouraged Poland in her ambitious schemes, but the moment they saw the Red Army nearing the Polish border, the advisibility of peace at once asserted itself to them.

That the fear of Bolshevik contact with Germany lies like a deadening weight upon the minds of the Allies is frankly admitted. From no motive of humanitarianism do the Allies urge the cessation of hostilities.

The war might continue indefinitely so far as their humanitarian impulses are concerned if only there was a chance of winning in the end. But they know well enough the strength of Soviet forces, and since they desire above all else a capitalistic nation between Russia and Germany, in order to save Poland from utter collapse and possibly a revolution and establishment of Sovietism, they urge peace upon the combatants while yet capitalistic Poland stands. The Allies realize the possibilities of Soviet connection with Spartacist and Communist workers of Germany. The continned Allied exploitation of Germany depends upon the subserviance of the workers, a victorious Soviet state on Germany's border would be a practical assurance of a German proletarian revolution; and the end not only of Allied exploitation but the assurance of the spread of Sovietism to every country in Europe.

With the Poles now actually appealing to Russia for peace, the war assumes a new aspect, and development there will be watched with the keenest attention. That the terms of peace and the boundaries of Poland will be laid out by the victor, and that they will be in accordance with fairness to Poland is assured. Soviet Russia, in contradistinction to every capitalistic government, has no ambition to exploit any nation.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF AMERICA.

(Continued from page 1.)

hideous. The toll for the year 1918 was 84, 3244 for the thirty year period previous to 1919, a sacrifice to the race hatreds nursed and cultitated by a class society in the interests of the parasitical ruling class.

"Moral Support"

An apparently inspired report emanated from Washington last night containing the information that the State Department was about to announce to the world its moral support of Poland, and possibly the extension of government credits for munitions—of which we have plenty to supply any capitalist nation at war with either its own working class or that of another nation.

According to the report, the question of a violation of this country's neutrality with Russia, a nation with which we are not at war, was very quickly disposed of, it being pointed out that this country had at one time an army in Siberia, and any way the need of saving Poland was of "more importance than neutrality". So we see that international law applies only as between capitalist governments. If it is necessary to violate it in the interests of capitalism—to hell with it.

The State Department has already protested to the Cecho-Slovak government the holding up of 35 carloads of munitions enroute thru that country to Poland by the class conscious workers there. These munitions were war supplies left in France and were exchanged by this government for Polish bonds. There were seventy-five million dollars worth of them sold. Aside from the enmity which this government holds against the Russian worker's government, we have here a concrete example of the financial reasons at the bottom of this "moral" support. There can be no question of the moral nature of the support which the government will extend to Poland-support based upon a loan of $75,000,000 could not be otherwise than moral according to capitalistic ethics.

The government apparently has no illusions concerning the lack of class consciousness of American workers. The workers of Slovakia may assert their comradeship and common interests with the workers of Russia in refusing to dye their hands with blood in assisting in the shipment of munitions with which they will be murdered; London dockers may refuse to load ships with bullets and powder for the same purpose, but Uncle Sam knows that none of his family will be so disloyal to capitalist interests as to refuse to do its bidding. That is what Uncle Sam seems to think NOW. But Seattle longshoremen DID refuse to load munitions destined for use against Russia. We would suggest to Uncle Sam that the loyalty of American workers to capitalistic butchers is perhaps not so deep seated as the surface indicates.

And we appreciate the elucidation on the nature of "moral" support as defined by capitalistic ethics.

War and Why

"What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these there are successively selected during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men. Dumbrudge at her own expense has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected, all dressed in red, and shipped away at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain, and fed there till wanted.

"And now to that same spot in the south of Spain are thirty similar French artisants from a French Dumbrudge in like manner wending, till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and thirty stand fronting thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway, the word 'fire' is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses which it must bury, and anew shed tears for.

"Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest! They live far enough apart; were the entirest stangers, nay, in so wide a universe, there was even, unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them.

"How then? simpleton! Their governors had fallen out, and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot."

Thomas Carlyle.

From a thousand industrial battle fields arise the clash of interests of the exploited and the exploiters. Amid the conflict of economic interests we hear the rattle of the machine gun, the rifle shot of the hired gunman and the Cossack, brutal arms of a capital State, the sole purpose of which is to serve its creater, the exploters of labor, the parasitical ruling class. The jails are filled with Labors' spoksmen. Its leaders are murdered in cold blood. Every attempt of the workers to break their slavery's chains is met with the armed force and violence of the capitalist class excercised thru the State, the police, militia, the department of justice. Witness the persecution of the I. W. W. the outlawing of elected socialists, the Communist trials now going on at Chicago. All are evidence of the enslavement of the masses to the owners of industry; all is terrific condemnation of the boasted liberties which capitalist apologists inform us are the foundation stones of this government.

Until these conditions are brought to an end by the its power of the laboring masses and industry is rid of its parasitic ownership, can any real liberties for the masses find a foothold here.

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The Black Sheep.

(Continuation of Chapter XL.)

As for the letters they could hardly be called love letters. They had more the character of essays on scientific, social, economic, and industrial questions. They were entirely devoid of any personal history or of any personal aspirations whatsoever. This puzzled the man of business greatly. He was wont to tell Olive that the boy's letters were as good as a magazine article, but that he wished they would contain more of his personal history. "What I would like to know," he would say, "Is how he makes his living. How he is employed. He must have a source of income for even the most saintly among us need money. It is a "necessary evil", but we must have it. I wish you would find out just what his income is, and where from. It would help us to get a better insight into his real character than anything else."

Instinctively Gus Anderson associated character and income, yet he discussed it all so reasonably, so impartially that he won his daughter's entire confidence. She agreed that she would write and ask the boy the desired questions. This she did just before leaving her native village for the sunny clime of the city at the foot of the rockies.

Her uncle, a prosperous farmer and bee keeper, lived a little to the east of the town of Boulder, and it was here, that shortly after her arrival she made the acqainance of a couple of young men, students at the Colorado University School of Mines, who were spending their vacation on her uncle's ranch. These young men were not radicals in the sense that Jack and Collins were radicals. They did however, have advanced ideas concerning labor organizations, and kindred subjects. It was now that Olive became busy arguing politics and economics, from her entirely untrained view point and naturally occasionally getting the worst of it, but her defeats were only temporary. Every evening before she retired she would write to Jack and tell him of all her problems, and the way the college men stated theirs. And at the other end of the line, Jack was answering her many questions with the more than willing co-operation of Ed. Collins. In fact Collins wrote quite as much of the letters as did the boy.

In fact he was the more seriously in love with her for he was several years Jack's Senior, and while outwordly rough and unsympathetic he was, inwardly of an affectionate nature. He admired beauty in woman kind, but more than that, did he revere intellect, and it was becoming ever more evident from Olive's letters, that she possesed intellect in no small degree. Then, Collins admired that peculiar type of intellect that dwells on the problems of social life, and that was pre-eminently hers. So it was, that the big man was often more anxious to hear from the girl then was Jack, and he lost no opportunity to enclose a little note in the boy's letters when ever he was invited to do so. In these he expressed his personal view of some particularly knotty social problems.

These notes were always well worded, and to point; they could not help but impress the girl, and cause her to form the habit of writing separate notes to him, which finally developed into separate letters.

CHAP. XLI

Her first Socialist Meeting.

In less then a week after her arrival at her uncle's ranch, Olive was casting about for a local socialist from whom she might learn just how the cult operated, and what they hoped to accomplish for the present generation. With all the impetuosity of youth, she sought for any way to make an end of this world's ingrained injustice, by the sheer force of her own idealism. Like every new convert to the faith of the Co-operative Commonwealth, she was convenced that she had made a great discovery, and that all that was, now needed, was but to go out and tell it to the toiling masses. These she reasoned would not hestitate to receive the word, and go to work at the reconstruction of society.

Her failure to impress the preacher, and the editor, and her father for that matter, she ascribed to the fact that they were not strictly workers, as Jack had defined workers. It was to their interest to oppose anything that worked against their customary source of income. Her failure to impress the few working people she had talked to, she attributed to the fact that she had not read enough copies of "The Appeal To Reason."

But now all would be different. She had read not only papers but books as well, and what she had not understood, Jack and Collins had made clear. All that was needed now was to get busy in an organized way, and the citadels of evil would fall, and the temples of Justice arise, at the onward march of the victorious Proletariat.

She asked one of the students who was vacationing with her uncle, if he happened to know an honest to God socialist in that neighborhood, and he informed her, that there was one in town, who was "plum dippy" on the subject.

The man in question was Peter Collingwood, who oscilated back and forth between the practice of Law, and his hives of bees, in the struggle for existence, but who was always firmly anchored in his political faith. It is almost sacrilege to call this man's faith in the ultimate triumph of the lowly, political, for his sincerity and devotion had much in it, that was akin to the religious in the most exalted meaning of the variously interpreted word. He was one of those men who are so filled with a sense of the absolute importance of their ideas that they talk them in season and out of season, to any one who is willing to listen, and to many who are not willing to listen, until they are looked upon at best as a harmless nuisance, and at the worse, as a manace to the peace of mind of the community. Such a man was Collinwood. It was said of him that if he had a client befor a jury, he would first try to make socialists out of the twelf goodmen and true, before he would argue the case for his client, in consequence of which he had to raise bees in order to keep his home fires burning. Consequently he had but few friends and many enemies and near enemies. His friends he loved and his enemies he propagandised, which they considered as being worse, then if he hated them.

That Olive Anderson should admire such an individual was a forgone conclusion. And that Collinwood would tell her all, and more then he knew about socialism was equally certain. For Collingwood was nothing if not well read in the literature of the class-struggle and its allied subjects. He also possessed of an extraordinary imagination, which he needlessly employed in his recital of the crimes of the rich.

For weeks, "The Appeal To Reason", had carried the announcement that on a certain day, Eugene V. Debs was to speak in Denver, in behalf of the imprisoned labor leaders at Boise. And Olive Anderson had eagerly awaited that day. But when she told her aunt and uncle of her intentions to go to Denver and hear the speaker, they very naturally raised a storm of protest. They went so far as to wire to Olives mother for instructions in the matter, the result of which might will be imagined. But their efforts were in vain. Olive had decided to go. And she went. After which her uncle decided to mention the matter no farther, hoping that one political speech would be enough to satisfy her curiosity.

It was on her trip from Boulder to Denver, that she met Peter Collinwood. He was at the station giving out "Appeal to Reason", and announcements of the Debs meeting, to passengers boarding the Denver train. He was very thorough in his work, for altho Olive was to all appearances just a slip of a girl in the midst of the giddy age, he did not neglect her, but handed her the paper and hand bill, with a verbal request that she go and hear the speaker while in Denver.

Olive was delighted to meet this apostle of discontent. She told him, that it was to hear Debs, that she was going to Denver. To which Collinwood replied: "two of us, by hookey, two of us!"

The train started on its way, Collinwood and Olive occupying the same seat, her cousin, five year her senior, sat on the opposite side of the train a veritable picture of disapproval. She cordially hated the lawyer for no other reason than that her father hated him. And her father hated him for the reason that he considered the lawyer a fool but every time he tried to prove him so, Collinwood would have the best of the argument. Now Olive was conversing with this man and using a language which her cousin did not even comprehend. For they spoke of Social evolution, of workingclass supremacy, of industrial solidarity, of capitalistic decadence, with an ease that entirely baffled the middle-class minded girl who was to guard Olive from harm.

The trip to Denver was a feast to Olive Anderson. For the lawyer told her much of the life history of America's greatest workingclass orator and also much of the inside of the present labor troubles, which were now culminating in the possible death of three of the leading man in the Western Federation. The two hours during which the train made its way from Boulder to Denver passed by almost un-noticed, and now they were in Denver.

That evening she found herself among the mass crowd that gathered at the auditorium to hear the great apostle of freedom, but more to voice their protest through him, against the illegal barbarities of the mine owners of Colorado. It was a wonderful gathering. The very air seemed to be charged with an electric force. Olive felt as if she were swept along by this, to her, mystic power. There was a stillness in the great hall that could only be likened to the stillness that sometimes precedes a storm. There were the usual tiresome preliminaries which one has to endure at all socialist meetings. They are the usual cause of a small attendance, at many meetings, but when Debs is to speak, anything can be endured, for he is in this respect an all compensating power. Still this was Olive's first meeting and all of this preliminary work which usually is the financial part of the enterprise, interested her, only as part of the battle tactics of a great cause. That a noted speaker should be preceded by a book auction was to her an unheard of proceeding, but she could understand that the purpose was to get the literature before the public, which of course was a wise and necessary part of the great struggle.

At last the speaker came upon the stage, and then pandimonium broke loose. Such cheering and applauding Olive never heard. Involuntarily she took part, clapping her hands and staumping her feet, and even giving vocal vent to her emotions, to the positive disgust of her cousin, who was paying attention to nothing but Olive, while Olive was paying attention to everything but her cousin. After an ovation that lasted several minutes silence was again restored, and Debs began his speech. As he stood there, tall, slender, slightly bent as if with the sorrow of a world. She felt than mankind only echoed [illegible] deepest [illegible] again stirring [illegible] and aversion with [illegible] and hate. For hate is but the antithesis of love. Debs loved his people with a divine passion, and hence he assailed their oppressors with a hatred born of love.

She listened with a deep religious devotion, to his every word. He convinced her that socialism was definitly the hope of the ages, and the final goal of all our striving. The age old class war was but the path of man's redemption from bondage. The squares of squalor and miles of misery with which the fair face of civilization was defaced was but the debris on the tide of battle. The battle could not end but in victory for the ever increasing masses of expropriated toilers. His scientific explainations were lost to her in the sweeping splendor of his emotional appeal—drunk with the power of his imagery, she would have done anything, suffered anything, even to a martyre death, if he had but given the command. Such is often the power of the orator when, the physical circumstances that give rise to his appeal directly affect the interest of great bodies of people. Lacking this element the voice of the speaker, no matter how clearly used, is little more than a sounding brass and a tinkling symble. "If they kill these men, they will do it over my bleeding corpse," Debs thundered his tall figure vibrant with emotion. It was a defiance to the very strongholds of the established order. There was no one in the audience, but who knew that this was for his convictions and in that hall no idle threat. Debs would have died for his convictions and in that hall were hundreds of men and women who at that moment would have considered it glory to follow him.

True these words were wild. In calm judgement they would not have been spoken. They were not applauded when they were spoken. The import was to serious. Yet who can say, that these words did not at least have as much affect on the final issue of the trial than Darrow's flaming oration to the jury. But all this is beside the issue. Debs was willing to give his life as a sacrifice to his cause, and in this he at least inspired one, to pour out upon the altar of industrial liberty the last full measure of devotion.

Debs spoke at great length, but Olive was not conscious of time. She wished that he would go on forever. In fact, she was hardly aware that he had begun to speak, when he closed.

That night she and her cousin went to a hotel. She jubilant and her cousin disgusted. She wanted to discuss the speaker's soul wispering message with some one, and naturally her companion was the victim. But when she asked her cousin, what she thought of the speech Olive was painfully surprised when she informed her that she had paid no attention to the fellow. After which, she read Olive a lecture on her unladylike conduct, which she averred was the result of being raised in a small town. Ana moose is about half the size of Boulder. She gave her to understand that she was not interested in politics or in labor problems. She considered these subjects unladylike and vulgar. Women ought not to take part in man's affairs. It was natural for man to govern. You see, the Bible does not tell of any lady Gods!

It soon become evident to Olive's mind that it was useless to reason with the unreasonable. Discontinuing the conversation, she went to bed, where in imagination she talked the whole matter over with Jack. She was sure that he would have understood all that Debs had said, and that he would have sympathized with the great object to be attained. She remembered that he had told her, that only thru sacrifice could the race be redeemed from bondage.

The next morning she and her cousin quarelled with the result that this guardian angel flew back to Boulder, while Olive sought out the socialist headquarters, where to her delight she met Peter Collinwood and the genial Debs. Collingwood introduced her to the speaker who spent about twenty minutes of his busy time in conversation with her, after which she was introduced to the secretary of local Denver who enrolled her in the Socialist Party, and gave her the little red card, she treasured to her dying day.

More Going than Coming

Figures just compiled by the immigration officials at Ellis Island show that 334,254 aliens have left this country through the Port of New York in the year ending June 30th. The number of incoming aliens in the same period was 314,468. There were thus 19,786 more outgoing than incoming aliens during the year.

Reports reaching here from the Soviet Ukrainia tell of the opening of a Soviet Congress at which the delegates reaffirmed their loyalty to the Soviet ideal and took pains to emphasize the fact that Soviet Ukrainia was aiding Soviet Russia in fighting back the invading Poles. C. Rakovsky, chairman of the Council of People's Commissioners of the Ukraine, in reporting on the activities of what body, said that 14,000,000 hectares (about 35,000,000 acres) of farming land had been taken away from the agrarians and turned over to the peasants for use. He also reported that the miners of the Donetz Basin had produced a remarkably large amount of coal despite the difficulties due to the war.

[illegible]

[illegible] General [illegible]

A conference has just been held at Geneva which may prove to have started one of the most significant and one of the most important movements of our age. It was a conference of ex-service men, of ex-service men from Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and several other countries; a conference of those who through the years of war had been fighting each other at the behest of their masters and who resolved that such a state of things should occur "never again". Henri Barbusse—author of "Under Fire"—presided. His opening address gave the key to the whole proceedings. "Once more we confront one another," he said, "we who have confronted one another in hell." And then he went on to declare that at that conference the ex-soldiers of Europe returned "to their first essential belief, belief in their brotherhood." After five years of slaughter, the surviving combatants emerged, looked each other in the eyes, and recognized each other as—brothers.

The governments which made the war—the governing bureaucracies of Europe, responding to the pressure of the financial interests—still glare at each other across frontiers of the nations. The civilian peoples still bear some of the mean and futile hate that they had for each other while the war continued. But the men who are actually engaged, hundreds of thousands of them in every land, stretch out to each other the hands of fellowship.

Does this seem strange? Does it seem inconsistent? Surely not. For while the governments and most of the civilian peoples thought of each other as enemies, the fighting men, even while fighting, knew no enduring hate. They were all alike in the grip of the war-machine, and each one knew that the "fellow opposite" was as helpless as himself. At home the British peoples cursed the Germans, and the German people cursed the people of this land But in the fighting line British and German troops alike only cursed the war.

Now the war is over and the ex-soldiers of the world are determined that, if it be within the power of mortal men to do they will make it impossible for war to come again. They dread the thought of their children having to pass through the hell that they themselves have been dragged through during the last five years.

During the war they cursed the war. But now they realize that that is not enough. They understand that it is too late to damn the swirling, seething torrent when it is rushing headlong to the falls. They recognize that if they would stop war, they must stop it at its source.

[illegible] Congress [illegible] The roots of war, they held, are to be found in the capitalist system, and the only way to end war is to tear it up by its roots, to abolish capitalism the wide world over.

The first act of the congress was therefore to pledge the ex-service men who were represented there—British, German, French, Austrian, Russian, Italian, Belgian, Rumanian, Swiss—to pledge them all to work together to abolish the capitalist and competitive system, and to strive to establish a world-wide cooperative form of society.

But then arose some difference of opinion. The Italians and some of the French delegates expressed the view that the matter should be left there. "Let us concentrate upon this one thing," they said; "let us consider only how we ex-Service men may help to destroy the capitalist system."

The British and some German delegates were of a different mind. Although they held that the only way to abolish war was to abolish capitalism, and although they were already pledged to do their utmost to accomplish this, yet they urged that it was possible, even while capitalism continued, to render the making of wars more difficult, to diminish the chances of war They declared that they must do something immediately; that they could not afford to wait until capitalism was abolished in every country in the world, without taking some precautionary measures in the meantime.

Eventually the conference accepted this view, though the Italians insisted that, for them at any rate, it would mean waste of time and effort. "The Revolution", they said, "is so near at hand in Italy that we can consider nothing else."

The British delegates submitted that the ex-service men should help to abolish secret diplomacy (and especially the power of the foreign offices to commit the peoples to potential war behind their backs and without their knowledge); work for the abolition of armaments everywhere; to spread anti-war propaganda amongst the civilian people, and especially amongst the children; and endeavor to bring about the general use of an international language, Esperanto.

The conference passed unanimously a resolution of the British delegates condemning the League of Nations as "a league of capitalist governments of the conquerors."

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

By Tom Clifford.

There is not the slightest danger that the railway corporations will reject the wage award of the Railroad Labor Board, for the moderate increase granted the workers is practically of no concern to the employers, since the earnings are guaranteed by the government, and the increased cost of operation will simly be passed on to the public, of which the railway workers constitute a part. This is frankly allowed by both the Labor Board and the capitalist press. The cost will be covered by increased freight rates and the "buck" will be passed down the line to the consumers, which means another increase in the cost of living. Could anything be more vicious or idiotic than such a program? It must be patent to the most superficial thinker that no material relief to the working class as a whole is involved in this award, for whatever benefits accrue to the railway workers must be paid for by the remainder of the working class. The Labor Board could have manifested still greater generosity without interfering in the cost with the interests of the transportation mangnates, but that would have entailed an augmentation of the burden to be borne by the public, which might precipitate a revolt. Robbing Peter to pay Paul and keeping the workers ignorant of the chicanery is now the only recourse left to the bourgeoisie to postpone the inevitable breakdown of the capitalist system. It is the only method of procedure left them, and its continuance is limited to the time it takes the masses to get an intelligent grasp of the situation. Then there will be something doing.

* * *

In the face of acute economic conditions, constantly growing worse, the hysteria of the war period is rapidly disappearing in spite of the efforts of the bourgeoisie to keep it alive. When confronted by the basic problem of living emotional "patriotism" is forced into the background. The organization of patriotic societies receive but passing notice from the masses, who are now only concerned about their material prospects. There is a prevalent expectancy of the breakdown of industry in the near future, and a feeling of uncertainty is gripping the masses and compelling serious thought. They can give no reason other than that they "feel it coming". The capitalist press is scrupulously refraining from giving publicity to events transpiring in industry which are portentious of an approaching industrial depression that will divorce millions of workers from their jobs and in turn rock capitalism to its very foundations. Already multitudes of workers have been given "vacations" through partial shut-downs in industry, information of which can only be gleaned from the suffering workers themselves. This widespread pessimism is purely psychological at present owing to the absence of positive knowledge, but when the facts become public property the workers will be compelled to recognize their desperate condition and take drastic action. Whether such action will be governed by intelligence or merely resolve into a riot of desperation remains to be seen. At any rate they will have to face the music and take the bit in their teeth. Confronted by grim necessity no other course will be tenable.

* * *

And what will be the duty of communist forces in that hour of tribulation? Manifestly one of watching and waiting while the revolutionary forces gather with a view to directing them into peaceful channels, if possible. Those who have hitherto paid no heed to our economic predictions will then turn to us for inspiration because they will have no other port in the storm. We should hasten to marshal our forces for the great work that is before us. We are the only section of society that can offer a rational and scientific method of procedure when capitalism goes on the rocks. We will have to take control of the wreck, and out of the chaos that for a time will ensue build up an industrial republic. The task will be a stupendous one, for we will have to handle millions of workers and reshape their currents of thought and conceptions of life. We must be equal to the task, however arduous, for the preservation of society will depend upon the wisdom we manifest during the period of social transition. Will we be equal to the occasion. I think we will.

[illegible] Column

[illegible] the man on the porch would not have a chance to pose as the people's choice.

Paul La Fargue the witty Frenchman, described a similar situation in the following words: "Now comes the politicians with tears in their eyes and gold in their voices, and the [illegible] populace shout in frenzied chorus, 'Hooray, Hooray', than will start the great farce, the theft of a nation's goods."

* * *

Why did the A. F. of L. hold its convention in Canada? The best guess is that it was held in Canada so the delegates could have the privelege of freedom of speech—so they might express their honest opinions without interference from the U. S. department of (in)justice.

* * *

The A. F. of L. wants government ownership of railroads "democratically managed" but don't want sovietism. Reminds me of the man who was hungry but did not want to eat. If some one should suddenly ask the A. F. of L. what-the-ell it DID want, wouldn't they hear a lot of stuttering and stammering?

* * *

Trotsky has again been murdered for the eigth or eighteenth time. That fellow has more lives than is accredited to a tom cat.

* * *

The bolsheviks have but a shadow of an army says the W. G. N. Beats all tho how strong some shadows are!

* * *

Bolshevism has failed, says the current magazines. Why didn't they print all the sentence? Bolshevism has failed to frighten the common people?

* * *

People are like dough, if they have the yeast in them they will rise. But even dough has to have a favorable environment or it will not let the yeast work.

* * *

Now cometh Hearst with a renewal of the yellow peril, telling us that the white race is doomed—that the yellow race will win in the struggle for supremacy. If it does it will be because Capitalism has sapped the vitality from the great majority of the white race.

* * *

The great menace is in the industrial relationship, not in racial development.

* * *

The moulder of public opinion wields a greater influence than the maker of much money, yet allow much money to control the forces which mould public opinion—that is a part of our 100% Americanism.

* * *

Palmer has hushed the voice of the leaders, now he must listen to the voice of the pack!

* * *

"LIKE A MIGHTY ARMY"

We glean the following from "Current Opinion" for July, thinking it good enough to pass along. It at least shows one sky pilot who got his eyes open about war. Who knows he may next get his eyes open to the church?

Current Opinon's comment is as follows. "It will be a long time before the poison of monarchism militarism has been squezed out of the hymnbook. The world has thought so long in the brutal terms of the past that it will be hard to get over it. The Reverend J. H. Hopkinson of England recently said; "We have learned that war is not a matter of fluttering banners and clashing swords and beating drums, but merely a sickening and dirty butchery of lads in water-logged or flyinfested trenches.

"We shall be less ready than we were to compare the movement of the church to that of a victorius army. Hymns that we could sing unthinkingly before the war have become a lying blasphemy. Who could now sing, "Like a Mighty Army Moves the Church of God?"

* * *

Bolsheviki Russia is a nation of fanatical dreamers and wild-eyed theorists, but—they have compulsory labor and compulsory education—and with those two compulsions in force it will not be long until the whole world will have to hustle to catch up to backward Russia.

* * *

Press reports that U. S. is now to allow trade with Russia. We won't recognize them politically—but we will recognize them industrially. Now who said political action was superior to industrial action?

* * *

Franklin D'Olier, National Commander of the American Legion in his Fourth of July message, as published on the cover of the Legion Weekly says, "** that the flag shall continue to fly over a nation that is, indeed, free to all men of sound principles". You see, why it is not "indeed" "free to all men" but free to all men OF SOUND PRINCIPLES, with the National Commander and the American Legion to be the sole judge of what is and what is not "sound principles".

* * *

Lincoln did not use such qualifying phrases. He said "a nation can not exist half-slave and half free".

* * *

The K. C. paper printed a picture of Gompers kissing Debs at the Atlanta Pen. A correspondent writes that the picture reminded him of another famous kiss in the Garden of Gethsemane where one Judas kissed (and betrayed) his Friend.

* * *

The pulpit pounders make much of a "strong moral and religious sense." For mine, I'll take just common ordinary common sense.

* * *

Dr. Freye at a Methodist camp meeting classed the Republican party platform with the ten commandments and the American constitution. Here is the way he was quoted in the P. P.; "There are only three great documents in the world today, and they are the decalogue, the constitution of the U. S. and the platform of the Republican party."

But then I told you at the start that he was a minister!

* * *

The same brilliant mind informs an anxiously awaiting world that, "if Cox is elected in November, Hinky Dink will run the country."

* * *

A stevedore told me the other day that "the company was damn careful of the trucks and if the company was as careful to see that men did not get broke as they were about the trucks it would be a greaaat world."

* * *

Henriettta informed me the other day that the landlord observed that Henry was working overtime—and straightaway raised the rent, and one of Henrietta's sisters told me their rent was raised immediately after her Henry had bought himself a new suit. My what is the world coming to?

* * *

From the amount of propaganda put out by the master-class against bolshevism one would almost infer that the world was coming to its senses.

* * *

Bela Kuhn of the former worker's republic of Hungary is reported to have escaped to Russia. This is doing well as the P. P. had him dead and buried a year ago. Now he is much alive, and to quote the P. P. "unpunished for his crimes and atrocities". Capitalism commits no crimes!

* * *

Politicians tell us that the workers are poor because they don't use their heads. When they do use their heads the workers are jailed on a conspiracy charge.

* * *

Free open air movies for a whole week in our town. Who paid the bill? Why the fellows that expected to BENEFIT from the performance of course. The master-class fathered the scheme and paid the bills. The working class learned (or had a chance to learn) that Abraham Lincoln was a great man who started in life "poor but honest" and was against the workingclass and FOR property. Poor honest old Abe! What crimes and atrocities are committed in his name.

* * *

Well its all off. From the advertisements in all the papers we learned that unless the Christian Soviet better known as the Interchurch World movement was supported, the world would go to the demonition bow-wows and "the bolsheviks would get us" sure, and now the papers report the flat and complete failure of that I. W. M. drive.

* * *

Skygac was an interested onlooker at the third party convention. It was the largest aggregation of nuts he ever saw all under one cover. One could not help but notice how closely the convention resembled an S. P. convention of ten years ago.

* * *

Did you know that we produced one new millionaire for every three American boys killed in France during the war period?

* * *

Did you know that See More (see more what?) Stedman had been commissioned by the S. P. to render his services as a practicing attorney in the capitalist courts to get possession of the Detroit House of the Masses away from the educational club which owns it and turn it over to the reactionary S. P.?

* * *

Did you know that the dictatorship of the capitalist will continue until it is set aside by a stronger dictatorship—the dictatorship of the proletaire?

* * *

A lot of intellectuals of the Politico-anarchist-socialist variety are just waking up to the fact that their parlor radicalism fitteth nowhere in the scheme of things which the logic of economic evolution is bringing in. Emma Goldman did not like the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie here and over in Russia she is reported to like the dictatorship of the proletaire even less. If she goes to heaven she faces the prospect of the dictatorship of the heavenly king and if she goes to hell there is the autocrat of the horns and spear-head tail. Boo-hoo. Ain't it a cold and cruel world?

* * *

Emma isn't alone in her dilemma.

THE [illegible]

AN ORGAN OF WO[illegible] CLASS [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]V. No. 208 THURSDAY, F[illegible]ARY 2, 1922

[illegible]oss's Tools Disrupting U. M. W. of [illegible]

[illegible] Building Trades Fight Award, Citizens' [illegible]mittee Must Face Fight, Unity of Labor [illegible]rces Brings Results, Resignation of Landis' Pets is Forced

(Special to The Worker)

Chicago.—Union men are leaving in a body all construction [illegible] where scabs are employed. The attempts of the alleged "citizens committee" to establish "open shop" and destroy the unions within the Chicago building industry is now being met with determined resistance by the workers.

This action was decided upon by the Building Trades Council at its regular meeting, January 15, but not actually carried [illegible] before Judge Landis had been given an opportunity to answer [illegible] committee sent by the council to request his resignation from [illegible] further dealings as an arbiter for the building trades. His [illegible] replied that he would consider such request when submitted in writing. Evidently he was looking for an opportunity to further slash wages in April when the so-called award was to come up for reconsideration.

The building trades unions have had enough of such adjustments. The majority of their membership have long been pressing for action and when the "citizens' committee" took upon themselves to declare open shop in the following trades: carpenters, cement finishers, composition roofers, fixture hangers, hoisting engineers, lathers, plumbers, sheet metal workers and slate and tile roofers, and attempted to replace the union men by scabs, the necessity for united action became apparent to the council, and these nine trades are now receiving assistance. Many jobs are pulled already, all jobs where scabs are employed will follow, the bricklayers, electricians and ornamental iron workers [illegible] the only trades who have not yet consented to stand by the [illegible] in the united fight against the open shop.

[illegible] of the bricklayers [illegible] membership, when the council decided to act, that they would not support any trade not submitting to the Landis award, and managed to get his stand endorsed at the following meeting of his union, by virtue of his partnership in a big contracting firm employing a large number of bricklayers. Such are some of the so-called labor leaders today. He has now been replaced as Vice-President of the Building Trades Council. Mike Boyle, the spokesman for the electricians, has not shown up in the council meetings since he took upon himself to refuse the support of the electricians while Tom Kearney, President of the council, hobnobbed so much with the friends of the Landis award that he was compelled to resign the chair and turn the gavel over to Curran of the plumbers union.

A few weeks ago all union men were pulled off from four big jobs under construction by Wieboldt Co. However, the lesson was soon learned that pulling a few jobs at the time would simply play into the hands of the open shoppers, as the men could easily be replaced as long as only [illegible] jobs were involved, and that [illegible] is now being taken advantage [illegible]. The "citizens' committee" continues to advertise for scabs throughout the country and the unions are getting ready for a fight to the finish. [illegible] "citizens' committee" appear to welcome a fight to the finish at this particular time, but the building trades unions have now begun to move in the right direction on the [illegible] road that can lead to success—uniting their forces.

Many unions declare themselves ready for a complete tieup, realizing the inevitability of the pressure brought to bear by the bankers upon the independent contractor, in the form of denials of credits, resulting in declaration of war by these contractors also.

Many unions have demanded that the Building Trades Council arrange mass meetings of their affiliated [illegible] for the purpose of exposing [illegible] objects of the "citizens' committee" and bring everything squarely before the rank and file, and, as [illegible] also been argued, to reach as [illegible] as possible of the members of [illegible] unions. The cry for a [illegible] scale of wages has been [illegible]. The unions are beginning [illegible] that united action for a uniform scale of wages would mean a [illegible] to the Landis award. The [illegible] for a final showdown, the [illegible] getting ready to face it.

[illegible] ble with all Peace Con- [illegible] been that they have al- [illegible] "pieces" instead of [illegible]

[illegible] Workers' Party Sunday

A meeting of the City Central Committee of the Workers' Party will be held in the Yorkville Casino, 248 East 86th St., on Sunday, February 5, at 10 A. M. All branches of the former American Labor Alliance and Workers' Council groups will have delegates present. A full report of the first national convention of the Workers' Party will be given by prominent delegates. All members are urged to attend this meeting.

Following the meeting of the City Central Committee a mass meeting, starting at 2 P. M., will be held to celebrate the launching of the City C. C. and "The Worker," the official organ of the Workers' Party. The mass meeting will be held in the same hall at 2 P. M.

The following speakers will address the meeting: Dr. Hartman, editor of Soviet Russia, Chairman; Caleb Harrison, National Secretary of the Workers' Party; William F. Dunne of Butte, Montana, J. Lovestone, William Weinstone, James Cannon, Ludwig Lore, Louis Engdahl and M. Olgin.

Criminal Practices Taught Soldiers

CINCINNATI, Jan. 24.—The theft of an automobile wheel does not amount to much compared with criminal practices taught American soldiers in the world war in the opinion of I. H. Dube, late Lieutenant-Colonel in the American Expeditionary Force who appeared as a witness in behalf of an ex-service man convicted last week of receiving stolen automobile wheels.

"That was not much for a man that we taught to steal and murder in 'No Man's Land' during the long nights there: the stealing of automobile wheels is insignificant compared with what those men were taught to do there," said Dube. The defendant was released on a suspended sentence.

The Daily Worker is coming

JUST THINKING

(By Andrea Razafkeriefo.)

If the leading nations would leave the "fighting" as well as the "declaring" of wars exclusively to those who make them, that would be enough disarmament for the world

No doubt the storekeeper charges a deposit on milk bottles to keep us from eating them. If wages continue to come down and rents to go up his little ruse may fail.

MOSCOW CALLS SPECIAL CONFERENCE

Stressing the grave economic crisis confronting the rest of the world as well as Russia, accusing the imperialists of allowing the whole world to march toward ruin, the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International has issued a call for a special convention of all communist parties to be held in Moscow beginning the 22nd of February.

The call is headed "For the United Front of the Proletariat" and is addressed to "Workingmen, and Women of all Countries." It reads in part:—

The Executives of the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International have in three joint sessions considered the international situation and the situation of the international working-class, and have come to the conclusion that this situation demands the union of all the forces of the international proletariat, the establishment of an united front of all the parties of the proletariat, regardless of the differences separating them, if they desire to fight in common for the immediate urgent needs of the working-class. The Executive of the Communist International has convoked a meeting for the [illegible]th of February 1922, to which all the Communist parties are to send a delegation twice as large as usual. At the same time it calls the workers of all parties to do all in their power to induce their parties to take part in a common proletarian action.

Working Men and Women!

Three years have passed since the end of the great imperialist war in which you offered your lives for the interests of capital. For three years international capital has had a free hand to show whether it is capable of introducing any sort of human order which would assure the masses of the people the minimum of safety, the minimum of the conditions necessary for life.

The World's Economic Chaos

The result lies before you.

Six million unemployed in America, two million in England, and increasing unemployment in the neutral countries enriched by the war, as the result of the disappearance of their export markets.

However, in the ruined countries of Central and Eastern Europe, in Russia, in the Balkans, and in Turkey there prevails the [illegible] misery. They need billions of dollars worth of goods from the industrial countries in order to revive their production and again to be able to supply grain and raw materials to the industrial world. Hemmed in between East and West Germany is uninterruptedly at work and is flooding the world with quantities of goods at prices which crowd other countries out of the market. It has practically no unemployment but the workers of Germany are worse off than the workless of England. They are against their will reducing the wages of the workers of other countries. The housing shortage and the tax burden is continually growing. The world, cleft and torn apart, through which the cry has resounded up to now, "Woe to the vanquished!", and which will soon hear the call, "Woe to the victors!", can not be set in order and at peace by the bourgeoisie. Germany's reparations task is the reconstruction of Soviet Russia. The ruins of Northern France, Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, Poland and Russia have not yet been cleared away.

(Continued on page 2)

THUS SAYETH THE WORKER

This, the first edition of The Worker, is the advance agent of The Daily Worker. We are ambitious and we intend to grow [illegible], increase in quality and enlarge the influence of this publication—a journal [illegible] solely in the interest of the working class. [illegible] their paper. In this work we take much pleasure in fulfilling a duty.

The Worker preaches the class struggle, but it is going to be fair about it. It will be just as fair in its treatment of the capitalists, the capitalist system, its hangers-on, leeches, parasites and apologists as they are in their treatment of the working class. As a consequence, The Worker will never have a good word to say for the exploiters and their hirelings. If we cannot unearth any new evidences of the horrors of capitalism, if we can discover from time to time no new proofs of the folly, incompetence and cruelty of the ruling class, we will remain silent, but praise for some act of regal charity toward those whom they have robbed will never be found in these columns. We leave that for their own sheets and the others which envy and ape them—the slippery organs of liberalism and social democracy.

This paper is for workers, and we want the workers to write for it—their contributions will be published. This paper wants the expression of the men and women of labor whose self-sacrifice makes this paper possible. We want the stories of the daily grind in all the places where labor sweats for the profit of the hog-jowled gentry who own this nation. If the stories are badly written and poorly spelled it makes no difference. The editor of this paper could not spell a word of more than two syllables five years ago. These little things will be attended to. That's what the editor is paid for—when he gets paid.

This paper is against everything the capitalist class is for, because what is good for them is bad for us. Its policy is that in a fight with the employer and his political henchmen labor is always right. ALWAYS RIGHT. We do not have to wait for the report of an interchurch committee or a senatorial investigation to make up our mind on that point. We are prejudiced in this matter and we admit it—freely and frankly. We are rank partisans so far as the working class is concerned. Do not expect us to be "fair." We intend to give the workers—organized and unorganized—the best of it whenever the issue is one between the workers and any section, group or individual of the capitalist class. That's the way the capitalist press does, and it's time that the working-class press took a leaf out of its book. A whole lot of workers will not agree with this policy. They still believe that it is respectable and Christ-like to be fair with an opponent that uses teeth, knees and elbows in the clinches.

It may be Christ-like, but it's damn poor judgment as the results prove.

It is doubtful if this paper will ever acquire the polished style of journalism that the "intelligentsia" of the revolutionary movement so much admire. We hope not. It is not that we glory in the dirty shirt and the greasy overall—the national costume of the American worker—but we believe that too much suavity indicates that philosophical attitude toward the class struggle and the social revolution that has been one of the many curses of the American radical movement. This paper will carry better articles, better editorials, better cartoons, better poetry, better news and better all-around educational matter than any other working-class journal in the United States. It will be able to enlist talent that the capitalist class has not enough money to hire. We are not going to be crude and unlettered when it comes to dealing in economics, history, literature, and philosophy simply because this is a working-class paper. The workers do not want egotistical ignorance. They do want the same ruggedness and courage in the publications that try to speak for them as they possess themselves and without which the struggles of the oppressed masses in all ages could not be the most glorious pages of human history.

This paper is not being published to please or satisfy other editors. From the conventional journalist we want no praise and probably will get none. As a matter of fact we are going to develop a new school of journalism—the proletarian school. Its disciples will write and draw with but one purpose—the overthrow of capitalism through the militant and intelligent action of the working class.

After all, that's the only thing worth working, writing, drawing and fighting for in this day and age.

And it is not a private fight. Anyone can get into it. The staff of The Worker extends to all who feel the same as they do a most cordial invitation to join them in the struggle.

[illegible] Tactics Lewis Machine [illegible] Charge[illegible] Administration Support of [illegible] Facing Fight in Spring Radicals Work [illegible]

The United Mine Workers of America, the larg[illegible] affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, [illegible] greatest crisis in its history. It is an industrial union, [illegible] members all men employed in and around the coal mines, [illegible] to-day the most powerful labor union in America. It fac[illegible] ruption, and the familiar charge that the radical elements [illegible] sponsible cannot be raised for the very good reason that [illegible] whelming evidence is available to prove that the respo[illegible] rests upon the shoulders of John L. Lewis, International [illegible] dent, and his tools and followers.

When Lewis violated the pledge he had made to the [illegible] tive council of the American Federation of Labor to fight the [illegible] toric injunction issued by Judge Anderson and weakly [illegible] to bow to the rule of the coal-barons and their state [illegible] he not only lost the confidence of a majority of his mem[illegible] but even forfeited the respect of labor officials common[illegible] reactionary. The A. F. of L. convention which preceded the strike had authorized the executive council to combat [illegible] processes by all the means within the power of the labor [illegible] ment. The employers accepted the challenge, and the [illegible] Mine Workers was the first organization to be attacked. [illegible] is now much reason to believe that this organization was [illegible] simply because the employers know the caliber of its offic[illegible] The failure of Lewis to enter a fight forced upon his or[illegible] and for which he had all backing the American Federation [illegible] bor could give was the most severe blow dealt la[illegible] try in years.

[illegible] from Ellis Island

Edgar T. Whitehead, the British journalist, who came here for famine relief work for Soviet Russia, and who was detained at Ellis Island, has been released on $1,000 bond.

"Conditions on the Island are atrocious. The food is practically inedible," said Mr. Whitehead. "You are treated like a criminal and confined like a prisoner. And the vermin! The less said, the better.

"In England there is no such thing as an Ellis Island, and if a man who came there on a mission similar to mine were detained for any such flimsy reason as I was held for, the whole liberal and bourgeois press would be aroused. Questions would be asked in the House of Commons, and the Government would be compelled to take action at once.

"It appears that there is no such thing as public opinion in the United States. Your papers seem able to mold any kind of opinion that they want, that is, of course, at the instigation of those who want a certain kind of opinion for their own ends.

"The report that the delegates of the different countries made regarding the work that is being done, particularly by the labor unions and workers' organizations, were most illuminating. All over Europe the workers are as busy as bees, doing their utmost for the starving millions in Soviet Russia. There is no question of politics or philosophy. Millions are starving—there is an absolute want of the most essential things in Soviet Russia, and the workers recognizing what their comrades in Soviet Russia have suffered in the past seven years, do not hesitate to give their very best energy to relieving the distress there.

"The report of the Russian representative revealed a state of utter destitution. Millions faced death. Only the concentrated aid of all men, women and children sympathizing with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia will save them.

"And that is what I am here for. I am here to survey the situation, coordinate the efforts being made, stimulate the work being done, and create whatever other agencies may be required in order to heighten the efficiency of the relief work.

"It feels good being off the Island. I have passed through an experience that I would not have missed for anything. My memories of America will be tempered by what I have passed through there."

There will be a mass meeting in New York City this week, at which Mr. Whitehead will make a detailed report on the Berlin Conference.

[illegible] Lewis. The [illegible] won but no [illegible] situation believes [illegible] majority of the legitimate [illegible] It is openly charged in the [illegible] Mine Workers that back per ca[illegible] was paid on thousands of [illegible] in bad standing and that their [illegible] were cast by the local secretaries [illegible] the pay of the Lewis machine. [illegible] also charged that the money [illegible] from the slush funds of the [illegible] operators. Actual proof of [illegible] sale corruption of the election machinery has been submitted by [illegible] bers of the United Mine W[illegible] and the intelligent mem[illegible] knows that Lewis was not [illegible] elected. The fact that he was [illegible] turned to office, through wide[illegible] crookedness, has not preven[illegible] capitalist press from eulogi[illegible] as a safe and sane labor lea[illegible] interpreting his re-election as a [illegible] rebuke to the radicals and [illegible] tents.

The dissatisfaction created by [illegible] surrender of Lewis to the coal [illegible] rons and the crooked election [illegible] not died down when the K[illegible] miners found themselves com[illegible] to fight the Industrial Court or give up the advantage they gained by years of struggle.

In this fight they have not received no assistance from Lewis' forces but the whole [illegible] of the administration has [illegible] thrown against Alex Howatt and membership of District No. 14 ([illegible] Kansas locals) and on the side [illegible] Governor Allen, his industrial [illegible] law and the Kansas coal [illegible] The entire district was [illegible] the order of Lewis and [illegible] organizers, Van A. Bitner, [illegible] into the district to reorg[illegible] put the miners back to [illegible] this task he has not only [illegible] sisted by the operators and the [illegible] forces but has actually [illegible] co-operation. He enjoys the [illegible] tion of the state officials, the troops and the operators [illegible] The Lewis machine has [illegible] water to break the strike, [illegible] it would not give to the [illegible] families of the men [illegible] ing for the most [illegible] which the most [illegible] officials in America [illegible]

The strike and [illegible] West Virginia [illegible] resources of the [illegible]

The Daily [illegible]

[illegible] from West Virginia [illegible] convention and "I [illegible] I just got to say [illegible] Lewis or I have to walk home." The [illegible] system of compensation and servility coupled with a [illegible] truckling to government officials and a rabid hatred of anything that savors of radicalism on the part of the Lewis administration has had the inevitable effect. The organization now faces a nation-wide fight beginning the first of April and it faces it with internal dissension rife caused solely by an official and his followers whose policies have been proved failures wherever placed in practice. It is not hard to find members of the United Mine Workers of America who openly make the charge of treason against Lewis and who claim that as its head the United Mine Workers of America has a tool of the coal-operators. They claim that John L. Lewis is deliberately disrupting the organization; dividing it in the face of the enemy and that he is backed by the national organizations of the employers.

The bitterness of the fight in the United Mine Workers cannot be shown better than by a circular issued by John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, himself a member of the United Mine Workers and active in its affairs for years. Walker is not a radical and the revolutionists in the organization have no use for him. He is one of the pure and simple trade-unionists and during the war made many speeches urging the continued prosecution of the struggle and more production. In this circular, entitled "John L. Lewis, Liar, Coward, Traitor," Walker says:

John L. Lewis is an indefensible liar because he made statements that were untrue, which he deliberately manufactured out of whole-cloth.

Lewis is a yellow coward, because he lied about a man behind his back, when the man he lied about was in jail almost one thousand miles away sacrificing six months of his life, suffering ignominy, humiliation, privation and persecution at the hands of the enemies of labor in the state of Kansas, because he would not consent to their betrayal, or that they should submit to a law which made them serfs and slaves, and [illegible] the liberties of all the [illegible] the United [illegible] famous traitor. [illegible] cowardly betrayal of labor and the cause of humanity. Shamed him until Judas Iscariot, in his betrayal of the Christian world, and in his malicious, lying, untruthful statement, attacking Alex Howat behind his back while he was in jail. Lewis was holding up the hands of, and supporting the enemies of humanity in the state of Kansas, who are trying to enforce a slave law on the workers there.

Lewis is an indiscriminate, common, ordinary, cheap liar, when he made his unfounded, untruthful statement, deliberately attacking Frank P. Walsh and Phil. Callery, charging them with having supported a slave law for Kansas workers, similar in principle, although slightly less drastic in degree than is the infamous Allen "Court of Industrial Relations Law" of Kansas.

The following statements taken from the report of President Farrington of District 12, U. M. W. of A., to the 29th consecutive, and fourth biennial convention, at Peoria, Illinois, November 8, 1921, verify and prove conclusively the charges made above, and leave no room for doubt that John L. Lewis [illegible] the most colossal liar that ever held an official position in the Labor Movement; the yellowest cur dog that ever was in human form, and the foulest and most evil and injurious traitor that ever betrayed the cause of labor and humanity.

It also proves that the verdict of the National Convention on the Howat case was considered in the light of the false impressions that were left on the minds of the delegates just on the eve of their voting on that matter, by these lying, cowardly, traitorous statements, was not a true verdict and should not be so considered. The fact that Lewis went to such extremes to create these impressions and lied in such an infamous manner to do so, is the positive proof that he knew that the convention would have supported the Kansas miners in their stand behind Alex Howat, if they had been permitted to act on the matter on its merits.

The fact that he is going to such extremes now, and using such autocratic, high-handed methods to enforce a decision of that kind, gotten by such questionable, underhanded, untruthful, and dishonest methods, is only further proof of his absolute lack of conscience, his untruthfulness, his dishonestness, his cowardliness and his traitorousness.

His exact statement to the convention was as follows:

President Lewis:—It was said this morning that President Howat of District 14 has appealed in vain to the International Union for co- [illegible] in the higher courts.

As [illegible] proof that [illegible] was not [illegible] to the convention, by President Lewis, I quote a letter by Alexander Howat to President Lewis. It reads as follows:

"Pittsburg, Kansas, March 4, 1920.
Mr. John L. Lewis,
President U. M. W. of A.,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I suppose you know before this time that Governor Allen of Kansas was successful at the special session of the Legislature, in having a law passed that is known as the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. This law is intended to enslave the working class of this state and destroy organized labor in Kansas.

This law is an insult to every honest workingman who believes in the principle of liberty and justice and is a disgrace to the state of Kansas. It is intended to place us at the complete mercy of the employers of labor and to put us where we were years ago before we had an organization here.

There is no law even in the most autocratic country of Europe today that destroys the usefulness and effectiveness of organized labor and places them more completely at the mercy of the employers than does the law we have in Kansas at this time. This law provides one year in prison and $500 fine on any of the men who may go on a local strike, that is, where they go on strike of their own accord without being called out by the executive board. It also provides a penalty of two years in the penitentiary and a fine of $5000 on any district official of the organization who may call a strike.

Governor Allen was not satisfied with passing a law for compulsory arbitration, but he had this penalty attached that I have just called to your attention, and not satisfied with that he had a provision written into this law which provides also that he is to appoint the three arbitrators. When the Kansas Legislature passed a law of this character, they struck a blow at the rights of every union man in the state, both as an organized workman and as an American citizen.

The recent general strike of the U. M. W. of A. created a very bitter sentiment against the miners in Kansas and against organized labor in general, and it was as a result of the miners' general strike, which caused a few of the people in Kansas to suffer because of their inability to obtain coal, that caused this law to be passed at the special session of the Kansas Legislature.

We intend to fight this law to a finish. We do not propose to go back to the days of slavery. We expect in Kansas to continue to be free men—we expect to be accorded the same degree of liberty and freedom in Kansas as the mine workers in the other states in the nation.

At the time we were striking in Kansas from 1899 until 1903 to compel the operators to recognize our union, we were also fighting then to be free men. Governor Allen proposes now after all these years to put us back in the same condition that existed before we had an organization.

Our convention meets in Kansas City, Mo., on the 8th day of March, and I am inclined to believe at that time that our convention will go on record to continue to fight as we have in the past, regardless of this so-called law. Sentiment against this law in Kansas today is very bitter, more especially among the mine workers, because they realize only too well what it means. In my report to the convention I am advising that we refuse to surrender any of the rights and privileges that we have enjoyed in the past, and I am quite sure our convention will go on record to that effect.

Every local union in the district is going to be represented. There will be about 225 delegates in attendance to speak for the mine workers of this district as to our future policy regarding this outrage that has been perpetrated by the Kansas Legislature on the organized labor movement of this state. The fight must be made in Kansas against this law, because if we submit tamely here to an outrage of this kind, it is only a question of a very short time until the working class of this entire country will be enslaved with a law similar to that which we have in Kansas today.

You will therefore readily understand the importance of this question and what it means to organized labor, and also the importance of the fight being made in Kansas at this time. We can never agree to take a backward step, and we can never agree to surrender the principles that we have fought and struggled so long to establish. It is for these reasons that we intend to continue to fight for the principles of justice rather than submit to Governor Allen, the tyrant and would-be destroyer of organized labor.

I am writing you at this time to see whether or not we may expect the full moral and financial support of our international organization in any fight that we may decide to [illegible] expect to receive the full [illegible] of our international union in this struggle to make free men of organized labor in this state. The fight will be a great deal easier with our international organization standing with us, and it will give more hope and encouragement to the mine workers of District 14 who have always been loyal to our union, and one thing that had a great deal to do with causing Governor Allen to have this law passed was the fact that the miners in this state refused to dig coal for him when he toured our district and called for volunteers and urged the miners to return to work.

I am sure, John, if you take all these questions into consideration, that you will have no hesitancy in telling me in behalf of our international union where you are going to stand in this fight. We have resolutions, I believe, from about every local union in our district condemning Governor Allen and this law that he was instrumental in having passed.

I will apreciate it very much indeed if you will write me by return mail and make your position clear so no one can misunderstand. Write me to the Cordova Hotel, Kansas City, Mo., as I am leaving here Sunday morning. I want to read your letter to the miners in convention, and you may rest assured, if you can see your way clear to stand with us in this fight, it will be appreciated by every mine worker in our district.

Hoping to receive a favorable reply, I am with kind regards,

Yours very truly,
Alexander Howat,
President District 14."

That Lewis received the letter quoted above is made clear by one he wrote to Howat. It reads as follows:

"Continental Hotel,
New York City, March 10, 1921.
Mr. Alexander Howat,
President District 14,
Pittsburg, Kansas

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your esteemed favor of March 4th was received in Indianapolis on March 6th and forwarded to me here in New York, arriving too late for me to make reply in time to reach you at the Convention of District No. 14 in Kansas City. I did not know that your convention was to be held on that date, having had no notification. Had I been aware of the holding of the convention I would have endeavored to have had a representative of the International union present to confer with yourself and associate officers in the matter concerning the new law in Kansas.

I have in mind that this is a most serious matter and requires careful and deliberate consideration. Press dispatches today in the New York papers advise that the convention of District No. 14 has granted you authority to call a strike at any time you desire as a protest against the enactment of Governor Allen's industrial court law. I trust that you will take no hasty action upon this matter and that any action that may be taken will be subsequent to the most careful consideration. I shall be glad to confer with you in person upon this matter at some later date after our affairs take more definite shape in the anthracite and bituminous matters. As I wired you yesterday, the Bituminous Coal Commission has not yet agreed. We must always consider the possibility of a disagreement and, if so, there may be a national suspension of the mining industry on April 1st, consequently you will see the advisability of deferring judgment with respect to the Kansas situation.

Reciprocating your kind regards, I am, Very truly yours,
Signed: John L. Lewis, President."

President Lewis also told the Convention that Frank P. Walsh and Attorney Callery lobbied for a compromise bill at the time the industrial court act was before the Kansas Legislature. Following is a telegram from Frank P. Walsh on the subject. It reads as follows:

"New York, N. Y., Oct. 3, 1921.
John H. Walker,
Severin Hotel,
Indianaoplis, Ind.

Have just sent following wire to William Green care of convention: "Am advised statement has been made to your convention that I lobbied for compromise of industrial court law at Topeka. On January 8, 1920, I appeared in opposition to the proposed industrial law before a special session of the Legislature of Kansas representing the Kansas State Federation of Labor and the four Railroad Brotherhoods. Did not lobby with individual members of Legislature but presented an argument against the proposed law publicly to a joint session of the house and senate. The opening words of my argument taken from the official stenographic transcript now before me were 'We oppose every clause in this bill and every line of it.' My argument was to the effect that it was an attempt to impose slavery upon the workers of Kansas. Afterwards made many public speeches and wrote newspaper articles to same effect and adhere to that position to this mo- [illegible]

Frank P. Walsh."

Following is a telegram from Phil Callery, Attorney for the Kansas miners. It reads as follows:

"Pittsburg, Kansas, Oct. 17, 1921.
Frank Farrington, Mine Workers Bldg., Springfield, Ill.

The assertion that I lobbied for compromise industrial court law at Topeka is despicable lie and contains not a particle of truth. Every skunk who has been circulating such statements is now working hand in hand with the industrial court and the Coal Operators' Association in their effort to lash the miners back to the pits and save the industrial court from extinction. Their conspiracy will fail as long as the Kansas miners can get a crust of bread their fight will go on.

Signed: Phil Callery."

President Lewis also told how he had wired the legislative representatives of District No. 14 to oppose all legislation of a compulsory kind. Who were the legislative representatives? Earl Draper, chairman of the committee appointed by President Lewis to draw up a report on the election of organizers and which committee advised against their election, and Chas. Harvey, a brother of Thos. Harvey, now "provisional" secretary of District 14, by reason of President Lewis' action in suspending the officers of that District. How easy it would be to frame up any kind of story with them. I venture the opinion that if Harvey or Draper were called upon to produce the telegram Lewis said he sent them they could not do so. It seems strange that he would wire them instead of the President of Districtt 14 and it seems passing strange that he would wire them and keep the President of the District in the dark as to what he had done on such an important matter.

Then too President Lewis told the convention of how Howat had spurned the offer of the International Union to have Attorney Clarkson of District No. 13 inducted into the fight against the Industrial Court Act. President Howat could hardly be blamed for spurning the aid of Attorney Clarkson. Mr. Clarkson is a high classed attorney and an esteemable gentleman and no one can properly say a word against him as such, but he would hardly be a proper person to make the fight against the Industrial Court Act, considering his son owns the coal mine at Nashville, Illinois, and many of the members at Nashville believe Mr. Clarkson himself is interested in the mine, their belief being based upon the fact that he spends four and five days at a time in Nashville examining the mine underground and on the surface.

I enter this matter in my report because Alexander Howat was in prison at the time and therefore could not be in the convention to personally disprove the false statements of President Lewis and because I do not like to remain silent and see any man crucified by falsehoods and mistatements.

In this connection it may also be well to point out that Secretary Green did not read the telegram from Frank P. Walsh to the convention.

Signed: JOHN H. WALKER,
Pres., Illinois State Fed. of Labor.

That the miners are going to have to fight after the first of April or accept drastic reductions in wages and the abolition of favorable working conditions is evidenced by the public utterances of the responsible heads of the operators association.

The frankest of these statements was made before the Interstate Commerce Commission, at a rate hearing, by J. D. A. Morrow, Vice-President of the National Coal Association. He said:

"After April 1, however, the roads will not only be in position to contract on more favorable terms than a year ago in the non-union coal fields, but unquestionably wages will be reduced in the union fields and the roads will be able to effect important savings there also."

Creating division in the face of the enemy has been the charge commonly hurled in the past by the officialdom of the labor organizations, against the so-called radical element. In the case of the United Mine Workers, however, it is the reactionary officialdom that is creating confusion and preparing the ground for a split. The radicals, on the other hand, are urging the dissatisfied members to stay with the organization at all costs and force the administration to assume responsibility for any weakness that develops.

That the employing class of this country have their agents working both within and without the ranks of the United Mine Workers cannot be doubted. If the coal miners organization can be either destroyed or split the backbone of the Labor movement in America is broken. Is it any wonder that the possibility of a split is welcomed by every agency of the employing class?

[illegible] takes up the work of reconstruction, it is seized as the object of speculation and of exploitation which must inevitably lead to new conflicts.

Three years of imperialist war, followed by three years of armed intervention of the Allies in Soviet Russia, have turned this granary of Europe into a desert in spite of all the heroic resistance of the Soviets. The drought last summer, which threatens 25,000,000 human beings with death by starvation, has made the question of the reconstruction of Russia a question of the life or death of millions of Russian workers and peasants. And more and more is it becoming clear even to the stupid bourgeoisie that neither the world economic crisis nor the great political tension between the different countries can be overcome even temporarily without the recognition of the undefeated Soviet government and the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia. If Russia does not again take its place in the world market as furnisher of raw materials and market for finished products there will be a irremediable gap in the world's economy. And as long as Soviet Russia is not guaranteed against new attacks, it will have to keep the Red Army under arms and the danger will always be present that the world may again be set on fire as the result of the military ventures of the watchdogs of World Capital—the Polish White Guards and the Roumanian Bojars. The world bourgeoisie refuses to aid the starving millions in Russia, for it expects that Hunger will make them more accomodating to the demands of World Capital. These demands are that as the price of recognition, the Soviet government deliver Russia up to an international financial syndicate, which will administer Russia as it has done in China and Turkey. The Russian people, which for four years defended itself with arms in its hands against the establishment of the rule of World Capital in Russia under the mask of the dictatorship of the Russian Whites, will, of course, defend itself with all its power against this "peaceful" attempt at its enslavement. The question of Russia's return into the world's economic system and the question of general peace will become the pivots of new conflicts.

The Washington Conference

However, the relations of World Capital to Germany and to Soviet Russia are not the only sources of great new disturbances. The Conference, which attempted to solve the problem of the Far East, has not solved it. The great Chinese people of 400,000,000 human beings has remained the object of further haggling and of new conflicts. Feeling their impotence, their incapacity of either renouncing the exploitation of China or of carrying it through, the allied Powers have concluded the Four Power Treaty, which only manifests one thing—that they realize how great the danger of war is and therefore are attempting to mutually restrain one another by the spider-web of an agreement from undertaking independent measures. They were not able to reduce land armaments, even on paper; the entire cry for naval disarmament ended in the elimination of obsolete ships and the limitation of the number of super-dreadnoughts, in order to arm in the air and under water. At the same time they are seeking for new poison gases which will be able to destroy entire peoples.

The Failure of Reformist Policies

For three years in spite of all your experiences in the war, you hoped that matters would become better, that the capitalists would fulfill the promises they made during the war and that they would give you Democracy, Self-determination, Bread and Freedom. Your hopes have been deceived. Instead of the nationalization of coal, the English miners were compelled to look on while the coal barons reduced their wages. The German workers believed that if they would submit to the rule of the bourgeoisie, they would obtain the socialization of industry in a peaceful manner. Today they must look on while the kings of German industry, Stinnes & Co., are getting hold of all the productive forces of the land, while they prepare to get control of the railways, while they export the wealth of the country in order to deposit foreign currency in foreign banks to protect their property from seizure by the German people. France is today more than ever under the control of capital united in the war. In America the rule of the Republican Party means the naked and unmasked sovereignity of the trusts. Even the governmental subsidies for the cheapening of the price of bread are being abolished in all countries; whoever cannot afford the high price of bread can die of hunger. Post-war Democracy is nothing but the mask for the rule of the war speculators and the curtain behind which a brainless diplomacy forges plots against the people of the world. In a number of the capitalist countries the White Terror rages. In India and Egypt the British world oligarchy has turned this terror, which up to now it has only used against [illegible] of the [illegible] and Amsterdam Trade Union International have [illegible] All these international associations have demonstrated their incompetence to lead you in the struggle even if only for Democracy and reforms, because they have been condemned to helplessness through their coalition with the bourgeoisie and if they wish it or not must assist in the strengthening of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The United Front is Needed.

Your experience up to now must have shown even the blind that the Communist International was right when it said, "The working-class can only free itself by breaking the power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the rule of the working-class, by clearing away the ruins of the war and, closely united internationally, beginning the work of reconstruction."

But we know how strong the chains of the past—the capitalist school, press and church—still are. We know how timid and afraid large proletarian masses still are to seize power and forge their own destiny. We know how much great proletarian masses still fear defeats such as Communist minorities have suffered in their struggle to free the masses from the fate of slaves. We know how the capitalist press of the entire world is trying to rob you of your courage by pointing to the wounds of the isolated Russian proletariat received in its duel with the entire capitalist world. And therefore we say to you, "You are not yet ready to renew the struggle, you do not yet dare the armed conflict for power, for the dictatorship, you do not yet dare the great attack on the citadels of world reaction. Then at least join forces for the struggle for a bare existence, for the struggle for a bit of bread and peace. Join your forces in a battle front, unite as a proletarian class against the class of the exploiters and pillagers of the world. Tear down the walls which have been built up between you, take your place in the ranks,—whether Communist, Social Democrat, Anarchist or Syndicalist—for the battle against the misery of the hour."

Editor of Truth Jailed for Four-Year-Old Speech

Duluth, Minn.—J. O. Bentall, editor of Truth, has been taken to Leavenworth to begin serving a sentence of two years for having opposed the draft. The speech which formed the basis of the prosecution was made four and one-half years ago. During this time Bentall served one year in the county jail at Brainerd, Minnesota, having been charged with opposing registration. The present case was appealed after the first trial and the decision was reversed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. A new trial resulted in a two-year sentence and this was sustained by the appeal court. Bentall issued the following statement before leaving for Leavenworth:

The government desires that I go to prison for having made a speech on July 31, 1917. That was four years and six months ago. In that speech I told the people that all wars were wrong and that this war was wrong. I told them that wars are for the purpose of enriching the few and making life miserable for the many. I told them that capitalism cannot get along without wars and that the only way to get rid of war was to get rid of its causes.

I condemned Germany for starting the war. I condemned all the other nations for entering it. I pointed out that an economic blockade would have defeated Germany quicker than any army or navy. I showed how the profiteers were behind this war and how the common people had to pay the bill in lives and money.

I showed how hypocritical it was for the instigators of the war to scare the people by telling them that the Germans would come and capture our country. I offered to give my life if an enemy should attack our shores to destroy us. I declared that no draft would be needed "to defend our country— that the youth of our land would offer their services gladly to protect their country.

I told that mass of people that it was wrong to draft men for foreign service. That it was unconstitutional as stated by good authorities at the time. But I told the boys that there had been a law passed by Congress commanding them to go. I told the boys that unless Congress could be induced by petition to repeal that law there was no way out of it. The law would compel them to go and that was all there was to it.

I was right about it then. The boys had to go. I was right about the instigators of the war. I was right about the crime of dragging this country into the war. I was right about Wilson and his criminal policies and refused to back him. I was right about the misery I told would follow the war. I was right about the way the war lords would treat the soldiers when they returned.

J. O. Bentall has been the editor of Truth since October, 1920. The board of directors of the paper has secured a new editor and it will be published as usual.

The W

How easily can [illegible] oracles like H. G. We [illegible] farther from the real [illegible] than were the ancient [illegible] Greece and Rome—deliver [illegible] consumption of the [illegible] multitude pseudo-profund [illegible] cause even the serious-min [illegible] dergarteners in Marxian [illegible] to burst into loud laughter [illegible] properly reverent correspo [illegible] the New York Times, Mr. [illegible] while leisurely wending his [illegible] around the globe, recently [illegible] the rare privilege of gazing [illegible] depths of his wondrous mind [illegible] it ground out something like [illegible]

America does not seem to [illegible] stand the scope of its moral [illegible] cendancy or its moral adva [illegible] over Europe at the present [illegible] If America were to insist upon [illegible] armament right now with [illegible] America could get that [illegible] ament. Instead of doing that [illegible] ever, America just grumbles [illegible] feeble way at the divisions [illegible] Europe, growls about Euro [illegible] debts and disarms herself.

"And what was even [illegible] America's opportunity, was [illegible] shevist Russia. The old imper [illegible] ist Government on European [illegible] had broken down. You had [illegible] new, inexperienced, weak G [illegible] ernment in Moscow with an [illegible] nomic theory which was bound [illegible] to work. Composed very la [illegible] of men who had been in Ameri [illegible] and learned to speak English, the [illegible] were in possession of a hu [illegible] country of undeveloped resourc [illegible] very like America 100 years ago [illegible] except that it is much richer.

"They were bound to need hel [illegible] and bound sooner or later to make [illegible] concessions for that help."

His analysis of the Russian situ [illegible] tion, his criticisms of the attitude of American capitalism toward the Russian Soviet Government is the typical analysis of the muddle-head [illegible] ed liberal who believes that capital [illegible] ism can be something else than cap [illegible] italism and continue to exist. To imagine that the Wilsonian pro [illegible] nouncements of peace and good-will toward the new social order in Rus [illegible] sia were made in good faith and that the world's most powerful capitalis [illegible] class would or could put them into practice is an error in judgment that can be made only by minds cluttered up with false notions concerning good and bad men. The trouble with the Wellsian program is that in order to carry it out capitalists must become communists overnight.

Let us now proceed to one other utterance of the oracle that proves him entirely lacking in the ability to appraise the relative capabilities of individuals or convict him of deliberately catering to the vanity of the business element of the United States. Here it is:

> If big business in America really had the intellectual power and courage that romantic-minded people are accustomed to ascribe to it, it would have established its intellectual ascendancy over this weak Government. It would have helped it and co-operated with it in its task of building up a new civilization in Russia.

Let us remember that the government of which he speaks above (the Soviet government of Russia) is composed of men and women who have beaten at their own game the best minds capitalism can purchase. These men, representing the revolutionary masses of Russia, have directed military campaigns whose success in the face of blockade and starvation has been the wonder of the civilized world. In the field of diplomacy their success has been just as great. Their ability to predict the next move of their opponents seems almost uncanny to those who know nothing of the structure and limitations of the capitalist system. To say that men of the type of Wilson, Lansing, Baker, Colby, Hu [illegible] Root, Lodge and Harding could [illegible] established an "intellectual asc [illegible] ancy" over men like Lenin, Chic [illegible] rin, Trotsky, Bucharin, Kamen [illegible] and Radek, men whose sheer inte [illegible] lectual ability is the admiration [illegible] their bitterest enemies, is mere pres [illegible] agent poppycock and a cheap meth [illegible] od of currying favor with the domi [illegible] nant class in America.

Wells is one of the "grays" who Gorki describes as standing betwe [illegible] the "reds" and "blacks"; scuttli [illegible] from one to the other as the tide [illegible] battle fluctuates; never taking [illegible] outright position but always cryi [illegible] for peace and harmony witho [illegible] realizing that there can be nothi [illegible] but strife so long as the good thin [illegible] of the earth are controlled by [illegible] class that just now fawns upon [illegible] Wells.

Wells does not like capitalism, [illegible] he does not wish anyone to [illegible] blood to overthrow it. Like [illegible] liberals his economic position [illegible] such that he can afford to wait [illegible] the Morgans, the Rockefellers, [illegible] Schwabs and the Garys to see [illegible] light and voluntarily hand over [illegible] spoils to society to be used fo [illegible] mental, moral and physical ad [illegible] ment of humanity. Although [illegible] as writen by Wells himself [illegible] that never has such a thing [illegible] and cannot occur, he still ho [illegible] his articles may yet have th [illegible]

In this he is a fool and [illegible] he has now been taken [illegible] capitalist class he is a [illegible] fool.

The Daily Wo

The Daily W

[illegible] prevention is a [illegible] in the field of [illegible]. A science in the making [illegible] even within the span [illegible] life-time to be of tremendous [illegible] lasting value to the human [illegible]. Romain Rolland, artist and [illegible], says: "We must see that the physical well-being of people is looked after, for this is the basis of our whole civilization. The basis indeed of a civilization which nothing shall be so [illegible] as human life!"

[illegible] regardless of the effort put [illegible] by public health departments, [illegible] and other health agencies, [illegible] well-being" for the great [illegible] of workers is largely a matter [illegible]. Exploited down through [illegible] by slaveholders, landowners, governments, for industry [illegible] war, workers have paid the [illegible] in diseased, maimed and [illegible] bodies. Under the yoke of [illegible], there is no alternative [illegible] wrest the greatest possible [illegible] of health protection in mill, [illegible] shop and factory. The forces [illegible] science lie at hand ready to be [illegible]. The solution of the question [illegible] disease prevention confronts the [illegible] class, and is fundamental [illegible] Communist ideal of a world [illegible] "free . . . . physically, intellectually and spiritually."

Russia under her stupendous burdens is developing a health policy [illegible] in scope than that of any other country. To quote from a [illegible] report of the Red Cross Medical Director:

"Public health education has always been considered as its primary function.

"Up to the end of the year 1920 more than 15 million leaflets, about one million brochures, about 800,000 posters and innumerable books, special numbers of periodicals, etc., have been distributed.

"In each of the 13 guberneal cities museums have been opened and 26 permanent exhibits in the same number of district cities, 17 traveling exhibits in railroad cars have been put on the road, and seven similar exhibits are being moved on highways for the use in places where there is no railroad.

"Lectures on public health topics are an important part of the program. Up to the last of January over 60,000 lectures have been given, with an attendance over six millions.

"Health weeks have been organised in different sections of the country with wonderful results.

"This extensive public health educational program has borne very fruitful results. In February, 1920, 401,907 typhus fever cases were reported, and during the same month in the year 1921 only 47,288. In the year 1919 only 6,000 cases of cholera have been reported.

"Plague, typhoid, dysentery and smallpox are well under control." *

The health posters recently exhibited here bear out this statement, that health education is a vital part of Russia's program for bringing enlightenment to the masses. There is a whole series on Syphilis, one on Diphtheria, another on the Care of Mothers and Infants. The range of subjects covered in these posters, their directness and simplicity in giving scientific information on the care of the body are conspicuously fine. They are far more dramatic and significant in their appeal to adult intelligence than anything so far produced in America. Artists and scientists have collaborated to adapt Health Information to the needs of the people. Only the best is good enough for the First Workers' Republic!

The kind of work a man does, the conditions under which that work is done, the air he breathes, the number of hours he is forced to labor, the wages he draws, and the amount of time he must live in enforced idleness or employment . . . . these may be either the foundations of health and life, or of poverty, sickness and death.

Within the past few years scientists, physicians and industrial hygienists in this country have made great progress in collecting information on occupational diseases. Much of this matter is in the nature of statistics, cases investigated and tabulated. As such it is practically worthless to the rank and file of labor. The medical profession knows that dust, gases, vapors, acids, fumes, unguarded machinery are health-destroying factors. To quote a paragraph from the current issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association: "That dusts of various types are intensely harmful to mankind, occasioning in some industries terrible explosions that produce great loss of life and property, and in other trades standing responsible for a highly increased death rate from lung diseases, is emphasized by investigations being conducted by the United States Bureau of Mines. The fact that coal [illegible] has tremendous explosive [illegible] is now demonstrated frequently by the bureau in its own [illegible] mine at Experiment, Pa. A [illegible] of severe explosions have [illegible] in industrial plants using [illegible] coal as fuel, and it is necessary that care be used in the in[illegible] and operation of such [illegible]. Aluminum dust, the dust of grains and hard rubber dust [illegible] declared to be explosive. The dust of rock con[illegible] [illegible] in the West, [illegible] in the lungs of [illegible] responsible for a heavy [illegible] death rate from miner's consumption. In the Butte, Montana, copper mining district, the tuberculosis death rate of Butte miners is nearly thirteen times as great as that of residents of the state of Michigan. Pulmonary disease due to rock dust, among the miners of Joplin, Mo., lead and zinc district, affects probably as high as 30 per cent of the miners employed in certain classes of mines."

You may say, if a trade is so dangerous, let us give it up. Suppose you run away from this one to become a printer, or a baker, a plumber, a leather worker, or a painter? Every one of these trades has a health danger that is just as serious. Would you like lead poisoning better? Or would you choose to work as a match dipper in a match factory and be poisoned by "white phosphorous"? This still happens although most of the big manufacturers of the world, as a result of an agreement made in Berne, Switzerland, are now substituting more or less harmless materials in the manufacture of matches and the danger is greatly lessened. These few illustrations serve to show that health dangers in a trade have to be reckoned with first in planning health protection for the working class.

Aim of the Bureau

To continue collecting facts showing how industries affect the health of workers, but to translate these facts so that workers can understand and benefit by them, remains the outstanding problem. In attempting to outline a plan of action for the immediate needs three kinds of organization are needed:

1. Research for conducting studies, experiments, investigations.
2. Education to teach workers the significance of all data collected.
3. Health supervision for every worker.

It is tragic to have to admit that the only forces at all interested in workers' health have been Employers' Welfare Departments, political Health Departments, organized Charities and Health Foundations endowed by Rockefeller and other members of his class. Employers' Welfare Departments use the medical machinery for emergency accidents, for following up absenteeism, but primarily for "weeding out" workers who have physical defects or ailments. Only in rare instances has provision even been made for systematic, thorough physical examinations or for teaching workers how to care for their bodies. Moreover, the high labor turnover in this country, estimated to be between 25 per cent and 400 per cent a year, means that the great majority of workers, through constant shifting of jobs are barely touched by the type of medical service offered. A noted medical authority, commenting on the situation, states: "There are still 30,000,000 of our people who are responsible for production of some type in this country who are not receiving any kind of health supervision. Many of these are working under intolerable conditions—the lack of protection against the commonest forms of occupational disease is appalling." **

Labor's Task

It is time for Labor to take these matters into its own hands through the trade union organizations. Much of the scientific information is ready to be used as soon as Labor undertakes this responsibility. Labor can wipe out the large proportion of trade dangers and get rid of conditions that cause accidents. Labor can prevent unnecessary sickness and disease through offering every member a regular medical examination once a year.

Recognizing this need, the Workers' Health Bureau was recently started to help Labor organize the most thorough kind of medical inspection and supervision for every worker in order that any weakness which may be developing can be checked at once; to get the scientific facts about trade dangers and to show up these facts without any soft pedalling or pussyfooting, and to work out a complete program of health education suited to the needs of the working class which will enable workers to care for their own human machines in an intelligent way.

The ruthless destruction of workers' bodies must be fought as long as capitalism stands. Safeguards must be developed. Educational machinery should be devised that can function even in the new society. To create a working-class technique in the field of health calls not only for practical idealism but for scientific ability of the highest order. Trade unions can wage this battle as a logical part of their activity to protect workers against exploitation.

Patsy's story is the call to action:

"Patsy, a 'wop' coal heaver on one of our railroads, met with an accident, skull fractured and both legs mangled. In this emergency Dr. ——, an expert anesthetist, was called, who said that Patsy could not withstand the operation except under gas-oxygen, which he gave. His bill for $25 for gas and services brought the following reply from the Chief Surgeon of the railroad:

"'It is not necessary to use gas-anesthesia for OUR class or to have specialists, as we feel that we can obtain the services of [illegible]

[illegible] He concluded by enclosing his check for $25, a gift to the railroad, for the satisfaction of having saved a man's life!"

Patsy's case is typical of what happens to workers up against illness, a low wage and medical bureaucracy and red tape. Will the trade unions of America meet this challenge?

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* Information obtained from Director of Russian Red Cross by Prof. S. M. Gunn, Health Adviser to the Government of Czecho-Slovakia, June, 1921.

** H. W. Mock, Industrial Medicine and Surgery, p. 131.

The Daily Worker is coming

Demonstrations of the Unemployed in New York

The Unemployment Council of New York is arranging for several demonstrations of the unemployed in the next month.

The time has come for action. Roger Babson, the noted statistician, admits that there are—not 3,000,000 unemployed in the country — but 10,000,000! The government and the local and state authorities are utterly indifferent to their condition. "There are millions of men, women and children who are suffering worse than any people did in Belgium." Thus Mr. Babson.

In the meantime, the unemployed wander about hungry and cold, without even the proper support of their fellow-workers who still have jobs. The Unemployment Council of New York has realized that the unemployed must take action themselves, and is now arranging to organize them into committees of action. The Council will coordinate their activities and help to make their demands more emphatic. With the support of the Labor Organizations affiliated with it, the Council will back up the unemployed and demonstrate to both the unemployed and the employed worker that there is salvation for both only in united action.

The next demonstration will take place on February 4, to be followed by two more in rapid succession. As a result of such activity, the unemployed will be sufficiently organized to be able to undertake demonstrations of a more vigorous nature. These are now being planned by the Council.

To aid it in conducting its unemployment work, the Unemployment Council of New York will hold an "Unemployment Dinner," Sunday, February 19, 2 P. M., at the Food Workers' Hall, 133 West 51st Street. There will be a number of prominent speakers at the dinner, provision also being made for other entertainment. Tickets are 75 cents.

At recent meetings of the Unemployment Council of New York, the following resolutions were adopted:

In view of the tremendous unemployment, which shows no signs of abatement, and

In view of the fact that the employers are taking advantage of it not only to cut wages but also to increase hours, which is a thing contrary to all common sense, since the situation calls for a decrease of hours, so that work may be provided for all; and

In view of the fact that the introduction of a longer working day for those still working will mean establishing a lower standard for all American workers, a standard that the organized American workers have struggled decades to establish; and

In view of the fact that, in addition to increasing hours, the employers have abolished increased rate of pay for overtime, so that they may exploit the workers to the limit without any added expense to themselves; therefore

The Unemployment Council of New York recommends to the organizations affiliated to it and to all other labor organizations in the city and country that they refuse all overtime, thereby protecting themselves from brutal and ever intensified exploitation and showing the proper spirit of solidarity toward the unemployed.

Few people realize what a noble and profitable position the elevator man has. He is forever uplifting Humanity and gets a raise on every trip.

THE QUESTION

The papers say Ireland will be
A free state. But will she be free?
For you know and I know
How free was the Congo—
Yes, I'm from MISSOURI—show
me!
Andrea Razafkeriefo.

THE REASON

The conference is quite ill at ease
In regards to their friends, the
Chinese.
There's no country finer
To exploit than China—
The Japs must not get all the cheese.
Andrea Razafkeriefo.

[illegible] the relief action [illegible] recently commenced [illegible] and successful [illegible]. Thus, the Communist Party of Bulgaria has now sent in a draft for 1,000,000 Leva, representing the total of their collection campaign to date. The relief fund of the Czecho-Slovakian Party has attained the total of 1,600,000 crowns, that of the Communist Party of Norway, 120,000 crowns and the British Communist Party's fund £1500. The relief action is now being carried on with especial energy in the overseas countries—the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina and South Africa. The relief fund of the American "Friends of Soviet Russia" has reached a total of $260,000, and this committee has equipped and sent to Russia four ships with food and medicaments. The Argentine Communist Party has recently sent the Foreign Relief Committee in Berlin 1,000,000 marks as the first installment of their contribution.

The International Conference of Workers' Relief Committees, which met in Berlin on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of December, decided to continue the relief action in all countries, but justly stressed the necessity of especial concentration on the overseas countries. We have also succeeded in bringing about a revival of interest in the relief campaign in several trade-unions, particularly in England, and in a large number of bourgeois organizations. Thus, Herr von Wattenwyl, representative in Berlin of the Nansen organization, reported to the Foreign Workers' Committee that in England alone about £5000 are being collected daily, at the present time. Similarly the relief is beginning to make itself felt in Russia. The purchases of the Foreign Workers' Committee, as well as the food shipments of the Nansen organization are daily arriving in the famine regions in ever-increasing quantities.

In part under the pressure of the continually expanding relief action which has taken hold of all the strata of the population in various countries, the governments are beginning to relinquish their at first extremely hostile attitude. Thus, the French government has voted 6,000,000 francs; the British government has placed medical supplies to the value of £250,000 at the disposal of the Soviet government; and a resolution has been introduced into the Italian Chamber of Deputies for the appropriation of 800,000 lire.

However, more important than the practical results of the relief campaign is the fact that in the course of the last few weeks the attitude of all organizations, even those of the bourgeoisie, toward Soviet Russia has undergone a change. The first appeals of the Trade Union International as well as of the bourgeois relief committees and organizations were merely appeals to the sympathy and charity of the workers and peasants. In fact, in several statements and meetings it was declared very emphatically that only the starving inhabitants and children were to be relieved, and that under no circumstances were the Bolshevik regime and the ruling Soviet government in Russia to be assisted. Certain relief organizations went so far as to distribute their food and soups only to children. The poor, innocent children were to be saved; the wicked adult Bolsheviks could die of starvation. This point of view has to-day been totally changed in the majority of these organizations.

In October the Bureau of the Trade Union International pointed out in several appeals the great importance of Soviet Russia and of its continued existence for the entire proletariat of the world. It was declared with the greatest emphasis that the downfall of the present Soviet government would be followed by inconceivably disastrous consequences for the working class in all countries and that, therefore, it was in the interest of every worker to aid and support Soviet Russia. All the representatives of the bourgeois and pacifist relief organizations now working in Russia cannot sufficiently stress and laud the wonderful support their activity has obtained from the Soviet government. At the International Conference of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations in Geneva on the 12th of November Nansen praised the distinguished part played by the Soviet government in the campaign for the relief of the famine-stricken. At the International Conference in Berlin on the 4th of December, 1921, in which representatives of all parties and the most diverse organizations participated, all speakers stressed the fact that almost more important than the obtaining of food for the famine-stricken was immediate assistance in the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia. The representative of the Trade Union International, Grassmann, as well as the speaker of the Quakers, the delegate of the Norwegian Workers' Party and others held that the obtaining of an unconditional resumption of commercial relations with Soviet Russia and the extension of long-term governmental credits were the chief tasks of the relief action in the future. On the 8th of December there took place in London a general conference of the English Labor Party and its Parliamentary group [illegible]

[illegible] The Foreign Committee for the Organization of Workers' Relief for the Famine-Stricken in Soviet Russia, with headquarters in Berlin, in accordance with the demand of the presidium of the general conference and following the example of the English workers, on the 12th of December addressed a letter to all working-class parties and organizations in which they were requested immediately to take action in all Parliaments similar to those of the English workers and to demand:

1. The immediate appropriation of funds for the starving workers and peasants in the famine regions.
2. The removal of all remaining obstacles to the resumption of normal economic and commercial intercourse with Russia.
3. The extension of long-term credits.
4. The recognition of the Soviet government.

The Committee concluded its call with the following lines:

"There is no doubt that a unified move in all parliaments on the part of the working-class parties, supported by the entire economic and political power of the working class, will in no small degree hasten the slowly developing understanding between the Western states and Russia. We hope in the interest of 20,000,000 starving Russian workers and peasants, and in the interests of the entire working class, suffering under the decay of the world's economic life, that our appeal will be heard and followed by all working-class parties."

The Voice of the Public

The rain was coming down in sheets as he came into a Page Street trolley-car about seven o'clock and sat down behind me. I looked around as he said in a loud voice to his seatmate: "I'll bet I'm the oldest man in this car: I'm seventy-three years old and working every day. Not many young fellows can say that these times." I had seen his face. It was one of those drawn, peering visages that we immediately associate with short-sightedness but which is more often the result of trying to see the work that must be done before a reprimand from the boss calls it to the attention. He rambled on:

"You see I work in the Federal Reserve bank. I have to be there by eight o'clock, but I make it a point to always be on hand by seven-thirty. Makes a good impression, you know. I been there four years now and I've never been late yet. It keeps me jumping to do it sometimes because me and my wife have to live so far out. We can't get anything at all for forty dollars close in and that's every cent we can afford to pay for rent. I get one hundred and ten dollars a month—pretty good wages—but rents are awful high.

"The street-car service ain't very good but I suppose the company is doing the best it can. You know they're in the hands of receivers. Can't make no money with the present fares and high wages. My old boss—the fellow that used to be head of the Federal Reserve bank—is the receiver. I did him a good turn to-night, too. There was a conductor down on one of them depot cars that rang the bell to start when there was a lady trying to get on, and I reported him. Them's the fellows that get the company into trouble. Damage suits and so on. There was a big crowd on the car and it was raining, and maybe he didn't see this lady, but that's what he is paid for. I want to see my old boss put the street-car company back on its feet. He's a big man and he can do it. They're paying him almost twice as much money as he got from the bank. He gets thirty-six thousand a year now as receiver and he only got twenty thousand from the bank."

The car stopped. A switch had jammed somewhere ahead, someone said. The old man waited but a few moments. Then he rose and began to frantically fight his way through the wet and steaming mass of humanity between his seat and the door.

"No telling how long this will last and I can't be late," he said as he vanished into the pouring rain.

Workers' Party Notes

A new branch of the Workers' Party with a charter membership of twenty was organized at Silvis, Ill., and to this group comes the honor of sending in the first order for Workers' Party dues stamps.

The Daily Worker is coming

The Workers' Council branch of Richmond has reorganized into a Workers' Party branch and is working on the formation of a Jewish and colored Workers' Branch. A strike of the street car men against a reduction in pay has been actively supported. A special leaflet on the question was issued.

The Daily Worker is coming

[illegible]
MONDAY, JANUARY [illegible] 8 P. M.
at [illegible]
Speakers:
LUDWIG LORE. A. MARMOR. A. BITT

VLADIMIR KOROLENKO

By W. [illegible]

With the death of Vladimir Korolenko the Russian people have lost one of the most valiant champions of their freedom. Most of the great Russian writers, from Pushkin to Gorki, identified themselves with the cause of the people's freedom and were its champions and eloquent spokesmen; yet Korolenko stands unique among them as one who disseminated the spirit of liberty not only as a creative artist of first magnitude, but also as a public spirited individual. One cannot, indeed, separate in Korolenko the man from the artist. Both are actuated by the same motive, urged onward by the same goal. One is the counterpart of the other.

Korolenko did more than give voice to the aspirations of the mute millions, he was a man of action, a man of daring. He not only preached liberty in abstract, not only created visions of a people freed from oppression,—he was always found in the thick of public life, decrying injustices committed, waking the conscience of the ruling caste to the evil of the hour, stirring public opinion and moulding it. One may well apply to Korolenko his characterization of Socrates (Shadows): "He was a wasp painfully stinging the conscience of his people lest it fall into a slumber and cease to seek the truth." He stung the conscience of his people now as a defender of the Vatyak tribe against the charge of ritual murder, now as an impartial investigator of the Kishinev pogrom, now as a denouncer of the ritual - murder conspiracy against Mendel Belliss. Wherever gross injustice was committed against the people, wherever there were persecutions and pogroms against the Jews, wherever the Tsaristic regime made itself particularly obnoxious, Vladimir Korolenko was found championing the cause of the oppressed and persecuted, doing so at the risk of his own safety, of his very life.

At quite an early age Korolenko was exiled to the wilds of Siberia for revolutionary activity. But even among the semi-barbarous Yakuts he made himself felt as an agent of good. He came to be regarded by the natives as a demi-god, and his name in Siberia has become surrounded by a halo of beautiful legend.

Far from losing heart, the young rebel steeled his soul against the rigors of his exile and became imbued with that spirit of optimism and faith in human nature which he later made animate in his stories. In the savage Yakuts, in the katorga criminals he found the "divine spark" present, if dormant. And since his days of exile he never ceases singing a hymn to life. His every story, his every piece of public writing breathes hope and faith in humankind.

It is the peculiar gift of Korolenko to discern the beautiful amidst the sordid, the good imbedded in the evil. He does not shun the sordid and the evil. As an artist, as a realist he takes cognizance of these elements and portrays them masterfully. But he is not content with the objective portrayal of the untoward things around him. Rather, he chooses his characters and his scenes with a view of demonstrating the idea that the sordid is not an inherent element of life but a result of environment, of external conditions. But environment and conditions change, and as a Socialist he believes that, given the collective will, the sordid can be made to disappear. The task of the revolutionary artist is to create and stimulate that will in the people, to crystalize it into concrete action and definite aspiration.

That in the people there is a yearning for freedom Korolenko does not doubt. He symbolizes this elemental urge of the people in the hero of one of his poetic tales (A Moment) who flees his goalers in a flimsy canoe tossed by the stormy seas. Every moment threatens his destruction, but a voice from within him shouts joyously: free! free! and it is this ecstasy of freedom that enables him to reach the shore and join his fellow rebels who rose against their oppressors.

As artist and as public man Korolenko never loses sight of the [illegible] that lights glimmering in the blackness of night. He made them (little fires) the symbol of hope and cheer for the struggling rebels of two generations. Dark is the [illegible], icy is the wind, the [illegible] can no longer cling to the oars, the man in the boat has [illegible] glimpse of the little fires [illegible] ahead. Perhaps he never will [illegible] them but the [illegible] are beacons of hope, the promise of a land where "never will the [illegible] man shed the blood of man and justice will reign triumphant."

Korolenko knows that the [illegible] of a bright future lies beyond [illegible] egoism but he does not believe it can be reached without resort to force. The path of non-resistance, he insists, will not lead to emancipation. Menachem Ben Yehuda, in the story of the same name, remonstrates with his brethren who insist that by obedience to the rulers he can serve his people better than by rebellion.

They say to him:

> Water is not dried with water but with fire; and fire is not extinguished by flame but by water; so is force not overcome by force.

To which Menachem Ben Yehuda angrily makes reply:

> But stone is crushed with stone, steel is broken with steel and force with force. The force of the rulers is fire and your obedience is firewood. The fire will not abate until it has devoured all.

And he cries out:

> Let us never forget the command that we must fight for the truth!

This is the only road that leads to the dawn beyond the little fires. There is no other. And when Ertel, a Russian disciple of Tolstoy, reproaches him for his preachment of violence Korolenko replies:

"When a man defends a weak maltreated slave against ten slave traders he is not committing violence. Every thrust of his weapon, every move of attack on his part I regard as an act of virtue and mercy. There may be bloodshed involved, but what of it? For the matter of that you may as well count the surgeon's knife among the weapons of evil."

Believing in force as a means of winning freedom for the oppressed, Korolenko could not but hail the revolution of March and even that of November. It was he who most vehemently protested against the persecutions of the Bolsheviki by the Kerenski government, and the Soviet government has always regarded him as its staunchest friend, despite the many criticisms he leveled against it. When soon after the November coup the adherents of the moderate regime were furiously denouncing Lenin and Trotsky as traitors to the revolution, it was Korolenko who raised his voice in their defense, asserting loudly that revolutions are not made "with silk gloves on," especially the bolshevik revolution with its bold ambition to reshape the world. And with what bitterness the aged champion of the people, already riveted to his sick-bed, lifted his voice against hetman Skoropadski and Petlura, against Denikine, Kolchak and the rest of the counter-revolutionary bandits! His passionate writings of that period, though not constituting "literature," will never be forgotten. All the heroism, all the intrepid courage of the venerable fighter was in these bold attacks upon the leaders of marauders, for he wrotes his articles against them at a time when one or the other of the "saviors" was in possession of Poltava, the city where Korolenko lived. It was only his international reputation and his renown as a writer that saved him from the bloody reckoning of the men he defied to their teeth.

The Soviet government knew how to value this great mind and noble spirit. It has done everything possible to make his old age comfortable even amidst the sufferings and privations of the revolution. Extensive preparations were under way, shortly before his death, to celebrate his sixty-eighth birthday throughout the country, so as to focus the attention of the people on his literary works and his public activity.

"UNEMPLOYMENT DINNER"
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 2 P. M.
FOOD WORKERS' HALL, 133 WEST 51st ST
Auspices
UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL OF NEW [illegible]
Proceeds for unemployment work
Tickets 75 Cents

[illegible] along the Volga [illegible] is [illegible]. The [illegible] was most extensive and [illegible] there. There are other [illegible] nevertheless, that face dan[illegible]. The provinces of Novgorod, Ekaterinburg, Perm, Penza, Don, Northern Caucasus and a part of the Ukraine have suffered from the famine. And this is one-third of the population of the affected districts.

The Volga, however, is the area that needs most IMMEDIATE aid. There was a deficit of 85,000,000 poods (1,500,000 tons) of food. 20,000,000 poods (360,000 tons) of food per month will be required to keep the people from starving. Only 20 to 25 per cent. of the children can be taken care of with the present resources at hand, i. e., with the resources of all the relief organizations.

"You can say with certainty that hardly five per cent. of the inhabitants of our place will live till Spring. Ninety-five per cent. will perish if no food is procured for them in time. The people still have a little hope, they are waiting and believe that help will come from somewhere. Anybody coming from the city or neighboring village is immediately surrounded by people inquiring about aid. **IT IS DIFFICULT TO TELL THEM THE TRUTH—AND THUS DESTROY THE LAST HOPES OF THE DYING.**"

"Even news that seed will be furnished for sowing does not enthuse the peasants." **"Who will be here to do the sowing,"** they say, **"when we are dead?"**

In December, there took place in Moscow a conference of all Russian relief organizations, which decided on measures for the care of the starving population. It was decided that every ten Russians would have to support one starving peasant. The placing of responsibility for feeding the famine-stricken population will undoubtedly stimulate the relief work.

LET AMERICAN WORKERS DO LIKEWISE!

AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS AND OTHER WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS MUST MAKE THEMSELVES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FEEDING OF AT LEAST 1,000,000 STARVING RUSSIANS. WITH A LITTLE ENERGY AND WITH A CONCERTED DRIVE WE CAN DO IT!

TRACTORS AND MOTOR PLOUGHS WANTED!!!

On November 12, 1921, Dr. Nansen spoke before a special conference of the League of Nations, and said among other things: "There is a plan which I believe will not only save the present situation, but also help in developing the economic resources of Russia and increase the crops of the greatest granary of the world. It is a simple plan, but daring and dear. During the next few months, a large number of motor ploughs and tractors must be sent to the famine districts, and with them sufficient experienced people to teach the Russian population the use of tractors. Although the difficulties are great, they are not insurmountable. There is no lack of skilled mechanics in Russia who at present are out of work. If we have the tractors, we can send them out the mechanics to the districts where they are needed. Petroleum is, also to be had.

"The tractors and ploughs would have to be rented or bought. The price of the machines together with the transportation costs would be taken out of the crops of the next few seasons."

This is not only a splendid plan, but also is approved by the Soviet authorities. Kameneff, president of the Soviet Government, has made an appeal for ploughs and tractors.

America, the home of the motor, and of tractors and ploughs, must be the first to supply Soviet Russia. American workers can do a great deal in this sphere.

We have large tractor, motor and plough factories. CARRY ON A CAMPAIGN AMONG THE WORKERS IN THESE FACTORIES. GET THEM, AS A BODY, TO APPROACH THEIR EMPLOYERS AND PROCURE FROM THEM THE USE OF THE FACTORY MACHINERY, AND THE SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIAL AT COST PRICE. THIS IS TO BE OBTAINED UPON CONDITION THAT THEY, THE WORKERS, DONATE THEIR WORK FREE OF CHARGE.

It can be done—with a little persuasion. In Germany, they have been doing it for some time. The workers in a large motor truck factory near Berlin have been making trucks for Soviet Russia on the above conditions. THIS WAS THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE FAMINE RELIEF.

The work of relief is proceeding [illegible] unabated energy all over the [illegible]. English workers have collected more than 3700 pounds. Germany has collected two million [illegible] in cash, 1½ million marks in [illegible] and other material. Holland has reached the figure of 120,000 [illegible]. Women's and children's [illegible] have been collecting especially for the maintenance of children's homes in Soviet Russia. The [illegible] that left France [illegible]

[illegible] Since that time, the [illegible] workers have gone to work with augmented energy. Every [illegible] more than 100 cases of clothing are sent to the warehouse in [illegible]. The Clarté is especially active. Norway has collected 120,000 crowns, and large quantities of food, clothing, etc. Sweden, 40,000 crowns in cash, 70,000 in material. Italy 300,000 lire, with prospects of 1,000,000 lire in a short time. Czecho-Slovakia, 1,600,000 crowns; Bulgaria, more than 1,000,000 leva; Argentine, 1,000,000 marks. Relief committees are working in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, China and Japan.

The Norwegian workers recently dispatched the S. S. Terje containing a large quantity of food. Berlin shoemakers are repairing 1,500 pair of shoes donated by workers of Berlin.

The League of Nations listened to Dr. Nansen, indifferent to the whole matter of relief. A short time after the conference, we learned, however, that the French Government had voted 6,000,000 francs for relief. Up to the present, none of this money has been advanced. **An empty promise, as usual, of governments to workers!!**

The Christmas drive of the F.S.R. is not yet over. In fact, the clothing feature of it will last for some time to come. Several cities were unable to begin on the specified day and are holding the drive now. Others have lengthened the drive, having attained such splendid results.

One hundred and thirty-eight cases of clothing left on January 24, on S. S. Gasconier. This represents a value of more than $40,000. The warehouse of the F.S.R. is still crowded with cases that have come from every part of the country. Owing to the sudden inrush of the material, it has been necessary to make other arrangements to handle the goods. Hence the warehouse has been removed. Address all packages to Friends of Soviet Russia, No. 80 Front St., Brooklyn, N. Y., c/o Export Service of America.

A section of the F.S.R. in New York City has held a bazaar and cleared more than $3,000. The New York City branch has arranged a "hunger banquet" for Paxton Hibben, at which representatives of organized labor will also speak. This is to be one of the most unique things held in New York City in some time.

Detroit has arranged a symphony concert with the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, Ossip Gabrilowitsch conducting. The name of the conductor and his orchestra promises a fine evening and splendid returns for relief.

Vancouver has just affiliated with the F.S.R. On January 20, the branch held a concert and dance, **admission being soap, medicine, canned food, etc.** Fine idea!

The National Office has begun to circularize the Labor Unions and other workers' organizations. Send in a list of the Labor Unions not affiliated with your branch. Give us the date and place of your meetings and we will write them from here. IMPORTANT!

The East had better look out for its laurels! The Western coast is alive with energy. San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, Los Angeles are coming to the front. Here is a letter from a little Seattle girl:

"I have heard that their is many children suffering of hunger. I am pore myself but I will try to help you children I asked the other childern but they said that they couldent give any im a little girl but Im with yu good by

Your freinds

Vina and Nell."

George Hardy, formerly of the I. W.W., is doing excellent work out in the West and Northwest. He has entered the stronghold of workers who have got a wrong "twist" of the whole thing, and invariably has been able to win them over to the cause of relief.

Word has just been received that the goods sent by the F.S.R. on the S. S. Elzasier on October 27, arrived in Riga on December 8, and were immediately dispatched to Moscow. Forty-eight carloads of flour, milk, lard, cocoa, cornmeal, beans, oatmeal, corned beef, fat backs, clothing went forward.

The big contributions of the week are: Toronto, $4,700; Chicago, $3,000; Lithuanian Section of the F.S.R., $2,700; New York City, $1,644; San Francisco, $780; Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, $500; Trenton, $500; Cleveland, $500; Boston, $500; Cincinnati, $465; Schenectady, $350; Bayonne, N. J., $300; Kansas City, Kans., $334; Worcester, Mass., $300; Portland, Oregon, $250; Rock Springs, Wyo., $180; United Mine Workers of America, Nokonis, Ill., $170; Providence, R. I., $166; Newark, $182.

The ideal workingmen are they
Who will accept starvation pay,
Who'll work all hours, day and night,
And never seek their wrongs to right.

Is autocracy destroyed?
Ask the millions unemployed.

The [illegible] Press

The "Worker" appears at a most severe and trying period in the life of American labor. Everywhere the enemy is on the offensive. Wages are being slashed and the gains won by the workers thru many years of painful struggle are going by the board.

We are face to face with a serious crisis. And in this crisis the press plays the greatest role in our agitation against the enemies of the workers. We need but remind ourselves of the extent to which the working masses blindly follow the capitalist papers to see how powerful a weapon the press can be in the class struggle. The press is an integral part of the whole oppressive machinery of the ruling class. It serves to mislead the workers. It poisons their minds and makes them a prey to the campaigns of treachery and deceit waged by their exploiters in order to maintain capitalism.

The "Worker" is an organ devoted to the interests of the working class. As such it has no problems and no interests other than those of the working class. Week by week, then day by day, the "Worker" will deal with the political, social, and economic problems confronting the workers of America and the workers of the world. We will spare no effort to secure first-hand information regarding every phase of working class thought and action. The immediate struggles and needs of labor will be kept in the foreground. Their significance and possibilities will be treated from the point of view of the militant proletariat. Wherever the class struggle manifests itself, there we will endeavor to bring light.

But the working class press can not be satisfied with mere interpretation. A live proletarian paper must not only assist in the formulation of policies and tactics by a conscientious study of facts, must not only help the workers know what to do, but must also fearlessly speak the minds of the masses and voice their needs and aspirations. At no time should a workers paper show mercy to the enemy or give ground to the betrayers of the working class, regardless of the form, name, or flag in which they wrap themselves. A fighting paper must be frank in the statement of its views, fearless in its analysis, and merciless in its criticism.

In the momentous crisis now confronting Labor there is a great need for a paper which will promote clarity of purpose and unity of action for the working class of America. Everywhere there is dissatisfaction, everywhere there is unrest, but no[illegible] as yet a leadership [illegible] strong to direct the struggles of the American workers into revolutionary channels. America is now the citadel of world imperialism. On the one hand, we have a powerful and splendidly organized capitalist class, on the other we have a divided, floundering working class, politically impotent and industrially weak.

The weakness of American labor's press is in no small measure responsible for this sad state of affairs. Patent medicine advertisements, columns of personal advertising campaigns of union officials, press syndicate digests, and shallow comment on the political [illegible] of our lawgivers make up the contents of almost the entire labor press.

And the more radical papers are, in the main, not much better. Some of them bear the long earmarks of an unquenchable thirst for excursions into the realms of "pure" theory and absolute "truth". In their efforts to achieve the unachievable they sacrifice the interests of the working class and drive the masses away from them unto the arms of the capitalist misinformers. There is no more dry and no more boring sheet than the respectable, pure-truth-hunting radical publication.

Of course neither of the above kinds of labor paper can fill the present need—inspire the working masses and provide them with a plan to fight their oppressors. Fully aware of the task of an organ of militant working class action, our next step is to devise ways and means of realizing it. First of all, what shall a workers' paper deal with? Every event of social or economic interest, such as workers' meetings, accidents, mistreatement, and growing wealth of the boss must be given consideration in our columns. The plans of our enemies should be of as much interest and importance to us as our own. The class struggle is a political struggle. A political struggle is essentially a military struggle regardless of the form it may take on. And in every military struggle the plans of the enemy are important for both offensive and defensive purposes. Hence the plans of the Chambers of Commerce or the American Legion, the exposures of the various legislative bodies, or the unearthing of the sinister aims of secret capitalist terrorist organizations should be given adequate attention at all times.

No struggle of the workers is too small and no event in their activity is too insignificant for us. This policy if pursued energetically will go a long way towards making a paper the spokesman of the masses. But these struggles and pictures of the workers' life cannot be penned with a sufficient degree of reality, with a sufficiently human touch, unless the workers themselves are called in to contribute.

A most necessary condition to the development of a powerful paper is the organization of contributions from the workers themselves. No one can talk more effectively of the high cost of living or of unemployment than the hungry, unemployed proletariat. The workers from mine, mill, and factory must be strongly encouraged to write of their experiences. We need have no concern as to the correctness of language or respectability of tone which might characterize these contributions. Success in this direction is not of paramount importance to the working class. All necessary changes can be easily made. The very simplicity characterizing these descriptions of mistreatement, poverty, and hardships is the source of their greatest inspiration and effect.

Success in getting a great number of such contributions is of manifold value. These letters from the workers tend to increase the number of militants in the ranks of organized labor. They encourage the workers to independent action. They promote the interests of the workers in their union life and affairs. The fact that the stories are written by their shopmates gives them an added circulation. The worker feels much closer to a situation when he knows that the writer is closer to him than the professional editor or scribe. This makes the paper a veritable dynamo of the class struggle and enables it to mould and guide the opinions of the workers.

Powerful cartoons, poems written by workers, pictures of labor, events and fiction depicting the struggles of the masses not only enliven a paper, but also bring home more effectively than lengthy theoretical dissertations the bitter truths of the class war. These, coupled with writings by the workers themselves and a proper, attractive, and simple presentation of facts are the essence of a fighting workers' paper.

Only such papers can intensify the worker's hatred of capitalism and strengthen the revolutionary movement. This is the aim of the "Worker." And this aim can be realized only by an application of the methods outlined above. This task is no easy one. But its difficulty is comparable only to its greatness.

UNITY AND [illegible]

By [illegible]

There was one feature of the Workers Party convention that commanded more attention from the visitors galleries than anything else that took place.

This was the clock like precision with which all business was transacted. Even the program and constitution, the most important matters, were adopted without much discussion from the floor. Here and there a delegate arose to ask a question, in order to have a given point explained, and became satisfied with the explanation. The reporters of the newspapers were in distress, trying to get material for their copy. In all their experience they had never reported a convention in which there were not tense, amusing, ridiculous or other situations appearing that made good stories. Never before was a convention held that did not disclose the fact that there are almost as many opinions on all important matters as there are delegates, necessitating many hours, sometimes days, of discussion before agreement can be reached upon a given point; even then the discussion may end, very likely, not through agreement, but because one side, or both, had compromised in the interests of peace.

The attitude of the visitors toward the Workers Party convention was first one of wonder, then amusement when they saw how smoothly the machine worked; amusement became mingled with admiration, when on the final day it was very evident that the work would be finished without a single mishap.

The press could do but little more than comment upon the effectiveness of the steam roller and insinuate that there was little chance for democtacy. Of course the reader was left to believe that decisions were made in private somewhere by powerful committees who could force the delegates into obedience. The fact remains, however, that no body of delegates representing thousands of people, could be forced by any small group to accept a program to guide their activities, and a constitution, to govern their organization; large bodies move swiftly and quietly only when the units are all agreed fundamentally upon their destination and the means of getting there. There were several fraternal delegates in the convention representing the Proletarian Party who criticized the program adopted and claimed that it is not revolutionary enough, because it contained no definition of the capitalist state, no demand for the "dictatorship of the proletariat", nor the soviet form of government. This criticism provoked the only discussion of any length. It may, or it may not be advisable, at this time to include such statements and demands in a revolutionary program. It may, and it may not be true that such demands are necessary to clarify a working class program. In the opinion of all the delegates it was considered inadvisable to go too far ahead of the masses of workers in this country; and that the mere statement of revolutionary terms does not promote clarity. When they handled this question the delegates were a unit, and they showed their appreciation of the term unity. This is the point: they who unite succeed; they who cannot, lose. With unity the atmosphere clears in the struggle; without unity some forever grope in the dark; while others, a few, are blinded with lights that are too bright.

One thing is certain. [illegible] Workers Party [illegible] is definitely [illegible] throw of capitalism [illegible] are outlined [illegible] back of this there is a [illegible] body of workers. A [illegible] can move as a unit [illegible] structed machine [illegible] that will move the [illegible] improve as it gains [illegible]

The constitution [illegible] without friction, and the [illegible] shows no attempt to cater [illegible] called democracy. The [illegible] the Workers Party do [illegible] be troubled with referend[illegible] and interminable discussions [illegible] important questions. The [illegible] portant question for them [illegible] the class struggle in the [illegible] battles of the workers [illegible] employers and their state [illegible] Upon this question they ha[illegible] up their minds. After this [illegible] interested in creating a party [illegible] can promote the greatest [illegible] effective activity in this [illegible] An army is the most effective [illegible] of organized body that is [illegible] cause the authority of the [illegible] staff over the different parts [illegible] questioned; decisions are made [illegible] orders are given promptly, the [illegible] body moves quickly. If the [illegible] show incompetence in any way [illegible] quickly known and they are [illegible] moved—in an army they are [illegible] moved by orders from the top. [illegible] Workers Party between conventions [illegible] is governed by a general staff [illegible] form of a Central Executive [illegible] mittee.

The members are confident [illegible] the organization possesses members who are reliable and trustworthy [illegible] champions of the Party's princip[illegible] and ideals; who possess initia[illegible] courage, intelligence and exper[illegible] enough to be entrusted with [illegible] powers of a "general staff".

It is true that through poor judgment incompetent persons may [illegible] selected for these important [illegible] some may have been selected by the convention; but the members know also that incompetence is soon discovered and removals effected. [illegible] the Party the removals can be effected from below; and the membership have confidence in themselves.

Persons who love the abstract principles of democracy may have much to say against the Workers Party which frankly vests all authority between conventions in a responsible head like the Central Executive Committee. They argue that the members forfeit their rights, and that officials [illegible] such powers have too much opportunity to play politics and [illegible] their authority. This may all be true, but we must keep in mind [illegible] in every organization that [illegible] experience has shown (labor [illegible] and political parties alike, even the most democratic) officials abuse their power, outrage the rights of the members and play politics [illegible] jobs. The Workers' Party is [illegible] more deceived by the shams of democracy in labor organizations [illegible] in government.

The membership of a political party that deliberately places superior power in the hands of a responsible committee is a membership that fully understands the value of discipline.

Only such an organization [illegible] meet the needs of the working class in its struggle against the powerfully intrenched and disciplined forces of world imperialism.

The Daily Worker is coming [illegible]

The Farmers' Conference

By **H. M. WARE**, Nat'l Agrarian Organizer, Workers' Party of America.

The many conferences here and abroad mean just one thing, that the statesmen are realizing how thin the political ice is upon which they are skating. The "Agriculture Conference" called by President Harding is no exception. Farm bankruptcy in America is just around the corner. Therefore being unable to do anything the Administration calls a "Conference," packs it full of those who rob the farmers, sprinkle in a few dirt farmers and calls it an Agriculture Conference.

Farmers in Washington early Monday morning called up brother Wallace's Department to inquire where this Conference was to be perpetrated. I was directed to the best hotel in Washington and there I was lifted to the higher altitudes of the Ball room. Although mortgage, notes, and "deflation" had chased me from the farm some months ago and I had begun to feel safe in the city. I confess that the Ball room was all new to me. The gilt chairs—the decoration—made a glittering ornate setting strangely out of harmony with a farmers' meeting. Nevertheless I tried to get to one of the gilded chairs—but I didn't succeed. A sure enough invited delegate with a big blue badge herded me off to an alcove with a bunch of other rubes. There we stood, on the outside looking in. We would see the invited "farmers" lolling about. Ball rooms evidently held no terrors for them. I turned to a gray-headed six foot Westerner and asked "Why aren't you in there?" His reply was indicative of all our thoughts—"Hell—I'm a farmer." Another man with the unmistakable signs of weather and work added: "You're right. The farmers are out here and those who farm the farmers are in there." They were: Bankers, Grain Gamblers, Railroad Executives, Fertilizer Manufacturers, Implement Trust and conservative Farm "Leaders."

When it became apparent that there would be some seats left the real farmers—"dirt" and all were permitted to clump in. We found seats on the edges under the scrutiny of the delegates. And then we settled back to see and hear how this conference was going to solve the riddle of Farm Bankruptcy.

There was an atmosphere of expectancy. Cameras were set up and trained upon the platform. Then our Farm Statesmen appeared. Secretary Wallace—and Congressman Anderson, permanent chairman of the Conference, and the Chaplain of the House. From the other side came President Harding followed by four or five detectives. The audience got to its feet. As the President walked by he seemed to blush, with shame or modesty? The Chaplain stepped forward, extended his arms and prayed—that this conference might be guided by "infinite wisdom" to a solution of its problem—Farm Bankruptcy. Thus another Conference was born. President Harding reached into a coattail and pulled out his set speech. We all listened attentively. Many of us had expected a definite constructive program of action—we were disappointed. As the Washington Post said, "President Harding emphasized in a general way the necessity for some action of a remedial character." That's about all. He did emphasize that farmers weren't the only ones who had suffered—I accepted this as his apology for inviting the Trusts and Grain Gamblers. Then he made a break which livened up his otherwise dreary monotone. He said:, regarding the farmers' hard times: "It is a truly national interest"—"and not entitled to be regarded as primarily the concern of either a class or a section—OR A BLOC!!!" In all the copies sent to the press the words "Or a Bloc" are missing. It was the case of the whole situation—an extemporaneous remark not for the consumption of the farmers back home.

The most significant part of his recitation was his pounding out that "as a laborer the farmer is greatly underpaid in comparison to labor in other occupations." This utterance sounded the keynote for other speakers. They consistently reiterated that the road to the farmer's salvation lies in the reduction of freight rates via a reduction in wages—by cracking labor on the head.

Harding's speech was finished with an explosion of flash lights and a tucking away of the document. The body guard fell into single file and our President was no longer with us.

He had done his bit for the farmer and could now return to those problems of Big Business with which he is more familiar.

The President was followed by Anderson, the Chairman, who gave a report of his Joint Congressional Commission.

He admitted his helplessness and said that these periods of "depression" are inevitable and follow definite cycles. Evidently also—they get worse and worse.—Never before [illegible] mortgaged debt so large. Never were there so many sheriffs. Never before was there so great a difference between what the worker pays, and the farmer gets.

Mr. Anderson carried President Harding's generalities to more definite points. For instance: He called our attention to the fact that farm products had dropped farther and faster than the products of Big Business. Why? Because B. B. was "better organized to resist the decline." Do leaders of the conference, who tell us we must have "better organization," and who have written Big Business to this farm conference, desire then that the farmers' organizations come to some working or gentlemen's agreement with B. B. organizations? Obviously this is their "solution." And as the Conference proceeds, there is every indication of this being the plan.

VII to IX.

The "farmers who farm the farmer" are worried at the slump. Their softest graft—the farmers—are becoming restless and even radical. Working Farmers have forced their Congressional representatives into a "Farm Bloc" which is assuming alarming significance to the Administration politics. They hoped thru this Conference to steal the thunder of the "Farm Bloc"; to get the farmers to back a reduction in wages of the Railroad workers in order to get a reduction in freight rates—a simple way for this Republican Administration to do something for farmers in preparation for the next election.

But I have been sitting there in the Ball Room among these alleged "dirt" farmers. Their average age is close to sixty—their average appearance gives the lie to the very name of the Conference—their hands are soft and their eyes are hard. They fraternize with the Big Business representatives. You can't tell one from the other. Here and there you do see a man who smacks of the out doors—and sunshine; who has a friendly, self conscious attitude—but it is also noticeable that such men are not busy in the Committee rooms. They will have plenty of time to "see the sights" of Washington.

Thru out the whole opening session there were only two incidents that let in a little ray of light. The first was Mr. Hagan of New Jersey, Ex-State Commissioner of Agriculture. He was evidently out of place. He demanded that the Machinery Trust stop insisting upon cash from dealers. The [illegible] of the U. S. [illegible] of Corn, Wheat, Wool and Cotton on a cost of production basis. He ended with a plea to support the Farm Bloc in Congress. All this came like a bomb after the soft soap of his predecessors. He opened his address by stating his surprise at receiving an invitation—judging from the applause which came mostly from "outsiders". I do not believe Mr. Hagan will get any more such invitation. But we were glad he had received a blue badge and was "Among those present".

The second incident was even more dramatic. Unwritten but with an obviously political motive. Bryan sat with the outsiders—some mallicious spirit whispered in Chairman Andersons' ear and he spilt the beans by falling for the suggestion. He invited Mr. Bryan to take the platform.—Mr. Bryan certainly did.

The audience jumped to its feet. It was a spontaneous tribute to a political ghost, long since declared "dead."

But Bryan put his finger on many live truths. He said he had to admit that this Congress might do more for farmers than the previous ones "because this one is more scared." Then he praised the Farm Bloc. Mr. Anderson appeared more and more worried as Mr. Bryan waxed more and more eloquent. Bryan said he wasn't a specialist but was a generalist—a sort of Government machinist. And he evidently considered the machine out of whack. He told us that Big Business and Wall Street had had their Blocs in Congress for thirty years—why not the farmers? I hoped he would add, "and why not the industrial workers?" But it was evident that he too was trying to make political capital out of a situation. And when politicians fall out honest workers profit. So Bryan said many things now being labelled by the press as indiscreet. For instance, he [illegible]

ing before the farmers. He intima[illegible] that the railroad interest in [illegible] conference was not wholly unsel[illegible] Inasmuch as farm products make over 50 per cent of the gross R. [illegible] freight tonnage they realize that their best customer goes bankr[illegible] their profits will suffer. As he put [illegible] "They can't get rich carrying [illegible] ing both ways."

After this the chairman announ[illegible] that to facilitate matters comm[illegible] had been selected. Mimeograph[illegible] copies were then circulated. [illegible] Delegates Only. A glance at the "farmer" committees is illumina[illegible] Take the Committee on Agric[illegible] and Price Relations. It is made [illegible] of two big farmers, one [illegible] manufacturer, four conserva[illegible] farm "leaders," one editor, one [illegible] mission man, and dear old Sa[illegible] Gompers.

Another: The Committee on [illegible] Transportation: Five big farm[illegible] two editors, one farm imple[illegible] manufacturer; one fertilizer [illegible] facturer; two railroad execu[illegible] three lawyers, four city men, [illegible] commission merchants, one [illegible] manufacturer, two farm "lea[illegible]

Verily, the lion and the lamb [illegible] expected to lie down together. [illegible] President said: "I can make no [illegible] appropriate observation than [illegible] your work will be of value [illegible] as you address yourselves to [illegible] realities, the matters of fact." [illegible] Brother farmers, get one of [illegible] mimeographed copies of the com[illegible] mittees from your nearest [illegible] president of grain gambler [illegible] —and face the realities and [illegible] ters of fact. We as working [illegible] are expected to hope for [illegible] from committees made up [illegible] majorities of all the paras[illegible] ests which have bled the [illegible] America dry for generations [illegible] are expected to assist them in beating down the [illegible] living [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] mining industry is in a [illegible] uncertainty which has not [illegible] since the days prior [illegible] miner's strike in Roosevelt's [illegible]ation. In the Central Com[illegible] region which comprises [illegible] Pennsylvania, Indiana, Il[illegible] and Ohio and which has oper[illegible] under a union agreement for [illegible] years, part of the operators refused to attend the con[illegible] between operators and [illegible]. First the Southern Ohio [illegible] withdrew, then the East[illegible] Ohio and Pittsburgh operators. [illegible] co-operative action between [illegible] and Eastern Ohio opera[illegible] came as a surprise to union [illegible], because of the competition [illegible] the two districts. There [illegible] no reason for surprise. The [illegible] factions of the ruling [illegible] can usually manage to smooth [illegible] their differences when they face [illegible] common enemy—labor.

Reports from the Eastern Penn[illegible] Mining districts show that [illegible] than 30,000 of the 145,000 hard [illegible] workers in that region are idle [illegible] working only part time. This [illegible]employment in the industry is [illegible] regular. Miners can never [illegible] on work for more than two [illegible] or three fourths of the time. This is a fact which operators do [illegible] stress in their statements to the [illegible].

A convention of anthracite coal [illegible] of Pennsylvania, represent[illegible] 150,000 workers will be held in [illegible]mokin, January 17. The war[illegible] contract expires March 31, 1922. The union will demand at [illegible] a 20 per cent. increase in wages, while the operators will undoubt[illegible] attempt to force a reduction. Unemployment, distress, starva[illegible] are forcing the miners into [illegible]tion.

DRUMHELLER COAL OPERATOR BREAKS CONTRACT

Capitalists everywhere are generally unscrupulous in dealing with the workers. Their policy is to get away with as much as they can. The Western Canada Coal Operators Association has a contract with District 18, United Mine Workers of America, which is supposed to hold until March 31, 1922. In December, however, the Collie Coal Company reduced wages 25 per cent. on the basis of an agreement which they persuaded two of the men to sign. The other men were aroused, got into touch with district officers, who called a strike. In spite of the fact that there has been no disturbance, special constables have been sworn in.

A NEW DODGE

The case of the Sunbeam Collieries in the Province of Alberta, Canada, has brought to light the fact that it is practically impossible for workers to collect unpaid wages in that province. The company owed large sums in wages, but made the claim that there was no money on hand to pay the men. In the meantime, the mine has been turned over to another company, and while the directors state that they intend to pay the claims, the chances do not seem good.

The statute which does this injustice to the workers makes the directors of the company liable for wages under certain conditions, one of which is the return of a writ of execution unsatisfied in whole or in part. To comply with the condition, it is necessary to sue the company and recover a judgment. Then it is necessary to sue the directors. These two actions take up a great deal of time, which can be indefinitely extended by legal stalling.

A further, almost insurmountable difficulty is put in the workers' way by a recent decision on a test case. It was held that the claims of wage earners against a common debtor can not be joined in one action. Each claimant, then must bring separate claims—an almost impossible proceeding, considering the time and money required.

These statutes may be recommended to our supposedly more enterprising United States capitalists.

RANK AND FILE REFUSES TO BE SOLD

The New York Tow Boat Exchange, representing owners and operators of harbor tow boats, thought they had the job all nicely done when the New York Arbitration Board cut wages on all classes of work on tow boats $20 to $50 a month. The Arbitration Board is composed of twelve members, six representing the owners and operators, three the marine engineers, and three the masters, mates, and pilots. The engineers signed on the dotted line of the new agreement reducing wages, but a mass meeting of the workers in the United Masters, Mates and Pilots sustained their representatives in refusing the cut. A strike has been called, and all tugs on which the new wage scale was to be put into effect, are tied up. The Harbor Boatmen's Union is breaking up the United Masters, Mates and Pilots. 3,500 workers are concerned; 1,500 members of the Masters, Mates and Pilots organization, and 2,000 of the Harbor Boatmen's Union.

WAGES SLASHED ON DEEP SEA SHIPS

The American Ship Owners Association has cut wages of marine employes 15 per cent. to 33⅓ per cent. This cut follows a 15 per cent. cut last Summer, which was followed by a strike in which the workers were beaten. It is feared that this defeat with the surplus labor available will keep the workers from making a fight. However, a reduction from $72.50 to $47.50 for able seamen and from $52.50 to $35 for ordinary seamen may teach the men that there is only one way to meet the situation.

At the same time the greatest capitalist of all, the United States Government announces through the Shipping Board a 15 per cent. reduction on government ships.

BOARD OF ARBITRATION FULFILLS ITS FUNCTION

A Board of Arbitration has handed down a decision which cuts wages of 10,000 unskilled workers in the independent paper companies of the United States and Canada to 32 cents an hour or $2.56 a day. A large reduction was made last August, bringing down wages on all classes of labor 10 to 26 per cent.

The union made no fight at this time, and is not planning to make one on the present cut. Consenting to arbitration has brought the usual results, since the impartial member of the Committee, Judge Irvine, voted with the employers.

THE OPEN SHOP DRIVE IS FAILING

It is backed by all the money and power in the world. But on the whole it has failed to break the workers, because they are learning to do what the workers in the building trades in Chicago are doing to stick together and fight.

[illegible] in [illegible] Association to reduce [illegible] per cent. This action [illegible] despite the fact that [illegible] the usual 1,700 workers [illegible]ployed in the twenty [illegible] involved.

OPEN WARFARE AT [illegible]PORT ROLLING MILLS

Armed strikers from the [illegible] Rolling Mills and the Kentucky [illegible]litia present to protect the owners engaged in a pitched battle [illegible] across the Licking River. Pushed hard enough by the iron tactics of the capitalist class, the workers will learn to resist.

CONVENTION OF LUMBERWORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION OF CANADA

The Coast Branch of the Lumberworkers' Industrial Union of Canada, has held a mass convention. The workers are making a determined effort to regain ground lost through failure to stick together and to throw out labor spies and stool pigeons. The organization was formed in January 1919 in response to the effort of the boss loggers to reduce wages. Not only did the workers prevent the reduction but they forced better conditions in the logging camps. Lately, however, the organization has become demoralized. The workers again seem to realize the necessity of pulling together in an effective fighting organization.

BUILDING UNIONS FIGHT OPEN SHOP

The Citizens Committee in Chicago, an alliance of contractors, real estate men, and financiers interested in building projects, formed to enforce the Landis award for reduced wages, has been fooled. They thought they could stick together better than the workers. But when the Union carpenters struck, on four big jobs, involving a construction cost of $4,500,000, the cement finishers, painters, plumbers, steamfitters and hoisting engineers walked out in a sympathetic strike.

THE NEW LABOR MOVEMENT

For many years the American Labor Movement has staggered under the weight of Sam Gompers and the rest of the old time [illegible] unionists. But now SOMETHING IS HAPPENING. Rumblings [illegible] heard all through the Labor Movement—rank and file organization moves toward industrial unionism, new revolutionary voices.

The machinists union, the second union in size in the United States, is headed by William Johnson, an old timer. But others are coming on. Among the candidates from the San Francisco district for the presidency of the union is William R. Knudson. He stands on a straight platform of the class-struggle, affiliation with the Red Trade Union International, the destruction of the capitalist system, the establishment of a workers' republic. At the end of his platform comes the following call for action:

Fellow workers: — Unite your forces! On the political field demand the **unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.** On the industrial field erect a **gigantic industrial organization** capable of running the industries when the capitalist system shall have collapsed. Let us scrap the old defensive methods. Let us assume a **militant offensive,** thereby insuring the **ultimate triumph of labor's hopes.**

Four Months' Peak of Unemployment Reached

200,000 persons are jobless in the city of New York. 75,000 of these are ex-service men according to the officials of the veteran's organizations. These are the figures made public by the Industrial Aid Bureau which yesterday morning had 800 applicants for jobs; the majority of the applicants were professional people and highly skilled mechanics. No immediate relief for the critical condition is in sight in the opinion of Bird S. Coler, Commissioner of Public Welfare, who told the bureau that there are more people out of work in the city than at any time in the last four month period. The large number of technical men and mechanics for whom there is usually a demand even in times of depression is taken to indicate that the last level of industrial stagnation has not yet been reached. In the financial district the opinion prevails in the highest financial circles that unless the European situation is speedily adjusted and trade resumed disaster may overtake the whole structure of production and exchange.

"Are Bolshevickies really bad?"
Asked little Charlie Capers.
His father chuckled, "Yes, my son,
According to the papers."

[illegible]

TO ALL BRANCHES OF THE FORMER AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE AND THE WORKERS' COUNCIL GROUPS

Dear Comrades:—

The Provisional Committee of District 2, Workers' Party of America, calls upon all the branches of the Workers' Party of Local Greater New York (old and newly formed) to elect delegates to the City Central Committee at their regular branch meetings, or, if necessary, have special meetings for that purpose.

Each branch shall send one delegate for the branch at large, and one delegate for each fifty members or major fraction thereof, (i. e., branches consisting of twenty-five members or less send one delegate, twenty-six (26) or more, two, seventy-six or more, three, one hundred twenty-six (126) or more, four, etc.

Delegates will not be seated without proper credentials.

A full report of the First National Convention of the Workers' Party will be given by prominent delegates. Matters of vital importance pertaining to the organization of the Workers' Party, and its future activities will be taken up. All members are urged to attend this meeting. Sympathizers are welcome.

Order of Business:

Report of Delegates to the Workers' Party Convention.
Report of Provisional District Committee.
Election of Officers.

Fraternally yours,

H. I. CASTRELL,
District Organizer.
J. C. OBOLOWSKY,
Corresponding Secretary.

MEETING

OF

City Central Committee

followed by

ADDRESSES

Celebrating the Launching of the City Central Committee

and

"The Worker," Official Organ of the Workers' Party

to be held

Sunday, February 5, 1922

at YORKVILLE CASINO, 218 East 86th St.

Meeting starts at 10 A. M. **Mass Meeting at 2 P. M.**

Dr. HARTMAN, Chairman.

The following Speakers will address the meeting:

CALEB HARRISON **WILLIAM DUNN** **J. LOVESTONE**
WILLIAM WEINSTONE **JAMES CANNON** **LUDWIG LORE**
LOUIS ENGDAHL **M. OLGIN**

Everyone Invited.

Your UNION DELEGATE should be present at

Organized Labor's Hunger Banquet

FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF

Principal Speaker:

CAPTAIN PAXTON HIBBON

Member of the Near East Relief Commission, just returned from the Volga District

Speakers:

SIDNEY HILLMAN
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
TIMOTHY HEALY
ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ
LEWIS GANNET
ALFRED J. BOULTON
A. BROWNSTEIN
MOISSAYE J. OLGIN & Others

Saturday Ev'g, February 11th, 1922, at 8 o'Clock

at WEBSTER HALL, 119-125 East 11th Street

Send Check or Money Order to:
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 208 E. 12th Street, New York

ADMISSION, TWO DOLLARS

Fill out and return at once.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
New York, Division,
201 West 13th Street, New York City.

.... 192....

Greetings!

I have not forgotten our class-war prisoners. I want to help make a success of the GRAND INTERNATIONAL BAZAAR which will be held on March 22, 23, 24, and 25, at the Lyceum, 86th Street and 3rd Avenue.

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The best ball of the season will be held
SATURDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 18, 1922, at

WORKERS' HALL
1347 BOSTON ROAD

Tickets 50c, including wardrobe. Get your tickets in advance at any Y. W. L. headquarters.

(Written for The Worker by Joseph Koven)

Safe from the blinding storm,
Spared by the lightning,
Secure on our sheltered island
We watch you cleaving the wind—

Oh mighty ship of State,
Sailing tempestuous waters,
Bearing your dreams for ballast,
The hope of the world for cargo;
Guided by steadfast, unchanging,
Resolute stars of the north.

Ave Liberator!
Your voice and the voice of the future:
While [illegible] and time and beauty
People the world with dreams!

[illegible] Publishing Association.

Entered as second-class matter September 29, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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The Confession of the Conference

The liberal press of the country, convalescing from the most severe case of the blind staggers it has experienced since inoculated with the germ by Dr. Woodrow Wilson, has finally discovered that the disarmament conference was not a disarmament conference at all; it has discovered that it was not even a conference on the limitation of armaments but for the most part it is in the dark as to its real object or objects.

Accepting the great man theory, basing its conclusions on superficialities, the liberal press takes the statements of the politicians and militarists, compares them, notes the discrepancies, gives a sigh of disillusionment, criticises individuals and then hopes that from "a step in the right direction" will come some good for the world. The Marxian, analysing current events using the method known as the materialistic conception of history, expects nothing from the conferences of the rulers but added misery for the working masses; rarely is he disappointed. The results of the Washington Conference are no exception.

Only a most critical condition in the affairs of world capitalism could have brought together the representatives of powers ready to fly at one anothers throat, could have brought together around a conference table nations whose economic interests are so divergent that war would already be raging were it not for two things:

> The financial chaos in which all except the United States find themselves and the certainty that war now would result in the power falling into the hands of the despised workers of every capitalist nation or in the destruction of what is called industrial civilisation.

It should be remembered that the press agents of capitalism never, except under the stress of dire necessity, call things by their right names. To do so would alienate the sympathy of the fools who support the system; in a world sick of war what would arouse greater popular enthusiasm than a disarmament conference? So a disarmament conference it was and with joyful hysteria the unthinking of all nations applauded. Popular opinion was wrong as usual.

The conference was called for two reasons neither of which had anything to do with disarmament; reasons so far removed from any connection with disarmament that the whole incident becomes nothing, nothing more than a tribute to the power of the press of the world to make things seem to be what they are not.

Much has been said of the crying need for the reduction of taxation preceded by a decrease in expenditures for military purposes, but it is doubtful if this reason weighs very heavily with the lords of war and finance. It is with the lower section of the capitalist class and the middle class groups that this reason has weight. In world politics these groups can exercise but little influence. There has been no real disarmament despite the frenzied pleas of the taxpayer. What, then, brought the warring factions of the world's imperialists into conference?

THE WEAKNESS OF WORLD CAPITALISM AND THE RISING TIDE OF WORLD REVOLUTION. NOTHING ELSE.

The immediate problems confronting the rulers were the necessity of setting up a new front against the revolutionary movements of Europe as a defensive measure and the equally urgent necessity of arranging for the rapid industrial development of China as the last field in which imperialism can find the two things it loves—cheap and plentiful labor and fabulously rich natural resources. Could China be industrialised rapidly enough capitalism could be stabilised temporarily.

The capitalist class, although it operates internationally, has not yet succeeded in destroying the national jealousies and hatreds growing out of national divisions. The truth of this statement is proved by the fact that the Washington conference was unable to quell antagonisms and unite on one program for the preservation of the system. It is because of this failure that the defenders of capitalism, who have been breathing defiance to the revolutionary masses of the world ever since the Russian revolution of 1917, are now compelled to meet and treat with the representatives of the Revolutionary Russian government.

In the four years that have elapsed since the Russian revolutionists seized power and gave new inspiration to the tired and discouraged fighters in the ranks of the workingclass, the opposing sides in the class struggle have suffered much. History, however, is on the side of the workers; theirs is the rising class; their unity grows greater as time passes. The capitalist class and its hangers-on fight for a dying system, a system that can no longer fill human needs, that cannot even compose its differences when faced with destruction.

Stripped of the humbug and sentimentality with which both the capitalist and liberal press have surrounded the Washington conference these cold facts stand out clearly.

Since the above was written French imperialism has furnished added evidence of the impossibility of a peaceful settlement of the rivalries between national groups. It is extremely probable that the shrewdest politician of them all—Lloyd George—is quietly cursing the conference, which instead of strengthening capitalism, has succeeded in laying bare its weakness to the ribald gaze of the revolutionary workers.

Secretary of Labor Davis has again won the hearts of the humanitarians. After listening to the appeal of the wives and children of some of the striking miners of West Virginia he asked the governor of that feudal barony to postpone the evictions until the weather was a little milder. His (Moose) heart was touched.

We lay little claim to the gift of prophecy but we venture to predict that Governor Allen of Kansas is about due to meet Ole Hanson in whatever secluded spot Ole is infesting.

Penetration Tactics

[illegible] revolutionary [illegible]. We discuss vast topics but they remain—topics. Some imp of the perverse sits at the radical ear and whispers against improvements in practice. We make an industry of the things we are about and though giving glad welcome to new thought we form into petty competing groups, hawking small slanders and resisting change.

Where is the observant among us who can say that we are supplying much more than a hippodrome and catering to an habitual crowd for a collection revenue and selling literature which barring its sensational features is never read? Are we not after all a circus with a trained patronage who come to us regularly because for the particular evening we have a greater "attraction" than others on the local boards? Note the handclapping. See how it rises as our performer dances perilously [illegible] have a [illegible] put out a [illegible] we had when we put out the [illegible]. Now we have a celebrity. He has [illegible]. Our "mass" will get a kick out of [illegible] the Auditorium or the Skating Rink for [illegible] a large quantity of throw-aways and we put up [illegible]. We pay for a little space in the newspapers and get our [illegible] interviewed in advance of the date. We fill the auditorium. But it is the same one percent of the population. If we have an overflow it is the same bunch that came late and overflowed before when we had an overflow. We develop a narrowed [illegible] perspective pointing always inward, and we cease to be able to form accurate judgments of what is going on in the worker world or any other world around us.... And we give Moscow a false census of the state of our advance!

This is not knocking. It is taking stock. We do well. We must continue to do what we have learned so well how to do. But let us supplement it by spreading our fan-like into the mass that has never been near us, the mass that will break us down in crisis, or that may be neutralized, or that, enlightened, may join us for the supreme moment.

W. Z. Foster is preparing this in a splendid way for the trades-unions. He probably does not hope for a majority of union members, perhaps not more than a control group in the few members who attend the union meetings. We need not interfere there. Many of us will be in that work the most important so far attempted. But where are the workers who do not attend the union meetings, and the unorganized workers and those who for one reason and another are excluded from union membership. And the non-strike workers and the arts and professions. And the capitalists themselves into whose ranks certain avenues of intelligence will be required as time goes on.

Say we have fifty militants in our center or in any given center. Make forthwith fifty group classifications in the non-revolutionary mass. Some will require subdivisions. Now assign your militants each to his specialized task of penetration, acquaintance, invitation and propaganda and hold to survey. There is a subtle flattery in vested responsibility and each coming with his report should vitalize things in an inovative way.

Bruce Rogers.

Sharing Alike

In this great and glorious country of ours on which the sun sets but seldom, because it might be seized and made the basis for a stock issue by our enterprising business men, it is a favorite dogma that rich and poor, laborer and employer, share alike in prosperity and adversity, that particularly in adversity must all, without complaint suffer reduction in income and standard of living. In the Pullman cars and the best hotels, where the exponents of 100 per cent Americanism are to be found in large numbers, this theory is accepted as the gospel and many a piteous tale is told dealing with the exactions of the plumber, electrician and carpenter when business is bad for the traveling salesman, the lawyer, the corporation executive, the advertising man and other hangers-on of the system.

It will be remembered that the Federal Reserve Banks, in order to speed up the coming of normalcy, shut off credit throughout the country, bringing down wages and prices of farm products to the producer. The farmer and wage-earner were severely "deflated," but the banks, like the fond parent, stated that it hurt them just as much as it did the deflatees. That their sufferings were mental, if any, is shown by a few figures compiled by John Skelton Williams, late Comptroller of Currency, giving some of the salary increases received by officials of the Federal Reserve Banks while the process of deflation was going on. The figures follow:

> Benj. Strong $30,000 to $50,000; Pierre Jay $16,000 to $30,000; J. H. Case $20,000 to $30,000; E. R. Kensel $4,000 to $25,000; L. F. Sailer $7,000 to $25,000; G. L. Harrison $4,000 to $22,000; L. H. Hendricks $6,000 to $18,000; A. W. Gilbart $1,800 to $12,000; six others from $1,500 to $7,500, $9,000 or $10,000.

Therefore, brothers, let us be of good cheer. It is heartening to know that somewhere in this broad land there are families of overworked bankers that need not know the pinch of poverty; that their fathers and husbands are receiving from just and wise employers enough for them to struggle along until the charitable wage-earners can get back on the job and produce a surplus that will justify further increases to these uncomplaining victims of capitalism.

Beginning to Rally

Jim Connolly said many years ago that a timid working-class invites oppression. The reluctance of organized labor in the United States to join in one powerful effort and resist as a unit the wage-reductions that have made such inroads on the income of the workers who still have jobs, has given the employing class much confidence and encouraged it to demand that the workers continue to submit to wage-cuts although the cost of living is, according to the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Labor, something like 78 percent higher than it was in 1914.

In the face of the general apathy some unions have chosen to fight rather than tamely accept the mandate of the bosses. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and the Carpenters' Union of Chicago have all put up a good battle. They have resisted the employers' demands and have by the force of their example given new hope and courage to the labor movement.

The Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen have had the hardest fight of all the unions mentioned above. They are opposed by one of the most powerful capitalist groups in America, but had the labor movement as a whole rallied to their support they would have won a clean cut victory.

The Carpenters' Union of Chicago was the single building trades organization in that city to stand out against the Landis award. For several months they worked to unite the affiliated unions of the council for an offensive against the contractors and builders' associations and only recently have they succeeded. The spirit of determination shown by this organization is welcome indeed in times like these.

Unless we are very much mistaken the example of the fighting organizations combined with the discovery by the workers that reductions will continue as long as they submit to them, is beginning to leaven the labor movement and before long there will be plainly visible a determination to fight the [illegible] at every turn of the road. This spirit will inevitably lead to a closer unity of the forces of labor if the militants will keep up the good work they have started.

According to the daily press the example of the late Roosevelt has reformed a pugilist. If it now can be made to work over a few wrestlers, a contention we have long held will have been maintained—that Roosevelt is greater dead than alive.

Since the first of the year only seventy bank presidents have announced that the remedy for the present depression is increased production. The latest figures available show that none of them has as yet gone to work.

[illegible] among the Jews [illegible] of British imperialism [illegible] of Ireland for the last 750 years [illegible] a return to [illegible] will be able to discover just about what they [illegible].

The [illegible] and the Jews—national groups having little in common [illegible] by force of circumstances at last have acquired a common oppressor in the shape of British imperialism. The [illegible] and Jews will be living evidence of the fact that capitalism is no respecter of nations or creeds.

Officers and Members

When a wage-earner joins a union voluntarily he admits that he realizes the impossibility of combating the industrial system of capitalism as an individual and subscribes to the doctrine that in organization there is strength.

Unfortunately most union members let the matter drop there apparently assuming that labor organizations are something that maintain themselves and function without it being necessary for the bulk of the membership to pay any attention to the affairs of the organization. It is because of this attitude that the active conduct of the affairs of the trade unions has fallen into the hands of an element designated by the radicals as "reactionary" or "conservative." It will be found on investigation, however, that in practically every instance, those who now hold office and frame the policies of labor were, before their election, among the most active; sooner or later control passes into the hands of the active elements whether those elements are conservative or radical.

It is the lack of interest in their own affairs on the part of the mass that makes many an official reluctant to initiate any policy that calls for action against the employing class. He distrusts the membership, has a poor opinion of their fighting spirit and stamina, and feels that it is not incumbent upon him to start a fight which his membership shows no sign of desiring other than grumbling at conditions imposed by the employers. It is the task of the class-conscious union member to rouse his fellow-workers to the necessity of struggle as well as to fight reaction in official circles. He will find when he undertakes the task that there is just as much reaction in the rank and file, so-called, as there is in officialdom. Once the militant minority in the unions wins support for its policies from the general membership, it will be found that many of the officials are not nearly as reactionary as they now appear to be.

This paper holds no brief for officialdom but we do hold the opinion that many of its faults and weaknesses merely paralell the same faults and weaknesses in the rank and file.

Bitter Bread—or Sweet

WE KNOW that the Workers' Government of Soviet Russia is poison to those who ruthlessly oppose the aspiration of workers to labor for themselves alone.

These enemies of the workers played Kolchak, Yudenitch, Denikin, Wrangel and the blockade to win—AND LOST!

As if in league with the world's Imperialists, came the famine. And the world's Imperialists are playing the famine TO WIN!

Governments which will not recognize the Workers' Republic and classes of men who hate it are sending bread to the Russian people.

THIS IS BITTER BREAD! Yet the hungry must eat! THe starving children, women and men of Soviet Russia will have to swallow their pride and accept this charity.

HELP FROM YOU, given in good faith, given in sympathy with the hopes of Russia's people, would not be charity. Soviet Russia looks westward towards you who understand. And even though you do not wholly understand all that has been attempted in Russia, you do know that her people are laboring and starving and dying to solve the common problem.

American Labor, American Sympathizers—this appeal is addressed to you! Demonstrate your friendship. Prove your sympathy. Give the Russian workers to understand that YOU are not with those who would play the famine to win for Imperialism.

You can do this by giving your money, your clothes, direct to the Soviet Government of Russia. Your money, so given in all earnest, would buy **SWEET BREAD!** Your clothes would warm the hearts and encourage those who even now, freezing and starving, half dead, **MARCH ON** toward the brotherhood.

Soviet Russia has heard from the Imperialists; has heard both by sword and bitter bread.

Soviet Russia is waiting to hear from its friends. She is hoping for famine relief from workers' hands and from those who respect workers' hands.

Other bread may feed the body. The bread of friends will feed both body and soul.

You have given before. **NOW GIVE AGAIN**—this time a gift in sympathy with the aspirations of the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers, through an organization which collects famine relief to **SAVE SOVIET RUSSIA** from the Imperialists and for itself.

National Office
201 WEST 13th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

A REQUEST: Do this today: Send us the names and addresses of your acquaintances whom you know to be in sympathy with our campaign for relief.

MORE TIME FOR SACCO AND VANZETTI

Judge Webster Thayer granted another extension of time until Feb. 10, for filing exceptions in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

ON THE RUN

James A. Stillman, who is running a close race with the Sultan of Turkey for the Brigham Young medal, resigned from his position on the executive board of the Consolidated Gas Company; probably to escape asphyxiation. It is reported that he intends to wind up his business affairs and is planning to make his home in Paris. It is expected that in that environment he will be able to compete with the Sultan on more favorable terms away from the handicaps that greedy American lawyers impose on amorous adventures.

KEEPING THE SABBATH HOLY

A bill was introduced in Albany drafted by the Lord's Day Alliance of New York, with a provision holding owners of property where motion pictures were exhibited on Sunday responsible for the violation of the law in the event of this bill being passed. This holy alliance is also opposed to Sunday football, dances and basketball games where an admission fee is charged. Oh, for the good old days when it was a sin to smile on Sunday.

KNOCKING ON WOOD

A headline in the New York Times reads "Harding Hits Bloc." He probably tapped his head with his forefinger.

King George of England sent message of condolence to Cardinal Gasparri over the death of the Pope. So did Mike Collins in behalf of the Irish Free State. Arthur Griffith's [illegible] was the best of the three. "Please accept this expression of the profound sorrow of the Irish people at the passing of the great pontiff who [illegible] affection for the Irish people. [illegible]

CALL TO [illegible] WOMEN

An ever increasing [illegible] exploitation of labor [illegible] reduction of wages and [illegible] falling in the purchasing [illegible] the dollar is making the [illegible] poverty unendurable. C[illegible] with this misery is the [illegible] of the rich, their wallowing [illegible] abundance, their increasing [illegible] their ever greater profits [illegible] possessing power (outside [illegible] Russia) tend to reduce the [illegible] to the status of slavery, wi[illegible] gulf between the classes and [illegible] ening the class conflict in all [illegible] tries.

The stage is being set for a [illegible] sweep by the Communists [illegible] world. A new order is being [illegible] in, an order that will make [illegible] life sacred and the enjoyment [illegible] happiness a realty, not a "[illegible] This new order calls to the [illegible] oppressed portion of the work[illegible] the women of the working c[illegible] to rally to the support of Com[illegible] ism, to arm themselves with [illegible] solidarity, to steel themselves [illegible] class struggle, to organise not [illegible] sex lines, but on a class basis [illegible] enter their organized class [illegible] battle for the new day's dawning.

The International Woman's C[illegible] gress has issued a call to all [illegible] conscious women workers to [illegible] their power by joining and su[illegible] ing the economic and political [illegible] ganizations of the working c[illegible] With that end in view, the C. E. [illegible] of the Workers Party has cre[illegible] Woman's Bureau with the follo[illegible] members: Mary Heaton Vorse, [illegible] Ragazine, Margaret Undjust, [illegible] nette D. Pearl, Elmer T. Allison [illegible] J. Anderson, this Bureau to [illegible] and develop methods of e[illegible] agitation and organization to [illegible] the special needs of women to [illegible] them class conscious and to [illegible] them into active co-operation in [illegible] labor struggle.

The first meeting of the Wo[illegible] Bureau was held January 20, [illegible] at National Headquarters of [illegible] Workers Party. The Com[illegible] suggests a woman's organization [illegible] launched, such an organization [illegible] to be feminist nor yet a poli[illegible] party, but a special instrument to [illegible] cilitate a readier contact with [illegible] wide masses of working women [illegible] in order to consciously interest th[illegible] in the class struggle and to [illegible] them into the Workers Party, [illegible] program consistent with the po[illegible] of the Workers Party, to rally [illegible] men around slogans of psycholo[illegible] cal moment and to devise mea[illegible] working in already existing [illegible] men's organization.

Forms of Organizations sug[illegible] ted:

- (a) A woman's section of [illegible] Workers Party with or w[illegible] out compulsory member[illegible] in the Workers Party.
- (b) An independent organiza[illegible] an auxiliary of the Wor[illegible] Party.
- (c) Woman's Committee in e[illegible] branch of the Workers Pa[illegible]

Branches of women be formed [illegible] each language, these branches [illegible] meet at least once a month, org[illegible] izers of these branches in any gi[illegible] S. D., constitute the woman's cen[illegible] committee of the S. D., district co[illegible] mittees to be formed and then [illegible] national committee. The new [illegible] ganization to begin with the wo[illegible] membership in the Workers Pa[illegible] (at the same time retaining t[illegible] membership in the W. P.).

Sub-district organizers of the [illegible] P. are to proceed with the organi[illegible] tion of women branches. (S[illegible] preliminary work is already in [illegible] gress in New York City).

Names submitted for the W[illegible] man's Organization:

- (a) Woman's Educational [illegible] liance;
- (b) Woman's Educational [illegible] Political Progressive Allia[illegible]
- (c) Working Woman's Edu[illegible] tional League.

A National Conference to [illegible] called for March 4-5 in New Y[illegible] City of women delegates of the [illegible] P. and sympathetic organiza[illegible] with proxy delegates for distant [illegible] ritory.

National Conference to elec[illegible] Bureau with following departm[illegible] Organization, Press, Litera[illegible] Publicity, Education, Trade U[illegible] Research, Relief of class war [illegible] soners, Relief for Famine St[illegible] Russian Children.

The Woman's Committee rec[illegible] mends that the W. P. place at [illegible] disposal of the Woman's Bureau [illegible] last page of every party paper, [illegible] page to be captioned "Woman's [illegible] partment" and brief notices [illegible] serted in the general press [illegible] attention to women readers to [illegible] port that page by contributing [illegible] ters, articles, notices, help [illegible] question box, etc. Secretary [illegible] charge of this page until an [illegible] is secured.

The following have been [illegible] to bring in reports: [illegible] Undjust, Organization; Ray [illegible] Elmer T. Allison, [illegible] industrial workers, agrarian [illegible] and housewives.

The Woman's Bureau created [illegible] following departments:

Ray Ragazine, Organizer;
Mary Heaton Vorse, [illegible] Publicity;
Margaret Undjust, Children[illegible]
Elmer T. Allison, [illegible]
J. Anderson.

(Signed) [illegible]

OR THE WORKER: ONE [illegible]

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING-CLASS EXPRESSION

Entered as second-class matter [illegible], at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., [illegible]

Vol. V. No. 209. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1922 Published [illegible] Publishing Association. [illegible] New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

Thugs Rule West Virginia Coal Fields; Gunmen Are Paid by the Coal Barons

400,000 TOILERS HOMELESS; DISEASE SPREADS; HYLAN FLEES

Mayor Urges "Smile Week" to Help Toilers Forget Homes Are Built Only for the Rich; Deaths from "Flu" and Pneumonia Growing

New York City is short 80,000 Apartments-HOMES.

This means that 400,000 men, women and children are without adequate shelter—NO HOME SURROUNDINGS.

That situation is duplicated in the nation.

* * *

The Joint Legislative Committee on Housing of the New York Legislature, Senator Charles C. Lockwood, Chairman, says:

"The present costs have driven building activities into the construction of business and residential properties and of the more expensive apartment houses to the exclusion of reasonably priced tenements."

* * *

That means that there are plenty of homes for the rich. The profiteers and the parasites have the money to pay.

Those 400,000 homeless are the men, women and children of the working class. The jobless breadwinners cannot pay enough [illegible] to feed the golden appetites of the landlords.

So there has been practically no construction of homes for the workers. IT DOESN'T PAY.

* * *

This legislative committee admits that the stringency in apartments of the type used by the poor is greater today than it was when the emergency rent laws now in force were enacted. Says the report:

"Your committee finds overwhelming evidence that the emergency in housing conditions that existed, particularly in the City of New York, at the time the emergency rent laws were passed, still exists, and that, with respect to the cheaper class of tenements that formerly rented at from $4 to $11 per room, the emergency has grown and is to-day more acute than it was at the time the laws were passed."

Yet the only solution the committee has for the present criminal conditions is the passage of more laws. Proposed legislation will be submitted to the state legislature Feb. 15, is pointed out.

Hylan Goes to Palm Beach

While 400,000 homeless are imprisoned in the city, starving and freezing, ready victims for every disease that is ravaging the city and nation, Mayor Hylan has escaped to the sunny climes of Palm Beach, Fla., "to enjoy himself and pay no attention to busines affairs."

Samuel Untermeyer, after investigating much and promising more, is also scheduled to depart for the same place to rest from his labors.

When "Bill the Fat," Taft, was asked for his solution of the unemployed evil, his prompt response was, "God only knows."

Hylan also has a solution for the evils confronting the masses of the workers of the city.

"Smile," Says Hylan

Next week is to be "Smile Week." The 1,000,000 children in the city's schools are to be asked to smile whether they are cold, hungry or in need of a doctor.

"Every one likes to see a happy face," says the Mayor.

Probably that is why he is leaving New York City for Florida, the winter playground of America's parasites.

In New York City, aided by the lack of proper housing, disease goes stalking abroad.

Tuesday, there were 812 new "flu" cases, 186 new cases of pneumonia. The deaths from pneumonia on this day mounted from 35 to 91. Deaths from the "flu" went up from 8 to 12.

Says You Should Be Warm

"One thing I must insist upon is that apartments and tenements be kept warm," is the hypocritical advice given by the Health Department to the city's unfortunate.

There will soon be no tenements or apartments for the workers to rent, if present conditions continue.

While there is no new building going on (because there is no money in it) the State legislative committee reports that the older tenements of the kind used by the poorer classes have become obsolete and uninhabitable, while many others have been and are being torn down to make room for business buildings that are encroaching upon these neighborhoods.

This disaster threatens the masses of the workers in the city. Unemployment has brought 6,000,000 to the verge of starvation in the nation's big industrial centers. New York has its share of these.

Lives Menaced

The New York Legislative Committee says:

"The congestion among the masses of people in the great cities, and particularly in the City of New York, is increasing to such an extent that it has become a menace to the lives, health, morals and safety of the entire community. In many districts there are from three to four times as many human beings housed in the same number of cubic feet of living space as before the war.

"Your committee is satisfied that as a result of the shortage in this class of living accommodations, the lives and health of the population of the City of New York ARE IN GRAVE DANGER FROM THE RESULTS OF CONTAGIOUS DISEASES, APART FROM THE PERILS THAT LURK IN THE UNHEALTHFUL SURROUNDINGS WHICH THE POORER CLASSES OF OUR POPULATION ARE COMPELLED TO LIVE."

The Gift of Capitalism

Hunger, aided by poor housing, makes of the suffering masses a ready victim to disease of every kind.

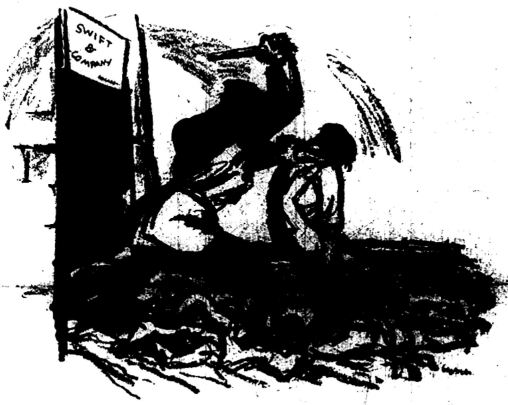
Thus does capitalism, in its mad hunt for profits, bring the masses thru misery to the verge of desolation and death.

Landlords, bankers and employers are parasites. Those who depend upon their bounty and perform no useful labor are also parasites. They will have no place in a sane social system.

If for every drop of blood drawn by the lash another [illegible] by the sword, the judgments of the Lord are pure and righteous altogether.—Abraham Lincoln.

The Daily Worker is coming

MEAT



In the above cartoon Bill Gropper has caught and depicted the brutal spirit of suppression animating the "Big Five" packers in their drive against unionism. Here he has shown better than mere words can the fact that in all their struggles for a few more crumbs from capitalism's table the workers are everywhere met by that effective instrument of the employing class—the state with its policemen's club.

Demonstrate!

Against Unemployment, February 26th!

The Workers' Party of America has set aside February 26th as a day of demonstration against the curse of capitalist class rule and unemployment. Meetings and demonstrations where possible, under the iron rule of capitalist dictatorship, will be held.

The date will be in fact, an international day of working class protest for the Workers' Party of Canada has also set aside this date for the same purpose.

The National Office of the Workers' Party in New York City has sent out instructions to all its locals to make special preparations in the way of well advertised meetings and demonstrations for this occasion. Unemployed councils where organized and the union labor movement generally, are to be urged to participate.

Slogans declaring for "Work or maintenance at union wages," and for "Unrestricted trade with Russia and recognition" of that government, will be used. Declarations urging the advancement of economic credit to Russia by this government will be made.

The present unprecedented unemployment which seems to not yet have reached its peak, has brought about a condition involving the most intense suffering on the part of millions of American workers. The workers are urged to rise in protest against this damnable condition of slavery and to take steps to end it and place in its stead the rule of the working class in industry and government.

Russian Famine!

WHAT AMERICAN WORKERS CAN DO!

By EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD

([illegible] Central Committee of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee to the U. S. A.)

[Written especially for "The Worker"]

The Russian Famine of the winter 1921-1922 will stand apart from all previous famines in history in that for the first time

(Continued on Page Two)

The Daily Worker is coming

Capitalism corrupts; Communism cleanses.

Unemployment is the curse of modern society. Capitalism is the cause.

Labor unions are supposed to be the first line of defense of the workers. If they are not they do not fulfill their historical function.

The bodies of our comrades slain by the White Guards taught us that the chief crime of which we were guilty in the first days of the revolution was excessive kindliness.—Leon Trotzky.

LABOR-LINE

Hark to the song the money hogs
sing:
"Keep them idle, unemployed,
'Til their morale is destroyed,
Then they'll work for anything."

The Daily Worker is coming

Aids Famine Campaign

Six-Gun and Rifle Is the Only Law in Logan County, Murderer of Hatfield Admits He Is Spy In Pay of Big Coal Companies

Summary of Important Testimony

This is one of a series of articles prepared by the American Civil Liberties Union, 138 West Thirteenth Street, New York City, and released through The Federated Press, summarizing the important testimony taken by the United States Senate sub-committee in its recent investigation of the causes of the coal mine troubles in West Virginia.

The articles present the West Virginia situation from the viewpoint of those who regard as supremely important the maintenance of civil rights which the United States Constitution guarantees but does not afford.

The mine workers in the unorganized fields of West Virginia, particularly in Mingo and Logan counties, are trapped between the courts, the state militia, the mine-guard system, and the notorious Baldwin-Felts strike-breaking detective organization. [illegible] committee.

Take first the mine-guard system. The testimony shows it to be in use throughout Logan county. The fact is practically undisputed. Yet the first issue of "Coal Facts," the propaganda organ of the mine operators issued in Charleston, W. Va., contains a leading article headed "The Truth About the Mine Guards," which attempts to belie the facts.

"Logan County," it says, "is one of the richest and most prosperous counties in the state." It goes on to speak of the fact that Logan County—one of the richest in the state—is assessed only enough money to pay for eight deputy sheriffs. The reason we learn a few paragraphs farther down:

"Consequently," says the article "the coal operators of the county have been called upon to provide the funds for the employment of 39 additional deputy sheriffs. These deputies are under the strict authority of the sheriff, just as the eight deputies whose wages are paid by the county."

"Last year," one of the operators told the committee," our association contributed $46,640, or a rate of 4.9 mills on each ton of coal mined. This year (1921) including September, the sum is $61,517.

One might wonder why it is only in the unorganized coal fields that the operators are called upon to provide for the mine-guard system. The evils of this system, the Senators were shown, are increasing, and nowhere are they so cruel as in Logan county.

"So far as Logan county is concerned," E. T. England, the present attorney-general of West Virginia, informed the committee, "I feel that the mine-guard system, as maintained there, is one of, if not the greatest of, the sources of trouble in that particular county.

Mine Guard System at Work

"If anyone comes there who has a 'suspicious' appearance, they will ascertain what his business is, what his name is, and what he is doing there. If he gives 'satisfactory' answers, they tell him to go ahead; if not, they tell him he has no business there and that he had better get out of the county on the next train."

In Mingo county the condition is similar, except that there the Baldwin-Felts organization is used more openly to intimidate union members and organizers of the United Mine Workers.

The publicity man for the Williamson operators of Mingo county, one Olmstead, told the Senators that in one month the operators contributed $1,800 to pay for eight deputy sheriffs.

In this district the Baldwin-Felts organization plays the leading role in suppression. They, like the operators' deputy sheriffs in Logan, evict union miners from the company-owned houses, hound the union organizers, and engage in spy and provocative activities.

Lively's Confession Is "Raw"

C. E. Lively, one of the Baldwin- [illegible] Mingo county. Lively has recently been acquitted of the murder of Sid Hatfield, a union [illegible] and ex-sheriff of the county. He was tried in McDowell county, [illegible] the United States Steel Corporation.

(Continued on Page [illegible])

Railwaymen's Strike Halts Business in All Germany; Jail Leaders; Seize Funds

The first general railway strike that Germany has ever experienced is now tying up all traffic in the nation, although union officials are under arrest and the strike funds of at least one branch of the railwaymen's organization have been confiscated by the Social Democratic government.

In the district occupied by the Allied troops trains are running but only within the borders. At the boundary line the strikers are picketing the lines and stopping all trains. The security police and the various organizations of ex-officers are patrolling the lines and guarding the railway stations. Noske is mobilizing a corps of strike-breakers, and there is little evidence that the government intends to consider the demands of the railwaymen until all coercive means have failed.

The situation is the most critical faced by the government since the Kapp "putsch"; drastic measures against the strikers may arouse the entire working class against a government already despised, while granting the wage increases demanded means an additional financial burden the government dare not assume. Germany is a tinder box that may burst into flame at any moment.

One result of the strike has been the [illegible]

[illegible] to get [illegible]

New York.—One million boys and girls in America between the ages of 10 and 15 are leaving school and going to work each year. More recruits for the army of unemployed.

[illegible] WORKERS' PARTY—LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK

208 East 12th Street.

A Special Membership Meeting of your Branch shall be held. A representative of the Industrial Department will submit a full report on:

1. Party Policies in the Industrial Field.

2. Immediate Activities in the Industrial Field.

Plans will be submitted for immediate work and a registration of all members by industries and trades taken. A thoro discussion will clear the ground for an intensive and extensive campaign in the unions and all other labor organizations.

This is the first of a series of meetings in all Workers' Party branches on Party Policies and Organizational Problems.

It is of **utmost importance that every member of the branch be present.**

The office of Local Greater New York is located at 208 East 12th St., ground floor.

Membership and application cards have been received and will be issued to Branch Organizers at the office.

Organization stamps as well as dues stamps are due in a day or two.

The Worker is out for distribution. Send in your order for The Worker to the office, 208 E. 12th St. Elect at **your regular** branch meeting a **literature agent,** whose function will be to receive and distribute The Worker and other party literature, as well as to organize a committee in the branch to take care of the sale of party and other literature at meetings of labor unions, mass meetings, workers' organizations, balls, "Vetcherinkas," bazaars, etc.

Your literature agents must at once get in touch with the local literature agent, Comrade Frank Grund, 208 East 12th Street, and make all necessary connections as well as get all particulars needed.

The **Toiler Book Shop,** an institution of District No. 2, should be patronized by all the members of the Workers' Party. Buy your books there. Popularize it to the best of your ability. With the cooperation and assistance of the entire membership of Greater New York it will be built up as the center for all radical literature in New York. We expect to have soon some of the latest and best European literature and periodicals there.

Former American Labor Alliance Branch Organizers must see to it that all November, December and January dues are paid up.

Elect at your regular branch meeting a representative for the Friends of Soviet Russia, Local Greater New York. The representative of your branch must at once get in touch with the Local Secretary, Comrade **Bert Miller,** 208 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

Telephone connection for the Local Office, Toilers Book Shop, District Office, Local Friends of Soviet Russia Office—**Stuyvesant 9026.**

Fraternally yours,
J. C. Obolonsky,
Acting Secretary.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY, 11, 8 P. M.
Relief of Russian Famine Sufferers
Unemployed admitted free.

UNEMPLOYMENT DINNER
FOOD WORKERS' HALL
133 West 51st Street
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 2 P. M.
Auspices: UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK
Proceeds for unemployment work
Tickets, 75 cents.

THE FAMINE!

(Continued from Page One)

with masses of the workers of all countries have been active in grappling with a natural catastrophe of this character.

This is probably in large measure due to the ever increasing class consciousness of the workers of all lands and especially to the realization that the magnitude of the catastrophe was very materially heightened by the inhuman and dastardly crimes of various capitalist governments, in particular those of Britain and of France, against the first Workers' Republic.

The fact that over 100,000,000 pounds ($500,000,000) was expended by the British Government alone in subsidizing attempts to overthrow the Workers' Rule in Soviet Russia, that munitions, stores, aeroplanes, and uniforms were lavishly distributed by Churchill, the British war minister, to Wrangel, to Denikin, to Kolchak, and to Yudenitch, that it was the systematic policy of the capitalist forces in Russia to blow up the bridges in order to starve Petrograd and disorganise Russia's transport services—all these facts in Britain and parallel ones in other countries served only to awaken in the working masses a strong determination to make what amends were possible for these secret crimes of their ruling class and to rally to the support of the workers and peasants dying like flies in the stricken Volga Valley.

From the days of August onwards, from the time when the immediate incidence of frightful famine conditions became certain, in every country, city, town, and often in villages and hamlets, workers of all countries were active organizing all relief measures in their power to alleviate the situation.

Mass Sacrifice Rises High

The international solidarity of the working masses the world over has never been shown so vividly, mass sacrifice and mass generosity never rose to so high a level as it has in the past months when the impoverished and half starving workers of Austria and of Central Europe donated from their poverty for their brothers in even worse distress. It has been the rule rather than the exception for the workers of industrial plants and factories in Austria to give one hour's pay weekly for this purpose. The workers of Czecho-Slovakia and of Germany were not far behind. In Bulgaria, in Sweden, in starving Poland and equally in the more prosperous countries of Western Europe the same spirit has been manifested.

The pity is that these heroic efforts achieve comparatively insufficient results, largely owing to the low wage levels and low rates of exchange in the European countries. Thus, while the American worker may be taken as averaging $30 in wages per week, the British worker averages only $13 or $14, the worker in Germany $2.50 per week, the Austrian worker $1.50 per week, and those of Poland even less.

SO THAT AN EQUIVALENT PROPORTION OF WAGE BEING GIVEN TO FAMINE RELIEF PRODUCED ONLY ONE-HALF IN THE CASE OF THE BRITISH WORKER, ONE-TWELFTH IN THE CASE OF THE AUSTRIAN WORKER OF WHAT A SIMILAR PROPORTION PRODUCES IN THE CASE OF THE AMERICAN WORKER.

Not only that, but wheat and grain has to be purchased almost entirely at American prices. Even the wheat purchased on the London market is mostly American wheat shipped across at American prices.

No Corn or Wheat in Europe

Nowhere in Central Europe, neither in Austria, Germany, nor even in France is any corn or wheat available for shipment to the famine areas.

IT IS THESE FACTS THAT PLACES AMERICA AND AMERICAN WORKERS IN THE POSITION OF BEING ABLE TO ACHIEVE MUCH GREATER RESULTS IN FAMINE RELIEF THAN THE WORKERS OF ALL OTHER COUNTRIES PUT TOGETHER. The wheat surplus of the world available for famine purposes is, moreover, almost entirely situated in America.

While this is the situation as regards practicability of relief, what is the situation as regards the famine itself?

A careful study of all the statistics and reports available, together with a careful questioning of all famine relief workers available, led me to the conclusion in November last that the death roll was going to be anywhere from SEVEN TO TEN MILLIONS. At the time when I published these figures thru the medium of the London Daily Herald many believed that these figures were alarmist and much too high.

Higher Estimates Made

On the other hand all the latest reports show that this estimate was conservative and too low. Nansen now reports that 33,000,000 people are affected in place of the 20,000,000 which was the original figure, and that **fifteen millions will certainly die unless succored. THIS MEANS THAT, ALLOWING FOR ALL PRESENT RELIEF PLANS GOING THROUGH, EVEN THEN FIFTEEN MILLION PERSONS WILL DIE.**

The factor which was missed in our calculations and which is now becoming apparent is that districts adjacent to the famine areas which had some sort of a harvest and where the harvest was not absolutely burnt up as it was in Samara province and other provinces, had sufficient food for three or four months and this is now giving out, and these other districts too are rapidly approaching a famine condition.

This successive growth of the famine area and of the number of people affected is likely to grow still more so that it is frightful to think of what may happen before the next six long months are passed that separate us from the reaping of the next harvest.

It is with these facts in mind that the central committee of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee—an organization through which is co-ordinated the relief work of practically all the workers' political and industrial organizations in all civilized countries—sent through to the United States to put the situation clearly before the American workers and the workers' famine relief organizations at work over here.

They Struck First Blow

The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia who struck the first decisive blow in the world revolution and who have for four long years defended the citadel of world workers' rule with their blood, have thereby incurred the unceasing and undying hatred of all forces of capitalism and of privilege. Harried unceasingly by the armies under Koltchak, under Denekin, under Yudenitch, and under Wrangel, armies subsidized and fitted out by the French and British Governments, those brave comrades are to-day nearly at the end of their strength and have to compromise with capitalism to defend the revolution.

In any case and at all times would it be our duty as workers and as proletarians to afford them every assistance in their struggle, but today in the face of this overwhelming calamity whose horrors surpass description it is a hundred times more our duty to do all that we can.

Whilst the capitalist governments at Geneva and again at Brussels with cynical cruelty refused adequate aid to the dying millions on the Volga, the responsibility for help at all devolves more and more completely on the working masses.

American workers can bring help—and large-scale help. They can bring bigger help and save more lives of the workers and peasants on the Volga than the proletariat of all other countries combined.

It is with America and American workers that the power to save the famine victims lies.

Let Us Repay Debt

Let us then repay our debt as workers and as proletarians to our Russian comrades who have [illegible] each [illegible] of the [illegible] by [illegible]

[illegible]

The best way to help is to give [illegible] regularly [illegible] only one [illegible] to save our brothers [illegible]

And second to that, the further duty is to take what part we can in building up the organization for famine relief. Actual results depend [illegible] organization built up to take and transport the relief.

[illegible] of Soviet Russia," we have the machinery for transforming donations for relief into immediate shipments of corn and foodstuffs with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of costs.

WHAT REMAINS IS FOR EVERY RANK AND FILER, EVERY MILITANT TO GET ACTIVE IN HIS UNION BRANCH OR WHATEVER INDUSTRIAL, POLITICAL, CO-OPERATIVE, OR EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION HE MAY BELONG TO AND SEE THAT THAT BRANCH, OR THAT LOCAL, IS THOROLY ORGANIZED FOR FAMINE RELIEF.

If we all do our best steadily and regularly in this way, the world proletariat, and especially the workers of America, will be able to strike terrific blows to free the Russian Workers' Republic from the horrors of famine.

HUMANITY AND POLITICS

The latest message from Moscow reads: "A large section of the workers quite fail to make a sound estimate of the possible political consequences of the famine as well as of the possible consequences of bourgeois relief action.

We beg our comrades to take note that the Capitalists do not undertake the relief work from any humanitarian motives but because they think of using the famine for their own political and economic ends."

A defeat of the Russian workers will mean a defeat of the workers of the world.

"Soviet Russia" has become the official organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia. If you want reliable information that is up to the minute you get as many subscriptions as possible among your active members. Address "Soviet Russia," Room 304, 110 West 40th Street. One Year $2.50, 6 months $1.25.

HUNGER BANQUET FEB. 11

We have already secured the following prominenet speakers for the Hunger Banquet for Organized Labor on Saturday evening, Feb. 11, at Webster Hall: Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg, Timothy Healy, Abraham Lefkowitz, Lewis Gannett, A. Brownstein, Alfred J. Boulton and many others.

Use your influence to secure the endorsement of your organization for this affair and to make sure that your organization is represented. Your organization has received tickets and a letter requesting affiliation and endorsement.

HAVE YOU ENROLLED?

Section F. S. R. organizations are developing with great rapidity. Meetings are being held in each section during the week. Urge your members to join. Have them enroll at 208 East 12th St., 61 Canal Street, 250 West 25th St., 1347 Boston Rd., 59 East 105th Street, 226 Roebling St., 229 Sackman St. Active comrades who reside in sections where no organizations have been started, should get on the job and wake up the district. Coney Island, Flatbush, Boro Park, Queens, Astoria, Greenwich Village, Washington Heights, the Lower East Side, are still waiting for someone to wake them up. Start a bazaar, concert, dance, clubs, etc., for Russian Relief.

Remember the lecture and pictures at the Lexington Theatre on Sunday evening, Feb. 26. Paxten Hibben will be the speaker. Get your tickets from the local secretary.

LOS ANGELES TOILERS AT WORK

It will not be an exaggeration to state that the Los Angeles Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia belongs in the column of the organization's most active branches. No effort is spared by the Los Angeles comrades to make their undertakings record-breaking successes. The last affair, which was a grand concert in Los Angeles' largest theatre, netted $2713 up to date. The concert committee expects a net income of $3000 judging by the many tickets outstanding.

The Los Angeles Branch of the F. S. R. is endorsed by the Los Angeles Central Labor Council which is represented by two delegates. There are 34 labor unions and other workers' organizations represented. The general meetings are attended not only by delegates, but by the public as well. Many who are eager to find out how the relief work is carried on, and to give assistance to the organization, are obliged to stand up all evening for lack of seating capacity at the headquarters of the L. A. Branch of the Technical Aid Society for Soviet Russia, where the meetings of the F. S. R. are being held.

The next big event on the program is a bazaar, February 11, 12 and 13, Brooklyn Hall, Brooklyn and Soto Streets. The entertainment committee has been working on it for the last three months, and judging by the amount of valuable articles collected, this affair also is assured of success. The slogan is: "DO YOUR SHOPPING AT THE F. S. R. BAZAAR."

Again?

By [illegible]

The old men are about to make new war.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Or shall we thunder, into the master's face,
An iron word that now has come the time:
"We'll go to war! Our enemies are you!"

Farming the Farmer with the Conference "Con Game" at Washington Exposed

By H. M. WARE
Agrarian Organizer, Workers' Party.

The first report sent from the Farmers' Conference in Washington gave only an introductory background. Invited by the Secretary of Agriculture, 300 delegates were present, only 51 of whom could in any way claim to be real farmers. The other 249 were padding plus the representatives of great Capitalist exploiters of farm and city Labor.

After the preliminary session, the hand-picked Committees retired to write up their cut and dried "Reports." While these meetings were in progress, the invited farmers and those not admitted to Committees sat in the Ball Room of the great hotel.

Implement Trust Sobs

Out of one or another of the Committee Rooms would come representatives of such farm organizations as "The Implement Industry," Mr. William Black of Louisville, Ky. Then this poverty-stricken organization would give us a sob-story that would make the farmers' condition seem prosperous.

He described the horrors of an "inventory loss." Brother farmers, you may have lost money, crops, sleep and even your farm, but if you have been spared that terrible "Inventory loss" be happy and contribute your few remaining pennies to the machinery trust.

Or if you feel like it, there are other deserving charities. We heard from all of them. One farmer dubbed them "the sob sisters."

The Poor Milling Trust

After the Machine Trust came the wail from the Milling Industry, which changed into protestations of friendship for the farmers "for all farmers" (North Dakota farmers notice).

Then this representative of the Grain Gamblers, Mr. James F. Bell, of Minneapolis, patted his kind on the back as having fathered the reactionary American Farm Bureau Federation, an organization supported by business interests, advertised by the controlled Agricultural Press and led by a high-salaried man, who is quite used to this Conference game. In a speech in the Senate, La Follette points out that Mr. J. R. Howard, President of the Farm Bureau Federation, met manufacturers, coal operators, lumbermen and other big business interests in secret sessions in December.

In press reports of these sessions the farmers were made to appear in agreement with their exploiters. Now a man receiving the salary which Mr. Howard does should not be expected to feel the same pinch most of us got in this "inevitable deflation." But farmers will not stand much longer for secret deals with their enemies. These secret conferences included our worthy Granger, Mr. S. J. Lowell, Master of the National Grange, and he too is responsible and guilty.

Leaders Meet the Robbers

It is not surprising, therefore, that at the Washington Conference the most important question was—**Reduction of Railroad Freight Rates,** or that when the committee reports began to appear, these so-called farm leaders, who had previously and secretly met the farm robbers and lobbyists and lawyers, should be instrumental in framing resolutions proposing a reduction in railroad workers' wages.

One resolution reads in part, "Probably the chief source of relief which the farmer may rightfully expect and demand is the form of lowering of the prices of products which he buys. This is prevented at the present time by a level of retailers' profits far in excess of any income which the farmer is able to receive and by high industrial wages and freight rates. It is imperative that the farmers have reduced transportation costs. To accomplish this end, we recommend (a) the immediate repeal or amendment of the **Adamson law covering the national agreements,** the savings thus effected to be immediately reflected in reduction of freight rates."

Demands Lower Freight Rates

Let it be said here that the farmers of Kansas may be proud of John Tromble, President of the Farmers' Union of Kansas. He rose like a shaft of light in that pit of picked delegates—a gray-haired virile leader—and denounced in ringing terms the underhand attempts to stir up the enmity of one set of workers against another. He told of the railroads in the South and Middle West which had reaped great dividends and ended by demanding that the rates be lowered by reducing profits and squeezing the water out of the stocks of these exploiters.

His speech increased an evident restlessness and dissatisfaction which was growing among the real farmers of the Conference. After the Kansas farmer, another from Montana took the floor. He soon made it plain that the hard luck stories that the trusts had spilled were bunk. He explained the cinch which a railroad that had Government guarantees, and owned mines, had; how they could overcharge for coal and let the Government foot the bill. He also made it clear that farmers and city workers would rise or fall together—that wages paid city workers and the price received by farmers for food are closely related.

Gompers to the Rescue

If a vote had been possible at the moment these men finished, the real farmers present would have voted solidly against the resolution, and the silk-shirt farmers would not have dared oppose them—but then the wily Anderson, who it is rumored is being groomed for the job of Speaker of the House of Representatives and acting as chairman, scanned the anxious faces of his floor lieutenants. Then guess whom he recognized? None other than Sammy Gompers. And the wisdom of his choice became apparent as Gompers proceeded. He started with the sentiment, All for the workers. He got purple in the face and repeated himself, he exhibited his ignorance and ended by saying that "some farmers were prosperous" or words equally open to misunderstanding. The audience hooted him. The Secretary of Agriculture in inviting Gompers proved his sagacity if he aimed to increase the misunderstanding between these two great sections of the American working masses, the industrial workers and the working farmers.

The report was referred back, in spite of Gompers, and finally passed, "resolved that Capital and Labor share equally in the reduction of freight rates."

Sentiment for "Bloc"

The Conference heard a few scientists and one or two honest men, who have a real interest in their work. But on the whole it was obviously a planned effort to strike at the Railroad Brotherhoods. Only secondarily to this did the [illegible] Agricultural Bloc [illegible] sentiment [illegible] Bloc that this attempt [illegible] to the more subtle [illegible] ness the judgeship tendered [illegible] ding to Senator Kenyon [illegible] ed by him. Kenyon, he is [illegible] the leader of the Farm Bloc [illegible] Senate. Let us hope he will [illegible] on the porridge.

The sentiment for Henry [illegible] [illegible] has become [illegible] universal among farmers [illegible] Shoals project and Ford's [illegible] buy or rent was discussed, the [illegible] tilizer Trust's efforts to throw [illegible] lost. Farmers have been paying [illegible] prices for nitrogen to the Tr [illegible] long. They hope Henry will [illegible] that as he has the auto. The [illegible] must also depend upon more [illegible] means. And they will, [illegible] farmers! Secretary Weeks will [illegible] ward the offer and contract [illegible] Ford to Congress, but there the [illegible] mosphere will become unfavorable and it will die a-borning.

There were twelve committee [illegible] ports. Most of them pure bunk [illegible] generalities.

In the last evening we adjourned [illegible] another hall. There we received Se [illegible] retary of Agriculture Wallace's [illegible] surance that "never before had [illegible] representative a Conference of Far [illegible] ers, met"—to which he added [illegible] blessing, and we were thru.

Hold "Rump Conference"

At least some of us were—[illegible] most of those who know what [illegible] dung fork feels like, went over [illegible] Ben Marsh's "Rump Conference [illegible] Ben Marsh is Director of T [illegible] Farmers' National Council—a far [illegible] organization which has the distin [illegible] tion of being too radical for Secre [illegible] tary Wallace. There one of the mem [illegible] bers of the Agricultural Bloc, Sena [illegible] tor Ladd of North Dakota, addressed us. The whole aspect and color [illegible] this conference reflected the radical differences of the two meetings. Th [illegible] "Rump Conference" inspired ho [illegible] that there were sufficient milita [illegible] and honest-to-god dirt farmers in th [illegible] General Conference to carry th [illegible] truth back home.

The truth is that America's ex [illegible] ploiters are at their wits' end. Th [illegible] great class of American workin [illegible] farmers are bankrupt. And they ar [illegible] demanding a better living in the on [illegible] terms they understand — "bette [illegible] prices."

The Daily Worker is comin

The Voice of the Jobless

"This country is ours, yours and mine. We fought for it, now we must work for it."—Rotary Cl [illegible] Members.

Fine, very fine. We stand for tha [illegible] 6,000,000 strong. Show us the work —Unemployed Army of the U. S. A.

London.—The live registers at th [illegible] Labor Exchanges in the Unite [illegible] Kingdom showed a total of 1,885,30 [illegible] persons totally unemployed on December 30, an increase of 71,60 [illegible] over the previous week.

The Daily Worker is comin

YOUTH BALL
The best ball of the season will be held
SATURDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 18, 1922, at
WORKERS' HALL
1347 BOSTON ROAD
Tickets 50c, including wardrobe. Get your tickets in advance at any Y. W. L. headquarters.

Unemployed Workers! It Is Up to
YOU
DEMONSTRATION OF UNEMPLOYED
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 7.30 P. M.
Labor Temple, 14th St. and 2nd Ave.
Auspices: UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK
"Eats" for the hungry out-of-work

UNITY CELEBRATING BALL
THE FOUNDING OF
The Workers' Party
Saturday Eve'g, February 18, 1922
in
HARLEM EDUCATIONAL CENTRE
62 East 106th Street
Admission, 50 Cents
No Other Charge

Unemployed Ex-Service Men! It Is Time to
ACT
DEMONSTRATION
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 2.30 P. M.
Ukrainian Hall, 217 East 5th St.
Auspices: UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK
"Eats" for the hungry

Gildea Battles Old Guard In Montana Federation of Labor; He Refuses to Quit

In Montana as elsewhere there is a more or less bitter fight between the reactionaries and the revolutionists for control of the labor organizations.

The membership of the unions affiliated with the Montana State Federation of Labor decided in the last election that a change should be made in the personnel of certain officials and elected as president Charles Gildea, a member of the United Mine Workers.

His opponent, Stephen Ely, also a member of the United Mine Workers, had been elected by the radicals to succeed an official who was known to be a tool of the mining companies.

Ely Part of Lewis Machine

Ely is a part of the Lewis machine and holds a job as executive board member in the United Mine Workers.

His loyalty to the Lewis machine, exceeding his devotion to the cause of labor in Montana and elsewhere, as responsible for his recent defeat.

By political juggling and trickery ly has succeeded in retaining the esidency of the State Federation, spite the expressed wish of the mbership, and as a result there is ch dissatisfaction and talk of lits and withdrawals.

These occurrences—the usurpation power by individuals with whom e rank and file is disgusted—has, in e past, been made the excuse for e setting up of dual organizations d the division of labor's forces.

The blame for this rests of course upon those who will and do put office above the welfare of the labor movement.

Gildea Issues Clarion Call

Now comes the encouraging part of this tale. Charles Gildea, thirty years in the labor movement, veteran of a thousand hard-fought battles on the industrial field, old and weary, but with his gray head held high, has sounded a call to his supporters that has been heard all too seldom in the labor movement.

Had all the radicals who have suffered temporary defeat at the hands of reactionaries taken the position nnounced by Charles Gildea there ould be to-day a real labor movement in the United States.

In a statement sent to the Butte lletin, official organ of the Monna State Federation of Labor, Gil says:

Opposes Dual Unionism

"Permit me space to reply to the mbers of the various unions who ve communicated to me a desire to e me set up headquarters in opposion to the office of the present te Federation of Labor officials, ssrs. Ely and Taylor. During my ire career I opposed the establish of dual organizations.

"It indeed amuses me to hear men radical tendencies giving up an ganization as impossible of purifiion, and at the same time, talking out throwing over the entire capilist system.

"The present officers of the Monna State Federation of Labor eated a canvassing board, and deared Ely president, in face of the t that a majority of the members reed that he should not be presint.

"No self-respecting man would ke the office of president in view the fact that after serving one m a majority voted against him. realize that it is the duty of the ecutive board to administer affairs tween conventions.

"The question of my qualifications ould according to the laws of the ganization be brought to their attion, and they should dispose it.

Exposes Trickery Used

"There is nothing in the laws that ve Secretary Taylor, or Ely, the ower to reconvene another canvassng board except the one that should eet on or before October 25 of ection year.

"In this instance they did not even ring together the old canvassing oard, but had an almost new one ade to suit their purpose.

"The whole affair will have a ighty good effect in due time. It lready shows the membership that me of those who are now in power, d feebly serve the rank and file ll stoop to unprincipled means to g on to an official position.

"All I ask is that the membership ho want a more progressive and ilitant organization in this state, to ep on the alert.

"We will remain on the inside and ork not only to make an organizaion that will live in spite of any opposition, but will tend to purify the radical movement by exposing the rank hypocrisy of some who heretofore posed as radicals.

Bribed and Flattered by Job

"The acting president of the Mine Workers of this state who posed as a radical for many years is already shown up in his real colors. It is well that this should be, because our battles against the capitalist system will grow more fierce as its decay becomes more glaring.

"And the elimination of those who can be bribed by flattery or a job, or any kind of an emolument, and who therefore are not to be trusted is mighty good work at the present time."

Pointing the Road Toward the Better Day for Organized Labor

Help West Virginia

In Russia people are starving because crops have failed and the capitalists of the world stopped all imports into that country for more than two years.

In West Virginia, United States of America, men, women and children are freezing and starving because the coal barons have thrown them out of their homes and are herding them like cattle with the aid and assistance of the state authorities.

These people are miners and the wives and children of miners.

They have worked all their lives to furnish fuel for us and to add to the profits of the coal and steel trusts whose owners are snug and cosy in their winter homes.

These workers have fought a good fight. They are still fighting as well as they can against the most powerful industrial and financial combination in the United States; a combination that can and does rally to its support in the fight against these workers all the powers of the state and national governments. These workers fought for a very small thing—to enforce their right to join a union and live like human beings. They faced the private armies of the coal companies, the state militia and federal troops. Martial law was declared by a coal-company governor and enforced by a coal-company tool. They could not break the spirit of these fighting workers, they could not massacre them as they would like to, so they—the rulers, our rulers—have decided to starve them to death.

This they must not be allowed to do. The workers of this nation are not well enough organized to do what should be done—march into West Virginia and free these workers. What CAN be done is this:

Send donations to the United Mine Workers, District No. 14, Charleston, West Virginia.

After you have done that decide to remember the West Virginia case when the day of accounting comes.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case

The agitation which has made the Sacco-Vanzetti case one of international importance, and which undoubtedly postponed a legalized murder, must not be allowed to die down merely because these victims of capitalist persecution have been granted a reprieve on appeal to the supreme court.

The agitation must be kept up in the press and on the platform. Their persecutors must not be allowed to think that the workers of this country have lost interest in the fate of their comrades.

Publicity is one of the things that those who work in the dark fear. The rulers are never certain that approval will be given their murderous plans if the facts are known.

The work must go on until everyone in this nation knows that two workers in Massachusetts are to be murdered because they hold views of which the masters of bread do not approve.

One More Disgrace

The packinghouse strike has been called off. The Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, the organized unit of the striking workers, received unexpected co-operation from their fellow employes who belonged to no union whatever. From the organized labor movement as a whole they got nothing but expressions of sympathy in their great fight against odds.

This has been the fate of almost every organization which has tried to stem the tide of wage-reductions,

It shows that the American labor movement as now officered and led, has no policy except bluster when employment is plentiful and servile submission when work is scarce.

No program of education designed to remedy this condition of affairs is being conducted on the contrary, no issue of a capitalist paper is complete without some patriotic statement from a trade union official lauding a government that is so openly an instrument of aggression in the hands of the employing class that a blind man can see it.

Rapid and intelligent work on the inside of the unions is needed and every worker who has any working class loyalty left should rally to the call of the Trade Union Educational League.

Birds of a Feather

With what a fine gang of bandits, bootlickers and general collection of scum does our Sam Gompers associate!

At a recent meeting of the National Civic Federation he was one of those who applauded the remarks of one Paul Miliukov, a down-at-the-heel left-over of the Kerensky regime.

The applause came when Miliukov opposed the sending of delegates to the Genoa conference, because the Bolsheviki would be there.

Captain Emmet Kilpatrick, a "Red Cross" worker who spent nine months in a Russian prison before he decided that counter-revolutionary activities under the guise of charity were not popular under the Soviet rule, paid Gompers a high compliment by saying that he was "the greatest enemy of revolution in America and but for him the revolution would have been won long ago."

The noble Red Cross hero was also opposed to famine relief.

A fine nest for the head of the American labor movement!

Is it not enough to make every honest worker hang his head in shame because he has tolerated, through his inactivity, the contemptible utterances and actions of this senile degenerate.

The Hunger "Banquet"

Anyone interested in finding out just how the Russian famine victims in the Volga district live can do so by attending organized labor's hunger banquet Saturday evening, Feb. 11.

The hunger "banquet" will consist of the same food, prepared in exactly the same manner in which it is served to the starving Russians by the various relief organizations.

It will offer a sharp contrast to the New York living standard and will bring home as no mere description can the utter misery of these innocent victims of imperialistic greed; misery that all efforts so far made have relieved but little.

There will, however, be more food for the brains of the guests than for their bodies. Among the speakers will be Sidney Hillman and Joseph Schlossberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Timothy Healy of the Stationary Firemen's Union, Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Federation, Alfred J. Boulton of the Stereotypers Union, A. Brownstein of the Furriers' Union and Moissaye Olgin.

The friends of Soviet Russia expect that Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St., will be packed to capacity next Saturday evening.

FIGHT FOR YOUR CLASS

[illegible] fight for your class at every point.

JAMES CONNOLLY.

Armed Thugs Rule West Virginia Coal Fields

(Continued from Page One)

has huge interests and where the word "union" is expunged from the vocabulary of every miner.

Parts of Lively's confession were so "raw" that they drew from Senator McKellar the exclamation:

"It violates every sense of right I ever had. I never could have believed a thing like this could happen, and I am not surprised that you are having trouble in Mingo county."

Lively told the committee he had been a member of the United Mine Workers of America since 1902. "In 1920 I was expelled for 99 years," he said. During that period I was working for the detective agency, the Baldwin-Felts people. I worked for about ten years for them, remaining a member of the miners' organization at the same time.

"It was part of my detective work to get official positions in the union. While working for the agency I attended a convention of the Mine Workers in Charleston, W. Va. I was to find out what was going on. I worked for the agency in Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado and West Virginia.

"After I completed my work in these various states I came back to West Virginia in January or February, 1920. I went straight to Mingo county, to do secret service work."

Breaking Up the Union

When Lively arrived conditions there were comparatively peaceful. A quiet, orderly unionizing campaign was being conducted by the mine workers and no discrimination had been reported. Lively immediately went to work in one of the mines and took out a union card. Soon a large number of union men were reported to the employers as "active" and were summarily discharged. Eviction notices were served upon them, and Baldwin-Felts men were employed by the coal owners to force them and their families out of their homes.

Lively admitted that he himself had helped in union organization. "I got into the confidence of the organizers of the various local unions, making myself an active member," he said. "I assisted in the organization of War Eagle, Glen Allen and Mohawk locals."

The sheriff, who controls the police powers of Logan county, is Don Chafin. The man who controls the extra-legal officials of Mingo county is T. L. Felts, head of the Baldwin-Felts agency. Chafin, the committee learned when he testified, is worth—according to his own valuation—$350,000. He admitted being heavily interested in coal lands, and said he was interested in several banks, some of which are the depositories' of mine operators.

Chafin has sole and complete control over those who work under him as deputies. The formality by which the operators make the employment of these 39 extra deputies appear "regular" is to deposit the money with the county, but with the proviso that it be specifically used for deputies. It then goes straight to Chafin, who controls the distribution of the fund.

The only difference between the Baldwin-Felts detective methods and the Chafin methods is that Felts is paid directly by the mine operators, while Chafin must make out a receipt for money received and send it to the county officials. Both command large numbers of men privileged by the state government to continue a campaign of terrorism against members of the United Mine Workers of America, against their wives and children, and even, in some cases, against their aged mothers and grand-mothers.

OFFICE OF SECRETARY
District No. 2

(comprising states of New York, south of Poughkeepsie, New Jersey, S. E. of Trenton and Connecticut)

Workers' Party of America

All communications are to be addressed to: J. C. Obolensky, 208 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

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145,000 Anthracite Miners in Pennsylvania Back Demands with Threat to Strike April 1st

WITH LABOR IN ITS DAILY STRUGGLE

The wage scale convention of the anthracite coal miners held in Shamokin, Pa., expressed the willingness of 145,000 workers to strike April 1st, if their demands are not met by the operators.

Up to the present time, the operators have refused to meet in conference with the representatives of the union, in spite of the fact that in 1919, when the present contract was made, the operators agreed to do so before its expiration. There is no doubt that they will try to evade this agreement.

If they do so, the union officials, according to their habit, can transfer the credit for the strike to the shoulders of the operators.

All of the union officials from Lewis down have vociferously disclaimed any desire to call a strike, tho they claim they will do so, if necessary, to enforce the union demands.

The important demands are: the demand for an increase in the contract wage scale of 20 per cent and of $1 per day for day men, making a minimum of $5.20 a day; the demand for the eight-hour day in all classes of work, and the demand for the check-off system.

The operators are raising a howl, claiming that they will be ruined and that the mines will be closed down if there is not an immediate wage reduction. According to their figures the cost of mining coal in the Shamokin region is $4.20 a ton. It retails for $15.00 a ton. This cost estimate is no doubt greatly padded. It was stated in the convention that the miners in central Pennsylvania do not receive more than $1 for mining a ton of coal and that the cost of mining is $1.75.

A reduction in the wage scale of this great group of workers would give a tremendous impetus to the downward wage movement all over the country.

Trouble in Soft Coal Fields

Operators in the bituminous fields are trying to force down wages in conjunction with the same move in the hard coal region. The workers are determined to resist any cut and are ready to fight against it. In the meantime, Hoover comforts himself with the fact that 30 per cent of the soft coal in the country is mined in non-union fields.

Garment Workers' Strike Won

The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has called off the New York strike, and the workers are rapidly going back into the shops under the old conditions.

Both employers and union officials welcome an investigation by the federal government into the trade and President Schlesinger says he hopes that when the atmosphere has been cleared of legal controversies the way will be open for a lasting agreement.

Cost of Living and Wage Cuts

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor has recently made a survey of the cost of living in five large cities: New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and Washington.

According to their figures, the cost of living has decreased 18 per cent to 24 per cent since June, 1920, when prices were at their peak. The cost of living in New York was 78.1 per cent higher in December, 1921, than it was in 1914. Detroit living costs were 82.4 per cent higher, Chicago 72.3 per cent; Philadelphia 74.3 per cent, Washington 63 per cent higher than in 1914.

The Cry for Pre-War Levels

The cry for pre-war levels in wages persists among the employers throughout the country and they have organized a tremendous drive to force wages back to that level.

The workers must organize the same kind of a drive to keep wages up, remembering that their real wages dropped 10-20 per cent from 1914 to 1920.

The efforts of the capitalist class have not abated. This week most of the Rhode Island mills have posted notices of 20 per cent reductions. At the same time, the American Smelting and Refining Co., the United States Smelting, Mining and Refining Co., and the International Smelting Co. have announced wage reductions of 50 cents a day for workers receiving $3.75 on more and 40 cents for those receiving less.

Mass Strikes in Germany

Scattering reports from Germany indicate that there is a tremendous unrest among the workers there. In Saxony, the railroad workers elected Communist strike leaders over the heads of the union officials. The striking Dresden workers, who walked out at noon January 20, stalling the Vienna express, have received assurances of support from the railroad workers of Leipzig and Chemnitz.

The workers in the Solingen cutlery industry threaten a complete tie-up unless wage increases are immediately granted. In Bielefeld the transport workers voted to strike. In Hamburg a carpenters' strike was answered by a complete lockout in the building trades.

Verboten—Tobacco and Picketing

The Amalgamated Tobacco Workers of America are learning that whatever the constitution of the United States says or does not say, whatever the statutes say or do not say, and whatever the courts may say about picketing being legal, if peaceful, that as a matter of fact effective peaceful picketing is punished by fine or imprisonment or both.

Two years ago Local 527 of the A. F. of L., a Chicago local, was engaged in a strike, which the court endeavored to break by an injunction against picketing.

The strikers defied the injunction and 32 of them, men, and women, were sentenced to serve jail terms from 20 to 90 days and to pay fines from $25 to $500 each, a total of $6,700.

The local is now affiliated with the Amalgamated Tobacco Workers of America. The class-conscious workers who were sentenced, are now being called, after two years delay, to serve their jail terms and pay their fines. The Amalgamated is standing by these workers and will give them every support a workers' organization is capable of giving—legal, financial, publicity. Workers should rally to their support, to show the leaders who refused to take up this case, that the rank and file in all industries resents this desertion of class-conscious workers and are determined that it shall not occur in cases in which members are involved in future.

Metal Workers to Unite

The metal workers in New York and vicinity, at present organized in independent unions, are being called to a conference to plan for unity. The call is addressed to all metal workers' organizations upon the initiative of the United Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, in which organization 11 lodges of the Amalgamated Metal Workers of America take a leading part.

The metal workers have long been in the forefront of the labor movement and were among the first to adopt forms of organization planned to lead to industrial unity

It is therefore not surprising that now, when the need for unity is greater than ever because of unemployment and reduced wages that the metal workers should show themselves ready for any step towards unity which can be taken in reality without damages of an aftermath of dualism.

The call to the conference for unity leads to a natural step to unite existing unions, and is not a move to form any new union outside of the existing unions.

Such a step towards unity is one which workers can understand and which they strive to carry out everywhere, and at all times when their standard of living is attacked.

The call is clear and carries the message of unity to all workers of the metal trades. The call will be responded to by the workers. Only bureaucrats who want jobs and theorists who want "perfect" or "ideal" unions instead of organizations built by workers to meet the needs of their struggle can oppose the call and what it means.

Join Red International

The coast branch of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada has decided, with but two dissenting votes, to affiliate with the Red International of Labor Unions. The resolution embodying this action reads as follows:

"**That the coast branch of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada unconditionally adopt the principles laid down by the Red International of Labor Unions, and calls upon the general organization** of the L. W. I. U. of C. to immediately apply for affiliation with that body. In the event of the general organization refusing to affiliate with the R. I. of L. U., the coast branch executive to immediately apply for and secure the affiliation of the coast branch of the L. W. I. U. of Canada with the Red International of Labor Unions."

The coast branch of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union comprises the majority of the membership of the entire organization, and it is probable that organization as a whole will endorse the stand taken by the coast workers.

Revolutionary Surge in British India Is Growing

London.—The papers here regard the campaign of "civil disobedience" recently inaugurated by the Gandhi forces as the most serious and dangerous manifestation yet seen in India.

The movement began in but two districts—Bardoli and Anand—but has already spread to the district of Guntur.

It is believed that the plan is to cover as wide an area as possible by including district after district.

The non-cooperation movement has gained great headway among the Hindu peasants because of the emphasis placed on the immorality of paying taxes to the invader.

Official bulletins do not attempt to disguise the seriousness of the situation. They state that "the mass of inflammable material is so great that the possibility of widespread disturbances cannot be ignored."

The outrages of the British troops have alienated what friendly sentiment might have been left among the native population, and it is now admitted that the recent tour of the Prince of Wales, with its outstanding ceremony and splendor offering a sharp contrast to the general misery has merely served to aggravate and intensify the growing hatred of everything English.

Chicago. Speaking before a mass meeting here, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, organizer of the Workers' Defense Union, urged more aggressive agitation for the release of the 150 remaining political prisoners.

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Wants To Grow

To grow, to increase its circulation, it depends solely upon those who want to see in the field a fighting paper representing the militant, class-conscious workers of the United States.

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Our circulation is now more than ten thousand copies per week and within the next month we want to increase that to fifty thousand.

IT CAN BE DONE IF THOSE WHO READ AND LIKE THE WORKER WILL DO THEIR PART.

We will do ours. We will furnish the best that can be had in cartoons, educational matter and news stories. We will give you a paper that you need not be ashamed to work for, write for and boost for. We will put out a paper that you will want to read even tho you do not agree at present with all it contains.

Every fight of the workers in this country will be the fight of THE WORKER. It fights for the working-class alone and on that class it depends for its support.

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Big Plans Perfected for Carrying on Many Tasks Now Facing Workers Party

The first meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the newly organized Workers' Party has been held in New York City. A full attendance of fifteen members was present at all times and two alternates participated whenever necessary. The session consumed eight days due to the volume of work that confronted the new organization.

A special session was held immediately after the adjournment of the Convention to enable the fraternal delegates of the Proletarian Party to confer with the C. E. C. before rendering their report to their organization. After considerable discussion the C. E. C. adopted a motion reaffirming the invitation to the Proletarian group to join the Workers' Party, and announcing a readiness to provide a sub-committee to work out details of merger with a similar group from the other side at any time this invitation is accepted.

Work Between C. E. C. Sessions.

One of the most important decisions of the committee was on method of conducting the work of the Party between bi-monthly sessions. For this purpose an Organization Committee of four members of the C. E. C., and a "Committee on policy" of seven, were chosen, these bodies jointly to constitute the "Council of Administration," to which matters of major importance can be referred.

For the administration of organization work, in accord with the constitution, the country was divided into fifteen organization districts, each to be canvassed from a designated headquarters city, under the direction of a District Organizer.

Nation Divided Into Districts.

The districts are as follows:—

1. All New England, except Connecticut. Headquarters: Boston.
2. Metropolitan New York, up to Poughkeepsie, including five northern counties in New Jersey, Connecticut. Headquarters: New York.
3. Southern New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia. Headquarters: Philadelphia.
4. Ohio and West Virginia. Headquarters: Cleveland.
5. Southern Illinois, Wisconsin, northern Illinois, and the Calumet region of Indiana. Headquarters: Chicago.
6. Michigan and Indiana. Headquarters: Detroit.
7. Southern Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska. Headquarters: St. Louis.
8. California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico. Headquarters: San Francisco.
9. Washington and Oregon. Headquarters: Seattle.
10. Up state New York. Headquarters: Buffalo.
11. Western Pennsylvania, Virginia. Headquarters: Pittsburgh.
12. Northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota. Headquarters: Minneapolis.
13. Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Montana. Headquarters: Denver.
14. Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas. Headquarters: Oklahoma City.
15. The South. Headquarters: Atlanta.

Select National Officials.

Many considerations entered into the fixing of these arbitrary boundary lines, principally industrial contiguity, transportation and membership conditions. Some of them may be altered if a better arrangement can be discovered in practice. The cutting up of states for the purpose of promoting better organization work does not mean that the political activity of these states will be allowed to suffer thereby. Eighteen states have been designated for immediate state organizations, and where such states are divided between two district offices the one best equipped will have charge of the political electioneering activity for the entire state. These districts are also subject to renumbering.

The committee also designated the entire staff of national officials, as directed by the constitution. Those chosen are:—

National Chairman: James P. Cannon.

National Secretary-Treasurer: Caleb Harrison.

Assistant Secretary: William F. Kruse.

Director Lyceum and Literature: Elmer T. Allison.

Agrarian Organizer: Harold Ware.

Editors: J. Louis Engdahl, Jay Lovestone and William Dunn.

District Organizers: 3, A. Siebert, 4 Charles Baker, 5, Charles Krumbein, 6, N. Loonin, 7, Robert Sullivan, 9, Charles Greenhalgh, 15, Mary Raoul Millis. The other districts were referred to the Organization Committee.

Plans for Publications.

It was decided to merge the two present papers, "The Workers' Council" and "The Toiler" into one new six page weekly organ, to be known as "The Worker." A sub-committee was elected to study the question of starting an English daily.

A monthly magazine, to be known as "The Workers' Review," educational in character and 64 pages in size, was also projected, and it will be issued as soon as 3000 paid up subscribers have been secured. Robert Minor was chosen as editor-in-chief of the new monthly when it appears, and an editorial board was chosen, consisting of Comrades Bittleman, Hartman, Lore, Lovestone, Olgin, Poyntz, Trachtenberg, and Wilenkin.

National Office Opened.

The actual selection of the headquarters was left to the Organization Committee, in the St. Denis Building, 80 E. 11th St., accepted by the full committee. This committee is working actively in equipping the new office for the work to be done.

The Literature Department has the first publication of the Party well under way—a compilation of the Program, Constitution, and other convention proceedings.

Several other books are also projected.

Matters that were referred to the Administrative Council after discussion by the full committee were: Agrarian Organization, Young Workers' Leagues, woman's activity, lyceum work, and several nominations for district organizership.

Special sub-committees were elected to prepare reports on the following matters:—Maintenance of Press, Trade Union Activity, Education, and Finance.

The next meeting of the committee will be held during the first week in March. All communications to the Workers' Party should be addressed, until further notice, to Caleb Harrison, National Secretary, Room 402, 80 E. 11th St., New York City.

The Daily Worker is coming

Fifty Billion Gold Rubles Indemnity Claim of Soviet Russia Against Oppressors

MOSCOW.—Basing its demands upon the precedent established in international law by the Alabama claims collected from Great Britain by the United States, the Soviet government is preparing to present claims against the allied governments and their nationals for debts of the old regime and damages to property sustained since the revolution.

In this field of its new economic policy the Soviet government has decided to proceed without reservations and will charge the allied governments for property destruction and loss of life suffered through the offensive of the Czecho-Slovaks, Wrangel, Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Petlura, Semenoff, the invasions by the Polish forces and hundreds of minor attacks that never found their way into the newspapers of the western nations. The news of the preparation of detailed figures of actual damage by the Soviet experts has apparently dampened the enthusiasm of many delegates to the Genoa conference whose governments have had their own bills against Russia prepared for months and years. It is admitted in high official circles that the Soviet government is in a position to prove the complicity of most of the allied nations in the various anti-Soviet campaigns and that the Soviet government can, if it so desires, publish documents that will not read well in nations whose populations have been waiting anxiously for three years for the rulers to rebuild the shattered industrial system rather than waste the national resources in military campaigns which have, without exception, ended in disaster.

Legal experts generally hold the opinion that by far the largest portion of the amount to be asked by the Soviet government constitutes, under international law, an absolutely valid claim. Compared to the sum total of reparations claimed as due it by the Soviet government the counter-claims of the allied governments pale into insignificance. The amount that will be demanded by the Russian administration is variously estimated as from 50,000,000,000 gold rubles to twice that sum.

Recognition of the smallest total would place the allied nations in Russia's debt for the next decade.

Come to the Theater Party
arranged by
THE WORKERS' PARTY
Harlem English Branch
Monday, February 13th, Lincoln's Birthday
8.30 P. M.
THE PROVINCETOWN PLAYERS
will present
MR. FAUST
Admission, $1.65 133 Macdougal Street

Women! Rally for Our Prisoners!

Comrades in Prison! Comrades awaiting trial! Comrades facing deportation! In Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania,—many states have rendered up their casualties of the Class War.

To finance the appeals, to conduct the trials, to give aid and comfort to our comrades and their families—these are the duties of the National Defense Committee.

There must be an immediate mobilization of all available forces. Every Branch of the Workers' Party should create a committee on Defense and Relief at once.

Women and Defense Work.

It is in this kind of work that women excel. Their greater understanding and consequent sympathy make them eminently effective workers in this department of revolutionary working class activity. And our comrades who are called upon to sacrifice their liberty to the cause are entitled to every consideration. Women should therefore occupy an important position in the Defense Committee.

Visualize the awful monotony of prison life! Torn from family and friends; a world encompassed within cold stone walls; never to see the beauties of a sunrise; the nerve-wrecking sameness of prison fare; caged at night like a vicious animal, and until dawn to hear the walk, walk, walk of a menacing brute called guard.

The Case of Paul Manko.

Back home a family bereft. Take the case of Paul Manko! Arrested for the distribution of a leaflet, he was convicted and sent to prison in July 1921. Immediately upon his incarceration in Sing Sing he was thrust into solitary confinement. When he was taken out of the dungeon he was a maniac and is now in the Hospital for the Criminal Insane at Dannemora, N. Y. Back in New York City a frail little Russian woman and baby-boy wonder what it is all about. Were it not for the relief furnished by the National Defense Committee, their misery would be complete.

Saturday, January 21, the Supreme Court of New York sustained the conviction of I. E. Ferguson and C. E. Ruthenberg. This case must now be taken to the highest State court. Appeals of Gitlow, Winitsky, Misher and Manko are under way. Philadelphia presents a defense situation involving 38 State cases and 30 deportation cases. Pittsburgh has its quota, as has Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, etc. J. O. Bentall began a two year sentence in Fort Leavenworth, January 20.

Furnish Relief for Families.

The affiliated Divisions of the National Defense Committee began the year 1922 with an aggregate Defense obligation of $14,016. Additional large sums are needed to carry on the work already begun and to furnish relief for families.

Social affairs of various sorts should be arranged. A dance, an entertainment, mass meetings, etc., where the question of political prisoners in America may be kept before the working class. Recently Chicago held a bazaar under the auspices of the local committee and succeeded in raising a really substantial sum for defense and relief. New York Division will do the same in March. Contribution lists should be circulated and defense stamps sold. In all these activities women show an admirable efficiency. Experience proves that in the sale of literature and in collections women get the best results.

Women Prove Fitness.

Defense and relief of class war prisoners is a distinct department of revolutionary activity. In this activity women have proved their fitness. It is absolutely necessary that this work be extended. We therefore call on every Branch of the Workers' Party to create its Defense Committee in which women shall occupy an important place.

Drifting Towards Internationalism

(An analysis of the economic factors underlying the Genoa Conference)

If there were any one single accusation which the bourgeoisie would resent more than any other, it would be the one that its economic order brings about the co-operation of all nations, thereby laying the basis for internationalism. And yet, the entire history of its development has been one continuous substantiation of the statement in the Communist Manifesto: "National difference and antagonism between people are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to the uniformity in the mode of production and in the condition of life corresponding thereto."

Recent developments furnish additional proof of the verity of the statement quoted above. They indicate in an unerring manner how in spite of their apparent nationalism and avowed patriotism, the various sections of the bourgeoisie are in practice forced to recognize that the world is essentially one economic unit, the component parts of which—the different nations—are mutually dependent upon one another. Thus, "they are wiser in their conduct than in their philosophy."

First Attempt Towards Communism

The war of 1914-18 was the logical result of the capitalist scramble for foreign markets. As a result of the war the capitalist system collapsed and its weakest link—Russia—was replaced by the Proletarian Dictatorship; the first attempt on the part of the international Proletariat towards the realization of its goal—a communist society. But no sooner had the Russian revolution shown its true character, when our capitalist world was up in arms against it. No weapon was spared, no means left untried. The bourgeoisie and its willing servants called to their aid the most inhuman of all weapons—the economic blockade. It was decreed that a nation of one hundred and fifty millions shall perish than be permitted to make a step forward along the path of social progress.

But experience taught our rulers that not only could Bolshevism not be overthrown, but that the blockade was a two-edged sword which smote its wielder as well as the enemy. Soviet Russia starved, but capitalist Europe could not reconstruct; Soviet Russia was being driven to ruin, but capitalistic Europe was following its trail. In time our capitalist rulers have recognized this. The blockade is slowly being lifted and Russia is gradually allowed to resume trade relations with other countries.

Capitalism Shifts Attack.

For four long years the capitalist governments had used all devices at their command in order to overthrow the Bolshevist government of Russia: subsidized counter-revolution within and abroad, printed and circulated forged documents representing the Bolshevist officials as German spies, have persistently refused to recognize the Soviet government while recognizing the representatives of the Kerensky regime long after its demise. And now—paradox of paradoxes!—the same capitalist governments have officially invited the Russian Soviet governments to an economic conference. The same ruling class—the bourgeoisie—that blockaded Russia, will now assist in the rehabilitation of Russian industry and economy.

What applies to Russia, applies in a somewhat modified form to Germany. Having emerged victorious on the military field, the Allies determined to crush Germany, economically. The treaty of Versailles reduced Germany to the level of a colony of the victorious Entente and its workers to virtual slavery. But this could not be. It soon became evident to the victors that Germany could not pay indemnities unless her industries were running. Here again was a two-edged sword: a Germany economically ruined meant no indemnities; a Germany with well-developed industries meant a revival of German competition—the defeat of the very object for which the war was fought. For a time the policy of demanding reparations and yet the preventing of the rehabilitation of German industry continued—the goose, though killed, was to continue laying golden eggs.

Ruined Germany Ruins Europe.

Slowly it dawned upon the diplomats—first upon the English, then upon the others—that a ruined Germany meant a ruined Europe. The world is economically so closely knit together, that one nation cannot go down to the abyss without pulling the others along with her—it is a unit, the component parts of which are mutually interdependent. John F. Sinclair, a western banker, who has recently returned from Europe, writes in "The Nation" of January 18, 1922: ". . . having in mind a United Europe, the German reparation payments should be changed so as to provide for either a suspension for five or more years, or a total cancellation of all payments, both principal and interest. It is not possible to figure out an equilibrium for Europe so long as this large threatening cloud overhangs."

And so, Germany too has been invited to the Genoa Conference. Undoubtedly, the new policy adopted towards her will be in consonance with the plans suggested by Sinclair. Here again, the victor will assist the vanquished to rise. The triumphant have decided not to follow up their victory lest it turn out to be one of those about which it has been said: "Another such victory and we are done for."

Sees no change of Heart.

Lest we be misunderstood let us state emphatically right here that we are not of the belief that the rulers of the world have undergone a change of heart. We are aware of the fact that at the conference tables they will exact the utmost possible concessions from Russia in return for the extension of credits, resumption of international relations and possible recognition. We also fully realize that in the future, as in the past, they will not permit a single opportunity to slip by, of harassing, interfering with or attempting to overthrow the Bolshevist regime. Nevertheless, we also recognize that as a result of the conference, Russia will be afforded a breathing spell, a means of rebuilding its ruined industries.

We know full well that the resumption of trade relations with Russia is intended primarily (1) to restore Russia as a source of raw materials for Europe. John F. Sinclair, in the article referred to above, states in part: "It will be necessary for Europe to save Russia in order that Russia can save Europe. . . . Europe's food salvation is Russia"; (2) to provide a new market wherein capitalism might dump its surplus products; (3) as a new method of struggle against the new regime Russia established. Having failed to crush Soviet Russia by means of the sword, the capitalist governments will now attempt to crush it with kindness. As our liberals would say: "Reaction has had its day, now the liberal policy is to be adopted." Yet we can face this new venture of our capitalist friends fearlessly and bid them a God Speed. Whatever the motives of our rulers, every cargo of products poured into Russia will but strengthen the new regime, every machine will but assist in increasing productivity—one of the requisites of the higher order.

Now, as to Germany. Undoubtedly, in adopting a milder attitude towards Germany, the victorious Entente but hopes to stave off the inevitable breakdown of the entire capitalist machinery. Nevertheless, this will not be without its benefits: it must bring home to masses of workers the lesson of the interdependence of nations and thereby help to break one of the weapons of the bourgeoisie—the bugbear Nationalism.

True, the postponement, decrease or cancellation of the German indemnities are intended for the purpose of stabilization of the existing order. Germany, being the key to central Europe, its stabilization is the prerequisite to the stabilization of Central Europe. Hence, this leniency towards Germany. But then this will not be without its effects on the proletarian masses of Germany. It will remove one of the main causes for the acquiescence of the German working masses to their present deplorable condition. It will tend to shift to the background the problems of "saving the fatherland" and bring to the fore the **Class Struggle.**

All Hostility to Vanish.

It now remains but to point out that while the various sections of the bourgeoisie approach the problems of economic reconstruction from somewhat different points of view, depending upon their economic interests—thus for example, French statesmen still insist on the continuation of the "blood and iron" policy towards both Russia and Germany, while England counsels moderation—all of them, without exception, agree on one fundamental. As if by tacit agreement, they all ignore the root of all evils of our social make-up—the exploitation of one man by another. And indeed it is perfectly natural for the ruling class and its spokesmen not to scratch beneath the surface to the very root of the evils. Such an act would necessitate the admission that society is divided into two hostile camps—exploiters and exploited—and consistency would then demand the abdication by our rulers of their places of privilege—an act never yet recorded in the annals of history. This final step must be left to the proletariat—the direct offspring of the bourgeois mode of production. It constitutes the only force in modern society which, by ultimately acquiring political supremacy, will abolish the cause of all our social evils—exploitation. "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

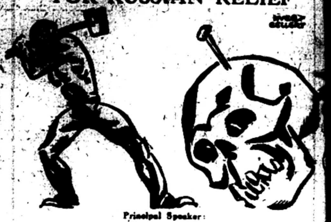
Workers to Reconstruct Society.

Yes, the International Proletariat alone is capable of reconstructing society on a sound basis. Daily it is growing ever more conscious of the task which history has imposed upon it. It is gathering its forces, clarifying and unifying its ranks in preparation for the final conflict. Capitalism may succeed by manoeuvering and dickering to prolong its existence a little longer. But its doom is sealed—its end is near. "Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

CONCERT AT CLEVELAND

A grand concert and dance will be held under the auspices of the Working Women's Educational League, February 26, 6 p. m., at Talmud Torah Hall, 2491 E. 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio.

The proceeds will go toward famine relief for Soviet Russia. The Russian Dramatic Club will present a Russian comedy, "The Russian Sailor on the Black Sea." Charles Baker, of Akron, Ohio, will be the speaker of the evening.



Your UNION DELEGATE should be present
Organized Labor's
Hunger Banquet
FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF
Principal Speaker:
CAPTAIN PAXTON HIBBEN
Member of the Near East Relief Commission, just returned from the Volga District
Speakers:
SIDNEY HILLMAN
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
TIMOTHY HEALY
ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ
LEWIS GANNET
ALFRED J. BOULTON
A. BROWNSTEIN
MOISSAYE J. OLGIN & Others
Saturday Ev'g. February 11th, 1922, at 8 o'Clock
at WEBSTER HALL, 119-125 East 11th Street
Send Check or Money Order to:
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 208 E. 12th Street, New York
ADMISSION, TWO DOLLARS

"Long Live the Workers Party!" Rallyin Cry of Toilers Organizing at Omaha, Neb.

WORKERS' PARTY ORGANIZATION NEWS

Omaha, Nebr. (Special wire). Omaha Branch, Worke Party, organized with delegates present from branches of t American Labor Alliance, Jewish Socialist Federation, Bohemia Socialist Federation, Jewish Workers' Federation, Russi Workers' Federation, Left Paole Zionists, South Slavic Worker Federation, and twenty-five delegates representing packing house worker Long live the Workers' Party of America. Long live working class unity.

RAGING BLIZZARD NO OBSTACLE

Stelton, N. J.—A raging blizzard could not prevent the organization of new branch of the Workers' Party with eighteen charter members. William F. Kruse was the speaker.

Mass Meeting at Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa.—The City Central Committee of the Workers' Party is functioning actively and several mass meetings are planned for the near future. The District Convention will be held February 26th. A joint mass meeting, with A. Bittelman, of New York, as speaker, was arranged by the united Jewish Branches.

Cannon in Kansas City

Kansas City, Mo.—James P. Cannon, national chairman, addressed a successful meeting in his old home town on January 29th.

Chicago on the Job

Chicago, Ill.—The merging of the various elements combining to form the Workers' Party has almost been completed, and the first meeting of the City Central Committee will soon be held. A mass meeting was held in Ashland Auditorium, Sunday, Feb. 4th, with James P. Cannon and William F. Dunn as speakers.

Boston Plans Meetings

Boston, Mass.—A series of mass meetings to be held on Sunday afternoons, and open forum sessions to be held Sunday evenings, are already under way. Caleb Harrison and Wm. F. Dunn have already appeared before these audiences, while Cannon, Minor, Engdahl, Kruse and others are booked for future dates.

Akron, Ohio, on the Map

Akron, Ohio.—Reports the organization of a new Hungarian Branch with 22 charter members. The District Organization Committee contains representatives from Cleveland, Akron, Toledo and Hamilton. The District Convention will soon be held.

Young Workers Organize

Young Workers' League.—The Party Executive, at the request of the New York organizations of Young Workers, appointed a provisional organization committee for the purpose of forming a national organization of all existing junior bodies. This committee consists of Carlson, Seligson, Schulenberg, Cantor, Gannes, Goetz and Kruse. Caleb Harrison was elected to represent the Party Executive on this committee. A subsidy of approximately $200 per month was granted the Young Workers' League for organization work.

LECTURE TOUR IN OHIO

Charles A. Baker, District Organizer of the Workers' Party of America, is undertaking the first trip thru his district since the wave of post-bellum reaction set in. He is a well-known labor speaker and newspaper man and had charge of the Akron, Ohio, labor paper for some time. His itinerary is as follows: Feb. 18, Tiffin; 19, Toledo; 20, Lorain; 21, Canton; 22, Akron; 23, Fairport; 24, Ashtabula Harbor; 25, Conneaut; 26, Warren; 26, Youngstown; 27, Niles; 28, East Liverpool; March 1, Dillonvale; 2, Barton; 3, Martin's Ferry; 4, Neffs; 5, Bellaire; 6, Newark; 7, Dayton; 8 to 11, Hamilton; 12, Cincinnati; 13, Portsmouth.

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGU

The Young Workers' League h taken the first step towards the ganization of a national Y. W. L

A national committee has b elected by the league of New Y Chicago, Boston and Detroit. W in a few weeks a call for a nati convention will be issued. Ea city that answers the call will asked to elect one man to this tional committee.

Young Workers' organizations other cities that want more info ation, please communicate w Young Workers' League, 61 Ca St., New York City.

As usual, one of the greatest stacles to be overcome is the la of funds. To raise money for t work, the Y. W. L. has arranged ball, Saturday evening, Feb. 18, 19 at Workers' Hall, 1347 Boston Ro At this ball a "(Dis)Armame Conference farce will be presente

We ask all comrades to rememb the date, the place and the cause.

Circle 1. 1258 Boston Road, Me every Saturday evening. Class "A B C of Communism" eve Monday evening. Class in pub speaking every Thursday evenin Class in physical training, eve Sunday at 1 P. M. Open foru every Sunday evening. Promin speakers. Admission 15c.

Circle 2. 307 Stone Ave., Bro lyn, meets every Sunday afterno Class in "Capital" every Saturd afternoon. Class in "A B C Co munism" every Saturday evening.

Circle 4. (Hungarian.) 350 E 81st Street, meets every Thursd evening.

Circle 5. 61 Canal St., meets eve Sunday evening. Class in "Co munist Manifesto," Sunday at 2. Class in "Capital," Sunday at 3. Class in public speaking, Sunday 10 A. M. Class in "A B C of Co munism" soon to be started.

Circle 6. 143 E. 103rd St., mee every Thursday evening. Class "A B C of Communism" eve Saturday at 12 noon. Class "Capital" every Saturday at 3 P.

Circle 10. (Jewish.) 143 E. 103 St., meets every Friday evening.

Circle 11. (Jewish.) 61 Canal meets every Saturday evening. C. Marmer lectures on "Developme of Socialist Thought" every Frid evening. Class in economics so to be started.

The League dramatic secti meets every Saturday at 3 P. M. 61 Canal St. Comrade Raymon Corder is in charge of this grou Prominent writers have voluntee to write plays especially for th section. Some of these plays will b produced shortly.

BAZAAR FOR CHILDREN

The Workers' Unity House wi have a week's bazaar for the bene of the hungry children of Soviet Ru sia. It will be held March 10-18, 135 Lexington Ave. Let every read of The Worker plan to visit this ba zaar at least once during the week is held.

The Daily Worker is comin

! Socialist Party Does thing! No Arguments, Slanders Wagenknecht

last the Socialist Party has something. Lacking the abil- revolutionary constructive ac- among the masses of American ers, it has undertaken a cam- of slander against individuals. December number of the So- World, official organ of the t Party of America, contains cle in which the following ap-

"We are informed that Alfred agenknecht, former leader in the derground Communist organiza- n, has been expelled for misap- opriation of funds. According to report Alfred tired of his opera underground activities and retired to a quiet home pur- ased with the misappropriated ds. Of such is the underground nization."

Of all the men who have been fied with the revolutionary nent, we know of none of integrity and honesty than e Wagenknecht. He has the and confidence of thousands olutionists in this country. the Workers' Party is not cerned with Comrade Wagen- echt's alleged activities in the Communist organization, as stated in the World, we know without question that he did not retire to a home purchased with misappropriated funds.

The Workers' Party views the World's statement regarding Comrade Wagenknecht as a piece of villainous character assassination worthy only of the most heresy hunting, counter-revolutionary minds. The World could readily have proved s untruthfulness had it had the ightest regard for facts and truth. The Socialist World has made a tatement containing charges against man in whom we have full con- idence.

The Workers' Party challenges the Socialist World to prove or retract its statement.

Caleb Harrison,
National Secretary.
Workers' Party of America.

Watch the S. P. press. It's their move.

AMONG OUR READERS

ISN'T IT FUNNY?

Editor, The Worker.—It's funny, n't it, what a fuss the capitalist press makes over the death of a pope or a banker? Especially when one of these parasites meets his doom by some accident, which is indirectly or directly attributable to the characteristic negligence of the grafting politicians who rule the city.

Only a short time ago, a well-known banker, A. Barton Hepburn, experienced a mishap at the Fifth Avenue and 23rd Street crossing, which resulted in death.

Immediately the leading capitalist newspapers were full of details regarding the incident, and questions were asked as to why the underground passageway, which was being constructed there, has not been completed. Investigations were clamored for, and columns were devoted daily to this trivial affair.

Workers who read the capitalist sheets cannot help but reflect over the solicitude displayed by the press over this accident. Would the papers have been aroused in the same manner if some plain worker who toils in the factory had been the victim. Most certainly not. Just think of the rmy of workers maimed, crippled, illed outright in the industries be- ause of the greed and indifference of xploiters of the stripe of the de- eased Hepburn. And as if to prove hat bankers belong to one class and workers to another class who do not deserve any consideration, here is a little item tucked away in an obscure corner of the "Times," which is a cold-blooded, cynical expression of capitalist regard for the "welfare" of the workers:

"A man is killed by industrial accidents every six minutes, and one is injured every fourteen seconds. The total of fatal accidents last year was over 25,000, while 600,000 were more or less seriously injured. The average age of those killed was 37 years, which left a life expectation of thirty years. If the average income of these workers be placed at $1,000, which is conservative, each death means a loss of $30,000, which comes to the staggering total of $750,00,000.

"In the State of Wisconsin alone there was an average of 15,000 industrial accidents a month, which has been estimated to mean a total of 2,870,000 days lost. Massachusetts re- orted 180,000 accidents last year, ennsylvania 668,000 accidents and 0,000 deaths and California 100,000 ccidents and 440 deaths. A large ortion of these deaths and accidents e probably preventable. More than ,000 people are killed, for instance, very year by falls from ladders."

Isn't it funny?—L. L.

Seattle.—No overtime work and the six-hour day will kill unemployment, according to the Central Labor Council. It is advising all international unions to consider the favorable resolutions on those suggested solutions of joblessness passed by the last A. F. of L. convention.

The Daily Worker is coming

The General Strike

By LEON TROTZKY

In his "Terrorism and Communism."

The general strike is only a mobilization for the proletariat and its setting up against its enemy, the State; but the strike in itself cannot produce the solution of the problem, because it exhausts the forces of the proletariat sooner than those of its enemies, and this forces the workers to return to the factories. The general strike requires a decisive importance only as a preliminary to a conflict between the proletariat and the armed forces of the opposition, i. e., to the open revolutionary rising of the workers. Only by breaking the will of the armies thrown against it can the revolutionary class solve the problem of power—the root problem of every revolution.

The general strike produces the mobilisation of both sides and gives the first serious estimate of the powers of resistance of the counter revolutions. But only in the further stages of the struggle, after the transition to the path of armed insurrection, can that bloody price be fixed which the revolutionary class has to pay for power. But that it will have to pay with blood, that, in the struggle for the conquest of power and for its consolidation, the proletariat will have not only to be killed, but also to kill—of this no serious revolutionary ever had any doubt.

Marseilles Congress of French Communist Party Calls Workers of France to War on War

By HEINI NEUMANN

[Written especially for "The Worker"]

The Communist Party of France held its first National Congress in Marseilles during Christmas week 1921.

After the departure of Longuet and Renaudel in Tours in December 1920, the young party had devoted 12 months to its establishment on a firm basis and had accumulated its first experiences.

After Tours it was faced by enormous tasks of organization, as the report of the Comité Directeur to the Marseilles Congress interestingly shows.

Together with Longuet and Renaudel the majority of the deputies and propagandists, many intellectuals and officials of the party went over to the Dissidents.

They took the cash, the archives, the newspapers and a considerable portion of the organization apparatus with them. These deficiencies had to be repaired by intensive detail work.

In Marseilles there were 350 delegates who represented 94 district federations with 120,000 members. The party is by far the strongest in France; it groups about itself the nucleus of the working masses of the country.

Alongside it, the two unimportant groups of the Socialists (tendency 2½) and the "French Socialists" belonging to the Second International play practically no part.

See Crystallization at Work

Altho the organic building up of the party has gone very far, it is still in the process of political transformation, of crystallization to a clear and serried section of the Third International.

The Marseilles Congress was a stage in this process in which the party took up various problems placed before it by the present situation. In the debates at Marseilles the various tendencies within the party attempted to form a common platform, a basis for work in the future. The discussions were often of a very lively nature. Differences of opinion on various subjects clashed.

However, the general impression was such as to remove completely any thought of a serious endangering of unity—a split in the party. Only isolated comrades and small groups such as that of the "Journal du Peuple" are in fundamental opposition to the party.

The Congress rejected all of the propositions put for it by these groups. Frossard declared, "Those who combat the policy of the party thereby automatically exclude themselves from the party."

Loriot Hits Wobbling

Loriot, on the other hand, criticised the irresolute policy of the party executive against such Right tendencies and reproached it with the fact that a sheet such as the "Journal du Peuple" could appear with the collaboration of prominent members of the Communist Party.

On the very first day during the discussion on the report of the executive committee of the party, there ensued a long and in part angry debate on the interior situation of the party and the reorganization of the Central Committee.

Loriot introduced a resolution which proposed the transformation of the Comité Directeur in the direction of increased centralization. A presidium of five members was to be formed from among the 24 members of the Committee which should have charge of the political leadership in order to do away with the hitherto prevailing overburdening of the members of the Central Committee with technical and administrative tasks.

Rappoport and other comrades attacked this motion of Loriot. They accused him of desiring an oligarchical centralism. As a substitute motion a motion of Frossard was adopted which in large degree curtails the powers of the Committee of Five.

Trade Union Question Important

The most important question before the Congress was that of the trade unions. The Congress was to decide whether Communists organized in the trade unions are obliged to spread Communist propaganda, to be active for the Communist goal and to diffuse the influence of the Communist Party among the workers organized in the unions.

This problem, which perhaps exists in no other country in the world has been brought up by the unique character of the French trade-union movement.

The organized workers are very distrustful of all political parties as a result of the reformist past of the Socialist Party.

They obstinately adhere to the Amiens resolution which proclaims the "neutrality" and "autonomy" of the trade unions and their independence of all political parties.

Far be it from the French Communists to infringe upon the independence of the trade unions or to thrust them under the sovereignty of the party, as the party's enemies falsely maintain.

However, an increasing number of the party's members realized that this situation cannot go on indefinitely and that the inactivity of the Communists organized in the trade unions, their timidity to work for the Communist goal must come to an end.

The Comité Directeur laid before the Congress theses on this problem. Altho these theses allow very much for the historical traditions of the trade-union movement and its desire for independence, they were severely attacked. Subsequently the theses of the Comité Directeur—after they had been considerably amended in committee in favor of the "autonomy wing"—were adopted by a vote of 3,963 against 372.

Take Up Peasant Problem

As a result of the fact that France is largely of a peasant structure, the discussion on land propaganda was of very great importance.

As a whole, unanimity prevailed as to the necessity of drawing the small peasants together with the workers into the front of the class-struggle against the Capitalist Republic.

In the theses on the agrarian question the old idea of Guesde is again brought forward, that it is necessary to maintain intact in the party's program alongside the measures necessary for the seizure of power, the usufruct of the small peasant's property in the transition period.

Provincial delegates from the agricultural provinces made important statements as to the situation among the French peasant masses.

The representative of one of the "departements" stated: "Our peasants are by instinct revolutionary, but they are insufficiently educated. The revolution cannot be made without them. One must have seen with what interest the peasants attend our propaganda meetings.

"However, our rural propaganda is not easy. To-day the peasants have become well-to-do land owners. After the war there set in a period of enrichment which made our work more difficult."

In opposing these statements, Vaillant-Couturier pointed out the miserable condition of the rural wage-laborers, who live in wretched hovels, are systematically poisoned by alcohol and who eke out a beggarly existence on a starvation wage. We must fight for the eight-hour day for these workers. Vaillant-Couturier sharply attacked Blanc's statements.

Exposes Legend About Riches

He stated that the legends of the enrichment of the peasants are of the same nature as the other legends of the enormous wages in the cities. He gave numerous examples of the difficulties with which the French peasant has to contend. The mortgage burden is continually growing. Taxes are increasing.

Rappoport and various others protested against the passage in the theses which speaks of the granting of "perpetual usufruct" to the small peasants. Unity was obtained on the following:

"The usufruct of the soil will be guaranteed to the peasants until they renounce the parceling out of the soil as a result of their experience with collective ownership on large estates."

The War Against War

[illegible]

[illegible] the Congress [illegible] and Renoult that in case of war or even of danger of war the party should lead the masses to resistance with all the resources at their disposal, going as far as general strike and armed uprising.

This conclusion is of extreme importance for the international working class when it is considered that France is the land of the strongest militarism.

Big Literature Department of Workers Party to Meet Demands of Radical Hosts

A capital of $5,000 to finance the establishment of a literature department of the National Office of the Workers' Party is to be raised in loans from the membership according to plans adopted by the Party's Administrative Council.

One of the first decisions of the Executive Committee after the close of the convention was to establish a great literature department in its headquarters.

The committee realizes the value of printed propaganda and at once set to work on the problem of finding ways and means of supplying its own organization and the million and more radicals and revolutionists of the country, with the literature of the world labor movement.

Publish New Works

With the idea of setting at once in motion the machinery of a nation-wide sale of this literature, the director of the department brought to the committee at its last weekly meeting a complete plan for raising a sufficient capital in loans from the party's membership to publish a number of new works and to lay in a complete stock.

The plan, roughly, is to secure the services of all party members in making and soliciting loans from class-conscious workers in sympathy with the party, and from party members. Loans are to be made in denominations of from $3 to $25 and are for thirty days. The loans are to be repaid in literature at a ten per cent reduction to the lender.

All to Push Drive

All party local secretaries are to get behind the drive. They are to be sent receipt books and are to accept the membership loans which are to be forwarded to the National Office. The Department will issue certificates to each comrade making a loan showing he has helped finance the establishment of the literature department.

The literature department is now receiving shipments of books and pamphlets from various publishers. Shelving space is being installed and the department is prepared to fill orders for practically any book or pamphlet of the revolutionary movement. Orders received daily show the party members are boosting the national literature department.

Pittsburgh Scene of New Illegal Raid; Refuse Bail

Pittsburgh.—Israel Blankenstein, charged with violation of the Pennsylvania anti-sedition act, was arrested here on January 25, after his residence had been raided and his papers and other belongings confiscated without warrant.

The district attorney refused to admit the accused to bail and forced him to submit to a preliminary hearing without his being allowed to employ counsel.

Alfred Cahan, attorney for the National Defense organization, applied for a writ of habeas corpus and the hearing was held February 1.

Altho in the hearing on the writ the court declared that there was no evidence of violation of law against the defendant and despite the fact that matter introduced as evidence had been seized in the course of an illegal raid, the writ of habeas corpus was not granted.

The accused was ordered held for the grand jury in $10,000 bail; the court stating that if the grand jury found no additional evidence he would be released. Efforts are now being made to have the bail reduced.

CANNON AND BAKER FREED

Kansas City, Ky.—The indictment under the Lever act against James P. Cannon, well-known in labor circles here, chairman of the Workers' Party, and Charles Baker, of Akron, Ohio, has been dismissed following the sustaining of a demurrer by the Supreme Court. Cannon made some speeches in the coal fields during the strike of 1919 which the local authorities apparently believed came under the provisions of the Lever act, designed to prevent interference with the production of war necessities.

All cases against coal profiteers were long ago dismissed and the section of the act applying to them repealed. For this reason the attack on Cannon and Baker aroused widespread interest.

News from the International Front

Egypt

In a Manifesto issued to the workers of the world by the revolutionary Socialist Party of Egypt, the significance of the struggle against British imperialism is brought into bold relief.

It is plainly stated that the struggle for independence waged by the peoples of the Orient is also a struggle bearing a class character.

The workers of the world are enslaved by one enemy—the capitalist plunderers.

"We, the proletariat, are ready for a long and bitter struggle, are forming our battle lines, are organizing our forces in the trade unions and are bringing together the workers of the city and country. . . . On the victory of Socialism and on the seizure of power by the proletariat depend the independence and the emancipation of the peoples of the Orient. And by the indissoluble union of the workers of the West and of the East we will vanquish our common enemy —capitalist imperialism."

From the above it is evident that the laboring masses of the Orient are turning to the revolutionary workers for guidance. A bitter fight is now being waged against British domination. The country is in the grip of huge strikes and demonstrations.

England

The economic depression in England is more acute than ever before. There are 1,834,000 registered unemployed, and 1,476,000 or 39 per 1,000 of the population in receipt of poor law relief.

Industry is paralyzed, foreign trade is practically at a standstill. The prospects for trade revival are remote and the misery arising from the unemployment is so intense that the public bodies charged with the responsibility of providing relief are bankrupt.

This condition is stimulating the movement for unity among the workers. Negotiations between the Communist and Labor Parties have been reopened. The latter has delegated a special sub-committee to draw up a questionnaire to the executive committee of the Communist Party. This document will be referred to the Party Congress in order that the reply to it come direct from the membership and be final.

There is also some talk of a new Triple Alliance. The possibility of an agreement for closer working between the Trade Unions, the Co-operatives and the Labor Party is being considered seriously in many circles.

Amalgamation of trade union forces is another sign of the general unity movement. The National Union of Ships' Cooks, Stewards and Bakers has amalgamated with the British Seafarers' Union. The new organization will be called the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union.

France

The splitting tactics of the Yellow Amsterdam International are taking on serious proportions. The reactionary labor leaders are resorting to outright union smashing in order to check the growth of the revolutionary forces in the General Confederation of Labor.

Apropos of this situation, the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International has addressed the following statement to the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

"The attempt to shift the responsibility for the split of the Confédération Génerale du Travail to the Third International and the Red Trade Union International is a remarkable twisting of the facts. Did the Red Trade Union International expel the majority of the railwaymen from the C. G. T.? Did the R. T. U. I. expel 20,000 Tourcoing strikers? Did we throw out a number of unions from the French Employes' Federation or the Federation of Medical Workers, etc.? You know as well as we do who split the C. G. T. Your proposal to prevent the convocation of the minority congress which was called to protect trade-union unity, would have been unacceptable even if it could have been executed. The congress was not called to carry out the split, but to exercise the moral pressure of the organized workers on their leaders of the C. G. T. for unity. The proceedings of the unity congress demonstrated that the revolutionary syndicalists are prepared to do everything within human power to protect the unity of the C. G. T. at any price. Unity can be maintained if the leaders of the C. G. T. renounce the system of expulsions, and in case they do not attempt to reduce the revolutionary minority to silence and forcibly to transform revolutionary workers into reformists.

"In fullest agreement with the unity congress we are prepared to do everything to ensure the unity of the workers organized in the economic field in France. We believe it to be impossible to carry on a discussion on such an important question by means of telegram and radios and again emphasize our readiness to meet together with your representatives. In this connection it is self-understood that both halves of the French C. G. T. must participate in order to discuss before the forum of the international proletariat a question which interests the labor movement in all countries—the question of the unity of the French proletariat."

In every country the Communists are carrying on a vigorous campaign for unity against the capitalists. And in France as elsewhere it is the reactionaries who are fighting these efforts of the Communists and thus rendering inestimable service to the enemies of the workers.

India

The Second Congress of the National Federation of Trade Unions was held in the coal districts of the province of Behar in the first week of last December. A strike of miners had been on before the Congress met.

The mine owners called upon the Government to suppress the holding of the Congress, but the Government was too busy crushing the Nationalist movement to comply with this request.

More than 80,000 workers took part in the demonstration celebrating the opening of the Congress. The 36,000 striking miners and thousands of other workers lingered around the Congress hall during the sessions. Chaman Lal, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, opened by saying: "India's political subjection is due to its economic subjection, and this the combined might of all organized workers would destroy." Following him, Viswananda, the miners' leader, said: "If the present misery of the workers of India is allowed to continue, then nothing can stop Bolshevism. Let them take heed, because the workers are determined to become the rightful owners of the wealth produced by their labors."

One of the most interesting features of the Congress was that the same Mine Owners' Association which asked the Government to break up the Congress, ended by requesting a hearing before the assembly of the organized workers. Permission to speak before the Congress was granted to the President of the Association, who declared the intention of reducing the working-week to 44 hours, and invited the representatives of the striking miners to open immediate negotiations. Promises were made in the name of the owners that decent houses should be built and schools provided for the workers' children. Still more, a deputation from the owners publicly apologized for having attempted to suppress the Congress, and presented a resolution condemning their own action. This incident shows the strength acquired by the organized workers of India in the short period of their activity.

In the last session of the Congress, two resolutions were unanimously adopted, one appealing to the workers of the world to secure peace and bread for Russia, and the second declaring that "wars can be avoided only by the united efforts of the working-class of the world." More than 100 unions with a total membership of 1,300,000 were represented in the Congress.

Italy

Political reaction, manifold attacks by the Fascisti, active under the open protection of the Government, a general offensive against the labor unions, and a reduction in wages are the order of the day. The answer of the workers to this attack is very feeble. Most of the trade unions belong to the General Confederation of Labor which is bound to the Socialist Party by a treaty of alliance.

Were it not for the driving force of the Communist Trade Union Committee and the instinctive force of the masses themselves, the Italian proletariat would to-day be in virtual peonage. The Socialist Party and the Labor Federation are doing next to nothing. They are hiding their criminal inactivity by attacks on the Communists.

Under pressure of the Trade Union Committee and its special appeals to the Italian Syndicalist Union, the autonomous Railwaymen's Union and the C. G. L. itself, the Verona Congress was called. Here the program of the Trade Union Committee received the vote of a strong minority despite the tricks and manipulations of the bureaucracy.

The slogans of the Communists were:

1. The formation of a united proletarian front.
2. The proletariat should not surrender its gains. On the contrary, it should fortify its position and extend them.
3. Resistance to the threatening extensive attack of the capitalists must be organized instantly by means of setting to work on the preparations for and the carrying out of the general strike.

Portugal

At the last Conference of the General Confederation of Labor it was decided to organize a railwaymen's union. In compliance with this decision, the First Congress of the Industrial Federation of Railwaymen will be held soon.

The rail workers are planning immediate international relations. They believe that the powerful international organization of the capitalists can be answered effectively only by the international solidarity of the workers. The union will be organized along industrial lines.

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Lincoln and the Working Class

Abraham Lincoln is perhaps the most esteemed of our Presidents. Next to Lincoln, even Washington, the father of our country, has to take a back seat.

Lincoln's role in the struggle of the emancipation of the negro, his tragic death, and sundry remarks concerning labor, attributed to him have entangled Lincoln in a maze of mythical traditions.

It is not our task to unravel the mythical mysteries and manufactured history concerning any man. At this moment when the workers are so degraded by wage-slavery, when there is so great a need for working class solidarity and a unifed front against the common enemy, a word or two about the role of the working class and Lincoln's dealings with it in the anti-slavery struggle will not be out of place.

Rights, ideals, and attitudes take root in economic conditions. Lincoln represented the ideals of the lower middle class who together with the farmers constituted the majority of the people of the United States. As such he led the fight against "cotton culture"—the period out of which America was just rising. Today, in the epoch of steel culture, we can say that Lincoln was one of the very few in Washington who was fully aware of the fact that it was the workingmen of England who were the heart of the "popular sentiment" in favor of the North. Answering an address of the workingmen of Manchester he declared that the conduct of the English working class throughout the struggle against negro slavery was "an act of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country."

Charles Francis Adams then in charge of the American Legation in London, replying for Lincoln to the Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, of which Karl Marx was the leading spirit, said: ". . . . . They (the United States) derive new encouragement to persevere from the testimony of the workingmen of Europe. . ."

Were it not for the wonderful display of international solidarity by the workingmen of Europe, especially of England, the United States would very likely not have weathered the storm of the Civil War. Few of our American workers are aware of the magnificent role played by the English workingmen in the slavery crisis. It was only the heavy hand of the English working class, inspired by the International Workingmen's Association that prevented the government from lining up with the South in the war. It was in the interest of the English capitalists to have the Southern States be independent with tariff regulations of their own which should give England "undisturbed free trade."

The misery and suffering which the English workers were subjected to by the cotton crisis resulting from the Civil War were indescribable. Starvation, wage reductions, hunger-typhus (Marx called it famine-fever), jails, and poor houses could not drive the English workers to the support of the war preparations of their masters. They starved with exemplary patience. Their determination to fight against slavery carried the day, banished the possibility of English intervention, and saved the Union. So terrible were the hardships of the English workingmen that committees were formed in New York "for the purpose of collecting money for the starving weavers in the north of England and thus alleviating their misery."

Today more than ever before is there a need for working class solidarity. The courage and loyalty of the European workers in our crisis in the Civil War should remind us of the debt we, the workers of America, owe to the struggling masses across the ocean. Lincoln's remarks on working class unity are especially illuminating at this moment when we are presenting so divided a front to our common enemy—the capitalist class. Addressing the New York Republican Workingmen's Association, of which he was made an honorary member, Lincoln said: "None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudice, working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city last summer was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues and kindreds."

These words of Lincoln are as true as ever any words were. America's working masses have a world to gain from learning them and living them.

Murder Astir in West Virginia

How would you like to be an officer of a coal miners' union in West Virginia, accused of treason and held for trial in a county where the officials are in the pay of the coal companies and who have shown themselves to be aiders and abetters of cold-blooded murder?

This is what men face to-day who dare to challenge capitalism in its strongholds. The crime of these men is resisting the tyrannies of corporation gunmen protected by corporation politicians.

They can and may be murdered before they ever come to trial if labor does not bestir itself. There are still fools, however, who prate of democracy.

The Genoa Conference

Slowly but surely the Washington Armament Conference is petering out. All eyes are now turned to Genoa. Will America participate? What of Soviet Russia? What will France do? Where does Germany come into this show?

With Lenin announcing his readiness to sit side by side with Lloyd George and even Col. Harvey, many of our noble statesmen are getting hot under the collar. And rightly so. For years the Soviet Government has been attacked with the most hellish devices of abuse and destruction. Now the cursed Bolsheviks are given a place at the conference of conferences, for Genoa will far outweigh Washington and Versailles in political and economic importance. Besides, these Bolsheviks are given a seat at the head of the table. No doubt Russia will be the central issue at Genoa. It cannot be otherwise, since this conference is openly and primarily an economic gathering.

Official Washington has not yet made a decision regarding participation. The whole situation is buried in a maze of contradictions and conflicts. Wall Street being primarily interested in Europe as a market, is ready to debate reparations but not debts. Despite all of our Senatorial outbursts, America will not tolerate a cancellation of the $10,000,000,000 debt of European governments to this country. The [illegible] of [illegible] is of no tangible importance to American diplomacy. The United States is already deeply involved and still [illegible] entangled in world affairs—largely European [illegible]. Whether Washington officially accepts the invitation or not, Wall Street will make its voice heard and influence felt in the [illegible] of matters concerning its interests.

The victors are at a loss and in a conflict as to what is to be done with Germany. It has been well said that the imperialist statesmen must either milk the cow or cut it into joints. The cutting policy prevailed at Versailles. At that time the big industrial capitalists, bloated with gigantic war profits, were the dominant force in international politics. Today the situation is totally different. The industrial capitalists are now debtors who would give their eyes for credit. It was the great commercial crash following the post-war prosperity that has shifted the center of power. At Cannes we had a crash between these two forces. France has suffered less from the commercial crash. Its banks are largely under clerical and military control.

But as the imperialist powers are circling around for position, as they are preparing for new alliances and new wars, the workers of the world are face to face with a great opportunity to score a victory. The Genoa Conference is called to aid in the reconstruction of Europe. Hence the imperialists were compelled to invite Soviet Russia. These cross-currents of capitalist policy have brought us to a point where trade relations with Russia are probable. Russia will come to the Conference prepared to meet the demands and terms of the enemy. We need have no concern for Soviet Russia's conduct at Genoa. It is up to us, the workers of every country, to force the wavering hand of our enemy. Now is the time for all sections of the working class movement to unite in a drive for trade with and recognition of Soviet Russia. The invitation to the Genoa Conference is a great victory for Soviet Russia. It is a greater victory for the workers of the world. Let us all as one make it a greater victory—a decisive victory. Unrestricter trade with and full recognition of Soviet Russia must be our slogan.

Popular As Smallpox

Wonderful are the ways of the capitalist press.

The New York Tribune, commenting on conditions in Cuba as viewed by one Charles E. Mitchell, president of the National City Bank, says:

> The banker found no antagonism to Americans during his stay on the island, excepting that friction necessarily resulting when creditors try to collect from their debtors.

Inasmuch as the National City Bank holds a mortgage on Cuba and everything Cuban, a correct interpretation of the above means that Americans, especially American financiers, are slightly less popular than the smallpox.

Hopeful Signs

One of the most clean-cut expressions of loyalty to the Russian revolution we have yet seen is embodied in the resolution on that subject adopted at the recent convention of the Workers' Party of America.

This resolution, dealing with the realities of the situation, recognizes the tremendous importance, of the seizure of power by the Russian masses, to the world's revolutionary workers and its influence in clarifying questions of tactics and policy. It reads as follows:

> **The Russian revolution is the first successful uprising of the masses under the leadership of the working-class against private ownership of capitalists and landlords in modern society. For the first time since the establishment of capitalism, the Russian workmen nationalized all the larger industrial establishments and declared the land the property of the nation to be used only by those who work on it with their own hands. Thus, the Russian revolution marks a new era in the history of our times and proves beyond doubt that, once organized in a strong party and conscious of its historic aim, the working-class may be able to seize the power of state in time of a revolution, establish proletarian dictatorship, and abolish private ownership in order to establish the Socialist order.**
>
> **Thru the Soviet government of Russia, the government of workers and peasants, being harrassed by constant war on numerous fronts compelled to fight for its very existence against the combined effort of the capitalist states, bled white by economic blockade and exhaustion of its productive forces, saw fit to reintroduce capitalism under state control, the rule of the proletariat remains the supreme power in Russia and the authority of the Soviets is now greater than ever. The Convention of the Workers' Party of America sees in the Russian Revolution the vanguard of all class-conscious workers of the world and the herald of a new era, the era of Workers' Republics.**
>
> **Whatever may be the future transformations and adaptations of the Russian Soviet regime, the Convention is fully aware of its colossal role in the stimulation of new thought and new regroupings among the workers of the world. Pledging itself to aid the Soviet Republic in its present crisis, the Convention sends its fraternal greetings to the workers of Russia and to their leaders, the fighters for a communist order.**
>
> **LONG LIVE THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC!**
>
> **LONG LIVE THE RULE OF THE RUSSIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS!**

The above resolution indicates that now, since the first flush of almost hysterical enthusiasm engendered by the success of the Russian workers has died away, there is a disposition to learn and apply the very practical lessons in the work of organization and education taught by the great upheaval.

Just Another "Investigation"

Had the Knickerbocker Theater in Washington, D. C., the collapse of which caused the death of a hundred persons, been destroyed by a bomb, the secret service agents would be herding every suspected radical into jail.

Having been caused by defects in construction which those familiar with building operations claim to be the result of graft, various arms of the capitalist government merely prepared for an investigation which will follow sacred precedent and blame no one.

Building laws will be so amended that the contractors will be able to raise their prices without arousing too much indignation and the matter will be forgotten by all except the relatives of the victims of greed and graft.

Award "The Call" the Brass Check

We suggest that Upton Sinclair adds another chapter to his book, "The Brass Check," and that he includes therein the various petty attempts of The New York Call to head off the world social revolution.

We would suggest that special attention be given to the manner in which "The Call" maliciously misinterpreted the facts about the Russian Communist Party Congress.

This report appeared on its seventh page in the issue of Tuesday, January 31. The heading, written in "The Call" office, bears this startling information:

> **"LENIN'S PROGRAM ADOPTED, DESPITE ZINOVIEV'S CHARGES OF BETRAYAL OF THE REVOLUTION."**

The first paragraph of the article, also very evidently written in the office of "The Call," repeats the declaration set forth in the headline when it says:

> **"The new policies of Soviet Russia, sponsored by Nicolai Lenin AND BITTERLY OPPOSED BY ZI- [illegible] OF THE PRINCIPLES [illegible]**

Perhaps "The Call" doesn't expect its readers to get any further along than the headline and the first paragraph. William Randolph Hearst never does.

Far along in the third column of "The Call" story, however, after long and careful reading, we find out what Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Third (Communist) International really said. Here are his exact words taken from "The Call" itself:

> **"The anarchistic elements say that our new economic policy is treachery to the revolution in favor of capital. These are trying to form a Fourth International. But these are weak, powerless groups destined to die out. It is no exaggeration if we affirm, that every victory on the economic front is at the same time a victory on the front of the world revolution."**

Thus Zinoviev proclaims Russia's new economic policies a victory not only for the Russian Revolution but for the world revolution as well. The words that "The Call" deliberately puts into Zinoviev's mouth, is a statement of the position of those anarchists opposing the Russian Communists.

It would have been very appropriate instead for "The Call" to have put itself, and the Socialist Party for which it stands, into another element which Zinoviev condemns in this same Call story when he says:

> **"The new economic policy of Soviet Russia is a basis for a campaign against the Communist International. The bourgeoisie and the traitors ascribe the difficult economic situation of Soviet Russia, economic decay and the famine, to the proletarian revolution and to proletarian dictatorship. They try to kill the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat by such means."**

The working class awards "The Call" the Royal Order of the Brass Check. Hearst's prostitute journalism had better look to its colors. An added argument also for a real daily for the workers.

The Wish of Margot and Her Class

Margot Asquith, she of the many indiscretions—verbal and otherwise—told the reporters who met her as she landed from the Carmania the other morning:

"I admire prohibition. It is a fine thing. I understand that in America now the workingmen report for work on Monday morning."

After all, that is the main thing, and Margot unconsciously voices the great hope of her class which is:

That these rude, uncultured workers will always keep on working—for someone else.

Moscow Workers [illegible]
Capitalism's

Moscow.—Jim Larkin
elected as delegate to the
Soviet. The honor was
upon him by a union of
number of whose members
been in America. A number
class-war prisoners in Ameri
tentiaries were similarly

Should Reinstate Jo

The Unemployment Co
New York recommends to th
Unions of the city and co
they reinstate all delinque
bers who are out of work
payment of arrears and wit
pulsion to pay dues and as
while out of work; and fur
Whereas hundreds of thou
workers are dropping out of
bor Unions at the present t
partly to unemployment; a
Whereas one of the best
strengthening the Labor O
tions against the attacks of
ployers at the present time i
up as large a part of the
class as possible, so that they
be employed to break a strike
the bosses in their mad efforts
stroy the Unions; and
Whereas many members have l
and are leaving the Unions owing
their inability to pay dues and oth
assessments; therefore
That all unorganized workers o
of a job be admitted to Labo
Unions without initiation fee, an
dues be remitted as long as they ar
unemployed.

New York.—Thousands of engin
eers, mostly graduates of college
and technical schools, are idle in a
parts of the country, according
Walter V. Brown, manager of th
employment service of the Federate
American Engineering Societie
The mining engineers are hardes
hit, the number of unemploye
among them being estimated a
about 5,000. They are taking any
kind of job they can get.

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Sent to the Hungry in Soviet Russia

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Beans	656,768	lbs.	16,696.73
Rolled Oats	575,960	lbs.	15,830.87
Rice	35,000	lbs.	1,680.00
Milk (Condensed)	13,240	cases (48-14 oz.)	63,617.50
Sugar	2,000	bags (100 lbs. each)	7,000.00
Cottonseed Oil, Pork Sides, Fat Backs, Oleomargarin, Lard	404,302	lbs.	40,910.06
Corned Beef, Pickled Beef, Smoked Butts	314,800	lbs.	20,680.00
Bacon	33,840	lbs.	4,737.60
Cocoa	1,018,850	lbs.	16,897.55
Chocolate	6,720	lbs.	1,276.80
Drugs	73	cases	10,868.71
Soap	320	lbs.	
Cotton Piece Goods	20	bales	
Gauze	30,000	yards	2,299.64
Clothing	145	cases	34,575.00
Automobiles	15	cases	20,000.00
Projectors	12	cases	1,434.33
Films, raw	200,123	feet	5,768.42
Miscellaneous	41	cases, bags	273.00
		Total..	$445,925.46

Sent by THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS, WORKMEN'S CIRCLES, Canadian Relief Committee, and smaller relief organizations, thru or in co-operation with the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, the committee which federates purchases and shipments.

Note: THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA IS THE LARGEST CONTRIBUTOR FOR PURCHASES AND IN SHIPMENTS OF THE FEDERATED COMMITTEE.

The Friends of Soviet Russia
NATIONAL OFFICE:
201 West 13th Street; New York City

THE W[illegible]

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY W[illegible] EXPRESSION

V. No. 210. | Subscription Rates: One year, $2.00; six months, $1.20; Foreign, $2.50; Bundle rates, $3.50 per 100. | SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1922 | [illegible] New York, N. Y. | Price 5 Cents

Gary Rule Beats Kentucky Workers; State Troops Come at Company's Call

"Fight and Live!" Is Slogan of Jobless as They Urge Organization

The first demonstration that the Unemployment Council of New York has held since adopting the new policy of organizing the unemployed themselves was full of enthusiasm for the new tactics.

After presenting the fact that only organization counts and that whenever the bosses want to defeat them, they use organization, one of the speakers pointed out that even the government uses the organized power to crush them.

Only Hope is Organization.

"There is only one way to meet them and that is by organization. There is no use of your protesting individually. They won't pay any attention to it. The bosses recognize only one language and that is organized power.

"What do you intend to do then? What do you advise as a way out?"

"Organize!" went up in a mighty shout.

"Very well. We'll organize. That is the only proper method and when [illegible]

[illegible] the unemployed in the hall, numbering about 600 proceeded to organize. An Unemployed Committee of 21 was selected and will direct the affairs of the Organization. Unemployment Headquarters have been opened at 83 E 4th St.

All Unemployed Will Register.

All unemployed will register at headquarters and will be required to do work. It is understood that only by working as a unit and as an organized body will the Organization of the Unemployed be effective.

"When we have organized the unemployed in this city and have linked them up with the 10,000,000 unemployed in the country—then we will have an army that can do things. Then we will form a big union with the workers still on the job and they won't be able to stop us from making this a country of the workers."

This is one of a series of meetings that the Unemployment Council intends holding in the next few weeks.

Activity is being planned for the unemployed, since it has become apparent that the authorities will do nothing for them.

During the French Revolution the workers had for their slogan "We will live and eat or fight and die."

But the unemployed workers of this country have been given a different slogan: "Fight and Live. Work or Compensation."

Ex-Soldiers Want Jobs.

Over half the men present held up their hands when an individual who said he had some jobs to distribute asked how many ex-service men were present at a meeting held Tuesday night in the Labor Temple at the corner of 14th Street and 2nd Avenue under the auspices of the Unemployment Council of Greater New York. With the exception of a few stool-pigeons and curiosity seekers the gathering was composed of unemployed who have recently organized themselves to secure the right to work and live. Speakers urged them to devote most of their efforts to bringing the unemployed into one national organization, to cooperate with the unions and to resist all attempts on the part of the employers and their organizations to use them as strikebreakers.

The executive committee elected at a meeting held Saturday night reported through their chairman and made the following recommendations which were adopted:

1. To send a committee to the Labor Unions and ask their support and co-operation.
2. To tax each unemployed worker five cents per week.
3. To issue Unemployment cards.
4. To issue Unemployment credentials to committees.
5. To hold demonstration on water front on Feb. 13 at 2 P. M.

The following resolution proposed by the executive committee was unanimously endorsed:

WHEREAS, the interests of the organized workers are closely linked up with those of the unemployed; and

WHEREAS, the employers are using the unemployed to smash the labor unions, reduce wages and increase hours; and

WHEREAS, the Labor Unions are the sole organizations showing any real understanding and giving any support to the movement of the unemployed; therefore

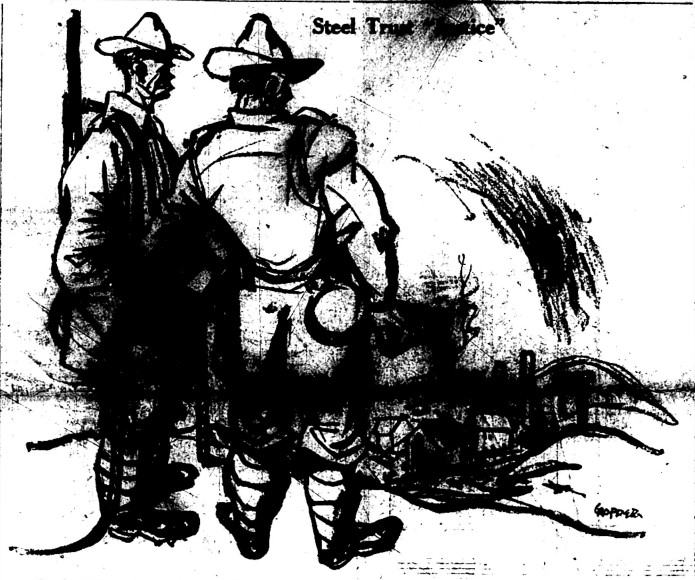
BE IT RESOLVED, That the Organization of the Unemployed expresses its complete solidarity with Organized Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Organization of the Unemployed will support Organized Labor in all of its struggles with the bosses and will fight against scabbery on the part of the unemployed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Organization of the Unemployed, in return expects the Labor Unions to resist all attempts to increase hours and reintroduce overtime at regular pay, in the name of WORKING CLASS UNITY AND SOLIDARITY.

After the report of the executive committee a half hour was devoted to a general discussion of the unemployment problem.

Unemployment Dinner
FOOD WORKERS' HALL
133 West 51st Street
Sunday, February 19, 2 P.M.
Auspices:
Unemployment Council of New York.
Proceeds for Unemployment Work
Tickets.........75 cents



The Steel Trust uses not the peaceable methods of arbitration and conciliation its press agents recommend to the workers. It depends upon force—brutal, ruthless force—to break every strike. Its "justice" is administered, as in West Virginia and Newport, Kentucky, by the type of brutes pictured above, armed by the Steel Trust and owned by the Steel Trust.

The Need of the Jobless Millions

MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY

SIX MILLION MEN AND WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE NO WORK.

No employer wants their services. Their income is cut off and misery and despair is their portion.

The warehouses are filled with the products of labor but the unemployed lack the necessities of life. There is a need for thousands of homes but building tradesmen walk the streets.

In the mid-west the farmers are burning their corn. There is no market for it altho myriads are hungry.

* * *

PROSPERITY PROPHETS SILENCED

The prophets of post-war prosperity have long since been silenced; even the callous publicists of capital no longer raise the cry of "more production" in the face of an army of workers idle because they have listened to and obeyed the advice of their masters' spokesmen.

The vision of a better day for labor after the war has faded. The crimson debauch of war is over. This is the morning after. It is time for the workers to take stock of the entire social system, of themselves and of the immediate needs of the hour.

* * *

THE BLOOD-STAINED PROSPERITY

The world-wide condition of unemployment prevailing in 1913-14 was brought to a sudden end by the world-war with its tremendous demands upon labor for the machinery of destruction.

Millions of workers were removed from production and became consumers and destroyers.

Factories re-opened, miners were busy as never before in the fields and forests the workers were driven at top speed. The United States experienced the greatest prosperity in its history.

True, it was a blood-stained prosperity but no one cared except a few whose complaints were drowned by the clang of the jail-doors as they closed upon them.

The workers forgot their recent misery and did not realize that capitalism had ended unemployment [illegible]

(Continued on Page [illegible])

I. W. W. Papers Fail to Publish Haywood's Plea for Affiliation with R. I. T. U.

(The following letter from Wm. D. Haywood, now in Moscow, to the Industrial Workers of the World, has been submitted to the I. W. W. press, but up to date it has not been published in any I. W. W. paper. It is given publicity in the "Worker" for the reason that the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World are entitled to this information—denied them by their own press.—Editor's note.)

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE I. W. W.

Nothing has occurred more to be regretted since the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World than the oversight which happened when the organization overlooked sending authorized delegates to the Congress of the Third International held in Moscow, Russia.

The I. W. W. was one of the remarkable exceptions in the invitations extended to parties and organizations throughout the world. In truth, the I. W. W. was the one recognized economic labor organization included in the list.

Would Bring Better Udestanding.

To have been invited to send representatives to Russia should have met with an immediate and unanimous response from the I. W. W. It being a revolutionary organization, was most certainly interested in learning the facts and the effect of a great country, where the world's greatest revolution had recently transpired and the building of a new society was in process. Even though it would have involved the entire expense of, say, three delegates, but as it was arranged, all transportation for journey and voyage, as well as all expenses, including hotel, while within the borders of R[illegible]

Cavalry and Tanks Used by Troopers; Civil Officers Say State Militia Not Needed; Newport State Legislator Protests to Harding

(BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

NEWPORT, Ky.—This little steel town has for the last two months been the scene of a bitterly fought struggle between the Andrews Steel Company, a subsidiary of the steel trust, and its former employes.

A history of the struggle here gives one an accurate knowledge of the methods used by the steel corporation in every section of the nation when its long-suffering slaves engage in one of their periodical revolts.

The story of what has taken place includes a shut-down to force the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin [illegible] Workers to abandon their organizing campaign, the importation of strikebreakers, detective agency gunmen, the enjoining of strikers as soon as the Andrews plant was placed on the u[illegible] list, the fortifying of the company property, the installatio[illegible] machine-guns and other military equipment by the compan[illegible] constant provocation of the strikers by the company guards [illegible] form of sudden volleys fired upon pickets, the bringing in [illegible] companies of state troops and the usurpation of civil author[illegible] the military.

The company decided to attempt the resumption of operatio[illegible] December 27, after the shut-down following their demand that all [illegible]ization of the so-called unskilled steel workers cease.

Having allowed their imported thugs a free hand during the [illegible] been forced to erect iron-covered shelters to protect themselves from the fire of the guards, the company officials apparently believed that their provocative acts, upon the resumption of operations with strikebreakers, brought in by auto from Cincinnati, would lead to reprisals; therefore on December 19, the company officials appealed to Governor Morrow for troops, alleging with fine irony that the city and county officers had failed to control the situation.

Governor Morrow, upon receipt of the call, sent the following telegram to Judge Caldwell of the Campbell County Court:

Will you please report by wire conditions surrounding strike at the Newport Rolling Mill covering the danger of loss of life and the power of the civil authorities of Campbell County to preserve law and order?

After a consultation with Sheriff Joseph Dietz, Commissioner of Public Safety Christian Ebert and County Clerk William Millius, Judge Caldwell sent a reply to the governor's wire which read:

We believe civil authorities of Campbell County are able to preserve law and order at the present time.

The sheriff had already been asked by the company executives to send in a request for troops and had referred the matter to Commisioner Ebert who refused on the ground that no military protection was needed for the well-armed guards of the corporation.

Five days afterward the state troops were in Newport.

On their march to the plant they stopped long enough to set up a machine gun with the evident intention of showing the crowd of strike sympathizers, among whom were many women and children, that they meant business.

Following the arrival of the troops, the strikebreakers and guards, as is always the case, became bolder. What the strikers claim was a deliberate program of intimidation and provocation was indulged in with the troops always on hand to rescue and protect any company thug in danger of getting a taste of his own medicine.

Just Like West Virginia.

Conditions existing here parallel recent disturbances in West Virginia, reaching the extent of civil war, altho the trouble has been confined to a much smaller area. The capitalist press has given but little publicity to the situation, principally because it is such a flagrant case of the state authority fighting the battles of the steel trust and because the methods used cannot stand the light of day. Any unusual publicity would attract attention and this is the last thing that the corporations heads and their understrappers holding state office desire.

February 4, however, the situation came to a climax. The company organized a parade—in which 450 state troops took part—composed of members of the local chamber of commerce and other business organizations. According to the statements of militia officers and company officials, the parade, which marched thru all the principal streets and the working class district, was designed to impress and overawe the strikers. That it was deliberately provocative cannot be doubted.

The show of military strength did not frighten the strikers who continued picketing the company plant. As a result of the hostile demonstration by the company forces, however, a crowd of men, women and boys, gathered before the mill gates

(Continued on Page Three)

DEMONSTRATION
of the
UNEMPLOYED
Water Front, 25 South Street
FEBRUARY 13, 2 P. M.
SHOW YOUR CLASS SOLIDARITY
Auspices
Unemployment Council of New York and Organisation of the Unemployed.

Sir Thomas Confesses He Helped Break Triple Alliance Strike Fearing British Soviet Rule

By ARTURO GIOVANNITTI

The Right Honorable J. H. Thomas is one of those distinguished labor statesmen of the post-bellum British order, whose constructive leadership, farsighted patriotism and sober judgment was supposed to bring about what next to a cock's egg and a sure cure for baldness is the most astounding feat in the world—a peaceful social revolution.

In order to do this with a perfect knowledge of his subject, Mr. Thomas went a couple of years ago on an exploratory expedition into the wilds of Soviet Russia [illegible]

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

managed by the Communist International.

Had live members with a receptive mind and a desire to learn attended the Congress, with voice if occasion demanded, the members of the I. W. W. in other parts of the world would now have a better understanding of Communism at work, a realization of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, during the transitory period after the overthrow of the Capitalist System, which will bring the culmination of the class struggle, finally developing into an Industrial Administration.

Every great mind in Russia knows that this is the end to be attained. It is the thing for which the I. W. W. is organized; the ideal for which some of our members lost their lives and many thousands have been imprisoned, for which most members have fought and suffered.

There are many hundreds of our members here in Russia, most of them have fought valiantly with other revolutionists. Their efforts have been appreciated, coupled with the fact that the I. W. W. has a revolutionary record, not only in the United States but wherever it is organized. This is the reason the I. W. W. was invited to send delegates t the Congress of the Third International, where they could have beer seated as advisory delegation witt the same official standing as any organization with political tenets.

The delegates could have later attended the Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, and found a place to become a part of the world labor movement. It is immaterial to the I. W. W. as a revolutionary labor organization whether its headquarters are in Chicago, Ill., or in Moscow, Russia. Nor does it matter whether its officials speak the predominant language of the United States or not. In this country, which is a fifth of the world's surface, with an aggregate population of a hundred and fifty million people, the first great stage of the [illegible] is accomplished.

Early Release from Slavery.

[illegible] a diligent effort is being [illegible] to organize along comprehen[illegible] industrial lines. The political [illegible] of the workers is nothing [illegible] the physical protection of [illegible]. With Russia, the Com[illegible] Party and the Red International of Labor Unions, the I. W.W. [illegible] unite its members and its [illegible]; this should be the action [illegible] radical organization, for [illegible] matter, of every labor party, for [illegible] an early release from the bondage of wage-slavery. Every red-blooded member should feel that everything done to improve conditions in Russia is done for himself, for those in prison in every land, and for the organization of which he is a member.

That economic conditions here are not what they should be is not entirely the blame of the Russians, who fought four years in terrible war, three years in desperate internal conflict, its a vast territory stricken with famine, in all suffering a loss of many millions of valuable lives. These awful things have decimated the workers of railroads, factories, mines and farms. The fact that they are not further on the way to complete success is a fault equally mine and yours and of every worker, for the strength that we have withheld from Russia. It is true that the workers of England, by the threat of a general strike, prevented a war of the Entente; it is true that the I. W. W. expelled several thousands of its members because a few of the Marine Transport Workers' branch at Philadelphia loaded ships with munitions of war intended as thought for Wrangel's forces. But these are minor things. Our full duty will not have been done until we line up as a integral part of the International Revolution which has naturally established its headquarters in Russia. Here we find what is closer to our preamble and principles than any other movement in the world, be it the Red Syndicalists of France, Freie Arbeiter and Syndicalists of Germany, or the Federalist movement of Spain and South America, though all are as much indebted to the Russian Revolution as is the I. W. W. Here the first stage of the revolution, the overthrow of Capitalism and a protected foothold for the workers has been won, not of Russia alone, but of the entire world. With the support of this great stronghold the revolution in other countries will be that much easier.

Delay Blot on History.

With this revolutionary world center the I. W. W. should unite in full strength without question and without hesitation. The Communist International is the direct action instrument for the overthrow of political power of the capitalist class. With this the I. W. W. is true to its sacred ideals and its glorious history. The Red Trade Union International is the world-wide organization of the workers for the economic struggle towards the same great purpose. The Industrial Workers of the World should not stain its history with a single day of delay in joining the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Russian Workers' Republic eagerly expects a full delegation of live, open-minded, revolutionary workers to represent the I. W. W. at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International [illegible]

Workers of America!

MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY

Sacco and Vanzetti are sentenced to die. The trial judge has refused to grant a new trial. The case will now go to the State Supreme Court. MEANWHILE, WE MUST ACT!

We must let the courts know that the toiling masses of America will not stand idly by while two of their number are foully murdered by law. THE EXECUTION OF SACCO AND VANZETTI WILL BE NOTHING SHORT OF LEGAL MURDER.

The evidence in the case shows conclusively to any fair minded person that these men did not commit the crime for which they are charged. We are convinced that the only crime committed by Sacco and Vanzetti is the crime of opinion. They hold views about the present order of society that are not to the liking of the powers that be.

This IS A COMMON CRIME. Millions of other workers are opposed to the present capitalist order; but the ruling class cannot execute them all. Ever and anon a few must be selected as the victims to furnish object lessons for the rest.

The day is gone when men can be executed openly for the crime of opinion; but in the Southland, Lynch law disposes of the lives of men during the darkness of night in secret places while in the North and West the powers that be can use popular prejudices to fasten crimes upon innocent workers in order to bring them to execution in a seemingly legal manner.

Sacco and Vanzetti committed no crime punishable by laws. In the minds of the ruling powers, there are millions of you, fellow-workers, union men and non-union men alike, who are guilty of the same crime that Sacco and Vanzetti really committed.

You are opposed to the system that makes bloodthristy plunlerers of a few and helpless victims of the great mass of wage workers.

If Sacco and Vanzetti go, and we show no protest, if we don't fight to save them, then there is no telling who will be next.

Arise, ye workers, and show to the masters, whose hands are dripping with the blood of thousands of innocent victims, that from now on we will call—"HALT!"

Save Sacco and Vanzetti! Attend the meetings and send, in voices millions strong, to the authorities of Massachusetts, a demand for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti. Raise the funds to push the case thru every step of the legal maze of court procedure.

Will You Allow 95 of Every 100 to Die in Famine Stricken Districts of Soviet Russia?

LATEST RUSSIAN FAMINE NEWS

"You can say with certainty that hardly five per cent of the inhabitants of certain places will live till Spring. Ninety-five per cent will perish if no food is procured for them in time. The people still have a little hope, they are waiting and believe that help will come from somewhere. Anybody coming from the city or neighboring village is immediately surrounded by those inquiring about aid. It is difficult to tell them the truth—and thus destroy the hopes of the dying. Even news that seed will be furnished for sowing does not enthuse the peasants. 'Who will be here to do the sowing,' they say, 'when we are dead.'"

SEND SHIPMENT OF CLOTHING

138 cases of clothing left on January 24 on S. S. Gasconier. This represents a value of more than $40,000. The warehouse of the F. S. R. is still crowded with cases that have come from every part of the country. All packages sent to the central warehouse must hereafter be delivered to FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 80 Front Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., care of Export Service of America.

COLLECTIONS TOTAL $345,000.

The total national collections are $345,000. The big contributions of the week are: Toronto $4700, Chicago $3000, Lithuanian Section F. S. R. $2700, N. Y. City $1664, San Francisco $780, and many other cities.

WHY DOES NEW YORK LAG BEHIND? ARE YOU ACTIVE IN YOUR ORGANIZATION AND SECTION?

The following are the largest contributions in New York City recently: Relief Society for the People of Soviet Rusia $135, Brownsville Hunger Banquet $169.22, Lutzker Br. W. C. 583 $100, Monthly Pledgers $1000, Matilda Chertkoff and friends, Concert $281.25, Teachers Union $46.10, United Hatters of N. A. Local 8 $50, United Glove Workers $50, Lettish Educational Society $140.27. WHERE DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION STAND?

Ireland

The possibility of a national strike being forced on the Irish dockers is still the order of the day.

For another moment or two the shipping employers are hesitating and marking time.

But they may move at any moment.

After wrangling for several days with the I. T. and G. W. U., the dock bosses decided not to enforce the new cut for another week or so. They postponed the Conference.

Probably they will make new proposals and ask that those proposals be submitted to the men.

That will mean more delay. But in the meantime the status quo and the present wage must be maintained.

The bosses have offered the N. U. of Dockers to reduce the cut from 2/- to 1/- a day. This is being ballotted upon by the members of the English Union.

It does not necessarily affect the docker members of the I. T. and G. W. U.

The Daily Worker is coming

ILLUSTRATED LECTURE
ON RUSSIA
by
ALLAN S. BROMS
at
Germania Turnverein Vorwärts
(Cleveland, Ohio)
1608 E. 55th St.—Cor. of Harlem
[illegible]DAY, FEBRUARY 13,
8 P. M. sharp
Admission, 30c — Children, 15c

WITH OUR READERS

Letters for this column must be written on one side of the paper only. When typewritten they must be double-spaced and they should be typewritten if possible. THE WORKER will publish as many letters as possible and to save the labor of editing these rules must be observed.

EDITOR THE WORKER:

Enclosed please find front page of our journal for the month of January. Pay particular attention to Debs and "Radicals Form American Workers' Republic," and then look up that part of the New York graft investigation of the Building Trades which took place about a year ago before the Lockwood Committee, and I believe you will find where our Executive Board testified (one at least) to taking fifteen hundred dollars ($1,500) from the Marble Contractors' Association, and then see if you can't at least write us a good editorial on "Man who went to jail for his fellow-man," and "Man who betrayed his fellow-man and stayed out of jail."

Now if you think it all right, go ahead, and if you don't, it's just the same to me. I have been fighting this bunch for a year and they are trying every way to put the screws onto me, so if you would not mention my name, I would be obliged to you. Hoping that I may do you some good in the future, I remain,

Your Comrade,

S. E.

FOR THE NEW DAY.

EDITOR, THE WORKER:—Glad to see The Worker appear, as I think no greater task confronts the working class in this country, than the building up of some means of communication between the workers of the different parts of the country.

The workers need some organ that will voice their wrongs, east, west, north and south, not alone weekly, but daily, some fearless mouth piece with a class program.

This position can be filled, must be filled in fast, by a paper showing how and where the worker is robbed.

Yours for the New Day.

W. J. W.

SAN FRANCISCO.—The Rank and File Federation of Workers has adopted a resolution asking the governor of New York to pardon Jim Larkin as "an Irish political prisoner," all of whom in England have already been freed.

[illegible] Worker is coming

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

lord of the admiralty, a liar, with whatever other qualifications Russian Communists and Commissars use instead of the democratic "damn."

"Do you mean to tell me," Thomas thundered, "that a British peer would tell a lie?"

Since then Mr. Thomas has traveled far and wide and up and down at the same time.

He has denounced the bloody dictatorship, he has been the guest of Samuel Gompers, he has knifed in the back the monster of the Triple Alliance, he has refused to fight his majesty's government for such a paltry reason as increasing and standardizing the miners' wages, and he has become President of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, Secretary-Treasurer of the Second Socialist (Canary-Yellow) International, and Privy Counsellor to his majesty the king, the emperor, defender of the faith, etc.

So many, indeed, are Mr. Thomas' titles, degrees and honorificences, that should he append them all to his honorable name he would need a visiting card as large as a desk blotter.

Attacked by "Communist"

It appears, also, that in the course of Mr. Thomas' career he was violently attacked by The Communist, a London publication, which accused him of having shamelessly betrayed the Miners' Strike, by preventing the general down-tools of the Railway Workers in their support.

Mr. Thomas (or should we rather say His Lordship?) was naturally incensed and infuriated, and forthwith sued The Communist for libel and defamation of character, asking a monetary reparation that ran up into the thousands of pounds.

The principle of the suit was not that His Lordship Thomas had been libelled as a plain citizen or as a privy councellor, but as a labor leader, and therefore the ethics and propriety of his actions were not to be committed to a juri d'honneur of the British Trade Union Congress, or of the Amsterdam Trade Union International or of the Second Socialist International, but to one of his majesty's own appointed judges and selected juries. Which, in the light of what Mr. Thomas had said to Chicherin, was quite proper, logical and fitting.

But let us refrain from comment and merely state the facts. The facts came out during the examination of His Excellency Thomas, which we transcribe verbally, if somewhat condensed.

Would Defeat the Revolution

Question: "Are you by conviction a chief of the constitutional tendency in the British Labor Movement?"

Answer: "I am."

Q.: "Wouldn't you think it wrong on your part to take the position of a chief in a revolutionary movement subversive of our constitution?"

A.: "I think I would consider it wrong."

Q.: "If you were in a position to defeat a movement which you consider revolutionary, wouldn't you attempt to defeat it?"

A.: "I would take steps to defeat it."

Fearing that this would not be sufficiently clear, Mr. Thomas went further, in his explanations. After the reading of that part of his speech of April 6th, 1921, to the Railroad Workers in which he condemned the strike of the Triple Alliance on account of its revolutionary consequences or possibilities, Mr. Thomas was asked, and answered, these highly illuminating queries from the bench, and answered them forth rightly:

Q.: "Do you mean to say that in your estimation Mr. Lloyd George would have been driven to resign and that the monarchy would have come to an end?"

A.: "That is just what I meant to say."

Q.: "So then, England would have been no longer governed by the King and the Parliament. By whom then?"

A.: "I was foreseeing a Soviet government."

Q.: "Do you mean to say that if the Triple Alliance had gone on strike, a Soviet government would have been set up?"

A.: "I said there was no other alternative."

Q.: "Is it then your contention that you saved the country from a revolution?"

Finds the King Tolerant

A.: "I think I did."

Q.: "That the country was saved by the cancelling of the strike order?"

A.: "Yes."

It was about this time, from what we can gather, that it became known that the Hon. Thomas had been elevated to the rank of Privy Councellor and Lord High Keeper of the Royal Bed Pan, or whatever other office is attached to this exalted dignity.

Having been asked how he could reconcile this role with that of a labor leader, the undoubting Thomas dodged the answer by asserting that he had found his majesty fair and tolerant and unbiased on industrial questions, and quite graciously disposed to listen to his (Thomas') pleadings and supplications for a mitigation of the burden of his (the king's) most faithful subjects, the [illegible]

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

way that capitalism [illegible] it—by a war that destroys the surplus labor has created.

* * *

HARDER YOU WORK, SOONER JOBLESS

Under our system of production and distribution which rules our daily lives these periods of unemployment occur periodically. The more the workers produce in the ever-shortening periods of capitalist prosperity, the sooner they are jobless once more.

They receive, because of the displacement of labor by the machine and the enforced competition of worker with worker, just enough in return for their devotion to the masters of industry to enable them to live and reproduce their kind.

The workers send into the world-markets, in addition to their own necessities, an increasing quantity of wealth in the form of commodities in which the capitalists traffic. This process goes on in every capitalist nation; it becomes more intensive every day and every year while the circle of world markets is constantly narrowing as nation after nation advances from the agricultural to the industrial classification.

* * *

MARKETS GLUTTED; TOILERS IDLE

When the world markets are glutted the workers walk the streets until the products of their labor—denied them by the rulers, have been consumed or destroyed. This is, in general, the way in which the capitalist system of production operates.

Today, however, we are faced with an apparent contradiction. We were told by the apologists for capitalism that the post-war period would be one of unprecedented prosperity; that the nations of all the world would be clamoring for our products and that factories, mills and mines would be running day and night to supply the demand for commodities to replace those destroyed by the war-machine.

The workers were to be happy and contented with much work at high wages; grievances would be adjusted and capital and labor would work together to make this a land of plenty for all. This was the cry of the exploiters while the war was on.

* * *

WAR BURDENS STAGGERING

Now the contradiction can be explained. So destructive was the struggle for power brought on by the masters but fought by the workers that not only was the accumulated surplus destroyed but over large areas the whole machinery of production was swept into the furnace; in whole nations what we call industrial civilization has completely disappeared.

The financial burdens of the war stagger the imagination. The war-debts are so large they can never be paid.

The resources of many nations are insufficient even to pay the interest on the debts and the physical and mental status of the toilers has been lowered to a point where it is impossible for them to produce enough, in addition to their own needs, to satisfy the demands of the finance capitalists who hold a mortgage on the world.

* * *

STARVATION, MISERY, EVERYWHERE

There is a need for foodstuffs, clothing, housing, raw materials and machinery greater than ever before, but here in the United States, untouched by the war, the productive processes are at a standstill. The world cannot pay for the things it needs. The war destroyed too much.

International exchange is utterly demoralized. The issues of paper money have diluted the life-blood of capitalism—its medium of circulation—until it no longer functions. Instead, it poisons the parent body.

The world is in chaos and disease, starvation and unimaginable misery have the whole continent of Europe in their grasp.

War has at last failed to solve the question of unemployment. It was the last resource of capitalism and the system now confesses its inability to deal with it. The rulers of the world are helpless and afraid in the face of the terrible ruin their insane policies have brought to a suffering working class.

With unemployment the workers—employed and unemployed—must deal. They and they alone can solve the question.

They must organize for the salvation of themselves; for their own protection they must adopt a policy of immediate demands and force their program thru.

There is no saving force in society today except the driving power of the world's workers.

Every utterance and action of the rulers is a confession of bankruptcy. Nothing can save the situation but work.

The offensive against labor must be stopped.

The needs of the starving and freezing multitudes must be supplied by work paid for at union wages.

IF THIS MEANS THE END OF CAPITALISM SO MUCH THE BETTER.

The unemployed must be clothed, housed and fed not by charity but by the government.

But the two final shots were worth the entire cannonade. They were fired by MacManus, one of the defendants, the editor of The Communist.

Hurt $10,000 Worth

"Mr. Thomas, aren't you the Secretary-Treasurer of the Second Socialist International?"

"Yes."

"So you are a Socialist?"

"No."

Whereupon the jury found and the judge ruled, that His Most Worshipful J. H. Thomas, Secretary of the British Railroad Workers, President of the Trade Union International, Secretary-Treasurer of the 2nd Socialist International and Privy Councillor to his majesty the king, etc., etc., has been libelled, defamed, and hurt to the extent of 2,000 pounds ($10,000).

It may work out in England. Whether "The Communist" will pay or not, we don't know. But this sort of thing doesn't go, at least up to now, in America.

The Case of Gompers.

Samuel Gompers, who is councillor to the Civic Federation, and who consorts with the Schwabs and the Garys and dines with the President, would never attempt to collect two thousand cents from a Communist paper.

Maybe he thinks it is beneath his dignity; maybe he has not so much faith in the solvency of American communist papers, and maybe also, he has more decency than any of the British equivalents who went to Russia and shook the hands of Lenin, and called him comrade.

Or perhaps he does not think that American courts would feel qualified to pass on a question of labor ethics, principles and tactics.

This last hypothesis is worth [illegible]

We will risk the 10,000 Dollars, or the alternative of going to jail for 10,000 days, altho we cannot afford either.

The next time Mr. Thomas is chased out of England by the wrath of his rank and file, in the name of his majesty, of his holiness Karl Marx, of the Grand Llama, of Senator Lodge and of Landru, let him sue the "Worker" for assault, battery, mayhem, murder and indecent exposure of his most worshipful person.

All of which we synthetize in that epic, but unprintable word of Cambronne!

Call to [illegible] Workers Par[illegible] Educational [illegible]

The Workers Party has [illegible] ganized because of the [illegible] large masses of revolut[illegible] ded workers for a political [illegible] unify the workers, to lead [illegible] the struggles against the [illegible] class and to carry on the [illegible] ganda and education of the [illegible] necessary in the struggle.

The Lyceum-Literature De[illegible] ment of the Workers Party has [illegible] established to aid and direct [illegible] Party propaganda; to distribute and publish great quantities [illegible] volutionary literature. Funds [illegible] this purpose are needed at once.

The department starts work [illegible] niless, with little credit; never[illegible] less, with boundless enthusiasm, [illegible] termination and faith in the [illegible] members and radical workers.

With their co-operation we [illegible] establish within a year the larg[illegible] and most complete Department [illegible] English revolutionary literature [illegible] this country.

In order to secure the [illegible] needed immediately, we have open[illegible] a drive for a loan of $5,000 from [illegible] comrades. These loans are for [illegible] days and are payable in books [illegible] pamphlets of the revolution[illegible] movement. Receipts will be given for loans in denominations of [illegible] $5, $10, $15, $20, $25. As interest upon the loan we shall also pay the lender 10 percent of the loan in lit[illegible] rature.

Help us by helping yourself.

Pay for your new books in ad[illegible] vance.

Help build our Literature Depa[illegible] ment with a 30 day loan for as m[illegible] as you can spare.

APRIL 14th APRIL 14th
MASQUERADE BALL
Given by F. S. R. — Admission, [illegible]
Friendly organizations are asked to keep date open.
To be held at the
Brownsville Labor Lyceum

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24th
Social and Tea Party
Given by the Brownsville Branch of the F. S. R.
Admission, 15c — Bring your friends!
To be held in Room 401
Brownsville Labor Lyceum

Come to the Theater Party
arranged by
THE WORKERS PARTY
Harlem English branch
MONDAY, FEB. 13, 6.30 P.M.
Lincoln's Birthday
The Provincetown Players
will present
MR. FAUST
Admission, $1.65
133 Macdougal St.

YOUTH BALL
The best ball of the season will be held
Saturday Eve, February 18, 1922
at
WORKERS' HALL
1347 BOSTON ROAD
Tickets 50c, including wardrobe
Get your tickets in advance at any Y. W. L. headquarters.

UNITY BALL
Celebrating the Founding of
The Workers Party
Saturday Eve, February 18, 1922
in
Harlem Educational Centre
62 East 106th Street
Admission, 50 cents
No Other Charge

A remarkable book by a remarkable man.—Chapman Cohen in The Freethinker.
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Analyzed and Contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian Points of View.
By BISHOP WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN, D.D.
ITS BOLD RECOMMENDATIONS: Banish Gods from the Skies and Capitalists from the Earth, and make the World safe for Industrial Communism.
Astounding you will say: It is more than astounding. It is the most hopeful sign that we have come across. It comes like a meteor across the dark sky.—Jack Carney in Truth.
CONTENTS
Part I, Communism. Part II, Christianism. Part III, Criticisms. Published October, 1920. Seventy-Fifth Thousand now ready. — Pages 224.
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"…Out Again!" Say … Toilers in Big … Trades Fight

(By our own Correspondent.)

CHICAGO.—"Sold out again", is the way in which the last action of the Chicago Building Trades Council in accepting the Landis' award and submitting to its "open shop" clauses, has been characterized by men working in those trades.

In contrast to the splendid spirit shown by the rank and file who but a few days ago walked off in a body from every construction job where scabs were being employed, and their insistent demand for united action against the scabherding "citizens committee", some unions even voting unanimously in favor of calling a general strike of all building trades to stop this professional strikebreaking, this last yellow act on the part of the labor officials stands out in all its naked shame.

Altho it came as a surprise to many, the proceedings at the last Building Trades Council meeting, where this action was taken, were cut and dried, suggesting that everything really had been previously arranged by the high salaried labor leaders and only came up there to receive its official rubber stamp.

A motion was made to accept the Landis' award, followed by an amendment that all trades who were parties to the arbitration accept the award! thus eliminating the carpenters, painters, plasterers, elevator constructors, sheet metal workers, glaziers and fixture hangers from voting.

On roll call the amendment carried! 22 voting in favor and 5 voting present, the painters delegates being the only ones who protested, stating that they would fight even if they had to go it alone. However, the common interpretation is that that decision will apply to all trades.

The "citizens committee" will now be given free sway to continue its strikebreaking activities. According to statements made by its chairman, the committee has assumed certain obligations toward the scabs brought into town and they must therefore be given preference over union men.

This has been agreed to in principle by the worthy labor leaders thru their acceptance of the award.

The "citizens' committee" has also announced its uncompromising policy toward unions that refuse to submit.

It has declared in favor of the boss-controlled lollypup unions for building trades.

It has its forces organized upon a national scale. It is piling up millions of dollars to hire armed guards for the protection of scabs, and we may rest assured that this committee has no intention of quitting the game before all unions in the building trades have been smashed, if such is possible.

These labor haters and lackeys of high finance have organized their forces on a national scale. It is safe to assume that their self-appointed mission goes farther than only to the building trades.

In the past their slogan has been: "break the unions that refuse to accept the Landis' award".

In the future their slogan will be: break the back of all labor unionism."

Judge Landis has served as a valuable tool in their hands, in framing the award with its open shop clauses. Judge Dennis Sullivan, who in the past has handed down injunctions right and left against the workers, has likewise served as a valuable tool in their hands by his refusal to grant the injunction, asked for by the carpenters, restraining the "citizens committee" from interfering in the building trades dispute.

It is plainly evident on what side the law, the courts and the rest of the governmental forces are, and also that the aggrieved workers can expect no redress from this source.

To many workers who do not understand the class nature of capitalist society, this looks like a gigantic conspiracy against them.

But in reality it is merely the way in which capitalism protects its class interests and its entrenched privilege of exploitation.

The fellow who has been entrusted with union office, who was put there on the pledge that he would always preserve and promote the best interest of the organization, and now played into the hands of the enemy, by selling out to the "Citizens Committee," is the real conspirator.

He is the coward who told us that we were beaten and had better submit before we attempted to put up a fight. He is the yellow traitor that deserves to be kicked out and never allowed to enter a hall where honest union men gather.

The Landis' award, which this gentry have accepted, contains some clauses that will actually mean the death of unionism if they are to prevail.

It says that "there shall be no stoppage of work individually or collectively under penalties prescribed."

It says that "there shall be no restriction against any manufactured material except prison-made."

It says that "in case of scarcity of help non-union men may work with union men until such time as union men may be obtained."

These clauses put the workers entirely at the mercy of the bosses, who will be in a position to cut wages at their own convenience.

Pointing the Road Toward the Better Day for Organized Labor

Showing Signs of Wear

The mask of legality under which the divers methods of suppression are carried out by our exponents of capitalist democracy is becoming transparent enough in spots for even the dim vision of the scissorbill to penetrate.

This is due somewhat to the efforts of the Jeffersonian survivals to make democracy work in a highly developed capitalist country.

The strain upon the legal fabric, already showing the effects of time, is causing large rents to appear.

When, in response to demands that they live up to the letter and spirit of the law, the henchmen of the industrial lords have a law passed that legalizes their oppressive acts and permits them to evade the criticism of the liberal element, a valuable object lesson is furnished in the operation of modern government.

The miners of Kansas, having defended their right to strike with some success and much adverse comment having been made on the administration of the Sunflower state because of the extra-legal methods used to coerce the strikers, the attorney-general of that commonwealth, doubtless acting under instructions from the coal magnates, steps into the breach with the following measure:

> **Any person engaged in any unlawful calling whatever, or who shall be found loitering without visible means of support, or who, being without visible means of support, shall refuse to work when work at fair wages is to be procured in the community, or who shall threaten violence or personal injury to fellow-workmen or to employers of labor shall be deemed a vagrant, and, upon conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the city jail for a period of not less than 10 days nor more than 30 days for each offense, and shall be compelled to work at hard labor until sentence is fully completed.**

Should this bill become a Law a striker automatically becomes a vagrant and can be treated as such.

It is little incidents like this that strengthen our contention that the parliamentary machinery of capitalism was set up by a rising capitalist class for its own purposes altho we know that the attorney-general of Kansas would not agree with us.

Another Struggle "Settled"

The struggle of the Chicago building trades against the organized business interests parading as a "Citizens' Committee," has been "settled" thru the surrender of the workers' organizations. Judge Landis has conquered again. Just how is told in another column by our own correspondent.

The Chicago building trades council is just like similar councils in other cities. It is composed exclusively of labor officials.

Many of these are elected by the various district councils of of the building trades' unions, most of them far removed from contact with the rank-and-file workers.

Some of them are big property owners and contractors.

A thoro house-cleaning of all building trades unions has now become a supreme necessity. All crooked officials should be immediately deposed so the rank and file may be able to offer effective resistance to the vicious attempts of the "open shoppers," without fear of being knifed in the back.

The tendency manifested in a number of unions to split away from the building trades council will not solve the problem, no matter how strong the provocation, or how rotten the present council may be. Splits of that kind never did improve any situation.

But the council should be reorganized. Representative building trades council delegates should be elected directly by the rank-and-file workers in the unions, subject to recall any time the union may see fit.

Elections should be carried out on the basis of, for instance, one delegate from each affiliated union, being one for the first 500 members, and one additional delegate for each additional 500 members.

Such a building trades council would be representative of the rank-and-file workers and put complete control in their hands. It would be able to put up a united front against the damnable "open shop."

The present situation has most forcibly demonstrated the utter unfitness of our prevailing form of organization and our methods of struggle.

It has led to fatal divisions within our ranks. New methods of struggle must be adopted, new and more effective forms of organization created. Men who will not shrink from the fight must be put in the responsible positions and thus invigorate the labor movement with a new spirit. Now is the time for all militant workers within the building trades to get busy for the complete amalgamation of their unions.

The Crisis in Germany

It appears that the railway strike and the sympathetic walkouts have been called off by the labor leaders.

The situation in Germany is replete with lessons for the workers of the world. The German workers have met with the strongest opposition and the fiercest repression in their efforts for freedom. They have made repeated attempts to shatter their chains. They have paid a terrific price for every effort. And their efforts have been incomparable in determination and revolutionary in purpose. In the course of the series of struggles, bloodier than any in the annals of the class war, they have lost their best blood, they have lost their most courageous leaders.

Had a strike as effective as this one occurred two years ago it would have unquestionably assumed a sharp, political character. To-day it is limited to narrow channels—devoid of concrete, far-reaching political objectives. And this in spite of the fact that the struggle in Germany is as dominantly political as it is in any country in the world. The German working class is plainly dead tired. It is exhausted from the furious battles it has gone thru.

But the fundamental reason for the plight of the German workers lies in the strong control the bureaucracy has of the trade union organizations. The labor-lieutenants of capital are in league with the capitalists against the workers. As a matter of fact they are contract-bound to sabotage every blow of the workers against their enemies. This was the cause of the 1918 outbreak being a still-birth. This was the cause of the German Revolution failing to materialize. This is the reason for the petering out of the whole series of revolutionary struggles in Germany.

The American workers must be on guard against such a situation in this country. As matters stand to-day we are no better off than the German workers. We cannot be too active in our unions. We cannot watch the labor bureaucrats too strongly. We must make the unions our unions. Then and then only will the unions be organs of militant struggles, organs of freedom and not a fetter on the labor movement in its struggle for better life.

W. C. Grant, banker of Santa Rosa, Cal., sentenced to five years in San Quentin for violation of the banking laws, has been paroled after serving twenty-one months.

Tom Mooney is still in San Quentin although no doubt of his innocence exists.

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

in a counter-demonstration to encourage the pickets.

Militia Routes Crowd.

The militia immediately appeared on the scene and ordered the crowd beyond the dead line, a certain distance from the mill gates arbitrarily fixed by the officer in command.

The crowd did not move and a volley was fired into it, the troops charging with clubbed rifles.

The crowd, now thoroly incensed, fought back and the battle continued for more than an hour, resulting in many minor injuries and ten serious casualties. Two baby tanks and two troops of cavalry were used by the state forces in this battle. The crowd finally dispersed after desperate resistance and the troops patrolled the streets for some time afterwards, revolver in hand, forcing everyone off the thorofares.

Mayor Joseph Hermann was roughly handled when he attempted to intercede with some of the officers in command.

With the exception of the sycophantic business element and the company hangers-on the entire community is incensed by the deliberately planned outrages.

Herman Thompson, Newport's representative in the legislature, sent the following telegram to President Harding after the battle:

> **Governor Morrow has sent troops to our town, shooting men and women. Please act.**

Curtain Drops on Tragedy.

The curtain is about to drop on this little tragedy. It is only one of many in the America of to-day and it is not considered important enough by the capitalist press to be dignified by a headline. The strike is broken. It was broken not by the company itself but by its tool—the government; broken, as every strike of the workers for the last two years has been broken, for Gary is the government and the government is Gary—the steel trust.

Nothing can close this story of the Newport strike more fittingly than an extract from "The Mixer", a paper published for its employees by the Illinois Steel Works of Joliet, Ill.

It consists of a letter from King Gary to one of his retainers. It was submitted to the paper with joyous abandon by its delighted recipient and it reads as follows:

Gary to His Slave.

To Mr. John L. Doyle:

After your continuous service for fifty years as an employee of the Illinois Steel Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, I send you my photograph. We are gratefully appreciative of your faithful and efficient assistance.

E. H. Gary.
9-6-21

This, then is what the worker can look forward in industrial America; in this steel trust kingdom he gets bayonets, machine guns and baby tanks when he revolts; for faithful slaves there is the picture of the master.

Just one thing more. In the last quarter of 1921 the steel trust's net earnings were $19,612,033. Soldiers cost the steel trust, nothing.

PARSONS CHALLENGES LEGION

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Commander A. A. Van Dyke of the Minnesota department of the American legion has been challenged to a series of joint debates on "Americanism" by Carl O. Parsons, national organizer of World War Veterans.

Parsons declared that the present officers of the legion everywhere were aiding "big business" in its war on farmers and labor organizations.

"During my trip east I found post after post of the American legion going to the rescue of big business in breaking the strikes of the workers," he said.

"In West Virginia local attorneys and secretaries of chambers of commerce, as commanders of the legion, are actively taking the sides of the coal companies against the workers. The same thing prevails in other eastern states and as far west as Wisconsin."

Parsons then recited his experiences with the officers of the several legion posts in Kansas, where, he said, "the legion is lined up with the chamber of commerce in its war upon the farmers' organization—the National Nonpartisan League."

TIMBER BARONS SIT PRETTY

SEATTLE.—Here are a few figures on the timber industry which the International Union of Timberworkers vouches for:

Lumbermen are making $8.35 more a day on each man employed than in August, 1921.

Consumers are being charged 29 per cent more for lumber than in that month.

A profit of $2,500,000 is being made each month by lumber firms in the Pacific Northwest.

DETROIT.—Two enthusiastic meetings called to aid the defence of Sacco and Vanzetti, Italian labor men condemned to death in Massachusetts on what is widely considered a frame-up by the enemies of trade unions and radicalism, listened to the exposure by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn of the flimsy evidence on which the men were convicted.

THE ECONOMIC BOOM AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

By LEON TROTZKY

Thruout Europe the labor movement is showing signs of a new period of revolutionary development. Tho it cannot definitely be stated whether or not we are approaching the decisive conflict, there can be no doubt that the revolutionary curve is steadily going upward.

Capitalism in Europe passed its most critical period in the year immediately following the war.

The acme of the revolutionary struggle in Italy (September 1920) was reached at a time when Germany, Great Britain and France had already overcome the serious stages of the political crisis.

What took place in Germany in March last was but the belated echo of a revolutionary epoch passed by, and not the prelude to a new one.

Capitalism's 1920 Offensive.

Having strengthened its first positions, Capitalism and its various governments adopted offensive measures in the beginning of 1920, thus forcing the labor movement into the defensive.

The Communist Parties became convinced that they were but a small minority, and they appear at times as if isolated from the majority of the working class.

This state of affairs resulted in what is commonly called "the crisis" in the Third International.

At present, however,—as has been maintained before—a change for the better is taking place. The revolutionary attack of Labor is developing; the perspectives of the struggle are widening.

The cause for this change are various and complicated. The basis for it, however, is to be found in the sharp ups and downs of world economics in which is reflected capitalist development during the post-war period.

Rulers Regain Courage.

The period most fraught with danger for the European bourgeoisie was that of demobilization, when the disillusioned soldiers returned and had to be fitted into the process of production.

The first few months after the conclusion of the war created great difficulties which furthered revolutionary development.

But the ruling classes regained their courage and inaugurated both a financial and political policy of considerable magnitude, intended to overcome the demobilization crisis.

The peace budgets of the various states retained the magnitude of war figures. Many enterprises were kept going by artificial means. Many orders were effected merely with the view of preventing unemployment.

Various governments included in their budget subsidies with which the prices of imported meat and grain were held at a certain level.

Economy Undermined.

In other words: the state's indebtedness was increased, the currency inflated, the very basis of economy undermined—all for political ends: to prolong the deceptive war time boom in trade and industry.

These measures provided the captains of industry with the possibility of perfecting the technical apparatus of their main enterprises and of adapting them to the purposes of peace industry.

But the artificial boom found its limits very quickly in the general impoverishment.

Industries producing necessities of life, were confronted with an extraordinarily limited market, which created the first wall of overproduction and retarded the further development of the large industries.

The crisis assumed a tremendous extent and tremendous forms. Incepted in the United States in Spring 1919, the crisis crossed the ocean, reached Europe in the middle of 1920 and thoroly enveloped it by May 1921.

Onslaught Without Leadership.

Thus we see that when the open post-war trade and industrial crisis commenced to develop (after one year of artificial boom) the first attacks of Labor against bourgeois society were nearing their end.

The bourgeois warded off these attacks, partly by means of persuasion and compromise, partly by employing force.

That first proletarian onslaught was rather chaotic, devoid of any definite political aims and ideas, without a well defined plan, without leadership.

Its development and its outcome proved to Labor that a change of its position within bourgeois society is rather more difficult to achieve than it appeared to be during the first months of the post-war protests.

Labor's uniformity in its chaotic state of revolutionary sentiment disappeared rather quickly. Internal differences were beginning to make themselves felt.

The more active section of Labor, the part least bound up with earlier traditions, united in the Communist Parties, being thru experience convinced of the necessity for clearly perceiving one's aims and also for organizational centralization.

The more conservative and less class conscious elements declined, for the time being, to consider revolutionary aims and methods. The labor bureaucracy promptly utilized the state of affairs and regained its [illegible]

Reaction Aid to Crisis.

The trade and industrial crisis in Spring and Summer 1920 broke out, as mentioned before, at a time when both political and psychological reaction had gained a foothold among the workers.

The crisis has undoubtedly increased the discontent of large sections of Labor, it has even at some places resulted in stormy manifestations of that discontent.

But after the defeat in 1919 and the internal differences resulting from that defeat, the economic crisis in itself was no longer able to give the movement the necessary unity and make of it a decisive revolutionary onslaught.

From this we see that the crisis does not influence the labor movement in as regular a manner as it appears to some people.

The political effect of a crisis (not its depth only, but its tendency as well) are determined by the entire political situation and the events preceding and accompanying the crisis, and above all by the previous successes and failures of Labor itself.

In some cases a crisis can be instrumental in rousing the revolutionary activity of the workers, in others it is apt to deaden the militant spirits of the proletariat and, if it lasts very long and demands too many sacrifices of Labor, to weaken not only the offensive energies of the workers, but the defensive as well, and that in an extraordinary degree.

Boom was Artificial.

Now, if this line of thought be following and completed, the following opinion can be arrived at:

If the economic crisis with its wide-spread unemployment and general insecurity had set in immediately after the war, the revolutionary crisis within bourgeois society would have assumed a decidedly more powerful and fundamental character.

In order to prevent this the bourgeois governments endeavored, by means of an artificial boom, to weaken the revolutionary crisis. That means the inevitable has been postponed for a year and a half at the expense of the still further destruction of both the financial and economic apparatus of capitalism.

Tho the crisis gained thus in depth and intensity, it did not coincide with the stormy wave caused by demobilization, but with a time of defeat, of a settling of accounts, when in one camp the masses had to start anew at the very beginning, and in the other were disappointed—all of which was the cause of many splits.

The revolutionary energies of Labor were directed inward and found expression in the formation of Communist parties which have become powerful factors in Germany and France.

Capitalism, which in 1921 artificially prolonged the unreal boom, exploited, once the immediate danger was avoided, the resulting crisis in order to deprive Labor of its gains (the 8-hour day, increases in wages) which in self-defense it had granted during the preceding period. Labor, tho it defended its positions, had to yield in the end.

The idea of conquest of power, of the Soviet system, of a Socialist revolution, naturally receded at a time when Labor was compelled to fight against a reduction in wages, and not always successfully in that.

Workers Retreat in Disorder.

In countries where the economic crisis did not assume the forms of overproduction and wide-spread unemployment, but another, even more serious form, that of selling out the assets of the country and lowering the standard of living of the workers (as for instance in Germany), the energy of Labor expended in increasing wages (while the buying power of currency was steadily decreasing) can be likened to a [illegible]

The German capitalists, together with their brothers in other countries, went over to the offensive. The workers retreated in disorder.

In a situation such as that, the March occurences took place in Germany. The explanation of those events is that the young Communist Party, alarmed at the apparent retreat of the labor movement, made a desperate attempt at utilizing the action of a group of militant proletarians to "electrify" Labor, and, if possible, to develop the action into a decisive battle.

Discusses March Action.

The Third Congress of the Communist International met with the impressions of the March action still fresh in the minds of the delegates. After careful examination the Congress realized the danger resulting from a clash between the "Offensive Theory" and that of revolutionary "electrification" and those deeper processes going on within Labor in connection with both the economic and political changes.

If in 1918-19 there had been in Germany as strong a Communist Party as in March 1921, it is very possible that the proletariat would have already been victorious in January or March 1919. But a Party such as that did not exist—and the proletariat suffered defeat. Out of the experience gained in that defeat there grew the Communist Party. If in 1921 it had acted as a Communist Party would have been obliged to act in 1919, it would have perished. That was stated by the last Congress.

The discussions of the "Offensive Theory" are closely connected with the problem of how to appraise the economic boom and its development. The spokesmen of that theory developed the following theorem:

Decay of Bourgeois Society.

The whole world is dominated by a crisis—the crisis of the decay of bourgeois society—which is bound to grow in intensity and thus revolutionize the workers.

Hence a Communist Party has no reason to look backwards upon its reserves; its task is to attack capitalist society. Under the pressure of the economic decay the proletariat must sooner or later fulfill that task.

That point of view could not maintain itself in so unimpaired a form till the time of the Congress. Its crudest points were eliminated by the Commission on the Economic Situation.

The mere thought that the crisis could be succeeded by a relative economic boom, seemed to the conscious and half-conscious followers of the "Offensive Theory", as something akin to—Centrism.

Regarding the opinion that a revival of trade and industry would not only act as a brake upon the revolution, but could on the contrary imbue it with fresh power—that point of view was held to be purely Menshevik.

The badly employed radicalism of the "Left" found an innocent reflection in a resolution adopted by the last convention of the German Party which levelled a personal attack against me.

This in spite of the fact that I had been merely repeating the opinion held by the Executive of our Party. I can console myself for that petty revenge of the "Left" since the lessons of the Third Congress have gone home everywhere and most of all in the German Party.

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Address
LYCEUM LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
Room 405 799 Broadway, New York City

A Speakers' Class

INSTRUCTOR: Caleb Harrison, Nat'l Secretary, Workers' Party.
TIME: Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
PLACE: [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] of Workers Party Is Organized

The first meeting of the Local Greater New York City Central Committee, Workers Party, was held on Sunday, Feb. 5, at the Yorkville Casino, with an attendance of 95 delegates representing an approximate membership of 3,000 members.

William W. Weinstone was unanimously elected Executive Secretary and the following comrades, Assetour, Brody, Cohen, Fleisher, Green, Kassoff, Marshall, Obolonsky, Posner, Mrs. Ware, Weinstone and Woods of the former American Labor Alliance, and Mrs. Alexander, Glassberg and Lore of the Workers' Council Groups were elected a Provisional Executive Committee.

The Local is now officially established. All members are counted upon to make of Local Greater New York the banner local of the Workers Party.

Application cards have been issued and are to be returned properly filled out, immediately. Membership cards will be issued upon the receipt of the application cards, and branch financial secretaries are urged to expedite the return of the cards.

All branches that have not as yet elected their delegates to the City Central Committee are requested to do so at once, and forward the names of the delegates to the local office, 208 East 12th St., New York City.

A meeting of the Provisional Executive Committee elected at the first meeting of the City Central Committee will be held at the office of the Local, 208 East 12th St., New York City, Saturday, 8 P. M. All members are requested to be prompt.

All branches of the Local Greater New York are to notify the Local Office of any change in place or dates of their meetings.

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

The Toiler Bookshop maintained by Local Greater New York is now ready to furnish any books that the comrades may be interested in. Those we have not in stock we shall be pleased to order immediately. We are specializing in books dealing with the revolutionary movement here and abroad. We are now only a modest little bookshop but we will GROW. Our motto is, "If it is a book, we have it." We have Fostre's new book on the revolutionary movement in Europe. Get your copy now. Have your literature agent get a supply of literature for the branch, and then make the Toiler Book Shop the center for revolutionary literature.

Branch Organizers, Notice—Have you sent into the Local Office the name and address of the branch organizer, financial secretary, literature and other officers of your branch, also address and date of branch meetings? We must at once have a correct and up-to-date list of all branches. Each branch will receive a form for applying this information. Send this in at once properly filled out.

SPECIAL MEETINGS

Special meetings of the Workers Party branches of Local Greater New York will be held in the latter half of February and beginning of March. A representative of the Industrial Department will submit a report on—

1. Party Policies in the Industrial Field.
2. Immediate Activities in the Industrial Field.

Plans for immediate activities will be submitted and a registration of members by industries and trades taken. A thorough discussion will clear the ground for an intensive campaign in the unions and all other labor organizations. This is the first of a series of meetings in all Workers Party branches on Party Policies and Organizational Problems. It is of utmost importance that every member of the branch be present.

THE WORKER

The Worker is out for distribution. Send in your order for The Worker to the Office, 208 East 12th Street. Elect at your regular meeting of the branch a literature agent, whose function it will be to receive and distribute The Worker and other literature, as well as to organize a Literature Branch Committee to take care of the sale of party and other revolutionary literature at meetings of labor unions, other workers' organizations, mass-meetings, balls, "vetcherinkas," bazaars, etc. The branch literature agents must at once get in touch with the Local Literature Agent of the Workers Party. Comrade Frank Grund, 208 East 12th Street, and make all necessary connections as well as get all particulars needed.

F. S. R.

Branches are to elect representatives to the local Friends of Soviet Russia at their regular meetings. The representatives are to get in touch at once with the Local Secretary, Comrade Bert Miller, 208 East 12th Street, New York.

William W. Weinstone,
Ex. Secretary Local Greater
New York.

Action follows thought; a thinking working class is the despair of the masters, so the press, the pulpit and the schools are well equipped with [illegible]

Organize the Housewives!

By KATHARINE GITLOW

The Women's Committee of the Workers' Party must consider the number of its own members with whom it can work. Our motto shall be, "START RIGHT, LAY OUT YOUR PLANS ACCORDING TO OUR STAND AND THEN PROCEED TO ACTION SO AS TO BE SURE TO BRING IT TO A SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT."

I would therefore suggest to the Women's Committee of the Workers' Party that all its efforts should be used in working among the housewives, for the following reasons:

The women workers in the shops can be reached through other methods. The women wage-earner considers her period of employment in the shop but a temporary thing, that soon through matrimonial luck she will get out of it.

Of course there are exceptions but not many. That is why I do not think the effort expended is worth while. Of course, if we shall have enough workers we shall be EVERYWHERE to educate and organize for the class struggle.

I consider the housewife's field the best one and it is there that I expect the best results.

The married woman in her daily life of providing for the family comes face to face with the class struggle.

She has to think about the paying of the rent, the grocery bills, and clothing for the entire family.

She does not think in the terms of herself. She thinks only of her children and husband.

The husband gives her the weekly wages that he earns, but it is she that must get along upon it, and when unemployment reaches the household it is upon the housewife that the entire burden falls.

She is home,—she must face the landlord, she must ask the grocer to extend longer credit to her, etc. She is in a position from which she does not expect very soon to be free.

Even when she is compelled to go back to the factory she does not expect anyone in the form of a man to lift the burdens from off her shoulder.

Therefore the housewife must start thinking. In fact she is always thinking about how to meet ends. She clashes steadily with economic conditions,

Once we have the housewife we get all. We will have the husband in the union which is very important because a good many ignorant women compel their husbands to scab on the union when they are out on strike. And when we have the mothers we also have the children.

In another article, if I shall be permitted, I shall back up with facts in my own actual experience with housewives the above arguments.

"Help Guide American Labor on the Road to Workers' Republic," Ashleigh to Gene Debs

Charles Ashleigh, poet of the working class, who went to the Leavenworth prison in Kansas with the Industrial Workers of the World, was released at the same time that Eugene V. Debs was given his freedom. Ashleigh has written Debs on the present struggle of the workers in this country and throughout the world in the following stirring language:

ASHLEIGH TO DEBS

Dear Comrade:

My pleasure at being released from the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, on December 25th, was enhanced by my knowledge that you also were given your freedom. My pleasure, however, is diminished by the thought of the sterling militants of the class struggle who remain still behind the bars, victims of the relentless dictatorship of American capitalism.

I am sure that you think, as I do, that there can be for us, who have been released, no peace, no cessation of activity, no real enjoyment of our freedom so long as one political prisoner remains in any prison of America.

Others Still in Chains

I need not remind you that there are still one hundred members of the I. W. W. in Leavenworth Penitentiary; that there are twenty or more victims of the anti-syndicalist law in the California state prison; that in the States of Washington and Idaho there are also class-war prisoners; that Jim Larkin, Ferguson, Gitlow, Winitsky and others are prisoners in the state prisons of New York; that Tom Mooney and Billings have also suffered for years from the revenge of California capitalism. In fact, there are still in this country hundreds of prisoners of the American class war; and I rely confidently on your expressed determination to abate not one jot of your efforts towards their release.

We may congratulate ourselves upon the fact that we have been released in a most interesting period. The class struggle all over the world is assuming new forms, the militants the world over are arriving at a new orientation, inspired and guided by the wholesome and heroic lessons of the Russian workers' revolution, seeking to apply those broad lessons to their own lands with special reference to the historical and industrial conditions in their respective countries. I know of your magnificent career in the foremost battles of the American proletariat. I know of your unflinching faith in the eventual victory of the American working class; and in this light I cannot but believe that, when you have had the opportunity to observe the present status of the American revolutionary movement, you will join with those vigorous and forward-looking elements of the American working class who have realized the futility of the capitalist state machinery for the securing of any benefits for the working class, and that you will join with those who seek to achieve on the political field, through the newly formed Workers' Party, and on the industrial field, through the consolidation of all militant forces in the American labor movement, and the alignment with the Red International of Labor, the victory not only of the American proletariat, but of the working class of the world.

Look to Debs for Guidance

You are undoubtedly the best known and the best loved of all prominent leaders of the American workers; and the American workers are looking to you now for guidance.

It is my sincere hope that you, who are to remain in this country, will carry on the work of guiding the American proletariat towards the establishment of a workers' republic, as I hope to aid in the establishment of a similar end in the country to which I am to be deported.

We have both known the punishment which the American capitalist dictatorship metes out to those who have dared to unmask its imperialistic plundering machinations. We have both, I trust, emerged from our imprisonment with our determination to carry on the class fight strengthened by our experiences. In far Russia the famine-wrecked citizens of the workers' republic will turn with eagerness to us, the victims of American capitalism, hoping that we will not give up the fight but that we shall go forward, inspired by their sufferings and their efforts towards the establishment of the proletarian's commonwealth of the world. You have it in your hands to lead the American movement out of its chaos of misunderstanding and disunion into the uniform and disciplined ranks of the adherents to the two great internationals which are the reservoirs of working-class power and the general staffs of the proletarian army: The Third (Communist) International and the Red International of Labor Unions. These two great forces will, of course, grow in strength and influence despite all criticism and treachery. Possibly it were better that you and I, wielding, as we do, the influence wrought by our recent incarceration, state immediately and unqualifiedly our adherence to those newly forged and efficient instruments of the World Proletariat.

With fraternal greetings,
Charles Ashleigh.

Charles Ashleigh was deported Tuesday noon, February 7. He reported to the immigration department Monday and was immediately taken into custody. Released six weeks ago from Leavenworth following a nationwide campaign in his behalf he is now on his way to England, deported as an undesirable because of his conviction with other members of the I. W. W. in 1918.

Leaving, Ashleigh said:

"In England I plan to be just as active in the revolutionary movement as I have been in the United States. Like Gene Debs I am a citizen of the world and as a member of the working class I owe allegiance to that class whereever I may be. I urge all class conscious workers to continue their agitation for the release of class-war prisoners until the comrades convicted with me are freed and until the jails of America hold not a single man or woman sent down because of his loyalty to and his activity in behalf of his class."

[illegible] Issues Fighting Organ

The Young Workers' League of America has entered the revolutionary struggle of the working class and with it comes into being its organ—YOUTH.

YOUTH carries the message of the revolutionary young in America. It will interest the young of the working class for it is written for them.

YOUTH deals with the problems of the proletarian youth. Indeed, it is a part of the young toilers.

As the official organ of the Young Workers League it will carry news of our movement, discussions of the problems confronting the young workers, theoretical expositions of the class struggle and news of the conflict thruout the world.

YOUTH is not the organ of an individual but the mouth piece of the revolutionary young workers, and as such invites all young workers to contribute—to make it what it should be—a weapon in the class struggle.

YOUTH must be circulated. The American young workers should read, and it will not be circulated by the capitalist class. If anything, they will suppress. It is up to the young workers thruout the country to give it wide circulation. Let it reach the smallest shop where young workers are employed, let it penetrate the most obscure village where the agrarian youth slave on the farm.

YOUTH invites criticism for it knows it is not perfect; and it can not even perform its function without the cooperative interest of young workers thruout the United States.

Read our first (February) issue. Write us what you think about it and how it can be improved. Make it your paper. Make it a paper for and by the young workers.

Send orders and contributions to National Organization Committee for the Young Workers League of America, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE.

On April 15 the convention of all young workers' revolutionary organizations will convene. This convention will lay the foundation for a powerful movement of revolutionary young workers in America. The Young Workers League of New York hails with pleasure this great event, which will again bring together the young workers' organizations in America into a national body.

To raise funds for the convention, the Young Workers League of New York has arranged a ball for the 18th of February, at 1347 Boston Road. All those who want to see the Young Workers League grow and prosper are urged to attend this ball and to bring their friends.

LOCAL.

The Young Workers League is growing rapidly. A Finnish circle has just been added to our ranks, and more circles are in the process of organization. If you are young or have young friends, come to the meeting of the circle in your neighborhood and convince yourself that it will be for your benefit to join the Young Workers League.

CIRCLE NEWS.

Circle 1—1258 Boston Road, meets every Friday evening. Has 70 members with 10 more waiting to have their applications passed. Conducting three classes:

Sunday afternoon—Economics.

Monday evening—"ABC of Communism".

Thursday evening—Public speaking.

Conducts lectures by prominent speakers every Sunday evening.

Circle 2—307 Stone Ave., Brooklyn, meets every Sunday afternoon. Class in "Capital" every Saturday afternoon. Class in "ABC" every Saturday evening. Both classes very successful.

Circle 3—Finnish, newly organized, meets every Friday evening at 764—40th St., Brooklyn.

Circle 4—Hungarian, new circle, meets every Friday evening at 350 E. 81st St. Held a successful Liebknecht-Luxemburg memorial meeting. Are conducting a class in public speaking every Sunday morning.

Circle 5—61 Canal St., meets every Sunday evening. February 19th comrade Burkin will speak on the "Role of the Young Workers' League".

Sunday morning—Class in public speaking.

Sunday 2:30—Class in Communist Manifesto.

Sunday 3:30—Class in "Capital".

Arranging affair for April 15 to celebrate the holding of the National Convention.

Circle 6—143 E 103rd St., meets every Thursday evening. Class in "ABC" every Saturday at 12. Class in "Capital" every Saturday at 3.

Circle 10—Jewish, 143 E 103rd St., meets Friday evenings.

Circle 11—Jewish, 61 Canal St., meets Saturday evenings.

[illegible] Special Congress of Third (Communist) International to Meet Feb'y 19th

World-wide interest is being manifested in the Special Congress of the Third (Communist) International called for Febr. 19, 1922, to which all the Communist Parties are to send a delegation twice as large as usual.

Last week THE WORKER published part of the proclamation issued by the Communist International calling this congress. This week we publish the conclusion of this proclamation, which is as follows:

• • •

The Communist International has always demanded that the workers who stand on the platform of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviets join together in independent parties. It retracts not a word of what it said at the time of the foundation and of the building of independent Communist parties. It is convinced that each day greater and greater masses will realize how much it was right in all its actions. But in spite of all that separates us, it calls, "Working men and women of all countries, close your ranks in the battle for the cause that unites you, in the battle for that which all of you recognize as a common goal."

All workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats or Syndicalists, even if Christian or Liberal trade-unionists—do not desire to permit any further reduction of wages. They no longer desire to work while hungry and freezing, and therefore they must unite in a common front against the offensive of the employers.

Fear Loss of Work.

All workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats or Syndicalists, Christian or Liberal trade unionists—do not want to beg day in and day out from factory gate to factory gate for work; they all fear being thrown out of work. Therefore they must unite in the fight against everything which increases unemployment. And unemployment will be made perpetual in all industrial countries if the German proletariat, enslaved to the Entente and to German capital, will have to toil as international wage-reducers so that German capitalists will be able to flood the world market with German goods at coolie prices in order to pay the tribute of Versailles. Unemployment will grow if the capitalist world puts conditions of enslavement and subjugation to Soviet Russia and forces it to continue to starve or to defend itself with arms in hands. Therefore unite in the struggle for the cancellation of war debts, for the recognition of Soviet Russia and its building up on the basis of conditions which are in accordance with the interests of the international proletariat.

Not only unemployment is oppressing the working-class. It is threatened by the anarchy of production and is threatened by the fact that the capitalists can produce and export whatever they desire. The impoverished world requires a methodical distribution of raw materials and their methodical utilization. It demands the control of prices. All that is impossible as long as the working-class does not conquer for itself control over production, as long as the organs elected by the workers have not the opportunity of checking the free reign of the capitalist disorganizers. All workers must unite for the struggle, for this control of production which is not only in the interest of the proletariat, but also of the broadest strata of the petty-bourgeoisie which groans under the Bacchanale of high prices.

All workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats, or Syndicalists, and Christian or Liberal trade-unionists, are interested in preventing capitalist diplomacy from starting a new world conflagration, in depriving it of its occupation. Therefore, unite in the struggle against armaments, against capitalist intrigues.

Prepare United Front in the Shops.

The Communist International demands of all Communist workers, demands of all sincere workers, everywhere, in the entire world, in the shop and in the meeting-hall that they unite in one family of workers, who will stand together against capital in all the questions of the day. Create an iron will for proletarian unity, on which all attempts to separate the proletariat will shatter, come they from whatever side they may. Only when you, proletarians, in shop and factory so unite, will all parties which rest upon the proletariat and wish to be heeded by it, be compelled to unite for a common defensive fight against capitalism. Only then will they be forced to break their alliance with the capitalist parties.

However, if the proletariat unites, it will then be able to utilize the niggardly rights granted it by capitalist pseudo-democracy in the struggle for the improvement of the condition of the proletariat and for the strengthening of its positions. We say to you, "The proletarian giant cannot stretch its limbs and cannot raise itself to its full stature under the roof of the capitalist chicken-coop. When you begin to fight you will see that you need the sword of the dictatorship in order to win. But we know that this dictatorship is only possible when the great majority of the proletariat arrives at it through its own experiences, and therefore, the Communist International and the Communist parties will patiently and fraternally march together with all the rest of the proletariat, even when they [illegible]

We know that when you have united your forces, when the entire proletariat advances together, it will learn how great its forces are, it will see that the bourgeoisie which feels itself the lord over the ruins of the world will become as nothing against you.

In the iron conviction that you will go the way that your elite have marked with their blood, the way for which hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, for which Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogisches, Karl Liebknecht and hundreds of other unknown fighters have fallen, for which tens of thousands suffer in prisons in the firm conviction that the fighting proletariat will be compelled to follow the path of Communism, we call to you, "Workers of the world, unite!"

Long live the common battle-front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie!

For the counter-attack against the offensive of capital!

For the struggle for the control of production!

Down with capitalist armaments and plots!

Away with the chains of slavery for laboring Germany!

Hands off Soviet Russia!

Bread and machines for the Russian proletariat!

Long live proletarian solidarity in every country and in the whole world!

The Executive of the Communist International.
The Executive of the Red Trade Union International.
Moscow, January 1st, 1922.

PUT THE THESES IN THE LIBRARIES

Party Members and Fellow-Workers:

A little concerted action, please. Do this this week-today. Go to your library and ask for a copy of "THE THESES AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," adopted at Moscow last June.

No, you won't get it. That's why we want you to ask for it. If a few requests are made for this book the libraries will order it. We want to place one copy in every public library in the United States. We can do it if you make the demand for it. Organize a drive on the public libraries of your city for this book. Tell them it can be obtained for 50c. a copy from

**The Lyceum-Literature Dept.
Workers Party of America,
Room 405, 799 Broadway,
New York City**

Constitution and Program of Workers Party Ready

To the Membership.

Comrades:—The Program and the Constitution of the Workers' Party is now ready in English, to mail out. Every Local and Branch should have a supply of these for both its own members and for sale to meetings and individuals.

The booklet consists of a Preface by the National Secretary, the Program, Constitution and a Digest of the Resolutions adopted at the convention. It is a 32-page pamphlet and sells retail at 10c. The price for quantities of ten copies or more will be 7c. each. For single copies add 2c. postage. The postage on larger quantities will be added to the bill.

You have waited for this booklet, now see how many you can sell. Every meeting for the next several weeks should be supplied with it.

Yours for Propaganda NOW,
Lyceum Literature Department,
Workers Party of America,
Room 405, 799 Broadway
New York City

Seattle Labor [illegible] Scores Grafting

SEATTLE, WASH. (B
The Committee of One
composed of delegates to th
Central Labor Council at
meeting adopted the fo
claration:
"WHEREAS, labor bodies
no control over the private c
cial or business activities of
members,
"BE IT RESOLVED, th
members and their friends, a
public generally be warned
union membership, while believ
us to be a condition and d
manly labor, is not necessarily
commendation of business ho
nor does it mean that the stock
poration, land reclamation pro
or finance security he or any br
for him may be selling, is e
sound, secure or wise or in the
terest of labor, nor does the
prominence of any of its promo
who are parties at interest on
"ground floor" of such stock c
panies and schemes, recomm
them as being either worthy
honest. Seattle, Spokane, Port
and San Francisco are centers
these operations, with Seattle as
home of the ground floor promot
In the interest of decency and
protection of the unwary, we c
upon the press to publish this Re
lution.

THE COMMITTEE OF
ONE HUNDRED."

Being delegates to the Seatt
Central Labor Council, former de
gates who witnessed the Coun
hearings, and members of union
affiliated with the American Feder
tion of Labor. Adopted at Regul
Meeting January 27th, 1922.
(Signed) M. B. Howard, Sec'y,
Committee of One Hundred.
(Signed) John Van Carnop, Pr
Bus. Rep. Hope Lodge No. 79, I
Ass'n of Machinists.

The action of the Committee
One Hundred is intended as a r
buke to certain officers and othe
of the Seattle labor movement w
have used the influence acquired
labor circles to enhance their o
economic status thru the promoti
of pseudo co-operative scheme
The entire matter was aired a sho
time ago and the resulting scand
shook the Seattle movement to i
foundations.

City Central Committee
Local Greater New York

The next meeting of the City C
tral Committee of Local Gre
New York will be held at Labor L
ceum, 243 E 84th St., New Yor
Room 8, on Saturday, February 1
at 8 P. M.
All branches are requested to ele
their delegates if they have not do
so already and furnish them wi
credentials properly filled out a
signed by branch organizer.
All delegates are expected to
at the meeting promptly at 8 P.

William M. Weinstone,
Executive Secretary Local
Greater New York.

STOOL'S "CONSCIENCE HURTS

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—Jack
mond, professional anti-I. W. W
"witness," and chief agent pro
teur of California, has bitten
hand that's feeding him.
At the trial here of Walter
mer on a criminal syndical
charge, Dimond, who was brou
by the State as usual to tell of
horrible doings while pretend
allegiance to the labor organizati
suddenly turned on the criminal sy
dicalism law which supports him a
denounced it as "class legislation."
"Wobblies should be prosecu
by the federal government, not
State," announced Dimond. He a
attacked the "Better American F
eration." Either Dimond's c
science is hurting him at last, or
has wind of some pending fede
legislation from which he hopes
secure a job.
Wismer's conviction has not
taken place, but is expected sho
in the usual California procedure
criminal syndicalism cases.

SEWING FOR RUSSIA

SEATTLE.—Sewing circles
every residential district of
city are being formed as part of
clothing relief work undertaken
the Friends of Soviet Russia. Th
circles will meet once a week
give an entire day to mending
making new clothing for the
tute Russians.

THE TOILER BOOK SHOP

208 East 12th St., New York, N. Y.

has been REORGANIZED. It will carry all latest and best books pamphlets and periodicals on Political Economy, Sociology, History, Literature, etc., also [illegible] periodicals and books. [illegible]

SUBSCRIBE

HERE IS MY "SUB"

The Worker, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

COMRADES:—Enclosed please find $............ in paym

for my subscription to THE WORKER for a period of ....
months, at the rate of $2 per year, $1 for six months.

Name ....

Address

Union Policy Outlined for Editors and dical Toilers by the Workers Party

How should the radical elements work within the labor n? An excellent answer to this important question is cond in instructions just issued by the Workers Party to the rs of labor papers on the question of trade union policy, but ld also prove of great value to every radical and progressive in the union movement. The instructions, in full, which ought to be preserved for reference whenever necessary, are as follows:

Trade Union Policy.

In this country the problem of revolutionizing the trade unions is a very complicated one due to the y years of activity by the radical in the direction of dual union-

ory of building new and ary labor unions has ch headway that a great active workers have the onviction that the Ame ration of Labor must be

don Dual Unionism.

ng out this policy it is apply any general rules dequately meet the situa- each industry. The Workers program covers pretty well specific industries in which the unions are strong and where are weak; and where the revolonary industrial unions are strong the trade unions are weak.

The object of this demarkation is designate into just which direction should throw our support. We st assume the attitude, however, when we support the trade ons in a given field that we do manifest this support by launch- attacks upon the dual unions just cause they are dual unions unless commit specific acts that out- the principles of solidarity.

The object of our work shall be win the confidence of the membership of the dual unions to our ogram, for the purpose of bring- understanding between the membership of the dual unions and that the trade unions.

The object shall be to promote armony between the membership of the respective unions; and not to increase the animosities that now exist.

In this manner the dual unionists can be most readily convinced of the value of abandoning their separatists tactics and induced to join the trade unions.

Again in industries where the Revolutionary Unions dominate our support should go to such unions; with the understanding, however, at we will not encourage the idea increasing the scope of the parlar union of the industry to other dustries.

That is, that we will not favor the of the lumber workers, for innce, adopting measures to orize other industries; or a pro-am to cover the organization of wage workers.

On Strike Situations.

All strikes should be supported. During strikes questions pertaining the merits or demerits of different organizations should not be dissed, unless there is definite evience that a certain organization is ploying policies in direct betrayal the strikers.

Only when there is evidence that organization as an organization rectly involved in a crime against ikers should there be an issue de. If rank and file members of given organization are known to acting contrary to the interests strike, such acts should not be d to the dignity of a major issue publication.

is a well known fact that many idual acts of scabbing are comed by members in unions of all s, acts for which the organizas cannot properly be held responsible. If we play up such acts provoke situations that arouse bad feeling, without contributanything of value to the labor ment.

Industrial Amalgamation.

In our work for industrial amalgamation we shall confine ourselves support vigorously such moves d issues that spring spontaneously from the unions at such times when the need for closer unity is most enly felt; rather than holding to y abstract pure and simple theory of industrial unionism.

For instance, in the metal trades, the Machinists at present are strongly in favor of one organization for the whole metal industry. This situation arises out of the fact that the machinists have been the first to el the bad effects of craft division.

Our task must be to develop with- the other organizations of the meal trades (polishers, blacksmiths, boilermakers, sheet metal workers, etc.) a keen understanding and appreciation of industrial solidarity.

While we should not ignore the lue of propaganda to carry out this k, we should ever keep in mind the workers learn almost en-y by actual experience.

t is during times of strike that we uld be ever present to point out weakness of craft division; and only that, but most important, should bring out issues that promote solidarity.

In the case just mentioned we should by no means confine our activity within the ranks of the machinists just because we can get a better hearing; but we should recognize at a greater task lies in the other organizations to bring them up to position of the machinists. If allow the work to be pushed om only one side it will be the [illegible] of unending friction.

In the shoe making industry there are at least four unions as well as leather workers and shoe machinery workers. In the ranks of all there is a strong tendency for one organization.

Because of the infamous character of the A. F. of L. organization, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, there is a decided and justified feeling of hostility toward the A. F. of L.

In this instance our immediate task should be the formation of a single independent union of the entire industry thru amalgamation.

Don't Destroy the Unions.

In order that our activity should not destroy the unions we should always follow the course dictated by the live issues that grow spontaneously out of the every day struggles; issues in which every trade unionist is vitally interested.

When we take a progressive stand upon such issues the reactionary element cannot charge us with being more concerned with the specious propaganda of an outside body than the real interests of the union movement.

Our supporters in the unions will be fighting upon solid ground and better able to prevent splits upon a purely theoretical basis.

We should never allow the reactionary leaders to have any easy time getting material to bring charges against ourselves or our progressive following with a view to bringing about our expulsion.

When we cannot be charged with working in the interests of another organization we are in a better position to resist expulsion.

Sometimes Best to Retreat.

On this score we deem it advisable to emphasize the grave danger of expulsion. We will go so far as to say that sometimes it is even advisable to retreat on a particular issue rather than face expulsion.

We should always keep in mind that the principal aim of our immediate task is unity, and that reactionaries play upon the word unity to keep their power; but that the officialdom are ready to go to any length to maintain their positions, even to the extent of expelling opponents.

In each instance when the situation becomes critical in any union we should always exercise our intelligence to determine whether we can, or cannot, afford to face expulsion.

We can afford to face expulsion only when by such action will the officials lose the masses; and then we should always be prepared to hold the members together to maintain the union.

If expulsion would mean that we will have only an inconsiderable part of the membership with us it is advisable to retreat for the time being.

In military tactics victory is not gained by always advancing; it is the wise general who knows how to assure victory ultimately by retreating at the proper time. We should retreat when retreat is the only way to hold our forces together.

We enter a given fight always on the assumption that the greater number always are sincere even tho for the time they are against us. It is our object to stay with them to bring them to accept our point of view—that of the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist power.

SEATTLE.—Whether vacant office buildings and palatial homes in exclusive residence districts should be given over to the unemployed is the problem before the city council here. The Workers' Unemployed Council recently presented formal demands for speedy relief from the city.

WE JUDGE CAPITALIST MORALITY

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The type of [illegible] capitalist press loves to tout is one of the many things which offer us a standard by which we can judge capitalist morality.

The one virtue, ostensibly holding the highest place in the capitalist morality is patriotism—love of country. Under capitalism this quality becomes nothing more or less than a blind loyalty to the ruling class and deviations from it are condoned only when these deviations work to the advantage of the world's rulers at times when the subject class is showing strength.

The finest example of the truth of the above premises we have yet seen is contained in the New-York Times of February 2 in a story concerning the marriage of Mrs. Marion Buckingham Ream Stephens to one Anastase Andreievitch Vonsiatsky-Vonsiatsky. The lady of the many names is one of seven heirs to a $40,000,000.00 estate and this of course gives her the entre to the news columns of any capitalist paper.

With her fiance, he of the weird cognomen, the case is a little different. He is employed in the Baldwin Locomotive works and for the nonce appears to be earning an honest living—enough in itself to make him an inconspicuous figure were it not for certain circumstances—generally termed romantic—shaping his destiny. Let this heroic youth of twenty-three years, about to marry a lady with $5,000,000.00, who admits the passage of forty-five summers, tell his own story:

"My family was ennobled but not titled by Czar Nicholas I. and [illegible] Poles and was thus rewarded. My father, Andre Vonsiatsky, was chief of the gendarmerie of Warsaw during Russian control. He was killed in an uprising in 1910. Naturally I became dedicated to the army. I have a cursed Bolshevist bullet in my body now. When the war began I was a student in a military academy and was too young to bear arms. But I was not too young when the revolution began."

Translated into the vernacular the above simply means that beginning with the great-great-grandfather of the hero of this tale, the Vonsiatskys, Poles by birth, were a family of stool-pigeons and gunmen working for the Russian czars against their own countrymen.

The great-great-grandfather sold out his own people to the czar and received for his treachery large estates and the rank of a noble.

According to the admissions of this degenerate scion of a family of spies and traitors, the custom established by the great-great-grand stool-pigeon has been faithfully followed. The father, loyal to the traitorous tradition, was chief of the gendarmerie in Warsaw under the czar and fought against his own people when they tried to throw off the czaristic yoke in 1910. He died at the hands of the oppressed masses he was betraying for gain.

The narrator of the moving tale quoted became an ardent supporter of the counter-revolutionary movements that sprang up after the power in Russia fell into the hands of the masses. He marched with Korniloff. Then with Denikin. Then with Kolchak. As the Times delicately puts it, "when the campaign of the latter resulted in a fiasco he fled to Paris by way of Constantinople". He now finds a snug refuge on our hospitable shores. Fame and fortune are his.

Two more extracts from the Times and this article nears its end.

"Both the mother and father of Mrs. Stephens were of revolutionary stock."

"Count Chirep Spirebovict, a Russian emigre, who is stopping at the Auditorium Hotel, said:

"The Vonsiatsky family had immense estates in South Russia which have been confiscated by the Bolsheviki, but should the political situation change Vonsiatsky would probably be able to match fortunes with his bride."

The whole thing is almost too lovely to be true.

The lady atones for the mistake her revolutionary ancestors made in assisting in the overthrow of the English aristocracy by marrying a hereditary traitor, whose family for four generations gained wealth and power by selling its country and its own blood into slavery; a counter-revolutionary emigre places the seal of his approval on the alliance and the great organ of capitalism in America by playing up the story shows us that the only treason frowned upon by capitalist morality is treason to capitalism.

Sell your country and its people but uphold the hands of the international plunderbund and not only will you be forgiven but you may seek successfully the hand of capitalism's fairest daughter.

Issue Famine Relief Edition of John Reed's Book "Ten Days That Shook the World"

John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World" (Boni and Liveright, $1) has been brought out in a Special Russian Famine Edition. Reed's wife, Louise Bryant, had arranged with the publishers that half of the price of each book shall go for famine relief.

She believes that her husband's memory can be best served by having his books work for the starving Russian workers and peasants in whose service he gave his life.

Tho published two years ago, the book has not grown old. It is a documentary account of the stirring November days in 1917, when the proletarian revolution overthrew the treacherous socialist-bourgeois coalition and established Soviet rule.

John Reed was in the midst of everything during those eventful days in Petrograd, and his book is full of first-hand facts about the greatest uprising in the history of the oppressed and the disinherited.

A great many more books will be added to the many already published about the Russian Revolution. John Reed's vivid narrative of its most critical period will always remain one of the outstanding contributions to the literature of the Revolution.

"There is a book which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all the languages", says Comrade Lenin in his introduction to this edition of the book. And when Lenin says, "unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world", we have the endorsement of the book by the best authority on the Russian Revolution.

To recapitulate: Jack Reed wrote the book. Lenin recommends it. Russian Famine Relief, as sponsored by the Friends of Soviet Russia, will receive half of the price of each book.

Nothing more need be said, except that the price of the book is only $1.00 and that it can be secured from the Literature Department of the Workers Party.—Alexander Trachtenberg.

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SHINES AMONG THE MANY

Since the revolution, books on Russia have poured from the printing presses with the monotonous regularity of a cataract. But as here and there in a waterfall, a drop of water catches the sun and shines forth from the millions of its fellows so does "Through The Russian Revolution" by Albert Rhys Williams catch the eye and hold the attention of the reader.

The spirit of the book is shown in the dedication:

> **"To the Workers and Peasants of Russia who fell in defense of The Revolution. Against riches, power and knowledge for the few you began a war, and with glory you died in order that riches, power and knowledge should become universal."**

The book is filled with cuts of posters issued by the Workers and Peasants governments dating from the seizure of power, through the counter-revolutionary periods to the time when it became possible to begin constructive work. The reproductions of the posters issued by the educational bureaus are printed in their original colors and and are the first of their kind brought to the United States. They are a pictorial history of the revolution and are a delightful addition to even this brilliant book.

With the possible exception of John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook The World," this book is the finest piece of reporting in the English language. It tells a story and as you read it you live through every incident it depicts. And what a story it is; the first epic of the "dark people" surging up into light and liberty. Up they come and they stop for neither the cowardice and treachery of the Kerensky government nor the bayonets, machine-guns and grenades of an enraged officer class. Up they come and when even some of the Bolsheviks waver, the mass drives thru.

For an understanding of the Russian revolution this book must be read. All thru it, in every thrilling incident, runs this same red thread, the symbol of the mass.

In these days when so many leaders are offering themselves to the workingclass it is well to read this book; if you are a leader, read it twice.—William F. Dunne.

A special famine edition has been issued for the "Friends of Soviet Russia" by the publishers, Boni and Liveright. Send your orders to Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y., or Literature Department, Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Marooned in Moscow, by Marguerite E. Harrison. Geo. H. Doran Co.

Ten Days that Shook the World, by John Reed, with an introduction by Nicolai Lenin. Boni & Liveright.

Theses and Resolutions, Adopted by the Third World Congress of the Communist International; The Contemporary Publishing Association.

America and the Young Intellectuals, by Harold E. Stearns. Geo. H. Doran Co.

Three Soldiers, by J. D. DosPassos. Geo. H. Doran Co.

The Revolutionary Crisis of 1918-1921 in Germany, England, Italy and France, by Wm. Z. Foster. The Trade Union Educational League.

Another Anti-Strike Law to Help Suffering Public

ALBANY, N. Y.—Another anti-strike measure under the guise of an act to protect the public welfare has been introduced in the senate by Senator Duell, chairman of the committee on labor and in the lower house by Assemblyman Miller.

The bill is modeled on the Kansas law but is apparently designed to be more sweeping in its provisions. It provides for an "industrial term" of the supreme court and under the act the court is empowered to take over and operate essential industries in the interest of public welfare. The court would have power to fix wages, working hours and general conditions of employment for a stated length of time.

All controversies must be placed in the hands of a state industrial commissioner created by the bill and any ten citizens, not financially interested in the dispute may apply to the court for an order restraining any strike. The proposed measure is denounced by labor union officials as the most vicious yet brought forward.

SOMETHING "DIFFERENT".

Everybody needs money. The Unemployment Council most of all. It needs money to carry on its work organizing the unemployed. Altho it receives contributions from its affiliated bodies, this is not enough to carry on energetic work.

Hence the Council has aranged an "Unemployment Dinner", which will be different from anything held in New York City. Tickets are 75 cents. All in sympathy with the work of the Council should buy tickets. The dinner will take place at the Food Workers' Hall, 133 West 51st Street, on Sunday, Feb. 19, 2 P. M.

Death Stalks Across the Volga

Disaster and death face the vast population in the Volga District. Aid is coming too late to save 25,000,000 people. Maddened and crazed by hunger, men, women and children wander about in the snows on the steppes, to meet death in the bitter, biting cold.

Hope has been kept up by the belief that food would arrive in time; that here or there, somewhere along the railroad line, or far off in the hills food could be procured from a helping co-sufferer. But death has laid a devastating hand on the whole area.

Food cannot be obtained, since it comes too slowly—too late. Children may clamor; mothers may rave; men may struggle—but it is all in vain. The vast fields are covered with snow, with no green beneath.

The steppes are a blanket of death, hiding the naked bones of women holding in embrace—icy embrace—their infants. Death stalks across the Volga—across the sun-baked fields along the Volga, where the shows new reign.

And **YOU! WHAT WILL YOU DO?**

Shall an American worker hesitate? Shall the masses of American labor debate, while millions are starving—are **DYING?**

Soviet Russia needs food in ever greater quantities. It must be forthcoming during the next two months or a disaster such as the world has not yet known will be a fact. The need is growing. All that has been provided is but a small part of what is really required.

Millions Must Be Fed.

Even tho governments, particularly the American, has done considerable, it is clear and has been stated officially that only part of the starving population can and will be taken care of. **WHAT OF THE REST? WHAT OF THE MILLIONS WHO STILL MUST BE FED?**

WHAT OF THE NEXT SEASON, WHEN SEED MUST BE SOWN AND CROPS BE RAISED? WHAT OF THE FUTURE OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE, WHOSE CHILDREN ARE DYING BY THE MILLIONS?

CAN YOU, AMERICAN WORKERS—CAN YOU, AMERICAN FARMERS,—DARE YOU HESITATE IN THE FACE OF THIS CATASTROPHE?

Receive Call for Seed.

The call from Soviet Russia is for seed, for tractors and ploughs. (The International Workers' Relief Committee, the official international committee, in Moscow, has issued the following proclamation:

"The Workers Relief Committee is organizing associations for conducting home industry, it is taking over factories and equipping them with machinery of production, in order to provide possibilities of work to combat hunger effectively.

"The Relief Committee calls on all workers to collect tools and materials of all kinds, but especially to furnish tractors, so that whole Soviet farms can be taken over. Also send transport material, grain and sowing seed for the spring sowing.

"Also send trained workers, industrial and agricultural organizers, equip colonies of workers with tools and food. Form a labor army of the International Workers Relief. Procure these colonies from your midst. This must be done in order that live and active points of contact and solidarity may be formed with the factory workers of the industrial districts."

"No time dare be lost."

International Workers Relief Committee.

Special attention must be called to the appeal of the Soviet Government that as many tractors and ploughs be procured as possible. Especially tractors. The horses and cattle have died off. The small quantity of oats available will keep only a small number of horses. Hence there will be no draught animals for cultivating the fields—and further starvation will face the people.

Workers in Berlin have donated a truck. The workers in another factory have furnished a tractor. This example must be followed by the workers of America. Who will contribute the first tractor from America? Which city will be the first to furnish ploughs, in order that Russian fields may be turned into fields of food?

The Amsterdam Trade Union Federation dispatched the first ship to Soviet Russia in December. The Amsterdam Federation is taking care exclusively of children. A second steamer left Hamburg last month.

On Jan 6, a steamer of the International Workers Relief left Stettin for Reval, bearing 150,000 kilos of sugar, 10,000 bacon, 20,000 kilos fruit and 3,000 cocoa, and large quantities of shoes, clothes, etc.

A new Committee in Denmark was organized by the well known writer and teacher, Marie Nielsen, to collect foodstuffs and other necessaries for the children of the famine district. On December 29, the Italian workers transmitted to the International Workers Relief a further donation of 2,300,000 marks.

Activities in the West are continuing at their original pace. Seattle has held some fine meetings. Hulet M. Wells is making a tour of the western coast, which will take him to the south of California. Miners out in the west, who recently were lined up for relief, have been sending for literature. They wish to apprise the workers in the remote districts of the real meaning of Russian hunger.

Norman H. Tallentire eastwards, lining up the Kansas and Missouri. He be in Iowa.

The FSR is putting some izers in the field. The Minnesota organizer has already been appointed.

Chicago has been so successful in collecting shoes, that it has decided to continue the drive for footwear and open a shoe repair shop. Girls in Minneapolis collected $54.10, as cases filled with clothes collected in that city were being taken to the freight station. The band did not show up, otherwise treble that sum would have been collected.

Newark is in the midst of the clothes campaign. All the affiliated organizations are giving affairs of every character to swell the fund.

"The Junior Club of Revere, Mass., collected for dues $1.50, which we decided to give to the starving children of the Russian workers, and give them our full support."

New York is hard at work. The city was recently divided into sections, with Section Committees directing the work of their territory. Most intense activity is promised in this way.

"I am enclosing a very small draft for your work. I am sorry it cannot be more, but I have had to go without meals to get this. However I am glad to do occasionally what our Russian comrades have been doing for years."

With the children comprehending, and with the adults sharing their little the workers and peasants of Russia may be saved. Let each do his share!

And now! A retired minister, to whose wife had been given a beautiful watch and platinum chain set with diamonds, came to the office of the FSR and donated it for relief. The clergyman stated that he felt ashamed to own such a valuable when millions are starving for food.

A clergyman in Arkansas writes that he wishes to help. Another in Boston is circularizing all churches of his denomination.

Edgar T. Whitehead, the English delegate to the International Workers Relief Conference in Berlin, who after being detained at Ellis Island was released only with difficulty, is out in the middle west lecturing on the Russian situation. Allan S. Broms will shortly begin a tour of the east and middle west. Comrade Broms will deliver illustrated lectures on "The Russian Famine in Pictures."

Work continues with the [illegible] termination and persistence. The total is $360,000. The big features of the week were: Los Angeles [illegible], Chicago $1700, San Francisco [illegible], Boston $400, West Frankfort, [illegible] $349, Cleveland $250, [illegible], Rochester $150, St. Paul [illegible].

THE WORKERS' PARTY
OF CLEVELAND, OHIO,
Sunday Night Forum Lectures
JOHN BRAHTIN
at the
Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Hall
Engineers' Bank Building
Ontario and St. Clair—3rd Floor
Admission, 10 cents
February 19, 1922, at 8 P. M.
AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

4 Days March 22-25
GRAND INTERNATIONAL BAZAAR
4 Days March 22-25
For the Relief of
CLASS WAR PRISONERS
at
THE LYCEUM
86th Street and 3rd Avenue
Get your donations ready now. Come to the office and get contracts for "ads" for our journal.
Auspices:
NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE, NEW YORK DIVISION.
New Address: Room 405, 80 E. 11th St., corner Broadway.

Your UNION DELEGATE should be present at
Organized Labor's
Hunger Banquet
FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF

Principal Speaker:
CAPTAIN PAXTON HIBBEN
Member of the Near East Relief Commission, just returned from the Volga District
Speakers:
SIDNEY HILLMAN
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
TIMOTHY HEALY
ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ
LEWIS GANNETT
ALFRED J. BOULTON
A. BROWNSTEIN
MOISSAYE J. OLGIN & Others
Saturday Ev'g, February 11th, 1922, at 8 o'Clock
at WEBSTER HALL, 119-125 East 11th Street
Send Check or Money Order to:
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, [illegible] Street, New York
ADMISSION, TWO DOLLARS

THE WORKER
(Formerly The Toiler)
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Civilizing America

The passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill by the lower house of congress with only 119 chivalrous southerners voting "no" gives hope that in another decade we may be able to look the Abyssinians and the head-hunters of Borneo in the face.

The liberal magazines are jubilant over the remarkable victory for tolerance. We are glad for their sakes. They have had little to rejoice over since 1916 when they followed the standard of liberalism held high—out of reach, some say—by the late Woodrow Wilson.

Seriously, however, we can think of no greater indictment of the American government and the American people than that a magazine like The Nation should feel it necessary to comment as follows on the action of the house of representatives:

> **"The passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill in the House of Representatives by the large majority of 230 to 119 is an achievement. Every American should derive distinct satisfaction from this, the most important legal step ever taken toward ending our peculiarly national disgrace. For this accomplishment the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which for years has labored to arouse the American conscience about lynchings and to crystallize public sentiment into effective legislation, deserves full credit. But the fight is not yet won; the bill still has to pass the Senate. Those who feel the sting when Europeans ask, 'Do you really mean that crowds gather to see men burned alive in America?' should give the National Association unstinted support until the bill not only passes the Senate and becomes law, but is enforced."**

This is the year of our Lord, 1922. The last witch was burned several years ago, even in backward nations.

In the United States organs of liberal opinion give voice to a feeling of encouragement because one of our legislative bodies has expressed the opinion that it is not quite the thing in this day and age to beat, torture, burn and mutilate members of the colored race at the whim of degenerates who find supreme enjoyment in witnessing these spectacles of sadistic debauchery.

We are glad the Dyer bill passed the house, but our glee is tempered by the thought of those 119 "noes."

"Desmond Murder Shocks Los Angeles"—HEADLINE

This is indeed news. With the recent revelations concerning the denizens of Hollywood, of which Los Angeles is in reality only a suburb, we were of the opinion that about the only thing that could shock that real estate agent's paradise was one of the frequent earthquakes noted everywhere except in the Los Angeles papers.

Freedom

With each advance in social organization there arises an [illegible] over the loss of personal liberty. Much fair white paper [illegible] in the attempt to prove that the development of the [illegible] is hampered and his opportunity for free expression [illegible] when certain practices become illegal by virtue of a [illegible] decision.

These criticisms are heard more and more frequently in these days when the right of individuals to exploit their fellow men for personal profit is being questioned as never before.

The establishment of a workingclass dictatorship designed to facilitate the transition from capitalism to communism interferes with personal liberty in the same manner that compulsory sanitary regulations interfere with the right to dump one's garbage in the public street and yet it is the object of bitter criticism from both the liberty-loving capitalist and freedom seeking workingclass groups.

To the latter we recommend a close consideration of the following quotation from "The Nature of Man" by Metchnikoff:

> "In the progress towards the real goal of life, men will lose much of their liberty, but will receive in exchange a new feeling of solidarity. As knowledge becomes more and more extensive and exact, freedom to neglect it will be more and more limited. Formerly anyone was at liberty to teach that whales were fish; but now that it has been proved that whales are mammals, the mistake is not to be pardoned. Since medicine has become more of an exact science, the liberty of doctors has been restrained. Practitioners have already been sentenced for neglecting antisepsis and asepsis. Other forms of freedom, such as the freedom to neglect vaccination against smallpox, to spit on the floor, or to let dogs run loose without being muzzled, are worthy of savage days and will cease as civilization advances.
>
> "On the other hand, the knowledge that the goal of human life can be attained only by the development of a high degree of solidarity amongst men will restrain actual egotism. The mere fact that the enjoyment of life according to the precepts of Solomon is opposed to the goal of human life will lessen luxury and the evils that come from luxury. Conviction that science alone is able to redress the disharmonies of the human constitution will lead directly to the improvement of education and to the solidarity of mankind."

So it is that the liberty to idle, to be a burden upon society is now being restrained wherever the workers come to power.

With this restriction goes hand in hand a process of education in the new morality of labor, its sacredness and necessity.

The freedom of the few must be curtailed until they can gain the social vision.

No one knows as yet with what subject the next conference to be called by President Harding will deal but its results can be predicted with absolute accuracy.

Wanted—Homes

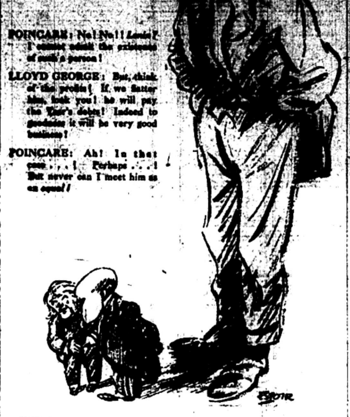
Wherever we turn we find chaos and ruin in capitalism. In every city of the United States there is a shortage of homes. The situation in New York is especially aggravated. According to the Lockwood Committee there is a shortage of at least 80,000 apartments in New York City; that is, there are almost 500,000 people who have no homes. Great stuff for the metropolis "of the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

Capitalism is run for profit and for profit only. When the war broke out, there was a huge demand for all construction materials. Steel, iron, wood, hardware, glass, bricks—all went into the hell of war to keep the flames of death a-burning. Of what importance are homes for the workers to live in when there is a need for hell-holes, trenches, for them to die in? This is plain talk, and any other in 1917, might have netted the indiscreet a free home in Leavenworth. Besides, war contracts netted higher profits than building deals. Hence the shortage in apartments today.

This mad game of the capitalists is showing its ugly head in another field. Not only have not enough new apartments been set up, but even the old have been wretchedly neglected. Repairs are a thing of the past. Of course "Labor is too high." All of this only adds to the misery and degradation of the working masses.

The question of proper housing cannot be settled under capitalism. Profit for the capitalists and comfort for the workingmen do not mix. But immediate relief is necessary. Well, how about the "people's" government doing something? How about the government setting up new apartments to be rented to the workers at cost of maintenance? How about compelling the landlords to clean out the hovels? How about lowering rent to meet the rapidly falling wages? How about the organization of a committee—on which the trade unions will have at least half the representation—which will get to work on these plans at once?

Workers, there is a crying need for relief. We must not let our enemies drive us into still lower degradation. We have had enough. It's time to cry "Halt!" Let us get together on these demands and force the hand of our enemy. We want homes for the workers. We don't give a damn for the capitalists and their profits.


POINCARE: No! No!! Lenin? I cannot admit the existence of such a person!
LLOYD GEORGE: But, think of the profits! If we flatter him, look you! he will pay the Tsar's debts! Indeed to goodness it will be very good business!
POINCARE: Ah! In that case . . . ! Perhaps . . . ! But never can I meet him as an equal!
Ellis

THE PRICELESS PIGMIES

When we hear the Pullman car philosophers talking of the way the unions limit production and how the workers lay down on the job we always wonder who makes all the things the employers have to sell.

Give the Soldiers a Bonus

The capitalists have organized a campaign of tremendous opposition throughout the country to the Soldiers' Bonus Bill. Congress is being bombarded with protests. Terrific noise is made about the cost of the bonus. "It will paralyze industry for years" is the cry of the Chamber of Commerce. Some liberal apologists even taunt the soldiers with a lack of idealism. "Why, how can you, the heroes of war, the saviors of the country, seek a reward for your holy services. You can't ever be compensated sufficiently. Then why make any attempt at compensation at all? Besides, it is a blot on our escutcheon of national idealism to seek monetary reward for noble services."

This is the kind of bunk handed out to our ex-soldiers. Some of them have been rewarded iron crosses, some the poor house, and very many others, wooden crosses. The remaining are left free to live at the sufferance of their capitalist masters and through the suffering of themselves. These fellows are now getting some sense into their heads. The government called them when it needed their help. Why should they not call the government when they themselves need its help?

Our government has poured millions into the coffers of the "poor" railway corporations. Our government has piled most burdensome taxes on the workers when it found it necessary to protect the capitalist expeditions of plunder in China, Mexico, Russia, and the Near East. Our government is piling up huge expenses in maintaining forces to hunt down the spokesmen of the workers and crush strikes and demonstrations of labor solidarity. Why not listen to the voice of the suffering ex-soldier masses?

We are not one bit concerned as to the methods of financing the bonus. Let the government tax the capitalists for whom the soldiers won the war. Let the government cut down on the expenses incurred in maintaining so huge a strike-breaking and labor-crushing agency. Let the government at once set aside several hundred million dollars to tow the workers over the period of depression.

We stand unreservedly with the soldiers in their fight for the bonus. We will not fall for any of the liberal or capitalist expert piffle. We don't give a care what happens to the bank accounts of the capitalists. All we are interested in, is to help the suffering ex-soldiers. The workers and soldiers must not be cowed by the courts. In New York State, the Bonus Law, after reciving an overwhelming majority on the referendum, was declared unconstitutional. This should not frighten us. We must not give way to the efforts of the judicial lackeys of our exploiters. When the government needed the help of the mass of ex-soldiers it did not stop at anything to force them into line. Now the mass of ex-soldiers needs the help of the government. The government knew what it wanted, knew how to get it, and got it. What will our workers and soldiers do? Will they sit back in idle hope for help being extended them voluntarily by their oppressors? Or will they go after what they want with the determination that the government went after what it wanted? A hint to the wise is sufficient. Here is to the wisdom of our ex-soldiers.

The doctrine of "He who does not work neither shall he eat" is enforced to-day only in the case of workers upon whom idleness is forced. The [illegible] wealthy keep right on eating.

[illegible] best answer to the whole [illegible] in a speech by a [illegible] Soviet Government. He said:

"I hear that the Genoa conference is going to talk about debts. Well, I was always a poor man, but had a son killed in the great war. Didn't I pay enough? What can I give more valuable than my own son? Don't the suffering and deaths of the Russian peasants and workers count for anything in the balance the nations of the world are going to make at Genoa?

"We can't pay money now, but we gave our blood then. Mayn't we be allowed to set that against the money claims upon us? If blood is reckoned in the same account as gold, I believe the balance will be in our favor."

No diplomat or financial expert could give a more truthful and more forceful answer. When the workers of every country learn to speak the language of the poor peasant of Soviet Russia, then debts and wars will be things of the past. The sooner we learn our lesson in America the better.

If the wind-power used at the disarmament and unemployment conferences called by Harding could only have been harnessed we could save our coal for the next generation.

Another Savior

The latest disciple of Allen of Kansas, the savior of the public, to offer himself on the altar in the interest of the victims of the labor unions is Senator Dutell of the upper house of the State of New York.

The Senator admits that in the draft of the anti-strike bill he has introduced he has accomplished the impossible. Modestly he says:

> **It offers a square deal to labor, and to capital, and to the public. No one can, properly, ask for more, and no one should receive less than that.**

Labor has been getting this kind of a square deal for some time, and we suppose that many of the politicians, ministers and welfare workers who deplore industrial strife are quite honest in believing that labor can get a square deal under the system. The utter impossibility of such a thing occurring becomes quite evident when we consider that with the control of the industrial and political machinery vested in a class whose interests are opposed to labor's, labor has nothing to say as to what constitutes a square deal. Labor's weapon, the only effective means by which it can enforce its idea of a square deal, is the strike. Deprived of that, it sinks to the level of the chattel-slave. Industrial peace brought about by laws made by capitalist politicians, so far as labor is concerned, is a pax Romana—a peace of death.

Labor cannot, dare not, abide by these laws. To do so means the surrender of the few privileges gained in years of struggle and sacrifice. Labor and labor unions in the United States may be backward, but labor is not so unaware of the danger it faces that it will allow its chains to be riveted tighter by such methods.

We dare to predict that those who favor this anti-strike legislation because it brings industrial peace will find that it brings not peace but a sword.

The introduction of an anti-lynching bill in Congress gives reason to hope that some day we may make it illegal to torture little children to death in factories.

Religion and Politics

When the press of the entire world devotes columns of space to the impending death of the head of a religious denomination and almost as much to the various details concerning the selection of his successor it is not too much to assume that the capitalist world has other than a sentimental interest in the subject. It has. World capitalism to-day is depending largely upon the Roman Catholic Church to stem the tide of world revolt against capitalist society. It is only the workers who are divided on questions of creed and ritual. The capitalist class depends largely upon this division to work for its own ends.

The Roman Catholic church holds fast to the feudal conception of society. As an organization it is just as much opposed to bourgeois democracy as it is to Socialism or Communism. It still strives for temporal as well as spiritual power and has at no time compromised with the modern idea that the people have a right to govern themselves. In a country like the United States it cannot say so, but it never ceases its endeavors to discourage all initiative on the part of the mass.

As Jim Connolly once said, "The Catholic church long ago learned the lesson that any organization with a will to power must learn: to never compromise on fundamentals." This the Catholic church has never done. Its Pope, according to Catholic doctrine, is the representative of God on earth and as such is the supreme ruler in all things. He is infallible, according to the Catholic conception, and the Papacy never admits a mistake. On the lives of millions the Catholic church exercises an influence incomprehensible to one not familiar with its methods of molding the mind. Opposed to all change except a step back to feudalism, it is to-day a bulwark of the very system that rose on the ruins of feudalism.

The dream of the hierarchy of the Catholic church is a new Catholic empire in Central Europe to replace shattered Austro-Hungary. It wishes to unite Bavaria and Poland into a Catholic state and to this end the political moves of its prelates are made. France is dealing with Rome for the first time since Rome lost its privileges in that nation. Rome made no statement on the Irish question but leaned strongly towards the now abandoned policy of the English government. Rome did not want an Irish Free State because it would have meant an Irish church owing no allegiance to Rome.

Is it any wonder that the capitalist press acclaims the election of Cardinal Ratti, who conducted the negotiations in Poland for Rome and who, if the truth were known, has probably had much to do with the hostile attitude of the Polish government toward Soviet Russia? All indications point to the conclusion that the Catholic church is now to be given a free hand, politically, in the countries where its influence is strongest, and that it will once more become a place from which orders will be issued that will be obeyed by priests and potentates alike in nations where capitalism feels itself weak and in need of a powerful and cunning ally.

When the unemployed demand work at union wages instead of charity, all the charity-mongers denounce them as enemies of society.

John Palmer's Death

The Russian paper "Isvestia" of Jan. 14 carries the news of the death from typhus in the famine region of John Palmer. He was secretary to Kameneff of the Russian Relief Commission and left for Russia last May to engage in the relief work. He had been editor of the Esthonian paper "The New World" since 1917 and was universally liked and respected by those who knew him.

His death adds another name to the list, headed by John Reed, of Americans who have lost their lives that the Russian revolution might live.

"You shall not build houses and another inhabit." The old Hebrew prophets showed a gleam of class-consciousness once in a while.

SHIPS
SAIL
Today
Tomorrow
For the
Famine
District
Soviet
Russia
Does
Their
Cargo
Include
A Parcel
Of Food
From You
To the
Starving?
The
Next
Two
Months
Will
Be
The
Most
Crucial
Give
Your
Limit
FRIENDS OF
SOVIET RUSSIA
201 West 13th Street
NEW YORK CITY.

[illegible] ORGAN OF [illegible] WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION
No. 211. SATURDAY, [illegible] 25, 1922

Mobilize Soldiers as 50,000 Mill Slaves in New England Join Revolt

HIBBEN CALLS HOOVER'S ATTACKS MURDEROUS

Toilers United Against Plots of Oppressors

While cavalry and other armed forces of the state wait in the armories, to be hurled against the workers whenever necessary, 50,000 slaves in the cotton mills of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island are out on strike against a 20 per cent reduction in wages.

The striking workers are also battling against a restoration of the 54-hour week. This is an increase of six hours over the present 48-hour week. The labor upheaval is practically general.

Among the first of the mills to [illegible] following the walkout of the workers, was the Amoskeag mill, at Manchester, N. H., with its 15,000 "hands," the largest mill in the world.

The unanimity with which the workers are back of the present struggle is shown by the fact that at Manchester 12,032 members of the union voted for the strike, while only 118 ballots were cast in favor of accepting the new, oppressive conditions of the bosses.

A statement issued for the workers by one of their officials at Manchester, N. H., declares that

"The employes of the textile mills here are confronted with a 20 per cent reduction in wages and a lengthening of the work-week to 54 hours, neither of which we believe justifiable at this time."

Howat Wins His First Battle for Recognition

(Special to The Worker.)

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—By a rising vote of 977 to 864 Alex Howat, fighting leader of the Kansas miners, won his first victory in his fight for reinstatement after expulsion by the Lewis administration. The vote came after Howat had made a dramatic entrance after being denied the floor and after two hours of debate.

It is evident that the Lewis machine has had to go to desperate lengths to maintain what control it has and that the radical element backing Howat has gained considerable strength since the last convention.

Lewis, in his reply to Howat, used "the threatening letter" hokum, one of the oldest tricks known to the officialdom of the labor movement.

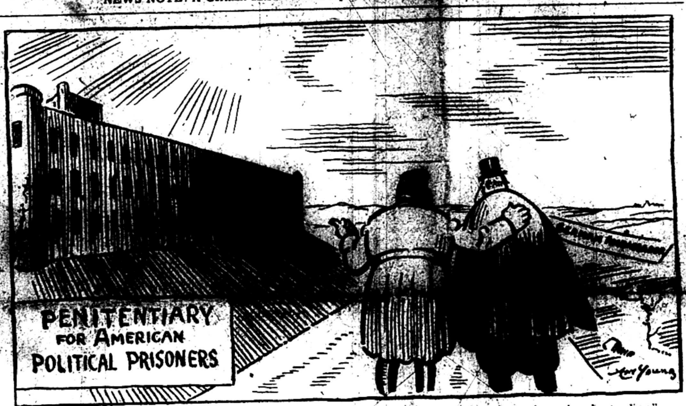
His claim that his life had been threatened seems to have had little effect on the vote, as previous estimates of the strength of the opposing factions were sustained by the ballot as recorded.

It is plain, however, that the Lewis machine is not yet working as smoothly as it can and in all probabilities Howat will lose his appeal on a roll-call vote because of the many "convention" locals whose delegates have been seated by the Lewis machine.

The rank and file of the miners are with Howat and the administration knows it no matter how the vote is juggled.

When the German Ambassador Comes!

NEWS NOTE: A German ambassador is reported to be coming to the United States.


PENITENTIARY FOR AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
Art Young

AMERICAN LEGION OFFICER: "That's where we keep the boys who didn't believe in our late misunderstanding."

The Northcliffe press is now busy in proving that the Indian tribesmen who revolt have "a long record of lawlessness."

President Harding has refused to call a conference on housing and we are a little disappointed because the matter appears to offer just as good a chance of doing nothing as the previous subjects discussed.

The administration is much disturbed over bogus telegrams sent from Philadelphia to obtain the appointment of J. C. Overton as Register of the Treasury. Its digestive apparatus must be upset since stomaching the Newberry deal.

There is no danger that the American Committee for Russian Famine Relief will use the name of the American Red Cross in soliciting funds as the latter organization fears. In the midst of the existing depression no further handicaps are wanted.

In the Capitalist War Against Labor at Home

Above you see a picture of the type of tanks used in the war against organized labor at home. This picture was taken last week in the great steel strike at Newport, Ky. Similar tanks are being held in readiness in the strike of the New England textile workers this week. Next week it will be somewhere else.

National Demonstrations of the Unemployed, Feb. 26

There will be a nation-wide demonstration of the unemployed on February 2, as arranged by the Workers' Unemployment Council of America.

Unemployment Councils have already been established or are in the process of formation in a score of cities in the country.

News comes from Salt Lake City that the situation there is menacing. Denver, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Chicago, Syracuse, Buffalo, Boston, Paterson, St. Louis, Omaha, Portland, Ore., Seattle, are a few of the cities in which the workers are taking steps to organize the unemployed in order to make demands on the government.

PRESENT CRISIS THREATENS PEACE OF COUNTRY

If the unemployment situation does not improve within a month or two, there is not the slightest doubt that there will be serious trouble.

The very fact that Congress is considering the bonus is a sign of the condition of things. They know very well that there will be no bonus law, but they want to bluff the ex-soldier, in order to have him on their side in case of trouble.

The situation will be fraught with all kinds of disaster, if, in addition to having the general unemployed men opposed to them, the ex-soldiers line up against the bosses and the government.

ONLY ONE WAY OUT

The workers are beginning to realize that there will be but one way out of the situation permanently, and that is by becoming the bosses of their jobs. In the meantime, however, something must be done to alleviate their immediate position.

They are beginning to grumble and mutter. They see the bosses and their wives and paramours enjoying the best of things, while they, their wives and children starve. They see the warehouses full of food, and the stores full of clothing, while they go hungry and cold.

They see the factories are closed, and they must walk the streets looking for a job. They know something is wrong; RADICALLY wrong, when a few capitalists, bankers of Wall Street, hold the purse strings of the country and can decide whether men will be allowed to work or not.

UNEMPLOYED MUST BE ORGANIZED

The nation-wide demonstration will bring a good part of the 10,000,000 jobless men and women together. It will give direction to their demands. It will organize them into a fighting, militant body to fight alongside organized labor for the solution of the GREAT question of to-day—UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE JOB.

Unions are [illegible] to make the week of February 20 to 26, UNEMPLOYMENT WEEK. The time for action has come. MAKE A GIANT PROTEST AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT!

Accuses Hoover Again Attempting Soviet Ruin, Attacks Relief Work, Adds Millions to Death List; U. S. Aid Is Not Nearly Enough, Says Hibben

"UNCLE! UNCLE! GIVE ME A PIECE OF BREAD! JUST A VERY LITTLE PIECE OF BREAD, UNCLE!"

"With this cry ringing in my ears, a cry coming from millions of starving Russian children in the famine district, I came back to America resolved to do all in my power to give them the little piece of bread they asked for," said Captain Paxton Hibben, speaking to the guests at the Organized Labor "Hunger Banquet," held at Webster Hall, the evening of February eleventh, under the auspices of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Captain Hibben was the last speaker on the program which included Timothy Healey, as chairman, Claire Sheridan, Lewis Gannet, of The Nation, Joseph Schlossberg, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Moissaye J. Olgin, Abraham Lefkovitz, of the Teachers' Federation, A. Brownstein, of the Furriers' Union, Alfred Boulton, of the Stereotypers' Union, William Dunne and others.

All speakers dwelt on the [illegible] for increasing [illegible] labor to aid the Russian [illegible] the limit of their ability. "The Russian workers are fighting the battle for the workers of all the world," one speaker put it and that this was the view of all present was evidenced by the applause greeting any reference to the debt owed the Russian workers by wage-earners of other lands.

Captain Hibben began by saying that he had prepared a statement he would read before treating with his experiences in the famine districts, as he wished to be sure what he said concerning a matter on which he felt deeply. The statement follows:

• • •

By PAXTON HIBBEN

Being His Remarks at the Hunger Banquet for Russian Famine Relief, Webster Hall, Feb. 11

Three weeks ago, at a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association at the Hotel Astor, I seem to have started something which has assumed amazing proportions. I asked a plain question:

"Is there an effort to concentrate or to limit in any way the relief which is being given by the American people to the starving in Russia, with the possibility always that those who do not receive relief will become dissatisfied with the present government of Russia, and overturn that government? And if there is that tendency or that purpose to limit the relief that we are extending to Russia, why is it being so limited and what is the idea behind it?"

VOLUNTEER WORKERS WANTED

There are thousands of [illegible]

[illegible] Those who have spare [illegible]. Those out of employment will be given a chance to earn their own "daily bread" (we will pay for their meals) if they will help. Call at once. FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 201 West 13th street, New York City.

Hits Times' Propaganda.

We have to-day a categorical answer to that question. The propaganda emanating from Washington, from the Department of Justice and the Department of State and the Department of Commerce, all official departments of our government, which is appearing in the New York Times and, I believe, in the Chicago Tribune, is a definite effort to limit the relief which is being given by the American people to the starving of Russia.

The effect of this propaganda is, and is intended to be, so to impress those whose generosity of heart might otherwise tempt them to give of their substance to help the starving millions of Russia with the possibility that some of the funds so contributed might be handled by the Soviet Government of Russia, that their giving is at least discouraged if not inhibited.

The idea back of this propaganda seems to be to brand every man or woman in the United States who dares to save a starving child in Russia otherwise than thru the

Continued on Page 2

The Textile Strike

The strike of the textile workers in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Maine is the first strong sign that the campaign of wage-reductions without resistance has about run its course and that from now on the workers will put up a bitter fight to prevent the slashing of their already attenuated incomes.

In the present strike, brought on by a threatened cut of 20 per cent, following a 22 per cent some time ago, the organized textile operatives are represented by two unions: the United Textile Workers and the Amalgamated Textile Workers, the latter having fought the great Lawrence strike of 1912.

The daily press carries the usual stories of troops being held in readiness to assist the mill-owners, and it is quite evident that the authorities stand ready to re-enact the bloody drama with which the American workers have become familiar in every instance where the interests of the wage-earners and those of the corporations clash.

The industry is completely tied up at this writing, the workers of all except a few mills being to all intents and purposes a unit in resisting the proposed cut.

Now is the time for all class-conscious workers in the [illegible] industry to work and agitate for one textile union embracing [illegible] workers, to sink minor differences and build a powerful [illegible] organization that will deliver the textile workers from the [illegible] than slave conditions under which many of them are [illegible].

If out of this strike will come such an [illegible] mighty step forward will have been made by [illegible] of this nation.

RUSSIA

FROM ONE IN PRISON

Russia, what have you been to me!
What are you to me?

There was first the barbaric tale
Of your growling tribes,
And their sudden calamitous [illegible],
Simple as the seasons of their plains.

And then longing —
A quick freedom —
Stopped by a hand that stunk of
the blood of thousands.
And then the sky was gray:
And delicate clear words
Complained with weary bitterness
That the world was stale . . .
And Dostoieffsky's tortured voice,
Cried out, in the words of a child,
The driven agonies of your soul . . .

And then the sky was dark yellow,
Banded with red and black,
Presaging anger . . .

And then the stars were bloodied,
And the earth shouted;

And then came Revolution:
Moving like relentless music over
the earth,
Streaming from the flowering heart
of the people, —
Imperative, unknowing,
Speaking new words it hardly under-
stood,
Built of the slow strength of years.
Revolution!

A new wind has passed over the
plains,
A wind of many voices;
Crying the revenge of hunger
And the fullness of new hope.

Joy, oh, Russia!
The joy of release,
The colored pulse of creation
Beating in the veins of your people.

Free! Free!
O, Russia, free in your wounds,
In the beautiful blood of your striv-
ing.
O, Christ nation,
Saviour,
Crucified by the master thieves.
O, warrior deliverer,
Calling, calling,
Thru this thick slow night,
To the answering hope in my
prisoned breast.

Russia,
Where the flame of our days has
been liberated,
Mother of the passion which is my
child and my master:
The passion of Revolution . . .
In famine and suffering,
You have been sustenance to our
souls
And breath to our minds.

Scarlet fire of deliverance,
Alight forever in Russia's heart—
Oh, steadfast lacerated heart!—
Thru hunger and disease
And the vile wars of plunderers,
Burning ever, as a signal to us
Who wait
Amid the tears of children
And the agonies of the poor
Your strong coming.

Charles Ashleigh.

Fight the Famine!

The reports coming from the Volga provinces are heart-rending. Nothing can picture the misery and suffering that the people are enduring.

At a recent congress held in Moscow, a delegate from Samara made a report of conditions. He pointed out with what joy the peasants received the seeds for autumn sowing, and how the half-starved peasants have been ploughing up the land with their wasted and starving horses.

But the hope raised by the supply of seed is now giving place to renewed anxiety, as the relief they receive is most inadequate when compared with the magnitude of the calamity.

In the Samara Province alone, more than 2,000,000 people are starving. In many places, only 10 per cent of the starving population receive relief. It is hoped that it will be possible to feed about 50 per cent of the adult population.

All the remainder of the population will die by the slow process of starvation during the seven months before the next harvest will be available.

In Buguruslansky County, which used to be one of the most fertile areas, seventeen of the fifty volosts will be wiped out completely. In Stavropol County, **not more than 10 per cent of its total population of** 180,000 are expected to survive.

The delegate referred to Dr. Nansen's visit to the villages in the Samara Province. In the village of Kolivan, 424 persons had died of hunger. Out of 4,000 horses in the district, only 125 remain. When Dr. Nansen was there he spoke to the peasants. Women fell at his feet and showed him their exhausted, starving children, and implored his help.

Sickness and the death rate are increasing from month to month. About 140 children are dying daily in each district of the Samara Province. Many mothers lose their reason at the sight of the agony of their children. Some carry their children into the fields and leave them there to die; others kill them with their own hands to save them from the tortures of slow death from hunger.

The delegate concluded with the words: "The peasants of the famine area are appealing to you with the last effort of their exhausted strength. Comrades, hurry with your help!"

The Congress was also reminded of Colonel Wedgwood's statement in the House of Commons: "Had the British Government given for famine relief, even half of the sums they wasted on help for Denikin and Koltchak, there would not have been one case of hunger death in Russia."

He pointed out that all the various capitalist Governments and organizations had contributed $53,750,000 for famine relief, while the Allied Governments spent up to April, 1921, $900,000,000 in maintaining an army of occupation in Germany.

How much was spent by them on the armies of Denikin, Koltchak, Wrangel and the Archangel Government, it was impossible to say, but the sums must have been enormous —and that money was spent on bringing death an destruction to the Russian people.

The revolutionary workers of France have devised a unique method of procuring aid. During the month of January they collected food, clothing, etc. These goods were to be transported by train from Metz to Stettin, passing thru various German cities. Truck load after truck load was gathered in many cities, till finally a train of about 25 cars was on hand, bearing 200 tons of food and clothing. The Paris workers have despatched a fresh cargo of rice.

The British Workers' Relief Committee is collecting all kinds of jewelry. The Committee has also designed a little flag to be sold for relief purposes, more than 10,000 having already been disposed of. The collections of the radical British workers have risen to above $19,750.

The radical workers and prominent artists and scientists of Greece have organized a Central Relief Committee, which has branches in all parts of the country. Despite the petty intrigues and interference of the government, which has not hesitated even to arrest some members of the local committees, the organization has succeeded in raising 40,000 drachmas, half of which has already been forwarded to the International Workers' Relief Committee, Berlin.

The nineteenth vessel chartered by the International Workers' Relief Committee has left Stockholm for Reval. This ship, the "Egil", carried 67,898 kilos grain, 3663 kilos other food, 2570 kilos clothing, 450 soap.

The Argentine Workers' Famine Relief organization has already secured the affiliation of more than 100 trade unions comprising 300,000 members. The committee was organized by the Communists.

BENEFIT AT CLEVELAND

Sunday, February 26, The Working Women's Educational League will hold a grand concert and dance at 6 p. m., Talmud Tora Hall, East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. The proceeds go toward famine relief in Soviet Russia. Charles Baker will be the speaker and on the program are included The Russian Dramatic Club and the well known Art Group of Cleveland. Music for the dance furnished by Rosenthal's Orchestra.

Admission 50 cents a couple. Every person interested in helping his starving conmrades in Russia will help make this entertainment a success by being present.

Calls Hoover's Attacks Murderous

Continued from Page 1

American Relief Administration as a "red" or an associate of "reds." The New York Globe has stated the logical consequence of this campaign against charity and broad humanitarianism:

"The natural consequence of the silly attack upon various bodies which are collecting funds and food for Russians in the famine areas will be to add to the millions of impotent and innocent victims."

Of course this will be the result, and those who have launched this campaign to starve the Russians know it full well. Back in 1919, Mr. Hoover sent a cablegram to President Wilson, referring to an American relief organization then operating abroad in which he criticised the methods of that organization and added that if the facts were to become known the resulting scandal would be a blow to organized charity for a generation—I quote from memory. He proposed, not that that organization be publicly arraigned in the press, but that men whom he would choose should be placed in control of that organization to reorganize it. And it was done.

It's Different Now.

Now, Mr. Hoover knew then—and I quote Mr. Hoover now merely as an authority on relief work; certainly there is none greater—[illegible] an attack upon one relief organization as inefficient or incompetent or dishonest would inevitably [illegible]ect upon all relief agencies seeking funds from the public; and as [illegible] Hoover was himself then seeking funds from the public for relief work, and did subsequently go before the public for funds [illegible] relief work, he very naturally [illegible] not want to do a thing which [illegible] inevitably discredit all relief.

[illegible] now it is different. The American Relief Administration has received its funds from the Congress [illegible] it has no need to make a public appeal.

But there are other organizations whose aim is as much the saving of the famine victims of Russia as the American Relief Administration—[illegible] who impose no conditions whatever upon their relief, save that those to whom food is sent be hungry.

They must go to the people of the United States and appeal for funds if they are to save anyone.

Needs Are Not Met?

And this attack on all relief organizations not controlled by the American Relief Administration or not actively hostile to the Russian Government, ties their hands and makes their task, already a difficult one, almost an impossible one

For let no man think for a moment that the American Relief Administration's allotment of food for the starving of Russia will meet the need. It will not.

Immediately above the article in the Times this morning attacking all other relief agencies not semi-official there is a London dispatch quoting the American Relief Administration itself as stating that "official request was made by the Soviet government for further additions to the child feeding program in certain Volga districts due to the increasingly terrible conditions in the Volga valley."

27 Million Starving.

The Times itself, on December 26, in an editorial, placed the number of starving in Russia at 15,000,000, and on January 7 quoted President Kalinin of Russia as putting the figure at 27,000,000.

By no possibility can the American Relief Administration feed 6,000,000 people even so little as 14 ounces of bread per day until the harvest is in.

Who is going to keep the other 9,000,000 Russian farmers from starving? There are about 9,000,000 children to feed. If every bit of the American Relief Administration's stock goes to feed children only, there will be something like 3,000,000 children to keep alive until the middle of next August. Who will do it? **And if this campaign against the relief agencies which are trying to complete the job of saving the millions of starving in Russia has the effect of curtailing the gifts of the generous people of the United States to save those millions, who is responsible for their needless death?**

Let "Murder" Stand.

In a letter to me of February 3, Mr. Hoover took exception to what he termed my fear that he would commit murder. I should, myself, have hesitated to put a name to what must be the effect of his propaganda from Washington in which Mr. Hoover himself is so largely quoted. But Mr. Hoover has put a name to it. Let it stand.

Understand me; I am throwing no stones at Mr. Hoover. He has got together $47,500,000 for the starving of Russia, and a man who can do that I take off my hat to.

For what I am interested in—and what we are all interested in, I take it—is those people over there who have fought the good fight—who have existed for four years in the face of an enemy world—and who now have their backs to the wall, driven into a corner by sheer hunger.

I don't want to see them lose that fight; but most of all I don't want to see them lose that fight for the lack of food of which you and I have plenty. And what they have got to understand down in Washington is that the war is over, and all the dark and shady methods of the war—the propaganda and the terrorizing of people into silence—are done with.

Hitting the Politicians.

And that if millions of workers all over this country want to take up the job of feeding the starving of Russia when the supplies of the American Relief Administration are exhausted—as workers, to help the workers of the only government of workers, by workers and for workers in the world—it is nobody's business to interfere. And those who try to interfere are the ones who are making politics out of relief, not those who are trying to feed the starving.

• • •

At the conclusion of his address the audience rose and tendered Capt. Hibben an ovation. Tim Healy, in his capacity as chairman, called for donations and pledges and approximately $10,000 was raised for the famine sufferers.

Officials of the Friends of Soviet Russia stated that Capt. Hibben had been routed under their auspices for a tour of eastern cities.

"The [illegible] Russia [illegible]," says A. A. [illegible], Commercial Director of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in the United States. "Russia is passing thru a difficult period. There is famine in a part of the country, there is industrial dislocation. In spite of that, brave men and women are fighting on the economic front, taking hold of the situation, and establishing firmly the Workers' and Peasants' Republic."

Heller, who recently returned from a six months trip in Soviet Russia, will describe Russian conditions as he saw them at a meeting to be held Sunday, February 19th, 8 p. m., at Food Workers' Hall, 133 West 51st St., under the auspices of the West Side Branch, Workers' Party. Admission, 10 cents. His subject will be "The Regeneration of Russian Industries."

INTERNATIONAL LABOR NEWS NOTES

AUSTRALIA

The Australian Court of Arbitration and Conciliation has refused to concede a 44-hour week to the national unions in Australia, because of the economic conditions that are said to prevail. **This does not prevent unions and employers from 44-hour agreements among themselves.**

Holding that the Washington Conference can offer no hope to the workers, the Australian Council of Action has decided to call a Pan-Pacific Conference of Labor organizations to prevent war. Until the Trade Union Congress of next June the Council will proceed energetically in its activities for the One Big Union and the extension of the Labor Research and Information Bureau.

ENGLAND

In preparation for the coming national election the Labor Party is planning to put 400 candidates in the field. Tho the Co-operative Society as a whole has negatived the proposal to join the Labor Party politically it will support the Party in many localities.

In view of the present situation in the mining industry the Derbyshire Miners' Council has decided that it is not desirable that miners' officials enter Parliament. Two officials have withdrawn their candidatures in consequence.

HAWAII

The planters have been waging a vigorous "open shop" campaign which has seriously weakened the unions. Wage reductions have become general. In answer to this attack there has been formed a union known as the United Workers, an amalgamation of all the unions outside of the A. F. of L. and with jurisdiction only in the Hawaiian Islands. The Japanese and the Filipino Labor Unions with a memberchip of 35,000 have agreed to affiliate with the new organization which disregards race and color. The various small "white" unions are awaiting advice from their Internationals.

HUNGARY

The Social Democratic Party has surrendered to the Horthy regime for a fictitious amnesty to only a small number of political prisoners. Because of the split between the Horthy group (small farmers, middle class, ex-officers, officers, and small tradesmen) and the Royalists (big capitalists and big landowners) there is a good opportunity for the workers becoming a political force. But the Communist Party is in no position to utilize this situation immediately. Its Central Executive Committee is compelled to function outside the country and is in the midst of a serious factional dispute involving Bela Kun. The Comintern is investigating the whole matter in order to speed up action.

ITALY

The country is in the throes of a serious economic crisis. Labor leaders say that the official estimate of the Minister of Labor of 500,000 being unemployed is far below the actual number out of work. A long continued drought coupled with the international financial difficulties is largely responsible for the depression. The cost of living continues to soar and the governments unemployment relief fund of 1,300,000,000 lire s now exhausted. Except for the metal workers and printers, the treasuries of all the unions have been emptied by the call for relief.

SCOTLAND

GLASGOW.—The Clyde engineering employers are attempting to run a bogus union of foremen to prevent their being part of the trade union movement. Firms are advised to start in their works a branch of the "Foremen's Mutual Benefit Society"—the employers paying 2 shillings 6 pence into the funds for every 2 shillings 6 pence contributed by the men. A condition of membership is that all connection with trade unions or kindred bodies must be severed.

STEAL MILK: 90 DAYS.

Y. Gomez, of Marysville, Cal., penniless and starving, took a bottle of milk. The Judge gave him 90 days, the limit for petty larceny.

One servant should be made to do (For one man's pay) the work of two.

[illegible] Convention of the Young Workers

The Convention Call of the Young Workers' League of America has been [illegible] enthusiastically [illegible] by the Young Workers' League [illegible]. It has been [illegible] endorsed [illegible] of Chicago, H. Gomez; Young [illegible] Workers' League of Detroit, A. [illegible] Boston, H. Caster; and the Young Workers' League of New York City, O. Carlson, H. Seligson and G. Schu[illegible].

Here Is the Convention Call to Organize Young Workers League April 15

The Convention Call to organize the Young Workers' League of America is as follows:

• • •

To All Young Workers and Workers' Organizations in the U. S.:

Comrades:—The time has come when the working-class youth of this country must take the initiative in creating a solid front against their common enemy—the capitalist class which oppresses and enslaves them, which dwarfs their bodies and poisons their minds.

The young workers must be roused to action against the exploiters who force them into the hell-holes of industry to do the hardest and most disagreeable kind of work.

When war is necessary to expand the capitalists' field of exploitation, these young workers are sent to be the cannon fodder. Upon their return (those who do return) their oppression and exploitation becomes greater than ever before.

This applies to the working-class youth generally—agrarian and industrial. These are the facts of the case, and yet no organization exists which can rally these millions of young wage-slaves into a compact fighting organization.

The time is ripe for action. The need for a national organization of the youthful toilers embracing proletarian students as well as the workers in the industries and on the farms was never more imperative than now.

Therefore we, the undersigned organizations, thru the national organization committee of the **Young Workers' League of America,** call upon all young people's organizations to unite with us in a joint convention to be held in New York beginning April 15, 1922, upon the basis of the following points to launch the **Young Workers' League of America as the fighting vanguard of the working class youth.**

1 **Unity of all existing militant young workers' organizations in this country.** Unity, not in words alone, but the unity which comes from an understanding of our common interest in the struggle for working-class emancipation.

2) **Our aim to be the abolition of capitalism** by means of the **Workers' Republic—a** government functioning thru the power of the proletariat to the exclusion of all other classes—as the first step towards the establishment of an **international classless society,** free from all political and economic slavery.

3) **A mass organization.** Our attitude must be to educate and to organize as large a section of the Young Workers as can possibly be reached. In order to accomplish this we must strive to reach them at whatever points they congregate or work (shops, factories, stores, mines, schools, farms, trade unions, etc.). Our tactics must be such as to win the broad masses of working youth to our point of view.

4) **A militant organization.** The first step towards making the Young Workers' League a mass organization can be accomplished if we make it an active, aggressive body that **fights** for the interests of the working class in general and the young workers in particular. It must show its sincerity and purpose, not only thru words but thru **deeds.**

5) **Education thru activity;** that is to say, education thru active participation in the everyday struggles of the working class as the **essential feature** in training the young workers. Study classes, lectures, debates, etc., must likewise be carried on in every league to furnish the theoretical **Marxian** back-ground for the youth.

6) **Condemnation** of the young people's Internationals and organizations affiliated or sympathising with the Second or Second-and-a-half Internationals and recognition of the Young Communist and Communist Internationals as the real leaders of the revolutionary workers of the world.

7) **Organisations subscribing to the Convention Call,** and sending delegate to the convention must agree to merge into the **Young Workers' League of America.**

All organisations agreeing to this will immediately communicate with the National Organisation Committee of the Young Workers' League, O. Carlson, Secretary, 80 East 11th Street, Room 402, New York City.

The worker dared to use his head,
And for the crime was called a "Red."

The Daily Worker is coming

These organizations, representing many hundreds of active and militant young workers in four of the largest cities of this country, call upon the young workers everywhere to join in the formation of a solid front by the working-class youth by answering the convention call.

All organizations answering the call should send in the following information: Name of organization, number of members in good standing, names and addresses of secretary and organizer, copies of present constitution and program, and all other information that would be of aid to committee.

Acceptances Received Daily.

Acceptances are being received daily, New York being the first to go on record as favoring the convention on the basis of the call. Chicago, Boston, Detroit followed and we have assurances that other cities will accept immediately.

Los Angeles reports that an active group of comrades are building up the movement on the Pacific Coast.

It might be possible to have a delegate representing the entire organization on the Pacific Coast; but the expense is tremendous and only by the financial aid of the comrades everywhere can this be accomplished.

It is gratifying to note that the Workers' Party is lending active assistance to the League in aiding it to organize. In Syracuse, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, Boston, Philadelphia and elsewhere the older comrades have indicated their willingness to assist in the organization of branches of the Young Workers' League.

Plans for Raising Funds.

The leagues thruout the country have plans well under way for a series of affairs to defray convention expenses. New York is to conduct a dance and concert for the benefit of the national organization; Chicago is running a ball in conjunction with the City Central Committee of the Workers' Party; Detroit is arranging a Commune Ball which they are putting over strong. Chelsea, Mass., has promised active assistance.

A special feature of interest among the leagues was the appearance of the official organ of the Young Workers' League of America—**Youth.** Comment pours in, as well as contributions, all seeking to make this magazine a strong revolutionary organ. The distribution is progressing rapidly. Ann Arbor reports that the ten copies sent them were disposed of upon receipt; Chicago has 400 which they claim will go; Detroit 250, and New York 1000.

Special Issue of "Youth."

Those responsible for the publication of **Youth** urge all comrades to turn in receipts immediately as the next issue is being made up and the printer must be paid.

A special Convention Edition will appear shortly containing the provisional Manifesto, Program and Constitution for discussion and comment.

Also, special articles of vital interest will appear. The next issue will be much larger than the proposed size. There will be a slight advance in price for this issue. Price will be 15 cents.

PLOTKIN TO SPEAK

S. Plotkin will speak on "The Political Situation in the East, and its International Importance." at the meeting of the Young Workers' League, Sunday night, February 19, at 1258 Boston Road.

The [illegible]

By [illegible]

RUSSIAN PICTURES

[illegible]
I saw a man in [illegible]
Who could speak German
And Polish and Russian;
He asked me if the baggage
Heaped beside me
Was my own possession.
But when I told him "No,"
That it belonged
To a Czecho-Slovak delegation
Going to Moscow,
He drew away regretfully,
Still watching it,
So I asked him why
He had questioned me,
And WHAT
Was his occupation,
And then—
He shuffled away quickly,
And they told me he was
A SPECULATOR
Buying up Russian roubles
To sell in Poland,
Or any kind of stuff
To sell in Russia.

• • •

I saw in the station at Orsha
A well-fed woman
Seated on a bag of grain
With other bags heaped round her
Waiting for her train
To Moscow;
And they said she also
Was a Speculator,
And that the price of grain
In the "free market"
Was twice as much in Moscow
As in Orsha,
And she was taking up
These few bags
To sell for many
Hundred thousand roubles.
And I told them to ask her
About her business,
But they said: "What use?
She would deny it."

• • •

Then I said: "WHY
Will they not tell?
Is it not now ALLOWED
To buy and sell grain
At a PROFIT?
Have you not new regulations
Permitting this private trading?"
"Certainly," they answered,
"It is LAWFUL,
But they are ASHAMED
It is not considered in Russia
An HONORABLE occupation!
They are making MONEY
Instead of helping the famine!"

FIGHTING LUMBER WORKERS

A new militant spirit has been aroused among the men in the logging camps since the decision of the recent Canadian Lumber Workers Convention to seek affiliation with the Red Labor Union International, a report from the Union declares. The lumber workers suffered more heavily from wage cuts than any other class of labor during the past year. The first cut met with no organized resistance, and so another soon came along. Still no real fight was put up, and the same thing was repeated. Before the middle of the summer, wages had been reduced to less than half the amount they had been in 1920.

Now, however, according to the report, "the scene is changed, for this year the loggers are going to make a concerted effort to get back to 'normalcy.' They have decided that no longer are they going to endure what they endured last year. They intend next winter when they come to town they will come with a 'stake.'—The classconscious loggers are lining up to do battle for themselves and their class. The fighting pioneer spirit of the loggers has not been broken yet; and the boss loggers are soon going to find that the Lumber Workers' Union is not dead as they thought it was. They have spent more money to kill this union than it should take to kill a dozen unions.

Do not forget the fact that the boss loggers are about tired of running a training school. They want men who are able to produce the goods. Now is the time to go after the boss loggers, and get him on the run."

See Russia in Pictures!

Motion Pictures

of Russian conditions shown for the first time in this country.

CAPTAIN PAXTON HIBBEN

who has just returned from a three years stay in Russia, formerly with American Embassy in Petrograd, will speak.

MOISSAYE J. OLGIN will preside

Sunday Evening, February 26, 1922

at the

Lexington Theater

51st Street and Lexington Avenue

Auspices:

Friends of Soviet Russia.

Admission, 50 cents.

nstrate; nks Grow

stration of about 1,500 seamen and dock work- place down near the Bat- Monday, Feb. 13, under the and with the protection of of policement, detectives, ment of Justice agents and people of that character.

the corner was a platoon police, ready to charge whose purpose, it was in advance, was to "loot ware-houses."

OVOCATION FAILS

provocation, however, failed ly. The revolution that the and the "cops" seemed so on having, failed to come off. are here to exercise our le- rights," said one of the "Reporters asked me be- meeting whether it was true intended raiding the store- in the neighborhood.

would like me to tell you things, so they could break up movement and our meeting. But on't tell you that—not yet. We here for a specific purpose. We going to organize, and nothing top us.

ernment Fraud Exposed

rding called a conference and done nothing. The financial of our capitalist papers have telling us for the past year half that prosperity was just the corner.

"Now they admit that there will no prosperity during the coming ing. Unemployment is on the cided increase. The workers have ed up their savings.

"The head of a mission stated that manufacturer of Long Island of- ed a few jobs to men who are illing to put up with the worst nd of work. He didn't get a few ers. When he got to his plant in morning, the street was blocked.

Bonus Will Not Be Granted

"You fellows who went across the ater! You were cheated the worst all. They promised you a bonus. w after talking about it a whole the whole bunch are in favor giving you the bonus—on paper.

"But you won't get it, because the ernment has no serious inten- of raising the money. They $500,000,000 to the railroad nates. They lost a billion on the oden ships that they couldn't sell.

Provocation Fails

"They are offering a subsidy to ship-owners. They raised bil- ns for the war. They are spend- hundreds of millions on the my and navy. But they haven't penny for the worker who haven't job.

Organization the Only Hope

"There is only one way in which get anything. You've got to ize and present your demands up by your organization. can kick you about if you're ndividual, but they will have to to you if you are an organiza- that talks."

everal hundred of the unemploy- were registered. The meeting a fine demonstration of deter- ion on the part of the workers. have got to a point where they e that they must do something selves.

he next day there was an organ- ion meeting of men who attend- the demonstration. About 200 ed up, listened to a talk on the rpose of the Unemployment uncil, which created the Organ- ation of the Unemployed. There considerable discussion, and ally a committee was elected to e charge of the organization of e unemployed down on the docks.

City Divided into Sections

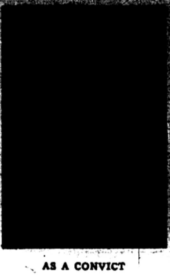
The Unemployment Council has ecided to divide the city of New ork into sections. It will held etings in every industrial section, there organize the unemployed. e Section Committee elected at e meeting will elect two or more elegates to a Central Council of the nemployed which will direct the tivities of the whole organization e city.

his is the only way in which in- ive organization work can be e. The Section Committee will ange for the activities in their tions in conformity with the de- ions of the Central Council. The ter will arrange all the major ac- ities, such as big demonstrations,

e will be a demonstration on urday, 2 P. M., at 10th St. and d Ave. A big demonstration is nned for Saturday. February 25, place to be announced later.

COLDWELL TO SPEAK

Joseph M. Coldwell, recently re- sed from the Atlanta Prison, will the guest of honor, and will also liver a short address at a benefit matic performance to be given for political prisoners by the Rand hool Students' League. Wednes- and Thursday evenings, Feb. 22 , at the People's House, 7 East St. The performance is under direction of Ben Legere, sent to during the Little Falls strike.



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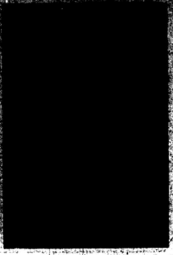

AS HE APPEARS TO-DAY

Harden the Line!

By BRUCE ROGERS

The workers suffer from no more abundant folly than their boob notions of brotherhood. We live in no elysium of mutual love but upon a field of struggle, the fruits of whose victories are carried not to the good and the noble, but to the cunning and the wolfish.

Let us understand once and for all that whether at our hands or those of the exploiters the governing power is the capacity and the will to take life, with its corollaries; to limit, to restrain or to withhold the enjoyment of life. Our age is of iron. Our movement is one of intolerant ruthless conquest of the earth.

There is no way to artificialize unity. There is no harmony. Orchestral notes are the stress and struggle of air particles through cruel slits in reeds and pipes under force and the whining of billions of atoms of resin crushed between horsehair and taut cat-gut.

There is no comradeship of the mind. That is an unbound realm of infinite diversities into whose blue even the mad may ply the wing of fancy. The only brotherhood is in the **community of action** under common resolve in pursuance of mutual objectives.

Democracy in the modern sense is a bourgeois philosophy having its origin in the exigencies and needs of the commercial classes, and has had its development contemporaneous with the overthrow of feudalism and the rise and accession to power of capitalist imperialism.

Patrick Henry made his impassioned cry, ever famous in the gorgeous hokum of Fourth of July oratory, not because he wanted to establish a universally free society, but because he chafed under the restraints of the British Crown and wanted to be free to set up a capitalist dictatorship. Liberty is not desired as a beatitude but as an opportunity to seize and hold our own. It is not the new day but the way to a new day. It is the bridge to new rule.

We are prisoners of revered phrases. Under these beguiling follies we endure a vicious eternality of betrayal and treachery at the hands of our own leaders who become in turn the overseers of the employers.

They explain their defections by saying: "The workers are not ready. We can advance no faster than the intelligence of the mass will warrant."

This is a bald lie. More often they have risen to influence upon promises appealing to the workers' will to revolt. Then to become the lieutenants of the enemy and possess themselves of the easy bribes and rewards of treason. Our ranks are thus softened to the hard impact of tyranny.

We must harden the line. The workers of America, not less than in other White Governments, are held by virtue of a compact between their own false leaders and the imperialists.

The stupidest coolies would find a way to readjust the mortality rates of their betrayers. We must hound them out of leadership.

Like London's wolf-dog stalking the moose we must never let them rest or refresh themselves. Exposure, denunciation, contumely, insult and abuse must be their never-failing portion.

There is no more serious barrier than the wire entanglements of our own treasons protecting the enemy from us. We must cut them through. Harden the line!

The High Cost of Scabbing

Because a notorious scabbing agency, R. J. Coach & Co., of Cleveland, failed to collect the full amount due for services rendered, they have sued the Associated Building Employers of Detroit, and certain intimate details of the campaign against the workers, usually discreetly concealed, have come to light.

The testimony reveals that the Association of Building Employers spent over $36,000 in 40 days for thugs and strike-breakers in the strike of Steamfitters and Plumbers that took place in the summer of 1920.

It may be of interest to note that one of the leading members of the Association is also a member of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment with which the Detroit Federation of Labor recently refused to cooperate.

In the course of his testimony the chief scab describes his efforts on behalf of humanity in the following edifying terms:

"In their silent, secret effective way, the industrial operatives uproot relentlessly the weeds of dishonesty, disloyalty and discontent. Thru their efforts unity of purpose is established between employer and employee. Our operatives soon end the reign of labor agitators in shop or factory. We do not care to say more on this subject."

One of the "effective" methods employed in this particular strike consisted in waylaying and blackjacking two business agents of the union and several others of the strikers. Coach alleges in his case that:

"Plaintiff agreed and contracted to and with the said defendants to alleviate, break up and put down certain labor agitation, disorders and strikes then existing and being waged against said defendants and its members, in said city of Detroit and County of Wayne, and in which said labor disputes, disorders and strikes defendants and its members were greatly and deeply concerned and interested."

Coach proves the existence of the above agreement by submitting as Exhibit A the following communication:

Detroit, Mich., Aug. 27, 1920.

R. J. Coach & Co.:

You are authorized to detail for us operatives as will be verbally ordered and from whom reports will be submitted at rates as follows: One superintendent at $50 per day, operatives at $20 per day, plus necessary expenses. It is understood that we can terminate this arrangement on 48 hours notice.

Associated Building Employers.

The largest bill presented is that for services rendered on September 11, when probably an unusually large amount of slugging was considered necessary. The itemized account is as follows:

C. R. at $50 per day	$50.00
26 Operatives at $20 per day	520.00
Expenses	254.50
MC, NO, FX, PL, FS at $50 per day	250.00
49 Operatives at $25 per day	1,225.00
Expenses	540.00
Total	$2,839.50

The bills submitted clearly establish the fact that a conspiracy existed between the plaintiff and the defendant to break up the union; and members of the union intend to institute proceedings against both parties on the basis of this fact.

By [illegible]

An old-time [illegible] in the ranks of labor has [illegible] his activities after an [illegible] absence of more than two years.

Joseph M. Coldwell, of Providence, R. I., is a veteran of the revolutionary working class movement and participant in many of labor's struggles.

He has often been a victim of the venom and hatred of the master class but his courage still remains undaunted.

Born of the working class his early boyhood days were spent in the factories and mills instead of in schools and playgrounds. His education has been acquired as he aptly puts it, "in the University of Hard Knocks."

In 1913 he was the leader in a strike of the Draper Co. employees in Hopedale, Mass. For his part in this battle of the workers, and for protesting against the murder of one of the strikers by policemen, he was sentenced to serve one year and three months in the county jail in Worcester, Mass.

His Eyes Are Opened.

This sentence was an eye-opener to Coldwell as he had previously been a firm believer in the so-called morality that he had been taught in the public schools.

He had always believed that the purpose of law was to protect the individual and to bring about justice between man and man.

He learned that law is nothing more than the expression of the will of the ruling class. And as long as the capitalist class is the ruling class their will is law.

Coming out of jail he resumed his activities with the workers and continued until this country was thrown into a state of hysteria thru its participation in the world war.

He was one of the many victims who was chosen by the tools of the master class to be sent away.

Charged with violation of the Espionage act he was found guilty and sentenced to serve three years in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia.

He served his sentence in Atlanta, and while there was intimately associated with Eugene V. Debs. They passed many hours together talking over their experiences in the labor movement and the many different phases and developments in the workers' struggle for their emancipation.

Released on Xmas Day.

To his surprise he found his name included among the twenty-four who had been granted executive clemency and were to be released on Christmas Day.

He had refused to make application for executive clemency several times, having refused to accept parole on two different occasions.

He had been called before the Parole Board without any solicitation on his part and was asked if he desired to make application for parole.

His reply was, "I will not accept parole and leave Gene Debs behind me in prison."

The day before their release Gene Debs and Joe Coldwell had their last conversation together in prison. They discussed their future activities and both agreed that the thing to do at the present time was to work unceasingly for the release of all Class War prisoners.

They shook hands on this proposition and parted. Owing to the prison discipline they did not see each other again. Coldwell was released at 9.30 Sunday morning and brought to the depot and put on a train and sent on his way to Providence, R. I., his home.

Gene Debs was released later and these two veterans of the class war have not seen each other since that morning when they shook hands and agreed to work for their more unfortunate comrades who were still held by the enemy as prisoners of war.

Coldwell on the Job

Joseph M. Coldwell is on the job He is working under the direction of the Workers' Defense Union speaking at meetings and meeting with his old-time comrades urging upon them the necessity of continuing the work that succeeded in releasing Gene Debs, himself and others.

His meetings are a great success. He has just finished a very successful tour of New England.

He is now holding a series of meetings in New York and vicinity, after which he will go on a trip thru the middle west.

Meetings are now being arranged and organizations desiring dates should communicate at once with the Workers Defense Union, Room 405, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Long Known Sacco.

Comrade Coldwell is intimately acquainted with Nicola Sacco, now awaiting sentence of death, with Barthelmeo Vanzetti, in Massachusetts.

The case of these two men affects him deeply as Sacco was with him in the Hopedale strike, and he cannot conceive how this comrade could at any time commit such a dastardly deed as the robbery and murder of two men for personal gain.

He believes they are the victims of racial hatred and capitalist class persecution, and will do all in his power to secure their release.

[illegible]

NOTE:—The principles and program of the Trade Union Educational League are becoming of increasing importance and interest. This is especially true in view of the fact that "The Labor Herald," the official monthly of "The League," is about to make its bow to the American working-class. "The Worker," with this issue, therefore, begins the publication of "The League's" program and invites its readers to comment on it thru letters to the editor. The first installment takes up the situation confronting the American working-class to-day. The new installment will review the "political infancy" of the American working-class movement. The opening article is as follows:

THE SITUATION

In every country but one an advanced state of capitalism has produced a highly developed trade union movement. The single exception is the United States.

Here we have a very elaborate industrial system and the world's most militant and powerful capitalist class, but, paradoxically enough, a trade union movement which, for general weakness and backwardness, has few if any equals in the predominantly industrial countries.

No matter what vital phase of our trade union movement we consider we must admit, if we are honest, that the workers in other lands are ahead of us.

In the important matter of numerical strength, for instance, we make a wretched showing. At present, considering the ravages made in our ranks by the employers, it is doubtful if we have as many as 4,000,000 trade unionists in this country, or about one unionist to each 27 of the general population.

Showing of Other Countries

England, by contrast, has approximately 7,500,000 trade unionists, or about one in each six of her 44,000,000 people.

Germany shows even better, with over 12,000,000 trade unionists, or about one in each 4½ of her 55,000,000 population.

In other words, the English trade union movement is proportionately about four times as strong numerically as ours, and that of Germany six times as strong.

For the American unions to be as large as those of Germany, considering the difference in the size of the two nations, they would have to have no less than 24,000,000 members.

Compare this giant figure with the paltry 4,000,000 members that our unions now possess and one gets an idea of how far behind we are in this respect.

In England and Germany (not to mention many other countries) the mass of the working-class has been organized. In the United States hardly a start has yet been made.

Obsolete Craft Unionism

Structurally our trade unions are equally backward in development. The American labor movement is the only important one in the world which still remains based upon the principle of craft unionism.

In all other countries the main labor movements, accepting the logic of capitalistic consolidation, have endorsed the principle of having one union in each industry and have made great progress towards its realization.

Thruout the rest of the world we find many single unions covering whole industries—such as building, metal, railroad, general transport, clothing, printing, etc.—that have been built up recently by amalgamating the original craft organizations. Others are constantly being created.

In England the giant new Transport and General Workers' Union amalgamation is taking place; the Amalgamated Engineering Union is likewise making substantial headway towards its goal of one union in the metal industry; and in many other trades the process of consolidation is going on apace.

Big Unions in Germany

In Germany the metal workers, during the past few years, have completed their record-breaking industrial union, which now counts up 1,800,000 members; the railroad, postal, telegraph, and telephone workers, already closely organized, are combining their forces into a great organization of 1,500,000 members to control all forms of transportation and communication; and the workers in the other German industries are likewise closing up their ranks rapidly.

In Belgium the original welter of craft unions has been hammered together into about a dozen industrial unions, and plans are now being worked out to combine the whole movement into one real union.

The Australian workers have also just gone on record for a similar project.

The same rapid drift towards industrial unionism is in evidence everywhere except in the United States.

Here we are still sticking in the mud of craft unionism and progressing at only a snail's pace.

Standpatism has become an ingrained gospel with our trade union officials. There is hardly a breath of progress among them. They disregard the obvious fact that as the capitalists close up their ranks the workers must do likewise.

Common Sense Called Dream

With rare exceptions they are content to plod along with anywhere up to 20 or 30 autonomous unions in the various industries and to consider such a primitive condition, with all its resultant craft scabbery and weakness, as the highest practical stage of trade union organization.

The man who proposes common sense amalgamation along industrial lines they consider a dreamer, if not a disruptive fanatic.

From the standpoint of structure the American labor movement is at about the point of development that the European unions were 15 years ago.

The Housewife in the Class Struggle

By CATHERINE GITLOW

In 1908, when prices began to soar upon the necessaries of life, it was the housewife who first felt the pinch. The East Side housewives were the worst affected because the meat prices went up high.

Meat with the Jewish proletarian family is one of the most important items in his food, not because he eats a great deal of it but because it is the cheapest.

A Jewish housewife would buy a pound of meat and when it was cheap would get a piece of lung and fat for nothing with it.

She knows how to make a meal of it to feed a family of four or five, but when prices began to soar on meat and when money was charged also on lung and fat the East Side proletarian housewives felt the pinch very hard, and we see them spontaneously unorganized start a strike against the retail kosher butchers.

Their leaders came from the housewives themselves, but it would be better to say that they had no leaders. They did some picketing and had some clashes with the police. The police, on the other hand, were not stingy with their sticks, and the women had a regular beating and head splitting just the same as in any other strike, and many of them were arrested.

The strike went like wildfire, it spread thruout the East Side to all the other boroughs of Greater New York. The women did their bit, attacked the drivers, spilt kerosene on the meat, whereupon mounted police were sent out on the trucks with scab meat.

The women carried on their strike in their own way. They delivered speeches in their own everyday language. The women came out of their kitchens, and it looked as if they had let themselves loose, trying to revenge for all the struggles that they had endured during the past years.

The Socialist Party was in existence at that time but nobody thought it worth while to bother with these women. They went out unorganized, became tired and went back into their holes unorganized.

In the meantime prices went up higher. Other women than those in the East Side began to feel the pinch Mrs. Heath, a woman of the bourgeois class, organized a Consumers' League, but along such lines that it seemed that it was organized for the purpose of detracting the attention of the housewives away from the real issue so that they should not spread the germ of discontent in other quarters of the working population.

The disease of high cost of necessities of life affected the whole working class alike. Mrs. Heath of the so-called Consumers' League approached the city politicians and asked them to help her along.

The capitalist papers made a lot of noise about the good work that Mrs. Heath was doing. And the Mayor of the City of New York at that time granted the space under the 59th St. bridge for a market. The women, however, discovered very quickly that the so-called market charged higher prices than elsewhere.

Would there have been at that time a Women's Committee of the Socialist Party for the purpose of organizing the women, with the ability to grasp the opportune time, I believe that there could have been organized at that time an organization of proletarian housewives in addition to the Jewish housewives' proletarian organization which was organized at that time.

In the next article I shall write how the housewives were organized and how they functioned.

The [illegible] to make THE WORKER a fighting organ of the working class is winning, and support is coming to us from every hand.

But we are not satisfied. We want all of our readers to become boosters. We want YOU to help.

You can get subscribers. You can dispose of a bundle of THE WORKER each week in your shop, at meetings in your city, among your neighbors.

Get busy! Others have been heard from as follows:

The "only working men's paper," goes to a list of three that comes from Wisconsin.

* * *

"I like THE WORKER very much," accompanies a renewal from Richmond, Cal.

* * *

A bundle of hundred copies goes to a new hustler for "The Worker" at Red Granite, Wisc.

* * *

Put a bundle of "The Worker" to work in your town and watch the workers' power grow.

* * *

Comrade Rese, Washington, D. C., sends in a bunch of five subs from the national capitol. He is a booster among the machinists.

* * *

Seven six months' subs come in from Philadelphia. That means seven more active workers for the cause.

* * *

"Send me every week 25 copies of The Worker," is the order that comes from Los Angeles, Cal., with this addition, "Send as quickly as possible."

* * *

A comrade at Cleveland, Ohio, sends in a "sub" for a friend and wishes The Worker every success. Have you a friend or acquaintance who ought to be reading the Worker? Then you know what to do.

* * *

"All success to our new paper," writes a comrade from Toledo, Ohio. "I will see what I can do shortly to get a few more subs. I am hoping for the time when it will blossom in a DAILY."

* * *

It is a little hard to get subscriptions hereabouts, but only on account of Harding's "normalcy," which has hit this farming community pretty hard, and then only fair crops.—Napoleon, Ohio.

* * *

Several workers, one from far away Fort Stanton, New Mexico, have written us for information about THE WORKER as the result of an article, that appeared in our Russian paper, Iskra, also published in New York City.

* * *

That's a good slogan of the Literature Department of the Workers Party which goes as follows: "Workers! Read To-day! Rule To-morrow!" Is there anyone who can think of something better? Elmer T. Allison, head of the Literature Department, says he is open to suggestions.

* * *

"Please do not stop my paper," writes a subscriber at Montana Mines, West Va. "Let The Worker come. I have not had any work here since July 15th, last year. I have six in my family, so you may know that money is pretty scarce. But I will send you the first $2 I get, hoping that I will not miss any copies of The Worker."

* * *

Comrades at Bridgeport, Conn., have pledged themselves to do all they can to boost the circulation of "The Worker." The Bridgeport bosses are hard at work trying to introduce "The American Plan," which means, for instance, a cut of $10 per week for the bakers, the 55-hour week for the machinists, with no recognition for overtime or Sunday work. Workers in other sections of the country are urged to "stay away" from Bridgeport.

* * *

"Greetings!" writes our Comrade H. M. Bartholomew, of Winnipeg, Can., district organizer of the Workers Party of Canada. "Received copy of The Worker in its new garb. Congratulations!—Everything is going fine here. The party is growing in numbers, and in a few weeks we shall have a movement second to none on this continent. I hope that the greatest co-operation will prevail between the two parties and that we shall go forward to the revolution with speed."

Subscribe Now!

HERE IS MY "SUB"

The Worker, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

COMRADES:—Enclosed please find $............ in payment for my subscription to THE WORKER for a period of .... months, at the rate of $2 per year, $1 for six months.

Name ....

Address ....

[illegible] Vanzetti

By [illegible] LYONS
(Special to The Worker)

Boston.—Rabbi Dr. Judah L. Magnes, [illegible] of the Jewish Community in New York was accorded an enthusiastic ovation here by a large audience when he declared that Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti did not have a fair trial and called upon lovers of justice everywhere to get behind the fight for the men's lives.

With characteristic eloquence he depicted the state of mind in Norfolk County and the stage-setting in and around the court room, declaring that the labor organizers "were condemned before the trial began, and each day as the trial progressed the atmosphere of racial and social prejudice that had been created against them grew darker and more sinister."

Reads Vanzetti's Declaration

At one point in his address he read a portion of Vanzetti's declaration of faith in the autobiography written by the prisoner while awaiting the death penalty. It was received with prolonged applause.

"We contend," Dr. Magnes said, "that the accused did not have a fair trial. We contend that they were convicted not upon the testimony offered, but upon their record as alien radicals. Innocent or guilty, they could not have a fair trial. Whenever a doubt arose, the defendants were not given the benefit of it, could not be given this benefit. As the judge pointed out, the chief issue was that of identification of the prisoners. Numerous witnesses testified for them, some against.

"Some of those who testified against the defendants were completely discredited, leaving only four doubtful witnesses to make the identification. The lives of these defendants hinged upon resolving this doubt as to their identity. The jury could be expected to give but one answer under the enveloping circumstances as created by the authorities of Dedham and the public press of Boston: Decide against them.

War Hysteria Still Alive

"In the minds of the authorities of Dedham, the Great War is still being fought. The black passions of it, the ignorance, the hatred, the malice, the suspicions, the fear, the hysteria of the Great Catastrophe still claim as their victims the Dedham authorities. The war propaganda of Government and press and church and platform has poisoned the social organism of Dedham all too violently.

"We conceive this to be a struggle for the right. We are convinced that these men were convicted not so much for what was said at the trial, but rather upon what was unspoken. Those dark prejudices and passions which are present in each one of us spoke their condemnation. But we hold it must be the high function of a court of justice to dissipate, rather than encourage, such prejudices and passions. We plead for two fellow-human beings in the shadow of death. We plead for justice [illegible] and unequivocal."

CANADA

The Halifax unions have passed a resolution of protest against revising the fifty-five and a half hour working week and asking all local unions to refuse to work more than 48 hours a week.

Millions starve but movie scandals hold the first page.

THE TOILER BOOK SHOP

208 East 12th St., New York, N. Y.

has been REORGANIZED. It will carry all latest and best books pamphlets and periodicals on Political Economy, Sociology, History, Literature, etc., also European periodicals and books. Send in your orders. Delivery will be made promptly.

[illegible] Sent to Jail by Truck-load

(BY ONE OF THE JAIL-BIRDS)

Decorate the flag-poles with black crepe, you fair City of Denver! Put sackcloth and ashes upon your heads, you citizens of the "Queen City of the Plains!" Proclaim a week of mourning for all the people of the beautiful State of Colorado, for liberty has been desecrated and the United States Constitution has been trampled upon and defied!

Let this sad news be carried from the mine-shafts in southern Colorado to the cattle-pens of the north!

Let this calamity be known to the people of the Western Slope and over the Great Divide in the Rocky Mountains to the farmers of the plains!

Bury your faces in shame, you law-makers of Colorado! Quit your pretention as Governor and admit your guilt. Bethink yourself, ex-service-men of Colorado, for your comrades were also mistreated!

The Shirkers' Dictatorship

Let the press carry the news to all the workers of this glorious country that besides beautiful mountains and valleys in Colorado, we have a dictatorship. Not the workers' kind, but shirkers' brand.

Martial law has been reigning for some time in Southern Colorado, packinghouse workers were thrown in jail continuously, printers were locked out.

All this has been going on and we the workers took it for granted, but the climax was reached recently when the workers assembled in the City Auditorium to protest this abuse and remind the powers that be that we are American citizens.

At a peaceful gathering conducted by The Toiler Club and known as Labor's Open Forum, detectives filled the hall. Everybody felt their presence and sure enough after the peaceful Forum was over, nine men were picked out from the fading audience and together with six "Dicks" were herded into the police-patrol bus and whisked away to the City Bastille.

Cursed and Searched.

All were lined up and cursed as Balam of the Bible would. All were searched like criminals. Everybody was cursed with all the curses of the English language. Pockets and clothes were turned inside out.

After the usual procedure of taking names and other information was gone thru by the cursing "Dicks", the Chief of Police came in with curses on his lips, reviewed the evidence before him, freed four of the nine who were "cockroach business-men" with threats of taking away their licenses and running them out of town and after calling them all the lewd dirty names that no pimp would think of, were let off just for "This time".

Ex-Soldiers Among Victims

Of the five sentenced to jail "For investigation" two were sick and disabled world war veterans. One was gassed and wounded in France, has an army record of ten years honorable service and a citation for bravery from General Le June of the Second Division.

The other is suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs and spine, lost the vision of one eye in France fighting with the Canadian Army at Ypres.

The Canadian soldier was continuously running up a fever of 103 degrees, and had to use pills to keep his fever down. The pills and his sputum-box were taken away from him. The other three workers were a farmer, a striking printer and a bookkeeper.

Into "Bull Pen" Inferno.

The sentenced five were thrown in the "Bull Pen". It reminds the writer of Dantes Inferno. The tile-floored room was filled with drunks, dope fiends and boot-leggers. The stench is indescribable.

In one corner stood the lavatory-bowl, with water running all the time. It was not even partitioned off. A hole in one of the lower pipes allowed the water to run out over the floor and drain into a stinking sewer.

In the center, lying in a stupor was a "Creature that once was a man". He was full of wood-alcohol and was hemorrhaging blood and guts.

Around the dirty walls were a few hard benches that were crowded three stories high with vagrant Mexicans and Negroes. There was no place to stand, sit or lie.

Our feverish gassed soldier for Democracy was forced to lie down on top of a human thrash pile, for he could not stand up any longer.

It was a terrible night. Morning found us walowing on the wet floor in a pool of dirty water and vomit.

Then They Had Breakfast.

Breakfast consisted of a baked spud, a piece of bread and a piece of meat that any good dog would refuse to eat. One by one we were led into the hall and put thru the usual morning Third Degree. Each one was placed on a box.

Detectives with black masks on their mugs gave us the once over; cursed us with all the filth and smut they could think of.

Denounced us as God-damn Jews, Wobblies and Bums. It is remarkable to note however, that out of the five arrested only two were Jews.

A ray of happiness came over us when the jail doors were opened and two more workers were thrown in. We were not happy that they were arrested, but a comradely spirit gripped us all.

Thru them we found out that the police did not stop with last night's raid, but that they raided the Wobblie Book store and arrested them while they were there. All literature was carried away. A committee of two who went down to find out the charge were also pulled in.

A meeting called by the Industrial Workers of the World to take steps to get those arrested out, was raided and it netted the police 19 more victims. All of us were then herded into a separate compartment.

All Labelled "Bolsheviks".

Twenty-eight victims comprised of World War Veterans, Toiler Club members and Wobblies. To the police, we were all "God-damn I. W. W.'s Bolsheviks".

No one was allowed to visit us, we received some food from the outside and a committee of good-hearted liberals tried their hardest to get us out.

After two days in jail, no charges were yet preferred. On the third day we were all charged with vagrancy.

Those who proved up to be long time residents of Denver and "respectable" citizens in the eyes of the police were released.

Fourteen Wobblies were ordered out of town and to see that they did so, they were carried out on trucks to the outskirts of Denver and put on a freight train. Five appealed their cases and were let go and a few are under bond.

All were released with the exception of one ex-service man and the striking printer. They were investigating the ex-service man's record and accused the striking printer for wearing the U. S. uniform illegally. The poor fellow had no other clothes.

Mugged and Finger-printed.

At this writing all are released. Everyone was "mugged" and finger-printed just like criminals. One was allowed to go because he had a good job, but upon coming out of jail found he had no job.

Detectives are still surrounding the doors of the World War Veterans Hall when they meet. A resolution was passed that the "dicks" would not be allowed to be inside while a meeting is on. So they stand at the door intimidating all the members that come in.

The Carpenters' Union that owns the hall where the Open Forum and the World War Veterans meet, notified the Toiler Club that they had better look for another hall.

The Chief rattled down and upon releasing the Wobblies returned all their literature. Business is being resumed as ever under the eyes of the "City Martial Law".

If free speech is to live in Denver, the labor unions will have to fight for it or disband unions and organize Legion Posts.

Let this be a lesson to you workers, that the capitalists are conscious while you are splitting up into dust. They know when to act. When will you learn?

"For it is not the shame and it is not the blame
That stings like a white hot brand,
It's coming to know that they never knew why
And do not understand."

When any exploited group becomes too loud in its protest the ruling class promptly gives its leaders a government job.

The Daily Worker is coming

A remarkable book by a remarkable man.—Chapman Cohen in The Freethinker.

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM

Analyzed and Contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian Points of View.

By BISHOP WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN, D.D.

ITS BOLD RECOMMENDATIONS: Banish Gods from the Skies and Capitalists from the Earth, and make the World safe for Industrial Communism.

Astounding you will say: It is more than astounding. It is the most hopeful sign that we have come across. It comes like a meteor across the dark sky.—Jack Carney in Truth.

CONTENTS

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Order from: THE WORKER, Room 402, 80 East 11th Street, New York City, N. Y.

[illegible] A [illegible] day. [illegible] SES AND [illegible] OF THE [illegible] CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," adopted at Moscow last June.

No, you [illegible] it. That's why we [illegible] to ask for it. If a few [illegible] are made for this book the libraries will order it. We want to place one copy in every public library in the United States. We can do it if you make the demand for it. Organize a drive on the public libraries of your city for this book. Tell them it can be obtained for 50c. a copy from

The Lyceum-Literature Dept.
Workers Party of America,
Room 405, [illegible] Broadway,
New York City.

Dublin Unemployed Seize Building, Hoist Red Flag

That the "Irish Free State" recently accepted by the Irish Middle Class as a settlement of the Irish question does not feed the hungry mouths of unemployed Irish workers is evidenced from the action of the men who, tired of asking for assistance, seized a public building, hung the Red Flag from one of its windows, and then talked business with the city officials.

Needless to say after this example of their power to act the unemployed workers were given attention.

The following story is taken from the Freeman's Journal:

"The 200 unemployed who occupied" the Concert Hall in the Rotunda, remain in possession of the building outside which a Red Flag still floats.

"On visiting the place yesterday a Freeman's Journal representative found the men being marshalled by section leaders and appointed to different charges.

"The strictest discipline is being maintained and it was stated an officer was courtmartialled and reduced to the ranks for disobeying orders.

"Three of the rank and file who resisted arrest by the unemployed police force established to keep order were expelled from the premises.

"The garrison of 125 men spent most of Wednesday night going through military evolutions and occupied the remaining hours with impromptu Concerts. They were provided with meals several times during the night and no shortage of food has been experienced. Forage parties were sent out yesterday.

"Siam O'Flaherty, Chairman of the Dublin Council of Unemployed and styled by his followers Commander-in-chief told our representative that the only persons authorized to receive money for the Unemployed Maintenance Fund are Mr. Shoun McIntee and Mr. J. Carroll.

"Members of the garrison must have a pass before they are permitted to leave the building. A good deal of public interest is being displayed in the proceedings. A meeting of the Unemployed was held last evening in the Rotunda Concert Room. Siam O'Flaherty said they had fought the first fight and won. It was the first time, he said, in the history of Dublin that the Red Ensign had been hoisted over a seized building.

"Mr. Kay, lessee of the premises, had informed him that he had approached the Lord Mayor, but could not get into communication with him. Moreover, Mr. Kay was in touch with the Dail Minister of Labor.

"Dealing with the collection of funds he said any member of the unemployed caught soliciting such without authority would be severely dealt with. Up to a late hour this morning the unemployed remained in possession."

YOUTH BALL

The best ball of the season will be held

Saturday Eve, February 18, 1922,

at

WORKERS' HALL
1347 BOSTON ROAD

Tickets 50c, including wardrobe.

Get your tickets in advance at any Y. W. L. headquarters.

UNITY BALL

Celebrating the Founding of

The Workers Party

Saturday Eve, February 18, 1922

in

Harlem Educational Centre
62 East [illegible] Street

Admission, [illegible] [illegible] Other Charge

[illegible] hold its Second [illegible] The First Congress met [illegible] withdrawal of the Communists [illegible] recognize the great difference between the [illegible] the circumstances under which each [illegible] place it is a moment when the labor move- [illegible] disintegration and degeneration had set in for the Socialist Party, which had given ample proof of its emptiness of content, [illegible] its work, its complete lack of a definite program [illegible] to take advantage of the situation. After [illegible] reached the height of their power, and a membership of 250,000 [illegible] ranks began to thin out and to break up. A good proof of this is the fact that at the Livorno Congress only 170,000 workers were represented.

After the admirable but vain attempt to seize the factories the Italian proletariat had to look on at the speedy growth of the Fascisti movement and stand the attack launched against them by the capitalists without the political and trade-union headquarters having as much as offered a slogan with which to lead the action or given advice or offered assistance.

Opposition Proves Detestable

Moreover, the detestable opposition to the Third International and to the Russian revolution on the part of the leading bureaucratic lights brought confusion into the masses and worked havoc in the ranks of the workers who only a short while ago still saw the present critics and slanderers at the head of the worshippers and adorers of the Revolution.

The First Congress of the Italian Communist Party must also have had a premonition of the consequences of the milieu in which it took place.

Being more of a war council than a Congress it must have felt the violent shock received by the revolutionary masses, which thirsted for clearness, knowledge and responsibility.

Once and for all the Congress did away with every ambiguity and laid down the foundation of a strict discipline.

Then the Congress adjourned and the delegates were instructed to go back to their provinces and to stir the general hopelessness and desolation into a belief in the certainty of the events which were to follow.

Conditions Have Changed

The Second Congress will start its sessions under quite different circumstances. There is as yet in Italy only a young and small party; but it is constantly growing and promises to develop into a well-organized power.

It is a party forming a network of 1403 groups and embracing the entire country; it is a party whose strongly centralized organization enables it to give a unified direction to all its actions and whose press consists of three dailies, twenty provincial weeklies, a young people's weekly, a trade-union paper, a newspaper correspondence and a publishing-house.

The instructions of the party are observed by about one-third of the members of the Confederation of Labor and by a smaller militant vanguard within the Italian Syndicalist Union.

Party Position Clear

The Italian proletariat can no longer be in doubt or uncertainty as to the program and tactics of the Communist Party, because the latter clearly defined its position in all questions of a general nature which had arisen on the world-stage in 1921.

Moreover, it may safely be said that all of those who submitted themselves to the discipline and program of the Party did so in full consciousness of what they were doing.

The actions of the Party at the Congress of Livorno were in strict accord with the fundamentals laid down in the program so that the Congress which is soon to take place need not spend much time in approving or passing judgement upon past events. It will suffice to check up and see whether any errors have been committed.

The unanimity with which the party received and followed out the instructions of the Executive Committee serves as a good proof of its faithfulness, and it is therefore very unlikely that it will be severely reproached or criticized.

No Personal Quarrels

That is why the report of the Executive Committee does not stir any nervous expectations. Neither is there any personal quarrel or disagreement which can in any way disturb the coming Congress in its work, a thing not altogether unknown in many parties and at many congresses.

It is the particular intention of the Executive Committee to bring up several questions of an immediate and practical nature. It is clear that the tactical questions as well as the questions of principle as they are laid down in the party program cannot and should not be altered.

And since the conquest of the trade unions and the [illegible] concentrated, they are assigned two special sections of the agenda.

When examined, these questions exhibit deviations, not of a primary but of a secondary nature. Nevertheless, the party tactics must incorporate the results of the investigations, in order to avoid confusion and the division of the general action of the party into hundreds of confusing partial actions.

Discuss "Tactical Principles"

Since the fundamental principles on the trade-union and agrarian questions were already defined by the Third Congress of the Communist International, the corresponding tactics to be proposed by certain delegates of the Communist Party are not to contradict the basic principles laid down in Moscow, but they will rather seek to adapt them to the conditions and circumstances which are peculiar to the Italian milieu. Under these, the questions of "labor-organizations" and "land ownership and cultivation" assume an unusually characteristic form.

This part of the Congress' work will be preceded by a discussion of the "tactical principles," which starting with an enlargement upon the party program will determine the way of building up and developing the Communist Party, define the relations between the Communist Party and the proletariat as well as those between the Communist Party and the other proletarian political movements, lay down the tactical rules for direct and indirect action and finally define the position to be assumed by the Italian Communist Party in the present situation.

Congress Opens New Chapter

Thru its serious attitude and the palpable results of its work the Second Congress of the Italian Communist Party will introduce a new chapter into the history of the Italian proletarian movement.

The Italian Socialist Party has a not too enviable congressional tradition. All its congresses, particularly those of recent years, were nothing more than pleasant trips or hikes for the comrades who came together from various parts of the country, not for the purpose of serious discussions or to help shape the destinies of the proletariat, but only for the sake of amusement and curiosity.

Hence the three to four thousand delegates filling the theatre auditorium with noise, and the evergrowing unanimity in the acceptance of the majority reports by professional and intellectual men who could afford to travel and to hold lengthy sessions.

Political Resolution Uppermost

These congresses which were called to deal with yard-long resolutions, always confined their work to the struggle over their pet question, namely, over the political resolution which was discussed and passed from a one-sided parliamentary viewpoint, and which conformed to the existing form of government and to existing laws.

As exceptions to the rule came the congresses of Reggio Emilia in 1912 and that of Ancona in 1914, at which questions of inner organization were discussed and settled (the expulsion of the reformists and Bissolatti in 1912, and of the freemasons in 1914).

In its instructions for the calling of the Second Congress the Communist Party of Italy fixes the number of delegates at 150, all of whom are to meet in advisory and executive meetings and hold district sessions.

It is certain that all questions on the order of the day will be treated exhaustively, since the congress will do its work by means of committees.

Will Resist the Fascisti

Thus, the net result of the Congress' work will consist of a series of definite and palpable fundamentals. And thru its activity the party will give shape to its program for the coming year.

This program can be summarized as follows: Intensification of the armed resistance against the Fascisti attacks; the progressive conquest of the trade-unions; penetrating the masses of agricultural workers and forcing our way into the districts of Southern Italy which are exclusively agricultural.

The Daily Worker is coming

DENMARK

The employers have served notice on the unions that all existing wage agreements with the unions [illegible]

[illegible] COMRADES—[illegible]
tionably [illegible]
it not for [illegible]
will be [illegible]
whose [illegible]
and on what [illegible]
most glowing [illegible]
He will become [illegible]
Y. M. C. A. worker, [illegible]
religious enthusiast, [illegible]
to a Communist—all [illegible]
what impresses him [illegible]
ally.

A brief survey of the
of-capitalist society will
of the prime necessity
Young Workers League
every party member below
of 25 should join our
get his non-party friend

The illusions of capitalism
are more prominent in
than in any other age.
experienced, strong, healthy
of hope, he dreams of some
coming powerful, rich.

Of course, we know how
sible it is for a proletarian to
himself out of his class. But
swill handed out in the school
the Y. M. C. A., in the Boy
movement, that this is a
free opportunity for all, has
effect upon him.

The steps that he takes at
critical period of his life will
mine everything to follow.

It is at this time that the
Workers' League must step in
him of the illusions with which
capitalist class infects him,
teach him that the way to
more comfortable is not by
ing and cheating others, but
operating with his fellow-work
destroy the enemies of the wo

Young people must have
social and educational activ
Most of them are members of
cial and athletic clubs. They are
thusiastic for these clubs and
much time and energy to build
support them.

To what great advantage
could use this forging spirit
youth! Instead of building
social clubs, which are without
without end, they would
with their healthy spirits the
ment for working-class eman
tion.

Party members, it is your
to do all in your power to inc
the membership and enhance
vitality of the Young W
League. Send your sons,
daughters and your friends
circles in every part of the
Comrades, the Y. W. L. is
school for future party mem
You cannot do a better thing
crease your membership than
crease ours.

With Communist greetings,
Young Workers' Leag
of New York

YOWL NEWS

Local

The Young Workers Leag
New York is making rapid p
ress. Since the last announ
three new circles have been
One Irish-American circle,
meets Friday evening at 250
25th Street. One circle in Wi
burg, which meets Monday e
in 226 Roebling St., and one
Finnish circle, which meets on
123rd St. Plans are under way
organizing an Italian and a L
circle. We ask all Workers
branches to give us their co
tion and help these new c
whenever they can.

Circle News

Circle 1—1258 Boston R
Meets Friday, evenings. Cond
following classes:
Sunday afternoon—Economic
Monday evening—"ABC of C
munism."
Thursday evening—Public s
ing.
Sunday morning—Gym class
Sunday evening—Open fo
Prominent speakers.

Circle 2.—1731 Pitkin Ave.
day evening. Class in "Capital"
Spencer's "First Principles."

Circle 3—Finnish, newly or
ized, meets every Friday eveni
764 40th St., Brooklyn.

Circle 4—Hungarian, new c
Meets every Friday evening a
East 81st Street. Class in
speaking Sunday morning.

Circle 5—61 Canal St. Meets
day evening. Has following c
Sunday morning—Class in
speaking.
Sunday at 2.15—"Communist
nifesto."
Sunday at 3.30—"Capital."
Arranging affair for April
celebrate national convention
Young Workers League.

Circle 6.—143 East 103rd
Meets Thursday evening.
Class in "ABC of Com
Saturday at 12.00.
Class in "Capital" Saturd
P. M.

Circle 10—Jewish, 143 E
Street. Meets Friday even

Circle 11—Jewish, 61 C
Meets Saturday evening.

When the son of a
scabs it proves that the
lowed his child's mind
napped by the enemy.

Tell your wife about
She only [illegible]

[illegible] Prison

ALLEN DE FORD

QUENTIN, Calif.—New at the penitentiary here are to start work in the jute- the jute-mill has "hard" jobs, and the hardest are given to the social rebels, the calism victims.

nine men sent up from in December—the I. W. told by Judge Willis to und, kid, and you'll fin ched San Quentin, one o est of all the jute-mill task to Matlin, an unskilled 18 boy. Matlin was unable to the task," and accordingly rown into the "dark hole," on 27.

diately his fellow workers— of those convicted with him in Angeles and some from the earlier Oakland trial—al they were well able to per the work assigned them, re to profit at Matlin's expense. had themselves also thrown in the dungeon.

The men concerned are Casey, Dunn, Ryan, Allen, Han Olsen and Graveel. All but and Hannon are still in the hole" at the time of present writing.

's Latest, "Back to thuselah," Coming to Garrick Theater, Feb. 27

Feb. 27, the Theatre Guild of York, having just launched a ssful production of "He Who Slapped," will begin the produc of George Bernard Shaw's latest "Back to Methuselah."

We say begin the production, be the play is so long that it takes evenings to act it. The first di of the drama will be shown at ick Theatre on Feb. 27, and ery night for one week. the following Monday, the division will be shown, also week. The third Monday will the production of the third and division. On the fourth Monday, play will begin over again.

Thus, in order to witness the entire play, it will be necessary to go to the theatre one evening a week for three cessive weeks.

The strain on the actors of shifting the different roles the different di of the play call for was found so great that the play cannot presented on successive evenings. would be a considerable strain on audience, also, to go to the theatre three nights running. But with space of a week between divi even Shaw should be assimi At any rate, the Guild could other way out of the difficulty an astonishingly long play nts.

w calls this drama a gospel in religion of Creative Evolution. opening scene is in the Garden den, with Adam and Eve and the pent as characters. The costumes this act will not be elaborate. The progresses to the present, where is a long satirical act in which George and Asquith are quite ently characters, and then it eps farther and farther into the ure, until at the end the time of action is supposed to be the year 920 A. D.

far as the theme of such a tre dous drama can be condensed sentence or two, it may be said "Back to Methuselah" makes the umption that Man doesn't live enough now to grow up; that he could live to be three hundred, would really put aside childish ssions and foolishness and govern mself by the laws of reason; there r, if the world is really to grow bet r, we must live longer, and the way live longer is to understand these cts and want to live longer, in hort, to take a hand in the process of volution, to make it creative evolu on and not merely blind chance and aphazard selection.

The latter acts of the play show aw's idea of how the thing might ork out. Being Shaw's idea, it is turally piquant and shot thru with onic comedy as well as high se ousness.

The difficulties of staging the play great, but the various sets give producers a fine chance for imag ive pictures, and Lee Simonson, Guild's scenic director, is said to ve labored hard over them, after a mmer spent in Europe, studying methods of production there.

The magnitude and length of the ay, the fame of Shaw, the reputa of the Theatre Guild for fine ork, and the novel and untried thod of acting a drama in three visions, a week at a time, have mbined to create more interest in is production than in almost any ing else all winter.

Unemployment Dinner
FOOD WORKERS' HALL
133 West 51st Street
Sunday, February 19, 2 P.M.
Auspices:
Unemployment Council of New York.
Proceeds for Unemployment Work
Tickets.........75 cents

[illegible] Make Progress During Industrial Boom

BY LEON TROTZKY

Clear signs of a change in the economic situation are noticeable everywhere. The world crisis really and truly came to a standstill in May last. The branches of industry manufacturing necessities of life first of all showed signs of a boom. Then came large industry.

The system may be confronted with other obstacles—the destruction of the economic balance between America and Europe, the impoverishment of Central and Eastern Europe, the lasting and thorough ruin of the financial apparatus.

The next industrial boom, no matter how great, will not be able to put industry on its pre-war level; it is even possible that this boom once the first obstacles are overcome will come to grief in an economic blind alley.

Nevertheless, a boom remains a boom; it means an increase in the demand for goods and consequently an increase in production, the reduction of unemployment, an increase in prices and a consequent possibility of increasing wages.

Under these given historic conditions a boom will not weaken Labor but strengthen it. That follows from past events. In all countries the labor movement reached its highest point after the war.

Crisis Hurts Party Activity

At this point Labor, as we have seen, was more or less defeated and compelled to retreat, which resulted in many splits occuring within it.

Tho a lasting crisis would under conditions such as these increase the bitterness of the workers (especially the unemployed and part-time workers) it would at the same time seriously weaken the activity of Labor which is bound up with the knowledge that without it the wheels of production would not revolve. Lasting unemployment after a period of revolutionary political attacks and defeats is under no circumstances favorable for the Communist Parties. On the contrary! The longer a crisis lasts the more conducive it is both for anarchist and reformist tendencies.

This fact finds expression in the splitting away of the syndicalist groups from the Third International, in Amsterdam joining hands with the 2½ International, in a temporary consolidation of the Serrati group, in the splitting off of the Levi group, etc.

An industrial revival is apt to strengthen Labor's self-reliance, weakened by many defeats and dissolutions within its ranks; it is furthermore apt to weld the workers in mill and mine together and strengthen their attempts at united action.

Labor Strives for Unity

We are already noticing the first signs of this process. Labor, beginning to feel solid ground under its feet, strives for unity; it feels that splits are obstacles on the way to action.

The workers endeavor not only to present a united front to the capitalist attempting to take advantage of the crisis conditions, they even prepare for a counterattack and rely in this on the conditions created by the boom.

The crisis represented for Labor a period of disappointments, bitterness and partly despair at its own weakness. The boom will give these feelings occasion to vent themselves in action.

This is said in the resolution of the Third Congress:

"If the development should slow down, and if the present crisis is, in some countries succeeded by a period of boom, this would not mean the ushering in of the 'organic' epoch. Oscillations are inevitable as long as Capitalism continues to exist; they will be with it in its time of agony just as they accompanied it during its youth and maturity.

"If in the course of this crisis the proletariat is overrun by Capitalism, it will surely assume the offensive once a period of boom has set in. An economic attack such as that which must be carried out under the slogan of revenge for the deceptions of the war period and for all humiliations suffered during the crisis, would thus show just as much tendency to become a civil war as the present defensive . . ."

No Cause for Capitalist Joy

The capitalist press sheds tears of joy over the economic improvement and the possibility of a new epoch of capitalist stability.

There is as little cause for that joy as for the supplementing fears of the "Left," who held the opinion that the Revolution would be the outcome of an uninterrupted series of ever-intensifying crisis.

Politically speaking, it would in practice be only favorable for us, if the next trade and industrial boom means increased riches for the big capitalists.

The tendencies for unity within Labor are but an expression of the increased determination for action. If Labor, in the name of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, demands to-day that the Communists join hands with the Independents and the Social Democrats, it will in the course of development quickly convince itself that only the Communist Parties are able to lead the revolutionary struggle.

The first wave of the attack will engulf all workers' organizations and compel them to unite. Both the Social Democrats and the Independents will meet with the same fate; one after the other they will be drowned in the revolutionary tide.

Does this mean, contrary to the opinion of the adherents of the "Offensive Theory," that not a crisis but the industrial revival will lead to the victory of the proletariat?

Such a categorical statement has no foundation. We have shown that the connection between a boom and the character of the class-struggle is not mechanical, but complicated and dialectic.

In order to understand the tasks of the immediate future, it is sufficient to know that we are better prepared for a boom period than we were for the crisis.

There exist strong Communist Parties in the more important countries on the Continent. These parties are undoubtedly presented by the boom with the opportunity of both an economic and a political offensive.

Opportunity for New Offensive

It would be useless to try and guess to-day how far this offensive can go. It has only commenced, or rather, the very first signs of it have put in their appearance.

Some dialectic theoreticians will maintain that if the next industrial revival does not immediately help us to attain victory, a new period of industrial stability will probably set in which will be another step on the road toward the re-establishment of capitalist equilibrium.

Does that not involve the danger of a fresh epoch of capitalist reconstruction? To this we can reply as follows: **If the Communist Parties would not continue to grow and if the proletariat would not gain more and more experience and join with the bourgeoisie in always more serious and bitter battles, if it would not endeavor to assume the offensive on the first occasion presenting itself—if all this would not be the case, capitalist development would, assisted by the manoeuvres of the bourgeois governments, surely attain its goal.**

Whole countries would then once more be forced back into a state of economic barbarism; millions would perish thru hunger and despair, and upon their bones would be built some new equilibrium of the capitalist world.

A perspective such as that is a mere abstraction, however. Many obstacles lie on that road: chaos in the world's market, collapse of currency, militarism, dangers of wars, insecurity of even the immediate future.

The elementary forces of capitalism groping for a way out of these entanglements affect Labor and spur it to attack.

Development of the labor movement goes on even if Labor be compelled to retreat, because even defeats provide experience and strengthen its party.

Labor moves on. The working-class itself is its most important moving factor, the incarnation of its future.

Tempo Depends on Tactics

It is true that the movement is impeded by the oscillations of Capitalism, which in a period immediately following a war assume abrupt forms.

But no matter in what stage of development the union of objective and subjective conditions will take place—resulting in Revolution—we are satisfied with the knowledge that the tempo of the development depends to great extent upon us, our parties, and our tactics.

It is of utmost importance to gain a comprehensive view of the new economic boom which will, perhaps, prove to be a fresh stage in the consolidation of our ranks for a victorious attack.

A clear and profound knowledge of the prevailing situation means for a revolutionary party a shortening of the long road of suffering, an approach toward its aim.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24th
Social and Tea Party
Given by the Brownsville Branch of the F. S. R.
Admission 15c
Bring your friends!
To be held in Room 401
Brownsvile Lab r Lyceum

[illegible]

On January [illegible] appeal was heard [illegible] of six months [illegible] Albert Inkpin, Secretary [illegible] Party of Great Britain, on five counts for publishing [illegible], especially for publishing the Theses and Statutes of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

The appeal was unanimously rejected by the three judges of the Court of Appeal and Inkpin is therefore serving this sentence.

As indicative of the methods of British justice it should be mentioned that Inkpin was sentenced under the Defence of the Realm Act, which had been repealed at the time the sentence was passed, and under the Emergency Powers Act, which was not in force at the time the printing of these publications took place.

This conviction was the result of a raid on May 7th last year, during the Miners Strike in Britain, when over three tons of literature was removed from the offices of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Moreover Inkpin was merely a paid servant of the Party and had not even a vote on the Executive Board which was responsible for printing these documents. It was pointed out with justice in Court that the Theses and Statutes of the Second Congress of the Third International would be very necessary documents for every professor and student of Modern History classes at every university in the future.

The sentence of six months hard labor in an English prison is an exceptionally severe one and is often judged as a harder sentence than three years in a penal establishment.
—E. T. W.

WITH OUR READERS

Letters for this column must be written on one side of the paper only. When typewritten they must be double-spaced and they should be typewritten if possible. THE WORKER will publish as many letters as possible and to save the labor of editing these rules must be observed.

LEAD POISONING OR "T. B."

Editor, The Worker:—I had to have a job. I landed one with the National Carbon Company of San Francisco. They gave me a choice of grid department or charging department. They should have asked:

DO YOU PREFER LEAD POISONING OR T. B.?

I chose the storage battery grid department—lead poisoning.

I saw a door leading to the battery charging department. On it was a sign:

"Keep this door shut.
"Acid fumes corrode machinery!"

Not one word about corroding lungs and throat! At first I was glad there was that door. Then I thought of the fellows on the other side of the door and stopped being glad.

I spoke of it to the white worker next to me (I am Filipino).

"That's nothing," he whispered. "All us fellows in this department get lead poisoning."

At the end of a week I got my pay (30c. an hour) and a free dose of Epsom salts. The nurse makes us all take it weekly to delay the lead poisoning.

She lectured us on not putting our fingers to our nose, rubbing our eyes, or sucking the lead off. She said we got lead poisoning because we were "dirty" and didn't listen to her.

"It's a lie," the worker next to me, whispered when she was gone.

"We all get it. Two years is the most any man can last. I've had it once. Next time it will do for me."

"See that—see how blue that guy's lips are. He'll drop any day now. His gums are black. He's poisoned.

"See that dust—that's lead shavings floating in the air—from the trimming machine. That's what gets you."

I knew he was right. But I'm still here. They could cover the machine with a hood. But it costs money. I must work and I suppose I will—till it gets me. Meanwhile I get free Epsom salts and 30c. an hour.—
Philip Eno.

PROTECTING WOMANHOOD

In Georgia, the abode of chivalry, and the citadel of the Ku Klux Klan, defenders of the sanctity of womanhood and the home, half the white women workers, according to the report just published by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, are receiving less than $12.20 a week and $748 a year, and the colored women less than $6.20 a week and $413 a year.

Moreover, the chivalrous employers of Georgia believe in safeguarding the working women by withholding from them the leisure to indulge in frivolities which might dim the splendor of their womanhood; and so we find that 73.9 per cent are worked 55 hours a week or longer.

A like investigation was also made in Kansas, where it was found that 20 per cent of the women receive less than $9 a week, and 50 per cent less than $12. In Iowa, one of the five states not limiting daily or weekly working hours for women, it was found that women were working in factories up to eighty-four hours a week.

In the World of Books

William Z. Foster's Book Exposes Inadequate Leadership of Workers in Big World Crisis

When defeat comes to the stronger side it is a double tragedy, and its history must be written in terms of strategic blunders or treason or both.

One may take a broadview of things and ascribe the set-back which the revolutionary movement in Europe has sustained within the past year to larger causes, but to belittle the part that leadership played in the revolutionary upheavals of the past three years one must be either ignorant of the actual facts or plainly dishonest.

The defeat of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany, the collapse of the Triple Alliance in England, the fiasco of the Italian near-revolution and the inglorious end of the general strike in France, were not the result of the mysterious play of "natural causes."

Bungling, halting, chicken-hearted, in a word inadequate leadership more than any other single cause transformed certain victory into unexpected defeat.

If the reader will get that much out of Wm. Z. Foster's booklet, "The Revolutionary Crisis of 1918-1921 in Germany, England, Italy and France," by Wm. Z. Foster, (The Trade Union Educational League, Chicago, 25 cents), it will not have been written in vain. But the booklet is much more than an opinionated view of recent revolutionary events. It is a history of those events written with the earnestness of a scholar and the honest working-class bias of a wide awake worker.

Rich in New Material

What it lacks in studied aloofness and "impartiality" of polite history it more than makes up in the vigorous manner of presentation and in the deep concern the writer displays for the matters he treats of. As an informative piece of writing the "Revolutionary Crisis" is rich in material that has not yet been brought to light either in the capitalist or in the working-class press of the United States.

The documentary and factual material is not piled up mechanically, appendix-fashion, but is woven into the texture of the story both by way of supporting the author's contentions and illuminating the situation in question.

Yet the pamphlet is informative in a much broader sense. It imparts to the reader a clear, unobstructed view of the revolutionary battlefield in the four principal storm centers of Europe and shows the various factors involved in their true light and their proper relations to one another. The issues are clarified, the alignment of forces is made vivid and the tragedy of inadequate leadership made poignantly obvious. It is a retrospect of the battle after the smoke has cleared away. Freed from the accidental and irrelevant events and episodes, the titanic struggles in the four countries mentioned stand out in clear perspective, so that one can take them in at a glance.

Both Warning and Lesson

For the American workers "Revolutionary Crisis" is more than an honest bit of recent history. It is also a warning and a lesson. Even though we are not yet on the treshold of concerted working-class action, the matter of general strikes and the way not to conduct them is of more than academic interest to us. "Right wing leadership of a left wing movement," is in a large measure also the tragedy of the American labor movement. The reformist leaders of European labor have succeeded in knifing the revolution, as Foster puts it. In our movement, too, there is a good deal of "knifing" being done by leaders without proletarian conscience or revolutionary vision. If we are compelled to witness the painful spectacle of a defeat working-class in Europe, we at least can learn something from that defeat and guard against repeating the tragic blunders when the hour strikes. In this sense Foster's booklet is of tomorrow as much as it is of yesterday.

—Nathaniel Fuchwald.

GOSSIP AND CHATTER ABOUT RUSSIA

Before their release thru the good offices of Secretary Hoover, the American prisoners in Russia protested their innocence and denounced the Russian authorities for their illegal detention.

They were quite impatient with their home government for not actively interfering in their behalf.

Now that they have left the terrible Tcheka safely behind them, how many of them will have the courage and manliness to admit that their imprisonment was deserved and that their treatment was not as bad as they had pictured it in their native press?

There will, probably, be some who like the knighted British spy, Paul Dukes, will capitalize their counter-revolutionary exploits in Russia by boasting of their dark deeds against the Workers' Republic in well paid articles or lectures.

Marguerite Harrison, the Baltimore newspaperwoman, who spent ten out of her eighteen months' stay in Russia, in prison, is sport enough to admit her "indiscretions" and is quite satisfied that any other government would have acted the same under similar circumstances.

From her book (Marooned in Moscow, Doran, $1.00) we learn that she entered Russia illegally and that during her sojourn there has committed acts unbecoming a guest of a foreign government.

Altho officially denied entrance, the writer secured permission from a Polish general to go thru the lines and cross the Russian border at an unguarded place.

The fact that she was able to obtain permission to travel thru the Polish front at the time when two armies were arrayed against each other was not in her favor when she reached Moscow under guard.

She was, however, given permission to remain in Russia and was even able to send out some press dispatches.

Illegal speculations in rates of exchange and in goods, hobnobbing with royalists and acting as agent for imprisoned counter-revolutionists, are some of the other "indiscretions" about which we learn only in a general way from her account of her experiences in Russia.

Mrs. Harrison bears no ill feeling toward the Soviet government for her imprisonment. She must have a great deal more on her conscience than what she tells in her book. She may have forgotten some things since, as we are told the book was written entirely from memory.

The book is of little or no value as a contribution to the literature on the Russian Revolution. It is filled with gossip about matters of little interest to the eager student of events in Russia.

Altho she was privileged to be present at important gatherings and has met many influential persons in the government and in the political parties, she has little to relate about their views or activities.

The material in the book would furnish splendid copy for Sunday Supplements of certain papers with large circulations. It is not of the sort that would lead the reader to recognize in the author a serious student and observer of social phenomena.

The reader will rather wonder about the author's purpose in embarking on so dangerous a journey. Unless it be pure adventure, tho some of her activities could not be taken as those committed by a person on a lark, her uncomfortable experiences in Russia are not recompensed by the publication of the book.

An addendum to the book, entirely out of place and as if to atone for her chatter about trivialities in and out of prison, gives the author's position on the Russian question, [illegible] the Bolsheviks than by [illegible] who, she believes, would [illegible] them in a successful counter-revolution.

The only justification for the book is the author's admission of her guilt and the rather unusual situation of having an imprisoned American plead for a square deal toward Russia. Verily, the ways of writers are at times unfathomable.

—Alexander Trachtenberg.

BOOKS RECEIVED

A New Constitution for a New America, by Wm. Mac Donald; B. W. Huebsch.

Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him, by Joseph P. Tumulty, Doubleday Page & Co.

The Voice of Russia, by M. Alexander Schwartz, E. P. Dutton & Company.

The Next War, by Will Irwin, E. P. Dutton & Co.

What's What in the Labor Movement, by Waldo R. Browne, B. W. Huebsch.

Thru the Russian Revolution, by Albert Rhys Williams, Boni & Liveright.

Trade Union Educational League Issues Its Rules

Emphasizing that it is purely an educational body, not a trade union, the Trade Union Educational League has issued a statement of its rules covering the various fields of its activities.

The League, nationally, is divided into the following industrial sections: amusement trades, building trades, clothing trades, food trades, general transport trades, lumber trades, metal trades, mining trades, miscellaneous trades, printing trades, public service trades, railroad trades, textile trades, and local general groups.

It is planned to hold annual national conferences. The official organ of the league will be "The Labor Herald."

ECHOES OF CENTRALIA.

Altho there are thousands of unemployed ex-soldiers in the state of Washington, who are absolutely unprovided for, plans are under way to raise a fund of $250,000 for a memorial to the four legionnaires who were shot when they attempted to raid the Wobbly Hall at Centralia, on Armistice Day, 1919.

The national Legion is giving $10,000 for an arch, with the provision that the State Legionnaires raise the remainder by the middle of the year.

SACRAMENTO, Calif. Notwithstanding the attack by Jack Dimond, the stool-pigeon "witness," on the criminal syndicalism law, Walter Wismer, alleged I. W. W. member, was convicted here and sentenced to 14 years in San Quentin, where he is now confined. The jury was out for four hours, which is considered rather surprising, inasmuch as a ten-minute record has been established for convictions in California criminal syndicalism cases.

A SPEAKERS' CLASS
INSTRUCTOR: Caleb Harrison, National Secretary, Workers' Party.
TIME: Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
PLACE: 61 Canal Street.
NEXT SESSION: Thursday night, February 23rd.
Open to all class conscious workers desirous of becoming more valuable to the working-class movement.
Under the auspices of the City Executive Committee, Workers' Party, New York City.
Discussion class in Workers' Tactics and Principles
Every Sunday, 10.30 A. M.
at 61 CANAL STREET.
First Session, Sunday, February 26th.

WANTED!
American Engineers and Workers for Soviet Russia in the Kuznets Coal and Iron Basin.
Read the pamphlet that tells about this great Soviet Project to be operated without profit to capitalists by American workers and engineers.
Retail, 10 cents. Wholesale, 8 cents; postage paid.
LYCEUM AND LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
Workers' Party of America
Room 405—799 Broadway, New York City.

A. A. HELLER
former Commercial Director of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in the U. S. A.
SUNDAY FEB. 19, 8 P. M.
Food Workers' Hall
133 West 51st St.
ADMISSION [illegible] CENTS
THE REGENERATION OF RUSSIAN INDUSTRY

THE WORKER

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Heresy Hunters

Ignorance dies hard! According to the daily press there is to be started, by some organization of the Baptist church, a movement against what it calls "the teaching of Darwinism in the public schools."

The amusing thing about this crusade is that it is directed against a theory under a name by which most people have long since ceased to recognize it.

We assume that when the embattled Baptists assail Darwinism they mean the theory of evolution which is now so widely accepted by intelligent people that to confess disbelief in it is to relegate oneself to the mental status of a moron.

Scientists may disagree as to the age of the earth and differ as to the length of time that has elapsed since the creature called man appeared in his present form, but all unite in accepting the conclusion that both the earth and man have reached their present status by a process of evolution covering vast periods of time.

This is nothing in the life of a theologian, however. The theological mind insists that science prove its theories in minute detail but insists on the right for itself to put forward as dogmas conceptions of the universe absurdly and demonstrably at variance with human experience.

The assumption that orthodox religion is responsible for all the good in the world and that without it man would sink back to the level of the beast is one of these dogmas which, if examined impartially, is seen to be utterly without foundation. The clergyman aforementioned raises this question in his published attack on the teaching of evolution in the schools by saying:

> **If a boy thinks that he is not a child of God but the descendant of a monkey, he is liable to conduct himself as a brute and lead a bestial life.**

That Darwin does not state that we descended from monkeys is something we cannot expect the clergyman to know, but that is neither here nor there.

We are interested just now in ascertaining why it is that in the southern states, Kentucky for instance, where there is also a campaign against "Darwinism," and where almost everyone believes himself a son of God, there is more pure bestiality expressing itself in savage acts of sadistic violence than in other sections of the United States where orthodox religion has a weaker hold on the minds of the people.

Theology may be able to blink facts like the above but science cannot and does not. It is for this reason that the orthodox clergy have never given up the attempt to dominate the schools.

The ignorance of the mass makes for the blissful security of the theologian. The pastime of heresy-hunting has still a few followers.

A lot of trade-union officials are acquiring quite a reputation for radicalism these days by talking naughty to and about the one and only Warren Gamaliel. Lest some of our friends be misled by ~~appearances we hasten to remark the fact~~ that there are no juicy government jobs for trade-union officials as in the halcyon days of the war when they were needed to urge little things like more production upon a not too enthusiastic rank and file.

The New Freedom

America has been rapidly reeling towards a "new freedom" since the victorious war ended. This "freedom" is a new capitalist freedom—it is oppression of the workers with a vengeance.

Everywhere the bosses are slashing wages and lengthening hours of labor. Wherever there is the slightest chance of successful resistance to this anti-labor campaign, the Government steps in as the arbiter. And being out to render justice—and render it blindly—the Government invariably fails to see the interests of the workingmen. In every case of arbitration the capitalists get the longer end of the deal.

Now it is 12,000 signalmen who are blessed with a square deal—in the interests of their bosses. The Rail Labor Board has issued an order forcing on these workers a ten-hour day. To complete its loyalty to the "public" the Board has ordered that overtime charges be eliminated and that time-and-a-half pay for Sunday be dropped. That this is the result of an investigation by "experts," is made evident by the fact that the railroad capitalists will save $300,000 on their annual labor bill.

The poor railroads! The Government has thrown millions into their coffers. The Government, by the threat of armed force has slashed the workers' wages and thru legislative manoeuvres has kept up the freight and passenger rates. We wonder why this overflow of generosity? How is it that only the bosses are getting such kind treatment? How is it that the workers always get it in the neck from the Government?

We need not ponder long over the answer. This is a government of the bosses, by the bosses, and for the bosses. The Rail Labor Board is only an agency set up to facilitate the safeguarding of capitalist interests. It is a hangover of the war to make the world safe for capitalist democracy. The workers must demand that the Rail Labor Board go. It has a black record of services to the bosses and injuries to the workers. The sooner we get rid of this Board the better will millions of railworkers be. Organized labor as one should join in the cry, "Down with the Rail Labor Board. We have had enough of wage cuts. We have had enough of ten-hour days."

"Doing something for the workers" is always a pleasant task much enjoyed by reformers until the workers try to do something for themselves. Horror then replaces happiness.

The Bonus Fight

A wave of protest is sweeping the country against granting the ex-soldiers a bonus. Who's behind this noise? None other than the bankers, merchants, and big farmers. The Bonus would cost the Government $1,000,000,000. These gentlemen are afraid that they'll have to dig down and pay some of the bill. When some one reaches for their pocketbooks, you may leave it to them to raise hell. And indeed they are raising hell in Congress against the Bonus.

The Republicans are in an awful hole on the Bonus issue. They are pledged to a Bonus. Yet, there is no doubt that they wish they could get out of it gracefully. Because of pressure from Wall Street, Congress has repeatedly been thrown into a turmoil. As yet the Republicans have not gathered sufficient grace to repudiate their pledge. We would not be surprised to see them get [illegible] the President for immediate [illegible] are drawing near and there is no use [illegible] eve of an election.

But the bombardment comes from [illegible] Harding is getting it going and coming. [illegible] the devil and the deep blue. Secretary Mellon and [illegible] ing interests have told him that the country is in no position to stand the drain of so huge a financial bill. Hence the quandary. How shall the Bonus be paid for? All sorts of [illegible] tax schemes, a United States Bond issue, and a plan to [illegible] foreign securities have been put forward to solve the difficulty.

The capitalists have won the war. The [illegible]-soldiers have won it for them. The war has brought misery and degradation to the ex-soldiers. It's no more than fair to them to have the bosses, for whom they bled and died foot the bill of temporary relief.

All the piffle about patriotism and money not mixing must be dismissed by the workers with a grain of salt. These mix pretty well for the bosses, and it's high time the workers took a turn at this mixing. The Bonus has nothing to do with "patriotism." It's a case of pure-and-simple need, and those who are responsible for this need, for the widespread want should come across and across soon.

Jack Sellins, son of Fannie Sellins, brutally murdered by steel-trust thugs during the great steel strike of 1919, has appealed to Judge Kennedy of Pittsburgh to take the case out of the hands of the local prosecutor. This appears to us to be a sheer waste of time and money, and our advice to the son of this martyred woman is to have just as much respect for the law as did the fiends who murdered his mother.

France Again

France is again trying to delay the Genoa Conference. It appears from reports that Poincaré is bringing pressure on Lloyd George to postpone the Conference. The Italian Government seems to be very anxious to meet at Genoa as soon as possible.

France's efforts to postpone is merely the first step toward calling off the Conference. In this jockeying over dates lies hidden a welter of capitalist conflicts and contradictions. England is anxious for a rapprochement with Russia and a better understanding with Germany in order to put a halt to France's plan to become the military boss of the continent. Lloyd George is anxious to establish a firm foothold in Russia in order to get the trade before America comes in. France is unquestionably being prodded on by America. And Italy, playing only second fiddle, necessarily lines up with England on whom she is economically dependent to a large degree.

We are not burdened with any delusions as to the glorious outcome of Genoa. The imperialists are unable to solve the contradictions of capitalism, conference or no conference. Nor do we believe that Soviet Russia will get a square deal. But the Conference is at least a feeble attempt to grapple with the difficulties at hand. As such we favor its being held and favor America's participation in it.

If the ex-service men have to stop eating until they get their bonus there won't be anyone to pay it to. With all this unemployment perhaps this is the solution Harding has in mind.

Yesterday and To-Day

According to the daily press, one Dr. Patrick Donovan of the Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic, sixth district of New York, has cabled Mike Collins that "eighty-five per cent of the membership is behind you and Griffith."

Speaking for ourselves, we are of the opinion that the doctor could have made it a little stronger and said ninety-nine per cent without stretching the truth. We hold this opinion for the reason that the Association, etc., is largely composed of such sterling Irish patriots as William Doheny, multi-millionaire oil operator who not long ago wanted the Irish and everyone else except himself to rescue his Mexican properties from the Mexicans, and Mr. Con Kelley of Butte and New York, head of the Anaconda Mining Company, whose gunmen, a couple of years ago, shot down something like twenty Irishmen who were on strike.

We can imagine with what joy these two lovers of freedom and others of their ilk greet the spectacle of Mike Collins' Republican Army ejecting unemployed workers from office buildings and factories the workers have seized.

Fighting the English government Mike was quite a decent fellow. Making Ireland safe for the holders of Irish bonds he becomes merely another of Capitalism's lackeys.

Chasing Rainbows

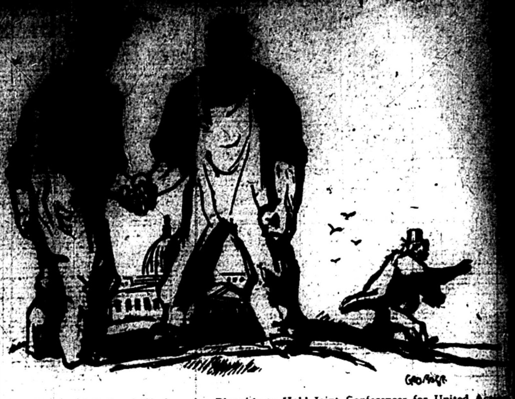
Many of our governmental departments have been working overtime spreading reports of prosperity waves overwhelming our people. We have never taken these reports seriously. They are aimed at bluffing the workers into sweet pipe dreams and out of discontent.

It is said that figures don't lie and lies don't figure. But with the capitalist "prosperity" experts these rules don't work. With this gentry figures do lie, and lies do figure. Once in a while one of the crew lets the cat out of the bag and gets a chance to raise enough of a howl to do some damage before he is squelched. We refer to the talk handed out by our friend Wm. F. Deegan, New York State Commander of the American Legion. If ever anybody has done plain talking on unemployment, he has done it and has done it well.

To Commander Deegan all the reports about the worst stage of unemployment being over are outright buncombe. Speaking of the plight of the ex-service men he said: "We have reached the point where we seem to be absolutely up against it. Unless we get help of some sort, I don't know where we are going to turn or what is going to happen. Every day brings an increasing number of ex-service men who rely on us for help. They are not merely hard up, but hundreds of them are absolutely destitute. They have no money to pay for food or lodging. As for clothing, they need it so badly that the Legion posts are appointing committees to solicit donations of shoes, underclothes, trousers, shirts, and coats for the men who did their duties overseas."

This state of affairs, we submit, is pictured by Commander Deegan better than we could ever hope to. The plight of the ex-service men does not differ in the least from the plight of the rest of the working masses. We are all brothers in need. We should all be brothers in deed. Let's not be given to chasing rainbows. Let's not be misled by the fake prosperity reports being spread by the hired misinformers of the capitalist class. The situation is a most sorry one. We are in the midst of deplorable conditions. It's high time that we be up and doing ourselves. The hope of the workers lies in the workers themselves. Let's all get together and get rid of unemployment, poverty, disease, and oppression, in sum total—capitalism.

If the textile workers can only keep someone from calling a conference on them they may win their strike.



The Miners and Railroad Workers Are Planning to Hold Joint Conferences for United Act

Our Next Step

By JAY LOVESTONE

The call for a conference of progressive labor bodies to be held in Chicago, February 20, should offer to the Workers' Party an opportunity of joining with large sections of the workers in the immediate struggle.

In this conference there will be represented the railway workers, the machinists, the Farmer-Laborites, the Non-Partisan Leaguers, the Forty-Eighters, the Socialist Party and various progressive Labor Unions.

The proposed object of this gathering is the working out of an agreement for joint action on various pressing issues now confronting the American workers.

How does this conference come to be called? What are the political and economic conditions? What of our labor movement? What is the outlook for the conference? Shall the Workers' Party seek representation? And if so, what should be its policy?

Thruout the world the capitalists are carrying the fight to the limit in their efforts to reduce wages, impose degrading working conditions, smash the unions and deprive the workers of even their most elementary political rights in shops, rob them of all their hard-won gains of years of struggle. The economic crisis is becoming more acute.

Despite our active prosperity-drummers, there is no prosperity in sight. Our unemployment is becoming worse. Our foreign trade is shrinking to new low levels.

Everywhere the employers are taking advantage of the conditions to increase their power of exploitation and oppression. Here we have wage-cuts and lockouts; there we have anti-strike laws and injunctions.

In the ranks of organized labor there is a strong undercurrent of dissatisfaction with the reactionary leadership. The discontent is as yet vague and inarticulated.

Because of the increasing pressure of the capitalist offensive, there is growing amongst the workers a strong demand for unity of action.

In the European countries the revolutionists have taken the lead in this move for unity. But in America, the situation is different. On account of the weakness of our revolutionary movement various leaders are dissatisfied with the existing A. F. of L. administration and some progressive labor men are assuming the lead in this move.

The Chicago conference is only an indication of the strong pressure the masses are bringing to bear upon their leaders for a united front against the common enemy.

The conference was called by labor leaders primarily hostile to the Gompers machine. In their hatred of the Grand-Old-Man these leaders are ready to take all steps which can help them win. This is natural.

We all fight this way when we fight and fight to win. These progressives and pseudo-progressives are ready to utilize any and every opportunity.

We should not, therefor, be surprised to see them taking steps far out of line with their past activities. Undoubtedly, their militancy, if it takes on concrete form, will, in large measure be due to reasons best known to themselves and not at all to a change of heart or aim. Hence these fellows are now getting on the job to capitalize the strong tread toward unity of action in the ranks of the laboring masses.

This need not dismay us. At no time should revolutionists judge mass movements by the desires or motives animating the individuals who for a multitude of reasons happen to be the mouthpieces of the movement at a particular moment. We need concern ourselves only with the underlying basic social and economic forces giving rise to the movements.

Our economic and political conditions are giving rise to a strong movement for unity in the ranks of the workers. The first concrete expression of our tread toward unity of action is the increasing unification of the left elements in the trade unions and political organizations. The Workers' Party itself is the first Workers political organization in America that has grown out of a union of forces and not out of a split. Besides, the old poison of dualism and "pure," "ideal" unionism is on the rapid decline amongst the militants. We see, then, that regardless of the fact that many of the leaders at the Chicago conference are men who have not done much for working-class unity, still the conference itself is a serious, live manifestation of organic forces stirring American labor toward decisive and aggressive action.

Viewing the conference from the above point of view what shall the Workers Party do? The writer is of the opinion that the Workers Party should make every effort possible to be represented at the conference. There are numerous advantages to participation in the conference by the Workers Party. But before dealing with the advantages let us consider some of the objections.

First of all, we have not been invited. Well, this does not matter a straw. There are reasons aplenty for our not being invited. The prime movers of the conference do not have much use for the aims of the Workers Party. Whatever plans they have which cannot stand open examination are much more secure when the Workers Party is excluded. The very fact that we have not been invited indicates the need for our presence. We should not stand on ceremony and refuse to participate in any conference where representatives of the workers are found.

Should our request for representation be turned down we would then be in a position to expose the tactics of the pseudo-progressive labor leaders who cry unity if our delegates are seated then we will be in a position to help mould the conference and at least put forward our program.

Others may argue that this conference is a gathering of liberals and labor-fakirs and that it cannot possibly bear advantages for the labor movement. This argument does not hold water. Merely charging some one with being a scoundrel does not make him a scoundrel. And the mere fact that one is an accuser does not make him holy. First of all don't let us condemn any movement in advance. Besides, condemnation based on actual conditions is far more powerful. Then again, let us put our case before the workers of America on the basis of positive movements. It is only under such conditions that we will be able to speak to the workers in concrete terms, in language of act and not of fancy or desire.

The revolutionists must give conscious and deliberate direction to the class-struggle. To give conscious and deliberate direction to the class-struggle means to participate actively in the class-struggle. And to participate actively in the class-struggle means to take all steps which will draw the largest masses possible into the struggle. But merely to recognize this need in the abstract will not get us anywhere. We must take steps which will remove the hindrances to the class-struggle. We must take steps which will outline the proper course of action. The Workers Party should

do all in its power to come
conference, to present plans w
will outline a policy of aggr
activity.

What shall be our behavior at
conference? What shall we p
pose?

Our representatives at the co
rence should come with a plan
culated to bring about unity
action. This can be done only
reaching an agreement to co-ope
on the broad, fundamental points
issue in the class struggle.

We should choose such points
will make it hard for those
our participation to turn
The proposals made by us
of such a nature as to put o
nents on record beyond a d

Pursuing this policy we w
perhaps put forward such slo
as: "Defend the Unemploy
"defend the labor unions and
right to strike and picket; orga
industrial and political oppositio
the open shop and wage cuts;
to farmers and ex-soldiers; etc.

These demands are practical
urgent. We can co-operate wit
working class bodies for their
zation. No one who pretends
stand for the workers or for
of action by the workers can
them without betraying his
to line up in the fight. Besides
of these are issues about which
masses can be rallied for str
and the fight for which will seri
interfere with the workings o
pitalism.

But we must not rest content
a co-operation for these special
poses. As revolutionists we sh
be the driving force in the m
ment for unity of all workers
desire to fight against capita
Our representatives should there
propose that there be organiz
genuine Labor Party along fe
tive lines and modelled after
British Labor Party. Here there
two conditions which we must
down as absolute. First, each o
constituent bodies must have
plete organizational autonomy.
ondly, we must under no con
renounce our right to and possi
of expressing our opinions. W
to maintain our right of full
icism and our own platform.
being guaranteed these two c
tions we have all to gain and
ing to lose from such a union

The revolutionists of every
try are leading the move for
of action. The Chicago confe
offers the revolutionists of A
a chance to advance conside
this demand for unity seen
ranks of the masses. It is tru
the godfathers of the conf
have announced their plan
organize a Labor Party. This
only serve to strengthen our
for such a Party. The Bols
of Russia, the Communists o
many, France and Italy have
us of what a great advantage
policies can be to the worke

Let us drive the waverin
ward. Let us take the lead
organization of a united
against the common enemy.

WHITE TERROR SPREA

Every day the White Te
tends its sway thruout the
States. Recently the use of
the Kentucky steel strike
ported; now news comes fro
ville, Ohio, that a machine
turned on workers picketing
of the Wheeling Steel and
killing one and wounding an

The machine gun was op
thugs hired by the Company
union men away from th
which had just resumed
on an "open shop" basis th
ing day, after having be
down for ten months.

The Daily Worker

National Defense Bazaar, March 22—25, at the Lyceum, 86th Street and Third Avenue

THE WORKER
AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING-CLASS EXPRESSION
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Riot Guns Roar In Big Textile Strike; Rhode Island Police Shoot Workers

Unite, Divide, Alternatives Open to Labor

Demand for a united front of labor, politically and industrially was made by the Workers Party upon the gathering of labor, farmer, liberal and radical forces held in Chicago this week.

In order to bring about this united front the Workers Party, in an open letter issued by its chairman, James P. Cannon, urged the calling of a general labor congress, the delegates to be elected by the rank and file.

This congress would consider the great problems now confronting the American working class. The alternatives confronting the conference of so-called "progressives" meeting in Chicago is set forth as follows:

"Defend the unemployed from hunger; defend the workers' organizations from destruction; defend [illegible] slavery—do it at the [illegible] of the wealthy class in-[illegible]

"Or, confuse, divide and betray the workers, to protect the system of labor exploitation."

Chicago Conference Analyzed.

The document of the Workers Party takes the position that the Chicago conference cannot bring about a united front. It declares:

"This conference cannot form a united front for the working class. Only the great mass of labor itself can do that. Not a few leaders slipping into a room privately to fix things up, but only a general labor congress of delegates elected for the specific purpose by the workers, can create a front that will endure and fight."

The open letter in full is published in another column. It was drawn up and unanimously agreed upon at a special meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party.

The letter was sent to the press and a copy to every delegate to the Chicago conference.

In spite of the efforts of a small minority, no move was made to organize a coalition of labor's forces in the political field. Such hopes were shattered by the move to call another conference, Dec. 11, after the congressional elections.

The conference practically decided to endorse the Gompres' policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies."

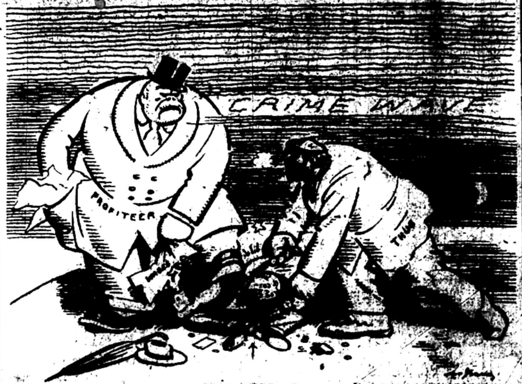
Our editorial on the conference will be found on Page Three.

Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, president of the League of Women Voters, has notified President Johnston of the Machinists Union that she will not serve as a member of the "Committee of Fifteen" appointed by the Chicago Conference.

Mrs. Costigan was one of the fifteen, but now says the organization is "too radical."

Verily, it is a strange land we live in.

The courts guarantee landlords an 8 per cent profit. How about a guarantee of work at union wages for the unemployed? No, that would not do under our present system. Capital must be kept at work at a good profit. Labor must be kept idle to help hammer down wages. This is because we live under the capitalist system. Help inaugurate the Workers' Republic.



The Worker

THUG: It's my turn now; you've had him long enough.

Workers Party Calls on All Labor for Big United Front

The open letter issued by the Workers Party of America, thru its Central Executive Committee, to the Conference called by the authorized committee of the sixteen standard railroad labor organizations and just held in Chicago, is as follows:

* * * *

THE men and women of this country whose power to labor is their only dependence for a livelihood, and who at the same time are conscious of the social significance of their position, must hear with keen interest a call issued by representatives of twenty-five hundred thousand organized workers.

More especially must this be true at a time when six millions of us have been thrust into the desperate position of being deprived of the right to labor by which alone we can live, and when the call declares its purpose to be the solution of this terrible problem among others.

The signers of the call are all, as heads of great Labor Unions, sworn to defend the interests of the workers. This fact must be considered in connection with all that we say in this letter.

We remind you that the human liberties that the courts have construed out of existence are not the rights of the men of business, holders of capital.

Bankers, stock traders and railroad owners have suffered no loss of liberties in recent times. The kind of rights that the courts have sacrificed have been without exception the rights of the propertyless masses—those who live by labor.

There has been a deadly progression by which the elementary and life-enabling rights of the working masses have disappeared.

He would be blind who could not see that an organized offensive participated in as a whole by the class that lives by exploiting labor, is now and has been for many months advanced in an unwavering drive to exterminate the last of those rights of workers which are the flickering lights in this so-called civilization based upon exploitation of Labor.

Out of the nightmare of crime in which the capitalist rulers of the world have killed and mutilated thirty millions of men in seeking gain to their narrow class, there has emerged but one constructive act, the only one bearing a promise for the future of the race, and that was an act of Labor—**the establishment of a Workers' Republic in Russia.**

Elsewhere it has been Labor, and Labor alone, that has stood guard and fought for what human rights remain. Wherever the Labor front has been broken, disaster to the human race has resulted.

The tragic history of the years from 1914 constitutes a cry for the consolidation of the toiling masses as such—as distinguished sharply from the class which has ruled and ruined.

Urge Complete Mobilization.

In America, where all Capital is in concerted action, while the forces of Labor are chaotically divided and consequently suffer a bewildering

(Continued on Page 2)

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG

THE POOR FISH says: that he knows labor produces all the wealth, but that the capitalists produce even more.

Sacco-Vanzetti Framed; Witness Admits He Lied

By EUGENE LYONS.

BOSTON, Mass., Feb 21.—One of the chief prosecution witnesses on whose testimony the lives of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were sworn away in Dedham, Mass., last summer has voluntarily made a complete and unequivocal denial of statements in court, in the presence of the Federated Press correspondent, counsel for defense and other persons.

In a long affidavit he repudiates categorically all his answers to essential questions put to him on the witness stand and admits the truth of the counter-testimony bearing upon the same point introduced by the defense.

Both the defense group and the lawyers are frankly enthusiastic over recent developments. They assert that the confession of this witness is the first breach in the prosecution case and that other serious cracks are already showing.

"We have strong reason to believe," a member of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee said, "that the whole flimsy structure will crumble to dust. The unexpected somersault by an outstanding state witness, apparently under the urge of his conscience, confirms our charges against the prosecution. Never since the Mooney frame-up has evidence been so unscrupulously wrung from the lips of witnesses by state officials."

The Daily Worker is coming

Jobless Plan Big Protest at City Hall

BULLETIN.

The Unemployed Council of Greater New York at press time received word from the police authorities that the unemployed demonstration cannot be held at the Franklin Statue, City Hall Square.

The demonstration will take place at the same hour but at the corner of West and Barclay streets.

The Unemployment Council of New York, [illegible] the Organization of [illegible], will hold a big [illegible] Saturday, February 25, 2 P. M., at the Franklin [illegible], City Hall.

The [illegible] Council is calling upon organized labor to assist it in the demonstration and protest and to show its solidarity with the great mass of workers who have been thrown out of work.

There is no longer any doubt as to the [illegible] situation. [illegible]

[illegible]

The present condition of things in New York is due to nothing more than the utter indifference of the authorities and of the employers to the position of the unemployed.

The introduction of the anti-strike bill shows the regard that the employers have for organized labor.

The strikes that have taken place merely on the question of wages show that the employers are successful in their campaign to reduce wages, having at their disposal an army of 400,000 to choose from.

Duty of Workers to Protest

There must not be any distinction in the classes of labor. There must be a united front especially on the matter of unemployment. It is one of the foremost and most pressing tasks of organized labor to unite with the unemployed in a gigantic protest against the failure to do anything to relieve the unemployment situation.

During this week and next the following meetings will be held: Saturday, Feb. 25, 7.30 P. M. Hungarian Workers' Home, 350 East 81st St.; Sunday, Feb. 26, 2 P. M. Finnish Workers' Home, 764 40th St., Brooklyn; Tuesday, Feb. 28, 7.30 P. M. Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road, Bronx; Friday, March 3, 2 P. M. Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.

Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the "Bloody Pontius Pilate" of capitalist tyranny during the war, has resigned. He will now devote all of his attention to organized baseball at $50,000 per year. We're waiting for Landis' decision on the first scrap between the baseball team owners and the baseball players.

Japan has decided to bar Mrs. Margaret Sanger from lecturing to the Japanese workers on the subject of birth control. Those Japanese politicians are certainly quick at adopting American methods, especially those of the New York police, who insisted on breaking up Mrs. Sanger's meeting here.

Many of the members of the army of unemployed are marching into the nation's prisons as a last resort. Penal institutions in New York report a 25 per cent increase in their population due to the industrial depression. Such is capitalism. Workers! Do you like it?

The Daily Worker is coming

Bosses Refuse to Arbitrate Wage Question; Use Terroristic Tactics to Break the Strike; Pawtucket Silk Operatives Join Other Toilers

With all available state troops doing guard duty at their plants, the Rhode Island textile mill owners have refused to arbitrate the wage question with the representatives of their 15,000 striking employees.

The owners have also refused to make a public statement of their operating costs, altho the reduction of 20 per cent in wages against which the general strike in the industry is a protest was made ostensibly to enable New England mills to compete with the operators in the Southern states.

The representatives of the strikers have agreed to arbitration of the wage question but insist that their demand for the restoration of the 48-hour week is not within the scope of an arbitration board.

The reign of terror inaugurated in an attempt to cow the Rhode Island strikers by imported gunmen, co-operating with police and state troops, has resulted in the death of one striker, Jose Assuncao, and the serious wounding of several more at the Jenckes mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island.

Witnesses of the shooting declare that into a crowd where there were women and children in large numbers, the police and gunmen emptied their riot-guns with the evident intention of killing and crippling as many strikers as possible.

The cold-blooded ferocity of the mill-owners' thugs is said by observers to exceed even the brutality displayed during the hard-fought Lawrence strike of 1912.

President McMahon of the United [illegible]

The killing of one and the serious shooting of several other strikers at Pawtucket was the most wanton act of brutality that has ever taken place in this state. The mayor, backed by a police sergeant and some hired gunmen, started the shooting at the Jenckes mill which ended in death. It was a cowardly attack such as might have been expected from the Cossacks of Russia when the czar was supreme. The men and women who were shot down in cold blood were picketing the Jenckes mill in a peaceable manner and were quiet and orderly until attacked by the police and gunmen.

In Pawtucket alone there are six companies of coast artillery, a machine gun company and an ambulance corps.

The Unions fighting the strike have started a campaign to raise a relief fund of $100,000. Continued unemployment has depleted their treasuries, but the membership seem determined to fight to the last ditch knowing that any sign of weakness will simply mean a new onslaught on their starvation incomes. **"We might as well strike and starve as work and starve" said one girl striker and this seems to be the general sentiment.** Organization work has been carried on for months by both the Amalgamated Textile Workers and the United Textile Workers in the industry and there is a surprisingly solid front among the workers.

The attempt to still further reduce the already low wages, and to force up the work-week to 54 hours constitute only the "exciting" cause of the strike. The shameful conditions which for years have existed in the industry—and which perhaps have been at their worst in this state—are such that these latest assaults of the mill owners seem only to bring them to a climax.

For many years Rhode Island industry has been dominated by the mill operators. Not even in the coal districts of West Virginia, where the coal barons wield a power over the lives of the workers as despotic as that of ancient feudalism, is the industrial autocracy so complete. The mill owners own the community. They virtually own the police, the courts and the military. They literally own the mills, and in scores of cases the homes of the workers, the stores at which the workers must buy their food and clothing. They have extended and developed their domination until it pervades every part of the lives of the workers, even to their worship. Thousands of the mill operatives have to trade at company stores, be attended in sickness by company doctors, even, in some instances, go to company churches. And, finally, they live in fear of the most detestable and indefensible thing called the "blacklist."

Their wages have always been small, and they have been out on an average of about 42 per cent in the last sixteen months. A notable feature of the present situation is that in all the daily newspapers of New England and New York, which have given many columns to the strike, not once have the actual wages been mentioned. In Rhode Island they averaged, before the present reduction, about $21 a week!

The warfare against organized labor in Rhode Island is and has been as bitter and unscrupulous as anywhere in America. Industrial terrorism still holds sway here. The mill owners and their financial connections run the politics of the state, which still maintains a borough system by which the smallest hamlet has equal representation in the state legislature with the largest city. There is even a property qualification and restriction upon the right to vote!

And that is not the worst. The sovereign state of Rhode Island permits the employment of 14-year-old children in the textile mills. Read what "Fibre and Fabric," a trade journal of the industry published in Boston, said editorially of child labor in its issue of August 31, 1918:

"If the child labor reformers would definitely state what they propose to do with the children of laboring people, who, now, more than ever need every dollar possible to obtain in a legitimate way, we could look upon this question from a different viewpoint. But prohibiting them from work is about as far as they go **and it seems immaterial if the boys become loafers and the girls prostitutes.** (The boldface is ours.)

The Daily Worker is coming

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

They are [illegible] low wages [illegible] United States [illegible] power of the [illegible] backed by the state, [illegible] them.

They need money for food. To carry on they must eat. Give what you can and get your Union to give. Do it now!

HELP THE TEXTILE STRIKERS!

GIGANTIC DEMONSTRATION! Unemployed and Organized Labor! Show Your Solidarity and Power

Saturday, February 25, 2 P. M. Corner West and Barclay Streets

[illegible] March 1

The workers of New York City will follow the example of the Workers of Europe and hold a demonstration March 1st to demand a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, the two Italian labor leaders now awaiting sentence of death in Massachusetts on a framed-up charge of highway robbery and murder.

The conference in charge of the demonstration which is to be held Wednesday evening, March first, at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St., has announced that many of New York's most prominent speakers will address the meeting.

Joseph M. Coldwell, recently released political prisoner, who has been touring New England on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, William Dunn, editor of The Worker, Fred Biedenkapp, P. O. Cosgrove, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, organizer of the Workers' Defense Union, who has just finished a speaking tour of the mining camps of Illinois and Indiana, Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello, Pedro Estave, Norman Thomas, associate editor of the Nation, and J. B. Salutzky, educational director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

A rousing call has been issued to the workers of New York City, as follows:

"Sacco and Vanzetti are awaiting death in Massachusetts for championing the rights of the workers. The protest of the workers against their execution has resounded around the world. We must exert every effort to keep alive the interest of the working class of this country in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti or we will find one of these days that the drama has ended by the electric chair.

"They are alive today because of the vigilance of the workers of Europe! Are they to die because of the indifference of the workers of America? By stopping the execution of these men we have struck a death blow at the frame-up system that put Mooney and Billings, Ford and Suhr, Rangel and Kline in prison for life.

"The frame-up system must go!"

The Tag Day

TO ALL SOCIALIST PARTY BRANCHES AND MEMBERS

Comrades: We feel that you stand with us shoulder to shoulder on the question of relief for the famine-stricken people of Soviet Russia. The piteous appeal of the 15,000,000 sufferers, doomed to almost certain death unless aid is sent speedily and effectively, this appeal has touched your hearts, as it has ours. We feel that you, as well as we, want to do more than merely drop a few coins or shed a sympathetic tear. We, therefore, call upon you to join with us in the Tag Day for Russian Relief on March 4 and 5. We want you to help make this a success.

We seek no glory or credit for ourselves. We want to obtain as much as we can for relief and we know that your comrades are earnest and willing to help. We are willing and anxious to give the Socialist Party, its individual branches and membership, full credit for any funds they may collect. If you have a heart, therefore, act! Act at once!

Notify us at once of your intentions. All that is needed is, your headquarters as a station, your comrades for collection and an understanding with the section committee as to allotment of territory. Materials, boxes, tags, etc., will be furnished by the Local Office, 208 East 12th Street.

Yours for Russian Relief,

BERT MILLER, Local Secretary,
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The New York Times gives first page space to the news that the brother of President Warren Gamaliel Harding's dog is sick. Run the flag to half mast.

[illegible] Explains Lack of Real Fighting Spirit

NOTE—The "Political Infancy" of the American labor movement is reviewed in this second installment of the principles and program of the Trade Union Educational League, published in full in the March issue, the first issue of the Labor Herald, its official organ. Next week we shall publish another installment of the "principles and program" explaining the sources of the troubles of the American labor movement. This week's installment is as follows:

* * *

Politically our trade unions are also in an infantile condition. They have not yet advanced to the point of even rudimentary political class consciousness.

Blissfully unaware that the class struggle rages in the political as well as in the industrial field, they are still trailing along in the train of the capitalist parties and shamefully begging favors from them.

Their cause is a football for every political crook in the country—to the sad demoralization of the whole labor movement. The workers in other countries were once in a similar boat, but they have all long since got away from it.

Some, the anti-political tendency, have adopted the Syndicalist program of direct action on the political field thru the trade unions, and others, retaining their belief in political action, have built up extensive Labor, Socialist, and Communist parties.

But all of them, Syndicalists, Laborites, Socialists, and Communists, agree upon class action in the political field.

They would laugh out of court any leader among them who dared advocate the antediluvian no-class political policy of the American trade union movement.

For them the adoption of such a program would mean turning the clock backward a generation.

Lacks Idealism and Social Vision

Another striking feature of our labor movement's primitiveness is its unequaled lack of idealism and social vision. It has no soul. It has not yet raised the inspiring banner of working class emancipation.

So far as its vague conscious expressions go, it is still timidly and blindly trying to patch up wage slavery and make it endurable. It has still to learn that the only solution of the labor struggle is by the abolition of capitalism.

In this sad position it stands alone, for the workers of all other important countries have long since definitely broken with capitalism. They look upon it as an obsolete social system which must be eliminated.

They are looking forward to the establishment of a new proletarian society in which parasitic capitalists will be no more. They differ widely as to how this great goal can be achieved, whether capitalism shall be abolished piece by piece, as the Socialists propose, or all at one blow, as the Communists and Syndicalists urge.

But they are unanimous that capitalism must go. The American trade unions are the only general body of organized workers in the world that have not yet mastered this fundamental labor conclusion.

And the result is a tremendous weakening in their programs and fighting strength.

Our Pitiful Conservatism

A striking illustration of this unparalleled intellectual timidity and conservatism comes to light in our trade unions' relations with the labor organizations of other countries.

There are two world trade union federations, one with headquarters in Amsterdam, and the other in Moscow.

The Amsterdam International is reformist, and the Moscow International revolutionary.

All the important labor movements of the world are affiliated with one or the other of these two Internationals—that is, all except ours.

We stand aloof altogether on the ground that both are too revolutionary. Even the Amsterdam International, whose leaders undoubtedly saved capitalism in its greatest crisis by defeating the recent revolutionary uprisings in Germany, Italy, France, etc., is much too radical for us.

Because its "revolutionary" doctrines might contaminate our pure bourgeois ideas, and for fear that our association with such a "terrible" organization would discredit us in the eyes of American exploiters, the American Federation of Labor, not long since, severed relations with the Amsterdam International.

THE SHAME OF CALIFORNIA.

The Reproach of America that Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings Should Rot in Prison—the Frame-Up Victims of Perjured Testimony.

This made us the laughing stock of the international labor world, revolutionary and reformist alike.

When it comes to militancy of program we stand in a place by ourselves—at the very foot of the profession.

And so it is with many other phases of our movement, which need not be cited here.

Fighting Power Weakened

The general effect of the extreme political and industrial undevelopment of our trade union movement has been to greatly weaken the fighting power of the working class.

More than ever this is evidenced by the present world crisis in industry. Whereas the trade unions of other countries are pretty much holding their own, or in some cases even forging ahead, ours are in disordered retreat before the victorious employers.

The latter, strongly organized and controlling the press, the courts, and practically every section of the local, state, and national governments, are smashing the unions right and left and making ducks and drakes of the workers' political and industrial rights.

The crisis is serious and so generally recognized that there is no need for us to waste words over it here.

Suffice to say that if Organized Labor does not soon reorganize its primitive craft unions into modern industrial unions and infuse them with real fighting spirit it will inevitably suffer crushing defeat, if not actual annihilation.

Yorkville Branch Has Concert and Dance for Saturday Night, March 11

Do not fail to attend the grand Concert and Dance given by the Yorkville Branch of the Workers' Party, for the benfit of establishing Headquarters, on **Saturday, March 11th**, at 8 P. M., at the **Labor Temple**, 243 East 84th Street.

A grand Concert program arranged.

1. Mr. Umansk, Ballet Master of the Capitol Theater will demonstrate Russian Dancing.
2. Mr. Volianof, the prominent Russian actor will recite for us to give lots of fun.
3. Interpretation dances by Beatrice Morten.
4. Russian folk songs by Mrs. Beckman.
5. Mandolin Orchestra of Technical Aid of Soviet Russia.

Many other interesting numbers.

A grand Buffet with Russian tea and Moscow Pirojki. Dancing from 10 P. M. till morning. Confetti and Serpentine. You will miss a very pleasant evening if you fail to attend. **—Come and bring your friends!—** Admission, 35 cents.

Do not forget that 10 per cent. of the proceedings will go to the National Defense Committee.

AUSTRALIAN MINERS MILITANT

SYDNEY, N. S. W.—Trouble in the coal and shale industry is threatened during the early part of 1922.

Recently the Miners' Federation suggested that in order to equalize work over all the mines, a nine-day fortnight should be worked. The mine owners replied that they would not agree to any such equalizing of work, claiming that it was an attempt on the part of the miners to dictate in the management of the industry.

Since then a great number of the miners' lodges have carried motions to put the nine-day fortnight into operation during January. The mine owners say this is a challenge to lay the mines idle. On the other hand, the miners charge the owners with trying to foment a strike as a pretext to reducing wages.

The Daily Worker is coming!

NEW BOOKS

The Revolutionary Crisis in Germany, England, Italy and France
By Wm. Z. Foster .... [illegible]c
The Russian Revolution
By Wm. Z. Foster .... [illegible]c

Ten Days That Shook The World
By John Reed—Cloth $1.50
A Communist Trial, Extracts from the Testimony of C. E. Ruthenberg and Address to the Jury by I. E. Ferguson. Price .... [illegible]c

READ "KUZBAS", the pamphlet telling of the organization of American Engineers and Workers to go to Russia and develop the great Kuznets Basin Iron and Coal Project under Soviet control without capitalist exploitation .... 10c a copy.

LYCEUM-LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
Workers Party of America.
Publishers and Distributors. Wholesale and Retail.
Room 405—799 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY

WANTED!

American Engineers and Workers for Soviet Russia in the Kuznets Coal and Iron Basin.

Read the pamphlet "Kuzbas", that tells about this great Soviet Project to be operated without profit to capitalists by American workers and engineers.

Retail, 10 cents. Wholesale, 8 cents; postage paid.

LYCEUM AND LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
Workers Party of America
Room 405—799 Broadway, New York City.

[illegible] to [illegible] at Mass Meeting

Paxton Hibben, who will speak at the Lexington Theatre on Sunday evening, February [illegible], at 8 P. M., is a member of the American Society of Colonial Wars. His family has been in America since [illegible]. He graduated from Princeton in [illegible]. He was admitted to the bar of Indiana in [illegible] and to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1910. He served as a secretary of the American Embassy at Petrograd in 1905 and 1906, thus giving him an excellent chance to gain an insight into the Russian character and economic conditions.

In 1914, Hibben was a candidate for Congress on the Progressive Party ticket from the 7th District of Indiana. He was staff correspondent of the Associated Press in Holland, France and Greece during the war and special correspondent of the Chicago Tribune and of Leslie's Weekly.

Joins Near East Relief

He was commissioned 1st lieutenant in the Field Artillery after service in the 2nd Officers' Training Camp at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, Nov. 27, 1917. He served overseas with the 322nd Field Artillery and was promoted to captaincy on May 31, 1919. Still searching for adventure he joined the American Military Mission to Transcaucasian Russia on Aug. 21, 1919. Later he acted for the Near East Relief in Transcaucasian Russia and was correspondent of Leslie's Weekly until August 2nd 1921. He visited Moscow and the Volga region, 5,750 miles thru the famine area.

As secretary of the Russian Commission of the Near East Relief, Paxton Hibben has compiled what is considered one of the most authentic reports on the Russian Famine. He is therefore fully qualified to speak with authority on conditions in Russia.

Hits Attacks by The Times

Captain Hibben has been most emphatic in his denunciation of Herbert Hoover and the N. Y. Times for their slanderous attacks on Russian Relief organizations. He declared recently that "the natural result of the attack would be to add to the millions of innocent victims of the famine and those who have lodged this campaign to starve the Russians, know it full well."

This is the first chance that Captain Hibben has had to reply to Hoover at length. To add to the interest, which this courageous critic has aroused, his talk will be preceded by Motion Pictures of conditions in the famine area. Moissaye J. Olgin, noted journalist and writer, who returned from Russia recently, will be chairman.

The State

The capitalist state, represented by the existing government, whether controlled by one party or another, is an organization of force for the suppression of the demands of the exploited workers.

Its courts, its police, its military power are all ruthlessly used against the workers.

The workers cannot hope to wage a successful struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation while the state power remains in the control of the capitalists.

The Workers Party therefore declares that the class struggle must take the form of a political struggle, a struggle for control of the state power.

CARLSON LECTURE IN WILLIAMSBURG.

Oliver Carlson, National Secretary of the Young Workers League will speak on "The Task of the Revolutionary Youth" at the newly organized CIRCLE (8) in WILLIAMSBURG, 226 ROEBLING STREET, FRIDAY, MARCH 3, at 8 o'clock.

ALL YOUNG PEOPLE and those who consider themselves young, despite their age, are requested to attend. THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE MUST GROW. EVERY YOUNG WORKER BELONGS IN OUR RANKS. IF YOU ARE A YOUNG WORKER THIS MEANS YOU.

"The future belongs to the Young." But it depends upon the young to mold a future worth-while; a future free from War, Unemployment and conditions created by a system devoted to the cause of making profits.

We want to follow the lead of other circles in the city in BUILDING A LIVE WIRE CIRCLE, to organize classes, arrange lectures, to prepare ourselves for the task before us, and last, but not least, supply our own entertainment. REMEMBER THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT MEETING AND ENLIST IN THE RANKS OF THE FIGHTING YOUNG WORKERS.

Senator Smoot, of Utah, announces that congress has gone crazy. That is what we have contended all along, but we didn't think that a senator was insane enough to admit it.

—Boardman Robinson

Hail, the Workers' Party!

The above is a reproduction of a cartoon by Boardman Robinson in the current issue of The Liberator.

It visualizes the hope that the organization of the Workers' Party of America has inspired among the masses. They hail the Workers' Party as their emancipator, as their great hope.

Yet they are the very ones who must make the Workers' Party the power it must be before it can achieve their emancipation.

In another article in this issue, Edgar T. Whitehead, our British comrade, estimates that one in every 300 of America's population must be a member of the party before it can develop really effective action.

It will be instructive to look for a moment at the density which certain parties and organizations have achieved in other countries.

In the Petrograd revolution of 1917 the Bolsheviki probably commanded the services of not less than ten thousand trained and disciplined party members in a population of one million. That was a density of one in a hundred. A high density, and as it proved, a sufficient density for the task. To this trained nucleus of the best brains of the workers, large masses of untrained workers were attracted whose degree of class consciousness and whose conceptions of the objects of the revolutionary struggle were more or less clouded and vague.

In Czecho-Slovakia at the present time the revolutionary Party of the Workers numbers no fewer than two hundred and fifty thousand members in a population of fourteen millions, a density of one in fifty-six. This density is so high that the international situation and the conditions in surrounding countries being auspicious, the seizure of power by the organized working class would be a comparatively easy revolutionary task.

That such a revolution does not immediately occur is due mainly to the fact that neighboring capitalist countries, particularly Hungary, Poland, and Austria, would immediately drown in blood any Czecho-Slovakian Workers' Republic that reared its head.

In Germany the Workers' Revolutionary Party numbers 250,000 in a population of 75,000,000, a density of one in three hundred.

Norway with a party membership of 20,000 in 3,000,000 inhabitants, reaches a density of one in 150.

France with a membership of 120,000 in 36,000,000 reaches a density of one in three hundred.

It is therefore evident to every reader of THE WORKER that the Workers' Party has a great task before it—the enlisting and training within its ranks of 350,000 workers, the best brains of the American working class.

You must help! Become a member of the party yourself! Get others to join and to train themselves for the struggle. For information write the National Office, Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York City.

WANTED!

Workers for the Worker.

Any comrades having a little time to spend for the cause can help "The Worker" by donating a few hours labor at addressing and preparing circularization material. Come to the office at any time and ask for Wm. F. Kruse.

A Lie Nailed

The Socialist World, official organ of the Socialist Party, sometime ago published a slanderous article, made up of a tissue of lies, concerning the character and activities of Alfred Wagenknecht. It accused him of purchasing a home with organization funds which he had embezzled and stated that he retired from the movement on his ill-gotten gains.

The article was so vicious in character and the statements it made so unfounded that the Miami Valley Socialist, the party organ in Ohio, in its issue of February 10th not only denies them in toto but calls upon the Socialist World to publish a retraction. The Miami Valley Socialist says in part:

"In the "Socialist World" appeared a statement that "Alfred Wagenknecht, former leader in the Underground Communist organization, has been expelled for misappropriation of funds." The editor of the Miami Valley Socialist has no knowledge of the source of the tale. But we have not the slightest hesitation in declaring it false. As a member of the old State executive committee it was our duty to check up his work and his use of funds. We know how scrupulous he was in accounting for every penny. We know something of the struggle and sacrifice he and his family were making to remain in the party work. Wagenknecht is and was a clean and honest man. And for corroboration comes a report from the National Secretary of the Workers Party branding the report a libel.

After speaking of the bitter controversy between the groups who differed on the question of tactics, the editor of the Miami Valley Socialist says of the attack on Wagenknecht:

The poison gas attack upon us has been hard to endure. But that affords us no excuse to retaliate in kind, and the effort to destroy the good name of Alfred Wagenknecht by publishing a lying tale that he "has retired to a quiet home purchased with misappropriated funds" is utterly without justification. The "Socialist World" should either publish the grounds of its statement or retract.

Unfortunately, altho we thank the Miami Valley Socialist for its manly stand, a retraction cannot, at this late date undo any but a small part of the harm done Wagenknecht.

One thing however is certain and that is that the person responsible for the slander has exposed himself as one of those jackals infesting the working class movement of this country, ever eagerly searching for some bit of carrion whose odor their degenerate tastes enjoy and which they use to disgust and drive away from the movement those whose honesty and sincerity they hate because they have none themselves.

HERE IS MY "SUB"

The Worker, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

COMRADES:—Enclosed please find $.............. in payment for my subscription to THE WORKER for a period of .... months, at the rate of $2 per year, $1 for six months.

Name ....

Address ....

[illegible]

The quickest way to [illegible] strength and influence [illegible] WORKER is to get a [illegible] get your paper circulating [illegible] the workers.

If you belong to a labor [illegible] any other working class [illegible] tion you should not attend [illegible] meeting without a bundle [illegible] WORKER under your arm.

If you attend a workers' [illegible] meeting, of the unemployed [illegible] the relief of the Russian [illegible] stricken, to protest against [illegible] carceration of our prisoners [illegible] battle the open shop, or for [illegible] other working class cause, [illegible] have a bundle of THE WORKER with you.

In this way we can get [illegible] circulation for our paper. Then "subs" will begin rolling in [illegible] those who have purchased [illegible] copies from our bundle carriers [illegible] a pioneer. Join the vanguard. [illegible] a worker and a fighter in the [illegible] of the Social Revolution. Write THE WORKER, Room 402, [illegible] East 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

"Yours for emancipation," [illegible] in with a sub from Murcheson, [illegible] We're on the way and working [illegible] Comrade.

* * *

A list of six subs with a promise of "More subs to follow soon," comes from Rockford, Ill.

* * *

Another bundle of 25 copies goes to a new booster at Cleveland, Ohio. Boosters ordering bundles boost the circulation and extend the power of our press. How about you?

* * *

This comes from the Modern Book Store, 127 S. 4th St., Minneapolis, Minn.:—"THE WORKER is making a hit with our customers and is sold out before the publication date. Hope the demand will keep on climbing. It is a snappy paper. Increase our bundle to 50 copies."

Comrade Stella Campbell Georgian is in charge of this store. When in Minneapolis drop around and pay the store a visit.

* * *

A new bundle of five copies goes to a lately discovered recruit to the ranks of our boosters at Houston, Texas.

* * *

"We want 50 copies of THE WORKER," is the request that comes from Gardner, Mass. The next mail after receiving the letter took them on their way.

* * *

"We are doing all we can to push THE WORKER, for we believe it is the goods. Send us 200 copies of No. 211. Best wishes for a revolutionary press." That comes from the district organizer of the Workers' Party at Boston, Mass., Comrade H. I. Cantor.

* * *

Local Youngstown, Ohio, meets every Friday night at the Labor Lyceum, 307 N. Walnut St. Charles Baker, district organizer, speaks here Feb. 26, 8 p. m. All comrades are urged to boost for THE WORKER. For other information get in touch with Wallace Metcalf, 1432 W. Federal St.

* * *

Our hustler at Rochester, Minn., increases his bundle from 10 to 100. He invites workers elsewhere to duplicate his effort. What do you say?

* * *

A six months' sub rolls in from Minneapolis, Minn., that wants to be started with the first issue of THE WORKER. It got here just in time. Our supply of back numbers is almost exhausted.

* * *

"The army of the jobless is growing here every week. This makes it very hard for me to dispose of my bundle of THE WORKER," writes a comrade from Racine, Wisc. But he keeps right at it.

* * *

A comrade writes from the coal fields of Franklin, Ill. He says: "The workers know absolutely nothing of the labor movement here and in other countries. We must get them to read." So he is going to start out with a bundle of THE WORKER. And he is going to try to organize a branch of the Workers Party. Good work!

* * *

FROM VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA: "Can you ship me 50 copies of THE WORKER each week for sale at unemployed meetings here in Greater Vancouver." We'll say we can. Our hustler says: "The slaves here must be kept informed as to what is transpiring across the line in the U. S. A."

Rights in
t to Live

mployment Dinner given Unemployment Council was affair. Altho the attend- not what was expected, are beyond hopes. The splendid and clearly dem- that the Unemployment has the support of an active working class.

Unemployment Council is a perfectly legal func- well understand that the would like to nip it in the it will not be intimidated. with serves notice on the thru the press that if its interfered with, if there is order at its meetings, it will the government responsible."

ause greeted this remark. are no great admirers of capi- law and know what to expect capitalist court. However, we insist on the so-called constitu- rights of free speech and free mblage. And no terrorization the authorities seem intent upon ying will be of value."

Capitalists to Get Out of Way

e only method that the capi- have of abolishing unemploy- is by beginning a war. They us thru one war, after which, told us, there would be a new a for the worker. He would plenty of work, prosperity and mocracy, But instead he has got mployment. Ten million work- men and women are asking for , but the capitalists refuse to up their factories because there any profit for them in doing so. In doing so they are causing th to innumerable persons, and prove themselves to be murder- and robbers. They are guilty to t which sent more than 100 mem- s of the I. W. W. to prison for tences varying from 5 to 20 years. I. W. W. were charged with wilfully obstructed the war. now the capitalists wilfully, de- ately and with malice afore- ght have shut their factory , locking out the workers and ping them from earning food and lter.

"If the capitalists don't know of other way in which to run in- try, without the loss of work to workers, then let them step aside d hand over things to the work- ."

This statement by Edgar T. ns, Secretary of the National ense Commitee, was roundly plauded.

rmer Secretary of Council Bru- tally Beaten by Denver Police

During the course of the after- on, a letter was read from Emil olmes, an organizer of the World ar Veterans, who wrote that Jack adon, former secretary of the Un- ployment Council, who had gone Colorado for his health, had been beaten up by the police of Denver t his life was despaired of.

"To-day," reads the letter, "word es to me from another comrade t chances are Bradon will again arrested. If put thru the third de- e once more, we can all buy wers for our beloved comrade chief concern is to get him out there before the police murder ."

A collection was taken up for adon, bringing in $26.80.

Dinner a Real Hunger Banquet

This dinner is similar to the hun- banquets that are being given to funds for the starving millions Soviet Russia. But if conditions tinue as they are in America, we soon have to collect funds for starving in the United States.

"For my part, I would give my re in the bonus to anybody offer- 50 cents. The government used e to ride into power and is now g a different ruse to saddle the nus fund on to the people. The orld War Veterans are pledged to t this and will combat it to the ter end," said A. Goldman.

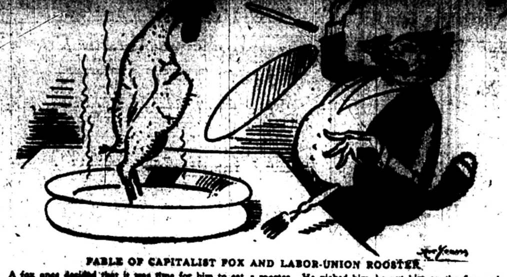
Joseph E. Coldwell, the last ker, and lately released from anta, broke down upon bearing treatment accorded to Bradon.

Acquainted with Third Degree

"I am well acquainted with the d degree. And I know what it st mean to a man who is affected the comrade out in Colorado is. is a shame that we workers, in stupidity, allow the system that kes use of such methods to per- . Only solidarity will put an end ."

The chairman of the dinner, Israel ter, Secretary of the Unemploy- nt Council, called upon all present propagate the idea of the Coun- and to assist in the work that is g done. He announced that sev- demonstrations, especially a e one, would take place during coming weeks.

Los Angeles, Calif., will hold a sewarming in their new head- rters, Italian Hall, 642½ Main on Saturday, March 4th. The Central Committee has been or- ized and contains representatives m eight branches, English, Hun- an, German, Jewish, Lithuanian, th Slavic, Finnish and Lettish. Secretary is A. Bush, 2741 ter Street.



FABLE OF CAPITALIST FOX AND LABOR-UNION ROOSTER

A fox once decided that it was time for him to eat a rooster. He picked him, he put him on the fire, and when he thought he had him done to a turn he sat down to enjoy his meal. Just as he was about to carve him, the rooster rose up to his full height, and shaking the hot gravy from his comb said, "Say, Fox, what's your hurry?"

Knudsen's Candidacy

The nomination of William R. Knudson for the presidency of the International Association of Machinists is an indication that the discouraging events of the last three years have not entirely killed off the desire of the workers for a fighting policy on the industrial field.

Knudsen campaigned on the issue of the class-struggle without compromise and yet in the largest industrial centers, altho unable to get the publicity received by the administration candidates, he has the support of 94 machinist locals.

He will not be elected this year but his campaign has proved that the machinists are ready for the new policy that the labor movement will be forced to adopt—the unity of all workers on one front for the abolition of the wage system.

Mooney and Billings

We hope that when Gene Debs takes the platform for the class-war prisoners, as it is announced he will, that the workers will show new and added interest in the cases of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

No more flagrant and brazen instance of the violation of the rights of the individual is at hand than the continued imprisonment of these workers whom the whole world knows are innocent of the crime of which they were convicted by perjured testimony and for which they are spending the best years of their lives in California jails.

The labor movement of this country cannot regain its self-respect until these workers and the rest of the class-war prisoners are free, nor will the ruling class have any despect for it as long as it is permitted to imprison at will the militants of the labor movement.

Sacco and Vanzetti

More than seventy-five thousand workers were represented at the first meeting of the Sacco-Vanzetti Conference of New York last Sunday. The conference was called by the United Labor Council, the Italian Defense Committee, the National Defense Committee and the Workers Defense Union as a means of giving the workers of New York City a chance to voice their protest against the frame-up of the two Italian labor leaders.

It is planned by the conference to have the workers of New York follow the example of the workers of Europe and hold a demonstration March first to demand a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Many unions who have not as yet sent delegates have indorsed the activities of the conference. The United Hebrew Trades Council at its meeting Monday night unanimously indorsed the demonstration.

If these two workers are to be saved continuous activity in theier behalf is needed. Large centers like New York must take the lead and there must be no fatal lapse in the agitation that has already prevented their speedy murder.

Trade Union Educational League

The Trade Union Educational League, organized by William Z. Foster, is now making a drive for memberhip and every unionist who is disgusted with the policies of the individuals now controlling the labor movement of the United States has an opportunity of joining this organization which has a clean-cut policy for the revolutionizing of the American movement.

There is plenty of protest against the disgraceful spectacle presented by the unions of this nation, functioning as many of them do in the interests of the employing class during the most critical period in the history of the movement. Leaders without vision with whom office-holding in the Labor movement is a profitable profession, a stepping stone to a high position in capitalist government, an officialdom timid and servile, playing the masters' game for political preferment, preventing at all times any discussion of the real nature of the issue between capital and labor, an officialdom with the mental depth of a Tammany Hall politician, using the unions to satisfy unscrupulous ambitions and always at the beck and call of the taskmasters in war and peace, has caused thousands of workers to give up hope. Sporadic revolts against the abuse of authority and outright betrayals by officials of the Labor movement have been crushed because of lack of organization and with each reversal the ranks of the radicals in the unions were depleted; they went over to the "pure" unions—much to the delight of the bureaucrats.

The Trade Union Educational League proposes to unite in a national organization all trade unionists who are willing to work for industrial unionism and a program of working-class education within the trade unions. It intends, by uniting the radical forces in the American labor movement, to solidify the ranks of the class-conscious workers and give to each one the confidence that comes from knowing that one is not playing a lone hand. For the first time all members of the trade-union movement who see the danger to the workers in great capitalistic nation of a Labor movement that still adheres to the outworn forms of craft unionism have now an opportunity to unite for action.

If the workers who now express their dissatisfaction in words really want to make the Amercian labor movement a fighting force on the front of the class-struggle they have a chance to join forces with others of the same beliefs and work in the unions not as individuals but as solid unit.

The publication of the League—The Labor Herald—will serve to keep the membership informed of the organization's activities in the various industries and will give full expression to the desire for progress which cannot now be had in any but a few of the trade-union publications.

Nothing but apathy can prevent the League becoming a virile force for militant unionism.

Unemployed Meetings:

Saturday, Feb. 25, 7.30 P. M., Hungarian Workers' Home, 350 E. 81st St.

Sunday, Feb. 26, 2 P. M., Finnish Workers' Hall, 764 — 40th St., So. Brooklyn.

Tuesday, Feb. 28, 7.30 P. M., Workers' Hall, 1347 Boston Road, Bronx.

Friday, March 3, 2 P. M., Labor Temple, 243 E. 81st St.

Fight the Famine

The Russian workers are building up their industries, in order that there may be no repetition of the famine next year. They are seriously hampered in their work, however, owing to the lack of machinery and particularly the want of small part of machines. The FSR is writing to Europe to procure sample parts that are missing, so that they may be obtained in requisite quantities in America.

What is especially wanted in Soviet Russia at the moment are ploughs and tractors. Above we disclosed what has become of the horses, without which cultivation of the soil will be impossible. These implements must be despatched soon, if spring tilling is to take place.

In the famine district there are 3,998,949 farms, provided with only 715,000 ploughs, 90,700 sowers and 65,200 cutters and binders. A large quantity of these machines and several hundred tractors would cover the immediate needs of this locality.

Locomotives stand disabled in the roundhouse and railroad yards, for mere lack of small parts. These parts can be procured in America. **American workers must supply them.**

The relief work in America continues with the same enthusiasm. Los Angeles has held a big bazaar. The splendid success of the concert in January has spurred the comrades to great efforts.

Since the work of Com. Tallenture in the Rocky Mountains region, the activity has been 100 per cent greater. There is a merchant in Boulder, Colo., who has sent out 2300 letters to people whose names are in the telephone book. He has inserted ads in two weekly's and in a daily paper. And he has produced results. Three times he has remitted considerable amounts for the starving in Soviet Russia—all because he was particularly interested in the matter.

Minneapolis has collected and forwarded more than $5,000 worth of clothing--and this is but the beginning. The clothing has been cleaned and laundered and repaired by women and tailors. The shoes have been repaired by the shoemakers organized by the Technical Aid for Soviet Russia. The machinists in the vicinity of Minneapolis are collecting tools. A "hunger" banquet was held on February 12.

Bridgeport has sent in a $3,500 load of clothing, food, soap, medicines and miscellaneous articles. Active comrades made this collection possible in that small Connecticut town.

Children of Hartford, Conn., gave a concert and play. "It is a pleasure to see our children work with enthusiasm for the hungry children of Russia."

Erie, Pa., has contributed 25 boxes of groceries and 30 bundles of clothing.

"Enclosed please find check of $100 the profits of the dance run by the Jewish Mothers' Alliance in Oakland, for the war sufferers in Russia."

"I am sending you this little collection. It is all I can get this time. This is a little saw mill town and the mill has closed down for a year or two and some of the families are getting relief from the town. So it is hard to get help from the working class, and the other class is building a church."

"THE WORLD IS MY PEOPLE. THE FIELDS ARE MY CHURCH."

[illegible] played in the United Mine Workers organization expected Alex Howat would receive the indorsement of the convention.

With his own district expelled and its fighting membership replaced for voting purposes by the carefully hand-picked delegates pledged to Lewis, with the full resources of the national office used to pack the convention, the followers of Howat made a remarkable showing and proved to the satisfaction of everyone including the reactionaries that the Lewis administration remains in power solely by the use of methods with which bureaucracies are only too familiar.

The packing of conventions of labor unions has become a fine art in the American labor movement, and especially is this true in the United Mine Workers of America where the anointed ones are sure of backing from coal operators and the government in the eternal campaign against radicalism.

It is quite evident that the narrow margin by which the Lewis machine squeezed thru is not sufficient to enable it to recklessly ignore much longer the wish of the membership for a more militant leadership and as a consequence officialdom is proposing an alliance with the railway workers as a sop to the radical element. Unity is a desirable thing, but unity of the working class is not brought about by the unity of officials whose efforts so far have been largely directed toward dividing the workers on the industrial field.

Until the rank and file of the workers' organizations force a complete reorganization of the labor movement of America labor officialdom will continue to sidetrack into ineffective channels the unorganized protest against their suicidal policies.

Organization of the militant workers in the unions into a disciplined force is the only way by which the pure-and-simple trade unionism—now obsolete—can be replaced with a co-ordinated movement able to muster the whole power of labor at any point where an assault is made.

In the United Mine Workers the movement is gaining headway, but better organization and a more concrete policy is needed.

The Chicago Fiasco

We incline to the belief that the ardor of those who saw in the Chicago conference the first step towards unity of the producers on the political field has somewhat cooled.

We remained quite calm while the predictions were being made thick and fast and the air was filled with talk of an American counterpart of the British Labor Party. We know the labor-leaders who called the conference and the last thing they will ever do is to cut themselves off from all chance of crawling into a government position by fathering a program of independent political action. It is true that the picking are rather slim just at present but there is always the chance that by exercising the executive authority at the right time a strike can be called off or seriously hampered and that the preserver of industrial peace will be suitably rewarded by a grateful employer's government.

The great trouble with the average radical is that he regards the hierarchy of the American labor movement as reactionary but honest and thinks that it can be used for progress. It is not honest and it is just as much a part of the ruling class machinery in the United States as is the National Chamber of Commerce.

Even when honest it is so hopelessly stupid that anyone who knows anything at all of the structure of modern society groans with disgust when he attempts to converse with the pure and simple trade union official. Let it be known for all time to come that labor officialdom in the United States is a special privileged group; that when it thinks of the labor problem at all except in terms of dues-paying membership it looks upon this country and its institutions as perfection; there is jut one trouble, in the mind of the labor-leader, and it is that there are certain corporation heads who do not believe in the trade-unions and who are too dense to see that unions are just as good for the employer as they are for the employee. If it wasn't for the attitude of these individuals and their bad influence on other employers we could probably get along without unions at all because the government is all right providing we get good men and we would get good men if the workers would only get out and vote and if there were not so many foreigners who can't vote. The unions should not mix in politics except to elect some trade-union official; they should show just enough interest in politics so that labor officialdom can deal with the political boss and land some good fellow in a soft job.

This is a rather fair description of the political consciousness of the average trade-union official but many of them do not go quite so far and think that a union man and a voter are different entities.

To expect individuals of this caliber to form a Labor Party and throw down the gauntlet to their friends of the old line parties is to show a startling ignorance of what the American labor movement is and how it is officered and led.

There will be no unity of the labor movement either politically or industrially until the leaven of the class-struggle has permeated the ranks of the trade unions to a much larger extent than it has at present and not until the pressure of circumstances has greatly weakened the grip of the stupid, selfish and traitorous officialdom now in power. In other words unity comes not thru officialdom but in spite of all it can do to prevent it.

The blinded soldiers of St. Dunstan's have presented Princess Mary one the eve of her wedding, with a rug and basket they made themselves. Little incidents like the above convince us that good old capitalism will still be with us when we wake up to-morrow morning.

THE WORKER offers as a prize for the name of a prison in the United States where some wage-earner is not imprisoned for his activities on behalf of his class, that great treatise on human liberty, "The New Freedom," by the late Woodrow Wilson.

See Russia in Pictures!

Motion Pictures

of Russian conditions shown for the first time in this country.

CAPTAIN PAXTON HIBBEN

who has just returned from a three years stay in Russia, formerly with American Embassy in Petrograd, will speak.

MOISSAYE J. OLGIN will preside

Sunday Evening, February 26, 1922

at the

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110 West 40th Street
New York City

Local New York, of the Workers Party, Gets Big Work Under Way

At the second session of Local Greater New York, Workers Party of America, important steps were taken to get the Local into swing. The next meeting will be held at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, room 8, Saturday, March 4th.

First conference of branch organizers, literature agents, financial secretaries and Executive Committee representatives of Local Greater New York will be held on Sunday morning March 5th, 10 A. M. at 83 East 4th Street to discuss the organization and propaganda work of the Local.

Working Fund for the Local—the City Central Committee at its last meeting decided upon the necessity of establishing an immediate working fund. Each branch was pledged $3 per delegate. This pledge must be redeemed at once and the money sent into the Local Office, 208 East 12th St. The pledges are to be redeemed at the very latest at the next meeting of the Central Committee. All branches must at once raise this sum.

• • •

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

All members of Workers Party branches participating in educational work, representatives of the Young Workers League and the Industrial Department of the Workers Party will attend the Educational Conference called by the Executive Committee of Local Greater New York, Workers Party, Friday night, March 3, 243 East 84th St.

It is expected that at this Conference, the first steps will be taken to organization of educational work in all the branches as well as a center for the training of vigorous and intelligent communist propagandists.

Local Greater New York, Workers Party, is calling a Conference of Branch Organizers, Literature Agents, Financial Secretaries and representatives of Executive Branch Committees to discuss ways and means for building a strong local of the Workers Party in Greater New York.

While Boss' Word is Law

If 1,000,000 trade unionists would stand together and say, "Ben Gitlow is not guilty," he would stand acquitted by the only court which workers should allow him to be tried by.

But because 1,000,000 trade unionists are satisfied to acquit him as individuals instead of united as a Workers' Court, Ben Gitlow and his comrades—Harry Winitsky, Ruthenberg, Ferguson, Manko and others are kept in prison by Capitalist Courts.

Until workers will form their own court to try leaders of their own class their traitor leaders will be acquitted by Capitalist Courts as J. H. Thomas was, and their loyal revolutionary leaders will be found guilty and imprisoned like Gitlow and his Comrades were.

Until workers create their own courts, you who understand the class struggle should stand by our imprisoned comrades and obtain the best defense possible for them in the courts in which they are tried.

The National Defense Committee defends revolutionary workers victimized by Capitalist Courts. It has arranged a GRAND INTERNATIONAL BAZAAR for March 22 thru 25 at the Lyceum 86th St. and 3rd Ave. to raise funds for defense and relief. Have you contributed an article or money to purchase one for the Bazaar? Have you gotten an "ad" for the Souvenir Journal? Have you contracts? Get busy immediately and send your contributions to our new headquarters—Room 405, 80 East 11th St.

National Defense Committee
New York Division.

The liner, Adriatic, left last Saturday on her seventh cruise to Egypt and the Holy Land, bringing the total number of tourists she has carried up to 4,640. Now don't try to explain why you weren't among them. We don't.

The National Organization Committee for the Young Workers League of America is receiving response to its call for the organization of a militant young workers' organization from young workers throut this country as well as in Canada.

Preparation of Convention details (Convention to be held April 15) are being made, and the Provisional Manifesto and Program will be mailed out to the branches of the League this week. It will offer a good opportunity for discussion to the comrades everywhere.

Tentative Constitution Discussed

The tentative Constitution which was mailed out to branches of the League, as well as prospective organizations, is to form the basis of any group of young workers desirous of organizing a branch of the Young Workers' League of America. The constitution is by no means complete; but it will serve as a good starting point.

Organizations which cannot send a delegate to the national convention should not hesitate in answering the call. The call should be accepted by all bodies who agree with the principles laid down therein.

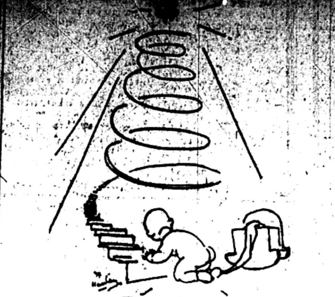
Active co-operation will be given young workers who wish to organize local branches of the league. Write to the secretary of the National Organization Committee for the Young Workers' League, Oliver Carlson, 799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City, and information will be furnished on any phase of the young workers' organization.

"Youth" Well Received

It is pleasing to note that the official organ of the Young Workers' League, YOUTH, is being greeted with favor wherever it makes entry. In Chicago one comrade sold 100 copies of the magazine, and New York reports quick sales. The need for a magazine of the type of YOUTH is emphasized by young workers throut the country. Contributions and criticism indicate that all subscribers are interested in making YOUTH a live, fighting organ of the young workers.

A special issue is being prepared to be known as the Pre-Convention Number. This issue will contain matter to be taken up at the convention as well as articles of pertinent interest to young workers.

Be prepared for the best issue of YOUTH. Orders should be sent to the National Organization Committee.



First Steps

Radical Papers Help Work

The most important radical papers in the country, as well as some of the capitalist periodicals, have published either the CONVENTION CALL of the YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA, or items regarding it. Response is received daily. Los Angeles reports acceptance, and the organization of an active section of the Young Workers' League with Rose Rueben as organizer, and W. Schneiderman as city secretary.

"We hail with joy," write the New York City branches of the Young Workers' League, "the formation of a revolutionary young workers' organization . . . We pledge all the means at our disposal towards carrying this work to a successful conclusion." The spirit put into the work in New York City is indicative of the intention of the comrades in that city to do their share towards building a revolutionary Young Workers' League.

Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities are being heard from regularly, reporting steady progress.

Chicago organizer writes: "In a short time we hope to have a large organization. (Their organization now numbers 150.) Our present objective is 500, which most likely will jump to 1000 before we reach that number. We have the brightest prospects—the highest aims, and hopes—topped with loads of enthusiasm."

Schenectady has organized a branch of the League. They say regarding YOUTH: "We sure can be proud of the YOUTH magazine, and we are in for its success." Syracuse voices a similar sentiment.

NEW YORK Y.W.L. BRANCHES

Circle 1, 1258 Boston Road, Bronx. Lectures for this and the coming month are as follows: February 26, Com. Lindgren, "The Communist International." March 12, Charles Brower; March 19, S. B. O'Kelly, "Irish Transport Workers' Union and the Irish Labor Movement."

A West Side Branch of the Young Workers' League was organized in New York and it has started into action with a fairly large membership. The comrades in this new branch are eager to make the organization grow and have gotten to work to devise ways and means to make this branch the best in the city. They serve notice on all other branches in the city. Carl Cowl is the organizer of the West Side Branch. Inasmuch as the West Side Branch has no regular headquarters, information regarding meeting place, etc., can be obtained from the secretary, Nerma Berman, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

A Finnish branch was organized last week in Harlem. The organizer is Emil Toikko, 124 Brook Avenue. All young people interested in this branch should communicate with Comrade Toikko. Temporarily this organization meets at 143 East 103rd Street; but in the future will no doubt obtain permanent headquarters. This Finnish branch hopes to attain a large membership in a very short while and to reach a great number of Finnish young workers. The prospects for the growth of this organization are indeed bright.

There is also another Finnish Branch of the Young Workers' League in Brooklyn, 764—40th Street. S. Vainis, 3821—8th Ave., is secretary of this branch. On February 24 there will be a meeting of this branch and a member of the city organization will give a talk on the function of the Young Workers' League. This branch has a membership of 25.

A dance was given at 1258 Boston Road by the city organization of the Young Workers' League. It was well attended and the receipts were good. The purpose of the dance was to help defray convention expenses of the Young Workers' League to be held in New York City, April 15th.

Lewis had a better machine than the radicals at the miners' convention and so he won out against Howat. Let the rebel miners organize. They can only win thru organizing their forces for the education and direction of an awakened rank and file. Let them win thru their defeats.

Mass Meeting
(Latest Slides from Soviet Russia will be shown)
Friday Night, March 3, at
NEW PLAZA HALL
Havemeyer and Grand Streets,
BROOKLYN
AUSPICES
Friends of Soviet Russia
Brooklyn Branch
226 Roebling Street

Stereopticon Lecture
By ALLEN BROMS
The Animals of the Past
SUNDAY EVE, MARCH 5,
— 8 P. M. —
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Newark Labor Lyceum
708 South 14th Street
ADMISSION 20 CENTS
Children with Parents free
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Should Communists Participate in Reactionary Trade Unions? By N. Lenin	$0.05
Nicolai Lenin, His Life and Work. By G. Zinovieff	.10
The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. By N. Lenin	.10
Communism and the Family. By Alexandra Kollontay	.10
Problems of the Third International. By Ramsay Macdonald	.10
The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. By A. Losovsky	.10
Wage, Labor and Capital. By Karl Marx	.10
The Right to be Lazy. By P. La Fargue	.10
The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
The Communist Program. By Bucharin	.25
The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
Communism and Christianism. By Wm. M. Brown	.25
The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade. By N. Lenin	.25
Left Communism and Infantile Disorder	.25
The State and Revolution. By N. Lenin	.25
The Revolutionary Crisis of 1918-1921 in Germany, England, Italy and France. By Wm. Z. Foster	.25
The Communist Manifesto. By Marx and Engels	.60
The Struggle between Science and Superstition. By A. M. Lewis	.60
Evolution, Social and Organic. By A. M. Lewis	.60
The World's Revolution. By E. Untermann	.60
The Law of Biogenesis. By J. H. Moore	.60
The Positive School of Criminology. By E. Ferri	.60
The Evolution of Property. By P. Lafargue	.60
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Engels	.60
The Eighteenth Brumaire. By Marx	.60
The Evolution of Man. By Boelsche	.60
Memoirs of Marx. By Liebknecht	.60
Origin of the Family. By Engels	.60
Revolution and Counter Revolution. By Marx	.60
The Right to be Lazy. By P. Lafargue	.60
Socialism, Positive and Negative. By La Monte	.60
The Triumph of Life. By Boelsche	.60
Value, Price and Profit. By Marx	.60
The Bolshevik Theory. By R. W. Postgate	1.00
Ten Days That Shook the World. By John Reed	1.00
New Policies of Soviet Russia. By Lenin, Bucharin and Rutgers	1.00
Ancient Society. By H. L. Morgan	1.50
First Principles. By Spencer	1.25
Through the Russian Revolution. By A. R. Williams	2.00
Capital, Vol. 1. By Karl Marx	2.50
Capital, Vol. 2. By Karl Marx	2.50
Capital, Vol. 3. By Karl Marx	2.50
Ancient Lowly, Vol. 1. By Ward	2.50
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Imported Revolutionary Postal Cards, beautifully colored. "Lenin," "The Red Flag," "The Revolution," "Long Live Communism," and others. Five cents each. Special rates in lots of ten or more.

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Catalogue will be out in a few days.

The Toilers' Book Shop will fill any order within 2 or 3 days.

MAIL ORDERS FILLED PROMPTLY. — WRITE FOR OUR CATALOGUE.

NOTE—The Workers' Defense Union has received a cablegram from Charles Ashleigh, the young English poet, deported last week, saying that he arrived in England and was going to work at once to call attention of British labor to the fact that many British subjects are in the prisons of this country for violations of the wartime laws and are being confined long after English men convicted for similar offences at home have been released. An interview given to THE WORKER, shortly before he left this country is as follows:

• • •

"I have emerged into freedom at a time of great interest and tumult," said Ashleigh. "This is indeed a crucial stage in the history of the world. Abroad we have the spectacle of bankruptcy and industrial deterioration as a result of the great world war. We may see the workers of the various countries aligning themselves according to a new revolutionary orientation. The war has indeed been an excellent means for separating the sheep from the goats. On the one side we have the reactionary leaders of the working-class, the social patriots spouting their phrases of middle-class liberalism, and leading the workers ever deeper into the stagnant morasses of parliamentary bickering and bourgeois reformism. On the other hand we have those new virile elements, which have arisen in the world's proletariat, inspired by the great revolution of Russia which are striving to guide the proletariat towards the realization of the Workers' World Republic through the creation of organs of working-class power.

Must Build Improved Structure.

"Here in America we may witness the terrific onslaught of the open shop campaign of the master class upon the labor unions. In their present condition of craft division of middle-class timidity and reactionary leadership, the labor unions of America will find it hard indeed to combat these dark forces of capital. It is the task of the intelligent and militant American unionist to work incessantly within his organization for the perfection of an improved union structure, which will give the direction of union affairs to the militant rank and file, and for the unmasking and overthrow of the reactionary union leadership.

"On the political field the workers of America have been led by the nose by a clique of petty schemers, mouthing the phrases of the class-struggle, but acting politically along the lines of discredited bourgeois liberalism. Truly it may be said of these politicians of the Socialist Party, as was said by the aged and blind father in Israel: 'The hands are the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob.' The hands are the hands of the vote-hungry wire-puller, even if their voices occasionally ring falsely with the rounded phrases of the revolution which they themselves impede.

Workers' Party Brings New Hope.

"There is indeed need in this country of a party which will understand clearly and announce frankly the impossibility of using the parliamentary machine of the capitalist state for the benefit of the workers. There is need of a party which will rally round its banners all the scattered working-class elements in America and will unite them for the heroic task of constructing the Workers' Republic. Such a party, it seems to me, has at last entered the political arena. I believe that the Workers' Party brings with it a new hope and a new inspiration to the jaded and depressed elements of the various branches of the American revolutionary movement.

"When seated at the dining table of the penitentiary, and when viewing with disgust the monotonous but plentiful fare set before us, the thought often entered my mind: 'In Russia they would be glad of this. In Russia they are eating cakes of clay and bread of grass.' However, although in Russia famine prevails, although many Russians could obtain no food at all, or, at best, food which was even inferior to that which we had in prison, yet they had a consolation which we did not: They were members of a workers' society, they were citizens of a Workers' Republic, they were participants in the most significant and heroic social experiment the world has ever seen. Shattered and starved as Russia is by the onslaughts on all frontiers of the subsidized armies of capitalism, inheritors as they were of a country whose industry and transportation had been shattered by the great war, by the mismanagement of its Czar's government and by the futile incapacity of the Kerensky regime, the Workers' Government of Russia has had a titanic task to bring order out of chaos. And this task has been still further hampered by the cruel and ruthless blockade of the Allies. Yet, after four years of striving, the proletarian power still rules that great country. It is the duty of American workers, who, despite the present unemployment and general lowering of wages, are still the most fortunately situated in the world, to give of their utmost to the relief of their famine-stricken comrades in Russia."

By ROBERT LYONS
(Special to the Worker)

BOSTON, Mass.—Professional jugglers and magicians know the value of "atmosphere" in obtaining their effects. By means of subdued lights, a languid incense and the hocus-pocus of hand movements the audience is put into a receptive, believing mood, and prestro! the rabbit jumps out of the hat.

This method had its analogy in the trial of Dedham, Mass., where Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Italian labor organizers, were found guilty of a hideous murder on circumstantial and contradictory evidence.

Rarely in the history of American jurisprudence has a trial been conducted in a more hate-charged court. Guards, guards, and more guards!

Around the Court House, in the court room, watching the judge, the defendants, the jury . . . . . Spectators were searched for concealed weapons, the accused were held in a steel cage, they were led thru the streets under heavy armed escort.

The total effect was worthy of an expert stage manager. The jury could not help understanding the accusation implied by these hysterical precautions against "riots" and "rescues." His Honor emphasized the implication by repeated pleas to the jurors to show courage in their courage to return an acquital, then courage to return an acquital, then why stress the idea?

The grim comedy was repeated during the hearings for a new trial, when the court was surrounded by State Constabulary armed with riot guns. The press was again fed with fake stories of "threats" to various persons, none of them ever supported by proof, and in most instances denied by the supposed recipients. Altho the first motion fell thru other motions for a new trial are pending, and likewise the appeal to the higher courts.

In a statement issued immediately after the trial the defense group charged that the unexpected death verdict was brought about in large measure by this prejudicial atmosphere. The statement read in part:

"On May 31, 1920, when the case went to trial, the Dedham court house was surrounded by a large group of uniformed and plain clothes officers, sent there ostensibly to preserve peace, but actually constituting notice to the jury that the authorities considered the defendants and their friends extremely vicious and dangerous persons. We hold in our hands a copy of the Boston Globe of May 31st, showing the two defendants going from the jail to the court house in manacles and surrounded by eight officers. This farce was re-enacted for each of the thirty-six days of the trial, all under the very nose of the jury. Four officers at all times, and many times more, surrounded the cage in the court room. Ostensibly to control the defendants, but actually constituting notice to the jury that the authorities believed that a rescue might be attempted.

"For the thirty-six days of the trial the jury were allowed to pass thru the guarded doors to the court house, passing those who desired to enter and seeing those persons one by one being searched by the officers for concealed weapons. Is this an atmosphere that breeds respect for men charged with crime and a capacity to give just consideration to their testimony and the testimony of their witnesses?"

Commercialism

By MURIEL WRIGHT.

I can relate a HUMAN EXPERIENCE
With all the honesty and candor possible,
And only a few small magazines
That cannot pay for contributions
Will use it.
But if I transmute
Something of this high emotion
And facility in handling words
To a description of TOOTH PASTE,
Or SMOKING TOBACCO,
A check is immediately forthcoming.

I will bring up my sons to be dope-runners,
And my daughters to be prostitutes;
Since it is the kind of SERVICE
"This people of Washington and Lincoln"
Most adequately reward.

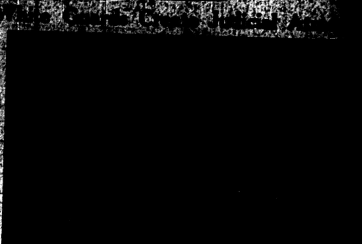
The City Central Committee, Local San Francisco, Calif., recently sent its greetings to the newly organized Workers Party of Canada.

• • •

"Long live the Workers Party! Long live the real Party of daily action!" is the greeting that comes to the national headquarters from the party workers in Buffalo, N. Y.

• • •

The Hungarian comrades at Bethlehem, Pa., are working on the organization of a colored branch of the Workers Party there.



Above you will see a picture of the Dedham, Mass., Court House ing in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. It is proof in black and white of the prejudicial atmosphere was in large part responsible for the death verdict.

International Woman's Secretariat Ta the Question of Famine Relief for

The question of famine relief was the main topic of di at a recent meeting of the International Women's Secre the Third Communist International.

It was attended by Comrades Kollontai, Lilina and Kas The minutes of the meeting include the following:

"The question of the work of the International Secretariat in tion with relief work for the starving. Report by Comrade on the situation in Petrograd. 'American aid is expressed in fee children between the ages of three and thirteen years exclusively.'

"The supply of articles of primary importance to be exact, mea supplementary feeding, as in fact we still provide the basic food.

"The Americans will supply one meal a day, approximately the ing things will be given: Kasha, made of rice, or semolina, maize, caroni. It is prepared with meat or fish. They also give good milk loaves and cocoa with milk, the general nutrition is 850 calories. Sick babies as well as nursing mothers will be fed at home, how that will be carried out and in what form is not yet known. The Americans only provide the products, the equipment of the feeding centers—is our business.

"Articles of primary necessity, the following are given: Underlinen, dresses, coats, shoes, a piece of soap, and a towel. It is proposed to give altogether 75,000 pairs of boots and an equal number of coats. Our chief need is boots and coats, dress material we have. We refused the offer of hats in Petrograd, as almost anybody can make these at home.

Children for the Children

"Apart from that, we ourselves do the following work: We collect from all the children's homes all the underclothing that can no longer be used for those children, alter and adapt them in various ways.

"This work is carried out by the older children themselves, while the teachers talk to them about the famine and its relief. The children's aid is further expressed by means of organizing special concerts and plays, the proceeds of which are given exclusively to the relief of the starving children.

"The whole of this campaign is carried on under the slogan of 'Children for Children,' and besides the material benefit, there is the agitational significance.

"In Petrograd we also distribute starving children amongst individual families but this is done with great discernment and to the greatest extent in workers' families.

"Further, Comrade Lilina asked about the relation of the Secretariat to the general work of relief within Russia, and the Department of Women workers of the Central Committee.

"Comrade Kollontai informed the meeting of the formation under the auspices of the Comintern, of a special commission for the relief of the famine stricken, with Comrade Kasparova as representative, also of the proposal of Comrade Rosmar, to bring products, equipment and people from abroad for the formation of a feeding center in one of the affected areas.

Take Russia as an Example

"To propose to the countries abroad to take Russia as example, to distribute the famine stricken districts among the separate countries, and to point out that relief must express itself in various ways, i. e. in giving articles as well as money.

"For this purpose the list of the famine stricken gubernias should be taken from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to be sent abroad.

"To ask them to make the motto 'From Children to Children' widely known. Ask for the care of children but also of mothers.

"To point the necessity of ing benefits, plays, concerts, the starving. To ask Comr lina to make a complete list most necessary things for and to make same known, to rades abroad. To ask Comra president of the Depart Women workers in the Committee of the Commi the All-Russian Central Committee, to inform the I. W. of the work accomplished generally as the link between two bodies on the question of starving.

Program of Agitation

"In the matter of agitation:

1. To associate itself and to peal to the West, by the partment of the Secretariat
2. To make a special appeal the women of the East, structing Comrade Kaspar to write it.
3. Instruct Comrade Lilina write a special appeal to dren.
4. To make an appeal to workers to sacrifice one pay on behalf of the starvi
5. An appeal to the Rus women.
6. To publish in Pravda and the agency of the Rosta supplements with articles, ing information on the of the Secretariat in con tion with the relief of famine stricken.

Plan to Extent Work

"To send letters to all count asking for reports on work acco plished—whether they propose publish the minutes of the co rences and make reports. The ters to be addressed to the department and the Central mittee of the Party. To a Berlin Secretariat whether they established connections with countries and also about literat

"To organize a committee on question of the economic and position of women and to inv the same, apart from the of the Secretariat, the follo Falker-Smidt, Gershtein, Serle Frumkin.

"To ask the book purcha agency of the Comintern to literature on women's move To unite on this question with Young Communist Or To ask all members of the Co tern receiving literature, dealing the women's movement to over to the I. W. C. S.

"On the same question, to the Petrograd Department Comintern. To write to the tical Economic Department Comintern to make special on the women's movement."

The Avanti Printing Shop
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Promptness-Neatness-Economy
Printing in many languages
Anything from a leaflet to a book.
81 East 10th Street
Tel. Stuyvesant 9971

United Labor C
meets
Every Friday
8 P.M.
83 East 4th Street
NEW YORK CITY

[illegible] IMAGINATION [illegible] VISION? If so, we [illegible]

[illegible] see if you can picture a great Publishing [illegible] an instrument of the [illegible] workers of America. [illegible]

[illegible] distribution of the [illegible] turned over to private [illegible]

Workers' Party proposes to [illegible] error. It will establish [illegible] publishing business, its own [illegible] distributive agencies. It will [illegible] machine to educate and re[illegible] the minds of the American [illegible]-working-class. It will use this [illegible] to publish leaflets, pamphlets [illegible] so much needed in the new [illegible] for the UNITED FRONT [illegible] workers against the united [illegible] the exploiters.

Workers' Party proposes to [illegible] its Literature Department [illegible] co-operative efforts of our [illegible]mbership and those in sym[illegible] with us by uniting in a LIT[illegible]RE LOAN CAMPAIGN. [illegible] ask for loans of from $3.00 [illegible] payable in literature any [illegible] 30 days. A discount of 10 [illegible] of the loan will be made [illegible] literature. Receipt-books will [illegible] those in charge of the drive [illegible] to issue receipts for the [illegible]ey secure, remitting the [illegible] this office.

[illegible]-books and complete in[illegible] for carrying the Loan [illegible] to a successful conclusion [illegible] sent to each Party Local [illegible]. The drive is on and re[illegible] already coming in. Encour[illegible] are reaching the Na[illegible] of the progress of the [illegible] CERTIFICATE, showing [illegible] have helped establish [illegible]rtment, will be issued each [illegible] a loan.

—Use your gift of imagina[illegible] what the success of this [illegible] will mean to the workers, [illegible] and to you who help. [illegible] write us saying:—"I WILL [illegible]" We want to enlist you in [illegible] of securing loans.

[illegible] a PARTY OF ACTION

Elmer T. Allison,
[illegible]ector of Lyceum-Literature
Department
[illegible]orkers' Party of America.
[illegible]m 405-799 Broadway, New
York City.

The Pigeon

[illegible]y ROSE WIENER

[illegible] love, hopelessly in love, with [illegible]geon," as he is played by [illegible] Kane at the Greenwich [illegible] Theatre. And you would be, [illegible] his great simplicity and [illegible], and for his great love for [illegible]

[illegible] not you, or might you not [illegible] Megan, the flower sel[illegible] Ferrand, "the furriner," as [illegible] cabby, put it; or the [illegible] "humble men" in this play [illegible] Galsworthy? And Christo[illegible]wyn, the artist, loved them [illegible] the Canon, with whose [illegible] not entirely agree; the [illegible] individualist and the [illegible] ically minded Liberal, [illegible] passionately all thru the [illegible] a quarter hour, tho somewhat [illegible]rently; and so on.

[illegible], Treadwell makes a very [illegible] figure as the daughter who [illegible] father so well that she tried [illegible] him away from his many "de[illegible]," even to the point where [illegible] an apartment on the [illegible] floor, so that it would be [illegible] them to reach him. George [illegible] as Ferrand, the alien, did [illegible] his "naive," yet sophisti[illegible] manner of the artistic soul [illegible] a non-creative body.

[illegible] gentle irony, and at times bit[illegible] is effective, as is the helpless [illegible]ity of the flower-seller, with [illegible] eyes set in a white, starved [illegible] her appealing ways.

[illegible] Timson, the ex-cabby, with [illegible] drunken ways, an excellent [illegible]terization by Hubert Druce.

[illegible] the whole, with its exceedingly [illegible] group, "The Pigeon" is [illegible] most worthwhile plays in [illegible] I cannot resist a word about [illegible], restful atmosphere of [illegible] Village Theatre, and [illegible] costumes of the ushers [illegible] were designed by Miss [illegible]th Waugh.

[illegible] Harding has once more [illegible] a "turn toward prosperi[illegible] perhaps he is traveling in a [illegible] habit of the blind. But it is [illegible] the workers to the fact [illegible] are still jobless by the [illegible]

[illegible] is coming

In the World of Books

A [illegible] Out of Russia

By [illegible] TRACHTENBERG

[illegible] studiously avoided, during [illegible] direct contact with the Third International. [illegible] members to affiliate with [illegible] Socialist Party statesmen [illegible] "entangling alliances." Under the guidance of its [illegible] leadership, the party isolated [illegible] revolutionary movement, but also from most of its members.

It appears now that at least on one occasion the party attempted to establish connections with the Communist International and the Russian comrades. Instead of employing, however, the regularly accredited international delegate, it chose to be represented by a person who, at best, could [illegible] whose credential was his wife— [illegible] party. [illegible] his return to America, Alexander Schwartz, [illegible] published his report (Voice Out of Russia, Dutton, $2.00) as other Russian "investigators" have done before him and were promptly rewarded with lecture engagements for Chambers of Commerce and kindred organizations.

According to this account, the author and his wife secured credentials from the national secretary of the Socialist Party to act as the party's representatives while in Russia and, since their arrival there would coincide with the opening of the Second Congress of the International, they were asked to act as unofficial delegates at the Congress. The S. P. secretary denies the issuance of delegate credentials to the Schwartz couple, admitting, however, that letters of introduction to Socialist parties abroad were given them.

To lend color to his "disillusionment" in Soviet Russia, Schwartz states that during the split in the S. P. he favored the Communists, while his wife remained loyal to the party, until later when she decided to leave it "because the S. P. doesn't understand Bolshevism."

The papers which they had in their possession were apparently sufficiently assuring to enable them to be accepted as delegates to the Second Congress and be accorded all the privileges enjoyed by foreign delegates who were the guests of the Russian comrades.

We are not given the reasons for their arrest and imprisonment, altho the ignorance of the Socialist movement displayed by delegates to an International Socialist Congress would cast suspicion even on avowed friends of Soviet Russia.

Karl Radek is referred to as "President of the Third International of the World," while Zinoviev is given the title of "International President of the Communist Party." While visiting a Soviet school, the author discovered that the children were required "to learn the Communist Manifesto of 1864." To show the Soviet Government's connection with the Third International, we are told that credentials to the Congress were issued by Chicherin and that Zinoviev opened the Congress in the name of the "Central Executive Committee of the Government of Russia."

The author introduces himself as a prominent American Socialist and former organizer of the Street Railway Union. His "Socialist prominence" was acquired by marriage, and the reviewer has been informed by President Mahon that he was never employed as an organizer of the Street Car Workers.

Bolshevik killing is still a favorite platform sport in America. Fame and fortune come easily to him who damns the Soviets and brands their sympathizers as enemies of organized government.

Schwartz has probably heard of the successful careers of other "disillusioned" and "penitent" Socialists. He is trying to achieve similar glory. It will not be long in coming to him.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SOCIALISM AND PHILOSOPHY, by Antonio Labriola. Chas. H. Kerr & Co.

PROLETCULT, by Eden and Cedar Paul, Thomas Seltzer.

THE NEW LABOR OUTLOOK, by Robert Williams, Thomas Seltzer.

WHAT WE WANT AND WHERE WE ARE, by W. A. Appleton, Geo. H. Doran & Co.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE CHURCH, by John M. C. Wilson, Stratford Co.

JEWISH CHILDREN, by Shalom Aleichem, Alfred A. Knopf.

Some Namby-Pamby Aloofness

By SOLON DE LEON

One of the first duties of a Commissar of Public Printing after the revolution should be to pass a rule against stringing together a lot of scattered articles, newspaper letters, book reviews, and similar literary snips, written at various times and without any unifying point of view, and calling it a book. And though he will probably call me cruel and sadistic for it, I shall cheerfully name, for condemnation under such a rule, Harold Stearns' "America and the Young Intellectual," published in 168 pages by George H. Doran Co., New York, for $1.50.

Not that Stearns hasn't glimpses of humor and sense. He finds the ruling class in America devoid of real moral idealism, which he defines as intellectual integrity and honesty before the facts of life. He criticizes Americans' terror of public opinion, and their docility before the ukases of an irresponsible government. He recognizes that the constitution is antiquated, and that we fear any fundamental change. He arraigns our timidity, and agrees with Freud that "Life becomes impoverished and loses interest when life itself, the highest stake of living, must not be risked."

The smothering of individuality in crowds, in which the average person spends about nineteen-twentieths of his life, comes in for merited reproach. Anglo-Saxon diplomacy is accurately summed up as acting the role of a shocked savior of civilization whenever it is up to some exceptionally underhanded deal. The myth of the rampant German devil is exposed as a device of British imperialism for raising dust when unpleasant things are going on in India, Egypt, or Ireland. The routine of modern industry is attacked as something which must be broken up if man himself is not to perish. Stearns' range is large, and he knows a thing or two.

More's the pity then that he did not learn a few things more. The methods he proposes for overcoming the evils he points out are hopelessly inadequate. He wants a moral order won from the jungle of experience; but he wants it won by people who are "disinterested, nonsectarian, non-partisan," people "without any axe to grind,"—in other words, by non-entities who are not interested in getting themselves or the world anywhere in particular. The young intellectuals for whom he assumes to speak should "occupy the valid position of mediating between extremes." Class-consciousness and the class struggle are to him something unclean. Our lack of class-consciousness, the lack above all others which is holding back progress in America, he calls "unquestionably our greatest strength." The class struggle is to him "as atrocious and dehumanizing", and as empty, as the religious wars of the middle ages. The young person who wants to help the labor movement he sends to the local manager of the national open shop campaign. And then, as the crowning type of his un-class-conscious disinterested intellectual, he cites Barbusse, Rolland, Shaw, Angell, Cole!

Such namby-pamby aloofness, coupled with such muddleheadedness, has no place in 1922.

The Irish at the Defense Committee Bazaar

The Irish Branch of the Workers Party announces that the National Defense Committee bazaar to be held March 22-25 at the Lyceum is going to be a success even tho all other branches of the party fall down.

It is going to be a success because the Irish branch has arranged to equip a booth which alone will be worth the price of admission. Here will be displayed the richest collection of Irish lace, Irish pottery, Irish paintings and Irish cookery ever seen in New York.

An Irish bagpipe player has been especially imported from the Old Country and a crowd of Irish lads and colleens will entertain the spectators with a continuous performance of Irish dances. All attendants at the booth will be in costume.

As a special added attraction for the last night of the bazaar there will be a shillelah duel between Jack McCarthy, champion of County Down and Bernhard Brannigan, ex-champion of County Kerry.

Many of the treasures of Irish art displayed will be for sale, all proceeds going to the National Defense.

Bill Dunne has promised to recite "The Foggy Dew" if he is given police protection and Tom O'Flaherty will deliver on all four nights the speech made by his younger brother to the unemployed who seized the council chambers in Dublin recently. It is the only speech on record wherein the proletarian banner is referred to as "the red Ensign."

[illegible] an international struggle.

The workers of Russia have been obliged to fight against the whole capitalist world in order to maintain their Soviet Government and to win the opportunity of rebuilding their system of production upon a Communist basis.

In this struggle they have had the support of the enlightened workers of every country.

The future struggles against capitalism will take on the same character.

In order to win the final victory in the struggle against world capitalism the workingclass of the world must be united under one leadership.

The leadership in the international struggle which inspires hopes in the hearts of the workers of the world and arouses fear in the capitalists of every country is the leadership of the Communist (Third) International.

The Workers Party endorses the principles and rules of the Communist International as adopted at its Third Congress and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups of capitalists, under the inspiration and guidance of the Communist International.

It rallies to the call, "WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!"

The Daily Worker is coming

By THOMAS J. O'FLAHERTY

The Provisional Government of the Irish Free State is having a difficult time trying to carry out the policy of Lloyd George which was expected to reduce the Irish people to happy and contented subjects of his Britannic Majesty and willing slaves ready to produce surplus values without protest for the Anglo-Irish financiers who are trying to get a stranglehold on the labor power of Ireland.

The outlook for peace is gloomy. Years of guerilla warfare have produced a set of men and women who do not fear danger, and all signs point to a continuation of the struggle for political independence.

As this can only be accomplished thru the overthrow of the ruling class, an alignment between the militant Republicans and the left wing of the labor movement is a likely possibility in the near future.

Immediately after the so-called treaty was ratified by Dail Eireann, Arthur Griffith proceeded to line up the Southern Unionists—capitalists and landlords—behind the Free State.

Collins sought to reach an agreement with Sir James Craig on the boundary question.

Griffith made progress. The Bank of Ireland, controlled by Unionists, loaned a large sum of money to the Provisional Government.

But the Ulster outpost of British Toryism is not yet in the mood for conciliation.

While Collins was negotiating with Craig, several Irish Republicans were awaiting execution in an Ulster prison. In reprisal Irish Republicans raided the homes of prominent Unionists in several parts of Ireland and are holding them as hostages.

Republicans passing thru Ulster have been arrested by Craig's Black and Tans. Civil war on a small scale is on in Ireland. It is liable to break out with intense fury in a few weeks, as the issues involved are greater than a Free State versus Republic.

The real issue in Ireland now as always is between the usurpers who stole the land and the peasantry from whom the land was stolen.

Added to this is the growing militancy of the Irish workers. Even the officialdom of Irish Labor talks of a Workers' Republic, but the rank and file not only talk, they act. They have arms in their hands and they know how to use them.

A railway crisis was the first issue of importance to confront the Provisional Government. A strike was voted, but the leaders agreed on request of the Provisional Government to postpone it.

In the Cork area, however, the workers seized the railways, and proclaimed their intention of organizing a Soviet. They have temporarily relinquished their purpose, but the sentiment for a Soviet form of govern[illegible] [illegible] flag from a window.

The Free State has nothing for hungry workers, many of [illegible] fought in the rebellion of 1916 [illegible] were hunted since then by the [illegible] of the British crown.

The British government has ha[illegible] the evacuation of the troops. Lloyd George's great diplomatic victory [illegible] a fizzle.

He intended to go to the people [illegible] a general election confident that [illegible] prestige he won by an Irish settlement would again sweep himself [illegible] his supporters into office. That [illegible] is now shattered and the general election is postponed.

A temporary coalition between militant Republicanism and labor would put the Free State out of commission, but an Irish revolution that would overthrow the power of the Ulster reactionaries and their capitalistic allies in the South can only succeed when the British workers throw down the gauntlet of revolt to the governing power of Great Britain and in co-operation with their comrades across the Irish Sea establish the Workers' Republic on the ruins of the Pirate Empire. Until that day arrives peace will be a stranger in Ireland.

The Daily Worker is co[illegible]

SIGN THE ROLL CALL

From the Depths of Brave, Frozen Russia Comes This Most Terrible of All Cries

WE STARVE!

WILL YOU ANSWER?

The next two months will be the most crucial. Each day 50,000 are dying of starvation. Reports coming from Russia paint pitiful pictures. Here—the dying are eating their dead, there—mothers are drowning their children to silence their heart-rending cries for bread. The Russian steppes are literally covered with skeletons, the wasted bodies the prey of wolves. How many more shall die before YOU act?

WILL YOU SIGN THE ROLL CALL?

Immense cargoes of food MUST be shipped AT ONCE to save the starving. If the powers of the world would grant Soviet Russia credit and re-establish trade with her, she could help herself in this awful crisis. Until credit is extended YOU MUST HELP. And if you have helped before then you must help again, and still again! Those who help now will have aided Soviet Russia in her DIREST NEED.

SIGN THE ROLL CALL! GIVE!

The food your money will buy will carry with it the ROLL CALL BOOK in which YOUR name MUST appear. Your signature in this book will mark a permanent record of your true friendship for Soviet Russia. Deposited in the archives of Soviet Russia, the Roll Call Book will constitute a document treasured by International Labor and its Sympathizers.

Collections

Collections made to date total $675,000.00. Money collections from workers and others in sympathy with Soviet Russia, $400,000.00. Collections in food, clothes, medicines, tools, estimated at $275,000.00.

We want not only Caleb Harrison, William Z. Foster, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Dunne, Elmer T. Allison, Alexander Trachtenberg, Marguerite Prevey, Charles Baker, James P. Cannon, Edgar Owens, Jay Lovestone, William Weinstone, Ludwig Lore, A. Bittleman, Robert Minor, Arne Swabeck, J. B. Salutsky, J. Wilenkin, William F. Kruse, Charles Anders, N. Loonin and Henry Askeli to answer the ROLL CALL, but every reader of THE WORKER must sign and give at once.

WRITE FOR A PAGE OUT OF THE ROLL CALL BOOK. SIGN YOUR NAME, THEN SECURE THE SIGNATURE OF OTHER FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA. GIVE YOUR LIMIT!!

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 WEST 13th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Endorsed by the Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, Tacoma, Toronto, Montreal, Portland, Trenton, Minneapolis, Denver, Ogden, Mansfield, Richmond, Washington, Hartford, Binghamton, Rockford, San Diego, St. Paul, Belleville, Los Angeles Central Labor Councils and by hundreds of local unions and other workers' organizations. It is in your hands whether from Russia shall come the cry of joy and laughter this Spring or the terrible silence of a million grave-yards.

Sign up! Prove your sympathy for Soviet Russia by helping to succor its starving millions. Prove that you stand for "Hands Off"—Except to Help! For this great workers' experiment will yet make the dreams of all of us come true!

THE WORKER

(Formerly The Toiler)

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Advertising rates upon application.

[illegible] for the textile strikers is the answer of the bosses. Union [illegible] express surprise at the attitude of Governor [illegible] and [illegible] a few phrases about Americanism. The bark of the rifle and the roar of the sawed-off shot gun is the voice of Americanism there [illegible] and the sooner the workers and their leaders learn that democracy is as dead as the dodo in this era of steel and gold the sooner will a united front begin to take shape.

"Kuzbas"—The Awaited Opportunity

WANTED!

American Engineers and Workers for Soviet Russia in the Kuznets Coal and Iron Basin by the Autonomous Industrial Colony—"Kuzbas."

Room 303, 110 West 40th Street, New York City, N. Y.

• • •

The above is the modest advertisement that a number of the labor and revolutionary organs are carrying in their columns today.

Behind the advertisement is the story of a plan that intrigues the imagination of every worker whose mind has not been altogether dulled by the machine process.

To the worker-dreamers of the whole world has been given an opportunity to prove their theories and to make their dreams come true, without any conditions attached except to be given the first chance to purchase the product the Soviet Government of Russia has placed at the disposal of the world's engineers, miners and mechanics the entire Kuznets Basin, a little empire so rich in coal, iron, other minerals and timber that only labor is needed to make it one of the great productive regions of the earth.

To the workers of all lands has been entrusted the task of developing this enormously rich district, of creating an industrial civilization minus an idle class. If there is left in the American workers any of the pioneer spirit that has felled the forests and harnessed the rivers of this country they will answer the call to participate in a great and glorious experiment where theories must stand or fall by the test of actuality.

To the workers in Kuznets Basin will go the full product of their toil; they will be the rulers, the captains of industry; no hereditary monarchs, financial or political, will take toll from their labor.

The hardships to be encountered are no greater than those met in America when the golden west was still golden—and young. They are no greater than the ordinary worker must face on the ordinary construction job. Of this great fertile basin the workers can make what they will with no exploiting corporation to say them nay. It thrills one to think of it—this thing we have talked for and fought for so long.

Here it is. What will the workers do with it? Here is the romance that industrial autocracy has deprived them of, a world to be shaped as the wish, a world for workers. Is it not possible that from this experiment alone the workers of the world can learn what is good and bad in their many plans for a new society?

[illegible] Here is the solution of the unemployment problem for some thousands of American workers and if they want the opportunity—"Kuzbas"—we have all faith that they will beg, borrow or steal the necessary food, clothing, and tools required for entrance to the colony.

Equality of Opportunity

Our Constitution guarantees equality of opportunity and the right to the pursuit of happiness. In effect this means equality for the workers to starve and be homeless and to keep on pursuing happiness in a never-ending chase. For the capitalists it means an opportunity to exploit and oppress the workers.

The defenders of our Constitution are working feverishly to foist this doctrine of "equality of opportunity" on other nations. George Harvey, our Ambassador to Great Britain, and representative of Harding on the Supreme Council, has been given instructions to watch carefully the coming conference on the Near East of the Allied Premiers at Paris. America is bent upon securing equality of opportunity for its capitalists in the exploitation of Mesopotamia, Persia, the Balkans, and the Turkish Empire.

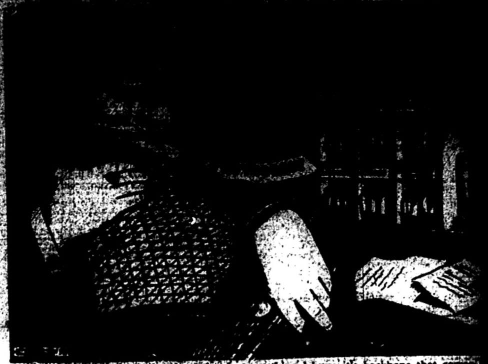
International politics are to-day the politics of oil and steel. In the Near East there are rich oil fields, and our capitalists know how to smell oil fields. Our former brothers-in-arms, England and France, are now pursuing a policy of widespread discrimination against America—that is, our oil trust. Thru the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant and our sundry "philanthropic," "missionary" and "educational" institutions in the Near East our oil barons are raising a terrific howl for "equality of opportunity."

Our former friends are determined to exclude America from participating in the development of these "backward" countries. The reason for this is obvious. The United States is best equipped for the exploitation of these territories. With any semblance of a "fair" deal the opportunities for the expansion of American interests are practically unlimited. The resources of the Turkish Empire and the Balkan States are practically untouched. Mines are to be developed and railroads are to be built. Millions of workers are to be exploited ruthlessly. This is a gold mine for profits and our capitalists won't let it slip away from them without a struggle. And we are ready to bet dollars against doughnuts that the United States Government will make it a struggle worth while by standing firmly for the extension of the glorious doctrine enunciated by the fathers of our Constitution and country.

The whole controversy is replete with serious dangers for the American workers. In the Near East dispute lie the germs of future deadly wars. America may line up with France against Britain. And Britain may ally itself with France against the United States. But whatever form the conflict may take one fact is evident. It is plain that the doctrine of equality of opportunity, in the hands of the capitalists, whether it be applied at home or abroad, can mean one thing and one thing only for the workers—equality of opportunity to get hell on earth in order to safeguard the interests of their capitalist exploiters.

The unity conference of the officials of the miner's and railwaymen's unions was quite a success for everyone except the miners and the railwaymen.

The conference fixed things so that no hasty strike action would embarrass the bosses. By the time a strike could be called under the rules the next war will be over and Ireland free.



MAGNATE.—Brains are cheap, about the cheapest thing I buy; it's backbone that co

The Fruits of Washington

earth" has borne its first fruit. Universal "peace" has begun its

The Washington Conference to force "peace and goodwill on march with huge strides in heavy boots. And the workers, of course, are the privileged to get the first kicks from the pace-setting capitalist peacemakers. As a result of the agreement to scrap some naval junk thousands of workers have been thrown out of their jobs in the navy yards. Many more thousands of workers await the same fate.

This is the peace the capitalists can bring to the world. Unemployment and starvation are the fruits of peace that the exploiters can bring to the workers. Much noise has been made about the glorious future in store for world as a result of the secretly arrived at treaties of Washington. The lesson of Washington is a painfully valuable one for the workers. It shows clearly that the capitalist class can never bring peace to the workers. It proves beyond a doubt that all their peace manoeuvres are only frantic efforts to save themselves from the chaos that now threatens to overwhelm them. We have here, in brutal form, the hollow mockery and fraud of their plans.

Capitalist peace means starvation and wars for the workers. Capitalist prosperity means long hours of degrading toil. And capitalist promises are only prospects for the increased misery of the workers.

According to the New York World the latest argument against the bonus is that "the demand for it comes from foreign born or foreign descended soldiers."

Let the four and some odd million "foreign born and foreign descended" soldiers take notice that for this country they can risk their bones but they get no bonus.

The Dictatorship the Proletariat

The existing capitalist gov
is a dictatorship of the c
over the workers.

This government, when
arises, ignores its own const
rules and laws in order to enf
will of the capitalists agai
workers. The Soviet Gove
will be thru the same neces
necessity of suppressing the
ists—a Dictatorship of the
tariat during the transition
from capitalism to the co
society.

This dictatorship will refu
bound by any formal rul
racy in the struggle agai
italists.

It will use its power a
against the capitalists as
alists now use their pow
the workers.

A graduate of Oberlin
class of '75 has offered to
each undergraduate who m
the Sermon on the Mount
10. During the war people
rested for distributing circu
taining this extract from t
Perhaps this is what Warre
fab, Washington, D. C.,
he talks about returning
malcy."

Workers Party Calls on All Labor for Big United Front

(Continued from Page 1)

succession of defeats, a conference called by representatives of sixteen great Labor organizations cannot leave its meeting place with a claim to the rudiments of decency, unless it boldly does all in its power to unite Labor in a single front.

In the face of the painfully obvious union of all Chambers of Commerce, Employers' Associations, business men's committees for "enforcing wage awards"—all this veritable Ku Klux Klan of Capitalism—we hold that it would be nothing short of criminal betrayal of the working class to suggest that the condition can be met by an instrument less than a complete mobilization of all Labor industrially and politically.

HE WHO WOULD AT SUCH A TIME CAUSE A DIVISION OF THE RANKS OF LABOR IN THE FIGHT FOR THESE ELEMENTARY POINTS ABOUT WHICH NONE LOYAL TO LABOR CAN DIFFER, WOULD BE GUILTY OF TREASON TO THE WORKERS.

These reasons impel us to address a conference initiated in the name of Labor.

Party Is Revolutionary

The WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA is a revolutionary party of the working class.

We do not believe that the social and political maladjustments can be remedied by mere reforms in the manner of exploiting Labor, but only by the complete abolition of the system of Labor exploitation.

We believe that this can only be done with revolutionary struggle, thru the establishment of the Workers' Republic.

In regard to this goal and this method, we have no compromises to offer and no illusions of any willingness of those who initiated this Conference to compromise in our direction.

But there are necessary, to the continued life of millions of workers, certain simple steps about which there can be no sincere disagreement among partisans of the toiling masses.

Nor can any sincere member of the ranks of Labor willingly lessen the number of those fighting together for these needs.

Program for United Front.

We suggest by way of illustration:

Nation-wide action to break the Open Shop Drive.

A nationally organized counter-offensive to break the wage-cutting campaign.

To compel the protection of the unemployed on the basis of the right to labor, and the union standard of compensation out of the National military and naval budgets.

To prevent the enactment or enforcement of "industrial court laws" in any part of the country.

To defend and secure the right of Labor to organize, to strike and to picket.

Large national credit to working farmers, and absolute prevention of foreclosures upon their farms.

Release of political prisoners including all workers imprisoned as a result of any phase of the labor struggle.

To stop the deporting of workers because of their views of the Labor struggle or activity in it.

Forming the Labor Line.

Such points furnish a common ground upon which every Labor Union and every political party of the workers can fight together if not prevented from doing so by treacherous misleading.

Beyond such immediate measures each Union or party would assume no responsibility for the programs or policies of the others. Each would retain its individual program and the right to criticize the policies, principles and tactics of the others.

Upon what line must such a fighting front be formed? Upon the line which divides the toiling masses from those who exploit them.

Labor's political and industrial co-operation with employers, with chambers of commerce, with corporations, or with the petty professional hangers-on and dependents of these elements, will not conduce to the freeing of Labor.

There is nothing in common between such elements and the workers upon whose labor they thrive.

Who are the "progressives" that you speak of? Who can be relied upon to fight to PROGRESS out of this slave-pen of misery and decay? Only those who SUFFER by the misery and decay—the toilers themselves, of the city and farm.

No other class is directly interested in banishing the misery and decay. Those who would form a "front of Labor" together with sections of the privileged classes, are making sure that no privileges will be abolished.

Unite City and Farm Workers.

Only with the toilers of the farm—with the farm laborer and the rent-ridden, mortgage-ridden small farmer—can the working class strike hands.

The past few years prove beyond dispute of any man that the working masses of the farms and those of the cities depend upon each other.

More and more the small farmers—the "dirt farmers"—are being driven to ruin.

Today the plains and valleys of this country are dotted with a multitude of tragedies, of farm families, once sturdy and independent, now broken and desperate serfs, toiling as hopelessly as field animals for the enrichment of farm-mortgage holders and grain speculators.

Co-operation with wealthy landlords and the mortgage-holding capitalists, grain traders and the multitude of petty parasites that serve them in politics, will not free the poor farmer.

He can only find refuge in an alliance with the great mass of wage Labor. With him the line of struggle can be formed.

It Is The Class Struggle

No shapeless mixture of a few labor leaders with comfortable, propertied "liberals" can solve the problem of the comfortless millions. To grow dynamic power, the Labor mass must organize within its boundaries.

To build upon any other outline is to build a shapeless mass without organic qualities and incapable of action or of growth. A social power can be mobilized only by a great common economic need.

The course of History itself has marked sharp and clear the line which must delineate the larger instrument that will free the toiling masses. That line is drawn between the toiling masses and their exploiters. It is the line of the class struggle.

It is the natural line of organic structure. Divisions within the workers' ranks can be wiped out by boldly clearing the outlines of a class made organic by common need.

He who obscures this line of structure, confuses, paralyzes and defeats the workers. It is to accomplish this defeat that every chamber of commerce and their harlot newspapers scream "No!" whenever anyone speaks of the workers as a "class".

Labor leaders such as you have a heavy guilt in this matter. They have led the workers to hope for benefit thru political instruments made up of themselves with their enemies. The result is the chaos of disaster which we all see, and of which the labor leaders who called this conference complain.

What will you do?

Now, as spokesmen of Labor, you have called a conference avowing the purpose of finding a way out of the disaster. Will you again obscure the line of fundamental division between Labor and its exploiters? Will you again deny the class struggle? Will you issue another puny call for Labor to "punish its enemies and reward its friends (among the agents of privilege)?"

Or will you advocate that Labor form a united political and industrial front and support none but its own representatives, responsible to Labor alone?

The labor unions most prominently represented here, have need enough of an economic front. We remember incidents aplenty, in the past two years, of railroad strikes deliberately broken by leaders; union officials calling thru the capitalist press for strike-breakers and colluding openly with police and grand-juries to punish striking members of their own unions with those same "oppressive laws" of which you complain.

Betrayed to Slave Law.

If politeness to some of the participants of this conference will permit it, we recall that Alexander Howat was deserted in jail and the mine workers of Kansas betrayed to the Kansas "industrial court law"—the most loathesome of all the "oppressive laws" which you say you come to remedy. This partly accounts for the low degree of expectation that we have, of results from this conference.

This Conference cannot form a united front for the working class. Only the organized mass of labor itself can do that.

Not a "few" leaders slipping into a room privately "to fix things up," but only a general Labor Congress of delegates elected for the specific purpose by the workers, can create a front that will endure and fight.

But if this Conference has a character in keeping with the fact that it was called in the name of two and a half million railroad workers, then it could bring about such a Labor Conference by advocating it.

The "fundamental economic principle" that can solve the problems of the misery of the masses, can easily be found by eyes that have the courage to see in the glaring light of the present crisis.

In fact, they are too easy to see. Labor leaders and "liberals" who see them usually turn to flee in terror.

What Courage Have They?

Your choice is narrow. If you have the courage you call upon the workers as a class to close their ranks and fight for themselves.

If you have not the courage, then turn [illegible] back to the cowardly device of [illegible] and betraying the workers—recommending that they trust themselves to be saved by those that are destroying them.

Tell them again to trust themselves to the Landises, the Wilsons, the Palmers, the Hardings and William J. Burnses, whose collective name is Elbert H. Gary. The capitalist press will praise you for it.

The capitalist rulers of all countries, equally guilty in the world orgy of killing, have destroyed or disjointed the instruments of production to the extent that six million workers in this country are thrown out of industry, workless, hopeless and ignored. What can you do for them in this "conference of progressives?"

"God knows?" . . .

Nothing can be done for the unemployed by this conference, because this conference could not dare to do the necessary things. The necessary measures for the unemployed poor, would be dangerous to the unemployed rich. We do not believe that you would advocate them. During 1919, billions of dollars were poured out of the United States Treasury without hesitation, supporting many millions enrolled in the army or engaged in producing materials for war.

Would you dare to demand that such amount as were spent (with your consent) for killing men in 1918 be spent in preserving the lives and welfare of workless Americans in 1922? Or are there more taxpayers than starving workers in your conference?

Demand Aid for Jobless.

Would you dare demand that aid be given the unemployed workers in the full measure of Union-standard wages? Would you call for that aid from the Army and Navy appropriations, to be administered thru the Unions themselves?

Or, if fearful of what the workers would do with such power, do you prefer putting such power into the hands of the political agencies that are now reducing Labor to the lowest degree possible?

Will you demand that public works be begun at union wages, under the management of the Unions, at the expense of the national treasury, with the day of labor shortened to make room for all unemployed? Or do you tremble at such a "destructive" manner of helping hungry workers?

Nothing is clearer than that such practices would be destructive to the interests of the wealthy classes. None is readier than we to admit that the interests of the comfortable are irreconcilable with the interests of the working class.

A "fundamental economic principle" which your conference cannot escape is, that you cannot help the workers without injuring the comfortable classes. The "social and political maladjustments" which you express a desire to remedy, have a purpose. They cannot seriously be touched without undermining the system of wage labor exploitation in such a dangerous manner as may lead to its overthrow.

The Lesson of West Virginia.

Of the ultimate method of the abolition of the system of labor exploitation, we say nothing here. We say nothing here as to what the ultimate form of this struggle is, but no man experienced in strikes, even if he casts no glance at West Virginia, can fail to know to what lengths it inevitably goes. To the lengths short of which the struggle cannot be con gentlemen and lady pr cannot progress. They sh be asked to start.

Is it not clear that in struggle no element of the classes can be relied up especially no political pa are instruments of the bu or in any way acceptable portion of that class?

Labor has been divided trayed in the past by its trading, buying and begg "superior class" that know organize its own united how to prevent the work izing theirs. No more b tween Labor Leaders a enemies! No more stri by collusion of labor le police and other go flunkies of the employ more fusion with c litical parties!

All Must Fight Together.

We call for a Un Front Labor, politically and industrial We confine the matter to the nia niable first requisites ANY functioning of the Upon such immediate for all political parties ing class and all Labor fight together in this

Defend the Unemployed hunger; defend the ganizations from destruct the toilers from being more miserable slavery EXPENSE of the interests—

OR, CONFUSE, DIVID BETRAY THE WORK PROTECT THE SYST LABOR EXPLOITATIO

For General Labor Co

We speak only to such ments as may find themselv "Conference of progress ask this conference, if it racter not entirely twenty-five hundred road workers in called, to move for a General Congress to be elected by the and file to consider these

For a United Labor Fr

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE
MITTEE, WORKERS PA
OF AMERICA
JAMES P. CANNON, Cha
CALEB HARRISON, Sec

National Defense Bazaar, March 22–25, at the Lyceum, 86th Street and Third A

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Entered as [illegible] at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Labor Offensive Halts Anti-Strike Bill

Royalty Stops Traffic, Jobless Moved on

Newport, Kentucky! How Long?

In Newport, Kentucky, exists a situation that causes one to wonder how long the workers of this nation will remain passive victims of oppressive acts on the part of elected officials, corporation heads and corporation gunmen, military forces and hired murderers, so brutal, bloody and horrible that the mere recital of the facts sounds like a composite story of the inquisition and the worst tyrannies of the czar's regime.

From the war-swept sections of Eastern Europe come no more terrifying tales of unchecked murder and rapine than from this little steel town in the heart of America where for weeks the gunmen of the steel trust and the state troops have participated in an orgy of robbery, rape, bloodshed and torture.

Tanks with mounted machine-guns, cavalry and infantry brought in at the behest of the steel trust have taken possession of the streets; men and women are run into their homes at the point of the bayonet; women carrying unborn children have been assaulted; soldiers have demanded admittance to homes where there were young women and insisted on spending the night; schools have been closed by the commander of the military forces; the owners of shops and stores have been beaten and ejected from their places of business; their property has been taken and used by the troops and gunmen without compensation; the houses of the residents have been riddled by rifle and machine-gun fire and men, women and children forced to spend the night in cellars to escape the deadly volleys.

Dozens of affidavits certify to the horrible treatment of wounded men; to their incarnation without medical attention in filthy holes and corners of the company's mill where they had to sleep in their own blood and excrement.

One old man of 65 years was shot and beaten; one trooper took him by the hair and another by the feet; they swung him like a sack of flour and threw him onto a sheet iron floor. Then they kicked him for good measure.

A man, his wife and children, fleeing from their bullet-riddled home, had a searchlight played upon them and a rain of bullets directed at them as they ran.

Denhart, the officer in command, has beaten up numbers of arrested and wounded men with his blackjack and according to affidavits is a degenerate brute of the Semenoff type. His word is the only law in Newport.

The above acts have all been committed with the knowledge and consent of the Governor of Kentucky.

Passive resistance seems only to increase the fury of the brutes whom capitalism relies on these days. The very helplessness of their victims seems to increase their enjoyment of their foul task.

Ours may be the only voice in America suggesting a remedy but if it was our last word we would say that the wage-workers of America and their wives and children will never be safe from animal ferocity of capitalism's thugs until they make it known in no uncertain way that the old maxim of a life for a life has not been forgotten. Waste no time upon the mere tools of the capitalist class. The life of the wife of a worker is just as sacred as the life of the wife of Elbert H. Gary and more valuable; a worker who believes that the head of the steel trust should sleep peacably in his luxurious bed while the wives and children of wage-earners are chased into the night by the bullets of his gunmen is a spineless traitor who deserves what he gets.

The workers must organize for power and keep a careful record of each and every oppressive act of capitalism in America. We need no longer go abroad for examples to illustrate what tyranny means. The list of murdered, beaten tortured and ravished workers is long. Let's try and see that it grows no longer.

An Incident in the Struggle

Editors of labor papers are often accused of magnifying facts and exaggerating the brutality and cold-blooded nature of the tactics employed to whip striking workers into submission.

These accusations generally come from individuals who seem to have an abiding faith in the tender nature of capitalism's executives and who apparently judge them by the demeanor they assume in their clubs and churches.

The class-struggle is war, and the capitalist class as a whole recognizes the fact and acts accordingly. It is only the individuals without the courage to draw the conclusions from the evidence at hand who insist that brutality in strikes is the result of the acts of individuals alone. It is the act of a class and the class must be held responsible.

In this connection we think it might be interesting to our readers to have some of the inside history of the recent terroristic orgy of the steel trust during the strike of the steel workers in Newport, Kentucky.

The story is contained in a letter from one of the active participants in the struggle to The Worker and is here given as nearly as possible in his own words.

WANTED!

Workers for the Worker.

Any comrades having a little time to spend for the cause can help "The Worker" by donating a few hours labor at addressing and preparing circularization material. Come to the office at any time and ask for Wm. F. Kruse.

Letter to The Worker

Dear Sir and Brother:—Can you give space in your valuable publication for a few facts about the Newport Rolling Mill strike? First, I wish to say that I am a mechanic and have had my card for more

(Continued on Page 6)

Labor Forces Block Bill at Capital City

Aroused to action by the threat of legislation, notably the Duell-Miller industrial court and anti-strike bill, New York labor presented a solid front at Albany on Wednesday, March 1. Almost every labor body in the state was represented, and the statement by President Gompers, who headed the delegation, that "if the bill became law, organized labor in New York state would not obey it," was productive of wild cheering.

"Do you think for one minute, that the threat of a jail sentence, as this bill contains, would prevent the workers of this state from trying to improve their working conditions? There have been other men and other women who have dared to speak and act when this kind of legislation has been enacted, and there are men and women in this state who would do the same thing.

"The people of this state would have just about as much contempt [illegible] for a law now upon the [illegible] statue books. I say to you, that legislation of this kind would confine the working people of this state in a legislative straitjacket," said President Gompers.

The sponsors of the measure now are convinced that in its present form it canot be passed and now propose to amend it to cover only employees of public utilities under the supervision of the Public Service Commission. Owing to the determined attitude of Labor, however, it is generally believed that even in its amended form it will fail of passage.

Labor representatives state that the Duell-Miller bill and other similar measures will be closely watched and that the labor forces will be immediately mobilized for another march on Albany at the first sign of an attempt to stampede the legislature for the anti-labor interests.

More than 750 labor men were present at the hearing.

EVICTED FOR STRIKING

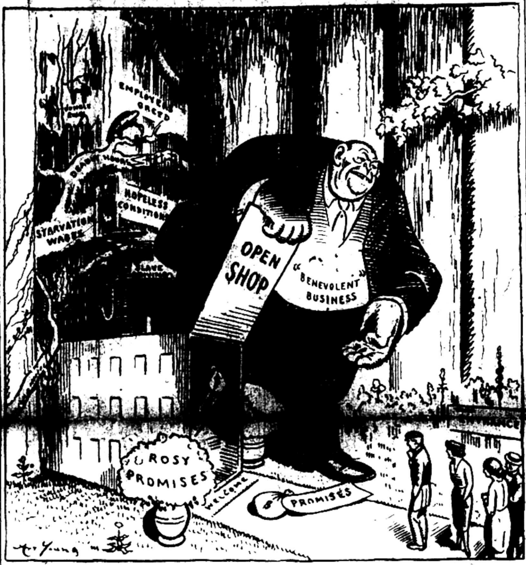
The terrible weapon against the workers which the system of company-owned homes in mining camps puts in the hands of the coal operators is shown once again by the latest news from the Pennsylvania district.

A new wage scale running from $3.90 to $5 a day was posted in the mines, and the miners were told that unless they immediately went to work at that scale they would be evicted from their homes.

Last week, at Lincoln Hill mine, District 5, 16 families were thrown out of their houses in one day. There is no other place to which the miners can take their families, and the suffering caused by the ruthless action of the coal-operators is heightened by the poverty prevailing in the district.

The miners and their families are in rags, and the children are going barefoot. The mad topsy-turviness of the whole present system of production is strikingly illustrated by one grimly ridiculous feature of the situation in Pennsylvania: The Operators refuse to sell the striking miners coal, so that they and their families are freezing in the midst of the coal which they themselves have mined.

"Heads I win, tails you lose" describes the "arbitration" award of Judge Manton insofar as the publishers are concerned. The pressmen are once more convinced of the eternal sanctity of contracts.



THE TRAP — Drawn by Art Young for The Worker

Must Feed 7 Millions More in Red Russia

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Two notable events in the fight the famine campaign took place in this city Saturday and Sunday nights. On Saturday night there was the big costume ball and bazaar at the 71st Regiment Armory. Sunday night, Capt. Paxton Hibben and others spoke at the great demonstration at the Lexington Opera House. The speech of Capt. Hibben, in full, was as follows:

• • •

By CAPT. PAXTON HIBBEN

Speaking at the Mass Meeting, at the Lexington Opera House, Sunday night, March 26, 1922.

"I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your thunderous welcome of me to the ranks of the great army of the unemployed!

"I want to make it clear to this meeting that I am no longer in any way connected with the Near East Relief, for which organization I have been handling publicity for the past two years.

"I say this for the sake of the Near East Relief, to which organization it has been the source of considerable embarrassment that I should have spoken as frankly as I have, recently, about Mr. Herbert Hoover.

"For the Near East Relief ha applied to Mr. Hoover for a portion of the $20,000,000 appropriated by Congress for relief in Russia, since the Near East Relief operates in a territory which was formerly a part of the old Rusian Empire, namely the Socialist Soviet Republics of Georgia and Armenia.

Many Starve in Armenia

"And I think that the Near East Relief is in fact entitled to have a share in that appropriation, for it is undeniable that many thousands of children are starving today in Armenia quite as much as millions of children are starving in the Volga valley.

"And I, for one, have never been able to see any distinction between one hungry child and another hungry child—which is why, in my own time, I have been speaking ever since my return from Russia for the Friends of Soviet Russia and other organizations which are trying to

(Continued on Page Three)

UNEMPLOYED!

WORK OR STARVATION WHICH!

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

SATURDAY, March 4th, 2 P. M., Rutgers Square.

TUESDAY, March 7th, 2 P. M., Battery, in front of 25 South Street.

THURSDAY, March 9th, 10 A. M., 34th Street and 3rd Avenue, Brooklyn.

FRIDAY, March 10th, 5 P. M., 10th Street and 2nd Ave.

SATURDAY, March 11th, 2 P. M., 110th St. and 5th Ave.

Auspices

UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL OF N. Y.

UNION OF UNEMPLOYED

Thirty Years' Gains Lost by the Pressmen

Another union, Local 25 of the Newspaper Web Pressmen, has discovered to its sorrow that arbitration is only good for the boss.

By the decision of Judge Manton, sole arbiter, to which they were pledged in advance by their International President, George D. Barry, late of the Army Intelligence Department, the pressmen of New York City have been deprived of working conditions they have had so long that, according to David Simons, president of Local 25, no one remembers when they were obtained, and of wages amounting to $6,500,000 per year. Under the Manton award this sum remains in the pockets of the publishers.

The foremen no longer need to be members of the union, the overtime rate is reduced, the union has nothing to say as to the number of men to man the presses, and the night men have had their hours increased from six to eight.

The pressmen of New York City have lost the gains of thirty years. The handing down of the decision brought on a strike of a few hours' duration which was ended by the orders of President Barry. The publishers are jubilant over the results of arbitration and much gratitude towards President Barry is expressed.

It is said that a movement is on foot among the publishers to tender President Barry a substantial testimonial in recognition of his services in their behalf.

With Princess Mary safely married and the Taylor murder mystery about to be solved the unemployed may now be able to devote a little attention to themselves.

Allow Wales, Not Jobless, at City Hall

"The police of New York are very much worried about the traffic of the city, especially when the workers are concerned. We intended to hold a demonstration of the unemployed at City Hall, in order that the men in power in the City Hall might realize that there IS an unemployment situation in New York.

"But City Hall Square is not for the use of the workers. It is reserved for such snobs as the Prince of Wales and for very important personages. When they come to town and pay their respects to the mayor, the traffic is not obstructed for a few hours, but sometimes for half a day.

Workers Used to Such Treatment

"There is nothing new in such treatment. The workers realize that the reason for the existence of the police is to crush the power of the workers. So it was to be expected that the jobless would not be allowed to meet at City Hall.

"Well, here we are, and we are going on with the meeting."

This was the beginning of a meeting, on Saturday, February 25, curtailed in numbers owing to the behavior of the police, yet full of attention to the four speakers who denounced the bosses and the authorities for refusing to do anything for the unemployed.

"The government's interest in the jobless is a fraud and a lie. If they were really interested, if the bosses really cared, they would not hesitate to open up trade relations with that country which is the only one that presents a market for American industry—Soviet Russia.

Open Trade with Russia

"There is a tremendous market over there, but the bosses won't take advantage of it, because they know that it will only strengthen the Soviet Government and they are determined to destroy the Government of the Workers that has been established by the workers of Russia. They tried for four years, but did not succeed in undermining it. They sent all kinds of ammunition, guns and troops against the Soviet Government, but they couldn't overthrow it.

"To carry on such practices in America is called treason. But to do it against a government of the workers is patriotic.

"American workers need work. The Russian workers need machinery of all kinds. They want mining, industrial and farming machinery. That American workers may obtain work and that the Russian workers may procure what they need, let the American workers demand that the Government of the United States open up trade relations with Soviet Russia. Let them organize to enforce that demand and it will be enforced."

Applause greeted these remarks.

Police Attend Brooklyn Meeting

On Sunday, February 26, the Unemployment Council held a meeting at the Finnish Workers' Hall, which the police tried to overawe by their numbers. In the hall there were four policemen, outside in front of the hall were stationed six officers, while at either corner of the street there were seven men.

"The purpose of bringing so many police to our meetings is clear," said

(Continued on Page Three)

Paris Commune Day Monster Mass Meeting—Robert Minor, March 19

Look for Time and Place in Next Issue!

[illegible] Offers Marine Industry Plan

EDITOR'S NOTE. — THE WORKER herewith gives space to a plan of action for the marine industry as proposed by a rank-and-file member of the Marine Workers Unity Committee:

• • •

The marine industry differs so radically from the average industry that the tactics necessary to bring about industrial organization require particular consideration.

In the first place, the life of the industry itself is uncertain. There is no other industry where the employers can with such ease and prospect of added profit, bodily transfer the industry out of the country. An increasing percentage of freight to and from American ports is being carried in foreign ships, and the threat of transferring the American ships to foreign flags is held continually over the heads of the American marine workers.

From the end of the war till about the middle of 1920, there were about 1100 Shipping Board ships and about 700—800 privately owned under the American flag: there was a cargo for anything that would float; young men who had never seen salt water were urged to go to sea and see the world, licenses to officers and engineers were being granted galore, and unions were in fashion.

Conditions are different now. The Shipping Board has recently announced that it will not attempt to maintain in commission more than 350 of its fleet of 1400. The new private Companies have mostly disappeared, and the probability is that the "temporary" depression will settle into a permanent condition, with the Shipping Board nucleus, and the old-established prewar companies (such as the International Mercantile Marine, Luckenbach, Grace, United American, and Agur Lines, the new fleet of the U. S. Steel); the coastwise freight and passenger ships; and the very large fleet of oil tankers of the Standard Oil and its subsidiaries, comprising the American Merchant Marine. This leaves about two-thirds of the crews of 1919 without employment.

Of course, one immediate effect of the depression is to clear from the field the majority of the men who were not really seafarers and who had no intention of sticking to the industry through any extended period of adverse conditions. Of these, some will return to their places in the bourgeois classes, and others will take part in the fight in the industries were they more naturally belong.

For the next few years then, the following distribution of the workers in the marine industry seems likely:

I. Unemployed: About ⅔.

Of these, a small number of unlicensed men may obtain employment on foreign ships (though most nations now have a preferential law for citizens) and thus lose connection with the Labor Movement in America.

II. Employed Afloat: About ⅓.

Dividing these again according to conditions of work.

a) On Oceangoing Passenger and Freight Vessels. Abt. 15%; b) On Coastwise Vessels. Abt. 15%; c) On Oil Tankers (mostly coastwise) Abt. 70%.

Of these only the men on the coastwise vessels have much chance of engaging in union activity as they make short trips and have a few days stay in port each time, while the oceangoing men, though they may have a stay of a week or two, are away for long periods; and the tankers seldom stay in port more than 24 hours and generally dock in out-of-the-way places—miles away from the city, thus practically binding the men to the ship and making them totally ineffective for any work in the unions.

III. Employed Ashore:

About three thousand sailors are employed by the Shipping Board for the maintenance of the laid-up ships. The great majority of these men are licensed mates who are only too glad to get something to tide them over the "temporary depression." How long these jobs will last is, of course uncertain, depending upon the future disposition of the laid-up ships.

Of course the actual individuals change from one category to another as occasion offers, their possibility of effectiveness in union activity changing accordingly. But the proportions will remain fairly constant.

The Labor Unions

at present in the field (till the recent lockout about 90% organized) are

For the Officers:—

- The Neptune Ass'n. (Masters and Mates).
- The Masters', Mates', and Pilots' Ass'n.
- The Marine Engineers' Beneficial Ass'n.
- The United Radio Telegraphers' Ass'n.

For the Men:—

The International Seamen's Union comprising —

- The International Sailors Union
- Marine Oilers', Watertenders' and Firemen's Union
- Marine Cook's and Stewards' Union

With the exception of the Neptune Association and the U. R. T. A., all these are affiliated with the A. F. of L. All are national in scope.

The Neptune Association comprising the majority of the Masters and Mates refuses to think of itself as a labor union and prefers to style itself "an association of professional men." It has never had a real combat. Its hallmark is a childish sense of aristocracy, and extreme unwillingness to compromise the interests of the employers. The A. F. of L. is too radical for the Neptune.

The majority of the membership of the Masters', Mates' and Pilots' Association are tugboat and harbor men, and by generally assigning premier importance to harbor rather then to seagoing affairs, have driven most of their seagoing membership into the Neptune Ass'n. The feud between these two organizations is of long standing.

The Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association is, on the whole, the backbone of Seafaring Labor. Composed of skilled mechanics who could earn their living ashore as well as at sea, it has always been the strongest and most courageous of the organization. Its defects are those common to the majority of A. F. of L. unions to-day.

The United Radio Telegraphers' Association is a young organization of relatively minor importance, as few ships carry more than one radio-operator. A majority of the membership are kids, under no compulsion to earn their living, mainly interested in "seeing the world" and having no intention of remaining in the profession. Despite an almost incredible childishness, the organization generally works together with the M. E. B. A. and has a very fair strike record.

The Sailors', Firemen's and Cook's Unions compose a single organization and act as one body when facing the employers, and on all other matters of common policy. The wages and working conditions of the Sailors and Firemen constitute the barometer for the industry. There is a fair amount of undirected radical feeling, and the members have shown great courage and loyalty to their class. A self-perpetuating leadership sings the songs of past decades.

The I. W. W. has a foothold among the men, the exact strength of which it is hard to determine. They are strongest among the Firemen, particularly the Spanish and Italians, most of them are "two-card" men anyway.

Inasmuch as all these unions are co-extensive with the industry, no members of the unions being employed anywhere save in the industry and no branch of the industry being entirely unorganized, it would seem that Industrial Organization might be achieved most easily by a simple amalgamation into a Seafarers' Organization. This step would seem to be dictated by the logic of the present crisis.

As a result of the lockout last Spring, wages were cut all round 15 per cent (the officers getting gentlemen's agreements"* till January), and the 12-hour day re-instituted for the men. In October the men's wages were again cut about 22 per cent by nearly all the private owners.

Since the first of the year another drastic cut has been made and seamen work for wages in many instances lower than those paid farm hands and sheep-herders whose work is devoid of the danger and uncertainty of the sea-faring trades. Ordinary seamen on many ships now get as low as $35.00 per month.

There is at present a great deal of jealousy between the Neptune Association and the M. E. B. A. due to the small differential between the wages of the Master and the Chief Engineer, the Neptune claiming that it should be greatly increased, that the Master should still have the almost unlimited power, opportunities for graft and preponderant wages that went out with the sailing ship days; the M. E. B. A. with an eye to the realities of the situation, claiming that the differential should be eliminated, or if anything reversed, the Chief Engineer being the real person responsible for the vessel and the Master merely the navigator. The rank and file, the large majority being only Mates and Assistant Engineers, are not particularly interested in this disagreement, but it is industriously fostered by the officials of each side, particularly of the Neptune, and has thus become an important obstacle to amalgamation.

Amalgamation would furthermore require the overcoming of the equally strong opposition of the Neptune to the idea of uniting with the "laborers" and "radicals" of the A. F. of L., and worst of all, the allround opposition to uniting officers with men.

All this cannot be achieved overnight, but will require a prolonged campaign of agitation and education —and possibly starvation.

It is worthwile to restate here the facts regarding the limitation in activity imposed by the various categories of work.

The Unemployed, so long as they do not comprise an unchanging group who would be bound in time to lose their character as seafarers and become mere "unemployed," so long as they retain their membership in the unions constitute a body within the unions free from these limitations.

The men on the coastwise vessels coming in frequently for a few days at a time, have a fair possibility for work while those on the ocean going vessels have very little, and those on the tankers are almost entirely barred out.

As for the laid-up ships, most of the "bonapards" are too far from the towns, but in the other cases, the men employed there can engage pretty fully in union activity.

It is understood, of course, that while these categories remain pretty constant, there is a fairly steady transfer of the individuals composing them from one group to another.

It is clear, therefore, that the only men who can have any direct effectiveness in the early stages of the agitation are those who are ashore or running coastwise. And among these categories there are not at present a sufficient number, active and able enough to organize for agitation at the union meetings. At present the minority who may be in favor of amalgamation are unorganized and unknown to each other. What must be done therefore is to organize a group of men from all the categories of work, who have the ability and the will to carry on a continual agitation wherever they may be, afloat or ashore, on the job or "on the beach." Each member of this group must consider it his task (besides the general propaganda for the purpose of winning over individuals, which never ceases), to organize as soon as he enters an "effective category" a new group among this category with a view to direct agitation at the union meetings.

As the slower process within the "ineffective categories" of winning individuals begins to show results, the task of organizing the effective groups becomes continually easier due to the influx of individuals who have already been convinced, and their power at the union meetings grows continually stronger. And as the question of amalgamation becomes more and more prominent, even the "ineffectives" at their occasional attendance will serve to swell the demand for a single Seafarer's Organization.

It is clear then that many an excellent workers will be limited for as long as he holds his job, to work on a single ship with a fairly stable crew, many of which, due to the conditions of life on a ship, he will not be able to reach, and many others of which are hopeless from the start. And even those whom he does convince will have to remain ineffective as long as they remain in their job. All of which is unfortunate, but apparently unavoidable. It is not a rapid process.

Amalgamation in itself will not bring about Industrial Organization. A deeper change is needed. Even though amalgamated, the unit of the organization would still be the craft, and the pointless territorial local. In order to organize for taking over an industry, the unit must be the plant. In the very nature of things this principle cannot be applied to the marine industry without modification. The unit corresponding to the plant is not the ship. From the viewpoint of operation, the individual ship is not an industrial unit. The unit is more properly the fleet of the particular Steamship Company which has its particular policies, industrial problems, trade routes, etc. (and will present the unions with its particular labor problems). The fleet of each Steamship Company should therefore constitute a unit of the organization, and this unit must work out the plan for taking over and operating the fleet when the time arrives.

Of course, for the operation of the ships, the organization should include as many as possible of the managing and office staff. But this presents no problems different from those of other industries. In fact, it is even less necessary in the marine field, as many Masters and Mates are thoroughly familiar with ship management, the Master himself transacting the ship's business in foreign ports.

All these details of the form of industrial organizations, however, must for a long time remain mere conjecture. The mechanical difficulties (if only the labor turnover which is many times as great as that of other industries) are so many that no straight scheme can be laid out, and even if it could be, it would almost certainly be tossed aside by events. And most important of all is the possibility of a change of flag.

The steamship companies with their hearts full of patriotism and their pockets full of profits, shou loudly for the American Mercha Marine but with tears in their eye they affirm that it is impossible run ships while hampered by the Follette Act and the exorbitant d mands of American Seamen.

Since the La Follette Act mere calls for decent safety and livi conditions aboard ship (and most it is not enforced anyway), and wages hardly approach 10 per cent of the total expenses of ship operation, the honesty of these wails can be easily estimated.

If they would stop their inefficiency and their manoeuvring for government aid, they could compete well enough with foreign vessels despite a slightly higher margin of expenses.

In every labor dispute, the workers are exhorted by Government and employers to be patriotic, and not to destroy the reborn American Merchant Marine. The threat of changing the flags is held up like a club. For if the ships were put under foreign registry, the superior American conditions would disappear, preference in employment would go to the foreign citizens, and the officers and engineers would be thrown out entirely, and their American licenses would be valueless. So well has this club been handled that there are strong voices in the unions to-day for giving subsidies to steamship companies and for making operating conditions "reasonable." Some of the companies at least (particularly those with large blocks of British capital) will not be able to resist for long the temptation of being free from the La Follette restrictions, reducing expenses, and teaching labor a lesson. The flag will change, and seafaring labor will learn its lesson.

Editors Note:—The Worker [illegible] publish periodically an analysis [illegible] the conditions in the various [illegible] and Industries formulated [illegible]

* The M. E. B. A. and U. R. T. A. succeeded in getting signed contracts with the Shipping Board till January. The Mates' agreements did not expire till August 1, and they were consequently not included in the lockout. When their time came, however, the Shipping Board as well as the private companies refused to give them a contract, and they had to be satisfied with "gentlemen's agreements."

The Kuzbas Project—The [illegible] at Industrial Reconstruction in Russia

We reproduce below an article by S. J. Rutgers, written in Moscow during the Congress of the Third International with the purpose of interesting the delegates in the plans for the Reconstruction of Russian industry thru the help of international labor. The plans that then constituted only a general outline have since been worked out in detail and an appeal has been made to American labor to take part in the first industrial labor colony—"Kuz-bas". In another issue we will publish an article giving the particulars of the enterprise.—Editor's note.

• • •

By S. J. RUTGERS.

Economic conditions in Soviet Russia compel the Soviet administration to assist in the re-establishment of small industry and to allow a certain amount of free exchange in order to stimulate production and prevent starvation.

"Socialism is impossible without large capitalist technique, constructed according to the last word of science" (Lenin).

Therefore the Soviet policy of stimulating small peasants and small industry must be supplemented by measures intended to create a highly developed modern industry.

The results do not depend wholly on our own willingness: we need the co-operation of foreign capital in accepting the concessions. And even mere acceptance will not be sufficient, since our hope is not in the floating of a new financial scheme, but in the actual results of labor and organization.

The question arises whether other methods could not be added towards the same ultimate goal: the creation of a modern machine industry. The question arises whether foreign labor, upon which concessions would have to be based largely anyhow, could not also achieve results without the help of foreign capitalists.

Knock at Russia's Door

This question presents itself with the more force, since a large number of American-Russian workers, partly trained in the highly developed American machine industry, loudly and insistently claim admittance to Soviet Russia.

There is little doubt that any amount of American labor of different degrees of skill and specialization could be had and that no serious obstacles exist in having American technical and managing specialists join the exodus. It certainly is not the American capitalist we are most anxious to get.

All we can expect from concessionaires above the supply of labor and technical and organizing ability is the supply of capital in the form of machines, initial expenses, foodstuffs, etc. This certainly would be important, since Soviet Russia is in dire need of everything, but we should not over estimate the factor.

Consider Wood Concessions

A wood concession such as has been offered by the Soviet Government in the north of Russia and Siberia does not necessarily require at the outset extensive machinery.

The American lumber worker goes into the forests of the West and Middle West with his tent, a supply of foodstuffs and the necessary saws and axes and within a very short time builds a camp to satisfy himself and the horses.

He then proceeds to install at the proper place a saw-mill constructed from the wood nature offers him.

The necessary equipment for such mills requires but relatively little machinery and Russia even to-day possesses enough material in this line, which is not utilized and could be made to work. But even if such an installation would have to be imported, it would not involve a large capital outlay.

The main transportation facilities for wood will be water transport and if the place is well chosen no large amounts of capital will be required.

Only Small Outlay Needed

With only a small capital outlay and within a short period it would be possible to have already at the disposal a commodity for exchange, enabling the purchase of food and other necessities. It will then not be very difficult to strengthen the enterprise by starting some wood working industry such as manufacturing wooden articles for the use of the peasants, matches, paper, etc.

Co-operation between Russia and foreign labor can also bring results.

Coal mining largely depends upon wood for the shafts and the galleries, and all the buildings, engine houses, etc. can be constructed in wood.

No doubt certain machinery is needed such as pumps, engines, cables, etc., but if no special means are available, these can be purchased largely thru the results of the exploitation of the wood.

It goes without saying that if capitalists were willing and able to put large amounts of capital in such a scheme, they could secure quicker results than being largely dependent upon the results of previous achievements for gradual development. If such capitalists can be found, let them go ahead.

But it is more likely that a capitalist who applies for a concession in Soviet Russia will proceed on more conservative lines, and that he will not very readily dump into a class-enemy country large amounts of valuable means of production.

American Worker Has Means

The American worker, who is willing and eager to go to Soviet Russia partly on account of sympathy for the first Workers' republic and hatred against the brutal American plutocracy, partly on account of unemployment, moreover, is not altogether without means.

The workers that will come as pioneers must be well selected and organized and will bring their own tools and foodstuffs, etc., for the initial period.

[illegible] of the food [illegible] period and [illegible] is not used to its full [illegible] present conditions in Russia and can be spared for the purpose or can be purchased from Soviet funds abroad.

A well defined program stating the support to be expected from the Soviets as well as the rights and duties of the colonists has been formulated and for the rest a free hand is necessary in the internal affairs of management and industry of the region under the general supervision of the Soviet of Labor and Defense, that will have to approve the committee of general management.

Such an enterprise that may be of the utmost importance to the further development of Soviet Russia must be well prepared and all possible energy should be brought towards its success.

The Kuznets coal basin with Nadejdenski steel plant in the Urals as a large machine shop to hasten the development has been carefully chosen so as to combine food, wood, coal and iron.

Only such workers from abroad will be admitted as pioneers that give sufficient guarantees both as to technical capacities and moral qualities so as to make the enterprise a success.

The foreign delegates back at their respective homes can do much by way of suggestions and recommendations to further this plan and might help to create the right spirit and atmosphere for an organized immigration to Soviet Russia.

For it is by no means necessary to limit the plan to Russian-Americans in general; all industrially highly developed countries can participate.

Can't Expect Immediate Relief

Russia cannot expect an immediate relief even thru a German revolution, as far as the reconstruction of the economic and industrial life is concerned.

It has largely to rely upon its own forces and such forces as it can take in from the heritage of the western civilization now in a state of decomposition.

The sooner it embodies such forces into its own organism, the more chances that the proletarian dictatorship in Russia will lead towards Communism.

If full energy is put in this direction, Russia may be able not only to go far in re-establishing its own economic life but also to contribute much towards the reconstruction of western Europe, after the latter will have passed thru the destructive process of a revolution against the well organized, well armed and unscrupulous white guards of the European reaction.

True to the traditions of class warfare, the bosses have provided for an inquest into the shooting of Joas Assuncao, the textile striker murdered by the police at Pawtucket, R. I. Hirelings of the textile barons will no doubt report that Assuncao was responsible for his own death.

The Civil Liberties Union reports that there 113 politicals still incarcerated in America's bastilles. That ought to put a little more fight into the workers of this country. Help set them all FREE!

[illegible] American Labor, Position of Educational League

NOTE.—This week we publish the third installment of the principles and program of the Trade Union Educational League. It discusses "The Source of Our Troubles," with the same clearness that has characterized the two previous installments. Next week we shall publish the fourth and concluding installment. This week's installment is as follows:

• • •

The Source of Our Troubles.

Whence comes the ultra-conservatism and extraordinary backwardness of the American trade union movement?

What causes the seeming paradox in this country of a very high degree of capitalism producing a very low degree of labor organization?

Many are the answers made to this great riddle of the American labor movement. The chief of these are, first, that the conglomeration of races here, by greatly complicating the organization problem, has effectually checked the spread of trade unionism: and second, that the workers in this country, because of its bonanza development, have enjoyed more prosperity than European workers and have consequently been rendered almost immune to militant organization.

But these answers are altogether unsatisfactory. The first is discounted by the fact that some of the very best unions we have, notably in the needle trades, are made up of many nationalities.

And the second goes counter to all our labor history. Time and again the workers in this country have given convincing evidence of their aggressive spirit and adaptability to advanced types of unionism.

A generation or so ago, during the stormy '80s, our trade union movement unquestionably led the world for militancy.

And since that time our industrial history has been marked with a whole series of strikes, as bitterly fought as any ever known anywhere.

In view of these facts it is idle to maintain that our workers are naturally unmilitant.

The true explanation for the undevelopment of American trade unionism must be sought elsewhere.

Blames Wrong Methods

And it is to be found in the wrong methods used by our progressive and revolutionary unionists.

Until quite recently they have failed utterly to realize and perform their proper functions.

For a generation past they have been working contrary to the natural evolution of the labor movement. The result is stagnation and ruin all around.

One of the latest and greatest achievements of working class thinking, due chiefly to the experiences in Russia, is a clear understanding of the fundamental proposition that the fate of all labor organization in every country depends primarily upon the activities of a minute minority of clear-sighted, enthusiastic militants scattered throughout the great organized masses of sluggish workers.

These live spirits are the natural head of the working class, the driving force of the labor movement. They are the only ones who really understand what the labor struggle means and who have practical plans for its prosecution.

Touched by the divine fire of proletarian revolt, they are the ones who furnish inspiration and guidance to the groping masses.

They do the bulk of the thinking, working and fighting of the labor struggle. They run the dangers of death and the capitalist jails. Not only are they the burden bearers of the labor movement, but also its brains and heart and soul.

In every country where these vital militants function effectively among the organized masses the labor movement flourishes and prospers.

But wherever, for any reason, the militants fail to so function, just as inevitably the whole labor organization withers and stagnates. The activities of the militants are the "key" to the labor movement, the source of all its real life and progress.

Vigor Elsewhere; Stagnation Here

In other countries the militants, even while not consciously aware of the above principles, have quite generally acted in harmony with them.

They have stayed in the old trade unions and, through their organization, activity, and determination, have been able to take the lead in directing the workers' struggle.

They have communicated something of their own fire and understanding to the masses, with the result that their labor movements have been constantly pushed onward —intellectually, structurally, and numerically—to higher and higher stages.

But in the United States the militants, progressives and radicals alike, have taken a reverse course.

For fully thirty years they have systematically deserted and neglected the trade unions.

Afflicted with a chronic secessionism, they have attracted the overwhelming mass of the livest spirits among the workers to the futile projects of building up all sorts of dual unions based upon ideal principles.

Thus the trade union movement has been sucked dry of thousands and thousands of the best militants, the very elements who should have been its life springs, and thus its development has been blocked, its progress poisoned at the source.

By the desertion of the militants the unknowing masses have been intellectually and spiritually decapitated. Leaderless, helpless, they have been left to the uncontested control of a conservative trade union bureaucracy, which has hardly a trace of real proletarian understanding and progress anywhere in its makeup.

In view of this situation it wou be a miracle if the American lab movement, with its most vital fa tors practically cancelled, were any other condition than one extreme backwardness.

Dual unionism, the set policy of secessionism, which has separated the life-giving militants from the cumbersome organized masses—th is the prime cause of the stagnatio of the American labor movement.

That is the underlying reason fo our apparent paradox of the mos aggressive capitalist class side by side with the most weakly organized working class. Dual unionism ha hamstrung American Labor.

Senator Ladd of North Dakota, member of the Agricultural Bloc, an nounces that the bankers profited $20,000,000,000 out of the war. Thanks, Senator. Better late than never.

[illegible]
[illegible] CONCERT & MASS MEE
given by
Central Bureau of
Society for Technical
to Soviet Russia
Agricultural Groups of Win
peg, Montreal and New Y
Machinists for the Automo
Factory in Moscow
Delegates of the Chicago, Ne
York and Seattle Producti
Units
ARE ALL LEAVING FO
RUSSIA
WEDNESDAY, MARCH
Speakers:—Comrade Hartmann, Edito
of "Soviet Russia"
Comrade Heller, Represent
ative of the Supreme Coun
cil of National Economy
and Industry of Soviet
Russia
Comrade P. Antoniuk, Mem
ber of the Central Bureau
Time:—Monday, March 6, at 7.30 P. M.
Place:—Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th
Street, New York City
Admission:—15 cents.
Proceeds go to departing groups.

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[illegible] Meeting [illegible]ges Aid to [illegible]ston Men

[illegible] the Joint Auspices of the [illegible] Defense and the United [illegible] Council Beethoven Hall was [illegible] on the night of March 1 [illegible] an enthusiastic crowd which, [illegible] listening to te speakers, do[illegible] $253.00 to the Sacco-Vanzetti [illegible]

[illegible] Dunne of The Worker [illegible] presided. Speakers were Fred [illegible]kapp, Pascal Cosgrove, Peter [illegible], Carlo Tresca and Norman [illegible]

Fred Biedenkapp dealt with the [illegible] methods of the prosecution [illegible] showed that only for the anti-[illegible] hysteria, the creation of an at[illegible]sphere of prejudice and the par[illegible] nature of the judge's charge [illegible] even the hand picked jury which [illegible] to last after a panel of 500 had [illegible] exhausted could not have rend[illegible] a verdict of guilty. He appealed to the workers to fight the case on the straight issue of workingclass loyalty.

Other speakers pointed out that the Sacco-Vanzetti case was but one of a long list of similar persecutions of active fighters in the ranks of labor and appealed to the workers to line up solidly for the liberation of all class-war prisoners.

Norman Thomas, of the staff of The Nation described the three methods of "framing" workers; conviction under laws such as the criminal anarchy law as in the case of Larkin, conviction by perjured testimony as in the case of Tom Mooney and the fastening on radical workers of a crime which has nothing to do with labor activities as in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

The police were present in force to prevent Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from speaking, it is said. She is now on a tour of the Middle West for the Workers Defense and was unable to be present.

Resolutions demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti submitted by the Joint Board of the Furriers Union and Bakers Union No. 64 of the I. W. A. F. L. were unanimously endorsed by the meeting.

In addition to the collection $25.00 was pledged by Local No. 22 of the Waist and Dressmakers Union.

[illegible]e Daily Worker is coming

Stereopticon Lecture

By ALLEN BROMS

The Animals of the Past

SUNDAY EVE, MARCH 5,

— 8 P.M. —

—at—

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in the Next Issue

The latest developments in the textile strike shows graphically with what cynicism the employers and their representatives view proposals to arbitrate the fundamental causes of the strike.

Judge Jerome Hann, chairman of the special arbitration board, called by Governor Sansouci—the same governor who sent the troops into the Pawtucket valley—has decided that the strikers in the Rhode Island mills must return to work before arbitration can begin and that they must return under the working conditions existing at the time the strike began six weeks ago when the 54-hour week had already been put in effect in a number of mills. This is nothing more or less than an attempt to demoralize the workers' strike organization and indeed this is the principal task of all arbitration and conciliation boards. The show of force and the ferocious onslaught on the picket lines of the strikers in the Pawtucket valley has not had the expected result of terrorizing the workers in other districts; on the contrary it has created the greatest feeling of solidarity ever seen in the textile industry and swung neutral opinion to the side of the strikers. It is probably for this reason that strenuous efforts are now being made to get the workers to accept a phony plan of arbitration with the old demand of a return to work as a first step "towards industrial peace."

The immediate need in the struck districts is for food and finance. The commissary department of the Federated Textile Unions is handling the situation admirable but they need funds. They should be sent by all sections of organized labor and on the collection of sufficient relief depends, in a large measure, the success of the strike.

A victory for the textile workers would mean a victory for all organized labor in this section and a slowing up of the low wage and long hour offensive.

Gildea's New Pamphlet for Workers

Charles Gildea, of Butte, Montana, a member of the United Mine Workers of America since 1894, has written a pamphlet entitled "Corruptionists and Union Wreckers" which should be read by every militant member of a labor union. Altho the pamphlet deals mostly with the United Mine Workers and the struggle between reaction and progress within that organization, the facts given apply in general to all labor organizations in the United States.

Gildea, in this pamphlet, clearly defines the issue now uppermost not only in the coal miners organization but in the entire labor movement as well. He says:

> To get to the basis of this dissension, it must be noted that in the United Mine Workres of America there are two distinct schools of thought. One is led by John L. Lewis and the majority of the executive board. They want to make the union so pleasing to the capitalist class and the capitalist politicians that it will not be regarded as a menace to the exploiting designs of the employers. This element led by Lewis, would no doubt go so far as to be willing to be regarded as a bulwark against any form of radicalism and upon whom the employers could safely depend; with their control of the official organ the United Mine Workers Journal, they are doing an effective work for the capitalist class by lulling the membership into a false sense of security, by filling its columns with empty, meaningless platitudes, by eulogy of Labor's bitterest enemies, by cowardly denunciation of its friends and by denying to the Mine Workers the education that would enable them to measure properly their economic status in present society.
>
> The other school of unionism in the Mine Workers organization is led by men of the Alexander Howat type. Howat for years has been a militant battler for a form of unionism that must and will live—not with the consent of the coal operators but in spite of them. A union not to be used as a stepping stone for officials into political preferment at the hands of capitalist politicians but a union so officered that the coal operators would have to respect it thru fear of its power; not officered by men who feel elated when they are permitted to grace the banquet board with capitalists and their cowardly henchmen.

The issue could not be put more clearly and we are glad to recommend this little treatise on the present labor movement to our readers. It has the rather rare virtue of being written by a man who knows what he is writing about. The price is ten cents per copy or five dollars per hundred. It can be obtained either thro The Worker or directly from Charles Gildea, 101 South Idaho Street, Butte, Montana.

The removal of Joseph Pelletier from his office of district attorney of Boston on charges of divers forms of corruption does not affect his standing as one of the chief executives of the Knights of Columbus according to James Flaherty, head of that patriotic order. As far as we are concerned the announcement is superfluous for there is absolutely nothing in Pelletier's record showing any disloyalty to capitalism and that is about the only crime the order cannot condone.

In spite of the crime wave the New York police department can easily spare fifty or sixty cops to keep tabs on a defense meeting.

Should 10-Hour Workday at Starvation Wages Come Back in Textile Mills

Fifty thousand textile workers in New England are out on the streets striking against an increase in hours, from forty-eight to fifty-four hours and further reduction of twenty per cent in their wages.

These workers, the lowest paid skilled workers in the country had had their wages reduced several times during the last two years. Most of these workers have for long monthrs been unemployed. Immediately after the mills reopened their wages were reduced 22 per cent.

Most of the mill barons of New England have decided to cut the wages of these workers another twety per cent and to increase the hours to fifty-four per week.

In spite of their reduced conditions the New England textile workers are decided to oppose the new encroachements.

It is an enormous task and every worker ought to do his utmost to see that these strikers don't lose their just fight for lack of funds.

Forward your donation to
JAMES TANSEY, P. O. Box 893,
Fall River, Mass.

COMMITTEE: James Tansey, Fall River, Mass., and John O'Connell, Salem, Mass., for the American Federation of Textile Operatives.

Russell Palmer and J. Blind, New York, N. Y., for the Amalgamated Textile Workers.

J Shelly and H. J. Rubenstein for the Knit Goods Workers.

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

save the starving children of the Volga valley. They enlist my sympathy just as much as the little Armenian children.

"But Mr. Vickrey, of the Near East Relief, felt that while I was so openly defending the smaller organizations which are seeking to help the starving of Russia and in the course of that defense seemingly running counter to Mr. Hoover, it might prejudice the claim of the Near East Relief upon a part of that $20,000,000. And so he preferred to have me sever my connection with the Near East Relief, and I have gladly done so.

"Because I want those children in Transcaucasia to live, too; and if the Near East Relief cannot keep them all from dying—and it cannot—I want the American Relief Administration to do so. And if it will help matters to have me out of the Near East Relief, then I am glad to get out, even if it only save the life of a single child.

Relief Does Good Work

"Please understand that I am not criticising the Near East Relief. It is working in the closest kind of harmony with the Soviet Governments of Georgia and Armenia, precisely as the American Relief Administration is working in the closest kind of harmony with the Soviet Government of Russia.

"It is doing a good work, saving children.

"Neither you nor I, I am sure, have any quarrel with those who are honestly working to save the starving in Russia or Armenia. For that is what we are working for, too.

"All ye ask is that we be allowed to go ahead and do our share. But we do insist on that.

Washington Propaganda Hurts

"The whole business is a very simple one, which any man who thinks about it can see, and which no doubt those who launched this attack on the relief organizations friendly to the Russian Government did see very plainly.

"Former Secretary of Commerce Redfield, who can scarcely be accused of 'red' sympathies, places the starving in Russia at 15,000,000 and says that 15,000,000 more are on short rations.

"Therefore, if Mr. Hoover's most sanguine hopes are realized and his organization is able to feed even 8,000,000 people, 7,000,000 must starve unless you and I get busy and get food for them, and get it to them.

"One of the things that has handicapped us in this task has been the widespread propaganda from Washington that the Russian railways cannot carry any more than the supplies that the American Relief Administration is sending in."

"Well, Sir Benjamin Robertson, who has just come from Russia, where he has made a study of that very matter, says that this is not so, and that by mid-April the food which Americans are already bringing in will have reached its destination, and he is raising £500,000 ($2,500,000) in England to supplement the work of the American Relief Administration, so, as he says, 'to have grain upon the spot in Russian ports ready for transport up country early in April, when the Russian railways may be sufficiently clear to handle it, without interfering with transport consignments for the American mission.'

Reactionaries Refute Selves

"You see, all of this mischievous nonsense from Washington falls to the ground on the testimony of the reactionaries themselves. It was a smoke screen to discourage us.

"But if Sir Benjamin Robertson, who has no more sympathy with the Soviet Government than Herbert Hoover, can set about raising £500,000 ($2,500,000) to send food into Russia when Hoover's job is finished, then we who believe in the idealism of that Government—we to whom it means the hope of the world that the thing which they have dreamed over there and fought for and died for and which they are now starving for, shall not be crushed out—we should be cowards and traitors to our own faith in the future of the world if we let this smoke screen of mischievous propaganda stop our efforts for a moment.

Hold Gains Already Made

"You ask me to reply to these attacks on the little organizations trying to save their share of the starving of Soviet Russia. I do not need to. This meeting, where you have given over $1,500—you who have given again and again already—last night's meeting in the 71st Regiment Armory with its thousands and thousands who came together to help the starving children of the Volga; meetings like these among the workers all over this country—they are the answer. And what they say is 'What the workers of Russia have gained for the world, the workers of America, will not permit to die.'"

[illegible] justice.

The Bricklayers Union has been compelled to agree to drop certain practices by which it maintains working conditions and if Attorney-General Daugherty is to be believed—in this instance [illegible] the officers of the Bricklayers Union were brought to Washington and under threat of prosecution were clubbed into signing an agreement which the altruistic attorney-general announces is "a new bill of rights for the home-builder, rent-payer, manufacturer and business man." From this list the men who do the work are missing.

The four principal provisions of the "consent decree" as it is euphemistically called by the capitalist press, are as follows:

> 1. There is to be no limit to the productive capacity of the individual workman within the working day or any other given time.
>
> 2. There is to be no limit upon the right of the employer to purchase his material wherever and whenever and from whomever he may choose, whether those materials be union made or otherwise.
>
> 3. There is to be no favoritism shown by organized labor toward employers, trade associations or contractors' associations, and no discriminations are to be indulged in against the independent employer who may not be a member of such an association.
>
> 4. The labor organization is not to be used or permit itself to be used by material men, contractors or sub-contractors as an instrument for the collection of debts or enforcement of the payment of alleged claims."

In a few words, the bricklayers union have now no remedy to use against the employers unless it breaks the agreement forced upon it. It cannot "discriminate against an employer" and therefore cannot put on the unfair list and refuse to work for a contractor who does not pay the union scale.

It cannot insist upon the employer furnishing union-made materials for the job on which union bricklayers are employed.

It cannot call a halt when an employer drives at top speed his men because he has underbid a competitor and taken a job below cost in order to remain in business by "taking it out of labor's hide"—a favorite expression of the employing fraternity. If one employer pays the union scale and another does not both must be treated alike; which means that no employer will pay the union scale unless it is low enough to suit him.

A precedent has been established for the use of the most subversive arm of the government in coercing labor and labor organizations. It has been stealthily employed in the case cited and no one can say where the practice will stop. It is becoming increasingly evident that the labor unions, if they attempt to serve the interests of their members, will soon find themselves outside the pale of the law. The continued use of the legal and military forces of the government against the unions can have no other meaning.

Work must be pushed for the united front and trade-unionists should prepare to fill the jails of this nation in defense of elementary rights. The lack of unity and the absence of a concrete program are an incentive for further attacks on everything from the right to organize to free speech and free press.

The Class Division

The proposed amendment to the constitution which is being pushed by the National Woman's Party and which is designed to put the sexes on an equal footing before the law is meeting with opposition from the Women's Trade Union League. This organization has discovered that the amendment would wipe out favorable legislation obtained for women in industry and would afford endless opportunity to the employers to get out from under many favorable working conditions they have been forced to grant.

Here we have a clear example of the class cleavage in organization formed on sex or racial lines. Biologically women are women. Socially, under our present system, they are workers, exploiters or hangers-on of the exploiting class. Marxian economics may be a closed book to most members of the Women's Trade Union League but they at least recognize the futility of mere political freedom under a vicious industrial system in which equality with men gives them nothing but the right to be exploited in common with their male companions.

United Labor Council Unifies Shoe Workers

The United Labor Council has achieved another signal victory in its campaign for the amalgamation of the independent unions in any specific industry.

The three local Shoe Workers' Unions, including the Children's Shoe Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Shoe Workers' Union, and the United Shoe Workers of America, with about 20,000 affiliated members, have been united in one organization within the United Labor Council, and at a mass-meeting recently held at New Plaza Hall, Brooklyn, under the auspices of the Shoe Workers' Unity Committee of the United Labor Council, plans were formulated for bringing all the Shoe Workers of the country, estimated at some 300,000, into one industrial union.

The Shoe Workers' Unity Committee, of which J. Conley has been elected chairman and P. J. McClellan secretary, is sending out a referendum to workers in the industry thruout the country in reference to the structure and the name to be adopted by the projected organization.

It is worth noting that the only local independent Shoe Workers' Union still remaining outside the United Labor Council is the yellow American Shoe Workers' Union, formed under the auspices of the bosses in their attempt to introduce the open shop into the industry, after the Shoe Workers' strike of three years ago.

Aid Striking Textile Workers

The Executive Committee of the United Labor Council has issued a cal to all local labor bodies for a conference to be held on Friday, March 10, at 83 East 4th Street, in co-operation with the local Committee of the Federated Textile Unions, for the purpose of determining ways and means of aiding the striking textile workers of New England. Both the problems of financial assistance and publicity will be taken under consideration.

OPEN FORUM OPEN FORUM

The Prospects for a Labor Party

By CALEB HARRISON
Secretary of Workers Party

Sunday Eve, March 12,

8 P. M., at the

WORKERS HALL

1347 Boston Road, Bronx, N. Y.

IRISH BRANCH FOR WORKER

The Irish Branch of the Workers Party of America, decided at its last meeting that every member should subscribe to The Worker and also purchase five extra copies per member each week for distribution. The same action is urged upon all other branches as a speedy way of increasing the circulation of this revolutionary workingclass organ.

Each member was likewise instructed to bring in one application by the next meeting which will be in the headquarters of the Amalgamated Food Workers on 51st Street.

The Irish Branch is mobilizing every member for the support of the National Defense Bazaar and until that date, March 22-25, will devote most of its effort to making the affair a success. . . . .

[illegible]

(Continued from Page [illegible])

the Secretary of the Council, I. Amter.

"A campaign of intimidation and terrorization has begun against the activities of the Unemployment Council and the Unemployed. The bosses and the authorities believe that they can crush the movement before it has got under way. They believe that they can scare the workers to such an extent that they will give up their notions of organization.

Workers Not Afraid

"The workers are not going to be intimidated. There was an organization meeting down town, which was attended by several of our good friends, who go about in the same clothes as we wear, so that we won't recognize them so easily. The jobless in the hall were afraid to say a word in the discussion, until a Russian, an American citizen, took the floor and put some life into them. It seems that we will have to have Russians at all of our meetings."

"The purpose of such meetings is not merely to get together and discuss matters, but to organize all the power of the workers. We must get all the workers together, so that in the struggle with the bosses we will be victorious. If we do this, there is no doubt of the outcome—we will be triumphant."

J. Louis Engdahl, John Marshall and I. Amter were the speakers at this meeting.

Membership Cards

The Unemployment Council has arranged some large meetings in conjunction with the Union of Unemployed.

On Saturday, 2 P. M., there will be a mass demonstration at Rutgers Square. On Tuesday, there will be a meeting at the Battery, in front of 25 South Street, at 2 P. M. On Thursday, March 9, 10 P. M., there will be a meeting at 34th Street and 3rd Avenue, Brooklyn, near the Bush Terminal Building. On Friday, March 10, 5 P. M., there will be a meeting at 10th Street and 2nd Ave., where the bread-line gathers. On Saturday, a large demonstration will take place at 110th Street and 5th Avenue.

Membership Cards are to be issued from now on. Real mobilization of the jobless is to be carried on. The declining employment figures renders action imperative.

All the Mexican Government has to do to get recognition is cease being a government [illegible]

Entertainment & Ball

under the auspices of the

Public Service Organization

affiliated with the UNITED LABOR COUNCIL

with the assistance of the G. Ad. Uthman Sänger-Chor.

Grand Opening of our new headquarters at

Faulhaber's Hall, 1551—2d Ave.

MARCH 11th, 7 P. M.

Admission, Gents, 40c — Ladies, 25c including Hatcheck and Wardrobe.

Music by Prof. Schmidt.

Do Not Fail to Attend the

Grand Concert and Dance

Given by the Yorkville Branch of the

Workers Party

(For the benefit of establishing Headquarters)
Saturday, March 11th,
at 8 P. M. Sharp, at the

LABOR TEMPLE

243 East 84th St., New York City

A Grand Concert Program Arranged

1. Mr. A. Umansky, Ballet Master of the Capitol Theatre, will demonstrate Russian Dancing.
2. Mr. Vodianoy, the prominent Russian actor, will recite for us to give us lots of fun.
3. Interpretative Dancing by Beatrice Morton and her class.
4. Russian Folk Songs by Mme. Beckman.
5. Mandolin Orchestra of Technical Aid of Soviet Russia.
6. B. Ivanoff, the prominent "harmonica" player, will be with us.

Many other interesting numbers

A Grand Buffet with Russian Tea and Moscow Pirojki

Dancing from 10 P. M. till morning. Confetti and Serpentine.

Come and bring your friends to spend a very pleasant evening with us and thus help us get our home.

Admission 35 Cents

Do not forget that 10 per cent of the proceeds will go to the National Defense Committee.

MARCH 4th Will Be "HUNGER SATURDAY!"

Give a Meal for the Starving Russians! Thru Your Organization or Collectors!

INTERNATIONAL [illegible] LABOR DAY

[illegible] Greatest Achievement of the Russian Revolution and the Third International [illegible] in the Solution of the Problem [illegible] the Working Women".—See Article [illegible] This Page by Alexandra Kollontai.

Kollontai Writes of Third International and Working Women

NOTE:—Wednesday, March 8, is International Woman's Labor Day. THE WORKER celebrates this year's Woman's Day by giving considerable space to special articles dealing with the woman's problem. Most important of these is the accompanying article by Alexandra Kollontai, member of the executive committee of the All-Russian Soviet, in which she reviews the great efforts and achievements of the Russian Revolution and the Third International for the emancipation of working woman. Her views are set forth as follows:

* * *

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

At the moment of the formation of the Third International the women represented not only an active industrial factor in the world economy, but a political force as well, filling up the ranks of the political groupings according to their more or less developed class-consciousness.

In the interests of its objects the Third International was compelled to take up quite a new position already at its First Congress in Moscow in 1919 with regard to the question of attracting the women to the struggle for the dictatorship, and voiced distinctly its views in favor of the necessity of work among the wider masses of women.

There is no guarantee of victory, no possibility of construction without the participation of the working women.

Founded World Secretariat

In 1920 the Communist International founded an International Women's Secretariat in the Executive Committee.

This I. W. S. is not an independent organ, as it was in the Second International; it is simply one of the working apparati of the Communist International, enlarging the activities of the Communist parties by yet another militant task—namely the task of the complete and all-sided liberation of the women.

In contradistinction to the Second International, the Third in planning out its political actions takes into consideration the forces, the degree of organizedness and the class consciousness of the working women.

For the Third International the working youth and the women are special "cadres" of the proletariat, which must be utilized for the realization of a single plan of action.

The women have ceased to be only an auxiliary element, the world war and the thunder claps of the workers' revolution, which have found their expression in the development of the civil war in its different aspects, have made an active political force of the working women in the other countries also.

Woman Takes Historic Place

The Communist woman-worker has taken up her historical place under the banner of the Communist International.

In the reiterated actions of the German proletariat during these last stormy years of the commencing social revolution; in the prolonged economic strikes of England; in the revolutionary fights of the Hungarian and Finnish proletarians for Soviet power; in the actions of the Italian workers and the heroic struggle of the working women and the peasants of Russia; in the United States; in the growing movement of the Japanese proletariat—everywhere the women of the proletariat are working, struggling and generously sacrificing themselves, their families, their lives.

During the years of great struggles not only the mass worker himself but also his class mate—the working woman—have grown older, stronger and more class conscious.

The material is at hand. It should be utilized. The work must be deployed in all its width and breadth. The first step has been taken already?

Follow Uniform Plan

The Third Congress of the Communist Internatioinal has pledged all the Communist parties of the world to form sections for propaganda work among the women in pursuance of the example of the Russian Communist Party, and to carry on the work among the women on the principles and methods established by the Second International Conference of Women Communists.

At present in almost all the Communist parties of Europe Women's sections have not only been formed but, what is especially important they are carrying on the work according to a uniform plan.

By this means not only good practical results are attained, but this helps also to strengthen the spirit of internationalism, of cohesion, of a feeling of solidarity, which the Second Intenational lacked so much.

The principle of the necessity of attracting the women to the struggle for Communism is cropping up and it strengthened not only in the capitalistically developed West—but also in the economically backward countries of the East.

The Second International never attempted to spread its influence beyond the countries of Western culture. The East was a stranger to it.

The International did not even try to set itself the task of attracting the women of the backward nations to the struggle for their liberation thru Socialism.

Special Attention to East

The International Women's Secretariat of the Communist International, on the contrary, gives special attention to the East, estimating correctly that the conquest of the East is the surest method of dealing world capitalism a blow in the back.

In Korea the women's labor movement is most imposing in its proportions.

The working women take part in the armed uprisings, they not only express their will in the strikes, but they are trained to the use of arms.

In Japan 58 per cent of all the workers in the industry are women. The textile industry, which is so greatly developed in Japan, is carried on by the labor of women.

In the plantations of India over two million women are working.

In the home industries of the Near East women's labor plays an important role.

The developing capitalist industry in China is supported by the labor of women and children.

The yoke of capitalism is interwoven with religious traditions and the survivals of patriarchal customs, which are oppressing the women.

There Is But One Issue

There is only one issue—the struggle for Communism.

Naturally, the very first attempts of the International Women's Secretariat to enter into contact with the advanced part of the women proletariat of the East met with a live response.

The East is waking up. The East is beginning to move. A centre for the work among the women is being created in the Near and in the Far East.

On December 1st the I. W. S. has summoned a separate conference in the Near East for the women representatives of Turkey, Persia and the Caucasian Republics.

By spring time the I. W. S. is planning a conference of Communists from the countries of the Far East.

The work is progressing, the ties with the East are growing stronger, new forms of work and special tasks connected with the peculiar mode of life and special conditions of the women of the Eastern peoples are being planned out.

The I. W. S. is not only an organ of propaganda, but of action as well.

The work of relief for the famishing workers of Soviet Russia has called forth the organization of collections of donations on the part of German, Swedish, Czecho-Slovak, Bulgarian and other women Communists.

Make November 7th Holiday

The day of the great anniversary of the revolution—November 7th—has been fixed once and for all by the Communist women of Sweden, Germany and a number of other countries as a day of public demonstrations, meetings of working women, publication of leaflets, appeals, etc.

Each country has its own woman correspondent, connected with the I. W. S.

The latter proposes to call a conference in February of all these correspondents in the countries of the East and West.

By the efforts of the Communist International two international conferences of Communist women have already been carried out in 1920 and 1921, in connection with the Congresses of the Communist International.

The I. W. S. has published six numbers of its international organ ("The Communist Woman's International"; under the editorship of Klara Zetkin).

The last number is devoted almost exclusively to the Second International Conference of Communist women.

No Problem in Russia

In summing up the results achieved by the Communist International in the matter of attracting the working women's masses into the struggle for Communism, it is necessary to reckon not so much with the practical attainments of the movement, as with the tremendous heava, which has been accomplished in the question of the attitude towards women on a world scale since the time of the October revolution and with the help of the Communist International.

Not so long ago the bourgeois world was faced by the question, as yet unsolved by capitalism, of the equality of rights and the all-sided liberation of women.

The dictatorship of the working class in Russia has solved this outstanding problem also.

The so-called "Question of Women's Rights" does not exist for Soviet Russia. The role of the women in the public economy, their passing over to productive labor instead of the unproductive slaving for their families—has wrought a radical change in the position of the women and the attitude of the toiling society towards them.

To the Liberation of Women!

The proletariat of the whole world has now a live example before its eyes as to how the fate of the entire proletariat, and in particular that of the working-class women, has been modified with the victory of the aims to which the Third International is calling and striving.

Great are the achievements of the working class during these four years of Revolution, great is the heave accomplished in a whole number of social-political questions.

But yet the greatest achievement of the Russian Revolution and the Third International in these four years lies in the solution of the problem of the liberation of the working women.

The practical road to a radical solution of the question of equal rights for the women has been found and pointed out.

Thru the dictatorship and world federation of the workers under the banners of the Communist International—we shall go to the building up of Communism, and, consequently, to the liberation of the women.

An Appeal of a Revolutionary Mother to the Mothers of the Proletariat

By KATHERINE GITLOW

On my way to see my son in prison who is a class-war prisoner I carried a bundle of eatables. A woman dressed in rags, with a bundle in her hands, remarked to me, "Yes, a mother, we do all we can, tho they don't deserve it. If they would only listen to their mothers they wouldn't be there."

I looked at her and felt sorry for her. Poor mother and son! Both are unhappy because they do not understand. Sons, thousands of the working-class sons in the prisons! Capitalist society provides nothing for them.

After they are pushed thru public school, or as is more often the case, they do not go thru public school because the worker cannot afford it, they receive their diplomas or working papers whichever the case may be and are left to the mercy of those who employ labor. And it is among the children of the working class that they look for cheap labor. At home parents demand that their children contribute towards the upkeep of the family even tho the market for labor is overfilled and the owners of the jobs refuse to buy their labor. Life at that time is more of a hell than a pleasure for the youth of the working class. For some the struggle for a job just to live becomes very hard, and they look for easier means of making a living. They start to steal, of course they do not start with safe-blowing, simply with small things. They learn how to do these big things in the jails where they come in contact with other prisoners who are experienced and who are also victims of the same capitalist society. That is the trouble, mother.

Mothers of the working class, if you would only understand you would not blame your sons. And, perhaps, if you would have understood you might have saved your sons from being in jail for offenses of this kind.

It is always better to fight and go to prison for a principle than to live like a mouse, always looking for a crumb to steal in order to live and also standing a chance to be caught in the trap, and when caught men who commit such offenses are done for.

So, poor mother and poorer son, I will tell you that I was not as unhappy as you. I was conscious all the time that my son was in jail because he was fighting the system that made 90 per cent of the prisoners permanently such who could have been useful workers, happy with their mothers, if only the workers would understand that it is to their interest that the workers own the means of production and education.

So, mothers of the working class, your duty is to organize and to fight for the abolishment of a system that is responsible for so many crushed lives of the youth of the working class and its unhappy mothers. And when you will organize and learn the truth you will find inspiration in the struggle for a better world for your children.

Come, you mothers of the working class, and take your place in the ranks of the revolutionary workers. Women are rallying around the International of the revolutionary women of the world. Help tear down the diseased capitalist structure and help put in place a new healthy structure where the workers will enjoy the full product of their labor, where there will be no jails for the sons of the workers and tears for the mother. In this work, proletarian mothers, is found a world of happiness.

WOMEN OF AMERICA,
Answer the Appeal
of Famine-Stricken
WOMEN OF RUSSIA

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S
LABOR DAY
Devoted for
RELIEF IN RUSSIA

Mass Meeting

Tuesday, March 14, 8 P. M.

SPEAKERS
WILLIAM F. DUNN, Editor of The Worker
DR. HENDIN, Secretary, Jewish Federation, Workers Party
CATHERINE GITLOW **JEANETTE D. PEARL**

WORKERS HALL
1347 Boston Road, Bronx

Auspices,
Workers Party of America, Local Greater New York

Are American Girls Coolies?

By JEANETTE D. PEARL

"A working girl can dress comfortably and neatly on $90.00 a year and could live on sixty cents a day for meals," according to the testimony introduced by Emporia merchants at a hearing conducted recently by the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations.

The capitalist class is starting its campaign for a six dollar a week wage-scale for girls and women. The hearing begun in Kansas will ultimately make its circuit thru all the states in the Union.

Legalize "Coolie" Wage

The coolie-wage is what the capitalist class means to foist legally, thru its Industrial Relation Courts, first upon girls and women and then upon boys and men.

And a fertile field for the recruiting of this cheap labor supply is found among the untrained women and girls. The ever lower standard of living imposed upon the worker, compels the wife and mother to go out to work in order to supplement the income of husband and father.

An influx of unskilled women workers enables the master class to beat down the wages of the more skilled workers and also to make harder the conditions of labor.

In this the master class is aided materially by the sex conditions of women, imposed by nature. The maternal functions of woman, her greater family obligations, her comparative newness to co-operative association, enables the master class to exploit her more ruthlessly and more unmercifully than male workers.

Launch Low Wage Campaign

This is the age of beating down wages. This is the age of the open shop drive. The master class is studiously preparing to undermine the resisting power of the more skilled workers by launching a vigorous campaign, thru the medium of its Courts of Industrial Relations, propagandizing for a six dollar a week wage-scale for girls.

By compelling that acceptance by the more docile element of the labor body and then utilizing that docile element against the more skilled workers, the master class have at their command a very fine weapon in the class struggle.

They not only exploit women workers more intensely, but they also use them against the male workers to lower the standard of living, to lower wages, to make harder the conditions of labor and to increase the unemployed reserve.

But Few Women Organized

Women constitute fifty per cent of the population and one-third of the working population in the United States. Yet the number of women organized in the ranks of labor is comparatively small. Women must not permit themselves to scab it on their male workers by working for less wages. Equal pay for equal work must be their slogan and an ever increasing pay one of their aims, to achieve which, women must organize together with their fellow workers, as co-workers in the class struggle, to end that class struggle.

The relatively small proportion of women in the ranks of organized labor indicates that there is something wrong with our method of approaching women. A correct method of approach should yield a greater response. That the response has been meager is due to the fact that organized labor has never taken into consideration the different psychological, physical and social traits of women. An appeal to reach the broad masses of women must be worked out on the basis of these differences.

That does not mean that women are inferior to men. It simply means that women are different from men and this difference must be taken into account.

Urge Auxiliary Organizations

Those with a knowledge of organization work among women, the Comrades in Europe and particularly Russia, have found that as a recruiting ground for organization work among women, a woman's auxiliary organization is most fruitful.

As a preliminary to entering the organized ranks of labor, the broad masses of women must first be drawn into women's organizations where their timidity, their reserve and lack of self-confidence will be dispelled and a knowledge of class-consciousness will be instilled, so that they can take their places in the class struggle side by side with their fellow wage-slaves, battling for emancipation.

SING!

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES

International Woman's [illegible] to select? Shall it be some one heroic [illegible] who lived and died for liberty? Some great figure, [illegible], bigger, more self-sacrificing than the rest? One whose name should be written, anniversary after anniversary, in the hearts of the young generation and the old?

Yes, maybe such a one.

Where to search? In the histories of the French or the Russian Revolution, of course.

I turn to the pages of recent Russian history: Example after example that thrills and inspires. What women! What minds, what wills, what defiance of danger, even of death! What love for the people and the cause of the people! Proletarian women, most of them women of the flaming passion, women of burning eloquence, of dogged determination; women of large capacity for suffering, women of sacrificial spirit; women to lead and inspire the proletarian womanhood of the world.

One of these, surely, I should choose; and sing her, this day. Any of these, chosen at random, would be source of inspiration enough—a light to live by, a torch to light the spirit by, a fire to warm the heart by; with iron enough in her will to harden the softest and the weakest of us in these iron times of reaction.

Names spring to the lips—a score of them—leaders, all. Choose one, and let her life be the theme this proletarian International Woman's Day.

But, no. Leaders come to-day and go to-morrow; and even those who come and stay—the high souls who live and die for freedom—they have the plaudits of the crowd to sustain them, that, and much besides.

Better to sing her who——.

But, listen:

Do you know a mother who takes bread from the mouths of her hungry little ones to feed the famine-stricken peasants and workers of Soviet Russia?

Do you know what it means for a working-class mother in present-day capitalist America—a mother with a little brood at home—to send her dollar for relief of men, women and children she has never seen?

Do you know what it is for her to spare even an old garment, an old pair of shoes, an old coat or shirt? Do you know how great is the need which makes the giving an unimaginable sacifice?

Do you know how little stands between her and destitution, between her and starvation? With an ailing husband perhaps—broken in the mills of Mammon—with a job to-day and none to-morrow—living from hand to mouth?

Any day she and her little ones may face charity or despair—despair, of all bitter things the bitterest, except one thing—and that one, charity!

Yet she gives, yet she sacrifices; without announcements, without blare of trumpets. Always with the simple but strangely-moving gesture, "Well, the same poor folk we remain. A dollar more, a dollar less—what does it matter?"

You know it matters. She knows it matters. But the answer to her shrug is a little, throat-contracting laughter. One must laugh, sometimes, in order not to weep; in order not to go foolishly down on one's knees before that supremest spirit of our age—the spirit of working-class solidarity.

"Over there, they have nothing. We have a little," she will say, "so we must send all we can."

Sometimes, there is a baby at the breast—starving; sometimes, there is one pulling at her skirts and crying, "Mamma, more!" But mamma remembers the nursing mothers in Soviet Russia whose breasts are dryer than her own; whose children are too weak to cry; and she robs herself, her infant, her little one, to feed the mothers and children of working-class Russia.

"They have died—they are dying, for us," she says. "We must go a little hungry to save them. We must share our little with them."

But you and I know that if is not just a simple matter of sharing her little. You and I know that in this accursed system, standing on the verge of a precipice, it is like setting the foot just the little bit further out that may send the body hurtling down to disaster and death.

Yet they do it—these mothers. Every day these working-class women of the world; these working-class women of America!

Are they not worthy of the great women who lived and died for the Russian proletarian revolution? Are they not worthy of our song to-day? Sing them, comrades! Wherever you have a voice—sing!

Because of them, the light shall never go out in Russia. Because of such as they, the light shall grow till it becomes more than the sun of the world; for it shall illumine both sides of the globe, at one and the same time, forever.

We Now Have With Us George Bernard Shaw's "Back to Methuselah"

It is nothing new to see the stage used for propaganda purposes these days. To employ it as a means of bringing a much discussed and disputed theory in philosophy to the attention of the theater-goer is a real Shavian trick. In "Back to Methuselah," we are confronted with the great riddle of the universe—Life. The play is a natural sequence to Shaw's "Man and Superman" where he presents the superman but does not actually tell us how to reach that goal. In his new work, he gives us the answer—"Imagination is the beginning of creation. You imagine what you desire; you will what you imagine; and at last you create what you will." In short, he has dramatized the reaction which has set in against Neo-Darwinism in the form of Creative Evolution.

The first week of the cycle consists of "In the Beginning" and "The Gospel of the Brothers Barnabas." The first one is the story of Adam and Eve. Adam's brooding that he must live eternally is brought to a climax when he discovers a dead fawn, the first sign of death in Eden. Thru this, the Voice of the Serpent helps him solve his problem of eternity; she advises him to will to live a definite length of time and then shed his flesh after having left progeny. She reveals all the secrets of life, the emotional as well as the physical to Adam and particularly to Eve, until she imparts the final secret of reproduction and the life process. It is with Cain's entrance that strife and bloodshed come to the world not only in the form of brutality, but also as the beginning of the age-old struggle between the old and the new.

"The Gospel of the Brothers Barnabas" is set in modern times. The brothers are still pondering over the same problem that occupied Adam's mind. Their discovery is the same as Adam's—the will to live. Here Shaw takes his fling at English politicians by means of Joyce-Burge and Lubin, the counterparts of Lloyd George and Asquith. Both are quite willing to prolong their lives but with the understanding, of course, that this longevity applies only to the best men, that is to themselves.

We have a genuine Lloyd George in all his ignorance and glory; when he rises to his heights in exclaiming "How I wish I could have devoted myself to biology. I have always been interested in rocks and strata and volcanoes and so forth."

Albert Bruning and Moffat Johnston as the Barnabas Brothers presented very accurately the great task of preaching a new gospel. Margaret Wycherly as the Voice of the Serpent and as the parlor maid had an opportunity of displaying her strong personality in her subtle way. George Gaul and Ernita Lascelle as Adam and Eve contributed greatly toward the primitive atmosphere with their natural acting and their appropriate costume (or rather lack of it).

In spite of the fact that "Back to Methuselah" is not a play in a dramatic sense, it leaves one refreshed with new thoughts.

JEANETTE GERSHANICK.

TAKE NOTICE

The Iskra Publishing Co. arranged a May Day Cele for Sunday afternoon and ning, April 30, at the New Casino, 107th Street and Avenue.

The whole proceeds will go to the "Iskra," the only Russian daily of the Workers Party.

All friendly organizations requested not to arrange conflicting entertainments on the day.

FERRER SCHOOL DINNER

The friends of the Ferrer Modern School, of Stelton, N. J., will hold their second dinner of the year at the Firefly, 3 West 47th St., New York City, Friday, March 10, 7 P. M.

There will be a general discussion on Art and Education. The following friends will participate: Carl Zigrosser, Floyd Dell, Ernest D. Cook, Michael Gold, Elizabeth Byrne Ferrer and Alexis Ferrer. Music.

Reservations for tickets at Tafels, 162 Madison Avenue, (Mad. Square 2294), or at the Firefly, 3 West 47th Street. Telephone.

In a Crisis

Soviet Russia is in a crisis. The next two or three months will decide her fate. Relief activity must be deeply intensified, widely expanded if Russia is to be saved.

The Executive Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia has decided that one of the most vital ways of extending and intensifying the work lies in organizing the special talents, the intense enthusiasms, the living sympathies and unbounded energies of the working-class women of America.

Therefore a plan is under way to immediately carry forward special organization work among working-class women for women's sewing circles, women's knitting circles, women's collecting relief circles, nursing mothers' relief circles (for relief of nursing mothers and infants of Soviet Russia) as well as other relief activities among working women.

Rose Pastor Stokes has been elected national secretary of the Women's Friend of Soviet Russia and all communications are to be addressed to her at 201 West 13th Street, New York City.

The Friends of Soviet Russia asks everybody who knows any woman likely to be interested, to write her name and address on the blank below, and send it in at once.

If you know a woman whose heart aches for the terrible plight of the starving women and children in Soviet Russia and who is able to help, give us a chance to make our appeal to her and organize her with her sisters for immediate aid to Russia. If she is unable to help, she is able to reach others who are able to help.

Most of the help anyway has come from those who are least able to help. It is the poor men and women of the working-class of the world who have given relief in unbelievable quantities to the starving workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

However poor the woman you know may be, send us her name if her heart is in the right place.

YOU CAN SAVE A LIFE, EVEN BY SAVING A MINUTE! DO IT NOW!

WOMEN FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
Rose Pastor Stokes, National Secretary,
201 West 13th St., New York City.

I desire to join the Women Friends of Soviet Russia and will do my share to help Russia thru her crisis.

Name ____________
Address ____________
Single? ________ Married? ________
Number of children ________
________ Nursing Mother ________

If you have other names, we urge you to send them with answers to the above questions.

[illegible] Name to "[illegible] Young Worker"

[illegible] National Organization Com[illegible] of "the Young Workers [illegible] at its last meeting decided to [illegible] the name of its official [illegible] "Youth," to a much more ap[illegible] name, THE YOUNG WORKER. This was done also in [illegible] that we might receive second [illegible] mailing privileges.

"We received copies of YOUTH [illegible] we congratulate you on it," says the Young Communist League of Great Britain, in a letter to our editor.

Our paper will be put on a subscription basis at $1 a year. Get busy comrades and get subscriptions. Our present circulation is 3,500.

Get busy and get subscriptions, sell your paper at mass meetings, to your friends, and anywhere there is a possibility of it being sold.

We can edit the paper and write articles for it, but it is up to you to distribute it. All subscriptions should be sent to THE YOUNG WORKER, 799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.

More and more encouraging responses are reaching this office day by day in response to the convention call. From all parts of the United States and Canada we are receiving replies.

The young workers' movement in this country is alive discussing the important problems that will come before the National Convention in New York April 15.

Comrades, it is your league, and upon you depends the building of it. Comrades, you must take to yourselves the task of building the young workers league in your city or section.

LOCAL NOTES

All circles are making good progress. The League is simply humming with activity.

The newly organized Circle in Williamsburg announces that the lecture by Oliver Carlson scheduled for March 3rd will be postponed to March 10th, due to a Mass Meeting arranged by the Williamsburg Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Meetings are held every Friday night at 8 o'clock sharp.

March 18th, Circle 1, in conjunction with the Workers Party, Bronx Branch, will hold a Paris Commune Comraderie at 1347 Boston Road, Bronx.

The newly organized Finnish Circle is growing rapidly and now has a membership of thirty.

The West Side Circle is also making good progress. Its membership now numbers fifteen and it expects to be one of the largest circles before the year is over.

The Brownsville Circle has finally procured headquarters. The circle will soon be ready for its summer activities.

Circles will soon be organized in Yonkers, Staten Island and Coney Island. Comrades living in these sections please communicate with Young Workers League, 61 Canal St., New York.

ORGANIZERS WANTED

The Friends of Soviet Russia requires the services of several capable men for organizers. If you are qualified, or know some one who is qualified, communicate with the National Office at 201 West 13th Street, New York. Applicants should have had special training as organizers. In answering, state experience, peculiar qualifications for this work and with what territories you are familiar.

United Labor Council
meets
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How to Cure World Unrest

By ART YOUNG

Rochester, N. Y. — Mrs. Price Bulge, a wealthy society woman of this city, has announced that she intends to devote much of her time and money to further the movement against the radical teachings that cause so much world unrest.

To a reporter she said: "Communism and all other radical "isms" will destroy the family."

Mrs. Bulge has been divorced four times.

[illegible] Women's Day Rally Tuesday, March 14

The Workers' Party celebrates International Woman's Labor Day by Mass Meeting for relief of Soviet Russia.

International Women's Labor Day will be celebrated on March 14th by Local Greater New York, Workers Party of America for the relief of Soviet Russia.

International Women's Labor Day has been established by the International of the Communist Women in order to demonstrate on this day the international solidarity of working women. The Workers Party knows of no better means to demonstrate this solidarity than to work for the relief of women and children in Soviet Russia—to show by this activity that this solidarity is more than a mere phrase.

The Mass Meeting which will be addressed by many prominent men and women of the labor movement will also start the campaign for engaging the women of America in the class struggle.

William F. Dunn, Editor of the Worker, Dr. Hendin, Secretary of the Jewish Federation of the Workers Party, Catherine Gitlow and Jeanette D. Pearl will be the speakers.

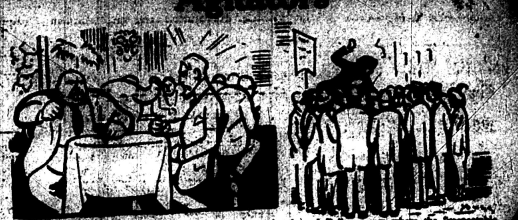
All men and women interested in the organization of class conscious women should attend this meeting, which will be held on March 14th, 8 P. M. at the Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road, Bronx.

• • •

Branch Organizers Attention—Branch Organizers are notified that application cards should be returned at once to the local office.

Financial Secretaries Attention—Collection of dues should be made promptly and money turned in AT Once to the Local Office.

Agitators



Did you ever listen to conversations in restaurants, hotels and Pullman cars where the "respectable element" gather and express their inmost thoughts? If you ever have the most violent remarks of a hungry soap-boxer are pale things to you ever after. If a working-class speaker in a hall or on the street ever gave voice to sentiments one-half as bloodthirsty as those uttered every day in places where gather the men with 56 inch waist-lines his audience would, as one man, demand his immediate retirement to an insane asylum.

Fight the Famine!

"The famine conditions on the Volga," said Dr. Fridjof Nansen, in a recent interview, "surpass all our most pessimistic anticipations. It is sufficient to say that Dr. Farrar (the representative of the English Relief Commission) who accompanied me thither, and who has had experience of famine in India, Africa and Asia, had never before witnessed such a terrible nightmare, or such tragic sights as those he saw in the Volga area."

Together they had visited a number of feeding centers, children's homes, hospitals, and a large number of villages. Dr. Nansen discovered that the majority of peasants leave their huts only to go for water, and they live on what is left of the straw collected in the autumn.

This they grind in stone mortars together with sunflower seeds, bark and clay, and then mix with flour made of the bones of dead animals. There are practically no domestic animals left in the villages. A few households have one horse left, but these are so weak that they cannot keep on their legs.

In the Saratov Province, which has no forests, there are not even roots, which serve in parts of the Samara province as an important substitute for food.

In the German Volga Commune, conditions are very bad. In many cottages corpses of people who had died of hunger are to be found. They lie unburied for days, because the other members of the family are too weak to go out to report or bury them. In a number of huts, whole families are on the point of death, among them being the corpses of those who had already died of hunger.

In the Buzuluk District, the famine conditions are more terrible than in other parts of the famine area. In spite of the considerable relief work that is being done, the number of people suffering is so great that it will be impossible to save even half of the children of the district from death by starvation.

Not less than 500 truckloads of food are required in the Volga area to provide a bare pound of food per day per person. In addition, medical stores, drugs and fodder are needed.

The Volga District requires 170,000,000 poods (3,600,000 tons) of food for human consumption. The district, altho formerly the granary of Russia, has produced only 46,000,000 poods this last year, leaving a deficit of 124,000,000 poods (2,132,000 tons), which must be procured elsewhere.

WHAT COUNTRY CAN BETTER PROVIDE IT THAN AMERICA WITH HER HUGE SURPLUS OF GRAIN!

Government regulations for transport workers in Russia. There has been created a committee of five to take charge of the transport department. Guards have been selected from among the representatives of the famine districts, to accompany the food trains to their destination. Persons guilty of irregularities in the transportation of food answer for their misdeeds before the Revolutionary tribunal. The railwaymen must constantly observe the terrors of hunger which are merely increased by delays in transportation. An hour of delay, a pound of bread lost on the way mean deprivations for the starving Volga district. They mean fresh distress and more deaths. Those fulfilling the demands of the food transport department should have their names inscribed on the "Red Tablet". Others guilty of infractions will pay the penalty. The transport workers have today but one slogan: Not an hour of delay for the food trains. No grain must be lost."

There was a big meeting in Chicago, with Com. Edgar T. Whitehead as the main speaker. Chicago is planning intensive trade union activities. A special organizer has been put on the job; he will carry on his work in the smaller towns in the vicinity of Chicago, that being one of the most fertile fields in the country."

"I am only a poor working man myself living on my daily work from hand to mouth. I wish I could more than talk for the starving children in Russia, but there are some here that need the help of us little helpers."

The Tailors' Section of the Technical Aid for Soviet Russia, New York, has turned out 886 girls' coats, 288 boys' coats, 230 trousers, 131 shirts, 98 pants, 11 dresses and 120 dozen caps.

The staff of the "Nation" saved $11 on lunches. This has come to the FSR for the hungry in Soviet Russia.

Last week, there came to the offices of the FSR a clergyman who openly stated that he considered it a crime that a man or woman should posses a watch and chain valued at $500, when millions are starving in Soviet Russia. He presented the watch and chain to the national office.

This week, a man entered the national office and said he wished to make a contribution. He would give no name. "Anonymous." He stretched a $1,000 bill, took his receipt and left the office. Undoubtedly a man of means—but he is a friend of Soviet Russia, a friend of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Last weeks big items were as follows: Chicago $2,000, Czecho-Slovak Marxian Federation $1,182, Anonymous Brooklyn $1,000, San Diego $1,000, New Haven $600, San Francisco $550, Cleveland $401, Boston $300, Scranton and Olyphant, Pa. $305, Yonkers, N. Y. $250, Baltimore $246, Worcester, Mass. $200, Finnish Cooperative Trading Ass'n., Brooklyn $200, Lawrence, Mass. $175, Kenosha, Wis. $165, Gary, Ind. $125

The Literature Loan!

The Literature Loan Campaign of the Workers Party is now on in full swing. The first three days of the campaign not only have turned in some splendid promises but what is better actual cash. Here are a few notes taken from letters received:

"Will send in a loan in a few days. I like that plan splendidly. Think the comrades will take to it like a duck takes to water."—Sam Ticer.

Comrades at Glassport, Pa., elect a comrade to organize the loan drive.

The first comrade to send in a loan was comrade H. Steichman of Indianapolis, Ind. His loan was $5.

And the next was from comrade Frank Gosciniak of Alston, Mass. The amount was $5.

And the third was one of $10 from the Finnish Branch at Jamaica, N. Y.

We confess we feel gratified with the first three days' receipts since the drive opened.

The secretary of one live local writes: "As to the Loan Campaign, we will take part and do our best."

"Keep the good work going," writes one comrade in extending a loan.

Writes a comrade from St. Louis, "We are arranging plans to push the loan campaign."

"We have received the loan receipt book and in our meeting elected a member to collect loans," says one secretary of a Finnish Local.

Promises of active support of the Literature Department's Loan Campaign arrive in every mail. These, with the receipts of the first days of the campaign convince us that the Campaign has met with general favor of the membership. What's needed now is concerted and enthusiastic action by all members and the full $5,000 will be subscribed in short order. THEN—the Literature Department of the Workers Party will function as it should, in the interest of every unit of the Party.

Lloyd George has threatened to resign and English political circles are in a panic. This is the result of British inability to develop more than one successful liar at a time.

Allan Broms To Lecture for Young Workers' League

Allan S. Broms, noted lecturer and speaker, will deliver a series of five lectures on topics of fundamental importance. The lectures are based on the revolutionary movement in America and should be attended by every class-conscious worker.

Lectures are to be given Friday evenings at 61 Canal Street as follows:

March 17th—Political Action and Peaceful Revolution.
March 24th—The Dilemma of Industrial Unionism.
March 31st—Making Your Movement Count.
April 7th—The Problem of Revolutionary Leadership.
April 14th—The Industrial Incentive of the Future.

OWENS WILL TOUR OHIO

Edgar Owens, Secretary of the National Defense Committee, started a statewide tour of Ohio March 1st. The purpose of this Ohio tour is to raise funds necessary to defend a number of Ohio comrades who have been made victims of the White Terror of the capitalist class a few months ago and to appeal the cases of Comrades C. E. Ruthenberg and others.

The dates arranged for Owens are as follows: Cleveland, 5th; Lorain, 6th; Mansfield, 7th; Tiffin, 8th; Toledo, 9th; Lima, 10th; Dayton, 14th; Cincinnati, 16th; Portsmouth, 17th; Jacksonville, 18th; Neffs and Bellaire 19th; Dillonvale, 20th; Martins Ferry, 21st; E. Liverpool, 23rd; Salem, 24th; Canton, 25th; Akron, 26th; Warren, 27th; Niles, 28th; Youngstown, 29th; Pittsburg, 30th; Philadelphia, 31st.

TRENTON MASS MEETING

The Mass Meeting arranged by the City Central Committee of Trenton, N. J., Sunday, February 26th, was a pronounced success. Podeeratz Hall was filled.

The meeting opened with the singing of the Internationale by the German Singing Society. Edgar Owens, Secretary-Treasurer of the National Defense Committee spoke in English, Josef Berg, in German, and John Bertell in Hungarian. A Collection of $27.00 was taken up.

The City Central Committee announced this as the first of a series of meetings that will be held in Trenton and arrangements are being made to get the full message of the Workers Party to the workers of Trenton.

PSYCHO - ANALYST AT LIBERATOR EVENING

Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum, a well known psycho-analyst and editor of the magazine "Psyche and Eros", whose recent attacks upon certain phases of the Freudian theory have aroused much controversy, is to deliver an intimate talk on "The errors of the Freudian Philosophy of Psychoanalysis," at the Liberator Evening which is to be held Sunday at 8 P. M. at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place, 8th Street and 3rd Avenue.

The Daily Worker is coming

In the World of Books

American Labor and Its Literature

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

The American labor movement cannot boast of an extensive literature. Younger movements in Europe have more studies and publications to their credit.

Lack of public interest in the general labor movement can be ascribed to the isolation of the economic organizations of the workers from the political labor movement and the latter's comparative weakness in this country.

It is only since the war that Labor has come to be considered a factor in American public life. Prior to 1914 the public consciousness of the American people was awakened to the functioning of the labor movement only at times of great industrial disturbances.

The great need for workers during the war gave the labor unions an opportunity to strengthen their position in the various industries. Standards were raised and the organizations were solidified, politically, however, Labor's achievements were nil.

It is true that Labor was called brother in arms and given some places on obscure bureaucratic advisory boards, which flattered the leaders, but did not give Labor more power.

The post-war program of "reconstruction" included an extensive campaign for the open shop, wage-cutting and sundry other reductions in the prevailing standards.

This "deflation" program is stirring some sections of the American workers to concerted action.

Question Political Policy

As a result much dissatisfaction is also being evinced with the traditional political policy of the organized labor movement. The sterility of this policy is particularly seen in Labor's impotence in the present conflict against the combined power of capital and government. The recent Chicago political conference, called by sixteen railway unions must be taken as an indication of Labor's realization of its inability to successfully resist the onslaught of the employers without projecting its organized economic power into the political arena.

Not until labor becomes fully conscious of its inherent political strength and begins to struggle for power in the state, will it be looked upon as a factor to be reckoned with in present-day capitalist society.

Notwithstanding the provincialism of the American labor movement some notable contributions have been made to its literature. Most of the studies have come from economic departments of universities where teachers prepared text books (Carlton, Groat, Hoxie) or where graduate students chose for their doctoral dissertations special features of the Labor movement (Wisconsin under Commons, Johns Hopkins under Hollander, and Barnett, Columbia under Seligman and Seager).

Dictionary of Labor Affairs

To the several worth-while monographs we must now add the very useful labor encyclopedia compiled by Waldo N. Browne and recently brought out under the title "What's What in the Labor Movement" (B. W. Huebsch, 578 pp., $4.00). The compiler designates the volume as a dictionary of labor affairs and labor terminology, but it is much more than that. Extensive historical treatment is given to certain subjects and others are very lucidly interpreted for the layman.

Those who will use the volume will probably think of some subjects or terms which were omitted. Labor has such broad ramifications that it is hard to tell where its "terms" end. In a general sense it embraces all fields of social, political and economic endeavor. The line must be drawn somewhere, and the place where it is drawn in such compilations depends on the compilers.

That Mr. Browne has combed the field well is shown by the inclusion of the "spitpon philosopher" and his up-to-dateness is discerned in the reference to "Lusker" and "Lusking" and to the Socialist Party as "the moderate and constitutional wing of American Socialism." On the other hand, such terms as "Slack," "Deportations," "Joint Board of Sanitary Control" are omitted.

Finds Few Inaccuracies

The reviewer is reluctant to criticise the book. He must, however, mention a few inaccuracies which crept into the volume:

1. The split in the Russian Social-Democracy occured in 1903 not in 1905.

2. The Russian Bolsheviks would deny the allegation that they have discarded "some of the most important tenets of scientific Socialism." In fact, they maintain, that they are the true exponents of Marxian Socialism, and that their policies were dictated by Marxian precepts.

3. It is not correct to say that the left wing elements in the various Socialist movements opposed parliamentarism per se. The left wings were organized, in part, because of a reaction against too great an emphasis on parliamentary activity, rather than for a negation of it.

4. No reference is made under the Communist International to the 21 points, altho. the 1920 Congress is discussed. A cross-reference is, however, given to "Lenin's 21 Conditions" and we also find it under "Twenty-one Articles of Faith." As a matter of fact, the conditions of admission promulgated by the 2nd Congress, were always referred to in this country as "21 Points" and never under the above-mentioned titles.

5. The International Working Union of Socialist parties, sometimes called the Vienna International, is referred to as the 2½ International. The recent attempt to organize the syndicalist and anti-political revolutionary groups, is referred to as the 4th International.

6. The first Debs case would be looked for under the A. R. U. strike and it should have been listed under that head.

Compilation Meritorious Work

The reviewer was astonished not to find Bliss' Encyclopedia of Social Reforms, still a useful reference volume, among the references of the compiler. The articles about the Labor movement in other countries are not complete and some important countries are altogether omitted.

The compilation is a meritorious work and a distinct contribution to labor literature. Every student of the Labor movement will want to have the volume among his reference books.

THIRD CONGRESS OF C. I. THESES AND RESOLUTIONS

The publication of all theses and resolutions of the Third Congress of the Communist International held June 22nd—July 12th, 1921, has been long overdue.

The Literature Department of the Workers Party offers now an attractive volume of 200 pages, containing all official decisions of the most important conclave in the history of the rejuvenated International.

Every member of the Workers Party should obtain a copy of this booklet for study and future reference.

Anyone interested in the progress of the revolutionary movement thruout the world will want to have this documentary account of the work of the last Congress.

The decisions of the Third Congress reflect the changes which have taken place in the revolutionary struggles of the various countries. The reading of the Theses and Resolutions dealing with principles and tactics reveals the close scrutiny which the delegates gave to all the burning questions in our movement. The analysis of conditions prevailing in the various countries and the instructions given to the parties shows, that the Third International is bringing the different national movements into a unified system of revolutionary thought and action and that a truly international party is being fashioned out of hitherto existing independent groups.

The material contained in the volume deals with the international situation and the problems arising out of it, tactical considerations of party progress in various countries, structure of communist parties, relation with Red Trade Union International and co-operative movements, work among women and young people and an evaluation of the position and work of the Russian Communist Party. The report of the Executive Committee and its famous "GO TO THE MASSES" manifesto are also included.

Altogether the volume is indespensable to every student of the revolutionary working-class movement and our Literature Department will gladly dispatch it post haste to any address upon receipt of fifty cents.—A. T.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Wasted Generations, by Owen Johnson, Little Brown & Co.
The Immigrant Press and Its Control, by Robert E. Park, Harper & Bros.
Labor, Giant with Feet of Clay, by Shaw Desmond, Scribners' Sons.
Political Pilgrims in Europe, by Mrs. Philip Snowden, George Doran Co.
Struggle for Power in Europe, 1917-1921, by I. Haden Guest, Geo. Doran Co.
Revolution and Democracy, Fred C. Howe, B. W. Huebsch.

4 Days
March
22-25

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INTERNATIONAL
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4 Days
March
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An interesting indication of the extent of Soviet Russia's foreign relations is to be found in the current issue of the "Russian Information and Review," issued by the Russian Trade Delegation in London.

It gives a list, dated Dec. 1, 1921, of the countries where Soviet Russia has plenipotentiary missions, war prisoners' commissions, special missions and trade delegations.

This list is continually growing larger, but it has not yet been increased, in any particular, by the addition of the name of the United States of America. The complete list is as follows:

PLENIPOTENTIARY MISSIONS:

GERMANY: Plenipotentiary Representative, Krestinsky. Assistant, Pashukanis. Secretary, Brodovsky.

LATVIA: Plenipotentiary Representative, Ganetsky. Assistant, Alexandri. Secretary, Kliavin. Libau Consul, Zhengovsky.

LITHUANIA: Chargé d'Affaires, Sander.

FINLAND: Chargé d'Affaires, Chernykh. Secretary, Korinets.

ESTHONIA: Plenipotentiary Representative, Litvinov. Assistant, Stark. Secretary, Shenshev.

POLAND: Plenipotentiary Representative, Karakhan. Assistant, Obolensky. Secretary, Lorens.

TURKEY: Plenipotentiary Representative, Aralov. Assistant, Mikhailov.

PERSIA: Plenipotentiary Representative, Rothstein. Secretary, Nikanovich.

AFGHANISTAN: Plenipotentiary Representative, Raskolnikov. Secretary, Rosenberg.

BOKHARA SOVIET REPUBLIC: Plenipotentiary Representative, Yurenev. Secretary, Bodrov.

KHIVAN SOVIET REPUBLIC: Plenipotentiary Representative, Byk. Secretary, Oskolskaya.

ARMENIA, GEORGIA, AND AZERBAIDJAN: Plenipotentiary Representative, Legran. Secretary, Schiffers. Consuls at Baku and Batum.

WAR PRISONERS' COMMISSION:

AUSTRIA: Chairman, Bronsky. Secretary, Huber.

SPECIAL MISSIONS:

CHINA: Plenipotentiary Extraordinary, Paikes.

FAR EASTERN NEGOTIATIONS AT DAIREN: Plenipotentiary Extraordinary, Markhlevsky. Secretary, Vilensky.

TRADE DELEGATIONS:

GREAT BRITAIN. Chairman, Krassin. Assistant, Berzin. Secretary, Klishko.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: Chairman, Mostovenko. Secretary, Shutko.

ITALY: Chairman, Vorovsky. Assistant, Tikhmenev. Secretary, Strauyan.

NORWAY: Chairman, Mikhailov. Secretary, Zaretskaya.

SWEDEN (Centrosoyus Delegation): Chairman, Kerzhentsev. Assistant, Heller. Secretary, Simanovsky.

Let the demand grow for the opening of trade relations with Soviet Russia.

Let the demand grow for the complete and unqualified recognition of the Russian Soviet Republic by the United States of America.

They Beg For BREAD!

There are 15,000,000 people in the famine region in Russia. Starvation stares them in the face. They are exposed to the horrors of foulness and filth, bitter cold, disease and hunger! Death is taking its steady toll. Every time the clock ticks some suffering man, woman or child topples over dead. Their tortured, shriveled bodies cover the naked wastes of Russia.

Can you witness this suffering without raising a hand to help? Do you know that thousands are rushing to the aid of these suffering millions? A vast relief army is being mustered in New York City at the following stations **83 East 4th Street, 61 Canal Street, 230 East Broadway, 356 East 81st Street, 1403 Fifth Avenue, 240 East 23rd Street, 257 East 10th Street, 1347 Boston Road, 226 Roebling Street, 10 Siegel Street, 1883 Madison Street, 229 Sackman Street, Room 104. Enlist as a recruit for this city-wide drive.**

These comrades will scour the city and appeal for the help of their friends, neighbors and fellow-workers with the slogan: "Give up a meal for starving Russians."

Saturday, March 4, will be HUNGER SATURDAY, and a vast sum will be rolled up by the workers of New York City on that day of self-sacrifice.

Join and help!

Child Education

The three great bulwarks of the capitalistic system are the church, the press, and the school; and the greatest of these is the school, for it is here that is fashioned the endless stream of recruits that supports the other two.

It would be foolhardy of us to expect that the school of the present order would do other than prepare our youth to accept and support the economic system now in vogue, and as long as these schools accomplish this—and they do accomplish it—we who hope for a new and better social order certainly have our work cut out for us. In our efforts to fashion a new world, it is but natural that we should turn to the oppressed and look for support in factory and mill; but those who are to live in the new world are now in the schools, and it should be our greatest concern to find out whether they are being prepared to live in a different world from the one we now have.

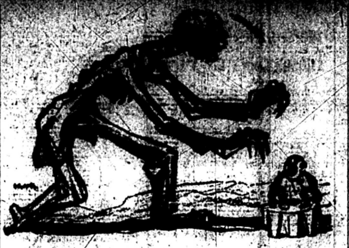
Among the workers there are many who oppose in a negative way the system of education followed in our public schools, but few indeed are they who have inquired into the nature of this institution sufficiently to enable them to see its danger, and to recognize the importance of its relation to the Labor movement.

We shed copious tears at the thought of little children in the southern cotton mills, but are supremely indifferent to the millions shut up in those jails which we call school houses—veritable slave factories where every act and thought of the child is prescribed for it and where it is taught that it is more blessed to believe than to think.

The workers of this country early recognized the need of education for the young, and fought valiantly until they secured free schools for their children. And having secured the schools they concerned themselves not at all about the thing to be taught in them or the manner in which it was to be taught. It certainly is amazing that they can now look on with indifference at what the schools are doing to their children. Is it accident or design that the thousands of "graduates" year after year are of one pattern, as from the same mould, all equally crippled in will, in initiative, in the power or desire to think for themselves? Denied self-activity, told what to do and what to think, is it any wonder that they develop no power of judgement, and yield to the greatest pressure, the majority? Is there not a monotonous sameness about them, in manner, in thought, in belief—and are they not fit grist for the capitalistic mill? Is it not their willingness to accept without investigation that enables the enemy press to exert its baneful influence? Could the sacerdotal soporifics of theologians and the lies of editors influence a public capable of weighing evidence and forming judgment?

Sooner or later the workers will have to concern themselves with the vital question of child education. The revolutionary movement is at the core an educational movement. You cannot build a new world out of material that is almost too rotten to live in the present one. There can be no free society until the people are capable of living in freedom, and the schools of today are certainly not doing anything to develop a people capable of conceiving or making a free world.

Recognizing the importance of this question, "The Worker" hereafter will publish weekly articles dealing with the subject of child education. The purpose of these articles will be to acquaint readers with the danger that lurks in the public school system, and to enlighten them regarding the modern educational movement which shows much signs of growth in Europe and America—a movement based on the free development of the child by permitting freedom to express himself, to experiment, and to form his judgment based on the result of his own experiences.



So terrible are the results of capitalism's misrule with its destruction and stoppage of production that the Hunger Spectre stalks thro every nation. Even the overfed parasite occasionally glimpses it as Bill Gropper shows above.

Woman's Day, 1922

The war brought the problem of women in industry to the front. With the increasing economic insecurity of the male worker, with the task of supporting a family by the labor of the male becoming ever more difficult, the influx of women into the ranks of the wage-earners has been a rapid one for the last two decades.

With it came the demand for equal suffrage—the middle class interpretation of sex equality.

When millions of men were withdrawn from peaceful pursuits and set at the work of destruction in 1914 the gaps in the ranks of the industrial workers were filled by women.

Unorganized, many of them deluded into hating their male competitors for the job more than they hate the exploiter as a result of the "militant feminism" preached by bourgeois leaders, they are to-day an easy prey for the low-wage, open shop employer.

The task of the class-conscious workers is to show to the woman in industry that her problem is the problem of the whole working-class and that it cannot be solved by the mere abolition of sex inequality—that will-o'-the-wisp followed by the idle females with more leisure than brains.

This is the message that must be carried to the working women of America on International Women's Day—March 8th.

The Big Difference

France, "the cradle of liberty," the home of pristine capitalist democracy, has invaded Russia, killed its best sons, ruined its crops, devastated its country, and starved its children in order to force the workers and peasants to pay back the old Czarist debts. These are the debts contracted by the Czar for the purpose of enslaving the Russian masses. The Soviet leaders have been branded as thieves and scoundrels because they openly stated that they saw no reason for paying the debts incurred by the Czar's rule of the knout and dungeon.

Now, capitalist France, thru the mouth of M. Loucheur, former Minister of the Liberated Regions, comes across with a proposal which is most astonishing in view of his motherland's violently persistent interest in the inviolability of contracts. At the banquet of the Industrial, Commercial, and Agricultural Associations of France he said: "I say plainly that I believe we never will be able to pay a sou to America. I say it because there are Americans here who, I hope, will cable my words across seas. We never can pay the fifteen billion francs we owe America, with the added interest. America has all the gold, and we never could pay in goods on account of the customs barriers raised by the United States itself."

There is more truth than poetry in the above statement. This is plain talk and interesting talk at that. But it forces us to ask several questions. Why is it that France who is so insistent on Soviet Russia paying her the Czar's debts is so anxious to refuse to pay her debts to America? It must be remembered that the Soviets did not borrow any money from France and that the present French government did contract the debt she owes the United States. Apparently this is another case of capitalist honesty yelling for help.

Why is it that when Soviet Russia balks at paying French capitalists money she never borrowed from them all the imperialist hounds of hell are unleashed at her throat? And why is it that when France refuses to pay debts she owes, the American army is not thrown in, her Premier is not branded as a scoundrel, and her country is not invaded? Why is it dishonest for the Soviets to refuse to pay the debts they don't owe and for France perfectly honest to leave unpaid the money she does owe?

Where is the difference? There is a big difference. In the one case the controversy is between a working-class government and a capitalist government in the other the issue is between two imperialist governments. We can rightly amend the old adage to read, "There is always honor among thieves." Whenever the workers hit the capitalists in the heart—their pocketbook—they commit an unpardonable sin, an irretrievable crime, and the most infamous cruelty is visited upon them. But when capitalist governments have a falling out it invariably turns out to be a "problem of finance" or at worst a war for democracy in which millions of workers are maimed and slaughtered in order to shift columns in their exploiters' balance sheet.

The whole debt problem brings to light the fundamental conflict of class interests and the inevitability of war while the capitalists rule and ruin. Far be is from us to counsel America's sending an army to collect its debts from France. Nor do we advocate a blockade to starve the French children. But we would like to have American workingmen think over the why and wherefore of France getting different treatment from the United States than she accorded Russia. The question is especially pertinent when we remind ourselves that Soviet Russia doesn't owe France a cent and that the American workingmen have paid in billions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of killed and wounded to help save the hide of the French capitailsts. Let's think and think hard on this. We have nothing to lose, a whole lot to learn, and still more to gain.

Still at It

The Progressive Labor World, of Philadelphia, is one of those subsidized, money-controlled labor sheets that claims to be "Published in the Interests of Labor Organizations."

This probably explains why one of its leading editorials is entitled, "Good-bye, International," and why much good space is wasted in an effort to prove that the workers of the world, especially those of Soviet Russia, have given up singing this song.

No one will deny that the "International" is being sung today by more millions of aspiring workers than ever before in the history of the world. The editorial in question will only help bring to the attention of more workers, still steeped in ignorance, the fact that there is such a song. **And soon they will also be singing it.**

(Continued from Page One)

that [illegible] and have worked in some twelve different countries including the U. S. A. I haven't had time to study good English or push a pen but have had time to push my fist into the nose of a few scabs.

My last act in the battle line was in Newport, Ky., and I stayed on the job night and day. I was sent into the Newport mill to get a few facts about the inside which I done and delivered the same to union headquarters.

In Charge of Machine Guns

When I entered the mill office Mr. Andrews himself (superintendent of the mill. Ed. note) shook my hand and asked me if I was an oversea man. I admitted I had spent three years, nine months in the Canadian army which I am now ashamed of. Then I was asked about a machine-gun. I here want to say that I am an expert machine-gun man and I showed the chief of the mill guards that I knew my business.

Then I was escorted around the plant and shown seventeen machine-guns set in different places, all from a point where they could murder the workers best. Then I was told by Chief Grant that I would be given charge of the machine-gun squad and that I would be paid the sum of eight dollars per day for murdering my fellow workers; that I had the backing of Mr. Andrews' money and also the backing of Governor Morrow who has become famous thruout the south as the capitalists friend and property protector of said capitalist.

Told to Shoot to Kill

I was told to shoot to kill and if I killed certain men I would be paid extra for the job. I went to work at once as captain of the machine-gun squad and the troops that were there were sent home at once, and Captain Grant, the Chicago gunman, was told to take charge of the job.

The Battle Begins

So the fun started. The first shot was fired by Slim Murphy from Chicago, a gunmen, who was shipped in by the company. The shots were from a machine-gun stationed on a platform running out from the mill to a tank and just above Captain Grant's office were sixteen other machine-guns and a number of smaller arms which refused to fire as someone had monkeyed with them. The gun on the platform would never have fired but it was near impossible to get at it without tipping everything off.

The Workers Defend Themselves

The first shots being fired by the company the workers were forced to defend themselves which they did very nicely. When Captain Grant with his hands full of scab-herders found he had been tricked in some way you should have heard him holler for help which was very easy to get as he had only to admit to Mr Andrews that the job was too big for him.

Then Mr. Andrews called on his good friend, Governor Morrow, and the help was rushed across from Covington in the shape of our armored tanks and the state guard from that city.

State Troops Shot Up-Town

They came thru Newport shooting wild, knocking down women and children and sapping men on the head with rifle butts who were bothering no one

Intended to Burn Strikers Homes

The next day their brave leader Major Denhard ordered the guards to move the families out of the strike zone as he expected to burn their homes. I wonder why this brave leader of the scab herders refused to burn the strikers alive, I guess he did not want to be bothered with the odor of frying meat.

Must we support an army to kill us because we ask for work and enough wages to live on?

Let us all get together and support the army that fights for a chance to live.

Yours for direct Action,
MACHINIST.

The Worker has the name and address of the writer of the above letter but for reasons that should be obvious we withold it. Surely it is a human document and convincing in its very simplicity. It is a page from the life of a fighter in the far-flung battle line of labor, just the tale of a few incidents in the daily struggle of which the theoretician knows so little and of which he finds it so hard to learn.

It dispels pretty well, we think, attacks on men and women whose only demand is for more bread are the acts of men whose passions are whipped to a white heat by the struggle.

Capitalism's brutality is a coldly calculated thing. Let the counter-offensive of the workers be just as cool and well planned.

UNION SIGNS AWAY RIGHTS

The Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America has signed a decree prohibiting the restriction of the amount of labor each workman shall perform in a day, making it unlawful for members of the union to refuse to handle material turned out by non-union workmen and prohibiting them from acting in concert to help or injure any manufacturer.

Sign
THE ROLL CALL

The Workers
of
Soviet Russia
Have Spoken!

"The vanguard of the working class of all countries will be judged by its activity in famine relief for the First Workers Republic."

What shall be their judgement of you?

Have you helped your utmost? Have you given your limit?

Begin proving your worth the minute you receive your page of the

Roll Call Book

Also, we'd appreciate a letter from you, saying:

"Hurry up!"

For the comrade at attention is the hope of the world!

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
201 W. 13th St., N. Y. City

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

[illegible]

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Soviet Delegates To Leave if Bullied; Will Accept No Dictation at Genoa

Murder Chief Is Appointed Haitian Ruler

(By the Federated Press)

WASHINGTON. — Senator Walsh of Montana, by securing the adoption in the senate of a resolution calling upon President Harding to disclose both the credentials and the instructions given to Gen. John H. Russell, of the Marine Corps who is about to become "high commissioner" and actual dictator in Haiti, has exploded a political mine under the administration which may have very serious consequences.

The Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society has issued a statement here, quoting the Washington Post, the official organ of the president, to the effect that Gen. Russell "will have in effect plenary authority over all the affairs of Haiti, both civil and military, including the marine forces and the gendarmerie of Haiti, and of the United States legation, which will be in the immediate custody of the charge d'affaires."

The Independence Society declares that such an appointment is unprecedented in American history, and that the creation of a "Pooh-bah" over a formerly free and independent republic whose technical independence is still recognized by the United States is without warrant by congress, which is still investigating the American occupation.

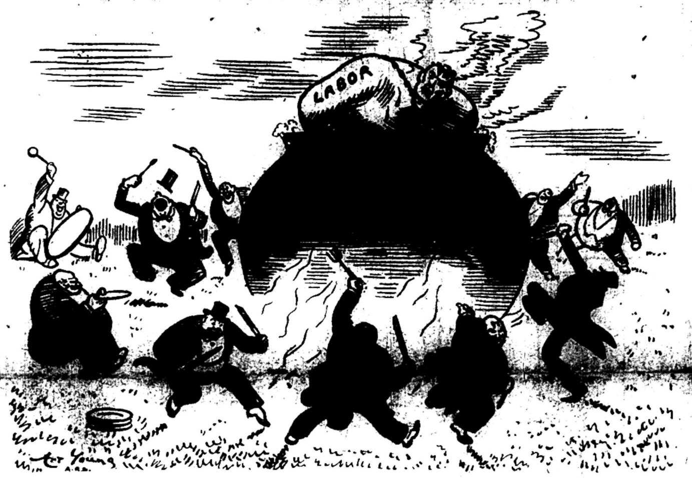
Killings Were Indiscriminate

"It is significant," says this protest, "that Gen. Russell alone among the various commanders in Haiti since 1915, has not yet been called on to appear before the senate committee for examination." During his administration in Haiti, the illegal corvee or forced road labor existed; indiscriminate killings of untried prisoners by marine officers took lace; native Haitians were imprisoned and tortured when no harge had been made against them; artial law was declared and enced to prevent criticism of the cupation; the illegal plebiscite by hich a universally opposed constitution was fraudulently imposed upon the Haitian people, was carried out under his command; the ttempted coercion of the Haitian resident in 1920 to secure special nancial privileges for the National ity Bank was carried on with his ctive official participation."

Following the adoption of Walsh's solution of inquiry as to the pres's sending of a military and il dictator to Haiti in the person his seasoned offender, Senator of Utah, offered a resolution nding by what authority and what terms and conditions the Department is seeking to are a $14,000,000 loan for Haiti, declaring that since such a loan ot desired by the Haitian people is believed by them to be unanted and illegal and contrary he best interests politically and nomically of Haiti and her peo—and the floating of such a loan forbidden.

Senator Pomerene, one of the te committee which recently be a whitewash of the Wilson and ding regime's record in Haiti and to Domingo, objected to King's lution, even after it was shorn criticism and of the clause for the loan.

See the Nice Cannibals!



See the nice Cannibals!

Are they the same cannibals that talk about the "Identity of interest between Capital and Labor?

They are.

Are they preparing to put it into practice?

They be.

Who is the Giant in the Pot?

Why don't you know? He was the "Savior of Humanity" during the War. You remember he was promised a square deal after the war.

Now he is being made into a square meal—thru the anti-union shop, unemployment, injunctions, lower wages, etc.

What is the song the Cannibal Bosses are singing?

They sing—"Eat, Drink and Be Merry, for Tomorrow We Die."

Minor Starts Tour Mch. 19 for "Daily"

Robert Minor, the world's most famous labor cartoonist and journalist, starts on a nation-wide speaking tour March 19th.

His first appearance will be at the Central Opera House, 205 East 67th Street, New York City, at the Paris Commune Mass Meeting of the Workers Party of Greater New York. He will speak on "The Lessons of the Paris Commune."

The tour is being arranged as part of the big campaign for "A Daily Worker." It will be conducted under the slogan of "Make the Worker a Daily," it being recognized that this is the greatest need of the workers today.

Other meetings planned for Minor after the New York demonstration will be the following: Newark, N. J., March 20; Paterson, 21; Jersey City, 22; Trenton, 23; Reading, Pa., 24; Baltimore, Md., 25; Philadelphia, 26. Early in April he will start a trip west.

Great enthusiasm is being shown by the Workers Party membership in preparation for these Minor meetings, and it is expected that large audiences will turn out everywhere.

An Attempt at Division?

It can be taken for granted that the coal operators, in refusing to enter into conference with the miners know what they are doing and that they have asked and been promised the full support of the government in their plans for eliminating the United Mine Workers of America from the coal-fields.

The latest development—Frank Farrington's announcement that the Illinois district would open separate negotiations for a wage agreement unless the national office forces a joint conference before March 1st—is one that may mislead many of the progressive elements who have no use for John L. Lewis but who do not know that Farrington is the same type. The stand of the Illinois district for Howat and Farrington's fight in his behalf does not mean that Farrington is a radical or even mildly progressive.

He is merely a politician and was forced to back Howat in order to hold his office of District President.

His latest proposal smacks a little too much of dividing the forces of the coal-miners in the face of the enemy to suit us. Illinois is the largest district controlled by the United Mine Workers of America and it is entirely probably that the operators are willing to make concessions there that would result in the Illinois miners staying on the job and furnishing coal while the rest of the organization went down to defeat. Illinois could then be picked off at leisure.

It hardly seems possible that the membership of the Illinois district will be a party to this betrayal after their striking demonstration of solidarity with the Kansas rebels but such proposals on the eve of a nation-wide conflict cannot help but create dissension and weaken the front.

Senator Seidel, socialist, presided at Albany the other day and The Call went the limit in relating the occurance. It said he handled the gravel just as well as any other politician which is proof that the workers can run the industries. Be of good cheer, Comrades!

United Labor Front Dodged at Chicago

By **ARNE SWABECK**

The delegates attending the conference, called by the authorized committee of the sixteen standard railroad unions, on February 20, in Chicago, who anticipated fusion into a single labor party pledged to independent political action, were disappointed. It produced little in the way of positive results.

Thruout the sessions this question was skillfully avoided by the dominant majority,—the heads of the big international unions, of which some were present in person and others represented by their devoted lieutenants.

They Spoke About It

All spoke of the unity of labor's forces, each using his own interpretation, but when seriously approached or when definite lines of unity was proposed by some of the "honest-to-god" delegates, the majority block remained unshakably silent. They had no authority to act and could not commit their organizations.

Preachers and rabbis, speaking on behalf of the absent "public," con-

(Continued on Page Two)

Credit of Half Billion to be Asked by Russia; Soviet Emissary States No Rongh Stuff Will Go; Will Tolerate No Capitalist Clique of Nations

Soviet Russia's representatives at Genoa will attempt to keep the discussions centered on the economic needs of Europe and will not raise any purely political issues, according to the instructions made public at Moscow.

They will oppose the League of Nations or any other capitalistic grouping of nations.

They will agree, in return for a minimum loan of $500,000,000 to supply Europe with the raw materials so badly needed for a revival of industry and they are instructed to insist that no obstacles be placed in the way of the fullest German co-operation with the Soviet Government which is now in close communication with Berlin.

The Russian delegates are not going to Genoa with a chip on their shoulders, rather they are to make necessary concessions without protest, but if the Allied governments attempt intimidation they will be answered by the withdrawal of the Soviet delegation.

With the United States out of it, the conference, in the absence of Russia, would be an empty farce.

It is only from France that an arrogant attitude is expected as the British policy is fairly settled.

Tchitcherin will probably head the delegation and will insist on payment for the damage to Russian industry and the loss of life due to invasions which the Russians will prove by documentary evidence to have been financed by the allies.

It is believed that this will more [illegible] any claim put forward by France and England for the sums loaned the Czar's and the Kerensky government.

Sir George Paish, the unofficial spokesman of the British bank-interests, commenting on Russian participation at Genoa, said:

"The attendance of Russian representatives at Genoa, whatever their plans, is much to be desired. It will enable the nations to discover exactly where the Russian Government now stands in the matter of permitting free movement of trade and capital. It will enable the Russians to obtain at first hand information she needs concerning the willingness of foreign nations to assist the Russian people with credits.

"The Russians will be told at Genoa that credit is only possible where there is confidence, and confidence is possible only when a nation adopts a policy which experience and not merely theory has proved to be sound and workable."

That the Genoa conference is the center of interest in England at present, overshadowing even the coalition, is evidenced by the reply of Austin Chamberlain, governmental leader in the House of Commons, to a question on the government policy towards recognition of the Soviet government. The house leader stated that all depends upon the outcome of the Genoa conference.

Political circles in London express the belief that the American refusal to take part in the conference has seriously weakened the influence of Lloyd George and a member of influential organs, including the Northcliffe press, blame him for the American attitude.

Irish Rebels Do Their Bit for National Defense

At the Irish Booth at the National Defense Committee Bazaar—March 22-2[illegible] will be displayed the red ensign hoisted over the Dublin Council Chambers when the building was seized recently by the Dublin unemployed headed by Liam O'Flaherty and Jack McIntire—both well known here.

The flag arrived in yesterday's mail with instructions to raffle it off for the Communist class-war prisoners.

The Irish Branch challenges all other branches to a beauty contest and has already entered Mrs. Pat McClellan, "Bunny" Brannigan and Mrs. Tom O'Flaherty as their choice for the prise money. It is planned to place all candidates in the Irish Booth—which will be enclosed for the purpose—and charge 25 cents admission to all who desire to thus help the class-war prisoners and at the same time compare the various national types of pulchritude.

The Irish have real money to bet on their candidates.

With America unrepresented the French will probably now be able to prevent any consideration of treaties and reparations by the conference.

Without American aid the opinion here is that the Allies must either master all their resources for a new attack on Russia or admit her to the family of nations with full rights and privileges.

It is admitted that unless American assistance, moral and financial, is pledged, that a new war would quite possibly result in domestic disaster for the nations undertaking it.

The Irish Workers' Future

Irish Labor leaders appear to have definitely resolved to work within the orbit of the "Free State." This decision on their part may be questioned from the standpoint of expediency and strategy by the working-class.

It is well known that the directing personnel of both pro and contra-treaty men and women are, with one or two exceptions, either active or passive supporters of the existing social and economic order, and it is, accordingly, a moot point whether the working class could more speedily and purposefully achieve its ultimate destiny under the bourgeois form of government which either group, in control, are pretty certain to inaugurate.

There are many persons who hold to the belief that the support of the workers to the Republican wing in the critical days following December 6th, would have been a correct and logical tactic.

The reasons for their failure so to act will undoubtedly shortly be made

(Continued on Page Four)

Paris Commune Day Mass Meeting—Sunday, March 19th, 1 P. M.

akers: ROBERT MINOR, M. OLGIN, J. LOUIS ENGDAHL—CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE, 205 East 67th St., New York

Proceeds for a DAILY WORKER

[illegible] Dodged at Chicago

(Continued from Page One)

ferred their blessing upon the conference, its aims and purposes, followed by broken down A. F. of L. leaders, who had been rewarded for their "faithful" service in the labor movement with comfortable political jobs, social patriots speaking for the Socialist Party, and farmers.

With deep emotion, Chairman Johnston, International President of the machinists, said in his best salvation army style:

"If ye have faith even as a grain of mustard ye could move mountains."

Calls It "Unwise"

True, they were all out to "lay the foundation of a great movement, having for its purpose the restoration of our government to the people."

But, as a chairman Johnston put it, "it would be unwise to even consider the formation of a new political party. Let us coalesce and work thru existing organizations."

"And so, the conference resolved to issue another puny call for labor to "punish its enemies and reward its friends."

The present economic crisis and its attendant terrible unemployment is the whip that is being used to force the working masses into submission in the general attack to destroy unionism.

Organized capital has become aggressive in its fight to demolish the barriers set up by the workers against the violent unrush of the capitalist forces.

The courts, the police—the heavy artillery of the state has been brought into play. The guns have roared in West Virginia, in the New England textile districts, in the packing house centres in Newport, Ky., and elsewhere, at the dictate of the masters.

Labor Is in Retreat

The old method of bribing labor officials has become almost superfluous because labors' forces are on the retreat everywhere.

Yet the rank and file is slowly awakening and becoming restless. Here and there voices can be heard, demanding that something must be done.

All this is enough to make the labor leaders, who call themselves progressive and are able to sense that something is in the air, sit up and take notice. Their organizations are at stake, and what is more, their leadership is at stake.

In order to forestall the rank and file taking the initiative themselves and following the more conscious and determined amongst them into aggressive action against the oppressive conditions, which perhaps would result in real unity of the working-class, these leaders hasten to show that they are on guard and only looking out for the best interests of the workers while they take care not to go any farther than the safety of their jobs demand

Says Coalition Is Inevitable

The fusion of all labors' forces into a single American Labor Party, each retaining its autonomy and the right to criticize the programs and tactics of the others, is inevitable.

The conference could not agree on a program or declaration of principles. It chose to reaffirm the old "glorious" document The Declaration of Independence and agree upon its various grievances, set forth in a document called an "Address to the American People."

The Plan of Action adopted by the conference, shows a little more sign of vitality. It recommends that all forces represented in the conference organize joint committees within each state, congressional district, county and municipality—that they unite for the purpose of securing the nomination and election of senators and representatives to Congress, etc., in the coming election of 1922, who are pledged to the interests of the producing classes and to the principles of genuine democracy in agriculture, industry and government.

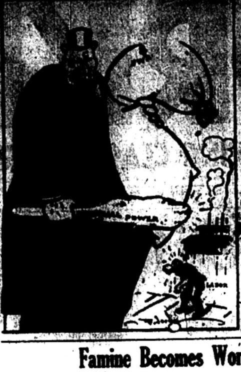
Demonstrate Failure Again

It provides for a general committee of fifteen who shall co-operate and assist the local organizations in the coming election, is empowered to employ organizers and publish literature and shall call a conference on the second Monday of December.

To that conference are invited all such organizations, bodies and persons as are in accord with the purposes of the conference.

The joint committees in the several states have free hands to support any candidate they may see fit, regardless of what party he belongs to, if he pledges himself to the interests of the producing classes, in the coming election. Something that all candidates do.

This will mean that all the organizations who are urged to unite for this purpose will do about the same thing which they have for so long attempted to do with no success at all, and the rank failure of such policies will undoubtedly be clearly demonstrated at the time the next conference meets.



[illegible] the big [illegible]
[illegible]
"Ah! [illegible]
the club."
No! No! No, friend!
He has gotten it,
He has gotten it, already—to his sorrow!
(You err. . . slightly.)
He must get "control" of the club.
(That's better, isn't it?)

Drawn by Jerger

Famine Becomes Worse!

The famine has spread in Soviet Russia. Cannibalism has raised its head. Stories—authentic stories—corroborated in their fearful details, have reached the world. Two women in Ravol Rugatschev have eaten the corpses of two children and lured to their hut an old woman, whom they killed and ate. In another village, corpses have been taken from the graves, cut up and eaten. In another, a peasant woman gave her children the corpse of her thirteen year old daughter to eat.

All news from Soviet Russia is most disheartening, when one thinks of the misery that the Russian workers, men, women and their children are passing thru. Starvation has increased. More and more millions are drawn into the maelstrom of death from which there seems to be no rescue. The bitter winter that has harrassed Soviet Russia has added fresh hundreds of thousands to the death toll. Death—Death, everywhere!

The roads are covered with the corpses of those who wandered about aimlessly in search for food. The cemeteries are filled with the uncovered bodies of those who blindly sought their last resting place there, in the hope that either salvation or death would come.

Strewn about the graveyards, they present a gruesome sight—a gruesome indictment of the system under which we live. A system, in which those who control the food and credit of the world allowed this misery to grow on a helpless people, refusing them aid, denying them assistance proclaiming a categorical NO to their appeals, their cries for food—UNTIL IT WAS TOO LATE!

Dr. Nansen is right, a thousand times right, in his denunciations of the capitalist governments of the world who are responsible for the famine in Soviet Russia.

He is a thousand times right when he states that it could all have been avoided if the greed of capitalist governments had not prompted them to place politics before humanity.

He was a million times right when he said that at last when they have consented to give—their help will arrive too late to save millions from certain death.

And the workers were ten million times right when immediately they heard of the famine in Soviet Russia, they began their collections for the starving workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

Workers of America! Farmers of America! Working men and women, children of America! What do you intend doing to drive famine from Soviet Russia? What will you do to give the Russian children food and milk? IT IS UP TO YOU!

Taxes to Relieve Russia

The Moscow Soviet has created a regular fund for famine relief by imposing special taxes on industrial enterprises, proprietors of confectionery shops, cafes, restaurants, telephone subscribers, concerts, lectures, theatres, etc

International Workers' Relief

The International Workers' Relief Committee will establish a transportable factory in Russia. An American car will be changed into a locksmith's and turner's shop, operated by electricity. It will turn out horseshoes, tools and implements.

With a technical staff of international representatives, the car will proceed to Siberia, where it will carry out repair work in exchange for grain, which will be sent to the famine district.

Stamping shops are being opened in which empty tin cases are being manufactured into cups, plates, spoons, etc. There is a shop at Bogorow, employing sixty workers. 10,000 cases can be handled daily.

The Workers International Relief Committee asks organizations in other countries to furnish it with materials, to make up the articles above named.

Technical Schools for To-Morrow

Realizing that the future of Soviet Russia depends to a great extent upon the development of proper technical skill for the execution of the immense tasks that confront the country, the Soviet Government is making the greatest efforts to open and maintain some technical training schools for boys.

As these schools cannot continue their work without a supply of materials, a special appeal is being sent to the western world for the supply of tools, machines and materials.

One Hour's Pay Per Week

Chicago has begun a big campaign with the slogan: An hour's pay per week. Collections are to be made in the shops and unions, thus bringing the whole industrial population of Chicago into the range of relief work.

The resolution of the Chicago Federation of Labor endorsing the campaign of "One hour's pay a Week" reads as follows:

"The Chicago Federation of Labor, in regular meeting assembled, fraternally requests that every affiliated organization bring this matter (Russian famine condition) to the immediate attention of its members and have them vote on a contribution of one hour's pay a week per member, to be used for relief of the famine sufferers of Russia. We would further recommend that all such contributions be sent to the Chicago Federation of Labor or to the local office of the Friends of Soviet Russia."

Minor to Go on Tour

ROBERT MINOR

RAILROADS SPREAD LIES

The absolute falsity of the railroad company's claim that a cut in the wages of their employees is an essential preliminary to the reduction of freight rates which is being demanded by farmers and business men thruout the country, has been conclusively demonstrated by a statement made by the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

According to the statement, even if railway workers were to receive double their present wage rate, the increase would add less than one cent on the dollar to the present cost of each ton of freight. For every $100 worth of freight transported the value would total only $100.88.

"In 1914," the statement continues, "the average price per ton of all commodities transported by freight was $56. Wages increased for railroad workers during that period 80 cents per ton. And in 1919 had the increase to the railroad men been added to the price of commodities, the increase to the consumer would have been but 80 cents per ton on the average. Whereas the addition of other charges brought the average price per ton for commodities shipped by freight in 1914 from $56 up to $119 in 1919.

"The public will not be deceived in this matter, because it well knows that if railroad labor would work for nothing the railroad owners would still charge all that traffic would bear."

[illegible]

Don't forget!

What's it for, anyway?

For the prisoners who lie in jail because they believed in the workers and in the workers' power to free themselves.

Who's running it?

The National Defense Committee—the Committee that has defended Communists for three years.

What has your union done?

It will be a big show. Make it bigger. Show the class-war prisoners that the workers are with them.

Work, fight and give for the Revolution.

Bunking Society Women Easier than Scabbing for Ex-Pimp and Thug

BY THE FEDERATED PRESS

New York.—Alfred E. Lindsay, who fleeced New York society women out of about $1,000,000 and took the life savings of several women, according to Mrs. Laura Marling, in 1908 was pursuing the vocation of private detective, strikebreaker, and industrial spy, with offices at Forty-seventh street and Fifth avenue, New York City.

He went by the name of Post, Mrs. Marling told the district attorney's office, and even at that time specialized in preying on women.

Lindsay, who was arrested in a hotel in Philadelphia, is in jail here on charges of grand larceny, unable to provide $50,000 bail.

The employers and manufacturers and other business men whom he assisted in past years to break strikes and "teach labor its place," somehow have taken no interest in him since he got into the toils of the law.

GARY ON LABOR'S RIGHTS

To-day, when buncombe concerning the identity of interests of employer and employee, and the blissful conditions that will arise when they learn to "understand" and "cooperate" with each another, is so much in vogue among employers who are trying to put over the American Plan, and also, unfortunately, among labor leaders of a certain type, workers should be grateful to Judge Gary for the brutal frankness with which he sets forth the relative status of the capitalist and the worker as the capitalist really conceives it.

His latest utterance on the subject, made in the course of a statement regarding the stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation, rates labor as a passive tool of capitalism, without either human or industrial rights. Speaking of the capitalists he says:

"Their capital permits the existence, the activities and the success of the corporation. They properly may and ultimately will dictate the personnel, the governing rules, the policies, sales and purchases, extensions and improvements, rates of compensation and improvements, rates of compensation to employes * * * terms and conditions of employment and all other matters pertaining to the properties and business and management of the corporation. They (the stockholders) are entitled not only to a fair and reasonable return on their investment, but to all the net proceeds of the business."

ASK $500 PLEDGE OF MILK DRIVERS NOT TO JOIN UNION

After three months of hard fighting, with all the odds against them, and their own union heads refusing them support, about 5,000 of the milk wagon drivers who went on strike November 1 to resist the Companies' open shop drive, are still out.

It is reported that now the milk trust demands a deposit of $500 from any former striker who applies for work, to be held by the company as a guarantee that for one year he will not join a labor organization or participate in a strike.

In addition a deposit of $150 is required to guarantee the collection of accounts for milk sold on the route.

The Borden's Farm Product Company has started a yellow union in which representatives of the company are to sit upon every committee, and the workers are to have the privilege of successive appeals from little bosses to big bosses with the company president as the final authority.

COMB AND HEAR
WILLIAM F. DUNNE
Speak on
"The American Labor Movement, Past, Present and Future"
Sun'ay Night, March 26, 8 o'clock
WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS
296 Sackman St., Brooklyn
Arranged by the Brownsville Branch, Workers Party

[illegible] America never forgot this generosity and in return feels it her sacred duty to defend struggling peoples.

Of course, she chooses the subjects of her charity and very often fails to notice what she prefers to let go unseen and unheard. She would include here Russia, India, Ireland, Egypt, Haiti; she interprets these people as not having justifiable struggles, grouping them all as "rebels" (a very distasteful word in America) and consequently not deserving of consideration.

How did America repay the French people in 1871 when they struggled against their oppressors? We get a fine glimpse of this in a letter written by the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) to the citizens of the United States in 1871. It contains two stories—first, a reprint of an article by a bourgeois newspaperman, an honest observer who wrote what he saw. The second story is told by a member of the Paris Commune.

Mr. Robert Reid was the Paris correspondent for the London Daily Telegraph and the New York Herald. Very much excited over the daily murders and long lists of victims which Thiers was adding daily from among the Communards, Reid decided to ask the American and British ambassadors to intercede and try to bring peace. The British Ambassador could no nothing. (British imperialism had nothing to gain.) Mr. Reid then went to Mr. Washburne, the American, who received him very rudely. This was April 17th, one month after the establishment of the Commune. Washburne replied, "The men in Paris are rebels. Let them lay down their arms. If they refuse to, the moral responsibility will rest with them."

Historical irony! An American less than one hundred years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence telling an Englishman that the Parisians were "rebels" because they wanted to throw off the yoke of despotism!

Nor was Mr. Washburne merely a spectator of events and a passive believer in his own ideas and prejudices. On May 24th, he again met Mr. Reid, and in the course of their conversation, he said, "All who belong to the Commune and those that sympathize with them, will be shot." Mr. Reid's comment in his news story is, "I did not expect to hear this semi-officially from Mr. Washburne." He might very well have been surprised to hear these words from the representative of the greatest democracy of the world.

Had Mr. Washburne taken this attitude openly, the stigma that has remained attached to his name would probably not have been so great. But instead, he showed an entirely different point of view in his direct dealings with the Communards. To them he said that he deplored the fact that due to his position, he was unable to do as much as he would like to do for the Commune.

On May 24th, the same day that he told Mr. Reid that every member of the Commune and its sympathizers would be shot, he informed the Commune that every member and every man in the Federal Army would be saved.

He offered his intervention between the Versaillese and the Federals. The Comunards accepted the offer with the proviso that two months be given for preparation for the general election of a constituent assembly. It was assumed that he went ahead with his promise; that the Prussians were neutral.

But when the Communards wished to pass the gate where Prussians were stationed, they were prevented from doing so, much to their consternation. Further, his offer of intervention resulted in paralyzing the defense for two days, in spite of the fact that they were in a critical juncture.

This was due to the fact that they were led to believe that the Prussians would be neutral and would intercede between the Commune and the Versailles Government. The Commune tried to keep this fact as yet from becoming public; but, prematurely, the National Guard learned of this and, filled with confidence in Prussian neutrality, fled to their lines, there to surrender as prisoners.

What happened then is only too well known to history. The trust laid in the Prussians by the Guardsmen was abused: their sentries shot thousands of them and handed over other thousands to the Versailles Government. The Commune was destroyed and with it the aspirations of the proletariat of France.

The diplomatic representative of the American Republic served the revolutionary people of France ignobly. But it is clear to us to-day that Mr. Washburne was absolutely faithful to his own class which sent him to France.

The tragedy is that this was not to be the last time that America would be a party to duplicity. What will be America's final treatment of th Workers' Republic on the other side of the Atlantic?

In the World of Books

Belated Repentance

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

After every debauch the toper resolves never again to be tempted by John Barleycorn. After every bloody sacrifice to Mars the unwilling and deluded devotees swear never again to be fooled when the war-god covers his armor with the white togs of peace, places an olive branch over his cauliflower ear, mounts his throne and declares that only armaments can prevent nations flying at one another's throts.

Will Irwin, the war correspondent, has written a book called "The Next War." It is a good book principally because the writer has used material gathered by the revolutionary writers and speakers who for the most part spent a considerable portion of their lives in jail for the reason that they did not wait until the war was over to point out the economic causes of war and its disastrous effects upon civilization.

The book will be read by and meet with the approval of thousands of people who joined the wolf-pack when the rulers sounded the battle-cry, and it will do much good altho it draws no conclusions except that war is a terrible thing and that with the latest improvemens in chemical warfare another world struggle would make of the earth a desert.

Will Irwin explains in detail the economic causes of war in general and of the last war in particular, but one searches in vain for a single sentence that would inform his readers that he knows that bankers, captains of industry and statesmen are caught in the mechanism of the capitalist system and forced relentlessly into advocacy of war. Perhaps this is too much to expect from so recent a convert to pacificism; after all it is only pacificism that the writer preaches.

The book is filled with a mass of evidence showing the wholesale destructiveness of modern warfare and the purely businesslike origins of the various patriotic slogans. I imagine that when the next war comes the mere possession of "The Next War" will be prima facie evidence of treason. It is written in an easy, journalistic style that makes reading it a pleasure, and the pictures, statistical tables and comparative charts are a veritable mine of information; it will make the most ignorant understand war and it will make them afraid of war, but it will not stop war as some enthusiastic reviewers have claimed.

* * *

NOTES IN BRIEF

Civil War in West Virginia. By Winthrop D. Lane. B. L. Huebsch. 125 pp. paper cover), 50 cents.

A descriptive account of the brave fight which the miners have been making for the right to organize and collectively defend their interests as wage workers. The author visited the coal region as a correspondent of the New York Evening Post and studied the situation at close range. He corroborates the miners in their contention that the powers of the state are on the side of the coal barons who are determined to root out unionism in that field at all costs.

West Virginia is an old stand-by in the manifestations of the class struggle in America. Its aggravated features will continue unless other labor unions support the miners in their struggle against the combined strength of the absentee mine-owners and the state authorities. The West Virginia miners have shown by their struggles and sacrifices that they are determined to clean out the hell-hole of capitalism which made their state famous. Will American labor give them a helping hand?

* * *

The Closed Shop. By Lamar T. Beman. H. W. Wilson Co. 197 pp. $1.80.

The Open Shop. A debate between Andrew Furuseth and Walter Gorden Merritt. H. W. Wilson Co., 47 pp. 50 cents

The first is a handbook in the Debaters' Series. Like the other volumes in this series, it is designed to aid debating teams in preparation of material and briefs for debates. The compiler has brought together expressions of opinions for and against the closed shop and has prepared a very exhaustive bibliography on the subject. The material is largely drawn from articles in the periodical press, altho some references are made to books and pamphlets dealing in whole or in part with the subject. Since only excerpts could be given, the reader will have to go back to the original articles and get a comprehensive resumé of the closed vs. the open shop question.

The debate which the Intercollegiate Socialist Society staged at the Lexington Opera House with President Furuseth of the Seamen's Union and Attorney Walter Gordon Merritt of the Industrial Rights League as participants, cannot be considered as a valuable contribution to the discussion of the subject.

At a time when a concerted attack is being made by the employers of the country against all the achievements of the labor unions during the past decade, a discussion on so burning a question should have resulted in something more than mere generalities. The significance of the open-shop movement, the forces back of the general anti union campaign, the part which the press, financial interests, Chambers of Commerce, and the state are playing in the present attack of the employers upon the workers should have been brought out during the debate.

Furuseth failed to do that, demonstrating again the inability of a pure and simple trade unionist to grasp the fundamentals of the class struggle. A Communist in place of Furuseth would have brought home to his audience the true meaning and extent of the open shop campaign against which the labor unions are now called upon to fight.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Lenin. By Landau-Aldanov. E. P. Dutton.

Romain Rolland. By Sweig. Thomas Seltzer.

New Churches for Old. By John Haynes Holmes. Dodd, Mead & Co.

War Costs and Their Financing. Ernest L. Bogart. D. Appleton & Co.

In Defense of Women. By H. L. Mencken. Alfred Knopf.

The Child and His School. By Gertrude Hartmann. E. P. Dutton.

[illegible] day, April [illegible], at the [illegible] Casino, 107th Street and [illegible] Avenue.

The whole proceeds will go to the "Liberator," the only [illegible] expression of the [illegible] workingclass in America.

All friendly organizations are requested not to arrange any conflicting entertainments on that day.

THE SHAME OF CALIFORNIA.
The Reproach of America that Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings Should Rot in Prison—the Frame-Up Victims of Perjured Testimony.

NEWEST BOOKS
Always in Stock
Corruptionists and Union Wreckers, Chas. Guildea . . $—.10
Program of the Workers Party 10
Ten Days That Shook the World, John Reed 1.00
The Crisis in Germany, England, Italy and France, Foster 25
The Russian Revolution, Foster 50
Theses of the 3rd Congress of the Communist International 50
Lyceum-Literature Department
Workers Party of America
PUBLISHERS—WHOLESALE—RETAIL
Room 405 — 799 Broadway
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

[illegible] School [illegible] Union Uses Police

The Lunchroom Workers branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers has been locked out at the Cafeteria in the Rand School and is picketing the place.

Despite the fact that the Rand School is a socialist institution, owned by the socialist party, financed and supported by the subscriptions of workers of all shades of opinion thruout the country, the aid of the police forces of capitalism has been secured by the Rand School, pickets have been slugged, stabbed and arrested, the services of a private detective agency—also run by socialists—have been obtained to "protect" the Rand School from the workers who built it and paid for it and the usual bunk about "the red menace" is being peddled not by the capitalist but by the "socialist" press; "socialist" lawyers have refused to defend the union members and the officialdom of the socialist party in New York is trying to create dissension between the cooks and waiters union of the American Federation of Labor and the Amalgamated Food Workers—two organizations that have long had a working agreement.

The Lunchroom workers state that they have always extended special consideration to the Rand School. Men have been laid off and disciplined to accomodate the management for complaints the union would have paid no attention from other concerns and all the organizers state that they would far rather deal with a purely capitalistic institution than with the Rand School management.

Last year the Rand School hired a manager formerly employed by the Thompson Restaurant Company, well-known for his slave-driving propensities, but he was unable to overcome the deficit resulting from the falling off in business altho gross receipts last year were $61,000.00 with wages approximating $15,000.00 or less than 25 per cent. of the receipts.

A scab shop figures that from 29 to 33 per cent. of the gross receipts must go for wages. The workers then submitted to a $2 decrease per week but this did not save the situation and the Cafeteria was closed to open up three weeks later with a new crew.

The old help applied for their jobs and were told the usual thing—that the Cafeteria was now under private management and that the Rand School had nothing to do with it. Capitalist concerns quite often change names and management to evade agreements with unions.

A conference was called attended by Charles Ervin, editor of The Call. His contribution to the discussion was a statement to the effect that he would attack mercilessly any union fighting another union.

The Lunchroom Workers were told that Silverman, the lessee—socialist and ex-restaurant proprietor—had a contract with the Waiters Union No. 1 of the American Federation of Labor but when the Amalgamated Food Workers interviewed the secretary of this union he expressed surprise that the Rand School had not settled with the Amalgamated. He also informed the committee from the Amalgamated that the executive board of Local No. 1 had passed a motion declaring that the entire matter must be left to the Rand School management for settlement.

The responsibility for subsequent events therefore rests solely upon the Rand School management and it is NOT a controversy between unions as The Call would like the public to believe.

The Amalgamated Food Workers, finding that no settlement was possible and that only the waiters employed by the new management were union members—where previously all help employed was organized—decided to picket the Rand School and did so.

The pickets were arrested and one hour after, the arrests Organizer Meyer, Secretary Obermeier, Organizer Rezac of the Hotel workers branch, and Hartman, secretary of the Lunch Room Workers Branch were beaten up in the corridor of the Rand School by gangsters secured by the management.

The Building Maintenance members of the Public Service Union, employed at the Rand School, have struck in sympathy with the Lunch Room Workers, and the action has been endorsed by the United Labor Council.

The reason for the stand taken by the management is clear. More profit can be made in a Cafeteria where only the waiters are organized than in a place where all employers belong to a union and enforce human working conditions.

The assaulted Food Workers have decided not to appear against the Rand School, and have decided not to use the capitalist courts in their fight.

The Rand School thus demonstrates that it is a capitalist and not a working-class institution; that it supports reaction as against revolution and is willing to use the capitalist government to fight unions based on industrial lines.

[illegible] YOUR [illegible] HUNGER AND THE RULE OF GOLD

TO WORKERS, [illegible] AND FRIENDS OF LABOR EVERYWHERE:

HUNGER [illegible] the ally of the oppressor.

HUNGER [illegible] New England [illegible] facts and figures [illegible] cost of production and profits.

THIS UNEQUAL STRUGGLE CENTERS IN THE PAWTUCKET VALLEY OF RHODE ISLAND

On January 23 and 24, 1922, 8,000 workers—HALF OF THEM WOMEN—left the mills in protest against a new reduction of wages which would force the average wage down to $17 a week of 54 hours. Since the week of Jan. 23 not a wheel has turned in 12 mills in 11 different villages of the PAWTUCKET VALLEY.

The combination of mill owners control the machinery of the State Government and caused the GOVERNOR to send armed militia into the peaceful PAWTUCKET VALLEY to intimidate the strikers. A delegation of strikers with affidavits proving abuse by these troops of women and old men went to the State House and Governor San Souci refused to see them.

These unfortunate workers never went on strike before. They lived herded like neglected cattle in dilapidated company houses under vile conditions. No running water except a big pump in a common back yard serving each group of overcrowded shacks. No sanitary drainage. The mill interests have prevented social legislation for women and children. Women work all night in the mills without legal restriction.

"THE BATTLE OF HUNGER AGAINST THE RULE OF GOLD

Thruout the Pawtuchet Valley the ranks of the strikers have remained unbroken. The workers are all enrolled under the banner of THE AMALGAMATED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, and this union has established six community restaurants in as many towns, where two good meals are daily served the strikers. The AMALGAMATED also issues credit slips for groceries to those who require them. Special provision is made for the wants of the thousands of children, from food and clothing to medical attention.

The number the AMALGAMATED is feeding now, during the seventh week of this fight, is approximately 3,000 each day. This number will grow larger rapidly from now on, as the slender resources of these underpaid workers are becoming exhausted. The battle for a square deal for American textile workers gives every indication of being a long one.

Unless these workers get YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT hunger may defeat them and their absolutely just cause.

EVERY RED-BLOODED, LIBERTY-LOVING MAN AND WOMAN IS ASKED TO GIVE WHAT HE AND SHE CAN SPARE FOR THE COURAGEOUS THOUSANDS IN THE PAWTUCHET VALLEY,

Send checks or cash to

AMALGAMATED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
RUSSELL PALMER, General Secretary.
Room 509 7 East 15th Street New York City

The Call's New Allies

"Foster League Communistic, Catholics say" announces The New York Call in its issue of March 6. Judging by the three line bank head we should say that in this particular instance The Call is greatly desirous of giving as much publicity as possible to the latest pronouncement of the National Catholic Welfare Council. As the Catholic church is the greatest foe of socialism and socialists in this country, and as The Call is an official organ of the Socialist Party some guileless persons may be somewhat puzzled by the eagerness which The Call displays to give publicity to the statements of those generally supposed to be its enemies.

To those who have been following with some interest the recent acrobatics of The Call management in its attempt to rally the labor unions to its support there is nothing mysterious in its sudden decision to line up with the clericals; for, be it known, the Call program and the Socialist Party program, unlike the program of the Trade Union Educational League, depends for its success upon winning over the trade-union bureaucracy by pointing out to it a more dangerous enemy.

The trade-union officials of the American movement are mostly of the Catholic faith and so the Call in the slimy manner so typical of all apostates prepares to raise the old cry of "For Cross and Country" against all who look with disfavor upon the coming alliance of national socialists, capitalistic labor-leaders and the militia of Christ.

There are a number of things we could say about a publication posing as the mouthpiece of the working-class which openly encourages the injection of the religious issue into the already divided labor movement of America but we believe our readers are able to make the proper deductions.

Giving the Game Away

The Cincinnati Times Star, whose editor and owner is closely related to Big Bill Taft of "God knows" and injunction fame, is out with a weighty pronouncement on the threatened coal strike in which the editor opines that the coal-operators in refusing to negotiate with the miners are going a bit too far.

He says:

> **Radicals on the employing side have never explained how, if they get rid of the Gompers-Lewis type of union, they can escape contact with other types of labor organizations, less American and more dangerous to established institutions, which would take its place.**

The thought strikes us that some of the established institutions to which a new and more militant type of unionism would be a menace are the open shop, the successful use of armed forces of the state in industrial disputes, the jailing and conviction of workers for activity in behalf of their class and other little diversions of the employing and financial interests. With these manifestations of imperialism at home the existing type of union officered by the individuals now in power, has demonstrated its inability to cope.

It is ineffective because it takes no cognizance of the changes that have taken place in industry and government in the last 30 years and is still trying to make workable a plan of organization and an ideology appropriate to a time when some remnants of democracy existed and when trustification of industry had not yet been accomplished.

We are inclined to believe that the Gompers-Lewis type of union will receive from now on considerably more support from the intelligent capitalist than it has in the past and that it will—indeed it is—looked upon by the ruling class in America much as is the "Christian" type of union in Europe.

John L. Lewis is no more revolutionary than Elbert H. Gary and Sam Gompers is no more radical than Elihu Root. This type of labor leader asks only that the employers allow them enough organization to satisfy their personal craving for power; if they get that they are well-satisfied to let the capitalists have everything else.

The bonus will be paid by a sales tax. The bonus will be paid from the interest on foreign loans. The bonus will be paid in notes which the banks will discount. The banks will not be allowed to cash the notes, says the comptroller of currency. The bonus will be paid by a tax on wine and beer if we can get the wine and beer. The bonus will be paid by an excess profits tax only the excess profits tax has been repealed.

What an efficient government we Americans have!

India has appealed over the head of the British government to the British people for the evacuation of Constantinople and the British lion is all of a tremble. A subject people daring to suggest policies for the empire(?)

"It really is never done, you know!"

[illegible]
With FAITH and SUPREME SACRIFICE!
[illegible]
We must [illegible] a calamity,
When we like STYLE.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

But in RUSSIA
They toil day and night,
And get only for BREAD,
And THEY, clad in frayed rags,
With famine-distended bellies,
Are happier than we,
Because they hope for the future,
With FAITH and SUPREME SACRIFICE!
The old edifice is demolished;
Already they are driving piles for the new.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

And in America—SLAVERY—
Increasingly abject;
Well fed with crumbs
From the rich man's table.
Striving to get cake-crumbs
Instead of bread-crumbs—
Still, only a petty striving for Crumbs.

Muriel Wright.

Patriots Vindictive in the Golden West

(By The Federated Press)

Oakland, Cal.—Revival by the Better America Federation of the three-year-old case against members of the Communist Labor Party may lead to the sentencing of eight men to long terms in San Quentin.

In 1919, when the Communist Labor Party was formed, police raided an organization meeting of the party, following an attack upon the Communists by a mob, and arrested most of the leaders. Two were convicted, and the jury disagreed in the third case (the charge in all the cases being "criminal syndicalism") and since that time no further prosecutions have been held, and the cases were being quietly dropped, owing to lack of any evidence and to protests on the part of liberals and radicals.

Now the B. A. F. has insisted that the prosecutions be gone on with, and a new joint indictment has been sworn out against J. H. Dolson, J. A. Ragsdale, J. G. Reed, Edric B. Smith, J. E. Snyder, C. Aylward Tobey and Clarence Tobey. The men are being held under $2,000 bail apiece. Bail has been raised for some of the victims by Mrs. Meta Erickson and by Anita Whitney, herself out on bail under appeal for the same case; but it is not possible to raise bail immediately for all the men.

With the B. A. F.'s money back of the prosecution, it is feared that the defendants will be railroaded to San Quentin for having organized a party nearly three years ago.

RAILROAD "NORMALCY"

Chicago.—Sixty thousand railway telephone and telegraph operators were deprived of the eight-hour day by the United States Railway Labor Board in a ruling made public Saturday.

According to the ruling the "principle" of the eight-hour day holds for this group of railway employees as it does for all other employees previously deprived of the eight-hour day. The roads, however, are obliged to pay at the rate of time and a half only after the ninth hour of work.

The revised rules also prescribe regular pay for Sunday and holiday work, for eight hours. The split trick of eight hours, over a spread of twelve hours, is authorized.

NO "COMPANY UNION"

Schenectady, N. Y.—The employees of the General Electric Company, by a vote of almost two to one, have rejected the so-called Rockefeller or "American" plan of shop "representation." The vote was 5,704 to 3,549.

The proposal was opposed by the Metal Trades Alliance, while company influence was brought to bear as strongly as possible without resort to actual intimidation.

WAGES, NOT FARES, DROP

Sacramento, Cal.—Wages of motormen and conductors here have been reduced 5 cents an hour in the passenger service of the Sacramento Northern (electric) railway, and 7½ cents in the freight service. Passenger conductors and motormen will now receive 57½ cents an hour, and freight employees 62½ cents. There will be no reduction in fares.

SOUTHERN CHIVALRY

Mobile, Ala.—Ninety cents a day for an 11-hour day is the wage paid women laundry workers in at least one establishment here. The laundry at Fairhope, Ala., pays $1.25 a day. White farm help is paid $2 a day and no meals are provided. Negro farm workers receive only $1.50 or $1.75. Lettuce here costs 25 cents a head.

Milwaukee.—"There are 200 different organizations raising funds for Russia, including the one in charge of Manipulator Herbert Hoover," G. T. Fraenkel, Chicago machinist, told the Federated Trades Council here, "and some of them are so much mistrusted that organized labor has organized a relief movement of its own." He spoke on behalf of the newly-formed Trade Union National Committee for Russian Relief.

[illegible]

NOTE.—[illegible] program of the League [illegible] It is as follows:

WHAT MUST BE DONE

Two things are absolutely indispensable to the further life and progress of our labor movement: first, the militants must definitely and finally rid themselves of the dual union secessionist tendency that has negated their efforts for so long; and, second, they must thoroly organize themselves within the trade unions for the effective application of their boundless energies and dynamic programs.

When this is accomplished, then, and then only, can we look forward confidently to the American labor movement taking its proper place in the forefront of the world's trade union organization—a position which it occupied thirty or forty years ago, before its militants became poisoned and ruined by dual utopianism.

Substantial progress is now being made towards the accomplishment of these two vital essentials. In the first place, the militant rebels are freeing themselves from dual unionism with wonderful rapidity; and in the second place, they are everywhere forming the necessary propaganda groups within the organized masses of trade unionists.

The organization thru which this new and most important movement of militants is taking shape is The Trade Union Educational League.

What Is the T. U. E. L.

The Trade Union Educational League is an informal grouping of the progressive and revolutionary elements thruout the entire trade union movement; a potent means to assist these militants in the performance of their natural functions as the brain and backbone of the organized masses.

It is not a dual union, nor is it affiliated directly or indirectly with any such. It does not issue charters, nor does it collect dues or per capita tax.

For the revenue to carry on its work it depends upon voluntary donations from supporters and sympathizers, profits from the sale of literature, etc.

It is simply a virile educational league, operating within and in support of the trade unions, and by no means in opposition to or in competition with them.

It is an auxiliary of the labor movement, not a substitute for it. It is identical with the movements thru which the militants in other countries have transformed their trade unions into real fighting organizations.

The League's Program

The Trade Union Educational League proposes to develop trade unions from their present antiquated [illegible] condition into [illegible] powerful labor organizations capable of waging successful warfare against Capital.

To this end it is working to revamp and remodel from top to bottom their theories, tactics, structure, and leadership.

Instead of advocating the prevailing shameful and demoralizing nonsense about harmonizing the interests of Capital and Labor, it is firing the workers' imagination and releasing their wonderful idealism and energy by propagating the inspiring goal of the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic.

The League aggressively favors organization by industry instead of by craft. Altho the craft form of union served a useful purpose in the early days of capitalism, it is now entirely out of date.

In the face of the great consolidation of the employers the workers must also close up their ranks or be crushed.

The multitude of craft unions must be amalgamated into a series of industrial unions—one each for the metal trades, railroad trades, clothing trades, building trades, etc.—even as they have been in other countries.

The League also aims to put the workers of America in co-operation with the fighting trade unionists of the rest of the world.

It is flatly opposed to our present pitiful policy of isolation, and it advocates affiliation to the militant international trade union movement, known as the Red Trade Union International.

The League is campaigning against the reactionaries, incompetents, and crooks who occupy strategic positions in many of our organizations.

It is striving to replace them with militants, with men and women unionists who look upon the labor movement not as a means for making an easy living, but as an instrument for the achievement of working class emancipation.

In other words, the League is working in every direction necessary to put life and spirit and power into the trade union movement.

How the League Organizes

The Trade Union Educational League groups the militants two ways: by localities and by industries. In all cities and towns general groups of militants of all trades are formed to carry on the work of education and reorganization in their respective localities.

These local general groups, to facilitate their work, divide themselves into industrial sections—such as printing, building, textile, railroad, metal, clothing, transport, etc.

All the local general groups are kept in touch and co-operation with each other thru a national corresponding secretary.

Volunteers Wanted!

To help address envelopes and fold circulars. Apply National Office, FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 201 W. 13th ST., ANY TIME AFTER 9 A. M. Those out of work will be supplied with meals.

Likewise, all the local industrial educational groups are linked together, nationally, industry by industry, through their respective corresponding secretaries.

Every phase and stage of the trade union movement will have its branch of the life-giving educational organization.

Let the railroad industry illustrate the general plan: In every important railroad center there will be educational groups of railroad men, not of single crafts, but of the whole sixteen in the industry.

These local groups will co-operate nationally, thru a secretary (a volunteer unless the local groups find ways, thru donations, to pay him).

A national program will be established and a great drive instituted to combine the sixteen squabbling unions into one solid body.

Amalgamation will be made a burning issue all over the country wherever railroad men meet and talk. From the live wire section man in San Diego, California, to the rebel engineer in Portland, Maine, the whole body of railroad militants will move unitedly and irresistably to the accomplishment of their task, the erection of a great and powerful industrial union of railroad workers by the amalgamation and invigoration of the sixteen craft unions.

The union leaders refuse to carry out this absolutely indispensable project, so it is up to the rank and file militants to do it for themselves.

The Trade Union Educational League will make great use of pamphlets, bulletins, journals, etc., in its educational work. Its official national organ is THE LABOR HERALD, a monthly published at $2.50 per year. THE LABOR HERALD is carrying a burning message of constructive unionism and solidarity to the discontented rank and file.

It is filled from cover to cover with the living, dynamic organization principles which can find no place in our static, muzzled, dry-as-dust official trade union journals.

The launching of The Trade Union Educational League marks a turning point in American labor history. It is the beginning of an era in which the trade unions, flourishing under intensive cultivation by their organized militants, will gradually pass from their present hopeless defensive fight into an aggressive attack upon Capital, an attack which can end only with the abolition of the wage system.

The program of The Trade Union Educational League is the only possible effective answer to the "Open Shop" drive of the employers; it is the sole means by which the American working class can take its proper place in the world battle of Labor.

Active trade unionists willing to co-operate in the work of the League are requested to write to the undersigned for further information: Wm. Z. FOSTER, Sec'y.-Treas., 118 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

BUSINESS IS BAD

Milwaukee.—Thirty bankruptcies were filed here during February, according to the monthly reports of Fred Westfall, clerk of the United States district court.

There were 38 bankruptcies filed during January.

"Spring Festival"

TOURISTEN VEREIN

Die Naturfreunde

Saturday, March 25, 1922

TICKETS 50 CENTS

LABOR TEMPLE

243 East 84th Street

[illegible] for the Coming [illegible]

(By The Federated Press)

New York.—A national reserve fund of $2,000,000 is being collected by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, to be used in the event the critical situation developing in the Chicago and Rochester markets develop into a strike or lockout. In these centers new agreements must be reached by May.

The manufacturers have demanded restoration of the 48-hour week, the right to hire and fire at will, abrogation of the principle of equal distribution of work, increase of the quantity of output required under the standard of production, and a 25 per cent reduction in piece and week work rates.

The demands are practically the same as those made by the New York manufacturers in 1920, but which they were forced to abandon following a strike in which the Amalgamated gained an overwhelming victory.

An editorial in the current issue of "Advance," the official organ of the A. C. W., declared that to accept the demands of the Chicago employers would mean to surrender the organization. "In New York the employers sought a fight with the union," the editorial continues, "and made unconditional surrender a condition of peace. In Chicago both sides are seeking to arrive at an understanding rather than otherwise. With that end in view the negotiations are now being continued.

"Industrial democracy, to the extent that it has so far been developed in the clothing industry, is now being tested in Chicago. It is the first great test without resort to strikes."

LUMBERMEN FOR VIOLENCE

Seattle.—Protest is being made to the governor of Mississippi by Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, against the slugging of J. W. Perkins, timberworkers' organizer, in that state recently, it has been learned at timberworkers' international headquarters here. Lumber barons of that state have threatened death to other organizers and officials of the union.

LAUDS CENTRALIA HERO

Centralia, Wash.—Union labor here regards the $150,000 stone memorial being planned by the American Legion as a shrine for Wesley Everest. "Above the building forever will hang the cloud of a great question causing every onlooker to inquire deeper into the cause of the Armistice Day tragedy in 1919," declared the Central Labor Council recently.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Charleston, W. Va.—Notice of eviction has been served on 50 or more locked-out miners and their families, according to The West Virginia Federationist, organ of the labor movement of this state.

"Two families were evicted at Rocklick, but a snowstorm halted the proceedings," declares The Federationist. "Pangs of hunger haunt the women and children and the cold wave makes the situation more acute than ever.

Unless relief comes more liberally from the workers of the nation, God help suffering humanity in the southern West Virginia coal fields."

HARDING REJECTS WORKERS

Despite his passion for conferences, preferably those accompanied by much pomp and circumstances, President Harding does not approve when the workers so far forget their place as to request a conference on matters touching their own interests.

A delegation of Maintenance of Way Employes representing 450,000 workers recently appealed to the President for a hearing on the wage-cuts ordered by the Railway Labor Board, and the arbitrary methods of the Railway heads.

The President refused to receive the delegation, which was informed that the question was one in which the White House could not interfere.

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Documents
Famine News
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Official organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia

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New York City

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] by those who are their spokes-men and direct their policy.

Dominion Status

Under the terms of the agreement of London, the constitutional status of the "Free State" is to be similar to that of the Dominion of Canada. But the fundament of the Canadian political structure is the British North America Act of 1867, which itself provided that the constitution of the Dominion should be similar in principle to that of the then United Kingdom.

Constitution-framers for the "Free State" are therefore limited, at the very outset, for their politico-architectural designs to the unwritten, it is true, but for all that, very certain and definite specifications of the British Constituion.

What those specifications are every revolutionary number of the world proletariat recognizes. The charters of so-called liberty, on which rest the glories of a putrescent imperialism, have, in effect, proved the most substantial barriers to the emancipation of the British slave. Whether our Healys, Duffys and Duggans will dare, flouting a watchful Coalition, to range outside that field or at all ignore the Anglo-Saxon mode remains to be seen.

It is scarcely likely that they will seek to confer with the authors of the only Free State in existence. Apart from their inhibition inherent in the pact of London itself, it does not seem feasible that the representatives of holy Ireland should take counsel with "The Bolsheviks of Russia!" Liberty Hall might, if its opinion were sought, make such a piquant and refreshing suggestion, but we have our doubts both ways. If the workers of Ireland and their leaders have determined to mould the "Free State" to their ultimate will, it seems to us they shall have to do so thru other channels and by other ways and means than those of a paper Constitution.

To the Co-operative Commonwealth

The workers must therefore proceed towards the creation of that Co-operative Commonwealth, which has in recent years been so freely featured in the writings and utterances of Irish progressivists and radicals as their objective. A truly Co-operative Commonwealth were, indeed, worthwhile, but we greatly fear that many of those, who write and speak in terms of such an ideal, have a poor concept of its meaning and a still poorer idea of the way to attain it. Co-operation, in so far as its practice in Ireland during the past few decades could be observed and noted, meant little more than the combination of groups of farmers to protect and increase their profits. One failed to detect any expression of a desire, for instance, on their part to share those profits with the hired man or to place the service of the community at large above their own immediate and special interests.

Tough Problem

As a type the Irish farmer is the most ingrainedly selfish and narrow that we have knowledge of or acquaintance with. He presents to the forward-looking among the Irish people the toughest of problems, but a problem that can and must be solved by those who would radically change the economic status quo. It is worthy of note that out of a total number of agricultural holdings in Ireland amounting to 572,045 there are no less than 408,579 of less than 30 acres each. In other words of the entire Irish farming community more than 71 per cent are owners or occupiers of bare economic or less than economic holdings. The interests of that 71 per cent are, if its components but knew it, practically parallel with those of the industrial workers and agricultural laborers. For, in point of fact, they are simply workers themselves, the one seeming point of difference between them and their brothers being that they are possessed of a stake in a small patch of ground—a stake which in terms of honest economics amounts to no more than the individuals reserve of labor-power. The small farmer, just as his industrial brother is leech-bled year in, year out, by the banking, commercial and professional classes which grow fat on his industry and thrive on his social myopia.

Occupational Statistics

Irish economic and social statistics have hitherto been so crudely assembled, classified and sectionalized as to present little more than a confused blur to the student. Yet some interesting comparisons may, with a little care, be deducted from them. Out of a total population at the last census (taken 1911) of 4,390,219 the occupational returns were as follows:

Professional (including clerical)	141,134
Commercial (including banking)	111,143
Industrial	613,397
Agricultural	780,867
Domestic, indefinite and non-producing (including presumably police, children; general workers and unemployed)	2,743,678

Liars can figure

These figures may, because of the fatuous process of differentiation followed, be played with at will, but if they indicate anything at all, they show the utterly indefensible and inequitable distribution of human, and by inference, material resources of the country. The "Haves" are clearly in gross disproportion to the "Have-nots" as to numbers in a land whose summarized property according to recent estimates reached the astounding figure of $2,500,000,000, or, including children, $600 per capita. Of this colossal sum be it remembered, too, that approximately $1,600,000,000 or 64 per cent represented Bank deposits, investments in British Government stocks and the capital, loan and debenture stocks of Irish Railways and street car systems.

The aggregate number of persons in receipt of relief, in other words of folks destitute amid plenty, reached in 1914 the staggering figure of 572,709, which is equivalent to stating that in that year over 13 per cent of the entire population existed in a state of beggary. And this figure is true of a period of alleged economic stability. To what extent it has been swollen during the post-war reaction to "normalcy" we have no certain knowledge. Of a surety the Irish people stand in sore need of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

To Awaken the Masses

The indications are clear for the men and women in the Irish Labor Movement who want to end the sordid economy that has led to such a state of affairs. They may not be asked to help inscribe a political charter of bourgeois freedom, but they can and must awaken the submerged masses to the realities of the situation. They can and should utilize their own organization to disseminate the truths that will stir to constructive activity the lethargic minds of not merely the industrial and agricultural workers, but of that large body of bare economic and less than economic owners and occupiers of land, whose mutual apathy has been induced by a process of hopeless and apparently interminable grabbing of a jealously guarded piece of soil. The workers, as such, will readily grasp, where a cul-de-sac superstition does not bar them, the lesson of these truths. The tuition of the other element may prove slow and painful, but it is none the less worthwhile.

Example of Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia will afford many excellent object lessons. There in making the finest human experiment in history a few minds have encountered and by degrees overcome the manifold obstacles, which the irresponsiveness of the domestic materials and the implacable enmity of foes from without had put in their way. A tenacity of purpose, linked with a certainty of program and the support of a loyal, class-conscious and determined army were the means that enabled them to carry through. The Revolution—dread word! will not come about overnight in Ireland, but if proceeded towards steadily by men and women of determination, it must and will come in time.

Constructive Program Needed

There is thus a huge field of activity for those who would inaugurate in Ireland an era of economic equality and security. Yet, mere precatory remarks or diffuse and vague propaganda will not bring it about. History has demonstrated that it is the man or men with a definite program who invariably win in the end. The abolition of the system of exploitation that now obtains, however much to be desired, cannot be an end in itself. Chaos follows if there be no constructive plans. To evolve such is the task that today confronts the workers in Ireland and those of us here who believe in and wish and hope for the emancipation of our kind.

Warren Gamaliel Harding has been president for one year. Ten millions of unemployed is the greatest indictment humanity can register against the failure of his administration. The remaining years of his term will be featured by failures just as great. Capitalism has nothing but failure to offer civilization. And Harding is a child of capitalism, Turn to Communism.

[illegible]

10,000,000 of us are now out of work. Unemployment is on the increase. We and our children are hungry and cold. We have no money for food, clothing and shelter.

We can't earn any money because there are no jobs.

The factories are closed. The mills and mines are shut down.

WHY?

Because the bosses don't need us now. So they **KICK** us out into the streets and let us starve. The warehouses are loaded with the goods that **WE** have made, the things that **WE** need now.

When the bosses have sold these goods, they will put us to work again. Meanwhile, they go to Palm Beach and Europe, where they spend the millions taken from our labor.

"Smile," they say, **AND STARVE!**

The workers on the job are being crushed by the greed of the bosses. Wages have hit bottom. Long hours and slavery are the order of the day. The bosses are carrying on a savage fight against the Labor Unions and are using the unemployed to smash them.

While millions of us men are unemployed, **2,000,000 children are being worked to death in the mills and fields,** because the bosses make bigger profits out of them. **Working women have to slave nights in mills** to keep their children from starving. **IT IS HELL!**

America is the richest country in the world! We workers produce $62,000,000,000 worth of goods every year. The richest mines, the most highly developed industries are in America.

AND 10,000,000 WALK THE STREETS!

Workers! Shall we be content to starve because the bosses can't make a profit from our labor?

It's up to **Us.—DEMAND WORK!**

Demand that the factories and mines be opened!

If the bosses refuse, then let the Government hand them over to us to operate.

Public highways, bridges, more schools are needed. Demand that the Government begin building at once, so we can get work.

If the Government refuses, **DEMAND COMPENSATION AT TRADE UNION WAGES!**

The U. S. Government gave $500,000,000 to the railroad magnates. It gave a billion to the shipowners. It spent billions on the war. It raises hundreds of millions for the army and navy.

WHY NOT RAISE MILLIONS FOR US?

Russia needs millions of dollars worth of mining and farming machinery, motor trucks and locomotives.

Demand trade with Soviet Russia! Demand that the Government grant them long term credit, just as they have given it to Poland, Roumania and Austria. Trade with Russia will start the factories going full blast. **IT WILL MEAN WORK FOR US.**

ORGANIZE TO MAKE THESE DEMANDS.

Let us join our forces with Organized Labor. Then the bosses and Government will have to listen to us.

JOIN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED!
THE TIME FOR ACTION HAS COME!
ORGANIZE!

Unemployment Council of New York
Organization of the Unemployed.

WOMEN OF AMERICA,
Answer the Appeal
of Famine-Stricken
WOMEN OF RUSSIA

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S
LABOR DAY
Devoted for
RELIEF IN RUSSIA

Mass Meeting
Tuesday, March 14, 8 P. M.

SPEAKERS
WILLIAM F. DUNN, Editor of The Worker
DR. HENDIN, Secretary, Jewish Federation, Workers Party
CATHERINE GITLOW JEANETTE D. PEARL

WORKERS HALL
1347 Boston Road, Bronx

Auspices,
Workers Party of America, Local Greater New York

[illegible]

[illegible] served.

BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA

Editor, The Worker:—The power of capitalist propaganda is one of the most potent influences against which the worker's movement has to contend. The steps of progress are everywhere opposed by this propaganda.

The capitalist point of view is everywhere set forth so that almost unconsciously and hypnotically the mind of labor is moulded in the desired way.

Many workers have been so steeped in this propaganda for years that it is a difficult task to arouse them out of their lethargy to do their own thinking in a class-conscious way.

We all realize how during the war the full force of capitalist influence was used to arouse the workers against their socalled enemies across the seas and to induce them to work harder and ever harder in the production of war materials, all in the name of "democracy."

Now we see the same means used to persuade wage earners to accept repeated cuts in wages and more arduous working conditions in the name of a so-called "return to normalcy."

The "open shop" is pictured as a haven of refuge to the weary worker, instead of a means of almost complete enslavement of the worker, as it really is.

That this policy has had the result of hoodwinking a certain proportion of the working class there can be no doubt, some even believing that the boss and his friend "normalcy" are doing him a favor when they cut his wages.

A more recent feature of this propaganda is the billboard advertising which presents various slogans intended to allay popular discontent with the horrible living conditions of today.

For example, "This is your country, you fought for it, now work for it," can hardly allay the hunger of a propertyless and unemployed ex-soldier, altho such is obviously its purpose.

What antidote have we workers for this poison which is being continuously injected into the minds of our fellows by press, movie, sermon and story?

The spread of class-conscious thought thru the influence of the workers' press upon the rank and file, until in due time the average worker will think like a worker and not like a capitalist.—W. Wells.

ESPERANTO

Editor, The Worker:— Esperanto and the radical movement are closely connected. Both are international in scope and identical in aims. This has been so well understood by Radicals the world over that from statistics compiled by recognized authorities in the Esperanto world it has been found that two-thirds of the Esperanto movement is in the hands of radicals. And of these two-thirds 75 per cent are Communists.

The favor with which Soviet Russia looks upon Esperanto is well known and it has even been said that Esperanto was taught in primary Russian schools. Czechoslovakia has officially recognized Esperanto, as have a few more European and South American countries.

New York City has not been inactive in this respect and three months ago was founded THE LABORISTA ESPERANTO CENTRO, with headquarters at 323—2d Ave., whose purpose and aim is the propaganda of the International Language among radicals. The program of the Laborista Esperanta Centro is a vast one and includes the free instruction of Esperanto to workers, the distribution of circulars about the International Language at radical meetings, the nomination of delegates at each and every Labor Union. Free classes of Esperanto are held at the CENTRO, 323—2d Ave., every Monday and Friday evenings, at 8 P. M., to which all comrades are invited to attend.

The Esperanta Laborista Centro makes herewith an offer to supply teachers of Esperanto who will freely give their services to any WORKERS PARTY LOCAL YOUNG WORKERS PARTY LEAGUE LOCAL, or to any other Radical organization who will provide a local for the classes.

The teachers of the LABORISTA ESPERANTA CENTRO are already teaching in various parts of the City, among others at the FERRER SCHOOL, and more teachers are being trained day after day.

THE BAKER'S UNIONS have endorsed the International Language and the delegate of the Esperanta Laborista Centro to this Union is teaching Esperanto to its members.—M. Amiel, 2048—7th Ave., N. Y. C.

Lloyd George is so near his finish as British premier that he is threatening to resign. Case of getting out before he gets kicked out.

The United L[illegible]

By WM. W. WEINSTONE

The Communist International was constituted from the Left Wing groups of the reformist Socialist Parties of the Second International and developed by splitting these parties.

Communist Parties were formed in the countries of Europe and America and the Labor Movement of the world was divided into Communists and Yellow Socialists.

The Communist International declared merciless war upon the traitors to the working class— the Scheidemanns, Hendersons, Thomas' and Gompers—the heroes of the rotten Second International. The hostility to these Social-Chauvinists and out and out Bourgeois Reformers was unconcealed.

It said emphatically to the working class that as long as they follow these Judases of the Labor Movement, they are doomed to crucifixion by the Capitalist class.

There is but one thing to do with these traitors—to drive them out of the Labor Movement as discredited bourgeois lackeys.

In its first appeal issued in January, 1919, to the Communists of the world, the Third International stated that a fight without mercy must be put up against the social traitors and the Centrists must be criticized relentlessly and unmasked as phrase-mongers and lip revolutionists.

The Third International successfully conducted this policy. The sections of the C. I. exposed the bourgeois ideology of these lieutenants of Capital. They denounced them for their support of the Bourgeois Dictatorship and their unwillingness to fight for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

During the first year, the fight against these opportunists was limited however to propaganda alone. To defeat the reformists and to expose their true character to the workers, it was decided that propaganda alone was insufficient.

It was necessary to demonstrate to the workers **on the basis of their own experiences**, in the practical, everyday struggle, that their leaders were unwilling to fight for their interests. The working class of Europe would have to go thru the period of disillusionment, similar to that experienced by the Russian workers under Kerensky before they discovered that the Scheidemanns were serving only the Bourgeoisie.

Participation in Class Struggle

The Second Congress of the Communist International therefore declared that it was the task of the Communists not simply to agitate for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat on the basis of the theory alone, nor limit their fight against the leaders of the Second International to bitter denunciation.

It was the duty of the Communists to participate in the daily struggles of the workers and by close and constant association with the masses, by fighting side by side with them for their immediate needs, to expose the cowardice, incompetence and treachery of the Bureaucracy.

For Immediate Needs of Workers

The Communists alone are willing or able to fight for the immediate interests of the proletariat. The Bureaucrats are unable to do anything but to demoralize the workers and to surrender to the capitalists without a struggle.

This policy of fighting for the immediate interests of the workers appeared to some groups in the International as a concession to opportunism.

The duty of Communists, they proclaimed, was to agitate for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and not advocate anything less than that.

However, it was evident that not only must Communists engage in the struggle of the workers but if they are really an advance guard, they must lead the workers in these struggles. In these struggles they could a thousand times more effectively expose the labor charlatans as bourgeois agents masking as leaders than could be done in any number of polemics on Dictatorship versus Democracy.

The policy of conducting the fight on the basis of immediate demands, while pointing out the limitations of these demands, would have the additional value of further disturbing the equilibrium of Capitalist production.

It would hasten the development of the intensive class struggle leading to the final contest for power; the immediate struggles inevitably growing more general, sharper, and taking in ever greater numbers.

Strategy To Expose Reformists

The Second Congress not only laid down the general principle of participation in the daily struggles but also directed the Communist parties to operate in the working class organizations of whatever political color, and advised the British Communist Party to enter the Reformist Labor Party in order to better expose the Reformists, from within.

Lenin went even further in this policy and counselled the British Communists to support Henderson in the coming election so that the workers might see with their own eyes and feel thru their own experiences, the futility of reforms and reformers to free them from the hell of Capitalism.

[illegible] Third International [illegible] invited the Yellow Amsterdam International to co-operate for aid to Russia and help to the Spanish workers suffering from the brutal persecutions of the White Terror.

In each of these proposals there was the strategy of unmasking the reformists as false leaders unwilling to fight for the simple, elementary needs of the workers; of being the real split-makers dividing the workers for their own bureaucratic interests. And the results show that this strategy was successful.

United Front of Labor

The Third Congress endorsed the Open Letter policy and invited the Communist Parties of the world to follow the example of the German Communists.

It did not, however, as yet throw out the slogan of the United Labor Front.

In his speech of December 4th, Zinoviev, president of the C. I., pointed out the necessity of putting forward this slogan for the immediate action of the Communist sections.

No New Departure In Tactics

The United Labor Front policy is therefore no new departure in the tactics of the C. I. tho the extreme "Leftists" will join with the Reformists in proclaiming it as such.

It has been developing gradually. Its general and universal application at this moment arises out of the particular conditions existing among the working class of the world.

Everywhere there is evident an undercurrent for unity caused by the ever increasing oppression of the Capitalists. The Labor Unions are being dealt smashing blows. The workers are in retreat before the united attack of the master class and they are retreating without a fight.

The proletariat under this terrific pressure longs for unity of all workers, for the defense of their wage standard and of their elementary rights and needs. This cry for unity cannot go unanswered.

The Communists must seize the initiative and raise the banner of the United Labor Front. Stepping forward as the defender of the interests of the working class they also appear to the workers as the unifying force in their struggle.

Challenge To The Bureaucracy

The United Labor Front is not a unity of Communists with the Labor aristocrats on the basis of class conciliation, it is a challenge to the Labor Bureaucrats to conduct a united campaign for the class struggle.

How can the drive of the capitalists to smash the Unions be broken? By a United Labor Front! How can we stop the attack on wages, hours of labor, anti-strike laws? By a United Labor Front.

We Communists demand such United Action upon a program that will unify the workers as well as place them in an advantageous position to further carry on the class struggle. How do you Labor Bureaucrats stand? Are you for Unity of the workers or for Unity with the Capitalists.

Value of The United Front

What is gained from these tactics? They expose the reformers. The latter charge the Communists with breaking up the Union and dividing the ranks of Labor. They are now dividing the workers and refusing to fight for the "legitimate" demands of the Unions.

Or if they are engaged in a united struggle, they are shown to be deserters as the "Black Friday" of the Triple Alliance demonstrated.

In either case, the Communists become more closely associated with the masses that follow the Yellow leaders, their prestige rises and they prove to these backward workers the need for a new leadership.

United Labor Front in America

How shall the Workers Party apply this tremendously effective policy to America? This means, what shall our concrete program of United Action consist of?

That there is a need for a United Labor Front among the workers is tragically evident. That there is sentiment for United Action is evidenced by the recent conference called in Chicago by the Railroad Chiefs; by the Unity Pact, feeble and inadequate tho it is, of Railroaders and Miners.

The rank and file at the Convention of Miners demonstrated their desire for unity when they backed Howat against Lewis.

At this moment the Communists have the task of creating united action and the proposal for the calling of a Labor Congress made in the Open Letter of the Workers Party, was the first step.

Yet this does not exhaust the possibilities of a United Labor Front policy. The American workers are the most backward politically. They still follow the policy long discarded by European Labor of "punishing the enemies and rewarding the friends," which in practice means punishing the workers and selling out to the Capitalists.

It is about time that the American workers took a step forward and it is for the Communists to show the way and propose the formation of a United Political Front of Labor on somewhat the model of the British Labor Party—The identity of the uniting bodies to be unaffected; their autonomy of organization and full freedom of criticism retained.

In such an organization composing the great masses of Organized Labor, the Workers Party would find a fertile field for winning the workers to their program.

It need not be pointed out that such a party would be no substitute for the Workers Party.

As against the Revolutionary Workers Party it would be indeed a step backward, but as against the present non-political policy it would be an important step forward.

Under this form of organization, contact of the advance guard with the rear guard would be accomplished—the one thing the American Revolutionary movement has been so sadly lacking.

The United Labor Front policy has many other tactical advantages to offer. A critical and careful application of this policy will constitute the greatest step forward in the liberation of the American Revolutionary Movement from its isolation today and will be the most effective blow aimed at the Bourgeoisie and their lieutenants, the Gompers, Johnstons and Lewises.

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4 Days
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4 Days
March
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For the Relief of
CLASS WAR PRISONERS
at
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86th Street and Third Avenue

All "ads" for Souvenir Journal must be in by March 7th.
Send articles or funds for the purchase of same to—
NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE, NEW YORK
DIVISION
New Address: Room 405, 80 East 11th Street, corner Broadway.

[illegible]ork Among Women Task of Soviets

NOTE:—Here is the first of several articles on Russia that THE WORKER plans to present to its readers from the pen of Mary Heaton Vorse, just returned from an extensive tour thru the great Workers' Republic. This article has to do with work among women in Russia. Watch for the next.

• • •

By MARY HEATON VORSE

When I went into the Hall of the Third Soviet where the Communist Party women of Russia were holding their convention, Prebogenski, the great Russian economist, was speaking.

Behind him red flags made a flaming background. A group of working women sat at the presidium table, among them Alexandra Kollontai, short, dark hair framing her impressively handsome face. Prebrogenski faced an audience of peasant women and factory workers who had come from towns in the remote corners of Russia.

There were few intellectuals. A scant dozen hats or fur caps made rare punctuation marks among the shawled heads.

Some had traveled for days by sleds, and days more by railway. Many had ever before seen a railway. There were women from the far Urals, women of the Crimea, women of Ukraine, even women of Astrakhan on the Caspian.

Sheepskin coats kept most of them warm for the hall was unheated, some new ones, making bright orange blotches in the general grey background. Great felt boots were on their feet, woolen shawls bound their heads.

A curious audience for a great economist to be addressing. He was explaining to them the intricacies of the new economic policy which affects the life of every person in Russia, for Russian leaders do not talk bunk to their party members. At a Russian political meeting there is a total lack of one thing and that is, hot air.

Prebrogenski talked two hours. chnical talk, difficult talk to fol- y. Never for a moment did he k down to his audience, which ened with unbroken attention.

uring his talk notes were being petually passed to the platform. it the Russian custom. People wish to speak send up their es or ask written questions of the speaker.

A flood of speakers followed Prebrogenski. Many of these working women spoke with an earnest delivery that many an experienced speaker could have copied with benefit. They all had the merit of unconsciousness and perfect sincer- y.

One of the women especially im- essed me. She was a motherly oking square built woman of about years old. Later I talked with r, sitting on the bed in the big dor- tory, for the delegates lived in the oviet House where their convention s held. In the old days it was a onastery; now, where the monks ept, a ceaseless flow of Russian rkingmen and women are quar- d when they come to Moscow their various conventions.

nna Pavlova came from the d Province," the Manchester of sia. She had been a cotton spin- all her days until she became Communist Party organizer. She an unconscious feminist when ked her what she thought of Rus- "What Russia needs," she declared promptly, "is more women in the government. Now all of us will come back and everywhere we will explain Prebrogenski's speech. Wherever there is a strong women's ganization you find there is no uble in collecting the food tax.

Henry B. Allen

Once we have explained it to the women, they try and get it thru the hard heads of the men. You know yourself, when a man is too old to put over his mother's knee he rarely learns another thing. With a woman it is different.

"Take the famine relief. We just came in and explained the terrible conditions, and the women didn't even bother their hard-fisted husbands, they took the food out of the bin themselves.

"When you go to a new town," I asked her, "what do you do first?"

"I go to the Soviet House, and if they have been informed that I am coming, a meeting has been prepared. What I do and talk about depends upon whether the women are organized or not."

"Take a town where the women have not been organized."

"The first thing I would do then would be to organize a nursery where the women could leave their children. The only way to organize women, is to get hold of them by their daily needs and talk about the things they talk about—about their children for instance. If we didn't interest ourselves in their problems we could not expect them to have confidence in the Government, could we? So first thing I would do would be to tell them how nurseries were organized in other towns and help them to organize."

"Do you ever have any difficulty to get the women to leave their children in nurseries?"

"At first, peasant women are skeptical of everything new. But now we can't organize them fast enough. In one of the counties in my province there is a very good woman organizer, and the women of the next county came to the Soviet House and said:

"We leave our babies here, and the Soviet officials can nurse them, if you do not organize nurseries for us, the way you did in the next county."

This woman was sure that work among women was the most important task before the Soviet Government, and that without the help of the women the great primary task of blotting out illiteracy would be impossible.

TOURIST CLUB TO HIKE

Sunday, March 12, the Nature Friends Tourist Club will hold its first spring hike in the Ramapo Mountains. This tour affords mountain scenery unequalled in the neighborhood of New York. Meet at 8 a. m. sharp, at W. 130th St. (Fort Lee Ferry House). Fare $1.50. Bring lunch with you.

This organization is the only English speaking class conscious tourist club in the city, and all comrades are invited to join. Any information desired can be obtained from William Whitman, 162 E. 14th St., New York City.

THE TECHNICAL AID

The Educational Committee of the Technical Aid Society urges all workers to attend its classes conducted at 240 East 23rd St. These classes prepare for service in the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia, they are therefor intensive and practical. Courses are given in various branches of work—Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Russian (for non-Russians and Russians), Electricity (theory and practice), Agricultural work (tractors), Navigation, Drawing, etc. Fees are nominal. Enroll at once!

Paris Commune
Mass Meeting

SPEAKERS:

ROBERT MINOR

—will speak—

"Lessons of the Paris Commune"

MOISSAYE J. OLGIN J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

UNDAY, March 19, 1 P. M.

at CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE

205 EAST 67th STREET

CKETS, 25c at Box Office and "Volkszeitung", 15 Spruce Street; rkers Hall, 1347 Boston Road; Iskra, 322 E. 6th St.; Bookshop, 208 E. 12th St.; "Neue Zeit"— Emes, 47 Chrystie St.

roceeds to Make The Worker a Daily

AUSPICES:

ers Party of America, Local Greater New York

By Art Young

St. Louis, Mo.—[illegible] He says that when his workers come pleading for their old jobs at reduced wages—"they will bring with them the spirit of love and gratitude and will be cured of their discontent."

Secretary of Workers Party Reports on Many Widespread Activities

NOTE:—Caleb Harrison, Secretary of the Workers Party, makes the accompanying report on the widespread activities of the organization. Address all communications and inquiries to Caleb Harrison, Secretary, Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City, New York.

• • •

BY CALEB HARRISON

District No. 1 (New England): Convention in near future. Membership now 2,659, before Christmas convention only 900. This is a healthy growth.

District No. 2 (New York City): Comrade Edward Lindgren is now on the job as district organizer. District No. 4, up-state New York, was added to District No. 2, making one District. Lindgren is arranging for the District Convention. Great activity is reported in Buffalo and vicinity. Local New York is organized and functioning well.

Active in Pennsylvania

District No. 3: Convention held March 5th. Provisional Executive Committee active. February 19th the Party in Philadelphia held its convention with 32 delegates representing 356 members. City Central Committee was organized and much activity planned.

District No. 5: This is the Pittsburgh District, where the White Terror remains unbroken. A new District Organizer is just on the job, one who can put in some hard blows against black reaction.

District No. 6: Convention will be held April 1-2. District Organizer Charles Baker is very active on an organization tour thru Ohio and West Virginia at present. He is bringing branches into line in many towns hitherto unorganized. This District promises to be one of the most active.

District No. 7: Michigan and Indiana are being covered by an organizer. Several new branches have been organized.

Call Convention at Chicago

District No. 8: Convention called for March 12th in Chicago. Great activity reported from the district in the form of meetings, demonstrations and trade union activity.

Chicago has a City Central Committee of 22 members, Moritz Loeb, Secretary, Room 303, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.

Milwaukee is a live local with a C. C. C. of seven members. Clara Knappe Secretary. Here they are active with meetings, etc.

District No. 9: Frank Miner of Minneapolis is District Organizer. Convention will be held in near future. This is one of the large districts in point of territory where it takes a longer time to get things moving.

District No. 10 (Headquarters—St. Louis): District Organizer Sullivan in this district is very active developing the branches and locals. He recently visited the Packing districts of Omaha where he did excellent work for the strikers. The provisional executive committee recently made arrangements for the district convention to be held April 16.

We are waiting to hear from Denver, Colo., the office of District No. 11. We do not know what arrangements are made for convention.

Organizing Pacific Coast

District No. 12: The provisional committee is formed and getting ready for the district convention. Beside this, we are getting encouraging letters from all the large cities of Washington and Oregon, showing that many volunteers are busy forming branches.

This is perhaps the largest district in point of territory. It will take some time before the district is well organized, but even so Los Angeles and San Francisco are very active as locals. Meetings, debates, lectures, trade union activity, is constantly moving and keeping the members active. Provisional district committee is now forming. Comrade Ella Reeves Bloor is now in Los Angeles engaged every night in some form of activity.

Districts No. 14 and 15 comprise the Solid South. There are no district organizers functioning yet, but many letters from comrades in Memphis, Atlanta, Thorsley, Ala., and points in Oklahoma and Texas which indicate that even in the territory of the Ku Klux and reaction we will soon have flourishing organizations.

[illegible]

[illegible] Local Greater New York with a monster mass meeting at Central Opera House, 205 East 67th Street, at 1 P. M. Tickets will be 25 cents each. Proceeds of the meeting to go to the National Office to make The Worker a daily. Leaflets and posters now ready. Branch Committee must call at the Local Office, 208 East 12th St., without fail to get their quota.

First conference of Branch Organizers, Literature Agents, Financial Secretaries and representatives of Branch Executive Committees will be held Friday, March 10th, 7:30 P. M., at 47 Chrystie St. Branch Organizers are requested to bring with them a list of the membership, in alphabetical order. Literature agents must have their literature order blanks and financial secretaries must bring application cards and members dues.

Women's Day Meeting

March 14—International Women's Labor Day—mass meeting in Bronx for Russian relief and the organization of class-conscious women.

May Day—arrangements made to hold conferences for united action of all working-class organizations on May Day. The Local will hold a Ball on May 1st, night, and all branches are directed not to hold any affairs on that date and to cooperate to make this Ball a success.

Unemployment—branches are notified that unemployed members are to be registered on blanks distributed at the City Central Committee to delegates.

Educational Activities

Educational Conference was held March 3rd with an attendance of 25 delegates. Conference decided upon a program of five educational centers, Bronx, Harlem, East Side, Brownsville and Williamsburg.

Since it was late in the season it was decided to concentrate attention upon a central school and to build up the educational sectional centers later. Conference of all comrades qualified to teach or direct discussions will be called by the Educational Committee in the near future.

Come and See What Class Conscious Workers Can Do to Help Starving Russians

Many organistions are doing their bit toward this cause in various ways. Some arrange dances and balls, others run concerts or engage professional speakers and lecturers. For these purposes big halls must be hired and a lot of money is being spent. This is what working girls of the Unity House on Lexington Avenue and 29th Street are doing. It is really something new.

A Children's Week for Eight Days

The girls of the Unity House are giving up their house work and time for an entire week. They collect all kinds of articles from infants' wear up to expensive jewelry.

Various unions are doing their share by sending in their contributions:

CONTRIBUTION	UNION
Bakers	Bread
Butchers	Meat
Brewery Workers	Soda Water
Knitgoods Workers	Sweaters
Whitegoods Workers	Underwear
Dressmakers	Dresses
Children's Dressmakers	Children Dresses

and other articles too numerous to mention. Things are sent even from other states and cities of the country such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and also Connecticut.

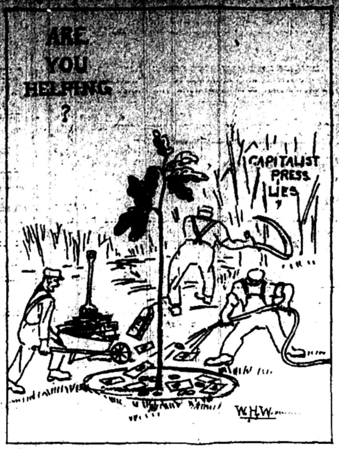
Now, workers and friends it is your turn. Come and have a good time. Besides articles, that you will be able to purchase for a small sum, you will also have a chance to hear good music and singing.

On Friday, March 10th, that's the opening of the bazaar, there will be a Metropolitan Opera House singer. On Saturday Comrade Olgin will speak on "New Russia." The Actor's Union has promised its best talent. During the other evenings there will be piano recitals, dancing and other attractions.

In short it will be a big affair without any expenses and all receipts will go to the hungry children of Russia. We advise other workers' organizations thruout the country to follow this example, by arranging similar affairs for the same purpose. DO NOT FAIL TO ATTENT ON THE OPENING NIGHT.

John Galsworthy's "The Pigeon," which Edward Goodman has been presenting at the Greenwich Village Theatre, is flying uptown and will open Monday night, March 13, at the Frazee Theatre. The cast, including Whitford Kane in the title role, Hubert Druce, George Renavent, Edna James and others, remains unchanged. The Greenwich Village Theatre will be dark for one week and on Monday night, March 20, Strindberg's "Creditors" will be presented there as the first production of Ellen Van Volkenburg and Maurice Browne for their spring season.

Communism versus Capitalism! That is the struggle that is holding the center of the world stage today. On which side are you?



ARE YOU HELPING ?
CAPITALIST PRESS LIES
W.H.W.

That is a good question that one of our most active boosters asks in the above sketch. Take a good look at it. It is:—

"ARE YOU HELPING?"

Study the cartoon carefully. It wants to know whether you are helping to make THE WORKER grow and become powerful.

Our comrade pictures THE WORKER as a tree, young but strong. It must be fed and strengthened by the "subs" that our hustlers get from those who do not now read THE WORKER.

"Subs" means finances for THE WORKER, funds to help it become a bigger and better paper. A bigger and better paper means that we can interest more readers.

That is what we must have in order to be able to mow down the capitalist press lies as pictured by our comrade.

ARE YOU HELPING? IF NOT, GET BUSY TODAY! There is a sub blank at the bottom of this page.

KULTUR

Drifting and driven,
Blank-faced, unchanging,
Half fed and threadbare,
Slip smiling along.
Stomach urge uppermost,
All others perverted,
Be-draggled and mired
Like dead cats in gutters—
With thoughtless contentment
Mindless, sweat on.

• • •

Smile through
And "jazz" away the hours!
It's the most wonderful land on earth!
Read the "Morning News" and go to work.
This evening you will take your bread
To the movies and will be assured
By the glorious climax
With its osculatory "fade out,"
That around the corner
A fortune awaits you;
Then you will take your woman home
And loiter in the hallway for two hours,
Talking about—nothing.
Thinking the usual conversational subjects
Of the street.
Next day work like hell for ten hours—
For you must "begin at the bottom."
On Saturday the splashing music
Of a rusty tin tub,
Will fill your luxurious Railroad Apartment
As the odors of the be-piped cell
Mingle with those of your arm-pits—
Or at the free, public bath,
Bristle with civic pride
And thank God you're not a Russian.
Laugh and be glad
Of your American clean mindedness,
And screech your coarse throat hoarse
At the ball game.
On the morrow, go to church;
For you must worship,
Pray,
Protect the flag,
Propagate—
And die in the home for the aged.

• • •

MEN are in jail for you,
Who once upon a time
Espoused your cause,
And took upon themselves its burden,
While you "jazzed" on,
Smiling and silly.

Harold Colvin-Salls.

CHARTERS ARE NOW READY!

The charters are now being delivered by the printers and applications from locals and branches will be filled immediately. Send applications to Caleb Harrison, Secretary, Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Another confession of lawlessness under capitalism. There are 100,000 violations of the building code in New York that the authorities overlook because of the building shortage. Capitalism is the greatest producer of criminals since time began. Let the workers investigate and see what Communism has to offer them.

Unemployment is a crime of the capitalist system. To abolish it you must abolish capitalism.

When Does Your "Sub" Expire?

Some of our readers have been receiving the first few issues of "THE WORKER" in its new form in spite of the fact that their subscriptions to "The Toiler" had expired.

We wanted you to get these samples of our new paper, the most up-to-the-minute revolutionary paper in America, so that you would realize the necessity of renewing your subscription.

With this issue, however, we are discontinuing all subs that are not paid up-to-date. If you want to get "THE WORKER" from now on, you must renew. Send in your sub now to THE WORKER, Room 405, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

From Baltimore, Md.—"Here's a six months sub. Hope to send you a few more real soon."

Subs come in accompanied with a request for the platform and program of the Workers Party.

• • •

"Your paper is very excellent," writes a reader at Oakland, Calif., a comrade who has been active in the advanced section of the working-class struggle for 40 years.

• • •

"One of your subscribers gave me a copy of your paper. It was very interesting. Here is my sub. for a year."—From the secretary of the Plumbers' Union at Cleveland, Ohio. That ought to inspire every reader to get a reader. You can do it.

• • •

The literature agent of the Lettish Branch at Cleveland, Ohio, sends in an order for 10 yearly and 10 half-yearly sub-cards. Now let us hear from the English-speaking comrades.

• • •

Comrades at Pittsburgh, Pa., are planning to handle 300 copies of THE WORKER weekly. They are going to dispose of these thru the cooperation of the local branches. Everybody together and help make it 500 a week in the very near future.

The Irish are again on a rampage. This time it is the De Valeraistas around Limerick. You can't keep a good man down, especially when he is Irish.

[illegible]

By SADI

The eyes of all the really nice ladies of the world last week were fixed upon sweet Princess Mary and her simple bridal finery, which the newspapers with a sob report in a three colum article of touching loyalty.

Sweet and simple Mary. You working men and women of the world please learn what real simplicity in dress is like, and cease extravagance in clothes.

Princess Mary had a simple bridal gown of silver cloth, real point lace, pearls and gold, English duchess satin, etc., etc.

Her other simple dresses were of satin, lace, cloth, pearls, chiffon, gold tissue, ribbons, jewels and so on.

Simple Mary has simple satin and gold and brocade gowns for every day occasions.

The Russians may starve, the tortured Indians may die; the unemployed go hungry, the English slums may stink of sick babies, but our simple Mary in her sweet simplicity shows the common crowd a fine heroic and self-sacrificing example of sweet simplicity in her simple wedding gowns, hats, shoes, stockings, furs, capes, coats, etc. etc. etc.

Surely this ought to teach English labor fighting the wage cuts real economy and humility.

But alas, the workers of England and America and all the rest of the world will never learn how to dress as simply as her royal highness, sweet and simple Mary. Mary, royal, double royal, special blooded, princess by God ordained, of all England and English possessions.

Slow music, please, and drop a tear to show you are touched—in your pocketbooks.

MAKERS OF HISTORY

When you studied history
In the sixth grade,
Did you not wish
That you had lived in 1776?
That you might have been
Paul Revere, or John Stark?
Would you not rather have walked
With bleeding bare feet
On the snows of Valley Forge,
Than to have sat upon the throne
Of King George?
What heroic things we would have done!

But do you know that today
There is a Revolution,
Which, compared to that one
Is as a mountain
To a grain of sand;
Requiring infinitely greater sacrifice,
Broader Vision
And deeper understanding.
The revolt of those who DO
Against those who OWN.
Are you intelligent enough
To grasp it?
Will your children say with pride?
"My father and mother endured hardship
To advance
The REVOLUTION."

Muriel Wright.

Capitalism destroys. Communism builds.

Capitalism breeds despair. Communism brings hope.

39,000,000 citizens of France stand behind her obligations, states Ambassador Jusserand. The main trouble is that none of the 39,000,000 has any money.

They have an excellent way of increasing the size of the Bible class at Saranac Lake, N. Y. A delinquent last Sunday was dragged to church at the end of rope. Good training for the First Liberty Loan Drive of the next war.

An unfortunate resident of Newark, N. J., dropped dead when he drew a royal flush in a poker game. That's just about what would happen to the 10,000,000 jobless if Harding's "prosperity" was ever realized. It is so long in coming we won't believe it if it does arrive.

When the working-class is broke it knows where to do its shopping. The sales of Woolworth's "Five and Ten Cent Stores" for February this year showed largest sales for any February since the company was organized. For the first time February sales exceeded $10,000,000. No wonder the workers are feeling so cheap nowadays.

SUBSCRIBE!

HERE IS MY "SUB"

The Worker, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

COMRADES:—Enclosed please find $.............. in payment for my subscription to THE WORKER for a period of .... months, at the rate of $2 per year, $1 for six months.

Name ....

Address ....

[illegible]

(Formerly The Toiler)

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Advertising rates upon application.

They Don't Want to Live

More than 20,000 human beings couldn't endure life under the present social system in this country during the past year and killed themselves—SUICIDES.

The number of those who put themselves to death during the past year was 23 per cent. greater than during 1920. There were 840 suicides in New York City alone, an increase of 103 over 1920.

We are told that 1,200 men and women before killing themselves, murdered more than 2,000 others, fathers or mothers killing their children, not able to leave them to endure the tortures of a "civilization" that had driven them to despair.

Apologists for the present social system say you cannot blame it on capitalism. Yet we are told that men and women were driven to suicide by loss of employment and commercial failure, twin evils of capitalist society.

With the ushering in of Communism, with the abolition of the last remnants of capitalist society fully accomplished, the reasons for human beings despairing of life and killing themselves will have been reduced to a minimum. Under Communism living will be a real joy for the first time in human history. Forward to Communism.

Individual Acts of Terrorism

Since the birth of the Communist movement in this country, the henchmen of capitalism, "Bill" Burns, the Thiels and other dime novel detectives, have been seeking to charge various disasters as being individual acts of terrorism growing out of the teachings and practices of the workers' advance guard.

They have tried to blame Communists for the Wall Street horror in New York City, for the Post Office explosion in Chicago, for the wrecking of Ex-Attorney General Palmer's home in Washington, and, of course, for every act of violence that takes place in all great industrial struggles.

Much the same reasoning was adopted by the social patriots in combatting the "21 Conditions of Affiliation" promulgated by the Second Congress of the Communist International. They tried to shout down affiliation with cries of new "Haymarket Riots" that might be repeated and charged against the workers, forgetting that the Mooney frame-up was still a living thing, and that the case was being prepared against Sacco and Vanzetti.

Individual acts of terrorism have been the defense of the helpless and desperate since time began. It is usually present where opportunities for organized effort are absent. The Communist movement has taken a definite stand repudiating it as a weapon of the working-class struggle.

The official position of the Communist International, as adopted at its Third Congress, held June 22nd—July 12th, 1921, is as follows:

> **"With regard to acts of White Terror and the fury of bourgeois justice, the Communist Party must warn the workers not be deceived, during crises, by an enemy appeal to their leniency, but to demonstrate proletarian morality by acts of proletarian justice, in settling with the oppressors of the workers.**
>
> **"BUT IN TIMES WHEN THE WORKERS ARE ONLY PREPARING THEMSELVES, WHEN THEY HAVE TO BE MOBILIZED BY AGITATION, POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND STRIKES, ARMED FORCE MAY BE USED SOLELY TO DEFEND THE MASSES FROM BOURGEOIS OUTRAGES.**
>
> **"Individual acts of terrorism, however they may demonstrate the revolutionary rancor of the masses, however justified they may be as acts of retribution against the lynch law of the bourgeoisie and its social democratic flunkeys, are in no way apt to raise the workers to a higher level of organization, or make them better prepared to face the struggle.**
>
> **"Acts of sabotage are only justified when they can only serve the purpose of hindering the dispatch of enemy troops against the workers, and of conquering important strategic points from the enemy in direct combat."**

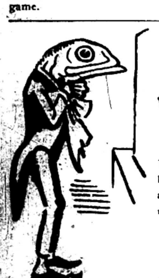
We publish this statement for the benefit of our readers. The capitalist press will not publish it the next time they launch an attack on the Communist movement. We do not expect the hell hounds of the system, commonly known as secret service operatives, to have brains enough to understand it. But the workers will learn and act accordingly.

The Genoa Conference

The announcement of the decision of the United States government that it will not participate in the Genoa conference can only be interpreted to mean that the European governments must wipe out that menace to capitalism—the Soviet government of Russia—before they can hope to receive substantial aid from the American capitalist class in restoring their shattered financial and industrial systems.

It is entirely probable that the decision was reached after conferences with representatives of French imperialism and that the present French government is entirely in accord with the American policy—which in actual fact is a replica of its own.

The propaganda disseminated by the Hoover relief organization, the mobilizing of the remnants of Wrangel's army, the donation of munitions worth 200,000,000 francs to the Turks by the French government and similar incidents tend to show that another drive against Russia is under consideration. The Harding administration is probably acting on what it believes to be inside information and prefers to continue waiting for the overthrow of the Soviet government feeling that it has the situation well in hand at home and that it has nothing to lose by playing a waiting game.



Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By **Art Young**

THE POOR FISH says his boss gave him a book on "Success and Character" and now he gets to work fresh every morning.

[illegible]

The apathy of the European and American workers in the face of unprecedented unemployment and wage [illegible] is probably the strongest influence in the formation of this policy.

It is significant also, that the capitalist press of this country just now is more than ever disturbed over the fact that the Red Army has not yet been demobilized. It is this army of workers and peasants that stands in the way of successful fruition of all the imperialist schemes. Were it only out of the way, Europe might become once more a paradise for capitalism. To-day it is a nightmare.

It's Getting Darker

Things are getting darker all around. Our unemployed are more numerous and worse off than ever. The high cost of living is going higher and the slightest attempt of the workers to resist the furious capitalist onslaught is met with hot lead and cold steel as seen in the murder of textile strikers in New England.

This is not a condition limited to America. It is worldwide. The ruin and chaos brought on by the war grip the entire world. And the situation does not offer the slightest hope for improvement. The future is pitch black. There are large supplies of "undigested" goods in the world because the masses who need them can't afford to pay for them out of the meagre wages given them by the bosses. Manufacturing prices are high. Taxation, both local and national, is growing ever more burdensome because of the increased expense in maintaining the strike-breaking and labor-crushing agencies of the armed forces of the various capitalist government. The breakdown of the exchange system makes trade impossible in many cases. With the practical disappearance of the gold standard in many European countries there is no link between the currencies of one country and another. This brings about an uncertainty of prices and rate of exchange turns business into wild speculation.

The whole machinery of capitalist production and exchange is shot to pieces. In a frantic effort to bolster up the system of wage-robbery the capitalists, aided by their labor-lieutenants, have launched a furious offensive against the workers of the world. For the workers of every country there can be but one way out of this blind alley of oppression and misery. We must answer the attacks of the capitalists in kind, that is, in the only language they understand. Against the united front of the enemy we must present a united front of labor. We must have unity of action by the toiling masses.

The call for a united front issued by the Communist International is the first ray of hope in these days of darkness. It is the most encouraging event of the times. It should inspire hope and courage in the heart of every worker. It points the way out of our misery. This is no time for any militant group of workers to stand pat on "purity of thought" and keep our ranks divided. Every workingman and woman should welcome this call for unity of action and line up in the fight against our mortal enemy—the capitalists of the world.

The Detente Cordiale

Our editorial drummers are making lots of noise about the twenty-year truce signed between England and France. The dove of peace is cooing once more; will this be its swan song or a death rattle for Capitalism? Europe is all in tatters, and the only visible sign of success in reconstruction is the great number of military alliances concluded by the diplomats.

There is not the slightest gain for peace in the new treaty. Lloyd George and Poincare have simply come to an agreement not to fight before they will be in a position to afford it.

And who should know better than they how long before Europe can be hurled into another orgy of blood. Considering the economic conditions at hand, twenty years is perhaps not so grossly exaggerated a guess.

As usual everybody wins at these conferences. Poincare has won, at least he has saved his face by securing a few weeks' postponement of the Genoa Conference; Lloyd George has won because the conference is to be held; as a matter of fact both sorely need the conference and neither one is ready for the date first set.

The guarantees given France against an attack by Germany aren't worth the paper they are written on.

Germany is in no position to attack France. All such talk merely affords France an excuse for maintaining her huge army. The pledge to protect Poland is also a bluff since Poland is in no danger from attack. The real difficulties of the situation have not even been touched.

Every Capitalist peace agreement hides a hornets' nest. The Treaty of Angora has not yet been revised, the Near East is a smoldering volcano. The German reparation settlement is still far from being an accomplished fact. France has not yet given up the hope of dancing to Wall Street's fiddle. The differences in politics toward Russia are still to be overcome.

The Anglo-French Alliance is a "Detente Cordiale." The two are as far apart as before. Not one of the causes for rivalry has been removed. As long as the Capitalists thru their Georges and Poincarés are at the helm military alliances and wars will be the only fruits of peace.

Not until the workers take things into their own hands and kick out their Exploiters and Oppressors can there be an Entente Cordiale among the nations of the world.

Gompers' "Friends" Again

The members of the present Congress at Washington, according to Mr. Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, have done nothing for labor, but have, on the other hand, done a lot to labor.

Nevertheless, reports the Federated Press, Mr. Gompers announces that the federation is planning to enter this year's congressional campaign upon its usual "reward our friends and defeat our enemies" plan.

Traveling once around the vicious circle we find that Gompers picks the "friends" of labor among the Democratic and Republican parties who are now in control of congress, but who in Gompers' own words, "have done nothing for labor."

Gompers and his executive council have learned nothing. Let the rank and file of American labor wake up. Spread the demand for independent working-class political action. Get into the Workers Party.

Fine Taste in Colors

The capitalist press is not quite so naive as it used to be. Time was when an incident such as the picketing of the Rand School by a union—an incident to which the socialist press has devoted much space—would have been seized upon with avidity as an example of the inability of the crazy reds to get along with each other.

To-day the capitalist journalists have developed a fine eye for color and can now tell yellow from red.

Thus it is that the capitalist press of New York City covers the action of the Rand School with a merciful silence. Capitalism's newest paramour must be protected.

Sign
THE ROLL CALL

50,000 Are Dying Daily in Russia

ALL RELIEF AGENCIES ARE EVEN NOW FEEDING ONLY ONE FOURTH OF THE FAMINE STRICKEN.

FOOD RESERVES ENJOYED TO NOW BY A FEW IN THE FAMINE AREA ARE RAPIDLY DISAPPEARING AND THOUSANDS UPON THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE BEING ADDED TO THE RANKS OF THE FAMINE STRICKEN.

THE NEXT TWO MONTHS WILL BE THE MOST CRUCIAL.

YOUR HELP MUST BE DOUBLED AND TREBLED.

YOU MUST, IN FACT, GIVE YOUR LIMIT OR STAND RESPONSIBLE FOR DEATH BY STARVATION AND COLD OF THOSE WHOM YOU COULD HAVE SUCCORED.

YOU HAVE A CLASS RESPONSIBILITY.

IF YOU BELIEVE IN OR BUT SYMPATHIZE WITH THE ASPIRATIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, YOU CAN ONLY PRESERVE THE INTEGRITY OF YOUR BELIEF AND SYMPATHY BY PROMPT ACTION.

GIVE !!

Sign the Roll Call!!

THE ROLL CALL BOOK WILL GO FORWARD TO SOVIET RUSSIA WITH SHIPMENTS OF FOOD MADE IN THESE MOST CRITICAL MONTHS.

YOUR NAME IN THE ROLL CALL BOOK WILL ATTEST YOUR FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY.

THE ROLL CALL BOOK WILL CONSTITUTE A DOCUMENT REVERED BY SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES. SIGN!

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 West 13th Street, New York City

Just write and say: "I WANT TO SIGN!"—We'll do the rest

The United Front in America

WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Just what is meant when we speak of a united front?

Do we mean political or industrial unity, or both? Is either possible?

To the writer a united front of labor in the United States means only one thing—unity of labor's forces in the daily struggle against the encroachments of an employing class that is drunk with power, that has a vision of a world at its feet in chains if it can but make impotent and incapable of effective protest its own working-class; unity in the fight against the open shop, the reduction of wages, the lengthening of hours and the abolition of shop and job conditions that are the result of years of ceaseless effort; unity of the class-conscious workers in the trade-unions against the negative—and quite often destructive policies of the trade-union officialdom.

This sort of unity will create a united front on the industrial field and make of the trade unions fighting class instruments; they are now appendages of the capitalist system; this sort of unity will bring results for the simple reason that much good has already been accomplished by the sporadic efforts of the so-called reds in the trade unions even though their activities have been sporadic and no national program has ever been laid down until the advent of the Trade Union Educational League.

Now arises the question of unity on the political or parliamentary field and the writer does not hesitate to say that such unity is impossible at present and probably always will be.

In the first place such a program of unity calls for co-operation during election campaigns with the same trade-union officialdom whose domination of the trade-union movement is reflected in its spineless attitude; in its lack of a fighting policy or indeed of any policy at all except that of a joint attack with the capitalist class on the radicals in the movement. Political unity means co-operation with the same individuals whom we must fight in the unions. This fact alone is enough to confound the theoreticians who make a fetish of unity; it cannot be explained away to the workers in the unions who must risk their membership and their jobs while they carry on the necessary agitation in the unions.

In the second place unity on the parliamentary field is neither necessary nor desirable. The function of a revolutionary party is to clarify issues and not to confuse the minds of the masses; particularly is this its function in a nation like United States where the workers are not yet politically conscious and where the officialdom whose co-operation would be sought is thoroly and entirely capitalistic in outlook.

Such unity would disgust and not attract the class-conscious workers even though it was desirable and we challenge anyone to show how the preliminary work for a united front can be done without the militant elements in and out of the trade-unions.

The oft-used example of the British Labor Party has no application for the United States. In Great Britain the old-line trade-union leaders—with a few exceptions—at least render lip service to the class-struggle and admit the necessity of the abolition of capitalism.

Here the reverse is true and so true that co-operation with the trade-union bureaucracy on the parliamentary field means placing the seal of approval on the capitalist system. It seems to the writer that in the proposals so far put forward for a united front that the tendency has been to overestimate the importance of parliamentary activity in a country where the parliamentary machinery of capitalism is protected by a system of checks and balances unknown in other less democratic countries and where an adverse parliamentary majority does not mean the resignation of the government in power; where by no purely parliamentary means available can the hold of the capitalist class on governmen broken in a nation where cong men are elected for two years, tors for six, the president fo and the supreme court justices federal judges appointed for Control of state government m little—witness North Dakota

About the best that can be pected from parliamentary acti the rolling up of a large pr st that may serve to check ou ght secution and stoppage of all ed tional and organizational activitie

Unity on the indust which, when sufficiently well org ized, becomes the political front well, is therefore the immedia that must go hand in hand wit tical activity carried on by tionists alone.

We wish to call the atten the comrades who appear to no difference between parlian and industrial unity to the follo by Charles Rappaport of France

> **A revolutionary cannot live act in the same party with a formist, an internationalist** with **patriot, a representative** of **class-struggle with a representat of class-harmony, a destroyer capitalist society with a life of this same society, a with a Noske, a Loriot with a naudel.**
>
> **It is another thing when it question of bread and peace w the ENTIRE working-class mands. On this basis of immed demands one may co-operate with the devil. ALL must be forced out of their inertia, their ence, and be led, to the battle, on a UNITED TARIAN FRONT, UNITED CAPITALIST**

To anyone familiar with the w ing-class movement of this co and with the problems it fac can be no other interpretatio phrase "united front."

This phrase can be transl action only by the unification revolutionary elements in the around a program of immed tivity with two objectives ing of capitalism's [illegible] building of a labor [illegible] united to the class [illegible]

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 215. [illegible] SATURDAY, [illegible] 1922 [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Unity Congress Soon to Meet in Berlin
Larkin's Release Said to Be Certain

Freedom for Larkin Near, Friends Feel

BY HARRY GODFREY

Staff Writer for the Federated Press and The Worker

Pardon, or at least parole, is believed to be in store for James Larkin within a few days. Larkin, Communist, leader of the Irish transport workers and devoted worker for working-class freedom, was sentenced two years ago by a New York court to imprisonment for five to ten years for alleged "criminal anarchy."

If Governor Miller pardons or paroles Larkin, which friends of the latter believe on good authority he will, the action will be accompanied by a characteristic justification on legal and "moral" [illegible]

Larkin's trial in the Spring of [illegible] probably was the worst [illegible] [illegible] an American court. He was prosecuted by Alexander I. Rorke, an assistant district attorney of the shirt-tearing, flag-waving, [illegible]-shrieking kind, who stooped to the lowest tricks of vituperation and slander to make the jury think that James Larkin was an "alien enemy," "an archangel of assassinations," who with "lily-white fingers" would starve all the babies of the United States to death.

He was "tried"—prosecuted would be the more accurate word—by Justice Bartow S. Weeks, who vied with Rorke in insolence and studied effort to prejudice the jury.

And thru the whole trial—as, it may be mentioned, throut all the other "criminal anarchy" trials in New York—not a scrap of evidence was introduced to show that Larkin ever had murdered or intended to murder anybody, or that he had ever incited or tried to incite anybody to such an act, or that he had attempted to "overthrow the government by force."

When Larkin was arrested the police not only had no warrant, but they stole from him papers which would have been important help in his defense. The court made no effort to have these papers returned.

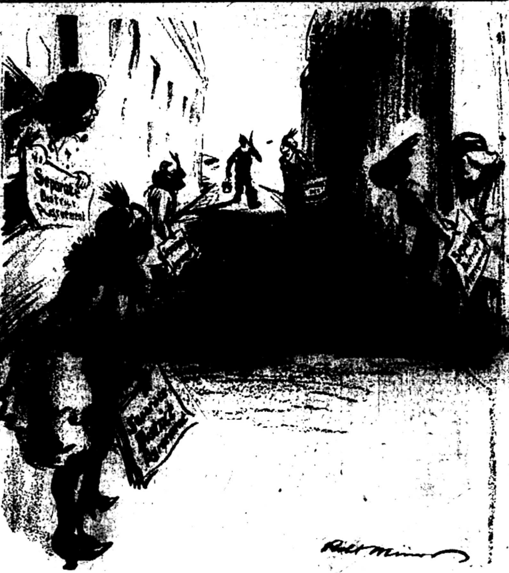
When Frank P. Walsh recently argued the case for Larkin on appeal before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, he charged again and again that Larkin was treated by the court as a guilty man before the verdict was reached, and that Justice Weeks materially assisted in the prosecution. Walsh showed how, after Larkin came to America in November, 1914, to effect a union of Irish and American labor, he tried eleven times to return to his home in Dublin, but was prevented by the British government.

Walsh, in a recent article in an American magazine, declared "it was his (Larkin's) broad vision and unconquerable energy which rescued Irish labor from the depths into which it had been flung and laid the foundation of the Irish labor movement as it now exists."

VOLUNTEERS WANTED— PARIS COMMUNE DAY MEETING

Comrades are requested to come to the LOCAL OFFICE, WORKERS PARTY, 208 EAST 12th ST. in order to participate in the con[illegible] for arrangements of the meeting. Much help is wanted in order to make this meeting success[illegible]

Will the Coal Miner Fall for Mine Owner's Lure, "The Separate Agreement," an Invitation to the "Open Shop"



Bob Minor pictures here an old scene with a modern application. Just as the red-light districts of a capitalistic society spread their poison and disease among the workers denied a normal existence, so does the poison of separate agreements threaten to sap the fighting effectiveness of the coal miners' union. To accept immediate gains at the price of solidarity means destruction for the miners.

Hard Coal Miners and Bosses Meet

While the probability of a nation-wide strike in the soft-coal fields grows greater daily the representatives of the Pennsylvania anthracite miners are meeting the operators' committee — appropriately enough—at the Hotel Pennsylvania.

The miners committee consists of 39 representatives of the national and district organizations of the United Mine Workers of America and speaks for approximately 175,000 men in the anthracite industry.

The general demands of the union are as follows:

1. A two-year blanket contract that will end all individual agreements in the mining of coal.
2. A 20 per cent increase in the contract rates for mining coal and a flat $1 a day increase for day men.
3. Uniformity of rates in the anthracite regions.
4. Extension of the eight-hour day to all classes of work around the mine.

(Continued on Page Three)

The Call for May Day!

The call for the celebration of International May Day, May 1, 1922, has been sent out by the Workers Party.

The Central Executive Committee of the party, in a special appeal, has ordered that every local organization shall organize May Day Mass Meetings or Demonstrations, in conjunction with all other working-class organizations, industrial and political, that are willing to co-operate on this occasion.

The Workers Party committees will take the initiative by inviting all labor organizations to send delegates to a conference called by the Workers Party for the purpose of organizing a "Joint May Day Committee."

The Workers Party delegates to this conference will propose that the conference organize itself as a Joint May Day Committee to have full charge of the May Day arrangements. They shall propose that the demonstrations shall be held upon the basis of the following program—A UNITED LABOR FRONT:—

(a) Against the open shop and reduction in wages.

(b) Against industrial court laws and injunctions.

(c) Work or compensation at union wages for the unemployed.

(d) Release of class-war prisoners.

(e) Recognition of and trade with Soviet Russia.

The Workers Party delegates may agree to [illegible] or amendments to this program but must insist upon [illegible] issues.

Representation shall be given to all [illegible] on the speakers' list of the May Day [illegible]

Communists and Socialists Try to Agree

A gathering of the representatives of the workingclass movements of all nations, designed to re-unite the revolutionary movement of the whole world for an offensive against Capitalism will be planned at a meeting of executive committees to be held in Berlin, March 25, pursuant to the call for a United Front recently sent out by the Third International.

The executive of the Second International has already agreed to attend and it is believed that the bankruptcy of European capitalism will bring into agreement for a joint congress representatives of all the warring factions.

The chief task of the Berlin Conference will be to arrive at a basis for unity. Bitter as have been the disagreements for the past four and one-half years, the terrible economic pressure upon the workers of Europe is compelling a new alignment.

[illegible] representatives of the Third International will ask that government socialists like Scheidemann and Noske be disowned by their organizations.

In European circles the coming conference is beginning to overshadow the conference of premiers to be held at Genoa. The belief is generally held that if a common program of action is decided upon at Berlin and real unity obtained it matters little what the Genoa conference does.

Celebrate on Anniversary of Commune

Workers in New York City will celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune, this Sunday afternoon, March 19th, at a huge demonstration to be held at the Central Opera House, 205 East 67th St.

This will also be the fifth anniversary of the overthrow of the czar in Russia, in March, 1917, which resulted the following November in the Bolshevist victory and the establishment of the Soviet Republic.

Chief among the speakers will be Robert Minor, the world's most famous cartoonist and journalist, who will speak on "The Lessons of the Paris Commune."

Among the speakers will be Moissaye J. Olgin, author of "The Soul of the Russian Revolution;" Oliver Carlson, secretary of the National Organization Committee of the Young Workers League, and J. Louis Engdahl, of the staff of THE WORKER.

This mass meeting will also be the opening of the drive to establish a DAILY WORKER in New York City. It is under the auspices of the Workers Party.

Let all workers turn out and make this event an historic milestone in the advance of the revolutionary workers of the city and nation. Turn out in masses. Come yourself. Bring others with you.

THE WORKERS SHOULD READ [illegible] COPY OF THE WORKER; [illegible] IN CIRCULATION

The Rand Revolt

It will be some time before the exact details of the Rand strike, ending in civil war and slaughter, reach this country.

That a strike of miners has been going on for several months is known, but the dispatches concerning it have been meagre indeed, and the constant boosting of the Smuts government by both the liberal and the capitalist press has served to conceal the extreme unpopularity with which it must be faced in South Africa in order that the revolt of the miners and sympathizers could reach proportions where the entire military forces of the government were needed to put it down.

Jan Smuts, premier of South Africa, is one of the pro-consuls of the British Empire; he is one of those individuals whom Great Britain so successfully buys in each of her dependencies and puts to work subduing their own countrymen.

That Smuts has qualified for his duties is shown by the ruthless methods employed in defeating the strikers.

Their headquarters were bombed from aircraft, and but scant attention seems to have been paid to the safety of the civil population.

The lurid tales of strikers found to be wearing women's clothes, shot while sniping at government troops, are in line with the best traditions of imperialism and serve to convince us, at least, that women have been killed by the imperial forces and the interesting tale cooked up to conceal the fact.

The workers of this country, particularly the miners, on the eve of an industrial conflict themselves, will feel a deep sympathy for the brave fellows who fought a losing battle in far-off South Africa.

They will await detailed accounts of the tragedy, but [illegible] to know that labor has lost another battle because the state power remained in the hands of labor's enemies.

One thing of value comes out of the strike—the unconcealable fact that the great capitalist nation of Europe is faced with the rapid dissolution of her empire. It has begun to break up; bayonets and bombs can no longer save it.

Labor's Spring Cleaning

BY WILLIAM F. DUNNE

More than two months have passed since the textile workers in the Pawtuxet valley struck against a 20 per cent reduction in wages. Their ranks are stronger to-day than they were the day the strike was declared, and there is not the slightest indication that they are not willing to fight all summer.

This one incident effectively refutes the contention of the pessimists who are always telling us that the workers will not fight, that they deserve what they get, etc. Here are thousands of men and women, poorly paid and unable to save, who, when they went on strike, knew that they were cutting off their only source of income; who knew that hunger and want would be their daily portion as long as the strike lasted. Yet they struck and are still striking.

It is not the mass of the workers that is afraid of the conflict. They will fight and starve and die; they have been doing it for uncounted years in order to obtain for themselves and others the few miserable privileges the workers enjoy here and there. The workers will fight. Those who presume to lead the workers, however, are not quite so militant. They can always find excuses for postponing the combat; they are always too ready to preach peace and submission rather than take the field. They have no confidence in the workers because they themselves have done all they can to kill the fighting spirit that actuates the mass when the issues are clearly put before it.

For this they are honored by the press and spokesmen of the rulers. They are called sane and conservative. They are a bulwark against radicalism. They stand for Americanism. They can see both sides of a question; mistaken, at times, they may be, but they really have the interests of our country at heart, you know.

All of these things the conservative officials of the American labor are, but one thing they are not. They are not representative of the workers of this nation even in the daily struggle and their influence is exerted to the same end as that of the press, the schools and the "movies"—to deaden the sense of injustice and to gloss over the glaring inequalities of reward in the present system. They do not glory in a strike of workers against even the most rotten forms of oppression but instead they apologize for it.

Their most characteristic utterance is a whining complaint that the employers have not co-operated with them to prevent a strike.

They want peace. It is only when the workers, in spite of them, decide to resist that they ever go into action. They do not lead. They repress. Instead of arousing the fighting spirit of the workers they do their best to kill it and have always done so.

Every strike in the last three years has been in spite of the officials. Once it occurs they give but lukewarm support and look eagerly for some sort of a compromise that will furnish an excuse to call it off and get the workers back on the job. The result of this policy can be seen everywhere. The workers are now forced to fight but are disorganized. The resistance of labor as a national force is shattered and all but destroyed. In any one of the big strikes, from the coal strike to the strike of packinghouse workers,

(Continued on Page Three)

ome Out in Masses! Paris Commune Day [illegible], SUNDAY, March 19th, One P. M., CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE, 205 E. [illegible] St., New York City—Proceeds for DAILY WORKER!

[illegible] Literature Department [illegible] immediately after the Party convention, in the Party headquarters at 799 Broadway, New York City.

This department of party work, which publishes the Party literature, establishes agencies and book stores in various parts of the country, is now a thriving institution of the first magnitude.

Branches Sell Literature

The Party branches in every state of the Union serve as excellent literature selling agencies. These party branches appreciate the necessity of the Party becoming its own publisher and are lining up splendidly behind a Literature Loan Drive recently launched by the Department. This drive is for $5000 to be raised in loans from the membership, and is to be repaid in literature. Loans from $1 to $25 arrive daily in the National Office, attesting to the popularity of the Drive.

A number of City Central Committees have voted substantial loans from their treasuries. Others have promised such loans, and many party members have subscribed individually.

Since the party convention the Department has published and supplied the Locals with the Party Constitution in pamphlet form. It is also publishing "The A.B.C. of Communism" complete in two volumes. The first volume is now ready for sale. A translation of Lenin's Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism, will be issued soon.

Translation Authentic

This valuable book by the master mind of Communism, will be a distinctive work of the revolutionary movement, dealing as it does with the latest phases of capitalist development. The translation is by Dr. Jacob Whitmer Hartman, Editor of Soviet Russia—a guarantee of correctness and authenticity.

The increasing volume of business done by the Literature Department shows the wholehearted support being rendered it by the party membership. With the live-wire literature agents in every Party local and branch, this business will shew a constant increase and a profit to the party which will be used to further enlarge the propaganda work of the Party.

With the placing of a number of speakers in the field, the meetings held will further augment the literature sales. It is a settled policy of the party that no public meeting nor meeting of the membership shall be held without the offering for sale of the Party's literature.

Literature Under Control

The fact that the Party will not permit the publication of literature by its members unauthorized by the Party, serves to keep the literature which the Party handles up to the highest standard. The Literature Department is making every effort to serve the Party to the fullest extent and thru the co-operation of all units of the Party will succeed in the tasks it has set out to accomplish.

Society attended a prize fight at Madison Square Garden, New York, and it is given first page space. If the workers attended a prize fight in the suburbs it would no doubt be raided by the police and all taken to the nearest lockup. There's a difference, you know.

United Labor Council

meets

Every Wednesday

8 P. M.

83 East 4th Street,

NEW YORK CITY

Phone: Orchard 0189.

NEWEST BOOKS

Always in Stock

Corruptionists and Union Wreckers, Chas. Gildea	$—.10
Program of the Workers Party	.10
Ten Days That Shook the World, John Reed	1.00
The Crisis in Germany, England, Italy and France, Foster	.25
The Russian Revolution, Foster	.50
Theses of the 3rd Congress of the Communist International	.50

Lyceum-Literature Department

Workers Party of America

UBLISHERS—WHOLESALE—RETAIL

Room 405 — 799 Broadway

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

[illegible]

A cablegram [illegible] Friends of Soviet Russia [illegible] to the effect that the peasants [illegible] wooden toys [illegible] friends.

The peasants in the Volga region are desirous of showing their gratitude toward the American workers, who, when their Russian fellow workers were starving, did their utmost to aid them. Hence this shipment of these highly prized products of the deft Russian fingers.

It is not generally known that the wooden toys made by Russian peasants are noted for their originality and beauty. Yet wherever peasant art is appreciated, wherever handicraft is understood, these wooden toys are regarded as among the choicest in the world.

These wooden toys will be auctioned of at bazaars, and the proceeds returned in food and other necessities to the famine areas of Russia.

Every friend of Soviet Russia must endeavor to procure one of these toys.

Large Shipment of Clothing.

The S. S. Rockaway Park left New York on March 8, for Reval, containing 190 bales of clothing, 10 bags of cereals and flour, and 6 cases of groceries. The approximate weight of this shipment was 80,000 pounds and the value more than $60,000.

A contribution of 2,000 pounds of buckwheat and 930 pounds of beans by a farmer in Ashville, N. Y., arrived too late for this steamer.

What Soviet Russia is Doing.

While appealing for aid to the outside world, the Soviet Government is doing its utmost to collect as much grain within Greater Russia as possible. Thus the provinces with "good" and "poor" harvests, the famine provinces, Siberia, Northern Caucasus, Khirgiz, Turkestan, Crimea and the Ukraine furnished more than 3,000,000 tons of grain up to January 11. More than 700,000 tons have been allocated for seeding purposes.

At the same time, the government is reclaiming considerable of the marsh land and is making an effort to put into use much of the arable land at present untouched. There are more than 20,000,000 acres of land in the south that could be cultivated if irrigated.

In the Moscow province the workers of the mills and factories have organized small farms covering an area of 24,000 acres. Further land is being freed and will be cultivated on a large scale and by modern methods.

Great Need of Motor Vehicles.

Soviet Russia is a vast country. The roads are not very good, as a result of the devastating work of the counter-revolutionaries and of the years of warfare, during which very little constructive or repair work could be done. But in addition, Soviet Russia is in dire need of motor vehicles. Thus the total number of motor vehicles at the present time is only 23,000, and all are not fit for service.

America, the home of the motor car truck, MUST furnish the Russian workers and peasants with sufficient motor implements to ensure a good harvest next fall.

Soviet Russia still clamors for lorries and tractors. American workers must heed the call.

Scouts and Women's Division.

The Friends of Soviet Russia has inaugurated two new sections for extending its work. The children of this country are to be recruited for the great work of relief, especially for the children. The Mothers and working-class women are to be organized to aid their suffering sisters in the Land of Hunger.

ORGANIZERS WANTED

The Friends of Soviet Russia requires the services of several capable men for organizers. If you are qualified, or know some one who is qualified, communicate with the National Office at [illegible] West [illegible] Street, New York. Applicants should have had special training as organizers. In answering, state experience, peculiar qualifications for this work and with what territories you are familiar.

What Labor Faces

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

For a number of years certain spokesmen of the workingclass of America, some self-appointed and some representative, have occupied themselves and either amused or instructed their audiences by predicting the ultimate downfall and collapse of capitalism, until convinced of the inevitability of the occurrence, large numbers of that same workingclass have been content to await, with a mingled feeling of joy and fear, the coming of the awesome event.

Today we stand face to face with problems brought to our attention, not by the increasing evidences of decay, but by the actual breakdown of the system of production and exchange upon which is based the social form called capitalism.

That the workers in the United States of America are unable at present to cope with these problems can be proved by a thousand instances and they share, with exception of a small minority, the helplessness exhibited by the ruling class confronted by the world-wide collapse of everything it held unchangeable.

In their use of just one resource has the ruling class of the world surprised the optimists who believed that the collapse of capitalism accompanied by education of the workers along economic lines would result in the co-operative commonwealth, and that is in the ability and the willingness of the rulers to resort to the use of armed force to keep in subjection the starving and revolting workers.

So eagerly have the rulers and their hangers-on seized upon this weapon that in Europe today constitutional monarchies and democracies have been transformed into military dictatorships and the remnant of capitalism functions solely by brutally crushing with steel and drowning in blood the mass-movements of the working-class.

The mask is off and capitalism in its new guise of imperialism shows to the workers without attempt at concealment, exactly upon what its rule has always depended—force; to quote our own Woodrow Wilson, "force without stint or limit."

Production is at a standstill. Trade stagnates. In the chaos which has followed the war currency of the European nations no longer serves as a medium of exchange. Millions have starved and millions more will starve this winter while the murderous militarism of the rulers stands guard over imperialism and hurls the bodies of the dead and dying workers into the pit of the damned that is the Europe of today.

In the United States an overwhelming majority of the workers are entirely unaware that they live in a period of revolutionary change.

They still accept capitalism as the last word in social organization and the greater proportion of even the organized workers—themselves a small percentage of the working class—are organized solely for the purpose of making the best possible bargain without in any way changing the system itself.

It is hardly necessary to say that more pointedly than ever, during and since the war, has the fact been emphasized that in this stronghold of political democracy the position of the worker in the capitalist state is no better than in other nations where the empty forms of political freedom are not so apparent.

The lessons of the steel strike, the coal strike at West Virginia, Newport, Ky., and only yesterday of the railway strike, in all of which the workers and their leaders, much to the expressed surprise of the latter, found themselves facing not merely the group of the capitalist class which they believed themselves to be fighting but with the entire force of American capitalism operating thru that very efficient agency of capitalism—the government of the United States of America, the only nation whose rulers came out of a war with increased power over an exploited class.

And so we come to the great delusion. "We cannot fight the government," said the officials of the railway brotherhoods. So said the president of the United Mine Workers and all who believe that this is the same republic which gained its political freedom from a foreign power by force of arms applaud both loud and long.

They are mistaken and the mem- [illegible]

I said [illegible] country that gave birth to the idea of Jeffersonian democracy. Territorially, it has expanded into a nation stretching from ocean to ocean and including Cuba and Haiti on the east and the Philippines to the west.

Economically, it has passed thru the period of individual ownership in capitalist enterprise to the trust and monopoly.

Politically, from the democracy of a pioneer nation to the autocracy of a financial oligarchy, imperialist in tendency and action. The capitalist class of the United States sent their fighting forces to take part in a world war, and the American capitalist class now reaches out to seize whatever may be profitably exploited wherever it may be found.

The need for clear thinking on economic and political matters was never greater than it is to-day, and yet there has never been greater confusion among the workers and those who voice or pretend to voice their aspirations. There are those who believe that at the ballot-box can be solved all the problems of the present and who see in the capture of the parliamentary processes thru the ballot the arrival of the millenium; forgetting apparently that history records no instance of a ruling class voluntarily relinquishing power because the majority has so willed.

There are others who swing to the opposite extreme and declare that the capitalist power of government springs solely from the fact of ownership of natural resources and machinery; that it is but the shadow of the economic system. "Take the land and the factories, you workers," they cry, "and the capitalist state will vanish." They forget that, shadow or substance as you will, the government under capitalism, with its appendages of courts, police, and military, has been set up to protect property and owners from an exploited multitude and that it is there between the worker and the necessities of a fuller and richer life; it is functioning as a reality and calling it names does not alter the fact.

While capitalism lasts the struggle of the masses for its abolition will be political whether that struggle takes place in the factories, on the platform and at the polling places or by the use of weapons of armed warfare which capitalism finds so useful.

How can we tell where the struggle is being waged today?

There is one sure and certain way. Being a struggle of the working masses, that struggle is going on where the workers gather, where they work and play, where they live. It follows then that any party which claims to voice the needs and aims of the workers who are intelligent enough and dissatisfied enough to desire that a speedy end be made of wage-slavery and its attendant ills must be composed of workers and conducting its activities where the workers are found.

It must enter into the daily lives of the working masses. It must be part of them. It must know the shame and the sorrows of the workers.

It must know their joys and miseries so that when it speaks it speaks with the voice of the workers and not with what someone thinks that voice should be.

To accomplish this unity of action is needed—on the part of the workers who are already class-conscious.

This is the only group in the American working class movement able to appreciate the necessity for a united front and courageous enough to work for it at the expense of some personal sacrifice. Consequently, it is to this group that the first call for a united front must be addressed.

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LECTURE

"THE INDUSTRIAL WORK OF THE WORKERS PARTY."

BY WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Williamsburg Headquarters

226 Roebling St.

FRIDAY, MARCH 24,

8 p. m.

Drawn by ART YO

Samoa Shown to Be the Haiti of Pacific

The United States Navy has another Haiti in the Pacific according to charges about the treatment of the Samoan Islands published in THE NATION for March 15. Without any proprietary rights in the Samoan Islands, which have been used for many years as a naval coaling station, our navy is said to have destroyed the independence of the natives, by the same autocratic methods which have been described in the case of Haiti and other Caribean republics.

The Fono, or native parliament of about 400 "High Chiefs, Talking Chiefs, and Chiefs," of the Samoan Islands, repeatedly recognized in treaties as the governing body of the islands, was arbitrarily dissolved in 1920 by the commandant of the naval coaling station. The natives protested, and an inquiry was ordered. When the commandant learned that his administration was to be investigated, he committed suicide. The investigation, according to the account in THE NATION, whitewashed the facts, audited the tax records for only two months back, and established the chief officer of the investigating court as "Governor of American Samoa."

The Samoans, by their own statement presented to the United States Government, have to pay taxes to the naval government, and are never told how their money is spent. They need roads, police protection, drainage, adequate schools, development of the resources of the Island, but none of these things, they claim, are provided from the tax receipts. A law of the naval occupation is supposed to protect Samoan girls and women from violation, but this law is not enforced in many cases of violation by naval officers.

After this and other complaints by the Samoans, the commandant enacted a sedition law, under which any criticism of the American government in Samoa can be punished by a $2000 fine and sixteen years' imprisonment. Several chiefs were imprisoned under this law. He also assembled thirty-nine chiefs and obtained their signatures to a letter protesting loyalty to the American occupation. These signatures, the article asserts to have been extorted. In August, 1921, the author of THE NATION's article, an American born in Samoa, who has been active in presenting the Samoan grievances was denied admission at Pago Pago on personal business.

Further treaties and documents on Samoa are announced for early publication by THE NATION.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

"British army costs cut $155,000,000," declares one headline. Another says, "U. S. army bill reported with $86,000,000 cut." John Bull seems to be more broke than Uncle Sam.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States is planning to build a $3,000,000 temple to capitalism at Washington, D. C. The "open shop" is a paying institution, for the capitalist.

The troops of the Far Eastern Republic (Soviet Siberia) have just captured a town by the name of Hooverveo in their advance on Vladivostock. The despatch says the town was named after Herbert Hoover but does not state who gave it the name. The fact that it had to be captured by the Russian workers looks suspicious.

"City library needs money for books," says a headline over an article about the lack of funds for the New York public library. But the money will continue to go for battleships, altho Director Edwin H. Anderson declares, "There is a constantly increasing demand by the public for books." **First, keep the workers ignorant by putting knowledge beyond their reach. But if any should imbibe a little learning and lead in a movement for emancipation, be ready to crush it. That is capitalism. Against capitalism stands Communism.**

What Others Do You Can Do!

What One Branch Has Done.

The English Branch of Cleveland, Ohio, made the boosting of the circulation of "THE WORKER" a special order of business at one of its meetings. The result was that nine members each took over responsibility for the sale of a weekly bundle varying in size from 5 to 25, the total number handled being 100. A bill for these is sent to the branch secretary once a month. The papers are sold at the regular bundle rate of 3½c. per copy and in this way the branch has a revenue of $6.00 per month besides carrying on the best kind of propaganda work.

How about your branch?

• • •

H. E. Ungleich, of Syracuse, N. Y. writes: "I've hung back from renewing until convinced that THE WORKER would become a real live periodical filling the needs of the American labor movement. At present "THE WORKER" is the best yet and I'm sending you one of the first $2 earned since Christmas to insure its delivery."

• • •

T. R. Sullivan, is the live and hustling District Organizer of District No. 10. He is pushing the circulation of the paper by getting cigar stores to handle it.

This is not difficult. All the branch members have to do is to suggest to the merchant that they would like to buy this paper from him.

Allowance is made for unsold copies and instead of mailing these back to the office the district organizer collects them and uses them for sample copies in boosting the circulation of the paper in outlying districts.

He gives a receipt to the merchant for the papers returned and these are sent to the office in making settlements.

• • •

Nick Petkoff, Cleveland, Ohio, sends in six half-yearly subs and two yearlies, together with a request for a supply of sub cards. Here is what he has to say about our paper:

THE WORKER is just what we need in this dark age of 100 percentism, American Plan, White-Guard Terror, etc. As an educator of the masses in teaching the class struggle "THE WORKER" occupies the leading place and should be in every workingman's home. We will do our best to get subs and some day we will have a "DAILY WORKER"; let's hope that day is not far off. Long live the revolution! Long live class-consciousness!

• • •

Grand Rapids, Mich., local of the Workers Party, is the next new organization to get into the line-up, with an order for 25 copies weekly.

• • •

Fred Merrick celebrates his advent in the office of District Organiser of District No. 5, by boosting the circulation of "THE WORKER" from 100 to 300 weekly. The Pittsburgh local has worked out a special scheme of distribution direct from local headquarters.

• • •

In a little mining town in Illinois there is a Socialist barber, and associated with him is a Socialist bootblack. These comrades wrote in for sample copies and the result of their dispatch was an order for a weekly bundle. The barber has nothing but rebel sheets on his table and the boot-black is building up a good route for the sale of "THE WORKER."

WISDOM OF THE PO FISH

By Art Young

The Poor Fish says, he is opposed to striking because it is out of keeping with the dignity of labor.

• • •

From Cleveland, Ohio, one of active hustlers writes:

"The Workers Party is growing Cleveland; we have about 500 to members in 13 branches including English branches that are growi rapidly. The Jewish Branch, w 100 members, is doing great wo preparing for their new daily pap 'Freedom,' thousands of dollars bei raised in this town. Cleveland w soon be back to the times when, t years ago, a call to the workers May first, was answered by 100,00 men and women workers. Go to th masses, that is the only way to ga power, print in our paper article about the every-day struggle of th workers, and then see that our pre reaches them. Let us know ho many individual subscribers for th "Worker" you have in Cleveland an how many are put out thru bundle agents. Our first goal is for thousand readers and we want to se just how close we are to it."

• • •

A good fighter who announces th he is on "the black books" so th his name cannot be used, writes us follows: "Have been laid up winter and am as poor as Job turkey, but you are entitled to the enclosed dollar and a thousand times more. Yours is a grand mint of information and encouragement."

• • •

It is a letter of this kind that makes us wish we had an endowment fund to keep our loyal supporters on our mailing lists indefinitely during periods when their luck gives out. If all our better fixed members would do their full duty by the paper it could be done, but at present it is impossible. J. M. Eihna, of Philadelphia, writes us:

"I know my subscription expired with December of last year but I am out of work since November, and in January I took sick and went to the hospital. When I got out the end of February, I found at my home 'THE WORKER' instead of 'The Toiler.' I was surprised indeed and very glad over the change, but I had no chance to send in my dollar for my subscription. Knowing that the paper needs money, just as we workers need the paper, I am cutting a dollar out of my poor board, and I will try to get some more subscribers to that indispensable paper."

SUBSCRIBE!

HERE IS MY "SUB"

The Worker, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

COMRADES:—Enclosed please find $............ in payment for my subscription to THE WORKER for a period of .... months, at the rate of $2 per year, $1 for six months.

Name ....

Address ....

[illegible] Coal Operators [illegible] Separate Pacts

WASHINGTON.—Secretary of Labor Davis has received new and explicit instructions from President Harding to bring the organized bituminous operators into conference with the United Mine Workers of America, in accordance with their signed agreement of March, 1920.

The strike of 1920 was due to the fact that the operators, even when they came into the conference, refused to negotiate. When confronted with the union's demands, the operators' spokesmen shook their heads and said "Your demands are excessive. We cannot consider them."

"They are negotiable," the miners said. "Give us an offer."

"Your demands are excessive," replied the operators again. And without having further discussed the demands they went out and told the public that the conference had failed. They had taken the utmost care that there should be no negotiations whatever.

President Harding's position as to his duty when the operators repeat this performance is not disclosed. He is familiar with the facts, and he is anxious to avoid the decision between operators and miners, which the beginning of a strike would force upon him. He does not want to force the operators to break their pledge to each other to ignore the union henceforth. But he wishes that they would not make him responsible before the country for a life and death struggle by the miners to maintain their organization.

"Pass the Buck" in Illinois.

CHICAGO.—"Passing the buck" to the Illinois coal miners, the Illinois coal operators have asked for an answer to their proposal to make a separate wage agreement with Illinois unions to take the place of the national agreement which expires on March 31st. The operators in the other districts have violated the agreement by refusing to meet the union's international officials to negotiate a new scale.

IOWA MINERS FOR STRIKE.

ALBIA, Ia.—Iowa miners are overwhelmingly in favor of a strike April 1st, should the operators refuse to renew the agreement with the United Mine Workers according to the vote of the first 29 of the 81 local unions in the state to be received at district headquarters here. There were 3,534 votes for the strike and 257 against it, Secretary John Gay announces. All locals cast a majority in favor of the strike. Between 13,000 and 14,000 miners, all organized, are affected.

Hard Coal Miners and Operators in Conference

(Continued from Page One)

5. Continuating of the check-off system of collecting dues.

The details of the wage-scale will be worked out by a special scale committee which will remain in conference with the operators until an agreement is reached at until it is evident a settlement is impossible.

Figures submitted by the miners' committee show that an average of 500 workers lose their lives in the industry in each working year and that 20,000 are injured annually. No casualty figures for mine owners were submitted by their committee.

A late feature of the national situation was the joint demand of Catholic and Protestant religious bodies for a conference between owners and miners. The joint statement indicates that some special virtue is attached to a conference and that after a meeting the coal owners may do as they please safe in the knowledge that the great "public" has not been unduly shocked by a refusal to meet the representatives of the men who dig the coal.

President Farrington of the Illinois district has again notified the national office of his intention to enter into a separate conference with the Illinois operators if a national conference is not arranged with the operators of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Western Pennsylvania—the central competitive field—before March 31st.

Farrington's attitude is foreign to the past policy of the United Mine Workers which has long held to the practice of dealing with these fields as a unit.

It is known that the organization can obtain separate district agreements providing it is willing to abandan its policy of having all agreements expire on the same date.

Insofar as Farrington wishes to enter into a separate agreement for Illinois, his policy is in accord with that of the operators.

Reports from the districts received at Indianapolis show that the membership of the union is overwhelmingly in favor of a strike beginning March 1, if settlement is not reached.

Bernard Shaw's "Candida" which Ellen Van Valkenburg and Maurice Browne are to present as the first bill of their repertoire season at the Greenwich Village Theatre has been postponed from Monday to Wednesday night, March 22.

[illegible]

Oppression breeds resistance. Poison injected into the human body compels it to prepare anti-toxins or die. The subversive policies of labor leaders are preparing the weapon to offset them—the rising consciousness of the workers, the rapidly growing belief that an end must be made of a leadership which stands for capitalism and which will not fight for fear of offending the system to which it looks for favors.

There is going to be a real labor movement in America because no further evidence is needed that the workers will fight and sacrifice when it is necessary. The miners, the packinghouse workers and the textile workers have proved this.

The timid, the crooked and the ignorant leaders must go.

It is spring, and labor is getting ready to clean house. The house of labor is badly cluttered up with a lot of old trash such as obsolete policies, artificial divisions, personal animosities and ambitions, and it will take more than one season to put it in order but—the task will be done.

The militant workers have a new broom this spring—The Trade Union Educational League—and it is going to sweep clean the house of labor. A lot of disinfectant will be needed when it comes to getting rid of some of labor's mis-leaders, but it will be furnished by the thousands of class-conscious workers who for the first time are united on a common program of action.

Feeble-Minded Saviors

One of those little contradictions of the capitalist system which are the cause of much joy to the intelligent worker is exposed in all its ludicrous asininity thru such a respectable medium as the Rotary Club. The club is endeavoring to make business better by the use of bill boards. In its advertisements a dignified appeal is made to the workers to "work hard; spend what you may. Prosperity is just around the corner."

With some six or seven millions of workers compelled to be idle because their labor cannot be used at a profit; with the echoes of the thrift campaigns still lingering in their ears it is little wonder that children of ten and twelve years believe that the only requirement for membership in the Rotary Club is to once have been an inmate of some institution for the feeble-minded.

The Rotary Club is nevertheless said to be composed of the best brains of the various professions and that vaguely defined classification called "businessmen."

If you are tempted to make sarcastic remarks about the state of the nation just remember that to the class represented by the Rotary Club has been entrusted the task of running the country.

We rise to congratulate The Literary Digest. Its "Special British Empire Number," containing a fulsome article on the prosperity and harmony that British imperialism has brought to South Africa, was just nicely distributed when the Rand rebellion occurred.

It is risky to be real positive about rulers and empires in these parlous times.

A collection is being taken up in Hungary for former Emperor Charles who is said to be unable to pay his rent because of prolonged unemployment. This is the kind of unemployment we favor.

Labor Pageant Staged by Defense Committee

Rehearsals of the Labor Pageant to be shown at the International Baazar, The Lyceum, 86th Street and Third Avenue, March 22-25, indicate that it is one of the finest things of its kind ever offered to the public. It will be given by an organization of artists who have donated their services for the occasion and who are well known to New York audiences.

MARY HEATON VORSE, after witnessing a rehearsal, pronounced it a wonderful spectacle and wants to make it the subject of a special article.

ROSE PASTOR STOKES is also very enthusiastic about the pageant and appreciates it not only from the propaganda angle but also as an artistic and colorful production.

The Pageant opens with two symbolic figures—slaves bowed and chained—a dance of grief follows. There is a picture of the Russia of yesterday—prisoners on the road to Siberia. The scene changes and the workers are in power. Then America—the death of the Mingo strikers. "Education" appears and gives a dramatic recital of the workers' struggle.

The workers rebel, grief is replaced with the fever of battle—the chains are broken. The workers of every nation are freed and the national dances of the nations end in a tableau of all nations united in a Workers' World.

Moving pictures of the Pageant will be taken and also of the crowds which see it. The committee in charge of the Bazaar states that, although every cent of the proceeds will go for the defense of class-war prisoners, the pageant and other attractions will return more than value received to the purchasers of tickets in pleasure and educational value.

Reserve the evenings of March 22-25 for the International Bazaar. It will be worth your while and in addition you will be helping the men who are in jail for you.

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READ "KUZBAS", the pamphlet telling of the organization of American Engineers and Workers to go to Russia and develop the giant Kuznets Basin Iron and Coal Project under Soviet control without capitalist exploitation .... [illegible] a copy.
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[illegible]

(By The Federated Press)

ST. LOUIS.—The Carpenters District Council [illegible] $1.25 an hour is not more than the amount necessary to maintain an American standard of living.

Carpenters work an average of only 150 to 200 days a year, the statement points out. Statistics from employers' publications are quoted to prove that the major portion of the cost of building does not go to the men who do the work.

The statement challenges the authority of the so-called "citizens' committee" to fix wages and arbitrarily dictate conditions under which men must work, and asserts, "The carpenters' union also is a citizens' committee which feels that it has the right to fix the price of labor in view of the fact that retail dealers fix the prices of commodities which the carpenters must buy."

"In the event the 'citizens' committee' is animated by a righteous purpose to accomplish a reduction in the cost of homebuilding," continues the statement, "rather than the single purpose of hammering down wages, we wish to submit a statement published in the American Contractor of December 3, 1921, showing the relation of labor costs to the entire cost of buildings: Materials, 43.4; labor, 27.1; engineers, fees, 4.8; contractors' overhead, 4.2; contractors' profit, 8.3; insurance, 0.9; freight on materials, 8.3; construction plant rental, 3; total, 100.

"This table is submitted in order to show that wages are a minor factor in the entire cost, and that other elements of cost should be given at least equal consideration, a fact that seems to be generally overlooked by the public as well as other agencies directly concerned.

"There is another factor concerning which a strange silence is maintained by those who are most active in trying to reduce wages, and that is the cost of building sites. A man may purchase a piece of vacant property, hold it for a time, and, with no effort or sacrifice on his part, sell it for a price that nets him a comfortable fortune. This transaction is usually referred to as a 'romance of real estate,' and the gentleman who accomplishes this feat is honored and held in esteem as a benefactor of our city."

Poland and Hungary in Secret Treaty for War

By FRERERICK KUH

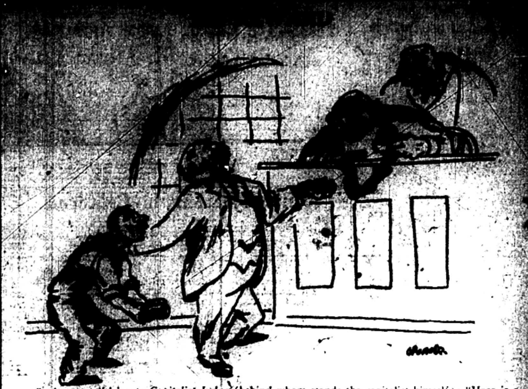
(Fed. Press Staff Correspondent)

VIENNA.—A secret treaty has been concluded between Poland and Hungary and signed at Warsaw. It is of the utmost significance to the whole alignment of political forces in Central Europe. It is now established that Poland has entered a most intimate entente with Hungary. That entente, created behind Prague's back is directed against the Czecho-Slovakians, as well as against the Rusisan regime. Stated compactly the secret Polish-Hungarian alliance is as follows:

1. Since Hungary is not represented at the League of Nations Poland affirms its readiness to advocate the interests of Hungary in the league and elsewhere.
2. Poland pledges itself not to participate in a war waged against Hungary.
3. The Polish government agrees to use all means available (even including armed force) to oppose an eventual annexation of Hungarian territory by Czecho-Slovakia.
4. The Hungarian government makes a similar promise regarding annexation of Polish territory by Szecho-Slovakia.
5. In case Poland should find itself engaged in war against Russia and should Rumania range itself or the side of Poland, Hungary undertakes not to attack Rumania during the Rumano-Polish operations against Soviet Russia.
6. In the event of a conflict between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary will adopt an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards Poland and exercise what diplomatic pressure she can on that side.

COLUMBUS.—Coming into the open with their plan to disrupt the United Mine Workers of America, thecoal operators of southern Ohio have announced that they are ready to negotiate a separate agreement in their own district but that they will refuse to meet the national miners' organization even tho the present contract pruvides for such a meeting.

In a statement issued by the southern Ohio operators it is declared that "the operators of southern Ohio cannot participate in such a (antional) conference but they will meet with the representatives of the min workers of this district at any time to discuss a wage scale and working conditions that are fair to the miners and operators of southern Ohio."



Capitalist Politician to Capitalist Judge (behind whom stands the capitalist himself): "Here is a worker who voted for us last year, Judge. I just brought him in to have those nice injunction and anti-strike shackles fitted."

IMPORTANT! May Day Demonstration

To All Locals and Branches of the Workers' Party:—

Dear Comrades:—The Central Executive Committee calls upon every local and branch of the party to at once get to work on their preparations for MAY DAY according to the following instructions. In cities where City Central Committees are organized and functioning the City Central Committee shall, of course, have full charge of all the plans and arrangements. Where there is no City Central Committee the branches must take up the work.

Read these instructions carefully and follow them closely:

1. The Executive Committee of the branch or local, as the case may be, shall at once address letters to each and every labor organization, both industrial and political, in the city, inviting them to send delegates to a conference for the purpose of organizing a "Joint May Day Committee" to arrange a May Day demonstration.

2. The local (or branch) shall elect its delegates to this conference and instruct them to advocate the following program for the May Day demonstration:

A united labor front on the following issues:

(a) Against the open shop and reduction of wages.
(b) Against industrial court laws and injunctions.
(c) Work or compensation at union wages for the unemployed.
(d) Release of class-war prisoners.
(e) Recognition of and trade with Soviet Russia.

3. The Workers Party delegates may agree to alterations or amendments to this program but must insist upon class-struggle issues.

4. The Workers Party delegates to the conference shall be instructed to stand for representation by all co-operating organizations on the speakers' list of the May Day meeting.

5. All locals and branches are called upon to at once order bundles of the special May Day edition of "The Worker" and other party papers.

THIS MAY DAY WILL BE A TEST OF THE WORKERS PARTY, SEE TO IT THAT YOU DO NOT FAIL IN YOUR DUTY.

Central Executive Committee Workers Party of America

Jailed Communist is Two Time Candidate

LONDON.—Albert Inkpin, the imprisoned Communist, sentenced to six months on account of a leaflet issued by the party while he was secretary, has been adopted as candidate for the Middlesex county council and also for the London county council. It is unusual that a candidate is nominated for two council elections.

Renewed agitation is beeing set on foot for the release of Guy Aldred, arrested last March and charged with the publication of "seditious" literature. Is trial, much delayed, did not take place until June, when he received the maximum sentence of 12 months imprisonment. Altho he had already been in prison for more than three months on remand, his sentence was made to date, not from the time of his arrest, but from June 21, so that he will actually have served 16 months at the time of his release.

Other political prisoners in this country are: John Maclean, 12 months; W. F. Robertson, four months; P. Clanville, six months; W. Winter, six months; Wilson, nine months, and Gibson, six months.

Omaha Workers Build Fighting Organization

(Special to the Worker.)

South Omaha, Neb., Feb. 15, 1922.

The packinghouse workers here, altho somewhat discouraged at the result of the recent strike, have not done the usual thing and allowed all organization work to stop because of a temporary defeat; instead they have adopted a practical policy designed to build up and strenghten the organization, to organize on strictly industrial lines and to make their union a real fighting instrument.

The District Council has asked that a convention of the international union be called within two months and the following resolution has been sent out for indorsement:

WHEREAS the recent strike has left our organization in a partly demoralized condition, and

Whereas it is necessary that immediate action be taken to safeguard the interests of the membership of our union, and

WHEREAS the policies and the direction of the affairs of our organization must be changed to meet and cope with the conditions now existing, be it therefore

RESOLVED by Local 41, in regular meeting assembled, that a call for an International Convention be submitted to the General Secretary-Treasurer as provided for in the International Constitution, and be it further

RESOLVED, that a copy of this call be sent to all Local Unions and District Councils, asking their approval and co-operation in calling for an International Convention, and be it further

RESOLVED, that Local 41 ask and request the various Local Unions and District Councils to ask that the International Convention be called within two months after the vote is taken and not be delayed the four months as designated by the Constitution, as the need of action is imperative, and the vote be taken as soon as possible, thus avoiding any unnecessary delay.

DISTRICT COUNCIL No. 5
Committee: CARPENTER,
BERGER,
WORZEL.

The official paper of the union, The Workmen's Advocate, has been merged with the Midwest Labor Lews and it is planned to give the publication active support and greatly increase its circulation, the members realizing the value of a fighting labor press.

The employers here are very much disappointed at the turn affairs have taken and it is now believed in labor circles that the strike has been a valuable lesson to the packinghouse workers; that because of it a real industrial organization is now in process of formation which will be of real service to its members.

Omaha is going to take its place on the labor map of the United States.

If the Bolsheviks are causing all the unrest in the various sections of the globe, as the capitalist press claims, they are the most industrious people in the world.

American Ambassadors are so popular abroad, as the recent incident in Bulgaria shows, that the State department is considering the erection of bomb-proof shelters for them.

The enthusiasm with which the Allies agreed to the Americans occupying the Rhineland does not extend to the payment for the same. France and England evidently want to eliminate the pay from occupation.

Income tax returns in Manhattan district have fallen off 45 per cent over last year. Quite a few people evidently forgot to take Schwab's advice to "smile and bring back prosperity."

To Raffle Kisses for Class-War Prisoners

The modesty of the Irish women is proverbial but at the last meeting of the Irish Branch the women decided to raffle off a kiss at the International Bazaar for the benefit of the class-war prisoners, March 22-25.

The decision was reached over the protests of the husbands and sweethearts present and it is expected that a neat sum will be realized from this source alone.

Prospective but doubtful purchasers of raffle tickets on the article will be supplied with samples for a dollar per and the Irish Branch guarantees to protect them from husbands whose sense of proprietorship is stronger than their loyalty to the victims of capitalist persecution. It is to the credit of the Irish Branch that it has but few members of this type.

The lucky individual who holds the winning ticket will be allowed to pick the donor of the priceless gift from the women members of the branch, all of whom are easy to look at.

The slogan for the night of the raffle, originated by the women comrades themselves, will be:

"The price of a kiss prepares the path to freedom!"

LABOR NOT VALUABLE CONSIDERATION

Since a contract between a union and employers "does not call for a valuable consideration," it may be broken with impunity, according to the ruling of Judge Lewis in the Minnesota photo-engravers' case.

The employers broke their contract with the photo-engravers, and the violation was so obvious that the workers were confident that an injunction reinstating the contract could be obtained.

Judge Lewis told the workers, however, that the contract was not a valid one, there being a lack of "mutuality" because a valuable consideration was not called for.

Irish Workers, Attention!

A Mass Meeting will be held in Foodworkers' Hall, 133 West 51st St., on **Sunday, March 26, at 2 p.m.**

Speakers:

William F. Dunne, Editor of The Worker, on "The Irish Workers in America."

Thomas O'Flaherty, on "The Irish Workers in Ireland."

Admission Free.

Auspices **Irish Branch of Workers Party of America.**

COME ONE, COME ALL.

Celebration of PARIS COMMUNE

Entertainment and Dances

Turkish Folk Dances by Comrade Anastas

YORKVILLE GREEK BR.,
793—2nd Ave., New York,
at 8:40 P. M., March 19th, 1922.

COME AND HEAR
WILLIAM F. DUNNE
Speak on
"The American Labor Movement, Past, Present and Future"
[illegible]

[illegible] "Orphans of the Storm"

By NORMAN BROOKS.

In his latest "stupendous" movie production, David Wark Griffith dishes up a rehash of Kate Claxton's old play, The Two Orphans, calls it Orphans of the Storm, puts a goodly dash of French revolution into it for sauce and then garnishes it with such cut-ins as, "Be satisfied with our own present decent law and order," counting on the fact that most of us don't know how our present decent law and order is working in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, where machine guns are turned on striking textile workers, and in the coal fields of West Virginia, where civil war has raged for two years.

There have been many plays built around this theme of the French revolution, but none so frankly and plainly propaganda against the working class as this one. Thruout the play the parallel is drawn between the French revolution and the present Russian one and a persistent note sounds out the seeming fact that Mr. Griffith fears a revolution in this country.

Artist tho he is supposed to be, Mr. Griffith trips up and turns a somersault when he tells us that the French revolution was born in the hearts of hoodlums and engineered by bums, but shows us brawny toil-developed bodies and serious faces at the head of things when the lazy, gluttonous aristocracy is overthrown by the hungry populace.

It may be that a mad French populace did revel in wine and women in the first days of their freedom but they were only taking turn about and copying for a while their masters. Have we not with us today the set that gives monkey dinners, parties and funerals for dogs and that pelt each other with American beauty roses and cold turkey while little children starve?

One couldn't help thinking of our own Leavenworth prison when Mr. Griffith had the revolutionists open the bastille and free the many innocent prisoners.

Until the workers cease attending plays just because their favorite stars appear in them and thus provide profits for propaganda against them, distortions of revolutionary aspirations like those in Orphans of the Storm will continue to be fed to the public.

A splendid parody could be written on this play by substituting present day conditions—not in far off France or Russia, but right here in America. But in that case, our department of justice, in the name of law and order, would take the place of the extinct czarist regime and raid the parodist's home and put him in jail.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

FIRST ANNUAL DANCE
Given by the
YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE
HARLEM AND BRONX
Saturday Evening, April 22, 1922
PARK VIEW PALACE
110th St. and Fifth Ave.
All the oldtimers will be there. Dance contests will be featured. Music by Original Society Syncopators. Tickets 75c.
KEEP THE DATE OPEN
Tickets obtainable: Workers Party, 80 E. 11th St., Room 405; Y. W. L., 1258 Boston Road; Y. W. L., 61 Canal St.

A MASS STRUGGLE FOR A DECENT LIVELIHOOD

In the Pawtuxet Valley of Rhode Island, where there has never before been a strike and never much of a union, 8,000 men and women are in the third month of their strike

Against a 20 Per Cent Reduction of Wages

The average wage, under this cut, would be $17 for a week of 54 hours. Sanitary and social conditions in the Pawtuxet Valley are the most unhealthful and depressing in the United States. "Rhode Island is run by the textile manufacturers to suit their own purposes," says the New York World. (Feb. 25.) "The textile industry is in possession of the machinery of government."

The cotton manufacturers contend they can not continue to operate without reducing wages, but they have refused to submit their books to investigation, so that the truth about manufacturing costs may be discovered. They have rejected arbitration. "The public be damned," is their attitude. "Ours is a private business," is what they actually say.

Eight Thousand Strikers Say It Is THEIR Business and the Public's.

Will you help the strikers to make their idea the dominant one? Only HUNGER can defeat these aroused men and women. HUNGER is the ally of economic despotism.

GIVE TO THE RELIEF FUND

Make checks payable to

AMALGAMATED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
Russell Palmer, General Secretary
Room 509 7 East 15th St. New York

Manual Worker to Brain Worker: So, you may have more brains than I've got, but you don't know how to use them.

Drawn by ART YOUNG

Union Smashing in California

California is at present the storm-center of the struggle between the workers and the Better America Federation, a nation-wide organization which is carrying on a bitter campaign against organized labor under the camouflage of Americanization. In a recent interview one of the leaders of the movement made the following illuminating statement:

"While we are heartily in accord with the open shop, yet we have not concentrated on that matter . . . We have been too busy dealing with the so-called radical leaders of the labor movement. THE WAGE EARNERS THAT BELONG TO THE UNIONS ARE NOT ALL BAD, but their leaders are the ones to watch. WE HAVE MANY EARNERS WITHIN OUR ORGANIZATION, such as office workers, clerks in department stores, etc., who pay $1 per month for dues, and then there are others who contribute monthly toward our educational work."

Truly an inspiring portrait of the "good" worker! The purposes of the Better America Federation are given in eloquent terms in the constitution of the organization: "To oppose the development of class consciousness and the class domination of government, business or society. To demonstrate that the interests of employers and employees are mutual, and that the prosperity of both depends upon each accepting and adhering to the Golden Rule."

This is a very polite way of describing the peculiarly vicious type of open shop drive that the B. A. F. is carrying on. A variety of tactics are being employed in the campaign, for the B. A. F. believes in doing things thoroly. In addition to their attempt to smash the organizations of the workers, they are trying to develop a slave and scab psychology in the school children of the state, and here is some of the high-sounding bunk they are circulating in the public schools under the name of "educational work," with the help of the monthly dollar of the white-collar slaves:

"A determined, systematic effort, with lots of money back of it, is being made to break down our American system of government and to substitute for it a government something like Mr. Trotzky's in Russia.

"You have learned in school that our government in the United States is the best on earth. It is—but it is in danger. You students can help in the great fight that is being made against Communism, State Socialism, and all the other 'isms' of the agitators. If any one—man, woman, boy or girl—asks you to read radical books or magazines, IF THEY TELL YOU THAT THE HONEST ACQUIREMENT OF WEALTH IS A CRIME, IF THEY ENDEAVOR TO POISON YOUR MIND WITH CLASS HATRED, REPUDIATE THEM WITH ALL THE COURAGE OF A TRUE AMERICAN!"

Aid to Labor Baiters

But the principal work of the B. A. F. consists in bringing aid and comfort to every labor-baiting employer in the state. Take the case of the oil workers. Since the strike called last September, when the Associated Oil Company refused to continue a working agreement between themselves and the government relative to working conditions and disputes in the industry, and refused to confer with the workers on the ground that "this policy would lead to Sovietism," every weapon of fraud and violence and victimization has been used to smash the union. It was recently revealed in court, for instance, that a certain detective, Emerson, had been hired by the Oil Company to set fire to the oil warehouse, in order that a number of union men might be implicated and put out of the way. The union persisted, but the B. A. F. came to back up the Company's fight; and now, according to the latest figures given by the B. A. F., the weeding out of union men is going on at such a rate that they now form only 20 per cent of the whole number employed, and soon these too will be gone.

WANTED!

Workers for the Worker.

Any comrades having a little time to spend for the cause can help "The Worker" by donating a few hours labor at addressing and preparing circularization material. Come to the office at any time and ask for Wm. F. Kruse.

Call It "Rule of Gold"

The B. A. F. has also thrown itself whole-heartedly into the struggle of the San Francisco employers to reduce the minimum for women from $16 to $11.68 a week, which is being resisted to the uttermost by all sections of women workers. The extent of the sinister influence of the organization is shown by the fact that if **a worker so far forgets his duty to his masters as to dare to boycott one of the retail stores which are affiliated with the B. A. F., vengeance follows swiftly upon his presumptuous attempt at class solidarity, and he finds himself out of a job.** The B. A. F. openly boasts of this power of ousting workers from their jobs at its pleasure.

So much, then, for the B. A. F. "Golden Rule"—or perhaps it might better be called the "Rule of Gold"—in action.

TO DEFENSE OF MOONEY

San Francisco.—The Mooney-Billings defense has let loose an onslaught upon the Cincinnati Times-Star which in a recent editorial gave vent, by inference, to the wish that Tom Mooney, the framed labor leader, might have been hung instead of commuted to life imprisonment as a result of the open-shop, Chamber of Commerce conspiracy on the Pacific Coast.

The occasion for the poisonous sheet's outburst is the debate between Solicitor-General Beck and Prof. Felix Frankfurter, recently appearing in The New Republic.

Oakland, Cal.—John C. Wieler, Communist and former clergyman, has begun serving his 14-year term at San Quentin, after his appeal to the district court of appeals was dismissed on one count out of four. Wieler is in bad health, and has been in custody of the sheriff on certificate from his physician that he could not survive a term in the country jail. At San Quentin, however, he will be set to work in the jute mill, like all new prisoners.

CELEBRATION OF
PARIS COMMUNE
By the
YORKVILLE
GREEK BRANCH
793 Second Ave.
Oriental Music :: Turkish Dances
Admission free
on March 19, at 8:40 P. M.

Court Hits Bomb Squad; Jakira Case Dismissed

Judge John E. McIntire, of the Court of General Sessions, has handed down a decision that the raid executed last April by the Bomb Squad on an apartment at 170 Bleeker St., was unlawful, and ordered the return to Abram Jakira, one of the occupants of the apartment, of two pistols said by the members of the raiding party to have been found in his suit case at that time.

Indictments against Jakira, Israel Amter and Edward Lindgren with relation to literature seized in the same raid were dismissed by Judge Talley for lack of evidence to sustain them. Judge McIntire's decision ends the proceedings against Jakira for the unlawful possession of firearms which were instituted at the same time.

The opinion holds that the constitutional provisions guaranteeing the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unlawful search and seizure is expressive of a fundamental conception of social policy, and that it is "universal in its application."

It is not, the opinion states, a guarantee of the right to remain undisturbed in the possession of specific property, but a guarantee against the unlawful invasion of the privacy of men and women living under the protection of our legal system.

Evidence obtained by a violation of these constitutional provisions, Judge McIntire holds, cannot be used against a defendant's application to the court.

The opinion quotes from decisions of the United States Supreme court which hold that security against unreasonable search and seizure is "of the very essence of constitutional liberty," and that the guarantee of these rights "is as important and as imperative as are the guarantee of the other fundamental rights of the individual citizen—the right of trial by jury, to the writ of habeas corpus, and to due process of law."

Whether or not any particular defendant is convicted, Judge McIntire's opinion holds, is less important than the maintenance of these constitutional safeguards.

The defendant was represented by Hale, Nelles and Shorr, and Osmond K. Fraenkel was associated with them. The motion for the return of the property was made by Murray C. Bernays of Hale, Nelles and Shorr.

Misuse of Permit System Gets Union Head in Bad

(By the Federated Press)

NEW YORK.—Wm. A. Hogan, financial secretary, Local No. 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, has been indicted on charges of grand larceny in the first degree for alleged manipulation of the union's funds. The indictment is the result of disclosures of Samuel Untermyer, counsel to the Lockwood investigating committee who brought out that Hogan had supervision over a permit plan whereby non-union men paid $2.50 a week to work with union men. Hogan is charged with having stolen $21,625 from the union's permit money fund.

The testimony before the Lockwood committee brought out that there are between 15,000 and 20,000 electrical workers in New York City, of whom only 3,000 were members of the union. Attempts to join the union were almost always met with the statement that "the books are closed." Then the applicants would be told that they could work on weekly permit cards if they paid $2.50 per week each for journeymen and $1 for helpers. This made $130 a year for journeymen and $52 a year for helpers, while the monthly dues paid by union members were only $2, or $24 a year.

One of the witnesses before the committee, Thomas D. Naughton, testified that the amount collected by the union in these permit fees might well average $5000 a week, or more than $250,000 a year. Four men were continually busy taking in the special permit receipts. According to Alfred H. Bull, the organization's accountant, no cash book ever was kept with day to day entries; the bookkeeping system was pretty bad, and he had been fooled by the officers who furnished him the data on which to base his audits.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

Why [illegible] education?

The fight for free schools was initiated and continued to success by our labor unions in the early part of the last century.

But when we got the "free" schools, we stopped. Why we should have free schools, assuming that the worker wanted to be on an equal footing with the moneyed man, does not seem to have entered into the agitation. It seems to have been taken for granted that, given free schools, the children would gain in knowledge and understanding without more ado.

Seek Knowledge and Understanding

For [illegible], knowledge and understanding [illegible] our children shall have. We desire that they shall be able to compete with the children of capitalists in the activities of the world. We dislike to think that they shall be at a disadvantage when about to take up the serious struggle of our busy, tho bustling, world. And if they remain in the ranks of labor we desire that they shall be able to understand every questionable situation, every dispute that may arise between the capitalist and the worker.

Are we doing anything in our schools to help towards this understanding? Is it likely that our schools will be run for the benefit of the workers, for the purpose of turning out freedom-loving individuals, thoughtful men and women, uncommercialized human beings, with our "Board of Education" composed of lawyers, business men and financiers? Do you find any "John Deweys," "Ferrers," or "Herbert Spencers" on the Boards?

Public Schools not Workers' Schools

Is it then not evident that the public schools are not workers' schools—that they embody no thought of the development of character and the thinking power, not to speak of self-expression, self-determination, initiative and the love of decent human life?

To what extent then are we on an equal footing, educationally, with the employing class? Do the children of wealth depend upon the schools? Hardly—there are private schools to suit all cases for those who can pay. These private schools do everything and anything to satisfy the desires of the "coupon clipping class." If these schools are not advanced in methods it is only because the wealthy are not necessarily intelligent. But when some new or advanced idea in education is to be tried out, it is done where it can be paid for privately. Our public schools remain static as to methods, even tho new forms, like manual training, may be introduced. And the worst of it is, no matter what may be introduced, our schools have become thoroly commercialized.

Any free expression in education can be tried out where the tuition fee is large, because we do not appreciate what is going on in the educational world sufficiently to sacrifice anything for new schools. We are too busy concerning ourselves with wages and shorter hours.

Must Build Own Schools

Schools with advanced ideas and methods, which exist in New York, Detroit and elsewhere, are being financed, not by workers, but by "stockholders." If there is anything good that is going they get it, from steam yachts and flying machines to new experiments in education.

So we must go back to our first question—"Why must we wait for the intellectuals who are not workers to formulate new ideas in education or to enunciate broad ideas of the educational thinkers of the past?

Have we not enough intelligence among our workers to know how to feel the pulse of the educational thought—not the school program—and to delve into what has been said and done by Cominius, Herbart, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbert Spencer, Ferrer and John Dewey, not to mention the more modern A. S. Neil?

Why should it not be the concern of every workers' group—labor union, benevolent society, political organization—to see that the educational question is repeatedly or regularly being considered, discussed and studied to the end that we may build our school, our own schools so far in advance, from an educational standpoint, of our public schools, that even the capitalistic private schools will be seen as in a mist far behind. Before the year 1860 Herbert Spencer wrote the following:

"Not only ought we to cease from the mere unthinking adoption of the current fashion of education, which has no better warrant than any other fashion. . . It must not suffice simply to THINK that such or such information will be useful in after-life, or that this kind of knowledge is of more practical value than that; but we must seek out some process of estimating their respective values; so that as far as possible we may positively KNOW which are most deserving of attention."

By ALEXIS C. FERM.

[illegible]

By ROBIN HOOD

Prophets of evil have been in the habit of chirping—par[illegible] since the Russian revolution—that chivalry and all the [illegible] virtues which have made the lives of Jessie James and Cap[illegible] Kid shine in comparison to the slimy trails left by the mode[illegible] highwaymen from the buccaneer of Wall Street and his slick [illegible]tors, the respectable financiers, to the gentlemen whose [illegible] capital is a loaded revolver and his sphere of operations the pub[illegible] highways of New York.

But while there is life there is hope. Like a sunbeam burst[illegible]ing through a murky sky came the report of a hold up in wh[illegible] the gentlemen of the mask tore a page out of the book of "Jesse Jam[illegible] and sent the thrills of romance running up and down the spines of th[illegible] Americans who know that in this land of initiative and "pep" things [illegible] happening every day that tend to give us a distinctiveness unique amo[illegible] nations.

While the Bolsheviks were calling the attention of the unemploye[illegible] to the fact that the capitalists robbed them and then threw them out [illegible] the streets to starve without even presenting them with a Salvation ar[illegible] Doughnut two Americans in the expropriation business were giving the lie to the Bolsheviks and proving that the Robber System had not lost all sense of honor.

In a certain grocery store in uptown New York six citizens of the metropolis were purchasing certain articles for their wives and incidentally thanking their stars that they lived in a country where Bolsheviks were scarce and life was secure. In the midst of the discussion two masked men appeared with drawn revolvers and in "treat 'em rough" accents ordered the assembled Americans to point their fingers towards the ceiling.

The same order was given to the grocer and his assistant. The two operators performed the task of separating from their coin, jewelry and anything of value that was not part of their anatomies of those whom they favored with their attentions.

After they had finished their tasks they held a caucus to decide whether they should punish the victims for not having more money in their possession. (The collection was only $84.)

They decided, however, that such disgusting poverty was due to lack of initiative and proper training, so instead of severely punishing them—as they richly deserved—the bandits gave them 50 cents each to pay their carfare home.

They regretted they could not give them a dollar each, but, as the spokesman for the two said:

"There is so much competition in this business since the termination of the war that we bandits must, if we expect to remain in the business, lay down certain rules of procedure, to safeguard ourselves against our emotions.

"In the legitimate field of banditry our competitors do not run the risks we do, therefore their expenses are not so high. The bankers and capitalists are aided by the government in relieving the workers of their wealth, but we are as objectionable to the government as a Holy Jumper is to a Catholic. Therefore we must practise thrift. Good day, gentlemen.

"If one of you moves before we are safely in our car, the unpleasant duty will devolve on us of pumping you full of lead. Good day."

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

From Our Readers

JUSTICE

Editor, The Worker:—Appended please find a clipping dealing with the late "ruling" on the "Oregon Comical Sillyism Law." You may use the following information and the clipping, both, to make up the kind of a news-item that your columns will stand.

• • •

Joseph Laundy was arrested on November 11, 1919, at a meeting of the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council here. The masters found his "Wobblie" card and indicted him under their brand-new "Comical Sillyism Law." With the advent of the "Communist Raids" (Jan. 2, 1920) they also found that he was a member of the Communist Labor Party. For good measure they gave him a "Communist" indictment under the same law.

Things went snappy in those days. February, March and April were the days of the "Red Trials" in this burg when the following were tried, i. e. convicted.

Of Communists there were: Fred W. Fry, two years (paroled on account of old age); Claude Hurst, two years; and Karl W. Oster, five years.

Of I. W. W.'s there were: L. Sorile, one year; Joseph Laundy, two years.

One poor devil, an alleged I. W. W., Wm. Johnson, was picked up in a "Hoosier" town named Condon. He was tried without an attorney and as they could not get him to say much and did not even succeed in locating his card, they simply handed him "the book" (ten years). He was "convicted" in December, 1919.

The cases of Laundy, Sorile and Oster were appealed. The "ruling" referred to in the clipping is the first action on these appeals. The others have not yet been argued before the more or less "honorables."

At present there are no class-war casualties in the Oregon pen.

Oh, yes. Oh, yes—the Master giveth and the Master taketh away—"Justice" a la Democracy!

O. K. W., Portland, Ore.

SPANISH BRANCH MEETING

The Spanish Branch of the Workers Party is giving an entertainment, concert and dance, Sunday, April 2, 3 p. m., at Hungarian Hall, 4309 Lorain Avenue.

4 Days March 22-25
GRAND INTERNATIONAL BAZAAR
4 Days March 22-25
For the Relief of
CLASS WAR PRISONERS
at
THE LYCEUM
86th Street and Third Avenue
Wednesday—Opening Night, Irish Numbers, Morton Dancers and Mandolin Orchestra.
Thursday—German, Lettish and Finnish Night, Solo and Chorus Singing, Recitations and Orchestra.
Friday—Slavic Night, Ukranian Play (one act), Entertainment and Orchestra.
Saturday—Costume Ball and Pageant.
Come right after work and have dinner at the Bazaar.
Send articles or funds for the purchase of same to—
NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE, NEW YORK DIVISION
New Address: Room 405, 80 East 11th Street, corner Broadway.

HERE IT IS!
Just what you have been waiting for—
THE SOLDIER-WORKER
The ex-Service Men's Magazine that recognizes the class struggle. Endorsed by the National Executive Board, World War Veterans. The Soldier-Worker directs its attack against the CAUSE of war—Exploitation!
Send for free sample copy, or mail $1 to The Soldier-Worker, Box 1410, Butte, Mont., and get the only Workers' ex-Service Men's Magazine for 12 months.

National Defense Bazaar, March 22—25, at the Lyceum, 86th Street and Third Avenue

News of Workers' Party Activities in the City, State and Nation

Coldwell on Tour in West for Amnesty

Joseph M. Coldwell, prominent New England strike leader and revolutionary Socialist worker, and Eugene V. Debs were recently released from the Atlanta, Ga., prison, after serving more than two years for violation of the infamous so-called espionage law.

Coldwell will start on a tour of the middle west, beginning March 25th, at Pittsburgh, Pa., demanding the opening of the prison doors for the scores of other workers—class war prisoners still lying in America's dungeons for standing by their class. Leaving Pittsburgh, Coldwell will enter Ohio for a series of dates.

SHOW YOUR SOLIDARITY—NOW!

Stand by the Workers Party in its fight for the release of our comrades in prison. Aid in the relief for families of deported radicals. Help send comforts to our comrades in prison.

Funds from this meeting divided between the National Defense Committee and the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee.

It is well known that both Coldwell and Debs would have long ago been released from prison had they been willing to promise "good behavior." But they preferred prison to disgrace.

When at last President Harding, because of the overwhelming demand for the release of the political prisoners signed the release of only a few, instead of all as was demanded by millions of Americans, Debs and Coldwell made a solemn vow to fight for the release of those comrades, the Communists, the I. W. W.'s and all class-war prisoners still in prison, the very moment they were free.

Standing within the stone and steel walls that had been their "home" for nearly three years; with pulses quickened by the thought of freedom, yet filled with anger and sorrow that only a few had been ordered released, Coldwell and Debs made a solemn vow that they would not rest until every class-war prisoner in America's prisons had been released. They shook hands and pledged themselves to this fight.

The Workers Party has taken up this fight with them. We demand the release of all political and class-war prisoners, including Mooney, Billings, Larkin, Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Winitzky, Ferguson, Taylor, Sacco, Vanzetti, the Communists and the I. W. W.'s.

The Edelweiss, the Yorkville Section of the Friends of Soviet Russia, will give a Grand Concert and Ball with GIPSY MUSIC, on Sunday, April 9, 1922, at 5 P. M., at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. Proceeds for the Famine Sufferers.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

For Bargains Come to the BAZAAR for the RUSSIAN CHILDREN at 135 Lexington Avenue, New York,

given by the Workers Unity Ass'n

The bazaar has been going on since Friday, March 10th, and will continue until Sunday, March 19th.

Hundreds of people have visited this affair. Every one carried home bundles of beautiful useful articles. In these bundles they carried bread, milk, and other provisions for the starving children.

Come and help us complete the $5,000 fund.

Friday, March 17th, we celebrate the fifth anniversary of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

REMEMBER THE BAZAAR AT 135 LEXINGTON AVE.

"RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS

of the

Red Labor Union International"

1921

New Edition Specially Issued for

RED LABOR UNION WEEK

April 1-8.

20c per copy, 10 copies or more 13c per copy.

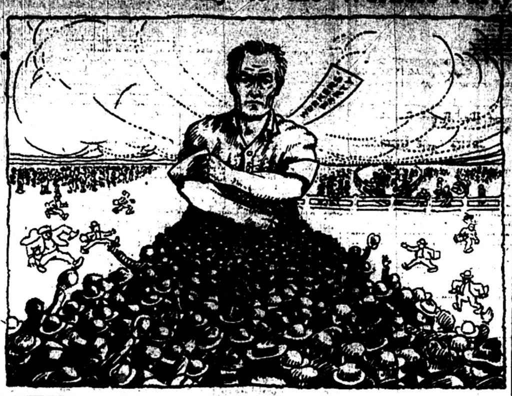
Order this most important Labor Union pamphlet and learn of the new developments in the field of labor internationalism.

LYCEUM LITERATURE DEPARTMENT

W. P. of A.

Room 405 **799 Broadway** **New York City**

The Workers Rally to the Workers Party



NATIONAL OFFICE REPORT.

CALEB HARRISON, Nat'l, Sec'y.

799 BROADWAY, N. Y. CITY.

Caleb Harrison, secretary of the Workers Party, will tour the New England States in Dist. No. 1, beginning March 18, and covering Boston, Lynn, Chelsea, Peabody, New Bedford, Springfield, Norwood, and several other points. After leaving Massachusetts he will cover cities in the up-state district in New York, winding up in Buffalo on April 2.

After the mass meeting in New York, March 19, Robert Minor will make a short tour to Philadelphia, Wilmington, Del., Reading, Pa., Trenton, N. J., Baltimore and several other points in Dist. No. 3. Later on Minor will begin a tour in New England.

The Federations are gradually getting themselves into shape for active work. The Finns with over 7000 members formally became part of the Workers Party on March 1.

Besides the Finnish Federation the following federations have the required number to be recognized as a federation with a bureau: Germans, Russians, Italians, South Slavic, Jewish, Hungarians, Greek, Lithuanians, Polish.

There are other groups that are affiliated but have not secured up to the present time sufficient members to grant them a bureau, namely: Armenians, French, Esthonians, Spanish.

There are other federations that are sympathetic to the Workers Party, but so far have not arranged the technical matters necessary for complete affiliation. These Federations have sufficient numbers of members to give them a bureau each.

They are the Bohemians, Roumanians, Bulgarians, Scandinavians. It will be but a short time before all the Federations listed above will be full pledged federations of the Workers Party, each functioning with a Bureau to conduct the work amongst their respective nationals.

BAKER AT NEFFS, OHIO.

Organizer Charles Baker addressed a large meeting recently at Neffs, Ohio, the hall being crowded by men and women anxious to hear the message of the Workers Party.

Polish and English literature sales amounted to $18.95. Ten "subs" for THE WORKER were secured and 75 copies of the paper were sold. Ten new members were added to the branch.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Arrange Details for the Young Workers National Convention, April 15th

By **HARRY GANNES**

The tentative draft of the Manifesto and Program of the Young Workers League has been submitted to all branches of the League by the National Organization Committee. Details of the convention have been arranged.

The list of organizations answering the call grows daily. Everywhere new branches are organized. A branch of the Y. W. L. is being organized in Trenton, N. J. Gardner, Mass., has answered the Convention Call, and has already elected its delegates to attend the convention. In Boston active work is being carried out. The comrades in that city are working in close harmony with the Workers Party.

Interested in Movement

From Scranton, Pa., comes a letter which reads in part: "I have read about the Young Workers League by George Oswald in the "Voice of Labor". I am interested in the movement ..." Philadelphia is now strongly organized and bids fair to become the largest league in the country. They have English, German, Italian and Jewish branches, all working in close harmony and doing everything possible to aid in building a national organization. Their membership mounts daily. Los Angeles issues a challenge in this form: "It will just be a matter of time before Los Angeles will be as well organized, just as strongly as the larger cities in the East."

Branches have been organized in Aberdeen, Wash.; San Francisco, Calif.; Jamestown, Pa.; Lawrence, Mass.; Bethlehem, Pa.; Hancock, Mich.; Winnipeg, Man.; Minneapolis, Minn., and many other places.

Like the Magazine

Philadelphia comrade informs us "The Young Workers League is coming over the top in good shape." Bethlehem likes the magazine.

Chicago is issuing a local paper (mimeographed). The March issue has just come to hand. The idea is a good one and should be followed wherever possible.

"For quite some time a number of us have been engaged in getting a Young Workers League under way," writes Henry Ungleich of Syracuse, "in this, the deadest of towns, and at last have succeeded."

"Youth" has been changed to "The Young Worker." The March issue will appear under the new name. The reasons were two: (1) In order to get mailing privileges, as there is already in existence a magazine named "Youth"; and (2) because after careful consideration it was decided that the new name is more expressive of the organization and its mission.

March Issue Is Out

The March issue is now on the press and will be out shortly. Those interested in receiving the magazine are urged to send in their orders for bundles or subscribe to the paper. A drive is being inaugurated for subscriptions. Blanks will appear in the next issue, and all interested in seeing the magazine grow are invited to become a self-appointed agent and solicit subscriptions. The price will be $1.00 per year. The N. O. C. requests that all who received the last issue of "Youth" make returns in order that the paper may continue in existence, as well as grow and extend to larger fields. Criticism and comment are invited. Contributions are asked for. Build the press of the Young Workers League!

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE

OLIVER CARLSON, Nat'l Sec'y.

799 BROADWAY, NEW RORK.

The Young Workers' League has made wonderful progress in the past half year. From a membership of five circles with 150 members, it has grown to a membership of 11 circles with 350 members. Efforts are now being made to organize Japanese and Negro circles and we expect to rally all revolutionary Japanese and young Negro workers to these circles.

CIRCLE NEWS

Circle No. 1—1258 Boston Road—meets every evening. Class in "A B C of Communism" every Monday evening. Class in "Fundamentals of Communism" every Wednesday evening. The Circle will have an amateur night Saturday evening, March 18, and promises that all who come will have a thoroughly enjoyable time.

Circle 2—Sackman St. and Pitkin Ave., Brownsville—meets Sunday afternoon. It is arranging a series of lectures to be held in conjunction with the Workers Party.

Circle 3, Finnish—764—40th St., Brooklyn—meets Friday night. To have an entertainment March 25, at same address.

Circle 4, Hungarian—350 East 81st St—meets Friday evenings.

Circle 5—61 Canal St.—meets Sunday evening. Conducting two classes—Sunday at 2 P. M., Communist Manifesto; Sunday at 4, Capital. Has arranged a series of lectures with Allan S. Broms, to be given Friday evenings at the above address as follows: March 17—Political Action and Peaceful Revolution; March 24—The Dilemma of Industrial Unionism; March 31—Making your Movement count; April 7—The Problem of Revolutionary Leadership; April 14—The Industrial Incentive of the Future.

The circle is arranging a grand concert and dance for April 15 to celebrate the first national convention of the Young Workers League.

Circle 6—143 East 103rd St.—meets Thursday evening. In conjunction with Circle 1, it is arranging a large affair to be held April 22nd at Parkview Palace.

Circle 7—meets Friday evenings at 11 Christopher St. The organizer of the Circle has sent in the following letter:

"The West Side Circle is off on a rampage. This Sunday the Circle will hike to Hastings-on-the-Hudson. There is no question but that all will have a rip-roaring time. Interesting feature will be a boxing bout between Wilbur Cohen, National 114-lb. amateur champion, and someone who will act as a punching bag. All those who wish to come along meet at 9 o'clock at 537 East 130th St."

Circle 8—226 Roebling St., B'klyn—meets every Friday evening.

Circle 9—Finnish—meets at Finnish Central Hall every Friday evening. Growing very fast.

Circle 10—Harlem Jewish—143 East 103rd St.—Conducting series of three lectures every Friday night with Clement K. Marmor.

Circle 11—downtown Jewish—meets Saturday evening at 61 Canal Street.

Open Forum Open Forum

WILLIAM F. KRUSE

"LABOR IN POLITICS"

Questions and Discussion

at the

WORKERS' HALL

1347 Boston Road **New York**

SUNDAY, MARCH 26

8 P. M.

The Workers Party and the United Front.

By [illegible]

Political Parties represent certain economical group-interests. In the main there are two classes: The Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat. And the political parties are grouping themselves along the same class lines.

Within these classes there is a further subdivision along industrial, occupational or income lines. Thus the different bourgeoisie groups are represented by conservatives, liberals, democrats, agrarians, etc., which exist as separate parties, fight each other, and unite only on fundamental issues between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat. In the same manner the different proletarian groups of the American working class fall along the lines of occupations, trades and industries.

The grades of direct and immediate importance of the individual services of the workers to the employer determines the economical wellbeing of the worker, his attachment to and satisfaction with the present conditions.

Thus a succession of such gradations divides the locomotive engineer, in charge of a modern flyer, who goes from his "run" to his cottage in a nice country town, and the migratory lumberjack, or spinning-wheel operator of a new England factory town.

The divisional lines of the American working class into such economical groups coincide with divisions along national group lines, the bulk of the unskilled workers consisting of foreign-born immigrants.

The class-unity of the American-born pattern-maker or engraver with the Syrian mule-driver of the mines, or the colored cotton-picker of the South is hardly, if ever, perceptible.

This condition widens the chasm between the various economical groups of the working class. Thus the working class of America consists of a number of distinct and separate layers. The uppermost can hardly be distinguished from the proud, satisfied American middleman and the bottom ones feeling the whole burden of capitalist oppression, obtaining as their share of the much-boasted American prosperity misery and despair.

At any moment of the class-struggle the bottom layers supply the most revolutionary workers, for they have nothing to lose but their chains and a world to gain. They are more militant in their struggle, they are more susceptible to revolutionary teachings.

A revolutionary workers' party represents in aim and methods of struggle, in everyday slogans and tactics the needs of the bottom layers and is suited to their psychology and temper.

Those layers of the workingclass that have established normal or working agreements with their employers, who have grown into the communal life, are less militant, less aggressive. They are looking towards a gradual process of improvements which result from a drawn-out process of bargaining and thru a slow but sure process of liberalizing the minds of the public. Those layers are represented by a variety of reform-socialists, laborites, and progressives.

Because of a difference in militancy for present needs; because of a hostility of the bottom layers to the so-called labor aristocracy which at times is being bribed into submission by the capitalists offering them a share of the exploitation; because of a difference in tradition and to a certain extent of culture; the different economical groups can be represented only by different political parties, respectively influenced by and under the political hegemony of their respective parties.

At present, in the pre-revolutionary period, the revolutionary workers' party cannot therefore be a mass-party in the sense of including great masses and representing the bulk of the American working-class, in the sense of the Russian party of the pre-revolutionary period, where the working-class was more homogeneous.

It can include only those elements who are imbued with the spirit of rebellion against the existing system, who have no more illusion as to the capitalist democracy and its institutions, who know that the principle of capitalist rule is force and that it can be overthrown only by force. In this sense it can represent only a portion of the working class, its bottom layers.

The revolutionary workers' party must give in its program the maximum of revolutionary expression. It must contain a ruthless unmasking of the capitalist state and bourgeois institutions as instruments of barbaric suppression of the working-class.

It must point out the inevitability of a proletarian state to bring about the transition from capitalism to socialism.

It must contain a program of action to meet the needs and demands of the most oppressed layers of the working class.

It must expose in its activities the capitalist lieutenants among the workers.

It must interpret in the light of international class-struggles all the activities of the capitalists of all the countries and their henchmen among the labor leaders.

It must point out the futility of reforms and expose the reformists as conscious tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie to perpetuate capitalist misrule and to avoid revolutionary outbreaks of the oppressed masses.

No other program and tactics could fit the party of revolutionary workers. No compromise or watering of the program will bring into its ranks elements from other layers.

The main activities and most of the energy must, however, be directed against the direct enemies of the working class. In this a radical departure from previous tactics must take place.

At the period when the vanguard of the working class was making assaults upon the whole capitalist structure, its immediate destruction being the direct objective, the immediate enemy of the revolution, or the first line of trenches of the capitalist class were the centrist parties, and those of the Second International and the conservative labor leaders who were in various ways and degrees opposing the rise of the working masses to revolution.

The immediate object of the revolutionary party was, therefore, to remove from the path of the working masses these obstacles.

The fight for the destruction of the above-named parties was waged in order to release the revolutionary forces for the attack on capitalism.

The world situation, and particularly in America, is now such that before any attempts can be made for a revolutionary attack, a consolidation of the ranks of the working class must be brought about.

We are entering here in America on a period of organization and entrenchment of the forces of the working class.

The issue at stake now being not the rise of the working masses for a revolutionary attack but the defense of the immediate interests of the working class against the onslaught of capitalism; it is necessary to line up the working masses of America first for the defensive struggle.

A united front is therefore imperative and now possible of all the organizations ready to take up the defense of the immediate needs of the working class.

The object of the united front so far as the political end of the revolutionary party is concerned, is to influence all the layers of the working class, to inject in them the spirit of class-unity, which is lacking in the American working class; to imbue them with the spirit of struggle for their class-interests against the capitalists.

This can be achieved only thru the joint efforts of the various organizations, which have an influence over the various layers, only thru a demonstration of unity. Thru a united front can the working masses be rallied around the slogan for class-unity.

In this united front the revolutionary party occupies the position of the left wing. Representing the most aggressive, the most militant portion of the working class, the revolutionary party will by its flank attacks compel the parties to its right to move in a forward direction.

While maintaining its organizational integrity, its separate program and tactics, the Revolutionary Party will criticize the political activities of its allies on the industrial field, it will combat the influence of the Socialists and laborites who are representing the upper layers of the working class, and are for peaceful agreements and defensive tactics. The Revolutionary Party will advocate the rule of the Rank and File in the unions, will call them to action, while within the ranks of labor the revolutionary party will wage a fight for supremacy against the Socialists and laborites, but it will put up a united front against capitalism outside of the ranks of labor—a united front for a common purpose, for common slogans, the revolutionary party being the most militant and aggressive in its denunciation of capitalism and in exposing the hypocrisy of capitalist institutions.

The common purpose shall be adapted to the pressing needs for the moment of the working class. As for instance the present common slogans of the united front may be:

1. Relief to the unemployed at the cost of capitalist tax payers.
2. Legislation against open shop campaign and against destruction of union conditions.
3. Recognition of and trade with Soviet Russia, etc., etc.

The revolutionary workers party shall take the initiative and the lead in forming the united front. It shall start a broad propaganda and it shall immediately take steps to meet representatives of the Socialist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Non-Partisan League and the radical labor unions with the object of forming a United Labor Party of America.

Party Plans Lectures for Workers School

The Workers Party of Local Greater New York is establishing a Workers School with a series of lectures.

At its Educational Conference, Local Greater New York, decided upon the establishment of a central school to be known as the Workers School. Since it is quite late in the season the Local has decided upon running a series of lectures on the International and American Labor movement, beginning March 27 and running for six consecutive weeks.

Comrade Ludwig Lore will lecture on World Socialism and Communism, Monday evenings. Dr. I. A. Goldstone will lecture on the Marxian system on Thursday evening, and a series of six lectures will be presented on the American labor movement by the following: A. F. of L., Wm. F. Dunne; I. W. W., Wm. F. Dunne; Independent Unions, J. P. Anderson; Agricultural Workers, H. M. Ware; Civil War in Labor Conflicts, Robert Minor. Labor Program of the Workers Party, Caleb Harrison.

Lectures which will be organized later are: 3 lectures on Imperialism, A. Bittleman; The American Political State, Benj Glassberg. Additional lectures will be announced later.

PARIS COMMUNE MEETING—VOLUNTEERS

Conference of volunteers for preparations for Commune Day will be held at the Local Office, 208 E. 12th St., Friday evening, 8 P. M. All are requested to be present in order to make necessary arrangements for a successful meeting.

Conference of Party Workers

The first Conference of Organizers, Literature Agents, Executive Committee representatives and Financial Secretaries was held last Friday night and was well represented, with 25 in attendance.

Williamsburg branch of Brooklyn reported most successful activity in selling literature, in educational meetings, and in keeping excellent attendance at the branch.

Conference decided that in order to increase membership branches should very carefully arrange lectures for membership, either at headquarters or in some place that can hold about 100—200, but which would not be very expensive.

That circular letter should be sent out to prospective members inviting them to join the party and attending lectures.

In order to boost for **THE WORKER** it was recommended that a campaign should be started to increase its sale and subscription and every branch be taxed two papers per member.

Brownsville Branch recommended that for effective distribution, the branch be divided into squads selected by the Literature Committee and that each squad be assigned to certain portion of territory to cover. Williamsburg Branch reported that they were selling 300 papers per week by assigning a number of members for this work. And that every branch should have to take care of a number of news stands in his territory and see that **THE WORKER** is placed on sale.

Circle 6, Harlem.

Because of lack of headquarters our activities are greatly hampered. We are now trying to get our own headquarters. The following is a list of our activities: Thursday, March 16, Discussion of Program. March 23, J. Louis Engdahl will speak on the "Class Struggle at Home."

As soon as we get a place the classes will again be started. Just now we are all busy with the big affair at Parkview Palace, on April 22, 1922. This affair will be run in celebration of the organization of a national office. Tickets are obtainable in the following places: Workers Party, 80 E. 11th St., Room 405; Y. W. L., 1258 Boston Road; Y. W. L., 61 Canal St.; Y. W. L., 1753 Pitkin Ave.; Y. W. L., 350 E. 81st St.; Y. W. L., 143 E. 103rd St.; Y. W. L., 226 Roebling St.

"Ad" blanks for our Journal may be gotten at these places also. If they are out of them please write for them and any other information to Young Workers League, 1258 Boston Road, N. Y. City.

The Swedish Branch of the Socialist Party and the Swedish Section of the Socialist Labor Party at Providence, R. I., have been united into one organization and are taking up the question of national and international affiliations.

The Independent Young People's Socialist League of Providence, R. I., met recently with the Swedish Socialist Young People's Club, and the outlook is good for the development of a local Young Workers League of all the young people.

WALTER M. [illegible]

Public Accountant and Auditor

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THE WORKER

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What Does America Want?

"Why do we praise Dr. Fridtjof Nansen and only express gratitude to the American Relief Administration?"

This question was put to an extraordinary session of the Moscow Soviet this week by Leon Trotzky, Soviet Minister of War.

Trotzky answered his own question when he declared, "It is because we do not know what America wants."

American workers should begin finding out what America wants, what Wall Street and the Harding administration at Washington seek in Soviet Russia.

The American Relief Administration is feeding ten times as many famine- sufferers as all European relief efforts. But Trotzky declares that the counter-revolutionist, General Baron Wrangel, is also receiving food from America.

"From the White Sea to Baku," declares Trotzky, "the interventionist danger threatens. It is not Helsingfors, Reval, Riga, Warsaw and Bucharest, that are responsible for this, BUT PARIS, LONDON AND NEW YORK!

Thus is the United States included among the foes of Soviet Russia, among those nations that may be expected to support the new war on the Workers' Republic this spring.

The danger threatens. American workers wake up. Find out what the politicians at Washington and the profiteers in Wall Street want in Russia. Force them to tell you. And then act accordingly.

The fight of the Rand miners should not be confused with the fight on the Rand School.

The Drive for Amnesty

This week sees an encouraging revival in the drive for the release of our working-class prisoners.

Chief interest centers in the outlook for the release of Jim Larkin, one of the Communist prisoners confined in New York State.

Freedom for Larkin means that the fight for the liberation of his fellow-Communists, Charles E. Ruthenberg, Benjamin Gitlow, Isaac E. Ferguson and Harry Winitsky, will be renewed with increased vigor.

Freedom for Larkin will inspire new hope in the struggle that has been waged almost hopelessly for the freeing of the victims of the American White Terror launched against the working class since the war.

This week a hearing was also held before a congressional committee in Washington where demands were made for the release of the remaining war prisoners, especially those sent to the Leavenworth Bastille, in Kansas, as a result of the so-called "Green Corn Rebellion" in Oklahoma. This uprising of Oklahoma farmers, in the early days of the war, altho interpreted as a resistance to military service, was in reality a revolt against the oppressive tyranny of bankers and landlords. They raised their voices against capitalism and as a result were sent in large numbers by hireling judges and prejudiced juries to the horror cells of Leavenworth.

If the demand for their release succeeds, it will be as significant as the freeing of the Communist prisoners, whose sole offense is their loyalty to labor and their sworn enmity to capitalism.

In Chicago the headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World continues its campaign for the gathering of millions of signatures on a petition seeking freedom for those members of its organization still held in prison. From California come indications of new activity on the part of the Mooney forces.

Forward, workers, to the release of all the prisoners of the class war! Help free our prisoners. Then free the workers from the heavy chains of the enslaving capitalist system.

The coal barons will meet the miners in district conferences only. They are for peace if they can have the United Mine Workers in pieces.

Controlling the "Movies".

Now we are going to have really intelligent and educational movies, for Will H. Hays, late postmaster general of the United States, has taken over this enjoyment of the American public. He will exercise his power thru a supervision of the "policy" of the organized producers and distributors of moving pictures.

The Federated Press informs us that one of Mr. Hays' ambitions in his new field of activity is to "keep the American public from getting radical."

The Federated Press declares:

> **It is explained, on the highest possible confidential authority, that Hays looks upon the American people as a parent looks upon a crying baby—it must be distracted and amused, when it begins to cry and to get red because it is unhappy. To an unhappy baby a mother gives a prettily-colored rattle. To the American public the movies are serving the same purpose. The public is to look at the motion pictures, read the sentiments printed upon the screen, smile, forget its economic unhappiness, and drop its radical inclinations.**
>
> **This conception of his new job was expressed by Hays to a large group of men, under injunction of secrecy. Hays himself made public another part of the same speech—a part in which he gave no hint of the propaganda character of his new employment.**

Hays will not be attempting anything new. The "movies" have always been under the control of the same power that dominates the bought press and dictates the wordy wisdom that flows from the nation's pulpit.

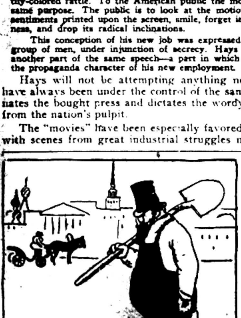
The "movies" have been especially favored during recent days with scenes from great industrial struggles now raging. No at- [illegible] to resist their masters.

There were also "news movies" of the steel strike at Newport, Ky., where tanks, rapid machine guns, armed thugs and other instruments of warfare against the workers were paraded in all their glory before the millions of working men, women and children who gain a little recreation by patronizing the picture houses in this country.

More recently we have had pictures of the bitterly fought textile strike in New England, where hot guns have blazed into the ranks of the unarmed and peacefully protesting ranks of the strikers.

The Burleson regime in the postal service during the war became infamous thru its efforts to intimidate and cow working-class editors. But it failed.

Hays' efforts to Burlesonize the "movies" will not result in crushing the spirit of the working class. It will only arouse it to greater and more stubborn resistance.



Society Note From Moscow

Grand Duke Nevawuk, who is noted for correct costumes, appeared on the Boulevard last Sunday in overalls of a new cut. The Grand Duke says that overalls will not be worn creased this year.

Logic Versus Power

According to the figures published in the American Contractor—a trade journal of the building industry—of December 3, 1921, the total labor cost in building construction is but 27.1 per cent of the whole. It is against labor, however, that the effort to reduce costs is being directed.

The contractor's profit is shown to average 8.3 per cent; contractor's overhead, 4.2 per cent; construction plant rental, 3 per cent.

We see, therefore, that for two simple little things like rent, and profit for the contractor, the industry is charged a rate of 18.5 per cent. The value returned to the industry for this outlay is infinitesimal.

The labor charge of 27.1 per cent represents actual value—indeed the only real value contributed by the three parties so far mentioned. The contractor and the landlord receive approximately three-fifths as much as the army of workers employed on a modern office building, but these two individuals return nothing of value.

It is a ridiculous condition of affairs, isn't it?

Unfortunately these little matters are not settled by the rules of reason. If they were the workers would have been freed long ago.

They are settled by the exercise of power, and just now the power is in the hands of the employing class. The reason and the right that is on the side of the workers will rule only when they are bulwarked by organized power.

In the meantime the workers have to use figures occasionally to convince themselves that they are right.

This is our only excuse for writing the above.

The Results of Division

The deadly effects of division on the industrial front were only too well displayed at the recent convention of the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.

Two organizations are involved in the textile strike which just now is the center of interest in eastern labor circles—the United Textile workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Amalgamated Textile Workers, an independent organization.

The fact that two organizations are in existence in the textile industry was responsible for the convention not voting an appropriation for the relief of the strikers even tho the success of the strike hangs largely on the collection of sufficient funds to finance it.

The sentiment of the delegates present was for an equal division of all funds collected with no discrimination as between the two organizations while the fight was on, but officialdom as usual was on the job with the invocation of the sacred constitution.

The speeches made from the floor were proof that the rank and file is for unity in the industrial struggles; the next step is to get action for a united front.

It is useless at the present time to wrangle over the question of who is responsible for division but as a generalization it can be stated that the blame rests primarily upon an ostrich-like officialdom which has tried to maintain craft divisions in this machine age, and secondarily, upon the impatient radicals who have transferred their fight for progress from one organization to another without first having exhausted the possibilities of re-organization without division.

The harm has been done and it is but playing into the hands of the bosses to continue the policy of division.

The workers on the job are for unity and from them must come the pressure that will force the officialdom to bring about a united front or step out of the way so others can.

The fact that the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor convention, instead of sending out a call to rally the whole force of organized labor behind the textile strikers, adjourned after taking up a collection amounting to something like $70.00, is enough to show that division has already emasculated the labor movement.

He who puts any obstacle in the way of unity on the industrial front at a time like this, be he officer or rank and filer, is a traitor to the cause of labor and should be treated as such.

The labor movement of America at the present time is more a contest between unions than between unions and the employers.

Internecine warfare, in many cases aroused by no other issues than personal ambitions, has placed labor at the mercy of the best organized capitalist class in the world.

American labor can help neither itself nor its struggling comrades in other countries until the unity of labor is something more than the catch-phrase it is today, used by officialdom only to lull the workers into a suicidal policy of inaction while they hang on to their jobs just as long as members enough can be found to pay their salaries.

The whole energy of every class-conscious worker must be thrown into the fight for a solid workingclass front; neutrality in this struggle is giving aid and comfort to the enemies of labor who must laugh to see labor representatives quibbling in Rhode Island while thousands of textile workers walk the streets in a life and death conflict with textile barons backed by the full power of the state.

The Old Regime Passes

Now comes the Victor Talking Machine Co. and joins with the growing host that proclaims the old regime of the czars has passed in Russia.

In the March announcement of new Victor Records we find Feodor Chaliapin, who sang for the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers all during the revolution, featured as the attraction; Chaliapin who sings "When the King Went Forth to War," described "as an echo of old Russia, contrasting the lot of King and peasant." There are two others.

Previously the Victor Co. had issued as one of its records "The Song of the Volga Boatmen," a labor classic, a breath from that part of Russia now swept by famine and plague.

"This song is Russian history," says the Victor Co. publicity. "It is a chant of the barge hawlers, men who under the old regime did the work of draught animals."

Thus is the ascendancy of the Russian Workers' Republic admitted, in one form or another, from day to day. It is a fitting tribute on the fifth anniversary of the downfall of the czar. Capitalism has taken five years to convince itself that czardom has passed away. But it now seems to be convinced.

Smuts in South Africa, Griffith and Collins in Ireland, once rebels, now retainers of the British empire. India has yet to furnish a traitor. How backward these heathen are!

A Letter from Debs to You!

While thousands of our comrades have fought and suffered and [illegible] with a sublime heroism that has no parallel in history, where the embattled Russian revolutionists have staunchly [illegible] held their ground against the combined powers of the world's despotism and reaction in the war of the workers for liberation, there too are millions of men, women and children stricken with [illegible] hunger and writhing in the skeleton clutch of starvation. These Russian comrades of ours whose matchless valor and self-sacrifice have thrilled and inspired the workers of all nations and challenged the plaudits of the whole world now look to you, American workers, to come to their rescue in the desperate crisis now upon them and save them to humanity in the rebuilding of the ruined world.

These heroes in Russia who have immortalized their cause, our cause, who have paid in overflowing measure in blood and tears and agony unspeakable, the price of their fidelity and devotion to the oppressed and exploited toilers not only of their own land but of the whole world, now appeal to us for the food that shall save them from perishing as hostages to starvation, and shall we now fail to return in small part what we owe them for what they have suffered in the awful years of the revolution to break the fetters of labor everywhere and set humanity free from the curse of the ages?

In Russia our comrades have suffered and endured beyond the power of words to express to save us suffering; they have gone hungry and naked that we might be fed and clothed; they have bared their heroic breasts to the bayonets and bullets of a hostile and heartless ruling class world to give liberty to the human race, and shall these martyr spirits, these glorious souls and their helpless children now be permitted to die ignominiously for the want of the bread we hold in our hands?

No, a thousand times no! We should merit eternal reproach for our recreancy if we failed in this crucial hour to give and to give promptly, and to give again and again to the full limit of our power.

The starving workers and peasants of Soviet Russia cry aloud to us in the throes of their desperation and agony, and unless our hearts are of stone we can hear them by day and by night, and I appeal to every member of the American working class, to every man, woman and child with sympathy for starving fellow-creatures, to every human being responsive to human suffering within reach of my voice, to give and give at once and give freely and to the last dollar and the last penny that may be spared to the Friends of Soviet Russia, swelling the present contributions a hundredfold, for the relief as far as possible of the awful famine in the struggling Soviet Republic and for the rescue of the millions of its threatened victims whose cruel and shocking fate would forever shame our common humanity and leave a foul and damning blot on our vaunted civilization.

(Signed)

Eugene V. Debs

Terre Haute, Indiana.

American workers desiring to respond to this appeal by Eugene V. Debs are called upon by the Friends of Soviet Russia to SIGN THE ROLL CALL and GIVE. A roll call of all friends of Soviet Russia is being taken by the F. S. R. The Roll Call Book will go forward with shipments of food made before May 1st, and will be deposited in the archives of Soviet Russia as an attestation of international solidarity, as proof that you helped Soviet Russia when she needed help most. Write the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York City, and say: "I want to sign and give."

My Country 'tis of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty.

By The Federated Press

New York.—Another instance of the methods by which aliens are hounded by agents of the United States government has just come to light by the discovery on Ellis Island of Carlo Costello, an Italian Swiss, who, after being kept eight months in a filthy Texas jail, was brought here for deportation.

He was originally charged with being an I. W. W., but being unable to prove that charge, the accusation was shifted to "entering the country unlawfully and without inspection."

A writ has been sued out for Costello by Attorney Rose Weiss, which will be taken into the federal court. He asserts he was naturalized about 10 years ago, but that his papers were taken from him by the Department of Justice agents.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Harding has gone to Florida to play golf. The nation still lives. The wage slaves are still on the job.

A West Virginia miner asked for ten sub cards on Wednesday, he got them Thursday, and Saturday he sent in five with cash attached. Quick work, and of the right kind.

Between Ireland, South Africa and India the British lion is having a 'ell of a time. Colonial slaves will revolt. And when the wage slaves join in, imperialism is put to the test and sees its finish.

The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company reports it earned $5,394,712 during 1921. And still the coal barons are not satisfied. They regret that the past winter wasn't a little colder, so that the demand for anthracite would have been greater. But the weather is not yet under the domination of the profiteers. Too bad.

MOONEY DEFENSE APPEALS TO YOU

To the wage worker whose unremitting toil has not yet darkened his vision, nor blasted completely his hope nor deprived him of thirst for struggle—Greetings!

For six years we have fought a Chamber of Commerce, open-shop conspiracy which had for its purpose the throttling of militant labor on the Pacific coast. Since Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings went to their dreadful doom behind pitiless granite walls because they loved the American labor movement better than themselves, we have been revealing to the American toiler (and to him who toils beyond the seas) the ramifications of the plot which singled out two heralds of labor solidarity for a living death.

And now, fighting against gigantic odds and at a moment when we are about to force an unwilling officialdom to open the jails, we find ourselves TRAPPED—our fighting funds going, going . . . The workers who have rushed to the support of TOM MOONEY'S MONTHLY are being bruised in the open-shop onslaught of Capital. We can ask no more sacrifice of those who responded with a cheer and a generous hand —and tightened their belt until it hurt.

FOR SIX YEARS WE HAVE FOUGHT! WE SEEK TO CONTEST FURTHER. THE LIGHT MUST NOT GO OUT—MUST NOT GO OUT!

We ask for funds. It means LIFE TO US, LIFE TO OUR CAUSE!

One dollar will pay for a year's subscription to TOM MOONEY'S MONTHLY: Donations above a dollar will permit us to drive our publicity, our protest to the farthest corners of civilization.

We repeat with solemn earnestness—THE LIGHT MUST NOT GO OUT!

TOM MOONEY MOLDERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

Rena Mooney,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Box [illegible],
San Francisco, Calif.

Egyptian Rebels Sa
British Army Must G

(By the Federated Press.)

LONDON.—Lord Allenby's pla for the government of Egypt is su to prove unacceptable to Egyptian the Daily Herald diplomatic corr spondent declares, for it is base on the retention in Egypt of the Br tish army of occupation, and British officials overseeing and di tating the policy of the Egypti government. The formal aboliti of the British protectorate does n mean anything when it is couple with the actual maintenance British rule.

A telegram from Mansoura which is characteristic, reads: "W assure the British government th any agreement not based upon tual evacuation will meet with utt failure."

Lord Allenby believes he c "make the elections" for a assembly. He proposes an "act indemnity" before Zaglul is releas or martial law raised. That mea that the elections are to be held u der martial law. The Zaglulis Lord Allenby calculates, can beaten at the elections by a prem who has at his command all the sources—for propaganda, for coe cion and for bribery—of the gover ment and of the occupation.

"An unscrupulous calculation and, unless I am very much m taken, a hopelessly bad one," co cludes the Herald correspondent.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD REA THIS COPY OF THE WORK KEEP IT IN CIRCULATI

The Nature Friends Tourist C will hike on Sunday, March thru the picturesque Sleepy Ho so beautifully described in Wash ton Irvings Legend of Sleepy low. Meet at 9 A. M. sharp at 225th St. Station of Westside [illegible] way. Fare $100. Bring Lunch you.—W. Whitman, Organ East 84th St., New York City.

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 216. Subscription Rates: [illegible] SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 1922 Published [illegible] Publishing Association. [illegible] New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

GOLD RULES AT WASHINGTON!

All Power Is Arrayed Against 600,000 Coal Miners Facing Strike

Big Drive on for Release of Prisoners

Representatives from the National Defense Committee, The Workers Defense Union, the Italian Defense Committee and Civil Liberties Bureau met recently and decided to form an alliance for amnesty of New York State political prisoners.

They believe that the propaganda conducted generally for the freedom of political prisoners is not sufficient to free these workers who have been sentenced as a result of the raids conducted under the Criminal Anarchy Laws by the Lusk Committee.

Among the political prisoners of whom there are nine in New York State are I. E. Ferguson, C. E. Ruthenberg, Benjamin Gitlow, Harry Winitsky and Gus Alonen. They have now been in prison for periods from 1½ to 2 years.

Merge with Sacco-Vanzetti Committee

Because of an already existing amnesty committee formed from representatives of various industrial, political and labor organizations as the Conference for Sacco-Vanzetti, the Amnesty Committee for New York State Political Prisoners will attempt to unite the two bodies in order to make a one united drive for the political prisoners.

Every labor union and every political labor organization should devote the next few months to a strenuous campaign for the freedom of these workers and for the repeal of the Criminal Anarchy laws.

Further announcements will be made of the Conference at which the organization for amnesty will be de-

(Continued on Page Two)

MAY DAY

SPECIAL EDITION OF THE WORKER

There will be a special edition of THE WORKER for this year's May Day. It will contain just the material you want to help spread the struggle of the workers on this International Holiday.

There will be the best obtainable articles from the best writers in the World Communist Movement. There will be cartoons and sketches from our best artists.

Perhaps we shall be able to increase the size of THE WORKER for just this issue. That will depend on you. It will depend on the number of bundle orders that arrive at this office during the next week.

Take up this matter in your organization. Send in your order for a bundle of the SPECIAL MAY DAY EDITION OF THE WORKER.

Accompany each order with a remittance at the rate of $3.50 per hundred copies in lots of 100 or more. There is not a revolutionary worker in the country who should order less than 100 copies. Rush in your orders to THE WORKER, Room 405, 80 E. 11th St., New York City.

DO IT NOW!

All Out!

THE COAL STRIKE

With every indication pointing to a nationwide strike of Coal Miners on April 1, because the owners of the nation's coal, believing they have the whip-hand, have refused to even meet the miners on the matter of wages and hours, with the Federal government claiming that it can do nothing to prevent the strike, it is well to remember 1919 and the attitude of the government at that time.

Then the miners were on the offensive; they wanted a raise in wages to meet the increased cost of living, and they were met with a federal injunction and federal troops.

The strike in some districts was prevented; in others broken by government agencies.

To-day, the coal barons seek a reduction in wages, the abolition of certain working conditions and separate district agreements designed to take all power over their jobs from the workers.

No injunction has been issued against the coal barons. None will be issued.

But if and when the miners down their tools, the troops of the state and federal government will be on hand to overawe the strikers and to "protect" the scum of the earth the coal companies will bring in to take the places of the strikers.

One thing is as certain as that day follows night.

It is that when this government of coal, oil and steel acts in the coming strike it will act for those whose property it is—the industrial and finance capitalists of this nation.

The coal barons are arrogant because they know that they have at their command every weapon of the state power; because, being their own tool, they know it will not be used in behalf of the miners.

They feel as safe as any exploiting class can feel in these rather uncertain times.

The odds are in their favor if figured by the usual formula—government plus army plus press equals an enslaved working class.

It seems to us that now is the time for the workers of this nation to make a stand.

Let everything else go for a while and give the miners the solid backing of every worker in the country who knows—as he must—that the defeat of the miners means defeat for labor all along the line.

The coal barons know it, the steel trust knows it and so does every agency of American capitalism.

Working-class solidarity is the only antidote for the poisonous formula of capitalism, and if the workers will throw their whole strength into the fight the offensive of the employing class will be checked.

It is time to demonstrate once and for all that the workers have ceased to be fooled by government officials owned body and soul by the same class which retains its control on the natural resources of this country.

Miners Confronted with Money Control of Cabinet Officials

By LAURENCE TODD

(Staff Correspondent, Federated Press and The Worker)

WASHINGTON.—Mine owners have the "inside track" with the Harding administration, and there will be no effective intervention by the chief to prevent the nation-wide attack on the United Mine Workers of America April 1st unless the wrath of labor shall be powerfully stirred meanwhile.

That is the basic fact in the situation facing miners and operators a week before the crisis of their dispute.

President Harding has as his most influential adviser the same Herbert Hoover who has been inviting the newspaper correspondents to report that a finish fight in the coal [illegible]

As his attorney general he has Harry Daugherty, lifelong corporation lawyer, who has already indicated that he will go even farther than Mitchell Palmer was prepared to go in crushing "disorder" in the event of a strike.

As his host during his present cruise in Florida the president has Ned McLean, owner of the Washington Post, which has conducted a savage editorial propaganda against the United Mine Workers for years past, and which distinguished itself by its hysterical denunciation of the unions during the great steel strike of two years ago. McLean is one of the president's close advisers.

Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, one of America's richest men, is a heavy owner of the securities of a large number of the industrial corporations in the Pittsburgh district, and is identified with the financial group which is seeking to smash the miners' organization this year.

Secretary of War Weeks and Secretary of the Navy Denby are even more "hard-boiled" than Mellon and Daugherty. They would probably welcome an opportunity to warn Harding against any intervention when the operators seemed to have a chance to restore feudal conditions in the coal fields of the central states. Each has slashed the wages of government employes under his control in brusque disregard of the appeals of the unions for negotiation of the issue.

Secretary of Labor Davis, who is counted as a mere hand-shaking ornament to the official family, with neither authority nor influence, is permitted to announce that the government "cannot and will not" take any step to prevent the strike, except to "suggest" that the operators meet the union spokesmen in conference before they break off relations. He explains that after the strike has gone on long enough to prove that the public is suffering for want of coal, the government will be in a position to go into court and ask for injunctions compelling a resumption of mining.

It was far different in the fall of 1919, when Judge Anderson enjoined the miners, under the Lever act, from stopping work. At that time the operators were resisting an increase in wages, and the miners had to act. Now, when the operators want to starve the miners into taking a reduction in wages and a surrender of working conditions, the administration finds itself powerless to prevent the operators from undertaking the fight, even tho such a struggle once started will be almost impossible to control.

WAGES vs. PRICES

The comparison (wage and living cost increases) is made with 100 as the base in 1913.

Year	Union wage rate	Cost of living
1913	100	100
1914	102	103
1915	102	105.1
1916	106	118.3
1917	112	142.4
1918	130	174.4
1919	191	199.3
1920	[illegible]	216.5

Wage advance lagged behind, and far behind, price advances throut all this period of profiteering. * * * Normal wages may be high, but the total earnings of a laborer at the end of the week—listen to this statement—will buy less food and clothing and fuel today than they would buy before the war. Real wages have actually declined.

As [illegible] to emphasize the class character of the government at this moment, the United States supreme court dismissed the appeal of counsel for Alexander Howat and the Kansas coal miners' organization against the constitutionality of the Kansas industrial court act. The supreme court finds itself without authority to deal with the case. Howat and his organization must fight it out in Kansas.

Coal operators' lobbyists here are trying to learn the probable strength of the alliance made by the railroad labor organizations with the United Mine Workers and the Longshoremen, last month, at Chicago. They are taking precautions lest a part of the railroad workers start to throw in their lot with the coal miners after the coal strike is under way.

The miners say they do not anticipate a rail strike in connection with their own defensive suspension of work.

Debs Pledges Aid to Release of New York Class War Prisoners

In a letter to the Provisional Committee for Amnesty of New York Political Prisoners made up of all defense unions of New York—National Defense Committee, Workers Defense Committee, Italian Defense [illegible] and Civil Liberties Bureau, Eugene V. Debs called upon all workers, organized and unorganized to energetically support the drive for the freedom of our fellow workers and also stated in the letter:

"If I were only well enough I would be on the platform on behalf of the shamefully persecuted and outraged comrades of ours whose loyalty to the working class keeps them imprisoned and treated as felons.

"As soon as my physical strength is sufficiently restored, I shall be only too glad to help in your work in every way in my power.

"It is with pleasure as well as with a sense of duty to our imprisoned comrades of New York that I accept membership on the Executive Committee."

Sign the Roll Call of the Friends of Soviet Russia. And give! While the famine claims one victim in the Workers' Republic we must not rest.

Mayor Deaf to Demands of Jobless

The Council of Unemployed has endeavored to see the mayor of the city of New York, to find out whether he cannot do something to alleviate the acute unemployment situation prevalent in the city.

Electing a committee to call upon him, the Council expected that he would at least state the stand of the municipal authorities—and perhaps make a gesture of interest in the fate of 400,000 unemployed men and women in the city. It would be good politics, good policy—even to play with the problem of unemployment—if it could still be done.

Complete Disregard for Unemployed

Instead, the mayor handed the Committee of Unemployed over to his Commissioner of Unemployment, who in turn referred the matter to Mr. John Sullivan of the Industrial Aid Bureau—the City Employment Office.

In short, the mayor refuses to be disturbed in his peace of mind. He declines to have his daily routine interrupted by such a minor matter as the unemployment of 400,000 people in the metropolis!

Mere confession of interest—and of impotency, as Mr. John Sullivan admitted, will not solve the problem. WORK is what the unemployed want—but the mayor is busy with other, far more important matters.

Blithe remarks to the effect that "things are brightening up," that "the industrial situation is loosening up," and similar expressions of satisfaction with things as they are, will provide NO WORK for the unemployed.

But work MUST be provided; 400,000 jobless are a menace to all workers still in possession of a job—and they are a danger to the peace of the city. Increase in crime, increase in suicides—crime waves, prostitution, insanity—all in the wake of unemployment.

WELL, WHAT ABOUT IT?—asks the Council of Unemployed.

What about it, Mr. Mayor? Are you going to accept the responsibility—are you going to do something?

You have turned down the unemployed to-day—you will confer with them some other day. So says the Council of Unemployed.

Patriots May—Jobless May Not

The Unemployment Council is preparing for a parade of the unemployed. It is high time that the "good citizens," as Mr. Secretary of Labor Davis calls them, and the authorities be apprised of the fact and extent of unemployment.

Words in reports, newspapers and bulletins mean nothing. They need the living demonstration of masses of jobless who require work and food, in order to keep alive.

But like the emperors of old, they try to deny their existence or to forget them, by keeping them out of sight.

Knowing that there would be a parade on St. Patrick's Day, in which all patriots would participate, and that the streets are for the use of the people of the city, the Unemployment Council asked for a permit to hold a parade, demanding rights equal to those of all others.

NOT SO!

(Continued on Page Two)

Subscribe for "THE WORKER" Today—Use Blank on Page Two

Big Drive on for Release of Prisoners

(Continued from Page One)

finitely launched and at which a concrete program of action will be decided.

The Criminal Anarchy Law

These nine men were convicted under the Criminal Anarchy Law passed immediately after the assassination of President McKinley. That law makes it a felony to advocate the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by the assassination of the executive officials of government, by force or violence or by any unlawful means.

None of these men advocated criminal anarchy in any sense—none of these men advocated assassination—none of these men advocated unlawful acts of any kind, but they did advocate industrial unionism, socialism, communism, the general strike, the establishment of a working-class government in the United States in place of the government dominated by the capitalists.

Law Used Against the Workers

The Criminal Anarchy law was passed in 1902 but never used until 1919. Then it was disentombed by the witch-hunting Lusk Committee.

It was brought into use not against any terrorists aimed at by the law but against those who advocated an orderly industrial organization based on the social needs of the whole people instead of the gigantic profits of a very small privileged class.

The radical changes needed in the law of 1902 to make it serve the Lusk Committee purposes of 1919 were freely and shamelessly made by the courts, under the guise of "interpretation."

So great was the discrepancy between the law and its application in these cases that the Grand Jury which returned seven of the nine indictments in its final report of March 3, 1921—after the men were in prison—recommended that the law be amended to put the general strike on the same basis as assassinations and force or violence.

Also they proposed that the law be changed to cover agitation against the existing government of the United States in place of the anarchy doctrine. This was a clear admission that the men in prison were wrongfully convicted under the law as it stands.

Court Especially Appointed

Justice Bartow S. Weeks was especially appointed by the governor to preside over an extraordinary term of the Supreme Court to try the cases arising from the investigations of the Lusk Committee.

The first trial was of Gus Alonen and Carl Paivio, who were sentenced to terms of four to eight years.

They were members of the I. W. W. and were charged with publishing certain writings in a Finnish industrial paper. They have been imprisoned since the summer of 1919.

Before the same court—with Justice Weeks acting as prosecutor all thru the trials—came also the cases of Benjamin Gitlow, James Larkin, C. E. Ruthenberg and I. E. Ferguson, charged with the publication, on July 5, 1919, of the manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. These defendants were each sentenced from five to ten years.

Harry Winitsky was charged with being a member of and helping to organize the Communist Party. It is a new thing in American law to punish as a felony membership in an organization. For this crime of belonging to the Communist Party, Winitsky was sentenced from five to ten years.

Ignatz Mizher, Cortland, New York, and Paul Manko, Brooklyn, are also Communists. Mizher was sentenced from five to ten years for handing out a pamphlet containing the program of the Communist Party. Manko was sentenced to two and a half to five years for handing out a leaflet of the Communist Party.

The fight is still being made in the courts. The Left Wing Socialist cases upheld by the Appellate Division are now before the Court of Appeals. If they are lost they will be carried to the United States Supreme Court on the ground that the Criminal Anarchy Law is unconstitutional. The other cases are still to be decided by the Appellate Division.

Decisions Must Be Set Aside

It is of vital importance to the wage-workers of this state that advocacy of the general strike be not punishable as a crime. The decision of the Appellate Division must be set aside.

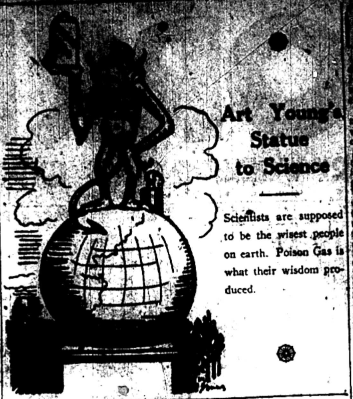
Experience has proven that decisions of this character, if they stand unchallenged, have a way of [illegible] of advocacy or action on behalf of the working class.

Altho the constitutionality of the law under which these men are imprisoned has never been passed upon by the highest state court bail has been refused pending the appeals. Most of the men have already been jailed more than two years, all more than one year.

Amnesty for Political Prisoners

These cases are clearly persecutions for advocacy of working-class ideals. They are a violation of the right of free speech and free press. Court procedure is slow. The way to immediate freedom is a united working-class demand for amnesty.

Mayor Hylan, of New York City, has found something to take his mind off the unemployed problem. He is now in the midst of a battle over a statue to be called "Civic Virtue" to be erected in City Hall Park. May the hungry enjoy themselves by feasting their eyes, not their stomachs, upon its beauties when completed.



Art Young's Statue to Science

Scientists are supposed to be the wisest people on earth. Poison Gas is what their wisdom produced.

More Help Needed for Starving Russia— Every Week, Ever Month

A woman sits on the sun-swept pavement of a street in Saratov. Across her knees there lies a long, thin little body. The dirty bare legs and the dirty naked arms of the infant hang listlessly. The child threw back its head and lay stretched out with closed eyes, breathing heavily, and a hectic flush on either waxlike cheek. The mother utters not a word. She merely supports the dead little body on her knees and looks beseechingly at the passers-by and cries. Sitting thus, it is as though she is offering a sacrifice to the glaring sun, the seething street and the human throng. Without sound, before the eyes of all, a terrible tragedy is being enacted.

To relieve the terrible distress the Friends of Soviet Russia has launched a city-wide campaign to secure pledges from individuals, clubs, unions, fraternal organizations, which will be asked to contribute sums ranging from $25 to 25 cents every week or every month. The immediate goal is to get more than 10,000 pledgers by May 1st.

Pledge cards, pledge stamps, and other material may be obtained at the following places: 83 East 4th Street, 250 West 25th Street, 230 East Broadway, 350 East 81st Street, 59 East 105th Street, 1403 Fifth Avenue, 1347 Boston Road, 226 Roebling Street, Brooklyn, 229 Sackman Street, Room 104. Fill out this blank and bring or send it in.

ADOPT ONE RUSSIAN CHILD

Join the Pledgers Club

for the

RELIEF OF THE STARVING IN RUSSIA

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 208 East 12th St., NEW YORK CITY.

....................192..

I hereby pledge myself to contribute ....

.... dollars and .... cents every

.... for the relief of the starving men, women and children of Russia.

Name....................

Address....................

Mayor Hylan Is Deaf to Demands of 400,000 - Jobless in New York City

(Continued from Page One)

The unemployed have no rights in the city—less even than the workers on the job. They have no right to march in orderly ranks down the streets. They have no right to march even thru the side-streets and gather up their fellows and send a delegation to the mayor, in order that he may know that there are jobless people in the city.

NOT SO!

If there are jobless people in the city, let them keep out of sight of the good people, who have worries of their own!

Demands Right to Use Streets

The Unemployment Council demands the right to use the streets the same as other organizations. It demands that the city officials stop playing football with the question. The unemployed want to demonstrate their misery. They want the "good citizens" to learn of their struggle against hunger and lack of work. They demand that they be accorded the use of the streets the same as other patriotic, religious and similar organizations.

To demand these rights, and to report to the workers in detail what the Mayor has stated to the Unemployed Delegation, there will be held a meeting at Astoria Hall on Saturday, March 25, 2:30 P. M.

On Monday, March 27, at 11 A. M., the Council of Unemployed will hold two open-air demonstrations, one at 10th St. and Second Ave., the other at South Ferry in front of 25 South Street.

Action will be taken on the report of the Mayor and of the Police Department in refusing the parade.

From Our Readers

AN "INTELLIGENT" EDITOR

Editor, **The Worker**:—Would you kindly publish the following article in "The Worker" and oblige The Publicity Committee of the Public Service Organization.

• • •

An article which appeared in a recent issue of the "Industrial Unionist," the official organ of the I. W. W., in which the strike of the Lunchroom Workers of the Amalgamated Food Industries and the sympathetic strike of the Public Service Organization in the Rand School was "explained" as provoked and inspired and the members of the latter organization branded as "scabs" and their Union as "yellow" and, as we have reason to believe was written and modelled by the Editor of the Industrial Unionist himself after the fashion of the old time saying—'Convict first, investigate after"—is regarded by the majority of the members of the Public Service Organization as only an incident in the class war, wrongly applied.

We would have refrained from any action in this matter, if it was not for the reason to clear those members of our organization, who also hold an I. W. W. card, of all responsibility for the irresponsible act of this "intelligent" Editor of the "Industrial Unionist."

Summing up,—we believe to act in accordance with the sentiment of every right-thinking worker and in the interest of the Labor movement, to demand, of the Editor of the Industrial Unionist, in the next issue to either retract the (his) article in question or to state his reasons to the contrary.

Until then, we, the members of the Public Service Organization will refrain from any further action and ask the members of other organizations to do likewise.

Publicity Committee,
Public Service Organization,
1551—2d Ave., N. Y. City.

What does America want? Soviet Russia would like to know. Let the workers of America find out what hopes the Washington [illegible] have against the Workers' Republic.

[illegible]

Would you expose it to the elements of a zero winter evening for want of a roof and a blanket to cover its little body?

Would you have it fade away to a mere skeleton, undergoing [illegible] indescribable misery, want and hunger, for the want of a piece of bread? Would you leave death claim it after weeks of untold starvation, without turning heaven and hell . . . even sacrificing your very life to obtain for it those things which would have saved its life?

And you answer most eloquently, "My very life a thousand times would I give that the child of my love shall live" . . . yet you are well fed, warmly clad, having a comfortable bed to sleep in, while nine million eight hundred thousand children, your children, the children of your class are actually starving to death in the world's first workers' republic, when a little sacrifice on your part would have saved their lives. The future, said Liebknecht, "lies with the young."

It is these young children of your class who shall bring forth into blossom, the Workers Republic which is so dear to the hearts of every class conscious rebel.

Workers of the World, Your Children Call! Answer in unmistakable tones, with the dollars that will buy the staff of life.

The future of Soviet Russia lies in its young. Due to the draught, the blockade and the mercenary invasions of the capitalist powers of the world, countless thousands breathe no more. Give all you can and more, that these fallen heroes of the Class Struggle shall not have died in vain. Give until it hurts, so that it will not be said that the First Workers' Republic was left to perish because the call of its children in need was not answered. Open Your Heart. Clear Your Conscience. **Give for posterity, for your children, for the revolution.**

SUBSCRIBE!

Quite a number of comrades are taking up the suggestion put forth a few weeks ago that they have a bundle of papers mailed to their home and that they then have them put on sale at newstands in the workingclass neighborhood of their city. Each week when delivering the new issue the unsold copies of the old are collected. There will not be any unsold copies if a little agitation is done in union and lodge meetings. The news butcher or cigar store keeper will be glad to handle "THE WORKER" in exchange for such advertising and this method not only makes it sure that our members will buy and boost for the paper regularly but it advertises our cause and wins many readers who would otherwise never think of buying a workingclass paper. Wherever this has been tried out the original bundle of five copies per week has grown steadily. Why not give it a trial in your neighborhood?

• • •

I did not know my subscription had expired or I would have renewed it much sooner. I do not want to miss any copies so please send me the couple of copies I missed, if that is possible. I think "The Worker" is one of the best revolutionary papers that has been produced so far and hope that it will keep growing stronger."—R. McDermott, Fremont, Ohio.

• • •

"You can be sure that I am a subscriber for "The Worker" just as long as it is fighting for the overthrow of the system, even tho I may fall a little behind in payment."—J. V. Worden, Kalamazoo, Mich.

• • •

Among the additional places thruout the country where "The Worker" is placed on sale is Brommels Bookshop, 1815 N. 5th St., Superior, Wisc. They also accept subs for the paper at this address.

• • •

One of our hustlers in Schenectady sends in a list of four news dealers who have agreed to handle "THE WORKER" every week.

• • •

George Kelly, New York City, writes: "The Worker" is the real workingclass newspaper and I hope all the workers will soon realize it and become subscribers."

SUBSCRIBE!

HERE IS MY "SUB"

The Worker, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

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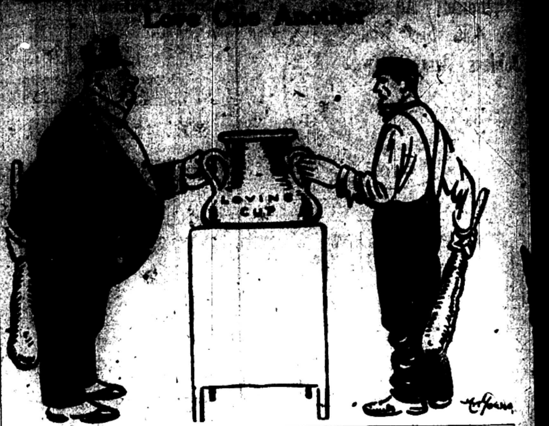

Prepare for May Day

The call for the celebration of International May Day this year has been issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party.

So far as we are aware, this is the only call for the celebration of this year's May Day that has been issued by any working-class organization.

We, therefore, wish to draw special attention to that feature of the call providing for the organization of May Day Conferences in all centers of working-class strength.

There should be a thousand such centers in this country, where the workers organizations will send their delegates to joint committees to prepare for the celebration of this year's International May Day.

This Joint May Day Committee offers an excellent opportunity to put life and spirit into a united labor front against the open shop and reduction in wages; against industrial court laws and injunctions, and for the release of all the class-war prisoners, for work or compensation at union wages for the unemployed, and for the recognition of and trade with Soviet Russia.

The Worker will do all in its power to promote the organization everywhere of such committees. It will carry on an active propaganda this month to arouse the workers everywhere to the significance of May Day. It will issue a Special May Day Edition that should receive the widest possible circulation.

Forward to May Day, 1922! Make it a day long to be remembered by the workers. Make it a day long to be feared by the profiteers and exploiters.

Irish Labor's Opportunity

If Irish labor had a program, if most of its officials were not trying to play politics with one set or another of fakirs, a Soviet republic could be established in Ireland to-morrow.

The army is ready. Its members have borne the brunt of the long conflict, and they want something more than the empty phrase of national independence.

The workers of Ireland will have to run the factories if peace ever comes; they might as well run them for themselves.

The moral effect of such a step on the British labor movement would be tremendous, to say nothing of the impetus given to the labor movement here.

The Irish workers have the power in their hands now.

Will they use it for themselves or will they continue to fight for the hopeless program of the Irish capitalists and their representatives?

Ellen Van Volkenburg and Maurice Browne, who have taken over the Greenwich Village Theatre for a repertory season and who presented Bernard Shaw's "Candida" Wednesday night as their opening bill, announce popular prices will prevail at the theatre during their tenancy. The top price, except on Saturday nights, will be $2 and will range down to 50c, there being a number of seats at the latter price. There is only one gallery in the theatre.

Pity the poor relatives and descendants of the late Viscount William Waldorf Astor. He left personal property in New York City valued at only $23,641,262. The wages of the workers on the railroads in which the Astor estate has stock should be reduced at once. Up with the rents. The rich shall not die. Not if the ignorant can help it.

Northwest Jewish Branch, Philadelphia, votes a loan of $100 to the Literature Department and decides to run an entertainment, the total proceeds to go to the National Organization Fund. The sale of Organization stamps is progressing satisfactorily.

The Bazaar

The International Bazaar, held by the National Defense Committee at the Lyceum, East 86th Street, is in full swing as we go to press.

The response to the campaign of the N. D. C. has been remarkable and the hall is filled with article of every description displayed at fourteen beautiful booths.

The catering is being handled by the Amalgamated Food Workers and the service is equal to that of the best restaurants. Classic dancing enlivened the proceedings Wednesday evening; Music is furnished by a string orchestra.

Friday and Saturday nights those in attendance will be entertained by a variety of acts arranged by the committee. Dancing will be continuous except when an act is on the stage.

Wonderful bargains are to be had at the booths in wearing apparel, books, novelties and art objects of all kinds.

The whole afternoon and evening can be spent at the bazaar without exhausting its possibilities of entertainment.

All money received goes for the defense of the class-war prisoners, and everyone who has their interests at heart should attend at least one evening.

NEED JOBS—LEAVE SCHOOL

NEW YORK.—One thousand seventeen boys and girls who left New York high schools in the last year without completing their courses have given their reasons for quitting school. In more than 63 per cent of the cases, they had to leave school to go to work.

"Freedom for all the class war prisoners! Let every worker demand it until they are all freed.

The Call for May Day has gone forth. Let every [illegible]

Neat Sum Is Raised for The Daily Worker at Big Minor Meeting

An audience of over one thousand people heard Bob Minor on the "Lessons of the Paris Commune" at the Manhattan Opera House, Sunday, March 19th. He was given an ovation when he rose to make his first public appearance for a year following a serious illness.

Moissaye Olgin also captivated the audience with a short, eloquent talk which went straight to the hearts of his listeners.

Oliver Carlson, of the Young Workers' League, surprised the audience both by his youth and eloquence and J. Louis Engdahl, managing editor of "The Worker," aroused much enthusiasm by his appeal for support for a fighting working-class daily.

William Dunne acted as chairman. A collection of $377.00 was taken.

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Subscribe Now!

The Workers' Drama Club

FRIDAY, April 21, 8.15 P. M.

"THE SANDBAR QUEEN"

A Drama of the Northwest
By GEORGE CRONYN
UKRAINIAN HALL
217 E. 6th St., near Cooper Sq.

CONCERT BY:
Frances Goldenthal, Violinist
Ann Owen, Pianist

Proceeds for Organization Purposes

Admission: 50 cents. Tickets on Sale at the Local and National Headquarters of the Workers Party, 208 E. 12th Street and 80 E. 11th Street, New York

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LUDWIG LORE
Editor of the Volkszeitung
will lecture on
"Recent Developments in the International Labor Movement"
SUNDAY, 8 P. M., APRIL 2.
Workers Party Headquarters
(Brownsville Branch)
296 Sackman St., Cor. Pitkin St.

Irish Workers, Attention!

A Mass Meeting will be held in Foodworkers' Hall, 133 West 51st St., on Sunday, March 26, at 2 p.m.

Speakers:
William F. Dunne, Editor of The Worker, on "The Irish Workers in America."
Thomas O'Flaherty, on "The Irish Workers in Ireland."

Admission Free.

Auspices Irish Branch of Workers Party of America.

COME ONE, COME ALL

COME AND HEAR
WILLIAM F. DUNNE
Speak on
"The American Labor Movement, Past, Present and Future"
[illegible]

[illegible] Can See [illegible] [illegible] Army Grow[illegible]

By I. AMTER.

The latest bulletin of the U. S. Employment Service is not at all encouraging upon the question of decreasing unemployment. In fact, a survey of the different districts shows that in most of them unemployment has not at all diminished. On the contrary, altho in certain districts and states there is an increase of employment, where unemployment increased it did so at a far greater ratio than is to be noted in its decrease.

The most that the business interests can report is "optimism." This is such a flexible, convenient term that it covers almost anything.

Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that the bulletin is a governmental publication. The bias on the part of the government to suppressing all information giving a clear survey of the economic status, is well known. Not such a long time ago, Mr. Hoover stated that employment was on the increase, whereas statistics proved incontrovertibly that the situation was becoming worse. Nor shall we forget the shelving of Senator Kenyon's bill on unemployment, as a result of which the Department of Commerce was prevented from publishing figures on unemployment.

Now we have the reports of the U. S. Employment Service, and facts alone demonstrate that unemployment was never so grave in the United States as at the present moment. Steel is the criterion of economic conditions in the United States. Pittsburg reports that "winter dullness in the meantime still prevails . . . . No improvement is shown in the coal-mining industry."

There is one feature of the matter of unemployment that is generally completely forgotten. It is not only the hopelessness that confronts the workers out of a job. It is not only the fact that he daily faces the refusal of work, but that, slowly eating up his earnings, he steadily curtails his expenditures, cuts down to the bare necessities, in order that his money may last a trifle longer. Finally comes the period in which nickels jingle along in his pocket, and he begins to go without a meal.

If he is a married man with children, it means that his wife has long been looking for work. Sometimes it is to be had; more often, it is a hopeless search. The outlays for food are cut down; milk for the children does not appear so often on the table. The children go to school hungry. They return more often to a meal of bread and oleomargarine. Finally we reach the stage where parents give their children ether or some other dope to still their hunger.

In the meantime, no attempt is being made to procure work for the worker. Despite all protestations, the authorities are doing nothing. Highly concerned about taxes and the welfare of "business", the mayors and governors refuse to recommend any public works that will mean a high tax on the business interests.

Hence, with the constant "passing of the buck", with a denial of responsibility, with the shelving of every bill that is introduced in Congress for alleviating the distress of the unemployed—and with it a utilization of every department of government, municipal, state and national, to coerce the workers and labor unions and to destroy their power—the workers are beginning to lose the little confidence they have had in the government and to look to means of their own for relieving the situation.

Unemployment Councils or Councils of Unemployed are being established in all parts of the country. Seattle has formed a virile organization, and is creating Councils in the neighboring towns. A Northwest Convention of the Unemployed may be called in the near future. Salt Lake City has organized a Council, has registered the unemployed and issued membership cards.

Minneapolis is on the unemployment map. Indianapolis is organizing a Council. Milwaukee and Bethlehem are in the process of organization.

The Unemployment Council organized by the Chicago Federation of Labor has held a large number of meeting among the unions and for union members.

The most active Council is the New York Unemployment Council. In addition to carrying on a virile campaign among the Labor Unions, seeking their affiliation for the real work of organizing the unemployed, the Unemployment Council has held a large number of propaganda meetings, at which it has organized the jobless and registered them.

It is a case of "either—or" with the workers. Either they will get together to effect their demands by the very power of their numbers—or they will be crushed under the iron heels of the masters.

The government is beginning to realize, not the merit of strategy and diplomacy, but the determination of the unemployed to organize. Lacking all sagacity and filled with pride that comes from a sense of power, they are acting ruthlessly toward the jobless.

Too many of the unemployed are ex-servicemen, who have faced the horrors of war, and hence are not to be terrorized by the blue-coated policemen or platoons of police held in readiness somewhere round the corner, or scores of detectives hovering round the meetings to detect "sedition" and "nip riots" it in the bud.

The reaction has set in and set in with full force. One branch of the labor movement is on the upgrade. The Unemployment Councils represent the most determined section of the working class.

THE WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION.

[illegible] ruling class.

Latest dispatches, however, from Copenhagen, the Danish capital, remind us of our own struggle in West Virginia, the textile districts of New England, and in other [illegible] parts of this country.

We are told that troops have been called out to [illegible] the streets of Copenhagen where 150,000 workers have been locked out in a large number of industries. [illegible]

The lockout in Denmark, that is [illegible] labor struggle in the history of the country, [illegible] the part of the bosses to cut wages 20 per cent and increase the working hours.

Peasants are acting as strikebreakers in the loading and unloading of ships, and many cases of bloody conflicts between them and the locked-out workers have been reported. In Copenhagen the strikebreakers are lodged on board ships and receive wages three times as high as that offered the workers.

The sale of coal has been prohibited in the capital. The workers in the building trades have decided by an overwhelming majority to reject the award of the arbitration commission. These building workers hitherto not affected by the lockout have decided to go out on a sympathetic strike. The drivers and teamsters of Copenhagen refuse to transport goods handled by the strikebreakers. As a result the transport of agricultural products has come to a standstill. The police has been mobilized and has acted in various towns in a provocative manner.

How like the news of a strike in "democratic" America sounds the latest information about this struggle in "free" Denmark.

The class struggle rages on a world-wide front and capitalism everywhere fights back with the same weapons.

The inspiration to be gained from the Danish capital is the fact that the workers there are standing together in closely knit ranks. They are developing a powerful Communist movement, section of the Third International. They have a daily paper maintained at great sacrifice. They will win because they have the will to win against capitalism, not because the capitalists show signs of relenting or getting tired in the struggle.

A Contrast

The German Social-Democratic government has added one more infamy to the long list of its crimes against workingclass solidarity. The Spanish workers, Fort and Concepcion, who sought asylum in Germany after being accused of the execution of the infamous Dato, have been delivered up to the tender mercies of the Spanish courts by Radbruch, the social-democratic minister of justice.

The "socialist" government of Germany held that these workers were not political prisoners and that the crime of which they were accused was not a political crime altho even an infantile intellect knows that Spain is practically in a state of civil war; that the workers are fighting against a campaign of terror similar to that following the rise of the Horthy regime in Hungary.

There are publications in the Uunited States however, styling themselves "workingclass organs," which can still find time to apologize for a government which violates the first principle of socialism—solidarity.

In contrast to the betrayal of militant workers into the hands of the hangmen by the Social-Democratic tools of world capitalism, is the recent release of 70 workers from the dungeon of the Horthy government, a release that was forced by the revolutionary government of Russia.

These liberated workers passed thru Germany on their way to Russia at about the same time that the German Social-Democracy took up the role of bloodhound for the capitalist government of Spain.

"All The Daily Papers"

The Call, in an editorial entitled "The Communist Cults," explains that a story, "Foster League Communistic, Catholics Say," upon which this paper commented, was published because it was a news item appearing in all the daily papers. We believe it.

We have here, in a nut-shell, the finest exposition of the policy of The Call in handling news matter, that we have yet been favored with. It satisfies us. It explains the reason for the appearance of many things in the columns of The Call to which clear-minded workers have taken exception. Other dailies—the capitalist dailies—carry these stories. So does The Call.

We are a little surprised to find that we agree with The Call on even one matter, but agree we do that the chief reason for publishing much of the matter The Call carries is that it also appears in the capitalist press. Little stories about the dictatorship in Russia, about the wonderful Stinnes and his troupe of trained social-democrats, why Liebknecht deserved death, etc., strike the same note in the capitalist sheets and in The Call.

After making this explanation—for which we are grateful—The Call proceeds to prove its agreement with the agencies of capitalist government to which it kindly gives publicity—because all the other dailies—do it by launching another attack on Communists and Communism.

"All the other dailies" do it, too.

Revolution in the Rand. Insurgency in India. Eruptions in Egypt. Imbroglios in Ireland. Strikes in Scotland. Unemployment in England. The life of the lion is just one damn thing after another these days.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is establishing medical schools in China. There is a lot of oil in China, and the professors are merely the forerunners of profits.

[illegible] William J. Flynn, former Chief of the U. S. Secret Service, writing in the New York Herald of his experiences with the Department of Justice, completely exonerates Mooney and Billings of any connection with the outrage and ascribes the crime to an alleged group.

Mentioning the alleged leader of the group, Ex-Chief Flynn asserts positively:

"We know that he was in full possession of all of the facts of the San Francisco bomb plot for which Tom Mooney and others went to jail. At the time the outrage was perpetrated, he was writing for one of the numerous ephemeral newspapers he either founded or edited. That he was more or less informed regarding the San Francisco affair we gathered from one of his editorials, wherein he declared that neither Billings, Mooney, Nolan, Weinberg nor Rena Mooney was guilty.

"That statement in itself was not particularly impressive, inasmuch as newspapers of the so-called capitalistic class had said similar things about the affair. But his editorial continued to say that the preparedness parade that was bombed that day in San Francisco constituted 'a triumph of shame, of vileness, of idleness, treason and cowardice.'

"Inasmuch as I had nothing to do with the San Francisco affair, I am not in a position to hold forth thereon. But this I do know, whoever did it was well known to the editor and he knew it was about to be perpetrated and who was to do the actual work."

Commenting upon Flynn's belated revelations, the Irish World, published in New York, declares editorially:

"This testimony strengthens the many convincing proofs already given of Mooney and Billings' innocence of the crime for which they are undergoing a life imprisonment. Neither would be now behind prison bars, had it not been that they were champions of organized labor. Are the labor unions to remain inactive whilst this glaring injustice is unredressed?"

The Mooney-Billings defense committee bitterly denounced Flynn's silence over a period of six years while the two labor men were languishing in jail for a crime he declares they did not commit. Now that he can capitalize his revelations by offering them for publication at a big price, he has broken into print, the committee, headed by Mrs. Rena Mooney, declares.

United Labor Council Hits Industrial Unionist

The United Labor Council, at its recent meeting, went on record as unanimously condemning the article in the Industrial Unionist, March 10, regarding the Rand School strike, declaring it to be untruthful and unfair to the workers involved.

It was announced that the next meeting of the Sacco-Vanzetti Conference would be held on Sunday afternoon, March 26, at 83 E. 4th St., at 2 o'clock sharp.

Delegates from Inside Iron and Bronze Workers' Union reported that steps should be taken to unite their Local with the other two iron and bronze workers' unions.

Shoe Workers' Unity Committee reported that there would be a meeting of the executive boards of the Amalgamated Shoe Workers' Union, the Children's Shoe Workers' Union and the Joint Council of the United Shoe Workers' Union.

Motion to elect an organization committee for the local Council carried. The following were elected: P. J. McClellan, R. Baker, John Assel, Jos. E. Kucher, Herman Wheeler, Joseph Miller, Robert Lacker, Dan Rickert, H. J. Rubinstein, Leo Kinsello, Arthur Doyle, L. Shelley, Andrew Friedline, R. W. Rickstein, U. Cervi, A. Rosenfeld, S. Cloner, S. Diamond, K. Pirnstke, Paul Cavanaugh, A. Steuter, A. Stein, N. Diamond, John Greim, T. Szabo, John Geraghty and A. Korin.

Motion that Organization Committee of local Council come in body to the Textile Conference, Friday, March 24, 1922, at 83 E. 4th St., at 8 P. M.

Chicago Central Body Issues National Call for Industrialization

CHICAGO.—The Chicago Federation of Labor, by an overwhelming majority, has adopted a resolution demanding that the executive council of the American Federation of Labor immediately call a conference of international unions to devise ways and means of amalgamating on industrial lines the many unions now operating in the various basic industries.

The resolution called attention to the ineffectiveness of the present style of organisation and the disastrous results of craft division as exemplified by the failure to resist to any appreciable extent the low wage and open shop campaign, pointing out that the finances and energies of the labor unions were now diverted into many channels from which no return is obtained.

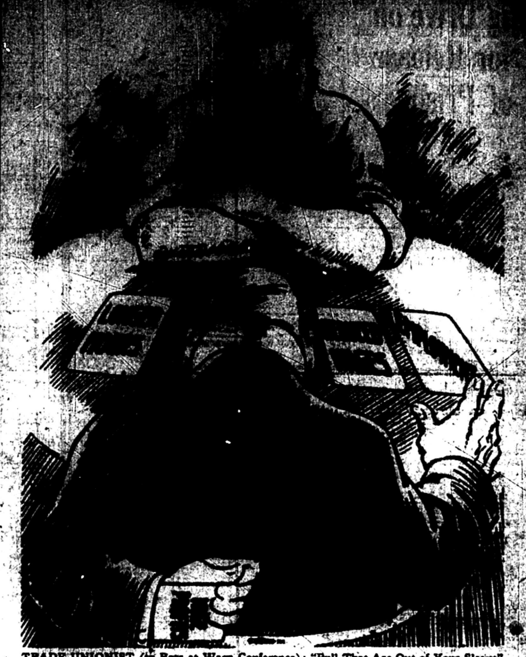
The Chicago Federation of Labor will urge all bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to inaugurate a similar campaign and help to create a national sentiment for a speedy industrialisation of the American labor movement.

TAKE NOTICE

The Iskra Publishing Co. has arranged a May Day Celebration for Sunday afternoon and evening, April 30, at the New Star Casino, 107th Street and Park Avenue.

The whole proceeds will go to the "Iskra," the only Russian daily organ of the revolutionary workingclass in America.

All friendly organizations are requested not to arrange any conflicting entertainments on that day.



TRADE UNIONIST (to Boss at Wage Conference): "Pull That Ace Out of Your Sleeve"

American Wage-Earners Lost Four to Ten Per Cent in Twenty Years

(By The Federated Press)

CLEVELAND.—The pay received today by American workers is less in purchasing value than the wages paid for similar labor in 1900, says Basil Manly, in a wage study entitled Are Wages Too High? published by Brotherhood Press of this city and distributed by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Manly is a former joint chairman of the war labor board.

Manly finds the worker who made $2 a day in 1900 had to make $6 in 1920 simply to "break even," and that according to the figures compiled by the bureau of census and the department of labor, the real wages of almost every important group of workers in the country have declined from 4 to 10 percent during the past 20 years.

The official figures show, for instance, that while pick miners received 52 cents a ton in 1900, 65 cents in 1913, and $1.1165 in 1921, the purchasing power of these wages in comparison with 52 cents in 1900 is but $.4485 in 1913 and $.4279 in 1921. Similarly, the pay envelopes received by railroad engineers and conductors today will buy $162 and $95 less, respectively, of the necessities of life than would the wages they received in 1900.

The only actual increase in wages has been received by those railroad employes who were paid so low in 1900 that there was no place for their wages to go but up, Manly says.

"With the exception of a few isolated and exceptionally skilled trades, the wages of American workers are insufficient, without supplement from other sources, to provide for the subsistence of a family consisting of husband, wife and three minor children, much less maintain them in that condition of health and reasonable comfort which every humane consideration demands," Manly [illegible].

"American labor has been consistently deprived of its fair share in the ever-increasing productivity of the nation's industries. It is this ever-increasing inequity that is at the root of the nation's frequent industrial depression. And it is out of this constant underpayment of labor that a large part of the great private fortunes and the huge surpluses of American corporations have been created," is another conclusion.

DETROIT FOR AMNESTY

DETROIT.—Workers, [illegible] May Day in Detroit [illegible] thousands of workers from the shops [illegible]

The British air minister, Captain Frederick Guest, says the airship will drive the warship from the seas in ten years. And the rise of the power of the workers will then prevent the airship from being used for war purposes.

WALTER M. COOK
Public Accountant and Auditor
110 West 40th St., New York
Telephone: Bryant 5943

A MASS STRUGGLE FOR A DECENT LIVELIHOOD

In the Pawtuxet Valley of Rhode Island, where there has never before been a strike and never much of a union, 8,000 men and women are in the third month of their strike

Against a 20 Per Cent Reduction of Wages

The average wage, under this cut, would be $17 for a week of 54 hours. Sanitary and social conditions in the Pawtuxet Valley are the most unhealthful and depressing in the United States. "Rhode Island is run by the textile manufacturers to suit their own purposes," says the New York World, (Feb. 25.) "The textile industry is in possession of the machinery of government."

The cotton manufacturers contend they can not continue to operate without reducing wages, but they have refused to submit their books to investigation, so that the truth about manufacturing costs may be discovered. They have rejected arbitration. "The public be damned," is their attitude. "Ours is a private business," is what they actually say.

Eight Thousand Strikers Say It Is THEIR Business and the Public's.

Will you help the strikers to make their idea the dominant one? Only HUNGER can defeat these aroused men and women. HUNGER is the ally of economic despotism.

GIVE TO THE RELIEF FUND

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Russell Palmer, General Secretary

Room 309 7 East 15th St. New York

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Always in Stock
Corruptionists and Union Wreckers—Chas. [illegible] .10
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Ten Days That Shook the World—John Reed [illegible]
The Crisis in Germany, England, Italy and France—Foster .25
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[illegible]
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[illegible] Really Is Anyway

By JEANETTE [illegible]

There has been introduced into the N. Y. State Assembly a bill for the purpose of removing all civil and legal disabilities which still affect women.

The bill purports to be a "revolution" as one of its staunch defenders, [illegible] Hill, of the Woman's Party, calls it, but it is indeed far from any such description.

On the other hand, it is exceedingly important that the working women be made to understand the true significance of it and not allow themselves to be carried away by the phrases of the leaders of the Woman's Party, the protagonists of the bill.

Bill Deals With Property Rights

The blanket bill which the Woman's Party urges for the introduction in the state legislatures consist primarily of the repeal or passage of laws which would abolish restrictions which now exist regarding property rights in one way or another.

For example, "the right to acquire, inherit, control, hold, and convey property; freedom of contract, including becoming a party in any capacity to negotiable instruments or evidence of indebtedness, or becoming surety or guarantor; acting as executors or administrators of estates of decedents. Choice of domicile, residence and name."

To a certain extent, these are revolutionary measures; revolutionary in the sense of the eighteenth century revolution when the middle class rose to economic power and this change had to be accompanied by a corresponding change in the legal code.

Such movements have repeatedly occurred ever since the beginning of propertied classes. The rise of a class from one economic status to another has always been followed by a movement which legalized the possessions of this new class and put them into permanent power.

This agitation for abolishing legal disabilities for women is but another step in this age-long process. The women of the middle class have reached the point where they find themselves somewhat hampered in their activities. Many of them have quit the drawing room and have entered the professions and the business world. This has necessarily resulted in their striking out more and more on their own behalf; in the acquisition of property and then in its disposition. Their desire to do with that property what they choose is prevented by laws which reflect woman's inferior economic status.

Is this movement then a step forward or not? From the point of view of the evolution of property rights, it is undoubtedly a move forward. The fact, however, which is of interest to us is what should be the attitude of the working women toward this question.

It is true there are some legal injustices which affect the working women as well as the middle class. For instance, it is well nigh impossible for a woman to secure a divorce in some states even tho she possess the strongest evidence against her husband.

In some states, the husband has a right to his wife's earnings. Of course, such conditions are deplorable. We differ, though, from the bourgeois agitation in understanding the economic foundation underlying these inequalities.

The energy to be expended in removing these evils is being misdirected when the laws themselves are aimed at. The cause lies in a system of society which permits and continues to foster class inequalities. It is at the cause we must strike; we must destroy it root and branch.

As was pointed out above, the laws desired by the Woman's Party are mainly such as concern the middle class women and with that in mind, it is obvious that the women of the proletariat have nothing to gain from them. On the contrary there is a feature which is of great danger to them if this bill is adopted.

In spite of the fact, that the bill contains a section (a sop thrown out to the working-women) stating that this act shall not affect laws regulating the employment of women in industry, there is every reason to believe that once this law goes into effect it will be quite easy for the judges to interpret a labor law for women as being unconstitutional on the ground that it abridges her freedom of contract which the proposed bill specifically demands. The result will be that while granting to the middle class women legal rights in their capacity as property owners, the working-women may lose those few laws which they have won after years of arduous fighting.

Here is another clause to show how far removed this law is from the needs of the women of the proletariat. In addition to asking for property rights, they also ask for the right of a woman, particularly a married woman, to choose her legal residence. At present a married woman's legal residence is her husband's. It so happens that some of these women leaders can afford to maintain separate homes from their husbands and quite naturally they want to be able to vote from their own residence. This worry is one that will seldom affect the working-woman. Very few of them have occasion to worry about this feature when their main anxiety is to maintain the one home which they and their husbands must struggle to uphold.

Let the workers beware of these movements which spring from the bourgeoisie and make a pretence of being revolutionary. They are merely blinders which prevent the workers from seeing more than a piece of democratic legislation which these kind liberals are getting for the "people." There is no such thing as a bill of rights for women apart from men.

The men and women of each class are subject to institutions and law relating to their class and to try to draw a sex line and obliterate the economic cleavage is pure folly and stupidity.

Nor can these institutions and laws be changed by the democratic machinery which these bourgeoisie uphold. There is no other method other than the wiping out of all classes thru the social revolution.

MARCH 25th

Entertainment and Dance

given by
The Young WorkersLeague
of Brooklyn
FINNISH BRANCH
(connected with the Finnish Socialist Club)
764-40th Street,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

MARCH 25th

O. Carlson will speak
Recitation (in English)
One Act play (in Finnish)
Many other features
Good music

Admission 40c Admission 40c

Entertainment and Dance

Given by the New York Branch of the
Armenian Workers Party
On SATURDAY EVENING
April 1st, 1922
BRYANT HALL
6th Ave. and 42nd St., New York
Captain PAXTEN HIBBEN
will speak on the condition of
SOVIET ARMENIA
Eminent Artists and Beatrice Morton's Dancers will participate.
ARMENIAN BUFFET AND REFRESHMENTS
Admission One Dollar

FIRST ANNUAL
MASQUERADE AND CIVIC BALL
given by the
UNITED LABOR COUNCIL
OF GREATER NEW YORK AND VICINITY
SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 8th, 1922
at
WEBSTER HALL
119-25 East 11th Street
BE SURE TO BE THERE

[illegible]

My father many times a day [illegible]
And many times [illegible]
[illegible]
He [illegible]

His wife, an equal [illegible]
He wooed and won [illegible]
He [illegible] her [illegible] with his [illegible] club
And dragged her off to slavery.

So when I'm told that I am bad
And ornery and awful rough
I always think of my old dad
And say "I'm not half rough enough."

—O. T., in Good Morning.

Workers Protest Tyranny of So Called "Socialist" Regime of Yucatan, Mexico

The Workers Party has received the accompanying statement, sworn to before a notary, and signed by the representatives of ten different working-class organizations of Yucatan, Mexico. We have been requested not to publish the names, either of the officials, or of the organizations, fearing the resulting persecution. This declaration is probably the worst indictment so far received of the alleged "Socialist" regime instituted at Yucatan. It declares that the workers are not benefited by the rule of the "Socialists" and expresses a longing for the day when a real workers' rule will be ushered in. The statement in full is as follows:

* * *

DEAR Comrades of the United States: The workers of the State of Yucatan of the Republic of Mexico have been informed of the existence of your organization and inasmuch as the lines that you are following are like our own, we are writing you.

The workers of this state have suffered considerably for many years both from the ntaural conditions of the country and also the difficulties of the work which we have to do. We have been suffering for the past six years in a way that is almost indescribable.

First, we were the victims of the capitalists and now we are victims of the socialists.

Since the foundation of the so-called Socialist Party in June, 1916, we joined it because we believed that the leaders of said Party were honest men and truly representative of the general sentiment of the workers and peasants and we thought it best to join such a party.

But today, it is necessary to write you, in order to open the eyes of those who have been misguided concerning our affairs and the great deception that we have suffered at the hands of the leaders of the so-called Socialist Party.

They waste our money and our time, they charge $1.50 per month for the maintenance of the Party and they charge also innumerable amounts of extra fees without rendering to the membership any signed report the way the money is spent. They forced us to have "red cards" under threat of not giving us employment and should we refuse to accept the "red card", they go so far as to murder many of the workers, such as Felipe Arceo, who was killed in the city of Sotuta; Francisco Ucan of the city of Molas; Pedro Suarez, Cecilio Chan, Maria Ucand, Manuel Parra of the city of Tacchichen, and Pedro Huchim of the city of Ticul.

Do Nothing for Workers.

We could mention many more victims that the leaders of the so-called Socialist Party have actually murdered. They are not only the leaders of the Party, but to our misfortune, they are also the political power of the state. They have also the support of the President of the Republic General Alvara Obregon and his colleagues such as the minister of his cabinet, who is General Plutarco Ellias Calles and Jose Vasconselos of Public Instruction.

We say that these men have done absolutely nothing in behalf of the workers in all these years that have transpired.

At the head of this group of socialists we find Felipe Carrillo Puerto, who was an old village teamster, but today is a haughty bourgeois, who in company with his colleagues cries and whines and howls about their sacrifices in behalf of the workers, but we can prove that they have done absolutely nothing in behalf of the workers and peasants and that their published statements in many parts of the republic and abroad are nothing but lies published by the kept press of the Republic of Mexico.

Not the Apostles of Labor.

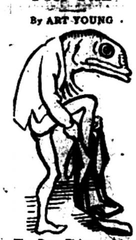
These are not the apostles of the worker, as they call themselves, because they are getting rich at the expense of the workers, not only themselves but also their relatives, and their friends, and their gangsters spending the money they collect from us, in banquets and in the entertainment of the high officials of the Nation.

They go so far as to go to the President of the Republic who gives them his assistance. The hunger and the misery that is now going on among the workers of Yucatan cannot be fully described and we beg you to cease listening to Felipe Carillo and his cohorts.

They are sucking our life blood and are becoming millionaires at the expense of the workers and peasants. We are actually starving and dying of misery, while they themselves are enjoying many luxuries, traveling in automobiles and enjoying themselves daily with strong wine and champagne, while we, the workers and peasants are actually dying of starvation.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



The Poor Fish says: Anybody who is making a good living ought to keep his mouth shut.

Brook no Opposition.

March 29, 1918, a congress was called in the city of Motul of the state of Yucatan. It was called "the workers' congress," but in truth the workers were not represented in such a congress and nothing was done in behalf of them, but on the contrary, many of them were roughly treated.

In August, 1920, another so-called congress of workers was called in the city of Izamal of this state and exactly as it happened before they laugh at us and they did nothing in behalf of the workers and peasants.

It is nothing but a change of tyrants and exploiters; first we had the capitalists and today we have the socialists, even Felippe Carillo Puerto and his cohorts—men who are ignorant and stupid and who are actually starving us. We can actually prove this to the workers of America.

Want Real Labor Rule.

In the city of Merida we have about 6,947 workers and peasants, as you can ascertain by the signatures at the end of this document. We beg the assistance of you, comrades, we want to establish friendly relations with yourselves in order to defend ourselves and learn how to protect our children from the so-called socialists of Yucatan, who are assassins and incendiaries, who are burning and killing men who refuse to take the so-called "red card," not because they don't want to take it, but sometimes because they haven't got the money and because of this rejection they get killed, leaving their widows, their children and their mothers behind in misery. Not only that, but they have gone so far as to burn the houses and blow them up [illegible]

[illegible]

It is true that we have already Socialist laws enacted by their party but that is all. Now it appears that the name of the Socialist Party is going to be changed in Mexico because a new political party has been organized called the "National Revolutionary Party," and as it happens the same old exploiters are controlling the new party.

Felipe Carrillo Puerto, Miguel Canton, Luis Torregrosa and Jose De La Luz Mena. They are already the representatives to the new party in Yucatan; they have for many years exploited the workers and the peasants and they seem to appear to control the new party in order to continue the exploitation. And this goes on with the [illegible] of the President of the Republic and the gods that control the destiny of the country.

If our appeals to you move you to understand our sufferings and our appeals for assistance we wish to receive from you instructions and teaching as soon as possible, by cable if necessary, as we cannot any longer waste time with these leaders. If it is possible for you to appoint Francisco A. Cano, who is our General Secretary at 604—56th St., Meridan, Yucatan, as the representative of the Workers Party with instructions in Spanish, we shall get together with the peasants and workers and we may be able to have you come and visit us in order to free ourselves from those who deceive us. The Railway Workers, 1800 of them, working in the railway shops of the Yucatan railroad, are under military control when the government was three weeks in arrears in payment the workers went to the officers and asked for their money then the government sent a regiment of soldiers with instructions to shoot to kill at the first sight if any disturbance was made by the workers. This was carried out at the command of the military leader General Alejandro Mange, who is in perfect collusion with the Socialist exploiters and those of Mexico City in order to receive the good will of General Obregon and his ministers. There is no other way but to join ourselves with other organizations of workers of other parts of the world in order to receive their help in a decisive and sincere way in order to give encouragement to the workers of Yucatan. We want the people of the United States to know these conditions and you can inform the workers of the betrayal of the socialist leaders of the state of Yucatan. The help we are soliciting from you now is that you should arouse the sentiment of all the workers of the United States to protest to the executive in behalf of the workers of Yucatan. We are hoping to receive an early reply thru our General Secretary, whose address we have already given you. We know that when you investigate the case of the so-called Socialist leaders they will deny every word, but in order to make it sure we write here with our signatures address of each union and its numerical strength.

The Woman's Place

There are wrongs that must be righted,
Evils that must be fought,
Human wreckage to be rescued,
Lessons that should be taught,
In the conflict waged by brothers,
To uplift a fallen race,
For humanity and justice,
Where is the woman's place?

In her home a mentor tells her,
Cosy and snug and warm.
Shall she then forget the homeless
The friendless, the forlorn?
Must all of her life be centred,
Within that narrow space,
While sisters slave and sin for bread
Is that the woman's place?

While a wrong remains unrighted,
While children go unfed,
While willing hands are idle,
And strong men beg for bread;
While might is right and giant greed
Enslaves the human race,
In the vanguard by her brother—
There is the woman's place.

[illegible]

ATTENTION! ATTENTION!
MASS MEETING!
MONDAY EVE., MARCH [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] world imperialism was the first to participate in the armed intervention war against Soviet Russia, and that [illegible] in particular France and England. The Czecho-Slovak legions, paid by the French bourgeoisie [illegible] European capitalism. [illegible] that which in the language of diplomacy [illegible] but which in plain language would be [illegible]

The Czecho-Slovaks, led by famous democrats and republicans, invaded Kazan in 1918 and stole the Russian gold funds; in order, these [illegible] said, "to preserve it for the Russian people."

The archives of the Koltchak government contribute some clear facts regarding this wonderfully logical proceeding. The Czecho-Slovaks handed the stolen gold over to the hangman of the Russian workers and peasants—Admiral Koltchak.

We have good reason to doubt whether they delivered the whole of the Russian gold treasure to Koltchak. We do not know exactly what sum he actually received and how much the present Czech generals retained as commission, but, we do know how Koltchak employed these funds.

If these trustworthy republicans and democrats pretend to have rescued the Kazan gold for the Russian people, one glance at the following statements will make it quite clear how Koltchak contrived to use the Russian gold "in the interests of the Russian people."

At various times and in unequal amounts Koltchak paid to:

France	876	poods of gold
England	516	"
Both Countries	698	"
Japan	1,142	"
Total	3,232	poods of gold

1 pood = 36 lb.

Besides these amounts Koltchak deposited for:

	Poods of gold
Guarantee of a loan from Japan	1500
Guarantee to an Anglo-American Syndicate	3937
Guns from the American Government	100
Machine Guns (Trade Mark Gould)	50
Guns from Remington Arms Co.	50
Total	5637
In addition deposits in Shanghai	372
	9241

These are official statements from the Koltchak archives. The money stolen from the Russian people has been freely used to murder Russian workmen and peasants, to thicken the forest of gallows growing in the plains of Siberia, to transform hundreds of thousands of dessiatines of arable Russian land into a desert, with the result that after three years' devastation of Soviet Russia, its most fertile districts are for many years eliminated from the granary of the world and that as a final consequence of this there followed the famine, devouring millions of innocent men, women and children, whose sole fault is that they wanted to live free from internal and external oppression.

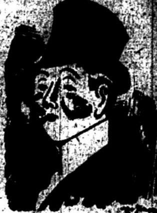
Many business houses and banks (Bank of the Czech Legions) could relate wondrous tales of how immediately after the arrival of the "heroic" legionaries from Siberia great amounts poured into their coffers, and we are convinced that every one of the heads of these houses would decidedly protest if anyone asserted that they had received the money from the Russian Bolsheviki for Communist propaganda. On the contrary, they would proudly declare this money to have been honestly acquired at the time when the Paris Bourse and Professor Masaryk were reconstructing the Czech State.

If international diplomacy today demands before all that Soviet Russia should pay the debts of all the Russian governments extant since the revolution this demand fully corresponds to the Kazan robbery.

If one day "the Creditors of Soviet Russia" will meet to deliberate on the contributions they demand from the proletarian state as the price of leaving it in peace, it would really be quite opportune for the Russian working people to present their bill to these precious gentlemen.

We suppose that to cover the losses Russia has suffered thru the civil wars forced upon it by world imperialism the full coffers of the Anglo-American nabobs would hardly suffice, for in this bill will figure millions of innocent human beings starved to death, murdered by the international bourgeoisie.

How to Cure World-Un



Clarence Lily Pinkpunty

Philadelphia, Pa.—Clarence Lily Pinkpunty dilettante, perfume expert and social light; son of George Pinkpunty, the billionaire, writes a comprehensive and learned essay on "The Errors of Radical Thought" for this month's Vanity Bag Magazine.

He says, "It would be unspeakable cruelty to deprive the leisure people of the leisure to indulge their discriminating taste and subtle perceptibility that is the exclusive birthright of those who are born in the soul-zone of refinement." He defies the leading radical thinkers to answer his arguments, and asserts that "the only cure for unrest is to teach the common people to rear their children in a highly perfumed atmosphere of luxury and refinement."

United Labor Council
meets
Every Wednesday
8 P. M.
83 East 4th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Phone: Orchard 0189.

March 24-25, The Last Two Days of
GRAND INTERNATIONAL BAZAAR
For the Relief of
CLASS WAR PRISONERS
at
THE LYCEUM
86th Street and Third Avenue.
Beautiful and artistic articles for sale. Clothing, hats, statuary, oil paintings and books.
The program for Friday and Saturday nights follows:
FRIDAY—Slavic Night, Ukranian Play (one act), Entertainment and Orchestra.
SATURDAY—Costume Ball and Pageant.
Come right after work and have dinner at the Bazaar.
Auspices of
NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE, NEW YORK DIVISION
[illegible]

Joint Action for May Day in New York

Local Greater New York, Workers Party, at its City Central Committee meeting decided upon raising the slogan of "A UNITED LABOR FRONT AGAINST THE CAPITALIST SLAVE-DRIVERS" and has called for a preliminary conference of all industrial and political labor organizations in the City of New York, in order to form a Joint May Day Committee.

The letter sent out invited representatives from the Socialist Party, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Ladies Garment Workers, United Cloth Hat and Capmakers' Union, Furriers Union, Italian Chamber of Labor, the I. W. W., The Young Workers League, the Longshoremen's Union, the Bakery and Confectionery Union, the Metal Trades, Young People's Socialist League, the United Labor Council, Amalgamated Food Workers, Farmer-Labor Party, Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union, United Aircraft, etc., to a conference to be held March 29th, Wednesday, at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, at 8 P. M.

The letter stated as follows:

"The offensive which the organized employers of America have waged against Labor since the close of the war is still working destruction in the ranks of the working class. With the aid of their political and judicial henchmen they are breaking down our organizations, establishing the hated open shop, reducing wages and taking away the few rights and liberties which we have obtained by many years of struggle and sacrifice.

"Only a UNITED WORKING CLASS can deal with this situation. Only a united working class can halt this smashing campaign of the profit-mad exploiters—only by uniting our forces can we raise the morale in our ranks; put the workers once more on the offensive; regain what has been lost and urge them on to new victories.

"The First of May is International Labor Day, observed by the workers all over the world. This First of May presents a great opportunity to warn the 'masters' by means of a huge demonstration thruout the country that the workers are uniting to fight back. Let us all, irrespective of political or factional differences, get together on this day and give notice to the exploiters that their enslaving campaign must come to an end.

"A United Labor Front Against the Capitalist Slave-Drivers.

"Let this be our slogan for the first of May. With this slogan the Workers Party proposes that all industrial and political labor organizations in the City of New York co-operate in the holding of a May Day demonstration under the auspices of a Joint May Day Committee consisting of representatives of all organizations which take part. You are requested to send delegates to the preliminary May Day Conference to be held on the 29th of March at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., at 8 P. M. The work of this conference shall be to constitute itself as a Joint May Day Committee—draw up a program for the day and make all practical arrangements for the demonstration.

"Brothers—there is every reason why we should demonstrate on this day. There is every reason to show a united front against the Capitalists—against their open shop and wage reduction drive. Against their attempts to introduce the industrial court laws and break up our unions thru injunctions, to demonstrate for work or compensation at union wages for the unemployed; to demand the release of class-war prisoners and call for the recognition of and trade with Soviet Russia.

"Brothers—the above issues make a common ground upon which all honest workers can unite. Let us all join forces for this May Day demonstration and serve warning upon the capitalist class that the forces of labor are uniting and that their slave-driving campaign must end.

DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST REACTION!

LONG LIVE THE UNITED WORKING CLASS!

Fraternally,

Local Greater New York, Workers Party of America.

William W. Weinstone,

Executive Secretary

Open Forum Open Forum

WILLIAM F. DUNNE

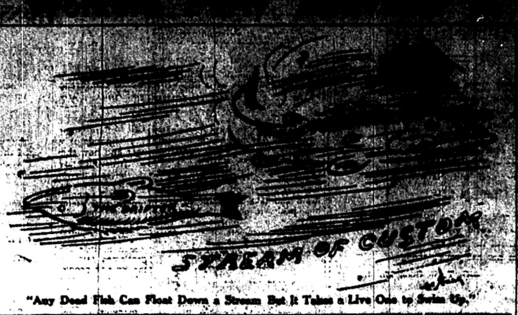
"The Labor Movement in America"

SUNDAY, April 2, 8 P. M.

at

WORKERS HALL

1347 Boston Road, New York



"Any Dead Fish Can Float Down a Stream But It Takes a Live One to Swim Up."

Get Together! Fight!

By ROSE WIENER

"You can't fight the rising tide"—what a confession to make as an excuse for the reduction of wages, the lengthening of hours, the generally bad conditions now existing in the labor market.

And this from an active member of a so-called radical organization; whose membership is composed of noted labor officials, members of the Socialist Party and some liberals.

Who raised the tide? I mean this particular one of unfairness to labor, unemployment which is rampant to the extent that starvation is the watchword of many who have never known starvation in the former years of panics.

Who created this tide that is rising, ever rising, to the point where even many trade union leaders are advising the workers to bow to reduced wages and longer hours, unfair conditions—even beyond the meeting of the "so-called lowering of living costs"?

Who raised this tide which means the lowering of the standard of living to many—for (and no doubt, that is not a new thought) during the war, with its highly inflated (?) wages, the standard of living for many workers was raised, and not always to the extent of silk shirts, cheap jewelry and new, ugly furniture.

The standard was raised to the extent of a better education for their children, more cultural advantages for themselves, better looking homes (and more comfortable) to live in, and perhaps, a bit of a rest for the family away from the city and noise and heat of the hot summer months, for the family?

Who has raised the tide of reaction among the workers themselves? The black reaction which forces one body of workers to fight against another body of workers? In short, the "Cain and Abel" affair all over again.

To whose interest would this be to do this, and the many other items above enumerated and some not enumerated?

As early as the beginning of the war—when the imperialist, or capitalist, or both classes of the various countries got together for the "Grand Jamboree," they had the present situation in mind. Brother arrayed against brother, standards of living lowered to the point where they were reduced once more to their former abject condition, unemployment, starvation, homelessness, utter discouragement to the point where many have committed suicide, the "crime" wave is rising (another phase of the tide!), prostitution is becoming more a form of earning a livelihood among women grown desperate thru constant search for employment and the great desire to still hang on, by this most awful means, to life!

Constant battle to keep up with the rising tide of "misery," constant dragging of the undercurrent of black reaction among the workers themselves, constant weakening of the forces of labor, by the alignment of one group against the other.

You have a greatly weakened working class, and thus can easily be overcome—thus effecting the establishment of the open shop, the lowering more and more of the workers' standard of living, and perhaps the final defeat of trade union activity and its effectiveness. This was the dream of the imperialist-capitalist class even as early as 1914.

It is thru organization, thru absolute solidarity among the working class.—Stick together, men and women of the working class, even tho you may differ a bit on such a slight matter as tactics.

The tide is rising—and we must all work together, hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, to keep it from overflowing and drowning us all!

It is up to you to smash the air-castles built for the future by the capitalist-imperialist class. Get together, grit your teeth, and fight.

There Is Surplus of 11,800,000 Metric Tons of Wheat in the World; Yet Workers of Soviet Russia Are Allowed to Starve

If ever there was an indictment of our much vaunted civilization, it came in the report of the International Institute of Agriculture, at Rome. The Bureau has announced that, after deducting the quantities of wheat required for home consumption until the next harvest, the wheat exporting countries would have an exportable surplus of 11,800,000 metric tons.

All this could have been averted if the capitalist governments which are so intent on strangling Soviet Russia had listened to the pleas of men who returned from Russia and knew conditions there, if they had listened to the appeals of Dr. Frietjof Nansen who, time and time again, pointed out the inhumanity, the savagery of letting a people starve to death, of letting children ask in vain for food and perish on the sun-baked steppes. But no! The capitalist governments had plans of their own—PLANS THAT SEEM TO BE MATURING AT THE PRESENT MOMENT.

The Government of the Workers and Peasants of Soviet Russia has weathered many a storm. IT WILL WEATHER THIS ONE, TOO!

But the people must be fed. The children's cry for food must be stilled. WORKERS OF THE WORLD! THE CRISIS IS COMING! SHOW YOUR COLORS!

FEED THE CHILDREN, WOMEN AND MEN OF SOVIET RUSSIA—HELP THEM THRU THIS CRISIS, THAT THEY MAY SUCCESSFULLY DEFEAT THE TRICKERY OF THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS WHO STILL PLOT THEIR DESTRUCTION! GIVE OF YOUR MONEY, THAT THE STARVING WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF SOVIET RUSSIA MAY EAT OF THE TONS OF WHEAT THAT LIE IN THE GRANARIES OF AMERICA, ARGENTINE, INDIA.

Typhus Raging in Soviet Russia

Late reports from Soviet Russia indicate that typhus is ravaging the country. It is spreading westward with fearful speed and has already crossed the German border. Lack of medicines is obstructing the work of combatting the epidemic. James O'Grady, M.P., reported that thru the lack of one drug, atropine, "people, while dying of starvation, were going blind thru tracoma."

If the people of the western world would save THEMSELVES, and not Soviet Russia, they must aid Soviet Russia to the limit. Otherwise the misery of Soviet Russia will move to the west and engulf them.

WORKERS, GIVE!

How It Looks on the Volga

The Volga was the granary of Soviet Russia. When Soviet Russia was fighting against the counter-revolutionary hordes, the Volga was the salvation of the country. Whenever any crisis fell upon the country, the Volga was the refuge.

But to-day, the Volga is the home of misery. Where formerly 5,750,000 to 8,500,000 tons of wheat used to grow—the country is now bare. Bleak and burnt, the Volga valley cannot help, but must be succored.

The Soviet Government has sent there 330,000 tons of winter seed and will supply summer seed as well. It is taking care of 1,500,000 children and 1,750,000 adults, and will need 330,000 tons of corn and 300,000 tons of potatoes to execute this task.

A great part of the cattle died or was slaughtered by August of last year; 56 per cent of the horses, 59 per cent of the cattle, 70 per cent of the sheep perished.

The migration of the people began early in spring of last year. Wandering hither and thither, families drifted apart; the children were deserted and died on the steppes or wandered to the cities, where they were sheltered in children's homes. SOVIET RUSSIA, THAT AS NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS LEARNED TO CARE FOR CHILDREN, SEES HER CHILDREN DIE BEFORE HER EYES AND HARDLY CAN HELP!

Children's Homes in Russia

The German boys and girls have made it their aim to erect and maintain a home in Tcheljiabinsk. In order that there may be no question as to the proper maintenance of the home, groups are formed, each pledging itself to the payment of a certain sum to keep one or more children. Cards are issued, the sum indicated being apportioned according to the number in the group. If, for instance, 300 marks in German money is needed to keep one child, if the group consists of 30 members, each one may pledge 10 or 20 marks, such payment being accounted for by stamps. The idea has spread among the German workers and groups in factories, trade unions, etc., are adopting it.

No Flour or Seed

"In one Bashkir canton, I visited a week ago near Chialbinsk, there are 85,000 people, of whom 27,000 are children, and in all the canton there is not one grain of flour or seed." [illegible]

Party Members Support Literature Loan Campaign

By ELMER T. ALLISON

The Literature Loan Campaign for $5,000 instituted by the Workers Party to establish a great sales and publishing department in the National Office is receiving splendid support from the membership.

Locals, Branches and individual members are making remittances of 30 day loans in amounts of three to twenty-five dollars. These loans are to be repaid after 30 days in literature.

The novelty of the plan appears to appeal to the membership and as every member is a book reader, the practical side of the plan bears also a strong appeal.

The support which the party membership is giving is indicated by the list of loans received, recorded below.

These constitute the first three weeks' receipts, necessarily small in the beginning of the campaign. Up to March 10 the following locals and comrades made remittances and were placed upon the

LITERATURE LOAN HONOR ROLL.

H. Steichman, $5; Frank Goetinck, $5; Finnish Local, Jamaica, N. Y., $30; City Central Committee, Worcester, Mass., $25; A. Brodtaick, $5; Local Staten, [illegible]; Local Warren, Warren, O., $20; Dr. V. W. Schneider, $5; L. J. Wyden, $5; Evan Saroff, $15; M. B. Markoff, $5; Arthur Dendero, $5; German Br., Indianapolis, $10; Wm. Schubert, $5; Alex. [illegible]; Mrs. H. Hotmes, $5; Jos. [illegible]; Lettish Br. No. 1, $5; K. Bergman, $10; N. Klas, $10; John Papayair, $5; [illegible] Sherow, $10; Branch of St. Paul, $5; Elia Vitanoff, $5; George Katsiolis, $5; George Kocalis, $5; John Sakalis, $5; German Br., Union Hill, N. J., $5; Finnish Br., Marengo, Wis., $10; Aubey Baily, $5; Frank Slaserenko, $5; E. Birkis, $10; Comrade Becker, $2; S. H. Kitar, $1; Wm. Evanoff, $5. Total, $250.

SARA LECTURES TWICE

Henry Sara, the famous English lecturer and labor man, will give an illustrated lecture on the Russian famine Sunday, March 26, at 2 P. M., in Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway. These pictures are being shown for the first time in America and deal with the terrible famine now raging in the Volga region. Sara, who is a very able speaker, will explain the pictures. Prominent artists will appear. Admission fee 25c. The proceeds are for the relief of the starving in Russia.

The people of Harlem will also have an opportunity to enjoy this intellectual Sunday evening, 1403 Fifth Ave., the Harlem Headquarters of the Friends of Soviet Russia, at 8 P. M.

Brooklyn Hunger Banquet.

The South Brooklyn Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia will give a Hunger Banquet on Saturday, March 25, at Acme Hall, 7th Ave. and 9th St., South Brooklyn. Albert Rhys Williams will speak. [illegible]

[illegible] urged to [illegible]

The attention of [illegible] called to the fact that the local has organized a Workers School. [illegible] lectures have been arranged as follows: Monday nights, six lectures on the International Labor Movement, Ludwig Lore; Friday nights, six lectures on the American Labor Movement, by William F. Dunne, Caleb Harrison, Harold M. Ware and Robert Minor; Thursday nights, six lectures on Marxism.

The date of the opening lecture will be announced soon. Admission to six lectures is $1. Single admission 25c.

There must be no conflict with the Ball that Local New York is running for May First Night. Every co-operation must be given by all party units to make it a success. Tickets will be sent out shortly.

The local office is in need of clerical work, especially typists. It is planning an amnesty drive as well as the May Day Demonstration, which requires a great deal of work. Kindly get the names and addresses of those comrades willing to help and forward them to the local office, 208 E. 12th St., William W. Weinstone, Secretary.

SUCCESSFUL TOUR IN OHIO.

Chas. Baker, District Organizer, breaks ground and gets results.

From District No. 6 comes the report of the conclusion of the first extensive organization meeting tour of a District Organizer. Charles Baker, District Organizer, who made the tour, is a veteran well known to the district. Sixteen meetings held showed net collections, after local expenses had been paid, of $186.21 and literature sales of $73.50. Expenses for these meetings, excluding wages but including expenses at four towns where no public meetings could be arranged on short notice, were $108.44, showing a clear surplus. New locals were organized at practically all towns visited and the literature and "WORKER" subscriptions put in circulation represent a very real result of the tour. The Ohio towns covered were Tiffin, Toledo, Lorain, Akron, Canton, Warren, Youngstown, Niles, E. Liverpool, Barton, Neffs, Bellaire, Newark, Cincinnati, Conneaut, Dillonville, Hamilton and Dayton. In West Virginia, Huntington, Sisterville, Parkersburg.

The District Convention will be held at Akron, Saturday, April 1st, 10 a. m., at 30 South Howard Street, 3rd floor. The district office is located at the Brownella Bookshop, 27 S. Broadway, Akron; the post office address is Box 333, Akron, O. All locals are expected to send in their credentials not later than March 30.

PARTY NEWS NOTES.

JOLIET, ILL. A new English branch with 13 charter members is reported organized by District Organizer Charles Krumbein.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., two Commune celebrations were held with fair success. That arranged by the South Slavic comrades reported an attendance of 700.

CHICAGO, ILL., despite the handicap of inclement weather the Commune celebrations arranged by the German Branches of the Workers Party proved very successful.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., held a very interesting City Central Committee meeting on March 14th, with six branches represented and two reported absent. Plans for a united May Day celebration were put under way, and an extensive distribution of the Unemployment leaflet mapped out.

CHICAGO, ILL. A City Central Committee meeting held March 14, showed 26 delegates present and 13 absent. Plans for a joint May Day demonstration at Ashland Auditorium together with the District Organization and the Jewish Federation were pushed forward.

Party organizers were instructed to attend meetings of foreign branches and central bodies for purposes of closer co-operation, the use of the English language and support of the English press is to be urged upon them, and the attendance of all who have sufficient mastery of English at the regular party classes is to be particularly encouraged. This applies particularly to the younger workers and the Y. W. L. organizer is charged with responsibility to push this work in his own ranks. At these classes the application of theory to practical problems and tactics, methods of organization, etc. is to be particularly stressed.

The open letter addressed by the Workers Party to the Labor Political Conference [illegible]

[illegible] with the purpose of organizing the women. I immediately requested my branch to help organize the women. It was not an easy task, for not only were the men comrades hostile to the idea but also the bulk of the women comrades.

Work Considered "Sideline".

After many hot discussions I was granted permission to organize the women. Some of the women comrades helped in this work but they were few. The party looked at it as a sideline not of great importance.

We called a mass meeting for organization purposes. A good many of the strikers themselves went into this proposition heartily and they helped a great deal. We charged five cents to become a member. Eight hundred became members. We organized the Consumers' League with no long constitution or program but just a few words printed on their cards, "that we, the women of the Consumers' League, while we fight for cheaper foodstuffs and more sanitary conditions, recognize that we are a part of the working class and, therefore we pledge ourselves to help the workers in their every-day struggles morally and financially."

The Bronx and Brownsville followed suit and so several branches were organized.

After they were organized the Socialist Party women dropped out. The women were left to drift for themselves but they had already learned a lesson. Many leaders appeared from their own midst, and they were determined to keep up this organization.

Women Help During Strike.

In 1912 an opportunity arose for the women to prove that the workers' wives can be a great help in the class struggle and that they will play a great part in the revolutionary struggles of the working class. When the great garment-strike broke out, which lasted four months, the women of the Consumers' League did their bit and did it well. They worked like beavers. They collected money and food, established stores and kitchens to feed the strikers and their families, visited the strikers' homes, took care of their sick, saw to it that medicine and doctors be provided. They worked from twelve to eighteen hours a day. There is no question that they helped to win this strike. They did not help from the charity point of view but from the class solidarity point of view. They had already learned to despise charity. They continually helped in the workers' struggles. They swelled the May Day demonstrations. They collected funds for the Socialist Party, helped in campaigns. They filled the Socialist Sunday schools with their children. They helped to fold and distribute literature.

Later on they had some sort of split. I do not exactly know the nature of this split for I happened not to be with them at that time. The bulk of the women are with the Socialist Consumers' League which has several branches in Harlem, lower Manhattan, Bronx, Brownsville, Borough Park and East New York. The women of the Socialist Consumers' League were and are the most militant women. Up to this time they are active, helping in the workers' struggle. Their organization is a loose one but it carries a class-conscious spirit.

Urges Housewives' Union.

I believe that if there would have been from the start a good women's committee with experienced organizers who would take care of them all the time and help them we would have one of the finest revolutionary women's organizations. As it is now the membership has dwindled to much less than it formerly was. A good many joined the Socialist Party, not only the women but also their husbands. I have met them in other workers' organizations, more revolutionary than the Socialist Party.

I believe that thru well-organized women's committees, with the co-operation of [illegible]

Russian vessels are now trading to Hamburg from Petrograd. The arrival of [illegible]

The Convention of the Young Workers League has been postponed [illegible] will begin May 15 instead of April 15. The N. O. C. decided upon this at its meeting of March 15 and for the following reasons: Finances have been coming in very slowly. The convention assessment stamps were sent out only a few days ago, and returns will not begin coming in immediately. Conventions cost money and we do not want to put the organization so far into debt that it cannot function after the convention takes place.

Many to Send Delegates

The new Y. W. L. S. that are being organized every day want to send delegates, and many of them will be able to, if given a little more time to strengthen their organization and raise funds.

We want to have a real, a representative, convention, with as many delegates as possible. A number of the Leagues would not be able to send a representative by April 15, but can do so a month later.

Thus, while the N. O. C. is as desirous as anyone to hold the convention at the earliest possible moment, yet it feels that a postponement at this time is not only advisable but necessary for the best interest of the entire organization.

Outlook for Powerful Organization.

The Young Workers League is now a fact nationally. It is established thruout the country, and tho small as yet shows every prospect of becoming a powerful organization.

There are now over 1500 members in the Young Workers League of America with new branches being formed daily. Various organizations are affiliating with the Young Workers League and answering the convention call.

There is either a city organization or a branch of the Young Workers League in over 30 cities in this country.

Branches of the Y. W. L. have been organized in Connecticut, Ohio; the I. Y. P. S. L. of Providence, R. I., has changed its name to the Y. W. L. of that city and is affiliated with the National Office. Monessen, Pa., has organized; Rochester I. Y. P. S. L. has sent in a communication informing that they are considering affiliation. Camden and Baltimore are now organizing.

The Jugend Verein, a German speaking organization of young people which has entered the Y. W. L. with an active membership of 79 and a supporting passive membership of several hundred, is one of the newly affiliated organizations which is solidly behind the Young Workers League of Philadelphia. Bernard Glasner, the secretary of this branch of the Young Workers League sets an example to secretaries for promptness in replying to communications of the national office and in taking up matters of business.

Carlson Open for Dates.

Recently Comrade Carlson visited the Young Workers League of Philadelphia and found them alive with activity. It is hoped that we may be able to route Comrade Carlson to other cities soon; and if the branches could arrange affairs to pay for the expense, he is at their service.

We expect the Young Worker off the press now any day. Subscriptions are solicited as well as bundle orders. Recently the National Organization Committee issued a call for funds for the Young Worker, and a pledge blank was sent out. Rush them in with your signature.

Youth under Americanism, the pamphlet being gotten out, is delayed for lack of funds. Most of the funds are being used for convention purposes and other work must suffer. Advance orders should be taken for this booklet at the rate of 15 cents a copy, and the money sent in so that its quick appearance may be assured.

Chicago is doing active propaganda work in the way of issuing bulletins to its membership and young workers generally on various topics. A recent bulletin issued by the City Central Committee of that city dealt with the "Young Press." Those desiring copies of the paper and bulletin issued by the Young Workers League of Chicago should write to George Oswald, Secretary, 3303 S. Oakley Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Buy Organization Stamps.

The National Organization Committee recently asked the affiliated branches to keep account of their dues, and where possible send in for the month of February, March and April the ten cents per member as required by the tentative constitution. [illegible] Organization Stamps [illegible] printed by the N. O. C. Every member of the Y. W. L. [illegible] purchase at least one [illegible]

[illegible]
Subscription rates: One year, $2.00; six months, $1.00. Foreign, $2.50. Bundle rates, any quantity, [illegible]
Advertising rates upon application.

The Genoa Propaganda Wave

Capitalism usually sends out its propaganda in waves. One wave after another has been sent against the Russian Workers' Republic during the past five years. But without avail.

Altho the Soviet officials have been asked to come to Genoa, nevertheless, we find that this conference has been made the occasion for a new propaganda attack by the publicity forces of the big bankers and industrial overloads of international imperialism.

George Tchitcherin, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, is doing his best to conduct a counter-attack against this tidal wave of misrepresentation that seeks to create the impression that insurrections are again breaking out in Russia, that the downfall of the Soviets is again imminent, as well as imputations of corruption by the Soviet Government in order to bring about the disorganization of the allied armies.

All these "stories" are declared by Tchitcherin to be false. He charges that they are directly inspired by the different "bourgeois" governments.

Tchitcherin claims to have irrefutable proof of the organization of bands hostile to Russia in the territory of neighboring states and the formation of new military alliances against the Soviet Republic. Such for instance was the secret treaty reached between Poland and Hungary, two of the most infamous of the existing "white governments" of Europe.

Under such conditions the Russians point out that they fear an attempt will be made to stack the cards against them at Genoa. It is even feared that the Genoa Conference will be the starting point for new efforts at military intervention.

The workers of the world, with the emancipated workers, soldiers and peasants of the Russian Workers' Republic, demand that a sincere effort be made at Genoa for the solution of at least some of the giant problems confronting suffering humanity today. Let the workers watch the spokesmen of capitalism at Genoa. Get the truth from the working class press. Do not be submerged by the Genoa propaganda wave.

It is not hard to ascertain who has been doing the producing when the workers go on strike.

She Finds Her Place

Emma Goldman has found her place at last.

She takes her position in the ranks of those who cannot subscribe to any dictatorship except that of the capitalist class.

She joins hands with every bloody, mercenary invader of Russia from whose lips has come the phrases of capitalist democracy.

She is for freedom just as the capitalist class and its hangers-on are for freedom—freedom in the abstract.

She is not willing to do the things that must be done to bring freedom.

She must be allowed to work and talk for freedom as she pleases, or she will do as she is doing now—betray the very people who made it possible for her to live in luxury in America—betray the workers to whom she was a kind of god.

After all, this is the fashion of gods.

At the same moment in which the hordes of imperialism are being mustered for another attack on the Russian people, at the moment when millions of them are dying because capitalism is revenging itself on those who dealt it the most severe blow it ever received, Emma Goldman, egotist, a pseudo-revolutionist all her life, a revolutionist for profit, does what all of her type may be expected to do when revolution passes from the period of propaganda to that of action.

She quits cold and sells herself like any other prostitute to the system she made a good living by denouncing.

She has found her level. It is the lowest in the scale.

She is now sister to the Koltchaks and Denikins, to the stool-pigeon and the fink, to the gunman and the spy.

She has scabbed on the workers of the world in the greatest strike in history.

We object to the phrase "coal operators." These fat gentlemen operate nothing but the political machinery that protects the property they and their ancestors have stolen.

Internationalism of Science

The international character of science is in refreshing contrast to the suicidal economic rivalries to which the present economic system gives birth.

The report recently made by the Health Committee of the League of Nations on conditions in Russia is ample evidence that to the impartial eye of a medical investigator the work of the Soviet authorities, in spite of the obstacles placed in their way by the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries, is beyond praise.

Following a visit to Russia made by the League of Nations Health Committee, an agreement has been entered into with the Soviet government and the committee in return for furnishing the Russian government with the latest information on subjects such as health and sanitation is to receive daily bulletins by the Moscow wireless on similar matters in Russia.

A portion of the report—its most important section—deals with the repatriation of "refugees" and with conditions in the famine areas. In this connection, speaking of the work of repatriation, it says:

> **"The civilians consist of two groups, those who were evacuated by the imperial armies during the Russian retreat of 1915 and are only now, after six years, regaining their homes in Poland, White Russia, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia, and those Russians who in July and August of this year began to stampede from the famine districts. The Russian peasantry has now decided to stay and await next year's harvest. It is indeed remarkable and truly heroic, and it appears to be corroborated by all neutral observers that the peasants have used all the remainder of their corn for sowing purposes, and prefer to live thru the pending dreadful winter in the hope of seeing meagre crops next year than to abandon live seeds in the soil tilled by their own hands. The stopping of this stampede was no doubt due to very great organizing efforts of the Russian administration, which has succeeded in mobilising transport, machinery, etc., in order to throw it all into the affected districts."**

The committee report states that the quarantine stations in Russia are equal to the best in Western Europe but that they are handicapped by lack of medicines and antiseptics due to the shutting off of these imports by the blockade. The blockade also prevented the importation of English and French scientific works, but scientific activity is being carried on with greater energy than ever before. The report of the League Health Committee states:

> "In fact, one may say that the Russians are perhaps overdoing themselves [illegible] zeal for establishing laboratories everywhere. The scientific researches carried out in Russia would do justice to any country."

The Profiteer: "I'm as good a friend of labor as the next man— [illegible] there is no denying the fact that workingmen do spend their money foolishly."

One can visualize the tremendous handicaps under which scientific research work labors when, as the committee emphasizes, there is a great scarcity of drugs of every description as well as a lack of laboratory, medical and surgical instruments. Even soap is almost unobtainable in the quantities needed.

The Russian Soviet government, thru its health bureau, has also agreed to assist in the internationalization of standards for antitoxins set at a recent conference held at London in which delegates from the United States and Germany participated.

Russia is admitted on an equal footing to the world of science. It is only in the political arena, where decisions are made for the benefit of a few and not for the many, that the Soviet government is unwelcome.

Reports like that of the Health Committee of the League of Nations, the members of which are scientists and not politicians, are making more and more untenable the position of the overlords of finance and industry.

In this instance the lie direct is given the organs of imperialism which since the Russian revolution, have pictured Russia as a land where science, art and literature have vanished and where scientists are butchered like wild animals.

Men of learning have been killed in Russia, but they have been killed by the invasions and by the blockade of the forces of imperialism, ready and willing to wipe out every advance made in the arts and sciences provided the control of the wealth-producing machinery of the world remains in the hands of the few.

When the coal miners wanted a raise in 1919 the government stepped in with an injunction. To-day, when the coal barons want to cut wages and break up unions the government steps out of the way so they can do as they please. Who said that government was an impartial agency favoring neither capital or labor?

The Arrest of Gandhi

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi is the culmination of more than two years of non-cooperation and passive resistance to the British government on the part of his followers.

There is much confusion of thought concerning the doctrine preached by Gandhi, and many people think that it means merely the withdrawal of all support from British administration—a sort of strike, as it were. This is only part of the Gandhi program and, actually, a rather minor part.

Gandhi and his disciples reason somewhat as follows: Western civilization—machine industry—has been the cause of many evils, including the British occupation of India. Therefore the fight for liberty must be directed at the system of production with its railways, telephones, mills and factories; away with all modern contrivances, back to the soil and the hand-loom. Apparently the followers of Gandhi fail to see that not in the machine itself but in its ownership by a minority of overlords lie the evils of which they complain and which they hope to abolish by ignoring.

For the purpose of arousing a primitive people and embarrassing the invader Gandhi's doctrines have been of much value to the nationalist movement; to the working-class movement of India—and there is a labor movement there, altho the liberal and nationalists rarely mention it—they are now a handicap. Machine guns are impervious to the propaganda of non-resistance as the British forces have successfully demonstrated on more than one occasion. There have been rumors to the effect that many of the former followers of Gandhi have wearied of the mixture of religion and pacifism which is the basis of the Gandhi philosophy, and that a more militant program is demanded since the failure of two years of martyrdom to soften the hard heart of British imperialism.

It is entirely probable that the arrest of Gandhi will be followed by the rise of the old revolutionary party which has been waiting more or less patiently for the authorities to show that their conversion to the doctrine of universal brotherhood is but a dream of those who choose to disregard the hard facts of life.

Harding was accompanied to Florida by Ned McLean, proprietor of the Washington Post. A personally conducted tour for the puppet by the publicist.

Secret Diplomacy

Senator Borah, in his attacks on the four-power treaty, is getting very indignant in the senate over the duplicity of secret international diplomacy.

He declares that the United States has entered into a treaty with Great Britain against Japan. He claims that Paul D. Cravath, personal attorney for the financier, J. Pierpont Morgan, admitted it at a banquet in New York City.

There has always been a strong alliance between Great Britain and Japan. The four-power treaty between the United States, Japan, France and Great Britain, to maintain peace in the Pacific, was heralded as one of the achievements of Harding's disarmament conference, a herald of the end of all war.

So it is very natural that the excitable Borah, who is horrified at the consistencies of capitalism, should be moved to protest against such underhand, dagger-in-the-back policies as an American-British secret pact against the Japs.

Borah's disclosures reveal that the secret diplomacy that aided international imperialism precipitate the world blood-bath of 1914-18 is still a living reality, that it is preparing for the next, and a greater slaughter.

Of course, Senator Lodge, and Root, of the U. S. disarmament delegation, and Cravath himself, "indignantly denied" the Borah charges. Secret diplomats never admit their secrets.

That is one of the reasons world capitalist diplomacy is bitterly hostile to the Workers' Republic of Russia. When the Russian workers came into power they immediately published all the secret treaties of the deposed czar. At that time their advice to the workers of other countries was: "Get control of power in your own countries and reveal the secret pacts of your own diplomats."

Not until the workers and farmers of America finally sit in power in Washington will they [illegible] rule of duplicity and deceit [illegible]

The Labor Unions

By EMIL LYON

The labor unions of the United States have proven to be ineffective workingmen's fighting organizations because in place of waging a class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, they have pursued a policy of attempting to come to an agreement with the capitalists upon the basis of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." There can be no such compromise with capitalism.

The hunger of the capitalists for greater profits drives them to seek to lower the standard of living of the workers when the capitalist position in the class struggle is strong and the workers' desire for more of the good things they produce forces them into greater demands when they are in a position of advantage.

Leadership Betrays Masses.

The gains of the workers during the war-time prosperity and their present losses indicate the futility of the hope that the class struggle can be settled thru a compromise.

In addition to this fundamental error of policy, the labor unions suffer from a leadership which continually betrays the masses of the workers who make up the union.

The record of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor is one of trickery, evasion and compromise.

The railroad brotherhoods have just passed thru an experience showing the traitorous character of the officials entrusted with leading their struggles.

The United Mine Workers is dominated by a clique of officials which sacrifices the interests of the workers at the first sign of attack from the capitalists and their government.

With only a few exceptions, the whole labor union movement of the United States is still in the grip of policies and leaders which make their struggles ineffective.

Must Revolutionize Labor.

In place of the uncompromising class struggle there is compromising and begging, which have brought upon the workers the great losses of the last year.

The labor unions must be revolutionized; they must be won for the class struggle against capitalism.

They must be inspired by a new solidarity and united to fight a common battle in place of permitting the capitalist to destroy them piecemeal.

The Workers Party declares one of its chief immediate tasks to inspire in the labor union a revolutionary purpose and to unite them in a mass movement of uncompromising struggle against capitalism.

This end cannot be achieved if the revolutionary workers leave the existing unions to form feeble dual organizations.

The work of transforming the labor unions must be carried on inside of these unions. To achieve this end the Workers Party will organize its members in revolutionary groups in every union in which it gains a foothold.

Develop Programs of Action.

It will unite these groups locally and on a national scale. It will develop programs of action within the various unions which will awaken the spirit of the class struggles among the members and bring about a reconstruction of the organization forms so as to make of the unions the powerful, organized centres of the workers' struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, which they should be.

The Workers Party declares its support of the International Trade and Labor Alliance (The Red Labor International) and adopts as its detailed program for the struggle within the unions the Theses of the Red Labor International on the American Labor Unions.

GREEKS HELP PAPER.

Monday, April 3, at 8.30 p. m., the Greek local of the Workers Party will give its annual entertainment and ball at the Palm Garden, 58th St. between Lexington and Third Aves., for the benefit of the Greek paper, The Voice of Labor.

[illegible]

Help Your City Raise Its Quota in the Roll Call Campaign!

Every Local Conference, every Language section of the Friends of Soviet Russia must do its utmost to make the total relief contribution to the famine stricken in Russia one million dollars by May 1st.

Towards this end we have designated a minimum quota for every city and language federation having an FSR affiliation. This quota is based upon the contributions your branch or section has made to date.

So that you may make sure of helping collect your quota, we advise that you and your branch make plans at once for your next two months activities. Your first source of income would be the contributions made by those who are in the Roll Call. Secondly, plan bazaars and entertainments for your organization, your circle of sympathisers. Make a concerted effort to reach those workers and friends who have not yet given. Tag Days and well organized house to house collections are the very best methods to use.

In this connection we desire to communicate to you the success of the New York City Conference in its recent Tag Day and house to house collection.

Saturday, March 4th, was known all over New York City as Hunger Saturday. The advertisements called upon no one to eat and everyone to give their meals this day to the famine stricken. The city was divided into sections, a section captain for each section. The section captain divided the section into blocks, a block captain for each block. For several weeks before Hunger Saturday, block and section meetings were held of all sympathizers. Speakers addressed these meetings and called for volunteers. These volunteers then went forth on Hunger Saturday and scoured the city for money contributions.

The result was a total collection of more than $12,000. This means that the city of New York has already reduced its total quota of $40,000 before May 1st to $28,000. Your branch can do equally well, in proportion, if you will organize your collection campaign properly.

Quotas in contributions to be secured by FSR branches and sections before May 1st, follow

$40,000.00:	New York City.
[illegible]	Chicago, Ill.
[illegible]	Boston, Mass.
[illegible]	Toronto, Ont.
[illegible]	Detroit, Mich.
[illegible]	Cleveland, Ohio; Los Angeles, Cal.; San Francisco, Cal., and Seattle Wash.
$5,000.00:	Minneapolis, Minn.; Philadelphia, Pa., and St. Louis, Missouri.
$3,000.00:	Cincinnati, Ohio; Denver, Colo., Milwaukee, Wis.; Montreal, Que.; Newark, N. J.; Paterson, N. J.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Portland, Ore.; Rochester, N. Y., and Washington, D. C.
$2,000.00:	Astoria, Ore.; Baltimore, Md.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Endicott, N. Y.; Hartford, Conn.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Kansas City, Mo.; Lawrence, Mass.; New Haven, Conn.; St. Paul, Minn., and Yonkers, N. Y.
$1,500.00:	Oakland, Cal., and Syracuse, N. Y.
$1,000.00:	Aberdeen, Wash.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Brockton, Mass.; Hamilton, O.; Holyoke, Mass.; Honolulu, Hawaii; Hudson County, N. J.; Kansas City, Kan.; Lynn, Mass.; Omaha, Neb.; Pasadena, Cal.; Providence, R. I.; San Diego, Cal.; San Jose, Cal.; San Pedro, Cal.; Schenectady, N. Y.; Scranton, Pa.; Sioux City, Iowa; Spokane, Wash.; Superior, Wis.; Tacoma, Wash.; Toledo, Ohio; Trenton, N. J.; Wilmington, Del.; Worcester, Mass., and Ziegler, Illinois.
$800.00:	Akron, Ohio; Binghamton, N. Y.; Columbus, Ohio; Elizabeth, N. J.; Erie, Pa.; Moline, Ill.; Reading, Pa., and Sacramento, Cal.
$500.00:	Ansonia, Conn.; Ashtabula, Ohio; Bayonne, N. J.; Beech Creek, Ky.; Bellaire, Ohio; Bellville, Ill.; Canton, Ohio; Central Falls, R. I.; Duluth, Minn.; Everett, Wash.; Eureka, Cal.; Flint, Mich.; Gary, Ind.; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Herrin, Ill.; Ironwood, Mich.; Kalamazoo, Mich.; Kenosha, Wis.; Lima, Ohio; Lorain, Ohio; Louisville, Ky.; Madison, Wis.; McKeesport, Pa.; Morgantown, W. Va.; Nanticoke, Pa.; Passaic, N. J.; Richmond, Va.; Rock Springs, Wyo.; Salt Lake City, Utah; Stamford, Conn.; Stelton, N. J.; Utica, N. Y.; Wilkesbarre, Pa., and Youngstown, Ohio.
$300.00:	Battle Creek, Mich.; Bay City, Mich.; Bellingham, Wash.; Bloomfield, Conn.; Bovey, Minn.; Braddock, Pa.; Brainard, Minn.; Butte, Mont.; Chelsea, Mass.; Cheyenne, Wyo.; Chisholm, Minn.; Cliffside, N. J.; Cloquet, Minn.; Collinville, Ill.; Danville, Ill.; East Chicago, Ill.; Ely, Minn.; Fargo, N. D.; Farrell, Pa.; Gardner, Mass.; Great Falls, Mont.; Great Neck, N. Y.; Hanna, Wyo.; Haverhill, Mass.; Hibbing, Minn.; Hicksville, N. Y.; International Falls, Minn.; Kingston, Pa.; Lansing, Mich.; Lewiston, Maine; Lowell, Mass.; Madison, Ill.; Mansfield, Ohio; Manville, R. I.; Mason City, Iowa; Maynard, Mass.; Muskegon, Mich.; Nashville, Tenn.; Newberry, Mich.; New Brighton, Pa.; Newport, N. H.; Niles, Mich.; Norwich, Conn.; Norwood, Mass.; Ogden, Utah; Palisade, Minn.; Peabody, Mass.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Plains, N. J.; Quincy, Mass.; Racine, Wis.; Ramsey, Ohio; Rockford, Ill.; St. Marie, Wis.; Tiffin, Ohio; Two Harbors, Minn.; Virginia, Minn.; Waterbury, Conn.; West Frankford, Ill.; Westville, Ill.; Wilmerding, Pa.; Wolf Point, Mont., and Woonsocket, R. I.

LANGUAGE SECTIONS

[illegible]	Lithuanians.
[illegible]	Finnish, German, Jugo-Slav and Russians.
[illegible]	Czecho-Slovak, Hungarian, Jewish, Lettish, Ukrainian.
[illegible]	Franco-Belgians.
[illegible]	Esthonian, Polish.
[illegible]	Greek, Swedish, Italian, Spanish, and Armenian.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

[illegible]	Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia.
[illegible]	Workmen's Circle.

Help Your City Raise Its Quota!

Friends of Soviet Russia

[illegible] WEST [illegible] STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

Vol. V. No. 217.

COAL BARONS WILL LOSE

Capitalist Class Shows the Workers Way to Effective Organization

Coal Barons Are Stocking Ohio Arsenals

(SPECIAL TO THE WORKER)

BELLAIRE, OHIO.—On April 1st, 1922, the miners of America will enter upon the most momentous struggle in the history of the United Mine Workers of America.

For months the operators have been manoeuvering to force a strike. Thousands of miners have been jobless. During 1921 the average employment was 125 days. Their wages averaged $13.50 a week. Here is a [illegible] opportunity to smash the miners' organization for all time. The American Plan—the OPEN SHOP in the mining industry is the goal the operators hope to achieve.

Existence at Stake

The miners realize all this. They know their organized existence is at stake. Their tactic is, therefore, to stop production of coal as thoroly as possible. To that end a supreme effort is being made to call out every miner in the industry, in unorganized as well as organized, territory.

In southern Ohio and West Virginia the operators are preparing for war. In Jacksonville the operators posted a notice that on and after April 1st, that grade of work paying 90c, a ton would be cut to 47c., and that which paid 80c. would be reduced to 43c. Even at present prices a soul-destroying poverty prevails.

The miners state that the operators are laying in machine guns and high power rifles and that for a considerable period a recruiting campaign for gunmen has been in full sway. They say the militia is held in readiness at Athens to "preserve order" and to "protect the interests of the public."

Ridicule Separate Agreements

Of course it is to the public's interest that the miners' wages be cut in half. A weekly wage of $13.50 is too much for such as these; $2.75 is a more just reward for furnishing the nation with heat, light and power.

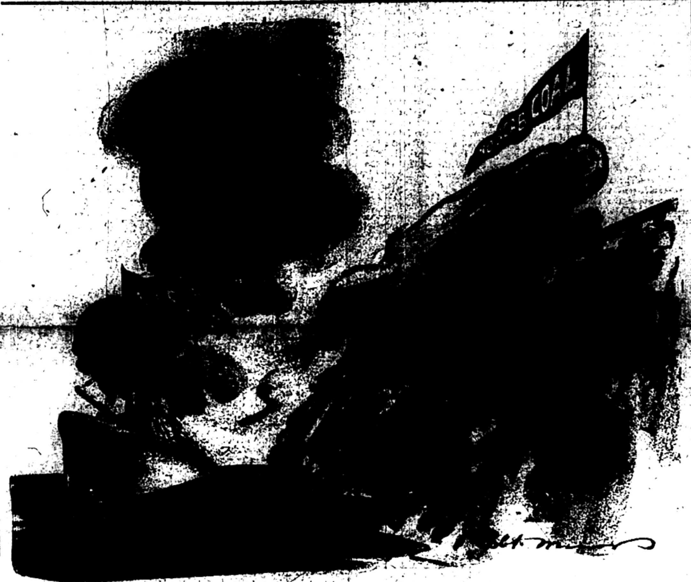
At Bellaire, Ohio, all is in readiness for the walkout. There will be no separate agreement here. Farrington's proposal of district and sub-district agreements with the operators is met with derisive ridicule. Sentiment here is to the effect that even tho they suffer defeat, they will go down fighting.

At Bellaire, Neffs, Dillonvale, at all the mines on the Ohio side of the river; and at Wheeling and the mines on the West Virginia Side, the miners are ready for any thing that comes up. There is a significant absence of violent language. But

(Continued on Page Three)

At Press Time!

This issue of THE WORKER went to the press on Thursday night, March 30, on the eve of the threatened coal-strike. Just what action the policy committee of the coal miners will take on April first, we do not know. Complete details will appear in next week's issue.



HOIST THE FLAG!

Support for Sacco, Vanzetti Urged by Garment Workers

By EUGENE LYONS

NEW YORK.—Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, in a letter addressed to the locals of the organization, urges generous support of the defense of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the Italian labor men awaiting electrocution in Massachusetts.

"President Schlesinger's appeal," a member of the Workers Defense Union stated, "is very timely. The fight for the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti is at a crucial point. Under the rather oppressive lull on the surface, there is great activity. New facts, some of them astounding, have been found. Before long all newly discovered evidence will be made public and a new trial will be asked for. The investigations are costly, and the new trial, which we have strong hopes of obtaining, will be costly. We hope that the noble appeal of the Garment Workers' president will meet with the response it merits."

Schlesinger's letter in full reads:

"Greetings:

"A bigoted and prejudiced jury has returned a death verdict, last summer, against Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian labor organizers, in Dedham, Mass., on a charge of highway robbery and homicide.

"These men, whose sole crime seems to consist of the fact that they have been, from their early youth, devoted to the labor movement, both in Italy and the United States, were condemned on shaky and unsupportable evidence. The prejudice that had been created against them by sinister influences has made a fair verdict impossible.

"These two men stand today within the shadow of death, unless the inhuman verdict against them is reversed. An appeal has been taken from the death-sentence, and the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee is now making a country-wide effort to prove to the whole world that their conviction rests upon flimsy and unscrupulously obtained evidence.

"The Defense Committee will shortly appeal to you, either in writing or thru personal appearance, for funds to help defend Sacco and Vanzetti. We cordially request you, in the name of our International, to contribute liberally to this Defense Fund, as only the organized forces of this country can break down this ugly conspiracy against the lives of these young men.

"With fraternal greetings,

"Benjamin Schlesinger, President."

Amnesty Alliance Asks United Front for All War Hysteria Victims

All working-class organizations will co-operate in a monster May Day demonstration for general amnesty for class-war and political prisoners if plans now under consideration by the Amnesty Alliance mature.

From now until the first of May the Amnesty Alliance, composed of delegates from various unions, the Workers' Defense Committee, the Workers Party and the United Labor Council, will conduct a vigorous campaign for the release of New York state prisoners, among whom are Ben Gitlow, Harry Winitsky, C. E. Ruthenberg, I. E. Ferguson and Jim Larkin, in which all labor bodies are asked to join.

At the May Day meetings one demand will be made—the unconditional release of all prisoners convicted under the criminal anarchy and other statutes enacted and used to satisfy the war hysteria.

The office of the Amnesty Alliance is at 81 East 10th Street, and all organizations interested are asked to get in touch with the secretary, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

The coming of Communism means the going of poverty.

Foster to Speak

Wm. Z. Foster is to speak under the auspices of the Trade Union Educational League at Beethoven Hall, Friday evening, April 7th.

Forward looking labor men will have an opportunity hearing that evening the man who thru sheer fighting force and ability has come to represent the militant element in the labor movement of America on one of the burning questions of the hour—what to do with a labor movement that is all but helpless in this period of crisis.

As head of the Trade Union Educational League "Bill" Foster occupies as unique position in the Trade union movement; without official backing of any kind and in spite of the active opposition of Trade union officialdom he has rallied the radicals in the labor movement into a compact fighting machine around a program for industrial unionism which the "standpat" officialdom is forced to recognize.

As editor of the Labor Herald and a writer on labor subjects Foster is known thruout the wide world of labor. He writes simply and clearly and talks as he writes. His popularity is due to the fact that he practices what he preaches.

Everyone interested in the attempt to make the Trade union movement of America function for the workers should be at the Foster meeting.

The only indication the government has given that it knows a nation-wide coal strike is pending is the announcement by Attorney-General Daugherty that strikebreakers will be protected.

There is a great calmness at Washington. Between five and six million men are out of work, and undoubtedly the government feels that enough can be recruited, with the promise of federal protection, to break the strike.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the role of the government has long been settled for it by the industrial and financial lords whose property it is.

Never in the history of the United States has there been an administration whose members were so unanimously the haters of labor organization and labor aims.

In the official family are such men as Mellon, said to be the second richest man in the United States, and Daugherty, a cheap politician whose life has been spent doing the dirty work with which the real rulers do not like to soil their hands.

These two individuals are representative of the types composing the Harding administration—capitalists and capitalist flunkeys.

They were placed in office by the most powerful combination of capitalists in the world led by the Standard Oil Company. None but a fool doubts that government in the United States is government by and for capitalists and that its sole interest in the masses is to squeeze from them as much surplus value as possible by any means at hand.

[illegible] slavery were as efficient as wage-slavery we would have [illegible] slavery instead of the industrial serfdom for which every agency of capitalism in the United States, including the government, is working.

More and more is capitalism here taking on the form of a military dictatorship. In every industrial dispute the armed forces of the state, if not actually used, are held in readiness for immediate action.

The capitalists as a class and as individuals are allowed full liberty for the preachment and practice of violent suppression, while any whisper of like defensive action or threat of retaliation on the part of the workers is treated as high treason to the capitalist state; and of course it is.

There is no single case on record of punishment in the courts for the innumerable violent acts, including murder, perpetrated by the thugs of capitalism upon workers and their sympathizers, but the jails hold dozens of men who were convicted because prostitute prosecutors, judges and hand-picked juries interpreted their words as "inciting to violence."

A Howat is sent to jail and a Burns is made head of the most dangerous department of government. This is what capitalism is in America to-day.

Under these conditions the miners are forced to strike to preserve their most elementary privileges of collective contract and of organization.

A basic industry must be paralyzed and 600,000 men demonstrate their unconquerable desire for some voice in fixing the conditions under which they labor because a handful of soft-handed and fat-paunched parasites, backed by a larger handful of overlords, wish to make greater profits from the toil and hardships of the men who dig the coal.

The coal barons want to increase their power over the lives of the men who make their fortunes for them from the mines most of the coal barons have never even seen. To do this they have mobilized every arm of the government; to accomplish this successfully they will not hesitate to jail and beat and kill just as they did in West Virginia. They hope to break the miners and thereby break the back of organized labor in America.

In this they may be successful—temporarily; but if the murmur of discontent, growing louder each day, and the very distinct tendency towards a closer unity of the forces of labor mean anything, the victory of the coal barons will be a costly one.

In an attempt to gain a temporary advantage they are forcing labor to close its ranks. With the gaps stopped labor in the United States will be, with the irresistible advantage of economic pressure on its side, like labor all over the world, well started on the road to victory.

Capitalism is dying. Labor is young and strong and full of vitality that comes from struggle. It can be grateful to a stupid capitalist class for showing it the way to effective organization, for compelling it to do things necessary but long neglected.

The continued offensive of the employing class in the United States has at last convinced labor that this is no passing phase of the struggle, merely the product of a sporadic [illegible], but a well-planned attack intended to destroy all labor organizations that will not bow to the will of the ruling class in all matters.

Some stimulus of this sort was needed, and the attack on the coal miners following a long period of wage reductions has furnished it.

LABOR WILL RALLY TO THE SUPPORT OF THE COAL MINERS AS LABOR HAS NEVER RALLIED BEFORE IN AMERICA. WIN OR LOSE, IT IS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW AND BETTER DAY FOR THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE COAL BARONS AND THEIR FELLOW CAPITALISTS ARE RISKING MUCH TO WIN LITTLE.

ubscribe for "THE WORKER" Today—Use Blank on Page T

[illegible] to Aid Party Organ

Recognizing that the circulation of the party organ and the securing of permanent headquarters are of prime importance to the strengthening of the organization, the English Branch of the Yorkville Section has decided to concentrate its efforts upon these two points and to seek the co-operation of all the branches in the section in executing these plans.

In order to increase the circulation of THE WORKER, it has decided on a WORKER WEEK during which all members must apply at certain designated newsstands for THE WORKER. This policy is to be continued until a permanent demand for our organ is created.

At its last meeting the Branch enjoyed a very interesting talk on "The Japanese Labor Movement" by Comrade Ishigaki, and those of the comrades who were not acquainted with the Japanese labor situation were pleasantly surprised to learn that despite the disorganization and persecution of the Japanese working class by Japanese Imperialism, 4,000 class-conscious Japanese workers had built up an active Communist organization.

Comrade Briggs, the Educational Director, informed the comrades that our new form of educational work at the meetings would consist in discussions on various topics of moment and that each comrade would be given the opportunity to start the discussion each week. The next meeting is to be held Wednesday, April 5th, at 143 East 103rd St. Comrade Berg will begin the discussion on "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasant."

Bertha Kuppersmith, Organizer.

Under Communism there will be abundance for all.

THIRD ANNUAL ENTERTAINMENT AND BALL
given by
The Greek Federation of the Workers Party
for the benefit of
THE "VOICE OF THE WORKER"
Official Organ of the Federation
Richest Program:
Greek Revolutionary Drama; Classic Dances, Miss Beatrice Morton; Oriental Music; Recitations, etc.; DANCE
PALM GARDEN
58th Str. and Lexington Avenue
MONDAY, APRIL 3, 1922
8.30 P. M.
Tickets 50 Cents
Sold at the Office of the Voice of the Worker, 685—6th Ave., and at the Branch Office of the Federation, 793—2nd Ave. Office of the Federation, 793—2nd Ave.; also at all branches of The Workers Party and at The Toiler Bookshop, 208 E. 12th Street, New York City.

MILITANTS!
Turn Out and Hear
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
Editor of "The Labor Herald"
Official Organ, Trade Union Educational League,
Speak on
"The Task of the Radicals in the Labor Unions"
Friday Night, April 7, 8 o'clock
Beethoven Hall
210 East 5th St.
This meeting is being held under the auspices of the New York Trade Union Educational League.
Let all militants attend.
ADMISSION 25 CENTS COME EARLY!

[illegible]

On March 4-5 the Friends of Soviet Russia [illegible] wide drive for the relief of the destitute sufferers of [illegible].

Previously Commissioner Bird S. Coler has been [illegible] permit to make a street collection for these wretched people.

Many months were spent on negotiation. Financial [illegible] reports of activities, a detailed description of the awful conditions facing 15,000,000 human beings,—all these facts were laid before the Commissioner.

But he denied a permit, conforming to a ruling issued by himself previously, that no street collections were to be tolerated. By a mere stroke of the pen the Commissioner has thus doomed thousands of men, women, and children to certain death.

In spite of the Commissioner's decision, however, the Friends of Soviet Russia decided to organize a House-to-House Collection, which of course involved the most arduous labor on the part of volunteers, tedious stair-climbing for hour after hour.

In spite of the rain on March 4, in spite of the prospect of the most strenuous labor, 1141 persons volunteered to help their brothers and sisters in Soviet Russia. Thru the strenuous efforts of these individuals $13,177.81 was raised for the famine sufferers in two days.

Organizations Co-operate

In every part of the city organizations of workers gave their whole-hearted support to the campaign. The number of volunteers furnished and the collections made, run as follows: Shop Delegates League, 30 volunteers, collection $321.40; Workers' Self-Educational League, 8 volunteers, $172.61; Young Workers' League, 30 volunteers, $1032.25; Workmen's Circle, Branch 620, 5 volunteers, Ukrainian Singing Society and The United Toilers of America, 80 volunteers, $748.62; Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, 20 volunteers, $244.70; Russian Club, 79 volunteers, $264.46; Czecho-Slovak Marxist Federation, 46 volunteers, $466.46; Lettish Educational Society, 45 volunteers, $438.85; Finnish Central Committee, 50 volunteers, $553.84; Workers' Immediate Aid for Soviet Russia, 23 volunteers, $907.40; Young Workers' League, 9 volunteers, Co-operative House Collection, $221.00; Society for the Relief for The People of Soviet Russia, 60 volunteers, $484.11; Sunrise Club, 9 volunteers, Consumers' League, 5 volunteers, Bronx Branch of FSR, 27 volunteers, $363.12; Lower Bronx Branch FSR, 30 volunteers, Echo of Russia, 8 volunteers, $92.77; Young Workers' League, 14 volunteers, $83.35; Technical Aid, 2 volunteers, $9.12; Bronx English Branch FSR, 25 volunteers, $300.01; Bronx Russian Branch FSR, 40 volunteers, $466.79; Bronx Jewish Branch FSR, 30 volunteers, $390.71; Lithuanian House, 20 volunteers, $233.97; International Workers' Club, 40 volunteers, $542.81; Socialist Party, 6th A. D., Brooklyn, 20 volunteers, $743.92; Williamsburg Branch FSR, 50 volunteers, $698.56; Boro Park Branch FSR, 22 volunteers, $175.89; Coney Island Branch FSR, 6 volunteers, $47.53; Bath Beach Literary Club, 6 volunteers, $83.00; Culture Centre, 8 volunteers, $190.10; Socialist Sunday School, 39 volunteers, $38.82; Brownsville Branch FSR, English, 30 volunteers, $491.40; Brownsville Branch FSR, Jewish, 9 volunteers, $488.68; Socialist Party, 1-3-8 A. D., Kings County, $5.00.

Volunteers Make High Record

Under the leadership of Comrade L. Landy, the Harlem Section collected $2,697.75 and received the banner for the highest collection in the city.

He was actively assisted by Comrades Peer, Millenky, Boordman, Dworkin, Linkoff and Oliverstein. The highest collections in Harlem were the following: A. Laskoy, $76.50; L. Landy, $64.00; M. Scheik, $61.57; E. Seine, $46.68; S. Limbarsky, $39.00; B. Oliver, $37.16; B. Melnick, $35.83; M. Goldstein, $27.50; A. Harfield, $26.50.

Brownsville deserves the highest praise for its unusual accomplishments on March 4-5. Under the leadership of Comrade Mark Rosenberg, and with the assistance of but 80 volunteers, $2117.39 was collected, more than twice the amount collected in the last drive.

Unusual praise is due to Comrade Esther Apar, who collected $146.68, the highest individual collection in the city. Following close in her footsteps are Comrades Anna Apar, $125.36, Elkin, $123.79, Rose Novoross, $101.40, Rebecca Angel, $74.12.

Yorkville—The various participating organizations were well knitted together under the direction of E. Allikson. $1,576.16 was collected, nearly four times the amount collected previously. The Edelweiss, Vergnugungs Verein, and the Hungarian House gave their unlimited support. Among the most active helpers were Comrades Koppel and Schoenberg.

Russian Section—The Russian comrades decided to work together on this occasion. Rose Baron, S. Assator, and M. Chorover organized their forces so well that $509.16 was collected in a section of the city that had scarcely been touched previously. S. Uzelac collected $31.05; L. Herman, $25.

Brooklyn—The various sections of Brooklyn were organized by B. Levy, with the help of S. Latterman, A. Aronson, M. Plason, G. Goldenpaul, I. Lossief, and other active workers. The total collection was $1,993.31, twice the amount collected previously. Ida Meister, who was arrested during the drive, refused bail and remained in jail until she was discharged. The following were the highest records: Mrs. Verhutens, $108; Joseph Lapidus, $54; Paul Potash, $47.40; Alex Gologner $46; Nat Blankfield, $44; Celia Nessin, $36; M. Mirsky, $23.32.

Lower East Side—Taking hold of a comparatively disorganized section, B. Greenberg carried on a campaign which brought in $2294.18.

The highest records in the district were: Ida Weinstadt, $67; Celia Filbert, $54; M. Reiner, $52; A. Schas, $45; Rose Wolkowitz, $44.55; M. Forenman, $34.36.

Bronx—In the Bronx the campaign was in charge of N. Young. 176 volunteers were on the job and $2,009.36 was collected. Credit is due the following Comrades for their fine collection: M. Zak, $90; H. Goldman, $60; N. Cohen, $35; W. Fox, $32; B. Ligs, $28; S. Singer, $28; S. Taymore, $26; M. Agner, $23; M. Spector, $22.50; S. Rubin, $22.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

BRONX ATTENTION!
Mass Meeting
Tuesday Eve., April 4,
LINCOLN HALL,
1258-60 Boston Road.
Comrades interested in owning a place in Chatham Colony are invited to come to this meeting and learn how it is being done.
CHATHAM COLONY ASS'N.
For information write to B. Somer, 1517 Washington Ave., City

Grand Masquerade Ball
Given by the
Brownsville Branch
of the
F. S. R.
APRIL 14th
Brownsville Labor Lyceum
219 Sackman Street

Must Enlist Women in Cause of Revolution As an Aid to Victory

The movement for the emancipation of the workers has not always been guided by persons friendly to the emancipation of women, or to the idea that women have any notable part to play in the revolutionary struggle.

The first International was called "The International Workingmen's Association." Was the word "working*men*" to include "working*women*," or was it to mean male workers exclusively? The question came up for discussion in September, 1865, at the London Conference, held a year after the founding of the International. E. E. Fribourg, one of the original members, writes as follows in his history of the organization:

"To safeguard the freedom of the various national groups . . . the question of admitting women was left to the independent decision of each group. Regarding this matter the French . . . had already decided by a large majority: 'Woman's place is the home, not the forum; Nature has made her nurse and housewife, do not let us withdraw her from these social functions and from her true sphere in life; for the man, work, and the study of the problems of society; for the woman, the caring for children and the beautifying of the worker's home.' Consequently, to the great scandal of the advocates of the so-called emancipation of woman, they had decided against the admission of women to the International." (L'association internationale des travailleurs, Paris, 1871, p. 43.)

It would be difficult to find a more amusingly reactionary utterance than this in the whole literature of the anti-suffrage movement.

To the good Fribourg and his male friends, "the caring for children and the beautifying of the worker's home" were not work at all.

To be "nurse and housewife," as Nature had designed for women—to wash clouts, to scrub and mend, to cook and wash up, to dress children in the morning and put them to bed at night after tending them thruout the livelong day in the sort of "home" capitalist society provides for workers' wives—these things were merely play, and comprised woman's "true sphere in life."

On the other hand the bourgeois "Woman's Movement" concentrated for half a century on the demand for the vote, and for the most part had as little understanding as the manual worker, Fribourg, of the realities of women's needs.

Political emancipation, which gives women a formal equality before the law, is as unreal an emancipation as the "emancipation" which bourgeois democracy has brought to male workers.

Without a complete social and economic change (a revolution which shall inaugurate Communism), women can no more secure freedom than can men.

And no social revolution can be made a permanent success without the active participation of the wives, and the mothers, and the daughters of working men.

Why is the Russian revolution in peril today? Largely because four-fifths of the population of Russia consists of reactionary peasants. And yet such freedom as the peasants have acquired by the revolution will be lost, if the revolution totters and falls and if capitalism gets re-established in Russia.

If for "peasants" in "Russia" you read "women" in "any part of the world," you will quickly understand why the revolution will be a failure if women—more than half the human race—fail to help in achieving it, and fail to undergo that revolution in their own lives and outlooks which is an essential part of any great social change.

Without revolutionary women, and revolutionized women, the communist revolution will be but a breath on the face of the waters.

In the Third International, the spirit of those who wrote, "women's place is the home" no longer prevails.

Get Ready for May Day

While capitalism endures there will be contracts or agreements between the wage workers on the one hand and their exploiters on the other.

The power of the workers is registered by the nature of the demands they are able to make successfully upon the profiteers who transmute their agony into golden treasures.

One indication of approaching emancipation is the fact that some workers have been able to incorporate in their wage agreements provisions for making International Labor Day, May 1st, a Working-Class Holiday in their industry. This is true of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and to some extent of the International Ladies Garment Workers and other progressive labor organizations.

Labor thus establishes its own holiday, as opposed to the capitalist legalized Labor Day in September, an effort to offset the holiday of the revolutionary workers in the spring of the year.

Let the militants in every labor organization start a drive for having this clause incorporated in their next wage agreement.

"Down tools on May 1st—Labor's Holiday." Let this be the slogan. Let labor insist on having one day in the year as its own, until the whole structure of capitalism falls. Then every day will be labor's day.

Propaganda for the making of May Day a real holiday for all American labor should be part of the effort of every May Day Conference. It is work that can be done now. It is work that can be carried on after this year's May Day is history. Get to work.

Acquittal of Landlord, Slayer of Worker, Striking Contrast to Sacco-Vanzetti Case

(Special to The Worker)

DEDHAM, Mass.—The speedy acquittal of Caleb Loring Cunningham, the aged landowner who admittedly shot in the back and killed a workingman trespassing on his vast estate, in the very court room where Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were found guilty of murder in the first degree on attenuated circumstantial evidence, puts a period to one of the most glaring contrasts in the history of capital trials.

Cunningham was arrested on the night of January 5, 1921, after the body of John Johnson, a Quincy laborer, was found on his grounds. Johnson, a preliminary hearing revealed, has been unemployed for some time. That afternoon, because it was bitter cold, he had left his wife and young children to get some kindling wood in the neighboring forest, which happens to be the property of the Cunningham blue bloods. Finding him in the act of "poaching" pieces of wood, the landowner fired a rifle and killed him.

The "gentleman farmer," as the New England papers like to refer to the 68-year old possessor of inherited property, was not put on the stand in his own defense. Instead he availed himself of the privilege accorded in murder cases to address the jury after the close of attorneys' arguments. He read a long statement, presumably his own, in which he claimed that he shot Johnson because he "feared for his life." and that there was "no murder in his heart."

The jury accepted the plea of self-defense despite the fact that the fatal bullet entered the body of the victim in the small of the back. Cunningham's lawyer tried to show that the victim had made a motion to his hip pocket as if to draw a gun and that this had frightened the rich man into wild shooting. They also tried to show that trespassing on the estate was so frequent that it had taken on the proportions of a nuisance.

Mrs. Johnson and her two children, whose bread-winner was killed while getting wood to keep them warm, are destitute as the acquitted slayer goes back to his palatial home and estates.

The most obvious contrast in the two cases is to be found in the court room atmosphere. Whereas in the Sacco-Vanzetti trial guards, guns, precautions and searchings were always in view, creating an almost tangible "feeling" of danger and ugliness in the hall of justice, the Cunningham trial was conducted in an aura of smiles, sympathy, politeness. Everyone knew that not alone Caleb Loring, but the reputation of the numerous and powerful Cunningham family was being tried and it would take a superbly courageous jury to convict under the circumstances.

The Italian workingmen in the course of their trial had been led thru the streets of Dedham under heavy guard, hand-cuffed to one another and to officers on either side. Nothing of the sort for Cunningham. When the jury was taken to the scene of Johnson's murder Cunningham went along, practically unguarded and exchanging words with neighbors.

During the year of his imprisonment awaiting trial, Cunningham occupied the cell next to Sacco's in the Dedham county jail.

Under Communism there will be food for all.

LECTURES at PHILADELPHIA

An open forum of the Workers Party at Philadelphia, to be held Sunday evenings, 8 o'clock, at the Machinists' Temple, 13th and Spring Garden Sts., Room 501, has arranged for lectures as follows: April 2, William F. Kruse, "United Labor Front" April 9, William W. Weinstone, "Problems of the Labor Movement"; April 16, J. Louis Engdahl, "Workers Party and Parliamentary Activities," and Sunday, April 23, William F. Dunne, "Trade Unionism and the Workers Party."

"Radical Platform on Sport Adopted," declares the headline. That ought to keep Attorney General Daugherty awake nights planning new "Red Raids."

Under Communism there will be clothes for all.

[illegible] Unemployed [illegible]

"We are not seeking a [illegible] Mr. Hulbert, [illegible] nine men jobs, when there [illegible] 332,000 in New York for whom [illegible] must be found," said Israel A[illegible] spokesman of the deputation of [illegible] representing the jobless of [illegible] York City. "We have not come as nine men looking for work, but a deputation to ask what the city intends doing for the army of unemployed who are unable to find [illegible] of any character."

This is the final attitude of [illegible] City of New York, speaking [illegible] the Acting Mayor Mr. Hulbert, [illegible] ward the gigantic problem of [illegible] ployment in the city of New York.

The Unemployment Council [illegible] Council of Unemployed arranged [illegible] two parades of the jobless on Monday, March 27. The parades [illegible] preceded by two well attended [illegible] enthusiastic meetings at South Ferry and near Cooper Union.

At the open area at Pearl [illegible] Center Sts., a fine meeting was [illegible]. The two speakers, John Marsh[illegible] and I. Amter, told the crowd [illegible] purpose of the parade and the rea[illegible] for going to the Mayor. After promising to report back, the deputation proceeded to City Hall.

City Hall was one mass of police, detectives and a crowd of several thousand curious onlookers. Entrance to the building was held [illegible] by a cordon of police, who kept the crowd back.

An Amusing Assemblage

About twenty-five detectives and Department of Justice agents, several policemen, the nine members of the deputation, the Acting Mayor and two city officials: this was the assemblage that in its appearance spoke well for the regard that the city officials have for the workers of New York City and the fear that the unemployed inspire.

"There is a serious situation among the unemployed," said the spokesman of the jobless. "Official statistics show that there are 332,000 jobless in the city, the number having increased since the end of December."

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912,

of THE WORKER, published weekly at New York City, N. Y., for April 1, 1922. State of New York, County of Manhattan. Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Elmer T. Allison, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE WORKER and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Toiler Publishing Association, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City; Editor, Wm. F. Dunne, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City; Managing Editor, J. Louis Engdahl, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City; Business Manager, Elmer T. Allison, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

2. That the owners are: Walter Bronstrup, 1304 Walnut Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; Elisabeth Bertram, 2803 Kingston Road, Cleveland, Ohio; Elmer T. Allison, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of March, 1922. (seal) Carol Weiss King. (My commission expires March 30th, 1922.)

The Pledge Campaign

In spite of the success of this last drive, the Friends of Soviet Russia are not content with patting themselves on the back.

As long as the famine continues, their work must continue, growing and developing.

They have mapped out a campaign to secure 10,000 persons to pledge to contribute every week or every month for Russian Relief. The slogan is: One Dollar Will Feed a Child One Month—Adopt a Child. Join the Pledgers' Club.

Organizations and individuals are urged to adopt this scheme to assure the starving men, women and children of Russia of their steady support. Address all inquiries to FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 208 East 12th Street.

ADOPT ONE RUSSIAN CHILD

Join the Pledgers Club

for the

RELIEF OF THE STARVING IN RUSSIA

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 208 East 12th St., NEW YORK CITY.

....192..

I hereby pledge myself to contribute ....

..............................dollars and .... cents every

.... for the relief of the starving men, women and children of Russia.

Name...

Address..

[illegible] Arsenals

(Continued from Page One)

the whole district is tense. These miners will give a good account of themselves.

Already the capitalist press is wailing about the "welfare of the public." And the miners are asking, "Who is this Public, anyhow?" They recall that when the railroad workers were about to cross swords with the General Managers' Association last fall, that the miners were part of the public. If a general strike of railroad workers was to occur, there would be no care for the miners and they, being part of the public, would suffer irretrievably. And now that their organized existence is at stake, they learn that the railroad workers are part of the public.

All Labor Concerned

They are learning the lesson which other sections of the workers must learn, namely, that the working-class IS the public, and that all the working-class is vitally concerned in the outcome of this struggle between the miners and the operators.

Here is the class-struggle in all its nakedness—crude, sordid, and cruel. The federal authorities promise to "move aginst any act of violence" on the part of the miners. The Attorney General states that scabs will be protected.

The enlightened workers know this but it is well to have the Attorney General on record. It merely emphasizes the fact that the Capitalist State is a class state and that "Government is merely the executive committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

The drive for the Open Shop gathers momentum. The Building Trades Struggle on the Pacific Coast, the Landis "award" in Chicago, the fight now on in Cleveland, the railroad fiasco last fall when the leaders of the railroad Unions surrendered without striking a blow (they could not fight the government), and now comes the turn of the miners. Ten million unemployed! A most opportune time to slash wages and smash unions!

Militancy Must Win

"A fair day's work for a fair day's pay" has come to an end. The time-honored fallacy of "Community of Interest" between exploiter and exploited stands exposed.

The Open Shop Drive means the destruction of organized labor as constituted at present. But out of the ruins will come the new forms based upon the "Community of Interest" among those who work. In the heat of the conflict new weapons will be forged. Conservatism must make way for militancy.

A new leadership—a revolutionary leadership must direct the struggle. The Open Shop Drive will be met by the fighting hosts of Labor whose battle-cry will be "The Abolition of the Wages System," or . . .

Organized Labor will cease to exist.

The treaty "to bring peace to the Pacific" now having been ratified the next order of business will be to prepare for war.

Communism will come with the abolition of capitalism.

WOMEN WORKERS
and HOUSEWIVES

Why are we and our husbands refused work whereby we may keep body and soul together?

Why are we unable to buy wholesome food and warm clothing for our children?

Why are we mothers, who sacrifice the best years of our life, made to suffer so?

Do you know?

If not, come to this meeting and find out.

MASS MEETING
APRIL 4th, 1922, 7.30 P. M. at
NEW PLAZA HALL
Grand and Havemeyer Sts., Brooklyn.
ADMISSION IS FREE!
— All working-class women welcome —
SPEAKERS:
J. Louis Engdahl
and Katherine Gitlow.
Auspices
LITHUANIAN WOMEN'S
PROGRESSIVE ALLANCE
Branch No. 1.

KUZBAS
FAREWELL SOCIAL
To the FIRST KUZBAS GROUP
will be held at the
FINNISH SOCIALIST HALL
764—40th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
(Take Westend line from Times Square, get off at 9th Avenue.)
TUESDAY, APRIL 4th, 1922, at 8 P. M.
Tickets, 35 cents Tickets, 35 cents

[illegible]

Its particular job in Eureka was to deport Elmer Smith, one of the acquitted Centralia defendants, who was billed to speak against the criminal syndicalism law of California. This was done and the best traditions of this democratic republic upheld by the legionnaires who were heavily armed and ready for action against one or two unarmed men.

What this gang of swivel-chair defenders of democracy need is another Centralia affair to jog their memories, and as for mob victims they should remember that the constitutional right to bear arms is not confined to members of the American Legion.

The Amalgamated on Unemployment

To make the demand for an immediate reform the basis of a revolutionary agitation is the task of class-conscious labor. If, in addition to this, capitalism is attacked at its weakest point—its inability to provide a decent living for those willing to work—a demand for a permanent unemployment fund, ordinarily a pure reform, becomes revolutionary in character.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in a pamphlet recently issued, entitled "A Proposal for an Unemployment Fund in the Men's Clothing Industry," sets forth two points as the basis for the establishment of such a fund. They are as follows:

1. Unemployment is beyond the control of the worker; it is due to defects in the management and control of industry; its cost is, therefore, properly charged against industry as an element in the cost of production, comparing in kind to such other elements as wages, the expense of maintaining machinery, the cost of industrial accidents, etc.

2. The cost of unemployment must be met from a fund, established and supported by the industry and segregated for the purpose of meeting that cost alone. In this way only can the burden of the cost be sufficiently felt by those who take steps to reduce it. It seems to be a cardinal principle in social insurance that specific allocation of the responsibility and burden is an indispensable first step in the eradication of the evil.

The war proved that given the opportunity to work at decent wages and under tolerable living conditions the percentage of those unwilling to engage in some occupation is almost negligible; during the war period when wages were high and work plentiful the so-called "vagrant" completely disappeared; he became a worker. It must be assumed, then, that men and women are not idle because of their own desire for idleness; that unemployment is an evil of the present industrial system and as such to industry must be charged the resulting damage.

To make this principle clear, and to have this work done by a powerful organization of wage-earners in a country where idleness has always been looked upon as an individual crime is an indication that for many workers the day of passive acceptance of the evils of capitalism as incurable has gone forever.

Carried to its logical conclusion the argument of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers means, in simple terms, that industry must support the workers in periods of industrial depression as well as in prosperous periods when their labor-power is needed.

Once this principle is accepted by the mass of the workers the days of capitalism are numbered. This system thrives because in an overstocked labor market the workers, unable to separate themselves from the only commodity they have for sale—their labor-power—are forced to content themselves with a subsistence wage that allows their rulers a share of the wealth of the world out of all proportion to the services rendered. The control of this wealth makes it possible for a minority to enslave the mass, for out of it is paid the expense of armies, navies, press agencies and schools.

Looking Ahead

The Chicago Federation of Labor was one of the first working class organizations in the country to seek a solution of the jobless problem when the present industrial depression began sending millions of workers into the army of the unemployed.

It soon confessed its helplessness; admitted the futility of the remedies offered under capitalism.

While seeking to arouse the workers of Chicago to the dangers of growing unemployment, the labor movement in the nation's second city was hit severely by the open shop drive in the building trades.

It will also be remembered that the officials of the Chicago Federation of Labor have been at the head of the movements for the organization of the steel and the packing industries, as well as taking a leading part in the effort to secure the liberation of Tom Mooney and other class-war prisoners.

Out of this struggle there has now come the adoption of a resolution by the Chicago Federation of Labor calling for the amalgamation of the workers into "only one union for each industry."

A united front of the workers to the solidly united forces of the exploiters, is the demand of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The resolution was brought in by the Organization Committee, of which J. W. Johnstone is chairman, and was favored by the federation's officials, with the exception of Vice-President Oscar F. Nelson, a remnant of Gompersism in a labor organization that refuses to look backward.

In order that militants in other labor bodies thruout the country may bring this resolution before their respective organizations for adoption, we publish it in full as follows:

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

Whereas the employers throughout the nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertion, and moreover, they are supported by the government, the courts and the press in any union-smashing undertaking they engage in; and

Whereas they are carrying on a vicious attack upon the Labor Movement, singling out various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and

Whereas these unions, because they are divided against themselves along trade lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers, constantly suffer defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions; and

Whereas the only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various trade unions so that there will remain only one union for each industry; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Chicago Federation of Labor, in regular meeting, call upon the American Federation of Labor to take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of organized labor, and that, as a first step in this direction, the various international unions be called into conferences for the purpose of arranging to amalgamate all the unions in the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry.

Even complete amalgamation of all workers into industrial unions will not solve the problems confronting labor. It will only give the workers a more powerful machine with which to wage their struggles against their oppressors.

It will give the workers courage in their battles; courage to attempt greater things, until they will finally enter the final struggle, the abolition of capitalism and with it the blotting out of all class rule.

The Chicago Federation of Labor is asking the workers to look in the right direction. Help it swell the numbers of those who labor and suffer today but wish to enlist in the march toward their own emancipation.

[illegible] of the locals of United Mine Workers of America.

By AUGUST VALENTINE

About the first half of February the company announced that it was going to close the mines down on account of the wages being too high. It was also announced that if the men would accept a wage reduction the mines would keep on working.

The mines were closed down and the company got a few weak-hearted men to sign the individual contract or the "yellow dog" as most of the people call it.

"Supes" on the Run

Later the superintendents began to run from house to house trying to get the workers to sign up. Only a few did at first. Then the company threatened if they didn't sign that they had no job and that they would have to leave the company-owned houses at once. Of course more signed then. Many of the names were on the contracts that were fictitious, there were a few names from another town controlled by the same company.

The mines started to work. Many "dry forkers" (farmers) came to work. One scab said: "I want to work now. I get all the cars I want. I can load all the dirt that is in my coal—I can "shoot on solid," etc.

But let us look back a few months and see what went on. If the slate picker would find a few pounds of dirt in your coal you would get a lay-off. That is, the company would not permit you to work for a certain length of time. The lay-off would run from a few days to as high as 23 weeks. Yet the contract between the operators and the men reads as follows: **"Section 10. It is the duty of the miner or coal loader to clean his coal in his working place, as free as possible from rock, bone, slate and other impurities, in order to insure the best marketable coal. The miner or loader violating the above by loading an unreasonable amount of impurities, in the mine car, shall for the FIRST offence be notified.**

"For the SECOND offence in the same calendar month, he or they, at the option of the operator, shall be suspended for one day.

"And for the THIRD offence in the same calendar month, he or they may be suspended not to exceed two days of mine operation.

"In malicious or aggravated cases, he or they may be suspended or discharged the first or any subsequent offence."

He Gets a "Vacation"

Yet, the first time I got a little dirt in my car I got a few weeks vacation instead of being notified. A scab was bragging of how they who are working now are getting off easy. He said that nobody examines their cars and that they throw in rock as heavy as two men can lift. I would like to know why in the name of hell don't the company enforce the agreement now?

Also, when I was working the company would give a person about two weeks' lay-off if he was caught "shooting on solid." According to the contract they couldn't give you a lay-off but take you up before the Justice of Peace and make you pay a fine of $5.00 or $10.00.

Why don't the company do likewise to the scabs? Why does the company let the scabs "shoot on solid" if it is against the law?

We will say that the company would give a man a lay-off for two weeks. Then when he came back, his room fell in and covered the tracks. The boss would come in and he would give you another lay-off because the place fell in and covered up a little piece of track.

Working for Nothing

In the latter part of the year the company refused to pay for putting up the timber, moving dead work, making track, and if your place fell in you would have to move the rock without getting paid for it. Some times a person would work a day or so and not get paid for it. The only thing that the miner would get paid for was the coal he produced; and then he wouldn't get all he loaded. If a man would load 4200 pounds they would only give him 3700, and in some places they would only give 3600 pounds. Many times a man world run across a vein of sand rock and the poor fellow would be drilling away sometimes a foot an hour with a breast auger and then not get paid for it.

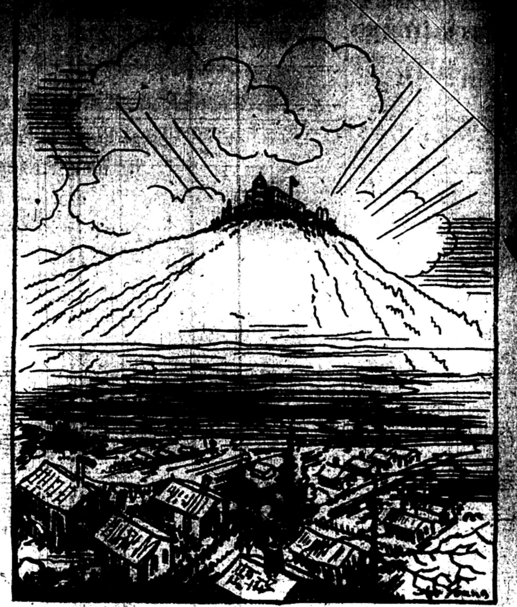
But to get back to the subject. We let the "dry forkers" work a few days. Then we saw that they were bringing always more and more in, so we went out on the picket line. Women came out with us with water, ashes and cans. In fact, the women did more than the men.

The Cossacks Are Near

The sheriff of Tucker County stayed in town a few days and was in touch with a squad of state cossacks.

So you see my friends what we miners have got to face. If we are strong enough to force the company to sign an agreement they will not live up to it. Capitalism or organized labor will have to go. There will never be peace between labor and capital.

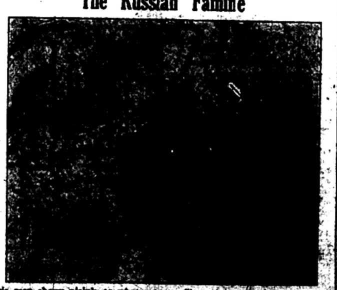
So, comrades, organize to take over the industry. Capital runs the industry for profits; we will run them for use.



Drawn by Art Young

This may be a picture of Pawtuxet Valley, or a mining town in West Virginia, or steel district in Pennsylvania. It is a common sight in most of our industrial towns. In the valley are the company-owned hovels of the workers. Above the grime, is the castle on the hill.

The Russian Famine



This map shows plainly to what extent military invasion financed by the allied powers were responsible for the famine. Only the territory inside the heavy dotted line was free from invasion. Invasions caused confiscation and destruction of crops as well as interference with the agricultural economy. Help the famine stricken by sending your contribution to The Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York City.

The April Labor Herald

The April number of The Labor Herald is a bright spot in the labor publication field. Every word in it is not only of importance to the progressive and radical elements in the American labor movement but is readable.

In no labor journal we have ever seen is the matter selected with the care shown in the Herald; the articles are excellent but it is their arrangement and selection so that from the first word to the last one thing is driven home to the reader—the necessity for the solidarity of labor.

The leading article—Anvil or Hammer, Which?—says all there is to be said concerning the disastrous results of craft division in the railroad industry; it is an unanswerable argument for unity. Officialdom may ignore but it cannot refute the statements made.

The Labor Herald for April is what American labor has been waiting for—a REAL labor journal.

Pawtuxet Valley Strike Is the Vital Spot in the Cotton Workers Movement

The Amalgamated Textile Workers of America has sent out the following appeal:

To Our Loyal Old Friends and Our Interested New Friends:

The vital spot in the fight which New England cotton mill workers are making against the brutal wage cuts and the attempt to bring back the 55-hour week is the 100 percent strike in the PAWTUXET VALLEY of Rhode Island.

1. 20 percent reduction was first made in the Pawtuxet Valley, and there, on Jan. 23, the revolt began. On April 3 the strike in the PAWTUXET VALLEY entered its 11th week.

2. The strike has been from the first a 100 percent strike. Not a wheel turns in any of the 15 mills whose 8,000 workers are out. Textile workers and other workers everywhere have their eyes on the PAWTUXET VALLEY.

Food Will Prevent a Break in the Pawtuxet Valley

The Amalgamated Textile Workers of America now conducts 12 community restaurants in as many mill villages, where from 8 to 10,000 strikers and strikers' children are fed daily in the most economical way possible. Continued support is needed for these restaurants. Other relief is also given where the need is great, and the need for this will increase as the strike continues.

If the strike is lost the average wage will be $17 for a week of 54 hours.

Is the Fight a Just One?

1. The Consolidated Textile Corporation is capitalized at $40 a spindle whereas the actual value is $22.50 a spindle. The wage reductions will net $1,000,000 for dividends on watered stock.

2. In 1921 the average earnings of cotton workers, skilled and unskilled alike, fell below the level of any "health-and-decency budget" prepared by any organization, including the U. S. Government's and the National Industrial Conference Board's (an employer's organization.)

3. From 1914 to 1919 (inclusive) eight chief cotton companies average 29.6 percent on an inflated capital, after heavy interest charges and other capitalist "earnings" had been covered.

The Embattled Textile Workers, Fighting Against Abject Economic Slavery, Deserve the Support of Every Fair-Minded Person.

Send all contributions to
AMALGAMATED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
Russel Palmer, Gen'l Secretary,
7 E. 15th St., New York, N. Y.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

Several of the most prominent Negro leaders in America will participate in a symposium on the struggles of the colored race in America, Sunday evening, April 24, in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place (8th St. and 3d Ave.), under the auspices of The Liberator.

Among others will be Prof. William H. Ferris, Editor of the "Negro World," William A. Domingo, formerly of the "Emancipator," Mr. Hubert of the Urban League, and Walter F. White, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peaple.

Jessie Redmon Fauset, Literary Editor of the "Crisis," will speak on Haitian Literature.

William Service Bell, famous Negro Baritone, will be heard in Negro spirituals. Mendel, the colored comedian, will appear in Yiddish impersonations. Sadie Cook, formerly of the Winter Garden, will present her own company in a funny sketch of colored life.

MAY DAY WAKES UP LEGION

BERKELEY, CAL.—The American Legion post of this exclusive university town is going to hold a big "patriotic" meeting the night of April 30, "in order to offset any May-day celebrations by Reds in this vicinity." It is understood the real purpose of the meeting will be to lay plans for forcible interference with any May-day parade by radicals.

Under Communism [illegible] the common ownership [illegible] and industry.

[illegible] the continued imprisonment of men sentenced for their opinions. They are [illegible] in letters to the General Council of Trade Unions; the British [illegible] Party; the British Foreign [illegible] the American ambassador; [illegible] President Harding.

Agitation for the American politicals is gathering momentum in all the big industrial centers here—[illegible], Manchester, Liverpool, [illegible], Sheffield, Leeds, Hull, [illegible], Glasgow, Edinburgh.

Twelve of the 113 war-time prisoners in America are British-born—[illegible] Brazier was a metal-worker in Birmingham; Joe Oates was a miner at Cleator Moor; Ted Frazer hails from Manchester; Sam Scarlett was a member of the old Amalgamated Society of Engineers in Glasgow. Others of English origin are Charles Lambert, Bert Lorton, J. A. Macdonald, Don Sheridan, Frederick Esmond, Harry Lloyd, Herbert Mahler and William Moran.

Spread Many Leaflets

Thousands of leaflets summing up the plight of the politicals in the United States are being circulated by the Class War Prisoners Release Committee here.

"Brutal prosecution still continues in America against workers active in defending the interests of their class," declares the committee in these leaflets. "American capitalism is the most powerful, brutal, unscrupulous and cunning in the world. The organization of the working class, belief in and teaching of the solidarity of labor is hateful and in opposition to the interests of capitalism, and is ruthlessly condemned. No stone is left unturned to railroad advocates of such doctrines to the penitentiary.

"We have had some experience in this country of individuals being prosecuted by the authorities for expressing ideas that the dominant class consider harmful to their interests. The most recent case is that of Albert Inkpin, secretary of the British Communist Party, who was sent to prison for six months. But persecution here has been nothing to what our American brothers have suffered.

Can't Understand Conditions There

"It is hard for the British worker who is used to some pretense of justice to understand conditions in the United States. There the class war is fought nakedly and ferociously; trustified capital uses all methods, legal and illegal, to prevent the workers from organizing and so gaining power.

"Union men have been murdered in cold blood, cruelly beaten, branded, tarred and feathered, kidnapped, driven insane by the fiendish punishment and torture perpetrated by the hired gunmen and thugs of Big Business.

"In 1917, soon after the United States entered the Great War, wholesale raids took place. Those suspected of not being 100 per cent in favor of the war or who were known to be opposed to the present system of exploitation were arrested. After a trial lasting 138 days in Chicago, 93 Industrial Workers of the World were found guilty by an openly biased capitalist jury of what simply amounted to class consciousness.

"The infamous laborhating Judge Landis sentenced these 93 men to a total of [illegible] years imprisonment and fines totalling $2,[illegible].

Loyal to the Workers

"What was their crime? They were educating and organizing the workers on the industrial field, were fighting for a better standard of living, were loyal and unselfish in their efforts on the part of the working class. But this was not simply a prosecution of men accused of opposing the war, preventing enlistment and organizing strikes for better conditions. Ideals and ideas were on trial, as the prosecution conclusively showed thruout the whole proceedings.

"Jim Larkin, secretary of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, is another victim of the laborhaters in the United States. Seized with other fighters in the cause of the workers he, along with Ben Gitlow of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has been sentenced to an indeterminate sentence of from five to ten years. This indeterminate sentence is another of American capitalism's methods so far unknown in Britain. The minimum sentence expires in five years; the rest of the sentence expires at the pleasure of the authorities, and in Larkin's case the capitalists' pleasure would be to keep him in prison for life.

"Larkin was convicted of 'criminal anarchy,' a crime undefined but generally interpreted as anything which interferes with capitalist exploitation of the workers. This 'criminal anarchy,' or 'criminal syndicalism,' is not a crime under the federal laws of the United States. It is only a crime in certain states.

"It is up to you, workers of Britain, to protest against this persecution of your brothers. The cause for which these men lie in America's bastilles is your cause."

Organize "Release Committee"

Men of power and high standing in the British labor movement are heading the Class War Prisoners' Release Committee. They include Robert Williams, secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation; Tom Mann of the Amalgamated Engineering Union; George Lansbury, editor of the London Daily Herald; W. J. Webb, of the Electricians' Trade Union; Ben Smith of the Transport and General Workers' Union; Jack Tanner of the Shop Stewards' movement; and H. Pollitt of the Boilermakers' Union.

Jack Tanner is speaking at frequent meetings arranged by the committee. He spent several months in the United States last year, and tells at first hand of conditions there. Especially does he deal with California, which has sent so many industrialists to prison, and which continues to send them—under a drastic criminal syndicalism law, which makes it felony (under the interpretation given by various judges) simply to hold membership in the Industrial Workers of the World.

Ashleigh Will Help

Charles Ashleigh, member of the I. W. W., who was released from Leavenworth penitentiary in Kansas on the day when Debs was freed at Atlanta, also has agreed to speak at massmeetings staged by the London committee.

All war-time prisoners in England were at liberty within a year after the armistice. Most of the politicals here were sentenced for six months, and none were put away longer than 12 months.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

WALTER M. COOK
Public Accountant and Auditor
110 West 40th St., New York
Telephone Bryant 5943

Soviet [illegible] for World Problems at Genoa Conference

By JEANETTE [illegible]

None but the unsophisticated believes that the Genoa Conference will bring Europe out of her present economic and political chaos.

Some liberals who still think that [illegible] tables and conferences can make something out of nothing, cling to the hope that once the diplomats of Europe and America get together, they will pull the world out of the bankruptcy in which she finds herself.

The Genoa Conference is the outward and visible expression of capitalist imperialism in its most recent effort at self-preservation. The inclusion of Russia is a foreshadowing of the coming universal clash between the old order and the new.

If there is anything in the proverb, "Ende gut, Alles gut," then our hope lies in the end of the conference, for the preliminaries do not augur well. It was rather difficult inviting guests without offending someone.

Lloyd George, the shrewd Welshman, can see enough to understand that Germany and Russia, the keys to the economic rehabilitation of Europe must be present. He also wanted Uncle Sam to come but the rich Uncle was suspicious of the invitation. He feared that only his legacy interested Europe and he was determined not to help again unless he knew just what he was going to get out of it.

U. S. Doesn't Like Russia

Besides, there was Russia invited and with a working class government still in existence, she was no fit power to sit at the table with. Mr. Hughes informed the world that we would have nothing to do with Soviet Russia but in the meantime, he also let it be known that no concessions should be obtained by any of the foreign powers from her until America believed it the opportune time to step in and get something too. American simplicity!

The work to be accomplished at Genoa brings to the surface a state of feeling between England and France which it has long been suspected would come about as a result of the war.

It is impossible for two world powers to fight a common enemy and after defeating him overwhelmingly not to have another fight over the spoils. Such is the status between England and France.

With the British Empire trembling under the heel of revolution, France sees her opportunity of becoming the first power of Europe. Her strengthening of Poland through the unasked for gift of Silesia; her seizure of the coal and iron centres of Alsace Lorraine; her increased militarization and imperial designs have awakened England to the danger that exists across the channel.

Fight French Ambitions

Her insistence upon the reparation payments by Germany, not because she is desirous of paying her war debts to the United States but for the purpose of increasing her fighting machinery and throwing out her tentacles to grab the first place in the sun, can only be met by reprisals from England and the United States.

England, unlike France, is dependent upon Germany's industries, and the success of German economic conditions is a great determinant of business and industry in England. She is greatly concerned over the withdrawal of 350,000,000 buyers of Europe.

She must have the German and Central powers in a position where they can buy English-made goods. She cannot afford to crush Germany. Back in 1919, Lloyd George realized that to be too severe with Germany would throw her into the arms of Russia. To prevent this, the raw material and markets of the world must be open to her. In addition, he explained that "we cannot both cripple her and expect her to pay," for which reason England is not as insistent upon too severe measures being taken with regard to the payment of reparations as is France.

England to Embrace Germany?

There is cropping out in the Liberal papers of England the feeling that they must put down the arrogance of France. All the sentimental memory of France is leaving the minds of Englishmen when they see their profits endangered. They are forgetting their idealized France and their hatred for their inveterate enemy, Germany, because at present it is to England's interest to strengthen one and weaken the other. Will England and Germany yet embrace against France in some formal trade arrangement before many moons have waned?

This hostility between England and France is further complicated by the newly-acquired position of world leadership of the United States. She is the only important nation which is still solvent, and she sees where her strength lies. Indeed, it was this more than anything else which dictated America's policy with regard to the conference. She will not attend, for if she does, she will find herself assisting in the reconstruction of Europe, which some of her statesmen believe may endanger her recently won power.

Bankers Want Their Money

While European diplomats are extremely anxious that America sit at Genoa, President Harding prefers a full-fledged representative on the Reparation Commission for here will be America's most strategic point. With such a diplomat there, it is believed that payments from the German nation will be more readily secured and thus the Allies will be able to pay their debt to the United States. The American Government is not interested in Genoa—in helping to rebuild bleeding Europe. Her foreign policy is dictated by the bankers who want their money, and they will see to it that their will is carried out with regard to Germany, as it is in this country in their conflicts with the workers here.

American industry is divided on the question of trade relationship with Germany and Russia. Many of our financiers see that stagnation in Europe is stagnation here. The Chambers of Commerce are favoring participation at the Genoa conference, hoping thereby to breathe some life into America's sleeping industries. They are opposed to isolation and we hear that Messrs. Morgan have already entered into agreement with some German financiers to do business in Russia. On the other hand, there are some who are anxious to keep Germany and Russia in their present condition. They fear that with Germany manufacturing Russia's raw materials, the two powers can flood the markets with their goods. Germany's exports to this country are increasing rapidly and consequently much alarm is felt. For instance, Germany's heavy exports of potash to the United States have already crippled and destroyed this war-begotten industry here to such an extent that they are petitioning Congress for a protective tariff for the next five years. They cannot see further than their own industry; they are blind to the fact that America needs the products of Germany and Russia and that these nations need our goods.

Prelude to Next War

Here then is a complete prelude to another imperialistic war. During the last war, it was only the working class that did not know what it wanted. The capitalists were not at all confused by the phrases of patriotism or sentimental rot about democracy and Prussianism. They were all after one thing—world markets. With the defeat of Germany, it was clear that there would have to be another dispute among the victorious powers for each would be suspicious of the other. Capitalists of different lands fight together when they have a common end; they separate when the big spoils have been won and must be divided up. In both cases, the workers are their pawns and do their bidding.

With these conditions confronting the statesmen who are to assemble at Genoa, what can we expect from them? The only solution will, undoubtedly, be presented by the representatives of Soviet Russia.

The Workers' Drama Club
FRIDAY, April 21, 8.15 P. M.
"THE SANDBAR QUEEN"
A Drama of the Northwest
By GEORGE CRONYN
UKRAINIAN HALL
217 E. 6th St., near Cooper Sq.
CONCERT BY:
Frances Goldenthal, Violinist
Ann Owen, Pianist
Proceeds for Organization Purposes
Admission: 50 cents. Tickets on Sale at the Local and National Headquarters of the Workers Party, 208 E. 12th Street and 80 East 11th Street, New York, and The Liberator, 138 West 13th Street, New York.

[illegible] Vanzetti [illegible] stimulate hatred of Americans in Europe and are a powerful weapon in creating a world-wide revolutionary movement among the working class."

His communication in full reads:

"In view of your articles on the Sacco-Vanzetti case it occurs to me that you might be interested to hear that the movement here has reached large proportions and seems to be growing. I met here a few days ago two young Italian-Americans who gave up well-paying positions in the building trades, one in Boston and the other in New York, to come here to aid in the movement. They have been working and touring Italy, one for eight months, the other for three months, holding meetings and spreading the propaganda.

"This morning I was taken by these young men to a meeting of the building trades at which one of them spoke about the Sacco-Vanzetti case and was received with much applause. The object of the meeting was to prepare to resist a reduction of wages threatened by the employers for June 1, and the place scheduled was the People's House of Rome. The crowd, which numbered from 8,000 to 10,000, was too large for the hall and the meeting was held at the foot of the street on a hill opposite the Coliseum.

"After speeches had been made by the Secretary of the Building Trades Federation, who announced himself an Anarchist, and several others, one of the young Italian-Americans mentioned was introduced and made a fiery speech on the Sacco-Vanzetti case amid great applause. He had his facts and handled them well.

"Massachusetts and California are a long way from Rome, and the powers that be that have kept Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti in jail may be indifferent to the opinions of the people and particularly the workers here. Nevertheless, it is becoming more and more evident to thinking people that such events help to stimulate hatred of Americans in Europe and are a powerful weapon in creating a world-wide revolutionary movement among the working class."

Workers in Italy Hold Sacco-Vanzetti Meetings

BOSTON.—Increasing anxiety all thru Italy over the fate of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the New England radicals convicted on a capital charge, is indicated in cable dispatches and Roman newspapers just arrived here.

Sacco-Vanzetti agitation committees, it appears from the labor press of the country, are holding meetings in Rome, Milan, Turin, Genoa, Spezia, Piacenza and a score of other places.

Communist, socialist and syndicalist leaders are denouncing the Italian government as "subservient to America" in its failure to take more effective action towards the release of the two Italians.

Deputy Leone Mucci, Socialist representative from Sacco's native province of Puglia, in an address from the parliament floor demanded from the government a clear-cut statement of policy in the Sacco-Vanzetti matter.

Tosti Valminuta, the new undersecretary of foreign affairs, replied that efforts for the men have been made directly from Rome, as well as by Ambassador Rolando Ricci in Washington.

PARIS ELECTS COMMUNISTS

The Communists Andre Marty and M. Badina have been overwhelmingly elected to the municipal council of Paris.

Both Marty and Badina were elected to the council last year, but were not permitted to serve, the Council of State ruling that they had lost their civil rights thru being convicted for a part in the Black Sea mutiny, when the French sailors refused to fire on the Russian Bolsheviki at the Soviet port of Odessa.

Altho women are not eligible for municipal councilorships, Mme. Marthe Bigot, a Communist school teacher who was [illegible] charged with being an "agitator," received 352 votes, thus preventing the leading candidate in the third district from obtaining a majority, and making another ballot necessary.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] steadily increase in the suffering of their children.

In Europe deepest misery has been reached by the working masses. We are swiftly approaching the same level.

Edwin Hoernle appealing to the proletariat of Europe on behalf of their children gives the following harrowing details of the conditions now existing and towards which we are drifting:

Mortality Among Children Grows

"In the years 1914-18 the mortality of the children from the age of 5 to 15 years has in Prussia gone from 25,720 to 50,391. The Central Committee of the German Red Cross Association, Department of Mother and Child, reports that amongst 485,000 children out of a total population of 3,500,000 in Berlin:

29,000 suffer from tuberculosis.

77,000 are ill and badly undernourished.

120,000 are acutely undernourished.

"According to exact reports there are in 43 great cities in Germany 200,633 children suffering with tuberculosis, 835,000 ill and badly undernourished.

"In Kaiserslautern out of 8,214 children only 2,784 were sufficiently dressed, while the clothing of 917 consisted of nothing but rags; 8 had no shirts whatever, while 220 possessed only one each; 345 had no underwear, 438 no shoes.

Death Takes French Children

"The Bureau of Statistics of France has published figures which go far to prove that France, like the rest of the European countries records an appalling mortality of children. Out of 10,000 children, according to these figures, the following number have died: In Rouen 294, in Lille 342, in Dunkirch 507, in Halluin 509. In Paris half the number of all children die before they are weaned, the cause of this tremendous percentage being lack of nurseries and other institutions devoted to the welfare of children.

"The Bruxelles newspaper "Le Peuple" reports that in Germany there are one million sick children, that in Austria 700,000 children have died of hunger, that in Poland 1,000,000 children are suffering hunger in every sense of the word."

U. S. Government Silent

Governments do not compile figures to show its failures; and the United States government has given out no figures which would tend to show the exact conditions of the workers' children in the "free" United States.

[illegible]

THE REVISED PSALM

Harding is now my shepherd and I die in want;
He maketh me to lie down on the park benches; he leadeth me beside the free soup houses.
He restoreth my doubt in the Republican party; he leadeth me in the paths of destruction for his party's sake.
Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of starvation, I do fear evil, for thou art against me, thy policies and the profiteers they frighten me.
Thou preparest a reduction in wages before me in the presence of mine enemies; thou anointest my income with taxes; my expenses runneth over my income
Surely, poverty and unemployment will follow me all the days of this normalcy administration, and I will dwell in a rented house forever.—
Swiped

Our conditions grow worse daily. The action of the capitalist class must be forestalled, and it can only be forestalled by united action on the part of the working masses.

In the words of Edwin Hoernle: PROLETARIAN PARENTS! INTO YOUR HANDS HAS BEEN LAID THE DECISION OVER YOUR FATE AND THAT OF YOUR CHILDREN!

California Communist Trials Again Postponed

OAKLAND, CAL.—The trials of Reed, Tobey, Smith and Dolsen, former members of the Communist Labor party, charged with "criminal syndicalism," is again postponed. It has been dragging on now since 1919.

Dolsen pointed out to Judge Church that he had been tried once separately, and the jury had disagreed, and that he is at the very least entitled to another separate trial.

The Better America Federation and kindred forces, however, have their hearts set on a joint trial, in the style of the recent I. W. W. cases, and the probability is that Dolsen's contention will not be granted, but that the four named, together with Ragsdale and Snyder, will be tried together—if they ever are tried.

C. A. Tobey, Jr., is scheduled to be tried April 10. His crime consisted in selling Communist literature.

FIRST ANNUAL
MASQUERADE AND CIVIC BALL
given by the
UNITED LABOR COUNCIL
OF GREATER NEW YORK AND VICINITY
SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 8th, 1922
at
WEBSTER HALL
119-25 East 11th Street
BE SURE TO BE THERE

BOOKS FOR WORKERS
FOR RAILROADERS
The Railroader's Next Step—Amalgamation. Wm. Z. Foster's newly revised edition of former pamphlet $.25
FOR MINERS
[illegible] and Union Wreckers, Gildea .10
FOR ALL WORKERS
Resolutions and Decisions of the Red Labor Union International .15
The Revolutionary Crisis in Germany, England, Italy and France, Foster .25
LYCEUM-LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
Workers Party of America
Room 405 799 Broadway New York City

THE TOILER BOOK SHOP
208 East 12th Street, New York City

HERE IS A PARTIAL LIST OF BOOKS IN STOCK

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Engels	$0.75
The Evolution of Property. By P. Lafargue	.75
Evolution, Social and Organic. By A. M. Lewis	.75
The Struggle Between Science and Superstition. By A. M. Lewis	.75
The World's Revolutions. By E. Untermann	.75
The Communist Manifesto. By Engels	.75
Communism and Christianism. By Wm. M. Brown	.25
The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
The Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
The Communist Program. By Bucharin	.25
The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade. By N. Lenin	.25
Left Communism and Infantile Disorder. By N. Lenin	.25
The State and Revolution. By N. Lenin	.25
The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. By A. Losovsky	.10
Nicolai Lenin, His Life and Work. By G. Zinovieff	.10
The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. By N. Lenin	.10
Communism and the Family. By Alexandra Kollontay	.10
Problems of the Third International. By Ramsay Macdonald	.10
Should Communists Participate in Reactionary Trade Unions? By N. Lenin	[illegible]
Labor in Irish History. By James Connolly	[illegible]
A.B.C. of Communism. By Bukharin	[illegible]
The Russian Revolution. By W. Z. Foster	[illegible]
The New Policies of Soviet Russia. By Lenin, Bukharin, [illegible]	[illegible]
Through the Russian Revolution. By Albert Rhys Williams	[illegible]
The Proletarian Revolution in Russia. By Leon Trotzky and N. Lenin. (In paper [illegible])	[illegible]
[illegible] the Final Stage of Capitalism. By N. Lenin	[illegible]
Ten Days That Shook the World. By John Reed	[illegible]
The Revolutionary Crisis of [illegible] in Germany, England, Italy and France. By W. Z. Foster	.25

Mail Orders will receive prompt attention.

[illegible] Harrison Tours New England in Drive for Workers Party

By CALEB HARRISON, National Secretary, Workers Party

[illegible] New England cities there's [illegible] campaign of the Workers Party activity in the vicinity. Many old-timers in Socialist activity are anxious to learn just how we differ from the S. P. and the S. L. P., the I. W. W., and why the need of a new political party of labor. These old-timers very soon understand the value of the differences and begin to show appreciation of our practical program. The result is, many subscriptions to THE WORKER are taken.

Commune Day at Lawrence

In Lawrence the local comrades had arranged a Commune celebration. The Lithuanian comrades had a very good musical program arranged that pleased the audience very much.

In Peabody we had a very good meeting. This is a leather town where the Leather Workers' Union is very active, and progressive, too. The National Organizer of the Leather Workers was our chairman. The many English speaking workers in attendance appreciated the meeting very much. The prospects for a strong English branch in Peabody are very bright. At present we have only Russian and Finnish branches in Peabody.

In Chelsea the meeting was not large, due to the decision of the committee to hold the meeting in a hall distant from the place where meetings are regularly held. In Quincy we had a good meeting. Here we have a large Finnish branch, with prospects also for an Italian and an English branch soon.

Speaks to Salem Jobless

I spoke at a meeting of the unemployed in Salem. These meetings are conducted by the Central Labor Union and are well attended.

In Norwood we had an excellent meeting. The hall of the Finnish branch on Chapel St. was filled with workers of every nationality, including Americans. Here we took up a large collection, sold eleven "sub" cards and a big bundle of THE WORKER. The comrades were much pleased with the success of the meeting and hope to have a strong English branch soon.

In Providence the hall owned by the Co-operative Society was well filled. Here we have a few English speaking comrades who are old-timers in the Socialist and Labor movement; men who have been on the job all the time.

Aid in the Textile Strike

They took an active part in bringing the textile workers out on strike along the Pawtuxet valley in Rhode Island.

These comrades are also active in the Providence Local of the Amalgamated Textile Workers, which local is doing excellent work financially and morally for the strikers.

On Saturday I took a ride down to Arctic and Natick, the center of strike activity in the Pawtuxet valley. The strike is solid. The giant factories are silent and dark. The workers are in earnest in this strike, devoting all their time to maintaining the morale of the strike by taking care of the needs of everybody in a most efficient manner.

Everybody gets plenty to eat in the strikers' restaurants. Besides this, all the talented youngsters, who have good voices or ability to play musical instruments are utilized to give entertainments; games of all kinds are played and everybody has a good time between the periods of strike duty.

Physically and spiritually the strikers are better off than they ever were. Only one thing is necessary to strengthen the situation and that is, to establish connection between the workers in the two strike fields.

The officials of the two unions may not see the importance of this move but the membership should take advantage of every opportunity to get together.

Strikers Must Get Together

Nothing should be left undone to prevent the bosses of one district arranging a settlement and the other district ignored.

One thing is certain, the bosses of the two districts are conferring and the workers should do likewise to prevent being used against one another.

In Springfield, Saturday night, and Lowell, Sunday night, the meetings were like the average. In each place there is no English speaking membership, consequently foreign born workers made up the audience.

The private car of President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania was held in readiness for Cardinal Dougherty on his return from Rome. This should be encouraging news for those of the Cardinal's faith, who work for the open shop P. R. R.

Under Communism there will be leisure, pleasure and education for all.

Communism Made Easy

Fellow-worker!

You are not a Communist!

That's taken for granted, for very few of us are. Perhaps you never will be.

But, if you are a worker, a member of the working-class, that is, the class or part of the human race that works or labors to produce wealth for others; if, in other words, you happen to be one of "that large and respectable class, the men of no property," then you run a good risk of becoming a Communist some day.

Maybe you'll develop into one before the Social Revolution, or maybe you will follow the huge majority after the revolution and gradually discover that you have become a Communist in time for the Second Act, having missed the first, owing to causes which we won't discuss here.

Anyway, you aren't yet on the stage for the First Act of the greatest Historical Drama yet played. What we want you to do is to leave off sleeping or dozing and take a hand.

If the revolutionary discontent, that is shaking up your thoughts and emotions, drives you into the Workers Party, don't believe you've become a Communist, even then.

The only thing that distinguishes the usual member of the Workers Party from an outside rebel is that, he is moving more surely, and at a quicker pace to being a Communist. Nothing more!

Once you get inside and are marked fit for full membership, you are apt to think the trouble is all over.

You imagine you are a Communist and because you're one you can solve the most trying problems in the wink of an eye just because you are a Communist.

If you continue in this frame you'll never be one. You're too conceited to last. You think that the Russians are all wrong, that Lenin doesn't know what he's doing; you shout "who is this Trotzky, anyway?" and "didn't Liebknecht make a mess of things?"

But you'll get over that phase, and steady down. You don't annoy the older members—those who have been studying Communism for four or five years and yet hesitate to give a quick decision without a long debate, a thoro search, and clear thinking on it.

No! they smile, and say, "Oh, yes, I was once like that—he'll make good stuff when he gets more sense and experience."

You've drifted into the Party—forced there by some unknown motive or desire deep down in you.

The rebellious stirrings in you, the mental dissatisfaction, the primitive desire to get into a "herd" as the best way to fight for a cause,—a number of feelings, thoughts and instincts drove you in search of a movement which would respond to your desires.

At last after several trials of other "crowds," you became a Communist, —or thought you did.

After a while you understand a little about what Communism is. And this is how it looks to you.

Communists strive to overthrow the present rotten way of living and earning one's living; they strive to build up a better system of living for the workers by scrapping all that is useless and foul in this system, and by starting anew with all the good things and ways of the present on a better, more just, and more efficient foundation.

This is not as clear an idea about it as you'll have before we end this series. But leave it at that as the first inkling that the recruit gets, and we'll go along clearing it up, elaborating it, correcting it, thereby clearing up, elaborating and correcting our own ideas about it.

The Communists are always and ever seeking to perfect the instruments they use, and ever and always try to apply these tools in the best ways,—the ways that will get them home soonest.

They are not concerned about the ways, or methods, or means,—only about the end to which they aspire.

To become one who is able to wield this weapon, you must study hard, and think clear; you must take an active part in the every-day work of the Party; you must have constant experience in the every-day struggles of your own class, the workingclass.

You must study and learn from those who know more than you, who have had more experience than you.

While learning don't forget to act, —act in the Party life, reap what experience you can; and struggle on in your work-a-day life, inspiring your fellow workers in their fight against rotten conditions,—study on, struggle on, with this one hope: "I am on the road to being a Communist, quite able to lead my class in its struggle one of these days, perhaps very soon."

Literature Loan Campaign Is Reaching High Pitch

By ELMER T. ALLISON

As the weeks pass, the Literature Loan Campaign of the Workers Party, instituted for the purpose of establishing a department for the publication and sale of the Party's literature, assumes greater proportions. Increasing receipts in the form of loans reach the National Office each week. Communications from the membership compel the belief that practically all locals and party branches are watchful of the Department's development and anxious to help in its growth.

Below are published some of the most recent receipts together with the names of the comrades who have backed the Loan Campaign with their dollars.

I. Ymsen, $5; Local Richmond, Va., $3; Robert J. [illegible], $1; Finnish Branch, West Frankfort, Ill., $5; Finnish Branch, Ashby, Mass., $3; [illegible] Total to March [illegible]

One outstanding effect of the loan campaign is the appearance of the first volume of the "A B C of Communism," by Bucharin. This volume is the Party's own publication. The second volume is to follow at once. Another publication just off the press for which the funds have been furnished by the Loan Campaign, is the "Revolutions and Decisions of the Red Labor Union International." This is now on sale in the Party's Literature Department. The A B C retails at 50c. a copy, ten or more copies at 35c. each. The other booklet is a 15c. volume of nearly a hundred pages. The wholesale prize is 11c.

As the funds arrive in the form of loans, from the membership, the good work of publication by the Party of its own literature, will develop. Other pamphlets and books will be issued just as fast as funds permit. All comrades should feel the deepest interest in this vital department of Party work and make a loan to assist it to do the work of propaganda and education so necessary.

PARTY ACTIVITIES

District One, Workers' Party, Holds Convention. The first convention of District One, which includes all New England states except Connecticut, will be held Sunday, April 2, at Chelsea, Mass. Caleb Harrison, National Secretary of the Party, will attend.

In addition to the reports of the national, district, and language section organizers and the election of a permanent district committee there will be time devoted to the questions of unemployment, trade union activity, the Textile Strike, Russian Famine Relief, Political Prisoners, Press, Educational Work and the next election campaign.

New Russian Branch in Philadelphia. An application for charter was received from a newly organized branch of the Workers Party in Philadelphia. The branch will do its business in the Russian language.

Denver, Colo. Out of a mass meeting called to protest against the imprisonment of workers under the Industrial Court Law by joint action of the trade unions, and various radical political and educational organizations a movement for independent political action has developed.

A committee of 100 has been sent out to call for precinct organization and all factions are lining up to take part in the demonstration. Several arrests followed the mass meeting, but all cases were dismissed.

City Central Committee, Greater New York, Meets on Saturday, April First

Local Greater New York at the last meeting of the City Central Committee adopted the By-Laws of the local. Branches must elect the officers and committees which the By-Laws call for and of which they have been informed in the last letter sent to the organizers by the local office. There are not to be new elections, only the election of additional officers and committees. At the next meeting of the Committee on April 1st, the Labor Temple, 243—84th Street, Room 8, a new City Executive Committee of nine members is to be elected.

Branch Membership Lists

All branch organizers are advised that the list of names and addresses of the members of their branches must be filed with the local office within one week on forms provided.

Dues, Organization Stamps, Paris Commune Day Tickets

All branches must pay up their financial obligations, on dues, organization stamps, and Paris Commune Day tickets. Branches which have not made any payment will be denied representation at the City Central Committee.

All literature agents must regularly order and receive supplies of The Worker and books for sale at the halls and meetings in their territory. Call at the local office and see our literature agent, Frank Grund, to make arrangements.

Education

The local announced a series of lectures on the International and American labor movement. Registration for these courses should go on and the names of comrades sent to the local office in order to make reservations.

Unemployment

Meeting of the members of the Party who are unemployed will be held at The Toiler Building, 208 E. 12th St., on Saturday, April 8th, at 2 P. M. All branches should see that those concerned attend this meeting. Put it on the order of business at the next meeting and receive a report.

May Day Demonstration

The local will participate in a May Day demonstration for the release of political prisoners which is being arranged under joint auspices of political, labor and defense bodies of New York. In the next issue of The Worker announcement will be made of a meeting of the membership of the local to arrange for our part in the demonstration.

Foster Meeting

April 7th, at Beethoven Hall, at 8 P. M., William Z. Foster, Leader of the Great Steel Strike and Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, will speake on the task of the radicals in the Trade Unions. He will organize the New York division of the League. All members of the Party must be present at this meeting. All militants in the Labor Movement should attend.

Volunteers Wanted

The local office is in need of clerical help—especially typists. The names of those who can devote some voluntary work are requested. Drop into the office and help.

Notice of Branch Activity in Press

All branches are requested to inform the local of their activity. Branches should send notices to the Local office and we will have them inserted in The Worker and other papers.

William W. Weinstone,
Executive Secretary.

ORGANIZE IN LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES.—The city central committee of the Workers Party is composed of representatives of eight branches, the English, Hungarian, Finnish, and Jewish branches being numerically the strongest. Several other foreign language branches are in process of formation, among them an Italian branch. A branch of the Young Workers' League is holding weekly meetings.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER. KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Under Communism none will live thru the exploitation of others.

[illegible]

[illegible] that we are cowards, sneaks and yellow [illegible] little reformist [illegible] critics of Detroit (and elsewhere) are they [illegible] the same thing. [illegible] the point of view of the revolutionary [illegible] of reformistic tendencies and beliefs they [illegible] their intelligence. They do not realize the strength of our position.

It might do well to examine the characteristics of the reformists. By what signs can we point to a man (or a woman) and say: "Here is a reformist?"

Beliefs of Reformism.

The reformist believes in the struggle for immediate needs of the workers. He is to be found in the front-line of the working-class when the workers demand such little things as higher wages, shorter hours, old age pensions, workmen's compensation and the like.

They advocate these reforms because they believe that the achievement of these immediate ends will materially assist the working-class, will better the condition of the working-class.

Moreover, the reformist believes that a large number of such measures will so better the lot and condition of the working-class, will give them such a great measure of control over the capitalist that the capitalist class will be gradually and peacefully eliminated.

Here are the characteristic points of a reformist! He advocates reforms because he believes they will materially better the lot of the workers, and that a series of such measures will gradually and peacefully accomplish the revolution.

Rejects Experience As Teacher.

The reformist seems to close his eyes to all the many lessons of bitter experience. He continues his weary way, believing in the accomplishment of the workers' paradise a la minimum wages and the like. But he does not seem to see the total futility of his program. He is in the same position as the Christian who still stoutly declares that God created the world in six days and that the only cure for disease is "trust in the Lord"!

The faithful Christian (who carries the faith to its logical conclusion) will have nothing of "new-fangled" science, preferring to place his life and health in the hands of superstition! He falls an easy prey to all manner of quacks and "medicine-men" and soon "goes to his Lord."

The reformist is in just the same position. He abandons science and scientific methods, and places his trust in "peace and goodwill." Fancy John Ruskin (poor soul!) trying to lead the modern capitalist class to a change of heart and greater co-operation!

The scientist argues from cause to effect. Without the law of causation the remarkable progress of industry and commerce during the last hundred years would have been impossible.

Hits Policy of the Quack.

Nothing happens without a cause. The corn on your favorite toe, the bald places on your head, the pain in your stomach—all spring from various causes. They are the natural effects of causes: And if the corn is to be removed it will be of no use simply cutting it out whilst leaving the nail in your boot, nor will it help any to take medicine unless that medicine goes to the cause of your trouble.

The same applies to the problems which afflict the working-class. These problems do not spring from the good-will of the Lord, nor are they the results of the evil temper of the devil. They do not trouble us by chance. They are the effects of certain causes, and if we are to make any progress in regard to this matter then must we apply ourselves to the causes.

To ignore the cause of poverty and seeking to remove poverty by other means is worse than futile. It is the policy of the quack, of the medicine-man of the savages in the back-woods.

This is where the reformist fails, and the reason for his failure! He is a social quack who is always seeking to remove poverty by dealing with effects and ignoring causes. He is always striving to mop the floor when the tap is turned on!

Labor in the Bread Line.

That the above is not merely good theory is shown by the bitter experiences of the workers in many countries. Despite the frantic efforts of our reformists, statesmen, editors, professors, priests and a host of other "authorities" the lot of the working-class gets worse. The legislatures pass laws by the thousand, the courts issue their injunctions, the professors and editors write long treatises and profound editorials—but all to no purpose. Altho the reformers have had their way and have succeeded in passing reform until the Statute Books of the world cannot be seen for the reforms, millions of workers are in the "bread line." Central Europe is an economic ruin, international credits are on the verge of utter collapse and the condition of the working-class is being reduced to one of the greatest servility.

These are the lessons to be learned by those who will heed! Nor are these lessons of many countries and many experiments surprising when we remember that the reformists do not go to the cause of all this misery and suffering! They ignore the cause of unemployment and then are pained when we inform them that they are quacks!

Must Remove Causes.

It is time that the workers of the world threw overboard the nostrums, pills and potions of the social and political quacks who have been trying to cure society of its diseases whilst leaving the root cause untouched. It is imperative that the workers understand the cause of their poverty and their misery, and understanding, make a concerted effort to remove the cause.

The cause of all this wide-spread misery and suffering is not far to seek. When the means of production (land, factories, mines, railroads, machinery, etc.) are owned and controlled by a small group of financiers and capitalists the great mass of the wealth-producers must work for wages. In other words, they receive only a small portion of the wealth which they have produced.

Here, then, is the root cause of poverty, unemployment, prostitution, crime and the many evils which afflict the long-suffering working-class. It must be our business to attack this root cause and remove it. That is the scientific method. It is the only method which will be productive of successful results. Capitalism must be removed if the workers continue to live.

Not Reform but Revolution.

Not social reforms but social revolution must be the policy of the future. Not bolstering up a system of society which has declared itself unable to feed, clothe and shelter the mass of the workers, but its abolition. This is the policy of the working-class in all countries.

Why, then do we participate in the every-day struggles of the working-class? Why do we throw our strength into the scale on the side of the workers who demand a little more "hay and oats" under capitalism? Are not these the tactics of the reformists whom we have just condemned as social quacks?

We do not engage in these struggles of the workers with any of the illusions of the reformists about betterment under capitalism and of peaceful evolution, thereby, into the Socialist Republic. We accuse the reformists of quackery and fraud.

But we know that these struggles serve as bases for better organization and understanding. Out of these struggles the workers come with new and bitter experiences. The weaknesses of their organized efforts are demonstrated in no uncertain manner. The methods to be adopted are clearly proclaimed by the logic of events.

Moreover, participation in these struggles for "hay and oats" enables us to gain the ears of the masses, so that we can expose the shallow sophistry of the reformers and prove to the workers the correct tactics to adopt. By such methods, we secure contact with the mass of the workers and endeavor to organize the largest possible mass of the workers for the overthrow of capitalist oppression.

We Must Not Degenerate.

At the same time we must be careful not to degenerate to the level of the reformists. Not for a moment must we lose sight of the fact that we participate in order to accomplish, not the betterment of conditions under capitalism, but the organization and education of the masses [illegible]

[illegible] Young Workers League

Report of National Organization Committee.

With the delaying of the convention to May 13 has come about a renewal of activities on a national scale to insure the success of the greatest of events in the revolutionary youth movement in this country.

Branches of the Y. W. L. who heretofore were dubious as to whether they could send delegates to the national convention are now certain that this important step can now be taken by them. This is attributed to the setting over of the date for the convention.

News from the local branches and from the newly organized sections is very encouraging.

Strong Branch at Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh has organized a strong branch of the Y. W. L., consisting of 38 members, with Agnes Peterka as secretary, who writes in saying: "Not to be over laudatory, and yet to say the least the draft (Manifesto and Program) is an inspiration to the comrades here who have made up their minds to launch this revolutionary young movement in Pittsburgh, and, in fact, the country over because the work is too capable of ideal accomplishment in the near future to be restricted to any one vicinity." We expect great things from Pittsburgh.

The State Organization of the I. Y. P. S. L. of N. J. has answered the Convention Call of the Y. W. L., to come to our convention and become part of the Y. W. L. The Labor Educational Society of Newark has done likewise.

A short but interesting letter comes from August J. Valentine, of the United Mine Workers of America, Local 4112, Cokstone, West Virginia. Comrade Valentine, tho but 17 years of age, has seen some real fighting against the master class in the coal fields. The miners in his section are now locked out by the coal barons. Valentine is organizing a branch of the Y. W. L., and if we can give him some financial aid, he will represent the youth of West Virginia at our convention. Contributions for this purpose are invited. The fact that the Y. W. L. attracts to it such elements is proof of its revolutionary spirit.

Live Branch at Frisco

In San Francisco a live bunch of young workers and students have organized a branch of the Y. W. L. which forms a worthy part of the national organization. W. T. Brown, secretary of the Workers Party in that city, writes us concerning the members of the Y. W. L. . . . "some of the answers to questions evinced in these young people of 14 and 15, an intelligence, a perception, an originality, and a spirit rarely found among adults of the larger class. . ." Marvin Sanford is the secretary of this active branch of the Y. W. L. on the Pacific Coast and reports that they already have there 20 members and are just starting.

A Branch of the Y. W. L. was organized recently in Paterson (Jewish branch) with 36 members. A successful Commune affair was held by them on March 18.

Charles Kiselis is working hard in Racine, Wis., to start an organization of the Y. W. L., and is meeting with success. The work is slow, but he is not discouraged.

The Y. W. L. in Jamestown say they like the Manifesto and Program, and are eager to see the Y. W. L. grow. Comrades in Ashtabula, Ohio, are aiding in distributing the Young Worker. Cleveland is organizing. Los Angeles writes: "We are awaiting arrival of the Young Worker with keen perception." Henre Victor Honre of L'Union Franco-Belge, Lawrence, is on the job organizing. Angora, Minn., is aiding in popularizing the Young Worker.

Benefit at Philadelphia

The Banater Jugend Verein (branch of the Y. W. L. in Philadelphia) is making arrangements to run an affair for the benefit of the national organization. Fifty per cent. of the proceeds will go to the national office, 25 to themselves and 25 to the city organization of Philadelphia.

The comrades in Aberdeen, Wash., keep steadily at the work of organization. They say their organization will be second to none in a short time. Chicago informs us that their dance and entertainment held on March 11 was a "success morally and financially."

The March-April issue of the Young Worker is just off the press. We know the distribution of this issue will proceed rapidly, and the only danger is that enough copies have not been printed, [illegible]

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER. KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]
Subscription rates: [illegible] Foreign, $2.50. Bundle rates, [illegible]
Advertising rates upon application.

Lenin's Illness

The "incurable disease" from which Lenin is said to be suffering and to which the capitalist press has devoted so much space lately is apparently nothing more or less than the "horrible virus of Bolshevism" against which the Allies erected the famous "sanitary cordon" of buffer states with the result that in isolating Russia they have very nearly ruined themselves.

If Lenin and other Communist leaders could only be cured of this disease, which impels them to work for the destruction of capitalism, how happy the plunderbund would be. The next best thing of course is for the victims of this disease to die; the hope being that the Soviet government would collapse. This hope grows rather dim, however, with the increasing knowledge that Russian policies are framed and Russian affairs managed by an organization—the Communist party—in which the individual counts for less than in any organization ever constructed.

The death of Lenin would be a calamity, but it would not be the calamity for Russia that the death of Lloyd George would be for the imperialists of England for instance. The success of the Russian revolution does not depend upon any individual but upon organization.

Lenin, however, is not even seriously ill. He is tired and so is every other active worker in Russia. He is weak and so is Russia, but they are not any weaker than the capitalist system is.

He's Out Again

"Bill" Burns, the Hawkshaw Detective of the Harding administration at Washington, D. C., just can't keep out of the newspapers.

The man who caught "Lindenfeldt" is back again in the public eye with the declaration that radical activities in this country have increased greatly within the last year or two.

He is said to have made this "startling admission" to a congressional sub-committee, blaming the growth of the radical movement on the Russian Soviet Government, on the prevailing unemployment and on prohibition. He supported department of justice legislation to head off this terrible increase in "red" activities.

We invite "Bill" Burns to become a regular subscriber to THE WORKER. He will find in its columns just what is going on in the revolutionary struggle in this country, the progress it is making, and the reasons for its growth.

But that would be too simple for sleuths of the type that the United States government puts at the head of its Bureau of Investigation.

Sleuths must have MYSTERY, and there is no mystery in a publication that circulates openly thru the mails. And with the mystery gone, someone might begin to question the advisability of keeping Burns on the job. And far be it from us to rob any [illegible] of his daily bread.

Larkin's Release Held Up

Governor Miller, of New York, has refused to liberate Jim Larkin, declaring such action is premature pending an appeal to a higher court.

Alexander I. Rorke, the Assistant District Attorney who prosecuted Larkin, declares, in a letter to the governor, that:

> **"It may well be that, even considering the crime he committed and for which he has been convicted, he has served a sufficient time in prison to accomplish the purpose of his imprisonment. If this be the case, I see no serious objection to commuting his sentence AND TO GRANTING LIBERTY TO HIM AND LIKEWISE TO ALL THE OTHER DEFENDANTS."**

There we have two conflicting attitudes towards the release of the Communist prisoners, because what holds true for Larkin is also true of the others. The governor wants to wait on the higher courts. The prosecuting attorney doesn't mention this phase of the case. He is only worried whether the prisoners have been punished sufficiently.

It is clear that the state officialdom is planning some action. It realizes that working-class expression is on the move and demanding the release of Larkin, Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Ferguson, Winitzky and the others.

In those hours when he has time for reflection, the conscience of the prosecuting attorney must bother him. In his letter to the governor he says:

> **"I have been informed that the leaders of the general strike in Winnipeg, Canada, which took place in 1916, resulting in riots, destruction of property and bloodshed, were given their liberty by the Canadian authorities after a year's imprisonment.**
>
> **"The Left Wing Manifesto cited the Winnipeg general strike as the proper method to be pursued by the proletariat of the United States to overthrow our government. The action of the Canadian government may possibly be a precedent."**

There was, of course, no "riots, destruction of property and bloodshed" in the general strike that put Winnipeg into the hands of its workers, just as Seattle, for a time, was taken over by its working class.

But numerous of the strike officials were arrested, placed on trial, convicted and sent to prison. Canadian labor, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, stood by their spokesmen and they were soon released.

The case of Karl Liebknecht, who received only a few months sentence under the Kaiser, was often cited as comparison with the heavy punishment meted out to Eugene V. Debs.

The prosecuting attorney in the New York cases himself confesses the crime that was committed in sending the Communist prisoners to the bastiles of New York. They have already served a longer time than their Canadian comrades.

The New York prisoners were convicted for holding an opinion, for an idea, not for any act that they committed. The Canadian labor spokesmen went to prison for having taken an actual and prominent part in a great demonstration of the solidarity and power of labor.

The New York courts can, therefore, be construed as holding that it is more dangerous to think than it is to act.

The working class must insist on the right, not only to think for itself, but also to act for itself. It can safeguard that right to some extent by demanding and securing the immediate liberation of the Communist prisoners. If the governor of New York wants to know whether there is a demand on the part of labor for the release of its spokesmen, and that is evidently what he is waiting for, let that demand roll high and engulf the executive mansion at Albany.

Workers! Forward to the release of your prisoners. Forward with all your might.

[illegible]

And The World calls [illegible] staff that "Sammy" Gompers [illegible] whispering into the ears of the [illegible] many years, and that his friend [illegible] with for many a day. Lloyd George [illegible] lackeys, with their counterparts in other lands, [illegible] job for a rather long time, too. These [illegible] if The World and Emma Goldman are [illegible]. Let us turn to Monday.

MONDAY, MARCH [illegible]:

"Russian Revolution a Failure, Says Miss Goldman, and [illegible] by the Bolshevik Tyranny.

"Iron Hand of the Communist State Soon Began to Separate People from the Revolution, Which Was Their Own Work—Peace of Brest-Litovsk with Its 'Betrayal' of Russians Set Forth as First of All the [illegible]."

That ought to make Lenin, Trotsky and the Red Army lose sleep. The Peace of Brest-Litovsk was endorsed by the All-Russian Soviet at the time it was promulgated, and everyone seemed persuaded of its advisability. Now comes Miss Goldman! Her exception to the Treaty drives us all the more to its favor. We are inclined to the opinion that it saved the revolution. And that the workers and peasants stood by the Revolution is amply proven by the success with which it weathered the stormy months and years that followed Brest-Litovsk.

TUESDAY, MARCH 28:

"Russia's Peasants, Their Food Seized by the Bolsheviki, Turned Against Rule of Communism.

"'Forcible Collection,' Writes Emma Goldman, Another Cause Contributing to the Failure of the Russian Revolution—Abolition of the Co-operatives and Reduction of the Soviets to Mere Mouthpieces of the Government Other Factors in the Result."

Soviet Rule in Russia has adopted various measures in dealing with the peasants, the great mass of whom do not realize the full significance of the revolution. At first forcible collection of surplus foodstuffs was resorted to. It was absolutely necessary at the time, and the Goldman-World disclosures reveal nothing new. Later a tax in kind was levied, while at the present time free trade is permitted.

Miss Goldman's compilation for The World sounds like a repetition of the counter-revolutionary propaganda of the days that followed close upon the fall of the czar. So, too, the complaint against the "Dictatorship of the Communist Party" in Russia.

Thru Emma Goldman and The World the black flag of anarchism joins its folds with the black flag of capitalism to befuddle the minds of the workers. We shiver, fearful of the results! Three days of the Goldman-World exposures and the Russian Revolution still lives!

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29:

"Red Terror of the Cheka, Spy, Policeman, Judge, Executioner, Described by Miss Goldman.

"With Absolute Power of Life and Death, This Secret Organization, She Declares, Is Potent Factor in the Strangling of the Russian Revolution—'We Are the Representatives of Organized Terror,' She Quotes Its Chief as Saying—Its Violent Methods."

Another swat against the "Cheka," which might bring the famous words of Julius Caesar up to date and declare, "Et tu, Emma!"

Perhaps Miss Goldman will argue for the White Terror, as against the Red, in future installments. She has made a good beginning. In the meantime the Russian Revolution shows its stability by abolishing the "Cheka" and substituting other weapons in its place

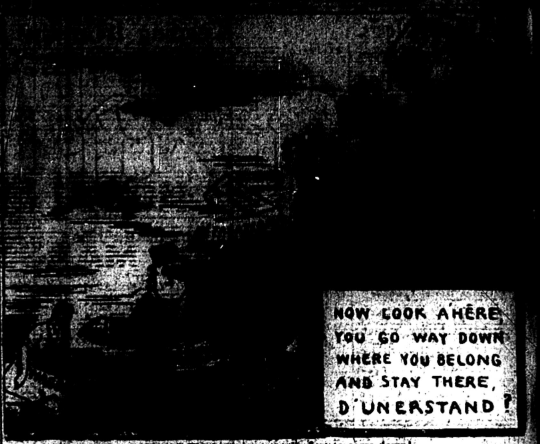
THURSDAY, MARCH 30:

"How Fares the Child in Russia? It Has Fallen into Evil Days, and Miss Goldman Tells Why.

"Crediting the Bolsheviki with Earnest Effort in Regard to Education, She Declares the Bureaucratic State Has Frustrated Best Work of the Communists—This Is Seen in System of 'Show' Schools, While in Others Children Are Ill-Fed as Well as Ill-Treated."

If there is anything that critics of Soviet Russia have been unanimous upon, it has been the opinion that the new day is dawning for the children in the Workers' Republic. But Miss Goldman must needs stand alone. That is where she will continue to stand as the Soviet Republic marches on to greater victories. The cause for which she claims to speak suffers as much as she by her alliance with the capitalist "World."

At this point we went to press, breathlessly awaiting the succeeding articles.


NOW LOOK AHERE YOU GO WAY DOWN WHERE YOU BELONG AND STAY THERE, D'UNERSTAND?

Wages! The last to go up, the first to come down!

Greetings to the Freiheit

This week the Communist movement in America, makes history with the appearance of the first issue of the "Freiheit" (Freedom), official organ of the Jewish Section of the Workers Party.

It is a great event when the working class launches a daily newspaper. It is an indication of virility, of life, of progress. It is proof that the struggle is moving forward to victory.

The appearance of the Freiheit is one of the big results achieved because of the unity brought about thru the launching of the Workers Party.

With the holding of the convention last Christmas the Jewish Section of the American Labor Alliance united with the Jewish Federation that had severed its relations with the Socialist Party and was then co-operating with the Workers' Council's groups. It was this unity that makes it possible to put out, at this time, a daily paper speaking for the most advanced section of the Jewish working class.

Freiheit will not only be compelled to struggle against the capitalist dailies in the Jewish language, but also compete with the organ of the yellow Socialists, the Forward, edited by Abraham Cahan, who supported the Russian revolution only as long as it asked for lip service.

Freiheit will speak boldly for the Jewish working class. It should win the unions in the needle trades for the American communist movement. It should be as a pillar of fire encouraging the English speaking workers to establish a daily of their own in the English language, probably the greatest need of the Communist movement in America today.

The unity of the revolutionary workers in this country under the Communist standards grows daily. Let it continue to grow until it triumphs over all obstacles, over all its enemies.

According to the very latest dope from the listening post held down by Gumshoe Bill Burns, as soon as you kick the soap-box from under a red he comes up thru a man-hole.

* * *

Bill also says that New York City is a fertile field for underground work because of its extensive subway system. The reds take advantage of the discontent caused by the congestion. Thus do the B. R. T. and the I. R. T. aid the social revolution.

* * *

Not to be outdone by his subordinate, Attorney-General Daugherty comes to bat with a proposal to do away with the civil service system. He says he would rather leave the selection of government employees to any "self-respecting committee," of either the Democrat or Republican party. This reminds us of the old recipe for rabbit soup. It begins: "First catch your rabbit."

Elections and Election Campaigns

By EMIL LYON

The Workers Party declares that the workers cannot achieve their emancipation from the oppression and exploitation of capitalism thru the election of a majority of the members of the legislative bodies of the capitalist government and its executive officers.

While the capitalist government is democratic in form, the realities of the workers' situation in this formal democracy makes the hope of winning the struggle against capitalism thru adherence to the forms of action prescribed by the capitalists for their own protection, an illusion.

Millions of workers in the United States are disfranchised under naturalization laws, hundreds of thousands who are citizens cannot vote because of residential qualifications which the necessities of earning a living do not permit them to comply with.

The capitalists control thousands of newspapers, thru which they form the ideas of the masses in their interests; they control the schools, the colleges, the pulpit, the moving picture theatres, all of which are part of the machinery for the protection of the capitalist system.

When it serves their purpose, the capitalists do not hesitate to expel members of legislative bodies elected by workingclass votes.

Even were it possible to elect a workingclass majority in the face of all impediments which the capitalists have raised against that possibility, the capitalists have already proven that they would not hesitate to use the military power of the capitalist state to suppress such a body.

While recognizing the hopelessness of elections as the means of winning the freedom of the workers, the Workers Party does not therefore refuse to participate in elections and election campaigns.

It will nominate candidates wherever possible and wage campaigns for their election.

It will use the election campaigns to expose the fraudulent character of capitalist democracy and for propaganda for the Soviets.

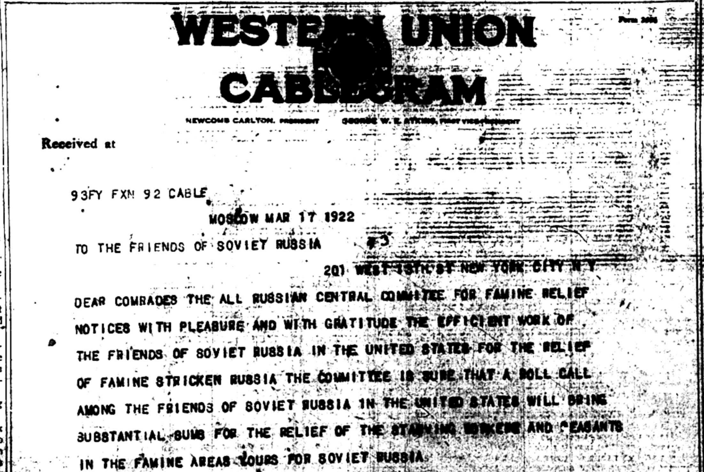
Its candidates, when elected to office, will use the forums of the legislative bodies for the same purpose.

INTERNATIONAL MEET

According to a Riga dispatch to the London Times, Leo. Kameneff announced at a Moscow Communist meeting, that a Conference of the three Internationals will take place in Berlin April 2. Kameneff is president of the Moscow soviet. He was formerly one of the heads of the Russian Trade Delegation at London.

The New York Times devotes one half column telling how Russian mail is being held up at Berlin thru fear of typhus contamination. It adds, however, that it is only being held up for disinfecting purposes. The capitalist press will never be able to disinfect the great example the workers of Russia are setting for enslaved labor in other lands to follow. That is really what is worrying "The Times." So it carries such stupid headlines as "Shun Russian Mail in Fear of Typhus," forgetting that its own columns carry a worse poison in that it kills the brains of men and women.

"I am sorry I cannot send more than two subs this time. All the readers of "THE WORKER" in this neck of the woods are well pleased with the same, and I surely think that with enough readers it will put a little fire [illegible] You will hear [illegible] Joe Crandall, [illegible]



WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM

Form 2[illegible]

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Received at

93FY FXN 92 CABLE

MOSCOW MAR 17 1922

TO THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 WEST 13TH ST NEW YORK CITY N Y

DEAR COMRADES THE ALL RUSSIAN CENTRAL COMMITEE FOR FAMINE RELIEF NOTICES WITH PLEASURE AND WITH GRATITUDE THE EFFICIENT WORK OF THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE RELIEF OF FAMINE STRICKEN RUSSIA THE COMMITTEE IS SURE THAT A ROLL CALL AMONG THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA IN THE UNITED STATES WILL BRING SUBSTANTIAL SUMS FOR THE RELIEF OF THE STARVING WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN THE FAMINE AREAS YOURS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

L KAMENEV

610P TC OK FXN FPL

For the Worker: One [illegible] Victory!

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

[illegible]

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STRIKE UNITES MINERS

Struggle with Coal Barons Brings Non-Unionists into Organization

An organization offensive in all the non-union fields is the big feature of the giant coal strike as we go to press. Small armies of organizers, taking their lives in their hands, working against the gun rule of state constabularies, imported thugs and guards, are bringing tens of thousands of new members into the United Mine Workers' organization, non-union miners that have never been reached before. This situation is especially true of Cossack-controlled non-union fields in Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

"Make the strike 100 per cent!" is the slogan of the miners' union, as heavy inroads are being made daily into non-union production.

Lawrence Dwyer, international executive board member for West Virginia, reports he took [illegible],000 new members into the union at one place, Sophia, with many new local unions being organized daily in the New River field, hitherto an impregnable fortress of the mine owners.

Dunne, Labor Editor of The Worker, Sees Strike Ranks Grow at Pittsburgh

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Labor Editor of "The Worker"

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The strike in this district has developed into an organization campaign on the part of the United Mine Workers. Dozens of organizers have been sent into the non-union districts, and the response of the non-union miners to the strike call has exceeded all expectations of those in charge of the campaign and has confounded the operators.

It is now evident that the tonnage figures from the non-union districts must be revised and that for some time at least production even in Fayette County, the heart of the non-union coking coal district, will be at a standstill.

This district, controlled by the Frick interests, has always resisted unionization, but the organization campaign has already closed the Gates, Edenborn, Ronco and Leckrone mines according to reports at district headquarters.

Frank Feeney, who worked under William Z. Foster during the steel strike, is heading a flying squad of organizers in Fayette County and the accessions to the ranks of the strikers are surprising even the most sanguine union men.

The Frick Company has offered a 20 per cent increase in the union rate to keep its men at work and has also fired 300 more coke ovens in an effort to combat the organization work.

The Oliver-Snyder Company has fired 200 additional ovens. The strikers claim that this is merely an attempt to give the impression of renewed activity, and that steam is being kept up at many mines where there are not enough men to operate the properties.

State troopers—the notorious Pennsylvania state constabulary—are patrolling the strike districts. Two hundred of them are in the Fayette County district and the operators have asked for additional detachments. The headquarters of the constabulary has issued a statement saying that no more troops can be spared for Fayette County at present.

In Greeneville County, Pa., a strong non-union field, 39 of the 45 mines are closed, and reports from the West Virginia district indicate that unlooked-for inroads have been made in all the non-union districts.

In the non-union Georges district in that state the miners have gone out almost to a man; operations in the New River and Winding Gulf district have also been suspended.

This is a 100 per cent strike as far as the unionized districts are concerned, and it is evident that the organization offensive of the United Mine Workers was something the operators had not counted on.

The political situation here is favorable to the miners as the death of Boies Penrose has left the politicians without leadership, and a bitter fight is in progress between the various factions.

None of the various groups contending for leadership are anxious to take the responsibility for turning loose the constabulary—regular and special—on the union miners.

To date there has been but little interference with the organizers of the United Mine Workers in the non-union districts; in Windber alone, where three organizers were arrested and deported, has there been any use of extra legal methods.

It is estimated that in this district are employed 150,000 miners, 45,000 are organized. The district headquarters of the United Mine Workers claims that on strike are 70,000

(Continued on Page Three)

Genoa, Soviet Russia and the Proletariat

NOTE: Genoa, the "new hope" of world imperialism, is gathering unto itself the dollar diplomats of the world. Unlike Versailles, unlike the Washington Disarmament Conference, unlike any conference of the kind ever held in history, the workers of a great country will be represented thru their own government, the Russian Soviet Republic. The workers will for this reason alone keep a strict and interesting watch on the Genoa gathering. Under the title of "Genoa, Soviet Russia and the Proletariat," Wilhelm Koenen, the German Communist, writes of this conference for THE WORKER as follows.

By WILHELM KOENEN.

The severe crisis which makes itself felt in the drop of exports as well as of public revenues in the Allied countries, and in protracted unemployment, compels the Entente capitalists for profit's sake of course, to seek new markets for their goods and to establish profitable trade-relations.

Under such economic pressure, the Entente capitalists, headed by England, were compelled to call the Genoa conference.

The very fact that all the capitalist powers are "resigned" (even though under many sighs and groans) to negotiate officially with the Bolsheviki shows how heavily the frightful economic crisis weighs upon all the capitalist governments.

Hit By Unemployment

Western European as well as American capitalism is sorely in need of economic relations with the 150,000,000 Russians, firstly in order to increase its exports, and secondly in order to resume the exploitation of the unemployed masses, with whose taxes the empty government treasuries are to be refilled.

All of the leading Allied statesmen, particularly those of England and Italy, are agreed that there can be no talk of economic reconstruction without first opening the Russian market and raw-material resources.

Up to the present, the world revolution could only maintain one strong outpost—the Soviet Power in

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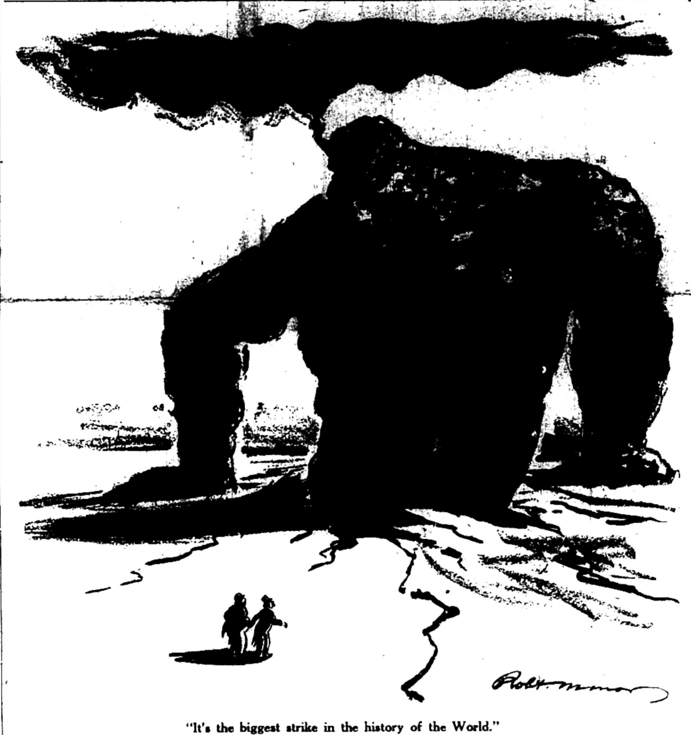

"It's the biggest strike in the history of the World."
"Except the Russian revolution."
"Yes, that, too, was a strike, in a way."

SUPPORT THE COAL MINERS

Every member of the Workers Party is pledged to support the coal miners in their strike. District Six, Ohio and West Virginia, of the party, was the first to respond. Over the far-flung battle lines of the coal strike, extending from coast to coast, and crossing both borders, Workers Party members will be active, in support of this titanic struggle. The Proclamation of the party in Ohio and West Virginia is published herewith:

* * *

The capitalists of America have again launched a vicious attack against the workers. This time it is the coal miners who are forced to fight for the life of their union.

The coal miners are now getting their reward for their patriotic work during the war. Their reward is the effort of the coal operators to destroy their organization, lower their wages and take away from them their hard-won conditions.

American capitalism greatly strengthened its position during the war and immediately after it. Thanks to the patient industry and self-denial of the workers, who thought they were serving the cause of "liberty and democracy," the conscienceless parasites on industry—the so-called owners—accumulated undreamed of profits.

Now they are using these profits as a war-chest with which to fight the workers and break the unions which the workers have built up by many years of struggle and sacrifice.

The capitalists have concentrated their power for a destructvie war against organized labor.

The coal strike is only an episode in this struggle; one battle in the war. The present conditions in the coal industry put the operators in a favorable position to fight the miners, and they are taking full advantage of the situation.

They did not throw their opportunities away as the miners did during the war. The coal miners were fooled by the talk about "democracy"; but the operators are not interested in democracy. That was only bunk for the workers to believe in.

The operators are bent upon the destruction of the miners' organization and the complete enslavement of the miners. The miners were persuaded not to fight during the war when conditions were all in their favor. Now they are COMPELLED to fight!

The passing of war-time "prosperity" brought a great decline in the coal market and took away the employment of thousands upon thousands of miners. It made full-time employment impossible for many

(Continued on Page Two)

Communists Battling for United Front

By PAUL SCHUELER

(Special Cable to the Worker and New Yorker Volkszeitung.)

BERLIN, April 6.—The Conference Committee of the Three Internationals decided today to form an organization committee of nine, consisting of three members from each international to organise united mass demonstrations for Thursday, April 20. These demonstrations are called to protest against the exploitation of Soviet Russia that will be proposed at Genoa. At the same time these demonstrations shall be held in support of Soviet Russia and a united front of labor the world over. The question of unemployment will also be taken up at these demonstrations.

* * *

Spokesmen for the Third (Communist) International are putting up the struggle of their lives to secure a united front of the world's workers thru the Conference of the Internationals, 3rd, 2nd and 2½ now being held at Berlin.

With all the ardor and enthusiasm that they put forth to win the masses back from the jingoism into which they had been plunged by the world war, the representatives of the Third International are now exerting their efforts to create a united front in labor's world battle with the exploiters.

In this effort they are again face to face with the "Socialist" cabinet ministers and social patriots of the stripe of Emil Vandervelde, of the Second International, who argued that the Treaty of Versailles is not so bad."

The provocative utterances of Vandervelde forced the Communists to use clear, sharp words. Karl Radek answered.

"Vandervelde speaks of confidence," said Radek. "We declare here that we haven't a cent's worth of confidence in Vandervelde. He it was, who, in 1913, at Basle, Switzerland, thundered with his sweet voice against a war, and who was there threatening the bourgeoisie that the workers will not go to war.

"Yet, again, later, in 1914, it was he who was leading the working class into the war. Vandervelde is forgetting the streams of blood and the unheard of suffering which are charged to him. And such a person dares speak of conditions regarding confidence.

"Considering the terrible outlook confronting the working class, we are willing to forget the past and to convene with you around the same table. Not to battle with you about the dictatorship of the proletariat, but to fight for a bit of bread for the workers. Therefore, we requested a conference of deeds and not of words.

"Vandervelde speaks with a heart full of love for suppressed peoples, not in the Belgian colonies, but in the Ukraine and Georgia.

"We can easily reply to you. The Ukraine is fighting together with Russia for Soviet power. As to Georgia, Vandervelde should first

(Continued on Page Two)

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Reaction Is Beaten Again in Chicago

By CARL HAESSLER

(Staff Correspondent of the Federated Press and The Worker)

CHICAGO. — Reaffirming by a vote of 103 to 14 its action in favor of amalgamation of craft unions, the Chicago Federation of Labor at its regular meeting Sunday again went overwhelmingly on record for a conference of the international unions to be called by the American Federation of Labor "for the purpose of arranging to amalgamate all the unions in the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry."

The indorsement two weeks earlier had been carried by 113 to 37.

The action reindorsing its position on amalgamation came as a result of resolutions by two locals of the electrical workers, who had threatened to withdraw from the central body if dissensions were to be sown by spreading "one big union propaganda." They urged that the Chicago Federation of Labor should devote itself to creating harmony among craft unions.

The resolutions of the electrical workers were first concurred in on the ground that the creation of harmony was a prime purpose of the central body and on the ground that each affiliated body had the right to express itself on any question.

That having been made clear, the resolution from the floor reiterating the stand for amalgamation was passed by an even greater majority than the original indorsement.

Violent debate raged over the advocacy of industrial unionism.

Secretary Ed. Nockels denounced the Chicago Tribune for having caused confusion in the minds of trade unionists by falsely reporting the Federation's action as in favor of the One Big Union and of I. W. W.ism. He pointed out that amalgamation would wipe out jurisdictional disputes, "the curse of labor."

Charges that amalgamation was opposed by certain union officials who might lose good jobs alternated with assertions that amalgamation would disrupt the ranks of labor.

The fight against the amalgamation resolution was led by Vice-President Oscar Nelson, who acknowledged that he was in part responsible for the interpretation placed on the resolution of the electrical workers. He attacked the Trade Union Educational League and its organ The Labor Herald for their advocacy of industrial unionism.

Delegates favoring amalgamation pointed out that the A. F. of L. recognized and dealt with industrial unions, notably the United Mine Workers of America, the brewery workers and the bakery workers.

President John Fitzpatrick recalled the position of leadership in American labor assumed in past years by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

"Who it is objects to amalgamation of craft unions?" he asked, and answered — "The Chicago Tribune. The day of craft unions is dead and gone."

The Rev. Richard Hogue, executive secretary, Church League of Industrial Democracy, was given the floor earlier in the session. His organization had inserted a half-page advertisement in the Chicago Tribune calling for justice to labor and demanding that the organized selfishness of the wealthy reactionaries now dominating the destiny of the country be fought.

"I had not been in Chicago 24 hours," said Hogue, "before I began to suspect the citizens committee. Reaction is triumphant and wants to keep labor divided. The exploitation of labor by the employers today is worse even than it was in the days of the Roman empire."

The Sign Painters, who have refused to handle any work for the so-called citizens committee, asked the executive board to request similar action by the bill-posters, so that the anti-labor propaganda of the committee could not make headway.

The support of all trade unionists was asked for the labor demonstration to be held at the Municipal pier April 29th. A parade of 200,000 workers is being planned.

Will Organized Railroad Workers Haul Scab Coal?

Here is the appeal of the Workers Party to the Railroad Workers to come to the aid of their comrades in the mining industry now on strike:

ONE of the greatest labor struggles this country has ever witnessed is on. In defiance of the [illegible] attempts of the [illegible] to annihilate their union, and establish the SCAB SHOP, the organized mine workers have struck. They have been pledged the moral support of the labor movement at large; but as yet, the railroad workers are hauling coal. This is a serious situation.

From an industry which takes a toll of thousands of lives each year, where most of the work is performed under conditions which are a constant threat to their lives, and has nothing to offer but hard work and starvation wages, the miners have come out in battle array. Every man standing solid shoulder to shoulder a display of solidarity hardly equalled before in the history of labor.

Untold sacrifices have marked the miners struggle to relieve the inhuman slavery and exploitation which has been their lot for years. The coal valleys of this country bear the scars of these battles. Miners and their families have been killed in cold blood by private gunmen armies of the coal operators and even by state and federal troops, in an effort to prevent them from organizing and improving their miserable conditions. Thousands of them have been deprived of the right to labor the biggest part of the year. They now demand a regulation of working hours that will provide, at least, a meager livelihood for all of them. They are even willing to try to subsist for another period on the present small scale of wages. The coal operators refuse to listen. They refuse to even consider a new agreement.

The lust for power, and the fathomless greed for more profit, of the employing class have brought about a closely bound unity between their forces in a huge combination bent upon the complete destruction of all working-class organizations. Their glaring display of ruthless cynicism cannot escape the attention of any thinking working man or woman. In a reckless determination, they have struck at the vitals of labors' forces with a deadly effect.

Are the workers ready to meet these onslaughts with a united front?

The unions are bending beneath these heavy blows. One by one have given way. The police, the courts, the military and the newspapers,—all the forces at the disposal of the capitalist class, have been mobilized and are ready to strike the final blow in this destructive campaign.

The miners union is one of the strongest and most militant organizations of this country. A defeat of the miners in this struggle will be a smashing blow to the railroad unions and the whole labor movement. Every pound of coal mined at this particular time, means to help bring about such defeat. Every pound of coal hauled by railroad workers means an aid to the attempts of capitalism to destroy the miners union. Every pound of coal hauled is thus a blow to the RAILROAD UNIONS also. This is true just as every pound of coal supplied to scab railroad workers during a railroad strike would help to defeat the railroad workers. Railroad union men must face this fact and find ways of strengthening instead of destroying one another.

Now is the time for labor to stand together. Every railroad workers' union should be stirred from top to bottom on this issue. All militants should take this question up in their local unions and demand consideration, it is a vital question that cannot and must not be shirked. Every railroad workers' union of the country should rally to the assistance of the miners, not only by giving lip services in the form of sympathy and moral support but in the form of rendering active assistance. This is a supreme test in the struggle between capital and labor, which the workers can face victoriously only when united. The railroad workers should refuse to haul coal during the miners strike. They should refuse to become a party to help defeat the miners strike and destroy their union.

In this crisis, the working class must stand united and fight together against the common foe. Our ranks must become unified. The solidarity of labor must be complete, or we will be doomed to destruction.

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

James P. Cannon, Chairman, Caleb Harrison, Secretary.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The Workers' Drama Club

FRIDAY, April 21, 8.15 P. M.
"THE SANDBAR QUEEN"
A Drama of the Northwest
By GEORGE CRONYN
UKRAINIAN HALL
217 E. 6th St., near Cooper Sq.
CONCERT BY:
Frances Goldenthal, Violinist
Ann Owen, Pianist

Proceeds for Organization Purposes

Admission: 50 cents. Tickets on Sale at the Local and National Headquarters of the Workers Party, 208 E. 12th Street and 80 East 11th Street, New York, and The Liberator, 138 West 13th Street, New York.

TAKE NOTICE

The Iskra Publishing Co. has arranged a May Day Celebration for Sunday afternoon and evening, April 30, at the New Star Casino, 107th Street and Park Avenue.

The whole proceeds will go to the "Iskra," the only Russian daily expression of the revolutionary workingclass in America.

All friendly organizations are requested not to arrange any conflicting entertainments on that day.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

The season for open air propaganda meetings is here. Organize them. Hold them. Order literature for sale. Here are the pamphlets that clinch the speaker's arguments and complete the education begun.

Order them in wholesale quantities and make your meetings a financial success.

RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE RED LABOR UNION INTERNATIONAL, 15c; wholesale 11c
REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS IN GERMANY, ENGLAND, ITALY AND FRANCE, Wm. Z. Foster, 25; wholesale ... 15c
WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM AND CONSTITUTION, 10c; wholesale 7c
A B C OF COMMUNISM, ~~50c; wholesale~~ 35c
DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, 5c; wholesale 3c
CORRUPTIONISTS AND UNION WRECKERS, 10c; wholesale 6c

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT WORKERS PARTY
Room 405 — 799 Broadway, New York City.

Minneapolis Labor Backs Chicago Workers' Stand for Amalgamating Unions

MINNEAPOLIS. — Amalgamation of all American Federation of Labor craft unions into one industrial union for each industry is asked by the Minneapolis Trades and Labor assembly, in a resolution which carried by a two to one vote. Similar action was taken recently by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The A. F. of L. is requested to take steps to bring about the amalgamation by calling a conference of the international unions.

Renewed war on dual unions which divert membership from the regular trade unions and place it in unaffiliated "one big unions" is declared in the resolution, which points out that the forces of labor have been split in the past by such withdrawals of membership.

ORGANIZE BOSTON "LEAGUE"

BOSTON.—A Greater Boston branch of the Trade Union Educational league has been organized here. H. J. Cantor of the Typographical union was chosen secretary and Charles V. Cullen of the Painters and Paperhangers' union literary agent.

The Class Struggle

The struggle in capitalist society between capitalists and workers is a class struggle.

The capitalist system, in which a small group of exploiters own the machinery of production and carry on production to make profits, creates a sharp division of economic interests between these exploiters and the great working masses who must sell their labor power to the capitalists for wages.

The capitalists endeavor to secure greater profits from industry while the workers struggle to improve their life thru forcing the capitalists to pay higher wages and to grant better working conditions.

The struggle which ensues finds expression in strikes, lockouts, boycotts, clubbing and beating of the workers and in such open, violent struggles as that which recently took place in West Virginia.

The history of the past 40 years in the United States is a history of a succession of such struggles, increasing in bitterness.

Pullman, Homestead, McKees Rocks, Lawrence, Ludlow, Colo., Messaba Range, the Steel Strike of 1919, the Miners' Strike of the same year, are but outstanding incidents in the class struggle which is being fought daily in every industrial centre of this country.

This conflict of classes cannot be harmonized nor compromised while the capitalist system lasts. It can only be ended thru the abolition of the capitalist system. To attain this goal the Workers Party seeks to unite and organize the workers.

Communists Battling for United Front

(Continued from Page One)

see to it that England punishes her generals who have murdered numerous Georgian communists.

"We are ready to present to the next congress of the three internationals documents that will convince you of the cruelties of the British against the workers of Georgia and the treacherous role of the Mensheviki.

"As to the social-revolutionists in prison. We are willing to exchange them for the Communists in German prisons.

"How dare you attack us when the Second International has the blood of 15,000 proletarians upon its conscience!

"We will never forgive you the blood of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. No confidence to those who betrayed the proletariat so outrageously. Our actions will prove who is sincere in attending this conference of the three internationals and who only use phrases."

J. Ramsay MacDonald, of the British Independent Labor Party, joined Vandervelde in his attack on the Russian Communists. His provocative attitude nearly caused a break in the conference, and would have done so, had it not been for the soothing words of Serrati, of the Italian Socialist Party.

"Of all the terrible tragedies of the international proletariat," said Radek, in his second speech, "MacDonald can only see the tragedy of the Russian social-revolutionists who aided the Russian reactionaries against the Bolsheviki, thereby supporting the world reaction.

"The workers in foreign lands will understand and comprehend the Russian revolution only when they themselves will go thru their own.

"We did split the workers' movement. This split, however, was to us a means and not the goal. Already, at the Second Congress of the Third International, it was decided to stop these splits.

"Soviet Russia is willing to let you have as many representatives as you wish at the trial of the social-revolutionists. We would even permit Vandervelde to take up their defense. Of course, we will then expose his past in clear words.

"We also agree to the appointment of a commission to solve the Georgian problem."

Nuorteva Sends Letter to His Wife Here, Says He's Free, All's Well

The Finnish daily, "Eteenpäin," publishes the following:

"A cable from Russia was published in our paper stating that Santeri Nuorteva had been released from the prison where he was held on unknown charges about ten months, is now finally confirmed. This telegram caused much doubt in the press, and yellow socialist publications have claimed that the report was untrue.

"In a letter to his wife in New York City Nuorteva states that he was released January 27.

"The letter deals mostly with family matters. Nuorteva has been in prison about ten months. In his letter Nuorteva expresses his deep confidence in the Soviet Government, stating that all the time he has been assured that the intrigues that his enemies had woven against him would finally fail.

"The letter shows that in every respect he is assured that the charges against him were not brought by the Soviet Government but by different individual groups. Nuorteva believes that the government worked energetically for his release, finally securing his acquittal.

"Nuorteva is living in Moscow. He points out that there are certain formalities to be performed before his case is finally settled. This will take a few days. This lamentable case will then be finally dismissed.

"Nuorteva continues in his letter as follows: 'I feel an unspeakable joy now when, after ten months of unspeakable sorrow, wondering, suffering and even despair, everything is ending better than I could expect. I am not guilty of anything, not even the minutest disloyalty, and all this is now finally clearing.' . . .

"'Finally, all that awful flood of lies, base-minded rumors, intrigues of our enemies, the misunderstandings and peculiar coincidences which I was compelled to go thru is the most severe test that perhaps anybody else has gone thru.'

"We have already stated that in Nuorteva's imprisonment there must be lamentable mistakes, for we have known that Nuorteva is not a traitor, as low-minded persons have stated. We are glad of it that this case will result in the acquittal of Nuorteva and in the correction of the lamentable incident connected with this case."

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Support the Coal Miners!

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible]

[illegible] THE OPEN SHOP—THE AMERICAN PLAN [illegible]

A defeat for the miners would be a defeat for all the workers. It would bring them face to face with still more difficult struggles. One of their strongholds would be lost. The position of the enemy would be strengthened.

The railroaders, who already have been forced to retreat from their war-time position, would be next in line for a frontal attack.

A victory over the coal miners would stimulate the capitalists to press their union-wrecking campaign with renewed vigor. Every worker will feel the blows dealt to the miners during this struggle.

District No. 6, of the Workers Party, including Ohio and West Virginia, assembled in convention at Cleveland, fully realizes the importance of the situation and the seriousness of the consequences that will follow if the resistance of the workers is crushed.

Separate industries and individual organizations cannot put up sufficient force against the attack by the powerful capitalist corporations. The struggle of the miners is the concern of the entire working-class.

The Workers Party urges the miners to fight to the bitter end. We call upon all workers, organized and unorganized, to support the miners wholeheartedly, with every means at their command.

The workers should seriously consider the question of a general sympathetic strike to help the miners.

We again call upon the workers to realize and remember that this is a class struggle.

The workers organization in separate industries, one by one, are being singled out by the capitalist for attack, in order to defeat the workers without too much effort and to avoid he resistance of a united working class.

The workers must be reminded of one thing—whatever differences you may have concerning political and other questions, you have one common interest as workers.

When your wages are reduced, your organization destroyed, your standard of living lowered, the working class as a whole must stand the consequences. There is no such thing as one trade or industry standing alone. The workers as a class stand or fall together.

The Convention of the Workers Party of this district, where there are large masses of workers engaged in the coal mining industry, pledges its whole-hearted support to the embattled coal miners.

The Party will send special organizers into the coal fields to carry the message of the class struggle which is the only platform upon which the miners can stand and fight successfully.

It will appeal to all workers, organized and unorganized, to rally to the cause of the miners and support them in their struggle, which is the struggle of all workers. It will spare no effort to turn the opinion of the working class favorably towards the miners strike.

WORKERS! STAND SHOULDER TO SHOULDER AND FIGHT IT THRU!
BUILD THE UNITED FIGHTING FRONT OF ALL LABOR!
DO NOT WAIT UNTIL YOU ARE CRUSHED!
DO IT NOW!

SPEAKERS WANTED!

To address unions and other sympathetic organizations in drive for amnesty for Political Prisoners.

All qualified members of the Workers Party are requested to report to P. McClellan, 81 East 10th Street, any day or evening.

—William W. Weinstone,
Executive Secretary Local Greater New York, Workers Party.

In the World of Books

British Laborites' Conflicting Opinions

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

Progressive Laborites in America are looking to the British labor movement for guidance and inspiration. The parliamentary success of the Labor Party has particularly attracted the attention of those who would have organized labor in America enter into political activity. As a result of this interest, literature on the British movement has become very popular among the progressive labor elements in this country.

It is this interest that is probably responsible for the simultaneous publication of three volumes dealing practically with the same phase of the British labor movement but approaching it from mutually antagonistic points of view.

One of the authors is W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions. When Samuel Gompers says in his introduction to Appleton's book, (**What We Want and Where We Are**, Doran, $1.50) that "on matters of trade unionism Mr. Appleton is probably more nearly American than any other British trade union official," we need no further introduction to the author or to his work.

Like Gompers, Appleton worships at the shrine of class collaboration. "I have never accepted the assertion that Capital and Labor are essentially antagonistic," says this labor leader and "proves it" by referring to England which "already enjoys social and political democracy."

When Gompers went to Europe, Appleton was his only solace, for even the conservative labor leaders appeared to him as revolutionists. Their interest in politics ruffled him. Appleton is, on the other hand, a staunch believer in the ancient A. F. of L. adage, "No politics in the unions," which, as everyone knows, was always used as an excuse for peddling labor votes to capitalist parties.

The close affinity between these two leaders is also disclosed in the economic beliefs which they both entertain. The British Gompers holds, too, that "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work" is all towhich trade unionists should aspire.

The leaders of the British Labor Party appear as terrible revolutionists to Appleton, who dreads the idea of that party coming into power. If England, should go Soviet, the author wants to reserve the right "to seek another country." Mr. Appleton's abhorrence of Soviet rule must be great, indeed, judging by his patriotic fervor during the war or by the statement that everybody would be willing "to die for the Homeland, for its Dominions, for its Dependencies, or for its honor," if the army were only democratized a little and the wages paid to the soldiers were a bit higher.

At present the temper of official British Labor is not revolutionary. Its leadership is in the main moderate. But even in this atmosphere Appleton is an anachronism and no one, except Gompers, takes him very seriously.

One gains relief as well as new hope by turning to Robert Williams' book (**The New Labor Outlook**, Seltzer, $1.75). His appeal to the workers is frankly revolutionary. The mere idea of "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work" is repugnant to him.

The change which has been brought about by the war and the Russian Revolution have convinced the author, who is the secretary of the militant Transport Workers' Federation, that "Labor must turn to industrial or direct action," instead of constitutional means in order to achieve its aims. He believes, furthermore, that the workers are anxious for results now, and that with proper revolutionary education and training they could attain these results. He expresses this thought in the following manner: "Not some day—social reconstruction; not fitfy years hence—amelioration of wage slavery; not high-sounding phrasemongery; not revolution by easy, gradual and imperceptible acretions of social reform, but to-day, right now, Socialism or Communism."

Williams declares himself a believer in the principles of proletarian dictatorship and Soviet rule. He accepts the leadership of the Third International, characterizing its predecessot as having been "built not upon the impregnable rock of international working-class solidarity, but upon the shifting sands of political exigency and parliamentary expediency."

The book is full of valuable historical material showing the development of the "new labor outlook" among the British workers. The author took a prominent part in all the important labor events and his accounts should prove of interes every student of the internationa bor movement.

Williams has, however, not sq ed his beliefs as expressed in h book with his actions as official of th late Triple Alliance, when the Briti miners expected their allies, the rail way and transport workers, to com to their aid during the struggle la year. The day of the failure of th Triple Alliance to act is recorded British labor history as Black Fr day and, according to our next Brit ish author, the much-heralded lab entente has been referred to since the "Criple Alliance."

Altho expelled from membershi in the Communist Party for his fail ure to act at a critical time, William still considers himself a revolution ary Socialist, which the ideas e pressed in his book show him to b

Shaw Desmond's book (Labour— **The Giant with Feet of Clay**, Scri ner's Sons, $3.50) is a study in pe simism and renunciation.

Altho affiliated with the Britis labor movement since 1906, th author has come to look upon it various manifestations as worthles and even harmful from the soci point of view. He derides both in dustrial and political action, believ ing that education alone is necessar to bring about the New Democrac which he has substituted for Social ism.

The class struggle is denied an instead there is offered the follow ing bit of social philosophy: "Me and women are separated, not b class, not by economic position, bu by ideal and goal, for the New De mocracy will draw its adherent from all classes."

The book is full of gossip of peo ple and events, some of which ma be valuable, if true.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SEVENTY YEARS AMONG THE SAVAGES, by Salt, Thoma Knopf
TRIUMPHANT PLUTOCRACY by R. F. Pettigrew, Academ Press.
HOW ENGLAND IS GOVERN ED, by C. F. G. Masterman, Alfre Seltzer.
Facing Old Age. By Abraham Ep stein, Knopf, 352 pp., $3.50.
Socialism and Personal Liberty. B Robert Dell, Seltzer, 160 pp., $1.75
The Economic Basis of Politics. B Charles A. Beard, Knopf, 100 pp. $1.50.

DEFENSE UNION MOVES

The Workers' Defense Union ha moved its offices to No. 81 East 10t St. (between 3rd and 4th Aves.), Ne York City. The telephone numbe will remain Stuyvesant 6488. Tele phone will be installed shortly. Th organizer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn can be found there daily from 1 a. m. to 7 p. m.

If you live in the city, come in t see us. Help in the drives for am nesty for the Federal and State po litical prisoners.

The Avanti Printing Shop
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Promptness-Neatness-Economy
Printing in Many Languages—
Anything from a leaflet to a book.
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A carnival of music and dancing!

Enjoy yourself among all your friends!

COME TO THE
CONCERT AND BALL
given by the
New York Branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia
SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1922,
at
HARLEM CASINO, 116th St. and Lenox Ave.
G. REPELSKY
one of the brightest and most talented pupils of the King of the Ballet, M. FOKINE, will participate in the concert program which will start at 7.30 sharp.
ADMISSION, 50 CENTS
RUSSIAN BUFFET AND TEA

Battle of confetti and serpentine!

Dancing from 10 till 2 a. m.

All Together, Comrades! Stand By the Miners! Workers Party Appeal

Following the Convention of District No. 6, Workers Party, Ohio and West Virginia, the District Organizer, Charles Baker, sent out the following encouraging declaration to the membership thruout the district.

* * *

COMRADES:—The first convention of District No. 6, Workers Party, attended by 31 delegates, representing nearly all sections of the district, was held recently at Akron, Ohio.

No attempt will be made at this time to outline the work done by this convention, for the district office is busily engaged in the work of the party during the present coal miners' strike. A full and complete report of the convention, with resolutions, etc., will be sent to all party branches in the course of a few days.

The all-important question, that must command the attention of the entire party at this time, is the present miners' strike, for if we are really a Workers Party we must take our place side by side with the embattled coal miners in this their greatest struggle.

By the time that you receive this letter, one of our comrades will be among the miners of Belmont Co. spreading the inspiring message of Hope and Solidarity. Within a few days, another speaker will enter the coal fields of eastern Ohio. The printing press is now busy grinding out thousands of leaflets which will carry the Workers Party message into the mining camps of this district.

We must not only assist the fighting miners on the scene of battle, in this their life-and-death struggle, but we must do our part in molding public sentiment in every industrial city. Before the passing of another week, the lieing capitalist press, true to form, will begin their campaign of publicity against the miners. From the intellectual prostitutes will come the venom of the master-class. WE MUST STRIKE NOW! As a Workers Party, we must realize our duty and waste no time in molding public opinion favorable to the miners.

With this in mind, no time is being wasted. Tho the District Office is without a single dollar, dollars shall not stand between us and our duty to the miners. Thousands of leaflets will go forth by the end of the week. Your Local or Branch will receive some for distribution in your city. If you need more, order at once.

The Workers Party of this District will not stop in its work with the distribution of these leaflets, but speakers will be kept on the scene of battle, during the entire struggle, there to enthuse and inspire the miners with the message of Hope and Encouragement.

We are not waiting for you to order these leaflets; that would mean a loss of time, and there is no time to lose. You are not asked to pay in advance, but your local is expected to set the party machinery into motion at once and make it possible for the District Office to carry out the program adopted at the District Convention.

Send your contribution to the District Office to assist the miners in their struggle.

All together, Comrades!
Stand by the Miners!

Yours for a "United Front" now,
Charles Baker,
District Organizer.

Real Vacation for Mine Mules Result of Strike

Take heed, all you workers, proud of your place under the capitalist system. Take heed of this story of "The Strike and Mule." In the midst of the daily account of the coal miners' strike we find this paragraph:

"With burlap shades over their eyes, thousands of mine mules in Western Pennsylvania, thrown into idleness by the coal strike, have emerged from the pits to begin vacations on the pastures of the coal companies and on neighboring farms. Hoisted up the shafts from underground stables, most of the animals are seeing daylight for the first time in months."

While the strikers are being driven from their company-owned homes, while they are being starved with their families, because there is no Saturday night pay envelope, let them ponder over the tender care the mine owners give the despised mule. Think it over.

Imperialism is trying to capitalize the death of Ex-Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary by turning his funeral into a huge spectacle to arouse any latent nationalism among the common people. The old order refuses to give up as long as there is a single ray of hope. All the more reason to hasten the day of the Soviet Republic of Europe, and with its coming the elimination of all monarchist aspirations.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Our Victory Already Won

In last week's issue of The Worker we carried the headline, "Coal Barons Will Lose." Some of our readers, with their eyes and thoughts on the immediate struggle, thought that the headline was premature.

The coal miners won an historic victory, and the coal barons suffered their most signal defeat the minute that the 600,000 mine workers came out on strike Friday night, March 31.

It was a Black Friday for American capitalism. It was a Red Friday for American labor. For the first time in the history of the coal industry, the mine workers acted as a unit.

The day of separate strikes, of separate agreements and separate defeats was crowded into the yesterdays, with things past and gone. The new day of united effort, of the solid front was ushered in.

That is the victory won. That is the glorious triumph already achieved. But greater struggles are ahead. The organization strength of the exploiters is still several leaps ahead of the solidarity so far achieved by the workers.

The United States Steel Corporation, Standard Oil and other allied interests, dominating the mine owners of Western Pennsylvania and Southern Ohio, are directly responsible for the national suspension of coal mining, John Moore, of the United Mine Workers, told the House Committee on Labor last week. Moore comes from Ohio, and he has a hard time seeing beyond the confines of his own state.

The steel trust, the oil trust, the railroads and the banking interests form a solid block, nationally, against the coal miners.

The mine workers have neither the active support of the poorly organized steel workers nor the well-organized railroad workers. They are alone in fighting the closely knit forces of American capitalism.

We have seen the British Triple-Alliance, in its beginnings, working ineffectively to be sure, retreating at the crucial moment when a big advance was needed, but unity under its standards was attempted, nevertheless, of the forces of the miners, railroaders and transport workers.

The struggle of the united coal miners against the combined forces of capitalism will force new and more effective alliances of American labor, an alliance of the miners, railroad workers, steel workers and transport workers, not on paper but in action.

That is the reason the "Coal Barons Will Lose." They have already lost by forcing a nation-wide suspension in the coal industry. The miners know that organized capitalism, supported by the capitalist state at Washington, is against them. In reply, they are to-day throwing their whole strength into the struggle. Whatever the result of this conflict, the coal miners will ultimately be calling all labor to their aid, a united front of labor against the united front of capitalism.

Thus we are hastening toward the final conflict, that can have but one outcome, the sweeping away of the present social system, built on the backs of enslaved wage labor, and the substitution for it of a free Communist society, where no subject class will be driven under the slave whip of a tyrannous ruling class, but where all classes will be abolished and all men and women given an opportunity to freely develop and really enjoy life for the first time in all history.

Economic Determinism in Action

"It is high time to get rid of all mistaken opinions about the use of U-boats by Germany. The U-boat war was completely justified and to say the contrary is not only false but makes for us from the military standpoint a view that is thoroughly incorrect. It is furthermore time to get rid of the belief that the employment of the U-boats by the Germans was not in accordance with the usages of the international laws of warfare. This mistaken view, which was widely spread during the war, is capable of doing great damage to our national defense in the future. From this more elevated point of view it must be recognized without reserve that the German war-leaders had every right on their side when they employed the U-boat to the achievement of their naval victory . . . . . After all it must be recognized that the employment of the U-boat as a decisive factor in the late world war, was carried out in a manner that was thoroughly correct."

• • •

No, comrades, the above is not an extract from a Hearst editorial. It is a quotation from a recent issue of "The Revue Militaire," the official organ of the French Ministry of Marine.

Remembering the horror with which the German submarine campaign was greeted by the righteous propagandists of Allied imperialism, does it seem a little strange that we should now see it justified from so strange a source?

There is nothing strange about it if we only remember that national ideologies are the result of national necessities—or rather the necessities of national exploiting classes. It is the need and the method of fullfiling the need that determines the mental attitude toward all questions including that of mass-murder of unarmed passengers on the high seas.

France and Great Britain have come to the parting of the ways. France has taken the place of Germany as the imperialistic power on the continent. Tho nominally her ally Great Britain is actually her enemy.

The submarine is the most effective weapon against the sea-power of Great Britain. The submarine therefore becomes for the French militarists a weapon whose use can be justified on high moral grounds.

This is economic determinism—the theory by which revolutionists explain the acts of individuals and groups.

Muddle-headed individuals explain them by the weather, the influence of the devil or the innate perversity of human nature.

Amnesty and May Day

The newly formed Amnesty Alliance for New York State Political Prisoners, announces that plans are well under way for a great May Day demonstration for all Class War Prisoners.

Co-operating in this manifestation of labor's solidarity, are the following organizations: The Italian Chamber of Labor, National Defense Committee, Italian Defense Committee, Socialist Party, Local Bronx, United Labor Council, United Toilers of America, Workers' Defense Union, and the Workers Party.

The outstanding feature of May Day, 1922, is that practically every element in the labor movement is represented and has agreed to co-operate on the one common platform, "Free All Political Prisoners!"

Those who are not represented we urge to co-operate in making this one clear-cut issue. Counter demonstrations will weaken all our effectiveness. A united front on one common ground is the only way to aid these men.

The Alliance has received a letter from Eugene V. Debs in which he says, "If I were only well enough, I would be on the Platform in behalf of these shamefully persecuted and outraged comrades of ours whose loyalty to the working class keeps them imprisoned and treated as felons. As soon as my physical strength is sufficiently restored, I shall be only too glad to help you in your work in every way in my power."

Patrick J. McClellan, chairman of the arrangement committee, announces that committees are visiting unions, and speakers in all languages are being recruited for this work. The Amnesty Alliance meets every Thursday evening at Casino Hall, 85 East 4th Street, City. All unions, political parties and labor groups are requested to send delegates at once.

Let us raise our voice on May Day in a ringing demand: "A United Front for the Liberation of ALL Political Prisoners!"

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

Russia. The [illegible] war [illegible] and [illegible] White Guard [illegible] in the North and in the South, in the West and in the East, and with untold sacrifices, it finally came out victor.

Pave Way for Transition.

Then, after the war-cries of the White Guards and Allied mercenaries had died down, and war-discipline also had to be eliminated from the economic life of Russia, and it became necessary to transform war production into peace-production, the Russian Bolsheviki were at once confronted with the difficult task of bringing the Russian industries, during this period of temporary peace, into contact with the outer world from which it had been cut off by the battlefronts.

In Germany, Austria and even in Italy the proletarian masses failed to seize and to hold fast the power that was already theirs; for this they are indebted to their reformist Social-Democratic leaders.

But Socialism or Communism cannot successfully be established in a limited territory. Even the theoreticians of the Internationals 2 and 2½ do not deny this. But even if Socialism cannot as yet be fully established, the prerequisites for Communism can nevertheless be created and under proletarian rule, the way can be paved for the transition to Socialism.

But the greatest and most important task of the Bolsheviki and of the Communist International at present is to protect and with all the means at their disposal to maintain the vanguard of the world-revolution—the Soviet Power in the first proletarian state of the world.

Strings to Concessions.

The concessions which the slow, drawn-out course of the world revolution compel the proletarian state to make to the economic forces still in existence and surrounding it, must always be examined from two sides.

The concessions must be such that they acquire for Russian economic life that which it has not or cannot by itself acquire; on the other hand, they must bind the enemy forces by agreements or active participation, and ward off the enemies of the Soviet Power, who might otherwise become a real danger to the safety of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia.

It is for this double purpose that the Soviet Government brought some relief to the peasants by introducing the tax-in-kind, and that it again left the smaller industries and some branches of the manufacturing industries to free trade, while it fortified itself as a proletarian state-power more and more upon the centralized traffic system, nationalized power resources, coal and naphta production and upon large-scale manufacturing industry which it also nationalized and with which the economic life is completely controlled.

And it is for the very same purpose that the Communists, as the rulers of Russia, agree to enter into negotiations with the capitalist world-pirates in Genoa or wherever else possible.

No Reason to Refuse.

Now is the time when they have no reason whatever for refusing to enter into negotiations, since the great economic world crisis compels the capitalists of all countries to supply the Russian market with goods and to "tolerate," for the time being, Russian conditions.

If the Soviet Power survives; it will have to be recognized; at first perhaps only de facto, but very soon officially.

But the degree in which Soviet Russia in its negotiations with the capitalist robbers will succeed in obtaining actual relief which it so urgently needs for its economic reconstruction, depends to a great extent upon the interference of the Western European proletariat.

England Prepares "Iron Ring."

The proletariat must perceive that the economic relief that Soviet Russia requires means the fortification of the only proletarian outpost of the world revolution.

But the proletariat must also be fully aware of the fact that now that war-cries have for the present died down, the Soviet Power is threatened not only by the famine catastrophe, but that a tight ring of capitalist forces of the whole world, if permitted around Soviet Russia's neck, could simply choke this first proletarian power.

The syndicate which England wants to form, and which is to unite all the European capitalists together with those of Japan for the exploitation of Soviet Russia, would be just such an iron ring of enslavement around the Soviet Power.

The proletariat of Europe must see to it that this iron ring be broken not only for Russia's sake but also for their own.

For, this syndicate is perhaps the only hope of the capitalists to alleviate the frightful economic crisis of the world and it may even help them to overcome the crisis altogether.

This could be accomplished only at the expense of the Russian and the Central and Western European proletariat. Thus the interests of Soviet Russia and those of the World proletariat coincide.

The Social Democrats Lie.

The Social Democrats therefore lie when they say that the tactics of the Communist proletariat in the Western countries are being dictated by the particular interests of Soviet Russia. The contrary is true. The strength or weakness of the international proletariat's actions is the final determinant of the policy of the Bolsheviki.

For, if the world-proletariat succeeds in rising in an energetic struggle against the exploiters of its own country, and if it succeeds in curbing its own capitalist forces, or even in overpowering them altogether, then it can and may count upon the direct or indirect aid of the Soviets, as long as the Communists are at the helm in Russia.

In the meanwhile it is necessary to make inner and outer concessions for the safety of the Soviet Power and in the interest of the revolutionary proletariat.

Let Your Voices Be Heard.

And in order that these concessions which are made for the safety of Soviet Russia may be as small as possible, and that the economic measures which shall be decided upon in Genoa may really work the salvation of Russia, the Western European proletariat must let itself be heard in an unmistakable manner.

The Worker—Its Staff—and You

By [illegible] ALLISON

NOTE TO WORKER READERS: We have just been handed [illegible] THE WORKER. We think it is necessary [illegible] for WORKER readers [illegible] Editors and Cartoonists— [illegible] ought to be, what it can [illegible]. That's why we have written these [illegible]. Each week we shall have something to say to our readers about the work of making THE WORKER [illegible] with a DAILY WORKER as our goal.

• • •

THE WORKER—an organ of revolutionary working-class [illegible]—a six-page weekly proletarian newspaper. These words to a certain extent describe THE WORKER. But to us, and we believe to you, they describe it in a limited and ineffective manner.

To us and our readers, THE WORKER is more, far more than these words say. To us it is a journal of information, an instrument of working-class education, a mouthpiece of the American revolutionary movement—and a WEAPON of the workers against the robber capitalist class of the United States. It is all these, even more than these. If we but use our organized power, THE WORKER becomes a DAILY WORKER, and a DAILY WORKER means a thousandfold increase in power for the workers against capitalism.

We think we speak for all our readers when we say THE WORKER can be, will be, ALL of these. We believe our readers are a unit with the personnel of THE WORKER in the desire to make THE WORKER an ever growing power in the greatest drama of human history, the present class war between exploited labor and robber capitalists.

Personalities—Plus

And now we are going to talk personalities. We think we are entitled to do so—because personalities of the right sort are worth talking about. And, in addition, when a workers' paper secures the services of the best proletarian talent, it is an event worth telling.

Take THE WORKER editors. There are none of more proven ability, of more revolutionary integrity, none who have rendered more valuable service to the American movement, and none who understand the American movement better than J. Louis Engdahl and William F. Dunne.

As editor of the Chicago Socialist, and as newspaper man of years of experience on capitalist papers, Comrade Engdahl stands as high as any in recognized ability as a journalist. Comrade Engdahl could serve the capitalist class with his valuable talents and experience if he chose to do so. That he chooses rather to serve the workers, to accept the pitiful wage the workers are able to pay, and to remain true to the ideals of the revolutionist, is a matter upon which we congratulate ourselves. THE WORKER staff is proud to count Comrade Engdahl as one of it.

And there's Bill Dunne. Not so well known in the East, but from Chicago to the Pacific the workers—and the capitalists—know Bill Dunne as a fighting worker who has learned the game of battle with blood-thirsty corporations, capitalist spies, thugs and hangmen. Bill Dunne, as Editor of the Butte Daily Bulletin, proved his ability as a proletarian newspaper man of the highest ability. Comrade Dunne knows how to make type talk the language of the fighting workers conscious of their rights—and with guts to take them. The capitalist class hasn't gold enough to tempt Bill Dunne from his daily grind of speaking and writing for THE WORKER.

—and Cartoonists

If we are proud of our Editors, we are doubly proud of our cartoonists. ROBERT MINOR! Bob Minor grew up in Texas but has been travelling ever since. His travels once took him to Paris where he learned the technic of art. And now, wherever artists foregather, the name of Bob Minor is spoken in praise and appreciation. For no cartoonist in America draws with the power and understanding of proletarian problems as does Bob Minor. Comrade Minor doesn't have to starve on THE WORKER staff. The capitalist class would hold out many inducements (or what would be inducements to men of less revolutionary integrity) if Bob but chose to accept them. Yes, we are proud of having Comrade Minor on THE WORKER staff, for Comrade Minor can do three things exceptionally well—he can speak, he can write and he can draw daring pictures that thrill one's proletarian soul and make one see the nakedness of the class struggle—and the victory ahead.

ART YOUNG. Some say he's a humorist, but his is a humor that lays bare the workings of this exploiting system of slavery; that teaches the worker thru smiles and satire how the game of Master and Slave is played. Art Young occupies a unique place in the American revolutionary movement. That he chooses to place Humor and Satire upon the altar of revolutionary activity as his contribution to the cause of human emancipation is as distinct a service as it is unusual. True, he starves by it, but that is a small matter to a revolutionist who is also a humorist and an artist. We are as proud, as we believe our readers are glad, to have Comrade Young's contributions appear in THE WORKER.

These are the comrades whose efforts have made THE WORKER the best SIX-PAGE WEEKLY LABOR PAPER in the United States. We will boast that no working-class paper in the United States has such talent. And, thru the cooperation of our bundle agents and our subscription hustlers, THE WORKER is attaining the reputation it so well deserves—as the best proletarian weekly appearing in this country. We believe our readers appreciate THE WORKER enough to give it EXTRA support from now on. Combined efforts, yours and ours, will continue to keep THE WORKER IN THE FRONT RANKS—WILL EVENTUALLY MAKE THE WORKER A DAILY WORKER.

Next week we will introduce you to YOUR JOB as one of the workers who will help accomplish this task.

The Miners Are Out!

More than half a million coal diggers have downed tools and taken up the gage of battle with the Coal Barons—for food, for organization rights, for POWER. A stupendous phase of the CLASS WAR is being enacted in the American coal fields.

THE WORKER has sent William F. Dunne, its Labor Editor, into the heart of this conflict as its special representative to help the miners win and to report in The Worker the progress and meaning of the strike.

Textile Workers Have Struck!

Nearly 100,000 textile workers in New England have been driven from the mills by wage-cuts. The fight for living wages and unionism is on.

THE WORKER has sent Caleb Harrison to the textile battle front to help the workers form a United Front against their exploiters. He will take an active part in this momentous struggle and will report the strike in The Worker.

These two strikes are BIG EVENTS in the American class-struggle. They are pivotal points in the present phase of the class war between labor unionism and the Open Shop. They are worthy the attention of every worker.

That THE WORKER has placed its representatives in these war fronts means first hand, authentic reports of the struggles viewed from the class conscious worker's viewpoint.

As other phases of the class-struggle develop THE WORKER will have its special representatives on the ground. You will want the reports we will publish of these stirring times and events. You will want other workers to read these reports. You will want to know, and will want other workers to know the facts as they are. The best way to be sure you will do so, the best way to be sure other workers will do so, is to subscribe NOW and to get other workers to subscribe NOW for THE WORKER.

Use the blank below!

SUBSCRIBE!

HERE IS MY "SUB"

The Worker, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

COMRADES:—Enclosed please find $........... in payment for my subscription to THE WORKER for a period of .... months, at the rate of $2 per year, $1 for six months.

Name ....

Address ....

Your Paper to Benefit by Opera Performance

Thru an arrangement with the German Educational Committee, THE WORKER is able to offer tickets to its readers and sympathizers for the performance of Puccini's delightful opera, "La Boheme," Saturday night, May 6, 8 o'clock, at the Metropolitan Opera House, 40th St. and Broadway.

Every ticket sold thru THE WORKER results in a handsome commission for your paper. Tickets may be had at prices ranging from $1.65 to $5.50 and may be secured at the office of THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway.

Dunne, Labor Editor of The Worker, Sees Strike Ranks Grow at Pittsburgh

(Continued from Page One)

men with this number being added to hourly.

This is no criterion of the effectiveness of the strike, however, for it is significant that in the non-union districts it is the skilled and so-called "key-men" who are the first to quit and without whom production cannot be carried on.

In the unionized districts there has been no attempt as yet to resume operations; no strikebreakers have been imported and everything is very quiet and peaceful.

Many of the miners have gone into nearby cities, and if the strike was settled to-morrow it would take some time before capacity production could be resumed.

Grand Masquerade Ball
Given by the
Brownsville Branch
of the
F. S. R.
APRIL 14th
Brownsville Labor Lyceum
219 Sackman Street

UNEMPLOYMENT!
ITS CAUSES AND CURE
Lecture by
ISRAEL AMTER
WORKERS PARTY FORUM
296 Sackman St., at Pitkin
SUNDAY, APRIL 16,
8 o'clock
Under the auspices of
BROWNSVILLE BRANCH
WORKERS PARTY

HERE, THERE AND EVERYWHERE

From a Reader's Note-Book

By J. B. SALUTSKY

With perfectly charming naiveté Mademoiselle Emma Goldman tells her readers of the New York World: "If only he (Peter Kropotkin) could have done something to help, to lessen the suffering, to bring the dictators of Russia to their senses. But he could not. He could not, like some of the old revolutionary guard, make common cause with the enemies of the revolution. Even had he found a way of having his protests published in the European press, the reactionaries would have used them against Russia. No, he could not do that."

But what the old master mind of the anarchists "could not do," gentle Emma Goldman did with delightful ease. Not being of the "old revolutionary guard," Emma Goldman has had no scruples to pour oil on the dying off fires of the anti-soviet forces of reaction. Or, did she realize that the world (not the World), would not overestimate the protestations of the anarchistic, drawing-room free-lancer? At any rate, those who have been easy marks for all sorts of self-appointed martyrs, prophets, master minds, saviors and the rest of the brood, will perhaps learn something even if Mademoiselle Goldman had not learned anything.

• • •

The N. Y. Globe has got pretty closely under the skin of Emma's argument. Our neighbor remarks: "Lenin acted on the conviction that the system could be improved by substituting his kind of government for the kind that had previously existed. Miss Goldman and other philosophical anarchists believe in order, but not in law. They think that people would be better if let alone—an opinion which the opponents of prohibition share with them to a certain extent."

Emma Goldman will find less fire in her system to take up the intensely human fight for free whiskey less, than she has given to her fight of denunciation of the Soviet Workers' Republic. And she will unquestionably find enough strength in her exaggerated anarchistic ego to accept prohibition rather than Communism. For prohibition even if drastically enforced merely adds another dollar or two on the price of the bottle, whereas the Communist prohibition of that old capitalistic drink (or drug)—that "free incentive" is dead in earnest. Communism enforced means comunism and Emma is not ready to give up her beloved liberty to live under capitalism and to capitalize the criticism of it.

• • •

The Globe thinks: "To expect Miss Goldman to enjoy Lenin's government was as preposterous as to expect her to enjoy the government of Sing Sing prison, and her condemnation of Lenin is worth about as much as would be her condemnation of Sing Sing Prison."

Right. No sensible person will protest the government of Sing Sing to the authorities of Sing Sing prison, who run the Sing Sing prison. And Emma is not protesting the Workers' Republic in Russia to the Workers of the world. She is doing what, in her own words, old Peter Kropotkin would not do. She is "making common cause with the enemies of the revolution." That she incidentally gets her reward for so lining up her "undaunted anarchistic, free spirit" with the world-wide counter-revolution is just a mere accident. You cannot serve Mammon without being duly rewarded. That is one of the beauties of the capitalist order, which Emma finds much preferable to the "Communist tyranny."

• • •

The crux of Emma's criticisms to sovietism and Lenin is, that Lenin has lived up to his principles. Lenin, tho a perfect gentleman, wouldn't charge Emma with the same.

• • •

Thirty intellectuals united in an effort to discover "Civilization in the United States." The result of their penetrating search, Messrs. Harcourt Brace and Co. offer to the market, in book form, for the trifling sum of $5.00. Considerable discount for those buying large quantities. But we fear it is not a bargain after all. For those intellectual brothers actually arrive at the conclusion that there "ain't no such animal!" as Civilization in the U. S. One of them thinks, even, that "America has a body, but not a soul." A terrible charge in face of Bill Bryan's fight against the theory of evolution and the success of G. Bernard Shaw's "Back to Methuselah." However, it is sad, but fact: America has a body, but no soul. And while that body is by no means a negligible quantity, none of the thirty explorers into Civilization on the North American Continent would be comedy with it. They are out for spirit, pure and 100 per cent. Yes, they feel rather blue about it all. And we don't blame them; one is bound to feel blue these days, unless he feels red. But this is just what they would just hate to feel.

• • •

A recent issue of The Plebs, published by the Plebs League of England carries on its front page the following:

DON'T BE A BONEHEAD!
A BONE
IN THE BACK'S
WORTH TWO
IN THE HEAD

And Desmond Shaw of the British Labor Party recants in his latest book, The Giant with the feet of clay—

"We aimed at the belly to reach the soul of the crowd. Now the soul of the crowd has become the belly of the crowd! . . . There is no solution for labor unrest beyond the building up of human character—a slow process but the only process, and a solution which applies not only to the working man but to his employer. All other 'solutions' are snares and they prevent the real solution only wasting time and effort. And the character of Demos can only be built up by Demos himself."

Brother Desmond's complaint of the "Giant" having "feet of clay" may be right. But his lamentations against the "Soul of the crowd having become the belly of the crowd," merely betrays the fact that the feet of clay had been blessed with a head to match. The labor movement, if not boneheaded cannot "aim at the belly to reach the soul." It is to start with the human being in the worker to just bring together the soul and belly that the master skilfully managed to separate. It is [illegible] to the movement. [illegible] current of the [illegible]

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE.

The United Labor Council has established new headquarters at 81 East 10th St., The Avanti Building.

Regular meetings will be held every Wednesday, 8 P. M., with Executive Committee meetings every Monday, 8 P. M.

The Workers Defense Union Has moved to 81 East 10th St.

The Amalgamated Metal Workers have moved to 81 East 10th St. The Amalgamated Food Workers, Feather Boa Makers Union and the United Glove Workers have moved to 81 East 10th St.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Out with the Political Prisoners!

NOTE.—[illegible] so-called [illegible] Soviet Russia's [illegible] in the New York World [illegible] a similar [illegible] Workers' Republic. In [illegible] we are publishing an [illegible] "Out with the Political Prisoners," written by Paul [illegible] German Communist. It is as follows:—

• • •

By PAUL FROEHLICH

Soviet Russia also has prisons. And in these prisons there are political offenders, among them—"Socialists." There we find Social Revolutionaries who [illegible] bombs at Grand Dukes and chiefs of police.

To-day they are confined to the prisons of the proletariah state, because they wish to destroy the proletarian state with bombs. In Soviet Russia, Mensheviks are to-day confined in prison; Mensheviks who at one time worked underground and sought to undermine the Czar's government.

To-day they are imprisoned by the Soviet government because they attempt to undermine the Soviet government thru sabotaging its management, by taking advantage of the economic crisis for purposes of anti-Soviet propaganda, and by conspiring with the international bourgeoisie.

They claim to be Socialists. But what is certain is that they are enemies of the proletariat at a time when the latter is engaged in the most bitter struggle to maintain its power. That is why these Mensheviks are rendered harmless.

Yet they claim to be Socialists and for this reason all those who parade under the same mark wail over the intolerance, the crime against democratic principles, and the oppression of revolutionary fighters by the Soviet Power.

At a time when the capitalists of all countries tell the Bolsheviks: "If you want us to recognize you, you must pay up the Czar's debts!"—the so-called "Socialists" of the Internationals 2 and 2½ cry in chorus: "If you want us to cooperate with you in the formation of a united proletarian front, you must first free the political prisoners in your country!"

Reactionaries All Agreed.

At every convention and at every congress, in Leipzig, in Vienna, in Amsterdam and in Frankfurt they pass resolutions to that effect.

On this point they are all agreed, the Crispiens and Ledebours and Eberts and Noskes, the Longuets and Renaudels, the Vanderveldes and the de Brouquieres, the Renners and the Friedrich Adlers.

Friedrich Adler, too—he who once fired the fatal shot at Count Sturgkh. Perhaps he has a special right to plead for the freedom of the political prisoners in Soviet Russia because he also escaped the death penalty which the capitalist state had passed against him? Is Russia, therefore, to be more narrow-minded against "Socialists" who are threatening the Soviet state with bombs and conspiracies?

We are not in the least interested as to why Friedrich Adler's life was then spared. But the example of this man alone shows the difference between one political offense and another.

Explain Adler's Act.

Friedrich Adler's was an act of murder. But it roused no loathing in the hearts of the masses in all countries; on the contrary, the act roused recognition, approbation and enthusiasm.

However weak the voice of the proletariat was during the war, yet it rose to the defense of Friedrich Adler's life.

But last year, when Erzberger was murdered by some Nationalist officers, the German workers were swept by a wave of indignation, and they condemned those who aided and supported the murderers in Bavaria and Hungary.

With their keen and healthy intuition, the workers are able to feel that the sentencing of revolutionary fighters may be a blow to their own class, even if the victim does not belong to their party. But they are filled with disgust over the comedies of justice that are being enacted with counter-revolutionary traitors.

But wherein does the difference lie? Why do the workers differentiate between one political deed and another? Because they know that the one political act makes the perpetrator a hero, while the other makes him a criminal.

Determining Punishment.

If he serves the cause of the proletariat, and of the revolution, they cheer and exalt him. But if he serves the capitalists, they detest and condemn him.

And this alone can serve as the criterion for deciding whether political offenders should be freed or not, and which ones are to be freed.

In Soviet Russia, political offenders, among them self-styled Socialists, are in prison because they conspired against the proletarian state and because they attempted to hurt the revolution.

The Soviet power is not only the goal of the working-class in all countries, but it is to-day the only power which opposes the united international capitalist class.

It is therefore the power that sets limits to the insatiable exploitation appetite of the bourgeoisie.

He who wants to overthrow the Soviet power commits a crime against the future interests of the proletariat and against its present life-interests.

He who seeks to hamper or overthrow the Soviet Power at a time when it is fighting against the enemies of the revolution is robbing the proletariat of the whole world of its weapon and shield, and is himself an enemy of the proletariat.

The workers can test this. Who are the ones that shout the loudest for the opening of the Russian prisons?

In Germany it is the Eberts, the Noskes and Radbruchs, who shed the blood of many thousands of proletarians, shooting them after they had been court-martialed; they who are keeping thousands of political "offenders" in prison and who in their helplessness against the capitalists are assisting the traitorous counter-revolutionaries.

In France it is men like Albert Thomas and their accomplices, who, while holding portfolios, threw the heroes of the Black Sea into prison, and who are now encouraging and promoting a system of police chicanery.

In Italy, it is "Socialists" who are sabotaging the struggle against the Fascisti. In Austria, it was the Renners and Friedrich Adlers, the real rulers, that had the Hungarian fugitives arrested and who tolerated the extradition of Bavarian fugitives for political offenses, in the very same fashion that their German friends delivered our Spanish comrades over to the Spanish inquisition.

"Socialists" Serve Capitalists.

In Jugoslavia and Roumania it is the social traitors who are shamelessly profiting by the frightful White Terror, and who dare do nothing against the murder justice prevailing there. Yes, indeed, it is the jailers of the European proletariat who are braying and shouting that the prisons be opened—in Russia, of course. By so doing they are serving their masters, the capitalists.

But they are joined in chorus by all the parties of the wonderful 2½ International that are not participating in the government nor voicing any protest against the class-justice in their own countries.

The most conspicuous of these are the German Independent Socialists, who under the influence of Martov and Abramovitch let no opportunity slip by without provocating against Soviet Russia, which keeps "Socialists" in prison.

The reason for this is apparent. They realize that the Communist International is the force, the power that organizes and concentrates the revolutionary struggle against the madly increasing exploitation of the proletariat, and against the disastrous international enslavement policy of the great powers.

They Fear the Struggle.

But they are battle-shy; they are afraid of the struggle; they fear the advance of the proletarian masses.

And in order to disguise their own weakness, this weakness that leads to treason, they resort to slander and denunciations of the Soviet Power.

That is also why they label as "Socialists" those who in Russia are carrying on the struggle against the proletarian power.

They are demanding freedom for the enemies of the proletariat who are in Russian prisons, the better to be able to carry on their anti-proletarian policy in Western Europe.

The cry of "Free the Political Prisoners" should be directed not against the Soviet Power, but against Germany and France, against England and America, against Italy, Jugoslavia, and all the capitalist governments; it should be addressed to the Internationals 2 and 2½ and to the leaders of these two Internationals, who are either participating in or supporting the governments of those countries. And to this cry we add another:—

"Protect Soviet Russia! Protect the international proletariat against the counter-revolutionary gang!"

Read the Story of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case

In announcing a second edition of the [illegible] pamphlet, "The Story of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case," the Committee points to the necessity of knowing the facts of this international labor case in order to understand the sensational developments in the way of new evidence expected soon as a result of investigations now in progress. The pamphlet, written by persons present thruout the trial, gives the facts fully and in a form that is interesting as well as easy to follow.

The publication is lavishly illustrated, with pictures of the condemned men on the cover. Some idea of contents may be formed from a few of the chapter headings: "Who are Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti" "The Powers behind the Prosecution," "Testimony Relating Only to Vanzetti," "Testimony Relating only to Sacco," "Testimony Relating to Both—and to Neither."

The booklet sells for ten cents and may be had from Literature Department, Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City. Rates on bundle orders are lower: for 100 copies, $8.50, for 500 copies, $40.00. Every thinking man and woman in America should read this authentic account of the attempt to electrocute two labor organizers of Massachusetts.

HAVE YOU WRITTEN YOUR NAME IN THE

WRITE AND SAY "I WANT TO SIGN AND GIVE"

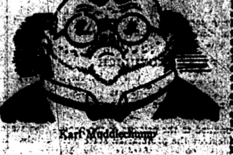
WRITE AND SAY "I WANT TO SIGN AND GIVE"

NATIONAL OFFICE:
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
201 WEST 13th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

United Labor Council
meets
Every Wednesday
8 P. M.
83 East 4th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Phone: Orchard 0189.

News of Workers Party Activities in the City, State and Nation

How to Cure Bolshevism



Karl Muddlehump

[illegible] Soviet Government [illegible] himself if we keep diligently at it."

Jap Toilers Ask Help to Fight Terror

NOTE—We have just received an appeal from "The Joint Committee of Workers and Communists of Japan" urging the workers of this and other countries to protest against the repressive legislation launched against the Japanese working class by the capitalists of that country. Probably one effective way of protesting against the tyranny to which our Japanese comrades are subjected would be for our readers to clip out this appeal and mail it to the Japanese Ambassador, Washington, D. C., or to the Department of State, Washington, D. C., demanding that protests be made to the Japanese Government against the brutalities of this white terror. The appeal is as follows:

* * *

In Japan, capitalism has grown to maturity, and the bourgeois capitalists have firmly established a political supremacy of their own. But, here, unlike the "advanced" capitalist countries of Europe and America, the bourgeois domination does not take on the form of political democracy.

The Japanese working class, which has been struggling under the iron hand of semi-feudal militarist bureaucracy, is now brought face to face with the bourgeois dictatorship of the most infamous type.

Outlaw Workers' Organizations.

Not a thing is spared to keep down the Japanese workers. Their unions are illegal, subject to every sort of open and secret interference. Their press, meetings, demonstrations, and all the other organized activities are ruthlessly suppressed. During the last year, hundreds of strikes were crushed by the police and army and Kokusui-kai (the Fascisti of Japan).

In December, 1920, the Japanese Socialist League was ordered to dissolve on the very day of its formation. In October, 1921, the Japanese Communist Party became the victim of a sensational prosecution. In November, a Russian Famine Relief Committee was organized by 26 labor and socialist organizations in Tokio, only to be forbidden to make a single move. To crown all, the government is now trying to enact an anti-radical law of unexampled severity. It reads:

Anti-Radical Socialist Law.

1. Persons who do or intend to do propaganda for the ideas and acts of disregarding the national constitution in connection with Anarchism, Communism, etc., are liable to less than seven years imprisonment or penal servitude. Persons who induce others to do the same as well as those who are thus induced are liable to the same penalty.

2. Persons who organize, assemble, or engage in mass-movements, with the object of doing propaganda for, or of carrying out the matters defined in the preceding article, are liable to less than ten years imprisonment or penal servitude.

3. Persons who do or intend to do propaganda for changing fundamental systems of society thru riots, violence, intimidation, and other illegal methods are liable to less than two years imprisonment or penal servitude.

4. Persons who offer money and articles, or afford other facilities to other persons with a view to letting them commit the crimes defined in the three preceding articles, as well as those persons who accept such offer, knowing its intention, are liable to the penalties prescribed in the respective articles.

5. Persons who commit the crimes defined in the four preceding articles, if they surrender themselves to authority before their crimes are discovered, are subject to a reduced penalty or exemption.

6. The law applies to persons who committed the crimes both inside and outside the territory of Imperial Japan.

Comrades and Fellow-Workers!

This is what every bourgeois government is anxious to do. The law reveals, only in a most haughty, shameless manner, the brutality and ruthlessness characteristic of all exploiters.

They are "reasonable," "liberal" and "democratic" only where the strength of the working class compels them to be.

The Japanese proletariat, historically young, inexperienced and weak, has never enjoyed even the most elementary human rights—has never been free to speak, write or to come together, not to speak of organizing themselves. And now comes the law. It threatens to deprive them of what little they have.

But the chief aim of the law, as the "lawmaker" proclaims, is to smash the international movement, up to which the Japanese proletariat has marched despite untold difficulties. The law once enacted, no co-operation, no connection, indeed no contact will be possible between the Japanese proletariat and the revolutionary organizations abroad.

Comrades and Fellow-Workers:

The Japanese working class, tho fettered and handcuffed, has resolutely entered the battle against the final offensive of desperate capitalism.

Proletarians of All Countries:

Protest against the infamous law, against the brutal dictatorship of the Japanese bourgeoisie! Protest in the sacred name of international solidarity!

Joint Committee of Workers and Communists in Japan.

FAMINE HEADQUARTERS

Workers' Immediate Aid to Soviet Russia (affiliated with the Friends of Soviet Russia) has opened its headquarters at 1403 Fifth Avenue (near 115th Street). All comrades and friends are invited to attend meetings, lectures and help build up a strong organization to fight the Famine in Russia. Regular meeting every Friday night. Headquarters open every night.

SEND IN YOUR ORDER FOR

MAY DAY

SPECIAL EDITION OF "THE WORKER"

Orders are already beginning to arrive for the Special May Day Edition of "THE WORKER," dated Saturday, April 29th.

While you are taking up this matter in your various organizations, our writers, our cartoonists, our staff correspondents everywhere are getting the material ready that will make this issue of "THE WORKER" the best yet.

There will surely be gripping cartoons by both Robert Minor and Art Young. Next week we shall give a list of some of the writers who will contribute.

You know that "THE WORKER" is recognized the country over as the best revolutionary propaganda organ of the American working class. This issue will make new history for our working-class press. Rush in your order for as many copies as you can use. And get your order in early so that we will know how many to print. Here is the order blank:

MAY DAY EDITION

THE WORKER,
80 East 11th Street,
New York City, N. Y.

COMRADES:—Enclosed please find $.......... for

which kindly send me .... copies of the Special

May Day Edition of "THE WORKER," at the rate of 3½ cents per copy.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

Western Pennsylvania News

FRED H. MERRICK,
District Organizer
Workers Party of America
35 Miller Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

All comrades and branches thruout Western Pennsylvania should communicate with this headquarters immediately regarding speaking dates, literature, or any organization information they may desire. District Organizer, Fred H. Merrick is available for joint propaganda and organization meetings. Subject "THE IRON HEEL IN PENNSYLVANIA." Write us immediately.

William F. Dunn, editor of The Worker, former editor of the Butte Daily Bulletin, is now in the district on an agitation tour and is available for meetings especially in mining localities on very reasonable terms. Dunn's militant spirit and wonderful ability should meet with a ready response.

Joseph Coldwell lectures Saturday, April 15, at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, Miller and Reed Streets Pittsburgh, Pa. Subject: "MY PRISON LIFE WITH DEBS." Admission 25c. Come and make this meeting the first big successful English mass meeting of the Workers Party in Western Pennsylvania.

Party Agencies Organizing for Better Literature Sales

By ELMER T. ALLISON

A plan of far-reaching importance to the Workers Party propaganda and educational work is now being instituted by the Literature Department.

Recognizing the need of organizing all Party units for larger and more effective distribution of literature, the Department has submitted a plan to the District Offices and Party book stores which is receiving their enthusiastic endorsement.

Under this plan these Party agencies will purchase all their literature from the National Literature Department at the lowest prices possible.

Locals and branches will purchase from the Party stores and District offices of their districts, thus giving splendid support to these necessary agencies.

Thru the Party press and other advertising means the radical labor movement will be made acquainted with these stores and a larger local trade will be built up in each city where such stores are located. Endorsements of the plan have been received from the following Party units: Districts Number One, Eight and Nine. The Brownella Book Shop, owned by the English Branch and located at 310 Michigan St., Toledo, Ohio, and the Central Book Shop, 1611 Central Ave., Cincinnati owned by local comrades, have agreed to the plan. Others have written the National Office for further information regarding details.

The National Literature Department is now supplying these agencies with stocks of literature of other publishers as well as that published by the Workers Party.

Recent Literature Loan Receipts.

Receipts of the Literature Loan Campaign continue to grow. Here follow a few of the latest remittances. All comrades who wish the Literature Department to carry on the most effective work should make the Department a loan for a short period. Write the National Office enclosing any amount you may be able to spare. It will help the work along.

Peter Mamer, $5; Arthur Fagerlund, $5; Alex Liivanen, $5; Finnish Local, [illegible], Mich., $10; [illegible]; Anton Anderson, $1; J. [illegible], $1; Finnish Branch, Glassport, Pa., $5; German Branch, Hoboken, N. J., $20; Geo. Wiesman, $3; Russian Branch, Norwood, Mass., $10; H. D. Albright, $15; [illegible]; Goodman Bloch, $10; Clifford Barnett, $1; Lithuanian Branch, Philadelphia, Pa., $25; Finnish Branch, Pittsburgh, Pa., $10; German Branch, Reading, Pa., $10. Previously acknowledged, $[illegible]. Total to April 1st, 1922, $[illegible].

The Greek Section of the Workers Party will hold its convention May 17th in New York City. The program of the Workers Party has been translated into Greek and may be secured at the rate of 10 cents per copy by sending orders to the Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Party Shows Strength at Superior, Wisconsin; Aid the Party Paper

A City Central Committee has been organized in Superior, Wisconsin, with the representatives of the English and Finnish branches of the Workers Party and of the Scandinavian Socialist local.

The latter is affiliated with the Independent Scandinavian Socialist Federation which is voting on a referendum on the subject of affiliation with the Workers Party.

It is predicted that the result of this referendum will be favorable and the Superior Scandinavians are already getting into active co-operation without waiting for the results of the referendum.

A Young Workers League is being organized and judging from past experience on this field, it will be a big success. A May Day demonstration will be held and plans are being pushed for its success.

Special bundle 400 May Day Edition for Collinsville, Ill.

Boost Worker in Tennessee.

NASHVILLE, TENN.—Here is what one of our willing railroad workers is doing on behalf of THE WORKER and of the Workers Party.

He writes: "Up to date in this section THE WORKER is going to nine engineers, eight firemen, three shop craftsmen, three trainmen and one telegraph operator. One of the engineers is chairman of our local and he is taking great interest. The chairman of the trainmen's local of this division is also a reader, he has good education and is also delegate to the next trainmen's convention.

The workers seem to be ready for united action more than ever before. The B. L. and E. appointed me on a committee to raise money for the striking miners in West Virginia.

We collected $37 and haven't got half around yet. I also filled one of those roll-call blanks sent out by the F. S. R. with $10.75. I believe this is enough wind pudding so look on the next page for another list of three six months' subs.

Reads Every Line of It.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—I have been a subscriber for your paper since November, 1921, and have thoroughly enjoyed reading every line of it. I feel that it is the one paper that everyone should read. I shall continue using all my efforts to introduce the Worker to as many persons as possible and expect to organize a branch of the Workers Party right here.

Local Los Angeles Sets Pace for All Party Locals

Local Los Angeles, Cal., of the Workers Party, with its seven branches and a live wire Young Workers League, is the life and leader of the revolutionary movement of Southern California. With classes on Historic Materialism on Monday nights conducted by Comrade E. Ettlinger; Classes on Friday nights on Industrial History, conducted by Comrade Richard Reeves; Educational work in the study of the Constitution and Program of the Workers Party and Scientific Socialism, conducted at the branch meetings of the party; Lectures and Open Forums on Sunday nights, give an idea of the Local's educational activities in preparing the workers of this part of the country for the final task of uniting the entire working class in order to bring about the establishment of The Workers' Republic.

Sunday, April 16, 8 P. M., Comrade E. Ettlinger will speak on "Imperialism—Growth and Development."

Sunday, April 23rd, 8 P. M., Comrade A. Bush will speak on "The Third International Is Bankrupt." The title for this lecture is taken from those who misunderstand the latest tactics of the Third International.

Sunday, April 30th, Open Forum. All lectures and classes are conducted at the Local Los Angeles Workers Party, Headquarters at 642½ N. Main Street.

Plan May Day Demonstration.

The Local sent out over a hundred letters to Labor Unions and political organizations inviting them to send representatives to a Joint May Day Committee to arrange a May Day Demonstration. Many labor unions have already acted upon the invitation.

Two more branches of the Party are being organized and will function soon. The workers here seem to sense the necessity and realize the practicability and soundness of the principles and tactics of the Workers Party, and this is why they are joining it in bodies, with a spirit and sense of responsibility that the pledge card, which they sign, embodie-

WITH OUR READERS

Letters for this column must be written on one side of the paper only. When typewritten they must be double-spaced and they should be typewritten if possible. THE WORKER will publish as many letters as possible and to save the labor of editing these rules must be observed.

NOT AMAZED

Editor, The Worker:—The radicals are not amazed and bewildered at the fact that Emma Goldman is writing against the government of Soviet Russia. Surely there is nothing to be surprised at. It is only natural that she should, for she is an Anarchist, who does not believe in any form of government and who believes in perfect freedom of the individual. Whereas, the Communists believe in a highly centralized government and they contend that there can be no freedom for the individual during the transitorial period from Capitalism to Communism, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an absolute necessary means for the realization of Communism.—Sarah Rosen.

IDO.

Editor, The Worker:— A certain article under the headline "Esperanto" in the issue of March 18th of THE WORKER needs some corrections. It is a regrettable fact, that even among us radical workers, who should take great interest in the International language movement, there are so many ignorant of the same. On account of this we find so many misinformations and groundless rumors circulating. The main trouble is that when our Esperantistic brothers use the word Esperanto, they use it in the sense of "an international language in general," simply ignoring the fact, that there are several systems beside Esperanto. In this way the public is led to use the word in the same sense.

In this sense of the word, the information is correct. The countries mentioned have indorsed the international language idea in general, that is all. No government has yet adopted any certain system. The rumor of the "official" recognition of Esperanto by the Soviet government, that was so widely spread both in Western Europe and here in 1920, for instance in The New York Call, has been denied by a statement issued by Lep, secretary and deputy pro tem. of Zinoviev, President of the Petrograd Soviet, July 27th, 1920. We quote from that statement: "The Soviet government sympathizes with the idea of an international language, without favoring any particular system. It is almost impossible to adopt primitive Esperanto because of its supersigned letters, which do not exist in the Russian printing establishments. Rather than manufacture new types or new composing machines, we should certainly prefer to reform the alphabet, as we have already done the Russian alphabet. Or, we might adopt Ido, if that language proves to be simpler in that respect and equally good in all others." (I will mail a copy of the complete statement to anybody inquiring about it.) So much for this.

Yes, the members of the Young Workers League should study the International language, and we are doing so. In these days the Y. W. L. here in Pittsburgh is starting a class in IDO (Reformed Esperanto). Those interested should study these two systems from an impartial view. Comrade Max Eastman made such an investigation at the end of 1920. See the result in LIBERATOR, February 1921. We take the liberty of quoting the following part of his article. "I came to the study with a certain prejudice in favor of Esperanto, but I leave it with the opinion, that Ido is a decided improvement upon Esperanto, retaining what is best in its fundamental structure, and discarding what is cumbersome and still amateurish. It seems to me, that the unwillingness of the Esperantists to accept this improvement upon their language has been due to that devil in human nature which always tries to turn everything into a church."

If some paper would give a small space to comparative, parallel text in both systems, anybody would be able to judge, which one is the linguistically superior one. Esperanto: Karaj kamaradoy laboristaj tuj komparu tiujn chi sistemoyn de internaciaj lingvoj.

Ido: Kara kamaradi laborista quik komparez ica sistemi di lingui internaciona.—A. Rostrom, National Secretary, American Ido Society, 7616 Tioga St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

ORGANIZE IN LAUNDRIES

A very enthusiastic meeting of Laundry Workers was held recently and an organization formed. The union was organized under the auspices of the Public Service Organization and the United Labor Council.

General Headquarters of the Laundry Workers and The Public Service Organization have been moved to 1551 Second Ave.

Young Workers See Organization Grow, Convention Soon

Work is progressing more favorably than ever for the national organization of the Young Workers League. Several new leagues have been added to the list, notably Washington, D. C., which reports the formation of an English branch with one Jewish and one Junior League in the process of formation. Looks as tho there will be a revolutionary stronghold in the very center of America's parliamentary capitol.

Maynard, Mass., was organized thru the good work of Comrade L. Marks of Boston, and will be on the firing line from now on. Lynn, Lowell, Springfield, and many of the other industrial cities in New England are to be attacked next, and we expect that there will be a live and hustling bunch of Yowls in each of these cities.

Chicago, up to snuff, as always, sends thru $11 on the sustaining fund lists with promises for still more. They also report that there is a good deal of life amongst the entire membership, and that the League is growing steadily.

New York reports that its membership is now well over the 400 mark and steadily headed toward the half thousand. They are now limbering up for the open air campaign that they expect to carry thru during the coming months. The soapbox orators will soon be as thick as flies, and the millions of the proletariat of New York will become familiar with the doings of the Y. W. L. thru its many speakers.

The National Organization Committee reports that the March-April issue of the Young Worker has now been supplied to all Leagues. Every one seems satisfied with this issue considering it a great improvement over the first. The N. O. C. promises to have the May issue out in ample time for May Day. It will feature many interesting articles, and, all in all, will mark another step forward in the advance march of the revolutionary youth movement of America.

Famine Concert, Sunday, Given By Yorkville F.S.R.

The Yorkville Section of the Friends of Soviet Russia and the "Edelweiss" are giving a Concert and Dance at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, on Sunday, April 9, at 5 P. M. The proceeds will be used for the relief of the starving in Russia.

The concert is one of unusual attraction and will, no doubt, give great pleasure and amusement to those who will be present. The services of the best artistic talent have been enlisted. The program follows:

MUSICAL PROGRAM
April 9, 1922

1. Angel Serenade .... Fr. Drdla
   Seb. Steiner, Violin
   Agnes Dallas, Piano
2. Erlkoenig .... Fr. Schubert
   C. [illegible]
3. Freie Liebe, [illegible] .... M. Scheff
4. Serenade .... R. Strauss
5. a) Chant Indoue, Rimsky Korsakoff, Kreisler
   b) Valse Triste .... Vecsey
   c) Praeludium and Allegro, Pugnani, Kreisler
   Violin Solo, Abraham Goldberg
   At the Piano A. Carson.
   Elisabeth [illegible]
6. Jugo-Slav Workers Tambourine String Orchestra
7. Du bist die Ruh .... Schubert
   Albert [illegible], Tenor

The Friends of Soviet Russia has received $29 from the Language Power School. Mr. Goodman, the director, delivered a lecture, the proceeds of which were turned over for famine relief.

270 Communists Go to Trial in Roumania

BUKAREST, Roumania.—A court martial in this city is deciding the fate of 270 Communists who have been imprisoned for their political opinions. They are living in solitary, held incommunicado, and are maltreated by the prison guards.

Nearly all of them bear marks of violence on their bodies. Some of the prisoners are incurably ill from exposure. Two have been released, because the prison authorities feared they would die in jail. Over 1,000 witnesses are to be examined, most of them police spies and members of the old parties.

THANKS!

The National Defense Committee thanks all those who have helped in the bazaar and urges organizations and individuals who have not settled for tickets and advertising in the Souvenir Journal to do so as soon as possible. Address all communications to and make all remittances payable to National Defense Committee, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Local Greater New York Picks Executive Committee

Local Greater New York, Workers Party, at the last meeting of its City Central Committee elected William W. Weinstone, Ludwig Lore, Alexander Trachtenberg, Thomas O'Flaherty, Cris Ware, J. Obolonsky, Bradhy, Kassoff and Heino as the City Executive Committee.

William W. Weinstone was elected Executive Secretary and also Financial Secretary and Treasurer; Cris Ware, Recording Secretary, and Kassoff, Sergeant-at-Arms.

The City Central Committee also decided to call a general membership meeting on April 16th, 2 P. M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, Second Ave. and Ninth Street, to consider the question of the United Front in the coming elections.

A resolution introduced by Comrade Verblin calls for the formation of a "temporary alliance of the Party with all working-class organizations who favor independent political action, the Socialist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, etc., in the coming elections.

The decision the party is called to make in this question is a momentous one involving far-reaching consequences, and all members are requested to participate in the discussion and voting.

The meeting will also consider the part the Local will play in the May Day Demonstration for the release of political prisoners as well as the important organization questions of increasing the membership of the Local and building up the circulation of THE WORKER. Only those in good standing who have paid for months of January and February and who show membership cards will be admitted.

ARE YOU A SPEAKER?

All over the country our comrades are busy explaining to eager masses the principles and program of the Workers Party. In halls, from the soap box, in union meetings, in fraternal organizations, over the dinner pails, wherever workers gather—there our comrades are busy expounding our message. May their tribe increase! And as soon as warm weather enables us to further sabotage the hall owners there will be a greatly increased demand for speakers.

The national office wants to know about every speaker able and willing to take the stump. If this means you send in your name and address, and tell us your experience in the movement and what you think you can do.

You need not be able to fill a Coliseum with the power of your name and the volume of your voice. If you can make a propaganda talk on a street corner, either alone or with the help of another speaker, if you can act as chairman of such meetings, if you can deliver solid educational talks to branches, fraternal organizations, women's clubs, young workers' leagues, unions, or if you just have nerve enough to visit these organizations on behalf of one of the many projects the party always has afoot—then we want you to register for service.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

A general membership meeting of Local Greater New York will be held on Sunday, April 16th, 2 P. M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, Second Ave. and Ninth Street.

The order of business of the meetings will be:

1. **The United Front in the Coming Elections.**
2. **May Day Demonstration for the Release of Political Prisoners.**
3. **Increasing the Membership of the Local.**
4. **Building up the Circulation of "THE WORKER."**

Only those who show membership cards paid up for the months of January and February will be admitted.

William W. Weinstone,
Executive Secretary.

AN ANSWER TO
EMMA GOLDMAN
by
Moissaye J. Olgin
SUNDAY, APRIL 16th, 8 P. M. sharp
ARLINGTON HALL
23 St. Marks Place (8th Street, near 3rd Avenue)
Admission, 50c
AUSPICES OF THE LIBERATOR

THE WORKER
(Formerly The Toiler)

ONE YEAR $2.00 | Bundle Rates $3.50 per hundred | SIX MONTHS $1.00

Address all mail and make remittances to
THE WORKER
Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Managing Editor
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Labor Editor
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager.

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Advertising rates upon application.

The "Brains" in Management

The Pennsylvania Railroad had a bad year in 1921, but it managed to accumulate $24,307,669.00 in excess of all expenses. This is equivalent to 4.87 per cent. on stock issues totaling $499,173,400.

The interesting fact in connection with this statement of what a "bad year" means to the coupon-clippers is that while operating revenue decreased 11 per cent. operating expense decreased 25 per cent.

In other words, wages—the big item in operating expenses—were reduced more than twice as much as revenue loss; this means that in addition to making up for losses due to bad business conditions, the happy employees of the P. R. R. were called upon to contribute enough more to make possible interest payments to the investors.

They seem to have demonstrated their loyalty to their employer in a very substantial manner and everyone is well-pleased with the possible exception, of course of some disgruntled group which may believe that brainy management consists solely of playing upon the fears of the workers and getting them to accept wage-reductions under the pretense of protecting the interests of the great public.

It seems to us that if backed by the full power of the press and government any moron could do as much.

Roumania's "Relief" Work

Fridtjof Nansen has appealed to the Roumanian Premier to join in the general relief action for Russia and (to tell the truth)—the government responded. In what manner is shown in the paragraph from the Bukarest press we print below, which constitutes Take Jonescu's "Briand's diplomatic messenger," answer to Doctor Nansen's appeal.

> **"Her Royal Highness, the Queen, has handed me your telegram of January 9th. Her Highness is very much gratified at your noble endeavors to relieve the suffering and desires me to inform you that Roumania has not remained passive towards the victims of the famine across her border. Approximately 100,000 refugees have been allowed to enter Roumania where they are being supported thanks to the noble spirit of our citizens. Several thousand soldiers of Wrangel's army are even now being cared for by the Government."**

It is difficult to say which is basest, the hypocrisy with which it is asserted that one did "not remain passive towards the victims of the famine," or the cool admission that Roumania is a haven of refuge to Wrangel's gangs.

In its answer to Nansen the Roumanian Government merely speaks of 100,000 counter-revolutionists and only mentions the Wrangel Army in passing. Why be so modest? It is a well-known fact that the Roumanian Government supports the various bands of Petlura, Makhno, etc., who have been driven out of Russia, and provides them with Roumanian and French weapons.

Really, an excellent famine relief campaign!

Mob Law in the Courts

Mob law is a peculiar American institution. During the war it became part of the legal machinery of capitalism, when courts tried to outdo the savage outrages of gangs of hoodlums and super-patriots.

There is no other explanation for the long-term sentences imposed by the courts on the war prisoners. Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, now retired to the baseball arena, was chief among these judicial mobsters, glorying in sending working-class spokesmen to 20 years' penal servitude.

The judicial mobsters after the war, urged on by frightened war profiteers cowering before the brilliant spectacle of the growing Russian Revolution, tried to outdo their war records. Special forms of heresy-hunting were invented for the purposes of the after-the-war Communist trials.

Thus we find that Communist prisoners in Great Britain usually received six months, in Germany, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia the maximum sentences reached only two and three years.

But in New York State the Communist prisoners, not on the basis of speeches made or of agitation they had carried on, but merely because of views that they held, were sentenced to prison for from five to ten years. Close to two years has already been served by most of these prisoners.

The fight for the liberation of the Communist prisoners is a fight against judicial mob law. Let the workers join in this struggle with all their power. If mob law is justified in these political cases, it may be used just as effectively against the workers in their industrial struggles. Remember: the release of the prisoners now means the repudiation by the workers of this judicial tyranny under capitalism. On whose side are you?

Sedition in Our Colonies

The dispatches from Manila, dealing with certain manifestations of unrest among the Filipino beneficiaries of the blessings of American democracy as interpreted by Mayor-General Leonard Wood contain considerable humor of the unconscious variety.

It seems that some time ago the general vetoed sixteen bills passed by the the last Filipino legislature. This wholesale exercise of the veto power appears to have convinced the younger element of the Filipino population that the voice of the people in their own affairs was not supposed to be raised above a whisper. During the absence of General Wood on an inspection trip to Mindanao, the Phillipine Herald published a cartoon showing, in the words of the dispatch, a big bully labeled "Wood" stabbing a female figure labeled "P. I. Autonomy" thru the heart with a big dagger labeled "Veto Power."

The dispatch further states that "the picture is considered libelous by American legal authorities, some declaring it seditious." Knowing as we do the rights and privileges of subject nationalities under American imperialism we have not the slightest doubt that in addition to be being libelous and seditious it will be also declared treasonable just as soon as the general gets on the job again.

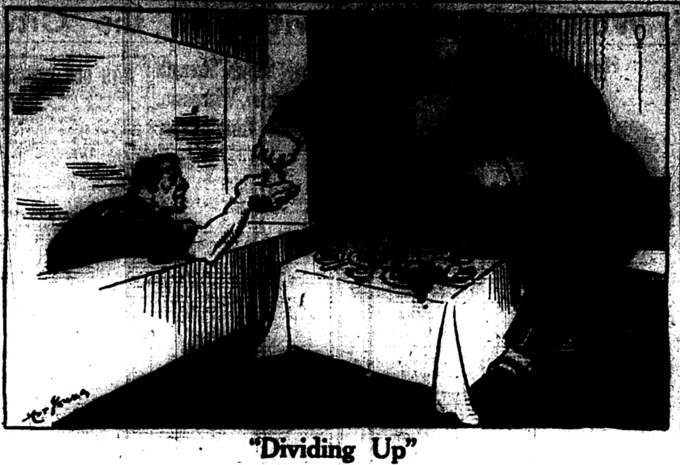
The American community is aroused to a high pitch "of resentment and indignation" according to the dispatches. To quote further "some fear General Wood will take drastic action when he returns. A majority feel that such activities cannot be passed over without adequate corrective action."

This is the true spirit of Americanism which has done so much to consolidate our far-flung empire. To every true American it must give a thrill to hear of the self-sacrificing manner in which the merchants, clerks and school-teachers of the American bureaucracy in the Phillipines have flung themselves into the struggle in behalf of their beloved leader who has been so vilely attacked by ignorant savages one of whom, according to the dispatches is Dean of the College of Liberal Arts in the University of the Phillipines.

We may rest assured that the author of the libel, who, the dispatch regretfully states, neglected to sign his name to the cartoon, will be dealt with according to the best traditions of the American colonial service as exemplified in Haiti, Porto Rico and Santo Domingo.

In this connection we cannot help referring to the welcome news cabled in to Washington by General Mont Reily of Porto Rico; he says that since his arrival the opposition to his appointment has entirely "subsided." The casualty list of the natives, as a result of which this desirable settlement has been obtained, will probably be disclosed in a year or two when another congressional investigation occurs.

Nothing in General Wood's record would indicate that he will permit himself to be outdone in "pacifying" unrest by the governor of a smaller dependency.



"Dividing Up"

Exchanging Deportees

The Canadian government has deported Hulet M. Wells back to the United States. The United States government has deported George Hardy to Canada. That ought to make capitalism in both these countries happy.

Wells was formerly president of the Seattle Central Labor Council. He was sent to prison during the war. Hardy was formerly secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World, but has now been expelled from that organization for taking a stand with the Red Trade Union International. Both were speakers for Russian Famine Relief. They have both been in Russia, and their deportation is a tribute to the effectiveness of the good work they were doing.

The spirit of Herbert Hoover, that proclaims no good word shall be said on behalf of Soviet Russia while famine funds are being solicited, has no doubt penetrated to Canada.

The result is an even exchange of deportees. And in this exchange of deportees we hope that those we send to Canada may be of as good a calibre as those who are returned to the United States of America.

Turning the Tables

The Baltic states have been the jumping off place for counter-revolutions and efforts at intervention launched against Soviet Russia.

Now the tables have been turned. The Soviet Delegation to Genoa stopped at Riga, Latvia, and met with the representatives of Poland, Latvia and Esthonia. They agreed they all desired peace, which must surely be sad news for the dollar diplomats at Paris, London and Washington.

The conference was called by Soviet Russia on a few days' notice. Had there been more time other countries, surely Finland, would have had delegates present.

Thru this conference Soviet Russia is developing a block of her own that will make itself felt at Genoa. She has loosed the grip of the imperialist allies on the policies of the Baltic states. She has started a waye westwards more powerful than the march of her Red Armies.

"Peace" was the first demand of the Russian Revolution. It is now carrying that demand successfully to the workers of Western Europe. May the triumph at Riga be followed by new victories at Genoa, victories over the profit-mad forces of world capitalism.

American capitalism has organized a "Roll Call of America" to raise a fund to perpetuate the memory of Woodrow Wilson's services to American imperialism. Let the workers remember that they have a Roll Call, the Roll Call of the Friends of Soviet Russia, to increase the Famine Fund for their starving comrades in Soviet Russia. It should not be hard to choose between these two roll calls.

Burns "Shakes Down" Congress

We now get the reasons for "Bill" Burns' recent discovery of new "red plots" and his heralded increase in the strength of the radical movement, that it is "more active and dangerous than ever."

The chief of the Bureau of Investigations, Department of Justice, Harding Republican administration, wept for the safety of capitalism because he wanted to shake down Congress for an increase in the appropriation for his department. He had $2,400,000 for 1921. He wants $500,000 more this year, and he uttered his lament and made his plea before the House Committee on Appropriations.

He confessed he had 10 super-sleuths who were each drawing $4,000 per year, 11 at $2,800, and 4 at $1,200, beside great numbers at an average of $7 per day and expense allowances. Burns thinks this army ought to be increased.

The average Congressman is so gullible that the additional appropriation may go thru. If it has hard sledding Burns will probably offer jobs to amateur sleuths among the pie hunters in some of the Congressional districts. This will surely win him his $500,000 appropriation. Thus will "law and order" have won another victory.

The Bankers Discover Marx

Perhaps the most astounding of the varied phenomena to which an insane economic order gives birth is the attention paid to what may be properly called the death-bed statements of financiers and diplomats concerning the criminal mistakes of the last eight years by well-informed organs of liberal opinion.

The weighty pronouncements now being made by the banking fraternity concerning the impossibility of ever collecting the German reparations merely reiterate certain fundamental truths known to every school-boy in the Marxian school of economics; these truths were explained in the revolutionary working-class organs while the Versailles pact was in process of negotiation and working-class editors were able to predict at that time the exact consequences of a plan to make Germany pay the cost of the war, consequences so disastrous that they have at least been brought home to the most stupid flag-waver by the world-wide break-down of production and exchange.

It appears that the National City Bank of New York for reasons best known to itself, has lately been giving some publicity to the utterances of certain influential British financiers and that these gentlemen have at last been forced to recognize realities by the pressure of events. We quote one of these gentlemen—Mr. F. C. Goodenough, chairman of the Board of Directors of Barclay's Bank—and his attitude toward the financial situation is typical:

> **Under the terms of the treaty, payment is required to be made in gold; but Germany has at present only a comparatively small stock of gold—with which she may perhaps be able some day to start to reform her currency—and the whole stock of gold in the world would not suffice to enable Germany to make her payments in gold, even if she should possess it. She must, therefore, import raw materials; and, in order to pay for them, must export her manufactures. This is a first charge on her exports. Then she must sell still more goods abroad, and render other services so that she may buy gold, or its equivalent in value, in order to make reparation-payments.**
>
> **The question must, of course, arise whether the world can absorb so large a quantity of goods as will have to be sold in order to realize the amount that is required as quickly, as it is at present proposed; or at all events, whether it can do so without dislocation to trade and, consequently, injury to itself.**
>
> **The problem of reparation-payments turns, therefore, not only upon the ability of Germany to pay, but also upon the world's ability to receive payment according to the plan as it now stands.**

The above is sound economic doctrine to which any Marxian can subscribe. We knew it all the time. The statements of the economic effects of the German reparations were just as true when the arrangements were made as they are to-day. Why this belated recognition of the fact that capitalism operates under certain laws which cannot be ignored with impunity?

Go over the files of any working-class publication whose editor has even an elementary knowledge of the construction of capitalist society and the laws governing capitalistic production and circulation and you will find article after article, written in the pedantic style so dear to the heart of the Marxian, showing that the one thing which the Allies should avoid as they would the plague if they really want to stabilise the capitalist system is to fasten the cost of the war upon Germany or any other nation.

Indemnities, like other obligations, can only be paid in commodities or in gold, as a standard of commodity value. This means that in order to pay the indemnity Germany must displace with her commodities the commodities of all other nations in the world markets; unless she does this she cannot pay. If she does this industry in all other countries is ruined.

We have commented from time to time upon the stupidity of the ruling class in general; the remarkable "discovery" of an economic law, heralded by the liberal press as a sign of an awakening conscience, only confirms our opinion that rulers do not need to know anything as long as the great mass knows still less.

Those familiar with the contradictions in capitalist society, in view of the dire straits of the system due to the ignorance of its chief beneficiaries, can afford to pardon the bankers for stealing their thunder.

Viewing the capitalist world as it is to-day one hardly needs to be an incurable optimist to say in the words of the good old melodrama—"The pardon comes too late!"

Capitalism Is Resourceful

In their struggles with the workers, the exploiters call every resource at their command to their assistance.

We are not surprised, therefore, by facts that have just been brought to our attention in connection with the New England textile strike.

We have it on reliable information that the work stopped by the New England strike is being performed across the sea by labor in Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, working in three shifts, at high speed and at low wages.

We have even been given the names of the cities where this work is being done: at Leipzig, Crefeld, Barmen, Erfurt, Chemnitz and Elberfeld, in Germany, and at Brunn, Olmutz, Reichenberg, Iglau, Humboletz and Warrensdorf, in Czecho-Slovakia.

Great stocks of cotton and wool are loaded on board ships at American ports and sent across the seas with the samples and designs. In Germany and Czecho-Slovakia the finished product is turned out and shipped back to the United States, or sent to any foreign market in the possession of the American capitalists.

Let the workers, not only in the textile industry, but in every other industry, learn a lesson from their exploiters. International organization, of the closest kind, is needed by labor in its struggle with capital. That is the hope that the Red Trade Union International brings to them. What are they going to do about it?

What Is Wrong with th Public Schools?

Note:—Kate Van Eaton, formerly a public school teacher, i the State of Ohio, gives the fol lowing in answer to "What is th matter with our public schools?:

By KATE VAN EATON

Most of the criticism of o schools is unsatisfactory because is too superficial. At intervals som changes have been made in o schools which make them look "di ferent."

An effort has been made to mak school work more interesting by re lating the various subjects to th child's life. City children comput in terms of plate glass windows an prices of vegetables,—country chil dren in terms of cows, eggs an fences.

Quicken Child's Interest

Local history, current events loca geography, etc., all have been intro duced into the schools in order t quicken the child's interest in th various subjects.

Handwork and trade classes pla an important part in our schools o today. Gardens, book-binding, dress making, cooking-classes, etc., hav succeeded to a large extent in cor recting one nearly fatal fallacy o the public school system of twenty five years ago: that so-called brain work is more important and mor dignified than manual labor. Bu fundamentally our schools have th same basis today that they had in th beginning. And that basis is un sound.

Our schools are established on a false theory of education. They are founded on the assumption that education is something alien to the human young, but acquirable by most of them, or have the resourcefulness and charm to make it attractive to them. "Education" is regarded as something that can be imposed upon one person by another.

Adult Imposed Education

A child learns to read, write spell, and "figure," that is the beginning of the popular idea of education. He is advanced to the stage of learning facts of one sort and another, to completing certain tasks under direction. He works when commanded to work, plays when told to play.

His work is judged and marked by another according to arbitrarily imposed standards which he does not understand, even when he attains them, for they are handed down by an adult world which is as alien to him as it is to any South Sea Islander.

One of New York's large trade schools has on display products of the pupil's work,—"for sale." That display is a terrible indictment of our public schools: it is excellent work—but it is all equally good and equally devoid of individuality.

The work of one child is exactly like the work of every other child—uniformly conventional and saleable. This is the highest attainment possible to our present system: the same quality of saleable workmanship uniformly attained by numberless equally efficient children; countless children learning the same facts, copying the same designs, adopting for their own the same commercial standards of art and work, acquiring with equal skill and precision the various crafts and trades which will make them useable parts of our industrial civilization.

Training Not Education

By means of marks, examinations, rewards and punishments the colorful variety of young children's potential powers is reduced to one saleable mediocre monotony of accomplishment at fourteen or sixteen. Training is mistaken for education.

That is what is wrong with our public schools. We regard a child as a piece of clay which we may mould according to our will or as a trick animal to be trained as circus-dogs and horses are trained. We can make a useful beast out of a horse or dog—that is training.

But we not only are unable to make a horse out of a puppy dog—we cannot even make a horse out of a colt. We can only provide the necessary conditions for growth and let it grow.

Away With "Stunt" Factories

When we have sense enough to realize that a child, just as definitely as a colt or pup possesses within himself individual qualities which require only an environment favorable to growth for their development, then, and only then will we begin to understand the real significance and purpose of education.

Then we will change our schools from "stunt" factories into educational institutions.

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THE WORKER has had so many calls for complete files of the paper from historical libraries that certain issues of the paper are very scarce, and three in fact are actually wanted by the office file. If you have any copies of Nos. 209, 210 and 215 to spare, please return to the office at once. The Worker, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

[illegible] EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. [illegible] [illegible] Price 5 Cents

MINERS! STRIKE TO WIN!

"Hold Labor's Front Line Trenches!" Urges Proclamation of the Workers Party

With a solidarity never before equalled in labor history, the great mass of coal miners is out on strike.

They have come from underground, from pit and shaft, where they have spent so many years in dangerous racking toil. The coal diggers have accepted the challenge flung in their teeth by the organized coal operators.

This fight is only a part of the general drive initiated by the combined capitalist employers of the country to smash all working class organizations, reduce wages below the level of subsistence and establish the SCAB SHOP, with a return to conditions more abhorrent than absolute slavery.

Coal operators, railroad owners, bankers and all the other representatives of big business have completely united their forces in a bold attempt to wipe out, what they term, the last remnants of labor unionism. They are advocating and using every weapon at their command, and openly boasting of their success in coercing labor back to the former slave conditions.

In the steel industry, the twelve-hour day has been re-established. In the textile and packing industries, the workers are being clubbed into submission. In the railroad and transport industry, they have reduced wages and attempted to destroy working conditions gained by labor in the past. In the building industry, they have declared for the so-called "Open Shop," and have hired gunmen to protect scabs and keep union men off the jobs. And in Pennsylvania, Ohio and elsewhere, the coal operators have already posted notices of wage reductions as high as 40 per cent, and have threatened to operate the mines on [illegible]

Their goal is more profit and cheap submissive labor, which means increased poverty and misery for the workers. Hence their determination to destroy the coal miners' unions.

This strike can be defeated **ONLY** if the miners fail to stand solid shoulder to shoulder, It will bring certain defeat if the miners' ranks weaken and crawl back to accept the dictates of the mine owners.

The operators have refused even to consider a new agreement. They have refused to regulate working hours so that the mine workers may all be assured of jobs. Their heavy profits, gained from the coal diggers' toil, have made them drunk with power. In 1921, miners were paid on an average of $1.97 for producing a ton of coal, while it was sold for $10.41. In the same year, miners earned an average of approximately $13.50 per week. Untold millions went to the operators.

The mine workers and their families were condemned to starvation conditions while the operators revelled in luxury at the pleasure resorts

The capitalist class is spreading its poisonous propaganda and has its agents amongst the miners in an effort to demoralize their ranks. Many of the miners' officials were asleep at their posts and neglected to organize the unorganized fields during the war.

Consequently the miners now have to suffer, for if all the fields had then been organized the miners' union would now be able to win its demands without a strike. All such officials should and must be relegated to the rear and kept safely out of office. The fight to clean the union has to be kept up.

But it must not interfere with the common struggle against the mine owners. The miners are in this fight to win and they cannot **NOW** waste time and energy in useless wrangling among themselves. Unbroken solidarity against the mine owners must be preserved at all costs.

In November, 1919, the mine owners called upon the federal government to break the miners' strike, for fear that they might win. The government rallied to their assistence and the infamous injunction was granted against the workers.

In the present struggle the miners may depend upon them to invoke the same interference in every possible way. The soldiers, the courts, the police, the newspapers and every arm of the capitalist class will be used against the workers. The only supporters the miners can depend upon are themselves and the mass of labor in other industries.

The mine owners believe that they can lick the mine workers to-day. They have the active backing of Wall Street and of all the captains of industry—Labor's bitterest enemies. Their properties and organizations are solidly interlocked. They have become more aggressive and more militant. The fields of West Virginia have been soaked in the blood of militant mine workers.

Not alone miners, but millions of other working men and women have been thrust into the desperate position of being deprived of the right to labor by which alone they can live.

The whole working class is being starved by unemployment, browbeaten by gunmen and cossacks, and harrassed by injunctions and industrial court laws—the most loathesome of all oppressive laws. The workers are staggering under the heavy blows of the rapacious capitalist regime.

The miners are called upon to fight against such slavery.

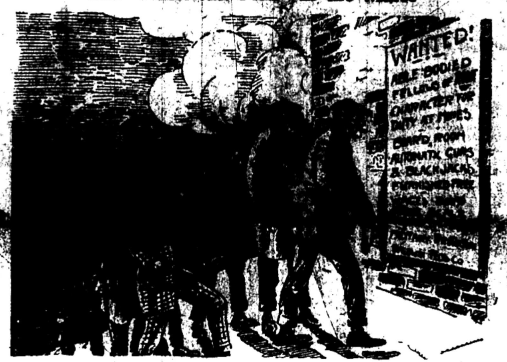
In complete organic unity with the rest of the labor movement, they must carry on the fight for their common needs, defeat their common enemy and march forward to the only true solution of the evils of capitalism—the Workers' Republic.

THERE MUST BE NO WAVERING IN THEIR RANKS, NO SEPARATE AGREEMENTS AND NO SEPARATE UNDERSTANDINGS.

THE LABORING MASSES OF THE UNITED STATES ARE DEPENDING UPON THEM TO HOLD THE FRONT-LINE TRENCHES.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WORKERS PARTY

The "American Plan" in the Mines



Judge Is Scab Procurer for Coal Barons; Miners on Strike Refused Citizenship Papers

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—(Special to The Worker.) If it never does anything else, the coal strike has uncovered another 100 per cent American judge in the person of Judge C. P. Orr of the United States District Court here.

When Stanley Casper and Stanley Kosloske, of Belle Vernon, members of the United Mine Workers of America, appeared before him on their final application for citizenship papers, with the required number of witnesses and all papers properly filled out, Judge Orr ask them if they were union men and if they were on strike.

They replied in the affirmative and the judge then told them that he would not grant them citizenship papers, that public sentiment was against the strike and, apparently to satisfy his steel bosses that he was on the job, told the two applicants that if they returned to work he would grant them citizenship papers whether they had any witnesses or not.

The officers of District Number Five, of which the men are members, have put the matter up to their counsel for advice, feeling that an appeal to the United States Attorney-General would be useless.

It is said here that this is the first instance of a Federal Judge acually trying to procure strikebreakers thru the pressure of his office, but those familiar with the record of Judge Orr express but little surprise claiming that he has always been for sale to the highest bidder, and that in this case the coal operators happen to be the purchaser.

Demonstrate May Day for Prisoners

The Amnesty Alliance for New York State Prisoners, with headquarters at 81 East 10th St. N. Y. City, announces that plans are now completed for a monster demonstration for amnesty for all political prisoners on May 1st, as an opening of its intensive local campaign on behalf of New York State Prisoners.

At a conference held at Casino Hall, delegates from the Italian Defense Committee, National Defense Committee, Workers Defense Committee, United Labor Council, locals of the Socialist Party, Workers Party, United Toilers and other organizations participated.

It was decided to arrange the mass-meeting and demonstration at 110th St, and Park Circle, Monday, May first, at 2 P. M. Speakers in English, Italian, Russian, Jewish, German and other languages representing every phase of labor opinion have been invited to participate and many prominent speakers have already accepted. A similar demonstration is planned for Brooklyn.

The Amnesty Alliance requests all organizations which have already arranged concerts or May Day celebrations, to make amnesty for all political prisoners an issue of the Day.

Resolutions on General Amnesty; Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney; and the New York State cases will be prepared by the Amnesty Alliance for use at all such meetings.

Petitions are already prepared for use at once and on May Day as well as general literature on the political prisoners for distribution at May Day gatherings.

Workers Party Calls on British Labor to Support the Coal-Miners' Strike Here

Calling for the greatest co-operation possible between the workers of Great Britain and the United States, in the coal strike now raging in this country, the Workers Party of America has sent a cablegram to the British Communist Party as follows:—

New York City, April 13, 1922.

Albert Inkpin, Secretary,
British Communist Party,
16 Kings St., Covent Garden,
London, England.

COMRADE: — The Workers Party of America, speaking for the militant elements in the American working class, calls upon the Communist Party of Great Britain to exert every effort possible to secure complete co-operation between the workers of these two countries in support of the great coal miners' strike in this country, in which 600,000 workers have laid down their tools and are now idle. All British coal miners, railroad workers, longshoremen and seamen must be persuaded not to mine or handle coal for shipment to the United States. British workers must not scab upon their American brothers. The victory of the American coal miners, in their present epoch-making struggle, will not only be a triumph for them, but for all the workers of this country and of the international labor movement. Long live the solidarity of the workers of the entire world!

Workers Party of America,
James P. Cannon, Chairman.

Cossack Whips of Pennsylvania Constabulary Help Drive Unorganized Workers on Strike and into the Growing Ranks of Miners' Union

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE
Labor Editor of THE WORKER

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Charging into a parade of 7,000 striking miners in Masontown, twelve miles from West Brownsville, district headquarters of the United Mine Workers, clubbing with the loaded whips that justify the name of Cossacks, riding down men, women and children, a detachment of the Pennsylvania State constabulary has probably done more to unite the miners and close the mines in the non-union districts than a thousand organizers.

No sooner had the parade in Masontown been re-formed after being disorganized by the attack, than Pete Fagan, Vice-President [illegible] had the forty less seriously injured men and women speeding in every vehicle that could be commandeered into the adjoining non-union camps.

In every coal mining town in the district the victims of the cold-blooded brutality of the constabulary, in their blood-stained bandages, were greeted with cheers, and from the pits the miners came pouring forth.

They have not yet gone back, and to-day they are members of the United Mine Workers of America; the coal barons are wondering at the failure of the old terroristic methods.

Never in the strenuous history of labor struggles in the United States have the employers been caught off their guard and outgeneralled to the extent they have in this district—the storm center of the strike of the men who dig the coal for this nation.

Believing that the non-union fields were immune to all persuasion from the organizers of the United Mine Workers, the operators apparently staked their all on the probability of these fields riding over the crisis with the help of the stored coal.

The exodus of the miners from the non-union fields has upset all the carefully prepared plans and figures of the operators, and to-day a prominent steel company official (whose name is withheld by the operators' news bureau) is quoted as saying:

> **"Unless a settlement is reached in the next two weeks in the coal strike the iron and steel industry of the country will be hit a harder blow than it suffered in the steel strike of 1919."**

It should be understood that the fight in this district, on the part of the miners, is to stop the production of coking coal. This coal is produced almost exclusively in what is called "the Connelsville district," and upon this output depends the operation of the steel industry which has just begun to profit from the increased domestic demand for steel products after a slack period dating from before the world war.

The Frick interests control the coking coal properties, and those who remember the Homestead strike, in which an army of private detectives were first used in a labor dispute in the United States, can see the working of a poetic justice in the strike of the non-union miners employed by this concern and—**their organization into the United Mine Workers—the union hated by the Frick corporation as badly as the devil is said to hate holy water.**

The steel mills here, after hoping against hope for a return to normal production, are closing: Thursday the Shoenberger works of the American Steel and Tinplate Company, employing 1,100 men, and the Mingo works of the Carnegie Steel Company, employing 1,500 men, shut down. The Republic Iron and Steel Company of Youngstown and the Carnegie Steel Company of Etna have blown out two blast furnaces each. It costs a lot of money to blow out blast furnaces and just as much to blow them in; steel corporations do not shut down for fun, but the joke is on them even tho they cannot see it.

The miners claim that 30,000 men, formerly non-union, are on strike and have joined the United Mine Workers of America, and the operators do not dispute these figures. More than 80 per cent of the mines in the non-union districts are down and more are closing every hour as the organizers reach them and bring to the diggers the message of solidarity.

The Berwind-White properties—the most vicious interests in their fight against unionism and from whose territory union organizers were deported at the point of guns a few days ago—are all down. Two locals of the United Mine Workers of America have been formed among

(Continued on Page Four)

Order Your Bundle of The Worker for May Day

Rush in your bundle order for the May Day Edition of The Worker. You will find a blank for this purpose on Page Four.

Big orders for the Special May Day Edition are coming in from all sections of the country. Just the thing for house-to-house distribution, to sell at the May Day Mass Meetings, or at the meeting of your labor union, sympathetic or fraternal organization.

The price of this issue is [illegible] cents per copy. Send in your order to The Worker, Room [illegible], [illegible] Broadway, New York City.

BOSTON.—Despite repeated protests by the Central Labor [illegible] here, the Boston overseers of the poor persist in their refusal to grant a permit for a tag day to aid the striking textile operatives.

Soviet Rule Thru Terror

The trial of a number of Russian social-revolutionaries at Moscow, that was the subject of bitter controversy at the Berlin Conference of the three internationals last week, has been "postponed" until after Easter. This postponement was in response to a request from "Socialists" of Western Europe.

In connection with this approaching political trial, that will no doubt create world-wide interest, the reminiscences of Lydia Konopleva, recently published in the "Pravda," and of Semenov, published in Berlin, are attracting enormous interest.

Launch Terrorist Campaign

Both, according to their own stories, were among the leaders of a small terrorist group of Social Revolutionaries. The "S. Rs," it will be remembered, have always approved assassination as a political weapon—while both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks condemned and forbade it.

At the beginning of 1918, says Semenov, he came to the conclusion that the Soviet organization could be broken by central terrorist blows at leading members of the Government. He decided to organize a campaign of assassination, and approached the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party.

Meanwhile Konopleva had already, she says, asked and obtained sanction to arrange for the assassination of Lenin.

Crimes Repudiated

The plans went forward. But while they were being prepared Volodarsky was murdered by the "S. R." Sergiev—and the "S.R." Central Committee repudiated the murder.

This, says Semenov, was very disconcerting, for half the value of the assassinations would be lost if they were regarded not as the acts of a great party but as the acts of obscure individuals of doubtful motive.

He received assurances, he says, from Gotz that the assassination of Lenin, "in view of its high political importance," would not be disavowed and would, after a certain interval, be openly acknowledged as the work of the party.

On the strength of this assurance Fanny Kaplan carried out her attempt on Lenin's life with poisoned bullets. It failed—and the Central Committee repudiated the deed.

"Fighting Group" Dissolves

Semenov says that he reproached the Committee bitterly. Whereupon Douskoy explained that "the Central Committee considers it has no right to subject the party to being crushed by the Red Terror." Nevertheless, Novikov, Kaplan's accomplice, was asked to furnish a report of the attempt for the party archives.

This was the end of the "fighting group." Konopleva and Semenov both declare that the group broke up and went out of business, angry and disillusioned at having been used as mere tools by a body which was afraid even to acknowledge responsibility for the assassinations which it arranged or approved.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.—Textile strikers gathered at a mass meeting accepted the offer of Thomas Cheetham, local real estate owner, giving them free use of a lot 1,800 by 200 feet for erection of tents to be occupied by workers ejected from their homes for failure to pay rent.

Show Your Colors!

OFFICIAL WORKERS PARTY EMBLEM BUTTON

Deep red celluloid, slightly larger than cut. Price 5c. each. $3.50 per 100. $30.00 per 1000.

Special May Day Button

Red metal, ¾ inch. diameter. Slogan, "United Front of Labor" around top, "MAY DAY" on bottom, and crossed hammer and sickle in center. Price 5c. each. $2.50 per 100. $20.00 per 1000.

HOUSE WARMING!
BROWNSVILLE BRANCH
WORKERS PARTY
Saturday Night, April 22
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HEADQUARTERS
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Refreshments Served! Dance Until 2

Everyone will be assured of a splendid time. Don't miss this Camaraderie!

[illegible]

... commercial intercourse by rail, water and air and to lower rates.

It is some little task that those responsible for the conference have set themselves, a task to which the cleaning of the Augean stables—similar in more than one respect—was child's play. Nevertheless, the Genoa conference is the first honest attempt of the European rulers to repair the damage of the war, and no matter what its results may be, it warrants more than passing notice for the reason that its existence is a confession of the bankruptcy of capitalism, a confession that the revolutionists of the world are right and the imperialists wrong.

Every writer whose mind is not warped by the propaganda of imperialism or who has not prostituted his talents has contended ever since the signing of the armistice that European capitalism could never get back to the *status quo ante*—to us a favorite phrase of the late Woodrow Wilson; that the rulers must make such concessions to the exigencies of the situation that only the shadow of capitalism would remain. The concessions have not yet been made, but the disintegration of the system has progressed more rapidly than the most pessimistic capitalist is willing to admit.

We now witness the spectacle of Germany at Genoa—the nation that was to be forever outlawed by all self-respecting capitalists and their followers—and, in addition, those arch-criminals of history, the Bolsheviki, are not only present but will actually dominate the gathering.

Russia, you see, has, with the exception of the United States, the only supply of raw materials accessible to the European nations, the raw materials that must be had before there can be a restoration of European economic life. The Bolsheviki have held power in Russia against all the force and treachery that capitalism could muster. They have proved that a government gaining power on the basis of the destruction of capitalism can, in this stage of the world's development, force recognition from its enemies.

The emphasis laid on the statement that the conference at Genoa will deal only with economic questions will bring a smile from everyone aware of the fact that economic and political problems cannot be separated in this day and age. Political rulers deal with economic questions from the political angle; no other attitude on their part is possible; the only delegates who can truthfully say that they represent the economic interests of their country are the Russians, and they hold the trump cards in the shape of the natural resources of Russia—the stake for which the allied imperialists have been gambling since Russia withdrew from the European war.

No one dare predict the outcome of the conference because no sane person can follow the mental processes of lunatics, and most of the delegates to Genoa are slowly recovering from an attack of insanity. Full recognition of and arrangements for unrestricted trade with Russia should be one of the results, but imperialistic rivalries may prevent the consummation of this proposal—the only thing that will rescue the European peoples from the abyss of starvation and misery as long as the present system obtains.

European capitalism is playing with fire. Russian recognition will tend to stabilize capitalism, it is true, but at the same time it will give a new impetus to the revolutionary movements in all countries.

There are the paper currencies of the European governments yet to be deflated and the war debts to be paid. Given a working-class movement with new hope and courage that the forced recognition of the Soviet government will bring and capitalism will be unable to stand the strain.

It is a humble group of imperialists that gather at Genoa.

First Blood at Genoa

Lloyd George calmed the temper of the Genoa Conference on its first day with the assurance that, "Nothing is quite so explosive as a peace conference." And of course the particular form of explosive in vogue at Genoa is oratorical hot air.

Thus, the first day's pyrotechnical display was being graciously received when Soviet Russia's delegation let loose with a loaded shell in the shape of a speech by George Tchitcherin, foreign minister for the Workers' Republic.

"What is the first need of Europe?" Lloyd George had asked, and then answered himself, "Peace—real peace!"

The Russians were ready to meet that need. That is why they had come all the way to Genoa. They considered the Genoa Conference as the forerunner of a universal conference where all serious problems confronting humanity could be discussed.

"Russia is willing to talk disarmament," said Tchitcherin. "She is willing to reduce her army providing other nations reduced theirs and promised to let Russia alone."

That brought the Frenchman, Barthou, to his feet. Treason to the Versailles Peace, and to the League of Nations to discuss disarmament, and a universal conference. And so Barthou wanted to know of Lloyd George if it hadn't been agreed to forget about the question of disarmament, and he wanted a ruling. But first Tchitcherin spoke again:

"We know that at Washington, Briand told Mr. Hughes that France could not cut down her army because Russia had a big one. We thought that if we offered to disarm then France could do so, and we would be helping all around. We are very sorry if we were wrong, and since we have been invited to confer, of course we will abide by the rules."

And then Lloyd George ruled, after making a little speech telling how hard it was to bring the Conference together, and his ruling was:

"Don't let's break it up yet," and so ended the first day.

The Russians got the first blood at Genoa. They unmasked the imperialist diplomats. They exposed the hypocricy of the claim that capitalism's spokesmen are seeking at Genoa "equity, justice and solidarity among the nations."

The Genoa Conference will break up. But the representatives of working-class Russia will let the workers of the world know, in clear language, why it failed.

Four hundred correspondents attending the Genoa Conference will help confuse the newspaper readers of the world as to what it is all about.

The Worker's Library

Should contain the best books of the new phases of the revolutionary movement.

Proletcult—By Eden and Cedar Paul. Analyzes the aims and purposes of the movement for a special worker's education that is spreading thruout the world ... $1.50

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Literature Department Workers Party
Room 405 — 799 Broadway,
New York City.

[illegible] of the Trade Union Educational League, Author and Leader of the Great Steel Strike, delivered a very interesting address to the militants called together by the New York Branch of the Trade Union Educational League.

The speaker told of his many years' experience in the American unions and described that the unions today, conservative and outworn, suffering under the attack of Capital can be saved only by the militants, whose task it is to stay in the conservative unions and revitalize them. "Many radicals," he stated, "maintain that the struggle against the reactionary machine is futile and the way out for the unions is for the radicals to leave them and build up revolutionary industrial unions."

Close Experience of Miners

"This position is false. The American unions are reactionary, because the radicals have left them. This is brought out by the experiences of the Western Federation of Miners.

"This organization at one time was the most revolutionary in the country. It fought battles that make dramatic reading. Its strikes were pitched battles with the state authorities. They considerably worried the capitalists.

"And yet, hardly more than five per cent were declared revolutionists. But this minority held all the strategic positions in the unions and thru their activity exercised a controlling influence over the masses of that organization.

"Today, the W. F. of M. has sunk down to insignificance. How did this come about? When the I. W. W. was formed the W. F. of M joined the organization. But hardly a year passed, when the Miners left the I. W. W. **But the leaders, Haywood and other radicals, remained with the I. W. W.**

"The organization was left in the hands of the conservatives and went more to the right until it died out.

Labor Leadership Ossified

The radicals do not seek "jobs." They are genuinely interested in the development and strengthening of the trade union and working class movement. They have vision and a program. Under such circumstances they can and will win the confidence of the unionists. "The leaders of the unions today," said Foster, "are ossified. They are intellectually frozen over. Not a bit of life extends above the hard frozen surface of their minds. They are confused and are at their wits end in the present crisis of labor. The militant reads, understands, is intelligent, has idealism, can sacrifice and has a program, is a dynamic force and if he really applies all this to the struggle of the workers, he cannot help but win."

The problem of the militants is not so much to win the unions, that will be easy enough. It is, what will he do with his control? The American militant is most inexperienced. He has never dealt with masses. He does not even know how to arrange a meeting properly. He believes that the workers can be won over with talk. If he did less talking, if he kept his seat, and his mouth shut more often, and would do more work, his task would be easier. He must participate in the unions, and thru the day-by-day detail work thru close association with the masses, convince the masses that he is a good union man, interested in their welfare."

Re-organize Thru Education

"The idea upon which the League is based, is working within the unions for the reconstruction of the unions thru the education of the workers within, by literature and by example.

"The conservative, reactionary boss of the unions was able to defeat the militant by raising the cry that the latter want to break up the union. He can do so no longer. The politicians of the Chicago Federation of Labor tried to do this last week, against a resolution to amalgamate the unions, but they were defeated and the resolution carried by about 100 to 30. Their attempt to defeat it by reconsideration lost by 114 to 17.

"The American workers are ripe for radical ideas. If the militants get control of the unions they can put their radical philosophy across very easily.

"The American worker will accept it by some complex form of reasoning something like this: He will say, 'Well, John has got nutty ideas, but John is a good union man. He went to jail in the last strike. He works hard in the union. And if his ideas are good enough for him, they are good enough for me.'

Must Offer Practical Program

"Let the militants offer a practical program, participate in labor's everyday struggles with concrete demands, let them learn how to handle masses and his task of radicalizing the unions will be accomplished soon.

The provisional secretary of the Branch, S. Zimmerman, announced that a conference would soon be held of representatives from the Left Wing of the Labor Unions of New York in order to form the League in this city.

[illegible] JOB!

By ELMER T. ALLISON

This article is addressed to the readers of THE WORKER. We are talking to the readers because of their relation to THE WORKER.

The relation of our readers to THE WORKER is, we think, a very definite one; and one which is not expressed in the simple relation of buyer and seller. That relationship is one wholly incompatible with Communist principles or ethics. Indeed, a simple relationship of buyer and seller between THE WORKER and its readers is unthinkable.

As you read this issue, we are sure you do not feel that you merely hold something in your hands which you have paid a bit of money for. To you this issue of THE WORKER is something else than so much printed paper, so much reading matter, so much entertainment and interest.

We believe that you feel that this paper, THE WORKER, is a great deal more than that; that it is something which REPRESENTS YOU and the CAUSE you favor. We believe it speaks FOR YOU—for your class, the working class. It is your voice made articulate to many thousands. It says the things YOU WANT SAID. It does the things you want done. It stands for what you stand for. THE WORKER IS YOUR REPRESENTATIVE. Your working tool. Your fighting weapon.

That, we believe is the true relationship between the vast majority of our readers and THE WORKER.

It's a relationship we want to continue. It is one we want to develop and to see take root in the mind of ever more and more thousands of readers. It is the true revolutionary and communist relationship that should exist between the revolutionary workers and their own press.

True communists, true revolutionists must accept this relationship as a logical one, a necessary one. It is a relationship without which WE AS REVOLUTIONISTS CANNOT WIN.

And Now—What To Do About It.

And now, that we are agreed on the foregoing, our duty is plain. Nothing less than 100 per cent support for THE WORKER is possible from each and every reader—for YOU. Every reader who agrees with the premises stated above, must proceed at once to render MORE SERVICE, MORE SUPPORT to THE WORKER. He must step more aggressively to the fore, find more and newer ways to develop WORKER support, get new readers, spread THE WORKER farther and wider in the ranks of the workers. He must watch for every opportunity to make it possible for THE WORKER to carry the message of communism to the masses of exploited workers.

Ways to Help.

There are so many ways to support THE WORKER, it is quite impossible to enumerate them all here. We will name but a few knowing that in your work you will develop many new good ways which will add much to the sum total of accomplishments.

One unfailing way to render substantial support to THE WORKER is to see that your subscription NEVER EXPIRES. Pay in advance and keep paid so. No unpaid subscription ever helped pay a printer's bill, nor made a paper grow.

Another way is to order a bundle for weekly sales to shopmates and fellow workers. There is scarcely a worker who cannot do this. No more effective work for communism is possible than this. No method promises more for future growth of THE WORKER. Every comrade who takes a bundle of WORKERS and sells them is to be classed as a number one communist worker. THE WORKER now has scores of such comrades on the mailing list, but we need hundreds. Just sit down now and figure up about how many WORKERS you can sell by really trying, then order that many and join the number one class.

Every bundle purchaser must have subscription cards for sale. By doing so he is always prepared to nail a subscriber on the spot. By getting a subscription, he is enabled to pass on to new lists of workers. Subscription cards are printed in three denominations, one year $2.00; six months, $1.00; three months 50s. Order a bunch of them. And while you are ordering, just add to your good work by paying for them in advance.

And there ARE possibilities to make donations to THE WORKER. Now and then even communists have a few spare dollars. Sometimes they waste them, in ways they regret. That's bad. If they would give them to THE WORKER regrets would never assail them. That's just between you and us. As a matter of fact a good many donations DO arrive at THE WORKER office. They come from comrades who realize the usefulness of the paper in this Cause, and who are willing to even sacrifice a bit to make this Cause grow.

And now, pay up your subscription. Order a bundle for sale. Get a bunch of sub cards on hand. Do these and you will have made a good start in the direction WE ARE ALL GOING—toward the revolution. Better "work your way" and have the joy of doing necessary, useful communist work as we near the goal.

Next week we shall deal with concrete methods of work of Workers Party units and THE WORKER.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Famine Scouts

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES

"Are you a Famine Scout? Have you done any twin-scouting yet?

These are questions which are being put to every boy and girl of school age by every friend of Soviet Russia, for the Friends of Soviet Russia are making a drive for the starving children in Russia among the workers' children of America.

The Famine Scout club is the latest thing in children's organizations. So if you find yourself approached by two little highwaymen who "hold you up for money or your pencil stub (pencils are as precious in Russia as the clothes on your back) first make sure that they're twin scouts, then give! That is, if they wear buttons announcing they are famine scouts and can show credentials on blue cards signed Bob Hardy, Famine Scout chief, stamped with the seal of the Friends of Soviet Russia, you may safely give them your nickel, your dime, your dollar, your pencil or your overcoat, confident that its value, without the loss of a penny, will go to feed and clothe and meet the needs of the children in famine-stricken Russia.

Or, if you are a girl or boy who wants to join a Famine Scout club you ask the twin-scouts about it. They are a bright lot of youngsters and they are sure to give you intelligent answers.

First of all they will ask you to write to Bob Hardy, Famine Scout chief, F. S. R., 102 W. 13th St., New York City. Then they will tell you how to organize and to work almost as well as the chief himself could.

From four to any number of boys, or boys and girls, or all girls, may form a Famine Scout club. The members choose their scout leader, the leader writes the scout chief, sending the names, ages and addresses of the members. The chief sends famine scout buttons, credentials for each member, with instructions for work.

The famine scouts go to everybody they know, and to a lot of folks they don't know; in short, to everybody who eats a square meal and to many who don't, and "hold them up" for all the way from 1 cent to $100.

Child Education

By KATE VAN EATON

It is the duty of a school, as one modern educator, "to provide an environment in which the child may get hold of himself as a creative human-being."

We must give our children freedom. Order and discipline, report cards and "assignments" must give way to free-moving about, self-discipline, self-direction, self-criticism. The teacher will provide materials for work, and create an atmosphere of affection and interest and contact with reality. He must be genuinely interested in the children and in his work or, unsustained by the fictitious authority of age and position which enable many indifferent teachers to "get by" now, he will be a complete failure. In such a school, the child, assured of a genuine interest in his work, undeterred by fear of unfavorable criticism, works for the love of the task. He chooses his own work and decides for himself the degree of excellence with which it must be finished.

The completed product is, therefore, really his work—not his effort plus the teacher's standard of perfection, but wholly his. He does not need to sign his name,—any who knows him can recognize him in his work.

It is difficult for us to give up the tradition that because we have lived longer, we know, better than the children, what they should and should not do.

It behooves us, therefore, to look at our present chaos squarely, and acknowledge humbly that children couldn't have made a worse mess of the world.

Then we may turn to them with a hope that if we leave them to develop freely their latent abilities, they may do better. There are schools in which the children work and play and grow, in which the teachers work with the children and learn from them. When our public schools realize that the development of the child is the real aim of education, we may see all of our children growing joyously—not, primarily, into dressmakers and printers, altho they may be dress-makers and printers, too,—not into fearful followers of precedent like ourselves, but first of all, into individuals, self-dependent, self-directing, creative human beings.

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HELP!
BACK COPIES WANTED.

THE WORKER has had so many calls for complete files of the paper from historical libraries that certain issues of the paper are very scarce, and three in fact are actually wanted by the office file. If you have any copies of Nos. 209, 210 and 215 to spare, please return to the office at once. The Worker, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

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LITERATURE DEPARTMENT WORKERS PARTY
Room 405 — 799 Broadway, New York City

[illegible]

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, [illegible] Union Educational League

(Written [illegible] THE WORKER)

[illegible] fate of organized labor as a whole hangs in the balance in the miners' strike.

If this great struggle is won, it will seriously check the "open shop" drive and give the workers a breathing spell in which to organize their scattered and demoralized forces.

But if it is lost the backbone of the labor movement will be broken and the capitalists will have little trouble in demolishing the remaining organizations.

Anti-Labor Forces in California Open New War on Radicals

(By The Federated Press)

OAKLAND, Cal.—The reindictment of six former members of the old Communist Labor party of California by the grand jury here marks the opening of a state-wide fight on radicalism by the Better America Federation.

This organization, with headquarters in Los Angeles, is the most notorious anti-labor group of big business men in the state. It is the driving force behind the perversion of the judiciary in this state.

In November, 1919, a convention was held in this city to establish in California a branch of the Communist Labor party. About a week later nine men, prominent in its formation were arrested on an indictment charging violation of the criminal syndicalism law of the state. Shortly afterwards Charlotte Anita Whitney was arrested separately for the same offense.

Early in January, 1920, Miss Whitney was tried and found guilty. The appeal has been before the appellate court over two years. Miss Whitney has been out on $10,000 property bail.

J. G. Wieler, a member of the boilermakers' union, was next tried and convicted. The appeal was decided adversely by the state supreme court a month ago. He is now in the state penitentiary at San Quentin.

James H. Dolsen, assistant editor, The Rank and File (San Francisco), who had been elected state secretary-Treasurer of the party, was then tried. After five weeks his jury was unable to agree.

Nearly a month later, John C. Taylor, formerly state secretary, Socialist party of California, was convicted under the same indictment. He was released from San Quentin on parole several months ago, his appeal having been denied.

The five other defendants, J. A. Ragsdale, E. B. Smith, C. A. Tobey, F. G. Reed and J. E. Snyder, former editor of the Socialist weekly, The Oakland World, had their cases postponed over two years at the request of the district attorney.

Meanwhile, at the instigation of the district attorney in Oakland, the legislature passed an amendment to the criminal procedure act under which defendants charged in an indictment with the commission of the same offense must be tried jointly.

On Feb. 21 of this year the district attorney acted under it in these cases. That pressure from the Better America federation brought about the new indictment at this late date is certain.

A contributing factor is the coming on of the fall election. Not only is there a governor to be elected, but in Oakland a district attorney to succeed Ezra De Coto, under whose direction the former trials were held.

Objections by the defendants to surrendering their right of trial separately under the old indictment were overruled. Even the fact that James H. Dolsen had already been tried under the former indictment had no effect.

The defendants will act as their own attorneys. The trial date has not yet been set. Every defendant is a native-born American, with an ancestry in this country going back many generations.

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Three years ago, in the big steel strike, union labor had its last great struggle with the United States Steel Corporation, the industrial monster that the miners are now fighting.

At that time the workers were on the offensive, plunging straight at the heart of that immense organization, the very citadel of non-unionism in this country.

Victory would have wrecked the "open shop" forces, and it would have been easily won by a little display of solidarity.

But the trade union leaders proved utterly unequal to the occasion. They had no understanding or appreciation of the issues involved.

When the supreme test came, they and their organizations, especially the miners and railroad men, stood aside indifferent and allowed the steel workers' unions to be cut to pieces. It was a great opportunity lost, a great defeat suffered.

Now the penalty is being paid for this criminal stupidity. This time the fight against the steel trust is purely a defensive one, and fought under incomparably worse economic circumstances than was the steel strike.

Organised labor is in a corner, fighting desperately against great odds. And if in this crisis it shows the same stupid shortsightedness that it did in the steel strike, the miners' union will be surely crushed.

BUT THIS MUST NOT BE.

LABOR MUST AROUSE ITSELF.

IN THIS STRUGGLE IT MUST ADOPT AS ITS SLOGAN, "THEY SHALL NOT PASS."

Every resource of the entire labor movement must be put at the disposal of the miners.

The railroad men must refuse to haul scab coal, the other trades must give their moral and financial support.

The miners' strike must be won at all costs. Its loss would mean the ruin of the labor movement for decades to come and the definite victory of the industrial autocracy.

IN THIS GREAT COAL MINERS' STRIKE, THE VERY EXISTENCE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS AT STAKE.

The Public and the Miners

Coal miners in the Pittsburgh district earned an average of $762.00 in 1921. They were allowed to work only 123 days but they had to be ready for the call of the whistle the year around. Many people do not know that a miner is never allowed to know whether he is to work or not until the whistle of the mine blows "work" or "no work" in the morning.

In Ohio the miners averaged 119 days and earned $550.00. In West Virginia they averaged 80 days and earned $500.00 for the year. In Tennessee one-third of the miners averaged less than a third of the working time and their average earnings were $105.00 per month.

Incomes of this size ensure only the most miserable existence at the starvation level and yet the miners are always spoken of by the capitalist press as "highly paid workers."

Let us now look at the incomes of some of the coal companies in the Pittsburgh and other districts. "Capital and labor are to make equal sacrifices during periods of adversity," and we should find the coal barons living from hand to mouth as the miners do.

The Lehigh Valley Coal Company reduced production between 1912 and 1920; yet this poverty-stricken corporation reduced its bonded debt from $20,000,000 to $11,500,000, increased the value of its property from $5,500,000 to $12,000,000 and paid dividends of 190 per cent.

The Philadelphia and Reading Coal Company increased production from 1912 to 1920 about 6 per cent., and at the same time it increased its surplus from $1,500,000 to $25,000,000, a gain of 1700 per cent. The value of its property increased from $9,500,000 to $33,500,000 or 360 per cent.

The Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company decreased production from 1912 to 1920 about 30 per cent, but it managed to increase its surplus from $3,500,000 to $27,000,000 or approximately 900 per cent. To its starving stockholders it paid dividends of 305 per cent.

The Temple Coal Company decreased production 35 per cent in eight years but raised the rate of income on its capital stock from 29.3 per cent in 1912 to 121 per cent in 1920.

In the above facts the public is manifesting some little interest since the miners struck; it is the habit of this public to arouse itself whenever any body of workers are struggling to protect themselves from a further descent into the pit of social degradation. Only when the matter is brought home to it in terms of struggle does the public ever concern itself over the welfare of the men and women who do the work of the world. It deplores the necessity for industrial strife if it even concedes the necessity, but does it ever do anything? Never. Why?

Because the public is nothing more or less than the creature of the capitalist press of a country and does and says the things that press wants done and said. Every ignorant mouther of the headlines and catch-phrases of the capitalist press considers himself part of the public, but it is only the two organized groups in society who have any real influence—organized labor and organized capital.

If the public wants representation let it become part of one or the other of the organized bodies; the issues will then be clarified and the struggle can be fought out on well-defined lines.

The public will neither win nor lose the coal strike. It is not the public that is organizing the non-union districts but the United Mine Workers of America. It is not the public that is using the state constabulary of Pennsylvania or the militia of New Mexico. It is the organized capitalist class, working thru their instrument—the capitalist state.

At this writing the United Mine Workers are demonstrating rather successfully that organization is the prime requisite in any struggle and that the public is entitled to just about the amount of consideration it gets as long as it remains apathetic in the face of the greatest industrial crisis in history, remains neutral or hostile when the organized workers are fighting a life and death battle.

Those French diplomats and imperialists are a touchy lot. They resent even the Pope having a desire that some good may come out of the Genoa Conference, that it may lead to universal peace, to disarmament, claiming that the "best guarantee of tranquility is not a forest of bayonets." The French must have their forests of bayonets, their armies, their navy. But it wouldn't hurt to let the Pope talk about disarmament. Since when did capitalism and imperialism go to church for their ethics and morals?

The Wisconsin State Journal is demanding that the Social Science Club at the University of Wisconsin be disbanded. Its crime is inviting "radical" speakers to address it. Thus does the prostitute press act as procurer in its efforts to seduce an educational institution, until it, too, shall be a willing and unresisting member of the "Brass Check" fraternity.

Tool Collection Week Is Set for May 1-7; Help Russia Produce

The International Workers' Relief Committee has notified the Friends of Soviet Russia that May 1-7 has been arranged as the "International Tool Collection Week for Soviet Russia."

The great scarcity of agricultural implements and industrial machinery has led to the proclamation of a week for collecting tools of every character. But from America there will be the particular demand for funds for purchasing tractors and plows, without which Soviet Russia will not be able to raise the crops needed to prevent a famine next year.

The idea must be propagated during the Genoa Conference, in order to counteract the intentions and machinations of the capitalist governments, whose intentions at Genoa are obvious. The culmination must come during the week that has long been regarded as the "Holiday of Labor."

To Raise Production in Russia

"The struggle against the famine in Soviet Russia," runs the appeal, "has entered upon a new phase. . . . The worker who has been hardened by the struggle and sufferings of his own class is touched more by the misery of the Russian proletariat, though he does not know how to help. The famine cannot be fought by charity alone. Some hundred thousands of people may be saved while millions are perishing and the catastrophe grows from day to day.

"Comrades, laboring masses of the world! The cry for bread, the struggle for bare existence is being drowned in the cry for PRODUCTION, for working capacity, for labor! Support our reconstruction! Assist us in providing bread! Your means are small compared with those of world capital. Yet you have something which capital lacks, your class-consciousness, your solidarity for productive assistance, if you, the working class, will undertake to assist Russia in its reconstruction . . .

Workers Can Achieve Task

"With the food that you have collected, we are commencing to organize and enliven the work in the famine-stricken districts. Home industry is being reorganized, collective farms are being formed, in factories the workers of which have fled or died of starvation, work is being started again. The farms are being prepared for work in the spring. We lack not only food for those who do the work, but still more the means of production with which bread can be produced. The working class should finish what it has set about to do. We are now creating centers of production and in the midst of a tired and exhausted population are establishing nuclei of production which will be the centers of fresh initiative and relief for the starvng workers and peasants of the famine-stricken districts. **The working class alone can assist us in this work. Otherwise the capitalists will coin the famine into profits and turn it into a new weapon against the working class.**

Relief Army Being Organized

"Workingmen and working women throughout the world! Do not forget that your future will be decided on the front of the famine in Russia! **We need tools, material and tractors for industrial and agricultural enterprises,** the reconstruction of which we have undertaken. Send us, above all, means of transport, **one-ton motor trucks.** We are also in need of fodder for the horses and grain and vegetable seed for the spring sowing. But not this alone. **We are also in need of your labor power.** Send us specialists, industrial and agricultural organizers! Fit our groups of workers with tools and food and send them to our assistance. A labor army of the International Workers' Relief Committee is being organised.

Workers Face Gigantic Task

"Delegate groups of workers from your midst to form a living and active bond of solidarity based upon you, upon the workers in the shops, upon the workers in the industrial centers and lastly upon the workers of the entire country. It is a gigantic task that the working class has to accomplish. Yet you will be strengthened by fulfilling it. It will inspire you with class-consciousness. **You are now confronted with a new practical task of the united Front of Labor on an international scale. It will inevitably weld the working class together. . . .**

No Time Dare Be Lost

"There is no time to be lost. In spring the problem will be decided. Shall we then be able to work? Will the masses of workers and peasants in the famine-stricken districts then be able to work? It depends upon your assistance."

Billy Sunday to the Rescue

The coal operators have asked Billy Sunday to invade the West Virginia coal fields in the name of the Lord and preach to the miners of that sorely disturbed territory.

The revival campaign would consist of three two-week sessions in the Williamson, Logan and Cabin Creek districts, and the operators apparently believe that a good dose of old-fashioned hell-fire religion is just what the miners need to make them long for pie in the sky to such an extent that the questions of wages, hours and little minor matters of that kind would be forgotten.

We are inclined to differ with them. Reports from the coal fields of West Virginia indicate that for anyone compelled to live and work under the domination of the coal barons there, hell would have no terrors.

There is another thing that occurs to us. The great saver of souls at a liberal price per soul has been invited to West Virginia because the coal barons think he is cheaper than troops. If some of the miners should happen to think that Bill was scabbing on the militia and gunmen they might possibly give him an opportunity to prove by first-hand experience the truth or otherwise of his theories of salvation.

Our advice to Bill is to stay in districts where the people are not quite so primitive and where an effete civilization encourages fakerism as long as it works for the benefit of the profit system.

We would hate to see Billy Sunday cut off at a time when the sucker crop in all the large centers gives promise of being unusually large and if we were Bill we would let the West Virginia miners go to the devil; especially as they are on strike just now even in the non-union districts and are apt to be a little impatient with anyone who, as Bill must, preaches the necessity of going back to work on the terms of the sweet-souled bosses who, according to the Sunday doctrine, are the Lord's anointed.

What Are Possibilities of United Trade Union Front?

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Olaf O. Lian, the president of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation who, commissioned by his organization and the Communist International, has been in negotiation with the Bureau of the Amsterdam International Federation, with a view to setting up a united proletarian front in the international trade-union movement, has just returned home from his journey. Referring to the course of the negotiations in an interview with a representative of the "Social Demokraten," Lian stated among other things that:—

By OLAF O. LIAN

President, Norwegian Trade Union Federation

The Conference took place in the premises of the Belgian Trade Union Federation at Brussels. There were present Jouhaux, Mertens, Fimmen and Oudegeest. Jouhaux acted as chairman.

Our communication to the Amsterdam International and the Red Trade Union International formed the basis of the discussion. I was the first to be called on to speak and expounded the reasons which had induced us to take the initiative in calling a World Congress. I proposed that as the first step in this direction a preliminary conference consisting of representatives of the R. T. U. I., International Trade Union Federation and of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation should be called.

What should this conference deal with? Before everything the coming together of a World Congress at which also America and Russia should be represented. The Conference should in addition draw up a provisional agenda for the Congress.

What was the attitude of Amsterdam with regard to this? First, they wished to know the program of this proposed Congress. That will be decided on by the preliminary conference, I answered. But I proceeded from the standpoint that the position of the trade-unions with regard to the League of Nations and the International Labor Bureau ought to be one of the chief topics. After that the question of international trade-union tactics, the collaboration of all the chief trade-union groups, further the question of building up a real positive Trade Union International.

And the result of the Conference? Well, you have seen my dispatch. tho the Bureau was not so strongly opposed to the resolutions as you here at home probably believe. All present declared themselves quite willing to meet the representatives of the Russian Trade Unions in a Conference. The words "bona fide" signify in their opinion representatives actually chosen by the Russian trade-unions and none who are constantly residing abroad, not emigrants, politicians and such like but real representatives of the Russian trade-unions. That was the declaration which I received. "Thus one would hear nothing of a Conference with the R.T.U.I.?" No, their opinion was that the R.T.U.I. only consisted of one national organization, that is to say the Russian, altho possibly some smaller countries might be attached to it. All the remaining national centres belong to Amsterdam. They pay their affiliation fees to the Amsterdam Bureau and that equally for the minorities within the various national organizations sympathizing with Moscow.

I observed that it was not necessary to stick to such formulas. If the Moscow International consisted only of Russian trade-unions the result would be that only real representatives of the Russian trade-unions would appear at the Conference. The Bureau did not agree to that. But I still believe it premature to think our attempts for forming a united trade-union front will be abortive. Other methods must be found in order to proceed in the direction indicated.

Do you think of a definite mode of procedure? I do. There are many courses open. Our Norwegian Secretariat could invite the representatives of the Russian comrades and the Amsterdamers to a sitting in Christiania. So far as I could understand the Amsterdamers have no objections to a meeting with the Russian representatives, with a view to calling a World Congress. It is true that my work in Brussels was rendered more difficult by our not having heard anything positive from the R.T.U.I.

Did you hear anything else that was of interest? Yes. Fimmen will come to Christiania by the end of March. Afterwards he is to take part in an International Conference of the Transport Workers in Stockholm. At the end of April or beginning of May, he will assist at the Congress of the All-Russian Transport Workers' Federation.

Many tokens indicate that the idea of an united trade-union front has taken root and is growing in all countries. In this respect the Brussels Conference was of significance. There was no bitterness or animosity shown during the conference, and there was but little confidence in the League of Nations. That, at any rate, was my impression.

Court Ruling Gives New Hope in Mooney Case

By RICHARD ROHMAN

(Special to The Worker)

SAN FRANCISCO.—An important and far-reaching precedent has just been established by the California District Court of Appeals which is likely to obtain the freedom of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, militant labor leaders who were condemned to life imprisonment upon perjured testimony.

Almost coincident with the filing of Tom Mooney's appeal, before the same court, seeking to upset the decision by a lower court denying a writ of audita querela, came the Court of Appeals' decision ordering a re-trial in the case of Thomas Brady, convicted of assault in the notorious Howard Street case. Brady had been convicted on perjured testimony which District Attorney Matthew I. Brady had sought to conceal. Today Brady is free on very nominal bail, pending a re-trial which is certain to clear him of the crime charged.

The only difference between the status of the Mooney-Billings defense and that of the Howard Street defendant, from a purely legal point of view, is that perjury in the Mooney case was not discovered and established until after the statutory period for applying for a new trial had expired. In the case of Brady, it was discovered during the progress or shortly after the trial.

But, as Byron C. Parker, attorney for Mooney, convincingly points out, perjury is perjury and the victim, no matter how much time had elapsed, is entitled to a remedy. In the Howard Street case, the remedy was obtained under the law; in the Mooney frame-up, the relief is sought in equity.

It will be extremely difficult for the District Court of Appeals to deny the petition for Mooney in the face of its decision in the Brady case. The jurists, Langdon, Sturtevant and Nourse, were quite violent in their condemnation of the lower court for ruling out, during the process of the trial, evidence to show perjury by a prosecution witness. In upsetting the conviction, the Court of Appeals invoked with an unusually religious fervor the "rights of man" and so on.

MANCHESTER, N. H.—A proposed merger of all unions in the shoe industry was endorsed unanimously by three locals of the United Shoe Workers of America, representing a majority of the operatives in this city. John McCudden, secretary, Manchester group, announced.

The coming of Communism means the going of wage slavery.

ROBERT MINOR

Speaks at
Waiters and Cooks' Union Hall
264 Washington St.
NEWARK, N. J.
Sunday Afternoon, April 16th

IF—IF—IF—IF

YOU LIKE THIS COPY OF THE WORKER—
You will show it to another worker and get his subscription.

YOU ARE IN EARNEST ABOUT THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE FOR POWER—
You will order a bundle for sale every week.

YOU ARE A REAL LIVE WIRE, YOU WON'T WAIT A MINUTE
To sign the blank below and mail it.

YOU WANT TO SEE THE WORKER GROW BETTER AND BIGGER—
You will order a supply of Worker sub cards for sale—paying for them in advance if possible.
One-year sub cards, $2.00; half-year, $1.00; three months' cards, 50 cents.

And now, no more "ifs." It's time to ACT.
Sign the blank and mail.

BUNDLE ORDER BLANK

Send me every week .... copies of THE WORKER. I will sell them and remit at once.

Send me .... WORKER sub cards (signify whether yearly, half-yearly or three months) for which I enclose $..........

NAME ....
ADDRESS ....
CITY.................... STATE ....

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] Windber. It is from Windber that the deportations [illegible]

Let no one think that the organizing in the non-union fields is child's play. The men who go in and do the work must contend with the state constabulary, the mine guards and the special deputies whom all the sheriffs—with a few shining exceptions—swear in at the request of the coal companies. The company control of a coal camp is absolute, yet these organizers, armed only with a resolute purpose and carrying nothing but the message of solidarity, are steadily defeating all the forces the coal owners can mobilize. When the history of the labor movement of America is written there will be no more glorious chapter than that telling of the work of these men who risked daily their freedom and their lives for their union—their sole weapon against the whole power of American capitalism.

In the Star Junction district, Fayette County, where there has been no union since the Knights of Labor made their last stand, Bill Hynes, Executive Board member of District No. 5, organized a local union and called a mass meeting after he had been run off of company property by armed guards. THE MINE CLOSED DOWN.

All over the district similar incidents are occurring, and it is little wonder that the operators are even failing to take advantage of their usual weapon—denial of the miners' claims and a campaign of propaganda thru the most servile publicity medium in the world—the Pittsburgh press.

Steel production here will be entirely suspended by Saturday for lack of coke. This is the best gauge of the success of the strike.

WITH OUR READERS

Letters for this column must be written on one side of the paper only. When typewritten they must be double-spaced and they should be typewritten if possible. THE WORKER will publish as many letters as possible and to save the labor of editing these rules must be observed.

DISCUSS "UNITED FRONT"

Editor, The Worker:—The last meeting of the English Branch, Yorkville Section, Workers Party was characterized by a heated discussion on the proposal of the City Central Committee to form a temporary alliance of all parties and organizations believing in independent political action for the workers.

It was pointed out in the discussion that to form such an alliance at a time when the revolutionary vanguard is but in the process of being organized would spell the death knell of the revolutionary movement in America.

To help elect the Hillquits and Londons and Claessens at a time when we have no appreciable influence, even among organized labor and immediately after a most sensational break with these elements, would mean nothing less than treason to the revolutionary movement in America.

In addition to the "Worker Week," the branch is also making a subscription campaign. Subscription cards were distributed and every member urged to bring in all subscriptions which he receives to the next branch meeting.

Our Educational program was postponed, due to the long discussion, and Comrade Berg will be expected to begin the discussion on "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasant" at the next meeting which will be held April 19th, at 143 East 103rd St., New York City.

Bertha Kuppersmith,
Branch Organizer.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] of the contemplated move.

Above all, however, unity became a fact because it answers a crying need of the times, because conditions in Europe leave the working class no other choice.

They must unite, or allow the powerful flood of capitalist reaction to sweep everything before it. Only a strong, well organized labor movement can hope to ward off further wage reductions and to stem the flood of attacks upon the organizations of the working class.

Then there is Soviet Russia. The victorious Allies—of that there can be no doubt—fully intended to use the Genoa Conference to bring pressure to bear upon the Soviet Republic for its final and complete industrial subjection.

For this move the crafty Lloyd George counted upon the support—or at any rate upon the silent assent—of the "labor parties" and of the right Social-Democrats of the European nations.

That explains the flattering reception accorded to Rathenau in London. The flattering propositions made to Germany—where the Social-Democrats are still influential—by France, for the mutual exploitation of Russia by a German-French Corporation allow no other interpretation.

In this critical situation there was no choice. Some means must be found of co-ordinating those proletarian groups and Socialist parties that exercise political influence or can bring industrial pressure to bear upon their governments.

The Labor Parties and the Social-Democrats, on the other hand, were in no position to repel the offered hand of friendship.

They feared that the leaders of the Russian revolutionary government might enter into contracts and complete arrangements that would possibly react unfavorably upon industrial conditions in their own countries.

Germany, for instance, cannot count upon industrial rehabilitation for years to come unless the Versailles treaty undergoes radical alteration. For Austria this holds doubly true in regard to the treaty of St. Germaine.

The French and British working classes, again, fear the competition of German and Austrian starvation wages,—that product of Mark depreciation, more even than their own capitalist class.

Furthermore, even the farthest right of Social-Democracies has a lively interest in the continued existence of Soviet Russia. Not that they feel its greatness and its promise to the proletariat. On the contrary, in their eyes the unpleasant accompaniments far outweigh its achievements.

But they are directly interested in its continued existence, nevertheless, for it is invaluable as a scarecrow with which the capitalist class of their own countries can be bluffed into some show of reason.

In their meetings and in their conferences, in their parliaments and in their press they have operated with the "Bolsheviki" bugaboo on every occasion. And effectively. Capitalism has always submitted with more or less good grace to the lesser evil.

• • •

The unity conference bases its plans of action upon seven points of unification. "No. 1" calls for the election of a committee of nine for the arrangement of an international proletarian congress at which all communist, socialist, syndicalist and labor parties are to be represented.

The outcome of this Congress—let us not give way to extravagant hopes—will be meager enough. The elements to be brought together are fundamentally inimical.

Since the Congress must, above all, emphasize the united will of all [illegible] definitely expressed objects, everything will have to be avoided that may create differences of opinion, and all resolutions and motions will have to be so carefully adjusted, balanced, and counter-balanced that they will lose all practical significance and force.

The concessionists of former international congresses will be outdone. The resolutions that are finally adopted will be more ambiguous, more colorless than ever. They will be characterized by the same ineffectuality and meaninglessness of all such "unanimously" adopted motions.

The second point pledges the Executive Committees of the three Internationals to establish amicable relations between the Amsterdam and the Red Trade Union Internationals and to do away, as much as possible, with friction between the two wings.

Only a short time ago Moscow attempted to establish such a labor union united front. Ole O. Lian, the chairman of the Norwegian labor union movement, in acordance with instructions from his own organization and from the Communist International, made overtures to the Amsterdam bureau.

He told his experiences, later, to a representative of the Norwegian "Social Demokraten." The conference was held in the Labor Union House in Brussels. Among those present were Jouhaux, Mertens, Fimmen, Oudequest and others.

Lian proposed to them the calling of a preparatory conference consisting of representatives of the Red Trade Union International, of the Amsterdam and of the Norwegian labor union movements.

The conference was to discuss the calling of a world congress of labor unions. Both America and Russia were to be called upon to send representatives.

The Amsterdamers were by no means opposed to a world congress, provided the Red Trade Union Congress was disregarded, since it "represents nothing and nobody." They were willing to grant spokesmen to the Russian labor unions.

Lian left the conference without securing a single concession. It is possible that all this may change under the impression made by the Berlin program. But nothing can change the arrogance that still persists in regarding the Red Trade Union International as non-existent.

• • •

The same difficulty is experienced in the desire to avoid clashes between the parties. So long as these are so many different elements that cannot be united into an organization whole, so long friction will be unavoidable.

We might possibly conceive of reasonably harmonious relations between the parties of the Third and of the Second and a Half International.

On the other hand, we can see not even the remotest likelihood of united action between communists and the socialists of the Second International.

The general strike that put an end to the Kapp putch and the recent German railway strike are two examples. In both instances the marriage was dissolved before the honeymoon was over. Experience has shown that these social-democratic parties, once they have whetted their appetites by a taste from the government troughs, become more and more conservative and unsocialistic. The tendency of their development is never toward radicalization.

The differences between the revolutionary and the reformist working-class movements become then greater, more obvious and more ineradicable. Silence, and complete abandonment of their principles and methods would be the price communist parties and organizations would have to pay, that this friction may be avoided.

Points three and four dealing with the fate of indicted revolutionaries in Russia are unimportant, since the Soviet Government has long ago declared that these counter-revolutionary "heroes" shall receive open and public trial, and that they shall be accorded every legal protection.

No death penalty threatens these assassins of the "right," however, richly they may have deserved it. The Bolsheviki judge crimes of four years standing with the utmost mildness. They have no desire to emulate Ebert, the Bavarian Hoffmann and Noske.

Besides, the political situation at the present time would make it more than foolhardy to undertake to punish acts committed in the first revolutionary period too severely.

Point five calls, as we have mentioned before, for a political demonstration on April 20th, which will certainly call forth a tremendous response — in Europe, altho the slogans and objects are of signif-

[illegible]

• • • •

There is something fascinating about the call for a united front. It hypnotizes us and the hope stirs softly within us that the time may come again when there will be only one Socialist party and one International.

But the supporters of neither the Third nor the Second International are thinking of organic unity, of an amalgamation of organizations.

Their sole purpose is a co-ordination of efforts between the various parties and organizations for certain definite aims and demands.

They emphatically declare that there is no conceivable possibility of doing away with existing separate party organizations, that to do this would mean to betray the principles that each party in contrast to other internationals and other parties, upholds and propagates.

The party splits in the various countries did not arise out of personal issues. The leaders did not precipitate disharmony in otherwise united movements.

Revolutionary socialists all over the world were forced by a precipitation of events to realize that the existing Socialist movement had become reformistic and anti-revolutionary. Socialist reformers had defeated the world revolution. The victorious Russian revolution was thrown backward in its development for decades by the weakness and the betrayal of the West European working class.

The Third International and its parties have set out to teach the proletariat of the world anew, to familiarize it with the A B C of revolutionary, of Marxian Socialism, to replace a phantastic romanticism with the hard necessity of preparing for the social revolution. They have only just begun. Nowhere have they even approached completion.

• • •

And yet the role of a united front has frequently been misinterpreted. Here in the United States the same over-enthusiastic elements that frantically preached "armed uprisings" only a few years ago, and prophesied the coming of the social revolution in this country "in a few months" as an absolute certainty, are now rejoicing at the prospect of a united front.

In the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Greater New York, for instance, a motion was made demanding the united front for the November campaign.

It was proposed to unite the Workers' Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, and other working-class bodies upon one ticket to oppose the capitalist enemy.

Under existing conditions this would give the reformistic group the upper hand. The Socialist Party, altho its membership has dwindled so rapidly that it is, to-day, less than one-half of what the Workers' Party has already organized, has still managed to maintain its name and prestige before the public, an asset that would weigh heavily in the balance against the communists who are still practically unknown before the public.

Then, too, in an atmosphere where political suppression still threatens the revolutionists, the reformistic wing would undoubtedly dominate the campaign and would practically annihilate any attempts at revolutionary propaganda.

A campaign of this sort would mean the denial of political action as a means of propaganda for revolutionary socialism. It would reduce parliamentarism to the level of election politics pure and simple, with neither revolutionary meaning nor revolutionary aims.

The movers of the motion have still failed to realize that there is a great difference between Europe and America, that the methods that are a necessity in Europe are an impossibility here.

The Communist movement in the United States was shipwrecked in the year of its launching because it slavishly copied European methods and swallowed unthinkingly European ideas.

Let us beware, lest we wreck our movement again by making the same mistake!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE
In Celebrating
INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY
At California Hall, Cor. Polk and Turk Sts.,
SAN FRANCISCO
Monday, May 1st, 1922, 8 P. M.
Good Speakers, Music and Dancing

HERE, THERE AND EVERYWHERE

From a Reader's Note-Book

By JAY BEE

Peace on earth, and a good will among men, or call it—Genoa. Of course, with mental reservations. And never you mind the incidental clashes Russia and France, or France and Britain at the opening session of the Genoa Conference. These were only well calculated accidents (diplomats can do even that) to accentuate the peace talk that is to come. So genuine peace talk will follow the initial scraps at Genoa, as certain as day, for you cannot conveniently start a good brand new war without having had, at least for a while, a semblance of peace; and war is what they want. Thusly the assembled statesmen—the vanguard of the consolidated camps of usurers, sweatshoppers, grocers and vamps of all other sorts—are laboring arduously to restore peace since war they must have. And the militarists and the nationalists and the other species of the venerable capitalist-political zoology are seeing to it that no wrong be done to anything or anybody on the peace that will open the way to war. Mainly—the balance of power shall not be disturbed, that is the show is to be run in no such fashion that would overrun the ambitions of those who can well afford to be ambitious. Equal opportunity to be guaranteed to everybody, who is somebody, equal opportunity — to swallow three-quarters of two-thirds of one's beloved "equal" neighbors. That much will be accomplished at Genoa. And more—hardly.

• • • •

Surely some other problems could be tackled at Genoa. The place of German capital in the run of the world's capitalism could be approached advantageously. And a guess might be ventured on the fate of capitalism under the rule of the Soviets, But Genoa will not go too far, if at all in that direction. It will not open credits to Russia just because Tchitcherin put on a high-hat or because Trotzky will talk in low, soft tones. And the recuperation of Germany will have to come from elsewhere not withstanding the fact that Germany "sits in" with the high dignitaries of the League of Nations on an equal footing. Europe is sick beyond recovery, and its leaders seek not to heal the grave wound: they are laboring for a grand funeral, whatever else they may think they are doing. Capitalist Europe with Soviet Russia won't mix. Either one will go, or none will rest at ease. Which, of course, won't prevent the gentry around the tables at Genoa from playing the game and stacking the cards. And to this extent, and from this view point the conference will undoubtedly be successful.

• • •

France has no unemployment. Germany knows of none of it. Italy is facing "normalcy" even if it is of a poor caliber. The statelets of the second or third order, that had been known as neutrals during the war or came to be afterwards, are for the present negligible quantities. And Hungary and Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia, are turning more and more into self-sufficient self-enclosed states with a system of natural economy as the basis of their existence. Who, then, needs Russia, and what is the price one will pay for recognition of Russia? It is only England that needs the Russian market and Germany that would be able to get it. But England won't let Germany have it, and she won't pay herself the price of getting the market. The price is not a negligible one. It is a formidable one, considered entering of the old order. Trade with Russia means unlimited credits to Russia and unbounded opportunities to what Russia stands for: Sovietism, whether she professes it openly or not. Does England want it? Of course, the question leads to another one: Who is England? If David Lloyd George is England he certainly does not want it. But perhaps there is somebody in the United Kingdom that does not want David Lloyd George to be England? Well, that he or they will have to speak up, And not until other voices are heard, not until the workmen of England speak up, will the England that be care to pay the price for trade with Russia. And there will be none to speak of, the Genoa conference notwithstanding.

• • •

Russia has two valuable though intangible assets to offer to the international traders: (1) Sovietism, (2) repudiation of the revolution. It need not advertise the first one: prospective traders know it when they see it. But it will have to be [illegible] on the other item, which [illegible] won't do. And thus we may expect many other conferences to come and go.

• • •

"Russia looks well—little more was to be expected at the public preliminary," this a dispatch from Genoa contentedly informs the world. "Russia's debut, diplomatically, at the conference was a pictorial success. In morning coat and top hat, literally and figuratively, the Soviets delegations made a suave, conciliatory impression in the atmosphere of diplomatic graces that opened the conference this morning with a fanfare of trumpets."

The reporter neglected to mention the background of the "pictorial success" that was to no means a degree responsible for the success. It is the well drilled, and splendidly fighting, three million strong Red Army.

• • •

Arthur Brisbane in the "American":

"Mr. Hillquit, Socialist leader of New York State, one of the most able, a really educated man, forgets history when he advocates taking over the government and substituting workers for professional politicians."

"Professional politicians are bad enough, but 'workers' would be worse. They know it. Nobody knows better than Mr. Hillquit that every career requires training, also that for everything worth while you must have trained minds back of you. Mr. Hillquit is a successful lawyer, representing the greatest coal selling concern, because his ancestors in Russia and elsewhere have been THINKING, for two or three thousand years."

It did not require thousands of years of thinking for Hillquit or his ancestors to enable him to represent the other concern he represents—the Socialist Party of the U. S. So one would gather from Brisbane's remarks. And while it is not a very much going or selling concern and its output is not half as black as coal, it is nevertheless at least as intelligent a proposition as the Burns Brothers Coal Co. So why be unjust to the man who is certainly less rewarded for his service to the Socialist Party than he is for service to the Burns Brothers Coal Co.? Or does Brisbane mean to imply that Hillquit exhibited less ability in serving the Socialist Party than in serving the greatest coal selling concern? It may be true. But Arthur knows that two or three thousand years of thinking will not bring one an iota nearer the greatest coal selling concern, whereas a couple of thousand of dollars and a few clever suggestions at incorporation, suggesting how to go around the thing you don't care to face, will turn the trick For it is, in such cases a matter of trickery, first, last and all the time. Hillquit knows it, and Arthur Brisbane knows it So why say it differently. Or—is it a part of the game?

• • •

The "inquiring reporter" approached four notable citizens on the topic of "United Front." Here is what he got away with:

1. **Julius Gerber,** a Socialist by trade and "political worker" by calling, resides within reach of the Forward. He said in substance: We old-time Socialists are well versed in economics, and my reaction to your proposed question I will sum up thus: It is all right if it is a united fund.

2. **Benjamin Schlesinger,** a great man loved at a great distance, just abhors publicity, an S. P. adherent for what it is worth. He said in part: Yes, unity is the command of the hour. They seem all to have united in those local elections. But it is just the wrong way that they went. Yes, wrong, not left. I am myself a left winger, but I will certainly cut short their wings. Just watch. See me some other time.

3. **Meyer London,** a Congressman, in fact the Congressman, he so himself unblushingly admits. He is very busy, unless you are willing to walk with him for a few hours. He had to say this much: United front? Yes, they will include the water front into the 12th Congressional district, and here you will have it. No, I am for the united front, always have been. I hope I get rid of them all. That crazy East Side!

4. **Joseph Panken,** a smiling lawyer, not recognized leader, lovely fellow, and practising judge. He said: United front? It is all bunk, but all right, so long as I am in the front. Want a cigar?

[illegible] every call for a speaker, mobilizing every available [illegible] it will not be possible to c entire field unless calls are as early and as definitely as p If you want a speaker for May report at once, (a) the DAY TIME of your meeting, (b) auspices and probable size, (c) possible the name and address of hall.

Address the National Workers Party, 799 Broadway, York, N. Y.

Benefit Performance at Metropolitan Opera Ho

"The Worker" will participate the proceeds of a Special Perfor ance of "La Boheme" at the Me politan Opera House to the extent its sale of tickets. The Performa takes place May 6, but the tickets selling fast. Those friends of T Worker, who have not yet secu their tickets, may get them at t office, 799 Broadway.

The leading parts of the Opera be sung by Madame Frances Al and Messrs. Chamlee and Rothi Mr. Bamboshek conducting. Pri of tickets $1.65 to $5.50.

"La Boheme," Puccini's delightf opera, has always been a favori with the public. Operagoers will ways like to hear it again and wor ers, who seldom have a chance witness a performance at the Metr politan will enjoy it immensely.

The Object of the Proletarian Dictatorship

It is the task of the Proletari Dictatorship to wrest from the ca italists the control and ownership industry and to bring these industri into Communal ownership.

With this Communal ownership must develop as quickly as possib the control and management of in dustry by the workers organized in industrial unions.

As the power of the capitalists i industry is ended and Communis is developed, the Proletarian Dicta torship becomes unnecessary an ceases to function.

The state is no longer an organ ization of force but ceases to exis except as it becomes the organ fo co-ordination and administration Communist industry.

AT THE RAND SCHOOL

Editor, The Worker.—March 2 at about 12.15 P. M., I was walkin up and down at the People's Hous doing my duty as a picket, in th fight against the Rand School, alone, speaking to nobody, when a officer of "Law and Order" came u to me and placed me under arrest.

I was forced to go to the 22 Str. Station House. There they in formed me that I had to be brou up to Court for Trial, and so I ed in the Yorkville Court that afternoon.

A day previous to this incident was arrested with 6 of my comrade and the identical thing happened t us all. We were brought to court placed before the Judge and fine $5 each.

March 24th. I was picketing the same place, with the signs my back with the inscriptio "WORKERS OF THE PEOPLE' HOUSE ON STRIKE—PUBLI SERVICE ORGANIZATION the same thing that previously curred to me, came into effect time.

I was placed under arrest, broug to court, was fined $10 instead $5. The nice scheme they had bring before the Judge was that should have said to some of gang which always hangs around Rand School, you are a fine cialist, and another swore that tried to poison him, because claims that I said to him that I something into his soup.

These two witnesses, which I nothing more than Scheidema swore that blue is black, and th white is green, and the attorney w tried his best to get me sent aw for life I suppose, got all strung that time the Judge said that the O ganization as such has a right strike and sentence was pronounce at $10. This the gentlemen fro the Rand School did not like at a I think the reason the Judge posed the $10 fine was because I h been working for the emancipatio of the working class for 8 months $18 per week, and thought that could afford this small amount, an all this is what I got in return for it

But I don't care a rap about it. I I ever get a chance to fight you, M Socialist, believe me, I will d

JOHN SLEZA

THE LAST CALL!
SEND IN YOUR ORDER!

MAY DAY EDITION

THE WORKER,
80 East 11th Street,
New York City, N. Y.

COMRADES:—Enclosed please find $.......... for which kindly send me .... copies of the Special May Day Edition of "THE WORKER," at the rate of 3½ cents per copy.

NAME ....
ADDRESS ....

News of Workers Party Acti[illegible], State and Nation

Workers Party Aids Strikers in Textile and Coal War Zones

Immediately on the heels of the first strike call in the Textile and Coal industries, the Workers' party sent some of its ablest organizers to look after party interests there. Three district organizations, Five, Six and Ten, are devoting almost their entire attention to this task.

William F. Dunne, labor editor of the party organ, "The Worker," has been assigned to the Pennsylvania district in co-operation with District Organizer Fred Merrick.

Charles Baker and T. R. Sullivan, organizers of the Ohio and Southern Illinois fields, are on the road themselves and preparing for additional help.

In quite a number of towns the miners have extended special invitations to our speakers and the meetings have been held in their own halls, with local union officials presiding. All of the so-called "anti-Red" activity ascribed to the union officials is thus far the invention of the capitalist press. The Workers Party speakers seek no partisan advantage or division, but direct their message to the increase of class consciousness and class solidarity.

Harrison in Textile Field

Caleb Harrison, National Secretary of the Party, is engaged in the Textile field and sends in an interesting report on the efforts of the Workers Party members among the strikers to create a united front of labor among the six unions now engaged in the struggle.

This form of activity means practically no income to balance the very considerable expense, but it represents the most fundamental and essential form of activity in which the party can engage. The stimulation of the sale of organization stamps, and other contributions to the National Office by all our units is absolutely necessary if the work is to be carried forward. Send in all money intended for the National Office at once.

ROBERT MINOR ON TOUR.

An extensive lecture tour, the proceeds of which go toward making the party organ, "The Worker," into a daily paper, has been undertaken by Robert Minor, labor's fighting cartoonist, and member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party.

Some of his dates follow: April 16th, Newark, N. J.; 17th, Bridgeport, Conn.; 18th, New Haven, Conn.; 19th, Paterson, N. J.; 20th, Trenton, N. J.; 21st, Reading, Pa.; 22nd, Philadelphia, Pa.; 23rd, Philadelphia, Pa., and 24th, Baltimore, Md.

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATIONS

From all parts of the country come reports of the launching of comprehensive plans for May Day demonstrations.

Most of these are in co-operation with other working class organizations in harmony with the "united front" tactic of the Third (Communist) International.

New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Boston, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Brocton, Mass., these are only a few of those already reporting and asking for speakers.

Some of the plans include arrangements for big parades followed by either outdoor or indoor mass meetings.

The national office, in addition to serving as a clearing house to supply and exchange speakers, is getting out a special May Day edition of THE WORKER, a special button, and a leaflet for distribution.

All requests for speakers, literature and buttons should be sent in without delay.

THE COLDWELL TOUR

Joseph M. Coldwell, the veteran "Rhode Island Red," who twice refused a parole from Atlanta penitentiary because of the strings tied to it and because he did not want to leave Gene Debs serve on alone, has joined The Workers Party and is being booked for a lecture-tour by the National Office of the Workers Party, altho the proceeds of his meetings go to the National Defense Committee and to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee.

"My life in prison with Debs," is the title of his lecture, and in it he demands the release of all class-war prisoners, no matter what the name of their philosophy. His story of 26 months in Atlanta is one of absorbing interest and his meetings should be exceptionally well attended.

The first part of his itinerary is as follows: April 15th, Pittsburgh, Pa.; 16th, Conneaut, O.; 17th, Youngstown, O.; 18th, Warren, O.; 19th, E. Liverpool, O.; 20th, Bellaire, O.; 21st, Neffs, O.; 22nd, Akron, O.; 23rd, Akron, O.; 24th, Canton, O.; 25th, Cleveland, O.; 26th, Fairport, O.; 27th, Lorain, O.; 28th, Toledo, O.

After the conclusion of the Ohio dates Coldwell will go to Michigan and northern Illinois.

THE WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The White Terror in the Balkan States

EDITOR'S NOTE—The "red raids" initiated by the unspeakable Palmer swept the United States in January, 1920, have their counterpart in the Balkan States. The new Democracies formed by the victorious Allies have been even more [illegible] than the beasts [illegible] for the [illegible] the reports of the White Terror in Jugo-Slavia and R[illegible] names and places, and at the same time [illegible] in the Balkans on the one hand [illegible] leaves little to choose. There [illegible] engendered by the war is apparently subsiding in the United States; while in the Balkans the limit seems not yet to have been reached. Deportation proceedings have been instituted against many aliens by the government of the United States. Of these a major part will be sent to the Balkans if they are ordered deported. Everything possible must be done to save them the terrible being inflicted upon the communists of Roumania and Jugo-Slavia.

* * *

Court Martial in Bukarest

A court-martial has been sitting at Bukarest for more than a month for the purpose of sentencing the best agitators of the Communist Party of Roumania, its Central Executive Committee, the Trade Union Committee, the Party Council, the Parliamentary group, writers, etc.—together 270 persons who are being sentenced because they had the courage openly to avow themselves Communists at the Congress of the Roumanian Communist Party.

For this courage of their convictions the Roumanian bourgeosie shut them up for months in cells, under a frightful prison-regime, without being able to gather enough evidence for the prosecution.

Now the court-martial is to sanction the infamous crime against justice, and sentence the defendants as "conspirators against the state," as "criminals," "terrorists," etc.

The court is composed of army colonels, majors and police commissioners. It sits in a small room, obviously for the express purpose of keeping out the workers and preventing them from attending the procedure lest they get a glimpse of the justice-scandal which the forum of the court-martial presents.

Only ministers, generals, Bojars, editors of the bourgeois press and the like, in other words only "trustworthy" elements, are admitted.

Every possible means is used to prevent the public from getting acquainted with the blood-stirring charges of the accused against the prison and the investigation authorities. Indeed, the bad conscience of the bourgeoisie finds no peace even with these measures.

The bourgeoisie, which alone is responsible for the sufferings and torments of the prisoners, fears the vengeance of the proletariat and for that reason it closes not only the trial-room but also blocks all the streets leading to it and has them guarded by the militia.

The defendants are also guarded by soldiers. They are placed in cold cells, which are separated from each other by iron gates. A barbarian order robs them of the possibility of communicating with each other or with their relatives. At first they were even forbidden to communicate with their attorneys.

Letters which the defendants had sent to their attorneys were intercepted or destroyed, and it was only after the energetic protest of the defense that short conferences between the prisoners and their attorneys (in the presence of an officer) were at all granted.

Having been imprisoned for months and having undergone brutal torments, the health of the prisoners is now completely undermined. Many of them still show on their bodies unmistakable signs of brutal treatment. Five of these prisoners are critically ill. It is rumored that they will be discharged—not to return to freedom (God forbid!) but only to be handed over to the servants of the bourgeoisie after they will have recovered.

The trial is still going on. But no matter what frightful consequences it may yet have—the decision is as well as signed!

The Roumanian reaction will have its victims, and the defendants, in spite of their absolute innocence, will be marched off to prison or even to the gallows.

The government hopes that by getting the defendants out of the way, it will be able to exterminate Communism in Roumania.

Hence martial law, the suppression of freedom of speech and the press; hence the frightful White Terror which is raging among the workers and poor peasants to an hitherto unprecedented degree.

The class-conscious part of the Roumanian proletariat recognizes the dangers which the workers and peasants are facing—it will find ways and means of meeting them effectively.

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Printing in Many Languages—
Anything from a leaflet to a book.
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Tel.: Stuyvesant 9871

Sentence Com[illegible] in Jugo-Slavia

Sentence has been passed in the Jugoslavian Communist trial.

Accused were either charged with having attempted to assassinate the king or with having participated in a conspiracy to overthrow the lawful government. Those accused of the first crime were both non-Communists and Communists, among them five deputies, and two secretaries of the Party. Under the second charge all the members of the Party Executive were arraigned before the court.

After 7 months of investigation and 1 month of court proceedings, 14 of the 33 comrades were found guilty, while the remaining 19 had to be discharged.

Among the 4 persons found guilty on the first charge there was not one responsible member of the Party; all Executive members, together with the Communist deputies, were acquitted of connection with the plot. Sentence was passed upon the worker Stejic, the assassin, who was condemned to death. The worker Czaky, father of four children, received 20 years hard labor, and the students Nicolic and Palincas were sentenced to four and two years hard labor respectively.

Under the second charge the seven members of the Executive and three Communist deputies were found guilty and each sentenced to two years hard labor on the following grounds:—

> "The court declares that accused in their capacity as officials of the Communist Party in our kingdom, have, by means of conferences, public meetings, persuasion, pamphlets, handbills and other agitational measures actively participated in carrying out the Communist program adopted in 1920 at the congress of the party in Vukovar."

That is the legal justification for sentencing the Executive of the Communist Party to hard labor for a program adopted in June 1920 at a legal and public congress!

This condemned program of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia which differs in no respect from those of all the other Communist Parties throughout the world, represented all the proof they had both against the Communist Party and its representatives.

There can be no doubt that the White clique in power utilized the attempt at assassination on the part of irresponsible party members as a weapon against a party whose rapid development was making the bourgeoisie tremble in its boots.

Accordingly the government made the attempt the starting point of a countrywide series of pogroms against Communists, 70,000 of whom were arrested within a few days.

In Belgrade among whose populace of 112,000 there had at no time been more than 12,300 organized in the trade-unions, 11,500 men and women were brought in by the drive.

Of this ridiculously high number of arrests, 33 persons were after seven months arraigned before the courts, and of these 19 had to be acquitted.

And in spite of third degree methods neither the Party nor its officers could be convicted of participation in the attempt of assassination which was made the pretext for the white terror.

The court was in a cleft stick, so to speak. Acquittal of the Party Executive was equal to an admission that the government had unjustly muzzled the Party and the Communist deputies and offended against both the funds and the press of labor. Hence the court could not acquit and passed a formal sentence intended to legalize the government's oppressive measures during the last 7 months.

A Party with 80,000 members and 300 local organizations, and 2,000 trade-union organizations with 360,000 members were dissolved; the Communist municipal councils in several score large towns were suspended; 59 Communist deputies were ousted from Parliament; an anti-Communist "Law for the Protection of the State" was railroaded thru which threatens with capital punishment anybody conducting Communist propaganda; a number of persons were murdered while in jail awaiting trial; the funds of both Party and trade-unions were confiscated, etc., etc.

The government lost the political trial, and the Communists were sentenced . . . "Bourgeois justice" has spoken and killed the last vestige of the illusions as to the fairness of the capitalist judicial apparatus.

New Y[illegible] C[illegible] D[illegible]

The [illegible] of the City of New York has [illegible] bankruptcy as far as [illegible] is concerned. It has [illegible] that as things stand, it [illegible] the problem and must [illegible].

This is the confession that the Committee of the Unemployed sought to wring from Acting Mayor Hulbert when it went to City Hall to demand help for the [illegible] unemployed in the city.

At that time, the acting Mayor [illegible] denied that that [illegible] existed, stupidly declared that all appropriations made and being projected by the Board of Estimate would relieve the unemployment situation, and that the unemployed in the city have no kick coming.

But the demonstration of Unemployed, March 27th, was not lost on the workers of the city. The organized workers began to realize that the Unemployment Council means business and that the conference that was held at City Hall was showing up the unemployment situation as it really is.

At the last meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, a resolution was introduced by the Executive Board, as a result of a conference with a Brooklyn lawyer.

Sponsored by the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, and producing the same statistics that the Committee of the Unemployed presented to the Acting Mayor, the Brooklyn lawyer prevailed upon the Central Trades and Labor Council to pass a resolution, calling upon the Mayor, the Board of Estimate, the Governor of the State and the President of the U. S. to take immediate steps to relieve unemployment; that, despite all that was being done or not being done in the city, unemployment has increased since December, and conditions represented a "menace" to the peace of the city.

Mayor Hylan promised to go to Washington and present the local situation to the federal authorities, and impress upon them the necessity of immediate action.

He thereby admits what the Unemployment Council has claimed from the beginning: that altho the city can do much and the City of New York has neglected to do it—in the final analysis, it becomes the function of the federal government to attack what has become a national situation.

A representative of the Unemployment Council of New York was present when this resolution was passed, but was denied the floor altho originally promised it.

It was obvious that the Central Trades and Labor Council was evading the most important aspect of the whole matter from the standpoint of organized labor.

The mere existence of the 10,000,000 jobless makes it possible for the employers to carry on a campaign to destroy the labor unions, reduce wages and increase hours.

The weakness of the unions, the strength of the organized bosses, the failure of so many strikes and the success of the open shop campaigns are due to nothing more than the fact that there are 10,000,000 unemployed in the country looking for work, willing to take work AT ANY COST.

Hence the unemployed must be organized to line up with organized labor... They must be educated to an understanding of unionism and to the determination NOT TO SCAB.

They must be organized to demand of the government either "Work or Compensation." This they must have: this organized labor must help them get, in order that the poverty of the jobless may not be used to lower the standard of the men on the job.

The lever to the present industrial situation is unemployment. Everything else depends on that factor. Until that is settled, the open shop campaign will spell defeat for the workers.

CONCERT AT DETROIT.

The Workmen's Circle Library of Detroit wishes to announce a concert Sunday night, May 7th, at the Labor Lyceum. The Library wishes to have it known that branch 156 of the Workmen's Circle is responsible for its existence. It is only six months since the Library was organized and already 2436 books have been circulated. There is also a large assortment of Jewish, Hebrew and Russian papers and periodicals. The Library is open every night from seven to ten except Sunday. Comrades of Detroit are asked to help build up this library by attending the concert and advertizing it to friends and sympathizers. Remember the Labor Lyceum Library, 632 Livingstone St., and make it a real thing!

The pastor of President Harding's church now states he was asked to leave out the name of Christ in a prayer offered at the late arms conference. We incline to the belief that Christ would have been entirely satisfied with the proposed arrangement.

[illegible] All [illegible] members of the Workers Party are [illegible] to report to [illegible] 10th Street, [illegible]. William W. Weinstone, Executive Secretary Local Greater New York, Workers Party.

Workers Party Members to Discuss United Front

At the general membership meeting to be held Sunday, April 16, at 2 P. M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, 2nd Ave. and 9th St., the question of the United Front in the coming elections will come up for decision.

The resolution presented to the City Central Committee upon which discussion will take place calls for the placing of a Labor Ticket in the field by forming a temporary alliance with the Socialist Party, Farmer-Labor Party, etc.

The resolution has aroused considerable comment and many arguments have been advanced pro and con at the City Central and branch meetings.

All members should participate in the discussion Sunday in order that the decision may be representative of the sentiment of the entire membership.

The other questions for action by the meeting are May Day preparations, building up the Local, boosting the Worker and other organization matters.

Admittance to the meeting will be by membership cards paid up till the month of March. All members who have not their dues stamps can purchase them at the meeting from the financial secretaries.

* * *

MAY DAY ARRANGEMENTS

Local Greater New York will participate in the May Day Demonstration to be held in New York. All branches are to arrange to have their members at the demonstration, and the executive committees of the branches must see that the members come and report rendered to the Local on the attendance. All Branches must have banners made. Buttons of the W. P. and Special May Day Buttons are at the local—all organizers should call to get them. 5c. payable cash.

Charters of Branches: Charters of the branches are ready at the Local Office.

Amnesty Meeting: The Workers Party will hold an Amnesty Meeting in Brooklyn, Tuesday, April 16. All Branches of the Williamsburg section must participate in making this meeting successful. Call at 228 Roebling Street and see S. Nessim for information.

Section Committees: The provisional Sections Organizers are called upon to organize section committees at once. All organizers and department heads are to compose the section committees.

Literature, Special May Day Edition of The Worker: All branches are to take a special edition of the Worker for distribution at the May Day demonstration and other places. Send in your order now. The Section Committees should at once organize systematic distribution of literature in their sections.

Settle for Paris Commune Day Tickets: All Financial Secretaries have not yet settled for the Paris Commune Day Tickets. Returns should be made at once.

ORGANIZE ENGLISH BRANCH

All English-speaking comrades desiring to join the Workers Party Branch in Hudson County, N. J., are requested to attend a meeting at the home of Christ Blohm, 162 Griffith St., Jersey City, on Tuesday, April 18th.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.—An English-speaking branch of the Workers Party was organized at Jamestown, N. Y. The Scandinavian Branch of the Scandinavian Educational Society, with 150 members in Jamestown, voted unanimously in favor of affiliation with the Workers Party in the referendum now pending.

NEW JERSEY. County committees of the Workers Party have been organized in Essex, Hudson, and Passaic counties, and they are now functioning actively. In Newark and Paterson they have made arrangements for a united front May Day demonstration, and are assured the co-operation of a considerable number of labor unions.

BUFFALO, N. Y., reports a membership of over two hundred active comrades, with fine arrangements made for a united front May Day demonstration.

Under Communism there will be real homes for all.

THE WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] Worker Tells of First Trip to Kuznets Basin in Interest of Labor Colony

By JACK BEYER

Written for The Federated Press and The Worker

This is the first of several articles on the Kuzbas Colonization project in Siberia, headed by William D. Haywood. They will tell, at this time when the Kuznetsky Basin Project is being organized here and is [illegible] widespread interest, of the adventures of the first group of American workers in their mid-winter journey from Moscow to Central Siberia. The writer is Jack Beyer, late of New York, and the articles are dated at the mines of Kemerovo, Government of Tomsk, Siberia, January 3, 1922.

On the heels of the agreement concluded October 21, 1921, at Moscow between the Soviet of Labor and Defense and the Initiatory Committee of American, English and other workers, I was instructed to form a group of twenty-five men possessing the technical skill necessary and to proceed to Kemerovo in the Kuznetsky Basin and to Nadejdenski Zavod in the Urals to carry our preliminary work before the arrival of the first groups from abroad.

After six busy weeks of signing up men, collecting tools, utensils, clothes, food, etc., the group entrained at Moscow on December 3, 1921, to travel in a third-class coach, with a boxcar attached with the stores.

When the train pulled out that night the Kuznetz Basin Industrial Colony passed from the stage of discussion into one of realization.

The group which is destined to lay the foundation of a vast industrial enterprise, free from the incubus of parasitism, numbered sixteen men and one woman. It was truly an international body. There were Fellow Workers F. Domain and E. Witt, Poland; J. Harper, America; L. and J. Krause, Ukraine; K. Schwarz, England; H. Sussman, White Russia; L. Leftchuk, F. Veronin and I. Mischenkoff, Russia; A. Gallor, France; P. Porget, Germany; N. Castellan, Ireland; T. Nicholoff, Macedonia; S. Theodoroff and P. Dencheff, Bulgaria, and myself—American Seminole Indian. All these members of the colony have been for many years engaged in highly developed English, American, French and German industries.

A stove for heating and cooking had been set up in the center of our car and we had to collect wood along the way until we reached Yaroslaw, the first division point. There we got enough fuel to last a couple of days. We reached Vologda the following afternoon. Until we reached Viatka, the next division point, we had to gather fuel at every opportunity. There we learned that it was almost impossible to secure fuel east of Ekaterinburg, so we accumulated nearly a cord in our baggage car and filled every available space in our coach as well.

Bread proved to be very scarce, and the price, unlike the temperature, rose as we travelled onward.

We left Vologda on December 6 and after a tedious ride we pulled into Viatka the morning of December 3. The collecting of wood went on apace. The weather was steadily getting colder. It was then 28 degrees below zero.

At Viatka, for the third or fourth time, we found that our box car had been disconnected from our own car. We had been told that we would have to wait there, as we were now on the Siberian main line, to be connected with a troop train due to arrive later in the day.

When we went to the station master's office to get the boxcar coupled to ours again, we found the station master out, but his subordinate declared it was absolutely impossible to allow the boxcar on the train, which was strictly military. He would permit our coach to be attached, but even that, he said, was an accommodation on his part. He refused to take any notice of our mandate.

So a second trip to the office was necessary, when we forced the official to read the mandate and our transportation telegram, and we threatened to report his conduct. The boxcar was attached.

We pulled out of Viatka that night and early on the morning of December 10, we arrived at Perm after a monotonous and uneventful journey. The weather man had been preparing a cold reception for us, and we found the temperature 35 below.

We had a consultation with the station master and it was decided that instead of going by the main line to Ekaterinburg, that we should go to Goroblagodechensk (which means something like "God Blessed Mountain) and drop the Nadejdenski party there, and then continue on to Ekaterinburg.

Some of the boys went to the market, but it was Sunday, and all they could buy was some meat and frozen milk.

PHILADELPHIA MEETINGS

J. Louis Engdahl, of the staff of THE WORKER, will be the speaker this Sunday night, April 16th, at the meeting arranged by the Workers Party at Philadelphia, that will be held at Machinists Temple, 13th and Spring Garden Sts. If he can get away from the coal strike at Pittsburgh, William F. Dunne will speak the following Sunday night. Engdahl will talk on "The Workers Party and Parliamentary Activities," while Dunne's subject will be, "Trade Unionism and the Workers Party."

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912,

of THE WORKER, published weekly at New York City, N. Y., for April 1, 1922. State of New York, County of Manhattan. Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Elmer T. Allison, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE WORKER and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Toiler Publishing Association, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City; Editor, Wm. F. Dunne, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City; Managing Editor, J. Louis Engdahl, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City; Business Manager, Elmer T. Allison, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

2. That the owners of the Toiler Publication Association, Room 405 — 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y., are: Walter Bronstrup, Secretary, 1244 Walnut St., Cleveland, Ohio; Elizabeth Bertram, Treasurer, 2402 Kingston Rd., Cleveland, Ohio; Elmer T. Allison, President, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent, or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of March, 1922. (seal) Carol Weiss King. (My commission expires March 30th, 1922.)

OFFICIAL NOTICE

A general membership meeting of Local Greater New York will be held on Sunday, April 16th, 2 P. M., at the Stuyvesant Casino, Second Avenue and Ninth Street. The order of business of the meeting will be:

1—The United Front in the Coming Elections.
2—May Day Demonstration for the Release of Political Prisoners.
3—Increasing the membership of the Local.
4—Building up the circulation of The Worker.

Only those who show membership cards paid up for the months of January and February will be admitted.

W. W. WEINSTONE,
Executive Secretary,
Local Greater New York, Workers Party.

DEMAND THE FREEDOM

of

JAMES LARKIN
BENJAMIN GITLOW
HARRY WINITSKY
C. E. RUTHENBERG
I. E. FERGUSON

and others
in

NEW YORK STATE PRISONS

These men were jailed because they fought for the working class.

Attend the

MASS MEETING

at
ROYAL PALACE HALL
16 Manhattan Ave., [illegible] BROOKLYN
Tuesday, April 18th, 8 P. M.
SPEAKERS:
Ludwig Lore, [illegible]
Demand the Freedom of our Political Prisoners

[illegible]
Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Managing Editor
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Labor Editor
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager.

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Advertising rates upon application.

Score: Three to One

"Every time some people see a red hat they get frightened."

That is the enlightened declaration of Attorney-General Daugherty at Washington, as he refuses to allow approaching May-Day, 1922, to scare him.

His statement was brought forth by the recent frightened utterances of the following:

William J. Burns, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation.

Secretary of War, Weeks.

Secretary of the Navy, Denby.

These three are all agreed that Communism is making rapid strides in the United States, that it is permeating not only the citizenry of the country, but also the army and navy.

That makes the vote three to one in favor of the red hat. If the mine strike continues to grow, as it is now doing, perhaps even Daugherty may be won over, making it a clean admission that the working class is waking up, and that the fetters of ignorance and prejudice are being broken.

Devout Pittsburgh

What a wonderful thing is religion!

If one can only become convinced that "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world," nothing else matters. It is for this reason that capitalism encourages the "pie in the sky" artists.

Pittsburgh is a city of churches, yet probably in no other community in the United States can be found so much concentrated misery among the workers; this subject, however, is taboo in the better circles, and the spirit of the "solid elements" of Pittsburgh society is shown by the following letter, clipped at random from the columns of the Pittsburgh press:

> **To the Editor:**
> Sixth Avenue, between Wood and Smithfield Streets, is a busy part of town these days. Holy Week noonday meetings at Trinity and the First Presbyterian churches are the attractions. Crowded houses for the 30-minute services are the rule and, to the credit of Pittsburgh, the throngs are made up of devout, spiritually-inclined people. All of which indicates that Pittsburgh is ready to do its duty for God in the moral readjustment following the world war.
> R. C. S.

It will be readily seen that God is quite popular in Pittsburgh. His most enthusiastic supporter is the Steel Trust, and it is made quite plain to Pittsburghers that love for one means loyalty to the other.

The slaves of the blast furnaces may think otherwise, but they do not say so—yet.

What Is It, Arthur?

Senator Norris of Nebraska criticised Chief Justice Taft—better known as "God Knows" Taft—the other day, for "hob-nobbing" at social functions with the idle rich. "The Senator opined that no man can stick his legs under the tables of the idle rich every night and be fit to sit in judgment the next day on those who toil."

Because of this display of his knowledge of the doctrine of economic determination, Senator Norris is taken to task by one of the nation's most famous journalistic courtesans—Arthur Brisbane. Arthur says, "he (Taft) cares no more for the richest man than for the poorest outcast in the gutter so far as justice is concerned. It is having a rather poor opinion of a man who has given his life to public service at great sacrifice in money and personal comfort that he might be influenced in Supreme Court decisions by Baltimore terrapin, lobster a la Newburg or a glass of wine with bubbles in it."

We know you get a lot of money for your stuff, Arthur, but don't you feel just a little ashamed of yourself when you try to put over bunk like this and then think of the child-labor law and a few other things we could mention?

Knowing Willie Hearst, your boss, as we do, we feel impelled to ask "In just what coming decision of the Supreme Court is he interested?"

Semenoff and Our Prisoners

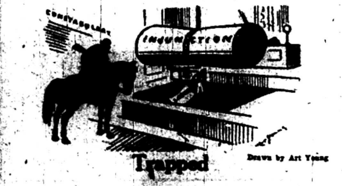
General Gregory Semenoff, self-styled "Ataman of all the Cossacks" of both European and Asiatic Russia, is a visitor in the United States.

No objection was raised by the vigilant immigration authorities to his entrance to this country after his trip across the Pacific.

Representatives of the international drive for Russian famine relief, like Whitehead, of England, are seized and locked up, at least temporarily, when they come here seeking help to aid the victims of famine and plague.

Not so with Semenoff, brigand, pillager of Siberia, head of a band of marauders that raped, robbed and pillaged under pretext of fighting the Bolsheviki, whose bandits assaulted and murdered women and children, mutilated men and left a trail of blood and horror, whose armed train fired on a box-car filled with United States soldiers in Siberia, killing two—Semenoff, the bull-necked, sensual, heavy-jowled, brutish Tartar chief, did all these things and yet was admitted into the United States, received "unofficially" and was to have been received like a prince in New York City. But Semenoff's bandits stole $500,000 worth of woolen stuffs and furs from a New York trading company operating in Siberia, forcing it into bankruptcy. And so he was "pinched" by vulgar "cops" in the nation's metropolis.

But American justice still has respect for successful robbers, and in Semenoff's own words, "How can I be considered in such [illegible]



Trapped

Drawn by Art Young

[illegible] to bail. But [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The United States government, under Wilson, supported Semenoff. Under Harding, we find Secretary of State Hughes inviting him to this country and assuring him of a hospitable reception. It can be depended upon that they will get him out of his present difficulties. Witnesses in his defense, it is claimed, have been sent to New York City from Washington at government expense.

Semenoff stands for things as they are. So does the Harding administration. So do the courts of "justice." Therefore Semenoff is safe, in the Waldorf Hotel.

The Communist prisoners demand a change for something better. They are struggling for ideals that seek an ending of the present profit system. The courts of "justice" fear them and deny them bail. Capitalism feels itself safe, with the Communists in prison at Sing Sing, Dannemora and elsewhere.

When will the workers learn that their allegiance should be with the Communists in prison and not with the Semenoffs, the Hughes and the Hardings? They must themselves give the answer.

All for a Job

Do you want a job in the steel industry? Not a real good job but one of the ordinary kind of jobs that most people work at.

If you do you must forget that you are a human being and as such entitled to a little privacy. You must throw open your heart and your mind to the boss and fill out a blank containing the following questions:

Name .... **Address** .... **Nearest Relative** ....
White ...... **Black** ...... **Yellow** ...... **Height** ...... **Weight** ......
Color Hair .... **Color Eyes** ....
Thin .... **Normal** .... **Stout** ....
Married .... **Single** .... **Widower** .... **Divorced** ....
Children under 16 .... **Dependents** .... **Others** ....
Religion .... **Societies** .... **Education** ....
Place of Birth .... **Years in U. S.** ....
Intentions: To Remain .... **To Become Citizen** ....
Temperament (To be filled in by employment agent)
Quick .... **Average** .... **Dull** ....
Previous Employment (Give names of three last employers)
Reason for Leaving ......**Nature of Work**......**Length of Service**......

After having filled in this application the seeker of employment is supposed to be properly humbled and to understand that in giving him a job the company is conferring upon him an inestimable privilege and that any violation of the company rules (which are legion) is equivalent to sacrilege.

There are still many people who wonder why it is that some men prefer to take to the road rather than earn an honest living.

Above is one of the reasons.

And They Are Still Hungry

C. F. Blanke, the millionaire coffee merchant, has closed his bread line and rest room at the old Standard Theater in St. Louis.

His farewell speech to 2,000 hungry, jobless men was to the effect that he had fed them with 250,000 cups of coffee, and 55,000 loaves of bread, that had cost him $12,000.

The report we have received does not state why the Coffee King fed these hungry men, or why he quit feeding them.

We surmise that he felt he was contributing to the solution of the unemployment problem, or that it would give him some good, free advertising.

Probably he found out that he could not cure the jobless evil, and that he had spent all the money he intended to, anyway.

Blanke invested the price of a good automobile in feeding hungry men. His "coffee and" tortured their stomachs and kept the spark of life aflame in their undernourished bodies. Perhaps Blanke got some satisfaction out of this.

But the great problem of unemployed still remains unsolved. Blanke's 2,000 hungry men are still hungry, just as ten million working men and women in this country are jobless and hungry.

It is because Blanke, the profiteer in coffee, still sits on top, just as thousands of other profiteers are still on top waving the profiteer's lash over the backs of wage-slave labor in thousands of other industrial activities.

Blanke must go. The profiteers must go. Capitalism must go. And as their power falls to the ground, labor will rise to rule and own and be hungry no longer.

In Feeble Extenuation

After the passage of more than two years, the Senate Committee on Judiciary has finally issued a report white-washing the department of justice of the charges growing out of the "Red Raids" of January, 1920.

There was a minority on the committee that couldn't stomach the white-wash and handed in a report of its own.

Senator Walsh, of Montana, speaking for the dissenters, declared that the majority report had nothing to say except in "feeble extenuation" of admitted conditions.

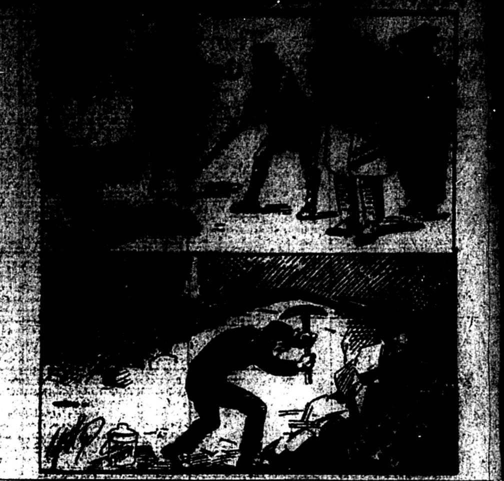
He deplored the inhumanity of arresting "thousands of persons in one night," placing those persons in overcrowded quarters, and the delay that followed in releasing from arrest those who were not subject to deportation.

But even this feeble protest from the minority will avail nothing. Recommendations of the majority will be carried out that there be closer co-operation between the department of justice and the department of labor in similar attacks on the workers in the future.

There will also be legislation more specifically defining what constitutes "opposition to government or its overthrow by force or violence." No loophole is to be allowed a lenient court in interpreting an autocratic law.

The persecution of the workers during the war and after the war has thus brought one result. It has taught the ruling class how best to whet its weapons for future attacks. Let the workers prepare their organizations to meet those attacks.

Banker Stillman's divorce case is to be re-opened in Montreal. Wouldn't the atmosphere of Hollywood be more congenial?



Comfort From Evolution

Pity Charles Darwin.

When his theory of evolution is not being attacked by crack-brained theologians it is being used to quiet the qualms of those who fear that after all their theorizing capitalism may not pass away peacefully, but that those who wish a better and saner method of distributing the products of social labor may have to strike a blow or two.

Upon the quieting doctrine of evolutionary change over so long a period that change is imperceptible the editor of the Western Labor News (Winnipeg) falls back when he and his supporters are alarmed by the activity of the Workers Party of Canada which, by the way, has gathered to itself the worthwhile elements in the Canadian Labor movement.

Commenting on the party program the Labor News says:

> "As to the aspirations of these hot-headed Communists, their presumption is a thing for any sane thinking individual to laugh about. With hectic enthusiasm they launch plans for capturing the A. F. of L. unions in much the same manner that Lenine repeatedly has laid plans for a bloody revolution thruout the civilized world; and they will meet with about as much success as the Russian dictator has met with so far outside of Russia.
>
> "The big factor our Communist friends overlook, as did Bob Russell and his O.B.U. organization, is that Anglo-Saxon mentality does not incline toward betterment thru chaos and that evolution rather than revolution is the predominant psychology of that race."

The Western Labor News is rather obviously whistling to keep up its courage, and its fine line about "Anglo-Saxon mentality," so far as we are concerned, merely reminds us of a quotation from John S. Clarke:

With Viking blood in Norman veins,
And Celtic bone to prop us,
We are, with our Teutonic brains,
Jehovah's magnum opus.

And this in turn reminds us of something else of Clarke's, so appropriate that we cannot help quoting it:

There are folks whose constitutions
Shrink at bloody revolutions,
At such a thing they never could connive.
They can hear the distant humming
Of the one that's surely coming,
But they hope it doesn't come while THEY'RE alive.

So it is that persons to whom the social revolution is something to be hoped for, prayed for and talked about but never worked or fought for, tremble most violently when a proposal is made to do something now—to get ready for revolution when the fatuous acts and utterances of parlor socialists and liberals have, together with the repressive acts of the ruling class, checked the orderly processes of evolution as is the case to-day.

The workers do not make revolutions whether they be Slavs, Latins or the evolutionary "Anglo-Saxon" of which the Western Labor News tells; revolutions happen, and it is the task of the intelligent workers to prepare for that contingency.

This is what the Workers Party of Canada and the United States is trying to do. As it is the first time that such a program has ever been put forward in this country it is little wonder fossilized mentalities misconstrue its mission.

[illegible] the Bootlegger

Bootlegging [illegible] become a 100 per cent American occupation if the bill [illegible] passed by the House of Representatives and [illegible] League becomes a law.

The [illegible] provides for the deportation of foreigners convicted of violation of the Volstead act and will undoubtedly be approved by the various organizations of volunteer defenders of Americanism as it is taught by Newell Dwight Hillis, Billy Sunday and others.

Considering the matter seriously, the measure furnishes a fine example of the lengths to which fanatics will go in order to satisfy a perverted taste for making people miserable under the guise of making them [illegible]. The [illegible] League has taken advantage of a [illegible] in the height of war hysteria, and now lines up with [illegible] and [illegible] in the use of a statute that brings the same misery to aliens and their families as did the [illegible] of the slave-dealer to separate and sell mother and daughter, husband and wife, parents and children.

To deport aliens resisting the oppression of the brutal employing class of this country is a crime against civilization, but it is to be expected under capitalism.

To tear them from their homes, families and associations here for a violation of the prohibition law can only be compared to the degenerate [illegible] of the inquisition.

The wealthy wholesaler of illegal intoxicants is immune from punishment. [illegible] the proponents of prohibition fasten upon the most oppressed group in our society—the foreign-born worker.

The [illegible] accompany their miserable acts with a sanctimonious [illegible] that is characteristic of the heresy-hunters of all ages [illegible] which acts like an emetic on everyone but [illegible] to all sense of [illegible].

Mass Action

The aim of the Workers Party participating in the elections an its work to revolutionize the is to organize the workers to b mass pressure to bear upon the talist state.

This mass pressure manifests self in the form of demonstratio and strikes involving political d mands.

Mass action is generated in tho movements of unrest which the o pression and exploitation of th workers develops.

The Workers Party will use such movements to start the wor ers on the march.

It will enter every struggle invol ing the interests of the workers thru slogans and programs of actio endeavor to give these strugg definite purpose.

Unemployment and the Op Shop campaign against the or ized workers have created such ations as must be utilized to dev the mass action of the workers. T Workers Party will formulate pr grams to unite the unemployed f the struggle for relief from the s fering and misery which the denial the right to work brings upon th and arouse them to mass demonstr tions to compel the government grant them relief.

It will endeavor to unite the lab Unions in a common struggle again the "American Plan" of industri slavery.

Mass action also develops out the strikes of the workers and t Workers Party will seek to unite t now isolated struggles of sections the workers.

It will endeavor to give the strikes political significance by i jecting demands upon the capital state, such as demands for the rele of men in prison for their part in class struggle, relief for the une ployed, protests against the use courts and injunctions against workers.

MAY DAY

By ERNEST TODD

The songs of love are ever sweet,
And light, the ever sad,
And gay the songs that move
feet,
When another heart is glad.
There are those songs which
away
Dark moments of despair—
Dream[illegible] of virgin
That cleanse the fetid air.

There are those songs—but let
think
[illegible]

SYDNEY [illegible]

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 220. [illegible] SATURDAY, APRIL [illegible] [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Workers of America! CHOOSE! CAPITALISM AND CHAINS! OR—SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND FREEDOM

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, on the occasion of International May Day, 1922, [illegible] before the toiling masses of America the facts of the class struggle today in this country. The declaration of the party is contained in its May Day Proclamation which is as follows:

Proclamation of the Workers Party for International May Day, 1922

THE FIRST OF MAY, the International Holiday of Labor, was conceived and celebrated as the concrete [illegible] of labor's world-wide struggle.

It is the day on which the men and women of labor step out of the gray [illegible] of their slavery to oppose their will and power to that of the ruling classes. Not like the slaves of old, who were given one day of freedom for mad jubilation and senseless merrymaking. Not like those workingmen and women who parade their gratitude to their exploiters on the Labor Day given to them by their rulers. The First of May must take the workers out of the struggles of their every-day existence, raise them above the pettiness and ineffectuality of their every-day fight as individuals against organized capital. On the First of May every worker becomes one of the great army of class-conscious men and women the world over.

* * *

STRUGGLE IS NEVER-CEASING

There is hardly a workingman or woman in the world who does not understand, after the events of the months and years that have just passed, that their class, the world over, is engaged in a never-ceasing struggle against the class that owns their jobs—and owning their jobs owns the resources and the wealth of the nation.

This struggle is ever present—in every country of the globe, tho its expression varies in character and in degree according to the temper of its people and the degree in which they have come to a realization of their own social position.

In America it is a half-hearted fight for insignificant reforms, for social insurance, for a shorter work-day and better pay, a fight that may seek recourse, for the moment, to radical measures, but never extends beyond the capitalist system itself, never contemplates achievements that do not lie within the power of the present social system to fulfill.

* * *

STRUGGLE TAKES REVOLUTIONARY FORM

In Europe where the peoples of every nation have suffered [illegible] the Russian proletariat overthrow the Czar, [illegible] with the great peasant class of Russia to overthrow a social order that was rotten to the score, to put a new one in its place.

They have seen the catastrophic collapse of German imperialism and the hopeless, helpless endeavors of the German proletariat that is struggling in vain to protect itself against the brutalities of an overbearing, profit-mad bourgeoisie.

They have seen conference after conference, at Versailles, at Washington, and now at Genoa, called for the purpose of adjusting international finance and industry.

They have seen them fail, because such adjustments cannot be made unless the ruling classes are willing to pay the price by sacrificing their own interests at home and their imperialistic aspirations abroad.

* * *

LOOK AT YOURSELVES

Perhaps you, American workingmen and women, do not believe in the ideals and aspirations of this First of May. You do not believe in the necessity of overthrowing the capitalist system, of revolutionizing the working class.

You, perhaps, believe that the workers, if they will but unite and use their legal powers, will succeed in forcing the employing class to recognize their just demands.

Look at conditions for a moment with open eyes. There is no political movement of the working class in the United States. The great mass of workingmen and workingwomen are still swinging annually from one to the other of the old parties.

Of almost 25 million wage workers hardly five millions are organized in our labor unions, in labor unions so reactionary in action, so behind the times in form, that the American employing class does not and need not fear them, so ineffective that the government lines up with their enemies as a matter of course, on every occasion.

* * *

THE HISTORY OF TWO YEARS

You doubt it? Look for a moment at the history of the labor movement in this country during the past two years. When the railroadmen threatened to strike, the government answered their just demands with injunction courts and obligatory arbitration.

When the miners struck, they, too, were forced to submit to courts of arbitration, after Federal Courts had issued such sweeping injunctions that the fight had to be given up.

The injunctions are granted by highly paid tools of the capitalist interests and the arbitration boards are composed, in every instance, of a majority in favor of the capitalist class, since the so-called representatives of the public are chosen by the government, the most powerful representative of the mine and the railroad owners.

When the miners struck, two years ago, the government again came out so unequivocally in favor of the mine owners that Lewis, the president of the mine workers, true to the traditions of American leadership, which demands peace with capital, at any price, called off the strike, because "he was not fighting the government."

Those unions that refused to yield to Lewis' cowardly dictates were excommunicated and their leaders had to go to prison.

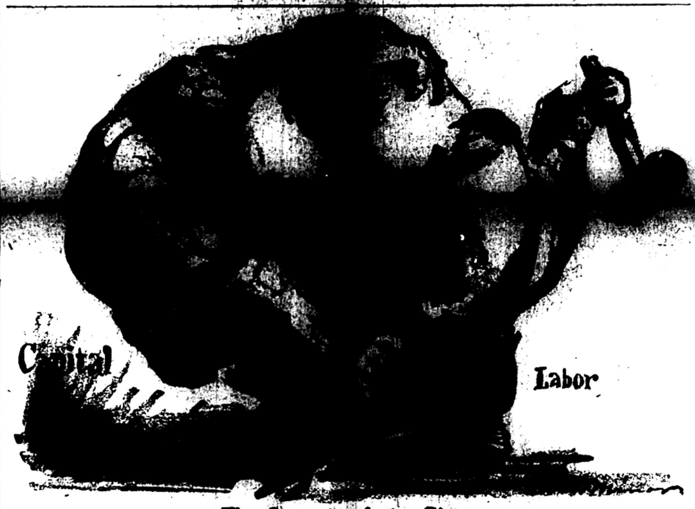
* * *

WORKERS FACE ARMED FORCE

When the textile workers in the New England States went on strike a few weeks ago against wage cut after wage cut, state

(Continued on Page Three)

Order Ruthenberg and Ferguson Released



The Struggle of the Giants

A Victory for May Day

Judge Lets Communists Out on Bail

After being compelled to [illegible] Act of New York in October, [illegible] are to be released on bail pending the disposition of their case by the Court of Appeals.

A certificate of reasonable doubt was issued by Judge Cordoza on April 17th which makes them eligible to bail.

Immediately following their conviction such a certificate was requested. Had it been granted at that time it would have allowed the defendants to be at liberty pending action of the higher courts on the questions of law involved.

But owing to the hysterical state of mind prevalent at that time, ably abetted by the heresy-hunting Lusk Committee, the Court denied the petition.

Judge Cordoza's ruling, which follows, makes interesting reading:

"I am not required to determine whether the judgment should be reversed. The sole subject of inquiry now is whether there are questions of law so serious and doubtful that enforcement of the sentence should be stayed until the questions have been answered.

"I—I find that there is reasonable doubt whether the statute has been properly construed. The appeal brings up the question whether the prohibition of writings advocating anarchy, i. e., the destruction of all government, is equivalent to the prohibition of writings advocating sedition or revolution, resulting in a change of government, as, e. g., a change from a republic to a monarchy, or from one form of republic

(Continued on Page Two)

Chicago Sees Gompers and Foster Clash

Two forces clashed at the conference of international officials and central bodies and local union officers, called by Samuel Gompers, in Chicago.

The piercing contrast between the standpatters of the old school of labor organization, which now belongs to a bygone age, and the dynamic, onward-driving element, assumed a very definite character and reached its climax in the rousing applause extended to William Z. Foster after the close of his argument for the necessity of more progressive methods of fighting and more progressive forms of organization within the trade union movement.

Flood's Flood of Abuse

The true purpose of Gompers' coming to Chicago became very apparent. Previously it had been stated that he came for the purpose of addressing the railway shop craft de-

(Continued on Page Three)

Sinister Threat of Steel Trust to Re-open the Coal Mines Is Beginning to Bear Fruit

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE
Labor Editor of The Worker

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The sinister threat of the steel trust, made last week, to "re-open our mines at all costs and by any means," is beginning to bear fruit.

At Greenberg, the home of a strike-breaking mine electrician was blown up, but as usual in these carefully planned "outrages" the strikebreaker and his family were uninjured. The electrical equipment of the mine was also damaged.

State police were on the scene with suspicious readiness and four miners, whose connection with the explosion, beyond the fact that they are strikers, is a mystery, were arrested.

In the same district a watchman was found shot and altho witnesses declare he was injured by the accidental discharge of his own gun, a striking miner was arrested and charged with the shooting.

It is in the formerly non-union districts, where the miners have struck and joined the United Mine Workers, that the state constabulary are concentrating their activity. In Yukon, one of the several large camps out of West Newton, miners told me of the constabulary catching strikers on the state roads, riding them against the fence, holding them fast and then insisting that they "move on"; the intention is quite evidently to have the victim

(Continued on Page Three)

Scarred Veterans on the Battle Line in Mine War

(Special to The Worker)

BELLAIRE, OHIO.—Sub-district headquarters of the United Mine Workers here reflect both surprise and pleasure at the issuance of a writ of supersedeas granted by Judge Knapp of the Federal District of West Virginia.

The writ suspends the injunction granted at the request of the opera-

(Continued on Page Four)

Big List of Speakers for First of May

Many prominent speakers have already enthusiastically expressed their approval of a united front on May Day and have signified their willingness to speak for amnesty of all political prisoners, according to a statement issued by the Amnesty Alliance.

Among those already agreed to speak at 110th St. and Park Circle at 2 P.M., on May 1st, are: Mrs. Kate Gitlow, Rose Pastor Stokes, Marian Sproul, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Arturo Giovannitti, Joseph Whitehorn, F. G. Biedenkapp, Henry Fruchter, J. Louis Engdahl, P. P. Cosgrove, Chester Bixby, Edgar Owens, Patrick J. McClellan, Carlo Tresca, Pedro Esteve, Pietro Allegro, Luigi Quintiliani, A. S. Zatarian, Ludwig Lore and others.

Many other speakers have expressed their regret that previous out of town engagements prevent their attendance, among whom are Luigi

(Continued on Page Two)

Order Your Bundle of this May Day Issue

This issue of THE WORKER, dated April 29, Our May Day Issue, went to press on Thursday night, April 20th. Our [illegible] issue, however, which goes to press on Thursday night, April 27th, dated May 6th, will also contain May Day features, since it will be in circulation in New York and the immediate vicinity before May Day. Keep the good work going: Send in your orders for either [illegible] of these issues to THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City. Price [illegible] cents per copy; [illegible]

ou Like This Issue of "The Worker" THEN WHY NOT SUBSCRIBE [illegible] USE THE SUB-BLANK ON PAGE [illegible]

[illegible]

Demands for Amnesty for All Prisoners

(Continued from Page One)

Antonini and B. C. Vladeck, who will be in Cleveland at the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers on that date.

Unions or other organizations which desire speakers on the May Day plans or the N. Y. State Drive are requested to communicate with the Amnesty Alliance, 81 East 10th St., N. Y. C., Telephone, Stuyvesant 6488.

Demonstration in Brooklyn

Another demonstration will be held under the joint auspices of the Amnesty Alliance and the Lithuanian Progressive Societies of Greater New York at Grand St. Extension, Brooklyn. The latter organization is composed of eighteen affiliated organizations, including Locals No. 54 and No. 48 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. For twelve years this society has celebrated the 1st of May. Bakers No. 3 of Brooklyn have changed the date of their May Day meeting to the 29th of April at the Labor Lyceum in order to cooperate with the Amnesty Alliance.

A third meeting will be held in Newark, N. J., and a fourth in Hoboken, N. J., under joint auspices of local committees and the Amnesty Alliance.

Regular meetings of the Alliance are held every Thursday night at Casino Hall, 85 E. 4th St. Organizations already represented by delegates include:

Amalgamated Metal Workers; Auto Workers' Union; Bakers' Unions Nos. 1, 3 and 164; Bookbinders No. 24; Butchers' Union No. 174; Bonnaz Embroiderers No. 66; Fancy Leather Goods Workers No. 5; Hotel Workers' Union; Italian Chamber of Labor; Italian Defense Committee; Italian Workers' Federation; International L. G. W. U. No. 22; Joint Board Furriers; Joint Board Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.; Joint Board Locals Nos. 41 and 25, I. L. G. W. U.; Lithuanian Progressive Societies of Brooklyn; Luncheon Workers; Marine Transport Workers No. 510 (I. W. W.); National Defense Committee; Painters' Union No. 499; Plumbers' Union No. 1; Public Service Organization; Socialist Consumers' League of Harlem, Br. No. 2; Socialist Party, 3rd, 5th, 10th A. D. and Local Bronx); Unemployed Council; United Labor Council; Union of Russian Workers; United Shoe Workers of America; Workers' Defense Union; Workers' Mutual Aid Association; Workers Party (C. C. C., Irish Branch, Yorkville Night Workers' Branch).

The Amnesty Alliance appeals to all workers:

"If your organization is not already represented—get busy. Elect delegates and send them to the next meeting. With solidarity and a willingness to work, May Day 1922 can be made one long to be remembered in the annals of working class history and a real demonstration of working class protest against the prosecution of labor's champions.

Remember Sacco and Vanzetti!

Remember Tom Mooney!

Remember 113 Federal Political Prisoners!

Remember 9 imprisoned comrades in New York State!

Remember workers in Walla Walla; San Quentin and countless other bastilles today!

Rally to their support, United, in a rousing demand—

"AMNESTY FOR ALL POLITICAL AND LABOR PRISONERS."

Pavlowa Says Workers Enjoy Beauty of Dancing

CHICAGO.—"It does not require a home on the boulevard to be a fine dancer or to enjoy the beauty of dancing. I know because I have trained many dancers and because, too, the galleries hold much of the best part of my audiences," said Anna Pavlowa, the Russian dancer, in an interview here.

"By best, I mean most appreciative—the people for whom I like to dance. They are the people who know what it means to work and work hard and who came to see the results of my work because they want to come even if they have to sacrifice something else. Perhaps they are the most critical, but I do not mind that because when they give their enthusiasm it is so real."

Pavlowa is noted for her sympathy with her pupils and young dancers. She personally directs their work, no matter how great the fatigue from her own dancing.

After a brief tour of the eastern cities and Canada Pavlowa and her Russian ballet will leave the United States for a three years' tour of the far east.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] witnesses were brought to New York from Winnipeg to tell about events in that City from May 1, 1919 to June 15. The general implication was that the New York defendants favored the same sort of strike in New York as a means for overthrowing the government.

* * *

The Rorke letter to Governor Miller shows emphatically that the man who prosecuted these cases still associates the guilt of Larkin, Gitlow, Winitsky, Ferguson and Ruthenberg very directly with the Winnipeg strike of nearly three years ago. He urged upon the Governor, in favor of release of these prisoners, the precedent of the release of the Winnipeg strike leaders. He fails to add that F. J. Dixon, one of the most prominent of the Winnipeg strike leaders was acquitted and that he was thereafter a candidate for the Manitoba Legislature from the City of Winnipeg, a constituency entitled to ten seats in the legislature and headed the poll by an enormous majority, the largest ever secured in the Province of Manitoba.

James S. Woodworth, another of the Winnipeg strike leaders, was arrested, but the charge against him was never brought to trial, in spite of the insistence that it be tried. Recently Woodworth was elected from Centre Winnipeg to the Canadian House of Commons by 3,740 votes over his nearest opponent. Woodworth is a Labor Party representative.

Of the seven strike leaders actually imprisoned three were elected to the Manitoba Legislature while in prison and are now members of that body. A fourth, R. B. Russell was defeated by a very few votes on account of dissention in the labor ranks. Thus six of the strike leaders have been candidates in Winnipeg and have received very high and even record votes from the people of that city.

* * *

AND IN THE YEAR 1922 IN THE PRISONS OF NEW YORK, JIM LARKIN, BENJAMIN GITLOW, HARRY WINITSKY, ISAAC E. FERGUSON AND C. E. RUTHENBERG ARE STILL HELD BECAUSE OF THE REFERENCE TO THE WINNIPEG STRIKE IN THE LEFT WING SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LITERATURE.

It was an absurdity to offer to elucidate the manifestos in question, featuring this historical reference, out of scores of similar references to events in the labor movement. Moreover the Winnipeg strike testimony offered in these New York trials was mainly that of a detective who had managed to get himself elected to the General Strike Committee as representative of the policeman's union. The police were not called out on strike altho they belonged to the Winnipeg Trade and Labor Council who had called the strike but were given representation on the General Strike Committee.

This detective witness used in the New York trials glibly supplied whatever information was wanted, to give a radical character to every aspect of the strike.

Tho in the Ferguson and Ruthenberg case he was confronted with the actual demands made by the Winnipeg strikers. First—a living wage; second, an eight-hour day; third, the right to organize; fourth, a signed agreement. In a word, a regular trade union struggle.

But the sole distinguishing feature that it concentrated upon these demands the whole strength of organized labor in Winnipeg. It was this unity of the struggle which was referred to in the New York publications.

* * *

Also the tendency of the workers to organise the necessary municipal services crippled by the strike, a constructive feature of the Winnipeg and Seattle strikes which seemed significant of the ability of organized labor to develop an entire system of municipal administration.

The use of the Winnipeg testimony in these cases is still to be passed upon by the highest New York Court, the Court of Appeals, with the Gitlow case and the Ferguson-Ruthenberg case, a hearing having been held April 14. The Appellant Division upheld the use of the testimony in the Gitlow case and ignored the question of the Ferguson-Ruthenberg and Larkin cases.

A number of eminent lawyers have expressed themselves as shocked by the use of such testimony to interpret the New York documents, it being so palpable that the readers of the literature could not have read it in the light of what the Winnipeg witnesses might tell the New York juries at these trials.

Justice Burr, on the Ferguson-Ruthenberg application for a certificate of reasonable doubt, the prerequisites to bail, while the appeal is pending, was impressed at once by the fact that no witness could give to the New York jurors a complete view of the Winnipeg strike without going over into the realm of hearsay.

* * *

Yet Justice Burr after four months of evasive delay—meanwhile stopping the progress of the appeal—denied the application for bail. Gitlow has been in prison for over two years, Winitsky exactly two years, Larkin twenty-two months, Ferguson and Ruthenberg seventeen months, the sentences for the indeterminate term of from five to ten years in each case. The minimum alone means three years and nine months of actual imprisonment.

Undoubtedly the fact that the Winnipeg strike leaders did not suffer so severely for their participation in the workers' struggle was due to the fact that the workers stood solidly behind them.

The workers of New York can release the men in prison for mentioning the Winnipeg strike if they will unite in a demand for amnesty.

GRAND OPERA BENEFIT

Under the auspices of and to benefit

"THE WORKER"

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE, Broadway & 40th St.

Saturday evening, May 6th

"LA BOHEME"

With first class cast, including ALDA, CHAMLEE, ROTHIER.

TICKETS: Orchestra, $5.50; Dress Circle, $4.40; Balcony, $3.30, $2.75; Family Circle, $2.20, $1.65.

Tickets to be had only at th office of "THE WORKER"

Room 405, 799 Broadway Cash must accompany all orders

Children's Crusade in New York, the 26th, on Way to See Harding

Final plans for the big mass meeting to be held at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th St., Wednesday Evening, April 26th, 8 p. m., to welcome the Children's Crusade arriving from the West on its way to Washington, to put a final plea before Harding for the release of their fathers, have been announced by the Workers Defense Union.

This organization has the meeting in charge, and judging by the hearty and instant response that has come in from all the representative groups, it looks as tho it is going to be one of the biggest and most important Amnesty meetings yet held.

Advocate General Amnesty

The Crusade of 37 women and children will arrive at the Grand Central station, Wednesday, April 26, at 12.05 p. m. Train No. 400. It will be met by friends and sympathizers, and then will proceed to march thru the streets, carrying banners, with slogans, advocating release and General Amnesty.

The women and children will be entertained at lunch, after which Mrs. J. Sargent Cram will take the children to the Circus, at Madison Square Garden.

A reception in the afternoon will be given to the wives and in the evening, a splendid program of women speakers, from all groups, has been arranged at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th St. (Wednesday, April 26). Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will act as chairman, and will make an appeal for funds. The following is a list of speakers: Kate Richard O'Hare, who has piloted the children from St. Louis, Mrs. Clare Sheridan, Crystal Eastman, Rosa Schneidermann, Mary Heaton Vorse, Mathilda Robbins, Mrs. Kate Gitlow, who will speak in Jewish, Theresa Malkiel, Marion Sproule, and others.

Unusual interest and intense enthusiasm in the meeting is being shown by divergent groups, all willing and eager to make their public protest.

[illegible]

Dispatches from St. Louis, where The Crusade held its first meeting, tell of the wonderful response, and welcome that the children received, yet the tales that come in of their condition, after their four long years of want and actual hunger, is pitiful.

Their little faces bear the grim story of suffering, and they are very shy and timid at all the bustle. They have worked and suffered these little ones, while their rebel farmer fathers from Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas have been serving their sentences in jail.

Mrs. Roxie Benefield, whose husband William Benefield, from Oklahoma was given a ten year sentence for obstructing the draft, and is now at Leavenworth, has five children, with her, all under fourteen years of age.

The Lot of the Oppressed

"We are cotton pickers, and we never have known anything else. We have been living in a log hut since he left, and the children have picked cotton since they were old enough to drag a sack. No education, little food and few clothes have been our lot for the last four years."

The children look careworn and thin, and the terrible struggle has left its mark.

"This is their last effort and they are desperately pinning all hope on it," exclaimed Mrs. O'Hare. "You could not expect them to exhibit much joy even at the prospect of getting their fathers back, could you?"

"Our mother died after father was sent to the penitentiary," said one of the daughters of J. N. Danly of Paragould, Arkansas, who is serving a ten year sentence."

The crusade will stay one night in New York City, and all those friends who feel that they would like to help by taking in some of the children and women for that one night, can communicate with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, at the Workers Defense Union, 81 East 10th St. Tel.: Stuyvesant 6488.

Philadelphia will welcome the Crusaders at a mass meeting to be held at the Central Labor Lyceum, 807 N. 6th St., Thursday, April 27th.

Kate Richards O'Hare and Edgar Owens of the National Defense Committee will address the meeting. Elbertine Reeder, the nine-year-old daughter of Walker Reeder who is serving a prison sentence because of his devotion to his class, will also address the meeting.

The Crusade will arrive on Thursday morning, and a large delegation of workers will be at the Broad Street station to meet it. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Provisional Amnesty Committee. Workers of Philadelphia, come to this meeting in masses. Protest against the continued imprisonment of our class-war prisoners and demand that they be set free.

Amnesty and Political Prisoners

By EDGAR OWENS

Three and a half years ago the signing of the armistice brought the World War to a close.

But there has been no armistice in the Class War. THERE CAN BE NO ARMISTICE IN THE CLASS WAR. So long as workers are robbed in the processes of production, just that long will the Class War persist.

And the Class War, as all other wars, has its casualties. Here in America forty-two months after the formal ending of the World War, spokesmen of the working class languish in prison.

They knew the causes which made the World War inevitable. They knew surplus products out of which the workers had been robbed must be disposed of in other markets. They knew weak and backward nations were being exploited in the profit interests of the Capitalist Class. They understood the significance of commercial rivalries and competitive armaments. And they knew who must pay the price in blood and treasure for the awful mal-administration of government and industry.

Being men and women of courage as well as understanding, they went forth on the highways and byways, and with pen and speech, agitated for the abolishment of the causes which make war inevitable.

It is for this that they are in prison. And for precisely this reason their imprisonment should arouse definite resentment in the ranks of the workers. It is well to remember that while it is possible to jail a "Deep Red," the "Pale Pink" is by no means safe.

May 1st is the day upon which the militant workers thruout the world pause to take stock of themselves. They hold meetings. They demonstrate. They proclaim the identity of interest of all who toil. No question of religion is raised, no nationality, nor color. And why should such a question be raised when flowing thru the veins of all is the deep, red blood. They celebrate their victories. They seek the cause of their defeats. They profit by their mistakes. They determine that the mistakes in judgment and tactics which led to defeat shall not be repeated. Self-analysis and self-criticism are the essence of life to the labor movement.

The task confronting the militants in May, 1922, is great. The masters are ruthless. Backed by a reserve army of unemployed numbering millions they have selected this as the opportune time to smash all resistance on the part of the workers. Wage rates are mercilessly slashed. The American Plan—the modern drive towards slavery,—threatens the very existence of organized labor.

The masters have but one front in the Class War. The railroad magnates come to the aid of the mine owners. The Manufacturers Association joined common cause with the steel barons. Above all can be heard the strident squawk of Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs and the prostitute press. Their most powerful weapon is the Capitalist State with its courts and prisons, its police and army.

Among the workers too, the new conditions demand new tactics. Labor must also close its ranks. Railroader, shopman, miner, steel worker—all who toil must organize a united front. The battlecry must be One Fight! One Foe! One Front! One Victory!

And as the battle rages casualties multiply. Many of those who participate in the struggle for a bit more of leisure, a slight increase in purchasing power, even as they who have declared war upon the whole wages system, will be sent to join the ranks of our comrades and fellow workers already in prison.

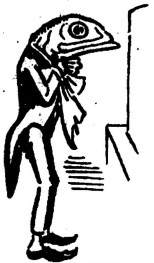
No May Day celebration will be complete without the demand for the release of the Casualties of the Class War. In California, in Kansas, in Pennsylvania and New York, in many other states our comrades and fellow workers will celebrate Labor's Day behind steel bars and stone walls. Amnesty shall therefore be on the Order of the Day.

Federal Amnesty will have no effect on state prisoners. Only State action can bring about their release. In view of this fact the Amnesty Alliance of New York has been organised to carry on an agitation for the release of the nine political prisoners in New York. A series of demonstrations have been arranged for May Day. A state-wide drive for amnesty will be launched. Other states will be urged to create Amnesty Alliances so that this work may become nation-wide.

The crimes of the masters are many. Ford and Suhr, Mooney and Billings in California, the I. W. W. boys in Leavenworth, Martinovitch in Pennsylvania, Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts, Alonen, Ferguson, Gitlow, Larkin, Manko, Mizher, Palvio, Ruthenberg, and Winitsky in New York—these men have been deprived of their liberty because they gave without stint of their time and talents on behalf of their class. Their services to the workers have brought the iron heel of oppression upon them. They are the casualties of the Class War.

They must be freed. They must be enabled to again take their rightful places in the ranks of the militant workers. Demand amnesty—State as well as Federal. Let the workers raise a mighty voice of protest against their further imprisonment. May Day is Labor's Day. Strike a blow not only for the release of political prisoners but to emancipate the working class from the thraldom of wage slavery. One Fight! One Foe! One Front! One Victory!

Wisdom of the Poor Fish



By ART YOUNG

The Poor Fish says he is not exactly sure of the difference between liberty and license, but he has an idea that one of them is superior to the other.

DON'T BELIEVE

THE DASTARDLY LIE

The peak of the Russian Famine has NOT been passed. But MILLIONS will die if you fail to help.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN, Chief of the International Red Cross, issued the following statement on March 24, 1922:

"The danger of renewed famine—which would mean the death in torture of still millions more of our fellow-men NEXT WINTER—is becoming GREATER and GREATER!"

JOIN! GIVE!

IN THE CITY WIDE

SUBBOTNIK

(Days of voluntary labor) For RUSSIAN RELIEF, MAY 6—7

Enlistment stations: 61 Canal Street, 257 East 10th Street, 240 East 23rd Street, 180 East 81st Street, 1403 Fifth Avenue, 1347 Boston Road, 226 Roebling Street, 10 Siegel Street, 206 [illegible] Street.

Court Orders Fe and Ruthenberg F on Bail Imme

(Continued from Page O

to another. It brings up al question whether the advoca general strike as a probable ner of such a change is advoc the change through the adopti 'unlawful means.'

"2—I find that there is rea doubt whether error was co in holding that the defendants proprietors of the Revolutiona within the meaning of sectio of the Penal Law, and in the in tions to the jury with refe thereto.

"Other questions will call fo ful consideration on the argum the appeal. Their consideration necessary for the disposition of motion.

"Let the certificate issue Code Criminal Procedure, secs. and 529.

"Dated, April 17th, 1922."

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE:—The ab welcome news of the admission Ruthenberg and Ferguson to was received just as this issue THE WORKER was going press. It is truly an inspiration f May Day. It is believed that th court will fix bail Saturday, A 22, and that the liberation of comrades will be effected short after. The account of the appe ance of our two comrades in cou which was already in type wh the court decision was hand down, is as follows:

* * *

OUR COMRADES IN COUR

Once again I. E. Ferguson, with Charles E. Ruthenberg sent to Sing Sing in October for an indeterminate sentence from 5 to 10 years for violatio the notorious New York State C inal Anarchy Act appealed fo certificate of reasonable doubt fore Judge Cardoza of the Cour Appeals. If the certificate is allo Ferguson and Ruthenberg will eligible for bail pending final deci in the higher courts.

The Ferguson-Ruthenberg grew out of the publication of Left Wing Manifesto which published in the Revolutionary A organ of the Left Wing Socialists, July, 1919. Indictments were turned against Ben Gitlow, Jim La kin and Harry Winitsky at the sa time that Ferguson and Ruthenbe were indicted. The others are a in prison now serving sentences from five to ten years.

The men were indicted by spe grand jury which was appointed the express purpose of crushi radicalism in the State of New Yo Judge Weeks was appointed to pr side at the special court and A. Rorke, then Assistant District A torney was placed in charge of t prosecutions.

To Prison for 10 Years

The "evidence" against the m was gathered by the discredited Lu Committee of which Senator Lu of "Chest of Silver" fame was cha man. They were charged with vocating the overthrow of gover ment by assassination of public ficials, through force and violen and other unlawful means.

Reference to the general strikes Seattle and Winnipeg early in 19 with favorable comment upon t general strike as a significant sig the times led to the importation witnesses from Winnipeg, Can by the prosecution. With unlimi funds, a prostitute press, and un stress of war hysteria, the prose tion secured a conviction against t men and they were sent to pris for upwards to ten years.

Because the grand jury which turned the indictments, in its report showed there was no l basis for the indictments it retur a supreme effort is being mad get a certificate of reasonable do The grand jury in its report rec mended that "the effectivene Section 160 of the Penal Law w increased by its amendment to clude specifically the organized ernment of the United States, and general strike in reference to violence, or any unlawful mean

Appeal Before High Cou

Soon after the men were se prison appeals were instituted were overruled by the Appella vision. The cases are now before the highest state court.

The points raised, besides contained in the Bill of Excep are 1st, that the publication Left Wing Manifesto is not tion of the Criminal Anarch and 2nd, that the Criminal A Act itself is a violation of th York Constitution and the C tion of the United States.

If the certificate of rea doubt is issued in the case of son and Ruthenberg, it will way to the release of all political prisoners in the New York.

Trust Effort to Open Mines

(Continued from Page One)

back so the report to head-[illegible] can read: "Killed resisting [illegible]

Listen Intently to Speakers

It is in the non-union districts that the strike will be won. The eagerness with which these men respond to the call of the union is almost pathetic, and it is no exaggeration to say that they come out as fast as the organisers can get into the mines.

They will listen for hours to speakers and are almost pitifully grateful to anyone who will talk to them about the strike and the class struggle.

Even the powerful non-union Frick coal and coke interests have been unable to entirely stem the tide of organization, and it is to protect this district that the steel trust is launching its counter-attack. It is only the Leisenring mines of the Frick group that are operating to any extent, and even this stronghold of non-unionism is seriously crippled.

Following picketing by the wives and daughters of the strikers the Frick interests have organized a detachment of women who attack the pickets. Three women pickets were arrested by the state constabulary after one of these encounters. None of the attackers were arrested, the state police being trained to exercise a nice discrimination in these affairs.

Store Credit Is Shut Off

At most of the company stores credit has been shut off, and in many of them strikers are unable to even purchase for cash. Evictions are increasing in number daily and mark the growing bitterness of the struggle.

Following the announcement of the intention of the steel interests to operate their mines, a significant change has taken place in the attitude of the Pittsburgh newspapers toward the strike. Up to that time, as a result of the delicate political situation, the strike news had been handled rather fairly; now the strike stories are enlivened with rumors of violence, and every little disturbance is magnified into major proportions.

On the streets can be seen members of the state constabulary in their blue-gray uniforms, engaged in recruiting. Rumor has it that half the force has been released for recruiting duty.

Kept Press Grows Arrogant

Blast furnaces continue to be blown out while the press shrieks about the renewed prosperity that was to be Pittsburgh's if it had not been for the wicked coal miners. Secure in the knowledge that the treasury of the United States Steel Corporation is behind them, some papers have become unbelievably arrogant; read the following extract from a "news' story" on the strike, from the columns of a local paper:

"While the strike apears to be checked there is a possibility of the men who are now idle remaining out of the mines for a long time.

"The miners and their families will be the ones to suffer.

"All coal-operators are accustomed to reversals. Adversities do not create a chaotic condition among the mine operators. As a result of war-time profits, operators are the owners of unencumbered coal lands and equipment."

Can't Realize Struggle Is On

The miner have been forced out then, not because the "owners of unencumbered coal lands" cannot make a profit at present wages, but because they thirst after LARGER profits,

Traveling thru the beautiful Pennsylvania hills, in their April coat of green, dotted here and there with the pink and white of apple and plum trees in full bloom, it is hard to realize that here is the scene of a hard fought battle for bread.

The blackened tunnel-mouths, the silent tepees and smoke stacks from which now comes no wisp of smoke, seem unreal. So do the quiet groups of miners and the detachments of state constabulary.

This I tried to tell a little Italian miner as we trudged up the state road out of Monessen. We had been reading a circular distributed to the strikers by the Westmoreland Coal Company. It said that all the trouble was being caused by outsiders, that the company had always dealt with its employes thru the superintendents and would continue to do so, that it had the interests of its employes and the community at heart, that the outsiders did not and that the company had always given its employes a square deal. The circular ended with an appeal for the men to come back to work.

I handed the circular back to the little Italian. "Yes," he said, "it's a fine contry. Its a too bad, maka a fight alla time. Da boss he say treats 'em square. Dollar a day off da wage isa square? Da boss he's a [illegible]

That is as close to the cause of the [illegible] as any economist could get.

May Day Proclamation

(Continued from Page One)

militia and state police were called out against them.

But while the press, the government and even the labor leaders are preaching harmony and [illegible] for property interests to the worker, their own efforts are by no means conducive to harmony. Laws forbidding strikes and a brutal open-shop campaign are depriving organized labor of their only weapon.

By the passage and enforcement of so-called anti-syndicalist laws, members of the I. W. W., because they are a little more aggressive in their fighting methods than their brothers in the A. F. of L., have been condemned to 10, 15 and 20 years in prison. In California mere membership in this organization has been made a crime.

Radicals who were sentenced to prison during the war under so-called war legislation, that was adopted during the war ostensibly to protect the country from foreign invasion and from attacks within are still serving long terms, while men who actually betrayed the country to and worked in the interest of the foreign "enemy" are long since at liberty. There are at least 100 Communists behind prison bars in the U. S., because they propagated views that were dangerous to the American capitalists.

JOBLESS WALK THE STREETS

Millions of unemployed are walking the streets looking vainly for work, but the government which demanded that the poorest of us contribute "till it hurts" during the war, has done nothing to ameliorate their conditions, to provide work or to insure them against unemployment.

The same government that called upon us to work 14 and 16 hours a day when it needed our labor, now turns a deaf ear to the starving men and women who are begging for work to feed their families. It is telling them that only decreased wages and longer hours on one side and increased consumption on the other will restore prosperity and put industry back upon a normal basis.

WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

It means that the methods the American workers have hitherto employed have made them the helpless victims of capitalist exploitation.

It means that their steadfast refusal to unite politically against their enemy has made the ruling powers, from the President, and Congress to the most obscure board of alderman the willing tools of the owning class.

It means that strikes will be lost because the workingmen have neither organizations that can fight, nor the courage to win. It means that in Europe as in America capitalist oppression will increase and intensify until the oppressors are shorn of their power by a victorious working-class.

The proletarian revolution is not a process of development, by gradual consecutive stages toward ultimate perfection.

The Russian revolution, in this respect, fulfilled the position that Marx and his followers have always taken.

MUST LEARN THRU EXPERIENCE

It, too, after the first gloriously victorious attacks, suffered defeat after defeat. It could not be otherwise so long as a strong bourgeoisie, at home and in other countries, still retains the power to rally its forces for renewed attacks.

But every new struggle fastens the hold of the revolution upon the masses, teaches new lessons, adds to its assurance and self-confidence.

This has been the experience of the European working class. It is the path along which the American working class will have to go. It, too, will grow in might and power, in the number and the strength of its adherents as it becomes consciously proletarian, anti-capitalistic, revolutionary in character.

On this First of May the class-conscious proletariat of America, and its representative, THE WORKERS PARTY, will muster its forces, and measure its power that it may gather new strength for the coming struggle.

The crisis thru which we are passing, the danger of a general lowering of the standard of life of the masses that continued unemployment will infallibly bring, puts the American working-class force square before the alternative:

CAPITALISM AND CHAINS, OR
SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND FREEDOM!

Signed: Central Executive Committee Workers Party.
Chairman: James P. Cannon,
Secretary: Caleb Harrison.

The Textile Strike

Every two years or so the wage slaves in the textile mills rebel against the miserable conditions imposed upon them by the Textile Barons.

These strikes are usually spontaneous outbursts against the savage blows of the employers—blows against which even unorganized workers are forced to rebel.

In other trades such spontaneous mass strikes are usually taken advantage of by the trade unions to organize the workers and thus safe-guarding them against the reckless rule of the employers. But in the textile industry we find the most miserable situation.

The striking workers find themselves confronted with a whole row of textile unions independent of each other and attacking each other. At times one union settles with the bosses regardless of the interests of the rest of the striking textile workers. Thus the strikers are easily defeated and the capitalist enslavers victorious, become more ruthless than ever.

Shall hellish exploitation always be the lot of the textile workers?

Are the interests of the workers, their life and happiness to be ever sacrificed for "perfect" ideals in unionism of which some of our revolutionists dream great dreams?

Shall the egoism of factional leadership forever divide and defeat the workers and remain unchallenged? The supreme need in the textile strike is UNITY.

There must be, especially in the textile area, some sort of joined machinery composed of all organizations if the strike is to be won. Such joined machinery can be formed thru joint strike committees, joint boards, etc. Once the workers are united in action there will result UNITY also in organization. The final result is bound to be ONE UNION IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

Things don't happen by themselves. Only those who want the workers to win can force unity. Those who want the workers to win are the revolutionists. They must get together and create a unity conference and rally around themselves all those workers that understand their need—UNITY.

The need is for UNITY, regardless of the manipulations and protestations of the leaders. Those working for UNITY within each of the existing unions are bound to accomplish UNITY. Even if this strike is lost thru lack of UNITY, the slogan for UNITY must be carried forward so that in the future the rebellion of the textile slaves has not again be in vain.

During the strike our comrades and friends shall especially take care not to fall for such tactics as Ben Legere's, who is calling upon the capitalist authorities to interfere in the strike in an attempt to prevent an opposing union to collect funds in public for the relief of its members.

Such tactics only play into the hands of the reactionary bureaucracy of the United Textile Workers, as well as into the hands of the employers. They serve as a medium to breed bitterness, hatred and dis-unity amongst the contending organizations, each of which, after all, is composed of workers, depending on each other and hoping for a successful outcome of the strike.

Gompers and Foster Clash

(Continued from Page One)

partment's convention, but no sooner had this conference been opened before Emmet Flood, international organiser and Gompers' right-hand man, launched into a violent attack upon everything coming within the scope of having a progressive tinge.

He assailed the policies of the Chicago Federation of Labor and denounced, in vehement terms, the amalgamation resolution which had twice passed the Chicago body, charging that radicals and "Placard Artists" had packed the organization and made functioning of regular trade unionists impossible.

He attacked the Farmer-Labor Party and the activities in connection therewith of the Chicago body.

He bitterly denounced the activities of the militant unionists, and the militant spirit generally shown by the rank-and-file workers, and particularly the aims, objects and activities of the Trade Union Educational League.

Oscar Nelson, vice-president of the Chicago Federation, repeated the denunciations made by Flood and defended the present autonomy of each craft as against what he called "One Big Union" and "I. W. W.-ism."

Fitzpatrick and Nockels Reply

Both John Fitzpatrick and E. N. Nockels, president and secretary respectively of the Chicago Federation of Labor, took definite issue with the calumnies hurled at the central body, showing that such tactics would only tend to supply the enemy with ammunition.

The amalgamation resolution, stated Fitzpatrick, calls for a conference of international unions to take action. It is our program and we propose to stand by it.

The widely recognized capabilities of leadership of President Fitzpatrick, which is acknowledged in labor circles thruout the country, lends double weight to this statement and points promisingly toward the ultimate success for the progressive forces.

The purpose of the resolution calling for amalgamation of all crafts within each industry, which had been one of the causes for the violent outbursts of the [illegible] for standpatism, was explained by Foster, in genuine trade union language, when he secured the floor after John H. Walker had defended the Farmer-Labor Party.

Foster Speaks for Progress.

Foster stated that he recognized the power of eloquence of Flood, but he would nevertheless challenge him to debate amalgamation versus craft unionism from any platform.

In Europe, he said, labor is moving forward Amalgamation is already widely accepted and the one big union has become a live issue, and the Chicago Federation of Labor had simply moved with the times and not in advance by adopting the amalgamation resolution.

It does not mean the one big union but a number of large unions, each covering an industry.

The move toward amalgamation, said Foster, is a fundamental move which had its inception long ago, altho it has not been clear in the minds of most of its advocates as to how to bring it about.

It is a result of the general urge for unity of labor's forces. It has developed out of the present conditions of organization of industry, and it will move onward to its own completion whether we like it or not.

It is a movement which we will be compelled to accept or be swept aside, because the real issue has been narrowed down to amalgamation or annihilation.

We must keep step with developments, or be doomed to destruction. He challenged Gompers to show in what way anything in the resolution was contrary to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. This challenge Gompers never replied to.

Explains Purposes of League

The Trade Union Educational League, said Foster, is not a union, but purely an organized educational movement similar to those which exist within some of the oldest and most conservative unions as for instance the printers.

It advocates certain programs of progressive methods; it aims to unify the militants in their activities to instil new and vigorous life into the trade union movement and strengthen its position as against an enemy—the "open shop" forces.

It is a movement created by necessity due to the present deplorable state of affairs in our unions, and Gompers may appoint an auditing committee, with Flood on it, to go over the books of the Trade Union Educational League any time he sees fit.

Gompers replied to the assault upon his narrow and stupid craft union policy, with a villainous personal attack upon Foster.

He repudiated his own selection of Foster to organise the steel workers and manage their strike in 1919, with the excuse that the strike was called against his advice, so as to intimate that Foster played into the hands of the steel corporation, when it is a well-known fact that a great effort had to be exerted to hold the steel workers back until the strike actually could be called.

Gompers venomously lashed into Foster's recent visit to Russia, where he met the Soviet leaders, declaring: "Never in history have I known such a self-appointed autocrat as this Foster, who discarded the I. W. W. doctrine to return to the red mantle of Sovietism."

Foster Accepts Challenge

Cleverly taking advantage of what had happened before, Gompers stated dramatically, Foster did not confer the honor upon me to challenge me to a debate.

I shall be willing to submit my side of the question to a committee of three genuine trade unionists, Foster may submit his side and then let them decide. Amid a storm of cheers and angry shouts to sit down, Foster accepted the challenge.

This conference shows the significance of the militant spirit which has been infused into the labor unions and of the crystallization and activities of the left-wing movement, such as the Trade Union Educational League represents.

The international per capita absorbers are becoming greatly alarmed. They are in deadly fear of such a movement and are willing to stoop to the lowest tactics to defeat it.

That is why such movements are always met with the combined opposition of both the reactionary labor officials and the forces of the employers.

This fact alone makes the movement worthy of the most active support of all militant, clear thinking workers who want to see their unions put into a position where they can function on behalf of their class.

This clash in Chicago between the forces of reaction and the forces of progress marks a sharp division which will continue to become more distinct to every man and woman in the ranks of labor.

The struggle between the two will become more intense until the forces of reaction have been wiped off the map.

Soviets, or Workers' Councils

The experience of the workers' struggles against capitalism has proven that the workers cannot take over the ready-made machinery of the capitalist state as it exists in the capitalist government, and use this machinery to build a Communist society.

The form of organization of the existing government, its constitutional basis, its laws, the bureaucracy which has been built up over a century, are all of a character to aid the capitalists in the struggle against the workers and cannot be transformed into instruments of struggle of the workers against the capitalists.

The workers' revolution in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, the revolutionary struggles in Germany, all show that the Soviets, or Workers' Councils, are the organs of workingclass power which arise naturally out of the previous struggles and experiences of the workers in time of crisis.

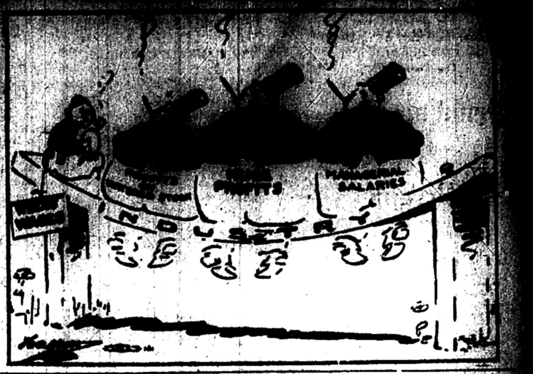
The Soviets are first constituted thru delegates elected by groups of workers in the factories and trade unions.

They are comparable to what a general strike council would be in the case of a strike embracing a whole city.

The local councils are federated in state councils thru elected delegates and the state councils in a national council or Soviet, which is the supreme organ of the working class government.

The Soviets carry on both the legislative and administrative work.

The Workers Party will carry on a propaganda to bring to the workers an understanding of the necessity of supplanting the existing capitalist government by a Soviet Government [illegible]



RUSSIA AND GERMANY

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The inevitable has happened.

Germany has been forced by the insane acts of the Allies themselves to form an alliance with Soviet Russia—something that would have been done long ago had the German Social-Democracy, been anything but the vacillating and cowardly crew of parliamentarians they are.

The ghost at the feast has materialized; the French imperialists and the British tricksters now are face to face with the danger they have long courted with their treacherous and murderous policy toward Russia and their insistence on indemnities beyond the ability of the German people to pay.

A smile will gild the face of every revolutionist in the world as he reads the comments of imperialism's outwitted diplomats. "Disloyal" and "dishonorable" are some of the phrases used by such upright and straightforward individuals as Barthou and Lloyd George in describing the Russo-German pact.

The suffering masses will care little about the charges of secrecy, etc., for, be it known, this is a treaty for peace and not for war.

No wonder the imperialists are astounded.

The affixing of the signatures of the German and Russian representatives to this document is the most important event since the Russian revolution. The entire political complexion of Europe has been changed overnight. Russia and Germany are back on the political map, and they bring with them the most powerful combination the world has yet seen—Germany's machinery of production and technical skill and Russia's natural resources.

We may as well mention the Red Army.

The diplomats of a tottering system will now see it in their troubled dreams.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Pittsburgh Comrades in Free Speech Fight

PITTSBURGH, PA.—The Workers Party and the Civil Liberties Union have taken up the cudgels for the right of free speech and free assemblage here following the breaking up of the Coldwell meeting here in the Labor Lyceum.

Fred Merrick, appearing on the platform after the Young Workers League has given their yell, was about to announce that William F. Dunne would act as chairman, when three uniformed policemen appeared and ordered the crowd to disperse.

There were shouts from the audience of "Let's hold a meeting anyway." Fred Merrick asked the audience to leave in an orderly manner. They did so and gathered in the street where they were talked to by William Dunne, standing on the steps of the schoolhouse for five or ten minutes. The police were still in the Labor Lyceum and did not interfere until Fred Merrick mounted the steps and began to speak.

He was placed under arrest after he had informed the officers that he was making a protest against the high-headed procedure.

After consulting with W. E. Shoyer of the local Civil Liberties, Merrick was released on $30 bail. Appearing the next morning the magistrate fined him ten dollars.

The permit system is used in Pittsburgh. That is, permits are required for meetings. but any group suspected of radical tendencies is never granted a permit. The meeting is then stopped—if one is held—because its sponsors do not possess the magic document.

The members of the Workers Party here are solidly behind District Organizer Merrick in the fight he is making for the right to hold meetings unmolested both in halls and on the streets.

WALTER M. COOK
Public Accountant and Auditor
110 West 40th St., New York
Telephone: Bryant 5943

Reach the Workers with Open Air Meetings

The season for open air propaganda meetings is here. Organise them. Hold them. Order literature for sale. Here are the pamphlets that clinch the speaker's arguments and complete the education begun.

Order them in wholesale quantities and make your meetings a financial success.

RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE RED LABOR UNION INTERNATIONAL, 15c; wholesale 11c
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WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM AND CONSTITUTION, 10c; wholesale 7c
A B C OF COMMUNISM, 50c; wholesale 35c
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Room 405 — 799 Broadway, New York City.

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Should contain the best books of the new phases of the revolutionary movement.

Proletcult—By Eden and Cedar Paul. Analyzes the aims and purposes of the movement for a special worker's education that is spreading thruout the world $1.50

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New Policies of Soviet Russia—By Lenin, Bukharin, Rutgers. Soviet leaders tell the meaning of Russia's "retreat to capitalism" .... [illegible]

Ten Days That Shook The World—Jack Reed's [illegible] history of the Russian [illegible] tion; new edition [illegible]

Literature Department Workers Party
Room 405 — 799 Broadway,
New York City.

[illegible]

Who Spread Such Lies.

How anyone with a spark of sympathy for his fellowmen could make such a baseless assertion when millions are slowly perishing is inconceivable—unless he is callously indifferent to the great misery and suffering of millions of wretched human beings.

Exactly what Col. Haskell meant by this rumor is hard to say; it is clear, however, that many uninformed people may be misled into believing that what Col. Haskell says is true—and that might result in a slackening of relief efforts—an awful thing!

Nothing, however, could be further from the truth than this unsupported statement of Col. Haskell. Here is a definite warning, issued on March 24, by FRIDTJOF NANSEN HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS: "The danger of renewed famine—which would mean the death in torture of still millions more of our fellow-men NEXT WINTER—is BECOMING GREATER AND GREATER." This is an authoritative statement from one who KNOWS. A cessation or the slightest let-up now would mean that the terrible famine, which has been fought none too well, would in the end triumph and reap its harvest of human dead.

"More Than Ever Before."

We cannot give credence to the statement of Col. Haskell; it would be foolish and criminal to believe it. "The danger of renewed famine"—these words ought to arouse every worker to do his utmost. The Friends of Soviet Russia has but one answer to Col. Haskell and the New York Times—and it is—MORE THAN EVEN BEFORE. On May 6 and 7 there will be a huge house-to-house collection. The need for Subbotniks—those who give up their Saturdays and Sundays—is great. An army of Subbotniks is wanted. Register at one of the stations listed in "ad" on Page 2.

[illegible] class behold May Day, 1922, with increased inspiration and contemplation of the great work that is still to be done.

Let it be remembered that May Day is the day of the revolutionary workingclass. In this country it must be carefully differentiated from Labor Day, for it bears as much analogy to this September holiday as the Third International does to the American Federation of Labor. It is a queer historical fact that May Day originated as a result of the agitation of the American Federation of Labor in 1889. The American Federation of Labor had launched the campaign for the 8-hour day and May 1, 1890, was set aside for demonstrations and strikes. At the International Socialist Congress, meeting in Paris in 1889, it was decided that the Socialist movement of the world should observe this day not only for the agitation for a shortened work day, but rather for the emancipation of the working class thru international unity.

Since then, the American Federation of Labor, with the exception of its most radical unions, has forgotten May Day and has accepted Labor Day in September, given them by the politicians. This fact is quite typical. The observance of a day that has not been legalized and which causes many workers to lose their livelihood for doing so, makes rebels who become absolutely fearless and dauntless. The American Federation of Labor seeks to realize its program in as legalistic a manner as possible. It commemorates labor's day in the same characteristic way by accepting the day set aside by Congress.

On Labor Day, the President of the Nation and the president of the American Federation of Labor have their official hobnob. Numerous cheap politicians tell the workers how noble they are, how important in the making of the nation. And they do not forget to mention what wonderful opportunities greet the laborers in this country. They can rise out of their class; they can become cabinet officials, mayors, politicians. In other words, they can leave the factories and in turn

[illegible]

throttle those whom they have left behind.

But the workers are beginning to realize the falsity of these claims. They know too well that when William B. Wilson rose from miner to proprietor in a mining concern, his point of view changed and it became quite easy for him later on to sign those numerous papers of deportation against those who dared utter the truth about the exploitation of the working class.

The revolutionary conscious workers distrust the "friends of labor." They know that their strength lies within the working class of every nation and all nations combined. This ideal is symbolized in International May Day.

Every year, this Day is taking on more and more significance. The workers of the world realize increasingly the great bonds which unite all toilers. The fraternal greetings exchanged between the German and French workers prior to the fratricidal war of 1871 showed that they understood they had no grievances against each other. They were becoming conscious of the international brotherhood of man. The manifestoes at the outbreak of the Great War again emphasized this feeling of brotherhood.

The workers, however, failed to prevent the colossal bloodshed. They were misled by their leaders. They were not yet thoroughly masters of the philosophy of workingclass solidarity.

Let May Day, 1922, be a day of dedication. Let us dedicate ourselves to the emancipation of the working class. Let us remember particularly that strength lies in solidarity—not only of the workers of one country but of the workers of all lands.

Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain!

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A Thousand Loaves—Or One?

We workers of America know that this is a question of life or death for you, Soviet Russia. We also know the origin of the conditions that mock the patient toil of your workers with a single loaf where a thousand might be won from the soil.

The Czars and the Lords of the Land long kept you in utter darkness, People of Russia, and upon your blood and sweat they built their thrones and castles.

Then came the upheaval of 1917 and you raised your beacon-light of freedom for the workers of the world.

Then intervention, blockade, counter-revolution.

The limited advances you had made in machine production and agricultural economy were largely lost. The capitalist powers attempted to strangle you by denying you food and machinery, Soviet Russia. Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenich, Wrangel, financed by these same nations, devastated immense areas of your farm lands. These robber bands converted the farming implements you badly needed into weapons for your destruction.

Without losing hope or spirit you fought under the emblem of the Hammer and Sickle, and won.

And the emblem under which you won now in a sense portrays the machine and agricultural poverty forced upon you by your enemies.

Your hope is in the soil that, burned with drought, has recently denied you bread. Your hope is in the new sowing and in the new harvest. And the Sickle, the little sickle—about all that has been left you—crooks an ominous finger and points out YOUR need and YOUR responsibility.

You have been compelled to sow with the hand of the past and gather with the sickle-of-no-future. Intervention, blockade and counter-revolution force you to remain in the dark feudalism fostered by the czarist regime.

Sometimes your half-starved oxen, sometimes your famished peasant, men and women, with bent backs wearily drag behind them the crooked stick-plow of ancient times.

Because the enemy forces determined upon your destruction, you wring one loaf of bread from the soil that might yield you a thousand.

To win your battle for liberty, you must win your battle for bread. But so long as the sickle mocks at the tractor your fight for bread must be a losing fight.

We workers of America, together with the workers of all countries, will not let you lose your battle for bread, Soviet Russia. WE WILL PIT THE TRACTOR AGAINST THE SICKLE. WE WILL SEND YOU HORSES OF STEEL AND POWER TO DRAW FROM YOUR SOIL A THOUSAND LOAVES WHERE YOU NOW DRAW ONLY ONE.

The tractor shall replace the few ancient tools the enemy has left you. Your fight for bread shall be won, Soviet Russia! Your future shall be secure. You shall be free.

International Tool Drive for Soviet Russia

MAY 1st, to JUNE 1st, 1922

Authorized by the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin, (Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated), and directed in America by

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

NATIONAL OFFICE
201 WEST 13th STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

SIGN THE ROLL CALL—CONTRIBUTE MONEY TO HELP BUY THE TOOLS SOVIET RUSSIA NEEDS—HELP RUSSIA TO BREAD AND IRON AND YOU WILL HELP HER TO VICTORY.

[illegible]

The Organization Committee consists of Comrades Lore, Ware, O'Flaherty and Weinstone. Education: Goldstone, Engelberg, Ginsberg, Carlson and Glassberg, chairman.

The National Defence organization is to be retained, but in order to centralize the local machinery, the local executive of the N. D. C. will be appointed by the Executive Committee of the Local.

Amnesty May Day Demonstration

Plans are still in progress for the May Day demonstration. The Party is to participate in the Demonstration arranged by the Amnesty Alliance in which the Party is represented. All members and branches are to attend the demonstration. Branches are to have branch banners and members are to wear W. P. and special May Day buttons for this occasion.

Branches are to purchase their buttons from the local office at once. Special May Day Edition of the Worker is to be sold. All Branches are to order at once. The demonstrations will be held on 110th St. and 5th Ave., in which New York branches will take part. Brooklyn Branches will have their demonstration on Grand Street Extension and Havemeyer St.

Industrial Work.—All Branch Industrial Organizers are to attend the first conference of branch industrial organizers to be held Saturday, April 29th, 3 P.M., at 208 E. 12th St., Room 9.

Decisions of Organization Committee.—The Organization Committee of the Local will meet every Thursday.

On May 4, 8 p.m., the Organization Committee will meet with the Section Organizers to hear reports of the sections and decide upon plans to build up the local. A membership drive will be conducted by the Local in the week of June 1st. Plans will be announced later.

Scarred Veterans on the Battle Line in Mine War

(Continued from Page One)

tors requiring the United Mine Workers to cease supporting the tent colony of over 1,100 miners and their families and to remove the occupants within 30 days.

The writ also suspends the prohibitions against organization work in the non-union districts. Organization work is already going ahead with renewed vigor. Most of the "strip" mines in Jefferson and Harrison counties are already closed. The refusal of some of the steam-shovel men, affiliated with an independent union, with headquarters in Pittsburgh, to strike with the miners, has kept some of the properties working. There are two armed guards for every miner employed, but actual coal production is very low.

The life of a scab here and in the little towns across on the West Virginia side is full of thrills. Men who never did an honest day's work in their lives now take a chance for the sake of the high wages paid scabs. Sooner or later their treason becomes known, no matter by what circuitous route they find their way to the pit-mouth.

Some morning as they leave their homes they are met by four or five hundred strikers lined up in the street, silent and grim.

No violence is offered the offenders. They are simply required to march thru the streets at the head of the parade for an hour or so.

This method is said to be the most effective one for scabbing yet devised.

Here in this district one meets many veterans of the hard-fought battles of the coal industry.

One of them is Tommy Thurman, fifty years of age, colored organizer for the United Mine Workers. Tommy's specialty is slipping into non-union camps where men of his race are employed.

He tells of fooling the mine guards in localities where a mule is more respected than a negro and where, if his mission were known, his life would be worth about as much as "a pair of box-cars" in his beloved crap game.

Here, too, is Martin Bloczevich, one of the ways and means committee in the Colorado strike, captain of a company of the miners' army of defense, who saw Louis Tikas clubbed to death under a flag of truce and the women and children shot and smothered to death in the tent colony at Ludlow.

Scarred and grizzled veterans of the class-war are plentiful in the coal camps. It would do no harm to have some of the theoreticians of the class struggle dig coal for a while.

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[illegible] a new social order in which labor alone shall be the pass-key to the good things of life.

Where we have already won the first great battle, where we have despoiled the masters of their power and organized it in defense of our own class interest, there our May Day is the occasion of a review of all our proletarian forces, our industry, our army, our class.

In America this year the Workers Party celebrates its first May Day with all the enthusiasm of a husky youth who knows his mission to lead the workers in their final, successful struggle for freedom.

But our attitude is not that of self-satisfied aloofness. In every city where we have created contact with organized labor our May Day celebrations are held jointly with the unions and fraternal bodies.

This is unity for action, and May Day, above all others, is a most appropriate season for this stand.

Origin of May Day

Strangely enough, to this country, and to our own American Federation of Labor, belongs the credit for the inauguration of the modern observance of May Day.

At its St. Louis Convention, in 1888, May First was set aside as a day on which to begin a determined effort for the achievement of the universal eight-hour day.

The A. F. L. was young, virile, un-Gompersified then, its membership was in control and in activity was second to none on the earth. A year later the International took up the proposal and gave it world-wide revolutionary significance.

This season is particularly appropriate for the celebration of the awakening of Labor and a renewal of the fight for emancipation.

Ancient Significance

May Day is older by far and its symbolism is deeper even than the modern significance of Labor's rebellion.

In every religion of the northern hemisphere May is a holy month, sacred to the sources of life, to new life. Pagan Rome went forth to sacrifice in honor of Maia (Mother Earth), mother of Mercury, the youngest and fleetest of gods. In Tudor England the masses garlanded themselves with ribbons and flowers and danced round the May Pole upon the common green. In central Europe for centuries no work was done upon this day, it was given over to joyous celebration of the coming of Spring, of growing things, of better weather, of a better day.

Workers Fight for Day

But just as soon as the International adopted May Day as its own world-wide holiday, just as soon as it was imbued with a modern revolutionary significance, the master class of the entire world sought to suppress the workers' celebration with an iron hand.

In Austria, where the holiday had been observed as a folk-day for centuries, the first proletarian celebration was met with police interference, and with every form of economic pressure.

It was even worse in countries where the custom had died out, in Italy for instance, from 1890 to 1893 the observance of this day in any manner was forbidden by law.

Every May Day hundreds were arrested, many shot in the riots that resulted, until finally its observance became so general, despite all oppression, that the government withdrew its edict and let the movement take its course.

When parades and meetings were forbidden the Party secretary hit upon the idea of having a song sung in unison by all May Day celebrants.

The famous Italian labor song, the "Hymn of the Workers," was prepared and the government promptly decided to arrest anyone caught singing it!

The party secretary himself was arrested, and tradition has it that on the night of May first he was serenaded from outside the jail with this very song, and that he answered its chorus from his cell.

The Germans Celebrate

In Germany the observance of May Day had a checkered career. At first the masters used every possible weapon to prevent the observance of the day, locking out all who absented themselves from work.

This was generally answered by a strike until we soon found more strikes beginning on this day than on any other, and partly for this reason as well as from economic causes most of the union agreements were so arranged as to expire on May first.

It is said that the Party officialdom, as it grew more conservative,

[illegible]

sought to [illegible] the revolutionary fervor of the May celebrations by instructing the members not to absent themselves from work on this day but to hold their meetings in the evening.

The instruction was very largely disobeyed, and in Germany to-day May Day is still an occasion to make the rulers tremble.

May Day in Russia

In Russia of course the contrast between the May Day celebration of the Czar's day and of to-day is most marked.

Now the red flag is the banner of the Soviet Republic, its troops are the armed working class, its workers are the owners of their jobs, and its State is the expression of working class will to suppress its capitalist enemies within and to support its struggling working-class comrades without.

Origin of Red Flag

The red flag, aforementioned, is inseparable from May Day celebrations. It too is far older than the convention of 1888.

Our pagan ancestors, confronted with many mysteries of life, soon explained them all away by inventing deities, not unlike themselves but minus certain very obvious human shortcomings.

In the sun they recognized the father of all life and soon made him their principal male deity.

The sun was always represented by a red disc, and this later became a red flag, the very word "flag" means flame, blazing fire, redness.

From the very earliest day of history the red flag has been the emblem of those who fought for freedom, and no exploiting class has ever had any love for that banner.

The colors of the masters were blue, azure, white—and even where there were no prohibitive laws the difficulty of keeping them clean restricted their use to those who owned slaves and did not have to work themselves.

They were the "washed" and went in white, the "great unwashed" dressed in red. And ever are the angels, heavenly do-nothings, dressed in white! The pagans did a better job, dressing their loafing gods in the aristocratic colors, while the workers, Maia, Isis, Athena, Flora, Apollo and Bacchus, go in red.

While the early Christians were a revolutionary, communist sect their banner was blood-red, as early hymns will attest. While the American revolution had the nature of a farmer revolt against oppression its banner, the flag of Lexington, Ticonderoga and Bunker Hill, was red, as was also that of Pulaski, the Polish patriot, who fought clear thru the revolution under a flaming red standard even now preserved in the State House at Baltimore.

May Day, and its Red Flag!

What a world of treasured memory these words hold to the working class.

Their struggle is not ended but it is waged on in good spirit.

The day is not far distant when every May Day observance the world over will be similar to that of Russia ever since 1918.

Our activities alone can speed that day, and speed it we shall.

Welcome to Children's Crusade

Thirty-seven Wives and Children of Political Prisoners En Route to Washington to Demand

GENERAL AMNESTY

Reception and Mass Meeting

Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street
Wednesday, April 26th, at 8 P. M.

SPEAKERS:
KATE RICHARDS O'HARE
(Leader of the Crusade)

Clare Sheridan
Mary Heaton Vorse
Crystal Eastman
Rose Schneiderman
Matilda Robbins
Theresa Malkiel
Marion Sproule
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
Kate Gitlow (in Jewish)
And Others

If you can accomodate any of the Crusaders over the night of the 26th, call Miss Flynn, Stuyvesant 6488.

Contributions are needed towards the railroad fares and expenses of the crusade.

WORKERS' DEFENSE UNION
81 East 10th St., New York City.

[illegible] great attraction to our supporters.

As is well known to students of the theatre, Puccini, the composer of "La Boheme," was in his youth an artist whose riches were better [illegible] in terms of genius than in cash.

Like his heroes in "La Boheme," he lived in a miserable attic and found the problem of getting [illegible] much more difficult of solution than that of Harmony or Counterpoint.

It is said that the experiences of Rudolph, Marcel, Colline, and Schaunard are very largely pages out of his own life, and the bitter poverty of his youth undoubtedly had a great influence in his composing, in the his greatest opera, a powerful protest against capitalist repression of artistic genius.

His attack begins with the comedy of the very first scene and continues to the last moment of the sublime tragedy of the last. He begins with the poor artist and writer in the garret, burning their masterpieces in the fireplace in an effort to keep warm. No symbol of our system could depict its grim horror more clearly.

The relationship of wealth and commerce to art is shown as one of downright prostitution, it begins in the feast on the proceeds of a music lesson to a wealthy duffer, it continues in Musette's flirtation with the old banker who is made to pay the bill for the artists revelry, it is brought into greater clarity in Marcel's desertion of his canvasses to paint welcome signs for taverns, and finally its full tragedy is revealed in its breaking up of the love-dream of Rudolf and Mimi, her seduction and subsequent desertion by the viscount and finally her tragic death.

Puccini offers no revolutionary message or solution but he does voice poignant protest against the subjection of the artist to the dollar sign. The young artist-worker characters are shown to be filled with simple nobility of soul, and their utter helplessness against the forces of Moloch is unforgettable.

Tickets for this only post-season performance of "La Boheme" are to be had at the office of THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway. Mail orders must be accompanied by full payment, no credit is given on these tickets. Reservations will be held only up to May 1st. There is a big demand for these tickets and those desiring choice seats should act at once. Prices range: Orchestra, $5.50; Dress Circle, $4.40, Balcony, $3.3[illegible] $2.75; Family Circle, $2.20, $1.65.

SAN FRANCISCO.—The wage board appointed by the Industrial Welfare Commission to make recommendations on the proposed cut in the minimum wage for women has disagreed, the employes on the board asking that the present wage of $1[illegible] be retained, and the employers that it be reduced to $14 in mercantile lines and $12 to $13.50 in manufacturing. The California Manufacturers' Association had asked that it be cut to $11.78 in all occupations and the State Federation of Labor that it be increased to $21.20.

MILWAUKEE. — Amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions each to cover an entire industry, was indorsed by the Milwaukee Federated Trades council at its regular meeting. Resolutions were adopted calling on the A. F. of L. to arrange a conference of international unions where plans for amalgamation are to be made.

cuss One ront Policy in New York

More than 500 members of the Workers Party of Local Greater New York turned out to the first general membership meeting to express themselves on the resolution calling for a United Front in the coming elections.

The Central Committee was instructed to call another meeting of the general membership for a renewal of the discussion.

Executive Secretary Weinstone in opening the meeting stated that its purpose was not only to discuss the important question of the United Front but also to make arrangements for May Day and decide upon plans for building up the circulation of THE WORKER.

The May demonstration will take place on 110th St. and 5th Ave. A hearty response was made to the appeal for volunteers in the demonstration for distribution of leaflets, papers, etc.

Temporary Alliance with Socialists

"It is not intended by the resolution to unite with the Socialists," said Verblin opening the discussion. "This is a misrepresentation of the resolution. The object is to hasten the achievement of independent political action on the part of the American Workers, and to enable the Workers Party to win a contact with the broad masses.

"The alliance with the Socialists and Farmer-Labor Party in the coming elections is to pave the way for the realization of this goal.

"The American masses are ready to leave the capitalist parties but will not do so as long as the radicals are divided.

"The Party must not take a narrow party view of this question, but must consider whether or not the proposed alliance will be in the interests of the revolutionary movement, in general, whether it will serve the working class."

Comrade Verblin stated that in proposing this resolution he was not aping Moscow. Instead those who favored the United Front on the economic field alone were doing so.

The views maintained in the resolution was supported by Comrades Grass, Pearl, and others. Comrade Anderson stated that the formation of a Labor Party based on the policy of independent political action would be the greatest step forward in making the workers class-conscious. Those who oppose the fundamental thesis of the resolution join hands with Gompers who is also opposed to independent political action.

The resolution was opposed by a great number of speakers. Comrades Blohm, Garwit, Ragozin, Baker, Kesler and Jampolsky favored the united front on the economic field, but declared that the adoption of this policy to the political field meant the destruction of the movement—the abdication of the party to the Socialists.

Weinstone pointed out the defects in the resolution which he said disregarded the Party as a factor in the whole proposition. The analysis of conditions among the workers was correct, but the resolution said nothing of the Party. The Workers Party was just organized. Its identity has not yet been established. What would unity on the political field in the coming elections mean—independent political action on the part of the workers? No! It would mean unity with the Socialists. It would mean giving up independent political action on the part of the Party. It would result in confusion and the weakening of the Party morale. Let us build up a United Front within first, before we try a United Front without. Let our slogan for this period be—A Strong Internal Front—in the Party.

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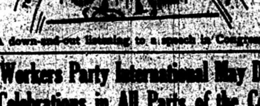


A down-and-out listening to a speech in Congress.

Plan Workers Party International May Day Celebrations in All Parts of the Country

Never before in the history of working class agitation in this country has there been such a widespread response to the call for the celebration of May Day, International Labor Day.

From all parts of the country come reports of the establishment of a United Front of the unions, working class fraternal organizations and the Workers Party, while in a few localities other labor political groups also are lending their co-operation.

Only a few of our districts have reported thus far and they only in part as to the celebrations conducted or co-operated in by the Workers Party, but they show the extent to which the appeal of the Central Executive Committee for a united front for May Day has been heeded.

Cannon in Boston.

James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Workers Party, will speak at Boston, Peabody and Brockton, Mass. Other meetings and demonstrations have been arranged at Worcester, Fitchburg, Springfield, Chelsea, Norwood, Gardner, and other points in the State.

Amnesty Drive in New York

In New York the Party is co-operating in a great Famine Relief and Amnesty Drive over a three day period from April 28th to May 1st. Fifteen party speakers will appear at seven F. S. R. rallies on Friday, April 28th, these meetings being conducted for the purpose of enlisting workers for the monster street collections on April 29th and 30th.

On Monday, May 1st, the party is co-operating with the Workers Defense Union, the United Labor Council, and several active unions in an amnesty demonstration at which twenty-nine party speakers will be employed.

In Bridgeport, Conn., the party, in co-operation with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Amalgamated Metal Workers will have a mass meeting in the biggest hall in town, with Thomas O'Flaherty as the party speaker.

Conservative Unions Backward

The conservative unions were about to accept the invitation to join in the event but were held back by an impassioned plea by one of the stand-patters that this would result in their losing "their own" Labor Day in September. The comrades replied that they would gladly help the C. L. U. celebrate Labor Day in September in addition to May, but could not swing the rest of the unions in line.

In New Haven there will be a meeting in which the Machinists Union and several fraternal organizations will take part with the party.

In Rochester the local and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are holding a meeting at which Robert Minor, on request of the union itself, will be the principal speaker. This was arranged immediately after the Workers Party meeting at which Minor spoke in that city recently, such was the impression made by our message on the organized workers there.

Owens at Erie and Buffalo.

Edgar Owens, Secretary of the National Defense Committee, will speak in Erie, Pa., on Sunday, April 30, and in Buffalo on May 1st. The Buffalo comrades have arranged for a parade and are sure of a big turnout. There will be an open-air demonstration in Schenectady also, with John Marshall as speaker.

Rose Pastor Stokes will speak in Newark, May 1st. A celebration will also be held in Paterson, N. J.

Caleb Harrison, National Secretary of the Party, will be the principal speaker in a great mass meeting at Philadelphia. At Reading there will be a joint Amnesty Meeting in which all unions and political organizations of labor will take part.

William F. Kruse, Assistant Secretary of the Party, will be the party representative at Baltimore on May first. This is a united front meeting in which several unions and the Socialist Party are taking part.

Meetings in Coal Strike District.

The Polish federation reports ten meetings arranged for its national organizer in the coal strike field of Ohio for May 1st and the District organizer and all other available Ohio speakers, about a dozen in all, will be busy during the entire two days covering the field.

In Pittsburgh, where the Coldwell meeting was recently stopped on police order and where the Party and the American Civil Liberties Bureau are fighting to establish the right of free speech, there will be a May Day meeting at which Fred Merrick will be the speaker.

William F. Dunne, of the staff of THE WORKER, will go from the Pennsylvania coal strike field to Detroit on the special invitation of the Detroit Federation of Labor for a big open air demonstration, April 30, and he will also speak at a party meeting at the House of the Masses on May 1st.

William Z. Foster will be the main speaker at two great Chicago demonstrations, one in the afternoon and the other in the evening. Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, Wisc., and Waukegan are all holding meetings.

Arne Swabeck, member of the C. E. C. will be the principal speaker at a meeting in Moline, Ill., while in Aurora an international program, with speakers in English, Lithuanian and Hungarian is arranged.

In the Illinois coal strike belt there have been some very effective arrangements made by the district organizer, T. R. Sullivan.

At Collinsville, Jack Carney, editor of "The Voice of Labor," will speak under the auspices of the Trades Council and the Workers Party, at 10 a.m., on May 1st; at 1 p.m. he is booked at O'Fallon, and at 3 p.m. at Belleville, all under similar auspices. The unions in this belt are the real goods and always respond to a straight class appeal for solidarity.

E. R. McMillan and John Braun speak at Livingston and Staunton. Earl Browder puts in a pair of very busy days with meetings at St. Louis, Mo., and Christopher, Sesser, and Zeigler, Ill. There is a parade arranged at Christopher.

T. R. Sullivan is busy in the western part of the district with meetings at Kansas City, Omaha and Council Bluffs.

There will be big celebrations all along the Pacific Coast. Thus far Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles have been heard from.

This is by no means the entire list but shows the extraordinary hold that our party has obtained on the allegiance of the masses in the short time it has been in existence and also indicates the spirit with which our members carry out every decision of the organization.

May Day, 1922, is a banner day in the history of the movement and in coming years it will be looked back upon as the day that marked the real beginning of a revolutionary mass movement among the workers of this country.

MOVE TO AVANTI BUILDING

The following organizations have moved their headquarters to 81 East 10th St. (Avanti Building): Workers Defense Union, Amnesty Alliance, United Labor Council, United Glove Workers, Featherboa Makers Union, Amalgamated Metal Workers of America and Amalgamated Food Workers.

(Special to The Worker)

LONDON.—"Is capitalism stabilising itself? Has it stabilised itself one tiny fragment since the Communist International declared that the period of world revolution was definitely perceptible?" asked Arthur McManus, chairman of the Communist Party of Great Britain, at a party conference on policy here.

"Capitalism," he went on, "is getting into more difficult water every day. Where is it turning to find a way out? Russia is the only part of the known globe in which there is hope of relief from the predicament that Capitalism is in.

"The proof of that is Genoa," McManus declared. "Genoa is the last attempt to reorganise Europe, and is the sequel to the Versailles and Cannes conferences, which failed because the only market in the world was not represented in them. They were, therefore, superseded by Genoa, where the Russians are taking part.

What Genoa Means

"The Russian Soviet Republic is the Russian Communist Republic," he continued; "it appreciates the significance of Genoa. It is a question of the extent to which one side is prepared to tolerate the other; how far Russia can make concessions to the countries at Genoa.

"The working-class movement of this country has the duty of seeing to it that the might and power of that class is directed against preventing our Government at Genoa trying to impose such conditions on the working class of Russia, as would be disastrous to the world revolution and particularly to the stability of Russia.

"The position of the capitalist world is indecision and indefiniteness," repeated McManus, and the only section that sees a ray of light is the Communist movement. The only section that can go to Genoa with any hope in their breasts is the one that comes from Russia, because it carries with it the outlook of the Communist Party."

Call to Action

McManus declared that the Communist Party was four-square with all workers who were fighting against the organized offensive of the employers, and would demonstrate it, not by mere expressions of opinion, but by action.

"We have reached such a stage now," he declared, "that the chief item of news, especially on Sunday, is the revolutionary purpose of the Communist Party, as discovered in secret in some conspiracy.

"How very foolish!

"Members of the party are even now in jail because they had the courage to stand out in the open and tell people what the newspapers think they can only discover in secrecy and plot."

McManus concluded with the opinion that the conference ought to send a message of "generous solidarity" and encouragement to the working class of every country now participating in the offensive movement against them.

Welcome Signs

An official resolution before the conference declared that international Capitalism was endeavouring to reduce the workers to unprecedented standards of misery, and welcomed the signs of a new spirit of revolt now becoming evident in every Continental country.

"The period of Apathy," it declared, "is giving place to stubborn resistance," which, with the co-operation of the Communist Party, would rapidly develop into conscious revolutionary attack against organized Capitalism.

The principle embodied in the resolution was endorsed by the conference after one or two speeches.

"We regard the Communist Party as an international force, whose prime object is to destroy Capitalism," declared W. Mellor.

"If we are going merely to be defensive, we shall be defeated," he added. "The best kind of defense in warfare is attack—and, make no mistake about it, this is warfare, fought with a blockade."

Greeting from Zinovieff

Zinovieff, on behalf of the Executive of the Communist International, sent a telegram of fraternal greetings in which pride at the English Party's work was expressed.

The conference sent a reply to the telegram announcing continued determination to go on with the work and forwarded also an encouraging message to the comrades in Georgia who have set up their own independent State.

Farmer: "Say, do you have to do that?"

Relations of National Defence Committee With the Workers Party Are Agreed Upon

The biggest single question taken up at the recent special meeting of the Administration Council of the Workers Party was that of determining the relations between the National Defense Committee and the Central Executive of the Workers Party. This committee has been taking care of cases arising out of the Espionage, Anti-Syndicalist, Red-Flag, and similar repressive laws, raising court costs, bail fees, and relief for the families of men held in prison or for deportation.

The organization of the Workers Party and the undoubted need for creating a defense organ of that party brought up the question of possible unnecessary conflict with the existing committee.

A sub-committee consisting of Kruse, Allison and Cannon took up the matter with the National Defense Committee officials and a mutually satisfactory thesis was formulated and agreed upon.

This is called to the attention of all party locals and branches, and is to be acted upon at once. The thesis follows:

The National Defense Committee

1. The functions and obligations of the National Defense Committee are taken over by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party which shall continue the defense work under the name of the National Defense Committee. The C. E. C. shall appoint the director of the Defense Department who shall be known as the Secretary of the National Defense Committee. He shall carry on his work under the supervision and direction of the C. E. C.

2. The funds of the National Defense Committee shall be banked separately from those of the Party, and checks on this fund shall be signed both by the National Defense Secretary and the Secretary of the Party. All income from the sale of Defense Stamps to Party members, and other Party defense activities shall be deposited in the Defense Fund Bank Account. All expenses of the Defense Committee shall be paid out of this fund.

Branches of National Defense Committee.

3. The Local Division of the National Defense Committee shall be organized as follows:

a) The City Central Committee shall establish a Defense Department. There shall be a sub-committee selected from the City Central Committee to be supplemented by delegates from Branches of the Workers Party which body shall constitute the local Branch of the National Defense Committee.

b) The Local Division shall select its officers subject to the approval of the City Central Committee. There shall be a Secretary, a Financial Secretary and a Treasurer. The offices of Financial Secretary and Treasurer may be held by the same person if deemed advisable.

c) The local Division shall be in direct communication thru its officers, with the National Office of the N. D. C., and shall submit monthly reports of finances and activities to the National Defense Secretary and to the City Central Committee.

4. Local Defense Divisions shall remit all funds raised, above necessary expenses for current local defense needs, to the National Defense Committee.

5. Defense funds shall not be mixed with Regular Party local funds.

The defense cards and stamps mentioned in the report refer to an action taken at the December convention, which [illegible] should [illegible] fense purposes [illegible]

This will be [illegible] white defense card [illegible] than the folded [illegible] and a special 3c. defense [illegible]

The reason why the [illegible] these stamps was post[illegible] July first, was to give the [illegible] tion a chance to get the [illegible] stamp system in effective [illegible] first.

This due stamps system, [illegible] ing as it does two different [illegible] diate and three different [illegible] local units, using five different [illegible] of stamps, is quite intricate and [illegible] not be complicated by any [illegible] issues.

The members and local [illegible] understand it now, however, and [illegible] whole structure is working with[illegible] a hitch. By July 1st there will [illegible] longer be the slightest misunderstanding, and the defense fund [illegible] sessment will not result in any confusion.

The small size of the contrib[illegible] will not make it felt by any [illegible] but in the aggregate it will be [illegible] considerable help in maintaining [illegible] most pressing work of our movement.

The Comitee elected Comrade Edgar Owens to continue his [illegible] as Defense Secretary under the [illegible] arrangement as he has done [illegible] the old.

Other Decisions.

The Finance Committee, which [illegible] negotiating a loan of $4000 for the immediate needs of the national office, reported that its work was progressing.

If this sum could be borrowed from members of the organization in sums of $50 and upward, at [illegible] cent interest, it would save bank discount and other charges incident to getting the money thru regular channels.

These loans are personally guaranteed by a financially responsible committee and there is no possibility of loss. Comrades desiring to place such funds at the disposal of the party should communicate at once with the National Office.

The Finnish daily paper, Eteenpain, has moved from New York to Worcester, Mass., for more economical operation and better contact with the field. This necessitated the resignation of Comrade Sulkannen from the finance committee and his place was filled by Henry Askell.

"The law is wonderfully just. In its majestic equality it forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."—Anatole France.

SPEAKERS WANTED!

To address unions and other sympathetic organizations in drive for amnesty for Political Prisoners.

All qualified members of the Workers Party are requested to report to P. McClellan, 81 East 10th Street, any day or evening.

William W. Weinstone,

Executive Secretary Local Greater New York, Workers Party.

"British Imperialism"

will be exposed by

THOMAS J. O'FLAHERTY

Lecture Given by

Brownsville Branch, Workers Party

SUNDAY, APRIL 23, 8 P. M.

296 Sackman St., cor. Pitkin

All Invited! Come Early!

"THE LITERATURE LOAN CAMPAIGN"

WHAT IT IS—

WHAT IT HAS DONE—

WHAT IT WILL DO.

1. WHAT IT IS—

IT IS A PLAN to furnish working capital with which to establish a Literature Department in the National Office of the Workers Party.

THE WORK of this Department is to publish, sell and organize the distribution of the literature used in the educational and propaganda work of the Workers Party; to establish book stores, sales and distribution agencies, etc.

THE METHOD of raising this Loan is as follows: The Party members, Locals and Branches are asked to make loans to the Department in amounts of 3, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25 dollars. These loans are to be paid back on demand any time after 30 days in literature at a discount of 10 per cent. Special receipt books have been sent Branch Secretaries for handling these loans. Every Branch Secretary should have one of these receipt books. If any have not received one they should write us at once.

MORE THAN 100 loans totalling over $700.00 have thus far been sent us.

2. WHAT IT HAS DONE—

(a) It has helped us publish 10,000 copies of the Party Program and Constitution.

(b) It has helped us publish 5,000 copies of Vol. 1 of the A. B. C. of Communism.

(c) It has given us sufficient credit to enable us to order of the printer 5,000 copies of Vol. 2 of the A. B. C. of Communism to be set at once.

(d) It has enabled us to publish 1,000 copies of "Resolutions and Decisions of the Red Labor Union International."

(e) It has enabled us to purchase and sell nearly 10,000 copies of Foster's "Revolutionary Crisis."

(f) It has enabled us to have translated accurately and scholarly the entire volume of Lenin's "Imperialism."

(g) It has enabled us to purchase and sell several thousand dollars worth of literature which will mean much in propaganda and profit to our Party.

3. AND NOW—WHAT IT WILL DO—

(a) It will enable us to publish Lenin's "Imperialism" (about 170 pages) at once.

(b) It will enable us to publish at once Trotsky's "Defense of Terrorism"—176 pages.

(c) It will enable us to import the best European revolutionary literature useful to the American movement.

(d) It will enable us to assist District Offices and Locals to establish book stores and conduct their literature business on a better and larger basis.

(e) It will enable us to publish the many useful and necessary books dealing with the industrial, political and economic phases of the American labor movement so much needed.

(f) It will enable us to secure larger stocks and a greater variety of literature at cheaper prices and to sell cheaper.

(g) We will be able to do ALL this NECESSARY PARTY WORK quicker, more easily, more efficiently and more profitably—if YOU will make YOUR donation or loan AT ONCE.

Ask yourself this question: DO I WANT THESE THINGS DONE BY OUR PARTY? If your answer is "yes," then we do not need to tell you that RIGHT NOW is the moment to make your loan. Blanks below, use them.

HERE'S YOUR CHOICE OF WAYS TO HELP

LITERATURE LOAN PLAN No. 1—

Enclosed find $.......... which is a loan to the Literature Department to be repaid after 30 days in literature at 10 per cent discount.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... State ....

Cash Donations also accepted. MAKE ONE.

LITERATURE LOAN PLAN No. 2—

Some comrades prefer to make loans to be repaid in cash. Such loans are acceptable and will be repaid promptly. If you can make such a loan, do so. No interest is paid. Your reward is work well done.

Enclosed find $.......... which is a loan to the Literature Department to be repaid in cash .... days from date.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... State ....

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

FOR RAILROADERS

The Railroader's Next Step—Amalgamation. Wm. Z. Foster's newly revised edition of former pamphlet	$.25

FOR MINERS

Corruptionists and Union Wreckers. Gildea	.10

FOR ALL WORKERS

Resolutions and Decisions of the Red Labor Union International	.15
The Revolutionary Crisis in Germany, England, Italy and France. Foster	.25

LYCEUM-LITERATURE DEPARTMENT

Workers Party of America

Room 405 799 Broadway New York City

INTERNATIONAL PICNIC

Given by LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO WORKERS' PARTY

EAST SHORE PARK, near Richmond, Contra Costa County

SUNDAY, APRIL 20, 1922

ELLA REEVES BLOOR, just back from Russia, will speak

Tickets [illegible] Cents

25 per cent of proceeds to Friends of Soviet Russia, 25 per cent to defense of political prisoners.

Dancing Refreshments

[illegible] Oakland Boat, Train to Albany, San Pablo Ave. Car to Park

—TICKETS for sale at 225 Valencia St.—

YOUNG WORKERS FORUM

SERIES OF SIX LECTURES

Under the Auspicies of

YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

By

DR. WOLF ADLER

Professor of Anatomy and Neurology

on

SEXOLOGY

I. Sunday, April 16th

ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY OF MALE AND FEMALE GENITALIA

II. Sunday, April 23rd

CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

III. Sunday, April 30th

THE VENEREAL PERIL

IV. Sunday, May 7th

SEX MONOMANIACS

V. Sunday, May 14th

SEX HYGIENE

VI. Sunday, May 21st

EVOLUTION OF SEX IMPULSE

Lectures Begin at 8 p. m. Admission [illegible]

Children under 16 years of age not admitted

Lincoln Hall, 1258 Boston Road

Near 169th St., Bronx

ANNOUNCEMENT

Spring Festival & Package Party

Will be given by the Bronx Branch of the Workers Party

MAY 6th—8 P. M.

At WORKERS HALL

1347 Boston Road

—Watch for [illegible]—

[illegible] Gompers
His Makeshift Plan

By ISRAEL AMTER

Samuel Gompers) insists that the solution of the unemployment problem consists in providing labor with some kind of unemployment insurance and guaranteeing to the workers financial aid during periods of idleness.

He declares that labor will not rest till such a law is enacted. He asserts that unemployment is a social ailment that must be taken care of socially—with which we fully agree.

However, one would like to point to two countries that are well provided with unemployment insurances—Germany and England. In the former, one would not say that there is no unemployment because there is an unemployment insurance. The fact that there is no noteworthy idleness in Germany is due to quite different causes—to the necessity of the German workers paying the reparation damages partly in kind. Hence their being kept under the knout of the Allies—at their own expense.

In England, which is provided with a far better insurance scheme granting the worker far higher compensation, there is tremendous unemployment (nearly 2,000,000 registered jobless men and women). There is the regularly paid dole, which the State has not dared to abrogate, as much as it would like to do it. Nevertheless, the unemployed are not properly taken care of—and are now resorting to methods of their own, in order to procure better maintenance.

It is obvious, therefore, that if we trust to experience there is nothing to expect from unemployment insurance as a permanent insurance against unemployment. It is a makeshift of the worst order, since it merely acts as a palliative and in no way touches the vitals of the issue—the question of UNEMPLOYMENT.

In any case, to wait for the enactment of a law providing compensation next year or the year after is nonsense. The workers have been out of work for months, some for more than a year. Unemployment has affected not the unskilled worker alone. Statistics demonstrate that organized labor has suffered as much as the unskilled hand. The professions are hard pressed. The engineering profession has passed thru a period of serious depression, owing to the lack of construction work.

IMMEDIATE solutions of the question must be provided, if serious trouble and derangement to the system are not to ensue. Work must be furnished without delay, work in large measure for the 10,000,000 who have been locked out of the factories and ask in vain for any kind of work. Engineers are working as clerks. Ministers are walking the streets. Students find it impossible to get any kind of employment. Skilled mechanics are a drug on the market. Men with high army records are in the bread line. AND ALL THE GOVERNMENT DOES IS TO SHRUG ITS SHOULDERS AND PROFESS ITS INABILITY TO IMPOSE THE TAXES ESSENTIAL FOR PROVIDING COMPENSATION.

Such an attitude might have been possible several years ago, before the war. But it is not permissable today. The workers won't stand for it. To talk prosperity and let them starve; to talk of shiftlessness and keep men from working; to deprive them of an opportunity to earn a living and then drive them to crime for which they receive a high penalty—all of this is so obviously crazy that the workers will not accept it any longer.

Whether the State has made a promise or not; whether it must fulfill to all the workers in the country what it promised to the soldiers or not; and whether it will use the same excuses and evasions to escape its duty toward the workers who are caught in a trap, or not; is immaterial. It will be held to acount, if no work is provided.

Charity will not work; "being a neighbor" is superfluous; odd jobs will not settle the matter. The workers want a steady job and want it badly. Who is going to get it for them?

The workers have seen too often that when the employers, the capitalists and financiers, want anything, they merely go to the government and in some mysterious manner they obtain just what they desire. Laws are passed with the wave of a wand. Money which otherwise is so scarce, taxes which cannot under any circumstances be imposed without absolutely ruining the country and inflating prices, are obtained without any trouble. The railroad magnates want $500,000,000—a stroke of the pen makes it theirs. The ship owners need a subsidy, in order to be able to compete: millions are given to them in the name of patriotism, for surely you would not have the American flag driven off the seas. The farmers—especially the larger, middle-class farmers need loans; no one dare buck the backbone of the nation.

Only the worker—the man with no tools, no property but his labor—is utterly ignored.

The American worker is a great reader of headlines. He goes to the movies. He is learning the vicious ways of "big" men. He knows that there is always money in the public treasury for graft. He is beginning to ask why there is "not a penny in the treasury for the workers," particularly the unemployed workers.

Slow to grasp the essence of organization, and still not determined to fight for the right to organize, the jobless, nevertheless, are gradually grasping the need of standing together and fighting collectively.

In England and Canada, in Ireland and Sweden, in Italy and Germany, they are learning more rapidly. In England, the unemployed are not only well organized, but have entered into joint councils with the workers on the job to work conjointly against strikebreaking.

Unemployment insurance, "help a neighbor," "give a man a job"—all of these are pretty schemes that are getting the workers nothing. Only an organization directed toward one end—toward demands on the government for maintenance at regular wages, offers anything to the worker. The unemployed in the United States are on the right path. Let them not be diverted by pet schemes that are palliatives of the remotest order.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

IF—IF—IF—IF

YOU LIKE THIS COPY OF THE WORKER—

You will show it to another worker and get his subscription.

YOU ARE IN EARNEST ABOUT THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE FOR POWER—

You will order a bundle for sale every week.

YOU ARE A REAL LIVE WIRE, YOU WON'T WAIT A MINUTE

To sign the blank below and mail it.

YOU WANT TO SEE THE WORKER GROW BETTER AND BIGGER—

You will order a supply of Worker sub cards for sale—paying for them in advance if possible.

One-year sub cards, $2.00; half-year, $1.00; three months' cards, 50 cents.

And now, no more "ifs." It's time to ACT. Sign the blank and mail.

BUNDLE ORDER BLANK

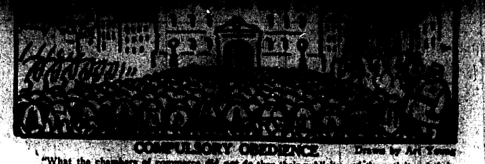
Send me every week .... copies of THE WORKER. I will sell them and remit at once.

Send me .... WORKER sub cards (signify whether yearly, half-yearly or three months) for which I enclose $..........

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY.................. STATE ....



COMPULSORY OBEDIENCE — Drawn by Art Young

"What the chambers of commerce did not do thru their publicity and the activity of their industrial spies, the State and Federal governments have done thru the use of the constabulary and the injunction."—Scott Nearing.

A CALL TO RISE!
By NERMA BERMAN

May brings spring and with it a call and an urge for all life to rouse, sprout and bloom.

May Day is the call to Labor to rise, assume its duty—and fight its exploiters and oppressors, the Capitalist Class.

May Day should begin Labor's New Year, make for a more determined and earnest attack of the workers upon capitalism and hasten the day of the Workers' Soviet the world over.

May Day welcomes the unorganized worker to manhood—to fighting, i. e. to join the first unit of the Workers' Army—the union of his trade.

To the trade unionist May first tells another story. It tells him that paying dues is not enough, that activity is very essential. It points out that the workers have a goal beyond wages and hours, and that the fight in the union is not merely industrial but political as well. The miners and textile workers can well testify to this in their recent experience with the Pennsylvania Constabulary and the New England militia.

To the revolutionist, May first whispers words of courage. Organize! Fight! Even America in all its darkness and capitalist czarism will have to fall in line.

See Russia! Only yesterday the victim of slavery—today the Workers' Soviet Republic, is the fear and menace of the capitalists of the world.

Its leadership, well informed, intelligent and courageous, has exposed the hypocrisy of the statesmen of Capitalism.

The Genoa Conference shows plainly their inability to cope with the wisdom and strategy of the Workers' Republic.

The Revolution in Russia is a fact—no longer a mere illusion and a vain dream.

Workers! It can and must be done in every country! Workers! Take your stand and come out on May Day, 1922, en masse, more determined than ever to achieve the Workers' Soviet of America and finally the Workers' Soviet of the World.

Procedure on Routing Speakers from the National Office

Instruction to Locals: If you want a speaker, outside the local talent which is under your control, notify your DISTRICT ORGANIZER. Tell him what kind of a meeting you want to run, the day, date, and time of day, the name and location of the hall (if you already know it), how to get there, its capacity, and the size of the crowd you expect. Tell him also what kind of advertising you expect to do, and how much the meeting will cost you.

You can suggest the names of some speakers you would like to have but you are not to advertise them until you get permission from the district office.

Instructions to District Organizers: If you want a speaker under the control of the National Office notify that office in plenty of time.

Tell us the occasion, the kind of meeting, the city, and location of the hall (if you know), the date, and the time.

If you can make any arrangements for a consecutive series of dates report that. If you prefer any particular speaker, tell us about it, but DON'T advertise until you get authority from the National Office.

UNITED LABOR COUNCIL

The United Labor Council has moved its headquarters to 81 East 10th St., N. Y. City, and the Council meetings will be held at that address every Wednesday at 8 P. M. Please instruct your delegates to the Council accordingly.

The United Labor Council has grown in strength and influence in the last few months and all affiliated unions should co-operate in order that this growth continues.

Instruct your delegates to the Council to attend and report regularly of the Council activities.

The office hours of the secretary are from 12 to 7 P. M., every afternoon at 81 East 10th St., and all mail should be sent to that address. The new telephone is Stuyvesant 4501.

NEW YORK.—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, thru their general office here, have cabled $15,000 to buy equipment for a new hospital which has just been opened in Moscow. The money was sent to a Berlin bank, where the equipment is to be bought at a low price owing to the favorable rate of exchange and sent to Moscow immediately.

Plug-Uglies and Yellows Wage Futile Attempt to Disrupt Furriers' Union

It is a sign of the times when the reds are doing the constructive work of organized labor while the yellows, who were kicked out of office for having made a mess of the job, are now fighting to get back their jobs.

It is natural in this case that the yellow press, the Jewish Forward and the Call, should refuse to condemn the "disrupters" and "borers from within" by not publishing the statement below:

The Joint Board of the Furriers' Union has adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, Certain persons have lately started a campaign against the Furriers' Union and the office staff, spreading harmful rumors and falsehoods for the purpose of discrediting the Joint Board of the Furriers' Union in the eyes of the Labor Movement in general, and in the eyes of the fur workers in particular, and

"Whereas, These persons pretend to be fighting the Joint Board on the basis of 'Rights' and 'Lefts,' therefore be it

"Resolved, To enlighten the working class about the facts in the case, that this struggle has been going on in the Furriers' Union for years before the split into 'lefts' and 'rights', that this struggle has been and still is being waged by the fur workers against an organized clique, which has distinguished itself by the use of dishonesty and terror against the members of the Furriers' Union, that the persons who are leading the attacks on the Joint Board today were pushed aside by the workers immediately after the strike of 1920, and now, wishing to get back into power, they are hiding under the cloak of 'fighting the lefts,' making use of the most dishonest methods and the most shameful scandals against the Joint Board and the office staff.

"Be It Further Resolved, To warn the members of the Furriers' Union to be on their guard, and to call on them to defend the Union against this clique, that has organized itself into the 'Welfare Club' and under this name is conducting the fight against the Furriers' Union, breaking up meetings, terrorizing the members and hindering by various means the general organizational work.

"Be It Further Resolved, That the Joint Board and Office Staff will use all its power to protect the individual members and the Union as a whole against these disrupters and scandal-mongers, and will in the future just as in the past do all in its power to protect the unity and purity of the Union, and, above all, to organize and strengthen it so that it can at all times, defend itself against its enemies.

"Joint Board Furriers' Union, Locals 1, 5, 10, 15. B. Gold, A. Shapiro, M. Suroff and Spivak, Press Committee."

THE OPEN SHOP

By Robert Whitaker

My job, it is of thee, poor shield from penury, of thee I sing, job that I long have sought until almost distraught, for which I nearly fought, thy praise I bring. My native open shop, guarded by thug and cop, I dote on thee; I love thy longer day; I love thy meaner pay: American: O say, that's one on me. Let all be free to grab; let all be free to scab; let grafter loot; let law and order clans, legions and Ku Klux Klans, and all our Black and Tans burn, hang and shoot. Our Wall Street god, to thee, great god of normalcy, to thee we sing; long may the plutes prevail, while thinkers rot in jail; the Open Shop, all hail; thou art the thing.—Rank and File.

CLASS IN OPEN AIR

The West Side Branch of the Workers Party has organized a class on the Theses of the Third Congress of the Communist International. The members of the branch love fresh air and sunshine and therefore the class will be held at the Palisades beginning Sunday, April 23, and every Sunday hereafter. All those members and friends wishing to participate are asked to be at Dyckman Street Ferry, at 11:30, on Sunday and have their lunch with them. On Saturday, May 13, the same branch will hold a Spring Dance at the Food Workers Hall, 133 West 51st St. Keep the date open. Watch for further announcements.

ST. LOUIS.— The Central Trades and Labor Union of this city has adopted resolutions demanding the release of all political prisoners.

May Day and the Class War Victims

By JOSEPH M. GOLDWELL

As you celebrate May Day, Labor's International holiday, with parades, mass meetings and dances I want you to give a few minutes of thoughtful consideration to those who are held as prisoners of the class war.

In every Federal prison and in many State prisons of this country there are many, many good comrades, who will have visions of May-Day celebrations. For while their bodies are behind stone walls, their spirits are free. They, too, will join in the international celebration, they, too, will gather in groups and talk of May-Day celebrations of the past and of May-Day celebrations that are to come.

I have spent three May Days behind stone walls and steel bars, the last two years in the Federal prison in Atlanta, Ga. I will never forget last year's celebration in that Bastile of Capitalism. There were quite a few of us who understood the significance of the day, and as we had a recreation hour, when all the first-grade prisoners were permitted to roam around the yard, which is enclosed by a 35-foot high cement wall; a few of us met at a certain place. We had the three Russian comrades with us, Abrahams, Lippman and Lachovsky. Hyman Lachovsky brought his violin with him he played the International, and we sang a few verses of the "Red Flag," and "Spike" Moore drew a large revolutionary motto in the sand. And I think the most of us wore a small piece of red ribbon. That was our celebration. I wonder how the 114 boys who are still "in" will celebrate May Day.

Their spirits are still undaunted their courage just as firm.

There are two other comrades who will pass their second consecutive May Day in prison.

I hardly think they will feel like celebrating. I know I would not, and I do not think you would either, if you were in their position. They are awaiting to be called to court almost any day to hear the judge sentence them to be electrocuted. To be legally murdered for a crime they know nothing about.

They, too, are prisoners of the class war. Bartolomeo Vanzetti was active in the Italian colony in Plymouth, Mass. He took a part in their strike, he was a writer and a speaker on subjects pertaining to industrial freedom.

Nicola Sacco, poor Nick, a comrade of mine in the Hopedale, Mass. strike in 1913. Always active, a typical "Jimmie Higgins," tireless, always ready to do the next thing that was to be done. Sacco and Vanzetti will spend May Day waiting and waiting, for the call to come to court to be sentenced to death. Innocent yet found guilty of murder by a New England jury. Why? Simply because Sacco and Vanzetti were foreigners and radicals. If they are executed it will be because the workers of this country have not yet realized that these two men are the innocent victims of both class and racial hatred. It is our duty to arouse the workers of America and demand a new, and a fair and impartial trial for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Each year about this time I am reminded of the murder of a comrade of Sacco's and mine—Emlio Bacchicio. He was shot by a special policeman on April 24th, 1913, while on picket duty in the Hopedale, Mass., strike.

When I am at liberty I'll go to St. Mary's Cemetery in Milford, Mass., and lay a floral tribute of remembrance on his grave. The last two years, while I was in prison, I sent money to Milford to buy the flowers and had some other person place the flowers on my comrade's grave.

This year I had intended to do this personally, but Nick Sacco is in danger and I am called away to ask the workers to save him. Some one will place the flowers on Emilio's grave, but it will not be Nick Sacco nor I. Perhaps next year we will go together on our mission of remembrance. For Emilio Bacchicio was a martyr of the working class, a soldier of the army of the workers, who died on the picket line doing his duty.

So my message for May Day, 1922, to my comrades is to celebrate the International Labor Day by parades, mass meetings, or in any other way that may seem desirable; but give a thought to those who are still behind the bars; to those whose lives are in danger. And resolve that you will do all in your power to bring about their early release.

Remember the workers' dead, our martyrs, our heroes, keep their memory green and resolve that they shall not have died in vain.

Our duty is clear and plain, never mind what the hairsplitters and spittoon philosophers are doing. Our work, your work and my work, is to keep everlastingly at it.

"And tho cowards flinch
And traitors sneer,
We'll keep the Red Flag flying here."

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

American Workers [illegible]
Solidarity with World La

By BOB LOW

The working class thruout the world will celebrate May the international holiday of Labor.

The workers of America will on May Day proclaim their radeship and solidarity with the workers of the world.

The Workers on May Day will recall their bitter str celebrate their victories, honor those who have sacrificed given up their lives on behalf of the workers, and gather re inspiration and energy to carry on the struggle till every w is free from economic bondage and every exploiter of labor driven the face of the earth.

The workers of America will not forget the hundreds of workers have been butchered in cold blood at the behest of the Amercian and industrial plutocracy of millionaires and billionaires.

The Haymarket affair with the unjustifiable and outrageous hanging of the noble Parsons and his comrades will not be forgotten. They were executed because they championed a shorter work day of no more than eight hours for all the workers in America.

The Homestead strike and the cold blooded murder of workers defending their homes and living conditions will not be forgotten.

The Colorado strike and the holocaust, inspired by J. D. Rockefeller, Junior, and executed by vicious gunmen and stool pigeons, that resulted in the burning to death of 17 innocent women and children of the working class will not be forgotten. Nor will the fact that that damnable deed was done to protect the billions of Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company against the encroachments of hard working miners who demanded a shorter work day and the right to belong to the union of their trade.

Remember Free Speech Fights

The Free Speech Fights of the I. W. W. on the Pacific Coast that resulted in the branding, lashing and jailing of young men and women who wanted to assert their constitutional right to freely express their opinions, will not be forgotten.

The deportations at Bisbee, Arizona, where at the request of the copper interests 1600 men were like cattle driven out of their homes, separated from their wives and children and dumped on the hot sands of an American desert to die of thirst and starvation; the lynching of Frank Little, the heroic champion of the workers and organizer of the I. W. W.; the degradations, bloody war, murder and persecution against the fighting and intrepid miners of West Virginia; the white terror of the steel strike and its final suppression by the United States' Government; the reaction, brutality, slugging, imprisonment and slaughter of workers during the war and after, together with all the other innumerable atrocities suffered by the working class on account of capitalism and its dominance over the country will not be forgotten.

Denied Opportunity to Labor

They represent the scars of the battle continually going on in industry and outside of industry between the workers who have nothing but their labor power to sell and the exploiters of labor who wax luxuriant in the fabulous fortunes they accumulate. In the midst of a paradise of plenty produced by the energy and ability of the workers, the workers have insecurity and poverty for their lot. In the United States today five million able bodied men and women willing and anxious to work are denied that opportunity.

Poverty, unemployment, crime, low wages, child labor, the open shop and savage imperialist wars are the curses of modern capitalism.

Capitalism is the arch slave driver. With the whip of economic necessity the need of a job in order to live, he drives the workers till their backs are weary with toil. He starves them into submission or drives them into submission with bloody brutal force.

Capitalism not only enslaves the workers of its own country but those of other countries as well, England has its Ireland, Egypt, and India, France its African and Chinese colonies, The United States the Philipines, Haiti, and Santa Domingo.

The climax of capitalist greed was world war, devastation and death.

The law and order of capitalist rule is the law and order of modern militarism that in 4½ years has strewn the battle-fields of Europe and Asia with 10,000,000 corpses of soldiers, all young, healthy specimens of life and members of the working class.

The enemies of the working class are those who support and perpetuate the rule of capitalism.

Capitalism is that system of society based upon the superiority of property to human rights, and the exploitation and enslavement of the many for the enrichment of the few.

War Until Victory Comes.

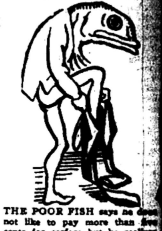
Not until every vestige of capitalism and its bloody rule will be wiped off the face of the earth will the workers cease their revolutionary struggle to overthrow it.

On May Day the workers of America proclaim their determination to keep up the war against capitalism until victory is won.

They proclaim their loyalty to the Russian workers who in spite of civil war, capitalist military aggression, a blockade and famine have maintained their power and have kept burning the red beacon light of proletarian revolution to the workers of all other capitalist countries.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



THE POOR FISH says he does not like to pay more than five cents for carfare but he realizes that the stockholders have to get something for their money.

They proclaim their solidarity to the Spanish workers who are th victims of the brutal white terro of the Spanish bourgeoisie, to th Italian workers who are the victim of the Fascisti assassins, and to al other workers who are today bein slaughtered by the capitalist ruler of their respective countries in a ma effort to stamp out the industrial an revolutionary organizations of th workers. The American worke send them a message of their indi nation at the cruelties inflicted upo them and pledge them all possib assistance in combating the whit terror of their capitalist rulers.

Our May Day Tasks.

The workers of America pledg themselves on May Day to undertak as their immediate tasks:

The relief of the Famine Stricke of Soviet Russia;

The release of Tom Mooney an Billings who have languished in a California bastille for over fiv years tho they are absolutely innocent of any crime and are guilty o loyalty to the working class;

The release of all political an class war prisoners, among whom are many members of the I. W. W who bear the scars of service in the working class movement;

The release of Sacco and Vanzett whom the American capitalist would electrocute just because they believe that the workers should be free from capitalist exploitation an bondage;

The defense of labor's organization against the forces of the open shop that seek in the destruction of labo unions, to wipe out union condition won by the workers after years o struggle, to increase the hours o work per day, to lower wages and to degrade the workers in industry.

Greetings to All Fighters

greetings to all the champions an fighters of the working class, and to all my valiant comrades who in spit of great difficulties have managed to keep together the revolutionary organizations of the workers and to spread its propaganda. I send a May Day message of cheer and hope to all my comrades who are behind bars. I close with the hope that this May Day will see the mighty outburst of labor demonstrations of solidarity large enough to arouse terror in the hearts of capitalist society and to awaken among the workers the desire for power and freedom.

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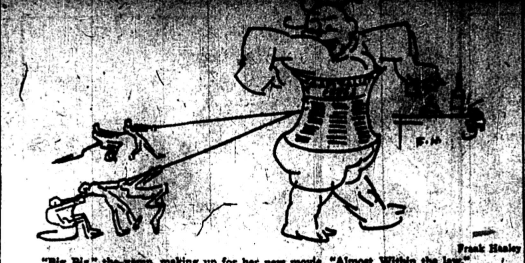

Frank Hanley

"Big Biz," the vamp, making up for her new movie, "Almost Within the law."

[illegible]

By [illegible]

[illegible] night, as I passed along the street, I heard a feller making a [illegible] noise. It was one of those Communists shooting off his mouth about [illegible] bad off the workers are. He [illegible] have to tell us that. We know [illegible] without him telling it to us.

[illegible] don't like them fellers. They [illegible] let a feller alone. One day, it's [illegible] we aren't getting a fair show [illegible] deal, are we?" Next day, and every other day after that, all I hear [illegible] "Say, why don't you do this, and why don't you do that?" I want them to let me alone. If they would only stop bothering me, I wouldn't care what they did or what they didn't do. So that's where I stand on these fellers. But just the same, they're a bad bunch . . . and that reminds me of last night.

In the church near City Hall, one big guy gets up, he's the owner of that big department store on Main Street, and he says, "There's nothing the matter with this country, except those damned agitators." The big bloke goes on: "We were having fine times during the war, and even now, all of you would be enjoying the bounties of life, if the confounded Communists, those Anarchists, that's what they are, Anarchists, didn't interfere." And lowering his voice, he asked us, "Do you know what they did, my friends?"

• • •

Friends? Huh! This got my goat. This here guy calling me his friend. "What's his game?" I asked my buddy. "You know when I went round to his store after a job as a truck driver (my clothes was sort of shabby, and my shoes were almost gone), the watchman says: 'The boss he told me, 'Don't let any loafers in'"; so he turns me away.

Well, he goes on, answers the riddle all by himself, yelling out: "They were criminals, dynamiters, murderers. Don't you all remember how a few months ago, they laid a plot to kill Morgan, the man who is the soul of this glorious land of the free, without whom the entire social fabric would crumble? Don't you remember that they fired a wagon conveying dynamite, and killed several of the citizens indispensable to this democracy? This country is founded on democracy, the rule of all. The Communists killed several of the citizens, and since then the country has been going to the dogs. My brethren, we cannot rest, until we bring these victims back to life. And for that we need CAPITAL! We must continue our support to the "Resurrection Society." Unfortunately, neither I nor my fellow-capitalists can contribute anything from our millions, for they are necessary for laying railways in Polynesia, and thus bringing to the natives the blessings of Civilization. And will the ushers kindly take up the collection?"

• • •

I reached down into my jeans, and fished out my last nickel, that some good skate had handed to me, a working stiff, those dressed up guys don't give you nothing. I had gone without a meal that day, and had run into the church to get warm. And after the sermon, I was thinking, I'd get some coffee and. But hell, I could live another day without eating—what I was after was a job; and here was a chance to get a job, and have a home. I was playing for big stakes, so I dropped my nickel in the plate—and dreamt of my home when I was a little shaver, and how my mother used to save her pennies to buy me a cake before she bundled me off to school. And so I lost my way up in the clouds, and was brought back to earth by a dig in the ribs. "Say," says my buddy, "what have you done with that nickel? Have you gone dippy?" "What do you mean, dippy? Ain't that true? Ain't the Communists to blame for our hard times? Didn't they set off that bomb? Didn't they send bombs to Palmer and to other officials who are in the government? Sure they did. Didn't all the papers say so? I read it myself!"

To my surprise, my buddy, Jim's his name, got mad. "What?" he screamed. "Don't you know that that was a frame-up? Whenever things become very bad, when unemployment hits the country hard, then the government looks around for a fall guy. And they did it this time. They tell us to wait until the good times return, and in the meantime we are to take damned low wages, and pay skyrocket prices for the few things we are able to buy. That's the dope they hand out to us. Those 'Reds' tell us it's the fault of the rich, who get away with all the swag. And so the government tries to show us that the 'Reds' are bomb-throwers. The rich want to put the 'Reds' in bad with the rest of us. I don't fall for his line. Say, Hal; you ought to know him by this time. He isn't our kind."

• • •

That knocked the wind out of me. Then I picked a paper out of the gutter. "There," I cried. "See, Jim? I told you that them Communists are to blame for everything. Look. 'MURDER AS FINE ART—BAND OF FORTY COMMUNISTS.' Didn't I tell you? They are to blame for everything. And I think you are one of them, the way you stick up for them. Don't you talk to me that way again, if you want to pal around with me."

And all the time I was panning him, Jim was reading the article through thoughtful-like, waiting till I was through. "Well," I demanded, "what have you got to say now?" Jim looked up, slowly raising his eyes to meet mine. He didn't seem to be the Jim I knew; there was pity in his face. I had to turn away.

"No, old-timer," he began, "that's just the trouble. You read only the headlines, and you don't read between the lines. The case is easy; it shows them up. The Schlieffen family in Germany wished to kill their cousin, so as to get his fortune. So they—but let the grocer tell it, whom they hired to do the dirty work. He says: 'I proposed to shoot Count George, dynamite his castle, AND FORM A BAND OF FORTY COMMUNISTS TO MAKE IT APPEAR THAT REDS HAD COMMITTED THE CRIME.'"

The Coming Year

By J. ANTHONY ANDERSON

The past year has been a year of unusual aggression by the capitalists against the workers. But it was also the year in which the revolutionary movement of the United States underwent a re-birth. As against the ruthlessness of capitalist aggression, the workers are forging a new tool which, absorbing the revolutionists of all factions, is growing powerful with wonderful rapidity.

This new tool is the Militant Working-Class Party which, by planting its organization in the very midst of the fray, enables revolutionists to urge on the masses to new and ever sharper struggles against capitalism on the industrial as well as the political field.

Let us all do our full share during the coming year to make the WORKERS PARTY a powerful weapon for the emancipation of the laboring masses.

FEAR THAT WORD "SOVIET"

DULUTH, Minn.—Permission to hold a tag day for starving Russians was granted by the city council after the committee from the Friends of Soviet Russia agreed to drop the word "soviet" while soliciting funds and operate simply as "Friends of Russia."

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The Results at Washington

Disregarded by the world, like an old and faded ballet dancer, the Washington Conference has peacefully passed away.

The solemn session preceding the adjournment was opened by President Harding's chaplain with a prayer, after which the President himself took the floor and assured all those present that the conference had proven a brilliant success.

Lloyd George, taking his clue from Mr. Harding had George V. echo that sentiment in his throne address.

And any doubting Thomases who in the face of testimonials such as that steadfastly refused to believe in the tremendous feat alleged to have been accomplished at the Conference must be declared ripe for the lunatic asylum.

But the perfect concert of this mutual admiration society was somewhat cruelly interrupted by the leader writer of "Temps" who coolly informed his readers that the Conference had hardly improved China's situation nor challenged Japan's supremacy in the Far East.

The Conference had avowedly been convened with the purpose of settling the Chinese problem and of averting the danger of a new world war.

Even before they met the powers concerned had been well aware of the fact that unless they reached an agreement with regard to China general disarmament would be a thing impossible.

And tho in the very last hour the necessary signatures were affixed to a scrap of paper providing for the return of Shantung to China, not even the shrewdest of diplomats can definitely state if and when that will happen. And of what good would be the return of Shantung to a China identical with the Pekin Government controlled by Japan's bought agent, General Chang-Tso-Lin?

Great Britain Yields to U. S.

The heated discussion between the Japanese and Chinese delegates were a well rehearsed and brilliantly performed comedy. Both the British and American representatives thought they knew what was going on, had to hold their peace for fear of making the Conference the laughing stock of the world. The U. S. started a counter-move in China, however, and bought the governors of a few provinces with a view of getting in by a back alley and overthrowing the Pekin Government These efforts were of no avail, however.

The result of the Conference in a nutshell is this: Great Britain has bowed to the U. S. who on their part have yielded to Japan, while France has calmly been fishing in troubled waters.

When the British delegation left for Washington it was resolved to give way to the United States. With the whole Empire in the throes of a gigantic economic crisis, the British Foreign Office simply had to have peace, no matter what its price.

Great Britain had to remain content with the knowledge that the American navy equalled its own, that the tonnage of the American merchant fleet was rapidly outdistancing that of the British and that the American Oil Trust was claiming all the rich naphtha fields for its own.

Briand Gets Cold Shoulder

Great Britain's conciliating policy towards the U. S. is today the basic fact of world politics.

The extent of British submission had even surprised those "in the know." M. Briand for instance arrived in Washington under the delusion that conflicts would arise there between the British and American delegates and in his well-known generosity offered his services as an arbitrator.

He was shown the cold shoulder, however, and thus in the very beginning manoeuvered into a disadvantageous position. It is characteristic of the secret diplomacy still going on in the capitals of the great powers that a man such as the Premier of France is not informed on the sentiments of Washington and London.

That this really was the case was divulged by H. Wickham Steed, editor of the London "Times" and publicity agent to the British Delegation, and then corroborated by French sources.

If a Briand could err as grossly as that, it can easily be imagined what the German babes-in-the-woods of the Wilhelmstrasse accomplish on the slippery ground of world politics.

French Turn to Japanese

The French, however, compensated themselves for their first failure by intriguing with the Japanese who also were in an unfavorable position in the beginning because Great Britain had given notice of the termination of the British-Japanese Alliance (afterwards superseded by the Four Power Treaty). Japan, which was singlehandedly confronting the Anglo-Saxon combination found a certain support in the French. The situation was extremely critical.

Meanwhile bitter struggles took place between the various parties in Japan. The military party, scorning concession and compromise, had one of its subjects assassinate Prime Minister Hara who, it was thought, would lend the American demands a willing ear, and, having accomplished this, organized an attempt on the life of Hara's successor, Takashi By means of open terror and the mobilization of all its forces, the military party finally achieved its end in Tokio. Japan's emperor, too, retired from public life during those weeks, suffering from an "incurable malady", and was succeeded by the rather young and harmless crown prince. On the other side, however, the old Prince Yamagata, the leader of the military party, died suddenly and unexpectedly.

Japs Do Not Yield

The true import of all these occurences can only be guessed, as the Japanese police, by an extensive and elaborate censorship, guard against the truth becoming known abroad. One thing is certain, however, namely that in spite of all their smiles and courtesy, the Japanese have not yielded as much as one inch in Washington.

They do not think of evacuating China and Eastern Siberia, all American protests notwithstanding. And as for the naval disarmament ratio who can penetrate the secrets of the Japanese shipyards?

President Harding has two alternatives, each of them involving very grave decisions. He could either break up the Conference and declare war on Japan or imitate the ostrich and, shutting his eyes to the Japanese manoeuvres, tell the world that everything was well.

The first alternative would have meant a moral defeat both of the Republican party in power and of the president himself.

The American population, suffering under high taxes and high prices, would not tolerate a war which would only result in a further decline of its standard of living. President Harding has staged his disarmament comedy in order to hoodwink millions of American farmers, petty bourgeois and workers.

Consequently he could not admit failure and give up his role. So he expressed his satisfaction with the various scraps of paper and told his audience that Washington has triumphed and that with it mankind had entered upon a new phase in its history.

The British government is even more urgently compelled to tell its electors that thanks to its endeavors disarmament and world peace are accomplished facts. Japan has not suffered in Washington and hence for the present has no reason to ditsurb the peace. The same applies to France.

Thus everything that we Communists said from the very beginning about the diplomatic show at Washington, which has not solved anything, has come true. All conflicts remain what they were before.

The only thing that has become clear is the disinclination on the part of Great Britain and the United States to enter upon a new war while the world is in the throes of an economic crisis and its people rather wearied.

But the danger of a new conflagration still exists and will continue to do so until the international proletariat has asserted itself and ensured the world's peace.

[illegible]

By [illegible]

The [illegible] of a Communist Party is to lead the proletarian revolution. In order to call upon the proletariat to seize power directly and in order that this may be realized, the Communist Party must be supported by the overwhelming majority of the working class.

But as long as it has not such a majority at its command, it must fight to win over the majority.

It can accomplish this only if it is an absolutely independent organization with a definite program and a rigid discipline.

For this reason it must sever ideological and organizational connections with the reformists and the centrists, who are not striving for the proletarian revolution, who neither want nor are able to prepare the masses for the revolution, and who, thru their attitude and action, are only hindering such work.

Those members of a Communist Party, who in the name of the "United Front" regret its severance from the Centrists, only betray themselves by showing that they have not even as much as mastered the Communist alphabet, and that their presence in the Communist Party is purely accidental.

After the Communist Party has gained its independence and achieved the ideological homogeneity of its membership, it struggles for influence among the majority of the working class.

In this struggle a quicker or slower tempo may be adopted according to the objective circumstances and the expediency of this or that tactical move.

It is self-evident that during this period of preparation the class-struggles of the proletariat do not cease.

Various conflicts with the employers, with the bourgeoisie and with the government take place, in which the initiative is sometimes assumed by the workers, and sometimes by their enemies.

Grows Out of Necessity

The working masses perceive the necessity for united action, be it unity in defence against the capitalist attacks or unity in attacking their enemy, only to the degree that such conflicts touch or affect the life-interests of the working-class as a whole or of the majority or of one of its parts.

The party which deliberately opposes this necessity for unity of action on the part of the working-class will inevitably be condemned by the workers.

Hence the question of the united front is in its origin and essence not a question of mutual relations between the Socialist and Communist Parliamentary fractions or between the Executive Committees of these parties at all.

The problem of the united front arises out of the necessity of enabling the workers to organize a united front in their struggle against capital, in spite of the splits, which in the present epoch are inevitably taking place in the political organizations of the working-class.

To those who do not comprehend this task the party is a mere propaganda-association, and not an organization of mass-action.

Where the Communist Party is as yet only an organization of an insignificant minority, the question of its attitude towards the united mass-front can be of no great importance or of any practical organizational significance.

In such cases the mass-actions are directed and led by old organizations which, thanks to their mighty traditions, still play the decisive role.

Again, in those countries where the Communist Party is the only leading organization of the workers, as in Bulgaria, for instance, there can also be no question or problem of a united front.

Where Problem Looms Big

But in those countries where the Communist Party has already reached the stage of a large political organization which has not as yet however become the deciding factor, that is, where it has succeeded in organizing one-fourth or one-third of the class-conscious proletarian vanguard, the problem of the united front will loom up in all its importance.

When the party consists of one-third or one-half of the proletarian vanguard, it means that the other half or the other two-thirds is organized by the reformists and centrists.

It is clear, however, that those workers who are still supporting the reformists and centrists are also interested in bettering the conditions of their material existence and in their greater freedom of struggle.

It is therefore necessary to adopt such tactics as would not make the Communist Party, which on the morrow is to incorporate all three-thirds of the working-class, an organized obstacle in the course of the proletarian struggles.

But what is still more: the Communist Party must itself seize the initiative in effecting and maintaining unity in the course of these struggles. It is only in this way that it can possibly attract and approach the other two-thirds that do not as yet follow it, since they neither understand it nor confide in it.

Must Learn Communist Alphabet

Without effecting a radical and final breach with the Social Democrats, the Communist Party would never have become the party of the proletarian revolution, nor would it have been able to take the first serious step towards the revolution. It would have remained the Parliamentary safety-valve of the bourgeois state forever.

Whoever fails to grasp this, does not know the first letter of the Communist alphabet.

Had the Communist Party not followed the path which at every given moment enables it to undertake common actions of the Communist and non-Communist masses (Social Democratic workers included), it would only have betrayed its inability to win over the majority of the working-class to the road of mass-action.

It would then have degenerated to a Communist propaganda society; it would never have developed into a party of the proletarian revolution.

It does not suffice to gain a weapon; the weapon must be sharp. It does not suffice to whet the sword; we must know how to use it.

Must Lead United Actions

It does not at all suffice merely to unite the Communists under organizational discipline, after we have separated them from the reformist chaff. It is necessary that this organization be capable of leading all the united actions of the proletariat on every field of its life-struggle.

This is the second letter in the Communist alphabet.

Does the united front apply to the working masses alone or does it also hold for the opportunistic leaders?

This way of putting the question is the result of a misunderstanding.

Of course, it would be better if we could simply rally the working masses about our flag and our practical slogans of the day, without the reformist, political, as well as trade-union organizations. But were such the possibility, the problem of the united front would never have come up in the form it now assumes.

The very raison d'etre for this problem is that certain, very considerable parts of the working-class belong to and support these reformist organizations.

Up to the present it seems that they have not had enough experience to justify their withdrawal from these reformist organizations and their joining ours.

But judging by the mass-actions that are facing the proletariat, the circumstances in this respect will eventually change. We are striving to accomplish this. We are on the way but not quite so far. At the present time the organized part of the working-class is divided into three groups.

Workers in Three Groups

The first one, the Communist group, is striving for the Social Revolution. That is the reason why it supports every movement of the workers against the exploiters and the bourgeois state, even tho it be a mere partial movement.

The second one, the Reformist group, is knitting the cloak of reconciliation with the bourgeoisie. But in order not to lose its influence over the workers, it is compelled to support the partial actions of the exploited against the exploiters, against the real wishes of the leaders of this group.

The third group, that of the Centrists, is continually vaccillating between the two first groups and has no backbone or significance of its own.

It is thus that the existing conditions make possible the uniting of the workers in these three sorts of organizations and of the unorganized masses influenced by these organizations for common action in a number of proletarian life-questions.

We repeat that not only are the Communists not to oppose such common actions, but they are to assume the initiative for the following reasons.

First of all, the greater the masses drawn into the movement, no matter how limited the initial issues of struggle may be, the greater will their self-consciousness and self-confidence be, and the more determined and ready will these masses be to advance.

Reformists Dread Mass Movements

This means that the increase of the mass-character of the movement revolutionizes it and in this way created the conditions favorable for the slogans, methods of struggle and the Communist Party's role of leadership.

What the reformists dread is the potential revolutionary spirit of the mass-movement. **Their pet arenas are Parliaments, trade-union councils, arbitration-boards, and ministerial anterooms.**

But what we are first of all interested in is to drag the reformists out of their holes. Any Communist who doubts or fears such a step is like the "swimmer" who has read and approved the best handbook on the art of swimming, but who does not dare to go into the water.

Hence the united front is a presumptive of our willingness and readiness to make our actions correspond in practice to the [illegible]

[illegible] of the [illegible] movement.

But have we not severed our connections with them? Yes, [illegible] we did not agree in the leading questions of the labor movement.

Are we nevertheless to seek an understanding with them? Yes, in all cases where the working-masses that follow them and those that follow us are willing to fight together and where the reformists are more or less compelled to become the instruments of such struggles.

Sees Only Partial Agreement

Will they, however, not claim that altho we broke away from them, we nevertheless need them? Yes, indeed, their tattlers can say it. In our own ranks, some comrades will fear it. But the great working-masses—even those masses which do not as yet follow us or understand our aims but who see and observe two or three simultaneously existing labor organizations—will upon observing our attitude, come to the conclusion that in spite of the split, we are energetically working for an united proletarian front.

Of course, the policy adopted for the united front does not guarantee an actual united front in all cases. On the contrary; in many, yes, in the majority of cases an agreement will be achieved only partially or not at all.

But it is necessary that the fighting masses are always given the opportunity to convince themselves that the failure to effect unity of action in any particular case is not due to our irreconcilability but directly to the lack of inclination on the part of the reformists actually to fight.

Since we enter into certain agreements with the other organizations, it is selfevident that we must institute a definite discipline. But this discipline cannot be absolute.

In cases where the reformists proceed to obstruct the struggle to the detriment of the movement and against the trend of circumstances and the will and spirit of the masses, we always retain the right to proceed as an independent organization and to carry on the struggle to the bitter end and without our provisional half-allies.

Will Extend Our Influence

This may of course result in an intensified struggle between us and the reformists. But in such a case it will not be the mere monotonous and barren repetition of one and the same idea in a closed circle; but if our tactics prove right, it will mean the extension of our influence among new proletarian masses.

Only a journalist who thinks he is warding off the reformists by always criticizing them with the very same expressions and epithets, without as much as leaving his editor's desk, only he who actually fears a collision with the reformists in the presence of the masses, who also fears lest the working masses get the opportunity to compare the Communists with the Reformists under varying conditions of the mass-struggle, only such a journalist can interpret this policy in terms of an approach towards the reformists or reformism.

Under this veil of revolutionary fear of "approach" we find hidden—political passivity.

It is passivity that wishes for the continuation of that condition that permits of strictly separated and limited fields of activity, of distinct meeting-audiences and press, both for the Communists and reformists.

We Do Not Dissolve

We have broken with the reformists and with the centrists in order to have unlimited freedom to criticise betrayals, deceptions, indecision and division in the labor-movement.

For this reason we cannot possibly accept any agreement which in any way limits our freedom of criticism and agitation.

We participate in the united front, but not for a moment do we dissolve in it. We take part in it as an independent unit.

For it is in the struggle that the broad masses will convince themselves that we fight better than others; they will see that we fight with more determination, self-consciousness and cleverness.

In this manner we accelerate the formation of the united revolutionary front under an undisputed Communist leadership.

Show Your Colors!

OFFICIAL WORKERS PARTY EMBLEM BUTTON

Deep red celluloid, slightly larger than cut. Price 5c. each. [illegible] per 100. $30.00 per 1000.

Special May Day Button

Red metal, ¾ inch. diameter. Slogan, "United Front of Labor" around top, "MAY DAY" on bottom, and crossed hammer and sickle in center. Price [illegible] [illegible] per 100. [illegible] per [illegible]

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Managing Editor
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Labor Editor
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
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The Illinois Central Railroad shows earnings for 1921 of $9,700,794. And this is one of the big corporations trying to beat down the wage scale of the coal miners in the Middle West.

Our First May Day

Your paper, THE WORKER, greets its first May Day at a time when great events are taking place in the world.

Labor is making history at Genoa because one of its more militant columns broke thru the opposition of the common enemy and established the Russian Workers' Republic.

Never before in all history did the victorious working class of a nation hold the imperialists of the world at bay, as have our Russian comrades, and finally force them into a conference like the one now meeting at Genoa.

But we are not compelled to look abroad for encouragement. In America, making history for the workers of this country, stand 600,000 coal miners in battle array against their oppressors.

Labor is going into new and greater battles. In this hour of struggle it needs able and courageous fighters to lead it on to more magnificent triumphs.

We have heard much talk of "tired radicals." But we are only concerned with revolutionists, and revolutionists never grow tired.

Our May Day greeting, therefore, on our first May Day, to the workers, everywhere, men and women, is to join the battle with renewed vigor.

The daily struggle may seem hard and impossible of victory on the front where you are engaging the enemy. But it is as important as any sector in the whole battle line.

To your posts, Comrades! To work, Comrades! Take new courage this May Day. Win new victories before another May Day!

Lady Astor, M.P., arrived in this country just in time to share first-page notoriety with the Siberian bandit, Semenoff. The workers can recognize their enemies by the attention they receive from the kept press.

The Legion and the Crown Prince

The ex-Crown Prince of Germany had an Easter message for the faithful who still believe in the resurrection of the Dynasty of the Hohenzollerns.

It is probably not strange that the views of the former Kaiser's oldest son should coincide with the opinions held by the jingoes of the American Legion.

The ex-Crown Prince says: "Whoever places his world citizenhood above his Germanism had best emigrate," an invitation to Communists to leave the country.

The American Legion, in its war on radicalism, in which it classes all radicals as foreigners, always stands adamant on the declaration, "Go back to the country where you came from," aided and abetted by a government that has been particularly anxious to instigate deportation proceedings.

The German workers showed how they felt about it by forcing Wilhelm and his whole outfit to emigrate. They are struggling now to send German capitalism into exile.

Let the American workers take an example and rid themselves of American capitalism first, and then put the Legionnaires to work, probably the first real jobs that many of them will have had in their useless lives.

Soviet Russia wins new adherents every day. Even the yellow Amsterdam Trade Union International has come out demanding recognition of the Workers' Republic. Reactionary labor officials are bowing to the inevitable, along with their profiteering masters.

Our Day Is Breaking

The ruling of Judge Cardoza, admitting the two Communists, our comrades, Ferguson and Ruthenberg, to bail, must have a profound effect on the status of the other political prisoners in New York State.

The cases of Gitlow, Larkin and Winitsky are directly affected, since the decision of the court deals with the issue of the "Revolutionary Age," July 5, 1919, containing matter concerning the general strike at Winnipeg, Canada.

Granting the certificate of reasonable doubt in the Ferguson-Ruthenberg case, therefore, opens the way for the release of these and other political prisoners.

This belated recognition of the rights of the defendants is most welcome. But nothing can compensate them for the many weary months they have been compelled to undergo the tortures of prison life.

However, there is one feature of Judge Cardoza's ruling that is supremely gratifying. It is a barometer which registers the fact that a semblance of sanity is returning to America.

The courts have not been free from mob spirit. The mere accusation of radicalism has been sufficient to guarantee a conviction. And the sentences inflicted have been an outrageous manifestation of judicial vindictiveness.

Judge Cardoza's ruling is an indication that the realities of the recent past are breaking thru the camouflage of gilded phrases under cover of which the ruling class has pillaged the country of countless millions.

For this we give thanks. The power of black reaction is breaking. Our day is beginning to dawn.

From Brest-Litovsk to Genoa

More than four years after Brest-Litovsk, Soviet Russia and Germany have agreed to a new treaty.

The new agreement sweeps aside all the provisions of the robber's peace imposed by the Junker statesmen at Brest-Litovsk.

It has dropped like a high-power bomb into the midst of the allied diplomats, who want nothing so much to-day as to achieve against both Germany and Soviet Russia at Genoa, what the Kaiser thought he had won at Brest-Litovsk.

The treaty that Dr. Walter Rathenau signed for Germany at Rapallo should have been agreed to by German labor three years ago when Kaiserism was swept away and the possibilities of establishing a Workers' Republic were in sight.

But the social-democratic spokesmen of Germany's workers bowed their necks to receive the yoke of the Versailles peace and turned their backs on their only hope,—the Workers' Republic to the east.

It has taken the Germans three years to learn their lesson, three years during which the revolutionary advance of the workers in Europe has not only be held at a standstill, but has actually been given a setback.

Nothing showed the subservience of the German social-democrats to the allies so much as their treatment of Joffe, the ambassador of Red Russia. Joffe had come to Berlin after the Brest peace. He returned to Russia shortly before the Kaiser was overthrown. When he sought to come back to Berlin with Germany under Scheidemann-Haase control he was turned down.

Now the worm has turned. The palace of the former czar in Berlin is turned over to the Soviet delegation. Germany signs a treaty with the Russian Republic of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk is thrown into the waste basket. The new treaty cancels all war claims, as well as claims arising from the nationalization of property, and re-establishes full diplomatic relations on a basis of equality between the two governments. This is practically what Russia is asking of the other capitalist nations.

From Brest-Litovsk to Genoa has been a hard struggle for Soviet Russia. But it has won over all obstacles and Germany succumbs as the first great nation to give it full recognition.

Soviet diplomacy has won another great victory. The signing of this treaty gives Tchitcherin another weapon in waging his offensive against capitalism's chosen spokesmen. Another such triumph and the weak defensive of Lloyd George and his imperialist crew will be turned into an utter rout.

"A Disloyal Trick"

It was to be expected that the allied diplomats, and the kept press of their respective lands, should take but one attitude toward the treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany; one of open hostility.

From the headlines of the New York Times we take such phrases as "Lloyd George Is Shocked," "All Allied Chiefs Angry," "Coup a Disloyal Trick," and "Explanation Is Demanded." This is typical of the consternation of the whole capitalist world.

The Allied diplomats at Genoa are not surprised at Soviet Russia. The Soviets can be expected to be guilty of any treason to world imperialism.

But it is different with Germany, the Germany that the Allies are trying to subjugate to the role of a vassal state.

Three years of the Versailles peace, however, have forced the Germans into the arms of the Russian workers, were they should long ago have found a refuge.

No doubt the Germans, before agreeing to the treaty, were convinced of the claim of Maxim Litvinoff, of the Russian delegation, that the Soviets are at Genoa as victors, naming the conditions of peace with the Allies. Litvinoff says:

> "The Allies having lost their war with Russia," he said, "we are here to make peace. We have named our conditions. We must be paid for what Russia did for the Allies and we must be paid for the damage the Allies did Russia thru Koltchak, Denikin and Wrangel and by the blockade for which America also was responsible. Russia spent in 1914-1917 for the Allies 20,000,000,000 gold rubles. We want that back. The damage by intervention and blockade was 35,000,000,000 gold rubles. If we are paid that we will recognize Russia's pre-war debt.
>
> "The Allies claim 65,000,000,000 gold francs from us. We claim 125,000,000,000 gold francs. We cannot make peace and go back with less than 20,000,000,000 gold francs."

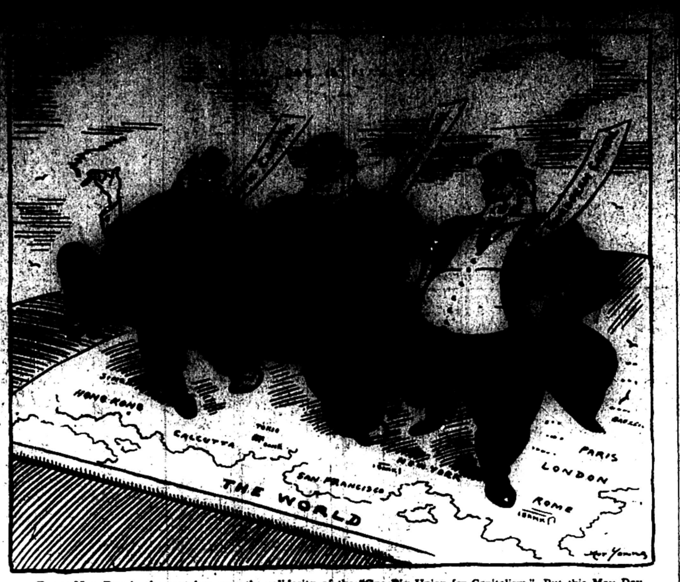
Convinced of Litvinoff's claim, the Germans worked up more courage than they have been able to muster at any time during the last three years, and the result is an open alliance with the Russian Workers' Republic in defiance of the whole allied imperialist world.

The Germans, ever since the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, November 7, 1917, have helped the allied bandits war on Russia. The admission of the Soviet delegates to the Genoa Conference is a confession of defeat in that four and one-half years' war.

The German diplomats in reaching an agreement with Soviet Russia evidently concluded that loyalty to oneself comes first, even at the risk of being guilty of a "disloyal trick" to ones oppressors.

The Versailles Peace works for the undoing of world imperialism with the certainty of death itself.

Religious emotion on Easter Sunday in New York City is reported to have unbalanced the minds of at least three worshippers. And the kept press forgot to record this as another "red plot" to destroy religion.



Every May Day in the past has seen the solidarity of the "One Big Union for Capitalism." But this May Day the forces of the exploiters are beginning to realize they will have to dance to a different tune,—to the tune of the dance of death.

Communist Diplomats

It is reported that Nikolai Lenin was not entirely satisfied with the results of the conference of the three internationals at Berlin.

He is said to take the position that the Russian representatives, Radek and Bucharin, were too easy with the Vanderveldes and the MacDonalds of the Second International, that it was a mistake to offer them an opportunity to participate in the forthcoming trials of the social-revolutionaries in Soviet Russia.

There had been no indication, he declared, that spokesmen of the Third International would be allowed to participate in the trials of Communists in other countries. So Lenin says the Communists were out-manoeuvred and out-generalled at Berlin. He declares they must learn to become better Communist diplomats.

Whatever we may think of the developments at Berlin, even the capitalist press admits that Communist diplomacy at Genoa has had the best of the struggle there up to the present time.

Even the Temps, leading government organ in France, is frank and open in voicing its dissatisfaction with the developments in the Italian city.

"The net results of the first phase are clearly to the advantage of the Bolsheviki," it confesses. "In less than a week, face to face with the entente under the command of Mr. Lloyd George himself, they have obtained three important successes. First, they have been admitted to the conference on an equal footing, which is equivalent to recognition. Second, they have given nothing in exchange; their claims remain intact; they have signed no engagement, either political or financial. Finally, and most important, the fate of the conference itself has been put in the hands of Moscow."

It is even charged that the success of the Communist diplomats at Genoa may result in the fall of Premier Poincaré and the present French government within two months.

But Tchitcherin, Rakovsky, Krassin and Lenin will probably take the position that, "We have done well," but, "We will do better."

The Bolshevik revolution in Russia helped undermine the diplomacy of imperialism by making public the czar's secret treaties. The spokesmen of the Russian revolution at Genoa are helping to carry this effort to its ultimate conclusion, the complete unmasking of capitalism.

To our comrades in the Genoa Conference we say, "So far, so good. Keep it up!"

Semenoff Freed on Bail

Gregory Semenoff, the Siberian butcher, spent less than a week in the Ludlow Street Jail, New York City, waiting for his friends to raise $25,000. Bail was finally secured and Semenoff was released while a jeering crowd yelled, "Murderer! Bandit! Crook!" and worse.

Thus ends the hope of Senator Borah to bring Semenoff to trial for the murder of American soldiers in Siberia.

Washington officials, responsible for permitting Semenoff to enter this country, will no doubt frown upon any effort to start deportation proceedings against him.

Semenoff, the pet of the Harding administration, and the idol of the dollar worshippers in Wall Street, may now proceed to attend the social functions arranged for him along Fifth Avenue in the nation's metropolis.

Semenoff only murdered a few American soldiers. He only stole a few hundred thousand dollars' worth of fur from a trading company, now bankrupt. Against that record, he has a record of unswerving loyalty to international capitalism, and must therefore be courted by the big bankers and other respectable highwaymen.

Semenoff is free because the profiteers need him, and others like him, in their business.

Watch the money you get! Two score officials have been dismissed from the bureau of printing and engraving at Washington because of the poor grade of money they were responsible for getting out, making it possible, according to an official proclamation, to "flood the country from coast to coast with millions of counterfeit federal reserve notes, United States notes, Federal Reserve currency, national banknotes, silver certificates, war savings stamps, postage and internal revenue stamps and all forms of the war bonds and their coupons." Now! We thought that only such desecration of the almighty dollar could take place in Reddest Russia. Call "Bill" Burns.

Women who opposed the introduction of military training in the high schools at Seattle, Wash., were told that they could be executed [illegible] in war time. And the militarists were very angry [illegible]

From out the bonds of
and seeming death spring
vibrant, swelling, glowing,
life! Indeed, can any
but free in the presence of th
Day for which Nature
the stage and paints the
any feel not the impulse
and fling defiance at binding
and servile tasks and brutal
Man: man the highest, only,
mains enslaved! Yet be too
rise. From the broad reaches of
Eastern plains, from far cities
climes and from far seas are
the rumblings of his risings.
Irresistible struggle for freedo
Primal urge and law of life; not
be thwarted; not to be gainsaid;
to be shunted aside, denied. For th
's the law—LIFE, LIFE, ABU
DANT LIFE, LIFE FILLED T
THE BRIM AND OVERFLOW
ING. Ever more and more life. F
man's possibilities for enjoyment
unlimited. Puny, stunted man, as w
know him, is but the seed and
of MAN TO BE. Time shall
vate him. Wisdom shall augm
him.
But only in freedom can this
First must come freedom. But
fore that even must come the strug
gle for freedom. And struggle mea
ORGANIZATION. Nothing les
scarcely anything else. Organizati
is the essence of power and th
power only will the workers win
freedom.
The struggle is on. We cannot
cape it. Life demands we stand an
fight. It is Life's own law. Let
be conscious of this law and dete
mine this First of May, this intern
tional Holiday of Labor that th
law shall be fulfilled. Let us thin
discuss and organize to fulfill it. L
us organize ALL our class in th
battle for LIFE against the for
of death and slavery-capitalism a
exploitation.
To this task, comrades—a unite
front of ALL labor's forces in th
struggle for the fulfillment of
class destiny and the universal
of life. Arise and fight!

TEN WORKERS SHOULD REA
THIS COPY OF THE WORKE
KEEP IT IN CIRCULATIO

A TERRIBLE SOMETHING

Many thousand years ago, on th
desert, there lived a tribe that crawl
ed in the dust. All its member
men, women and children, crawle
along on their hands and knees, eye
fixed on the dust and the mire. An
no one had ever dared to look u
For the tribe believed that above
the sky loomed a Terrible "Som
thing—something intended to crus
them—and if a man looked up, th
he would instantly die.
One day a very old man, crawlin
along in search of food, sudden
fell exhausted at full length, up
the ground. His eyes for a mome
were turned to the sky. In his ey
flashed a look of amazement and jo
With a shout he staggered to hi
feet.
"Brothers," he cried, "look u
Here is no terrible thing! Here
only—"
But his speech was stopped. Fo
his neighbors, in blind terror at h
boldness, their eyes still fixed up
the dust, reached up and pulled th
old man down—and choked him t
he died.
And so the tribe crawled on.
But one man, who was young a
filled with fierce revolt at th
thought of the long weary life ah
a life in the mire and dust—thou
to himself of the old man's cry.
was with him while he toiled all d
it rang in his ears in the night.
At last, one dazzling morning,
suddenly leaped to his feet.
too was dragged down by frien
hands. He too was choked to de
But his laughter—and the
man's cry began now to work in
minds of others.
Two men, by sidelong looks
whispers, resolved to spring up
gether. This they did. Before
could both be dragged into the
a third man had risen, then a fou
And soon a score of young m
were upon their feet shouting:
"Brothers, look up! Here is n
ing terrible! Here is only a br
blue sky, and a flashing sun, and
to breathe."
And from that day onward
tribe walked erect.
The great only appear great.
cause we are on our knees. Let
rise.
Cleanse the mind of superstiti
Dare to think! Stand erect!
Slave to no one—not even to yo
self! Unite with your fellows
help make this world a decent
to live in. Be not afraid. "
rible Something," is only a
fake. Fear is the jailer of th

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] EXPRESSION

“I Lied,” Admi[illegible] Witness in Sacco Case; U[illegible]ge New Trial

Prison Doors of New York Swing Open!

"We have come out of prison more determined than ever, with greater faith in our principles than ever; ready to throw ourselves into the struggle of our cause, and to work for it as we have never worked before."

These words, spoken by Chas. E. Ruthenberg, interpret the spirit with which the Communist prisoners greet the breath of [illegible] bail from [illegible] Sing and Auburn Prisons.

Face New Indictment

Isaac E. Ferguson and Ruthenberg were freed on parole Monday morning, April 24th. They had been brought to New York City from the Sing Sing Prison, on Saturday, and placed in the Tombs over Sunday, after having furnished $5,000 bail required for their release on the certificate of reasonable doubt issued by Judge Cardozo, April 17.

A second indictment is hanging over them for an article other than the Left Wing Manifesto, which had been printed in the July 5, 1919, issue of "The Revolutionary Age."

They were arraigned Monday morning before Judge Finch on this second indictment and were paroled in the custody of their attorney J. R. Brodsky.

Gitlow Comes from Auburn Prison

Ben Gitlow arrived from the Auburn Prison, Wednesday morning, April 26, and was taken before Judge Finch for arraignment on his second indictment.

He, too, was paroled in the custody of his attorney. Bail set by Judge Cardozo, April 22, when he granted a certificate of reasonable doubt to Gitlow was $7,500.

His case will also come before the New York Court of Appeals the latter part of May.

New Move for Winitsky

The application for a certificate of reasonable doubt for Harry Winitsky will be filed early in the week.

Owing to the success in the Ruthenberg, Ferguson, Gitlow and Larkin cases, there is every reason to believe that a certificate will be ordered issued on behalf of Winitsky.

Greeted by New York Comrades

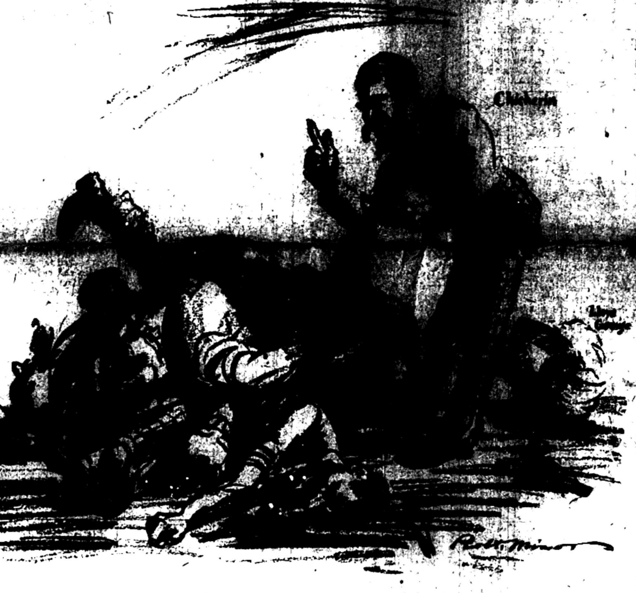
Ferguson and Ruthenberg were given their first official greeting by their New York comrades, at a luncheon arranged on Tuesday a few hours after their release. It was here that the two released prisoners pledged their faith anew in the cause, adherence to which had sent them behind prison bars.

"It gives us a great joy to be able to take up again the work that we left off a year and a half ago when we went to prison," said Ferguson.

"We feel that great progress has been made by the movement. We

(Continued on Page Two)

THE REFEREE AT G[illegible]



"6,7,8,9 —"

NO MINE OWNERS IN JAIL!

Coal mine owners broke their contract with the miners and forced the miners to cease work.

The mine owners wanted to force the men to cease work.

The mine owners forced the present situation upon the country.

The mine owners are responsible and some mine owners have boasted that they wanted just exactly the condition that has been brought about.

The mine owners accept responsibility.

At the time these lines are written NOT A MINE OWNER IS IN JAIL. Not a mine owner has even been brought into court.

Can anyone doubt that if the miners were responsible for the present situation that the courts would have been set in motion at once and that by now every official of the miners' organization would be under complete restraint or behind prison bars?

Hoover Circulates False Reports on Russian Famine

"On April 15, Herbert Hoover reported that "the back of the Russian Famine had been broken." He reported that it would be unnecessary to use the remainder of the $20,000,000 set aside by Congress for Russian Relief.

In reply to this statement, Captain Paxton Hibben, recently with the Near East Relief, says, "It is simply nonsense to claim that the 7,000,000 people whom the Hoover organisation are feeding in Russia are all who are starving, or that to feed 87 per cent. of the known starving is to break the back of the greatest famine in history."

But the **FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA** will not sit idly by and witness the murder of millions of Russian men, women and children.

They have organised a city-wide **SUBBTONIK** (Days of Voluntary Labor) for Russian Relief on May 6th and 7th.

On these days thousands of willing comrades will report to the following stations: 61 Canal Street, 257 East 10th Street, [illegible] East 23rd Street, 350 East 81st Street, 1403 Fifth Ave., 1347 Boston Road, 226 Roebling Street, 296 Beckman Street and many other stations throut the city.

Organizations and individuals are co-operating to make this drive even more successful than the previous drive which netted more than $13,000.

Two Powerful Labor Organizations to Hold Conventions Next Week

Big problems will be taken up, discussed and voted on at the regular convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union that opens on Monday, at Cleveland, Ohio, for a two weeks' session.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers will also hold its convention at Chicago starting the end of next week.

These two unions in the clothing industry are among the most militant of America's labor organizations.

The actions of these two conventions, therefore, will be of intense interest to all the readers of THE WORKER. We are, therefore, making preparations to get full reports of both these gatherings. Watch for these reports.

New Affidavit Also Helps as Death Nears

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Here is the most important news yet in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The confession of Pelser represents the breakdown of 25 per cent of the case against Sacco, as there were only four who tried to identify him as on the scene. The Gould testimony, on the other hand, is a big point for the defense, inasmuch as he was as close, if not closer to [illegible] from the electric chair takes on new hope.

* * *

By EUGENE LYONS

BOSTON, Mass.—Confession of perjury by Louis Pelser, prosecution witness on identification, and the sworn affidavit of Roy E. Gould, an eye witness of the crime recently located by the defense, form the bases of a motion for a new trial in the case of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, filed Wednesday in the Superior Court of Massachusetts.

The filing of this evidence is the first move, according to the defense group, in a sensational and thorogoing campaign of exposure of the New England labor case which has roused a world-wide protest.

Pelser Important Witness

Pelser is one of the five witnesses—four against Sacco and one against Vanzetti—whose "identifications" of the Italian labor organizers was the only direct evidence to support the charge that they participated in the payroll robbery and murders in South Braintree, Mass., on April 15, 1920.

His testimony in court at the famous Dedham trial was to the effect that Sacco was the "dead image" of the man whom he claimed to have seen for a few seconds through a slightly opened window.

This testimony he now repudiates unqualifiedly. His statements on the witness stand were made the target of considerable ridicule during and since the trial because they included an attempted identification even of a tie pin supposed to have been worn by the bandit.

Not in His Right Mind

"I couldn't have been in my right mind, I don't think I was exactly sane," Pelser says in explaining his lies.

In the course of close questioning by Fred H. Moore, chief counsel for the defense of the condemned men, Pelser indicated that he "must have been forced by someone" when made the perjured statements on

(Continued on Page Three)

Workers Party in New York Participates in May Day Demonstrations

Local New York this year has joined with the other bodies affiliated with the Amnesty Alliance for New York State Political Prisoners for huge demonstrations in New York, at 1??th St. and Park Circle, and Brooklyn, at Grand St. Extension and Havemeyer Ave., May 1st.

The slogan for these demonstrations will be "THE RELEASE OF OUR POLITICAL PRISONERS." Arrangements have been made for addresses in all languages by some [illegible] speakers. [illegible] May Day Proclamation of the Central Executive Committee of the Party. All revolutionary workers of New York will turn out on this day to demonstrate the solidarity of labor in the class struggle.

Decisions in Full of Red International

The second conference of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International in Moscow was participated in by representatives from the following countries:—America, Great Britain, Russia, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Bulgaria (whose delegates carried credentials for all the Balkan States), Japan, Korea, India, Dutch East India, and, as guests, several representatives of various countries in the Far East.

Following we publish some of the most important decisions and resolutions adopted at the conference.

The Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International on the Convocation of an International Conference, adopted at the [illegible] of March 5, 1922.

Having thoroly discussed the proposal of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation for the convocation of a conference of representatives of both

(Continued on Page Four)

URGES PARDON FOR MOONEY

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—After a lapse of nearly a year, District Attorney Matthew I. Brady has forwarded a letter to Governor Stephens requesting that he pardon Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, innocent victims of the San Francisco Preparedness Parade bomb "frame-up."

COMING-OUT CELEBRATION of BENJAMIN GITLOW, C. E. RUTHENBERG and I. E. FERGUSON from Sing Sing and Auburn Prisons, Central Opera House, 265 East 67th St.

FRIDAY, MAY 12th, 8 P. M.

Speakers: Benjamin Gitlow, C. E. Ruthenberg, I. E. Ferguson, Robert [illegible], M. J. Olgin, J. P. Cannon, William F. Dunne, Edgar [illegible]

[illegible] understanding."

So spoke Clare Sheridan, noted English sculptress, who modeled busts of Lenin and Trotsky and the other Russian leaders, addressing the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.

"I have found the rich and the well-to-do," she continued, "completely out of touch, ignorant, of the elementary facts of life. The so-called 'upper class' doesn't seem to understand the struggle for existence which is the daily and ever present problem of hundreds of millions.

"In behalf of Russian famine relief I have addressed several meetings attended by the people I speak of, and I succeeded in raising only a few hundred dollars. Once I went to Boston, spoke in a filled theater and only $300 was given. Then I addressed a meeting of workers here in Webster Hall, and the working men and women there pledged more than $9,000 for the relief of starving Russian children.

"And I want to say to you that were I a mother and found my babes starving before my eyes, as the children of Russia are starving, I would do the same to them as the Russian mothers are doing to their children. I would kill them."

Following Mrs. Sheridan's appeal Captain Paxton Hibben, secretary of the American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children, told the delegates that there still are 7,000,000 Russians facing starvation by next August unless food reaches them in the meantime.

"The people who say the famine is ended, or nearly ended," he said, "are stopping relief." He bitterly criticized the American Relief Administration for its delay in getting grain to the 33,000,000 persons in Russia who have been on the verge of starvation.

"Before agreeing to send food to the Russians and their children out of the appropriation made by Congress," he said, "that committee forced the Russians to withdraw $12,200,000 in gold left in their treasury and spent it in the United States for grain. Although the Russians did this, not one half of the grain ordered reached Russia in time for planting."

The appeal was concluded by Joseph Manley, secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union National Committee for Russian Relief, which has been indorsed by the Central Trades and Labor Council and labor organizations throughout the country.

United Labor Council
meets
Every Wednesday
8 P. M.
83 East 4th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Phone: Orchard 0189.

[illegible] the blood of [illegible]

America, land of [illegible] state power, always acting in favor of the lords and masters—as all capitalist States must do—crushing the workers and stamping out their desires and yearnings for peace and more freedom!

America, land of weakened and rotten labor organizations, whose labor leaders will not fight but, terrified and cowardly, yield to the slightest threat and betray the workers into the hands of their exploiters in the name of "public welfare," or patriotism!

It is quite logical, therefore, that just in America, where the workers have not yet learned the necessity of amalgamating their organization into one solid UNIT; where the capitalists, acting as a single integer, move at one impetus, sticking to one another through thick and thin—when it means a struggle against the workers—the demands of the ten million jobless men and women, unorganized, not yet conscious of their misery, should be disregarded.

Want is bringing the ten million unemployed together. Their savings are fast vanishing. Industry will not long grant them work. They are learning, slowly learning. In the East and West, wherever factories have been erected to exploit human labor; wherever men have been denied the right to work and are HUNGERING, STARVING; STEALING, MURDERING, their CHILDREN PALE, ANAEMIC, TUBERCULOUS — FOR WANT OF FOOD—, they are forming their councils—to demand, to act!

WORK, the unemployed demand. WORK OR COMPENSATION.

You who have the power to give work, and you who hold the strings to the public treasury! It would be well to give these 10,000,000 work. It would be well for your peace and the peace of the country to which you are so devoted. Workless, hungry men are a menace to a country. The demand for work has caused many a rebellion. The demand for bread has caused many a revolution. The workers of America are slowly learning who you are—you who hold the power of gold and State in your hands. They are learning that the employer is no friend, but a foe.

ORGANIZATION AND UNITY has become the slogan. Workers on the job and workers without a job have one interest—a common interest. They must stick together, fight together, one must not scab on the other—neither the jobless on the worker, nor the worker on the jobless.

May Day is the Day of Unity—International Solidarity.

The Unemployed greet May Day. The Councils of Unemployed hail May Day as a Day of Solidarity with the masses of unemployed in England, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, Canada—wherever workers are deprived of the right to work.

Workers of America, Germany, Russia, Italy, France, Spain, Great Britain, Japan—workers of the whole world! Workers with a job and without a job! YOUR INTERESTS ARE ONE!

[illegible]

We're Freedom's Pioneers.

CHORUS

O, slaves may beg, and cowards whine,
We scorn their foolish fears.
We dare and plan to lead the van,
With Freedom's Pioneers.

Too long upon our toil were built
The palaces of power,
When at our word these [illegible] of gold
Would crumble in an hour;
Now each day brings on exultant wings
To their unwilling ears,
The shouts that greet our marching feet,
"'Tis Freedom's Pioneers."

CHORUS

The rich man's hate, the rich man's pride
Hath held us long in awe,
Our Right to Life is still denied,
And wealth still rules the law.
But man shall bow no longer now,
But welcomes with his cheers
The ringing stroke to break his yoke
Of FREEDOM'S Pioneers.

Doors of New York State Prisons Swinging Open

(Continued from Page One)

come to you again, toughened by the year and a half in prison."

Feels Reality of Struggle

Ruthenberg told of the effect that prison has upon a revolutionist. He served ten months in Ohio, in the early days of the war, and had been at liberty for some time when he was incarcerated in New York's prisons.

"Being sent to prison makes one feel the reality of the struggle of the working class," said Ruthenberg, telling of the results of 10 months under the lash of capitalism in Ohio. "As a result of those 10 months in prison, I came out with more fervor in the struggle against capitalism," he said, saying that he felt that he had done his best work for the cause from December, 1918, to May 1919.

"Prison puts iron into your soul," he said. "More than speech-making, more than going about among the workers, prison makes one feel the reality of the class struggle. In December, 1918, I came out of prison determined to strike my hardest blows at capitalism. I have come out of Sing Sing no less determined.

Feels Joys of Comradeship

"During our months in prison, my fingers have figuratively itched to get into the work for the cause.

"That one cannot give one's efforts for the cause while in prison hurts more than any physical suffering.

"Every man and woman that capitalism puts into prison will come out more than ever determined to help accomplish its destruction.

"It was a great pleasure to me to feel the comradeship of our movement while in prison, and I want to assure you all that I feel keenly the comradeship so evident in this gathering here this afternoon."

Edgar Owens, secretary of the National Defense Committee, acted as chairman while among the others who spoke were A. B. Martin, secretary of the Friends of Soviet Russia; William F. Dunne, of The Worker; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of the Workers' Defense Union, and James P. Cannon, chairman of the Workers Party.

Cannon Speaks for Party

"Our comrades as they come from prison will find the movement the same in some respects, different in other respects," said Cannon. "But they will quickly see that our movement is beginning to find itself. During the time they have been absent from among us we have prepared the way for the greater work that must and will be done in the near future.

"We are building the Workers Party to become the centralized party of the rebel, dauntless workers of the United States," he said, in conclusion, arousing the applause of all present.

The occasion was considerably enlivened by the singing of "The International" and "The Red Flag."

Ferguson left for Chicago on Tuesday where he will make the final preparations for the appeal in the case of himself and Ruthenberg before the New York Court of Appeals the latter part of the month.

[illegible] Chicago has turned in [illegible]. And the money continues to pour into the Chicago office.

LYNN, Mass., has just concluded a most successful collection.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., is arranging a flower drive on May 1. May 1 will be a day of great activities. The International Labor Day will be a day of demonstrating labor's international solidarity. It will show whether the workers of America, too, feel and understand that solidarity is not a matter of sentiment, but of ACTION. This Labor Day must be understood as a Day of Action for Soviet Russia.

The Workers' Relief Club of **PORTLAND**, Ore., held a bazaar and collected $1035. The workers do not know how much they can do until they really do it.

SAN FRANCISCO is collecting sacks of grain. The donors are attaching their names to the Roll Calls and will be known in Soviet Russia as the Givers of Grain.

MUSKEGON, Mich., just held a raffle, which netted $500.

CLEVELAND is conducting a most successful house-to-house pledge drive. Measured by present results, this will be one of the most successful drives in Cleveland.

DETROIT is arranging a Spring Festival on April 30. Detroit has arranged the most unique affairs for collecting funds, so that this one will probably yield an equally large amount of money.

ANSONIA, Conn., held a meeting recently. While the collection was being taken, an Englishman arose and contributed $142, but refused to give his name. He merely wanted to be known as an "Englishman."

NEW YORK is preparing for a two-days drive, May 6 and 7, "a Subbotnik of proletarian effort and sacrifice." Thousands of comrades will combine their efforts to make this the biggest thing that the New York Branch has done.

PHILADELPHIA has secured the endorsement of its Central Labor Council.

DULUTH and SUPERIOR conducted a joint Tag Day. Favored by excellent weather, and with their forces well organized, the two cities attained excellent results.

New Shipments to Russia.

The last shipment announced to take place on March 31, was not on the SS. Westport but on SS. Ridando.

There was an additional cargo of 12 tons, making a total of 52 tons. SS. Westport sailed on April 15, containing 63 bales of clothing, 12 bags of corn, flour, etc., 4 cases of canned milk and 1 case of medicine, weighing more than 10 tons.

Leaders of Last Two Weeks

The leaders of the past two weeks have been: Chicago $8,000, Los Angeles $1,500, New York $1,290, Vancouver $1,000, Brockton, Mass. $700, Muskegon, Mich. $500, Detroit $800, Hungarian Section of Workers Party, New York $400, Philadelphia $341, P. D. Lithuanian Branch, Pittsburgh $300, Ansonia, Conn. $279, Frankfort, Ill. $279, Olyphant, Pa. $250, Binghamton, N. Y. $300, Ziegler, Ill. $206, Spravedlnost, Chicago $203, Julius Olson, Ogden, Utah $400, Thos. Gundanobin, Cleveland, Ohio $200, Russian Dramatic Society Boston $200, Church of United Brethren in Christ, Dayton, Ohio $198, Czecho-Slovak Marxian Federation, Scranton, Ill. $173, Hanna Matson, Gebo, Wyo. $179, Moline, Ill. $163, Duluth, Ill. $150, San Francisco $150, Lynn, Mass. $125, Hartford, Conn. 129, S. S. Ossato, Nashwauk, Minn. $125.

[illegible] the workers.

[illegible] This [illegible]

In this work there is a job for every WORKERS PARTY member and also for every radical and revolutionary reader.

Work for Party Units

It goes without saying that every Workers Party Local and Branch should receive every week a bundle of WORKERS.

Locals should organize their branches for this work, giving to each Branch a number of papers to sell, proportioning the number to the membership.

English-speaking Branches should be able to handle at least twice as many WORKERS as foreign language Branches.

We offer this suggestion to Workers Party Locals with the hope that they will assume the responsibility for at least two copies of The Worker per member. Concerted action, organized effort will mean a growing circulation.

Subscription Cards

THE WORKER prints three denominations of subscription cards. Locals and Branches should have these on hand at all times. They will be sent to Locals on credit.

Locals should keep these for use at street and hall meetings and for sale thru party members. Order them in the denomination you wish: yearly, $2, half-yearly, $1, and three month cards at 50 cents.

The Worker must be pushed at all meetings and subscription cards are necessary for successful canvassing.

News Stand Distribution

How many news stands in your city have The Worker for sale and whose fault is it if there are not more? Maybe, just perhaps, the fault lies with the Local because it has not attempted to place The Worker on more of them.

Comrades can place The Worker on many news stands with a little effort. The Local should apportion the news stands of each city to the Branches and make them responsible for placing a bundle with each.

News stand sales can be increased many times with a little energetic action by the membership.

Sales in Labor Unions

If there is one place where The Worker should be sold it is in the labor unions. This is a special field wherein the work for Worker readers who are union men and women is cut out for them.

The Worker bears a special message for union members. Let every union member reader take a bundle of The Worker for sale in his union. Neither your best union work nor any work in the revolutionary movement will be complete without his special bit of propaganda. Sell The Worker to the union member.

For the Individual

Whether you are a Workers Party member or not, whether you are a member of any union or any party, if you are a radical and have at heart the best interests of the workers, you will find among the enumerated lines of work a place for your conscientious efforts.

If you believe The Worker serves the workers in this mighty struggle of the classes it is your bounden duty to increase its usefulness.

And this you can do only by increasing its circulation. The usefulness of workers in this revolutionary movement is to be judged by their work and their work only.

The Worker depends upon them for its circulation. Devote your efforts to aiding The Worker and you best serve the Cause that leads on to victory.

Get In Line

By HENRY ASKELI

For the Finnish Federation, Workers Party

Again we are celebrating the International Holiday of the Workers, so

Get in line, fellow-worker.

May Day is your day. May Day celebration is your celebration. Your kind, your class in every land celebrates the May Day.

It does not matter what your nativity is; whether Americans, Germans, Russians, Italians, Swedish, Finns, Polish, English, Irish, Lettish, Lithuanians, etc., you are workers. The master class has forgotten your nationality long ago and call you—HANDS. So forget your nationalistic divisions and

Get in line with other workers.

It does not matter what race or what color you are, if you are a worker, your place is with other workers.

Get in line.

It does not matter what your faith is; whether pagan, Jew or gentile, Catholic or Christian, as a worker you must

Get in line.

It does not matter what your political understanding is; whether republican, democrat, socialist, anarchist, syndicalist, you are a worker and you are urged to

Get in line.

Nature's forces of REVOLUTION and evolution are working. Gradually cold and frost is vanishing, growth and warmth dominating. Spring is here. And the forces of revolution and evolution are working in the human society and the spring of humanity is near. So fellow worker

Get in line.

Remember that at May Day gatherings international proletariat is—

Inspecting its strength.

Recruiting new force.

Forming a fighting front, united front against the powers of darkness, reaction and oppression.

Individually they ridicule you, persecute you, throw you in jails, prisons and dungeons. But when you learn the lesson of unity, when you form the united front with other workers, YOU BECOME A MASTER. So you must—

Get in line.

You must learn to fight for your rights. You can not trust your life, your liberty and your pursuit of happiness to your enemies. "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty."

They told you: "Work or Fight" some time ago. Now they have taken away your right to work and earn your livelihood. So your only alternative is to FIGHT. You can not afford to surrender without fighting. There is only a few of them and there is many of us, your kind. United we WIN, divided we fail. We must, therefore form a united front and fight unitedly.

Get in line.

CO-OPS IN RUSSIA

The consumer's co-operatives constitute the greatest economic force at work for the reconstruction of Russia, according to dispatches received by the Co-operative League of America. L. Kintchuk, president of "Centrosoyus," the central union of co-operative societies of Russia, is authority for the statement that "altho the co-operative societies have been released from state control, it is impossible for the work of distribution to be carried on without them."

[illegible] New York [illegible]

Local Greater New York, [illegible] the counties of [illegible] Queens, Richmond, [illegible] Westchester, [illegible] composed of fifty branches [illegible] membership of over 2,300.

Since the formation of the [illegible] Central Committee two [illegible] the Local has increased [illegible] bership by 300.

New branches have been [illegible] ized in various parts of the [illegible] increase of membership [illegible] most conspicuous in the [illegible] Jewish, German and [illegible] languages. The last has [illegible] two new branches in [illegible] Brooklyn.

Party Is Taking Root

The regular rate of increase [illegible] membership has been 50 per [illegible] Considering the incomplete [illegible] zation of the Local the rate [illegible] crease indicates that the Workers Party is taking hold and in [illegible] months after the MEMBERSHIP DRIVE of the National Office [illegible] be begun, it may be expected the membership will be con[illegible] increased.

Before the year is over, after [illegible] propaganda of the election peti[illegible] is expected that the membership [illegible] reach at least 7,000 or 8,000.

The coming out of Ruthenberg, Ferguson and Gitlow will give [illegible] stimulus to increased activity and [illegible] celebration, to be held on May 1[illegible] will be the starting point for [illegible] less efforts to expand the organ[illegible] ion and make it a vital part of [illegible] working-class life of this city.

The local disposes of literature thru its Bookshop, which it main[illegible] tains in the Toiler Building, 208 [illegible] 12th St. Thru its branches it [illegible] culates over 1500 copies of THE WORKER weekly.

As soon as the section committees are formed the circulation of THE WORKER will be raised by sys[illegible] tic distribution to over 5,000.

The Trade Union work forms [illegible] important part of the Local's acti[illegible] ties. Trade Union nuclei and [illegible] ings are being formed in all [illegible] tions of the city.

The Trade Union Educational League which has been endorsed [illegible] the Workers Party will soon be [illegible] ganized and under the direction [illegible] Comrade J. A. Anderson who is [illegible] ing as provisional Secretary of [illegible] League will soon rally the [illegible] tionary left wing militant elem[illegible] of the unions.

Defense-Committee Re-elected

The defense of political prisoners is in charge of the Local National Defense Committee. The former committee has been re-elected by the Executive Committee of the L[illegible] and Comrade Nerma Berman [illegible] proved as its secretary.

The release of Gitlow, Ferguson and Ruthenberg will not lessen the importance and the necessity of defense work but only serves as add[illegible] reason for renewed efforts in [illegible] field.

All activities conducted within the territory comprising Local Greater New York is in charge of the Local Office. The National Office [illegible] located in New York, does not [illegible] with local matters, and all branches are notified that they must get in touch with the Local Secretary [illegible] matters of speakers, supplies, etc.

THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA will become the leading working-class party only thru activity. The Local with the co-oper[illegible] tion of all members and branches will do its share towards realiz[illegible] this goal.

Where "Sammy" Stands

BOSTON.—Samuel Gompers, president A. F. of L., reaffirmed his opposition to a Labor party in a speech before the conference of Massachusetts labor union heads. He declared himself in favor of beer, light wine, the bonus and aid for the textile strikers.

COMING-OUT CELEBRATION!
OF
BENJAMIN GITLOW
C. E. RUTHENBERG
I. E. FERGUSON
FROM
SING SING and AUBURN PRISONS
AT
CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE
205 EAST 67th STREET
ON FRIDAY, MAY 12th, 8 P. M.
SPEAKERS:
BENJAMIN GITLOW
I. E. FERGUSON
C. E. RUTHENBERG
ROBERT MINOR
LUDWIG LORE
EDGAR OWENS
WM. F. DUNNE
M. J. OLGIN
JAMES P. CANNON
A. BITTELMANN
MUSIC - - - - ADMISSION, 25 CENTS
LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

COME TO THE
Italian Comrades' May Day Festa
Benefit Carlo Tresca's Weekly Paper "Il Martello"
at
TAMMANY HALL
141 East 14th Street
SATURDAY, APRIL 29th, 9 P. M.
Elaborate Concert with Chicago Opera Co. Artists.
Ballet from "La Gioconda"
Short Addresses by Carlo Tresca and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.
— Dancing until dawn. —
Admission—Ladies, 50 cents; Gentlemen, $1.00
Tickets on Sale at Il Martello Office, 208 East 12th Street,
or from E. Flynn, 81 East 10th Street, or at door.

Direct from Kameneff
Head of the All-Russian Famine Relief Commission, April 10, 192
"Famine extremely grave until new harvest.
Increase help and collections by all means."
JOIN COLLECT GIVE
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
SUBBOTNIK
(Days of Voluntary Labor)
FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF
May 6th and 7th
Stations:—61 Canal Street, 257 East 10th Street, 240 East 23rd Street,
350 East 81st Street, 1347 Boston Road, 226 Roebling Street,
10 Siegel Street, 296 Sackman Street.

[illegible] Effort to [illegible]eak Strike

[illegible] most serious attempt to break the backbone of the Lawrence strike was made by the Mayor's special committee composed of clergymen. The first announcement of the plan was made thru the newspapers.

This committee of the Mayor's was appointed during the second week of the strike, avowedly for the purpose of bringing the committee of the strikers together with the bosses, with the hope that when they were together an agreement could be reached.

Strikers Will Meet Bosses

The clergymen at once secured conferences with the leaders of the strike and learned that the strikers would meet with the bosses at any time.

Nothing had been heard from the committee up until this time; but evidently they approached the bosses to learn what the latter would do, and learned that they would not meet with the strike committees.

The bosses said that they would be glad to meet with representatives of the strikers, but not with the strike committees because the latter were controlled by union officers, by men who are not citizens of Lawrence.

This move was intended to divide the ranks from the committees. The next move was to get committees that are acceptable to the bosses. This was to be accomplished by our clergymen committee calling shop meetings.

The shop meetings were arranged to take place in various school houses. Some meetings were called for four o'clock Friday; others on Saturday at 10 A. M.

Strikers Hold Meetings

Special meetings were hurriedly called for Friday afternoon, Saturday morning and afternoon, on the Common, to discuss the action of the Mayor's committee.

The strikers were urged to stay away from these school house meetings and have nothing to do with the citizens' committee.

It is interesting to note the results of the meetings called by the clergymen committee. From the Arcadia Mill just 40 out of several hundred workers showed up; Plymouth Mill, Everett, 50; and later on at other places none appeared. Much attention was given to the Pacific Mill, employing 8100, but here they registered total failure. It is very apparent that the scheme will fail utterly. The committees of five and seven that were selected from the small numbers that appeared at the meetings will not have the brass to contend that they represent the strikers.

All the newspapers wrote up this scheme as if it had the backing of the strikers and reported the meetings as if crowds had attended—all the papers except the Lawrence Sunday Sun, which ridicules all attempts to settle the strike without dealing with the strikers.

Great writers have not mean souls. They do not limit their affections. They pity all suffering, strive to ease it. They take compassion on the poor players who perform in the great tragedy, or the tragi-comedy, of destiny. Pity is the very basis of genius.—ANATOLE FRANCE.

[illegible] This is the first [illegible] in recent years [illegible] in this country is the willing instrument of the [illegible] lords and that a charge of treason can be made to hold [illegible] men who resist industrial tyranny.

The indictment and trial of the 23 miners in West Virginia is arousing nation-wide indignation and protest and it should; it should also serve to convince the believers in the forms and phrases of democracy as a panacea for the ills of society that with an instrument forged especially for their purposes the capitalists of America do not need to even go outside their law—altho they often do—when they wish to mobilize the agencies of capitalist government to crush labor unions, to jail and legally murder the best fighters in the far-flung battle-line of labor.

A perusal of the charges in the indictment show that there is not even an attempt made to prove conspiracy or overt acts to overthrow the government of West Virginia. The counts are as follows:

"First—That the defendants, with their confederates, intended to invade Logan and Mingo Counties, and by force, violence, murder and open warfare to deprive the people residing in said counties and members and citizens of the State of West Virginia of the protection afforded them by the laws of the State of West Virginia.

"Second—To destroy and nullify by force of arms, violence, murder and open warfare, martial law in said Mingo County, and the military occupation in said county, which martial law had been duly proclaimed by the Governor of the State of West Virginia.

"Third—To release from imprisonment persons who had been duly and legally arrested and incarcerated in the jails of Mingo County for violation of the law and violation of the martial law proclamation of the Governor.

"Fourth—To take possession of the Counties of Logan and Mingo in the said State and to prevent the execution of the laws of the said State in said counties and to deprive the people of said counties of the protection afforded by the laws of the said State.

"Fifth—Especially to destroy and nullify martial law in said Mingo County, and to nullify the proclamation of the Chief Executive of the State.

"Sixth—The release of prisoners duly held in jail in Mingo County as also stated in the first count."

Martial law had been declared in Mingo county at the request of steel trust officials by a steel trust governor. The civil rights of the residents had been suspended and the only law was that of the six-shooters and rifles of the gunmen backed up by the state militia. Miners had been arrested on trumped-up charges and were being held in jail in constant danger of their lives from the drunken, blood-mad thugs imported into the district by the coal operators and to whose tender mercies the entire county and its population had been turned over.

Government had already been overthrown by the industrial lords and their henchmen and a military dictatorship and terror substituted for it.

It is this brazen usurpation of the powers of political government by corporations that the miners are accused of conspiring against. As a matter of fact all the miners were trying to do was to recover the constitutional rights taken from the strikers, their sympathizers and the populace in general.

For this grave offense in this era of capitalist military dictatorships in industrial regions 23 men are being tried for treason to the state of West Virginia.

As evidence of the rapidity with which the mask of democratic pretense is being torn from the dictatorship of capitalism, the West Virginia trials are illuminating. Just as important as supporting the nation-wide strike of the miners is the necessity of not allowing the interest in the outcome of the prosecutions to slacken.

The workers must indicate in the most emphatic terms possible their intention to see that capitalism gets no more victims in West Virginia.

Massachusetts Quarrymen Stand United in Strike

By CALEB HARRISON

CAPE ANN, MASS.—This is one huge rock, solid granite. Gloucester, the fishing town, and Rockport are two cities located at the extreme point of the cape. Between these cities, and a little to the north, is Lanesville. Around these three towns are the granite quarries.

Great slabs of granite are broken off and lifted from their resting place of ages, and sent into the market for the uses of man.

From the smaller pieces that gather during this work, certain of the workmen, with hammer and chisel, hew out thousands of paving blocks. It is rough, heavy work, and the workmen are of the sturdiest kind.

There are four unions of these workers, all of them a part of the American Federation of Labor. They are the Granite Cutters' Union, the Quarrymen's Union, the Paving Stone Cutters' Union, and the Hoisting Engineers' Union.

In the past, as usual, in an industry containing unions of various trades, these organizations found themselves at odds with one another, and rivals during controversies with employers.

This year there is a strike in the industry and we find all the workers out and the unions working in the most harmonious co-operation.

The strike started when the boss announced that he would no longer deal with the unions when the contract expired at the end of March.

He was thru with collective bargaining, he said, and the reason was that he wanted to reduce wages 20 per cent. The men struck and are still striking. Not a single one remained to scab.

There are many conservative workers in this industry, Yankees from staid old New England families. There are some foreigners, too, Swedes and Finns, who are radical. The Finns belong to the Workers Party. Under the influence of the party, the unions are working together holding meetings. I addressd one of these meetings held in Finnish Workers' Hall. It was an excellent gathering, the hall was packed.

The Mayor of Gloucester and the city councilmen were present and made speeches. They all spoke before I did, and I learned they were present because the company had imported strike breakers from Boston and secured permits from the mayor of Rockport to carry guns. Now they carry guns and clubs. The mayor of Gloucester told the audience that he would have all who invaded Gloucester disarmed or arrested. The authorities of Gloucester are particularly incensed because there has not been a single act of violence, nor anything approaching violence, since the strike began. There is no picketing. Everyone is puzzled by the action of the company. The strikers do not seem to know that such is the way of capitalism.

It also indicates that an attempt will be made to bring in scabs. If the bosses do the strikers are firm and determined and will be able to meet the situation as long as their ranks remain unbroken.

This strike is another example of the growing spirit of solidarity that is now permeating the ranks of the workers.

GRAND OPERA BENEFIT

Under the auspices of and to benefit

"THE WORKER"

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Saturday evening, May 6th

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With first class cast, including ALDA, CHAMLEE, ROTHIER

TICKETS: Orchestra, $5.50; Dress Circle, $4.40; Balcony, $3.30, $2.75; Family Circle, $2.20, $1.65

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Send me every week .... copies of THE WORKER. I will sell them and remit at once.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Spring Festival & Package Party

Will be given by the Bronx Branch of the Workers Party

MAY 6th—8 P. M.

At WORKERS HALL,

1347 Boston Road

—Watch for adv. next issue—

"I Lied," Admits Witness in Sacco Case Confession

(Continued from Page One)

which the defendants' lives were sworn away.

Gould, it appears from his affidavit, was on the crime scene and was shot through the coat by one of the occupants of the bandit car as it passed within five to ten feet from him. He got a close view of the man in the seat beside the driver, a position corresponding to that of the bandit whom the commonwealth sought to identify as Sacco. Neither Sacco nor Vanzetti, he declares positively after seeing photographs of both of them, and Sacco in person, is the man whom he saw and of whom he retains a distinct mental image.

Police Knew of Him

The affidavit also reveals the significant circumstance that the police knew of Gould's existence and of his first-rate opportunity to observe at least one of the bandits, but after a perfunctory interrogation by Jeremiah J. Gallivan, Chief of Police of South Braintree, they never made any effort to bring him into court. The defense located him in Portland, Me., after many months' searching.

In speaking to Harold Williams, Assistant District Attorney, on the morning before he took the stand, Pelser had asserted repeatedly, he now says, that he had not seen anyone enough to identify. Williams, however, showed him several photographs and sent him down to take a personal look at Sacco.

Pelser is extremely vague and noncommittal in explaining the considerations which led him to testify despite the fact that he could not do so honestly. He does say that when he persisted in his assertion that he could not identify, Williams had said, "You know right well that's the man."

Who put the words about Sacco being the "dead image" of the bandit into his mouth—words which he admits he does not normally use—Pelser does not reveal.

"I don't know how I was forced to say them words," he said in answer to a question put to him by the attorney.

Pelser came to the office of Attorney Moore of his own free will on February 4 and voluntarily made the confession which has just been filed. His statement is in the form of an interrogation by the attorney recorded by a stenographer. An affidavit to the effect that everything included in the statement was voluntarily and truthfully said, forms a part of the record. It was sworn to before Stephen Bresnehan, Justice of the Peace, and in the presence of Thomas Doyle, Morris Gebelow and Miss W. S. Preed.

Gould was at the time of the crime a salesman of a paste for sharpening razors. He plied his trade at factory doors, and was in front of the South Braintree factory because he knew that the men were to be paid off that day. The affidavit is a recital in detail of everything he knows in regard to the crimes committed there in his presence. It says in part:

"That the affiant sat down in the jail room while Moore and Sacco conversed one with the other for a period of upwards of ten minutes and during all of said time the affiant studied the features and all of the characteristics of Sacco and that immediately thereafter on leaving the jail the affiant stated to Moore that he was positive, and the affiant does now state that he is positive, that the said Sacco is not one and the same man as the man that the affiant saw on April 15th, 1920."

Pelser's testimony, as amended in the confession, jibes with the statement given before the trial to Robert Reid, defense investigator, but which he disclaimed on the witness stand. He now specificaly swears that the version of what he saw—and especially of what he did not see—which he gave to Reid was the correct one.

The motion will have to be ruled on by Judge Webster Thayer. Other motions predicated upon other new evidence—according to the attorney, of far more significant import—will be made in the next few weeks.

One of our good workers in Tiffins, Ohio, writes, "I would like the paper very much and I would miss it very much because I get the truth out of it. I am a painter and work is very scarce this winter so keeps our money matters close, but we cannot do without the paper."

German Majority Socialists Shy at Communists

By M. PHILIPS PRICE

BERLIN.—In spite of the decisions of the Three Internationals' Conference that joint demonstrations be held on April 20, the German Majority Socialists announce that they intend not to allow the Communists on their platform that day.

The reason given is that the Russian Communists do not demonstrate together with the Mensheviki and Social-Revolutionaries, and that a united front cannot be formed in the west unless it is formed in Russia also.

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Reports state that the Communists and Independent Socialists held tremendous demonstrations in Berlin and other German cities on April 20. In Berlin the crowds paraded under the muzzles of the Majority Socialists' machine guns. No reports were received of Majority Socialist meetings.

Italian Radicals Will Rally for "Il Martello"

On Saturday, April 29, at Tammany Hall, the Italian radicals of New York City and vicinity will gather at the third annual festival of Il Martello, the fighting labor weekly edited by Carlo Tresca. The struggle for existence put up by this paper is a most remarkable one and typifies the tenacity and determination shown in every trench of the class struggle.

During the war-time hysteria, the Italian radicals were the chosen target of A. Mitchel Palmer and Wm. J. Flynn in their radical hunting activities. Scarcely a day went by that the newspapers were not filled with accusations of Italian plots and conspiracies. The Italian radicals have withstood these attacks with courage and endurance, keeping their ranks closed and a united front. They have done this single-handed thru their own resources with little or no help from the English-speaking comrades and sympathizers.

About the most difficult task which they were forced to face was that of keeping alive their newspapers in spite of censorship and suppression. "Il Martello," which replaced "L'Avvinire (crushed by the infamous Lamar during the war), has managed to keep in the field although it was suppressed nineteen times in the last two years. Like most labor papers, "Il Martello" has to face the difficulties of meeting the enormous expense, so to cover the deficit which accumulates every year the editor calls upon supporters and friends to come to the rescue once a year.

An elaborate musical program has been arranged including songs from all the famous operas sung by stars from the Chicago Opera Co., and the beautiful "Dance of the Hours" from La Gioconda by twelve members of the Metropolitan Ballet. Because of the tremendous crowd that gathered last year at Arlington Hall, hundreds were turned away, so to insure an enjoyable and interesting evening for all, one of the biggest halls in the city has been secured.

Militant organizations and individuals of all nationalities have already given their complete support, and Il Martello's Ball promises to be an international May Day gathering of all who can sing, laugh and dance without forgetting that every radical newspaper is a vital weapon and should be supported.

The Avanti Printing Shop

[illegible]

Printing in Many Languages—

[illegible]

[illegible] Street

[illegible] world should be exerted against the spreading of such communist doctrines as the abolition of the "noble dignified profession of law." "None of us will feel at ease if such doctrines prevail," said the distinguished lawyer.

Jobless Council Begins Vigorous Outdoor Drive

The Unemployment Council of New York, which did conspicuous work during the winter among the unemployed and made the question of unemployment an urgent one, is planning a most active campaign during the coming months.

The industrial situation in the United States cannot find a permanently stable basis. Hence, there cannot be the slightest doubt but that next fall and winter the army of the unemployed, as large if not larger than at present, will be in a critical position. Their savings gone, the unemployed will be prone to action.

The Unemployment Council therefore will conduct a drive of propaganda and organization, so that its slogan of WORK OR COMPENSATION will lead the workers in their action next autumn.

May 1 will be an active day for the Unemployment Council and Council of Unemployed. At 10.30 A.M. there will be a meeting at South Ferry, in front of 25 South Street. At 2 P.M. the Councils will participate in the Amnesty Alliance Demonstration at 110th St. and 5th Ave., in a united front to demand the release of class-war prisoners. At 5.30 P.M. there will be a meeting at 10th Street and 2nd Ave., at 8 P. M., a demonstration at Rutgers Square.

The summer campaign is on.

CHICAGO.—When the five-year sentences of seven I. W. W.s now in Leavenworth expire in May, June and July, it is the apparent intention of the department of labor to deport them back to their home countries.

[illegible] to the [illegible] workers in [illegible]

APRIL 9:—At a regular meeting of the Workmen's Circle, a motion to call a conference of Workers' organizations in order to devise ways and means for sending help to our fellow workers, was unanimously carried.

APRIL 10:—A meeting of the proposed conference takes place. It is decided to send 1,200 pounds of bread to the strike district as soon as possible. The Jewish bakers' union responds to call of arms and offers the work. The Jewish Workers' Co-operative Bakery offers trucking and pledges to produce the bread. The Jewish branches of the Workers Party and the Socialist Party, and the Independent Arbeiter Ring, in addition to other organizations, offer funds to purchase the flour.

APRIL 12:—(At Sunrise)—Two trucks loaded with 1,100 loaves of 1½ pounds each, carrying signs, "The Contribution of the Jewish Workers of Springfield to the Fighting Strikers in the Textile Industry," left the city for the strike zone.

Our Springfield comrades issue the following call: "Comrades, Everywhere! The fight of the textile workers is our fight! Their loss is ours, their gain is our gain. Comrades! Respond to the Proletarian bugle call! Register your much talked of solidarity!"

HARD TIMES IN SWEDEN

One of our subscribers in Sweden sends an interesting account on conditions there.

He reports, "Here is a real hard time right now. Because of the extreme reformist policy of the labor unions the wages are going down from 50 to 60 per cent. this year and that's forcing the members of reformist organizations to realize the impossiblity of gaining any power to better their conditions thru the reformist organizations and a great many of these members are just now beginning to vote for Communist delegates to labor union central bodies. Very little of the metal industry is running and what is active is working mainly on orders for Soviet Russia.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The trouble with the man who has to be starved into thinking is that the first full meal is likely to rob him of his powers of thought.

BREAD and IRON

vs.

BLOOD and IRON

There are two conflicting policies toward Soviet Russia: "Blood and Iron" is the policy of the capitalists; "Bread and Iron" is the policy of the workers.

The international capitalist bund has tried its policy of "Blood and Iron" for five long years, keeping the world in senseless turmoil, polluting the press with endless lies, and wasting mountains of wealth in furious assaults upon the First Workers' Republic.

The merciless struggle is almost over. The capitalists have been defeated. "Blood and Iron" has failed.

Soviet Russia has fought her way valiantly thru to a right to life and an opportunity to lay the foundation of a better world. Genoa had to be and Russia had to be there. Cowering behind their painted masks and meek beneath their blatant boasts, the capitalist diplomats flocked around the hated representatives of Soviet Russia to bargain insidiously against each other for the best terms they could get.

This is the hour to strike for victory. Now is the time for the workers of the world to put their policy of "Bread and Iron" into effect. "Bread and Iron" can win. With the workers' backing, "Bread and Iron" will surely triumph.

The first half of this policy has been carried out extensively. Bread the working masses have given and are still generously giving to their struggling comrades in Soviet Russia. The fearful famine has been checked and continued effort may conservatively hope to overcome it completely before winter returns.

On to the second half of the workers' policy! Now for the "Iron." Give "Iron" to strengthen the First Workers' Republic. Soviet Russia grievously needs "Iron"—everything from nails to locomotives, from pins to dynamos. Tools and machinery of all kinds are sorely wanted and must be had to convert the vast realms of Russia, over one-fifth of the whole habitable world, into a flourishing labor commonwealth.

Every worker will benefit by the achievement of Soviet Russia, and the children of all the workers will inherit greater security and richer life. Take part, therefore, in the great work. Though the skill of your hands and the love of your heart must remain afar, send your tools to help build the mighty structure. Contribute in money whatever you can, whether it be to buy a hammer or a saw, a tractor or a thresher. Join with the comrades in your shop, in your organization, to make a united gift. Workers, sympathizers, be generous and true!

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

May 1st to June 1st, 1922

Authorized by the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin (Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated).

Conducted in America under the direction of the

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

(National Office)

201 WEST 13th STREET — NEW YORK CITY

Do You Vote for "Bread and Iron"? Then Sign the Roll Call.

I want to [illegible] the workers' policy of "Bread and Iron" toward Soviet Russia. [illegible]

Name ....

Street address ....

City .... State ....

[illegible]

[illegible] for vigorous resistance against the capitalist offensive, [illegible] in united trade-union action, the Italian Railwaymen's Union, headed by Socialists, Anarchists and Syndicalists, has taken the initiative of calling upon the representatives of the Left political parties of Italy, (Anarchists, Communists, Republicans and Socialists) to meet and discuss the creation of a so-called "Alliance of Labor."

Seek Unity of Action

The Communist Party declined to participate in this conference, but in the letter which it sent explaining its absence, it declared its readiness to do everything in its power to bring about unity of action in the ranks of the Italian proletariat.

Moreover, this is what the C. P. I. has been striving for since last August when it proposed to the Trade Union Conference of Verona that a united trade-union front be formed.

This motion was of course rejected by the majority, consisting of bureaucrats and functionaries of the Italian C. G. L. (General Confederation of Labor).

Today, when the situation has become untenable for the heads of the unions, the leaders of the railwaymen have thought this an opportune moment for calling a conference of the "vanguard" political parties at Rome, for the purpose of laying the foundation for a preliminary "Entente," and of establishing an "Alliance of Labor" by bringing their influence to bear upon their respective trade-union organizations.

Recognize Need of Unity

The Communist Party of Italy, altho refusing to take part in the Conference, has recognised the importance of such a step towards proletarian unity, but it was constrained to point out that this "unity" carries the germ of sterility that exposes it to the danger of becoming a purely formal alliance, devoid of all power, as long as it is not based upon the unification of all pending demands, upon the energetic struggle to improve the proletarian standard of living and upon the use of trade-union direct action as far as the general strike.

However, the first conference of the Executive Committees of these "revolutionary" political parties has taken no such action whatever.

On the other hand, while preserving its independence and freedom of action, the C. P. I. has encouraged its adherents to support those points on the program that contributed to the foundation of a united proletarian front.

The preliminary conference of the "Alliance of Labor" was followed by an assembly that took place on the 19th of February, participated in by the leaders and executive committee of five of the most important Italian labor organizations, namely, the C. G. L., the Railwaymen's Union, the Italian Syndicalist Union, the Syndicalist Labor Union and the Federation of Harbor Workers.

In the recess between the first and second session, the Communist minorities in the C. G. L. and the Railwaymen's Union asked thru their official representative body, the Communist Trade Union Committee, that representation should be extended on a proportional basis.

Minority Refused Representation

To this request D'Aragona answered in the name of the trade-union bureaucracy that the C. G. L. statutes did not give a political committee the right to appoint representatives of the C. G. L.

As if the Communist Trade Union Committee which acts in a trade-union capacity were a political committee!

The minority of the Syndicalist Union, which, like the Communists, is in favor of the Moscow Red Union International, was also refused representation.

In this manner, more than 500,000 of the best, most class-conscious Italian workers found themselves shut out from this conference, which was to form an "Alliance of Labor."

The whole of the National Committee is in the hands of the reformists. Is this not sufficient proof that the "Alliance of Labor" is nothing more than an agreement between the leaders of the various trade-unions? The agreement and unity which will take place among the workers, will have to undo all the intrigues of these trade-union bureaucrats.

Soon after this sham "unity" was [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] From the very start their program is doomed to defeat, for instead of concentrating all the isolated and sectional divisions into one class army it is based upon the only foundation possible for them: the restoration of civil rights and liberties and the defense of the general conquests of the working class.

By general conquests our trade-union bureaucrats mean the eight-hour day, but they are dumb as to the question of wages and labor-contracts, because these are already conquests of a definite kind.

As for weapons, we see that the "Alliance of Labor" does not exclude the general strike, whereas the Communists propose the united front in order to arrive at the general strike.

Seek Lost Reputations

The governmental crisis which has just come to an end has demonstrated that the entire policy of the reformists, while using the proletarian masses as a lever, is itself pulling toward class collaboration.

The "united front," as the gentlemen of the C. G. L. desire it, is also designed to regain for these gentlemen their political reputations and to sustain them in the opinion of the proletariat. But we believe that they are laboring under an illusion. The Italian Communists are on their guard to see that the "defeatists" of the proletarian movement in Italy are paid in kind and that the movement of proletarian demands follows the only path of success—that of the Social Revolution.

The actual reason for the refusal of America to finance the restoration of Europe is that the American government has not sufficiently large sums at its disposal and that the private capitalists are at present engaged in the exploitation of Central and South America.

The capitalist groups interested in exports to Europe are extending credits to private European capitalists.

Under such circumstances, if the United States should appear at the Genoa Conference with empty hands it would risk being told:

"The cancellation of the debts would considerably contribute to the salvation of Europe, in which America is so much interested. France for instance has to pay as much in interest on its debts to the Allies as it can receive from Germany in the way of reparation payments."

The absence of America means that the Genoa Conference, even if successful, will be able to do very little in the economic field for the restoration of European industry.

By Leon Trotsky

[illegible]

Here Is Text of "United Front" Resolutions Adopted at Berlin by the Three Internationals

THE WORKER has just received the complete text of the resolutions adopted by the Berlin Conference of the three Internationals, the Third, Two and One-Half, and Second. It is as follows:—

"UNITED FRONT" RESOLUTIONS

The Conference of the Executives of London, Moscow and Vienna unanimously agrees that, however desirable may be the unification of the class organizations of the proletariat, there shall be no immediate question except of common deliberations for concrete objects by all the tendencies represented at this Congress.

The Conference therefore proposes that the Executives give their assent to the constitution of an organizing committee of nine members, having a mandate to organize further conferences of the three Executives, also larger conferences to which shall be invited parties not belonging to either of the three Internationals. Each Executive shall be free to choose as it pleases the three persons who are to represent it. In this organizing committee no decisions shall be taken by the majority; its mission is to express the points of view which are common to the three Executives as they present themselves at the given time.

United Trade Union Front

The Conference considers it useful that the organizing committee should undertake the attempt to bring about non-binding conversations between the representatives of the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labor Unions, in order to examine by what means may be assured the re-establishment and maintenance, both nationally and internationally, of a united Trade Union front.

Russian Social Revolutionaries and Georgia

The Conference takes note of the declaration made by the representatives of the Communist International, that the 47 Social Revolutionaries may have, in their trial, whatever defenders they desire, and, as the Soviet Press announced before this Congress, the menace of condemnation to death shall be excluded from their trial; the trial shall be open to the public, representatives of the three Executives may be present, and for the information of their members, may have access to the shorthand reports.

The Conference records that each of the three Executives declares itself willing to receive and examine the documents expressing the various points of view on the question of Georgia.

The Conference instructs the organizing committee to draw up a report based on the conclusions [illegible] conference in April [illegible] the period of the Genoa Conference. The Conference [illegible] of holding a general [illegible] as soon as possible.

It is the mission of the [illegible] to inform the parties [illegible] them of the progress that the [illegible] a general congress has made [illegible] the Berlin deliberations.

The Executives will give [illegible] presentatives on the organizing committee full power to carry [illegible] finite conclusion the deliberations of the Berlin Conference concerning [illegible] calling of a general conference.

For the United Action of the Proletariat

The organization of a general conference during the course of [illegible] month was impossible, for the reasons indicated above.

The present Conference declares it to be an indispensable duty, in view of the offensive by international capitalist Imperialism, to manifest immediately, in an international action, the united will of the conscious international proletariat.

The Conference therefore invites the workers of all countries to organize during the Genoa Conference on April 20th, or, if that is impossible, on May 1st, powerful gatherings of the masses, demonstrating with the greatest unity possible for:

The eight-hour day.

To combat unemployment, which is infinitely increased by the Reparations policy of the Capitalist Powers.

For united action by the proletariat against the capitalist offensive.

For the Russian Revolution; for famine-stricken Russia; for the establishment of political and economic relations between Soviet Russia and all States.

The reconstruction of the United Front of the proletariat in all countries and in the International.

The signatories were: Clara Z kin, Radek and Frossard for Third International; Otto W Vandervelde and J. R. MacDo for the Second; and Frederick Ad Bracke and Crispien for the T and-a-Half.

MOSCOW.—Church authori are cooperating with the govern in the collection of gold and prec stones from the churches to be for famine relief.

All Organized Labor Must Present United Front to Capitalism's Offensiv

(Continued from Page One)

the Amsterdam and the Red Trade Union Internationals in order jointly to consider ways and means for countering the offensive of capital, the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International declares that:—

1—The steps taken by our Norwegian comrades with a view of realizing the united front of the organized proletariat thruout the world, are in accordance with similar endeavors on the part of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International which has repeatedly requested the Executive of the Amsterdam Trade Union International to carry on a joint campaign for certain immediate demands, without, however, having at any time received a satisfactory answer.

2—The Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International nevertheless still declares its willingness to participate either in an international conference to which it proposes to invite all Communist and Socialist parties and all other worker's organizations, or in an international trade-union conference, in order to organize jointly the resistance against the aggression of capital.

3—The Executive Committee instructs the Executive Bureau to get into communication with those organizations which will take upon themselves the initiative in calling such a conference.

4—All organizations affiliated to the Red Trade Union International which are in a position to make concrete and practical proposals on this matter are to be invited to submit such proposals first to the Executive Bureau which will discuss them in detail and also make the necessary arrangements for carrying them thru.

4—Organizations belonging to the Red Trade Union International must not participate in any conference or congress whatsoever, to which official representatives of the Red Trade Union International have not been invited.

In conclusion the Executive Committee advises the Norwegian Federation to elaborate a concrete plan of action which in its opinion would provide a satisfactory basis for the international collaboration of the Red Trade Union and Amsterdam Internationals.

The Capitalist Offensive and the Proletarian United Front.

1—The offensive measures which the capitalists thruout the world are at present carrying out, constitute an attempt at solving the economic problems born of and intensified by the war by using both economic and political weapons to compel the proletariat to take upon its shoulders the costs of the war and the burden of its aftermath—the crisis.

The latter obliges the capitalists of all countries to reduce the costs of production.

The disorganization of the proletariat renders it an easy prey for the bourgeoisie which, always attacking at the point of the least resistance, cuts down costs of production by lowering wages, lengthening hours and intensifying exploitation, thus robbing the proletariat of the most elementary achievements gained in the past and forcing it into the deepest misery.

2—This offensive has been well planned and organized by world capital, and only differs in its external form in the various countries.

In countries with a high rate of exchange, wages are reduced; while in those whose currency has depreciated, wages are not being increased in proportion to the steadily declining purchasing power of money.

Both methods achieve the same result—increasing pauperisation of large masses of labor and the imperilling of its bare existence.

To this labor retorts with vague indignation and an evergrowing determination to close its ranks and fight for a way out of its unbearable need.

3—The reformist leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International have shown themselves incapable of organizing the masses to ward off the capitalist offensive.

Until very recently the leaders of Amsterdam even denied that the capitalists were getting ready for attack and endeavored to conciliate labor by praising the League of Nations and the methods of cooperation with the bourgeoisie both on the industrial and the political field.

And tho the failure of their policy and their tactics has meanwhile become obvious, the leaders of Amsterdam have done nothing whatsoever to mass the proletariat for defense; they have contented themselves with futile complaints.

Neither in the United States, nor in Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden or France, have the opportunist trade-union leaders attempted to unite and organize all proletarian forces against capital's power.

Neither nationally nor internationally have the leaders of Amsterdam dared to attempt a [illegible]

The bureaucracy [illegible] the battling workers in the 1921 British miners' strike.

In Czecho-Slovakia and in Switzerland the officialdom of the trade-unions is sabotaging the united defensive fight against the capitalist offensive, because it fears that this united defensive might result in a weakening of the power of capital.

4—This refusal on the part of the trade-union bureaucracy to prepare and carry thru the struggle of the entire working class has in many instances seriously interfered with the development of the proletarian defensive, and this is being understood by ever greater masses of workers.

The determination to struggle which is daily gaining ground among labor, is the best preliminary for the united front which, if no other course proves possible, must be organized even against the wishes of the Amsterdam officialdom.

The followers of the Red Trade Union International, the revolutionary Syndicalists and the Communists must take the initiative in establishing the united front against the offensive of capital.

The purpose and the aim of this united front is the unity of all workers, both within and outside of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, who are determined to take up the fight against wage reductions, extension of working hours, intensified exploitation and cheap woman and child labor, which is more and more becoming a weapon in the hands of the employers, and, finally, against the general daily hardships of a worker's life.

5—The strongly organized employer class dominates the state apparatus and uses it in all its ramifications against labor which will be compelled to turn the fight for safeguarding its immediate economic interests into an attack against the bourgeois state with a view of overthrowing it and replacing the old apparatus by a class organization of its own.

6—The united front must become a fact both on a national and international scale.

The chief difference between us and the Amsterdamers is that we are prepared to employ all possible weapons against every conceivable form of capitalist exploitation (wage reductions, lengthening of working hours, intensified exploitation).

The Amsterdamers, on the other hand, not only decline to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also carefully avoid every serious contest on the economic field, being convinced that such a contest would at present endanger capitalist reconstruction.

We are for countering capital's offensive, because we hold that to be the only means by which labor can be saved from enslavement. We advocate the struggle because we are not concerned with capitalist reconstruction, but solely with the destruction of the capitalist economic system.

We are confident that the working class has sufficient strength to rebuild the economic structure and the state so as to make exploitation impossible.

We are adverse to capitalist reconstruction, because as a result of the situation created by the war's devastation, this is only possible by forcing millions of European workers to lower their living standard below the barest existence minimum, by creating a giant army of unemployed in perpetuo as a result of intensifying colonial exploitation, by the continuation of war armaments, and by new imperialist wars.

7—We are willing and eager to fight side by side with all workers, private and state employees.

We are taking up this struggle, in order to enroll millions of unemployed, who are now doomed to death by starvation, in the army of production and secondly because a decent standard of living will revive the will to battle of the working class.

We are prepared to fight in the front ranks, no matter what the sacrifices, and battle shoulder to shoulder with all those who have as yet no clear conception of the necessity for a struggle for the entire economic and political power.

8—We call upon all labor organizations thruout the world to form a united front together with us on the basis of the defense of the economic interests of the working class. We furthermore declare our readiness to wage warfare for this aim with all workers' organizations, no matter what their political outlook.

We deem it essential that pressure be everywhere brought to bear upon the trade-union leaders to prepare for, and conduct such a campaign.

Only after representatives of the various trade-unions and leaders in their endeavors to save the bourgeoisie persist in declining to participate in joint defensive warfare, shall we attempt to organize the struggle without and, if need be, even against them.

9—Wage disputes of the trades of minor importance in the process of production must be combined with the struggles of those workers essential for the maintenance of the economic life of the bourgeois state. Strikes of railwaymen, seamen, miners and other trades of international importance in a given country must be actively supported by the same trades in the adjoining states.

In countries with a depreciated currency the best basis for a united front is the uniformly organized struggle against the increase of prices (the control of production, commerce and prices by the working class) for the burden of taxation and the war debts being saddled on the possessing class.

In colonial and semi-colonial countries, as for instance India and China, labor has to defend itself against aggression of both the domestic bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists.

The Red Trade Union International and the workers of the capitalist countries must advise and support the young revolutionary proletariat of the Far East in its struggle for decent living conditions and against domestic and foreign exploiters.

10—The revolutionary labor unions must everywhere take the initiative in creating the united front, of course on the basis of the class struggle and not on that of collaboration between the classes.

This united front must be hinged on certain specified demands all labor is interested in (wage disputes, working hours, standard of living, woman and child labor, etc.)

The revolutionary labor unions and their leaders must do everything in their power to bring these struggles to a victorious end.

11—The united front is thus to be built up for purposes of warfare in which the revolutionary organizations must fight shoulder to shoulder with reformist and other worker's organizations as long as the latter are determined to wage the battle for everyday demands of labor.

Action, absolute and definitive refusal to participate in any cooperation whatsoever with the capitalist class on the part of the reformist and other workers' organizations, and retention of organizational and political independence on our part are the preliminary conditions for a united front.

A united front does under no circumstances imply that the Red Trade Unions have deserted either their principles or have relinquished their program and tactics.

In concluding with other workers' organizations an agreement for the purpose of jointly conducting a certain action, the revolutionary organizations propagate their ideas and their principles.

United front means common struggle with proletarians who differ with us as to the ultimate aim and with semi-proletarians in town and country who are willing to fight with us against the capitalists and landowners.

The united front means the community of struggle of the proletarian class against its enemy, the bourgeoisie, and is as such radically distinguished from Amsterdam's policy of cooperation with the same class.

12—The leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and its affiliated bodies look askance at the desire of the working class for unity upon the basis of a common defense against capitalist aggression.

This is the ultimate reason for the wellplanned attempts of influential circles within the Amsterdam Trade Union International to split the trade-union movement, at a time when the capitalist offensive has reached its culminating point and the bourgeoisie is everywhere adopting brutal measures against the workers' organizations.

In France, for instance, the trade-union movement has been manoeuvred into a perilous situation due to the tactics of the reformists, while in Switzerland similar tactics are at present being employed with a like determination.

Here one of the Amsterdam leaders has moved the expulsion of one of the strongest sections of the Metal Workers' Union, because it did not approve of his reformist tactics.

The same attitude towards the united front of the trade-unions is met with in other countries.

The Amsterdam leaders respond to the elementary desire of the working class for unity in especially difficult times by favoring all attempts at splitting the trade-union movement and preferring collaboration with the bourgeoisie to an understanding with the revolutionary workers.

13—These tactics of the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and its national sections cannot prevent the Red Trade Union International and its affiliated organizations from proposing, whenever and wherever that is possible, the union of the actions of the workers.

Hence we suggest that our organizations continue to enlighten the workers on the imperative necessity for unity.

Wherever reformist trade-union leaders decline to come to an understanding with our organizations because they are revolutionary or Communist, we advise our followers to disregard the leaders of the reformist trade-unions and appeal directly to the broad masses organized in such unions, thus exposing the ers' criminal tactics and their re to all labor.

14—It is necessary everywhere call upon both the adherents of Amsterdam Trade Union Interna nal and the Anarchists to prep and conduct the struggle toget with the Communists, Syndicali and members of the Red tra unions.

While declining to abandon principles, we must nevertheless serve stringent class discipline everywhere workers having a di rent stand-point but determ upon a struggle, to join them i

15—All our adherents must na ally and internationally be unite the Red Trade Union Internat as a compact centre of revolution energy.

After the other workers fight si by side with us, practice and exp rience of the struggle will very so make the workers discover the ut futility of employing reformist a syndicalist halfway measures a methods in the battle, and it will possible to overcome them.

The example is set in the cou of the struggle by the followers the Red Trade Union Internatio who keep faith under all circumst ces and are deterred by no no matter how great, together sharp and matter-of-fact criticism the shortcomings and weakness the other methods of struggle help the proletariat to attain

16—Simultaneously with activities for uniting all labor for the purpose of fense, the revolutionary must continue their work of uniting the [illegible] class.

The possibility of uniting of various political [illegible] crete and practical [illegible] fensive and offensive [illegible] in proportion [illegible] the work of the revolutionary unions in propagating their idea organizing their followers more intense, more certain aims and more systematic.

Throughout their entire activit revolutionary labor unions mu ver allow themselves to forg the more the revolutionary are strengthened, the sooner more efficiently will the unit be established.

The united front is not an [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Out Celebration on May 12th

The release of Benjamin Gitlow, C. E. Ruthenberg and L. E. Ferguson will be celebrated May 12th, at the Central Opera House, 205 E. 67th Street.

All branches are instructed to hold no other affairs on this evening. All members are expected to be present. Tickets will be distributed during the week in branches. Leaflets will be on hand at the Local Office, for distribution, Wednesday, May 10th. Every branch is to call for its quota.

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

Besides the literature to be circulated by the Amnesty Alliance the Local will have for distribution 10,000 copies of a four-page May Day proclamation and two thousand special May Day editions. Also announcements for the demonstration.

Branch Industrial Organizers' Conference—The first conference of branch industrial organizers will be held on Saturday, 3 P.M., at the Local Office, 208 East 12th St. J. Anthony Anderson will speak on THE DUTIES OF THE BRANCH INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZER. A concrete program will be presented for their work.

Friends of Soviet Russia—Tag DAY—has been postponed to May 6th and 7th. The Local has endorsed the F. S. R. and is co-operating in this drive.

All branches are to have 100% participation so as to avoid the repetition of the last drive, in which some members neglected their duty.

Section Organizers will meet with the Organizations Committee of the Local on May 4th, Thursday, at 8 P. M., at the Volkszeitung Office, 15 Spruce St.

Important!—All Branches, Section Committees and other sub-divisions of the Local are notified that before arranging any affair they are to secure the approval of the Organizatio Committee thru the the Executive Secretary. This procedure, decided upon in order to avoid conflicts, will help make affairs more successful.

Buttons—Special May Day Buttons and Workers Party Buttons are out. Secure your quota from the Local Office. Price 5 cents to branches, selling 10 cents.

City Central Committee meets regulary first and third Saturday. Next meeting will be held May 6th, Labor Lyceum, 243 E. 84th St., 8 P. M.

ORGANIZATION NEWS NOTES

District No. 3 is routing M. Kushinsky over the following Pennsylvania cities for organization work:—Wilkes Barre, Plymouth, Scranton, Nanticoke, Shenandoah, Mahoney City, Plains and Ashley.

District Organizer Cyril Lambkin will make an organization trip covering Indiana cities from Detroit to Indianapolis and return.

Wallace Metcalf, of Youngstown, Ohio, well known as an organizer of the World War Veterans, is going on a flivver organization trip thru the Ohio coal towns, under the auspices of our Columbiana County organization.

In Warren, Ohio, a large Finnish branch is the backbone of the party, and together with two other branches keeps up a large headquarters in the center of the city. On very short notice a successful meeting was held with Joseph M. Coldwell as the speaker.

DISCUSS UNITED FRONT

The English (downtown) Branch, Workers Party, will have a general discussion on the question of the United Front, Wednesday night, May 3, at 61 Canal St. Albert Verblin will lead the discussion. All are welcome.

[illegible] Fears United [illegible] Proposals for May Day

The proposal of the Workers Party to form a united front of labor for the celebration of International Labor Day (May First), has met with a similar reception at the hands of the Socialist Party as a proposal along the same line by the Communists of Germany received from the Scheidemann-Ebert "Majorities" in Germany.

Once more the dominant element of the Socialist Party showed their kinship to the most reactionary labor faction in all Europe by this similarity of reaction to an identical proposition.

In Milwaukee, Wis., the May Day conference of radical organizations under the lead of the Workers Party, invited the Socialist Party and the Federated Trades Council to participate.

The S. P. refused to give the floor to the delegation sent to present the invitation, while the Executive Board of the Federated Trades, controlled by the S. P., tried to suppress all knowledge of the receipt of such a communication.

This was blocked by Workers Party members who were delegates to the Council, and the invitation was ordered read despite the efforts of the gang to side-track it on the plea of "too much business."

Meeting Is Adjourned

An interesting and heated discussion resulted and the meeting was adjourned by the steam roller before a motion to refer it back to the Executive Board for action, then on the floor, could be voted on.

In Schenectady, N. Y., the Socialist local, altho small and uninfluential, took very much the same attitude, and struck an attitude that the only kind of a united front of labor in which they were interested was that of membership in their own little local.

Schenectady and Milwaukee are two examples of the rottenness of labor reformism gone to seed. In the former the idol of the S. P., George R. Lunn, served the same master whether as "Socialist" mayor or "Democratic" congressman, and the handful of remaining S. P. loyalists seem to have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

In Milwaukee a bluff individualist of low ward heeler type considers it profitable to label his political machine with the "Social-Democratic" label, and in return for the questionable prestige his vote brings to the national Socialist Party he is allowed to boss the show on the national field as well.

Scheidemann and Noske are opposed to a united front of labor. So are "Socialist" Congressman Berger and Democratic Congressman Lunn. So are Elbert H. Gary and his Supreme Court Chief, Bill Taft. They are all in good company and class kinship.

Conflicting Tendencies

On the other hand it should be noted that just as the Independent of Germany did lay aside their personal prejudices and take part in the joint activity, so a number of S. P. Locals have also come into May Day conferences with the Workers Party and the local trade unions.

This is true notably in Baltimore in many Massachusetts towns, and is the case of one New York local.

Two such diametrically opposite tendencies in one organization, each going its own way and doing as it pleases, could be tolerated only in an unprincipled and moribund office-hunting alliance like the dominant group now in control of the S. P. political shell.

Exhibitions of attitude like that on the "United Front for May Day" issue will soon alienate whatever decent membership continues fealty to them. They have no message for the workers of America. They exist only to divide the ranks of labor and serve the capitalist class with the vituperation they heap upon those who expose their bankruptcy of principle. "By their deeds ye shall know them," and their deeds are exactly identical with those of the most reactionary group of the Right Wing of the German movement.

MEETINGS FOR MAY DAY

Rochester, N. Y., will see a demonstration in which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are running the meeting jointly with the Workers Party and other local groups upon the basis of the Workers Party Central Executive Committee's united front program, unchanged, and with Robert Minor and Ignazio [illegible], both party speakers, on the program for addresses in English and Italian, respectively.

St. Paul and Minneapolis will also hold meetings with T. B. Lewis as the principal speaker.

At Gardner, Mass., the meeting [illegible] under the auspices of a conference including, besides the Party, the Carpenters' Union, Painters Union, and two Lithuanian Fraternal organizations. The members of the Finnish Branch Socialist Party, tried to prevent the participation of the unions but were outvoted. The speakers will be Dr A. F. Konikow and M. Plepys.

At Norwood, Mass., the meeting will be held in the New South Theatre, with Mrs. Eva Hoffman as the English speaker and others to talk in Russian and Lithuanian.

Strikers Join in Meeting

Lanesville, Mass., will have a meeting at Finnish Hall, under auspices in which the striking quarrymen's union is taking a leading part. H. Canter will be the speaker.

Edgar Owens, Secretary of the National Defense Committee will be the principal speaker at the meetings at Springfield and Worcester. There will also be a Socialist speaker at Springfield.

At Fitchburg, J. P. Reid, of Providence, R. I., will be the speaker. At Chelsea, James P. Cannon, H. S. Bloomfield and R. J. Zelms will be the speakers.

At Superior, Wisc., an extensive musical program has been arranged for the meeting at Workers' Hall, Tower Ave. and Fifth Street, May 1. Frank E. Miner, District Organizer and member of the Minnesota Legislature, will be the principal speaker in English.

Outvoted at Superior, Wisc.

A spirited fight for the participation of the Local Trades Assembly was made by our delegates, but they were outvoted. It is not known at this time whether the I. W. W. will participate. Here the local Finnish branch with 150 members is the largest single branch in the local. They maintain the headquarters and have an orchestra, dramatic club, male choir, brass band and athletic club. The English branch has been organized only recently with [illegible] members but all are active.

The recently organized Young Workers League is also showing splendid strength, and meets every week with educational and literary programs as their principal activity.

In work on behalf of the Friends of Soviet Russia this local has also been very successful, collecting over 800 in one tag day at Superior, and 1600 in Duluth.

At Wilmington, Del., there will be a May Day program consisting of speakers in English and Italian, and some excellent musical numbers.

In Newark, N. J., there is a May Day conference composed of party branches and various labor organizations that will hold a meeting in the Newark Labor Lyceum, 704 S. 4th St., on Monday, May 1st, with Rose Pastor Stoker and Stephen Bircher as speakers. Of the proceeds 50 percent will go to Famine Relief, 25 percent to the Miners Strike Fund, and 25 percent to the National Defense Committee.

Chicago and Vicinity

A joint meeting will be held under the auspices of a conference made up of Carpenters Unions, Machinist Locals, Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Proletarian Party, Socialist Labor Party, Left Paole Zion and all branches of the Workers Party. The principal speaker will be W. Z. Foster, who will also talk at separate meetings conducted at different times by the Bohemian, Italian and Finnish branches.

At Joliet, Ill., David J. Bentall will be the principal speaker, and four local unions participating in the conference.

At Moline, Ill., and Davenport, Ia., Arne Swabeck will be the principal speaker.

George Maurer speaks at Waukegan, John Edwards at Aurora, D. E. Early at Racine.

The entire speaking force of District Eight (Chicago) has been placed at the disposal of the St. Louis district for an intensive campaign of the coal fields, and Browder, Swabeck, Carney and Backall making up the first contingent during and after May Day.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

FIRST OF MAY FESTIVAL

All Profit for the Russian Daily "ISKRA"

Concert & Ball

SUNDAY, APRIL 30, 1922, 2 P. M.

at

New Star Casino

107th STREET and PARK AVENUE

AT THE CONCERT WILL PARTICIPATE THE

BEST MUSICAL TALENTS

THE FOLLOWING SPEAKERS WILL APPEAR

ROBERT MINOR

JAMES P. CANNON, Chairman of the Workers Party

and the Editors of the "Freiheit" and "Iskra."

Make a success, bring your friends!

DANCES TILL MORNING ADMISSION 50c.

NEW STAR CASINO, 107th St. & Park Ave.

FIRST OF MAY FESTIVAL

[illegible]

[illegible] where speakers [illegible] run.

At [illegible], Ohio, [illegible] English [illegible] the Workers Party with twelve charter members [illegible]. Sacco-Vanzetti literature is also being sold and a [illegible] is being raised for the Defense Fund.

His Illinois itinerary has not yet been made up but acceptances have been received from Rockford and Moline, Ill., and Racine, Wisc.

Advance acceptances from St. Louis and Superior, Wisc., indicate that his stay in districts [illegible] are also going to be effective in arousing sentiment for the release of all our class war prisoners.

The district organizers in these two districts welcome his services and one of them asks for more time than it is possible to allow any one district.

Two dates have already been fixed for his return trip, Youngstown, Ohio, for a return picnic date, and Detroit, Mich., where other meetings made it impossible to arrange his meeting on this tour.

All locals east of Omaha desiring Coldwell dates upon the basis of dividing the net proceeds, one-third to the local, one-third to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, and one-third to the National Defense Committee, the national office to furnish advertising matter, should write at once.

Administrative Council of Party Takes Up Problem of Industrial Activitie.

The principal decision of the recent meeting of the Administrative Council of the Workers Party was on the question of industrial organization activity of party members, and the relation of such activity toward broader groups of radical and progressive workers such as the Trade Union Educational League.

The committee decided that while our own party members must organize their nuclei within the unions on strictly party lines, they should also take an active part in promoting such "Left" movements as the Trade Union Educational League, and thru their constructive activity within these organizations keep their policies in harmony with the program of the Red Trade Union International.

The actual structure of the industrial organization work of the party is to be created on the basis of the following report, submitted by a special sub-committee and approved with minor corrections, by the committee.

A report on the release of Ferguson, Ruthenberg and Gitlow on bail and the negotiations on the release of Larkin and Winitsky was presented by the Defense Secretary.

The manager of the Hungarian Printing Plant, sought to be made a party institution, was requested to remain at his post until the conclusion of the investigation into the matter by the Finance and Press committees.

A survey of the affairs of the party papers printed in New York City will be a part of this investigation.

The status of unorganized or nominally organized districts was taken up, one proposal being to manage these from the national office until such time as a district organization could be set up and maintained, the other was to attach them to contiguous districts. Action was postponed pending further study of the question.

DISTRICT TWO IS BUSY

The District Organizer reports after a tour of the district, that City Central Committees are organized in New Haven and Hartford, Conn., in Essex, Hudson and Passaic Counties, New Jersey, in New York, Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse, and in the "Capital District," which takes in Albany, Cohoes, Johnston, Schenectady and Troy. The formation of a City Central Committee is a very real criterion of organization development as it means that the various branches of the party in each city have really gone together for effective work.

The total membership in the district is estimated at 4,500, in a total of 120 branches. Minor meetings were held in six cities. The district convention is booked for July 1st and 2nd.

Workers Party Branch of Neffs, Ohio, had a benefit dance and raised $165.38 for the Friends of Soviet Russia.

[illegible] in America

The [illegible] of a [illegible] in the City Central Committee [illegible] in favor of an alliance for the coming Congressional [illegible] of all political parties that accept the [illegible] of independent political action on the part of the working class [illegible] of the united front in America down [illegible] of theoretical generalities to a concrete [illegible].

[illegible] to accept the united front tactic [illegible].

The [illegible] of the resolution is that the interests of the [illegible] demand the application of the united front tactic on the political field, in the form of an alliance of all parties [illegible] to represent the working class. Do existing conditions justify that [illegible]?

No one but a hopeless dogmatist would deny that it would be a step forward if the American workers could be weaned away from the two capitalist parties.

The class struggle on the political field will begin in earnest when the bulk of the proletariat will cast its ballot for other than capitalist parties.

One of the indications of a growing class-consciousness is the tendency for the proletariat to break away from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Is there such a tendency on the part of the American workers to break away from the Republican and Democratic parties? And if there is would an alliance of all working class parties help in crystallyzing that tendency?

Certain it is that the objective conditions speak in favor of the possibility of getting the workers to leave the capitalist parties. The merciless wage-slashing drive, the determined open-shop campaign, the five or six million unemployed, all favor that possibility.

Within the last few years the American workers have jumped in quick succession from the fold of the Republican to that of the Democratic party and back again. This indicates the existence of a fermentation amongst them.

They are not entirely satisfied and are changing parties in the hope of getting something better. True, thus far their memory has been short and consequently they have jumped from the Republican frying pan into the Democratic fire and then reversed the process.

But it is inconceivable that they will continue to do so for a long period of time. At the time of the exodus of the Wilson administration [illegible] crisis of unemployment had just begun and one of the reasons for the Republican land-slide was the hope that the bosses would open the factories under a Republican regime.

But the factories are still closed, the crisis has not abated in the least and it is not reasonable to expect that under these conditions, the workers are in a mood to throw both capitalist parties overboard?

That the tendency to leave the old parties has a basis in fact and is no mere figment of our imagination is evident to all who are acquainted with recent developments in the labor movement.

Beginning with 1918, Labor Parties have sprung up all over the country independently of one another. Bridgeport, Hartford, Chicago, New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania have all had their labor parties. They have disappeared from the political arena, but the significance of their spontaneous rise cannot be ignored.

The recent Chicago conference can in a larger sense, be interpreted only as a movement on the part of the workers towards independent political action. The movement is hesitating; it has many obstacles to overcome, but no one can deny the existence of the movement.

All-in-all, it is safe to assert that there is a real sentiment on the part of the workers to leave the capitalist parties, and it needs only the formation of a Labor Party to crystallize that sentiment and once—and for all tear the workers away from the Democratic and Republican party.

There is, however, and unfortunately so, no Labor Party. Does that mean, then, that we must wait till one is formed? That would mean to accept the absurdity that without a Labor Party there can be no united front.

Under the circumstances, a united front of all existing parties believing in independent political action for the workers, is the best that we can hope to achieve. And that is a highly desirable thing.

First, because it would, to a smaller degree, accomplish what a Labor Party could do, namely, help tear the workers away from the capitalist parties. Certainly those workers who are ready to leave the old parties will not be encouraged to do so if they see all the proletarian parties and factions fighting around like cats and dogs. There's nothing that discourages workers who have evolved a minimum degree of class consciousness, so much, as the lack of unity on the part of those who claim to represent them. They generally turn away in disgust.

Second, the formation of such a united front will be a powerful push towards the creation of a Labor Party.

No doubt but that such a united front would obtain the backing of the more progressive unions. There would be formed a Labor Party in embryo and that would be a step towards the formation of a real Labor Party.

No doubt exists that if we consider the resolution in favor of an alliance of all political parties claiming to represent the workers, from the point of view of the effect that such an alliance will have upon the proletarian movement, we must accept the resolution without hesitation.

But, the question can be asked (and undoubtedly will be) how about the Workers Party? Can we afford to enter into an alliance with all varieties of reformists? Would it not be a compromise of our revolutionary principles to work hand in-hand with Hillquit and his kind.

First of all, the united front on the political field does not mean an organic unity of parties. We keep our organization intact; we propagate our principles; we reserve absolute right to criticize the theories and tactics of any other party.

We are united temporarily on the basis of such immediate demands as are agreeable to all factions. If the Socialists and Farmer-Laborites believe in the eight-hour day, in the prevention of the use of injunctions in strikes and if we also believe in these and similar immediate demands then the obvious thing for us to do (at least obvious to the ordinary worker) is to unite on the basis of these immediate demands.

The Workers Party has nothing to lose and everything to gain if it adopts the tactic advocated in the resolution. If the other parties accept, it means that the progress of the proletarian movement is furthered, and everything that furthers the progress of the proletarian movement is in the interest of the Workers Party because its interests are identical with those of the proletariat as a whole.

The Workers Party can not afford to be manoeuvered into a position where it will appear that it is the cause of the splitting up of the proletarian vote. We, above all, must stand for the unity of the workers in all fields.

If the other parties refuse to accept our offer of a united front in election campaigns, then our position will be tremendously strengthened.

We shall be able to show that the accusation of the opportunists that we are the disrupters and split-makers is a mere shame and hypocrisy used by them to prejudice the workers against us.

It is absolutely incorrect to consider the proposed temporary alliance of political parties as a union with the leaders of the reformist parties. It is far more correct to assert that it is a union with whatever proletarian elements exist within the reformist parties and, most important, with all the workers who are under the influence of those parties.

The acceptance of the resolution will mean that we really have serious intentions of going to the masses of becoming a party of the masses.

No one will claim that the application of the united-front tactic on the political field, will mean the creation of a mass movement in the immediate future.

It will mean the beginning of a mass movement and that fact alone outweighs all the possible objections that can be advanced in opposition to a united front of all proletarian parties.

LINDGREN GOES ON TOUR

Edward Lindgren, organizer for District No. 2, of the Workers Party will make a two-weeks' tour of the central parts of New York State during the weeks from May 3 to 17, inclusive.

He will make the following towns for organization purposes:

May 3, Binghamton; May 4, Spencer; May 5, Oneonta; May 6, 7, 8, Capital District which includes Albany, Schenectady, Troy, Cohoes, Johnstown and Gloversville; May 9 and 10, Utica; May 11, Syracuse; May 12, Ithaca; May 13, Newfields; May 14, Geneva; May 15, Pennelsville; May 16 and 17, Syracuse.

Brownsville Branch, N.Y. Workers Party, is supporting the "Worker" Opera benefit to the limit of its strength. Its first order was for thirteen tickets and there is a promise of many more to come. What is your branch doing?

[illegible]

Several members of the Yorkville Branch [illegible] THE WORKER by obtaining subscriptions for it among their friends and fellow-workers. Particularly inspiring was the report of Comrade Kuppersmith, Branch Organizer and the individual comrade most responsible for the subscription drive.

Other interesting features of the meeting, which was held at the Branch's temporary headquarters at 143 E. 103rd Street, included a report from the committee charged with locating headquarters in the Yorkville section, and a keenly contested discussion on the European Labor Movement in its relation to America which was led by Comrade Procope, a member of the Branch recently returned from Europe. Following this discussion there were short talks by different comrades on the work of the Unemployment Council and on the plan for a city-wide Subbotnik for the F. S. R. on May 6 and 7. The Educational Director announced another interesting educational program for the next meeting on May 1.

Arrangements were made for full participation in the May Day demonstrations at 110th Street and Fifth Avenue, the Oriental comrades undertaking the work of making a banner for the occasion.

Y.W.L. NEWS

Comrade Kun Lesley of Newark reports the existence of a Y.W.L. in that city with 40 good standing members. They organized during the latter part of January with a mere handful, but with hard and consistent work, now have a functioning branch. Delegates to the National Convention have already been elected.

Camden, N. J., after trying for a long time, at last managed to get a Y.W.L. started. Comrade Edna Morrow, the secretary, writes: "We have read and discussed the Y.W.L. program, and do heartily endorse its principles." Everyone is full of pep. They expect to have a big league soon.

The Elizabeth I. Y. P. S. L. has elected its delegates to the National Convention. Everyone there is hoping that we shall soon have a large and united movement.

Our Comrades in Toledo will hold their May Day demonstration on April 30th—and intend to make it a special occasion to get members for the Y.W.L. They want to get a special Y.W.L. speaker for the celebration. We have made arrangements for someone to be there.

All who desire to contribute funds to defray the expenses of bringing a delegate from West Virginia to the National Convention, should send same to this office as soon as possible. All the miners in Coketon have been locked out for a long time—and now the strike is on—they cannot, therefore, raise any money themselves but depend upon our assistance.

Chicago held its City Convention April 18th. It passed resolutions on the United Front; Industrial Activity, Genoa Conference, and Political Subordination to the Workers Party. Five delegates to the National Convention were elected. According to a census of the Chicago Y.W.L. more than 50 per cent. of the membership belong to unions, one of their members is a business agent for an important local of the Building Trades, and three are delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor.

CLEVELAND C.C.C. ACTIVE

A number of successful meetings mark the activity of the local at Cleveland, Ohio. An open forum is also conducted at which Elmer Boich, Tom Clifford, and Jim Corrigan have been speakers.

A large and growing new English branch was recently organized. On Sunday, April 30, a mass meeting was held at Workers Home, 15810 Holmes Ave., 2 p. m., at which the united front policy of the Workers Party against the open-shop campaign, which is particularly strong in Cleveland, was capably presented.

KANSAS CITY, KANS.

The Party conducts an open forum three times a month and reports extensive unemployment "because the Stockyard workers are good strikers."

A lively branch of the F.S.R. is made up of delegates of ten organizations, and at an entertainment on Decoration Day a phonograph will be raffled off for the benefit of the famine relief.

The Relief Society for the People of Soviet Russia, affiliated with the Friends of Soviet Russia, are giving a theatre party on Friday night, May 5th. "[illegible]" at the Art Theatre in Madison Square Garden will be the play presented. Tickets may be secured at the headquarters, [illegible] Fifth Ave., and at the door.

[illegible]
THE WORKER
[illegible]

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There may be "Tired Radicals." But there are no tired revolutionists. Do you get the distinction?

All Out on May Day

This issue of THE WORKER will reach a large number of its readers on the eve of many May Day demonstrations.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that every reader of these words should do all in his power to make these demonstrations successful achievements in the forward march of the working class.

Last week 100,000 workers marched in Vienna in the demonstrations called for by the united front conference of the three Internationals. Another 100,000 demonstrated in the streets of Berlin under the guns of the ruling social-democracy.

Great preparations had been made, as we went to press, for the celebration of International May Day by the workers of all countries.

Demonstrations, mass meetings, parades will be held in all sections of this country under the inspiration of the young American Communist movement.

There will be more real agitation and propaganda for Communism in this country during the celebration of International May Day, 1922, than we have been able to carry on during the three years existence of our movement. It will be the first May Day of the Workers Party.

This day, May Day, 1922, should therefore mark the beginning of new and greater struggles. Let all workers be idle for capitalism, but not idle for their own cause on this day.

In New York City plans have been formulated for wonderful open air demonstrations at 110th Street and Park Circle, in Manhattan, and at Grand Street Extension and Havemeyer Ave., in Brooklyn.

Turn out to these gatherings. Help restore the pre-war custom of mass demonstrations in the streets of New York.

Forward to May Day! Forward, All! Forward, Everywhere!

"God save labor from the courts!" was one of Samuel Gompers' bright sayings before the Lockwood Committee of the New York State Legislature. But capitalism doesn't recognize God and it does own the courts. So labor had better put its trust in its own strength, and develop that, until it becomes greater than the strength of capitalism, and then it will not be compelled to look around for [illegible] even for a Gompers.

Here Is the Latest

We offer the accompanying as absolutely the latest plan to overthrow the Soviet Regime in Red Russia.

Alexander Maximov, professor of anatomy in the imperial military academy at Petrograd since 1903, and ranking as a general in the former czarist army, NOW TEACHING BIOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, declares:—

"If the 30,000 Communists who are engineering things in Russia could be killed off by outside nations, the bootless, gunless, hungry Red Army could be routed. But the Communists must not be imprisoned nor exiled, they must be killed.

"BUT, THE FRENCH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS CANNOT GET THEIR WORKERS TO MARCH AGAINST THE RUSSIAN WORKERS."

Well, there you have it. Maximov says what should be done, and then confesses, "It can't be did."

What Maximov proposes is just what Lloyd George and his fellow imperialist diplomats have been trying to do for the past four years.

The Genoa Conference is testimony to the fact that they could not get the workers of their own countries to murder the Communists of Russia. They have failed.

So Maximov had better confine himself to his biological studies at the Standard Oil-controlled university on Chicago's midway. We assure him, John D. Rockefeller will have no fault to find with his teachings.

Lady Astor is here proclaiming herself the real representative of British opinion. She classifies Margot Asquith, of autobiography fame, as an "irresponsible." And her message to Irish-Americans is:—"If I were an Irish-American I'd never send a cent across to Ireland to help them fight. That means only self-destruction." Wonder where Lady Astor was all the time the big war was going on and the United States government was loaning billions to Great Britain to destroy lives and property in Europe? The Irish can be depended on to see thru the Lady's hypocricy.

We Rejoice! We Fight On!

We rejoice in the release, even on bail, of Ruthenberg, Ferguson and Gitlow, from the prisons of Auburn and Sing Sing.

We fight on that they may never again be compelled to return to the steel chambers of the capitalist inquisition; that all those now shackled in mind and body may be liberated, and that all others threatened with persecution may be freed of the charges against them.

Not including the two convictions of our comrades on so-called "criminal anarchy" charges before Judge Gibbs, Bronx County, April 25, there are nine Communist prisoners in New York State.

Gitlow, Ferguson and Ruthenberg have just been released on bail under certificates of reasonable doubt from Judge Benjamin N. Cardozo, of the Court of Appeals.

Larkin will no doubt also secure release on bail from Judge Cardozo, the cases of these four defendants being under the same indictment.

This group of appeals will come up for oral argument before the entire court of appeals the last of May or the beginning of June.

The printed arguments in the Ferguson-Ruthenberg case, and in the Gitlow case, were written by Ferguson at Sing Sing.

The appeal of Harry Winitsky has not yet been filed in the Appellate Division, but will be ready for argument within a very short time.

Meanwhile, on Wednesday, May 3, there will be presented an application to the Supreme Court, Motion Term, for a certificate of reasonable doubt and bail for Winitsky.

A written memorandum of argument is being prepared [illegible]

[illegible] others on bail.

The case of Paul Manko, [illegible] put a leaflet of the Communist [illegible] for the Appellate Division by [illegible] A certificate of reasonable doubt [illegible]

The appeal of [illegible] of Cortland, N. Y., is in the hands of Attorney Walter Nelles.

Gus Alonen and Carl Paivio did not appeal their cases. They will complete their minimum sentences [illegible] within the next two or three months. Deportation warrants have been served on them while in prison.

That is the outlook as it presents itself to our comrades in their struggle with the capitalist class.

That the court attack against Communists continues is shown in the brutal conviction of Mrs. [illegible] and Mrs. [illegible] Jurson in the Bronx County Supreme Court. They were charged with distributing Communist leaflets [illegible] to May Day, one year ago.

At the same time the court [illegible] the bail of [illegible] Leisman, facing similar charges, from [illegible] to [illegible] because the "prosecuting attorney has suspicions."

The cases of these women comrades must be stubbornly fought. If there is a sentence to state prison (the women come up for sentence May 3rd), then demonstrations must be arranged and a systematic campaign of protest planned.

In the language of our Comrade Ferguson, "My heart aches at the thought of these women comrades going to prison. We must put up a fight for them, the biggest fight that we know how."

Remember, Comrades! We rejoice! We fight on!

The West Virginia Treason Trial

"The System" is again on the trail of treason in West Virginia.

Sixty-three years ago "The System" was chattel slavery and the treason was committed by John Brown and a handful of social pioneers who raided the arsenal at Harpers Ferry to secure the weapons they thought necessary to carry on the struggle for its abolition.

This week "The System" is wage slavery and the treason has been committed by 700 coal miners who inspired and led an armed march of workers thru the unorganized coal fields of West Virginia in an effort to rid them of the Cossacks and hired assassins of the mine owners.

John Brown was convicted and hung up by the neck until dead by "The System" of the middle of the last century.

But a million men, the armies of The North, soon marched to battle in a great Civil War singing:

"John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,
"But his soul goes marching on."

And the system of chattel slavery perished.

In the same little court house, at Charles Town, West Va., where John Brown was convicted for his faith in the cause of abolition, these 700 coal miners, the abolitionists of today, are now on trial.

Somewhere between 8,000 and 10,000 workers were actually engaged in the armed march. The most able have been picked for punishment by a judicial system that takes its dictates today, as in the past, from organized greed.

Wage slavery, capitalism, is on trial in that West Virginia court house, not the forward-looking forces of organized labor.

Chattel slavery went to its death with the martyrdom of John Brown. Whatever the results of the trial of the coal miners, the John Browns of today, the coal monarchs must see their doom in the rising power of the slaves of the mines.

The czars of the coal industry, with their political instruments, including the power that sits in Washington that sent fleets of airships and clouds of poison gas against the workers in revolt, are using the same weapons that the ruling class has always used.

They know no better, can do nothing else. The system of capitalism will pass just as all oppressive social systems before it.

On the ashes of capitalism, and out of the agony and martyrdom of those who today see the light and struggle for the new dawn, there will rise the new social order, Communism, that recognizes no classes, that will be without slaves.

Famine in New York City

There are 60,000 starving children in the public schools of New York City. In the public records they are merely classified as "handicapped."

This vertable army of hungering boys and girls includes crippled, tubercular, cardiac and otherwise unfortunate children whose condition is directly, or indirectly, due to semi-starvation.

John J. Lyons, secretary of state and chairman of the School Children's Welfare League, describes their condition as "bordering on famine." Lyons says:—

> "I am confident that not one citizen in 10,000 even dreams of the fact that right here in this rich and beautiful New York City there is an actual famine condition pulling down thousands of our little children—if famine, indeed, means lack of proper and sufficient nourishment.
>
> "Thousands of children, physically deficient, are compelled, because of the poverty of their parents or guardians, to go breakfastless to school every day. They sit at their desks, wan and faint, until noonday, and then, unless help comes from the outside, they again go without nourishment.
>
> "By night-time they are desperate for food, but they cannot be cretain even then of getting the right sort of things to eat. In many poor homes I have discovered the wife and mother and even the children deprive themselves of food to some extent at least, in order that the husband and father may be kept strong and well so he can maintain a roof over the heads of them all."

Lyons is an official of the capitalist system. Capitalism is not interested in bettering the conditions of the workers.

The exploiters are just now active in taking advantage of the fact that there are 10,000,000 jobless bread winners in the land.

They hope that the hungry boy or girl at school will force the father or mother, or big brother or sister in the factory to accept a job at reduced wages and a longer work-day.

The profiteers are therefore happy because 60,000 school children are starving in New York City. They are happy because similar conditions prevail in other cities. It helps them in their business.

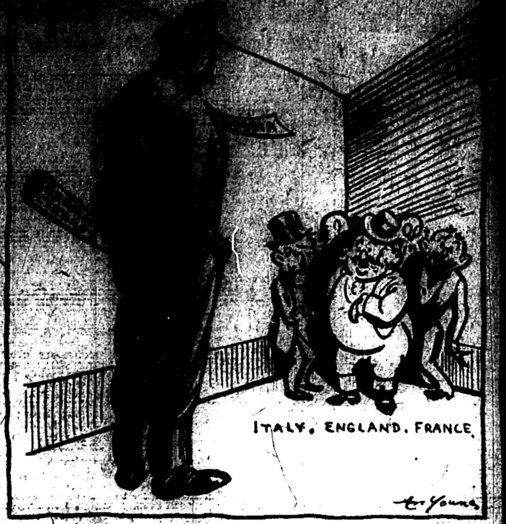
Only the workers can change this condition. They must abolish the social system that lives because they suffer.

Only the workers, thru their organized and enlightened power, can usher in the Comunist society that will provide first and only for those who labor.

The Communist Republic of Russia has not been able to realize Communism. It is struggling to do so.

Let Emma Goldman and the New York World, who are worrying so much because some children in Soviet Russia, in the shadow of the great Volga famine, are suffering, look to the children of New York City.

There is a difference between Soviet Russia and the United States. Communism in Russia is striving to realize the new day. Capitalism in the United States is struggling with all its power to oppose its coming. Where do you stand?



IN A CORNER

He Cancels His Subsciption

The editorship of this paper strives to score at least 100 per cent. in satisfying its readers. But we must admit we face a difficult task.

When we fail, far be it from us to bring our troubles to the attention of our remaining readers. But here is an exception.

The other day we came down to start the day's work with a letter awaiting us as follows:—

Belleville, Ill., May 4, 1922.

Editor, The Worker:—

> **Dear Sir:—You may cancel my subscription as it is about to expire anyway. I can't agree with the writers of The Worker. You will notice by the enclosed slip that you are drifting to the pope. It is known all over Europe how easy the Popish system can fool the Americans.**
>
> **I am for the working people. Government ownership without the pope. The Popish system has always been always will be for master [illegible]**
>
> **It is too cunning for you labor writers.—Albert Salomon.**

Enclosed with the above letter was a clipping from a recent issue of The Workers containing the following:—

> **Those French diplomats and imperialists are a touchy lot. They resent even the Pope having a desire that some good may come out of the Genoa Conference, that it may lead to universal peace, to disarmament, claiming that the "best guarantee of tranquility is not a forest of bayonets." The French must have their forests of bayonets, their armies, their navy. But it wouldn't hurt to let the Pope talk about disarmement. Since when did capitalism and imperialism go to church for their ethics and morals?**

It is difficult to take our correspondent seriously. We urge our comrades at Belleville, Illinois, especially the coal miners who have a little spare time on their hands, to drop around and have a talk with him.

The above paragraph merely points out how powerless is the pope, the church, religion, when transgressing the desires of capitalist nations.

The pope was practically silenced during the war. He is being silenced whenever necessary now that the war is over.

The opium that religion feeds the workers must be 100 per cent. strong or capitalism will have none of it.

Under Communism there will be real religious freedom for the first time in all history. But under Communism, religion will be compelled to face the white glare of the highest truths that can be attained by intellectually as well as economically freed peoples.

We hope our subscriber changes his mind and continues as a reader of THE WORKER. Then perhaps he will soon be writing us as "DEAR COMRADE" and not as "Dear Sir." He has some good stuff in him and should join the only world movement worth while.

At Communnism's Foot Stool

The capitalist world, thru its serville press, was startled the other day by learning that Tchitcherin and other Soviet delegates at Genoa had attended a luncheon tendered by the king of Italy to the Economic Conference.

Clever propagandists under the thumbs of the allied diplomats tried to make it appear that the spokesmen of the Workers' Republic were again betraying their faith.

They pointed to the fact that Communists in Italy, and in other countries, will not lunch with a king. Then why the Russian Communists?

There is this difference. At Rome the Italian king rules as a monarch over a subject people. The Communists of Italy are still a minority. They are fighting the system, of which the king is but a puppet. They try to typify the class struggle in their attitude toward the king, who retains power thru the passive consent of the majority. It is part of their effort to develop their minority into a majority.

At Genoa Italy's king plays a different role. Instead of sitting on a throne erected for him by capitalism, he is kneeling on Communism's foot stool. Above him, more powerful than world capitalism itself, in the persons of its delegates, sits the Russian Communist Republic.

The Workers' Republic lives in Russia. After four years of super-human effort, it stands victorious against the capitalist world. Its delegates are at Genoa as the representatives of a victor, not a vanquished nation.

It is under these circumstances that the Russian Communists can receive the attention of Italy's king, to use him, and the representatives of other capitalist nations for what they are worth to further establish the power of labor in Soviet Russia, in order that in time it may be better able to come to the rescue of enslaved labor in the remaining capitalist nations upon this globe.

Zinoviev Sees United Front Aiding Rising Tide of Revolution

EDITOR'S NOTE: In another column we publish the decisions of the "United Front" Conference of the three Internationals held recently at Berlin. This "United Front" policy is discussed in brief by Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Third (Communist) International as follows:

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV

Inevitably the Russian Revolution has had an immense effect on the world revolutionary movement. And just as the defeat of the proletaria in capitalist countries has influence the policy of Russia, so the nece sary concessions to the peasants traders in this country has reduce the pace of the revolutionary move ment thruout the world.

But it was a perversion of th facts to say that the cause of th new tactics lay in the egoistic inter ests of the Soviet Government.

The United Front was, not for th first time, being proclaimed as th policy of the Communist Interna tional.

In his pamphlet on the "Infantil Sickness of Communism," Lenin commended the British Communist to support Henderson at the ele tions. At that time the position Russia was worse than at present.

The failure of the proletarian volution after 1919 had made th workers unwilling to fight, and ha led them to reformism. Hardly ha Capitalism discovered this state weakness, when it launched its offe sive.

This offensive had brought th workers to a turning-point. Perce ing that, without a fight, they cou not even get more bread, they we beginning also to realize the need f unity.

The desire of all workers was no for unity. Whoever did not feel th was a sectarian and no Communi

The impulse now apparent in sections was a sound one, and, they could see the way to achi unity, it was their duty to pl themselves at the head of the mov ment and lead it.

The mass of the workers is no lo ger affected by the charge m against Communists that they pr voked disunion.

It was true that previous splits done harm to the Comm among a large number of wo But these divisions where nece in order to draw out from the So list parties the best revolutionary ments, and constitute them a Co munist advance guard. Now the ment has arrived when the must be shown that the Comm had only split off in order the to reunite the movement.

The policy of the United was not a counsel of [illegible] was the product of the [illegible] of revolution.

It did not mean, as some [illegible] comrades had suggested, [illegible] tion with the bourgeoisie. [illegible] must be a full unity on the [illegible] and industrial fields.

When that unity was achi [illegible] victory of the Communist [illegible] tional and the Social Revolution [illegible] have begun.

[illegible] REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 222. SATURDAY, MAY [illegible] Published weekly by The [illegible] Publishing Association. Room [illegible], 80 East 11th St., New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

Gompers Backs "Socialists" in War on Revolutionists in Labor Unions

Worst Reaction and Yellows Unite at Cleveland Convention of Ladies' Garment Workers

Events transpiring at the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union at Cleveland indicate that the Socialist Party and the Gompers' controlling machine in the American Federation of Labor have virtually entered into an alliance against the radicals in the A. F. of L.

Gompers hurried to Cleveland from Washington, the A. F. of L. headquarters, to become the central figure in a dramatic stage play demanding that the "Socialist," Schlesinger, president of the Jewish "Socialist" Daily, Forward, should continue in the fight for the presidency of the Ladies' Garment Workers, opposing the growing strength of the radicals in the organization.

This stage play was quickly followed by a concerted drive on the part of the Gompers-Hillquit-Schlesinger-Daily Forward Alliance to throw out elected delegates who had criticized the officialdom of the union.

Thus the Schlesinger regime in the International today, repeats the attack of Gompers-Rickert reactionists in the United Garment Workers, at Nashville, Tenn., in 1914.

* * *

Samuel Gompers, Warren S. Stone, head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the [illegible] Party, the Call, the Forward, and an array of smaller talent constitute the artillery brought to bear upon the militants in the convention.

Fundamentally it is a Gompers-Schlesinger-Socialist Party combine against radicalism. Gompers warring against the Trade Union Educational League, of which William Z, Foster is secretary, and the Socialist Party, supported by the Call and the Forward, desperately battling the Communist movement in its heroic efforts to develop a revolutionary class-conscious spirit in the ranks of the American working class.

Under the hypocritical cry of "unity" these reactionary forces gathered about the Schlesinger regime in the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union staged the unseating of Samuel Rothman of Local No. 1, New York, by a vote of 126 to 67, with 40 delegates abstaining at the second day's session of the convention.

He Dared to Criticise

"Lese majeste" was Rothman's crime. He had dared to criticize, had had the effrontery to disagree with the ruling element in the union.

Thus is repeated the attack of the Socialist Party officialdom upon the party's "left wing" in 1919, which resulted in its rapid decay until the convention just held at Cleveland represented a mere handful of reactionaries.

Thus is the battle line, from Gompers to Hillquit, being arrayed against the revolutionary movement in the unions, the threat to both their political and economic misleadership.

Enemies in the past, Gompers and Hillquit and Berger, now unite, in their farcical "unity," the slogan of which might well be, "Down with the radicals! Down with the Communists!"

As we go to press there are other radical delegates awaiting judgment before the inquisition of the Schlesinger-Hillquit credentials committee at Cleveland.

Many of these delegates were elected from New York City, where they received the support of the Communist Jewish daily, the Freiheit, as opposed to the yellow "Socialist" Jewish daily, the Forward.

Stone Starts Ball Rolling

Stone, of the locomotive engineers, excelled by few as a reactionary la-

(Continued on Page Two)

Radek Views Berlin Effort Toward Unity

By KARL RADEK

Representative of the Third (Communist) International at the Berlin Conference

The conference of the three Executives which was brought about to discuss the question of calling a general International Workers' Conference against the robber plans of Genoa, has disbanded without being able to decide upon the convocation of the World Congress.

At a time when the representatives of the capitalistic robber states are meeting in Genoa to confer about a new means of plundering the world, the international proletariat has not summoned up sufficient energy and resoluteness to demonstrate jointly against international capitalism.

Regrets the Results

That is the first result that must be established, established with deep mourning. And since this result is brought up, we must simultaneously establish why it is that the conference is impossible at this particular time.

The accepted joint resolution of the three Executives establishes the reason for the failure of the proposal for a World Congress when it says:

"That the representatives of the Second International have reported that they consider it impossible to prepare for a general conference during the month of April and during the time of the Genoa Conference."

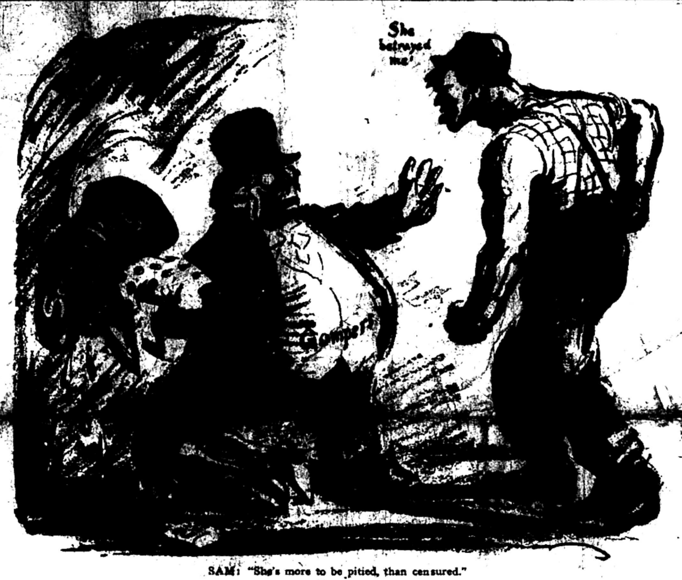
Thus this statement explains in bare words that the Communist International and the Vienna Working Union saw no obstacles in the way of the immediate convocation of the World Congress, but that the opposition of the Second International frustrated the plan.

Second Fails Again

The reason for this attitude of the Second International is easily understood if it is known that this organization, representing one section of the proletariat, refused absolutely to take up the slogans of the demonstration which was to take place instead of the World Congress and to raise the cry "Down with the Versailles Peace!"

How can this be explained? The three strongest parties of the Second

(Continued on Page Four)



SAM: "She's more to be pitied, than censured."

Two Views in Clash at Big Convention

(BY OUR STAFF WRITER)

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The conflicting viewpoints of Communists and Socialists came to open clash upon the floor of the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union here, Wednesday, after three days of speech making on every variety of subject.

The Convention has been much agitated about the left bloc consisting of delegates who accept the Workers Party program.

In an effort to cut down the influence of this bloc the seating of a half dozen delegates known as supporters of the left position has been challenged. In the first two contests the administration won unseating Samuel Rothman and Samuel Shelly, the latter by a vote of 107 to 77.

During the discussion of these cases many charges of being disruptionists were hurled at the left bloc. These charges were boldly met by Charles E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, Workers Party, when he addressed the convention.

After reviewing the capitalist offensive against organized labor, Ruthenberg said:

"I speak to you as a Communist, as one who accepts the leadership of the Communist International.

"There has been much discussion of the purposes of the left Communist bloc in this convention.

"They have but one purpose in

(Continued on Page Two)

Reaction Makes Strange Bed Fellows

The New York Times, official expression of the money power, joins Gompers in his attack on William Z. Foster, and urges a split in the American Federation of Labor. This endorsement, which will no doubt be followed by support from other capitalist organs, tears the mask from the "unity" pleas made by Gompers, supported by Stone, Schlesinger and Socialist Party satellites at the Cleveland Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Under the title of "Gompers and Foster," The Times, May 2, has the following:

* * *

GOMPERS AND FOSTER

In coming out against W. Z. Foster and his radical propaganda Mr. Gompers has taken a stand that is not unlikely to end in a cleavage within the American Federation of Labor. The charge is specific.

W. Z. Foster, who had no money, went to Moscow and came back and announced that he was building a great secret machine to undermine the American labor movement and turn it over to the Red International, owned by Lenin. He began publication of an expensive magazine and proclaimed "a thousand secret agents in a thousand communities."

Behind this charge lies a decade of "boring from within" the Federation. Three years ago the borers gained authority to organize the steel industry. The movement is said to have caught Mr. Gompers unawares. When the strike was called he was in Europe. On his return he supported it with his customary vehemence, tho the organizers and strike leaders, Foster and John Fitzpatrick, were declared Bolsheviki. When the strike was lost, the Interchurch World Movement investigated the steel industry. Its report glozed over the character of the strike leaders and ignored the purpose behind the strike. It was largely influenced by a radical "bureau of research," which took part in the investigation and in writing the report; but it was authorized by a committee of nine clergymen, including three Bishops, and has proved a tower of strength for radical propaganda.

An equally significant crisis occurred two years ago at the Federation meeting in Montreal. Advocates of the Plumb Plan proposed public ownership and democratic control of the railways. Mr. Gompers and his lieutenants fought them to the last ditch, but they won by an overwhelming majority. When the resolution was introduced again last year at Denver he offered no opposition. At the outset of the present coal strike the miners and the railway brotherhoods formed an alliance which, though guarded in its terms, was clearly inspired by the radical Triple Alliance in England.

Foster's visit to Lenin and his gilded return show that, at least in Russia, there are substantial hopes of arraying unskilled, proletarian labor against the existing order. In choosing a confessed apostleship of Bolshevism as the point of attack, Mr. Gompers evinces his instinct for the jugular vein. The American Federation originated as a protest against the dominance of the unskilled in the Knights of Labor, and it may well be that a split will restore it to the guidance of thoroly American craftsmen.

* * *

NOTE—Foster's reply to Gompers' charges, approved by the New York Times, appears on Page Three.

Communists in Britain for United Front

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Closest to the young Communist movement of the United States, stands the Communist movement in Great Britain, facing similar problems and similar tasks. The actions of the recent Communist Party Congress in Britain will therefore be of especial interest to the vanguard of labor in this country. Charles Ashleigh, recently deported to England after serving a sentence at the Leavenworth Prison, writes of this congress as follows:

* * *

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH

The Communist Party of Great Britain met on March 18 and 19 in a Policy Conference, in order to ratify the Theses on the international situation and the united front, and to decide the Party's new electoral and industrial policies.

One hundred and fifty-nine delegates, representing 147 branches of the Party, were present, together with the Party officials, the Executive Committee and the editors of Party organs.

Meet in Town Hall

It will probably surprise Americans when they learn that this conference was held in a town hall. But so it was. The Borough of St. Pancras, a borough of London, is controlled by the Labor Party, and the Labor Party of St. Pancras receives

(Continued on Page Five)

Death Chills Seize Meeting of Socialists

By C. E. RUTHENBERG,

Executive Secretary, Workers Party

CLEVELAND, OHIO.—After four days of gloomy sessions the Socialist Party convention came to a close. The end came in an atmosphere in which there was that coldness which presages the coming of death.

A delegate, in a final effort to create some appearance of life, moved that Morris Hillquit make a closing speech on the most significant achievement of the convention.

Hillquit complied, but it was a doleful effort. The weight of the four days of gloom was too great even for him, and tho he uttered words of hope the tone of the utterance was hopeless.

Contact by Greetings

The most significant achievement [illegible] conveyed messages of greetings and received such messages from conventions of labor unions.

He urged that the National Convention of the party let no convention of a labor union pass without sending the greetings of the Socialist Party.

Thus, he said, contact and co-operation would be established with the organized labor movement.

Position of Workers Party

This gem as to the most significant achievement of the convention is typical of the policies of the Socialist Party.

The Socialists will sent greetings and hope to receive them; the Communists, as shown by the program of the Workers Party, put themselves in the forefront of the struggles in which the organized workers engage.

They propose to win the support of the organized and unorganized masses by the services they render in the immediate struggles of the workers.

The Socialists consider the exchange of greetings a significant achievement, the Communists to lead and win a strike, to unite weak craft unions in greater industrial unions, to take the lead and thru actual work in the unions to mobilize and unify the workers' organizations.

Senile Decay of Party

Among the resolutions adopted by the Socialist Party National Convention is one providing for the celebration of the "coming of age" of the organization on its twenty-first anniversary in July of this year.

Observance of the work of the convention gives one the impression of premature old age and that the "coming of age" anniversary comes co-incident with the senile decay of the party.

This convention certainly marks the lowest ebb of Socialism in this country as represented by the Socialist Party.

Seated in the front of a large hall before a speakers' stand draped with the American flag were less than 25 delegates.

All Enthusiasm Gone

A glance at these delegates tells the story of the Socialist Party. A majority of them are portly, gray-haired men with a look of petty-bourgeois prosperity about them. They talk in the language of past Socialist conventions, but there is no

(Continued on Page Six)

ALL OUT! JOIN COMING-OUT CELEBRATION, MAY 12, CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE, 205 EAST 67th STREET

SPEAKERS: Gitlow, Ferguson, Ruthenberg; also Dunne, Lore, Bittelman, Olgin, Cannon, Catherine Gitlow, Engdahl, Owens and [illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] opened the attack on the [illegible] in the convention with the well-known spy bugaboo. He declared:

"The labor movement is full of spies. If a man talks about boring from within, you want to be afraid of him. Nine times out of ten they are paid spies. And you'd be surprised how cheap they buy them."

This must have made some of the yellow "Socialists" squirm, since the policy of the Socialist Party toward the labor movement has always been one of "bore from within." Didn't "Vic" Berger always attend A. F. of L. conventions for that purpose?

Then Gompers and Schlesinger sang the same song of "unity," unity against the revolutionists in the labor unions. Gompers put it this way:

"There is necessity for unity and harmony in your industry. No man can justify himself to his conscience if he injects the slightest thing that may divide your judgment and your action."

A Mirror for Ervin

And the next day Rothman was unseated and other radical delegates were destined to walk the plank.

Schlesinger presented a goodly number of the delegates from the Socialist Party convention to the convention.

Morris Hillquit, who is now leading but a handful of the former membership of the Socialist Party into the 2½ International, said

"On the point of unity all differences should be submerged, and we should be as one."

And according to his own paper, Charles W. Ervin, editor of the New York Socialist daily, The Call, denounced those who were planning to divide the workers. Ervin should have been gazing into a mirror as he made that speech.

B. Charney Vladeck, business manager of the Forward, and former "Socialist" alderman in New York City, smiled at his own wit when he said:

"It is more important for the cause of the revolution to have 130,000 working people organized than it is to have 130,000 dentists and real estate men in a Communist Party."

Evidently Vladeck was trying to direct attention away from the fact that the membership of the Socialist Party that remains is made up of the little business men and would-be professionals.

Steel Union Marks Time at Convention Meeting at Detroit

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

DETROIT, MICH.—Facing the fight of its life, the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers opened here Tuesday in the local Labor Temple.

Frank Martel, president Detroit Federation of Labor, welcomed the delegates on behalf of organized labor.

Z. V. [illegible], representing the National Catholic Welfare Council, was introduced as first speaker. Judge Jeffries, Detroit, made a splendid talk, [illegible] stating that the workers must organize for power. He was given an ovation at the conclusion of his address.

William [illegible] received a great reception as spokesman for the Trade Union Russian Famine Relief Committee.

The question of a contribution and endorsement of the Trade Union Famine Relief Committee will come before the convention later.

The convention which is made up of 110 delegates, meets at a time when the association is fighting for its life. Seventeen locals of the union are on strike or locked out in the steel towns.

President Tighe stated that the financing of strikes was a terrible burden upon the organization. He said the steel companies were willing to recognize a union of skilled workers. The present trouble arises over the inclusion of unskilled workers in the ranks of the association.

He also stated that in spite of the oppression and murderous methods of the steel trust, no new policies would be launched by the convention. Purely routine business is considered. Noticeable among the delegates is the large percentage of old men. Forty per cent of the membership is out of employment. Convention expects to be in session 12 days.

Altho this organization officially did much to cause the failure of the steel strike, William Z. Foster's "Labor Herald" sells well among the delegates.

BERLIN.—Hugo Stinnes, dictator of Germany, has obtained control of the wood pulp, paper making establishments, printers' ink and other essentials of newspaper making to such an extent that rival capitalist papers fear extinction.

[illegible] vs. Gompers

A Challenge Accepted

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, inaugurated his war on the radicals in the A. F. of L. at a meeting of Chicago labor officials, April 11. At that time Gompers challenged Foster to a presentation of their respective views to a committee of trade unionists. Foster accepted the challenge in an open letter, dated April 20th, but it seems that Gompers prefers to carry on his anti-radical fight in the newspapers. Foster's open letter to Gompers is as follows:—

* * *

An Open Letter to Gompers

Chicago, April 20th, 1922.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

At a meeting on April 11th, in the Hotel Morrison, Chicago, which was attended by several hundred local union presidents and other trade union officials, you issued me a challenge which I must accept. During the meeting an A. F. of L. organizer made a virulent attack upon the proposition of amalgamation of the unions by industry, as outlined in the resolution recently adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor. In reply, I offered to debate the question with him on any trade union platform in this city. He made no response. But later on, when you took the floor, you expressed some surprise that I had not done you "the honor" of challenging you, and you also added that you would be willing to have a committee appointed, consisting of three reputable trade unionists, to which both you and I might submit our respective views regarding the general question of industrial unionism versus craft unionism.

Considering your high office in the movement, I would not have been presumptuous enough to have so challenged you to such a debate, but seeing that it is your own proposition, I herewith accept your offer, and am holding myself in readiness to present my arguments to the proposed committee as soon as it is selected. The personnel of the committee, and the manner of its selection, I am willing to leave entirely in your hands.

My contention is that craft unionism is obsolete. The old type of organization, based upon trade lines, can no longer cope successfully with Organized Capital. To fit modern conditions our unions must be based upon the lines of industry rather than upon those of craft. The necessary industrial unionism will be arrived at, not thru the founding of ideal dual unions, but by amalgamating the old organizations. Already the trade unions, by federations and other get-together devices, have made much progress in the direction of industrial unionism. I hold that this tendency should be consciously encouraged; we should not simply blunder along blindly. The thing that must be done is to boldly proclaim our inevitable goal of one union for each industry, and to adopt every practical means that will tend to get us there at the earliest date.

Awaiting your pleasure, I am

Fraternally yours,
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

* * *

Gompers Opens Newspaper Attack

Samuel Gompers began his newspaper attack last Monday in a statement that is lauded in the New York Times editorial reproduced on Page One. The reply by Foster was as follows:

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

"Either he (Gompers) must prove his statements and innuendoes or stand convicted of flagrantly unfair propaganda.

"As far as the books of our organization are concerned, I stand ready to submit them to any reputable auditing company.

"The Trade Union Educational League operates in broad daylight. Its plan of organization was announced publicly several months ago. It is purely an educational organization, designed to strengthen the trade unions and to give them a more militant philosophy. I have been working constantly along these lines for ten years.

"The explanation of Mr. Gompers's broadside is that he suffers from an anti-Russian complex. Where Russia is concerned he is more heartless and reactionary than the employing class themselves.

"Another factor making for Mr. Gompers's blast is that he fears the new spirit of progress now taking shape among the rank and file of trade unions. Under his leadership the trade union movement has come to a standstill politically, industrially and philosophically. The Trade Union Educational League is working to break this deadlock and to give the movement the impetus to progress which it now stands so sadly in need of. Hence Mr. Gompers's violent opposition. He hopes to break its influence by waving the bloody shirt."

Ruthenberg Speaks for Communists at Cleveland I. L. G. W. U. Convention

(Continued from Page One)

harmony with the principles of the Communist International to build up a more unified, more militant organization.

They propose to do that by taking their places in your union and fighting the present battles of your organization. They do not come to you with mere words of greeting (greetings of the Socialist Party had just been expressed) but with deeds. They will stand in the forefront of your battle, one of the places of danger.

"Their task is not to destroy, but to build up, to unite your present organization, to help upbuild an industrial union of all the needle trades, to unite all the unions of the United States against the capitalist aggressive and to create an International United Front.

"That is the policy of the Workers Party and those delegates who are acting under its program."

Ruthenberg's appearance had been greeted with a great ovation and his speech met with the same response.

Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward, who had evidently been held in reserve for the task, followed Ruthenberg and launched into an attack on the Third International and the "left" delegates.

He took up the twenty-one points of the third international and angrily denounced the Communists for dividing the revolutionists from the Socialist organizations the world over.

He said that while the Communist International now advocated the united front it was only because the needs of Russia and the failure of the world revolution made that necessary.

While paying his respect to the sincerity of Ruthenberg and some Communists he denounced the Leftists in the union as a disgruntled element using the cloak of Communism for other purposes.

He closed with a moving appeal, evidently pre-arranged, for the reelection of President Schlesinger as president of the union, urging the left element to please be good and join in one happy family with the [illegible] fought in order to retain the services of Schlesinger.

Caroline Lowe addressed the convention in the interest of the members of the I. W. W. in federal prisons and met with a hearty response. A representative of the striking textile workers of New England was also given a hearing and received an enthusiastic reception.

* * *

THE CASE OF SHELLY

Samuel Shelly, the second unseated delegate of Local No. 1, New York, the largest local in the International with about 13,000 members, was charged by the credentials committee with helping an employer to get rid of an undesirable worker from his shop.

Shelly denied having any knowledge of the affair. He denied he was ever in the shop in question.

Delegate [illegible] of the New York Dress and Waistmakers Joint Board, Delegate [illegible], manager of the Los Angeles Joint Board, Delegate Wechsler of the New York Raincoat Makers Union and Delegate Shane, manager of Local No. 1, New York, opposed the recommendation of the credentials committee to unseat Shelly. They all spoke highly of his services in the union for many years as a loyal member of the International.

The credentials committee was charged with trying to oust Shelly from the convention because he belongs to the "left" elements. On first ballot the vote stood 97 against unseating and 95 for.

The "rights" demanded a second vote and Shelly was unseated by a vote of 107 to 77.

This coupon will admit two

Mass Meeting

Friday, May 5th, at 8 P. M.

at

BROADWAY CASINO

790 Broadway, Brooklyn

Speakers: Moissaye J. Olgin, Wm. Dunne and others.

NO COLLECTION

Anna Leisman, charged with distributing Communist leaflets [illegible] May Day one year ago, was declared guilty by a jury on Wednesday. Judge Gibbs will pass sentence Monday.

It was announced, as we went to press, that [illegible] had refused to leave prison, claiming that the $15,000 bail imposed amounted to discrimination against him.

* * *

On the day that I. E. Ferguson and C. E. Ruthenberg were released from prison, April 24th, on a certificate of reasonable doubt under $5,000 bail—they had been convicted of violation of the infamous Criminal Anarchy Act of New York in October, 1920—Minnie Kalnin and Tina Jurson were found guilty of violation of the same Act.

Anna Leisman on Trial

On Monday, May 1st, Anna Leisman went to trial in the same court in which Mrs. Kalnin and Mrs. Jurson had been found guilty just one week before.

These three women were charged with distributing leaflets which the Grand Jury of Bronx County declared to be violations of the Criminal Anarchy Act. The distribution took place April 30th, 1921.

In spite of Judge Cardozo's statement when he issued the certificate of reasonable doubt in the Ferguson Ruthenberg case that, "he found reasonable doubt whether the statute has been properly construed," the Criminal Anarchy Act is running full steam ahead in the so-called "red" cases. Regarding these three women there is every indication of a police frameup.

Facts Showing Frame-up

Here are the facts. The National Defense Committee had arranged a May Day demonstration at the Lexington Opera House for May 1st 1921. Leaflets announcing the meeting were issued, and the three women were among those who took part in the distribution.

They were arrested April 30th, 1921 while in the act of distributing the announcements. They were brought to jail and searched. Their keys were taken from them and two members of the bomb squad went to their apartments and without warrant searched their places. The police claim to have found a quantity of leaflets of two kinds: "May Day Red Labor Day" issued by the American Freedom Foundation, and "May Day of the Revolution," this latter signed by the Executive Committee of the United Communist Party.

Face 100 Per Cent Americanism

The women swore they had no leaflets other than the announcements of the Lexington Opera House meeting. But they are Russian women and their English is rather faulty. And they were tried by a jury of 100 per cent Americans. A verdict of guilty was almost inevitable. Mrs. Jurson and Mrs. Kalnin will be sentenced Monday, May 8th.

Mrs. Leisman went to trial May 1st. Conditions surrounding her arrest were practically identical with the arrests of the other two women. There is this difference, however. Mrs. Leisman's apartment was not searched. But she too is a Russian. And she, too, is being tried by a jury of 100 per cent Americans. No doubt she too will be found guilty and sentenced to a term of years in the prisons of New York.

Cash Loans Aid Party's Literature Department

As the Workers Party grows and its activities increase every line of Party work shows the effect.

This development is reflected in the growth of the business of the Literature Department which functions as the Party's distributors of its English printed propaganda.

The four months of the Party's existence has seen this department develop into one of the most substantial assets of the organization.

From nothing the Department has grown until the sum total of its monthly sales exceeds the fondest hopes of the most sanguine.

Party locals and District offices are backing the Department with full support as is proven by the increasing daily orders received.

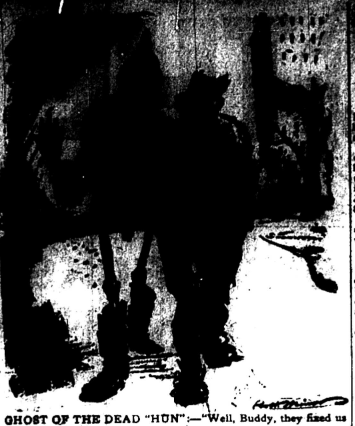
One of the finest examples of loyal support rendered this Department has been the response of the membership to the Literature Loan Campaign.

This campaign was started for the purpose of raising funds with which to set up the Department and stock it with the literature needed.

More than a thousand dollars has been received in loans in this campaign. Most of this sum will be repaid in literature, thus making a profit to the literature department and at the same time furnishing the needed cash with which to do business.

The Department has also instituted a form of loan to be repaid in cash. May Day brought the first response on this. $75 being received from a South Slavic Branch in Kansas City and from Comrade Yusic of Bessemer, Pa. Below are listed a number of loans received recently. Henry S. Peduson, $5; Arve S. Wellins, $3; J. Polin and Natt Peterson, $10; Arne Halonen, $5; Henry Joshi, $5; Aune Jarvela, $3; Geo. Laitimer, $5; Otto Ronkanen, $5; Finnish Branch, Springfield, Mass., $5; K. Gagialis, $5; F. Buck, $5; Lewis Fisher, $5; Theodore Tofas, $5; H. Baridjanian, $3; Samuel Harkison, $3; V. Prusia, $3; H. Veshya, $5; Alex Madyarich, $5; John Francic, $3; Total $88.00. Previously acknowledged, $403.00. Total published receipts, $491.00.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION



GHOST OF THE DEAD "HUN":—"Well, Buddy, they fixed us right, didn't they? You're out of a job, and I don't need one."

Genoa and the Famine

There is something insidious in the persistent stream of lies announcing the end of the famine.

The fact that the entire capitalist press is giving the widest publicity to the false statements sent out by Hoover's American Relief Administration that the famine is under control, should put thinking people on their guard.

On the face of it this report is unbelievable, and authoritative comments on the progress of the famine show that unless all efforts are strained until the next harvest, the extension of the famine over a still wider area embracing many millions more, is to be expected.

What, then, is the meaning of this new campaign of lying which is having its pernicious effects in the slowing-up of relief work.

One must look at the gathering at Genoa, where the diplomats of the capitalist world are attempting to wrest more concessions from the Soviet Government, in order to grasp the full meaning of Hoover's insidious propaganda.

It can only be regarded as a threat to compel the Soviet Government to bow to the dictates of world capitalism if it desires to have the relief continued.

America is not an active participant at Genoa, but she is bringing pressure to bear all the same indirectly by threatening to leave millions to their terrible fate unless Russia humbles herself in the dust.

Meanwhile millions are left to die while Hoover again plays politics. It is needless to go at length into statistics to prove that the Hoover plant is working overtime on lies.

One short statement from the foremost authority on the famine, Dr. Nansen, is enough to rout this dastardly propaganda: "It is inevitable that 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 people must starve to death. The famine has developed into dimensions which surpass anything the Soviet Government and we others had thought possible."

Relief must continue till the next harvest; a let-up would be disastrous. The Friends of Soviet Russia in New York have organized a city-wide drive for May 6th to 7th, and it asks all friends of the famine victims to volunteer at one of the following stations: 1347 Boston Road, 1403 Fifth Ave., 350 E. 81st St., 201 West 13th St., 240 E. 23rd St., 62 Canal St., 226 Roebling St., 10 Siegel St., 248 Sackman St., and 208 E. 12th St.

The Drive for Tools

BERLIN, April 1, 1922.

TO ALL NATIONAL COMMITTEES AND FAMINE RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS, AFFILIATED TO THE INTERNATIONAL WORKER'S RELIEF COMMITTEE FOR THE STARVING RUSSIANS, AND TO ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES.

Dear Comrades:—We received a radio from Moscow on March 11, to arrange a week for the collection of tools. The International Committee has decided to begin this propaganda-week on May first, in view of the significance of this day. Propaganda is to begin immediately.

It is to be intensified during the Genoa Conference, and during the preparatory work for May first and is to come to its climax at the meetings and demonstrations on that day.

The speakers shall point out the political importance of the international relief work, emphasizing the importance of the existence of the Soviet Republic for the working class.

They shall report on its achievements and make a mighty and sincere appeal to all workers to donate tools freely during the week of May first to seventh, showing by this their active international solidarity and demonstrating productive help as a new means of supporting Russia.

To be successful, local and district committees are immediately to be formed. The offices where the collected tools are to be delivered must be announced.

This new action must be given great publicity. The entire labor press is to be employed in this campaign of agitation and collection. But in this matter we must also utilize the bourgeois papers, the local press and the country press.

The national committees must notify the sections and groups by circulars and give them the necessary instructions. All local branches shall utilize their organizational apparatus for this week of collection.

Where it is possible, contact with the trade unions and the other labor parties must be sought with a view to common action. If, however, the central committees of these organizations refuse collaboration, the attempt must be made with their local branches to obtain joint collection offices.

The following telegram has been sent to several organizations:—"International Committee resolved international week collecting tools, May 1st to 7th."

Use this telegram directly for your propaganda. A general appeal will follow in a few days.

Fraternal greetings,
WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL
RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE.

Pursuant to this call, the Friends of Soviet Russia is organizing a nation-wide TOOL DRIVE and is extending the time from May 1st to June 1st. This will be the best opportunity for the American working class to demonstrate its SINCERE interest and solidarity with the Russian workers and peasants.

The Coming-out Celebrati 12 at the Central Opera Hous biggest event in the life of th since its formation.

Prominent spokesmen of the al will appear, together with low, Ruthenberg and Ferguson. unteers for arrangement of th fair will meet in the Local O 208 E. 12th St., on Tuesday, Ma 8 P. M.

All branches must be represe at this conference as a great volunteers are needed.

Industrial Conference Saturd

The First Conference of Indust Branch Orgnizers will be held Sa day, May 6, in Room 9, of the Building, 208 E. 12th St. The ord of business of the conference will as follows:

1—Ways and means of maki our members join the Labor Unio

2—Methods for organizing o members for industrial activities.

3—Election of additional membe to the Industrial Committee to fu tion as a provisional committee the industrial work is organized.

Meeting of Building Trades Membe

The first general meeting of me bers working in the Building Tra will be held May 15, 8 P. M., at Toiler Building, 208 E. 12th St.

Industrial Organizer at Local Of

The Industrial Organizer of Lo Greater New York, J. Anthony A derson, will be in the Local Offi every day beginning with Monda May 8th, between 6-7:30 P. M.

All comrades engaged in industri work may have interviews or ma appointments with him betwe there hours.

C. C. C. Meets Saturday, May 6

The next meeting of the City Ce tral Committee will take place at t Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Saturday, May 6, at 8 P. M. T C. C. C. meets regularly at the Lab Temple every first and third Satu day of the month.

NO PICKETING IN KENTUCK

The Kentucky authorities say th want to put an end to the violen that has reigned in Newport sin troops were sent in to assist breaking the strike of the stee workers at the Andrews Rolli Mills.

The simple expedient of remo ing the troops who are terrorizi the community does not seem have occured to the 'aforesaid sa cious authorities, instead their so tion has been the issuance, District Judge Cochran of an an picketing injunction characteri by lawyers in the state as the m drastic ever issned in a labor co troversy by a United States Cou

The order is in the form of preliminary injunction allowing t strikers attorneys 20 days to fi against the order being made p manent.

When Judge Cochran was ask whether the troops who are brin ing law and order into Newpo with machine-guns and tanks w be used to enforce compliance w the terms of the injunction, he plied that if the U. S. District M shall should be unable to carry o his duties effectively recourse wo finally be had to military action.

The Judge evidently thinki however that the White Terror rected against the Rolling M workers has had its desired effe and broken the spirit of the stri ers added:

"I do not see that this ang of the situation is important und present conditions because I h no doubt the court's order will obeyed readily."

HAVANA, CUBA.—The Wo ers Federation of Cuba now holdi its general convention here has a cable to President Harding p testing against the death verdict the Sacco-Vanzetti case and manding the release of the two It ian radicals. The Federation rep sents all organized labor on island.

SEATTLE, Wash.—Calling to a friend who is held by the police an open charge, Filippo Perro while here on a lecture tour in beh of Sacco and Vanzetti was hims arrested and held for deportation.

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Come to the

Monster Rally

and hear Bob Minor, Wm
F. Kruse, M. Epstein

at

WORKERS' HALL
1347 Boston Road

Friday, May 5th, at 8 P.

NO COLLECTION

[illegible] March on the Open Shop

(SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE)

CHICAGO.—One hundred and [illegible] thousand union men paraded thru the loop, Chicago's busiest section, protesting in particular against the so-called citizens' committee, organized to "enforce" the Landis' Award, and in general against the open shop plan and the concerted effort on the part of the employers to enslave labor.

The demonstration was promoted by the Joint Publicity Committee of the Building Trades Council, and tho initiated by them, practically every union affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor was represented, and some of them solidly. Fifty-two unions officially participated in the slap at the citizens' committee and the Landis' Award.

Traffic was completely tied up in the loop for about an hour while the union men enthusiastically marched in attest to their solidarity. The parade was headed by about two thousand union ex-soldiers.

While proceeding to the Municipal Pier, the culminating point of the procession, the paraders passed a building at Michigan and Ohio streets built under the conditions of the citizens committee by scab labor. The structure, a four story building, was surrounded by about fifty uniformed policemen. Lusty jeers and cries of "scab" rang out from the marchers who shook their fists menacingly.

"We are fighting against the open shop; We will never submit to the so-called citizens' committee. The intention of the citizens' committee is to enslave the working class; Without organization we are slaves; Workmen unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains," were but few of the inscriptions on the thousands of banners carried. Some flouted the capitalist press for its complete harmony with the handful of plutocrats who were endeavoring to dictate terms to labor or introduce the open shop.

Cheering greeting the laborites all along the route. The marchers poured onto the Municipal Pier, a structure reaching out into Lake Michigan for a mile, and overflowed the Auditorium where the speeches were delivered. Thousands were turned away, as the hall seats but ten thousand, and the place was crowded to the rafters.

BERNE.—The International Federation of Metal Workers is engaged in a bitter struggle against an attempt by Danish, Hungarian, German, Italian and other employers to lengthen working hours from 46, now prevailing, to 48 and to cut wages.

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[illegible] in the Needle In[illegible]

EDITOR'S NOTE.—[illegible] these articles by J. B. Salutsky, as follows:

By J. B. SALUTSKY

The two largest units of the needle industry, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, are in the midst of their regular biennial conventions.

The I. L. G. W. U. met in Cleveland May 1st, and the A. C. W. of A. will gather in Chicago, May 8th.

Another of the five trade-unions composing the needle industry, the relatively small Fur Workers' International, is to meet in convention shortly after the big conventions.

Struggles Rich in Experience

Both, the I. L. G. W. U. and the A. C. W. of A., come to their conventions enriched with experience. Both will have to check up on a great number of things.

In the last two years nearly every unit of the needle industry went thru an intense struggle, in some cases, virtually a struggle for life.

Thus, the Fur Workers' International fought a battle royal in the summer and fall of 1920, a struggle which lasted thirty weeks and tested every ounce of vitality of the union.

It survived, has recuperated and is now on its feet, once more, vigorous and assertive.

And the I. L. G. W. U. met face to face its employers, and for over two months the contest was on, bitter, ferocious.

The International scored a victory, tho the contest is not finally settled and a new clash is not improbable by the time the convention will have started in.

The Amalgamated, again, went thru its military baptism in the supreme struggle of 1920-21. For fully six months the lockout of 60,000 New York workers kept in the balance the fate of the union.

The onslaught made by the "open shoppers" on the Amalgamated was as thoro and concentrated in method of fighting as it was unscrupulous and reckless in choice of means.

The Union smashed the open-shoppers and now after not fully one year of peaceful, contractual relations, with "impartial" methods of healing wounds, the New York manufacturers' Association itself closed its doors.

And as sequel to it came the other day the renewal of the agreement on satisfactory terms between the Amalgamated and the employers of Chicago and Rochester.

The conventions will check up on the experiences made thru the recent struggles. The past will either weigh heavily on the future, if former mistakes will be incorporated in new laws, or the future will profit by past performances if proper lessons will be drawn, and new legislation will legislate out what is obsolete or decidedly wrong.

For let there be no mistaken expectation: the future of the needle industry is not paved with roses: the situation is pregnant with struggle and fight is not an impossibility.

The whole fabric of organized labor in the United States will have to put up a scrap or it will be put out of its own. So let no complacency take the place of vigilance.

"Lefts" and "Rights"

The elections of the delegates to the conventions of both the I. L. G. W. U. and the A. C. W. of A. were marked with serious internal discord. Particularly so in the case of the New York locals of the I. L. G. W. U.

In the largest local unions of the I. L. G. W. U. the administration candidates were badly beaten. The president of the International did not "run" from his own local and his slate was snowed under by opposition ballots.

The General Secretary Treasurer of the International was outvoted heavily as delegate to the convention.

The opposition carried Locals 1, 9, 3, 22 and many others "in toto" or partly.

In the case of the Amalgamated the contest did not include the national administration. The division was designated as between right and left, and the group calling itself left has scored many victories.

One would naturally turn to the programs advanced in the electioneering to find the key to the coming conventions, to determine the possible psychology of the debate on the points at issue. But it would all be in vain.

The "lefts" in the A. C. W. of A. presented no program whatsoever. They went on their record of support given the National Administration in its recent fight on the corrupt ringleadership of the Children's Clothing trade, a spiritual off shoot of the defunct United Garment Workers.

The Jewish "Socialist" Daily Forward, for reasons of political expediency, saw fit to take the side of the ringleaders, and the lefts had stood unqualifiedly by the General Officers of the Amalgamated in the fight for decency and clean methods in unionism.

However all this, important and valuable as it may be, is not a program.

The nearest to a statement of principles could perhaps be found in the declaration made by the candidates of the opposition in the I. L. G. W. U. Candidates of locals 1—9—22 declared for—

1. Proportional representation at conventions.
2. Officers shall hold no office longer than two years.
3. General Executive Board Members shall not appoint themselves to paid offices.

Real Issues in the Convention

Not going into the merits of the points advanced one is forced to discard them as a program. At least, not a program for the coming conventions where by far larger stakes are in sight. One who knows the industry and its problems would ask in surprise: Why are not such issues in the front of the discussion as, for instance, the following:

1. The problem of organization such as shop-representation instead of or in addition temporarily to the system of organization by locals which has to say the least become obsolete and inefficient.
2. The question of the use of injunctions in disputes with capital, as a means of defense and attack, and the propriety of labor standing up for the principle of inviolability of agreements.
3. The readjustment of relationship between leadership and rank and file.
4. The amalgamation of all needle unions into one consolidated union.

Incidentally a point of importance which should interest the conventions is the case of the staggering costs of strikes in recent years.

The strike of the Fur Workers in New York in the summer and fall of 1920, which lasted six months and engaged from six to nine thousand people involved the expenditure of over one million dollars.

The lockout in the men's clothing industry fought by the Amalgamated during the winter and spring of 1921 consumed fully two million dollars.

And the strike of the I. L. G. W. U. to force the manufacturers in the cloak industry to stand by its agreement with the union lasted nine weeks and cost the organization fully one million dollars.

Not because any one entertains any doubts as to the propriety of these huge war costs is the issue noted. Seemingly the costs are inevitable.

But means are to be found to finance such wars, and improved methods by which these budgets can be taken care of, particularly, in such a way that no one shall doubt the possibility to raise such funds again, as the necessity may and will arise.

However, whether these issues were raised in the pre-convention campaigns or not, they will force their way to the attention of the delegates. The conventions will have to meet the issues, to face them.

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OF
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C. E. RUTHENBERG
I. E. FERGUSON
FROM
SING SING and AUBURN PRISONS
AT
CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE
205 EAST 67th STREET
ON FRIDAY, MAY 12th, 8 P. M.
SPEAKERS
BENJAMIN GITLOW
I. E. FERGUSON
C. E. RUTHENBERG
ROBERT MINOR
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MUSIC ADMISSION, 25 CENTS
LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

By [illegible]

Edwin [illegible] Treasurer of the [illegible] of Lawrence, Mass., [illegible] before the Rotary Club of Lawrence in which he said that a wage cut was necessary to save the textile industry for New England.

He said that the competition of the Southern mills threatened to destroy the industry in the North, and his appeal was intended to prove that the workers of the northern mills must be made to bear the burden of the competitive struggle by accepting another wage cut.

He made no attempt to prove that the profits of the stockholders had vanished or even fallen off.

Last Thursday, April 29th, President McMahon spoke at a mass meeting of the strikers on the Common advertised by the United Textile Workers.

This is the first time that the U. T. W. appeared upon the Common since they refused to continue cooperation during the first week of the strike.

The O. B. U. has been holding forth there almost daily, and they have profited by the advantage; since it is the place where the strikers are accustomed to gather.

President McMahon announced in advance that he would answer President Greene's speech before the Rotary Club.

During his remarks, Treasurer Greene said, "We are facing a real problem, not a theoretical social question." To this remark McMahon replied, "Evidently, to him (Greene) the problem of profits is real; but how to give the textile workers a decent living, how to keep the mothers out of the mills, the children in the schools, and how to develop a stronger, happier, better educated people—these things are theoretical social questions. Very well, if these are 'theoretical social questions' the textile workers will fight until they become 'real problems' like questions of profit."

The rest of McMahon's argument was sufficient to prove that he is a sincere man and determined to fight out the issue against wage reductions squarely; even tho there were several points where he allowed the employer some favors. This point that McMahon is putting up an honest fight, should not be overlooked, for it can be clearly seen that he will listen to no compromise on the question of wage reductions.

Nevertheless, the O. B. U. elements decided that it should be their policy to stage a fight against McMahon at this meeting. Ever since the meeting was announced they were doing their utmost to influence the strikers to stay away. They arranged a meeting for their hall at the same time and advertised it heavily. About two score of O. B. U. sympathizers were placed close to the speaker's stand on the Common to act as clackers, they booed, hooted and kept up a continuous din while McMahon was speaking.

In spite of this McMahon spoke for over thirty minutes to four thousand strikers and it was considered a victory against the O. B. U. rough-house tactics inasmuch as the meeting was not actually broken up.

After the U. T. W. left the Common, the O. B. U. took possession of the speaker's stand and addressed the same crowd devoting most of their time to attacking McMahon and the U. T. W. calling them scabs, yellow strike-breakers etc.

Legere is a consistent dual-unionist, one who contends that everyone, and all organizations, but his own, has no right to existence, and if you don't accept that doctrine you shall be damned. It sounds good to the orthodox believers, but it is nasty and destructive in a strike.

In spite of this wretched spectacle of factional bitterness on one side, and austere alootness of the U. T. W. on the other side, the spirit of the strikers is unshaken. The strike is as strong as ever, picketing is renewed vigorously whenever scabs appear at any mill.

THE END OF LEVI

Paul Levi our readers will remember as an able Communist leader in Germany, who was some little while ago expelled for an attack upon the Party Executive, which amounted under the circumstances to something rather like treachery. Now this group shows the melancholy fate of any group which cuts aloof from the class-conscious proletariat. He and his group, not content with joining the right wing "Independent Socialists" have taken on themselves the task of anti-Russian propaganda in that organization. They issue a manifesto stating that:

They want to "express their recognition" of the "fact that in Russia, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the petty-bourgeoisie and petty-peasantry have become the ruling class, that capitalism and the bourgeoisie are reorganizing, and that the Russian workers, who have suffered so much, now must group themselves as a class, poor, miserable, disunited, oppressed, and gather together against the party which has been so long their leader,' etc., etc.—

From the British Communist.

By [illegible] WORKER

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in common with the rest of the labor movement, has felt the evil effects of dual unionism.

Altho there has never been a dual union in the ladies' garment industry, yet the radicals there have been very much influenced by the teachings of the outside unions, and many spent years in a futile effort to organize a Textile Workers' branch of the I. W. W. which did not and could not perform the functions of a trade union.

All that they accomplished by their efforts was to isolate themselves from the mass of the workers.

During periods of strikes they rallied to the support of the union, but only to retire to their seclusion when the struggle was over.

There were attempts made to remedy this condition, for the radical workers instinctively felt the barrenness of their efforts; but these failed because the fallacy of dual unionism was not yet understood.

The propaganda groups that were organized had no definite plan of action, and their members refused to accept positions of responsibility.

Thus the Current Events Group, which at one time promised to become a factor in the union, failed to come up to expectations; the same reasons account for the failure of the Workers' Council movement in the I. L. G. W. after the 12-week strike in 1919.

The Workers' Council came into existence at the time when the Shop Steward movement was being heard of a great deal from England, and it was considerably influenced by the British events.

It aimed to reconstruct the union on a Shop Delegate system. The idea was to make the shop the unit of organization, to transfer the full control of the union to the rank and file thru their Shop Committees.

The women in the needle trades (contrary to accepted opinion that women are by nature conservative) readily responded to the new idea.

The Workers' Council became very popular amongst all the workers in the industry, because the principles advocated by it were particularly adaptable to conditions in the industry.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has faced many peculiar problems. Altho in existence but a few years, it has succeeded to a great extent in improving the conditions of the workers.

In order to evade the power of the union, the manufacturers began to transfer the industry into small towns, where it is more difficult for the union to reach the workers.

In the city many of the large shops were disbanded and the industry handed over to contractors.

The large number of the rank and file does not participate actively in the affairs of the organization as now constituted; in order to maintain the standards of the union it became necessary to mobilize the active elements and distribute them thru the unorganized shops, so that from the inside could be spread the message of unionism.

These problems of the unorganized and the out-of-town shop, among other difficulties, had become too serious to be handled by paid officials against whom workers have a distrust.

Only by organizing the union on a basis that would enlist greater numbers into its activities could the union hope to maintain itself.

The Workers Council offered a solution for these problems; but it was doomed to failure because, instead of acting as a propaganda group it aimed to replace the union and even undertook to conduct strikes.

Also the radicals of all the different shades of thought had not learned how to reach a common program and leave their differences aside while working for the agreed end; instead of this, each group tried to use the Council as a medium for the propagation of its pet ideas.

In spite of its mistakes, the Workers' Council accomplished some good work. It popularized the Shop Delegates System, and it compelled the officials who were desirous of enlisting the activities of the radicals (the only live wires in the organization) to grant them a concession.

This took the form of the organization of a Shop Delegates body in the union. The new institution was greeted with enthusiasm by the workers in the industry, who attended its meetings in great numbers, and a new spirit permeated the organization.

This new body began to assume responsibilities and soon decided that the Executive Committee, hitherto elected by the membership at large and responsible to no one during its term of office, should be elected and controlled by the Shop Representatives.

The officers of the I. L. G. W. became alarmed at the popularity of the new institution and its acts and immediately took steps to curb it.

They declared the decision of the Shop Delegates unconstitutional, and sent in a receiver to take charge of the office of the local.

Some of the radicals, still imbued with the idea of dual unionism, began to clamor for a split; but they were immediately opposed by others who had learned that the only way to revolutionize the union was to stick to it.

The saner counsels prevailed. They analyzed their mistakes, and patiently set themselves to the task of organizing a left-wing movement in the I. L. G. W. They have learned that a fundamental change in the form of organization cannot be accomplished on a local scale, but must begin thruout the organization and with the highest and lowest units.

The patient and systematic work which was undertaken by this left wing has been fruitful.

We now see a solid block of radicals organized in Shop Delegates Leagues, with branches in nearly every local of the I. L. G. W., in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, and other centers where ladies' garments are made.

The members of the Shop Delegates League aim to get the support of the rank and file by participating in the daily activities of the union, and by patient and diligent work in the interest of the workers.

The recent organization campaign conducted by the Joint Board of Waist and Dress Industry was largely carried on by the radicals.

The success of these new policies has become evident during the recent election in the cloak industry—the stronghold of the official machine.

At the elections just held, after a two months' campaign during which the official machine in co-operation with the Daily Forward did their utmost to discredit the radicals, a complete victory was achieved in the largest local in the organization.

They elected their full slate, executive board, managers, and delegates to the convention.

The program upon which the fight was waged, as enunciated in the Shop Delegate League bulletin, is as follows:

1. To bring about the reconstruction of the union along Industrial lines.
2. To make the union a more militant and efficient organ of struggle by transferring power from union officials to the workers in the shops.
3. To abolish the sanctity of the collective agreement as a permanent institution.
4. To encourage solidarity of the labor forces of different industries, thereby strengthening the economic and social position of the working class.

The Shop Delegate League did carry on a spirited campaign for the election of delegates to the convention of the I. L. G. W., now being held in Cleveland. The convention issues were:

Rank and file control thru Shop Delegates.

Needle Trades Alliance.

Equal representation on all bodies of the International.

Establishment of Recall of Officers.

Uniform initiation fees, etc.

At last the radicals have found the road that leads to victory. It may not be a smooth road, and it may cost a few individual suspensions, and even expulsions, but in spite of all, thanks to our present knowledge of how to work in our union, the day is not far distant when our International Ladies Garment Workers' Union will take its place in the front ranks of Organized Labor in America.

CHARITY

This vice, if widespread, demoralizes the whole community. Other vices are a disgrace to those who indulge in them; but charity is a disgrace to the human race. Personal vices are recognized as evils to be shunned. Charity, though a deadly evil, passes for a virtue; it is a hypocrite in the guise of a saint; a confidence woman in the garb of a nun.—G. O. Warren.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

JOIN COLLECT GIVE
Friends of Soviet Russia
SUBBOTNIK
(DAYS OF VOLUNTARY LABOR)
IN RUSSIAN RELIEF
MAY 6th and 7th
Stations: 47 Chrystie St., 64 East 4th St., 208 East 12th St., 201 West 13th St., 257 East 19th St., 240 East 23rd St., 350 East 81st St., 1403—5th Ave., 143 East 103rd St., 1347 Boston Road, 226 Roebling St., 10 Siegel St., 296 Sackman St., 1302—40th St., 764—40th St.

The Poor Fish says: that he would stand solidly for the rights of labor if labor were more than three per cent. of the population; but the vast majority of the people in the United States are respectable citizens.

Unity House Joins in City-Wide Subbotnik

Some weeks ago the forty girls who live at the Unity House, ran a bazaar and collected $3,400 for the relief of the starving men, women and children of Soviet Russia.

Appreciating the dire necessity of redoubled efforts and aroused to even greater activity by the insidious propaganda of the Hoover Relief Administration, these girls have volunteered to give two days voluntary labor for Russian relief, during the city-wide SUBBOTNIK, organized by the FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

Their home at 135 Lexington Ave. will be used as a station for the drive. Other stations have been established at: 61 Canal Street, 257 East 10th Street, 240 East 23rd Street, 350 East 81st Street, 1403 Fifth Ave., 143 East 103rd Street, 1347 Boston Road, 226 Roebling Street, 10 Siegel Street, 296 Sackman Street.

Warn Against Separate Agreements in Coal War

BY A MINER

Reports from Illinois claim that separate wage agreements are to be made in Kentucky and Tennessee, and hint that Illinois may do likewise.

Should the Illinois unions make separate wage agreements, it will not be the rank and file, but the men now occupying official position in the United Mine Workers of America in District 12, as the miners are against such action.

From Indiana comes a denial of any wage agreement being negotiated in Kentucky or Tennessee, so we the coal miners are no wiser than we were before. We have, however, the privilege of believing either report we choose.

The issue is up to the rank and file. Will we take the matter in our own hands or leave it to the officers as in the past and then grumble ever after?

There are many men in Clinton and Terre Haute, Indiana, that have worked only fourteen days in the past year and some have not worked in the mines at all, but have eked out an existence (miserable as it is) by picking up odd jobs.

These men strange as it may seem, are not scabs, they are among the staunchest supporters of the strike, and if men who have been out of work for a year will support a strike, the operators can never hope to starve the miners into submission.

United Labor Council
meets
Every Wednesday
8 P. M.
83 East 4th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Phone: Orchard 0189

Decisions of the Red Labor International

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Here is another installment of the decisions of the second conference of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International. The first installment appeared last week and dealt mainly with the capitalist offensive and the proletarian united front. This week's installment takes up the question of the disunity efforts of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and is as follows:

On the Amsterdamers' Disunity Endeavors

The reformist trade-union leaders strive to continue the policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie advocated and practiced by them during and after the war, even thru a period of an intense crisis and of capital's general attack against labor.

The reformist trade-union leaders are so securely bound to bourgeois society as to make them try and nip in the bud every revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Capitalism can only hope to succeed in maintaining its chaotic economic system, provided it can do so at all, by forcing upon the proletariat a state of bondage. As, however, the reformist trade-union leaders adopt an hostile attitude toward every step of the working class beyond the limits of capitalist society, they will be compelled by the logic of events not only to abandon the revolutionary aims of the working class, but even in the case of mere wage disputes to oppose the working class or sections of it in increasing degree.

This attitude will, no matter whether they like it or not, force the reformist leaders into growing opposition to the masses of labor. In order to alienate labor from the influence of the revolutionary vanguard, to prevent the formation of the united front, so urgently demanded by labor against the always more aggressive measures of the employing class, and to maintain co-operation between labor and its exploiters, the Amsterdam leaders are today proceeding unscrupulously to split and destroy the trade-union mass organizations. The same people who stubbornly insist that the proletariat share the political power with the bourgeoisie on the basis of democracy, consider the principles of democracy as so many scraps of paper as soon as a democratic majority in the trade-unions decides in favor of revolutionary tactics.

Employ the Basest Weapons

What has occurred in Germany, France, Switzerland and other countries proves conclusively that in their endeavors to split the trade-unions, the Amsterdamers are not above employing the basest of weapons.

The tactics of cooperation and of avoiding the struggle, practised by the Amsterdamers are the reason for the rapid decline of the power of attraction of the trade-unions which have been deserted by millions of disappointed and despairing workers. The machinations of the Amsterdam leaders will ultimately result in the disintegration and destruction of the trade-unions, and that at a time when the employers' organizations are being developed and strengthened to an unheard of degree.

In stating these facts and branding the splitting and destruction of the trade-unions caused by the Amsterdamers as a base crime against the workers of the world the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International appeals to the class conscious members of the trade-unions thruout the world to remain within the trade unions in accordance with the decisions of the First Congress in spite of the intrigues of the reformist leaders and to work persistently for their development into real militant organs.

Fight Against Expulsion

Wherever reformist officials of a union proceed to expel single members or even to dissolve whole sections, locals or branches, it is the duty of all revolutionary trade-union members immediately to launch a general and energetic movement of protest against the splitters and, by adopting corresponding resolutions, categorically to insist upon annulment of the expulsion and dissolution decrees. Expelled members and dissolved sections must exhaust all means on the statute books in fighting for readmittance to the entire organization. While this fight is going on, expelled locals must, if possible under observation of the rules and regulations of their union, fulfil their functions as hitherto. If more than one local of a union, and more than one union in a country have been expelled, the adherents of the Red Trade Union International must unite such locals or unions in order to create close connections between them and the organization already belonging to the Red Trade Union International.

A very effective protest action is the example set in Switzerland where revolutionary unions have accepted into their ranks expelled sections and groups of other trade unions at the same time guaranteeing them the rights acquired in their previous organizations.

Force Reactionaries to State Stand

In countries where, as in France, the Amsterdamers have carried out the split all along the line, the revolutionary organizations must demand reunion to be achieved on the basis of free speech and proportional representation in the administrative organs. Where, in spite of all endeavors in that direction, readmittance to the respective unions is not granted, or where whole unions have either been expelled from the national federation or have left of their own accord, such unions must demand their readmission of the executive of the national trade-union federation.

All these steps should, however, not be taken under the formal slogan of unity—it is important that the fact that such unity is absolutely essential for the struggle for the workers' daily interests and needs be brought home to the masses. The leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International must be compelled to declare which side of the fence they are on in such concrete questions as wage disputes, fight for the eight hour day, retention and extension of the right of the factory councils, whether or no they will continue to sabotage the necessary unity of labor in favor of the bourgeoisie.

With regard to the stubbornly repeated assertion of the Amsterdam leaders that the Red Trade Union International is endeavoring to split the trade-union movement, the Executive Committee declares most emphatically that all adherents of the Red Trade Union International must always respect the wishes of the majority of labor and at no time employ force in an endeavor to coerce such a majority into accepting their (the minority's) proposals. It is not difficult for the adherents of the Red Trade Union International to observe this rule, the less so as, in spite of the desperate resistance put up by the Amsterdam leaders, the cases where majorities of organized workers, both in locals and in whole unions, declare themselves in favor of the center of the revolutionary trade-union movement, the Red Trade Union International, are on the increase.

Trotsky Speaks on Disarmament

By LEON TROTSKY

PROCLAMATION TO THE RUSSIAN RED ARMY AND NAVY

The question of disarmament has been raised by Chicherin, our representative, and has since been withdrawn from the agenda at Genoa. The Russian delegation [illegible] that we sincerely desire peace and that we are ready to disarm on condition that those who have hitherto been [illegible] disarm at the same time.

The refusal of capitalist France to discuss our proposals signifies that the capitalist States, and first among them triumphant France, desire to keep in their hands a powerful weapon for the suppression of those who are weak and disarmed.

We desire that the pacific efforts of our Delegations shall be crowned with success, and we hope that European nations will compel the militant bourgeois to lend an attentive ear to our plans for peace.

Soldiers of the Red Army! Sailors of the Red Fleet! We extend our best wishes to the first efforts of our representatives and hope that the European people will force their militaristic bourgeois war lords to take heed of the cry for peace demanded by all nations.

As long as these bourgeois governments will reply with a categorical "No" to our proposal for disarmament, just so long will each of our men remain steadfastly at his post.

[illegible]
Workers Party
Saturday, May [illegible] 1922
at the
FOOD WORKERS' HALL
133 West 51st Street
Come!
"You are assured a good time!"
Admission free — Hat check, 50c

Proletarian Working Women! [illegible] of the Whole World!

Your life is a life of hunger; you have heard the knock of the bony finger of want on your own door; disease and care pass thru your low doors day in and day out.

But where do fugitives find a warm hearth, where does one always share the last crumb of bread with the hungry, where is there always a garment to clothe the naked?

In your homes, you working motherly women of the whole world!

In Russia want does not merely knock at the door, in Russia misery and hunger have fastened themselves upon the huts of the peasants and the homes of the workers. Their biting teeth are fearful for twenty-five million people and six and one-half million children.

If you can read, you proletarian women of the whole world, then in the last bit of newspaper that comes to your hand you see pictures of the want of the starving in Russia.

Suppose that Heaven alone is to blame, iron-willed, immovable, pitiless, as Heaven was this summer.

Suppose that gold and might-seeking powers filled with hate for revolutionary Russia had not refused all aid, had not denied her both hammer and nails, both plows and locomotives, both chemicals and books, in order to hinder the active constructive work of Socialism.

With full right may we declare that the exploiters, the capitalists, of all countries are responsible for the terrible need in Russia, responsible thru their iron-bound blockade, responsible thru the destruction caused by the White armies. The soldiers of the whole world have starved Russia, more greedy than swarms of locusts, more pitiless than the drought. They ate up all the bread of the land and left only misery and plague and hopeless poverty.

Proletarian Working Women! Let us not complain any more, we must help!

You own nothing? Endless treasures lie in your industrious hands, in your willing hearts, in your inventive heads.

Working Women of England, steeled as you are thru the hundred years of women's toil in the factories and your industrious work in the home, thru the hard and long struggles of yourselves and your husbands with Capitalism—do you still know what solidarity means? Have you not stood at the front when the English proletarians repelled the imperial beasts of prey with the mighty cry, "Hands off Russia!" Now show your understanding in the struggle of your Russian brothers. Send coal and food.

Women of old cultured France! War and need have oppressed you for many years. Thrust aside the victorious sword of the French militarists from the breasts of your proletarian Russian brothers. By your sisterly help repair the evil your government has done. Despite all need and devastation, you are rich, proletarian working women of France, if you would but give.

Women of Germany! How many unused tools and small machines are stored in the lumber rooms of an industrial country as highly developed as Germany. Industrious, clever working women, housewives of Germany? Can you not make clothes for the children from your own clothes, socks out of stockings? If you cannot take the precious, incomparable medicaments from the greedy Germans than at least you can buy some yourselves. Take from the tiny bit of money that you live on week by week, take but a small part, and buy medicines for Russia. Save those who are dying of cholera and of typhus in Russia.

You Women of Italy, [illegible] North America, Argentina [illegible] Women of [illegible] [illegible] Millions of hungry children's eyes are at you. Mothers, can you another little piece of bread mouth of a small Russian child

Women of Holland and rich dinavia! You had something to while in seven heroic years of rible hunger your Russian and brothers have suffered bey human endurance.

Help with your scanty means, letarian working women of the world. Help with your giant's po you millions and millions of wo you, who know what misery need are.

Sisters of Work! Does not heart tremble when you hear hollow eyed starvation crushes souls than make up a whole co try? Must you not fear that Rus the Proletarian Soviet State, the land of mothers and children, fall?

The working women of Rus are arising out of their ignora and degeneration, they are the free women of the world.

Children in Russia are the tre ure of the State. Mothers' ho children's homes, splendid educati comprehensive protection for mot and child, would disappear from earth if Russia should become victim of those who, with Pharas faces pretend to help, whereas reality they are conniving only at establishment of Capitalism in Ru sia.

Proletarian peasants of Russia, ters of the whole world, you ha struggled for Soviet Russia. Y fight to maintain Soviet Russia. Y know that your proletarian moth land is a precious hearth of wome freedom.

Protect proletarian Soviet Rus you working women of the who world!

Your help is not scanty alms a beggar. No, you are defending blood of dying brothers and siste You are uplifting strong fighters the struggle against their comm enemy.

Your future, your hopes, you a defending in that you stand by S viet Russia in the struggle again hunger. Working women an mothers of the whole world! Ope your hearts and help Soviet Russi

In the name of the Women's Se retariat of the Communist Inter tional, Clara Zetkin.

This coupon will admit two

WONDERFUL PICTURES
of the
Famine District
OF SOVIET RUSSIA
Speaker: Rose Pastor Stokes
at
CASINO HALL
85 East 4th Street
Friday, May 5th, at 8 P. M.
NO COLLECTION

Radek Views Berlin Effort Toward Unity

(Continued from Page One)

International are the English Labour Party, the Belgian Workers' Party and the German Social Democrats.

Who doubts that the German Social Democrats are against the Versailles Peace? The Versailles Peace is not only a strangling rope for the German proletariat, but also a Damocles sword suspended over the Government belonging to the Social Democrats.

The German Social Democrats would very willingly demonstrate against the Versailles Peace, but the Labour Party and the Belgian Workers' Party do not permit it. They do not permit it out of consideration for the Entente Governments and for the German Government.

Does Not Dare Protest

Altho the latter is collapsing under the pressure of the Versailles Peace it does not dare even to broach the question of the Versailles Peace at the Genoa Conference.

Thus, considering the vetoes of the reformist parties of the Entente countries, the German Social Democracy does not dare of its own accord to protest against the Versailles Peace.

Just as the German Government was filled with hopes by the whispered promises of the English Ambassador, Lord d'Abernon, so the German Social Democracy's efforts were centered on postponing the conference as far as possible.

Only it should not take place now, not during the Genoa Conference. "Perhaps in the summer," they said.

All attempts to make other reasons for the refusal of the present conference as important as this main reason, are merely an exchange of falsehoods.

When the question of Versailles was presented, the representatives of the Second International declared peremptorily that they would leave the Conference at the attempt to broach this question, at no other question, only at the question of the Peace of Versailles. And that is clear enough.

Refuse to Work with Communists

The representatives of the Second International naturally had other reasons, too, for their attitude. But these were not the ones which caused the postponement.

Who would believe that a certain Wels was opposed to the conference because of boiling indignation at the bad treatment of the Social Revolutionaries or Georgians, altho he had no fault to find with the occupation of the latter by German troops in the year 1918?

But everyone knows that the German Social Democracy refused until now, in economic fights, in tax fights, to sit at the same table with the Communists and together with them to fight for the alleviation of the burden which is almost crushing the proletariat.

The fear that it would be necessary to draw a lesson from the international united front for Germany's problems was the second reason why the German Social Democracy nursed the idea of frustrating the conference.

And the representatives of the Labour Party made no secret of the fact that they fear the united front with the Communists, because the Communists in the English Trade Unions in the coming large economic struggles—strengthened by the international united front can disturb and break the policy of the trade union bureaucracy.

Consideration for international victorious capital, and consideration for its own policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, yielding to the capitalist offensive, the fear that this policy can be disturbed by the international united front—these were the reasons for the efforts of the Second International to dissolve the Berlin Conference.

Beginnings of United Front

The Second International succeeded—as was already said—in hindering the immediate convocation of the World Conference of the proletariat but—and this we establish as the second result of the Conference—it did not succeed in destroying the beginnings of the united front, modest as they may be. It had to consent to the appointment of a committee of the representatives of the three Executives, whose task it is to prepare for the calling of a World Congress and other conferences.

It has to agree to call together as early as April, international demonstrations against the offensive of capital, against the Genoa robber conference, for the recognition of Soviet Russia, and against the strangling reparations policy.

That is not much. But even that could only be accomplished by the spontaneously formed block of the Communists and the Vienna International, who jointly defended the idea of the united front.

Yellow "Vorwärts" Gets Polite

With a coarseness which is peculiar to it, the Berlin "Vorwärts" in its morning issue of April 6th reports that at the conference the Second International had taken up the joint declaration "in a certain measure out of politeness to the Vienna Working Union."

The Second International will undoubtedly do everything in the future, as it did at the Conference, to sabotage every concrete attempt to transform in action the impulse given by the International Conference.

But the conference of the three Executives has already shown that when the Communist International and the Vienna Working Union honorably and resolutely defend the thought of the united front, the attempts of the Second International to sabotage will run aground for a long time to come.

They will run aground not because the Communist International and the Vienna Working Union can overrule by majority vote any decision of the Second International, but because by their very attitude they manifest the ardent will of the proletariat for the united front.

Communists Counter-Attack

The Communist International openly abandoned every attempt to cause the Berlin Conference to frame nice sounding and far-reaching conclusions.

It knows very well that the big promises to the Second International are not worth the paper they are written on.

It is not a question of the promises that the Second International could make, but of the pressure upon it of the working masses, which will express itself most emphatically in the urgent questions of the proletarian necessities of life.

The Communist International intentionally did not begin an offensive at this conference against the unheard-of deeds of the Second International during and after the war.

Only when the Second International tried to take the offensive against the Communist International, did the Communist International delegation make a counter-attack which sufficed at least to hold back the Second International so that it did not shatter the Berlin Conference.

There is no doubt that the holding back of the Delegation of the Communist International will be considered a concession by many of our comrades. The delegation knew that. But it had to say to itself, "We are the representatives of the fighting movement of the proletariat."

Tenacious Fight; Not Parade

The successful fight of the proletariat is impossible without its unity for the defense of the interests nearest to the proletariat.

The proletariat will not assemble to speak sharply about the past, or to pronounce screamingly the demands of the present.

It will assemble in order to express most decisively its will for a united front. It will judge the parties not by what they say but by what they do. And therefore our holding back and moderation were the sharpest form of attack on the Second International.

Our moderation showed that we were forming the united front not as a parade for one day, but as a tenacious fight for the setting up and the preservation of the united front.

The quieter and more prudently we show this to the working masses in the future, the more will all the attacks of the Second International against the united front of the proletariat recoil to its disadvantage; this is the slogan of the Communist International in the given historical situation.

We have declared ourselves ready to participate in the united front, even with those who for eight years abandoned the interests of the proletariat.

United Front Idea Grows

Since we maintain this idea quietly, firmly and without a waver, we shall be capable of setting up the proletarian united front, even against the Second International, if it tries to disturb this united front. That is the result of the Berlin Conference.

When we conceived the idea of the united front, it was very clear to us that the idea could not be victorious in one hour, one day or even one month.

When we conceived the idea of the International Congress, the road to the international united front was shown us. This road proves to be impossible at the present time, but the idea of the united front has shown itself so strong that the Second International, which in the year 1921 gave it a serious setback, when it was first expressed in Germany thru the "Open Letter" of the Communist Party of Germany, can now only sabotage it in an underhand way.

The idea of the united front is beginning to go into effect, and it will go thru. This assurance strengthened the conference for all the Communist participants, in spite of the slight practical results of the first attempt.

Unanimously Endorse Resolutions

And we should not in the least undervalue the fact that since the idea of the united front was substantiated at the conference, it convinced the representatives of all shades of opinion in the Communist International of the justness of the idea of the united front much more than theoretic discussion could have done.

It can be stated that the delegation of the Communist International gave its unanimous endorsement to the joint resolution, which is undersigned by its representatives.

IRON HORSES

Izvestia, Moscow, March 15th, published the following letter from the famine area:—

"The volost (district) was allotted forty poods of corn, and was requested to draw them from the Sergileev county famine depot. But this has not been done so far, and cannot be done, because there are no horses left. The volost executive attempted to harness people to the carts, but they were too weak to walk five miles. And the starving volost, which has forgotten the taste and smell of bread, must give up all hope of these forty poods of corn—which would maintain it for two or three days longer—and await death by starvation in utter hopelessness!"

The peasants in the famine regions accept their fate stoically. Their horses are dead, and it is time to plow. They will patiently harness themselves to the plow, but the hunger ordeal has been long and strength has ebbed away. There is no hope for them unless they can get automotive farming machinery.

"Iron horses," tractors, are needed to replace the dead draft animals. The Friends of Soviet Russia, thanks to the generosity of workers and sympathizers, is about to send to the Volga district 20 tractors with complete operating equipment, including expert machinists.

This is a small but hopeful beginning. Help to increase this essential aid. No less than 2000 tractors with plows and other implements are needed to assure efficient cultivation of the Volga plains under present conditions.

And there is much more than hunger relief involved in the donation of these "iron horses." They may well prove vital to the existence of the world's first labor commonwealth and its unexampled policy of fair dealing with the oriental nations. The survival or fall of Soviet Russia will decide whether there shall be a peaceful or a bloody settlement between the Orient and the Occident.

Centuries of strife and woe, culminating in the miracle of 1917, have set the stage for a tremendous drama, fraught with incalculable significance for all of us today and for our children tomorrow. The vast Russian realm, embracing nearly one-fifth of the earth's habitable area and one-tenth of the human race, has arisen mightily in a key position as the possible peacemaker between the teeming East and the hustling West. Already Soviet Russia's policy of generosity and brotherhood toward the eastern peoples is bearing good fruit.

The old, grasping ruthless imperialism must not be allowed to come back to kill this heartening promise. Recurrence of famine is a serious menace in this direction.

Send "IRON HORSES" to plow for the famine-stricken peasants of Russia. Give the new, healing spirit of the Soviet Republic a chance to endure and redeem the world.

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA
May 1st to June 1st, 1922
Authorized by the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin (Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated.)
Conducted in America under the direction of the
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
(National Office)
201 WEST 13th STREET NEW YORK CITY

Send
IRON HORSES
to plow
for the
famine-stricken.

Here is my contribution of .... to help send "iron horses" to plow for the famine-stricken peasants of Soviet Russia.
Name.............................. Street address ....
City.............................. State ....
P. S.—Put my name on the Roll Call.
(Worker, 5-6-22)

May Day Is Party's Red Letter Day

May Day, 1922, will always be remembered as a Red Letter Day in the history of the Workers Party.

The first May Day in the course of our existence as a party found us at the head of a united labor front in hundreds of cities in all parts of the United States, and the activity and ability of our spokesmen completely eclipsed those who shared the platform at these joint demonstrations.

In many cities our party was called upon to furnish the entire list of speakers because the co-operating elements were not able to supply any.

Everywhere the message of the Workers Party met with enthusiastic reception. The results of our first May Day unquestionably vindicate the united front policy as applied to specific immediate efforts by the workers in their own behalf.

Coldwell at Buffalo

In Buffalo, N. Y., Joseph M. Coldwell spoke at a tremendous open air demonstration at which the police renewed their courtship of writer's cramp trying to take down the speeches of our orators.

Permission to parade had been refused by the Mayor, but the meeting took on the proportions of a demonstration nevertheless.

Besides the Workers Party there were two carpenters' unions, one moulders', one electricians', one bakers', one railwaymen's local and a goodly number of fraternal groups.

In Rochester, N. Y., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers staged a wonderful parade, followed by a mass meeting at which Robert Minor and I. Camardo, both members of the Workers Party, spoke in English and Italian respectively.

Parade at Vineland, N. J.

In a tiny farmers' town of Vineland, N. J., the Amalgamated organization threw a real surprise into the townspeople by an unannounced parade, five hundred strong, headed by a large band, red flags, and all the other revolutionary trappings hitherto seen only in the biggest cities.

They marched past four scab shops of their trade and serenaded the unorganized workers. A meeting in the largest hall in town was addressed by William F. Kruse and I. Ciuetti, of Baltimore, both active in the Workers Party.

Not a single report of trouble marred the perfect success of our demonstrations, even in Pittsburgh, where a Coldwell meeting on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti was stopped a few weeks ago, the meeting was allowed to proceed undisturbed.

In a few cases speakers representing other organizations tried to make tactical capital for their groups but they did not get far. Our speakers effectively squelched such efforts and those who made them, to the complete satisfaction of the audience, and then proceeded with the proper theme of the day—the need for a solid working class front against the attacks of the capitalists.

Fine reports were received from Philadelphia where Caleb Harrison spoke, from the entire Massachusetts district where Edgar Owens and James P. Cannon were sent from the National Office to help out the district speakers, and from many other points.

From Los Angeles a telegram on behalf of the release of all class war prisoners was sent broadcast. Further reports will be printed in our next issue.

FREE TICKETS TO STRIKERS

While it is found the admission charge meetings are generally more successful than those that are free, the Workers Party is careful not to let the admission charge militate against the attendance of working class elements to whom the admission charge is a real handicap. For instance, the Baltimore local distributed 100 tickets to the Robert Minor meeting among the strikers of the Western Maryland, and the subject of the lecture, "The Open Shop Drive, a Modern Return to Slavery," as well as the personality of the speaker assured a welcome to these tickets among the rebel workers.

NEWS STAND WORK

In Philadelphia the local has been deliberate in getting its major plans under way but it is hitting its full stride now. To boost the circulation of THE WORKER the City Central Committee in connection with the English Branch has organized a "Worker Distribution Club," to each of whose members a certain number of news-stands are assigned. Each news stand is given two or three copies as a starter and the quota increased as they need more. For the first month they do not expect any phenomenal results, but the sales are slowly growing and the plan is reported a success. Already the allotment for this work has increased from 125 to 225 per week.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Thousands in New York City Demonstrate

"Free our political prisoners; Hail the United Front of the working class; Down with capitalism; Long live the International Workers Soviet Republic!" resounded thruout New York City on May Day.

In all parts of New York the Workers Party delivered its revolutionary message, to over ten thousand workers gathered in mass meetings and demonstrations.

May First not only demonstrated the eagerness of the masses of New York to voice their indignation with the murderous capitalist system, not only their revolutionary understanding and fervor; but by their enthusiastic response to the slogans of the Workers Party they showed their willingness to follow the leadership of a Party fighting for a new society based on the rule of the workers.

May Day signified for us, that the Workers Party is here to stay, grow, and become the recognized leader of the workers.

The New York Amnesty Demonstration arranged on 110th St. and Fifth Ave., drew over 5000 workers. The meeting was opened at 2 P. M. by P. J. McClellan in the name of the Amnesty Alliance.

At 4 P. M. the Socialist Party after endeavoring with their top-notch speakers to get the ear of the workers gave up their corner to the Demonstration and a second platform was presided over by William W. Weinstone, secretary of the Local N. Y.

Later in the day the two platforms were combined making one huge impressive gathering. Over 25 speakers addressed the demonstration, 20 of whom were members of the Workers Party including Lore, McClellan, Benjamin Gitlow, Weinstone, Engdahl, Amter, Huiswood, McCarthy and Katherine Gitlow.

The other speakers represented the Workers Defense, United Labor Council, United Toilers, and other organizations affiliated in the Alliance.

The Brooklyn Demonstration of the Amnesty Alliance was attended by over 1000 workers and adressed by the same and other speakers.

Benjamin Gitlow and M. J. Olgin, both of the Workers Party were the main speakers at the Manhattan Opera House where 3000 members of Local 1 and 9 of the International Ladies Garment Workers celebrated [illegible] Francisco.

The Lettish Branch of the Workers Party held their [illegible] on Saturday, in [illegible] Kruse and [illegible] Party spoke to about [illegible] nish Branch held their celebration on Monday night at the [illegible], 1000 workers attending. [illegible] and Amter spoke.

The Local also supplied speakers to adjoining cities. [illegible] spoke in Newark, Tom O'Flaherty in Connecticut, P. McClellan and others in Newark, Bayonne and other towns of New Jersey, Engdahl in Hartford.

Extensive literature was disposed of. The Local helped distribute part of the 25,000 proclamations of the Amnesty Alliance. It circulated 10,000 of the Workers Party proclamations, 2000 May Day issues of THE WORKER, and more than 1000 May 6th issues, as well as thousands of copies of other literature, and May Day United Front W. P. Buttons.

The Workers Party won its spurs on May Day. It showed up in most inspiring form. Next May Day holds out still greater prospects for the revolutionary party of the working class.

COLDWELL'S STORY STIRS

The nation-wide tour of Joseph M. Coldwell on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, the condemned Massachusetts labor leaders, under the auspices of the Workers Party, is meeting with good response everywhere. He has spent two weeks in the state of Ohio addressing meetings every night and reports that despite the hard times the crowds are good and the tour will show some surplus for the defense fund. Thousands of Sacco-Vanzetti pamphlets are being sold at these meetings and many signatures obtained for the release of all class-war prisoners.

After making May Day meetings at Erie and Buffalo, our veteran labor agitator is going into Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Missouri, before wending his way back East.

His itinerary for the next few weeks is as follows: May 9, Aurora, Ill., 10, Rockford, Ill.; 11, Gary Ind.; 12, Peoria, Ill., 13, Chicago, Ill.; 14, Maywood Ill., 15, Moline, Ill.; 16, Davenport, Ill.; 17, Racine, Wisc., 18, Waukegan, Ill.; 19, Milwaukee, Wisc.; 20, St. Paul, Minn.; 21, Minneapolis, Minn.; 22, Superior, Wisc.; 23, Negaunee, Mich.; 24, Newberry, Mich.; 25, Red Granite, Wisc., 26, International Falls, Minn., 28, Frederick, S. Dak., 29, St. Louis, Mo.

[illegible] Independence?

By [illegible]

The plea of independence of the Young Workers League from the Workers Party is being put forward by [illegible] whose [illegible] is to [illegible] of the Workers Party.

The issue of independence (?) is a false one by which they hope to [illegible] some honest [illegible] elements as well as to throw confusion into the ranks of our membership.

The plea is made that by political "independence" we will avoid splitting of the young movement into as many different camps as can be found in the old.

So they propose as a remedy the organization of another politically independent organization on the basis of age rather than principle.

They claim that "independence" appeals to the "sentimentality" of youth, and furnishes a basis for the unity of all elements, those who accept the leadership of the Young Communist International as well as the purely Centrist, or even Social-Democratic (S. P.) Juvenile auxiliaries.

If the plea were not prompted solely by dishonesty it would brand its proponents as a fine bunch of pipe-dreamers. What kind of an organization would be built out of such a unity, even granting the absurd idea of its possibility?

What the Young Workers' League expects to do at its coming national convention is to build a militant, active organization based upon a clear recognition of the class struggle and the necessity of active participation in it. We do not want a mere organizational unity on the basis of "sentimentality" such as doomed the first Y. P. S. L. to impotence.

We favor the political subordination of the Y. W. L. to the decisions of the Workers Party because the W. P. represents the only revolutionary unifying force in this country.

At its first convention it accomplished the seemingly impossible task of uniting a number of revolutionary political organizations under one banner, and its activity since that time has been such as to win the approval of the Communist Party, American Section of the Communist International.

To subordinate the political policies of the young organization to this real united front of the revolutionary elements means only to avoid political dissension within our ranks and unnecessary confusion among the masses.

To apply the policies of the Third International, and of its young section, the Young Communist International, [illegible] the social struggle, interests and activities of the American youth will be task enough for the Y. W. L. without usurping the work of the older movement.

We propose a relationship between the Y. W. L. and the W. P. similar to that now existing between the Young Communist International and the Communist International.

These would-be revolutionists who are advocating independence claim it is a question of "expediency". Yes, I agree with them, it is a question of expediency for the benefit of those who would like to use the Y. W. L. as a weapon with which to fight the party.

It certainly is expedient for them first to advocate independence, split the Y. W. L., and after they have split the forces of the young workers to affiliate our organization with the splitters of the Communist movement of America.

Most of those who raise the cry of "independence" do so only because it suits their purpose in grinding the axes of the elder movement. They claim they have among them adherents of (1) the I. W. W., (2) the Proletarian Party, (3) the United Toilers.

That the support of the I. W. W. cannot for a minute be considered a substitute for that of the W. P. is shown by the hostility of that organization toward the Third International, and its utter indifference to young organization work.

The Proletarian Party is but a pedagogical sect. The United Toilers have shown themselves to be undisciplined dualists and organization wreckers.

In this Y. W. L. fight they are only transferring their wrecking tactics from the elder field to the younger, and our members should be on guard against them.

There is a small element of sincere comrades who have made a fetish of "independence" for its own sake, who feel that the young movement is and can be self-sufficient in principle, policy, and resources. This element is used as a catspaw by the wily schemers of the older opponents of revolutionary unity in America. The experience of the past two years should show the practical impossibility of such a course, and in logic the creation of a young organization upon a basis of complete political autonomy would mean the development of another contestant upon the field of proletarian organization, it would hamper unification of our forces and further confuse the mass of workers about to be won to our cause.

The condition of the labor movement in this country at this time is such that every ounce of energy we can gather is necessary in order that we, the vanguard of the proletariat, may take an active part in the daily struggle of the working class and lead to victory over capitalism.

This coupon will admit [illegible]

Come to the

Monster Rally

Friday, May 5th, at 8 P. M.

at

Brownsville Labor Lyceum

219 Sackman Street

Speakers: Moissaye J. Olgin, Bill Dunn of Seattle, Charles Brower and others.

NO COLLECTION

Any one who dares to split the forces of the revolutionary movement at this time is a traitor to the working class.

The duty of every true rebel is to get into the fight. Now is the time for action. Now more than ever before the working class needs our activity. We cannot refuse them.

Down with those who would split the Young Workers' Movement of this country! Forward to the battle, comrades! On with the struggle, the struggle to free the masses from capitalism and the evils that go with it.

Into the struggle we must go with our forces united in this, the greatest struggle in the history of mankind. Down with all disrupters!

Long live the united front of the young and adult workers, the united front of the revolutionary organizations, the Young Workers' League and the Workers Party of America!

GENOA.—The workers' and peasants' government of the Ukraine is so firmly established that counter-revolutionary campaigns are doomed to failure, says Christian Rakowsky, president of the republic.

This coupon will admit two

Friday, May 5th, at 8 P. M.

Speakers: Ludwig Lore, Editor Volkszeitung; J. Louis Engdahl, Editor Worker, Noah London of the Freiheit

at

FORWARD HALL

175 East Broadway

NO COLLECTION

DELEGATES TO BRITISH PARTY CONGRESS REMEMBER AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

(Continued from Page One)

Communist support—one of the first manifestations of the United Front.

The delegates were gathered in the [illegible] Hall of the building. A large square room upon the walls of which hang very indifferently executed paintings of bygone worshipful mayors. There was quite a gallery of them: pompous, be-whiskered persons for the most part, stiff and important in their red robes of office and their mayoral chains.

MacManus in Mayor's Chair

In the mayor's great oaken chair upon a dais sat Arthur MacManus, Chairman of the Party. The great carved back of the chair rose high above the head of this little man who with his revolutionary passion and keen proletarian intelligence directs the activities of the Party with the same cool and humorous effectiveness as he led the conference thru the mazes of discussion and parliamentary rulings.

It was a workingmen's assembly. Looking over the rows of delegates I noted the typical representatives of the various sections of British industry. There were miners from South Wales speaking with all the natural [illegible] oratory and passion of the Celt, harsh-voiced Scotsmen from the Clyde storm center, with stunted [illegible], stalwart seamen from Liverpool talking in the clipped Lancashire speech.

Here and there was an "intellectual," a journalist or professional man with the suave accent of the middle class university graduate. But they were in a very small minority and they made no attempt to dictate to the conference or to appropriate the lion's share of the talking, as do the American members of the middle class who have condescended to take part in the proletarian movement.

They [illegible] make the attempt for a very good reason: it wouldn't have succeeded. These British revolutionary workingmen knew just what they wanted and they were in no mood for dialectical niceties.

Few Flowery Speeches

There were very few flowery speeches. Anyone trying to waste the assembly's time by the exercise of ornamental oratory was soon [illegible] to heel.

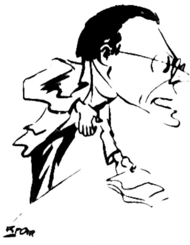
"We don't want any speeches!" would resound from various parts of the hall, and the elocutionist, looking somewhat sheepish, would either sit down or get down to business.

After MacManus' opening address, which was a succinct survey of the international and national situation, all newspaper men and other persons who were not delegates were asked to leave the hall.

Ashleigh Fraternal Delegate

I was present as fraternal delegate from America and after I had made the usual rather general talk which fraternal delegates always do, then the real business began.

And the real business went steadily on until Sunday night. There was but little debate: the times here in Great Britain are too hazardous. [illegible] the hand of the British master class is gripping the workers' unions by the throat and before this menace it was obvious to all that Communists must—by the sheer necessity of iron circumstance—work together with all sections of the workingclass movement to beat back the bosses' offensive and convert it if possible into a retreat.



T. A. JACKSON

One of the Editors of "The Communist," who piloted the "electoral policy resolution."

The engineering unions are locked out, which has added nearly a million more men to the two million unemployed. In a few days it is certain that the ship-building workers of all crafts would also be locked out.

The employers are demanding the cancellation of all those workshop rights for which the unions of Great Britain had been fighting for years, and which they have gained thru infinite sacrifice and struggle.

Wages are to be lowered again if the employers have their own way, and unionism faces the most critical period in its history since the elementary right to organize was wrung from the masters.

This was no time, therefore, for academic discussion, no time for revolutionary purists to insist upon long theoretical pronouncements. It was a gathering of warriors who were come together to consider means of doing battle.

"Unity" Conference Keynote

[illegible] unity with all workers who were opposing the attacks of the employing class, unity on the industrial and the political field: this was the keynote of the conference. There was no question of "sacrificing our principles" or "compromising."

It was understood that the Communist Party did not budge an inch from its revolutionary position, but the present tactics must be that of a solid union with the workers everywhere, in every sphere of their activity.

Few Purists Present

On the question of electoral policy when a resolution was introduced by T. A. Jackson which proposed that the Party should again apply for affiliation to the Labor Party, there was scanty opposition. Only a couple of "pure" Communists were among the 159, and their pleas for sectarian segregation were ineffectual.

The following specific applications of the United Front were adopted by the conference.

a. The Communist Party officially denies the charge that it desires to enter the Labor Party to disrupt it, and declares that it seeks affiliation in order to secure the political unity of the working class and to influence the Labor Party in the direction of communism.

b. The Communist Party is prepared generally to support Labor Party candidates at the polls but reserves itself the right to oppose in glaring reactionary cases where it is found that a considerable section of the working class supports such opposition.

c. The Communist Party declares its disapproval of all tactics having merely a disruptive effect on the working class movement, and of abusive attacks on the Labor Party, I. L. P., S. L. P., anarchists or any other working class elements and bodies; that the Communist Party should devote its energies to a straight attack on capitalism and the opposition parties.

Might I suggest that some of our American comrades read this last clause over five or six times and then devote a wholesome half hour to meditation upon it?

d. The Communist Party seeks to gain the confidence of the masses by approaching the workers in our propaganda campaigns in the most sympathetic manner and by members of the party assuming positions of responsibility and undertaking the defense of the working class on every issue large and small, affecting workingclass welfare.

e. The Communist Party grants permission and encourages party members to become individual members of the Labor Party, subject to Clause 12 of the constitution, in order to strengthen Communist influence in the Labor Party.

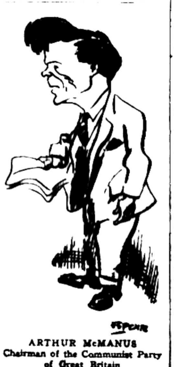
May Enter Conferences

f. The Communist Party declares its willingness at any time to enter into any conferences or negotiations between working class parties, that have for their object the consolidation of the workingclass movement, no matter whether these conferences or negotiations be initiated by Right or Left sections.

On the question of industrial policy, there was some discussion as to the relative functions of the communist workshop and union nuclei, the Red International of Labor Unions and the Workshop Committee movement.

It was decided eventually that the Party encourage the formation of workshop committees, and that the communist nuclei seek to guide such committees along the lines of communist activity.

Certain delegates argued that the workshop committees were the product of a temporary condition in industry such as that prevailing in the engineering industry during the war and that their importance was now being over stressed.



ARTHUR McMANUS
Chairman of the Communist Party of Great Britain

The majority opinion was, however, that crises were likely to occur again, at any time, which would necessitate the formation of such committees, and that therefore the workers should be familiarized with their structure and workings.

Basis for United Front

The following basis for the United Front was adopted by the conference:

In order that the policy of the United Front shall become effective in Great Britain, the following conditions are necessary:

1. A strict definition of the concrete demands upon which common action is proposed to be taken.

2. Freedom of criticism in all cases. Freedom of action in movements other than those upon which mutual agreement has been reached.

The Communist Party proclaims its complete unity with the workers in all struggles against (1) wage cuts and lengthening of hours, (2) attacks on protective regulations, trade union and political, won by the workers in the past, (3) attempts to smash workingclass organizations by the employers.

In addition there are specific demands upon which all workingclass organizations can be rallied to a common fight, such as:

(1) Work or full maintenance for the unemployed.

(2) Full recognition of the Soviet Republic.

On the basis of the above program the Communist Party expresses its willingness to join wholeheartedly with all other working class parties to obtain the aims set forth.

Finds Little Disagreement

The conference was not a good one for the writer of "feature stories." There was but little disagreement, no marked vehemence of discussion and no disorder.

It was a gathering of revolutionists schooled in the workshops and the mines and mills, tried in the industrial and political struggles of the working class, facing a situation of the utmost peril and urgency, and quietly determined to perfect their plans of battle.

So, for the person seeking cheap emotional thrills and "color," the offering was scanty. But for the revolutionist, the conference was a joy. Because it marked unmistakably the definite emergence of the British revolutionary movement from the period of romanticism and theoretical statement, to that of scientific, revolutionary application.

There was a young Welsh miner there who cried, "Comrades, we have come here, not to attend a debating society, but to plan fortifications of defense and new weapons of attack!" And there was no one present who did not think the same.

Do Not Forget America

And America? Well, America was not forgotten. For, after the conference had ended, with the full-throated singing of the "Internationale," many of the delegates went on to a meeting in the neighborhood which was held for the purpose of protesting against the imprisonment of American and British political and industrial prisoners.

In the great hall of the borough swimming baths hundreds of workers and delegates listened to the tale of the persecution of American workers by American capitalism. I painted for this stolid British audience some little pictures of free America. I told the tale of the lynching of Frank Little, of Tom Mooney and of the hundreds of members of the I. W. W. who still lie in prison.

And I told them of West Virginia and of Colorado, and these phlegmatic islanders leapt to their feet and shouted "Shame!"

The fighting Irish Communist, McAlpine, followed with the story of Jim Larkin and his comrades; and Tommy Clarke, one of the Clyde deportees, a bulky Scotsman built rather on the massive lines of our own Bill Dunne, spoke for Aldred, Tokpin, McLean and other revolutionists who are confined in British prisons.

And then came Dawson Large, a Labor Party member who spoke on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. It was hard for the audience to believe some of the things Large told them, for British capitalism has not yet resorted to the "frame-up" in order to rid itself of workingclass militants.

But we passed a unanimous resolution of protest, which was sent that night to Washington; and every member of a trade union in the union was pledged to bring up, in his union branch, the matter of Sacco and Vanzetti and other prisoners and to keep resolutions pouring in to the American Embassy and to Washington.

And then the delegates set out for the railroad stations; for they had to be home by Monday morning, so that the employed might be on the job and the unemployed register at their local labor exchanges lest they lose their weekly dole of fifteen shillings.

And a hundred and fifty [illegible] delegates were carrying to a hundred fifty cities and towns of Great Britain the message of the United Front, the call for a realignment of workingclass forces for the [illegible] great battle in the class struggle.

ONE YEAR $2.00 — Bundle Rates $1.50 per hundred — SIX MONTHS $1.00

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J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Managing Editor
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ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
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Advertising rates upon application.

Now the Mexican workers are joining in the fight for the class war prisoners in this country. Mexican workers habe veen imprisoned in Texas jails for more than eight years for revolutionary activities, especially incidental to the overthrow of the Diaz regime. There are Ricardo Flores Magon and Librado Rivera at Leavenworth, and Jesus M. Rangel, Petro Parales, Abraham Cisnores, Jesus Gonzales, Leonardo Vasques and Charles Cline, in Texas jails. When we demand the release of our own prisoners, let us also remember our Mexican comrades. Set them all free!

Greetings to the Japanese

We send our comradely greetings across the broad expanse of the Pacific to the workers of Japan and congratulate them on their successful celebration of International May Day.

They marched, by the hundreds of thousands, thru the streets of their great industrial centers, Tokio, Yokohama, Osaka, Kobe and other cities.

This is the reply of Japanese labor, martyred, imprisoned, oppressed, to one of the most ruthless money oligarchies in the world.

It will give cheer to our Russian comrades of the Far Eastern Republic who have long looked for some sign of awakening from the Japanese masses.

The workers of Japan must help safeguard the eastern borders of the Red Workers' Republic, must force the withdrawal of Jap troops from Vladivostok.

As the workers of Japan walked the streets of the big cities in great demonstrations, the Imperial Crown Prince (Japan) was entertaining the Prince of Wales (British) at Kioto, the beautiful, ancient capital in Southern Japan. May Day parades were barred in Kioto for the benefit of the British Prince.

Yet the Prince of Wales might write to London to his father who sits upon the British throne and inform him that the day is coming when Japanese workers will not be the pawns of the world's imperialists.

He might also drop a postal card to his friend, Warren G. Harding, President, Washington, D. C., U. S. A., and inform him that the danger of war between Japan and the United States lessens.

The working masses of Japan, newest among the great capitalist nations, have defied the imperialists at home and declared their solidarity with aspiring labor thruout the whole world.

"Is this a Jewish union or is it an international union?" asked Luigi Antonini, of New York's Italian tailors, while Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward, was denouncing the Communists at the Chicago convention. Antonini should know that Cahan isn't worried about race or nationality as long as he can make of the International a "right wing," anti-Communist union.

The "Unity" that Tears Down

The cry for "unity" was upon the lips of all speakers during the opening days of the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union at Cleveland, Ohio.

Yet the first real act of the convention was the unseating of a delegate of one of the largest locals in the organization for the crime of criticizing its officialdom.

Woodrow Wilson in the days of his presidency sent men and women to prison, and crushed labor papers for this sort of lese majeste. Schlesinger unseats delegates guilty of this crime from his convention.

Perhaps the delegates who voted with the Schlesinger administration did not get the full significance of the rump convention of Socialists held near them in Cleveland. The Bergers and the Hillquits practiced the sort of "unity" that tears down, the "unity" that destroys, and they have nothing left.

The revolutionists in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are going to remain in that organization, and help keep it in the vanguard of American labor, whether Schlesinger likes it or not.

The test vote on the unseating of Rothman shows they have one-third of the delegates in the convention with them.

Schlesinger must know the strength of his policies with his own convention if he must call the super-reactionary, Samuel Gompers, to his aid, and then begin throwing out opposition delegates.

No wonder he must go thru the hypocritical manoeuver of announcing his refusal to become a candidate to succeed himself, get the New York Times and other harlots of the kept press to shed bitter tears over his going, and then conveniently change his mind.

In the words of Charles E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary, Workers Party, in addressing the convention:—

"We speak of the 'leftism' in this convention, but 'leftism' means the unity of the workers. The Communist International offers a program of the United Front and calls upon the workers to follow it. Labor organizations should be proud to have members of the Workers Party in their ranks to work for its program."

The only real demand for unity in the American labor movement comes from its revolutionary elements. They will win that unity on the basis of the class conscious struggle of labor against capitalism. That is the only kind of working-class unity that is worth while. That is the only kind that wins. And it will win in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and all other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in spite of the Schlesingers and the Gompers.

Old Man Capitalism: "I tell you you are dead! Don't say you are not."
Senile Statesmen: "The idea of a corpse behaving like that."
Decrepit Monarchist: "It promised to be such a beautiful funeral."

It is charged that the workers in Indiana protested against the Harding regime in Washington by voting for Beveridge for Senator. But labor will never begin making real headway until it quits all factions of both the old parties. Labor must fight alone and win by its own efforts.

Socialists Join "The Elite"

Morris Hillquit, the intellectual leader of the Socialist Party, when Victor L. Berger permits him to be, announces that the Socialist Party has now joined "The Elite."

That is certainly getting a little Riverside Drive atmosphere into the working-class movement, or that small part of it occupied by the Socialists. Hillquit told the Cleveland Convention of the Socialist Party that:—

"The elite of the Socialist movement is in the Vienna Working Union," this being another name for the 2½ International.

And the Socialist Convention, with all the enthusiasm of a social climber moving onto "The Drive," voted for affiliation with the Vienna "Elite." And Hillquit knows.

The question is now raised whether Hillquit and his diminishing fold will be received at Vienna with greater welcome than at Moscow.

The Vienna Union stands for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviet rule, and for a United Front with the Communist International. Hillquit stands for none of these. Berger certainly not. And Hillquit and Berger get four of the seven places on the party's national executive committee, two for New York and two for Milwaukee.

Some one cruelly suggests that the Socialist Party hereafter hold membership conventions instead of delegate conventions, after the fashion of the New England town meetings. If Hillquit is to be the perennial keynoter he must have someone to keynote to, and it is hard to get up enthusiasm facing a convention of 21 delegates.

And then if Hillquit is faced by the entire membership he can pick out "The Elite," those who are entitled to membership in "The Elite International."

As Berger admits, "A spirit without a body is a spook." He said it. The Socialist Party today is but the ghost of a once promising organization.

EXTRA! Sam Gompers forgot to attack Soviet Russia and the Communists in his speech for "beer and wine" and a wet U. S. A., at Madison Square Garden, New York City, recently.

Tchitcherin's Silk Hat Is Still in the Ring at Genoa

We Who Get Slapped

International May Day is a time for the expression of working-class solidarity. This also applies to working-class editors.

We wish to take this occasion, therefore, in our first issue after May Day, to express our solidarity with a fellow working-class editor, Claude McKay, of the Liberator.

The police may take exception; also the post office, because Comrade McKay's skin happens to be black, while ours is more or less white.

In the May Day issue of "The Liberator" McKay had an article reviewing the play, "He Who Gets Slapped." McKay, with Gropper, the cartoonist, were relegated to seats in the balcony, instead of being allowed to occupy the sacred precincts of the orchestra circle, reserved "for whites only." Gropper is white but McKay is black. And McKay, of course, came away feeling it was he who got slapped.

And then came the May Day Ball of The Liberator. There are workers with skins of many colors, white, black, brown, red and yellow. And no matter what race of workers you turn to, you will find there are some among them who are radical. And that is why radical workers of different races find their way to the affairs of The Liberator. It is for them a common meeting ground, for white, for negro, for Hindu, for Chinese, and workers of other races.

It therefore happened, in this common meeting place of the workers, that McKay danced with Crystal Eastman, another editor of The Liberator, sister of Max Eastman.

The police were there aching to get into action for May Day. Any excuse would do and forthwith, under orders of Police Captain Howard, of the Morals Squad, the dance was stopped. It was not "respectable" for McKay, black, to dance with Crystal Eastman, white.

And so McKay no doubt felt that he had again been slapped by a self-righteous capitalist system that can see no "respectability" in any of the acts of enlightened workers.

The hall was cleared with the usual police brutality. Workers of all races were clubbed and herded down the stairs and out-of-doors. There was no distinction shown here. Black and white were treated alike, and a Chinese radical who dared protest was placed under arrest.

This police raid on a working-class festivity isn't the affair of McKay, of Crystal Eastman, or the Chinese comrade who was thrown into a foul police station cell. It is the concern of every man and woman of labor.

The working class does not need either the night sticks of the police or the edicts of an "Anthony Comstock" to dictate its morality.

It knows that the wiping out of race hatred and race prejudice is one of the first necessities in the development of that class solidarity that is necessary to combat the world forces of capitalism.

Claude McKay, the gifted poet, wasn't slapped. Neither was our comrade, Crystal Eastman.

It is we, the whole working class, that has been slapped. We can slap back thru wiping out all race prejudices, uniting the workers of all colors and developing that class solidarity that will result in the abolition of capitalism and of all its hypocrisies.

France and Belgium are kicking over the traces at the Genoa Conference because they feel Lloyd George is stealing advantages from them for British capitalists. The capture of rich oil concessions for the British oil trust for instance. No wonder President Harding, thru his secretary of state, Hughes, also comes to bat with a refusal to recognize the Soviet Republic. It may take some time, but ultimately capitalism in these countries, France, Belgium, the United States and the rest will also be compelled to surrender.

[illegible]

By CARROLL BINDE
(Federated Press Staff Wri

Sixteen lines of verse de the emotion of a prison-bound parting from his son have roused more Americans to the justice of the imprisonment of alleged offenders against w laws than all the speeches and ness at protest meetings and a letters to the press and the H administration.

Ralph Chaplin, author of To Little Son, has written a num other poems. His wife has co and published them with an intro tion by Scott Nearing under the Bars and Shadows. If you wa know what it feels like to be co up in prison when your blood ye for your kind and your out of d habits urge you to take a swim o long hike in the woods send $1 Workers Party Literature Depa ment, Room 405, 799 Broadway, N York City, and you'll receive t answer in Bars and Shadows.

And who is Ralph Chaplin? He a commercial artist who tried to something towards bringing about better world by speaking and writi for the Industrial Workers of t World. With a hundred other me bers of that organization he w rounded up during the world war a sentenced to prison as an example others who might disclose doubts to the wisdom of it all. Chaplin w better known than some of the other so he drew 20 years. Christmas, 192 was the fifth consecutive Christma that he has spent in jail.

Of course Chaplin is not guilty an indeed never was charged with single act of violence against perso or property. The government di not present a single witness to prov that his patriotism had been adulter ated by anything Chaplin or his as sociates said or did, but nearly all o the men picked up by the federa agents were given sentences runnin from five to twenty years.

Like Oscar Wilde and Arturo Giovanitti, Chaplin has done his be work in prison. The cream of it is i Bars and Shadows.

Five Christmases in a prison cell
Who could watch five New Years f
and then write from prison to th
free men outside:

Mourn not the dead that in the coo
earth lie—
Dust unto dust—
The calm, sweet earth that mothe
all who die
As all men must.

Mourn not your captive comrade
who must dwell
Too strong to strive—
Within each steel-bound coffin of a
cell,
Buried alive

But rather mourn the apatheti
throng—
The cowed and the meek—
Who see the world's great anguis
and its wrong
And dare not speak!

Capital and Labor

By ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

Capital has always claimed the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand.

Have the laborers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, the clubhouse or parlor. Workingmen, when they combine, gather in the street. All the organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and the navy, the legislative, judicial and executive departments.

Where the rich combine it is for the purpose of exchanging ideas. When the poor combine it is a conspiracy. If they act in concert, if they really do something, it is a mob. If they defend themselves, it is treason.

Ruthenberg Says Death Chills Seized the Socialist Party Convention at Cleveland

(Continued from Page One)

enthusiasm no fervor in what they say.

The proceedings dragged along without a spark of life without an inspiring note. These men and women—mostly elderly men and women—are the last remnant of the faithful who cherish something which had reality in their younger days and who are unable to let go now that premature old age has come and death is near.

Recalls 1912 Convention

As I watched this convention at work my mind went back to the Socialist Party convention of 1912. Three hundred delegates sat in that convention, representing a membership of more than 100,000.

There was life, there was virility. In that convention some of the elderly men who sit in this convention repeating the old phrases struck the first of the blows which has brought senile decay co-incident with the "coming of age."

They drove out of the party the industrialist left with their anti-sabotage, anti-force and narrow definition of political action constitutional clauses.

My mind went back to the St. Louis Convention of 1917. A good many of these same elderly men sat in that convention, but for once their machine was unable to control.

To St. Louis there came a host of young worker-delegates determined to place the Socialist Party on record in opposition to the war. All the intrigue of the old leaders could not stop them; opposition, open and secret, was swept aside. A ringing declaration and program of action in opposition to the war was adopted.

But the old reactionary leaders kept the party machinery in their control and proceeded to sabotage the work of the convention by refusing to make an aggressive fight in accordance with the St. Louis Program.

These same elderly men were in control of the party machinery in 1919 when the Communist Left Wing won its victory.

Still Keep Party Control

They ruthlessly expelled the revolutionary element from the party holding control of their convention by aid of the police.

They succeeded in throwing the Communists out of the party and holding the party machinery, but with the Communists went the life and strength of the party.

Here in Cleveland they sit around the thing they won, mumbling the old phrases. Since 1919 the organization has lived upon the prestige won in the days when there was a live, enthusiastic fighting element in the party, but even the strength thus gained is waning.

These portly, elderly men know that the thing is dying, but they cannot let go.

They talk about this and that makeshift to infuse new life, but while they utter brave words they utter them in a hopeless spirit.

They know that in the year of "coming of age" death lurks around the corner.

Efforts at Resurrection

For two years after the Left Wing was thrown out of the party, and with it three-fourths of the membership, the reactionary Right Wingers who found themselves in complete control tried to build up their membership thru holding out to the revolutionary workers the bait of some kind of connection with the Third International.

They kept up the pretense of negotiations with the Third International until the Executive Committee of that body told their members that there was only one way in which they could affiliate and that was thru joining the Communist Party.

After receiving that slap in the face the Right Wing leaders no longer concealed their real attitude toward the Communist International.

They joined the ruling class lackeys in denouncing the international fighting organization of the revolutionary workers.

Having failed to infuse new life in their dying organization thru bringing it into contact with the Communist International this convention has done the next best thing by voting to affiliate with the International Working Union of Socialist Parties, better known as the Two-and-a-half International.

It Comes to Anchor?

Practically all of the first day's session was given up to the discussion of the question of international affiliation. Three propositions were before the body. The first provided for continuance of the policy adopted at the last convention of not affiliating with any international organizations; the second proposed sending delegates to the next conference of the Two-and-a-Half International, who were to make recommendations and the third for immediate affiliation with the Two-and-a-Half International.

The first proposition received one vote, the second nine votes and the third eleven votes. Thus, after three years of searching for an international haven the Socialist ship comes to anchor—that is, if joining the International of the parties of the vacillating center which is not quite sure whither it is going can be called coming to anchor.

No Platform Adopted

Altho the agenda of the Socialist convention included a proposed Congressional Program, no action was taken upon the matter, and the proposed program was referred to the National Executive Committee for adoption.

The last day and a half of the convention proceedings was taken up by discussion of how much the dues of the organization should be and similar routine matters and the adoption of a series of resolutions.

These resolutions, consisting of the usual pious wishes, cover amnesty for political prisoners, the trial of the miners at Charlestown, West Va., evacuation of Haiti, Pan-American Relations, a pledge of support to the striking miners, greetings to the Jewish Forward and the Negro question.

Another resolution demands the resumption of complete trade and diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia.

This is asked for, not as a working-class demand for the recognition of a working-class government but because "order, sanity and peace cannot be brought into the world, disorganized and distracted by devastating war, without the co-operation of one hundred and fifty millions of human beings constituting Soviet Russia."

The National Executive Committee elected consists of Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, William H. Henry, James H. Maurer, Edmund T. Melms, George E. Roewer, Jr., and B. Charney Vladeck.

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] EXPRESSION

V. No. 223. [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Militant Plea for Solidarity of All Labor Issued by "Amalgamated" Convention

(By Staff Writer for THE WORKER)

CHICAGO.—Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, opened the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Union now in session here with a bold declaration for industrial unionism and a suggestion interpreted as calling for consolidation of all the Needle Trades' organizations into a single industrial union. This was received with tremendous applause from the Convention. The key passages of Hillman's speech were:—

"I hope that you delegates to the convention will take account and examine the reasons why we have suffered less than most other organizations. In my judgment the real reason for our strength—and I hope that the convention will make it even stronger—is for our form of organization.

"It is because we are not a craft organization. It is because we do not permit an individual group here or there to assume responsibility for the organization as a whole.

"I know it is difficult to speak about industrial organization without the penalty of being proclaimed by the ignorant, or by the enemies of labor, as advocating One Big Union, or some other things that are made to appear very dangerous to the labor movement.

"I hope that you will not be swayed by temporary fears, that you will not be swayed by temporary passion."

"The industrial form of organization has been proven efficient. It protects labor, and not only does it protect labor, but it protects the employers who have made up their minds to deal with labor.

"When we agree the agreement holds for everybody. When we do not agree, we fight unitedly, so that our just cause will [illegible] sponsibility to the industry itself. It carries out its contract, and it carries out its obligations. It is responsible to the community in this city, and the community knows that no small group will precipitate a strike in our organization.

Strengthen Unified Front.

"They know that when the organization puts its stamp on a policy, every man and woman will know it is all right, and it is his or her obligation to accept that policy, because it is the policy of the organization.

"I hope that at this convention we will do everything possible to strengthen that unified front in our own industry.

"I hope I am permitted to express, if nothing else, at least a hope that the same unity will be extended on a larger area.

"May I be permitted to express the hope that in the very near future the delegates from all the needle trades will meet in convention? (Applause.)

"This is no time for division. This is the time for unity, closer and closer unity, because the enemy stands together to fight us, no matter what organization we belong to."

The Convention Responds.

The outline of policies, made in vigorous and unadorned language by its President, brought the Convention to a high key at the start.

Hillman drove his advocacy of industrial unionism beyond the point of "reasonable doubt" by pausing to compliment the leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labor whose recent stand for the consolidation of all craft organizations into the industrial form has raised a furor in the American Federation of Labor.

Significant also was his treatment of the American labor movement as a whole, as tho not regarding the independence of the Amalgamated from the main body of labor as permanent. Thus the Convention was launched in the belligerent spirit of unity.

What Schlossberg Said

Joseph Schlossberg, veteran in the labor movement, secretary of the Amalgamated since its organization in 1914, was introduced by President Hillman, amid great applause.

The warm reception tendered him by the delegates must have made The Forward followers squirm, since Schlossberg has been most

(Continued on Page Three)

A. C. W. of A. Has Plan to Help Russia

(Special to The Worker)

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

Author of "The Soul of the Russian Revolution."

CHICAGO.—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has demonstrated that a labor organization with a true class spirit understands the great problems of [illegible] and aims to help to solve [illegible] problems. [illegible] are doing all they can for a practical solution of this problem.

In America, however, the Amalgamated is so far the only labor union that has taken a deep interest in this matter, and instead of being satisfied with words and phrases has approached the problem in a constructive manner.

The general executive board of the Amalgamated has proposed to the convention a detailed plan for aiding the only Workers' Republic in the world in its struggle against the economic demoralization.

This proposal is another example of the spirit of international solidarity that permeates our great clothing workers' union.

Million Dollar Corporation

The plan that the general executive board puts forth proposes the organization of a million dollar corporation consisting of Amalgamated members that will have as its object aid in the reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

The corporation is to be organized under the laws of the United States. It will aim to establish on a solid basis industrial undertakings in the Soviet Republic.

Machines and other necessary equipment will be supplied to the Russian workers to enable them to develop their productive capacity.

The million dollar corporation is only a beginning. More moneys will be secured when the plan will be popularized among the workers of America.

Amalgamated to Participate

The plan proposes that the general board of the Amalgamated shall be empowered to spend the necessary funds for the organization of this corporation. Subscriptions for shares in the corporation will be solicited as soon as the technical and legal arrangements have been perfected.

The business of the corporation will be based on the following:—

First:—A certain interest (probably [illegible] per cent) will be guaranteed on all investments.

Second:—It will make a stong appeal for working-class solidarity.

It is expected that the broad masses of the organized labor movement in this country will see the importance of this undertaking and contribute to its success. The control of the organization will be entirely in the hands of the organized workers.

It is certain that the convention will vote to subscribe for a certain

(Continued on Page Three)

Cahan Farce Fails to take at Chicago

(Special to The Worker)

CHICAGO.—After an entrance thru the center aisle, cleverly timed for dramatic effect, Abraham Cahan, editor of The Forward, addressed the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (Wednesday) and lauched into an attack on the radicals in the labor unions, especially those in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union [illegible] run for reelection.

Cahan then undertook to justify the activities of the Forward in the notorious Harry Cohen affair. It was a diplomatic mixture of apology and self-justification for past support of Cohen.

• • •

(NOTE.—See Page 3 for explanation of this case.).

Then assuming a patronizing tone he declared he had always been willing to give advice and assistance to unions, and he was ready now to help the Amalgamated.

Turning toward Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated, and thumping the table, Cahan declared there was misunderstanding in the Harry Cohen affair, because there were some things he couldn't tell Hillman at this time.

At the conclusion of his speech the applause was notably weak.

Hillman immediately arose and replied in a few short, sharp sentences that rang out ever the tense audience like volleys of rifle fire:

"We will legislate the affairs and destiny of the Amalgamated ourselves. We appreciate advice to keep politics out of our organization, and what is more, we have the power to enforce it.

"It is the Amalgamated and the Amalgamated alone that kept the sweatshop from the clothing workers."

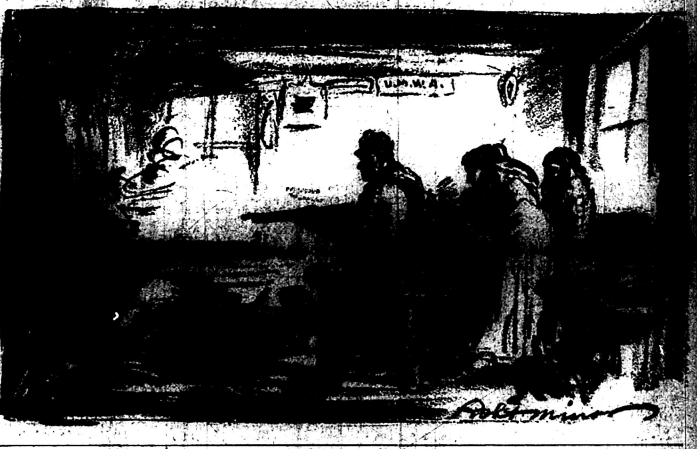
Without mentioning any names Hillman referred forcefully to "those who have participated in helping our enemies to destroy us," plainly meaning those who aided the Cohen gangs in their attacks on the Amalgamated. (Thunderous applause.)

Then Hillman quickly introduced Edward N. Nockels, Secretary, Chicago Federation of Labor. The surprise appearance of the C. F. of L. leader aroused tremendous enthusiasm.

Nockles gently expressed the hope that the Amalgamated would become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. He mentioned John Fitzpatrick (loudly cheered). He praised the Amalgamated's spirit of solidarity and generous help for other unions in trouble. He demanded that all American Labor see the Mooney-Billings case thru and get them out.

Despite the tense excitement the remarkable Unity increases with each event. The Right Wing Opposition is hardly discernible among the delegates.

Don't Defend Your Home! It's Treason!



Radek Replies to Enemies of Communism

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Last week we published an article by Karl Radek reviewing the results of the United Front Conference of the Three Internationals at Berlin. This week we give the speech of Radek, in reply to the attacks on the Communist International by Vandervelde, MacDonald and others of the Second International. Only short extracts of this speech have appeared in past issues. It is in full as follows:

• • •

SPEECH BY KARL RADEK.

At Berlin United Front Conference

In our declaration we did not put any conditions for the convocation of the International Conference.

We accepted the invitation of the International 2½, which stated that it was to be a conference for action;

(Continued on Page Four)

SHIPS TO RUSSIA

NEW YORK.—A cablegram from Moscow to the effect that the White Star line is negotiating to open regular steamship service between the United States and Russia, is confirmed by Richard H. Farley, passenger traffic manager, International Mercantile Marine.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

New Line-Up in Labor Movement

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers has cleared up one point on which there was some little confusion.

Developments at the gathering prove conclusively that there is no essential difference between reactionary labor leaders who reject the class struggle and those, who, like Schlesinger, mouth the phrases of the social revolution but repudiate it in deed.

To anyone familiar with the political expedients adopted by labor bureaucrats when threatened with defeat there is a good deal of amusement to be derived from witnessing the spectacle of "Socialists" descending to the low level of trickery, intimidation and fraud and the use of the hokum liberally splashed around for years by every international union president around election time.

The "left" elements in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are to be congratulated on having secured this very desirable result. If they accomplish nothing else their work will have been worth while.

We have always contended that Sam Gompers, Morris Hillquit, "Charley" Ervin, George E. Roewer, Abe Cahan, members of the rescue force rushed to the assistance of Schlesinger, belonged to the same camp.

"Down with the mischief makers," was the slogan of Abe, according to "The Call." Concerning this staunch friend of officialdom it is enough to say that he delivered a bitter tirade against the Red Trade Union International at the convention, while his paper, the "Forward," on Monday, gave a seven-column head to a greeting to the convention from the Red Trade Union International—"sent thru the 'Forward'." This is Jesuitism of a type calculated to turn the followers of Ignatius Loyola green with envy.

The high light in the somewhat incoherent appeal of "Charley" Ervin was; "Your business is yours and no one else's." Just how the one and only apostle of Jeffersonian democracy reconciled this momentous utterance with his presence on the convention platform is a matter for his own conscience.

Morris Hillquit and George Roewer—lawyers—were also members of this devoted band of proletarian rescuers. They, too, were for unity—provided the status quo was maintained and no policy adopted that would interfere with the collection of liberal fees for legal services.

As for the crafty Sam, he needs the unit vote of the Ladies' Garment Workers at the next A. F. of L. convention and is there-

(Continued on Page Three)

Pennsylvania Labor Backs Aid to Russia

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Labor Editor, The Worker

SCRANTON, PA.—The State Federation of Labor, in session here, after listening to Miss Maud Schwartz, speaking for the Trade Union Famine Relief, unanimously endorsed that organization on motion of Earl Gunther, representing the Stage Employees of Pittsburgh. A collection for the famine relief was taken among the delegates. The sum of $87.00 was donated.

The keen interest that organized labor is taking in the coal strike was shown when Dave Fowler, organizer for the United Mine Workers in the West Virginia district, addressed the convention.

Except when the convention hall was swept by a storm of applause at some telling point, a pin could have been heard to drop as the delegates listened to the story of the miners' fight for freedom.

Fowler told of the death of [illegible] field with a dramatic feeling of which he was wholly unconscious and as he related the sufferings of the [illegible] their wives and children, as he [illegible] of their dauntless spirit more [illegible] one hard-boiled labor man could be seen to wipe his eyes. Fowler was cheered as he left the platform.

Message from Mexican Labor

Robert Haberman, representing both the Mexican government [illegible]

(Continued on Page Three)

PROTEST POLICE FRAME-UP! ATTEND MASS MEETING, WORKERS' HALL, 1347 [illegible] FRIDAY, MAY [illegible]

[illegible]aits Return [illegible]f Jim Larkin

By THOMAS J. O'FLAHERTY

Jim Larkin, General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, who was convicted in April, 1920, on a charge of criminal anarchy together with Ferguson, Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Winitsky and others, was released from Comstock prison after serving 24 months of his sentence on a certificate of reasonable doubt in bail amounting to $15,000.

He was taken to the Tombs from Comstock by members of the Bomb Squad and haled before Judge Finch who again fixed bail at $15,000 pending his trial on another indictment alleging criminal anarchy for an article appearing in the same number of the Revolutionary Age which contained the Manifesto on which he was indicted, convicted and sentenced to from five to ten years imprisonment by Justice Bartow S. Weeks in 1920. Since then Judge Weeks has gone to the happy hunting grounds.

In addition to the two indictments there are other charges involving violation of the Immigration Laws pending against Larkin. A deportation warrant is in the possession of the authorities which it is expected will be executed as soon as the other indictments are disposed of.

Larkin's appeal from his conviction on the criminal anarchy charge will be heard in Albany, June 6.

Much interest is manifested among the Irish workers over his release. Increasing dissatisfaction among the workers with the tactics of the present administration of the Irish labor movement renders Larkin's release at this moment particularly interesting. Should the previous verdict be rescinded and Larkin allowed to return to Ireland he would appear on the troubled arena in Ireland with a prestige enhanced by his sacrifice here in America in behalf of the revolutionary movement, and would be in a position to infuse the old fighting spirit into the Irish Transport Workers' Union once the terror of the Irish bourgeoisie.

As evidence of the esteem in which Larkin is held by the Irish workers and their dissatisfaction with Liberty Hall officialdom, we quote the following resolution passed by a monster mass meeting held in the city of Dublin on the date of the general strike (or general lockout) called by the Irish labor leaders as a protest against the use of armed force by the contending parties in the present political confusion.

"Be it resolved that this mass meeting of Irish workers, citizens of the Irish Republic condemn the action of the Irish Labor Party in forcing this lockout in support of the Free State and that we further demand the release and return of Jim Larkin to his former position as leader of the Irish Labor Movement."

Tho Larkin left Ireland in 1914, he still retains his position as General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which has a membership of 140,000 and is an up-to-date industrial union, with branches in every town and village in Ireland.

Jim Larkin's return to his native country will be a day of rejoicing for the Irish workingclass and for the capitalists it will mean plenty of trouble.

The Bindery Workers' Union of Cleveland, Ohio, has endorsed the amalgamation resolution of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

MASS MEETING
FRIDAY, MAY 19,
—8 P. M.—

Protest Against Conviction
OF

MINNIE KALNIN
TINA JURSON
ANNA LEISMAN

POLICE FRAME-UP EXPOSED.

Speakers:

Ben Gitlow — Harry Winitsky — C. E. Ruthenberg
Edgar Owens — Rose Pastor Stokes — J. Louis Engdahl

WORKERS HALL
1347 Boston Road, Bronx, N. Y.

AUSPICES:
National Defense Committee, New York Division
Workers Party, Local Greater New York.

[illegible] organ [illegible] are devoted [illegible]

In concluding his argument against the [illegible] for industrializing the American Labor movement, Mr. Gompers briefly reviews the history of various political and industrial organizations. He says:

> The labor movement has also been attacked by those who have held that political parties offered to the workers their best hope of salvation. The Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party each in their day made glowing promises and each in the end demonstrated its unfitness and futility. The Socialist Labor Party has left but a flickering shadow. THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A WITHERED AND BEDRAGGLED WRETCH SEEKING SHELTER IN WHATSOEVER HAVEN MAY BE RECKLESS ENOUGH OR GULLIBLE ENOUGH TO TAKE IT IN.

Gompers has described himself because it is in his withered arms that the remnants and the renegades of the Socialist Party have found haven and it is his senile kisses that welcome them to their last resting place.

Into his American Alliance for Labor and Democracy—financed from the Wilson slush fund—went the frightened hares of "socialism" when the war-clouds threatened; with their yellow hearts pounding madly in their throbbing bosoms the William English Wallings, the John Spargoes, the Chester M. Wrights, the Charles Edward Russells, the A. M. Simons, and the Winfield R. Gaylords all sought sanctuary under the Gompers' banner, and all were made welcome in return for their outpouring of venomous bile upon all who trod not servilely the Wilsonian path to destruction.

It was only the other day that Gompers paid tribute to Meyer London, "socialist" congressman, whose activities in congress in behalf of the workers are best represented by a great and aching void.

To-day we find him joining hands with the Hillquits and the Ervins in behalf of another "socialist," Schlessinger, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers. No longer does the "socialist" Call carry carping criticism of Gompers and the Gompers' policies. On the contrary it caters to his reactionary henchmen in official positions.

After all there is really nothing strange in all this seeming contradiction. Bitterly as they hate one another there is something else these individuals hate—and fear—more.

It is the rise of a movement of the workers that will judge them on their merits and—cast them into the scrap—heap with the rest of the carrion of capitalism.

Birds of a feather do not always flock together.

The turkey buzzard sometimes roosts with the vulture when disturbed at the feast.

The Roll Call Campaign

The Roll Call Campaign is at its height. Every section of the country, all parts of Canada and other parts of the world know about the Roll Call Campaign of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

More than 200,000 Roll Calls were sent out, and the returns have been magnificent. Nothing done by the American workers can compare with this drive.

The prize thus far belongs to Chicago. Chicago undertook to circularize a large number of papers and periodicals. The Chicago branch, counting some of the livest wires in the country, flooded the whole Chicago district with the Roll Calls. And the returns have been in proportion. NEARLY $1,000 EVERY DAY HAS BEEN SENT TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE FROM CHICAGO!

It can be done where the spirit urges one.

In other parts, the campaign is still in full swing. Even in the mining districts, where 750,000 miners and their families are in deadly struggle with the coal masters of the country—even in the hills where, only during strikes, the miners learn the color of American skies and get acquainted with their families—even where hunger stalks among the working population of the United States, the Roll Call has penetrated—and funds come for the starving in Soviet Russia.

International working-class solidarity is becoming stronger. It is the sole hope of the working class. Suffering is forging the bonds. Suffering holds them tight.

Some Branch Activities

LOS ANGELES held a May Day picnic and up to the time of writing had cleared a profit of $1,000.

EVERETT, Wash., held a Baby Shower which was a "glorious success." Women of all classes, working women, church women, merchants, boys and girls—everybody put his full energy into the affair, and the result was a tremendous success.

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., induced the 48th Convention of the Lake Erie Section of the Social Turners to contribute $100, for the purchase of tractors, and moved that each local circulate subscription lists for the same purpose. Four tractors and gang plows will, in all probability, be the contribution of this section of the Social Turners.

BUTTE, Mont., recently held a tag day and dance and netted $312.

NEW YORK CITY just held a tag day that brought in more than $10,000. The New York Branch is arranging a river excursion, with every manner of entertainment provided.

Activities Among the Women

SYRACUSE has arranged for a motion picture benefit to last four days. Russian famine slides will also be shown.

CANTON, O., Women's Committee is giving a bazaar on May 30.

MONTREAL, Can., has organized a women's branch which has connected up with the National Women's Division of the F. S. R.

SUPERIOR, Wis., writes: "The work among the women in Superior is well on its way. We are not working separately as a women's organization, but with the executive committee of the F. S. R. At the tag day of Superior, over 50 Finnish women were canvassing. More than 30 of our women went to Duluth and assisted there. Five women were at Cloquet. The whole city seemed covered with tags. Population is 5,000 and over $500 worth of tags was sold."

THE BIG CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE TWO WEEKS

Chicago, $9,000; Lithuanian Section of F. S.R., Brooklyn, $3,813; Appeal to Reason, $2,778; Hungarian Section, New York City, $1,130; Cleveland, $816; Seattle $[illegible]; Springfield, Mass., $[illegible]; San Francisco, $[illegible]; Spravedlnost, Chicago, $322; Women's Division F.S.R., Butte, Mont., $312; Haverhill, Mass., $300; Gardner, Mass., $300; New York City, $[illegible]; P. Schneider, Omaha, $215; Passaic, $200; Norwood, $[illegible]; L. Hall, Watertown, Wis., $200; Springfield, Ill., $192; Indianola, Ia., $[illegible]; Astoria, Ore., $182; Chelsea, Mass., $167; Grp. Jewish Comrades, Trenton, N. J., $152; Lettish Workers' Educational Society, Chicago, $150; Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, Women's Regiment, New York, $146; Portland, Ore., $140; Amherst, Mass., $130; Lynn, Mass., $125.

MAY DAY IN ITALY

ROME.—Protests in the capitalist press are continuing against the action of the Italian government in declaring May 1 a national holiday. The cabinet ordered the holiday to avoid making an issue with the thousands of government employees on railroads, telephone systems and elsewhere who had announced their intention of observing the international revolutionary labor day by not reporting for work. The Corriere della Sera, organ of the Roman financial interests, declares the government has given official recognition to revolution by the proclamation.

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[illegible] Prison Terms

In spite of the fact that Judge Cardoza of the New York Court of Appeals has ordered the release on bail of the men convicted here a year and a half ago of alleged anarchy, saying he found "reasonable doubt whether the statute had been properly construed," the state criminal anarchy act is running full blast in the trial courts of New York City.

While Isaac E. Ferguson, Charles E. Ruthenberg, Benjamin Gitlow, Harry Winitsky and James Larkin were being given their liberty pending decision by the Court of Appeals in their cases, New York City prosecutors, judges and juries were convicting and sentencing to long terms in prison three women under this same law which was enacted 20 years ago as a result of the agitation created subsequent to the assassination of President McKinley.

The Latest Chapter

The latest chapter in the story of this savage wielding of this statute as a lash over the heads of workers was enacted last Monday by Judge Louis D. Gibbs, in the Bronx County court, and is as follows:

Mrs. Minnie Kolnin, of 336 Beekman Ave., was sentenced to serve from two years and nine months to seven years.

Mrs. Anna Leisman, of 702 East 138th St., was sentenced to serve from one year and nine months to six years.

Mrs. Tina Jurson, of 334 Beekman Ave., who was convicted April 24, will come up for sentence before Judge Gibbs, Monday, May 15th.

Both Mrs. Kolnin and Mrs. Jurson have husbands living, and Mrs. Jurson has a small child. Mrs. Leisman is a widow and earns her living as a worker on men's hats. All are natives of Russia.

Distributed May Day Leaflets

All three of the prisoners were arrested on the same day, April 30, 1921. Mrs. Kolnin and Mrs. Jurson were seized as they were distributing May Day circulars for a mass meeting held under the auspices of the National Defense Committee.

In commenting on the sentences imposed, Edgar Owens, secretary of the National Defense Committee, said:

"Judge Gibbs told Mrs. Jurson that if she came into court prepared to 'tell the truth,' he would be inclined to deal leniently with her, because, he said, the district attorney had informed him that she was 'a dupe of Mrs. Kalinin' and not primarily responsible.

"The judge's insolence seems to know no limits. Not satisfied with conducting the case in an atmosphere of prejudice, and brow-beating the defendants all thru the trials, he deliberately insulted Mrs. Jurson with his damnable insinuations, that if she would 'tell the truth,' he would be lenient."

Judge Hits at Soviet Rule

Repeating scenes enacted during the espionage trials during the war, notably that of Rose Pastor Stokes, at Kansas City, Mo., Judge Gibbs, while sentencing the women, launched into an ignorant and ranting tirade against Soviet Rule in Russia.

"The Soviet Government," declared the Court, "presents a queer picture at Genoa, trying with one hand to get a loan from all the reg'lar governments an' on the other hand havin' its representatives all over the woild attemptin' to overt'row these governments. The Soviets want to overt'row the very governments from which they are tryin' to borrow money.

"If women like Mrs. Kalinin had their way," the Judge continued, turning toward her, "the American Government would be overt'rown in blood and ruins. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Mrs. Kalinin is one of the outposts of the Russian Soviet Government for the overt'row of reg'lar governments."

An effort will be made to appeal the cases of all three comrades. They are now being held at the Bronx County Jail.

In order that 1,000,000 persons may sign an appeal to President Harding urging the release of 113 remaining federal war-opinion prisoners, and that this appeal may be presented to the President before he leaves Washington for his summer vacation, May 20, has been set aside by the General Defense Committee of Chicago as National Amnesty Day.

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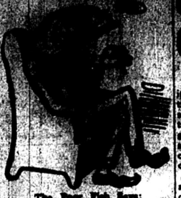

The Poor Fish Says:
He doesn't take much stock in religion but he thinks that going to church is good business.

Russia's Boys and Girls Send Thanks to America's Children

The following cable has just been received by the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, demonstrating the appreciation of the children of Soviet Russia for the help that has been sent them by the Famine Scout Clubs of America.

Moscow, Soviet Russia,
May 7, 1922.

Friends of Soviet Russia,
210 West 13th Street,
New York City.

To the Children of America:

Dear Comrades: We send our love to you and our appreciation for what you have done for us who suffer here from hunger. Your help has taken us from the Famine District where we were cold and without food and placed us in the city where we now have comfortable homes, food and clean clothes and where we have teachers. You will never know how you have helped us and how we love you for it and we never forget that those in America understand our sorrows. Comrades, we are all the children of workers and peasants and we must all struggle on until all who are hungry and cold all over the world are fed and clothed. We wish you success for your efforts on Children's Week, for there are thousands who still suffer along the banks of the great Volga.

The Russian Children International Workers Relief Committee.

The Famine Scout Clubs of America are a branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Clubs have sprung up all over the country. May 15 to May 22 has been set aside as "Children's Week," to make a drive upon the children, to intensify their activities and promote organization.

The children scout in twos; the funds they collect go directly to Soviet Russia in the form of food—the gift of American to Russian children.

Second Anniversary in Sacco-Vanzetti Case

BOSTON, MASS., May 5.—Today is the second anniversary of the arrest of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, active in the labor movement of New England. They were taken off a street car in Brockton on the evening of May 5, 1920, but did not learn until several days later that a capital charge was being prepared against them.

A motion for a new trial has just been filed on the basis of two affidavits, one a confession of perjury by Louis Polser, "identification witness," the other new testimony by an eye witness of the crime who has just been located.

The defense has made it clear in its official statements that even more significant new evidence, bearing directly upon the question of who were the actual authors of the crimes, may be expected in the near future.

The greatest international protest since the Mooney case was created by the news of a death verdict against Sacco and Vanzetti. The testimony has been declared inadequate and the surrounding circumstances prejudicial by all impartial observers.

WAKE UP THIS GOVERNOR

SAN FRANCISCO. — Stating that the Governor of California has in the past refused to take action in the Mooney case on the ground that "labor is not interested," the Mooney defense committee urges the entire trade union movement to remove the Governor's last excuse by adopting strong resolutions, stating labor's position in regard to the California "frame-up" on two active members of the organized labor movement.

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[illegible] Circle R[illegible]

When the yellow Socialist majority of the Workmen's Circle Convention at Toronto, Canada, rode roughshod over the organization's laws and traditions, it evidently did not bargain for the revolt that is already sweeping the 100,000 members of the organization from one end of the country to the other.

Protest meetings are being held in all cities where there are branches of the Workmen's Circle, and great enthusiasm is being developed for the national protest convention called for Sunday, June 4, to repudiate the reactionary and illegal actions of the Toronto "majority."

The attack on the Jewish Communist daily, the "Freiheit," and the war declared against the Workers Party, are samples of how the yellow "majority" swept aside all the precedents of the organization, which had always maintained a non-partisan position as between the various political tendencies of labor.

The Workmen's Circle membership is also aroused over the resolution demanding the release of the so-called "political prisoners," in Soviet Russia, including Menshevik counter-revolutionists who had joined it making war upon the Soviet Republic and the Socialists—Revolutionists who carried on a terrorist campaign against the Soviet officials, even attempting the assassination of Nikolai Lenin.

One of the first protest meetings was that held at Clinton Hall, New York City, at which resolutions were adopted as follows:

Adopt Resolution

"We, New York members of the Workmen's Circle, assembled May 8, Clinton Hall, to receive a report of the proceedings of the Toronto, Canada, Convention, declare as follows:

"We consider the behavior of the majority of the convention, particularly their resolutions about Soviet Russia, the Workers Party and its Jewish organ, the Freiheit, as a betrayal of the principles of the Workmen's Circle.

"We hold that the Workmen's Circle, as an organization, in which are found members of all political groupings in the labor movement, cannot officially become a part of a certain tendency in opposition to other tendencies in the general political labor movement.

"We hold that the majority of the convention, by deciding to demand that the Soviet government should free its enemies, which have fought with arms in their hands against the Workers' Republic, has taken a stand with the counter-revolutionary forces.

"We hold that the Workmen's Circle, as a labor organization, has no right to place itself in opposition to the revolutionary wing of the labor movement, the Workers Party, and certainly not against the vanguard of the world revolution—the Soviet Government of Russia.

Urge Protest Convention

"We, therefore, recommend that the committee that has called this mass meeting together, shall call a protest convention, at an early date, of branches of the Workmen's Circle which shall take the necessary steps to wipe out the shameful deeds with which the majority of the convention have besmirched the Workmen's Circle.

"The proceedings of the Protest Convention shall be conducted in such a manner as to maintain the integrity and unity of our organization, but which will clear it of the betrayal of our principles, that the majority of the delegates have permitted at Toronto.

"We express our fervent hope that all branches to whom the integrity and the purity of principle of the Workmen's Circle are dear, that these will aid in the success of the forthcoming protest convention."

[illegible] PAWTUCKET, R. I. [illegible]

In the World of Books

Labor and the Church

By CALEB HARRISON

Conflict arose between thinkers ever since Sociology made its appearance as a new science, and challenged the old religious ideas regarding the forces that really cause social movements and shape institutions. One of the reasons for the existence of religious institutions is to put a screen around and lend the enchantment of "social service" to all the enterprizes promoted, and institutions erected by a ruling class for the purpose of acquiring and protecting some material advantage.

This the church could easily do as long as the belief was commonly held that social institutions were of divine origin. When the economic laws are studied that govern the movements of men it is discovered that the prime factor is naked economic self-interest. Of course if this truth becomes widely known it is then no longer possible to keep up the delusions about divine origin.

Nowadays the influence of the church is wavering, due to the growing understanding of the people that the institutions of modern society are class made, class maintained, and class controlled.

As the class society of capitalism grows older the antagonisms between the two main classes, capitalist and wage laborers, widens, deepens and becomes more intensified; class feelings develop on both sides to such a point that the minds of all men dwell constantly upon the questions that grow out of the class struggle. When such a condition exists, of course men are not interested in such matters as love, brotherhood, forgiveness of sin, and the kingdom of God—subjects that are prated by the clergy in their effort to draw the minds of men (working men particularly) from the realities of life.

Two new books have appeared written by clergymen in which again the effort is made to bring the workingmen back to the church. One is by Rev. John Haynes Holmes, entitled "New Churches for Old." (Dodd, Mead and Co.), in which the author seeks to get the workers and all liberal thinkers interested in the new church, the Community Church. The writer devotes 35 pages describing the collapse of the churches by pointing out how they fail to influence the minds of men to-day. He ascribes this failure of the churches to their becoming sectarian and orthodox, which is responsible for their failure to meet the spiritual needs of the people. The church is held from the people, according to the author, largely because it concerns itself with dogmas that were drawn out of issues of ancient or medieval times; questions that have no bearing upon the real life of to-day. The church is held from partaking in present-day life by the influence of wealth that controls the church. His conclusion is that the new church should be kept free from ancient dogmas and become an institute that concerns itself with the reality of modern life; and that the church should be entirely free from the influence of wealth. The inspiration of the church should be "Democracy," and the people will [illegible]

Winitsky Gives 2 Years Prison Pay for Relief

Harry M. Winitsky, just released from prison, has turned in his pay for two years' labor as a Communist prisoner, to the Friends of Soviet Russia to help boost the famine relief fund. The contribution was accompanied by a letter as follows:

"Attached hereto is a check for the sum of $8.48 which represents the compensation I received from the State of New York for the two years I spent in prison. I give this salary to the Friends of Soviet Russia toward the wonderful work that they are doing for our comrades in Russia who are valiantly struggling to maintain the Workers' Republic in the face of the united front of the capitalist class of the entire world. I appeal to all the men, women and children of the working class to give, and give liberally to the Friends of Soviet Russia, to contribute their all, for the splendid work that this organization is doing.

HARRY M. WINITSKY.

The other book, "The Labor Movement and the Church," (The Stratford Co.), by John M. C. Wilson, attacks the problem from a different angle. He wants to find a remedy by inducing the workingmen to come back to church and put the Christian spirit into the union movement. Upon the ideals of Christianity the workingman should labor side by side with his brothers (I presume the capitalists) to realize the kingdom of God. This impracticable dream is worthy of a little comment, the writer has no conception of the laws that govern social movements.

There was a time in the past when the church was becoming socialistic or that socialism was a realisation of real Christianity. These two books—one an appeal to make the church over to fit the needs of modern society, the other an appeal to the labor movement to make itself over to fit the needs of the church, are both glaring confessions that there is nothing in the church nor in Christianity that can contribute anything of worth to modern life. Such religions are dead. Let them rest.

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[illegible] to Pacific Coast Soon

William Z. Foster is going to make an extended speaking trip to all the principal cities west of Chicago. This announcement was made by the Trade Union Educational League, of which Foster is Secretary-Treasurer.

His talks will be on "The Crisis in the American Labor Movement," and he will outline in full the program of the League, replying to the attacks made by Gompers.

In all of his forty years' record of opposition to everything progressive or radical, Mr. Gompers has never before displayed so much bitterness, or attacked so viciously, as he is now attacking the Trade Union Educational League and Foster.

Aided by Capitalist Press

The capitalist dailies of the entire country are being filled with his slanderous fulminations, and the union journals are lining up as strong auxiliaries in the same campaign.

Gompers himself, and a flock of his lieutenants, are going over the country holding special meetings to organize the resistance to the League and its program. Rarely is such a spectacle of panic and furious denunciation witnessed as that with which the standpatters are greeting the League and its program of trade union progress.

Foster's trip West will undoubtedly mark another step in the progress of this fight.

The wideawake rank and file are rallying to the Trade Union Educational League. Particularly in the railroad industry has the program of amalgamation of all railroad unions into one received a tremendous impetus.

In the West the unions are afire with the program, and demands have been pouring in for Foster to address meetings thruout the West.

League Gets Big Results

Just previous to the launching of the present campaign, Foster covered all the principal cities between Chicago and the Atlantic; the result of that trip was the present great campaign which has brought these attacks from Gompers.

The trip from Chicago to the Pacific Coast will, without doubt, become just as important as the previous trip did.

The villification and slander now poured upon the League and Foster arises from the fact that they are getting real results, something that radical efforts in the past have largely failed in doing. The League and its program have become living realities in the life of the trade unions.

The reactionary leaders, aware of the amount of unorganized rebellion against their traitorous leadership, are panic stricken; for the first time they face an effective challenge to their bankrupt leadership.

Help Boost Foster Meetings

Their furious denunciations of Foster and his program should be the final proof to the radicals of the entire trade union movement, that at last they have the opportunity to line up with something that is going to get results, a movement of the rank and file that will strike home.

It should be their cue to get busy in the League at once. For the present, the comrades West of Chicago should see that their cities arrange a meeting for Foster, if it has not already been done by the local League of their place.

Seek Russian Recognition at Dallas Convention

(By the Federated Press)

DALLAS, TEX.—American recognition of Russia and immediate opening of trade relations in order to give employment to American workers was demanded here by the convention of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

The convention took a second advanced position in American labor policy when it indorsed the amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, each to cover a single industry.

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United Labor Council
meets
Every Wednesday
8 P.M.
83 East 4th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Orchard 6180.

(Continued from Page One)

fore willing, as every faker is, to discover new virtues in ancient [illegible].

All the hullabaloo about the Communists in the union and the expulsion of a few "leftists" is merely the continuation of a yellow policy designed to placate the employers; to convince them that the Ladies' Garment Workers' organization is just as spineless and innocuous as other organizations subscribing to the Gompers' policy of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.

It is on this basis that the Schlesinger forces want unity, and it is just here that the policy of the two factions divide sharply.

The "lefts" stand for a fighting union led by workers, not by lawyers. They want a union that is something more than a medium for transmitting tributes to the Schlesingers and Hillquits; they want a job organization and not a vote-gathering agency for yellow politicians.

The organization is facing a crisis; so is every other labor union in the United States; labor organizations are chronically facing crises by virtue of the fact that they are in opposition to the ruling class.

Officialdom constantly bases a hypocritical plea for unity on the statement that a crisis is imminent and that the anointed ones are needed as never before.

Occasionally, however, some official accomplishes organic unity with Mother Earth, but the labor movement goes on just the same, proving that the mold is not broken when a "labor leader" is made.

The striking similarity in the mental characteristics of Gomperses, Hillquits and Schlesingers needs further mention. They all want unions and they all want unity; they want these very desirable and necessary things, however, only on condition that they are the "right" kind of unions and the kind of unity that admits of no change in policy and tactics.

Much of the anti-administration sentiment in the Ladies' Garment Workers is the result of the use of the injunction by the union on the advice of Hillquit.

No single thing did more to destroy the morale of the union than this attempted use of the employers' weapon—fighting it has been about the only issue on which American labor has ever united.

The lawyer-led element of the Ladies' Garment Workers broke this unity and now attempts to foist the blame on the left elements—the group in the American labor movement that has been responsible for what little progress labor has made.

Gompers does not believe in independent political action on the part of the workers; the rest of this gang does, but this is a minor difference.

The great bond is a common hatred of the Third International and of revolutionary action by the workers that leaves no room for well-fed leaders who have divorced themselves from everything but the profits and the pleasures of the struggle.

The line-up at the convention of the Ladies' Garment Workers is the coming one in the American labor movement. It will be found that unity of the yellow Socialists and the ignorant and corrupt trade union officials will be easy of accomplishment.

That it has been so long in coming is due to the weakness of the revolutionary movement; its increasing strength and activity is rapidly clarifying issues hitherto obscured. This is the first necessary step.

Ironically enough, the reactionaries must, in spite of themselves, in this matter render invaluable aid as they did at Cleveland.

Amalgamated Meets New Problems on Its Early Battle Scenes

By CARROLL BINDER

(Staff Correspondent of The Worker and Federated Press)

CHICAGO.—Returning to the scene of the bitter struggles which gave birth to their union, delegates from all the clothing centers of the United States and Canada are here for the fifth biennial convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Twelve years ago this city was a notorious sweatshop center and the plight of the clothing workers here was the concern of socially-minded people everywhere.

To-day the 375 delegates who represent 170,000 organized workers enjoying the 44-hour week, living wages and a measure of industrial self-government are taking up measures looking to a larger degree of shop control, creation of unemployment funds and the intellectual and industrial development of the union membership.

Two notable pieces of labor literature were made public on the opening day. One a handsomely bound history of the Chicago Clothing Workers prepared by Dr. Leo Wolman of the Amalgamated Research Department, the other a 350-page report of the general executive board to the convention.

The report tells the story of the union since the Boston convention two years ago with detailed history of the New York lockout, chapters on the struggles and triumphs in the various other clothing centers, the educational work of the union, its financial undertakings, including the bank to be opened in Chicago July 1, and the services of the Amalgamated to the workers of other crafts and other nations in time of strike and famine.

"We have today 148 local unions and 16 joint boards in 36 cities, 14 states, two provinces; $240,703.81 was contributed by the union to outside organizations. During the New York lockout $1,165,206 was expended for relief." These sentences, lifted from the report, give some idea of the work of the union.

"The starving multitudes of 1910, struggling with empty pockets and empty stomachs against industrial tyranny, have given place to a model and powerful organization of Chicago clothing workers," declares the report. "The change from 1910 to 1922 brought about by the solidarity of the workers is in itself an object lesson of the great possibilities of that conscious self-elevation that must inevitably lead to self-emancipation."

A. C. W. of A. Has Plan to Help Russia

(Continued from Page One)

number of the shares. The consideration of this question by the convention will result in one of its most interesting discussions.

With this action the Amalgamated opens up new avenues along which the entire labor movement in this country should proceed.

The Amalgamated is serving as an example of the true spirit of international working-class solidarity. Its activities in support of the Soviet Republic will be an inspiration to the workers.

Minor Addresses Convention

Robert Minor, member of the central executive committee of the Workers Party, addressed the convention on Tuesday.

Minor reviewed the open shop movement in this country, urging the workers to fight it with all their power. He then referred to the Genoa Conference as a sign of capitalist deterioration, an effort on the part of capitalist nations to preserve the bankrupt Versailles Peace Treaty.

"At this conference," he said, "there is only one statesman who has evinced courage and displayed any outlook upon the future. This is the chairman of the Russian Soviet delegation, Tchitcherin."

When Tchitcherin's name was mentioned the whole convention rose to its feet and the big hall resounded with cheers.

"Only the workers can save the world from destruction," he said. "The workers must be taught that they can achieve everything thru a united struggle for it. We in America are only at the beginning of a real organized labor movement.

Minor depicted the spirit of the Russian workers who helped save Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings from the gallows and urged the delegates not to forget Sacco and Vanzetti who are in a similar plight in Massachusetts. He described a parade of the Red Army, which he said was the strongest in the world. He called on the workers to aid in the rebuilding of Soviet Russia. Minor's remarks were received with enthusiasm.

Ben Gitlow, just released from prison, who is a member of the Amalgamated, received a great ovation as he was presented to the convention for an address on behalf of the National Defense Committee. He appealed to the Amalgamated members to stand solid with those who are being persecuted by the ruling class in this country.

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[illegible] Aid to [illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

the Mexican Confederation of Labor, spoke to the convention at the special request of President James H. Maurer.

His talk struck a new note of internationalism. The delegates listened first with surprise and then with a new understanding of the status of labor in Mexico as Haberman told them that the things which seemed of so much importance to them—the eight-hour day, sick benefits, old-age insurance, etc.—were the unquestioned rights of the Mexican workers; that they had them all and were now "fightig for industrial democracy and the dictatorship of the workers."

Haberman expressed surprise at the presence of preachers on the labor platform and exhibited a copy of a Mexican church publication which openly stood for the open shop and the destruction of the Mexican Confederation of Labor.

He read a telegram from Felipe Carillo, president of Yucatan, telling him that 2,500 tons of wheat were ready for shipment to the victims of the Russian famine.

"Are you, who have so much more to give, doing as well?" Haberman asked the delegates.

James H. Maurer will be unopposed for the presidency this year, but Secretary Quinn has resigned because of failing eyesight and will be replaced by a younger man. Peggy Delbare, delegate from the coal miners of the Pittsburgh district, is being mentioned for the position.

For Independent Political Action.

The Labor Party of Pennsylvania held the first session of its convention in the evening following the adjournment of the federation. Fifty delegates were present, and after listening to a report from President Cutts of Altoona and Secretary Fuller of Pittsburgh, re-elected both these officers by acclamation.

Secretary Fuller reported that the interest taken in the plan for independent political action and the size of the crowds attending the meetings are without precedent in his experience. Eight new branches have been formed in the past few weeks, and he stated that only because of lack of sufficient funds the organization would show still greater strides.

The state federation is already on record for a labor party, and at this convention steps will be taken to rally the 750,000 workers of the state for an aggressive campaign.

Pittsburgh Waking Up

Pittsburgh, contrary to its general custom, appears to have sent several progressive delegates and a number of them were present as delegates to the labor party convention. It is this reactionary center, where the labor movement has been in the control of the employers' agents for years, that has always been the stumbling block in the way of independent political action on the part of the labor movement.

Reports made to the convention by miners' delegates from the coking coal region are a flat contradiction of the stories carried in the capitalist press to the effect that the miners in districts formerly non-union are going back to work. Peggy Deldare stated that the three big Leisenring mines of the Frick interests were down; this is a barometer of the former non-union fields; if the Frick group cannot keep their men working, no independent mines will produce an ounce of coal.

Depression Hits Convention

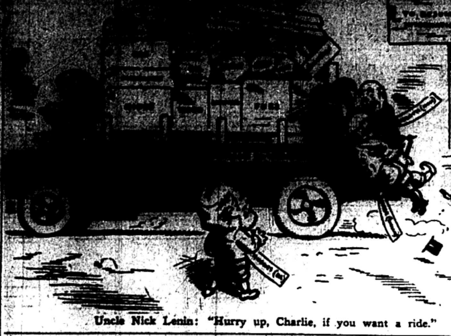
That the labor unions have suffered from the industrial depression is shown by the fact that this is the smallest convention of the State Federation for eight years, or since 1914.

The Central Labor Council of Scranton staged an entertainment for the delegates in the evening which was unique by reason of the fact that all entertainers had been developed from the ranks of the labor unions and were still members of organized labor.

Previous to the opening of the program, President Maurer was presented with a clock, the frame of which was carved from a single piece of anthracite coal and with a ring set with "sulphur-stone" found in the local mineral deposits. He responded with a short speech in which he briefly reviewed the history of Pennsylvania labor and paid a tribute to President Powderly of the old Knights of Labor, who taught him to read and write.

ORGANIZERS WANTED

The Friends of Soviet Russia requires the services of several capable men for organizers. If you are qualified, or know some one who is qualified, communicate with the National Office at 201 West 13th Street, New York. Applicants should have had special training as organizers. In answering, state experience, [illegible] qualifications for this work and with what [illegible] you are familiar.



Uncle Nick Lenin: "Hurry up, Charlie, if you want a ride."

Right Terror Is Invoked at Cleveland, O.

(Special to THE WORKER.)

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—As an adjunct to the Gompers-Schlesinger-Socialist attack on the "lefts" before the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union here, we now have the terroristic tactics invoked by the more belligerent right wingers.

The labor editor of The Freiheit Jewish daily organ of the Workers Party, was the first victim, the rights taking exception to some of the articles he had written.

He was rescued by a group of left delegates, but Delegate Silverman, one of those defending the Freiheit's editor, was later beaten up by the "right" gangsters.

The fight was carried to the floor of the convention, when the "rights" in power tried to deny admission to the Freiheit's representative. President Schlesinger thought this was going too far and ruled the motion out of order.

The Committees at Work.

Monday and Tuesday of this week were spent by the committees preparing their reports.

There are 300 resolutions affecting the clothing industry that are being considered by the convention.

The left elements brought in a series of resolutions aiming at strengthening the union and making it more democratic.

Urge Needle Trade Alliance.

On the question of the needle trades alliance the lefts demanded an amalgamation of all the needle crafts into one union. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Journeymen Tailors are for this plan.

The convention voted to revivify the alliance which was established a year ago but which never functioned. This move will probably again remain a dead letter.

The convention voted to establish week-work in the dress industry as in the cloak industry. Piece work is still prevalent in the former.

Voted for amnesty for political prisoners.

Endorsed a strike in the dress and waist industry in Philadelphia to win back conditions lost after the last strike.

Hit Civic Federation.

The left elements brought in resolutions instructing delegates at American Federation of Labor conventions to vote against candidates for office who are officers or members of the National Civic Federation.

The resolutions committee emasculated this resolution to instruct I. L. G. W. U. delegates merely to bring in resolutions at A. F. of L. conventions demanding that officers should sever connections with the Civic Federation.

Schlesinger defended the amended resolution which will give him permission to vote for the re-election of Samuel Gompers.

The coal miners' union long ago forced the late John Mitchell out of the Civic Federation.

Delegate Antonini, of the Italian waist makers, favored the original resolution. The amended resolution carried by vote of 133 to 22.

The resolutions providing for endorsement and financial support to Socialist Party and The Call were opposed by the left elements.

Delegate Julius Hochman, manager of the New York Dressmakers, altho a member of the Socialist Party and staunch defender of the administration, opposed the resolution brought in by administration delegates endorsing the Socialist Party, pointing out that other parties would have the same right to claim an endorsement.

The convention passed resolutions for [illegible] of Soviet Russia.

A resolution criticizing the editor of the official organ of the International, Justice, charging him with making the paper the organ merely of those in authority, was defeated. Vote 126 to 48.

Urge 40-Hour Week

Resolutions urging agitation for the 40-hour and 5-day week in the garment industry were passed.

The General Executive Board was instructed to study propositions for establishing co-operative banks.

The G. E. B. was instructed to start a fund for relief of the striking miners of West Virginia and their families.

Resolutions still pending, being urged by the "right" elements, give the G. E. B. power to take over and manage radical locals.

To demand the release of political prisoners in Soviet Russia. Similar resolution introduced at Workmen's Circle convention.

Resolutions still pending, being urged by "left" elements, provide for the election of general officers by referendum of members after nomination by conventions.

Recall of elected officials.

Referendum on convention decisions.

No more than one local of same trade in same city.

Abolition of overtime.

One joint board or local of International in New York City.

Proportional representation on Joint Board. Now small locals with a few hundred members, which are mostly supported by Joint Board, have as many votes as big locals like Locals Nos. 1 and 9, in New York City, with 11,000 and 7,000 members.

No member of G. E. B. shall serve as paid organizer of the union.

To urge the A. F. of L. to participate in the United Front Congress which the recent Berlin Conference of the Three Internationals will call.

That Harmony Bunk

The conservative "rights" have made a great deal of the so-called conference which was held between the representatives of both groups at the convention.

The Forward ascribed this conference to the speech of Abraham Cahan, who called upon the delegates to forget their differences and line up as one behind Schlesinger.

Much publicity was given to the supposed "truce," which was supposed to have been effected between both sides.

The left delegates felt forced to issue a statement dispelling these illusions.

This statement, which was signed among others by Delegates B. Shane and L. Hyman, managers of Local No. 1 and 9, New York City, the leading left locals in the International, repudiated the allegations that harmony has been effected. They declared that no harmony within the union is possible until certain fundamental changes are brought about for which the left elements stand.

They claim that the expulsions of delegates and the general behavior of the majority of the convention didn't show them to be ready for these changes.

There will, of course, be complete unity within the organization, when the union will be engaged in a struggle with the bosses, as was the case during the last general strike.

The "rights" don't want unity. They only want to talk about it in their efforts to show that the "lefts" are the disturbing element in the organization.

The "harmony bunk" was advanced for publicity purposes only. The Call correspondent at Cleveland wrote in the issue of May 10, as follows:

"The harmony committee did not meet, but the delegates seem to feel that the mere appointment of such a committee and the publicity it received was enough to accomplish the task for which it was called into being."

At press time Schlesinger was still insisting he would not be a candidate for re-election. The Call quotes Schlesinger in its issue of May 10, as follows:

"You may say that there is one thing that is sure and that is that I will not be [illegible]

Solidarity Plea Com from the Amalgamat

(Continued from Page One)

bitterly attacked by Cahan's pape which had a censorship against th use of his name in its colum Schlossberg said in part:

"There is one thing that an indi vidual may not be sure of, but an or ganization may be, and which lies entirely within the organization's own power.

"That is the capacity to retain eternal youth. An organization that begins to grow old is doomed to be useless, and the sooner it dies the better.

"We must see to it that our organization remains forever young, and that the spirit which animates the enlightened workers today does not die.

"If our organization keeps pace with the progress of the world it will always remain young and able to meet any situation that may arise. (Applause.)

"We have, among others, made one great contribution, almost immediately after our lockout of a half a year, on which we spent over $2,000,000, and while many of our members were out of work.

"We have made that contribution to our fellow workers in Russia, which meant more than the large amount of nearly $200,000 that we gave them.

"The spirit in which the contribution was made was not less important.

"The spirit and the message delivered by Brother Hillman to the Russian workers made every dollar that we sent them carry with it a message of love and true human affection.

"We have received greetings from those workers. Here is a message received by this convention from Russia. (Tremendous and prolonged applause.)

"This is the message from the Russian Red Cross, in charge of the relief for the famine sufferers in that country, signed by Soloviev, president of the Russian Red Cross:

"Russian Red Cross sends greetings to Amalgamated convention and in name of 36,000 famine sufferers whose lives Amalgamated has saved thanks devoted comrades in America who in time of their own trouble endured additional hardships that their brothers might live. Need is not over but battle against hunger yet won, but Russian comrades have taken needed courage from your splendid support.

'SOLOVIEV, President,
"Russian Red Cross."

(The Amalgamated orchestra struck up Russian and Italian labor hymns amid loud and long applause.)

'We have saved 36,000 human lives by our help, which was made possible by our organized power. We can save more." (Applause.)

THE CASE OF HARRY COHEN

Harry Cohen, former manager of the Children's Clothing Workers' organization, a part of the "Amalgamated," was accused of some irregularities in accepting loans from employers.

He left the organization, went into business, and then tried to return to his previous place in the union.

His nomination for manager [illegible] some of his followers was opposed by the General Executive Board [illegible] the Amalgamated. He demanded an impartial trial.

The trial was held and Cohen found guilty of irregularities [illegible] then tried to get the [illegible] Clothing Workers' Union [illegible] draw from the Amalgamated.

The Forward supported the [illegible] clique, aiming in the [illegible] international [illegible] gamated, who [illegible] by it [illegible]

[illegible]sions of [illegible] Red Labor [illegible]ternational

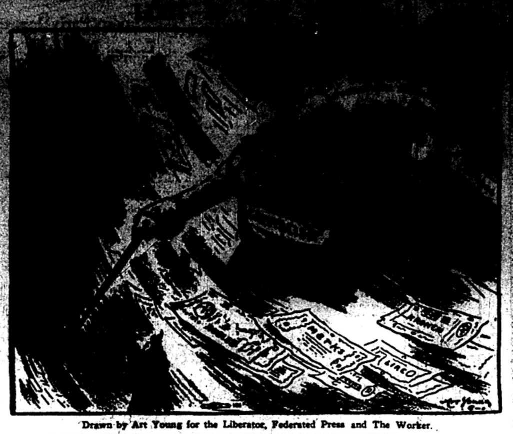
EDITOR'S NOTE.—Here is another installment of the decisions of the second conference of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International. The second installment appeared last week and reviewed the disunity efforts of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. This week we publish the resolution on the relations of the Red Trade Union International to the Revolutionary Syndicalists. It is as follows:

The Revolutionary Syndicalists and the Red Trade Union International

On the basis of the fact that all revolutionary trade-union forces have been combined in the Red Trade Union International under whose banner Syndicalist, Communist and non-partisan workers are united and, furthermore, that misunderstandings and even confusion have arisen in certain Syndicalist circles with regard to the resolution of the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International re the relationship to the Communist International, the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International declares that the resolution in question means in no way the subordination of the trade-unions to the Communist parties, or of the Red Trade Union International to the Communist International, but the unity of all the organized forces of the working class for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist regime.

As the German syndicalists have at their congress in Düsseldorf expressed their intention of founding a purely Syndicalist International, the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International cannot but warn all revolutionary organizations against these attempts at splitting and must vehemently protest against this attack upon the unity of the proletariat. At the same time it declares that a sectarian international such as that is foredoomed to utter impotence.

Being convinced that it will prove possible to find a solid foundation for a bloc of all revolutionary forces of the world, the Executive Committee addresses the urgent appeal to all revolutionary trade-unions, including those which have pronounced against joining the Red Trade Union International, to participate in our Second Congress.



Drawn by Art Young for the Liberator, Federated Press and The Worker.

"Symptoms of Centrism," a talk. followed by discussion, is on the program of Circle 6, Y. W. L., for Friday, May 19th, 1922. The lecture will be delivered by Leon Samson at the Workmen's Circle Building. 143 East 103rd Street. Meeting starts at 8:30 P. M. Don't forget—an interesting discussion will follow the lecture.

Bukharin Writes on New Economic Forms Developing in Russia

By NIKOLAI BUKHARIN.

The form of our economic life now coming into existence, is commonly designated by the term "State Capitalism."

Our economic conditions are, however, so complicated that they cannot possibly be covered by one single term.

Besides, the term "State capitalism" has not in the literature of political economy the signification which our Russian literature has lately assigned to it.

In the following essay I shall try to treat the problem of the different economic forms existing or developing in our country.

Enterprises of Proletarian State

These comprise the enterprises nationalized by the proletarian state.

They are state monopolies, but they are not state capitalist monopolies, since in the case of the state capitalist monopoly the bourgeoisie "that constitutes itself as the state power" (Marx) is the owner of the enterprises.

With us, however, the working-class is the owner of the nationalized enterprises.

The forms of production being characterized according to the forms of property, it is evident that enterprises owned by the **Workers State** must not be designated as state capitalistic.

[illegible]

The fact that the enterprise is being carried on capitalist principles (principle of private property, payment of wages, production of a considerable part of the products for the market) does not make the enterprise a capitalist one, as far as the conditions of property are concerned.

Enterprises of Mixed Character

These comprise those concerns in which the proletarian state and capitalist groups are partners.

In these so-called "mixed" enterprises part of the shares is owned by the proletarian state; the rest may be owned by Russian or foreign capitalists.

It is evident, that such "mixed" enterprises are neither state capitalistic ones nor purely capitalist enterprises.

The capitalists and the state are their owners at the same time. The workers' state will receive part of the surplus value produced in these enterprises; the rest goes to the capitalist "partner."

In the course of the general economic development an incessant contest for domination will be carried on in these concerns; with the increase of the economic power of the proletariat the participation of the capitalistic groups will become of less importance, provided we avoid making blunders; and the state will in a constantly growing degree determine and conduct the whole process of development of these enterprises, similar to that exercised by the great banking concerns and trusts in their control of numbers of joint stock companies in the capitalist state.

Concessions and Leased Enterprises

With regard to fundamental conditions of property in this group, the workers' State is the owner. Still not all the means of production in these enterprises are held by it as the concessionaires and lessees can increase the production apparatus by [illegible] the surplus value produced will be divided into two parts, and the class struggle will find expression in the changeable amount of these shares.

Private Capitalists' Enterprises Under Control of Proletarian State

These comprise the capitalist concerns in the true sense of the word, i. e., concerns exclusively owned by groups of capitalists or by a single capitalist.

The development of these concerns will be regulated more or less from without, i. e., thru the State Banks and the credit system, by way of the circulation of money.

Petty Bourgeois Units of Production and Their Consolidation

To this class belongs the productive units of the home producers, so-called "Kustarys", the artisans and peasants, which are the strongest foundation for the development of purely bourgeois-capitalist conditions.

To a great extent these productive units recruit themselves from the elements of pre-capitalist barter economy. These are particularly found in our eastern districts.

Of course, the freedom of production under the basic conditions of the existence of the innumerable petty-bourgeois productive units will inevitably bring about the enlargement of the sphere of capitalist conditions and the gradual strengthening of those important capitalist groups that are capable of competition with the enterprises of the purely governmental type and those of the mixed type.

These are the principal forms of production existing in our Soviet Republic.

It is necessary here to deal with another extremely important problem. Russian economy, considered as a whole, finds itself in the world market face to face with big capitalist systems. This gives rise to the following situation.

The conditions of the world market may cause a part of the surplus value produced by the Russian economic system—pure state enterprises included—to find its way in [illegible]

It may thus seem that even enterprises that are exclusively by the workers will produce the surplus value lost to the w class.

This circumstance which owing to the temporarily weak tion of Russia in world trade no means a proof of the character of our state industry.

This circumstance only serv show once more that the de ment of our economic system the same time a singular form o class struggle.

In Russia this struggle is goin in the form of a competition betw state and private enterprises; o contest for the best terms in tracts or concessions and leases, the size of shares in the products, power in the "mixed" enterprises, for the best position in the goo market and credit, etc.

In world industry this contest carried on as a struggle for the mo profitable contracts, duties, loan co ditions, special contracts, etc.

The part of the surplus value go to the proletarian state will inevitab grow in the course of our econo Ir the case of failure in the conte the claim of the internal and exte capitalist groups will reduce th claims of the workingclass to nil.

The West European literature o political economy understands b state capitalism the highest form o capitalism, the means of productio being held by the bourgeois state, th most perfect and most powerful o ganization of the capitalist class. I is unnecessary to say that our "Sta Capitalism" is altogether differe from the one characterized above.

Of course, our economic syste can be changed into the "true" sta capitalism, if the class-struggles i the sphere of direct processes of pr duction and in the political sphere re sult in the loss of power by the wor ing-class. This question will b solved by the result of the clas struggle, and we have sufficie reason to believe that in consequen of the crisis of capitalist world ec nomy it will not end in favor of th capitalist groups.

Gompers and Reformist Socialists May Read Radek's Speech With Great Profit to Themselves

(Continued from Page One)

we stood upon the position which it appears the Vienna International desires to leave.

We forego an accounting of the past, not because we want to remain silent upon what must be said but for the simple reason that we realize the need of the hour, the general situation of the world proletariat and say that it is senseless to begin at this moment with recriminations. It is now necessary to think of what we want to do.

Hits at Vandervelde

The representative of the Second International, Vandervelde, considered it necessary to draw up a balance.

He did it with the same voice, with the same gestures which we saw in Basle ("Quite right"—the Communist delegation) when he as leader of the International swore to lead us into the fight against war.

We were carried back by the pathos of Vandervelde's voice for a moment to the time when we believed in the warmth of his voice and we forgot for a moment that this voice was drowned by the roar of cannon.

If Vandervelde desires it, we will draw up an accounting of these last 8 years—an accounting which will perhaps break up this conference but will not sound very pleasant to this former royal minister of Belgium.

What Vandervelde Forgets

He has forgotten the sea of blood, he has forgotten the mountain of corpses, he has forgotten all the misery of the world. This accounting does not exist for him.

After this he comes to us and says, "A little faith, a minimum of faith, a grain of faith—and if you do not give me this confidence on credit, we have nothing to discuss in common."

And we tell Citizen Vandervelde face to face, Not a farthing's worth of faith! We have paid for this confidence by the fact that we today face each other as enemies and must seek the path to an understanding. And when you come to us with your sweet phrases of confidence, we answer you with a plump "No!"

Confidence for what? For the war? Confidence for what? For the Peace of Versailles which you as a Belgian minister signed? Confidence for what; for whom?

Shaw Silent on Murders

You speak in the name of an organization. This organization does not only consist of little Belgium. Confidence for the English occupation against which the Labor Party only fought in words?

Confidence for all your crimes against those crimes of which the representative of the 2nd International has not spoken here today?

The Social Revolutionary Tchaikin has published documents on the murder of 26 leaders of the Caucasian proletariat by the English political police. The names of the murderers have been published.

Has Citizen Tom Shaw asked in the English Parliament, "What of these murderers, of General Maleson, of General Thomson?"

And then you say, "Confidence?" The Second International asks that, among whose representatives here today there sit members of the German Social Democracy?

We ask, where is the court of all the three Internationals which sentenced the murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and the murderers of Karl Liebknecht? ("Quite right!"—the Communist delegation.)

Forced to Attend Conference

They were sentenced by the Extraordinary Court of the Guards Division in Berlin, and when you dare to speak of the Russian courts, we say to you, hands off before they are not washed of the blood of Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht (Stormy applause by the Communist delegation) and of the blood of Leviné, who was not murdered on the street by bandits, but sentenced to death by your courts (turning to the German Social Democrats) as you sat in the government relying on the confidence of the masses which you have abused.

But when you say, "If that is so, what do you want of this Conference; what purpose is there in making tactical manoeuvres?" And I will coolly and categorically tell you what we want.

You came to this conference because you were compelled to. You were the instrument of world reaction, and now if you want it or not, you must become the instrument of the struggles of the proletariat.

Feels Reactionists Will Fail

We sit down at the same table with you, we desire to fight alongside of you, and this fight will decide whether it is to be a manoeuvre, as you say, of the Communist International or will become a current which will unite the working class. Your action will decide what our action means.

If you fight shoulder to shoulder with us, with the proletariat of all countries,—fight not for the dictatorship of the proletariat; we do not believe you are capable of it—but for a bit of bread; fight against the further devastation of the world, then the proletariat will come close together in this struggle, and then we will judge you not for your dreadful past but on the basis of new facts.

As long as these are not at hand, we coolly enter into these negotiations and into mutual action with the profound distrust, with the conviction that you will fail us ten times in this struggle.

Meet Terrible Need of Hour

But we want to attempt to fight together not out of love for you but on account of the terrible need of the hour moving us and which compels you to negotiate here in this hall with the same Communists whom you have treated as criminals.

And now for the further conditions of Citizen Vandervelde. What you have attempted to do here was a sharp attack on the part of the Second International in an endeavor to frighten us and the Vienna International supported it willy-nilly and with a heavy heart. I speak of the conditions which the gentlemen of the Second International raised and I believe you will not give my answer all the publicity in the world.

Conditions! Citizen Vandervelde said, "You speak of the Treaty of Versailles." He said that he feared the discussions of this question might help Stinnes.

The German workers cannot buy a shirt and Citizen Vandervelde regards the fact that international capital will fatten itself on the misery of the German proletariat with a care-free heart. He fears that Stinnes will become richer.

As is well-known Stinnes is allied with Soviet Russia and perhaps will finance the Communist International. (Laughter on the part of the Communist delegation.)

M. Vandervelde did not clearly say whether he desires to speak about the reconstruction of the world like Poincare, without touching the Versailles Treaty, or if not, what is the meaning of his remark concerning Stinnes. I am not enough of a diplomat to understand that. (Laughter; "You have shown that!")

I have shown that, quite right. Then I ask, does the Second International want the question of the Treaty of Versailles put on the agenda of the Conference or not? It would be very interesting to see the German Social Democrary as a member of the Second International vote against the consideration of the Versailles Treaty by the International Conference; probably in the hope that Lloyd George will revise the Treaty of Versailles.

Exposes Vandervelde's Love

Now I come to the other conditions which were put to us. With the great love which Vandervelde always displays for the small and oppressed peoples, even when they live on the Congo, he asks us, "How can you appear at this Conference when the ghosts of murdered Georgia and the Ukraine appear and ask, "Cain, why hast thou murdered us?" I will clearly tell Citizen Vandervelde why we murdered this Banquo.

As for the Ukraine, it is not murdered, it lives, it is very strong, it fights alongside Soviet Russia and only the ghost of the Petlura government, which was kept alive by gold injections of the Polish general staff and now begs for life in Paris and of the Second International, disturbs the slumbers of Vandervelde.

He may calm himself. The Ukraine lives, it is healthy, altho it is hungry and it will fight together with us for the reconstruction of Russia and for the recuperation of the Russian and the Ukrainian peoples not as a border state but as part of the Soviet Federation.

As far as Georgia is concerned, I emphatically state to the English representatives of the Second International and above all to the English delegates—**Hands off Georgia! You did not protest when the Georgian Government slaughtered the workers and peasants of Georgia under the protection of English guns!** (Protests and interruptions.)

Our Tcheka agents are not talented writers. The Georgian Secret Service, however, was careless enough to leave behind a book written by M. Djugeli, commander of your National Guard, and in this book Georgian Democracy is so represented that we will submit this book to you at the next conference in order that you may learn how the Georgian state was built up with blood and iron.

Will Produce Documents

And when you ask why we—and now we say it openly—helped to overthrow the Georgian Government, we will answer you out of the documents which the Georgian Government was careless enough to print.

The information which Gegetchkori, Georgia's Foreign Minister, gave to Aleixeieff reads, "We have helped the Whites; we have not only suppressed the Bolsheviks at home but have fed your White officers and sent them to you."

If the Conference desires to appoint a small commission for the investigation of the authenticity of this document, we will gladly lay it before you.

He concluded with a most pathetic appeal: "How can you come without the Social Revolutionaries! How can you come without these good internationalists, who are affiliated with neither the Second [illegible] Vienna International [illegible] der the protectorate of the Second and ask for admittance into the Two-and-a-Half?"

We have the honor of having with us in this assembly the former president of the Russian Constituent Assembly, Tchernoff, as a journalist, and I believe that if you desire to discuss the Social Revolutionaries with us, there are enough of their representatives within reach.

It is not necessary that just those must appear at this Conference who attempt to murder the leaders of the Russian Revolution with a revolver in their hand.

Permit me to leave the field of polemics and put the question as it really is: **We proposed a Conference in agreement with the Vienna International for the preparation for action.**

Many Questions to be Answered

We said to ourselves that a debate over disputed questions, over methods, will certainly not assist the action. If the difference can in any way be ironed out, that can only be done in the common struggle which will build the bridge between the various sections of the proletariat.

If you desire to sabotage this Conference of action and have an international Conference of discussion we say to you, you give the proletariat stones instead of bread. But we are not accustomed to evade a discussion. Then we will clear the table at this conference.

We will then lay the history of the last eight years before you and demand your opinions thereon.

We will remind the German Social Democrats who cry "Hands off the Social Revolutionaries!", of the fact that the militants of the Soviet Republic have been suffering in the Bavarian prisons for three years, that workers are in German prisons for the March action. We will ask then, what of the assassins of Dato, whom the German Government, in which your representatives sit, delivered over to the Spanish hangmen for half a million pesetas to be distributed among the Berlin police at whose head there is a Social Democrat?

And we will see what your answer will be. (Wels—Germany: "Ask Eberlein!") Noske did not murder 15,000 workers; Eberlein did— the whole world knows that.

We will draw up an accounting for each country. For if we were sinners, you are the representatives of a dozen parties, worshipful gentlemen, whose sins exceed anything imaginable.

Proposes Conference of Action

We then say in conclusion, we propose a conference of action, a conference to decide ways and means. [illegible] not to reconstruct the world but to pillage the whole world so that the capitalists can again establish their rule?

What are we going to do against unemployment; what are we going to do against the lockout wave?

That is our programme. If you desire discussion, we are ready to discuss with you. However, in order to satisfy the refinement of Vandervelde, who keeps Flemish autonomists in jail and to calm the delicate Wels as to the fate of the accused Social Revolutionaries, we say, "Show that you are better than we. Propose to us the exchange of your holy Russian terrorists against the militants of the Bavarian Soviet Republic and the participants in the March action ("Bargaining!").

Whoever speaks of bargaining is a man without brain. I will so answer you that you will forget that word. (Uproar.)

We therefore say to you, if you want to break up the conference, you have the liberty to do so; you will bear the responsibility.

If you want a congress to consider action, we are ready for it. If you want a congress in which at the same time there should take place a discussion of the methods of proletarian struggle, we are also rea for that.

Concludes Amid Stormy Appla

We are ready for a conference any form. There is one thing, how ever, we will not permit—that peopl should put conditions to us; peopl to whom we put no conditions altho nine-tenths of the proletariat hav the greatest distrust to them.

I say, if you put conditions to us, conditions which must be fulfilled before we can attend this conference, we answer, we will reject these conditions.

When we approach nearer one another in the common struggle certain consequences will follow which need not be promised beforehand; for they will follow from the common struggle and therefore we advocate the common struggle.

I repeat: **We have accepted the initiative of the International 2½ and we ask you, do you maint the proposal which was made t in the January appeal or do you re tract it and set up new conditio If you do so, we are confro with a new situation and we w consider this new situation. We c here on the basis of your app** (Stormy applause by the Comm ist delegation.)

PICNIC
LETTISH BRANCH
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MAY 21st, 1922
—Tickets 40 cents—

OUR HOPE—OUR FUTURE
LIES WITH THE CHILDREN

The Friends of Soviet Russia have decided on a CHILDREN'S WEEK. Children's Week begins May 15th. During the week all efforts should be concentrated upon two things:

1. The Children's Roll Call,
2. The Famine Scout Clubs.

The Secretary of every F. S. R. Conference has pages from the Children's Roll Call Book. Call for them there.

Get every child of every Friend of Soviet Russia signed up.

Every radical worker should organize a Famine Scout Club, taking in children from eight to sixteen years, and registering all members at the National Office.

Children's week should end May 21st with a rousing meeting in every city for all the children of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Our future lies with our Children. We must make our future secure.

The Children of Soviet Russia need the help of our children. Our Children need our help to give this help.

SIGN THE CHILDREN'S ROLL CALL.
FORM FAMINE SCOUT CLUBS.

Make Children's Week a Red Letter Week in the life of our organization.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.
201 West 13th Street,
NEW YORK CITY

News of Workers Party [illegible]

International Issued a Call for May Day

EDITOR'S NOTE:—The May Day Proclamation issued by the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International arrived too late for publication in our May Day issue. In fact it has just been received. However, we publish it at this time since it states views that should be of interest to all our readers. It is as follows:

• • •

FOR THE FIRST OF MAY!

Workers of the World:—

On May 1st, 1922, the wage-slaves of all countries will manifest their will to emancipation in a particularly intense phase of the class struggle.

Capital, which after the imperialist war satisfied some of the most urgent demands of the workers, is already attempting to wrest out of their hands the concessions it had made.

In every country where the fear of unrest had led the bourgeoisie momentarily to grant a few concessions to the proletariat, the latter now sees these insufficient gains menaced.

Plight Revealed at Genoa

The employers want to abolish the eight-hour day, whose realization they have always sabotaged. They want to lengthen the working-day at a time when unemployment has assumed enormous proportions in England and the United States and is daily spreading in France, Italy, and Switzerland.

At the same time they are everywhere reducing wages altho the rise in the cost of living and the increase of taxation are continuing without end.

Overwork, inadequate wages and the permanent threat of unemployment are the conditions in which the great mass of workers are now living. Violent repression is the only answer to those who demand the possibility of being able to exist.

However the offensive of capital against the working class cannot conceal the plight of the capitalist governments, met at Genoa to attempt to mend the irreparable consequences of the great massacre, and to seek a way out of the crisis which is paralyzing capitalist economy and is plunging larger and larger masses into misery—a misery which drives them to revolt.

Genoa Conference Will Fail

All workers understand that the only significance of the Genoa Conference is lent it by the presence of the delegates of Soviet Russia. For the first time, the bourgeois governments are compelled to deal with those whom they had sworn to wipe off the face of the earth.

Nevertheless, the proletariat cannot afford to deceive itself as to the results of the Conference. The Conference is bound to fail because the representatives of capitalism cannot admit the paramount condition for the economic construction of Europe—the abolition of the capitalist regime.

The enslavement of the vast majority of producers to an infinitesimal minority of exploiters, competition and the wars which are the latter's inevitable consequence do not allow of the reconstruction of the devastated world.

After the defeats which it had suffered since 1918, the proletariat manifests a certain lassitude in its struggle against the exploiters, but it has not ceased to defend its vital interests and to fight for the integrity of its rights.

Altho the bourgeoisie has taken the initiative in the offensive, believing it could be recompensed for its losses caused by the economic crisis by intensified exploitation of the proletariat, the latter cannot and will not let that take place.

Workers Show Resistance

Proletarian resistance was actively demonstrated in the more important countries by strikes of significant extent: in England, the unprecedented miner's strike; in France, the prolonged textile strike; in Italy, general strikes in various provinces; and in Germany, the recent railway strike.

These great mass-actions, betrayed by their reformist leaders, have everywhere failed to gain their immediate objectives.

But the revolutionary will of the proletariat has not been broken. The fighting spirit and activity of the exploited is everywhere being regenerated. The proletariat is defending its conquests and desires to fight to extend them still further.

Its tragic everyday experiences have convinced it of the necessity of forming a united front of Labor's forces against the implacable bourgeoisie. Under the pressure of the need for the struggle, the unity of the exploited class is being established, in spite of the political divisions engendered by the treason of its leaders.

The power of the bourgeoisie is inexorably on the wane. Whatever side one turns to, there is nothing to be seen but political crises, general instability of governments, strikes, lockouts and the revolts of colonial peoples.

British Empire Crumbling

The edifice of the British Empire is crumbling all over the world. After having yielded to insurgent Ireland, London is making concessions to unconquered Egypt, while the flames of insurrection are fighting up the Transvaal and a huge, black cloud is growing in India. The British Government and the Conservative-Liberal Coalition are racked by internal dissensions.

In France, while the economic crisis is killing traffic in its ports and causing the failure of great banks, governmental and parliamentary corruption is going on in broad daylight, scandals follow hard on one anothers heels and the policy of the Bloc National is bringing the state to the verge of bankruptcy.

Italy is in the throes of a quasi-permanent Cabinet crisis and is suffering under the bloody exploits of the Fascisti—prelude to the civil war for which the working class is now paying the price while waiting for the inevitable changing of the roles. Even Japan, the great war-profiteer, has not been spared by this crisis which is shaking two continents and her government is turning machine-guns upon the crowds modestly demanding universal suffrage.

Such is the spectacle presented by the victorious countries. As for the defeated nations, the sufferings of the working masses is in striking contrast with the opulence of the ruling oligarchy or financial and industrial potentates.

And Russia, practically isolated from the rest of the world for seven years, ruined by the imperialist and the civil wars, starved by an iron blockade and a natural catastrophe, is compelled to devote all its energies to the salvation of part of its millions of starving, to whom bourgeois civilization has refused aid—aid, which according to Doctor Nansen represents half the cost of a dreadnought.

Among all these ruins and misery, martyrized humanity has only one hope: the liberating force of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only answer to the dictatorship of capital.

Workers of the World!

You will not remain passive while your masters lay new burdens upon your shoulders, demand new sacrifices and intensify your enslavement.

ON THE COMING FIRST OF MAY YOU WILL MANIFEST YOUR FIGHTING SPIRIT IN A POWERFUL DEMONSTRATION OF YOUR CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Draw up an imperious program of your immediate demands, and commence the struggle to compel the granting of these demands. Unite, ESTABLISH THE FRONT OF THE EXPLOITED AGAINST THE UNITED FRONT OF THE EXPLOITERS! Whatever your political differences may be, you all have common interests, you compose a single class, and if you form a solid bloc, no force will be able to resist you.

Demonstrate on May 1st by a twenty-four hour General Strike all over the World.

For the eight-hour day.

For the [illegible] conditions of [illegible]

For the abolition of military expenditures and of taxes weighing upon the propertyless

For the cancellation of capitalist debts

For the emancipation of peoples oppressed by imperialism

For the establishment of real peace all over the world

For the recognition of Soviet Russia.

Follow the slogans of the Communist International!

Support the Communist Parties in their intrepid struggle—the parties which point out for you the path to emancipation and march before you, exposing themselves to the brutality and repressions of the bourgeoisie. Remember the example of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the proletariat given by the Communists of Russia, Finland, the Ukraine, Siberia and the Caucasus; of Germany and Hungary, Poland and the Balkans, Italy and Spain, whose blood has been shed for your cause!

Proclaim these proud battlecries:

GENERAL STRIKE ON THE FIRST OF MAY!

PEACE AND LIBERTY FOR ALL PEOPLES!

ALL POWER TO THE PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

The [illegible] Committee of the [illegible] Communist International.

Bars and Shadows

The Prison Poems of RALPH CHAPLIN

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Workers Party
799 Broadway
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NEW YORK CITY

The New York Front

Industrial Organizers Conference.

The first Conference of Branch Organizers was held last Saturday at the Local Office. It was decided that the Organizers make a census of the membership regarding union affiliation. A memorandum on the work of the Industrial Organizer was distributed. His task consists in enlisting the membership into activity in the trade unions and other working class organizations.

The next meeting of Industrial Organizers will be held on Saturday, May 20, at the local office building. All organizers are to bring the lists of the members with reports of their unions they belong to.

Industrial Meetings.

At 208 East 12th Street, Room 9

Monday, May 15.—Building Trades.

Friday, May 19.—Cloakmakers.

Saturday, May 20.—Branch Industrial Organizers.

Friday, May 25.—Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Reports will be given of the Needle Trades Conventions. Also new committee to be elected to continue the work.

May Issue of Labor Herald.

One thousand copies have been received of the May issue, "Miners Number." These are to be sold at the branch and union meetings. All Branch Industrial Organizers and other active union men should call at the Local office and get their bundles between 6 and 7.30 P. M. any evening.

Open Air Meetings.

The Workers Party will in the coming week begin its open air season. It is expected that all corners of the city will be covered by the Workers Party and the message of revolutionary socialism delivered to thousands. Speakers are needed for this work. All members who can serve as open air speakers are requested to communicate with the Local Office.

Section Organizers Meeting.

The first conference of Section Organizers and the Organization Committee was held last Thursday. The work of the section committees was discussed and plan submitted by the secretary was accepted. The Williamsburg section No. 6 was divided into two sections in order to better carry on the work—creating a new section, the Boro Park Section No. 9, consisting of the South Brooklyn German, Finnish Brooklyn, Boro Park English and Jewish and Coney Island Jewish.

It was also decided to hold open air meetings beginning May 15. Literature was discussed and the plan proposed for increasing the circulation of THE WORKER put into effect.

Lettish Picnic at Dickert's Park

The Lettish Branch will hold a picnic May 21, at Dickert's Park. All members are urged to purchase tickets and attend this affair.

Italian Organizer in Philadelphia.

Thadeo Cuomo, Secretary of the Italian Bureau of the Workers Party, spent several busy days in District No. 3. A new Italian branch was organized and plans were laid to hold a district convention of the Italian Branches of Camden, N. J., Philadelphia, Pa., Wilmington, Del., Baltimore, Md., about a month hence. Excellent prospects for the organization of new branches in North Philadelphia and other nearby points were also reported.

Ruthenberg Now Party Secretary

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party has elected C. E. Ruthenberg, former Secretary of the Socialist Party of Cleveland, Ohio, and first National Secretary of the Communist Party of America, as Executive Secretary of the Workers Party.

He is recognized as one of the ablest executives in the entire working class movement, and his release from prison came at a very opportune time to make his services available for the Workers Party.

Harrison National Organizer.

Caleb Harrison, former secretary, expressed his preference for field work on behalf of the party even prior to his selection in January, and he will be able to follow the line of work for which he feels himself best fitted in his new capacity of National Organizer.

His work in "District One" has materially improved the position of the party there.

Instead of being one of the weakest districts of the organization it is taking its place among the strongest.

He will next turn his attention to District Three, centering around Philadelphia, and similar good results are looked for.

This decision was made by the Administrative Council and unanimously approved by the mail vote of the out-of-town members of the committee. Among other decisions of the committee were the following:

Election of C. E. Ruthenberg and George Wishnak as party representatives to the International Ladies Garment Workers' Convention at Cleveland.

Election of Robert Minor, Benjamin Gitlow and Moissaye J. Olgin to represent the Party at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Convention at Chicago.

Election of William F. Dunne to attend the 47th National Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, at Detroit.

Election of Caleb Harrison to attend the convention of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor at Scranton, Pa., and the Greek Workers Party Federation at New York. Election of Henry Askeli and Jacob Turchin to attend the Esthonian National Conference at New York.

The services of the comrades recently released from prison (Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Winitsky and Ferguson) are to be offered to party locals for use at picnics on condition that the collection taken shall be divided between the National Defense Committee and the National Organization fund, with a minimum guarantee of $25 and railroad fare.

A committee consisting of Cannon, Harrison, Lore, Bittelman, Ruthenberg and Trachtenberg was elected to prepare a manifesto and thesis on the subject of the "United Front." A program of activity on the open shop and unemployment issue was also referred to this committee.

Literature Department Plans.

The publication of a standard-sized bound library, to be known as the "Workers Party Library," is to be inaugurated with the publication of Trotzky's "Democracy versus Dictatorship."

This is expected to be followed by a complete, unabridged edition of Lenin's "Imperialism" of which only snatches have been published in English thus far.

These books will be the beginning of a series which are expected to appear from 30 to 60 days apart. They will appear in both paper and cloth bound editions, the paper selling for either 25c. or 50c., and the cloth for 50c. or $1.00, depending on size.

The Trotzky book, with an introduction by Max Bedacht, will sell for $1.00 and advance orders are to finance the plan.

A series of pamphlets explaining various phases of the Workers Party program, as well as the organization as a whole, is also to be issued.

These will form part of the pamphlet library of five cent pamphlets, size 5 x 7½ inch., sixteen pages, of which three numbers are ready now.

These are sold in quantities of 100, whether of one kind or assorted, at the rate of 2½c. each.

The titles of the first three are: "Communism and the Family," by Alexandra Kollontai; "Should Communists participate in Reactionary Trade Unions?", Lenin; and "The Constitution of the Soviet Republic."

Organization Decisions.

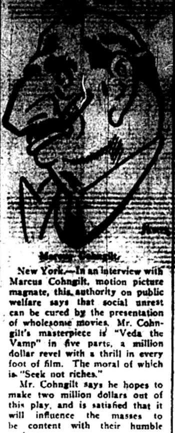
A monograph on the holding of street meetings is to be sent out. All districts are instructed to prepare for active open air campaigning, notifying the national office of what material they have or need.

Districts 11, 14, and 15 have been dissolved because of lack of sufficient organization strength to maintain a paid district organizer, and all locals in that territory are attached direct to the national office.

Dues are paid direct to the national office and the usual refund, instead of being sent to districts, is retained by the office for special organization work in that territory.

Refund dues from foreign federations intended for City Central Committees is remitted thru the District Organizers. The English District [illegible]

How to Cure World [illegible]



Marcus Cohngilt.

New York.—In an interview with Marcus Cohngilt, motion picture magnate, this authority on public welfare says that social unrest can be cured by the presentation of wholesome movies. Mr. Cohngilt's masterpiece is "Veda the Vamp" in five parts, a million dollar revel with a thrill in every foot of film. The moral of which is "Seek not riches."

Mr. Cohngilt says he hopes to make two million dollars out of this play, and is satisfied that it will influence the masses to be content with their humble savings.

[illegible] May Day [illegible] Philadelphia, Pa.—The City Central Committee of Philadelphia has arranged for two picnics to be held during the summer, one on Saturday, June 17th, and one on [illegible], August 12th, at Schuetzen Park, 53rd St. and Tinicum Ave., and Ben Gitlow will be the speaker on June 17.

Detroit, Mich.—An active branch of the Trade Union Educational League has been organized at Detroit, Mich.

The May Day celebration at Detroit, at which William F. Dunne addressed an open air mass meeting under the auspices of the Detroit Federation of Labor on Sunday afternoon and a great indoor meeting at the House of the Masses on Monday night proved an unparalleled success. Five hundred copies of THE WORKER and three hundred copies of the Voice of Labor were sold.

New Branches were organized by the Finnish Bureau at Palisade Minn., Washington, D. C., and New Rochelle, N. Y.

Death Takes Mary Krimont

Mrs. Mary Krimont, called the mother of the Ferrer Colony at Stelton, N. J., died Tuesday night, May 2. The Ferrer colonists feel keenly the loss of an interested and active resident and an efficient and tireless worker for the welfare of the colony's school. Mrs. Krimont was a resident of the colony almost from its inception. Mary Hanser, has written the following "To Mary Krimont":

TO MARY KRIMONT

So one we've seen each day has
  passed,
And left a void that none can fill.
She's gone, and all the good she did,
  or ill,
Is part with that vast changing flux
  of time;
I can but feel to-day an empty ache;
  a pain—
Since one I knew for many, many
  years—
Will never cross the fields again—
Nor speak, nor stand a moment at
  her door.

COLDWELL AT NEFF, OHIO.

Joseph M. Coldwell addressed a well attended meeting at Neff, Ohio, on behalf of the 114 comrades who are still serving prison terms for the supposed violation of the espionage act. Comrade Coldwell spoke at length on his life and experiences in the Atlanta, Ga., state prison.

DISCUSS "UNITED FRONT"

J. Louis Engdahl, editor of The Worker, will discuss "The United Front" at a meeting of the Downtown Branch, Workers Party, Wednesday night, May 17, 8:30, at 47 Chrystie St. All members and sympathizers are urged to turn out and join in the discussion.

Outing at Los Angeles.

The Los Angeles, Cal., Local of the Workers Party has arranged an outing to Seal Beach, California, Sunday, June 4. Three trucks and 19 automobiles with comrades and friends will leave from the Workers Party headquarters, Macy and Main streets, at 8 A. M.

Workers Party Opposes [illegible] Richmond, Va., Central Labor Council

The Central Committee of the Workers Party of Richmond, Va., is making every effort to [illegible] the [illegible] the Central Trades Organization of that city. A proclamation to organized labor in that city [illegible]. It is as follows:

Richmond, Va., May 4, 1922.

Brothers and Fellow Workers:

It has come to the attention of the City Central Committee, Local Richmond, Workers Party, that the dissolution of the CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL OF RICHMOND has been seriously considered. With the concerted action of the Capitalist Class to break up all Labor Organizations by "Open Shop" agitation, by lockouts and general unemployment, by the use of armed force to suppress protesting workers, it becomes an absolute necessity for all workers to maintain a UNITED FRONT. Any agitation that tends to disrupt the Labor Movement is a distinct advantage to the Capitalist Class, and must be resisted with all our united strength.

Some sincere, but misguided, Unionists advocate dissolution of the CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL on the grounds of inefficiency and corruption on the part of the Leadership. The Workers Party is well aware of conditions maintaining inside the Labor Unions its representatives have time after time pointed out the existence of these conditions, and will continue to do so until these Leaders are supplanted by efficient and honest representatives. But this struggle must be conducted INSIDE—NOT OUTSIDE—THE UNIONS, which must be kept intact at all costs if the workers are to survive in the CLASS STRUGGLE.

Not only must the Labor Organizations be kept intact, but the scope of their work must be widened. UNORGANIZED WORKERS MUST BE ORGANIZED! At the present time members of the Workers Party are engaged in forming two new [illegible]

Summing up, we would give our Slogan: FORWARD TO A WORKERS REPUBLIC, THRU A UNITED FRONT, WITH A MILITANT, HONEST LEADERSHIP!

Yours for a United Working Class,—

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA.

From Our Readers

HITS AT WASTE

EDITOR, THE WORKER:—I wish to give this message to my fellow workers in Cleveland. Friday evening, May 5th, at the Statler Hotel, a banquet was given for the delegates of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Convention. The expense of this banquet was paid for with the blood and brawn of the Cleveland workers, at a most inopportune time, when every single dollar was needed for the strike fund.

A strike has been dragging on in your city for many months, a strike that means the life or death of your organization, a strike that is doubtful of success because of the indifference of the membership.

And at such a time the leadership of your organization permits an expenditure of almost $3,000 to satisfy the appetites of a well-fed delegation.

At the time of the arrangements for the banquet, and the outing to take place the following day, a small group of the "leftists" of your own organization, these "terrible leftist monsters," fought most bitterly against this outrageous expenditure.

Of course they were overruled. That was only natural. They were only "lefts." And, I ask you, what chances can a handful of "lefts" have against a second vice-president of our international union, furthermore, from one who aspires to the presidency.

I ask you, workers of Cleveland, how long are you going to remain indifferent. Put your shoulder to the wheel, right alongside these same "lefts" and help pilot your own boat.—DELEGATE IDA WEISMAN.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

A COMMUNIST CLASSIC

HEAR THE VOICE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN THESE EXTRACTS FROM THE TESTIMONY OF

C. E. RUTHENBERG

AND THE CLOSING ADDRESS TO THE JURY OF

I. E. FERGUSON

IN THE FAMOUS "LEFT WING" CASES OF 1920 IN WHICH WERE INVOLVED BEN GITLOW, HARRY WINITSKY, JIM LARKIN, AS WELL AS RUTHENBERG AND FERGUSON.

This booklet is printed in order to show thru the testimony of C. E. Ruthenberg as to Communist Principles, and the speech of I. E. Ferguson to the jury, that Communism is NOT "Criminal Anarchy," despite the fact that the ruling class has been able to put Communists in prison for terms of from five to ten years under the Criminal Anarchy Law.

A COMMUNIST TRIAL

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Advertising rates upon application.

Two agents of the department of justice are going to Warsaw to see Wolfe Lindenfeld. "Bill" Burns is still on the trail of that [illegible] word "confession," and he doesn't care how much of the taxpayers' money he spends to get it. Why doesn't he slip an enterprising reporter for The Times or The Herald a $10 bill and he would get a perfectly good "confession" all written out in less than 24 hours. We'll charge the impoverished Harding administration absolutely nothing for this tip.

The Famine Is Spreading

The overzealous efforts of proponents of intervention in Soviet Russia have been spreading the malicious statement that the famine situation in Soviet Russia is well in hand, particularly thru the activities of the American Relief Administration.

They have gone so far in their asseverations that they would have us believe that not even the whole fund voted by Congress will be required to save Soviet Russia from the famine that is overrunning the country.

The truth is: THE FAMINE IS SPREADING IN SOVIET RUSSIA!

The Ukraine, the vast granary of Russia, which has been comparatively free from suffering during the early period of the famine, has gradually succumbed to hunger, and now the southern part, in particular, must be counted among the famine districts. The stories of suffering coming from there are as heart-rending as those from the Volga.

The New York office of the Quakers recently received the following cablegram:

> **"General conditions are getting steadily worse. Buruluk is better than Sorochinskaya, for they do manage to bury their dead here, tho in wholesale lots of 200 to a ditch. The dry, hard sand-grass which even horses and cows cannot eat is now being milled and sold as flour in the market for lack of other substitutes. THE DEATH RATE IS INCREASING AND UNLESS CONSIDERABLE AID FOR ADULTS COMES SOON, THERE WILL NOT BE ENOUGH STRENGTH TO DO THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHILDREN'S FOOD.**

FIFTY MILLION PEOPLE ARE STARVING IN SOVIET RUSSIA! HOOVER NOTWITHSTANDING!

"The Call," Monday, May 8th, has an editorial on "Criticism and Slander," referring to discussions within the labor movement. The editorial writer of "The Call" is surely privileged to speak on this subject, he is such an expert at the latter form of attack.

The Old and the New

President Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, made a statement during the convention of that organization in Detroit, that clearly illustrates the wide chasm existing between the old and new thought in the American labor movement.

Speaking to a representative of The Worker he said that the strikes in which his organization was involved were the result of its taking in the unskilled in the steel industry; that the organization of the unskilled during the steel strike had been a severe handicap to his organization and that many of the members objected to continuing the fight because the steel companies were willing to treat with the skilled workers—alone.

Here we have a concrete example of the damning effect of the craft consciousness which is today the real obstacle in the way of efficient labor organization. With a few exceptions there are no officials in the American trade union movement who are intelligent enough and big enough to point out to the membership that on the organization of the unskilled depends the very existence of the labor unions of this nation.

Machine methods of production have reached a higher point of development in the United States than in any country in the world. The skill of the mechanic is being replaced by cunning machines and his special knowledge by purely mechanical processes, but officially the American labor movement takes no cognizance of this phenomenon.

The unskilled workers are to-day the most important factors in industry, and it is no wonder that the gigantic industrial concerns are willing to allow a few skilled workers to purchase temporary immunity at the price of the betrayal of the unskilled.

Because the mechanics are largely of American birth and the unskilled are mostly aliens, an additional weapon is at the disposal of the employers; nor do they hesitate to use it. To the eternal shame of labor officials it can be said that they, too, at times—during the steel strike for instance—mouth the patriotic platitudes of the employers' press.

Only in industrial unions can the workers of this nation be organized as a class; only when organized as a class will they be able to accomplish anything for their class, and it is on this point [illegible] of craft [illegible] power is due to two things [illegible] as against [illegible] influence of the employing class [illegible] the craft organization.

In the steel industry the Amalgamated has survived as an organization of skilled workers because until recently it admitted none of the unskilled. It has to fight to-day because it was forced during the steel strike to take in some of them.

Intelligent leadership [illegible] further [illegible] as to where the real power in industry lies. Instead of waiting it would be organizing.

This type of leadership is absent and it can be stated without much risk that no important amount of organization work will be done in the United States until the existing labor movement has had a thorough housecleaning and a real movement brought into existence.

The Prince and Lloyd George

The British Empire is being pretty well battered on all fronts, judging from reports that emanate from Ireland, Egypt, South Africa, India, and even Australia, in spite of the censorship.

But every effort is being made, even in our own capitalist press, to make gullible readers believe the Prince of Wales is having an excellent time visiting the Crown Prince of Japan.

And the deft work of Lloyd George, at Genoa, as juggler and acrobat, is hailed as astute diplomacy.

It is seldom that a frank statement of the real situation is made. Such a confession, however, comes from C. K. Chesterton, the British author, in his "New Witness." He charges that the British press is publishing much fictitious news of the receptions accorded the Prince of Wales on his world-wide barnstorming tour. Speaking of his recent visit to Glasgow, Scotland, this journal says:

> **"There were marked expressions of hostility to his person from thousands of people. . . . Why did not the press put in bold headlines that the procession of unemployed was held back by the mounted police and soldiers with fixed bayonets, that the prince had to escape by a side entrance from St. Andrew's Hall in order to avoid the crowd, and that at least once a missile was publicly thrown at him in the streets."**

The hostility shown "The Prince" is not the enmity that the many display toward an individual. It is but an expression of the pent up hatred of the masses against a system that oppresses and enslaves them.

It is but one form of the protest that is bursting all bounds and that even the wily Lloyd George, at Genoa, clever capitalist politician that he is, cannot control.

The prince and the premier are but instruments of the system that is passing. Soon they will be but memories of an epoch that has had its day, but is gone forever.

A Look at the Forward

Let us take a look at Abraham Cahan's Forward that has taken the Socialist Party under its wing and is seeking to dictate policy to some of the labor unions in the clothing industry.

On April 29th the Forward published an interview by Sholam Ash, the Jewish writer, with Maxim Gorki, who is now in Berlin.

Ash, who is an opponent of the Russian Soviet Government and an extreme nationalist, is a constant contributor to the Forward.

He knows what the Forward wants for its news, editorial and feature columns, especially about Soviet Russia, and he writes accordingly.

No doubt feeling that the lie would never be hunted down, Ash had Gorki complaining bitterly about the behaviour of the Jewish Communists in the Workers' Republic, charging they were responsible for the spread of anti-Semitism among the gentile populations.

Ash reported Gorki as accusing the Jewish Communists of offending the religious beliefs of the Russian masses.

The Freiheit, the Jewish daily organ of the Workers Party, cabled Gorki to learn whether the reported interview was correct. In reply Gorki cabled, under date of May 9, from Berlin, that:—

> **"Freiheit, 47 Chrystie St., New York City, N. Y.**
>
> **"Ash has not fully reported my views. I am sending you an article on this subject. Please make this telegram public.**
>
> **—MAXIM GORKI."**

This is only an example of the despicable means employed by Cahan and his Forward in the campaign of slander to discredit the Communist movement, not only in this country, but internationally.

Can yellow "Socialism" stoop any lower?

Repudiate the Debts

The New York Herald tells us that, "When a government is a de facto one, no matter how atrocious its crimes, the practice is to acknowledge its existence!

"But," it adds, "there is one limitation," in the case of Soviet Russia, and that is that the Workers' Republic began "by repudiating the debts of Russia."

And it advances the repudiation of debts as the basis for President Harding's rejection of the demand by the Women's Congress at Baltimore for the recognition of the Russian Soviet Republic.

In rejecting this demand thru his secretary of state, President Harding, like his predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, is the mouthpiece of the international bankers.

The Wall Street bandits are not interested in putting the 10,000,000 jobless in this country to work producing the things that Soviet Russia needs. They are only interested in collecting the debts owing to them, including the interest on these debts.

Repudiation of debts strikes at the very keystone of their power and the propaganda of the Soviet delegates at Genoa on this question is the biggest thing that worries them.

The bankers would be happy if Soviet Russia would turn the workers of the red republic into a nation of coolies to pay the czar's debts.

Labor in Germany is sweating and bleeding under the lash of the allies in an effort to meet the demands of the Versailles peace. If Germany can be made to pay France, then perhaps France may be able to pay interest and principal to the House of Morgan.

But while paying their debts the workers of Europe have nothing with which to buy the products of America's mills and factories, and so the unemployed army in the United States grows. Labor in this country is hungry and idle, while labor in Europe, just as hungry but slaving at top speed, works to meet the demands of the money lords.

Wars, debts, unemployment are evils of capitalism. The workers must end war. The Russians pointed the way at Genoa thru universal disarmament.

The workers must repudiate all debts contracted under capitalism. The Russians pointed the way immediately their revolution was accomplished. They point the way again at Genoa, a call to the workers of the world.

Only with peace established everywhere, only with the repudiation of debts everywhere, crushing obligations of nations to nations, will it be possible for labor to return to the peaceful pursuits necessary to the building of a real civilization.

But this will never be accomplished while capitalism rules in Europe. The Russo-German Treaty should be the forerunner of a Soviet Germany, the herald of a Soviet United States of Europe.

When that hour strikes let the workers of America understand that repudiation of all debts by a Soviet Europe is only the loss of Wall Street's international highwaymen, it is the gain of America's workers.

It will make it possible for the workers of Europe to purchase the products of American labor instead of paying interest on and installments of debts to the big bankers.

Let the slogan be, "Repudiate the Debts"! Let the workers of the United States make their demand the loudest, since it is they who are most cursed by the hoards of gold now stored in the treasure chests of the international money lenders on this side of the Atlantic.

Sam's Latest Discovery

Samuel Gompers, when not occupied in attending sessions of the Civic Federation or in saying a few kind words for troglodyte supporters when the hated reds get on their trail, finds time to issue characteristic statements denouncing those children of the devil—the Bolsheviki. To these utterances the capitalist press never fails to give adequate space.

His latest pronunciamento will increase his popularity with all patriots and add lustre to his name in those circles where the myth that America is still the protector of the oppressed and the champion of the right still prevails despite abundant evidence to the contrary.

Sam says that America is not at Genoa because it could not participate in a conference where are the representatives of the Soviet government who accepted the aid of foreign capitalists to gain control of the oil resources of the Georgian republic.

This is indeed interesting news and something that all the spies and newspaper correspondents of the imperialists have been unable to uncover, but we have Sam's word for it. There will probably be carping critics who will make mention of the tone and general comment of the capitalist press at the time the Georgian soviet republic was being established and who will point to the millions spent in the attempt to overthrow the Soviet government of Russia as a refutation of Sam's accusation. Our advice to them is to save their breath.

The labor leader who could watch the atrocities of the American forces in Haiti and Santo Domingo without uttering a word of protest and then assign as the reason for the absence of America at Genoa the horror engendered by the use of force on the part of Russia in protecting herself from invasion, is either too ignorant or too hypocritical to be affected by any criticism except that of the agencies of the bloody imperialism he serves so faithfully.

This last statement of Sam's, however, is so far-fetched and such an obvious fabrication that we doubt its originating with him. It smacks much of the publicity matter emanating from the Bakhmeteff quarters. For this reason we are anxious for that rigid investigation of this ambassador without a country for which some of the more decent official elements are clamoring.

Could this be had we would not be surprised to find a well-worn trail from the A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington to the luxurious home of Bakhmeteff and other renegades.

Prohibition is unknown there, and when Sam has a few drinks he is apt to say most anything.

[illegible] of Congress

Message from Labo in Prison to Labo on the Firing Lin

Norfolk County Jail,
Dedham, Mass.,
State's Prison,
Charlestown, Mass.,
May 5, 192

To the Delegates of the
Amalgamated Clothing Worker
In Convention, Chicago, Illin

Fraternal Greetings:

Two years ago to-night we wer put in jail.

As we sit in our cells, awaiting with such calmness as we can command for the final decision, ou hearts are cheered by every demonstration of the growing class-consciousness of labor, and particularly are we inspired by the steadfastne of the Amalgamated membership its struggle against the forces tha for more than two years, last pas have sought to suppress every demonstration of solidarity upon the pa of American labor. If you issue from your Convention more mighty than you entered, your solidarity unimpaired, by the petty ambitions or th limited viewpoint of any group o groups, then the whole movement o American labor will be given a new inspiration.

With the clearness of vision th imprisonment alone can give, we to you from the shadow of th death house that there can be b one hope for the emancipation the workers, nemely: Education a Solidarity.

At times we have doubted our righ to allow the workers to deprive themselves of the necessities of life in order that we might be provided with a defense. We know the cost that yo and your wives and children pay. would seem that this were a gross waste and morally wrong unless the very effort made on our behalf ca lift us from the obscurity that w were in, as members merely of th rank and file of the world's producers, to an eminence where, if w die, our death becomes a challenge t the whole social order.

If we die, we do not want to di uselessly. If we die, we demand th the cloak with which the master cla would seek to hide the real reason fo our death shall be torn aside, an that not merely the "frame-up" itse shall be revealed in all of its hideousness, but that the reasons whic prompt our masters to demand ou death shall be revealed.

Thus only can our death be ma worth while. We would walk to th death house with a smile on our li even tho we have that love of li that all healthy men have, and ev tho we leave behind us those we lo with every fibre of our being, if w knew that we were leaving behind a record of judicial miscarri chicanery, and fraud made mani to the world so that the merest ch could understand the cowardi viciousness and crookedness, the i tellectual and moral bankruptcy the day.

Yours in fraternal embrace,
NICOLA SACCO.
BARTOLOMEO VANZET

Ruthenberg's Complete Speech at International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention

The address delivered by C. E. Ruthenberg at the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Cleveland, Ohio, Wednesday, May 3rd, 1922, covered in part in last week's issue of THE WORWER, was in full as follows:

• • •

The President of the Union, Mr. Benjamin Schlesinger, introduced Ruthenberg as follows:

"Now I introduce to you one whom I expected to see looking different than he does. I expected to see a skeleton, but he looks very well indeed: Comrade Ruthenberg."

• • •

Comrades: I am glad to be able to add to what your president has said in regard to my outside appearance, that the inside is as good as the outside; that the spirit with which I fight in the working class movement has not been affected by the experiences I have been thru even as the outside has not been affected.

In opening this address I [illegible] help but add [illegible] Lowe has said in her appeal for political prisoners. While the man in prison may not be broken physically, while they may keep up their spirit and not be broken so far as the workers' struggle is concerned, they are suffering for the cause of the whole working class and the entire working class should unite in a class demand for their release.

Within the last two years in the United States, we have gone thru a period of crisis in the workers' struggle as great as any that the working class has faced in this country.

During the war period when the capitalists needed the labor of the workers to fight their war, some concessions were made to the workers. There was some gain in wages, some gains for the unions in building up their organizations, but these concessions which the capitalists were obliged to make during the war period were made with gnashing of teeth and with the determination [illegible] sented itself the gains would be taken from the workers.

This opportunity came with the close of the period of prosperity about a year and a half after the signing of the Armistice, when industry in this country slowed down in response to the break-down of the financial structure of the capitalist system in Europe and the closing of the European market.

When millions of unemployed were thrown upon the streets, the capitalists found their opportunity to begin a drive against organized labor.

You know that wages have been slashed everywhere, that hours of work have been increased, that there has been an organized drive to destroy the unions, the fighting organizations of the workers.

You know, too, that this drive against the working class, this capitalist offensive, has been in part successful. Wages have been reduced, hours of labor have been increased, and the unions have been [illegible]

The success which the capitalists have gained in their offensive to make worse the working conditions of the workers has been due to the fact that the workers have gone into the struggle disunited.

Each section of the working class which has been attacked has fought alone and been beaten in this struggle because fighting alone.

In place of the whole organization of workers in the United States fighting together, supporting each other at every point and winning their struggle, each union has met the brunt of the attack separately and has been weakened and lost ground as a consequence.

What are we going to do to stop this capitalist offensive? Are we going to continue to fight separately, disunited, weak—because of our failure to show solidarity in this struggle, or are we going to [illegible]

I wish to say to you here that I speak to you as a Communist, as one who follows the leadership of the Communist International.

There has been a great deal said in this convention in regard to the left element, they have been called disruptionists—wreckers of the unions, and all the attacks upon them have been such as to give the impression that they were working to destroy rather than to strengthen and build up your organization.

The left element in this convention so far as it is guided by the program of the Workers Party and of the Communist International has an entirely different purpose.

This left element does not come to you with fraternal greetings (the executive secretary of the Socialist Party has just expressed greetings to the convention). The left element of the Workers Party [illegible]

They are to be at the place of greatest danger to assume the greatest burdens, out in the forefront of every fight that your organization enters and to fight for those things which your organization decides to fight for the immediate benefit of the workers.

They have a program—but it is not a program of disruption. Their purpose is to build a stronger organization of the workers in your industry. To strengthen your present organization, to make it part of the greater organization of the industrial unions of the Needle Trades, which will embrace all the workers of the industry.

A union which will fit itself for the time when the workers will take over and administer industry. Their purpose is to make this [illegible] this country part of the great national organization of the wor which will fight together on the ternational field.

The men and women of the lef this convention are those who most earnest and most ready make sacrifices for your cause. program is constructive, not structive. They come to you the program of the United Fro your industry. The United F on the National Field and a U Front on the International.

With that program your orga tion will go forward, the wo class can win their struggles, nationally and internationally.

The left element calls for the velopment of the organized w [illegible]

For the Workers: One [illegible] One [illegible] One [illegible] One Victory!

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

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FIGHT THE BOSSES!

United Front to Battle Exploiters Urged by Workers Party

The aim of the Workers Party is to win the leadership of the mass struggles of the workers by participating in the everyday fights of the working class and giving these greater meaning and direction thru its programs of action.

With the adoption of a powerful appeal to the workers of the United States to create a United Front in the fight against the open shop and unemployment the Central Executive Committee of the party has laid the foundation for a campaign to win this leadership of the masses.

The program adopted offers a definite method of uniting the organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed for mass resistance to the attack of the capitalists which has already resulted in weakening the unions and reducing wages. It proposes definite means for relief of the unemployed.

The party will throw its full strength into the struggle to win the support of the workers for this program. The whole party organization will be mobilized to give the widest publicity to the manifesto and to have the program of action proposed in the manifesto carried out.

The immediate activities proposed in support of the United Front proposals are:

To print several million copies of the manifesto and distribute them to the workers and workers' organizations of this country.

To arrange a series of mass meetings in the larger industrial centers of the country and to route speakers to address these.

To mail a copy of the manifesto together with a letter urging support to every local union in the United States.

To have every local of the party send its local speakers to the unions to address them on the program of the United Front.

To issue special leaflets on the various proposals of the program and distribute them in large quantities.

To establish a press service thru which the labor papers of the country will be kept in contact with the developments of the United Front campaign.

These definite proposals are but the beginning of a campaign which will grow in intensity as it gets under way. As greater support is secured thru the work of organization and propaganda outlined in the program new strength will be developed and the campaign will be extended.

Party Fight for Leadership

The issuance of this manifesto and the campaign to be carried on in connection with it marks the beginning of the struggle of the party to win the leadership of the workers of this country.

The Workers Party program declares it to be a party of action. It can only become that by throwing itself into the immediate struggles of the workers basing its fight for a program of a wider meaning upon its part in the workers' struggles of the present.

The aim of the campaign to establish the United Front against the open shop and unemployment is to achieve that end. Its purpose is to make the party a factor in a struggle that is touching the life of every worker of this country.

While the workers have been suffering from the open shop campaign and unemployment for more than a year now, no organization has come into the struggle seeking to unite the workers and their organizations against the capitalists and offering a program based upon the needs of the hour.

THE WORKERS PARTY IS NOW OFFERING THAT PROGRAM AND WILL FIGHT FOR ITS ADOPTION.

Members Must Support Program.

There probably never has been as great an opportunity for a working-class party to win support and the confidence of the workers than that presented in the crisis which exists in this country at the present time.

The Central Executive Committee of the party proposes to take advantage of this situation not only to build a strong party organization but

(Continued on Page Five)

Shoot to Kill! Order in War for Open Shop

CZARIST RUSSIA, FREE AMERICA

"Shoot to kill! Don't spare bullets!"—Governor Trepov, governor of Petrograd before October Revolution, 1905.

"Shoot to kill! Bring them in, dead or alive."—Chief of Police Fitzmorris of Chicago, in "open shop" war against building trades.

* * *

(SPECIAL TO THE WORKER)

CHICAGO.—The labor crushing employers on the Citizens' Committee to enforce the Landis award in the building trades succeeded in mobilizing the entire police force in back of their imported strikebreakers.

The police, regular and special, have now the power of life and death. Chief Fitzmorris has ordered them to "Shoot to kill!" at any person they may deem a suspicious character.

Every idle gunman in the Chicago underworld has been recruited by the Citizens' Committee, and scabs are working under armed guards.

The $3,000,000 slush fund raised by the building contractors and their backers is being spent like water to break the morale of the building trades workers while the hysteria lasts.

Bring in "Foreign Element"

The much sought "foreign element," without which no frame-up on labor is complete these days, has been brought into the case by the arrest in Wilkesbarre, Pa., of an unnamed Chicago delegate to the convention of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association.

He is charged with complicity in the bomb plot.

The situation in Chicago, in view of the murderous attitude of the police department, resembles Petrograd before the revolution of 1905.

Governor Trepov of that city, when the workers showed signs of discontent, told his subordinates:

"Shoot to kill! Don't spare bullets!"

* * *

By ARNE SWABECK

(Special to The Worker)

CHICAGO.—The united front of capital against labor has been further solidified in the present war to exterminate the organization of workers in Chicago.

The yellow press, the employers and the corporate interests have jointly accepted the leadership of the self-styled Citizens' Committee.

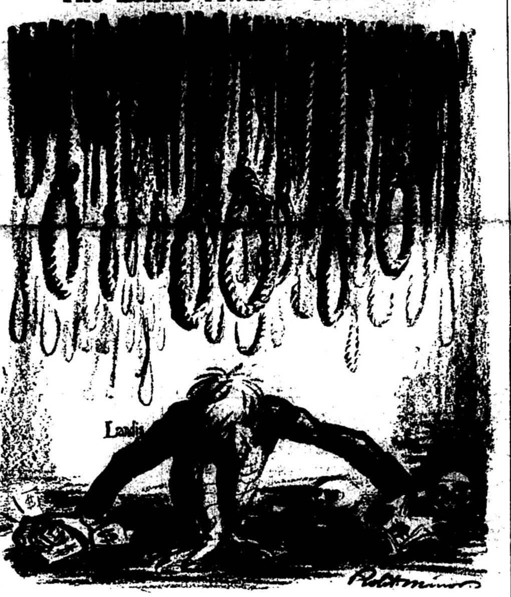
The murder of two policemen in connection with the bombing of a plant, operating under the terms of the Landis' "award" by gunmen as yet unidentified, is being seized upon in a hope to marshall the combined forces in a final onslaught against the workers, while the tragedy itself is veiled in the greatest mystery.

Play on Public Opinion

The "Citizens' Committee" thru full page advertisements in the pa-

(Continued on Page Three)

The Landis Award—The Noose



The Landis Award failed to wreck organized labor in Chicago. Then the "Open Shop" forces decided on the frame-up. They are now trying to railroad to the gallows one hundred labor leaders who opposed the wage-cutting attack.

Minor Writes About "Amalgamated"

By ROBERT MINOR

Maybe it's because they have fought so desperately hard to win their way out of the worst abyss of constant starvation of body and soul, that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers love to make their convention into a dreamland of music and flowers.

Anyway, the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated, just closed in Chicago, was, to the eye, a pageant of beauty. To the ear, it was a symphony of remarkable music made by plain clothing workers organized into an orchestra of high quality. To the intellect the convention must appeal as one of the great historical events of the American Labor Movement.

At the first moment of taking the gavel, President Sidney Hillman began an aggressive laying down of policy that lasted thru the fast pace of the entire convention.

The administration made plain at the beginning that it was on the "left" side of the American labor struggle. And the administration held the convention in the hollow of its hand. The brilliant "surprise" quality of the administration's proposals, and the skill and rapidity with which they were presented, left the opposition fumbling, always two laps

(Continued on Page Two)

On to West Virginia!

"Worker" Sends Dunne to Scene of Miners' Battle Field to Report Evidence Against Bloody Coal Barons.

William F. Dunne, Labor Editor of The Worker, is on his way to the scene of the West Virginia coal miners' battle with the West Virginia Coal Kings.

He will hear the evidence the miners will submit, in the "Treason Trial" at Charles Town, against the most ruthless conspiracy ever instituted against union labor.

Seven hundred coal diggers, the most militant type of union labor in the United States are on trial for their lives and liberties in the Bosses' controlled courts of West Virginia.

Not their lives only hang in the balance in the results of the trial at Charles Town; but more even than the lives of them are at stake. Unionism is at stake. Its fate, whether coal diggers in West Virginia will have the

(Continued on Page Two)

Workers! Unite for the Struggle Against the Bosses!

MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

Shall the workers of the United States be compelled to accept a lower standard of living? Shall their unions, which in the past have stood between them and the attempt of the employers to force down wages, lengthen hours of labor and make worse their position in industry generally, be destroyed?

These are not questions dealing with theoretical possibilities. They are questions which apply to a great struggle which is now going on in the United States between the workers and the capitalists. They apply to a struggle in which thus far the divided groups of workers have been badly beaten by a closely united group of employers.

The working people of this country are face to face with a determined effort on the part of the capitalist owners of industry to place upon their backs the burden of paying for the destruction and waste and the break-down of the capitalist machinery of production caused by the war. THE WORKERS ARE TO PAY IN LOWER WAGES, LONGER HOURS AND IN WORSE WORKING CONDITIONS. THE WORKERS ARE TO PAY IN A LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING, POORER FOOD, POORER HOMES, LESS OPPORTUNITY FOR EDUCATION AND RECREATION FOR THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THE WORKING CLASS.

THE WAR PERIOD

The war created a great demand for goods. After the first few months of the war, orders began to reach the industries of the United States in so great a volume that it required the full productive capacity of the country to turn out the goods. There

(Continued on Page Five)

A Dollar for the United Front!

Read the Manifesto on the United Front to Fight Unemployment and the Open Shop, published in this paper.

Read the program of the campaign to be carried on by the Workers Party in support of the proposals in this manifesto.

Will you help print at least a million copies of the manifesto for distribution to the workers?

Will you help send the manifesto to every local union in the United States with a letter urging endorsement of the program?

Will you help send out speakers to carry on a country-wide agitation in support of this program?

Will you help issue leaflets on the United Front, the Six-Hour Day Without Reduction of Pay to Fight Unemployment, the Half Billion Loan to Soviet Russia to Give Machinery to the Workers and Peasants of that country and work to the unemployed here?

In a word:

Will You Help Build the United Front!

Every worker who desires these things to be done is asked to contribute ONE DOLLAR FOR THE UNITED FRONT CAMPAIGN FUND.

GIVE A DOLLAR FOR THE UNITED FRONT CAMPAIGN!

Send in your dollar and collect as many more as you can from your shop-mates, fellow unionists and friends.

LET US BUILD A UNITED FRONT THAT WILL STOP THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE WORKERS.

	Name	Address	
1	....	....	....
2	....	....	....
3	....	....	....
4	....	....	....
5	....	....	....
		Total	

Send remittance to the
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Get New Subscribers for "The Worker"—20 Weeks For 50 Cents! Get On the Job!

On to West Virginia with The Worker

(Continued from Page One)

rights of workers in every civilized part of the world to organize, to present a united front against their exploiters—this is at stake in the West Virginia struggle.

The Coal Kings are prosecuting the miners on charges of "treason" in the hope that they will be able to send to the penitentiary hundreds of the militant miners of the southern coal regions. They hope to rid themselves of the highest type of union men, the fighters who have led the coal diggers up from the darkness of non-union slavery into the sunlight of militant, class-conscious unionism.

With these militants out of the way, safely behind the bars of the state prison, the Coal Barons and labor exploiters hope to forever still the voice of labor revolt in West Virginia and to maintain their undisputed rule in the richest coal producing region of this country. This is their goal. This is the explanation of the West Virginia class-war.

Comrade Dunne will go to Charles Town to personally see and hear the evidence of the miners against their bosses. Reports current among groups of workers having knowledge of the situation promise surprises for the prosecution. Reports of cannon set and trained to sweep the miners' tent colonies; hundreds of affidavits of workers who have been driven from the coal fields under threats of death; of intimidations, thuggery, armed attacks and murder, these indicate the line of evidence the miners will disclose against the rulers of West Virginia.

Dunne's reports of this great labor struggle will begin in next week's issue. Every worker must be made acquainted with Dunne's stories. Thousands more readers must know what has happened in West Virginia. Thousands more readers must be put on THE WORKER mailing list. Every reader must get more subscribers.

At the A. F. of L. Convention

What promises to be the most momentous annual convention of the American Federation of Labor begins at Cincinnati the middle of June. Labor Editor Dunne will be at this convention. His reports to THE WORKER will tell as will not be told elsewhere, what happens there.

New problems arising out of developments in the American and the international labor movements will come to the convention floor for solution. Trade with Soviet Russia. A government loan to Russia. International affiliations, the matter of affiliation with the Red Labor Union International; the rising strength of the Left Wing in the A. F. of L.—these are problems which will, by the logic of world events, be thrust before the convention of American organized labor for solution.

These are a few of the problems that will come before the representatives of the five million workers in the convention. You will want to know the facts of the titanic struggles between the conservatives and the progressives in this convention. You will want to assist in getting the truth to as many workers as possible. You will want the facts of the convention to reach as many union men as you can.

That being so—

And you are alive to Possibilities—This is your Job!

Get 20-week subscriptions for THE WORKER at our SPECIAL REDUCED RATE.

THE WORKER will make a special reduced rate for NEW subscriptions. We want as many workers as possible to know the facts of West Virginia, of the A. F. of L. convention; of the many coming struggles of the American workers in all of which THE WORKER will take part and have its special representatives on the scene.

West Virginia and the A. F. of L. convention are but the beginning of a new policy of THE WORKER to publish first-hand authentic information of the struggles of the workers.

Hereafter, no struggle of any magnitude will take place but we shall have our special writers and representatives on the spot to give our readers the facts.

And every phase of the struggle will be written from the viewpoint of working-class militancy and action.

Every reader of THE WORKER must help us reach the workers. Every reader must also be a subscription getter.

Every one without exception must get on the job. Speak to the workers in the shop, on the street, in the unions, get their subscriptions at the reduced rate—20 weeks for 50 cents.

No renewals will be accepted at this rate, only new subs. Get a list of NEW readers today. Get the facts of West Virginia and the A. F. of L. convention before new readers. Do your part, make THE WORKER grow by YOUR efforts.

Minor Writes About "Amalgamated"

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] The administration did not lose a single point thru the whole convention.

The "Right" had [illegible] up to date. For some weeks before the convention a caucus of New York leaders of the Socialist Party inside and outside of the Union had laid plans for a partial capture of the Union. This highly organized caucus, backed by both the New York and the Chicago editions of the reactionary "Jewish Daily Forward," landed in Chicago with plans to buck the administration's pro-Soviet Russia policy and various other progressive policies, as we shall see later.

"Right" Faces Hopeless Fight.

Soon the convention developed into a duel between the "Right" and the "Left." The "Right" tried to thwart every important step in advance, and was believed to have planned to elect one of its favorites to one of the highest offices in the Union. But it was a hopeless fight.

The reactionary caucus fondly hoped to mesmerize or stampede the convention with the use of Abraham Cahan, veteran editor of the "Forward," for many years an idol of the Jewish workers of New York, but who has in recent times turned into a vindictive enemy of progress in the labor movement. Cahan is regarded as the "Kautsky" of New York, the star "anti-Bolshevik," the leader who employs his prestige of the past to hold the workers away from modern doctrines and tendencies.

The first heavy blow fell upon the reactionary clique when Cahan's effort at fiery, emotional appeal to past personal loyalties fell flat. It was painfully evident the applause at the end of Cahan's talk was machine-made by the New York caucus. From that time on, the reactionists began to trim sail.

After four days the opposition was too dead even to raise a voice against the "Left" program. On the next to the last day, A. I. Shiplacoff delivered the surrender of the "Right" faction in a speech accepting the accomplishments of the convention.

Five Big Steps Ahead.

The five great acts of the convention consisted in taking a stand for the following:

1—Amalgamation of all of the Needle Trades Unions into a single great industrial union.

2—Establishment of the Shop Delegate system.

3—Independent working class political action.

4—A great project for the industrial reconstruction of Russia by a corporation to be founded principally with funds of Organized Labor.

5—Co-operation with the plan advanced by the Red International of Labor Unions for a united front of all Labor Unions of the World.

Revise Estimates of Hillman.

Sidney Hillman, President of the Union, was revealed as one of the most powerful figures ever known to the American labor movement.

The convention took his program from beginning to end. His skill in parliamentary manoeuver and in debate paralyzed all attempts at opposition. The sheer audacity of his proposals and the clear reasoning of his defense of them, made his opponents of the "Right" appear as bewildered children.

Hillman had always been classed as of the "executive type," as a man of cold, calculating judgment and command of organizational detail that seldom go with oratory. But when he made his speech on Russia, the former estimate had to be enlarged.

Hillman spoke without notes for about an hour and a half. He told the story of Russia as an artist would tell it, and keenly analyzed the factors that make for the capitalistic hatred and scorn of the Workers' Republic. He boldly declared his own firm conviction that the leaders of the Russian Revolution are able, honest, responsible men, capable as no others in the world of performing the unequalled task they have assumed. He said his opinion was strengthened by several long conferences with Lenin, as well as discussions with Trotsky and others.

The convention was spell-bound. It was the spell of oratory, too. Oratory balanced with cool judgment, but oratory that reached every corner of sentiment in the rich hearts of his working-class hearers. When, at the conclusion of his speech, Hillman proposed a plan of startling magnitude for reconstruction of Russia with subscriptions of Organized Labor, pandemonium broke loose. Delegates with tears streaming from their eyes, jumped on chairs and tables and shouted until physically exhausted. An Italian delegate with long hair and flapping, black necktie jumped onto the platform and kissed Hillman. Business was suspended while the uproar lasted more than a half-hour.

Begin With One Million Dollars.

General Secretary Schlossberg then took the floor, saying in part:

"Brother Hilman has made an appeal to you for a $1,000,000 subscription for this enterprise on a perfectly safe, sound and practical basis for the help of our fellow-workers in Russia, so that they may, with our help, be able to solve their own problems. In 1921 $[illegible] called for by the Amalgamated meant $2,000,000. In 1922 it will probably mean a great deal more."

The resolution was read as follows:

Economic Assistance to Russia.

"Whereas, Russia has suffered severely in the war and from a very extensive and prolonged drought, bringing famine and starvation in its wake with the accompanying disease and pestilence; and

"Whereas, the World, and particularly the United States, has been moved to contribute generously for the relief of the milions of starving Russians, a response which is deserving of high commendation and appreciation; and

"Whereas, The war and the famine have prevented for the time the economic reconstruction of Russia; and

"Whereas, The present problems of Russia cannot be solved solely with the aid of philanthropy or gratuitous gifts, but by economic co-operation with Russia and the Soviet government of Russia to the end that her enormous resources may once more be able to provide for her requirements; and

"Whereas, We are informed that the Soviet government is willing and desirous of entering into industrial arrangements for the manufacture of clothing and for the carrying on of other industrial enterprises in Russia;

"Now, therefore, be it hereby declared our purpose so to join in co-operation with the Soviet government of Russia, and we authorize the officials of this organization, at their discretion and upon their judgment, to enter into arrangements with the Soviet government of Russia for the manufacture of clothing and for carrying on such other industrial enterprises as to them shall seem best; that in carrying on such work they may use such methods and devices as may seem best, either by the forming of a corporation, or of several of them, either for the owning of stock in Russian companies entirely or in connection with the Soviet government, or for the purpose of directly carrying on industry in conjunction with or without co-partnership with the Soviet government; and for that purpose we hereby set aside the sum of $50,000, to be the investment of this organization therein, and also set aside the further sum of $10,000 for the purpose of carrying on and defraying expenses that may be incurred in connection therewith."

It is seen that this resolution does not finance the entire plan, but gives it official sanction and appropriates the initial funds to cover early expenses and to start the raising of the first million dollars.

Yellows Try to Delay Actions.

The "Right" opposition could not hope to do more than partially obstruct the plan. Delegate Herschkowitz of the "Right" Socialist Forward faction was on his feet instantly with a motion to postpone consideration until the afternoon. He was voted down on a call for the previous question, and the measure was unanimously carried. Ten minutes more of riotous cheering.

The one thing that the "radicals" and "progressives" were determined to get thru this convention was a straight out demand for consolidation of all Needle Unions.

The "Right" opposition tried to defeat the plan for consolidation of all Needle Trades Unions into one Industrial Union. Their method was to try to turn it into another abortive "alliance" or "federation" such as proved such a farce when recently attempted.

Hillman accepted the challenge. He said:

"The general officers and the General Executive Board of the organization maintain the position expressed in the resolution (in favor of consolidation).

"The needle trades are co-operating today more than some of the federated alliances of the American Federation of Labor. Right in this city you have a federation of the building trades, with half of them working and half of them striking, and it would be much better for the building trades not to fool themselves with the federation, because in an actual struggle it did not operate.

"I am against an alliance because I believe an alliance will only bring an illusion of power and when you come to fight you will find you have no power. It is well for each organization not to overestimate its power. That is why we were against a mere Needle Trades Alliance. But we tried it, and any statement that the organization did not try it in good faith is not in accord with the facts. The Alliance was formed when the lockout in New York City took place. Now that struggle is over. We came out successful, but if we had relied on the Alliance for the kind of help that one is justified in expecting from an alliance, there might have been a disastrous ending in New York City.

"I am sure that every officer in every other organization was and is honest in trying to make the Alliance work, but an alliance is so loose it cannot work. If an alliance cannot work when there is a lockout involv[illegible] ance. Even the Triple Alliance in Great Britain broke down when a real test came, and the workers in Great Britain have paid a terrible penalty for playing with the word "alliance." If the miners had known that they could not rely on the railroad workers and the transport workers they would not have assumed the task that they did assume, and they would have brought about a settlement according to their own power and not according to illusory power. When you lean upon illusory power from outside, you destroy your own power.

"Why must we make a wrong step because there is no opportunity to make a right step? It is one thing to be cautious, and another to do nothing. I hope the convention will not instruct the officers to play with something which has no basis in reality, simply to please our own notions that we have done something.

"For these reasons the General Executive Board recommends the adoption of this resolution." (Applause.)

The resolution for consolidation was overwhelmingly adopted.

The following telegram was sent to the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in session at Locomotive Engineers' Building, Cleveland, Ohio:

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, assembled at the Fifth Biennial Convention and joyfully reviewing the work of the past two years, sends greetings to you, fellow workers. Our interests as workers and yours are identical and call for working class solidarity. That is true of the entire working class. But in the case of the needle trades there are special conditions dictating the formation of a close union of all the workers. Such a union will constitute a power which will insure to all workers concerned protection against any attack by the enemy. It is our sincere hope that that great and all-inclusive unity will ultimately be realized."

For Workers' Political Action

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' convention has blazed a new path by declaring for working-class political action. In taking this momentous step, the delegates showed that they knew its significance—knew that it means a new page in American history when the example is followed by the main body of organized labor.

Surprising as it may seem to those who are not familiar with recent developments, the only opposition to this measure for political action was voiced by leaders of the Socialist Party, tho it is probable that the anarchists as well voted against it.

Delegate Beckerman, the New York Socialist Party leader, was the spokesman in opposition. The resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved, That the General Executive Board shall stand instructed to make a careful investigation of the question of political action, and after due deliberation make recommendations for political action that will [illegible]

[illegible] favor of the revolutionary movement of which Moscow is the present center. The resolution, [illegible] by the "Left" caucus, was in slightly amended form, unanimously carried by the convention, not even the "Right" Socialists presuming to vote against it.

The resolution is as follows:

"Whereas, The whole tendency of modern times is toward the international co-ordination of all movements and enterprises, whether they be of labor or capital; and

"Whereas, These are times of monster combinations of capital, over-reaching all national boundaries, engaged in sinister attempts to defeat and crush the labor movement both within each nation and on an international scale; and

"Whereas, A well-defined movement to defend the sacred cause of labor by co-ordinating our industrial organizations on an equally broad international scale is shown in the communications to the Amsterdam Trade Union International from the Moscow International of Labor Unions, inviting the former to participate in the formation of a United Front of all the labor unions of the world; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in its Fifth Biennial Convention asembled, express its approval of the efforts for a United Front of all the labor organizations of the world, and give its heartiest co-operation in the fight against organized capital."

Having agreed to support this resolution in place of all others, the entire "left" caucus voted down all resolutions on the same subject, among which were several for affiliation. This gave the excuse for the Chicago edition of the "Jewish Daily Forward" to publish a scare headline to the effect that the Red International of Labor Unions was turned down by the convention.

This merely accentuates the supreme contempt that this newspaper earned for itself since the glorious days when it tried to aid in the destruction of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by supporting the Harry Cohen gang.

Of revolutionary significance is the fact that the convention committed itself to the Shop Delegate system, by passing a constitutional amendment making possible the great change.

There was some dissatisfaction expressed among "Left" delegates over the failure to get rid of the so-called "impartial chairman" and standards of production. But one thing is certain: the convention was an overwhelming victory for the "Left."

And in the end, it had to be realized that, with all its epoch-making departure from the dead, hopeless path of "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay"—there has never been more UNITY found in an American labor convention.

32 Prisoners in San Quentin Penitentiary Contribute to the Russian Famine Relief

The appeal from the famine area has penetrated the walls of the prisons of this country.

San Quentin penitentiary, home of scores of fighting workers of this country, who have been incarcerated for their activities in behalf of the working class, has heard the appeal and has answered.

The Friends of Soviet Russia has received contributions from thirty-two men at San Quentin valiant fighters all of them—men whom the working class struggling outside needs badly in the daily battle. Sixty-five dollars from the fighters inside the prison walls to the fighters outside hemmed in by the walls of hunger!

Dave Caplan sent in the money—Dave Caplan who went to prison for fighting for the workers. The thirty-one others are Tom Mooney, J. B. McNamara, R. Burns, Walter Wismer, Harry Williams, R. Bendig, M. A. Schmidt, E. R. Peters, Wm. Fishman, Nate Greenberg, John Rongo, A. Shocker, Christ Evanoff W. M. Gibbs, R. L. Sanchez, Kruvosky, Gee Shinn, V. Mischenko, F. Medim, Truitt, H. X. Gold, Bogden, Kurt Kunow, Manuel Losada, R. Gandara, P. Valdubiño, M. Goreia, Joe Fuskie, R. Kisham, Wm. M. Stein (who has been paroled), Victor Rusnak.

Tom Mooney Has Not Forgotten

Tom Mooney, against whose conviction the workers of Petrograd demonstrated, has sent a splendid letter to his wife in behalf of the Russian workers and peasants.

"My Darling Wife:—I just received a blank page from the Friends of Soviet Russia out of their 'Roll Call Book' for the relief of the famine stricken, together with other literature detailing the horror that is impossible of word description.

"Every time I see the word Russia or think of it I feel ashamed that in spite of my present predicament I have not contributed in some small measure to aid the famine-stricken in Soviet Russia.

"Before me is a picture of father, mother and child lying in an open field beside the road in their last long sleep—Death, the grim reaper, has claimed them. They are almost nude, their emaciated bodies tell the tale of the Russian famine. Another picture—a great pile of bodies of little babes, naked and tangled, near a railway station in Russia, ready to be taken to a trench and buried en masse. They are half covered with snow. True, there is suffering in this and other countries, but nothing that can even begin to compare with the suffering in Russia.

"I don't want to hear about our depleted finances or anything else—I want to help—I want all my relatives and friends and every worker to help in a way that counts. Better that we die helping these, than live in their suffering and death. Our life and happiness comes out of their lives—in their death we are miserable and too will perish for our callous indifference to them. Was it not the Russian workers—in our darkest hour—that rendered the greatest assistance to our cause? Their protest rang round the world—was the subject of much diplomatic correspondence in the heat of the world's most destructive war.

"Again I say—with them we live—their fight is ours. I want to send ten dollars from our funds in my own name, the same for Warren, and I hope that yourself, John, mother, and all of your friends relatives and every one connected with our defense will place his or her name to this page from the 'Roll Call Book' AT ONCE. Forward same without delay. This must be done regardless of what happens to our defense.

"Lovingly, Tom."

"We Take Our Stand in the Ranks of the Workers Party"

Statement of Communists Released from New York State Prisons

To the Members and Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America.

Comrades: The cause for which we went to prison was th Communist movement which sprang into life with the coming the Russian Revolution and the founding of the Communist In ternational. It was because as members of the Left Wing of t Socialist Party and of the Communist Party which succeeded t Left Wing, we devoted our energies to the upbuilding of a rev lutionary movement in the United States that we felt the we of the iron fist of capitalism.

The attack upon this movement, which resulted in the depo tation and imprisonment of thousands of our comrades, for period halted its growth and development. But all the forces th the capitalist class can muster cannot permanently halt a move ment springing out of the oppression and exploitation of the cap talist system and based upon the needs of the workers in th struggle against the capitalists. The outward form of the move ment may change, its principles may be expressed in differen words, but its inspiration and purpose remains the same.

The information in regard to the formation of the Worker Party which trickled thru to our prison cells brought us new hop and courage. In the birth of the Workers Party we saw comin to life for the open struggle against capitalism that movement t which we had given our services in the past and which we hope to serve in the future.

The capitalist class is engaged in a great offensive against th workers of this country to reduce their wages, increase hours labor and destroy their unions. We are in a period when the nee of the hour is an organization with the program and initiative t unite the workers in a common struggle against the ruling clas

The Workers Party offers that program; in its ranks are me and women who have the vision and courage to create a unite front of the workers against the capitalist offensive and to tur the struggle into a workers' offensive against capitalism.

The opening of the prison doors has made it possible for u to take our places again in the revolutionary movement. We ar proud to take our stand in the ranks of the Workers Party o America.

Fraternally yours,
Signed:—
C. E. RUTHENBERG
HARRY WINITSKY
BEN GITLOW.

Many Friends Arrange a Surprise Party for Gitlow and Winitsky

About sixty friends of Harry Winitsky and Ben Gitlow arranged a surprise party in their honor.

They were brought into the darkened banquet hall at 10 o'clock and given an enthusiastic reception.

Mrs. Katerin Gitlow, introduced as the Mother of "The Red Ruby," was toast-mistress and many of those present responded with remarks of welcome to the two men who have proven their devotion to their class by giving up more than two years of their liberty in the class struggle.

Ben Gitlow gave a vivid description of prison life. He told of his incarceration in February, 1920, of his removal to Dannemora and of his transfer to Auburn.

"Prison cannot break the spirit of the revolutionist," he said. "Those on the inside do not want sickening sentimentality.

"What they have a right to expect of their comrades on the outside is unceasing effort to wipe out the system under which the masses live in squalid poverty. They may send me back, but while I am out I shall do my duty by my class."

Harry Winitsky, looking happy and feeling as he looked, reviewed the struggle of the Left Wing, and told how the Communist Party came into being.

He recalled many incidents, some humorous, others serious, and all of them intensely interesting. He, too, announced that he was taking up the struggle where he had been compelled by the capitalist class to relinquish it.

"I am glad to be with you again," he said. "I cannot tell how long my partial freedom is to be allowed me. But while I am out, I propose to give a good account of myself. The horrors of prison life are made more horrible to the revolutionist because he is taken out of the active struggle.

"But the knowledge that the movement is alive, and active, and on the way to achievement means more to a class war prisoner than anything else.

"Our message to you, if we must go back, is to labor unceasingly for the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of the Workers Republic."

Some of the political puppets under the ivory dome of the national capitol at Washington are barking at the merging of steel companies. They want to maintain "competition." But capitalist evolution will proceed in spite of them. And the trustification of industry will make it easier to sweep on to Communism when the workers get ready to establish soviet rule.

A class war culminating in the establishment of a Workers' State is inevitable.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Irish "Strike" Against Militarism.

DUBLIN (By mail), April 27.—The strike called by the Irish Labo Party against militarism was a grea success judging from the fact tha not a wheel turned for 15 hour thruout the South of Ireland.

It is not surprising that it was success, for, indeed, it had the wholehearted support of all the Irish capitalists and the Southern Tories who have as much use for a workingman as an Irish devil is supposed to have for holy water.

As a matter of fact it was a strike against the Irish Republican movement and for the Free State. The Labor Party officials who never demonstrated for Jim Larkin's release from an American prison had no hesitation in giving a day to a futile demonstration against militarism, altho the platforms from which they spoke were lined with soldiers with fixed bayonets to protect the labor leaders from the wrath of the workers whom they were selling out in the interest of the Free State politicians.

In order to make the parade a success Guinness's Brewery gave its employees a day off with full pay, on condition that they join the labor demonstration against militarism. The Guinness management is absolutely opposed to unions and runs an open shop. This speaks volumes for the character of the so-called strike.

The labor speakers never mentioned Jim Larkin's name—Jim is a Republican, a Workers' Republican—from any of their platforms, but the radicals held a Larkin demonstration in the vicinity of the labor officials' meeting, and the following resolution was unanimously passed by the workers there assembled:

"Be it resolved that this mass meeting of Irish workers, citizens of the Irish Republic, condemn the action of the Irish Labor Party in forcing this lockout in support of the Free State, and that we further demand the release and return of Jim Larkin to his former position as leader of the Irish labor movement.'

The great strike against militarism was in reality a great "lockout" in the interests of the British-created Irish Free State and against the interests of the Irish workers.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

BENJAMIN GITLOW
HARRY WINITSKY
C. E. RUTHENBERG
Political Prisoners
RELEASED ON BAIL FROM SING SING AND AUBURN
and
MOISSAYE J. OLGIN
will speak at the
MONSTER CELEBRATION
BROWNSVILLE LABOR LYCEUM
229 Sackman St., Brooklyn
THURSDAY, MAY 25th
at 8 P. M.
Admission, 25c
Auspices:
New York Division,
National Defense Committee.

In Next Week's Issue! Dunne's Special Report of the West Virginia Miners' Trial

Harrison and Dunne Speak to Pa. Labor

The Pennsylvania Labor Party, organized two years ago, held its second convention in Scranton coincident with the convention of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

Chairman Kutz, a member of the Machinists Union of Altoona, presided over the first session. He delivered a brief report concerning the work of himself and Secretary Fuller and described the campaign of last year when the labor party captured the city administration in Altoona following the bitterly fought strike of the railway shopmen there.

Sponsored by State Federation

Altho sponsored by the State Federation of labor, Chairman Kutz stated that the labor party was expected to stand on its own feet and by its own activity show that it filled a need. To make the labor party a real force in the organized labor movement of the state much organization work would be necessary; the workers must be convinced of the important part that independent political action played in building up the labor movement.

Secretary Fuller told briefly of the work that was being done and of the financial handicap under which the party was laboring. He stated that he had been receiving invitations from many labor unions recently to appear at meetings and explain the program of the party and that great interest was being displayed by the large crowds of workers attending these meetings. He urged that the party immediately launch a state-wide organization campaign and prepare to contest the coming elections.

Lack Political Consciousness.

The chairman and secretary were re-elected by acclamation at the close of the first session.

It was at the second session, with Kutz and Fuller absent thru pressure of other business, that the lack of political consciousness among the members of the organized labor movement became apparent. There was no one present who cared to take the initiative seemingly and the delegates worked at cross purposes for more than an hour.

The fact that a constitution for the organization had been adopted and that the work already done had been under its provisions was unknown to the majority of those present and much time was wasted discussing rules and regulations already in existence.

Explain Workers Party Stand

The program and principles of the Workers Party of America were outlined to the delegates by William F. Dunne, who stated that the Workers Party was prepared to co-operate as a left wing group with a bona-fide proletarian parliamentary movement, but that it could not agree to sink its identity in such movements as were now in existence.

Caleb Harrison, national organizer of the Workers Party, explained to the delegates the complexion of the various groups which gathered at the recent Chicago conference and dealt with the proposals of that conference as they affected the political situation now facing the workers of this country.

Workers in Confusion.

The confused state of mind characteristic of even the more intelligent American workers when attempting to deal with political questions was the most noticeable feature of this second session.

American labor has become so accustomed to one way of thinking on the job and another when governmental policies are under discussion, it has become so accustomed to having its choice of municipal, state and federal officials determined by their attitude on more or less minor questions, that it finds it hard to acquire the broader outlook necessary for the formation of organizations for the political struggle based on the theory that government is the instrument of the employers—a theory, by the way, that organized labor in this country, as a body, does not yet accept.

Organized labor in the United States has no confidence in itself as a political unit. The "hat in hand" policy of the American Federation of Labor, the habit of wheedling, cajoling and occasionally of making threats that could not be carried out, has had a demoralizing effect on the personnel of organized labor; it has made it possible for officials to serve the employers politically and still pose as good union men; it has made it very hard to build a political organization which can control its members altho they have no objection to discipline in the unions to which they belong.

In spite of these obstacles the labor party will probably be a strong factor in Pennsylvania this year. The desire for something that will clarify the issue on the political field is expressing itself in increased attendance at labor party meetings and a general feeling of disgust with the minor role now played by labor.

The immediate demands of the labor party in Pennsylvania differ but little from those of similar movements.

They have the same vagueness that characterizes reform enterprises except for one thing. This is the demand for the abolition of the state constabulary and it is around this demand that the struggle will rage as the party grows in strength.

Cossacks Class Issue.

This is a class issue because the constabulary is used only against the workers and organized labor of the state has always been a unit in opposition to these mercenaries of the steel trust.

To what extent the Workers Party can function in co-operation with the labor party in Pennsylvania is problematical until the movement is more developed. But there is no doubt that the chances for sound educational work will be greatly increased in districts where only under the guise of electioneering can propaganda work be done.

Big Harlem Celebration

BENJAMIN GITLOW
HARRY WINITSKY
C. E. RUTHENBERG

will speak at the

PARK VIEW PALACE
110th Street and 5th Avenue
WEDNESDAY, MAY 24th
at 8 P. M.
Admission, 10c

Auspices:
National Defense Committee,
New York Division.

The Chicago Case

The collection of a $1,000,000 slush fund by the Citizens' Committee of Chicago—on which are represented all the great labor-hating corporations of the Middle West—has brought quick results.

The headquarters of the Building Trades Council has been raided, following the bombing of a building and the shooting of two policemen, and more than two hundred officers and members of Labor Unions have been arrested.

A judge, evidently desiring to share the limelight with that eminent baseballist, Judge Landis, whose award has been the cause of all the trouble, promptly declares that the arrested men are guilty of treason and suspends all the usual methods of legal procedure.

The moving picture actor who happens to be chief of police in Chicago, due to a spin of the political machine, gets his picture taken and announces that the labor unions are to be cleaned out or up or words to that effect.

A reward of $100,000 is offered for the slayers of the police officers and it seems to be taken for granted by the capitalist press that there is direct connection between the bombers and organized labor.

The press clamors for the death penalty for the arrested men in advance of any trial and already the liberal and yellow socialist press is taking its cue from the employers' journals.

The stage is all set for another drive against labor in Chicago—the stronghold of organized labor in the United States. It has long been a thorn in the side of the organized employers of this nation.

All this brings to mind the Mooney case. It, too, was preceded by a well-planned attack on the wages, hours and working conditions of the unions. A million dollar slush fund was raised by the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco. The public mind was staggered by a barrage of publicity designed to prove that the radical elements in the labor unions were children of the devil. Then came the blow-off.

Something of the sort is evidently under way in Chicago. The bombing of buildings and the shooting of policemen and henchmen of the opposition has become an industry in the political life of Chicago and with this pleasant occupation the authorities have never interfered. The newly aroused pious horror at the latest outrage is quite easily seen to be the stage-play accompanying the attempt to fasten the blame on organized labor for something that has been a daily event in the under-world of Chicago politics for as far back as the memory of man goes.

The attack on labor unions in Chicago is designed to capture the sympathy of the public with the premise that the employers of that city are a godly band who are rescuing the consumers from the grip of an unholy combination of murderers and the Haymarket affair has been resurrected and is doing yeoman service in the employers cause.

If labor has learned anything in the last few years it will fight this battle out on the straight issue of the class struggle and ignore all the red herrings that the employers' press will try to drag across the trail that leads straight to the highest offices in the nation.

As far as this paper is concerned our position was stated in our first issue:

IN A STRUGGLE WITH THE EMPLOYERS AND THEIR AGENTS LABOR IS ALWAYS RIGHT.

"THEY"

BY SIEGFRIED SASSOON

The Bishop tells us: "When the boys come back
They will not be the same; for they'll have fought
In a just cause: they lead the last attack
On Anti-Christ; their comrades' blood has bought
New right to breed an honorable race.
They have challenged Death and dared him face to face."

"We're none of us the same!" the boys reply.
"For George lost both his legs; and Bill's stone blind;
Poor Jim's shot thru the lungs and like to die;
And Bert's gone syphilitic; you'll not find
A chap who's served that hasn't found SOME change."
And the Bishop said: "The ways of God are strange!"

Forty workers were arrested in Tokio, Japan, for carrying red flags on May Day.

The Coal Man

By MILES DUNNE

You've read about the toilers
In all kinds of climes
Who work the hardest
For the longest times;
The Coolie Man
In Hindustan
And the native carrier in Indialand.
But there's one whose troubles
I'd like to tell;
He carries loads in a coal dust hell.

Half a block long,
All up grade;
Sun boiling down, ain't no shade,
Makes a man hustle, mighty stiff climb,
Basket gets heavier all the time.

He was born real white,
But he's since turned black
And he's all stooped over
From the load he packs.
Thirty Ton;
His day is done.
It might look easy but it ain't no fun.
His wages ain't so very high,
He's about as well off as that Chinese guy.

Ten steps up, turn to the right
Across the lawn and out of sight;
Dumps the basket, never a slip
Hurries back for another trip.

His work's not pretty
And he don't look neat,
But it's all he knows
And he's got to eat.
When he dies
And his black soul flies
In the opposite direction from the skies;
There's only one work he knows real well:
He'll be carrying red hot coals in hell.

But in a crowd of men I'll bet on him
For his work don't leave much time for sin;
And Satan will give him an easy berth,
'Cause he got his hell right here on earth.

Communist, and Proud of It

LONDON.—Three Communists were arrested in London on May Day for selling pamphlets and other literature in Hyde Park during the May Day Demonstration there. They were brought before a police magistrate.

Janet Irvine, 35, described as a gardener, of Beadon-road, Hammersmith, was fined 10s. ($2.50) for selling "The Workers' Dreadnought."

Bert Higgs 17, french polisher, sold "The Young Communist" and was arrested.

The Magistrate: I suppose you are paid to sell this?

Higgs: No I am not. I was doing it because I love my class.

Magistrate: You are a Communist?

Higgs: Yes, and proud of it.

He was fined 10s. ($2.50).

A fine of 15s. ($3.75) was inflicted in the case of Frederick Sudborough, 53, Hallcroft-road, E., who sold a pamphlet—"No More War."

[illegible] War on [illegible]

Benjamin Schlesinger, after all his stage-play to the contrary, accepted nomination and was re-elected president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union at the convention just adjourned at Cleveland, Ohio.

In accepting re-election Schlesinger stated the policy of his administration to be:

"We workers in this country must fight not only the greed and selfishness of American capitalists but the Red Menace of Russia."

Schlesinger Backs Up Gompers

Schlesinger thus endorses and adopts as his own the anti-Soviet policy of Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor.

Perhaps now Gompers will take Schlesinger unto his bosom, at the Cincinnati Convention of the A. F. of L. next month, and make him a vice-president of that organization.

It will be remembered that Schlesinger defeated the resolution in the Cleveland Convention preventing delegates of the "International" from voting for Civic Federation members and officials as officers of the A. F. of L. Schlesinger can now vote for Gompers for re-election.

Convention's Last Days.

The last days of the I. L. G. W. U. convention proved as reactionary as its opening, when several left delegates were expelled by the Schlesinger controlled majority, and those whom the members had repudiated at the elections were seated.

The administration's anti-soviet resolution, brought in by several vice-presidents, demanding that the Soviet government restore freedom of speech, press and assemblage, and release political prisoners, was carried by a vote of 129 to 45.

Some of the anarchist delegates, who called themselves "lefts," spoke and voted with the administration forces for the resolutions which places the "International" among the enemies of Soviet Russia.

The proposal of the left elements allowing unions to institute the shop delegate system, which was considered as an opportunity for drawing in large numbers of workers into the activities of the union, was defeated by 141 to 49.

Resolutions favoring proportional representation, recall of elected officials and the referendum were also defeated.

The convention officially condemned the left elements in the union, branding them as outsiders and destroyers of the organization. The left delegates maintained that their opposition to the policies of the administration was born out of the needs of the organization and not because of influence from the outside.

"Lusk Bills" Withdrawn.

At the eleventh hour the disciplinary measures introduced by Delegate Ninfo, who was the administration choice for first vice-president, which would make the general executive board the sole arbiter of locals and members who dare to criticize the officials, were withdrawn.

The administration realized it was going a bit too far. These measures were known among the delegates as the "Lusk Bills."

Schlesinger Is Re-elected.

President Schlesinger, who assured the world but the day before, that he would not run for re-election, finally allowed his consent to be made public and was re-elected by a vote of 198 to 14. It was at first proposed that the election be made by acclamation, but five delegates announced they wish to be recorded as voting against Schlesinger. On a standing vote there were 14 delegates against Schlesinger, while many lefts refused to vote at all.

The 15 vice-presidential candidates on the administration slate were elected. The lefts had three candidates, Shane, Wechsler and Berlin. Shane received 100 votes but failed by 22 votes of election. Wechsler got 89 and Berlin 83 votes.

Antonini, of the Italian Waist Makers, New York City, who voted against Gompers at Denver last year, received the highest vote for delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention next month at Cincinnati. This in spite of the fact that he was reprimanded by the "International's" general executive board.

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—Governor Stephens has received a petition from the Los Angeles county branch of the Rank and File Federation of Workers, pleading for a pardon for Mooney and Billings.

There are 200,000 unemployed in Canada; including dependents, 1,000,000 men, women and children, who have nowhere to look for bread for the morrow.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

[illegible] It will come as a shock, therefore, to a rather large number of well-[illegible] to discover that this same Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union—[illegible] the lowest level possible for a labor official to reach, that he has become a tool of the employing interests of California and the United States and has volunteered his services in enforcing the most subversive and dastardly piece of legislation that disgraces the statute books of any nation—the Criminal Syndicalism law under which hundreds of workers have been jailed for the mere crime of opinion. In no state in the union has this law been enforced with the viciousness it has in California, and it is in this state that Andrew Furuseth placed himself and the remnants of his organization at the service of the authorities and the employers for the expressed purpose of jailing workers with whom he disagreed.

It needs to be said that at no time has Andrew Furuseth been the sainted leader to the men whom he ruled with an iron hand that he was to those who see every critic of the Gompers machine thru rosy spectacles. Twenty-two years spent in Washington, D. C., the most poisonous atmosphere in America, is not conducive to radicalism or liberalism. Furuseth was an autocrat and his single-track mind saw the Seamen's Law as the end and not the means to an end for his organization.

Trained, as an organization, to rely almost solely on legislative action, the International Seamen's Union, when forced to strike in 1921, collapsed like the hollow shell it was. To-day it is but the shadow of an organization, and at the recent convention the constitution was so amended that it became nothing more or less than the personal property of Furuseth.

The Industrial Workers of the World have always been active among the seamen, and the seamen themselves have always been very sympathetic toward the idea of industrial unionism. It would hardly be correct to say that the militant section of the International Seamen's Union was affiliated with the I. W. W., they supported it not as an organization, but simply as an expression of their desire for industrial organization.

It was this group that supported the Seamen's Journal—one of the best labor publications in the United States while edited by John Vance Thompson, whom Furuseth had expelled after a long campaign of slander and trickery and who were largely responsible for the progressive attitude adopted by the union from time to time.

With the failure of the strike in 1921 the sentiment for industrial organization gained headway and Furuseth immediately took the stand that shipowners were refusing to deal with the union because of the radicals in its ranks. With a few of his henchmen he entered upon a policy of absolute servility to the will of the bosses that has no parallel in all the black history of treachery to the working class in the United States.

He became the open upholder of the criminal syndicalism law; he justified its passage; he urged his members to obey it in word and deed and he used its provisions to terrify the alien members of the Seamen's Union.

These charges are not the wild vaporings of Furuseth's enemies; even his opponents in the union have been astounded at the depths to which this idol of the liberals has sunk because they have usually conceded his honesty of purpose; in a pamphlet issued by Furuseth entitled "A Sound Warning and the Shipowners' Queer Policies," widely distributed in California by such friends of the workers as the Better American Federation and the Chambers of Commerce, he convicts himself in the eyes of any honest worker no matter where his sympathies may lie.

In the first part of this pamphlet Furuseth gives the law in full and then urges all members to obey its provisions; to the alien seaman he says:

"America has given you freedom to quit your vessels in American ports. The United States struck the shackles from your limbs. It raised all the seamen from serfdom to the freedom granted to all other workers within its borders. You have a right to think highly of such a country; but you must realize that with freedom comes responsibility. To listen to proposals that are contrary to law you cannot at all times help. Your shipmate brings it up in the forecastle, but there is no good reason why you should encourage it or really tolerate it. If you are a real man you must be able to see and understand that when you do you are returning evil for good."

There is much more along the same line, but the above extract is enough if the reader will keep in mind that Furuseth is talking about and urging obedience to the most vicious anti-labor measure ever framed. In addition to this he is taking advantage of the fears of the foreign-born who, in the light of recent events, has less rights in this land of the free than the rats who are his shipmates.

The second part of the pamphlet contains an open letter to the Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast; it contains a detailed account of how Furuseth and his henchmen, in response to the requests of the shipowners, expelled Vance Thompson, editor of the Seamen's Journal, and a number of other active members to whom the shipowners objected. This objection to them on the part of the employers is plainly stated in the letter as the reason for their expulsion.

In the letter from which we quote, Furuseth asks why the shipowners have not lived up to their part of the agreement. He says that the union "has cleaned house" but that the bosses have failed to live up to their part of the agreement with him.

What did Furuseth expect? Did he think that after he had destroyed his own organization at the behest of the bosses by expelling its fighting membership that the bosses would continue to recognize the union? Never has there been a more pitiable exhibition of incompetency and slavish servility than this letter gives.

Could there be anything more despicable than the following passage in which this hoary hypocrite is referring to men objected to by the bosses?

"They are expelled and their names are published in our official minutes, yet they keep sailing. Why? They are arrested and are out on bail; their trials are delayed. Why? WE OFFER TO POINT THEM OUT, but this offer is not accepted. WHY ARE THEY NOT IN THE PEN?" (Emphasis ours.)

The men who Furuseth offers to point out had been arrested and indicted under the Criminal Syndicalism law of California. Further comment on this phase of this arch-stoolpigeon's activities would seem to be unnecessary.

Now as to what Furuseth thinks of the function of a seamen's union; let us see whether he was the Messiah of the oppressed seamen as workers or whether he had other ambitions.

In the letter referred to occurs the following sentence:

The law would be used anyway, and the Union, such as we have struggled to make it—AN ORGANIZATION TO HELP BUILDING A REAL PERSONNEL FOR A REAL AMERICAN SEA POWER—would temporarily pass away. (Emphasis ours.)

It appears from the above that Furuseth is not and has never been a representative of the workers, that he was and is merely the cheap patriotic type to whom an American merchant marine is more important than the interests of the mariners. As if to leave no doubt of where his sympathies really lie he concludes this shameless document with the following:

"With great respect and in the interest of a real and lasting American Merchant Marine, I beg to remain on behalf of real seamen,

"Andrew Furuseth, Secretary,
"Sailors' Union of the Pacific.
"December 5, 1921."

I have saved the worst Furusethian crime for the last. It has to do with the reward he demanded in return for the expulsion of the militant members of his union.

This was nothing more or less then the issuance of passes to men certified by himself and the shipowners. Without these passes no man could gain entrance to the docks. It is the most efficient espionage and blacklist system ever devised, yet here we find it proposed by one who has been idealised as the type of militant leadership in the American Labor Movement.

What has been the result of this crawling policy?

Just what could be expected. Having emasculated the union the shipowners no longer pay any attention to it. For all practical purposes it has disappeared except for Furuseth and a few other officers who drag in enough per capita to maintain themselves.

On the other hand the Marine Transport Workers have organized some twenty-five or thirty thousand former members. The organization is yet in the formative stage. It has as yet no fixed policy. It has not found itself but already it appears to realize that a transport workers union must be industrial in form and international in scope; that it must, because of the conditions of the industry, be not only international in name but in action.

What its future will be depends largely upon the manner in which it [illegible] the problems of organization and international affiliation during the next few months. One thing is already accomplished. It is to put fear in the minds of those who go down to the sea in ships. On the [illegible] it is putting up a [illegible] fight against the bosses—and organizing.

Furuseth has passed.

Shoot to Kill Order in War for Open Shop

(Continued from Page One)

pers declares that the murders were perpetrated by "convict-led labor leaders who have been fighting the Landis award," and states that now is the time for all good citizens to stand firmly and squarely against this graft-infested murderous band of so-called labor leaders.

The papers carry frenzied editorials about the "rotten corrupt labor unions" and huge sums have been offered for the apprehension of the perpetrators of the crime. Public opinion is being manufactured on a grand scale.

Murder conspiracy indictments have been voted against labor men, including the so-called big three, Tim Murphy, president of the gas workers' union; "Con" Shea, from the teamsters, and Fred Mader, president building trades council.

And it is claimed by the police that there is sufficient evidence on hand to establish violation of the anarchy act and bring about a conviction of the big three as the instigators of the crime.

This is the same act under which the Haymarket victims were sentenced to death, charged with conspiracy leading to riot and murder.

Whether the bombings and the consequent killing of the two policemen were committed by persons connected with a labor union or by stool-pigeons of the "Citizens' Committee" has not at this time been established, but it is significant the manner in which all such incidents are being exploited to discredit the labor movement.

Several bombings have occurred in Chicago lately, both of union and of non-union buildings, and each time a strenuous effort has been made to link it up with some labor union.

Now the crime wave is spreading terror thruout the city and naturally tempting the enemies of labor to use blackmail tactics to make every union headquarters a crime center.

The struggle of the Chicago building trades unions against the heinous encroachments of the "Citizens' Committee" has been carried on with ever greater effect and brought ever greater unification within the ranks of the workers.

Since the 12 "outlaw" trades organized their joint publicity committee and aroused the masses from their lethargy to a monster demonstration on April 29, the "Citizens' Committee" received proof of the solidarity of these workers and of their readiness to meet them face to face and use the weapons of united action.

The howling capitalist mob lost the first round and retreated speedily to cook up some new cowardly device, that might not necessitate their coming out in the open.

Several union headquarters were raided after the murder of the two policemen and yet the workers refuse to become excited, but carry on the struggle against the scab shop undisturbed, to them these two things have no connection. "Big Tim" Murphy, altho he manages to keep himself in office in the gas workers union, is notoriously known by every workingman as a political gangster and a parasite upon the movement.

He is a powerful force in City Hall politics and a characteristic product of the corrupt capitalist political system. Shea's record is similar to that of most reactionary union officials, and the building trades council, of which Mader is president, has been so utterly discredited that the "outlawed" trades, which means 80 per cent of the affiliated unions look upon it as a joke.

In the past few months it has repeatedly reversed its own decisions, some of the affiliated unions have gone on strike while others have scabbed upon them, the former have gone back to work while the others went on strike, and the council urged general acceptance of the Landis' award.

Recently the building trades council endorsed a resolution calling for a strike on all jobs where scabs are employed. This move, however, is not taken seriously by the rank and file workers, because the council calls for strikes on all scab jobs while it endorsed the Landis' award with its scab clauses, forbidding strikes, abolishing all restrictions on all manufactured material, except prison made, and granted the bosses the right to employ non-union men with union men. It smacks very much of a move to get the so-called outlaw or insurgent unions back to the folds of the building trades council in order to make the whole industry safe for the damnable Landis' award.

The present shake up of "labor crooks" tends to lead in the same direction. The "Citizens' Committee" is calculating upon the destruction of the unions and is quite unscrupulous as to how it is brought about. [illegible] courts and the police have been at their disposal and [illegible] little if the lives of some of the [illegible] criminal members of the police [illegible] sacrificed.

Thousands at "Coming Out" Celebration

Thousands of working men and women, jammed into the spacious auditorium of the Central Opera House, applauded, sang and cheered themselves hoarse at the tremendous "Coming Out Mass Meeting" called to celebrate the release on bail of C. E. Ruthenberg, I. E. Ferguson, Ben Gitlow, Harry Winitsky and James Larkin.

Three of the released Communists, Ruthenberg, Gitlow and Winitsky were present and the great gathering broke into the singing of the International as each was about to begin speaking after being presented by the chairman, Edgar Owens.

Join the Workers Party

Each had his separate task. Winitsky spoke for the collection that brought in $618 in cash and $165.00 more in pledges to carry on the amnesty fight. Ruthenberg made a talk for the pamphlet "A Communist Trial," hundreds of which were sold, and also a plea for members for the Workers Party, application cards being distributed among all those present.

Gitlow told about the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at Chicago, where he was in attendance for several days.

In addition to cheers for the released comrades, for the Workers Party and for "THE WORKER," there were also cheers for the Communist International, for Soviet Russia, for Communism and the Revolution.

Other speakers were Ludwig Lore, of the Volkszeitung; A. Bittleman, of the Freiheit, and J. Louis Engdahl, of THE WORKER.

Resolutions on state amnesty were adopted as follows:

Denounce Police Frame-Up.

"WHEREAS, the recent conviction of three women, Minnie Kalnin, Tina Jurson, and Anna Leisman, under the Criminal Anarchy Act of the State of New York, is conclusive evidence that the organized forces of reaction intend to use this law to crush any semblance of working class activity.

"AND WHEREAS, five men indicted and sentenced under this law are now out on bail pending further legal action, while four others are serving sentences for alleged violation of this law,

"AND WHEREAS, every person convicted under this law was convicted in order to punish spokesmen for the working class by dragging out a law passed twenty years ago and bending its intent and meaning in order to accomplish the purposes of reaction,

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, 4000 workers in mass meeting assembled, pledge our unceasing efforts on their behalf and call upon all workers to carry on a continued agitation until these men and women secure their freedom,

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we reaffirm our solidarity with these men and women. We protest to the Governor of the state of New York against the continued incarceration of those men whose cases have been settled in the courts and demand that he extend executive pardon to them.

"BE IT RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to the working class press of New York City and State and to the Governor of the State of New York.

Urge Federal Amnesty.

Resolutions on Federal Amnesty adopted unanimously were as follows:

"Whereas, there are still in the prisons of America over one hundred men who were convicted of political offenses during the war,

"And whereas, whatever war time reason may have existed for their imprisonment has long since ceased to exist,

"Therefore, be it Resolved, that we, 4000 workers of New York City in Mass Meeting assembled hereby call on the President of the United States to release all political prisoners by declaring a general amnesty.

"And be it further Resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Attorney General."

Cheer Work of "Amalgamated."

A telegram sent to the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention at Chicago was as follows:

"Mass meeting of Workers Party of America held in Central Opera House, New York City, Friday, May 12th, celebrating release on bail of Gitlow, Winitsky, Ferguson and Ruthenberg, four thousand attendance, unanimously and with great enthusiasm congratulates Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for their heroic stand on behalf of their fellow workers of Soviet Russia.

"Your stand has been an inspiration to all here assembled and they wish the outcome of the plan all possible success and pledge themselves to give it their full-hearted support."

Owing to his absence from the city in Chicago, Ferguson sent greetings to the mass meeting reading as follows:

"I wish you would say for me to the New York Comrades that I have at all times been profoundly grateful for their loyalty. I cannot be in New York until early June, that is why I cannot take part in the meeting. Besides this expression of thanks for myself, I urge upon you unceasing effort on behalf of those still imprisoned because of their part in the working class struggle for a better social system. I am myself ready and anxious to do everything I can toward the release of these prisoners."

No report of the meeting was published in the New York Call.

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Modeled by Clare Sheridan, the noted English sculptress at Moscow last year.
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THE WORKER
Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

"A Capitalist Conspiracy"

The London Daily Herald, labor organ, has placed the label of "A capitalist conspiracy against Soviet Russia" on the continuation of the Genoa parley planned for the Hague, June 15th.

It might have said that the Hague gathering is planned as just another chapter in the capitalist conspiracy that was inaugurated against the Soviet Republic the day it came into being [illegible] and one-half years ago.

And the Hague Conference will be wrecked just as the Genoa Conference was wrecked, in the words of Rakovsky, "thru opposing the Russians to the rest of Europe," in other words, thru worrying more about the preservation of capitalism than the reconstruction of a bankrupt civilization.

Nevertheless, the delegates of Soviet Russia have agreed to the "Hague Plan," because "we never refuse opportunities to discuss."

In the meantime, however, Soviet Russia will continue with her plans for the conclusion of trade agreements with Italy, Sweden, Japan, Czecho-Slovakia and other nations, that will not be affected by the "Hague Plan."

At the same time in the current issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, A. A. Heller has an article in which he shows that the United States exports to Soviet Russia now equal the exports to Czarist Russia before the war. Here are the figures: In 1914 American exports to European Russia, including Poland, amounted to $22,260,062. According to a report made public by the Department of Commerce, American goods to the value of $12,114,062 were sold to European Russia, exclusive of Poland, during the first six months of 1921.

It is under these circumstances that President Harding confabs with Secretary of State Hughes and rejects the invitation to participate in the Hague Conference next month. And Secretary of Commerce Hoover takes the platform and defends this position before the International Chamber of Commerce meeting in Washington.

And now we have Senator Borah introducing a resolution in the United States Senate, "That the Senate of the United States favors recognition of the present Soviet Government of Russia."

At the Genoa Conference it was Soviet Russia against the rest of Europe. And Soviet Russia had the rest of Europe staggering to its knees when Lloyd George called out "Enough" and planned an adjournment for a month until the next clash at The Hague.

The same line of demarcation must be drawn here in the United States. It must be the aroused working class against the international bankers in Wall Street and their political "Punch and Judy" show in Washington.

The American workers are not interested in the payment of 11 billions of debts to Wall Street bankers thru Europe's continued agony.

They are interested in starting the wheels of industry going and putting the ten millions of unemployed in this country to work.

Spread the demand for the recognition of Soviet Russia. If Harding, Hughes and Hoover will not carry out the mandate, they must be swept aside and those put in power in Washington who will.

Genoa has reiterated the issue, "COMMUNISM AGAINST CAPITALISM." The Hague will reiterate it again. Harding, Hughes, Hoover and Wall Street endorse it. We accept it. And the workers of this country in ever increasing numbers will also accept it. And it will not be settled until the inevitable decision is rendered, UNTIL LABOR WINS.

Convict Blankstein in Trial at Pittsburgh, Pa.

Israel Blankstein was found guilty, May 11, of violation of the Pennsylvania Anti-Sedition Act, at Pittsburgh.

Blankstein was arrested as a result of a police raid upon his apartment January 25th. His place was entered without warrant, and his effects seized. His attorney sued out a writ of habeas corpus a few days after his arrest, but the writ was dismissed by the Court on the peculiar grounds that the grand jury would pass upon the evidence submitted by the district attorney and if there was insufficient evidence he would not be indicted.

This is the kind of a reception a writ of habeas corpus received in Pittsburgh.

Numerous postponements were granted the district attorney over the strenuous objection of the defense, to allow sufficient time to work up a case against Blankstein. He was brought to trial Tuesday, April 10. The state managed to introduce a lot of extraneous material and got it admitted as evidence. This in spite of the fact that his place was entered and his effects seized in disregard of his constitutional rights. Had he been a boot-legger, material seized in a like manner would have been ruled out. But debauching a people with illicit booze is fairly respectable. It is only when one gives of his time and energy in behalf of the working class that his legal rights are unceremoniously swept aside.

One H. J. Lenon, department of Justice agent, was the star witness for the prosecution. He undertook to show that the Workers Party, to which Blankstein belonged, was merely the "surface" organization of the Communist Party. Lenon gave much damaging testimony which was admitted contrary to all the rules of evidence. But Pittsburgh being—Pittsburgh, anything against the defendant was admitted.

The defense put up no defense, realizing that they were in a court in which the stage was set for conviction.

A motion for a new trial and for setting aside the verdict on the grounds of error and that the evidence did not substantiate a verdict of guilty has been taken under advisement by the court. Sentence has not yet been pronounced.

UP TO THE GOVERNOR

SAN FRANCISCO.—Removing Governor Stephens' last excuse for delaying action on the request of District Attorney Matthew Brady, of San Francisco, that he pardon Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings on the grounds of proven perjury and fraud in their trials, Tom Mooney has dismissed his appeal from the order of the Superior Court denying him a writ of audita querela.

[illegible] National Convention of Young Workers League

The first national convention of the Young Workers League of America was held at [illegible] Workers' Hall, Brooklyn, N. Y. Thirty-one organizations, located in 14 states, were represented by 46 delegates. Four fraternal delegates were also seated.

The organizations present were by no means all branches of the Young Workers' League, nor was there any unanimity of viewpoint on every question that came before the convention.

The pledge of unity at all costs was given by every faction, and despite sharp clashes between the various groups an excellent spirit prevailed.

Besides the Y. W. L., of which there were 20 circles represented, there were a large number of branches of the Independent Young People's Socialist League, and one organization each of the Young People's International League, Marxian Educational Society, Labor Educational Society, and the Workers' Self-Educational Center, the last-named with fraternal representation.

Message from Moscow Cheered

Various messages of greeting were read from all parts of the country, both from adult and juvenile organizations, but the entire convention arose as one when a message from the Young Communist International, signed by Otto Unger, at Moscow, was presented by the National Organization Committee. The message was as follows:

Moscow, March 22, 1922.

To the Central Committee of the
Young Workers' League
of America:

We have received the material regarding your league and have studied it with closest attention. We understand from this powerful development in the movement of the young workers in the United States, and the great activities carried on by the young socialist revolutionists who are guiding this movement.

We shall gladly comply with your wishes to institute a regular correspondence thru which we shall be mutually informed, and shall in the future give you the desired information regarding various questions.

In the name of the revolutionary young workers' movement of Europe, and of other parts of the world, who have banded together in the ranks of our organization, the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International enthusiastically greets the first convention of the socialist youth of America which is laying the foundations of a new epoch in the history of the working youth.

We assure you of the heartiest active interest and greatest attention of all your young comrades in other countries who are with great intenseness watching the struggle of their brothers in the citadel of capitalism.

We hope to hear more from you soon and especially to receive the reports of your national convention and shall furnish you the desired material in the near future.

With international youth greetings,

E. C. of the Y. C. I.,
by Otto Unger.

Fraternal Delegates Clash

Immediately after the adoption of temporary rules and order of business, the fraternal delegates were called upon for their greetings to the convention.

The first two, representing young workers' organizations, responded in perfect fitness to the occasion, but the next, B. J. Lifshitz, representing an adult group, "The United Toilers," immediately launched into an attack upon the Y. W. L. leadership, and especially upon the Workers Party, which helped materially to make possible this convention.

His appeal for Y. W. L. "independence" was so obviously biased by partisan interest that it fell on deaf ears, even among the delegates who favored this stand.

He was followed by C. E. Ruthenberg, representing the Workers Party. Ruthenberg received a tremendous ovation when he took the platform, and after his speech even this demonstration was eclipsed by the accord which his remarks found among the delegates.

He discussed the role of the young movement in the greater cause, of their functions both before and after the conquest of power by the workers.

He stressed the fact that especially in the face of the united offensive against labor on the part of the master class the only possible appeal that any class-conscious worker loyal to the interests of his class was for unity.

The amalgamation of all young militants in the Y. W. L. was the first step in this direction, and their close contact with the Workers Party, a kindred organization on the adult political field, was but the logical conclusion of the same policy.

At several points in his address he was interrupted by the applause and cheering of the delegates, and there could be no doubt of their stand on the question that has assumed the paramount importance in this gathering.

Many Delegates Contested

The uncontested delegates constituted themselves the convention and proceeded to act upon the fifteen contested seats.

Of these seven were on technical grounds, such as lack of membership in the delegating body, double representation, and proxy status, but in the case of the eight New York delegates there was a clash between full rival delegations each claiming regular election.

The committee found in favor of one group but recommended that in the interests of harmony two of the opposition replace two of those elected. This was done.

Committees Get to Work.

The contests took up the better part of two sessions and were marked with many oratorical pyrotechnics. After they were settled four committees were elected, on Program, on Constitution, on Organization Promotion, and on Resolutions. A strong minority was elected on each of these, in one case of four out of nine.

After the elections only the report of the National Organization Committee was presented. Aside from giving the financial and technical status of the organization work it was reported that the organizations represented had 1732 members while those affiliated, but not represented by delegates, had an additional membership of 483, making a total of over two thousand, spread thru fifty-one cities. The report was well received and the convention adjourned early to give committees a chance to get to work.

The committees were greatly aided by the tentative drafts prepared in advance of the convention by the National Organization Committee. Every report showed the effects of committee discussion, however, and a great many changes were instituted, particularly in the constitution, and to a lesser degree in the Manifesto.

Fight on Program.

The report of the first committee, that on Manifesto and Program, was marked by a stiff fight over a minority report sponsored by four members of the committee and presented by a delegate from the Labor Educational League of Newark, N. J. It had originally been intended by the minority to bring in a complete program of its own, in the form of a short declaration of principles culled largely from the Rochester program of the I. Y. P. S. L., and supplemented by theses on tactics to be applied to specific current problems. This was abandoned however and instead three amendments were proposed, two on "The State and Youth" and one on "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; these were largely on conflict of phraseology, but the third, covering the question of accepting the political guidance of the Workers Party, brought out a clear division in the ranks of the delegates.

The minoritaires, in making their report, insisted that the question of "independence" was not to be defended as a matter of principle, but solely on grounds of expediency.

William F. Kruse, the first speaker on behalf of the majority, analyzed this attitude and showed that this "expediency" was not on behalf of the young organization, but on behalf of petty enemies of the Workers Party and its program. He cited the experience of the Y. P. S. L. after separating from the S. P. in 1919, and piled one example upon another showing that despite nominal "independence" the young movement was always the reflex, in political principle, of the elder movement in its locality. "Independence" would mean separation from all the vitalizing and unifying currents of communist activity now expressed in the Workers Party, and would transform what should be a fighting young organ of the class struggle into a puerile sect of tactical disputants. He defended the Workers Party program from the attacks made upon it by the U. T. and P. P. groups and expressed the hope that the Y. W. L. would be as great a unifying force upon the field of revolutionary young workers organizations as the W. P. was on the field of the old.

Several speakers then alternated for and against the majority proposal, to which was added a resolution instructing the incoming N. E. C. to make arrangements for the mutual exchange of committee representatives with the W. P. Freiman of New Jersey and Dadick of New York argued for "independence" while Edwards of Chicago supported the majority. A roll call vote showed 27 for Workers Party relationship and 9 against, one of whom voted under instructions but against her own judgment.

Constitution Much Changed.

The report of the constitution committee took up a great deal of time in detail changes, but it outlined thruout a centralized compact form of organization somewhat similar to that of the W. P. A number of changes requested by the minority were incorporated after lengthy debate.

The report on organization promotion provided various means of raising funds for the league, for increasing the circulation of "The Young Worker," and for strengthening the organization.

Many Resolutions Adopted.

A large number of resolutions adopted showed that the young fighters are as prolific masters of English as their elders, and give no promise of shorter conventions when, some years hence, they are at the helm of the elder movement. Some of those adopted were: Thanking the Finnish Workers Party Branch for the use of the hall; for the World War Veterans and against the American Legion; supporting the "Young Worker," "The Worker," "The Freiheit" and other language papers, the textile strikers, Soviet Russia, the miners denied citizenship and otherwise made to feel the blessings of "democracy"; the Friends of Soviet Russia; the question of unemployment; greetings to the organizations of revolutionary young workers of the world thru the Young Communist International, and finally calling upon all adult political organizations recognizing the III. International to present a united front thru the Workers Party.

Elect National Executive Committee

The National Executive Committee elected consists of Carlson, Schulenberg, Gannes, Marks, Zam, Jacobs and Abern, including six states among the seven members. Five alternates were also elected, including Edwards, Zannan, Oswald, Theinert and Kaminsky.

The convention adjourned as it had begun, by the singing of "The International" by all the delegates and visitors, and by general visiting around by many who had met here for the first time but who expected in the course of the struggle to be thrown together in the ranks many times.

Coming-Out Celebration
of
BENJAMIN GITLOW
HARRY WINITSKY
C. E. RUTHENBERG
at
BROADWAY CASINO
792 Broadway, Brooklyn
FRIDAY, MAY 26th
at 8 P. M.
J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Chairman
Admission, 15c
Auspices:
National Defense Committee,
New York Division.

VETERANS TO HELP

In every city where the World War Veterans have a post in the Rocky Mountain States, that organization will put volunteers on the streets on National Amnesty Day, Saturday, May 20, to solicit signatures to a petition urging President Harding to free the 114 remaining war-opinion prisoners in federal penitentiaries.

Coal miners at Zeigler, Ill., protest against the separate agreement threatened by the miners' officials in that state.

"Why Russia Says "No!"

[illegible] LABOR MEMBER, BRITISH PARLIAMENT

[illegible]

IT MAKES A STRONG POINT THAT ONE OF THE CONDITIONS MEANT THE ECONOMIC ENSLAVEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN WORKERS TO CAPITALISM.

The taking of the oath by troops was an act of solemnity and impressiveness, unequalled in modern times.

The troops represented every branch of the service—well clad, soldierly.

It was clear to the most prejudiced that counter-revolutions, or any attack by outside Powers, cannot prevail against an army so trained and disciplined.

After the troops came the procession of workers, marching 40 abreast. Five hundred thousand demonstrating passed the central point by half-past one, where Kameneff, Trotzky, and members of the Central Committee of the Trade Union Federation were standing, and the march continued until six o'clock.

I have seen nothing like it in London, on the Continent, or in America.

I am requested to transmit to the workers of Great Britain the cordial fraternal May Day greetings of their Russian confreres, rejoicing in the fact that capitalistic absolutism is weakening to a final world crash.

The Police on Parade in New York

By ISRAEL AMTER

If the workers of this country still labor under the illusion that the purpose of the police force in every city is simply to run down thieves, murderers, gamblers and bootleggers, they might have had a splendid object lesson in the policemen's parade held in New York.

Marching down the streets in magnificent array, led by "Red Mike" Hylan, the buffoon mayor of New York—the man who raised his own salary from $10,000 to $25,000, because he is so valuable and can earn so much more working for a private concern—the police showed quite clearly what they are for.

Police Armed with Rifles

There were the contingents of the plain police, stalwart men, in their well-kept uniforms, with the brass buttons shining for the occasion. There were the motor cycle squads and the runabouts for chasing bandits.

And there were the police armed with rifles, to take care of striking workers. There were the reserve cops ready to serve at any time.

And there were the motor trucks, belonging to the department stores, big milk concerns, etc. These trucks are for special emergency use. They are intended to transport the police whenever large numbers are wanted. When do such occasions arise? Why do the big concerns lend their cars and trucks to the police department?

Big business is working hand in hand with the police department of every city. It was not so very long ago that there were scions of wealthy families occupying honorary positions in the police department of New York. The trucks of the big concerns are at the disposal of the police.

Rifles, machine guns, rapid fire guns, motor trucks, poison gas! This is what they regard as proper police department equipment nowadays.

Object Lesson to Workers

Such "peaceful" demonstrations of force on the part of the police of New York should be an object lesson to the workers. This is what we workers are up against. This is the court of last resort for the bosses. This is what we face every time we show discontent with the conditions that the bosses impose on us. Are you ready to fight against the campaign of the bosses to destroy the unions, increase hours and reduce wages? Or are you ready to let them crush us still more—to use the army of the unemployed against us?

The packers said fight! The coal miners said fight! The textile workers said fight! The garment workers said fight! Workers all over the world are fighting! They meet the same force—the same "peaceful" demonstration on the part of the bosses, which finally leads to an open demonstration and utilization of force against the workers.

The bosses and their government against the workers! They are prepared. Fellow Workers! Learn the lesson of the Police Parade.

JOBLESS TURN ACTORS

LONDON.—It was left principally to labor to celebrate the Shakespeare anniversary dramatically in London. On the site of the Old Globe theater and Old George Inn, both in Southwark, a company of strolling players, consisting of unemployed workers, acted scenes from Twelfth Night on a lorry, in costume, but without scenery.

APPLAUDING ITS MASTER

LAWRENCE, Mass.—After criticizing Ben Legere, One Big Union organizer here, for stirring up the workers in the American Woolen Co. mills to demand a wage increase, the city council tendered a vote of thanks to the company for its "humanitarian" work in Lawrence.

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United Labor Council
meets
Every Wednesday
8 P. M.
83 East 4th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Phone: Orchard 6158.

Workers of America! Unite for the Struggle Against the Bosses! Read this Program!

(Continued from Page One)

was never such an opportunity for the capitalist owners of industry "to make hay while sun shines." Profits reached figures which even the capitalists had never dared dream could be true. To take advantage of this opportunity the capitalists sought to increase production to the highest point. The more goods they produced the greater their profits.

These conditions were favorable to the improvement of the wages and working conditions of the workers employed in industry. The capitalists had to have labor in order to take advantage of the great opportunity for profits. They had to have labor immediately or the opportunity might pass. The government, driven by its own needs after this country entered the war, also stepped in to prevent the stoppage of work. In time of need of the capitalists and their government, the workers were told that they must "work or fight." Work was even made compulsory by law in some places.

It is doubtful whether even with so great a demand for their labor, the working people of this country made any real gains. It is quite certain that the capitalist owners of industry profited from the war to a greater extend than any group of exploiters has ever profitted before in the history of the world. The crop of millionaires increased by leaps and bounds. The profits of the great corporations jumped five, ten and twenty-fold. In contrast the figures covering the increase in wages and the increase in the cost of living show that the working class made no real gains. **FOR THE MASSES OF WORKERS GENERALLY, WHAT THEY RECEIVED IN HIGHER WAGES WAS TAKEN AWAY BY HIGHER PRICES OF THE THINGS THEY NEEDED IN ORDER TO LIVE.**

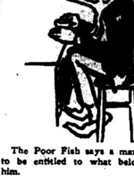
There was more regular work. Certain groups of workers even made some real gains, keeping the increase in their wages ahead of the increase in the cost of living. The unions made some gains. **On the whole, however, while the capitalists profited immensely thru the war, the workers who made many real sacrifices were left economically in about the same position.**

After the War

Prosperity continued for the capitalists for a period of about a year and a half after the war. Then the forces which the war had set in motion began to show their effects. Four years of destruction of wealth upon the battlefields, which was largely paid for by keeping the governmental printing presses going to produce money and bonds, undermined the whole capitalist financial system. Every European country has created a great mountain of debt and in addition has increased its paper money circulation by huge amounts. Europe still needs all the goods which American industry can produce. The destruction wrought by the war has not been made good. But Europe cannot buy these goods. The depreciated value of European currency when exchanged into American dollars makes it unprofitable for Europe to buy our goods. The buying power of European money is greater at home than when exchanged into dollars and used to buy American goods. Consequently the prices of American goods are mountain high and Europe does not buy. Europe, too, is still in the throes of the unrest and distress brought by the war, and is therefore a poor credit risk for the capitalists of the United States.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



The Poor Fish says a man ought to be entitled to what belongs to him.

As a consequence of these conditions exports from the United States to Europe dropped from $8,228,000,000 in 1920 to $4,485,000,000 in 1921 and the 1922 figures thus far show still greater decreases.

The loss of the European market has resulted in the collapse of the industries of the United States. Not only because there is no market for the goods previously sold in Europe but because the effect of the loss of this market operated to slow down all production. **The vicious capitalist system which precipitated the world war and brought the collapse of production and hunger upon almost all Europe has now reached out to include the workers of the United States among those to whom it has brought suffering, misery and starvation.**

The United States in 1922

Let the workingmen and women of the United States consider for a moment the situation in this country in 1922 and they will gain a clearer understanding of what the capitalist system means.

There are in the United States all the raw materials needed to carry on production. There is no shortage of any kind of raw products required in industry. There is in existence in the United States today a great, organized industrial machine. This industrial organization can take the raw materials at hand and in the earth and turn them into finished products which would give better food, better clothing, better homes, more education and recreation to every man, woman and child in the United States.

WHY ARE WE NOT PRODUCING THESE GOODS? WHY DOESN'T THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION RUN? WHY IS INDUSTRY WORKING ONLY AT THREE-FOURTHS OR TWO-THIRDS OF ITS CAPACITY! WHY ARE FIVE MILLION WORKERS WALKING THE STREETS AS UNEMPLOYED WHEN WE HAVE RAW MATERIALS, MACHINERY AND LABOR READY TO PRODUCE AND MILLIONS WHO NEED THE PRODUCTS?

The capitalist say there is no market for the goods which would be produced—Europe cannot buy. But can't the workers of the United States use the goods that could be produced? Have we too much good food, too much good clothing, too many good houses? Why shouldn't we improve the standard of living of the people of this country by giving them better homes, better food, better clothing, more education and recreation? We have the raw material, the machinery of production and the workers ready to work.

The answer of the capitalists is that the workers cannot buy the goods. It is true that they cannot buy the goods which they produce in industry under the vicious capitalist system of exploitation with big profits going to the capitalists on all goods produced. It is true that they can buy still less goods every time the capitalists reduce wages in order to insure profits for themselves.

[illegible] Why shouldn't the workers' wages be increased at the expense of the capitalists profits? Why not cut the profits and pay these profits to the workers in increased wages?

That would create a market for more goods. That would start the machinery of industry running again. That would give the millions who are suffering in the ranks of the unemployed a chance to work and earn the necessities of life for themselves and their families.

If it was a good rule to make the workers "Work or Fight" during the capitalists time of need why shouldn't the workers say to the capitalists now "More wages and less profits?"

The Capitalist Way

That is not the capitalist way of doing business. Under the capitalist system industry is run primarily for profits which capitalists can get out of production, not for the purpose of producing goods to serve the needs of the people. **No profits, no production is the motto of the capitalists. No production means no work and millions who are unable to gain a living, who suffer hunger and live in poverty and misery.**

The capitalists way out of the dilemma was to shift the burden of readjustment coming with the end of the war to the backs of the workers. They closed down hundreds of industries and cut down production and working forces everywhere. **WHAT DOES IT MATTER TO THEM WHETHER MILLIONS OF FAMILIES SUFFER BECAUSE OF THE EVILS GENERATED BY THE SYSTEM WHICH GIVES THEM GREAT WEALTH?**

Driving millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed is not enough for the capitalists. During the war period these capitalists ground their teeth in rage each time they had to make a concession to the workers in the shape of increased wages, better working conditions or the right to organize. **WITH MILLIONS OF WORKERS UNEMPLOYED CAME THEIR OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE FROM THE WORKERS WHATEVER THEY HAD GAINED DURING THE WAR AND DRIVE DOWN THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING EVEN LOWER THAN BEFORE THE WAR.**

Does any workingman or woman need to be told that there had been a united drive against the workers since the end of the capitalist wartime prosperity? Wages have been slashed everywhere; but the cost of living has not come down in proportion. Hours of labor have been increased in many industries. The capitalists are riding roughshod over every hard-won right of the workers.

The Attack on the Unions

While organized and unorganized workers alike are being attacked the hardest drive of the capitalists is against the unions. They realize that the unions are the backbone of resistance to ruthless exploitation and oppression of the workers and they are determined to destroy them or make them harmless. In the struggle to establish the open shop—the scab shop—they are making the fight to break the power of organized labor.

The Steel Trust, in the 1919 Steel Strike, led the way in the fight for the Gary plan and against the workers' organizations. By the most brutal measures it smashed the strike of its workers and has since striven to root out every vestige of organization in the steel industry.

Since then there has been innumerable union-smashing campaigns. The railroad companies, the stockyard companies, the garment factory owners have unitedly attacked the unions in these industries. All over the country in large and small industries, the fight to drive out the unions is going on. The refusal of the mine owners to meet the representatives of the miners union in acordance with their contract is but another example of the campaign to destroy the unions. The mine owners believe the time is ripe to drive unionism out of the mining industry and they propose to do it.

THE HISTORY OF THE LAST TWO YEARS IS THE HISTORY OF THE MOST MERCILESS ATTACK UPON THE WORKERS, ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED, WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THIS COUNTRY. This attack is still under way and almost daily new groups of workers feel the weight of the onslaught of the capitalists. In Rhode Island, the mill workers are fighting against a twenty per cent reduction in wages and starvation. The New York garment workers are preparing to meet a new attack of their employers, the hard and soft coal miners have their backs against the wall for a life and death struggle.

In these struggles the workers find themselves face to face not only with the capitalist owners of industry but everywhere the powerful arm of the government reaches out to aid the employers. More vicious injunctions have been issued during the past two years than in any similar period. State and Federal soldiers are quickly sent to the defense of the capitalists and shoot down workers, as in West Virginia, in Newport, Ky., and in Rhode Island. Federal Judge Anderson of Indianapolis strives to destroy the whole organization of the miners by one sweeping injunction. **The enemy of the workers is not only the capitalist employers but the Government controlled by the employers.**

Division and Destruction

HOW HAVE THE WORKERS MET THIS ATTACK? HAVE THEY MADE A UNITED STAND? HAVE THEY COMBINED THEIR RESOURCES AND FIGHTING STRENGTH TO MEET THE CAPITALIST ONSLAUGHT? HAVE THEY MADE A FIRM STAND TO SAVE THEIR UNIONS, TO MAINTAIN THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING, TO PREVENT WAGE REDUCTIONS AND INCREASES IN THEIR HOURS OF LABOR?

The story of the struggle thus far shows no such defense. Each section of the workers has gone into the struggle alone and has been defeated by the united and more powerful capitalists. Thus far the victory has been with the capitalist class, united in policy and purpose, and the working class, divided and unorganized has almost without exception been doomed to defeat.

NO UNIFYING ORGANIZATION FOR LEADERSHIP HAS APPEARED ON THE SIDE OF THE WORKERS. Even the unions of the American Federation of Labor, comprising five million organized workers, have not shown a united front to the capitalists. It has left each union to fight alone and to go down to defeat in the struggle in place of throwing the whole power of the organized workers into every struggle and thus assuring the defeat of the capitalists.

The half million miners who are now facing a life and death struggle, in a situation carefully prepared to insure their defeat, will fight alone (lukewarm words mean nothing) under the policy heretofore pursued by the leadership of the A. F. of L. and the defeat and even destruction of this splendid working-class organization is a possible outcome of this struggle, if the workers organized and unorganized do not rally to their support.

In place of every railroad man refusing to handle non-union coal, every fireman refusing to shovel it, every engineer refusing to run an engine deriving power from it, a big section of the organized workers will become the agents of the capitalists in the fight against the miners by using coal produced by scab workers. It is thru thus dividing the workers and making them fight against other workers that the capitalists beat them.

Shall this policy continue? Shall each section of the working class of this country fight alone and meet defeat? Shall the unions be destroyed or so weakened that they will be unable to protect the workers? Shall wages and the standard of living be forced lower and lower? Shall hours of labor be increased?

UNLESS THE WORKERS OF THIS COUNTRY ADOPT A PROGRAM OF UNITED RESISTANCE AGAINST THE ATTEMPT OF THE CAPITALISTS TO FASTEN A BITTERER INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY UPON THEM THESE THINGS WILL BE THE RESULT OF THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM.

The Workers Party of America is convinced that the present struggle calls for united action by the workers of this country. It is convinced that the unemployed, the organized and unorganized workers must unite in a common struggle against the capitalists in order to defeat them and secure work for the unemployed, decent wages and working conditions and the right to organize for their own protection for all the workers.

Work for the unemployed means weakening the position of the capitalists, for it robs them of the reserve army of starving workers from which to draw strike-breakers. Common action by organized and unorganized workers is necessary to win the battle against wage reductions and increases in the hours of work.

The United Front

To achieve the unity of the workers in the fight against the capitalists, the Workers Party of America initiates and submits for endorsement of the workers everywhere the following program:

1. That a UNITED FRONT of the workers shall be created to meet the capitalist offensive.

2. That the central labor body of each city shall be used as the central organization to fight for this program.

3. That for the purpose of this struggle such central labor body shall invite groups of unemployed workers in unorganized factories and all labor organizations engaged in the struggle against the capitalists to send delegates to its meetings.

The first step to create this UNITED FRONT is for those unions supporting this manifesto and program to endorse the same and instruct their delegates to the central bodies to fight for endorsement and active work in harmony with the program.

Program for the United Struggle

The Central Labor body of each city should:

1. Conduct agitation to arouse the workers of their community to an understanding of the nature of the attack which the capitalists are making against the workers.

2. Support every strike of the workers with publicity and funds. Consider the question of a sympathetic strike and agitate to secure support for locked-out and striking workers thru such a sympathetic strike, or even a general strike. Local unions should bring pressure to bear upon their international unions toward the same end.

3. Carry on a wide-spread agitation for relief of the unemployed thru holding mass meetings and mass demonstrations in support of the proposal for relief of unemployment in this manifesto.

4. Seek to add to the strength of the existing unions by unifying them in industrial unions and by inducing non-union workers to join them and by carrying on organizing work in those industries in which no unions exist.

5. Carry on a determined struggle against the infringement on the rights of the workers thru injunctions, industrial courts, deprivation of the right of free assemblage and all other efforts of the capitalists to limit the activities of the workers in the struggle against the capitalists thru use of the legal machinery of the government.

Unemployed Program

1. Reduction of hours of labor in industry without any reduction in pay to give work to the unemployed. The six hour day and no reduction in pay should be the slogan.

2. Appropriations by municipal, state and federal governments for an unemployed relief and from which wages can be paid to the unemployed. Administration of this relief fund to be thru the central labor bodies.

3. The United States Government loaned ten billion dollars to European governments for destruction in war. Soviet Russia needs tools and machinery to develop its resources which the industries of the United States can supply. We propose that the United States government loan Soviet Russia a half billion dollars, to be expended in the purchase of tools and machinery in the United States. A half billion dollars worth of orders will open the factories which have been closed down and increase the working forces generally, thus giving work to the unemployed. Loan Soviet Russia a half billion and give work to the unemployed.

WHAT SHALL THE FUTURE OF THE WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES BE? BRUTAL WAGE-SLAVERY, MERCILESS EXPLOITATION, LOW WAGES, LONG HOURS, AND ALL THAT THIS MEANS IN A LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING? OR WILL THEY UNITE UPON A PROGRAM OF DEFENSE AGAINST THE PROFIT-GREEDY OWNERS OF INDUSTRY?

The Workers Party of America calls upon the Workers to unite in their own defense.

Let us stand together and yield not an inch to capitalism, let us go forward to better things. We have the power if we unite. Unite and use that power.

THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA.

Distribute This Manifesto!

Every individual or organization endorsing the program for a United Front should circulate it among the workers and secure their support. Orders for this program in leaflet-form should be sent to

THE WORKERS PARTY,
Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City, N.Y.
Prices: 100 copies, 50c; 500 copies, $2.00; 1,000 copies, $3.50.

BROWNSVILLE ENGLISH BR.

The English branch of the Workers Party in Brownsville meets every Wednesday night at its club rooms, 296 Sackman St., corner Pitkin Ave. Everybody welcome.

Party Opens Campaign for United Front

(Continued from Page One)

to make that organization a big factor in the struggles of the workers of this country.

The results which will be attained thru this campaign depend upon the support which is given the program of action by the members of the party.

While the Workers Party is still a comparatively new and untried organization it is made up of units with long experience in the work of agitation and organization. All of this experience must be brought to the support of the program.

With 25,000 members in its ranks the party can reach the masses in every section of the country if these members respond loyally and wholeheartedly to the appeal for action.

The first essential of a successful campaign is a united front within the party. That means that every member must rally to the support of the campaign undertaken by the organization. It means work in the distribution of literature, in agitation in the unions, thru furnishing funds for the United Front Campaign Fund.

Militant Struggle Must Come

The workers of the United States are far behind the workers elsewhere in the militant struggle against the capitalists who oppress and exploit them.

The facts of the class struggle in this country are, however, preparing the workers to join their comrades of other countries in an uncompromising struggle against their exploiters.

The brutal oppression which has followed the war period has been particularly fruitful in arousing the workers to a more militant attitude toward capitalism and all it means.

The Workers Party proposes to take advantage of the situations which capitalism has created by its brutal effort to destroy the unions and in throwing millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed to build a militant mass movement in this country.

That is the great task that has been undertaken in the campaign against the open shop and unemployment.

It marks the application of the tactics of Communism to the class struggle in the United States.

It is the beginning of an organized struggle which will not end until the workers are mobilized to establish the Workers' Republic in the United States.

Law Works Overtime to Break Comrade's Spirit

Mrs. Tina Jurson, convicted April 24th, for violation of the Criminal Anarchy Act of New York, was given another week, on Monday, May 15, in which to make up her mind that she "was sorry" and ask for forgiveness of Judge Gibbs.

She was convicted as a result of a despicable police frame-up for the distribution of announcements of a mass meeting arranged by the National Defense Committee, May 1st, 1921.

The police inserted in the bundle of leaflets Mrs. Jurson had, some copies of another leaflet issued by the Communist Party.

She denies having distributed this latter leaflet and the state could produce no witness other than the policeman who made the arrest that she had done so.

She was arrested with Mrs. Minnie Kalnin, sentenced to two years and three months to seven years, May 8th, and with Anna Leisman, the third woman in the police frame-up, now in Auburn prison.

At home Mrs. Jurson has a little four-year-old boy and the thoughts of being separated from the little fellow does not tend towards her peace of mind. Taking advantage of this situation Judge Gibbs and the District Attorney are doing all in their power to break her spirit and get some sort of a confession from her.

FINNISH PICNIC

The Finnish branches of Greater New York will have a picnic on May 28th, at Elmhurst Park. There will be an athletic contest with a five mile Marathon race. Prominent speakers will be present. Support should be given this affair.

BOSTON NEWS

By J. H. PALLO

TEXTILE STRIKE RELIEF

The City Central Committee of the Party has sent out circular letters to all labor organizations of Boston and vicinity inviting them to elect two delegates from each organization to a Conference for the purpose of devising ways and means of helping the textile workers who are out on a strike thruout New England. The first meeting of the Conference will be held on Sunday, June 4, at 3 P.M., at 885 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

* * *

WORKERS PARTY PICNIC

A Grand Picnic will be held May 30, under the name of Roxbury Lettish Club, at Spring Grove, Wellesley, Mass. The City Central Committee unanimously voted to invite all the branches to co-operate and make it a success.

* * *

EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE.

The next meeting of the Trade Union Educational League will take place, June, 1st, 885 Washington St., Boston. The League is gaining confidence, and active members of various unions are joining it at every meeting.

* * *

NEWARK, N. J., reports that the local consists of ten branches, and an active C. C. C. is functioning. Recent activity includes a meeting at which Robert Minor spoke and $35.42 was collected for "THE WORKER."

A united front May Day celebration at which Rose Pastor Stokes and Steven Bircher were the speakers, and at which the German and Hungarian singing societies furnished a musical program drew the largest crowd seen at a meeting in Newark for several years.

A membership meeting will be held May 29th, 8 P. M., at Polish Hall, 47 Monroe St., at which the following three points are the order of business 1. The United Front. 2. Increasing the membership. 3. Boosting "The Worker."

CHICAGO, Ill., is so insistent upon the training more speakers and trained workers that each branch has been instructed to select two capable delegates for compulsory attendance at a Sunday morning speakers and workers' class, these members to be relieved of all other duties except union activity.

Greek Federation Convention.

The second annual convention of the Greek Federation of the Workers Party was held May 7 and 8. Started in 1917 as a "Greek Socialist Study Club," their activities were extended to various other cities under the name of the "Greek Socialist Union."

This organization was involved in the split in the Socialist Party and formed one of the constituent parts of the Workers Party when it was organized last December.

Their paper, "The Voice of the Worker" was started as a monthly, is now a weekly, and plans are being prepared to put it upon a daily basis as soon as conditions permit.

The convention was a success in every way, and their present nine branches are expected to more than double their number within a few months.

English Branch, Jersey City.

The regular meeting of the English Branch of Hudson County, was devoted to a study evening, the text being Bucharin's "A-B-C of Communism." The next meeting will be held Thursday, May 25th, at the home of Christopher Blohm, 162 Griffith St., Jersey City.

N. Y. C. C. C. Meets.

The N. Y. C. C. C. meets this Saturday, May 20th, at 243 E. 84th St., at 8 P. M. All delegates are asked to be there on time.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Local Greater New York

calls for

SPEAKERS

to address

OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

All Workers Party members qualified to speak are asked to register at the Local Office, 208 E. 12th St., New York.

W. W. Weinstone,
Executive Secretary,
Local Greater New York, Workers Party of America.

"BARS and SHADOWS"
The Prison Poems
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"Treason" is becoming as trite a saying in the mouths of judges as "thirty days."

"Let not Your Left Hand, etc."

Many if not most of the directors of the work of the American Relief Commission in Russia (the Hoover Organization) are ex-army officers. Just why men who have been trained in the work of destruction are assumed to be more competent than others for the work of relief is not quite clear.

There are other things in connection with the American Relief Commission that arouse our curiosity. For instance, in organizing the forces of native workers for relief a questionaire is issued that must be filled in by all applicants. Among the questions asked are the following:

> **Question 12: Is any member of your family a member of the Communist Party.**
>
> **Question 13: Has any member of your family ever served in the armies of Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenitch, etc.**

What connection this kind of information has with the matter of relief of the starving millions of famine victims has never been the subject of an official statement.

The Worker offers a picture of Herbert Hoover disguised as an oil-well expert for the best solution to this problem.

Amidst all the prevailing excitement let us not forget that Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings are still in jail altho proven innocent.

The German Ambassador Arrives

We now have with us Otto L. Wiedfeldt, ambassador from Germany to these United States of America. He was met by movie photographers, a brass band and committees of dignitaries and citizens of New York. His coming was proclaimed with great enthusiasm by the kept press.

The German ambassador's coming reminds us of the deportation of Ludwig Martens, representative of Soviet Russia to this country, and of the persistent refusal of both the Wilson and Harding administrations to open trade-relations or recognize the Russian Soviet Republic.

Wiedfeldt is welcomed because he comes here to speak for a capitalist Germany in a capitalist United States. He is a mouthpiece of the Stinnes interests in the German republic, which typifies the power of Morgan, Rockefeller and a Schwab or a Gary combined. His record has always been one of service in the interests of the German profiteers, whether in reorganizing the industries of East Asia, China or Japan, or as a director of the Krupp war plant at Essen, in Germany itself.

That is the best that the German government in the hands of Ebert social-democrats can send here. It proves how far the German social-democratic government is removed from the workers, shows that it has no message for the exploited of this country.

Capitalism does not fear the reform Socialism that parades as the German social-democracy. It only fears the labor rule that finds its strength in the Communist program of Soviet Russia, the labor rule that calls for the sweeping away of the last vestige of capitalist exploitation.

Wiedfeldt is received. Martens was deported. Let the workers of America ponder those two facts and choose between the path of reformism and that of revolution, between slavery and emancipation.

The New York police force paraded the other day armed to the teeth with all the modern death-dealing devices. The persistence of the crime wave would indicate that its full resources are never mobilized except against the workers.

Another Conference

The rulers seem determined that the newspaper correspondents shall not suffer from the prevailing unemployment. The epidemic of conferences apparently is arranged for no other purpose than to give the journalists an opportunity to make a few honest dollars.

Cannes, Washington, Genoa and now The Hague. All of them so far held have been barren of results so far as accomplishing their purpose—the stabilization of capitalism— is concerned.

The currency systems of the European nations are still doing the dance of the dervishes and the economic breakdown becomes more and more acute. The treaty of trade and peace between Germany and Russia has complicated the situation for the Allies and serves as a warning that they cannot continue on the offensive much longer while their various interests become more and more divergent without more substantial backing than they get from their own peoples.

Long ago we remarked that there were two courses open to the Allies. They could either conquer Russia or recognize her government and trade with her. The policy of conquest was followed for a time and brought disaster; not only because of the unlooked for resistance of the Russian people but because of the division among the allied nations. Nevertheless the policy of conquest still holds the favored position with France its strongest supporter.

Strenuous efforts are being made to get the United States government to participate in The Hague conference and without wishing to pose as an expert in these matters we believe that the bald proposal will be made that the United States support another offensive against Russia with money, men and munitions.

European capitalism feels itself too weak for such a venture but with America committed to such a policy and actively supporting it the European rulers would probably be willing to risk all on another war.

There is just one obstacle in the way of this delightful scheme and that is the growing enmity between France and England, and England and the United States, having as its basis the little matter of the control of the world's oil supply.

It is this rivalry that is Russia's greatest protection today. Meanwhile the newspaper correspondents are sure of another meal-ticket while half of the world starves.

J. Pierpont Morgan [illegible]

The "Simple" Chinese

The "heathen Chinese," long the butt of [illegible] "civilized" workers, has shown the wage-workers of all lands the greatest example of working-class solidarity [illegible] outside of Russia.

The Chinese seamen struck in Hongkong, a port under the benevolent protection of the British Empire. Starting over the kicking of a Chinese steward by an English officer, it soon developed into a struggle for higher wages.

Every port was tied up and when the British government of Hongkong declared the seamen's union an illegal organization the shore workers went out in sympathy with the seamen. In Hongkong there was a mass strike that left the white residents helpless—Chinese electricians, molders, patternmakers, boilermakers, streetcar men, harbor and shipyard workers by simply ceasing work brought the government to its knees.

The demands of the seamen—30 per cent. increase for workers getting over $30.00 per month and 40 per cent. for those receiving less—were conceded; and now, you free-born American wage-earners, whose right to strike is taken away by injunctions, listen to this:

> **The Chinese seamen demanded and received half-pay for the time they lost during the strike before they would return to work.**

The simple-minded Chinese workers blamed the bosses for all the trouble and concluded that they should pay. They made them pay.

Civilization has its disadvantages.

Greetings to Revolutionary Youth

The National Convention of the Young Workers' League just concluded marks an epoch in the organization development of the revolutionary youth of this country.

It is the third national gathering of its kind. The first, in Chicago, 1919, came at a time when the Socialist Party was divorcing itself from its more militant, class conscious elements, and while its decisions did not possess the revolutionary clarity that characterized later gatherings the convention did awaken the young workers to a realization of the character, function and aim of their movement.

As a result of the party split the Y. P. S. L. found itself an independent organization, and the Rochester convention formulated the principle and policy made necessary by these developments.

The Independent Young People's Socialist League was born, and like the elder movement it found itself torn by internal division and oppressed by the power of the enemy class.

At the third, New York, convention, the Young Workers' League responds to the need for a new communist unity in the field of the young organization, even as the Workers Party was called into being by the same pressing necessity in the old.

The time for division has passed. The decision by an overwhelming vote to accept the political guidance of the Workers Party, while maintaining organizational co-operative autonomy, shows that the young comrades clearly recognize this, that they have well learned the lessons taught by the experience of the past few years, and formulated in the theses of the Communist International.

The "Independent" Y. P. S. L. is born again in a new and stronger form, the Y. W. L.

This is no time for the "independence" that means independence of the class struggle, isolation from the living currents of the revolutionary movement.

This is the time for unity upon the basis of clear principle and resolute activity.

The Workers Party welcomes this addition of two thousand brave young fighters to the revolutionary cause and pledges every possible aid to them in the realization of their motto "Clarity and Action."

Treason Trials as a Weapon

The coal strike is proving that where the workers have disciplined industrial organization the employers are forced to abrogate all the laws and customs of capitalist democracy and operate their properties by a resort to the use of force under various guises.

It is only in West Virginia where whole sections of that state are ruled by the private armies of the coal barons that any great amount of coal is being produced. It is from West Virginia that is coming the coal which replenishes the bunkers of the industrial concerns and helps to postpone the inevitable shortage.

The connection between this fact and the trial of several hundred West Virginia coal miners for treason is too obvious to be overlooked.

The trial of the men who resisted the most damnable conspiracy against the hard-won rights of organization and assemblage we have yet heard of, has been timed by the employers and their tools to have the most damaging effect upon the strike. Dozens of union men, whose services are sorely needed by the United Mine Workers of America, are held in the meshes of boss-made law, while the Billy Sundays and a host of other crawling things pour their lies into the ears of the working miners already terrorized by the gunmen and sluggers of the operators.

From time to time we hear sentimental persons complain that in spite of the influences brought to bear by publicity and more forceful means workers should revolt.

To take this attitude is to disregard realities and to assume that protest against tyranny followed by revolt springs from some heaven-sent revelation.

The employers do not depend upon such casual methods to retain their control. In West Virginia we do not wonder that some mines are working. The remarkable thing is that all of them are not producing to capacity in a district where all arms of the government as well as extra legal methods have been mobilized by the coal owners of that state backed by the power of the steel trust and its subsidiary corporations.

Almost without exception every member of the union with any influence has had to answer to the charge of treason. West of War Eagle an organizer of the union venturing into that territory goes to certain death. In the last year more than 300 persons from all walks of life have been clubbed and beaten and deported by the mercenaries of the coal operators because they had no permits to travel the high roads of that district in the sovereign state of West Virginia!

It is under such conditions that the work of organization has been carried on, and be it known that while many well-meaning people now raise their hands in holy horror at the admitted atrocities of the coal operators and their henchmen, it was the United Mine Workers who challenged and fought this gang of industrial pirates.

In Pennsylvania the non-union properties have been organized since the strike. West Virginia is now the storm center and the stronghold of the coal trust.

It is an object lesson of the power of industrial organization for even in their fortress the operators have had to resort to measures convincing even the most unobservant of the blood relationship between capitalist industry and the capitalist state.

This is the one fact that the capitalist class of the United States is most desirous of concealing.

OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS AT THE GATES OF THE WORKERS' WORLD

DEBS APPEALS TO THE WORKERS OF AMERICA

Opportunity knocks at the gates of the workers' world to lay the fate of humanity's future in the hands of international labor. The moral and material support rendered to the Russian Republic by the toilers of all lands will decide the issue.

Sublime in ideals, magnificent in strength, Soviet Russia has at last fought her way victoriously thru the long ordeal of invasion, civil war and blockade. The red banner floats securely over one-sixth of the habitable earth, and the hammer and sickle form the emblem of one-tenth of humanity. What a mighty foundation for the establishment of the workers' peace, the workers' prosperity and the workers' justice over the whole wide world!

Comrades, there is a world to gain! Do your part NOW. Besides mere bread to conquer the famine, contribute tools and machinery to build up the center of the international labor commonwealth. What is your response to the following appeal by Eugene V. Debs?—

"This is the one issue upon which we can all unite; the one crying demand to which we can all respond; the one supreme duty we are all bound to perform. It matters not how we may be at variance upon other matters, we recognize a common obligation to our starving Russian comrades and their families.

"The Russian revolutionists risked and sacrificed everything in the struggle for human emancipation; tormented by hunger pangs, they fought in rags the combined autocracy of the world; they stood their ground and shed their brave blood not only in their own defense, but to give liberty to the workers of every land on earth; and now they are face to face with grim and relentless starvation the workers of this and every other country on the globe are charged with the solemn responsibility for their relief and rescue.

"A splendid beginning has been made here in America and all credit is due to the workers, without regard to their affiliation, who have united with loyal hearts and willing hands in this great humanitarian work. But this beginning must be followed up, enlarged, and persisted in to the utmost to meet the magnitude of the demand.

"It is not food alone that is now needed for our starving fellow-beings in Russia. Farming machinery must be supplied and for this ample funds must be collected without delay. We are advised that unless everything possible is done to combat the calamity, a repetition of the famine is possible next year. The necessary seed did not arrive in time to supply the full demand for the spring sowing. Machinery has been painfully lacking, while horses and cattle had to a large extent been devoured by the famishing natives.

"To supply the necessary machinery to the Russian people in this desperate crisis is peculiarly the duty of the workers of the world. They have it in their power to provide the means with which this machinery, so vitally essential at this supreme juncture, may be supplied to the Russian people.

"With the machinery to cultivate the soil agriculture can be at once revived and the suffering people made secure against future famine. Let us at once get into action in every village, town, and city thruout the country in responding to this final appeal of our famine-scourged, desperately struggling Russian comrades and fellow-workers, and by rescuing them and their loved ones from their impending fate in the spirit of our common kinship, prove ourselves worthy to share in the emancipation of the future for which they have made the supreme sacrifice."

(Signed)

Eugene V. Debs
Terre Haute, Indiana

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

Authorized by the All-Russian Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers' International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin (Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated.)

Conducted in America under the direction of the

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
(National Office)
201 WEST 13th STREET NEW YORK CITY

HELP BUILD THE CENTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR COMMONWEALTH

Here is my contribution of $................ toward relief and reconstruction of Soviet Russia. Put my name on the Roll Call.
Name .... Address ....
City .... State ....
(Worker 5-27-22)

Nearly two billion acres of land have been expropriated in Mexico. Watch out for new propaganda calling for intervention by the United States, where only expropriation of the fruits of labor by the capitalists is permitted.

For the Prisoners, if—

The New York Call has been very much perturbed over the fate of counter-revolutionists that have been brought to the bar of Bolshevik justice under Soviet rule in working-class Russia.

It classes these as "political prisoners" and weeps lest they suffer the penalty of treason to the working class they have betrayed.

The same yellow reformists who dictate the policies of The Call also ruled as the majority in the recent conventions of the Workmen's Circle and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The result was that these yellow majorities put thru resolutions demanding the release of these counter-revolutionists, enemies of Soviet rule in Russia.

But recently five Communists, Ruthenberg, Ferguson, Gitlow, Winitsky and Larkin, were released from the prisons of New York State. They had already served long terms. They had been given their freedom under bail.

The campaign to "keep them out" and to get others out was launched at a celebration held last Friday night, at the Central Opera House, attended by thousands of working men and women.

But The Call professing to be a daily newspaper of the working class, contained not a single word reporting this meeting. Tersely stated its policy evidently is, "For the political prisoners if they are not Communists."

We do not complain. We merely point out that The Call is more interested in the defense of Russian counter-revolutionaries than it is in demanding the release of American Communists. It is the voice of the Cahans and the Schlesingers, that is continually raised against pressing the class war to victory.

It is the champion of yellow reformism. This championship dictates its every action. Let the workers understand this thoroly and they will rally in ever larger numbers in support of a press that really fights its battles, that really points the road to working-class emancipation.

* * *

Note: Cahan's "Forward" also carefully censored all mention of the "Coming-Out-Celebration."

PRAISES CHAPLIN'S POEM

Michael Gold, one of the editors The Liberator, has added a deep no of praise to the swelling chorus favorable comment being shower upon "Bars and Shadows," Ral Chaplin's volume of prison poe which has just made its appearanc He writes:

"There will be a great prison l erature developed in America, there was in Russia, and Ral Chaplin's book will be one of t memorials of the struggle of lab and its sacrifices, a permanent reco

"Ralph Chaplin has written so beautiful and moving verses in t book; it is a cry from the heart heroic and generous youth, and o is shaken to passion and revolt, one thinks of the writer of these li being behind prison bars. I ha read many of the poems over a over again, they are so brave, sinc and genuine, that tho I have ne met Chaplin I must admire him a man, a revolutionist and a p sensitive to all the moods and em tions of the stormy world of labor.

"May the gates of Leavenwor open soon for all our poets and f low workers and may Ralph Chap step forth into the sunlight and fr dom his poems show us he knows splendidly how to love and ce brate!"

The Literature Department of t Workers Party is pushing the s of "Bars and Shadows," and in t way aiding the family of an imp oned comrade. The book sells f $1.00 a copy and comrades are urg to purchase it thru the National O fice, 799 Broadway, Room 405, Ne York City.

IN WEST VIRGINIA

What is the prisoner charged w [illegible] Fighting the coal operators' g [illegible] I thought it was treason to the [illegible] Well, that's the same thing.

The Worker Will Have Special Reports of the A. F. of L. Convention. Don't Miss Them. Subscribe Now—20 Weeks for 50 Cents

For the Worker: One [illegible] One Party! One Front! One Victory!

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 225. [illegible] SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1922 [illegible] Labor Publishing Association. [illegible] New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

Miners' Treason Trial Shows Women Urged Men to Fight on in West Va.

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Labor Editor of "The Worker"

COURT HOUSE, CHARLES TOWN, WEST VIRGINIA.—There may be more cool and self-possessed young gentlemen in the labor movement than William Blizzard, president of sub-district Number Two of District Number 17, United Mine Workers of America, the 28-year-old defendant in the treason trial in progress here, but if such there are the sooner the labor movement begins to use them the better. After the hour of direct examination by Harold W. Houston, attorney for the defendants, the best legal talent the coal operators of this state could mobilize took young Mr. Blizzard in hand for cross examination. That is what they thought they were doing. If a vote of the spectators could have been taken it would have been unanimously decided that the youthful defendant, who looks like a college athlete in the pink of condition, and who has a smile that brightens the dingy courtroom like a beam of sunlight, cross-examined the prosecuter and shot the states case, or the coal operators—they appear to be one and the same—so full of holes that the jury will have to be bought, bound and delivered to return a verdict of guilty against this young miner the coal operators' association has picked out to test their case with.

It should be understood that the coal operators have taken over the legal machinery of this county for the sole purpose of piling huge legal expenses upon the United Mine Workers while a strike is in progress that is draining their treasury of its last cent, to hamper as much as possible the feeding of the families who are on strike in this state and to divert the activities of the organizers, officers and active members from the organization and relief work so vital at this time.

It is doubtful if the operators expect to get convictions. If they do so much the better for them but the main purpose of the prosecutions is to hinder and obstruct the work of organization.

County Attorney Porterfield of this county refused pointblank to prosecute these cases. This work is being done by the legal talent of the coal operators' association, and the association stands all the expenses in connection with this "patriotic duty" as it is called by the capitalist press of the state.

International Vice-President Philip Murray of the United Mine Workers was on the stand for four hours, preceding Blizzard. He, too, gave A. M. Belcher, the gray-haired coal operator prosecutor, a hard time of it.

Report Tells of Horrors

The prosecution made a bad blunder by quoting extracts from Murray's annual report in which he criticised Governor Morgan.

The defense succeeded in getting a ruling from the court that the entire report was relevant and read it to the jury. It contained evidence in the form of affidavits of members of the United Mine Workers relating such horrible atrocities by prohibition enforcement officers, state police and deputy sheriffs, that the prosecution's case would have ended then and there if justice and not law was the issue.

Many women in the audience—more than half the audience is composed of women—were crying as the report related details so horrible as to be almost incredible.

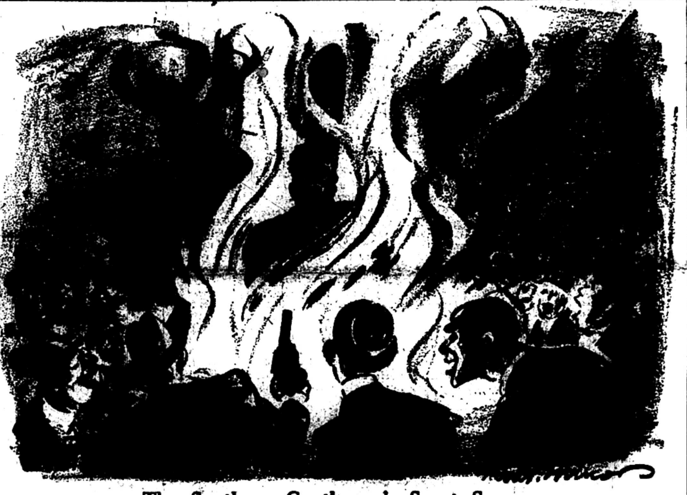
Not only is the interest the women of Charles Town are taking in the case one of its most striking features but also what the testimony of witnesses shows to be an actual fact: that it was the women who protested most bitterly against the miners abandoning the offensive before the federal troops arrived.

Women Protest Surrender

Dave Fowler, organizer of the United Mine Workers, swore that he called a meeting at Jeffery and advised the men to go home and that the women said:

"My God, Mr. Fowler, this is not the union's affair now. We were promised protection once before and we didn't get it. It's a

(Continued on Page Three)



The Southern Gentlemen's Sport Season

Mine Owners' Press Agents Smoked Out

Lawrence Dwyer, international executive board member of the United Mine Workers for West Virginia, announces that the publicity forces of the coal barons have been smoked out of the Astor Hotel, where they had installed themselves, and that they have departed for regions unknown.

The propaganda bureau was directed by Tom L. Lewis, secretary, and other representatives of the New River, West Va., Coal Operators' Association.

Call to the Kept Press

Immediately upon their arrival in this city they sent word to newspapers that they were ready to receive reporters to issue daily bulletins.

The purpose of their campaign was to discredit the relief efforts here of Lawrence Dwyer, of the miners' union; Miss Elizabeth Gilmore, treasurer of the Miners' Relief Committee, and Dr. Mercer G. Johnston, who have recently arrived here from Baltimore to develop the local campaign for relief for the West Virginia miners.

The hirelings of the mine owners, thru their propaganda, sought to offset the charges of Dwyer regarding wages, working and living conditions of the coal miners thruout the New River and Winding Gulf Coal Fields.

One of the first statements issued was by George Wolfe, secretary of the Winding Gulf, West Va., Coal Operators' Association. It was quickly seized upon and given wide publicity by the kept press.

Promoted After Murder

Dwyer opened up his return fire in an address before the Central Trades and Labor Council of Newark, N. J., in which he exposed the record of George Wolfe, showing that he had murdered a coal miner in Fayette County, West Va., during the coal miners' strike in 1901-2. Later he was promoted to the position of General Manager of the Collins-Winding Gulf Mining Co.

"Wolfe, as general manager, entered into a contract to furnish coal daily for the United States navy. Then the war broke out. The demand for fuel caused the price of coal to go sky-high, and in order that his company might receive the higher prices, Wolfe sold the products of his mine to other buyers, and then wrote to Washington telling the government there the reason he couldn't furnish coal, as per contract to the U. S. navy, was because the United Mine Workers had a strike on and his mine was stopped.

"The government at Washington sent a representative to make an investigation. This representative, Mr. James Purcell, telegraphed Washington that Mr. Wolfe had falsified the situation, that never, at any time, had there been a stoppage of work at his mine.

"Purcell further stated that never,

(Continued on Page Three)

Urge United Front to Aid Coal Miners

That the program to create a united front of labor in the struggle against the bosses is of vital, immediate importance is emphasized in a statement issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party calling attention to the fight of the six hundred thousand miners.

The United Front of Labor program is set forth in a manifesto issued to the workers of the United

(Continued on Page Three)

Coal Barons' Tools Fail in Treason Trial Attack on Workers

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

CHARLES TOWN, W. Va., May 25.—Three prosecution witnesses this morning failed to prove the contention of the State that Andy Porter, organizer for the United Mine Workers at a meeting at Sharples, urged the men to continue their march.

It is upon proof of this that the coal operators intended to base a million dollar suit against the union.

The three witnesses were: M. M. Lillie, superintendent, Boone County Coal Co.; C. C. Guy, general superintendent; and E. H. Lauck, cashier.

Prosecution had asked witnesses if Porter had not used words: "dastardly assassination" and all had replied that he had and that words had inflamed men. Attorney Townsend finally asked one witness what Porter had said. Witness replied that he said, "desperately assassination" while a gale of laughter swept over court room. Prosecution also tried to show that Porter instead of urging men to stop march had actually incited them to further outbreaks and that he had told them that if anything happened that night that they were to get him a gun and he would go with them.

M. M. Lillie could only say that Porter had said if they were disturbed that night he would go with them. This upholds contention defense that miners feared raids from mine guards.

State has two more witnesses to call and will then rest case. Defense attorneys state they are willing to let Jury take case without argument if coal operators will do same. Prosecution has made no statement as to what their intention is.

Gitlow Views Amalgamated Convention

EDITOR'S NOTE:—We feel that the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America recently adjourned at Chicago was of such importance that we supplement the articles of Robert Minor, with the accompanying article by Ben Gitlow, recently released from Sing Sing prison. Gitlow attended the convention and addressed it on behalf of the National Defense Committee of the Workers Party. Gitlow is a member of the "Amalgamated," thus giving added emphasis to what he has to say. He writes as follows:

* * *

By BEN GITLOW.

If you ask the average worker you meet on the street about the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' convention, he will shrug his shoulders with surprise and will wonder why you questioned him about a convention he knows nothing of and concerning which the papers he read reported nothing.

The standing of the base ball teams in the National League, the European trip of champion Jack Dempsey or Stillman's divorce case are all subjects upon which he is well informed.

He knows nothing of what transpired in Chicago at the convention

(Continued on Page Three)

Thousands of New Readers to "The Worker" Are Awaiting Dunne's Reports of Convention

On June 12th, at Cincinnati, Ohio, the American Federation of Labor will open its annual convention. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers will await news of the actions of this convention of organized labor.

The capitalist press will give daily its perverted and misleading accounts of the actions of the true representatives of labor in the convention, the "left wing," the Trade Union Educational League.

Thousands of workers will wish to have the truth but will be unable to get it because only THE WORKER and a few other workers' papers will publish it, and their circulation even among the radical elements of workers is limited.

William F. Dunne, labor editor of THE WORKER, will witness every session of this convention. He will report to THE WORKER readers the facts as they occur at the convention; and he will give the facts with the understanding of a class-conscious worker who knows the class struggle and the American labor movement as do few either in or out of the A. F. of L.

Read The Worker's Reports

In line with THE WORKER'S policy of giving the facts of every labor struggle to as wide a circle of workers as possible, we have made a special reduced subscription price to new subscribers.

We want every worker to read these convention reports and have therefore reduced the subscription price to 50 cents for 20 weeks.

More than one-half the regular subscription price knocked off. This is a reduction which means an actual weekly cash loss, but in the interest of workers' education we believe we are justified in making it.

Get New Subscribers

In order to make up this deficit every reader must get more subscribers. They must tackle every worker susceptible of being awake to his class interests and interest him in THE WORKER and get his 20 week subscription.

If our readers, not just a few of them, but all of them, will do this, if they will do their part in increasing the circulation of this paper among the workers, then the object of THE WORKER will be accomplished.

Thousands of new subscribers can be secured at once if our readers will step lively and just pick them up.

At the rate of 20 weeks for 50 cents thousands of new readers can be placed permanently upon our mailing lists.

THE WORKER expects that every reader, every Workers' Party, Local and Branch will do their utmost to secure new subscriptions at this rate. Roll in the subs, they're waiting for you to gather them in. Don't wait for others, do your part now.

SEATTLE.—The Trades Union Educational league branch here is working to bring disaffected unions back into the ranks of the Central Labor council.

Chicago Open Shoppers Now Pass the Hat

CHICAGO.—With an inflammatory appeal to the "patriotic citizens of Chicago," the socalled Citizens' Committee to Enforce the Landis Award in the building trades has begun to pass the hat to carry on its antiunion campaign.

The committee goes on a public begging basis in a 14-inch three column advertisement in the metropolitan press stating:

"The practical way the patriotic citizen of Chicago can help in this crisis is by lending his financial support. Some day you will be asked, 'What did you do in the war for Chicago?' Be prepared to answer that you saw your duty and did it."

The patriotic offerings of the citizens are to be spent, according to the committee, to hire guards for Landis award jobs and to import nonunion mechanics to take the place of the Chicago unionists who refused to accept the Landis award which destroyed many union safeguards and reduced wages drastically.

"Money is the ammunition which is needed to win this war," the committee frankly states.

The murderers of the two policemen who were slain recently are still being sought by the police.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Thousands Ready to Give Lives to Save Miners' Union in Hills of West Virginia

Lawrence Dwyer, international board member of the United Mine Workers, for West Virginia, says:

"The only way we can lose is by being starved out. If the operators win this fight it will be by starvation. They cannot defeat us in any other way.

"There are thousands of us who will give up our lives rather than go into those mines and scab."

The Worker Will Have Special Reports of the A. F. of L. Convention. Don't Miss Them. Subscribe Now—20 Weeks for 50 Cents

Jobless Send Open Letter to Hylan

The Unemployment Council of New York, Israel Amter, Secretary, has addressed a letter to Mayor Hylan, pointing out the necessity of taking immediate action on the unemployment situation.

The letter emphasizes that the demands of the Unemployment Council and its charges are backed up by the Central Trades and Labor Council, which adopted a resolution embodying the same points.

The letter follows:

New York, May 25, 1922.

Mr. John H. Hylan,
City Hall,
New York City.

Dear Sir:—On March 27, delegates of the Unemployment Council had a conference with Acting Mayor Hulbert, in regard to work for the 332,000 unemployed in the city of New York. Mr. Hulbert ridiculed the statement that there was that number of jobless in the city at the time, and assured the delegates that the projects then being planned by the Board of Estimate would absorb the greater part of the unemployed.

Number of Unemployed Increase

On April 5, the Central Trades and Labor Council, of which Mr. John Sullivan, director of the Municipal Aid Bureau, is president, passed a resolution on Unemployment.

This resolution was the result of a conference of Mr. Darwin Meserole of Brooklyn with the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce. In the resolution of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, which was basic to the resolution of the Central Trades and Labor Council, there was emphasized the fact that the number of unemployed in New York City had increased from the end of December to March, and that the situation was "menacing."

It was specifically pointed out that despite whatever was being done by the city, state and nation, there was a tremendous number of unemployed for whom amelioration would have to be provided.

Hylan Goes to Washington

Mr. Kehoe, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council, stated that he had called upon you with several other members of the Central Trades and Labor Council, and you had agreed to go to Washington and present the situation of the New York workers to the government, and seek aid.

Mr. Mayor! The situation as pictured in the resolution is exactly as has been repeatedly stated in the propaganda of the Unemployment Council.

In the month of December, the Unemployment Council addressed you, asking you to take specific steps to relieve the unemployed, particularly in view of the fact that winter was at hand.

You handed the letter to Mr. Coler, your Commissioner on Unemployment, who replied that the City had already initiated the steps suggested by the Unemployment Council. **Four months later the Brooklyn** Chamber of Commerce and the Central Trades and Labor Council repeat the requests of the Unemployment Council.

Work Must Be Provided

The demand of the Unemployed for WORK is backed up by 750,000 organized workers in the city of New York.

The unemployed call upon the city to undertake without delay the construction of more houses for the 80,000 families who are obliged to live in filthy, crowded tenements, for want of other homes to move into.

The Unemployed ask you to extend the subway lines which are badly needed in the greater city.

The port of New York should be enlarged in order to meet the requirements of a harbor as important as New York, with its increasing traffic.

Schools are needed: **the fire inspection of last autumn revealed that if the schools were properly inspected, more than two-thirds would have to be closed.** City streets are in very bad repair.

Government Admits Responsibility

We realize that the present order of society does not furnish all men with work. Or, as President Harding stated at the beginning of the Unemployment Conference, there are **more than 1,500,000 unemployed in the United States even in normal times.**

The work thus undertaken, however, would relieve the situation most effectively.

Furthermore, unemployment being a social disease, it can be approached only by bodies capable of treating it as a mass manifestation.

President Harding in calling the Unemployment Conference and the Conference in referring the matter to the State and Municipal authorities recognized that the Government, Federal, State and Municipal, have their obligations toward the matter of Unemployment.

Workers Denied Right to Work

The Unemployed are without work thru no fault of their own. True, some of them are unfit for work, because of disease or congenital disposition.

The remainder, representing the majority, are denied the right to work, because of wasteful methods, seasonal occupations, etc.; because of the closing down of factories by the owners, deliberately at times, in that they can obtain no profit from the work of their workers, maliciously at other times, in that they have malevolent designs against the workers and their organizations; and because of the mal-adjustment of industry, which requires the workers to produce without any regard to market or consumption, and then discharges them as a consequence of overproduction.

Disease Is Portion of the Poor

It is a fact that the employers maintain an army of unemployed in order to hold the workers in check thru the menace of the loss of their jobs by the competition of others willing to work under inferior conditions.

It is a fact that the present system CANNOT AND DOES NOT PROVIDE WORK FOR ALL. As a consequence, we have the direful manifestation of disease (tuberculosis, the disease of the poor, anaemia, primarily the disease of the poor, etc.), child labor (owing to parents not being able to maintain the home by their own labor), and mother at work (owing to the father not being able to keep the family).

Driven to Murder and Suicide

At present, we have the even more dreadful fact of a crime wave commnittant with the vast unemployment obtaining in the country.

Crimes of the utterest boldness are being committed, despite the most stringent regulations and severe penalties threatened. Burglaries, holdups, murders of the most desperate sort—the regular companion of misery, want and desperation.

Suicides and insanity—**soldiers but a short time ago the heroes of the nation, now turned mad and criminal,** because they are denied the most primitive requirement of life: **the right to a livelihood.**

Situation Is Menacing

Mr. Mayor! The Unemployment Council is not asking that you become a revolutionary.

It does not ask that you advocate a system that would allow every worker, and only the workers, to have a living.

The Unemployment Council, however, does ask that you heed the word of warning of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, which cannot be accused of being revolutionary or pessimistic.

It asks you to remember that the situation is "menacing"; that altho summer is coming, it will be followed by autumn and winter. Provision must be made NOW.

Very truly yours,
UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL
OF NEW FORK
Israel Amter, Secretary.

The second party, numbering about 200 workers, has sailed from New York on the steamship Rotterdam, to participate in the great reconstruction and development projects in the district leased from the Russian soviet government in the Kuznetsky basin in Siberia. Still another party is to start in about two weeks, proceeding via Holland and thence to Petrograd by special steamer.

The S. P.'s New Role

The Miami Valley Socialist, official organ of the Socialist Party of Ohio, in its issue of May 19, publishes some resolutions passed by the Dayton local of the Socialist party. They deal with John H. Patterson of National Cash Register fame and are as follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY
LOCAL DAYTON SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
MAY 12, 1922

Whereas, in the death of John H. Patterson, Dayton has lost her leading citizen and the United States one of her ablest men, and

Whereas, the AIM OF THIS ORGANIZATION is the uplift of mankind and the elevation of the race to a new civilization wherein poverty and misery and suffering shall be unknown, and

Whereas, Mr. Patterson has done more for the welfare and happiness of the people of Dayton, as a business executive, as a teacher, and as a student of social conditions, than any other citizen; therefore, be it

Resolved, that LOCAL DAYTON SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO, pay its tribute of respect to his memory, and that copies of these resolutions be sent to members of the family as a token of our sympathy; and be it further

Resolved, that these resolutions be spread upon our minutes, and published in the Miami Valley Socialist, and copies of these resolutions be sent to the FEDERATED PRESS, the NEW YORK CALL, the MILWAUKEE LEADER and the LOCAL DAILY NEWSPAPERS.

Signed
WILLIAM A. STINES,
OSCAR K. EDELMAN,
Committee on Resolutions.

To what depths has the Socialist Party sunk when a local in the city that was the scene of the exploits of this nationally known labor-hater passes resolutions eulogising an employer who would not let a union men inside his plant; who ruled over thousands of employees with an iron hand and who became wealthy thru the invention of another man without ever doing a stroke of useful work.

As an instance of what happens to an organization managed by sickly sentimentalists and the contradictions into which it is led, be it known that The Call published an editorial from the Minneapolis Labor Review which told the truth about Patterson, his stolen glory, and of Charles Zallud, the real inventor, who died in poverty.

We now await the publication of the Dayton resolutions by The Call.

We hope that the Socialist Party will be able to maintain an office for the next few years. Judge Gary of the Steel trust is getting old and must soon pass away.

It will cheer him to know that the Socialist Party of America stands ready to assuage the grief of his slaves by lauding their kind friend and master whose hidden virtues only the Socialist Party was able to perceive and appreciate.

Ben Gitlow, Communist [illegible] Letter to His Brother

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Ben Gitlow, while still behind bars as a Communist prisoner, Convict No. 38461, wrote and sent a letter to his brother, Dr. Samuel Gitlow, New York City, giving his views toward the medical profession under capitalism, and especially dealing with the role that the medical profession played in the Russian Revolution. His letter was as follows:

* * *

DEAR BROTHER:—I have read an article on the strides Soviet Russia is making in spite of the difficulties in its general health program and in its fight against disease.

Soviet Russia lacks surgical supplies, essential chemicals, medications, proper hospital facilities and professional workers. I am not surprised at this because I have had thru you a wide acquaintance with the medical profession.

To my past observations I add on my more recent observations and the sum total of the result is a poor estimation of the sincerity and humaneness of a large number of the profession.

Like most professional men in present-day capitalist society the goal sought by them is one of material gain instead of service to his fellow-men and scientific advancement.

Even the advantages existing for scientific progress are generally unattainable by the poor practitioner and easily accessible to the wealthy one.

It is therefore no wonder that the physician attaches himself to the wealthy classes and disdains to be classified among the poor and the common workers.

He becomes instead of a man of service a servant to caste and an obedient slave to the ruling and moneyed interests of the country.

That is why the Russian doctors refused to serve the workers as their equals after the workers had dislodged the wealthy parasites and nobility in whose circles the doctors were wont to sport.

When the revolution came the circles of moneyed respectability, sham and pomp were wiped out. The fashionable drawing rooms were no more. The delicate ladies in jewels and silks in peacock fashion strutted the polished floors no longer.

The men in unemotional black with stiff collars and starched shirts had disappeared and with them the whole retinue of Russian royalty with its gaudy uniforms, gold braids, buttons and polished boots.

In their place stood a new power, dirty and in rags, with powerful hands and with fingers that looked like the grasping roots of a giant oak. In his hand he held a rifle. In his weather-beaten and toil-worn face the years of hunger, struggle and oppression were furrowed in deep lines.

His eyes glistened like black coals in the moon's silver light and flashed a heroic determination that was born with the victory he had gained. He who had always made obeisance to a lord, a master, an official and an intellectual, was now himself master.

The hounded underdog, the slovenly peasant, the crude worker were now the leading society, and the other society that paraded in its golden glitter and idled itself on the toil of the poor was now relegated to antiquity.

The physician refused at first to become the servant of this new society, the mighty proletariat. Later some began to realize the treacherous cruelty of their position, while the others were forced to realize it. Now they are all serving the workers. The doctors' place in Russia is recognized on the standard of service, not of wealth. It is not in this country. Very often a physician uses his profession which he considers secondary for the prime purpose of investing in real estate and speculating in stocks and bonds.

Physicians in the United States willingly serve for cash rewards the wealthy and ruling classes against the poor and the workers. You find them in the employ of industrial corporations, life and accident insurance companies, railroads, food-packing concerns, chemical houses, etc., diligently serving those who pay them.

Whenever the interests of their employers clash with those of the workers or the people at large you will find almost always that the paid physician rushes to the support of his paymaster. The paradox of this situation is that the physicians accept this pernicious, and harmful arrangement, unavoidable in a society based upon the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, as an ideal one.

He fails to realize that under a workers' regime he will obtain the greatest recognition from the service he renders mankind and not from the fact that he rides in the latest six-cylinder super-elegant automobile.

But then some slaves always fight those who would free them, and of all slaves the professional intellectual in that respect is the worst.

Benjamin Gitlow,
Convict No. 38461.

More Phrases From Amsterdam

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The Call, in a recent issue, published in full the manifesto issued by the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions calling upon the workers of all countries to prevent war.

The Call then draws attention to the manifesto in an editorial which seems to have been written for the express purpose of taking a slap at the Third International; it concludes with the following paragraph:

> **Moscow has also a lesson to learn from this manifesto. Are those issuing it in truth traitors to their class, agents and hirelings of the bourgeoisie? Or is it not time now for a sincere retraction and solemn apology?**

To this the answer is at hand, written indelibily in the records of the activities of the signers of this belated document. The Fimmens, the Oudegeests and the Jouhaux supported their government in the imperialistic war which they now denounce; they supported the League of Nations and endeavored to lead the world's workers into the trap set for them by their rulers after the war.

These phrase mongers supported every white guard government set up by the Allies with which to crush the revolutions in a dozen different countries; it was enough for them that their masters labeled these counter-revolutionary dictatorships as "democratic governments." It was the followers of these treacherous social-patriots who betrayed the revolution in Hungary and it was not until it was being drowned in the blood of the Hungarian workers, after the overthrow of the Soviet government, that Amsterdam called for a general strike in protest against the atrocities of Horthy, whom their treachery and cowardice brought to power.

They shed tears over the fall of the "democratic" government of Georgia—another creation of their rulers—and they worry much over the social revolutionaries in Russia who were caught red-handed in an attempt to take the lives of the leaders of the only revolutionary government in the world. While every one of their own governments is guilty of innummerable crimes against the workers at home and abroad they remain silent or talk about old-age pensions. From them came no protest while their governments were busy crushing the workers governments of Finland and Latvia and while the whole capitalist world massed its forces against Soviet Russia they too slunk into the offensive with slimy insinuations directed against the integrity of the Russian revolutionists.

They call for a general strike to prevent war. In almost the same breath they repudiate the idea of a disciplined international organization of the workers, responsible to one central authority. To such empty gestures the reply of the imperialists is a sardonic grin; in the imperialist press one will search in vain for any denunciation of this manifesto like those delivered whenever the Third International addresses the workers of the world.

The imperialists know that the revolutionary phrases of Amsterdam are only phrases; the trade union leaders are in the cabinets of the imperialist rulers; each one of them is giving of his best that the capitalist class of his country may further entrench itself.

Another war inevitably means the end of capitalism. The rulers know it if the yellow labor leaders do not and in this day and age a manifesto denouncing war and war alone becomes in reality a reactionary document.

The capitalist press itself is denouncing war and pleading for peace; the capitalist system cannot stand the destruction that another war would entail but—like other phenomena of capitalist society wars occur whether the rulers want them or not and worse things could happen than for the workers of Europe again to find themselves with arms in their hands.

What is needed to-day is not an organization against war but an organization of workers FOR war against the capitalist system. This is a task in which manifestos play their part but they are so much waste paper when issued by individuals who ignore the facts of the struggle and who mislead workers with the ideas that working-class pacifism is an effective weapon against the brutal efficiency of the military machine of the imperialists.

The greatest obstacle to the successful culmination of the revolutionary struggles in which the workers of Europe have engaged in the last five years has been the loyalty of their leaders to the ideals of early capitalism, their devotion to the empty and obsolete phrases of the Manchester school of liberalism, their inability and their fear to acknowledge the lessons that recent history teaches.

The Third International has nothing to learn from this manifesto. It long ago tagged and placed the authors of this document where they belong—in the list of those who help capitalism to exist by obtaining the confidence of the masses thru the use of revolutionary phrases and then leading them into the camp of the imperialists when a crisis arises.

No post-war deluge of revolutionary phraseology can wipe out the black record of those who upheld the hands of the rulers during the war and after; neither will the latest document emanating from Amsterdam conceal the fact that by refusing to unite under the banner of the Third International they are playing into the hands of the same rulers they pretend to denounce.

They stand ready to join in the demand of their rulers that Russia disband her Red Army and they will do so with the hypocritical pretense that peace cannot come without it. They have already denounced Russia as a military nation altho they know that the Red Army stands not only between the Russian people and slavery to their rulers but that it is also the strongest defense that the workers of the rest of Europe have.

The manifesto meets with the approval of The Call, official organ of the Socialist Party of America, altho as the editorial states "it is a document of class-consciousness without using that phrase. Not a mention of Socialism, of the name of Karl Marx."

All of which may be of great value but hardly the thing one would expect approval of from a Socialist publication. As a matter of fact the Socialist Party is no longer socialist except in name.

It is the same reformist organization it was before the war; it has learned nothing and forgotten nothing or it would not give its whole-hearted blessing to a manifesto that differs in nowise from the pronouncements of the Second International before the world war exposed it in its true light as a loosely built organization of national parties whose socialism ended at the national boundaries; an organization without power or discipline, dominated by the democratic ideology bequeathed it by a struggling middle-class and consequently an adjunct, not a foe, of the capitalist system.

Bakhmetiev Bootleg for Capitalist Li at Washington, D. C

(By The Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—Boris Bakh-metiev, by right of his masque as Russian ambassador, is grante the privilege of importing whiske wines, beer and other intoxicants the use of himself and his guest He has many and thirsty guests.

The story goes that some ago two automobiles laden booze addressed to Bakhmetiev escorted into the city from the dir tion of Baltimore by Washingt police, under orders which did emanate from Supt. of Police Su livan. Indeed, Sullivan knew nothi of the matter until later.

It is further told, about the capit that half of the cargo was duly de livered to the Russian embass while the other half went to the owner of a local newspaper, an ar dent advocate of the open town an a warm supporter of Presiden Harding.

It is likewise said that Supt. Sul livan, learning of the incident, regi tered a very emphatic protest, an that the friends of the president to other friends of the president tha Sullivan and his job would soon b parted, in the interest of harmon all around.

Remember June Birthdays of the Workers in Priso

MILWAUKEE.—Birthdays in th month of June of political prisone still confined in American prison are announced by the Workers' Na tional Prison Comfort Club, 292 Chestnut St., as follows:

At Leavenworth, Kan., Box 7— June 1, John Pancuer, Register No 13136; June 4, Bert Lorton, 13132 June 9, Robert Connellan, 1356 June 12, Ragner Johannsen, 13130 June 15, J. Tori, 13583; June 16, Do Sheridan, 13140; June 22, Arche Sinclair, 13141; June 27, Harriso George, 13158, and Charles Plahn 13176; June 29, Christ Luber, 1357

At Walla Walla, Wn., Box 520— June 23, John Carroll.

At Folsom prison, Represa, Cali —June 16, Herm. O. Suhr, No. 926

Cora Meyer, national secretary, in vites friends and sympathizers t send birthday postcards to these po litical prisoners. Checks or mone orders may be sent to the politica at Leavenworth; money orders onl in the case of Walla Walla and R pressa.

On or about June 14 Joe McCart Wm. Moran and James Phillips wi be released upon expiration of se tence, and, on or about July 1 Morris Levine and Pierce C. Wette Of these Moran, Phillips and Levin will be held for deportation. The a tempted deportation of Wetter t Madagascar by the Department o Labor has failed. Wetter, an Ameri can citizen, was born in Madagasca while his father was American con sul there.

Even Yellow International Asks Russian Recognitio

(By Special European Service o Louis P. Lochner to the Federate Press and THE WORKER.)

ROME.—International Federatio of Trade Unions meeting here fo third congress since war adopts reso lution calling on workers to take referendum on a general strike in th event of another war, said refere dum to be binding on members, an urging limitation of manufacture o munitions. The Genoa conferenc was criticized and asked to readmi Russia, grant credits to the impove ished nations and distribute on a international basis the principal in dustrial raw materials.

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by
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Gitlow Views Amalgamated Convention

(Continued from Page One)

of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers even tho what transpired there was of vital material importance to every wage worker, particularly to those who are counted in the ranks of organized labor.

The clothing workers' convention may be looked at in two ways. One way is to judge it as a gathering of chosen delegates who at the expense of their locals were sent to Chicago to enjoy a week of riotous pleasure. In taking care of the arrangements of the convention the Chicago Joint Board of the Amalgamated assiduously saw to it that banquets, automobile rides, concerts, dances, etc. were at all times going on for the entertainment of the delegates. The entertainments were so numerous that a special booklet was printed to serve as a program for the joy seeking delegates. The expense involved in carrying out the program of entertainments must have totalled a neat sum of many thousands of dollars.

Spoke for 175,000 Workers

The other way is to disregard the human satisfaction of enjoying oneself immensely without having to pay for it, but to look upon the convention as a gathering of over 300 serious-minded delegates of various degrees of intelligence, with different views and ideas and with widely divergent conceptions of the labor movement, its aims and goal; that the delegates assembled crystallized in expression the thoughts and desires of 175,000 organized clothing workers whom they represented; that from them was expected not only a statement of policy but also a program of action for the next two ensuing years. The latter method is the one we shall pursue in this article.

The deliberations of a convention representing an organization of 175,000 workers cannot be isolated from the general labor movement.

The bad economic conditions prevalent in the U. S. today, with the millions of unemployed, the ferocious onslaughts against the unions by the combined forces of capital, the unstable condition of Europe, the reactionary trend in the administration of government in the U. S., the Russian Revolution and the new ideology developing in the labor movement that finds its expression in the left and progressive movements on foot in almost every labor organization strongly affect the policies of the Amalgamated, as they do the policies of all labor organizations in the country.

Three Groups in Convention

The attitude the Amalgamated is forced to take on account of these conditions is bound in one way or another to influence the general labor movement, just as it is equally true that the attitude of the general labor movement wields a strong influence upon the thoughts of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The delegates to the convention were divided into three main groups. The administration supporters, Socialist Party or right wing group dominated by the Jewish Daily Forward and a left wing group.

The left wing group held the balance of power.

If the left wing had been an anti-administration group it could have made a political alliance with the right wing and could have easily defeated the administration.

The tactics of the Left wing group, however, were based upon principles and not upon personal factionalism and desire for office.

Right Wing Isolated

The decidedly left attitude of the administration upon the big problems confronting the convention won for it the support of the left. The result was that the right wing was unable at any time to assert itself and make a fight.

The actual basis for a fight on the part of the left did not exist.

From the opening day of the convention rumors persisted that the Forward faction would make an issue against General Secretary Schlossberg, in order to defeat him as Secretary and elect in his place A. I. Shiplacoff. The great ovation given Schlossberg the first day of the convention and the ovations he received in the following days greatly cooled the fighting ardor of the right. Well organized and working diligently the right wing took advantage of every available opportunity to stage enthusiastic demonstrations in its behalf. Most of the demonstrations fell flat. Particularly was this true of Abe Cahan's dramatic entrance into the convention hall at the head of about 600 of Chicago's shopworkers. After Abe Cahan's tirade against the "disruptionists," the rebuke administered to him by President Sidney Hillman received such thunderous approval from the delegates that Abe Cahan, the lion-hearted, editor-in-chief of the Jewish Daily Forward, slunk away.

Get Left in the Soup

The right wing delegates lost all their ambition and courage for an open conflict with the administration on the floor of the convention. The boom for A. I. Shiplacoff fizzled out into nothing. Chas. W. Erwin, editor of the N. Y. Call, who was busy trying to win over delegates with his broad Tammany Hall smile, packed his grip and left for New York. Abe Cahan, weary and dejected, was somewhere in the wilds of Chicago, left to his reveries and hallucinations of the wierd contortions of the terrible communists.

If ever a right wing was left it was left in the soup in Chicago.

The left wing delegates were sadly disappointed with President Hillman's committee appointments. The committees were given into the hands of the conservatives. The left wing representation on committees was very poor, on some committees their representation being nil.

Organized labor in the U. S. has been steadily retreating before the forces of capital. The open shop drive has put out of existence a large number of unions, has weakened the fighting ability of a still greater number and has wiped out many of the privileges and concessions that labor organizations have after years of bitter struggle wrenched from the capitalist class.

Amalgamated Forced to Retreat

Economically the worker in the U. S. is worse off today than he ever was. The open shop forces, tho unsuccessful in entirely smashing organized labor, have been successful 100 percent in liquidating the costs of labor by reducing wages of the workers. The trade union movement has been powerless to stop this liquidation.

The Amalgamated has met the onslaught of the Open Shop. After a bitter struggle that in New York lasted over six months the Amalgamated was victorious in maintaining its organization only by sacrificing some of the advantageous union conditions and by accepting a reduction in wages. Reductions in wages were accepted by the Amalgamated for all the markets it controlled.

In other words the Amalgamated withstood the main attack against its organization by retreating and giving concessions to the clothing manufacturers.

Shall the retreat continue or shall organized labor assume the offensive is now the most urgent consideration before all labor organization in the U. S., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers included. Around this question revolve all the questions today holding the attention of the labor movement, such as industrial unionism, shop stewards, amalgamation, international affiliation, political action and the united front.

Old Methods Prove Inadequate

Old methods of industrial warfare carried on by the old forms of labor organizations have proven, in the light of the historical events in the labor movement, inadequate for the occasion. Not only must the methods of industrial warfare be changed, but radical changes must be made in the forms of the labor organizations themselves.

Let us therefore now investigate how the Amalgamated reacted to the demands of the present industrial struggle.

Sidney Hillman's program met with the almost unanimous approval of the convention. His program, briefly, was as follows:

For the General Labor movement, craft unionism, being a relic of the past is an obstacle in the present struggle of the workers and must immediately give way to industrial unionism.

Amalgamation of all the unions in the needle trades, and endorsement of the amalgamation tendencies particularly of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Recognition of Soviet Russia and the active participation of organized labor in its reconstruction.

The Times Have Changed

Every one should realize that it would be futile to use the military equipment of 1861 in a military engagement of 1922. In the class struggle of 1922 to use the weapons of 1880, the antiquated craft organizations and their isolated strikes, is just as futile.

Capitalism has battered and smashed craft divisions. The skilled mechanic is now in a hopeless minority. The ranks of labor are now composed of hordes of unskilled and semi skilled workers. In industrial warfare these hordes can not be utilized by the old craft unions. Industrial unionism is the organization best suited to mobilize the forces of the workers in industry and through its weapon of the general strike is best able to hurl these forces against the bulwarks of capitalism.

The amalgamation of all the unions in the needle trades would mean the organization of one of the most powerful industrial unions in the country. It would at once so strengthen the industrial power of the workers in the needle trades that they could again resume the offensive against the manufacturers. The International Ladies Garment Workers, an A. F. of L. union controlled by the Jewish Daily Forward combinations, will not be in a position to resist the demand for amalgamation by its rank and file. The leaders, however, of the International Ladies Garment Workers will try to put all obstacles in the path of amalgamation. Amalgamation, if accomplished, will be accomplished by the A. C. W. in spite of Schlesinger and his crowd. Such an amalgamation will be a great victory for the left and will create such a situation in the A. F. of L. on the question of amalgamation that the Gompers machine will have to use all its ingenuity to effectively oppose it. Amalgamation will become a burning issue in the American labor movement.

Offer More Than Lip-Service

The amalgamation of the needle trades will be a powerful lever in the fight in the ranks of the A. F. of L. for the success of the principle of amalgamation all along the line.

The Amalgamated does not offer lip-service to the Russian workers. It early came to the assistance of Soviet Rusia and saved the lives of 37,000 Russian workers. The Amalgamated realizes that capitalist imperialism seeks to enslave Russia before agreeing to help in its reconstruction. The Amalgamated therefore organizes a corporation on a co-operative basis for the investment of capital and the reconstruction of Russia. It appeals directly to the organized labor movement for support in this project.

If every labor union in the U. S. took the position on these three matters—industrial unionism, amalgamation, and recognition of Soviet Russia—in line with that of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, we would have a powerful, militant and revolutionary labor movement in this country.

On this program the left wing must give its endivided and staunch support to the Amalgamated. The Amalgamated is far from being composed of a majority of communists. Among the delegates at the convention the communists were a small number.

Communists Must Face Reality

The communists must face the reality as far as the labor movement is concerned; that is that conditions will drive the mass of workers to take certain positions. Whenever the workers accept advanced policies and adopt a forward program, they must, as communists, support them.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers at their convention took a heroic stand upon most of the problems confronting the American labor movement. The convention has been of a historic nature. If it had done nothing else but lay the basis for beginning the offensive against capitalism it has done its duty and it laid that basis in its stand on industrial unionism and amalgamation.

But the Amalgamated has gone much further. It has put itself in the ranks of the revolutionary international proletariat by deeds and action and not by phrases alone.

The program of the Amalgamated is the program of a United Front for Labor on the Industrial Field in the United States.

On Trial for Treason

William Blizzard, subdistrict president in West Virginia, United Mine Workers of America, has been indicted with hundreds of other miners on charges brought by the state in connection with the march of union miners into nonunion Logan county in August, 1921. Blizzard is on trial now in Charles Town, where John Brown was tried and hanged in 1859 charged, like Blizzard, with treason.

United Labor Council
meets
Every Wednesday
8 P. M.
83 East 4th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Phone: Orchard 0189.

Miners' Treason Trial Shows Women Urged Men to Fight on in West Va.

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] of the honor of the people of West Virginia."

William Blizzard's mother, sixty years old, was with the miners on the firing line, acting as nurse according to the witnesses for the prosecution, and this is one thing the mild young man did not deny or plausibly explain away.

He simply said that "mother is too old to do much" and let it go at that while the audience smiled in sympathy and apparent understanding.

For it IS a sympathetic audience that sits for hours in the humid heat of the crowded courtroom and drinks in every word.

People with the Miners

It is a little hard to understand how it is that the coal operators can do what they have done when incident after incident shows that a majority of the people of this state are with the miners in their fight for organization.

One such incident was the appearance on the stand for the defense of the attorney-general of West Virginia.

He made the bald statement, after describing the system by which the coal companies control the appointment of deputies, that the sole duty they had to perform was to prevent organization of the miners.

Challenged by the bellowing Belcher to name one deputy actually serving the coal companies, he proceeded to name a round half-dozen. Challenged again to give the source of his information he simply stated that he had lived in Logan county for twenty years and that it was a matter of public knowledge.

Both the jury and the audience seemed to be satisfied with this; in fact everyone was—with the exception of the prosecution.

Dictatorship of Coal Barons

The real explanation of these puzzling facts, of course, is this. The operators hold Logan and Mingo counties and prevent organization among their employees and thereby maintain enough political power in the state to avoid any embarrassing interferences with their policies.

In the light of this the march of the miners into Logan county becomes strategy of a high order. With Mingo and Logan organized the power of the coal barons is broken in West Virginia.

The state as a whole is probably a little in advance of the average industrial community and for that reason many of the people outside of the fastnesses of the operators do not fully appreciate the relentless and desperate nature of the opposition with which the miners have to deal.

This is well exemplified by the following incident: I was sitting on the courthouse lawn with some of the witnesses and town people and had asked concerning the sentiment of the residents of this city. One of them told me that he had found just one man who was not in favor of an acquittal. A miner defendant spoke up and said: "I can convince that fellow in no time at all. I'll pin a union button on him and buy him a ticket to Logan county. If he comes back alive he'll be for an acquittal. He won't say that it was state police that beat him up either. The guards will do it and tell him so."

With all its jumble of confused issues about constitutional rights and the question of whether the miners were rebelling against the state of West Virginia or simply defending themselves and their families by an offensive against the hirelings of the coal operators one does not need to be here long to see that it is a class case.

One only has to see the attorneys for the prosecution with their retinue of secretaries of coal operators associations, sleek and crafty looking young men of the Y. M. C. A type on one hand, and the coal and powder marked defendants and witnesses on the other.

Oh! Yes! There are also the state police who hang about the court house in their trim green uniforms—the only persons the prosperous looking prosecuting attorneys treat as equals.

"The Worker" Helped

New York City, May 29, 1922.
Editor, The Worker,
Room 405, 799 Broadway,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Comrade:—Permit me to express our sincere appreciation of your efforts to make our drive for Russian Relief on May 6-7, a success.

There is no question that the local organization would never have raised $[illegible], the present total, without your co-operation.

Permit me further to urge upon all workers to read and get others to read your excellent paper, for it shows itself definitely to be a true working class organ by its hearty support of our efforts to aid our starving comrades in Soviet Russia.

Fraternally yours,
BERT MILLER,
Local Secretary, Friends of Soviet Russia.

JOIN PROTEST CAMPAIGN

The Joint Board of the Socialist Consumers League meeting at Forward Hall, Saturday, May 20, adopted resolutions, protesting the conviction of Tina Jurson, Minnie Kalnin and Anna Leisman, and the imprisonment of the latter two, and pledged themselves to hold protest meetings and continue to work until their release.

Preparations for the first meeting, June 2, to be held in the Bronx, are under way. Similar meetings will be held in every section of New York under the auspices of the above organization.

TENANTS FLY RED FLAG

VERA CRUZ, Mexico (by mail) —Vera Cruz is in a state of virtual civil disobedience. From thousands of doorways in the poorer sections of the city flutters the red flag. Sometimes it is of cloth; oftener merely a sheet of tissue paper. Each flag means that the inhabitants of that house have ceased to pay rent and have joined the Syndicate de Revolucionare de Inquilinos — the Union of Revolutionary Tenants.

PICNIC FOR THE "ISKRA"

The "Iskra", our Russian organ will get the proceeds from the picnic to be held at Decken's Park, 3250 Westchester Ave., in the Bronx, Sunday, June 4. Admission 35 cents. —Take Lexington Ave. Subway, change at 125th Street, for Local Hunt's Point Road, and get off at the last stop.

Miners' Official Bares Mine Owners' Press Agents in New York

(Continued from Page One)

at any time, had a member of the United Mine Workers been employed at this mine. Washington wired Purcell to bring Wolfe to Washington, which he did. Wolfe was put on the carpet, and when he returned home he furnished the navy coal at contract prices."

It was following this exposure of the record of one of its favorite mouthpieces that the mine owners' propaganda bureau checked out of the Astor Hotel and decamped.

Dwyer reports that he is meeting with a tremendous response from the forces of organised labor in New York City and vicinity.

Dwyer in Jersey City

A meeting for the benefit of the striking West Virginia miners has been arranged upon the initiative of Local Hudson County (N. J.) Workers' Party for Saturday, June 10th, at the Socialist Educational Club, 256 Central Ave., Jersey City.

Lawrence Dwyer, Int. Exec. Board member of the United Mine Workers will be the principal speaker.

The trustees of the clubhouse responded to the appeal of the miners and donated the use of their fine big hall free of charge. A determined campaign to enlist the aid of all local unions is under way, and success is expected.

Every member of the Workers' Party in Hudson County, and every worker who stands by his class in this battle is expected to attend.

Admission will be free.

Workers Pitch in to Make Excursion Huge Success

Latest reports on the huge excursion for Russian Relief, which has been arranged for Sunday, June 11, by the Friends of Soviet Russia, show an enthusiastic response from the workers thruout the entire city.

Comrades are working day and night to make the affair a success. Some are using their efforts to increase the sale of tickets, which are being sold thru the individuals as well as thru the following stations: 240 East 23d St., 64 East 4th St., Rand School, 201 West 13th Street; 208 East 12th St.; 431 East 6th St., 138 West 13th St., 1403 Fifth Ave., 143 East 103d St., 350 East 81st St., 1292 Washington Ave., 1347 Boston Road, 1470 Wilkins Ave., 455 Grand St.; Brooklyn: 10 Siegel St., 226 Roebling St., 296 Sackman St., 1801 Pitkin Ave., 764 40th St.

Others are collecting donations of cigars, cigarettes, candy, sandwiches, cakes, fruit and many other good things which will be sold for the benefit of our starving Russian comrades.

The Hotel Workers are giving their services gratis on what is for them the biggest day in the week. Other comrades are engaged in securing the services of noted artists, actors, singers and performers, who will help to give those on board the boat a rousing good time.

A good sum will be realized thru the advertisements which are being secured for the splendid souvenir program that will be issued for the occasion. Singing, dancing, games and fun, from morn till night, will be the spirit of the day.

Urge United Front to Aid Coal Miners

(Continued from Page One)

States by the Workers' Party. This manifesto urges organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, to unite in the struggle against the open shop drive of the employers, and to fight unemployment.

The manifesto calls upon the unions to make use of their central labor bodies in each city as the organization to carry on the fight. It proposes that for this purpose the central bodies should invite all unaffiliated labor organizations and groups of unemployed to send delegates.

These central bodies should carry on agitational and educational campaigns thru meetings and mass demonstrations in support of the workers who are attacked by the bosses.

Manifesto Refers to Miners

In referring to the strike of the miners the manifesto calling for the United Front says:

"The half million miners who are now facing a life and death struggle, in a situation carefully prepared to insure their defeat, will fight alone (lukewarm words mean nothing) under the policy heretofore pursued by the leadership of the A. F. of L., and the defeat and even destruction of this splendid working class organization is a possible outcome of this struggle, if the workers organized and unorganized do not rally to their support.

"In place of every railroad man refusing to handle non-union coal every fireman refusing to shovel, every engineer refusing to run an engine deriving power from it, a big section of the organized workers will become the agents of the capitalists in the fight against the miners by using coal produced by scab workers. It is through thus dividing the workers and making them fight against other workers that the capitalists beat them."

The program of the Workers' Party for the United Front of Labor would rally the whole strength of the workers of this country to the support of the striking miners. It would mobilize the other labor organizations for a campaign of publicity for the miners' demands and to stop other union men from handling coal mined by scab workers, and support the miners through financial contributions from the whole working class.

The statement of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party calling attention to the fight of the miners, and urging support of the United Front program says:

"Six hundred thousand miners are fighting against a drive of the bosses to destroy their splendid organization.

"The struggle in which these miners are engaged is a struggle in which every worker in this country, organized or unorganized, has an interest. The defeat of the miners will be a defeat for the workers everywhere. It will be followed by more organizations, for if the bosses can whip the miners they will feel powerful enough to beat any other union into submission.

"In the fight of the miners will be decided the question whether the whole body of workers of this country, organized or unorganized, will be forced to submit to even greater reduction of wages, worse working conditions and the weakening of their organizations.

"The Workers' Party of America has issued a call to the workers to build a United Front to meet the offensive of the capitalists. It has proposed a definite program of action for such a United Front.

"There could be no greater emergency requiring such a United Front than the struggle in which the six hundred thousand hard and soft coal miners are now fighting the bosses.

"The miners' organization is the backbone of the American labor movement. They have many a splendid fight to their credit, their support has always been ready to be given to other workers. Now workers everywhere must rally to the support of the miners and smash the combination of bosses which is trying to destroy their organization.

"The Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party calls upon the workers everywhere, organized and unorganized, to get behind the United Front program and to make a united stand in support of the miners."

United Front Campaign Under Way

The United Front campaign is gathering headway at the headquarters of the Workers' Party. Already the manifesto and program for the United Front has been mailed out to all of the units of the Workers' Party and to the labor papers throughout the country. The next step will be the circulation of the local unions, urging them to endorse and get behind the program.

Local organizations of the Workers' Party are lining up their speakers for the campaign who will address the local unions of each city and present the United Front program. The manifesto containing the proposals for the United Front has been printed in the form of a four-page leaflet and will be given a wide circulation. Plans for a series of mass meeting in the larger cities of the country, at which prominent speakers will discuss the United Front are also under way.

The United Front campaign represents the first effort to unite the workers of this country in a great mass movement to fight the immediate struggles of the workers. This campaign typifies the proposals in the program of the Workers Party of America. The aim and object of the party is to build a militant, class-conscious movement of the workers on the basis of these immediate struggles and to guide that movement to achievement of the emancipation of the workers from the evils which the present industrial system brings upon them.

What Will You Give to Build the United Front of Labor?

You have often thought what a mighty power the workers would wield if they united in the struggle against the bosses.

You have said that if the various workers' organizations would get together to fight for the things they want they could sweep away all opposition.

THE WORKERS CAN BE THUS UNITED IN THEIR IMMEDIATE STRUGGLES.

The Workers Party proposes to create this unity in the fight against the open shop and unemployment thru its UNITED FRONT PROGRAM.

To do this the United Front Program must be presented to the workers. Leaflets must be printed, speakers must be routed, the organization must be built up which will be the driving force in the UNITED FRONT CAMPAIGN.

WHAT WILL YOU GIVE TO BUILD THE UNITED FRONT?

WILL YOU GIVE A DOLLAR?

A DOLLAR FOR THE UNITED FRONT, FOR LITERATURE? FOR SPEAKERS FOR THE ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN!

SEND YOUR DOLLAR AT ONCE.

Collect a dollar from as many of your friends and shopmates as you can.

	Name	Address		
1	....	....	....	....
2	....	....	....	....
3	....	....	....	....
4	....	....	....	....
5	....	....	....	....
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Send remittance to the
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City

Read Dunne's Special Reports on the A. F. of L. Convention. Subscribe 20 Weeks, 50 Cents.

Proceedings of Communist International

EDITOR'S NOTE: — The Worker will publish in full the resolutions and thesis of the sessions of the enlarged Executive of the Communist International held from February 24, to March 4. This week we publish an introductory review of the most important results of the meeting, written by A. Thalheimer, the German Communist. It is as follows:

* * *

By A. THALHEIMER

The central point on the agenda of the Enlarged Executive Session was the question of the united proletarian front. Lively opposition came from the Italian delegation and from the majority of the French delegation.

The arguments, as far as they were not of a sentimental nature, were not the same from all camps of the opposition, altho the latter agreed upon joint resolutions. Our Italian Party unmistakably lacked theoretical security.

Its practice is ahead of its theory. They wanted to be assured of a limited application of the united front tactics to the trade-unions. They overlooked the fact that the political fraction within the trade-unions bound the party as such.

There was also the unmistakable feeling that by showing their willingness to meet the Serratians, the conflict between these two factions could be weakened.

With our French comrades matters were somewhat different. Here one could clearly see the inadequate appreciation of the necessity of drawing that part of the working class that was still outside the Communist Party's ranks (and which in France still constitutes the majority) into the daily struggles.

Our French like our Italian comrades, expressed their fear that the application of the united front policy might lead to a retrogression into "Ministerialism."

As a matter of fact, however, this policy is just the weapon to be applied in the present situation against the Social Democratic collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The policy of the united proletarian front is the application of the tactical decisions reached by the Third World Congress in the present situation.

Of course, these tactics have their limits and their special applications. They are superfluous for Communist Parties that already have the majority of the working class behind them, or that are the only proletarian parties in their respective countries.

These tactics are also of no practical value to Communist Parties that are in their first stages of development, and which must first draw the dividing line between them and the Social Reformist parties thru propaganda.

Naturally, the application of this policy must make ample allowance for the situation in the various countries.

The debate was very fruitful. The resolution, which was passed by a majority, approves the December theses dealing with the united front, and calls upon the Presidium and the delegations from the most important sections to decide upon the immediate practical measures to be taken in their respective countries towards the application of the new tactics which must naturally be adapted to the peculiar conditions of the various countries.

After the declarations made by the French and Italian delegations, there is no doubt but that they will not only maintain international discipline, but that the actual facts will fully convince them of the necessity of such tactics.

In close connection with this, there is the question of the proposed international conference of all labor organizations.

The Enlarged Executive Session put particular emphasis upon the drawing-in of the international trade-union organizations, including the Syndicalist, Anarchist and [illegible] organizations. The Enlarged Executive Session made it very clear that it fully retained its independent estimate of the Social Reformistic and Centrist Parties.

Its dominating wish, however, is that the conference deal only with such questions as bear upon the direct, practical common action of the working masses.

The Communist International will not evade discussion upon the fundamental differences of opinion, if it is desired; it wants practical work, however.

The second important question that arose at the Enlarged Executive Session was that of the Red Trade Union International (R. T. U. I.).

It became evident that the liquidating questions that arose in single countries in regard to the R. T. U. I. were of no importance.

The situation did not seem to warrant any debate over the future existence of the Red Trade Union International. The Enlarged Executive Session declared very concisely that the decisions reached by the Third World Congress in regard to the trade-union question required no modifications in principle. It pointed out, however, that due to the varied influences of the Communists in the trade-unions, it was necessary to render the work of the Red Trade Union International more concrete and adaptable to the peculiar conditions in the various countries and industrial groups. In a detailed resolution, the Enlarged Executive Session made general recommendations for a concrete evaluation of the present situation in the trade-union struggle, but particularly on the question of directing the defense struggle against the present capitalistic offensive. The most important points are as follows:

> "In the next period, the task of the Communists is the extension of their influence within the old reformist trade-unions, in the struggle against the splitting policy of the Amsterdam leaders and in the thorough application of the united front tactics within the trade-unions."

No objection whatever was raised against this attitude. The third important question was that of the French Party. In a series of questions, including that of the united front, our French Party still displayed strong right-opportunistic tendencies.

The struggle against these tendencies led to the removal of five comrades from the leadership of the party. These five had been chosen by the Marseilles Convention.

The Enlarged Executive Session did not accept the resignation of these comrades, but demanded of them that they retain their posts in accordance with the wish of the convention.

On the other hand, the Executive Session called for the elimination of the remaining reformistic tendencies, which it named in particular.

Finally the Enlarged Executive Session dealt with a communication from the members of the so-called "Workers' Opposition" in the Russian Communist Party. The tendencies of this group were made very clear.

The Executive Session declared that the attitude and actions of these comrades stood in sharpest conflict with the decisions of the 10th Congress of the R. C. P., and they were seriously warned against a continuation of the struggle they had begun.

The treatment of a number of other questions becomes sufficiently clear from the decisions reached.

The Enlarged Executive Session has accomplished a tremendous amount of work, which bears comparison with that of a world congress. The net result may be expressed as the further definite elaboration and application of the tactical line of action drawn up by the Third World Congress. The next world congress will take place in October unless unforeseen events call for an earlier session.

THE FINNISH BRANCHES OF THE WORKERS PARTY
OF GREATER NEW YORK
will hold a

PICNIC!
Sunday, May 28th
at ELMHURST PARK, L. I., N. Y.,
with a Good Program.
Speaker: BEN GITLOW

Music will be furnished by the B. S. S. C. Band.

The Male and Mixed Choruses of the B. S. S. Club will sing, and Speeches will be made in Finnish and English.

There will be Athletic Exercises and a 5 mile Race which will commence at 10 A. M. The other program will commence at 3 P. M. Dancing will be continued until late in the evening.

ADMISSION 50 CENTS

Take the Corona train from the Grand Central Subway Station and get off at 25th St., Long Island. The Park is located 4 blocks from the station.

Frayne and the Lusk Law

By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

Periodically there is undertaken a hunt for radicals in the schools. During the war a number of teachers in the colleges and schools were dismissed because of their lukewarm support of Mr. Wilson's crusade for the preservation of American [illegible]. After the Armistice, Bolshevism served as the excuse for additional casualties among teachers. Beyond doubt, the past few years have been very successful ones for the radical-hunters in the schools.

The ruling class has always been aware of the importance of the schools in maintaining the status quo. The ruling class has always recognized that if the schools were allowed to teach the truth concerning our economic system, its interests would be jeopardized. The ruling class has always opposed the extension of popular education.

When the fight for free schools was being waged by Labor in the '30s, the cotton mill and other interests bitterly fought Labor's effort on the ground that education would make their "hands" lazy and unwilling to perform manual labor. When labor won its fight, and the foundation of our free public school system was laid, the ruling class, however, quickly gained control of the educational institutions. Every year this control has become more and more absolute. It may be stated without fear of contradiction that not a single teacher in any of the schools or colleges is giving expression to views hostile to the interests of the ruling class. What the average teacher fears more than anything else is dismissal from his job. Let the teacher be dismissed for entertaining or expressing radical views and he is practically barred from engaging in the work for which he has been trained, in any part of the country. Anything will be forgiven the teacher but the sin of radicalism. There is a case on record of a New York high school teacher twice convicted of "immoral" acts committed in the school. The severest punishment meted out to this teacher was transfer to another school in the first instance and the loss of a few months' pay in the second.

The legislature of the State of New York during the reaction following the war took a step further than any yet taken to make the schools permanently safe for capitalism. In essence the Lusk law which was passed last year is reminiscent of the Carlsbad Resolution which the crafty Metternich forced upon the German states following the Napoleonic wars. Every teacher in the German universities was watched by a police officer stationed in the class room ready to report not merely the expression of "disloyal" views, but also the failure properly to impress upon the growing youth the virtues and beneficence of the imperial monarch.

The Lusk law confers upon the State Commissioner of Education the power of passing upon the qualifications of all teachers in the state, especially as regards their character and loyalty. Any teacher may be dismissed by the Commissioner if in his opinion the teacher is lacking in the proper percentage of loyalty, which, while not defined by the law, is undoubtedly at least 110 per cent. It is no longer necessary to go through the bother and the publicity of a public trial to cut off the head of an offending radical. Some recent trials have thrown too great a flood of light upon the workings of the controllers of our educational machinery.

After the passage of the Lusk law, a census of the "loyal" was ordered made by the school principals, who were asked to classify all their teachers on the basis of the principal's knowledge and the tales that are obligingly brought to the principal by his toadies.

Recently an advisory committee was appointed by the State Commissioner of Education at the suggestion of a group of teachers known as the Teachers' Council (representative of the reactionary political interests in control of the schools), for the purpose of examining all those who had been listed as lacking in patriotic fervor by their principals, and then recommending what action the Commissioner should take. On this committee are found names such as the ever-ready Archie Stevenson, Conde Pallen, famous I. W. W. killer, Finley J. Shepherd, a representative of the Gould interests, and, in addition, no less a personage than Hugh Frayne, the Grand Vizier of the Eastern District, the personal representative of the Grand Mogul Sam.

A week ago this committee began its sessions in secret. As a result of a protest on the part of the Teachers' Union, the committee agreed to allow the teacher to be accompanied by counsel, but the press was strictly barred. Mr. Frayne blandly assured the Union that the committee intended no harm to the teacher, that it was merely attempting to provide parents and pupils or fellow-teachers of a teacher to come to the committee with any information they cared to bring.

Organized labor which has always been in the vanguard fighting for free schools, and for the freedom of teaching, is now to be the instrument of the forces of reaction if the plan of the Teachers' Council in using Mr. Frayne is allowed to go thru unchallenged by the forces of labor. The reactionary interests are quick to discern the role which the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are ready to play.

They realize that there is no more devoted servant of the capitalist class in America than the average A. F. of L. leader. They know how easy it is to cover up the most infamous capitalist crime with the mantle of Gompers. They know that the bitterest enemy of the Russian Soviet Republic is none other than the A. F. of L. machine. They know how easily the Labor leader can be "tamed" by being allowed to sit at the capitalist banquet table. And so they add the name of a Frayne to a committee made up of Stevensons and Shepherds.

For once it seems that this clever plan has miscalculated. The Central Trades and Labor Council of New York was quick to realize the false position in which the labor movement was put by Frayne's acceptance. It unanimously decided to call a special meeting of the Council for May 25, at which Frayne will be called upon to explain the reasons for his presence on this spying committee. More than one delegate will be ready to expose this treacherous foe to the best interests of the American labor movement — Hugh Frayne.

It should be noted in passing that at the recent convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Convention held in Cleveland, a resolution was passed conveying the thanks of the Union to those who had been helpful to the organization during the past year. Among those specially singled out for praise were Morris Hillquit, Samuel Gompers and Hugh Frayne.

[illegible]

1. [illegible] funds to carry on the work.
2. [illegible] the United Front [illegible] at meetings of working-class organizations, and to the workers on the job.
3. Get your union to adopt the United Front program and instruct its delegates to the central body to fight for the same action there.
4. Get other organizations of which you are a member to line up with the unions and the Workers Party for the fight.
5. Send in the names, meeting place and time of every working-class organization in your city, to the National Office, Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
6. Locate the names and addresses of former members of the movement and send them to the same address.
7. Keep the office fully informed of all united front developments, either political or industrial, in your locality.
8. Get every member of the Workers Party active in this campaign.
9. Get every friend into similar activity and enlist those eligible as members of the Workers Party.
10. Boost for an organization of the Young Workers League, and get them active in the campaign.
11. Build up the circulation of "The Worker" and other party papers which alone carry full news of the campaign.

    A special circulation building offer of Twenty-weeks-for-fifty-cents for new subscribers holds good during the duration of the campaign.
12. And above all, BOOST THE UNITED FRONT.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

See you on June 11.

Boost the United Front

By WILLIAM F. KRUSE

On the subject of the political united front there ha[illegible] much discussion in the ranks of the party and in the colum[illegible] "The Worker," but as to the application of this policy [illegible] industrial field there has been, there is, there can be but one [illegible]

The capitalist class is organized on every side to defe[illegible] strongly entrenched power from attack by the workers.

Standing at the head is the United States Chamber of Commerc[illegible] ordinating all anti-labor forces on every field thruout the country.

It is political, economic, social, propagandist,—it is everythin[illegible] anything the fight calls for. The various employers' associations o[illegible] industry wage their industrial battle. The various political parties and their office-holding puppets provide the anti-labor laws and court decision terrorism. The myriad Rotary, Kiwanis, Union League, Hamilton and other clubs apply the social blockade on those who lack the requisite class consciousness. The press, movie, dramatic, and other associations continually maintain a drum fire of anti-labor propaganda thru every conceivable agency. The school, the pulpit, the lecture platform, the printing press—all are marshalled against us.

Against this solid army of organization the working-class forces seem weak indeed. We have nothing to combat the nation-wide Chamber of Commerce; the A. F. of L. is but a per capita collecting, jurisdiction juggling machine with only potentialities where it should have revolutionary practice. Against the employers' associations our international unions are making the best fight possible considering the handicap of the mediaeval craft divisions that split up each industry into innumerable jealous, fighting craft unions. The employers, united under one head for each industry, have a tremendous advantage over their rebellious slaves, they can pit one group against the other and defeat all except the few great industrial organizations almost at will.

Where the industrial organizations of workers and masters are more evenly matched, as in the case of the miners, victory would always go to the workers were their class as staunch in their support as the rest of the capitalist world is behind the operators. But the workers leave the miners make their own fight, contenting themselves to cheer from the side lines. Not so with the masters. The Chamber of Commerc[illegible] newspapers, movies, courts, c[illegible] ulary,—the entire organized [illegible] ist machine is in active serv[illegible] help the operators beat the [illegible] miners.

Against the social agencies o[illegible] bourgeoisie our own social [illegible] are weak indeed and quite often [illegible] ing in class spirit. Our mea[illegible] propaganda are limited to our [illegible] number of valiant papers and [illegible] activity of our membership. Ou[illegible] tential political strength is la[illegible] in the service of the masters' pa[illegible] and even the independent pol[illegible] organizations claiming to repr[illegible] the working class are more con[illegible] ed with settling their own theor[illegible] differences than with uniting [illegible] workers for action.

Against the united front o[illegible] capitalist class a united front [illegible] bor must be created.

Against the Chamber of [illegible] merce which, octopus-like, put[illegible] its arms to drag down the wo[illegible] on every field of activity, we [illegible] create a Chamber of Labor, abl[illegible] anxious to give battle to the fo[illegible]

The Workers Party issues th[illegible] for such an organization. It [illegible] at setting up no dual agencies [illegible] proposes that this new orga[illegible] struggle be created thru the pr[illegible] local Central Labor Bodies a[illegible] co-operation with all present [illegible] ing-class organizations, indu[illegible] political, fraternal, educational [illegible] social. We are content to take [illegible] part in such a united front of [illegible] and pledge our every resource, [illegible] struggles.

The opening gun includes a[illegible] peal to every union and other [illegible] ing-class organization and to [illegible] union paper, backed up by per[illegible] solicitation by our local gr[illegible] There will be tens of thousand[illegible] letters to individuals formerly [illegible] in the revolutionary movement [illegible] ing them to resume their pla[illegible] the fight. Every member of [illegible] Workers Party is to take part i[illegible] campaign, and every friend is [illegible] to lend his co-operation.

This is the first campaign [illegible] motion by our party. Labor [illegible] in the class struggle—this is the [illegible] of the hour. The Workers [illegible] responds to the need with its [illegible] paign for the united front. [illegible] your place in that campaign.

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SOVIET
RUSSIA

EVERY HAMMER YOU GIVE WILL
HELP TO BUILD YOUR FUTURE!
EVERY FILE YOU GIVE WILL HELP
BREAK THE CHAINS THAT BIND YOU!
EVERY PLOW YOU GIVE WILL EVENTUALLY
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Conducted in America under the direction of the

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
(National Office)
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LABOR
COMMONWEALTH

Here is my contribution of $................ toward relief and reconstruction of Soviet Russia. Put my name on the Roll Call.
Name .... Address ....
City .... State ....
(Worker 6-5-22)

Poet's Reputation Hard to Bear, Writes Cha

The reputation of a poet is a [illegible] thing to live down accordin[illegible] Ralph Chaplin, Poet Laureat[illegible] Capitalist Prisons and the P[illegible] tariat.

In a letter to the Director o[illegible] Workers Party Literature De[illegible] ment, which is pushing the sa[illegible] Chaplin's new book of prison po[illegible] "Bars and Shadows," Chaplin [illegible] he feels apologetic now that th[illegible] bel of "poet" is being fastened [illegible] him.

All workers who know Ch[illegible] the man, will accept with a smil[illegible] unassuming modesty of our com[illegible] The time has arrived in the re[illegible] tionary movement of America [illegible] poetry and song have their pla[illegible] the movement, just as they ha[illegible] the Russian movement previou[illegible] the great victory of the wo[illegible] there, and that Chaplin's ability [illegible] real poet of the revolutionary m[illegible] ment is recognized is seen in the [illegible] erous comment and reception o[illegible] first collection of verse embodi[illegible] "Bars and Shadows."

"Bars and Shadows" may be [illegible] in any number of copies by add[illegible] ing the Literature Depart[illegible] Workers Party, 799 Broad[illegible] Room 405, New York City, [illegible] price is $1.00 a copy, reduced [illegible] on quantity orders.

SEATTLE.—Unity of all ra[illegible] forces in this city is being soug[illegible] representatives of the Farmer-L[illegible] party, Workers' party, and [illegible] radical groups. A conference [illegible] one delegate from each organiz[illegible] present is to be held in the [illegible] future to arrange for a united [illegible] front. This conference is prelim[illegible] to a state-wide conference in w[illegible] the Workers Party will join i[illegible] forces of organized labor come [illegible]

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News of Workers Party Activities in the City, State and Nation

New York to Raise $5,000 for Big Fund

Local Greater New York, the largest Local of the Workers Party, has enthusiastically taken up the campaign of the National Office of uniting the working class of America thru the United Front campaign.

It realizes that thru such a campaign the Party will be able to strengthen its organization and make its first successful effort to reach the working class with a practical program of action.

With a membership of 2,500 the Local can easily raise $5,000 in the "One Dollar Campaign." Thru meetings to be addressed by the most prominent speakers of the Local, it will aim to build up its membership.

Meetings will be held in all sections of the city, and all members are to make special efforts to reach the left-wing socialists and other prospective members in order to get them into the Party.

All units and all members are to put themselves at the service of the Local in this campaign and speakers are especially requested to be in readiness for call to address unions and other meetings to bring before the workers the program of the Workers' Party in the present crisis of the working class of America.

The branches have been assigned quotas, as follows:

DOWNTOWN: English Branch, $100; Russian, $100; Italian, $75; Polish, $20; Hungarian, $50; Jewish, $125.

WEST SIDE: English, $200; Lithuanian, $20; Russian, $150; Jewish, No. 1, $100; Ukranian, $150; So. Slavic, $15; German, $50; Russian, No. 2, $20.

YORKVILLE: English, $200; Esthonian, $150; German, $150; German Foodstuff Workers, $25.

HARLEM: English, $100; Russian, $100; Jewish, $150; Greek, $100; Finnish, $300; Spanish, $50.

BRONX: English, $150; Russian, $150; Jewish, $150; German, $75; Lettish, $150.

WILLIAMSBURG: English, $150; German (Bushwick), $25; German No. 1, $50; Lithuanian No. 1, $150; Lithuanian No. 36, $20; Jewish, $50; Lithuanian (Great Neck), $15.

BROWNSVILLE: English, $60; Jewish, $60.

YONKERS: English, $50.

Meetings are to be held in all sections to be addressed by the following speakers: **Allison, Askeli, Bittelman, Dunn, Engdahl, Gitlow, Karlin, Kruse, Lindgren, Lore, Minor, Olgin, Owens, Ruthenberg, Weinstone**, and others to be announced later.

Fifty thousand manifestos of the Workers Party will be distributed during the campaign.

Branches are to purchase manifestos from the Local Office, 208 East 12th St., at $3.50 per thousand.

ATTENTION!

Pictures of the Russian Famine District will be shown at an illustrated lecture by Julius Codkind, at St. George's Hall, 183 New York Avenue, Newark, N. J., on Friday, June 2, 7.30 P. M.—Admission free!

Appeal for Unity of Revolutionary Forces in the Workers Party

The comrades of the Scandinavian Federation, in which the former sections of the Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party have recently united, are voting on the subject of affiliation with the Workers Party of America. The Central Executive Committee has addressed the following appeal to the members of the federation:—

* * *

To The Members of the Scandinavian Federation:—

There is before your organization for decision the important question of the future affiliation of your federation. We are addressing this letter to you to show you that it is your revolutionary duty to become part of The Workers Party of America.

We are convinced that the great majority of the members of your federation are workers who respond to the inspiration of the Communist movement and are ready to do their duty as Communists.

We could not hope to prove to you that your place is within the ranks of the Workers Party if that were not the case. Believing that your organization is made up of such members we feel assured that it is only necessary to set forth the present situation to assure your taking your place in the Workers Party.

With the coming of the Revolution in Russia and the organization of the Third International there sprang into life a tremendous forward movement of the revolutionary workers. In this country that movement made itself felt in the struggle to compel the Socialist Party to adopt a revolutionary program, to take its stand with the Communist International.

The reactionary Right Wing leaders preferred to destroy the Socialist Party rather than have its program and tactics changed to meet the demands of the revolutionary membership. They expelled tens of thousands of members. Other tens of thousands left the party voluntarily. Differences arose between the groups which were expelled and which left the Socialist Party. No sooner were they organized than the iron fist of the capitalists struck down their organization, bringing greater disintegration and division.

It is not necessary to review the history of the last two or three years in detail. You know that history as we do. Our message to you is not about the divisions of those years but to give you the inspiring message that there has come a new growth, a new solidarity of the revolutionary elements. That solidarity and growth is expressing itself in the Workers Party of America.

The time for division, for separate organization, is over. Just as it is the task of the Communists to build up a united front of the workers, so it is also our task to build up a united organization of those class-conscious disciplined workers who must lead the way in the struggle of the whole working class.

We must unite in one powerful centralized, disciplined organization the understanding, class-conscious, fearless men and women who are the advance guard in the workers' struggle. That is the task which the Workers Party was organized to achieve, and the progress of the last four months shows that it is achieving that goal. It has united nearly a score of groups into one strong organization.

It is only after we have built a strong, centralized, disciplined party that we can hope to assume the place of leadership in the revolutionary struggles of the workers. Your federation standing alone can no doubt do some work among the Scandinavian workers. But how can it play an effective part in the revolutionary struggle in this country if it is not bound together with other workers and does not have a program of action for the greater struggle?

The Workers Party of America offers you a program which will not only help you build your own organization, but a program that will be a guide in the greater revolutionary struggle. In becoming a part of the Workers Party you will be in a position to act together with the whole advance guard of the revolutionary movement in this country. You will have the guidance of the party in your work, you will have the inspiration of being part of an organization actually engaged in the daily fights of the class struggle.

Your duty, comrades, is in the ranks of the Workers Party of America. There you will be able to build a stronger organization among the Scandianvian workers in this country. There you will be able to perform your revolutionary duty to the working class.

Let every member vote for affiliation with the Workers Party. We do not want to split your organization. We want you to take your stand as a body in the ranks of our organization.

Let us go forward with the greater strength that will come to both you and us through your affiliation with our party. Let us build together the united, powerful, centralized, disciplined party that will lead the workers of this country to victory—the Workers Party of America.

Yours with fraternal greetings,
Central Executive Committee
Workers Party of America.
C. E. Ruthenberg,
Executive Secretary.

Suppress Soviet Declaration!

A splendid review of the recent relations between Russia and other countries was presented in the form of a memorandum to the members of the Genoa Conference at the opening of the Conference over a month ago.

The memorandum, which has now reached this country in printed form, has been withheld by the press from the eyes of the general public, and is at last given publicity in the June 1 issue of "Soviet Russia."

This sober but uncompromising document passes in review the claims of foreign countries and their citizens to be indemnified for losses owing to the Russian Revolution, and, after showing these claims to be morally without foundation, admits the expediency of granting them in view of the pertinacity and obstinacy of the foreign capitalist claimants.

But Soviet Russia also has claims—the memorandum proceeds to state—which must be recognized by foreign powers.

These are particularly the losses inflicted on the national and private wealth of Russia by intervention and blockade, for which almost all the powers of the so-called civilized world are responsible.

The whole document presents in fuller and more readable form the material later formulated in the final memorandum of Tchitcherin to the delegates at the conference, which was printed in the American press.

Among other hitherto unpublished matter in the June 1st SOVIET RUSSIA is a correspondence between Captain Hibben, Secretary of the American Section of the Russian Red Cross, and Mr. Walter Lippman, of the New York World, in which Captain Hibben points out that the Russian famine, in spite of Hoover's and Lippman's statements to the contrary, still continues to be a condition requiring every assistance that can be given from abroad.

The same issue contains a tabulated account of the orders placed by the Soviet Government, thru the Russian Railway Commission up to January 1, for locomotives, cars, railway equipment, etc., which amounted to about $150,000,000.

SEATTLE.—The local council has placed its approval on a proposal by Australian labor that various working-class bodies of the Pacific hold a conference, preferably in Hawaii.

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THE WORKER
Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

[illegible]

MR. HILLQUIT AND THE UNITED FRONT

EDITOR, THE WORKER.—The other day Mr. Hillquit rid himself of an article on the United Front. Three general ideas prevailed in the article. First: The Communist International wants to reconstruct the unity which it had destroyed so mischievously during the past three years. Second: A United Front with the weak Communist groups is undesirable for the Socialist Party. Third: What the Socialist Party needs is closer contact with labor.

Now, Mr. Hillquit, we want to promote your peace of mind and at the same time give you a piece of our mind; so please follow us thru this little article.

Please read the theses of the Communist International on the United Front carefully. It says clearly, explicitly and without room for misunderstanding: a **United Front of Labor**. Now, since your united front with the Chicago Police in 1919, engineered by your Messrs. Germer and Gerber; since your united front with the Detroit courts, engineered by your Mr. Stedman; since your united front with the most democratic assembly in Albany against the Workers' Republic of Russia, engineered by yourself, Mr. Hillquit, who in all the world, outside of yourself, would consider the Socialist Party when a United Front **of Labor** is under consideration? No, Mr. Hillquit, you are not meant, indeed not. Tho a United Front of Labor will undoubtedly include workers that are still at the present moment misled by your glib tongue. But even then it will not be a United Front **with** you and your Party, but **against** you, Mr Hillquit.

Just one sentence about your remark regarding the weakness of the friends of the Communist International in the United States as against your supposed strength. You, Mr. Hillquit, must have worked up this illusion while sitting in the Cleveland convention of your Party a few weeks ago. Instead of seeing your 22 delegates your conscience pictured to you the 96 delegates you had thrown out by the Chicago police at the 1919 convention. We forgive you for this mixing up history a bit. We can be at least as magnanimous as the moon when the poodle barks at him.

But now to number three. You want to establish contact with Labor. But, Mr. Hillquit, are you not a gentleman of the profession of law? You ought to know, if nobody else does, that there are two parties necessary for a contract of marriage, a party of the first part as well as a party of the second part. Barkis must be willin', Mr. Hillquit. Now Barkis-Labor is not willin.' He does not want to marry a kept woman. Of course you had that lady, your Socialist Party, always fixed up as a pure virgin with joy promising forms. But you were not careful enough.

We knew that it was a fake. But the masses did not. And in one unguarded moment, it was in Albany, you unhappily arranged a public undressing of the lady. And then the knowledge became public property. The swelling bosom turned out to be scraps of paper on which you, Mr. Hillquit, had written a program. The anti-capitalist teeth dropped out and turned out to be a make-believe device.

Barkis-Labor had a master, Gompers & Co. That master always hated your little lady, the S. P. But since Albany, since everybody with eyes could see that the supposed beautiful virgin is an ugly prostitute that keeps up appearance only thru tricks of the trade, he held out little inducements to her. And true to her trade, she accepted them and gives in return what ladies of her kind have to offer. Now, Mr. Hillquit, you may think that that will bring you nearer to the bridegroom, nearer to labor. But you are mistaken. Your little lady will not marry Labor. She will end like most of her kind: kicked by those that formerly bought her body, hated by those she betrayed, and looked upon with contempt by the rest of the world.

Once you had your little lady, the Socialist Party, undress herself in public. There were some that did not look. They are still deceived by her forms and by the glib tongue of her guardian, yourself, Mr. Hillquit. But a United Front of Labor will develop and in her attempt to show off before the giant, your little lady, the S. P. will be again and again led into situations like that in Albany. And it will again and again drop her mask of virginal beauty and will show herself in the ugly nakedness of a prostitute of capitalism, until all workers are out of danger of falling in love with that kept creature.—J. A. Marshall.

Bear Mountain! June 11!

Trade Union Educational League Issues Call for Chicago Conference in August

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Every thinking worker in this country will be interested in the Call just issued for the National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League to be held in Chicago August 26-27. Carrying out the spirit of the Call, the radical and militant workers should everywhere organize and be represented at this Conference. The Call, signed by Secretary-Treasurer William Z. Foster, is as follows:

* * *

Militants! At last the time has come for us to draw up our programs and to organize our forces thruout the labor movement. The Trade Union Educational League is about to hold its first National Conference. The meeting will take place in Chicago on August 26th and 27th. Militant union workers from every locality and industry are herewith cordially invited to attend.

The labor movement is now passing thru the most serious crisis in its entire history. With unexampled aggressiveness the employers are smashing one section of it after another. Orthodox trade union methods and tactics are unavailing to stop this "open shop" drive. Drastic new measures will have to be applied, or the labor movement will be annihilated and the working class left helpless in the grip of the exploiters.

The multitudes of craft unions must be amalgamated into a series of industrial unions. The prevailing craft form of unionism is out-of-date and obsolete. It no longer conforms to industrial conditions. It prevents real solidarity and it must give way to a type of organization that will include all the workers in a given industry.

Only the industrial form of organization can cope with the powerful employers. Another vitally necessary step is the discarding of the existing trade-union philosophy.

At present our labor unions are in the anomolous position of having working-class bodies and capitalist minds. They are in fundamental contradiction with themselves. They have proletarian interests and instincts, but their petty-bourgeois point of view neutralizes them.

Hence their every effort is paralyzed by uncertainty, timidity, and weakness. And so it must remain until they finally come to realize that there is no hope for them except in the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic. Then, and then only, with a revolutionary goal before them, will the trade unions gain the clearness of aim and the militancy of spirit indispensable to success in the modern class struggle.

In the present crisis the old officialdom stand in helpless consternation. They are at their wits' ends. Again and again they apply the customary trade-union methods, only to be overwhelmed by fresh disasters.

But still they do not change these methods. Disregarding the patent fact that employers have enormously increased their strength in recent years by consolidating their organizations, amassing vast riches, and becoming intensely class conscious, the trade-union leaders cling desperately to their own antiquated system.

They are constitutionally opposed to all real organization betterment and habitually fight it to a standstill. Intellectually they are frozen over solid. There is hardly a twig of progress showing above the cold and lifeless surface of their collective mind.

But if the static trade-union officials fail to perceive the necessities of the movement, the dynamic rank and file will and must seize the initiative itself. Hence, the National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League. This representative gathering of rank and file workers will not only point out the needs of organized Labor, but will also outline a campaign of education to satisfy these needs by revamping the prevailing philosophy, amalgamating the unions and giving them new leadership.

The Trade Union Educational League is opposed on principle to dual unionism. It is not a labor union itself, nor does it propose to become one. It is solely an educational body. It aims, not to split the mass organizations, but to unite and strengthen them in every possible way.

The proposed conference will not be held for the purpose of furthering secession movements, but to work out an organized, intensive campaign of constructive, militant education in all the industries.

Representation will be based upon the local general groups of the T. U. E. L., each of which shall be entitled to six delegates—if there is no such group in your town, organize one at once so that you may be represented.

Trade unions and central bodies may send only fraternal delegates. Each participating organization shall take care of the expenses of its delegates.

Do you believe that Organized Labor should have a real rebel spirit? Do you believe that the craft unions should be amalgamated into industrial unions? Do you believe that the trade union movement should have new and militant leadership? If so, come to the National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League. It will be one of the most important gatherings in the history of the American labor movement.

Wm. Z. Foster, Sec'y-Treas.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Downtown English Branch, 10th St. and Second Ave., Friday, May 26th. Speaker, Campbell.

Brownsville English Branch, Stone and Pitkin Sts., Brooklyn, Friday, May 26. Speakers, Ragozin and Carlson.

Williamsburg English Branch, 226 Roebling St., Saturday, May 27th.

Live in Rockaway?

A new branch of the Workers Party has been organized in Rockaway. All comrades living there should not fail to join and attend meetings. First meeting will be held Thursday, June 2, 8 P. M., at 1709 Redfern Ave., Far Rockaway. Come and bring all your friends.

Publish First Volume of Workers Party Library

"Dictatorship vs. Democracy," by Leon Trotzky, which has appeared in English only in Great Britain, (under the title of "Defense of Terrorism), will constitute the first volume of a series of cloth and paper bound volumes which the Workers Party will issue under the general name of "Workers Party Library." This volume is now being set by the printer and it is planned to have it ready for delivery June 20th.

The "Library" will be a series of volumes hitherto not published in America and also of works which will be written in the future. The series will be uniform in size and appearance thus adding to its attractiveness for book lovers.

The binding in paper will be strong and the volumes thread stitched and durable thruout. The cloth bound editions will be of the highest character in both appearance and quality. The titles will be stamped in gold leaf on a dark red background.

In a letter sent out by the National Office, all Party workers are requested to assist the publication of this Party Library by securing cash advance sales. Generous reductions are being given the Party units on such sales thus turning into their hands immediately a percentage of profits on all sales and also aiding in the financing of the local work.

"Dictatorship vs. Democracy" will sell at 50c. in paper, and $1.00 in cloth binding. Write the National Office, Workers Party of America, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City, for prices on quantity orders.

Local Greater New York Is Preparing for Campaign

Local Greater New York, Workers Party, this year will place a state and local ticket in the field.

At the last City Central Committee meeting the Local adopted the memorandum of the Executive Secretary on the Coming Elections in which he pointed out that with the exception of the Workers League, the Communist movement in America has not engaged in elections. In the coming elections the Workers Party will appear before the masses and appeal for support against the capitalist and socialist reform parties.

Nominations of candidates are to be made at county delegated conventions, subject to the approval of the City Central Committee.

Instructions to start the work will be issued by the Local Office very shortly. Arrangements will be made regarding the raising of funds and the issuing of literature during the campaign. All branches must place themselves in readiness for this intensive period of propaganda and organization.

Will you be there June 11?

CONVENTION AT FRISCO

The district convention of W. P. District No. 13, was held at San Francisco. Thirty-one delegates representing 481 members in California and 42 in Arizona, and fraternal delegates were seated from the Young Workers League of Oakland and Berkeley, and from the Workers' Press.

District Organizer Ella Reeves Bloor reported that she had addressed 65 meetings in her two and one-half months in office, of which 22 were under the auspices of labor unions.

Practically all branches reported good activity. The Greek branch, for instance, altho very small in membership, built up a circulation of 400 subscriptions in San Francisco alone for the Greek W. P. organ, "Voice of the Worker", besides handling a weekly bundle of 50 thru the branch.

The Finnish Branch of Berkeley maintains a fine headquarters on which the rent alone comes to $350 per month. It has a membership of 350 and a Y. W. L. of 70 members. Three study classes under trained directors were specially mentioned.

Los Angeles reported the sale of 150 copies weekly of "The Worker". Resolutions affirming adherence to the united front policy on the industrial field, on behalf of the release of Tom Mooney, and urging support of the local labor organ, "Rank and File" were adopted.

BROMS TO SHOW PICTURES.

Saturday, May 27, at 8 P. M., the Women's Regiment of the Technical Aid to Soviet Rusia is organizing a gathering at which Allen S. Broms, of the F. S. R. will show the latest pictures from Russia. Russian national dishes will be served. The proceeds will go for relief of starving Russian children. Come with your friends. Address 240 East 23d St., New York.

Y. W. L. CLASS

The Young Workers' League, Williamsburg Branch, 226 Roebling St., conducts a class in the A.B.C. of Communism every Friday evening. The class is started at 8.30 sharp. Comrade Ray Ragozin is the teacher.

All comrades are invited to attend the class, and young workers are urged to join the Y. W. L. and participate in all its activities.

Carrie Katz, Secretary,
Williamsburg Y. W. L.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—Mrs. Suzanne Gomez, executive secretary of the Travelers' Aid here, estimated that at least three-quarters of the 500 Russian "war-brides" who were brought here from Siberia by soldiers of the American army have since been deserted by their husbands.

WANTED

Speakers for
UNTED FRONT CAMPAIGN

All members qualified to address unions, open air meetings, workers organizations, are to send in their names at once to the Local Office 208 East 12th Street.

The UNITED FRONT CAMPAIGN is the first campaign of the Party to build up the organization and develop contact with the Workers.

MEETING OF SPEAKERS AND ACTIVE WORKERS

Meeting of speakers to address unions, open air meetings, etc., on the issues of the United Front—Thursday, June 1st, Toller Building, Room 1, 8 P. M.

Outline of the issues and how to present the United Front to the workers will be made by C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary of the Workers Party, and A. Bittelman, Editor of the Freiheit.

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799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

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arranged by the
German Branches, Workers Party
OF BROOKLYN AND QUEENS
SUNDAY, JUNE 4th
At the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Hall and Garden
949 Willoughby Avenue
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE AGITATION FUND
Admission: Advance 25 cents, at the Gate 35 cents
Commencing at 3 P. M. [illegible] Music: A. [illegible]'s Orchestra

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The Literary Digest gives a full page to the Foster-Gompers controversy showing that the capitalist press is 100 per cent. on the side of the Anti-Russian, Bolshevik-hating president of the American Federation of Labor. That ought to give the workers a sure tip as to just where they ought to stand.

The Office Boys at Washington

The Harding-Hughes-Hoover outfit in Washington has refused to sanction trade relations, with or give recognition to the Russian Soviet Republic.

But the Standard Oil Interests leased an entire hotel in Genoa during the sessions of the Economic Conference, and its big game is to capture valuable oil concessions in Southern Russia.

And J. Pierpont Morgan, head of the House of Morgan, sails for Europe to make new loans to Germany and Austria. In the language of the London Nation:

"If political America holds aloof from Europe, financial America is coming in with the intervention of J. P. Morgan and Co. So the German loan should be arranged. There is a second and subordinate transaction—a loan of 8,000,000 pounds sterling ($40,000,000) to Austria, in which both the Morgans and the Bank of England are concerned."

So why should the Harding-Hughes-Hoover administration at Washington butt in as long as the House of Morgan is finding Europe a land of milk and honey for its big deals?

In the language of Judge Elbert H. Gary, of the Steel Trust, telling the newspapermen what happened at Harding's banquet to the steel czars last Saturday:

"The President stated that he did not desire to interfere with the natural and legitimate progress of business."

Capitalism sure has a good bunch of office boys at Washington. They do not even wish to pry into the affairs of their bosses, an investigating instinct every office boy is supposed to possess. They are all content to wait and get their orders.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, of New York City, threatens to move an army of preachers and rabbis into West Virginia to combat the revival forces of "Billy" Sunday. We await the conflict.

Dragging Labor in the Mire

One of the finest examples of the use of labor politicians to give a "labor" color to vicious and reactionary instruments of the capitalist class is the appointment of Hugh Frayne, New York state organizer for the American Federation of Labor, to the inquisitorial body which is prying into the opinions of New York teachers.

The head of this body, a vestigial remain of the Middle Ages, is one Archibald E. Stevenson, former counsel of the Lusk committee, a malevolent, rat-like personage, whose cess-pool mind has become a standard by which educators in the New York schools are judged; other members are Miss Olivia Leventritt, daughter of an ex-justice, and Conde Pallen, editor of the Catholic Encyclopedia, a gentleman who devotedly upholds the doctrine of his church that faith and not knowledge is the great force for the good of the world and the glory of God.

Associating with this snooping and sniffling crew is Hugh Frayne "representing labor." It is enough to turn the stomach of a jackal. But it is a condition that will continue to exist until labor ceases to be gratified by this kind of recognition.

As for the teachers; if there is an ounce of self-respect left among them, they will tell this self-constituted band of moral guardians to go to hell—individually and collectively.

One Night Sam Dreamed He Was a King

Gregory Semenov, the Cossack butcher, slayer of American soldiers in Siberia, has been released with the apologies of the appellate division of the New York Supreme Court. But Sacco and Vanzetti, working men, still face death at the hands of the ruling class.

End the War on the Children

Washington, the capital city of the nation, has a deaf ear these days, as always, to the bitter cry of the children.

The United States Supreme Court, presided over by that obese symbol of capitalism, "Taft the Fat," has handed down another brutal decision rejecting attempts to combat child slavery in the factories and mills, especially of "The Solid South."

And Warren Gamaliel Harding, president by gift of the capitalist dictatorship that rules the land, has turned away without seeing, for the 9th time, the sons and daughters of political prisoners now held in the steel cages of American bastilles.

The supreme court decision declares that congress has no power to levy prohibitory taxes on child-made goods intended for inter-state shipment. This would be a blow at state's rights, and what rights have children compared to the sacred privileges that must be accorded to the cotton mill owners of Georgia and the Carolinas?

Congress does have the right to levy tariffs against goods imported into this country, but that is to help the steel trust, the coal trust, and the other great industrial combines boost prices to the consumers in this country and thus increase their own winnings.

Congress does impose suppressive taxation on oleomargarine and other substitutes but that is to benefit butter trust profits.

But children are not to be put on the same high level as those goods that bring in a golden harvest to respectable profiteers.

It is unconstitutional to protect the tender bodies and undeveloped minds of children from the rapacious greed of soulless money bandits.

But on the same day Taft's supreme court handed down a decision declaring unconstitutional 80-cent gas rate legislation of the New York state assembly.

The protection that is denied the children is given the gas barons, or any other gang of highwaymen that can rob enough to be "respectable."

That is the way of capitalism. Capitalism allows millions of children to starve in Soviet Russia. Capitalism plunges all Europe into the abyss of war and destruction. Capitalism refuses to listen to the cries of the children in the resulting European and world-wide chaos. Millions of children in these United States are hungry today. They go hungry to school. They are driven hungry into the factories, there to toil for a mere pittance, scabbing upon their fathers and mothers.

And when their fathers protest, when their fathers raise their voices against this system, they are thrown into prison. And when the children raise their voices against that imprisonment they are driven off the White House lawn at Washington, and when they follow Harding to church they are refused admittance.

It is a vicious circle. Some would end the war on the children by constitutional amendments, the only resort now open, it is claimed.

But it is easy to declare even the Constitution unconstitutional when the class war is raging.

Let the workers realize that the whole structure of government is modelled and perfected to serve the interests of private property and to insure increased profits for the property owners.

The workers must destroy this brutalizing, degrading system, that we call capitalism, and rear in its place the rule of the workers that will end the war on the children, that will create a social system that will give first place to the children, who will develop a real civilization under the enlightened order of Communism.

Samuel Untermyer, millionaire lawyer, is scolding overtime because Attorney General Daugherty at Washington hears the voice of his master and refuses to allow the department of justice to proceed against "the interests," especially the General Electric Company, controlled by J. P. Morgan & Co. And he wonders why the people don't get excited and boom him for president in 1924. He evidently forgets that everybody was fed up on "Teddy" Roosevelt's fake trust-busting. Untermyer's return performance doesn't take. The masses are beginning to think deeper.

The kept press in Chicago blamed organized labor for a fire in a 77-apartment house. But investigation proved that the blaze originated in a bonfire started by some boys that got beyond their control. The same kept press reported a woman as stating she had heard a man in the neighborhood declaring, "To Hell with the Landis Award." When questioned she claims she had made no such statement. Thus are the columns of the kept press filled and the propaganda against labor spread.

Graft and misuse of funds so prevalent during the war in Washington has permeated even to the aristocratic Army and Navy Club with the result that $3,000,000 raised for the purposes of erecting a memorial has disappeared. Any attempt to investigate is attacked as a "Bolshevik Plot." Secretary of War Weeks and Secretary of the Navy Denby will no doubt call in "Bill" Burns to uncover this latest "red conspiracy."

The Schlesinger administration in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has received an endorsement of its anti-amalgamation policies from the "Weekly News Letter," official organ of Gompers' administration in the American Federation of Labor. Anything to keep the workers divided in the needle industry, is the Schlesinger-Gompers' policy.

Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University, is bold enough to declare that the United States should wait in its aid to Russia until "the Bolshevik government is dead and buried." We fear the Doctor has a long wait coming, and that he will pass away without having his wish satisfied. Sorry the Bolsheviks can't accomodate him.

Harvest Outlook Goo
Russian Exports a
Imports Are Growi

While secret diplomatists wrangling over the resources in R sia, refusing recognition to the S viet and yet desirous of getting share in the coming trade with Russia is leaving no stone untur to bring the country back to a no mal condition by developing as as possible home production and suscitating foreign trade.

Await Autumn Harvests

Judging from reports coming one feels optimistic as to the autu harvests. If that be realized, Rus may be said to be on her way recovery.

The rainfall during the month April has been plentiful. The wint plantings are in excellent conditi and the hay crop in a number parts of the country is very goo

Reports state that they feel jus ified in expecting a good agricultur year.

In the meanwhile, they have be importing grains whenever possib Maize, beans and peas were impo ed from Roumania, to the amou of 163,000 pood.

The Ukraine imported 500,0 pood of maize from America. Th also bought 2000 tons of summ barley and 1600 tons of ordinary b ley from Czecho-Slovakia. In ad tion, 4000 potato plows were p chased which will be delivered in short time.

Increase Harbor Facilities

An American steamship compa has proposed to the Commissar Foreign trade that regular stea ship communication be establish between Russia and the Unit States, thus developing freight a passenger transportation.

As far as possible the harbors a being prepared for an increas trade. The harbor of Nikolaiev the Black Sea has increased its faci ties so that it can now handle 1 500,000 pood of freight monthly.

Russia's exports for 1921 amou ed to 12,963,000 poods, of which 200,000 pood went to England, th being the greatest amount export to a single country. The exports i cluded lumber, flax, wool, furs a skins, benzine, manganeze, asbest and graphite.

Exports to England Increase

It is interesting to note the ri in the exports to England. In J uary 1921, they were 260 pood wh in October and November of th year they reached their highest, bei 424,135 pood and 586,737 pood.

Russia's entire export and impo trade at present is 9.6 per cent. what it was in peace time

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Russky Golos, the Russian dai published in New York, is publis ing a series of appeals for deman on congress to order the seizure all funds belonging to the Russi people and now in the hands of Bo Bakhmetiev, bogus Russian amba sador, who still is recognized by t state department, altho the gover ment he came here to represent h been dead for more than four yea Russky Golos asks that these fun be used to help relieve famine a suffering among the Russian peop

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TEN WORKERS SHOULD REA THIS COPY OF THE WORKE KEEP IT IN CIRCULATIO

Ruthenberg, Workers Party Secretary, Extends Greetings to Convention of Youth

C. E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary of the Workers Party, in addressing the first national convention of the Young Workers League, spoke as follows:

* * *

To extend greetings to this gathering of youth is to extend greetings to those who will complete the work of the revolutionary movement that is now under way.

We have learned from our experience of the last four or five years that the revolution of which we have been talking, which we have been working for and which has been the end and object of our movement may be achieved so far as the conquest of political power is concerned, by an action not extending over a long period of time.

But that first act of a revolution—the seizure of political power—is only the beginning of the work of the revolutionary proletariat.

We have found from the experience of our Russian comrades that when we have won that first victory then the great task is still before us.

Then the task still remains of taking the capitalist structure—that system which we are in existence to destroy and rebuilding it on the plan of Communism.

That task must be done and that task requires greater discipline and greater ability, requires greater effort than even the task of winning the revolutionary struggle, and among those of you who sit here today in this convention I am sure there are the men and women who, in the future, will be faced by that task of building a Communist structure out of the debris of capitalism. The work which you undertake here today in this Convention is part of that work which will bring to you the discipline, ability, skill, to undertake the future task, the heavy burden that will fall upon you.

Those of us who today are bearing the greater part of the burden of this struggle, who are in the movement that is fighting on the revolutionary field, may see the time when we in this country will be able to achieve the first victory of the revolution—the establishment of the Soviet State—but the task that will go on for years after—the task of bringing into existence that society which is our aim and ideal, the society in which the services of men and women will have a social use, that is your task. That is the task for which you are to gain the training in the work which begins in this convention in which the Young Workers' League is to be established.

I can only urge you with all my heart that in these deliberations you keep in mind not only the fact that you are training yourselves, but that thru the discipline, the ability to organize, the ability to do constructive work, that you gain here, you are training yourselves for the greatest task that mankind has ever faced—to build a Communist structure and to give all the people of the earth the opportunity to not only secure the necessities of life not only food, clothing and homes to live in, but also to have the opportunity for education, the opportunity for recreation, the opportunity to enjoy the beautiful things of life—not a society in which a few take the heritage of the ages as their own, but a society in which all will enjoy what the genius of the human race has achieved.

Now, comrades, in regard to the immediate problem which you are facing as to the affiliation of your organization, as to how you shall conduct your immediate work to build up your organization, to bring more young workers to your ranks, to train more young workers for the revolutionary struggle and the work of rebuilding society. In order to get clear in mind what we face in that respect, it is necessary for us to review briefly the history of the last few years. You know that in this country, as well as elsewhere in the world, the workers' movement responded to the revolutionary impulse of the Russian Revolution. You know that as a result of that inspiration there surged up within the then existing Socialist Party that great movement embracing the overwhelming majority of the membership of the organization to take power out of the hands of the right wing elements and re-build the organization upon a revolutionary Communist program.

You know the history of the struggle—how the right wing element tried to obstruct our work. You know that when the Communist Parties came into existence, they met the full force of the attack of the capitalist class and their existence as open organizations, leading the working class, was destroyed by that attack. What was the experience of the few years that followed? We found in this country that the Communist movement did not grow, did not secure power, did not take the leadership of the workers' struggle because there was no movement that could openly appeal to the workers of this country and furnish the program and the leadership that would build a strong working class movement in this country. How can we expect that the mass of the workers, still supporting in many cases the old political parties, still accepting the bourgeois conceptions of society, of the government of the United States, how can we expect that this working class will come under the sway of the leadership of an organization which cannot openly come forth and appeal to the workers and rally them around the standard of Communism?

And comrades, that this cannot be done is realized not only by the workers in this country who responded to the inspiration of the Communist International, but it was the Third Congress of the International which told us that in every country in the world there must be an open party which shall take up the struggles of the workers and it is in response to that alone that there has come into existence the Workers Party of America. (Applause.)

You have been told from the platform today (by a fraternal delegate representing an adult organization) that there is a division in the ranks of the Communists, of the United States. I say to you that there is no division among those who accept the leadership of the Communist International. (Prolonged Applause.)

The Workers Party accepts that leadership. The Workers Party is carrying out a program in harmony with that leadership. The Workers Party is in existence because we cannot build the revolutionary movement in the United States without an organization that can go before the workers of this country with its program and appear before the workers of this country with those men who stand in responsible positions and fight for that program.

The Workers Party has rallied to its support, is rebuilding, reorganizing those revolutionary forces which left the Socialist Party because of their response to the Russian Revolution and the Communist International. The Workers Party is combining these forces, these organizations, which were separated from each other by the iron fist of capitalism levelled at the Communist Parties in this country. The Workers Party is building a new and unified organization having but one purpose, and that is to fight the revolutionary struggle, to fight the struggle to establish a Soviet Republic in the United States and its tactics and purpose are those of the Communist International. (Applause.)

Let us see how your organization stands in relation to this organization. How can you best make progress—as a body standing alone, depending upon your own resources, depending upon your own program, or as an organization that is welded together as part of the greater movement which responds to the leadership of the Communist International? Standing alone as an independent organization, you might make progress, you will make some progress. You can build your organization to some extent—but how much stronger you will be—how much greater will be the results of your efforts, if you are part of the greater organization of the movement that throws itself into the class struggle and puts itself in the leadership of the workers of this country.

The Workers Party is now but a few months old, but already there is in preparation, there is mapped out, that campaign which will put the Workers' Party before the working class of this country as the only organization that in the present crisis in the struggle between the workers and the capitalists, comes to the working class with a program to unify, to strengthen, to unite the whole working class in this struggle against capitalism. Yes, we stand for a united front. We stand for a campaign to bring together the whole working class in this country to resist the capitalist offensive, but that does not mean that we lose our identity, that we lose the organizational independence of our organization—the Workers Party.

The Workers Party has a distinct purpose to serve, has a duty to perform and that is to bring into its fold as members of the organization, those men and women of the working class who can be depended upon, those understanding, class-conscious workers, welded together in an organization that will furnish the leadership, that will furnish the program, that will stand in the forefront of the struggle, marching at the head of the batallions of the working class—forward, forward, until the victory is won. And I invite you, this Convention, to affiliate with that organization. To become part of that organization, recruiting for it the youth of this country, making the beginning in training them to become part of the class-conscious army that leads the struggle of the working cla As such an organization, as part such a party, gaining all that c come to you from its inspiratio giving to your assistance the forc which you can use to build up yo organization, you will be a hundr times as strong as you could possib be as an independent organization.

And, comrades, let us now at th time begin forgetting division, se aration, independence. Those not the words of revolutionists, th are not the words of people who c build a powerful working class o ganization. The message that mu come to the workers everywhere —unity.

Build your strength in one pow ful whole. Let us build that drivi force, that engine which may be t power at the head in the revolutio ary struggle in this country, a made up of the leaders of the cla struggle, a rank and file intellige educated, class-conscious, a You Workers League made up of the eli of the working class youth in th country, marching together should to shoulder—youth and those wh now stand in the ranks of the Par —fighting together.

That is the way to victory, that the way to gain strength, that is t way to win that victory which w will win in spite of all the forces, i spite of all the strength and in spit of prisons and all those powers whic capitalism now holds—that victor will be ours which will bring th Soviet Republic of the United States

Unity of the youth and those wh are in the forefront in the struggle that is the way to victory. (Prolonged applause followed by thre cheers for the Workers Party.)

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Coal Miners Great Victory!

"Not Guilty!" Treason Trial Verdict Setback for Coal Barons

"Hopes" for Convention of A. F. of L.

By PATRICK MONAHAN

The coming convention of the American Federation of Labor, Cincinnati, June 12, is of tremendous importance to the workers of America, not because of what it will accomplish but because of what it will fail to accomplish.

The vital issues concerning the future of the workers of America will come before that convention and be steam-rolled and railroaded as only the "Old Guard" can do.

In order to understand the workings of the A. F. of L. convention, one must keep in mind its personnel. The convention opens in Cincinnati, formerly a wet town, at present [illegible] interest to a large proportion of the delegates.

Sam's "Eyes" and "Ears"

President Gompers will, as usual, be chairman of the convention. He will sit, as for years the writer has watched him sit, like an old owl, whose senses are failing—eyesight and hearing especially. On each side of him sit his "eyes" and "ears."

Miss LeGard, his private secretary, who knows most of the delegates by sight, sits on one side, and William C. Roberts, one of his pussyfooters-in-chief, on the other.

William C. Roberts was, for many years, a newspaper reporter in the City of Chicago in the employ of William Randolph Hearst, the same Hearst whom Sam charges as wanting to unseat him as President of the American Federation of Labor.

Should a delegate more than fifty feet from President Gompers rise and desire the floor, Miss LeGard or "Billy" Roberts will lean over and whisper in Sam's ear the name of the delegate and the organization he represents, and then Sam in a voice and manner resembling an old Oriental potentate, will say, Delegate "So-and-so" has the floor.

On issues of vital importance when various delegates are struggling for the floor, on many occasions the "eyes" and "ears" do not see or hear those delegates whose views are known to incline to the progressive side.

Power of "Grand Dukes"

The power in the convention of the American Federation of Labor is concentrated almost solely in the hands of the General Presidents (the grand dukes) of the various International Unions.

The vital issues coming before the convention are decided by a vote. The Internationals usually cast their ballot for the entire delegation thru the General President. Should any individual delegate dare to break this precedent, it would be very unfortunate for him.

The coming A. F. of L. convention occurs at a time when the workers of America ought to be piling into the unions, head over heels, for self-protection.

One of the vital issues that will no doubt be smothered, is the tremendous loss in membership of all the International Unions, with probably the one exception of the Coal Miners who are at present in a nation-wide strike which rallies their membership to the standard. This loss of membership is the most ghastly that has ever confronted the

(Continued on Page Three)

Tchitcherin Sends Message to America thru "The Worker"

THE WORKER takes exceeding pleasure this week in presenting to its readers, and thru them to the workers of the United States, a message from George Tchitcherin, commissar for foreign affairs of the Russian Soviet Republic; head of the Soviet Delegation at the Genoa Economic Conference. This statement was secured by our representative at Genoa, Comrade Juliet Stuart Poynts, with Comrade Tchitcherin's signature attached as reproduced below. The message is as follows:

. . .

Special Message from Tchitcherin to The Worker (original signature)

Whatever may be the outcome of the Genoa Conference, it has accomplished a great deal in bringing together certain states that have been separated. It has shown to the western world that the workers and peasants of Russia have created a mighty state which rests upon another basis than the other states. It has its distinct and independent international policy which is based upon the idea of peaceful, productive, common work of all peoples, upon the right of every people to dispose of its own fate and upon equal rights for all peoples. The Conference will help to make known to the other peoples that Soviet Russia is bringing positive, constructive aims in its political relations with the world. Russia itself will maintain inviolate the principles of her internal life. Her economic system is based upon the principle of national ownership and upon this principle no bargaining is possible.

30 апреля 1922

As The Worker Sees It

If we understand Sam Untermyer correctly, he now thinks the capitalist courts are almost as much of a menace as the Jewish Bakers' Union.

Count and Countess Zichy announce that they are going to work because they need money. Why not sell the limerick rights to the only name that rhymes with Vichy?

If the porch-climbing leadership in the labor movement ever fights the boss as hard as they now fight the Volstead act, "the Red Dawn" as Jack Carney calls it, will begin to impinge upon our vision.

White Hungary is getting ready to select a national assembly. The standing army and the police are being reinforced. It is a cinch that any daring Communist seeking to cast a ballot will not succeed in the attempt.

Hoover has laid down a fair price for coal at the mines in West Virginia.—$3.50 per ton.

For digging this coal the miners are paid the enormous sum of 20 cents per ton. Out of this they must pay for tools and powder. Thus is the dear public protected.

The record of the present federal administration will be the subject of criticism in the coming report of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, according to a statement recently issued by President Gompers.

The criticism, however, will be of a friendly nature; otherwise some radical might think Sam was earnest.

Build "The Worker" With New Subscriptions! Get Class Struggle Facts Before More Workers

If our readers were asked to take a vote on the proposition of making THE WORKER a DAILY, every hand would go up instantly. It's so easy to say "yes." It's so easy to raise one's hand in assent.

But working-class dailies aren't established nor continued by the simple raising of hands nor the repeating of any number of Yes's. Something far more substantial than lung exercise and gestures is required to finance such a paper, as THE WORKER. Readers, more sub-

(Continued on Page Three)

Do You Know What United Front Can Do?

By WILLIAM F. KRUSE

There is a disposition in some quarters to look upon the "United Front" program of the Workers Party as a mere tactical maneouver to gain access to otherwise hostile labor elements.

This charge is most persistently raised by those who themselves have been hanging on the fringe of the labor movement for decades and whose every move was dictated by considerations of their own position and prestige.

The call for the United Front of Labor is not a gesture. It is a program of action that must and will be realized. [illegible]

The Workers Party pledges its whole resources to this campaign not because it seeks partisan advantage by so doing but because it has no aims and aspirations separate and apart from those of the working class itself.

We push this particular slogan to the fore at this time because it alone contains any hope of successful working class resistance to the enemy.

Were the United Front in existence now the position of the workers in their present struggles would be much stronger.

They would not now have their backs to the wall; they would not be fighting for their very lives, they would be attacking the master class and wresting from them the control of the means of production.

In the case of the striking West Virginia miners, for instance, we see an unanswerable argument for the United Front of Labor.

Situation in West Virginia

The strike has been on for over a year, the men, with almost superhuman endurance have literally fought for the lives of their loved ones against all the massed power of the capitalist class, as expressed in terms of militia, soldiery and other hired gunmen, controlled-courts, newspapers, stores, churches and MONEY.

As soon as the men quit work they found themselves cut off from food, clothing, shelter,—had it been possible they would have been cut off from breathing air.

Even now they are starving, they appeal to us for food for their families, and we are responding to the appeal.

Yet these men are comparatively well organized. The United Mine Workers is one of the strongest industrial units of the working class movement. The miners' wants are simple, their habits gregarious, they have the advantage of a certain job consciousness and solidarity found in few other industries. Yet they must appeal for help.

How came this appeal to the notice of the workers of New York? Did it come from the national organization of the U. M. W.? Did it come from local central labor bodies? It did not.

How Miners' Appeal Came

A few liberal women became interested in the appeal of a group of hard-working local officers of the union. They organized relief activity among their friends in Baltimore, doing excellent work but forced by

(Continued on Page Three)

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Acquitting William Blizzard of the charge of treason growing out of the march of the coal miners on Logan county, a year ago, a farmer jury in Charles Town, West Virginia, dealt the union smashing campaign the severest blow it has yet received.

Had Blizzard been convicted, the United Mine Workers would have been declared a treasonable organization in West Virginia; its locals and publications would have been suppressed with the full power of the state and the miners left to the tender mercies of Don Chafin and his army of thugs paid by the coal operators' association.

Doubtless an epidemic of prosecutions for treason would have developed in every industrial center following the precedent the coal barons hoped to establish in West Virginia.

Without fully understanding the importance of the decision they were called upon to make a farmer jury of Charles Town, Jefferson County, after listening for more than five weeks to the scores of witnesses brought in by the coal operators and to the arguments of the best legal talent the mine owners could procure, declared Blizzard, president of Sub-District No. 2, District 17, of the United Mine Workers of America, not guilty after considering the testimony for six and one-half hours.

The first ballot stood ten to two for acquittal and the second was eleven to one. In some mysterious manner the news got abroad and Charles Town prepared to give Blizzard an ovation when the decision was finally rendered. To [illegible] who predicted a hung jury old-timers had but one reply: "He'd better come around with the rest of the boys or get ready to move."

Sentiment was about ninety per cent in favor of the defendants, and it had become a matter of local pride to prove to the miners that in at least one county of the state the coal operators could put nothing over.

Intense Interest

The courtroom was jammed to suffocation by residents who had been there since the court went into session at nine thirty in the morning; when the announcement was made that the jury had agreed the buzz of conversation ceased; it seemed that every one stopped breathing as the stereotyped question: "Gentlemen of the jury, have you agreed upon a verdict?" was put to the twelve tired men. The foreman answered in the affirmative and then read the verdict which they had couched in the language used in civil cases: "We find for the defendant." Judge Ward had cautioned the crowd to make no demonstration until court had adjourned, and the crowd waited impatiently while the change was made in the verdict to conform to criminal procedure. All restraint was thrown to the winds.

A line formed to take hands with Blizzard and his young wife. Then he was picked up and carried to the street on the shoulders of young fellows of his own age—ex-service men, members of the American legion. The legion headquarters was unlocked and out came the fife and drums belonging to the post, a parade formed and the whole town swept in behind the band and Blizzard,—whose fight they did not understand, but whose courage they admired and who symbolised for them the struggle that they sympathised with, but whose significance they did not fully grasp.

That is probably how most big things are done—without a full appreciation of the danger or the importance of what is happening.

Blow to Labor's Enemies

Perhaps the most important decision rendered by a jury in the long record of the use of the machinery of the law to cripple and hamper labor organizations, it has checked the open shop offensive in the coal regions and has proved that where juries cannot be actually bought outright and judges be handpicked for the purpose; where some idea of what an idustrial hell is where the employers rule supreme can be given to farmers and farmer communities, the assembling of armed workers for the purpose of correcting infamous

(Continued on Page Three)

New York Must Hear West Virginia Coal Miners' "Bread" Cry

"We are again clear out of relief for the strikers and their dependants, and I don't know where to turn."

That is the message that comes out of the heart of the miners' strike in West Virginia to Lawrence Dwyer, international executive board member of the United Mine Workers for West Virginia, who is heading the Relief Committee for the West Virginia Miners now working in New York and vicinity.

The message has been sent by John Gatherum, Secretary, District No. 29, from the center of the greatest suffering among the miners. Gatherum writes as follows:

Miners Lose Homes

"I have just had a visit from a man at Bellwood. These men have not worked since last July and are in pretty bad condition. We have been unable to send the people on Meadow Creek anything for over three weeks. Therefore, if you can possibly raise anything please let me know at once.

"I have spent all that has been received, even in advance of the receipt of the checks sent to us from New York. The necessity is so great that I cannot help it.

"Evictions are still the order of the day. It is sure that if the mine owners have their way in this struggle, that the very best miners in the field will be forced to leave it. Still, I have no idea that this will happen, as I find the men are stiffening their lines instead of breaking, and the men the companies are bringing in are doing so little work that it is a mystery to me that the mine owners have not already notified us of a willingness to meet us in conference."

International Board Member Dwyer has also received a letter from a coal miner evicted from his home on company property, it being charged that he is in the "taxicab business," since he drove some women to a miners' mass meeting.

Here is one of the many pathetic letters that Dwyer receives daily from some coal miners:

"I want you to know what I am up against. I am on my way to the Fayette County jail. I have been living in a house for 11 years. Now the

(Continued on Page Three)

Convention of Furriers at Philadelphia

By BOB LOW

I have often had occasion to read the advertisements of fur concerns.

It is not unusual to come across items of women's fur apparel listed as a bargain for $5,000.

The fashionable wealthy parasite thinks of a piece of fur as an exquisite medium through which to enhance her exclusive social station.

In wearing an expensive wrap costing many thousand of dollars, the fact is publicly advertised that only those who are fortunate enough to possess many more thousands of dollars are in a position to wear them.

Never Consider Human Effort

The amount of human effort involved in producing such garments is never considered by those who wear them.

In every finished fur piece, however, is consummated the toil of numerous workers.

In the U. S. thousands of workers are engaged in the fur industry.

These workers produce the expensive wraps that the wealthy wear. The workers work hard, receive small wages, suffer unemployment and are subject to all the disadvantages that the average worker has to undergo.

The fur worker's wives never enjoy the pleasure of wearing the expensive wraps her husband produces.

The Industry is owned and controlled by an unscrupulous, greedy band of manufacturers who accumulate fortunes by unmercifully exploiting the workers.

Between the fur workers and the fur bosses a savage class war exists.

Fur Workers Organized

The manufacturers have their association and the fur workers have their union known as the Fur Workers' International Union of the U. S. and Canada.

The Fur Workers' International Union is an A. F. of L. organization. The coming convention that will be held in Philadelphia promises to be the stormiest convention ever held by the organization.

The main center of the fur industry is New York City where 80 per cent of the fur workers are organized.

In New York a bitter conflict rages between the old corrupt officialdom which has been ousted and the live active militant left that is now in control. This bitter fight will be carried to the floor of the convention.

In order to know then what the convention may do it is necessary to know what the situation in New York is.

The Situation in New York

In 1920 the furriers union declared a strike against the fur manufacturers in New York City. The workers were opposed to the strike because they knew that the bosses wanted a strike because economic conditions in general were bad and particularly so in the fur industry. The New York Joint Board disregarded the wishes of the membership and actually ordered the strike. When the strike was called the union had ½ of a million dollars in the treasury.

Morris Kaufman, who is to-day the president of the International Union, was then the general manager of the New York Joint Board.

He was the recognized head in New York of a corrupt, parasitic group

(Continued on Page Two)

NEXT WEEK—DUNNE'S First Report of A. F. of L. Convention—Read It!

[illegible] to Labor by "The Jobless"

The Unemployment Council has issued a paper to meet the needs of the unemployment movement of this country. There has been no means of connecting up the many Unemployed Councils that have formed thru the United States during the past year, no mode of common expression.

"The Jobless," Organ of the Unemployed of America, published by the Unemployment Council of New York, 201 W. 13th St., New York City, will supply this want. It states as its mission: to help organise the unemployed; to link them up with the Labor Unions; and to create a United Front of the workers.

Unemployment the Great Issue.

This little paper, which sells for one cent, will be sold in every part of the country. It is the duty of every worker, whether he has a job or not, to read this paper.

Unemployment is not a matter of importance to the unemployed alone. Unemployment has diminished but little, as the Government report demonstrates.

Less than 1 percent more workers were able to find employment on April 1, than the month previous. In some parts of the country, unemployment has increased, this not taking into account the great number of workers locked out and on strike.

Harding Playing the Game

Gary, Schwab and Co. have decided that the way to find work for the worker is simply to smile and deny that there is such a thing as unemployment. They see plenty of work, coming, coming, always coming. Harding, supple tool in the hands of these rich gentlemen, knows that he must talk as they decree. Hence, following the lead of his secretaries, Hoover and Davis, he too, is trumpeting the "end of unemployment."

There has been no suffering during the winter for him. He has not been deprived of food and shelter—his pleasures have not diminished. There has been no rebellion of the unemployed, altho at certain times, in various cities, it was quite close to it. Hence Harding is quite satisfied with the situation.

Unemployed Still With Us

The unemployed are still here, as every worker will attest. According to William Leavitt Stoddard, who recently lectured before the Twentieth Century Club of Boston, the figures given out by the government are "utterly inadequate." He states that **there are not 6,000,000 unemployed, but at least twice that number.** He points out that the figures issued by the government are based upon the number of jobless in factories employing 500 men or more; whereas these factories represent only 50 per cent of the workers of the country.

Unemployed Aid in War on Unions

The drive against the unions, with the aid of the unemployed, persists. In fact it has not yet reached its climax. Recognizing this fact, the Unemployment Council of New York, at its special meeting on May 27, passed the following resolution:

"The unemployed outside the Unions are potential scabs. Driven by need, even Union men act as scabs, accepting wages and conditions far below the Union standard, thus reducing the standard of all organized labor.

"The unaffiliated unemployed feel no compunction in acting even as strikebreakers. It is useless to PREACH to them about class solidarity, about robbing other men of their jobs. The unemployed have but one wish—one aim—a JOB.

Organized Labor Must Fight.

"Men who have employment, and particularly Organized Labor, on the other hand, are the sufferers from such activity on the part of the unemployed. Hence, it is the duty, especially of Organized Labor to show by ACTS the meaning of class solidarity. This can best be done by **Organized Labor fighting against the lengthening of hours, thus affording work for the unemployed.**

Must Admit Jobless Without Fees

"Again, the Labor Unions can assist the unemployed and themselves at the same time, by creating a solid front of Organized Labor against the bosses.

"This can only be effected by the Labor Organizations **admitting unemployed workers without payment of initiation fees and dues during the period of their unemployment.**

They can also build up their organizations by taking back into their organization all members in arrears **and declaring them in good standing without payment of dues during the period of their unemployment."**

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

[illegible]

That is why we see that Eugene O'Neill has put on a soap box, right inside the Plymouth Theatre, on 45th St. near Broadway, in his "The Hairy Ape," with Louis Wolheim, otherwise "Yank" as the principal soap boxer.

It isn't customary for one to see in the performance of the average street corner orator, the well ordered advance of the vanguard of an enslaved wage earning class.

So it is no doubt difficult for many to discover in the mental struggles of "The Hairy Ape," the brain processes of the great mass of the workers. But let us take for granted that that is the intent of the author.

Scorns "First Cabin Stiffs"

"The Hairy Ape," which is the name given "Yank," the stoker, by the heiress, daughter of the head of the steel trust, tries to assert his importance in this machine age, even down in the stokehole, in the stinking bowels of the ocean liner. He is steel, smoke, force, speed, "25 knots an hour," he belongs, whereas the first cabin stiffs are dead they don't belong.

That is about the only consolation that the ignorant among the great masses get, in their drudgery, the false delusion they are "it," that they dominate because they run the machine.

"Yank" began suffering from disillusion when the heiress went slumming in the fire pits of the ship's boiler rooms, where the stokers were bending to their tasks before the hungry furnaces.

"You beast," she shrieks, as "Yank" discovers her presence during a burst of profanity, and if she didn't call him a "Hairy Ape," her eyes "looked it."

He Tries to Think

That set the "Yank" to trying to "think," symbolic of a helpless working class trying to "think." He wants to knock her block off with his shovel. He wants to spit in her face but there are too many detectives around. He lands on Fifth Ave., and a fellow stoker tries to talk class solidarity into him to replace the individual violence, but to no avail.

We take it that the author is seeking to symbolize the present social order in the church service, and then in the churchgoers coming down the Avenue, mere human automatons who go into ecstasies over a display of monkey furs in a shop window.

"Yank" hurls his anathema at these automatons, the jibberings of the worker-individualist against an established order. And when "Yank" punches one of the "gentlemen" in the jaw, he is hauled off to "The Island," where he gains an added sense of his insignificance as he faces steel bars, locks, keys, used against him.

Repulsed by I. W. W.

Then he hears of the I. W. W. thru a daily newspaper, that reports a speech of Senator Queen, obviously Senator King, of Utah, charging the "Wobblies" with dynamitings, arson and sundry other crimes, all of which appealed immensely to "Yank," so much so, that he wants to join.

But when he prefers dynamite to literature to pass out among his fellow stokers, he is taken for a department of justice provocateur and thrown into the street, finally landing at the zoo at night, where he thinks he has found comfort in the company of a huge gorilla. He releases the gorilla from its cage, but instead of receiving him as a brother, the powerful animal crushes him to death; may we say, even as the wages system crushes the worker who depends upon his own, individual strength to win against the giant forces opposing him.

The police, in real life, as well as on the stage, have been urged to stop "The Hairy Ape" as obscene, etc., etc., etc.

Now Write the Sequel

It cannot be denied that the orthodox squirm in their seats as the drunken stokers in their orgies between watches give the "Ha, Ha, Ha" to God, government, law, justice, equality and when a similar scene is enacted in the prison.

The play is iconoclastic. It destroys faith in things as they are. It is art, and as art it is probably not called upon to be constructive, to point the way. The Socialist stoker, with his appeal for votes, is not presented in a favorable light. The I. W. W. is shown as a mere minority sect. Nowhere, thruout the play is one made to feel the mass strength of the workers that comes thru organization. But, as an author or a lecturer is sometimes privileged to say, "That is a different story." We would, therefore, like to see a sequel to "The Hairy Ape" by the same author.

[illegible]

People are piling up [illegible] that Hoover is not carrying on relief work alone in Soviet Russia and [illegible] that is playing a double game.

On April 11, Hoover advised President Harding that in all probability all of the [illegible] appropriated by Congress for Russian relief would not be needed. He stated that the famine was "well in hand," and it was understood the American Relief Administration forces would withdraw from Russia about Sept. 1.

This statement, however, was at such variance with fact, that a refutation was not required. The famine has spread and to-day embraces the Ukraine, the granary of Soviet Russia, a fact of which the American Relief Administration is well aware.

Change of Front During Genoa

Since making the statement, the Genoa Conference has taken place. During the conference, the Soviet Government gave the world to understand that it would not bow before the capitalist powers.

The Soviet representatives declared they would not barter away the achievements of the Revolution and of the four years of civil war imposed upon Russia by counter-revolutionaries within and hostile capitalist governments without.

Their attitude was so definite, so vigorous, that it gained the approval of the whole world—and particularly of the working class in every country.

Relief Activities Supplemented

Even before the conference, however, authentic information was reaching the outside world to the effect that the American Relief Administration is not adhering to the agreement made with the Soviet Government, viz., that the A. R. A. would abstain from all political propaganda.

It is, for instance, a very strange fact that America shows such a predilection for ex-army officers as officials for relief work.

It is not generally known that the army is the best service for acquiring efficiency in that domain. **Yet we find that all the officials of the American Relief Administration working in Russia are army officers, from colonels down.** Working in conjunction with these forces are primarily school teachers and priests. These are the two groups part of which refused to co-operate when the Revolution broke out and sabotaged to a great extent afterwards.

American Flag Flying in Russia

When the A. R. A. went to Russia, it was decided not to use the American flag, in order that there might not "appear" to be any politics in the relief work.

"Where they could have found the flags, no one knows," Mr. Bowden, district supervisor of the A. R. A., recently declared. "An enthusiastic kitchen manager has adopted the idea and probably passed it along until a number of them are now unfurling the flag during feeding hours."

This display of innocence is too bald to be effective. Flags do not make their way into a country in large numbers without having been ordered. Nor have flags the capacity of distributing themselves. The A. R. A. is now proclaiming what was known from the very beginning, despite all asseverations—and the blue and white flag of the A. R. A. did not conceal it.

Politics Easy to Mix with Relief.

It is very simple to admix a little politics to "humanitarianism," as the record of Herbert Hoover in Soviet Hungary demonstrated. It was not difficult for Hoover, thru his agent, Mr. Gregory, to offer aid to the starving people in Hungary, and at the same time plot and organize the overthrow of the Soviet Regime in Hungary.

The same methods and tactics are being applied in Soviet Russia at the present time. The officials of the A. R. A. are active in arousing and organizing **sentiment for the destruction of the Soviet Government.**

[illegible]

[illegible] Communist [illegible] Profintern [illegible] Germany. The Call [illegible] as follows:

To All Organizations Affiliated with the Red Trade Union International.

Comrades! The Central Council of the Red Trade Union International has decided to convoke the Second Congress in Moscow, October 20th. According to the decision of the First Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Unions (see Constitution, division 4) the representation is distributed as follows:

Every national organization of trade or industrial unions having less than 10,000 members receives one consultative voice at the Congress; national organizations having from 10,000 to 25,000 members send one delegate with a deciding vote; from 25,000 to 100,000—two delegates with a deciding vote; from 100,000 to 250,000—four delegates with a deciding vote; from 250,000 to 500,000—six delegates and for each additional 500,000 members one delegate with a deciding vote is added.

International revolutionary class organizations by trades or industries have the right for two deciding votes each. Minorities organized by countries have the same representation, but all the organizations of a given country affiliated to the Red Labor Union International form a single delegation within which the votes are divided proportionally to the membership of the respective organizations.

The organized minorities and fractions have a representation at the Congress only in case the National Trade Union Organization of that country is not affiliated to the Red Labor Union International.

It is to be seen therefrom that the number of votes depends in general upon the number of organized workers. Naturally, the number of delegates, if necessary, may be more or less than the number indicated in the Constitution, but this does not alter the number of votes.

The Executive Bureau has drafted the following preliminary agenda:

(1) Report of the Executive Bureau;
(2) Task of the Revolutionary Trade Unions and the Single Labor front;
(3) The Comintern and the Profintern;
(4) Question of organization;
(5) Position of Trade Unions in colonial countries.

The Executive Bureau requests all organizations affiliated to the Profintern to start from now to enter alterations and additions in the agenda and beginning about August to send on their concrete propositions. It is understood that the final agenda will be established by the Congress itself.

Yours fraternally,
The Executive Bureau,
A. Losovsky, Secretary General.

Jokes by Lenin

The Moscow daily, soviet official paper, the Izvestia, is in a rollicking humor about the recent Genoa Conference. It is full of jokes, such as:

"The conference was held at Genoa because there is the statue of Columbus and the Allies hope they will discover some American money."

"England, the land of Shakespeare and Lloyd George. Both 'made much ado about nothing,' and the propounding of the question, 'To be or not to be.'"

"The Little Entente conspiracy—three whales wanting to swallow the Bolshevist Jonah."

"Barthou—a cardboard figure worked by strings from Paris."

"The conference is the first funeral mass on the field of battle after the world war."

"Lloyd George—The universal political matrimonial agent."

"Peace of the fig leaf with which Europe wants to make herself a gown."

As to the Rapallo treaty, the Izvestia quotes the old monkish chronicler Nestor, who told of two parents setting out to find a husband for their daughter, who became a mother before they returned with the expectant bridegroom.

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THE WORKER
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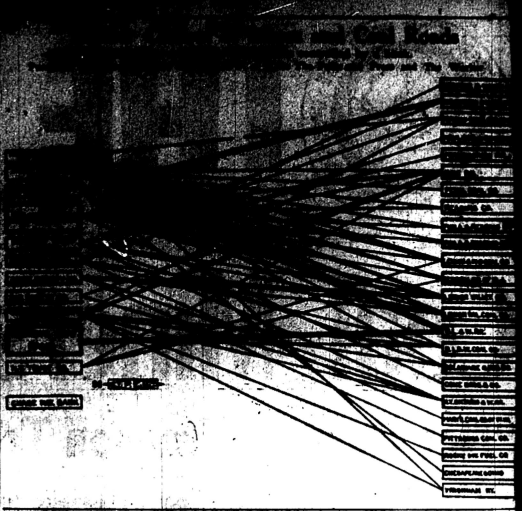
[illegible] and Coal Roads



FURRIERS' CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA

(Continued from Page One)

that controlled the union through terroristic methods. His right hand man was Sam Cohen, an unscrupulous, unprincipled corruptionist. This Sam Cohen was a member of the Socialist Party and is at the present time an executive member of the 6th Assembly District, Socialist Party, New York City.

Officials Paid During Strike

A strike committee was organized with Sam Cohen as its head. In this strike committee were placed not the good courageous fighting workers in the unions, but a group of men who were not furriers, but utilized the furriers' union to keep M. Kaufman and Sam Cohen in power by doing whatever dirty work they demanded from them.

In return they were well paid and permitted to graft upon the organization. In the period of the strike that lasted over 30 weeks this strike committee was paid handsomely while the workers were out on the street starving because of their loyalty to the union in supporting a strike the calling of which they were opposed to.

During the strike M. Kaufman & Co. settled with many small manufacturers. These small manufacturers were permitted to do the work of the large manufacturers against whom a bitter strike was being waged. You had in New York City a situation in which members of one union were forced by their officialdom to scab upon their own brother members.

The workers in these settled shops were taxed to support the strike, first 15 per cent of their wages, then 25 per cent, and finally 40 percent.

Union Faces Deficit

Just before Christmas the workers refused to pay the tax because there was a scarcity of work. The workers were then ordered back to work on the old conditions.

When the strike was called the union had ¼ million dollars in its treasury. This quarter of a million dollars was spent together with the hundreds of thousands of dollars collected by the tax upon the workers in the settled shops. With the settlement of the strike the union treasury was left empty and with a deficit of $110,000.

The corruption that was flagrant during the strike as well as the mismanagement of the strike itself aroused the most bitter protests from the membership and the corrupt officialdom found itself face to face with a revolting membership.

The membership refused to support their leaders. They stopped paying union dues and assessments.

Unique Situation Develops

The union was fast heading for bankruptcy, and the leadership of M. Kaufman could do nothing to stop it because that leadership had lost the entire confidence of the membership. So a unique situation developed in the early part of 1921. The reactionary, corrupt, parasite leadership of M. Kaufman retreated and without a fight turned over its power to the lefts.

But in retreating M. Kaufman, Sam Cohen and Co. organized to treacherously stab the lefts in the back to disrupt and smash the organization.

The convention that should have been held that year was postponed. The subcommittee was in charge of the Kaufman who had lost his position as general manager of the New York Joint Board, the president of the International.

M. Kaufman, not being satisfied with using the International presidency against the lefts who now controlled the New York situation, joined the Socialist Party in order to gain the support of the Socialist Party and particularly its organs of publicity in his fight against the reds. M. Kaufman never was a socialist.

In the headquaters of the 6 Assembly District, Socialist Party, M. Kaufman and Sam Cohen gathered their corrupt henchmen together and organized a welfare club.

The welfare club, using terroristic tactics, began to sabotage and do everything possible to disrupt and smash the union.

In their dirty work, Lang, labor editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, came enthusiastically to their assistance.

The Welfare Club is the nefarious instrument for joining together the reactionary forces in the furriers' union with Sam Gompers, the Socialist Party, and the Jewish Daily Forward in an onslaught against the lefts.

The manager and organizer of the Welfare Club is the same M. Kaufman who is to-day the international president of the furriers' union.

One of the best means used by the capitalist class to divide the workers and to break the power of their organization is to play upon their religious differences. The great problem of organized labor is to keep the workers loyal to one another in their labor organizations in spite of their religious and racial differences.

Mr. Kaufman as international president of the furriers' union used his office in an effort to smash the left wing control of the New York unions by the dividing the workers on religious lines.

M. Kaufman, a Jew, sent out the call for the organization of a gentile local in the fur trade in New York.

Dues were remitted to gentile members and new members were received in the gentile local with the payment of a very small initiation.

The plan was to set up this local in opposition to the Joint Board of New York City that was in the hands of the left and controlled 10,000 members.

The storm of protest that the call for the organization of a gentile local aroused made M. Kaufman change his tone.

The local was designated as a retail local, but the work as originally planned was carried on.

The New York Joint Board, however, was able to effectively combat this treacherous maneuver of M. Kaufman.

The work in the retail local is at standstill. Its consideration at t coming convention will be among t convention's important problems.

Recently an election for busine agents was held. In order to comb the terroristic tactics of the welfa club the New York union obtain protection. After counting t biggest vote ever cast in the fu riers' union all the left candidat were declared elected with big m jorities. Thereupon the welfare cl complained to the U. H. T. Max Pi of the U. H. T. came to their suppo The welfare club thereupon beca very active in the nailers' and oper tors' local, and with bulldog t roristic tactics succeeded in getti control of the local and lodging protest against the New York Joi Board as well as withdrawing the delegates from that Board. The d legates, however, refused to withdra whereupon M. Kaufman, the intern tional president, declared that th sat illegally on the New York Jo Board. A similar decision was han ed down by the United Hebre Trades. This question will also com before this convention for final d cision.

The welfare club in its brief exis ance has broken up a meeting calle to adopt plans for the relief of u employed members.

The welfare club has used the s cialist press, particularly the Jewi Daily Forward, in a treacherous ca paign of slander against the union.

The welfare club has used religio animosities to break and smash t furriers' union because the lefts are control and have the support of t membership.

What has the left done? It h gained the complete confidence of t membership. The membership fro 2000 at the end of the strike has no reached a paidup membership of a most 10,000. They have in spite all difficulties and obstacles placed their way reduced the debt of $110,0 in the short period of their control $45,000. That is a wonderful reco It speaks for itself. It shows that t left can assume responsibility.

The New York unions controll by the left should control the inte national organization because they r present the bulk of the membershi In the coming convention the lefts, believe, will have to make a stubbo fight for the control of the Intern tional in order to administer a smas ing defeat to the corrupt, disrupti tactics of M. Kaufman-Samuel Go pers—Socialist Party combination.

The reactionary forces have program at all for the coming co vention. The lefts have a well d fined progressive and revolutiona program.

The main demands of the left del gation to the convention will be follows:

A shop delegate system for the fur i dustry;
Recognition of May 1st as labo holiday;
Amalgamation of needle trades in one organization;
Recognition of Soviet Russia and r sumption of trade relations;
Indorsement of the revolutiona press, in this instance the Jewi Freiheit.

In successfully carrying out th program at the coming convention w can wish the left wing delegation a possible success. They should b proud of the record of achievemen in New York City. The revolutiona labor movement in the United Stat will score a great victory if they ca carry their achievements successfull through the convention.

Boost Price of Bricks, Reduce Workers' Wages

By HARRY GODFREY
(Federated Press Correspondent)

HAVERSTRAW, N. Y.—A year ago bricks were selling around $15 a thousand, and wages in the local brickyards and the other great brickyards on the Hudson averaged about $4.75 a day.

Now the ruling price of brick is $30 a thousand, and the average wage of brickyard workers is about $3.75 a day.

That, in short, is the story of the conditions which brought about the strike in the local yards—not to speak of the conditions in the industry.

One of these, however, is the fact that the industry is highly seasonal, and affords work during only part of each year. The men are asking for a restoration of last year's wage scale.

"THE WORKER" Keeps Abreast of The Labor Struggle. Subscribe—20 Weeks, 50 Cents

Do You Know What United Front Can Do?

(Continued from Page One)

the widespread destitution to extend the scope of their work.

They came to New York, bringing Lawrence Dwyer, International Board Member of the miners' union with them, and made some impression among the liberals of New York.

Aided by the New York Call, the Forward, and other "respectable" radical organs, but shunning the Communist papers as they would a plague, they arranged several "mass" meetings with Dwyer as speaker.

But the meetings failed to draw out the mass; they were flat failures, because there was back of them no labor force capable of insuring success.

Labor Begins to Move

On his own account Dwyer then got after the labor elements here. The C. L. U. elected a committee which started its work by rejecting the Communists' offer to help in the campaign.

They decided to establish food stations in various parts of the city at which food could be donated directly, and are looking into the possibility of having the Actor's Union (Equity) put on a show as a strike benefit.

THE WORKER prints the list of food stations elsewhere in these columns but the meagre response of so powerful a labor movement as that of New York to so touching an appeal for assistance again brings forth the need for a United Front.

Supposing that the United Front of Labor were a reality! Suppose it were here, and that every man, woman and child thru whatever organization he or she belonged to—union, party, fraternity, co-operative store, school, or what not, was a member of that united front!

In every city the employers' Chamber of Commerce would be matched by the organized might of labor the Chamber of Labor.

In every state there would be federations of these bodies and finally for the entire country there would be one centralized fighting organization with an active executive composed of representatives of all principal nation-wide organization members of the Front.

Must Mobilize in Advance

Before a major labor battle like the miners' strike would even be begun the forces of labor would be fully mobilized. Plans would be made to carry that fight to a victory if it took ten years to do it. No thought of defeat would be even entertained, there could be no such thing unless the entire working class of America were put out of business with poison gas.

One cannot starve out an entire working class, nor coerce it, the only hope of the masters is to divide its ranks and thus make it beat itself. The United Front will prevent that. It is victory insurance for the workers.

With the outbreak of the miners' strike the entire working class would move like a trained army to the support of the strikers. Funds would be collected, food and clothing provided. In case of eviction new homes would be built but unemployed building tradesmen on land provided by organized working farmers.

The entire labor press would be at the disposal of able labor publicity experts, demonstrations would take place all over the country on behalf of the strikers, and working class opinion would be and remain a unit in their support.

United Front—Then Victory

Just as now the coal operators can count on every section of the masters organizations as their allies so the miners could count every organized worker an active, fighting soldier in his cause. From being, at the start, a mere defensive organization to fight back the attacks of capitalism, the United Front of Labor would soon develop into an active machine to win new power for the workers. Control of the shops and mines would soon be wrested from the employers and the workers would be in a position to protect themselves against any effort of the dispossessed masters to regain their power.

Our activity in the unions and other workers' organizations was never more necessary than now. Agitation, propaganda, for the united front in the class struggle—that is the need of the hour.

Help Organize Workers' Power

The national office of the party, in directing the campaign on a national scale is burdened with the heaviest expense. It appeals to all who would see the realization of the United Front to help bear that expense.

Now is the time to send in your contribution. Against the organized money might of the masters we must array the power of the workers' numbers. That power must be organized to be effective. Help organize it now into the United Front of All Labor.

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] Chafin dynasty. There was no denial of the fact that it was war—between the operators and their private army and the union miners.

The Miners' Army

One of the prosecuting attorneys—John Chafin, first cousin of Don Chafin, sheriff of Logan county—stated to the jury: "Gentlemen, this organization (the United Mine Workers) had a larger army than Lee had when he surrendered to Grant at Richmond." The defense did not contradict him, and the spectators seemed highly pleased at this evidence of efficient organization.

The prosecution claimed that the miners' army advanced in three divisions, and that the password: "We come creeping" had to be given even by General Bandholz of the United States army before he could get through the lines. It was not denied.

The right of men to revolt against intolerable conditions, to avenge the murder of their fellow-workers, by the use of force if necessary to wipe out the upholders of a government that had obviously become the tool of the industrial lords, was aparently never questioned by the townspeople who witnessed the trial and evidently the local sentiment was reflected in the jury.

Employer's Real Object

It should be remembered that the chief object of the attorneys for the coal operators was to link up the march of the miners with the United Mine Workers and to prove that the plans for the rebellion had been laid and carried out by the district officials. To convict Blizzard of treason they had to prove an overt act on his part by two witnesses. It was the theory of the prosecution that when martial law was declared in Logan County by their tool, Governor Morgan, any attempt to restore civil law by force automatically became treason.

The farmers of Jefferson County could not see it that way.

They crowded the courtroom with their wives and they smiled approval when the coal operators' lawyers who called themselves "the state" tried to prove what they regarded as some particularly atrocious act on the part of Blizzard or Keeney or Mooney or Petry or Porter—district officials whom they had selected from the hundreds of indicated men simply because thru them they could involve the union.

The informations had been sworn out in wholesale fashion. One man Lavender by name, had been in jail on another charge for months before and during the march; another had been dead for two years.

Glimpses from the Front

How the crowd laughed when witnesses were questioned as to Blizzard's arrival at the front with an automobile load of ammunition! The prosecution claimed that he unloaded the ammunition and then said to the miners: "You've got what you've been waiting for; now go and get 'em." They had to be warned by the bailiff when witnesses for the coal operators said that when someone had asked Blizzard how the battle was going he had replied: "We're moving forward on all four fronts."

The state claimed that Andy Porter had said at a meeting at Burston that "the only way we can stop the calamity the operators are trying to force on us is to stick together, march on Logan County and wipe it off the map" and that Bill Petry, following him on the platform had endorsed that statement. If I am any judge ninety per cent of the audience likewise endorsed it.

Farmers Listen and Laugh

State witnesses swore that Frank Keeney had stated in the course of a speech that "whoever voted for Governor Morgan had voted for a red-handed murderer." The patriotic lawyers for the patriotic coal operators made much of this statement and worked themselves into a righteous frenzy over it but the farmers kept on smiling. Two or three of the jurors smothered a grin as they looked under their chairs for the ample cuspidors with which they were provided.

The prosecution insisted that these young officials who looked so innocent and harmless were really reds of the deepest dye and that under their leadership the marching miners had requisitioned every red handkerchief, scarf and necktie from every store in their line of march; that they had pretended to be attempting to get the miners to lay down their arms and go home by sending out communications to that effect from the district office but in reality that they had got to the front as soon as their letters did and had told the miners to pay no attention to letters; "you men know what you have to do; go ahead and do it," the prosecution witnesses swore that Keeney said on more than one occasion.

[illegible] they looked upon it as strategy of a high order.

It is a [illegible] One could always see a miner at the center of a group of interested farmers and townspeople when court was not in session and this had its effect. It had to for these miners have tales to tell.

What They Told the Farmers

They tell of how Don Chafin, when the march was on, went into the home of a non-union miner and ordered him to get his gun and join the operators army; how the man refused and how Chafin shot him, blowing his brains all over the breakfast table where he sat with his wife and two children. They tell of men arrested for minor offenses and never seen again. They tell of the operators owning the "hollows" as they call the valleys, "from hell to heaven," how you cannot get within ten miles of some mines without being on "company" property; of being forced to trade at the company store, unable to buy direct even from the farmers who are their neighbors without incurring the displeasure of the company and its hirelings.

They tell about how the Logan County operators vote their whole payroll and make of officialdom a murderous appendage of the industrial machine.

The farmers believed the miners, but did not believe the coal operators, and the few lost souls they could induce to testify for them when they painted the miners as devils incarnate, because a mine guard, one John Gore, had been found with eleven bullet holes in his body in the line of the miners' march.

No more vicious pleas were ever made to a jury than were made by the attorneys for the prosecution. It was the union they denounced during most of the six and one-half hours they pleaded and threatened; where the name of Blizzard was mentioned once the United Mine Workers was uttered a hundred times; it was the union they wanted to convict of treason.

Every trick was used, every prejudice was played upon; the home, the flag, "our" country, the boys who died for democracy, religion, the honor of women, all the devices of clever and unscrupulous lawyers, well paid for their contemptible task, were worn threadbare by the prosecution but to no purpose.

Blizzard went free and it is doubtful if there will be any more treason trials in West Virginia for many a long day.

Patriotic Revolutionists

I hope no one will run away with the idea that either the miners or the farmers have any intention of overthrowing the government of West Virginia or of the United States. They have no such intention. They believe in the constitution. They love the flag. They are Americans and they are proud of the fact. Not one in ten thousand has ever heard of Karl Marx. They believe that peaceful methods should prevail and that changes should come thru the ballot. If you compared them to the Bolseviks they might get very rough with you.

And yet there is no getting away from the fact that several thousand of these same men armed themselves, gathered from different places far from Logan county and took part in a revolt against the government and that men were killed on both sides in the course of this uprising.

Neither is there any doubt of the fact that twelve of these men heard all the evidence and decided that what had been done was right; nor is there any doubt that the verdict was a popular one in Charles Town where everyone heard all there was to hear about the case.

What Is Treason?

The whole affair rather upsets a lot of perfectly plausible theory. The ordinary terms of the revolutionary movement do not fit here.

Maybe after all the much-touted Yankee genius for invention is going to furnish us a revolutionary terminology with a peculiar native flavor.

What is treason, anyway?

Is it rebellion against the state?

Is it armed insurrection?

The farmers of Charles Town, Jefferson County, W. Va., say that these things are not treason when it is plain that the state power is in the hands of profit-taking individuals who use the state for their own selfish purposes.

That is worth remembering.

HOUSTON, Tex.—The International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen in convention here turned down a proposal to join in creating a $3,000,000 fund for establishing labor daily papers all over the country.

[illegible]

[illegible]

A number of new locals have been organized, and the strike in the Pawtuxet valley is being prosecuted with vigor.

The Amalgamated was the first of the textile unions to strike in protest against the wholesale wage reductions inaugurated by the textile operators resulting in the crippling of the entire industry. The union now has a membership of about 25,000 and expects to double this number before the next convention which will be held in New York City, May 30, 1923.

The convention in passing upon a resolution endorsing the Workers Party of America, decided to endorse no political party at the present time.

Russel Palmer, secretary-treasurer of the organization, was unanimously nominated to succeed himself for the coming election which is held by referendum. He was unopposed.

Two delegates were chosen to represent the organization at the convention of the Federated Textile Unions to be held in New York City, August 3.

The convention was addressed by Louis Hollander of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers who spoke on "Organizing for Working-Class Power," and by Ernest Lamb of the Tapestry Carpet Workers of America, who spoke on industrial unionism.

New York Must Hear West Virginia Coal Miners "Bread" Cry

(Continued from Page One)

Thayer Coal Co. claims it,' and arrested me for trespassing on my own property. I have a wife and six children. They have nothing to eat and me in jail. If you run across a man in New York that has a heart have him send something down here for my babies. I tried to get work and failed because I belong to the United Mine Workers. They have me blacklisted. What in the world am I to do? They won't let me live in a barn, and won't let me work, so Mr. Dwyer, see if you cannot find a way so that my poor babies won't starve to death. The Red Cross sent me to Ohio, and I found no work. And, Oh me, what will my babies do, now that I am in jail? I have been digging May Apple roots at six cents per pound, to keep from starving, so, for God's sake, find some way to help my children. I'll close as I have no more paper to write on."

The above letter is written from the Fayette County jail on the back of a sheet torn from the calendar.

In order to facilitate the gathering of food supplies to be sent to the West Virginia coal miners, food stations have been established at the following places:

United Hebrew Trades, 175 East Broadway.

Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman St., Brooklyn.

Beethoven Hall, 110 E. 5th St., near Third Ave.

Labor Temple, 84th St., near Third Ave.

Central Labor Council, 287 Broadway.

Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion Place, Brooklyn.

It is especially urged that the food supplies consist of cornmeal, flour, beans, fat backs, dried and salted meats, coffee and sugar.

"If the miners and their families are kept from starving, the strikers will not go back to work," declares Dwyer. "They will stick out and win."

Comments on Blizzard Verdict

Speaking of the "not guilty" verdict returned in favor of William Blizzard, president of sub-district No. 1, District 17, Dwyer says:

"It is the first time we ever got anything like a fair deal in my whole experience in West Virginia. The judge was fair and the citizens of Charles Town and Jefferson County were fair, and our people appreciate it. I am confident that the authorities won't attempt any more prosecutions on the charge of treason."

WASHINGTON.—By demanding immediate recognition of the Russian republic and the revision of the reparations schedule as the fundamentals to restoration of Europe, Senator Borah has developed a strategy of attack upon the anti-Russian policy of Hoover, Hughes and Harding.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible] the iron-clad autocracy of Samuel Gompers, will be discussed at the various all-night poker parties, perhaps not with as much heat and fire-works as will occur in the day sessions of the convention but the same G. P.'s who rule the convention will play their poker, smoke their cigars and figure out how to crack the whip on their various delegations on these vital issues.

The first week of the convention will be taken up in speech making to rank-and-file delegates, a few G. P.'s and empty chairs. The real power behind the throne will be off somewhere being entertained while discussing the political problems concerning the perpetuation of their particular brand of leadership.

Sees Substantial Minority

The writer is confident that there will be a substantial minority in rebellion against the tactics of the G. P.'s, but this rebellion will be blind—without much semblance of leadership as yet. It is on this minority that the writer bases his hope.

All over the country those of the rank and file that are left are sick and disgusted with the present leadership. They realize that the national open-shop program of the employers has had a tremendous effect on the membership and finances of their various organizations.

The rank and file has not yet developed an intelligent leadership or a concrete program, but it is rapidly approaching that stage. The time is at hand when the rank and file, in increasing numbers, will rally to the standard of a united front in the Trade Union Movement against the United Front of the employers.

Foster "Exposed" Again

One of the "sensations' of the convention will no doubt be another "exposure" of William Z. Foster and the Trade Union Educational League.

The Trade Union Educational League is the leadership that is developing in the rank and file movement in the American Federation of Labor.

Its growth is so rapid and so full of tremendous possibilities to the workers of America that its influence will be felt in this convention, the first one since the inception of the Trade Union Educational League some months ago.

The League's program of amalgamation is the most vital thing that could possibly confront a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

At the present time the writer is in possession of figures pertaining to the membership of our various International Unions that would shock even the most pessimistic. The only answer to this is amalgamation. This issue will crop up again and again in the convention and no doubt will be stifled, smothered and steamrollered by the autocracy—most often perhaps in a clever and diplomatic fashion or perhaps in a brutal fashion like last year at Denver on the Irish resolution.

Membership Loss Frightens

President Gompers and most of the General Presidents of the various International Unions are thoroly frightened by their loss in membership and will wave the bogey of Bolshevism to throw dust in the eyes of their followers. This old bogey will not avail much longer. The workers are growing more impatient all the time and are demanding some real definite substantial efforts to bring about closer unity in their ranks.

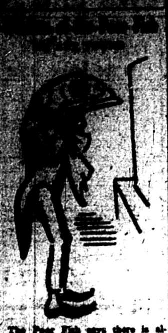
If the convention does not make some move in this direction it will simply prove that it does not represent the rank and file but simply a bureaucracy—hand-made and designed to stifle all militant trade union working class aspiration.

The real progress to be made is not in the A. F. of L. conventions but in the local unions taking up vital issues such as amalgamation, voting for them, electing delegates to their district councils, all instructed to vote for amalgamation; local unions electing and instructing delegates to their International Conventions to vote for amalgamation who will, in turn, vote in their International Conventions in favor of amalgamation and instruct their General Presidents [illegible] A. F. of L. and vote for amalgamation.

Golden Opportunity for Militants

[illegible] will have to vote in accordance with that action.

Now is the golden opportunity of every militant in the Trade Union Movement to point out the hopelessness of the present form of leadership and to urge a program advocating amalgamation and militant trade union tactics and make of the American Federation of Labor convention a representative gathering of delegates who represent the rank and file and its aspirations and not a gathering of "Grand Dukes" principally concerned with perpetuating their jobs over various games of poker.



The Poor Fish says there is always room at the top. It all depends on character and working overtime while the Boss is looking.

Jap Censorship Hits at Song of Revolution

By GERTRUDE HAESSLER

(Federated Press Correspondent)

KOBE, Japan (by mail).—The May 2 issue of The Japan Advertiser, an American newspaper printed in Tokio, was suppressed by the police authorities on account of the translation of the Song of Revolution which was printed in connection with the account of the May day parade.

The issue was delivered in Tokio and Yokohama, but all the copies in Kobe were seized before distribution could take place.

The texts as printed in the suppressed issue were:

Song of Revolution

Revolution is near. Revolution is near. Rise up, hundreds of thousands of men garbed in tattered clothes. Wake up, dwellers of the slums. Who are those that destroyed our garden of freedom? Who are those that trampled upon justice? How long must we submit to the rule of oppression and persecution? The blood circulating vigorously in our veins craves freedom If there were no freedom we would rather choose the grave. Are our brethern not fighting for freedom in Russia?

TACOMA.—Approval of the work being done by the Trades Union Relief for Starving Russia was voted by the labor council here, and a committee appointed to back its efforts. The council approved of the circulation of petitions asking the release of I. W. W. convicted in the Centralia-Montesano trial.

[illegible] The Worker with New Subscriptions

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] more support, financial support, is what's required.

THE WORKER is preparing to reach these new readers, to get this support. We realize that no paper is justified in asking support of the workers unless it has something to give them. And that something must be a thing that the workers feel a need for.

It is the purpose of THE WORKER to give the working class of America that which they not only need, but that which they cannot get from any other source.

And that something is the facts of the class struggle here and now, and an outline of the tactics which the workers must follow in order to win in the struggle with the capitalist dictatorship. The facts, the whole facts, given with the communist interpretation and clear-cut analysis of tactical problems—these are what the workers need.

If the capitalist press gave these to the workers there would be no reason for THE WORKER'S existence.

It is because there is no other source from which the workers can expect this that they—those at least who realise the situation—establish their weeklies, monthlies and dailies.

And it is for this reason that we go to our readers demanding that they bear a share of the burden of maintaining their own press, THE WORKER.

THE WORKER is taking every step possible to make it more attractive to the awakening workers. Special issues now before the workers are dealt with fully and scientifically. Our own reporters are covering many struggles, strikes and phases of the war between our forces and the enemy—Capitalism.

William F. Dunne, labor editor, is giving special attention to the most significant phases of this struggle. His attendance at the "treason trial" of the fighting miners of West Virginia exemplifies the policies THE WORKER will follow. He will attend the A. F. of L. convention and give the story of that convention of America's organized workers.

These are labor matters which touch every American worker, in which every one should be interested, in which every one is concerned whether he realizes it or not. These are matters which the workers need to know about. These are the matters which THE WORKER will deal with week after week, placing squarely before the workers the salient phases of their struggles and illuminating them with the communist interpretation.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

THE WORKER has established a new subscription price for NEW readers. A rate at which every present reader will be enabled to secure new subscribers from among his acquaintances and shopmates.

A subscription price so low that every worker even in these hard times can afford to pay. **The subscription price to new readers is 50 cents for twenty weeks.**

We have issued a special subscription card at this price. We want our readers to order those cards, paying in advance for as many as they can **—and then sell them at once.**

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News, Views and [illegible] of the World's Workers

Proceedings of Communist International

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Worker is publishing in full the resolutions and theses of the sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International held from Feb. 24 to March 4. Last week we gave space to an introductory statement by A. Thalheimer. This week we publish the resolution on the question of participation by the Communist International in the proposed conference of the three internationals at Berlin. The C. I. did participate in this conference which was broken up last week by the representatives of the Second International. The attitude of C. I. toward this conference is here stated. Here is also the statement of Marcel Cachin, for the French Communists, pledging themselves to carry out the program, for the United Front in France. Next week we shall publish the theses on the question of combatting war and the danger of war. This week's installment is as follows:

• • •

Resolution on the Theses of the United Front

After the discussion which cleared away all misunderstandings and confusion and showed that the policy of the united front, as proposed by the Executive Committee, in no way signifies the cessation of the conflict with reformism, but the continuation and development of the tactics adopted by the Third Congress and our sections, the Enlarged Executive Session approves the December theses on the united front.

It calls upon the Presidium and upon the delegations of the most important sections to decide upon the immediate practical measures that are at once to be taken in their respective countries for the application of these tactics, which must naturally be adapted to the peculiar conditions of each individual country.

• • •

Resolution on the Question of the Participation of the Communist International in the Proposed Conference of All Labor Organizations of the World

After acknowldeging the proposal made by the Vienna Working Union of Socialist Parties, the Enlarged Executive Session declares itself in favor of the participation of the Communist International.

The Enlarged Executive Session of the C. I., for its part, proposes that all trade unions and their national and international associations be invited: the Red Trade Union International, the whole of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the French "C. G. T. Unitaire," the Italian Syndicalist Union, the American Federation of Labor and other independent unions.

The Communist International considers it necessary to invite the most important organizations of the Syndicalists, Anarchists, I. W. W., the Shop Stewards, the Factory Councils, etc., to the World Conference.

The International Conference must have the actual universal representation of all the labor organizations of the world.

The World Conference of Labor Organizations must set one great task before itself: the organization of the defensive struggle of the working-class against international capital.

The capitalists of the whole world have systematically assumed the offensive against the workers. Everywhere, wages are cut, working hours lengthened, the misery of the unemployed is growing and taxes and the high cost of living are increasing.

World imperialism takes advantage of the splits and divisions in the ranks of the working-class and is attempting to shift the financial and economic burdens occasioned by the world slaughter, upon the shoulders of the working class.

The imperialistic policy revived immediately after the war, which finds its crassest expression in Versailles, has divided the world into new camps of contention; it leads to attempts at new alliances that inevitably lead to new wars. Washington and Genoa are milestones in the new piratical expedition of world imperialism, and are breeders of new wars.

Even the leaders of the International Transport Workers' Federation (belonging to Amsterdam) and recently the leaders of the International Metal Workers' Federation (likewise of Amsterdam) alarmedly declared that such a danger really existed.

Under these circumstances all the workers must unite for the defense of their most elementary and innate interests. Under these circumstances, whoever refuses to participate in the united front of all the workers, shows that in reality he is for the [illegible] political differences of opinion.

The workers who are well conscious of the deep-seated reasons for such differences, nevertheless demand in overwhelming majority of the working class that unity of action be established for the pressing and immediate practical interests of the working masses. This healthy demand by the working masses is in full accord with the attitude and actions of the Communist International.

• • •

Cachin's Statement for French

We have the mandate with which we are charged. We have given our reasons and have defended our resolutions up to the last vote.

It seems to us that the reformists of all countries are daily getting further and further away from the working class, and that they pursue a policy which is in opposition to the daily struggle and welfare of the proletariat.

We entertain no doubt whatever but that they will in all circumstances sabotage the real united front of the laboring masses.

The Executive fully agrees with us in all these opinions, altho it does not quite agree with our conclusions.

We willingly bow to the majority which has just accepted the proposed tactics. We beg of you carefully to examine the significance of the vote. Three countries have joined to make common reservations.

We note with great satisfaction that the Enlargod Executive Session has put itself under obligation, thru its repeated declarations, to make the greatest possible allowances in the application of these decisions for the peculiar situation in each country.

As far as we are concerned, comrades, you may rest assured that we shall always maintain discipline and remain faithful to the decisions of the Third International. The debates just ended have shown conclusively that the Third International is today more than ever the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat.

[illegible]

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The chief of police [illegible] refused to serve [illegible] out by officials of the [illegible] and Textile Workers [illegible] against Lieut. [illegible] of the national guard [illegible] charge of shooting without provocation at Paul and Jacob Paukiewicz, brothers and both textile strikers.

The chief contended that the serving was prevented by the military authorities on the ground that guardsmen are exempt from civil law.

Later it was established, however, that the statute providing for this exemption has been repealed some time ago.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Child wage slavery in its most brutal forms, with more than 5000 children between the ages of 3 and 15 years affected, prevails in the Rhode Island textile strike territory. Physically crippled and mentally stunted by the work, they toil in their cramped unsanitary homes many hours daily. 80 percent of them receiving less than 10 cents an hour.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] International

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Here is another installment of the decisions of the second conference of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International. The third installment appeared recently and reviewed the attitude of the Red Trade Union International toward the Revolutionary Syndicalists. This week we publish the resolution on the report of the International Propaganda Committee. It is as follows:

• • •

Resolution on the Report of the International Propaganda Committee

1. Having taken cognizance of the report of the International Propaganda Committee on its activities and immediate tasks, the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International endorses the tactics followed by that Committee so far. The Propaganda Committee must continue and intensify its activities of propagating the idea of revolutionary class struggle within the international union federations in the direction pursued hitherto.

2. The Executive Committee declares that at the instance of the Amsterdam Trade Union International the International Trade Secretaries affiliated to the latter have after the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International redoubled their efforts at splitting the trade-union movement and excluding from it and isolating all revolutionary elements.

3. By their savage struggle against the revolutionary unions the leaders of the International Craft Secretariats undermine the forces of labor and prevent uniform organization of proletarian resistance against the offensive of capital.

4. The tremendous defensive actions of the proletariat that with an elementary force break out in all countries in this or that trade are in most cases viewed with apprehension by the leaders of Amsterdam. In other cases, as for instance in the English miners' strike or in that of the French textile workers, those leaders have even openly betrayed the interests of the proletariat.

5. The reactionary policy of splitting followed by the Amsterdamers is most apparent in the case of the Russian trade-unions, which were under various pretexts denied admission to the International Craft Federations. At the international craft congresses that took place during the last six months the delegates of the Russian trade-unions were either (in most cases) refused admittance or were merely treated as guests. The leaders of the respective Craft Secretariats have in a number of instances (Metal Workers' Congress in Lucerne, Building Trades' Conference in Bregenz) even mobilized the bourgeois government and its police force in order to keep the Russian delegates away from the conferences.

6. In spite of this provocative attitude of the leaders of the International Craft Secretariats the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International proposes that the Propaganda Committees and all revolutionary trade-unions acknowledging the principles of the Red Trade Union International do everything in their power to keep the organizational unity of the International Craft Secretariats intact, because it deems it essential that in the present period of capitalist aggression the attacks of the employers be met with the united front.

7. The Executive Committee advises all revolutionary trade-unions to stay within the International Craft Federations and there conduct an intensive campaign against the attempts at splitting the trade-union movement and the expulsion of revolutionary elements and to secure the admittance of all trade-unions to the next international congress of their respective trade.

All trade-unions which for any reason whatsoever have hitherto refused to join their International Craft Federation are urgently requested to do so as soon as possible.

8. The Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International holds that at the present time the activities of the Propaganda Committees are of especial importance in the interests of the revolutionary trade-union movement. Hence it instructs the Propaganda Committees to intensify their activities and institute all necessary measures suitable for creating ideological ties and active connections between the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary minorities in the respective trades. The Committees must define their attitude towards all concrete problems and occurrences both within the national and the international trade-union movement.

8. The Executive Committee advises the Executive Bureau to pay serious attention to this branch of its activities and support and unite the work of the Propaganda Committees as much as possible.

9. All organizations affiliated with the Red Trade Union International are requested to afford the Propaganda Committees in their countries the most extensive assistance.

10. All adherents of the Red Trade Union International must pay special attention to revolutionary propaganda amongst the organized workers in all the various trades, to the calling of congresses of the various trades and to the corresponding development of the trade-union press.

11. All revolutionary trade-unions or minorities must appoint officials or national propaganda commissions (according to the importance of the industry) for their respective country. These officials or commissions must carry out in a systematic manner the tasks of the Propaganda Committees in close and continuous collaboration with the respective secretariats; they must also see to it that monthly reports are turned in regularly. The necessary communication between the officials or national propaganda commissions in the various countries is to be established by the accredited representative of the Red Trade Union International together with the revolutionary trade-union headquarters in the given country.

12. The most important task of the Propaganda Committees is the elaboration of a concrete program of action which must correspond to the peculiarities of the respective [illegible] offensive. The [illegible] of the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International must be [illegible] to correspond to the tasks in hand.

13. In adopting the tentative statutes for the International Propaganda Committees drawn up by the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International, the Executive Committee declares that these are merely to provide the basis for the statutes of the various Propaganda Committees which must elaborate them to correspond to the peculiarities of their respective trades.

14. The Executive Committee proposes that the question of headquarters be settled at the congresses of the revolutionary trade-unions and minorities of the respective trade. It is deemed advisable, however, that the headquarters of the Propaganda Committees be established in the country with the strongest and most active revolutionary trade-union or trade-union minority.

15. The Executive Committee advises the Propaganda Committees carefully to regulate the financial side of their work. The manner of this regulation must correspond to the conditions obtaining in the respective trade and be carried thru with a view of providing the necessary means either by collections and donations in the minorities or by regular dues of the trade-unions adhering to the Red Trade Union International.

16. In trades where the majority of organized workers are adherents of the Red Trade Union International and the present International Trade Secretariats are in control only owing to the expulsion of the revolutionary unions, the Executive Committee thinks it nevertheless advisable to do everything to maintain the organizational unity of the international federation in question. Only where all attempts in that direction have failed owing to the sabotage of the Amsterdam leaders who use all weapons at their disposal to foil the clearly expressed wish of organized labor, are the Propaganda Committees compelled to safeguard the interests of the workers, to adopt far-reaching measures for establishing international organizational unity of all revolutionary elements within the trade-union movement and to make all preparations necessary for the calling of an international congress of the particular trade to which all unions standing on the basis of the class struggle should, if possible, be invited.

[illegible] from Moscow

[illegible]

[illegible] WE MUST NOW ADD ECONOMIC AID: AN [illegible] UNITED EFFORT TO SAVE THE RUSSIAN LAND, THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE, THE RUSSIAN IDEA. Our [illegible] will come before you, [illegible] Russia must be helped. [illegible] to this work. We are speaking [illegible]: RUSSIA MUST NOT PERISH IN ITS DISTRESS. Our action must be a united effort, not for humanity alone, but also a path to world revolution.

THE DELEGATION OF THE
WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE.

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Tolerate No Sabotage! The Second International Seeks to Obstruct the Workers' World Congress

Editor's Note:—Under the above title, the delegation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Conference of the Three Internationals at Berlin, has issued a statement to the world's workers thru the International Press Correspondence. This manifesto shows conclusively that the Second International is responsible for the breaking up of the conference of the three internationals entrusted with the duty of calling a Workers' World Congress for the building of an international united front. It is as follows:

• • •

Working Men and Women!

The Conference of the Executives of the three Workers' Internationals which took place at the beginning of April pronounced in favor of the calling of a Workers' World Congress at the earliest possible moment. The necessity for a speedy convening of the Workers' World Congress was so apparent in view of the Genoa Conference that even the Second International did not dare openly to oppose this demand, although in reality it was firmly determined to frustrate the holding of the congress. The Second International is a union of reformist parties who are either immediately allied with their capitalist governments or desire to avoid any conflict,

The Leaders of the Second International Do Not Want to Interfere With the Work of the Capitalist Diplomats

They therefore opposed the natural demand that the annulment of the shameful Versailles Treaty should be embodied in the official proclamation of the Berlin Conference and also declared that the World Congress could not be convened until the end of April. They hoped that the Genoa Conference would be ended by that time so that the Congress would lose the character of immediate intrusion by the proletariat into the haggling of capitalist diplomacy.

Things have turned out differently. The interests of the capitalist states are so divergent that even the common desire to rob and exploit the world cannot immediately bring about unity among the leaders of the world bourgeoisie. For a month past they have been disputing in Genoa as to who shall seize the greater portion of the tribute which they in common desire to levy upon Soviet Russia. The Genoa Conference has not yet come to an end. To everyone who has maintained a spark of Socialist conviction in his breast, to every honest worker, it is abundantly clear from the results of the Genoa Conference that it is the duty of the international working class to intervene with the greatest energy against the politics of the capitalist governments. No less a man than the English Prime Minister, Lloyd George, has openly and clearly proclaimed to the world that

Europe is Staggering Towards a New World War

if things go on as they are. The motion of the Russian Soviet Government to put the question of disarmament on the agenda was defeated by the protest of French Imperialism. The motion of Lloyd George to secure a peace for ten years will remain a mere scrap of paper, so long as the capitalist states are armed and the Versailles Treaty remains in force. The differences between England and France which revealed themselves in their most acute form at the Genoa Conference already indicate the future battlefield on which fall as victims in the interests of capitalist profits.

The demands which the Allies make upon Soviet Russia are directed against the whole international working class. The workers of all lands have fought for these things,—that the factories shall belong to the community and not to individual exploiters. And in Genoa the chief issue in the struggle is nothing else than a demand for the restitution of the Russian factories, mines and docks to the foreign capitalists.

The Russian People Should Return To Their Old Slavery

In addition to this they are to be compelled to pay milliards upon milliards of the debts of Czarism and the bourgeoisie. Every worker understands that it is necessary to oppose this. The Executive of the Communist International made the suggestion on the 23rd of April to the Second and Vienna Internationals to convene the Commission of Nine, the representatives of the three Internationals, at once so that they could decide on the convening of the Workers' World Congress. Two weeks went past with some petty negotiations and finally the Commission of Nine was to meet on the 7th of May.

The Secretary of the Second International, Macdonald, has expressed his agreement therewith, although he states he is prevented from attending. To the German Social Democracy belongs the credit of having sabotaged this meeting of the Commission of Nine in the interests of World Capital. The Party which by its vote on the 4th of August, 1914 gave the first death stroke to the old International, the Party which as the tool of imperialist, capitalist Germany covered itself with shame during the war; the Party which after the collapse of German imperialism prevented the victory of the proletarian revolution in Central Europe, the Party which gave back to the bourgeoisie without a blow the political power captured by the German working class on the 9th of November, 1918; the Party which helped the bourgeoisie to reestablish its power on the bones of fifteen thousand workers slaughtered by Noske's guards—this Party now seeks by every means to prevent the beginning of common international action by the proletariat. It now declares openly and clearly in its Press, that it is "premature" to convene the Commission of Nine and still more so the Worker's World Congress. One is astounded and asks how it is possible that the German Social Democracy prevents the meeting of the International Workers' Congress just as the day approaches on which

French Imperialism Will Lay Its Bill Before the German People

But it is in this day of presentation, this 31st of May on which Poincare will present his bill to the German people that the explanation of the attitude of the German Social Democrats lies. Just as it has subjected itself body and soul to the German bourgeoisie, just as little does it dare to struggle against the world bourgeoisie and the setting aside of the Treaty of Versailles. All its hopes are centered in diplomacy and chicanery, none are bound up with the self-defense of the international proletariat. Like a good child it renounces any insurrection against the world bourgeoisie in order to be spared by it and sabotages the meeting of the Workers' World Congress. The German Social Democracy sabotages the meeting of the Workers' many millions of workers will again World Congress because it fears that it will also be compelled in Germany to sit round a table with the other workers' parties in order to deliberate how the German workers can jointly fight against the enormous burden of taxes with which they are threatened.

Working Men and Women!

The Vienna International, faithful to her part which is to conceal what exists and to mask the real state of affairs, seeks to raise the hope that it is only a question of technical reasons for the postponing of the session of the Commission of Nine for a week.

We warn you not to believe this! Whoever was capable of observing matters at Genoa for a month without feeling that immediate action ought to be taken, whoever after this month seeks to further postpone the meeting of the Commission of Nine, has proved that not technical but political reasons are holding him back from common action.

If you desire that the World Congress of the working class take place, that it result not in the acceptance of paper resolutions as was the case at the Congress of the Amsterdam International at Rome, but that it lead to practical action, then you must not be silent, you must not wait until the diplomats of the Vienna International have convinced the diplomats of the Second International of the harmlessness of a Workers' World Congress, then you, working men and working women must, without regard to the party to which you belong,

Take the Matter of the Workers' World Congress Into Your Own Hands!

We herewith appeal to the workers of all parties who are in favor of the united front of the proletariat against the offensive of capital to form in every workshop, in every city, joint committees to promote the Workers' World Congress and to compel their local and central party and trade union organizations to pronounce in favor of the immediate convening of the Workers' World Congress.

Working Men and Women!

If you, without regard to the party to which you belong, powerfully raise your voice for the convening of the Workers' World Congress, your leaders will think ten times before they go on with their sabotaging.

The Second International has seriously violated the Berlin Agreement of the three Executives. It will rest with the Communist International to declare what are the consequences. It is the business of the proletariat without regard to party to see to it that the energetic unmistakable call of the whole proletariat now rings forth.

Enough of sabotage of the proletarian united front!

Immediate convening of the Workers' World Congress.

The Delegation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
[illegible] Broadway—Room [illegible] NEW YORK CITY

Read "THE WORKER" Every Week. New Subscribers' Price—20 Weeks, 50 Cents

News of Workers Party A[illegible] State and Nation

Great W[illegible]k of F.S.R. [illegible] Big O[illegible]

The Friends of Soviet Russia, which must be regarded as the most important of the workers' famine relief organizations in the world, has collected more than $650,000 in cash and $400,000 in clothing, food, tools etc.

More than One Million Dollars from the Workers of America to the Workers of Soviet Russia

Taking into consideration the acute economic depression that has held America in its grasp in the past two years, the strikes of the miners and other struggles, this must be accounted an achievement.

Up to April 1, the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee had collected nearly 500,000,000 marks for famine relief. Of this sum, the Friends of Soviet Russia furnished more than half—255,000,000 marks.

Lining Up With the F. S. R.

Canada has been doing yeoman work for relief. Up to a few weeks ago, however, there was a large organization in Winnipeg, with more than 60 branches, still working outside the F. S. R.

This organization has joined the forces of the F. S. R., which now operates in all of the important cities of the United States and Canada.

This denotes affiliations in more than 230 cities—a widespread organization embracing hundreds of thousands of workers.

Tool Drive Under Way

Despite the splendid accomplishments of the F. S. R. and the other famine relief organizations, the situation in Soviet Russia has become worse.

Reports emanating from Russia reveal that no hope is to be expected until the new harvest is in. That cannot be before the end of August. Even that offers little, since the long famine has eaten out the lives of the people, has weakened them and made them prey to all kinds of epidemics.

The full amount of seed, furthermore, could not be delivered. Railroad facilities were not sufficient. Added to this, is the terrible want of tools, of farming implements and machinery. Here is a situation crying for help.

The Friends of Soviet Russia's Tool Drive is just about to begin. Tools of all kinds are wanted. Saws, hammers, scythes, files, lathes, engines, pumps, locomotives, tractors, threshers reapers; there is no tool that Soviet Russia does not need in enormous quantities.

Organizations Pledging Tractors

Branches of the Friends of Soviet Russia are pledging themselves to buy one or more tractors, the machine most wanted in Russia.

Workers are getting together to buy machines of all kinds. The appeal to the unions is strong. They know what it means to be without tools.

American workers, in particular, having been accustomed to the most highly improved types of machinery, can appreciate what a machine breakdown represents. A ready response, therefore, is awaited.

PICNIC PRIZES

Picnic time is here!

Every successful picnic requires prizes for the winners in the various contests. None are better for this purpose than the following:

PRIZE OFFERS

Busts of Lenin and Trotzky.—Done by the note English artist, Clare Sheridan, while in Moscow.
Lenin, $3.00 Trotzky, $2.00

BOOKS

Bars and Shadows, prison poems of Ralph Chaplin. A copy $1.00.
The Soul of the Russian Revolution. M. Olgin.............$2.75
Pelle the Conqueror, Nexo. A wonderful labor story in two large volumes.............$4.00
Ten Days That Shook the World. John Reed.............$1.00
Mayfair to Moscow. Clare Sheridan.............$3.00
What I Saw in Russia. George Lansbury.............$1.50
Bolshevism at Work. Wm. T. Goode.............$1.00
New Policies of Soviet Russia. Lenin and others.............$1.00
Proletcult. Eden and Cedar Paul.............$1.50

Order your prizes in good time for your next big affair.

Literature Department Workers Party
Room 405, 799 Broadway,
New York City.

[illegible] Peril

By [illegible]

[illegible] political scare thrown [illegible] by William [illegible] from them. [illegible] they have no country [illegible] are obliged to offer for sale [illegible] to secure the means [illegible] working class of America [illegible] Gompers, the [illegible] yellow Socialist [illegible]

This title has [illegible] into the patriotic [illegible] Hearst and other [illegible] come in here and take [illegible]

As far as the working [illegible] nothing but their labor power [illegible] to the capitalist who [illegible] wherewith to live.

And when the [illegible] out of the purchase of this [illegible] and starve as far as the [illegible]

There is a real yellow peril [illegible] however, and the key can be found [illegible] reactionary head of the American F[illegible] Labor Leaders of the Schlesinger type and the muddy-yellow editors of the yellow Socialist press such as Ervin of the Call and Cahan of the Forward.

Not very long ago the Call used to take a periodical crack in its editorial columns at the corrugated fossil who presides over the destinies of the A. F. of L. The writer of these idiotorials divided his satire equally between Sam Gompers and the head of the Civic Federation. He still attacks the Civic Federation but Gompers is now featured in the news columns of the Call as a champion of labor and the editorial columns are silent as to his misdeeds. We do not see how the Call can much longer continue its attacks on the Civic Federation and remain in the good graces of Gompers, seeing that Sam and Eastley are boon companions and members of the Ancient and Honorable Order of Enemies of Soviet Russia.

Grease Schlesinger Machine

Since the Left Wing movement in 1919 the Call and the little group that maintains itself thru its influence have little by little consigned whatever revolutionary principles they ever held to the scrap heap. At one time proponents of the policy of "boring from within" they are now horrified at the idea of the Communists permeating the unions with revolutionary propaganda. So at first they formed an ENTENTE with the reactionary labor leaders to squelch the left elements in the unions and when they perceived that this gentlemen's agreement was not having the desired effect a more ironclad alliance was formed which if not signed by a notary public is none the less working smoothly as was demonstrated at the Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

The treatment accorded the Left Wingers in the I. L. G. W. U. is a sample of what is in store for the workers in all the other unions. Schlesinger in approved style grandiloquently announced his intention of declining the re-nomination for the presidency of the union. The alleged reason was the criticism of his administration by the left elements. Immediately the machine was oiled and greased (and a greasy machine it is) and resolutions began to pour in requesting Schlesinger to reconsider his decision. Even Untermyer who is busy trying to smash the Building Trades and the Hebrew Bakers Unions, was one of those who considered it a public misfortune should the President of the International persist in his refusal.

Cahan Makes Threats

Sam Gompers, who is making faces at Untermyer for the edification of the workers, appeared at the convention and joined Untermyer in his eulogy of Schlesinger. Cahan, that slimy political prostitute whose praises are being sung in all the capitalist press for making of the Forward a tool of the yellow labor fakers came on the scene and joined in the fray. He wanted a "United Front" against the progressive elements in the union. The yellows had expelled every left winger they possibly could, and Cahan threatened to drive out of the labor movement thru the medium of his yellow sheet any delegate or group of delegates to the convention who would not agree and faithfully work to secure the unanimous election of Schlesinger.

The New York Call is the English affinity of the Forward. They are soul mates and as far as political morality is concerned both are beyond the pale of the moral code of the revolutionary movement. Both these sheets are putting up a United Front against the movement to win the workers from the reactionaries, and to bring about the amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions. They fear the rising tide in the ranks of the workers and in their panic they resort to the most extreme tactics to retain their influence. Hence the efforts of the Call to get the support of the reactionary labor leaders in New York to boost its dwindling circulation.

[illegible]

The [illegible] Branch, Workers Party, will hold a picnic at [illegible] Sunday, June 18. [illegible] Directions: Take [illegible] train to Myrtle Ave., change for Wyckoff Ave., take Richmond Hill Car to Park.

Fight the "Yellow Peril"

The yellow peril in the form of this alliance between the yellow socialists and the extreme reactionary labor leaders must be fought with a powerful stream of propaganda thru the medium of a daily press. Already the Jewish radicals have in the Freiheit a fighting daily that is sending the cold shivers down the spines of the old machine in the I. L. G. W. U. This accounts for the frantic attempts of the Forward-Call-Gompers-Hillquit - Schlesinger combination to retain their stranglehold on the machine. They know they are fighting a losing battle but they are determined to hold on as long as they can.

An English Daily is a dire necessity to give the workers the inspiration that they need at this very critical period.

What we need now is a daily English paper here in New York to combat the Yellow Peril of the reactionary alliance and to infuse a fighting spirit in the ranks of the workers.

The time is ripe for the Daily Worker. Down with the Yellow Peril. Up with the United Front of Labor against the capitalists and their labor lieutenants!

MARSHALL STARTS TOUR

District Organizer Lindgren, District No. 2, Workers Party, reports the starting of the open air campaign in his district on Monday night, June 5. John W. Marshall holding open air meetings at the following centers:

Monday, June 5, Stamford, Conn.; Tuesday, June 6, Norwalk, Conn.; Wednesday June 7, Bridgeport Conn.; Thursday, June 8, New Haven, Conn.; Friday, June 9, Collinsville, Conn.; Saturday and Sunday, June 10, 11, Hartford, Conn.; Monday, June 12, Albany, N. Y.; Tuesday, June 13, Troy, N. Y.; Wednesday, June 14 Schenectady, N. Y.; Thursday, June 15, Amsterdam, N. Y.; Friday, June 16, Johnstown, N. Y.; Saturday June 17, Gloversville, N. Y.; Sunday and Monday, June 18, 19, Utica, N. Y.; Tuesday, June 20, Oneida N. Y.; Wednesday and Thursday, June 21, 22, Syracuse, N. Y.; Friday and Saturday, June 23, 24, Rochester, N. Y.; Sunday, June 25, Buffalo, N. Y.; Monday, June 26, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; Tuesday, June 27, Buffalo, N. Y.; Wednesday, June 28, Jamestown, N. Y.; Thursday June 29, Salamanca, N. Y.; Friday, June 30, Olean, N. Y.; Saturday, July 1, Bolivar, N. Y.; Sunday, July 2, Hornell, N. Y.; Monday, July 3, Vanessen, N. Y.; Tuesday, July 4, Newfields N. Y.; Wednesday, July 5, Ithaca, N. Y.; Thursday, July 6, Geneva, N. Y.; Friday, July 7, Binghamton, N. Y.; Saturday, July 8, Paterson N. J.; Monday, July 10, Passaic, N. J.; Tuesday, July 11, Newark, N. J.; Wednesday, July 12, Jersey City.

Arrangements are being made for other speakers to cover this route at intervals of about two weeks.

THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

The Children's Crusade for Amnesty has issued a financial statement from their headquarters in Washington, which shows that $4,036.78 was collected at the sixteen cities they visited between St. Louis and Washington during April. This amount was used to defray their railroad and other expenses en route. New York radicals, who were interested in the pathetic but brave little group who visited us on April 25th, will be glad to know that the New York meetings head the list with a total proceeds of $869.20. The expenses for the Webster Hall meeting arranged by the Workers Defense Union and other items incidental to their visit were $248.07, which left a clear balance to the Crusade of $621.13.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

[illegible] to Bear Mountain.

After the excursionists have enjoyed themselves to the full by listening to the excellent program arranged on the boat, after they have taken in the beautiful scenery along the Hudson, and after they have partaken of the delicious luncheon to be served on the boat at moderate prices, they will alight at Bear Mountain Park to spend an enjoyable afternoon and evening in one of the most attractive spots along the Hudson.

The price per ticket has been fixed at $1.10. All passengers, with the exception of children in arms, will have to pay the regular price. The steamship company charges the Friends of Soviet Russia 66 cents for every passenger, adult or child; this makes it necessary to charge everybody so that the expense of hiring the boat may be covered.

Secondly, a slight acquaintance with the program will convince everyone that it would be impossible to enjoy a similar program without paying more for a ticket. The best talent obtainable, the most artistic dancers and singers, actors and performers, have been engaged for the occasion.

Finally, all the excursionists know that the proceeds of this affair are for Russian Relief, and they will certainly not consider $1.10 too much to pay for a single ticket.

The latter are $1.10 in advance, $1.50 at the boat, and can be obtained at the following places: 240 E. 23 St.; 64 E. 4th St.; Rand School Book Store, 208 E. 12th St.; 431 E. 6th St.; 138 W. 13th St.; 1403 5th Ave.; 143 E. 103 St.; 350 E. 81st St; 1292 Washington Ave.; 1347 Boston Road; 1470 Wilkins Ave.; 455 Grand St., Brooklyn, 10 Siegel St.; 226 Roebling St.; 296 Sackman St.; 1801 Pitkin Ave.; 764 40th St.; Obrana, 360 E. 73 St.; 606 E. 140th St.; Stern's, 1337 Wilkins Ave.

New York Picnic July 30th

Local Greater New York will hold a picnic, July 30th, at Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, L. I., to raise funds for the coming elections.

Elmhurst Park is located twenty minutes' ride from Queensborough Bridge and is one of the most beautiful parks in the near vicinity, with large, spacious grounds.

One of the features of the picnic will be the acceptance of a challenge from the National Office to the Local of a baseball match.

Other features will be athletic exhibition by the Finnish comrades, with prizes for the best exhibition, a one-act play by the Workers Drama, a concert by the Lettish comrades, as well as games for men, women and children—ball-playing, dancing, bowling, special cafeteria. The park will open at 10.30.

California Nominates Ticket

The District Convention of District 13 recently held at San Francisco placed a complete Workers Party ticket in the field. The nominees are as follows:

For Governor: W. Turner.
For U. S. Senator: N. Mattson.
For Congressman; San Francisco, Arthur Albright.
For Congressman: Berkeley, P. B. Crowdery.
For Congressman: Los Angeles, D. Gorman.

District Organizer Ella R. Bloor addressed meetings at Eureka, Fort Bragg and San Jose as well as a special meeting before the Lithuanian Union.

The Speakers' Class under the direction of A. E. Albright is being continued with very good success.

Lithuanian Organizer Routed

Kathrine Petrick, National Organizer of the Lithuanian Bureau, has started on an extensive organization trip. Her itinerary is as follows: Detroit, June 1st, 2nd and 3rd; Grand Rapids, Mich., June 4th; Chicago, Ill., June 5th to 10th.

The following days she will make extensive meetings in Southern Illinois, speaking in Lithuanian only.

Ohio Nominates Ticket

The Workers Party in Ohio nominated a complete ticket at a recent convention held at Shepherds Hall, Toledo. The following are some of the nominees:

For Congress, 9th District: Bruce T. Smith, now a council man representing the 15th ward.
For state senators: William Patterson, Joseph Willnecker.
For representative: Jess Chapman, Mike Toohey, George R. Farrell, Jacob Gottshall.
For auditor: Ernest Hageman.
For treasurer: Mike Belle.
For clerk of courts: Joseph Johnson.
For recorder: Conrad Eichman.
For sheriff: Walter Harris.

[illegible]

[illegible] itinerary includes:— [illegible] June [illegible], Youngstown, 8 p. m.; Saturday, June 3, Warren, 2.30 p. m., Woodmen's Hall; Sunday, June 4, Cleveland, and Monday, June 5, Akron.

On the week-end of June 25th Ruthenberg will be booked for five meetings in the Massachusetts district.

Meetings for Mine Strikers

Lawrence Dwyer, International Executive Board Member of the United Mine Workers, and William F. Dunne, labor editor of The Worker, who has just been down to the "treason trial" at Charles Town, will be the speakers at meetings arranged upon the initiative of the Workers Party and in co-operation with delegates from labor organizations.

In Wilmington, Del., meetings will be held Wednesday, June 6th, and in Jersey City, N. J., on June 10th.

The Jersey City meeting will be held at the Socialist Educational Clubhouse, 256 Central Ave., which has been donated rent free by the trustees of that institution.

The Central Trades Council of Hudson County inserted a notice of the meeting in the council minutes sent to 250 affiliated unions in the county. Admission will be free and a record attendance is expected.

Ruthenberg at Warren, Ohio

WARREN, Ohio.—A new English Branch organized recently has arranged for educational meetings every Sunday afternoon at their City Central Hall, 11½ Main St. June 3d they have a meeting at which C. E. Ruthenberg is speaker.

ORGANIZE AT ROCKAWAY

There has been formed a new branch of the Workers Party in Rockaway, Long Island. All comrades living in Rockaway please get in touch with Carrie Katz, at National Office, Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York, or Sara Bernstein, at the National Office, Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York.

[illegible] Work in the Labor Unions

Local Greater New York has com[illegible] registration of membership [illegible] reports that about 40 per cent [illegible] affiliated and active in trade unions.

The Executive Committee feels that with such a degree of organization and activity we cannot hope to revolutionize the trade unions and dislodge the present reactionary leadership.

The socialists and socialistic leadership in the trade unions of New York have begun another campaign against the communists and left wingers with the object of removing them from any influence in the unions.

They have begun this work at the conventions which they will no doubt follow up in their organizations.

This decision of the "socialist" bureaucrats is in tune with the recent activities of the Gompers reactionaries in their attitude toward the Trade Union Educational League and is the result of the constructive work of the militant elements within the past year.

The reactionaries already realize the danger of the new program of action adopted by the revolutionaries of this country.

The members of the Workers Party should continue this work more intensively. They must join their unions and learn how to win over the workers in these organizations to their program. A series of membership meetings will be held as follows;

Sections 1 and 2—Tuesday, June 6th, 208 E. 12th St., basement, 8 P.M.

Bronx and Yonkers Section—June 9th, 1347 Boston Road, 8 P.M.

Harlem and Yorkville—Monday, June 12th, 243 E. 84th St., 8 P. M.

Williamsburg and Brownsville—June 13th, Tuesday, Lithuanian Headquarters—Lorimer, cor. Ten Eyck Sts.

Borough Park—June 16th, Friday, Finnish Hall, 764 40th St., Brooklyn.

BOSTON.—Liberals in America are called upon to help financially at this critical juncture in the defense of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, in an appeal issued by the New England Civil Liberties committee.

[illegible] Campaign of Open Air Meetings for the Summer in Philadelphia

By M. KUSHINSKY

Secretary, City Central Committee

PHILADELPHIA.—Local Philadelphia of the Workers' Party has secured permits for 20 street corners for open air meetings. More have been applied for.

Meetings are already being held with available speakers at the following places: Front and Dauphin Sts., Kensington and Indiana Sts. These will be kept up all summer on Fridays and Saturdays.

A speakers' club has been organized to meet every second and fourth Tuesday, at 7 p. m., at the party headquarters. All comrades who have some ability as speakers, or to act as chairman, are urged to attend these meetings and help carry on this work.

Plans are going forward for a big mass meeting with Joseph M. Coldwell, and another with one of the comrades, recently released from the New York state prisons.

The City Central Committee is developing considerable activity, and all delegates are urged to attend the meetings regularly every first and third Tuesdays.

The June 17th picnic, to be addressed by Ben-Bitlow, will be one of the biggest ever held in Philadelphia. All party members must join in making this affair a huge success.

JURORS HIT BY CONSCIENCE

Two of the jurors who sent seven I. W. W. members to prison for 25 to 40 years in the trial arising out of the Centralia, Wash., tragedy on Armistice Day, 1919, have become conscience-stricken, and have repudiated their verdict in a joint affidavit which expresses the belief that all seven—and another now in an insane asylum—were innocent of killing or injuring any one that day.

ST. LOUIS.—The board of directors of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers has ratified the joint resolution for a closer alliance between miners and the 16 standard railroad labor organizations.

YOUR TOOLS YOUR MONEY

WILL BUILD UP SOVIET RUSSIA

SOVIET RUSSIA NEEDS FOOD
BUT
SOVIET RUSSIA ALSO NEEDS
MACHINERY

Tractors, Plows, Threshers, Reapers, Binders, Engines, Pumps, Trucks, Hammers, Saws, Files, and every other kind of tool

WE WORKERS MUST HELP BUILD UP
SOVIET RUSSIA

FOR THE SAKE OF THE RUSSIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS
FOR THE SAKE OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS AND FARMERS
FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

Authorized by the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers' International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin (Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated).

Conducted in America under the direction of the

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
(National Office)

201 WEST 13th STREET NEW YORK CITY

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THE CENTER
OF THE
WORKERS'
INTERNATIONAL
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Here is my contribution of $.................. toward relief and reconstruction of Soviet Russia.
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THE WORKER
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THE WORKER
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World imperialists are having a hard time trying to decide whether a revolution has really taken place in Bulgaria. The peasant dictatorship, which seems to dominate, announces that it is the "friend of new Russia," which should help them decide.

Cain, What of Your Brother?

Reports from Berlin state that the Anti-Soviet Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks are a little timid about going to Moscow to defend their partners-in-crime against the proletarian dictatorship.

They are afraid, it is said, that the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, who have successfully fought their alliance with foreign interventionists and internal counter-revolutionists, will not receive them with open arms.

They are afraid, it is said, that the ill-mannered proletarians of Moscow will greet them, as they did Theodor Liebknecht, brother of the murdered Karl, who came to Moscow with Emil Vandervelde to do the dirty work of reaction. They asked the living Liebknecht, who has come to defend the traitors to the working class:—

"Cain, what have you done with your brother?"

Karl Radek, at the Conference of the three Internationals at Berlin, promised Vandervelde that the records of himself and other Cains of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals would be laid bare during the Moscow trial.

No doubt, both Theodor Liebknecht and Emil Vandervelde, like the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks at Berlin, will regret the day they ever interfered with the buzz saw of Soviet Rule in Russia.

"No army can long resist the Demon Hunger," writes John Gatherum, secretary, District No. 29, West Virginia coal miners. Let the Workers of New York City rally in support of the Relief Committee for the West Virginia Miners now carrying on its campaign here.

Help Build the United Front

The Workers Party has undertaken a great task. It has inaugurated the campaign to build the UNITED FRONT of labor in the United States of America, part of the world front against the capitalist exploiters.

This front must be built out of the organized ranks of the wage workers, out of the masses of the exploited men and women workers.

It is therefore essential that every worker in the land should be reached with the United Front Manifesto issued by the Workers Party Central Executive Committee. That should be the goal, nothing less.

The party organizations, in all sections of the country, should immediately map out the campaign that will carry the UNITED FRONT struggle into every labor union in their respective communities.

No worker dare reject the message of the UNITED FRONT in this hour of crisis. This effort will win many workers and many workers' organizations to contribute financially toward spreading this solidifying program in less favorable districts.

Read again the manifesto as published in the May 27th issue of THE WORKER. Turn to the last issue and read again how the coal miners, in their present struggle, would be helped by the emancipating struggle of the UNITED FRONT.

The UNITED FRONT campaign is under way. Are you going to help? Or, will you remain one of those who only wait and watch?

The future will judge you by what you do NOW.

Fifty-one Communists in Esthonia have been convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. No protest is heard from the McDonalds, the Vanderveldes, the Hendersons, and especially from the democracy-loving American Socialist Party. But then, Esthonia is not under the rule of a proletarian dictatorship. It is much easier to protest against the "cruel" Soviet rule in Georgia.

Memories on Memorial Day

Memories of Memorial Day, 1922, on University Place, in New York City.

A squad of police working from a flivver, advertised as having been secured for the pursuit of payroll bandits, but in reality being used on this Memorial Day to mop up stray fruit peddlers trying to win a few pennies from holiday throngs, without City Licenses.

"I'm trying to get a living for my family and I get pinched," complained a swarthy Italian, standing beside his banana cart, as the officer wrote down an order hailing him before the judge.

The stalwart Jew, vender of cherries, just smiled the smile of oppressive centuries, as the Police Sergeant threatened, and we read the little sign on his cart that said, "Please don't take any samples." Those samples, purloined by would-be purchasers, were the difference between profit and loss.

Perhaps the added license fees were needed for the increase in Mayor "Red Mike" Hylan's salary, or to meet the expenses of his next winter's trip to Palm Beach.

"Move on there," bullied the police, as the crowd gathered. "We can arrest you, too. Get out. Move on. Beat it," and the crowd moved, all except one, until he was pushed along, unceremoniously.

But before he left he spoke to the throng, "That's the way they treat the workers. I'll bet they're afraid John Wanamaker will lose some of his business."

After a while the flivver with its police moved over into Union Square hunting other peddlers, who were fighting poverty, hunger, WITHOUT LICENSES, on a holiday, now also compelled to meet police oppression, the power of the merciless capitalist state.

Thus was Memorial Day, 1922, providing rich memories for the oppressed, memories to aid in solidifying resistance to an oppressive system, so that, perhaps, the dead, on whose behalf Memorial Day came into existence, did not die in vain.

[illegible] A. F. of L. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Gompers will attack Communism.

Gompers will oppose recognition of Soviet Russia.

Gompers will oppose trade relations with the First Workers' Republic.

Gompers and his crew will howl down all radicals in the convention.

Gompers admits there are 6,000,000 unemployed but he will do nothing for them.

Gompers will oppose amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions.

Gompers will oppose any real assistance to the coal miners' strike.

Gompers will only weep over the wage cut handed the railroad workers.

We know this because the Gompers' administration program in the American Federation of Labor is an opposing program, opposed to all progress in the labor movement.

The only interest in this convention will consist in watching the forces of the Trade Union Educational League get their baptismal fire from the Gompers' machine.

This convention of the A. F. of L. is the first held since the T. U. E. L. was organized. It cannot be expected that the League forces will constitute a big factor at the Cincinnati Convention. But they will make their power felt.

The reactionists of the Gompers' machine will be faced with the first really organized effort of the Militants in the labor movement.

That effort has already been strengthened by the attacks directed against the League by Gompers himself, and also by his first lieutenant, Matthew Woll, vice-president.

The Cincinnati Convention should prove to large numbers of militant trade unionists in this country that the Trade Union Educational League is their organization, that it is fighting, conducting the lone fight for their best interests.

Always the Frame-up

Five court jurors in the Montesano, Wash., I. W. W. trial, have signed affidavits declaring their belief in the innocence of the seven workers now serving long prison terms for the Armistice Day shootings at Centralia.

The Centralia frame-up was a well-planned plot by the Chamber of Commerce acting under cover of 100 per cent Americanism. The hideous nature of that frame-up is only now coming to light as the cloak of prejudice slips from the minds of hostile jurors.

This case now adds another to the long list of instances in which labor has been "framed" by the ruling class.

In Massachusetts hidden witnesses are being unearthed at this late date, witnesses pushed aside by the prosecution because they could testify that Sacco and Vanzetti were not the payroll bandits who committed the murder with which our comrades are charged.

The frame-up against Mooney and Billings has been so thoroly exposed that no intelligent person doubts their innocence.

The attempt to legally lynch William Blizzard, official of the West Virginia coal miners, was so evidently a frame-up that it didn't go over, it proved a dud even in the capitalist law courts.

The "open shop" drive in the building trades in Chicago results in a frame-up against the most reactionary officials of labor. The kept press considers no charge too vile to make against the labor movement.

Two of our own women comrades are now in prison in New York State charged with distributing literature they had never seen. The New York City police force found it easy to frame them, to "discover" literature in the homes of these women, literature that had in fact been placed there by these same police, enforcers of capitalist "law and order."

The use of the frame-up only shows the lengths to which the ruling class is willing and able to go in order to maintain itself in power.

The ruling class of today is only able to make use of the frame-up successfully because it is in control everywhere, in the halls of legislation, in the courts, in the police headquarters; its power permeates the capitalist system.

The workers will never come into power until that system is destroyed and a new social system established that the producers dominate and control, a system that must grow out of their organized strength and intelligence. The frame-up is a bludgeon driving the workers onward to the creation of this new social system,—driving them towards Communism.

It Was Born to Fight

"The Labor Herald" is the official publication of the Trade Union Educational League. Its June issue, "No. 4," has just arrived.

That "The Labor Herald" was born to fight has already been proved by the spectacular events of its short career. It has made enemies. It has won friends.

Samuel Gompers says, "The Labor Herald is a monumental brazen publication."

Tom Mann, the British labor spokesman, says: "The Labor Herald is comprehensive, argumentative and unanswerable; I do not understand how you can get thru with such a thorogoing document."

That just about hits the two opposing points of view.

"The League Under Fire," is an article in the June issue in which Earl R. Browder reviews the struggle of "The Labor Herald" and "The League" up to the present time, the latest assault being "Nine pages of inflammatory attack in the American Federationist," the official organ of the American Federation of Labor.

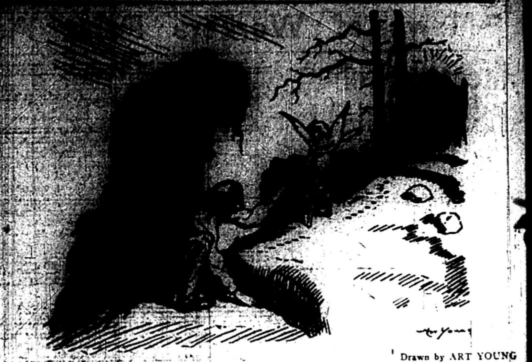
Browder replies to Gompers' "May First Scare" issued in Chicago, in which he attacked "The League" and won an eight-column headline in the anti-labor Chicago Tribune, on the morning of May Day, May 1, reading as follows: "GOMPERS HITS RED MENACE."

Browder says that, "Gompers himself, and a flock of his 'organizers,' have been going from place to place, denouncing 'The League' and organizing the opposition against it. But his only weapons are still, as they have been from the beginning, slander, prejudice, villification and untruth."

Every militant in the labor movement ought to have a copy of this June issue of "The Labor Herald," containing Browder's article, "The League Under Fire." Wherever a Gompers' untruth raises its head, hit it with the article.

The issue also contains a wealth of timely material. J. B. Salutsky writes about the conventions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Salutsky is educational director of the "Amalgamated" and knows the needle industry. Arne Swabeck writes on "The Building Trades Problem"; Joe Peterson, on "Towards Unity in the Building Trades"; William Z. Foster on "The Railway Employes' Department Convention"; Fritz Heckert on "Struggles and Difficulties in the German Labor Movement," and Jay Fox on "Metal Workers Awake!" There are the various departments as usual, including "The International," interesting features and the always excellent editorials.

Get "The Labor Herald!" Read it! Get others to read it!



Drawn by ART YOUNG

In the struggle between poverty and talent, poverty generally triumphs.—ART YOUNG

Algernon Lee is another "Socialist" who is trying to cover up the reactionary declarations of the recent Cleveland Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Referring to the "left" delegates he says, "they were not ousted because they held and expressed unorthodox views, but because, in the judgment of the convention, they had used disruptive methods within the organization." That sounds pretty much like the autocrat of the post office, Burleson, during the war, who suppressed labor papers, not because of their views, but because they interfered with the conduct of the war. But, in the eyes of the yellow reformists, any excuse will serve their purpose.

23 Cents an Hour

The United States Railroad Labor Board, at Chicago, has presented the maintenance-of-way employes and unskilled laborers around railroad shops a Fourth of July gift in the shape of a wage cut averaging 13.2 per cent, effective July 1st.

The workers' spokesmen on the board opposed, but the railroad members and the "public's representatives" joined hands and decided that:

"Common labor on railroads will now receive a minimum of 23 cents an hour."

Even for the 10-hour day this means that these workers will get but a mere pittance of $2.30 per day, which the Labor Board has the audacity to claim is:

"In excess of that paid to similar labor in other industries."

In other words, because the lumber trust, the steel trust, and other "open shop" task masters, are able to maintain sub-slavery conditions in these industries, therefore, approximating conditions should prevail on the railroads.

The lowest paid workers on the railroads have been attacked first. There will be other wage cuts affecting 500,000 skilled shop workers and about 200,000 clerks, telegraphers, station employes and other small classes. It is stated that:

The "Big Five" transportation groups—the conductors, engineers, trainmen, firemen and switchmen, will not be affected.

The aristocracy of the railroad workers will remain in undisputed sway over the wage situation in the transportation industry. They will stand as staunch allies of the money power in keeping the low-paid, unskilled in submission.

In attacking the majority decision of the Labor Board, the minority labor members, declared that:

"The rates of pay established by this decision are not based upon the human needs of the hundreds of thousands of families involved.

"They are insufficient to provide these families with the absolute essentials. The earnings of this large group of railroad employes will not provide the father of a family with as much food as is allowed convicts in the Cook County, Illinois, jail."

It will be remembered that the cry for "Bread!" was the first demand of the general cry for "Bread! Peace! Land!" of the Russian workers and peasants as they swept away the Czardom and established their Soviet Republic.

By the decision of the Labor Board, 400,000 railroad workers have been added to the growing army of oppressed in this country being forced to join in the common cry for "Bread!"

This is no doubt only one of the sequels of the banquet given recently by President Harding to a large number of railroad magnates at the White House.

And then Wall Street and Washington wonder at the growing power of Communism even in the United States of America.

The police smashed a demonstration of London jobless in front of the Bank of England. But the pillars of capital must have shivered a little before "order" was restored.

The Associated Press now nails the tale that Lenin is a "physical and nervous wreck" as "ridiculous." Yet that fake will be just as hard to kill as the oft-repeated story of Lenin's death.

President Harding's banquets to the steel barons and railroad kings are now of things past and forgotten. The 12-hour shift in the steel mills remains and railroad rates have not been reduced. Yet the American workers are supposed to fall for this sort of bunk. Will they?

The coal mine operators and their newspaper and financial associates no longer are pretending that the coal strike is not hitting them hard. A special dispatch to the New York Evening Post from Pittsburgh, Pa., admits that the walkout in the non-union fields continues to be exceedingly disappointing—to the operators.

Horatio Bottomley, the raving jingo editor of the London weekly, John Bull, gets seven years for stealing $750,000, mostly from poor workers who fell victims to his schemes. But he retains his seat in parliament pending appeal. Criminals are just as "respectable" in England, if they are members of the House of Commons, as they are in our own congress. Senator Newberry should send an official congratulation to Horatio.

Walter S. Ward, petted son of the millionaire bread trust head, seems to have established a travelling "Hollywood" for organized baseball. He is reported to have kept night life booming in all the cities his father's baseball team visited, especially [illegible]. This news should be a great encouragement to sweating bakery workers, toiling before glowing ovens, to accept new wage decreases.

"Give Us Food!" Cry From West Virginia

Here is a letter from West Virginia straight to you. It was written by John Gatherum, Secretary, District 29, United Mine Workers of America, to Lawrence Dwyer, international executive board member of the miners' union for West Virginia, who is now in New York. But it carries a message to every reader of THE WORKER. It is in part as follows.

• • •

WOMEN JOIN THE BATTLE

The women are taking up the battle. They realize even more than the men what the operator's terms mean for them and their children should this strike be lost.

This morning, at Sprague, women to the number of 30 or 40 met what few men, some 8 or 10, had started work. Now, I understand, these women are cited to appear before Squire Lilly here in Beckley. I leave it to you to guess what they can expect from him.

I am also told that at Eccles the same thing happened, altho I have not heard that any of the women there have been arrested.

It seems to me that the injunction of Judge McClintic is proving a boomerang because with the men shut off from the fight, unless they are ready for prison, the women are rising to the occasion.

I understand that at some of the mines they are now offering higher wages in order to get the men to break the strike. So far they have not had much success. It is true that some of the places are working but everywhere comes the cry, "Assure us of some food so we can live and we will strike again."

Starve While Working

The money we have had from New York has been spread out over the field to the very best of our ability.

We find the cost of food supplies of every kind is rapidly rising. If that is any indication of the future I am utterly at a loss to know what we could get to live on were we assured of steady work at the 1917 scale. With work like it was last year they would simply starve while working.

I had a letter from Meadow Creek, which we have been absolutely unable to reach with aid for several weeks, and I am told that there they are eating more "greens" than anything else.

Also Fought by Courts

We are having the tent colony a Thayer enlarged by people fro Laurel Creek, who are being evicte We have no more tents and are un able to buy any, so they are doublin up under what shelter there is. President Sprouse gave instructions toda that some tar paper shelters be buil on the tent ground.

The men are only anxious abou the women and children. For them selves they tell me they will cam under the trees. At Price Hill t men are still being evicted. This i the worst weapon the operators hav to use, because of the natural fear f the health of the children.

War in its most brutal form ca not be much worse, and the wor of it is that we have a poor show t fight back. The courts take care o that.

We are desperately in need o finance. I have relieved Eccles wher we have close to 600 men, a grea majority of whom have families, t the extent of $350 in two weeks.

These men and women are cer tainly putting up a battle. But I wi further say that conditions are suc all over the field, that if Judge Mc Clintic wants business in the way o giving sentences for contempt of hi injunction he is likely to get th chance, because the men will com together to talk over the situatio whether he likes it or not.

☛ The Worker Will Have Special Reports of the A. F. of L. Convention. Don't Miss Them. Subscribe Now—20 Weeks for 50 Cents ☚

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

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Anti-Union Offensive Grows as the A. F. of L. Meets at Cincinnati, O.

Wages, Children and Union Funds Are All Objects of Bitter Attack; Labor Faces Return to Feudal Status

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

On the eve of the convention of the American Federation of Labor the employing class of the United States, thru that efficient medium, the United States Supreme Court, has renewed its challenge to the labor movement.

The Coronado decision, laying down the rule that unions are liable for damages to business and property caused by a strike for which they are responsible, means that with the judiciary in the hands of the employers, as it is, the bankruptcy of the existing unions is only a matter of time.

The pussyfooting policy of the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of Sam Gompers and other fossils has had its inevitable result.

The movement must now completely change its tactics or go out of business. Its labored attempts to [illegible] the industrial and political lords have been rewarded in the same manner that cowards are always compensated.

Gompers, of course, fulminates at the decision but his utterances on the question are [illegible] of the real function of the supreme court.

An additional slap has been handed labor; as if for good measure, that pet of the reformers, the child labor law, has also been declared unconstitutional. There is much weeping and wailing among the sob sisterhood and talk of a constitutional amendment.

A GHASTLY FAILURE

Not a single word in the official pronouncements of the trade union leaders would lead one to believe that they have the slightest inkling of the fact that the spineless policy of the labor movement itself is the sole reason why child labor is an issue here in the twentieth century. There has been no real attempt made to organize industry and TAKE the children out of the factories. They will be there until this is done no matter what any court decides.

The begging and "good boy" policy of the American Federation of Labor stands today a ghastly failure from every angle as it is about to meet for its annual wind fest.

No convention of the Federation has ever been called upon to deal with so many vital issues as the one that begins its sessions in Cincinnati June 12th. Never was there a time when the membership waited more anxiously for some sign that a militant policy would be set forth by officials whose salaries warrant the assumption that they have some brains.

It is more than probable however that the militant minority will be stronger than ever before but that the old machine, at the risk of jeopardising the future of labor will adhere to the policies of the past without change.

There is one thing that the present trade union officialdom fears more than the employers and that is the radicals and their program. With the bosses, a compromise can be reached by being sufficiently servile. With the reds there can be no compromise, it is a struggle between the old and the new in the labor movement. The bureaucracy hates new policies more than it hates the bosses.

When this is understood many

(Continued on Page Three)

Against the Next War the World Revolution!

[illegible] consider the international situation confronting the world's working class.

This gathering of the spokesmen of organized workers in 36 nations did not delude itself into believing that labor had anything to expect from the meeting at Genoa.

It was looked upon, even as the Conference planned for The Hague is now considered, "a breathing space for capitalism."

The world economic situation, showing the big part played by the United States, is reviewed, and the reasons set forth why a new world-war threatens.

Against this threat of new imperialistic wars the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International advances a program for the Communist Parties of all countries to follow, declaring, however, that the only effective protection against "the threatening wars is the proletarian revolution that overthrows capitalism."

The main arguments of this theses on the question of combating war and the danger of war are as follows:

Why War Danger Threatens

The economic and political conflicts among the great capitalistic powers of Europe have not been settled.

Sharper conflicts between England, the United States and Japan are blooming forth.

France's role as England's competitor is growing in importance.

England's domination of the world market passed to the United States during the four-year wholesale imperialistic butchery.

The United States, formerly an exporter of raw materials, has now become an exporter of manufactured articles.

The United States has the lion's share of the world's gold reserve.

Japan's growing imperialism is pointed at the United States.

Notwithstanding the incurable conflict of interests between the great capitalist states, they are united in their readiness to overthrow Soviet Russia.

French diplomats are preparing to launch new military attacks against Soviet Russia, using Finland and Roumania as bases.

Soviet Russia must be ready to fight in the interest of the proletarian revolution.

The capitalist world is saturated with combustible material that may go off at any moment, resulting in new imperialistic wars.

The capitalist states are armed more heavily than before the war (1914-18).

Against the driving forces of capitalist imperialism that lead to world-wars, the pacifistic tendencies within the bourgeois order are absolutely powerless.

All alliances of capitalist states are no guarantees of peace, but of war dangers and preparations.

The Washington Conference is the latest proof that the capitalist world is neither able nor willing to secure peace for humanity.

Order and stability can be brought into the existing economic chaos, occasioned by the war, only after the revolutionary proletariat will have overthrown bourgeois rule.

Capitalist economy is declining and is approaching its end.

The most that capitalism can expect of Genoa is a breathing space, but it cannot save its life.

After Genoa, this question—world-wars or the proletarian world-revolution?—this question will remain on the historical order of the day.

Imperialism is capitalist reality, but bourgeois pacifism is capitalist illusion.

The only effective protection against the threatening wars is the proletarian revolution that overthrows capitalism.

The theses in full, that should be preserved for future reference and study, is as follows:

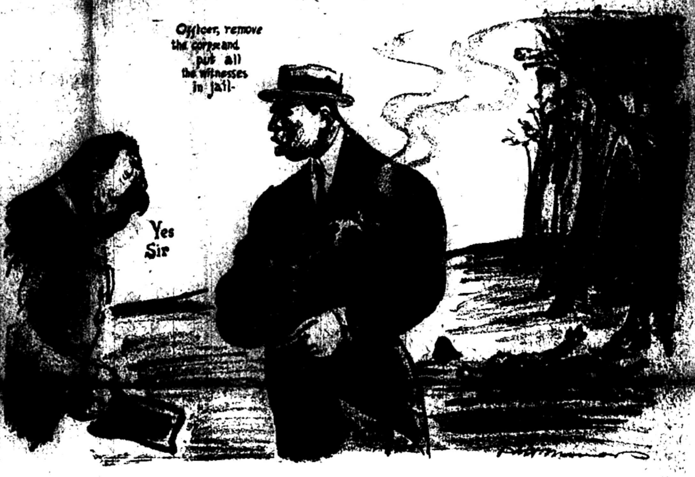
1—Thru the imperialistic war of 1914-1918 and thru the treaties of "peace" that concluded it (those of Versailles, Trianon, St. Germain, Sevres and Neuilly), the economic and political conflicts among the great capitalistic powers of Europe have not been settled.

They are spreading and intensifying under varied forms and conditions in the struggle for domination of the European and world markets.

Alongside of these, new economic and political conflicts have arisen

(Continued on Page Five)

When a Son of the Rich Kills a Son of the Poor


Officer, remove the corpse and put all the witnesses in jail-
Yes Sir

Just an incident in the career of a wealthy young gentleman in "blowing in" the millions wrung by the bread trust out of the labor of the Bakery Workers.

The millionaire bread manufacturers' son must not be inconvenienced for merely killing a poor man's son. His excuses are given out by his lawyer—no policeman would dare ask him impolite questions.

No jail for the man who confesses the killing—but when alleged witnesses try to tell of the killing, they are sent to jail.

How different from the case of two young workingmen accused (and falsely accused) of murder in Massachusetts!

Sacco and Vanzetti are now awaiting electrocution for a murder they did not commit. Everybody knows they did not commit it. Yet, the police "framed" them up, kept them in jail many long months without bond, "third degreed" them, terrorized their friends, the witnesses and jurymen, to get a conviction.

Why? Because these are young class-conscious workingmen, active in strikes. Witnesses whose testimony convicted these workers now admit that they lied. But Sacco and Vanzetti are to die anyway because the capitalist class wants vengeance on them.

But, when wealthy young Mr. Walter S. Ward confesses that he killed a penniless boy, he must not be inconvenienced in his pleasure, while he spends the money the workers earn.

Protest Wave Sweeps Big Membership of Workmen's Circle

The reactionary attitude taken by the Toronto convention of the Workmen's Circle under the influence of the Socialist—Forward machine was repudiated in a workman-like manner by the special convention held in the Labor Temple, New York City, Saturday and Sunday.

At this gathering were represented 236 locals of the Workmen's Circle and 35 locals who were unable to send delegates have since sent resolutions endorsing the stand taken. These branches are located in 61 cities and 23 states.

The Toronto convention joined with the capitalist class of the world in denouncing Soviet Russia. The

(Continued on Page Three)

F. S. R. OUTING SUNDAY

Don't forget the Big Outing for Russian Relief under the auspices of the Friends of Soviet Russia, this Sunday, June 11th, to Bear Mountain Park and return. See the "ad" on another page.

The comrades of the FSR urge all those who can to get on the boat at The Battery before 9 o'clock.

As the Worker Sees It

Ten thousand "necessitous" children in Glasgow, Scotland, were deprived of free meals on the occasion of the recent holiday celebrating the birthday of George V, ruler over the British Empire. That's nothing. Capitalism in New York City has an all-year-around birthday celebrated by 60,000 children going continuously hungry.

Untermeyer raves but the amalgamation of the steel industry by the steel capitalists goes on just the same. We hope the workers in the steel industry learn the lesson of this amalgamation and unite their forces just as solidly as the capitalists are uniting theirs. It is "Amalgamation or Annihilation." The capitalists have chosen. How about labor?

Leslie's, illustrated weekly, and Judge, humorous weekly, are to unite during this month of universal matrimony, adopting the harmonizing slogan of "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." If it had changed this sage saying and made it, "The pursuit of life, liberty and happiness," it might, at least, have been considered a little funny, because the "pursuit" as conducted by the wage-workers of the U. S. A. at the present time is indeed ridiculous.

The Vienna International again proves itself the catspaw of the Ramsay McDonald-Emil Vandervelde (Second) International by issuing a statement charging the Communist International with breaking up the united front that the Berlin Conference of the Three Internationals sought to establish. The statement of the Communist International published in last week's issue of THE WORKER should convince any doubting worker of this new betrayal of the Second International.

"How do they get that way?" asks the Davenport, Ia., Tribune, in commenting on the resolutions of the Dayton, Ohio, Socialists mourning the death of John H. Patterson, the cash register king. "Industrial Solidarity," the I. W. W. weekly calls it "A case of Socialist Insanity." Only the New York Call has stood the test. It comes back strong with a column article by a Dayton Socialist hitting at the Minneapolis Labor Review for ever having questioned the integrity and high-mindedness of the Dayton millionaire. The Call, by mistake, published the Labor Review article.

Read This Story of Struggle for Unity in Building Trades

EDITOR'S NOTE:—The "open shop" drive is being conducted in two huge offensives at the present time, against the coal miners and against the building trades in many cities. This article on the struggle towards unity in the building trades should, therefore, be of great interest to all workers, no matter what their work. This article is taken from the June issue of "The Labor Herald." It is as follows:

• • •

By JOE PETERSON

There is serious division of Labor's forces in the Building Trades. Both nationally and locally our forces are broken up.

We are finding it impossible to get common action in the face of the most terrific attack which our unions have ever had to face.

We are attempting to meet the situation with antiquated, 18th century methods of craft unionism, while the employers have united all their forces so that they act together in the entire industry.

Due to the disease of [illegible] disputes, our organizations [illegible] back before the enemy.

Wars between the unions over jurisdiction result from the [illegible] visions existing between [illegible] the process of building [illegible]

(Continued on Page [illegible])

MASS MEETING—FOR RELIEF OF WEST VIRGINIA MINERS
June 23, 8 P. M., Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th Street

LAWRENCE E. DWYER
Executive Board Member United Mine Workers of America—Speaker

STOP THUG RULE IN WEST VIRGINIA

[illegible] Russ Trade

By HARRY GODFREY

Powerful French interests are secretly negotiating for a Franco-Russian agreement, and a trade agreement between the two nations in all probability will be entered into within a year, possibly sooner, according to Charles Recht, who since the departure of L. C. Martens has been acting as the latter's representative in America "in all matters."

Recht has just returned from Russia with a commission not only to continue as attorney here for the Russian Government, but to act in a much wider capacity for that Government practically as its envoy.

U. S. the Last to Act

The United States, which once occupied among nations practically the same position as that now occupied by Russia, probably will be the last to recognize and restore trade and diplomatic relations with Russia, Recht said.

He expects all the other European nations to conclude agreements with Moscow as rapidly as possible after France shall have made a treaty, thus leaving the United States to get the "leavings" of the great trade and industrial revival which will follow.

He has been charged by the Russian Commissariat of Education to invite American motion picture interests to assist in the building up of the film industry in Russia, and in addition has been appointed general representative of the Russian Volunteer Fleet for the United States and Japan. This fleet has been reorganized as a corporation along lines similar to those under the Czarist regime, and action will be taken immediately to recover the property of the fleet in America.

Sees No More Trouble

"There will be no more political trouble in Russia," he said. There is no move of any kind against the present government, and there will be none.

Martens Heads Metal Industry

Mr. Martens, formerly Russian trade envoy to the United States, he said, now is a member of the Supreme Council of National Economy and head of the metal industry. Santeri Nurteva, chancellor of the former Russian Soviet Bureau here, is commissar of education in Karelia, following his complete exoneration of charges of lack of discipline in the Communist International for alleged attacks on Louis C. Fraina, who was editor of the Revolutionary Age here.

Most of the new enterprises which are being created in Russia he explained, under private management, are doing so on a basis of sharing profits half and half with the government. Private property is being recognized in various ways to the same extent, including oil and mining concessions.

"The Russian government, however," he added, "while keeping the title of everything, is making such compromises as are necessary to attract capital.

Recht Goes to Washington

"The Germans are penetrating the country very rapidly. Experts and pioneers of all kinds are pouring in from Germany in great numbers and taking a big part in the revival of industry. Stinnes, the German capitalist, is acquiring heavy Russian interests, and soon will have under his management a chain of hotels in Moscow."

Recht will go to Washington at once, where he will ask for an audience with the State Department to present his credentials and apprise the government of the exact nature of his authority from the Russian government.

At the White House Gates

Denied admission to lay their grievances before the President, the mothers and children of the Amnesty Crusade have taken places at the White House gates with banners bearing their appeal.

"Mr. President: Why do you refuse to see the wives and children of political prisoners?"

"Mr. President: 100 men are serving 10 to 20 years sentences for free speech. You pardoned others. Why not these?"

As the President passes to and from the White House in his motor he sees these banners held at his gates each by a woman with two children at her side.

The question of accepting affiliation of the British Communist Party will come before the 22nd Annual Conference of the British Labor Party, to meet June 27, at Edinburgh. The terrible Zinoviev must be hiding in the woods somewhere.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] strike fields. That The Worker is appreciated by the coal strikers is shown by the following letter received from John Gatherum, Secretary-Treasurer, District No. 29, United Mine Workers of America, with its offices at Beckley, West Va. Here it is:

Beckley, West Va., June 5, 1922.

Mr. J. Louis Engdahl,
Managing Editor, The Worker,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

And I may add Comrade, because of the fact that I can fully understand that you also are in the fight to better the conditions of the Human Race.

I have had more than thirty years experience in the Coal Fields, nearly all in the New River District, and know the conditions that have led up to the present fight for Bread. That is what it actually means, because while we are fighting for other things as well as Bread, yet that is the main issue.

Death Rather Than Slavery

We might indeed eat the bread of Slavery and have fuller stomachs than we can get while fighting for Freedom, but while I am not myself a native born Mountaineer of West Va., I have been here from childhood, and can feel what the native born do, Mountaineers are always free, the "Motto of the State" and as even the Operators acknowledge eighty per cent of our Miners are native born, and would welcome death in battle rather than submit to slavery.

Death to themselves and their Women and Children by starvation is another matter.

Therefore we have been compelled to throw ourselves upon the charity of others and look more hopefully to our Brother Unionists and those who are already enlisted in the Struggle for Human Rights as opposed to Property Rights.

Lack of Solidarity Hurts

It is a fact that Union Leaders or those who continually point out to the Workers, that they are laboring under unjust conditions are always under Fire from the Capitalist, but that bothers them none at all, and means little in the issue of the battle. What does hurt is the lack of Solidarity among the Workers, and I fully agreed with your paper on what can be accomplished by "A United Front", and believe that a jealousy to be eliminated from the ranks of the Workers. I hardly know why it exists, as certainly the Labor Leader, who is conscientious in the exercise of his duties, has no "Flowery Bed of Ease".

I thank you and your associates for the co-operation Brother Dwyer tells me he has had from you, and will say now that it certainly is appreciated, and I further hope that it will mean that in the future, there will be a greater Solidarity not only in the ranks of the miners, but that we will all get closer together whether we work with Brains or Muscles.

Strike Situation Good

With reference to the general situation of the Strike Zone over which District No. 29 claims jurisdiction, it is in much better condition than any one (least of all the Coal Operators) could have believed it would be at this time.

The boasts were openly made when the Strike Call went out, that the miners would be crawling back to them before two weeks were past. More than two months have gone by since the strike was ordered, and they are not yet crawling back to any extent, altho in some cases, it would necessarily be nearly a crawl.

One of the men turned back by the women at Sprague, had his dinner pail overturned, and he had nothing in it except a very small piece of corn-bread and fat meat. Another case brought to me was of a man who got a job on the street and had nothing at all to eat before he started to work in the morning, and his wife and six children had nothing in the house. This man had to wait for several days before he could get his pay, and in the meantime the merchants refuse credit.

Again let me voice my appreciation and that of our associate officers also of the Rank and File, who understand what you are doing for us and them in New York. The officers here are experienced miners and expect to return to the mines. Therefore if for nothing else than self preservation, we must fight to a successful finish.

This is a personal letter to you, but if you want to use any part or all of it in your paper, I have no objection except that I am no correspondent, and my education was gained in the school of hard knocks.

John Gatherum
Secretary-Treasurer, Dist. No. 29,
U. M. W. of A., West Virginia.

[illegible] Bradon, national organizer, May 10, at Minneapolis.

Concerning the labor movement Bradon said:

"To the economic worker organizations such as the A. F. of L., the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Independent Industrial Organizations; Mass organizations such as the I. W. W., and to some extent the O. B. U.; to the progressive and reform political parties such as the Nonpartisan League, Farmer, Labor Parties, Socialist, etc.; to workers' class organizations, such as the Workers Party; to all of you we say, "If you are sincere in your contention when you say that you stand for a real democracy, you will not fail to align yourselves with all other groups and organizations whose mission is the achievement of democracy."

Recruit Anti-Labor Army

"To the organizations of progressive inclination we must make it clear that there are about three million unorganized ex-service men who at any time may be mustered by Reaction for reactionary purposes, of course.

"Even now the National Guard in various states is conducting a recruiting campaign so as to create a necessary fighting force to manhandle the striking coal miners when the button is pressed by the mine owners.

"It must be understood that hesitation on the part of the ex-service men to join the National Guard influences the civilian potential recruit to stay out. On the other hand, head-long plunging into the National Guard by the ex-service men creates a favorable recruiting field among the civilians.

"The problem then, is to remove as many of the three million ex-service men from the recruiting field as possible, for upon them the success or failure of recruiting is gauged.

"It is with a proposition of absorbing these three million men into our organizations that we turn to the progressive faction for assistance.

An Appeal for Help

"We ask, first, that the W. W. V. be indorsed not merely by signing a resolution to the effect, but by making your members acquainted with the principles and mission of the W. W. V.

"Secondly, we ask that in order to carry out a membership campaign of the magnitude that it essentially must be if it is to absorb the bulk of the three million unorganized ex-service men, a considerable sum of money will be needed.

"To overcome this difficulty we ask that all organizations favoring our policy and proposed membership campaign, see to it that every one of your members contribute five cents each towards a drive. It is at option, of course, with the organizations as to whether this contribution is to be made from the treasury fund or whether it is to be contributed by members individually."

That the World War Veterans do not believe that the late world war was the last struggle of its kind and are not fooled by the peaceful protestations of the Washington conference is evidenced by Bradon's concluding remarks.

See New Thieves' Quarrels

"Some may say that there is no potentiality of war for the immediate future. But then a closer examination of the international situation will leave no room for such an argument. And let us not forget what Carlyle said about war. 'War is a quarrel between thieves who too cowardly to fight their own battles, take the boys from the villages, stick them into uniforms, equip them with guns, and, like wild beasts, turn them upon one another on the battle field.' And the thieves may quarrel any day."

As the only organization of ex-soldiers really representative of the rank and file of the enlisted and drafted men the World War Veterans look to the labor movement for support. They have taken an unequivocal stand against the open shop and the union smashing campaign of the employers and have done much to discourage the violence of the white-collared mobs directed against labor and radical organization.

Jack Bradon, national organizer, is well-known in labor circles in New York and was also active in the street-car strike in Denver, Colorado, where he was singled out for persecution by the employers because of his work.

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Struggle in Building Trades

(Continued from Page One)

and the employers were competing small contractors without great capital, then the divided craft unions had a chance to make a showing and obtain a few concessions.

But the industry has been changing. In the process of building, a revolution has taken place. New methods have been introduced, new materials have become common, and machinery is playing an ever greater part in the industry.

To-day, while suburban building remains technically simple, the dominating factor in the industry is the standard city building of steel and concrete. The new elements brought in by this change cut across our craft lines. This brings the craft unions into conflict.

The amount of work being limited, each craft wants to get the lion's share. We then have a mad scramble among them, often several claiming that the nature of the work places it under their jurisdiction. There is usually plenty of evidence on all sides, with nothing to decide between them but power. So they fight.

The test of battle has for many years been the only one to receive respect. The result is a continual, bitter fratricidal struggle, with consequent loss of power and demoralization.

The Employers' United Front

While we have been fighting among ourselves, the employers have been busy in another way. The rapid development of large and expensive machines in building, with the use of steel and other new materials, did not affect the bosses in the manner it did the unions. Instead, it became a power for unifying the employers against our organizations. More and more capital was required for machinery and equipment, greater sums were needed for building investment; it naturally followed that the industry came into the hands of the trust companies, great banks, and the agents of the Steel Corporation. Large construction has thus come to be directly controlled thru the giant construction companies and banking interests, while the great bulk of small building is kept in line by the control of building loans.

This concentration of capital and financial control has been going on for a long time. Following it has come the unification of the building trades employers into ever more powerful associations. These have continually been combining and amalgamating, until today the building interests have one organization, directing thruout the country the fight against the unions. The so-called Citizen's Committee in Chicago combines practically all building interests, controlled and directed by the great bankers. In other cities the unions are similarly fighting the united power of the capitalist class.

Our Unions Lag Behind

The increased power of the employers has been forcing the unions to also close up their ranks. The bosses find, with each new step in their consolidation, that they have more power as against the workers. Their greed for huge profits immediately causes them to attack our wages and working conditions. We resist one at a time with our craft unions, but find ourselves losing. Then we finally search for ways of acting together. For years the writer, who is a practical building tradesman, has taken part in these efforts toward unity. Thus, although the workers' organizations are continually lagging behind those of the capitalists, they are nevertheless constantly changing and coming gradually closer together.

During the years 1900-1910 there were many amalgamations brought about of closely related crafts. The movement gained great headway for a time, resulting, among others, in uniting the steamfitters and plumbers; the carpenters and wood workers; the granite cutters, polishers and rubbers; the stone masons and bricklayers; the marble workers and several independent unions; and the hod carriers and the excavation laborers. The reactionary leaders did their best to head off the movement, but even they were forced to give it lip-service. Samuel Gompers, in addressing the marble workers' convention in 1909, expressed the hope that all men engaged in the stone industry would soon be in one powerful organization. The movement culminated in the organization of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., in 1908. This was a definite recognition of the common interests of all unions in the building industry, and a step toward unification.

The organization of the Building Trades Department was a very "radical" step. The writer remembers quite well the fights that raged around this issue. Many of the same arguments now used against the program of the Trade Union Educational League were then hurled against the idea of forming the Department. But in spite of the reactionary fulminations, the "radicals" of that day went ahead and established the Department.

The new body was intended to eliminate the worst features of jurisdictional wars, and to bring about greater unity between the various craft unions. It was a great step forward. At least it got the unions in touch with one another, and laid the basis for some approach to common action. But its results, especially under the pressure of the employers' present organization, have not justified the high hopes placed upon it. It has exhibited the fundamental weaknesses of all federations. In moments of greatest crisis, when strength is needed most, it has a disconcerting habit of giving way, leaving the unions in dire confusion. The wars of jurisdiction rage on. The Department is only another field of battle. Union resources are still taken up more with fighting each other than in fighting the employers. The bosses are also affected by these struggles; strikes over jurisdictional claims continue, and the "fair" employer is in the same danger of them as the "unfair" one. The net result for the unions is loss. Federation has not met the situation.

Two False Remedies

Efforts to change this situation have been many. Two of them should be pointed out, because, coming from widely different sources, they are equally false and dangerous to the workers. One is the effort of the employers to set up "impartial" boards to decide upon jurisdiction; the other is the program of dual unionism advocated by the I. W. W. and others. Untold mischief has been done by both of these quack medicines of unionism.

The movement for a national board to arbitrate jurisdictional disputes was launched by engineers and employers. The proposal for such a board, composed of architects, engineers, employers and employees, was brought before the Atlantic City convention of the Building Trades Department. One delegate, speaking for the adoption, said that he believed it would go far toward eliminating the radical element from the building trades. The proposition was [illegible] the "Carpenters" refuse to [illegible] are obeying a [illegible] instinct of the trade union movement not to allow non-workers to dictate solutions to their problems.

The program of building new "ideal" unions, to replace the imperfect craft unions, has been one of the chief evils of the labor movement. Disgruntled and rebelling elements have thought to take a short cut to solidarity, by breaking away and starting all over. Actions of this kind have done nothing but increase the confusion and weaken the labor movement. To-day it is plain to all intelligent men, that progress cannot come in this way. Every one of the many efforts in this direction has failed, and dual unionism is dead in the building trades. The militant union men have learned to be on the watch for this tendency, and to root it out in its beginnings.

For Building Trades Unity

The way out of our present mess lies along the road of amalgamation, the unification of all building trades workers for common action on wages, hours, and policies in the industry. One union covering the entire building trades is required.

Such a plan will not mean wiping out craft lines, wherever these meet some need of the workers. Instead, it will take the form, outlined in 1913 by the famous Tveitmoe resolution adopted by the Building Trades Department, but not carried out, which groups together the closely related crafts, such as the mason trades, pipe trades, iron trades, woodworking trades, etc. In a Building Trades Industrial Union these groups would form departments, under the general executive which would have supreme power on questions of wages, hours, disputes, etc. Within these departments the old craft units could be retained as sections and separate locals, so long as wanted to handle purely craft matters. Related crafts will also have the machinery for handling their own peculiar problems, in the departments. But in the struggle against the bosses, they will all be united under one executive committee, concentrating the entire power of the building trades workers.

The technical obstacles to this program are not great. Unlike the railroads, the building trades (with the exception of helpers and laborers) are very close together in wage scales. The adjustment necessary are easily provided for by the department and craft sections. The advantages are so evident and so immediate, that they completely overshadowed any little objection that may be raised.

A great source of weakness to-day is the thousands of workers in the small towns, where there are not enough of their craft to make a live local union. The small-town worker is just as good material for unionism as the ordinary union man in the city, but he does not have the association of numbers of his fellow craftsmen to keep him in line, as the city worker has. Imagine what would happen to our great city local unions if they were divided up into little groups of three or four, or even 15 or 20. The organization would die out. That is what happens, particularly in the smaller crafts, when you leave the large centers.

The Building Trades Industrial Union could immediately rally all these workers to the union. The cities like New York, Chicago, and the like, would need little change in the local unions. The next smaller cities could unite the little fragments of locals together according to groups, thus giving them size and strength and a feeling of power. The little towns could have department locals, should be only one or two in each craft, and have a fair size local union which could be alive and healthy. Consider that this would eliminate the entire supply of scabs, relied upon by the bosses in fighting the union, and judge the value of such a united organization in increasing our power. Every building trades worker in the country would soon be a union man with a paid up card and membership in a live local.

Greater power in the union, that is what amalgamation means. The employers are out to smash our unions. They do not discuss the right or wrong of it—they have the power. The only thing that will save our unions and defeat the bosses is greater power. When, instead of a score or more of executive committees at the top, each making a different decision and pulling different ways, we have one committee uniting in itself the combined power of the building workers, then we will stop our retreat and move forward to new victories. Amalgamation is the road to that goal.

Take this up in your union and urge action be taken to get all our unions together, for the purpose of consolidating their forces. Get your local union to act; take it to your district council; then put it up to your international executives and conventions. Demand that your officials take action. Vote for those union men for office in your union, who stand for this program. Help to defeat those who oppose it. Discuss the question wherever building trades workers get together, and make this the dominating issue in the entire industry.

By [illegible]
(Federated Press Correspondent)

OAKLAND, CAL.—The Disabled Veterans of the World War, in convention here, were invited to a big dinner by the city authorities. Delighted, the wounded veterans accepted, and gathered at the appointed hour outside the designated restaurant, 250 strong.

But when they arrived they found the cafe was being picketed, being on the unfair list of the Cooks' and Waiters' union. Dinner was ready inside, the speakers and municipal hosts assembled, and everything was all right except the guests. They held a mass meeting outside on the question of unionism, and when it was over, just five went in the cafe to be feted and the rest of the 250 marched off, singing, to a union restaurant, where they bought their own dinners and paid for them themselves.

Forty thousand of the leading spirits of the non-co-operative movement in India are held by the British under revolting and inhuman conditions, and multitudes more have been arrested without any real cause, according to Pandit K. Santanam, the new leader of the Nationalist movement in the Punjab and the representative of most of its 70,000,000 Moslems as well as the Hindu followers of Ghandi.

The Labor temple at Eureka, Cal., is establishing a workers' library consisting of books on economics, politics and sociology and donations of books are requested. Eureka, lost in the wilds of northwestern California, is a rendezvous for the striking lumbermen, and also a shipping port. It is now the scene of several "criminal syndicalism" cases.

STOP THUG RULE AND STARVATION IN WEST VIRGINIA!

MASS MEETING

FRIDAY, JUNE 23, 8 P. M.

at

BEETHOVEN HALL

210 East 5th Street

Main Speaker

LAWRENCE E. DWYER

of West Virginia

International Executive Board Member United Mine Workers of America

Admission, 10c — Proceeds for Relief of Miners

Auspices:

New York Committee of Workers Party for Aid to Striking West Virginia Miners

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Start Your 20 Week Sub With Next Week's Issue. Report of A. F. of L. Convention

Amnesty ive Week of ne25-July1

he Amnesty Alliance has set the week of June 25—July 1, Special Drive for amnesty.

me people think there is no lon- a need for amnesty in New York because Ben Gitlow, Isaac Fer- Jim Larkin, C. E. Ruthenberg Harry Winitsky are out on bond. e must remember the other six rades, Paul Manko, Mistler, Alonen, Minnie Kalnin and Leisman.

eir names are not so well wn, it is true, but they are in jail ause of their activities in the la- movement.

ey are class war prisoners and such they merit the support of all ss-conscious elements among the kers of New York.

ain, we must remember that e of the political prisoners who e out on bail, are by no means free. stice for the worker is yet a rarity capitalist courts and he can only a semblance of it when there is organized concerted move from e workers, in his behalf.

We therefore urge friends and mrades to clamor for amnesty. here are petitions to be signed, petitions for state amnesty and petitions for general amnesty.

From June 25 to July 1, open air etings will be held in every locality—all organizations should encourage their membership to attend the eting nearest to them. Every la- r organization that has the workers' cause at heart should send a delegate to the Amnesty Alliance that eets every Monday, at 81 E. 10th t., and substantiate the affiliation by contribution and so enable this organization to go on with its work.

Remember, the class war prisoners e in jail for us and the least we n do is to fight for their release.

HAPLIN'S POEMS READ BY ROSE PASTOR STOKES

Ralph Chaplin's new book of oems, "Bars and Shadows" will ave their first public reading on Wednesday evening, June 14th, when ose Pastor Stokes will give extracts from it to the Downtown ranch of the Workers Party at 47 Chrystie street. Chaplin's poems re causing a sensation in the literary world and with the sympathetic nterpretation of Rose Pastor Stokes he members of the branch and their riends will be assured of a delightul evening.

PATERSON, N. J., where labor as been beaten time and again in its ttempts to better its condition at he point of production (in the silk nills) is the home of one of the most uccessful co-operatives in the east. The Purity Co-operative Society, a onsumers' organization, with 2,000 members and owners, is supplying 250,000 worth of bread and $100,000 worth of meat to the consumers of Paterson and vicinity and is steadily winning ground in its fight against he profit system.

The London Daily Herald (Labor) eports that there are inquiries for 50,000 tons of Welsh coal by American bidders. Let the British dockers nd seamen refuse to touch a pound f it.

These Helped With 20-Week "Subs"

Before the 25,000 new subscribers mpaign was really under way, hen the first announcement appeard in THE WORKER of the reducd subscription price to new readers, number of comrades immediately ot on the job. Results were gotten once. Results in the form of new bscribers. These comrades have ken the first successful step in increasing our subscription list. What y have done, you can do. Follow ir lead, get on the job and go get m. They're waiting for you.

From Herminie, Pa., comes a list of 13 weeks subs. Comrade Frank Zenker got m and says he will get more. Incidently, he takes a bundle of THE WORKER y week which helps him pick them up.

Another list of four from East Liverpool, , the greatest pottery center in the S. Comrade Harvey Bennett knows pots should be thumping a number of things this old system besides clay!

Four new subs. arrived from Midland, Pa. re is a live bunch there who come up iling every now and then.

Kodres, Warren, O., sends five 20 . There are at least a thousand readers who can do as well. Are you of them? We think you are.

One of the best evidences that our readare with us is shown by their yearly ewals. Comrade Zech of Chicago is an mple. He renews four months in advance for one year. How about YOUR ewal. Get a year's subscription price in jeans? Send it in, you'll get proper for your subscription.

Comrade Owens, bundle taker in Chicago, an example of efficient record keeping accounts. Other bundle agents might lead and often save themselves some when making remittances. Here is system in outline: [illegible] Rec'd 10, Sold 10. Price 3c—the [illegible] record is thus recorded and [illegible] for the month and remittance made ordingly. It's a good system. Follow it.

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible]

Revive Mine-Railway Alliance

The revival of the matter of a working alliance between the railway shop crafts and the miners, brought to the fore again by the threatened assault on the wages and working conditions of the railway shopmen, is one of numerous recent examples showing the influence that economic pressure is exerting on the pure and simple trade union officialdom as well as on the rank and file.

Only wild-eyed radicals ever broached such a matter as this a few years ago. To-day it is the most important topic of discussion at the conference of officials of railway unions held prior to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Convincing Argument

What has served to convince the craft union leadership of the railway unions that such an alliance is not only desirable but is a crying necessity?

Nothing more or less than the announced intention of the Railway Labor Board, complying with the request of the railway executives, to reduce in a substantial manner the wages of the shop crafts.

The maintenance-of-way workers have already suffered a reduction of something like forty cents per day. The shop crafts failed to come to the support of the unskilled workers and encouraged by the apathetic attitude of the unions, the henchmen of the railway magnates promptly took a crack at workers who were pleased to believe they occupied a slightly higher position in the social scale.

The miners had already been forced to fight for the very existence of their organization and the tentative agreement in existence between the United Mine Workers and the railway unions has not brought support to the miners. Scab coal is hauled by union men; in return for their services the railway board hands them a cut in wages.

Adhere to the Ritual

This is enough to make even the most dyed in the wool scissor-bill stop and think; particularly when it comes following a long period in which the officialdom of the unions has worked strictly acording to the policy laid down by the giant intellects of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor for these emergencies.

The sacred ritual of the A. F. of L. has been adhered to in every detail. Enemies have been punished and friends rewarded but the ratio of enemies to friends has been steadily increasing.

Governmental agencies have been used to the limit. A peaceful program of negotiation has been followed carefully. Evidence upholding the contention of the railwaymen that their present incomes do not constitute a living wage has been laid before various commissions.

The unions have fought for the Railway Labor Board and apparently believed for a time that this body was for labor and against the employers.

With what to the union officials seems base ingratitude the railway labor board now hands out a reduction and the federal courts decide that its decisions are not subject to review by any other agency of the government.

It is little wonder that even the most conservative trade unionists begin to realize that the reason for the contemptuous attitude maintained by the government and the employers toward the labor unions is bound up with the fact that labor in the United States is not even able to mobilize at the point of attack any considerable percentage of its strength, that it has no fighting policy and that quite often it is really playing into the hands of the employers when it thinks it is fighting them.

The miners and the railway workers are the only economic groups in the American labor movement that are really well organized; with the miners, of course, far and away in the lead in unity and militancy. In reality it is only by the continued division of the railway workers into crafts and the neglect of a bona fide offensive and defensive alliance between the miners and railway workers that the railroad capitalists have been able to so successfully attack labor all along the line.

The shop crafts, like the miners, despite their use of every piece of machinery set up by the employers, have found that the neck of the employing class is stiff with the determination to reduce wages and destroy union effectiveness while the opportunity offers. They seem to have discovered what the class-conscious minority in the unions has known for a long time: that the wages and conditions of all workers are determined to a very large degree by the amount of pressure they can exert against the wage system. The railway unions, like the miners, find themselves forced either to strike or surrender without a struggle.

The logic of events has placed the old officialdom of the railway unions with its back against the wall.

See Influence at Convention

Upon the deliberations of the convention of the American Federation of Labor this situation will have tremendous influence. The retreat of labor before the attacks of the employers, the utter helplessness of officialdom in the face of this retreat has left nothing to which the standpatters can point with pride.

Out of this same situation and bearing directly upon the mechanical construction of the trade union movement comes another question of embarrassing moment to the ancients who guide the destiny of the American Federation of Labor. It is the question of the re-admission of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

This organization took in as members all maintenance-of-way workers on railway lines and unskilled workers in the shops and terminals. It came into a jurisdictional conflict with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and other building trades organizations; it was expelled because it refused to surrender men whom the United Brotherhood claimed were carpenters and under its jurisdiction.

This incident is an object lesson for workers who believe that progress can be made by the labor movement without breaking down craft lines. No attempt had ever been made to organize this particular class of workers until the main- [illegible]

It is here that the issue of purely craft unionism against organization by industry will be [illegible].

Demand Support for Miners

Support for the West Virginia miners is another [illegible] matter that the convention will take up. There are optimistic souls who believe that no opposition could possibly arise to this proposal, but they do not know the unscrupulous politics that are played in the labor movement. The relief work has already been sabotaged in various districts with the full knowledge that the miners' strike will be won or lost in West Virginia. Lip service will be rendered to the heroic struggle, but relief for the miners will come from the efforts of the left wing only.

So it will be with all other vital issues. No more progress will be made than the left wing can force. This will not be much, but if the minority come out of the convention with a better understanding of need for organization of the militant elements and a determination to carry on the fight the whole year round and at all costs about all will have been gained than can be hoped for at this time.

There seems to be no organized campaign for a successor to Gompers, and upon this issue it is unlikely that there will be a test of strength.

[illegible] Case Before A. F. of L.

The American Federation of Labor will be asked [illegible] in behalf of [illegible] Vanzetti, at its convention in Cincinnati, by the delegates of the Boston Central Labor Union.

The delegation is so instructed in a resolution setting forth the [illegible] of the evidence on which the Italian workers were condemned to die.

Workers Repudiate Attack on Russia

At special meetings called to receive the reports of the delegates to the Cleveland Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Locals 1, 9, 25, 3, New York City, have already repudiated the resolution calling upon the Soviet Government to free its counter-revolutionary prisoners.

Wilmington, Del., Comrades Are Aiding the Miners

The Wilmington, Del., branch of the Workers Party of America are doing their bit for the hungry miners and their families in West Virginia. On Tuesday June 6, a meeting was held in the Labor Lyceum at which Lawrence Dwyer and William F. Dunne spoke. The local party members financed the meeting by selling tickets to the workers in the Pennsylvania shops. Despite the backwardness of the local labor movement and the fact that the shopmen are working but a few days per week $33 was turned over to the miners' relief fund over and above the expenses of the meeting.

In addition to this the wife of one of the comrades donated a valuable opal brooch which will be raffled for the same purpose.

The Wilmington comrades are also planning to hold a miners' tag day.

Conference of Metal Workers Starts Drive for Industrial Unity

Following an address to their conference by P. J. McClellan of the United Labor Council, the Amalgamated Metal Workers of America decided to urge all its locals to affiliate with that organisation.

The conference was held in the Food Workers' hall on 51st Street and was attended by 21 delegates. The two important matters before the gathering were the outlining of a plan of intensive organisation and a clear definition of the function and scope of the independent unions in the industrial centers on the Atlantic seaboard.

Plan Membership Drive

The Amalgamated takes as members all workers in metal manufacturing establishments and recognizes no craft lines. The conference decided to detail organizers for several localities where there is an indication of renewed interest in organization and to make a drive for membership during the coming summer.

Delegates pointed out that on the Atlantic coast there is practically no organization among the metal workers and expressed the belief that with the full energy of the Amalgamated Metal Workers devoted to the task it would be possible to build up a powerful industrial union.

Following a short talk on the labor movement by William Dunne the floor was thrown open for discussion. Dunne stated that with the comparatively feeble labor movement in the United States and with that movement dominated as it now is by corrupt and incompetent officials it was impossible to conduct any successful organizing campaign in the basic industries where no organization exists; that the entire force of the labor movement must be mobilized for any successful organization campaign and that it could not be mobilized for independent union movements; that the history of the dual union movement shows that the employers were too powerful and their anti-union machinery too well organized for independent unions to secure and maintain efficient organization. Dunne took the position that the immediate task of the class-conscious workers was to gain such control of the trade-union movement that the sabotage of organizing campaigns by officialdom could be prevented.

Membership Intelligent and Militant

The 21 delegates present differed with him and about three hours were spent in a debate between Dunne and various speakers who took issue with him.

After the subject—and the speakers—were exhausted it seemed to be the prevailing opinion that the Amalgamated Metal Workers would have to prove its right to existence by its success or failure in the task it had set for itself—the organization of the metal workers in the east into an industrial union.

Of the spirit of the members of the Amalgamated Metal Workers there can be no question. The membership is intelligent and militant and is earnestly working for the organization of the workers in the industry.

It has an almost unlimited field for its endeavors and if, as the delegates seemed to believe, the unorganized can be brought into the union in great numbers within the next year it will become a powerful factor in the industrial life of the eastern section of the United States.

Retains Its Identity

It does not intend to interfere with the International Association of Machinists where that organization has control and it looks with sympathy, upon the efforts being made to amalgamate the various metal trade unions in the American Federation of Labor, but it has little hope that these efforts will be successful; for that reason it will retain its identity and attempt to increase its membership and influence.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] It says:

"At a time when the heart of the international proletariat is aglow with enthusiasm and wonder at the heroic struggle of the Russian workers against their capitalist enemies, at a time when the only workers' republic in the world, the hope of the suffering workers of the world, carries on a titanic struggle against a world of powerful enemies, the majority of the Toronto convention added its voice to that of the enemies of the proletarian republic and placed the Workmen's Circle among all the black forces of the world."

The Toronto convention violated a custom that has prevailed in the Workmen's Circle since its inception when it denounced the Workers Party of America, its Jewish Federation and its policies. The only qualification for membership in the Workmen's Circle, outside of the technical requirements have previously been the acknowledgement of the class struggle and the desire to abolish capitalism. Political or industrial affiliations had no bearing on membership if these two requirements were fulfilled until the recent reactionary gathering at Toronto.

The special convention passed the following resolution which gives a clear idea of the division existing in the organization between the petty bourgeois—the cockroach capitalist and the working-class elements.

The resolution is as follows:

Whereas, The Workmen's Circle is a non-partisan organization which takes in Jewish workers in America without party distinction as long as they accept the principle of the class struggle and favor the abolition of the capitalist system.

Whereas, The last convention of the Workmen's Circle in Toronto in adopting a resolution against the Workers Party, its Jewish federation and the Freiheit, its official organ, has violated the principles and provisions of the Workmen's Circle, making it a part of another party and a tool of the Forward, and,

Whereas, The Socialist Party, its Jewish branch, and the Forward do not represent the opinions and beliefs of the entire membership of the Workmen's Circle but only a part of it, and,

Whereas, The Workers Party is a revolutionary working-class organization aiming to unify under its banner the workers for the struggle in behalf of the social revolution and the establishment of a workers republic in the United States, and,

Whereas, The Workers Party takes in all the revolutionary elements among the workers and its Jewish Federation unifies in its midst all the Jewish Workers, and,

Whereas, The Freiheit, the organ of the Jewish Federation of the Workers Party, is a revolutionary labor paper and holds aloft the banner of the class struggle and of socialism and which stands on guard for the Jewish workers and the social revolution.

Be it therefore resolved, That this convention endorses the Workers Party and its whole press, the Jewish Federation of the Workers Party and its organ The Freiheit and pledges to aid it with all its power in all its struggles and activities for a better and a nobler labor movement for the true principles of the class struggle and socialism.

The special convention and the stand taken by it is the more remarkable in view of the facts that only about four weeks have elapsed since the Toronto convention, that the expenses of the convention had to be borne by the locals and that no delegates were seated unless they had been elected by a clear majority in their locals.

Delegates came from as far south as Florida and as far west as Colorado.

The two-day session has done more than any one thing to clarify the issues in the Jewish labor and revolutionary movement in the United States. The business elements of the Workmen's Circle are now clearly aligned with similar groups of other nationalities. The working-class elements stand solidly on the basis of the necessity for a revolutionary movement in America.

As an aftermath of the convention and as an indication of earnestness of those taking part in it a campaign has already been launched and is being carried on successfully to raise $25,000 for the Freiheit.

Abe Epstein, who has either opened or presided over Workmen's Circle conventions for the last twenty years was unanimously chosen for chairmen. He, M. J. Olgin, and J. B. Salutsky were the principal speakers.

An appeal for the release of the remaining political prisoners was sent to the president by 2000 workers at an open air rally in Boston Common. John F. Nason, of the Bricklayers' union, presided, and Frank Mack, Rev. Charles E. Dole, and Rev. Henry Pinkham, two prominent liberal ministers, were among the speakers.

[illegible] 25,000 NEW READERS' CAMPAIGN— AND GOING FULL BLAST

The most [illegible], most active, most unified plan of subscription increase THE WORKER has ever engaged in; a plan which will make THE WORKER the largest in circulation of any workers' paper in the country; a plan engaging the active participation of every reader, every Workers Party member, of every Workers Party sympathizer, of every Local and Branch—has been launched. You are earnestly requested to take part in it.

* * *

To make THE WORKER a greater force in the struggles of the workers of this country; to reach thousands of new readers with the message of the Workers Party, to exert a real and growing influence upon the trade union movement here, to become a mighty educational factor in the upbuilding of the class conscious efforts of the masses to make for themselves a world without exploitation—these are the reasons for this campaign.

* * *

The need for THE WORKER to become all this in the workers' struggle is apparent.

The labor movement of this country has reached its lowest level. The faint beginnings and stirrings of an about face movement of the organized workers is already being felt.

The fighting miners' strike is the best evidence of this ending of labor's retreat. We feel that labor will now begin a fight upon the lines of a united front, will face its enemy and will move upward to new victories and greater power.

* * *

THE WORKER must become a moving factor in this upward struggle. It must become a living issue wherever the workers give battle to their exploiters.

It must show the workers the way to fight and the way to victory. It must lead—not follow in this struggle.

The Worker must take part in every phase of the class war. It must stand back of every demand of the workers—whether "justified" by capitalist opinion, laws and courts or not.

It must back up the workers regardless of the issues involved—because THE WORKERS ARE ALWAYS RIGHT!

These are sufficient reasons for our determination to make this campaign for 25,000 new readers a tremendous success.

* * *

They are sufficient reasons for expecting the united and unqualified support of every reader and every Party member.

These reasons are sufficient for enlisting your enthusiastic efforts in accomplishing these self-evident and necessary tasks.

WE NEED YOUR HELP. WE WANT YOUR HELP—WE EXPECT YOUR HELP.

* * *

WE'LL GET THEM WITH 20 WEEK SUB. CARDS.

We have issued 25,000 SPECIAL 20 weeks—for 50 cents subscription cards. It will be the business of our readers, our sympathizers, the Workers Party membership, of every comrade who wishes THE WORKER to fulfill its mission in the education and organization of the worker—to sell these 25,000 subscription cards to the thousands of workers they come in contact with daily.

To help accomplish this work, to roll up the greatest subscription list THE WORKER has ever had, this is the job we offer each and every comrade who reads these lines.

We are going to be plain and straight-forward about this campaign. We say, this work must be done—and we want you do help do it. What is your answer? Will you help?

Before another week is past you will receive a personal letter from THE WORKER management. And in that letter a certain part of these 25,000 new subscriptions will be assigned to you to secure. Prepare to get them.

The progress of this campaign will be recorded weekly in the columns of THE WORKER. YOUR help, the subscriptions you get—will be shown there. Make YOUR record show in the total.

Fill This List with 10 Names of New WORKER Subscribers

Building THE WORKER—making it eventually a DAILY—depends not upon wishing but upon WORK. Depends as much upon YOU as upon anyone. Do your part of this work. Don't stop wishing—but add to it the work that makes wishes come true.

Fill this blank with 10 names of NEW SUBSCRIBERS at 50 cents for 20 weeks. Cut out and mail to "THE WORKER."

Name	Address	Amount

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ead Dunne's Special Reports on the A. F. of L. Convention. Subscribe 20 Weeks, 50 Cents [illegible] conflicts between England, the United States and Japan are becoming acute.

The national conflicts between the colonial powers of Europe and the peoples that are subjected to their rule or are threatened by them, are becoming more and more intense.

Soviet Russia was shut out from the world market and world economy by the blockade and by the wars the the only state in the world, in which the peasants and workers have succeeded in wresting political power from the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The creation of the national states on top of the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and the building up of frontier states between western Europe and Soviet Russia have greatly increased the number of customs-walls hindering the free development of productive forces.

2—The military destruction of German imperialism and the economic and political enslavement of Germany by the Entente has temporarily freed England from its most dreaded prewar rival in the contest for the world market and world exploitation.

French imperialism seeks to lift France out of its economic decay and growing financial difficulties by bleeding Germany white.

The merciless pillage of the German nation together with other sequences of the world war (depreciation of the currency, inflation, etc.) lead to an impoverishment that destroys the buying power and the consumption capacity of the German nation for England's goods, which in turn is the vital factor of a healthy and thriving industry in Great Britain.

Tariff Barricades Ineffective

Under the given circumstances, the effect of the unbearable reparation burdens put upon Germany by Allied imperialism, is that the English and the world market are flooded with cheap German goods, against whose cut-throat competition no protective tariff barricades, be they ever so high, and no antidumping laws, be they ever so stringent, can offer any effective protection.

The economic and political weakening of Germany signifies no real strengthening of England, but rather its own weakening and a menace to its own position. So much the more so because it goes hand in hand with the great extension and strengthening of French imperialism.

3—As a result of the war, **France's** economic development was greatly accelerated.

France controls the most important iron mines of Europe, just as Germany is still in possession of most of the coal on the continent.

The union of the right of exploitation of the iron and coal fields, be it through conquest or by treaty, would be a fatal blow to England's economic and political position in Europe. But even without such a juncture of exploitation forces, aided by Germany's reparation coal deliveries **France is quickly developing from a lending country into a nation with a growing heavy industry.**

Forces British Retreat

This it does under the domination of its capitalists who are seeking to secure productive investing oppor- [illegible]

[illegible] Soviet Russia and Asia Minor.

In the Bosphorus, in the Dardanelles, in North Africa, Northern and Central Asia, the economic and political conflicts between French and English imperialism are daily growing in sharpness.

France's position in Morocco and Syria, her Angora Treaty with Turkey and her growing influence in the Mohammedan world not only threaten England's position in old and new fields of exploitation, but what is more significant, menace her connections with India.

The Struggle to Dominate

The more persistent and violent India's national and social movements threatening the British colonial power are, the more important it becomes for England to secure these connections then its control of the Dardanelles and of the Suez Canal, thru an Arabian empire dependent upon and ruled by it, and thru powerful positions in Mesopotamia, Persia and Afghanistan.

Under pressure of these economic and political difficulties, England attempts to strengthen Italy and Greece at the cost of French imperialism, and drives Italy to military preparations intended to weaken France's position in the Mediterranean.

In the coming admission of Soviet Russia into capitalistic world economy, England and France are stubbornly contesting for a dominating position that might enable them better to exploit the natural treasures and labor power of the workers and peasants of the great republic.

4—England's domination of the world market passed to the United States during the four year wholesale imperialistic butchery.

The United States, formerly an exporter of raw-materials and food to Europe and an importer of the latter's industrial products, now became an exporter of **manufactured articles.**

In the markets of North and South America the United States displaced Europe, and in China and in the English colonial countries and even in Europe proper, it made conquest after conquest.

Industry Here Changes

The industries from the United States turned from quantity to quality production.

Aside from other factors, the high grade of development of the technical productive apparatus which the United States industries have at their disposal, secures for them a great advantage over English production.

At the same time the United States became Europe's creditor instead of being her debtor.

It also has the lion's share of the world's gold reserves in its possession.

England is barely capable of holding its own in the European mar- [illegible]

[illegible] Japan appeared as a competitor of the United States in South American markets and gained a foothold on the islands in the Pacific.

From China she seized the rich province of Shantung, seized from her base in Manchuria Korea, pushed her conquests in Eastern Siberia and stretched her imperialistic hand as far as Mongolia.

Japan Menaces U. S.

Japan's growing imperialism is pointed against the United States, whose positions it menaces in the Pacific, in the South Sea Islands and in her intentions for China's exploitation.

England was not disturbed by these developments because it saw in it a check upon American imperialism.

Her alliance with Japan was to secure for her the control and spoliation of Southern China, whereas the North and Center of the Celestial Empire were to be left to the Japanese robber.

In order to get the necessary financial and military support of its colonies and dominions during the war, England was compelled to grant to these **the right of determination of its foreign policy.**

In its relations with the United States and Japan, England was therefore greatly hampered.

Canada felt that its economic, political and cultural kinship to the Union was closer than the tie that bound it to the mother country.

The Australian Commonwealth is sharply opposed to the imperialistic expansion appetite of Japan, the former, and most probably, still the secret ally of England in her rivalry to the United States.

English South Africa, whose population is mostly peasant, has no interest whatever in supporting England in a war against the States.

Indeed the United States can thanks to its well developed industries, overcome Japan's economic competition, but reasons of a political nature and especially the thought of a "closed door" to China intensify the conflict between American and Japanese imperialism.

Uprisings in Colonies.

5—The four year devastation and pillage campaign of the capitalistic Great Powers, has given rise to **violent revolutionary movements** in the English colonies as well as in those regions whose subjugation and exploitation was intended.

These movements derive their encouragement and strength from the example set by the Russian Revolution and the creation of Soviet Russia.

They are strongly marked by a nationalistic and religious character, but they are also united with social revolutionary struggles. In spite of the fact that **Ireland was declared a** republic federatively united with Great Britain, bloody struggles are still going on in Ireland.

These struggles are caused by unbridgeable economic and social conflicts. **Egypt** is flying the flag of national indignation, with Zaghul Pasha as its standard bearer.

In **India** the most stringent measures as well as concessions seem powerless in the face of her national indignation against England's rule.

Rise of Class Struggles.

Strikes upon strikes break out which, together with the national conflicts, give rise to class struggles between exploiters and exploited.

From the Atlantic Ocean up to the Himalayas, indeed even up to China, the **Mohammedans** are worked up to a high degree of indignation and revolt.

United Against Russia.

6—Yet, notwithstanding the incurable conflict of interests between the great capitalistic states, they are none the less united in their readiness to **overthrow Soviet Russia.**

These imperialistic states are not satisfied with the concessions which Soviet Russia is compelled to make to foreign capitalists under pressure of historical events, and forsaken as it was by the proletarians of the rest of the world.

They are out for bleeding the gigantic empire white and for plundering its natural treasures and productive forces without the interference of Soviet laws.

But what they desire uppermost is **the overthrow of the Soviet government.** Soviet Russia is a constant reminder to the workers of all countries to seize political power, to set up their dictatorship and to tear up capitalism by the roots.

Mother Country of Revolution

Soviet Russia is the mainstay of the exploited and oppressed in all their struggles against their exploiters and oppressors, and is above all the mother country and source of the World Revolution.

French imperialism was until now the sword of the capitalists of all [illegible]

[illegible] French creditors. France will continue to waste the [illegible] of the working masses for the maintenance of militarism in the Little Entente and in the Border States but, above all to maintain militarism in Poland.

Her diplomats and her generals are preparing to launch new military attacks against Soviet Russia, using Finland and Roumania as bases.

Ammunition, army supplies and troops can be sent from France to aid her allies on the various fronts. Germany's "neutrality" is no obstacle in the way of transportation.

Germany Is Anti-Bolshevist

On the contrary, with the weakness the German bourgeoisie government (be it that of Wirth or any other) displays against the Allies, coupled with the hatred it professes against the proletarian and peasant state and its own fear of the proletarian revolution, this "neutrality" may turn into an encouragement of or even into a participation in a war against Soviet Russia.

Ludendorff and Company are only waiting for leave from French Imperialism, to lead the struggle against "Bolshevism."

Although Soviet Russia entertains no imperialistic designs, and must concentrate all its forces upon reconstruction, it must not disarm. It must be ready to fight in the interests of the proletarian revolution.

7. Only three years after the end of the wholesale imperialistic murder and two years after the conclusion of "peace," the world, the capitalistic world in particular, is saturated with combustible material that may go off at any moment, resulting in new imperialistic wars, more gigantic, more frightful and destructive and more cruel than the blood-reeking war of 1914—1918 suffered by shuddering humanity. Today the capitalist states are armed more heavily than before the war.

War Preparations Are Tremendous

The various war-ravaged countries are still too poor, their means are far insufficient to heal the horrible war wounds of the laboring masses, and to restore what the war destroyed, and already the bourgeois governments are again wasting the treasures of the working masses in **tremendous preparations for new land, sea and air wars.**

And these preparations in themselves augment and accelerate the danger of war from all sides.

The slow process of the development of the proletarian world revolution after its first rushing start, the Russian Revolution, permits the bourgeoisie of the great capitalistic countries to attempt to reconstruct collapsing industry and the tottering state upon a capitalistic basis.

But the restoration of the capitalistic profit system and of the bourgeois order carries with it the germ of all economic, political and social, national and international conflicts and contradictions which with the present stage of development, reached by capitalism, inevitably drive to world wars of gigantic compass, of the most frightful character and of hardly conceivable consequences.

Furthermore, these conflicts and contradictions have been intensified by the war and its effects as well as by the attempts made by the bourgeoisie to maintain and fortify the capitalist system by means of the barbaric exploitation and enslavement of the proletariat.

Titanic Play of Production Forces

The titanic play of productive forces and means of production created by capitalism can no longer be confined within the restricted boundaries of the national state.

It requires the whole world as its field, ownership of means of production and with it the lust for profits of the individual capitalists and capitalist groups as the driving power of production, resulting in the anarchy of capitalist economy.

With the domination of the great industrials and financiers in state and industry, the inevitable and typical features of expiring capitalism, are huge armaments, constant danger of war, and finally world wars, in which millions are slaughtered and crippled and blooming civilized regions are turned into deserts.

Against the driving forces of capitalistic imperialism [illegible]

[illegible] Far Eastern questions [illegible] for these Allied Powers may in the near future be [illegible] among themselves and against those nations upon whom they wish to confer the blessings of capitalist culture.

The decision to reduce naval armaments really mocks the disarmament idea.

We saw the complete rejection of the suggestion to reduce armaments for land and aerial wars, which will most probably become the triumph of the scientific and technical world and will assume the most appalling forms of destruction of human life and creation.

Hopes of Naive Blasted

The hopes of the naive and inexperienced who thought that the Washington Conference would insure peace and that its effects would be to promote the economic and political reconstruction of Europe have been blasted like a soap bubble.

9. The economic conference that is soon to take place in Genoa is intended to avoid the historical fate of capitalism — world war or the proletarian revolution.

The economic and political conflicts between the great capitalist states of Europe are to be bridged, their forces are to be united, systematically organized and internationally concentrated for economic reconstruction.

It is expected that a mutual agreement among the bourgeoisie of impoverished Europe and their helpless governments, will obtain the gigantic means needed for reconstruction, through the United States which are "overflowing with riches."

The calling of the conference is an admission that the Peace of Versailles and the other treaties of peace that are essentially similar to it are untenable, and that they do not lay the foundation for Europe's reconstruction but furnish means for its further ruin and impoverishment.

The calling of the conference is an admission that the ruling bourgeoisie of these countries is not able to bring order and stability into the existing economic chaos occasioned by the war, and to sow seeds of a new and higher life on top of the present ruins.

Must End Capitalist Misrule

It will be a proof that this titanic task is above the powers of the united bourgeoisie of Europe and America. **This problem can be solved only after the revolutionary proletariat will have overthrown bourgeois rule.** Thru its own liberation from the yoke of capitalism and thru the liberation of human labor-power from exploitation and enslavement, it will have liberated all the **material forces of production** from the limitations set by the capitalist profit system thus creating the prerequisite for complete social reconstruction.

The economic and political situation, as described in the theses of the Third World Congress of the Communist International, has in its essence undergone no change.

It is true that in the United States and in other countries, single industries show signs of economic prosperity.

But the situation as a whole shows that **capitalistic economy is declining and is approaching its end.**

Upon unsteady and shifting historical ground, the planned economic conference hopes to preserve, fortify and improve the capitalistic economy of Europe, whose structure has been shaken to its foundation.

Try to Square the Circle

It is to square the circle: it will attempt to satisfy the demands of French imperialism seeking to pillage German industry and at the same time trying to make Germany's industry efficient enough to offer a paying market for English goods in Germany and to protect English industries against German cut-throat competition.

The costs of the adjustment of interests between French and English capitalism will be paid by the German [illegible]

[illegible] all sharply project the irreconcilable conflicts of interests and contradictions that are undermining the capitalistic world.

In spite of the international bourgeoisie's united will to render Soviet Russia a colonial field for international capitalist exploitation, we nevertheless see more and more clearly the conflicts that arise among the capitalists of France, England, the United States and Germany in the proposed marauding scheme.

The struggle between the French and English government, as well as the attitude of the German government, are the unmistakable expression of these conflicts.

In her attitude towards Soviet Russia, Germany was nothing but the shadow of the Entente, and in the question of the reconstruction of Soviet Russia, she now plays the part of an **English vassal.** She does this in spite of the fact that even the capitalistic interests of Germany require an independent policy.

As uncertain as the outcome of the conference may be, it is nevertheless certain that **Germany will be the object of the Entente imperialists' negotiations.**

Russia's Powerful Position

Germany will not as much as dare to suggest the revision of the Versailles Treaty, in spite of the fact that a blind man could see that without such revision the reconstruction of European economy on a capitalistic basis is a sheer impossibility.

On the other hand, however, the Entente imperialists will have to negotiate with Soviet Russia.

This fact is an expression of the power which Soviet Russia wields in spite of its deplorable economic situation—a power which it owes to the proletarian revolution.

This revolution which the Red Army fought for the defence of the Soviet system, will also strengthen the Soviet Power when it meets the onslaught of international capitalism on the economic field.

The de facto if not the **de jure** recognition of the Soviet Government through its invitation to the economic conference will only intensify the conflicts among the capitalistic states. Altho it is very doubtful whether Genoa will effect an understanding among them on the question of Europe's reconstruction, it is nevertheless certain that the most that capitalism may expect of Genoa is a breathing space, but it cannot save its life.

The Big Question

World wars or the proletarian world-revolution?

Even after the deliberation and decisions of Genoa, this question will remain on the historical order of the day.

10—Bourgeois pacifism and anti-militarism in prewar times an uninfluential ideology of small circles, could in the present situation acquire practical significance.

If realized, these movements would constitute the last attempts to save capitalism, thru the international concentration and organization of social forces. But this last attempt would also finally result in disappointment and failure.

On a capitalist foundation, even the organization would prove too limited to afford sufficient play to the increased forces of production.

These forces would then jump their limited field, and the result would be a great crisis.

Every attempt to take even the first palpable steps towards the realization of pacifist aims will result in failure.

The conflicts that tear the capitalist groups of various countries, and the conflicts that divide the isolated victor-countries and the exhausted vanquished countries are unbridgeable.

The Last Illusion

Every attempt to put pacifist reconstruction into practice will only serve to show the great masses of the proletariat and of the petty and middle bourgeoisie that the last attempt to save the bourgeoisie was also their last illusion.

Imperialism is capitalist reality, but bourgeois pacifism is capitalist illusion.

Pacifism is just as powerless as bourgeois social reform in its attempt to smoothen over the contradictions, evils and crimes of capitalism.

But it will bring division and uncertainty into the ranks of the bourgeoisie, the petty and middle bourgeoisie and will thus weaken the class enemy of the proletariat. [illegible]

[illegible] the overthrow of capitalis [illegible] revolution.

Prevent Paralysis of Fight

This realization will p [illegible] crippling and paralysis of [illegible] tariat's revolutionary fighti [illegible] a danger which is closely [illegible] with the propaganda of [illegible] pacifism.

For it would be very detr [illegible] the proletarian struggle for [illegible] if the working-class were [illegible] under the influence of suc [illegible] ganda instead of arming an [illegible] on with increasing energy.

Nebulous pacifist and [illegible] hopes should not displace [illegible] realization that the bourg [illegible] able to rule and exploit tha [illegible] control of the creative and [illegible] tive means of production.

The proletariat must acq [illegible] control of both of these if [illegible] free itself from exploitatio [illegible] serfdom.

But since its freedom is [illegible] by force of arms, it must ac [illegible] defend it by force of arms. [illegible] deprive the property-owning [illegible] the military as well as of the [illegible] machines, and reconstruct [illegible] serve, its own demands and [illegible] task.

Combat Future Wa

11. The foregoing facts [illegible] ductions move the session of [illegible] larged Executive of the Co [illegible] International to declare that:

The only effective [illegible] against the threatening wa [illegible] proletarian revolution wh [illegible] throws capitalism, thus sec [illegible] reconstruction of the world's [illegible] my and removing the clas [illegible] as well as the conflict of [illegible] among the various states.

The united representative [illegible] nations therefore bind the C [illegible] ist Parties to prepare the [illegible] tense revolutionary class-stru [illegible] organization as well as in [illegible] to combat future wars. As [illegible] to this end the following a [illegible] carefully considered:

1. The systematic enligh [illegible] of the working masses and [illegible] the proletarian youth, as [illegible] causes and characters of wa [illegible]
2. The carrying of all q [illegible] and decisions of foreign polic [illegible] ing with armaments, etc., bef [illegible] broad masses.

Propaganda in Army and N

3. The carrying on of well [illegible] ized legal and illegal educationa [illegible] paganda in the army and in all [illegible] formations.
4. The organization of the [illegible] tariat so that in case imperi [illegible] wars do break out, the trans [illegible] tion of army supplies and [illegible] should be prevented at all cost [illegible]
5. **The reinforcement of the [illegible] lutionary will of the broadest [illegible] to throw themselves into the [illegible] against imperialistic wars tha [illegible] break out, using all ways and [illegible] at their disposal: thru open [illegible] monstrations, general strike [illegible] armed insurrections.**
6. The creation of legal a [illegible] gal organs to carry out these [illegible]
7. The creation of legal a [illegible] gal organs and institutions th [illegible] assure the united and energetic [illegible] national co-operation of the [illegible] munists of those countries that [illegible] in sharpest opposition to each [illegible]

In view of the internationa [illegible] nomic conference of the gover [illegible] at Genoa, the Enlarged E [illegible] Session of the Communist [illegible] tional appeals to the laboring [illegible] ploited peoples of all count [illegible] close their ranks and through [illegible] ful demonstrations, to oppo [illegible] united will, to the desperate [illegible] of the international bourge [illegible] reconstruct the capitalist [illegible] system. The masses must [illegible] the bourgeoisie's trafficking [illegible] own lives and in the life of [illegible] Russia with the following u [illegible] demands:

Program of Demand

1. **The abrogation of all [illegible] that ended the imperialistic [illegible] 1914-1918.**
2. **The reduction of arm [illegible] all sorts.**
3. **The shifting of the [illegible] dens, of reparations and [illegible] struction upon the bourge [illegible]**
4. **Hands off Soviet Ru [illegible] pendence and the resumption [illegible] mal political relations with [illegible]**
5. **The most far-reaching [illegible] thru private enterprises and [illegible] state.**

HELP WANTED IN L [illegible] OFFICE

Comrades are requested [illegible] in the Local Office [illegible] help [illegible]

OUTING
FOR
RUSSIAN
RELIEF
SUNDAY
JUNE 11
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[illegible] for Miners

[illegible] Workers Party, Local Greater [illegible] York, is holding a series of [illegible] air meetings during the week [illegible] aid the Miners of West Virginia. William F. Dunne, who has just returned from Charleston, where he [illegible] attended the trial of William [illegible]sard, and Caleb Harrison, National Organizer of the Workers Party, who has been active in the miners' strike, and who recently addressed the State Federation Convention in Pennsylvania. He will address a series of open air meetings in New York in aid of the West Virginia Miners.

Those who have been reading the reports of William F. Dunne in THE WORKER know the dire need of the West Virginia Miners. The Workers Party has organized an independent committee, after attempting to get organized labor in New York City to form one united committee, in order to collect food and funds for the Miners. The Committee will hold a Tag-Day on the 24th and 25th of June, as well as establish food stations in all parts of the city.

The open air meetings are being held as follows:

WILLIAMSBURG

Monday:—Graham and Varet Sts., Harrison.

HARLEM

Monday:—110th St. and 5th Ave., Dunne.

BROWNSVILLE

Tuesday:—Stone and Pitkin Sts., Harrison.

YORKVILLE

Wednesday:—86th St. and 2nd Avenue, Dunne.

BRONX

Wednesday:—163rd St. and Prospect Ave., Harrison.

EAST SIDE

Thursday:—10th St. and 2nd Ave., Harrison.

BROWNSVILLE

Friday:—Stone and Pitkin Sts., Dunne.

WILLIAMSBURG

Friday:—Graham and Varet Sts., Ragnda.
Saturday:—Grand and Havemeyer Streets, Dunne.

EAST SIDE

Saturday:—Rutgers Square, Harrison.

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[illegible] WORKER on sale [illegible] Yorkville.

One comrade was appointed to deliver the paper to the newsstands as soon as it is off the press. Another comrade was instructed to make a list of the newsstands and to place it on the bulletin boards of the different workers' halls in Yorkville, so that comrades and sympathizers will be informed on which stands THE WORKER may be procured.

Also, it was decided to publish the list in THE WORKER for the information of Yorkville readers for whom it will prove convenient. The list follows:

A. H. Farber, South-west Corner 3rd Ave. and 86th St.

Banowitch and Selow, 143 East 77th Street, at Lexington Ave. (N. E. Corner.)

Friedman, 3rd Ave. and 80th St., (N. E. Corner).

Gordon, 1451 3rd Ave. (At 82d Street.)

M. Braunstein, 201 E. 83rd Street. (N. E. Corner 3rd Ave.)

Tucker, S. E. Corner, 86th St. and 3rd Ave.

79th St. and Ave. A, (N. E. Cor.)

MARSHALL IN CONNECTICUT

All readers of THE WORKER are urged to do all they can to help make the tour of Comrade John W. Marshall a huge success. His dates for the coming weeks are as follows: June 10, 11, Hartford, Conn.; 12, Albany, N. Y.; 13, Troy, N. Y.; 14, Schenectady, N. Y.; 15, Amsterdam, N. Y.; 16, Johnstown, N. Y.; 17, Gloversville, N. Y.; 18, 19, Utica, N. Y.; 20, Oneida, N. Y.; 21, 22, Syracuse, N. Y.; 23, 24, Rochester, N. Y.; 25, Buffalo, N. Y.; 26, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; 27, Buffalo, N. Y.; 28, Jamestown, N. Y.; 29, Salamanca, N. Y.; 30, Olean, N. Y.; July 1, Bolivar, N. Y.; 2, Hornell, N. Y.; 3, Vanessen, N. Y.; 4, Newfields, N. Y.; 5, Ithaca, N. Y.; 6, Geneva, N. Y.; 7, Binghamton, N. Y.; 8, Paterson, N. J.; 10, Passaic, N. J.; 11, Newark, N. J.; 12, Jersey City.

Arrangements are being made for other speakers to cover this route at intervals of about two weeks.

FAR ROCKAWAY ACTIVE

There'll be no vacation for the members of the Workers Party at Far Rockaway, Long Island. They are planning to propagandize all vacationists.

The branch meets every Thursday night at 1709 Redfern Ave., and comrades planning to spend the summer at Far Rockaway are urged to transfer to this branch. There will be open air meetings every Saturday night and all comrades are urged to help make them a great success.

The branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia will meet every Monday night. Plans for a Tag Day, July 4, to reach all the vacationists on this day, are already under way. Union and other sympathetic organizations are urged to send their delegates to the regular F. S. R. meetings every Monday night to 1709 Redfern Ave.

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE!

The New York Division of the National Defense Committee, Workers Party urges friendly organizations not to arrange any affairs or meetings for Sunday, August 20.

Comrades and friends, hold this date open and get ready to spend a most enjoyable Sunday at our picnic at Elmhurst, L. I. It will be different from any other picnic ever held. You'll be surprised! Watch for further announcements.

HOW TO ROB

The United States hospital at Fox Hills, Staten Island, New York, recently abandoned as an institution for the treatment of ill or disabled soldiers and ex-soldiers, has been sold at auction for a total of $61,000. The institution, with its sewerage, light and water systems, cost the government $3,000,000.

Considerable time was spent by the last state convention of the Missouri Federation of Labor deciding that it favors a modification of the "drastic Volstead Act." In the meantime the fight against the bosses languished.

[illegible] Committees of the Y. W. L. [illegible] ways and means for [illegible] our organization [illegible] and developed.

In order to reach larger sections of the youth with the program of the League, it was decided to issue in pamphlet form, the Manifesto, Program, Constitution and important resolutions adopted by the first national convention of the Y. W. L.

Take Up Open Air Work.

Open-air work will become one of the main features of the work of the organization during the next few months. Leagues all over the country are already taking up this work. Two leaflets are now being prepared by the N. E. C. for national distribution. Additional ones will be issued hereafter, at least one every month.

The National Office of the Y. W. L. will be located in Chicago hereafter and preparations are now under way for making the change. Comrade Carlson will leave here the 15th of June, but will stop at Washington, Pittsburg, Cleveland, and Toledo for the Leagues on his way to Chicago. Arrangements are also being made to have Comrades Schulenberg and Abern stop at Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Toronto, Erie and Detroit.

The forthcoming issue of the YOUNG WORKER will be 20 pages, instead of the usual 16, and will contain many interesting articles including one by Wm. Z. Foster on the Y. W. L. and its tasks. This issue will be made the June-July number. Everywhere the Leagues are increasing their orders for the magazine. It has taken its place in the press of the revolutionary movement of America.

Progress Slow But Steady.

Boston reports that the progress there is slow but steady. The League is working in close co-operation with the Workers Party there.

The Philadelphia organization is doing very good work. Comrade Ginsberg writes: "We are positive that the success of the Young Workers' Movement in our city is assured. Our meetings are well attended even during these warm evenings when youth usually answers the call of Nature. We are drawing the youth with whom we come in contact into our ranks. We are spreading the doctrine of young workers' solidarity.

San Francisco, Los Angeles, Maynard, Pittsburg, Monessen, Chicago, and many other places likewise send in encouraging reports.

The Y. W. L. of New York will hold a city convention on Saturday, June 24th, to ratify action of national convention, and to adopt local constitution and by-laws to conform with those of the national organization, as well as to outline work to be done for the summer and fall months and to elect a new City Executive Committee.

Officials Are Selected.

Comrade Martin Abern has been selected by the N. E. C. as the regular secretary for the Y. W. L. of A.

Comrade G. A. Schulenberg will be the treasurer. Comrade Oliver Carlson will be the editor of the YOUNG WORKER.

Industrial Meetings

Local Greater New York, Workers Party, changes dates of industrial meetings, to discuss the work of the left wing in the trade unions and the Trade Union Educational League. Meetings have been arranged as follows:

Borough Park Branches. June 16th, Finnish Home, 764 40th St., Brooklyn.

Manhattan and Bronx Branches. June 19th, Hungarian Home, 350 E. 61st St.

Williamsburg and Brownsville. June 20th, Empire Building, Lorimer and Ten Eyck Sts., Brooklyn.

These changes have been made in order to make it possible for a greater number of comrades to attend. Robert Minor will speak on "The Task of the Left Wing in the Trade Unions and the Trade Union Educational League."

The Cleveland Federationist, an alleged "labor" paper, carries an editorial on "Be Courteous." Does it refer to the West Virginia Cossack jamming a "gat" into the ribs of a coal miner? Let the Baldwin-Felts thugs listen to this plea, "Use courteous methods in the workings of your daily vocations." The same sheet applauds Henry Ford.

[illegible] "Free political prisoners—in Russia," they cried. Their beloved "democracy" has committed enough crimes in America to make the slogan of freeing political prisoners a popular one with the working masses in this country.

Fulfill Capitalism's Desires

In raising that cry these so-called "Socialists" hope to create a reaction in the sympathies of the masses of the workers of this country toward the Russian Revolution. That is what capitalism wants. And the Socialist Party has no reason whatever to wish for something different.

First it loves capitalism and wants to save it. And second, as long as the revolution in Russia is looked upon as an example of revolutionary working class action to be copied by the workers the world over, the treacherous role these "Socialists" are playing becomes too obvious to promise success. Therefore they cry: "Free political prisoners in Russia!"

Now let us see who the political prisoners are in Soviet Russia. Who are the persons whose release these "socialists" demand from the Soviet Republic of Russia? They are the Anarchists, Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, arrested by the Soviet authorities for counter-revolutionary activities.

Classifying These Prisoners

Why are they in prison? Have they been sent there for their beliefs *or* for their membership in their parties and groups, like the American democracy sent communists to prison for their beliefs?

Or have they been sent to prison like some anarchists were sent there by a socialist district attorney in Milwaukee, for having hung up pictures of Malatesta, Bakunin and Kropotkin in their rooms?

Or were they imprisoned like Debs because they expressed opinions and beliefs differing from the opinions or beliefs of those in power?

The writer of this article was in Russia for a considerable length of time at two different periods since the establishment of the Soviet Republic.

He made the acquaintance of a Socialist Revolutionary in high office in the commissariat of health.

Emma Goldman Unmolested

He saw Emma Goldman there, free, unmolested—the same Emma Goldman that the American democracy had deported. She was utterly opposed to the Soviet regime and never hesitated to say so.

He heard Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries speak, and speak violently against the communists, in election meetings for the soviets and elsewhere.

He saw a sign of an anarchist club hang over the entrance of a soviet-owned and soviet-run house in Moscow. No prosecution resulted from all this.

So who are the "political prisoners" whose release the "S. P.ites" of the Workmen's Circle and the I. L. G. W. U. demand?

They are people who, in the name of anarchism, organized what they called expropriation expeditions, but what in reality were expeditions of banditry.

Whoever dared, to protect the property of the soviets from these bandits was killed mercilessly, was murdered.

Fixing the Crime

Whoever demands the release of such bandits and murderers identifies himself with them and their acts. We do not question the S. P. right to do that. But to do that in the name of unsuspecting workers is a crime.

These political prisoners whose release the "S. P.ites" demand are members of the bands of Machnow and Antonow, who pillaged, robbed and killed. While the workers of Moscow and Petrograd starved, these "politicals" held up, "expropriated" and burned trainloads of grain coming from the Ukraine or from Siberia and destined to feed the hungry workers in those cities.

They organized bands of the size of armies. With the help of them they took villages and cities. They shot all communists and communist suspects they could lay their hands on. And then, these friends of Anarchy or democracy set up a military dictatorship in place of the Soviets.

To demand the release of these "politicals" is to identify oneself with their crimes. We do not question the S. P.ites right to such honors. But we ask the members of the Workmen's Circle and the I. L. G. W. U. whether they want their organizations, whether they want themselves identified with these crimes against the first Workers Republic.

"But," the Gentlemen of the S. P. may say, "we do not mean these Anarchists, we mean the mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries. They are socialists, like us."

Yes, indeed, Gentlemen from the S. P., they are Socialists like you are. You are just like them. You would do the same thing to a proletarian revolution in America what they did to it in Russia.

Aided Allied Bayonets

The mensheviks organized the counter revolutionary government in Archangel. With the aid of allied bayonets they gave the unhappy inhabitants a taste of their democracy. At their all-Russian conference in 1918 in Moscow they declared in favor of the counter-revolution and issued a call for insurrection against the Soviets.

They instigated and organized strikes in the ammunition factories of the soviets at a time when the life of the Workers Republic depended on a successful struggle against the Kolchaks, Denikins, Yudenitch, Semenow, Petlura and countless other whites. The mensheviks, these enemies of terror, organized the white terror the first days of the revolution.

They put out a helping hand to the bourgeoisie when that class was terror stricken and helpless by the taking of power of the proletariat.

They took up the fight for the bourgeoisie. They organized sabotage throughout the land. Destroyed houses, locomotives and thousands of other necessities throughout Russia still tell the tale of the deeds of those "politicals".

When Mensheviks Rejoice

The insurrection of Kaledin and of the Ukrainian Rada was supported by them. In the days when the whites waded through streams of blood of murdered communists in Samara and Kazan the mensheviks in those cities rejoiced over the victory of "order".

In their papers, which significantly were the only "socialist" papers that could appear under white rule, they declared for a continuance of the "punishment of traitors", meaning the killing of communists and sympathizers.

Peter Maslow, one of the best known leaders of the mensheviks declared it as the foremost duty of every party member to line up actively with the counter-revolution.

These staunch believers in democracy supported every military dictatorship set up by Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel and others as against the Soviets.

The gentlemen of the S. P. sympathize with the mensheviks in prison. But not because of abstract love for democracy and liberty, but because of their sympathy with the activities of the mensheviks.

Let Them Have Courage

We do not dispute the right of the gentlemen from the S. P. to have such sympathies. On the contrary. We think them to be quite natural. But they should have courage enough to say what they mean.

Let them say: "We are for a counter-revolution in Russia and therefore demand the release of its leaders from Russian prisons." Let them say: "The mensheviks are our brothers and comrades. Therefore we hate their enemies."

Let them say: "We are enemies of the proletarian revolution. Therefore we are friends of the leaders of the counter revolution and demand their release from prison."

Let them say what they think: "How can the counter-revolution which we desire with all our heart, make progress as long as its most experienced and most active leaders and agents are in prison. Therefore we demand their release."

It is hypocrisy in the highest degree to exploit the slogan of "release of political prisoners" in connection [illegible]

ATTENTION!

THE WORKER will go to press one day earlier than heretofore. It will now reach a great many readers on Saturday instead of Monday, and all readers one day earlier. Changes of address should be sent in as early as possible.—Business Manager.

[illegible] With American money he started a counter-revolutionary news paper in Petrograd after February 1917. He was the friend of Kerenski and helped organize the insurrection of Korniloff and the plot of Krasnow.

Morosiew, of the left S. R., organized the Czecho-Slovaks as the first military force of the counter-revolution in Russia.

The left S. R. organized the attentat against Count Mirbach. This attentat was to be the signal for a general revolt against the Soviets, organized by the S. R. throughout Russia.

This uprising, together with a general advance of the military forces of Germany, provoked by the killing of Mirbach, was to bring about the downfall of the revolution and the victory of the counter-revolution.

These "politicals" did not succeed, it is true. But the local uprisings they kindled succeeded in prolonging the period of intensive civil war and weakened for a while the forces of the Workers Republic in their struggle against Kolchak and others. Until the final defeat of foreign intervention the S. R. called for and supported foreign intervention.

An Empty Battle Cry

Antonow, who fought the red army like Machnow, was a disciple of the S. R. The murder of Uritzki and Volodarsky in Petrograd was organized by the S. R. Lenin is yet suffering from the poisoned bullets in his body directed against him by the executive committee of the S. R. The ruins of the former headquarters of the Moscow committee of the Communist Party of Russia bear yet witness of wholesale destruction and murder wrought by a bomb of the S. R.

And the leaders of that party who were caught in the meshes of the Cheka as murderers and would-be murderers, as organizers of the counter-revolution, as agents of Petlura and Pilsudski, as tools of capitalism and the capitalist class, are to be released as "politicals" from Russian prisons.

Abe Cahn and his "Forward" (??), and the whole coterie of the Socialist Party may consider it a good battle cry against Soviet Russia and against the left wing of the labor movement in this country. But the working masses will not fall for it.

The membership of the I. L. G. W. U. and the Workmen's Circle and such other organizations that may be selected by the S. P.ites as promising hunting grounds must and will resent this attempt of their misleaders to line them up in the defense of the counter-revolution in Russia, to line them up with Savinkow and Semenow, to line them up with the would-be-murderers of Lenin, against the first proletarian revolution, against Soviet Russia.

The cry of the Socialists, "release of political prisoners in Russia", will raise a mass protest of the workers against these socialists, and the echo will thunder back into their faces the accusation: Traitors!

The union cigar workers of Tampa, Fla., forced out of employment recently by the open-shop campaign, founded a co-operative cigar factory which not only has furnished them employment but has made a net profit of 8 per cent on the funds invested by the workers.

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[illegible]
Entered as second-class matter [illegible] at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.
Advertising rates upon application.

As we go to press, the delegates were beginning to "arrive" at Cincinnati for the American Federation of Labor convention. This does not mean that labor in this country has "arrived" as a solidified, class-conscious unit.

Lenin Is Recovering

The first authentic news out of Soviet Russia concerning the recent illness of Nikolai Lenin comes from the Soviet Embassy at Riga, Latvia. It declares that his condition is now normal, that he is convalescing.

It is declared that Lenin suffered a severe attack of gastritis on May 28. Aggravated by previous overwork this attack affected his nerves and circulation.

It is hoped that Lenin's convalescence will lead to his complete recovery, only made possible by the recent extraction from his body of the bullet fired by a deluded would-be-assassin, who thought that Lenin's death would be followed by the death of the revolution.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to exaggerate the part Lenin has played in the overthrow of Czarism in Russia. His services are needed now, more than ever, during the important period of reconstruction and transition from Capitalism to Communism.

May Lenin soon be back in the full bloom of health so that he may aid in the new sledge-hammer blows that must be delivered at the latest capitalist-imperialist conference soon to meet at The Hague.

The work of transporting thousands of America's class-conscious workers to the great industrial and mining projects in the Kurbas Basin and Urals, in Soviet Russia, is proceeding in good shape in spite of the antagonistic propaganda of the New York Times.

Our Press Must Grow

THE WORKER has started a campaign to add 25,000 new readers to its subscription list.

You will say that this is a big task. It is. It is a herculean effort. But it must be accomplished.

These are not days when the workers readily subscribe to publications of any kind. They haven't the funds to do so.

The ten million jobless, who need education the most, can't afford to get it. Those employed hold on to their meager resources dreading the day when they, too, will be jobless.

This is the situation that must be met and overcome by THE WORKER, supported by its readers and sympathizers, in the drive for 25,000 new readers.

The plan of this campaign is outlined on another page. Study it carefully. Read it thru again and again. It will enthuse you. It will fire you with the necessity of putting it over.

THE WORKER contains material that every working man and woman should read. Those who toil must be persuaded that no sacrifice is too great to enable them to have THE WORKER come into their homes every week.

Our press has been hard hit. The Palmer raids, the paper trust with its exorbitant prices on white paper, and now the industrial depression, all have struck crushing blows against our press.

But we must, we are coming back stronger than ever. THE WORKER is growing in power and influence. We want it to grow faster.

Join the campaign: "25,000 NEW READERS!" Don't stand back. Get into this struggle. With your help we will win!

Senorita Graciala Mandujano, delegate from Chile to the Pan-American Conference of Women, at Washington, wants to know the names of the twelve greatest American women. We predict the decision will go to the twelve who have been able, in one way or another, to get the most space in the notoriety-seeking kept press.

A Matter of Life Or Death

Would you like to hear what the simple words: "Work harder for smaller wages" sound like when translated into the language of diplomacy?

If so, then read the following pronouncement by one Arthur Balfour, an eminent English lawmaker, upon whom the rulers look with great respect because of his sterling services in fooling the British workers:

> **"There is only one way in which the world's debts and the reparation money can be paid and that is by vast and continuous efforts on the part of the people of the country who have to pay and a great increase in productive capacity per head of population.**
>
> **There must be more strenuous labor, aided by improved methods of production and organization. The only other alternative is a great reduction in the standard of living.**
>
> **In some countries the standard of living has reached a point where it contains so much of luxury that the only way in which it can be maintained is by a vastly greater production and vastly greater individual effort than we have seen in recent years.**
>
> **We shall have to look to the home lives of our various nations and the upbringing of our children, and endeavor to return to the more simple and fundamental methods of training if we are to produce citizens who will cope successfully with the years of anxiety still before us."**

There are many workers who think that the horrors of war end with the coming of peace but the above frank and brutal—for a diplomat—expression should serve to convince them that the old saying should be paraphrased to read: "Peace has its miseries as well as war."

Only by forcing the workers down to a far lower standard of living than they have yet endured can the capitalist system pull itself out of the mire.

It is well to keep in mind that with capitalism facing this necessity the fight to preserve and raise the wages and living standard becomes a revolutionary struggle.

The open shop movement, the attempt to destroy all labor organization, is not inspired alone by the desire for larger profits.

It is a matter of life or death for the profit system.

[illegible]

The French investments are officially listed as follows:

	(Million francs)		(Million francs)
State loans	[illegible]	Credit Foncier [illegible] Bonds	[illegible]
Railway loans	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Railway Bonds	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Public Railway Bonds	[illegible]	Real and personal property, belonging to French citizens	7,0[illegible]
Banque de Credit, Provincial Bonds	[illegible]		

At the pre-war rate of exchange this list amounts to more than three and one-half billion dollars—a tidy sum which the French bankers are loath to lose. The Belgium investments approximate one-half billion.

It is not hard to understand why France has a bankers' government; the finance-capitalists, when their foreign investments began to grow to such proportions took steps to secure a government that would protect those investments and to-day this is the dominant influence in shaping the policies of the French regime.

The Belgians, under the pressure from France, adopted the same attitude toward Russia and are risking all on the outside chance that the Soviet Government will fall.

We think it was one ~~Julius Caesar~~ who said: "It is easy to believe what we wish to believe" and certainly the antics of the French and Belgian diplomats are proof of the truth of this ancient maxim.

What Genoa demonstrated is what the Hague conference will corroborate: That Russia can get along without the rest of Europe but that Europe cannot get along without Russia.

Meanwhile the bankers' governments condemn the European peoples to unutterable miseries in the hope that they may yet recover the wealth wrung from them before the war.

The lives of the European workers have been thrown into the scales against the bankers credits for the last eight years.

Slowly but surely the human values begin to out-weigh the stolen wealth of which the francs, rubles, pounds and dollars are but symbols.

Human Life vs. Gold and Silver

American reaction has discovered a new propaganda weapon against Soviet Russia. It assumes to be horror stricken over the fact that Soviet Rule in Russia has found it necessary to use the treasures heaped up, in the form of gold, silver and jewels, in the churches for famine relief.

It were better, is the position of these reactionaries, that these dead treasures remained in the churches and that the people starved, that they died from hunger. Thus would the sanctity of religion be preserved. Soviet Russia takes an opposite viewpoint, that life is more sacred than these treasure hoards, and for this it is naturally condemned by these same reactionists.

On the same day that Bishop William T. Manning, in the Cathedral of St. John the Devine, on Fifth Ave., New York, was denouncing the Soviets for the arrest of the Patriarch Tikhon, for interfering with the requisitioning of this church wealth, we received a letter from a worker in Salem, Ohio, enclosing a copy of a local paper containing a rabid editorial under the heading "THE RED DOOM," that goes into hysterics over the bad manners of Russian Soviet Rule.

We find that the Patriarch Tikhon originally approved of the voluntary contribution of whatever gold and silver valuables the church possessed to aid in the purchase of food for the famine districts. It is easy to dodge anything that is voluntary.

As the famine situation grew worse the Soviet government decided to appropriate the treasures not used in any religious services and which had no religious value. It seems to have been here that Tikhon came to blows with Soviet rule. The hungry had a right to the superfluous church treasures. But the property hunger of the ecclesiastics hated so much to see the treasures go, that they were willing to use any means to retain its possession.

There will surely be a great falling away in the respect and reverence of the millions of starving in the Valley of the Volga for the church that values their lives less than its gold.

So, too, will the workers of this country discover the deceptions practiced upon them by kept press and subsidized pulpit.

Stately church edifices on New York's Fifth Avenue do not feed the hungry and starving in the city's slums. Neither does the printer's ink subsidized by rich advertisers provide clothing and shelter for the many jobless.

Soviet Russia's policy of taking the church treasures to feed the hungry has been endorsed and is being upheld by the Russian trade unions, the co-operatives and local councils, as well as large sections of the church itself.

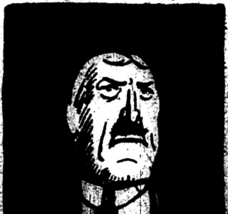
The workers of Russia dare to provide for their great needs. They even demand the church help them in doing this.

Far be it from the ragged, hungry, jobless and homeless American worker to even entertain the thought that a great church structure even contains the possibility of a night's lodging. That would be wicked, an attempt to destroy the church, to wreck religion.

The Russian workers have no respect for property rights. In America labor still worships at its shrine, at the bidding of the bought press and pulpit.

But in America in time the awakening will also come.

"BRAINS WIN"



No. 1.

GEORGE B. JOWL

George B. Jowl, head of the Pinkwater Medicine Company. Starting from a small factory with no capital,—today this company pays big dividends and has had only twelve strikes in two years. Mr. Jowl stands high with the FINANCIAL INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY and is recognized as a man of MASTERFUL INTELLIGENCE.

He decides to end it all—but on his way to the docs, he hears a campaign orator
ing one of those eloquent speeches about "Our proudest honor, to be an American" and he
good for another month.

Our best families are having a difficult time reconciling their matrimonial with their financial affairs. James Stillman was forced to quit as head of the National City Bank because of an Indian guide from the forests of Canada's backwoods, and now Harold F. McCormick steps out as president of the International Harvester Co., following the complications arising out of the engagement of his daughter to a Swiss horseman. And then they say that capitalism doesn't break up the home.

The Need for the United Front

We publish, in another column, portions of a letter from John Gatherum, secretary-treasurer of District No. 29, United Mine Workers of America.

This letter comes from the heart of the mine war in West Virginia. That is where the workers feel most the tremendous need for a united front.

Gatherum shows this in this letter. He responds enthusiastically to the program of the Workers Party for the United Front. He hopes it will meet with tremendous results.

In the mining camps of West Virginia, and elsewhere, nearly all the workers belong to one organization, the United Mine Workers. They are united in a solid mass in their class organization. It is difficult for them, therefore, to realize and understand the great divisions that exist among the various craft organizations in the large cities.

It must be rather bewildering to Lawrence Dwyer, executive board member of the United Mine Workers for West Virginia, to watch the efforts of organized labor in Greater New York seeking to provide aid for their struggling brothers in the coal fields.

Dwyer is here to get food for the miners and their families. The men, women and children are content to live in the open in the mountains, the women and children in tents, the men under the open skies, driven out of their company-owned shacks, **BUT THEY MUST HAVE FOOD.**

The committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council, however, instead of organizing a mighty conference of all New York's labor organizations, industrial and political, has decided to limit membership to the Central Trades, the United Hebrew Trades and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The Workers Party feels that this is a fatal mistake. This has been shown in the collection of relief funds to combat the Russian famine. It was the politically organized workers who had to take the lead in this effort. They are equipped, trained for such work.

It is to be hoped that the Central Trades and Labor Council will adopt and carry out the suggestion of the Workers Party for a united front of all labor organizations on behalf of our brothers of the coal mines. In the meantime the Workers Party will do all in its power to aid the miners in spite of the present divided front.

Henry Ford says he will run for president if the people want him. But he will spend no money to be nominated or elected. We ask him, "Does he expect an automobile to run without gasoline?" And a presidential boom needs a lot of gas.

Bakhmetieff Gone; Ughet Must Go!

When Boris Bakhmetieff, sent to the United States by the fallen Kerensky government in Russia, decided to quit the other day, he handed his resignation to Charles E. Hughes, secretary of State for the United States of America.

This is an honest confession that he has all along been the office boy of the present Harding administration and of the Wilson administration that preceded it, in its war on the Russian Soviet Republic.

It was, therefore, very kind of Harding and Hughes to allow Bakhmetieff to appoint his successor, "Serge Ughet, of New York City," financial attache of the Washington-controlled and financed Russian "embassy," and finance expert under the old czarist regime. It isn't often that the boss allows his office boy to "resign" and pick the one who is to continue on the job.

The whole situation would be laughable were it not so serious. This condition, where the capitalist "democracy" at Washington has maintained a puppet "embassy" for a fallen government, has been allowed to continue by a slumbering and self-satisfied working class.

It is questionable if the workers of any other nation on earth would tolerate such a joke. And the joke was perpetrated, and is still being perpetrated at the expense of the struggling Workers' Government of Soviet Russia.

The exposure of Bakhmetieff's record as a tool of Washington-Wall Street imperialism forced his resignation. But his successor is not one bit more desirable. Secretary of State Hughes calmly announces that the "firing" of Bakhmetieff has no bearing whatsoever on the question of the recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia.

We believe that. Politicians who occupy the places of power in a nation glutted with the world's gold supply and boasting ten million jobless and hungry working men and women, no doubt feel themselves privileged to hurl any insult at the working class, whether in this or any other country.

On another page we publish the most important declaration of the recent conference of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International. One of the slogans advanced by this conference, and it concerns most the workers of this country, was the following:

"Hands off Soviet Russia's independence and the resumption of normal political relations with her."

Let the workers raise that demand everywhere. Bakhmetieff is gone. Ughet must go. Soviet Russia must be recognized or Harding and Hughes must also go.

Why the Workers Part

By JOSEPH M. COLDWEL
Recently Convict No. 10,057
the Atlanta Federal Priso

NOTE.—Immediately follo
his release from the federal p
at Atlanta, Joseph M. Coldwe
Convict No. 10,057, joined t
Workers Party and begun taki
an active part in its labors. In t
accompanying statement he poi
out why other workers should jo
hands with the Workers Part
Read it, and if you are a memb
of the party already then pass
on to someone else who has n
yet joined. For any additional i
formation address the Worke
Party, Room 405, 799 Broadwa
New York City.

**The great war has now passed
to history. Many lessons w
taught by that war. The workers
the world have also learned th
lesson. They have learned that
tactics of parliamentary leaders w
posed as "saviours" of the work
class, did not clear the road for
dustrial freedom. In every coun
where the workers were led by th
"political saviours," the workers w
led into despair. We, here in Am
ica, have learned our lesson. W
have learned it by personal ex
rience and from the experiences
our comrades in other countries.**

**The lesson we have learned, a
take it, is "THE CLASS STRU
GLE," that and nothing more. O
strength lies in a close adherence
the class struggle. Our weakness
when we forget it and try to placa
or temporize, with the master cla
Then we are lost. When we for
that there can be no peace betwe
the two conflicting elements of soc
ty we weaken our position and o
organization. The Workers Pa
does not come with a new progra
or with new theories. The Work
Party claims nothing else than w
its name proclaims. IT IS TH
WORKERS PARTY, BY, O
AND FOR THE WORKERS.**

Its mission is to organize
workers where they can function,
the industries, in the unions, in th
co-operatives, in any organizati
that is strictly working class.
teach the workers that the only w
to overthrow capitalism is to ov
throw it. To teach the workers t
the purpose of working class po
ical action, is not to protect
present capitalist system. To te
the workers that they cannot revo
tionize society by resolutions.
teach the workers to use worki
class tactics to protect themsel
against capitalist tyranny. In pl
words, to teach the workers to
velop strength and courage t
class solidarity.

To this purpose we who have jo
ed the Workers Party are pled
and we call upon all class consci
workers who have confidence in
working class to join us. Freed
can only be gained by those who
willing to fight for freedom. "J
as soon as the workers want to
free they will be free. The Work
Party is composed of men and
men who want to be free and w
realize that freedom will come o
when the workers are organi
industrially and politically to w
and fight for industrial freedom.
offer no promise of political ho
we promise no political victo
Nothing but hard work, morn
noon and night. Mills, mines,
tories, all industries must be
meated with class consciou

This is what the **WORK
PARTY** means to you, an oppor
ity to work along lines that
bring results. If you can stand
gaff, if you are willing to wo
you would rather spend a dolla
literature than a dollar for a v
you have confidence in your c
we want you. If you still think
the working class will be sav
some "saviour" then stay where
are, but do not sing

**"Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his plac
The International Party
Shall be the human race."**

The Worker Will Have Special Reports of the A. F. of L. Convention. Don't Miss Them. Subscribe Now—20 Weeks for 50 Cents

Flags Wave Everywhere as A. F. of L. Delegates Debate in Militia Armory

Dunne Sees 600,000 Striking Coal Miners and Oppressed Steel Workers as Spectres at Cincinnati Convention

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Labor Editor, The Worker

CINCINNATI, OHIO.—At the Sinton Hotel, among the three best in this city, flies the headquarters banner of the American Federation of Labor Convention surrounded by American flags.

The convention sessions are held in the Ohio National Guard Armory and here again the sole decoration is the flag.

Flags draped from the beams, flags on the pillars, flags festooned over the doors and windows, flags enshrouding the platform.

This is the American Federation of Labor that is meeting here, you see, not some radical organization whose deliberations might embarrass the Chamber of Commerce that welcomes the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Near Scene of Big Steel Strike

Across the river is Newport, Kentucky, where the National Guard of that state recently came to the rescue of the gunmen of the steel trust.

The convention was welcomed to Cincinnati by Mayor Carrel, who said that this was an age conspicious for results obtained by conference, mediation and concessions.

Most of the delegates beamed with conscious virtue as this [illegible] because the employers will not even confer.

President Gompers also laid great stress on the lamb-like character of the American labor movement when he stated in his opening address that Labor wanted only to meet the employers around the conference board.

President Adolf Kummer, of the Central Labor Council here, likewise climbed aboard the peace special and proclaimed to all within earshot in his speech of welcome, that there was no radicalism in his fair city. "that element," he said, "that shouts the loudest and does the least, that is destructive rather than constructive that tears down rather than builds up, that element, I am happy to state, is not represented to any degree in union labor in Cincinnati."

Shows Cincinnati Poorly Organized

As Cincinnati is about the most poorly organized city of its size in the United States it is probable that Kummer is right.

The opening address was the usual fiery denunciation of the wicked employers who will not meet with the duly elected representatives of labor that has been the Gompers stock in trade for years.

It contained not a single suggestion that the policies of the past are now bearing the crop of evils that the radicals foresaw and not a single indication that the American Federation of Labor program—if it can be called such—will be changed one jot or tittle. It is just the usual mass of platitudinous verbiage and nothing more.

The claim that organized labor has scored a victory in combatting the open shop was made in the presence of delegates who knew that labor has been whipped because of its lack of unity and who know that every labor organization with the exception of the miners is having a hard struggle to preserve its identity.

It is estimated that about 500 delegates are present at this gathering which is always referred to by Gompers as the parliament of labor.

One Organization to Do Battle

At least one organization, the Railway and Steamship Clerks, will bring in and fight for resolutions on amalgamation of the unions in the railway industry, a real alliance with the miners and recognition of the Soviet government in Russia.

The resolutions of this organization on these subjects are clear cut and definite.

Unless debate is smothered by the machine this means that the whole Gompers policy will become the object of open attack on the floor of the convention.

There is a strong rebellious sentiment in evidence that would respond to a determined leadership but this is lacking.

Of recent development enough to excite comment is the great friendship between Lucy Robbins, of "no more political prisoners in America" fame, one of the agents of the Gompers secret service, and Lang, correspondent of the Jewish Daily Forward of New York City.

They are inseparable and it is quite evident that thru the Forward, Gompers is keeping in close touch with the Socialist—Abraham Cahan forces so that the foot of his new-

(Continued on Page Two)

Big Struggle at Meeting of Furriers

By BEN GITLOW

The Furriers' Convention held in Philadelphia, June 5th to 10th, was marked by a bitter struggle between the delegates representing the New York Joint Board and the International officers of the union.

It was a bitter fight between left and right. The New York Joint Board delegates represented the left. The International President Morris Kaufman, represented the right.

The left advocated progressive trade union measures and heroically defended radical trade union principles.

The fight, supported by the Socialist Party, defended reactionary policies, abused and vilified the left on every occasion and used every means at its command to administer defeats upon the lefts.

Ervin's Advice for Others

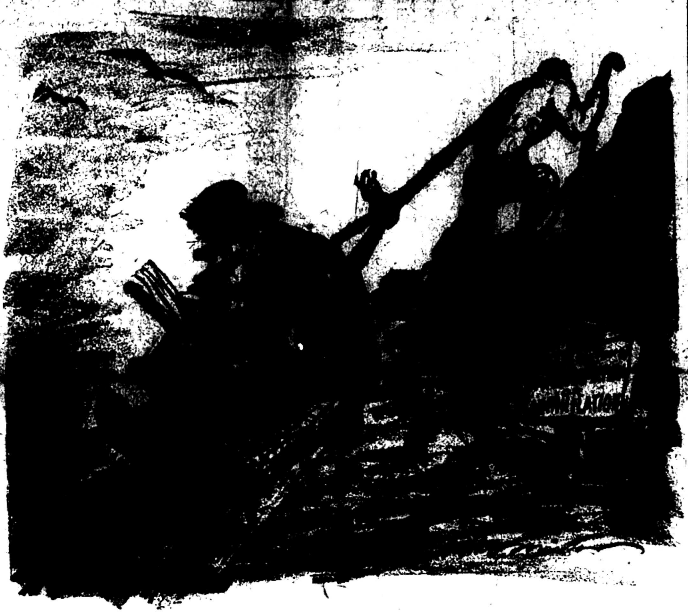
Charles W. Ervin, Editor-Manager of the New York Call, opened his speech by stating that the workers have been fed up on writers and editors giving advice to labor organizations.

That remark did not prevent Ervin, an editor of a socialist paper, from proceeding to give advice to the Fur Workers gathered in convention.

He made veiled attacks upon the

(Continued on Page Two)

Labor's Upward Climb



How to Help Workers of Red Russia

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

"The workers of Russia cannot at all comprehend the backwardness of the workers in the United States. They cannot conceive of the stagnation that exists here, both politically and industrially. It is beyond them."

It is Attorney Charles Recht talking. Recht is attorney for Soviet Russia in the United States. He has just returned to this country after a four months' trip to Moscow. He stopped off at Paris and Berlin, and attended the Economic Conference at Genoa.

Should First Help Selves

I had one purpose in interviewing Attorney Recht. I wanted to present thru The Worker a summary of the things that the workers of this country could do in support of the workers in Soviet Russia.

Attorney Recht, who denies he is the "Red Ambassador" to the United States as some of the papers had it who only claims to be lawyer in this country for the workers, peasants and soldiers' government of Russia, smiled as I outlined my plan to him.

"I feel that the workers of this country ought to be doing something for themselves," he said, and then added. "But, I may say, that in

(Continued on Page Four)

United Front Urged to Answer Supreme Court

Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party Calls Upon Workers to Take Independent Political Action to Meet Attack Upon Labor

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America has issued a powerful manifesto analysing the decision of the Supreme Court in the Coronado case and showing that the decision of the court is but another evidence that all the power of the existing government is behind the employers in their effort to destroy the workers organizations.

The committee points to this decision as emphasizing the need for a United Front and urges the workers to rally to the program for united stand against the open shop and unemployment, proposed by the Workers Party in a recent manifesto. The statement on the Supreme Court decision follows:—

* * *

THE CORONADO DECISION: A CHALLENGE TO LABOR!

The Supreme Court of the United States has brought new reinforcement to the support of the employers in their attack upon the organized workers of this country.

By its unanimous decision in the Coronado coal case it has placed a deadly weapon with which to beat down the organized workers in the hands of the employing class.

For nearly two years the capitalists of the United States have been engaged in an attack upon the unions which has as its purpose to destroy these organizations. All the forces which the employers have been able to mobilize have been used to break down the resistance of the workers. With wide spread unemployment as a condition creating a favorable opportunity for their attack the employers have marshalled for the struggle industrial courts,

(Continued on Page Two)

New York Labor to Say "Good Bye!" to Bakhmetieff June 20

"Ambassador" Boris Bakhmetieff has announced that he will sail for London on June 20. On this day the Workers Party has arranged a "farewell" meeting at which Charles Recht, who has just returned from Russia and Genoa, and is attorney in this country of the Soviet Republic, will be one of the speakers.

The meeting will be held in the Central Opera House, and other speakers will include Paxton Hibben, M. J. Olgin, C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, and Ludwig Lore, Editor of the Volkszeitung.

All workers of New York City should attend this meeting and give the "ambassador" a proper send-off.

The meeting will be held at the time when the Hague conference is in full swing and when Soviet Russia will again cover the front pages of the capitalist press.

The meeting will raise the issues of loan, recognition and trade with Soviet Russia and will fully expose the predatory policy of the capitalist administration at Washington.

Nelson Boyd, Department of Justice agent in charge at Albany, N. Y., did not order the arrest of any circulators of amnesty petitions on May 20, National Amnesty Day, he declares in a letter to the General Defense Committee here. The Albany Knickerbocker Press had stated that such arrests were ordered.

Moscow Bares Many Crimes of "S. R.s"

EDITOR'S NOTE:—The case against the counter-revolutionaries now on trial in a Communist Court in Moscow is presented in an appeal to the workers of the world just issued by the Communist International under the heading, "The Trial of the So-Called 'Social Revolutionaries'", who are also referred to as "S. R.". The trial started June 8, at Moscow, instead of June 1, as the manifesto states. We wonder if the "democracy" loving "Socialist" press of this country will publish the manifesto of the Communist International, which is as follows:

* * *

On the 1st of June, 1922, there begins in Moscow the trial of the Social Revolutionaries to which the class conscious world proletariat must pay attention. [illegible] members of the party which bears the proud name "Social Revolutionary" are on trial.

Many workers who know but little of the most important political parties in Russia will probably think that they are real Socialists and real revolutionaries.

Not Real Revolutionaries.

As a matter of fact, however, they are "Social Revolutionaries" like the "Radical Socialists" or the "Independent Socialists" in France.

This bourgeois party which calls itself "Democratic" or even "Socialist" has in fact carried on for years an armed struggle against the Russian proletariat.

The late Plekhanoff, when he was still a Marxist, named this party "Social Reactionaries."

The Social Revolutionaries have perpetrated countless crimes against the Russian revolution.

Perpetrate Countless Crimes.

In the first days of the March revolution of 1917 the leaders of the S. R. together with the Menshevik leaders surrendered the power seized by the workers and soldiers to the bands of open imperialists led by Gutchkoff, Milioukoff, Prince Lvoff and other flunkeys of the Entente.

The Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks exerted all their influence upon the soldiers, the peasants and that portion of the working class that still had confidence in them, to use them to augment the power of the bourgeoisie and prosecute the war begun by the Czar Nicholas II in the name of Russia.

In June 1917, Kerensky, a former minister, a member of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party, began—with the full support of all the leaders of his party—the offensive which cost the lives of thousands upon thousands of Russian soldiers and workers. This he did at the instance of the English and French imperialists.

Tried to "Frame" Bolsheviks.

In July 1917, the S. R. and the Mensheviks, who at that time belonged to the so-called Bourgeois Coalition Government, attempted to work up a sort of Dreyfus Affair against the leaders of the Bolsheviks.

The Social Revolutionary and Menshevik minister stooped to the vilest hypocrisy and accused Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Lunatcharsky and a number of other old revolutionists of being agents of the German Kaiser, from whom it was alleged they had obtained funds for their anti-war agitation.

This was a conscious attempt at judicial murder, a deliberate cold-blooded plan to deliver the leaders of the Russian revolutionary proletariat

(Continued on Page Four)

Exit Bakhmetieff! Monster Demonstration for Soviet Russia, CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE, 205 East 67th Street, N. Y. C. Tuesday, June 20, 8 P. M.

[illegible] A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from Page One)

found ally may not slip before election.

Left Wingers Organize

A little leftwing group is already meeting but it is too early to predict what the strength of the opposition will be if any of the contentious matter gets to the floor.

From what I have seen of this convention and from talks I have had with various delegates I believe that if the convention does anything it will be a departure from previous policies but it will not do anything.

The old machine dare not let matters pertaining to its delinquencies come on the floor. There is just enough opposition here to make it dangerous; in all probability during this hour of its greatest need American labor will be administered the negative treatment.

Sees Signs of Progress

The first sign of progressive sentiment manifested by the convention was the applause given Ernest Robinson, Secretary of the Winnipeg Central Labor Council, fraternal delegate from the trades congress of the Dominion of Canada.

He was loudly applauded when he urged independent political action, the furtherance and support of the Rochdale co-operative movement for its value in relief work during strikes and international affiliation that would give American and Canadian labor a broader outlook and tend to bind workers of all lands into a world-wide organization resisting the attacks of capitalism.

His definite recommendations were in striking contrast to the carefully worded and more or less meaningless expressions of good will and peace on earth voiced by the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress who preceded him.

No Flattery from Gompers

Gompers made no flattering remarks concerning his speech as he had done with those of the ancient pensioners of the British Trades Union Congress.

Andrew Furuseth, of the seamen, spoke for more than a half hour in denunciation of the ship subsidy bill now pending. He drew a terrible picture of the conditions of the seafarers before the passage of the seamen's law and since its nullification without mentioning that in California he has assisted the authorities of that state to enforce the criminal syndicalism law against his own members.

Almost all the aims of the radicals are represented by one or more resolutions, and the task of the committee is to so re-frame them that a fight cannot come on the floor.

Sillinsky of the Journeymen Tailors has introduced a resolution calling upon the Executive Council to invite the Hat and Cap Makers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to affiliate. A resolution for support of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense has been introduced by Luigi Antonini, of the Ladies' Garment Workers.

Would Throttle Debate

There is enough dynamite in these things to seriously jar if not to upset the Gompers regime, and all of its efforts will be devoted to throttling the debate on these vital questions.

It is sad but true that the radicals and progressive elements are unorganized. Most of them are afraid to enter a caucus because the fact might be used against them if the fight gets hot.

Every organization represented here is fighting for its life, and the brutal truth is that many delegates feel that they cannot antagonize the Gompers element at a time when each organization needs the support of all the rest.

These are realities that many of the radicals have failed to acknowledge. For instance, here is the Maintenance of Way Union expelled from the A. F. of L. because it would not relinquish members over which the Carpenters claimed jurisdiction. They are cut off from the rest of the labor movement and their officials cannot even come here to present their plea for reinstatement because an Ohio employer has brought suit against the organization.

To come to the convention means that the funds of the union would be attached.

Unless the other railway unions get solidly behind the Maintenance of Way Men the Carpenters will continue to make their claim.

The Carpenters themselves are out of the Building Trades Department because the installing of metal trim was awarded to the Sheet Metal Workers. The Carpenters' Union is anti-Gompers.

The Maintenance of Way Men are anti-Gompers, but it is Gompers alone that seems to be solid. It is all a fine mess that gives the employers much joy, the radicals much concern, and that can only be untangled by a disciplined organization of the rank and file which is not yet in evidence here.

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

vicious injunctions, gunmen, soldiers—every weapon in their grasp.

So long as the workers retained the right to strike, so long as they could halt production and thus cut off the source of the capitalist employers' profits they held a weapon which made it impossible for the employers to completely destroy their organizations. It is this weapon, the right to strike, which the Supreme Court endeavors to wrench from the hands of the workers in the Coronado decision.

The History of the Coronado Case

The Coronado case grew out of a strike in Sebastian County, Arkansas, against several coal companies operating there, including the Coronado Co. These companies had endeavored to establish the open shop in the Arkansas coal fields. During the strike the companies brought in scabs and gunmen and as is usual when these tools of the capitalists appear upon the scenes in a strike, some destruction of property took place.

The Coronado Co. charged that the Mine Workers' Union was responsible for the destruction and brought suit against the United Mine Workers under the Sherman anti-trust law. The District Court in which the case was tried awarded damages of $200,000 to the Coronado Co., which under the Sherman law was trebled and the unions ordered to pay, including costs, $800,000.

The United Mine Workers appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court and was compelled to deposit $1,100,000 with the court as security in this and another case while the case was pending, to cover the damages awarded, attorneys fees and other charges, in case of an adverse decision.

The Sherman anti-trust law was ostensibly directed against the trusts which sought unlawfully to stifle competition. After the Danbury Hatters' case, in which the union was mulcted of $214,911 by final decision of the Supreme Court in 1915, the A. F. of L. secured the passage of the Clayton law declaring that "labor was not a commodity or article of commerce" and therefore could not come within the scope of the Sherman law. The passage of this law was hailed as a great victory by the Gompers machine.

The Supreme Court Decision

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in the Coronado case makes so much waste paper of the Clayton law. While the immediate effect of the decision is a reversal of the decision of the lower court and the release of the $1,100,000 deposited by the United Mine Workers the interpretation of the Sherman law in the decision is the most deadly blow directed against the unions by the courts of this country.

The Supreme Court declares that the Sherman anti-trust law does apply to labor unions. It declares that the unions calling a strike are financially responsible for the loss suffered by the employers. It declares that if the International Union endorses and supports the strike of a local union its officials are responsible for violence in the strike and it can be sued and compelled to pay damages from its treasury.

In the Coronado case the decision levying damages against the national organization of the United Mine Workers is reversed and the fund deposited released because there was no evidence to show that the national organization had called or endorsed the strike in Sebastian County.

This immediate victory for the national organization of the United Mine Workers is turned into a defeat for the miners' district organizations in Arkansas and labor generally by the opinion rendered that a union calling and supporting a strike is responsible for the damage suffered by the employers. The Coronado case is sent back to the District Court for proceedings against the District Organization of the United Mine Workers which is responsible for damages under the court decision.

The Meaning of the Decision

In all the recent struggles of the workers they have found that the whole machinery of the government was arrayed against them in addition to the industrial power of the employers. Usually the government hides behind some high sounding phrases such as "law and order" in the attacks made against the workers. In the Coronado decision the Supreme Court has openly exposed the existing government as a tool of the capitalist class to help beat and keep the workers in submission.

At a time when six hundred thousand mine workers are on strike, fighting a life-and-death struggle against the attempt of the bosses to establish the open shop in that industry when a hundred thousand textile workers are making a desperate struggle to maintain wages which will give them a decent standard of living, the Supreme Court steps in to strike labor the most smashing blow in the history of the class struggle in this country.

Hereafter all that the profit-greedy bosses need to do when a strike is called is to hire a few gunmen and scabs to destroy some of their property and then to go into the courts and tie up the union treasury by a suit for damages. Furthermore, as in the Danbury Hatters' case, if the money cannot be collected from the union each individual member of the union can be held responsible and if necessary their hard-won homes, if they have such, can be sold over their heads to pay the claim of the capitalists for damages.

The Coronado decision openly establishes as the fundamental law of this country what has been the case in fact. It places behind the capitalist the whole machinery of the government of the United States. Each time a strike is called the employers will see to it that their property is damaged, they will go into the courts, and under the Coronado decision the courts, the police, the army, the whole organization of force of the government will stand behind them in their effort to destroy the workers' organizations.

Challenge to the Workers

The decision of the Supreme Court is a challenge to the workers of the United States.

In 1901 a similar decision was directed against the English workers when the Taff Vale Co. was awarded damages against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants by the British court. The answer of the workers of England was to engage in independent political action. They compelled the British Parliament to nullify the decision of the court.

How will the workers of the United States answer the new weapon forged by the employers to destroy their organizations?

Will they continue to follow the reactionary leadership which now divides them. Will they continue to support the Gompers' policy of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies," which wins for them such empty victories as the Clayton law called by Gompers "labor's charter of liberty" and Supreme Court decisions such as that in the Coronado case?

The Workers Party of America calls upon the workers of the United States to meet the challenge of the Supreme Court by building a United Front to fight the bosses and their government.

The workers must mobilize their whole political and industrial power against the bosses just as the bosses are mobilizing all their power against the workers.

They must engage in the political struggles thru a class party of the workers. They must use their political power not only thru the election, but thru mass demands upon the government, backed when necessary by a general strike.

They must close their ranks upon the industrial field by knitting together their unions, by the unions standing together and supporting each other in every struggle.

Let us be done with supporting the political parties of the bosses. Let us be done with the silly "reward our friends and punish our enemies" policy. Let us be done with fighting in single companies or divisions to be beaten by a united capitalist class.

Let us unite against the bosses as they have united against us. Let us build a United Front of Labor, a United Front on the political field thru a working class political party and a United Front on the industrial field thru great industrial unions standing united against the attack of the bosses.

Let us build the UNITED FRONT.

Let us use the power that a UNITED FRONT will give us to nullify the decision of the Supreme Court.

Let us use the power to wrench beter wages and working conditions from the employers.

Let us go forward to the day when the workers will rule, when they will establish their own workers government and reorganize industry under the control and for the benefit of labor.

Central Executive Committee
Workers Party of America.

Miners Like "The Worker"

Wickham, W. Va., June 7, 1922.

Editor, The Worker: I have just read some articles in The Worker, and am glad to know that there is one news paper that will print the truth for miners of W. Va.

I have shown men of this vicinity The Worker and they certainly do appreciate it.

Trusting you will keep on printing good news for the unions while we have a man in New York like Lawrence Dwyer working for us.

I am,

Yours very truly,
Wm. Dawson.

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] to be ousted for the destruction and [illegible] from the union.

The pearly wisdom of Ervin was expressed in his closing remarks when he flung his arms into the air and declared:

"I am with the majority, right or wrong."

Translated into plain language, Ervin is with every labor fakir and betrayer if he is in the majority. Ervin is with the capitalist class because that class is supported by the majority of the people.

Amalgamation Is Urged

Kosslovsky, General Manager of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, greeted the convention on behalf of his organization.

He urged it to accept the plan of amalgamation of all unions in the needle trades. He said:

"The time is very short when all workers in the needle trades will get together in one organization to fight against the manufacturers and combat the open shop."

D. Braginsky, General Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades of Philadelphia, a reactionary Socialist Party union official, while addressing the convention said:

"Be good fighters in time of strike and good dues-payers in time of peace."

"Even those who among us once preached the breaking and smashing of labor unions now preach the united front. The Third International campaign for the United Front is necessary now in the United States."

All Delegates Seated

The next day a credential committee was elected.

It was pointed out that the administration had prepared a slate for the credential committee.

Slips of paper with the names of its candidates typewritten upon it were handed out to the delegates that were controlled by the administration machine.

Brownstein, the left candidate for the credential committee, was defeated. He received twenty votes. The rights hailed this as their initial victory. Following the election of the credential committee a rules committee was elected upon which committee not one left delegate was elected.

The credential committee reported that fifty delegates were present at the convention representing eleven cities. In the interest of harmony and unity in the organization they decided that all the delegates present be seated.

When the committee on rules and regulations governing the convention reported a discussion arose over the recommendation of the committee that only those visitors be permitted to attend the convention who were members in good standing in the Fur Workers' Union, who represented accredited labor organizations or who had credentials from newspapers or organizations friendly to labor.

Tactics of the Right

The left opposed this recommendation because they wanted the activities of the convention to be open to all as were other labor union conventions and because they did not want a newspaper that criticized the doings of the convention to be barred.

The rights in defending the recommendation used the occasion to attack and villify the lefts as defenders of capitalist labor-hating newspapers, the department of justice and stool pigeons.

This abusive, insinuating attack upon the left was done purposely in order to discredit them in the eyes of the delegates who were not familiar with the New York situation.

The recommendation of the committee upon the exclusion of visitors was accepted by a vote of 29 against 7. The provision however, was never strictly enforced during the convention.

Has His Report Read

A motion was made not to read the voluminous report of the president. The motion was passed by a vote of 18 to 17. The president felt that the convention, in abandoning its custom of always having the president's report read, had slurred him. He immediately showed his disapproval of this action. Upon a motion by his lieutenant, Stetsky, the former action of not reading the report was reversed by a vote of 28 to 20.

While the president's report was being read, Max Pine, head of the United Hebrew Trades, made his appearance. When the reading of the president's report was finished the president introduced him to the delegates of the convention.

Max Pine showed plainly that the developments in the Jewish unions in the past few years, the fight going on against the old officialdom that stands in the way of the membership and trade union progress, was greatly distressing him.

Max Pine's Worries

Max Pine said: "We are with you when a great many of you furriers are against yourselves. You will have to solve the problem of peace and harmony in your organization.

"If the convention will not solve the situation in New York the convention will not be complete. I was not successful in bringing the factions together in New York before this convention.

Calls Self "Street Fakir"

"Both parties look upon me as a street fakir who wants to bring about something unreasonable.

"This peace is required not only for the furriers but for the millions of workers in the United States. To be fair to both parties in New York is to say that both parties are unjust. My heart is petrified.

"The time to bring unity is now opportune. I will stay if necessary to the end of this convention to bring harmony. This convention must force the harmonization of the New York Joint Board. There is no principle involved in the fight of the two factions."

Brownstein, of the New York Joint Board delegation, assured Pine that his wish will come true and thanked Brother Pine for his efforts.

A committee of five was nominated to serve as a committee to bring the two factions in New York together in order to achieve harmony.

Gitlow Declines Nomination

I was nominated to serve on the committee but declined to do so.

The committee consisted for the administration of Morris Kaufman, president, and Wenneis, general secretary; for the New York Joint Board, Brownstein, general manager New York Joint Board, and Rosenthal, financial secretary of the New York Joint Board. Max Pine was the chairman.

Kaufman made a speech on unity in which he said: "For the information of the convention I want to say that three weeks ago I came to the conclusion that we must, under all circumstances, come together, even if we have to meet people whom we don't like in private life.

"We cannot let this situation go on. Two weeks ago I called a conference of some members with whom I had not been on speaking terms for a long time.

"I felt it was my duty as president of the union that we cannot afford to let this thing go on.

"I agreed on this conference for a committee of five from each side to undertake the question of bringing harmony in the organization. This was not a political move.

Charges Kaufman Insincere

"This movement is not for personal gains and benefits. It is a question where all the work we have accomplished in a number of years is in danger. As long as we have the spirit that expressed itself in the 30-weeks' strike it would be a crime to destroy it."

Motion to appoint the committee of five as nominated was passed by a vote of 46, five members of the left wing delegation refraining from voting.

After the vote Rosenthal of the New York Joint Board delegation exploded a bombshell in the camp of the "rights" when he pointed out that the president was not sincere in his desire for peace.

He said: "The president was not for peace all the time. If he would be for peace there would be peace long ago.

"In 1921, at Chicago, when the situation was very serious in New York and was threatening to disrupt the organization I requested Kaufman to come to New York to make peace.

"Kaufman did not find it necessary to come to New York for that purpose."

"Lefts" Control in New York

The situation here referred to was explained two weeks ago in an article that appeared in THE WORKER. It is briefly this. The "lefts" have control of the New York Joint Board. Control of the New York Joint Board gives them control over the New York members of Locals 1, 5, 10 and 15 that comprise about 75 per cent of the entire membership of the Fur workers' international union.

In order to discredit the left the reactionary and socialist officialdom organized a welfare club for the express purpose of sabotaging the activities of the New York Joint Board and disrupting their union work.

The activities of the welfare club have aroused the indignation of the New York Joint Board and the membership of the locals whose confidence the Joint Board has

The International and particularly the president has supported the welfare club against the membership and the New York Joint Board. It is this situation that must be remedied if peace is to be brought into the Fur workers' union.

• • •

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Owing to lack of space, we are compelled to delay publication of the remainder of this article until next week's issue.

[illegible]

[illegible] for THE WORKER [illegible] getting results.

[illegible] are entering upon constructive measures to aid the campaign.

We already have thousands of comrades on the job gathering in the subs of masses of workers who are to be our future readers.

What's needed NOW is more comrades to get subscriptions. That's all. And we want you to be one of them.

You can reach some workers no one else can. You have your circle of associates, you have your union, your society, your club.

It must be your business to reach these workers with THE WORKER and to get their subscriptions. We know you are wishing THE WORKER all success in this campaign.

You want THE WORKER to become a daily.

But this campaign will not be successful on wishes—but on the work of subscription getting done by you and others.

We say, that when the well wishes of the thousands of Workers Party members and WORKER readers are converted into the work of hustling WORKER subs—the campaign will move on to its logical and successful conclusion.

Keep on wishing—but do the work necessary for success. Join the number of workers.

Labor Film Service Showing the Jungle

Upton Sinclair is in New York to supervise the initial showing of a moving picture based upon his book "The Jungle."

Many labor unions have pledged themselves to make this first venture of labor into the movie field a success and under the auspices of the Labor Film Service, Inc. It is planned to produce a series of pictures with the labor point of view and to establish a regular service for theatres desiring to show these films.

The first showing will be at the National Winter Garden, Houston St. and 2nd Ave., this Monday.

Gail Kane and George Nash take the leading roles in the screen version of "The Jungle" and Augustus Thomas supervised its production. The artistic values have not been subordinated to the propaganda side and the picture is exactly what the book was—the greatest presentation ever written of the misery of the workers in the great industrial establishments of America.

Following the showing of "The Jungle" will be exhibited a drama dealing with the struggles of the miners of West Virginia now being screened by the Labor Film Service.

"Zanesville on the map" is written across the top of a copy of the Times Recorder, of Zanesville, Ohio, by a local comrade. And, sure enough, the biggest story on the page tells of a suit filed by the Star Ice and Storage Co. against the Engineers' Union and the Central Labor Council charging conspiracy to unionize the place. The story indicates that the suit was inspired by the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court holding labor unions suable for damages.

WANTED
FOR KUSBAS

Comrades having surplus phonograph records are requested to send them well packed to KUSBAS, 110 W. 40th St., Room 301, c. o. Frank Grund. Help make the communist pioneers comfortable. Will call for packages. Please notify.

On Strike 3 Months
Murdered by Thugs
Put On Trial for Treason
Evicted from Homes
Under Martial Law in
Mingo March
Hear
The Story of the W. Virginia Miners
By
LAWRENCE (PEGGY) DWYER
Intern. Executive Board
United Mine Workers
At
BEETHOVEN HALL
210 E. 5th Street
June 23, 8 p.m.
Auspices:
Workers Party Committee
to aid miners
TAG DAY FOR MINERS
JUNE 24-25th.

ULMER PARK, 25th AVENUE
Brooklyn, N. Y.
ON SUNDAY, JUNE 18, 1922
PICNIC
given by the
General Relief Committee Branch of the Russian Division, Friends of Soviet Russia
All proceeds for starving in Russia.
Park opens 10 a.m. Admission 50c.
Directions: From New York take West End Coney Island Express train on Broadway, get off at 25th Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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A PICNIC
will be held on
JUNE 25th
on the farm of Chas. Perunko,
NEFFS, OHIO
Music will be furnished by Joe Havlicek's Band. — Adm., 10c
Come and have a good time!

UNITED LABOR PICNIC
YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO
Caleb Harrison, National Organizer, Workers Party, will be the speaker. — Sunday, June 25th, Southern Boulevard, take Youngstown and So. Blvd. car and get off at Stop Maple.—Amusements, Refreshments.—Benefit of the Daily Worker and Freiheit.

MASS MEETING—FOR RELIEF OF WEST VIRGINIA MINERS
June 23, 8 P. M., Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th Street.
LAWRENCE E. DWYER
Executive Board Member United Mine Workers of America—Speaker
STOP THUG RULE IN WEST VIRGINI

Decisions of the Red Labor International

EDITOR'S NOTE:—This week we conclude the publication of the decisions of the second conference of the Executive Committee of Red Trade Union International. This is the resolution on the report of the executive committee. The Second Congress of the Red International, or, as it is called, the Profintern, is set for Oct. 25th, at Moscow, coincident with the holding of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, the Communist International. The concluding installment of the Profintern's executive committee's decisions is as follows:

* * *

Resolution on the Report of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade International

1. The second conference of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International approves of the activities of the Executive Bureau. The Executive Committee expresses its satisfaction that in spite of all difficulties success has crowned the efforts to accelerate the process of revolutionizing the trade-unions thruout the world and to make the Red Trade Union International the center of vitality in the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.

2. The Executive Committee endorses all measures adopted by the Executive Bureau for establishing the united front and also all proposals made in this respect to the Amsterdam Trade Union International, especially those re the White Terror in Spain and in Jugoslavia and the prevention of the split in the French trade-union movement.

3. The Executive Committee approves the tactics of the Executive Bureau which aim at the affiliation of the various revolutionary trade-unions to the respective Craft and Industrial Secretariats.

4. The Executive Committee enjoins upon the national sections to work more intensively than hitherto for the Red Trade Union International wherever occasion offers itself—shop and trade-union meetings, trade-union and party congresses etc., and for this purpose keep in close contact with the Executive Bureau.

5. In consideration of the fact that regular publication both of the central organ of the Red Trade Union International and of other important matter in the major languages is essential the Executive Committee decided to instruct the Executive Bureau to have the organs printed in Western Europe.

6. There being a decided shortage of suitable trade-union literature the Executive Committee instructs the Executive Bureau to take all necessary steps to augment the library of the Red Trade Union International and thus provide its followers with the necessary mental weapons. For this purpose collaborators are to be invited from the various countries. The literature must be distributed thru the organizational channels of the revolutionary trade-unions and minorities; care must be taken that, if possible the whole of the expenses incurred be covered by the literature returns.

7. The Executive Committee deems it essential that all possibilities for providing the party and trade-union press rapidly and regularly with the latest material on the activities of both the Profintern and the revolutionary trade-union movement be utilized to the utmost (Internationale Telegraphenagentur).

8. The Executive Bureau must devote serious attention to the danger of national splits and the reformist-imperialist vacillations of the trade-unions in the Asiatic colonies and semi-colonial countries which have been caused in part by the immigration of skilled European labor. Such tendencies must be opposed by all possible means.

9. In recognizing the ever growing importance of the labor movement in the Orient which is being industrialized and the necessity for close contact and unity between that movement and the Red Trade Union International, the Executive Committee realizes the necessity for the establishment of a special bureau in the Far East to conduct and supervise agitation among the workers of the Orient.

10. In conclusion the Executive Committee approves of the circular of the Executive Bureau regarding juvenile labor and also all steps taken with a view of establishing close cooperation between the Red Trade Union International and the Young Communist International. The Executive Bureau must do everything within its power for the interests of juvenile labor in order to induce organized adult labor to fight effectively for the economic interests of the young workers whose representatives must be enrolled into the unions on an equal footing with their adult fellow workers.

[illegible] New York City. [illegible] They are not wearing the [illegible]

Donlin Suits The Times

The New York Times, the golden mouthpiece of Wall Street plunder and reaction, has discovered another labor leader it is able to endorse.

The honors this time have been bestowed upon John Donlin, president of the building trades department of the American Federation of Labor.

The Times also endorses some of Donlin's ideas, chief among which is a plan to establish a labor oligarchy in the building trades with dictatorial power over the calling of strikes.

This might be a good thing for the building contractors' rings. They wouldn't be compelled to buy up so many corrupt labor officials in their open shop war against the mass of the workers.

Donlin claims there are too many strikes. The wage worker might reply that he has to eat too often, that the rent man comes around too frequently, that his clothes wear out too soon.

The strike is one of the few weapons and the most effective weapon of the man on the job. He uses it to better his position in the warfare against his boss. He always strikes at a great sacrifice to himself and his family. He doesn't strike because he likes it, but because he must. The trades union official is merely an instrument for carrying out his wishes in this respect.

Placing the strike calling power in the hands of a small clique of conservative international officials means that half the time the workers will not know what they are striking about. This usually results in a loss of a morale that means the loss of the strike.

The New York Times isn't so blind but that it sees how this pet scheme of Mr. Donlin will work out. It is the thing that Simon O'Donnell, formerly president of the Chicago Building Trades Council, pledged himself to the bosses to put over several years ago. The logical outcome was the Landis Award, with its anti-labor union clauses, that was the forerunner of the present "open shop" war in that city.

The Times favors Donlin and his plan. That is sufficient reason for the workers to oppose it with all the power at their command.

The minority labor members of the U. S. Railroad Labor Board, in opposing the second wholesale reductions in the wage scale of railroad workers, declared, "The wage structure for the transportation industry, which is being built up in this series of decisions, rests upon no consideration of the human needs of the employes affected." Perhaps these "labor members," among them "Socialists," will some day learn that capitalism never troubles itself about the needs of humanity.

When Labor Really Wins

There are those blind enough to proclaim with great joy that the alleged popularity of the Harding Administration at Washington is on the wane.

They ask us to look at the victory of Beveridge, in Indiana, of Pinchot, in Pennsylvania, and more recently of Brookhart, in Iowa, who sought the "farmer and labor vote," all on the republican ticket.

It is pointed out that Harding is getting to be just about as unpopular as William Howard Taft was when his four years in the White House drew toward their close.

It will be remembered that Taft won the electoral votes of only two states, Vermont and Utah, when he came up for re-election in 1912.

But what was Taft's reward? Capitalism takes care of its servants. It elevated the rotund Taft to the chief justiceship of the United States Supreme Court, a position of infinitely more power than the presidency under the American form of government.

In all of his election speeches the presidential candidate may proclaim himself the friend of labor, but it is the supreme court, as in Taft's Coronado decision, that makes it possible for the exploiters to wreck labor union treasuries with damage suits for alleged injuries received during struggles with their wage slaves.

Old party political platforms, built for presidential candidates to ride in on, may shout loudly against child labor, but it is the supreme court, under Taft's guidance that declares anti-child labor legislation "unconstitutional."

The Supreme Court under Taft's guidance was united in a unanimous decision on these class issues.

These are merely incidents of the class struggle during the past few days showing how the newspaper-inspired electorate grows ecstatic over its "democratic" voting privilege while capitalism slams it over the head with Taft's judicial decisions. Taft who has a life-job, far removed from the "pee-pul."

There is no serious move on to abolish the Supreme Court. There will be none. The Supreme Court is a part of the American capitalist form of government. It will endure as long as capitalism controls.

The workers do not win in the alleged swing of sentiment away from the Harding reaction in Indiana, Pennsylvania and Iowa.

The votes cast for Beveridge, Pinchot and Brookhart constitute a miserable display of ignorant protest for the most part by misled workers.

The labor attack is not against Harding, or even his administration. The war is against the capitalist system that places Harding in power as president, when he serves its purpose, and that elevates Taft to the Supreme Court as a reward for valuable services rendered.

The working class only wins as the men and women of labor are awakened to the necessity of class action against their exploiters.

The workers win when their spirit of protest, intelligently directed, forces them to knock for admission to the Communist movement as preliminary to becoming a part of it.

The men and women of labor march forward when they join ranks for the complete abolition of capitalism with all of its Hardings, Tafts, Morgans and Rockefellers and then proceed to the emancipation of all labor thru the creation of a Communist Society.

If the fighting goes on in the U. S. Senate, the French Chamber of Deputies and the German Reichstag, interest will certainly lag in the proposed second battle between Dempsey and Carpentier. Tickets will be sold for that great display of wordy and sometimes fistic combat sometimes known as "parliamentarism." The latest bulletin from Paris is: "POINCARE UPHELD IN RIOTOUS SESSION."

It is reported that President Harding is very angry over the attacks on his administration. Well, who wouldn't be. It isn't pleasant to have Washington's dirty linen laundered right before the eyes of the whole nation. Harding thinks it ought to be done out of sight in the basement of the White House. But the newspapers must have something to print besides divorce scandals in order to sell out their numerous editions.

[illegible] Victor Kingisepp

EDITOR'S NOTE.—[illegible] proclamation of the Communist International on the murder of Victor Kingisepp, shot by the Esthonian White Guard government. It is noticeable that the so-called "Socialists" have no word of protest to utter against this murder of a Communist. On the other hand, the proclamation points out that the "Socialists" of the Esthonian government of 1920 were themselves directly responsible for the death by shooting of 26 Communists. The proclamation is as follows:

* * *

In Esthonia one of the most prominent fighters for working-class emancipation, Comrade Victor Kingisepp, has been shot. The "democratic" government followed the example of the Social Democrats of the earlier government who in the year 1920 caused 26 Communists to be shot.

Comrade Kingisepp when a mere youth already shared in the revolutionary movement in 1905 in his native home on the island of Oesel, in the illegal revolutionary groups among the students and later on in the workers' organizations of Petrograd and Reval. He carried on an unrelenting struggle at a time when over the whole of Russia the dull heavy clouds of reaction, the gallows and rifles proclaimed the victory of Czarism over the revolution.

Works Under Difficult Conditions.

A fearless fighter he never allowed the flag of revolution to fall from his hand, even at the last moment. He worked underground in his native Esthonia, in Russia and in the distant Caucasus. He organized the workers, peasants and soldiers, and in the year 1912 published the newspaper Lutch (The Beam) giving it a Bolshevik tendency. He experienced the victory and the triumph of the Revolution in Russia, but did not remain in the revolutionary country. Instead, he hastened to his native Esthonia where the working-class groaned under the yoke of the notorious Constituent Assembly. Enriched by his former experiences he carried on illegal work there for three years under the most difficult conditions as leader of the revolutionary labor movement. He refused even for a minute to forsake his dangerous position. Unweariedly he continued to publish pamphlets and newspapers. Every need and requirement of the labor movement met with a response from him.

Following the example of other capitalist countries facing the abyss, little Esthonia also sought to suppress all concerted action by the working-class. When preparations for the 1st of May were in progress arrests began in this connection on the 28th April. Even then Kingisepp regarded it as impossible to leave Esthonia; from his hidden retreat he maintained the direction of the preparations for carrying out this year's May Day demonstration which was to be of great importance.

He was arrested. The Government which had gotten a devoted fighter into its hands, was consumed with the desire to settle its accounts with him. It did so quickly and basely. The Soviet Russian Legation, which received information of Comrade Kingisepp's arrest at once inquired the reason for this from the Esthonian Government. They reassured the Legation with the statement that Comrade Kingisepp was in no danger. A few hours later, however, he was summarily shot.

Comrades! Proletarians of all countries!

The martyr's death of Comrade Victor Kingisepp is an outstanding example of how the bourgeoisie is fighting the working-class. Comrade Kingisepp was accused of but one "crime"—fighting for the emancipation of the working-class. This was sufficient to condemn him to death.

Will this murder disturb the consciences of Vandervelde, Martov and Adler, who were so greatly alarmed over the judicial proceedings against the murderers of the leaders of the working-class in Russia?

Comrades! The capitalist world seeks to save itself from the inevitable overthrow, by means of shooting the revolutionary leaders, it forgets, however, that tho these leaders perish, their ideas are growing and spreading among the masses. The death of this fighter does not check the fight. On the contrary, it will but go on the more vigorously.

Nor will the death of Comrade Kingisepp be without consequences. The workers of Esthonia and of the whole world will cherish the name of this fighter in their memory and will brand the Esthonian executioners and their masters with everlasting shame.

The answer to this criminal and shameful murder must be the joining of the proletariat in the united front for a restless struggle to the end.

Honor, fame and reverence to the fallen fighter!

On to the common fight, you, the survivors!

Death to Capitalism!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

[illegible]

The British Empire [illegible] King George, at [illegible] the new style of wearing trousers [illegible]. It is reported the style will be restricted to the nobility. The workers' trousers will go without creases as usual.

William Shafroth, son of former Governor Shafroth of Colorado, who has been with the American Relief Administration in Soviet Russia, returns to London and joins those who admit that Soviet rule has come to stay. Pretty soon the vote will be unanimous, even among Soviet Russia's most bitter enemies, including Herbert Hoover.

President Harding says he approves the pillage of natural resources still in the control of the government. And he is proud of it. He believes there should be no limit to exploitation by private capital. And he can see no difference between the exploitation of oil wells and the exploitation of the men, women and children of the working class. All must help to grind out profits for capitalism.

Gompers at Bay

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Mr. Gompers, in continuing his vitriolic attacks on Soviet Russia, seems to have bitten off a little more than his ancient teeth can chew.

Leaping on to the anti-Soviet bandwagon in his role of a trusty retainer of the late Woodrow Wilson, Gompers now finds himself engulfed in a rising tide of angry protest at the spectacle of the nominal head of the American Labor movement pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the same capitalist politicians who are attempting the destruction of the labor movement he is supposed to represent.

While the open-shop fight rages, while some five million wage-earners are without jobs or the prospect of getting them, while the supreme court, without a dissenting voice, hands down a decision which delivers labor unions into the power of the most reactionary courts in the world, while more than a million and a half members of the Federation are either on strike or facing the necessity of one, Mr. Gompers is devoting a large part of his time to aiding the work in which Boris Bahkmetieff was engaged up to the time of his departure for parts unknown.

The conscience of American labor has begun to waken; the logic of events has convinced many members of the self-satisfied trade-union officialdom that allowing Gompers to indulge his whims is now a very real danger to the labor movement.

Railroaders Speak Up.

The most striking indication of this change of opinion is found in a recent number of the Locomotive Engineers Journal, official organ of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. It says, editorially:

> **We are not concerned with Mr. Gompers' private opinion about the Russian government. That is his own affair. . . . Neither is it our business when Mr. Gompers takes time from his important official duties to write a rather unreliable book about the Russian republic and the peasants and workers who support it. We are amused by his inconsistancy when he preaches disarmament and good will among the nations, and in the next calls for the isolation and extinction of the government of the largest country in Europe.**
>
> Like gold-braided generals of France, he wants peace, but first he wants his bucket of Bolshevik blood. But we are rightly concerned when Mr Gompers, claiming to speak for American labor, officially urges our government to adopt a policy toward Russia that will take bread and butter out of the mouths of American workers and sow the seeds of chaos in Europe.
>
> Mr Gompers may not know much about conditions in Russia, but he ought to know and care about the situation of labor in the United States. Between four and five million American workers are walking our streets searching for jobs. Miners are starving in West Virginia and dodging bayonets in Colorado. The supreme court tears up labor's safeguards built up by years of struggle. Millions of unorganized workers are ruthlessly exploited by the steel trust and its allies. Groups of organized workers are rent asunder by jurisdictional disputes. The open shop campaign and the drive to smash wages are in full tilt. While American labor is being crucified, Mr. Gompers takes time to stick pins into the hide of the Russian bear.

When it is remembered that the above comment is taken from the organ of what is perhaps the most conservative union in America it takes on added significance.

Sammy Gets Desperate.

Sensing the bitter antagonism he has aroused, Mr. Gompers is driven to new depths of depravity; his latest move is not only astounding in its baseness, but enlightening as proving the desperate situation in which he now finds himself.

He has sent out to various international presidents, choosing for the purpose those suspected of semi-radical tendencies, the following letter:

> Dear Sir and Brother:
>
> I have received about 121 copies of the printed pamphlet prepared by the Foreign delegation of the Social-Revolutionary Party (Zensinoff, Rubanovitch, Suchomlin, Chernoff). The pamphlet is a memorandum of the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social-Revolutionary Party to the conference of the three international federations of socialist and communist parties held at Berlin on April 2nd, 1922.
>
> Because of the information contained in these pamphlets, I am forwarding one to you and to some others for perusal and information. It is a most damnable indictment of the whole Bolshevist Soviet autocracy of Russia.
>
> Fraternally yours,
>
> (Signed:) Samuel Gompers
>
> President American Federation of Labor

In using the data contained in the pamphlet mentioned, Mr. Gompers endorses plots and acts of a group of irresponsibles whose plots and acts have resulted in the wounding and death of several officials of the Soviet government and of its supporters—the workers and peasants of Russia, this group plotted the death of Lenin and his present illness is the result of bullets fired into his body by Fanny Kaplan, a member of the Social-Revolutionary party, the organization whose opinions concerning the only workers' government in the world are endorsed by the president of the American Federation of Labor.

He Likes the White Terror.

Gompers is bitter in his denunciation of the use of terror as a defensive measure by the workers. He has never condemned the white terror in Finland, Hungary, Poland or the wholesale murders of Denikin, Semenoff, Koltchak; he has remained silent while the U. S. marines butcher the natives of Haiti and Santo Domingo; his voice has never been raised in defense of the murdered Irish and Hindu workers, but he springs to the defense of a gang of maniacs who seem to believe that doing the work of imperialism is the way to freedom.

There was a time when Gompers could have retired from the labor movement with some remnants of honor left. Now, whether his future tenure of office be long or short, he will leave, hated and despised, for an oblivion darker than that which now enshrouds he whom he apes—Woodrow Wilson.

Retribution may be long in coming but his own acts have made it certain.

Worker on Newstands

Comrades wanted to help distribute THE WORKER on the newstands, at union meetings, and indoor meetings.

Comrade A. R. Gold has been designated by the Literature Committee of the Local to organize a group of comrades to place THE WORKER on the newsstands.

These comrades will also take care of covering unions, and outdoor meetings, and also will constitute the BOOST THE WORKER SQUAD, of the Local.

All comrades ready to engage in this work should communicate with Comrade Gold at the Local Office, 208 E. 12th St., N. Y. City.

VIENNA.—Owners of Austrian metal industries have abruptly terminated the collective contracts with the workers, and are already demanding farreaching wage reductions and prolongation of hours of labor. Organized workers have decided to make all preparations for the impending struggle.

[illegible] The Letter Tells What and How

The Worker,
799 Broadway,
New York City

Dear Comrades:—I was indeed pleased when I read your announcement of the special subscription offer of 20 weeks for 50 cents, and I immediately got busy among my shopmates and acquaintances.

I really was surprised how easy it was to get the enclosed 31 subscriptions, and feel certain that when these subscribers have read "The Worker" for 20 weeks they will have a better understanding of the class struggle than they had before, and will be glad to renew their subscriptions.

If each class conscious reader of "The Worker" will tell his or her shopmates and acquaintances of this special offer, I am sure they can do as well as I did, and many of them can do much better.

This will do more to get "The Worker" in the hands of the workers and have it read and appreciated by them than any other plan you may have offered.

Please find enclosed subscription list for above and my check for $15.50 to cover the same.

With very good wishes for the success of "The Worker",

Fraternally yours,

J. H. Rese.

Washington, D. C.

The Record Shows—

The actual number of subscriptions received during the first week of the "TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND NEW READERS" campaign was 175.

While this is not a huge sum in total, the record also shows a feature of this first week's results which must be considered a vital factor of importance. That is, that of the comrades sending in subscriptions all averaged a very high percentage each.

This simply means that when more comrades catch the "sub getting" fever they will make the total what it ought to be—hundreds, yes, even thousands of new readers added to the list every week.

This is the goal we aim at. A huge army of comrades seing every opportunity to secure 20 week subscriptions for THE WORKER. This army we must have in order to be successful in this biggest campaign of our history. Such an army can do the job. Such an army of comrades can actually raise our subscription list to 25,000 new readers within a few weeks even in these financially hard times.

There will be no let-up in this campaign until success crowns our efforts. Indications are that next week we will be able to show a larger number of comrades who helped make the total.

WE WANT YOU TO HELP. You can do so by getting the worker nearest you to subscribe, and then the next one and the next. Order some 20 week subscription cards to have on hand. They will sell. Send for $5.00 worth and we will be glad to send you free a copy of "Bars and Shadows". But get on the job—your job. Help make the total grow.

"EXIT BAKMETIEFF"

Ambassador Bakmetieff has "resigned" and will depart from this country June 20th.

The Workers of N. Y. City will give him a "send off" at the

Farewell Demonstration

arranged by

Workers Party,

Local New York,

at the

Central Opera House

205 East 67th Street

JUNE 20th, 8 P. M.

Great Demonstration for Soviet Russia

Charles Recht, Counsel in this country for Soviet Russia, who has just returned from Moscow and Genoa will speak.

VOLUNTEER TO HELP MAKE MINERS' TAG DAY A BIG SUCCESS, JULY 8th AND 9t

[illegible]

Acting under the instruction of the United Front resolution adopted by the enlarged session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at its February meeting the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America has adopted a thesis applying the United Front principles to the United States.

The theses declare that "A United Front of Labor, a solid phalanx of the working class drawn up in battle line against the forces of the capitalist class and the capitalist state is the prerequisite of a victory of the proletariat. The creation of this phalanx is the task of the hour."

The introductory statement showing the need of the United Front in the struggle against the capitalists is followed by a statement of the conditions fundamental to the achievement of this United Front.

On this point the thesis declares, "The working class as a whole is not conscious of having class interests in irreconcilable conflict with the interests of the capitalists. They are conscious, however, of immediate problems that demand a solution as a condition for their existence, questions of wages, working conditions, etc. These questions must form the basis for a United Front of Labor, for united action."

Two Aspects of Question Studied.

After discussion of the general basis of the United Front the question is taken up as it presents itself on the industrial and political field.

The keynote of the work for the United Front on the industrial field is contained in the declaration that: "In creating a united front of the working class for their economic struggles the existing labor unions must remain the instruments of these struggles while the members of the Workers Party must be the instruments to unify these economic organizations."

To achieve this unification it is proposed that the members of the Workers Party make use of the existing struggles of the workers which develop the weaknesses of the craft form of organization, to bring about amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions. In place of theoretical criticism of craft unionism it is proposed that the actual experiences of the struggle shall be the basis of bringing about the united front upon the economic field.

This section of the theses also points to the necessity of broadening the struggles of each group of workers so as to bring into these struggles other workers than those immediately concerned and thus developing class consciousness in place of group or class consciousness.

Labor Party Forecast.

What is probably the most vital part of the theses appears in the section devoted to the political united Front. "The creation of a United Front of Labor on the political field in the United States is the problem of the development of independent political action of the working class," the theses declare." This independent political action will come through the development of a labor party, is the opinion of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party.

On the basis of this estimate of the developments in the United States the future policy of the Workers Party is formulated. Its members and all units of the party are directed to do all within their power to hasten the time when the working masses will engage in independent political action. Since in the judgment of the Workers Party Executive this independent political action will take the form of the organization of a Labor Party it is the task of the Workers Party to so manoeuver that it will be able to secure a position within that Labor Party as its left wing and the most active element.

This proposal does not mean, according to the theses, that the Workers Party will give up its organizational identity and its members become members of the Labor Party when organized. On the contrary, the theses declare "The United Front tactics cannot be interpreted to mean organization unity with any other organization. The Workers Party must exist as a distinct organization with a displined educated membership acting upon a revolutionary program to give leadership to the struggles of the workers."

The means thru which the Workers Party will achieve a strong position in the Labor Party are outlined in the theses. It is proposed that the Workers Party take the lead in establishing the United Front in local political campaigns "on the basis of political issues growing out of the intense economic struggles of the workers." This work should take the form of creating delegated conferences of labor unions for the purpose of independent political action in such localities as are ripe for such action, and by becoming the most active section of such conferences.

"These tactics," the theses declare, "will make us a force that will have to be considered in the event of the formation of a labor party and we will be able to influence its character and its activities and win leadership in it."

Program for Coming Election Outlined.

The theses close with a declaration of policy for the coming elections. The outstanding feature of this declaration is the statement that "To enter into a political federation with existing political organizations, none of which have the support of the masses of the workers, would be to negate the possibility of creating a real United Front of the workers politically." The Workers Party will therefore, as a rule, nominate its own candidates in the coming elections and carry on its own campaign.

This declaration effectively disposes of the interpretation which has gained ground in some places that the United Front policy meant federation with such existing parties as the Socialist Party or the Farmer-Labor Party.

Exception is made to the general rule laid down for the coming election where central labor bodies declare for independent political action or where the fact that the movement for independent political action by the workers has mass support is otherwise indicated.

Theses Mark New Development.

The thesis is noteworthy, as probably one of the first attempts on the part of a political party in this country to gauge the development politically in the labor movement for some years in advance and to formulate a policy in harmony with those developments.

In adopting the theses the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party has laid down the policy of the party for a considerable period and designated those tactics which win for the party a position of power and leadership in the labor movement of this country.

[illegible]

[illegible] 1. A United Front of Labor [illegible] of the capitalist state is the prerequisite of a victory of the proletariat. The creation of this phalanx is the task of the hour. Groups of workers organized in various organizations as well as groups of hitherto unorganized workers must be united in support of a common aim and in common action. Many organizations of labor tho ostensibly formed to fight the battles of labor are tied up by their treacherous leaders to the interests of the capitalists thus breaking the united front of labor and strengthening the front of capital. The problem is to break these groups of workers away from the army of capital and line them up with the army of labor, thus establishing a united front of labor against the capital.

2. The working class as a whole is not conscious of having class interests in irreconcilable conflict with the interests of the capitalists. They are conscious, however, of immediate problems that demand a solution as a condition for their existence, questions of wages, working conditions, etc. These questions must form the basis for a United Front of the workers, for united action. It is thru these struggles and only thru them that the workers can learn the political character of their struggle. It is in these struggles that the betrayers of the workers in the position of leadership must be exposed in their true character as enemies of the proletariat and the tools of the capitalists. It is in these struggles and only in them that the communists can establish their leadership in the class struggle and develop this struggle into a revolutionary battle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship as an instrument of communist reconstruction.

3. In pursuing the policy of uniting larger and larger masses of the workers on the basis of a common struggle the existing organizations of the workers must be made more and more effective instruments of these struggles. The experience the workers will gain in these struggles will help us to gradually eliminate all dualism in the field of economic organizations of the workers. Trade lines must be gradually eliminated and step by step the organizations of the workers must be welded together into industrial unions closely united in one great body.

4. While the creation of the United Front can be accomplished on the field of economic organization thru amalgamation of existing bodies, it must be accomplished on the field of political organizations of the workers by elimination of the influence of such parties and groups [illegible] rather to give leadership to the workers' political struggles. Those parties misleading the workers must be eliminated from such leadership. On the basis of immediate issues the workers must be led into political struggles in which the communists prove the superiority of their tactics, their slogans, their aims and their leadership as compared with the tactics, slogans, the aims and leadership of other political groups or parties claiming the support of the workers. Thus the Workers Party will gradually win away the masses of politically active workers from the political organizations that betray the workers. It will discredit and destroy them and win complete leadership in the political struggles of the workers.

The Industrial United Front.

5. In creating a united front of the working class for their economic struggles the existing labor unions must remain the instrument of these struggles while the members of the Workers Party must be the instruments to unify these economic organizations.

(The plans for the general campaign are formulated after consideration of recommendations by party members in the unions. The C. E. C. of the party formulates the slogans and sends its corresponding instructions thru the industrial department to the membership. At the same time all means of publicity are used by the party for propagation of the action contemplated. The unity of action must be established on a basis that can be realized immediately and the action must then be developed and led on step by step to the climax. In the process of the struggle the weakness of the existing craft union form of organization will become apparent. The experience of such struggles developing these weaknesses must be utilized to drive home the criticism of the present form of organization and advantage must be taken of the situation to advance constructive proposals seeking to eliminate these weaknesses. Thus the amalgamation of craft into industrial unions becomes an issue dictated by the necessities of the struggles and ceases to be an abstract, theoretical bone of contention. The main criticism of treacherous or inefficient leaders and the fight against them must be based on their shortcomings in the actual struggles. Thus the abstract and invariably ineffective criticism on the basis of differences in the theoretical conceptions of the class struggles or the state will give way to concrete issues on the basis of which an alignment of the workers can be effected.

6. In cases where dual industrial [illegible] But in all such cases such [illegible] is not the sole object of the application of the tactics of the United Front of Labor, but only one of its purposes.

7. Not only those workers who have [illegible] in a struggle should compose the United Front. All issues of importance must be made class issues and the working masses rallied to the support of the workers immediately concerned. Only by thus broadening the struggle will the working masses become class conscious.

8. Separate delegated bodies, councils, etc. for the organization and direction of the united working class action on the economic field must be organized only if there is no danger of serious conflict with existing bodies of the same character. In all cases where such directive bodies are created they should be formed, if at all possible, on the initiative and by action of the unions involved. Our party organization will supply the initiative where the forming of such bodies becomes necessary. No basis for even a shade of suspicion of dualistic intention must be given.

The Political United Front

9. The creation of a United Front of Labor on the political field in the United States is the problem of the development of independent political action of the working class. The working class of Europe has for a long time participated independently in political activities. Not so in the United States. Here the problem is not to unite existing political groups and organizations for common action, but to awaken political class consciousness among the workers. The class struggle has reached such a degree of intensity here that every battle of the workers reveals the political character of the struggles that is teaching the proletarian masses the necessity for class conscious political action. The numerous efforts of all kinds of labor organizations to form a labor party in the United States is evidence of this fact. These efforts indicate a step forward in the progress of the class struggle toward revolutionary working class action. To oppose this tendency toward the formation of a labor party would be folly.

10. The capitalists realize the potentialities of even a tame and not in the least revolutionary independent labor party for the development of the class consciousness of the worker. Their tools in the labor movement have, therefore, consist- [illegible] the Workers Party [illegible] cannot oppose the coming [illegible] of this power because it has not yet the standing and influence among the masses to set it at work in the name of and for the purpose of Communism.

11. To promote the development of the political action of the working class into revolutionary action the communists must become a factor in the Labor Party that may be formed. We can achieve this end only if we anticipate the formation of such a party and now adopt a policy thru which we will become established as a force in the political struggle of the workers and thus an important factor in the labor party. The participation in a United Front in local political struggles will give us a strong position in relation to the labor party.

12. Attempts to misuse the name of Labor Party in the formation of some sort of a "workers non-partisan league" must be guarded against. Such a body would merely exploit the growing desire for independent working class political action to get endorsements for some misleaders of labor on capitalist party tickets, on the principle of Gompers: "reward our friends and punish our enemies." It is the work of the Communists to also guard against the formation of such a labor party as is forecast in the work of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. This conference includes not only representatives of labor, but progressives and liberals of every shade. A party such as forecast by this conference would not mobilize the political power of the workers for the immediate struggles against the capitalists but would dissipate that power in election campaigns fought on the basis of petty ameliorative reforms and of schemes for minor changes in the form of the capitalist government. Such a party would be merely a larger but weaker edition of the Socialist Party, which has for two decades misdirected the political energies of the workers supporting it thru its program of reforms and limitation of the political struggles of the workers to mere participation in election campaigns. The Communists must fight to make the labor party a real instrument of the class struggle, fighting the immediate battles of the workers upon the political field and engaging in political action, from election campaigns to [illegible] of the United Front on the basis of political issues growing out of the [illegible] struggles of the workers. The party must use its influence and strength in the trade unions to form delegated conferences of labor organizations. Such conferences decide on a general political campaign including all forms of political action. Thru these tactics the Communists help to awaken the political consciousness of the proletarian masses, broaden the conception of these masses as to the meaning of political action and establish themselves as a force in the political activities of the workers. The party must be the most ardent champion of all such action and must identify itself with all its phases. Our members should initiate such action thru the unions. The position which we will thus gain for our party will attract the revolutionary forces of the workers of the United States and they will rally around our banner. These tactics will make us a force which will have to be considered in the event of the formation of a labor party and we will be able to influence its character and its activities and win leadership in it.

15. The United Front tactics cannot be interpreted to mean organization unity with any other organization. The Workers Party must exist as a distinct organization with a disciplined, educated membership acting upon a revolutionary program to give leadership to the struggles of the workers. In all its activities the party retains its full independence, its right of criticism and its freedom of action. The Workers Party must be the left and the most active section of the labor movement on both the economic and political field. By its unceasing activities, by its correct interpretation of problems and situations and by its qualities of a fighting advance guard of the workers it must gradually eliminate all other parties and groups claiming the support of the workers, as a factor in leadership. It will win leadership in all the phases of the struggle of the working class and lead the solid phalanx of the proletariat into the last decisive battle against the capitalist class, the capitalist state and the capitalist system.

Program for Coming Election

1. The United Political Front embraces political action from election campaigns, mass demonstrations to mass strikes with political objectives and their logical development in revolutionary struggles. The basis for a United Political Front which will embrace the working masses has not yet been created in the United States. To enter into a political federation [illegible] the support of the [illegible] a United Front of the [illegible] politically. The Workers Party will therefore, as a rule, nominate its own candidates in the coming elections and carry on its campaign independently.

2. However, wherever the Central Labor body of a city votes for independent political action by the organized workers, thus indicating that the movement has the support of the organized workers or the fact that the movement for independent political action has the support of the masses is otherwise indicated, the Workers Party will support this action by joining, as an autonomous body, into a federation to carry on the struggle. It will take the initiative in those cases where it considers conditions ripe for such action. The conditions for such participation are the following:

(a) All working class organizations ready to participate in the United Front campaign must be accepted as part of the federation.

(b) The platform must raise as the issues of the campaign immediate questions of the class struggle such as unemployment relief, the open shop, the use of the injunction against the workers, opposition to industrial courts, etc.

(c) The United Front federation should adopt as the name under which the candidates are placed on the ballot and the campaign conducted, a name other than that of an existing political party, if the name "Workers Party" and its candidates are not endorsed.

Permission to place candidates on the ballot under the name of an existing working class political organization may be granted by the C. E. C. when technical conditions make that necessary; in such instance, however, the campaign must be conducted under the name of the United Front Federation.

3. In such political divisions where it develops that a candidate of another party claiming to be a working class party will be defeated thru votes cast for the Workers Party candidate and a capitalist party candidate elected, the Workers Party will follow a policy appropriate to the situation. The unsound principles and tactics of reform parties can best be demonstrated in action. Also, the Workers Party can best gain the confidence of the masses of the workers who support candidates of these parties in districts where there is prospect of their success by not causing their defeat and the election of capitalist candidates, but advocating their election and proving thru their election the futility of their party program in action. The Workers Party in such instances may withdraw its candidates prior to the election, at the same time issuing a manifesto making its criticism of the candidates in whose favor it withdraws and stating the ground for its action.

No clemency will be granted by President Harding to Ricardo Flores Magon, Mexican political prisoner now going blind in Leavenworth penitentiary. This word has come to Magon's counsel, Harry Weinberger, from Attorney General Daugherty.

Y. W. L. TO CHICAGO

The Young Workers' League of America continues to progress steadily. Branches are being organized right along. The western states, especially, are wide awake to the necessity of building up a revolutionary movement of the youth. The latest to enter into the Y. W. L. ranks is Denver, Col., where a branch of 15 members was organized thru the efforts of some itinerant YOWLS on the road to California. Comrade Dietrich has taken charge of the Denver League and we feel certain of rapid growth under his leadership.

Chicago reports the formation of another branch there and the likelihood of a branch in South Bend, Indiana. The live-wire Windy City Leaguers will hold their City Convention on July 2nd.

From the far-away little town of Hall, Washington, comes an inquiry how to organize a League Branch. Shortly Hall, Wash., will have its League. Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland and the other Coast towns still remain in the front ranks of the Y. W. L. The Eastern Leagues will have to step along rapidly if they wish to keep pace with the comrades of the West.

In the East, Philadelphia is right on the job, holding meetings continually and penetrating the youthful workers with revolutionary education.

The National Headquarters of the Young Workers League will be moved to Chicago in a few days. O. Carlson, editing the Young Worker, left June 15 for Chicago. On the way he is stopping off for meetings at Washington, Cleveland, Pittsburg. Comrade Abern will start for Chicago on June 23, and will hold meetings on his course at Toronto, Syracuse, Buffalo, Erie and Conneaut. Comrade Shuleberg will follow a few days later and will stop over for a few meetings also.

After June 24, mail should be sent to the following address: Young Workers' League, Room 307, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill. This may be the permanent address. USE until notified otherwise.

The Manifesto, Program, Constitution, etc., will be off the press very soon. The official organ of the League, the Young Worker, will be out by the time this news is printed. A leaflet will be out also in a couple of days.

The Branches of the League will not vacation during the summer. Plenty of work will be given them. Outdoor meetings are being arranged in many cities under the auspices of the League. Opportunities for activity among the young workers are being thrown open everywhere and the League will not be caught sleeping.

SALZMAN TOURS DIST. No. 2

M. R. Salzman will be the second speaker to tour District No. 2 of the Workers Party, in the open air campaign now being conducted in that district by Organizer Lindgren. His speaking dates are as follows:

CONNECTICUT.—June 26, New London; 27, Rockville; 28, Collinsville; 29, Hartford; 30, New Haven; July 1, Bridgeport; 2, Norwalk; 3, Stamford.

NEW YORK STATE.—July 5, Portchester; 6, Albany; 7, Troy; 8, Schenectady; 10, Cohoes; 11, Amsterdam; 12, Johnstown; 13, Gloversville; 14, Utica; 15, Syracuse; 17, Oneida; 18, Pennelville; 20 and 21, Rochester; 21 and 22, Buffalo; 24, Niagara Falls; 25, Jamestown; 26, Salamanca; 27, Olean; 28, Bolivar; 29, Hornell; 31, Spencer; August 1, Ithaca; 2, Geneva; 3, Binghamton.

NEW JERSEY.—August 4, Paterson; 5, Passaic; 7, Newark; 8, Elizabeth; 9, Jersey City.

Organizer Edward Lindgren reports that he will very soon make a contest for the right of the Workers Party to hold meetings on the streets in Stamford and Norwalk, Conn., where the Marshall meetings were stopped. He intends to go the limit in this fight. The Marshall meetings elsewhere are meeting with great success.

THE F. S. R. OUTING.

The Local Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia issued the following statement for the benefit of those who bought tickets for the excursion for the RELIEF OF THE MILLIONS OF STARVING IN SOVIET RUSSIA, on Sunday, June 11, but were unable to use them.

"Return your ticket to the person whom you paid, if you possibly can. Return your tickets to the organization from which you got it if you can. You can exchange your tickets for tickets for the Freiheit excursion at 47 Chrystie Street without extra charge. Those who cannot return their tickets in this way, should come to the Local Office, 208 East 12th Street, within a week or so, so that we may get a chance to recall unpaid tickets."

Use 20-Week "Sub" Cards at Open Air Meetings

In the campaign to add 25,000 new names to our readers' list the open air meetings conducted by the Workers Party locals can render an immense assistance thru the sale of the Special 20 week Worker sub cards at 50 cents each.

These cards should be ordered by the Locals and at once placed in the hands of all speakers' committees. No meeting, in hall, street or picnic should be without them. Have a bundle of Workers at each meeting. Introduce the cards thru the sale of the paper.

In these times of financial straights for the workers, the 50 cent cards will prove the most successful means of forming new contacts with the workers for our Party and our literature. Every Local should order a supply. This is part of your work—attend to it. Build The Worker readers' list.

Discuss United Front.

The Local Executive Committee of New York at its last meeting discussed the question of a United Front with the Farmer Labor Party and the Socialist Party in the coming elections.

It decided to call a special meeting of the City Central Committee to formulate its position. This meeting will be held Wednesday, June 21, at the Hungarian Home, 350 E. 81st St. 8 p. m. All editors and organizers are invited to this meeting.

LOS ANGELES WORKERS!

Workers Party Headquarters of Local Los Angeles, Calif., moved to a better and more convenient location. Our present quarters are located at Wilson Block, 102 So. Spring Street.

William F. Dunne, labor editor of THE WORKER, speaks at Leavittsburgh, O., Mahoning Park, June 17th, and at Warren, O., Woodmen Hall, 15½ Main St., beginning at 2.30 o'clock, June 18th.

MARSHALL TOURS N. Y.

All readers of The Worker are urged to do all they can to help make the tour of Comrade John W. Marshall a huge success. His dates for the coming weeks are as follows: June 16, Johnstown, N. Y.; 17, Gloversville; 18, 19, Utica; 20, Oneida; 21, 22, Syracuse; 23, 24, Rochester; 25, Buffalo; 26, Niagara Falls; 27, Buffalo; 28, Jamestown; 29, Salamanca; June 30, Olean; July 1, Bolivar; 2, Hornell; 3, Vanessen; 4, Newfields; 5, Ithaca; 6, Geneva; 7, Bing- 10, Passaic; 11, Newark; July 12, Jersey City, N. J.

Organize Workers' Party Branch, West Side Harlem.

The Harlem Section Committee of the New York Local, Workers Party, announces a meeting for Friday evening, June 16, at 8 o'clock, at the Danish West Indian Hall, 149 West 136th Street (between Seventh and Lenox Avenues) for the purpose of organizing a Harlem West Side English Branch of the Workers Party. All comrades living in West Side Harlem are invited to attend this meeting and help in the important work of organizing the first Branch that will give adequate contact with the colored comrades and workers.

WANTED.—Speakers for the Young Workers' League Greater New York. Must have experience. Address communications to Open Air Campaign Committee, Young Workers' League. Nat. Kaplan, chairman, Room 308, 799 Broadway, New York City.

The United Front Manifesto of the Workers Party

Order it for distribution.

Get your union to order a quantity.

Get your Workers Party Local behind the distribution.

The Struggle of Labor Demands UNITY

THE WORKERS PARTY DEMANDS A UNITED FRONT OF LABOR.

Help Educate the Workers for the United Front.

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Workers Party of America
799 Broadway, Room 405
New York City.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

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THE WORKER
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Theodor Liebknecht, aiding Vandervelde in the defense of the counter-revolutionists at Moscow, may have been a brother of Karl Liebknecht. But we cannot blame Karl for that.

The Cowardly Klan

In our opinion those workers who believe that the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations can be ridiculed out of existence are making a serious mistake.

The Klan is here to stay and we may as well recognize that it represents a strong group in our social organization. It caters to the sadistic lust of perverts and at the same time has an economic background that assures its permanence. It can only be combatted by recognizing it as a danger.

Its real functions are disclosed by a number of incidents similar in character the latest of which is the beating into insensibility, in the environs of Port Arthur, Texas, of John Aron, an organizer for the Marine Transport Workers.

He was arrested but no charge was laid against him. The police delivered him into the hands of members of the Klan. He was taken into a grove and beaten into an unconscious condition with a leather strap which twelve men took turns in wielding. His clothes were torn from him and his handbag rifled of its contents.

This collusion between the authorities and the terroristic clique is proof enough that in many districts the Klan has considerable power. It also proves the utter cowardice of the membership of this body. They must have their victims unarmed and helpless as a guarantee that no injury will be inflicted upon themselves.

This is the key to the correct method of fighting this embryonic white guard organization.

Enormous increases in the prices of the necessaries of life in Vienna, Austria, has resulted in "Socialist" papers threatening serious outbreaks. No danger. It will take more than that to get a rise out of the "Socialists."

Free Speech, Here and Elsewhere

Edward Lindgren, organizer of the Workers Party for New York and vicinity, announces that a fight will have to be made for the privilege of holding meetings in Stamford and Norwalk, Conn.

The "law and order" forces recently throttled the efforts of the party organizer, John W. Marshall, to bring the Communist message to oppressed labor in these two communities.

The New York Times has not published an attack on the officials of Stamford and Norwalk, perhaps because its columns are too full of anti-Communist propaganda to permit of anything else.

Only recently The Times was very much chagrined because the prefect of the district of Avignon, France, a Communist, sat idly by while the populace showed their hostility to General Mangin, a relic of the late war, by refusing him permission to speak. Perhaps the General and The Times expected the Communist prefect to straight jacket the workers of Avignon and force them to listen.

All that the Communists ask of the "100 per centers" in this country is the same chance the French Communists are giving the "100 per centers" of that country in those cities where they have power.

We guarantee that if given an opportunity to hear the emancipating message of Communism in America, the workers will listen to it and cheer it instead of hoot it, and that they will finally embrace the Communist cause as their only salvation.

Speech was free for General Mangin at Avignon, France. But the workers would have none of Mangin or his jingo talk even at that price.

We dare the officials in power to make it just as free for Communists at Stamford and Norwalk, Conn.

The National Civic Federation has adopted resolutions supporting the Harding administration's policy of bitter hatred against Soviet Russia. Next thing Harding will be saying something nice about the N. C. F.

Light from The Times

According to a special cable to the New York Times, the French government is very much upset because Communists have gained control of several municipalities.

In Marseilles and Brest, Communists have been elected as mayors and councillors, and in Avignon General Mangin was prevented from speaking while, as the Times states indignantly, "the prefect of the district, himself a Communist, sat by and did nothing to check the disturbance."

It is evident from the above that the militarist policy of the French government is not receiving the whole-hearted support of the French workers.

The offices in these municipalities have been gained by purely parliamentary processes which, we are told, form the groundwork of the two great republics—France and America.

The Times, quoting un-named French officials, charges that there is a widespread plot to secure control of the civil administration. The French Communists would be the last to deny this. They go farther and state that when they capture it they will wipe it out of existence and establish in its place a workers' republic—preceded by a dictatorship of the workers which will last as long as may be necessary to rid themselves of the last vestiges of the profit system.

This is the goal of the Communists the world over. They make known this intention in all their published documents, and it takes a Times correspondent to believe that it is any longer of news value.

One thing of interest can be gleaned from the special story in The Times. It is that with the almost insurmountable difficulties for the workers contained in the French election laws, the election of Communists shows the existence of a strong sentiment among workers against the present government and its backers in banking and military circles.

It Gave Us W[illegible]

Warren Gamaliel Harding, president of these United States, took a run over to Princeton, New Jersey, the other day, made a speech, and received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Princeton University.

Andrew Fleming West, dean of Princeton's Graduate School, bestowed the honors and notified Harding in a speech that he had won his degree because of his "courage" shown in voting for the labor crushing anti-strike section of the Cummins-Esch Railroad Bill. That was while Harding was a senator from Ohio.

Dean West also announced that Harding had shown his "courage" in his opposition to the bonus for soldiers in the late war, and that these and other services in behalf of capitalism had won for him "the gratitude of the whole world."

Thus does Princeton University more firmly establish itself among the seats of reaction in this country.

It sets itself up as a breeding place for hatred against the great mass of the people of this country, the working class.

Princeton University is a "rich man's college," just like Harvard, Yale and other corporation endowed and controlled educational institutions.

Its official recognition of the anti-labor record of Harding's administration is therefore logical. Princeton doesn't turn out thinkers. It produces stockbrokers and bankers for Wall Street, sex and sob writers for the yellow press, corporation lawyers and oily pulpiteers.

But then, we remember that it was Princeton University that gave us Woodrow Wilson. That's enough of an explanation.

But then, we also read that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen has voted to declare Harding an enemy of labor. The forces are lining up.

Cause and Effect

We notice a revival of interest in the fate of the Christians who are at present living under Moslem rule. Tales of atrocities are again related with a wealth of detail and mass meetings are being held to protest in the name of the suffering peoples whom the defilers of the sepulcher hold in slavery.

We have always noticed that when one or more of the great Christian nations arranges some particularly devilish piece of business for the benefit of subjugated nationalities, a great wave of sympathy for the followers of the Nazarene in other sections sweeps over Anglo-Saxon countries.

So it is in this case. Great Britain is civilizing the Hindu with renewed earnestness and much against the wishes of the civilisee. From a Federated Press dispatch we gather that

> **Forty thousand of the leading spirits of the non-co-operative movement in India are held by the British under revolting and inhuman conditions, and multitudes more have been arrested without any real cause, according to Pandit K. Santanam, the new leader of the Nationalist movement in the Punjab and the representative of most of its 70,000,000 Moslems as well as the Hindu followers of Gandhi. Santanam's speech before the Punjab Provincial Conference, just received here, shows that only highly censored dispatches have been received here since the British, following the departure of the Prince of Wales, undertook to stifle the non-co-operative movement by the imprisonment of Gandhi and the repressive measures which accompany it.**
>
> **The non-co-operators, he declared, are treated in the harshest and most brutal manner. Many have been dragged by their legs with the heads trailing on the ground. In the Ambala jail the prisoners are not permitted to say their prayers, and in all the jails, he declared, almost incredible cruelties are resorted to—even to exposing the bodies of the prisoners to be eaten by mosquitoes.**

Altho the soldiers of every country who met the Turks on the field of battle are practically a unit in describing them as the most humane of enemies, we are willing to take it for granted that the Turk is neither better nor worse than any other nationality and that he has probably emulated the example set by the enlightened Christians who have been determining the fate of Turkey for many years.

We think, however, that it is about time for the few people that remain sane to arrive at what seems to us a logical conclusion-to-wit:

That the alleged atrocities of nations which, like Russia and Turkey, are in bad standing in the union of murderers are used to divert attention from piratical expeditions in which the gentle rulers of other countries engage from time to time in the name of democracy, Christianity, for the honor of the white race or some similar high sounding reason.

The A. F. of L. Convention

The American Federation of Labor Convention is in session at Cincinnati, Ohio. Two policies are clashing there, those advanced by Gompers and those linked with the name of William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League and editor of "The Labor Herald."

Gompers' policies spell reaction; Foster's program stands for progress. In this struggle every delegate must find his place. There is no "No Man's Land" of aloofness and indecision.

The "Socialist" attitude in this A. F. of L. Convention may best be typified in the manner of handling its news by the New York Call, the Socialist daily.

If the Call had a tinge of radicalism left it would sponsor the Foster policies that are advanced under the slogan "Amalgamation or Annihilation."

But all radicalism is carefully eliminated from The Call's A. F. of L. Convention news this year. Even Gompers could not wish for a more favorable attitude toward himself and his ideas.

The Call has found itself. One is not compelled to go far to discover the reason for this editorial policy.

It is found in the fact that The Call has gone more and more to the most conservative labor unions in its hunt for aid and support. An attack on Gompers, disagreement with the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L., by championing the Foster position, would immediately endanger that support.

So The Call "plays up" Gompers and keeps its hand out to the forces of reaction.

It finds space for the prayer of the anti-Socialist Catholic, Rev. Peter Dietz, opening the convention, with these words, "Give us peace, remove the rumors of civic and industrial strife," which, if we remember correctly, was the same harmonious spirit that prevailed at the recent National Socialist Convention at Cleveland, Ohio.

The Call also quotes Gompers as giving birth to this brilliant philosophy, "I always like to look back. That's why I always carry my retrospect along."

But the labor movement of America is in sad need these days of spokesmen and publications that look forward, not backward, that are ready for war, not peace, with capitalism.

It is developing able spokesmen and powerful publications to meet that need.

The Carnegie Peace Palace was the scene of the opening of the Hague Conference, successor of the Genoa Conference, on the 15th. Perhaps it is hoped this will develop more harmony between the conflicting delegations than was apparent in the Italian city recently.

[illegible]

"The unions are as strong to-day as they ever were," says the New York Sun, in advising the A. F. of L. Convention to go slow at Cincinnati. Wonder if that editorial writer studied the figures, 4,078,740 members in 1920, and 3,165,635 in 1922, a loss of nearly one million members in two years. That's what Harding calls "getting back to normalcy." And still the New York Sun urges, "It would be a great pity if the convention took any extreme, impassioned view of the situation and prospects." But why should labor's troubles excite the owner of The Sun, Mr. Munsey, a big stockholder in the steel corporation?

Conceptions of Justice

The trial of the counter-revolutionaries has started at Moscow. The first day's proceedings brought a clash between conflicting conceptions of justice.

Emil Vandervelde, former Minister of justice to the Belgian King, while president of the Second International, among the defenders of the would-be assassins of Lenin, Trotsky and others, and on their behalf challenged the Communist judges with the declaration that:

"It is evident that Belgium and Russia have different conceptions of justice."

Vandervelde did not have to wait long in getting his reply. He got it from both Ensign Krylenko, chief of the prosecution, and from the presiding judge, M. Tiatakoff.

Krylenko said: **"No wonder we have different conceptions of justice. Such justice will Belgium have only when her ministers are placed on trial. This case is being tried under the system of justice we fought for."**

Tiatakoff said: "Of course we are not impartial, but our partiality is in the interests of the revolution."

How refreshing it would be to hear Supreme Court Justice Taft admit, when declaring anti-child labor legislation is "unconstitutional," or Kenesaw Mountain Landis proclaim while handing out 20-year sentences, or Judge Weeks confess in sending Communist prisoners to Sing Sing, that

"Of course we are not impartial, but our partiality is in the interests of the capitalist class, in defense of capitalism."

But the capitalist justice of Belgium, and of the United States and of all other capitalist nations, depends upon the ignorance of the workers to make its sham and its hypocrisy seem impressive and "fair" judicial procedure.

The trial of the would-be slayers of the Russian revolution will reveal in clear terms to the world's workers the struggle between capital and labor.

The betrayers of labor in the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals have again taken their stand on the side of capital against labor. Their conception of justice is the capitalist conception. Vandervelde opposes a Communist court. And there is only one other kind—a capitalist court.

Above the stage where sits the judge in this Communist court in Moscow, there floats a red banner with an inscription in gold that says:

"The proletariat court is the safeguard of the people's revolution."

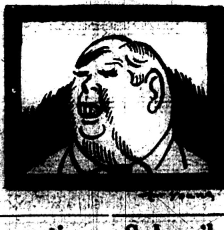
Vandervelde, in that proletarian court of justice, is as much the servant of capitalism as he was when minister of justice to the Belgian King during the great war, or when he helped sign the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

Before the Moscow trial comes to an end new masses of awakened and aroused workers will have seen the light and aligned themselves with the growing world struggle for Communism.

The Reparations Board that is trying to liquidate the late war has turned over to J. Pierpont Morgan, of Wall Street, and Sir Robt. Kindersley, of the Bank of England, the job of raising a loan for Germany. Morgan and Sir Robert expect the public will subscribe. And later on, if Germany can't pay, they will also expect this same "public" to provide the cannon fodder to wage war on Germany and carry on a forcible collection. Germany thus will get another lesson on the necessity of establishing Soviet Rule and repudiating all debts. If the dear public gets stung on Morgan's new loan, it should only kick itself, and kick hard.

"BRAINS WIN"

No. 2.



HENRY MORON

Henry Moron, editor and financier, owns two daily papers and is principal owner of the Spring Valley Traction and Electric Light Co. He gives liberally to churches and prefers poker to golf. Mr. H. Moron gets things done—and is known as an Intellectual Giant among the best people of Spring Valley.

Confidential Dope on Revolution Basis of Plea for Dollars

By STANLEY BOONE

DETROIT.—"Please treat the contents of this bulletin as confidential. We do not wish by a single word to permit the enemy to know that we are even anxious over the situation."

Thus ends Bulletin No. 39 of the Coalition Committee for the State of Michigan. The office of the secretary of the committee, F. A. Perry, is suite 1303 Real Estate Exchange Bldg., Detroit. The chairman of the executive and finance committee of the organization is Henry M. Leland, president of the late Lincoln Motor Car Co.

After speaking of "the humiliation" suffered by "the property owners and cultured classes of Russia, Bulletin No. 39 continues: "It is a wellknown fact that there are more radicals in America than there are in Russia, that they are better financed and under better leadership. When their organization, which is going rapidly forward, is completed, the chances of the success of a revolutionary movement are better here than they were in Russia. Have you heard their resounding battle cry: Down With Capitalism! On to Industrial Freedom!'"

Following closely this spirited statement the bulletin reaches the point of greatest interest to Perry and adds: "The question before the American people to-day is what are we going to do about it? * * * The Coalition Committee for the State of Michigan knows how to effectively combat radicalism. That has been demonstrated by several years of effective work, but we must have money if this work is to be continued * * * If you are not already a subscriber fill out the enclosed subscription blank for as large an amount as your circumstances will permit and return at once. **Your dollars are needed now!"**

Other members of the executive and finance committee are John L. Lovett, secretary and general manager of the Michigan Manufacturers Assn.; Chester M. Culver, secretary of the Employers Assn. of Detroit; F. W. Blair, an executive of the Union Trust Co., and P. W. A. Fitzsimmons, of the Michigan Mutua Casualty Insurance Co.

"The letterheads used by the I. W. W. carry across the top th three following significant word: Educate, Organize, Emancipate," says Bulletin No. 40. "Radical agitators have learned by experience that American labor cannot be stampeded into revolution, hence the le spectacular but more effective method, indicated by the above word has been adopted."

Bulletin No. 40 explains that th coalition committee carries on, i work by means of motion pictures, leaflets, posters, addresses, and, fact, by every available means. What the committee means "every available means" was mad quite plain at Bisbee, Everett, an more recently in West Virginia.

Perry then definitely draws th lines of the class struggle. "M Manufacturer, Employer, Banker," continues Bulletin No. 40, "it is to you to help put across our program of real Education, Organization and Emancipation."

But apparently the money is n coming in quite fast enough to s Perry. For the secrecy urged Bulletin No. 39 is carelessly throw aside in Bulletin No. 40, which end with the tag-line, "Read, then pa this bulletin on to some one else."

It was passed on once too often o this story would not have bee written.

Read Dunne's Special Reports on the A. F. of L. Convention. Subscribe 20 Weeks, 50 Cents

THE WORKER

AMERICAN [illegible] EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. [illegible] [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Howatt, in Prison, Storm Center in Attack on Gompers' A. F. of L. Machine

Illinois Delegate Smokes Out Heads of United Mine Workers; Shows Courageous Kansas Official Deserted in Big Fight

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE,
Labor Editor, The Worker.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.—Joseph Lynel, member of the United Mine Workers representing the Central Labor Council of Peoria, Illinois, big and determined with a voice that shook the Convention Hall, forced the machine from under cover for the first time. He forced John L. Lewis and the rest of the international officers to publicly abandon Alex Howatt and August Dorchy.

The fight came on a resolution congratulating Howatt and Dorchy on the courageous fight against the Kansas industrial court law and cited the fact that numerous other pending measures of similar character had been defeated because of their example.

The Resolution's Committee brazenly declared that the subject matter dealt with the internal affairs of the United Mine Workers and referred it to the executive council of that organization.

Lynel secured the floor and urged that it was a matter of concern to organized labor as a whole. John L. Lewis spoke in favor of the committee report and Lynel rose with a question. "I want to know if the A. F. of L. is going to double cross Alex Howatt as John Lewis did," he said. A voice from the floor said to Lynel, "He'll take away your card." "I don't care if he takes away all my cards, I am here to defend Howatt and the Kansas Miners."

Holding up the roll-call list of the Convention Lynel said: "Here is the [illegible] to this Convention but he is in jail and cannot come. He is in jail for fighting your battles and mine and Lewis is keeping him there."

Draws Lewis' Fire

Lewis called Lynel a liar and Lyne returned the compliment with interest. Gompers rapped for order and admonished the delegates to refrain from personalities.

Christian M. Madsen, painters delegate Chicago Federation of Labor, and Max Silinsky, of the Tailors spoke for the resolution maintaining that it was of vital importance to Labor.

Madsen appealed to the delegate in the name of honesty and decency to vote down the Committee Report.

The international officers recovered from their momentary panic, rallied to Lewis and the committee report carried without even a roll-call.

This was one of the incidents that show what the membership is really thinking and how little able officialdom is to fight on a straight issue.

A dozen uncompromising speakers like Lynel would send this bunch of at boys scurrying for cover.

Machinist Stirs Convention

The peace of the Convention was also slightly marred when Curly Grow, of the Machinists differed with the committee report on the establishment of Labor Banks.

The recommendation of the committee placed full power in the hands of the executive council to act upon this matter and Grow in assailing it was called to order by Gompers.

Resolutions on political prisoners were dealt with by the committee by endorsing the executive council report on the subject compiled by Lucy Robbins.

The Ladies' Garment Workers effectively betrayed the political prisoners, as I predicted they would, by remaining silent while this infamous document was endorsed.

When Benjamin Schlesinger appears as delegate to the British Trades Union Congress the political Prisoners will have the satisfaction of knowing that their continued incarceration is the price of a pleasure trip for the head of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The resolution of the Boston Central Labor Council demanding a new trial for Sacco-Vanzetti was passed without objection.

It's a Happy Gang

While these two resolutions were being read the voice of the secretary of the committee was almost drowned by the noise from the groups of chatting, laughing international officers.

This is the manner in which they display their keen interest in the fate of victims of capitalist justice.

The committee on the report of the executive council with much solemn-

(Continued on Page Two)

[illegible]

The work for the amnesty drive open air campaign (from June 26th to July 1st) is well on it's way. Arrangements for meetings in the following localities have been made, and more are to be arranged.

BRONX:—Longwood and Prospect Avenues, Monday;
163rd St. and Prospect Ave., Tuesday;
180th St. and Boston Road, Wednesday.

HARLEM:—110th St. and Park Circle, every night.

YORKVILLE:—1st Ave. and 79th St., Monday;
72nd St. and 1st Ave., Tuesday;
86th St. and 2nd Ave., Wednesday;
86th St. and 3rd Ave., Thursday;
Ave. A and 79th St., Friday.

DOWN-TOWN:—2nd Ave. and 10th Street, Tuesday;
7th St. and Ave. A, Wednesday;
14th St. and 5th Ave., Thursday;
Houston Street and 2nd Avenue, Friday (Jewish);
Rutgers Square, Saturday;
Bleeker and McDougal Sts., Wednesday.

WILLIAMSBURG:—Brooklyn, Grand Street Extension, Wednesday and Friday (more to be arranged).

BROWNSVILLE:—Stone and Pitkin Aves., Wednesday and Friday (more to be arranged).

The folowing speakers will speak at the open air meetings Elizabeth Gurly Flynn, Carlo Tresca, Petro Alegra, Patrick McClellan, R. Baker, B. Shapiro, John McDonald, P. P. Cosgrove C. E. Ruthenberg, Mossaye Olgin Hendin, Chandler Owen, Mrs. Gitlow, Ben Gitlow, Ludwig Lore; I. Louis Engdahl, H. Winitsky, Wm F. Dunne, I. Amter, W. Bixby, F. Biedenkapp, Cuneo, Cuomo, P. Esteve, L. Cuintilian and many others.

Comrades in every locality are asked to co-operate and help make this drive a success, we owe it to the comrades in jail and to the movement in which we are all interested Anyone who can speak, act as chairman or can help distribute petitions should report to the Amnesty Alliance, 81 East 10th Street, N. Y. C.

Remember, the week of June 26th to July 1st, and make a record for the Amnesty Drive Campaign.

Arrangements Committee,
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN,
NORMA BERMAN,
PATRICK McCLELLAN

PROTECTS HIGHER-UPS.

Runge, the Uhlan, who was convicted of assassinating Rosa Luxemburg, leader of the Spartacist movement, has completed his sentence of two years in prison, according to a Central News dispatch from Berlin He declared that he was innocent, and subsequently made formal accusations against several officers, declaring he had been promised money to remain silent

---

Altho six long years have passed since the inception of the frame-up against the two trade union champions Mooney and Billings, the demand for justice for these two innocent men grows ever stronger as the months roll on.

At Last! The Supreme Test on Railroads

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

At last the supreme test is coming for the railroad men. The employers are tearing into them right and left.

Not content with taking away the national agreement of the Shopmen, the eight hour day from the Maintenance of Way, the Signal men, the Clerks, Stationary firemen and others, re-establishing piece work in the shops, setting up company unions, farming out repair work to all kinds of dummy companies so as to evade the Transportation Act doing away with Sunday overtime rates and otherwise re-establishing pre-war slave conditions, they are now cutting and slashing wages to the bone.

In the past ten days, both the Maintenance of Way workers and the Shopmen have had their wages reduced again.

War Declared on Unions

The companies have declared open war on the Unions, and it is quite [illegible]

Not only that, but the railroads show their contempt for the organizations by making these wage cuts right in the face of the A. F. of L. Convention.

They have no fear that the conservative labor leaders will do anything serious about it.

According to statistics submitted by Mr. Jewell, President of the Railway Employees Department in the hearings before the Railroad Labor Board on May 22nd, the mechanics on the railroads are getting only 64 per cent of the meats, fish, milk and eggs, 77 per cent of the cereal foods, 91 per cent of the vegetables and 71 per cent of fats and oils necessary to maintain their actual families at the lowest level of safety.

Forget About Unemployment

The family budget of the Department of labor calls for an expenditure of $2,303.99 per year, whereas the full time wages of shop mechanics last year amounted to only $1,884.90.

This figure is based on assumption of steady work.

It disregards the fact that unemployment amounted to 40 per cent at least.

Now comes the Railway Labor Board and cuts even these skinflint wages again more than 10 per cent on the average, bringing the Shopmen down to a condition of semi-starvation.

But bad off as the shop mechanics are, the unskilled laborers are inconceivably worse situated.

Under the recent decision of the Railroad Labor Board for the Maintenance of Way, large groups of laborers will be paid but 23c. per hour.

This means that a man at this class of work working eight hours per day, 300 days per year will earn only $552.00.

Compare this disgraceful figure with the minimum, bare living estimate of the Department of Labor, calling for $2,303.99 and you will get an idea of just about what the recent wage cuts mean to a large section of railroad workers.

They Just Watched.

In this terrific onslaught of the companies, which is being made thru the lick spittle Labor Board, the railroad men are only harvesting the crop which they have been sowing for many years.

It's because they do not practice the principles of solidarity. When the steel workers were on strike, the railroaders, not being attacked themselves, did nothing about it.

They stood around and watched Gary and his minions demolish the steel organizations and violate every law in the statute books in doing it.

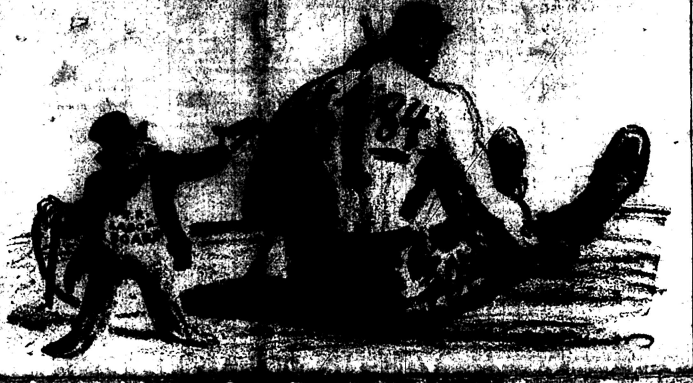
The railroad men could not see where they were interested.

Chickens Come Home to Roost

Likewise in the miners' strike, they not only lend no hand to help their

(Continued on Page Two)

For Sale! Railroad Labor! 23 Cents an Hour



[illegible] White Slave of the Railroads

Workers Party Backs Amalgamated Plan to Aid Russian Industry

Enthusiastically endorsing the Russian-American Industrial Corporation launched by the recent Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Convention, the Workers Party has issued a proclamation calling for a United Front in behalf of this project to raise $1,000,000 to rehabilitate the clothing industry in Moscow and Petrograd.

It is pointed out that this is only the beginning. The proclamation declares this "is a workers' question," not a Russian question, and urges the workers of Amerca to make as proud a record in this direction as they already have done in providing famine relief.

The proclamation in full follows:

• • •

PROCLAMATION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA ON THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION

Workers of America—The struggle of our class against exploitation has developed to greater lengths in the past five years than had ever been known before. New developments have brought new understanding, new hopes and new calls upon our loyalty.

This struggle has resulted in a great labor upheaval in Russia. The working class of that country have attempted finally to free themselves from exploitation by capitalists. The initial stage of this fight has been won; the capitalist class has been cast out of power and the working class is in complete control. This is the furthest advancement that the working class has ever attained in one hundred years of struggle thru the World.

Face New Responsibilities.

But this advanced position has brought new and vast responsibilities to the workers. Having won possession of all of the factories, workshops, mines, railroads and land of a vast country, it has become the duty of the workers and peasants to operate these possessions so as to feed, clothe and shelter the newly freed people.

The Russian workers have taken over an industrial system in a condition of indescribable chaos. The industries and transport were already broken down by the World War. Then, in the struggle of the

(Continued on Page Five)

War With England?

War by the United States and France against England is only one of the many startling conclusions, supported by many facts, advanced by J. T. Walton Newbold, the British Communist, in the accompanying article which he has himself entitled, "From Genoa to the Hague."

Newbold shows the close alliance between American and French financial interests, especially the war conducted by the Standard Oil Co. and the Bank of Paris, against the British Royal Dutch Shell Oil interests.

He accounts for the close resemblance of the policies of the United States and France towards Soviet Russia.

He outlines the driving motives that will dictate the policies of the representatives of the Russian Soviet Republic at The Hague.

The article in full is as follows:

From Genoa to the Hague

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

On the 29th of December last, the great Italian financial house, at whose head was Senator Marconi, the Banca Italiana di Sconto, went bankrupt.

On the 6th of January ensuing, Mr. Lloyd George, speaking in the meeting of the Supreme Council at Cannes, "moved that a Five Power Conference should be summoned to go into the whole question (of the economic reconstruction of Europe).

The Conference adopted the suggestion, and on the invitation of Italy it was decided that the Conference should be held at Genoa in March, Russia, as well as Germany, being invited to attend."

"Marconi"

On the 29th of December had failed what we may, justly, call the Marconi Bank.

On the 6th of January, Mr. Lloyd George (friend of Godfrey Isaacs, managing director of the Marconi wireless Company) proposed the holding of the Conference which has now ended (like the Marconi Bank), in proposals for a new incorporation.

The Banca di Sconto failed because it had invested enormous funds in the greatest metallurgical and ship building concern in Italy—Gio Ansaldo and Co., of Genoa.

This mushroom of the war and the armistice period came upon evil days and the Bank, finding its assets "frozen" (like those of the City Equitable Insurance Company and certain British shipbuilding syndicates whose crash is impending) came to grief.

Genoa was the scene of the catastrophe.

Genoa was chosen as the scene of the Conference. The British Premier, anxious to prevent the fate that had overtaken the industrialists of Genoa swallowing up his own friends and

(Continued on Page Four)

HE "SAVED AMERICA."

Jerome A. Myers, flag-waving, fist-shaking, radical-hating defender of the constitution and exponent of 100 percent Americanism, former national head of the Constitutional League of America, patriot-at-large and anti-Bolshevik in particular, has plead ed guilty to stealing $5,000 which belonged to the Constitutional League. He will be sentenced June 22, pending which he remains at liberty on bail.

Myers' case is one of the saddest in the annals of all the upstanding he-man type of Americanism who helped save America from red revolution, the nationalization of women, and compulsory cannibalism. Thruout the war he exposed his manly chest to the Germans on many a New York stage and platform, and defied the kaiser and usurped Hindenburg right out loud. He was chairman of the local speakers and meetings bureau of five Liberty Loan War Savings campaigns.

But a few months ago—suffering, perhaps from shell shock [illegible] of Red Cross, Boy Scout and [illegible] on the New York section, he [illegible] and spent on himself $5,[illegible] to the Constitutional League by John D. Rockefeller, jr.

THE WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE [illegible] KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Red T. U. International Urges World Labor Aid Striking U. S. Miners

The Red Trade Union International has issued a proclamation to the miners, transport workers, seamen and railroad men of the world urging support of the striking coal miners in this country.

The appeal for international solidarity in aid of the American miners is called to the particular attention of the workers of England, France, Belgium and Germany. It is as follows:

The drama of last year's miners' strike in England is repeating itself in the great American coal strike. The British coal strike was broken because the bourgeoisie exercised international solidarity and the miners did not support their class comrades standing in the midst of a bitter defensive struggle by preventing the transportation and delivery of strikebreaker coal.

The strike of the British coal miners was turned into a defeat with the aid of German reparations coal, with coal from France, Belgium and the Saar.

Now the world bourgeoisie is organizing the transport of British, French, Belgian and German coal to America in order to subject the American coal miners just as the English miners were subjected in 1921.

Miners of the world! How long will you allow this? One after another you are being defeated in your difficult struggle for existence, for your bit of bread. The International Federation of Miners and Transport Workers is doing nothing to prevent the defeat of the American miners. Just as in the English coal strike, they are passively looking on while the fight of the American miners is being turned into a defeat by the [illegible] of British strikebreaking coal.

[illegible]

(Continued on Page Two)

Howat, in Prison, Is Storm Center at A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from Page One)

ity reaffirmed the Declaration of the Convention of 1901 on Policy.

This ancient document is the Bible of A. F. of L. officialdom, and contains the revelations by which they justify every failure to do anything.

There has not been the slightest change for 21 years, and it is here that is to be found an important contributing cause for the outworn policies and childish remedies favored by the American Federation of Labor. Representatives of the miners and railway men are meeting to arrange a closer alliance, however, as evidence of the fact that economic pressure does far more for industrial unionism than all the reasoned arguments on the subject.

Pleads for Steel Workers

The glaring inconsistencies of the Federation policy are forced to the notice of the delegates in spite of the vigilance of the machine.

Mike Tighe, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, mounted the flag draped rostrum in the National Guard Armory where the convention meets, and told the delegates of the reign of terror under martial law in Newport, Kentucky, just across the river.

He told how the militia in that little city ruled with the bayonet and the machine gun, and how they shot at women for the fun of seeing them run.

He announced a meeting in Newport, and promised to take the delegates and show them the bullet riddled houses of the striking workers. The convention adopted a motion obligating all delegates to attend. There was no debate.

It was a dangerous subject, and so Gompers did not even put the motion, but declared it carried without objection.

"Savior" Makes Truthful Statement

Lucy Robbins, self-styled savior of political prisoners, reported for the amnesty committee. Lucy was clad in something that looked like an open work Spanish shawl—if there is such a thing. And coyly informed the convention that it was her intention to be brief as it was the most earnest desire of her heart to be liked.

This was about the only truthful statement made by her, and it was self-evident.

Words were not needed to convey the impression that every ounce of Lucy's 189 pounds quivers with a desire to be loved by the brawny sons of labor.

She made the monstrous misstatement that all political prisoners have been freed when something like one hundred are still in jail for crimes of opinion.

Her job as one of the adopted daughters of the official family has been, not to free political prisoners, but to convince the masses that officially the A. F. of L., was doing something for amnesty.

There is noticeable here a gradual crystallization of the progressive and radical sentiment, and it is now certain that a stiff fight will be made to defeat the administration resolution denouncing Soviet Russia.

Hear Voice of Bakhmetieff

It is possible that some of the fraternal delegates will take the floor against this infamous measure which is nothing more or less than the voice of the departed Bakhmetieff speaking thru the executive council of the A. F. of L.

The first result of the conspiracy against the radical labor press is apparent here in that the New York Call is suppressing the Federated press reports of the convention on obedience to the Gompers mandate. Schlessinger, president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, with the fraternal delegateship to the British trades congress as his reward is largely instrumental in causing distrust of known radicals.

He is to-day soliciting the votes and support of reactionaries, who a year ago would have spit in his face.

EUREKA, Calif.—Arthur Ward, local secretary for the I. W. W., is held in jail for lack of $3,000 in bonds. He was arrested and charged with criminal syndicalism because he testified in the trial of Omar Eaton, organizer of lumber workers. Eaton's trial resulted in a hung jury. He is held pending a second trial.

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Chief Justice "Bill" Taft has been received in England by the King and the Prince of Wales. [illegible]

United Front or Political Trading

The Communist and "Socialist" attitude toward the "united front" is brought sharply to the fore by the action of the Wisconsin Socialist Party Convention in refusing to run a candidate against Robert M. La Follette for U. S. senator.

Victor Berger, who has been conducting a propaganda in his paper, The Leader, favorable to La Follette, led the fight to prevent the naming of a Socialist candidate.

We find that this important news is strangely lacking from the columns of the Sunday Call, so that Socialist readers on Sunday morning had to go to The Times for this information.

This action of the Berger-inspired Wisconsin Socialists stamps the Socialist Party "united front" as merely a scheme for political trading, as we have all along contended. Berger will get the La Follette support in Milwaukee and go back to Washington as a "Socialist" congressman with republican votes.

Altho La Follette has shown himself to be friendly at times to certain popular labor measures in congress, he has always been and still is a republican politician.

When Roosevelt split the party, La Follette remained loyal to the Wall Street support that stood back of Taft for the presidency.

Threats to oust him from the senate for his St. Paul speech, silenced him during the progress of the great war.

When ex-Socialists urged La Follette as the presidential candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party in 1920, La Follette rejected the nomination because he did not want to ally himself with this expression of labor liberalism, because he felt it was a class party.

It will be interesting to watch what action, if any, the National Socialist Party will take regarding this trade between Berger and La Follette.

In New York City we have another expression of the Socialist united front. There the Socialist Party invites the Single Taxers, an aggregation of capitalist reformers with a nostrum for the solution of the land problem, to unite with them for the capture of political office.

Yet this is but a logical development of "Socialist" policies during the last three years, a continuous drifting away from Socialist fundamentals.

Against this job-hunger program stands the united front tactic of the Communist movement, seeking to unite all labor in the struggle against capitalism, politically and industrially. The Communist United Front is a struggle to bring all labor together in support of fundamental working-class principles; not to array it in a chaotic, ignorant mass at the ballot box for the purpose of giving some one a job.

Berger is doing the Communist movement a service by clarifying this issue as between the united front of Communism and the political trading of the Socialist Party.

We thank him for it.

Bakhmetieff Beats It

Boris Bakhmetieff, so-called "ambassador extraordinary" of the ghost of the long gone Kerensky regime in Russia, escaped to London and Paris on June 20th.

We say "escaped" since his services as "ambassador" were to cease on June 30th, which also ended any immunity from prosecution his job carried.

So he slipped out of the country on the 20th, his going made cheerful by luncheons, dinners and banquets extended to him by "business men" who would profit by the return of czarism in Russia.

Comfortably snuggled in among the guests at a luncheon given by the Russian-American Chamber of Commerce at the Lawyers' Club we find none other than the renegade "Socialist," John Spargo, chief adviser on Russian affairs to Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor.

With him on the one hand was Franklin Remington, the Connecticut arms manufacturer, and on the other C. P. Coleman, the Delaware powder magnate. We publish the Times' list of the friends of the departed czarist Russia as follows:

> **S. R. Bertron presided at the luncheon, with Ambassador Bakhmetieff on his right and ex-Secretary of State Frank Polk on his left. Among others present were Norman H. Davies, former Assistant Secretary of State; Oscar S. Strauss, former Ambassador to Turkey; Frederic R. Coudert, H. H. Westinghouse, William H. Woodin, President of the American Car and Foundry Company; Roland H. Morris, former Ambassador in Japan; R. Fellowes Morgan, Serge Ughet, Financial Attaché of the Russian Embassy, who will now be in charge of Russian affairs in this country; Henry W. Taft, Charles H. Boynton, E. R. Thomas of the United States Steel Corporation; Charles H. Muchnic, Vice President of the American Locomotive Company; Franklin Remington, John Spargo, C. P. Coleman, Jerome Landfield and C. F. Ahlstrom.**

Spargo no doubt earned his invitation to the luncheon by a letter on "Bakhmetieff's Services" that appeared in the New York Times, June 8th, reading in part as follows:

> **"Pre-eminent among all the foes of Bolshevism, courageous in his championship of the cause of the Russian democracy, brilliant in diplomacy, this great Russian patriot has stood steadfastly against the extremes of monarchist reaction and Bolshevism."**

He has done this by getting away with $187,000,000 that belong to Soviet Russia, until in some quarters he has become known as "Get Rich Quick" Bakhmetieff.

If Gompers had not been busy at the Cincinnati A. F. of L. Convention urging his anti-Soviet resolution he would, no doubt, also have been present.

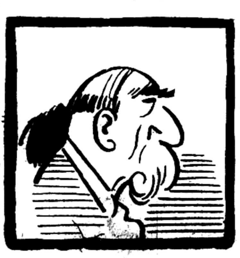
The wonder is that America's workers passively consent to a Russian policy framed by the A. F. of L. officialdom in consort with the worst exploiters of labor, the most labor-hating "open shoppers" in the land.

American labor can only redeem itself by sending Gompers and others of his ilk in quick pursuit of Bakhmetieff.

Otherwise the passing of the Russian czarist "ambassador" means but very little to the oppressed workers of the United States.

"BRAINS WIN"

No. 3



Albert Humdinger

Albert Humdinger, born poor, rose to the top by sheer grit, elected to Congress in 1920, being the choice of Merchants and Manufacturers Association, Current Events Club, the Rotary Club, and other respectable organizations. Humdinger is a brilliant orator, and a man of undoubted brain-power who would be worthy the highest office within the gift of the American people.

[illegible] Fur Workers' [illegible]

By [illegible]

The sharp divergence between the viewpoints of the Right and the Left factions at the Fur Workers Convention was perhaps most clearly revealed during the discussion of the resolutions committee report, the Right consistently upholding every reactionary and opposing every progressive project that was put forward.

Sam Cohn, a member of the Socialist Party, introduced a resolution calling for the immediate release and impartial trial of all political prisoners in Soviet Russia.

It was supported by Morris Kaufman, president of the union, and all the other Socialist delegates.

Expose Counter-Revolutionists

The Left opposed the resolution bitterly, asking why a like demand had not been made for the release of the thousands of Communists held as political prisoners in other countries, and pointing out that the "Socialist" prisoners in Russia were counter-revolutionaries who were responsible for the slaughter of thousands of Russian workers, and immeasurable damage to the Workers' Republic.

They showed, moreover, that to pass the resolution would mean serving the interests of the capitalists who were seeking to destroy the Workers' Republic. Despite this protest the resolution was passed.

The Convention, it appears, was so deeply interested in the fate of political prisoners in Russia that it could not bother with political prisoners in the United States.

The Shame of the Convention

The convention of the Fur Workers' Union, representing 10,000 workers, found that the utmost it could spare for the hundreds of men and women held in the prisons of America for fighting the battles of the American workers was $20. The Left Wing Delegation, deeply shamed by the union's action, promised me, in my capacity of representative of the National Defense Committee, that as soon as they reached New York they would donate $50 out of their own pockets for the relief and defense of political prisoners in America.

The reactionary character of the right wing delegation was again demonstrated by their response to the plea for unity in the Needle Trades made by Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and also to his request that the Fur Workers cooperate in the industrial reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

In answer to the call for unity the Left Wing New York delegation submitted a resolution on amalgamation. This resolution was not even voted upon, but was substituted by a resolution asking for an alliance of all Needle Trades.

Crush Amalgamation Move

Altho this scheme had already been tried and found to be worthless, the President and his supporters of the right crushed the movement for amalgamation by moving the acceptance of the alliance plan. The Left made a brilliant defense of amalgamation, ably demonstrating wherein it would aid and strengthen the Union, but the alliance resolution was passed by a vote of 28 to 12, a large number of delegates abstaining.

Regarding the second matter brought forward by Hillman, the question of aiding in the reconstruction of Soviet Russia, the New York Joint Board introduced a resolution to the effect that the union purchase stock to the amount of $5,000 in the Amalgamated's Russian-American Industrial Company and give full cooperation in the project. The administration substituted this resolution by another which actually meant rejection of the plan.

Decide Not to Aid Russia

The Convention decided to endorse the plan in principle but not to take any action on it until it had been studied by the Executive Board.

The Left's resolutions for the recognition and support of political parties of the working class based upon the class struggle, and having for their object the wresting of political power from the capitalist class and the abolition of capitalism, were defeated. The Rights maintained that the convention could take no action on the resolution because the convention had officially endorsed the Socialist Party.

The specific resolution for supporting the Workers Party was defeated also.

On the question of taxing the membership $2 each year for two years in order to establish a fund for the International, the president opposed the demand of the Lefts that the membership be permitted to decide upon the tax. The Left promised to do everything in their power to make the collection of the tax speedy and effective. The president, however, in spite of this assurance, took the occasion to administer another defeat to the Lefts when it would have been to his advantage to support them.

Meyer London, "Socialist" Congressman, addressed the convention and delivered some sarcastic flings against the Left and called for the unity of labor's forces upon the economic field. In part London said:

"If I were asked to give up the political or economic organizations of the workers I would say the political. It requires no sacrifice to be a Socialist or a Communist."

"There seems to be an insistent effort to smash the organization. The workers will throw out both sides. The workers will not permit the city of Moscow to disrupt their organization."

This is the kind of inspiring dope that a Socialist Congressman has to offer the convention of a labor organization.

Shapiro of New York, one of the left wing delegates, bitterly attacked the general secretary's report. For almost three-quarters of an hour he successfully met and answered all questions and insinuations hurled against him.

Shapiro Exposes Socialist

He proved thru the secretary's report that Stetsky, the leader of the attacks upon the Lefts in the convention, was receiving pay at the rate of $75 per week during the 30-weeks' strike of 1920 when it was generally understood that officers of the union and officials were to receive no pay whatsoever. He plainly demonstrated that the ardent Socialist Party member, Setsky, was in the union for the pay he would get out of it.

The question of granting a charter to the retail workers of New York was the most important controversy before the convention. The question was bitterly fought out between the Lefts and the Rights, the Lefts, representing the N. Y. Joint Board, opposing the immediate issuance of a charter, the Right with Morris Kaufman favoring it. The Right only obtained 25 votes for the issuance of a charter; the Left obtained 14 votes against it. Eight delegates however refrained from voting and three left the hall in order not to be recorded.

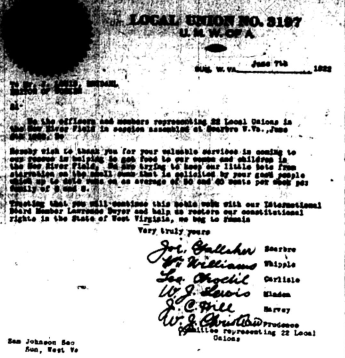
Lefts Make Brave Fight

The Lefts, tho but 11 in number (thruout the convention), put up one splendid fight after another. By the last two days their blows were beginning to tell upon the administration. They bravely bore all the abuse that was hurled upon them from the very moment the convention opened.

When the election of officers took place the administration, in order to present some semblance of unity, placed two men of the N. Y. Joint Board delegation, Brownstein and Saroff, upon the General Executive Board. The Lefts accepted the positions even tho the convention had refused to accept a single proposition that came from their side.

By his rulings thruout the convention Kaufman proved himself to be a factionalist. He adopted the narrow policy of defeating everything the Left proposed.

[illegible]



LOCAL UNION NO. 3197
U. M. W. OF A.

Sun, W. Va. June 7th 1922

To Mr. J. Louis Engdahl,
Editor of Worker

[illegible]

We the officers and members representing 22 Local Unions in the New River Field in session assembled at Scarbro W. Va., June [illegible] 1922. Do

Hereby wish to thank you for your valuable services in coming to our rescue in helping to get food to our women and children in the New River Field. We are trying to keep our little tots from starvation on the small sums that is solicited by your good people which up to date runs on an average of 30 and 40 cents per week per family of 5 and 6.

Trusting that you will continue this noble work with our International Board Member Lawrence Dwyer and help us restore our constitutional rights in the State of West Virginia, we beg to remain

Very truly yours

Joe. Gallaher Scarbro
W. Williams Whipple
Geo. [illegible] Carlisle
W. J. Lewis Minden
J. C. Hill Harvey
W. J. [illegible] Prudence
Committee representing 22 Local Unions

Sam Johnson Sec
Sun, West Va

Brooklyn Bakers Help

Acknowledgement is made of the gift of Brooklyn bakers to the striking West Virginia coal miners in the following letter:

Dear Sir and Brother—I am in receipt of the freight bill you sent me in which two bags of flour and seven bags of beans had been shipped.

We certainly appreciate the action of Brooklyn Bakers' Union, Local No. 3, in guaranteeing the payment of this amount of foodstuff.

Please extend our thanks to this Local Union as it would be impossible for me to even begin to write what I feel, when notified that our brother unionists awake to the fact of our great need, and respond so handsomely to the call.

Trusting you will do everything in person that I cannot do on paper in thanking theses brothers, I remain, with every good wish,

John Gatherum,
Secretary-Treasurer, Dist. No. 29.

Like State of Siege

With the coal barons shutting off the water supply, the coal strike around Beckley, West Va., is beginning to resemble a state of siege, according to a letter just received here as follows:

Beckley, W. Va., June 6, 1922.
Mr. Lawrence Dwyer,
New York City.

Dear Comrade:—Mr. J. E. Kershner has just brought me the news from Mabscott that on Saturday the New River Co. put up notices at Mabscott saying that the mines would be open on Monday.

Not a man responded to the Company's call to go to work there yesterday, and this morning the water was cut off from the town controlled by the Coal Company. Rather like a state of siege in war, with the enemy in control of the water supply."

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) Jno. Gatherun,
Secretary District No. 29.

Red International Asks World Labor Aid Miners

(Continued from Page One)

your labor from being utilised to reduce the wages of your American class brothers and take the bit of bread out of their mouths.

Miners! Get into touch at once with the transport workers, the railwaymen and the seamen, in order to aid them in exercising international solidarity. The seamen, railwaymen and transport workers must refuse to transport coal to America.

Railwaymen, Seamen and Transport Workers! Help the miners!

Workers, Class Comrades! If you do not help yourselves, no one will help you. Learn from your defeats; close your ranks for joint action. The adherents of the Red Trade Union International in your countries will help you to organise this defensive struggle!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

For the Executive Bureau
of the
Red Trade Union International
Heinrich Brandler

LEAVENWORTH, Kansas.—Writing privileges have been taken away from James Rowan, I. W. W. war-opinion prisoner, for three months because he wrote a letter to the General Defense Committee in Chicago reporting that Roy Conners, a fellow-prisoner, had been placed in isolation for violating some rule in the federal penitentiary here. At last reports, Connors was so weak that he could not stand up.

Colored people of Washington, D. C., incensed at the segregation of colored guests at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on May 30, are asking the dismissal of Col. C. C. Sherrill, superintendent of capitol grounds and buildings, at whose door the segregation order is laid.

Foster Says Supreme Test Is Facing the Railroaders at Last

(Continued from Page One)

brothers of the coal pits, but are actually busy hauling scab coal all over the country. This is aiding the operators directly to break the strike of the miners.

And when the railroad men helped the steel magnates to break the steel workers' strike and the coal operators to break the coal miners' strike, they have been helping their o masters to lay shackles on them.

Likewise, in their own struggles, they have refused to help each other. The various sections or groups of unions have stood aside and watched the others go before the executioners, which are the Railroad Labor Board; with the consequence that all of them have been defeated one after the other.

Now they are paying the penalty for their shortsightedness. The chickens of the craft division are coming home to roost.

What must be done in this crisis? Strike, of course, if the Railroad Labor Board tries to make its recent infamous decisions stand up. But not a strike of a few crafts.

Make it a strike of every railroad man in the United States. Anything short of this would be a crime.

The Railroad employers of the country are united. They are determined to crush the unions and to wipe them off the railroads.

The railroad men, therefore, must stand together in one solid body. If in this critical time the Four Brotherhoods hold aloof from the rest of the trades, as sure as fate they will pay for their treason shortly afterwards.

The companies have a rod in pickle for them, awaiting a favorable opportunity to apply it.

But far more important than eve the strike in showing that the railroad workers are determined not t allow themselves to be enslaved would be a movement for the variou organizations to join forces an merge together.

It Is Time to Act

If such a movement had bee launched by the recent Convention o the Railway Department it is ques tionable indeed if the recent ou rageous decisions regarding th Maintenance of Way and the Sho men would have been handed dow

But when the Convention refuse to adopt a single measure tending t develop the solidarity and strengt of the organizations it was th much encouragement for the emplo ers to go on with their attacks.

It showed that the railroad wor ers are not yet ready to take th fight seriously. But better late tha never.

As one reply to the open sho drive of the companies, the railroa men should and must combine al their forces into one gigantic army.

The situation demands this heroic measure. To do less means to walk into the shambles.

It is time for the railroad men o America to act, and to act unitedly.

A PUZZLE FOR HEARST.

The Hearst paper of Los Angeles, California, The Examiner, bears a inscription on every page of tha sheet: "Los Angeles Examiner—a paper for people who think." O the editorial page of the same paper June 13, under the heading: Star and Stripes, it says "DO NOT THINK WORK." This is wha the exploiters want exactly. Yo workers do not have to think, a you have to do is—work, for twenty five cents an hour, about ten o twelve hours a day—those of yo who work. If you dare think an think right then there is the jail an its dungeons ready to hury you aliv for such impudence. Leave all th thinking to Hearst and his ilk. Th advice of "DO NOT THINK—WORK," is of course, for those wh are fortunate enough to have wor But what shall the unemployed who are advised not to think whi at the same time the interests who Hearst's sheets represent will n give them a job to work at?

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Gompers' War on Federated Press Bared

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor has entered into a conspiracy with the capitalist press to destroy the Federated Press and all labor papers that do not servilely support the Gompers' administration.

To this conspiracy, the delegates from the Ladies' Garment Workers, with the exception of Luigi Antonini, are parties.

It is the intention to throttle every organ of publicity except the capitalist press and reactionary "labor" papers.

Gather in Kentucky Road House

For the purpose of launching this conspiracy the executive committee of the A. F. of L., correspondents of the capitalist press and delegates from the Ladies' Garment Workers attended a meeting held last Monday night in a well-known roadhouse on the Kentucky side of the river.

All arrangements for the meeting were made by a representative of the New York World. Robert Buck of the New Majority, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Laurence Todd of the Federated Press and the representative of Labor, the official organ of the railway organizations, were not invited.

The meeting was in the nature of a love-feast. Gompers eulogised the reporters of the capitalist press and they returned the compliment.

Not to be outdone in the matter of prostitution by the reporter of the capitalist sheets, Yanofsky of the Ladies Garment Workers, an anarchist by the way, mounted the mourners bench and told amidst tears how Gompers had converted him to the gospel of pure and simple trade-unionism.

He publicly repented of his former misdeeds committed under the influence of the horrible reds, and to the sound of tumultuous applause was admitted into the fold in company with Benjamin Schlesinger and other erring brothers.

Resolution Before Convention

Now as to the results of this meeting to date. Like his tutor, Woodrow Wilson, Gompers forces the converts to prove their sincerity.

They must abase themselves before the shrine, foreswear their former friends and immediately perform some act of loyalty to the new god.

So it is that Matthew Woll and a few more trusties have introduced a resolution aimed at the Federated Press.

The delegation from the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are now committed to this resolution. It may be that they will be allowed to refrain from voting or even to vote against it, but when they do not fight it with all their power, they betray their membership and the labor movement.

Here is another proof of the close relationship between Gompers, Schlesinger, the capitalist press, the reactionary officialdom of the New York Labor Movement and the New York Call.

Schlesinger complained to Gompers that the Federated Press was doing what he called "the right thing."

In other words, the Federated Press is sending out a truthful report of his trafficking with the Gompers machine.

Call Under Gompers' Thumb

Gompers had the New York Times correspondent call up the secretary of the New York Central Labor Council and tell him to have the New York Call send a correspondent to Cincinnati. The secretary of the central labor council ordered The Call to send a correspondent and that correspondent is now here. Gompers has the Call under his thumb as this incident shows conclusively.

Furthermore, the delegation of the Ladies' Garment Workers, with the exception of Antonini, are preparing to betray the political prisoners still in the jails of this nation, by endorsing the report of Lucy Robbins which declared that there are no political prisoners in the United States.

If they do not do so it will be because this article arouses their membership to protest.

The suspicion aroused by the appearance of Gompers on behalf of Schlesinger at the Cleveland convention of the Ladies' Garment Workers is now a certainty.

This abject support and whining eulogy of Gompers does not mean merely that the Garment Workers are to take a passive instead of an active part in the deliberations of the A. F. of L. as they have in the past.

It means instead that they have lined up with the Gompers machine against the railwaymen, the miners and all other progressive elements.

Grand Pic-Nic and Outing
at ASSOCIATION PARK
Myrtle Ave. and 109th St.
Richmond Hill, Brooklyn, N. Y.
on JULY 4th.
Auspices **Young Workers League, Williamsburg Lithuanian Br.**

Forced to Fight

It is not an inspiring picture that the railroad workers present as they are being kicked into a fight by the railroad barons and their tools on the railroad labor board.

In the words of John L. Lewis, president of the coal miners, "The railroad workers have no alternative but to fight." And the strike is set for July 1st.

Thus joint strike-action may be secured between the coal miners and the railroad workers, not because these organizations are finally listening to the advice of the more advanced elements in these two organizations, but because, and again in the words of Lewis, the workers in the mining and rail industries were "being driven by force of circumstances to a more frank recognition of their mutual interests and to a realization that they must exert their collective strength."

The miners and railroaders have refused to recognize the intellectual appeal for united action. They are being stirred to action, however, by the cry of their loved ones, for bread, for the right to live.

The great economic forces at work in compelling these workers to get together are revealed in a letter sent to the railroad board by the officials of the railroad unions.

This letter reveals that the rail workers have been brought face to face with pauperism before they are ready to unite forces to fight back. Important paragraphs from this letter follow:

> **"The right to at least live is fundamental, but your decisions deprive a large number of railroad workers of even this elementary right. Men in America cannot be expected to work for public utilities only to see their children undernourished and doomed to a premature death, or if they do survive the almost intolerable conditions imposed by your decisions, to be destined to go thru life without an education or the opportunity to realize a healthy and decent existence.**
>
> **"Neither can they be expected to accept as the fruits of their labor poverty or a life cycle for themselves and their families which embraces the constant apprehension of passing from a bare subsistence to actual pauperism, with the stigma of the potters' field as the ultimate goal. And yet your decisions sentence thousands—even hundreds of thousands of railway workers—to these conditions, altho representatives from among them, together with their wives and little children, appeared before you and in their simple and straightforward way gave indisputable testimony of these pitiable conditions, which was later buttressed and rendered impregnable by documentary testimony based on the results of the studies of authoritative economists, public health officials and public agencies such as the Children's Bureau of the Federal Government.**
>
> **"Your further statement that you will give consideration to the living wage principle when the railroad properties are financially rehabilitated is not reassuring. You thus give further confirmation of the fact that your entire attitude is one of subordination of human rights and standards to property rights."**

Let the workers in these two great basic industries watch their leaders who now confess that lack of solidarity has failed, that unity of all labor's forces is the demand of the hour.

Let the workers force their officials to translate their words into deeds. Forward to a real United Front of the coal miners and railroaders.

All Legitimate Business

The National City Bank of New York, that "Jim" Stillman made famous thru his matrimonial troubles, celebrated its 110th anniversary on June 16th.

The self-adulation of this great financial institution prompted it to put page advertisements in all the great capitalist dailies, proclaiming that:

"The National City Bank of New York has been here with its doors open to all LEGITIMATE business every busines day of these 110 years."

It further went on to say that:

"It began in 1812 with $800,000 of capital. Its capital assets today, together with those of the National City Company, aggregate $125,000,000, with total resources of more than $800,000,000. It has 72 offices in 22 foreign countries."

It points out that the record it has made in the past qualifies it for service in the future. We do not doubt that, service in the interests of the capitalist class.

The National City Bank is a Harriman Bank therefore interested in railroads, and prosperous because railroad workers are having their wages slashed to the starvation point. That is "legitimate" business.

This bank is happy because it has 72 offices in 22 foreign countries. That means it has followed the flag with a vengeance in the exploitation of other peoples. It has probably made loans, or been instrumental in having loans made to other nations; loans that must be collected thru new wars, thru the shedding of blood and the destruction of wealth the workers have produced. But that is "legitimate" business.

At the behest of the profit-hungry apetite of this bank, the government at Washington has entered upon those imperialistic policies that are crushing the aspirations of the peoples of Haiti, Porto Rico, Santa Domingo, the Central American states, the Philippines and other nations too helpless to keep out of the clutches of United States politicians and profiteers. But that is "legitimate" business.

The National City Bank has been able to amass resources of nearly a billion dollars only because the great masses of the workers are becoming, more and more, penniless paupers, unable to meet even their daily needs because this great Moloch of wealth must have its profits.

Robbery is the "legitimate" business of the great financial institutions of the United States. They get their "interest" and it is legal for them to get it.

Some day the workers will consider it just as "legitimate" to take it all back again. On that day we will be hurrying on the way to the new social order where the few will be unable to take great pride in the fact that they have prospered at the expense and thru the suffering of the many.

JOIN THE THRONG OF "SUB" HUSTLERS
Help Boost the 25,000 Readers Campaign

Every passing day brings new supporters, new subscription workers in the 25,000 new readers campaign which THE WORKER is carrying on.

From all points, North, South, East and West arrive letters, lists of subscriptions and inquiries showing that comrades everywhere are taking up the work of getting their share of these 25,000 new WORKER readers. They're gleaning in their own fields and getting results.

And, after all, isn't that the WORKER readers' job—getting these 25,000 new readers. We think it is. We think that every reader who endorsed THE WORKER has a direct obligation to THE WORKER. OUR work is to make THE WORKER a worth-while paper, to improve it, to make of it an instrument the workers can use in their struggle with the enemy. Then YOUR job begins—the circulation, the use made of this weapon—that is largely up to our readers.

It's a co-operative job, we have our part, you have yours. If we both do our best, if we work together to the best interests of our common cause, success will surely follow.

We know, it is being proved to us every day, that it IS easy to get 20 week subscriptions at the price we have made—50 cents. A growing number of comrades in cities, towns and villages are proving this to any body's satisfaction. IT IS BEING DONE. IT CAN BE DONE IN YOUR CITY, TOWN OR VILLAGE.

It's up to you, you who read these lines. We hope you accept the responsibility for getting YOUR share of these new WORKER readers in your locality, your union, your club, among your associates. And your share is just as many as you can get!

YOU be the one to get them!

Launch Trade Union Educational League in New York, June 26

What promises to be one of the most important events in the history of the local radical labor movement will take place when the New York section of the Trade Union Educational League is officially launched Monday evening, June 26, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St.

The progressive trade's-unionists have been looking forward for a long time for this opportunity to become active in spreading the message of militant unionism amongst the A. F. of L. and other unions in this city.

At this meeting the program of the League will be fully explained and plans will be brought forward for pushing the work and making it popular amongst the wide awake trades-unionists. In addition elections for officers and Executive Board will take place.

The Provisional Organizational Committee which is calling the meeting wishes to announce that the local organization will adhere strictly to the policies of the National League, which is purely an educational and propaganda body devoted to the spread of militant industrial unionism, for the purpose of building the existing unions. The League is financed entirely by the voluntary contributions of its sympathizers. All forward-looking trades-unionists, regardless of party affiliation who are in accord with the objects of the League should attend this meeting and thus lay the cornerstone for a radical labor movement in this city.

Progressive Workers Form Industrial Unity League

Seeing the necessity of more unity of purpose and action within the ranks of the independent unions, a number of progressive workers in New York have formed the League for Industrial Unity.

The purpose of the new league is to unite all progressive elements in the independent unions into industrial committees for the purpose of working for the amalgamation of all independent unions in each industry into one industrial union, and carrying on an active propaganda for Industrial Unionism and unity of action.

Industrial meetings have been held at which the following officers and organizers were elected: M. E. Emerson, recording secretary; Patrick J. McClellan, General Chairman; Obermeier, organizer of the Food Workers Committee; Jos. E. Kucher, organizer of the Metal Workers Comittee; McClellan, organizer of the Public Service committee; and Sam Levine, organizer of the Shoe Workers committee.

The headquarters of the League is at 81 E. 10th St., top floor, New York City, and office hours are from 12 noon to 7 P. M.

Next General Meeting Friday June 30, 8 P. M., 81 E. 10. St.

BACK TO NORMALCY.

MASON CITY, IOWA.—One evening a week ago, the following ad appeared in the "Globe-Gazette," daily capitalist newspaper here:

WANTED—Truck driver, steady work. Northern Lbr. Co.

What was the astonishment of the manager of the Northern Lumber Co., to find before his office door next morning two long lines of men, 175 in number, a bystander said.

"Good Lord! What does this mean?" ejaculated the manager.

"We're looking for that job you advertised last night," was shouted at him.

Sorry that he could do nothing for the men, the manager had to report that the job had been filled the same evening the "ad" appeared.

Regardless of the fact that many seasonal jobs for the summer only have opened up, unemployment here is very serious. All indications point to a hard and bitter winter for the large numbers of workers who are now employed at odd jobs during the summer months.

DON'T BE FOOLISH—

And hold street meetings without copies of THE WORKER on sale.

And let your listeners go away without a chance to buy a pamphlet telling more about your subject than you have been able to get across.

And hold picnics with hundreds of "new" workers present and have no WORKERS, no literature, no Workers Party membership application cards and no subscription cards on hand.

BE PRACTICAL

Order a bundle of WORKERS sufficient to cover every meeting you will hold during the week.

Order 20-week sub cards to sell at these meetings and upon every occasion to new subscribers.

The Workers Party Literature Department has thousands of copies of various books and pamphlets that should be sold at your meetings, picnics, etc.

Order a quantity. Tighten up the loose screws in your organization machinery. Make it function 100 per cent.

Labor's War on Supreme Court Raises [illegible] Problem

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The utter blindness and black reaction of the little group of financial and industrial oligarchs who reign unchecked in America to-day creates some peculiar problems for the revolutionary movement to solve.

There is a liberal sentiment in the United States represented by such men as La Follette, Borah, in the senate, Oscar Garrison Villard, the New Republic group, the more radical Freeman, the supporters of the Civil Liberties Union; a number of ministers of the various interpretations of gospel, and a considerable number of lawyers and men and women of other professions.

There is the American Federation of Labor which is neither liberal nor radical, officially, but which quite often, as for instance on the question of the recognition of the Soviet government, is more reactionary than the state department.

All these groups from time to time make proposals which they believe will make for increased happiness and security of livelihood for the masses of the people.

Never do the revolutionary working-class organizations see eye to eye with these groups in the matter of methods and measures.

Generally speaking, it is enough to secure condemnation for ameliorative measures from the revolutionary organizations for them to be what they are or for them to emanate from liberal or backward labor groups.

Reactions Clever Propaganda

Consequently, it has often happened in the past, that the capitalist press and the revolutionary press gave voice to the same bitter opposition to proposals for immediate relief from some crying evil altho for different motives.

Nevertheless, the conservative labor officialdom of this country has found in this phenomenon a weapon ready to their hand.

The propaganda against the revolutionary movement they have found most effective is the pointing out of concrete instances where revolutionists have been dividing labor on issues which labor was willing and ready to fight.

Fight for Existence

This brings me to an immediate question which the convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session possesses for the revolutionists of the United States.

The Supreme Court, by its decision in the Coronado case, places all labor organizations and even the co-operative organizations of the farmers at the mercy of the organized exploiting interests who have shown only too plainly their intention to eliminate all organizations of the toilers no matter how conservative they may be.

By its decision on the child-labor law the Supreme Court re-affirms its position as the foremost agency of Capitalist government.

These are two facts that not even the most guileless and optimistic liberal or standpat labor leader will dispute and on this one issue, if on nothing else, the American Federation of Labor, the international officers and the affiliated membership will fight. It is a fight for existence.

Hope for Plan of Action

Senator La Follette, the best-hated man in the legislative halls of this nation, was brought to the convention by the executive council of the A. F. of L. for the purposes of arousing the delegates to the danger their organizations faced, indicating plainly that this opponent of the war was once more persona grata with the Gompers group, and to outline a plan of action.

La Follette delivered a denunciation of the Supreme Court and its successful attempts to override the expressed will of Congress that inflamed the delegates to a high pitch of resentment, that created a bitter hatred for the employers and their instrument—the Supreme Court. His speech was a phillipic, bulwarked by cunning logic—if we accept the premise, as the delegates did, that democracy can exist in a class society—that will rank with the classics of invective.

But what remedy did he advocate? Did he say that the Supreme Court, having usurped its authority, had forfeited its right to exact obedience to its mandates? No, indeed.

What he proposed was something that actually recognizes that stolen authority by enacting a measure to regulate it.

Peculiar La Follette Remedy

He suggested a constitutional amendment giving Congress the right to re-pass a law declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and thereby put it into effect.

To this the delegates agreed with delirious enthusiasm which left no doubt in the mind of an observer that they believed La Follette had hit upon a scheme for circumventing the cunning employers.

In practice this proposal simply means that the real rulers would devote a little more attention to Congress and that seats in that body might become as valuable as those on the Supreme bench.

In a nation where the ability to give or deny employment is vested in a few individuals and where all educational and publicity channels are well controlled this is a harmless scheme so far as curbing the power of the capitalist class is concerned.

Most revolutionists will dismiss it with a shrug of the shoulders and it has already been ridiculed in the radical press.

Capitalist Sheet Frantic

Let us see what the big capitalists think of this typical reform that is to be brought about by reformistic methods for which there is adequate constitutional precedent.

The Cincinnati Enquirer is an organ of what La Follette calls "big business." It is owned by the McLaine family who also own the Washington Post. Both are organs of the black reaction mentioned in the beginning of this article.

Ned McLaine, of the Washington Post, is the personal friend and adviser of President Harding. There is no more uncompromising hater of labor in the United States.

The views expressed by these papers are the views of the gigantic plunderbund which decides the destinies of the workers of this nation.

On the day following LaFollette's speech the Enquirer carried an editorial entitled "Crush This Infamous Thing!" I quote the most important paragraphs:

> **"Aimed at the very heart of the American form of representative government is the shaft of United States Senator Robert M. La Follette, loosed in the presence of the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Not Lenine nor yet Trotsky could have devised a more perfect engine of destruction than he proposed.**
>
> **"What he advocates is the overturning of the work of the Fathers who wrote that greatest of all instruments—greater even than the Magna Charta—the Federal Constitution, which has stood, Gibraltar-like, against insidious nullifications, armed treason and demagogic attack for a century and a half and today serves as a model for the breed of young republics just born of travail and the war against kings.**
>
> **"Today there is rising a protest against the merging of the legislative and executive departments and President Harding sits in the White House largely on that account.**
>
> **"The Wisconsin senator now proposes that all three departments shall be forcibly united and power given to Congress to hold sway over life and property, that the Judges shall sit at the feet of the majority in legislative halls and that the congressional roll-call shall take the place of substantive justice while the chained executive enforces its decrees.**
>
> **"Were it not from the lips of LaFollette the proposal would be set down as refined folly, and were it not rebellious it would be regarded as ridiculous. As for him who advocates this anarchy and for those who applauded his detestable act, here is a couplet that well fits the situation, a situation, it may be said that horrifies the true lover of good government. It is this:**
>
> **"No rogue e'er felt the halter draw**
> **"'With good opinion of the law.'"**

Thus speaketh the dictatorship of American capital. And now, fellow-revolutionists, I ask you: What are we going to do about it?

Can we, dare we, while calling for a united front against American capitalism, afford to give only lip-service to the struggle to which the trade-union movement has pledged itself?

It seems to me that we should not only join in, but lead, the fight. If we cannot do this and at the same time keep the issue clear we are not what we claim to be—the vanguard of the workers of the United States.

MEETINGS FOR MINERS.

There will be a meeting for the coal miners' relief this Saturday night, at Rockaway Beach, Beach 84th St. Speakers: J. Louis Engdahl, Fannie Jacobs, Marcell Sherer and Jeanette D. Pearl. Comrades living in Rockaway are urged to help make the meeting a big success.

World Labor Plans War to Fight Famine

An international conference of the workers' famine relief organizations of more than 20 countries met in Berlin on June 21. The Friends of Soviet Russia is represented by three delegates, one being from the Canadian section.

This is one of the most important conferences that have taken place in recent years.

Encouraging Reports from the Volga

"Reports from the Volga region indicate that the deathlike grip that the famine had on the life of the people is relaxing somewhat.

On the other hand, the famine is spreading in the Ukraine. The food in the "granary" of Soviet Russia has been eaten up—it has been used to help the other provinces—and starvation will face the population till the next harvest.

Machinery Great Need

The great need is for machinery of every character. The safety of Soviet Russia depends on whether she can procure machinery of every type and form. But above all she needs farming machinery, in order that the largest crops possible may be obtained.

It will be the big problem at the Berlin Famine Relief Conference to devise ways and means of procuring this machinery, despite the prohibition of the capitalist governments. Soviet Russia's offer of concessions to the capitalist governments and capitalist concerns is an offer to the whole world—an offer that the Berlin Conference will weigh.

The building up of Russian industries depends on the co-operation of the workers of America, in particular, since America is best equipped with machinery and American workers are best able economically to help Soviet Russia.

* * *

DETROIT F. S. R. PICNIC.

Detroit Branch of the F. S. R. will hold a real international picnic July 4th, at the South Slavic Picnic Grounds.

To get to the grounds take a Woodward car and get off at the Stevenson line. Take the Stevenson car to Remington Ave. and walk two blocks, following the signs.

FARM UNIT SAILS.

The remaining members of the First Agricultural Commune of the New York branch Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, have sailed from this port for Russia.

They will join the first contingent of this unit which arrived in Russia early in April and settled on a large estate in the province of Tambov. The tract embraces 3,000 acres of land with buildings, a large fruit orchard, some live stock, and an apiary. Still another group will sail early in July, the Society announces.

The Society for Technical Aid also is planning to send a group to the Lettish Co-operatives in Petrograd composed of textile, shoemaking, metalurgical, shipbuilding, construction and agricultural workers. Full information will be given on application to the Lettish Co-operatives, Central Bureau, Room 603, No. 110 West 40th Street, New York City.

Unlimited admission of organized groups into Russia, provided they are equipped with tools, provisions, etc., is provided by a resolution of the Russian Council of Labor and Defense.

Activities of S. T. A. S. R.

Comr. Allen Broms is delivering a series of lectures at the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, 240 East 23rd St. The lectures are well attended by the English speaking groups of the society. The next series will take place on Wednesdays every week, at 8 P. M.

Thursday, June 29, at 8 P. M., Comrade Ben Gitlow will deliver a lecture at the Technical Aid on "The New Economic Policy of Soviet Russia" and the help which American workers are requested to give to Russia. All invited.

SELL FIVE CARDS

WILL YOU sell five 20 week sub cards for THE WORKER?
WILL YOU pay for them in advance?
WILL YOU help do what must be done?
YOU WILL—sign the blank and mail.

THE WORKER
799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.

Enclosed find $2.50 for which send me five 20 week subscription cards.

Name ....
Address ....
City .... **State** ....

La Follette Shadow Blots out Wisconsin Socialism, 59 to 47

By THURBER F. LEWIS

(Special to The Worker)

MILWAUKEE, Wisc.—La Follette is a big man in his way. Any "socialist" would be proud of his record in the Senate. His stand on the war is now looked back on with admiration. He's made it a bit hot for the profiteers. He talks in terms of public ownership of industry. For all this, the workers and farmers of Wisconsin idolize him. A great many of them know he is a politician, a very ambitious one, but "he's done things" they will tell you. From even Victor Berger's annual German electorate come songs of praise. On all this the Socialist Party of Wisconsin looks with much misgiving.

Climb on La Follette Band Wagon.

This case of La Follette has been stirring the party for many months. It came to a head at the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin held in Milwaukee, June 17th.

Briefly put: La Folette's re-elecion is due at the November polls. That's a dead certainty, and every one knows it. The question for the "S. P." was whether or not to run against him.

The "Big Fellows" Berger, Hoan, Seidel, et al. decided it unwise to put up a candidate against him. Of course that settled the matter; but there was sport watching them put it over. You see there are still left a lot of "Hard Shelled" Socialists who can't see this compromise business.

It had been the hope of the "big fellows" to pass the thing quietly and quickly at the convention. As Seidel explained, it was a bit embarrassing to have this thing get around. Bad for party prestige and all that, you know. But it had to be done—publicity or none.

Obey Chicago Conference.

The principle discusion was on a resolution, which asked for a blank ballot against La Folette. A rider trying to explain it away expressed appreciation for La Follette's war and labor legislation record, pointed out the action was in keeping with the Chicago Conference on coalition, and by way of amends panned La Follette for staying with the G. O. P.

When you go about Milwaukee you see on the billboards Milwaukee is the center of Socialism in America. It isn't hard to believe that, and it's still easier to find what a sorry center it makes. This convention then of 114 delegates you might say was the convention of the "center of Socialism in America." Hence it is fair to look upon the emanations of that gathering as a more or less true echo of the Socialism of the country. For truth to tell even the socialists will grant it their last stronghold.

Work Doesn't Like La Follette

It was with a heavy heart that John M. Work opened the evening session by reading a Federated Press dispatch from Cincinnati. It told how La Follette was greeted with a thunderous ovation and how he stirred emotions of gratitude seldom witnessed among labor gatherings. It had been previously pointed out that the seamen and rail road workers would hear of none but La Follette, and how the Farmers fell on his every word.

I don't like La Follette, continues John. I think him a very selfish man and a very ambitious politician. But what are we to do? They worship him, how are we to expect the support of the farmers and trade unionists at the coming Chicago Conference if we buck La Follette here.

That was the key note. Every move, every word is shadowed by the soon-to-be grand coalition with the liberal and labor elements that alone can save the skin of what is left of the S. P.

But the "Hard Shells" would hear of nothing of the sort. It was naked and unmitigated compromise and that's all there was to it. If La Follette is a scoundrel we must do all we can to make it miserable for him

Must Play the Game

"But don't you see," from Seidel. "He's got the election anyway, and we've got to learn to 'play the game a little'." As if they hadn't been playing it for years.

Compromise? Why, Comrade Weber knows all about that. We're all compromises. I'm a compromise. Didn't my father and mother compromise to bring me here? And then he tells how it was only a compromise back in 1909 or so when he and some other socialist legislators were in the state house, that succeeded in passing the historic workmen's compensation act.

Another showed how it was a coalition between the Catholics and Socialists of Germany that brought peace to the world. The great British Labor Movement is built on compromise.

Then they looked for precedents. Lots of them. Didn't we run a blank ballot against so and so in such and such a year. Pshaw, and as for playing the game how many tymes haven't we put a convenient pole or a handy half dozen Germans on the ballot to catch the uncertain votes.

Seidel Is Irrepressible

The irrepressible Seidel again: What do we care about the senatorial elections anyway, doesn't our constitution demand the abolition of the Senate.

But here was the argument that was to lay low even the most stubborn opposition. La Follette has built up a big following in Wisconsin. A great deal of it is good material. La Follette is an old man, he can't last for ever. The Socialist Party is the natural inheritor of the La Follette camp. Which is to say, if the Socialist Party of Wisconsin outlives La Follette it may amount to something yet.

It was an outsider, asked to speak who sprung the forbidden subject of a "deal" between La Follette and Berger whereby Berger would get La Follette support in the Fifth Congressional district if the "S. P." refrained from running for the Senate.

"Capitalist Newspapers", shouted Berger. Whereupon one wondered, glancing at the excellent sport page and capacious advertising of his "Leader" just what a capitalist newspaper is.

"Compromise!" the Watchword

And so it went. Compromise is the watch word of the Socialist Party. But it must be. They are too weak to stand on their own legs. Here in Wisconsin especially do they know their rope is about at the end. The next Milwaukee municipals are going to sweep the social democrats from the city hall. There is no hope of getting back except thru compromise. They are willing it seems, and their opportunism urges them to choose any political bedfellows that can accomplish the restoration.

As for the convention, it was another of a long series of socialist, I had almost said bedroom, farces. A grand sight it was indeed to see these erstwhile followers of the Liebknechts (the convention was ninety percent German), crying for compromise and political trading.

But even in the staid old social democracy of Wisconsin, the Custer's last stand of the S. P. of A., there is trouble. At the convention one heard threats of withdrawal. The voting was dangerously close, fifty-nine in favor of La Follette, forty-seven against.

Prospects for Berger

There is another left wing in the S. P. It is a left wing composed of the 1910 type of socialist. They are not "left" because they are moving in that direction, but because the rest of the Party is moving so far to the right.

One must admit the S. P. to be still something of a power in Wisconsin. But the end is not far off. The next time Berger gets to the door (he has got no farther for years), of the House it will probably be as a member of the United Federation of Political Trading and Compromise Leagues.

The attempt to open six big cotton mills at Manchester, N. H., closed by the textile strike since Feb. 13, so far has been practically a complete failure. When the whistle blew to call the 25,000 workers into the mills there were thousands of striking workers gathered in the vicinity of the mills, but only a few scores responded. The rest remained quietly outside.

Communist[illegible] [illegible] War Will Eng[illegible] [illegible] "Shell" and The Hague

(Continued from Page One)

patrons, pocketed his pride and with it the pride of his patrons.

In their interest and at their behest he consented to grasp "murder" (Soviet Russia) by the hand.

Poincare

The French Premier, M. Briand, having acquiesced in that which he saw no immediate way to prevent, returned to Paris and there fell a victim to the equally intelligible and intelligent policy of the French industrialists.

Millerand (sometime attorney to the Comite des Forges), President of the Republic, thereupon called on Poincare (sometime attorney to the Comite des Forges, the Comite des Houilleres [Coal Owners' Council] and the Association of Chemical Industries to form an alternative Ministry.

Poincare, the willing tool of the Schneider Bank, the instrument of the Banque de l'Union Parisienne and the Banque de Paris, became Premier of France.

Poincare did not approve of the manner of the holding of the Conference, much less of some of the participants.

He did not himself attend. He did not permit to his delegates a free hand. The spokesman of France, like the spokesman of Russia, had to refer matters to those from whom they had their mandate.

Capitalism vs. Communism.

The one party had to consult the agent of the Banks. The other had to have resort to the agent of the toiling masses.

It was not merely Barthou vs. Tchitcherin nor even Poincaré vs. Lenin. It was Capitalism vs. Communism.

Whenever there was a possibility of an understanding between Britain and Italy on one hand and Russia and Germany upon the other, Poincare (over the wire from Paris) [illegible] some difficulty.

If he erred from his labors in the service of plutocracy, his colleague, Theunis, Premier of Belgium, put in a spoke.

Between them—these creatures of the allied banking houses of Paris and Brussels, the political office boys of the Banque de l'Union Parisienne and its participating partner, the Societe Generale de Belgique, found a way, upon every available occasion, to prevent Russia and Britain coming to an economic and political accord.

The Sorrows of David

The British Premier's troubles are exceedingly complex.

He is the leader of a coalition of parties, representing the divergent viewpoints of different sections of the capitalist class in an empire which is no longer possessed of the economic and armed might which has been traditionally theirs, and by means of which alone their prestige and power can be maintained.

Within British capitalism goes on an intense struggle: creditors who have come to the assistance of industrialists endeavouring to expand the productive capacity of their undertakings, mortgage-burdened industrialists striving to dodge foreclosure and surrender.

Simultaneously goes on an equally intense struggle between the creditors of the British Treasury and the British Government, in which the latter is endeavouring to keep intact the resources of its masters (the British Imperialists) and the former are endeavouring to exploit the opportunity to blackmail the Empire—for concessions, and for an abandonment of its habit of putting up all over the planet that most characteristic emblem of England—"Trespassers will be Prosecuted."

[illegible]

"The industrialists are [illegible] committed to a policy of [illegible] self-assertion. They must [illegible] markets. They must have adequate reserves of raw material. They cannot afford to become dependent on the goodwill of the United States.

The merchants and the investing classes would prefer, no doubt, to possess unlimited political power. It is not, however—so highly impersonal is the organization of credit facilities and investment services—absolutely indispensable. They have acquired the habit of drawing their income from transactions in the innumerable commodities of all the lands subject to capitalist exploitation. For fifty years they have received their dividends from the United States, even as, for twenty years, they and their French and Belgian counterparts have derived profits from mining, railway and ranching properties in South and Central Africa.

Between the British autocracy and "the Upper Four Hundred" of New York "Society" there exists a very intimate relationship—of consanguinity, culture and property. This should never be forgotten.

Material Basis of Pro-French Politics

The English middle-class on the other hand—whose members have adequate incomes, but do not operate business on the grand scale—find in the French type of company opportunities to invest their savings here, there and everywhere, in profitable ventures imposing neither responsibilities nor personal association with the property. Hence there are, in the shareholding classes of this country, tendencies pre-disposing them to sympathy with the ideas which the Daily Mail ennunciates.

[illegible] The Morning Post went so far in its [illegible] of Marxian theory as to make allusion to "Oil [illegible]." Wickham Steed, of the Times, had also nasty remarks to make about the odor of [illegible] which pervaded the assemblage.

Rumors came thick and fast of negotiations in hand or of agreements arrived at between the "Royal-Dutch-Shell" and the Soviet Government. Whence they emanated no one seems to be willing to disclose. Both the "Royal Dutch" and the Soviet delegates were emphatic in their denial that an agreement had been arrived at. The American Ambassador at Rome, the American Government and the whole entourage of the Standard Oil Company and the Standard Franco-American present in Europe were loud in their denunciation of any such concession as was alleged.

Swelling the chorus of protest rose, also, the strident voices of the Belgian oil interests.

What was all the noise about, and what is the significance of the attempt to adjourn to the Hague?

Why The Hague?

"The Royal Dutch Company for the Exploitation of Petroleum Wells in the Netherlands Indies"—to give the "Royal Dutch" its full title in an intelligible rendering—has its head office at 30 Carel van Bylandtlaan, The Hague, Holland.

It has an enormous capital and interests all over the world. It has [illegible] persistently alleged and as [illegible] denied that the Dutch Company and its British associate and subsidiaries, the "Shell" Transport and Trading Co., Ltd., and the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company, are under the control of the British Foreign Office. The "Shell" has had for a decade, and has recently renewed for five years, an agreement whereunder it markets the production of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, a concern which is, definitely, under the control of the British Admiralty.

These two groups are, therefore, in close alliance. The one has its headquarters in Holland, the other in London.

Dutch Jews rule the Royal Dutch Company, Samuels and Rothschilds reign in the "Shell." With them are the Lazards—who made their fortunes in the Californian gold fields—and the Pearsons—who took pay for Mexican railways in Mexican oil wells.

Into the services of the Pearsons went the late Lord Murray of Elibank (after the Marconi scandal) and, also, a son of Mr. Lloyd George.

The Royal-Dutch-Shell combination has, aided by British diplomacy, in the Lloyd George period, penetrated deeply into California, and other states of the Middle West. It has, also, been very active in Egypt whilst its little brother has been digging into Mesopotamia. In 1919, it established two subsidiaries to refine and market oil in France and did enormous business with French speculators. In fact, it almost succeeded in securing a monopoly in France. In the autumn of 1920, after the San Remo Conference—mainly about oil as Spa was mainly about coal—Sir Basil Zaharoff and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company set up another petroleum marketing agency in France and its colonies.

Standard Oil Hits Back.

Earlier in the same year, however, a fly got into the ointment (or into the oil). The Standard Oil Company pushed into France and formed the Standard Franco-American, "whose capital was provided in the proportion of 49 percent by 'Standard Oil,'" and 51 percent by the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas.

The president of the new concern was the ex-Ambasador Jules Cambon.

It is this alliance of the Banque de Paris and Standard Oil which has been making trouble for Britain (just as will the Schneider Banks and the firm of J. P. Morgan and Co.).

Until Harding became President the Royal Dutch "Shell" was pressing Standard somewhat hard. In the last year or so, Standard has been driving the Royal Dutch "Shell" back.

The Dutch used to be big creditors of United States capitalism. They sold their holdings to the war-rich Americans and invested the proceeds in low-priced German properties—and in marks. In their greed for big profits, the Dutch investors have suffered enormous loss, and there have been some narrow escapes even the largest trading banks Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The banks whose moneyed men (V den Berghs and Jurgens) have foot in Holland and the other London or Hull, have been ha an uncomfortable time.

The bottom has dropped clean o of the palm, kernel and vegetable o markets and the rubber planters a shrieking despair.

These were the colonial produ in which Rotterdam (and the duce market of Mincing Lane) largely traded. That catastro weakened least the Rotterdam Bank. The collapse of the Ger exchange has pained the directors the Amsterdamsche Bank.

The other Dutch Bank is Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, e., the Bank of Paris and the Lo countries, and it is, pre-eminently, French Bank.

How They Line Up.

The Americans stand behind Jul Cambon and Eugene Schneider (i. e. behind the masters of Monsie Poincare).

The Americans, led by Secretar of State Hughes, the nominee of th Trusts, stand behind the Belgians.

The American "Equitable Life In surance Co." and the Guarante Trust Company" reverse the tradi tional role and close in upon thei one-time creditors of the Hague an Haarlem, of Amsterdam and Rot terdam.

The massed might of America money moves on—steadily encirclin Threadneedle Street.

The British Premier and his masters know, that whilst Genoa was a important outpost, the Hague is a very citadel whose fall into hostile hands means their capitulation at no distant date to the inexorable ruthless will of America and France.

The Alternatives.

These facts, known to the Marxi scholars of the Kremlin, will deter mine their attitude and influenc their diplomacy.

We must prepare for one of tw eventualities—either of which mean Revolution before many years g by.

The first is war with France an America, a war which will plac arms in the hands of the wage slaves of every capitalist country and which by its violence and ex penditure will bring the whole top heavy system of credit crashin speedily to the ground.

The second is the merciless grind ing down of the workers of thi country to a standard of life as lo as that of Vienna; the cutting o once and for all of the tribute o the dependencies with which to fee the hungry mouths of the home pro letariat; the establishment of a sys tem of repression and cruelty such as has been already employed as a preliminary canter in Colorado and West Virginia.

And either of these will bring the workers face to face with the dilemma—Revolution or Annihilation.

Class Struggle, Not Race Prejudice, Makes Harvard Hit at Jews

By GEORGE E. POWERS

The newspaper reading public has been thrown into an agitated debate respecting the merits of the alleged decision of the Harvard authorities to limit to a minimum the number of Jews at the college.

This decision has not started a discussion on a high plane, rather, it has tended to stir up narrow, ignorant race and religious prejudice of the same kind that led to the horrible pogroms of Czaristic Russia.

Had those behind the Harvard trustees been actuated by a deliberate design to bring about a series of cruel massacres of the innocent, their action could not be more diabolical.

In certain quarters where is reflected the intellectual "light" which illumines the mentalities responsible for the Harvard decision, the following conversation took place.

Employer—"Harvard should limit the attendance of Jews to one per cent. I don't want my son to be forced to associate with them."

Worker—"Have you any good reason to take such a bigoted stand?"

They Know Too Much.

Employer—"Yes; several reasons, which I don't consider bigoted, at all. In the first place, I don't intend to send my son to Harvard merely for education; he has enough now to last him the rest of his life. I want him to go to college so that he may meet young men of influential families and make friends who will help him along in business later on. If Harvard becomes overrun with Jews, they will drive away the best elements."

Worker—"How can the Jews do that?"

Employer—"Well, they run away with all the scholarships; by studying days, nights and Sundays, they get the highest marks. I certainly do not propose to put my son up against such competition. It would ruin his health. Furthermore, on general principles, they are undesirable, being for the most part aliens. It's a shame that a fine old university like Harvard should have to tolerate them."

Worker—"So those are your reasons for limiting the number of Jews at Harvard?"

Employer—"Yes; aren't they good enough?"

Worker—"Well, on those grounds would you object to your son associating with, say, for instance, a son of Mortimer L. Schiff, the Jewish banker?"

Employer—"Oh, I don't claim that all Jews are objectionable."

Degree Mere Badge of Loyalty

According to this employer's view, which we have good reason to believe is general among those who have taken the lead in the hue and cry against the Jewish students, the Harvard degree should be reserved for the rich and those who slavishly adopt the social, political and economic conceptions of the rich. If these people could have their way, the degree would become merely a badge of loyalty to the interests of a rich, parasitic leisure class.

An analysis of the condition at Harvard shows that 12 percent of the students in the college are Jews. Of this number, fully 80 percent are sons of working-class fathers. If the above twelve percent were composed wholly of the sons of bankers and business men, it is extremely doubtful that one word of discrimination would have been allowed to go forth as the decision of Harvard University. Since, however, the majority of Jews attending that college are of a class which is regarded by the powerful ruling elements in society as a slave class, those rulers have determined to protect the "sanctity" of the "fair" Harvard degree from proletarian "contamination."

These intellectual hirelings of the capitalist class dare not state the bald truth of the matter, for they well realize that to do so would unite against their class great masses of workers, regardless of race or creed. It so happens that Jewish workers have invaded the sacred precincts. "The easiest way is the best." Therefore we have the spectacle of the trustees of one of the oldest colleges in the country engaged in the old game of fomenting race and religious prejudice to back up a decision which in reality is intended to keep Harvard a "pure" bourgeois institution. Hence the proposed limitations on the Jews.

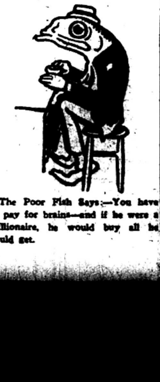
In other localities it may be that workers of other races will be discriminated against. They should realize at all times that it is not their RACE but their CLASS which is the real ground for that discrimination.

In a society which places the ownership of material things above all else, institutions of learning must play second fiddle. And those who have cherished the illusion that intellectual attainment is the primary concern of a bourgeois university are rapidly learning otherwise.

TOKIO.—Japanese business and professional circles, as well as the workers, are hostile to the imperial adventure in Siberia, according to the Japan Advertiser, which declares that only a group of militarists who exercise pressure on the government are favorable to the expansion of Japan in the former Russian empire. Labor demonstrations against the government have included demands for recognition of Russia and withdrawal of Japanese forces from Siberia, as promised by the government during the disarmament conferences at Washington.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



The Poor Fish Says:—You have to pay for brains—and if he were a millionaire, he would buy all he could get.

First Soviet Ship Enters British Port

(From Our Own Correspondent).

HULL, ENGLAND—The red flag of the Russian Soviet Republic made its appearance in England for the first time, fluttering today (Friday, May 26th) at the stern of the S.S. Kapl Mapkc (Karl Marx) which has brought a cargo of timber from Petrograd to Hull.

The crimson ensign, bearing the letters R.S.F.S.R., aroused considerable interest in the city. The letters stand for Russian Socialist Federa Soviet Republic.

The ship, which brought 2,750 ton of Russian timber, has been rechristened after the famous German Socialist. It is the first Soviet vessel to arrive in the port, and marks the opening of trade relations with the Republic.

It is expected that other ships will follow, and one left Petrograd at about the same time as the Karl Marx bound for Dundee.

I made a tour of the ship and obtained interviews with officers and members of the crew.

There was little distinction in dress between officers and crew, and conditions aboard were generally clean and businesslike.

Above all other things I was struck with the fact that the seamen were proud of their Communism and their leaders.

In every cabin, from the firemen to the captain, there were framed photographs of Lenin and Trotsky, and it was evident that these leaders stand high in the esteem of the rank and file.

Many of the crew stated that conditions in the Russian capital were gradually improving.

District No. 2 Convention

District No. 2, which includes New York and vicinity, is planning a convention for July 29-30, at New York City. The convention agenda will be published in next week's issue.

Hod carriers and laborers at Springfield, Ill., are on strike and desire workers in other cities to stay away pending this struggle.

Upton Sinclair, the author, recently spent a day with Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the jail at Charlestown, Mass., and later issued a statement urging his release.

Cameron H. King, the Socialist boss of California, recently held a personally conducted state convention at Fresno, in which the general confession was made that most of the S. P. membership had gone over to the Workers Party.

MOSCOW, Russia.—The American White Star line has made a series of definite proposals to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade for establishing regular and frequent ship service between the United States and Soviet Russia. Under the terms of the proposals, the White Star line will undertake the transport both of passengers and of goods. The offer is now under advisement by the Soviet government.

Turn Your Silver Into Iron

YOUR SILVER CHANGED INTO TOOLS AND MACHINERY WILL SAVE AND

BUILD UP SOVIET RUSSIA

The country of the Workers and Peasants—the land harrassed, devastated and pillaged by the counter-revolutionaries with the assistance of the capitalist governments—needs your silver. Soviet Russia has come through the famine, though millions of workers have died and are dying.

Fighting and militant, blockaded and starved, but fighting back with all the energy of an unconquerable people, Soviet Russia has won.

BUT SOVIET RUSSIA MUST BE BUILT UP.
GENOA DENIED HER AID!
THE HAGUE WILL NOT ASSIST HER!
YOUR SILVER—YOUR DOLLARS—WILL BUY
TRACTORS, PLOUGHS, REAPERS, THRESHERS,
BINDERS, ENGINES, ETC.

International Tool Drive For Soviet Russia

Authorized by the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers' International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin (Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated)

Conducted in America under the direction of the

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 West 13th Street New York City

HELP BUILD UP THE WORLD'S FIRST WORKERS' REPUBLIC

Here is my contribution of $..... toward relief and reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

Name ....

Address ....

City.................. State..........

News of Workers Party A[illegible] and Nation

Workers Party Backs Amalgamated Plan to Aid Russian Industry

(Continued from Page One)

workers and peasants against the counter-revolution, the factories were looted by employers and vandals, machinery wrecked, railroads destroyed and bridges burned — the whole industry was violently sabotaged by a maddened capitalist class seeking to bring the workers' victory to nothing.

The task of rebuilding Russia lies upon the workers.

This is no simple matter. It is a task that the workers of the world have never before faced. But it is a task that they must accomplish in order to prove that the hope of freedom in the breast of every worker in every land is not in vain.

Aid Reconstruction in Russia.

This is not a Russian question. It is a workers' question. Industrial freedom is the conscious or unconscious aim of the Labor movement. If the Russian workers, after having their struggle carried to the point of obtaining actual possession of industry, do not succeed in reconstructing and operating these industries, the result would be as a blank wall of discouragement in the path of the entire labor movement.

It is the duty of every working man and woman in the World to help in the reconstruction of the factories, workshops, mines and railroads of Russia.

A great American Labor Union has already realized this duty and has taken the lead. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, after consultation and agreement with the Workers' Soviet Government of Russia, have founded the **Russian-American Industrial Corporation.** This workers' corporation will undertake a great share in rebuilding the factories of Russia for the workers of Russia. The operations will be under the joint direction of a board representing equally the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. The investment of the Corporation in Russia is guaranteed by the Russian Soviet Government.

Will Operate Nine Factories

The Corporation has received nine clothing factories, six in Petrograd and three in Moscow, to begin with.

There are 7,000 workers (approximately) in these nine factories which are already in operation with a high degree of efficiency. The plan is thoroughly to renovate these factories, and to import hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of the newest type of machinery with many expert American workers who will teach their Russian brothers and sisters the best American methods of quantity production. After a careful and business-like beginning with these factories, the work will branch out to textile mills and will probably extend to machine shops and other industries as the success justifies.

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation was launched under the laws of the State of Delaware on June 2, 1922, capitalized at **one million dollars.** The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in their Convention just closed, voted unanimously to purchase **$50,000** worth of stock and donated **$10,000** for initial expenses in carrying the message to all of American Labor.

The stock is already being [illegible] by the [illegible]. The project [illegible] already appears to be a [illegible] stimulating new hope, courage and idealism in the workers.

Capitalized at One Million.

The Corporation is capitalized at One Million Dollars, but the sum subscribed may be many times that amount. The workers in this country can raise an amount in proportion to the needs of the enterprise, and there is no limit to its possibilities and opportunities.

The advantages to the Labor Movement in this project are more than economic assistance to a few co-operative factories. Great political significance lies in the fact of labor's aiding to solve a question of international industrial credit, the workers en masse telling all the gentlemen at Genoa and at the Hague that the workers will have their own way and will help a Workers' Republic to get on its feet by the will of the proletarian solidarity. This is an opportunity which labor must not lose.

The credit for the first step in this admirable demonstration of working class solidarity belongs to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. But it is not an affair confined to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. All labor unions without exception are welcome to come in with their full strength, and will, of course, have influence in proportion to their contribution. Measures will be provided to ensure that the control of stock shall remain in the hands of workers and workers' organizations.

Workers! Honor Yourselves.

The WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA hereby formally endorses this project and recommends to all workers of whatever political faith, in the unions and workshops, in all political parties and fraternal organizations, that they take up this opportunity to help the workers of Russia in building for their industrial freedom. Workers! Do honor to yourselves and to your organization by participating in this glorious work!

All members of the Workers Party are hereby urged to give their heartiest co-operation to promoting the project and the stock sales of the RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION.

All workers and their organizations are welcome. No partisanship except the partisanship of the workers for the workers' cause! Here, of all places, the UNITED FRONT!

Workers of the Socialist Party, we extend to you a cordial invitation to join with us in this high purpose without thought of factional differences or political quarrels. Workers of the Socialist Labor Party, the Proletarian Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, all workers' fraternal societies and all labor unions, this invitation extends to you. Let us show that in this field at least we know no division within the fraternal bonds of unity of the working class.

Make a Proud Record.

Let us make a proud record for the American working class. Already the workers of this country have given more than those of all others combined to save the Russian peasants from death in the Volga famine region. The famine relief work must continue and must be redoubled, for the famine still rages. Let us make an equally proud record in the industrial reconstruction of the first Workers' Republic of the world, making a success of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

Workers Party of America,

(Signed) C. E. Ruthenberg,

Executive Secretary.

A Communist Trial

Extracts from the testimony of

C. E. RUTHENBERG

now out on bond and serving as National Secretary of the Workers Party

and closing address to the jury by

ISAAC E. FERGUSON.

At which trial they were convicted of "Criminal Anarchy" and sentenced to an indeterminate sentence of from five to ten years imprisonment.

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One of our Papers! Official Organ, Italian Federation, Workers Party. Sent all communications to Alba Nuova, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

[illegible] of Blue Laws, Black Lists and Open Shop

By JOHN W. MARSHALL

Connecticut is the state of blue laws, black lists and the open shop—and, of course, "Americanism".

The first town I struck was Stamford where I was respectfully notified that no meeting could be held without a permit, "which takes time". Previous experience and a slight shower served to dampen the spirit of the Comrades, so that no attempt was made to defy the authorities. The mayor of this town is a high official of the Yale-Towne Lock Co., where of course there is an open shop.

In Norwalk, the cop in charge of the district notified me point blank that "I'm in charge here and you can't hold no meetin' on the streets. Why don't you hire a hall?"

When I informed him about the existence of the Constitution of the U. S., he referred me to the city clerk who he said might give me a permit. To the clerk I went, and was referred to the mayor, who informed me that a permit was necessary, but that altho they didn't object to us, "even the Democrats would have to get a permit. We must investigate you."

To which I replied that he can investigate as he wished, but whether he decided to grant permits for future speakers or not we intend to fight the matter in the courts. "Well, you'll have a hard fight in the state of Connecticut."

That night I went back to Stamford and addressed a meeting of the Local I. L. G. W. U.

I talked for a half hour on the United Front, after which I sold five of Foster's "Railroaders' Next Step" and a few other booklets. This local sent our Comrade Loske to the convention in Cleveland where he participated in the left block. This comrade is very active and has been influential in getting the local to join the C. L. U. of which he is a member and where with a few left members he will soon I think be able to get the endorsement of our "United Front" program.

I went to Bridgeport, the home of Remington—U. M. C., ammunition makers; the American Tube and Stamping Co., subsidiary of the U. S. Steel Trust, the Columbia Phonograph and various steel and iron industries. Of course, the open shop is universal.

The black list system here is complete. One comrade here says that his picture is in the employment office of every firm in the city. The American Tube and Stamp Co pays so-called unskilled labor 30 c per hour and has boys of 13 years working for 15 c. per hour.

The Post, the big capitalist daily is owned by a man whose interests extend to every enterprise in the city, started an open shop fight on its composition men about a year ago, and imported a labor hater-thug from the Cincinnati Enquirer to help do the job. The composing room men are still on strike and the pressmen are still on the job. The State Federation of Labor meeting at Stamford while I was there passed a legislative program for light wine and beers, and a resolution against the "unfairness" of the Bridgeport Post.

A strike of the only clothing shop in town, Wolf and Abraham, should be of interest to our Amalgamated readers. The workers there had been getting as low as $7 per week. $12 I am told is about the average. The shop chairman told me that he had been in the shop 10 years and was only now getting $28. They are striking for a $3 increase for every one. When the strike was declared, all came out, but the cutters who are the highest paid did not all stand firm. The Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers Association and the Police Department have told Mr. Wolf to advertise in the out-of-town papers, and they will do the rest.

The C. C. C. of the Workers' Party has sent the strikers a resolution of sympathy and have pledged their moral support. Our members are working among the strikers and are serving to keep up their morale, which in spite of the lack of class consciousness or experience is so far very good.

Our meeting was held in a place a half block away from Main Street, because of course, the authorities did not care to have us get a crowd. In spite of this, however, we had according to the verdict of the comrades a successful meeting.

A Challenge from Iowa

Mason City, Iowa Local, English, WORKERS PARTY, considering its size, only five members, yields the candle to none for its activity in the literature field. They handle each week 5 TRUTH, 5 VOICE OF LABOR, 15 of THE WORKER, 30 LABOR HERALD, besides numerous pamphlets and books of the movement. What can not be disposed of by sale is otherwise placed to best advantage.

[illegible]

The English branch in Cleveland has doubled its membership since its formation two months ago. There are two branches there—an English and Hungarian, and the comrades write that in a few days a third, a Jewish branch will be organized. The comrades in Cleveland are enthusiastic about the Y. W. L. and are setting with vim and energy to the task of strengthening the Y. W. L.

Milwaukee reports its study class in fine shape. New York is increasing its work. League members are daily holding street meetings. Chicago sets the pace these days in obtaining new members. At their last C. C. C. meeting, delegates reported that 30 young workers had made application for membership. The Chicago Y. W. L. has, too, innovated a news service, extending quite a distance. Its publicity committee is working excellently. The Chicago City Convention will be held on July 2nd, and the comrades have arranged that 15 papers will receive good news matter relative to the Convention. The Voice of Labor prints weekly a number of columns of League material. Other Leagues should see that the various labor organs print news about local and national Y. W. L. activities. Come on; you other YOWLS. Let's make it a real race for Chicago!

Daisytown, Pa., comrade, Helen Murphy, writes that a branch of the Y. W. L. will probably be organised there in a few days. There's a daisy!

Dunchon attended the Jewish Workmen's Protest Convention in New York as a fraternal delegate from the Y. W. L. and made an excellent impression for the League.

The League comrades must do all in their power to help build up the Famine Scouts Organization launched by the Friends of Soviet Russia. Be sure to put forth all energies for a successful Tool Drive for Soviet Russia. Russia's workers must receive our utmost aid.

Note—All League members must fill out application cards. Charter members shall write in the word; "Charter" after the words "Proposed by (1)." All application cards are to be filed with the City Central Committees. Remember Regular dues begin with June 1st.

Carlson is having successful meetings on his way to Chicago. Abern will leave June 23rd for Chicago and on the way will hold meetings at Syracuse, Toronto, Buffalo and Erie. Meetings are also being arranged for Comrade Zam who will leave shortly for Chicago.

Pittsburgh Picnic

The Workers Party organization of Pittsburgh will have a monster Labor Day picnic at Elwyn Grove, with C. E. Ruthenberg as their speaker. A small picnic is arranged for the Fourth of July at which local speakers will make addresses.

Just as when the Workers Party won its fight for the right to hold open-air street meetings the S. P. tried to disrupt this educational work by applying for permits for the same corners and dates, so this almost defunct group is trying to vent its spite against the Labor Day Picnic by announcing their only event of the season for this day at a rival grove.

Needless to say this will not detract from the success of the Workers Party picnic and extensive advertising will be done to direct the workers to the right grove.

Coldwell Tour Ended

Joseph M. Coldwell, veteran labor leader recently released from Atlanta prison, has just concluded a tour of more than 70 cities in each of which he addressed a meeting on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

This tour was conducted under the auspices of the Workers Party in co-operation with the defense committee. He declares that the workers are at last awakening to the importance of this case and that the proportions of their defense organization ought soon to equal that on behalf of Haywood in 1905 or Mooney at this time. The need for action is pressing and as soon as weather permits further work along this line Comrade Coldwell will resume the road.

Czechs to Join Workers Party

The Czecho-Slovak Marxist Federation has submitted the question of affiliation with the Workers Party to a referendum vote of the membership and forecast that it will be carried by an overwhelming majority.

This is the third substantial foreign speaking group to take such action within a very short space of time and means a material increase in strength to the Party.

Defense Committee Audit

Upon the assumption of the duties of Secretary of the National Defense Committee by C. E. Ruthenberg, an audit of the books kept by the former secretary, Edgar Owens, showed receipts of $24,897.21 and expenses of $24,969.12.

[illegible] will have an [illegible] the Finnish [illegible] between the National and Local Office, [illegible] Cafeteria, etc. Tickets can be purchased at the following places:

[illegible]

New Branches: New Jewish branch formed in Bath Beach—Branch Organizer B. Miller, 220 Bay 22nd St., Bath Beach. Other new branches formed during the month: Russian, Brownsville; English, Far Rockaway; Polish, So. Brooklyn; English, Astoria; English, West Harlem; Russian; Jewish, Lower Bronx.

Miners' Relief Work

The Miners' Relief Committee is still conducting its work on behalf of the Miners of West Virginia and has issued a call for funds to all unions and working class fraternal organizations. The need of the Miners is greater than ever. Little has been done as yet by the workers of New York, and very little has been done by the Committee that have announced their intentions to collect food and funds for the Miners.

The Miners' Relief Committee will conduct a Tag Day on July 8th and 9th. All workers are asked to co-operate. Further announcements will be made as to the stations that will be established for these days.

Iron Heel in Porto Rico

The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee reports that the local authorities at Ponce, Porto Rico, have confiscated a one-page leaflet published by the local labor group which organized for the purpose of bringing the story of the Massachusetts frame-up to the attention of the island workers.

The suppressed manifesto was a soberly worded appeal for funds and for the sale of certain defense literature. Notwithstanding this official interference the story of the frame-up is becoming known thruout the island.

Many New Endorsements

The committee further reports that a large number of additional endorsements on their new trial resolution are being received from central labor bodies in all parts of the country. Recently such endorsements have come in from Boston, Mass.; Tampa, Fla.; Jersey City, N. J.; Tacoma, Wash.

Candidates Active Unionists

The candidates for office named by the Workers Party of California are all militant unionists, active both in their own unions and in the general progressive tendency now organizing into the Trade Union Educational League.

Their candidate for Governor, William Turner, is an official of the Waiters' Union, delegate to the Central Labor Council, and President of the T. U. E. L.

Their candidate for Congress in the San Francisco district, Arthur Albright, is also delegate to the Central Labor Council and editor of the local labor paper, "Rank and File".

Their candidate for Congress in the Los Angeles district, D. Gorman, is a member of the Electrical Workers' Union and delegate to the Building Trades Council.

The candidate for U. S. Senator, Nestor Mattson, is also a member of the Building Trades.

DOINGS IN ROCKAWAY.

Rockaway Branch, N. Y., Workers Party, meets Thursday evenings, 8 o'clock, at the home of Fannie Jacobs, 1709 Redfern Ave., Far Rockaway.

There will be a Tag Day and House-to-House Collection during the week end of July 4th, for Russian Relief. Volunteers are needed. All comrades who can help, please get in touch with Comrade Jacobs, Secretary, Rockaway Branch, Friends of Soviet Russia. Phone: Far Rockaway, 0485 W.

United Front in R. I.

A mass convention of all members of the Workers Party and other working class political organizations has been called to meet in Providence, R. I., June 25th, to discuss the possibility of building a united front of labor, politically and industrially.

Polish Literature Available

The United Front Manifesto of the Workers Party has been translated into Polish and is available at the same rate as the English edition, 30 cents per 100 copies, $2 per 500, $3.50 per 1000 copies. Order direct from National Office, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

[illegible] by Heller

[illegible] A. A. Heller, American Representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the [illegible].

The following is the resolution adopted by the Council of Labor and Defense on May 10th, 1922:

1. It is considered necessary to restrict for the present immigration into R. S. F. S. R., admitting only such groups of workers as can be guaranteed to find employment in the Republic, subject to the conditions stipulated in the Resolution of the Council of Labor and Defense of June, 1921.

2. Such industrial and agricultural groups, organized in the United States under the direction of the Department of Immigration of the Supreme Council of National Economy in agreement with the Commissariat of Labor, will obtain free entry into Russia.

3. The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs is bound to issue visas for admittance into Soviet Russia to groups of workers approved by the Department of Industrial Immigration.

4. The People's Commissariat for Agriculture is instructed to fully co-operate with the Department of Industrial Immigration in the inspection and location of Agricultural Communes for the Immigrants.

5. Food supplies, tools, equipment, clothing and household articles imported into Russia by industrial and agricultural groups of immigrants are to be admitted free of custom duty.

Acting Chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense,

RIKOV, Secretary, Fotieva.

Moscow, Kreml.

May 10th, 1922.

This resolution of the Council of Labor and Defense in defining the conditions of immigration into Soviet Russia, provides for unhindered admission of organized groups properly equipped with tools, provisions etc.

The exemption from custom duties of food, supplies, tool equipment clothing and household articles, imported into Soviet Russia by these groups, facilitates the immigration of industrial and agricultural groups. The Soviet Government, however, makes a condition that such imported products and various equipment be utilized only for production purposes of those groups and personal use of their members.

Organized Industrial and Agricultural Groups will without any difficulty be admitted into Soviet Russia, on presentation of a permit from the Representative of Supreme Council of National Economy in the United States.

Anyone planning to go to Russia should first take up the matter by mail with A. A. Heller, American Representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy, 110 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y. To start out alone, without making the necessary arrangements on this side, will subject emigrants to serious inconvenience on the Russian border and may result in their being refused admission.

KRUSE LEAVES OFFICE.

The Administrative Council at its last meeting extended indefinite leave of absence to William F. Kruse, Assistant National Secretary, on his own request to be relieved of party duties. Comrade Kruse has been in failing health for some months and has been ordered by physicians to seek outdoor work in a higher altitude. No successor to his position will be chosen for the present.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Organize West Side Branch.

A second meeting will be held this Friday night, June 23, to organize a West Side Harlem Branch of the Workers Party. The meeting will be convened at 8 o'clock at 206 West 133rd Street, ground floor west. All comrades living on West Side Harlem are invited to attend this meeting. The importance of organizing this branch and thereby establishing contact with the Negro workers resident in Harlem cannot be too greatly emphasised. Every comrade who lives in that section should take an active part in this essential work.

The United Front Manifesto of the Workers Party

Order it for distribution.
Get your union to order a quantity.
Get your Workers Party Local behind the distribution.

The Struggle of Labor Demands UNITY

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Entertainment and Dance
given by
FINNISH BRANCH
Young Workers League of Harlem
at
HARLEM CASINO
116th St. and Lenox Ave., N. Y.
Saturday, June 24th, 8 P. M.

Revolution in Mexico
Lecture by Raphael Mallen
on 20 years Revolution in Mexico
JUNE 28th, 8 P. M.
47 Chrystie Street, New York
All invited to participate in discussion on this vital issue.

SOME BOOKS

ARE WORTH WHILE — OTHERS ARE NECESSARY

The following titles comprise a list which, by general concession to the needs of clear-cut workers' education, are classed in the category of necessities:

DICTATORSHIP vs. DEMOCRACY
By Leon Trotzky. Cloth $1, paper 50 cents.

BARS and SHADOWS
Ralph Chaplin's Prison Poems. $1.00.

NEW POLICIES of SOVIET RUSSIA
By Lenin, Rutgers, Bukharin. $1.00.

A B C of COMMUNISM
By N. Bukharin. 50 cents.

THE RAILROADERS' NEXT STEP—AMALGAMATION
By Wm. Z. Foster. 25 cents.

Write for new price list.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
WORKERS PARTY
799 BROADWAY, ROOM 405 NEW YORK CITY

ONE YEAR [illegible]

[illegible]

WILLIAM F. [illegible]
ROBERT MINOR, [illegible]
ART YOUNG, [illegible]
ELMER T. ALLISON, [illegible]

Published weekly by [illegible]
Entered as second-class matter [illegible] at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

Advertising rates upon application.
Phone: [illegible]

Judge Gary, head of the steel trust, told the alumni of Northwestern University the other day that [illegible] in business. Do we hear a chorus of [illegible] from the Coal and Iron Cossacks of Pennsylvania and West Virginia?

On Getting Excited

The New York Times, in common with the kept press of the world, is very much excited because Litvinoff, in Moscow, has issued a statement declaring that:

"At the Hague Russia will maintain the stand she took at Genoa!"

The Times thinks this is a Bolshevik bluff and proceeds to denounce it, pointing out that it was the manifesto of the Soviets on May 11, that broke up the conference at Genoa.

It will also be remembered that it was Lloyd George that was most anxious about calling The Hague conference and that the French fell in with his desires.

The Russians, after Genoa, were not slow in rejecting the proposed Russo-Italian trade agreement when it did not live up to all stipulations.

So, it seems, in spite of The Times, the Russians are sure of their position and may talk very coolly of having terms for a loan ready to submit to the capitalist experts at The Hague.

For it is capitalism that has the job on its hands of trying to keep alive. It feels the grip of death tightening. The Soviets are just beginning to live.

Railroad workers getting 23 cents an hour under the new rulings of the railroad labor board have had insult added to their injuries by New York Times' headlines as follows: "Rouge Cost Cited in Rail Pay Figures; Fruit Cake at $2 a pound and $1.25 Neckties Counted in the Family Expenses." We offer a year's subscription to every member of the railroad board if they will provide us with an explanation of how it can be done.

We Are a Great People

We have before us two publications, to wit: Samuel Gompers' "American Federationist," official organ of the American Federation of Labor, and Munsey's New York Evening Sun, June 20.

We read Gompers' gusto about the Cincinnati Convention in which he gives us this gem:

"Aside from the government of the United States, the American Federation of Labor is the world's greatest example of representative democracy."

Then we turn to Munsey's Sun and read that Miss Lola De Cartin, "a pretty Spanish woman, 29 years old, who earns her living by teaching languages," is sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment in the workhouse for the alleged theft of a French-English dictionary from the public library, that probably cost the authorities about 98 cents.

This is surely some democracy where one must steal books to learn, and, if caught, be sent to prison.

And at Cincinnati Gompers has developed a form of "democracy" where few, if any, of the delegates dare disagree with him, openly and vitally, in the convention hall.

The battle cry of Gompers' "representative democracy" is three gasps encored by a 100 per cent suppressed "Shush!"

Senator Reed in stumping Missouri for re-election says he likes Harding because he spends his week as follows: "Three days playing golf, then three days sailing about on the Mayflower, drinking lemonade and other things to recover from his fatigue. Sunday he goes to church because the sightseers go there to see him." Wonder what Reed thinks the capitalists put a puppet in the White House for! To be sure, he had to dodge the children of the political prisoners one Sunday at church. Even Reed must admit that Harding, as a poser and a dodger, bats 1,000 per cent in this baseball weather.

British Labor Party Conference

Interest attaches to the annual conference of the British Labor Party that meets at Edinburgh, because it will decide the question of affiliation of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Since the British Socialist Party changed its name to "Communist," and allied itself with the Communist International, it has been barred from Labor Party affiliation, since it was claimed its constitution was in conflict with that of the Labor Party.

The Communist, official organ of the British Communist Party, now feels that:

"Undoubtedly a strong feeling has been growing in many localities against the exclusion of men and women who previously had been among the most active and self-sacrificing workers in the labor movement. This feeling is reflected in the resolutions sent in."

A questionnaire drawn up by the Labor Party was submitted to and answered by the Communist Party. The questions and answers will be laid before the conference for decision.

This matter recently came before a special conference of the British Communist Party. The conference was practically unanimous in declaring for a united front of all labor's political forces.

American workers should follow closely the working out of the political united front in Great Britain. They should also learn the lesson that the British Communists are teaching the British workers, much against the desires of the officialdom of the British Labor Party, which, by the way, happens to be the mainstay of the Second International, and thru it, of the reactionary labor forces thruout the world.

If they learn that lesson well they will realize that their future lies with the Communist movement, their only hope of emancipation thru the abolition of capitalist exploitation.

The Machinists' Monthly Journal says, "We know that the word "Amalgamate" is a bugaboo to many labor leaders, who will never give their support to the idea. However, we repeat that movements are bigger than men or groups of men, and in the end we shall have amalgamation, which, after all, is one step forward in the evolution of the trade union movement whose ultimate goal is the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery." That is well said. Let us watch the machinists' delegates at the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor. They were not living up to expectations according to the latest reports.

[illegible]

[illegible] Rule in Russia.

[illegible]

Russia's Soviet Rule refuses to fall. Lenin insists on living. The peasants and workers of Soviet Russia continue to hold their own as the vanguard in the class struggle calling on all labor to enlist for the world social revolution.

Let the response of the workers everywhere grow and grow, "We Are coming, Comrades, We are Coming!"

We are attracted by two headlines in the [illegible] Sioux City, Ia. One says, [illegible] 12-Hour Day," the other, "[illegible] White House [illegible] to Defend 12-Hour Day." And since the steel [illegible] were on the inside at the White House, we take it for granted they are the ones President Harding heard, since the 12-hour workday still exists.

Faithful to His Class

Samuel Untermyer, self-styled "friend of labor," a millionaire lawyer and heavy stockholder in the steel trust, has secured the indictment of 37 prominent members and officials of the New York Jewish Bakers' Union.

Lawyer Untermyer, who is counsel for the Lockwood "smelling committee" of the New York state legislature, threatened the union officials with prosecution unless they desisted in their price-cutting war against a non-union bakery owner, the union having opened a bakery next door to the scab institution.

The union officials had the courage to defy Untermyer and his whole gang of labor haters, and the indictments came as the logical result.

It will be remembered that Untermyer recently placed his "O. K." on the merging of great steel corporations into the North American Steel Company, that exists by consent of the United States Steel Corporation.

Thus is "competition" wiped out, the same competition that Untermyer claims he is trying to keep alive by preventing the union bakers from subjecting the scab bakery owner to unfair competition, thru underselling him.

We haven't heard that Mr. Untermyer is planning to proceed against the Ward Baking Co., commonly known as the bread trust, with huge bread factories in many large cities, that is continually centralizing the bread-making industry thru wiping out the small baker.

Mr. Untermyer has not announced that he is planning to prosecute the various chain store combinations, such as the drug store chains, the restaurant chains, the [illegible] chains, the tea and coffee store chains, and others too numerous to mention, that daily wipe out owners of individual stores, forcing them into bankruptcy or out of business.

Mr. Untermyer is not troubled about competition until it becomes a class issue, a struggle between the workers and the boss, between labor employed in bakeries and the labor-crushing profiteer in that industry. Then Mr. Untermyer immediately takes his stand on the side of the exploiter.

Let those labor organizations that have tried to "use" Mr. Untermyer in the past in their struggles take notice. He will turn upon them when they least expect it. Mr. Untermyer is faithful to his class.

Vandervelde Quits

Emil Vandervelde, former minister of justice of Belgium and ex-President of the Second International, has joined his foreign Socialist colleagues in quitting the defense of the counter-revolutionaries now on trial at Moscow.

The Communist court will not permit us a stenographer of our own, they complained. You may have a stenographer, replied the court.

We don't like the presiding judge, was the next complaint, because he is a member of the Communist Party. Perhaps Vandervelde would be satisfied with "Bill" Taft, U. S. Supreme Court justice, enslaver of children and crusher of labor who is now travelling in Europe.

Vandervelde and his crew of defenders of counter-revolutionists knew that labor controlled the courts before he entered Soviet Russia.

In the words of the presiding judge, M. Piatakoff, Vandervelde and his fellows have enjoyed such license as they would have experienced in no other court in the world.

On this same subject the New York Times, under the heading, "Inexplicable Because It's Russian," declares:

> "Happenings in the Moscow court where the Social Democrats are on trial for treason, and therefore for their lives, are puzzling as observed from this distance. The liberty of speech, amounting to what would be called license anywhere, accorded to the defendants could be explained as due to a desire on the part of the Bolshevist powers to show the outside world how mild and generous they are, but the test of credulity by this assumption is severe. Hardly less difficult is it to believe that the defendants are deliberately trying to get themselves convicted and hanged or shot, though that would be the natural result of such admissions and declarations as they are making."

And again The Times, in its issue of June 20th, is forced to make the admission that:

> From what foreign observers saw, the foreigners enjoyed a license at this trial which they would not have enjoyed in similar circumstances—for it is a case of high treason which is practically admitted by the accused—in any other country.
>
> The Communists say they have had to fight the Social Revolutionaries no less than they fought the followers of Kerensky, the Cossacks, the Czarists. The leaders of the Social Revolutionary Party now being judged are in the position of the American royalist tories in the Revolutionary War versus Washington and his victorious republicans.

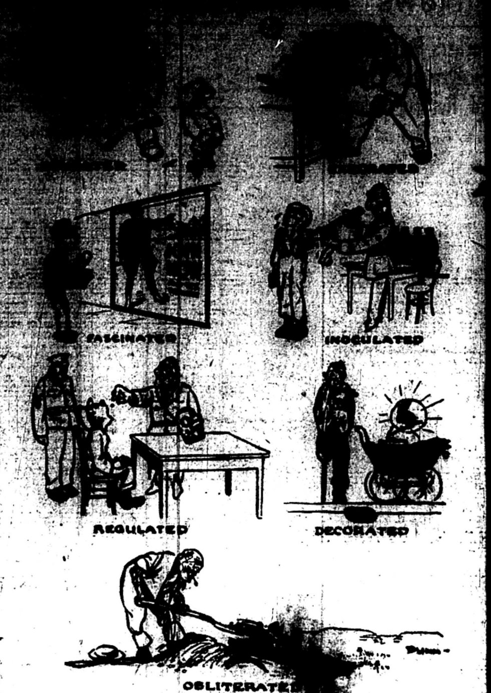
We must go farther to discover why Vandervelde has thus early thrown up the sponge in what was to be his master effort to expose the Soviet regime.

Safe in the assurance that Soviet Rule in Russia would not exact the extreme penalty and snuff out their miserable lives for the dastardly crimes they have committed, the social revolutionaries are glorying, in the open court room, in their crimes against the labor republic.

Instead of appearing, therefore, as the defender of innocent victims of Bolshevist rule, Vandervelde found himself in league with self-confessed criminals. This was surely an awkward position for a former King's minister and a democracy-loving Socialist.

So we find Vandervelde's retreat from Moscow probably less spectacular than that once conducted by a certain Napoleon Bonaparte, but certainly not less ignoble.

But Napoleon never tried to cover up his embarrassment by sending out fake reports of his assassination. Perhaps poor Vandervelde wishes he were dead. How will he explain to McDonald, Henderson and Hillquit?



From the Cradle to th[illegible]ave

They Are Getting Scared

Terror seems to be gripping the petty tyrants of the railroad labor board. It seems to be with fear that they hand another $27,000,000 slash in wages to the railway workers.

The majority members of the board, representatives of the railroad owners and the "public," give voice to their fear in a reply to criticisms by the two labor (minority) members of the board. Note this display of horror:

> "It is something new for labor members of the board to issue incendiary arguments to employes in favor of striking against a decision of this board. The giving of advice of this kind has heretofore been left to outsiders, who were not under the official obligations imposed by the Transportation Act, the main purpose of which is to prevent railway strikes and protect the public from their dire effects."

The agents of the railroad barons proceed on the mistaken theory that workers only strike when they are ordered to do so by their officials.

The greatest "inflammatory appeal" to strike is the blow delivered at the pay envelope of the railway workers by the railroad board.

That the board members representing the railroad capitalists cannot see that it is not strange. No ruling class has ever been able to see it. We find, therefore, this additional gem of logic from the majority board members:

> "It is well to remember that the time will never come in this or any other country when the ordinary rules of common-sense and business, call them economic laws if you wish, can be absolutely ignored in the conduct of any industry. The latest instance in which these laws have been thrown overboard and replaced by fine-spun socialistic theories, both in railway and other industries, is found in Russia, and the result there is not one that this country desires to emulate.
>
> "The minority are sowing some of the tiny seeds that have germinated and blossomed into industrial anarchy in Russia when they make such statements as this: 'They (the economic laws) are simply a description of the way in which business and industry has worked to date, and it has worked out very badly for human life.'
>
> "It will be readily conceded that our social and industrial system has not invariably produced perfect results, but, upon the whole, it has demonstrated its superiority to every experimental substitute that has been offered. And the fact must not be overlooked that this great industrial republic has rewarded labor with its largest degree of liberty, prosperity and happiness. It is well not to hold its minor imperfections so close to the eye as to obscure its benefits."

The workers did not have to wait for the minority members on the railroad board to tell them that human life gets little consideration under capitalism. They know it. It is brought home to them by their daily experiences.

The usual buncomb that, "This great industrial republic has rewarded labor with its largest degree of liberty, prosperity and happiness," sounds ever more shallow in the ear of labor.

The next step is for the workers to find the way out. They will find it in time, with the aid of the railroad board and other labor crushing agencies.

It is interesting to note that the spokesmen for capitalism, in their panic stricken terror, direct the eyes of the workers toward Soviet Russia. That is good. The workers will watch Russia and see her industries grow and thrive in the struggle for the realization of Communism. And then in time they will surprise these same agents with a demand for Communism in this country also. And it isn't a very big step from really wanting something and getting it.

The London Daily Herald, May 2[illegible], declares under a Paris date line that, "It is reported in the lobby of the chamber that initial steps have been taken with a view to the prosecution of three Communist deputies, including their spokesman, Marcel Cachin, on a charge of inciting soldiers to disobey orders." Nothing further has been heard of this prosecution as we went to press. Perhaps the French government concluded that the arrest of the Communist deputies might still more incite the soldiers.

Police Commissioner [illegible] of New York [illegible] "received" by President Millerand of France, at Paris. Millerand, who happens to be another renegade "Socialist," probably gave [illegible] a few pointers on how to battle Bolsheviks in America's metropolis.

[illegible]Revolution!

INSURRECTION is an art ju
as is war or any other form of a
It is subject to certain rules, t
non-observance of which leads to t
ruin of the Party which is to bla
for neglecting them.

FIRSTLY, never play with Insu
rection if there is no determinati
to drive it to the bitter end, to fa
all the consequences thereof. An i
surrection is an equation with ve
indefinite magnitudes, the value
which may change every day. T
forces to be opposed have all the a
vantages of organization, discipli
and traditional authority. If t
rebels cannot bring great forces
bear against their antagonists THE
WILL BE SMASHED AND D
STROYED.

SECONDLY, the insurrecti
once started it is necessary to a
with the utmost determination a
pass over to the offensive. THE D
FENSIVE IS THE DEATH O
EVERY ARMED RISING;
perishes before it has measured f
ces with the enemy. The antago
ists must be surprised while the
soldiers are still scattered, and NE
SUCCESSES HOWEVER SMAL
MUST BE ATTAINED DAIL
the moral ascendancy given by t
first successes of the rising must
kept up. One must rally to the si
of the insurrection the vacillati
elements, which always FOLLO
THE STRONGER and which
ways look for THE SAFER SID

Force your enemies to retreat b
fore they can collect their forc
against you. In one word, act a
cording to the words of Danton,
greatest master of revolutionary
licy yet known — "AUDACIT
AUDACITY, AND ALWA
AUDACITY!" — KARL MA
"Revolution and Counter-revolutio
1848.

A CONTRAST

THEN

**Suffer the little children to co
unto me, and forbid them not; for
such is the Kingdom of Heave
Jesus (Mark X. 14.)**

NOW

**[illegible]
suffer, for such is the decision of t
U. S. Supreme Court—Big [illegible]**

**One more "war book" has achi
ed the highest distinction possible
such a publication — an edito
denunciation by the New Y
Times. This time it is "The En
mous Room," by Edward E. C
mings, who was a member of
American medical unit, and who w
[illegible] in a French military pri
for the sole reason that he m
some remarks indicating that w
makers and militarists were
much alike, whatever their nati
ality!**

AN ORGAN OF [illegible]

Vol. V. No. 230. Subscription Rates: [illegible] SATURDAY, [illegible] [illegible] Price 5 Cents

RAIL STRIKE THREATENS!

NOTE OF FEAR IN BELLOWING FEROCITY OF PLUTE PRESS OVER HERRIN

Only a suspension of the ruling of the railway labor board reducing the wages of the shopmen and allied crafts and an agreement to immediately meet the representatives of the men in conference can halt the strike of approximately one million railway workers.

The vote of the workers affected shows a tremendous majority in favor of a strike including those of the maintenance of way men who have recently reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The maintenance of way men are the chief sufferers from the recent decision of the labor board, the wages of this class of workers being reduced to as low as 23 cents per hour.

Blacksmiths, electrical workers, sheet metal workers, boiler makers, machinists, trackmen, signalmen, clerks and telegraphers will participate in the strike set for July 1st. The railway executives are frank in their announcements that they expect the government to intervene in their behalf. With the six hundred thousand miners standing pat in their strike the struggle of the railway workers will bring the industrial situation to a crisis.

The Armed Struggle At Herrin!

Proclamation of the Workers Party of America.

At Herrin, Illinois, striking miners have been engaged in an armed struggle with the gunmen and scabs in the employ of the bosses.

This breaking out of the class struggle into open force has given the capitalist newspapers the opportunity to pour forth their wrath upon the heads of the miners. With one voice these lying tools of the bosses are denouncing the miners and their union.

The bosses see in this defense of the miners against the armed attack of gunmen of the employer the opportunity to break the strike. They hope to use the fact that blood has been shed and scabs and gunmen have lost their lives to create that sentiment among the people of this country, which will enable them to throw all their forces against the miners. They expect now to use prosecutors, courts, injunctions and soldiers to destroy the miners' organization and beat them into submission.

Workers of the United States! Remember the events of the last two years! Remember the conditions which have precipitated this armed conflict!

For two years the bosses—the capitalist employers—have been engaged in a united attack upon the workers of this country.

The smash-up of the capitalist system brought about by the war resulted in millions of workers losing their jobs. The bosses have taken advantage of this situation. They have slashed wages. They [illegible] of living. They increased hours of work. They compelled the workers to accept worse working conditions.

FOR TWO YEARS THE WORKERS HAVE FELT THE LASH OF THE BOSSES, THE STINGING BLOWS WHICH HAVE MEANT POORER FOOD, POORER CLOTHING AND POORER HOMES TO ALL THE WORKERS AND IN THE CASE OF MILLIONS ACTUAL DESTITUTION AND WANT.

In April there came the turn of the miners to meet the attack of the bosses. The mine owners broke their agreement with the union. They set out to smash the miners' union, to slash their wages.

For three months the miners have stood like a stone wall against the attack upon their organization, upon their standard of living—already too low. They have kept the mines closed.

At Herrin, Illinois, the bosses employed scabs. They brought in armed thugs to protect them. When the striking miners marched to the mines to persuade the scabs to leave they were fired upon and two union miners killed.

Do you wonder that with the evidence of two years' attack pon the workers before them in the shape of lower wages rse working conditions and a weakening of the unions which taken place everywhere in this country, the miners resorted orce to protect themselves against an armed attack—even West Virginia the miners were driven to defend themselves orce against the same murderous attack?

ORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES! THE ARM- CONFLICT AT HERRIN IS THE DIRECT RESULT THE WAGE CUTTING, UNION SMASHING CAM- IGN OF THE BOSSES.

The bosses have used all the forces at their command inst the workers. They have used injunctions, industrial rts, government boards, police and the army against the kers in the effort to cut down their wages and break up unions.

Have not the striking workers again and again been brutally en and murdered by the gunmen, police and soldiers under direction of the bosses! At Newport, Ky., they are now g soldiers against the workers. In the Rhode Island textile e soldiers shot down the strikers. In Indiana Harbor work- were shot down during the steel strike.

or once the workers have put up a victorious defense. errin the gunmen and scabs were obliged to run up the flag!

orkers of the United States! Do not permit the lying alist newspapers to deceive you. It is the bosses who are nsible for the shedding of blood at Herrin. It is their to make the wage slavery of the workers even worse than past which is driving the workers to resistance—even to resistance.

orkers of the United States! The Workers Party of ica calls upon you to unite for the struggle against the s. The armed struggle at Herrin shows how bitter the gle against the capialist drive to reduce the wages and the unions is growing. To win in that struggle we must a UNITED FRONT OF LABOR.

HE MINERS MUST BE SUPPORTED BY THE OLE WORKING CLASS—BY ALL THE POWER WORKING CLASS CAN MUSTER.

The Workers Party of America has in its manifesto rkers! Unite to Fight the Bosses!" offered a program for uilding of the United Front.

ORKERS! RALLY TO THE SUPPORT OF THAT OGRAM. RALLY TO THE SUPPORT OF THE NERS.

EAT DOWN THE CAPITALIST ATTACK!
BUILD THE UNITED FRONT OF LABOR!

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA.
C. E. RUTHENBERG, Secretary.

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

In the bellowing ferocity of the capitalist press as it details the horrors at Herrin, Illinois, it is not hard to detect a note of fear.

There has been war at Herrin—war between the mercenaries of a coal company and striking miners, and the miners have not been beaten.

For once at least in the bloody industrial history of America striking workers have turned the tables on the janissaries of the employers and as they pore over the list of casualties the publicity agents of the corporations send up a long, loud wail.

The coal barons of Herrin recruited gunmen from Chicago to terrorise the strikers and protect the strikebreakers.

They recruited them thru a rather well-known private detective agency. Thirty professional gunmen sent down by the agency, went on the job with the full knowledge that they were to beat, slay and terrorise at the orders of the mine superintendent.

They were potential murderers when they accepted their bloody employment and all the crocodile tears shed by the sob-artists of the capitalist and liberal press can not alter [illegible]

Strikers had already been murdered before their fellow-workers began their advance upon the mine. According to the testimony of surviving strikebreakers, McDowell, superintendent of the mine had killed in cold blood a picket on whom he fired from ambush.

Two miners were shot dead by the gunmen as they advanced bearing a flag of truce. It is no surprise to me that little mercy was shown these mercenaries once the miners swept over their fortifications.

"They came to murder, but remained as clay" to paraphrase an old saying.

To those who have never experienced the bitterness that fills the heart of a striker when after long weary weeks of waiting, he sees in the place vacated by himself and his mates the off-scourings of the underworld brought there to beat them back to servitude, there will never come an understanding of what took place at Herrin.

But to those who have fought on the industrial battlefields of this nation, and who know what it is to challenge the might of the employers of America, the miners of Herrin do not need to apologize.

The coal miners are striking to preserve a bare semblance of decent living standards.

They are hungry and so are their wives and children.

They are struggling not alone for themselves, but even for such as those whom they fought.

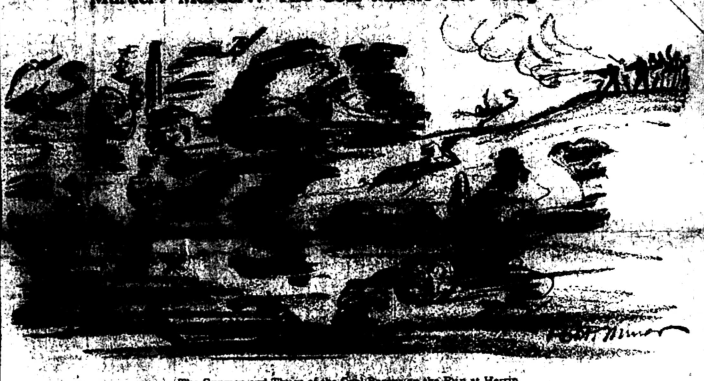
A strike is a struggle for bread, and he who sides with the employer as gunman or scab takes bread from the mouths of those who must have it or die.

He is a murderer, but the whole power of organized government is behind him, and in our society the strikebreaker is lauded as a hero by those whom he serves..

Had the hirelings of the coal barons won a victory in Herrin, no matter how bloody, it would have been hailed as a triumph for law and

(Continued on Page Three)

"Murder! Murder!! The Coal Miners Are Using Guns!"



The Gunmen and Thugs of the Coal Barons on the Run at Herrin

Trotzky Writes About Social Revolutionary Party and Moscow Trial

EDITOR'S NOTE:—When Gompers' anti-soviet resolution came before the A. F. of L. Convention at Cincinnati, Benjamin Schlesinger, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, wept over the fate of the renegades and counter-revolutionaries now on trial at Moscow. In doing this he endorsed the attack on Soviet Russia, and lined himself alongside of Gompers with these enemies of the Soviet Revolution in Russia. Trotzky tells the story of this party of betrayal as follows:

* * *

By LEON TROTZKY

The Social Revolutionary Party at present occupies the centre of attention, but quite differently than at the time of the March (1917) Revolution.

It often happens in history that some party or other, some man or other, is at first obscured from view, is forgotten for some time and then is again remembered.

The Social Revolutionary Party succeeded in a few months, one

(Continued on Page Four)

Lenin's Health Satisfactory

The following cable has reached the Friends of Soviet Russia concerning the state of Lenin's health:

LENIN'S ILLNESS DUE GENERAL PHYSICAL EXHAUSTION COMPLICATED FISH POISONING AND OLD BULLET IN SHOULDER. LATEST BULLETIN STATES, BULLET EXTRACTED, CONDITION INTERNAL ORGANS SATISFACTORY NO CAUSE FURTHER ANXIETY.

(signed) Workers' International Russian Famine Relief Committee.

This cable corrects all speculations and rumors regarding Lenin's health.

Dunne and Foster Review Triumphs of Gompers' Black Reaction, Aided by Yellow Socialists, at Cincinnati Convention

The Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor is over. Black reaction triumphed. The Gompers' stone age conservatives joined with the yellow "Socialists" in the war against everything progressive and militant. The story is told herewith in the articles of William F. Dunne, labor editor of THE WORKER, and William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League. We join with Foster in urging that all militant workers devote their best efforts from now on to building up "The League." Dunne and Foster write as follows:

* * *

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The Gompers machine met the severest test of the Convention the day before adjournment.

Every smoldering spark of resentment against the black reaction of the administration mobilized itself behind a minority report of the Committee on the Russian Resolution and the only consistent fight made by the radicals centered around the question of Soviet recognition.

Woll, reporting for the committee, read a long tirade against the Soviet government. Max Hays of the typos submitted the minority report urging recognition and the battle was on. Keep, of the tailors, in one of the most eloquent and logical addresses heard by the convention, defended the minority report, with the delegates interrupting to applaud. "No labor movement, least of all the American labor movement," he said, "should denounce a revolutionary government." To the charges of dictatorship made by the committee he replied by asking how many men controlled the government of the United States.

Frey, of the Moulders' Union, spoke against the minority report. He read a long statement by Jouhaux of France dealing with the activities of the Communists in the French labor movement as a reason why the Soviet government should not be recognized. Healy, of the Stationary Firemen, spoke for the minority report and denounced the administration resolution as [illegible]

(Continued on Page Three)

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Never was a labor movement in a more critical situation than ours is now, with the employers driving against us with unheard of vigor and strength at every point.

And never was a trade union leadership more incapable than ours to meet such a desperate situation.

The Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor was a record of unrelieved failure and incompetency.

In not a single important instance did it show either understanding of the needs of the labor movement or ability to solve its problems.

The convention marked the utter bankruptcy, intellectual and spiritual, of the Gompers' machine and the trade union bureaucracy in general.

The pressing need of the hour was a thoro overhauling of our trade unions' policies and leadership, so that the movement might be fitted for its new tasks and tests.

But nothing of the kind was done. Everything was continued as before. The dead brain of Gompers ruled supreme.

Surely to all intelligent people, especially in view of the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the [illegible]

(Continued on Page Three)

Second International Smashes Efforts of Commission of Nine

EDITOR'S NOTE:—In the accompanying manifesto the delegation of the executive committee of the Communist International, that sat as part of the "Commission of Nine," at Berlin, in the struggle to create the world united front of labor, shows how these efforts for the United Front were defeated by the Second Internationalists, who took a stand against the convening of the World Labor Congress of all labor. The manifesto in full is as follows:

* * *

What the Communist International feared has happened. The leaders of the Second International have hindered the bringing about of the World Labor Congress, the convening of which had been decided at the Berlin Conference of the representatives of the three Executives.

At the first session of the Commission of Nine which met together in order to carry out the decisions of the Berlin Conference in accordance with their mandate, they pronounced against the immediate convening of the World Labor Congress.

According to them such a Congress can only be considered when the Communist Parties renounce all criticism of the policy of the Social Democratic leaders and the trade union bureaucracy, and when at the same time the Soviet Government allows the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries to organize rebellions with impunity.

[illegible] Fear Criticism

These conditions which the Second International laid down for the con-

(Continued on Page Four)

THE WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] Popular, Cable States

The following cable has been received by the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia:

"Tractor Unit in Moscow Making Arrangements for Friends of Soviet Russia Farm. Project very popular."

This cable refers to the unit of [illegible] tractors and full equipment which was sent to Soviet Russia on May 10th. A corps of eleven men went along, to begin the cultivation of a farm and demonstrate to Russian peasants the use of modern machinery in farming.

Want Aid of World's Workers

The backwardness of Soviet Russia in the matter of modern machinery, coupled with the destruction of the four years of counter-revolutionary war against Soviet Russia and the refusal of the capitalist governments to allow any trade to be carried on with Soviet Russia, make this unit a most significant factor in the great work that the workers of the world and particular the workers of America, are doing in the reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

Tool Drive Getting Into Swing

The Tool and Machinery Drive being conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia is beginning to acquire momentum. Inquiries are arriving daily asking about the different machines and implements required in Soviet Russia.

Philadelphia has ordered two tractors and ploughs. St. Paul is collecting funds for a tractor, Everett, Wash., for another. The campaign will get into full swing on June 26th when great quantities of publicity matter will go out—posters, folders and contribution lists.

Names Go to Soviet Russia

The names of all contributors, individuals and organizations will be sent to Soviet Russia as a testimonial of the support that American workers and farmers have given to Russian workers and peasants in their hour of need.

It will attest to the Russian workers how at a time when, hungry and starving, their children dying for want of food, with the capitalist governments refusing them aid, but sending them bullets instead, the workers of America have stood by them.

These names will be treasured in Soviet Russia, as significant of workers' aid to workers.

[illegible] Soviet Russia [illegible]

Rathenau and the others died because the German government and the German working class did not have the courage of their convictions, because they permitted the existence and the operation of an invisible, but none the less dangerous monarchy within the borders of the nation.

Rathenau was undoubtedly the outstanding figure in the present administration. From the first his efforts were directed wholly to the industrial and economic rehabilitation of his nation, and he never allowed nationalistic and chauvinistic considerations to interfere with any course that seemed to him to promise relief.

It was he who first attempted to bring about an understanding between France and Germany, he who arranged terms with Loucheur, the French minister of reconstruction and multimillionaire, which provided for the payment of a large portion of the German reparations in the form of manufactured products.

The collapse of the German ministry at that time, as well as the "accession" of Poincaré shortly afterward prevented the carrying out of a program that might, perhaps, have produced a more amicable understanding between the two nations.

It was Rathenau, also, who first propagated the idea of an international credit for Germany, who proposed the conference of bankers in Paris. It was Rathenau, finally, who brought about the German-Russian commercial treaty at Rapallo, that almost broke up the Genoa Conference.

To the nationalist, monarchist Junkers of Germany, whose hatred of France on the one hand is exceeded only by their hatred of Soviet Russia, on the other, the name of Rathenau was anathema.

The fact that he was a Jew only served to infuriate their hatred for this man who was willing to forget, in the interest of industrial rehabilitation, the indignities and abuses to which German nationalism had been forced to submit. On the other hand, he had been forced to fight off bitter attacks from the important interests that are allied behind Stinnes, that most powerful figure in German post-war capitalism, whose pro-English sympathies revolted against Rathenau's Francophile attitude.

At the time of his death the German foreign minister and the head of the General Electric Company of Germany was engaged in the task of buying up a press that would put him in a position to fight Stinnes and his backers with their own weapons.

• • •

The shot that felled Rathenau did not come unexpectedly. It is an open secret that monarchist elements which have been more or less active ever since the German government failed to punish the leaders that originated the notorious Kapp "putsch," have been increasing rapidly in numbers and in daring.

In the beginning, during the first days of the revolution, they directed their weapons against those who, like Kurt Eisner, Eugene Levine, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, upheld the cause of the militant proletariat against the combined social-patriot and bourgeois elements.

Under Bauer, Scheidemann and Noske, the German government was so half-hearted in the pursuit of the perpetrators of these murders and showed its sympathy so unmistakably, that their influence and prestige grew enormously.

Their attacks now broadened out. They murdered Gareis, the leader of the Independent Socialists in South Germany. They murdered Erzberger, the most prominent pacifist in the ranks of the small bourgeoisie. Recently a vicious attempt was made against the life of Scheidemann.

The counter-revolution, that child of the cowardice and the treachery of the German Social-Democracy, stands armed to the teeth, prepared for battle.

The government is desperate, and in its desperation once more appeals to the masses, their last resort whenever the monarchist hordes threaten to tear asunder the whole miserable sham that masquerades to-day as the government of the German people.

When Kapp with his soldiers threatened the life of the German Republic it was the firm determination of a united working class that won the day,—and the Kappists went unpunished.

When, later, Erzberger was murdered, the German labor movement again, marched, hundreds of thousands strong, under banners that demanded the punishment of the perpetrators. The German Social-Democracy registered indignation—and quaked in its boots. And again nothing was done.

On the contrary, the Social-Democracy gave up all semblance of an alliance with the parties of the Left and cast its lot frankly with that of the German Volks-Partei, the party of the big captains of German industry and of the financial magnates.

When recently Scheidemann, the mayor of Kassel, who sold his revolutionary birthright for a mess of pottage, was almost made the victim of a deadly attack, he again remembered the invincible strength that lies in the mass action of the proletariat, and the same gentleman who scoffed, vilified and frustrated the project of a united front, when it was proposed by the Third International, called upon the working class to unite, when his own worthy person was in danger.

Again the shooting of Rathenau brings the entire working class to the front in a general strike as a threat to the Junkers who will hesitate to pit their strength against that of the German working class. But this time, the general strike was a mere demonstration. Two-thirds of a day the workers of Germany rested and then they went to work again. Yet this kind of a general strike does not frighten the hard-boiled Junkers.

For the misleaders of the German people know what the masses themselves have not yet discovered—that the only protection of the German Republic lies in the ruthless warfare against monarchism and monarchist elements by a united working class. The German working class has made many terrible mistakes. It has been pacifistic and charitable where it should have been merciless in its persecution of monarchist assassins. It placed its faith in bourgeois "democracy" at a period when only a dictatorship of the laboring masses could purge the country of the old regime. It spared the Ludendorffs, the Hindenburgs and Helfferichs when it would have been a wonderful lesson for the counter-revolutionists to learn that the workers, too, know how to shoot and to hit. It sacrificed some of the greatest men and women that the nation has produced in order to be kind, orderly, pacifist and law-abiding.

Now the Wirth government talks of revenge. It speaks of a firm hand and a clear head. But the bourgeoisie cannot act against the counter-revolutionists, because it is too much afraid of the revolutionists. It fears the Revolution and will ten thousand times rather make its peace with monarchist assassins and murderers than with the militant, fighting working class.

The working masses, therefore, must act for themselves. They must combine against a system that breeds murder, that creates disaster. They must unite against the capitalists of all parties and all shades of party color and wrest the power from the hands of the exploiters of labor.

The fate of the German Republic lies in the hands of the German working class, in the hands of a united working class.

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[illegible] communists in particular. He commended the Cook County Criminal Court for the manner in which the trial was conducted.

Admits Error In Record

He admitted that the "record is not free from error." "But," he opined, "it is clear to any intelligent man that the plan and purpose advocated by the plaintiffs contemplates overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States and all the sovereign states . . . by organizing the malcontents into militant groups and, at the earliest opportunity, thru mass strike and force and violence, compelling the government to cease functioning and then, thru a proletarian dictatorship, taking charge of and appropriating all property."

The learned Justice, himself a politician of the first water, and one of the most astute organizers of "malcontents" in Illinois (his record in Rock Island County will bear witness) continues: "Their platform and program do not expressly advocate the use of weapons and physical force in accomplishing these needs, but they are chargeable with the knowledge that their aims and ends cannot be accomplished without force, violence and bloodshed."

Counter-Revolution Upheld

The Chief Justice admits that force and violence is not advocated in the program and platform. But he "infers" and "construes."

"They try to make us believe," he says, "that their program is a peaceful one and that . . . . owners whose property was under protection of the government, would surrender it without use of force and violence. This is too incredible to require discussion."

The Chief Justice is right. It is too incredible to require discussion. It is well to have the Chief Justice of the highest state court on record to this effect. When the workers take over the government by whatever measures the occasion demands, the deposed owners can be depended upon to organize the counter-revolution and oppose by means of force and violence the orderly processes of the new government.

Chief Justice Counsels Resistence

The Court openly advocates resistence to the new government. "The doctrines advocated (by the communists) are not harmless. They are a menace (to whom?).

And it behooves Americans to be on their guard to meet and combat the movement, which, if permitted to progress as contemplated, may undermine and endanger our cherished institutions."

Justice Carter Dissents

Justice Orrin N. Carter dissented. He held that the law under which the conviction was secured is unconstitutional and he announced he would submit a dissenting opinion later.

The Communist Labor Party was organized in Chicago in September 1920 at the time of the split in the Socialist Party. Its program emphasized certain principles of Revolutionary Socialism, that in order to bring about socialism the capitalist class would need to be deposed by a workers government based upon the soviet power.

During the raids in January 1920 many members of the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party were arrested and indicted for violation of the Illinois Criminal Syndicalist Act.

The trial opened May 10th, and lasted exactly twelve weeks. After fifteen hundred veniremen were examined a jury of twelve was secured. Nine weeks were required to select the jury, about two weeks for taking evidence and one week for the closing arguments. The jury handed in its verdict August 2nd, pronouncing sentences of from one to five years in state prison against nine, of whom two were also fined $2000 and two $1000. The other ten were given sentences of one year in Cook County Jail.

Motion for a rehearing will be made, and if this is denied the case will probably be taken to the United States Supreme court to settle the constitutional questions involved.

The sentences and fines imposed were as follows: William Bross Lloyd and Arthur Proctor, $2000 fine and one to five years imprisonment; Jack Carney, L. E. Katterfeld, L. K. England, Ludwig Lore, Edgar Owens, and Nels Kjar, each sentenced to the penitentiary from one to five years, and Perry Shipman, Karl F. Sandberg, Dr. Oscar J. Brown, N. J. Christiansen, Samuel Ash, James A. Meissinger, Samuel F. Hankin, John Vogel, Morris A. Stollar, and Charles Krumbein, each of whom must serve one year in either the penitentiary or the county jail.

Edwin Firth, one of the defendants, has died since the conviction.

[illegible] within the borders of the United States of America.

The Times, in common with the New York Evening Post, and the rest of the kept press, shudders to think that the workers should have the audacity to defend themselves against their oppressors.

This horror of the bought press is particularly aggravated by the fact that worker-members of a coroner's jury had the courage for once to stand by their class, and fearlessly point their fingers at the real criminals.

Note how the New York Evening Post weeps over the obstacles confronting capitalist justice in its probable efforts to work the frame-up on the Herrin miners. With many tears it says:

> "Sheriff Thaxton is a union member and running for county treasurer. A grand jury might be impanelled next month, but the board of supervisors would choose it, and two-thirds of the board are union men. The state's attorney can organize a staff of investigators only if the board gives permission. Yesterday a coroner's jury, half of its members are union men, made a perfunctory investigation, and for verdict brought in an ex parte indictment of the coal company."

And then study the agony of The Times, faithful organ at the American court of King Profit. It wails:

> "Williamson County, Ill., is a sovereign state. Its real government is the district branch of the United Mine Workers. It executes its own law, the higher, the union law, by summary process. A coroner's jury, composed of three union miners and three business men, subject to the union, brought in the inevitable verdict on the killing of two union miners and 19 non-unionists last week. The officials of the coal-company are the guilty men."

• • •

It is not to be wondered at that the subsidized press kept secret the murder of the two union miners, Joseph Pitchiewicz and George Henderson, until they were forced to give it publicity thru the action of the coroner's jury.

Pitchiewicz and Henderson were shot down in cold blood when they went, with other striking miners, unarmed, to protest to the officials of the Southern Illinois Coal Co. against the bringing in of gunmen and scabs.

This happened on Wednesday, June 21. It was not until the following day that the coal miners, as best they could, were forced to engage the whole army of imported cutthroats and strikebreakers of the mine owners.

• • •

C. E. Anderson, former mayor of Herrin, now arbiter of the Illinois Compensation Court, testified that the struggle, in his opinion, was precipitated thru the killing of Pitchiewicz and Henderson.

Then, how eloquent a reply do we find to all the malicious falsehoods in the bought press in the few words uttered by Anderson when he says, "I saw no one intoxicated on the day when the conflict took place."

But that will not blot out all the cartoons, all the editorials, all the columns of news space picturing the coal miners as a drunken mob, these workers who were fighting for their homes, for bread to feed their families, against an invading army of murderers in the pay of the mine owners.

Workers and sympathizers of labor should place as little faith in all other questionable facts presented in such lurid colors by the yellow press.

• • •

It is not doubted that the real criminal in the whole affair is the mine capitalist, William J. Lester, owner of the strip mine.

He not only broke his agreement with the United Mine Workers, contracts held so sacred by the courts when violated by the unions, but invited murder as his aid when, with an "I'll be damned if I will," he sneered at the demands of Col. Samuel N. Hunter, Illinois National Guard, that he stop loading coal as he had agreed to do early in May.

Now he complains that the state militia, a la West Virginia, was not sent to aid his own hired assassins achieve victory in their murderous work.

• • •

Colonel Hunter has been black balled by the press hirelings everywhere because of his testimony before the coroner's jury. Hunter had been hurried to Herrin from Springfield the Sunday preceding the trouble, showing that it was not something that came to life over night. In telling of his attempt to get Superintendent McDowell to close down, Hunter said:

> "As I approached the mine my car was halted by an armed guard, who forced me to alight."
>
> "When I was allowed to proceed I found Superintendent McDowell in his office. I asked him about reports that traffic on the public highway had been held up by his guards. He denied this was true.
>
> "I said to him: 'Don't you know you are inciting trouble by trying to run this mine in the midst of this highly unionized county?'
>
> "McDowell differed with me, and said, they would keep right on operating."

• • •

Let the jobless in the nation's large cities not allow themselves to be used as scabs in the mine strike or any other labor struggle.

Those workers who were lured to Herrin as strike breakers, ignorant of the conditions existing there, are all on the side of the union miners. Study this report sent out by the Federated Press:

> Robert McLenon, a Chicago strikebreaker, who was wounded, says the union miners seemed to be "all right."
>
> Edward Green, Chicago, wounded, blames the mine owners and the employment agencies. "THE PEOPLE TO SHOOT ARE THE MINE OWNERS WHO LIED TO GET US DOWN HERE AND THEN MADE US DO SCAB WORK," he said. "These union men are on the square. I'd have done the same thing myself. I'm no scab. I tried to leave the mine when I found out what we'd been brought from Chicago for; but the guards wouldn't let me. The guards in the pit with us shot to death two union miners Wednesday before the union men surrounded us."

• • •

In Southern Illinois, at Virden, there is a monument erected in memory of union coal miners massacred by mine owners' gunmen in the days when the miners' union was young.

If Herrin had been another Virden massacre the mine owners and their press would have been happy and contented.

But it wasn't. The Illinois miners have a hundred per cent industrial organization. The complaints against them indicate they are beginning to realize their political power.

The spirit and the courage that did battle with the capitalists' mercenaries at Herrin, Illinois, June 22, 1922, will some day spread to the whole of the United Mine Workers' organization, and finally, permeate the whole of the American labor movement.

In that day capitalism will be doomed. Instead of fighting in defense of their jobs and their union, the workers will assert their power by sweeping away the last vestiges of the system of exploitation that keeps them in chains and establish a rule of their own.

Then will the "island of class rule," that the New York Times sees at Herrin, Ill., today, extend to all sections of the land in the struggle to build the classless society—COMMUNISM—that is rising to power over the world.

[illegible] Trade [illegible] Educational [illegible]

Beethoven Hall was filled [illegible] enthusiastic gathering Monday [illegible] June 26th, at the organization [illegible] ing of the Trade Union Educa[illegible] League of New York City.

The meeting was opened by [illegible] R. Browder, representing the [illegible] tional office of the League. He [illegible] the meeting about the program [illegible] the League, and emphasized the [illegible] clusive nature of its organization.

"The League is becoming the [illegible] thering place of the entire left-w[illegible] movement in the trade unions," [illegible] said.

"Whatever theoretical differe[illegible] may divide us in our other wor[illegible] the trade unions we have, in the [illegible] gram of the League, a gather[illegible] place for every earnest worker.

"For example, on our nati[illegible] committee, we have members of [illegible] party whatever, members of [illegible] Workers Party, and the national secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party.

"We differ upon practical matters of political organization, but when we come together in the League, we find our interests and our program so close, that there is hardly a disagreement.

"We are all for industrial unionism thru amalgamation of the existing unions, we are all against Gompers' absurd policy of hitching the labor movement as a tail to a capitalist political kite, we are all for the ultimate establishment of a workers' republic, we are all for international affiliation to the only possible international organization to-day, the Red Trade Union International.

"No one seriously contends to-day that American labor should affiliate to the bunch of capitalist lackeys in the Amsterdam International, whose officials draw big salaries from the League of Nations.

"On these things, and on other immediate practical issues from day to day, all the left wing elements can unite, and they are uniting in the Trade Union Educational League. Branches of the League are now formed in more than a hundred cities and towns, and new ones are being formed every day.

"The circulation of The Labor Herald is going up by thousands each month. The issues of the League are being raised in every union of the country.

"The old leadership is bankrupt, and the rank and file of Labor are turning to the only sign of progress that can be seen to-day, the Trade Union Educational League. The future in the labor movement belongs to us."

M. J. Olgin, editor of the Freiheit, extended greetings to the League, and spoke for a half hour receiving an ovation from the enthusiastic audience. Bob Minor made a talk, and took up a collection of $184. An old time co-worker with Tom Mann of England was present and spoke.

Herman Defrem was elected as the Chairman of the Local Group for New York, and Ben Gitlow was appointed by the national office as its representative, to function as secretary and organizer until the organization is completely established.

An Executive Board will be formed to work with these two officers, composed of the organizers of the various industrial groups, elect[illegible] by meetings of the League memb[illegible] in the various industries.

Local New York will be exp[illegible] to have six delegates at the [illegible] National Conference of the [illegible] to be held in Chicago on [illegible] 26-27.

Every one wishing to par[illegible] in the election of delegates [illegible] National Conference should a[illegible] get in touch with their group [illegible] Herman Defrem, Chairman, [illegible] 58th Street, New York City, o[illegible] Ben Gitlow, 46 Greenwich Ave[illegible] York City.

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[illegible]

[illegible] way as the workers will, it is forced upon them by the employers. [illegible] prefer that the casualty list contain the names of [illegible] the workers rather than the names of men who have spent their lives in useful labor and who are on strike to prevent their hard-won privileges being wrested from them. I think every intelligent worker will take the same stand.

Spying upon, scabbing upon and intimidating the workers of this nation has become a pleasant and lucrative occupation.

The hordes of degenerates mobilized by the detective agencies of the country prove this statement to the hilt.

In every industrial conflict that calls attention to a festering sore on the social organism these vultures swarm to the scene and prey upon the struggling workers. They serve only the powerful and they have so far been immune from punishment for even the most atrocious crimes.

Their role is that of an invading army in industrial communities. In Herrin they were treated as the invaders they were. The entire community rose against them as it had the right to do.

It happens that this particular community is a community of toilers and were it not for this fact there would be no outcry from the capitalist press.

In Bisbee, Arizona, in 1917, when the "respectable" element armed themselves and deported 1200 striking miners into the desert without food or water, leaving them there to crawl back to civilization or die of hunger and thirst as the case might be, the capitalist press applauded.

It happens that in Herrin the tables were turned. The outraged citizens were not members of the chamber of commerce, but of the miners' union.

The coal barons had decided that the question at issue was to be settled by force; they had not consulted the other citizens in making this decision, but it was accepted. The greater force won, and no question of ethics is involved.

There would be no confusion about the matter at all if the workers of America were accustomed to winning these battles.

Had the Herrin miners been the victims the capitalist press would be quite calm, but busy laying the blame on the miners just the same.

Dead men tell no tales, but in this instance it is the mercenaries whose voices are silent. To me this brings no sorrow.

[illegible]

Any attempt at apology for the actions of the [illegible] is drawing a red herring across the trail that leads to those guilty —the mine owners.

Such action prevents the workers at large from keeping in mind the main point, that the Southern Illinois Coal Co. was determined to operate its mine, no matter how many workers they had to kill to do it; that the kept press is now howling because too many thugs and scabs were killed while the workers won the battle.

If that fight had gone the way certain elements in society today had hoped it would go, then there would have been paeans of praise from the dollar-controlled dailies for the forces of "law and order."

Remember Calumet, Mich., and Ludlow, Colo., where the mine guards not only murdered men, but shot and burned to death women and children. We did not hear the kept press clamoring for punishment them. They "deplored" the situation.

"Already we are in disrepute in the public mind, and threatened with litigation that, to say the least, will cripple our union for years to come," is only part of Farrington's hysterical utterance.

Yes, and any more such effusions from Farrington, or Lewis, or men in similar places, when the miners' union needs to close up every line of defense, and the miners will find it necessary to conduct a cleaning out process in their own ranks, to save their union.

Communists in the French Chamber of Deputies voted against an appropriation of 35,000 francs for France's representation at the wedding of King Alexander of Jugo-Slavia on June 8. They did this as a protest against the "white terror," to which Communists are subjected in Jugo-Slavia. And in the excitement that arose during the debate the reactionaries wanted to pass laws to jail all the Communists. More "liberty" of discussion.

Famine in Russia More Acute

Reports are being spread broadcast to the effect that the famine in Soviet Russia is over and that no further aid is needed.

These reports are absolutely groundless. On the contrary, the famine is becoming more acute and is invading new territories. At the present time there is a terrible crisis in the Ukraine and Crimea, due to the draining of food from those areas and the influx of refugees evacuated from the Volga region.

The sufferings of the population in the Ukraine and Crimea are as full of horrors as those endured by the famine-stricken on the Volga.

There are millions of children, women and men without food. The city population is suffering most, so that relief will have to be directed particularly to those localities.

There are more than 32 million people affected, and aid is needed without delay. The American Relief Adminstration does not claim to be feeding more than 8,000,000 thruout Soviet Russia, yet the real number fed by them is 1,900,000 children receiving an average of 700 calories per day and 3,000,000 adults receiving mainly one pound of corn.

The Quakers are feeding 285,000 children at 800 calories, the International Children's Relief, an English organization, 715,000, the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions about 240,000, all other Red Cross organizations combined 78,000.

The Workers' International Relief Committee feeds 250,000, its relief, furthermore, being of a more permanent character, since it is aiding in productive work in Soviet Russia. It is obvious, therefore, that there are millions without food.

Senator Watson charged Herbert Hoover on the floor of the U. S. Senate with having aided efforts to overthrow the Soviet Government and restore the Czarist government. He declared that Hoover had caused an American steamer to transport a cargo of military motor trucks and supplies from Bordeaux to the northern army in Russia, to be used in General Yudenitch's army against the Soviets.

This in addition to Hoover's general report on the termination of famine in Soviet Russia, and his statement that no further assistance need be given the famine-stricken, together with the attitude of the American government toward Soviet Russia, seems but the manifestation of a general plan against the Soviet Regime.

The workers interested in Russian famine relief are watching developments.

The ubiquitous correspondent of the New York Times has discovered a "red plot" in the seizure of A. Bruce Bielaski for ransom in Mexico. Bielaski is ex-chief of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, and The Times' fears for his safety is surely a confession of the many crimes he has committed.

Professor William Starr Myers, of Princeton University, told the Rotary Club in New York the other day that he is against "class legislation." He means he is against working-class legislation. Myers and Princeton University repeatedly put their "O. K." on legislation for the capitalist class.

"French Debt is Off 7,000,000,000 Francs," says a headline, claiming a mistake in bookkeeping. This ought to be a good tip to the Germans to try to pay off their debts with French inaccuracies.

Tag Day At Rockaway

There will be a Tag Day and House-to-House Collection this week-end, July 4th, at Rockaway. Volunteers are needed. All those willing to help are asked to report to Comrade Fannie Jacobs, 1709 Redfern Ave., Far Rockaway; Phone, Far Rockaway 0485 W, or at any of the following stations: Bungalow 185 A, Beach 26, Edgemeer; 9 Felia Court, Beach 52nd Street, Arverne; 3 Beach 80th St., Hammel. Come out and help!

Members of the Young Workers' League of America, Local Greater New York

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City Open Air Campaign Committee, Nat. Kaplan, Chairman, Room 508, 799 Broadway, N. Y. C.

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C. E. RUTHENBERG

now out on bond and serving as National Secretary of the Workers Party

and closing address to the jury by

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Foster Urges All Labor to Join the United Front

MILWAUKEE.—A call to labor to drop all division and to make a united attack on the enemy, both economically and politically, was sounded here by William Z. Foster, before a meeting filled with railway workers and others.

He showed what he termed the futility of the present labor tactics. On the current wage cut he declared it was time for the railway men and miners to join forces in order to say to the exploiters, "You have pushed us as far as we are going to be pushed. From now on we fight."

Refused Hall at St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS.—The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor union at its last meeting refused to permit the use of its hall for a mass meeting at which Wm. Z. Foster was to be the principal speaker on the proposal to amalgamate the various craft unions on the basis of one union for each industry.

[illegible] all amounts to nothing.

The iron-fisted Mr. Gompers, [illegible] on record against a Labor Party and backed by an incredibly cowardly and slavish set of international officials, ruthlessly crushes every move towards working class political action.

And if the attitude of the Gompers machine, in dealing with the political situation, displayed a bankrupt condition, that of the so-called progressive opposition was little or any better off.

Opposition Is Timid

It knew what should have been done, but it was too timid to brave the anger of the "old man" and do it.

When the Crown Prince, Matthew Woll, read the administrations' childish political program of trying to secure the passage of four constitutional amendments to stop the present anti-union drive, even the body of delegates, accustomed tho they are to intellectual cringing before Gompers, balked and showed unmistakable discontent.

It was an historic opportunity to put across a working class political party. The sentiment of the convention was such that had there been but one red-blooded powerful leader willing to fight for this proposition the thing would have been done.

But unfortunately such a leader was not at hand. When stirred by rank and file delegates who perceived the splendid opportunity to end Gompers' stupid policy and to deal him a blow, Johnston of the Machinists, Lewis of the Miners, Jewell of the Railroad workers and others conferred and caucussed.

But they lacked the moral courage to go boldly ahead and to defy Gompers. The thing was vetoed in their caucusses. Not even a motion was made for a labor party.

Most Pitiful Exhibition

It was one of the most pitiful exhibitions of weakness that even A. F. of L. conventions have produced.

If the convention failed utterly to appreciate the needs of the working class in a political way, it failed equally bad on the industrial field.

In the great battle now raging in industry the need for the workers to bring their forces into closer and closer alignment is so patent that no one but a child (or a $25,000 per year international president) could deny it.

Yet the convention not only refused to make any such appeal for the workers to come together, but it fought with bitter bigotry every suggestion of that idea.

The amalgamation resolution of the Railway Clerks, which provided a plan of industrial reorganization, sane and indispensible for the present situation, was voted down without even a single delegate speaking in favor of it.

Again it was the fatal combination of the intellectually bankrupt Gompers' machine and the timid, fearful "progressive" forces.

At nearly every point of the convention's business the same failure to rise to the situation was in evidence. Almost the only things carried of even minor importance in a progressive way were the endorsement of the needle trades' resolution calling for closer affiliation among these bodies, and the demand for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti.

"Socialists" With Gompers

But the most deplorable feature of this generally deplorable and spiritless convention was the attitude of the so-called "Socialist" unions, the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Fur Workers, and the Jewelry Workers.

They lined up solidly behind the old Gompers' machine, totally repudiating all the principles they have advocated in past years.

They voted against trade with Russia, amalgamation, and the progressive candidates, and they stood for every proposition, no matter how reactionary, that came from the administration.

Whenever Mr. Gompers cracked his whip they jumped. He has captured them bag and baggage.

And their reward for this treason, so far as one could see, was merely the election of Benjamin Schlessinger as fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress.

For this job he was nominated by the reactionary Green of the United Mine Workers and supported by the Crown Prince Woll, in a seconding speech. At any time one could see Schlessinger cheek by jowl with the blackest reactionaries in the labor movement.

There is no one quite so reactionary and contemptible as a rebel, real or professed, who goes wrong and joins with the traitors to labor.

Rebels Gone Wrong

Witness the Wrights, Spargos, Hunters, Wallings and other renegade Socialists now doing the dirty intellectual chores for Gompers.

Schlesinger has taken his place with these, and the needle trades' workers must be on their guard against an injection of Gompersism into their industry.

If they stand for it they will deserve all the evils that will surely come upon them.

With the so-called progressives in the convention betraying utter lack of leadership and the oldtime "Socialist" unions going over boots and all to the reactionary Gompers machine, it becomes more and more evident that the only hope of the trade union movement lies in those militant elements now concentrating in the Trade Union Educational League.

They alone offer promise of ending the system of bureaucratic leadership and policies that have just about destroyed the American labor movement.

Build "The League"

Gompers realizes this, hence his violent opposition to the League, at this convention as well as elsewhere.

Let his attacks be the signal for the rebels to realize that they are now on the right road.

The work of building the League should be carried on with redoubled vigor. It is the sole ray of light in the trade union movement.

The old leadership is bankrupt. If we had not known it before, the Cincinnati convention would have proved it beyond all doubt.

DEATH SENTENCE GOES

MOSCOW.—The All-Russian Central Executive Committee issued a new decree regarding the penal code, to come into force in June. Capital punishment is abolished, and may only be applied in districts under martial law. Five years imprisonment is now the heaviest punishment possible.

The Irish El[illegible]

By THOMAS J. O'FL[illegible]

The surprise of the Irish elections [illegible] success of the Irish Labor Party in [illegible] candidates put forward in the contest between Free Staters, Republicans and Independents to the coming session of the Irish Parliament or as it is known Dail Eireann.

It is very likely that had the Irish Labor Party sufficient material to contest other constituencies their delegation in the next congress might well be a majority.

Not alone were the labor candidates successful in electing 17 out of 18 candidates but in many instances they topped the poll. In Cork the labor candidates secured the largest number of votes of any other candidate in the city and as a sidelight on the temper of his following is the fact that after the election returns were announced thousands of workers marched thru the city carrying the Red Flag and singing revolutionary songs.

The Irish labor movement is one of the most revolutionary in Europe and is particularly so in comparison with the slow-moving, constitution and King worshipping Labor movement of England.

A few words about the Irish Labor Party and Trades Union Congress may not be out of place considering the tendency on the part of a large section of American labor to cast aside the dead wood policy of Gompers with its "reward your friends and punish your enemies program" and undertake independent political action thru the medium of the Trade Union movement.

Vote for their Class

The Irish Labor movement is under the direction of the Executive Committee of the Irish Labor Party and Trades Union Congress which is an organization, that controls the industrial and political activities of the organized workers of Ireland. The congress is not a loose federation like the A. F. of L. It is clothed with power to call strikes in cases of emergency tho it generally follows the rule of calling special conventions when such a policy seems essential.

The Irish Labor party makes it quite clear that for a worker to refuse to vote for a labor candidate on election is scabbing. The result is that in spite of the national excitement and the pressure brought to bear on the voters by the military forces of both the Republicans and Free Staters that the Irish workers wherever a labor candidate appeared on the ballot voted religiously in the interests of their class.

Before the European war the Irish Labor Party was affiliated with the British Labor Party. The British Labor Party favored the war while the Irish labor party opposed it. The latter thereupon withdrew and has not since affiliated. The Irish labor party rendered effective assistance in the national struggle against the British military forces and it was Conolly who was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the rebellion of Easter Week. This will be denied by the present so-called Republicans, but it is nevertheless true.

Strive for Workers' Republic

The Irish labor movement declared a successful general strike twice against the military occupation and succeeded in thwarting the enemy's aim. But England relieved from foreign wars was able to devote her entire attention to the Irish question, so when peace was offered by England last December, the Irish labor party accepted the situation as a step in advance which would give them the opportunity to forward the interests of the working class as they realized that Republics mean nothing to the workers unless they are Workers Republics.

We believe that the Irish labor party blundered in not taking a more decided position against the treaty on principle. Nevertheless they are to be congratulated on their realistic attitude towards the empty bauble of political independence.

It is evident now that the Irish question is stripped of much of its ability to harm the British Empire and from now on the task of overthrowing capitalism and monarchism must be carried on conjointly by the British and Irish workers. They have the same enemy—British Imperialism.

A very small minority in the Irish labor movement favored the Irish Labor Party standing back and leaving the contest between De Valera and Collins. The Labor Party overwhelmingly voted down this proposal.

When De Valera and Collins realized that Labor was going to contest the elections they formed a compact in order to retain their petty bourgeois grip on the Dail Eireann and called upon all patriotic citizens to vote for the coalition candidates.

De Valera and Collins Unite

There was even a threat of intimidation, but the labor movement of Ireland is an organized force about 300,000 strong, so they defied the veiled threats of the Republicans and the Free State politicians and went ahead with their plans.

It was a lesson for the workers to see De Valera and Collins who professed to hate each other unite at the polls in order to keep political power away from the workers. That they were jealous of each other there is no doubt, but there is less doubt that they were still more jealous of the workers.

While the Irish labor movement has been growing conservative of late it aims at the establishment of a Workers' Republic. Its use of the parliamentary weapon will be watched with interest by the American workers and the example thus set will have a great effect in hurrying the American labor movement toward using their political power as well as their industrial power against the master class.

The working class of Ireland besides accepting political action as a weapon against capitalism have also used the military weapon when occasion warranted it, and the sight of Red Guards even now is no unusual phenomenon.

It is commonly believed in Ireland that judging from the strength shown by the Irish labor party in the recent elections that when the next general election is held the Irish labor party will command a majority in the Irish Parliament. And that by the way is what the Ulster reactionaries fear more than the influence of the Pope.

[illegible] the time of the World War until the present day. He received a storm of applause which indicated that the convention was getting out of hand, so Gompers took the floor.

His speech was a combination of all the lies carried in the last few years by the capitalist press and a series of insinuations and half-truths. He read three telegrams from Herbert Hoover and Secretary of State Hughes in support of his statement that there were no restrictions on trade with Russia. He introduced the memorandum of the social-revolutionary delegation to the conference of the three Internationals recently held in Berlin in support of his charge that the Communists of Russia and the officials of the Soviet government were bloody-handed savages and closed with an appeal to the delegates to be once more guided by his advice.

The tremendous sentiment apparent among the delegates for the minority report was the more surprising as it came after the administration had been re-elected without a single change and with opposition against but two officers—Tobin and Fis[illegible] —with Schlesinger and his delegation voting solidly against the progressive candidates and with the administration. They were also pledged to vote against Russian recognition. [illegible] question before the convention aroused so much fighting [illegible] among the radicals nor is anything plainer than that the ordinary [illegible] trade unionist is nearer to a real understanding of the revolutionary labor movement than the mouthers of revolutionary phrases who call themselves Socialists.

Gompers' last effort was not regarded with the usual ovation [illegible] greets his denunciations of [illegible] nor did the magic names of Hughes and Hoover evoke a single clap. No more ghastly sight [illegible] disgusted spectators than that [illegible] palsied old man with one foot [illegible] grave dabbling his palsied [illegible] the blood of the men, women [illegible] children of suffering Russia, [illegible] grinning approval of a yellow [illegible] ist labor leader who sold his revolutionary honor for a trip to E[illegible] as a fraternal delegate. The Socialist Party, Sam Gompers, Hughes, Hoover and the whole capitalist machine of the United States is now [illegible] solubly linked with the imperialist murderers who defeat child labor laws, outlaw unions, institute a [illegible] of terror at home while attempting to crush the only workers' government in the world.

On the last day of the convention the minority report on Russian [illegible] tions was defeated and the administration resolution adopted without roll call.

Max Hays put up a splendid fight for the minority in his closing argument, but the administration lobby had time to rally the Gompers forces during the recess, and when Matt Woll, speaking in rebuttal for the resolution committee, appealed to the respectability of the majority delegates most of them forgot their pledges and again placed a black [illegible] upon the American labor movement. It stands to-day as the only [illegible] movement in any country that is opposed to the recognition of the Soviet government. The arguments [illegible] the supporters of the majority resolution would have been considered reactionary even in an up-to-date chamber of commerce. In reality [illegible] was the voice of the Civic Federation that was heard here and not the voice of American labor. Senator Borah's telegram to Hays made this plain. It created a sensation, contradicting, as it did, every statement made by Hughes and Hoover, but reason was [illegible] so far as the majority was concerned. It would not have been surprising if, [illegible] with victory, a resolution of condolence to Boris Bakhmeteff had been introduced by the Gompers crowd before the convention adjourned.

The convention has done nothing for labor but much for the bosses. It has dragged American labor a little deeper into the pit and seems to glory in its shame. The only hopeful sign was the presence of a little handful of men and women of dauntless spirit who alone were responsible for the fact that on the Russian matter the administration had to use all its strategy and [illegible] upon all its friends in high government circles to carry the day.

Perhaps it is just as well that during the brief period it has left to enjoy its power its shameful record should not be redeemed by any progressive act. Its most valuable service to labor has been to [illegible] new enemies within the [illegible] labor.

VOLUNTEER TO HELP MAKE MINERS' TAG DAY A BIG SUCCESS, JULY 8th AND

[illegible] in the drive on July [illegible] the relief of the starving miners [illegible] West Virginia.

[illegible] may collect at any of [illegible] following stations: 296 Sackman [illegible], Empire Hall, Lorimer and [illegible] Kyck Streets, 47 Chrystie Street, [illegible] East 23rd Street, 350 E. 81st St. [illegible] Fifth Ave., 1347 Boston Road.

The present condition of the striking miners is deplorable. Ringed round by thugs and militia, the miners and their families are in danger of being starved into submission. Miss Elizabeth Gilman, active in relief work for the miners, reports the following: "Evictions continue and only today we received a report that at one place the drinking water had been cut off because the men refused to go to work on the company's terms. How long it was intended that the water remain off, the men did not know, but even a short time would produce a dangerous situation."

This is not all that the miners have to contend with. They and their families are starving.

They have nothing to eat, and it is up to the organized workers whose battle they are fighting, to come to their aid. Volunteer for the Tag Day.

Contributions received in Room 6, 208 E. 12th Street. Address L. Gruss, Secretary Miners' Relief Committee, Room 6, 208 East 12th Street. No salaries are paid to anyone. All money sent directly to West Virginia. Food will also be received at any of the above-mentioned stations.

TRICT No. 2 CONVENTION

ong the subjects on the da for the convention of Dis 2, Workers Party, including York and vicinity, to be held ew York City, July 29-30, are following: platform and pro unemployment, women and labor, the open shop, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, ada decision, injunctions st strikes and picketing, race ation.

united front on the industrial olitical fields will also be taken Candidates will also be nomi-

W YORK CONVENTION

City Convention of the Local York to nominate candidates the coming elections will be held 23, at the Labor Lyceum, 243 th St., at 10 A. M. All branches to be represented. In order that branches should have adequate esentation, members in arrears have not paid dues for three ths, must settle up.

eveland Makes Steady Gains.

he Workers Party organization t Cleveland is growing steadily in size, activity and influence.

It maintains a fine local headquar right in the center of the city, its thousand members are being creased at the rate of fifty or more every City Central Committee meeting.

A full state and local ticket has been placed in the field. The following are some of the nominees: For Governor, Scott Wilkins, former Mayor of Marysville, O.; for Lieu t-Governor, Lotta Burke, of cinnati; for U. S. Senator, John htin, of Cleveland; for Congress, 20th District, C. E. Ruthenberg; 21st District, Tom Clifford; d District, Angelo Severino. All candidates are known to be e and fearless champions of the working class.

The annual picnic will be held on nday, July 2nd, at Russics Farm, of the State Road Car line.

HE WANTED TO WORK

BELLVILLE, Ill.—"Out of employment. Out of food. Suicide." story ran in the case of Herbert nrad, 21 years old, who lost his arm while serving in the world r, and who died in a local hospital a result of an attempt at suicide ne 5. Despondent because he could t no work on account of his condition, he shot himself in the head with rifle.

Liberator Outdoor Gambol & Costume Ball

Saturday, July, 22nd

MIDLAND PARK

GRAND CITY

Staten Island

Where are the guys running?

Two Clef Club Orchestra:
Beauty Contest

Tickets, $1.00 in advance
$1.50 at the gate

For sale at
Liberator, 138 W. 13th St.; Toiler, 208 E. 12th St.; Workers Party Office, 799 Broadway, Room 405, and Greenwich Village Shops.

WATCH ANNOUNCEMENT NEXT WEEK!

[illegible] for the non-convening of the World Labor Congress, [illegible] every worker to see that it is a case of pure pretense and nothing but deception on the part of the leaders of the Second International.

If the Second International gives as a reason for the non-convening of the World Labor Congress our past, present and future criticism of the Social Democratic Parties, it means that the Second International demands of the Communists that they resign themselves to the rule of the Social Democratic trade union and party leaders, that they renounce every struggle for their own ideals, for the ideals for which Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and hundreds of thousands of workers in Russia and Germany have fallen, and for which millions of workers in the whole world are fighting.

Soviets Will Not Abdicate

If the Second International makes the Congress contingent upon the Soviet Government giving the Mensheviks liberty to organize revolts, this absurd demand implies that the Soviet Government abdicate in favor of French Imperialism which has now come forward as the champion of the Mensheviks.

These demands which are preposterous to a sane understanding are set up in clear contravention of the resolutions of the Berlin Conference which had decided on the unconditional convocation of the World Labor Congress.

It is a matter of course that the Delegation of the Communist International immediately rejected these unreasonable demands. The Communist International has not only fulfilled the obligations which its representatives undertook in Berlin, but the Russian Soviet Government has also made concessions which go far beyond it.

How Different in Prussia

While the Delegation of the Communist International to the Berlin Conference pledged itself to obtain permission for the former Royal Belgian Minister Vandervelde, to attend the trial of the Social Revolutionaries as defending counsel and the Soviet Government at the request of [illegible]

[illegible] by the representatives of the Second International that the Communist International only demands the World Labor Congress in order to harness the world proletariat to the chariot of Soviet Russia's foreign policy, the Communist International on the suggestion of the Communist Party of Russia, declared itself prepared to forego having the question of the defense of Soviet Russia placed on the agenda for the World Labor Congress. Defend at least the bare existence, the morsel of bread of the workers of Western Europe, and then the Communist International will also co-operate and organize this defense in common!

All this was preached to deaf ears. The Second International did not desire a World Labor Congress under any circumstances. Germany is on the eve of great struggles over the apportionment of new taxation burdens. The increasing cost of all necessities threatens to lead to grave economic conflicts.

The Social Democracy wants to maintain in this situation its alliance with the bourgeoisie, cost what it may, and it is afraid that — in the event of its appearance at a Workers' Congress—it would be compelled by the united movement of the proletariat to break the united front with the bourgeoisie.

Don't Want United Front

The English Labour Party is confronted with an election, during and after which it will in some form or other collaborate with the Liberals.

These friendly relations with the bourgeoisie would naturally be hindered by an approach to the Communist workers. And the same holds true in other countries.

The Second International desired to render impossible the coming together of the World Labor Congress in any event.

But it had no objection to the Commission remaining in existence, in order to hinder the Communist struggle against the Social Democracy:

The Communist International could not allow the Social Democrats of all countries and the trade union [illegible]

[illegible] signed agreement, the Vienna International forthwith declared that owing to the attitude of the Second and Third Internationals, the Congress had been rendered impossible.

It was not sufficient that in this way Adler placed the struggle of the Communist Delegation for the carrying out of the Berlin decisions on the same footing as the struggle of the Second International against the Berlin decisions.

He justifies his attitude by the statement that "differences within the Executive of the Communist International render difficult the convening of the Congress." And this altho he must have known that the Executive of the Communist International unanimously ratified the agreement come to in Berlin.

At the close of the sitting he even went so far as to insinuate that the Communists were now opposed to the World Labor Congress because the Soviet Government was about to enter into a compromise with the Entente, and did not wish to be hindered by a Workers' Congress.

Launch Campaign of Falsehood

This shameful imputation is an absolute contradiction of all the facts, which are known to every reader, and which must inform every reader that Soviet Russia is now in one of the most difficult stages of the fight against the capitalist world.

This imputation was only a watchword for the cover offensive by the Press of the 2½ International. But one day after the breaking up of the Committee of Nine the Berlin Independent Socialist "Freiheit" had the bare face to write:

"The Communists are no longer interested in the World Labor Congress since the conclusion of the truce pact betwen Bolshevik Russia and the Entente States."

[illegible] of the open and disguised reformists in which the Communists would merely act as a screen.

Working men and women! The representatives of the Communist International have not light-heartedly undertaken this step. They knew what hopes the working masses had bound up in the existence of the Commission of Nine, for they knew that the Commission of Nine had awakened in you the hope that it would organize your struggle against the growing need. The representatives of the Communist International have withdrawn from the Commission of Nine in the conviction that any illusion with regard to such work by the Commission of Nine would only hinder your struggle for the establishment of the united front.

Block Fight on Capitalist Offensive

Only the naked truth, the calm recognition of the situation, will help to inspire the fight. And this truth is: the leaders of the Social Democratic parties and the trade union bureaucracy are opposed to the real fight against the capitalist offensive. And for this reason they are against the united front and the World Labor Congress.

Comrades:—The Communist International felt it to be no easy matter to sit at the same table with those who are politically responsible for the murder of Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Connolly, with the representatives of the parties which have helped world capital to keep the proletariat four years in the service of [illegible]

[illegible]

Communist Workers:—You have the duty of carrying the lessons of the first attempt at establishing the united front of the proletariat to the broadest masses of the working class.

Workers of the parties of the Second and 2½ Internationals! It is your duty after these experiences with your leaders to undertake everything, to neglect nothing, in order to show your leaders who have forgotten their duty that you have no mind to permit the further sabotage of the united front, that you are determined to unite with the Communist workers in the struggle against the assaults of capital.

The slogan of the World Labor Congress will be the slogan of the coming fight! But the experiences of this first attempt to convene the World Labor Congress have proved that in order for it to be possible, it is necessary to break down the first line of resistance of the leaders of the Social Democratic parties in Germany and England, that it is necessary in these countries, in practical daily struggle, to consolidate the working masses without regard to what party they belong, into one united front which will then spread all over the world.

On to the struggle for the proletarian united front and the World Labor Congress!

Down with the united front of the Social Democrats and the bourgeoisie!

On to the Struggle

On to the fight against the leaders of the Second International, the splitters of the working class!

Create the united front from below upwards!

The Delegation of the Executive
Committee of the Communist
International.

[illegible] The Worker on the newsstands, build up the subscription circulation as well as to raise funds.

These conferences have in the past been the most successful means of maintaining working-class organs. For a number of years they supported the Volkszeitung, the only German Communist organ in this country. These conferences can do the same for The Worker if all branches of the Party will send their most active members to take part in building up the circulation of The Worker to the 50,000 mark.

Comrades William F. Dunne, Editor of The Worker; Robert Minor, Cartoonist for The Worker; J. Louis Engdahl, Managing Editor of The Worker; Elmer T. Allison, Business Manager, and W. W. Weinstone of the Local will speak on the need and methods for building up a revolutionary working-class press.

Branches and sympathizing organizations are requested to send representatives to the first conference to be held on July 7th, Friday evening, 8 P. M., to the Toiler Building, 208 East 12th Street.

ARTISTS VS. WRITERS

For the first time the Liberator arranged an outdoor Gambol and Costume Ball for Saturday, July 22, at Midland Park, Grant City, Staten Island. We will make it one to be long remembered. This will be a red-letter event for artists, writers, futurists, poets, philosophers, flappers and reds.

A baseball game where beastly bludgeons will replace the pen and brush as weapons of combat when the artists and writers will at last decide which shall hold sway. Among those who will participate in this age-old feud will be Mike Gold, Robert Minor, William Gropper, Louis Engdahl, Ben Gitlow, C. E. Ruthenberg, Elmer T. Allison and others.

Then there will be a costume ball. An international array including Turkish, Arabic, Syrian, Greek; together with artist models, artists, writers, business men, dancers, prestidigitators, loafers, workers, thinkers, poets, politicians, statesmen, reformers, reds and a host of others, including hairy apes, will laugh, giggle, dance, talk, chatter, eat, forget the worries of life in the joy of living. Go home happy and contented and kill two birds with one bone.

New Bulgarian Branch.

The Bulgarian Provisional Bureau reports the organization of a new branch of its federation at Chicago, Ill.

Aids of Poincares and Lloyd Georges on Trial at Moscow

(Continued from Page One)

might say in a few weeks, in getting into power over the whole of Russia—so it seemed at least—and afterwards lost its influence just as quickly and faded into insignificance.

Fate of the "S. R." Party

The approaching trial affords us the opportunity of reviewing the strange fate of the Social Revolutionary Party. This explains the interest it arouses; it is produced by the necessity for understanding and arriving at certain conclusions.

I will only touch on one side of the question here, which it seems to me has not received sufficient attention in our press and which is nevertheless of great importance: the position which the humbler sections of the party, the rank and file, its minor officials respectively held or now hold in the party.

At the beginning of the present century Plekhanoff called the Social Revolutionaries, "Social Reactionaries".

This was appropriate in so far as it described the petty-bourgeois, reactionary components of its world outlook which threatened to convert the party into a tool of bourgeois counter-revolution and did in fact so transform it.

Criticised the Terrorists

As soon as the petty-bourgeoisie separates itself from the proletariat it always inevitably becomes a tool of the bourgeoisie. In the struggle against Czarism and feudalism the party played a revolutionary role.

It aroused the peasants, it stirred large groups of young students to political activity, it assembled around its standard considerable groups of workers who were not yet either materially or mentally separated from the village and who considered the revolution not from the proletarian class point of view, but from the shapeless point of view of the "worker".

The terrorists entered into the duel and sacrificed their lives for the lives of Czarist dignitaries. We critized this method, for we were of the opinion that the Sazonovs and the Kaliayeffs would have been more useful to the cause of the revolution if they had combined their energy with the energy of the working masses instead of increasing their individual force by the explosive force of dynamite.

Shows Beginnings of Chasm

But our work among the masses, our criticism and our exposition of terror converted these terrorist acts into external incentives for the revolutionary activity of the masses.

It often happened at demonstrations that the most self-sacrificing Marxist workers went hand in hand with the self-sacrificing "Narodniki" workers in order to oppose the Czarist Police and Cossacks by armed force.

Later on these met in the prisons of Siberia, on the way to prison and in exile. Among the humbler sections of the party there were always excellent, determined and self-sacrificing elements to be found in spite of the theoretical vagueness of their ideas.

Already at that time a chasm was beginning to separate the young Petrograd textile worker belonging to the Social Revolutionary Party who at any moment was prepared to sacrifice his life for the cause of the working class, from the intellectuals of the Avksentiev type, from the Heidelberg and other students, philosophers, Kantians, Nietschians who at that time differed in no way from the petty-bourgeois radicals of France, with the exception of their greater illusions and their inferior culture.

Expose Tchernoff's Zig-zagging

At that time it was clear to the Marxists how widely these two groups would diverge from the influence of the "Narodniki" ideology, and the future parliamentarians, political place-hunters who for the moment were in no hurry to surrender their Socialist phraseology.

In consequence of the war and the revolution the dissolution of the Social Revolutionary Party was enormously accelerated.

The complete political and moral decay of the upper sections of the party was accelerated by the fact that the great events compelled clear and exact answers and did not permit of vacillation.

Thus we see how Tchernoff at Zimmerwald unexpectedly adhered to the Extreme Left, thus renouncing the idea of the "National Party" and how he later on sat in a bourgeois cabinet and recommended the July offensive hand in hand with the Entente countries.

This terribly zig-zag course of the leader of the party already foreshadowed its approaching final eclipse.

A great quantity of trained energy still existed in the party. The heroic past of the party (its sacrifices, the death sentences, Siberian hard labor, deportations) held, as a result of our backward social relations (the peasant majority!), the honest, subjectively revolutionary parts of the rank and file of the party under the party banner, at the time when the stupefied upper circles of the party had become perfectly ripe for open official flunkeyism to imperialism and counter-revolution.

The whole of the play of the Central Committee with the members of the fighting organizations, from the political and moral aspect, took place at the time of the transition period; the rank and file seriously accepted the slogans of the party, proceeded in the old direction and proceeded courageously to the end.

They were prepared to kill, to sacrifice their lives against other lives. Their subjective motives were revolutionary.

They were only behind the times, they did not see the enormous change that had taken place in the whole world situation.

The upper circles saw this. They knew all too well that the terrorist campaign against the Soviets was financed from the same monetary sources which but yesterday financed Nicholas against us and against the Social Revolutionaries.

The upper circles of the party could not be ignorant of this. They did not act influenced by their traditions and by inertia. They speculated upon gaining advantages; they were conscious of their treachery, of their part as renegades.

They therefore conducted this diplomatic play with themselves, with history, with the imperialist Allies and before all with their own party and the rank and file.

The Tchernoffs and the Avksentievs profited by the heroism of the Sazonovs and Kaliayeffs and placed the honest and self-sacrificing members of the organization at the disposal of Noulens and Lockhart.

When these members of the fighting organization grasped the significance of historical events in the new world situation, when they convinced themselves that they were throwing their bombs at the behest of the French Embassy and the Roumanian Embassy, they shrank back from their own deeds.

The more determined and self-sacrificing they had previously been in their fight against the Bolsheviks with the methods which the Social Revolutionaries learned during the time of suppression, the greater now was their indignation and resentment.

Some of them mediated longer than other, some went abroad, some placed their lives at the disposal of the Workers' Republic and carried out the most dangerous tasks on the front in the civil war.

Some are still wavering. With a sort of unfailing instinct however, the bourgeois press of the whole world denounced the stand taken by Semenov and Konopleya with the cry of "Renegades".

At the time of the blockade of Soviet Russia it came to the final opinion that the Social Revolutionaries of whom they previously knew nothing were only the Left Wing of the anti-Soviet front or a [illegible] fighting mechanism for the terrorist measures ordered from Paris and London.

And then one suddenly met with a revolt, a direct stroke of treachery on the part of this Left Wing! A betrayal of the cause which at present unites Tchernoff with Poincare.

The spiritual revolt of Semenov, Konopleva and others against the Central Committee of the party and against the real masters working behind the scenes of this Central Committee, against the Social Revolutionary Party in its actual attitude, is in reality the immediate consequence of all that the past of the Social Revolutionary Party has to show in revolutionary spirit and in heroism.

There is only one clear answer to the great and simple question: which and what cause were all these Social Revolutionaries serving who were killed in terrorist duels and in street battles, or died in Siberian hard labor and exile; the cause which is espoused by the Tchernoffs together with the Noulens, the Poincares and the Lloyd Georges, or the cause of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Russia which, as Genoa demonstrated, is fighting alone against the raging imperialist bloodhounds?

Those Social Revolutionaries who have stood up against the corrupt clique which is still [illegible] to profit by the revolutionary traditions of the party can declare with a calm conscience that they are the trustees of all that the past of the Social Revolutionary Party has to show in heroism and greatness during the time of suppression and illegal work.

BE A PARTNER OF SOVIET RUSSIA

For $10 you can buy a share in a company which has formed a partnership with the Russian Soviet Government. It will manufacture cloth, clothing, etc., in Moscow and Petrograd. Russia furnishes the plants, the workmen, the raw materials and the market. American working people are now furnishing the capital and the technical aid. Any profits over ten per cent will go to enlarging these factories and running others, so that the possibilities of the project are without limit. Show the sabotaging bankers that American workers can supply Russia its needed capital direct.

Russia's Message to You

MOSCOW.

EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE GREETS THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION AND FORETELLS GREAT SUCCESS PROMISES CO-OPERATION IN THE WORK.

(Signed) EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

When you give charity to a starving man you do not help him as much as if you give him a job. Americans have contributed splendidly to feed Russian famine victims. Now we have a chance to invest money which will not be eaten up, but will help Russians to help themselves. For every dollar that you have given and will give to famine relief, put two dollars into Russian industry.

Russian-American Industrial Corporation
Sidney Hillman, President. 31 Union Square, New York.

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

Russian-American Industrial Corporation,
31 Union Square, New York City.
I want .... shares of your stock at $10 a share, for which I enclose $................ I want further information about your proposition.
Name ....
Address ....
City ....
State ....
M. R.-6-21

[illegible] Greeted by [illegible] Coal Camps of Ohio

By CALEB HARRISON

"By their deeds you shall know them," may be a trite saying, but it is rich in meaning.

The success of the Workers Party depends largely upon the energy and intelligence the membership displays in putting our program into action.

I reached Neffs, Ohio, to address a meeting. Neffs is a mining town located in the hills of Southern Ohio, near the Ohio River.

We have several branches of the Workers Party in Neffs, but no English branch.

In spite of obstacles the meeting was successful.

Miners present appreciated the talk so much that I was urged to return and address the meeting of the big local of the Miners' Union.

This I did. There was an election of officers, but the miners gathered early, and the president gave me the floor before they went into business.

The response to our message to the striking miners was wonderful and the American members seemed the most enthusiastic.

In spite of the strike situation they insisted upon taking up a collection as a contribution toward our work.

I spoke in Bellaire, where we have a good local of active comrades, many of them active in the Miners' Union.

I went back into the hills again to Fairpoint, a town like Neffs in size and makeup. The miners were to have a meeting, but gave way to our meeting, which was held in a field down by a creek where a platform is erected for just such purposes. At the appointed time the miners began to come from all directions; men of many races and tongues.

In Fairpoint we have a local of the Workers Party, but like many places there is no American branch. The American workers recognize that the foreigners make the best of union men, but they stood aloof heretofore from political contact with their foreign brothers — they felt too superior

But times are changing: the class struggle rages. American miners at that meeting were just as enthusiastic as the foreigners. At the close of my speech I soon learned why the miners were so serious and thoughtful.

At Uniontown, five miles away, a strip mine was opened and 20 scabs are working. A group of national guardsmen, armed with six machine guns stand guard over the scabs.

At nighttime powerful searchlights sweep the countryside for miles around and woe to any unsuspecting person who goes too near that scab mine.

This is enough to make the miners serious, but, then, on top of that the operators of Clarkson Mine No. 2 have asked for men to go into the mine to clean it of fallen rock and coal. The miners see in this a trick on the part of the company to get the mine in operation.

They have stoutly refused to go into the mine, holding that this mine was closed by a shut-down ever since last August and the company never thought of having it cleaned until the strike.

Then into the scene came the organiser of the sub-district, Joe Angelo, who told the miners that according to their contract someone must go in to clean that mine; that the strike would be over in two weeks anyway. He made a threat that if the local would not allow any one to go in he would order men in and if they refused to obey, or if anyone interfered he would bring a policeman along, have them arrested and thrown out of the union.

In the discussion we had the miners learned that they could call Joe Angelo's bluff; and to his assertion that the strike would end in two weeks they would call his attention to John L. Lewis' present efforts to get the railroaders on strike together with the miners.

The Workers Party is going to become a factor in these parts.

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN TO A POLISH PICNIC?

The Polish Branch, Workers Party of New York, will hold a picnic, July 7th, at the Frans and Schubert Hotel, Glendale, L. I. Admission 25 cents. Directions: Take Delancey Street line, No. 3, Bushwick Avenue car. Go to end of line, then take the Richmond Hill car, get off at Frans and Schubert Hotel and you will have a fine time.

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[illegible] Our task [illegible] it into the life struggle of the workers [illegible] day fights of the [illegible]. There we will [illegible] bership. There we will gain in strength. There we will [illegible] leadership.

The United Front Campaign of the Workers Party is an effort to participate in the [illegible] built upon the [illegible] this country, unemployment and [illegible].

The success of the party in this campaign depends upon the support given by the units of the organization, by the members.

That support must be given in funds and work.

The United Front Campaign Fund is being raised to print literature, to pay speakers and organizers. Each branch has been asked to raise a quota equal to 50 cents for each member—a branch having twenty members should raise $10, fifty members $25, 100 members $50.

Has your branch raised its quota? Here is a list of those that have:

Jeanette D. Pearl, N. Y. C., $10; Brownsville English Branch, $10; Williamsburg English Branch, $5; Chas. Lint, Sandusky, Ohio, $1; L. B. Gerhard (List), Reading, $14.50; Lawrenceville Finnish Branch, $15; J. H. Parker, Carrollton, O., $5; M. R. Mills, Atlanta, Ga., $5; Brooklyn Finnish Branch, $78.45; Ukranian Br., N. Y. C., $10; S. Slav Branch, Bellaire, Ohio, $15; A. Fergi, Detroit, Mich., $1; M. Loben, West Allis, Wis., $12.50; Hudson County English Branch, $4; K. Hakanen, Quincy, Mass., $10.40; Finnish Branch, Bessemer, Mich., $10; J. Reisinger, Cleveland, O., $[illegible]; Hudson County C. C., $5; M. R. Markoff, Madison, Ill., $[illegible]; S. Slavic, Yorkville, Ohio, $10; A. Schoettler, Joliet, Ill., $6; Finnish Branch, New Rochelle, N. Y., $10; S. P. Ivancich Huron, O., $1; English Branch, Wilmington, Del., $10; Finnish Branch Fort Bragg, Cal., $10; South Slavic, N. Y. C., $10; South Slavic, Los Angeles, Cal., $5; Finnish Branch, Washington, D. C., $7; Finnish Branch, International Fall, $11; List, $4.55; Finnish Branch, Hancock, Mich., $1.46; Theo. Ostwick, Livingston, Ill., $10; Lassalle Branch, N. Y. C., $10; A Friend, $1; Lithuanian Branch No. 7, Cedar Rapids, Ia., $10; English Branch, Detroit, Mich., $15; Finnish Branch, Glassport, Pa., $12.75; Arley Staples, Christopher, Ill., $7; F. Samolchuk, Peabody, Mass., $5.25; John Doyle, Wilmerding, Pa., $1; Finnish Branch, Pittsburgh, Pa., $10; Jewish Branch, Pittsburgh, Pa., $10; O. Harkimen, Portland, Ore., $26.40; Jewish Branch Paterson, N. J., $10; Finnish Branch, Ashtabula, Ohio, $10; Stanley Bryant, Akron, Ohio, $4; J. Woronko, New Haven, Conn., $2; Branch West Hoboken, N. J., $3; Geo. Kirkone, Racine, Wis., $10; Roumanian Federation, $11; South Slav Branch, Kansas City, Kansas, $10; H. Kens, Mason City, Ia., $3; South Slav Branch, Pittsburgh, Pa., $28.50; German Branch, Bushwick, Brooklyn, $25; H. Niyaran, Wellsburg, W. Va., $7; Finnish Branch, Chicago, Ill., $8.50; J. Peldon, Springfield, Mass., $8.80; English Branch, Stelton, N. J., $10; Italian Branch No. 2, Chicago, Ill., $5; L. L. Meyers, Natuita, Colo., $3; Spanish Branch, Cleveland, Ohio, $10. Total, $344.30.

There are more than 700 branches of the Workers Party. Even an average contribution of $10 per branch will enable the party to carry thru this campaign successfully.

Do you want an active party, a party which is a driving force in the class struggle? You can help make the Workers Party that by backing the United Front Campaign Fund.

Let every party branch, every party member, support this first effort to make our party "A Party of Action."

From our first success we will go forward to others. A United Front will win that success.

Technical Aid Plans to Film Famine Aid Groups at July Picnic

The following letter has been sent to all organizations active in famine relief work by the New York Branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia:

"Comrades and Fellow-Workers:

"The Roll Call, issued and circulated by the Friends of Soviet Russia, when sent to that famine-stricken country, will, indeed, be a wonderful testimonial of the solidarity of the working class of America with the proletariat of the First Workers' Republic that continues to fight against terrific odds for the International Labor Movement.

"In and near New York City there is an army of class-conscious and forward-looking workers always on the job to put successfully across all activities connected with the strenuous task assumed by the F. S. R. We find the name of your organization entered as an active unit in the list furnished to us by the Friends of Soviet Russia.

"Along with the Roll Call the F. S. R. wishes to send to Soviet Russia, as soon as possible, motion pictures of all groups that have been instrumental in saving the lives of the starving in Russia. All these groups in the vicinity of New York will be "filmed" at the picnic arranged by the New York Branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, July 16, at Dickert's Old Point Park, 4018 Boston Road, Bronx. These pictures will be shown wherever possible in Russia. Imagine what this will mean to the workers of Russia!

"We urge you to give this matter your most careful attention and widest publicity. Notify all your members by mail at once! Have a sign or banner made with the name of your organization in black or red on a white background. Avoid blue. Bring your flag to the picnic. If you are affiliated with the F. S. R., state so on your banner.

"Appoint or elect a captain to take charge of your group. Instruct your captain immediately upon arriving at the park to get in touch with Allan S. Broms, the official camera man of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

"Admission will be 50 cents each. Ten per cent of the clear proceeds will be turned over to the F. S. R. for famine relief.

"We take this opportunity to assure you that this picnic will not be an ordinary affair, even outside the moving picture feature. A very elaborate program is being prepared for the occasion by Com. G. Koukly, graduate of the Petrograd Conservatory of Music. Games and folksong singing will be conducted by experienced leaders, and prizes will be given away in a number of contests.

"We suggest that those of your members, who have some odd or distinctly national costumes, bring those costumes to the picnic. Accommodations have been provided to change and check your clothes without cost.

"Gates will open at 12 A. M

"Fraternally yours,
"A. Chorover,
"Secretary Arrangements Committee.

"P.S. Advise your members to take along lunch for the day, as we are permitted to sell only soft drinks, candy and fruit.

"All organizations which for some reason have not received the above letter should at once communicate with A. Chorover, Secretary Arrangements Committee, 240 East 23d Street, New York City."

WANTED: Room with family active in Workers Party. Address Comrade Francis Martin, care THE WORKER, 799 Broadway, New York City.

KUZBAS

Has the Task of Recruiting 6,000 Engineers and Workers to Proceed to Soviet Russia to reconstruct Russian industries on a co-ordinated basis. The Soviet Government has allotted the control of the combined Kuznets and North Boguslavski regions in Siberia and the Urals to the Kuzbas Organization. These properties include the largest coal field in Russian territory, with 250 Billion tons of high class coking coal and the famous Nadejdenski Zavod, which manufactured the steel rails for the Trans-Siberian railroad. This steel plant is the largest charcoal steel plant in the world, producing the finest type of Swedish steel and iron.

If you are interested in this project, or you are desirous of aiding in the Reconstruction of Russia, either personally or morally, you should get in touch with Kuzbas.

The Next Party of Engineers and Workers leave on July 22nd for Petrograd. Bulletin sent free to WORKER readers on receipt of name and address.

KUZBAS
110 West 40th Street
Room 301 New York, N. Y.

[illegible] the U. S. A. [illegible] They established a "Senate" consisting of managers, foremen, etc. and a house of representatives consisting of representatives of the various crafts employed in the shops, the latter body being supervised by the former. The benevolent bosses called the two mills where this regime was established the "Harmony" mills.

Everything was harmonious for a while, but at last came a time when the knitters sent two representatives into the lower house who attempted to represent the workers. Immediately the harmony was destroyed. These representatives of the workers were sent back, and the knitters were told to send some one who would work harmoniously, which meant, of course, some one who would accept without question anything the bosses attempted to thrust upon the workers.

Of course, the knitters said "Nothing Doing," and the workers in both these mills are now on strike trying to force the bosses to live up to their own conception of industrial democracy.

There is a valuable lesson in this affair not only for the textile and other workers of the Cohoes but for the entire working class of America. It is this: Any plan of industrial democracy proposed by the employers is a fraud; and on the political field the lesson is the same. The political democracy of the bourgeoisie state exists only for the purpose of fooling the workers. Any successful attempt of the workers to send representatives to any political offices will serve but to prove the Capitalist state to be what it is,—the veiled dictatorship of the owning class, just as the industrial democracy of the "Harmony" mills proved to be but the veiled dictatorship of the mill owners.

Workers, make haste. Send your representatives to the state's assembly, to congress, to the governor's chair. You will the quicker learn that for you to be really represented, for you to really get what you want and must have, you must thru your organized power establish a government of your own.

* * *

Marshall Meetings

June 30, Olean, New York; July 1, Bolivar; 2, Hornell; 3, Van Etten; 4, Newfields; 5, Ithaca; 6, Geneva; 7, Binghamton; 8, Paterson, New Jersey; 9, Stelton; 10, Passaic, 11, Newark; 12, Jersey City, N. J.

Salzman Meetings

June 30, New Haven, Conn.; July 1, Bridgeport; 2, 3, 4, Norwalk; 5, Port Chester, N. Y.; 6, Albany; 7, Troy; 8, Schenectady; 10, Cahoes; 11, Amsterdam; 12, Johnstown; 13, Gloversville; 14, Utica; 15, Syracuse; 16, Oneida; 18, Pennelville; 19, 20, Rochester; 21, 22, Buffalo; 24, Niagara Falls; 25, Jamestown; 26, Salamanca; 27, Olean; 28, Bolivar; 29, Hornell; 31, Van Etten; August 1, Ithaca; 2, Geneva; 3, Binghamton; 4, Paterson, N. J.; 5, Passaic; 6, Stelton; 7, Newark; 8, Elizabeth; 9, Jersey City, N. J.

Manifesto on Herrin Armed Struggle

"The Administrative Council of the Workers Party of America," has issued a stirring manifesto on the armed struggle between the striking miners and the mine guards and scabs at Herrin, Ill.

It lays the blame for the bloodshed entirely upon the shoulders of the capitalist class in its union-smashing campaign, and points out that such occurrences are inevitable in the intensification of the class struggle.

The only way for the workers to win this struggle, it is pointed out, is to build a United Front of Labor. The program for such a step was outlined in the recent proclamation issued by the party. The "Armed Struggle" manifesto has been issued in two-page leaflet form for distribution among the miners, and is sold in quantities at 25 cents per 100, $2.00 per 1000.

Ruthenberg to Chicago Picnic.

C. E. Ruthenberg, National Secretary of the Workers Party, will be the principal speaker at the annual Workers Party Picnic, Tuesday, July 4th, at Chernaukas Grove, Ogden Ave. and Desplaines River, Chicago. On Monday, July 3rd, he will address a general membership meeting on the subject of "The United Front." Sunday, July 2nd, he will address a big Workers Party Picnic in Waukegan, Ill.

[illegible] THE WORKER [illegible] readers on our mail lists, must enter this campaign at once.

THEY MUST WORK, they must approach every worker they meet on the job, in the unions, wherever and whenever they meet and secure their subscriptions. IT IS EASY. The low price of 20 WEEKS FOR 50 CENTS is a special inducement which will appeal to every worker with an atom of working class psychology.

SCORES OF COMRADES are on the job getting these 20 week subscriptions. More must join them. The campaign must be carried to a successful outcome. It can be done. It will be done—with the co-operation of all WORKER readers. We appeal to you as class-conscious workers to join the number who are carrying this campaign to victory.

HELP IN YOUR WAY, but help! There are various ways in which you can help get subscriptions. 1st, you can order a number of 20 week subscription cards at 50 cents each, paying for them in advance. Sell the cards afterwards. 2nd, you can order some of these cards and pay for them as they are sold. 3rd, you can secure the subscriptions of the workers in your shop by circulating copies of THE WORKER and a list for subscriptions. 4th, you can appeal to your Workers Party Branch for subs. And 5th, you can take a bundle of THE WORKER to sell in your shop, your Party Branch and your union. These are a few of the ways you can help. But help you must. Take your choice of ways, BUT GET ON THE JOB. Help make this campaign a success. Put THE WORKER in the hands of 25,000 new readers within the next three months.

* * *

THEY SAY—

Comade Katzan writes from Newport, L. I., that the three new readers he sends us are anxious to have full reports of the A. F. of L. convention.

A. A. fills a list of ten new subscribers from Bangor, Maine.

The Pittsburgh, Pa., Local has doubled its bundle order of The Worker a number of times recently. Now, under the impetus of nightly street meetings under the able leadership of Comrade Fred Merrick, District Organizer, 700 copies are being sold weekly.

"Am sending a list of new subscribers under your special 20-week rate. I hope they will all become steady subscribers from now on. Your paper is the best of its kind and regret that it has not a circulation of twenty millions. Let us hope it will have.

"Edw. Laremore,
"Wolf Point, Mont."

There were 12 on the List.

"Will send you some more soon," writes Comrade A. A. Buehler, of Kansas City, who sends in two 20-week subscribers.

Comrade Guillod, Canton, Ohio, sends in a list of thirteen names and promises there will be more to follow. We feel sure of it.

Here's a boy who has the proper spirit. Read his letter. "I am a school boy and I want to make money to pay for my bicycle. I believe I can work up a route for The Worker and sell a good-sized bundle each week.

"My father and mother don't want me to sell the capitalist papers that are poisoning the people's minds, and so I am going to sell working-class papers.

John C. Smith,
Phoenix, Ariz.

A healthy list of 12 new ones arrived from Comrade Master, Reading, Pa.

Five new ones and a promise of more come from Comrade Bailinson, Passaic, N. J.

THE RECORD SHOWS—

A slight gain over last week in the number of subscriptions received. The total received this week being 187, last week 175.

This is a small gain, but the records show that a larger number of comrades are taking up the work of getting Worker subscriptions.

Several hundred of the special 20-week subscription cards were ordered by Locals and District offices this past week. We feel that when these cards are "working" in the field the results will be gratifying.

The coming weeks must continue to show a constant increase in subscriptions secured. Increases, not in tens only, but in hundreds. This is possible. All that's needed is more comrades to take up the work of getting them.

What will next week's record show? It depends upon YOU as much as upon anyone. Order some 20-week sub cards TO-DAY and sell them to the workers of your acquaintance. Order them for all meetings of your Local, your union, your society. Get on the job.

SHOW RUSSIAN SLIDES

The Bronx Section of the Workers Party will show 300 stereopticon slides of Soviet Russia, the revolution and the famine at an open-air mass meeting at 163rd St. and Prospect Ave., Thursday, July 6. These pictures will be shown thru the courtesy of the Friends of Soviet Russia. Comrade Rafael Mallen has been exhibiting these slides to large audiences in the West. Comrades Mallen and Ray Ragozin will be the speakers. No charge will be made.

[illegible] striking Miners," the Unemployment Council of New York is arranging two weeks of activities for the striking and starving miners.

The miners are in a most difficult position. Scabbed on by the other unions that refuse to support them in their strike, they are conducting a most valiant fight for the working class of the country.

The bosses are determined to make an example of the miners if they can. They see a reasonable opportunity to break up their union by making division agreements which will be but the beginning of a campaign to break up the union entirely. Once having settled that problem, they will proceed to the less militant unions.

The railroad men are facing strike. Their strike will fail if the miners' strike is broken.

Meantime, the miners are not only striking, but also starving. It is high time, that the workers of the country as a whole are doing something. Is this what the workers of this country call solidarity? Or is the working class going to wake up and stand by the miners?

The Unemployment Council is arranging two weeks of activities to assist the striking miners. Street meetings will be held in all parts of the city in the weeks of July 3 to 15, at which the significance of the strike will be explained, and collections taken up for the miners and their families.

It is hoped to have Dwyer, the mine leader and member of the executive board of the United Mine Workers of America, speak.

KEEP THIS DATE OPEN

Kindly take notice that the New York branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia have arranged for a monster mass meeting to be held at Carnegie Hall, Friday evening, July 14th, to boost the sale of bonds for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia, under the plan of the Russian American Industrial Corporation. All sympathetic organizations are requested to keep this date open and not to arrange for any meetings on that date.

TRACTORS
PLOUGHS
HARROWS
RAKES
SEEDERS
REAPERS
THRESHERS
BINDERS
ENGINES
TRUCKS
PUMPS
TOOLS
Soviet Russia Needs Them All
To drive away the famine—to build up the country.
WE WORKERS MUST HELP
It is OUR duty—OUR task to stand by Soviet Russia.
We must give the peasants farming implements and machines. We must give the workers tools and machinery to open the factories.
American Workers to Russian Workers
INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA
Authorized by the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers' International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin (Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated).
Conducted in America under the direction of the
Friends of Soviet Russia
201 West 13th Street New York City
HELP BUILD UP THE WORLD'S FIRST WORKERS' REPUBLIC
Here is my contribution of $ [illegible]
Name [illegible]
Address [illegible]
City [illegible] State [illegible]
Read "Soviet Russia" our official organ—$2.00 per year.

[illegible]
THE WORKER
[illegible]
J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, [illegible]
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, [illegible]
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
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Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was chosen delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the British Trade Union Congress. That's Gompers' "reward your friends" policy in action.

Make Men Die by Advertising

Seldom do we get such a frank confession of the propaganda power of the capitalist press as has just come from the lips of Sir Charles F. Higham, M.P., English advertising man, in addressing the New York Press Club.

Sir Higham berated the editors presented for not using their columns more to frighten their readers over the consequences of the railroad strike of July 1st.

He said he had looked in vain for any propaganda telling of the dangers of this strike; "how it will affect the minds of your young people; what it will do to spread Bolshevism."

Then the British knight launched out as follows:

> "American men and women ought never to go on strike. There are surely enough editors who so mold public opinion as to make them love their country too much to hurt it. During the war, newspaper propaganda sent millions of men to war, many of whom did not return. If you can make men die by advertisement, you can make them live, too."

Sir Higham doesn't really mean that the capitalist press can make people live by advertisement. That is part of the subtlety of his propaganda. He merely means that the propaganda of the kept press can keep life in the present social system by deluding and confusing the masses.

Continued life for capitalism means death and misery for the many, both in war and in peace.

The workers will only be able to conduct a real propaganda for life, liberty and happiness when they have complete control of the press and all other instruments of publicity and propaganda.

Then for the first time will the press really carry advertisements, in every printed word, telling the workers how to live, because that will be the real mission of the Communist order that will be erected on the ashes of capitalism.

Gompers' own press service is sending out feature articles on "Suppressed News." But the editor of the Wilmington, Del., Labor Herald made the mistake of running this article next column to Matthew Woll's report of Gompers' efforts to suppress the Federated Press, the only real labor news service in the country. Some of these Gompers' labor editors should not permit the right hand to know what the left hand is doing. Their readers might get wise.

Breaking All Precedents

Unusual scenes and events characterize the proceedings of the trial of counter-revolutionaries in Moscow, Soviet Russia.

These developments are very disconcerting to the kept press, and especially to their strongest allies, the renegade "Socialists."

The great demonstrations of workers in the streets before the Kremlin, where the trial is being held, and the appearance of workers' representatives before the court, is especially declared to be unusual.

This was even admitted by Prosecutor Krylenko, in urging that Moscow and Petrograd workmen, on the anniversary of the assassination of Volodarsky and the attempted assassination of Uritsky, be heard by the trial court.

Krylenko said: "I know that this procedure, according to bourgeois law, probably is unprecedented, and that Soviet Russia will be attacked for permitting it. Nevertheless, there have been many times when the Soviets have gone against old precedents. The workingmen should be permitted to talk, as we are only carrying out their wishes."

The Moscow and Petrograd workers charged that the counter-revolutionaries on trial were not only guilty of taking the life of Volodarsky and the attempted slaying of Uritsky, but also of the effort to assassinate Lenin, the bullet having been fired by Dora Kaplan, as she confessed, under orders from the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party.

These events prove, as nothing else, that the Soviet Government is a workers and peasants government, a rule of the many and not of the few.

Imagine the capitalist court at Charles Town, West Va., trying to stage a demonstration of coal miners in favor of the conviction of William Blizzard on the charge of treason, of which he was acquitted.

The West Virginia court was so frightened at the presence of the few workers in attendance that strict orders were issued and repeated, against any form of demonstration in the court room, even after the verdict was rendered.

Imagine the capitalist court of Kansas trying to stage a demonstration of coal miners in favor of sending Alex Howat and August Dorchy to jail. Every possible effort was made by the sheriff and other local authorities to prevent demonstrations even after the trial was over.

In the Communist trials, wherever they have been held, workers have been barred from the court room, on every pretext, and where they have managed to secure entrance, they have been threatened with contempt of court, with fines and jail sentences if they displayed any sign of approval of the stand taken by those on trial.

So capitalist justice, the expression of the few who dominate in the social order of today outside of Soviet Russia, are shocked and amazed at events transpiring in Red Moscow.

Clinking gold, speaking on behalf of sacred and inalienable property rights, utters the words that are heard by judges on the court benches of America.

How different in Soviet Russia. Let us repeat the words of Krylenko, the prosecutor, who was formerly the Red Ensign of the Soviet Navy, when he said:

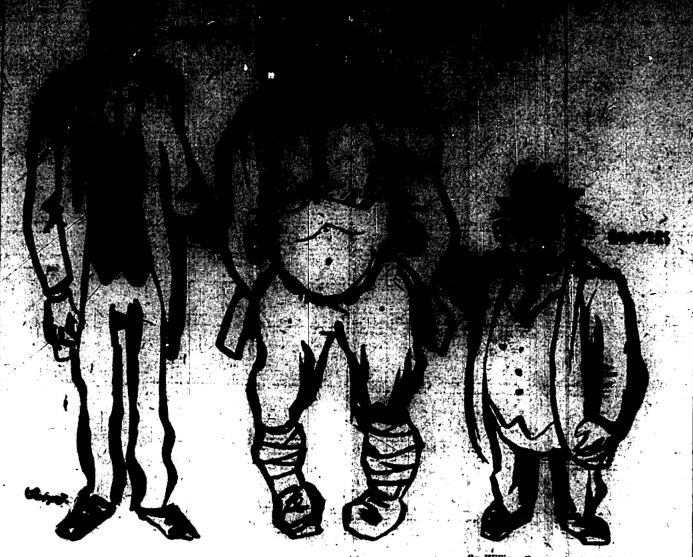
"The workingmen should be permitted to talk, as we are only carrying out their wishes."

Workers of America! You now see that Communist justice speaks your hopes! It seeks to realize your aspirations! It fights your battles!

We repeat again the inscription that appears on the banner that hangs on the wall back of the judge presiding over this Communist Court in Moscow's Kremlin:

"The proletariat court is the safeguard of the people's revolution."

Take your stand on the side of Communism and the revolution.



By William Gropper in the Volkszeitung

"The American Federation of Labor itself merely permits us to exist—little else," declares Henry R. Linville, president, Teachers' Union, New York. Another example of Gompers' efforts to hobble the labor movement of this country. Yet Linville points out, "Organized Labor must take note of what is being taught the children in the public schools of America, or fight a losing fight."

Sir Henry Wilson

Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson, one of the gallant butchers who superintended England's part of the murder campaign carried on in Europe for over four years, himself met with sudden death by the instrument with which he settled many difficulties for the Imperial masters whose hireling he was.

While the capitalist press is shedding crocodile tears over the killing of this sanctimonious butcher—who like Oliver Cromwell killed and slaughtered conquered people in the name of the Lord—it is well for us to study his record and learn to what Lord he owed allegiance and what order he obeyed.

He was born in Ireland of English ascendancy stock—of that brood of prostitutes who were given land in Ireland stolen from the rightful owners in consideration for unswerving loyalty to the English throne and a willingness to do any dirty work that his British Majesty called for. Of that tribe Wilson was a worthy and not degenerate descendant.

When the Irish Home Rule Bill was passed thru the Houses of Commons and Lords in 1914 and signed by the King Wilson occupied a high military position in Ireland and was one of those who disobeyed the command of the British government to march into Ulster and preserve order.

Sir Edward Carson, afterwards a member of the British cabinet, openly advocated rebellion against a law passed by his Majesty's government. Sir Henry Wilson afterwards Chief of Staff of the British Armies, was guilty of a breach of discipline for which a common soldier would be shot. He refused to obey the government because the passage of the Irish Home Rule Bill meant to a certain extent the curbing of the power of the reactionaries in Ireland, and England. Therefore Sir Henry, a soldier of the King refused to obey the King but called upon all true Britons to rally to the Irish Tories who were then upholding the banner of Black Reaction in the British Isles.

The sudden outbreak of the World War prevented a civil war in Great Britain in which this loyal soldier of reaction played such a prominent part in fomenting.

During the war, Sir Henry fought for self-determination for Poland. In the meantime the Irish struck out for self-determination on their own hook and got murdered for their pains.

It was this scoundrel's government that murdered James Connolly in 1916. We might add that Arthur Henderson of the Second International was in on it too.

After the war for democracy was fought, Ireland by a great majority voted for an Independent Republic.

England retaliated by wholesale shooting, but all the bullets have not been flying in one direction.

A short time ago England decided to grant certain concessions to the South of Ireland which were accepted—the South not being in a position to continue the uneven combat any longer.

But even this small concession angered Major General Sir Henry Wilson so he offered his services to Sir James Craig, premier of Ulster, to subdue the nationalist element which form a majority of the province of Ulster.

After Sir Henry became Military Chief of Ulster murder was the order of the day. The Catholic workers of Belfast influenced by the radical Irish Transport Workers' Union were making common cause with their protestant brothers against the Ulster capitalists.

Sir Henry made war on both Catholic workers and Protestant labor organizers. He aroused religious frenzy to a high pitch with the result that thousands of workers have been either killed or driven from their homes into exile and starvation.

As a result of his policy murder reigns supreme in the City of Belfast and the workers of both religions are completely at the mercy of the Orange bosses.

Communists do not advocate assassination as a weapon against their enemies. They know that the capitalist system and not individuals are to blame for the inequalities that have made of this world a hell for the propertyless.

They know, however, that the ruling classes—particularly of Europe—have used assassination in disposing of troublesome leaders of their subject peoples and the British government has been lavish in the use of that weapon in Ireland.

The workers who have had to bear the murder of James Connolly in Ireland, the murders of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, the murders of thousands of workers in Russia by the hired assassins of capitalism are not going to shed any tears over the passing away of the professional murderer, Major-General Sir Henry Wilson, the military leader of British Toryism.

Court Upholds Counter-Revolution

Strange doctrines for an alleged "democratic" form of government are voiced by the Illinois Supreme Court in upholding the convictions of 18 members of the former Communist Labor Party.

It declares that the property owners of today, material for the making of future counter-revolutionists, will not surrender to a rising social order without resorting to force and violence.

The Illinois Supreme Court thereupon endorses and takes its stand on the side of counter-revolution by declaring that Communists, who believe in the change from capitalism to Communism, must be and will be held responsible for the violence and bloodshed that will be brought on by the property-owning capitalist class.

So far as we know this is the first time, since the Russian Revolution, that such doctrines have been voiced by American courts. This part of the Illinois court's decision says:

> **"Their (the Communists) platform and program do not expressly advocate use of weapons and physical force in accomplishing these needs (taking charge of and appropriating all property thru a proletarian dictatorship), but they are chargeable with the knowledge that their aims and ends cannot be accomplished without force, violence and bloodshed.**
>
> **"They try to make us believe that their program is a peaceful one, and that, when confronted with the mob in mass strike, owners whose property was theretofore under protection of the government, would surrender it without use of force and violence. This is too incredible to require discussion."**

We remember that a certain document, called the Declaration of Independence, contains the following:

> **"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness), it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."**

When this issue of THE WORKER reaches its readers Fourth of July orators will be preparing their flowery orations in tribute to the Declaration of Independence and the Revolutionary forefathers.

Many will be told that it was under the inspiration of this Declaration that the American colonists fought thru seven years of revolutionary war to victory against British oppression.

These Fourth of July orators will not link this rebellion against misrule with the great Civil War, nearly a century later, that swept away the system of chattel slavery after five years of internal strife.

They will certainly not link it up with the struggle of the young Communist movement in this country, in common with the Communist movement thruout the world, in blazing new paths toward human freedom in these trying days. The processes of evolution do not exist for them.

Communists will agree with the Illinois Supreme Court in the stand that no ruling class will surrender without a struggle. But they do charge that, even as British oppression was guilty of the revolutionary war, even as chattel slavery was guilty of the Civil War, so upon the heads of the present ruling class rests all the crimes of capitalism, even the final counter-revolution that it will wage against the awakened workers in their struggle to achieve Communism.

The Illinois Supreme Court, as an instrument of capitalism, has placed its endorsement upon that final counter-revolution. This position will no doubt be upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

But, let the workers understand, that in making that ruling, the courts of today stand in the position of British misrule in 1776, they stand at the side of the chattel slave owners of 1861.

The courts of today oppose the abolition of wage slavery, just as the opponents of evolution in the last two centuries opposed the cry of the bourgeois colonists for political independence in the Revolutionary War, and the demand of free labor in the Civil War for the wiping out of chattel slavery as this nation was about to launch forth upon an era of intensive capitalist development.

It is the Communist movement of today that stands as the inheritor of this war for liberation from a foreign yoke, and of the struggle for the emancipation of the Negro race from human slavery's chains.

And as such, we mock at court decisions and march forward to inevitable victory. The counter-revolution is always defeated in time in the struggle with revolution.

Political prisoners whose wives and children are picketing the White House to secure their release will be punished by the Administration. Their cases will be held back by the Department of Justice until all other cases have been reviewed and sent to the President with recommendations for [illegible] reduction of sentences to a peace time basis. Another [illegible] added to the long list of [illegible] of the Harding administration.

[illegible]

[illegible] price that is placed [illegible] under varying circumstances.

It has been known that several thousands of dollars have been obtained from big corporations for the loss of a life in a railroad accident or some other catastrophe. This achievement is usually accomplished after a long court struggle.

Thugs in the slums of our large cities have been known to take human life for a price, $10, $25 and up.

But it remained for Mrs. Angelina Vircenza, who lived in the Bronx, New York City, to set the price on her own life the other day.

Sold for $400.

She had been saved from the flames that were sweeping her home. When in perfect safety she remembered the family savings—$400—and dashed back into the hungry fire and perished.

She was faced with the choice of her own life and the small family treasure that had no doubt been amassed, pennies at a time, thru great sacrifice, thru robbing her little family of four of many small necessities.

That $400 represented to this mother all that was worth living for. It was the biggest thing in life to her or she would not have given her life to rescue it.

Such is the tragedy of the present social system. The great masses of the workers are burdened down in agony in the struggle for the barest necessities of life. All the sunshine that life holds is the small savings that may be swept away by to-morrow's misfortune. That gone, all is gone.

Humans Thrown on Scrap Heap.

To wage that struggle against necessity children are sent into the factories, women become prostitutes, men turn criminals, in that struggle many commit suicide others are mentally or physically wrecked and thrown on the scrap heap human by-products of the system.

No one will deny that under capitalism human life is the cheapest thing in the world. In a Communist society it will be the most precious treasure on earth. Everything possible will be done to safeguard it.

That is the hope of the workers, the peasants and the soldiers of Soviet Russia, the hope that has kept them struggling against every foe, fighting on and on in the face of what at times seemed certain defeat.

Beyond the civil wars, interventions, the plague, the famine, the breakdown of industry they always saw the sun of Communism rising, higher and higher, and they struggled on.

War on "The System."

With their land finally freed from the clutches of capitalism they see human life realizing ever greater possibilities, the children taken out of industry and placed in the schools, women restored to their homes and those they love, men fully rewarded for the social service they render, the weak in mind and body aided instead of despised, in a word, human life glorified.

When Communism comes to America, the men and women of that day will look back upon these days as an era of savage barbarism.

They will read with great curiosity of the woman who gave up her life to save a paltry $400. They will be forced to suppress a smile, not only because helpless and ignorant people should offer their lives for sale but that they should sell them so cheaply.

If we must sell our lives in these days let us sell them as dearly as possible in the war to end the present brutalizing social system called capitalism.

"Prison Athlete"

By RALPH CHAPLIN,
Author of "Bars and Shadows"

The prison athlete walks across the yard,
A grey dull thing—one of the numbered throng.
Before him stalks an old and wizened ghoul—
Death leading life— a blended curse and song.

He stands within the shadow of the tower
And sheds his shameful garments one by one;
Then steps to where the coolly gushing shower
Flashes its strings of diamonds in the sun.

[illegible]

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER. KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION.

[illegible]

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 231. [illegible] SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1922 [illegible] Price 5 Cents

398,000 Shopmen Strike

RAILWAY LABOR BOARD BECOMES NEW STRIKEBREAKING AGENCY FOR ROADS

RUSSIAN WORKER DELIVERS A SMASHING REPLY TO EMMA GOLDMAN'S LYING AND MISLEADING ARTICLES

Labor Board Rule Forces Strike Shopmen Quit on All Roads Double Cross Given by Grable

The railway shop crafts, machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, car repairers and electricians, are on strike on all the railroads. For all practical purposes it is a one hundred per cent walkout, reports showing that but a handful of these workers remained on the job at scattered terminals. Four hundred thousand men are involved.

The Railway Labor Board, thru Chairman Hooper, has made public announcement of its intention to act as a strikebreaking agency and has assured men taking the places of the strikers that they will have the full protection of the federal government. It has further announced its intention of encouraging the organization of the stikebreakers and their recognition by the Board as the legitimate successors of the striking unions.

With this announcement of the Board the inevitable doublecross makes its appearance in the desertion of the striking shop crafts by the officials of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Workers. Altho the membership had voted solidly for a strike, President Grable of the Brotherhood has ordered his members to [illegible] and take up all grievances with individual roads. For this desertion of the shopmen the Maintenance of Way Workers have received nothing but a promise that their grievances will be "considered", when they reach the Board after months of negotiation with the railroad managements.

In railway labor circles the action of President Grable and his subordinates is looked upon as one of the most inexcusable violations of union principle in the history of the labor movement.

Interest now centers around the action of the railway clerks, who are balloting on a strike, and their reaction to the default of the maintenance of way workers.

The pickets of the shopmen are rapidly organizing and the railroads have already recruited large forces of guards and gunmen and have thrown complete cordons around their most important plants.

Being chiefly engaged in repairing mechanical apparatus which the roads have been putting in shape for a strike the effects of the cessation of work may not be felt acutely for some little time altho numerous delays in passenger traffic have already occurred.

It is believed that the next step of the government will be to try and prevent any further tightening of the tentative alliance betwen the miners and the striking railway workers.

Rail Workers Strike as Harding Talks

By LAURENCE TODD
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON. At the moment when President Harding was reading his speech to the representatives of the bituminous coal operators and the United Mine Workers, admonishing them in vain to settle the coal strike quickly two thousand railroad workers in the shops of the capital city were laying down their tools and walking out inaugurating the rail strike forced upon them by the administration.

"This is no time for the militant note of the radical who would prefer to destroy our social system," said Harding, in his speech to the coal miners. Yet at the other end of town, the railroad shopmen held him responsible for attempting to destroy the foundations of their social status.

"We know," said Wm H. Johnston, president International Association of Machinists, "that the railroad labor board, in destroying our national agreement, was carrying out Mr. Harding's wishes. He told Mr. Jewell that 'the national agreement must go,' and refused to hear our side of the case. He had heard the railroad managers' side, and he pronounced judgment which the railroad labor board carried out. It may be that in reducing our wages the board is carrying out his instructions.

"We are ready, and will be glad to

(Continued on Page Two)

Signatures Pouring in For Amnesty

(By The Federated Press)

Opening of the drive for a half milion New York signatures to the monster petition for the release of all political prisoners, which is to be presented to President Harding this month, brought almost immediate promise of more than 100,000 signatures here. Forty thousand signatures have been guaranteed by the cloak and skirt makers alone, thru the action of their joint board. All the shop chairmen of the organization are to act as petition agents to get the signatures of all the workers in their respective shops."

Similar action is being taken by the Fur Workers' International Union thru its Joint board, represented by A. Brownstein, and by the dress and waist makers' organization of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The dress and waist makers have 15,000 affiliated members, and have guaranteed that number of signatures thru the agency of their shop chairmen.

Others which have pledged support include the Millinery and Ladies Straw Hat Workers, Bonnaz Embroiderers, the pants, vest and skirt makers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and within a week it is believed that every affiliated organization in the needle trades industry will have quietly but earnestly engaged in the voluntary enrollment of its members thru the shop chairman system.

The personnel of the committee

(Continued on Page Two)

Herrin Scabs Deny Atrocity Tales of Press

By TOM TIPPETT
(Federal Press Staff Correspondent)

HERRIN, Ill.—Strange tales of double crossing are told by the wounded mine strikebreakers in the hospital here, to which they were taken after the bloodshed of June 22.

The hospital, unguarded, is in the heart of the city. After hours spent with the survivors I am convinced that Attorney Bull's alarm for their safety is not shared by the victims, who say they were betrayed into the [illegible] agencies at the behest of the coal company.

The first man seen was Ed. Green, who lives, according to his story, at 1230 W. Madison St., Chicago. He declares he has been a union man all his life and deplores his present disgrace. He asserts that John Tracy of the Steam Shovelers and Dredgemen's International Union, Chicago, sent him to what he thought was a "union shovel job." He was met at the train in the night by the mine superintendent, McDowell, now dead, and taken to the mine which he discovered the next morning was surrounded by armed guards. He protested to the boss and was told that he would be shot if he attempted to escape. Four other members of this union, sent to the mine under similar conditions, were killed, according to Green.

The next cot held Ed. Miller, a handsome Swede, who told of a long period of idleness in Chicago and of being hired by an employment agency on W. Madison St., Chicago. As a special inducement for this job the usual fee of one week's pay and train fare was waived in this instance and free shipment was offered to a "track job on a shovel in Illinois." Miller's body holds two bullets and chances for his recovery are slight.

The next room contained a dying Irishman with eight bullet holes in his writhing body. "I didn't know," was all he could gasp. Beside him clasping a crucifix was his mother, a little white-haired woman, who had arrived from Chicago. Old and bent, she presented a tragic figure, softly whispering between her prayers, "My boy, my boy!"

Apparently all the gunmen had escaped or were killed, but their timekeeper, Allen Findlay, shot thru the thigh, was able to talk. With uncanny frankness he said he was not a gunman, but their bookkeeper, and was sent to the mine by The Edward J. Hargrave Secret Service, 145 N. Clark St., Chicago. Twenty-six guards had been sent to protect machinery in case of violence. In his opinion they were employed by the coal company to reduce their insurance. The chief in charge, he said, was Morris Delaney, who received $14 per day and board. Common "gunners" were paid $5 per day and were expected to "work a little when things were quiet."

The stories of atrocities, circulated in the metropolitan press, were branded as lies by all the wounded men. The concensus of opinion among the sufferers was that the arch crime against them was committed before they came to the coal field, by a scheming coal company plotting with unscrupulous employment and detective agencies who do not hesitate to betray workmen to their deaths.

Russ Worker Answers Emma Shows Her in her True Colors Refutes Her Lies With Facts

(We have received the following contribution from [illegible], at one time organizer of anarchist groups, editor of "Ninth Wave" and "[illegible]" in Odessa at the beginning of 1919. He was asked in a letter by a comrade what he thought of the articles of Emma Goldman presently being published by the New York World and other papers, and his reply has been sent to us.)—Ed. Note.

Your letter and your apprehension that I might agree with Emma Goldman sounds like an insult to me. You ask my opinion about Emma's articles, about her right to throw mud at the Russian Communists, to vilify the Soviet administration. I would like my answer to you to serve as an open letter to Goldman herself; maybe we can arouse her sense of shame if she has any. I cannot agree with people of the type of Goldman and Berkman, because I am a worker, born in the ranks of workers, suffering the miseries of their lot and knowing only their point of view. I am not a lying American sensation-monger, as Goldman is, and am only taking pains to make the matter clear in the interest of my fellow-workers. I am a revolutionist, and not a prostitute of revolution. [illegible] with her in Soviet Russia, [illegible] conversation with her was sufficient for me to understand what kind of revolutionist she was; to show me the limited nature of her capacity to appreciate the changes that had taken place in Russia since October, 1917.

In my letter I want to show you that Emma, notorious Emma, is only a hysterical, shameless liar; she is an enemy of the workers (a class enemy); a representative of the bourgeois stream of thought, nothing different from suffragism, and like suffragism, no business of the workers.

Neither Russian Nor Revolutionist

You are mistaken when you imagine that she is a Russian, or that she is a revolutionist. She is a Polish Jewess, not the same type of Jew as Trotsky, who is an internationalist, but of the Jew type who is found in all large American cities in the old-clothes business, and she is possessed of the same psychology. She is like the other Jewess who attempted to assassinate Lenin, Fanya Kaplan, and those others of their faith who consider Trotsky their deadliest enemy.

She is not a revolutionist as you cannot call a drunken man who is fighting with a policeman on the street a revolutionist, or suffragists who pour acid into the letter boxes. Raised in America, the land of "boom," she is far from an understanding of revolutionary honesty. We, Russians may be very bad as men, but as revolutionists we use judgment as to how to behave in all the events of life so that we may not injure the revolutionary movement. Practice teaches us many things. We are brutal and unpolished, but straight and truthful.

"Why didn't Pontifical Kropotkin attack the Bolsheviki?" asks Emma Goldman, and replies, at the same time, "because he is honest and an old revolutionary guard." How dare he fight the men who are leading the revolution, and fighting against the whole organized imperialist world? How dare he give help to the enemy since he saw already the result of his help to French and world imperialism during the course of the so-called Great War? Emma herself states in her article, "He couldn't fight the Bolsheviki. He could not, like some of the old revolutionary guard, make common cause with the enemies of the revolution. Even had he found a way of having his protests published in the European press, the reactionists would have used them against Russia. No, he could not do that."

Dictatorship Only Way

Is she stupid or dishonest? Since she proclaims against herself in these articles that aid the enemies of the revolution and are against the struggling workers of Russia, I believe she is both—stupid and dishonest.

Your general mistake is that I, after my journey to Soviet Russia, am the same kind of anarchist as I was before. Of course not. The great Socialist revolution in Russia has made me, like 99 out of every 100 honest anarchists, a revolutionist, not of Kropotkin's, but of Lenin's type; because there is no party of the workers in the world more revolutionary and more extreme than the party led by Comrade Lenin. There is no other way to reach Communism than the way of proletarian dictatorship, and Communist society is a society without a state, the ideal of the anarchist.

Planning and Acting

I will try, point by point, to answer all the lying stuff of Emma, who desires to be a gravedigger of the Russian revolution, which is only a grave for her anarchistic ideals. She found the whole world a graveyard of thoughts and ideas and she only makes one mistake; she should say, "anarchistic thoughts and ideals." It is the end of so-called philosophic anarchism, because the Russian revolution has shown to the whole world that not peoples, not masses, but class-conscious revolutionary minorities perform the tasks of the revolution. Peoples or masses do nothing of themselves, philosophic anarchism notwithstanding. They must be organized, urged, driven or led, and this is the work of the class-conscious section of the revolutionary movement. The revolution itself is a struggle not only against the bourgeoisie, but against the ignorant and stupid workers and peasants.

Not by living among the stars, not by painting beautiful dreams of the future, not by criticism of the state and authority as the philosophic anarchist does, but by definitely planning what to do to-day, and how to act to-morrow, the revolution was saved by the proletarian party.

Only Communists Had Plan

Of all the varieties of Socialist and anarchist groups in Russia, only the party of the proletariat, the Bolsheviki or Communist Party, knew how to act in all the critical moments of the revolution. [illegible]

In John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World" [illegible]

(Continued on Page [illegible])

Amalgamation or Annihilation

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The railway shop crafts are on strike against a ruling of the Railway Labor Board reducing their wages and abolishing certain of their working conditions.

The Railway Labor Board is a governmental agency and with a full knowledge of this Benjamin Hooper, chairman of the board, has issued a call to all loyal citizens urging them to take the places vacated by the strikers and assuring them that in so doing they are not scabs but dutiful supporters of the government. The strikers, according to Hooper, have forfeited all rights to consideration by the Railway Labor Board and that body no longer needs to recognize the organizations with which the strikers are affiliated.

Going further than any spokesman of a government body has ever gone before in an official capacity, Hooper urges that those who take the places of the strikers immediately proceed to form some sort of an organization that they may secure the benefit of rules and regulations already made by the board and in "order to function before the board" in new disputes that may arise. The men who grab the jobs of the striking shopmen, to quote Hooper, "are not strikebreakers seeking to impose the arbitrary will of employers upon employes. They have a moral as well as a legal right to engage [illegible] of the American public to avoid interruption of [illegible] railway transportation, are entitled to the protection of every department and branch of government."

Here we have it, short and sweet:

The Railway Labor Board, having fulfilled its function as a wage-reducing agency of the employing railroads, while maintaining the fiction of impartiality, now blossoms out as a scab-recruiting and strikebreaking agency backed by governmental authority. It not only reduces the wages of railway employees to a starvation level but when they leave their employment in protest the board immediately launches an organization of scabs, a company and government controlled union, opposing the organization of the strikers.

There is no other interpretation possible of the latest public statement of the Railway Labor Board. Without government ownership of the railroads the railway workers now find themselves in conflict with the government. The board is relieving the railway executives of the necessity of recruiting scabs and has placed the seal of governmental approval upon anything the railway executives may do in rendering ineffective the effort of the strikers to maintain their living standards.

When the Railway Labor Board was created a few Labor editors pointed out the inevitable result of the recognition of the rights and powers of the Board by the unions. Their warnings were unheard or unheeded, and during the war period the heads of the railway unions looked upon the Board as a friend rather than as an enemy. The officials of the unions were fulsome in praise of the Railway Labor Board and never tired of telling the membership of the wondrous blessing that had come to them thru its creation.

The government was on their side, and of course no opportunity was lost to confound the reds who claimed that no agency of a capitalist government could really be for the workers. The union officials went up and down the land singing the praises of the Railway Labor Board and made no attempt whatever to strengthen their organizations or to prepare them in any way for the fight that any fool knew must come.

I have but little respect for the intelligence of the American workers, who fell for this bunk, less for the officials who preached it and none at all for those in high places in the labor movement calling themselves labor leaders but who have no vision and no understanding. What excuse is there for presidents of international unions who have seen labor betrayed time and time again by politicians, believing that the Railway Labor Board would be anything else than a union-smashing instrument at the earliest opportunity?

These leaders are the loudest shouters for American democracy—even outdoing the Chambers of Commerce and the professional patriotgers—yet unless they are of such subnormal intellect that they cannot draw a conclusion from evidence they cannot have failed to notice that every conspiracy against labor has as its basis the premise that this government is a democracy and that it is as much concerned for the welfare of labor as it is for that of capital.

No more gigantic falsehood was ever promulgated but to it the labor leaders never fail to subscribe.

These conspiracies vary but little in the manner in which they are brought to fruition. Labor, thru its representatives, is first cajoled into acknowledging the fairness of some department of the government. It may even be thrown a few sops until it is entirely off guard, lulled into lethargy by the fatuous statements of its own officials. Then the employers begin a nation-wide campaign for a reduction of wages and increases in hours; their propagandists insist with increasing vehemence that it is the interest of the public alone that the [illegible] employers are considering and that the public alone will benefit. Labor, say the publicists, must sacrifice as well as capital. The [illegible] finally comes before some "impartial" governmental agency which the labor leaders have been eulogizing and then labor [illegible] where the chicken got the ax, much to the grief and surprise of the [illegible] which then issues long statements about the cost of living, comparative wages, American standards, etc.

These statements have nothing to do with the decision of the employers and their federal aides because decisions to reduce wages are always in defiance of evidence that wages are already too low.

(Continued on Page Two)

398,000 Shopmen Strike

RAILWAY LABOR BOARD BECOMES NEW STRIKEBREAKING AGENCY FOR ROADS

RUSSIAN WORKER DELIVERS A SMASHING REPLY TO EMMA GOLDMAN'S LYING AND MISLEADING ARTICLES

Labor Board Rule Forces Strike Shopmen Quit on All Roads Double Cross Given by Grable

The railway shop crafts, machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, car repairers and electricians, are on strike on all the railroads. For all practical purposes it is a one hundred per cent walkout, reports showing that but a handful of these workers remained on the job at scattered terminals. Four hundred thousand men are involved.

The Railway Labor Board, thru Chairman Hooper, has made public announcement of its intention to act as a strikebreaking agency and has assured men taking the places of the strikers that they will have the full protection of the federal government. It has further announced its intention of encouraging the organization of the strikebreakers and their recognition by the Board as the legitimate successors of the striking unions.

With this announcement of the Board the inevitable doublecross makes its appearance in the desertion of the striking shop crafts by the officials of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Workers. Altho the membership had voted solidly for a strike, President Grable of the Brotherhood has ordered his members to [illegible] take up all grievances with individual roads. For this desertion of the shopmen the Maintenance of Way Workers have received nothing but a promise that their grievances will be "considered" when they reach the Board after months of negotiation with the railroad managements.

In railway labor circles the action of President Grable and his subordinates is looked upon as one of the most inexcusable violations of union principle in the history of the labor movement.

Interest now centers around the action of the railway clerks, who are balloting on a strike, and their reaction to the default of the maintenance of way workers.

The pickets of the shopmen are rapidly organizing and the railroads have already recruited large forces of guards and gunmen and have thrown complete cordons around their most important plants.

Being chiefly engaged in repairing mechanical apparatus which the roads have been putting in shape for a strike the effects of the cessation of work may not be felt acutely for some little time altho numerous delays in passenger traffic have already occurred.

It is believed that the next step of the government will be to try and prevent any further tightening of the tentative alliance betwee the miners and the striking railway workers.

Rail Workers Strike as Harding Talks

By LAURENCE TODD

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—At the moment when President Harding was reading his speech to the representatives of the bituminous coal operators and the United Mine Workers, admonishing them in vain to settle the coal strike quickly, two thousand railroad workers in the shops of the capital city were laying down their tools and walking out, inaugurating the rail strike forced upon them by the administration.

"This is no time for the militant note of the radical who would prefer to destroy our social system," said Harding, in his speech to the coal miners. Yet at the other end of town, the railroad shopmen held him responsible for attempting to destroy the foundations of their social status.

"We know," said Wm. H. Johnston, president, International Association of Machinists, "that the railroad labor board, in destroying our national agreement, was carrying out Mr. Harding's wishes. He told Mr. Jewell that 'the national agreement must go,' and refused to hear our side of the case. He had heard the railroad managers' side, and he pronounced judgment which the railroad labor board carried out. It may be that in reducing our wages the board is carrying out his instructions.

"We are ready, and will be glad to

(Continued on Page Two)

Signatures Pouring in For Amnesty

(By The Federated Press)

Opening of the drive for a half milion New York signatures to the monster petition for the release of all political prisoners, which is to be presented to President Harding this month, brought almost immediate promise of more than 100,000 signatures here. Forty thousand signatures have been guaranteed by the cloak and skirt makers alone, thru the action of their joint board. All the shop chairmen of the organization are to act as petition agents to get the signatures of all the workers in their respective shops."

Similar action is being taken by the Fur Workers' International Union thru its joint board, represented by A. Brownstein, and by the dress and waist makers' organization of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The dress and waist makers have 15,000 affiliated members, and have guaranteed that number of signatures thru the agency of their shop chairmen.

Others which have pledged support include the Millinery and Ladies Straw Hat Workers, Bonnaz Embroiderers, the pants, vest and skirt makers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and within a week it is believed that every affiliated organization in the needle trades industry will have quietly but earnestly engaged in the voluntary enrollment of its members thru the shop chairman system.

The personnel of the committee

(Continued on Page Two)

Herrin Scabs Deny Atrocity Tales of Press

By TOM TIPPETT

(Federal Press Staff Correspondent)

HERRIN, Ill.—Strange tales of double crossing are told by the wounded mine strikebreakers in the hospital here, to which they were taken after the bloodshed of June 22.

The hospital, unguarded, is in the heart of the city. After hours spent with the survivors I am convinced that Attorney Bull's alarm for their safety is not shared by the victims, who say they were betrayed into the [illegible] agencies at the behest of the coal company.

The first man seen was Ed. Green, who lives, according to his story, at 1230 W. Madison St., Chicago. He declares he has been a union man all his life and deplores his present disgrace. He asserts that John Tracy of the Steam Shovelers and Dredgemen's International Union, Chicago, sent him to what he thought was a "union shovel job." He was met at the train in the night by the mine superintendent, McDowell, now dead, and taken to the mine which he discovered the next morning was surrounded by armed guards. He protested to the boss and was told that he would be shot if he attempted to escape. Four other members of this union, sent to the mine under similar conditions, were killed, according to Green.

The next cot held Ed. Miller, a handsome Swede, who told of a long period of idleness in Chicago and of being hired by an employment agency on W. Madison St., Chicago. As a special inducement for this job the usual fee of one week's pay and train fare was waived in this instance and free shipment was offered to a "track job on a shovel in Illinois." Miller's body holds two bullets and chances for his recovery are slight.

The next room contained a dying Irishman with eight bullet holes in his writhing body. "I didn't know," was all he could gasp. Beside him clasping a crucifix was his mother, a little white-haired woman, who had arrived from Chicago. Old and bent, she presented a tragic figure, softly whispering between her prayers, "My boy, my boy!"

Apparently all the gunmen had escaped or were killed, but their timekeeper, Allen Findlay, shot thru the thigh, was able to talk. With uncanny frankness he said he was not a gunman, but their bookkeeper, and was sent to the mine by The Edward J. Hargrave Secret Service, 145 N. Clark St., Chicago. Twenty-six guards had been sent to protect machinery in case of violence. In his opinion they were employed by the coal company to reduce their insurance. The chief in charge, he said, was Morris Delaney, who received $14 per day and board. Common "gunners" were paid $5 per day and were expected to "work a little when things were quiet."

The stories of atrocities, circulated in the metropolitan press, were branded as lies by all the wounded men. The consensus of opinion among the sufferers was that the arch crime against them was committed before they came to the coal field, by a scheming coal company plotting with unscrupulous employment and detective agencies who do not hesitate to betray workmen to their deaths.

Russ Worker Answers Emma Shows Her in her True Colors Refutes Her Lies With Facts

(We have received the following contribution from [illegible], at one time organizer of anarchist groups, editor of "Ninth Wave" and "Nabat" in Odessa at the beginning of 1919. He was asked in a letter by a comrade what he thought of the articles of Emma Goldman presently being published by the New York World and other papers, and his reply has been sent to us.)—Ed. Note.

Your letter and your apprehension that I might agree with Emma Goldman sounds like an insult to me. You ask my opinion about Emma's articles, about her right to throw mud at the Russian Communists, to vilify the Soviet administration. I would like my answer to you to serve as an open letter to Goldman herself; maybe we can arouse her sense of shame if she has any. I cannot agree with people of the type of Goldman and Berkman, because I am a worker, born in the ranks of workers, suffering the miseries of their lot and knowing only their point of view. I am not a lying American sensation-monger, as Goldman is, and am only taking pains to make the matter clear in the interest of my fellow-workers. I am a revolutionist, and not a prostitute of revolution. [illegible] with her in Soviet Russia [illegible] versation with her was sufficient for me to understand what kind of revolutionist she was; to show me the limited nature of her capacity to appreciate the changes that had taken place in Russia since October, 1917.

In my letter I want to show you that Emma, notorious Emma, is only a hysterical, shameless liar; she is an enemy of the workers (a class enemy); a representative of the bourgeois stream of thought, nothing different from suffragism, and like suffragism, no business of the workers.

Neither Russian Nor Revolutionist

You are mistaken when you imagine that she is a Russian, or that she is a revolutionist. She is a Polish Jewess, not the same type of Jew as Trotsky, who is an internationalist, but of the Jew type who is found in all large American cities in the old-clothes business, and she is possessed of the same psychology. She is like the other Jewess who attempted to assassinate Lenin, Fanya Kaplan, and those others of their faith who consider Trotsky their deadliest enemy.

She is not a revolutionist as you cannot call a drunken man who is fighting with a policeman on the street a revolutionist, or suffragists who pour acid into the letter boxes. Raised in America, the land of "boom," she is far from an understanding of revolutionary honesty. We, Russians may be very bad as men, but as revolutionists we use judgment as to how to behave in all the events of life so that we may not injure the revolutionary movement. Practice teaches us many things. We are brutal and unpolished, but straight and truthful. "Why didn't Pontifical Kropotkin attack the Bolsheviki?" asks Emma Goldman, and replies, at the same time, "because he is honest and an old revolutionary guard." How dare he fight the men who are leading the revolution, and fighting against the whole organized imperialist world? How dare he give help to the enemy since he saw already the result of his help to French and world imperialism during the course of the so-called Great War? Emma herself states in her article, "He couldn't (fight the Bolsheviki). He could not, like some of the old revolutionary guard, make common cause with the enemies of the revolution. Even had he found a way of having his protests published in the European press, the reactionists would have used them against Russia. No, he could not do that."

Dictatorship Only Way

Is she stupid or dishonest? Since she proclaims against herself in these articles that aid the enemies of the revolution and are against the struggling workers of Russia, I believe she is both—stupid and dishonest.

Your general mistake is that I, after my journey to Soviet Russia, am the same kind of anarchist as I was before. Of course not. The great Socialist revolution in Russia has made me, like 99 out of every 100 honest anarchists, a revolutionist, not of Kropotkin's, but of Lenin's type; because there is no party of the workers in the world more revolutionary and more extreme than the party led by Comrade Lenin. There is no other way to reach Communism than the way of proletarian dictatorship, and Communist society is a society without a state, the ideal of the anarchist."

Planning and Acting

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The Railway Labor Board is a governmental agency and with a full knowledge of this Benjamin Hooper, chairman of the board, has issued a call to all loyal citizens urging them to take the places vacated by the strikers and assuring them that in so doing they are not scabs but dutiful supporters of the government. The strikers, according to Hooper, have forfeited all rights to consideration by the Railway Labor Board and that body no longer needs to recognize the organizations with which the strikers are affiliated.

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These leaders are the loudest shouters for American democracy—even outdoing the Chambers of Commerce and the professional patrioteers—yet unless they are of such subnormal intellect that they cannot draw a conclusion from evidence they cannot have failed to notice that every conspiracy against labor has as its basis the premise that this government is a democracy and that it is as much concerned for the welfare of labor as it is for that of capital.

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These conspiracies vary but little in the manner in which they are brought to fruition. Labor, thru its representatives, is first cajoled into acknowledging the fairness of some department of the government. It may even be thrown a few sops until it is entirely off guard, lulled into lethargy by the fatuous statements of its own officials. Then the employers begin a nation-wide campaign for a reduction of wages and increases in hours; their propagandists insist with increasing vehemence that it is the interest of the public alone that the unselfish employers are considering and that the public alone will benefit. Labor, say the publicists, must sacrifice as well as capital. The whole matter finally comes before some "impartial" governmental agency which the labor leaders have been eulogizing, and then labor gets it where the chicken got the ax, much to the grief and surprise of the [illegible] which then issues long statements about the cost of living, comparative wages, American standards, etc.

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(Continued on Page Two)

New York Has Tag Day for Coal Miners

Down in West Virginia, where 80,000 men are fighting a life and death battle against the slavery which the coal barons seek to impose upon them, things are happening which ought to arouse to action every class-conscious worker.

[illegible]

([illegible])

Governmental statistics [illegible] that the average American worker gets a wage [illegible] standard of living but reductions occur [illegible].

The shopmen now on strike are in conflict [illegible] with the railway managements [illegible] with the full power of the federal government; in addition to that they are on strike because of a decision of a government board which their officials have sanctioned and praised and on which their officials depended for concessions instead of solidifying their organizations and inculcating in the membership the knowledge of the irrefutable fact that the workers gain only in proportion to their organized power.

The railway systems of this nation are a unit in this fight. Behind the federal government their forces are rallied, and they can call to their assistance, as Hooper says, the full force of public opinion

[illegible]

By MICHAEL GOLD

I came to [illegible] Corot; it was [illegible] fitting garment for this stark city that is [illegible] America.

Pittsburgh is stark. It is stark and [illegible] it drives on. There are no fancy skyscrapers in Pittsburgh, no show streets or [illegible] me. I saw the [illegible] trucks rumbling along the streets. [illegible] tall smoke-stacks everywhere, [illegible] skies. They were pouring out [illegible]

[illegible] furnaces and rolling mills [illegible] America's power, that power

[illegible] are killed utterly and [illegible] a dismal ash. The machines [illegible] enslave the world. The world [illegible] become a vast roaring mill [illegible] by millions of slaves, slaved [illegible] and like bees with the madness [illegible] work, knowing nothing but [illegible]. The great cosmic mill will grind away century after century, turning out steel, steel, steel. No one will know why after centuries—no one will question—no one will read [illegible] write, draw, paint, love, laugh, [illegible] adventure any longer. Steel, [illegible] steel!"

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Down in West Virginia, where 80,000 men are fighting a life and death battle against the slavery which the coal barons seek to impose upon them, things are happening which ought to arouse to action every class-conscious worker.

The miners, who have passed thru an ordeal of privation and suffering which would have undermined the most hardened, are slowly being starved to death by the ruthless, profit-mad coal barons.

Machine-guns, bombs, evictions, every cruel and destructive agency has been brought into play to accomplish the sinister purposes of the mine owners. But the miners have maintained their ground despite everything.

Lawrence Dwyer, telling of the intolerable conditions existing in the New River Coal fields, reports the daily eviction of miners and their families.

Having no shelter, the miners make tents out of paper to house themselves and their families.

These tents are playthings for the elements. With no roofs over their heads, forced to drink filthy creek water, their women and children maltreated by the lowest scum, imported from the slums of New York, the miners are indeed fighting against great odds. Already there are signs of weakening under the terrific strain. The miners have no food. Dwyer says "Since January 1st they have been existing down there only on food sent in by kind people from the outside."

Food must be rushed to West Virginia immediately. The Miners' Relief Committee is running a Tag Day on July 8-9, for the benefit of the starving miners. Volunteers are wanted. Enlist at the following stations:

296 Sackman St.; Empire Hall, Lorimer and Ten Eyck Sts., 47 Christie St., 240 E. 23rd St., 350 E. 81st St., 1403 Fifth Ave., 1347 Boston Road, 208 E. 12th Street.

Amnesty Signatures

(Continued from Page One)

includes Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; Henry Sloane Coffin, New York Federation of Churches; Solon De Leon, editor of Advance, the official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; William F. Dunne, The Worker; Charles W. Ervin, editor New York Call; Bishop Paul Jones, Fellowship of Reconciliation; A. Lefkowitz, New York Teachers Union; John H. Randall, Community Church; Robertson Trowbridge, Union League Club; Marguerite Tucker and Philip Umstadter, New York Printing Pressmen's Union. Mrs. Willard Straight and Prince Hopkins are among the many persons giving co-operation to the committee.

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(Continued from Page One)

Governmental statistics constantly prove that the average American worker gets a wage making impossible a decent standard of living, but reductions occur constantly just the same.

The shopmen now on strike are in conflict not only with the railway managements but with the full power of the federal government; in addition to that they are on strike because of a decision of a government board which their officials have sanctioned and praised and on which their officials depended for concessions instead of solidifying their organizations and inculcating in the membership the knowledge of the irrefutable fact that the workers gain only in proportion to their organized power.

The railway systems of this nation are a unit in this fight. Behind the federal government their forces are rallied, and they can call to their assistance, as Hooper says, the full force of public opinion as well as the military and judicial might of the state and national government.

Compare to this unbroken front the sixteen organizations in the transportation industry. Note with what glee the capitalist press chronicled the fact that the firemen, trainmen, engineers and conductors were "working as usual" the day the shopmen struck. How joyful was the capitalist press again when the officials of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Workers, with a 90 per cent strike vote in their pockets, decided to once more throw themselves on the tender mercies of the Railway Board and desert the shopmen. The clerks and telegraphers are still at work because the Board has cunningly delayed its decision relative to their wages.

The truth of the matter is that not only have the officials of the railway unions let the enemy decide their policies, but they have also let them fix the strike date and determine which organizations shall strike and which shall continue work and betray the strikers.

In the checkered history of labor organizations and their struggles in all lands in all ages there has never been a more insane and destructive policy than this—the policy of American railway labor at a time when the power of its employers is concentrated as never before.

In this acute crisis for the railway labor organizations "Amalgamation or Annihilation" becomes something more than a phrase. It is a living reality that must be faced—NOW.

W. S. Harlem Br. Workers Party Meets June 13

The newly orgnized West Side Harlem Branch of the Workers Party will hold its next meeting on Friday evening, June 13, at the West Indian-American Hall, 149 West 136 Street, between Lenox and Seventh Avenues. All comrades living on the West side and desirous of connecting themselves with this branch are invited to atend the coming meeting, at which officers will be elected.

While this branch of the Party will carry on most of its activities among the Negro workers of West side Harlem, it is to be made up of both white and colored comrades resident in the district. Several members from the Harlem (East side) English have transferred to this branch, as wel as the Negro comrades who formerly were affiliated with the Yorkville English. Money is being raised for a permanent headquarters and Social Centre and great activity is expected from this branch. Several street corner meetings have already been held in the section, and others will be planned and carried out as soon as the branch is permanently organized. At these street corner meetings The Worker will be sold and the colored workers thus made acquainted with the Party organ.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Rail Workers' Strike

(Continued from Page One)

meet in a general conference the management of all the railroads, as the miners are now meeting all the operators, but we shall refuse to meet them singly. They had the opportunity months ago, but rejected it."

Reports show that 97 per cent of the membership had obeyed the strike call. A few old men and half a dozen "yellows" had stayed at work.

At machinists' international headquarters the list of assignments of officers to various posts thruout the country was announced by Johnston to his board members. Vice-President Anderson will have charge of the Pennsylvania shopmen, with headquarters at Pittsburgh. David Williams will have the roads leading into New York City. Peter Conlon has this city. W. V. Hannon has Denver. Other officials have other stations south and west. St. Paul will be headquarters for the northwestern division, with James Taylor in charge.

[illegible]

By MICHAEL GOLD

I came to Pittsburgh on a [illegible] on my way to the great coal strike. A mist filled the [illegible] of coal and [illegible]. It was not the [illegible] Corot; it was smoke, raw smoke [illegible] fitting garment for this stark city that is the [illegible] of America.

Pittsburgh is stark. It is stark and straight as a [illegible]; it drives on. There are no fancy skyscrapers in Pittsburgh, no show streets or [illegible]. I came out of the station and looked about me. I saw the squat, dirty houses, the [illegible] trucks rumbling along the streets. Beyond the [illegible] of roofs I saw tall smoke-stacks everywhere, pointed like fingers at the stupid, ancient skies. They were pouring out thick, [illegible]; they were vomiting smoke like monster drunkards dizzy with too much life; they were streaming the black smoke of industry, the smoke of vitality, of production, of life, of creation. The monster mills surround Pittsburgh; they taint her air and her skies; there are days when their smoke eclipses the sun at midday for a half hour or more, till the wind has purged the cosmos; the mills are a part of Pittsburgh, and make it dirty and hot with being, make it throb like an engine with fire and action.

I walked about Pittsburgh the next few days, waiting for my chance to get out into the strike regions. Who has ever described in words that cruel, hard city that fascinates one like the eyes of a huge python! I walked about it for two days, and saw the most miserable slums in the world, and the most magnificent palaces. And everywhere were the mills—the mills where steel is made—steel, the skeleton of the modern world, steel that is the life-breath of the modern world. Man was once clay, then he became bronze, then iron; now he is Steel! Railroads, skyscrapers, tractors, machinery—their father is Steel! And Pittsburgh is steel; the giant Pittsburgh is dirty and stinking and horrible, but he produces steel!

I stood on one of the bridges that cross the Alleghany river near Pittsburgh. Coal barges were going up and down the yellow stream, pushed by old-fashioned stern-wheel steamboats. There were raw, naked hills on either bank, scarred and gouged as tho great beasts had had them between their teeth, and with splashes of green spring grass here and there. There were empty coal cars on the sidings near the river—rusty long sheds, warehouses and waste places gaunt, grim, smoky city, stripped to the primitive buff and reeking with black sweat like a stoker at his furnace! Who has ever painted it? Who has ever understood it, among the oleomargarine intellectuals, among the lemonade artists, among the gossipy old maidy, vapory small-town writers of American tragedy? They come to see Pittsburg and shudder, and run back to their books and their eternal ruminating on the mysteries of married life. They rush back to read and imitate Dostoievsky, and to brood on the infinite, and to utter sickening, yearning moans for the past. And Pittsburgh is here. And Pittsburgh plows thru, like a battleship in a storm. And Pittsburgh lives. And Pittsburgh creates steel and coal, the life-blood of "Civilization." And strong men work and hope and love and fight and die in Pittsburgh, and women bring babies into the world, strong babies, and there is drunkeness and riot, creation and destruction. But the Young Intellectuals go to Paris to sip absinthe, or to Rome to publish little reviews.

The alarming, amazing city, the littered with tin cans and rot. Down the river one saw another bridge, and it was surrounded by a fog of black smoke. Pittsburgh lay beyond one of those raw hills, and it was shooting its smoky breath into the clean face of the solar system. Smoke, smoke—the smoke of creation—of steel! On this bank of the river there was a colony of company houses; deadly grey, dirty and alike in every part like a row of blank-faced idiots sitting in the sun, the bright sun that shone on the unanimous gray roofs and made them glow like cubes and squares of ice. The men who made steel lived in those houses. And on the other bank were the steel mills—a colony of strange low buildings squatting somehow like an envenomed octopus with a thousand outreaching thick tentacles, sullen and filled with a fierce angry life. I counted forty smoke-stacks in the fourth of a square mile where these buildings were placed. They were tall smoke-stacks that poured forth smoke continuously—the black, green, yellow robin-blue, white, and gray smoke of the different processes by which steel is made. Hammers and heavy forging machines were clanking and pounding; the smoke rushed from [illegible]

When I went down to the coal fields I rode for two hours along the Monongahela river, and saw it [illegible] the sights of steel being created by man. The river was lined with blast furnaces and rolling mills; it was like moving along the trenches of a great battle. It was the spectacle of America's power, that power that has enabled her to conquer the world. The material life of the world centers about coal and steel; the lives of the world's millions now hang on the fate of the world's coal and steel, and it was Pittsburgh that battered down Essen and ended the war; it was Pittsburgh [illegible] the world it has built that killed Rupert Brooke and John Reed and Karl Liebknecht; it was Pittsburgh that created Carl Sandburg and Eugene O'Neill, Dada Futurism, Bolshevism, Capitalism, Gary and Lenin. Pittsburgh is the material and spiritual capital of the twentieth-century world. Here it was now—working at its terrible flaming forges, making steel. The air was heavy with the smoke of steel, the young leaves and grass on the river banks were loaded with the soot of steel-melting—and the river itself was dabbled with marks of the bloody parturition of steel—it ran blue, it ran brilliant yellow, here green, brown, mauve and scarlet, the acids of the different processes in the enormous birth of steel.

"But oh, how monstrous!" I heard the gentle small-town spirit of the past murmur in my ear. "Oh, the horror of these leagues of buildings bursting with flame! Oh, the insane mathematics of it all, the rationality, the inhuman, sleepless lust of these endless machines! Men are fed into these mills as into a giant's maw, and the great jaws eat them, crunch them with cannibal glee, devour their human flesh and bones and dreams! Nothing human can stand against the cold fury and power of these monsters, and the tyrants who own them. Soon the machines will rise from the feast here, and slavering with lust, will hunt thru the other regions of the quiet, simple world. All men will be made the food and slaves of the machines. All dreams, laughter, love and human beauty will go into the furnaces to be burned into Steel. The human world, this hopeful, varied, beautiful world of man that has struggled out of the primeval slime, will be filled, as the living trees that stand in the smoke of the coke ovens are killed utterly and [illegible] a dismal ash. The machines will enslave the world. The world will become a vast roaring mill inhabited by millions of slaves, slaves chained like bees with the madness of work, knowing nothing but Steel. The great cosmic mill will grind away century after century, turning out steel, steel, steel. No one will know why after centuries—no one will question—no one will read and write, draw, paint, love, laugh, fight, adventure any longer. Steel, steel, steel!"

But a big-chested, hairy old man next to me in the train, a white-haired steel worker, was talking to me in a soft Irish brogue as he smoked his pipe. He told me of the little garden he was planting, and how the warm weather had brought the tips of the early vegetables thru the mould. And he spoke of his son, a "fine big feller," who was taking a course in electrical engineering at the Technical Institute. And he jested about his wife, who had been quarreling with him for forty years because he changed from winter underwear to summer too soon. And he told me how he had worked in the mills since he was a boy, and how the puddlers stand over the cauldrons and stir the metal, and how the steel is made into pigs, and how it is run thru the rollers. And he talked about the Great Steel Strike, and how he had just about got ready to get his gun out to go after the State Cossacks, when it ended, and how there would be another big strike coming, and by God, how he'd be there with it again.

He was old and strong and human and unafraid. He was organized labor. There was a greater power than the machines. It would go up against the beast and conquer it—humanize it, make it the servant of man. It was the labor movement, and no one in America not knowing the labor movement can look upon the mills of Pittsburgh and believe in life. No one can understand one without the other. Yes, the power of labor is greater than the power of governments or machines. Labor is stronger even than steel. There is no room for despair—Labor has not yet learned from books how to despair. Labor will redeem Pittsburgh some day—make it beautiful as a strong man wrestling with fate. Labor will build up a new culture in which the making of coal and steel will be part of the creative life of man. Labor is the hope of the world.

Russian Worker's Reply to Goldman

(Continued from Page One)

Guard and a revolutionist of the Goldman-Berkman-Schapiro type. The soldier-worker had only one argument, "there are only two classes, bourgeoisie and the proletariat. What is good for the bourgeoisie is bad for the workers; what is good for the workers, is bad for the bourgeoisie." The agitator did not succeed, as there can be no success for the bourgeois anarchistic propaganda amongst workers.

Workers' Interests Alone Count

The Russian revolution showed that there is no such thing as a common humanity; that there is no freedom or happiness for all; that we are fighting for freedom and happiness for the working class only, for the extinction of our enemies, whether they may be Emma Goldman or Paul Milukoff. In the beginning of 1920, one could see the crowd of former rich merchants and millionaires standing on the streets of Moscow offering for sale four little pieces of sugar on a plate. They were not interested in making a sale: their purpose, their only purpose was to demonstrate to the people of Moscow and the world that they were still in existence as merchants; that they still maintained themselves as a privileged class, a class free from the necessity of toil. They might die of starvation, but they would not condescend to the degrading position of working for a living.

Kropotkin's Bankruptcy

This same thing reminds me of Kropotkin, who fell bankrupt in the early days of the revolution. The only service he had to give to the workers was "don't interfere with the masses, let them do everything." When questioned regarding the defense of the Soviet Republic, his only answer was "leave it to the masses." But masses do nothing themselves. To face the guns of the German invaders with sticks and stones would be equal to committing suicide. Men had to be mobilized into an army; ammunition factories had to be set working; the army had to be organized and disciplined to the use of its weapons before it could hope to meet the attacks of its enemies on any kind of footing at all.

Only One Choice

The workers of Russia faced the question whether to have anarchy and chaos or order, plan, organization; whether to prefer the Socialistic state to the madness of aristocrats of thought. They were wise enough to give heed to the voice of common sense. After his full bankruptcy, seeing that dirty horde of workers taking their destiny into their own hands, and even expropriating his highness' palace, Kropotkin went and hid himself in Dmitroff, and as former speculants sell their sugar on the streets of Moscow, to show that he is still an aristocrat, that he is far ahead of the crowd, in the most terrible days of the heroic struggle, he began his book on "Ethics," he began to take an interest in music and art (a very sorry sight). He had a special payok (allowance) as a consideration of his former service in the revolutionary movement, but he had only enough kerosene for one lamp. Millions of houses in Russia and Siberia were without kerosene during the course of the revolution. The men and women who made the revolution successful did much of their work in the dark, because they had no kerosene at all. Baku was in the hands of English expeditionary forces.

Goldman Feared Lice

ONE THING IN GOLDMAN'S ARTICLES IS TRUTHFUL, THE FEAR OF LICE. THE FEAR DROVE KROPOTKIN FROM MOSCOW. BECAUSE HE WAS COMPELLED TO SHARE HIS COMMODIOUS HOUSE WITH LOUSY WORKERS, SO DIFFERENT FROM THOSE HE SAW IN THE PICTURES IN GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINES, HE GATHERED UP HIS BELONGINGS AND MOVED TO HIS OTHER HOUSE IN DMITROFF, TO WRITE HIS GREAT WORK ON "ETHICS," WHILE THE PROLETARIAT WERE COMPILING THEIR WORKS ON "ETHICS," WORLD ETHICS, ON THE VARIOUS BATTLE-FRONTS WHERE THE RED ARMY USED RIFLES AND ARTILLERY AS WRITING MATERIAL.

The fear of lice prevented poor Emma from visiting the "grand old man." She could not travel in the same manner as the delegates of the Soviets, the people in control in Russia. They travelled on the roofs of cars and on tops of locomotives. Notwithstanding the fact that they were the rulers of Russia, they could not have special cars, but were compelled to travel with the same degree of comfort as the hobo does on the American railroads, and with nothing to eat but a chunk of dry bread. Spoiled by American hospitality and gentlemanly behavior to ladies, by tar and feather parties, by jail and deportation, she demanded special attention, special cars, even special trains, for the performance of such necessary revolutionary work as visiting this same "grand old man."

From the beginning of the revolution, there was a great shortage of men and women with organizing ability, but Emma could not find any work except collecting material for a revolutionary museum, and this is a very suitable engagement for people like Goldman-Berkman-Schapiro, for all such rubbish belongs in a museum.

Her Nonsensical Conclusions

Did she collect such nonsense as the Brest-Litovsk story for her revolutionary museum? Who does not know that before the Brest treaty was signed, the Ukraine had already made a separate peace with Germany, and being in control of the bourgeoisie not only betrayed Soviet Russia, but provided men, arms and food for the German Imperialists. With the Brest-Litovsk treaty began the end of the German Empire. Emma's stupidity till the present time prevents her from understanding this simple historical fact, which is known to the meanest worker.

She Pities Speculators

Poor Russian peasants were robbed of food by the awful Bolsheviks. Many of her poor compatriots, second-hand proprietors, were shot for speculation during the revolution. Did the workers rob the great landlords of their estates for the peasants or expropriate them of their property by the right of revolution? Did the workers by robbing the cattle stations and dividing among the peasants the cattle and the grain, do anything unjust? No, it was expropriation of capitalists in the interests of the working class, and only the petty larceny psychology of the second-hand store could prevent Emma Goldman from understanding it.

Revolution Is Robbery to Emma

The revolution began in the towns in Petrograd and Moscow, and the workers, in their great victory, divided with the peasants. They retained in their possession destroyed factories, and broken-down railroad systems, and it was an absolute necessity that they should remain in their work shops preparing the machinery for the defence of the revolution. They had the right to demand of the peasants all the surplus products of the country in so far as it was necessary to carry on their work, and to sustain the Red Army in its mighty efforts. The actions which are called robbery by bone-headed Emma are in reality the legitimate reward of the workers for carrying the weigh of the revolution on their shoulders. This "robbery" is the most brilliant effort of the Communists during the revolution accomplished in the face of the greatest difficulties, in spite of the growing bourgeois tendencies in the minds of Emma's poor peasants.

(Continued Next Week)

ODESSA.—The first French vessel to make port here since the allied blockade has docked with a cargo of seed grain purchased by the Nansen relief committee in Rumania.

ST. LOUIS.—The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor union has adopted resolutions demanding a release or a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 19th, 8 P. M.

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Watch "Ad" Next Week!

Meat Workers To Re-build Their Union

OMAHA.—The fragments of the stockyards' union, shattered by the unsuccessful strike of last winter, are appealed to by the Committee for Reorganization of Packinghouse Workers to form a comprehensive amalgamated union in the industry. Plans were discussed at a meeting in the Butcher Workmen's Hall July 2.

The committee says:

"We propose that fro mthe time a car of livestock is spotted at the stockyards gate up until the refrigerator car is loaded with dressed meat ready to be moved out of the yards, all men who shall have taken part in its preparation shall be members of the one international union and subject to its call. We believe that every man who plays any part in the preparation of the finished meat product, should be under the jurisdiction of the international. In this we include the stockyard employees, the drivers, the butchers, skinners, laborers, engineers, firemen, electricians, plumbers, steamfitters, carpenters and all other tradesmen employed within the packing house gates.

"We do not propose to destroy the various craft unions within the packing houses, we do not object to their existence and believe they should conduct their own affairs and function in any way they see fit providing of course that their actions are in accord with the general policy and program of the international union.

"We propose that an organization be so built that in case of a strike no tradesman will be allowed to stay on the job to keep the plant in operation enabling the scab butchers to work. We propose an organization in which the stock yard employees will not handle livestock to be killed by scabs brought in to take the places of the strikers and one in which the butchers would not stay on the job to kill livestock handled by non-union stockyard employees."

Some time ago District Council No 5 passed a resolution asking that the International Union of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America call a convention the purpose of which would be to convert itself into an organization such as outlined. Sufficient locals have voted upon this proposition and the international has called the convention to be held in St. Paul July 24.

SEATTLE.—With working class control of the world drawing nearer workers must prepare to manage the world better than prior ruling classes have, Rev. Robert Whitaker warned the Central Labor council here recently. Pride in membership in the working class must be inculcated, Whitaker declared.

Busts of
LENIN and TROTZKY
Modeled by Clare Sheridan, the noted English sculptress at Moscow last year
Raffle them at picnics and socials
Place them in your home
Lenin $3.00 Trotzky $2.00
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NEW YORK CITY

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Order it for distribution.
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799 Broadway, Room 405
New York City.

[illegible]

The death of William Rockefeller gives Arthur Brisbane an opportunity to do a little public toadying to the multi-millionaires for whom he acts as snake-charmer.

To the deceased gentleman, says Arthur Brisbane, must go the credit for harnessing the waterfalls of the mountain streams in the far west, for electrifying the Milwaukee railway thru Montana, Idaho and Washington, and for numerous other achievements which have brought prosperity and happiness to millions.

The writer happens to be one of the unfortunate highly skilled and highly skinned slaves who helped to "harness the waterfalls" of the far West and who toiled for a miserable pittance along the right of way of the Milwaukee railroad and in the many sub-stations and power-houses needed to successfully "harness" the power which moves the ore from Mr. Rockefeller's Butte mines and drives the locomotives on Mr. Rockefeller's railway.

The writer, in company with several thousand other workers, ate the slum-gullion and slept in the bunk-cars; roasted in the summer and froze in the winter, was driven by petty foremen and had his stomach robbed by grafting timekeepers, was gypped of his overtime by crooked bosses and went on gang-strikes to recover it; hung by his eyelashes from dizzy heights on poles and precipices getting thru the copper conductors; fought the three thousand volt direct current when a slip meant death; saw man after man meet and lose to the lurking death—a crashing fall or the licking tongue of the electric demon.

We did these things, I suppose, so that a hundred thousand dollar-per-year editorial writer could give the credit for mechanical advancement to a man whose millions were his sole claim to fame; who never knew catenary trolley construction from a concrete bridge or two 1500 volt generators in series from an electric headlight.

I do not recall ever seeing Mr. Rockefeller at work "harnessing" the waterfalls. I seriously doubt if he could tie an insulator on a hand-line so it would not tear loose while being hauled to the top of a hundred and twenty-five foot pole.

I KNOW he could not make the electric connection on a controller of one of the locomotives he owned. I am positive he could not make the survey for one of his transmission lines nor direct the erection of it after the survey was made. I am certain that he could not design the most simple piece of electric apparatus that makes part of the whole wondrous scheme nor could he have withstood the physical hardships undergone by the unskilled workers without whom nothing could have been done.

Where, then, does Mr. Rockefeller come in? How is it that his name is linked with this great enterprise?

It is quite simple.

Mr. Rockefeller had some money and he wanted to make more money. He PAID the men who did the work. He bought their brains and their bodies and in many instances he bought their lives. He bought these things very cheaply because the men had nothing else to sell and they wanted to live a while longer.

With the work and the dream which preceded it William Rockefeller had nothing to do but to Arthur Brisbane and the class he represents, William Rockefeller means the Milwaukee railroad.

What brains William Rockefeller had are now the food of worms but the Milwaukee railroad is still running trains because all the workers are not dead.

Capitalists do not run the capitalist system despite the vaporings of fat-salaried publicists.

Trying to Cover Treason

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

When the editor of Justice, the official organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, in an attempt to cover up the slimy trail of treason Schlesinger left behind him at the A. F. of L. convention, tells his readers, as he does in the issue of June 30th, that Schlesinger is the first Socialist ever sent as a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, he adds the black smear of a lie to a record already besmirched.

Almost twenty years ago—1903—Max Hayes, a member of the Socialist party was sent on the same mission. John Walker, also a Socialist, was sent in 1912. James Lord, deposed at the recent convention as head of the mining department by the Gompers machine, was sent in 1917, whether he was a member of the Socialist party at that time or not we do not know but he was certainly looked upon as a Socialist by the conservative element.

The stupid and brazen falsehood perpetrated by the editor of Justice is merely a clumsy attempt to mislead the membership with the idea that Schlesinger made a few minor concessions to the machine that a Socialist might represent the American Federation of Labor at the British Trades Union Congress.

Of the same jesuitical character is the labored attempt to explain, in the same issue, why Schlesinger and the delegation—with one exception—violated the instructions of the garment workers convention—upheld the hands of the Gompers machine in its denunciation of Russia an dsold out its boasted "socialism" and "radicalism" for a petty honor conferred upon President Schlesinger.

This editorial states that the garment workers could not vote for the minority resolution calling for recognition of Russia "as this had only in minds jobs for American workers, and totally disregarded every other motive and reason." This is another bald and unequivocal falsehood and anyone who will read the minority resolution will recognize it as such.

Since when, however, has this lofty and idealistic attitude been adopted toward practical matters by such slippery politicians as Schlesinger and Yanofsky have proved themselves to be?

The cold facts of the matter are that they were pledged to either vote against, or damn with faint praise, the minority resolution.

Here is what Schlesinger did.

He took no part in the debate until Max Hayes, on the last morning of the convention, was making his argument for the minority resolution. Schlesinger rouse, interrupted Hayes and asked to be allowed to amend the resolution by inserting a clause demanding free speech, free press aud freedom for political prisonrs. The manoeuvre had been carfeully timed so that it would create confusion in the minds of the delegates at a time when clarity was needed. It was done for no other purpose for the reason that Schlesinger and his delegation had had ample opportunity during the whole convention to introduce the resolution dealing with this matter.

Schlesinger not only betrayed the Russian workers and the Russian revolution but he did it in the cowardly manner that we have come to look for from this type of self-seeking individualist. He did not have the courage to make an open fight but sought the help of the Gompers machine to cover his contemptible actions.

The contention of the editor of Justice that the refusal of the minority to accept the Schlesinger amendment seriously injured the minority resolution is not true altho this was not the fault of Schlesinger. I was sitting within twenty feet of Schlesinger when he rose and offered an amendment and it was with the greatest difficulty that I heard what he said: I will take an oath that not two dozen delegates knew what he was talking about.

I can only say that if the membership of the Ladies' Garment Workers accepts the explanation offered them as an excuse for the dirty role played by their delegates they are more gullible than I think they are and deserve to the full the black disgrace that Schlesinger and his ilk have brought upon them.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Beckley, W. Va., June 22, 1922.

Mr. J. Louis Engdahl,
Editor, The Worker,
799 Broadway,
New York City

Dear Comrade:—Just a few lines to let you know that I have not forgotten the aid you have been to our friend "Peggy" Dwyer and the help given to our struggling miners in West Va. I have had many calls for the Worker, but our fellows are not in position to buy anything except food (and darned little of that) so I cannot ask them to subscribe for any paper at present.

However, I wish to tell you what is going on in this district, and if it will help in raising even a small amount of funds to help us secure food and shelter, it will be time well spent, even if it is now nearly midnight and my eyes shutting of themselves in spite of my efforts to keep them open.

Live on 30 Cents Per Week'

In the first place, Tom L. Lewis, Secretary of the New River Coal Operators Association, invited Rabbi Wise of New York to come to the New River Field, and there find ideal conditions among the miners who are scabbing on their fellow workers.

I cannot of course say what their report will be, but I do know that they found the Coal Operators fighting as savagely (as ever the Red Indian fought), to maintain their privileges, hundreds of men and their families are now living in tents, paper shacks, barns or any other kind of shelter they can find, while I as Secretary-Treasurer have been handing out to men utterly without funds the sum of from 18 cents to about 30 cents per head each week.

I do not know how they have existed, but they have, and the fighting spirit is still strong, altho it must be confessed, that when these men see their comrades of the mines being thrown out of house and home, it needs courage of a high order to stick until it comes their turn.

We even have the spectacle of the Coal Operators trying to force farmers who leased farms, to compel the miners to move their tents off their land and to get out of the barns.

I have in my possession a notice given by a farm owner to his tenant demanding that he compel the miners to move all their tents about 25 off the property. (This man lives in Charleston, and at first when the tents were erected on the land made no objection, but, they are all in plain view of every train on the C. & O. so I suppose it hurt the sensibilities of his plutocratic friends, when they passed on the train.)

Can't Wait On Courts

There have been in the neighborhood of 400 evictions in this district, the men either having been thrown out or getting out by their own effort after the notice was served on them. (Very few have been able to give bond for rent and so hold on till the Circuit Courts gave judgment.) And there is now to the best of my judgment approximately 800 or a thousand more notices of eviction in the hands of the miners who are awaiting the action of the courts, these notices are being served every day, and I suppose will continue to be served until all who dare question the Overlordship of the Coal Barons get off the Earth, or at least out of their sight. (Ireland has got nothing on West Virginia in the matter of evictions.)

How long this reign of terror—for it is terror when a man lives in daily dread of seeing his loved ones exposed to rain, cold nights and hot days, with no shelter from either in sight—will last, no one can say. But no doubt the Coal Operators have decided that it will last until the Coal Miners surrender every right gained in a struggle of more than twenty-five years.

Whether it will last till that time depends in a great measure on what the Friends of Liberty in these United States do, to help the miners combat the program of the coal operators.

Trusting that the world workers are lining up for the United Front, which will make them supreme, I remain, with every good wish,

Fraternally yours,
John Gatherum,
Secretary, District No. 29.

LOOKING FOR TROUBLE

FAIRPOINT, O.—At Uniontown, five miles away, a strip mine has been opened and 20 strikebreakers are working. A group of national guardsmen armed with machine guns stand guard over them. At night searchlights sweep the countryside from the mine.

The operators of Clarkson Mine No. 2 have asked union men to go into the mine to clean it of fallen rock and coal. The miners see in this a trick on the part of the company to get the mine in operation. They have refused to go, holding that this mine was closed by a shutdown ever since August, 1921, and the company never thought of having it cleaned until the strike.

[illegible]

[illegible] while the [illegible] convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record against recognition of Soviet Russia and refuses affiliation with even the "moderate" Amsterdam International, the Truro Convention of the twelve thousand Nova Scotia mine workers of District 26, has decided to organize a demand for a fifteen million dollar Government Loan to relieve the famine-stricken, has decided to apply for affiliation with the Red (Moscow) Trade Union International and to send a delegate to its forthcoming world congress in October.

These hard-headed Scottish-Canadian miners have further declared themselves ready to co-operate with any other section of Canadian labor, in the first instance the western mine workers of District 18 (Alberta), in the setting up of a United Front against Capital.

And finally, this amazing convention has openly "proclaimed to the world that we are out for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system and the capitalist state, peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must."

This stand of the Truro convention which places the Nova Scotia miners in the forefront of the radical forces in America, is the result and climax of a long and bitter struggle with the powerful British Empire Steel Corporation, in the course of which the miners met the thirty per cent wage slashing campaign of the corporation with a defensive counter-attack in the shape of the "strike on the job" policy.

The retort of like work for like pay created so tense a situation that it finally forced a discussion on the floor of the House of Commons. There the slippery King Government was compelled, over the head of the clumsily reactionary Minister of Labor Murdock, to grant the Scott Conciliation Board.

But the award of this board has left the miners deeply dissatisfied and the district executive was sharply censured at the convention for their acceptance of it.

The award has utterly failed to remove the basis of the sense of poverty and wide-spread humiliation which has seized on nearly everyone of the twelve thousand class fighters.

Nearly every resolution from the various lodges breathed a spirit of continued struggle against the British Empire Steel Corporation.

Nearly the whole convention lined up under the leadership of the able and fearless secretary-treasurer J. B. McLachlan, and criticized the executive board in no uncertain terms for its "defeatism."

A sign of the temper of the convention is that Timothy Buck, Industrial Organizer of the Workers' Party of Canada, who conveyed greetings and emphasized the urgency of international affiliation, was given an enthusiastic ovation and invited to tour the whole district.

JULY 16

Just as soon as the sun sets on Sunday, July 16, bonfires will be lit all over Dickerts Old Point Park, 4078 Boston Road, Bronx. By now you have, no doubt, heard, and know that this is the date of the picnic arranged by the New York Branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia.

However, you might wonder what's the idea o fbonfires. Well—just imagine a spacious, cool and comfortable park with, say, five or six of these bonfires going at the same time, while five or six large groups of comrades lay and sit around singing revolutionary songs or songs of thier homeland. If you love the strain of a sad Russian song—well and good—join the group which echoes some melancholy tune of the steppes. If a Hungarian folk-song, coached in more cheerful tunes, is more to your liking all you have to do is to walk over to another corner. In still another corner you might be given the opportunity to add your voice to a chorus scaring the moon pale with the vigor of The Internationale.

The park will be open from 12 A. M. 10 per cent of the clear procedds will go to the Friends of Soviet Russia for famine relief.

In addition to a well arranged program, to games with prizes, to dancing with masks on, pictures of all organizations active in F. S. R. work will be taken.

Come along. You will have a good time and will help a good cause.

POLICE CHIEFS SAVINO NATION

SAN FRANCISCO.—The International Association of Police Chiefs, in session here, is running true to form. Sixteen of the 17 members of the committee on criminal procedure favor a national law making punishment obligatory for certain offenses. William F. Pinkerton addressed the convention, urging that the whipping post and the pillory be restored as punishments. "Dislike for work is the cause of crime," said Chief Benson, Wilmington, Del. Mrs. Anne M. Godfrey, federal Americanization chief for California, Nevada and Arizona, fulminated against radicalism.

[illegible]

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The issue of "Amalgamation or Annihilation" has been raised in every labor union in the country thru the action of the Chicago Federation of Labor in almost unanimously adopting [illegible] calling for the amalgamation of all crafts in the different industries. This resolution, while receiving the support of various [illegible] of labor, [illegible] aroused the enmity of Samuel Gompers and other leading officials of the American Federation of Labor, [illegible] Gompers even made a trip to Chicago in an effort to head off this movement.

THE WORKER this week publishes an article on this all-important question by J. W. Johnstone, secretary of the Organization Committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, that brought in the "Amalgamation Resolution." Johnstone is one of the national executive committee-men of the Trade Union Educational League, and was one of the chief organizers of the great stockyards' strike in Chicago. The article is as follows:

* * *

By J. W. JOHNSTONE

The greatest and most pressing need of labor at this moment is a greater and more binding consolidation of its fighting forces on the industrial field.

This is made glaringly apparent by the completeness with which the employing classes have covered every industry in the country with rich and powerful fighting organizations.

Chambers of Commerce, "Citizens' Committees," etc., aggressive, militant and imbued with a keen sense of solidarity, rally vigorously to each others' support in times of industrial strife.

To say that they are united on all questions would be wrong; they bicker and fight bitterly amongst themselves, big business crushing and swallowing small business, etc.

Even now the small banking interests of the country are forming a national organization to combat the ever increasing power of the master financiers, but when it comes to where they stand on the labor question, they are solidly united, and are determined to smash organized labor.

Labor Suffers Defeats

These aggressive organizations have won many smashing victories and are still advancing. Labor, on the other hand, since the employers started their labor union smashing offensive, has met at almost every point damaging defeats.

At best, some unions have been able to mark time. Certainly no advances have been made.

The real facts are, if we want to be honest about it, that labor's fighting forces have been forced to retreat and are still on the retreat. This must stop.

With this condition confronting us, we trade unionists will do well to review our fighting line, our form of organization, and make the necessary changes as quickly as possible to meet the present industrial situation.

The numerous defeats that we have suffered should prove conclusively that our fighting forces, as at present organized, are inferior to those of our employers.

For example, why were the packing house workers so decisively defeated? They lost the eight hour day. Their wages were reduced almost 50 percent.

Exposes Craft Union Impotency

All the splendid working conditions gained under the aggressive leadership of the Stockyards Labor Council have been lost and the union so completely smashed that hardly a trace of it can be found.

This is a shining example of craft union impotency, of the incapability of a single trade union to cope with and successfully combat the disciplined, well drilled, militant organization of the employers.

Another glaring example that proves the necessity for amalgamation is the railroad situation. With the most powerful aggregation of employers in the world to fight, we see the pitiful spectacle of 10,000 stationary firemen taking issue with this monster alone.

We also see the operating force standing aside while the shop men went as sheep to the slaughter and then, when the job was well done, the shop men standing by while the operating force got their trimming. Isolated unions and federations have played their part on the railroads and must give way to the next step—amalgamation of all railroad unions into one organization covering the entire railroad industry.

War on Building Trades

Take the Chicago building trades fight against the scab shop. In this instance the heretofore secret organizations of the employing class come out in the open and announce that they are going to smash the building trades unions. The "Citizens' Committee" is the high-sounding title under which they intend to do the job. They represent the richest and most powerful financial and industrial pirates in America.

Here we find the building trades fighting for their very existence, but they are not a united body.

True, there are only about 20 per cent who have not joined with the rest of the building trades who are fighting the so-called "Citizens' Committee" and the Landis Award.

What are the main issues in this fight? Wages is always a big issue, but in this case they take a secondary position.

The scab shop, the using of non-union material, union men forced to work under police protection, the right to strike denied, are what the unions must accept if they agree to the Landis award.

Causes of Division

These are so basic in nature that no union can accept them and live. In fact you would think that there could be no disagreement on the rejection of these clauses. Yet we have division, and why?

Because, in the first place, the rank and file of the minority don't really know what is taking place, and their officials do not see the change of power from the contractor to the financial interest and they foolishly think that the weapons and tactics of yesterday will suffice for today.

Third, and prime, factor is that the employers' organization on the labor question is solidly united and moves in the one direction; they fully recognize their identity of interest and never lose sight of it, while the building trades workers, on the other hand are divided against themselves.

The building trades of Chicago are one of the most powerful union groups in the country. They are exceptionally aggressive and count in their ranks some of the best fighters in the labor movement.

Establish United Front

A temporary united front is rapidly being established and will be completed before this appears in print. There is no doubt that they will win their fight against the so-called open shop but the victory will only be temporary, other issues will be raised and if the building trades allow themselves to be inveigled into another fight before their forces have been solidified, the all too numerous unions amalgamated into one organization covering the entire building industry, defeat will be inevitable.

Amalgamation is the next step that the trade union movement must take or it will be destroyed. There is no choice. It is the natural upward trend of the movement and should have taken place many years ago. We should be acting industrially now instead of merely talking about it, and we have not very much time to lose.

Action Is Now Needed

Action is what is needed. It should be a special order of business in every local union.

Every delegate or any prospective official should state clearly where he stands on the question of amalgamation and if they fail to toe the mark defeat them.

We must realize that the day of a single craft union or loose federations conducting a successful fight alone has gone.

They have blazed the way and have done wonderful work, but their function has been performed and they must give way to a better and higher form of organization.

The slogan of every organized worker in the country should be "Amalgamation or Annihilation."

SELL FIVE CARDS
WILL YOU sell five 20 week sub cards for THE WORKER?
WILL YOU make the 25,000 readers campaign a success?
WILL YOU help do what must be done?
YOU WILL!—sign the blank and mail.
THE WORKER
799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.
Enclosed find $2.50 for which send me five 20 week subscription cards.
Name ....
Address ....
City .... State ....

After Three Years

By J. E. SNYDER

Three year ago, "The Third International" of the Workers of the entire world, in session, at Moscow, made the positive declaration that:—

"The present is a period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole system of world capitalism. Unless capitalism is replaced by the rule of the working class, world civilization will collapse."

Capitalist democracy was branded as a fraud with only pretensions of equality and a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy controlled by the great financial and industrial interests.

In national conventions of every nation of the earth this sentiment was echoed by earnest men and women and expressed in platforms and manifestoes spread broadcast among the workers and their masters.

The answer of the masters was JAILS! DEPORTATIONS! FIRING SQUADS! and from the dark corners crept forth the inquisitors with police clubs and machine guns, ready, at command, to murder the prophets of the new day. From the corridors of the Hall of Fame came the challenging words of Walt Whitman:

"Not a grave of the murdered for freedom, but grows seed for freedom, in its turn to bear seed,
Which the winds carry and re-sow, and the rains and the snow nourish.
Not a disembodied spirit can the weapons of tyrants let loose,
But it stalks invisibly over the earth, whispering, counselling, cautioning."

But the masters, as the masters of all ages have done, went on with the mad policy of blindfolding the eyes of truth that they might thus cover up their folly and darken the path of humanity's progress.

And now comes testimony from the ranks of the master's political tools. The rising tide of discontent on the part of the masses and arrogant contempt on the part of the speculators, who gamble in human necessities, has alarmed men in high places who see the wheels of civilization slipping and the declaration of the Third International coming true.

Listen to Mayor Hylan of New York City. The ruler of an empire city. In a speech recently delivered in Chicago, referring to Theodore Roosevelt's condemnation of "invisible government," Mayor Hylan said:

"The real menace of our republic is this invisible government, which, like a giant octopus, sprawls its slimy length over city, state and nation.

"At the head of this octopus are the Rockefeller Standard Oil Company, and a small group of powerful banking houses generally referred to as the international bankers.

"The Rockefeller interests control the Standard Oil Company, a corporation composed of several hundred associated and affiliated concerns transacting a combined business of more than $3,000,000,000 a year. The Standard Oil Flag floats over a fleet of ocean-going vessels larger in number and tonnage than the United States navy and the pennant of Standard Oil is followed and supported by the flag of the United States all over the world.

"The little coterie of powerful international bankers virtually run the United States Government for their own selfish purposes. They practically control both parties, write political platforms, make catspaws of party leaders, use leading men of private organizations and resort to every device to place in nomination for high public office only such candidates as will be amenable to the dictates of corrupt big business.

"They connive at centralization of government on the theory that a small group of hand-picked, privately-controlled individuals in power can be more easily handled than a large group among whom there will likely be men sincerely interested in public welfare."

And Mayor Hylan is not the only capitalist "statesman" that is howling at the heels of the master class. Senators Hiram Johnson, Borah, La Follette, Walsh, Reed and other reformers, in high places, are doing their best to sweep back the rising and overwhelming power of the "invisible government."

The Communist Labor Party of America, in September, 1919, wrote in its program:

"The economic conditions in every country determine the form of organization and method of propaganda to be adopted. In order efficiently to organize our movement here, we must clearly understand the political and economic structure of the United States.

"Altho the United States is called a political democracy, there is no opportunity whatever for the working class thru the regular political machinery to effectively oppose the will of the capitalist class."

With the testimony of Mayor Hylan, with the knowledge that Wall Street and other capitalist interests spent eight million dollars to elect Harding, with the late international combinations of Chambers of Commerce, Four-Power sea and trade control does any one need further proof that the Communists were right about the capitalist power in 1919 and the necessity for the workers to understand the political and economic structure of the United States and to organize accordingly?

As a reminder that the "invisible government" is still at work, six exponents of the workers' cause, who were arrested in Oakland, California, for attempting to organize the Communist Labor Party in California November 9th, 1919, have suddenly been cited to appear in a body for trial under a blanket indictment just returned by the Grand Jury of Alameda County, California. Altho the defendants are fighting this latest move of the inquisition, they expect to be railroaded to San Quentin if the imps of darkness have their way.

The six men are J. A. Ragsdale, I. G. Reed, C. A. Tobey, James H. Dolson, E. B. Smith and J. E. Snyder, while Clarence Tobey is held under a separate charge growing out of the same case.

The defendants are handling their own case and will use their forty jury challenges and this opportunity to corroborate their charges against capitalism, and the claims of Communism to bring freedom and happiness to the workers of the world.

Capitalism is marching to its fall, under a burden of four hundred billions of world debt, and the growing scorn of the entire world. It is doomed. The rise of a new civilization depends upon the workers. No other human power can rise to save the situation. "The earth shall rise on new foundations—We have been naught, we shall be ALL!"

United Labor Council
meets
Every Fourth Wednesday
8 P. M.
81 East 10th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Phone: Stuyvesant 4501.

MIDSUMMER OUTING
TAKE FREEDOM OUT IN THE OPEN
and
HELP TO GIVE FREEDOM TO THOSE IN JAIL
Sunday, August 20, 1922
at
Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, L. I.
ADMISSION 35 CENTS
WATCH FOR FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS
Auspices:
National Defense Committe of Workers Party
New York Division

Rally July 14 at Carnegie Hall to Boost Bond Drive

A mass meeting will be held at Carnegie Hall, Broadway and 57th St., on Friday evening, July 14th, the purpose of which will be to launch a campaign for the sale of bonds to be issued by the Russian-American Industrial Corp., which was recently formed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in its efforts to help the Russian workers to reconstruct industry.

The capital of the corporation has been fixed at $1,000,000 and shares are being sold at $10 each. As soon as the requisite capital is raised, the corporation will start to manufacture clothing and textile products, in the nine factories which have been turned over to the corporation by the Soviet Government.

The speakers at the meeting will be Sidney Hillman, Pres. of the A. C. W. of A., and Pres. of the newly-formed corporation, Robert Minor, cartoonist, and press correspondent, Timothy Healy, President of the Stationery Firemen's union, Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary of the A. C. W. of A., Arthur Giovanetti, Sect'y of the Italian Chamber of Labor, Abraham Lefkowitz, of the Teachers Union.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

A [illegible]

By [illegible]

The average American worker is much more concerned about the [illegible] cycle of Mary Pickford or the batting average of Babe Ruth than about the defects of the Constitution and the manner in which it might be corrected, for this is the task which Mr. MacDonald, formerly an editor of The Nation, has set himself.

On the other hand, it will not offer much meat to the conscious and well-informed worker. In his criticism of the Constitution, the radical worker goes much further than does the cautious author of this book.

He is familiar with the works of Professors Charles Beard and J. Allen Smith. He realizes that the American Constitution is an economic document pure and simple; that every provision in the Constitution was intended as a safeguard and protection of the property interests and that it has fulfilled its functions perfectly.

He is probably also familiar with the statement of the at one time historian, Woodrow Wilson, who declared that the American Constitution was favored by the privileged classes who were united in purpose and altho a minority, were able to secure its adoption.

The author of this book makes it quite clear that the Constitution is antiquated and that it is no longer responsive to the will of the people.

Mr. MacDonald, it seems, still dwells in the atmosphere of the eighteenth century philosophers, who felt that if only the people would be allowed to express their will, every evil would at once disappear. The Constitution, consequently, must be revised, and all will be well.

The play of social and economic forces, of capitalism, of imperialism and how these forces inevitably control the machinery of government in the capitalist state, no matter what the form, no matter what machinery may be devised to insure the expression of the "will" of the people, of all this the author seems to be blissfully ignorant. At any rate, no mention of such influences is made; nothing is said about the economic basis of politics and political parties.

A [illegible] is left in the mind of the reader [illegible] of the [illegible] does not in fact serve the interests of all the people, but which serves primarily the interests of particular classes or groups. Just as when the Constitution was being framed, Alexander Hamilton declared that the best model to follow would be the English with its hereditary king and lords, so MacDonald urges that in place of an irresponsible president and cabinet we should substitute the English form of government with its responsible cabinet. This, in fact, is the chief point made by the author. He would shear the president of most of his powers, such as vetoing legislation and controlling foreign and domestic policies. Such powers would be transferred to Congress. The formulation of policies would be entrusted to a Cabinet which would be drawn mainly from Congress, and which would remain in power only as long as it retained the confidence of a majority of Congress. The Cabinet could then dissolve Congress and appeal to the people if its policies were not upheld. It would seem that in view of the fact that the English workers enjoy the blessings of just such a system and find it about as responsive to their needs under the Cabinet of Brother Lloyd George as the American government under Brother Harding, it is difficult to become very enthusiastic about the blessings that would follow this reform.

The one advance made by the present author over works of a similar nature is the suggestion that representation in the House of Representatives be based in part on occupation and not entirely on artificial geographical units.

To the worker who has never stopped to analyze the evils inherent in our governmental structure, the book will serve a useful purpose in helping to disillusion him about the document which politicians parade before us as a great charter of American liberties.

Tractors for Soviet Russia

Twenty tractors have been shipped to Soviet Russia for use in the famine district. A complete unit, including personnel, went along and will demonstrate in the famine area what can be done with the aid of modern machinery. The cost of this unit was about $100,000.

This is the first quota of agricultural machinery that has gone forward from the American workers. The Friends of Soviet Russia has taken upon itself a gigantic task of helping in the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia. The work has begun.

Melting Snows Reveal Horrors.

The spring thaw is bringing to light the gruesome facts of the famine. Heaps upon heaps of bodies are being found—children, women and men, the victims of starvation.

What is Being Done

Up to March 15, the Soviet Government contributed nearly $60,000,000 for food for adults. This does not include the funds collected for taking care of the children, diseased and invalids in the hunger districts nor for the seed.

The Red Army has been ordered to participate in the farming work in the famine districts. All recruits are put through a course in farming. Close contact with the discharged Red Army Guards, many of whom are working on their own farms, others on Soviet estates, has been effected. In the Ukraine 14,000 dessiatins are being tilled by Red Guards. Next year, 33,000 dessiatins will be taken care of by the army.

International Workers' Relief.

The British workers have raised nearly 5,800 pounds sterling for relief. A bazaar in London recently netted several hundred pounds.

Despite adverse conditions in South Africa, the South African Relief Committee has raised about 1,200 pounds sterling, and has forwarded a shipment of food stuffs.

As already reported, the government of Queensland appropriated 10,000 pounds for relief. The Workers' International Relief Committee sent a letter of thanks to the Premier of Queensland for the generous assistance.

Argentine has raised 2,200,000 marks.

France has sent two trains of foodstuffs and is now getting a ship ready to take the place of the "Hortense," which was sunk in the Mediterranean.

The German workers have raised 3,200,000 marks in cash and about 3,500,000 marks in clothes, etc.

What Some Contributors Write.

"Find enclosed the sum of five dollars, as a contribution of the "Church of Christ at Strickland Grove to the famine-stricken of Soviet Russia."

"I enclose my little mite to help the poor brave Bolsheviki in their sufferings, and their noble fight for the freedom of the world workers the world over. May success be theirs is my earnest wish in founding the great brotherhood of humanity."

"I am a staunch friend of Soviet Russia. I am American born and not related nor a descendant, but am of their principles. I am only a worker. My wife has been sick one year. I am 65 years of age. My wages are $55.00 per month."

"I am a miner and am on strike here and we have got to make every dollar go as far as we can. But I've still got a dollar for the starving in Soviet Russia."

"Please find enclosed a post office order which is from the Flowing Wells Sunday School. You already know us."

"This money is from us, the Christian Reformed Church of Kanawha. May the Lord bless your noble efforts that those poor children may receive the necessary food."

"Enclosed find draft for $56.83 for the starving in Russia. Special Easter offering from the ——— Washington Methodist Episcopal Church."

From a National Soldiers' Home: "I regret that I can't send more, but I am also nearly down and out, and living off the 'generous' bounty of Uncle Sam."

"On this 'Good Friday' morning, while writing this at my desk, I can hear the bells of a down-town church call forth the people to sacrifice, and my mind flashes across the pond to our plucky comrades in Russia. I wish every worker in America could understand and appreciate their need at this time.

Laundry Workers Organizing.

A unit of laundry workers is being organized at the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia. All those interested should apply to the Secretary at the office, 240 East 23rd St., from 7 to 9 P. M.

A general member meeting of laundry workers will be held on Friday, July 14, 1922, at 240 East 23rd St., at 8 P. M.

S. T. A. S. R. CLASSES

The following classes are to be formed under the auspices of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia:

1. Classes in Russian for English speaking persons.
   a) For beginners.
   b) For advanced pupils.
2. A class in Stenography and Typewriting.

All those interested are invited to communicate with the secretary at the above address. Office hours: 5 to 8 P. M.

On Wednesdays, at 8 P. M., Allen S. Broms of the Friends of Soviet Russia, is delivering a series of lectures on "Standards and Managements", which are of great instructive value."

[illegible] Genoa Conference

[illegible] the Genoa Conference. He writes as follows:

By GEORGE HARDY

In order to understand the situation at Genoa and the actions of Soviet Russia in signing the Treaty of Rapallo, and the German desire for an agreement with the Soviets, we must understand the economics of these two countries.

Speaking of the materialist conception of history, Marx said: "If you cannot interpret history from this angle, you cannot interpret it at all."

This is precisely the case here; in fact, all political advantages aimed at, and all diplomatic manoeuvers arise from this base, even tho we have a proletarian and a capitalist state getting together.

Russian officials have said long ago: "Only the repudiation of reparations, or very radical modification will ease the world's situation, and this only temporarily."

Therefore, they demanded repudiation—a wiping out—of war debts—immediately they entered the conference.

Also, desirous of calling the bluff of France—remembering that Briand had stated at Washington, that the reason France could not disarm was because of the enormous Russian Red Army—they asked for a discussion leading to a reduction of armaments.

This was a test of the sincerity of the capitalist groups.

Lloyd George had to compromise with French imperialism before entering the conference, even tho, British capitalism knew by doing so it was making dangerous concessions, for modern industrialism has brot the whole of Europe into a social unit. It has produced an interlocked productivity which precludes the petit-bourgeois, small ownership outlook represented by France.

The officials of the Workers' State of Russia know the narrow viewpoint of the ruling-class, with all past and present economic antagonisms upper-most.

The Wizard Out-witted

Knowing France would not listen to reason and ease the pressure on Germany, the Russian Soviet Government arranged the Treaty ahead of the conference. It acted like a political bomb-shell when signed. It blasted the apparent harmonious camp of the capitalist enemy, which brot forth the old war epithets against the Germans. The Russians had out-witted the "wizardly wizard"—Lloyd George.

Re-organization of transport; balancing of budgets; the stabilization of currencies. In short, reconstruction of capitalist production—keener exploitation of the workers—is what the Genoa conference is called for. They refused to do the first elementary thing towards it.

Instead, quite obviously, England began playing for Russian trade. While the British Premier says the bolsheviks "entered the conference as enemies" he was prepared to treat with them as victors, for he knows that the Red Army of Labor has beaten the capitalist forces of the world upon the field of battle; and he fears to go home empty handed.

In the last analysis, capitalist economy, and therefore, European and world economy, depends upon the world's workers working. But in all countries, except Russia, the workers allow the masters to rule, throwing themselves to the mercy of the imperialistic plunderers.

Workers Starve Amid Plenty.

The war has produced an economically unbalanced world. Only three important countries of the world have balanced budgets, namely England, America and India. Private ownership of wealth production has failed, depriving the workers of the first necessities of life, so the workers starve outside the factories in a world of want and plenty.

The workers who "won the war of democracy," may well reflect as they walk the streets. Yes! "We won the War" for the allied masters to enslave the workers of the Central Entente, shipping coal and making ships while the allied miners and ship-builders go hungry, because they won the war for the industrial barons.

Russian currency—with the recovery of industry, aided by capitalism, and the development of her enormous wealth—state wealth—will soon wipe out the adverse fluctuation. Russia must enter into agreement with capitalism, since the world's revolution did not happen. Remember, as I have stated many times, the Soviet officials are not retiring before the ruling-class, but before the social forces that have remained capitalistic.

Unite Industry with Wealth

Russia has linked German industry up with her enormous wealth, covering a stretch of territory from Vladivostock to the Rhine, with a population, over two-thirds of Europe.

From a revolutionary standpoint we must regard this as the greatest piece of economic and political strategy made at Genoa. We know that British industry is dependent upon Russia. So are the unemployed of the world, for there can be no relief from unemployment without building up Russia's economic life.

Russia, by linking up Germany, has forced the allied capitalists to challenge each other upon issues they outwardly agreed to solidly before going to Genoa.

Speaking of the revolution Lenin said: "If there had been no war there would have been no political ground to retreat upon." Exactly, and Russia would have been a "Turkey" over-run with allied commissions and capitalist supervisors, dictating and giving orders.

The reverse is the case now. They have fought for the revolutionary suppression of international imperialism and succeeded in no small degree. This is now obvious to the elementary student, for had it not been so, the conference would have adjourned under the pressure of Russian diplomacy.

Revolution Must Be International

The revolutionary working-class knows that the communist revolution must be upon an international basis. We will have to advance and retreat in this class-war in order to manoeuver the masters to their defeat. The Russians temporarily retreated economically, but won politically, for they have forced the ruling-class to do things they had no intention of doing.

Revolutions thruout history were nationalist. The proletarian revolution is different. The workers being the last class to achieve its emancipation must move on an international scale, and therefore, the proletarian revolution must be international, and we are already making headway.

The slave-owners are not able to redeem their system that brings starvation and death to the workers. They are a declining class. The working-class will be the dominant class. The workers should rise to the call for International Unity.

They must rise to aid Russia if invasion is threatened. Do it in no unmistaken terms. Organize around the banner of the Red International of Labor Unions. Join the Communists of the world in delivering labor from wage-slavery. We have the masters in retreat. Ours is the approaching victory.

[illegible] to West Virginia wit The Worke

The workers are not sitting idly by. A move has been initiated for the complete reorganization of the building trades council and is gaining in momentum. Many unions have served notice upon the building trades department of the A. F. of L. that the council must be reorganized in accordance with the constitution of that department, which says in part that: 'No local council, chartered by the building trades department, shall enter into any agreement with a contractors' or employers' association which provides for compulsory arbitration of disputes between journeymen and their employers; or that requires members of affiliated unions to work with non-union men or forbids the sympathetic strike.

All these provisions have been flagrantly violated by the Chicago building trades council. The Landis arbitration became compulsory, union men are compelled to work with non-union men and the sympathetic strike is taboo.

The overwhelming majority of the building trades workers demands a council that will function and help to unify labors' forces in this present severe struggle.

They realize the necessity of centralized leadership and are intent upon creating such leadership by placing more militant workers at the head of the movement and use more up-to-date methods of struggle against the powerful and cunning enemy.

Unite Against Fascisti.

MILAN, Italy.—A united front of the workers of Italy has been established owing to the dangerous proportions assumed by the "fascisti" movement. At a recent meeting of representatives of the General Confederation of Labor affiliated with Amsterdam, the Italian section of the Red International affiliated with Moscow, and the Syndicalists, a joint committee was created which will direct the united efforts of these three wings of the labor movement along the following lines: the demand for liberty of action and of meeting, now virtually denied, because of the lawless interference by the fascisti; safeguarding of the rights already gained by the workers, especially the eight-hour day.

NO MINERS—NO COAL

NEW YORK.—New York's supply of anthracite coal is almost entirely exhausted. Dealers here admit that unless the strike is ended within the next few weeks there will be a serious coal famine when cold weather sets in. "There will be a shortage anyway," said one dealer. "It could not be avoided even if the strike was settled today."

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LITERATURE DEPARTMENT WORKERS PARTY
799 Broadway Room 405 New York City

National Defense Committee Picnic, Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, L. I., Sunday, August 20th, 1922

News of Workers Party Activities in the City, State and Nation

Past and Future of the International Communist Women's Movement

By BERTHA STURM

Since the Second International Conference of Communist Women in Moscow, a solid tie binds all sections of the Communist women's movement of the world.

The ever more uniform and energetical organization of women's propaganda results in closer connections between the various sections and the International Women's Secretariat.

While the latter—besides the work of the Women's Secretariat—has been especially engaged in establishing connections with the countries of the Near and Far East, with the Russian border states as well as with Poland and the Balkans; the Berlin Sub-Bureau had to keep up communications with the Western European countries. The means and results of this activity will be outlined in the following review.

Only very seldom and at special opportunities the Sub-Bureau addressed general circulars to the sections.

It rather exchanged opinions and material with this or that country on national problems of special practical importance, thus giving the communications an individual character.

The reason for the employ of this method is evident. Only the International Women's Secretariat is authorized to discuss and decide on problems of international importance.

In consequence of difficulties of communications between Soviet Russia and the Western countries proposals and decisions of this kind did not arrive in Berlin as often as would have been desirable for a close and vigorous co-operation. In order to carry thru the tasks set by the International Women's Conference is was necessary, however, to consider the particular national conditions in every country.

Immediately after the World Congress the International Women's Secretariat addressed a first circular to the Party Executives and women correspondents of all countries clearly summarizing the demands of the International regarding women's propaganda, which are of fundamental importance for a systematic organization of the activities among women. Among these demands the most important were the setting up of National Women's Secretariats, publication of women's periodicals and women's pages in the Communist daily press, providing of continuous financial support for purposes of women's propaganda. The Party Executives were asked to support by every possible means the realization of these measures and to give a report on the results of this work within three months.

On its own initiative the Berlin Sub-Bureau twice appealed to the Communist women of all countries for participation in the actions and demonstrations of the world proletariat. Two manifestoes were issued dealing with the relief campaign for Soviet Russia. These manifestoes were dispatched to the international Communist Press and to all women correspondents. On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the proletarian revolution in Russia a circular was issued containing material and organizational directions on the participation of women in the manifestation. Moreover an article on the significance of the Russian revolution with regard to the liberation of women was conveyed to the international press thru the "International Press Correspondence" (Vol I, No. 3).

Of great significance is furthermore a plan for the study of the economic, juridical and social position of working women after the war in all countries of the world which has been elaborated by the Statistical Institute in Moscow in conjunction with the International Women's Secretariat. The Berlin Sub-Bureau communicated this plan to all Sections together with an accompanying explanatory letter.

"The Communist Women's International," edited by Clara Zetkin on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the International Women's Secretariat in Moscow, contains information on the Communist Women's Movement and on important, political, economic and organizational problems concerning it. This international organ, however, is until now only published in German and the material contained therein can only be utilized by a few countries. With regard to this fact we consider it necessary to publish regularly the most important articles in the "International Press Correspondence" and thus to convey them to the international Communist press. Moreover the Sub-Bureau itself is translating part of the material and sending it to the various countries.

Another important task has been begun by the Berlin Sub-Bureau: the publication and distribution of Communist booklets for agitation among the masses of politically indifferent proletarian women. In countries with very few trained agitators this task meets with great difficulties. In order to overcome them the entire women's propaganda material which has been published until now by the National Women's Secretariat of the Communist Party of Germany, has been sent to the various sections for information and utilization. Furthermore, the organ of the Communist Party of Germany for women's agitation "The Communist Woman" is regularly dispatched to all sections which are in connection with the Sub-Bureau. On the other hand the Berlin Sub-Bureau receives more or less regularly all women's periodicals and women's pages as well as all pamphlets on women's problems from the various countries. The Sub-Bureau has also commenced to organize an exchange of this material between the Sections which, however, has not yet been completely accomplished. By exchanging articles and reports on the women's movement which are of international interest, the character and the methods of women's propaganda will become more uniform, and experiences, successes and plans of every country can be utilised on an international scale.

The Sub-Bureau furthermore considered the idea of translating pamphlets of international significance into the most important languages, and of publishing booklets for countries with the same language (Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland; France, Belgium, Switzerland). The first attempt in this direction was made by the booklet **"Working and Peasant Women in Soviet Russia" by Alexandra Kollontay**, which is now issued by a German publishing house. For translation into other languages two pamphlets were chosen which have already been published in German and which are especially suited for agitation for the Russian Relief Action: **"The Working Woman in Soviet Russia"** (illustrated text) as well as "Soviet Russia and Her Children." The simple descriptions of revolutionary ideas and inspirations as well as their rich illustrations of these booklets have met with great sympathy among the German proletarian women.

On the organizational state of the Communist Women's Movement in the various countries the following may be reported:

Material and reports on Hungary were provided by an Hungarian woman comrade who is working in Moscow. Though we have received no reports from Bulgaria since the International Women's Conference we realize from the Bulgarian women's organ "Ravenstvo" (Equality) that our comrades there are doing active and successful work. The other Western European countries are all in communication with the Berlin Sub-Bureau. Some of them are even reporting regularly and in detail.

National centers for women's propaganda (women's secretariats or women's committees) exist in the following countries:

Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, France, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland. In Italy, where heretofore only some district committees were in existence (Turin, Milan), the Party is at present organizing a National Women's Secretariat in the new headquarters of the Party in Rome. Secretaries for women's propaganda paid by the Party are employed in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria and France.

In Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria (?), France and Holland the responsible directors of women's propaganda are members of the Party Executive with deliberative and in some countries even with decisive voice.

In Belgium, Great Britain and Italy (where the formation of a national committee is only a question of time) the Party Executives have charged certain comrades with the task of organizing the women's propaganda. In Denmark Comrade Marie Nielsen has been appointed president of the Relief Committee for Soviet Russia. We hope that this fact will have a good influence on the propaganda among the Danish women.

Communist women's magazines are being published in Germany ("Die Kommunistin" — The Communist Woman), Czecho-Slovakia ("Die Kommunistin" — the Communist Woman in German, "Zenski List" and "Zeny" in the Czech language), Bulgaria ("Ravenstvo" — Equality), Holland ("De Voorbode") Sweden ("Roeda Roester" Red Voices) and in Norway ("Arbeider-koniden" — Working Women). In France the publication of a women's magazine was decided upon at the Marseilles Congress; in Austria this problem is being discussed.

Women's pages in the daily papers were arranged for in Germany (Tribune of the Proletarian Woman in the Central organ, "Die Rote Fahne"—The Red Flag, and pages under various headings in 24 provincial organs), in Austria (Women's Page of the Vienna "Rote Fahne", in France "Tribune des Travailleuses"—Tribune of Laboring Women in the "Humanité" and an increasing number of women's pages in the provincial papers), in Switzerland (women's pages at irregular intervals in the "Vorwarts" at Basle and in the "Kampfer" at Zurich). Occasional articles, contributions and reports on women's problems appear on the editorial pages of the Communist Press in Germany ("Die Rote Fahne" and the provincial papers), Czecho-Slovakia ("Vorwärts" at Reichenberg), France ("Humanité"), Italy ("Ordine Nuovo"), Holland ("Tribune"), Belgium ("Drapeaux Rouge") and Switzerland ("Kampfer").

Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Holland and Sweden have published pamphlets for women's agitation.

Women's National or District Conferences since the World Congress have taken place in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, France and Finland. In Austria a National Women's Conference will be organized in conjunction with the forthcoming Party Convention.

Two problems of great importance for the character and the spirit of Communist women's propaganda as well as for its firm organizational structure could not be dealt with in this report and will be discussed separately; the mutual information and support of the sections and the Berlin Sub-Bureau by appointing delegates of the International Women's Secretariat with instructions for temporary collaboration in this or that country; secondly, the international mobilization of proletarian women for the Russian relief action and, vice-versa, the utilization of the campaign for the enlivenment of the Communist women's movement.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Soviet Russia Needs Machinery As Well As Food

Vast Shortage of Machines Will Mean Another Famine

Russia was never able to produce her own machinery. Before the war, Russia used to import tremendous quantities of machinery, especially farming implements and machines. In 1913, 45,000,000 gold roubles (1 rouble = 50 cents) worth of farming tools and machines was produced in Russia. Gradually the annual production diminished, owing to the Soviet Government having to fight the counter-revolutionaries. In 1920, Soviet Russia produced only 2,500,000 roubles' worth of the same machinery.

The deterioration of farming machinery in Soviet Russia is fearful. Since the outbreak of the war (eight years), only 100,500,000 roubles' worth has been manufactured, as against a normal production of 350,000,000 roubles' worth. Before the war more than 50,000,000 roubles' worth was imported every year; since then none at all.

In addition, according to statistics published not long ago, of the 18,000,000 ploughs in use in Russia at the time, 12,000,000 were made of wood, and of the 22,834,000 harrows, 21,000,000 were either of wood or furnished only with iron teeth.

As a result, in order merely to reach the 1913 standard, Soviet Russia must be provided with at least 800,000,000 gold roubles' worth of farming machinery and tools.

Only one of two things can relieve the need of Soviet Russia. Either a large part of the population must die, or tremendous amounts of farming machinery must be furnished. Food alone will not settle the matter, since it merely will relieve the immediate need. If machinery is not supplied, famines will become a regular manifestation in Soviet Russia.

Genoa has demonstrated that Soviet Russia cannot depend on the capitalist governments. The Hague will probably be but a repetition of Genoa. The task devolves upon the workers: they must supply what the capitalist governments refuse Soviet Russia. They must furnish productive, constructive relief—relief that will build up the country and make it impregnable to the attacks of the capitalist governments.

KATE AMTER TO TOUR DISTRICT No. 2 OF WORKERS PARTY

Comrade Edward Lindgren, organizer of District No. 2 of the Workers Party of America, announces that Kate Amter, the well known labor cartoonist and lecturer, will speak at the following dates:

July 10, Portchester, N. Y.; 11, Norwalk, Conn.; 12, Bridgeport, Conn.; 13, Waterbury, Conn.; 14, New Haven, Conn.; 15, New London, Conn.; 16 and 17, Norwich, Conn.; 18, Rockville, Conn.; 19, Hartford, Conn.; 20, Collinsville, Conn.; 21, Albany, N. Y.; 22 and 23, Schenectady, N. Y.; 24, Troy, N. Y.; 25, Cohoes, N. Y.; 26, Amsterdam, N. Y.; 27, Johnstown, N. Y.; 28, Gloversville, N. Y.; 29, Utica, N. Y.; 30, Oneida, N. Y.; 31 and August 1, Syracuse, N. Y.; 2, Pennelville, N. Y.; 3 and 4, Rochester, N. Y.; 5 and 6, Buffalo, N. Y.; 7, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; 8, Buffalo, N. Y.; 9, Jamestown, N. Y.; 10, Salamanca, N. Y.; 11, Bolivar, N. Y.; 12, Olean, N. Y.; 13 and 14, Hornell, N. Y.; 15, Van Etten, N. Y.; 16, Ithaca, N. Y.; 17, Geneva, N. Y.; 18, Endicott, N. Y.; 19, Binghamton, N. Y.; 20, Middletown, N. Y.; 21, Paterson, N. J.; 22, Passaic, N. J.; 23, Newark, N. J.; 24, Elizabeth, N. J.; 25, Linden, N. J.; 26, Jersey City, N. J.

Comrade Amter is the third speaker to be toured thru this District comprising the states of New York, Connecticut and New Jersey.

AMERICAN DELEGATES TO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF CONFERENCE, BERLIN, IN DANGER

Explosion in Hamburg Damages Building in Which They Are

While sitting in the office of the Hamburg Famine Relief Committee, and talking over with the secretary matters of the conference called by the Workers' International Russian Famine Relief Committee on July 9, in Berlin, an explosion took place that startled the three American delegates to the conference.

Two bombs had been placed in the office of the Hamburger Volkszeitung, a radical paper, only one of which exploded. Only one person was hurt.

For the moment, however, it was quite a startling experience for the American delegates. The act has been laid at the door of provocateurs, a type of person very active at the present time in Germany—owing to the advanced and critical stage of the struggle between the workers and their employers and to the increasing will of the workers to become the masters of Germany.

PROSPECTS FOR CROPS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Most recent reports from Soviet Russia indicate that the crops are progressing well in those districts that were most affected by the famine. There are dangers, however, in the fact that hunger may drive the peasants to eat the crop before it ripens, and that a few provinces are threatened by grasshoppers and field-mice.

In Zaritzyn 19 per cent more area was planted than last year and the outlook is very good. Propaganda among the peasants to plough up the land early was very successful. During the summer it is hoped to till 50 per cent more soil than last year. This is also true of Saratow.

Lack of Draft Animals

The want of horses and oxen is being keenly felt. The peasants have made the greatest efforts to plant as much ground as possible. Without the aid of draft animals, however, they were obliged to pull the ploughs and harrows themselves.

In Tschuwaschen, Ufa, Wiatka, Tambow, Orenburg, Damask, Samara and Kazan the outlook is very good. Food, however, must be furnished till the end of August. And to prevent another famine, Soviet Russia must have machinery.

SOVIET RUSSIA READY TO EXPORT LARGE QUANTITY OF FLAX

Rich Chance for American Importers

A splendid opportunity presents itself for American flax importers to obtain supplies of that material.

The commercial newspapers of the world and especially governmental sheets assure us day by day that Soviet Russia has nothing to export, that her production has completely ceased and that, even tho she might be producing in small quantities, the railroads are so demoralized that nothing can be transported.

This is totally untrue. It was just as untrue when the American Relief Administration early in spring asserted that it would be useless to send more grain to the Russian ports, since they were congested and the railroads could not carry all the freight.

Soviet Russia is ready to do business in flax. American importers interested should apply to the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York City.

SALZMAN MEETINGS

Albany, July 6; Troy, 7; Schenectady, 8; Cohoes, 10; Amsterdam, 11; Johnstown, 12; Gloversville, 13; Utica, 14; Syracuse, 15; Oneida, 16; Pennelville, 18; Rochester, 19 and 20; Buffalo, 21 and 22; Niagara Falls, 24; Jamestown, 25; Salamanca, 26, Olean, 27; Bolivar, 28; Hornell, 29; Van Etten, 31; Ithaca, August 1; Geneva, 2; Binghamton, 3; Paterson, 4; Passaic, 5; Stelton, 6; Newark, 7; Elizabeth, 8; Jersey City, 9.

Have You Helped?

By C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary, Workers Party.

Have you responded to the United Front Campaign Fund appeal?

Have you sent in the minimum of $10 for this work?

We must have at least that much from each branch in order to make a success of the work of making the party a real force in the class struggle in this country.

The Central Executive Committee of the Party has considered the question and has determined that no party branch has done its full duty unless it raises at least 50 cents for each member of the branch. That is the quota for your branch—if you have twenty members you should raise $10, if you have fifty members, $25, a hundred members, $50.

The contributions will be listed in the United Front Campaign Fund column of "The Worker." Will your branch be listed in the revolutionary roll of honor of those which do their full duty?

Comrades:—The United Front of Labor program of the party is a practical question of the immediate class struggle. We can put our program into effect if we put sufficient power behind it.

We must do that. That requires speakers, organizers, leaflets. Your quota of the United Front Campaign Fund will help secure them.

RAISE IT QUICKLY. SEND IT PROMPTLY.

The campaign is growing in force and power. With your help it will go forward even faster.

Let us make our party count in the class struggle. Let us make it a powerful and unified party.

MESSAGE OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Appeals to All Workers to Continue the Shipment of Food and Productive Help

On June 7, after hearing a report of the Secretary of the Workers' International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin, the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic issued the following message:

"In spite of the bad economic conditions and other difficulties that they had to contend with, the workers of the world have made it possible thru energetic work to assist most materially in combatting the famine in Russia.

No Relaxation in Famine Relief

"The Central Committee sends its thanks to the workers of all countries for their fraternal aid.

"In view of the terrible need in Soviet Russia, the Central Committee appeals to the workers and labor organizations of the world not to diminish their relief work, but on the contrary to increase it as much as possible. It is most essential to take care of the many thousands of orphans, to provide the suffering workers with food and to build up agriculture and industry which have been destroyed by the famine. The Central Committee feels sure that the call of the starving Russian workers and peasants for help will be heard by all workers."

WRITE LETTERS TO SOVIET RUSSIA!

Peasants Moved to Tears by Letter They Have Received

French, Swiss, British and German workers send letters with their contributions to the starving workers and peasants in Soviet Russia. The letters frequently are sewed into the garments that are contributed or are laid in the boxes and bales that are sent to Russia.

These letters speak a tongue that only a worker speaking to another worker can use. Thus a seamstress in Berlin sewed in the pocket of a coat a slip of paper on which was written what millions of workers in all parts of the world would say to Soviet Russia to-day: "Brothers, do not be discouraged. We are poor and weary and our exploiters grind us down. But we workers will help you—not with gold and goods—no, with our hearts—with our blood.—Brothers. Keep your heads high!"

Letters Preserved in Women's Club in Kazan

These words are the gospel of solidarity and mutual help of the workers and all suffering people. What are all resolutions and proclamations compared with these simple words coming from the heart of a poor seamstress deprived even of the necessaries of life?

Letters from children and from all kinds of workers. They are being kept at the Women's Club at Kazan, and will attest the solidarity of the workers when Soviet Russia was in great need.

Let Russian Workers Know You Stand by Them

When sending your contribution to Soviet Russia, whether it be money, clothes, tools or machinery—whether you are a man, woman or child—send words of greeting and cheer to our suffering Russian comrades. Send your letters to the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York City, and they will be forwarded to the workers and peasants in Soviet Russia.

These letters frequently mean more than food—they buoy up the suffering workers and convince them that they do not stand alone against the antagonistic capitalist world, but that workers in all countries stand by them, ready to help.

Farewell Resolution of the International Group of Mechanics

At the farewell party of the International Group of Mechanics on the eve of leaving for Soviet Russia, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Be it resolved that the First International Group of Mechanics members of the Lettish Co-operative Society of Petrograd and of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia of the United States and Canada, express its full satisfaction and appreciation to Comrade F. Zimmerman and the members of the Central Bureau of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia for their material help and assistance in getting the group organized.

And be it resolved that the Central Bureau of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia and Representatives of the Lettish Co-operative and the Kuzbas Organization work and send group after group of workers to the Economic battlefront of the First Workers' Republic.

"And be it further resolved that all comrades remaining in the United States become active members by joining the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia and help to build up the economic front and make it as strong as the military front. Only then will Russia be safe from the attacks of world imperialism.

The Committee: Henry Weber, Edward M. Boyle, Edward Hecht and Joseph Wimmer.

ROLL CALLS AND TOOL DRIVE LISTS TO BE KEPT IN RUSSIAN ARCHIVES

As a testimonial of what American workers have done for their Russian comrades at a time of deep distress, the Soviet Government has decided to preserve the Roll Calls and the Tool Drive Lists in the archives of Soviet Russia. There will be a department for the display and safe keeping of all literature and other matter arising out of the relief campaign.

In years to come, when the famine has become a thing of the past and when Soviet Russia has shown the world what workers can do in co-operation instead of under the lash of the capitalists, workers in America who have assisted their Russian brothers will be remembered from the inscription of their names in the Roll Calls and Tool Drive Lists of the F. S. R.

MARSHALL MEETINGS FOR THE WEEK

J. W. Marshall, speaker on tour for District No. 2 of the Workers Party, will fill the following dates:

Geneva, N. Y., July 6; Binghamton, N. Y., July 7; Paterson, N. J., July 8; Stelton, N. J., July 9; Passaic, N. J., July 10; Newark, N. J., July 11; Jersey City, N. J., July 12; Elizabeth, N. J., July 13.

Police Picked As Arbitrators by the Proletarian Party

BUFFALO, June 25.—When J. W. Marshall, speaker on tour for District No. 2 of the Workers Party, arrived here he found that two meetings awaited him on one scheduled corner, one arranged by the Workers Party and the other by the Proletarian Party.

The Workers Party committee had arrived at the corner first. Both meetings had been sanctioned by the police. Greetings were exchanged between the two committees by a rapid flow of hot arguments.

The leader of the Proletarians, a real estate shark by the name of Peterson, said that he would let the police render a decision on this difficulty.

The Workers Party speaker ventured the suggestion "that we should not settle our differences with the capitalist state as arbitrator," and the reply was, "When in Rome you must do as Rome does," in other words, "when in capitalist America you must do as capitalist America does," that is whenever an argument occurs between groups of workers who are supposed to be class-conscious, always call in the police to settle the question.

In short, the Police-Proletarian faction won in the first round and the Workers Party meeting moved to a less frequented corner.

Peterson's stand in with the police seems to be too evident to avoid suspicion. We are satisfied tho that the membership as a whole of the Proletarian Party is above using such tactics.

Young Workers of New York Show Progress at Second Convention

At the second convention of the Young Workers' League of Local Greater New York held recently, the League unanimously reaffirmed its endorsement of the Workers Party of America as being the only fighting organization of the adult workers in America.

The Executive Committee of the Local reported on the activities of the New York League and reviewed the progress of the league from the time it had changed its name from the Independent Young People's Socialist League to that of the Young Workers' League.

At the time the youth organization carried its old name there were about 150 members in New York. But with the inception of the Young Workers League in the field the New York League gathered over 300 members.

At present there are 15 branches of the Young Workers' League in New York.

Besides reaffirming its adherence to the Workers Party, the convention endorsed the Young Communist International and its sections in every country. It endorsed the decisions and rulings of the National Convention and went on record to support the Friends of Soviet Russia in the Famine Scout Campaign.

The following statement was sent to the National Executive Committee of the Young Workers' League by the convention:

"Clarity and action. This seemed to be the guiding spirit of the Second City Convention of the New York League.

"We have accepted the decision of the First National Convention of the Working Youth and have made determined strides towards the fulfillment of our tasks."

The New York League prides itself upon holding the first city convention in accordance with the rulings laid down by the National Convention.

In its efforts to build a strong Young Workers' League thruout the country, the New York League issues a challenge to all other leagues in a race for the formation of branches and for 100 per cent response to the national organization, and its program.

Young workers, join the Young Workers' League!

GAMES DANCING FOLKSONGS

10 cent for Famine Relief

Two Large Orchestras

Motion Pictures

of all organizations, active in

Famine Relief

will be taken by Comrade [illegible] at the picnic, arranged by the New York Branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia,

SUNDAY, JULY 16th

at DICKERT'S OLD POINT PARK, [illegible] Boston Road, Bronx, N. Y.

Bring your organization's banner! Admission, [illegible] cents

Directions:—A. 2nd or 3rd Ave. "L" to 129th St. B. Subway to East 180th St. From 129th or 180th St. take Westchester Railway to Dyre Ave. [illegible]

Tickets for sale:—[illegible] Book Shop, [illegible] National Office, F.S.R., 201 West 13th St.

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Big Move for Amalgamation

What promises to be the greatest move in this country for a railroad industrial union is disclosed in a circular received in New York by local lodges in the sixteen railroad unions.

It consists of a "PLAN FOR AMALGAMATION" of the sixteen unions, put out in the form of a leaflet of four pages with diagrams, by the Minnesota Railroad Shop Crafts Legislative Committee.

The plan recites the situation confronting the railroad workers, the arguments for and against amalgamating into an industrial union, a practical plan for bringing it about, and an appeal to the local unions to unite with the Minnesota body to place the plan before every union railroader.

The entire proposition is unparalleled for completeness, and the thoro manner in which every phase of the question is covered in about 4000 words.

The diagrams are illuminating, and throw the advantage of the industrial union of railroad workers into such bold relief, that every worker can see its advantage at a glance.

The leaflet is offered to the local unions for distribution among their members, at the rate of $1.50 per hundred copies, and should receive a wide circulation. The leaflet is signed by the Secretary of the organization, O. H. Wangerin, 411 Dakota Bldg., St. Paul Minnesota.

The Role of Government

It is quite evident that the coal operators have disappointed the politicians.

The operators were confident that non-union coal production would take care of the demand and in three months the miners would be willing to crawl back to the mines on the owners' terms. Instead of this many thousand formerly non-union miners have joined the United Mine Workers of America and though with the aid of judges and gunmen coal production is slowly increasing the surplus is rapidly vanishing.

The miners are winning their strike; the solidarity in their ranks is as strong as ever, so Mr. Harding calls a conference—something he could not see his way clear to do three months ago.

His speech to the assembled representatives of the miners and coal barons contained the usual bunk relative to the rights of "the great American public." It also contained a veiled threat of government intervention in some other form than an attempt at mediation and it was at the miners that this threat was directed. It is in situations of this kind that the mask of impartiality falls from the face of the various governmental agencies and these agencies are seen in their true role—that of coercing the workers when the economic power of the employers cannot bring them to heel.

It is significant that the press, democrat and republican all alike, commend the White House puppet for his remarks on this occasion.

Our Wondrous Educational System

Every now and then, particularly when some snooping committee composed of morons and worse, comments on the discovery of some radical who is polluting our public school system, that system is lauded to the skies as the greatest of the achievements of this great republic and bitter are the denunciations hurled at those conscienceless reds who seek to poison the fount of knowledge from which the youth of this land derive education and inspiration.

Accustomed to absorbing the bunk and piffle of the professional publicists of capitalism as a sponge absorbs water we take it for granted that about 97 per cent of the American public throw out their chests and agree that we are the most enlightened nation in the world and that the percentage of intellectual giants in our midst averages rather high.

It is with considerable pleasure in these days of loyalty oaths for teachers and the compulsory singing of the Star Spangled Banner by children who have had no breakfast—and whose prospects for supper are poor—that we chronicle once more the findings of government experts who examined that cross-section of American society—the men drafted into the national army. Here are the figures that condemn our educational system as a tragic failure and which explode the hoary theory that the public schools function as educational institutions.

5 per cent of the men were of the mental age of 18 or over.

10 per cent of the men were of the mental age of 16 to 18 years.

18 per cent of the men were of the mental age of 14 to 16 years.

25 per cent of the men were of the mental age of 13 to 14 years.

20 per cent of the men were of the mental age of 11 to 13 years.

15 per cent of the men were of the mental age of 9 to 11 years.

7 per cent of the men were of the mental age of 7 to 9 years.

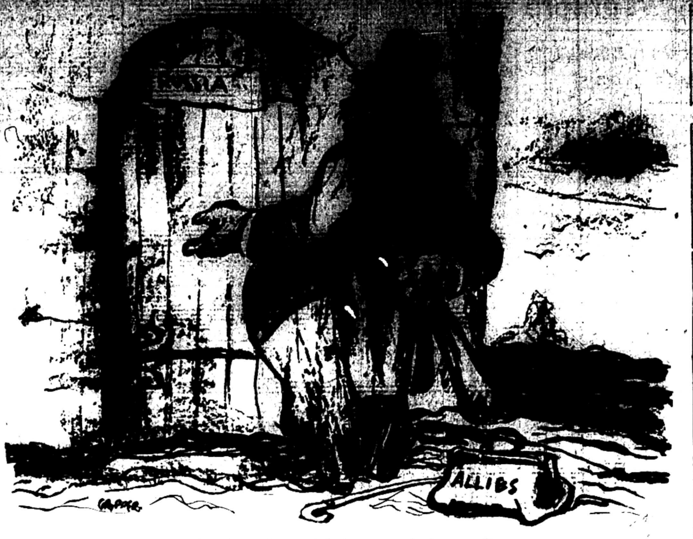
With unwonted charity we will assume that the 15 per cent who were of the mental age of 16 and over can be considered normal. This leaves 85 per cent of the products of our educational institutions who have the mental equipment of children of the age of 16 and under.

The figures are averages compiled from an examination of more than three million men from all walks of life. They prove that the average American citizen is mentally a child with only a child's control over his actions. It offers the best explanation we have yet seen for the ubiquitous mediocrities in American public life. There must of necessity be solidarity among morons.

Just what harm a few reds could do to a system that produces such results is a little hard to understand unless we realize that the public schools are not intended to educate but merely to produce automatons mouthing parrot-like, the catch-phrases of capitalism; automatons, such as those whose mental qualifications we give above, ready to fight and die for glories they do not share, for causes they do not understand.

Longs For Private Life, Harding Tells Friends—Headline.

A rapidly increasing number of the population are willing to gratify this longing.



The Allied attitude: "Rob if we can, trade if we must!"

Liberalism and Religion

The National Catholic Welfare Council, whose pronouncements in favor of the trade union movement as it now exists, against the twelve hour day in the steel industry and the more subversive phases of the open-shop movement have been quoted with enthusiasm by the liberal and labor press has been suspended by the Vatican.

The National Catholic Welfare Council was an expression of an insurgent movement within the Catholic Church whose supporters are called Modernists. It differs with the officialdom of the church on many questions the chief of which is the recognition of the fact that rules and regulations compiled during the feudal period are inapplicable to the modern industrial era. The Modernists have their counterparts in the Protestant churches, in the Interchurch World movement whose report on the steel strike brought them to financial ruin.

We are interested in the fate of the Welfare Council and the Interchurch World movement only because it tends to show that officially the churches are a part of the capitalist system—one of its bulwarks—and that when any group gets out of hand it is either given the choice of severing its connection with the parent body or remaining silent concerning the evils of present day society.

When churchmen, because of a lukewarm attitude toward things as they are, incur the displeasure of the powers that prey they become living demonstrations of the fact that orthodoxy exists merely because it supports a ruling class.

When churchmen complain of injustice in the system and are then punished for heresy it becomes additionally evident that economic heresy is the one crime that the rulers—religious and political—never forgive. Orthodox religion is not only against social revolution but it is solidly against any tampering with the right to rob and tyrannise at will on the part of those who own.

To religious liberals it seems that this understanding never comes. They become martyrs for the sake of their convictions but for what pitifully inadequate remedies do they sacrifice themselves.

German Workers Save the Republic

The German workers have once more demonstrated to the satisfaction of the world that the power is in the German unions. There is not the slightest doubt that a monarchist uprising would be crushed with little difficulty, that the ten or twelve millions of organized workers can, if they will, dictate the kind of government that Germany shall have.

The cowardice of the existing government becomes more apparent as this fact is realized. Instead of encouraging the belief of the workers in their power and the right to exercise it the social-democratic government has never ceased its continual swing to the right. It has catered to the monarchists and the capitalists and on its own head is the blood of Rathenau.

There has been but little change in the complexion of government in Germany since the overthrow of the Kaiser. Some democratic forms have been set up but on the whole the personnel of the courts and the police is about the same. In its hysterical fear of a working-class revolution that would sweep away the capitalist state the social-democratic government has sought to strengthen itself by catering to the most reactionary elements—aristocrats and ex-officers. It has used them to break strikes and to terrorize the workers; any advances the workers have made have been in spite of the mouthers of democratic phrases who sit in seats of power in the German government.

When Erzberger was murdered last summer it was the communists who initiated the mass protests and insisted on elimination of all monarchists from public office. The government replied with the suppression of a few monarchist papers for a few days while at the same time suppressing more than twenty communist organs. It continued its retreat toward the right and the murder of Rathenau was the logical result.

It now appeals for the support of the independent socialists and we hope that they will consent to enter the government. If they do it will clarify the issue in Germany because with the admission of these opponents, who cannot strengthen the government, it becomes a straight question of the complete overthrow of capitalism or the continuance of a regime which the German workers have saved time and time again from the consequences of its cowardice and incompetence.

There are unmistakable indications that the German workers are tiring very rapidly of saving the "republic" for the benefit of Stinnes and the flock of vultures he represents.

It is already apparent that the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske crowd again intend to use against the communists the emergency legislation enacted to suppress monarchist activity.

In so doing they are playing with fire and there will be no kindly workingmen to save them when this fire breaks out.

5,000 Readers Drafted in "The Worker's" Campaign for 25,000 New Subscribers

All Workers Party Locals, Branch Members, and all readers of THE WOREKR are asked to take active part in the great WORKERS campaign now on.

DRAFTED! Yes, drafted. Damnable word! Well, it all depends. If it's the capitalists that say the word to the workers—to enlist, to fight for them, to give life, blood and treasure, that profits may be increased, that capitalists and their State, their society, their interests may prosper, then, we agree. DRAFTED is a word of damnation and we are opposed to it.

BUT—AND HERE IS THE DIFFERENCE—if DRAFTED means that WORKERS draft WORKERS to work, to struggle, to make secure the interests of WORKERS—THEN—we say, the word's all right, and we're for it to the limit. We're opposed to the capitalists' rule in any and every form—and because we are, we refuse to place a limit on workers' rule; for this reason—workers' rule means workers' obedience to their own rule. It means the elimination of capitalists' rule, elimination of obedience of the workers to capitalist rule. That's what we are for and we think YOU are with us.

THAT'S WHY WE DRAFTED YOU!

Precisely. Because THE WORKER Management believes that every reader is opposed to the rule of capitalists over the workers, we have drafted each and every one in the campaign for 25,000 new subscribers. If there are any WORKER readers who believe that the exploiter should govern the workers—they are exempt from the draft. We wouldn't think of drafting them in this campaign. Good soldiers in a working-class cause are never made of that sort of material, at least not while in that state of mind, and we know they are worse than useless for our purpose.

ORDERS TO MOVE FORWARD

A special letter to all WORKER readers is being mailed this week. This letter contains instructions to MOVE FORWARD. It tells WHAT TO DO—HOW TO DO IT—WHEN TO DO IT. We expect every reader to follow his instructions. SUCCESS depends upon each. Success will come, 25,000 new subscribers WILL be the harvest if each reader DOES follow instructions. Read your instructions—obey them—move forward—share in the victory!

WORKERS PARTY UNITS WILL TAKE LEAD

Workers Party Locals and Branches must take the lead in this campaign. There will be no exemption for them. They have already enlisted. They are duty-bound to serve full time and obey all instructions. No backing out for them. We don't think any of them will wish to back down. They must, they will take the lead.

WATCH FOR THE EXPLOSION

What a lot of bugaboos there are in the world. Even the revolutionary movement has its share—more than its share, we think. We are going to explode one of them in this campaign. There is one known as the "HOT WEATHER INERTIA." And we say, in the words of the Hairy Ape, "To hell with it." We say again, paraphrasing the above named proletaire, that all that's needed is smoke, steam, fire, steel—and we'll smash thru at "twenty-five knots an hour." And that's what counts. Put more fire and steam in your own work and we'll win thru.

We say, the hot weather "inertia" is all bunk. It has no place in the revolutionary movement. It has no place in the activities of the Workers Party; it has no place in this campaign for 25,000 new subscribers,—and, it is not going to get a lease of life from us. We say it is all bunk and we are going to explode it as a theory. We and the WORKER readers are going to prove by GETTING THESE 25,000 SUBSCRIBERS during these summer months that this bugaboo is just what we call it—unadulterated bunk and deserving of death at the hands of militant workers.

THAT'S ALL—EXCEPT—

This campaign was determined upon knowing the difficulties facing it. Unemployment, a low morale among the workers, a disorganized and disrupted labor and revolutionary movement, and all the rest.

And, it is a part of the REMEDY FOR THE PRESENT DISORGANIZATION OF LABOR IN AMERICA.

Every WORKER reader desires this upbuilding of labor. They themselves, must administer the remedy. They must create the contact between the workers and communism and its message. This is your duty. You must fulfill it. When you do so, you will have helped much in the revival of militancy among the workers. Do your part. Follow the instructions in the letter sent you.

ELMER S. ALLISON,
Business Manager.

National Convention of Workers Party Is Called for August 28

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party in its session last June 29th and 30th issued a call for a national convention of the party to be held beginning August 28th in Chicago.

During the discussion of the question it was argued that a convention of the party is necessary to clarify the party program and to strengthen the party organization. An agenda committee consisting of Robert Minor, J. Louis Engdahl, C.E. Ruthenberg, E. T. Allison and Alexander Trachtenberg was elected. This committee will also make the preliminary draft of the party program.

The convention will consist of 75 delegates, which will be apportioned to the districts on the basis of dues paid for the months of March, April, May and June.

Editorial Policy of Papers

One of the sessions of the sitting of the committee was devoted to the discussion of the editorial policy. After an exhaustive discussion of the policies of the party papers the following decisions were arrived at:

1. That all Workers Party papers be edited in every instance in harmony with the principles of the Third International.
2. That it be the policy of our papers to give publicity to the decisions and resolutions of the Third International.
3. That the C. E. C. holds the responsible editor of each paper responsible for carrying out these decisions.
4. That it shall be the policy of the papers to give the widest publicity to the news of the struggles of the American workers and to editorially discuss these struggles.

An editorial board consisting of Robert Minor, William F. Dunne and C. E. Ruthenberg of which the editors of the party papers will also be members was elected to coordinate the work of the party publications.

Greets Young Workers' League

The report of the executive committee of the Young Workers' League was received and the following resolution of greeting was adopted:

WE WELCOME THE YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE

A response to the resolution adopted by the first convention of the Young Workers' League on the matter of the relationship to the Workers Party.

The Workers Party welcomes the adherence of the Young Workers' League to its banner. The younger comrades in adopting and living up to their watchword, "Clarity and Action," prove their clear recognition of the nature of the class struggle and the methods by which it must be waged. Their request for political guidance by the party while maintaining a friendly reciprocal autonomy in their organization affairs, translates this slogan from theory into practice.

Experience in the world movement has shown that in the major struggles of the workers there must be no divided counsels if victory is to be achieved. The young movement has a specific mission. It must reach the American youth with the message of Communism and furnish leadership in the struggles of the young for freedom from capitalist oppression. This struggle however, is part of the general class struggle and cannot be waged on any basis of duality. The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party will continue its support of the activity of the Young Workers League and instructs all party units to further the development of the young movement. It welcomes the exchange of fraternal delegates on all directing committees and will bring the matter of allowing such delegates a vote to the attention of the next convention of the party which alone can make the constitutional provisions necessary to such action.

Long Live the Young Workers' League of America, organ of the revolutionary-minded youth of this land, vanguard of the young forces that will establish a communist order thruout the world.

Comrade A. Schulenberg was seated as the representative of the C. E. C. of the Y. W. L. on the C. E. C. of the Workers Party and all party units were instructed to enter into a similar exchange of representatives. Until the next convention the Y. W. L. representatives will have a voice, but no vote in the party units.

Y. W. L. CONVENTION

Strong efforts will be made to organize the working class youth, in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, by the Young Workers League of Chicago, at its Convention to be held in Chicago, July 2nd, in the Workers' Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd.

NOTE:—**Questions on the subject of child education will be answered. Address all questions to the Child Education Department, The Worker, Room 405, 803 11th St., New York City, N. Y.**

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

THE [illegible]ER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUT[illegible] EXPRESSION

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Harding Helps Rail Lords

STRIKERS TIGHTEN THEIR GRIP ON ROADS; RAILWAY BARONS ADMIT LACK OF SCABS

Amalgamation

The Need of the Hour for the Sixteen Standard Railway Unions; a Practical Plan Proposed by the Minnesota Railroad Shop Crafts Committee

With the Minnesota Shop Crafts legislative Committee the following unions are affiliated: International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

At the 1922 convention of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, President B. M. Jewell demanded of the amalgamationists that they stop talking in general terms of their proposition, and submit a definite plan of a general railroad amalgamation. Here it is.

Railroad unionism is in danger. The [illegible] shop drive is now upon us. The companies are determined to wipe out the unions on the railroads and to establish a condition of serfdom for their workers. And they are all too successful in their efforts. Even the most powerful unions cannot resist their onslaughts, and as for the weaker one, they are being crushed outright. Conditions are being worsened rapidly in every branch of the service. Wage cuts, lengthening of hours, abolition of overtime rates, re-establishing of piece-work and straight time for Sunday work, and the general elimination of union conditions are the order of the day. Faced by a militant and relentless foe railroad labor is in disastrous retreat.

In this great struggle, the companies are winning because they are thoroly united, while the workers are not. All the important railroads in the United States are controlled by a dozen New York banks, which, in turn, are in the hands of a few financial pirates. Railroad Capital is one gigantic organization which fights as a unit all over the country. But railroad Labor is split into many fragments, into sixteen autonomous unions, amongst which real solidarity and concerted action is impossible. Against our mighty foe, we fight in little detachments, developing only a fraction of our power. That is why we are losing the battle. To oppose the mighty railroad combination of capital with single craft unions or loose federations of them is about equal to fighting the modern battleship with bows and arrows.

Unity the Supreme Need

We must look the situation squarely in the face and act accordingly. There is one way, and one way only, in which we can defeat the offensive of the companies, and that is to develop our full power by thoroly uniting our own forces. We must bring about unity of action among the entire army of railroad workers, from the engineer to the section hand. Like the employers, we will have to act as a solid body all over the country. To do this requires imperatively that we draw together our scattered and divided forces into one enormous organization of all classes of railroad workers. Such a gigantic combination would not only stop the "open shop" drive of the companies, but it would also enable the workers to forge ahead to new conquests. It would be invincible. With the 1,800,000 railroad workers standing united and making common cause together, there would be no industrial power in the country able to withstand them. The creation of this powerful organization would begin a new era of accomplishment, not only for railroad workers but for the whole labor movement.

Such a great railroad union would be strictly feasible. The employers have been able to combine the financial and technical sides of the industry. Surely, then, the workers have the intelligence to unite the human side of it. Indeed, the best proof that it can be done is the fact that in many countries the railroad workers are already organized in single great unions covering every category of the service. All that is needed is the will, and a little horse sense. Yet the thing must be gone at intelligently. To simply desert the old unions and to try to organize offhand a perfect organization is a fatal mistake. That way lies dualism, disruption and demoralization. We must act in accordance with trade union evolution. We must stay in our old unions and work diligently to merge them together thru amalgamation. For almost forty years the railroad organizations, in a hundred different ways, have been gradually uniting their forces and expanding their fighting front. Their ultimate, inevitable goal is a solid organization of all workers in the railroad industry. That is the real meaning of the development of the system and division federation movements, the organization of the Railway Employees' Department, the agreements between the four Brotherhoods, and now the consolidation of the B. of L. E. with the B. of L. F. & E. We must fall in line with this process and recognize its inescapable conclusion, which is one union for all railroad workers. Our task is to work ceaselessly for and to everlastingly insist upon amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions into one mighty, inclusive organization.

(Continued on Page Three)

Only Coolie Scabs Take Strikers' Jobs

By HARRY GODFREY

(Federated Press Staff Correspond.)

General managers of railroads running into New York now admit that "at least 70 per cent" of the shop crafts workers are on strike. They still are running advertisements in the newspapers for shop crafts workers of all kinds.

They also, with the exception of the Pennsylvania and Long Island railroad officials, have in effect withdrawn their threat not to take back any strikers and now are attempting to get back the workers by declaring themselves ready and willing to do so "for a time."

The admission of the rail officials that 70 per cent of the shop workers are out, to those who have followed their claims is equivalent to an admission that the strike in fact is 100 per cent effective here.

Detailed figures furnished by the union officials show that 25,000 men are out in the New York terminal district.

No word of any peace move had been received here from Chicago, according to David Williams, vice

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Non-Unionists Joining Strike of Railroaders Maintenance Men Quit

By CARL HAESSLER

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—Non-union railway shop men are joining the strike to enforce American living standards against the U. S. rail labor board, telegrams to B. M. Jewell, president, railway employes' department, A. F. of L. show. At Cloverford, Ky., on the Louisville, Henderson and St. Louis railroad, unorganized workers are reported out in sympathy with the 400,000 organized shop men. Similar reports are received from many other points. Foremen on the Southern railway left with the men at Spencer, N. C., and Columbia, S. C. Laborers and others quit with all the shop men in the Milwaukee road shops at Miles City, Mont. Shop crafts responded [illegible] Colored helpers joined the [illegible] in the Louisiana and Arkansas [illegible]

Jewell's refusal to deal further with the labor board is commended in a telegram from the Jersey City employees of the Pennsylvania road, altho the company had announced agreements signed with many of its workers. Other wires emphasize support of Jewell's stand.

Chesapeake and Ohio maintenance men are reported out in a telegram from the system chairman at Hinton, W. Va.

Maintenance of way men continue to demonstrate sympathy with the

(Continued on Page Two)

Courts Rush To Aid of Rail Barons

By CARL HAESSLER

Federated Press Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO. — Federal and state courts have mobilized for action against the 400,000 striking rail shopmen, leading off hostilities with injunctions and public statements. The unions seem slowly to be forcing the railroads to defeat. Use of strikebreakers has caused tension in several districts.

Judge Wants Publicity

The familiar cuss words of industrial warfare were brought into play by Federal Judge Car[illegible] licity." Carpenter drew up a "personal letter" to U. S. Marshal Robert Levy and then read it to the newspaper men.

"Mr. Marshal Levy, personal," Carpenter read. "The courts of this country, both federal and state, are the last bulwark between the people and communism, bolshevism and anarchy. In our courts the poorest and the richest have equal and only equal rights."

He then instructed the marshal to protect strikebreakers and enforce

(Continued on Page Two)

Hands Off, Uncle Sam!

Workers Party Calls on All Labor for Solid Strike Front

The Workers Party of America, viewing the successful efforts of the financial and industrial interests to secure unlimited supports of the federal and state governments in the railway and coal strikes has issued the following manifesto to the workers of the United States:

The government machine is in motion to help the bosses cut down wages and reduce the standard of living of the workers of this country. The goveernment is preparing to strike down the resistance of the workers by using injunctions, courts, soldiers.

Six hundred thousand miners are on strike

Four hundred thousand railroad workers are on strike.

One hundred thousand textile workers are on strike.

The government is preparing to attack these workers to help the bosses beat them into submission.

The Attack On the Workers

The bosses want big profits for themselves—AS BIG AS THE [illegible] profits they are trying to force down the standard of living of the workers. They want to force the workers to eat poorer food, to wear poorer clothing and to live in poorer homes.

For two years now the bosses have been attacking the workers all along the line. They have slashed wages everywhere. They have increased hours of labor. They have tried to dstroy the unions.

MILLIONS OF WORKERS ARE ALREADY SUFFERING AS A RESULT OF THE ATTACK OF THE BOSSES. THEY AND THEIR FAMILIES ARE LIVING ON LESS. THEY HAVE BEEN COMPELLED TO REDUCE THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING SO THAT THE BOSSES MIGHT HAVE GREATER PROFITS.

The bosses are not satisfied. They want to drive wages still lower. They want to destroy the workers' organizations completely. They want the workers completely at their mercy so that they may rule as unchallenged Kaisers in the industries of the United States.

More Than a Million Workers On Strike

In their campaign to do this they drove the miners out on strike by refusing to negotiate a new wage agreement. They are determined to destroy the splendid fighting union of the miners and to establish the open shop in that industry.

They forced the hundred thousand New England textile workers out on strike thru a second cut in their wages within a year.

With the help of the government acting thru the Railway Labor Board they cut the wages of the Railway workers last July. In June this same board announced another cut of the wages of the same workers reducing their wages, in some instance, to as low as 23 cents per hour. It is to resist this attempt to make them work for starvation wages that the shopmen have gone on strike.

The Railway Labor Board has gone so far in the attempt to help the railroad owners as to endeavor to induce workers to scab by giving them a clean bill of health. It has timed its wage-cuts in such a way as to jockey the railroad union into separate strikes.

Workers! Now We Must Unite!

Workers! The coal diggers, the railroad shopmen, the textile workers, more than a million men, who are on strike against a bitterer wage-slavery are not fighting for decent food, clothing and homes for themselves and their families alone. They are fighting for a decent standard of living for the whole American working class. They are fighting for you. They are fighting for the wives and children of all the workers.

If the bosses can beat down the miners, if they can whip the textile workers into submission, if they can make the railroad shopmen accept starvation wages, they will strike at other groups of workers and force even lower wages and worse working conditions upon them.

Workers! The time has come for united resistance against the attack of the bosses. The miners, the textile workers, the railroad shopmen must be supported by the whole power of workers of the country.

Engineers, firemen, conductors, maintenance of way men! Refuse to scab by working while the shopmen are fighting. Your turn will come next. DO YOU TO WANT FIGHT ALONE?

Workers of every trade, stand by these striking workers. Refuse to handle scab coal. Refuse to do any work that will help the bosses in this fight.

The Government and the Strikers

The bosses are preparing to play their strongest card against the striking workers. They are planning to break the strikes thru the power of the government. They propose to beat the workers into submission thru use of injunctions, courts, soldiers. Already scores of injunctions have been issued, the militia is out in Illinois, [illegible] and other states. The use of United States soldiers is [illegible]

Workers! The government has played the game of the bosses in every labor crisis. When the bosses are in danger of being

(Continued on Page Two)

Railroaders and Miners Worrying Employers

By LAURENCE TODD

Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—First fruits of the informal alliance between the organized railroad workers and the United Mine Workers of America, in their common struggle to restore labor standards in the basic industries on the continent, were seen here when the United Mine Workers, backed by the nation-wide strike of railroad shop men, laughed at the threats of the coal operators.

A long and heated session of the coal barons with the coal miners' spokesmen led to precisely nothing, from the operators' standpoint. But from the standpoint of the miners it was valuable in showing to the country that organized labor is now "coming back."

So firm were the miners on their demand for a national conference agreement and the maintenance of the old wage scale that the administration was compelled to toss into the midst of the scuffle its plan for arbitration of the dispute.

The railroad workers recognize that they are coming to the aid of the coal strikers at the critical time, and that the coal strikers have won half the battle for the railroad men. The railroads are carrying non-union coal to market. A few weeks will show that these roads cannot get along without shop forces. Coal delivery will fail; coal production in non-union mines will cease when cars cannot be promptly moved.

Strike Effective

At the headquarters of the International Association of Machinists, President Johnston declared, "Everything is going finely; the strike has been even more effective at the outset than we had expected.

Outlawing of the six shop crafts

Continued on page Two.)

Harding Gets Orders from Rail Lords

President Harding has taken his cue from the Railway Labor Board and by proclamation has outlawed the members of the railway shop crafts who are on strike as well as all who assist them in any way, shape, form or manner.

The proclamation, after reciting events leading up to the strike, places the whole force of the federal government behind the railway owners in the following language:

Now(Therfore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States, do hereby make proclamation, directing all persons to refrain from all interference with the lawful efforts to maintain interstate transportation and the carrying of the United States mail.

The issuing of the proclamation following a hurried conference with railway executives gives the lie to the reports caried by the capitalist press to the effect that the strike is not effective. From all reports the railroads are badly crippled and the expected influx of men to take the strikers' places has not materialized. The total of trains cancelled by the various roads runs into the hundreds, and on the Wabash alone it is stated that about 3,000 miles of road are out of commission.

The strike has been a godsend for the private detective [illegible] railroads have hired [illegible] of the type of thugs [illegible]

(Continued on P[illegible])

Shop Crafts Erect One United Front In Railway Strike

By CARL HAESSLER

Federated Press Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO.—"The striking employes are not being driven back," declared B. M. Jewell, president, railway employees' department, A. F. of L., as reports of the first weeks' success of the strike came in.

"Notwithstanding that we have by every means available to us made it known that a conference was desired with any responsible person authorized to negotiate a settlement or that any proposal by any person properly authorized would be carefully considered, no move has been made by either parties to bring about a settlement with us," Jewell continued.

"Responsibility for continuance of the shop men's strike therefore does not rest with the federated shop crafts employes."

Sensational Chicago newspaper reports of alleged incendiary burning of boxcars in the Baltimore & Ohio yards dwindled into a small fire, apparently of hot box origin. Although several [illegible] At Decatur, Ill., [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(Continued on page Two)

Jack Bradon Heads World War Veterans

MINNEAPOLIS. — Election of Jack Bradon, New York, as national chairman, concluded the third annual convention of the World War Veterans, held here and in St. Paul. Bradon has put 12 years in the regular army.

Advanced views were expressed by many of the delegates and strong resolutions adopted, including a demand for recognition of Russia and for a billion dollar loan to Russia for purchasing farm machinery. Relief work of the Friends of Soviet Russia was indorsed unanimously.

Demands for the release of 700 service men alleged still held in Ft Leavenworth were voiced. Support of them miners on strike was voted. Delegates to the convention represented strong miner constituencies in Illinois and West Virginia. The railroad labor board was called upon to rescind its action outlawing the striking shop crafts by virtue of its appeal to strikebreakers to organize and obtain the board's recognition.

Mayor-elect A. F. Nelson, St Paul, and Mayor George E. Leach, Minneapolis, welcomed the convention to the Twin Cities.

Employer Worry

(Continued from Page One)

by the railroad labor board was hailed here as the acknowledgment on the part of the majority members of that body, that its doom had been sounded by the strike. Resignation of the labor members of the board is anticipated as the next logical development. After that, the administration may select two representatives of strikebreakers and a new representative of the transportation force to speak for the 2,000,000 railroad workers. The presence of A. O. Wharton, representative of the outlawed shop crafts, in the board is now made so illogical that he will probably soon be taking a prominent part in the directing of the strike. Such, at least, was the opinion of labor officials in Washington.

The A. F. of L. comes directly into the rail dispute thru the affiliation with that body of a large number of local unions of colored freight handlers and coach cleaners in the southern region. They cannot strike without direct sanction from the executives of the federation.

MOSCOW, Russia. The following shipping lines have been opened for navigation on the Black Sea: Odessa-Varna, Odessa-Constantinople and Odessa-Newcastle-Cardiff.

The Avanti Printing Shop
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WORKERS PARTY DAY
JULY 30th
Summer Festival & Picnic
DICKERT'S PARK
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(near Dyre Ave Station)
Mass singing, Dancing, Athletic exhibition, Bowling,
Games for everybody
Fun for everybody.

Tickets in advance 40 cents
At Gate 50 cents

For Election Campaign Fund

"Soviet Russia Has Stopped Retreat," says Advise From Moscow

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

MOSCOW.—Volga provinces, reporting to the central executive committee, send word that grain sown a year abo is now coming up in some places. This fact bears additional testimony to the severity of the drought last summer, which did not even allow the grain to sprout.

It is not yet known to what extent this grain will bear. But the peasants, hailing this miracle with renewed hope, are returning home in thousands from the cities and outlying districts to which they fled.

Terrible need still exists. The Nansen committee estimates a million deaths before the harvest and that undernourishment will be serious all next year. Lack of horses and man power for the seed sowing will undoubtedly leave many districts without sufficient food this fall.

But the Volga will not be blotted out as a food producing region, as was feared in the extreme depression last winter. It has sustained a severe blow and will have lost by famine and disease some 2,000,000 inhabitants, but it will recover. This means that Russia need retreat no further at present. It means that extreme concessions at The Hague need not be expected.

For nearly a year Russia has been retreating step by step, forced to serious compromise and concessions in order to save the bare life of her citizens. Some weeks back Lenin announced that the retreat was at an end. Signs of this appear already in Moscow. There is no longer the same desire, or even willingness to admit foreign capitalists, for mere "purposes of investigation."

There is a strong desire for trade and for foreign capital, from concerns which really mean business. Profitable concessions are still open, one of the recent ones is the turning over of large numbers of ruined houses in Moscow and Petrograd to a British construction company which will put them in repair.

Giant irrigation projects in the whole Volga basin to ensure all future harvests wait only for capital. Mining concessions, forest concessions, factory concessions, represent not only opportunities for foreigners to make money, but also needs of Russia.

Will Not Pay High

Russia will not pay too high, because she knows she doesn't have to. Her good harvest prospects and her treaty with Germany assures that. If necessary, she can go forward without external help.

The assistant health commissar of White Russia said to me, as I passed thru Minsk: "Last fall the word was everywhere: 'Retrench, retrench.' We cut down in every direction; we could not care for the children in our homes properly; we dismissed people right and left; we had to cut in places where we knew it meant death to cut. But this spring the word has gone out: 'Expand! The young generation must be made strong.' The work we do now has hope in it, it is not merely pouring all we have into a bottomless gulf to keep human beings barely alive, it is building healthy children for the future."

And that's why the nations at The Hague find Russia ready for trade, desirous of credit and eager for general disarmament in order to turn attention to constructive ends, but they do not find her willing to submit to any extreme concessions.

Harding Gets Orders

(Continued from Page One)

these vulture nests. What violence there has been so far has been almost solely confined to clashes between the hired guards and pickets.

In Bloomington, Illinois, however, where several companies of militia were sent immediately the strike was called, they have been engaged in indiscriminate volleying which has endangered the lives of the residents and resulted in the demand from the citizens that they be withdrawn. The brotherhoods on the Chicago and Alton have threatened to strike if the troops are not removed.

MONSTER MASS MEETING
on
A. F. of L. Convention and Railroad Strike
THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 20th, 1922
at
BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 EAST 5th STREET

SPEAKERS —Herman Defrem, Delegate to A. F. of L. convention, Bookkeepers and Stenographers Union;
Wm. F. Dunne, Editor of The Worker and special correspondent at A. F. of L. convention;
Benjamin Gitlow,
and prominent Railroad officials to be announced later.

ADMISSION FREE! ADMISSION FREE!

All trade unionists and especially striking railroad men invited.

Workers Party Calls on All Labor for Solid Strike Front

(Continued from Page One)

bosses it steps in—with its injunctions, courts and soldiers—to break the strike, to beat the workers into submission. The government—national, state and municipal—is at all times a tool of the bosses which they use to protect themselves in robbing and exploiting you. When the bosses get into a pinch they openly use this governmental machinery to beat the workers into submission.

Keep the Government Out

Workers! You must use your strength to keep the government from breaking the strike of the miners, the textile workers and the railroad shopmen thru use of force—thru injunctions, and court action backed by soldiers.

DEMAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT KEEP ITS HANDS OFF. BACK YOUR DEMAND WITH A MASS DEMONSTRATION OF YOUR STRENGTH.

Call mass meetings and parades in every city to express the workers' opposition to government interference to help the bosses break the strikes. It is time that labor speaks out. Let the bosses and their political tools who run the government for them know that labor has power.

The central labor organizations in each city exist to fight the common battles of the workers against the bosses. These central bodies should mobilize the workers for mass meetings and parades against the sending of soldiers into strike zones, against the use of the injunctions and courts to break the strikes.

Union men! Make the demand in your local union that these central labor bodies act.

Demand that the central labor body in your city immediately call a mass meeting in support of the miners, the textile workers and the railroad shopmen.

WORKERS! YOU HAVE POWER. YOU HAVE THE POWER OF GREAT NUMBERS. YOU MUST MARSHALL THAT POWER TO PREVENT THE BOSSES FROM BEATING THE MINERS, THE TEXTILE WORKERS AND THE RAILROAD SHOPMEN INTO SUBMISSION THRU USE OF INJUNCTIONS, COURTS AND SOLDIERS.

Workers! We must fight if the bosses are not to grind our faces into the dirt. We must fight back with all our power if our wages and working conditions are not to be made worse than ever.

LET US BUILD A UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE BOSSES, THEIR INJUNCTIONS, THEIR COURTS AND THEIR SOLDIERS.

IF WE DO THAT THE MINERS WILL WIN, THE TEXTILE WORKERS WILL WIN, THE RAILROAD SHOPMEN WILL WIN, THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS WILL WIN BECAUSE WE WILL HAVE BEATEN BACK THE ATTEMPT OF THE BOSSES TO MAKE US ACCEPT OWER WAGES AND WORSE WORKING CONDITIONS.

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary

CIRCULATE THIS LEAFLET

Read and circulate the United Front Manifesto
"Workers! Unite and Fight the Bosses"
Prices 100, 50c 500, $2.00 1,000 $3.50
"The Armed Struggle at Herrin"
Prices 100, 25c 1,000, $2.00
Send remittance and order to
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
Room 405, 799 Broadway New York City

Courts Aid Rail Barons

(Continued from Page One)

the injunction previously issued by "such means as may be necessary."

Wrecks are becoming more frequent. Union men say these are due to defective inspection by green strikebreakers, while quarters friendly to the roads intimate malice on the Milwaukee road, the Santa Fe and the Reading.

Roads Invite Violence

Determination by the railroads to resume shop operations with strikebreakers under guard has led several sheriffs to warn that this will probably result in violence. Armed guards are hard to control and strikers are quicker to recent excesses and abuses by company guards than policing by the regular authorities. Union meetings have been uniformly peaceful, according to reports to railway employees' department headquarters here.

"We are powerless to prevent bloodshed if the railroads carry out their plans," said Sheriff Jake Morrison, Bloomington, Ill., where the Chicago & Alton has planned resumption.

The Illinois Central has set July 17 as the deadline for strikers to return to work without loss of seniority in a long advertisement in the press setting forth that the men are striking "against lawful decisions of a branch of the U. S. government."

The expiration of such notices on other roads, notably the Milwaukee, has nto affected the walkout which remains as solid as at the outset on July 1, according to union headquarters.

In spite of federal injunctions against picketing, the 2309 shopmen compromising the forces on the 19 roads with staffs in St. Louis are effectively maintaining their own.

Coal roads are feeling the pinch. The Norfolk & Western has all shopmen out and laborers in addition. Some clerks, maintenance of way men and non-union men have also joined.

NO COLOR LINE

SAN FRANCISCO. — Interracial solidarity was evidenced in the strike of railway shop men here when Japanese engine wipers walked out with the white workers in the Southern Pacific shops. At Roseville Chinese railway laborers joined the strike.

EUREKA, Cal.—Omar J. Eaton, I. W. W. organizer, was found guilty of criminal syndicalism by a jury which was out five minutes. J. Kennedy, defense league secretary, is still in jail for contempt of court because he protested against Judge Sevier's refusal to allow Elmer Smith to act as Eaton's attorney.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Shop Crafts United

(Continued from page One)

is being continued by the railroads, the Baltimore & Ohio being the latest addition. The road admits in its advertisement that "the efforts of the company to fulfill its obligations to the public have, necessarily been hampered by the strike now in effect." A Michigan Central passenger train limped into the station here with two big locomotives pulling it.

The Southern Pacific system shopmen are out almost to a man all along the line, according to a wire from System Secretary Gordon with offices in San Francisco. Milwaukee maintenance of way men are reported out 50 percent though no strike order has been issued.

Armed guards on the Milwaukee road have been sent to Milwaukee from Chicago according to the admission of one guard who was arrested on complaint of pickets.

If no wage increases are obtained before August 1 by E. F. Grable, president, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, unions of the New England roads will strike, according to resolutions forwarded to Detroit.

Kansas Slave Act Working

The Kansas industrial court act, known to workers as the Kansas slave law, has been invoked to break the strike. President T. Huntington and Secretary Thomas Hillery, Federal Shop Crafts, Topeka, have been ordered arrested, charged with sending out strike orders in violation of the compulsory arbitration clause of the law. Other union officials are to be arrested for the same reason, though they claim that the law does not apply on roads engaged in interstate commerce. It is expected that the action of the state will cement the rail-miner alliance more firmly in Kansas, since Alexander Howatt and August Dorchy, former miners' district officials, have been convicted and are serving sentence for refusal to recognise the act.

Resuming the warlike tone he had laid aside for a day, Ben W. Hooper, chairman, U. S. rail labor board, announced that no consideration would be given the shop crafts' case unless the strike orders were withdrawn and application made to the board for rehearing. Hooper again sounded the "outlaw" note in his statement when he declared:

"The shop crafts have been fairly heard before the local board. They have appealed from the sober, conservative judgment of this board to the strike, with all its inevitable un-American subversion of law and order. For the labor board to yield to measures of this kind would be an outrage upon public decency and would hasten enthronement of anarchy in this country."

BOISE, Idaho.—Three I. W. W. members serving long terms in the state penitentiary here for alleged criminal syndicalism have been granted paroles. They are Henry Farner, James V. Bliss and Thomas O'Hara.

Bookkeepers' Union Loses Its Charter

The charter of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 has been revoked by order of President Gompers. The power to do this is vested in the executive council of the Federation as the union was chartered directly by that body. The union was opposed to the Gompers policy and has been conducting an active propaganda campaign for industrial unionism, the support and recognition of Soviet Russia and other policies that are poison to the Gompers regime.

It appears that certain international officials in whose offices the union members were employed objected to living up to the working rules of the organization and complained to the ancient president of the A. F. of L., who listened with much sympathy to their lurid tales of persecution at the hands of the militant stenographers.

Local reactionaries have been gunning for this little union for some time. The officialdom of the Ladies'y Garment Workers openl boasts of its part in wrecking the organization; it is notable that the New York Call gives the same story in connection with the revocation of the charter that the capitalist press carried featuring the attempts of the organization to secure union conditions in the offices of international unions.

Coolie Labor

(Continued from Page One)

president, International Association of Machinists, and secretary, central strike committee of this district. He declared that there would be no settlement save on the terms of the strikers.

It has become known that at least one railroad here has made separate peace overtures to its striking shopmen. The offer was rejected on orders from B. M. Jewell, national director of the strike of the six federated shop crafts.

That the rail managers fear a further extension of the strike is indicated by the fact, according to union leaders, that the New York Central management has offered to make concessions to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks if they would cancel their strike ballot.

With more railroad workers in this district joining the shop crafts strikers daily the Erie railroad has resorted to the use of Chinese coolies as strikebreakers in its Jersey City yards. Between 150 and 200 Chinese, recruited among unemployed seamen here and in other Atlantic coast ports, are working in the places of laborers who have quit in sympathy with the shopmen.

The strike in this section is progressing favorably according to John J. Dowd, chairman, strike committee. He declared that of 443 foremen in the local yards, 251 have joined the strikers.

The Long Island railroad is feeling the pressure of the strike. Large numbers of electricians, boilermakers and other mechanics are quitting the Long Island power plant, and many skilled mechanics of the New York Central lines have joined the walkout. Rail service in and out of New York, particularly commuting service, is beginning to show effects of the strike. Trains on the Long Island are late, and the Erie has been forced to cut down the number of trains.

Strike Grows

(Continued from Page One)

shop men by walking out despite indefinite postponement of strike orders by President E. F. Grable. San Bernardino, Cal., an important rail center in the southern part of the state, reports maintenance men out there on the Santa Fe and Southern Pacific systems.

Traffic Curtailed

Traffic is reported curtailed on some roads. A few passenger trains on the Northwestern line have been taken off temporarily, it is understood, while continued advertising for help with police protection promised by the New York Central lines and notices in the press by the Burlington and Milwaukee roads threatening loss of seniority rights if the men do not return by stated dates indicate that the walkout is actually more complete than the companies are willing to admit officially.

The favorite company propaganda stories are putting in an appearance. One of the most time-honored, to the effect that officials of local unions on one line are strikebreaking on another line where they hope to remain unknown, was trotted out in the papers the third day of the strike as happening in Chicago.

The stories of interference with U. S. mails, intended to pave the way for government intervention, broke into print the sixth day, originating in St. Louis, Kansas City, Marshall, Tex., De Quincy, La., and Chaffee, Mo. Alleged violence was reported from Bloomington, Ill.

SEATTLE.—The 12-hour day, poor food and unpaid overtime are now the rule on ships running to Alaska from this port and operated by the Admiral line, one of the shipping board's maritime companies.

Chicherin Nails Lie of Chicago Tribune

By LOUIS P. LOCHNER
(European Director, The Federated Press)

BERLIN. — George Chicherin, commissar for foreign affairs of the Russian soviet republic, is in Berlin undergoing medical treatment after his labors at Genoa. He does not want to be interviewed and declares he is out of touch with affairs in Moscow for the time being.

Nevertheless he suspended his role of a private citizen long enough to pay his respects to the 'world's greatest newspaper," and to denounce its Berlin correspondent.

"The Chicago Tribune," said the foreign minister, "declares I have said that, so long as Russia has not been recognized by the powers, we will not withdraw our memorandum of May 11, the withdrawal of which is demanded by America and France as a condition of these two countries for participating in The Hague conference on Russian affairs. The inference is that, in case we are recognized, we may withdraw this memorandum.

"Never have I said that the government of the soviets would agree to renounce its principles for the sake of concessions to be made in return for recognition."

(The memorandum of May 11 is the negative reply of Russia to the demands of the capitalist governments assembled at Genoa.)

The news of the million dollar corporation formed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in America to establish nine clothing factories in Moscow and Petrograd seemed to please him.

Liberators, Poetesses, Moon Calves, Freudians Join in One Mad Revel

The Liberator Artists and Writers have arranged an Outdoor Costume Ball for Saturday, July 22nd, at Midland Park, Grant City, Staten Island.

Floyd Dell, Author of Moon Calf will act in the capacity of a Sigmund Freud hearing confessions from ladies. Lydia Gibson, poetess, will head a delegation from Tahiti, followed by South Sea Island belles in their native garb.

One of New York's perennial problems, deciding who is the prettiest girl in town, will be definitely settled. The settling will be done by a committee consisting of Boardman Robinson, Floyd Dell, William Gropper, Mike Gold and Robert Minor.

In the afternoon there will be a baseball game between Artists and Writers to decide the supremacy of pen or brush. Among others who will play are Robert Minor, Michael Gold, William Gropper, Gellert, Engdahl, Dunne, Art Young and Allison.

Meeting to Launch Gigantic Project to Aid Russia

A movement of far-reaching importance has been started by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with the formation of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. Responding to the call of the Russian workers for help in their efforts to rebuild industry upon the shattered ruins of Czarism, the A. C. W. of A., thru its officers, has taken the first concrete step in the direction of rebuilding Russian economic life.

The nation-wide campaign for the boosting of the R. A. I. C. will start with a monster mass meeting, arranged under the auspices of the Friends of Soviet Russia for Friday evening, July 14, in Carnegie Hall, 57th St. and Seventh Ave. Many notable speakers will be present. Chief among these are: Sidney Hillman, Jos. Schlossberg, Arturo Giovannitti, A. Lefkowitz, Robert Minor, and W. H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists.

July 16

It is pleasant to dance awhile in the fresh air to the music of a first-class string orchestra. It is still more pleasant to know that all your movements while dancing or otherwise enjoying yourself will be recorded by a motion picture film. Comrade Allan S. Broms of the Friends of Soviet Russia will take these pictures. Arrangements will be made to enable you later to see these pictures on the screen.

The filming will take place at the annual picnic arranged by the New York Branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia at Dickert's Old Point Park, 4018 Boston Road, Bronx, July 16, 1922. The films will be sent to Soviet Russia as soon as possible. Each organization is expected to bring a banner with the name of their organization done on a white background in black or red letters.

Comrade Ben Gitlow will say a few words of greeting.

Gates open at 12 A. M. Ten per cent of clear proceeds will go to the F. S. R. for famine relief.

All aboard for a good time! Come and help a good cause.

REMEMBER—JULY 16

Reception

Will be given by the friends of GEORGE HALONEN, representative of the KARELIA WORKERS COMMUNE, July 22, 1922, at Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Sthect New York City, at 7 p.m. Charles Recht, Ludwig Lore, George Halonen, Louis Engdahl and other prominent speakers will speak. Come, let's get acquainted. Please purchase your tickets early, as preparations have been made to entertain only a limited number of guests. Cover charge $1.50.

Tickets can be had from Henry Askeli, 799 Broadway, Room 405. Labor Temple, 84th Street. H. Anton, manager, New York Volkszeitung, 15 Spruce Street; Preiheit, 47 Chrystie Street, Toiler Book Shop, 208 East 12th Street, Eteenpäin Book Store, 2016 Fifth Avenue.

BOROUGH PARK
SPECIAL NOTICE

Comrade Mallen from Mexico will speak on the revolutionary situation in Mexico. Thursday July 20th, at Workers Party Headquarters, 1302 40th St.

CITY CONVENTION

Local Greater New York, Workers Party, June 23rd, 10 A. M., at Labor Temple 243 East 84th Street

The convention of New York Local of the Workers Party to elect delegates to the District Convention and nominate candidates for political office will be held on June 23, 10 A. M., at the Labor Temple. Branches are to elect their delegates on the following basis: one delegate for each branch—one additional delegate for every fifty members or major fraction thereof in good standing. All credentials properly signed by financial secretary on blanks provided by the local office are to be sent to the local office not later than July 15.

WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE,
Executive Secretary,
Local Greater New York W. P.

BUY! READ! DISTRIBUTE!
ALBA NUOVA
One of our Papers! Official Organ, Italian Federation, Workers Party. Sent all communications to Alba Nuova, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Shall the Workers Party Encourage the Formation of a Labor Party in the U.S.

WM. F. DUNNE, C. E. RUTHENBERG, M. J. OLGIN and LUDWIG LORE will discuss this vital subject at the Symposium, July 17th, arranged by Local Greater New York of the Workers Party, in the John Reed Garden, 208 East 12th Street.

Discussion will be held in the Garden which has been especially prepared with lights and decorations for this and other occasions of open air meetings, discussions, etc. All comrades are urged to come early in order to be admitted, as the capacity is only 300.

The comrades have an opportunity of spending more than a pleasant evening participating in a subject of serious debate among all sections of the working-class of this country. Admission 15 cents.

Antonini Shows Schlesinger Violated Instructions of Union

(The action of President Schlesinger of the International Ladies' Garment Workers in failing to support the minority resolution for the recognition of Soviet Russia at the A. F. of L. convention has aroused a storm of protest in the ranks of that union.

President Schlesinger and the editor of Justice, the official organ of the union, have tried to explain away what has proved to be a most embarrassing situation for these recent converts to Gomperism.

We therefore take pleasure in publishing the following statement from Luigi Antonini, the one delegate to the A. F. of L. convention, who fought for the minority resolution and against the machine on other matters. The letter corroborates certain statements made by The Worker in the preceding number.—Ed. Note.)

Editor The Worker:

It has come to my notice that a question has arisen in the Jewish Press with regards to the stand assumed by the delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Cincinnati, O., regarding the recognition of the Soviet Russian Government.

Inasmuch as I do not understand or read Jewish, I could not say anything and besides it was not my intention to enter into this discussion. But I have carefully read the explanation given by President Schlesinger in the issue of the New York Call of Saturday, July 1, 1922, as well as the editorial in the official organ of the I. L. G. W. U. No. 27, issue of Friday, June 30, 1922, on the same matter.

While I do not know why he had to explain or defend his stand, I note that he had the honesty to state in his explanation, "with one exception," which exception of course refers to me. However, I am sorry to note that in the editorial issued in "Justice" no such reference is made but all are put in the same sack, thus giving the impression that the stand taken by the delegation was my stand as well.

It is well to note here that I was a delegate to the Convention of the A. F. of L. and that I was elected with the largest vote at the Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

Now, since we are in the field of explanation, I want to state as briefly as possible my position and in doing so I do not intend to take issue with my co-delegates regarding their action, as an account of their action is to be given to those by whom they were elected and not to me, just as i will have to do. However, I cannot do otherwise than say that until the last moment when the report regarding the recognition of Soviet Russia was presented in Cincinnati, I had no doubt that the stand of our delegates would be the same as that assumed by me, inasmuch as at the Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. which took place only four weeks prior in Cleveland, it unanimously voted and decided in unmistakable terms upon the attitude of the International regarding the recognition of the Soviet Russian Government.

In fact, I shall quote here from the report of the Convention of the 9th Day Proceedings, Wednesday, May 10, 1922, when the Resolution Committee in presenting Resolutions No. 95 by Local 3, No. 115 by the Joint Board of Cloakmakers of New York, No. 87 by Local 9, No. 77 by Locals 1 and 25; No. 39 by Local 89, which while expressed in different terms, all ask for the recognition of Soviet Russia, recommended a substitute resolution for all of the above, which is as follows:

> "WHEREAS, the Russian Soviet Government has concluded peace and trade treaties with a number of European countries and are negotiating such treaties with numerous other countries, and
>
> "WHEREAS, the United States Government still maintains its position not to recognize the Russian Soviet Government, and
>
> "WHEREAS, such policy pursued by the United States Government may be injurious to the economic conditions of this country, and is contrary to the principles of a democratic government, and
>
> "WHEREAS, the re-admission of Soviet Russia to the family of nations will help to restore the disturbed industrial equilibrium of the world and to bring to the Russian people more normal and economic conditions, be it therefore
>
> "RESOLVED, that the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, in Biennial Convention assembled, **urges the immediate resumption of diplomatic and trade relations with the Government of Soviet Russia.**"

This resolution was carried unanimously and none of the delegates who were at the Convention stood up to speak against it, and for the benefit of all we can go on in the proceedings of the same day and will find that Delegate Miss Goodman asked: "Does that mean that our delegates of the A. F. of L. Convention are not instructed to bring this before the body?" inanswer to which Delegate Heller (Chairman of the Resolution Committee) said:

> "Our delegates are supposed to carry out all the decisions and policies of the International and we have full confidence in their ability to represent the opinion expressed at the A. F. of L. Convention."

I, therefore, as a representative of our people sent to the A. F. of L. Convention held firmly to this stand, without bothering about the reasons brought out by the others, and supported the minority report as presented by the Committee on International Relations at the A. F. of L. Convention, as this was identical to what had been decided at our own Convention in Cleveland.

As to the question of Political Prisoners in Russia, in my opinion it had nothing to do with the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government. I would also state that if there was any intention on the part of our delegates to bring this matter before the Convention of the A. F. of L., they had time to appear before the Committee on International Relations and present the reasons on same, or at least they could have offered an amendment to the Minority Report before the previous question was voted upon.

It is still my opinion that these two questions are different from each other. I believe there must not be any dissension of opinion in asking the Government of the United States for its recognition. If the Government of Finland and Hungary with its White Guards, the Government of Italy with its Fascisti destroying the Chambers of Labor and other institutions of the Workers are recognized, it is no more than just that the Government of Soviet Russia should be recognized and the Russian population left to work out their own destiny.

This has been my stand as a true unionist and socialist. However, I cannot see why my five other co-delegates did not vote in favor of a Roll Call on the question.

I do not think there is anything to add to the above, except that I wish to declare that I emphatically voted for the Minority Report in pursuance of my previous record and attitude assumed in the two previous Conventions of the A. F. of L. at Montreal and then at Denver, believing I am carrying out the sentiments of the members who sent me there.

LUIGI ANTONINI,
Manager Italian Dress and Waistmaker's Union,
Local No. 89, I. L. G. W. U.

President Harding has issued another proclamation on the railway strike. We have not kept count of the number he has issued on the coal strike but none of them to have produced any coal. For this reason we doubt if this one will run any trains.

Mr. Irving T. Bush, president of the New York Chamber of Commerce, according to the press, believes that the Soviet government must be replaced. Without any wish to be nasty about the matter we recall that the late Messrs. Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, and some fe wothers held the same opinion.

Turning from Gompers

By EARL R. BROWDER

One of the hopeful signs in the labor movement is the growing break with the Gompers tradition, on the part of powerful officials in the trade unions. Many do not understand how far this breach has developed. It first showed itself at the Montreal Convention of the A. F. of L., when the Plumb Plan was put over by the railroad unions in alliance with the timid progressive forces, against Gompers' unqualified and unrelenting resistance. It showed itself again in the February conference for considering political action by the labor movement, which was a challenge to Gompers' policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies." And while the breach was carefully kept in the background during the recent convention of the A. F. of L., yet it grew even there. In order to get a clue to what a great many labor leaders are thinking, we have to go to those who are the least under Gompers influence. Take the Locomotive Engineers' Journal, a very conservative publication, organ of one of the most traditional of American unions, but outside of the American Federation of Labor, and therefore more frank in speaking its mind. In the July issue, it devotes a column and a half to Gompers and the convention, in which the most bitter words are used. The following are samples:

Convention Looked Backward

"'I always like to look back. That's why I always carry my retrospect along,' said Samuel Gompers on the eve of the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which has just finished its session in Cincinnati. This remark by the leader of the federation epitomizes the whole convention. Like Mr. Gompers it looked backward."

"Unfortunately, most of the time of the convention was devoted not to constructive action, but to negative criticism and laments regarding the sorry state of labor's power under the present regime. Instead of forging a united front for organized labor to offset the combined assault of big business, the leaders of the Federation launched their thunderbolts against the workers themselves. Industrial unionism, the principle of amalgamation, the Federated Press, and other developments in the labor field which are not controlled by Mr. Gompers and his lieutenants were denounced with the bitterest invective. The attack upon the Federated Press is an indelible stain upon the honor and honesty of both Mr. Gompers and his right hand man, Mathew Woll. Woll who is president of the "International Labor Press," the official American Federation of Labor news channel, made an assault on the independent labor news service called the Federated Press which was as untrue as it was uncalled for."

Betray Interests of Workers

"For the leaders of the A. F. of L. to attempt to poison the minds of the workers against those who are striving to better their conditions, and to do this with falsified statements, is to betray the interests of the workers in order to gratify a cheap passion for personal power."

• • •

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, paragon of conservatism and "regularity," is not suddenly becoming revolutionary. It is only giving expression to the growing disgust which is felt everywhere in the labor movement for the leadership which is destroying the American labor movement. The same ideas exist thruout the unions under Gompers control, but because of a simple lack of what is vulgarily called "guts," it has not yet come to public expression. When Gompers finally goes, he will receive the same kind of universal execration as the late Diaz of Mexico, or the Czar of Russia. There will be none to mourn, except the courtiers and beneficiaries of his personal bounty.

We will create this WORKER BUILDING MACHINE from its readers. You are logically the most interested in seeing it built up. You have a greater interest in it than any others. It speaks your tongue, it fights your battles, it stands for what you stand for. It is YOUR weapon. YOU must make it stronger.

GIVE IT YOUR STRENGTH. Give it your backing. DO the things which will make THE WORKER grow. These are:

Sell subscription cards.
Secure subscribers from shop-mates on lists (20 weeks for 50c).
Send five dollars for ten sub cards and sell them.
Demand that your Party Branch members all become subscribers.
Demand that every Branch member take five cards and sell them.
Take a bundle for sale or distribution.
Get others to do so.
Get the news stands to take a bundle.
Make your Party unit a part of THE WORKER machine.
Do these concrete things and THE MACHINE WILL BE BUILT.
And when it is built—success is assured.

Amalgamation

(Continued from Page One)

Some Benefits of Amalgamation

Many advantages would come to the workers thru a general merger of the sixteen unions. Chief of these, of course, would be far greater industrial power. Amalgamated organizations are always infinitely stronger than federated bodies. The great war furnished a striking illustration of this principle. At first the Allied armies operated practically as autonomous units. But there was too much confusion and too little power. Enemy pressure soon forced them to federate. But even this did not give the smooth working mechanism necessary to concerted action and maximum power. So finally, when it seemed as if the war was almost lost, they all had to amalgamate into one body under one general staff. This brought results. Thereby the strength of the combined armies was trebled or quadrupled, and the fate of the Central Empires was sealed. And so it would be were the railroad unions amalgamated; their present strength is hardly an indication of what their great might then would be. It would be the old story over again of the strands of hemp, which, while separate, are easily broken, but which, bound together into a rope, cannot be torn asunder. Complete amalgamation would give the railroad workers many times the power of the present craft unions.

Another important benefit of amalgamation would be the elimination of jurisdictional disputes between the railroad trades. For years these internecine quarrels, a cancer of the labor movement, have sucked the life blood of railroad Labor, while the companies have chuckled in glee. But amalgamation, the broad highway to solidarity, would put a speedy end to them. Once the railroad workers are all in one organization, there would never again be seen the sad spectacle of one group of trades working while the rest are striking. That disgrace would be gone forever.

Solidarity, Efficiency, Economy

A further advantage of amalgamation would be the practical ending of dual unionism. The long-standing tendency of sections of workers splitting off from the unions and starting new bodies is a serious menace. It has weakened the unions greatly by withdrawing thousands of good workers from them. So serious is this menace that some day, unless it is checked, it may burst forth into a devastating conflagration that will destroy railroad unionism altogether. Dual unionism is peculiarly a disease of craft unionism. For the most part it is a striving, however ill-advised, for greater solidarity. Amalgamation, by achieving this solidarity, would destroy the very foundations of dualism. The launching of a general amalgamation would be the signal for most, if not all, of the independent organizations to join forces with it.

Still another advantage of amalgamation would be great financial economies in the operation of the organization. Consider the saving in rent and other expenses that would result from combining the many headquarters into one. Likewise the economy of merging all the journals, each of which has a separate editorial staff, into a single great publication. The fusing of all the executives, organizing staffs, system chairmen, etc., into one general management, would avoid the tremendous criss-crossing and duplicating of work now prevailing, thus making for great economy. It is safe to say that the business of the railroad workers could be handled much better in one union with a much smaller official family than is now the case.

[illegible] idea of the amalgamated union. A[illegible] is conventions. Some of these cost almost fabulous sums. The outlay for the last convention of the B. of L. F. and E. was [illegible], that of the B. R. C. of A. [illegible] and the B. of R. T. and others in proportion. The amalgamated union would make immense economies in this respect. Basing its representation upon the system federation, instead of the local union, it could, with much more efficiency and just as much democracy, hold conventions not larger than any one of the several crafts does now. It would save at least $1,000,000 per convention over the present system. All told, a general amalgamation would bring about economy in management to the amount of probably a couple of millions per year. This money could be put to real use in building up the organization. Besides its other virtues, amalgamation is especially a measure of great efficiency and economy.

A Plan of Amalgamation

Three things we have made clear so far: First, the imperative need for one organization to include all railroad workers; second, that this industrial union must be brought into being by merging the existing sixteen trade unions; and third, the tremendous advantages that will accrue from amalgamation. And now let us consider how this amalgamated union should be constructed:

The objection most seriously urged against a general union of all railroad workers is that it would be such a confused body that it could not [illegible] physical impossibility because of the widely differing standards of dues and benefits now prevailing in the many organizations, the contention being that it would be out of the question either to get the section men and other low dues-payers to assess themselves the three to five dollars per month that the train service men pay, or to induce the latter to abandon their insurance features so that their dues might be reduced to the lower levels of the other trades.

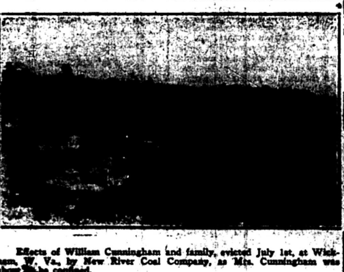
But those who reason thus know nothing of modern industrial unions, as exemplified by organizations in many parts of the world. In a general railroad union there would be no confusion of trades, no indiscriminate mixture of all classes of workers. On the contrary, there would be far more regularity and order in this respect than is now the case. Such a great union would be divided into a number of sections or departments, each one consisting of two or more closely related trades. In our diagrams we have worked the thing out on the basis of six such departments. Practice might demand one or two more or less than this, but to elucidate the principle we will follow the number stated. Within these departments natural trade lines would be preserved. Men of similar callings would meet together and discuss their common problems. Their demands and needs would be efficiently developed and taken care of. But the several departments would have no autonomy in wage negotiations.

[illegible]

With its various departments, the amalgamated union would be something similar to an army, minus, of course, the latter's stringent discipline. An army has many different sections, such as, infantry, cavalry, artillery, air service, signal corps, commissariat, etc., etc. The lines between them are kept distinct, but all are nevertheless definitely dovetailed together so that they make up one compact unified organization. The whole thing is a model of system and order. Think what a helpless muddle an army would be if it allowed the various sections to operate independently. Yet, with our sixteen autonomous unions, we are doing exactly that impractical thing. It is indeed no wonder that we are so weak. Amalgamation would not bring confusion; we have that now with our chaotic system of craft unionism.

At the head of the general organization would stand an executive council of (according to our plan) thirty-six members, together with the necessary secretaries. Each department would elect six members to this council, and of the six, two would come from each of the three natural divisions of the railroad industry, West, East and Southeast. Thus the executive council would be thoroughly representative, industrially and geographically, of the whole railroad service. Made up of delegates of every trade and every locality, it would be competent to formulate the demands of railroad workers as a whole and to organize a united battle-front to make them prevail. Essentially the same system is now in effect in the famous National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain, and it is a pronounced success over the old system of craft unionism. In the departmental form of organization, there would be no element of confusion. It would be incomparably more scientific and efficient than our present outworn, haphazard system of trying to do business thru sixteen more or less jangling and disconnected unions, which find it impossible to stand together even under the severest pressure from the companies.

(Continued next week)



Effects of William Cunningham and family, evicted July 1st, at Wickham, W. Va., by New River Coal Company, as Mrs. Cunningham was about [illegible] be confined.

Preg[illegible] Woman Evicted From Wretched Dwelling by Coal Baron Thugs

Lawrence Dwyer, returning only a few days ago from West Virginia, tells of a pregnant woman being evicted from her home by order of the Coal Company. This unfortunate woman, the wife of a striking miner, had a certificate from a doctor declaring that she was pregnant and should be permitted to retain her rooms. But the hirelings of the coal operators were not moved by this fact and immediately proceeded to eject her. Now she is exposed to the inclement weather, the rain and the wind, while her furniture is scattered on the ground. And she is without food. This is a sample of the sweet democracy which is being handed to the coal miners and their families by the owners of the mines. This is one of numerous cases occurring daily in the strike area.

The starving miners have sent out a cry for help. The workers everywhere must come to their aid at once. The Miners' Relief Committee has arranged to have a Tag Day on July 15-16 for the benefit of the starving miners. Volunteers are wanted. Register at the following stations: 296 Sackman St., Empire Hall, Lorimer and Ten Eyck Sts., 47 Chrystie St., 248 E. 23rd St., 350 E. 81st St., 1581 Fifth Ave., 1670 Wilkins Ave., 208 E. 12th St.

Contributions for the miners should be sent to Louis Gross, Secretary of the Miners' Relief Committee, 208 E. 12th St., N. Y. C.

With Our Readers

Editor The Worker
Dear Comrade: The attached clipping was taken from the July 1st issue of The Worker:

> The Machinists' Monthly Journal says, "We know that the word 'Amalgamate' is a bugaboo to many labor leaders, who will never give their support to the idea. However, we repeat that movements are bigger than men or groups of men, and in the end we shall have amalgamation, which after all, is one step forward in the evolution of the trade union movement whose ultimate goal is the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery." That is well said. Let us watch the machinists' delegates at the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor. They were not living up to expectations according to the latest reports.

Local No. 68 of the I. A. of M., San Francisco, at its regular meeting June 21st, sent a telegram to its Delegation, at the convention of the A. F. L., then in session at Cincinnati, Ohio, on motion of the undersigned, reminding it of the fact that our organization had gone on record, at its last convention held at Rochester, N. Y., unanimous in favor of "AMALGAMATION." I am glad to inform you that they have complied with our request, according to letter received by us from them.

Our national organization has gone on record twice by referendum vote of its membership, by a large majority, in favor of amalgamation, also as above stated at its last convention.

While this is all true, your suspicion is well founded, because nothing practical has ever been offered or attempted, by our Int. Officers to bring about amalgamation, except some discussion on the subject of amalgamation and the annual vote of the delegates to the convention of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., composed largely of Int. Officers.

Amalgamation must be forced upon the leaders of the various Metal Trade Unions, by the rank and file of these respective unions.

In harmony with this idea, Local No. 68 of the I. A. of M. of San Francisco, is sending out invitations to the various local Metal Trades Unions to participate in a local conference to devise practical ways and means to successfully bring about amalgamation.

The object of the writer is to induce other militant members of Metal Trades Unions in other industrial centers to do likewise, so that we may hold a national conference in the near future. Each delegate to this conference must be actively engaged at his trade, unles he happens to be without a master at the time of election.

Hoping that you give this information the widest publicity thru the columns of your valiant paper, I remain yours for industrial freedom,

Al. Schneider,
Sec'y-Treas. Local Group,
San Francisco, Cal.

Get New Subscribers for "The Worker"—20 Weeks For 50 Cents! Get On the Job!

[illegible] Worker Answers [illegible]
[illegible] Her in her True Colors
[illegible] Her Lies With Facts

[illegible]

II

(Continued from last week)

For some Anglo-Saxons, some of the expressions used in this letter may sound very bad, because Emma Goldman is a lady. We Russian Communists do not make any distinction between men and women, neither do we differentiate in regard to nationalities. In Socialism we are equal; so by calling her a liar I do so without any consideration of sex.

Rotten Lie About Schools

The whole story about "dead souls" contains not one single trace of truth, because in reality we had no such thing as "show" schools. She tells us the same story that H. G. Wells does in relating his experiences in Soviet Russia, and she took her story not from what she saw in Russia, but from Wells' writings about "show" schools.

The week after the publication of Wells' story, one of the best Russian critics and publicists, Kornei Tchukovsky, issued a protest against the lies of Wells. Tchukovsky and other litterateurs, who had taken Wells to inspect the different schools, not being so stupid as Wells proved to be, did not think of playing the foolish tricks which Wells imputed to them;-and their protest showed to the intellectual world that Russian writers and journalists are not of the type of English and American sensationmongers. Some of the writers who signed the protest against Wells' unwarranted articles were anti-Bolsheviks, but, trained to look upon literature as a sacred thing, they were disgusted by the shame that Wells brought upon their profession by the circulation of stories that they themselves knew to be absolute lies. If Emma Goldman likes to refer to the Russian and European press of that time she can read for herself the names of the protestants and the grounds upon which they objected to the lying story.

Schools Are Great Achievement

W. D. Vanderlip, Arthur Ransome, Mrs. Claire Sheridan and many other anti-Bolsheviks state that the most brilliant work accomplished by the Bolsheviki is the organization of children's homes and schools. They used the palaces of the Czar in Tsarkoe Selo, and wooden houses in the villages, because it was impossible to bring the Czar's palaces into every village or to build palaces in the time of awful struggle.

My wife, seeing the children's house in Dmietriveka Street, in Moscow, was quite willing to leave our child there, because she thought it was the best in the world (and it was not a "show" place either), after seeing other schoolhouses she found that it was one of the worst in Moscow. Everything depends upon the management, and in the degree of interest in the work taken by those in charge.

The most severe criticism of everything that goes wrong, of all blunders and inefficiency is to be heard from the leaders of the Communist Party. They are not afraid of the truth, and their own actions are subject to the same criticism as the actions of every other member. The "cleaning the ranks" of the party was carried out not by party officials, but non-partisan workers and peasants. Can any other party in the world afford to let the unattached masses decide who should belong to the party, and who should not?

Goldman says the children pay for the Bolshevist revolt. In reality the children are the debtors of the revolution, and the slogan of the great Russian revolution is not to love your neighbors (which is very easy to do), but for a higher ideal to love those far away those, in fact, not yet born.

Cheka Is Bad for Emma's Kind

The "Cheka" is described as the blackest measure of the Bolshevik regime, and if our enemies, in every possible way demand the abolition of the Cheka, express themselves always in horror of the Cheka and its activities, this should be sufficient proof of its usefulness to the working class during the transition period. She states that for every Communist slaughtered by the forces of counter-revolution, the Cheka takes ten lives. At this price it's a bad bargain for the Communists. One sincere Communist is worth, not ten, not a hundred, but thousands of such cattle as Emma Goldman, Berkman, Schapiro. The Cheka cannot be such a terrible organization, or they would not have allowed Emma Goldman to leave Russia, knowing as they did, that she was an arch-enemy of the revolution.

In the long article about Spiridonova, the only truthful passage is that she killed Luzhenovsky, who was not governor of Tamboff, but head of a punitive expedition, for which act of terrorism she was exiled to Siberia. She did not arrive in Siberia as "a mere bundle of raw flesh," as Emma Goldman says. Since Emma says she was engaged in collecting material for a revolutionary museum, she must have seen some of the many photographs of Spiridonova taken at most of the railway stations on her way to Siberia. These photos show her surrounded by crowds of admirers, smiling, with the spectacles that she always wore, not because she lost her eyesight in goal, but because she was deficient from birth.

Russia of the workers does not intend to pay the debts of the Czar not even to Spiridonova. The obstacles that stem the tide of proletarian revolution will be ruthlessly swept away. Those individuals and doctrines that cannot conform to the needs of revolutionary progress are discredited and must go. "Babushka" Breshakovskaya or Spiridonova, Plechanoff or the Social Revolutionary Party or Mensheviki, the workers will cast them aside—have cast them aside.

No Mention of Worker Victims

Instead of in prison or court-martial for betraying the workers' revolution, the awful Bolsheviki place Spiridonova in a neuropathic hospital, which only shows that the Bolsheviki do not use violence against the worst enemies of the revolution. Trying to show Spiridonova as a martyr, Emma did not mention a single word about the victims of Spiridonova's actions and there are thousands and thousands of them.

What Counter-Revolution Does

In the beginning of 1918, by order of Spiridonova, the German ambassador, Mirbach, was assassinated, the only purpose of which was to renew the war with Germany, a task that was impossible for the exhausted and disorganized Russian army. This was before the organization of the Red Army. Spiridonova was the head of the left wing social revolutionaries who tried to overthrow the Communist regime. After three days fighting in the streets of Moscow the plotters were defeated. The death of thousands of victims lies on the conscience of Spiridonova, between her and the revolutionary workers runs a river of blood, which prevents her from claiming any common interest with the workers. Of course Spiridonova proclaims that they are against taking power into their own hands, they wish only to overthrow the Bolsheviki.

This shows that she is possessed of commonsense, that she has no desire to take over power, when power means to make something out of nothing, to build a house without materials, in a time when everything was in a state of chaos, when the whole life of the country was disorganized, and when the party that was willing to assume power was looked upon as an aggregation of mad men. It was only possible for the heroic and enthusiastic proletarian party of the Russian Communists to accomplish this immortal task. Heroic mad men!

FIGHTING AGAINST THE POWER OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS, REFUSING HERSELF TO TAKE THE POWER, FOR WHOM DID SHE PREPARE THE GROUND? FOR THE CZAR MAYBE!

"The Bolsheviki put back the unfolding energies of the Russian people," Emma Goldman was told by Kropotkin. But we knew that Kropotkin since 1914, since the time he became an anarcho-patriot, since the time he appealed to the masses of the workers to join the armies in the great fight for the freedom of France, since that time he was dead for the workers, together with his philosophical anarchism. "The people knew that something tremendous was before them and which they themselves must face, organize and direct," states Emma in her article, and continues that the "dogged resistance offered by the people of Russia to the Bolsheviki yoke is the best proof of that." Even in this statement Emma's stupidity [illegible] far from understanding why the workers and peasants of Russia believe only in the Bolsheviki; why even the "yoke" of hunger and starvation keeps them fighting against the whole imperialist world and fighting successfully, why only two anarchists were elected to the All-Russian Congress, and about two thousand Communists and non-partisan sympathizers of the Com- [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Emma's news about the labor unions in Russia is very amusing. She writes that at the Third Conference of Trade Unions held in Petrograd in July, 1917, 210 delegates were present, representing 1,475,425 workers. Striking news for me and for everybody who read the accounts of the Third Congress, because I was a delegate to this Congress from Odessa. It was held in Moscow from the 5th to April 15, 1920, and was attended by 1676 delegates; from this number 1588 were Communists, 30 Mensheviki, 2 Anarchists, and at that time I was so stupid that I was one of the Anarchists; all the other delegates were non-partisan sympathizers with the Communists. The delegates to this Congress represented more than 7,000,000 organized workers. One can see what kind of material she collected for her revolutionary museum.

The Role of Unions

Labor unions in the time of revolution were turned into military barracks. In time of peace they are schools for the workers, they are the places for meetings and lectures, they are the places for organizing sabotnik, communist Saturday afternoons, many of their functions are state functions, because the state is their state, the weapon they use to suppress their enemies. Poor Emma does not understand why the workers do not strike for higher wages, why they don't fight for better conditions, and in her opinion this is because they are afraid of Bolshevik oppression. In reality it is because they understand that for the first time in their lives they are working for themselves, and further, that to secure increases in their wages would mean to increase the prices of commodities offered for sale by the speculants. The workers, according to her statement, have only retained the 8-hour day in 76 out of 695 industrial establishments. Some of them work from 12 to 18 hours per day. Why is this so? Is it by the demand of the Bolsheviki or by demand of the economic needs of the revolution? For the first time in their lives the workers have become the masters of their own destiny and their revolutionary enthusiasm and commonsense lead them to marshall all their energies in the common fight against economic destruction. They even refuse to ask for overtime pay because their overtime work is for the salvation of the revolution.

Goldman a "Dead Soul"

Emma Goldman, before the eyes of the revolutionary workers, is no more than a "dead soul," with her second-hand store psychology. She is against the revolution because the revolution suppresses speculants. Petty traders might, with their wares, break thru the roofs of the cars, might finish the already broken down transport system. Let them do it; it is individual freedom. Let the poor peasants keep their grain in the ground, to rot; while the workers and Red Army face all the problems of the revolution. Let Berkman and Schapiro be free from military service in the Red Army because they prefer talking to fighting, when it concerns themselves.

Such is the anarchistic ideal of revolution, so-called philosophical. As French bankers, she demands full payment of the Czar's debts to Spiridonova, she even expects to collect what is owing to herself from the California crowd that tarred and feathered her. She placed the account before the Russian workers to be paid in esteem and worship, and in the spirit of the petty bourgeois she demanded interest as well as capital.

Fool and Traitor

In the earlier part of this letter I showed that she is not an internationalist as the great leaders of the Russian revolution like Lenin and Trotsky are, but a narrow-minded nationalist. Her reference to the Brest Treaty is the best proof of this. Like all nationalists, she describes the Brest Treaty as a shame to the nation. She sees shame where every classconscious worker sees only the salvation of the revolution. She is not even an anarchist, because not one honest man in the revolutionary movement, not Kropotkin, none of the old revolutionary guard would consciously do the dirty work of the bourgeoisie, supporting them with lying and malicious slanders of the first workers Republic in the world. She is a worthy successor to Judas Iscariot, the only difference being that Judas only got thirty pieces of silver, and she is being paid three thousand.

ALEXANDER NARGIN.

United Labor Council
meets
Every Fourth Wednesday
8 P. M.
81 East 10th Street,
NEW YORK CITY.
Phone: Stuyvesant 4501.

Trotsky's "Dictatorship v. Democracy"

By ALBERT VERBLIN

The existence of the Third International implies a constant ideological struggle against the opportunism of all camps. At least the struggle will be mainly confined to the realm of ideology up to the time when the proletariat will have seized the power. Then books and ideas will be exchanged for more formidable weapons, especially (and there is no reason to suspect the contrary) if the various shades of socialists will join the camp of the future Kolchaks and Denikines.

And this ideological struggle will revolve mainly around the fundamental questions of Revolutions, such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the system of Soviets, revolutionary terror, etc. For, in essence, the tactics of a party, its attitude towards immediate problems confronting the working class depend upon its acceptance or rejection of the fundamental questions of the Revolution. The immediate tactics of a Communist and a Socialist Party must necessarily be different because of their different attitude toward fundamental problems.

Naturally, Kautsky, the chief theoretical defender of socialist opportunism, and the one who has written more than anyone else against Soviet Russia and the revolutionary principles it embodies, is given special attention by the leaders of Soviet Russia and of the Third International. In addition to his voluminous attacks and slanders upon the Russian Revolution, it must be remembered that Kautsky was once upon a time a revolutionary Marxist himself. There was a time when he defended the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat against the opportunist Bernstein, when he defended the general strike as opposed to parliamentarism. And this revolutionary past of his, together with his ability to quote and misinterpret Marx makes him deserving of special attention.

Thus Lenin specially wrote a pamphlet, "The Proletarian Dictatorship," against Kautsky. And now it is Trotsky who, in "Dictatorship vs. Democracy," fires a broadside at him. One must admire Kautsky's ability to take punishment. After Lenin got thru with him, one would think that he had had enough and would discreetly retire, but he comes back again with his "Terrorism and Communism," only to be floored again by Trotsky's brilliant answer. A veritable glutton for punishment.

In his "Terrorism and Communism" Kautsky foresook whatever Marxism remained with him from his early days. He raves at the Bolsheviks not so much on Marxian grounds but because they completely ignored the "natural law" of democracy, because they did not take into consideration the Kantian categorical imperative, he explains revolutionary terror by the inhumanity of the inhuman Bolsheviks and (by implication) by the fact that man has given up his vegetarian diet. The book is as fine an example of an old man's garrulity as can be found. There is almost nothing concerning the human face that Kautsky does not touch upon.

Kautsky wrote the book in the interest of the continued existence of the bourgeoisie. How else can one explain a book which demands of the proletariat, before it takes power into its hands, that it be sound morally and spiritually, that it have a high degree of education and that it be trained in the running of industry? How else can one explain a book that would advise the proletariat to wait until it gets a parliamentary majority and to use soft words of persuasion in case the capitalist class happens to be somewhat recalcitrant. How else can one explain a book that would make a virtue of indecision, hesitation and cowardice?

Trotsky wrote an answer in the interest of revolutionary decision and firmness, giving us the "necessary spiritual armory for the inevitable and approaching war." And the answer is superb, masterful. Nothing is left unsaid. He takes up Kautsky's arguments, and lack of arguments, one by one and demolishes them completely. The brilliant style, the inexorable logic, the revolutionary audacity of the book will forever assure it a place among the classics of revolutionary literature.

Trotsky wrote the book in the middle of 1920 when the World Revolution was on the up-grade and constantly gaining force. At that time it seemed that there might not be any need for a theoretical refutation of Kautsky.

But events did not turn out as expected. The revolutionary wave, largely due to the betrayal by the Social-Democrats and Independents, receded. A period of stagnation set in and just because of that, Trotzky's answer has added value. Now, when the revolutionary situation is not so tense, when Kautsky and his spiritual brothers are happy over the fact that the Revolution was not everywhere successful, it is doubly and trebly important that the theoretical justification of opportunism should be confuted and that the fundamental principles and tactics of the Revolution should be put forth in all their logical clarity.

To call "Dictatorship vs. Democracy" a mere answer is not doing justice to the book. Trotsky does not merely answer. He develops the fundamental problems of the Revolution and leaves not a doubt in the world but that the workers of all countries will, in the main, have to follow the fundamental principles and tactics of the Russian Revolution. To depend upon formal and absolute democracy to usher in the peaceful Social Revolution means actually to deny the possibility of Revolution.

Democracy grants both J. P. Morgan and the laborer earning twenty-five cents an hour equality before the law. Both of them have one vote. But the actual difference in economic status and power between the two easily uncovers the fraudulent character of this democracy. At best, democracy afforded the proletariat an opportunity for political training and organization, but to expect it to introduce the revolution painlessly and constitutionally is actually to reject the revolution in deed. Especially is this true in the present stage of imperialism when the objective forces places on the order of the day the sharp antithesis: "Either the dictatorship of the imperialist clique, or the dictatorship of the proletariat." Kautsky chooses the former, Trotsky the latter.

The difference between Trotsky's and Kautsky's attitude on terrorism is the difference between one who actually believes in the revolution and, believing in it, is willing to use all means to assure its success and one who merely talks about the revolution.

Trotsky says: "The revolution 'logically' does not demand terrorism, just as 'logically' it does not demand an armed insurrection. But the revolution does require of the revolutionary class that it should attain its end by all methods at its disposal—if necessary, by an armed rising; if required, by terrorism."

Not that terrorism is a sacred principle to us. Not that we believe in its use because we like to spill human blood, but because we are interested in preserving by all means and at all costs the gains made by the revolution. The intensity of the terror will depend upon the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the international situation and other factors but "the man who repudiates terrorism in principle, i. e., repudiates measures of suppression and intimidation towards determined and armed counter-revolution must reject all idea of the political supremacy of the working-class and its revolutionary dictatorship. The man who repudiates the dictatorship of the proletariat repudiates the Socialist revolution, and digs the grave of Socialism."

No review can give the remotest idea of the worth of Trotsky's polemic against Kautsky. One can read it several times and not fail each time to enjoy the style and contents of the book. No class-conscious worker can in the least afford to miss reading, studying and enjoying this Marxian classic.

JERSEY CITY, N. J.—Following the ejection of a gang of Erie Railroad strikebreakers from filthy quarters provided for them by the railroad on the piers here, the Erie has secured a temporary injunction from the United States district court restraining the local authorities from entering the road's property or interfering with any of its employees. A hearing on an application for a permanent injunction will be held on July 17.

BOSTON, Mass.—Officials of the New Haven, Boston and Maine, and of the Boston and Albany lines virtually admit that practically no strikers have been persuaded to return to their jobs. Union leaders here assert that within ten days the service on all New England lines will have become seriously crippled because of the lack of skilled and experienced men in the shops. The few strikebreakers the roads have been able to get are with few exceptions, incompetent or entirely untrained.

HORNELL, N. Y.—Protected by the state constabulary, a trainload of strikebreakers from New York City has arrived here at the Erie shops. Forty-eight negroes who were imported earlier in the week to work in the shops have been sent back. They were unable to perform the skilled work properly, and declared they were misinformed by the railroad as to the conditions here.

BOSTON, Mass.—The state minimum wage commission has ordered an average increase of 75 per cent (correct) in the minimum wages of women employed in the laundry establishments of the state. The decree is effective as of July 1.

[illegible]

Wm. F. Dunne—
Noah London

will speak at GARRICK HALL, 507 South 8th Street, Philadelphia, at 8 P. M.

FRIDAY, JULY 14th

DUNNE will give a report of the A. F. of L. National Convention which he attended as a reporter for THE WORKER.

LONDON will speak in Jewish on the activities of the Shop Delegates' League in the Needle trades and other industries.

Admission free! Bring your worker friends!

EXCURSION

given by Philadelphia English Branch, W. P.

SUNDAY, JULY 23rd

Tickets, Adults 60c Children 30c

Palace Steamer "President" will leave Pier 5, Arch St. warf at 9 A. M., returning at 10 P. M.

Buy tickets from comrades at meetings.

Fun, Frolic, Pleasure, Comradeship Assured.

DON'T MISS IT! DON'T MISS IT!

LIBERATOR
OUTDOOR GAMBOL AND COSTUME BALL
SATURDAY, JULY 22th
MIDLAND PARK, GRANT CITY, STATEN ISL.
DOORS OPEN 1:30 P. M.

WATCH THE STARS—Bob Minor, Dunne, Engdahl, Allison, Mike Gold, Gropper, Ben Gitlow, and others in a baseball game between Artists and Writers.

FLOYD DELL, Author of Moon Calf, will hear confessions from ladies only. Liberated, suppressed will join in the whirl.

MIDNIGHT—The contestants for the costume prize will join the march. One hour later the beauty contest will take place.

TWO CLEF CLUB ORCHESTRAS will jazz you off your toes.

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WILL YOU sell five 20 week sub cards for THE WORKER?
WILL YOU make the 25,000 readers campaign a success?
WILL YOU help do what must be done?
YOU WILL!—sign the blank and mail.

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Here is my contribution of $...... toward relief and reconstruction of Soviet Russia.
Name ....
Address ....
City .... State ....

Read "Soviet Russia," our official organ—$2.50 per year.

National Defense Committee Picnic, Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, L. I. Sunday, August 20th, 1922

News of Workers Party Activities [illegible]

Meeting Starts Real Campaign For The Worker

A real beginning was made in the campaign for 25,000 new readers for The Worker Friday night when the conference called by Secretary Weinstone met at 208 East 12th Street. The following were present: Wm. F. Dunne, Labor Editor of The Worker; Elmer T. Allison, Business Manager of The Worker, other comrades and the following delegates from Branches of the Party in Greater New York:

Comrade Amile, Spanish Branch.
Comrade Kupfersmith, Yorkville English.
Comrade Rosen, Brownsville, Engl.
Comrade Zuckerman, Harlem Engl.
Comrade Relter, Queens English.
Comrade Potosky, Bronx English.
Comrade Bernstein, Bronx English.
Comrade Aaronson, Boro Park Engl.
Comrade Undjus, Lithuanian Williamburg.
Comrade Gallup, Harlem Jewish.
Comrade Sacharow, Young Workers League.
Comrade Newman, Young Workers League.
Comrade Gold, West Side.
Comrade Johnson, Finnish B'klyn.
Comrade Sould, Esthonian.
Comrade Hymowitz, Downtown English.

Comrade Weinstone was unable to be present on account of illness.

Comrade Allison was elected chairman. He opened the meeting by stating its purpose, namely: to devise ways and means for increasing the circulation of The Worker in New York City, and further, to organize "Worker Conferences" of delegates from W. P. Branches, Labor Unions and sympathizing organizations to aid in building The Worker.

Comrade Dunne outlined the aims of The Worker and stated that no paper can succeed on its merits alone. It needs to be pushed; therefore, ways must be found for putting The Worker into the hands of the workers outside the Party. At present, he said, only 50 percent of the Party members are subscribers. He explained that only by putting the weekly Worker on a sound basis could a daily be realized.

The following distribution problems were taken up:

1. **Bundles of Workers to the Branches:** Comrade Allison stated that at present there are many difficulties in the way of the effective sale of The Worker thru this means, because branches meet every two weeks, and members get old issues. Also, members who do not attend regularly do not get the Worker at all. He proposed the following motion which was adopted.

EACH MEMBER IS TO TAKE AT LEAST TWO COPIES (IN ADDITION TO THEIR OWN SUBSCRIPTION) FOR SALE TO NON-MEMBERS.

The Branch is to collect from these members weekly and remit to Local. Worker Office to mail papers direct to members and to collect from Local. No returns allowed. Branches are to send lists of those taking bundles and number of copies [illegible] to Local [illegible], these to be forwarded to Worker to be placed on mailing list.

2. **Members' Subscriptions.** Motion proposed and adopted that all English reading members must become subscribers. Each member, foreign speaking as well as English is to be allotted 5 20-week sub-cards to sell to non-members. Branches are to allot [illegible] and remit as sold to Local.

3. **News-Stands:** Comrade Allison informed the delegates that until the time when The Worker can spare $500 to put the paper on all the newsstands in the city, we would have to go along as best we can. A motion was made and adopted that — BRANCHES SHALL DELEGATE MEMBERS TO SOLICIT ORDERS FROM ALL NEWS STANDS IN THEIR DISTRICTS. PAPERS TO BE MAILED DIRECT TO STANDS AND CHARGED BY WORKER OFFICE.

Comrade Housewood suggested that a truck could be hired for one day each week to distribute The Worker to the news-stands on the day they were issued, thus obviating the complaint of newsdealers that they do not get The Worker regularly. Comrade Housewood was instructed to look into the matter, and see whether this can be arranged.

4. **Work in Unions.** Members must thru the labor union nuclei organize the sale of The Worker in their unions. Special workers for this distribution, must be chosen. Appeals should be made in the Unions for support.

5. **Meetings.** Motion proposed and adopted that the arrangement committees of all out-of-door meetings must instruct the chairman or speaker at that meeting to spend five or ten minutes in which to introduce the Worker to the audience—explaining the nature of the paper, reading off some of the headlines and explaining their meaning to the working-class and boosting the sale of The Worker. All branches are to take sufficient copies to cover all public meetings held by the Branch and all other meetings that it is possible to reach. At all open air meetings a committee should be on hand to sell The Worker while the speaker is talking about the paper to the audience.

6. **Conferences.** To be held each two weeks. Labor unions and sympathizing organizations to send delegates. Reports from all delegates to be made to Branches and extension of work to be planned. Meetings are to be held on Friday. The next Conference to be held 8.30 P. M. July 21, at 208 E. 12th St.

Bronx Section F. S. R. To Picnic on July 15th

The Bronx Section of the Friends of Soviet Rusia will run one of the best picnics of the season on July 15. On that date it is expected that the whole population of the Bronx will move into Dickerts Old Point Park, where music, refreshments and dancing will be the outstanding features of a moonlight picnic for the benefit of the starving in Russia.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

RENEWAL SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

HERE'S MY RENEWAL—find enclosed $........ for which renew my subscription to THE WORKER for .... months

Name ....

Address ....

City .... State ....

"The Most Revolutionary Challenge Made in a Court in the United States"

"A COMMUNIST TRIAL"

This pamphlet contains a discussion of Communist principles in the most interesting form—questions and answers, questions by a hostile judge and prosecutor. These are some of the questions asked C. E. Ruthenberg:

What is meant by the word "proletarian"?
What is imperialism?
Explain what you mean by the class struggle?
How do you propose that the workers shall capture the power of the State?
What is the loyal army and navy and police force going to do at that time?
What would become of the President of the United States and the members of congress?
What is the transition period between Capitalism and Communism?

The speech by I. E. Ferguson to the jury contains a keen analysis of the fundamenteal Communist principles and a defense of the right of revolution which makes the whole case for Communism.

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NEW YORK CITY

Lantern Lectures on Road Building at Technical Aid

Under the auspices of the Society of Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, a series of lantern-illustrated lectures on "Highway Construction" will be given in English.

With the advent of commercial trucking the development of highway construction has reached such proportions, that it is competing with the railroads. Russia having the smallest amount of railroad mileage, is in a crying need for highway development. Those of you, who expect to go to Russia should have at least an elementary knowledge of rural road building, and it is the hope that this lecture will be a good starter for same.

The first lecture will take place on Wednesday, July 19th. The doors will open at 8.15 and again at 8.30 for those, who come late. The small admission fee of 10c. will be charged. Tell your friends about these interesting lectures.

Young Workers League Will Mark Day for International Youth

International Youth Day, Sunday, September 3rd, is to be observed thruout the world by the revolutionary youth. The Young Workers League of America is preparing far-reaching plans to observe this event in the United States.

The five thousand members of the Young Workers League are now busy advertising this affair. Circulars and posters are being issued by the national organization.

Many branches of the Workers Party have already indicated their enthusiasm for cooperation in the arrangement of this event with the Y. W. L. The national organization of the Workers Party also declares that it will aid the Y. W. L. in making this greatest of events for the revolutionary youth of the world a real success.

Speakers are to be routed with a message especially for the American youth.

"I don't see why this event should not stir the vast masses of the proletarian youth in this country," stated Martin Abern, national secretary of the League when he gave out the information regarding International Youth Day.

Oliver Carlson, editor of the **Young Worker**, says a special edition of this militant paper is in preparation. Every effort is being made to have the International Youth Day (September) issue excel all preceding numbers in interest and value.

One million organized revolutionary young workers thruout the world are to celebrate International Youth Day, Sunday, September 3rd. The Young Workers League of America is the organization in this country which is cooperating with the International Committee that is to conduct this event in all countries.

The purpose of this international demonstration is to show the solidarity of the working class youth, and to call to the attention of all workers the intolerable conditions imposed upon the young.

Masses of literature and advertising matter apprising the young workers in this country of this great event have been sent out by the National Executive Committee of the Young Workers League to its many branches in the U. S. and Canada. Word has been received that the organized Mexican and South American working class youth is to participate in this demonstration.

Speakers have been routed to carry the message of the Young Workers League to the American working class youth.

A special edition of the **Young Worker**, the official organ of the Y. W. L. of A. is being prepared especially for the occasion.

The work is being conducted from the offices of the League, Room 9, 1145 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Women's Organization Aids Women in Jail

The Joint Board of the Socialist Consumers' League is organizing a protest campaign against the imprisonment of Minnie Kalnin and Anna Leisman of the Bronx. They are planning women's meeting thruout the city. To encourage the branches affiliated with this body into active participation in the work of liberating these women, the Joint Board of the Socialist Consumers' League donated twenty-five dolalrs to the National Defense Committee. Here is an example which similar organizations in New York City might well follow.

City Convention of Local New York, Sunday, July 23

The convention of the branches of the entire city to nominate candidates for the Fall election and to elect delegates to the District convention, to be held a week later, will convene at the Labor Temple, July 23, 10 A. M. This will be the first step in preparation for the coming campaign. The Local expects to put forward a full ticket in the campaign and to make a vigorous campaign against the capitalist and reformist parties.

More than 100 delegates will assemble, to discuss the problems of the workers as well as to put up their representatives for conducting a period of intense propaganda and organization work among the workers during the parliamentary campaign. The agenda which has been sent to the branches for discussion cover the most important problems which will find expression in the platforms to be adopted at the District Convention on July 29. Branch delegates to the city convention are to bring in recommendations for candidates in the territory covered by the branch. All credentials of delegates are to be in the Local Office no later than July 15.

Picnic, Summer Festival of Local Greater New York, July 30, Dickert's Park

The Summer Festival of the Workers Party to take place at Dickert's Park on July 30, bids fair to be the biggest event of the season.

Arrangements have been made for a great day of sport for the comrades and sympathisers of the Workers Party. Mass singing, atheletic exhibitions, games for men, women and children will be only a few of the features arranged by the Local. Some unusual events for the occasion are in the making and will attract numbers. Save the Day—for great sport—Local New York Day—July 30.

Tickets for the festival can be purchased from the Local Office of the Freiheit, Volkszeitung, National Office W. P., 1347 Boston Road, Bronx, Harlem, 143 E. 103rd St., Williamsburg Lorimer Hall, Ten Eyck and Lorimer Streets. 40c. in advance, 50 cents at gate.

Free Speech Fight Exciting Stamford

The Workers Party is waging a free speech fight at Stamford.

On the evening of July 1, Kaplan was arrested while attempting to hold a meeting in the public square after being refused a permit by the town clown who was apparently acting under orders from the borough president—owner of a department store catering to the elite of Stamford.

After spending the night in jail, Kaplan was taken before the magistrate and his bail fixed at $100.

Elmer Allison, business manager of "The Worker," tried to hold a meeting in Stamford on Tuesday night and was likewise arrested after a lengthy argument with the authorities. He was released on $100 bail.

No meetings of this kind have been held in Stamford for four years, yet the crowd was unmistakably with the speakers.

The cases will be fought by the party on the issue of free speech, the charge being the violation of a city ordinance against holding street meetings without a permit.

New Little Paper with Real Fighting Spirit

A little four page 6 x 9 Russian paper has made its appearance in Chicago. It is published monthly by the Russian District Committee of the Workers Party of America and promises to be one of the fighting papers of the party. It is sold at one cent per copy and comrades who can make use of a good propaganda paper in the Russian language are urged to order a bundle for distribution.

For sample copies send a two cent stamp to "Rabochy Listak," Room 307, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

"THE JOBLESS" APPEARS

The Unemployment Council of New York City, 201 W. 13th St., has started the publication of "The Jobless," a four-page publication with a wealth of good reading matter. The mission of "The Jobless," as stated in the first issue, is "to help organize the unemployed, to link them up with the Labor Unions; and to create a united front of the workers."

TOKIO.—Amalgamation of Japanese trade unions as a means to more effective resistance to the employers is under way here. It is proposed to form a single national labor league of all elements of the labor movement.

[illegible]

[illegible]

A LETTER FROM AN ONLOOKER

Editor, The Worker:—As a comrade in the class-struggle from another land who has found a warm and fraternal welcome from Comrades of the Workers' Party over here, I should like to offer a few thoughts of friendly (and I hope creative) criticism in reference to the Workers' Party and its future tasks.

All comrades will probably agree that the main task of a Workers' Political Party is to build a power machine thru which the working-class will be able to wage its struggle against the exploiters in every field of social life, and ultimately to put forth that effort at the right time so that the transition from the decaying social order of capitalism to the coming social order of Workers' Government may be accomplished with the minimum of suffering and disorder. In short, that the main task of the Workers' Party will be to fit itself to be an efficient instrument to wage the struggle on the part of the wage workers to a triumphal conclusion against the forces of wage slavery and oppression.

To secure this effectiveness the main factor is one of density—the proportion of trained and disciplined party members to the population. Unless this density is of a certain degree such a political party is unable to bring that effective leadership and guidance to the wider masses of the population as is essential to their purpose.

Minimum of One in 300

A density of one in three hundred may be taken as the irreducible minimum for effective action and control, and for this proportion to be reached in the United States means a party membership of at least 350,000 of trained and disciplined workers, thoroly class conscious, who know what they want and how to get it and who have made all preliminary preparation in readiness for such a transition of power from the Boss Class to the Worker Class.

To achieve this irreducible minimum will probably be the main task of the Workers' Party for some time to come.

Without this irreducible minimum being achieved the Workers' Party will be impotent to achieve that destiny which is the object of its existence.

Now this all means tremendous organizing and recruiting campaigns to explain to the Workers the necessity of such a party as the Workers Party, to point out that industrial organization alone cannot achieve the Workers' Emancipation as was exemplified in the failure of the Italian proletariat in 1920, and to attract those elements from the masses of the Proletariat as are best suited to be absorbed into the machine that will alone be able to achieve class emancipation.

Science Evolves Correct Type

As regards rival political parties such as the Socialist Labor Party of America, it is sufficient to point out that they failed completely and fundamentally in attracting anything like the proportion of class conscious workers necessary for their task. They were ineffective. That alone puts them on the scrap heap as failures. Machines are judged by results. Railway engines that will not run and will not get up steam must be improved, fresh types tried and alterations effected. That is the way Science evolves the "right" type of railway engine. To be scientific means to continually experiment, to observe, to deduce, to progress, to proceed from theory to practice, to try out theorums in their practical application, and this applies to scientifis Marxians and scientific students of the class-struggle as it does to chemists or physicists or any other type of scientist.

But size and numbers will of themselves achieve but little. Quality counts equally with quantity. And in this respect such organizing and recruiting campaigns must be paralleled by equal effectiveness in internal organization within the party. Educational circles and classes for newer party members, elimination of uncertain or dangerous elements, a close knitting of the organizational machinery within the party, a complete harmony between the component party, between those entrusted with leadership and the Executive, between the Executive and the District Committees, between the District Committees and the branches, inside the branches themselves in their internal organization, all these details are vital and decisive as to whether the party is a healthy and powerful organism or a weak and impotent one.

Self-Discipline Breeds Effectiveness

Fidelity to the Party, Belief in the Party, a willingly accepted self-discipline to party decisions, all these factors make for effectiveness or impotence.

The second problem that confronts the Workers' Party is in reference to the industrial and unemployed fields.

Workers organized industrially can only exert their strength industrially if they approach 100 per cent. organization. The rapid attainment of 100 per cent. organization in the Trade Unions is therefore one of the first tasks of the Party. A low percentage of workers organized in an even revolutionary union can exert comparatively low industrial strength. Universality of Trade Union Organization should therefore be one of the first goals of the Workers' Party. The subsequent attainment of leadership in the industrial organization and the revolutionising of these organizations is one step further.

Organise the Jobless

As regards the unemployed, their economic position gives them a mental reflex that is decidedly revolutionary. Their organization into unemployment organizations similar to Trade Unions is similarly an urgent task of the Workers' Party. Such organization has been largely achieved in Britain.

The importance of this work within the Trade Unions and the Unemployed—in contact with the larger non-party masses of the workers is so important that every member of the Workers' Party should be compelled to take part in it or leave the Party. Further than that it must be suggested that every party member be compelled to put in a fortnightly report sheet detailing how many hours work have been put in in contact with the non-party masses and how many hours absorbed in purely internal party work—at branch meetings, committees, causes, etc.

The result would be to show I believe that so far as America was concerned the Party tended to feed within itself a state of affairs that can only result in unhealthiness and in a "political scarlet fever" for the Party.

Membership of the Party should, I would suggest, be made conditional to willingness to work for the Party. A mere academic knowledge of the three volumes of "Capital," and of the "Communist Manifesto," a mere adherence to the theoretical program of the Party should not be sufficient to obtain or retain membership.

Eliminate the Dead Wood

Otherwise the Party will carry quantities of useles dead wood such dead wood usually ends its vocation in party disruption, and splits, and all the disorders of internal inaction. The machinery of the Party for the elimination of drones should be drastic.

Unlettered workers who are all out for dictatorship by their class, even if they possess but slight erudition on economics, should be admitted to probationary membership and by study circles and experience within the party machine be developed into class conscious class fighters.

This type of party-trained members will serve the party better than those admitted with preconceived ideas of this or that "ism."

Previous experience in political parties leads one to the conclusion that the "principle of re-call" for all delegates and officials and group leaders by the body electing them leads to the healthiest form of organization and effectually prevent that growling and dissatisfaction with Leaders and Executives that eats out the heart of an organization.

Stick to Open Worker

Finally I believe that one of the main tasks of the Party is to remain legal. International experience has shown that it is overwhelmingly harder to function when driven underground than when legal.

If the core of the Party members is solid and sound and the membership as a whole understand the spirit of the party and have a just conception of its tasks they will not insist on that ultra-revolutionariness in program that only serves to shorten its legal life.

Revolutionists should be prepared to form even goose clubs or sick benefit clubs if that is the only form of organization thru which certain tasks may be achieved.

Meanwhile what of the situation? The vast masses of unemployed which are likely to be swelled in succeeding years as Capitalism nears its final collapse show that the call for a powerful, closely knit, strong and self disciplined Workers Party in America is urgent. Such a party is long overdue. As I leave these shores then my most heartfelt wish is

His Farewell Greeting

"Forward the Workers Party."

In every field where Workers are gathered together, may its members be unceasingly active.

With leadership of the masses as its goal, may the membership win such leadership and deserve such leadership in every phase of the life of the Masses.

Conscious that in every country and every clime, thousands of comrades are equally toiling on the same lines and along similar channels may its membership have the consciousness of the historic triumph of their class ever before them and of the steps to its final achievement.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

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Get your union to order a quantity.
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Unity of Labor As Gompers Sees It

There has already been much comment and there will be more on the action of Gompers in revoking the charter of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646.

Hugh Frayne, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, who performed the task known in union circles as "lifting the charter" refused to give any reasons for the action but it is generally understood that communists were in control of the union and that it was the elimination of the reds from the union that was desired.

This is probably the first time that a union has been expelled from the A. F. of L. for its political leanings and the drastic methods used by officialdom against a little organization without any real economic or voting strength indicates that the communist policy of working within the unions is worrying the same officials who prate so loudly of unity but who do not hesitate to destroy a labor organization as soon as its policies do not suit the reactionary tastes of those who are leading the labor movement to destruction.

As for the communists who have lost their union cards thru the revocation of the charter the experience will probably do them a world of good. The revolution in America is not just around the corner; a union is not and cannot be a political organization; under capitalism a union can only go so far without being destroyed.

This must be learned at whatever cost. To secure control of unions is quite easy in many cases. To make them function one hundred per cent after capturing them is a different matter and something that communists have to do. To court expulsion over minor matters is foolish and in the present state of the labor movement almost criminal.

Not by turning unions into battlegrounds of opposing political parties do communists gain the confidence of the workers but by conducting the affairs of the union better than the standpat leaders can or will.

A jubilant shout will go up now from all those elements who pretend to see the hopelessness of working within the trade union movement. They will draw a mighty moral from this incident with which to bulwark the case of dualism but one and all they will evade the crux of the matter. It is not that working within the unions is a failure as a tactic but that the habit of secession and neglect of the trade union movement of America for "ideal" unions has unfitted many revolutionists for the painstaking work that is required.

The communists of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646 tried to do too much in too short a period.

They will know better next time.

As for Gompers and the gang he represents it is plainer then ever that the unity of labor means to them servile acceptance of things as they are and that they prefer to destroy unions rather than see them turn and face the future instead of the past

---

Now that the slight excitement caused by the personally conducted kidnapping tour of Mr. Bielaski, late of the United States Secret Service, has died down without troops being rushed to the border there is again some talk of recognition of Mexico

---

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KEEP THIS FACT IN MIND—no paper, capitalist or proletarian, can live, can grow unless it is backed by a huge machine which works for its growth night and day.

THE WORKER must have the backing of such a machine. This machine must be composed of the truest comrades who read its pages, who believe in its message to the workers—who are willing to fight for the principles it advocates by securing support for it.

Without such backing THE WORKER can never become the power it should be in the American labor movement. Without this backing it can never become the known mouthpiece of the Workers Party in the knowledge of the American workers. And it will never fulfill its function as an exponent of communist principles until it is read by these workers.

Educational newspapers like THE WORKER do not grow because they are well edited. They do not grow because the principles they teach are correct. They do not grow because they are the official organs of one or another element of the revolutionary movement in more or less close agreement with the world communist movement. They do not grow because of their typographical appearance nor of their cartoons or artistic appearance.

There is BUT ONE METHOD which will develop THE WORKER into the power it should be. That is: AN ARMY OF BACKERS WHO WILL WORK FOR IT—UNCEASINGLY! Let that fact sink home. It is the fruit of years in the management of this paper. That is what every workers' newspaper management has learned by bitter experience. And, because it is a fact, it points the way in which to BUILD.

WE ARE BUILDING NOW

Because we recognize this fact, because we know it is true, we are determined to build this machine now. It is the only way to succeed. It is the only way THE WORKER can be fashioned into the fighting weapon of the workers, which it must become.

"The time is not yet for independence," President Harding told a delegation of Filipinos, who have been waiting for their liberation for more than twenty years thru both democratic and republican administrations. Harding inferred that the Filipinos might grow to like exploitation under the American flag. And if they don't they might be shot into liking it, this last conclusion being our own.

Collins and Griffith are winning much praise from the organs of imperialism these days. They have become the saviors of civilization in Ireland almost over night much the same as General Smuts did in South Africa. British imperialists are happy for their long nights of worry are over. They have found Irishmen to do the work that was too dirty for the scum of the London slums.

We hold no brief for a fanatical nationalism nor do we believe that Irish workers would be exploited less in a republic than under the Free State but certainly we prefer the men who choose to die for their idea of freedom to those who under the guise of saving Ireland perform the bloody tasks of British imperialism and murder their fellow-countrymen in order to prove to foreign masters that they too can rule.

Irish labor has lost its opportunity. It should have used its power for a free Ireland—an Ireland free from both English and Irish capitalists—but its leaders have played the old, old game of emancipating themselves and leaving the membership to the tender mercies of the employers who have no country.

Pressure From Below

The gigantic strike movements now under way in the United States are almost wholly without precedent in American industrial history and they can mean only one thing—that American labor is slowly learning the lesson that strength only comes from struggle.

The shop crafts are giving a wonderful demonstration of solidarity and from the "Big Four" brotherhoods, with all its characteristic regard for contract technicalities, comes the announcement that their members will refuse to run trains with "faulty equipment." It is no wonder that there is some hysteria in capitalist quarters; whether the announcement of the brotherhoods presages much or little in real action is beside the question.

The announcement itself is unparallelled from a source that has hitherto been regarded as the last bulwark of conservative unionism. The employers have lost their grip on the unions in two basic industries—coal mining and transportation—the workers are in revolt and things are never again going to be quite the same despite the efforts of Gompers and his henchmen to preserve the status quo.

Officialdom in the unions is feeling the pressure from below. Nothing else explains what is happening in labor circles to-day.

Democracy's Tender Spot

The capitalist press is much excited over a leaflet, signed by the Communist Party of America, is said to have been distributed to the striking railroaders. The Times was kind enough to the communists to reprint most of the leaflet in a box on its first page and thereby give it a circulation of several hundred thousand more than it would otherwise have had.

Perusing the version given by The Times gives us the impression that the authors of the circular have merely made a digest of the strike stories carried by the capitalist press, incorporated it in a circular and therefrom drawn certain conclusions perfectly apparent to any worker who stops to think.

Certainly there can be no quarrel with the statement that the government is siding with the railroads and against the strikers. If we remember correctly it was the action of a governmental body—the Railway Labor Board—in reducing wages that precipitated the strike, neither can any fault be found with the charge that the courts and military forces are used against the strikers. These two things are matters of daily record and the capitalist press surely has no just cause of complaint because some persons take the trouble to call the attention of striking railroaders to the fact that the government is exercising the function which the patrioteers so loudly proclaim a fundamental duty, namely, the protection of property rights.

In this disturbed condition which the nation finds itself it is undoubtedly productive of a certain amount of discontent among poverty-stricken workers, forced to sacrifice for a time their scanty incomes that they may retain some small measure of their hard-won privileges, to point out that government exists solely in the interests of one class but the truth of the statement cannot be successfully challenged.

Personally we doubt if anything more than a careful reading of the accounts of the dispatch of troops to the strike zones and the issuing of injunction after injunction restraining strikers from everything except breathing is necessary to convince an intelligent worker that government in America is nothing more than an efficient instrument for the suppression of the efforts of the workers to secure control over their jobs.

Without this control slavery is a fact and, as in their every attempt to escape from this condition of servitude, the workers are met at all times by the various government agencies nothing is plainer than that capitalist government is an institution for perpetuating slavery and protecting those who profit from a slave system.

Judging from the hysterical comments of the capitalist press, the Communist Party of America seems to have put its finger on a very sore spot.

The Vatican has recently placed all the works of Anatole France on the Index Expurgatorious; no reasons were given, says the dispatch. Our own opinion is that some one around the Vatican has just read "Penguin Island."

This Capitalist World

By EMIL LYON

The capitalist system of production has broken down. Mines mills and factories are idle. Millions of workers are unemployed. They are denied the opportunity to work and produce wealth. Suffering and hunger stalks thru the whole capitalist world and millions of people exist in a state of semi-starvation.

The Capitalist World which in 1914 boasted of its great wealth, boasted of its gigantic powers of prodution, boasted of its smoothly running system of business, of the power and security of its governments, is sinking into decay.

Hundreds of billions of its wealth has been destroyed; its industries produce haltingly or have come to a stop altogether; its financial system is tottering, its governments try one desperate trick after another to maintain their power in the face of the wrath of the suffering masses.

Victorious and vanquished countries present a picture that is different only in the degree of misery and suffering which is the lot of the workers. Central Europe is a mass of destitute and hungry men, women and children. In France, Italy, England and the United States an army of workers, numbering millions in each instance, have no work and daily come closer to the same conditions.

Altho insecurity, unemployment and poverty were the lot of the workers in 1914, a comparison of the Capitalist World then and now gives the impression that a great blight has fallen upon it, a blight which shows itself in decaying industries, reduced production, starving millions, bitter struggles between capitalists and workers, and general insecurity.

Capitalism Its Own Grave-Digger

A blight has fallen upon the capitalist system. That blight, which is closing its factories, destroying production, throwing millions into idleness and threatening to engulf its people in an abyss of misery and suffering, is not something which has fallen upon it from heaven.

It is not a superior force from outside of itself which is working its destruction; it is the laws of capitalist production which are bringing its downfall and decay.

The whole system of capitalist production rests upon the robbery and enslavement of the workers.

Capitalist ownership of industry means that the workers cannot secure employment, cannot work and earn the means of supplying themselves with food, clothing and homes to live in, without the consent of the capitalists.

Capitalist ownership of industry enthrones the capitalist owners as so many petty kings and czars, each with a group of workers ranging from a few hundreds to tens of thousands whose right to life is in the capitalists' hands thru their control of the workers' opportunity to earn a living.

Through the exploitation of the workers the capitalists continuously amass new capital. The profits which they receive from industry are so vast that they are unable to consume them, no matter how riotously and luxuriously they live. These profits become new capital and are reinvested in industry. Through this process new industries are built up and the machinery of production increased. More goods are produced. The capitalists receive more profits from their new investments. Superficially it might seem that this process is wonderfully fine for the capitalists and that it might go on forever, but actually it contains the seeds of destruction of the capitalist system.

The canker at the heart of this beautiful process of making the capitalists richer is that the capitalists must sell the goods which capitalist industry produces before they receive their profits. The workers who are robbed of their product can only buy part of them. The capitalist class and its hangers-on are too few in number to consume the remainder.

Produce Only for Profits

In the United States today the existing industrial organization has powers of production which could produce enough of everything needed to supply the whole people with everything necessary for a high standard of life—good food, good clothing, good homes, education and recreation—but many industries are closed down, others are producing at part capacity, because the capitalists will permit the workers to produce only if they can make a profit.

The taking of that profit makes it impossible for the workers to buy the goods they produce with their wages.

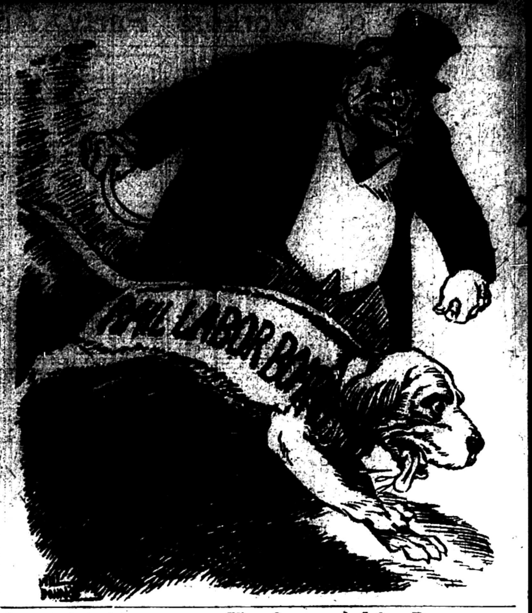
The capitalists cannot sell their goods at home. They cannot be sold in foreign markets because of conditions which capitalism has produced.

Consequently, for a year, between four and six million workers have been condemned to idleness with resulting privations and suffering for themselves and those dependent upon their earning power.

The Plight of Imperialism

The capitalists must sell their goods. In the countries where capitalism has reached a high state of development the surplus goods which cannot be sold in the home market become predominantly tools, machinery, rails, locomotives, the products of iron and steel. Coincident with this high development of capitalism it becomes increasingly difficult for the capitalists to invest their new capital profitably in home industry. Thus we find in the highly developed capitalist countries a surplus of a certain kind of goods and a surplus of capital.

The necessity of selling these goods, the desire of the capitalists to invest their new capital so as to earn still greater profits, develops the policy of imperialism, the blight of which lies upon the whole Capitalist World today.



The Story of John Brown

By JEANETTE GERSHANICK

Seldom has history granted an accused man the opportunity of being tried under more dramatic circumstances than was given to William Blizzard and the other coal miners of West Virginia indicted for treason.

In the self-same court house, at Charles Town, W. Va., 63 years ago, an old grey-haired man was tried under the same charges, treason against the state.

Sixty-three years ago, John Brown translated his inveterate hatred for slavery into action. Last year, Blizzard, discovering that West Virginia had become a slave state as of old, attempted to bring it back to a semblance of justice.

John Brown was a descendant of Mayflower stock. While quite a youngster, he was staying with a slave holder on whose plantation he met a young slave of his own age. He became very fond of him and considered him his equal in every way.

But while young Brown was treated with respect and every kindness, the young slave was whipped and maltreated for little or no cause. Brown's sense of justice was aroused and from those days, he became a staunch abolitionist.

The abolition movement was no more unified in its tactics than the socialist movement of today. There were Wendell Phillips and Emerson and others who believed that the best method was the slow one of education and agitation.

John Brown did not share these views. He admitted the value of agitation but he also wanted action. He based his action on a great law in history—namely, that when a system of society becomes unprofitable to the ruling class, it is discarded.

With this principle in view, he set out to make slavery unprofitable to the slave-owners. We find him busy in Kansas during the troublous days of 1855. And when he was driven from there, he was secretly organizing slaves in the neighboring states.

A few years later he proposed a scheme to some well-known abolitionists of the North. He would secure a retreat in the mountains of Virginia where he could receive slaves who had run away from their masters and then help them to reach Canada. The intellectual abolitionists looked askance upon such a project and refused to support him.

One wealthy philanthropist of New York, Gerrit Smith, gave him some money and helped him to carry out his plan.

Brown rented a farm near Harpers' Ferry, a Government arsenal. Here he received ammunition and weapons with which to arm a band of followers. His plan was to seize this arsenal and use it as a rallying point for the slaves and thus organize them so that they could escape from slavery. He believed that by raiding the plantations, the slaves would leave and seek refuge at the arsenal.

His sons who had taken a solemn vow to him that they would work for the destruction of slavery, knew nothing of their father's plans. When he finally told them, they tried to dissuade him because of the dangers with which the scheme was fraught. Brown replied that every attempt to grasp freedom meant the loss of one's life but there was no better cause for which one could die.

He cautioned them against the use of more violence than was absolutely necessary. With his band of nineteen, he took the arsenal and for three hours he held it without one drop of blood having been shed. It was not until the troops came in that shooting began. And then, John Brown, the father, had to behold one son dead and the other dying. With one hand on the pulse of his dying son and the other on his gun, he gave orders to his men and refused to yield. Soon, however, his dogged will and perseverence gave way before the numbers of troops and he was taken prisoner.

Undaunted and confident of his cause, believing that he had done what he thought best but little knowing the real significance of his act for it was left to history to prove this, he accepted the verdict "to hang."

John Brown was hanged. In the sixty-three years that have passed, the execution has found its place in the history of the fight for freedom of oppressed peoples. In his day he was called wild-eyed fanatic, and insane on the subject of slavery. Every movement of the past and present for the liberation of mankind must have its John Brown's. They must go hand-in-hand with the pamphleteers and parlor propagandists.

What Emerson said of John Brown can well apply to the present. "I wish we might have health enough to know virtue when we see it and not cry with the fools 'Madman!' when a hero passes."

Soviet Economic Forms

By NIKOLAI BUKHARIN

In the event of our great historical strife being decided in favor of the proletariat, the capitalist groups inserted into our system of economy will objectively have played the part of the capitalist expert, and against their will they will have worked in favor of the working class.

The multiplicity of the economical forms in our republic is one of the fundamental influences of our economic life, and has always to be taken into consideration.

Therefore, in treating the question of the part to be played by the trade-unions under the conditions of the economic policy one has to consider before all the variety of our economic forms.

It is evident that the tasks and the methods of the trade unions are dependent on the kind of economic form.

In the same way as the forms of enterprise vary in many ways from proletarian state enterprises, the task of the trade union varies from its specially organizational part in the state factories, up to strike funds and strikes in private capitalist enterprises.

The growing multiplicity of the economic forms determines the growing multiplicity of the tasks of the unions.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

For the Worker: One [illegible] One Foe! One Front! One Victory!

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

[illegible]

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ASKS FOR WAR ON MINERS

GOVERNMENT ESPOUSES COAL BARONS' CAUSE; HARDING URGES MILITARY FOR SCABS

Trade Union Delegates Fight for United Front with W. P. in S. P. Conference

The Socialist Party and Farmer-Labor Party of New York City staged a love-feast last Saturday and Sunday for the purpose of achieving unity in the coming campaign for jobs, but their love-feast was rudely disturbed by trade union delegates in the conference who wanted a real United Front of Labor.

In order to give their conference the appearance of a move toward indpendent political action by the organized workers of New York City, the S. P. and F.-L. P. sent invitations to the unions to send delegates to their conference. Most of the delegates who came from the unions were members of the S. P. and F.-L. P. who had succeeded in getting their local unions to send them to the conference.

In addition to these, however, there were about a score of delegates who had come to the conference in the hope that it was to be the beginning of a real political United Front of Labor. These delegates ame to the conference instructed by their unions to demand that the Workers Party and all other political organizations of the workers be invited to send delegates. It was this demand which rudely disturbed the nice little love-feast which the S. P. and F.-L. P. had arranged.

(Continued on Page Two)

Tragedy of Irish Labor

Postgate Sees Dark Days Ahead for Irish Workers; Middle Class Backed by Britain

By R. W. Postgate

(Written especially for The Worker)

LONDON, July.—The conflict between the Free Staters and the Republicans in Ireland is probably quite the most disastrous thing that has ever happened to the revolutionary movement in that country.

Yellow Leaders Betray Larkin

The revolutionary working-class elements in Ireland are not strong. The Communist Party is small in numbers and woefully inexperienced. The official labor movement led by Tom Johnson is reformist and reactionary. The timidity and irresolution of the trade union officials is partly concealed by their nationalism, but a very brief acquaintance with them shows that the spirit of the old Irish Tansport Workers' Union has disappeared.

No more striking instance of this has perhaps occurred than the quiet dropping of Jim Larkin's name from the list of labor candidates. There was no question but that Larkin's return was ardently desired by the mass of the Irish workers. There was no question, either, but that the officials of the I. T. W. U. were most apprehensive of the effect that his presence would have upon their followers. His name, therefore, quietly disappeared.

Workers Divided

In the struggle between O'Connor and Collins the workers were thus found hopelessly divided. Behind Collins, no doubt, were all

(Continued on Page Six)

Amalgamation!

The Need of the Hour for the Sixteen Standard Railway Unions; a Practical Plan is Proposed

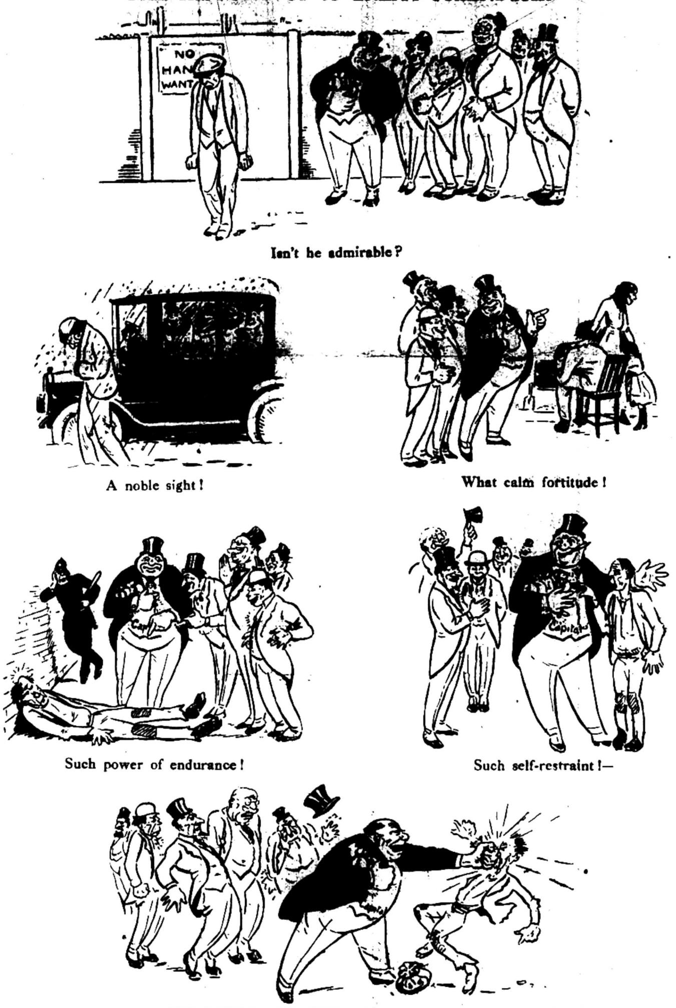
(Continued from last week)

Problem of Dues and Benefits

The departmental form of organization would also solve thoroly the problem of union benefits or insurance, which we hear urged so often as an insuperable obstacle to amalgamation. There would be no pressing reason why this insurance, and the dues which are so closely related to it, should be standardized and made the same for all classes of workers. On the contrary, after establishing a basic rate of dues to cover the fundamental activities of the union, it would be not only practical but advisable to have different rates of insurance and dues prevailing in the several departments, according to the workers' ability to pay and to the customs and traditions of their respective trades. This could be accomplished readily by setting up a special office section to manage all the union's insurance features and to supervise the varying schedules in the several departments, or possibly sub-departments. Due to more economical management, the amalgamated union could furnish better and cheaper insurance than is now the case. The whole thing would be a simple business matter, much simpler in fact than that which is daily carried on by insurance companies everywhere. Without any special technical difficulty, these companies operate vast systems of insurance involving millions of beneficiaries and hundreds of rates and premiums. To say that railroad Labor cannot do as much with its comparatively simple insurance problem and to urge that the latter is an insoluble objection to amalgamation, is to put a mean value indeed upon the abilities of the workers. It means that we rail-

(Continued on Page Three)

THE HISTORY OF A GREAT FRIENDSHIP



Isn't he admirable?

A noble sight!

What calm fortitude!

Such power of endurance!

Such self-restraint!—

THE DAMNED BOLSHEVIK! HE'S GONE ON STRIKE!

Miners Not Fooled by Crafty Plan

Following the refusal of the United Mine Workers of America to commit suicide by submitting their grievance to a commission which could outvote them 8 to 3, President Harding has sent a message to twenty-eight governors of states where coal is mined which in fact, if not in words, declares war on the striking miners.

The proposal for the "impartial" commission stated that it was to be composed of three representations of the coal owners, three of the miners and five representing the "American people."

The experience that the railway-men are now having with an "impartial" board on which are only three representatives of the public has furnished the miners with an exceedingly accurate instrument with which to measure the benefits labor can derive by putting itself at the mercy of these camouflaged employer's instruments.

Coal Owners Accept

It is noticeable that the majority of the operators in the bituminous fields and all the anthracite operators accepted the President's proposition. They could afford to, knowing that the first action of the proposed board would be to order district agreements which, after all, is what the coal mine owners really want.

The miners refused to fall into the rap and now face the beginning of he real fight. With the promise of full government backing contained n Harding's message to the gover-

(Continued on Page Three)

A. C. W. Plan Praised By Karl Radek

By KARL RADEK

The Second and 2½ Internationals are constantly discussing the question of whether they should or should not demand the recognition of the Soviet Power.

What does the recognition of the Soviet Government mean? The King of Abyssinia and the Emperor of Annam as well as Nicholas II were recognized by every "civilized country." But the gentlemen of the Second and 2½ Internationals almost look upon themselves as upon heroes because they actually decided to demand the recognition of the Soviet Power. Legal recognition means actual relations with Russia, and no matter with what hatred the capitalists look upon the first proletarian government, they must recognize it, and they do recognize it for the simple reason that they are in need of trade with Russia. Trade with Russia is impossible on a large scale without definite and binding treaty relations with the Soviet Government.

(Continued on Page Three)

ONE BORN EVERY MINUTE

ATHENS, Greece.—If King Constantine can have his way, he will soon fit out an expedition to down the Bolsheviks. The occasion for Constantine's resolution was furnished by the Russian anti-Bolshevist emigres, who held a celebration in the great hall of the academy with the King present.

CARPENTERS WAKE UP

OMAHA.—Carpenters' Local 427, the largest and oldest in this city, voted unanimously to vacate its hall to make way for the W. Z. Foster meeting to be held here August 8.

The St. Louis central body recently refused the use of its hall for a Foster lecture.

GRABLE TO GET HIS

President Grable of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Workers faces revolt in his organization as a result of his failure to call the strike voted for by 90 per cent of the membership.

A strong movement for his removal has begu-

"OUR" COUNTRY

SEATTLE.—Thirty-five Chinese seamen who regard America as a land of promise, tried to escape from the Silver State, a shipping board vessel, recently, while in port. Armed with revolvers and iron bars, officers herded the crew back to its quarters, formerly occupied by American seamen, who are now jobless.

Workers Party Issues Call for Convention Beginning August 28

By decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, a national convention will be held in Chicago, beginning Monday, August 28th, 1922.

The convention will consist of 75 delegates to be apportioned to the districts on the basis of dues stamps sold during the months of March, April, May and June.

The expenses of the convention will be met by an assessment of $50.00 to each district for each delegate the district is entitled to send to the convention. The $50.00 for each delegate must be remitted to the National Office prior to the date of the convention or paid to the finance committee of the convention at the time credentials are presented. From the fund thus created delegates will be paid their railroad fare and other expenses will be met. Districts may decide upon the method of raising this fund in accordance with the best plan for each district.

Provision Covering Election of Delegates

The party constitution makes the following provisions for the election of delegates:—

Article VI, Section 4. Delegates to the national convention shall be elected by district conventions. Branches in organized cities shall elect delegates to a city convention which in turn elects delegates to the district convention. The number of delegates to which each branch is entitled shall be decided by the Central Executive Committee according to the membership as above. When there is no City Central Committee the branch shall elect delegates directly to the district convention.

Section 3, of the same article provides . . . . . Delegates shall be apportioned to the districts according to membership based upon average dues paid for the period of four months prior to the call for the convention. The district shall apportion the number to be elected by the city conventions on the same basis.

Election shall begin in the branches beginning July 25th and districts conventions must be held and the delegates to the national convention elected not later than August 15.

Districts Organizers should at once make preparations for the election of delegates in their district in accordance with the constitutional provisions above.

Agenda of the convention will be sent to the districts before the date specified for the beginning of the elections and will also be published in party papers.

Fraternally yours,
C. E. Ruthenberg,
Executive Secretary

Sack's Russian Bureau Follows Bakhmetieff Into Deepest Oblivion

By HARRY GODFREY

(Federated Press Staff Correspond.)

NEW YORK.—The socalled Russian information bureau which for five years has spewed misinformation from sumptuous offices in the Woolworth building against the Russian soviet government, is no more.

Quietly without a word of warning this fountain-head of czarist propaganda in the United States has packed up and stored its papers, and no longer will the newspapers of the United States be favored with its carefully concocted yarns about the "tottering" soviet government.

A. J. Sack, who thruout the existence of the bureau, has rejoiced in the title of its director, isn't a bit discouraged, according to a statement he gave out when the bureau closed its doors. Russia's salvation still is on the way, the statement says, and "every moment brings us nearer to the realization of the aim for which generations of the best representatives of the Russian people have fought and died."

Sack's fighting and dying has been conducted mostly from chairs in front of mahogany desks in New York's most expensive office building, but the thousands of envenomed words his bureau has caused to be printed in American newspapers against the Russian government have had a great deal to do with creating and maintaining the public opinion to support the vindictive policy of the state department against Russia.

It would take, probably, a statistician working overtime for many days to compute the number of times the Russian information bureau has had the Russian government on its last legs; the number of times it has had the soviets on the verge of being overthrown; the number of times it has shown Lenin and Trotsky to be tools of Germany; the number of times it has had Kolchak and Yudenitch and Wrangel and the rest at the gates of Petrograd and Moscow.

Union Delegates Fight for W. P.

(Continued from Page One)

Conference a Cut and Dried Affair

All the details of the conference seem to have been agreed upon by the Socialist and Farmer-Labor Party in advance. A speech by A. Lefkowitz of the F.-L. P. opened the conference. Lefkowitz' speech was in the approved, flamboyant style of political oratory, akin to the Fourth of July speeches of the politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties with labor and its needs as the subject.

When Lefkowitz concluded Algernon Lee, of the S. P., was elected chairman and a credential committee was appointed. This credential committee quickly brought back its report showing that almost all that there is of the Socialist and Farmer-Labor Party in New York City had appointed themelves delegates: The Socialists had 148 delegates; the Farmer-Labor Party 2; about a hundred additional members of the S. P. and F.-L. P. were present as delegates from unions and about 25 trade union delegates who were not affiliated with either of the two parties calling the conference.

A little flurry was caused by the recommendation of the credential committee that delegates elected by the Paola Zion and the World War Veterans be seated a fraternal delegates only. The conference after a little discussion decided that it wouldn't be hurt by giving the representatives of these organization the status of full delegates.

The positions as officials of the convention had been settled in advance by the two parties running the conference, and it took but a few minutes to pass around the permanent chairmanship, vice-chairmanship and secretaryship of the convention. In order to save the face of the trade unionists present one of the two vice-chairmanship was awarded to the trade union group, and A. Shiplacoff, erstwhile Socialist representative in the state legislature and former member of the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party was elected to represent the trade unionist in the official family of the convention.

Try to Evade United Front Issue

No sooner was the conference organized than Max Zukofsky of Millinery Workers Union No. 1 arose to offer a resolution that in order that a real United Front of Labor be established on the political field that the Workers Party, the Socialist Labor Party and all other workers political and industrial organizations be invited to send delegates.

Chairman Algernon Lee immediately began jockeying in order to prevent the conference from going on record on the issue thus created. By a parliamentary trick he interpreted the motion to be a motion to suspend the rules to consider the question raised, thereby cutting off all debate. Had he merely ruled the motion out of order Delegate Zukofsky could have appealed from the decision and gained the floor to speak upon the matter.

Following Lee's ruling one of the Socialist delegates rose to move to lay the motion to suspend the rule on the table, thus making the cutting off of discussion doubly sure. This was carried.

In apologizing for the action of the conference after the motion was carried Chairman Lee said that the motion to take from table would be in order after the election of committee, or a resolution to extend the invitation might be introduced thru the resolution committee, indicating the purpose to dodge the issue raised by the union delegates until too late to make the invitation if extended of any importance, since the work of the conference would be over.

Conference Forced To A Vote

Under the rules representation on the various conference committees was divided equally between the S. P. F. L. P. and the trade union group. The S. P. and F. L. P. came prepared with slates covering their representation on the committees and the elections of committees settled into a struggle between the S. P. and F. L. P. to elect members of their respective organizations who were present as delegates from the union, with the S. P. getting rather the best of it.

No sooner was the election of committees over than delegates Zukofsky rose once more to offer his motion. This time he had determined not to be tricked by Lee's interpretation of his motion, but proposed to insist upon a ruling on it as presented and to appeal and gain the floor if it was ruled out of order.

Evidently realizing that the issue could not be side-tracked and that it would remain a thorn in the side of the conference as long as it was not settled, Chairman Lee suggested that the conference might as well face it at once. After some hesitancy on the part of the S. P. delegates it was so decided, and a half hour assigned to debate the motion.

Trade Unionist Fight For Workers Party

The debate on the motion resolved itself into a struggle between the Socialists and Farmer-Laborites on one side fighting against the independent trade union delegates who wanted the Workers Party invited to the conference so that a beginning might be made in establishing a United Front in which all workers' organizations would be represented.

Delegate Zukofsky of the Millinery Workers, Delegate Harry Berlin of the Dress and Waist Makers, Delegate Walcovitz of the I. L. G. W. No. 22, Delegate Sperer of the Technical Workers and Workers Union made strong argument for the invitation to the Workers Party. They pointed out that the conference as it stood was not a United Front of Labor, but merely a combination of two parties. They asked the S. P. and F.-L. P. delegates why they were afraid of the Workers Party. They pointed out that the Workers Party had the support of large number of the local trade unions, and that by keeping the Workers Party out of the conference they were making a United Front impossible because the Workers Party with the support of these union, would carry on its own campaign.

Harry Weinberger of the Farmer-Labor Party also appealed for real unity.

James O'Neal of the Socialist Party, A. Lefkowitz of the Farmer-Labor Party, Louis Waldman, and others, responded with bitter attacks upon the Communists and the Third International. O'Neal declared that the purpose of the Communists in creating a United Front was to increase their own strength—thereby admitting that in a contest between the Right and Left in a United Front grouping the Communists would gain strength.

Lefkowitz made an impassioned appeal to keep the Communists out. He didn't want the love-feast disturbed by these rude people who are not satisfied with fine words, but want action in the interest of the working people. Waldmann also voiced the Socialist fear of the Communists.

When the vote was taken it was found that the Socialists and Farmer-Laborites had voted solidly against inviting the Workers Party, while the independent trade union delegates voted for such action, the vote being 25 for the motion and 204 against.

The question of inviting the S. L. P. was voted on separately immediately following and the first voted in the motion to invite carrying, but the S. P. hastily marshalled their forces and secured a reconsideration, which resulted in the defeat of the motion.

Organize American Labor Party

With the troublesome question of the Communists out of the way the conference went peaceably on its way, nominating a full ticket for all the political jobs in Greater New York and adopting a meaningless milk-and-water platform. The name under which the campaign will be made is that of the "American Labor Party", but labor will undoubtedly be as conspicuous by its absence from the party as it has been in the case of similar parties in the past.

DES MOINES, Ia. It is reported from Clarion, Ia., that striking shop and car men at that point Saturday drove all strikebreakers out of town. They were told to keep going and not come back. The last seen of many of them was as they cut their was thru corn fields in a general direction away from town.

The Chicago Great Western Railway Co. has annulled all its way freights for an indefinite period. Rock Island train crews are having a hard time with their power at Valley Junction terminal.

In the Coal Fields

A wave of indignation suffused the capitalist press over the driving out of scabs and gun men in the coal mines of Herrin, Illinois. Will such tactics are the instinctive retaliations of men driven to desperation by long continued suppression carefully hidden. A letter from one of our members describes one of the daily occurrences in the strikefield a comparatively minor matter that is multiplied by the thousands every week by the hirelings of the coal operators.

"Here is a little news for The Worker. A West Moreland Coal Company deputy went out on a public road and clubbed a striking coal miner over the head, knocking him unconscious.

"While the man was bleeding like a stuck pig, the deputy carried him over on the company grounds and then arrested him for trespassing.

"We went to the sheriff only to be told that we had to do just what the deputies want us to do as these deputies had as much power as a sheriff.

"On any excuse they have us arrested and there is no chance for an honest trial, we just have to pay our fines or go to jail."

Scab Crews Carried on Mail Cars

By LAURENCE TODD.

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.— Strikebreakers are being shipped from point to point by the railroad companies in "United States Mail" cars which are legally not mail cars at all. The postoffice department had made no sign of protest against this misuse of its name.

Not one instance of actual interference with the mails has been reported from anywhere in the country during the railroad strike and no violence toward any postal employe has occurred.

Harry Shore, chief clerk to the second assistant postmaster general, in charge of railway mail affairs, acknowledged that the statement broadcasted by the postoffice department on the word of a railroad official, some days since, that a carload of "mail clerks" had been taken from a mail car by strikers, was utterly false. He said it appeared that the men were "railroad employes," probably strikebreakers, and that they were riding in a car which might have been marked "United States Mail," but which was not at that time in mail service. No law is violated if a car which has no postoffice employe on board is used as a passenger or freight car.

"We are in touch with our members, and we have not received any report of even a single case of interference with the mails during this strike," said H. W. Strikland, general secretary-treasurer, National Railway Mail Assn. "Of course the lack of locomotives prevents the moving of occasional mail cars, but that is not interference with the mails. Nobody in the mail service has been threatened, and no mail has been threatened or injured."

Postmaster General Work, who is a political protege of the Guggenheim-Rockefeller interest in Colorado, has issued a statement claiming that "if it should happen thatevery mail train thruout the United States would cease to run, the department would continue to transport the mails thruout the country by motor truck and airplane. It is estimated that two planes could carry all the first class mail between Washington and New York City. As now equipped the postoffice department planes can carry 30,000 pounds of mail at one flight."

The fact is that these planes have been carrying 500 pounds each, and that about 20 tons a day is the first class mail traffic between New York and Washington.

LOCOMOTIVES GO BAD

By LAURENCE TODD

(Federated Press Staff Correspond.)

WASHINGTON.—With the railroad strike sweeping the country like wildfire, the interstate commerce commission finds itself under entreaty from railroad corporations to violate the locomotive inspection law, with which no other authority than Congress can legally interfere. Under that law, the shopmen are bound to win their strike within a few weeks, since it requires that locomotives, unless in good condition, must not be used.

Caught in Own Trap

As the railroads have been to it that the number of inspectors employed by the interstate commerce commission for 70,455 locomotives on 260,000 miles of railroad is only [illegible]0, and that the appropriation for their salaries and expenses is very scant, they will have difficulty in proving the engineers wrong when they refuse to take out locomotives which they consider unsafe.

More Boilermen Out

News from J. C. Schmitt, international vice-president, boilermakers, to strike headquarters here that 4,000 more men have come out of the big Pennsylvania shops in 48 hours, and that the remaining 5,000 would probably be out within two more days, was hailed by the shopmen as the biggest single walkout since the struggle got under way. Ninety-eight percent of the shop men in towns adjoining Altoona have quit. This means that the Pennsylvania system will soon be crippled for locomotive power as the other eastern roads already are.

General Secretary-Treasurer Davison of the machinists, returning from a trip across Virginia, reports that none but passenger and mail trains are moving. Superintendents are shoveling coal at the chutes, while non-union coal hitherto moving from West Virginia to seaboard and to Pittsburgh is stopped. Excursion trains have been stalled by locomotive troubles, in the open country, and the public is now staying off the trains except where compelled to take the chances of travel.

Sammy Gompers Speaks Out

Some times the dead awaken. It is a miracle but it does happen. Such an awakening has taken place in the case of Samuel Gompers [illegible] the Communists [illegible] government [illegible] class [illegible] in regard to the latest developments in the strike situation in this country.

[illegible]

"The miners who are on strike are not going to dig coal until the strike is ended. [illegible] The army may go to the mining districts, but the army is not composed of coal miners.

"The fact is that there is nobody to mine coal until the coal miners now on strike return to the mines. They will return to the mines gladly and quickly as soon as the mine owners agree with them on terms and conditions of employment.

"The responsibility for this grave crisis is upon the mine owners. It is on no one else. No matter what the Government may say, what the mine owners may say, or what hostile newspapers may say, the mine owners are the guilty parties.

"Let it not be forgotten that the strike was caused by the wanton disregard of their contract by the mine owners. They treated their pledge to the miners as a scrap of paper. They refused to confer with the miners. They sought to treat the miners as serfs, and the miners refused to accept such treatment. They ceased mining coal.

"It is important to the country that coal be mined. It is even more important that a half million miners be treated with justice. The nation cannot put anything ahead of justice. It cannot put politics or the profits of a small group of mine owners ahead of justice to the miners. It cannot even put the need for coal ahead of justice. Coal can be had in ample quantities the moment justice is done.

"Brute force cannot override justice in the United States. I do not know what measures the President has in mind to take, but, I repeat, the only method in which coal mining can be resumed is agreement between the miners and owners upon terms deemed fair and just by both sides. It will not do to trample rough-shod over the aspirations and the requirements of any portion of our people. This is neither the hour nor the scene for the man on horseback. The great need of this hour is for normal, natural conference between interested parties. When a half million men are aggrieved is a poor time indeed for the roll of drums, the rattling of sabres and the pounding of the mailed fist."

Will Gompers now give up his "rewarding his friends and punishing his enemy" policy and fight against the enemy of the working class—the capitalist government? We doubt it. He'll leave that to the Communists, as in the past.

Butchery in South Africa by British

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We give space this week to the first direct news that has come thru from South African labor leaders. Will of the slaughter. It is a letter from the secretary of the Cape Town Branch of the Communist Party of South Africa. Before the war, the whole of Great Britain protested against Botha's deportation of South Africa labor leaders. Will the British workers allow this viler atrocity of Smuts' to pass without protest? Here are the facts:

* * *

By THE SECRETARY

Cape Town Branch, Communist Party of South Africa

I am writing to acquaint you with the serious position which our Party is now in as the result of the recent Civil War on the Witwatersrand.

The opening of the present year saw a strike on the coal and gold mines of this country, as a result of an ultimatum from the employers in those industries notifying the almost immediate termination of the hitherto existing conditions of employment, which meant the lowering of the standard of living of the workers.

The strike commenced January 10, and on that day about 23,000 workers had downed tools.

Conferences Prove Abortive

Several conferences were held between the Chamber of Mines and the South African Industrial Federation, representing the strikers, but they one and all proved abortive.

The miners determinedly refused to knuckle down, and the Chamber was equally adamant.

A deadlock ensued which lasted some time, when the Federation again offered to meet the Chamber to see if some settlement could not be arrived at.

This offer met with a flat refusal, the Chamber stating that in future they were not prepared to recognize the Federation for any purpose whatsoever.

This arrogant attitude on the part of The Chamber combined with a persistent pressure from the rank and file of the striking miners, compelled the Federation to call a general strike thruout South Africa.

General Strike Successful

In Johannesburg and right thruout the Transvaal province the general strike was completely successful. In Natal partially.

The Government had made elaborate preparations for the general strike and large numbers of police and military were rushed to the Rand.

The commencement of the miners' strike, however, possessed some unique features.

Profiting by their experience of 1913, when unarmed strikers had been shot down by the forces of the Government, the commencement of the strike saw the miners organizing themselves into military units.

These military units were termed "Commandoes." The ultimate declaration of martial law on the Rand, which almost immediately followed on the declaration of the general strike, was the signal for a general military attack on the strikers, and fierce fighting commenced between the police and defense forces and the strikers' "Commandoes" all along the Reef.

Bomb Workers' Hall

All the available military forces were brought to bear. Bombing aeroplanes, tanks, heavy artillery and machine guns were all brought into play. Benoni Trades Hall, with 750 workers inside, men and women, was completely demolished by an aerial torpedo, with terrible loss of life.

The suburb of Fordsburg, where a fairly large number of workers were concentrated, was shelled by heavy artillery for 75 minutes, with tremendous casualties.

After this event, the "gallant" troops marched in and took the residue prisoner.

The courage, the determination, the almost unbelievable heroism with which the workers defended themselves has excited great admiration, but with all this, the Government forces being far superior, they were, of course, ultimately beaten.

10,000 Await Trial

To-day over 10,000 prisoners await trial. Full details of the whole affair are not yet available. Correspondence between this branch and Johannesburg has been strictly censored and we have had to rely almost solely on the capitalist press for what information we succeeded in getting.

Spread "Red Plot" Tales

With this, of course, a "Red Plot" rumor was set afloat. The "authorities have documents to prove . . . etc., etc." and then, with the membership book in their possession, the police commenced a policy of "combing out," with the result that practically every member of the Party was arrested. The Party printing press had been completely smashed. The position to-day is that the Party headquarters in Johannesburg are almost completely decimated. Many comrades killed, the rest in jail, offices and plant wrecked.

We fear that those comrades who took a leading part in the strike, and who are now in prison, will receive very heavy sentences—possibly hanged or deported.

If the sentences already meted out to some of the comrades for so-called "minor" offenses are any criterion, this will certainly be the case.

One comrade, for selling "What Means This Strike?" by Daniel De Leon, and "The Development of Socialism from Science to Practice," by Karl Radek, was sentenced to six months' hard labor without the option of a fine.

Wore Red Ribbon; Three Months

One, for wearing a red ribbon, three months' imprisonment. Another for saying "It is not necessary to go to Germany to find baby-killers—we have them here," four months' hard labor.

The South African Section of the Comintern, not yet a year in existence, has received its baptism in blood.

The bitter feeling of the Rand Workers at their bloody and brutal defeat will prove fertile soil for Communist propaganda in the future. And, next time, the workers will win.

How to Cure World-Unrest

JOHN B. GRAB

Salt Lake City, Utah.—John B. Grab, a well-known financier of this city, has given out an interview on labor problems and the cure for wide-spread discontent.

Mr. Grab advocates "labor at homes" one day in the week, when the workers can visit the homes of "the best people" and look at the carpets, chairs, chandeliers, woodwork and all the other beautiful things which they have produced.

With Our Readers

Cleveland, Ohio, July 3, 1922.

Editor "The Worker"

Dear Comrade:

Sunday, July 2, I was in Toledo, Ohio, sent there by the district organizer to speak at the Picnic of Local Toledo, Workers Party. The Picnic was arranged in a Public Park. And here the fun began. Two policemen were scheduled on patrol duty in the park. As soon as the members came together and put some refreshments on the tables that are there for that purpose, the policemen slid near and announced that nothing can be sold over these tables by orders of the Commissioner of Parks. Nothing doing, had to abide by the order and so everything was given free.

At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, comrade Wilnacker, member of the Dec. of District No. 6, called the meeting to order, and after some brief remarks, introduced me as the speaker for the meeting, to speak on the "Policy of the Workers Party". The two cops, with white caps, at once came near me where I was speaking from a park bench. They let me speak for about ten minutes and then one of them gently started to pull at the coat of mine. I did not pay any attention to the guy and just kept on speaking. After a minute came another drag, little stronger than the first one, and I had to give up speaking, at least for the time being.

I inquired "what's wrong," did I say something that is of criminal character?" The cop said, that is not the case, and informed me that "you canot speak in Public Parks, and I am ordered by the Commissioner of Parks not to permit any one speak here." I asked whether he would allow me to get up and announce that order he gave me, and he consented. Told the Local comrades what transpired and that it may be impossible for me to keep on and invited the chairman of the meeting to take charge of it.

Comrade Wilnacker get up and told that the mayor himself had spoken two weeks ago from the same bench at the same spot, and the Commissioner of Parks di not order the police force to pull him down, but when the workers want to have a speaker to voice their demands and express their policy the force of the bourgeoisie is there to prevent it. He announced that the workers will have to stage another free speech fight in Toledo as they did few years ago and forced the city administration to capitulate before the might of the workers.

Angriness and rage could be seen on the faces of the workers who were present at that meeting, but they felt that they are not well enough organized to take up fight right now and that it must be postponed for some later date. When comrade Wilnacker asked for collection, the contribution they made was so generous that it covered all expenses, for the refreshments that were given away free and also to cover my railroad fare.

The mayor of Toledo is besieged right now. He is a kind of man who thinks that if he is elected the mayor of the city he automatically becomes the absolute owner of the town and can do anything he pleases. Being on very good terms with the City Electric Railway Co. he forbade the Busses that are operated by some smaller fry, to use the city streets and the electors of Toledo are initiating a referendum to recall the guy, and the Workers Party has a member on the City Council who is favorable towards that step. Probably this will explain why he does not like the Workers Party. Now he becomes richer and thinks he also owns the city parks.

Yours in comradship,
John Brahtin.

WORKERS PARTY DAY JULY 30th, SUMMER FESTIVAL AND PICNIC, DICKERT'S PARK

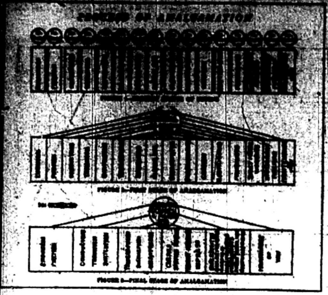


FIGURE 2—FIRST STAGE OF AMALGAMATION

FIGURE 3—FINAL STAGE OF AMALGAMATION

malgamation

(Continued from Page One)

d men have not even a fraction the intelligence of an every-day urance company.

Fallacious Objection

nother favorite objection of the i-amalgamationists is that the mation of a general railroad on would gravely injure the chinists', Blacksmiths', Boilerkers', Electrical Workers', Sheet tal Workers', and Stationary emen's unions by splitting off the tions of their members who work the shops as it demonstrates rly how ill-prepared we railroaders are to make a united fight. Think trying to map out a unified policy inst the solidly organized comies thru the medium of sixteen erent executive boards, autonom- and independent of each other, e for faint "understandings" ong the Brotherhoods and the atisfactory alliance of the shopn in the Railway Employees' Detment. The thing is impossible the face of it. So long as such unscientific condition exists, the road workers will never be e to set up a united front against companies. The first task of amalgamation convention would to end this deplorable state of irs by literally breaking down walls between the executive oftrs of the various unions. It uld have to provide for the elecn of an executive council to repent all the trades, and to consist two or three members from each anization participating. This uld bring about unity in the adistration and enable the workers stand together as one body. rging the executives would in itconstitute half of amalgamation th that accomplished, the sixteen anizations temporarily could be practically intact, each to funcn as a department in the general road union, and each maintaining own standard of dues, benefits.

Completing the Amalgamation

igure 2 indicates the situation t would prevail after the sixteen cutives had been combined into body. With this done the rest the work, viz, the extension of amalgamation to the various nifications of the organizations, ld proceed in a slow and careful hion. A commission might be apnted to conduct it. Gradually the borate organizing forces would joined together into one mechan-, and the many journals comed into one powerful publication ewise the system and division erations would be changed and anded in accordance with the new tionship. But most important of the barriers between the various ely related trades would be dually dissolved, nationally and ally, and the number of departnts reduced. At first, as we have nted out, the sixteen organizans could act as so many departnts of the general organization. t as the amalgamation became fect and the trades came to know understand each other better, ny of these departments could be rged to good advantage. The gineers and Firemen might be mbined into one department; the nductors, Trainmen and Switchn into another; and as fast as the tal trades unions amalgamated ionally their respective departnts in the railroad unions would consolidated accordingly. Eventlly the number of departments ld be reduced probably to as low six, viz: Enginemen; Train Sere; Train Control; Office, Station, eight and Express; Mechanical ades; and Maintenance of Way. Figure 3 illustrates the completed algamation. We make no claim t it is absolutely exact in detail. perience may demand its modifiion in certain minor respects, such changes in the line-up of the ups in the various departments, in the manner of election or the mber of members on the execu- council. But the general prines of the plan will stand. The tem of one union of several detments, each containing two or re related trades, and with one cutive council covering the whole anization, is the only possible ans for the railroad workers to elop the solidarity and unity of ion necessary to cope successfully the mighty combination of railcapital.

Start Must Be Made

If all the sixteen unions cannot be induced to go into this project simultaneously, as many as possible should be brought in. The plan fits partial amalgamations as well as a complete merger. If only a few of the trades agree at first to amalgamate, they can go right ahead organizing themselves on the departmental plan and awaiting the time when the rest see the light and come in to complete the organization. In fact we should do everything possible to further all movements to close up the ranks of the railroad unions. Movements to consolidate the Brotherhoods and to bring them into the A. F. of L., to amalgamate the metal trades, to strengthen the Railway Employees' Department by giving it more money and authority, etc. should be heartily encouraged as steps in the right direction. But in doing such detail work we should never forget our ultimate goal of eventually bringing all the existing railroad unions into a joint convention and there merging them into one great, mighty and all-embracing union of railroad workers.

Gives More Power

Brother Unionists: Amalgamation means greater power to the organization, more efficient and economical management of our affairs, lower dues to the membership. It will put more bread on the railroader's table and better clothes on his children's backs. It is a recognition of the patent fact that as we have only one highly organized enemy to fight, we ourselves must be in only one organization in order to fight effectively. It means for us to stop backing up and to begin going ahead. It spells victory instead of defeat.

Don't Be Fooled

Don't be misled by fake arguments against amalgamation. Don't let standpatters fool you with the old nonsense about the Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, the Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union being proof that our project won't work. Those organizations had absolutely nothing in common with amalgamation. The Knights of Labor was merely a mass organization, hastily thrown together in the midst of great strike movements. Practically no trade or industrial lines existed within it and it had almost nothing in common structurally with modern industrial unions. And as for the A. R. U., I. W. W. and O. B. U., they were secession movements pure and simple, dual organizations which had no chance for success. The amalgamation here outlined is neither a mixed mass organization like the K. of L. nor a seccession movement like the A. R. U., I. W. W. and O. B. U. It is a scientific coming together of the existing unions into a departmentalized organization, infinitely more powerful, and infinitely better able to take care of the interests of the various trades, than the present craft unions.

Federation Not Efficient

Likewise you must discount the arguments of those who say that federation is the highest type of organization. Now, federation is all right so far as it goes. It has done much to acquaint the trades with each other and to teach them that they have a common fight to make. But it is only an intermediate stage between the primitive state of craft isolation and that of the final amalgamation of all trades. We must go on beyond federation and actually join all our unions together. That is the inevitable course of labor development. This is coming to be better and better recognized. Within the last couple of months the Chicago Federation of Labor, together with scores of other central bodies and hundreds of local unions, have endorsed the principle of amalgamation. At their recent conventions, the International Typographical Union and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks did the same. Likewise the B. of L. F. and E. have just decided to fuse with the B. of L. E. Many other organizations will soon take the same course. Amalgamation is now the greatest issue before Railroad Labor.

Only Effective Answer

Amalgamation is the only effective answer Railroad Labor can make to the "open shop" drive. Indeed, the issue is clear and sharp. For us it is either amalgamation or annihilation. Which shall it be? It is up to you to determine. We are confident of your decision.

[illegible] instruct your officers and delegates to work for amalgamation wherever they may be: in your local unions, local federations, system federations, division organizations, and international [illegible] brotherhood conventions adopt the following resolution:

Resolved: That we favor the amalgamation of the sixteen standard railroad unions into one organization covering the entire railroad industry, and that we call upon our general officers to take the necessary steps so that a joint convention of all these organizations (or as many of them as possible) can be assembled to put this amalgamation into effect.

For further information, write to
O. H. WANGERIN,
Secretary-Treasurer,
411 Dakota Building,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

A. C. W. Plan

(Continued from Page One)

A. C. W. Sets Example

If the demand for the recognition of the Soviet Power at the time of intervention and the armed struggle against it had any revolutionary significance at all, it now appears as the slogan of those capitalists who desire trade with Russia. The Second and 2½ Internationals are only the mouthpieces of these capitalistic circles, to the extent that they are not actually forced by the workers who sympathize with Soviet Russia but are not in a position to turn their sympathies into action. An example of how to recognize Soviet Russia in contrast to the "recognition" of the heroes of the yellow International, was set by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

"The New Republic," a radical bourgeois weekly published in New York, reports that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers deration at their Fifth Convention decided to issue a loan of one million dollars which is to serve to organize a clothing co-operative that is to aid in the construction of the industry in Russia. In this co-operative the representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and those of the Soviet Government will work on a basis of equality. The representatives of the Soviet Government will for their part furnish the factory room and the raw materials. Only workers and labor organizations may become shareholders. The co-operative is obligated to spend all profits exceeding ten per cent for extension purposes.

Workers Must Re-build

This bourgeois weekly from which we cite these news also brings excerpts from the speech delivered by Comrade Hillman, the President of the Union. "Many people speak of world economic reconstruction, but if we should leave the work of reconstruction in the hands of those cliques that caused the war and have now concluded "peace," we shall accomplish nothing but the formulation of a banal phraseology, and new formulas which, were they to be carried out would only result in one part of the world ruling the other. Were this to happen life would become ten times as difficult as it is now. The working class of our country as well as the workers of the other countries should rise and make it clear that the work of establishing peace in this world is not only one for a few officials and Ministries of Foreign Affairs, but that the vital problems of millions of men, women and children are to be solved by the masses of all countries. The working class of the world should take upon itself the economic rebirth of Russia which has set the example for creative work."

The bourgeois weekly reports that the Clothing Workers convention listened to Hillman's speech with great interest and accepted his proposal.

The aid which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America decided to furnish Soviet Russia should serve as an example to the proletarians of other countries. The American clothing workers have pointed the way that is most beneficial to Soviet Russia, and which if followed should contribute considerably to the liberation of the Russian workers from the yoke of foreign capital. Such a step would lighten the work of preserving the social conquests of the revolution and would accelerate the economic development of Soviet Russia which in its turn would be in a better position to aid European proletariat in its struggle of liberation.

Real Aid for Russia

Forced by the attitude of the working masses the gentlemen of the Amsterdam International were compelled to collect money for the famine sufferers of Russia. For every crumb of bread which they furnished Soviet Russia, their agents left behind them a trail of venomous propaganda against the Workers' Government during their stay in Russia. It suffices to mention the activities of Brantel, member of the Austrian Social Democracy, who after arriving in Georgia with medicaments from the Amsterdam International and spending two weeks there, published a long pamphlet (without knowing either the language or the local conditions) in which he speaks like an expert and points out that Bolshevik regime in Georgia destroyed all the treasures

[illegible] the Amalgamated [illegible] of America [illegible] is an honest American [illegible] having arrived in Russia not for the purpose of making revolution but for the purpose of [illegible] the Russian workers, made an excellent study of the conditions under which we are living, and they returned to America to organize the relief work. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union is not a Communist organization; it is a union of workers suffering under the dictatorship of capitalism. This union is not part of the yellow A. F. of L. headed by Gompers, but in times of need it furnishes more aid to the other unions than some of the biggest labor organizations. This is due to the spirit of solidarity that pervades it.

That is why after the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had heard Hillman's report they declared: "We helped the famine sufferers by sending them $500,000, but that was only temporary relief; we must aid in a way that will do away with the famine in Russia altogether."

The Russian workers will receive this news with great joy, not only because $1,000,000 means material relief but also because the spirit in which the American clothing workers have given this money is the spirit of the Russian workers.

Ben Gitlow, Jim Larkin Refused New Trials Two Judges Dissent

ALBANY, N. Y.—James Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow, the latter a former member of the New York legislature, must serve the remainder of their terms for alleged violation of New York's criminal anarchy law. The decision has been handed down by the court of appeals here. New trials were granted, however, to Charles E. Ruthenberg and Isaac E. Ferguson, also convicted in 1920 on similar charges. All four were convicted on charges involving alleged responsibility for publication of the Left Wing Manifesto in the Revolutionary Age. Two members of the court, Justices Cuthbert W. Pound and Benjamin Cordozo, dissented from the opinion upholding the conviction of Larkin and Gitlow. The latter have been at liberty on bail for several weeks, having served part of their sentences.

Miners Not Fooled

(Continued from page One)

nors, with the capitalist press howling over the miners' "refusal to arbitrate"—arbitrate themselves out of existence—with a childish public mind saturated with a carefully cultivated egoism concerning the importance of its role in industrial affairs the miners have resolved to continue their struggle and they have chosen wisely.

Proclamations, machine guns and bayonets do not dig coal, and it is coal that is needed.

There has been no production this summer that counts. Every week sees the normal surplus decreased. Even were the skilled miners to return there would still be a scarcity this winter, the riff-raff who will answer the call of the operators will not even be able to supply the daily demand, to say nothing of piling up a surplus.

The coal owners have been licked by the miners. They now call on the government for protection from the results of their folly, and their call is heard—their orders are obeyed is a more fitting term.

There is one answer that can be made by labor to this open use of the federal authority on the side of scabbing. The miners and the railwaymen can join forces and make a common fight a reality, an actuality instead of a phrase.

Were they in a position to do this American labor could feel much safer.

In the words of a well-known advertisement:

"Eventually, why not now?"

Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Sabotaged by Enemies

BOSTON.—Deliberately false stories, to the effect that Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti have been liberated or are on the point of being liberated, are being circulated outside of the United States, the defense group in this city learned from recent foreign publications.

The intention of the authors of these lies is obviously to confuse, and if possible, disrupt the magnificent international protest evoked by the death verdict in Dedham, Mass., last year.

"El Picapedrero," of Montevideo, Uruguay, for instance, carried a two-column article on its front page under the caption, "The Value of International Solidarity: Sacco and Vanzetti Are Liberated."

The Committee has sent communications to several of the leading labor publications in the world indicating the true status of the case.

Draft Urged As Strike Ranks Grow

By CARL HAESSLER
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—Walkouts July 17 by the 8000 railway employe members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers were the second authorized additions to the 400,000 striking shop crafts men who quit July 1. Clerks on individual lines had quit on call previously to the firemen. The maintenance of way officials continued to oppose a strike of their men.

Timothy Healy, international president of the firemen and oilers, declared the strike was in protest against the 2-cents an hour cut in wages ordered by the railroad labor board. His organization will act in close touch with the six unions already out under the leadership of B. M. Jewell, president, railway employes' department, A. F. of L.

Policy Shifts

Government policy toward the strike shifted a point with the intimation from Washington that the transportation might be restored under war powers with drafting of the strikers. Whether it was intended to pay the wages current before the slash and to concede the other demands of the strikers before summoning them to work under military conditions was not disclosed. Union chiefs refused to comment beore official announcement of the government plans.

Parasites Want Draft.

Before the government plan to draft the rail employes back to work became public, business men in Chicago were discussing the details and justifications of the plan. The owner of a large automobile accessory plant declared the roads could not be operated by the military with strikebreakers and that transportation by motor trucks and airplanes was utterly inadequate. He then said Harding had the authority to declare a state of war, draft the strikers to their jobs and treat them as mutineers if they disobeyed. Advised that such a course would mean the death of the Republican party he replied that on the contrary the party would get his vote for the rest of time.

National guard units are on duty in West Virginia, Michigan, Indiana, Missouri and Kansas.

The rail executives in their reply to Chairman Hooper's peace suggestions balked at every point except that they agreed in return for peace not to violate the board ruling against "farming out" shop work to contractors. They also agreed to abide in part by the thansportation act which makes provision for national adjustment boards to deal with all questions except wages. The roads will agree to regional but not to national boards.

"The differences are fundamental," Hooper afterwards said.

Strike More Effective.

Reports at railway employes, headquarters by wire from many points indicate growth of strike effectiveness. Denver telegraphed that a new woman's auxiliary of the shop craft unions had been formed with 2736 members who adopted resolutions of solidarity. Fresno, Cal., announced the railroads were unable to move fruit worth $200,000,000 in the San Joaquin valley because they could not get the skilled men to handle the shipments. Resolutions by locals demanding that Jewel make no concessions and stick by the original demands to the end are frequent. Clifton Forge, Va., and Spirit Lake Ida., shops are typical of this attitude.

The railroads are procuring additional injunctions and are obtaining guards for strikebreakers free of expense by applying for U. S. deputy marshals. The Northwestern and Burlington roads here received large squads of deputies. The New York Central and Erie, which had given the men rough treatment before the strike, demanded deputies, as did the Nickel Plate and Chicago and Western Indiana.

NOTICE

ALL DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE ARE URGED TO ATTEND A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE TUESDAY, JULY 25th, AT 208 EAST 12th STREET.—VERY IMPORTANT!

ANNOUNCEMENT

Auto Ride will be given by the Newark Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia to PINE BROOK, on Sunday morning, July 23rd—Autos will leave Springfield Ave., corner Broome St., at 9 A. M.—Bathing and refreshments. In case of rain the ride will be held the following Sunday.

Railroaders Say Victory Is in Sight

By LAURENCE TODD
(Federated Press Staff Correspond.)

WASHINGTON.—"It's no longer merely a strike; it is a scramble to get aboard the bandwagon of the railroad shopmen's victory," declared Fred Hewitt, editor of the Machinists' Journal, after surveying reports from Atlantic seaboard and southern territory showing that the walkout is becoming a stampede away from the railroad jobs.

"Organization, and the experience we have had in longterm strikes on various roads since the A. R. U. strike of 1894," said P. J. Conlon, directing the machinists' end of the strike on all roads south of Washington, "have prepared us for this showdown with the roads. We were ready, and we were not going to be frightened by threats of the use of troops. We had only to stay off the job, and remind people that the troops cannot repair many locomotives. Today this strike is complete in every quarter, and the managers are beginning to acknowledge that they must settle on a reasonable basis. Their autocracy has hit a snag."

Fairfax Harrison, president of the Southern Railroad, who is endeavoring to persuade his fellow railroad executives to settle with the shop unions, is quoted as having declared that if the other roads refuse to settle, he then will be forced to make a settlement with his own employes.

"So far as the Southern is concerned," Harrison is reported to have confessed to a friend, "We were licked the day the men walked out."

It appears that for some days before July 1 the men in the Southern Railroads shops were employed in taking defective locomotives down, preparatory to repairs, and that the few men who started on the job or were recruited as strikebreakers have been unable to set them up again.

"We would be glad to see the postmaster general get his mail trucks into action, and leave the railroad situation to be worked out between the men and the companies," said said Conlon. "Dragging in the question of carrying of the mails merely confuses the issue. If Mr. Work can transfer all the mails to motor trucks and get along without the railroads, we hope he will do so. Those trucks will not carry the commerce of the country."

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

With Our Readers

Englewood, Cal.

Editor The Worker:

The sale of all socialist and radical literature has been prohibited by the police authorities in this vicinity.

There have been raids and almost all soap boxers have been arrested, others have been warned not to speak.

All street meetings by radicals have been barred, but the religious fakirs go undisturbed with their special concessions.

Eighteen members of the S. L. P., seven Socialists and a dozen members of the I. W. W. are under arrest and a general drive against the radicals seems to have been inaugurated.

Bail as high as $5,000 has been demanded for arrested comrades.

J. H.

TAFT, Cal.—The Ku Klux Klan of this town, responsible for many outrages in the Kern oil fields, has formally disbanded. It is reported that many of the klansmen are turning to Imperial county, where the cantaloupe season is beginning.

HERRIN, Ill.—Three union miners are now dead in consequence of the bloodshed here June 21 and 22 which followed the killing by company men of two strikers. Guy Hudgins, a member of the union, died of his wounds July 13. Sheriff Thaxton has promised to assist Attorney-General Brundage in tracing those responsible for the outbreak. The coroner's jury has already fastened the greater part of the blame on the Southern Illinois Coal Co. and William J. Lester, its president. Grand jury inquiries will await further evidence, Brundage says.

SEATTLE.—Thousands of young nurses in all parts of the country are being held in the grip of no-wage slavery. Long hours, arduous work, and no pay is their condition in many hospitals, in the opinion of the national nurses' convention in session here recently.

SEATTLE.—Another group of workmen, including many Americans, are on their way now to Russia to work in the Kuznetz basin. A still larger group, composed of farmers for the Crimea and mechanics for Moscow and Petrograd are due to leave shortly. A former group, now in Russia, in a letter to comrades here, tell of the improving conditions in Russia and express enthusiasm in their work.

Song of Labor

By ISIDOR KREININ

March on comrades, March on forward
Ye who work, and ye who bleed,
Ye who toil and always suffer,
Victims of your masters' greed.

Rise and halt the wheels of fortune,
And demand them for you all;
Raise the banner of deep crimson,
Forward! till all tyrants fall.

Books That Show the Way

From darkness to light—from ignorance to knowledge—from slavery to freedom. Read and learn of the science of social life from the greatest thinkers.

American Empire, The. Scott Nearing	$.50
A. B. C. of Communism. Bukharin	.50
A Communist Trial. Excerpts of the Speeches of C. E. Ruthenberg and I. E. Ferguson to the Court	.25
Communist Manifesto. Marx and Engels	.10
Communist Program, The. Bukharin	.25
Class Struggles in America. Simons	.10
Communism and Christianism. Bishop Wm. M. Brown	.25
Evolution and Revolution. Fisher	.10
Imperialism. N. Lenin	.15
Labor Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
Proletarian Revolution. Lenin	.25
Railroaders' Next Step—Amalgamation. Foster	.25
Russian Revolution, The. Foster	.50

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MONSTER MASS MEETING

on

A. F. of L. Convention and Railroad Strike

Under Auspices of Trade Union Educational League

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 20th, 1922

at

BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 EAST 5th STREET

Speakers:—WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Editor of The Worker and Special Correspondent at A. F. of L. Convention; BENJAMIN GITLOW, and some Railroad Men will address you!

ADMISSION FREE.

All trade unionists and especially striking railroad men invited.

Letters Pass Between Steinmetz, the Inventor, and Lenin, the Revolutionist

Revolutions do many peculiar things but the most interesting and instructive is the manner in which they expose the fundamental difference between creators and exploiters.

Capitalist society does homage to the accumulator of wealth; Communism in even its early stages honors the creator.

The really great creative minds of the world see in the coming order the opportunity for constructive endeavor of which they have dreamed; the opportunity to harness the natural forces to the service of mankind without being hampered and throttled by the exigencies of the profit system.

Thus it is that we find the following correspondence passing between Charles P. Steinmetz, the greatest electrical expert in the world, and Nicolai Lenin, the greatest revolutionist in the world.

From Steinmetz to Lenin:

Dear Mr. Lenin:

I am taking the opportunity of the return of Mr. Lussof to Russia to express to you my admiration of the great work which is directed to the building up of socialism and economic reconstruction—the work which Russia carries on under such hard conditions. I wish you full success and express my full confidence that you will succeed. And really the great undertaking started by Russia must end with success. For we cannot permit that we should be defeated.

I shall be very glad if I am able in accordance with my best abilities to assist Russia in the technical sphere and particularly in the matter of electrification in a practical way and with advice.

Yours truly,

Charles Steinmetz

From Lenin to Steinmetz

To Charles Steinmetz.

Dear Mr. Steinmetz

I thank you with all my heart for your friendly letter dated the 16th of February, 1922. I must admit to my shame that I first heard of your name a few months ago from Comrade Krgiganovsky, who was the chairman of our state commission for the preparation of a project for the electrification of Russia and who is now the chairman of the commission for the preparation of the general plans. He told me of the high position you occupy among the electric technicians of the whole world.

Comrade Martens acquainted me now a little more with your work since his return. From his information I understood that your social and political views made you sympathize with Soviet Russia in the beginning.

On the other hand you are the chairman of the American Society of Electrical Engineers in one of the advanced countries in electrical science.

You convinced yourself of the necessity and the inevitability of supplanting capitalism by a new social order which will establish a systematic economic life and will secure the welfare of the whole mass of the people on the basis of electrification of whole nations. The number of representatives of science, techniques, arts, who convince themselves of the necessity of supplanting capitalism by a new social and political order and whom the terrible difficulties of the struggle in Soviet Russia against the whole capitalist world do not repulse, do not frighten but on the contrary bring them to the conviction of the inevitability of the struggle and the necessity to take part as much as possible in order to aid the new society to overcome the old is growing slower than many expected, but is gradually and irresistibly becoming greater.

Especially I would like to thank you for your offer to aid Russia with advice, direction etc. Because of lack of official and legal recognized relations between Soviet Russia and the United States it is very difficult for us and for you to realize your proposition in a practical way.

I take the liberty to publish your letter and my reply in the hope that many people who live in America and in the countries bound by trade relations to the United States and Russia will assist you (by information thru translation from Russian into English, etc.) to realize your intention to aid the Soviet Republic. With best greeting.

N. Lenin.

ORDERED IT YET?
YOUR COPY OF
"Dictatorship vs. Democracy"
by
LEON TROTZKY
Will be ready to mail you July 1
Cloth $1.00; Paper 50c.
A book of intense interest and value to your education. Two hundred pages.
We request advance paid orders Send for your copy now.
Literature Department
Workers Party
799 Broadway, Room 405
New York City.

HOCHELAGA

There's a vision in the clouds tonight—
Shades of the primeval;
I see the fires blazing, bright,
I hear the songs and revel;
The pilgrim moon shines calmly
On the river flowing slow
Past the lights of Hochelaga—
(Three hundred years ago).

The loaded spits are sizzling,
The braves are squatting round
About the smoky wigwams,
Bows and arrows strew the ground:
The busy squaws prepare the feast,
The cooking-fires burn low,
In stockaded Hochelaga—
(Three hundred years ago).

A night bird calling to his mate
In the wild, uncharted deep;
Shut and secure the picket gate,
The village sound asleep
Within the piled enclosure,
Safeguarded from the foe;
Quiet, dreaming Hochelaga—
(Three hundred years ago).

—Harold Colvin-Salla.

ON MEMORIAL DAY

EDITOR, THE WORKER:—I am writing to let you know about a political taken near Findlay, Ohio, for being brave enough to say, I cannot kill my fellow man, and I will not go to war.

I will now tell you how the American Legion celebrated Memorial Day. Coming back from the cemetery, where the boys that fought as they thought for democracy, lie buried, the legionnaires stopped under the cell window of our political and proceeded to abuse and call him vicious names.

When they had celebrated in this way for a time, the sheriff, whose name is Hay, and who belongs to the American Legion, let his fellow legionnaires into the jail. The political prisoner was forced to go out of his cell among them. He was brutally treated.

When leaving the jail one of the legionnaires remarked to a bystander, a personal friend of the writer, "Well we gave that . . . a razzing, I guess."

When asked what was meant by a "razzing," he said, "Well, we lined up along the corridor and made him run the gauntlet, and we all took a poke at him."

A short time after this the prisoner's brother-in-law arrived at the jail and asked to see the prisoner.

The sheriff told him he could not see him while he had anything to do with it.

The prisoner before the draft worked as a clerk in a Findlay bank. His name is Charles Evert Nemeyer.

I would like to have this published in **The Worker**. I want to do all I can to give this case publicity.

The prisoner had a mother who was widow. He was her sole support. This case is somewhat isolated and the prisoner is not well known.

I understand that, the sheriff also tried to force Nemeyer to make some kind of confession, by grabbing him and jamming him against the cell wall, and by handling him most brutally.—H. W. A., Toledo, Ohio.

SOME BOOKS
ARE WORTH WHILE—OTHERS ARE NECESSARY
The following titles comprise a list which, by general concession to the needs of clear-cut workers' education, are classed in the category of necessities:
DICTATORSHIP vs. DEMOCRACY
By Leon Trotzky. Cloth $1, paper 50 cents
BARS and SHADOWS
Ralph Chaplin's Prison Poems. $1.00
NEW POLICIES of SOVIET RUSSIA
By Lenin, Rutgers, Bukharin. $1.00
A B C of COMMUNISM
By N. Bukharin. 50 cents.
THE RAILROADERS'
NEXT STEP—AMALGAMATION
By Wm. Z. Foster. 25 cents.
Write for new price list.
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WORLD CONFERENCE STRESSES NEED OF FAMINE WORK

FROM THE WORKERS INTERNATIONAL FAMINE RELIEF CONFERENCE TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS

"COMRADES, THIS THIRD WORLD CONFERENCE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE DOES NOT CONSTITUTE FINAL CHAPTER GREATEST INTERNATIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF WORKERS OF WORLD. IT MARKS BEGINNING OF YET GREATER UNDERTAKINGS A DNIEVACH UNDERTAKINGS AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN BEHALF OF SOVIER RUSSIA. ALL AFFILIATED RELIEF COMMITTEES AND THEIR WORKERS ARE CALLED UPON TO CONTINUE FULLEST COOPERATION. THE DELEGATES."

International Tool Drive for Soviet Russia Gaining.

Workers all over the world are collecting tools and machinery for Soviet Russia. A big drive was conducted in Germany and England and netted a large amount of machinery.

The drive in America is just getting under way. All the propaganda and publicity material has been sent out and the comrades are putting all their energy, enthusiasm and vigor into the work.

Unique Methods of Carrying on the Work.

The machine that is capturing the fancy of the F. S. R. branches is the tractor. Each town is promising to purchase several of them "to have one working in Soviet Russia for us."

YONKERS is buying a tractor, which it will exhibit in a window for a month and then use for propaganda in the streets. NEW YORK will buy one or more tractors as a start, using the same methods of reaching the people in the streets. ROCKAWAY, N. Y., is adopting the same method.

Reports are coming from towns all over the country. The Tool Drive has caught the imagination of workers everywhere, and they are realizing that by participation in the reconstruction of Soviet Russia they are not only helping to feed Soviet Russia today, but are helping her to prevent further disaster.

Workers of Soviet Russia Will Know Who Their Friends Are.

In addition to giving the person or organization contributing a Certificate, and sending the lists of contributors to Soviet Russia to be kept in the Archives of the Soviet Government, the Friends of Soviet Russia is making arrangements to have a plate attached to every machine bearing, in English and Russian, the name of the contributor, so that the peasants and workers of Soviet Russia will know who their friends are.

Famine Scout Clubs.

Sometime in April of this year, two little leaflets were printed. One, an application blank, containing instructions for organizing a Famine Scout Club, the other the story of DROUTH AND BLOCKADE, told in language simple enough for the littlest child to understand.

These two leaflets were used to launch the children's organization of the F. S. R.—The Famine Scout Clubs of America.

In three months—from mid-March to mid-June—1400 children—workers' and farmers' boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 16—have joined the Famine Scout Clubs of America.

These children have sold many thousand copies of the little booklet: "Children's Stories of Soviet Russia," as well as Famine picture postcards and buttons by the thousands. They have raised money by presenting playlets, dealing with the problems met by Soviet Russia. Thru their own initiative they have invented ways of raising funds to feed their hungry little Russian Comrades. Picnics, outings, entertainments, house to house collections, are some of the activities they engage in.

Up to date there are over 120 clubs listed, with a membership of from 4 to 40, or more in each club. Within a period of 3 weeks the membership rose from 500 to 1400.

The remittances have gone steadily up with the membership. From the middle of May (when there were only about 500 children organized), to the middle of June, the membership had practically trebled.

Remittances for April were $37.25, for May [illegible] for June (to the 16th only) $429.25.

The spirit the Famine Scouts reveal in their work is not unworthy of the most devoted of our grown-up comrades.

The clubs are distributed thruout the country. 18 States are represented, including one in Canada. There has also been a club organized in Samana, Dominican Republic.

The states represented are: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Wisconsin, with a club in Washington D. C.

The star state is New York, with 40 clubs in Greater New York (City) alone.

VARIOUS ACTIVITIES.

CHICAGO held a most successful tag day on June 26th, having the co-operation of three other organizations. The greater part of the work, however, was done by the Friends of Soviet Russia and the Trade Union National Committee for Russian Relief. More than $30,000 was collected and a mass of experience gained that will serve the comrades in good stead in all relief activities.

Similar joint drives and tag days are to be undertaken in other towns in the near future.

MINNEAPOLIS and ST. PAUL have arranged a joint picnic, at which Wm. Z. Foster will be the speaker. Foster will also speak later in the month at Seattle, San Francisco, and Portland.

The Women's Division of the F. S. R. at ERIE, Pa., recently held a concert and dance, netting a nice sum for relief.

The Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Russian, Hungarian and Polish branches of CHICAGO held an international concert a short time ago, the net receipts amounting to $320.

PEABODY has been quite active and made a nice remittance.

PHILADEDPHIA has already sent two tractors and two ploughs and is ordering two harrows.

NEW YORK is arranging a big meeting in support of the first concession that has been granted American workers in Soviet Russia.

Dinner Pail Epics
by Bill Lloyd

"Stone walls do not a prison make," one poet wrote for his own sake, and now Ralph Chaplin comes to sing that Federal walls are not a thing which can crush out a poet's song, while suffering a grievous wrong.*

For no one really seems to know what Chaplin did that he should go to Leavenworth for twenty years, and leave a wife and child in tears. Yet that was sure a Wilson trick that came upon us pretty thick, in days when our boys crossed the sea, to bolster up democracy.

Chaplin in prison walls is free to write his songs for you and me. From out his prison's sickly air his song is lifted to declare that liberty shall never die, but be made perfect by and by.

I only wish that poets all were free to sound a clarion call. How many poets, body-free, dare tell the truth to you and me? How many of them sell their stuff to magazines for just enough to be respectable and good, as poets never really should? How many of them write to please and cover up all foul disease with which society is ailing, and therefore see their ideals failing?

We ought to raise a great big shout and get that poet, Chaplin, out, together with some hundred more, who're now shut in by prison door. Of politicians we've enough, but poets are different stuff. They are the men who're given wings and float above all common things.

War profiteers should go to jail, instead of which we put in pale idealists, poets, and their kind, and things are all front-way behind. It's time we straightened some things out, I'll say it is, without a doubt.

* Bars and Shadows, by Ralph Chaplin, $1. Literature Dep't, Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Miners Respond to Hardy

The coal diggers altho to-day in the midst of the greatest struggle of their career as an organized body against the organized force of the entire capitalist class, still find time to pause for a moment and stretch their hands across the big pond bidding cheer and aid to their famine stricken brothers in Soviet Russia.

Of the mining towns of Bellaire, Neffs, Barten, Yorkville and Dillonvale, Ohio, this is especially true.

Bob Hardy toured this section with the illustrated lecture on the Russian Famine for The Friends of Soviet Russia.

In Bellaire the Miner's Theater was secured free of all charges for the occasion and 900 of the 1000 seats were filled by miners, their wives and children in the afternoon. In the evening a duplication of the lecture took place gathering a crowd of 400.

The net proceeds of these two meetings was $245.63.

A noble response coming from that part of the American working class that is to-day facing starvation themselves due to the damnable persecution of the coal operators.

SAN FRANCISCO.—Following the lead of the Building Trades council, and as part of the new drive to secure amnesty for Mooney from Governor Stephens, the San Francisco Labor council has petitioned the governor for Mooney's and Billing's release.

An Interesting Pamphlet

"YOUTH UNDER AMERICANISM" is the name of an intensely interesting and well written 64-page pamphlet that is being issued by the Young Workers League of America.

This is the first book that has appeared in this country dealing directly with the economic, social, and political status of the American youth, issued by the revolutionary movements here.

Almost every phase of the conditions of the youthful workers in America is dealt with in this publication. Here especially is taken up the class nature of the educational system. No one who desires to be informed on social questions can fail to get this pamphlet. It is absolutely essential to an intelligent understanding of the status of the young in this country.

Price, 15 cents single copy; bundle order rates, 10 cents per copy.

Order from Young Workers' League, Room 405, 799 Broadway, or your local book store or literature agent.

MOSCOW, RUSSIA.—Within the past 60 days 100 new locomotives have arrived in Russia from Germany and been assigned to various lines. It is expected that during the summer some 100 additional locomotives will arrive from Germany.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Benefit Performance For Sacco-Vanzetti

Rarely have duty and pleasure been so hapily joined as in the big benefit performance for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, commencing at the National Winter Garden, Second Avenue and Houston Street, on Friday evening, August 4.

A richly varied international program, comprising 15 all-star acts by leading actors and concertists of the English, Jewish, Russian and Italian stage, will be presented every evening thru August 13, with special matinee performances on Saturdays and Sundays.

The need for funds in the fight to save the two Italian workingmen from the electric chair is especially pressing at this moment, and the series of high-grade entertainments at the National Winter Garden is being counted upon to relieve the situation. But the committee in charge is making its appeal not alone on the merits of the purpose of the benefit, but on the merits of the actual performance.

"The great satisfaction expressed by those attended our benefit concerts for Sacco and Vanzetti in Brooklyn and Brownsville," said A. G. Wittner, who is at the head of the work, "is what led us to undertake this extended engagement in New York. I can say in utter sincerity that a more colorful, entertaining program than we have arranged is not to be found on the boards of any vaudeville house in the city, barring none."

All seats being reserved, and a heavy demand being anticipated, arrangements have been made for the sale of tickets in advance. They may be had at the Workers' Defense Union, 81 East 10th St.; Henry Fruchter, care N. Y. Call, 112 Fourth Ave.; Rand School, 7 East 15th St.; Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 48 Canal St.; Freiheit, 47 Chrystie St.; Forward, 175 East Broadway; Italian Chamber of Labor, 241 East 14th St.; Italian Defense Committee, 208 East 12th St. Balcony seats cost 50 cents and orchestra $1.

All inquiries should be directed to A. G. Wittner, representing the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, 81 East 10th St. Telephone, Stuyvesant 6488.

HOW ABOUT WAGES?

WASHINGTON.—Prices were higher in May than in April, according to a report from the department of commerce on 42 production movements for the entire country. Only four of the 42 showed a decline. Prices "have shown the greatest increase for any month in more than two years. Prices on the average have not fallen below about 40 per cent over the pre-war level," says the statement. "They are now nearly 50 per cent above that level."

"The Lusk Aftermath"

By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

Immediately after the appointment of the Advisory Cou by the state commissioner of education to investigate the loya of teachers in New York City, the Teachers' Union bega vigorous attack upon the Advisory Council and the Teach Council which had recommended its appointment.

The Teachers' Union took advantage of this opportunity renew its attack upon the Lusk law which attempted to straight-jacket fifty-seven thousand teachers in the state.

Fighting reaction in education is no new thing for the Teachers' Un During the war, when every 100 per cent American thirsted for the bl of a radical, the Teachers' Union defended with all of its resources a nu ber of its members who were charged with disloyalty.

It was soon apparent that the Teachers' Union was not stand alone in its fight against the Advisory Council and the secret trial of teachers.

The Central Trades and Labor Council condemned the participation of Hugh Frayne, eastern representative of the A. F. of L., in the deliberations of the Council and summoned Frayne to appear before it.

The New York Board of Education then climbed aboard the band wagon. It adopted resolutions declaring that the Board "certainly would not have favored and it does not now approve of such secret inquiry as is being prosecuted. There is no need of it."

The Board made it clear that it could very well take care of the investigating of radicals itself. The Board went on to declare that it had reasons for believing that it would be advisable to reorganize the Teachers Council as a wholly unrepresentative body controlled by a few teacher-politicians in the system. The Board of Education never took any notice of these attacks. Then the impossible followed.

One of the most respectable teachers' associations in the city, the High School Teachers' Asociation, now lodged a strong protest against the Advisory Council in a letter to State Commissioner Graves. It protested against the procedure followed by the committee.

"Damaging statements are read," said the letter, "which reflect very unfavorably upon the reputation and character of the teachers under suspicion. These teachers are not permitted to know who make the charges against them. Not to permit the accused to answer his accuser face to face is a violation of the first principles of justice."

Altho the Association urged the abolition of the Advisory Council, it assured the Commissioner that it did not doubt that he had at heart "the best interests of the children of the teachers and of the entire community."

But to return to the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York. This body had opposed the enactment of the Lusk law from the very beginning. It was represented at the Albany hearings to voice its protests against the Lusk bills both before the Legislative committees and before the Governor.

But at the special meeting held to consider the question of Frayne's membership on the Advisory Council, and to which Frayne had been invited to be present, the Central Labor body failed to maintain the position it had held so consistently.

Frayne delivered a long defense of his position and of his membership on the Council. He invited the Central Trades and Labor Council to appoint a committee to attend a meeting of his fellow-inquisitors, saying, "If organized labor, thru a representative committee, after careful investigation, finds that labor should not be represented on this council, I shall be glad to resign."

In spite of a very bitter attack upon Frayne's position by the representative of the Teachers' Union, Frayne's invitation was accepted by a narrow majority.

At the session held on June 2, the Central Trades and Labor Council was, however, not represented. Evidentally the A. F. of L. leaders had pulled a sufficient number of strings to enable Frayne to escape defeat, but they were not able to keep the body in line.

The strongest local unions represented in the body protested so strongly and so vehemently against any recognition of the Inquisit Committee that the Central body was unable to go thru with proposal to attend a session of inquisitors. In the end Labor's ord of opposition to the efforts terrorise the progressive, the th ing, and the radical among teachers remains clean.

It is a distinct disappointment Labor everywhere, however, the Central Labor body did take a truly militant stand; tha did not demand the abolition of Advisory Council, and the expuls of that labor faker, that Bolshe fighter, Hugh Frayne, from ranks of organized labor. The la faker must go. And Hugh Fra is one of the most reprehensible the whole motley crew.

All signs point to the early mise of the Advisory Council. opposition its brief activity aroused may in turn result in complete wiping out of the L laws whose one aim was to crip the radical movement in Americ

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News of Workers Party Activities in the City, State and Nation

Amter and Salzman on Tour of District Two Get Fine Resphonse

AMTER DATES

Kate Amter, well-known labor cartoonist and orator, being toured thru District No. 2 of the Workers Party of America, will speak at the following dates:

Friday, July 21, Albany, N. Y.; Saturday, July 22, Schenectady; Sunday, July 23, Schenectady; Monday, July 24, Troy; Tuesday, July 25, Cohoes; Wednesday, July 26, Amsterdam; Thursday, July 27, Johnstown; Friday, July 28, Gloversville; Saturday, July 29, Utica; Sunday, July 30, Oneida; Monday, July 31, Syracuse; Tuesday, August 1, Syracuse; Wednesday, August 2, Pennelville; Thursday, August 3, Rochester; Friday, August 4, Rochester; Saturday, August 5, Buffalo; Sunday, August 6, Buffalo; Monday August 7, Niagara Falls; Tuesday August 8, Buffalo; Wednesday, Aug 9, Jamestown; Thursday, August 10, Salamanca; Friday, August 11, Bolivar; Saturday, August 12, Olean; Sunday, August 13, Hornell; Monday, August 14, Hornell; Tuesday, August 15, Van Etten; Wednesday August 16, Ithaca; Thursday, Aug 17, Geneva; Friday, August 18, Endicott; Saturday, August 19, Binghamton; Sunday, August 20, Middletown; Monday, August 21, Paterson, N. J.; Tuesday, August 22, Passaic; Wednesday, August 23, Newark; Thursday, August 24, Elizabeth; Friday, August 25, Linden; Saturday, August 26, Jersey City; Monday, August 28, Perth Amboy.

Mrs. Amter has just announced a successful meeting in New Haven Conn., at which from 500 to 1,000 people were present.

Striking railroaders in the audience were so impressed by the industrial policies of the Workers Party that they asked her to address an audience of striking railroaders at a hall that they had secured for that purpose the following day.

SALZMAN DATES

M. R. Salzman, the second speaker to be toured by District No. 2 of the Workers Party of America, will fill the following dates:

Thursday, July 20, Rochester N. Y.; Friday, July 21, Buffalo; Saturday, July 22, Buffalo; Monday July 24, Niagara Falls; Tuesday, July 25, Jamestown; Wednesday, July 26, Salamanca; Thursday, July 27, Olean; Friday, July 28, Bolivar; Saturday, July 29, Hornell; Monday, July 31, Spencer; Tuesday, August 1, Ithaca; Wednesday, August 2, Geneva; Thursday, August 3, Binghamton; Friday, August 4, Paterson N. J.; Saturday, August 5, Passaic; Sunday, August 6, Stelton; Monday, August 7, Newark; Tuesday, August 8, Elizabeth; Wednesday, August 9, Jersey City; Tuesday, August 10, Perth Amboy.

Convention Notice

Secretaries of Central Committees and branches unaffiliated with a Central Committee in District No. 2 of the Workers Party of America are requested to note the following instructions:

1. The District Convention will be held at the N. Y. Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, Saturday afternoon, July 29, and Sunday, July 30.
2. Convention delegates must report at the Labor Temple not later than 2 o'clock, Saturday afternoon, July 29.
3. Delegates must be elected by the various Central Committees or unaffiliated branches on or before July 20. The names of all elected delegates must be immediately forwarded to the District Office, Room 508, 80 E. 11th Street, New York City.
4. The proceeds on the sale of convention assessment stamps must be turned in not later than July 25. All members of District No. 2 of the Workers Party must purchase at least one of these stamps or member will not be considered in good standing.
5. Delegates from Central Committees or unaffiliated branches will not be seated unless their quota of assessment stamps has been paid for prior to the opening of the convention.

EDWARD LINDGREEN,
District Organizer
Workers Party of America,
District No. 2.

Social Revolutionary Defendants Are Last Remnants of Party

By ANISE
(Federated Press Staff Correspond.)
(By Mail)

MOSCOW, June 18.—In the Great Hall of the Unions, once a noblemen's club, under candelabra of gilt and crystal and between great pillars of marble, the Communist revolutionaries that succeeded are holding trial of the social revolutionaries that failed. The charges are murder plots and actual assassinations in attempting to overthrow the present government of Russia.

The chief event of the past week was the withdrawal of Emile Vandervelde and the other foreign defenders from the court.

From the beginning of the trial Vandervelde openly questioned the right of the court to try the defendants; and some political discussion took place on his point. Then the defense demanded the right to keep their own official stenographic record. They frequently threatened to leave. Finally, however, one of the foreign defenders, Rosenfeld, stated in court that except for the stenogram, the defense was now granted all necessary privileges.

Two days later the foreign advocates were absent from court, and at 11 o'clock in the evening (for that is the hour of adjournment in Moscow courts) one of the prisoners rose to state that the accused had freed the foreign defenders from their duties. The lack of the stenogram was again brought in as reason. The judge informed them that they could have as many stenographers as they wished at the reporters' table, but that only official court record could be recognized.

The trial now proceeds with Russian advocates. The atmosphere is informal. Prisoners may question any witness and not infrequently heated discussions take place between some of the defendants and others who have turned state's evidence.

Many of the counts mentioned in the indictment are admitted by the defendants. Gotz, the chief figure, admits responsibility for the junker uprising in January, 1918. Other witnesses describe the forming of district committees and military bodies to overthrow the Soviet government. Strong evidence seems to tie them closely with assassinations.

Under these circumstances, it is perhaps better for the chances of life of the prisoners that Vandervelde has withdrawn from open part in the trial. His presence was reviving all the old tensions, and making the fight between Communists and social revolutionaries seem again a really militant fight in Russia. The plain fact is that the social revolutionaries are dead in Russia; there is no party doing anything except the Communist party.

It is the central committee of the social revolutionary party, sometimes called the party of Kerensky, which is now on trial. During its brief term of power, its ranks were open to all comers as are political parties in the United States, but unlike the Communist party in Russia which strictly safeguards its membership. The result of this open policy was the flooding of the social revolutionary party with adventurers of all kinds, seeking safety or advancement. Many of these committed assassinations, and pillage, some took part later in systematic banditry on the various frontiers.

The question at issue in the trial is how far these acts of murder have been individual and spasmodic, by scoundrels attaching themselves to the social revolutionaries for protection, and how far they have been authorized by the central committee of the party.

SEATTLE.—To counteract huge militaristic parades and festivals which marked the celebration of Independence day here, the Central Labor council has indorsed a demonstration for No More War days, July 29 and 30. The program will be under the auspices of the local Women's Trade Union league.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The Workers Party and Conference For Independent Labor Political Action

The conference of the representatives of the remnants of the Socialist Party of New York and the few units of the Farmer-Labor Party held last week in Beethoven Hall, having under the leadership of the S. P. and F. P. demagogues turned down the request of the Workers Party of America for affiliation on the basis of a united front, Local Greater New York of the Workers Party has issued the following statement:

The act of the so-called conference for Independent Labor Political Action is not only failing to invite all working-class political parties and unions, but actually refusing to admit the Workers Party of America, the largest working-class political party now existing in the United States, is sufficient evidence of the bad faith and ridiculous presumption of those who called the conference.

This conference, hailed as a new development in the labor movement of the city showing the determination of organized labor to carry on independent political action, turns out to be on a back-room political job of a few "leaders" without any followers. It is only an effort of a few bankrupt leaders of the dead Socialist Party to secure in a new disguise sufficient support to rehabilitate themselves. The use of the name of the local Farmer-Labor Party (existing practically only on paper) is merely an excuse for deserting the corpse of the Socialist Party which died under them.

The Socialist Party which in 1919 had a hundred thousand members in the United States has had its membership reduced to less than 7,000 in the entire United States in the last three years. With this reduction in its membership has gone a reduction of its political influence upon the working masses of this country.

The Farmer Labor Party was a timid pretense from its very beginning. It has not been able to gain even such pitiful strength as the Socialist Party once had. It consists, at present, of a handful of members.

Realizing that they had run their course so far as securing support under their own names these two organizations have joined in a deal to create the impression of the birth of a new labor political organisation having the support of organized labor in the city of New York.

Thru manipulation of the names of the few members of unions who belong to the Socialist Party and the Farmer-Labor Party the appearance has been given to the "Conference for Independent Labor Political Action" that it is a body representative of organized labor in New York City. Actually it is but a fusion of the remains of the Socialist Party and the ghost of the local Farmer Labor Party. Hopeless of landing their leaders in office thru campaigns under their own party names these two organizations have fused under a new name in the hope that thus they can put a few job-hunters into public office.

The Workers Party of America has been barred from this Conference because the leaders of the Socialist and Farmer Labor Party know that the Workers Party would not be a participant in any deal to betray the workers of the City of New York for the benefit of an office-seeking group.

The workers of this country face a crisis such as has not before existed in this country. They are face to face with the most bitter struggle against the employers in the history of the last quarter of a century. In this struggle the employers are using the might of the government to compel the workers to accept lower wages and worse working conditions. Injunctions, industrial courts, Lusk Committees, and the State and Federal troops are the weapons with which the workers are being beaten into submission.

With such a struggle raging it is imperative that the whole strength of the workers be organized in the fight. The Workers Party is ready in all sincerity to give its heartiest support to a genuine movement for independent political action of all working class organizations on the basis of a United Front. But we find only a manoeuver of the politicians of the Socialist Party and Farmer Labor Party in a job-hunt to betray the interests of the working class.

The Workers Party of America supports the policy of the United Front of labor. Its aim, however, is not to create a United Front of job-hunting labor politicians but of the working masses who are suffering under the whip of the employers and the government. Its program is not only to rally those working masses for a common struggle in the coming elections but to mobilize the whole power of the workers for the struggle against the employers.

The Workers Party proposes that the working people shall enter into the election campaign in support of candidates from the ranks of the working class. It also proposes that the working people shall unite industrially and politically to fight their everyday battles against the employers.

It proposes that labor—organized and unorganized—shall get behind the striking miners, railroad men and textile workers.

It proposes that thru mass meetings and mass demonstrations the working people shall call a halt upon the use of the power of the government against the striking workers thru injunctions, courts and soldiers.

It proposes joint action in the strikes by the workers to halt the aggression against labor by the employers and the government.

It demands united action of all workers to prevent vicious czarist censorship of working-class educational institutions.

It demands that the government shall furnish relief to the unemployed by paying union wages to those unable to secure work, the cost to be borne by the industries of the country.

The program of action proposed by the Workers Party deals with the problems which the workers are facing to-day. The Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties are afraid of these problems. They are content to have their platform filled with high-sounding phrases dealing with pretty reforms to be achieved in the sweet by and by.

Although the few real representatives of organized labor who found their way into the so-called Conference for Independent Labor Political Action demanded that the Workers Party be invited to send delegates, the labor politicians in this conference dared not permit the entrance of a political group standing on the platform outlined above which refuses to sacrifice the interests of the workers to office seeking.

THE WORKERS PARTY
OF AMERICA
Local Greater New York
William Weinstone, Secretary

A WORLD LANGUAGE

Decisions of the Study Commission of the Third Internationale for the adoption of an International Language. (From L'Humanite, Paris, March 28th, 1922.) It is known, that the two last congresses of the Communist Internationale have treated the question of an international language. A "Study Commission" was nominated by the secretariat of the Internationale and confirmed by a resolution of the third World Congress (July 12th, 1921).

The Study Commission recognizes unanimously, that the general adoption of an Auxiliary Language by the propagandists would very much facilitate the task of Communism, but it regrets to state, that the time is not yet opportune for its general and official introduction into the Communist Internationale.

To all comrades and organizations that have expressed the explicit desire to propagate the international language in accordance with the decision of the Study Commission, this one recommends that the propapanda be based upon the study and teaching of Ido, which must be considered as scientifically superior, more easily perfectible, even with its defects, and which consequently has the greatest chances to be finally adopted officially.

This recommendation expresses the opinion of all members of the commission except one, who would have abstained from any recommendation.

HANS ITSCHNER,
Secretary of the Study Commission,
Secretariat of the Communist
International.

The President is Jos. Pogany, former People's Commisary of Soviet Hungary.

In accordance with the above quoted statement, we, the Workers' Ido Society of Pittsburgh, Pa., as the only radical Ido organization in America hereby extend an invitation to our Esperantist comrades to form with us such a common organization, with the understanding, that both dialects are to be officially used and that both dialects are to occupy equal space in our organ, and furthermore, that the organization is to recognize and abide with the future final decision of the Third Internationale.

Only in this way can we form a united language front.

Esperantists and other workers approving this plan, please communicate at once with the secretary of the Pittsburgh Workers' Ido Society, A. Rostrom, 7616 Tioga St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Nuorteva Is Commissar of Education for the Commune of Karelia

Santeri Nuorteva, well known in America for his activity as director of the Information Bureau of the Finnish Revolutionary Government and as secretary of Ludwig Martens, the representative of Soviet Russia, is now working in the Karelian Workers' Commune as Commissar of Education. When Nuorteva went to Russia, there he was immediately appointed director of Western and Scandinavian departments of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. In March, 1921, a great sensation was created when the news was received that Nuorteva had been arrested. All kinds of rumors were broadcasted, but, nevertheless, no official statement could be had.

In February of this year, Nuorteva was released after a thoro investigation of his case. This investigation revealed that all the accusations against Nuorteva were fabrications and falsifications invented by his old political enemies. Nuorteva was declared free, all his party rights were restored and he was completely vindicated. On account of his long confinement pending the examination of the case, Nuorteva was granted a vacation in order to secure rest in a sanatorium. However, he thought the best vacation to be "working among the Finnish and Russian workers in beautiful Karelia" and, for the time being, he is now in charge of the schools and educational system.

The Finnish organ of the Karelian Workers' Commune, "Karjalan Kommuni," interviewed Nuorteva. The paper says among others:

"During our interview with Nuorteva, he declared himself especially contented with the fact that after a long time he is again able to work together with the Finnish comrades—and it certainly appears that there is plenty of room for effort in Petrozavodsk (capital of the Karelian Workers Commune).

"All's well that ends well," he said referring to his experience of the past year. "I never doubted that all the misunderstandings would be cleared up. I do not entertain any bad feeling for what happened. In the Revolution every man should regard himself as a soldier and must be capable of bearing whatever unpleasant circumstance may befall him. To the Finnish and American Noske-papers, which, I understand attempted to utilize my imprisonment as a weapon against communists, I am tempted to say quite bluntly that I have not asked nor do I desire their sympathy for my sufferings. When these journalists attacked the communist press of Finland and America for their failure to defend me publicly when I was imprisoned, it only showed that those gentlemen do not in the least comprehend what is meant by communistic discipline. While the highest executive power of the proletariat is examining a certain matter, we calmly await the outcome with the confidence that its decision will strike at the truth. This it has done in my case also and now I stand more firm and certain in our ranks than ever before, with the realization that I will remain a communist even tho suffering may fall to my lot."

LOWELL, MASS.—A wage slash affecting 3000 cotton workers in the Merrimac Manufacturing Co. mills in this city went into effect July 10. At a meeting of more than 100 representatives of labor organizations here plans were laid to organize the cotton operatives to resist.

City Convention of the Workers Party to Nominate Candidates for Fall Elections

The Workers Party Local Greater New York will meet in convention on Sunday, July 23, 10 A. M., to nominate candidates for the coming elections and also elect delegates to the District Convention to be held a week later. The Agenda for the convention follows:

1. **Election of Temporary Officers.**
2. **Report of Credentials Committee.**
3. **Election of Permanent Officers.**
4. **Election of Resolutions Committee.**
5. **Report of Executive Secretary.**
6. **Report of Resolutions Committee.**
7. **United Front.**
8. **Election of delegates to the District Convention.**
9. **Nomination of Political Candidates.**
10. **Election of Campaign Committee.**

All credentials of delegates must be in the Local Office no later than Saturday.

Oil Workers' Organizer Is Tortured Brutally

CHICAGO.—Demand for investigation of the torturing and tar and feathering of William Bugher, organizer, Oil Workers' Industrial union, near Shamrock, Okla., has been made in a telegram sent to Gov. J. B. A. Robertson of that state by Harry Feinberg, secretary, General Defense committee here.

Bugher is in a critical condition following a beating by three men who kidnapped him from the porch of the Hotel Erin in Shamrock, a town in the oil fields 22 miles southwest of here. In a lonely woods they stripped him naked, and fastened his wrists to a tree-limb above his head. They asked him why he belonged to the I. W. W. He said: "I have a right as an American to belong to any organization that is not against the government." He explained that the I. W. W. newspapers were accorded second-class mailing privileges by the federal authorities. Each of Bugher's captors then flogged him with a split strap, which cut into his flesh with every blow. They finished their work by tarring and feathering him.

Cold rain began to fall as they left. For two hours Bugher struggled before he freed his wrists and tore the bandage from his eyes. Thru the darkness he stumbled back to Shamrock. At the Hotel Erin he was told that he had 30 minutes to leave town. Bugher took a train to another community, where friends are caring for him.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Workers Party Festival

TO BE HELD JULY 30

The Summer Festival and Picnic of the Workers Party, to be held at Dickert's Park, on July 30th, has aroused great interest among the comrades and sympathizers of the Local New York of the W. P.

The picnic has been arranged to raise funds for the coming campaign and everyone is pitching in to make the fair successful.

The language federations are organizing mass singing of their members—and comrades of the language branches are requested to come early to the Park in order to take part in this event. Games, dancing, bowling, athletic exhibitions, and other features will make the picnic the greatest affair of the year. Park opens at 10 A.M. Tickets at the gate 50c.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Financial secretaries must return their report blanks showing receipts and expenses of the branch since its formation at once. No branch can be considered in good standing unless the financial secretaries take care of this matter without further delay. Comrades must settle up for tickets outstanding.

WORKERS' GENERAL STAFF

(By the Federated Press)

MOSCOW.—The new executive committee of the Communist International will be composed of the following: Zinoviev, chairman; Bukharin, Radek, Russia; Brandler, Germany; Souvarin, Leiciague, France; Gramsci, Italy; Smeral, Jilek, Czecho-Slovakia; Jordanov, Bulgaria; alternates: Cook, North America; Kunsinen, Finland.

CAUCASIAN PICNIC

to be held by
N. Y. BRANCH
Sunday, July 30th, 1922
BURK'S PARK
Shislik, Games, Races, Music
Tickets, 25 cents

Take Van Cortland Subway, get off at 231st Street and walk four blocks west.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—Tickets of picnic of July 25th, postponed on acmount of rain, are good for July 30th.

WORKERS PARTY DAY

JULY 30th
Summer Festival & Picnic
DICKERT'S PARK
4018 Boston Road, New York
(near Dyre Ave. Station)
Mass singing, Dancing, Athletic exhibition, Bowling,
Games for everybody
Fun for everybody.

Tickets in advance 40 cents
At Gate 50 cents

For Election Campaign Fund

SUMMER FESTIVAL
and
PICNIC

WORKERS PARTY, LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK
JULY 30th, 1922
at
DICKERT'S PARK
4018 Boston Road (Dyre Ave. Station)

DANCING SINGING BOWLING GAMES
FUN FOR ALL

Tickets, 40 cents At Gate, 50 cents

SOVIET RUSSIA and YOU

Millions have died in Soviet Russia from hunger!
Millions will be the victims of tuberculosis!
Millions have had their constitutions undermined by famine!
Fields cannot be cultivated
Factories cannot be operated
Mines and railways cannot work
BECAUSE THERE ARE NO TOOLS OR MACHINERY!
SOVIET RUSSIA DEPENDS ON YOU!
HAVE YOU DONE YOUR SHARE?
HELP CONTRIBUTE COLLECT
FUNDS TO BUY MACHINERY AND IMPLEMENTS
ACT NOW!
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
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Soviet Russia, official organ, issued semi-monthly—$2.50 per year.

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HERE'S MY RENEWAL—find enclosed $........ for which renew my subscription to THE WORKER for .... months.

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National Defense Committee Picnic, Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, L. I., Sunday, August 20th, 1922

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Aiding the Enemy

A political party affiliated with the Third (Communist) International is an outlaw organization in the United States. Membership in such an organization is prima facie evidence of intent to overthrow the government by force and violence. Nothing more than evidence of such membership is necessary for conviction in any court in the land according to numerous decisions.

Otto Branstetter, secretary of the Socialist Party of America, apparently believs that there are not enough class-war prisoners in the United States and that the Department of Justice is laying down on the job.

In an earnest endeavor to increase the activity of the department, which has been some what hampered by charges of bribetaking preferred in the senate against the head of the department, Otto Branstetter has issued a circular in which he announces that the Workers Party of America is part of the Third International and the "legal" expression of the Communist Party of America.

The Socialist Party is not affiliated with the red Third International and its attitude towards the yellow internationals is also somewhat vague. Under the circumstance outlined above, however, its latest announcement leaves little doubt that it maintains at least a working arrangement with the black international of spies and agents-provocateurs.

Branstetter's statement to the press seems to be timed to fit in with the refusal of the New York conference to accept the affiliation of the Workers Party of America and is undoubtedly an attempt to excuse the betrayal of the United Front policy by playing upon the prejudices of workers whose minds are poisoned by the propaganda of their masters.

The Workers Party carries its messages to the American workers and the workers have the opportunity to judge the party by its acts and utterances.

They have already judged the Socialist Party and its latest utterance will serve only to make intelligent workers regret that its decaying corpse was not buried deep enough to prevent its noxious odor making more poisonous the fetid atmosphere of capitalism.

"Figures Don't Lie But Liars Figure"

Some one has said that there are three kinds of liars: "Liars damned liars and statisticians."

The Railway Labor Board is the finest example of the truth of this statement that has yet come to our attention. Its ruling reducing the wages of railway labor is based on the premise that hourly wage rates have risen faster than the cost of living since 1915 and that the purchasing power of railway wages is now higher than in 1917.

In 1917 the cost of living had risen about 35 per cent while wage increases ranged from 6.7 to 17.9 per cent. To pick 1917 as a starting point is so obviously unfair that a body basing its case on this kind of misrepresentation can only make itself ridiculous. This is the one task in which the board has had wonderful success.

In addition to the above monumental error the board neglects to take into consideration that the 48-hour week has been inaugurated since 1915 and the number of paid hours in a working week decreased.

We have stated many times that wage reductions and wage increases are never based, except in the most general way, upon the evidence submitted. It is the easiest thing in the world for workers to prove that they are not receiving a wage that allows a decent living standard but it is another thing to get it. This is always a question of the power of their organizations; any raise above a mere subsistence level depends on this.

The case of the employers, based on the evidence, is always weak and this attempt of the railway board to fill the stomachs of the railwaymen with figures is only another instance of the fraudulent nature of the wage system.

The railroad workers have made the only reply possible. More power to them.

The Gethsemane of the Intellectual

Maxim Gorky's last work, "Ecrits de Revolution," published in Paris, records the path of uncertainty trod by intellectual leaders the world over when th eRussian revolution thrust itself into the old scheme of things.

The book, containing as it does Gorky's writings and speeches covering the three years period from 1917 to 1920 affords an opporutnity of tracing the change that took place in his attitude toward the revolution.

> **In November, 1917, Gorky described Lenin as "a boss," "a Napoleon of Socialism," "a Russian barin" with "certain moral traits of the fallen barin class." He called Lenin "a slave of dogma" and of using the working class as material for experiments. Under Lenin's leadership during this period Gorky maintained that he was "destroying the best elements among the workers and arresting for a long period the normal development o fthe Russian revolution."**

By July 20, 1920, Gorky's views had changed completely and, according to the review of his book in The Freeman,

> **Lenin had become in Gorky's eyes "a great man and an honest man" to whom "nothing that is human is foreign" and whose "whole aim in life is the happiness of humanity"; "a Puritan" whose "private life is such that in an age of great religious faith he would have been regarded as a saint"; an "idealist" who addresses a meeting of workers "in tones extremely simple, with a tongue of iron, with the logic of an ax," without "offensive demagogy or any banal searching for fine phrases"; and, finally, "the man who is striving to transform the potential energy of the slow-footed masses of Russia into effective energy."**

Gorky ddi not recognize the revolution for what it was from the very beginning. He did not know what revolutions were and like almost every other intellectual in the world who sincerely desired an end of economic slavery obscured their vision of its final goal and almost without exception they have spoken only to denounce it. The honest ones were mistaken and as for the others history has already assigned them their place. Gorky acknowledges his mistake but the fact that a Gorky can err so grievously in the dark hour of revolution shows that when that hour strikes the workers stand alone.

The friends who went with them in the early days of the struggle will know them not.

Did You Help—Or Hinder?

It IS a pertinent question, purposely so.

We put it so because it is IMPORTANT.

Your answer also is important. Important to THE WORKER and, we hope, also to you.

DID YOU HELP THIS PAST WEEK IN THE WORKER DRIVE FOR 25,000 NEW READERS?

There can be but ONE answer to that question.

YOU DID—or you did not!

If you did help, if you got some subscribers, if you made other workers acquainted with THE WORKER, if you bought some sub cards—THAT'S HELP. And we have your answer.

But, if you got no subscribers, if you purchased no sub cards to sell, if you made no new readers acquainted with THE WORKER, if you sold no papers, ordered no bundle—well, that is not help, that's hindering.

You don't have to positively sabotage this work in order to hinder its progress. Just negative action, refusal to DO YOUR PART, neglect to perform your duty—that also is a hinderance.

Every Workers Party member, every WORKER reader is not only expected to perform his part of the work of getting these 25,000 new readers, each have been requested to get a certain number of subscriptions.

Special letters of instructions have been sent you. You have been given a small bit of this work to do. We have not asked you to do more than you can do. BUT WE EXPECT THAT YOU WILL DO THE WORK REQUESTED.

We expect that of each and every one. The success of this drive for new readers depends upon your accomplishing at once the little task demanded of you.

If you do it right away, we will know YOU ARE HELPING. If you do it right away, success will be yours and ours. We believe you are going to HELP!

Wasted Sympathy

Every time some assassin of the workers meets the end to which he has condemned thousands there is a loud outcry from the capitalist press in which join the yellow misleaders of the workers who are pacifists except when hangers-on of the rulers get a taste of their own medicine. The death of the Czar and his degenerate nobles produced columns of sob stuff in the press of the world. Even the Kaiser is coming in for his share of sympathy since the German workers have shown signs of becoming impatient with the treacherous group which succeeded him in Berlin. The shooting of Sir Henry Wilson by two young Irish workers has been no exception to the rule; Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson have joined with the British capitalist and liberal press in deploring the occurence, denouncing the perpetrators, and in offering their sympathy to his bereaved family.

While the Black and Tans were murdering and torturing in Ireland under the leadership of Wilson, these gentlemen and their kind were either silent or given to uttering carefully worded interviews designed to offend no one responsible for the outrages.

Commenting on this matter the British Communist says:

> Political Assassination is, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, political folly. It inflicts the minimum of material damage and confers the maximum of moral advantage upon the cause and class against whom it is directed. It is, in its very desperation, a confession of weakness and despair.
>
> The Imperialist Press is busy using the corpse of Henry Wilson as a battering-ram wherewith to shatter all that is left of hope for an Irish Workers' Republic; official Imperialism has used his corpse as the centre of a pageant into which military might and the Royal Family were interwoven in equal parts.
>
> Worst of all the leaders of the British Labor Party, fresh from sharing strawberries and cream with the accomplices in the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg—and with their pockets stuffed with indignant perorations in defense of the would-be murderers of Lenin and Trotsky—use the coffin of Henry Wilson as a rostrom from which to deliver a daily bulletin on the state of their soul.
>
> If we could have prevented the killing it would not have happened. But being done, we say flatly that the people who invented the Black and Tans, who, after torture, murdered, legally and in cold blood young Kevin Barry—who rejoiced, as the "Daily Mail" did, when Liebknecht and Luxemburg were foully slain—who shrieked with joy (as they all shrieked) at every fresh report of the murder of Lenin—these are the last people on earth who should pretend to moral indignation at the end of Henry Wilson.
>
> We say in cold blood—"To hell with humbug!"

The British Communist is right; we have all to many opportunities to shed tears over the corpses of murdered workers to waste any time over the demise of a professional butcher whose hands were red with the blood of thousands.

Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt, the reigning prince of the Roosevelt dynasty, speaking at the convention of the Elks recently, demanded the punishment of those responsible for the Herrin affair.

Our information is to the effect that those directly responsible are now beyond the reach of even the supreme court.

Tragedy of Irish Labor

(Continued from Page One)

those of pronounced reformist tendency, but that does not mean that behind O'Connor and De Valera were all the revolutionists.

Many of the strongest and best of the revolutionary workers sided with Collins because they were sick to death of romantic flourishings and Republicanism which led nowhere. They believed that England would never grant the full Republican program of O'Connor and De Valera, and they knew that neither of these generals had the power to force her to.

They believed that the institution of the Free State had exorcised the spirit of nationalism sufficiently for them to begin their task. They wanted to get on with the social revolution and not be held up any longer by romantic idiots.

Middle Class Behind Collins

It was because there was some truth in that point of view that Collins' success was ultimately assured. Collins could never have succeeded by British ammunition alone. He is an Irish revolutionary, and his power lies in that. If he had become a British policeman, he woul have gone the way of the Black and Tans—as he may do yet. But, for the moment, he has a real and irresistible Irish power behind him. That power is the power of the Irish bourgeois. The Catholic hierarchy, the farmers, the trading community, the employers and merchant class as a whole, with a large section of the professional classes, are solidly for Collins. The nationalist demands of the Irish bourgeoisie—which ultimately boil-down to sufficient political independence to be quit of the economic subjection and tutelage in which England has carefully left Irish industry—was actually and in fact conceded by the treaty which Collins signed.

Pact Helped Irish Exploiters

The bourgeois class, when in its revolutionary stage as in Ireland, is singularly acute and quickwitted, and the generality of the middle-class revolutionaries quickly penetrated thru the disguise of oaths to the king and imperialist ceremony to the real fact of the concession of economic independence. It is for this reason that, so long as Collins maintains a sufficiently stiff demeanor to the London authorities, he will find his support continually growing and stabilizing.

De Valera Irish Mazzini

Compared with Collins', the power of De Valera is small and evanescent. De Valera is the Mazzini of Ireland. In every revolution there are to be found leaders who take their program literally—who will have nothing but the exact demands that they have written down in their program. Honest, sincere and courageous, they are prevented by these very qualities from being of further use to the class they lead.

When the Italian middle classes achieved their aims—national unity and bourgeois liberty—underneath the House of Savoy, Mazzini would have nothing to do with it. He stood out for an Italian Republic. So, too, De Valera has stood out against compromise for an Irish Republic. So, too, just as Mazzini's followers wavered, dwindled and disappeared, De Valera's supporters in Ireland will gradually disperse, as the bonds of tradition and emotion which hold them are weakened by time.

Abhors Class Struggle

For—again like Mazzini—De Valera is forbidden by his principles to appeal to the only class which could fill up the ranks of his army—the revolutionary workers. All taint of Socialism, all Bolshevism, is abhorrent to him. He never was, never will be a leader of the workers. When the truce was first called, both De Valera and Collins sent round instructions forbidding all strikes and ordering the I. R. A. to disperse any strike pickets. When Rory O'Connor first issued his call for volunteers from the Four Courts he appealed simply for "plain men who were sick of politicians."

Workers' Instinct Correct

Nevertheless, altho revolutionary Communism is probably no stronger in the councils of the rebels than with Collins, the class-conscious mass of the workers tended more and more to De Valera's side. The few confessed Communists there were attempted to aid him, and the relics of the Citizen Army came out on his side.

It was more instinct than logic that led them there, for the old argument that the national question must be cleared utterly away by a Republic before the social revolution can be thought of has worn very thin by now; what they were impelled by was the sight of O'Connor and De Valera actually fighting the British Empire.

Collins as Defender of Empire

By whatever means, it was the case that Collins was actually defending British capitalist imperialism and De Valera and O'Connor actually combatting it. They felt—and their instinct was fundamentally correct—that they could not do wrong in joining the side which, for whatever reason, was fighting British capitalist imperialism.

The Tragedy of It All

But the tragedy of this has been that the question should ever have been presented to them in those terms, and as a choice between two such leaders. Worker has been shooting down worker, revolutionary killing revolutionary. The signing of the Treaty, which some thought was a sign of the defeat of the British Empire, has turned out to be Lloyd George's master-stroke.

The Irish Republican threat, which was draining the whole power of the Empire, has been wiped out of existence. A combination of craft and force has made the ablest leader of the revolutionaries take up the task of crushing his fellows.

Setback for Revolution

Whatever happens, the Irish revolutionary movement has been put back for years. Had O'Connor and De Valera won, or if any of the other Republican revolts, that will break out soon, succeed, only one result can follow. They will break up the Free State Government, maybe shoot Collins, dissolve the Free State troops—and then the British and Ulstermen will strike. De Valera will have to fight them as he had to fight before the truce—but this time the discipline and morale of the I. R. A. will have vanished, half of his old colleagues will be dead by his own act or on the enemy's side while throuot the Irish people will be fixed the expectation of defeat

Collins' Future Fate

If ever prophecy was fairly safe, it is to say that the Republicans could never stand up to the terrific machine Sir Henry Wilson left behind him. If Collins wins, things will be little better. Faced with the necessity of holding down the Republicans, dependent upon British munitions, and unable any more to threaten to break the Treaty and rejoin the Republicans, he will be forced more and more into the position of Churchill's policeman and his apparent independence will disappear.

Eventually, London will find in him a more efficient and respectable substitute for the Black and Tans.

Of the two solutions, the odds at the moment, I think, are on the second. But either is disastrous.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG

You can't blame Capitalism for hard times—it's all the fault of Congress.

The labor leaders vehemently deny the charge that the unions are fighting the government.

They are right for once. The government is merely fighting the unions.

Unity among leaders quite often means division among the masses.

"Progressive" Political Unity

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Let's unite with the Wilsonites . . .
With them we can join hands
And to the Newer Freedom
Lead our embattled bands.

Some Prohibition elements
Are quite radical, they say
To the goal of "Social Justice."
They'll help us pave the way.

Herbert Hoover's helping Russia;
Tho his help came rather late . .
He's acting quite progressive,
Would he be our candidate?

Down in Alabama is
A man who once, 'tis said,
Refused to kick a negro
After he was dead.

With these mass units welded
We'll march up to the polls,
And emancipate our candidates
At the cost of worker's souls.

Boycott of Jap Goods and Jap Soldiers in Siberia

EDITOR'S NOTE:—This appeal of the Japanese Communist Party to the Japanese soldiers in Siberia shows the fight that the Jap Communists are making against the aggression of Japanese imperialism in the territory of the Republic of the Far East. The Japanese delegates at Harding's Washington Disarmament Conference pledged Japan to immediate evacuation of Siberia. This pledge has never been fulfilled. It is now declared that this evacuation will take place in October. In the meantime the fight of the Japanese Communist Party continues. It declares as follows:

* * *

Japanese Soldiers in Siberia!

Do you know that in April 6,000,000 British workers passed a resolution of the most far-reaching effect upon the Japanese workers and peasants? The resolution calls for the boycott of things Japanese all over the world. This grave resolution is aimed at the Japanese imperialism in Siberia altho the British workers fully realize that the boycott will hurt the welfare of the Japanese workers by the increase of unemployed in Japan. As long as you, the soldiers of Japan, are in Siberia and murder and pillage the Russians the boycott will continue.

Soldiers in Siberia! As long as you remain in Siberia the workers of the entire world will boycott Japanese goods in their respective countries and this will continue as long as you stay and fight against the Russian Red soldiers. This means that as long as you stay in Siberia, the Japanese workers, and indirectly the Japanese peasants, will suffer from increased unemployment, depression and hard times in industry by the fall of foreign trade. As long as you maintain the present dangerous position in Siberia your brothers, sisters and families will suffer more and more

The boycott of Japanese goods by the proletarians of the world will no doubt bend the stiff neck of the Japanese militarists and capitalists, but this will first hurt your families at home and you are by your conduct bringing all these misfortunes upon Japan! When we point out these facts and the consequences of your staying in Siberia you should decide and act decisively for the interest of yourselves and Japan. There are only one or two ways of getting out of this unfortunate situation. The one is to quit your post as soldier and go back to Japan or go to the Soviet Russian side, throwing down your arms and becoming a peaceful worker. The other way is to organize the Soviet of the Japanese Soldiers in Siberia and to start the Bolshevik Revolution in Japan. In this the Russian, Chinese and Koreans will support you in Siberia. You can handle the comparatively few officers of the army; either arrest and keep them in a safe place, or do whatever you like, disarming them first so that you can proceed with your new revolutionary work for the real interests of Japan!

Down with Japanese Imperialism!

Down with capitalism and the capitalist government of Japan!

Long live the Soldiers' Soviets!

The Central Executive
Committee of the Communist Party of Japan.

Japan, April 10, 19221.

Debs Urges Industrial Unionism for Rail Men

"Labor should take a tip from capital and organize by industries instead of by crafts. My views are combated by presidents of local unions, by grand officers of international unions and by business agents, some of whom are crooked and others who are not, but all of whom are afraid they will lose their jobs and in some cases the princely salaries they draw. They don't like me for that reason.

"There is a curious contradiction in the fact that while wages have been radically reduced the cost of living has remained substantially the same and this is the primary reason for the industrial revolt of the workers which now threatens the country."

BUILD THE WORKER CONFERENCE

All delegates of N. Y. City CONFERENCE are requested Branches to THE WORKER to be on hand promptly at 8.30 P. M. at The Toiler Book Shop, 208 E. 12th St., Friday evening of this week.

At the last meeting held two weeks ago only one-half the registered number of delegates attended, yet the meeting was a very great success and the work of building up THE WORKER circulation in this city was begun.

At Friday's meeting further plans will be made and future work outlined. All Branch delegates must therefore be present to take up their duties.

Be on hand. Be prompt. Bring an idea with you.

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 234. [illegible] SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, 1922 [illegible] Price [illegible]

Miners, Shopmen Stand Pa

Coincident with the control of the railways by the Government under the Esch-Cummins law telegrams are pouring into the strike headquarters of the shop crafts at Chicago demanding no
ment except on a national basis and a return of seniority rights. Every day brings added evidence of the demoralization of traffic,—300,000 miles of transportation out of commission, due to the
celling of trains, is the admission of the railway executives themselves. Lack of cars has decreased coal production in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 tons.

Three Years Under Treaty of Versailles

Calling the workers of the world to a renewed struggle against the "Robber Peace of Versailles," the Executive Committee of the Communist International has issued a proclamation to the workers of the world on the third anniversary of the signing of this so-called "Peace Treaty." It is as follows:

Workers of the World!

For three years mankind has lived under the capitalist peace which was imposed upon it by the decisions of the Versailles Conference. This peace means the continuation of the fight of the imperialist robbers among one another upon the backs of the working class, a fight which demands of the latter no less sacrifice than the bloody slaughter on the fronts of the world war.

In the victorious countries millions of unemployed are starving because the capitalist suppressors cannot agree among themselves as to the best form for the further exploitation of the proletariat. In the defeated countries the workers are perishing because they must bear the double yoke of their own slave-drivers and the foreign oppressors who cannot extract sufficient surplus value from them through extended working hours to pay for the cost of the world war.

The world war was paid for in 15,000,000 dead and 40,000,000 wounded. The number of victims of the robber peace will be even greater if the working-class does not find the strength to burst the chains of capitalist rule and oppression.

The working-class missed the favorable moment when it was relatively easy to overthrow the bourgeoisie by a bold attack. When in 1918 the world war ended and the ruling capitalist classes of all countries shook before the revolutionary strength of the Russian Revolution, when inspired by the current of revolutionary enthusiasm the working classes of Germany, Austria and later Italy fought in an elementary fight for power, it would have been possible to seize power with bold courage but for the treachery of the social-patriotic war politicians.

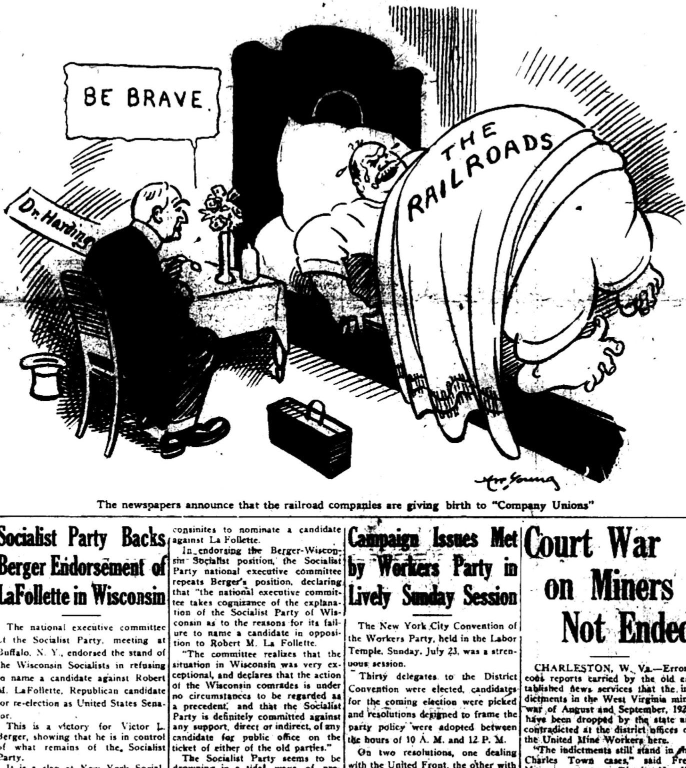
Weary and bled white in four years of murder, the workers long for peace and quiet. They do not realize that a peace which is decided among the ruling capitalist classes means for the proletariat a hell of suffering and a sea of misery ever as terrible as the sufferings of the world war.

The bourgeoisie has recovered from the first fears with which it was filled by the end of the war and the Russian Revolution. With the active assistance of the traitors to the working class during the imperialist war, the ruling classes have everywhere got the power and the power of the state again firmly in their hands. Everywhere the bourgeoisie used all the means at its disposal against the working class to shift the cost of the world war upon the latter's shoulders and to throw them under yet greater oppression and increased exploitation than before the war.

The trivial victories gained by the proletariat from the bourgeoisie shaken by the end of the war and the Russian Revolution have long since been lost. Wages are cut and working hours are lengthened. Wages will be still further lowered, far under the minimum of existence and the working hours must be ex-

(Continued on Page Four)

A Glorious Hope



The newspapers announce that the railroad companies are giving birth to "Company Unions"

Socialist Party Backs Berger Endorsement of LaFollette in Wisconsin

The national executive committee of the Socialist Party, meeting at Buffalo, N. Y., endorsed the stand of the Wisconsin Socialists in refusing to name a candidate against Robert M. LaFollette, Republican candidate for re-election as United States Senator.

This is a victory for Victor L. Berger, showing that he is in control of what remains of the Socialist Party.

It is a slap at New York Socialists who had adopted a resolution condemning the failure of the Wisconsinites to nominate a candidate against La Follette.

In endorsing the Berger-Wisconsin Socialist position, the Socialist Party national executive committee repeats Berger's position, declaring that "the national executive committee takes cognizance of the explanation of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin as to the reasons for its failure to name a candidate in opposition to Robert M. La Follette.

"The committee realizes that the situation in Wisconsin was very exceptional, and declares that the action of the Wisconsin comrades is under no circumstances to be regarded as a precedent, and that the Socialist Party is definitely committed against any support, direct or indirect, of any candidate for public office on the ticket of either of the old parties."

The Socialist Party seems to be drowning in a tidal wave of precedents that it refuses to recognize as such.

The Hague Conference

By KARL RADEK

The French memorandum of the 2nd of June as well as the English answer of the 12th of June roused a discussion in the French press, which together with the above-mentioned notes, throws a certain light upon the conference that is to take place at the Hague.

First of all, it is interesting to note that the English memorandum emphasizes the sovereign rights of the Russian Soviet Government, and warns France to make no encroachment upon these rights. We greet this part of English memorandum as a significant step forward from the first memorandum which was presented to the Russian Delegation in Genoa, and which would have meant nothing more than the capitulation of Russia, that is, the attempt to make Russia a colonial country.

(Continued on Page Four)

The soil in which grows the tree of social revolution needs to be fertilized from time to time. Social parasites of all kinds are its natural manure.

Campaign Issues Met by Workers Party in Lively Sunday Session

The New York City Convention of the Workers Party, held in the Labor Temple, Sunday, July 23, was a strenuous session.

Thirty delegates to the District Convention were elected, candidates for the coming election were picked and resolutions designed to frame the party policy were adopted between the hours of 10 A. M. and 12 P. M.

On two resolutions, one dealing with the United Front, the other with principles and program of the party, the debates were long and heated; more than five hours were consumed in disposing of these resolutions alone.

The decision on the United Front put the Convention on record as sympathizing with the creation of a labor party recruiting its membership from the unions and the affiliation of the Workers Party, without sinking its identity, with such an organization.

Improvements in the party program were ordered; the delegates were instructed to have it made more concise, embodying in clear phrases the aspirations and tactics of the revolutionary workers.

The list of candidates and other details will be found on page 5.

Scabs in the Navy

SYDNEY, N. S. Wales.—On the score that union wages were too high, the Australian federal government dispensed with union seamen on the oil carriers of the Australian navy. In their place enlisted men were signed on to do the work, something new in Australia.

Court War on Miners Not Ended

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Erroneous reports carried by the old established news services that the indictments in the West Virginia mine war of August and September, 1921 have been dropped by the state are contradicted at the district offices of the United Mine Workers here.

"The indictments still stand in the Charles Town cases," said Fred Mooney, secretary, District No. 17. "The prosecution has intimated that beginning with August 7 they will try the son of Rev. J. E. Wilburn and following that they will try Walter Allen for treason. Wilburn the father, was found guilty of second degree murder for the death of John Gore. A motion that the verdict be set aside will be ruled on by the judge August 7. There are rumors of tampering with the jury.

"Wilburn was the second man to be tried. William Blizzard, a sub district president, who came up on a treason charge, was quickly acquitted."

There are over 100 miners under indictment in the Charles Town cases. The erroneous report that the indictments had been dropped arose from the fact that indictments returned in Mingo county against individuals who could not be found have been quashed.

C. C. C. Meeting Postponed

There will be no meeting of the City Central Committee, Workers Party, this Saturday night. The meeting has been postponed [illegible] August [illegible] Labor Temple, [illegible]

Were it not for the desertion of the Signalmen, T
graphers and Maintenance of Way Brotherhood trans
tation would be completely tied up.

MINERS ALSO SOLID

The coal miners are likewise standing pat and
hoisting of the Stars and Stripes on the tipples of
mines patrolled by soldiers, state police and gunmen,
not brought the miners back on the job.

The strike of more than three months duration
which not a pound of coal has been produced in union
properties affected by the strike has cut down the surpl
to the vanishing point.

It is now admitted that even the 48 vessels placed in co
mission by the Shipping Board to import coal from Engl
cannot handle more than 500,000 tons per month even tho it
produced and loaded by the English miners and longshore
without protest; trouble is sure to develop there is the opi
of even the most enthusiastic proponents of the plan.

The facts of the case are that all available sources of c
supply fall several million tons short of filling the demand. Th
are no breaks in the ranks of the union miners and even in form
non-union fields the "Harding plan" of coercion by bayonets a
machine-guns has not had the expected result.

The United Mine Workers can, if they choose, pull out th
pumpmen in the union territories who have been allowed to
main on the job so far—and flood the mines.

The alacrity with which the suggestion of President Har
looking toward the mobilization of state and federal autho
behind the railroads and the coal owners was complied with by the governors of the various states has shown the strikers in both industries that all branches of government are the property of the capitalists of the United States and that organized power alone can force consideration. Never in the history of America have the class lines been so closely defined.

That both the shop crafts and the miners are refusing settlements on anything but a national basis is proof that American labor is learning the necessity of united action.

Most remarkable of all features of the gigantic industrial revolt is the indisputable fact that in the face of all the anti-union propaganda and the active hostility of the capitalist press the rather indefinite thing called public sentiment is swinging more and more to the strikers. In many instances the sending of troops into industrial districts where their presence was not requested by the civil authorities, has aroused deep resentment and outspoken protest.

So far as the mass of the people are concerned there is a perceptible inclination to let the railroads stew in their own juice; there was no frantic outburst of applause when Harding issued his proclamation outlawing the shopmen. The patriots over whose coal mines waves the flag find that there is no stampede to the protection of its folds. There is a growing resentment against the little group of financiers whose ownership of the railways can no longer be concealed.

Altogether the situation is one to bring much joy to the hearts of those who have despaired of the American workers and looked forward to many dreary years of uninterrupted control by the finance-capitalists with no protest from the wage-earners.

MASSACHUETTS MOBILIZES

BOSTON.—With only the thinnest camouflage, everything is being fixed for the use of state troops against the railroad workers on strike in Massachusetts. President James H. Hustis, Boston & Maine Railroad, and Governor Channing H. Cox were in conference, discussing ways and means of protecting railroad property.

The newly organized state constabulary and all other units of the state police force have been ordered mobilized by Governor Cox to safeguard "the inalienable right to work." The order does not apply to the national guard.

"Following the governor's action the commissioner of public safety [illegible]

TO YOU

The response to the appeal fo
funds for the United Front Campaig
has been generous considering th
devastating employment and th
strikes in which the membership
involved.

But—

For this all-important task of the Workers Party a still greater effo is needed. It is by our ability carry the urgent message of th United Front of Labor to th workers of America during th critical time that we will be judged

Comrades!

You have done well! See to it th
the work already done is not wast
thru our inability to carry it to
conclusion.

How much will YOU give NOW
for the United Front?

UNITED FRONT FUND

June 27th to July 25th

Former Total, $644.30; Finnish Br., [illegible] lyn, $5; English Br., Seattle, Wash. [illegible]

Coal owners are [illegible] "fact-finding" commission. [illegible] that miners, not owners, [illegible] coal, is one fact that needs [illegible] demonstration.

[illegible] y Brings Neat Sum

July 15-16 about 175 enthusiastic classconscious workers turned out for the house-to-house collection arranged by the Miners' Relief Committee. Perhaps there is no more convincing proof of the solidarity of workers than this demonstration of dogged determination to help the striking miners of West Virginia in the face of innumerable obstacles. During two days of hot weather, when most people had left for the beaches or cool places, these self-sacrificing workers remained in the stuffy city, gathering pennies and nickels, dimes and quarters, tramping from house to house, upstairs and downstairs, from restaurant to restaurant, from one meeting-hall to another. They went everywhere asking for support for the brave miners.

Forward Obstructs

To make the task of the collectors more difficult, the Jewish Daily Forward, which pretends to be a working-class organ, came out with an attack on the Miners' Relief Committee, exhorting the public not to give the collectors any money. The Police Department aided the Forward in its attempt to discredit the volunteers, arresting some and terrorizing others. But still the collectors persisted. Until late into the night they worked, never stopping to rest until their boxes were full.

As a result of this splendid spirit $2100 was collected. All money has as yet not been turned in. [illegible] of this amount was immediately sent to John Gatherum, Secretary of District No. 29, United Mine Workers, Beckley, West Virginia.

Honor Roll

Special mention is due the following for their excellent collections: [illegible] Green, Young Workers League $[illegible].77; Paul Schatz; Yorkville, $[illegible].13; Walder Ako, $21.84; Emily Dorris, $43.15; Greetin Wessman, $[illegible].00; Fralmin, $22.62; Rose Morris, $19.07; Harry Orlovsky, $30.93 Emil Tauinun, $23.06; Ester Apar, $55.00; Glick Sisters and other Brownsville comrades.

The amounts collected by the various Sections of the city are as follows: Bronx, $428.92, Brownsville, $[illegible]3.95, Harlem $240.36, Yorkville $[illegible]6.44, South Brooklyn $161.82, Williamsburg $152.40, Coney Island Progressive Women $51.91, Boro Park $40.00.

Some other collectors who deserve special mention are: Lena Chelinsky $43.69, Jennie Glick $22.18, Bella Krasnow $21.48

The office of the Miners' Relief Committee is at 208 E 12th St. Address Louis Gruss, Secretary, Miners' Relief Committee

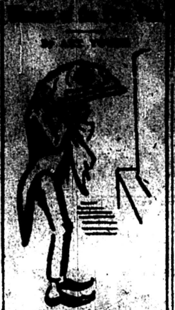
Friends of Soviet Russia to Hold Biggest Picnic and Costume Ball, Sept. 2

The season of picnics, outings and summer revels will reach its climax in the monster picnic to be held in Ulmer Park, Brooklyn, on September 2nd. Once more the thousands of sympathizers of Soviet Russia will gather for the jolliest time of the year.

Every attempt is being made to add to the fun and merriment of the occasion by introducing specially attractive features and novelties. Operatic numbers, brass bands, dancers, comic actors, motion-picture stars, motion pictures—everything which can draw a laugh, stir the emotions, excite interest and amuse will find its place in the big, varied program. Beginning Saturday afternoon and lasting far into the night, the picnic will be one long round of fun and pleasure. And last but not least there will be a truly delicious variety of refreshments, cooked and served by the most skillful wielders of the soup ladle and the beer glass—the Foodworkers' Union. Come one! Come all!

The price is insignificant. Thirty-five cents will admit anyone, male or female. Tickets on sale next week at the following places: 296 Sackman St., Empire Hall, Lorimer and Tenyck Sts., 47 Chrystie St., 240 E. 23rd St., 350 E. 81st St., 1403 Fifth Ave. 1347 Boston Road.

GRAND PIC-NIC
and
ENTERTAINMENT
of
The Workers Party
of Essex County
on
SUNDAY, AUGUST 27th, 1922
at
Hollywood Park,
MAPLEWOOD
Admission, 35 cents
Take Orange Car in Newark, or Springfield Ave. Car to Maplewood.
COME ONE! COME ALL!



The Poor Fish Says: "You made your money here, what more do you want.

Organization of Jap Labor Is Helped As Industrialism Grows

By GERTRUDE HAESSLER

(Staff Writer, Federated Press)

TOKIO, Japan.—In the face of the fact that Japanese workingmen are continually winning their numerous strikes, or effecting very favorable compromises, comes the startling statement of Mr. Iikei, writer on labor subjects, that only 10 per cent of the 1,500,000 Japanese industrial workers are organized.

"Japanese workers organize spontaneously in a crisis," he said, "and when that crisis is past the organization dissolves. That, probably, is the secret of their success. There is no worship of a form of organization—no danger that the workingman will lose sight of his goal by becoming infatuated with the machinery that is to win his goal. The spontaneity of every rally to arms in a labor struggle—be it merely a sub-rosa movement of sabotage, or an open strike with pickets and the usual casualties—carries the men over the top. When a man is discharged without reasonable cause the entire plant is inactive until he is reinstated, for every workingman in the place walks out with his discharged comrade. There is no union to direct the strike—the crisis is there, it is faced, and when it is over, work is quietly resumed."

The organized ten percent form the Japanese Federation of Labor which is modeled after the A. F. of L. Suzuki Bunji, the president and leader, is a friend of Samuel Gompers, follows the same conservative policies that the American leader does, and probably feels just as insecure in his position, for there is the same radical insurgency movement.

There are also persistent attempts, says Iikei, to establish industrial unions, but so far they have not gained much strength, due, no doubt, to the fact that industry is very young in Japan.

The police do all they can to oppose any sort of labor activity. The Metropolitan police bureau and the federal bureau of the interior is supporting a movement which closely resembles the Ku Klux Klan of America, and which breaks up labor meetings with daggers, fists, knives or clubs, with impunity and sometimes with the assistance of the police. It is composed of gamblers, owners of houses in the red light district, and other disreputable elements, as well as of discharged soldiers, Shinto priests, and firemen.

Some of the terms familiar to the American labor struggle have been taken over, translated into the Japanese labor language. These are "strike," "lockout," "open shop," "blacklist," "scab," "strikebreaker," "capitalism," "proletariat," etc.

"You mustn't expect too much of the Japanese laborer," said Iikei, "for you must remember that industrialism in Japan is very young. But we learn quickly, and we expect soon to outstrip the American labor movement in progress, for the movement in your country is getting to be too slow for us."

Major-General Clarence R. Edwards, commanding the first corps area, is making regular reports to the war department in Washington concerning conditions in his section. Following a long conference with the governor, Gen. Edwards ordered that all leaves in the first corps be cancelled.

BOSTON.—More than 150 delegates, representing about 60,000 shoe workers organized outside the A. F. of L. are in convention here with the announced object of forming a nationwide independent shoe workers' union.

Scabbing in a coal mine is the most unpleasant method of committing suicide we can think of.

These be tough days for the sage from Marion, Ohio.

[illegible] action:

1. Line up Branch members with 20-week subscriptions.

2. Distribute 20-week "sub" cards among branch members for soliciting purposes and collect from week to week.

3. Keep weekly account of how many are sold by branch.

4. Criticise Worker at Council with a view to help make it a better selling paper.

5. Arrange for theatre benefits in order to aid with funds.

In reporting on the first week's drive for 20-week subs, Chairman Elmer T. Allison declared that it was the greatest thing that has ever happened to THE WORKER, that 490 "subs" were received during the first week, and it is expected within the next few weeks that 1,000 "subs" per week will be received. The drive will be kept up as long as it brings results. New York comrades were not among those to respond to the drive, and Comrade Allison urged that action be taken.

The Branch representatives reported as follows:

Harlem-Jewish: Out of a meeting of 35, 25 "subs" were obtained. Advised that speakers be sent to branches to talk about The Worker, in order to stimulate interest.

English-Downtown: Sold 14 20-week "subs." Shall make an effort to reach all branch members with these cards.

Spanish: Ready to co-operate with Worker Council.

Bronx-English: More than half of membership already subscribers. Many cards distributed. Good co-operation. Many newsstands in the Bronx are taking The Worker. Confident that paper can be placed on newsstands successfully.

Russian-Bronx: Elected five members to distribute Worker and Iskra simultaneously. Obtained several newsstands. Carried recommendation that each member subscribe to two copies of The Worker.

English, West Side. Obtained quite a goodly number of newsstands. However, these were forced to discontinue the sale of The Worker upon threat of violence by enemy forces. Excuse given for discontinuing to carry The Worker was "No demand." Representative pointed out that it is the duty of the membership to create a demand by calling attention to The Worker at Union meetings and among fellow-workers in shops. Representative also advised that when placing the publication on newsstands, comrades should request dealers to display at least one copy.

The recommendation that each member subscribe to two copies of the Worker was carried.

Yorkville-German: Successful in newsstand work. Anxious to co-operate with Worker Council in every way. Sold over 100 Workers at the last meeting.

Harlem-English: Successful on newsstands.

Yorkville-English: Many good possibilities of selling The Worker in this section as there are numerous union meetings held in the different labor halls located there.

Finnish Harlem: Willing to co-operate in every way.

English Astoria: One comrade willing to use car to distribute The Worker in Astoria. Branch desirous of co-operating in every other way with Worker Council.

Lithuanian Williamsburg: All English-reading members will subscribe. Two men elected for newsstand work.

One open-air meeting a week will be held for the purpose of selling 20-week "sub" cards and building up and boosting The Worker.

Motion made and carried that first meeting for that purpose be held Friday, July 28th, at 10th Street and Second Avenue, and that Dunne be the speaker. The comrades who volunteered to take care of this meeting are Laikin, Benjamin, Gold, Allison and Weinstone.

Another meeting was arranged for Thursday, August 3rd, at 110th Street and 5th Avenue. Comrades Zuckerman, Heimowitz, Golub, and Amir volunteered to take care of that meeting.

It was suggested, in reference to the question of how to increase the interest and attendance at conferences, that speakers be obtained to discuss with the comrades vital issues of the day, as related to a revolutionary organ of the working class, that special letters be sent to branches reporting delinquencies, that publicity be given to these conferences in the party organs, and that delegates secure assistants in order to assure efficiency in getting the work done. Recommendations accepted.

The next conference of the Worker Council will be held Friday, August 4th, in the John Reed Garden, 208 East 12th Street, New York City. —Bertha Kuppersmith, Secretary.

As It Looks to Those Who Go Down in the Struggle

All-American Federation

By Y. RAMIREZ

American workers hear of the Pan-American Federation of Labor only at rare intervals. When they do hear of it they do not learn much about it. Most members of the A. F. of L. are not even aware that the A. F. of L. pays all its bills. There are some vague references to international solidarity, but just what the Pan-American Federation of Labor is doing and whether or not it has been able to win the confidence of the Latin-American masses are things about which Mr. Gompers prefers not to speak.

Purpose of Organization

The idea of a Pan-American Federation of Labor is a big one. It implies the uniting of the toiling masses throughout the length and breadth of the western hemisphere in a single great federation for the struggle against wage slavery. Such an organization could develop a truly formidable force. There is a solid economic basis for it. The workers of North, South and Central America have real interests in common, even aside from their general community of interest in the world proletarian movement. The United States is no longer simply a nation; it is an empire, and the whole of Latin America is gradually falling under its control. There is but one national capitalism with which the workers on this side of the Atlantic have to contend, and that is American capitalism. A single net of exploitation is enveloping them; the same problems are confronting them forcing them to seek a closer association among themselves.

Workers Fail to Perceive

In the United States the workers do not perceive this yet. It is not clear to them that Wall Street gathers strength from its investment in Latin America to resist the demands of the workers here. They do not understand where the bosses manage to get their raw material when there is a strike on in this country. They do not realize how many scabs are shipped regularly back and forth across the Mexican border, as the needs of the exploiters may require. They do not know about the system of engancho, whereby Cuban workers are induced to sign contracts that they cannot read and are brought into the United States in gangs to work in scab industries. Latin America seems strange and far away, while the wolf of Wall Street is so near. It is hard for us to appreciate that Wall Street is an All-American problem.

The workers of Latin America do realize it. They have reason to. In many cases they work for American concerns, often directly under Yankee supervisors. When a Mexican goes on strike it may be against Doheny, or Standard Oil, or the Copper Trust, or the Harvester Trust. Cuban workers labor to wrest a living wage from the United States Shipping Board, the American Tobacco Company, the Sugar Trust. Letters from Argentina tell of the bitter struggles in the meat packing industry, where Swift and Armour have more than $35,000,000 invested. In Central America, as in the islands of the Carribean, there is the United Fruit Company—and the banks.

Controlled by U. S. Banks

Oh the banks! How many little revolutions have they made and frustrated in Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica! ("The Republic of Brown Bros" they call Nicaragua.) Who does not know of the exploits of the National City Bank in Haiti and Santo Domingo? In Peru the customs houses are under the "supervision" of American bankers. Bolivia is being looted to cover a loan of $24,000,000 recently floated by a New York syndicate. American banking capital has long dominated Mexico, where Americans own more than two-thirds of the national wealth, and now the committee of bankers headed by Mr Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co. (in which American capital prevails) has obliged Finance Minister De La Huerta to sign an agreement handing over the National Railways of Mexico to private capital.

Banking capital is not merely Brown Bros., nor the National City Bank, nor even J. P. Morgan & Co. It takes in all of these and much more. Banking capital exerts its influence in Latin America, as in the United States, not only directly through established banks, but also indirectly, through control over funds invested in industry. It is the great unifying force that binds all capitalism together in a single feudal hierarchy dominated by one group of money-lords. Banking capital, señores, is Wall Street.

Wall Street Reaching Out

Wall Street is reaching out its hands for all of Latin America. Those countries that have not yet been subjected economically are sure to go the way of the others. Wall Street has millions of eager dollars crying out for investment and those dollars are finding their way into all the Latin American fields of exploitation. Before the war, American investments in Argentina were negligible; by the end of 1920 they had invested in Argentina government and municipal securities alone, and at the present moment a loan of 06,475,000 gold pesos is pending.

In Mexico, Cuba, Central America, the Carribeans, and a substantial part of South America the process of penetration has already gone so far that there is no hope for independent economic development. Wall Street is the omnipresent exploiter of the Western world, grinding down American and Latin American workers with equal impartiality; playing off one against the other, just as the capitalists at home play off one section of the workers against another. The Latin-American masses know this and feel it.

There is one other thing that the Latin-American masses know better than we do. They know that the United States Government is owned, controlled and administered by American capitalism, that is Wall Street. Again experience has been their teacher. It was the menace of American battleships in Havana harbor that broke the Cuban general strike a little more than a year ago. (Inside the United States the militia generally performs such functions—but we have a navy too.) The menace of those battleships is back of General Crowder at this minute as he sits in Havana, ordering Cabinet changes and obliging the Cuban Government, against the expressed will of both houses of the national legislature, to accept a $50,000,000 loan from American bankers.

American marines maintain "law and order" in Central America and the Carribeans. The Government at Washington holds out its hands to Juan Vicente Gomez, the brutal dictator of Venezuela, whose subservience to American capital apparently makes his many crimes against the liberty of his people unimportant. Time and again we have seen that in the systematic looting of Mexico, Wall Street is supported by a State Department that does not hesitate to resort to armed intervention when occasion may demand.

United Under Single Tyranny

Cuba and Panama are just as truly colonies of the United States as is Porto Rico. Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua are under military occupation. Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia and in an increasing degree Peru are American satrapies. Mexico has struggled gallantly in the past to preserve her national identity but she has had to succumb. And the American empire pushes steadily southward. So we all stand together, united under a single tyranny and a single capitalist machine.

Against the common enemy the working masses of Latin America are ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with us. They have indicated it time and again in innumerable demonstrations of solidarity. With the United States leading, a powerful Pan-American Federation of Labor could be built up. There is not the slightest doubt of it.—But such an organization, to have the confidence of our Latin-American brothers would have to really voice the aspirations of all. Otherwise it could never be more than a name, without adherence and without effective existence.

Must Recognize Class Struggle

In the first place it would have to recognize the fact of the Class Struggle. Not by any strength of the imagination can the Latin-American workers be brought to believe that their interests are identical with those of the capitalists who are exploiting them. Secondly, it would have to act along the lines suggested by the Class Struggle, not only against the capitalists but against their governmental power. It would have to take a resolute stand against American imperialism, systematically showing up everything that Wall Street and Washington are doing in Latin America, and preparing the workers for the idea of organized proletarian resistance.

Acid Test of Sincerity

The fight against imperialism must be a real fight. Unsupported expressions of abstract solidarity only make our Latin-American comrades suspicious. They have had their fill of American labor patrioteers who feel it their duty to rush to the defence of the American flag in any critical situation. With United States troops actually on Latin American territory, the fight against imperialism becomes an acid test of the sincerity and class consciousness of the organized workers of this country. Our own interests support the position of Latin America in this matter, for the stronger American capitalism is allowed to make itself, the harder will it be for the American working class to overthrow. Other important bases for federation would be anti-scab action, international strike agreements and a system of interchangeable union cards.

Does the present "Pan-American Federation of Labor" meet these requirements? Obviously it does not. In a later issue the author will try to show why it does not and what can be done to vitalize it and make of it a real bulwark against capitalism in the Americas.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

FINNS, LETTS,
GERMANS, RUSSIANS,
ENGLISH, IRISH,
and all other national groups
are invited to attend the
MIDSUMMER OUTING
of the National Defense Committee, New York Division
on
Sunday, August 20th
at
Elmhurst Park,
ELMHURST, Long Island
and make an international holiday of it. — Tickets, 35c
Tickets may be obtained at Room 405, 80 East 11th St.

[illegible]

[illegible] Local 12646:

WHEREAS, On the [illegible] day of July, 1922, upon the authority of a letter alleged to have been written by Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., and alleged to authorize Bro. Frayne to revoke our charter and suspend our Union from the A. F. of L., Bro. Frayne purported at an Executive Committee meeting of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, Local 12646, of the American Federation of Labor, to announce that our Union was expelled and its charter revoked, and

WHEREAS, The alleged expulsion took place without cause therefor and in excess of the authority of the officers of the A. F. of L. and of Bro. Frayne and in violation of the constitutional requirements of the A. F. of L. and of the lawful rights of our Union, now, therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That we, the B. S. & A. U., 12646, A. F. of L., at our regular membership meeting, on July 17, 1922, refuse to abide by the alleged expulsion above set forth, refuse to surrender our charter, or to consider our connection with the A. F. of L. discontinued, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we disapprove of the instruction given by the Ex. Com. to Organizer Brahdy, to surrender the keys to Pres. Bright.

RESOLVED, That a committee of five be and the same hereby is appointed, acting in conjunction with the Ex. Com. to take legal advice upon the most desirable steps for the safeguarding and the assertion of the rights of our Union, to raise funds for the maintenance of its legal rights, and to disburse such funds as they collect, in their own judgment, for the purposes herein set forth, and in general to do any and all acts which in their discretion may seem necessary and desirable, to resist the unlawful usurpation of power whereby individual officers of the A. F. of L. by their arbitrary conduct are attempting to deprive our Union of its rights and privileges as a local member in good standing of the A. F. of L., to visit Union, for the purpose of presenting our case and soliciting moral and financial support, and be it further

RESOLVED, That during the pendency of this dispute, Joseph Brahdy, Vice-President and Organizer, be and he is hereby directed to take possession of the same, and to proceed in the discharge of his duties in the same manner as heretofore, collecting dues, keeping books, and in general do any and all acts heretofore within his power and duties as Vice-President and Organizer of our Union, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to all Office Workers' Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., to all Unions affiliated with the C. T. & L. C. to the A. F. of L., the N. Y. S. F. L., and that our delegates to the C. T. & L. C. be instructed to bring this resolution up at the next meeting

A press committee was elected to handle all publicity for the union and all offices, whose incumbents have not signified their intention of remaining with the regular organization, Local 12646, within three days will be declared vacant. Vacancies will be filled by the executive committee pending the regular elections.

Local 12646, in spite of its recent difficulties, plans to conduct an active organization campaign among the office workers in this city according to the statements of its officers. It is intended to get out a publication called the "Office Worker" in the near future as an aid to building up the union.

Hands Are Idle in Soviet Russia

The peasants need farming implements and machines to harvest the crops this fall and to prepare the soil for the winter and spring seed. If they get machinery there will be no further famine in Soviet Russia.

The workers needs tools and industrial machinery to open up the factories, so they may produce the multitude of things required in Soviet Russia. Buildings, railways, bridges, and factories must be built and repaired.

HELP EMPTY HANDS TO WORK

Tools and Machinery will save a nation of 150,000,000 people!

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE
Conducted in America by
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
201 West 13th Street New York City.

HELP BUILD UP THE WORLD'S FIRST WORKERS' REPUBLIC

Here is my contribution of $...... toward relief and reconstruction of Soviet Russia.
Name ....
Address ....
City.............. State..........

Ex-Convict
by State to Get
o-Vanzetti Verdict

TON.—The State of Massa- used a notorious ex-con- thief, perjurer and from justice in obtaining the verdict against Nicola Sacco artolomeo Vanzetti last year. ive evidence of this has filed in the Superior Court of county in further support motion for a new trial, now

witness in question testified the false name of Carlos E. ridge. Like Louis Pelser, who since confessed that his testimony was a lie, he claimed to " Sacco as on the scene murders in South Braintree April 15, 1920.

now turns out that he is Erastus Whitney, wanted by the author- of New York State for grand formerly an inmate of El- Reformatory and Auburn State in the same state; reputed home town, Coshocton, N. Y., "habitual criminal" and a "bad cter"; accused by those who him closest, including several many wives, of forgery, thiev- adultery, and a congenital pas- for falsifying; and a reckless rer according to documentary ence now in the hands of the

First Saw Sacco in Court

Massachusetts he lived under assumed name in order to escape New York indictment. But even "Goodridge" he was arrested on rceny charge. It was while in on this occasion that he saw o. He pleaded guilty, but in- of being sentenced he was put probation the very next day. ral months later he was sprung "surprise witness" in the famous o-Vanzetti trial.

s being put on probation is ially significant because if he been imprisoned for his self- essed crime his value to the pro tion as a witness against Sacco Vanzetti would have been almost

expose came as a climax to thy investigations. It is in the of voluminous affidavits, official ds and photographs revealing criminal life since boyhood, his tation as a liar and thief among townsmen and relatives and the worthlessness of his word under

Hated Italians

The section of Whitney's third 's affidavit is especially im- tant because it reveals his hatred all Italians. She says under that her former husband had attacked by several Italians m he had cheated out of their ngings, and that since then he ored an active rancor against whole race.

As indicating his offhand method ying under oath, a collection of marriage certificates filed in rt is enlightening. In one he his name as Erastus C. Whit- and his birthplace as Jeffer- N. Y. In another he gives his e as Carlos E. Whitney and birthplace as Catskill, N Y. third he gives his name as Car- E. Goodridge and his birth- as Claremont, Va.

ch is the man whose testimony large part responsible for the verdict against the two labor

Joint Boat Ride August 1st

The Young Workers League The Workers Party of the will jointly run a boat ride August 13th, 1922. The "Squau- " the boat chartered for the sion is going to Bayville, L. nd, where there will be bath- baseball and other features.

Outstanding tickets designate amount of people the boat will so get your tickets early.

They may be had at the Bronx dquarters of the Y. W. L., Boston Road, Workers Party, Boston Road, and at the dquarters of the Y. W. L., York League, 80 E. 11th St., 508.

Communists in the Labor Unions

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

There are certain individuals who, because of a disposition for study and leisure to indulge it, have acquired more than the average knowledge concerning the history of social development, the struggles of the exploited masses and the revolutionary nature of the conflict that rages in society.

Equipped with this knowledge they feel that they hold the key to all the problems that bedevil the workers and they are very impatient with the mob which continues to butt its head against a stone wall and apparently refuse to see that most of its efforts are wasted.

It is because of the impatience of the so-called intellectual with the workers, his contempt for what he terms the petty nature of the [illegible] struggle for more bread and butter, that until recently almost all revolutionary political movements were of a sectarian character. The truth was in the possession of a few, they had the word and the light and they would not risk contamination; their trust was too sacred for that.

When the Russian revolution upset all the established theories of revolutionary tactics and demonstrated that just as important as unsullied intellectual purity was the participation in the every-day struggles of the working masses as the most active and skillful section of the organized workers, a striking change took place in all revolutionary movements.

The New Humility

Intellectuals began to manifest a humility that was in striking contrast to their former lofty disdain for those who had not received the revelations and consequently could not quote verbatim from the revolutionary classics; in the unions now the theoreticians meet the workers to whom they formerly talked from outside and they appear to think that in so doing they are carrying out both the letter and the spirit of the slogan "Go to the masses."

The great mass of mankind, however, does not learn by listening to and analyzing speeches no matter how many truths they may embody, nor by reading literature no matter how ably written and how timely.

The mass of workers especially learns only by experience, by the constant impact of the thousands of bitter facts connected with their daily tasks of earning a precarious livelihood. Those who aspire to leadership in the class struggle will find that the workers will judge them by their deeds rather than by their words. If they can frame policies that meet the immediate needs of the workers in the organizations of the workers they will automatically acquire—indeed, it will be thrust upon them—leadership and the responsibility that goes with leadership.

Theory Not Enough

Being theoretically sound it should be easy for Communists to convince the workers of their right to responsibility. They know and understand the real basis of the conflict; understanding the mechanism of the social system they can predict, in a large measure, the outcome of the various struggles in which the workers are forced to engage from time to time. They cannot, however, depend upon their theoretical soundness alone to win the workers because few workers have the time and many have not the mental capacity to make decisions by pure reasoning. To those who fight and get results will leadership go and to no others.

Good union men who are Communists will have little difficulty in extending the influence of the party because the American worker, in forming an opinion of movements, attaches much importance to the individuals who represent them. A Communist who can give cards and spades to Marx and beat him hands down, but who makes grave mistakes in the union can do the party more harm at the present stage of its development than all the attacks of the reactionaries.

Learn from the Enemy

Just as the employers marshal their best tacticians for the war upon the workers in the industries so must the Communists train their fighters for the work on the industrial field. Into the party must be brought the best brains and courage of the labor movement; the party workers who have special ability for industrial work must be trained to skill and efficiency. Theory and practice must be combined to build a machine that can withstand all the attacks from the actual enemies of the labor movement and those whose lack of understanding lends aid and assistance to the enemy.

The workers must be made to see that Communists do not seek strategic positions merely because they desire to hold and wield power but because they can serve the interests of the working class better than those who see in the labor movement only an opportunity for personal advancement.

Work all the Time

There is no magic in the word Communism that will cause the workers to rally to its standard. The service that the Communists render to the labor movement will be the yardstick by which the workers will measure the value of the Communist Party, and it is that alone that will determine its influence in the class struggle in the United States.

Communists have a year-around task; they do not come out only at election time and appeal to the workers for votes but their work must be more intensive every day than were the election campaigns of the Socialist Party in the old days.

It is for this reason that the activities of Communists assume more importance from the standpoint of the individual member than those of other organizations calling themselves revolutionary. It is upon the activity of the membership and the value of its activities to the labor movement that the party is judged. Inactivity is inexcusable and is worse than making mistakes; we can learn from our mistakes, but from inactivity we cannot even learn. The criticism of our opponents, their pleasure at our mistakes, must be taken as incidents in the struggle.

Different Types of Workers

All Communists are not good theoreticians nor are all good practical workers; success cannot come if positions of responsibility are filled in haphazard fashion. There are some gifted comrades who combine these qualities, but they are few and far between and the supply will always be small. Just now it is more than ever important that workers should be assigned tasks for which they are fitted, but to do this is particularly difficult when theorists want to be down in the daily struggles and practical workers want to write theses.

The mistakes made so far have largely been due to the selection of workers who were inexperienced in the particular field to which they were assigned, the many spheres of party activity require large numbers of specialists that cannot always be secured and makeshift selections have to be made. Time is the remedy for this condition which could only occur in a party that is trying to do something.

Conclusions

All this is by way of saying that Communists must take the labor movement for what it is and not for what is should be or what they would like it to be, intellectual egotism is out of place in the labor movement, and in all probability our past mistakes will do much to make us realize that in the unions there is no protecting halo around the head of Communists which makes them immune from the penalty of mistakes.

In the unions a Communist is only a union man, and the unions will be communist in sympathy only insofar as communist policy, as carried out by the workers of their unions, fits in with the needs of the organized masses.

OPEN AIR MEETING

WILLIAM F. DUNNE will speak at 10th Street and 2nd venue, New York City

FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 28th

is meeting will be for

"THE WORKER"

tend it. Help build the workers' press.

Auspices:

"WORKER Conference" of Local Greater New York.

UY! READ! DISTRIBUTE!

ALBA NUOVA

of our Papers! Official Organ, Italian Federation, Workers Party. all communications to Alba Nuova, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Miners Ask Suspension Be Made Real Strike

POTTSVILLE, Pa.—Local 1954, U. M. W. of A., Minersville, Pa., at a meeting held recently at Mine Workers' Hall, adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, The miners have been kept in continuous enforced idleness for the past three months, and in spite of this fact 99½ per cent voted in favor of a general coal strike against the exploiting coal barons who are determined to reduce wages to a degree far below a decent standard of living, and

Whereas, The union officials rejoiced in the fact that the miners thus displayed their patience and submission to their so-called "chiefs" by declaring themselves in favor of a strike in spite of their present ordeal, and

Whereas, The general scale committee of the U. M. W. of A., in whose hands is placed the matter of either sending the miners back to work or keeping them in further unemployment, has failed to report anything as yet, and

Whereas—The arrogance of our so-called "leaders" has been shown by the astonishing lack of news and information along the lines of progress concerning the various meetings, conferences, etc., they having reserved for themselves alone the right to know the facts, and

Whereas, This conduct of the union officials has been noted, therefore be it

Resolved, That our "leaders" immediately declare a strike or resign their lucrative positions.

[illegible]

[illegible] Ben Gitlow [illegible] back to jail [illegible] of his [illegible] have been very [illegible] in the struggle of the [illegible] clothing workers and textile workers with the bosses. Men of his calibre are needed in the revolutionary movement and every effort should be made to take his case up to the Supreme Court of the United States. The attorneys are already working on the case, but unless we get the necessary funds it will be impossible to go on.

Harry Winitsky's case is up before the Appellate Division. He is out on bail now. After almost two years of jail, his spirit is untouched and he is as much of a fighter for the freedom of the workers as he ever was. In this time of open shop campaigns, enforced strikes, lockouts, reduction of wages, etc., he is needed in the ranks of the workers, a fact which the class-conscious element in their midst is bound to recognize and therefore do all in their power to help secure his release.

Paul Manko is in the Insane Asylum at Dannemora—his appeal pending. There are his wife and child to be taken care of.

Misher, Alonen, Paivio are in jail doing time and we must see to it that their families get relief.

Ruthenberg and Ferguson have been granted a new trial and funds will be needed to go ahead with it.

In addition to our actual prisoners, there are the deportees. Two are on Ellis Island and a number are out on writs of Habeas Corpus.

Now, what will you do in behalf of these men and women? Will you contribute something to their defense? Will you see that your union, or fraternal organization gives its support? Will you sell tickets for our picnic for August 20th? Let us know what you will do to help and report to the

National Defense Committee,
New York Division,
Room 405, 80 East 11th Street,
Nerma Berman, Secretary

Ruthenberg to Speak on the United Front

Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg will speak on the United Front at July 30th picnic of Local Greater New York, Workers Party of America which will be held at Dickert's Park 018 Boston Road.

Comrade Ruthenberg has made this his subject at picnics at which he spoke all over the country, and they have been great successes.

Other features will be—

Mass Singing—singing by the German chorus, the Jewish "Seventh International" chorus and other language choruses of the International and other revolutionary songs.

Games—Comrade Schafron, who is noted for his excellent work in arranging games will take charge of this feature of the picnic. There will be the sack race, the potato races, the three-legged race, watermelon contest and others for men, women and children.

Other Features—Dancing, bowling, buffet, etc.

Police Interfere with Rochester, N. Y. Meetin

Two policemen attempted to stop a Rochester, N. Y., street meeting which was being held by the Workers Party with M. R. Salzman, who is touring District 2 as the speaker. Previous to the meeting the comrades secured a verbal permit from the chief of police.

Salzman was in the midst of a talk in which he pointed out to the workers in the audience the actions of the government in the coal and railroad strikes. He showed that all of the forces of the government were being used against the workers in the strike. He told of the powers of the government and how they were being used against the workers at all times because the capitalists controlled the government. It was at this point that the defendant of "law and order" attempted to stop the meeting. He must have feared the audience of over two hundred workers who saw the truth of what Comrade Salzman pointed out, for he let us continue the meeting after some of the workers in the audience asked, "What are you trying to muzzle him for?"

The speaker continued his talk and showed that the only way for the workers to put an end to the miserable conditions under which the workers are compelled to live was to overthrow capitalism and for the workers to establish in its place a government of Workers' Councils.

A collection of $6.50 was taken up and $1.55 worth of literature was sold.

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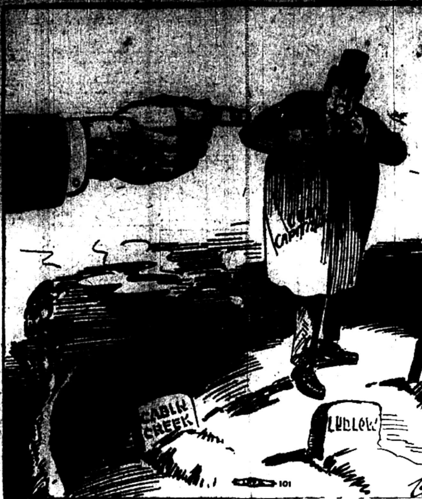

The American Federation of Labor and Our Task

By A. B.

There is no doubt that the most important organized force of the workers of the United States is the American Federation of Labor. Its construction is a rather loose grouping of international unions each of them having its own rules and discipline.

The A. F. of L. found its beginning in the upper layer of the working class of this country, that is, it originated among the skilled workers, and on the basis of craft interests. Even today the dominating element in the Federation is skilled labor. Tho capital has combined into gigantic trusts and corporations during the last few decades and the craft interests of the workers have been swept away largely, the Federation, as such, retains its original form and thus has become unable to effectively fight back the constant onslaughts of the ruling class.

On account of the craft form of its organization, unskilled labor has not been able to get the upper hand in the Federation. Hence the great masses of the common laborers are still outside of the organized ranks and are left at the mercy of the well-organized exploiters.

Magic of Conferences

At the head of the Federation stands the well-world-known reactionary and faithful labor lieutenant of the capitalist class, Samuel Gompers.

At the last convention, Gompers again reiterated his policy of collaboration with the employers by stating that all we ask from the employers is to sit with us around the same table and talk things over. "We want conferences," is the final word of this bourgeois lieutenant. The capitalists are crushing the organized workers with courts, rifles and machine guns. Gompers repeats the same old story about "sitting around the table"!

Only Thing in Sight

In spite of all its shortcomings, the A. F. of L. was, is and for quite a long time to come will remain as the organized power of the working class in this country. All the desperate efforts of various elements to smash it from the outside have miserably failed. The destructionists themselves have been destroyed and the Federation still remains as a factor in the labor movement of this country tho its leadership is most reactionary and corrupt. Only the American Communists, under the guidance of the tactics of the Third International, have begun to seriously consider this latent organized power of the workers and are struggling to awaken it from within, to make it a fighting organ against the bourgeoisie.

The results of these efforts are very small as yet, but they are beginning to appear. One after another unit of the Federation begins to rise against the reactionary policies of Gompers' machine.

Cincinnati Convention

The Cincinnati Convention was held at a most critical moment for the labor movement of America. Unemployment is rampant; about 00,000 textile workers have been fighting a deadly battle with their enemy for the last five months; about 600,000 miners were heroically holding their line against the onslaught of the coal barons, and the railroad workers were on the point of a national strike. On the other hand, together with the growing unrest of the workers, capitalist dictatorship becomes more and more cruel, more and more despotic and terroristic; a general offensive against the labor organizations is the order of the day. On the eve of the convention the U. S. Supreme Court handed down the decision in the Coronado coal case which put the unions at the mercy of the employers. This serious situation demanded something more than a negative policy of defense.

Do-Nothing Policy

What plans did the convention lay down for the Federation with which to meet the perennial problem of unemployment? None! In what way did it decide to help win the textile strike? Coal strike? None, except that it passed resolutions of "sympathy" and "encouragement." What was done to meet the railroad strike issue? Nothing! What about the notorious decision of the Supreme Court? Did the convention decide to call upon all labor organizations to use their mass power to smash the conspiracy of the ruling class against the unions? Nothing of the kind. After a long and painful listening to the report of the gang of lawyers on this question the convention put itself on record to carry on an agitation for an amendment to be passed by Congress prohibiting the enactment of any law which would deny the right for workers to organize, to deal collectively or to strike.

First of all, even if such an amendment could be passed it does not mean that the employers would not be able to destroy the organization after it has been organized. To-day the workers have a right to organize, to deal collectively or to strike. They are allowed these rights only as long as they do not use them to defend their own interests. As soon as they begin to properly use their organizations to fight back the attacks of the masters these rights vanish like a drop of water on a red hot stove. But let us grant that this amendment will be beneficial to us. It was admitted by the reactionaries themselves that it will take at least 20 years to get such an amendment passed.

Even the agitation for this amendment will not be carried under the banner of workers' independent political action, but thru Gompers' reactionary policy, "Reward your friends and defeat your enemies," which means to continue to support both the Democratic and Republican parties.

Therefore, the labor organization having over three million members did not give a concrete answer to any of the questions. Absolute bankruptcy!

Loss of Membership

Another sad fact has been disclosed by the convention concerning the status of the Federation. It was reported that the Federation had lost 740,893 members during the last year, while during the two years it had lost 915,105 members. (In 1920 the Federation had 4,000,000 members, while this year it has only 3,165,635.) It shows that under the leadership of the present administration the Federation is not only not gaining membership, but it is losing with such rapidity that it threatens the very existence of the organization. We mention here only a few of the international unions whose membership has tragically declined.

The United Textile Workers of America in 1920 had 104,900 members, now they have only 80,000. The formation of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America and the One Big Union have not helped the textile situation. In place of one organization, to-day we have three of them, every one of them very weak and fighting among themselves. This fact alone should convince every class-conscious worker what a crime it is to create a new union alongside of one already in existence. This is the result of what we call "tactics of dual unionism."

The International Seamen's Union last year had 103,300, now it has only 49,200.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers' Union in 1919 had 63,300, now it has 20,000.

The Oil Field and Gas Well Workers' Federation had 25,000 in 1921, now—6,100.

Unorganized Steel Workers

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers had 31,500 in 1919, now 16,000. Let us stop here for a moment! It may be safely said that iron and steel workers are the most exploited and oppressed stratum of the working class of this country. They are almost all unskilled workers. Their work is hell. As statistics show, they are practically unorganized.

This gigantic army of absolute wage slaves went on strike in 1919 and heroically battled the Steel Trust. Finally they were crushed, crushed with rifles and machine guns and thanks especially to the leaders of the coal miners, who betrayed the fighting and bleeding steel slaves. And as soon as the strike was over it seems no one was interested in organizing them. Gompers' machine was busy spreading poisononus propaganda among its membership about the affairs in Soviet Russia, but it would not even lift its finger to carry on the intensive and extensive organization work among these hundreds of thousands of exploited workers.

Suicidal Policies

In brief, we say: The present policies of the A. F. of L. are rapidly leading it to its grave. Over this fact only the American bourgeoisie, their tool, Samuel Gompers and the misled I. W. W.-ists can rejoice.

The American communists and all other militants take this question very seriously and see in it only a great blow to the labor movement of this country.

They know that it is their supreme duty to stop this disintegration and save the Federation from destruction. It is their task to make the Federation a great organ of the class struggle.

Intensive Work Necessary.

Only thru our intensive work within the Federation will we be able to smash its present reactionary machine, save it from disintegration and disruption and make a fighting organ of the workers. The Cincinnati Convention showed the necessity of such work.

Of course, it is not an easy task. The reactionaries will use every imaginable means to hamper our efforts. They will not hesitate to employ splitting tactics in order to isolate us from the masses. We repeat, it is a hard task. But it must be done. Every effort for proletarian revolution, for communism is a hard task, full of dangers and sacrifices. Mistakes will be made also, but only those do not make mistakes, who do not work. As our work develops we learn more and more how to get at the root of the problems and how to solve them.

Let us get to work of making the Federation a real organ of the class struggle.

Veterans of World War Back F.S.R.

At its national convention, at Minneapolis, the World War Veterans passed the following resolution endorsing the Friends of Soviet Russia:

"We, the World War Veterans, in regular convention assembled, having heard the appeal for help that was sent out from Soviet Russia, calling upon the workers of the World to stand behind the workers in Soviet Russia, to help fight the famine that is endangering the lives of millions of workers in the first workers' republic that was ever established in the world;

"And whereas, the Friends of Soviet Russia being a famine relief organization, organized last August, and composed of the most progressive workers in the United States, and has the endorsement of all the most progressive working class organizations and the affiliations of thousands of labor unions;

"And whereas, the Friends of Soviet Russia is the only relief organization that collects famine relief without any conditions or restrictions from Soviet Russia;

"And whereas, this organization has collected over $1,000,000 in food, clothing and medical supplies, and sent them direct to Soviet Russia;

"And whereas, this organization needs the support of all the workers in the United States, in order to save the lives of our unfortunate brothers and soldier workers in Soviet Russia,

"And whereas, thousands of labor unions have lined up their forces behind this organization in order to strengthen and show their solidarity to the workers in Soviet Russia,

"And whereas, the World War Veterans is an organization fighting the battle for the soldier workers in their struggle against the autocratic forces of the world, and for the emancipation of the working class throughout the world;

"Therefore, Be It Resolved, that we appeal to all posts of the World War Veterans throughout the United States and Canada, and to the Soldier Workers throughout the world to give their support both morally and financially to the Friends of Soviet Russia, in their gigantic and heroic efforts in saving the lives of these millions of workers of Soviet Russia."

Women's Division Activities

The Women's Section of the FSR is very active. The branch in Everett, Wash., has been especially energetic. Los Angeles reports the following activities.

"We have several hundred children's dresses and coveralls cut and being made up by our girls. We gave an indoors picnic last Saturday and I think that we'll clear over $100. We are also giving an outing. With the proceeds we are buying materials, gingham and flannel and are making children's dresses and coveralls. We have organized a few shops where these clothes are made."

Stamps from Soviet Russia

We have received a number of rare stamps and also those of restricted issue, among them being some of the Kerensky regime and the Denikin issue; also several issues of famine stamps.

These stamps will be very valuable in times to come and will be very much sought after.

The Friends of Soviet Russia can procure a limited number for stamp collectors and others interested. All the proceeds from the sale of these stamps are to be used for famine relief and industrial and agricultural reconstruction.

The steamship "Rockaway Park" sailed for Reval carrying 32 bales weighing 6½ tons.

Friends of Soviet Russia has collected to date $720,000, and $450,000 in clothing, food, medicines and tools.

The work goes on!

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Communist Appeal on Third [illegible] Robber Peace

(Continued from page One.)

tended to 10 or 12 hours if capitalist reconstruction is to succeed.

From the capitalist standpoint this is the only way. He who desires capitalist reconstruction must desire the death of millions of workers who have become superfluous and must also be ready to have the survivors submit to such working conditions as prevailed at the beginning of the capitalist system.

The ruling class of England wishes to distribute the burden of the war and of the peace equally over the world, because this would be most favorable for its rulers and its capitalist reconstruction.

The ruling class of France threatens new wars to squeeze the cost of the world war from the bankrupt conquered countries. It hopes in this manner best to maintain and extend its power. The American bourgeoisie waits as spectator for the moment when the mad dervish dance of the European peoples rushing against one another to destruction has arrived at such pitch that their seizure by American Capital promises a profitable substitute for lost profits.

In the vanquished countries the bourgeoisie is reconciled with the victors; exacts tributes for these and profit for itself. The capitalists in every single country, however, fight among one another for the greatest share of exploitation.

That is the Peace Treaty of Versailles!

The working class in every country is the object and the victim of the exploitation of the possessing class and is delivered over to the violence of its government.

This is possible thanks to the leaders of the pre-war labor movement and the disinclination for fight on the part of the proletariat. The treachery of the trade union bureaucracy, and of the leaders of the Second International has not sufficed to make the majority of the working class aware that they must rid themselves of these leaders if they are to free themselves from capitalist suppression and exploitation.

The Communists, who during the war began to organize an intense struggle against it, who overthrew the Czar and the bourgeoisie in Russia, and who in various western European countries fought at the head of the elementary revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, were not strong enough to conquer the bourgeoisie in Western Europe, as the latter had for their best supporters the leaders of the Second International and the trade union bureaucracy of the Second and 2½ Internationals.

The Communist International has done everything in its power to lead and organize the fight against the bourgeoisie. If this fight has not been victorious it is because the majority of the proletariat has not yet decided to follow the Red Flag without hesitation.

The Communist International has [illegible] Communist International has appealed to the workers of all countries to close their ranks against the employers' offensive, in spite of all differences of opinion as to the struggle for power by the proletariat. The Communist International laid aside all thoughts of the past and invited the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals as well as the Amsterdam International to confer and act in common in building the united front.

The representatives of the Second International have sabotaged the calling of the World Congress of the militant workers of all countries. The representatives of the 2½ International have helped them to do this. The trade union bureaucrats of the Amsterdam International paid no attention to the invitation sent them.

The representatives of the Second International threatened at the first session of the Berlin Conference of the three Internationals to break off negotiations, in case the Communist International were to raise the slogan of the fight against the Treaty of Versailles. Instead of organizing the fight against the bourgeoisie, they organized the fight against the Workers' and Peasants' Power of Russia. They ranged themselves with the counter-revolution, which with arms and with das[illegible] [illegible] in order to facilitate the unity of front of the world proletariat. In spite of all these concessions, the Second International with the aid of the representatives of the 2½ International broke up the Commission of Nine.

In Germany, the most active section of the counter-revolution is gathering to overthrow the coalition government of the petty bourgeoisie, to take over the government power itself and, if possible, with the aid of a part of the Entente bourgeoisie to raise anew the monarchy and clear all militant workers out of the way in a new St. Bartholmew's Eve.

In France Poincaré is preparing new military adventures against Germany and Soviet Russia.

In Bulgaria, Wrangel's parasitical White Guard bands are being organized at the behest of France. In Poland and Roumania the bandits are preparing for new pillaging raids against Soviet Russia.

In the Scandinavian countries, in the other neutral countries and in Czecho-Slovakia, the proletariat, hard hit by the crisis, has been defeated in its wage fights, in the fights for its existence.

In England and in America, economic life cannot be resuscitated. The English bourgeoisie does not [illegible] keeping down the workers and [illegible] in its own country, but is conducting a bloody civil war against revolutionary Ireland, Egypt and India.

There is only one way out of all this misery. It is the united front of the proletariat, whose very existence is threatened, against the capitalist peace which means the destruction of the working class. The workers must unite, in spite of the sabotage of their treacherous leaders, in the common fight against the strengthening of the counter-revolution, against the employers' offensive, against wage reductions and lengthening of working hours. This fight, which in the beginning must be for the daily needs of the proletariat united in the common fight.

Three years after the signing of the Versailles Treaty we call on the world proletariat once again, to close their ranks nationally and internationally against the "Robber Peace of Versailles," as we called on them to fight against it on the 28th of June, 1919.

Long live the common fight against the common oppressor!

Down with the Peace Treaty of Versailles!

Down with counter-revolution in every country!

Down with the bourgeois governments!

Long live the Workers' Government!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Karl Radek Writes About the Hague Conference and Its "Bargains"

(Continued from Page One)

The unmistakable language of the Soviet Delegation finally convinced the English Government that Soviet Russia was neither Old Turkey, nor Old China. The English Government defends the sovereign right of the Soviet Powers to nationalize every sort of property, and it announces that any encroachment upon these rights is a contradiction to the conditions of Cannes.

The Paris Temps, the leading organ of French imperialism, answers that the sovereign right of every Government to nationalize is connected with the right of foreign capitalists to be indemnified for their nationalized property. If the existing Government has no means of paying these indemnities, then its sovereignty must bow to the money-bags.

Capitalist "Right"

We have here a classical example of capitalistic "right" in general whether it concerns a person, citizen or nation. "Where there is money there is right," announces the Paris Stock Exchange sheet. We shall not waste any time answering the capitalistic metaphysics of right with revolutionary metaphysics. Instead of discussing the differences between proletarian and capitalist "right," we will rather talk business, for we think that even the French capitalists are interested not so much in abstract right as in concrete interests.

Force Has Failed

It is true that at present the Soviet Government is not able to pay cash to the French capitalists for their offended innocence, even if such an act were motivated by the desire to be "just" in the capitalistic sense. But if we are unable to pay indemnities in cash, you gentlemen are unable to support your beautiful rights, your "holy" rights, by force. You have been sufficiently convinced of that.

You are able to support your claims only by means of a financial boycott. But in the first place, your financial boycott will not last forever, for if Russia is in need of foreign capital, foreign capital will not for the sake of past profits shut the door to future profits, and the English Government is right when in its memorandum, it points out that if no business relations are established with Soviet Russia in the name of the bourgeois governments, various capitalist groups will enter into business with it for the sake of concessions.

Secondly, Soviet Russia is an agricultural country. One or two good harvests, and its position will be strengthened; then it will make less concessions than it does today.

In such a case there is no capitalistic humanity which was offended by the proletarian revolution in Russia, whose legal point of view, as expressed in the memorandum of the 11th of May, the French Government simply seeks to reject and the English Government kindly to ignore (as befits noble lords). At the Hague the facts must be learned and practical conclusions drawn from them. And here is what the facts teach us.

What the Facts Are

In the first place, altho the Soviet Government possesses no bagfuls of gold, it will not agree to the restoration of property that was in the hands of foreign capitalists. The greater part of the Russian metal, coal and oil industries was in the hand of foreign capital. The restoration of such conditions would mean that the Russian Government would be left without coal, without iron and without oil, and that it would have to buy all these things. This would mean that the Russian Government would have to burden the Russian peasant with huge taxation. The return of the former foreign-owned industries to the foreign capitalists would destroy the industrial foundation of the Soviet Government, the basis which enables the Soviet Government to direct the economic development of Russia. It is useless to make demands which the opponent cannot satisfy if he is not to commit suicide. The enemies of Soviet Russia did it many a wrong, but it is not yet known that Russia intends to commit suicide. For this reason, it is better to drop all talk of restoration.

Restoration Impossible

Secondly, such a restoration is impossible because in many cases the property in question has either been destroyed or would be absolutely worthless to the owner. It is not rational from a technical point of view. So for example, the destruction of the property relations in the coal mines of the Don basin and of the oil industry in Baku, may be looked upon as a great technical step forward which may become a source of income that will lead to the improvement of the industries in question. For this reason, the demand that these be returned to their former foreign capitalist owners seems to be an act of stupidity or the game of banking interests that seek to buy out the rights of the former property owners in Russia and at the same time to negotiate with the Russian Government and get concessions from it favorable to their respective Stock Exchanges. That is why it is unpractical from an economic point of view even to speak of the return of this property.

"Rights" vs. Practical Questions

Thirdly, the question of indemnity as well as the question of debts are more questions of the possibilities and the paying capacity of the Russian Soviet Government in the future. If the experts of the capitalistic countries wanted to distinguish themselves from the diplomatic know-nothings who unfortunately so often speak in the name of these countries, then instead of wasting time in idle talk about property rights they would ask the Soviet Delegation, "What branches of industry does the Soviet Government intend to keep for itself and what other branches of industry it is ready to lease?" Secondly, they would ask the Soviet Delegation for the most favorable conditions upon which the former foreign property owners in Russia could receive their old undertakings on a concessionaire basis, if the Soviet Government were to decide to keep these in its own possession; or on what basis it would grant new concessions. It should be clear that the Soviet Government, being interested in the attraction of foreign capital, would not proceed to boycott the old owners who are already en rapport with their former activities. Thirdly, the experts would state on what conditions and to what extent the capitalist groups which they represent would be willing to furnish credit to the Soviet Government. If they really desire to work in Russia and not merely to receive "rights" which would become the object of speculation on the Stock Exchange, they will and must understand that even for their own benefit it is necessary to improve Russian transportation and the Russian financial apparatus.

Principles Will Not Change

Fourthly, in the question of debts we must use concrete language based upon concrete facts. Russia is financial bankrupt. A bankrupt always pays only a certain percentage of his debts, and he pays them not at once, but only after a certain time has passed during which his creditor helps him get on his feet, for otherwise the creditor, with all his „rights," would have about the same chance of getting a settlement as an ordinary corpse has of seeing his own ears by looking into the mirror. The Soviet Delegation is going to the Hague to speak business for the simple reason that it is a Delegation sent by a proletarian Government, and that it consists of Communists. It knows that it is useless to argue with capitalist representatives about principles. In Genoa it announced its principles while the capitalist representatives, instead of talking of their robber appetites also announced their principles. In the Hague, however, the Soviet Delegation will only talk business. The only question is whether the representatives of the capitalist world will display as much interest in business. Should it do so, however, it will be possible to strike a bargain without giving up principles.

Erie Road Recruiting Scabs Among Chinese Sailors on Ocean Ships

By HARRY GODFREY

(Federated Press Staff Correspond.)

NEW YORK.—With more railroad workers in this district joining the shop crafts strikers daily, the Erie Railroad has resorted to the use of Chinese coolies as strikebreakers in its Jersey City yards. Between 150 and 200 Chinese, recruited among unemployed seamen here and in other Atlantic coast ports, are working in the places of laborers who have quit in sympathy with the shopmen.

The strike in this section is progressing most favorably, according to John J. Dowd, chairman of the strike committee. He declared that of 443 foremen in the local yards, 251 have joined the strikers.

In addition, the Long Island railroad is feeling the pressure of the strike increasingly. Large numbers of electricians, boilermakers and other mechanics are quitting the Long Island power plant, and many skilled mechanics of the New York Central lines have joined the walkout.

Rail service in and out of New York, particularly commuting service, is beginning to show severe effects of the strike. Trains on the Long Island are uniformly late, and the Erie has been forced to cut down the number of trains now running.

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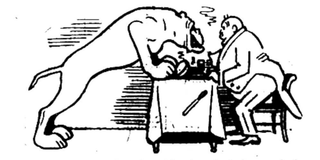

After the American Legion had been nicely trained to do the bidding of the financial interests of the country, it came as a sort of a shock to the Master to have his pet leap on the table and demand a bonus.

District Two Speakers Arousing Enthusiasm

The speakers on tour for District No. 2 of the Workers Party are surely coming in contact with and arousing the spirit of the working masses in the states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

The following communication shows the effect of their work:

Schenectady, N. Y., July 23, 1922.

Dear Comrade Lindgren:

Your New York speakers had a magical effect on our townspeople, as if they came from a far-away planet of the solar system.

For an hour and a half the crowd listened quietly to Comrade Mrs. Amter's sharp exposure of the capitalist system and her fine enthusiastic enunciation of our ideal society of the future.

Our good citizens, of course, are stoics, and they manifest this psychology especially when a collection is called for, but this time they even withheld all opposition and heckling. Comrade Amter's eloquence was too much for them, and some were moved to the extent of actually participating in the collection.

In a former meeting, arranged by you, a policeman tried to show his authority by disrupting the meeting, but at this meeting somehow or other the policeman stood way back in the crowd without a murmur of protest and was so short that he could hardly be noticed.

Did he become class-conscious after the first two meetings that were held here?

Yours with fraternal greetings,
Charles Hildebrand,
Schenectady, N. Y.

Amter Dates for Week

July 28, Gloversville, N. Y.; 29, Utica; 30, Oneida; 31, Syracuse; Aug. 1, Syracuse; 2, [illegible]; 3 and 4, Rochester.

Salzman Dates for Week

M. R. Salzman, second speaker on tour for District No. 2, will speak on the following dates:

July 28, Bolivar, N. Y.; 29, Hornell; 31, Spencer; Aug. 1, Ithaca; 2, Geneva; 3, Binghamton; 4, Paterson, N. J.

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Communist Principles Explained in Statement on Expulsion of Fabre

NOTE.—One of the clearest statements issued by the Communist International on the duties and obligations of individual members and national organizations to the world party is contained in the declaration of the executive committee of the Comintern on the expulsion of Henri Fabre, of France, editor of the Journal du Peuple.

The Fabre case was investigated by a commission consisting of Trotzky, Bukharin, Jordanoff, Ambroghi and Brandler, and the decision was based to some extent upon the case of Paul Levi, of Germany, expelled by the Third Congress of the International, also an editor. The statement in full is as follows:

• • •

The Communist International is based upon principles clearly outlined by its Congress and its organization is based upon discipline approved by all its members.

Nobody is obliged to affiliate with the Communist International. This affiliation means giving up all individual interests for the sake of the common interest of the International, which is insolubly bound up with the interests of the world proletariat.

Militant Class Organizations

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SELL FIVE CARDS

WILL YOU sell five 20 week sub cards for THE WORKER?
WILL YOU make the 25,000 readers campaign a success?
WILL YOU help do what must be done?
YOU WILL—sign the blank and mail.

THE WORKER
799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.

Enclosed find $2.50 for which send me five 20 week subscription cards.

Name ....
Address ....
City .... State ....

Members of the Young Workers' League of America, Local Greater New York

Can you speak?

Then why don't you talk up

Send name and address and nights you can speak to

City Open Air Campaign Committee, Nat. Kaplan, Chairman, Room 508, 799 Broadway, N. Y. C.

HAVE YOU A MACHINE GUN IN YOUR HOME
PERMIT

In New Yo
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Armament th
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We'll all be
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weapons.

ews of Workers Party Activities in the City, State and Nation

ers Get eck; Tag Day Results

following is a letter received is Gruss, secretary of the Relief Committee, from Gatherum, secretary of Dis- No. 29, United Mine Workers:

Comrade:—Your letter un- of the 19th, enclosing check 00.00 received, and I certainly nkful both for the check and rance of help for the future. it certainly is a fact that help ly needed.

With reference to conditions as actually exist in our District at I will say that conditions the standpoint of the Union practically unchanged, with exception that evictions by the operators are becoming more rous, also the demand for food the miners . . . those who have working and have been for few weeks quitting the mines, causes the Operators to fight than ever, and no doubt the ouragement given from Wash- on will cause them to do every- possible to break the spirit of men.

do know that the weapon most ed (eviction) is being freely but in spite of that weapon, I information this evening that of the mines where some 250 were employed, and who be- of lack of food returned to some six weeks ago, decided rday or the day before to again end and are now to a man re- to do work under guard or other way until they can have nion Contract to work under. is only a sample case, cited to that the use of troops is more to drive men out of the mines into them, as has been stated after time, there is but one or two things which drive these to work, they are lack of food shelter.

We certainly appreciate the spirit the girls who, we are informed ded, that they would volunteer the Tag Day service, no matter happened, and surely wish that women in the Nation had the spirit. I personally have al- held that the ideals of the en of a Nation decided the se and destiny of that Nation, fore I say more power to these who are loyal-hearted toward not only in the U. S. A., but er the world.

rusting that the eyes of all La- Chiefs in the country are being ned, and that the various crafts be united into one common for offense as well as defense ain,

"Fraternally

igned) John Gatherum."

hru an oversight the amount ected by the Downtown Section he Tag Day was omitted. It 22. The Bronx comrades have ected $91.84 on July 22 and 23 y dollars has been received the Labor College at Katonah Y. Contributions and checks ld be made out and sent to is Gruss, Secretary Miners' Re- Committee 208 E. 12th Street.

ame Street for Liebknecht

SLEBEN, Germany.—By unani- vote of the city council three s which bore names reminiscent e old regime have been re- ened. Bismarck St. becomes st. Bebel St. Bluecher St. is ged to Karl Liebknecht St., and memory of the late foreign min- Walter Rathenau is honored naming the former Moltke St him. Likewise the Bismarck was changed to City Park park).

WORKERS SHOULD READ COPY OF THE WORKER; P IT IN CIRCULATION

GNATURES NEEDED

e Amnesty Alliance has de- d to send out another state- appeal to all central bodies, boards, executive boards and organizations to endorse the nizations and urge its affil- memberships to circularize ons to the governor,

nized labor of the State of York fell down on the job itions for general amnesty by the number of signa- obtained here.

can redeem itself partially by at least securing a repre- ve quota of signatures from local union, fraternal or- tion or political party sym- to class-war prisoners. ns may be had at the head- of the Amnesty Alliance, 10th St., New York.

Workers Party Convention Picks List of Candidates

A city convention of the Workers Party, Local Greater New York, has nominated candidates for the coming campaign.

The Workers Party will enter the election campaign against the Republican, Democratic and Reformist parties. Many speakers responded enthusiastically to the call for activity in the campaign in order to put the Workers Party where its membership and activity entitles it.

Candidates of Workers' Party nominated:

Second Municipal Court District—Rose Weiss.

Congress

District 13, J. B. Salutsky; 14, Max Eastman; 15, Tom O'Flaherty; 16, J. S. Poyntz; 17, Dr. M. Aaronson; 18, Jay Lovestone; 19, Solon De Leon; 20, Ben. Gitlow; 21, Mrs. Grace Campbell; 22, Julius Codkind.

State Senate

District 12, I. B. Bailin; 13, Reuben Salzman; 14, Dr. Louis Hendin; 15, Elmer T. Allison; 16, E. Kutcher; 17, M. Katz; 18, Allan Broms; 19, R. J. Branegan.

Assembly Districts

1, J. Raskin; 2, Iarossi Salvatore 3 Frank Cammer; 4, Harry Winitsky; 5, Ellen Kennan; 6, Noah London; 7, G. McGuire; 8, Rose Pastor Stokes; 9, Mrs. McClellan; 10, Gertrude Nafe; 11, M. Nins; 12, James Kelley; 13, Dr. Jacob W. Hartman; 14, M. Obermier; 16, Nick Schneider; 17, Israel Amter; 18, Henry Askeli 22, Otto Huiswoud; 23, Jeanette D Pearl.

Assembly Districts

1. Charles Brower; 4, George Primoff; 5. Paul Scherer; 6, A. Pollack 7, Fleisher, 8, Willie McKenzie; 9 Ludwig Lore; 10, Sonya Ginsberg 11, A. Maurice, 12, A. Rasp, 13, Dosbinsky, 14, Wm. W. Weinstone; 15, P. Miller; 16, G. Sparer, 17, A. Hews 18 M. Steiglitz; 20, Blankenfield; 21 J. Turchin; 22, Ray Ragozen; 23 George Wishnack.

Congress

4, G. Schelly, 5, Louis Gruss, 6 Sanbin; 7, William F. Dunne; 8, B Grossberg, 9 M. Rosenberg, 10 Alexander Trachtenberg

Queens

Congressional: 1, Kossove, 2, Theo Berner.

State Senate: 2, Kohler; 3. John Herman.

Assembly: 1, Scherer; 5 Ashback; 6, Bech.

Bronx

State Senate: 21, Siegel; 22, A. Epstein; 23, B Young

Congress: 23, Luigi Antonini; 24, Belle Robbins

Assembly: 1 Wilenkin, 3, Schechter, 5, Dr Gewitt, 7, A. Rubin

Harlem West Side Branch, N. Y., in Action

The Harlem West Side Branch of the Workers' Party of America is now organized and preparing to grapple with the problems facing it in the work among the colored workers of Harlem. At a meeting at Branch headquarters, 147 West 136th Street, the following comrades were elected as provisional officers of the Branch: Comrade Huiswoud, Organizer; Comrade Briggs, Recording and Financial Secretary; Comrade Pierre, Delegate to the City Central Committee; Comrade Silverman, Literature Agent; Comrades Moore, Campbell and McKay, elected to Propaganda and Educational Committee; Comrade Hirsch, elected F. S. R. Agent. Comrade Pierre was elected Fraternal Delegate to the City Convention, the Branch waiving its right to a regular delegate on the grounds that such a delegate would represent no one but himself in view of the fact that the Branch was just organized and the comrades had had no opportunity to discuss the questions that would come up at the convention.

It was decided that regular meetings would be held every second and fourth Fridays, at 8.30 P.M.

Comrade Jack Jampolsky presided, representing the Organization Committee. He suggested that the Branch immediately take up the work of raising its Headquarters Fund and reported that nearly one hundred dollars had been raised so far through the efforts of the Section Committee.

Demonstration for Rail Strikers in Williamsburg

All comrades and sympathizers who are going to the Workers Party picnic this coming Sunday, at Dickert's Park, should be at Empire Hall, Lorimer and Ten Eyck Sts., Brooklyn, at 9 a. m.

The trip to the picnic grounds will be made by trucks decorated with signs proclaiming our unity with the striking railroad workers. Make this a big demonstration. The Williamsburg comrades have prepared a few trucks to take care of the crowd. A minimum fare will be charged. Be sure to be there.

NOTICE

The tractor bought for Soviet Russia by the Rockaway branch of the F. S. R., is now on display at 73—19 Boulevard, Hammels. An open air meeting will take place July 29, Saturday evening, at Boulevard and 77th Street. Comrades are urged to help. An important branch meeting will take place Thursday evening, July 27, at 1 Rose Court, Beach 53rd, Edgemere.

Minutes of the C. C. C. Local Greater New York

Executive Secretary was absent because of other important party work. Comrade T. O'Flaherty acted for the Secretary.

Chairman —Comrade Rubin.

Recording Secretary —Comrade B. Israel.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and accepted.

Credentials of Delegates—Comrade Wilenkin seated as delegate—Bronx Russian Branch.

Communications —A protest was lodged by the Russian branch against the action of the Local Executive Committee in the S. P. and F. L. P. Conference. The Russian branch delegate was informed that the action was taken by the National Executive Committee.

Attention was called to the new leaflet issued by the National Office entitled "Hands Off, Uncle Sam" and the delegates were advised to urge their branches to purchase same and give them wide distribution.

Excerpts of City Executive Committee Minutes

Communication from the National Industrial Department advising that the Voice of Labor is putting out special editions on the railroad and miners' strikes and requesting that we purchase them for distribution.

Motion that we call this to the attention of the branches and that the City Central Committee determine how many to order and that we forward this communication to the Industrial Organizer for action.

Elections.—Arrangements in progress. Political Committee to meet on nominations of candidates.

Miners.—Up to the present time the Miners' Relief Committee has collected $2,700. Subscription lists printed and are ready for distribution. Circular letters sent to unions, also to branches. Complaint that the co-operation and enthusiasm should be better than it is. All arrangements made for Tag Day.

Open-Air Meetings.—Secretary reported arrangements being made one meeting per week in each section to be increased as it becomes better organized. Five platforms are being made for the branches.

Section Committee Report that reorganization is not being pushed at the present time awaiting the call to be sent out on the formation of campaign committees. This will give them a definite object to start on.

Industrial.—Industrial Organizer reported department being organized. Motion that sub-committee be elected to act with the Industrial Organizer as the Industrial Committee.

Motion that minutes and communications regarding industrial work to branches, etc., contain only routine matters or matters of a general character. Carried.

Picnic.—All arrangements being made. Comrades are urged to send in their money in advance as many expenses have to be paid now. Comrades not paying in advance are to be ready to settle up at the picnic.

Comrades are further requested to bring material for raffling.

B. Israel, Recording Secretary

Spanish Labor Protests

BOSTON.—The National Confederation of Labor in Spain, at its recent convention held in Zaragosa, adopted resolutions demanding a new trial for Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the two workingmen awaiting electrocution in Massachusetts on a murder charge.

The Spanish delegates to the forthcoming all-European conference in Berlin, called by the Italian Syndicalist Union, are also instructed to bring up the question of concerted action by international labor in behalf of the condemned Italians.

This information is conveyed in a letter from Zaragosa under date of June 20, just received here.

Discriminate Against Colored Labor

BRISBANE, Queensland.—The Queensland arbitration court has ruled that colored labor is not to be employed in the sugar refining mills of that state if white labor is available.

With Our Readers

FROM BUFFALO

The workers of Buffalo are giving strong support to the street car men who are out on strike demanding the recognition of their union. A few weeks ago the International Railway company decided to cut the pay of their men. The men voted to go out on strike. The I. R. C. then withdrew their decision, but the men decided to strike anyway and demand the recognition of their union. The company then called upon the city for protection and it was both, cheerfully and illegally given. It is against the law for any man who is sent by the government to protect property to put his foot on the property of the people he is supposed to protect. Nevertheless, the policemen are riding on street cars in violation of the law. It only proves what we radicals have been telling the workers all the time, that all laws are made in the interest of the capitalist class, and that they could disobey them whenever they desire, while, on the other hand if the workers just once disobey a minor law they are immediately persecuted.

Workers Solid in Strike

The strike has been a fierce one from the day it started and it is to be said to the credit of the workers of Buffalo not one man, woman or child has stepped onto a street car since the strike began. On the street cars there are either three, four, or five men. A SCAB motorman, a policeman and a company thug. Where there are four or five men those over three are paid by the company to ride in the cars in order to fool the people and make them think that people are riding in the cars. However, it does not work because the workers are wise to the company's game and they refuse to ride on cars manned by scabs. The workers have time and again stoned the street cars and during the night they placed obstacles in the way of the cars. The workers attack the scab cars every time they see one and even the sawed off shot guns in the hands of the police could not stop them. The state troopers composed of the worst gangsters in the state of New York were sent into the city. They patrol the city on horseback with guns in their hands and machine guns in their autos. The street car company tells the people thru the newspapers that there are many people riding in the street cars, but the workers know it is not true and they continue to support the strikers.

Permits for Y. M. C. A.

We asked for a permit to hold an open air meeting. The mayor told us that he would not let any one speak on the streets during the strike. Nevertheless the Y. M. C. A. held meetings in the middle class section in which they condemned the strikers. They will prevent our meetings now. They will call in the State Troops now but because of and in spite of them the workers of this country will in the very near future rise in their might and teach the master class of this country that the government belongs to those who are the overwhelming majority of the population and who do the useful work in this country—The Working Class of this country.

Summer Festival and Picnic of the Workers Party

The Summer Festival and Picnic of the Workers Party is rousing such great interest that many prominent men and women in the local say they will join the great crowds that will spend their day at Dickert's Park, 1018 Boston Road, next Sunday. Among those expected to attend are C. E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary of the Workers Party, who will make a short address on the United Front, Rose Pastor Stokes, Michael Gold, Robert Minor, J. Louis Engdahl, Ludwig Lore, M. J. Olgin and Dr. Hendin.

The unique features of the picnic will be a Watermelon Contest and the Seventh International. Another attractive feature will be mass-singing by all the language choruses, in which the Seventh International will participate.

Lunch can be had at the Picnic. Tickets are 40 cents in advance, tickets at the gate, 50 cents. They can be purchased at:

The Local Office, 208 E. 12th St.; Volkszeitung, 15 Spruce St.; The Worker, 80 E. 11th St., Room 405; Laisve, 455 Grand St., Brooklyn; Workers Party Branch, 143 E. 103rd St.; Workers Party Branch, 67 Chrystie St.; Workers Party Branch, 1347 Boston Road; Workers Party Branch, 296 Sackman St., Brooklyn; Workers Party Branch, Lorimer and Ten Eyck Sts., Brooklyn; Finnish Hall, 764 40th St., Brooklyn; Hungarian Home, 350 E. 81st St.; Iskra, 208 E. 12th St.; Ellers, 11 E. 1st St.

SAN FRANCISCO.—It is stated that Charles M. Fickert, who sent Mooney and Billings to jail for life, is to run again for district attorney, and that his old backers, the bail bond brokers, are raising a campaign fund to insure his success. One man has pledged $10,000 to make Fickert district attorney again.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Worker "Sub" Campaign Has Readers' Enthusiastic Support

THE WORKER campaign for 25,000 new readers is making the most encouraging progress. New subscriptions by the handfuls reach THE WORKER office daily. The list of readers grows by leaps and bounds. Thousands of workers who have not heretofore read this paper now receive it weekly thru their own subscriptions and from their friends.

THE WORKER receives in every mail the most encouraging reports of the subscription campaign from every part of the country. We can say without question that this campaign is the most popular and the most successful in the history of this paper. Scores, and we are sure there will be hundreds of comrades and readers who have not taken active part in such work are now giving the most enthusiastic support to this campaign of placing THE WORKER into the hands of other workers.

Many readers are paying outright for the five or ten cards sent them, knowing that they can dispose of them easily within a few days. Others sell the cards immediately and remit at once. Others have sent in already for a second or even a third supply of cards having disposed of the first so readily.

From every part of the country the readers express the same encouraging sentiment—that the 20 week WORKER sub cards sell as fast as they are offered to the workers. Even in strike regions where miners and other workers have been on strike for many months the workers find it necessary to subscribe for THE WORKER. From their slender means, in some cases such being strike relief funds, they take a 50 cent piece and purchase a sub card. This is an indication of the popularity of THE WORKER among the militant workers who are now making a standing fight against the bosses. It is a tribute to the value of this paper in these workers' fights.

A few notes from our readers concerning this campaign appear in another column of this issue. We hope you will read them. And, if you are one of those who have not yet sold your cards, or paid in advance for them, or ordered a bundle to sell on your job—we hope these letters will inspire you to DO WHAT OTHERS ARE DOING—making this subscription campaign a huge success.

This is THE WORKER readers' campaign. We in the office cannot make it. Its success depends solely upon the efforts of the readers and Workers Party members. If it succeeds it will be due to your efforts. If it fails it will be due to the inactivity of our readers. But it will not fail. It has already, in the first days, secured the unqualified support of hundreds of comrades. Add to this support your own. Give this campaign your enthusiasm, your efforts. Sell the subscription cards sent you. Order more. Get every worker in your shop, on your job, in your union to subscribe. THIS will make the campaign successful.

• • •

Readers Voice Hearty Approval of "Worker" in Many Letters

A deluge of letters from readers who are taking an active and successful part in piling up the 25,000 new subscriptions in THE WORKER campaign have reached the office within the past week. To show the spirit in which our readers are taking up this work, we are publishing below a few extracts from some received.

From a New Reader

"After reading The Worker for some time and that it prints the REAL news of the day. Enclosed find $2 for my renewal."—V. L., Los Angeles.

"With great pleasure I am inclosing here with the names of three new subscribers."—F. Bonadonna, Kansas City.

"Sold the five cards before I reached home. Very glad to help The Worker. Send me 75 more cards. I am going to ask the brothers in our U. M. W. of A. Local to subscribe for this wonderful friend of labor."—J. S. Gypsy, W. Va.

A. E., Quincy, Mass., remits $4 for 1 twenty-week subs.

"Your paper is a dandy and I regret that it has not a circulation of 25 millions. Am sending you four subscriptions."—J. L. T., Kansas City, Mo.

"I sold the ten cards in one hour. Send me more cards."—A. R., Berkeley, Calif.

"Received the 10 subscription cards. We have sold 75 up to the present time. Will push these cards according to instructions."—E. B., Local Toronto, Ohio.

"Subscriptions seem easier to get now than ever before. Will have the ten cards sold before August 1st."—C. B. B.

"In spite of the hardships the workers here have gone thru they still find 50 cents to subscribe for The Worker. Enclosed find three dollars for subscriptions."—M. W. B., Yukon, Pa.

"Enclosed find ten filled-out cards and $5 for same."—F. D., Roxbury, Mass.

"Enclosed find $5 for the ten subscriptions which are enclosed."—C. B. M., Dayton, O.

"Worker" Makes Big Hit with Australian Comrades

"The Communist," official organ of the United Communist Party of Australia, says it is now receiving "The Worker" regularly and has the following to say about it:

"The Worker," the official organ of the Workers' Party of America is now arriving regularly. This paper used to be "The Toiler," and was taken over by the Workers Party when it was formed last Christmas in New York. It is one of the best Communist papers we have seen, and any Communist here who would like to keep in touch with the American movement should become a regular reader.

The last issue contains the announcement of the release of Ben Gitlow, Ruthenberg, and Ferguson from Auburn and Sing Sing prisons, where they have been in goal since 1919 for being Communists. "The Worker" is a large six page paper now, well set out, and attempts to cover the whole position of Communist activities, not only in America, but in Europe. The last issues contain full accounts of the American miners' strike.

CALGARY, Alta.—That no further coal mines be opened in Alberta until wider markets have been secured and that mines failing to pay wages consistent with Canadian living standards be suspended, is the burden of a resolution adopted by the Alberta Federation of Labor.

THE SUBSCRIPTION RECORD TELLS US—

That the first week after we sent subscription cards to our readers to sell, FOUR HUNDRED AND NINETY were returned filled out with the names of new readers.

What will the next week show?

It depends on you.

Sell YOUR cards!

Fordson Tractors Will Tour City in Tool Drive

Responding to the urgent appeal from the Russian workers for help in reconstructing Russian industry the Friends of Soviet Russia have started a Tool Drive all over the country. In New York City the drive will get under way July 24 and continue until August 9th.

During these two weeks three Fordson tractors, purchased by the F. S. R., will travel all over the city, stopping in various places so that the public may inspect them. Big meetings will be held on street corners and in public places and prominent speakers will address the crowds on industrial reconstruction in Russia.

The object of the Tool Drive is to supply the workers and peasants of Russia with tools and machinery which will enable them to overcome the threatening danger of famine. The tractors, which are used extensively in agricultural production in the United States, will give the Russian workers all the advantages and benefits of American industrial technique, making possible a steadily increasing supply of food for the famished millions in starving Russia.

The very basis of modern industrial production is machinery. Without it no economic reconstruction is possible. To build up a real Workers' Republic, tools and machinery are indispensable. The duty of class-conscious workers is to supply their struggling brothers and sisters in Russia with the necessary equipment. Contributions for the purchase of tools should be sent to the Friends of Soviet Russia, 208 East 12th Street.

CONVENTION NOTICE

All delegates to the convention of District No. 2 of the Workers Party of America are requested to report promptly at 2 o'clock on Saturday, July 29, at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St.

All central committees or unaffiliated branches who have not as yet paid for their special convention assessment stamps are requested to do so before the opening of the convention.

Berry Picking in Oregon

PORTLAND, Ore.—Berry picking is in full swing. A good family man with 13 children helping can earn as high as $2.75 a day if he exercises strict economy and they all pick from sunrise to sunset.

Sharp, of the Fancy Leather Goods Union, to Tour District No. 2

Peter C. Sharp will be the fourth speaker to be toured by District No. 2 of the Workers' Party.

He is a member of the executive board of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union and has been an active participant in the organized labor movement in New York.

His subject will be "The Industrial Crisis," a subject that he is familiar with and can handle with exceptional skill.

He will speak on the following dates:

August 5, New London, Conn.; 6, Norwich; 7, Rockville; 8, Collinsville; 9, Hartford; 10, New Britain; 11, Meriden; 12, New Haven; 13 and 14, Waterbury; 15, Ansonia; 16, Bridgeport; 17, Norwalk; 18, Stamford; 19, Albany, N. Y.; 20, Troy; 22, Cohoes; 23, Schenectady; 24, Amsterdam; 25, Johnstown; 26, Gloversville; 27 and 28, Utica; 29, Syracuse; 30, Oneida; 31, Syracuse; Sept. 1, Geneva; 2, 3 and 4, Rochester; 5, Buffalo; 6, Niagara Falls; 7, Buffalo; 8, Jamestown; 9, Salamanca; 10, Bolivar; 11, Olean; 12, Hornell; 13, Ithaca; 14, Van Etten; 15, Endicott; 16, Binghamton; 17 and 18, Middletown; 19, Paterson, N. J.; 20, Passaic, 21, Newark; 22, Linden; 23, Elizabeth; 24, Stelton; 25, Perth Amboy.

Workers Party Athletics

By Kalle Aronen, Secretary of the Finnish Athletic League.

As we workers have an Athletic International, which brings together workers' athletic organizations all over the world, it is absolutely necessary to organize an Athletic League in the Workers' Party. This is the only way to get into the Workers' Athletic International. Of the organizations that are now in the Workers' Party a great many have athletic organizations such as football, tennis, baseball, boxing, wrestling clubs, etc., which are working without united action.

In the Finnish Socialist Federation, we are connected with the athletic league known by the name "Assovuitto" or American-Finnish Socialist Locals Athletic and Gymnastic League, which is composed of about twenty athletic organizations, bringing the total membership to about 400. This league is formed of only the Finnish Socialist Federation Workers' Party members. The year of 1921 the league cast a vote, "Whether the I. W. W. Finnish Athletic Organizations may join the League?" "Yes" side won but to this day none of the above mentioned members have joined our league.

"Assovuitto" has its own by-laws and rules which some time ago were controlled by the middle class but as the years rolled by there have been changes to proletarian classes or opposing sides. "Assovuitto" by-laws have a section which forbids the league members to take part in any of the bourgeois or so called middle class contests. This item has kept a number of challenge proletarians out of our league.

"Assovuitto" is particularly in need of a Workers Party Athletic League. Without the league the contests have been only among the Finnish Athletes, without any chance of co-operating with the English comrades. Through the W. P. A. L. we would be able to be in touch with the International Workers Athletic Leagues of other countries. Then we will be able to send our delegates to the Workers' Olympic Games.

PORTLAND, Ore.—Hordes of Mexicans are being imported to institute the nine-hour day in Klamath Falls camps and mills. About 200 Mexicans are working where 2,000 Americans, now on strike were employed.

WASHINGTON.—"The army cannot break this strike, even if the cabinet would like it to do so," was the comment at Machinists' headquarters upon Secretary of War Weeks' announcement that troops might be called out to guard railroad property.

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J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Managing Editor
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Labor Editor
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager.

Published weekly by The Toiler Publishing Association.
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Advertising rates upon application.
Phone: Stuyvesant 9642.

British coal is being imported to help break the miners' strike. It would never do, of course, to admit that the American worker under his glorious government needs aid from the workers of any other nation. Let Sam say it for you, boys!

Violating Free Speech

The police department of Pittsburgh, Pa., has refused to gran street speaking permits to the Workers Party.

Permits were granted the party in May and June. But ther the coal and railroad strikes began to grip the nation, and Pennsylvania especially its coal and iron metropolis, was hard hit.

The police department was forced in this crisis to decide as between the friends and the enemies of the Quaker State profiteers

The Workers Party was honored by being classified as an opponent of capitalist "law and order" and refused permits. Other political parties, including the Socialist Party, have had their permits continued.

In explanation of his decision, Superintendent of Police J. C. Calhoun wrote to the organizer of the Workers Party as follows:

> **At the present time we feel that your meetings would tend to stir up strife and disorder, and that a proper regard for the peace and good order of the city requires us to refuse to permit them.**
>
> **Two great industrial disputes are pending involving the interest and welfare of many people. Calm and thoughtful consideration of the issues involved is needed, rather than the discussion of them in open street meetings attended not only by persons in interest, but by a great number of other people having no direct interest in the matter.**
>
> **During this unusual condition we will grant no permits for your meetings.**

Speech is free in Pittsburgh if the "peace and good order" of capitalist exploitation is not interfered with.

"Calm and thoughtful consideration of the issues involved" must be reached by the workers, says the police in effect, thru reading the inspired press of the mine owners and the steel barons and by listening to the "democracy" loving orators of the Socialist Party.

Communism is thus proclaimed, even by the Pittsburgh police, as the uncompromising enemy of capitalism, and the utterances of the Workers Party will receive increased attention from the awakened workers on the battle line in the coal and railroad strikes.

It is shown that 233 of 356 wayward working girls who came under the supervision of the New York Probation and Protective Association received less than $16 per week. The capitalist press stated that this proved that wages and waywardness had no connection. It is hard to be logical when the facts are against one

A Few Political Bedfellows

La Follette is now receiving Hearst support, in addition to that of the Socialist Party, in his campaign for re-election as United States Senator from Wisconsin.

Richard Barry has a special article in the August issue of Hearst's International Magazine in which the question is asked "Will His (La Follette's) Enemies Get Him?" and the answer is given, "No!"

Part of the Hearst-Barry argument is that the La Follette economic policies, championed in Wisconsin and in Washington never did injury to the interests of private property, in fact the capitalists liked them once they really got acquainted with them Thus Barry writes:

"An ex-official of the Northwestern Life Insurance Company of Milwaukee said to the writer, 'Some of us who fought La Follette in the early days became his beneficiaries after his insurance and railroad regulation acts got to working. I doubt if any responsible insurance or railroad official today in Wisconsin would like to go back to the conditions we fought so hard to maintain and which La Follette forcefully wrested from us.'"

And then to prove how conservative La Follette really is Barry says that the Wisconsin newspapers fighting his re-election have never heard of Charles Oster, the French deputy and political writer, who made a study of American government a decade ago.

Barry says that in reply to a question from Louis Brandeis about his relation to French politics, Oster said, "At home I am called a conservative—I am there in favor of ideas like those of your Senator La Follette."

La Follette's basic idea is government regulation. All the big profiteers have to do is to control the different commissions that "regulate." And they do this very easily, so that the various Wisconsin "commissions" hit the workers over the head repeatedly and just as effectively as the rail workers were hit by the Railroad Labor Board's decisions.

Berger's Wisconsin Socialist Party has now embraced La Follette and his "regulation" nostrum after fighting both the republican politician and his pet schemes these many years.

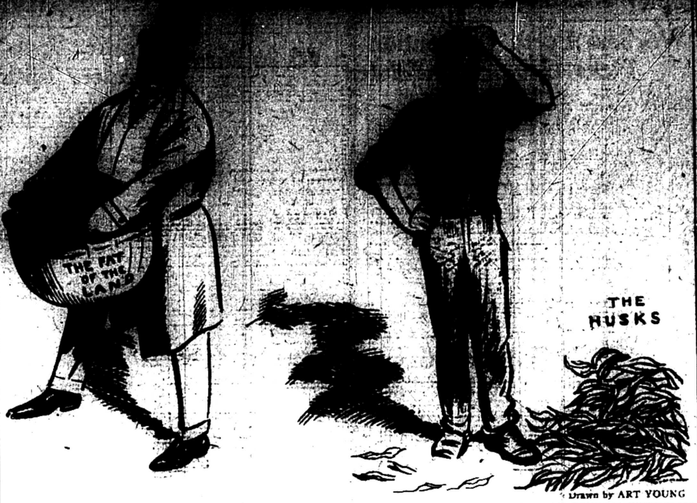
Thus we find Berger and his "Socialists" lining up with the private insurance and railroad interests in supporting La Follette.

We also find the "Socialists" in the same political camp as Hearst on the La Follette issue, with William Randolph Hearst who is being urged for high political honors by "Fingy" Connors, the labor hating Buffalo millionaire.

Yellow "Socialists" will gasp at the claim that the chasm between Vic Berger and "Fingy" Connors can be bridged. But politics, especially the kind being played by the Socialist Party, has performed more difficult feats.

The Combined Barnum and Bailey and Ringling Bros. Circus had better look to its laurels. The politicians and the fall elections are upon us. Let the workers decide where they stand by studying the attack of the profiteers, the interest takers and the yellow Socialists on Communism and the Workers Party.

"The father is poor, while his brother is well to do," is the explanation given for the sale by W. H. Gillard, widower with six children, of Greenville, S. C., of his pretty six year old daughter, Inez, to his brother, J. H. Gillard. But do not expect a shower of editorials from the kept press on "capitalism breaking up the home." The profit-inspired attack on Communism will continue just the same.


THE FAT OF THE LAND
THE HUSKS

Drawn by ART YOUNG

The Fine Art of Framing Workers

The memory of developments in the Mooney case has taken the keen edge of interest in such revelations as the recent one in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, a full account of which appears in another part of this paper.

Proof that a state's witness upon whose say-so two sons of labor were condemned to die, is a habitual criminal, a pathological liar, a thorogoing scoundrel, is no longer a matter for surprise to those acquainted, even casually, with latter-day methods of dealing out justice to the working class.

Probably proof that a state's witness in a labor case was not one or more of the breeds enumerated above would come nearer being sensational.

What will the courts of Massachusetts do about it? They are now officially apprised that "Carlos E. Goodridge" who "positively identified" Sacco as on the scene of the murders charged against him and Vanzetti is not Goodridge at all. He is Erastus C. Whitney, an inmate at different times of Elmira Reformatory and Auburn State Prison in New York, and vacationing in civilian life only because the New York authorities have not succeeded in finding him.

The admiration of the courts may be roused by the talents of this man of many names, many wives and many crimes. Their tender hearts may be touched by the man's pitiable inability to tell the truth, his positive passion for perjury.

But what will they do to right the wrong done to Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the victims of this man's diseased and perverted instincts?

The State cannot claim ignorance of the man's character when it put him on the stand. It was as a self-confessed criminal that "Goodridge" first came into the Norfolk County court. District Attorney Katzmann and his associates knew him first in that role. It was while in court under an adopted name and newly-raised whiskers that the gentleman from Elmira and Auburn saw Sacco, and in some mysterious fashion became a witness against him.

The friends of the two Italians have charged from the beginning that "Goodridge" was put on probation instead of being imprisoned in order that he might testify effectively against Sacco. The circumstantial proof in support of this charge is at least as strong as the circumstantial proof on which Sacco and Vanzetti are being sent to the electric chair.

The proofs of corruption and perjury in this case would long ago have brought a dismissal in a country where the courts have not lost all sense of shame.

The purchasing power of union wages, despite all increases is six percent less than in 1907. Fifty years more and the workers will owe the employers money at the end of each work day.

Intellectual Decadence in the I.W.W.

It is with a genuine feeling of regret that we feel it necessary to comment on a mis-statement in a recent issue of Industrial Solidarity. In an article signed "Blair" the following sentence occurs:

> The Communist leadership, divorced from industry, blind to the realities of capitalist development, and confused in thought accepts the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic as the last word in revolutionary accomplishment. Believing himself the only true apostle of Marxian Socialism and the Communist Party the only orthodox, organized exponent of Marxian economics, the Communist proclaims that the Russian "Communist state is a communist industry."

We do not know from what source the author of the two statements above gets his information but it is certainly not from the spokesman of the Communist International or the Soviet government. Bucharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotzky and all the other theoreticians of the Russian revolution, being Marxians, have from the first proclaimed that the dictatorship in Russia is a transitory thing but necessary during the period between revolution and Communism. There is not a single word that can be quoted to prove the statement that Communists look upon the Soviet government as the "last word in revolutionary accomplishment."

The same is true of the second statement. No single utterance can be cited to show that Communists believe the Russian Communist state is "communized industry." They do not so believe and their authorized spokesmen have time and time again declared that Russia is passing thru a transition period, that Communism will come when Russian industry is rebuilt. All Marxians acknowledge the necessity of such a transition period following the seizure of power by revolutionary workers.

This careless use of the truth is not surprising in the official organ of an organization which has lately put the seal of approval on "educational" articles which claim that capitalism flourished in ancient Babylon, that machines are intelligent and a lot of other middle-class nonsense we have not the space to mention.

We have seen the Industrial Workers of the World in too many hard-fought battles to get any pleasure from chronicling the decadence of the organization. Truth compels us to state however, that its recently developed penchant for middle-class intellectuals, indulged in despite its public denunciations of the tribe, coupled with a muddle-headed officialdom which operates on prejudice instead of reason and a lack of international affiliation that is only 100 per cent Americanism in disguise, all combined have discredited this once militant organization.

The dissemination of misinformation in such articles as the one we quote from has become the rule rather than the exception and would not have been tolerated in the organization as it was in the days when it was fighting the boss instead of aiding him.

The A. F. of L. convention refused to back the Railway Mail Clerks in their fight against the spoils system. That organization is now voting on withdrawal from the Federation.

There is more than one way of splitting the labor movement.

Rights of Ownership

Reports in the capitalist press state that with few instances governors and coal operators have enthusiastically accepted the "Harding plan" for the settlement of the coal strike.

The flag of the United States of America therefore, waves proudly above the coal properties stolen years ago from the community and now awaiting an influx of scabs who are to be encouraged and protected in their task of betraying the real producers of coal by the presence of armed forces of the state and nation.

The good citizens may look with loathing upon this use of the flag and military, yet it is the proper function of both.

The capitalists of the United States own this country, its people are their slaves, and part and parcel of their property is the flag and those who force obedience to their dictates.

In the coal fields of Western Pennsylvania, flying from the coal tipples, the flag is appropriately placed.

Ownership of a firm or corporation carries with it the privilege of using its labels. The same holds true of government. Its owners can use its emblems, its weapons and its prestige for any purpose they care to.

This is what the capitalists are doing now in the coal and railway strikes.

Instead of voicing certain complaints the workers must prepare to oust the present owners. Their privileges and powers will then pass to the workers. They can have the mines, the railways and all the other resources of the nation. They can have their flag to symbolize their ownership and their army with which to protect that ownership from the attempts of the dispossessed capitalists to wrest it from them.

To-day—the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

To-morrow—the dictatorship of the working-class.

The natives of the Tonga islands, a British possession, have raised the cry of "Tonga for the Tongans."

They have no right to do this because they are a weak nation.

More Unity Needed

The longer the railway strike lasts the more apparent becomes the irrefutable logic of amalgamation into an industrial union for the railway workers.

Magnificent as is the display of fighting spirit and solidarity on the part of the shop crafts it is not sufficient to effectively meet the present situation.

Federation into a railway department has been a tremendous step in advance but the defection of the officials of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way and the Signalmen in return for petty promises of consideration at the hands of the railway board, has proved that a centralized authority is vitally necessary for effective fighting.

The contention that the membership is unwilling to fight no longer holds because the action of the officialdom of these organizations, their betrayal of the other railway crafts, was taken despite almost 100 per cent strike votes returned by the rank and file. Their postponement of strike action has already resulted, especially in the case of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way workers, in thousands quitting their jobs without strike sanction.

Craft lines have been broken in this strike, the need for centralized authority shown and the weakness of mere federation proven. It is up to the militants to pound away for speedy action to build a solid front in the railway industry.

Whatever the shopmen gain will not have been the achievement of individuals but the result of a partial unification of forces.

As always, historical developments in the struggle confirm the theories of the student-fighters in the ranks of the workers.

The only new thing about the "Harding Plan" for settling the coal strike is the ammunition of the soldiery.

[illegible]

Considering the [illegible] the services to be [illegible] publication, we urge [illegible] can public to make it [illegible] business to increase the [illegible] of the Bolcoaks and [illegible] the assistance they can.

Capitalists of the World [illegible]
Long live the Bolcoaks [illegible]
Affectionately [illegible]
The Hundred Percent
American Labor [illegible]

HOT OFF THE WIR

(Special bluffograms to [illegible] coms, Subway Sun, Daily N[illegible] Evening Tellalie and the Ne[illegible] Call of the Wild, by the A[illegible] Bughouse and Humbug Pres[illegible]

Berlin, July 30.—A dispatc[illegible] Christiania states that accord[illegible] report from Warsaw a man [illegible] in Vienna with a letter fr[illegible] friend in Tokio who claims [illegible] personally spoke to a man in [illegible] whose brother recently arrive[illegible] Russia with definite proofs that [illegible] Trotzky ate up alive Nikolai L[illegible] for supper.

Milwaukee, April 1.—The N[illegible] of the S. P. in secret session [illegible] named the following ticket for [illegible] 1924 national elections:

For Pres.: Henry Ford.
For Vice: Gen. Semenoff.

They have also approved the [illegible]owing men for the Cabinet in [illegible] of election:

John D. Rockefeller, Secretar[illegible] Labor.
Jack Dempsey, Sec'y of Interi[illegible]
Boris Bakhmetieff, Sec'y of T[illegible]ury,
Babe Ruth, Sec'y of State.
Yente Telebende, Sec'y of Wa[illegible]

Pa's Bull (13 miles from "[illegible] cow").—Severe fighting is goin[illegible] in Moscow between the Bolshe[illegible] and the Communists, while [illegible] Third International with an a[illegible] of $9,001 Peruvians is marching [illegible] Petrograd. The reds and [illegible] Marxians, in the meantime, h[illegible] united forces against the Sov[illegible] and have arrested and executed [illegible] following commissars: Samo[illegible] Boris Godunov, Siberia, Raspu[illegible] Uncle Vanya, Nicolai II, Sne[illegible]rotchka, Tchai and K[illegible]chatka.

VERSE OR WORSE

(Editor's Note: With apolog[illegible] the word "poetry" we take [illegible] in publishing the following "po[illegible] which as its author claims made [illegible] Oscar "Wilde.")

You can always tell a Comm[illegible]
he is so sedately dressed.
You can always tell a Wobbl[illegible]
the way he swells his chest;
You can always tell a Sociali[illegible]
his timid looks and such;
You can tell a Proletarian—but
can not tell him much.

Paid Advertisement

WANTED.—A banker, coal [illegible]ate or any other kind of a mil[illegible]ire to run for office on the Soc[illegible]icket. State how much money [illegible]ing to invest and all other par[illegible]rs. Write: S. P. Headquarters.

LEARN A WORD EVERY [illegible]
(With due apologies to the N[illegible] Call)

Today's word is SOCIAL[illegible] It's pronounced—so-shal-izm, [illegible] accent on the first syllable, no[illegible] the shall.

It used to mean—reconstructi[illegible] society on the basis of co-ope[illegible] of labor and community of prop[illegible] BUT now and in the United S[illegible] it means—postponement of th[illegible] construction of society.

It's used like this—"Great P[illegible] Sale! Men and women, if yo[illegible] true Socialists you'll buy [illegible] pants at our store."

! ? !

It was a United Front conv[illegible] and one of our representatives [illegible]ed that he could tell by the lo[illegible] which party each delegate bel[illegible]

"You, for example, are a [illegible]blie?"

"Right."

"And you are a member [illegible] Proletarian Party?"

"Correct."

"And you, in the corner, are [illegible]cialist?"

"No, no, no," protested the [illegible]tunate, "I've been sick three [illegible] that's what makes me lo[illegible] way." . . .

So long till the next issu[illegible]
Philosophically yours.

P. S.—A truckload of [illegible] Liberty Bonds will be giv[illegible] exact definition of the wor[illegible] COMS.

National Defense Committee Picnic, Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, L. I, Sunday, August 20th, 1922

THE W[illegible]KER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLU[illegible] CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 235. Subscription Rates: One year, $2.00; six months, $1.00; Foreign, $2.50; Bundle rates, $3.50 per 100. SATURDAY, AU[illegible] Published [illegible] by The [illegible] Publishing Association. [illegible] 15th St., New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

Urge All Labor "Strike!"

Many Demands Made on the A. F. of L. for a Nation-Wide Walkout

Campaign on to Rally All in Big Strike

The movement to enlist all labor in the United States in a giant nation-wide strike was started by the Central Labor Union of Omaha, Nebraska.

The resolution adopted has been sent to every central union in the United States and should be acted on immediately. The resolution is as follows:

Omaha, Neb., July 20, 1922.

WHEREAS, The Textile Workers in New England, the United Mine Workers of America, and the Railway Department of the A. F. of L. are engaged in a strike as a protest against the reduction of the American standard of living, and

WHEREAS, Many other strikes, authorized and unauthorized, are spreading and are fast becoming universal, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States now informs us thru the medium of the public press that it is HIS purpose to use the full power of the Government, both military and judicial, to intimidate and oppress a free people and to bend them to his will, that the American standard of living must be reduced, and

WHEREAS, the doors of the U. S. Treasury have been thrown open for the relief of Big Business as represented by the Railroad owners, and

WHEREAS, We are facing a condition bordering on slavery,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That we, the CENTRAL LABOR UNION OF OMAHA, NEBRASKA, in regular session assembled this 21st day of July, 1922, do call upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to immediately set in motion the machinery which shall bring the full power of labor to bear in one grand national protest against the slavery conditions that are being imposed upon us, and to call a National Strike at the earliest possible date in order that this warfare upon American homes may cease and a free people be permitted to live in peace, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the A. F. of L. and all its departments, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the Order of Railway Conductors, and to every Central Labor Union in the United States, for their endorsement and support, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That we pledge our lives, our liberty, and our sacred honor to the establishment, maintenance and defense of a living rate of wages in the U. S. of A., and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be given to the public press.

CENTRAL LABOR UNION
OF OMAHA, NEBRASKA.

According to a bulletin issued by [illegible] soviet chamber of commerce of [illegible]scow, there is a great demand [illegible] America for the products of [illegible]sian home industry—embroidery, [illegible], knitting, etc. The demand [illegible] Holland is chiefly for eggs, but[illegible] chemical materials.

[illegible] WORKERS SHOULD READ [illegible] COPY OF THE WORKER; [illegible] IT IN CIRCULATION

Mexican Labor Demonstrates Before the U. S. Legation at Mexico City in Big Protest

While workers in all parts of the world are showing their sympathy with the striking miners and railroad workers of the United States, the demand is growing in this country for a nation-wide sympathetic strike of all labor.

The American Federation of Labor headquarters at Washington has given out the text of several resolutions adopted recently by various labor organizations urging a national strike of all organized workmen.

Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L., announces that no comment would be added except that they were "examples of numerous other resolutions of similar character."

Among the organizations quoted by Gompers were the Central Labor Union, Omaha, Neb.; East St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union; Central Labor Union of Council Bluffs, Iowa; Federated Shop Crafts, Dunsmuir, Cal.; Waycross (Ga.) Trades and Labor Assembly, and Central Trade Union, Knoxville, Tenn.

The growing solidarity of the workers in other lands is being shown at the same time thru first action taken by the British miners to halt coal shipments to this country, thru demonstrations of the railroad workers of Mexico, and in a cablegram sent to the mine strikers here thru "THE WORKER," by the Japanese miners, who are themselves in the midst of a big conflict.

The cablegram from Japan reads as follows:

"TOKIO, Japan, July 29, 1922.

EDITOR, THE WORKER,
799 Broadway, New York City.

MINERS OF JAPAN WISH MINERS OF AMERICA DECISIVE VICTORY IN STRUGGLE WITH THEIR EXPLOITERS. WE ARE WITH YOU FOR THE SOLIDARITY AND THE TRIUMPH OF ALL THE WORLD'S WORKERS OVER OUR OPPRESSORS.

MINERS FEDERATION OF JAPAN."

Thousands of Mexican workers took part in a parade on August 1st, thru the main streets of Mexico City in sympathy with the striking railroad workers of the United States.

One banner asserted that the cause of the rail workers of the United States was the common cause of the Mexican workers.

One of the many large red banners in the parade was inscribed with, "Communist Party of Mexico, Section of the Third International."

The procession halted in front of newspaper offices and government buildings, while numerous speakers addressed the multitudes voicing the adherence of Mexican workers to the cause of their "brother Americans who are at death grips with the monster money power."

All railroad activities, with the exception of passenger trains, were halted for an hour thruout the republic, and parades similar to that in the capital were held in many cities.

The paraders wended their way to the United States Legation, where a demonstration was staged and a request made of George T. Summerlin, the American Chargé d'Affaires, to meet a delegation of labor leaders who wished to file a formal protest against the American rail executives. Mr. Summerlin declined the request. There were no disorders.

Welsh Miners Act

The Council of the South Wales Miners Federation at Cardiff, Wales has approved a resolution from the Rhondda district in favor of preventing the export of coal to America. President Hartshorn of the federation explained that the matter had been referred to the International Committee.

It was resolved to communicate the action of the South Wales Federation to Frank Hodges, National Secretary of the miners' union, stating the opinion of the South Wales Council and urging that the International Committee should take steps to prevent the export of coal to America.

SHOE WORKERS HELP

Workers in the Albert Shoe Factory, Brooklyn, have taken up a collection of $20.25 for the striking miners of West Virginia. The 21 workers in one department have pledged themselves to contribute $1 each weekly for the relief fund as long as the strike lasts.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Friends of Soviet Russia in Denial of Charges by "Forward"

The Friends of Soviet Russia, thru its national office in New York City has issued a statement in which it categorically denies the charges made by the Jewish Daily Forward. In reply it demands a public retraction of the charges made. The statement is as follows:

Public Retraction Demanded

A newspaper in New York called the "Forward" and pretending to be the mouthpiece of militant workers recently made a malicious, venomous attack on the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York City.

The basis for the attack was an interview between a reporter of the paper and Dr. Jacob W. Hartman, treasurer of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The charges and insinuations are so gross, so false, that some other motive than interest and solicitude for the starving in Soviet Russia is basic to them. Without, however, going into that issue at this point, the Friends of Soviet Russia will take up the charges and insinuations themselves and expose them for what they are worth:

Reporter Creates Confusion

1. During the interview, the reporter was told that there are two organizations: the Friends of Soviet Russia and the American Federated

(Continued on Page Four)

THE SUBSCRIPTION RECORD TELLS US—

Subscriptions received this week were

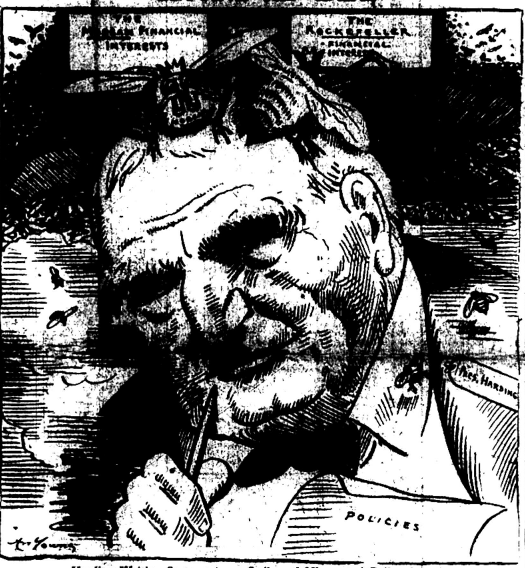
754

Subscriptions received last week were

490

CAN YOU BEAT IT?
YOU CAN—
SELL YOUR SUB CARDS!

GETTING HIS IDEAS


THE MORGAN FINANCIAL INTERESTS
THE ROCKEFELLER FINANCIAL INTERESTS
PRES. HARDING
POLICIES
Young

Harding Writing Statements on Strikes of Miners and Railroad workers

WORKERS PARTY URGES BRITISH WORKERS NOT TO SCAB ON U. S. COAL MINERS

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America has forwarded the following cablegram to the workers' organizations of Great Britain:

MINERS FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN
BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY
LABOR PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The Coal miners of the United States have for four months stood like a stone wall against the attempt of the bosses to destroy their splendid fighting organizations. Their fight against a wage reduction and the weakening of their organization is the fight of the whole American working class. If the miners are beaten the bosses will force a bitterer industrial slavery upon all of us. Victory for the miners seems certain if the British workers refuse to scab against them by furnishing the American capitalists with coal. We urge that you do all within your power to induce British workers to refuse to handle coal for the United States. Hail to the international solidarity of the workers.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

Coal Miners to Speak on West Va. War

One of the most interesting meetings ever held in New York City will take place Tuesday evening, August 8th, in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street.

On that date three coal miners from Beckley, West Virginia, will relate the facts of one of the most absorbing chapters in the history of the class struggle in America.

They will tell a story which covers two decades of bitter fighting.

The coal miners are fighting on the front-line trenches of the class-war in America, and their struggle against the coal operators epitomizes in the sharpest, most concentrated form the present phase of the class struggle in the United States—the workers on the one hand fighting a life-and-death battle to protect themselves and their organizations [illegible] barons, backed by the Government and the Steel Trust, trying to reduce the miners to the status of serfs.

Besides the three miners, among those who will address the audience will be John Gatherum, Secretary of District No. 29 of the United Mine Workers, Lawrence Dwyer, of the same organization, M. J. Olgin, editor of the Freiheit, William F. Dunne and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Miners' Relief Committee, 208 E. 12th St., New York City. Contributions for the relief of the miners may be sent to Louis Gruss, Secretary Miners' Relief Committee, 208 E. 12th St.

• • •

THE BATTLE FOR BREAD

There has been launched by the progressive labor movement in Pittsburgh an organization to be known as the Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference, which will gather food and send it by truck to the mining camps to feed the destitute miners and their families.

Special effort will be made to direct the relief work to the miners where companies and soldiers are attempting to break the strike at the present moment.

The persons and organizations interested in joining the Conference, as well as people who will give food should notify J. A. Hamilton, Secretary, 35 Miller Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., at the earliest possible moment. Food may be left at the Labor Lyceum, Cor. James and Foreland Sts., Pittsburgh, Pa., or phone calls may be made to Grant 9855.

It is a battle of bread versus bullets. No class conscious worker can refuse to help.

Our Candidates

The convention of the Workers Party, District No. 2, selected candidates for the fall elections in New York State as follows:

GOVERNOR: William F. Dunne, New York.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR: Ludwig Lore, Brooklyn.

SECRETARY OF STATE: Roy Raymond, Buffalo.

CONTROLLER: Robert Verhagen, Schenectady.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Rose Weiss, New York.

STATE ENGINEER: Dr. Benjamin Hoffman, New York.

STATE TREASURER: F. H. Shulman, Buffalo.

U. S. SENATOR: Alexander Trachtenberg.

The state [illegible] for New Jersey and Connecticut will be [illegible] by special [illegible] conventions called in [illegible] two states.

Additional [illegible] of the [illegible] convention will be found on page three of this issue.

[illegible]

An [illegible] on the Irish situation has been [illegible] by the Communist International [illegible] the stand of the Communist Party of Ireland in the present crisis. The declaration denounces the Irish Labor Party. It is as follows:

* * *

The Irish proletariat is again being faced with a fateful decision. After prolonged peace negotiations English Imperialism is again preparing to coerce the Irish people by force of arms.

After all the efforts of the English bourgeoisie to maintain its domination by force of arms had been frustrated by the heroic self-sacrificing defense of the Irish people, it was obliged to come to an understanding with the Irish bourgeoisie. For the semblance of an independent Irish Free State the representatives of the Irish capitalists, Collins, Griffith and Co., sacrificed the fruits of the long and successful struggle, and received in return, as a Judas reward, the right to exploit the Irish workers together with the English bourgeoisie.

The party of the small peasants and of those workers who are not as yet class-conscious, represented by De Valera, saw through this game. However, the election compromise which this party has arrived at with the Irish exploiters shows their lack of determination to fight against the latter. The working elements of this party, and above all the Irish Republican Army, which consists mostly of proletarian elements, are justified in being indignant at this pact, and in seeing in it the beginnings of a future betrayal.

The Irish Labour Party is fully aware that every attempt at emancipation on the part of the Irish workers will be hopeless until the party will direct its struggle against the twofold oppression of the English imperialists and the Irish capitalists. Nevertheless, the Irish Labour Party is much too opportunist to continue the revolutionary traditions of Connolly or Jim Larkin. In all questions concerning real independence and the Irish Republican Army, the Irish Labour Party does not go beyond fine phrases. Instead of demanding complete independence, it clings to an ultra-constitutionalism, just like its twin-sister, the British Labour Party. Instead of supporting the Republican Army under arms, it advocated an army "under the control of the people." Confusion and indecision exists in its own ranks, and prevents it from being the leader of the Irish Proletariat.

It is only the young Communist Party of Ireland which has the courage and the determination to point to the right path, and to say

"It is only after the yoke of the English imperialists has been shaken off that the struggle against the Irish exploiters will have any chance of success! It is only after the establishment of real independence that the class struggle will be able to develop untrammelled by any nationalist question."

The attitude of the proletarian majority of the Irish Republican Army is a proof that the Irish Communist Party, notwithstanding its short existence, is on the right path and represents the will of the Irish working class. The clearer and the more determined it pursues this path, the sooner will the English and Irish capitalists understand that the large majority of the Irish people the workers, are not inclined to have filched from them the fruits of a long and self sacrificing struggle for the semblance of the independence which is being offered to them.

The English capitalist class is fully aware of this, and at a moment when it sees that the Irish workers refuse to be swindled on this question, but demand from England a real free state, it will again land its troops in Ireland, and is ready to renew the war rather than grant an independence which would interfere with its plans of exploitation.

Workers of Great Britain! Your duty now consists in frustrating this predatory campaign of your bourgeoisie! Do not allow the Irish people to be subjugated once more by English capitalists!

Workers and Peasants of Ireland! You must be fearless and determined in your struggle for the liberation of Ireland, and thus continue your fight for your own emancipation. But you must bear in mind that liberation from the yoke of the English oppressors is only a prelude to the great final struggle for the abolition of the reign of your own exploiters. In this struggle the Irish Communist Party and the Communist International will assist you with counsel and action.

Long live the Irish people freed from national oppression!

Long live the Irish proletariat!

Long live the solidarity of the English and Irish exploited workers!

The Executive Committee
of the Communist International.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] to Debs

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

[illegible] of the Social Revolutionary Party, which gave and still gives the lie to its own name as the party of the "revolutionary democracy" of the small manufacturers.

Debs responded to Tchernoff in a protest to Lenin, still in agony as the result of an attack by a Tchernoff Party inspired would-be assassin. Debs urges Lenin "against the execution of any of the Social Revolutionaries or the unjust denial of their liberty."

Debs, therefore, takes his stand temporarily on the side of Tchernoff, the enemy of Communism, and against Lenin, one of the spokesmen of the Russian worker and peasant masses in their struggle to abolish the rule of capitalist exploiters and landlords and usher in a Communist Society.

The controversy that Debs thus enters into by taking his stand on the side of Tchernoff is as big as the class struggle itself.

This statement will therefore be confined to a few questions asking Debs if he is really acquainted with the nature of the source from which he draws his inspiration. These questions are taken, with a few changes in wording, from matter sent out thru the International Press Correspondence. Here they are:

Is Debs aware of the fact that at the end of 1921 Colonel Makhin published in the Revolutionaya Rossia an article on the methods of organizing an armed peasant revolt against the Soviet Government, of blowing up the railways of Soviet Russia and of the massacre of the Red Army? (The Revolutionaya Rossia is Tchernoff's organ.)

Is Debs aware of the fact that during the Kronstadt revolt there appeared an article in the Revolutionaya Rossia from the pen of Victor Tchernoff calling upon the peasantry to rise. "And you despots, Bolsheviki!" this article reads, "your days are counted; IF YOU CARE FOR YOUR LIVES CLEAR OUT OF THE WAY. The people is rising and judgment will be pronounced."

Is Debs aware of the fact that Tchernoff's journal, in view of the Kronstadt rising, stated: "Those who do not support the people of Kronstadt are allies of the blood-stained Field Marshall Trotsky and his hangmen. We have made up our minds. We are with the Kronstadt people against their oppressors and hangmen."

Is it known to Debs that the Ninth Congress of Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party passed the following resolution: "THE ARMED STRUGGLE WITH THE BOLSHEVIK POWER IS INEVITABLE and therefore the active elements of the people must be organised."

Has Debs knowledge of the fact that Victor Tchernoff wrote the following in his journal on this decision of the party: "The Social Revolutionary Party takes up the struggle against the Bolshevik despots on all fronts."

Is Debs aware of the fact that the French government financed the enterprises of Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party; that this took place in the territory of Soviet Russia thru the medium of the Danish Embassy, and that at present it is being done thru the Czecho-Slovak government at Prague?

Is it known to Debs that Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party supported Antonov's uprising and that the latter executed hundreds of revolutionary workers?

Is Debs aware of the fact that in Samara and Kazan, when Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party was in power, there the Bolsheviks were killed off with beastly cruelty?

Is Debs aware of the fact that Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party committed robberies and expropriations on the territory of the Soviet Republic with the connivance of its Executive Committee, that the stolen money was handed over to a member of the Executive Committee (Rakov) and that the Eighth Congress of the Social Revolutionary Party sanctioned the expropriations?

Is Debs aware of the fact that Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party received from the French military mission explosives in order to blow up the railways of Soviet Russia?

Is Debs aware of the fact that the "shock troops" of Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party prepared an attempt upon the lives of Trotsky and Zinoviev, and that the Executive Committee of that party approved of individual terrorism?

Is Debs aware of the fact that Tchernoff knows that Volodarsky, Soviet commissar, was murdered with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party, and that the assassin, Sergeyev, a member of the Social Revolutionary Party, received orders for this deed from Gotz, a member of the Executive Committee?

Is Debs aware of the fact that Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party negotiated with the Ivanov counter-revolutionary organization with the object of inducing the German Northern Army to attack Petrograd and deliver power to a bourgeois government?

Is it known to Debs that Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party delegated as participant in these negotiations Colonel Postnikov, who got into communication with the commandant of the German Army with a view of obtaining information?

Is Debs aware of the fact that Tchernoff's party was also receiving financial support from the Ivanov counter-revolutionary organization?

Is Debs aware of the fact that Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party co-operated with Filanenko's counter-revolutionary organization and was also receiving financial support from the latter?

Is Debs aware of the fact that Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party was organizing party cells within the Red Army and that on many occasions it prepared mutinies, for instance, even immediately after the October (1917) revolution, when the members of that party led an army against Petrograd?

Is it known to Debs that Avksentiev, Kerensky and Tchernoff participated in this movement?

Is Debs aware of the fact that Lydia Konopleva communicated with the Executive Committee of Tchernoff's Social Revolutionary Party upon the intended plot against Lenin? Does he know that on behalf of the Executive Committee, Tchernoff and Gotz negotiated with Konopleva in this matter? Is he aware of the fact that the Executive Committee approved of the plan? Is he aware of the fact that the Executive Committee sent its member, Richter, to Moscow, in order to prepare for assassination?

* * *

We wonder how many of these facts were known to Debs when he sent his Tchernoff-inspired cable of protest to Lenin.

We feel that the workers of this country ought to know if Debs thinks the lives of Tchernoff's counter-revolutionists are more sacred than the lives of Russia's Communist workers and peasants still waging the war for the preservation and strengthening of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and for the protection of the beginnings of the world social revolution

* * *

When Tchernoff overthrew the Soviet Power on the Volga in 1918, it ended with the crowning of Admiral Koltchak as Monarchist Dictator of Siberia.

Behind the cable that Tchernoff sent Debs there lies the hope for the overthrow of Soviet Power thruout Russia, and the rule of another Koltchak over the whole of Russia.

The history of the early days of the Bolshevik Revolution showed the Communists too gentle with their force-loving adversaries. The Bolsheviks were not in love with the use of force. They used it only when necessary to win and preserve the workers' revolution.

The Proletarian Dictatorship is still figthing for its life in Soviet Russia. It has only reached the doorstep of Communism. Capitalism thruout the world, aided and abetted by the Tchernoffs, has made war, is making war and will continue to make war to its last breath against the emancipating rule of Russia's workers.

But Communism replies to Capitalism with its own weapons, the only weapons Capitalism knows, and with the spread of the social revolution over the world, the workers everywhere are compelled to take their stand.

We, therefore, ask Debs if he is acquainted with Tchernoff and his Social Revolutionaries; if he knows the facts as set forth above.

And, knowing, we ask him if he still stands with Tchernoff and the counter-revolution, or with Lenin and the world social-revolution?

We are sending Debs a copy of this article.

We shall be glad to publish his reply.

[illegible]

[illegible] they should or should not demand the recognition of the Soviet Power. [illegible] But the gentlemen of the Second and 2½ Internationals almost look upon themselves as upon heroes because they actually decided to demand the recognition of the Soviet Power. Legal recognition means actual relations with Russia, and no matter with what hatred the capitalists look upon the first proletarian government, they must recognise it. And they do recognise it for the simple reason that they are in need of trade with Russia. Trade with Russia is impossible on a large scale without definite and binding treaty relations with the Soviet Government.

Lesson Taught by "Amalgamated"

If the demand for the recognition of the Soviet Power at the time of intervention and the armed struggle against it had any revolutionary significance at all, it now appears as the slogan of those capitalists who desire trade with Russia. The Second and 2½ Internationals are only the mouthpieces of these capitalistic circles, to the extent that they are not actually forced by the workers who sympathize with Soviet Russia but are not in a position to turn their sympathies into action. An example of how to recognise Soviet Russia in contrast to the "recognition" of the heroes of the yellow International, was set by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

"The New Republic," a radical bourgeois weekly published in New York, reports that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Federation at their Fifth Convention decided to issue a loan of one million dollars which is to serve to organise a clothing cooperative that is to aid in the construction of industry in Russia. In this cooperative the representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and those of the Soviet Government will work on a basic of equality. The representatives of the Soviet Government will for their part, furnish the factory room and the raw materials. Only workers and labor organizations may become shareholders. The cooperative is obligated to spend all profits exceeding ten per cent for extension purposes.

Urges Creative Work

The bourgeois weekly from which we cite this news also brings excerpts from the speech delivered by Comrade Hillman, president of the union. "Many people speak of world economic reconstruction, but if we should leave the work of reconstruction in the hands of those cliques that caused the war and have now concluded "peace," we shall accomplish nothing but the formulation of a banal phraseology, and new formulas which, where they to be carried out, would only result in one part of the world ruling the other. Were this to happen life would become ten times as difficult as it is now. The working class of our country as well as the workers of the other countries should rise and make it clear that the work of establishing peace in this world is not only for a few officials and Ministries of Foreign Affairs but that the vital problems of millions of men, women and children are to be solved by the masses of all countries. The working class of the world should take upon itself the economic rebirth of Russia which has set the example for creative work."

The bourgeois weekly reports that the Clothing Workers' convention listened to Hillman's speech with great interest and accepted his proposal.

The aid which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America decided to furnish Soviet Russia should serve as an example to the proletarians of other countries. The American clothing workers have pointed the way that is most beneficial to Soviet Russia, and which if followed should contribute considerably to the liberation of the Russian workers from the yoke of foreign capital. Such a step would lighten the work of preserving the social conquests of the revolution and would accelerate the economic development of Soviet Russia which in its turn would be in a better position to aid the European proletariat in its struggle of liberation.

Betrays Famine Victims

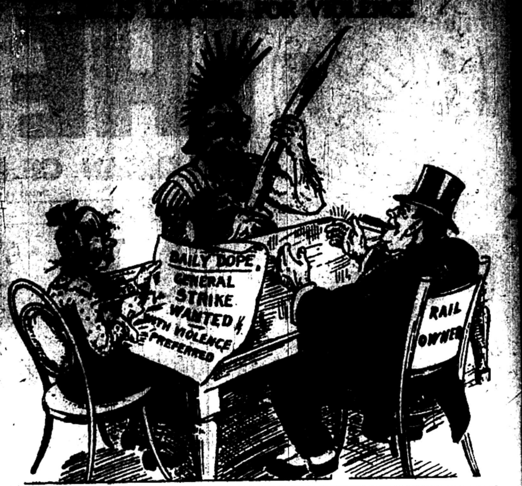
Forced by the attitude of the working masses the gentlemen of the Amsterdam International were compelled to collect money for the famine sufferers of Russia. For every crumb of bread which they furnished Soviet Russia, their agents left behind them a trail of venomous propaganda against the Workers' Government during their stay in Russia. It suffices to mention the activities of Brantel, member of the Austrian Social Democracy, who after arriving in Georgia with medicaments from the Amsterdam International and spending two weeks there, published a long pamphlet (without knowing either the language or the local conditions) in which he speaks like an expert and points out that Bolshevik regime in Georgia destroyed all the treasures of this little paradise, clear thru to the Georgian mountains which the senile Kautsky used as a crutch for his geographical handbook.

Hillman, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, is not a Communist. He is an honest American worker having arrived in Russia not for the purpose of making revelations but for the purpose of aiding the Russian workers, made an excellent study of the conditions under which we are living, and then returned to America to organize the relief work. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union is not a Communist organization; it is a union of workers suffering under the dictatorship of capitalism. This union is not part of the yellow A. F. of L. headed by Gompers, but in times of need it furnishes more aid to the other unions than some of the biggest labor organizations. This is due to the spirit of solidarity that pervades it.

Commends Spirit Behind Aid

That is why after the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had heard Hillman's report, they declared: "We helped the famine sufferers by sending them $500,000, but that was only temporary relief; we must aid in a way that will do away with the famine in Russia altogether."

The Russian workers will receive this news with great joy, not only because $1,000,000 means material relief but also because the spirit in which the American clothing workers have given this money is the spirit of the Russian workers.


DAILY DOPE
GENERAL STRIKE WANTED WITH VIOLENCE PREFERRED
RAIL OWNER

LOVE THE FLAG

Once upon a time the members of the crew of a certain ship were ordered to appear on deck, arrange themselves stiffly in military formation, and salute the flag which flew at the masthead. It happened that of the crew, twenty men either were sleeping, or had not received the order, so they were not present at the ceremony. Wherefore the commanding officer fined them each one day's pay. Sailors and seamen must be taught to love the flag of their country—and what simpler and more convincing way to make them love it than to punish them for omitting to make certain required signs before it?

Was this, perhaps, in Germany and before the war? Or in the Russia of the czar? Not at all. It was on the American vessel Minnekahda—a cargo ship and not even a navy vessel. And the incident occurred on the fourth of July, the date which is celebrated as having witnessed the birth of freedom in America. And by some strange prank of fate, the Minnekahda is known in shipping circles as the "ship of democracy."

However, when the ship arrived in port here, the twenty men went before E. W. Voorhies, shipping commissioner, to protest against the fine Mr. Voorhies considered, and then he gravely told them that if each of them would submit an affidavit pledging loyalty to the flag and their captain the latter "might be persuaded" to modify the punishment.

A big demonstration was held by Japanese workers on the release from prison of Hiroshi Sekiya, chief of the Ashio branch, National Federation of Labor, who was sentenced to 10 months' imprisonment for the part he took in the strike of the miners last August. The procession was orderly and peaceful until the police interfered, and in the struggle which followed several persons were injured.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

RUSSIA

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

Out of the terror of Tzarist oppression,
Out of the darkness of fear and despair,
Rises the tide of the workers' possession;
Up from the depths their mental stagnation,
Scorning the mandate of Cossack and Tsar,
Bursting their bondage of want and privation,
As heroes in peace and as victors in war.

Long had they suffered in exile and prison,
Patiently bearing each insult and threat,
Patient no longer at last they have arisen
And formed in the Kremlin a new Soviet.
After the night comes the dawn of the morning,
Joy comes to those who have known deep despair.
The watchwords of Freedom their standards adorning
Wave o'er the birth of the New Proletaire.

Written by Archie Sinclair, now serving a 10-year sentence at Leavenworth Prison, while being held at the Cook County (Chicago) Jail as an I. W. W. prisoner.

BACKING THE GAMBLERS

Allan A. Ryan, for years known all over the country as one of the boldest speculators (or, in plainer language, one of the most reckless gamblers) in Wall Street, failed recently for $18,000,000. Some time before his failure he was forced out of the New York Stock Exchange.

Yet the Guarantee Trust Company loaned him $4,000,000, the Chase National Bank $3,456,429, and the Mechanics and Metals National Bank $1,402,963, to gamble with.

The security he furnished, in the case of the Chase National Bank loan, is said now to be worth only $667,756.

These deals took place while the farmers of the country were being refused sorely needed loans by the banks, and about the time that John S. Williams, then controller of the currency, made the open charge that the Federal Reserve system was lending its funds to New York banks which in turn were lending them to stock gamblers.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

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meets
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FIRST ANNUAL PICNIC
N. Y. GREEK BRANCH,
WORKERS PARTY
SUNDAY, AUGUST 6th,
HARMONY PARK,
Staten Island.
Proceeds will go for New Headquarters for the Branch.
Take St George Ferry to Staten Island, then Richmond Car and get off at Fingerboard Road, or take Tottenville Train and get off at Grasmere Station. TICKET 35c

MASS MEETING
STRAIGHT FROM THE COAL FIELDS OF
WEST VIRGINIA
HAVE COME
THREE STRIKING MINERS
TO TELL THE STORY OF THEIR FIGHT
COME AND HEAR THEM!
Tuesday, August 8th, at 8
Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St.
Speakers:
THE THREE MINERS
JOHN GATHERUM
Secretary, District 29, U. M. W. of N. A.,
LAURENCE DWYER
International Executive Board Member, U. M. W. of N. A.
M. J. OLGIN E. G. FLYNN WILLIAM F. DUNNE

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One of our Papers! Official Organ, Italian Federation, Workers Party
Send all communications to Alba Nuova, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Dunne Heads State Ticket in New York

Effective state campaigns this fall will be conducted by District No. 2 of the Workers Party, in the states of New York, Connecticut and New Jersey.

This was made very apparent with the selection of candidates and the drawing up of a program at the District Convention held in New York City.

William F. Dunne, of the Worker, heads the New York state ticket as candidate for governor. The full ticket appears on page one.

Convention Selects Delegates

The convention also selected 20 delegates to the national convention of the Workers Party, framed various recommendations to the delegates selected, and chose an executive committee for the district.

Suggestions for a basis for the national program were made as follows:

Industrial

1. Advocacy of the industrial form of organization.
2. Fight against the open shop.
3. Against compulsory arbitration and labor arbitration.
4. Fight against the use of courts, in issuing injunctions in labor disputes, and by other means of strangling the labor movement.
5. Against the use of federal and state troops, state constabulary and private guards in labor disputes.
6. Against child labor.
7. Program, on the United Front.
8. Immigration: We recognize that the immigration of workers from foreign countries is due to political persecution or economic conditions. We favor the unrestricted admission of immigrants to this country, and call upon the labor unions to organize and assimilate the workers into organizations in this country.

Political

1. Attitude on Parliamentarism.
2. United Front Election campaigns: The Workers Party recognizes the necessity of united action of all working-class organizations politically and stands ready to join them in such common action in election campaigns and other political activities on a program based on the class struggle and acceptable to the Workers Party.
3. Demand for release of class war prisoners and abolition of all criminal syndicalist and anarchy laws.
4. Race issues.

Basis for Campaign Manifesto

The basis for a campaign manifesto for the Workers Party was suggested in part as follows:

"The workers of the United States are face to face with a most serious crisis. Gigantic strikes, unparalleled in the history of the country are taking place. The miners, railroad workers and textile workers, resolved no longer to tolerate the miserable conditions that the bosses have imposed on them, have gone out in mighty protest. The employers, organized in a unit, are carrying on a vicious campaign to reduce the living conditions of labor to the lowest level possible. Step by Step, they are robbing labor of the positions gained by the most self-sacrificing struggle of thirty long years.

"The workers of the country must either stop these attacks by effective resistance or sink helplessly into a state below that of chattel slaves. As long as labor is divided, it will be able to accomplish nothing. Unless labor in America presents a solid, united front to its united and brutal enemies, the employers, it is threatened with untold misery.

Incapable of Carrying Out Reconstruction

"For four years since the end of the war, the best capitalist brains in the United States in full control, have proven incapable of readjusting the economic process. In their greed for profits, they have let loose a terrible attack to crush labor and make the laboring masses pay the entire costs of reconstructing industry.

"Heedless of their own laws, indifferent to method, backed up in their every act by the courts and the force of the government, they have made a concentrated onslaught to make labor pay for capitalist destructiveness.

"Indifferent to consequences, the American capitalists, together with their British, French and Japanese associates are making feverish preparations for a new war. The Washington Conference, Genoa and the Hague, have intensified the antagonism. The struggle for supremacy is on and the laboring masses again will have to pay the price. For there can be no real improvement in the condition of the workers until organized and under the leadership of a militant party, the workers overthrow the capitalist class, take power from its hands and erect a mighty Soviet Republic, a government with complete power in the hands of the working class.

International Solidarity

"In all countries of the world, except Soviet Russia, the capitalists have lined up in a solid front against the workers, determined to crush their aspirations either for emancipation or the improvement of their conditions. Ignoring national boundaries an international capitalist front has been created against which the workers of the world must draw up their lines in a spirit of international solidarity. Without this they cannot resist their own further degradation.

"The workers must demand that their governments keep "hands-off" in all disputes between capitalists and workers in foreign countries.

Soviet Russia

"Soviet Russia is the first government that is an expression of a working class which has freed itself from capitalist domination. Hence the capitalist governments are united in the determination to destroy this first great achievement of the working-class.

"International solidarity demands that the workers of all countries support Soviet Russia as against the intrigues of the international capitalist governments.

"It demands as the expression of the Russian workers and peasants, that the Soviet Government of Russia be recognized by the governments of the world, and that workers' organizations continue to give their support to the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia in their efforts to build up their country.

Delegates to National Convention

Delegates for the National Convention of the Workers Party were chosen as follows: Benjamin Gitlow, Harry Winitsky, Henry Askeli, Roy Raymond, L. E. Katterfeld, Israel Amter, Rose Pastor Stokes, Robert Minor, Patrick McClellan, Joseph Brahdy, Otto Houswood, Edward Lindgren, Marcelle Scherer, A. Bimbo, A. Jakira, Fred Shuman, I. Pitkowitz, William F. Dunne, Dr A. Wilenkin and Frank Basky.

The five alternates selected were: Mrs. Kate Gitlow, Paul E. Scott, Belle Robbins, J. Kossove and C. Mitchell.

The district executive committee was chosen to consist of the following: Fred Shuman, Joseph Brahdy, Israel Amter, A. Bimbo, Patrick McClellan and Belle Robbins, with alternates as follows: I. Pitkowitz, Otto Houswood and Roy Raymond.

[illegible]

State Convention of Connecticut

A state convention for the purpose of electing candidates for state offices in Connecticut will be held on [illegible] August 6, at 11 [illegible] at the New Haven Labor Lyceum, 38 Howe St., New Haven, Conn.

Each branch is instructed to be represented by one delegate for every 25 members from each branch of the Workers Party of Connecticut.

An added feature to this convention will be the election of a state campaign committee for the purpose of handling the campaign for the coming elections.

State Convention of New Jersey

A state convention for the purpose of electing candidates for state offices in New Jersey will be held on Saturday Eve, August 5th, at 8.30 o'clock at the Newark Labor Lyceum, 704 South 14th St., Newark, N. J.

Each branch is instructed to elect one delegate for every 25 members, from each branch of the Workers Party of New Jersey.

An added feature of this convention will be the election of a state campaign committee for the purpose of handling the campaign in the coming elections.

The "United Language Front"

An article, "A World Language," was published in "The Worker" by the "Pittsburgh Workers Ido Society," in which this society invites all Esperantist comrades to form an "United Language Frant."

In regard to the article, we, the "Esperanta Laborista Centro," New York, are anxious to join hands with all our fellow-workers, especially with those who realize that an "Auxiliary World Language" must be established by and for the revolutionary workers of the globe.

We appeal to all Esperanto groups "de radikala pensmaniero," including the Esperanta Grupo "Untauen," Philadelphia, and to all S. A. T. members throuout the United States and Canada to join, and to organize a "Language Front" in North America. Kdo. Amiel, Esperanta Laborista Centro, has been appointed to open communications with the "Pittsburgh Workers Ido Society," and therefore we kindly ask all Esperantists and others to address the "Esperanta Laborista Centro," Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St., New York City.

GRAND PIC-NIC
and
ENTERTAINMENT
of
The Workers Party
of Essex County
on
SUNDAY, AUGUST 27th, 1922
at
Hollywood Park,
MAPLEWOOD
Admission, 35 cents
Take Orange Car in Newark, or Springfield Ave. Car to Maplewood.
COME ONE! COME ALL!

[illegible] National Convention Workers Party, Aug. 2[illegible]

The agenda for the national convention of the Workers' Party, to be held at Chicago, August 2[illegible], has been made public by the national office of the party. It is as follows:

1. Report of the Central Executive Committee.
2. Report on the Economic Conditions and Class Struggle in the United States.
3. Program of the Workers' Party.
4. The Workers' Party and the International Working Class.
5. Election Platform of the Workers' Party.
6. Soviet Russia and the American Workers.
7. Freedom for Class Struggle Prisoners.
8. Educational Work of the Party.
9. The Party Constitution.
10. The Party Press.
11. Election of Central Executive Committee.

The Central Executive Committee of the party will recommend to the convention that the system of having a comrade, or where there is a minority view a representative of the majority and minority report to the convention on each point on the agenda.

In anticipation of the adoption of this plan the C. E. C. has elected committees to prepare resolutions on each point on the agenda. The first three items, Survey of Present Conditions in the United States, Party Program and International Relations has been referred to a committee consisting of Comrades Allison, Engdahl, Minor, Ruthenberg and Trachtenberg. The Election Platform, Soviet Russia and Class Struggle Prisoners is before a committee consisting of Comrades Lovestone, Lore and Engdahl; Education, Allison, Wolenkin and Glassburg; Press, Dunne, Minor and Allison; Constitution, Askeli, Weinstone and Katterfeld.

Adopt Statements on the Shop Delegate System and Industrial Organization

The statements on the questions of industrial organization and the shop delegate system were adopted by the convention of District 2, Workers Party, New York, Connecticut and New Jersey, as follows:

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

1. We favor the unity of labor on an industrial basis and pledge our wholehearted support of the principles of the industrial form of organization.

Our delegates to the National Convention are instructed to present this resolution and work for its adoption.

2. We favor the amalgamation of existing unions industrially and inter-industrially and call upon all our members within the unions to support every movement tending toward such amalgamation.

3. We recommend that all members of the labor unions favoring industrial form of organization and amalgamation combine in every union in order to more effectively work for these ends.

4. The Workers Party can never hope to become a powerful factor among the proletarian masses in the country unless it gains the support and confidence of the proletarian masses. This confidence and support the Party can gain only by participating in the daily struggles of the workers. In order to so participate it is absolutely necessary for the party members to become active members of all labor organizations. In those organizations they must, by their superior intelligence, loyalty and activity in behalf of the workers gain their support, we therefore recommend that every member of the Workers Party who is a wage worker shall stand instructed to join the union of his trade or industry within ninety days of receipt of this instruction and that new members shall comply with this ruling within the probationary period, such compliance to be one of the tests of eligibility to membership in the Party; that every member of the Party shall actively participate in all industrial meetings of the Party as also all activities of his union. Failure to comply shall constitute sufficient cause for expulsion from the Party.

5. In order to systematize, coordinate and effectively carry on the industrial activities of the Party we recommend that the Party organize an industrial bureau to supervise and conduct the industrial activities of the Party.

SHOP DELEGATE SYSTEM

Whereas, craft unionism and its resultant independent craft union autonomy prevent in many instances the united action of the workers on the job, and

Whereas, there should be a medium thru which workers can concentrate their power and present a solid front regardless of technical or organizational distinctions,

We, the Workers Party, place ourselves on record as favoring the Shop Delegate and Shop Committee form of organization and adopt this principle as one of the means of bringing about unity of action and a better understanding among the proletariat in industry.

[illegible]

Make Use of This Very Excellent Material for Party Study Classes

Rupert Clews, of Chicago, sends us material for a study class that we are glad to give space to in The Worker.

It is pointed out that the efficient functioning of a party depends on the intelligent activity of its members.

All members should have a clear understanding of the program of the Workers Party, of which they are a part, and of their role as members.

Thru short talks and questions, in a study class, this goal is easily achieved. Members of such a study class, of course, should carefully read "The Program and Constitution of the Workers Party," issued in pamphlet form by the National Office, Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York City, and should attempt to answer the following questions:

What tasks must a class-conscious workers' political Party perform? Why was the Workers Party of America formed? From what elements? What other parties are in the field? Wherein do they differ from the W. P. of A.?

What is the present condition of the world proletariat? Of the American proletariat in general, and in particular, of the industry in which you work? Which agencies of the ruling class are being used against you?

IMPERIALISM.—What is it? Show the existence of American Imperialism, its methods, its treatment of the natives. What can the W. P. of A. do to fight against American Imperialism?

SOVIET RUSSIA.—The attitude of the W. P. of A. toward Russia. The attitude of other parties.

UNION ACTIVITY.—Show that labor is retreating. What is the attitude of labor leaders? What stand does the W. P. of A. take toward the Red Labor Union International? On industrial Unionism? On dual unionism? What is dual unionism? How are W. P. of A. members organized for union work? What is the duty of these members in the union?

ELECTIONS.—Why does the W. P. of A. participate in election campaigns? What issues does it raise? Does it fight for immediate demands? Wherein are they different from the immediate demands of the Socialist Party? Which demands are proposed for the 1922 Congressional Campaign?

AGRICULTURE.—How strong are the proletarian elements in agriculture? In what condition are farmers to-day? Why have farmers' organizations failed? What does the W. P. of A. propose to do in this field?

RACE PROBLEM.—What is the present status of the negro in America? What stand does the W. P. of A. take?

It is suggested that the members, after reading the "Program," discuss these questions among themselves, in order that the class may be of greatest benefit to all who attend.

For Sacco and Vanzetti

All preparations are completed for the biggest venture in working class theatricals that New York City has ever seen,

Friday evening, August 4th, at the National Winter Garden, Second Av. and Houston St., the first of 15 All-Star Super-Vaudeville Performance will open, and will run for ten days.

The affair is being given for the benefit of the Sacco and Vanzetti Defense Fund.

The idea of giving these shows for the Defense Fund has been indorsed by many large labor organizations of New York. Among the organizations that have indorsed the venture and who are co-operating to make it a success are: The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated Metal Workers, The Food Workers' Union, The Workers' Defense Union, Italian Defense Committee, The United Labor Council.

All of these organizations have bought blocks of tickets and plan to have their members attend performances in a body.

[illegible]

[illegible] THE WORKER has received an official report on the election results from the party [illegible] with the request that it be published. This report is as follows:

* * *

On behalf of the Party Executive of the Finnish Socialist (Communist) Labor Party I beg to inform you as to the present political situation in Finland following upon the general election just closed.

Following upon the civil war of 1918 there was a general election in 1919 when the sole labor party, the Social-Democratic party, got 80 seats out of the 200 in the Diet. According to the Finnish constitution new elections have to take place every three years. Accordingly we had a general election this year, taking place on July 1st and 3rd. The results of this election were in some respects unexpected. The Labor party had got split into two fractions in 1920, the left wing giving up the old Social-Democratic party and forming a new Finnish Socialist Labor Party with a Communist program. This new party took for the first time part in a general election. In spite of its dominating the workers' organizations in Helsingfors and also the trade unions over the country, its general influence could not be very great as the old party had retained all the property, all the printing houses and most of the labor papers over the country. At present the F. S. L. P. possesses only two dailies against some twelve dailies of the S. P. That means an enormous handicap in propaganda which the F. S. L. P. only with difficulty has been able to counteract effectively.

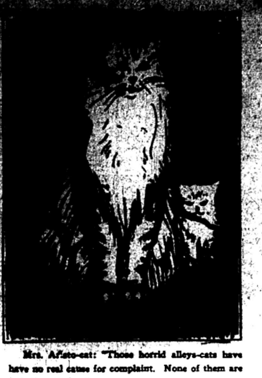
Also there is to observe that practically the entire staff of the F. S. L. P., including the party executive and innumerable editors of the papers and local officials, are in jail sentenced for various sorts of so-called "high treason." The party, therefore, is at present led by quite young, mostly inexperienced men who have to struggle against the greatest difficulties to keep the party machinery going and to organize the masses. That, too, meant a very serious handicap in our election campaign.

Generally we expected some 18 seats to the new Diet. That would approximately have corresponded to our means of propaganda and real party strength. The election brought us nevertheless 27 seats leaving only 53 to the Social-Democrats out of the 80 they had had hitherto. That was certainly a considerable victory for our young party. Its importance is the greater as it showed our greatest strength to be in the chief coast towns of Helsingfors, Abo, Wasa and Uleaburg, whereas the strength of the Social-Democrats was in the country, in the inner provinces and generally in the economically most backward parts of Finland. Our party dominates wholly in the south, the south-west and the north of the country. It flourishes accordingly wherever there is a real industrial proletariat. That means that the F. S. L. P. is the only real labor party in Finland, the Social-Democratic party drawing its strength chiefly from the petty-bourgeois elements and the small peasants which are very numerous here.

It is observed that had the two Labor parties formed a coalition as provided for in the election law, some ten more seats could have been won. Such a coalition was proposed by the F. S. L. P. Therefore some 45,000 Labor voters voted to no effect and their votes were lost.

Another unexpected result of the election was the defeat of the centrist bourgeois parties and the victory of the extreme right represented by the Swedish Party and the Finnish Coalition Party. The class character of the new Diet will therefore be very pronounced and the struggle within it very sharp. That means of course that the Diet will be of little use for legislation and peaceful development. Very probably the present "non-party" government will in September, when the Diet assembles, be followed by a reactionary bourgeois coalition government formed by the Finnish Coalition Party, the Swedish Party and the right wing of the centrist Agrarian Party. This coalition will have a sufficient majority in the Diet and will probably do its utmost to repress every radical Labor movement in this country.

Such are the prospects for the near future. Our representatives in the new Diet will be confronted with the greatest difficulties. With one exception all of them are entering the Diet for the first time and have no experience in revolutionary parliamentary work. All the party leaders and the most effective members are in jail without any possibility to get out for some years and to influence the party work. Therefore the party tries its utmost to get informed about the parliamentary experience of the brother parties in other countries and will be most grateful of any assistance it may get from distinguished party members abroad.



Mrs. Aristo-cat: "Those horrid alleys-cats have have no real cause for complaint. None of them are actually starving."

Earmarks of the Traitor

Samuel Gompers recently journeyed to New York City to celebrate the anniversary of his arrival in this country.

We have no facts as to the real nature of the celebration, but during its height the president of the American Federation of Labor blurted out some of the strangest working-class philosophy we have heard in a long time.

Gompers claimed that the big strikes now raging in this country are mere family quarrels that will soon blow over.

The statement will make startling reading for the suffering miners, railroaders and textile workers now on strike.

The wives and children of these strikers, many of them living in tented colonies, from which they are often driven by the employers' Cossacks, will no doubt understand how it was possible for Gompers, from his luxurious suite in the sumptuous Hotel Pennsylvania to talk glibly as follows:

> "I believe an adjustment of these strikers will bring a better understanding between the employer and the employe. It is like a family quarrel, you know. Sometimes when you get mad at your family you say a lot of hard things and they talk back, but the affirmations of each side, even if overestimated, bring to the light of day the things for which each side is struggling, and the grievances which each is nursing. You have a rattling good row. You know all about what your brother or sister is thinking regarding you. Then thru the turmoil the light of understanding is shed.
>
> "From my knowledge, I am convinced that never in the history of organized labor and capital has there been such an effort on both sides to view things from a really human standpoint. It is the few employers who are driving bargains and propagating false information about whom you hear. The great mass of employers no longer regard their men as mere machines. They realize that they are human beings and the wise employer is interested in their problems.

We hear the cry of starving children coming from the hills and mountains of West Virginia where civil war has raged these many years between the coal miners and their exploiters.

We can hear the snarl of the mine barons as they goad on the old party officials of Illinois in an effort to send the brave coal miners of Herrin to the gallows.

We hear the beat of hoofs of the militia cavalry along the valleys of the New England states where rule the profit-hungry textile barons.

All this and more gives the lie to Gompers.

As a "labor lieutenant" of capital Gompers has spoken well. As an official of labor he has spoken as a traitor.

The class struggle ends only when capitalism has been swept away and a classless Community Society instituted in its place. Until that day there can be no "satisfactory settlement" of the problems confronting labor.

Mark, August 20th

By NERMA BERMAN

August 20th has officially been declared an International Holiday. On that day all politics, conferences, confabs, etc., must be set aside and everyone, including old workers, young workers, would-be workers and even the intelligentsia are to meet at Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, Long Island. Industrial workers may be preferred but trade unionists are not excluded. Political differences, tho recognized, will not be disputed.

Pleasures are in store for all groups, types and temperaments. Games for the sports that will make the old Olympic games look like a farce. Futuristic stunts for the ultra-moderns and a good old Virginia Reel for the old-timers.

For lovers of nature the shady nooks of Long Island; for lovers of art beautiful oil pointings, for adventurers a touring car. Never mind the how and the why! Lovers of prominence and prestige can shake hands with our governor. Hymns for those who'll have them, and sympathy for all others.

Remember, every trade, profession, nationality in New York City must be well represented at the Midsummer Outing of the National Defense Committee for the relief of class-war prisoners, Sunday, August 20th, at Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, Long Island. For the love of comrades, we must make this affair a success!

World's Champion to Perform at Young Workers' Picnic

Jack Schwartz, 43 years old, champion rope skipper of the world, the man who startled the athletic world a short time ago when he broke the world's rope skipping record in Madison Square Garden, will be one of the many attractions at the Young Workers' League Picnic in Ulmer Park, August 6th.

Isidor Kadisch, strongest YOWL in the country, will also be in the [illegible] for this occasion. He has [illegible] to carry platforms to six different Young Workers' open-air meetings in one night and never miss a breath when arriving at the last corner.

It has been proven that he is the only hard working youngster in the movement who can lift a 180-pound member of the Workers Party clear above his head. He will give the participants in the picnic an exhibition of the powerful development of his muscles.

Comrades Alpa and Young Al will be contestants in a wrestling match.

It has also been stated that there will be a tug-of-war between the intellectuals and the proletarians.

This affair, besides being a means of great enjoyment for the workers in our vicinity, will also be a means of placing the Young Workers' League of New York on its feet financially.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

INTERNATIONAL
Mid-Summer Outing
for Defense and Relief of
Class-War Prisoners
SUNDAY, AUGUST 20th
ELMHURST PARK,
Elmhurst, L. I.
Games Buffet Bazaar
Admission, 35c Fare, 5c
from 59th Street.
Tickets may be obtained at
Room 405, 80 E. 11th Street.

[illegible] labor leaders also on the committee, such as Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, [illegible] secretary of the Joint Board of Furriers, etc. The function of the Federated Committee is to pool the purchasing of food and other supplies for Soviet Russia. Early in the campaign for relief this was found essential. Not only the Friends of Soviet Russia, but also the Cooperative Socialist Publishing Co., the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, Joint Conference Russian Relief Ass'n, Joint Board of Furriers, N. Y. City, Workingmen's Mutual Aim Ass'n., New York City, International Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Canada, Long Island City, Children's Milk Fund, N. Y. City, Workmen's Circle No. 457, Grand Rapids, Mich., St. Nicholas Society, Kenosha, Wis., as well as a large number of individual contributors, including the Temple Israel Sunday School, Cambridge, Mass., sent their funds to the Federated Committee for the more economical purchasing of supplies for the famine-stricken in Soviet Russia.

2. Altho the reporter of the "Forward" was referred to the auditor of the organization, he did not think it important enough to gather the information desired. He was likewise informed that the financial statement of the Federated Committee would be published in a few days. In his heat to make an "exposure" he could not wait for its publication.

The Forward Lies

The financial statement of the Federated Committee up to May 31 appears in the August 1 issue of "Soviet Russia." This statement, audited [illegible] the proper action from us.

3. The Friends of Soviet Russia, according to the "Forward," is conducting a "union-smashing" campaign in conjunction with a "union-[illegible]" press. This charge is so stupid that it hardly needs answering. Thirty-eight central labor bodies have endorsed the Friends of Soviet Russia. These include the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Detroit Federation of Labor, Los Angeles Central Labor Council, the Minneapolis and the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, Philadelphia Central Labor Union, Rochester Trades and Labor Council, Seattle Central Labor Council and Illinois State Federation of Labor, Montreal Trades and Labor Council and Toronto Trades and Labor Council. Many of these central labor bodies, especially the Chicago and Detroit Federation of Labor, are among the most energetic and progressive organizations in the country.

Many Unions Affiliated

In addition, thousands of local unions are affiliated with the branches of the Friends of Soviet Russia, of which there are 250 in the United States and Canada. The United Mine Workers, the Painters and other labor organizations have made large contributions to the Friends of Soviet Russia.

It is not the province of the Friends of Soviet Russia to interfere in the internal affairs of unions. The Friends of Soviet Russia has a distinct mission—to collect funds for relief and reconstruction of Soviet Russia. It is self-evident that sup- [illegible] Workmen's Circle, the German Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association and innumerable fraternal organizations are earnest supporters of the FSR. Churches and Sunday Schools have made large contributions. The FSR, as a non-partisan organization, has the support of every section of the American population.

Papers Give Energetic Support

5. Support of the FSR in its various campaigns has not been confined to any particular type of labor paper or journal. The "Appeal to Reason" conducted a splendid campaign for the Roll Call and Tool Drives of the FSR. Socialist papers in the middle and far West, such as "Debs's Magazine," the "Davenport Tribune," the "Arbeiter Zeitung," Chicago, and other labor and liberal papers, such as the "Butte Daily Bulletin," "New Majority," "British Columbia Federationist," have given energetic support.

6. Eugene V. Debs, twice, in the name of the FSR, called on the American workers to help the organization in its magnificent work. His magazine continues its support in the full knowledge that the FSR is the sole organization in America performing this most essential task.

7. The papers mentioned above and particularly the more radical papers have been the best supporters of the FSR, the reason being obvious. These organs, and especially the more radical papers, have among their readers the workers of this country who really and sincerely sympathize with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. These papers are the type that do not, on [illegible] those papers were able to collect despite "earnest" efforts.

8. The FSR has inserted paid advertisements in all papers and periodicals from which it believed material returns could be obtained. "The Nation," "New Republic," "Pearson's," "Freeman," "Liberator," "Labor Age," "Christian Century," "World Tomorrow," "Birth Control Review," and the radical papers have carried FSR advertisements.

The New York Branch of the FSR has inserted advertisements amounting to many hundred dollars in the "Forward" and the "New York Call," despite the hostile attitude of those two organizations to the FSR and despite the fact that they published far more reports and publicity on the activity of the American Relief Administration than of the all-inclusive working class relief organization, the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Will Continue to Advertise

It has been, and will continue to be, the policy of the FSR, as it must be of every organization endeavoring to do its work efficiently, to advertise for financial support for the relief and building up of Soviet Russia in those papers and among those people who experience has shown are the only real friends of Soviet Russia. [illegible] all relief propaganda.

This is all the more imperative since it has become evident that not only famine relief must be provided for Soviet Russia, but also reconstruction aid. Funds must be collected for purchasing tools and machinery of every character, farming, industry, etc. An explanation of the present condition of things in Soviet Russia must be made to interest the American workers in the concessions that are soon to be offered. True friends of Soviet Russia would applaud all the efforts that are being made and can be made in this direction.

Aids Amalgamated's Plan

10. Organizers and speakers of the FSR are men and women interested in Soviet Russia. They are men and women sincerely endeavoring to help the Russian workers and peasants. Would the "Forward" have the FSR send out men whose aim it is to disrupt the work, discourage assistance and encourage the capitalists and their governments in further machinations against the government of the workers and peasants? The record of the "Forward" and other papers of its type affirm this contention.

11. The Friends of Soviet Russia is giving full support to the Russian American Industrial Corporation, an [illegible]

The "Forward" has lined up solidly with the haters of Soviet Russia. It has long been known, especially since the return of the editor of the "Forward" from Germany, where he gleaned such wonderful and precise information regarding the attitude of the workers and peasants of Russia toward their Soviet Government that Mr. Cahan has been a bitter hater of Soviet Regime. His paper has not hesitated to print the most malicious lies about the Soviet Government. It has conducted a campaign of misrepresentation as vile as that of capitalist organs openly bent upon the destruction of the Soviet Government. It has been far more insidious propaganda, since it came from the pen and mouth of professed "Socialists" and "representatives of the working class."

But little by little, the Socialists and proletarians who could not but sympathise with the workers and peasants and who were determined to leave the decisions to the form of government that was desirable in Soviet Russia to the citizens of that country—gradually the number of these has grown and they have left the fold of the readers of such pseudo-socialist papers as the "Forward."

All of One Pattern

Realizing that they are losing their hold on a certain more advanced sec- [illegible] and its confreres HATE Soviet Russia and are stabbing it in the back by vile insinuations against an organization that has proven not by words alone but by DEED to be a true friend of Soviet Russia.

The capitalist governments, the reactionary labor leaders, the yellow labor parties and their press form a solid phalanx in attacking Soviet Russia.

The Workers Will Know

The workers of this country will know how to treat Mr. Cahan and his kind. They will magnify their aid for Soviet Russia and stand solidly with the Friends of Soviet Russia in its campaign for the relief of the famine-stricken and the upbuilding of agriculture and industry in Soviet Russia.

Mr. Cahan, however, shall not escape so easily. It is highest time that an end be put to statements whose purpose it is to create distrust and disrupt constructive work. Mr. Cahan has stated that he "cannot prove" his charges and insinuations. The Friends of Soviet Russia demands that the "Forward" either prove its charges and insinuations or make a public retraction. Should it fail to do so, the "Forward" will have to bear the consequences.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
A. B. Martin, National Secretary.
July 29, 1922.

American Ideals for Women vs. Communist Ideals for Women

By JEANETTE D. PEARL

The obscure agricultural state of Kansas came prominently to the foreground thruout the entire press of the country when it brought into life the Court of Industrial Relations.

This court undertook to mollify labor and to crush strikes. The joy of the master class was unbounded. Gleefully their press sang the praises of that court, but their jubilation was short-lived.

Kansas had also given birth to a Howat, and the submission that that court sought to impose upon labor was not so easy of realization. Workers were intimitated, arrested, convicted and imprisoned for defying the court's ruling.

Kansas is fast turning from an agricultural state to an industrial one. This turning is not proceeding fast enough to satisfy aspiring capitalists. A very great hindrance to that aspiration presents itself in the organized strength of the miners who before their last strike were reported to be organized 100 percent strong.

Capitalists aided by their politicians set out to destroy the miners' union so as to cow the rest of the industrial workers who were beginning to show signs of discontent.

Probe Labor Conditions for Women

This discontent began to alarm the far-sighted ones. The condition of labor in Kansas is such as to threaten the life of industry—labor is being starved too much—and labor efficiency in production as a result of too great an exploitation, becomes a question of importance to the master class.

The far-sighted ones decided to investigate the condition of labor under which women work in order to work out a minimum wage scale and assure continuation of production.

The Industrial Welfare Commission, the Department of Labor of Kansas together with the Women's Bureau of Washington set to work their social workers for an "investigation" of "Women's Wages in Kansas," in order to make recommendations to philanthropic capitalists on behalf of down-trodden labor, to allay the rise of discontent and to give an upward impulse to commerce and industry in the state of Kansas.

The investigation was conducted in the year of our Lord, June, 1919 to June, 1920. The report proceeds: "It is not possible to get general wage figures for women employed in many industries thruout the country, but even the limited figures available, show that the Kansas wages are far lower than those prevalent elsewhere. They are not only lower than the communities where the rates are known to be high, but they are lower than the average rate for the country as a whole."

Capitalists Violate Own Laws

That investigation was conducted during our period of prosperity. The reporter admits that "the wage conditions are probably the best that have ever existed in the State. The Peak was reached and passed. A survey taken now would probably show a standard of wages for women even less satisfactory that that which existed during June, 1919 and June, 1920." During that peak, the investigators found that nearly 30 percent of women in industry were earning less than $600 a year. A little over 40 percent were earning from $600 to $900 and about 30 percent earned over $900 or more. The report reveals that even the miserable standard of $11.00 a week established by the Kansas minimum wage awards is far from accepted in the industries of the State, but then the master class needs not live up to its own laws—laws are for the workers.

"The appalling size—nearly one-fifth of the women included in this survey—(of over five thousand women) were receiving less than $9.00 a week, and the fact that more than one half of the women were receiving less than $12.00 a week, discloses a very serious situation for the women workers of the State."

Recent budget studies (by social workers) show the approximate cost of living for women to be:

$14.78 a week for Tex.
22.10 " " " Wash.
19.49 " " " D. C.
16.65 " " " N. D.

Woman Uses Brother's Room

No figures were given for the cost of living for women in the State of Kansas. But that cost as calculated for other states cannot even be realized by the women workers of Kansas. The reporter speaks of "pitiful economics" in stretching an $8.00 or $10.00 wage to meet the barest necessities of life. One woman unable to pay room rent, used the room of a brother who worked nights and was home only in the day time, when she was away.

The report also exposes the contention that women workers were generally young girls who work a few years and then drop out. Nearly 60 percent of the women interviewed were twenty-five years of age and over. Forty percent of them were either married or widowed and a very large proportion had family obligations. Practically every woman who lives at home, not only contributes to the upkeep of that home, but gives of her personal service in making that "home" a place to live in.

One group of women interviewed disclosed 13.4 percent married women working and these had husbands and children. The husbands of 42 were not working and the investigator naively states "presumably because they were ill or temporarily out of work." (Our emphasis.) Wives and mothers are not only forced into industry, but many women are compelled to supplement their husbands' income by either taking in work at home or going out to work by the day.

Workers Always in Debt

The spending of that "income" affords another tragic page in the history of the workers' lives. The denials, the stinting and the poverty of it, are heartbreaking. A large number of these girls are forced to run up bills. "That's how they get along. They all have bills all over town," one of them observed, "and you know people figure on making something off you if they give you credit. Yes, the girls are always in debt.' Another case reported shows the leopard spots of capitalism. "My brother lost his eye because acid got into it when he was soldering cans. He never got any compensation, and it cost us so far nearly $700. We are all in debt."

The report concludes with that, "There can be no denial that the wages of more than half of the women are less than sufficient to maintain a satisfactory standard of life for one person. Indeed nearly one half of the women reported in the survey were earning less than the $11.00 a week which has been set as a minimum for the manufacturing industries by the Kansas Industrial Commission. Besides their own support many of these women have been shown to be carrying additional burdens in the form of complete or partial responsibility for the maintenance of the family.

"In the industries of Kansas these responsibilities, and the large share taken by women in upholding the standard of life, have been ignored. This report shows the women wage-earners to be in many instances the responsible heads of families, and in many more instances important contributors to the maintenance of others. If the cost of living is to be the basis of a living wage for women, these facts must be taken into consideration. When this is done a more adequate standard can be assured which will not only protect the women from exploitation but will also make possible in the State a standard of living more in keeping with American ideals."

The working women of Kansas have need of such American ideals. No one must make the mistake that these women investigated were "ignorant foreigners." Ninety percent of these women were native American born white women and five per cent were colored. These women are subsisting on less than $11.00 a week, working from 40 to 56 hours daily in industry and all kinds of hours out of industry. They are educated Americans. Now what is capitalism going to do for them? For one thing Kansas has intrenched itself with a Court of Industrial Relations. Merchants are publicly testifying that girls can dress on $90.00 a year and feed on sixty cents a day.

Miners' Solidarity an Example

The miners' solidarity stands a living example to these outraged and exploited women, beckoning them to organize and solidify their ranks. Any wonder that the master class aims to undermine the power of the miners? Any wonder that the more intelligent workers prefer jail and persecution to obeying the dictums of the industrial courts.

The report reveals the bankruptcy of capitalist civilization, the hypocrisy of their American ideals and their blood lust for profits. Here is their boasted sacred womanhood, wifehood and motherhood, not only forced into the factory for exploitation but degraded even in its standard of living. Oh! The boasted ideals—the sacred family life, the holy family—how capitalism rends asunder all the ties of the worker to serve its profits.

The marriage haven stands exploded. Industry is no longer a temporary makeshift for women, but has now become a permanent institution and an additional one to family duties and obligations. This permanent institution, wage slavery, women are now directly facing with even more harrowing brutality than that of men workers. The women too must find a way out of this brutality, this morass. It is only in the clean atmosphere of communism, where womanhood will be respected, where motherhood will be sacred and wifehood will be honored.

Women of Kansas, women of all States, Communism calls to you! Form ranks with your exploited brothers. Support the strength of labor by organizing economically and politically for Communist ideals.

Women must strive not for a minimum wage and with it the perpetuation of wage-slavery, but for Industrial Freedom and the maximum enjoyments of life, for all workers.

The legislature of the State of Coahuila de Zaragoza, in Mexico, has passed a resolution calling on the President of the United States to release Ricardo Flores Magon and Librado Rivera, two Mexicans now confined in the Leavenworth penitentiary for 20 and 15 years, respectively, for publishing a manifesto and discussion of world problems in their Spanish paper "Regeneration" during the war.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS ATTENTION!

If you are going to Soviet Russia you must do several things first:
You must join the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia.
You must learn to speak Russian.
You must acquaint yourself with conditions in Soviet Russia today in order to avoid disappointments. A class is being organized to teach the Russian language. This class you must join if you can not speak Russian.
The Construction Workers of Soviet Russia have undertaken the greatest construction program ever launched in any country. America has the men to do this job.
Thousands of American workers will go to Soviet Russia in the next few years. Will you be one of them?
Join the Technical Aid Society!
Apply to comrade
M. KESSELMAN, Executive Secretary,
240 East 23rd Street, New York City.
6 to 10 P. M.

Workers and Peasants of Republics of Guatemala and Mexico Exchange Greetings

The Communists of Guatemala to the Communist Party of Mexico

Comrades! We and the whole revolutionary proletariat of Guatemala thank you for your brotherly words.

You have pointed out the aims and intentions of our exploiting classes with great clearness. We are again called upon to shed our blood for the avaricious interests of individual cliques. The revolutionary cloak used by these men is to serve the purpose of deceiving the workers and peasants.

The Cabrera Government brought us nothing but clubbings, ruthless exploitation, barracks in which all of us were treated like beasts, and prisons in which our comrades were eaten up by vermin.

And what did the bourgeois Government of Herrera bring us? The deception of all our hopes; the bloody scorn of a party for which we had bled on the fields and in the streets of Guatemala.

And then after the victory of this party, when the proletariat made its just demands, it was answered with machine guns. When we protested against the extradition of Mexican fugitives who sought asylum in our country, our leaders were thrown into prison. We then organized, and the peasants and workers of Guatemala united to fight for the Communist ideals. Our organizations were persecuted; our wives and children were killed in the streets of the capital, and many workers were shot down. Comrades, we have suffered defeats, but our enemies have not succeeded in crippling us. Herrera was overthrown.

To-day Orellana tells us that this Government is a "liberal administration", and his program contains many beautiful and good promises for the working people. But what is actually taking place? Revolutionary workers are continually persecuted. In the country, the government troops are shooting the rebellious peasants like dogs. Our leaders have not yet been freed from prison. Nothing has changed.

Comrades! As long as the unfortunate agrarian worker of Central and South America is subjected by a double yoke,—by a national, cynical bourgeoisie on the one side, and by the unscrupulous foreign exploiters on the other,—we must unite more closely and fight together in order to throw off our fetters with our united strength! Only then will we be able to [illegible] of freedom, the land of the workers.

Long live the [illegible] of the American proletariat!

Long live the Communist Party of Mexico!

Long live the Communist International!

The Communist Party of Mexico to the Workers and Peasants of Guatemala

Comrades! You have overthrown the Cabrera Government whose tyranny was limitless. Power fell into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie, whose head, Herrera, sought to convince you of the victory of the "principles of liberty". But what was the aim of the petty bourgeoisie and how did it realize the principles of liberty? It was the extension of the capitalistic freedom to industrialize your country and to transform the land-slaves of yesterday into the wage slaves of to-day. Or did the Herrera Government perchance bring you any other liberties? Did perhaps, the slave-whip fall less cruelly upon the wounded backs of your wage-slaves? Did perhaps the persecution of those of you who openly announced their revolutionary ideas, become less intense? No, Comrades!

But in spite of all this, the petty bourgeoisie could not hold its positions. The counter-revolution came and Herrera fell, just as Cabrera did.

The generals, the worst element in our Central American republics, hirelings of the economic and political lust for grab of American imperialism, began a new bloody comedy and helped their friend Orellaña to the presidency.

Orellana claims to possess the absolute and "upright" sympathy of the United States. We of the Latin-American countries know only too well what this "upright sympathy" means. It signifies victory for those who most unscrupulously betray the interests of their own country to North American capital. Orellana is victorious and numerous American industrialists are already paying your country a visit.

But what does your overthrown petty bourgeoisie do in the mean-time? It seeks friends and "upright sympathy" for itself.

Comrades! The present Mexican Government conducted by Obregon is ready to give it this assistance. The new Mexican bourgeoisie has learned from the Wall Street model. Why should not the growing high finance of Mexico possess a policy of conquest of its own? If the United States can acquire an economic and political guardianship over Mexico, why should not Mexico do likewise in Guatemala?

Ammunition, weapons and generals are being sent to your borders. A new revolution is to be enacted. Your petty bourgeoisie once more begins to talk of its "principles of liberty". They seek to provoke you into a new civil war, for the purpose of increasing the profits of individual financial groups.

Comrades, do not permit yourselves to be deceived by "Democratic", "Liberal" and "Socialist" promises. We, your Mexican brothers, who have been convinced by decades of bitter experiences that the liberation of the proletariat can be accomplished solely thru the power of the workers and peasants themselves, warn you of the impending event.

Take the arms that are offered you, but take them to fight for our own interests. Take them to overthrow the generals; take them to liberate yourselves from the rule of the landowners; reserve your bullets for this work!

The Mexican proletariat will fraternally support you in this. Our workers and peasants will rise against the imperialistic attempts of the "Socialist" Government of Obregon.

Brothers of Guatemala! Workers and peasants of Latin America! We call you to the mobilization of the revolutionary masses of all American countries!

Long live the united front of the American proletariat!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the World Revolution!

CHICAGO.—The Tailors' Group of the Chicago Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia has received from its delegates to Russia a request to get ready to leave for Russia at the end of August.

SELL FIVE CARDS

WILL YOU sell five 20 week sub cards for
THE WORKER?
WILL YOU make the 25,000 readers campaign a success?
WILL YOU help do what must be done?
YOU WILL!—sign the blank and mail.

THE WORKER
799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.

Enclosed find $2.50 for which send me five 20 week subscription cards.

Name ....
Address ....
City .... State ....

News of Workers Party Activities in the City, State and Nation

Greet Representative of Karelian Workers' Commune to America

One of the most successful of recent working-class events in New York City was the banquet arranged by friends of George Halonen, representative in this country of the Karelian Workers' Commune, held at the Labor Temple on 84th St.

A host of 150 comrades greeted the representative of this workers' government that rules over the red border state between Red Russia and White Finland.

Many of those present are prominent not only in the labor movement of this country, but also in Europe.

C. E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary of the Workers Party, acted as chairman.

Charles Recht, legal representative of Soviet Russia in this country, spoke on proletarian diplomacy, relating his experiences with the proletarian diplomats of Red Russia, and of their intercourse with the capitalist diplomats at the Genoa Conference.

Ludwig Lore, editor of the Volkszeitung, spoke on the character of the workers' representative, expressing the hope that soon the American workers will have an opportunity to welcome a workers' representative from Soviet Germany.

George Halonen, in his speech, thanked the American workers and their spokesmen, for their good will and the enthusiasm shown towards Soviet Karelia and Soviet Russia.

Then he read parts of the Declaration of Independence of the Karelian Workers' Commune, granted by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Halonen also spoke briefly on the history of Karelia and its people, and their system of self-government, assuring the American workers that the Karelian and Russian workers are not fighting and working for their own but for the cause of the international proletariat.

Many telegrams of congratulations were received. Among them we may mention the following received from the chairman of the delegation at Washington of the Far Eastern Republic (Siberia). It is as follows:

"Heartiest wishes and greetings from delegation of Far Eastern Republic.—Yazikoff, Chairman."

NEW JERSEY IYPSL DECIDES TO BREAK WITH YWL.

The New Jersey Independent Young People's Socialist League at its convention at Newark, on July 30th, decided to break away from the Young Workers League and remain independent. This decision was reached after an hour's debate by a handful of picked delegates.

It will be remembered that the IYPSL of New Jersey answered the call of the Young Workers League for a convention to organize the class-conscious revolutionary youth of this country into one single organization. After agreeing to the convention call and participating in the YWL convention, where they were seated as regular delegates these delegates on their return worked their hardest to keep the Jersey Yipsels from amalgamating with the YWL.

The IYPSL of New Jersey boasts of 90 members. Elizabeth heads the list with 45 members, Newark 20 and Patterson 25. The Executive Committee of IYPSL boasted that it had successfully reduced on account of its independent policy, the membership of 900 in 1920 to 90 in 1922.

Persecution in California

Following the policy of the police of this city in arresting every one connected with any radical activity, two members of the Workers Party have been arrested and charged with criminal syndicalism, the charge being later changed to "vagrancy."

Previously a number of Socialists, I. W. W. and others were arrested and charged with various offences, the purpose of which seems to be to discourage any sort of activity of the workers not in line with the well-being of the exploiters. X. Y., Inglewood, Calif.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

"WORKER" MASS MEETING

AUGUST 3rd, 1922

110th Street and 5th Ave.

NEW YORK CITY

Speakers

WM. F. DUNNE J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Editors "The Worker"

Will speak upon working-class issues.

Come and bring other workers

Growth in Subscriptions Shows Readers' Interest in Campaign

The second week since the real beginning of the campaign of THE WORKER for 25,000 new readers shows a very substantial increase in the number of subscriptions sent in over last week.

This proves the readers of this paper are taking hold of the problem of making THE WORKER a greater influence in American proletarian life. They, in response to our call to them to help in this campaign, are responding in a way that proves their interest in the problems facing the workers. It also proves they are of that part of the working class which believes in fighting for the cause it believes in. It proves, too, that they know how to tackle this problem and to solve it in the only way it can be solved, by actually doing the things which mean increased circulation—they go and get the subscriptions.

The response is magnificent. In another column you will find the figures showing the increase in the number of subs received over last week. This is the best evidence possible to prove the popularity of this campaign among our readers.

We must keep up this weekly gain. We should reach the THOUSAND-A-WEEK MARK this coming week. We should not fall below that mark until we have rolled up the full 25,000 new readers. We can do this. There is absolutely no reason why we should not accomplish this task. WE MUST DO IT.

These two past weeks prove to us that workers WILL subscribe for THE WORKER, that they WILL give the price, that there are many, many thousands who are not only willing, but will gladly become readers if our present readers will but go to them with a copy of the paper, and ask them for the 50 cents for 20 weeks.

We wish we could publish all the letters we receive from comrades who are helping. THEY would open the eyes of the doubtful, the negligent, the disinterested. Many, many letters say in so many words: "Thank you for sending me these five cards to sell."

This is the spirit that will win success in this campaign. This is the spirit in which we must tackle our problems. We must look upon our work in the revolutionary movement as a privilege. We must take joy in being granted the privilege of working in the greatest movement in the world's history.

The increasing of the circulation of THE WORKER, which means enlarging its influence among the masses, is one of the privileges which the revolutionary movement gives you thru your adherence to this movement. Use this privilege. Do the concrete things which make the movement grow. SELL YOUR SUBSCRIPTION CARDS. ORDER MORE. DON'T STOP UNTIL WE HAVE THESE 25,000 NEW READERS.

* * *

Some Cheering Words from the Fighting Front

From a Striking Railroader

"Enclosed find $3.00 for the ten cards sent. Don't know if I can dispose of them just now but will try. My husband with others are now on strike in the R. R. shops and all must be careful of their funds, much as they would like to have and need the information in The Worker."—S. M. C., New Mexico.

"Herewith find $2.50 for the five cards sent me. With good will for the cause you fight for."—A. O., Rochester, N. Y.

"I just received your five cards yesterday and have sold them all."—J. J. J., Cleveland, O.

"Enclosed find check for $8.50 for sub cards. This will make 30 new subscriptions we have sent you. Not bad. If every Workers Party member would do as much The Worker readers would go into big figures."—M. B., Yukon, Pa.

"I am sending you the money for the sub cards received a few days ago. Wishing you great success for The Worker."—J. D. F., Etna, Pa.

"Enclosed find $2.50 for sub cards. Sold four cards yesterday. Will do the best I can for The Worker."—M. F., Bessemer, Pa.

"Enclosed find money order for $7.50 for 15 sub cards. Hoping you have success in the campaign."—P. A. M., Woodlawn, Pa.

"I am in receipt of your letter with five special 20-week sub cards which I am trying to sell. Enclosed find check for $2.50."—R. C., Philadelphia, Pa.

"The Worker subscription cards have been received, and I will notify you that I have succeeded pretty well in selling them. Money will be forwarded within a week or so."—A. Z., Boston.

One of our livest BUILDERS is a comrade on vacation at the Workers Unity House, Forest Park, Pa., the summer resort owned and operated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers for its members. "Enclosed please find order for $11.60 for nine subscriptions and for 182 Workers which I sold," she writes.

Comrade J. S., of Baltimore, mails six sold cards and says: "When I have sold the ten cards I will order more."

"Am sure glad to help you and hope the rest will do the same," writes Comrade E. D. E. of Wellsburg, W. Va.

"I am for The Worker because The Worker is for the World Revolution. Keep it that way," writes Comrade S. G. S. of South Tunnel, Tenn. And he remits for the sub cards.

HE'S A COMMUNIST

The Communist member of the Polish Diet, Dombal, has been sentenced to penal servitude for six years, with the loss of all citizens' rights and of his right to sit in the Diet.

The sentence is passed on the grounds that he "belonged to an association which has as its object the overthrow of the existing order of government."

According to the evidence in Court, as far as it has been published in the Polish papers, it has not been possible to prove that Dombal has preached or practised rebellion against the Polish Government, and the Court could only convict on the grounds that he was a member of the Communist Party. The whole indictment and sentence is framed on this fact.

DELEGATES

City Central Committee

Saturday, August 5, 8 P. M.,

Labor Lyceum, 243 E. 84th St.

PHILADELPHIA NOTES

The City Central Committee of Local Philadelphia has been carrying on a campaign of street meetings for some time past and has been meeting with a cordial reception. The speakers report that the audiences are attentive and the spirit shown is very friendly. Good sales of literature are reported and numerous "subs" to the WORKER have been sold.

Meetings are being held regularly on the corner of Kensington Ave. and Cambria St., on Friday nights and on Front and Dauphin Sts., on Saturday nights. Both these corners are located in the heart of a strictly workingclass district, the great textile center of Philadelphia.

In past years the Socialist Party had one of its best branches in this part of the city, the 33rd ward. In 1912, when the first great "Purification" took place, it was necessary to expel the entire branch because it was "RED" and would not swallow the Berger-Hillquit dope. Since that time despite various re-organizations the Socialist Party could never regain its membership.

The workers in this district are to a large extent militant and class conscious. The program and tactics of the WORKERS PARTY will get their endorsement whenever we make it known to them.

It's up to us to GO TO THE MASSES!! If you can speak, we need speakers, if you can act as chairman, we need chairmen. If you can sell literature, we need literature sellers, if you can hand out leaflets here's your chance. If you can only stand around you can lend moral support and help to get a crowd started.

The Picnic Committee of the C. C. of Local Philadelphia is working hard to make a huge success of their MID-SUMMER PICNIC to be held at Schutzen Park, 83rd and Tinicum Ave., Saturday, August 12th. The National Office has been requested to furnish one of our best speakers for the occasion. All branches that have not elected delegates to the committee must do so at once. Tickets are at the Headquarters, 218 N. 13th St., ready for distribution.

The City Convention of Local Philadelphia will take place August 4th, Friday, 8 P. M., at Headquarters, 218 N. 13th St.—M. Kushinsky, Secretary C. C. C.

Russia To-day and Yesterday

The Rockaway Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia are holding an open-air meeting Saturday, August 5, 8.30 P. M., Boulevard and 84th St., Rockaway Beach. J. Louis Engdahl will be the principal speaker.

A Class in Russian

A class in Russian is being organized by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia. All interested are requested to communicate with M. Kesselman, Executive Secretary of the New York Branch of the S. T. A. S. R., 240 East 23rd Street, New York. Office hours: 6 to 10 P. M.

Arrange World-Wide Celebration of Youth Day, Sunday, Sept. 3

International Youth Day will be celebrated by the Young Workers' League of America on Sunday, September 3. On that day the young workers' organizations in all parts of the world will demonstrate their loyalty to the struggle to build a better world for the workers.

Branches of the Workers Party are urged not to arrange any party affairs on Sept. 3d but to co-operate with the Young Workers' League in making a success of their celebration.

Wherever there is a Young Workers' League organization the party units should give their full support to that organization.

In those places in which no Y. W. L. branch exists as yet the party branches should take the initiative and organize a celebration of International Youth Day, taking advantage of this celebration to organize a branch of the Young Workers' League.

With the full co-operation of the party International Youth Day can be made not only a demonstration of the loyalty of the Y. W. L. to the class struggle but will result in greatly adding to the strength of that organization.

Marshall Tour

Comrade John Marshall, who has recently been doing agitation and organization work in District No. 2 is now engaged in similar work under direction of the National Organization.

During the next ten days Comrade Marshall will visit towns in Massachusetts and New Hampshire in an effort to build up English branches in the New England District. He will speak in the following places: Aug. 3, Norwood, Mass.; Aug. 4, Fitchburg; Aug. 5, Ashby; Aug. 6, Worcester; Aug. 7, Springfield; Aug. 8, Gardiner; Aug. 9, So. Royalton; Aug. 10, Troy, N. H.

Following the New England trip Comrade Marshall will spend two months in Ohio and West Virginia visiting the towns thruout those states in which in the past strong working-class party groups have existed in an effort to rebuild the organization which previously existed in those states.

The National Organization of the party is planning similar work in each district as soon as organizers can be found for the work.

Baltimore United Front Campaign

The Baltimore section of the Workers Party has taken the initiative in building up a United Front of the workers of that city. It has secured a supply of the United Front Manifesto "Workers! Unite and Fight the Bosses," and mailed a copy together with a letter to each union of that city. The letter declares:

"Our party has begun a gigantic national campaign for the promulgation of a united front against the audacious and shameless tyranny of capital, the need of which in the present moment is self-evident to every thinking working man and woman in this country.

"The enclosed pamphlet treats the matter in a thoro and instructive manner, and we trust that you will give it your most earnest and unbiased support."

Thru this effort the Baltimore local will bring the party and its program before the mass of the unorganized workers of that city and it will undoubtedly result in building up a stronger fighting organization of the workers there.

National Defense Committee

Much publicity has been given in recent years to workers' defense organizations defending workers prosecuted because of their part in the class struggle. The work of the National Defense Committee for Political Prisoners and Deportees, to give its full name, is not, however, as widely known as it should be.

The National Defense Committee is probably to-day fighting the cases and giving relief in a larger number of instances than any other organization. Thru its national organization and branches in various sections of the country it is taking care of over a hundred instances in which members of the working class are being prosecuted for their part in the class struggle.

The National Defense Committee was organized after the Palmer raids of the end of 1919 and the early part of 1920. Its first task was to organize the defense of the nearly four thousand Communists who were arrested for deportation and of the workers indicted under state laws during the same period.

This work was accomplished in so successful a manner that out of the thousands whom the government originally held for deportation not more than ten per cent were actually convicted.

Cases Pending

At the present time the National Defense Committee and its various branches have a score of deportation cases pending in New York City, eleven criminal anarchy prosecutions in New York State, several deportation cases in New England, forty cases involving deportation and [illegible] in Philadelphia, [illegible] about a dozen other deportation cases in various parts of the country.

Owing to the fact that most of the deportees are sent out of the United States via Ellis Island and the last fight for their liberty must be made in New York City, the greatest burden of the work of defending deportees has fallen upon the New York Division of the committee, which has defended these cases in co-operation with national organization.

At the present time the New York Division is taking care of four men and two women serving sentences in the state prisons by sending them regular weekly remittances for such comforts as the prison rules permit and thru furnishing relief to the families of the prisoners. These men and women are Carl Paivio, Gus Alonen, Ignatz Misher, Paul Manko, Minnie Kolnin and Anna Leiseman.

In four instances the cases of these imprisoned workers are being appealed to higher courts, and the heavy expense of such appeals is being taken care of. Under the barbarous New York laws, altho the guilt of a convicted man or woman may still be subject to review by a higher court, bail can be denied, and this has been done in practically all the Communist cases.

Besides these there are four cases pending in the courts in which the defendants are out on bail. Harry Winitsky, who served two years of his five to ten year sentence, is subject to return to prison for the balance of his terms by the Appellate Division. The cases of I. E. Ferguson and C. E. Ruthenberg were reversed by the Court of Appeals, after they had served a year and half each, and a new trial ordered. Altho the decision of the Court of Appeals is of such a character that it is not likely that these comrades will be tried again, they are still held under indictment and $5,000 bail.

The Ben Gitlow Case

The case against Ben Gitlow was upheld by the Court of Appeals, the highest court in New York State. This means that unless a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States grants bail for Gitlow while the case is taken thru that court, he will have to go back to prison to serve the remainder of his five to ten year sentence.

To take the Gitlow case to the Supreme Court will involve thousands of dollars and the work of raising this money is placing a heavy burden upon the New York Division.

Those who desire to make contributions to help fight the New York cases should send their contributions to Nerma Berman, Secretary, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Case of Israel Blankenstein

In Pittsburgh the capitalist prosecuting officials are showing just what they can do in violating their own rules in order to railroad a worker to prison.

In January of this year Israel Blankenstein was arrested there and charged with being an organizer of the Communist Party. After being held in prison for four months he was brought to trial and convicted thru proceedings which were as great a travesty on justice as has ever occurred in an American court room.

The judge who presided at his trial, probably feeling ashamed of the whole proceedings, has not yet sentenced Blankenstein, altho nearly three months have elapsed since the trial. The case is so bad that anyone reading the record will conclude that it is impossible for a higher court to sustain the conviction. By not imposing sentence the judge, however, makes it impossible to carry up the appeal and thus keeps Blankenstein in prison.

Bond in the Blankenstein case was fixed at $5,000. When the National Defense Committee secured this amount with the help of the National Bail Fund and offered Liberty Bonds for that amount the bond was jumped to $20,000. This was later reduced to $15,000, but efforts to secure this have thus far proven unavailing, and Blankenstein is still in the Alleghany County Jail.

More Help Needed

There is one thing that the revolutionary workers owe those who become the victims of the capitalist prosecutors. They must support the fight for the freedom of the workers who are in danger of prison or in prison. They must furnish relief to their families. They must furnish those in prison with such comforts as the prison rules allow. That much must be done.

The National Defense Committee is doing these things. It needs greater support, more funds, to do this work more efficiently. Those workers who believe this work should be done should send their contribution to the National Defense Committee, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

"President Harding Amnesty Clocks" are to be erected in cities thruout the country to fix attention on the President's promise, given on July 19, that the records of the political prisoners still in prison ought to be gone over within sixty days.

DO YOU BELONG to the Young Workers League of America

An organization of the live, thinking workers of America.

A young people's organization which aims toward making the mass of young workers in America understand their class interests.

An organization of youth which recognizes that independent working class education is the only education beneficial to the worker.

An organization of the mentally awake young workers who strive to unite the working class youth of America into a militant, fighting body against the capitalist class.

An organization of young workers engaging in the daily strifes and struggles against capitalist oppression, fighting in the battles of the workers, day by day—fighting, educating, organizing the mass of young workers.

An organization of youth supporting the adult revolutionary working class political party in America, the Workers Party of America.

A young workers' organization which recognizes that only thru the overthrow of capitalism (a system of robbery), and the setting up of a Workers' Government, a Republic of Workers' Councils, to the elimination of useless, bloodsucking drones—the capitalists—as the first step toward the attainment of a classless society, communism, can the the youth and adult—all the exploited workers—eliminate the hellishness and misery of life under capitalism.

The Young Workers' League appeals to all thinking young workers to join its ranks; to aid in the work of the education and organization of the youth of this country; to become part of a movement aiming for the establishment of a society where only those who do useful labor shall receive of the good things of life; to join with an organization fighting that equal opportunity for all shall not be a mere phrase but may become a reality.

The Young Workers' League asks all who realize that capitalist slavery must be replaced by a society founded on the willingness of men to do honest labor, to enter its ranks and work for the accomplishment of this end.

Issued by the National Executive Committee of the Young Workers League of America.

Local Greater New York, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Meeting Places of Branches

Branch 1 (English)—1258 Boston Road, Bronx, N. Y.—Every Friday.

Branch 2 (English)—296 Sackman St., Brooklyn, N. Y.—Every Friday.

Branch 3 (Finnish)—764 40th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.—Every Friday.

Branch 4 (Hungarian)—350 E. 81st St., New York—Thursdays.

Branch 5 (English)—47 Chrystie St., New York.—Sunday, 8 P. M.

Branch 6 (English)—143 East 103d St., New York.—Every Friday.

Branch 8 (English)—138 W. 13th St., New York.—Every Friday.

Branch 8 (English)—Empire Hall, Lorimer and Ten Eyck Sts., Brooklyn.—Every Friday, 8 P. M.

Branch 9 (Finnish)—241 Lenox Ave., New York.—Every Friday.

Branch 10 (Jewish)—143 East 103rd St., New York.—Every Friday.

Branch 11 (Jewish)—47 Chrystie St., New York.—Every Saturday.

Branch 12 (Jewish)—1258 Boston Road, Bronx, N. Y.—Thursdays.

Branch 13 (Lithuanian)—Empire Hall, Lorimer and Ten Eyck Sts., Brooklyn.—Every Friday, 8 P. M.

Branch 14 (Jewish)—76 Throop Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.—Thursdays.

Branch 15 (Jewish)—296 Sackman St., Brooklyn, N. Y.—Mondays.

The unemployment situation in Japan is resulting in violent demonstrations, especially among the governmental arsenal employes. The strike of the miners of the Ashio Copper Mining Co. seems to be nearing a settlement. Attempts are being made to mediate.

Finnish Athletes Make Big Hit at Picnic of New York Workers Party

Local Greater New York under the most favorable circumstances held its summer festival and picnic at Dickert's Park last Sunday. An ideal summer day with not a cloud in the sky brought a great number of our members to spend some pleasurable hours amongst friends and comrades.

All language groups were represented at the picnic, making one huge family symbolizing the unity and fraternity of workers.

The Finnish comrades were there with a strong contingent of athletes, who gave an exhibition in races with the following results:

100-Metre Race: 1. K. Kilpi, 12.1; 2. F. Aho, 12.2; 3. A. Kangas, 12.3; 4. O. Manno, 18.00.

12-Lb. Shot Put: 1. A. Kangas, 42 ft. 4 in.; 2. K. Kilpi, 40 ft. 8 in.; 3. F. Aho, 38 ft. ½ in.; 4. O. Manno, 34 ft. 11 in.

Running Board Jump: 1. K. Kilpi, 20 ft. 6 in.; 2. F. Aho, 20 ft.; 3. A. Kangas, 19 ft. 2 in.; 4. E. Tolkka, 17 ft. 11½ in.

Three-Mile Run: 1. W. Hellman, "Vihe," 18.58; 2. E. Hill, "Kaleva," 18.27.4; 3. O. Hack, "Visa," 19.43; 4. Hj. Norena "Vesa," 20.21.6.

The following won prizes: 1. K. Kilpi, 238.6 points; 2. A. Kangas, 235.4; 3. F. Aho, 228.7; 4. O. Manno, 219.3; 5. E. Tolkka, 196.

The exhibition of the Finnish comrades shows the necessity for forming a general athletic group of the workers.

The Ferrer School children marched into the park with their banners and sang their little songs of joy.

C. E. Ruthenberg, National Secretary of the Workers Party, and William W. Weinstone, Secretary of the Local, spoke on the theme of the United Front of the Proletariat in the struggle against the capitalist oppressors.

WANTED FOR KUZBAS

The Kuzbas Organization has under its mandate the famous Kuznetzky Basin in Siberia, with millions of tons of high-grade magnetic iron, high-class coal, forests, agricultural land, cement, chemical, leather, brick, shoe, coke and timber plants, etc. In the Urals the Kuzbas Organization controls the north Bogoslavski region with the largest charcoal iron plant in the world, eight million acres of forest, blast furnaces, steel mills, rolling mills, wire mills, machine shops, a private railway of 270 miles, river transportation equipment, sawmills, copper, iron, manganese and brown coal mines. Operations are now on and over 400 workers have already left America for the greatest constructive job that ever faced the working class.

Next Sailing Is August 26

WANTED for this shipment:

Miners, lumberjacks, electricians, machinists and helpers, power house men, rolling mill men, open hearth men, construction workers, cement foremen, shoe and leather workers, in fact nearly every type of worker that goes to build a socially efficient organization on a non-profit basis. Men desirous of going should get in touch with the Kuzbas office immediately, whereupon full information will be sent by return.

The Kuzbas Bulletin, a monthly 12-page publication, will be sent upon application at the Kuzbas office. Kuzbas, Room 301, 110 W. 40th St., New York City, N. Y.

THE JOBLESS

Organ of the Unemployed of America

Price, One Cent

Every Worker Should Read It

TAKE BUNDLES

Sell it at meetings, in unions and shops

WORK OR COMPENSATION

Your Turn May Be Next

Published by Unemployment Council of New York, 201 W. 13th St., New York City.

CONCERT AND DANCE

FOR RELIEF OF WEST VIRGINIA MINERS

[illegible] at [illegible]

WASHINGTON BATHS PAVILION

21st Street and Surf Avenue, Coney Island

Saturday Evening, August 12th.

ADMISSON, 50 CENTS

Auspices: MINERS' RELIEF COMMITTEE.

Proceeds for Relief of West Virginia Miners.

[illegible]

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, [illegible]
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, [illegible]
ROBERT MINOR, [illegible]
ART YOUNG, [illegible]
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager.

Published weekly by The [illegible] Publishing Association.
Entered as second-class matter [illegible] at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3rd, 1879.

Advertising rates upon application.
Phone: Stuyvesant 8042.

West Virginia has secured a publicity agent, or propaganda expert, to paint that state white in the eyes of the nation. We venture to predict there isn't enough white wash in all the country to do the job.

The Rejected Invitation

Bayonets do not dig coal. Injunctions do not run railroads. And now the Department of the Interior at Washington confesses that "presidential invitations" are just as helpless.

The coal barons, on Monday morning, July 24, patted their swollen paunches while hearty laughter shook their jowls for had not President Harding "invited" them to open their mines with the promised aid of the military, the courts and all the other powers of the capitalist state.

The results of the first week are reported by the geological survey of the Department of Interior to the effect that "there is no indication of increased production in response to the invitation to reopen mines in any of the strongly organized districts."

It is claimed that a little coal is coming out of the non-union fields. The answer to that is 100 per cent organization in the mining industry.

It is admitted that coal production is being cut down by the shopmen's strike. This should teach the workers the value of complete co-operation between the workers on the railroads and in the mines.

When labor is solidly organized with all industries co-operating, then the workers can laugh at bayonets, injunctions, presidential invitations, appeals to patriotism and the flag wavers. Even now they may smile at their exploiters. Let that smile grow.

Japan has asked for a conference with representatives of the Far Eastern Republic (Siberia). This is heralded as an admission that Russia has been successful in lining up Asia against the island empire of the Mikado.

Jules Guesde Passes

Jules Guesde, the veteran revolutionary Socialist of the days before the great war, died the other day in Paris at the age of 77.

Guesde is numbered with those revolutionists who went down in 1914 with the Second International in the tidal wave of social patriotism.

Early in his career he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for a revolutionary article against the Empire in his paper "Droits de L'homme."

He attempted to stir up revolutionary sentiment at the time of the Paris Commune and was condemned to five years' imprisonment.

Thereafter he was often imprisoned for short periods as he co-operated with Marx, Engels and Lafargue.

Guesde denounced the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and wrote, "Let Us Stop Shouting: 'To Berlin!' and Rally to the Cry of: 'To the Tuilleries!' in Order to Overthrow the Empire."

Guesde went to Copenhagen for the last congress of the Second International in 1910 and took his stand with that group among whom we found Karl Liebknecht and Clara Zetkin.

Zetkin is fighting today, more than ever, in the ranks of the world's Communists, a power in the Communist International.

Liebknecht was martyred in the struggle for proletarian victory, but his name is on the lips of workers in all lands, and the inspiration aroused by his deeds will go travelling down the ages.

Guesde was swept off his feet by the war hysteria. He was captured by the jingoes. He became a member of the French Imperialist cabinet of national defense. He helped bolster up that imperialism that is today the worst foe of Worker's Rule in Russia. He has gone, almost unnoticed, to a forgotten grave.

Passage of the tariff bill at Washington has been put off to give the senators a little more time to gamble in wool, "as they gambled in sugar years ago," says the New York World. No doubt the senators will excuse this on the ground that they need a little money for campaign expenses this fall.

Playing Politics with Lives

Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward and field marshal of the yellow "Socialist" attack on Communism in the United States, has now launched a malicious attack against the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The official reply of the Friends of Soviet Russia appears in another column and we ask all our readers to give it a careful study and ask others interested to become acquainted with its contents.

This latest slander is the most infamous yet invented by the yellow "Socialists" in their attack on the revolutionary workers of this country.

Cahan and his Forward are merely seeking to continue the dirty work on behalf of reaction that characterized their efforts at the conventions of the Cloakmakers, at Cleveland; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, at Chicago; the Workmen's Circle, at Toronto, and the Furriers at Philadelphia.

The "Socialist" Cahan joins with the White Guardist Hoover in attacking the only workers' famine relief organization in the United States.

"I cannot prove it," confesses Cahan, "but I am morally convinced that more than half the money raised has been misapplied."

Cahan is also "morally" convinced that Communism is wrong and that the Communist International is a failure, and he has doubts about the existence of a Soviet Republic in Russia.

It does not matter how many facts and figures the Friends of Soviet Russia will supply Cahan, he will nevertheless be "morally convinced" of his own righteousness. And Soviet Rule may spread to all the corners of the earth, but he will not recognize it.

It is up to the workers of the nation to decide whether Cahan's criminal attempts to play politics with the lives of Soviet Russia's famine sufferers is to succeed.

We do not believe the workers will pay any attention to this latest effort of the betrayers whose alliance with reaction has already been unmasked repeatedly.

Let our slogan be, "More support for the Friends of Soviet Russia. All aid to the famine sufferers of the Russian Workers' Republic."

ART YOUNG, in the [illegible]

The Crisis in Italy

Italy is on the verge, if not actually in the grip of civil war. The government has lost all influence and the struggle is between the Communists, supported by the workers and the peasants on the one hand, and the White Guard Fascisti on the other, with a powerful military organization.

The Communists proclaimed a general strike for August 1, "as the final fight of the workers against the Fascisti and for a Workers' Government."

The Italian Communist Party is definitely calling for the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of soviet rule.

In one declaration, issued thru the official organ of the party we find the following: "Workers, Peasants and Soldiers! Be ready to fight to the last for your liberation. You must fight to create a government of workers, peasants and soldiers that will be able to guide the fight against armed reaction to the last."

The workers are warned, in this proclamation, against the compromising "Socialist" measures that betray labor's cause.

In another proclamation recently published in "L'Ordine Nuovo," the official organ of the Italian Communist Party, the Italian workers, peasants and soldiers are called upon to be ready to take up arms in their own struggle.

It is pointed out that the present crisis opens a new phase of revolutionary developments in Italy, declaring, "It shows how near the moment is when the Italian proletariat will show to the world that it is able to take the government into its own hands. The strenuous resistance of the workers of Noverese and Liguria (cities in Northern Italy) has been the bulwark against the Fascisti of Italy."

It is urged that the workers thruout Italy organize on a national scale for the same stubborn resistance to the murderous Fascisti who declare "revolvers will proclaim the doom" of the present general strike unless it is broken by the government.

The Communists insist that the "proletarian organizations are in a position at the present time to effect an organization on a national scale that will mean the basis for the triumph of the Italian proletariat."

While this struggle develops between the Communists and the Fascisti, the King, with his politicians, is frantic in his efforts to organize a new cabinet in place of the fallen De Facta government.

It is among these politicians, seeking to perpetuate the capitalist state, that we find the "Socialists," especially Turati, spokesmen for the coalitionists in favor of entering a government with representatives of the non-Socialist Parties.

This situation makes the present Italian crisis the most interesting since the workers of Italy seized the metal factories, two years ago, and began spreading their power to other industries until they were halted by the betrayal of their leaders.

Present developments are filled with hope and pregnant with great possibilities. The final clash must come, sooner or later, between the Red Guard of the Italian working class and the White Guard Fascisti of Italian capitalism.

In that struggle the Italian workers, thru their numbers, their organization, their agreement upon a definite Communist program of action, must win.

Gompers is busy. The Seattle, Wash., Office Employers' Union has been suspended for the same reason that this treatment was handed out to the New York organization. Sammy seems to have taken Mitchell Palmer's place as a "red raider."

Decision Is Not Final

The British Communist Party refuses to accept as final the decision of the Edinburgh Conference of the Labor Party barring it from affiliation.

It has issued a special edition of The Communist, its official organ, setting forth its position before the workers of Great Britain.

It charges that it is the middle-class theoreticians of the British Fabian Society and the Independent Labor Party who are splitting the labor movement; who, as the Communist Party grows stronger, grow even more bitter in their hostility to the Communist Party's claim to affiliation.

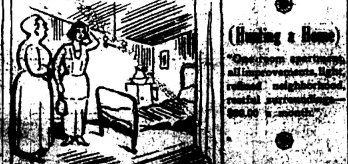
The Communist charge that it is the Sidney Webbs, the Ethel Snowdens and the J. Ramsay MacDonalds, who, with Frank Hodges, of the Miners' Union, as their enthusiastic ally, are straining every nerve to secure an "industrial peace" with the ruling class and a political truce with the middle class.

The rank and file of the trade unions are urged to be on their guard and to support the Communist Party in its struggle.

The Communist has no ends to serve other than those of the working class.

The National Coal Association, an organization of coal profiteers, has issued a statement declaring that the affair at Herrin, Ill., was a union conspiracy. We wonder if the coal barons expected us to believe they would plead guilty to the charge of the coroner's jury that the trouble started when the mine bosses tried to open their mines with strikebreakers.

Six hundred German marks for $1; 2,000 Hungarian crowns for $1, and Raymond Recouly, of France, in this country pleading for help to the tune of "Aid us or we fall," saying the French franc will go the same path as the German mark. And judging by the cost of living the American dollar isn't worth very much either.


(Hunting a Home)
"One-room apartment, all improvements, light, refined neighborhood, restful surroundings—$90.00 a month."
Drawn by Art Young

The Moscow Trial

It is believed that another week will see the end of the trial of the Social Revolutionaries at Moscow. At this writing the closing addresses are being made.

There is a unanimity of sentiment that the Soviet Government has proved its case against these counter-revolutionists.

Prosecutor Krylenko summarized the testimony against the defendants. He showed the connection of those on trial with the various plots charged against them, including the assassination of Volodarsky and Uritzky, Soviet Commissars in Petrograd in 1918, and attempts to kill Premier Lenin and War Minister Trotsky.

Krylenko contended that all of the Soviet's charges had been proved including terrorist acts by the Social Revolutionists, the systematic robbery of state institutions, destruction of state property, organization of uprisings among the peasants and assistance to foreign interventions.

It is the opinion of even Walter Duranty, the correspondent of the New York Times, that the condemnation of the majority of the accused is certain. He points out that the Soviet government had three purposes in bringing the Social Revolutionaries to trial. These are as follows:

> **First, to make it clear to the Russian people, especially the peasants, who naturally supported the Social Revolutionary program in 1917 of "land and peace," and to the rest of the world that the Social Revolutionaries were led by their desire to overthrow the Bolsheviki to "betray the people's revolution" by conspiracy with the French and other Entente powers, with Kolchak and other reactionary leaders, and finally by assassination.**
>
> **Second, to show that the Social Revolutionary leaders betrayed and disavowed their subordinates to save their own skins and are therefore unworthy of public support or sympathy.**
>
> **Third, to put on record for future historians the inside facts about the revolutionary struggle in the years 1917-19.**

These purposes have been achieved. In Duranty's own words, "It is certainly true that the proceedings demonstrated the truth of the statements enumerated."

Duranty adds that it was wise for the yellow Socialists of the Second International, Emile Vandervelde, of Belgium, and his co-workers, to abandon the case when they did. The Times correspondent says that Vandervelde and Co.

> **"thought that the Bolsheviki would be willing to let them have an easy success in this case as payment for the Second Internationale's adhesion to the "united front" of European workers for which the Soviets launched their campaign in the Spring or believed that they would be defending a gallant group of political prisoners. If the first supposition is correct, they made a psychological error; if the second, they soon found that the defense had not a leg to stand on, either politically or logically.**
>
> **One instance of many will show this. One of the accused who turned State's evidence related how an important woman member of the Social Revolutionary Party, Ivanova, also on trial, in the Fall of 1918 attempted, with him and two others, to wreck a train bearing Trotzky to the Czecho-Slovak front in the Province of Samara. The witness gave a detailed account of how the conspirators were awaiting a signal from a confederate that the train was coming, so that they might tear up the rails and hurl the train over a culvert; how they made a fire in a neighboring hollow; what they said, and how the attempt failed because Trotzky took a different route. All Ivanova could say in her defense was that she did not remember it.**
>
> **The prosecution did not succeed in getting from the Social Revolutionary leaders a direct admission that their Central Executive Committee planned and directed terrorist attempts, but it established beyond a reasonable doubt that the committee was aware of and approved them.**

It is for the liberty and lives of these miserable counter-revolutionists, whose hands are stained with the blood of many true revolutionists, that the yellow "Socialist" press, headed by the Call and the Forward, and yellow Socialist labor leaders of the type of Benjamin Schlesinger, of the Cloakmakers, are offering up their frantic pleas.

Schlesinger will not vote for the recognition of Soviet Russia in a convention of the American Federation of Labor, but he bewails the fact that Soviet Russia does not give heed to his plea on behalf of terrorists and assassins.

The Call thinks that the bars ought to be let down to all these enemies of Soviet Rule because "Russia is not now being attacked by Czarist generals, Allied imperialists or subjected to a famine bockade."

In other words, seemingly, the Call would have us believe that the social revolution will have clear and peaceful sailing from now on.

It is upon this fond belief that the yellow Socialists build their pacifist programs and decide their servile tactics, that result in coalitions with bourgeois parties, combinations of strength against the rising power of Communism.

The Moscow trial has established more effectively than any other agency so far that the social revolution is in the keeping of the Communist International.

And the realization of this fact by added masses of the workers will bring new adherents in large numbers to the standards of the world Communist movement. The support of the yellow Second International grows weaker and weaker.

World's Workers Act

The kept press has been busy for weeks creating the impression that coal will be shipped in large quantities from British mines to help break the strike in the United States.

This little bubble has burst with the announcement that, under protest from the Welsh coal miners, steps are being taken to halt the shipment of British coal to this country.

This awakening of the British workers to their international obligations was forced by the activities of the more radical elements.

In another column we publish the protest and appeal of the Workers Party to the Communist and Labor Parties of Great Britain, calling for the solidarity of British with American labor.

We also call to the attention of British labor the spirit shown by the Workers of Mexico and Japan, on behalf of the railroad strike as well as the miners' struggle.

As their struggles widen, the workers of the world are learning to act more and more in unison.

Hail the day when all labor, the world over, will stand shoulder to shoulder, in one giant army for the abolition of capitalism. That day is on its way.

Both Trotzky and Semashko now vouch for Lenin's complete return to health. But the yellow press correspondents will be silenced for only a few days, when they will again have Lenin at the brink of the grave.

BOLCOMS

[illegible]

GOMPERS TURNS BOLSHEVIK

[illegible]

([illegible] to the Bolcoms by our staff correspondent I. M. A. Liar.)

[illegible], April 1.—Samuel Gompers, in sanitarium here, sent out the following appeal to all the unions of the American Federation of Labor:

"Comrades,

"Having read last week's Bolcoms a feeling was created within me to help the starving people of Russia. I realize how wrong I was hitherto in denouncing the Soviet Government. Hence, to compensate for the injustice I've done to the only workers' republic, I urge upon all of you to show your overwhelming generosity and give and give and give for the starving people of Russia . . . three cheers.

"Sammy Gompers."

THE JOYS OF ORATORY

A Tammany politician was once speaking before a small village assembly up-state. In the course of his speech he introduced some expression which disgusted his hearers, who thereupon started moving away. The orator seeing this, put up his hands and said:

"Pause, friends!" But the answer he got was from a local wag, who cried, amid laughter:

"Aye, an' real dirty ones they are, too!"

RADIO - TELEPHONE PROGRAM

Fob—Newark

This program is arranged by the Fullofbull Service. Tune instruments for 369 meter hot waves.

7:00—Bedtime Stories, by James Oneal and Chas. W. Erwin.

8:00—"Oil by Myself," sung by John D. Rockefeller.

8:30—Funny recitation by Schlesinger, entitled, "My Appeal to Soviet Russia."

9:00—"The Importance of the A. L. P. to the Working Class," a bughouse fable by A. Lefkowitz and A. Lee.

9:30—"What Fools These Workers Be," a duet by Samke Jumpers and C. E. Grable.

Y'S KRAX

(More truth than humor.)

Eureka! Just found out that there's a town named after our prominent labor leader—Marblehead, Me.

In the coming elections every candidate of the A. L. P. is sure to get some appointment, if only disappointment.

After having satisfactorily completed a six-course dinner at the Ritz, the Socialist delegation rose and sang "Arise, ye prisoners of starvation" . . .

Now we know why the S. P. amalgamated with the Farmer-Labor Party. They didn't have enough members to put up as candidates for the various offices . . .

OUR ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

(Patronize our advertisers and make capitalism safe for the Socialists.)

LOST—My understanding, useless to any one else, as it is practically worth nothing. Finder please return. Reward: My convention speech on Soviet Russia.—Sam Gompers, Wards' Island.

COME ONE! COME ALL! To the Union Temple tonight, 7:30 P. M. Brother M. T. Head will speak. Subject: "Fools and Idiots." A large number are expected.

WANTED—Experienced pugilist to act as chairman of a Socialist-Pacifist Convention. Must be well insured.

WILL EXCHANGE the St. Louis platform for a can of insect powder.

THE Rank School of Socalled Science begs to inform its students that by special request of the Prohibition League, a series of lectures will be given on home-brewing.

MISSING—The hand and torch from the first page of the Call. If found please return it with two dollars.

ATTENTION!—The N. Y. branch of the F.-L. P. wishes to inform its membership that there'll be no poker game at its next session; pinochle will be played instead.

UNION NOTICE—All landlords who have reduced their rent this month will hold a meeting at the Astor Hotel in the third telephone booth.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST IS PERMITTED TO COPY THIS

"Is the editor of the Bolcoms in?"

"Yes, what can I do for you?"

"I'm Mr. Gomper's attorney. Did you call my client a charlatan?"

"No."

"Didn't you call him a fossil?"

"No, sir. It must have been one of our contemporaries. We don't print any STALE news." . . .

Yours till Niagra falls,

IRV.

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

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Kidnap Foster in Colorado!

Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League Driven from Rockefeller-Owned State as "Undesirable"

"No Law Was Consulted," Is Cossack Declaration of Adjutant General who Planned Attack on Militant Labor Leader

Samuel Gompers, and his reactionary machine in control of the American Federation of Labor, is now receiving hurry-up support from the militarists and junkers of Colorado, and probably other western states, in his war upon the Trade Union Educational League, and its secretary, William Z. Foster, also editor of the League's official organ, The Labor Herald.

This is the big interpretation to be placed on the kidnapping and forcible ejection of Foster from Colorado, on Monday night, August 7, by so-called "State Rangers," the legalized Cossacks of this Rockefeller-owned and controlled state.

"No law was consulted," was the brutal declaration of Adjutant General Hamrock, who insisted that "it was for the best interests of the state" that "this dangerous radical" be ousted.

This is the state of the Rockefeller Colorado Coal and Iron Co., of Ludlow and Cripple Creek, of the kidnapping of Moyer, Pettibone and Haywood, rushed to Idaho to face framed-up charges for murder, of which a jury declared them innocent.

Foster was kidnapped at his hotel in Denver, shortly after his arrival from Salt Lake City, Utah, where he had spoken on his return trip from the Pacific Coast. He was taken in an automobile and rushed to the Kansas state line, according to Adjutant General Hamrock.

Foster's baggage was confiscated in the hunt for "radical" literature. The "law and order" Hamrock, in speaking of Foster, said, "We have characterized him as an undesirable in Colorado, and we decided to have him keep right on going without any stop in Denver."

All efforts to get a statement from Foster by telegraph had been futile up to the hour of going to press.

It is reported, however, that he spoke at a meeting held at Alliance, Neb., on Tuesday night, and that he was on his way to Lincoln, Nebraska's state capital, where Sheriff Ira Miller announced that Foster will be intercepted and "investigated". At the same time Governor McKelvie was said to be taking a hand in the situation.

State authorities were ordered by Gov. McKelvie to attend addresses Foster may deliver in Nebraska with a view to determining if they violate any laws.

"Foster will not be molested previous to making addresses, but his utterances will be under close surveillance of proper officials," the governor stated.

"We will not be influenced here by the attitude of Colorado authorities, but will be governed solely by our interpretation of the laws of this state relative to free speech.

• • •

Colorado Lawyer Opens Attack on the Governor

Severe arraignment of Governor Oliver H. Shoup and Adjutant General Patrick Hamrock was made by Carl Whitehead, prominent Denver attorney, as the result of the expulsion from the state of William Z. Foster.

In a letter to Shoup, Whitehead charged that the Governor had "prevented by armed force peaceable assemblage of the people; seized men and deprived them of their liberty without due process of law;

(Continued on Page Three)

THE INTERNATIONAL SCABS

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

The International Miners' Congress, the world organization of miners affiliated with the Yellow Second (Amsterdam) International of Trade Unions, is now meeting at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in Germany.

It has taken up and acted on the biggest question confronting this organization, the miners' strike in the United States, and what has it done?

It has voted to contribute 32,000,000 marks, or $44,500, or, in British money, 10,000 pounds sterling to aid the American miners.

This money is to be subscribed by the various national miners' unions, which means that it will probably never be paid over. The resolution adopted also expressed sympathy with the American miners in their struggle.

But that was all!

No effective action was taken to halt the growing stream of scab coal that is flowing toward this country from England, Germany and other European countries.

THE CONGRESS OFFICIALLY DECIDED AGAINST RESTRICTIONS OF COAL SHIPMENTS TO AMERICA, THE ONLY WORTHWHILE ACTION PROPOSED TO AID THE AMERICAN MINERS IN THEIR FIGHT.

Yet this action is typical of this section of the Yellow Amsterdam International of blacklegs and counter-revolutionaries. It has proven itself true to its blood relation.

* * *

THE WORKER has already told how the miners of Wales had urged upon the Miners' International the stoppage of coal shipments to the United States. But this was an urge from the men in the mines.

Last week we published a cablegram from the Miners' Federation of Japan, voicing their solidarity with the struggling American miners.

We told of the militant demonstrations of the workers in Mexico, not only on behalf of the miners' strike, but also for the striking railway shopmen.

These are small indications, to be sure. But they are big with meaning, indicating the ferment that is going on among the masses.

* * *

We draw attention to the fact that this action on the part of the Miners' Congress comes three months after the start of the strike in this country.

The day the strike was declared, on April 30, last, the Workers Party officially cabled to the British Communist Party, the British Labor Party, the British Trade Union Congress and the British Miners' Federation, urging that every effort be made to stop the shipment of scab coal to this country. It is from British mines that most scab coal comes.

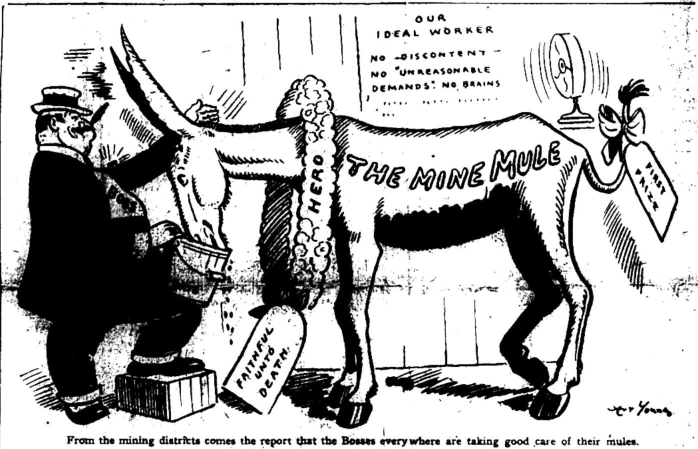
This was soon followed by an appeal to the workers of all countries, issued by the Red (Moscow) Trade Union International, urging world action by all miners and transport workers on behalf of the miners of this country.

The Red International, with its affiliations in different countries, was for action, immediate and effective.

The Yellow International, in its official congress, comes with a charitable dole and smirking sympathy three months after the fight started.

The workers of America, especially the miners, have had no better exhibition of what the two internationals stand for.

(Continued on Page Three)



From the mining districts comes the report that the Bosses everywhere are taking good care of their mules.

Solidarity on Pacific Coast Wins Victory

(By The Federated Press)

SEATTLE.—New Zealand seamen recently won a unique victory here when they were freed of charges of mutiny in a strike distinctive of the growing International Brotherhood of Dock and Sea Workers.

When the crew of the British tramp Waitemate put into Anacortes, a small port near here, they found union longshoremen engaged in a struggle for the existence of their union with the Waterfront Employers' union and the Associated Industries. With the port completely tied up, the ship's master ordered the seamen to begin loading the cargo waiting on the Anacortes dock.

To a man the crew refused to scab on their American brother workmen. A tug was then ordered down from Vancouver, B. C., to tow the Waitemate into that harbor and bring the seamen before an admiralty court on charge of mutiny. The crew of the Canadian tug refused to tow the New Zealand vessel when told of the situation and the tug was forced to return to its home port.

Attorney George F. Vanderveer of the legal bureau, Central Labor Council, was appealed to by the striking Anacortes longshoremen to help the crew, which was to be brought before federal shipping authorities for disciplining. Vanderveer obtained a settlement for the seamen which provided that all charges were to be erased from the ship's log, the crew to be given full pay for the time lost and a subsistence allowance for the days they were ashore in protest.

Hold Party Convention at Scene of Socialist Split Three Years Ago

Preparations are practically completed for the holding of the Second National Convention of the Workers Party, beginning in Chicago, Monday, August 28, at the Machinists Hall, 119 S. Ashland Boulevard.

This is the convention hall in which the 1919 conventions were held at which the Socialist Party split in to two factions.

Thus the same hall will shelter the convention of that group which left the Socialist Party because of its refusing to change its program so that it would become a factor in the every-day struggle of the workers.

There will be 75 delegates present with 10 additional fraternal delegates from the Party's foreign language sections.

Meetings of the Party's central executive committee will be held incidental to the holding of the convention.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

MILWAUKEE.—A general labor commissary to protect and aid the organized workers of Milwaukee on strike was approved by the Federated Trades council, when the proposal, originating with the railway men, came in from the executive board. The local boards of the Milwaukee road and Northwestern road system federations presented the general plan to feed and clothe the needy and hungry.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

At press time President Harding was still writing communiques on the mine and railroad strikes.

THE SUBSCRIPTION RECORD TELLS US

Subscriptions received this week were

917

Subscriptions received last week were

754

Subscriptions received the previous week were

490

We're still going UP.

Selling all your cards THIS week will help us climb still higher.

SELL THEM!

DETROIT.—In spite of the fact that Henry Ford's own railroad and coal mines supply his factories with fuel, his plants face a shutdown in a few days owing to the growing effectiveness of the coal and railroad strikes, his representatives have told the state fuel administrator in requesting priority orders.

MADRID, Spain.—The decision of the Spanish Trade Union congress at Saragossa that in future the trade unions shall take an active part in politics, is likely to have far-reaching effects on Spanish politics. Until now the Spanish trade unions have confined themselves entirely to industrial action.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

Zinoviev Tells How the Italian Socialist Party was Destroyed

Editor's Note:—The favorite charge of the Second International against the Communist International is that it is an organ for splitting and destroying working class organizations. This method of attack is effectively met by Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, in the accompanying article showing how the Italian Socialist Party has been destroyed. This article is especially timely during these weeks when the struggle between the Fascisti and the Communists in Italy is growing in proportions and taking on the nature of open civil war. Zinoviev writes as follows:

• • •

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV
Chairman, Communist International

Proletarian parties, workers' organizations and all those who have the interests of the proletariat at heart beyond mere words, look at the fate of the Italian Socialist Party and try to find out how the I. S. P. was destroyed.

Only two years ago, the I. S. P. was a powerful and blooming Party. Only two years ago this Party seemed to be climbing upwards.

Witness Pile of Ruins

And now we are witnessing the complete disintegration of this party; instead of one, well-knit and strong organization we see a pile of ruins.

The most pessimistic prophecies of the Comintern proved true even sooner than was expected. As a Socialist Party the I. S. P. has gone out of existence, never to return.

How did this come about?

Two years ago, before the Leg-

(Continued on Page Four)

STOP FASCISTI MURDERS IN ITALY! MANHATTAN LYCEUM, AUG. 18 INTERNATIONAL PROTEST MEETING

GIOVANNITTI — OLGIN — BELLANCA — LORE — ANTONINI

s to Work
n Red Russia

Editor's Note:—The agricultural relief unit, headed by Howard M. Ware, secretary of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, and sent to the Famine Regions of the Workers' Republic by the Friends of Soviet Russia, is now at work tilling the fields in the Province of Perm, at the headwaters of the Kama River, one of the tributaries of the Volga. What this agricultural unit hopes to accomplish is told in the accompanying article.

• • •

By HOWARD M. WARE

PERM, Soviet Russia.—Our entire equipment has now arrived here. Plowing has begun. Twenty-five thousand bushels of seed are on the way. May the next harvest be a heavy one, should be every worker's wish.

The Unit is to be located on a 15,000-acre farm, 12 versts south of Vereshag, in the Ural District. The farm is to be known as the "American Friends of Soviet Russia Farm." The Unit will supply the food products derived from its operations to the workers through the local government.

Immediately upon its arrival in Moscow, the Unit attracted considerable attention. The Unit will not return to America till next spring.

Russian Workers Appreciative

The members of the Unit have been given every possible assistance since their arrival. The Russian workers are very appreciative of the efforts that the American workers have made and are making in their behalf.

The Friends of Soviet Russia thus enters upon the second stage of its famine relief work. Our efforts must now be directed to permanent equipment which will enable Soviet Russia once again to plant its fertile plains and once again to become the bread basket of Europe.

The Brave Peasants

There can be no doubt of Russia's ability and courage, when one hears of peasants who live on acorns and roots and save their seed grains for planting. Picture, if you can, those Russian farmers literally starving—yet plowing in the seed—hoping against hope for next season's crops.

It is in answer to the needs of such men that the F. S. R. is directing its efforts. These men need tools—particularly agricultural tools—and they need also comrades who come with fresh enthusiasm to initiate their brother farmers in the newer methods of American agriculture.

The F. S. R. has organized its first F. S. R. Agricultural Famine Relief Unit.

The primary object of this F. S. R. Unit is to plow and plant winter grains in the very heart of the famine valley.

All Able Farmers

The personnel of the Unit is well adapted to the work. Most of them come from America's Northwest—the Dakotas and Canada—broad and husky as the West makes them.

There is Charlie Heck, for instance, as hardy a farmer as ever tamed a tractor, and who by the way tamed the old-line politicians as one of the original organizers of the Non-Partisan League out in North Dakota in 1916. All have been farmers in the grain country.

All together—and that means eleven men, including one doctor, a Russian whose first job in America was on a farm—they are a husky modern set of American farmers whose varied experience and cheerful courage fits them for the inevitable hardship and the job of handling a complete modern grain-farming equipment.

In the organization of this equipment, the F. S. R. has kept its primary object strictly in mind—that is, actual production of food on a large scale. It has however equipped the Unit so it may be of the utmost service in assisting the Russian Department of Agriculture in demonstrating and teaching modern machine farming.

Plan to Teach Russians

Fifteen thousand feet of moving picture films, showing internal operation of engines and the construction and operation of farm tractors and agricultural machinery in the United States, are part of the equipment.

They plan to teach specially qualified Russians, by actually working beside them, every detail of American methods. It is the replacement plan. The Farm which the Unit will establish will at the end of the season be turned over together with all its products to the Russian comrades who have learned to handle its equipment.

To grasp fully the completeness of this Unit and what it is capable of, it is necessary to outline just what machinery these Americans take with them. First of all come the twenty big farm tractors, each pulling three fourteen-inch plows, capable of plowing at the rate of 3 miles per hour speed, and so turning over 20 acres per hour or 200 acres per 10 hour shift.

Carbide lights go with each tractor, so that it will be possible to run two shifts—keeping the tractors in operation at least 18 hours per day, with an average of 300 acres turned over each 24 hours.

Protect Precious Moisture

This can be accomplished, beside the harrowing after each tractor, to preserve the precious moisture which the dry air sucks out of the fresh furrows.

In America a sturdy farm team of two good horses and a modern walking plow and one man do well to turn over an acre and a half per day. In Russia the weakened horses and men, with worn out and antiquated plows, would do far less.

Surely the very difference in acres per man accomplished by the Americans and the Russians whom they teach to run tractors will have great educational effect on the community generally. Nor must the amount of actual food produced be overlooked—considering delays, breakdowns, etc.

In fifty days of work the Unit should plow fifteen thousand acres. Ordinarily the Russian peasants, with primitive equipment, average 10½ bushels per acre. With improved machinery, deep early plowing and modern methods of conserving soil moisture, and lastly, with improved seed, the yield will at least equal the old figure.

Able to Grapple With Difficulties

On that basis more than 200 thousand bushels of grain should be harvested in the summer of 1923 from the direct effort of this Unit. That means over one million pounds of grain—enough to fill the bread ration for eight to ten thousand people.

It is easy enough for a "Book-taught Bilkens" to sit down and push a pencil over a paper farm and make wonderful "records." The F. S. R. Unit is not organized or equipped for fancy farming.

The calloused hands of its personnel and the aggregate experience of the Unit as a whole fits it to grapple with the inevitable difficulties to be encountered in Russia.

One of its most important parts is a complete machine shop—especially equipped for repairing tractors.

It is this necessity for repairs that Russia feels most. Almost every one reports having seen tractors standing idle—not in Russia alone but in the United States. Spare parts and repairs are inevitable requirements. The Unit is prepared. The Tractor Company has sent one of its best field men along as official veterinarian to our iron horses. He has our acetylene welding outfit, a lathe, drill press, forge benches and vice and over $2,000 worth of spare parts to work with.

Demonstrate Modern Methods

Besides the twenty Case 15-27 tractors, modern power lift drills, gang plows, cultipackers, disc harrows and spike harrows, there are included one Ford car and one Ford light truck, also a Fordson tractor to pull the fuel tanks and wagons about from tractor to tractor as they work in the field.

There are tents for sleeping, eating and storage. Foods, dishes, medicines all are included in the equipment which is planned to feed and house twenty men for six months on the job.

Each is fully aware of the personal risks involved. Each knows the danger of typhus and cholera. But all are convinced that real famine relief on a permanent constructive basis necessitates a fair demonstration of modern methods.

In this spirit they go to teach by doing rather than by talking. They realize that farmers the world over believe only when they see results.

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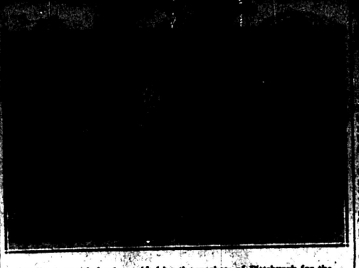


Loading up with food provided by the workers of Pittsburgh for the striking coal miners of Western Pennsylvania

A Gift of the American People

Captain Tertelat, chief of the Distribution Office of the Food Remittance Division of Herbert Hoover's American Relief Administration, issued an order to all the employees to report to work on May 1, notwithstanding there was no particular urgent work on hand.

This was done for the purpose of ignoring our international proletarian holiday.

The employees, realizing that this mockery of labor, a mockery they have often been subject to, not only being compelled to work on various Soviet holidays, but also unusually long hours—they worked nine and ten hours daily, instead of eight, without extra compensation—decided not to appear for work on May 1.

As a result they were summoned on Tuesday, May 2, before a high court of their exploiters, in the persons of Captains Tertelat and Renshaw.

First of all, the department manager, Comrade Herman, was peremptorily dismissed from service, charged with not appearing for work on May 1 and not requiring the other workers to appear.

The employees of the parcels department protested against the dismissal of Comrade Herman, declaring that they knew that they were expected to come to work.

Herman informed them about that but they did not appear in accordance with a decision taken at a general meeting of the employees.

In the presence of the employees the high-court exploiter Captain Tertelat made the following statement:

"In the first place I want all of you to understand that I am the boss here, and not you. In the second place I don't recognize any group protests, nor any of your group decisions.

"I ordered you to come to work on May 1, and I am not accustomed to have my orders disobeyed— I alone can fix the day and time to work in this place.

"In case I consider it necessary for you to work on any particular day, you have no right to meddle with my orders and you are obliged to obey without a word.

"If I order you to work until six or seven o'clock in the evening or even longer, you must do so, for the working days are fixed here by me. I do not know or recognize any other orders, nor shall I submit to any such."

After this dictatorial harrangue of the American exploiter, Comrade Herman stepped up before the employees to thank them for their solidarity. Captains Renshaw and Tertelat made an attempt to prevent him from speaking, threatening to strike him and throw him out. They refused to pay him the customary two weeks' wages in advance, declaring that this rule did not apply to such as him.

The above leaves little room for doubt that the Americans, like all other European capitalists, are flocking to Russia, not because they are anxious to aid the famine sufferers or to improve the condition of the workers. Oh, no! They are forging chains for the working class and preparing a noose to strangle it.

Therefore, workers, be on your guard!

If, because of economic exigencies and our dreadful afflictions, we are compelled to work together with capitalist Europe and America, we must be on our guard and retaliate at the first attempt to fetter or strangle us.

Hurrah for May 1, the international proletarian holiday! We shall not permit it to be dishonored.

SEATTLE.—District No. 10 miners, thru Secretary Ernest Newsham, have appealed to Welsh and Scottish miners and transport workers not to allow the shipment of British coal to America to break the strike of the United Mine Workers. The appeal was directed to the British Miners' federation.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

PITTSBURGH.—The Miners' [illegible] Conference, organized by workers [illegible] to assist the miners in their struggle against the bosses, sent its first truck-load of food to the strikers last week.

The food was delivered to [illegible] No. 4 mine at [illegible] Station, the mine of the Pittsburgh Coal Co., which the operators of the entire Western Pennsylvania hoped to see start the stampede back to work. This is a large mine with several hundred men still in the camp.

A large number of miners were evicted and following President Harding's proclamation, Governor Sproul sent out two troops of militia cavalry, and a troop of state constabulary to the mine. A machine gun and a whole army of thugs are also on guard.

After this small army had arrived an American flag was hoisted on the tipple and the whistle was blown loud and long. The striking miners marched to the tipple in regular file, saluted the flag and turned around and went home again. Some bosses and four strikebreakers worked two hours and then the mine was shut down.

It was tragic to see these starving workers handle the food the Miners Relief Conference sent to them. The evidence of support gave them new courage for the struggle.

Food is being donated to the Conference by many workers. The Jewish bakers' union, with 80 members in their local, have agreed to furnish eight hundred loaves of bread a week.

Other workers desiring to make contributions should notify Secretary Hamilton, Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference, Bell Phone Grant 9853.

Re-organize World War Vets in New York State

The World War Veterans, an organization of honorably discharge soldiers, sailors and marines who served with the Allied Entente during the war of 1914-1917, is now being reorganized in New York State.

Jack Bradon, National President of the organization, has held a meeting of some of the former active members in the organizations at which meeting officers were elected as follows:

State President: James Hasten, 294 Lorimer St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Secretary-Treasurer: Sanford S. Beldner, 344 So. 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
President Post 603: Herman Springer, 43 Cornelia St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
President Post 604: J. F. Viola, 2047 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
President Post 605: L. D. Masso, 283½ Union Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

The World War Veterans have been active all over the country and are known for their reputation in activities on behalf of progressive political, economic and social issues which they have advocated.

The new organization will begin its drive for membership and on the issue of "NO WAR WITHOUT REFERENDUM OF THE PEOPLE." Those who desire to join the organization are requested to get in touch with the State Secretary Treasurer Sanford Beldner, 344 E 8th St. Brooklyn, N. Y.

TEXTILE UNIONS UNITE

Delegates representing nine independent textile unions have united at New York in an alliance known as the Federated Textile Unions of America.

One hundred and fifty thousand members are represented. At the first convention of the organization James Tansey, of Fall River, Mass. treasurer of the fund, reported that thru the new organization more than $200,000 already has been raised for the relief of the New England textile strikers.

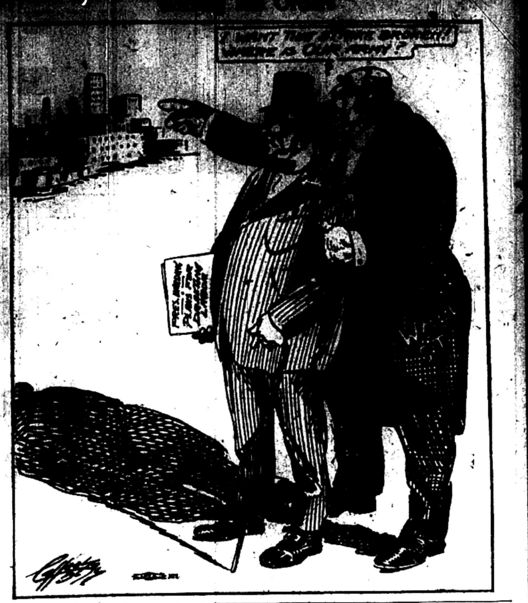
The union, of which the Amalgamated Textile Workers is the largest component body, is an industrial union so far as matters affecting all are concerned, but in all other matters the affiliated bodies retain their autonomy.

The full strength of the organization will continue to be directed toward the relief and assistance of the New England mill operatives who have been on strike since last winter it was announced, and this will be continued along with a continuation of the union's work of solidifying the ranks of its affiliated organizations.

OFFICE WORKERS APPEAL

The New York Office Workers' Union, known as Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, Local 12,646, has appealed to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor against the action of Hugh Frayne, national organizer, at the direction of President Gompers, suspending the union's charter on the ground of alleged "communist" control of the local.

CHICAGO.—Con Shea, one of the five defendants in the murder conspiracy case growing out of the killing of a policeman by unknown men May 10, has been released. The prosecution admitted that there was insufficient evidence.



International Youth Day

Young workers, boys and girls, apprentices and young rural workers march thru the cities and thru the towns, and with them march adult workers and children from the children's sections.

IT IS A GREAT DAY FOR THE YOUNG COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS. Not only in the cities of America, but everywhere thruout the world, wherever the Communist ideas have secured a foothold, the young workers' organizations live, grow and are active. No language and no race prejudices divide them.

ONE idea unites us and one knowledge—that we are all members of an oppressed class which is being deprived of the fruits of its toil, which struggles for victory and the emancipation of the exploited youth and the entire working class.

Our INTERNATIONAL DAY OF YOUTH, which we celebrate for the eighth time this year, arose out of the daring deeds of young revolutionaries in 1915 who rebuilt the International in the midst of an ocean of blood; at a time when yellow Socialists were voting war credits and their youth sections were appealing to the workers to go and fight and save their countries. At that time the still class-conscious elements of the labor movement, and especially the youth, met in order to imbue the working class again with the consciousness of its strength and to revive the old ideals.

The ground had to be fought for step by step; the few who took up the struggle were despised, abused, persecuted, outlawed. But their appeal was not in vain—ever more workers, young and adult, rallied around the banner of this revolutionary vanguard.

With every succeeding year the DAY OF YOUTH became a greater demonstration against the WAR, against militarism and capitalism. The efforts of the capitalist governments and their social-patriotic lackeys against these demonstrations grow in intensity.

But the revolutionary idea could no longer be suppressed. The pressure caused by the ruthless exploitation of all economic resources, and the urging effort of agitation became greater and greater and at last the safety valve flew off—REVOLUTION!

The ever increasing exploitation and the merciless sacrifice of young workers by greedy capitalism prompted, as far back as December, 1916, the International Union of Socialist Youth Organisations (as the Young Communist International was then called) to incorporate in its program the principle of a struggle for improved economic conditions.

Just as the Young Communist International was born in the midst of a terrific struggle, thus was its great historic militant day, the DAY OF YOUTH, the outcome of a determined fight.

The Revolution rallied thousands of new fighters around the banner of the Young Communist International to which became affiliated one organization after the other. And today the Young Communist International is, together with the Communist International, the only world-wide International.

The storms of our time, the waves of politics ebbing to and fro, determined the features, the activities and the role of the Young Communist International. Wherever there were no parties or only weak parties we issued on this day political slogans and demonstrated for political struggles. To-day, when the role of the Young Communist Organizations in the revolutionary labor movement has been altered and the Second Congress has laid down the principles for reorganising our work, the International Day of Youth and the Propaganda Week preceding it will have to be adapted to our new work.

> **International Youth Day, September 3rd, 1922**
>
> **Labor Organizations, Branches of the Workers Party, Young Workers Leagues, and other radical organizations are requested not to arrange affairs for Sunday, Sept. 3rd.**
>
> **This is the Big Day for the Young Workers thruout the World.**
>
> **Join them for the solidarity of the working class.**
>
> **International Youth Day Committee**
> **Young Workers League.**

The Days of Youth in the past have all been celebrated under slogans advocating the struggle for the political victory of the masses of the proletariat — Dictatorship, of the Proletariat! Down with the bourgeois democracy! For the Red Army! Against pacifism—these and others were our slogans at that time when we had placed ourselves at the head of the Communist Movement.

This Day of Youth will be ushered in under the slogans of winning over the masses of juvenile labor, of world-wide mobilization for economic struggle and of putting a stop to further pauperization of the youth. These slogans will be supported by the Workers Party.

All our forces must be mobilized for the preparation of our International Day of Youth. The Week of Propaganda must result for the Young Workers' League in an increase of membership and in the strengthening of their press.

We seek to win over the young workers, the apprentices—they like us are being denied a full life.

The Eighth International Day of the Youth demands much of you, young workers; it is shown by the gigantic economic struggles of the proletariat, the slowly forming united front of the exploited thruout the world. NOW IS THE TIME TO GET READY. REDOUBLE YOUR EFFORTS DURING THE PROPAGANDA WEEK FROM AUGUST 28TH TO SEPTEMBER 2ND. AND CLOSE YOUR RANKS FOR A MIGHTY PROCESSION ON THE EIGHTH DAY OF YOUTH, OUR INTERNATIONAL DAY OF STRUGGLE ON SEPTEMBER 3RD.

The world still rests on bayonets, but the power of the capitalist diplomats cannot prevent it from being sooner or later submerged in a fresh ocean of blood. The conflicts are being smoothed down from conference to conference. We must not allow ourselves to be bluffed, however. Our safeguard be OUR ANTI-MILITARIST PROPAGANDA. This day of Youth must remind us of our duty. DOWN WITH THE BOURGEOIS CAPITALIST ARMY and FOR THE RED ARMY must be our slogan.

Russia is not yet freed of the dangers of the capitalist barbed wire fence. Therefore we must every day renew our pledge to the Republic of Russian Workers and Peasants.

The ever intensifying economic crisis and the increasing pauperization of the proletariat and especially the youth resulting therefrom compels us to cry out aloud. WE SHALL NO LONGER TOLERATE IT! FULFILL THE DEMANDS OF THE YOUTH! PUT A STOP TO OUR PAUPERIZATION!

FORWARD, EVERY ONE!

THE GOAL LIES CLEARLY AHEAD OF US!!!

JOIN US IN THIS INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY DEMONSTRATION

SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1922

Held under the auspices of International Youth Day Committee of the Young Workers' League

ANTONINI UPHELD

The following resolution was adopted by the Italian Dress and Waistmakers' Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U., at a regular meeting held on Saturday, July 29, at 8 W. 21st Street, New York City, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The stand assumed by the delegates of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union at the American Federation of Labor Convention, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, with regards to the resolution in favor of recognition for Russian Soviet Government was in direct contradiction to the unanimous decision reached at the Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. held in Cleveland, Ohio, and

WHEREAS, Delegate Luigi Antonini was the only one of the entire delegation to adhere to the mission confided to him, be it

RESOLVED, That this meeting, duly assembled, express its congratulations to Brother Antonini for his good work and at the same time expresses its deepest reproaches to the other members of the Delegation, and especially to the head, President Schlesinger, for having deliberately trampled upon the mission assigned to them and become part and parcel of the conspiracy detrimental to the Russian Proletariate who, as the First Republic of Workers, should receive the unconditional support of the Labor Masses of the other nations, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the above resolution be given wide publicity in the Labor Press.

Oresti Grassi, Secretary.

Workers Join Demand for General Strike

Added support for the united front program of the Workers' Party comes in the form of action taken by Local Union No. 992, Illinois Mine Workers, and by the Zeigler Labor Trades Council, of Zeigler, Illinois.

This town is named after one of labor's bitterest enemies. This was the last stronghold of the foes of the coal miners' union in Illinois, but it was finally forced to capitulate.

It is therefore doubly significant that the workers in this Illinois coal mining section should enlist in the nation-wide effort for united action on the part of all workers.

The resolutions adopted at Zeigler as reported in THE WORKER last week, have already received considerable support from many sections of the nation. This matter should be taken by the workers everywhere. The resolutions are as follows:

Zeigler, Ill., Aug. 2, 1922.

WHEREAS, The Textile Workers in New England, the United Mine Workers of America, and the Railway Department of the A. F. of L. are engaged in a strike as a protest against the reduction of the American standard of living, and

WHEREAS, Many other strikes authorized and unauthorized, are spreading and are fast becoming universal, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States now informs us through the medium of the public press that it is HIS purpose to use the full power of the Government, both Military and Judicial, to intimidate and oppress a free people and to hold them to his will, that the American standard of living must be reduced, and

WHEREAS, The doors of the United States Treasury have been thrown open for the relief of Big Business as represented by the Railroad Owners, and

WHEREAS, We are facing a condition bordering on Slavery,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That we, Local Union No. 992, United Mine Workers of America, at Zeigler, Illinois, in regular session assembled this 21st day of July, 1922, call upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to immediately set in motion the machinery which shall bring the full power of labor to bear in one grand national protest against the slavery conditions that are being imposed upon us, and to call a National Strike at the earliest possible date in order that this warfare upon American homes may cease and a free people be permitted to live in peace, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the A. F. of L. and all its departments, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the Order of Railway Conductors, and to every Central Labor Union in the United States, for their endorsement and support, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That we pledge our lives, our liberty and our sacred honor to the establishment, maintenance and defense of a living rate of wages in the United States of America, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be given to the public press.

Local Union No. 992, U. M. W. of A., A. Berry, Pres.; Alex. Stargis, Sec'y, and Eugene Prudent, Financial Sec'y.

The resolutions were carried unanimously by the Zeigler Labor Trades Council, A. F. Scaggins, Treasurer.

Foster Kidnapped and Driven from Colorado by the State Cossacks

(Continued from page One.)

searched homes and seized papers and effects without warrant."

Foster was taken to Greeley, Colo., by rangers and his Bertillon measurements taken, despite his protests.

Civil Liberties Union Protests

The American Civil Liberties Union from its New York office telegraphed to Governor Shoup of Colorado, protesting against the expulsion of William Z. Foster from the state by Adjt. Gen. Patrick J. Hamrock of the State Rangers.

Colorado is under the dictatorship of Gen. Hamrock and his Rangers, Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said in a statement.

"We have investigated the conditions in the coal mining camps where these Rangers no longer permit freedom of assemblage or speech," Baldwin said.

"The deportation of Foster is just an incident in a series of high-handed tactics in dealing with organized labor and its spokesmen."

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The refusal of the railroads to abide by the decision of the Railway Labor Board has not resulted in their being deprived of the protection of the military. They have admittedly flouted both the presidential authority and that of the labor board, but their plants and strikebreakers are under the solicitous supervision of troops and United States marshals.

This is the outstanding fact in connection with developments of the last week in the strike of the shop crafts.

It proves to the hilt the utter subserviency of the administration to the organized financial and industrial interests, and if further proof were needed it is furnished by President Harding himself when he calls upon the strikers to return to work and leave the question of seniority to the same labor board which has proved such a useful tool to the railway employers.

His latest pronouncement is a shameless swallowing of the one which preceded it and to which the strikers agreed.

The railway executives balked at its provision for the return of the men with full seniority rights and it is only too evident that president Harding has revised the original document to meet the objections of the representatives of railway capital.

Agreement Showed Weakness

The agreement by the representatives of the strikers to recognize the authority of the labor board in response to the request of the President showed either a weakness or a lack of understanding of the real issues of the strike, but the railway executives have turned this weakness into strength so far as the public is concerned, and they have also strengthened the morale of the strikers whose position had, temporarily, presidential sanction.

Harding's Somersault

The greatest issuer of proclamations who ever held down the presidential chair has now turned a complete somersault, displaying an agility surprising in one of his age and sedentary habits.

He now calls upon the striking shop crafts to surrender unconditionally; to return to work with no guarantees except that the labor board will take up the question of seniority when it gets good and ready; this simply means that the organization of the railway crafts would be completely demoralized and that if a decision were ever handed down the unions would have no power to enforce it.

The unmistakable evidence of the solidarity of the government and the railway executives seems to be stirring the officialdom of the railway unions to something resembling action.

There apparently has been a lingering hope in the hearts of the union officials that the recent primary contests and the results thereof would react sufficiently upon the administration to induce it to bring the railway executives into line for a settlement that would satisfy the men and leave the labor board still in control of the situation.

The one mistake in this viewpoint was that it looked upon the Harding administration as a cause instead of an effect; the penalty of this inexcusable ignorance was not long in coming as we have seen.

The railroads, however, are in bad shape. The strike of the shop crafts is becoming more effective daily and the results of the withdrawal of the skilled men are cumulative. Equipment poorly repaired soon breaks down again; more demands are made on the capacity of the irresponsible scabs and the rolling stock continues to go from bad to worse.

The trainmen, conductors and engineers are dissatisfied and undoubtedly do not render the service furnished in normal times. The transportation industry is a highly organized, complicated machine that is easily disarranged and hard to coordinate under the most favorable conditions. To-day it is demoralized as every railway man knows.

Playing for Time

If this condition exists long enough for the population to accept it as normal, if the railways can have months in which to train their scabs, the shopmen will lose their strike. **To-day they are winning! The desperate efforts made by the government to save the faces of the railway executives prove this.**

Conferences are now being held between the heads of the non-striking railway unions; at the same time conferences are also held by the heads of the unions on strike. Here is the division that brings cheering warmth to the hearts of the capitalist class.

There is no such division in their ranks, and they know that with the maintenance of way men, the telegraphers, the clerks, the signalmen, the engineers, the trainmen, firemen and conductors on the job the shopmen cannot win tho they may preserve their organizations.

Slow to Learn

It takes a good deal of punishment to make any impression on the average trade union leader of the Unied States.

New ideas have a hard time penetrating the osseous formation which protects the brain-cells of these individuals from what they regard as a danger — new forms of organization.

One of the most shameful pages in American labor history is being written by the organizations which are not on strike. Not a day passes but that the capitalist press chronicles some concession received by some section of some of these organizations in return for their staying at work a little longer while their fellow workers struggle on.

Stock Excuse Lacking

Nor can the usual excuse of the apathy and selfishness of the rank and file—the eternal excuse of leaders—be given this time.

With the exception of the four brotherhoods who have not had the matter placed before them, the rank and file of the other railway organizations have shown their willingness to strike with the shop-crafts. A cowardly and treacherous leadership, like that of Grable of the Maintenance of Way union or utter ignorance of the seriousness of the situation, is responsible for the dragging out of the struggle. It could be ended in 24 hours, even with the loosely federated form of organization if officialdom was not bound by a tradition of responsibility and ready to agitate for a general strike.

One Serious Obstacle

One thing, however, more than anything else, stands in the way of a successful inauguration of this logical and militant policy. It is that these leaders know one another too well to trust one another. They have all truckled too much to the capitalist government to be able to break with it entirely and always they fear the double-cross from one of their own kind.

Because American labor in this critical period has this kind of leadership—if it can be dignified by that term — the railwaymen particularly are engaged in a tedious conflict for which there is no necessity—and no end in sight; for the simple reason that when the shopmen go back to work the guerilla warfare of the railway barons will be resumed with other organizations as the victims.

Meanwhile the members of unions not on strike work under the protection of the scab-herders jointly with the railway executives and stockholders whom the capitalist government protects even tho they do not obey its mandates.

Perhaps some day the labor leaders will come to understand that only workers are required to obey this government of ours and that forcing such obedience is its sole function.

This of course would not be respectable and is hardly to be expected from labor officials who hailed the creation of the railway labor board as a victory for the workers.

Sept. 2, Date of Big Picnic to be Given by Local New York F.S-R.

A motion picture show in the evening, movie stars, the Clef Club Orchestra, opera singers, good vaudeville, dancing, and a fair moon, are some of the chief attractions of the big picnic arranged by the Local Friends of Soviet Russia for its thousands of sympathizers on September 2nd, at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn.

Ulmer Park is one of the most famous picnic grounds in New York State, both because of its size and beauty. The park is situated in the Bath Beach section of Brooklyn where it is fanned by cool ocean breezes and sheltered by tall, beautiful trees. In the centre of the park is a large Casino and dancing hall which can hold thousands at one time. Dancing here, to the strains of the Clef Club Orchestra, will indeed be a pleasurable sport which no one can afford to miss.

The picnic grounds will be open at 2 o'clock. From then on thousands will stream into the park to join in the fun and entertainment which will mark the affair from early afternoon until early morning.

Drinks, refreshments and all delicacies will be served by the members of the Foodworkers' Union.

Tickets are 35 cents in advance, and 50 cents at the gate. The following are stations where tickets may be purchased:

296 Sackman St; Empire Hall, Lorimer and Tenyck Sts.; 47 Chrystie St.; 360 East 73rd St.; 150 East 61st St; 143 East 103rd St.; 1347 Boston Road; 705 East 13th St; '91 West 13th St.; Liberator, 138 West 13th St.; Freiheit, 47 Chrystie St.; Obrana, 360 East 73rd St; Volkszeitung, 15 Spruce St.; Laisve, 465 Grand St., Brooklyn.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] Local Friends of Soviet Russia, composed of delegates from Labor Organizations protests against the baseless insinuations of the so-called Socialist paper and condemns it.

"Louis Lisa, Secretary."

Labor organizations all over the country are protesting against the baseless charges of the "Forward," a so-called Socialist paper in New York City.

The immediate effect of these charges has been that men and women have contributed larger sums than before to the fund of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

A few days ago there entered the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia a man who stated that he is making his contribution just because of the attack of this "Socialist" paper.

History Repeats Itself

The attack that Hoover made upon the Friends of Soviet Russia and various other famine relief organizations in the United States last spring was the same kind of an attack that is being made by this "Socialist" organ and was followed by the same results.

At that time too the attention of people was called to relief work and they sent in their contributions as a protest against the vile assault that was made on working class famine relief organizations in this country.

The "Forward" has lined up with Herbert Hoover against famine relief in Soviet Russia, as demonstrated most clearly in its editorial of August 5th.

Labor organizations all over the country should follow the example of Los Angeles and arrange protest meetings of every kind.

Another Big Shipment

The FSR has made another large shipment to Soviet Russia. On July 31, S.S. Eastern Star sailed to Petrograd, carrying 25,000 bushels of rye seed, 2 tractors, 2 ploughs, and 1 harvester. This shipment cost about $30,000.

The Tractor Unit for which the seed is designated will probably remain a long time in Russia, since the importance of the work it is doing has already been fully demonstrated.

What FSR Friends Write

A minister writes: "I wish I could send you more than the enclosed contribution . . . It is a great forward step and one of exceeding practical value for American friends of the Russian people to flood that country with farm machinery and railroad equipment. If this be done promptly and adequately Russia will recover quickly."

"Please send a copy of 'Through the Russian Revolution' to this comrade. He is a Russian boy serving 20 years at McNeils for refusing to fight the Bolsheviks in Siberia."

What Branches Are Doing

LYNN, Mass., is one of the liveliest little branches in the country. Recently the branch held a most successful Flower Day.

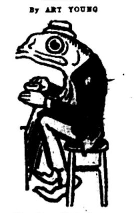
SEATTLE, Wash., a few days ago held an enthusiastic meeting with Wm. Z. Foster, as speaker. Foster instilled new spirit into the branch. The organization has arranged a Tag Day and a picnic. With energy, one can do anything.

CHICAGO has arranged an Athletic Carnival to take place on Aug. 27th.

Our collections to date: $730,000 in cash, $460,000 in clothing.

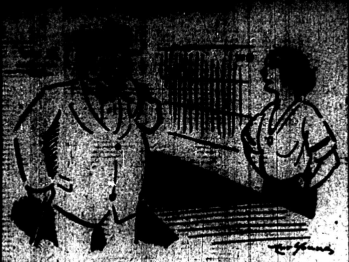
Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



The Poor Fish Says:

Of course Labor creates all wealth, so we will be richer if we work harder.



I went into a department store. I asked a thin girl if she had any more of the same brand of article, that I had bought once before at the same counter.

"No, WE are out of those," said the thin girl.

Nothing unusual or funny about this conversation, of course. But did you ever stop to think about that word "we"? If "we" means the department store owners, the principal stockholders and the thin clerk—well, we pass it along. It's a good joke, say we. —ART YOUNG.

The International Scabs

(Continued from Page One)

For three months little if any coal was shipped to this country. But the yellow leadership now dares to act. It declares that many coal miners in Great Britain and Europe need work, that they have long been unemployed. They charge that American coal was sent to England during the British coal miners' strike. They plead one excuse after another.

Anticipating what has actually occurred the Workers Party last week issued another appeal to the workers' organizations of Great Britain, especially the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, urging world unity of labor in this crisis.

We repeat this cablegram, which was sent to the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the British Communist Party, the Labor Party of Great Britain and the British Trade Union Congress. It is as follows:

> **The coal miners of the United States have for three months stood like a stone wall against the attempt of the bosses to destroy their splendid fighting organizations. Their fight against a wage reduction and the weakening of their organization is the fight of the whole American working class. If the miners are beaten the bosses will force a bitterer industrial slavery upon all of us. Victory for the miners seems certain if the British workers refuse to scab against them by furnishing the American capitalists with coal. We urge that you do all within your power to induce British miners to refuse to handle coal for the United States. Hail to the international solidarity of the workers.**

The mine barons of all countries will rejoice in the weakness of the miners' international union.

The same cable that brought the news from Frankfort-on-the Main also told of the placing of orders for an additional lot of 500,000 tons of coal at Cardiff, Wales, making a total of 1,500,000 tons ordered for delivery during August and September.

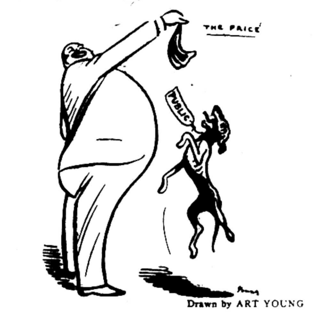
There is but one difference between the scabs imported to Herrin, Illinois, and the strike-breaking leadership of the Miners' International Congress.

The Herrin scabs were ignorant of the task foisted upon them; the officials of the miners' world union can advance no such plea. They have all been active for years in the Yellow Second (Socialist) International, as well as the reactionary Amsterdam Trade Union International.

Miners of America! Miners of the world! Turn to the Red Trade Union International. Join the revolutionary struggle of the workers.

Workers of America! One thing you can do this month is to send your delegates to the first convention of the Trade Union Educational League, that convenes in Chicago, August 26-27.

Organize your forces in this country. Make them an effective part of the fighting world organization of labor.



Drawn by ART YOUNG

Prices are going up again

SELL FIVE CARDS

WILL YOU sell five 20 week sub cards for THE WORKER?

WILL YOU make the 25,000 readers campaign a success?

WILL YOU help do what must be done?

YOU WILL—sign the blank and mail.

THE WORKER

799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.

Enclosed find $2.50 for which send me five 20 week subscription cards.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... State ....

Like Military Tyrants Over Conquered People

CHICAGO.—Reports to strike headquarters from the Wabash railroad give the arrogant attitude of the militia at Moberly, Mo. The officer's statement to the people of Moberly reads like the order of an army of occupation to a conquered people. He seems to be living over his war dreams. It reads:

"I would like to have all cooperation from the law-abiding citizens of Moberly to prevent any agitation or any aggravation of the situation here.

"We are here to guard property, and we have made every preparation to do so. I have machine guns and automatic rifle positions that absolutely command the yards. The men have orders not to allow anyone on the railroad property except employes of the railroad company.

"Crossing thru the yards has been prohibited, except by persons who are now employed by the company and have business there. Citizens must use the public crossings.

"I would like the people of Moberly to see that their children are kept at home at night. Last night there was a mob assembled at the Coates St. crossing in violation of the law, and in that mob there were men with guns, because my officers saw guns. Scattered thru the crowd were 25 or 30 small children who should have been at home."

The Erie railroad is carrying out its controversy with the government in advertisements published in papers along its line, of which the following from Corning, N. Y., is a sample:

"Had any governmental authority the power to settle the strike on the Erie railroad, doubtless it would have been exercised before now. There is no such power vested in any branch of the government. Its function is to keep order, not to settle strikes. Erie railroad will settle with its employes whenever they are ready, without any outside interference, and that is the only way."

The death of C. A. Blodgett, a picket who was shot by a Burlington shop guard at Creston, Va., is reported. He leaves a wife and three small children, besides a father and mother.

DETROIT. — Further "peaceful penetration" into Canada by the Detroit automotive industry comes in the form of a purchase by Dodge Bros., automobile makers, of a tract of seven and one-half acres, with frontage on the Canadian Pacific railroad, in Windsor. Dodge Bros. across the Detroit river is Dodge Bros. Motor Co. Ltd. The new land was bought as a factory site.

Invitation to Fourth World Congress of the CommunistInternational

On the 7th of November 1922, the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International will take place in Moscow.

The agenda of the Fourth Congress is as follows

1. The report of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.
2. The tactics of the Comintern.
3. The program of the Comintern and those of its most important sections (Italian, German, French, Czecho-Slovakian, Japanese, American, Norwegian and Bulgarian Parties).
4. Agrarian questions.
5. Trade unions questions.
6. Educational work.
7. The Youth International.
8. Oriental matters.

The Communist Parties of the following countries are requested to send their representatives to Moscow for the 7th of November:

Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaidjan, Baku, Bashkir Republic, Belgium, Bokhara, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Esthonia, Far East Republic, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Iceland, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Java, Jugoslavia, Khiva, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, Norway, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tartar Republic, Turkestan, Turkey, Ukraine, United States, Uruguay, White Russia.

The Communist Parties of Germany, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Norway, the United States of America and Japan are requested to form commissions at once to formulate the programs of their respective parties and to get into immediate contact with the Central Program Commission appointed by the Enlarged Executive Committee. This they should do thru the Secretariat of the Executive Committee in Moscow.

With Communist greetings,
The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

By ARTHUR ROSENBERG.

The surprising victory of American Capital in Pekin, China, has called forth its expected repercussion in Japan.

The Japanese Takahachi Cabinet collapsed. Japan in fact stands at a momentous crossroads.

Shall she simply accept that America's supremacy in China seems to be assured by Wu-Pei-Fu's victory?

The downfall of Takahachi was an expression of the dissatisfaction with the fact that the Premier had not made the necessary steps in order to support the friend of Japan, Chang-Tso-Lin, who up to then held power in Peking.

Proletariat Brutally Trampled On

The events of the Japanese cabinet crisis show once again the absolute insignificance of so-called Japanese parliamentarism. The Japanese bourgeoisie still leaves the political guidance of the state in the hands of the old feudal nobility.

The little military clique gathered about the throne decides on state policy and appoints Ministers or removes them, just as it chooses. Of course the pronouncedly imperialist section of the Japanese bourgeoisie goes hand in hand with the militarists, whilst the liberal pacifist groups count for very little and the proletariat is brutally trampled down.

Takahachi's successor is Admiral Kato, who as a member of the Japanese delegation in Washington proved himself to be a very astute diplomat.

The appointment of Kato shows that the definitely imperialist section is in control just as before. Kato will make use of amiable phrases as occasion requires, but he will not give way on essentials.

The Civil War in China

The Japanese cabinet crisis has influenced the civil war in China. After his defeat near Pekin, Chang-Tso-Lin fled into Manchuria and sought to conclude an armistice with the Wu-Pei-Fu.

As soon however as Kato's ministry has assumed power in Tokio, Chang proclaimed an end to the armistice and again advanced against Wu.

Chang had doubtless received sufficient money and promises from his Japanese friends to give him fresh encouragement.

At the time, fighting is going on along the borders of Manchuria. Wu it is true, holds his own, but at any rate, the position of the protégé of American capital in the North is not undisputed. And that above all, is the chief thing for the Japanese capitalists.

In the meantime Wu has commenced his expected military activities in Southern China against Sun Yat-Sen, the President of Southern China. The democratic government of Sun which was supported by the peasants and workers and was hostile to foreign capitalists, was a stumbling block in the path of American speculators.

American Money Busy

As soon as Wu had comfortably established himself in Peking he began the necessary preparations to remove Sun from Canton. The approaching overthrow of Sun was predicted for some weeks in the American and English capitalist press. The action was entered upon in the true Chinese manner. American money circulated in Canton and caused a part of the troops stationed there to transfer their adherence. A General Chen, who up to then had served in the Southern Chinese Army, suddenly went over to Wu.

In that city of millions of inhabitants, Canton, bloody struggles are now proceeding. The fleet which remained faithful to Sun, bombarded the positions of the rebels in and around Canton. The followers of Wu, the true mercenaries of American [illegible] in the English and American [illegible] It [illegible] success for American [illegible] obtained [illegible] in China.

[illegible]

At the present, the English capitalists follow in the steps of America in all Chinese affairs. What the Americans abhors, the Englishman will also execrate.

But in spite of the general satisfaction which is manifested in English capitalist circles over the course of events in China, an appreciable blow has recently been sustained in their most vulnerable part.

The Chinese Government has declared that it cannot pay the interest on the well known Vickers loan.

This loan was contracted in 1919. At that time the English armament firm of Vickers, Ltd., supplied the Chinese government with great quantities of war material, paid for with this loan.

The firm of Vickers and its business associates in the banks then succeeded in foisting this rotten paper on the English public. Since April 1, 1922, the English holders of this Chinese loan have not received a penny of interest.

Chinese finances are in a desperate condition. China's national debt amounts to $500,000,000. The strange part about it is that a portion of the capitalist creditors of China are quite assured of their interest whilst another portion gets nothing.

A part of the Chinese loans are secured upon the most important of the state revenues, the customs, the yield from the salt tax, and the proceeds from various railways.

These revenues are received directly by the agents of the foreign bankers. The payment of interest on the loans which are covered by these revenues is therefore in good order.

The Japanese and American capitalists have succeeded in reserving these securities for themselves whilst the English with their Vickers loan are left in the lurch.

The assumption of power in Peking by Wu has not changed the wretched condition of Chinese finances. American capital had to advance enormous sums in order to bring the Chinese budget into something like order.

Increase Tax Burden

The following course has been recommended in Washington in order to render possible the payment of all the interest. The Chinese customs duties and other taxes are to be greatly increased, and the task of getting in this revenue shall be assigned to the foreign capitalists.

The ways and means by which the foreign capitalists are to come by their money affords an interesting parallel to the German reparations problem.

China is also at the extremity towards which Germany is also steering if the Entente capitalists have their way. It is the intention of American capitalists by means of new indirect taxes upon taxes, to plunder the broad masses of China.

These sums will be immediately handed over to the agents of America and thus the interest on China's debt to America will be met.

Plan Enslavement of China

If Wu should prove successful in the North and in the South it will involve a terrible enslavement of China by American capital.

But the other capitalist competitors will not permit themselves to be shut out so unconditionally. Japan takes up the struggle. France which has likewise invested a good deal of money in China is prepared to back Japan. And the English in spite of their good intentions also come by reason of their real interests, into conflict with America.

The Chinese witches' caldron bubbles and hisses louder than ever. The time is not distant when there the grouping of the European powers in the East and in the Far East will take place.

Struggle for World Power

Then there will really set in the struggle for the world market and for opportunities of exploitation between the different capitalist groups.

The United States is arming itself in any event. In spite of the Washington disarmament agreement the Senate voted $294,000,000 for naval expenditure for the current year.

America intends to spend fourteen million dollars for seaplanes. In addition to this, a considerable sum will be devoted to the erection of an American naval base in the Hawaiian Islands. In Washington disarmament was preached. But in Canton there preach the machine guns financed by America.

FIGHT WAGE CUTS

The Flint and Glass Workers' Union, in conference at Atlantic City, N. J., with representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers of Pressed and Blown Glassware, has refused to accept wage reductions varying from 10 to 25 per cent. The union officials declared they had accepted wage cuts of 14 per cent last year and could not consider a further reduction now.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

STOP FASCISTI MURDERS IN ITALY

INTERNATIONAL
PROTEST MEETING
to be held at
MANHATTAN LYCEUM
66 East 4th Street
FRIDAY, AUGUST 18, 1922

Speakers:
ARTURO GIOVANNITTI
FRANK BELLANCA
LUIGI ANTONINI
M. J. OLGIN
LUDWIG LORE

Demonstrate your solidarity with the Italian Workers.

ADMISSION 10 CENTS

WORKERS PARTY
Local New York

[illegible] Russian Revolution

By KARL RADEK

The Paris Populaire publishes a letter of the noted Russian writer Maxim Gorki to the no less famous French author Anatole France, on the trial of the Social-Revolutionaries. Gorki writes:

"The trial of the Social Revolutionaries bears the cynical character of a public preparation for the murder of people who honestly served the cause of liberation of the Russian people."

At the same time Gorki publishes the letter which he sent to Comrade Rykov, member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, in which he writes that during the entire revolutionary period he had a thousand times pointed out to the Soviet Government the senselessness and criminality of exterminating the intelligentsia in our uncivilized land of illiterates.

Good Musician, Bad Politician

The Russian workers will pass over this letter and think no more of the matter. They will say to themselves, "Gorki, a good musician, but a bad politician," for they know him very well.

Gorki's attitude during the entire second revolution was an extremely vacillating one.

The only consistent point in his entire attitude was his vacillation. During the March Revolution he published the newspaper, Novaya Zhizn, which fought against the coalition with the bourgeoisie.

But when the Mensheviki and the Social-Revolutionaries did not want to break with the bourgeoisie, thus causing the fall of the Kerensky Government, Gorki was an opponent of the October Revolution.

Gorki's standpoint was as follows: a bourgeois government is bad; coalition with the bourgeoisie is also bad; but a proletarian government is also bad.

Monarchists Use Declaration

The articles in which he himself supported this point of view has been published in a special issue of the Suddeutsche Monatshefte, one of the leading organs of the German monarchists, probably in order to prove that in view of the mortality of all things a Monarchist-Junker government is after all the best.

When the intervention began and the Russian workers and peasants, whom Gorki represented as a horde of wild beasts, defended the independence of their country and the conquests of the October Revolution in a heroic three years' struggle, Gorki sided with the Soviet Government and published the well-known article on Lenin, in which he stated that he (Gorki) was the stormy petrel of literature and could not stand aside during this "heroic experiment."

At the same time Gorki wailed at every case where the Soviet Republic in its difficult fight for existence against its enemies in the "intelligentsia," could not handle them with silk gloves. Gorki has been living outside of Russia for the past few months, deprived of any connection with Russian life, surrounded by a clique of hysterical literati of both sexes; and when he does not accidentally spend an evening with a Russian Communist passing thru Germany, with whom he speaks in terms full of ardor, he grants interviews to the bourgeois press which is full of pessimism and represents the Russian peasant as an antediluvian man.

Man of Many Moods

The Russian workers read this and shrug their shoulders, for they know their Alexei Maximish and his changeable moods. But the foreign workers know Gorki only as a revolutionary author and his opinion has a certain weight with them, for they do not know the sources of Gorki's vacillations which are entirely justified in his nature and past. The following is written for them:

Gorki testifies that the Social-Revolutionaries "sincerely served the cause of the liberation of the Russian people." He, as a poet, is interested in the individual man just as he is created by God, sincere and without trousers.

A poet can sympathize with every strong personality. When one reads Shakespeare, his heroes are a selected gang of cutthroats and none of them belong to the Communist Party.

The only revolutionary he mentions, Jack Cade, receives nothing but curses. When we see the tragic heroes of Shakespeare on the stage we do not ask about the causes they serve, but we take them in their human strength and greatness and are deeply moved.

When one reads Denikin's book, one is no less moved and the book of one of the leading Russian Monarchists, Shulkin, "The Year 1920," is a moving document of the sincerity and the inner purity of this defender of Czarist, monarchist Russia.

Monarchists "Sincere", Too

And there is no doubt that there are thousands of monarchists in Russia, no less than in Germany, who are sincerely convinced that they are serving the cause of the liberation of [illegible] by the Entente. [illegible] Gotz with the following [illegible] "The post-office workers received a large house for their society from the Soviet Government. This house belonged to the tea millionaire Wissotzky, the uncle of Gotz."

Does Gotz realize that with the victory of his party the house would be taken away from the post-office workers and given back to the uncle?

Must Destroy "S. R." Party

This simple question illuminates the social sense of the policy of the sincere S. R.'s better than long theoretical essays. They are certainly sincere and convinced of the correctness of their policy, but that does not change the fact that the S. R.'s are the defenders of the interests of the bourgeoisie; every worker in Russia understands that, and he does not give a damn for the sincerity of the sorrowful heroes of the Russian counter-revolution, but says, "This party must be destroyed, because it is the enemy of the working people, and its illusions (therein lies its sincerity) make it even more dangerous for they only mean that it serves the cause of the counter-revolution under the banner of the revolution.

To destroy intellectuals in a poor and of illiterates—is that not a crime, asks Gorki. The Czar, the [illegible] the S. R.'s with the argument that they have learned to read and write [illegible] French poems is a comical undertaking.

Why does not Gorki understand all that? Gorki comes from the petty bourgeois class. He lived for a long time among the slum proletariat which served as the subject for his early novels.

He himself obtained the education he now possesses under the greatest sacrifices. And as often happens with self-educated men, he became a Philistine on the subject of education.

Strange, Educated Folk

How many workers are there, who after studying handbooks of astronomy, Darwin and histories of culture by the light of a candle, into the [illegible] the S. R.'s' Herald and Mass; not, however, the mass sufficient unto itself.

The Fears of Gorki

His educational philistinism gives rise to this hatred of the peasant in whom he sees nothing human. When the October Revolution broke out he was convinced that because of the preponderance of the peasantry in Russia, it would have to end in the complete extirpation of Russian culture. He was therefore an opponent of the October Revolution.

He did not believe that the workers were strong enough to lead the peasant in the struggle for liberation. Only people who had read Newcombe's "Astronomy" and could explain the second part of "Faust" could do this.

[illegible] Gorki understood that for a [illegible] but in his heart there remained [illegible] of the lack of culture on the part of the workers and the inability of the peasants to receive culture at all.

Hence his counter-revolutionary [illegible] against the peasants and his hysterical cry, "O! Protect the intellectuals", even when they desire to murder the Russian Revolution in alliance with the Entente.

Gorki sits in Berlin with his hysterical literati.

Reads White Guard Press

He reads no newspapers printed in Russia, but instead he reads the White Guard papers appearing outside of Russia with all their lies and deceptions.

All his petty bourgeois instincts awoke and dictated his letter. If Gorki should return to Russia and again live in the midst of Russian life and see the work done by the Soviet Government together with all the intellectuals who really do not want to return to the weak bourgeois culture on the backs of the outlawed and exploited masses, but who are looking forward to a new culture together with the fighting workers and peasants, he will (as often before) again blushingly smile and say, "You know very well that I understand but little of politics."

We will answer, "Good, one must take men as one finds them, particularly a poet." But even a poet must not misuse the right to write nonsense, except when he writes verse, whereupon he can explain the nonsense as a new form of poetry.

Zinoviev Tells How Italian Socialist Party Was Destroyed

(Continued from Page One)

horn split, this Party consisted of the following elements: several tens of thousands of advanced revolutionary proletarians, who were full of enthusiasm and ready for the fight; several tens of thousands of workers who were inclined to be revolutionary but who were politically uninitiated and inexperienced and therefore an easy prey to pacifist illusions.

Add to these two groups of several thousand petty bourgeois followers; add further, a group of Parliamentary leaders, political functionaries and trade union and co-operative officials of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, five thousand all told, and you have the old Italian Socialist Party as it was before Leghorn.

Before the Leghorn split there were two well defined political formations within the party. On the one side were the Communists, on the other the Reformists.

Magic Slogan of "Unity"

Both of these groups, however, were in the minority. In the center were the "Maximalists" who at that time had the majority of the Party behind them, and whose magic slogan was "unity".

When the decisive moment came this Centrist group, headed by Serrati, went over to the Reformists. That sealed the fate of the Italian Socialist Party.

The Reformists then mounted the high horse. Altho the Centrists claimed that they only offered the Reformists one finger, they were in reality bound by the latter hand and foot.

The social significance of what took place was reflected in the following: the petty bourgeois intellectual group consisting of trade union bureaucrats, Parliamentarians, journalists and lawyers, had, as we have already pointed out, only five thousand members.

But this small group was bound by a thousand ties to the bourgeoisie; it was a typical group of "labor lieutenants" in the service of the bourgeoisie.

By itself this group of petty bourgeois officials is insignificant, but as the vanguard of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the workers it can become a mighty force under certain circumstances.

Serrati Helped Reformists

And it is no other than Serrati and his fraction, who created these favorable circumstances for the petty bourgeois reformist group. A certain division of labor took place. . . . The Reformists served the cause of the bourgeoisie quite openly, while Serrati proclaimed loudly that he was against Reformism, but for unity in the workers' ranks.

And all this at a time when the Italian proletariat was fired with the spirit of revolt that found expression in the seizure of the factories; all this at a time when the bloody Fascisti were raising their heads and capital was launching its raging offensive.

The bourgeoisie aimed quickly and truly. In Leghorn the show-window was so dressed as to display the majority not with the Reformists, but with the "irreconcilable revolutionaries."

The Reformists put on the airs of solemnity, and grimacing resigned sheep, they feigned "submissiveness" to Serrati's Centrist majority.

Already at that time the majority of the trade union and cooperative officials and of the Parliamentary fraction was on their side. Having achieved the virtual expulsion of the irreconcilable proletarian section of the Party, the Reformists, with the aid of Serrati, began to reinforce and fortify their positions in the trade unions, the co-operatives, and in the Parliamentary fraction.

Reformists Now Masters

Barely more than a year has passed and the Reformists are now the masters of the situation. They succeeded in disorganizing and demoralizing the remaining section of the Party; they created the material dependance of almost the entire Party press upon themselves; all the bourgeois organizations and the trade union and co-operative officials are on their side. . . .

The moment came when the Reformists removed their mask. Having the most important positions in the old party under their control, they could afford to disregard the vacillating Serratians, and entered into open "collaboration" with the bourgeoisie.

They want more than a virtual co-operation with the bourgeoisie; they want their marriage with the capitalists recognized and legalized. Turati and Co. are not satisfied with mere ministries; they demand recognition de jure.

The Fascisti are on the offensive; they murder workers in every city, they have virtually organized a regular bourgeois army of murderers. The Fascisti are ruling Italy. But here come the Reformists and propose a very simple way of destroying the Fascisti.

"Destroying" the Fascisti

The matter is quite simple: In order to destroy the Fascisti . . . it is necessary to enter into an alliance with them; it is necessary to enter into the bourgeois ministry and share the power with the actual instigator of Fascism,—the bourgeoisie.

As long as there was the slightest opportunity for Serrati and Co. to prove that "his" Italian Reformist were "different" from the Reformists of other countries and that they had nothing in common with Millerandism, Serrati fulfilled his task not out of fear, but out of "conscience."

But very soon Turati, Modigliani and Company cruelly robbed their faithful servant Serrati of this opportunity.

Serrati can no longer claim that the Italian Reformists are "no Reformists at all." The myth of the immaculate conception of the Italian Reformists is exploded. Serrati was forced to remember his "intransigeance."

Even he, about whom the revolutionary workers of Italy long ago said: "Spit in his face and he'll say, it's God's dew," even he could not wipe his face unnoticed.

More Serrati Promises

Nothing was left for Serrati but to promise to start some sort of a fight against the Reformists.

The Reformists in the meanwhile become so audacious, however, that they refused to conciliate even an opposition like that of Serrati.

But since the formal power of the Party was still in the hands of the paper Central Committee, with Serrati at its head, the Reformists decided upon energetic action.

Whenever it is a question of combating Socialism, the reformists are energetic enough. The reactionaries in the ranks of the Reformists are men of deeds, not words.

The majority of the "Socialist" fraction in Parliament decided not to obey the Central Committee any longer. Turati and Modigliani had had enough of party "discipline." They were going to work unhampered now.

They figured as follows: 107 Populists, 80 Socialists, 35 Nittians, 25 autonomous Reformists and 20 deserters (from the Giolitti camp make a total of 267 deputies. These constitute a Parliamentary majority with which a new coalition ministry could be formed. What could the reminders of party discipline and the will of the majority of organized workers count against this estimate.

And the Reformists went to work. They who for years had been working under cover, they who had continually stroked the Centrists along the fur and had pursued a policy of "submissiveness" towards Serrati and Company, now showed their teeth.

The Parliamentary group has virtually chased the poor Centrists; it chose a new leadership and appointed the Reformist Baldesi who is an Activist and one of the leaders of the Italian Federation of Labor, as its secretary.

The Darling of the Bourgeoisie

Baldesi is the darling of the bourgeoisie and should his time come, he will persecute the Communists with a greater fury than do the police and the Fascisti at present.

D'Aragona and Company, who swore and reswore allegiance to the I. S. P., are now trampling their written agreement with the I. S. P. under foot, and are openly proceeding as an independent force. There is complete chaos in the Party. Serrati's Central Committee split almost into equal parts, 13 against 12. As a result we find within the Party groups, subgroups, fractions, subfractions, etc.

We find Maximalists, Concentrationists, Centrists, Reformists, etc., etc. Only one group, that of Maffi, Lazzari and Riboldi, three comrades who were present at the Third Congress of the Comintern and were convinced of Serrati's betrayal, are now carrying on a more or less decisive struggle against the Reformists.

The Centrists who only a year ago considered themselves the masters of the situation are now confronted with the dilemma: to enter into the service of the Reformists or to quit the Party, which?

If Serrati only possessed an iota of revolutionary honesty, he would now admit his mistake. But the chances that he would do so are about 1 to 10,000. What is more probable is that the Italian Centrists will share their fate with international Centrism.

Lesson Must Not Be Lost

They will continue to feed the Reformist mill in one way or another. The Reformist is for the capitalist, and the Centrist for the Reformist, —such is the formula verified best by the history of the Italian Socialist Party.

Is this crying lesson to be lost on the international labor movement? Is it possible that it will not serve as a lesson at least to those of our French comrades who are not yet convinced of the necessity for breaking with the Centrist or semi-Centrist elements once and for all?

Serrati chose the best and quickest method of destroying his Party. He could patent it if he so desired. He deserves a prize for having revealed the counter-revolutionary soul of Centrism in so unmistakable a light. Kautsky is the theoretician of centrism; Serrati is its practitioner and politician.

Both the one and the other feed the Reformist mill and, thru it, the bourgeoisie. One really has to be blind in order not to see this.

Of course, the Italian workers will gather enough strength and resistance to recover from the blows they have received at the hands of the Reformist and Centrist traitors. They will find a way out of the crisis that was brought upon them.

Join Communist Party

They will now begin to join the Communist Party en masse, and in a few years, the Reformists and the bourgeoisie will be laid low by the proletarian dictatorship.

The I. S. P. episode should serve as a lesson to all true Socialists, and finally convince them that the real mission of the Centrists consists in delaying and postponing the day of victory for the proletariat, in making the struggle a harder one for the workers, in increasing the number of victims, and in intensifying the misery and suffering of the proletarian masses. Let the proletarian revolutionary vanguard comprehend this and let it throw international Centrism into the garbage can of history.

An Answer
TO
Eugene V. Debs

SHALL THE SOCIAL COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES NOW ON TRIAL FOR ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF LENINE, TROTZKY AND TREASON TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION BE FREED?

Debs says Yes!
Schlesinger says Yes!
Socialist Party says Yes!

THE
Workers Party
LOCAL NEW YORK
WILL GIVE ITS ANSWER AT
MASS MEETING
FRIDAY, AUG. 11
at
Parkview Palace
110th Street and Fifth Avenue

SPEAKERS;
WILLIAM F. DUNNE,
Candidate for Governor
LUDWIG LORE,
Editor Volkszeitung
M. J. OLGIN,
Editor of Die Freiheit
ADMISSION 10 CENTS
Beginning 8 P. M.

News of Workers' Party [illegible] Nation

Mass Meeting Here to Aid Italian Labor in War on Fascisti

Friday evening, August 18, at the Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th St., the workers of New York will rally to the support of the Italian workers in their fight against the Fascisti cutthroats.

The Italian capitalists are making a last desperate effort to crush the revolutionary, workers' movement of Italy. For that purpose they have organized the young bourgeois officers and students into the Fascisti organization, the counter-part of the American Legion and Ku Klux Klan.

These superior Italian patriots, with arms furnished by the bourgeoisie and with a government lending them its aid, are viciously attacking and terrorizing the Italian workers. They are destroying the co-operative houses and newspaper plants, intimidating leaders of the proletariat and killing revolutionary workers.

But the Italian workers are not to be cowed into submission by a show of force. They are giving blow for blow. They have organized their own legion, the Arditi del Populo, and in spite of of the fact that the bourgeois government is against them, are courageously and valiantly resisting the attacks of the Fascist gangsters. The workers of Italy under the leadership of the communists, are offering the finest example of proletarian courage.

The American workers must clearly show on what side their sympathies are; they must do all in their power to encourage their Italian fellow-workers in their struggle against the Fascisti bandits. The workers of New York will have an opportunity to do so at the mass meeting where Italian revolutionists of national reputation will make clear the situation in Italy.

We must show that we are behind the Italian workers by coming to the meeting.

Picnic Settlements

All comrades are requested to settle at once with the Local Office or in their branches for their tickets. The financial secretaries are requested to collect money and returned tickets and forward them to the Local office as soon as possible.

All branches owing for literature are requested to pay up at once. The Toiler Bookshop is now the literature department of Local Office, and the latter wishes to clear the debts of the Bookshop as soon as possible. It can do so only if the branches pay up.

"Sub" Hustlers Scrape 1,000 Mark in 25,000 Readers Campaign

The weekly increase of subscriptions received in the "25,000 new readers campaign" which THE WORKER is now carrying on mounted close to the 1,000 mark last week.

A total of 917 new subscriptions were received. We are sure to go over the 1,000 mark this coming week. Indications, judging by daily arrivals of quantities of filled out subscription cards are most encouraging. They continue to arrive in every mail in handfuls.

Every state in the Union is represented. Practically every town in which there was at the time of the beginning of the campaign one or more subscribers is now doubling and trebling its list of WORKER readers. Many NEW towns are being placed on the mail list with substantial lists of readers who have never read THE WORKER before—nor any other paper of its kind.

The campaign spreads in wider and wider circles as the weeks pass, and our readers really get into the swing of it. For this 16 a readers' campaign. To them goes the credit for its success—upon them rests the responsibility for the success we know will follow THEIR activity. To them must go the appreciation which is due for this solid achievement of building THE WORKER.

And now about this 1,000 mark—this gaining of 1,000 new readers week after week. We must hold the ground gained. We must not slip backward. We should be positively ashamed to let a single week pass during this campaign when less than 1,000 new readers are added to our list.

We know the comrades who have made the subscription drive so far successful would surely feel shame at even the smallest loss of ground. The enthusiasm with which they have sent in their sold cards—and in many cases ordered more to sell, warrants this assertion. THEY, the ones who have worked, EXPECT that others will do the same. THEY cannot see any reason for ANY one shirking so easy a task as selling five or ten 20-week WORKER subscription cards.

THEY say it can be done, THEY have done it. YOU, too, can sell as many as others. Sell the cards sent you this week. Don't delay. Get THE WORKER into the hands of America's wage workers. Sell your cards, keep the weekly record up to the 1,000 mark!

• • •

Plan to Change "Iskra" to Russian Daily Soon

All Russian Branches of the Workers Party, New York Local, are jointly arranging a picnic for Saturday, August 26, at Niblo's Garden, 3rd Ave. and 70th Street, Bronx, with the object in view to increase the fund that is being collected for the purpose of issuing The Iskra as a daily instead of weekly, as at present.

All friends of the revolutionary labor movement must assist us in this task which is so important. Do it by doing it. Come to the picnic.

Fraternal organizations are requested to arrange no affairs for above date. For particulars see "ad" in coming issue of The Worker. Tickets can be had at the Iskra Office, 208 E. 12 St., N. Y. C.

Echoes from the Fighters at the Front

"Enclosed find $2.50 for five subscription cards. I need not add that The Worker subscription campaign is excellent and you may count on my co-operation." Y. C. A., Philadelphia, Pa.

"I hope you will meet with success," writes Comrade J. J. F., of Cleveland, Ohio. With a wish like that and an enclosure of $7.50 we feel that Comrade F. is doing his part to bring success which he wishes.

Comrade E. L., of Paterson, N. J., says he has cleaned up all possibilities of getting subs in his shop having gotten 13 from the fellow workers.

So many comrades just write, "Enclosed please find $2.50 (or $5.00 as the case may be) for the cards which I have sold." Some might claim that there was not much contained—in that many times repeated sentence. But we think differently. In such words many times repeated by many Comrades from all parts of the country there is manifested the co-operation, the enthusiasm and the energetic effort which will make this subscription campaign successful and build THE WORKER into a daily.

"Enclosed find $3.50 for seven new subscriptions," writes Comrade D. S., of Yorkville, O. It takes enthusiasm and work to do that!

"I sincerely hope your campaign will be a success," says Comrade P. N. B., of Rochester, N. Y. He finds it practical to subscribe for several of his friends who have not previously read THE WORKER.

"Have received the sub cards and have up to now sent in 13 subscriptions." This heering news comes from Comrade J. H. R., of Washington, D. C.

"The awakening among the railroaders is here. That is why I am pushing AMALGAMATION literature," writes Comrade L. L., of Tracy, Calif. Evidently THE WORKER helps for the comrade sends $7.50 for sub cards sold.

"Enclosed you will find the July allotment of subscription cards and $5.00 to pay for them." This comes from Comrade G. L. C., of San Francisco, Cal. This, we take it, is getting ready for the August allotment.

"The workers in this town are much afraid of the 'RED MENACE,' but I have found a few whom Sammy Gompers and Co. have not doped. Send me some more sub cards." Comrade G. S., of Palm Beach, Fla., writes this to us in a letter enclosing a remittance for five cards sold.

Comrade T. R., of Rochester, N. Y., remits $10.50 for 21 sub cards. Rochester is scheduled to occupy a large spot on THE WORKER map judging by the successful efforts of the comrades there.

AT YUKON, PA.

The English Branch of the Workers' Party of Yukon, Pa., meets every second Thursday of the month in Association Hall.

[illegible]

THE WORKERS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

To all Comrades, [illegible] Free Love and the Class Struggle.

GREETING:

WE COMMAND YOU that all business and sinecure being laid aside, you appear and attend a picnic at FUHRER'S ELMHURST PARK, Elmhurst, L. I., on Sunday, August 20th, 1922, at 10 A. M., and give evidence of your intelligence in accomplishing thereby a twofold purpose, namely, helping financially, morally and otherwise in the relief and defense of the Class War Political Prisoners—victims of the capitalist class, and at the same time helping yourself to a better time than you can have anywhere else for the price; and that you bring with you and produce at the time and place aforesaid all your friends, relatives, children, wives, sweethearts, etc., etc., ad infinitum. Tickets, 35 cents.

And for your failure to attend, you will be deemed guilty of contempt of the noblest interest of mankind, and liable to humanity and posterity for all loss and damage suffered thereby, and forfeit all love, respect and affection of your fellow-men in addition thereto.

WITNESS, The Picnic, Sunday, August 20th, at Fuhrer's Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, Long Island.

(Signed)
National Defense Committee
New York Division
Nerma Berman, Sec'y

Party in New York Opens Headquarters for Campaign Drive

The Workers Party locally and thruout the District has nominated its candidates for the coming elections, and is about to begin its campaign.

Your branch together with the other branches of your section must begin at once to put the machinery into motion to make an effective campaign in your territory.

Below is given a list of the comrades who are to act as Temporary Campaign Managers of the various sections. They are to call together a meeting of the comrades elected by the Branches to act as the Campaign Committee. Your branch is asked to elect one representative to attend the next meeting of the Section Campaign Committee, the time and place is stated below:

Thursday, Aug. 10, 8 P. M.: Section 1—Temporary Campaign Manager: Spena; Meeting place: 208 E. 12 St.
Thursday, Aug. 10, 8 P. M.: Section 2—Temporary Campaign Manager: McGuire; Meeting place: 208 E. 12 St.
Thursday, Aug. 10, 8 P. M.: Section 3—Temporary Campaign Manager: Prokop; Meeting place: 208 E. 12 St.
Friday, Aug. 11, 8 P. M.: Section 4—Temporary Campaign Manager: Massarano; Meeting place: 143 E. 103 St.
Friday, Aug. 11, 8 P. M.: Section 5—Temporary Campaign Manager: Pollack; Meeting place: 1347 Boston Road.
Friday, Aug. 11, 8 P. M.: Section 6—Temporary Campaign Manager: Nassta; Meeting place: Lorimer and Ten Eyck Sts.
Friday, Aug. 11, 8 P. M.: Section 7—Temporary Campaign Manager: Ragozen; Meeting place: 296 Sackman St.
Friday, Aug. 11, 8 P. M.: Section 9—Temporary Campaign Manager: Sparer; Meeting place: 1304-7 40th St., Brooklyn.

Party Aids Striking Minneapolis Shopmen

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — The Workers' Party local here has been actively participating in the work of keeping up the morale of the striking shopmen. In order to hold the strikers together and keep up their fighting spirit the Workers' Party organization arranged to have Ella Reeves Bloor come to the city to work among the strikers.

Mrs. Bloor during her week's work addressed as many as three and four mass meetings a day. Her talks were enthusiastically received and she has undoubtedly contributed to help hold any wavering elements in line.

The Party organization is supporting the strikers with all the means at its command and the result here is new appreciation of the meaning of the Workers' Party program of entering into the present struggles of the workers and help them to win those struggles against the whole system of exploitation.

SEATTLE. — William Z. Foster, chief of the Trade Union Educational league, spoke at three meetings here recently to large audiences. He pleaded for concentration of radical workers in the main labor unions of each industry in a program for amalgamation. Foster also spoke at other coast cities before returning to Chicago.

[illegible]

Dear Comrade [illegible] Workers' Revolution in Russia?

Gene Debs, why do these civilized people with whom you protest, Emile Vandervelde the Socialist, a member of the Belgian war cabinet, the man whose official position during the war gave sanction to the slaughter of German workers by Belgian and French and English workers; the man who saw without protest the sending of troops by the imperialists of England, France, Japan and the United States into Siberia and Archangel to murder Russian workers, to strangle their government?

Are these civilized people, Henderson and Thomas of England, the betrayers of the workers not only of England but of Ireland, India and Egypt as well?

Are the Social Democrats of Germany who led the German workers to battle for the kaiser and the war lords in 1914, and who murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who turned Spanish Revolutionists over to the Spanish ruling class; are they the civilized people with whom you protest?

Perhaps it's the chorus of the New York American, and a thousand other capitalist imperialist organs which you join in your protest with "all other civilized people."

Gene Debs, you're in bad company. You are aligning yourself with those whom you have denounced for twenty-five years. I have heard you condemn the prostituted press. I have heard you denounce with bitterest sarcasm the traitors in our own ranks; the lawyers, the preachers, the petit politicians who had wormed their way into our ranks. And when the great world war was on and darkness and despair overshrouded our movement, when so many of us quaked with fear, I read your Canton speech which like a burst of sunlight rent the darkness asunder, and spoke to the hearts of all saying that all hope had not yet died, that still amid the darkness of Capitalist reaction and war madness there was a light that shone for us, a voice that spoke what we were afraid to speak, a torch that feared not to shine.

Gene Debs, Comrade Debs: — I was a mere boy when first I heard your magic voice. I heard you recite the valorous deeds of Louis Tikas, the Greek miner whom you termed the Lion Hearted, and the other miners at Ludlow, Colorado, who with guns in hands defended their lives and homes against the drunken thugs of Rockefeller. I heard you cry out in defiance to the lords of life and property, "I am with the workers, even to the barricades!"

I was thrilled by your magic words, and I cried within myself, "Here is the heart and soul, the flaming torch of the Social Revolution!"

Comrade Debs, are you going to disappoint me? Are you going to dishearten the thousands of other boys and girls now grown to manhood and womanhood whose lives were filled with hope by your eloquence?

The "Civilized people" with whom you protest know what crimes these "Social Revolutionaries" have committed; know that these criminals have not been incarcerated, have not been convicted and will not be executed for their views. These criminals openly boast that they have plotted the destruction of the Workers' Soviet Republic in Russia. Their acts have caused the deaths not only of a few leaders, but of thousands of the more humble in the ranks of the loyal selfsacrificing revolutionary proletariat and peasantry of Russia. The trials in Moscow have revealed these facts.

Does your great heart sicken at the execution of a handful of murderers and arch-criminals such as these? Then consider for a moment. Is it better to extend clemency to them and thus endanger the lives of hundreds and perhaps thousands of peasants and workers, and perhaps endanger the Workers' Republic by encouraging counter-revolutionary acts; or to shoot the plotters and murderers and save the lives of these thousands of workers and peasants, and give counter-revolutionists not only in Russia, but all over the world an eternal warning to beware the wrath of the proletariat?

Comrade Debs, with whom will you stand; the traitors to the working class, the Hillquits, the Bergers, the Scheidemanns, the Noskes, the Vanderveldes, and Hendersons; the reactionary Socialist and Capitalist press of the world; or the real defenders of the Social Revolutions, who have hearts that beat with your own, but whose emotions do not dictate their acts when necessity demands stern action?

Comrade Debs, you once made a sweeping declaration when it was dangerous to do so. You proclaimed to the world, "I am a Bolshevik from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, and I am proud of it!"

That declaration shook the world! Everywhere, even in the farthest corners of Siberia where our com- [illegible]

Comrade Debs, Our Workers [illegible] America? We believe if you do, that you'll repudiate the gang with whom you temporarily find yourself, realizing that they are using your name and fame to help them in their campaign to strangle the young and growing movement, teeming with life; the movement which is destined to do the job to which you have dedicated your life, the emancipation of the world's workers from capitalist slavery.

Comrade Debs, if you don't investigate, if you continue with the old crowd, I shall bid you a last farewell, I shall wish in my heart that while you were still in the grip of our capitalist jailers that the merciful arms of death had embraced you, and saved you the calumny that most surely awaits you, if you stay where you are. I had rather had you die the flaming torch of the New Day in America.

Think it over, Comrade Debs. We are ready to welcome you back, all of us.

With the revolutionary workers of America, and the world I await your decision.

In comradeship,
J. W. Marshall.

DISTRICT 2 SPEAKERS ON TOUR SHOW FINE RESULTS

Kate Amter, "Labor's cartoonist and orator," has up to date spoken to over 50,000 people in the states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

Even the capitalist papers along her route were so impressed by her truthful portrayal of the "War of the Classes" that they gave her considerable write-ups.

Her dates for the week are as follows:

Friday, August 11, Bolivar, N. Y.; 12, Olean; 13, Hornell; 14, Hornell; 15, Trumansburg; 16, Ithaca; 17, Geneva; 18, Endicott.

Peter C. Sharp, member of the executive board of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers Union, the fourth speaker toured by District 2, will cover the following dates this week:

Friday, August 11, Derby, Conn.; 12, New Haven; 13, Waterbury; 14, Waterbury; 15, Ansonia; 16, Bridgeport; 17, Norwalk; 18, Stamford.

M. R. Salzman is covering the last week of his tour in the state of New Jersey.

Kasherich Heads Ticket in New Jersey; Louis Wolf for U. S. Senator

The convention of the state of New Jersey, held in Newark, on Saturday, August 5, placed Workers' Party candidates in the field for the coming elections.

The thirty delegates that were present representing the Workers' Party branches in the large industrial centres of New Jersey, portrayed an unbounding enthusiasm in this function of the Party.

Dr. John J. Kasherich was selected unanimously to head the Party ticket as candidate for governor and Louis Wolf for U. S. Senator.

The state campaign committee stated today, thru its chairman, C. Chrissafides, that they are determined to put the entire machinery of the Party to work securing signatures in order to place these candidates on the ticket. The required amount of signatures in the state of New Jersey is 800.

Open Air Meetings

Tuesday, Aug. 15: Stone and Pitkin Sts.—Speakers: R. Ragozin, Otto Housewood.
Wednesday, Aug. 16: 106th St. and Madison Ave. — Ratner.
Thursday, Aug. 17: 14th St. and 8th Ave.
Friday, Aug. 18: 110th St. and 5th St. — R. Ragozin, O. Housewood and Ratner.
Saturday, Aug. 19: 2nd and 10th Sts. — Engdahl and Diamond.
Saturday, Aug. 19: Graham Ave. and Varet St. — Deutsch.

SEATTLE. — Union boilermakers and machinists have refused to do work formerly done by striking railway shopmen here. Much work has been sent to private repair shops, but to no avail.

United Labor Council
meets
Every Fourth Wednesday
8 P. M.
81 East 10th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Phone: Stuyvesant 4501.

INTERNATIONAL MIDSUMMER OUTING
for
Defense and Relief of Class-War Prisoners
SUNDAY, AUGUST 20th, AT 10 A. M.
in
FUHRER'S ELMHURST PARK
Elmhurst, Long Island
DANCING GAMES BUFFET BAZAAR
FARE ONLY 10c. ADMISSION 35c
Tickets may be obtained at office of
NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
New York Division
Room 405, 80 East 11th Street

Do You Read or Just Drift Along?

Some workers read—and learn—and take their place in the front ranks of the workers' emancipating movement.

Some don't, and remain mentally as well as physically enslaved. Forward looking and thinking workers agree that without knowledge of the character of the forces which are at war in present society no progress can be made toward solving the causes of this war.

These books will help clear your mind on many a knotty problem of the labor movement.

A Communist Trial, Testimony of C. E. Ruthenberg and I. E. Ferguson	$.25
A. B. C. of Communism, Bucharin	.35
Communism and Christianism, Bishop Wm. M. Brown	.25
Class Struggles in America, A. M. Simons	.10
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels	.10
Constitution and Program Workers Party	.10
Constitution of Soviet Russia	.05
Dictatorship vs. Democracy, Trotsky. Paper, 50c; cloth	1.00
Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Kamenev	.05
Is the Russian Revolution a Bourgeois Revolution? Radek	.10
Labor Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
Program of the Communists, Bucharin	.25
Railroaders' Next Step—Amalgamation Wm. Z. Foster	.25
Revolutionary Crisis in Germany, Italy, England and France, Wm. Z. Foster	.25
The Russian Revolution Wm. Z. Foster	.50
The State and Revolution, Lenin	.25
Theses of the Third Congress of the Communist International	.50

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT WORKERS PARTY
799 Broadway, Room 405 - - - - - New York City

Grand Excursion
ON THE GOOD SHIP
SQUANTUM
TO
Bayville, Long Island
SUNDAY MORNING,
AUGUST 13, 1922
WORKERS PARTY
1347 Boston Road, New York
YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE,
1258 Boston Road, New York
Boat leaves 125th Street and East River at 9.10 A. M. Sharp.
TICKETS $1.50
ENTERTAINMENT
DANCING AND
REFRESHMENTS
ON BOARD
Bathing at Bayville

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA
FROM
WORKERS TO WORKERS

SOVIET RUSSIA needs machinery—vast quantities of it.

The peasants cannot harvest the crops unless they procure harvesters, binders. They cannot prepare the fields for the winter unless they are given

TRACTORS, PLOUGHS, RAKES, ETC.

The factories in Russia will remain idle if the workers do not obtain

MACHINES, LATHES, ENGINES, PUMPS, ETC.

You know what it means to be without tools.

HELP PROVIDE TOOLS AND MACHINERY FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

Stretch your hands across the sea in brotherly help, in solidarity. Do what the capitalist governments refuse to do.

TO-DAY! HELP! AT ONCE!

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

Conducted by the
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
201 West 13th Street New York City.

HELP BUILD UP THE WORLD'S FIRST WORKERS' REPUBLIC

Here is my contribution of $........ toward relief and reconstruction of Soviet Russia.
Name ....
Address ....
City .... State ....

Read "Soviet Russia," our official organ—$2.50 per year.

[illegible]

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, [illegible]
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, [illegible]
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager

Published weekly by The Toiler Publishing Association.
Entered as second-class matter [illegible] at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

Advertising rates upon application.
Phone: Stuyvesant 9042.

A German aviator has completed the first non-stop flight from Berlin to Moscow, making the 1,100 miles in 10 hours and 40 minutes, an average of approximately 110 miles per hour. It is taking the ideas of the Russian Revolution a little longer to make the distance, but they will get there in time.

The First Shipment

It is characteristic of the efficient manner in which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America does things that the first shipment of its Russian-American Industrial Corporation should already be on its way to Soviet Russia.

This first aid toward the rehabilitation of Russia's garment industry consisted of spare parts for the better equipment of the Soviet clothing and textile factories, especially ordered under direction from Moscow.

Hardly more than two months have passed since the Amalgamated, at its Chicago convention in May, launched the plan for the raising of $1,000,000, yet more than $100,000 of that sum has already been secured. The sending forward of this first shipment should be a big incentive toward rapidly developing the speed with which this drive is approaching its goal.

Special drives are being made right now in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Toronto, Louisville and Los Angeles, where the Amalgamated has strong local organizations. But this should not stop the workers in other sections of the country from enlisting in this campaign.

The Amalgamated has received a concession in the Russian clothing industry, giving it full power of management and perfect freedom in the sale and purchase of goods both in Russia and abroad. The success of the Amalgamated in this venture is not only the victory of the members of the Amalgamated and the workers of Russia, but it will be a triumph for the American working class.

If American labor can help conduct Russia's industries it will be on the high road to the realization that it can take over and run the industries of this country as well. It is sadly in need to-day of that confidence in its own ability.

The Communist International

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International is called to assemble at Moscow, November 7, the fifth anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution.

Invitations have gone forth to the Communist Parties of fifty-six countries and the congress promises to be the most imposing and widely representative international gathering of workers the world has yet witnessed.

Travel barriers and communication obstructions have been broken down since the first congress was held in 1918, when allied intervention and the blockade were active in seeking to break down Soviet resistance, and force submission of workers' rule to allied imperialism.

This will not only make it easier for the delegates to reach Russia, but will make it possible for the world's workers to secure more frequent and accurate reports of the important events transpiring at the congress.

Since the Third Congress was held one year ago, Soviet Russia has had its knee upon the chest of imperialist diplomacy both at Genoa and at the Hague, while the Versailles Peace is nearer collapse than at any time since the war was ended.

We publish the call for the congress including the agenda in another column. The decisions growing out of this congress will mark another important milestone in the struggle of world labor to achieve its emancipation.

With the holding of this congress the rallying cry of, "Long Live the Communist International! Long Live the Social Revolution!" will be carried to the ears of new millions of exploited workers.

Let oppressed labor in America hurry its pace and get in step with the forward march of the aspiring masses in other lands.

A Disquieting Feature

Robert Buck, editor of the New Majority, official organ of the Farmer-Labor Party, published in Chicago, in the issue of July 29, finds a "disquieting feature" in the recent Socialist-Farmer-Labor Party Conference held in New York.

He refers to the report in the New York Call quoting Abraham I. Shiplacoff, a candidate for congress on the coalition ticket, as having said, in accepting the nomination:

"We have formed a real front against our enemies. We are going to fight the bulls in Wall Street and the bulls in the China shop of our home, the Communists, who want to tear everything to pieces."

In denouncing this declaration of Shiplacoff's, we find Buck stating that,

"The settled policy of the Farmer-Labor Party is that we are fighting the foes of the workers and we are not fighting any other working-class group whatsoever.

"If units with which the Farmer-Labor Party allies itself for united, independent political action do not join our party in this policy, it is doubtful if coalition will get us any farther than the former disgraceful backbiting of working-class political groups."

Thus the tandem Socialist-Farmer-Labor Party outfit is already having its troubles. It can't decide whether the main attack is to be on Communism, or capitalism, or both. Shiplacoff was on the Socialist Party national executive committee that started the heresy hunting and expulsions back in 1919, and he is still on the job. The Farmer-Labor Party just wants to be left alone in its peaceful and harmless pursuit of votes.

Buck admits not only that the Socialist-Farmer-Labor Party house is divided, but that it must fall. The Socialists and Farmer-Laborites have neither "united" nor "independent" political action. They have merely a loose and hostile combination for combatting revolutionary political action. And as such the workers must and will desert them in their struggle for real united and independent political action of all-America's workers.

[illegible] Corporation.

The [illegible] the Hearst papers is as follows:

UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION
New York, [illegible] 1922.

CHAIRMAN'S OFFICE.

Dear Mr. Dickson,

[illegible] running in your paper.

Very truly yours,
E. H. GARY.

Mr. J. A. Dickson, General Manager,
Chicago Herald and Examiner,
Chicago, Illinois.

Hinman was formerly editor of the defunct Chicago Inter-Ocean, one of the most bitter of labor-hating sheets. Hinman is, therefore, well qualified to write "business" editorials.

At the same time there are no doubt workers who will continue to be deluded by Arthur Brisbane's "radical" editorials in these same Hearst papers.

Hearst wrote of La Follette that "big business" was not at all troubled by the latter's "radicalism," in fact it liked that particular brand. It did not hurt it.

Gary backs Hearst, and Hearst backs La Follette, and they will all be friends and rob the masses as long as the capitalist system is permitted to continue.

The only struggle that matters for the workers is the struggle of Communism for the abolition of capitalism and the victory of the workers. Join in that struggle. Join the Workers Party and participate in its activities.

The District of Columbia commissioners, who rule over the nation's capital, have decreed that the publication of newspapers is one of the least essential industries to be operated during the coal strike. Thus is the uselessness of the capitalist press unmasked by its own supporters. When the workers get in power, as now, they will consider their press as one of their most important assets.

Cahan Wants to Forget

Our readers last week were made acquainted with the attack of Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, on the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Now comes Cahan's Forward, issue of August 5, and hands its unqualified approval to Herbert Hoover's American Relief Administration.

This is an inconsistency in an alleged working-class paper that effectually wipes the Forward from the list of labor spokesmen in this country.

Yet the Forward is consistent. If Cahan feels called upon to attack the only workers' organization for Russian Famine Relief in this country, then he surely must feel at home with the Republican politicians at Washington.

Cahan admits that "The narrow-minded politics of the Wilson and Harding administrations have wrought much trouble for the Russian people. Their open and secret support to the counter-revolutionary governments contributed in no small measure to the present condition in Russia."

Then comes Cahan's amazing declaration that, "Nevertheless, the present relief activities of the American government in Russia have made it possible to forget this. New threads of friendship and understanding are now being interlaced between the two countries."

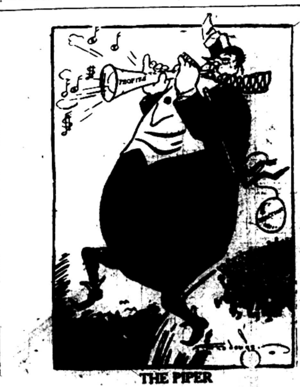
And the following: "When we remind ourselves of Hoover's work in Russia, we are quite willing to forget many of his sins here in America."

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, now ought to offer Cahan's name for the membership list of the fraternal brotherhood of so-called "labor leaders" and capitalist profiteers called the National Civic Federation.

Soviet Rule in Russia does not and will not, under any circumstances, recognize any bonds of friendship with American capitalism. Hoover confesses himself an enemy of Communism and he is honest about it. He continues famine relief because he is afraid that plagues, incidental to the famine, may leap Russia's western frontier and spread to the rest of Europe and to the United States. He would rejoice at any time in the overthrow of the workers' republic.

Not all the relief that Hoover can muster will make the workers of this country, or of Russia, forget the crimes of the Wilson and Harding administrations against the Russian Soviet Republic. Cahan may "forget" in his anxiety to conduct a "safe, sane and respectable" newspaper under the present social system. But the workers will never forget. They will march forward and achieve their own victory, the triumph of Communism over brutalizing and oppressive capitalism.

And part of that effort right now is helping the Friends of Soviet Russia stand by the Russian workers and peasants in their present hour of trial. Where do you stand?



THE PIPER

[illegible] Fear?

[illegible] United States Army of Occupation at Coblenz, Germany.

[illegible] the Bendorf Gasworks, which provides Coblenz with gas, went on strike owing to a wage dispute.

General Allen, commander of the American Occupation Unit on the Rhine, thereupon dispatched a squad of soldiers to drive the strikers back to work at the points of their guns. They arrested [illegible] leaders.

It seems that the men went back to work but struck again to force the release of their officials.

Latest reports are to the effect that the American military satraps were still refusing to release the labor officials, and that American soldiers, carrying the Stars and Stripes, were dragging the workers out of their homes and endeavoring to compel them to work. This, however, the men still refused to do.

We do not remember that the late Kaiser Wilhelm, during his reign, ever attempted to utilize such "democratic" methods in breaking a strike.

We have heard of the Cossacks of Pennsylvania and West Virginia attempting it, with varied success.

Perhaps that is what President Harding intended when he "invited" the miners to return to the coal pits several weeks ago. The troops were at the mines, the flag was raised, but the strikers did not accept the "invitation."

We wonder why Harding fears to use the soldiery in the coal mining districts of this country, as they have been and are being used along the Rhine.

What do you fear, Mr. Harding? Why do you not send the soldiers to herd the miners back to work, to kneel before the coal barons, as you are driving the workers of Germany back to their jobs, to toil under the lash of German profiteers and exploiters?

Surely the American bosses will protest at this show of discrimination. Or are you afraid that the American army isn't big enough to do the job? In that case perhaps your French counterpart, President Millerand, might let you have a few regiments of Sanegalese Colonials, and Lloyd George might ship over a few brigades of "loyal" troops, with experience in Ireland, "Black and Tans" preferred, and the King of Italy might help out with a few thousand Fascisti.

That might help bolster up your courage, Mr. Harding, in fighting the strikes of the coal miners and railroad workers.

But it would also arouse the American workers to greater resistance and give them another lesson in the real nature of the American capitalist government.

The League of American Pen Women has joined the hysterical mob that is censoring school books so that no suspicion of disloyalty will be found therein. Pretty soon there will be nothing left of the school books but the blank pages. Which may be better, perhaps, than some of the poison that the 100 per cent paytriots would put upon them.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

Another Allied Conference

There is another Allied Conference being held in London and its dominant note, uttered by Premier Poincaré, of France, is that "The Treaty of Versailles seems to be observed less and less as time goes on."

Some say this is the thirteenth, others the fifteenth Allied Conference on War Debts and Reparations, but the object of them all has been and still remains for the Allies, as the Japanese ambassador, Baron Hayashi, points out, "to get as much money as they can for reparations out of Germany."

Against the process of bleeding her white, Germany is pleading for a complete moratorium to the end of 1924.

The conference is meeting under the shadow of Lord Balfour's plea for the cancellation of all war debts, urged first by the Soviet delegates at Genoa.

Poincaré shed numerous tears over the money that France has been compelled to spend in reparation work in her ten devastated departments. Lloyd George entered the weeping competition by quoting the Bankers' Trust Company of New York to the effect that war expenditures had been as follows: France, $37,500,000,000; Italy, $14,500,000,000; Great Britain, $49,000,000,000; this showing, he contended, that British claims for reparations were just as good as those of France.

As we go to press the French plan of bleeding Germany to the last drop was unanimously submitted to the committee on experts.

These capitalist experts have been busy ever since the armistice was declared. The Treaty of Versailles is their work. The enslavement of the workers of Europe is their job. It is up to them to keep the lid on the seething cauldron of social revolution.

How long will it take the workers of Europe to blow off the lid, sweep aside the capitalist experts and politicians and take all power into their own hands?

The present London Conference will help. It must confess itself a farce, even as the conferences at Genoa and The Hague were complete failures.

Railroad Strikers are selling their "Liberty Bonds" to pay their grocery and rent bills. The railroaders are realizing more and more that the closest they ever got to "liberty" was the name on the bond, and now they have lost that. But the present struggle will teach them to make a fight for real liberty, not the "Liberty Bond" kind.

La Parola del Populo, the publication of the few Italians still affiliated with the Socialist Party, has endorsed the attack of Cahan's Jewish Daily Forward against the Friends of Soviet Russia. We suggest the yellow Socialists take a referendum and show themselves unanimously opposed to the Russian Workers' Republic.

The best that the yellow press correspondents in Soviet Russia can do now is to proclaim that the Workers' Republic is going wet. First denial comes from the Russian Trade Delegation at London that says the report that the Soviet Government was preparing to authorize the sale of vodka is a "pure invention." Next!

Hjalmar Branting, the "Socialist" prime minister of Sweden, has added his voice to those protesting on behalf of the counter-revolutionary "S. R's." in Russia. Branting should have followed his protest with three cheers for the Treaty of Versailles, of which he is an ardent supporter.

Russian and American railroads seem to have changed places this summer. While American railroads are falling to pieces, due mostly to the strike, Walter Duranty, in an article in the New York Times, admits that Russian railroads are now as good as any in Europe.

[illegible]

(Compiled [illegible] by the Research Department of the Bolcoms.)

I.

CAHANSKY, Abie Forwardsky—Editor-in-Chase of the Backward, [illegible] in the S. P., private detective for Secretary Hoover, imperial wizard of the Jewish Branch of the Ku Klux Klan, etc., etc.

It is said that when Christopher Columbus discovered America, our Abie was already on East Broadway peddling with slightly used toothpicks, candies and Socialism. His inventive propensity is incomprehensible; when only at the age of twelve, he already discovered himself to be a great man. Prime among all his inventions for the benefit of humanity is his recent discovery that the Friends of Soviet Russia are friendly to the Soviet Government. But even greater is his literary ability. His journalism is very colorful; it combines yellow socialism with blue laws and blackmail. He became well-famed in political circles in 1916 for preaching Zionism to the Irish. He is the author of "Why Be Rich When It's Cheaper To Be Poor," and many other works. In 1920 he received his final honorary degree from the Sing Sing University of Social Science.

We deeply regret that due to lack of space and high cost of paper, we cannot mention the myriads of other achievements of our beloved leader. (To be continued in the next issue.)

AND YET THEY'VE GONE ON STRIKE

A rich young lady was being shown around her father's plant just as a cage of miners, all black from their work, ascended the shaft.

"What are they, daddy?" she asked.

"Oh," said the baron, "they're just miners."

A minute later another cage of men came up.

"Are they miners, too?" asked the young lady.

"Yes, sure," said the coal baron.

"And do you let them out every day?"

"Yes."

"How very kind of you that is!" said the rich young lady.

IN 2922 A. D.

(As predicted by the Editor's Ouija Board.)

The American Labor Party elects an assemblyman.

The Times becomes the official organ of the Communist Party.

Zionists erect a statue in honor of Henry Ford.

Friends of Soviet Russia receive apology from the Forward.

Gompers defeated for presidency of the American Federation of Labor.

The New York police force joins the I. W. W.

The United States Government issues a sixth Liberty Loan to subsidize the Bolcoms.

SPECIAL NOTICE

The Editorial Staff and the Board of Management of the Bolcoms takes pleasure in announcing to its readers that the Bolcoms have progressed immensely. Its present circulation is pretty nearly as large as that of the Worker.

QUESTIONABLE ANSWERS TO UNANSWERABLE QUESTIONS

(We took a day off to answer the pile of letters that accumulate in the Bolcoms' letter box. In view of their general interest, we've been requested to publish some of them.)

Q.—Do you write the Bolcoms for a living?

A.—I couldn't LIVE if I did

• • •

Q.—Our profs claim that there exists no such thing as a perfect vacuum. Now, tell me, ole top, is that true?

A.—Most emphatically NO, if some of the A. F. of L. leaders' heads were vivisected, specimens of absolutely perfect vacuums would be found.

MORE TRUTH THAN POETRY

"I've come in to give you the $2 Difference Loan to keep up the Call."

"I'm glad to see that you are so interested in the Call. Is it the sport news, fashion notes, Salesman Sam, or the editorial matter that you like so much in our paper?"

I haven't told you that I like the paper. The only reason I want it to exist is that it offers so much material for criticism" . . .

This time we shall end the colyum with a very clever line. Here it is:

— — — — — — — — — —

IRV.

P.S.—Send in some contribs.

National Defense Committee Picnic, Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, L. I., Sunday, August 20th, 1922

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 237. [illegible] SATURDAY, AUGUST [illegible] 1922 [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Halt Scab Coal Shipments!

Welsh Coal Miners Urge Aid for Strikers Here; British Labor Hears Unity Plea of Workers Party

Foster's Own Story

Kidnapping and Deportation Act of Revenge for Striking Rockefeller Steel Plant 100 per cent

William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, is back in Chicago ready for the first national convention of that organization to be held August 26-27.

THE WORKER has just received his statement of his kidnapping and forcible expulsion from Colorado, the climax of his tour of almost 9,000 miles speaking on behalf of the Trade Union Educational League.

During the course of his trip he made many meetings for railroad strikers all along the line, and his presentation of the case for amalgamation of the 16 railroad unions was received with tremendous enthusiasm everywhere.

Foster was billed to deliver a lecture, August 6, on "The Crisis in the American Labor Movement," in the Painters' Hall, Denver, Colo., but before he had a chance to do so he was whisked away, deported out of the state by a party of Ranger gunmen under the command of Adjutant-General Pat Hamrock, well known tool of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co.

The kidnappers suddenly dropped in upon Foster at his hotel about two hours before the meeting was scheduled to begin. Foster then tells the story himself as follows:

* * *

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Without useless formality they took me in charge and insisted upon my leaving at once with them for an unknown destination.

There were three Rangers, all heavily armed. I demanded that they produce warrant for my arrest, but they declared such was unnecessary.

I demurred strongly at being taken into custody, but they told me shortly that unless I went along peaceably they would take me willy-nilly. So, discretion being the better part of valor, I went.

Gathering up my belongings the three Rangers, or state police, loaded me into an automobile and we sped away forthwith to Brighton, twenty miles north of Denver.

There I was put in the hoose-gow and kept over night, along with a choice collection of thugs and hoodlums.

In the morning my Ranger guard appeared again, the three of them, with instructions to deport me. They gave me back my baggage, minus the contents of one hand bag—consisting of manuscript and reference books—which they said Adjutant-General Hamrock had confiscated in the name of the State of Colorado.

Protests on my part were in vain, likewise all attempts to communicate with my friends in Denver. I was told that I was under "investigation" and being held "incommunicado."

Hurrying north by automobile some 50 miles to Greeley, I was jailed there again and "mugged" at the express orders of the sheriff.

As usual objections availed me nothing. I was told that if I did not sit peaceably to have my picture taken they would

(Continued on Page Three)

Hague Conference Exposed Capitalist Effort to Plunder Soviet Russia Under Mask of World Economic Reconstruction

Editor's Note.—The Communist International has spoken on the Hague Conference. It calls the attention of the workers of the world to the efforts of the allied capitalists to plunder Soviet Russia under the guise of world economic reconstruction. It calls on labor everywhere to follow the example of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and aid the Workers' Republic in the rehabilitation of its industries. Let every worker read and study this historic document:

To the Workers of the World!

COMRADES: The Hague Conference has come to an end. The last attempt of the capitalist world to establish "peace" with Soviet Russia and to commence the economic "reconstruction" of Russia has been disclosed to be nothing but a cynical attempt to turn the Russian workers and peasants into slaves of world capital.

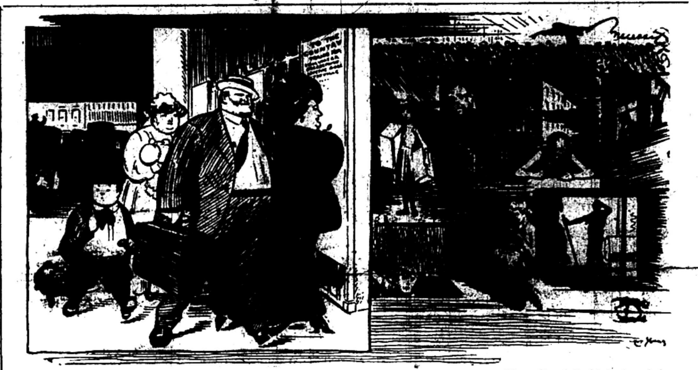
This attempt has been broken up by the determined resistance of the Soviet Government.

We know how the capitalist offensive for the reduction of your wages, for the lengthening of working hours and the destruction of the trade unions weighs upon you and deprives you of the energy to follow the other activities of the capitalist rulers of the world.

But none the less we think it necessary to call upon you to consider what the Hague negotiations mean.

Not only were the interests of the Russian workers and peasants, the interest of the Russian Revolution, concerned, altho these are sufficiently

(Continued on Page Four)



The "Best People" are out of town for the summer . . . . . and others stay where the "Best People" think they belong

Wall Street's Offensive Is Breaking Up

When this issue of THE WORKER was going to press the indications were that the Wall Street offensive against the coal miners and the railroad shopmen was breaking up.

The same chaos, however, is characterizing the closing of this struggle, temporarily, that featured its beginnings.

No effort is being made to have the railroaders co-operate with the miners in the settling of this great industrial controversy, just as there was no unity in inaugurating labor's defensive.

The end of the soft coal strike looms big at Cleveland as the result of an agreement signed between the officials of the United Mine Workers and the coal operators from half a dozen states.

The 1921 wage scale, the agreement provides, is to remain in effect. The miners thus won their fight against a reduction in wages. They dropped their demand for shorter working hours.

The agreement marks the passing of the Central Competitive Field—Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois—as the basis for wage agreements. In its place has been established a new and wider area including West Virginia, Ohio, Central Pennsylvania, Michigan Indiana and Illinois.

At the same time that the coal strike was reaching a settlement at Cleveland there were signs of rail peace when the heads of the railroad brotherhoods asked the railroad executives to set a date for a conference on the shopmen's strike.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Humiliation and Disgrace

It is true that American labor officialdom has never troubled itself very much about American labor's international obligations.

We find many American unions calling themselves "International" unions, but that only means that they have a few members in Canada in addition to those in the United States. Of real international affiliation they know practically nothing.

This situation is seized upon by the London labor daily, The Herald, and blamed for the lack of co-operation between the British and American miners in the struggle of the latter. The complete indictment, under the heading "THE U. S. MINERS," appearing in a recent issue, is as follows:

> **During our own coal lock-out, American coal was brought eastward across the Atlantic as a weapon against British miners. Now British coal, in its turn, goes westward to help President Harding and the Big Business men to fight the United Mine Workers.**
>
> **It is a humiliation and a disgrace to Labor that this should be so. But it is useless to clamor idly that something should be done, or to denounce somebody wildly because nothing IS being done.**
>
> **For the grim fact is that nothing CAN be done. Action is impossible without preparation, and we have failed to prepare for the situation which now confronts us. We can gesture: but that, however gratifying to ourselves, would be quite useless to the American miners.**
>
> **What they need is not drama, but solid, well-organized, lasting support which would check effectively the strike-breaking moves of international capital. And no such support can be given by the workers of one country to the workers of another until our international machinery is vastly improved.**
>
> **It is an ironic thought that the United Mine Workers, who are now asking for International support, are not affiliated to the International Miners' Federation; and that the American Federation of Labor, of which they are a part, has seceded—with strange Gompers-mutterings of "Bolshevism"—from the International Federation of Trade Unions.**
>
> **We point that out not with any desire for recrimination, but as a typical instance of the disastrous effect of international divisions; of the folly of these squabblings between leaders of the "right" and "centre" and "left"; of the insistent need for an industrial united front.**
>
> **But we would add that a united front does not in itself make an efficient army. Generalship and munitions are also necessary ingredients of victory.**

In a later issue, The Herald editor admits his mistake and confesses that the United Mine Workers of America is affiliated with the International Miners' Federation, and that it had two delegates at the recent congress at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in Germany.

Yet, even if The Herald indictment were entirely true, the fault would not lie with the American coal miners alone.

The crime is that of the International Federation itself, in that it is organized for international discussion and not for international action. Witness the late congress, where a resolution of sympathy for the American miners was adopted, and then the delegates proceeded to the discussion of the Versailles Peace. There was not even the will to action, even between the national bodies in Europe, separated merely by national frontiers.

We find that the desire for action comes alone from the Red Trade Union International. It is to be hoped that this whole problem will come before the next convention of the United Mine Workers of America in an effective manner.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

Mexican Labor Gives Support to Strike of Shopmen on Railroads

By F. W. LEIGHTON

MEXICO CITY.—A telegram urging that the capitalists respect the rights and interests of American organized railway labor, signed by A. Carrillo Vargas, president, Confederation of Railroad Unions, was sent to President Harding, the Big Four brotherhoods, B. M. Jewell, railway employes' department, and to the Society of South American Railway Workers.

The Confederation of Railroad Workers, headed by Vargas, has been active in support of the American strike since its inception. In addition to organizing the nation-wide four-hour stoppage August 1 the following action has been taken:

(1) Clearest orders were issued to all affiliated members to refrain from accepting scab jobs on American railroads.

(2) Strong representations were made to P. E. Calles, secretary of interior, requesting that the government take steps to prevent Mexican laborers from crossing the border as strikebreakers. As a result instructions have been issued to all Mexican consular officials to require guarantees from Mexicans leaving for the United States to the effect that they are not going for railroad work; and to use all means possible to prevent and dissuade Mexican citizens from accepting scab jobs.

(3) Data regarding the origin and nature of the strike has been forwarded to the rail workers of South America, together with an urgent appeal for expression of solidarity by means of demonstrations and all possible methods.

Interviewed by the Federated Press, Isaac Ortiz, former head of the Confederation of Railroad Unions, and now secretary of the Mutual Society of Telegraphers and Despatchers, expressed astonishment that several millions of workers now on strike in various industries of the United States should tolerate intimidation by a few thousand soldiers.

Appeal of Workers Party to British Labor Is Published

The appeal of the Workers Party, thru the Communist Party of Great Britain to British labor, not to handle coal for shipment to the United States to break the miners' strike here, has been published in The Daily Herald, the British labor organ.

The appeal is being given wide circulation, not only among the British coal miners, but also among the railroad men and dock workers, in the hope that the mass of the workers will force effective action by their organizations.

CARDIFF, Wales.—The Executive Council of the South Wales Miners' Federation, meeting at Cardiff, Vernon Hartshorn, M. P., presiding, considered a resolution from the Rhondda district requesting that steps should be taken to prevent coal being supplied from this country to the United States during the continuance of the strike of American miners.

Hartshorn explained that the Miners' Federation of Great Britain had decided to refer the matter to the International Miners' Committee, and the secretary was instructed to inform Frank Hodges, secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, that in the opinion of South Wales the international organization should take steps to prevent coal being supplied to America.

* * *

STOP COAL FOR AMERICA

At a mass meeting of Erith unemployed, numbering 900, a resolution was passed calling on transport workers in Great Britain "to refuse to allow one ounce of coal to be put into vessels here by American coal bosses."

* * *

WON'T HANDLE SCAB COAL

NEW YORK.—Members of the Marine Transport Workers' Union will refuse to assist in the transportation or unloading of British coal dispatched to American ports for the purpose of breaking the miners' strike. This announcement has just been made by the Manhattan branch of the Transport Union, which is an integral part of the I. W. W.

Extra! Police Help Strike!

LAWRENCE, Mass.—Members of the police department of Lawrence have agreed to make voluntary contributions to a fund for the relief of striking textile operatives, it was announced at police headquarters. In view of the unsavory record of the police of this city in past textile strikes, the expression of friendliness is unique.

Nine Communists were recently arrested following a meeting on the Boulevard Menilmontant, in Paris. They were charged with seditious cries and threats to the police.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

National Defense Committee Picnic, Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, L. I., Sunday, August 20th, 1922

Auditors Demand That Jewish Daily Forward Retract Its Falsehoods

J. B. Collings Woods, chartered accountants, who audited the accounts of the Friends of Soviet Russia, now join in the demand that the Jewish Daily Forward retract false and misleading statements contained in its attack on the workers' famine relief campaign.

This demand made upon the editor of The Forward, Abraham Cahan, follows:

New York City, N. Y., Aug. 12, 1922

Editor, Jewish Daily Forward,
New York City.

Dear Sir:—My clients, the Friends of Soviet Russia, National Office, 201 West 13th Street, New York City, have called my attention to the fact that articles have appeared in your newspaper questioning the authenticity of their published financial statements to which my certificate is attached.

From translations of certain of those articles which my clients have submitted to me I note that you report that there exists a conflict between the financial statements and my certificate. I wish to inform you as follows: Firstly, that I am responsible for the financial statements and the certificate. Secondly, that I would not, nor would any auditor of my professional standing, issue a certificate to be used with financial statements which were in conflict with the certificate. Thirdly, that no such conflict exists. Fourthly, that the financial statements are for the National Office only. The functions of that office include the receipt of contributions less expenses paid by locals and the payment of national publicity expenses for the benefit of all offices. Fifthly, that these facts are clearly stated in all financial statements and certificates published. Therefore, any report to the contrary must be based on misinformation, misquotations or a failure to understand the plain language of the published documents.

With regard to all your other charges which have been brought to my notice, I wish to state that they have no foundation in fact. They are either deliberately misleading or they are written by one who for some reason or other is incapable of understanding accounts which are carefully prepared with the specific object of giving full and clear information to the contributors of the Friends of Soviet Russia. The publication of such clear and full accounts by any organization is unusual. My clients and I would welcome constructive suggestions for bringing information to our contributors. Such suggestions, however, can only come from those who understand the technical and psychological difficulties to be overcome in a task of that sort. A comparison of my clients' statements with those issued by other organizations might help the layman to appreciate the problem we faced and the steps we have made towards solving it.

As auditor of the Friends of Soviet Russia I am at all times conscious of my duty to the public. It seems almost superfluous to add that my code of professional ethics would make it necessary for me to refuse to issue a certificate of approval and also to resign as auditor if any one of the charges you make with regard to the misappropriation of funds, extravagance, undue delay in the disbursement of funds for relief, or the subsidising of political papers were true. Following such resignation I should immediately take professional steps to deprive the organization of the possibility of obtaining any auditor of my standing to succeed me. No other course would be open to me.

In order to avoid misquotations I refrain from giving interviews, but I have received instructions from my clients to answer written questions which may be addressed to me with regard to their accounts.

I respectfully request that you retract any false or misleading statements you may have made, giving due prominence thereto and to this letter.

Very truly yours,
J. B. Collings Woods,
Chartered Accountant.

"DIVIDING UP"

TOKIO.—According to one of the Russian engineers employed by the South Manchurian railway at Dairen, the proceeds of this railway company are divided as follows: one-half to Japan, one-fourth to China, one-fourth to "Russia." The money for Russia is put into the hands of a small group of generals to be used at their discretion. It is actually used in connection with White activities and propaganda in the Far Eastern republic, and to maintain a "Russian" consul in San Francisco.

VICTORY AT MONTREAL

MONTREAL.—Complete victory after one week's walkout is the result of the strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers here. Practically all the clothing establishments in Montreal are fully unionized, and all the workers' demands have been acceded to.

An Answer from Debs

THE WORKER has received an answer from Eugene V. Debs to the questions addressed to him in its issue of Saturday, August 5, as a result of the cable sent by him to [illegible] on behalf of the Social Revolutionaries now on trial in Moscow. The answer is sent thru Debs' brother, Theodore, and is as follows:

• • •

TERRE HAUTE, Ind., August 9, 1922.

Dear Comrade Engdahl:—Your letter to Gene of the 3rd inst. enclosing a copy of the Worker containing a marked article addressed to him duly reached him and has been forwarded to me for attention. Gene is sick and undergoing treatment and in his condition and situation he is unable to give personal attention to matters of this kind but he directs me to make answer to you as follows: He has no statement to make. The cablegram to Moscow speaks for itself. It requires no explanation. It states his position and by that he stands. The attempt to make him appear the enemy of Lenin and the Soviet Government in face of the fact that from the hour that government was born he proclaimed himself its friend and has stood by it and defended and extolled Lenin and Trotzky in every word uttered and written, is too false and silly to merit attention.

Your indictment of the social revolutionaries is complete but there is another side and you make no mention of it.

In the conflict between the bolsheviki and the social revolutionaries the wild excesses were not confined to one side, as you would have it appear—the social revolutionaries were the victims as well as the perpetrators of outrages, and if they had been victorious and were now trying the bolsheviki for high crimes in their courts with conviction as a foregone conclusion Gene would protest against their execution as he does now against that of the social revolutionaries.

He does not believe in revenge, in capital punishment, in cold-blooded murder, and these brutal passions and atrocious crimes are all the more reprehensible in his eyes when committed in the name of law and justice by Socialists who have for years been denouncing capitalism for these identical infamies.

If we believe in bloodthirsty revenge, in cruel reprisals and savage killings to satisfy our law and ethics, we are even lower than the capitalists and their mercenary hangmen who at least make no pretense of such humane ideals as we profess and shamelessly betray the moment we succeed to power.

It will be insisted that the execution of the defendants in this case is a revolutionary necessity. Gene denies it!

He is convinced that the murder of these men would betray the weakness and fear of the Soviet Government and bring it into contempt all over the world among people who now give it their allegiance and support.

To be great enough, human enough and generous enough to punish these men with their liberty instead of the hangman's halter would be the civilized method of dealing with them, thus setting up the higher ethical standard we profess and thereby commanding the confidence and respect of the whole world.

The Soviet Government has nothing more to fear from these defendants. Let it set them an example in Soviet morality and humanity and even the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Government will be to that extent disarmed and silenced.

Gene does not defend the acts of the social revolutionaries. He pleads for their lives as he would if they were the vilest criminals on earth, and if they had attempted to assassinate him instead of Lenin his attitude would be the same.

From the standpoint of mere policy, leaving out the question of human life, mercy instead of revenge at this time would be infinitely the wiser course of the Soviet Government, and as a loyal supporter of Lenin, Trotzky and the Soviet Government he fervently hopes they will pursue that course.

Gene wishes me to say to you that personally he owes nothing to the Communists. When he was in that hell-hole at Atlanta the Communists with but few exceptions ignored him and the rest of the political prisoners, and their papers, including the one you now edit, were cold-bloodedly silent, not raising a voice nor lifting a finger to secure their release, and so far as they were concerned Gene would still be rotting, were he alive, in his dungeon in Atlanta.

You are at liberty to publish what is here said and if you do kindly send me a marked copy.

Gene wishes me to thank you sincerely for your message of personal kindness and to send you his cordial regards and best wishes, to which I take the liberty to add my own.

Yours fraternally,
THEODORE DEBS

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A Reply to Debs

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

The social (counter) revolutionaries were on trial at Moscow. Victor Tchernoff, fomentor of armed uprisings against Soviet Rule in Russia, from his haven of safety in Berlin, Germany, was cabling to "Socialists" thruout the world, urging them to protest to Lenin on behalf of his fellow-criminals against the Workers' Republic, who faced conviction for their crimes and sentence of death.

One of these cables went to Eugene V. Debs, at Chicago. Debs cabled to Moscow, "protesting with all civilized people in the name of our common humanity against sentencing to death of any of the social revolutionaries or the unjust denial of their liberty."

This cable of protest prompted me to address several questions to Debs, asking him if he was really acquainted with the nature of the Social Revolutionary Party and the crimes, not only of its members, acting as individuals and as party officials, but of the official acts of the party itself in plotting the overthrow of the Soviet Republic, in planning the assassination of Lenin and Trotzky, in accomplishing the murder of Uritzky and Volodarsky, in aiding international imperialism at every opportunity to attack the rule of the workers and peasants.

Debs replies that he does not "defend the acts of the social revolutionaries," that he merely "pleads for their lives," and advances as his strongest plea that the "Soviet Government has nothing more to fear from these defendants."

During the past eight years the revolutionary movement has gone thru two testing periods, in America three. The first came in 1914, with the outbreak of the war, when professed social revolutionists turned social patriots over night.

This testing period was repeated in the United States when this country entered the war in 1917, the Socialist Party first adopting the St. Louis Anti-War Proclamation and then proceeding to betray it.

The next testing period, for the whole world, came with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, November, 1917, with the labor movement dividing for and against the Soviet Republic, the "sympathizers" standing in between.

When the Socialist Party wavered as it did in the convention held in Chicago, in 1918, Debs came from his home, addressed the gathering, and kept the party straight for a time. That was the summer Debs made his speech at Canton, Ohio, that won him his ten-year sentence to prison.

Humanitarian and pacifist, it was easy for Debs to be anti-war. The test of his standing as a revolutionist came in 1920, when, as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, he declared, "I am a Socialist, not a Communist."

Two years more have passed since then and there has been some hope of still winning Debs for the revolutionary movement. Since leaving prison Debs has not openly endorsed the Socialist Party. But he has now joined the Socialist Party, and the reactionists in the labor movement, from Schlesinger to Gompers, in an effort to besmirch the first beginnings of the world social revolution in Soviet Russia.

Where is the Debs that said in his Canton speech, June 16, 1918:

"If war is right, let it be declared by the people—you, who have your lives to lose; you certainly ought to have the right to declare war, if you consider a war necessary."

The workers and peasants, soldiers and sailors of Soviet Russia wanted peace after their revolution in 1917. But world capitalism, in Washington, London and Paris, as well as in Berlin and Vienna, wouldn't let them have it. Soviet rule thereupon call- [illegible] fully [illegible] that struggle. The stories of "The Death of a Red Regiment," "The Red Funeral," and "The Death Train of Siberia" will live forever.

The social (counter) revolutionaries, with their party, stand on the side of capitalist oppression and they must suffer the consequences. Debs says, "The social revolutionaries were the victims as well as the perpetrators of outrages." Surely Debs cannot expect the Red Army to wage war for working class emancipation with wooden cannon and cartridges that carry no bullets. Surely, in his Canton speech, he didn't expect the people to declare war under those conditions.

War demands that one takes sides. No less does the class war demand that. The Soviet delegates at Genoa demanded peace and disarmament but were rejected. They sought the road to peaceful reconstruction at The Hague but were denied it. France maintains her army. Great Britain develops the largest air fleet of any nation. World capital is still hopeful of enslaving the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. And the Social (Counter) Revolutionary Party is one of its staunchest allies.

Let Debs read the proclamation issued by the Communist International, "To the Workers of the World!" on The Hague Conference, and he will come to its closing paragraph as follows:

"Long live the united front of the proletariat for the defense of the positions conquered by the World Revolution, and for the conquest of new ones!"

No letting down in the class war there. No easing up of the struggle to achieve the social revolution. The Soviet Republic tests its every step with the question, "Will it help the world revolution?"

The social (counter) revolutionaries were placed on trial. They were convicted and fourteen condemned to death, others being sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet Government decided to stay the execution of the Social Revolutionary conspirators. They will not be executed, "if the Social Revolutionary Party actually ceases all underground and conspirative acts of terrorism, espionage and insurrection against the Soviet Government. If, however, the Social Revolutionary Party will continue the same methods of struggle against the Soviet regime this inevitably will bring about the executions."

Thus the Soviet Republic, thru its highest organism, admits the danger of continued attack and retains capital punishment as a weapon against its enemies.

Capitalist nations may rest upon their arms for recuperation between wars and wax merciful for a time toward war objectors, toward pacifists. But there is no let-up in the class war until the social revolution has spread to every land and established its victory without dispute. Then, with the inauguration of a Communist Society, mercy and humanity will come into their own, not because there were those who sympathized with Lenin or Trotzky, or any other revolutionary leaders, but because the world heard the tramp of millions ready to give their all, their lives, for the winning of the New Day.

The trial of the Social (Counter) Revolutionaries in Soviet Russia has been another phase of the social revolution that has helped to clearly divide those who stand with from those who oppose the Workers' Republic.

Debs says he is willing to plead for the life of the vilest criminal, even for one who would attempt to assassinate him, but he feels that he owes nothing to the Communists. He said the Communists ignored him and the other political prisoners.

Perhaps Debs will remember that in a few hours, on January 1 and January 2, 1920, thousands of Communists were seized and imprisoned in Palmer's "Red Raids." The Communist movement was attacked because it had established new revolutionary frontiers in this country. The iron fist of American junkerdom was raised to crush the young American Communist movement. In that attack it was easy for the American junkerdom, finding new victims, to release the war prisoners, until they have now been given their freedom with a few exceptions.

But no Communist has been pardoned or released in this country. And they fill the prisons of practically every land on earth, testimony to the fact that the class war rages and grows ever more bitter.

Communism replies to capitalism with its own weapons, the weapons that capitalism forces into the hands of the workers in the struggle for their emancipation. It gives blow for blow. Woe to those who attempt, and more to those who succeed in weakening the blows of labor.

NOTICE

There will be a special committee to settle accounts for tickets sold in advance. Don't fail to settle your account on Sunday on the picnic grounds.—National Defense Committee, New York Division.

Using Force Without Stint

[illegible]

[illegible] study in the [illegible] railroad labor leadership [illegible]. Here it is:—

"The [illegible] establishment," declared Senator Borah, when the army appropriation bill was being considered in the Senate, "is that capital hopes and expects to use it against union labor."

• • •

Recently young Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., grandson of Commodore Vanderbilt, who declared that the "public might be damned" for all he cared what they thought of the way he conducted the railroads, has been discussing with his friend, General Pershing, the plans of the War Department for dealing with strikes of workmen.

Young Vanderbilt writes his observations and his confidential chats with the mighty and has them published in the newspapers.

The other day, in a copyrighted article, this young millionaire reporter imparted to a worn world whose nerves are on the ragged edge his shocker:

"I learn from positive military sources that preparations have been carefully made for defense against 'internal trouble.' The War Department, I learn, is prepared to meet any emergency within 12 hours. The weapons selected for the first line of defense are to be tear-gas grenades, light aerial bombs, calculated to do greatest damage in confined areas, riot and machine guns, and tanks."

• • •

What is this "internal trouble" against which the War Department is to direct all the paraphernalia of war, including gas?

Let young Mr. Vanderbilt tell about it:

"I learn, as well," he says, "that a complete set of military orders and instructions have been prepared for telegraphic delivery to nine corps area commanders, and that these orders contain instructions that if 'the situation warrants the troops are to SHOOT FIRST AND SHOOT TO KILL,' that there is to be NO QUARTER where a riot threatens to spread from, say, for instance, a ROUNDHOUSE OR STATION to the town itself." (The capitals are ours.)

The War Department, however, is not going to embark upon a campaign of reckless destruction. There is no limit to the number of workmen who may be killed, but property must not be injured.

"The employment of big guns is impracticable," says General Pershing's interviewer, "the purpose not being DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY as much as suppression."

• • •

There you have the government's whole program, if young Mr. Vanderbilt, who puts his feet under the tables of the mighty and enjoys their confidence, has correctly reported what he has been hearing in the reception halls where a good part of the government's business is being transacted.

The military force of this nation, which costs the taxpayers close to a billion dollars a year, is trained down to a hair-trigger finish for a struggle with workmen WHOSE HANDS ARE EMPTY, WHO ARE ARMED ONLY WITH THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF A JUST CAUSE.

• • •

The other day Senator Borah recalled the prediction he had made in the Senate, quoted at the head of this column, and he added:

"Recent developments certainly seem to justify the view I took of a large army then and which I still hold now. One reason certain big interests supported the presidential aspirations of General Leonard Wood in 1920 was that they were confident if he were elected to the White House he would place a battalion of soldiers at the doorway of union labor wherever and whenever those interests deemed the use of armed force necessary to crush union labor."

• • •

All that needs be added to the foregoing is that the workers have a weapon more powerful than those so graphically described by young Mr. Vanderbilt.

Militarists like Pershing and Wood and John W. Weeks, and "Theodore, the Little," flourish because you and I have not been using our ballots intelligently.

As things are now, we can have the kind of government we want in this country, but if we continue to "sleep at the switch" we may wake up some fine morning and find that General Pershing has decided to remove his tear gas, the machine guns, and aerial bombs from the roundhouses and stations to the polling places.

We do not like to think of what might happen in that event. SO LET'S REGISTER AND VOTE while we are still free men.

Now what is it that "Labor," that claims a circulation of 400,000 subscribers, mostly among railroad workers, urges labor to vote for.

It's position is that of the Political Conference held in Chicago, that placed its seal of approval on Gompers' ancient policy of "Reward your friend and punish your enemies" in the old parties.

Thus "Labor" gets thrillingly excited about former Senator James K. Vardaman, Democrat, seeking election in Alabama and Congressman George Huddleston, of Alabama. In other states it will get just as excited about Republican candidates.

In fact it professes to be thoroly enthused over the race of the republican, Colonel Smith W. Brookhart, for U. S. Senator from Iowa.

It will be remembered that Brookhart is seeking the seat of that other "radical republican," the late U. S. Senator who betrayed the "radical" farmers' bloc in Congress by accepting an appointment to a life job on the federal bench from President Harding.

A few more experiences of this kind and perhaps the present blind faith of labor in individual "radicals" will be lost, and the foundation laid for an organized party of the workers.

Nowhere, at present, does "Labor" breathe a hope for United Independent Political Action on the part of the workers of the United States. It does not seek, or desire, to array the workers in a powerful political organization of their own against the Republican and Democratic Parties of Wall Street.

• • •

Under the slogan of "Reward and Punish," this paper leads the workers into the morass of old party politics, just as the organizations sponsoring this paper keep the railroad workers divided in the great transportation strike now on.

For the editorial policy of labor is determined by a committee consisting of L. E. Sheppard, of the scabbing Order of Railway Conductors, as well as William H. Johnston, of the striking Machinists' Union; of H. E. Wills, of the scabbing Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, as well as James P. Noonan, of the striking Electrical Workers; not to mention E. H. Fitzgerald and J. J. Dermody of the scabbing Freight Handlers and Station Employes, and the Railroad Telegraphers.

• • •

Yet there is hope in the fact that thru the above editorial this paper, "Labor," speaking for the more backward railroaders, realizes that the capitalist state is "Using Force Without Stint" against the workers.

It is on the threshold of realizing that railroad labor, as well as all other labor, stands in need of two things:

FIRST:—A powerful political party of labor, speaking and acting for labor alone. It is inevitable that the organized Communists should be the vanguard of that party.

SECOND:—Powerful industrial unions co-operating with each other in every effort against the capitalist state.

Many battles will be fought and sacrifices made before American labor realizes these two needs.

It is a position far in advance of the editorial plea of "Labor" that says: "SO LET'S REGISTER AND VOTE while we are still free men."

But it is an advance that must be made if labor would be free.

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign.

Railroad Brotherhoods Urged to Take Stand With Striking Shopmen

OMAHA, Neb.—Resolutions have been passed here by the Executive Committee of the Federated Shop Crafts, now on strike, urging the four national brotherhoods to join the shopmen in their struggle. The appeal is addressed to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Enginemen and Firemen, and the Switchmen's Union of North America, and is as follows:

Whereas, The Federated Shop Crafts on July 1, 1922, went on strike against a decision of the United States Labor Board reducing the wages of said shop crafts and changing the rules to a point where they were becoming oppressive, and

Whereas, This strike has now continued and is still in full force and effect for the past five weeks in defense of a living wage for an American workman.

Whereas, When the strike is won as it undoubtedly will be, the members of all other organizations engaged in the Railroad Industry will be benefitted, and this move will stop any further inroads upon the part of the Railway Executive upon the rights of Railroad Employees, and

Whereas, We have to contend to day with the active opposition of the City, County, State and National Government, and the jail doors have been opened wide for our reception if we even speak to non-Union and unfair workmen, and

Whereas, The members of your organizations are today, working under the protection of Guards and other Police officers, and at the same time operating and handling unfair cars and motive power which is fast getting into a dangerous condition, and

Whereas, This action upon your part is lending aid and comfort to our common enemy, the Railroad Owners, by hauling scabs, guards and Deputy officers of every character for the oppression of the men who have taken up the fight for your interests as well as their own, and

Whereas, It is our opinion that should your Organization declare for a strike at this time, it would have the effect of bringing about not only an adjustment of this present controversy, but would without doubt obviate the necessity of your Organizations striking later for a remedy to your grievances. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Executive Committee of the Federated Shop Crafts of all roads centering in Omaha, Nebraska, call upon you at this time to use your forces to make a united stand against our common enemy, the Railroad Owners, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Firemen and Engine-men and the Switchmen's Union of North America.

National Defense Committee Issues Will and Mandate

Know all men, women and children by these presents, that we, the National Defense Committee New York Division Workers Party, do hereby make public and declare this to be our will in manner following:

1. That all members of the Workers Party, their wives, husbands, children, sweethearts and friends attend the picnic of the National Defense Committee Sunday, August 20, at Fuhrer's Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst, Long Island, where a wonderful food fest has been arranged with plenty of drinks—beers, sodas and milk. A water melon contest is planned for. The Finnish Athletic Club will give an exhibition including racing, jumping, etc. Besides, there will be bowling, dancing and many other attractions in store. Tickets are 35 cents. Come early. The gates will be open at 10 A. M.

2. It is our solemn will that every one having the liberty of mankind and the liberation of class-war prisoners at heart make it his or her business to see that this picnic is a success as the National Defense Committee is in sore need of money for the defense and relief of class-war prisoners and deportees.

3. It is further our will that every comrade whether belonging to the Workers Party or not come early and get on some committees.

4. **We hereby constitute and appoint the whole radical element of the City of New York to execute and carry out this our solemn will and mandate—to attend the picnic, Sunday, August 20, at Fuhrer's Elmhurst Park, Elmhurst Long Island.**

National Defense Committee
New York Division.
Norma Berman, Sec'y

Washington Weeping for Wall Street

By LAURENCE TODD

WASHINGTON.—Official Washington is genuinely and deeply alarmed at the failure of the Wall St. banking group headed by Morgan & Co. to break the coal and rail strikes.

It is ready to concede that nothing short of a miracle can save the coal operators and the railroad managers from humiliating rout.

In this subdued frame of mind it watches and waits for the outcome of the conference of executives of the railroad unions here, and for the stampede of separate groups of coal operators to sign the new national agreement drafted by the United Mine Workers with the operators at Cleveland.

Inasmuch as coal cannot be transported in quantity until the rail strike is adjusted, the administration is centering its attention on the railroad labor chiefs. And of all these 16 executives of the unions it is observing with the most anxiety the heads of the train service brotherhoods, by whose sanction the ominous walkout of train crews in the Joliet-Elgin zone has taken place.

President Harding has summoned Chairman Hooper of the railroad labor board here. Labor men believe that Hooper had an idea that he would be welcomed into their conference. This, they say, would be a mistaken idea on Hooper's part. They have nothing to say to Hooper, since the full restoration of seniority has been refused by the managers.

Harding's advisers tell him that the train service men can tie up traffic thruout the country without violating their contracts of employment, since the rolling stock provided for them by the companies is so unsafe as to menace their lives. The administration must meet this crisis promptly—yet it has not a plan nor the will to insist that the railroad companies yield on the seniority issue. Republican leaders visit the president and come away hopeless. Every hour of delay of settlement drags the country nearer to commercial chaos, which may provoke political and social unrest whose limits cannot be foreseen.

The coolest, calmest, most cheerful people in the city are the chiefs of the railroad labor organizations. If New York bankers continue to dictate that the struggle go forward, the train service brotherhoods will proceed to safeguard their own lives by staying off the locomotives and cars. Railroad traffic in the United States will virtually cease, until the bankers and their railroad managers come to terms.

Minnesota Amalgamation Plan for Railroads Wins Support in Washington

EVERETT, Wash.—Amalgamation of the sixteen standard railroad unions into a composite organization was the plan voted recently here by a delegate meeting of the Big Four brotherhoods and the striking shop crafts. The meeting was the third and largest of its kind since the walkout of the shopmen. Between 125 and 150 railwaymen of Seattle Everett, Auburn and Tacoma were present.

As the result of the action taken the delegates returned to their locals and called for the ratification of the amalgamation plan. Pressure will be brought to bear on the various internationals to agree to a new form of organization.

Under the plan as adopted, known as the Minnesota plan, the railroad workers would be divided into six sub-divisions, as follows: Engineers and firemen; conductors, trainmen and switchmen; telegraphers, signalmen and dispatchers; clerks, station agents, freight handlers and expressmen; blacksmiths, boilermakers, carmen, electricians, machinists, sheet metal workers and stationery firemen; and maintenance of way men.

Second Amalgamated Bank

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are planning the establishment of a co-operative bank here for its members and other workers, Sidney Hillman, national president, has announced. The A. C. W. recently started a bank in Chicago, and its executive board, now in session here, is discussing the establishment of banks in all large clothing centers where there are locals of the Amalgamated.

SPECIAL NOTICE

Two hundred tickets for the picnic of the local Friends of Soviet Russia have been lost at the picnic of the Freiheit. Any comrade who may have found these tickets will please return them to the office at 208 E. 12th St. The numbers of the lost tickets are 1201 to 1400. If these tickets are offered for sale please report to the local office.

Foster's Own Story

[illegible]

He must be some detective not to be able to recognise a carload of [illegible] state police.

[illegible] we made for the state line and picked up the Cheyenne sheriff there.

The Rangers then turned me over to his tender mercies, after telling me that he was going to put me on an Eastbound Union Pacific train.

In passing, it may be noted that the Rangers, in addition to the dozen or two other laws broken by them in my deportation, also held me prisoner for two hours or more, covering a distance of some 30 miles in Wyoming, a purely illegal proceeding.

The Cheyenne sheriff, who had a machine driven by a scab-mechanic chauffeur from the Union Pacific shops, took me north to Cheyenne, but instead of depositing me in the jail or on a train, as I had expected, he set off along the road going in a northeasterly direction.

We travelled all afternoon, some five hours or more, making another 100 miles in addition to the 125 miles that I had been driven earlier in the day.

Finally, we came to a standstill, and he told me to get out and walk, informing me that the town of Torrington was one mile ahead.

Then he headed back to Cheyenne, warning me never to come back to the Union Pacific—which he frankly recognised as his master.

Starting along the road, I soon picked up a ride to Torrington,—which I found was six miles off instead of one—a town on a spur of the Burlington railroad far to the north of Cheyenne.

Fortunately, a train was leaving in half an hour for Omaha, where I arrived the next night ten minutes late for my meeting there.

In the great steel campaign of 1919, we organised and struck the big Rockefeller steel company plants at Pueblo, Colo., 100 per cent.

This double kidnapping of myself, first thru the state of Colorado and then thru Wyoming, was an act of revenge therefor.

But Hamrock won't get away with it entirely unscathed. The active workers in the Colorado movement are going to push this case.

Tho few, no doubt, are childish enough to expect justice to be done in the situation, yet at least, all may look for the crooked authorities of Colorado and Wyoming to be compelled to break a few more laws in their efforts to cover up their illegality in this kidnapping affair.

It will be one more occasion to show the class character of present day society.

The Crisis in Italy

EDITOR'S NOTE:—During the past few days the situation in Italy seems to have calmed down a little with the demobilization of the Fascisti. We have just received an article by Umberto Terracini, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Italian Communist Party, in which he views the beginnings of the late crisis.

Figures just received by THE WORKER show that during the past year the Fascisti have forcibly dissolved 900 Socialist municipal bodies, and have burned down 500 labor halls and co-operative stores.

The Fascisti are now said to be 300,000 strong. Dressed in black shirts, with embroidered skulls, and wearing black fezzes, they move as they will thru the country, burning, shooting, terrorizing. And they openly threaten armed insurrection should any government attempt to deal with them. Terracini's article is as follows:—

• • •

By UMBERTO TERRACINI

ROME.—At the beginning of July, after six months of government by the de Facta Cabinet, the Finance Minister made a long report on the Italian budget.

The figures he gave made a profound impression on the deputies, all of whom, irrespective of group or party, were absorbed in the struggle between the Fascisti and the Communists, and by the internal crisis in the Socialist Party.

They had completely forgotten that the state had such a thing as a budget and that it could neither live nor function if this did not respond to certain necessities.

The Italian budget was presented under these disastrous circumstances and never in the Italian Parliament were more alarming words spoken or more sombre forecast made for the future.

The deficit for the current year had increased to 4 billions and the national debt to 114 billions; new taxes are being considered and sweeping strokes of economy predicted for all the ministries. All these are necessary and can brook no delay.

The Minister indicated clearly the possibility of a state bankruptcy, if no amelioration of the existing conditions is arrived at very soon.

In the meantime the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Schanzer, returned from his trip to Paris and London, where he had been making an attempt to arrive at a solution of the various problems of international politics which pressed so heavily upon the Italian State; the Eastern problem, Dalmatia and the problem of the African colonies.

Hear of Schanzer's Failure

The news of the complete breakdown of his negotiations spread rapidly. France was irritated because Italy had always ranged herself on the side of Lloyd George against Barthou at the Genoa Conference, and England, though in need of solidarity with Italy for the solution of her problems, has contended herself with covering the Italian ministry with courtesies and promises without concluding a single one of the desired arrangements.

And just at this moment of general tension in Italian politics, the internal situation of the State became even worse.

The deFacta ministry was formed at the beginning of this year, at a time when the civil war between the workers and the Fascisti had reached the fever point and its program was formed upon the solemn promise to re-establish the normal conditions of life and to combat the systematic violence perpetrated against the proletariat.

But the composition of the ministry itself rendered this vaunted program of pacification null and void from the outset, as its members included representatives of the Right, the agrarians and the nationalists, who were the instigators of Fascism and the subsidizers of the white terrorist bands.

Launch Anti-Labor Offensive

In fact, hardly was the short interlude of the Genoa Conference over, when the violence of the anti-proletarian offensive recommenced with even greater fury.

But the period of pseudo-armistice had been extremely valuable to the Fascisti, for it permitted them to perfect their new tactics of vast armed concentration for the invasion and conquest of the towns in which the workers had succeeded in preserving a little strength, or where there were institutions of a trade union or economic character.

By these actions Fascism revealed itself definitely as a movement pledged to the destruction of all proletarian organisms, irrespective of political tendency, which were opposed to the complete restoration of the domination of the capitalist class.

It was at this time that the Italian Populist Party (Clericals), which besides a purely political organization, has also a good trade union organization among certain categories of workers such as the weavers, and among the land workers, began to feel the whole weight and danger of Fascism, as they became more and more the object of their atrocities.

The episode of the Cremona invasion contributed to the forming and stiffening of the anti-Fascisti attitude of the opposition parties and cemented the parliamentary alliance of the Socialists with the Populists. Cremona is an industrial center dominated by two proletarian parties, the Socialists and the Communists.

[illegible] majority side.

The various parties considered the strange manoeuvre of fomenting local disturbances in order to support or overthrow the government according to their various policies.

This explains the action of the Fascisti backed by the government in throwing their armed companies against Novara, the capital of Piedmont and against Ancona, capital of the Marks, to intimidate the opposition parties and to support deFacta who had always given them his aid and protection.

Hence also the reason for the general strike in Lombardy and Piedmont which is also being prepared in Liguria and the Roman province, where it assumed such proportions that the Fascisti government had to fall under the pressure of the masses.

The crisis has shown such a curious and unusual character that we can well believe that the disintegration of the Italian state organism is well advanced.

Plan the General Strike

As a sign of protest and distrust, 100 Populist deputies, 120 Socialist deputies, the 15 Communists, 10 republicans, the reformists and the dozen so-called democrats of all shades are initiating a general strike and abstaining from Parliamentary sessions.

This has been done so thoroly that for several days the sessions took place in the presence of only two or three members and lasted only about five minutes.

And when the government wished to announce a change of direction in its internal policy thru the medium of President deFacta, a crowded chamber refused all discussion, limiting itself to a declaration by the leaders of each group and finally overwhelmed the Minister in a flood of contrary votes.

The complete bankruptcy of ministerial activity in the various domains of foreign policy, finance, and internal affairs could have produced no other result as it was easy for each parliamentary group to find reasons for its discontent and even the Fascisti, who had been supporters of the majority, hesitated as to whether they should pass over to the opposition, after having heard President de Facta announce the police laws against violence on the part of any party.

Fascism Not Artificial

But even if the Ministry is overthrown it will be impossible, for the Italian government to pursue any other policy than that of the late ministry.

Fascism, as the Communists have recently pointed out, is not an artificial phenomenon, but corresponds to the necessities of a special period in bourgeois government, when it is obliged to defend its position by every means against the encroachments of the proletariat.

The alacrity with which the masses have responded to the general strike in the regions especially threatened by the Fascisti offensive, the insistence with which they demanded an extension of this action, even in those regions which up to the present have not been touched by the terror, are a sure sign that two years of persecution have in no way weakened the fighting spirit of the proletariat, but on the contrary, points to a new increase of energy and desire to fight.

Otherwise this situation of continual civil war which paralyzes the industries of whole provinces and breaks up groups of the most efficient workers, cannot help but make the general economic situation of the country worse, which can no longer succeed in finding markets for its goods, and loses the confidence of other countries, so that there is not the slightest hope of putting its finances on a healthy basis. The budget is in ruins and strikes a new blow at an economy already in a state of disintegration.

Only Policy Is Anti-Labor

The only possible policy in Italy to-day is anti-proletarian, similar to that followed by President deFacta; the general approval for the new cabinet is given to Orlando, who up to the last moment voted with the fallen ministry.

It is perhaps for the first time in the history of parliamentary states that the succession to a fallen ministry has not fallen into the hands of a triumphant leader of the opposition, but into the hands of one of its most fervent supporters.

But this is a manifestation of the crisis in the Italian bourgeois state, which has lost the power of normal functioning.

No party or bourgeois group dares support an open anti-Fascisti policy. Even the Socialists, who are paying for the crisis with the lives of hundreds of workers at the hands of the Fascisti, say that they merely demand a government capable of applying the law and defending the authority of the state. And they accept and promise to support a ministry headed by Orlando which claims to be animated by sentiments quite other than favorable to the working class.

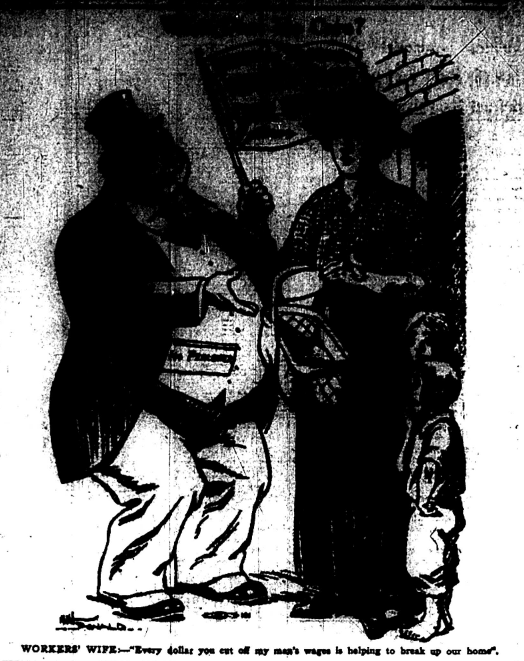
As a matter of fact, Mr. Orlando has been holding long protracted negotiations with the deputy Mussolini, the Fascisti leader, who declared himself ready to accept part responsibility in the formation of the ministry. The same Mussolini has been called to the Quirinal for consultation with the king who personally shields the commander of these companies of assassins who have turned the country into a battle field.

The deFacta Ministry was formed of representatives of all parties, except the extreme Socialists and Communists.

The new Orlando Ministry will have the same features.

The only change will be the attitude of the Socialist group, which, abandoning its traditional opposition, takes its place with the majority, casting its vote for the new government.

This is a new step towards collaboration, for which the present time is not ripe, as the masses are filled with a fighting spirit. The triumph of Social Democracy can only come in the hour when they have succeeded definitely in subjecting the workers to the organized violence of capitalism.



WORKERS' WIFE:—"Every dollar you cut off my man's wages is helping to break up our home".

AMALGAMATED GROWS

NEW YORK.—Fifteen thousand members have been added to the rolls of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as the result of organization campaigns in the eastern clothing centers, according to Sidney Hillman, general president. These additions bring the membership to a figure between 150,000 and 160,000.

While half a million American coal miners are risking starvation in order to maintain a living wage, word cames from the British Co-operative Wholesale Society that the coal miners in its co-operative colliery at Shibottle are being given a week's vacation with pay. These miners are paid the highest union scale, are housed in handsome stone cottages co-operatively owned, and participate in the management of the colliery.

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Organize Trade Union "Left Wing"

The recent tremendous growth of radical and militant spirit in the trade unions is definitely organizing. The final establishment of this "left wing" in the trade unions will take place at the First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League, in Chicago, August 26th-27th.

An indication of the alarm with which the capitalist forces view this new development, is seen in the assault made upon William Z. Foster, Secretary-Treasurer of the new organization, while he was in Colorado.

"General" Pat Hamrock, well known as the beast who murdered the women and children of the miners at Ludlow, kidnapped Foster in Denver, before he had a chance to speak to a meeting of striking railroad workers, and sent him out of the state of Colorado under armed guard. Hamrock told newspaper men that he "didn't need any law," that his action was "above the law." He undoubtedly reflected the sentiment of his employers, the capitalists of Colorado.

Word coming into the headquarters of the League in Chicago, indicates that the Conference will be a large one. About a hundred cities, from coast to coast, have signified their intention to send delegates. Interest is rising every day, and the prospects for the national gathering far exceed the former expectations of the officials of the League.

When this gathering has definitely stated its position upon the burning issues of the labor movement, outlined its program in the various industries, and formed a National Committee which will be the elected representatives of the whole movement of the United States and Canada, a new page in the history of American Labor will have been opened.

Never before has there been such a swell of revolutionary feeling, and especially has there never been such positive and definite organization of such a movement.

With its clear-cut program or the complete unification of the American Labor Movement upon lines of a militant struggle for the interests of the workers, the Trade Union Educational League will soon remold the trade unions into fighting organizations for the working class.

Those who find it possible to attend this National Conference will be participating in a historic gathering. All militant unionists are straining every possible resource to be present. The results will be eagerly watched for thruout the country, and thruout the world.

Recruits for the Class War

On May 26 the French Government asked Parliament to "lift the parliamentary immunity" of two Communist deputies, Marcel Cachin, administrator of a weekly paper called "Le Conscrit," and Paul Vaillant-Couturier, author of an article in that paper, so that they might be indicted in the courts for Vaillant-Couturier's article. Under French law, no deputy can be tried without permission of Parliament. On June 1, "l'Humanité," a Communist daily, reprinted in full the article called "The Apprenticeship in Violence," this time signed not merely by Vaillant-Couturier but by all the 15 Communist deputies, 35 members of the executive committee of the party, nine members of the national committee of the Communist youth organizations, four officers of the party organization in Paris, 12 Communist municipal counselors, 20 Communist mayors of industrial suburbs of Paris, and 12 members of the central committee of the Republican Association of Ex-Service Men headed by Henri Barbusse. The crucial part of this article reads as follows:

"M. Briand admitted at Washington that the French army was the army of bourgeois order in Europe. This is the army in which you are called to serve. In it they intend to put you thru an apprenticeship in stupid unconsciousness and a schooling in violence. Keep your self-consciousness. Desert, morally, but retain all the material part of your apprenticeship in violence. Study each detail of your Renault tank, learn thoroly how to pilot your airplane, understand the mechanism of your machine-gun, become a good bomb-thrower.

"The labor of the working class paid for all these machines. Your class knows the risk it runs in letting you take part in these murderous studies, but it dares have confidence in you. Keep your contact with it.

"Like the worker in the service of his employer, you are in the service of your enemy, but if you strike you have a tool which may be decisive. You are armed, and on the day, Conscript, when the bourgeoisie appeals to you against your father, your mother, and your brothers, either for war or for internal defense, remember that your class advised you to accept arms only because it had need of them. Those arms belong to it."

Help Russia's Workers Help Selves, Plan

Help the Russian Workers help themselves!

That is the slogan which was adopted by the Third World Congress of the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee and which will rally the workers of other countries to pledge their labor and money to the work of rebuilding Russian industries and agriculture.

The Third World Congress of the W. I. R. F. R. C. adopted a new economic policy for relief in Russia, which indeed conforms to the New Economic Policy of the Soviet Government.

Furnish Economic Aid

In the main, this new policy consists of doing away with the superficial, philanthropic means of relief and attacking the whole problem and troubles of hunger and starvation by reviving the productive forces of Soviet Russia.

The worst phases of the famine are now past, but not its economic consequences.

Inasmuch as the new harvest will not wipe out the famine as is claimed in some quarters, it will certainly not do away with the consequences of the famine—the decay of agriculture and industry and the exhaustion of the population.

It can only give a breathing spell in which the friends of Soviet Russia all over the world, can work out a program to furnish real economic aid for the reconstruction of Soviet Russia's productive forces.

Thru an international workers' loan, funds will be provided whereby agricultural and industrial concessions in Soviet Russia can be taken over and operated under the direction of the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee.

For the first time in history, the greatest economic opportunities are thrown open to the workers of the world by a workers' state.

New Epoch 'n Relief Work.

A new epoch is beginning in the matter of relief work for Soviet Russia. The economic reconstruction of the famine districts, particularly the Volga region, must be undertaken, without, however, discontinuing the distribution of food, which should go on until the next harvest.

Hoernle, a German delegate to the convention, pointed out that there is nothing fantastic in the transition from workers' aid in famine relief to an entirely new form of practical internationalism in productive economic assistance to the first workers' government

"We may begin with small means," he said, "but we must keep before our eyes the possibilities of growth and direct our efforts to that end.

"So the workers' relief, which began as purely charitable famine relief, is the germ from which will develop real international co-operation of the workers."

Unite Isolated Efforts

Munzenberg, secretary of the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee, and one of the delegates, stated that the interest in the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia among the workers of all countries is already strong, and the idea of co-operatives of production, financed thru workers' loans, is one which has arisen spontaneously in a number of countries.

To unite these isolated efforts of the workers everywhere is now the task of the W. I. R. F. R. C.

The Convention carried a very important decision with regard to laying stress upon the erection of children's homes and the care of destitute children.

The Congress undertook to care for 20,000 children, who have been deprived of their parents by the famine.

For the further relief of adults especially workers in the famine districts, a package organization will be established by the W. I. R. F. R. C. which will enable workers, or groups of workers, in other countries to send packages of food to workers, or groups of workers, in Soviet Russia.

The unemployed in the famine districts will be the special object of this form of relief.

Great Extent of Soviet Aid

Comrade Smidovich, representing the All-Russian Central Relief Committee, and one of the Russian delegates to the Convention, briefly sketched the extent to which the Soviet Government aided the famine sufferers.

He revealed that the Soviet Government applied all its resources to fighting the famine.

In addition to 170 million gold rubles directly appropriated by the government, enormous quantities of seed grain were shipped to the Volga district.

One million tons of seed grain were brought into the famine district in addition to foodstuffs, and this contributed greatly to the relief of the famine.

At the present time the Soviet Government is emphasizing constructive relief for the famine districts and again it is making available its economic resources for the upbuilding of agriculture and industry in this stricken area.

The Third World Congress of the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee was held in Berlin, at the call of the international secretary, Willy Munzenberg.

Twenty Countries Represented

Delegates were present from all the affiliated countries, which number about 20, with the exception of those from Argentina, South Africa and Spain, from which countries the delegates could not obtain visas.

Many delegates from international labor unions and relief organizations were also present.

A number of resolutions were passed, dealing with the various phases of economic relief in the restoration of Russia's agricultural economy and industrial apparatus, and the relationship of the workers of different countries in tackling the numerous problems arising from this most novel undertaking of the workers of the world.

The Congress of the W. I. R. F. R. C. also issued a manifesto to the workers of all countries, calling upon them to apply themselves to this new task in international proletarian solidarity with energy and devotion.

International Youth Day, September 3rd, 1922

Labor Organizations, Branches of the Workers Party, Young Workers Leagues, and other radical organizations are requested not to arrange affairs for Sunday, Sept. 3rd.

This is the Big Day for the Young Workers thruout the World.

Join them for the solidarity of the working class.

International Youth Day
Committee
Young Workers League.

A "LABOR MINISTER"

OTTAWA, Can.—Jas. Murdock, federal minister of labor, has just purchased a home in Ottawa at a reported cost of $20,000. It is said to be one of the best constructed homes in the city.

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Hague Conference Exposed [illegible] Soviet Republic

([illegible])

[illegible] Conferences they [illegible] failed to call upon you to put the greatest pressure upon the capitalist [illegible] but on the contrary stabbed the representatives of Soviet Russia in the back.

Soviet Russia and Capitalist World

Soviet Russia is the first country in the world in which the workers have seized power with the aid of the peasantry.

The capitalist world attempted to destroy Soviet Russia by armed force.

At first, German Imperialism tried to do so. It was shattered to pieces before it could succeed.

Then, for two years, the Allied capitalists overran Soviet Russia with the White Armies formed by them.

The Russian workers and peasants have beaten back these attacks by their heroic defense.

Proposes Peace to World

After they had assured the independence of their country, they turned to the capitalist states with a proposal of peace.

They succeeded in concluding peace with their nearest neighbors, the Polish, Lithuanian, Lettish, Esthonian and Finnish petty vassals of the Entente who feared that, if they did not conclude peace with Soviet Russia, the latter would crash them.

Soviet Russia has signed a temporary trade agreement with England which hoped in this manner to halt Russia's revolutionary activity in the Near East.

It has also concluded such trade agreements with the small capitalist countries of the North which are compelled by their severe economic crisis to seek a market in Russia.

It has finally compelled the German bourgeoisie to conclude a formal peace with Soviet Russia.

Cowardly as Germany may be, she nevertheless realized after the collapse of all her hopes for a victory over Soviet Russia and after the bankruptcy of all her attempts to offer her services to the Entente, that—if Germany ever wants to be freed from the exploitation of the Entente—she must live in peace with the Russian people.

Why Russia Needs Peace

Soviet Russia aims at peace with the capitalist states in the profound conviction that if in peace she is economically strengthened, her im[illegible] for the future emancipation struggle of the proletariat will only be [illegible].

Soviet Russia sought peace in order to deprive the capitalists of the opportunity of prejudicing the [illegible] of workers against [illegible] with the tale that Soviet Russia is attempting to compel you to accept Communism by armed force.

Soviet Russia sought peace in order to establish the economic traffic in goods with the West which is necessary for the economic reconstruction of Russia.

Since you, workers, have not yet seized power and are not in a position to deliver machines and tools to the Russian workers, Soviet Russia must try to obtain them from the capitalists.

Soviet Russia knew that peace with the capitalist world would cause it sacrifices. Workers, if you were the rulers of the economically developed world, you would understand that your own interests demand that you support the Russian Workers' Republic to the limit, so that it could supply you with grain in exchange for your machines.

Soviet Answer to Allies

The capitalist world is Soviet Russia's sworn enemy. And Soviet Russia knew that if she were to obtain its aid she would have to make sacrifices and would be compelled to pay profiteer prices.

Soviet Russia declared its readiness to buy peace with the capitalist world at the price of extensive concessions.

The capitalist governments demanded from Soviet Russia as a condition for the conclusion of peace that she recognize the debts of Czarist and the Kerenski Governments.

They demanded the return of the factories and mines which previously belonged to the foreign capitalists and which were declared by the November, 1919, Revolution to be the property of the Russian people.

Soviet Russia answered that the debts of the Czar were contracted without the consent of the Russian workers; they were incurred for their enslavement and exploitation.

The Russian people paid these debts in oceans of blood shed in the Allied cause for the interests and the victory of the Entente stockbrokers.

Without declaring war, the Allies treacherously fell upon Soviet Russia and thru their intervention destroyed more in Russia than was ever owed them.

Their demands are therefore founded upon nothing but force, nothing but speculation on the famine in Russia [illegible] of the Russian people.

[illegible]

The Soviet Government [illegible] the Allies [illegible] Soviet Russia by means of [illegible] concessions [illegible] economic power [illegible] so as to be able to pay the debts.

As for the factories and mines belonging to the foreign capitalists, Soviet Russia declared that it will under no circumstances return these factories.

The money with which they were built was squeezed from the labor of foreign workers. And for this money the foreign capitalists have bled the Russian workers more than enough.

The Russian proletariat can not return these factories, for only thru their development will it be able to create the goods in the future with which it will rebuild the devastated country, develop agriculture and also be able to pay the foreign sharks.

Russia will not give them back because the blood with which the Revolution was saved, would have flown in vain.

Will Make Great Sacrifices

The November Revolution which made the factories and villages the property of the Russian working people was the first step of the world proletariat on the road to the emancipation from the yoke of capitalism. This step will not be retraced, cost what it will.

But Soviet Russia is ready to pay the foreign capitalists a certain compensation if they help to reconstruct Russia by granting new credits; it is ready to lease a part of the factories.

The Soviet Government was ready to make great sacrifices in order to obtain a final peace with the capitalist countries, so that the working class and the peasants of Russia could commence peaceful work after the hard battles and after famine and misery.

The Capitalists' Robber Plan

All these proposals of Soviet Russia fell upon the deaf ears of the representatives of the capitalist states, who demanded the complete and unconditional recognition and immediate payment of all the debts of the Czar and of the Russian bourgeoisie.

They demanded the complete and unconditional return of the factories and mines; they wanted to lay their hands on Russia's mineral resources in order to obtain guaranties for the payment of the debts.

If Soviet Russia were to consent to this she would not only turn the [illegible]

[illegible] the Second and 2½ Internationals [illegible] is true; that the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet Government have forgotten the slogans of the October Revolution and are ready to prolong their existence as the watchdog of capitalist exploitation.

Soviet Rule True to Labor

Perhaps, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who have forgotten the revolutionary past of their class, counted with such a surrender.

Perhaps, the gentlemen of the Second and 2½ Internationals expected that the Soviet Government would, after years of difficult struggle, sink to their own level and consent to make capitalist exploitation pallatable for the Russian proletariat. They were mistaken.

The Soviet Government, born of the Proletarian Revolution, the vanguard in the struggle for emancipation of the international proletariat, has remainded true to the principle of the proletarian Revolution, taking account of the slow pace of the development of your struggle.

Coolly taking these circumstances into consideration, it was ready to make such concessions as were consistent with the further existence of the proletarian dictatorship.

But it determinedly refused to renounce the fundamental conquests of the Revolution.

It refused to put the Russian working class again under the capitalist yoke and to enslave the future generation of the Russian workers.

It refused to surrender the position which was defended by the Russian workers and peasants with their lives.

Fights for World's Workers

The Russian Republic is fighting for you, proletarians of the world, by repelling the attack on the conquests of the November Revolution.

It has defended not only the rights of the Russian proletarians; it defended your rights, workers of the world!

You, proletarians of England and America, are fighting for the nationalization of the mines and the railways!

Proletarians of Germany and Italy [illegible] world powers [illegible] the return of the [illegible]

They want to show you, proletarians of the world, that their power is [illegible].

Woe to him who dares to shake the foundations of capitalism; the Socialist principles must not oppose the capitalist principles of private property.

When the capitalists determinedly refuse to grant Soviet Russia credits, they do so because they fear that the development of nationalized industry in Russia will throw out of court all their statements as to the impracticability of Socialism.

Seek to Develop Revolution

The fight of the Soviet Government against the demands of the capitalist world is not only a fight for the further development of the Russian Revolution.

It is a fight for the development of European Socialism, a fight for you, proletarians of the countries which are still capitalist; when in the near future you arise to fight for Socialism, you will be able to count on the support of a strong nation led by proletarians whose enormous economic forces will be placed at the service of the international proletarian revolution.

The restoration of Russian agriculture under the regime of the proletariat will protect you, proletarians of Germany, Italy and England, against a blockade of American capital which will be more difficult to defeat than the capitalists of Europe!

Duty of International Proletariat

It was therefore treason to your vital interests when the Second and 2½ Internationals prevented the assembling of a world congress of the proletariat during the negotiations in Genoa and the Hague.

It was therefore a Judas deed when the press of the Second and 2½ Internationals sought to make you believe that the Soviet Government had surrendered to the bourgeoisie, that it was playing capitalist politics, and that it was not your duty to support it.

Proletarians of the world, your faces must color deep red with shame when you see how you are being deceived by the Social Democratic and trade union leaders, when you see that you have left your Russian brothers in the lurch, in a difficult struggle not only for the interests of the Russian proletariat, but for those of the entire international working class!

Comrades [illegible] and fight against [illegible]

Aid, active aid of the proletarian working masses without consideration of party to the fighting Soviet Republic. The fight of the Soviet Republic will also be difficult in the future.

Of course, the good harvest enables her to take the most necessary steps for the improvement of the condition of the proletariat and the peasantry.

But you must never forget how frightfully great the misery in Russia is and how infinitesimal the aid you have up to the present rendered Soviet Russia is.

It is the duty of the proletarians of the countries with an undepreciated currency to do all in their power materially to aid their Russian working brothers.

Follow Amalgamated's Example

Follow the example of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America which has founded an organization together with the Russian Soviet Government for the improvement of the Russian clothing industry and which is subscribing a loan of one million dollars among its membership for this purpose!

But it is not only a question of economic aid. After the failure of the Hague negotiations, French imperialism will no doubt do all in its power to mobilize its vassals against Soviet Russia again, and to organize new conspiracies in Russia, where it will receive the assistance of the Social Revolutionaries, the proteges of the Second and 2½ Internationals.

The counter-revolutionary plots in Russia and the military adventures of the Entente vassals will again begin and it is your sacred duty, workers of the world, to demand energetically immediate general peace with Russia, peace without piracy, peace without burdens for the Russian people, peace which does not tie a rope around the neck of the Russian people, but grants it material assistance!

Close Up Your Ranks

Close the ranks of the proletarian united front round Soviet Russia and you serve not only the cause of the Russian proletariat and the Russian Revolution, but your own cause, the struggle for emancipation!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Down with the capitalist robbers!

Long live the united front of the proletariat for the defense of the positions conquered by the World Revolution and for the conquest of new ones!

The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.
Moscow, July 22, 1922.

Would Arouse All Labor in Foster Attack

William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, made his first speech, after being kidnapped and deported from Colorado, at Omaha, Neb.

The Mid-West Labor News, of that city, in an editorial headed, "Shall We Permit It to Continue," had the following to say:

"Elsewhere in this paper is published an authentic account of the treatment William Z. Foster received at the hands of the duly constituted authorities of Colorado and Wyoming.

"Taken from his hotel, held without a warrant for his arrest, he is treated as they would treat some desperate criminal, his personal effects are confiscated and he is forcibly evicted from these states.

"Permitted during the war this sort of thing has grown in this country until it bids fair to override and supplant all the personal rights that have been sacred to American Citizens since the minute men forced the British Red Coats from our shores.

"In the present case it can not be attributed to some group or mob, but is done by the duly constituted peace officers, acting under the direction of the Adjutant General of the State, and this official declares that he will continue to prevent what he terms "Radicals" from exercising their Constitutional rights within the boundaries of Colorado.

"The question that arises is, to what extent will American citizens permit this practice to be continued. Are we to permit the constitution of the United States to be set aside and this citizen or that citizen forcibly evicted from many of the various states simply because he may have different views from the powers that control our state and national governments? Are the rights of free speech and peaceful assemblage to be denied our people by the paid tools of any group or sect? In the present case Foster advocates a certain kind of Labor Organization that the employers consider radical and they being in control of the machinery of government order their gunmen to deport him. If it is permitted in this case why may it not be used against any one who may have different views than those who hold the reins of government.

"The liberty loving American citizen whether he be a working man or not, should enter a mighty protest against this injustice for tomorrow there may be in control forces who differ in opinion from him and he may be the next to feel the iron heel of despotism."

Lenin Put Out; Came Back

DENVER.—"Quick indignation is the natural reaction of law-respecting citizens to the deportation by force of William Z. Foster," declares The Observer on page one of the Denver Express, after Colorado rangers had kidnapped him out of the state.

"The attempt to palliate this unlawful proceeding by charging that Foster was a dangerous radical is too weak to hold water. Foster has been a radical for many years, but there is no evidence that he ever sought to stir up physical disorder. "His whole activity has been an effort to convert men to his way of thinking by reason, and so to win a majority to his beliefs."

Local labor men point to Arthur Brisbane's comment in his column which is syndicated to the entire string of Hearst papers.

Quoting Pat Hamrock, the ranger chief, to the effect that "no law was consulted" in the deportation, Brisbane added, "It is not wise for an official to advertise the fact that 'no law is consulted.' Better leave that to 'dangerous radicals.' Lenin was put out of Russia by the czar, or rather driven out, in exactly the same way, and spent years in Switzerland and elsewhere. But he came back."

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Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

The Textile Strike

By THE FEDERATED PRESS

NEW YORK.—In its thirtieth week, the strike of cotton mill workers in the Pawtuxet Valley of Rhode Island still is more than 80 per cent solid, according to Russell Palmer, general secretary of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, at the organization's headquarters here. The textile workers are striking against a 20 per cent cut in their already meagre wages, and against a 54-hour work week.

No Interest Shown by the Nations in Citizens Holding Radical Views

(Special to The Worker)

ROME, Italy.—In a long letter to **Umanita Nova**, the eminent jurist Prof. Carlo Francesco Ansaldi of the University of Rome scores the Italian Government for its failure to act more vigorously in defense of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the Italian radicals awaiting death in the electric chair in the American State of Massachusetts.

So long as the world is split into many nations, he argues, each of these is obliged to protect its citizens wherever they may be. In standing aside while two of its sons are being legally murdered for their social opinions, he says, Italy is forfeiting its "international personality," and "confessing impotence" as a national entity.

He charges openly that the Italian Government is doing little or nothing because it, like the American Government, looks upon men who hold views such as those of Sacco and Vanzetti as not deserving the usual rights and safeguards. In view of this situation he urges the continuing of popular agitation thru the entire world.

"We do not know," Prof. Ansaldi writes, "whether Italy, forced by public opinion, will resolve for once and seriously, to exert itself in the care of our compatriots who go to strange lands in search of work and bread. In the meantime it behooves us to be vigilant that our country do not stain itself with the grave crime of abandoning its subjects to the ferocity of other States, a crime not only against international law, but against humanity."

Prof. Ansaldi has written articles in the leading publications here demanding a new trial for the condemned Italian workers in America.

AMALGAMATED VICTORY

The general strike of the 10,000 shirt makers in New York affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has been settled with a complete victory for the workers.

The strike was undertaken to compel sub-contractors to register with the union and to comply with union working and wage standards and to eliminate the so-called "social" shops which had begun to menace the conditions achieved by many years of struggle of the unions against the sweatshops.

The settlement terms provide that only such work as manufacturers are unable to do in their own shops may be given out, and that by agreement with the union; that members of firms and foremen shall not do the work of union workmen; that equal division of work shall be reaffirmed; that wages and pay for legal holidays shall remain as now; that the manufacturers' association assumes responsibility for its individual members, and that independent manufacturers shall give guarantee for the observance of union conditions.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

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News of Workers Party Activities in the City, State and Nation

Raid Workers Party Coast Convention

(Special to THE WORKER)

SEATTLE, Wash.—Using a liquor search warrant as a pretext, federal and local police agents raided the District Convention of the Workers' Party held near Kalama, Wash.

"Seemingly, the authorities first looked for liquor and then extended their search to less wet things," says Max Lerner, the party's district secretary, "on the excuse that they wanted to find possible receipts for liquor, or perhaps recipes.

"The search extended mostly to a portfolio which I had in my possession, and the seizure of some papers belonging to the local Kalama branch.

"The time and place of the meeting was announced in the Union Record and in Toveri, our Finnish paper. The cock and bull story of the capitalist press about the convention being secret is all tommyrot.

"All of the convention business was transacted and three delegates elected to the party convention to be held in Chicago."

Under the heading of "An Unwarranted Raid," the Union Record, the labor daily at Seattle, has the following:

"An Unwarranted Raid

"Readers of The Union Record are advised as to the total incapacity of federal officials in suppressing the dope traffic and whisky smuggling.

"While smugglers ply their trade with little or no effective hindrance from federal officials, these officials find time to indulge in wholly illegal 'raids' on peaceful political meetings, as witnessed by the raid on Sunday of the Workers Party convention at Kalama.

"That the federal officials knew that they were in an illegal exercise of authority is conclusively proved by the fact that no arrests were made.

"We hold no brief for the Workers Party any more than we do for the Republican Party. We are of the opinion, however, that there was more evidence of violation of law at the Chehalis convention of the Republican party than will be found by an examination of documents seized at Kalama.

"Reputable testimony is to the effect that many delegates at the Chehalis convention were drunk. If that is true, there was evidence in plenty to engage the attention of the federal officials who were present in goodly numbers. No arrests were made in that case. No papers were confiscated.

"There can be no question but what this latest attempt at intimidation of the workers is a feeble attempt to resurrect the war-time practice of terrorism. It is hoped that in this way attention will be diverted from the palpable failure of federal officials to apprehend 'dope' and whisky smugglers."

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Women and the Revolutionary Vanguard

By JEANETTE D. PEARL

Standing in the front ranks of labor with clear purpose and firmness of aim, confident in the strength the masses inspire, the revolutionary vanguard is occupying the most strategic position in modern society.

This position of vantage, in affording Communists wide range for revolutionary activity among the broad masses, with the resultant intellectual stimulation which mass action inspires, furnish the most vital medium for intimate understanding and appreciation of life.

The revolutionary vanguard so favored is therefore obliged to studiously utilise this strategic position to the very best advantage for Communism—for the new life forming.

It must carefully prepare, so as to be fittingly equipped, for this task to which one must not only bring knowledge and understanding but patience and sympathy.

To define the nature of the class struggle, to make that definition simple and clear in terms of current events, to overcome apathy and arouse solidarity, to convert thru unity of action the defensive position of labor to an offensive front, and to direct that unity of action into the revolutionary channels of Communism, that is the task of the revolutionary vanguard.

A vanguard so trained and developed is not realized over night. It is formed only after great sacrifices and long devotion to the labor movement where only the fit survive. The weak succumb and are soon eliminated.

Only those are privileged to serve Communism who possess power to endure, are fearless of consequences and are ready to continue the fight despite the hounding and persecution of the master class, and despite the more painful misunderstanding and antagonism of one's own comrades.

It is a lamentable fact that a comparatively small proportion of working women are taking advantage of this great opportunity for revolutionary training and experience that the Communist movement affords. With few exceptions, the number of active women compared with men in the Communist movement is relatively small.

The activity of women in all progressive movements has always been, relatively speaking, rather limited. Owing to woman's maternal functions and her dependence growing out of maternity "civilization" has succeeded in impeding the progress of working women to even a greater extent than that of working men. Under primitive Communism, women enjoyed the same rights together with men and they progressed in even measure with them. Modern Communism seeks to restore the primitive rights to women with all additional advantages modern advancement offers.

The restrictions civilization imposed upon women together with the handicap imposed by nature in maternal functions and the illusions anticipated that marriage offers a haven of shelter, have all aided in retarding the progressive development of women as a whole. It is much more difficult to win women to a revolutionary cause than it is to win men. Men have had a longer social, political and economic apprenticeship. They have had more intimate contact with mass relations, therefore a larger proportion of men have a better understanding of the class conflict and can more readily be drawn into the Communist movement. That does not mean that men are superior individually. History is replete with notable contributions by women in all avenues of endeavor and the Communist movement, too is rich with the names of Rosa Luxemberg, Clara Zetkin, Alexandria Kolontay and a great many more.

The Proletarian Revolution, different from the Bourgeois revolution places no stamp of inferiority upon women as a sex and women have no occasion to seek emancipation on the basis of sex. Communism holds out to women economic freedom (and not at the expense of some woman-servant) equal opportunities in all undertakings that women can enter, freedom in the enjoyment of motherhood; freedom in the proper rearing of children; freedom and opportunity for creative labor and active participation in all phases of life.

Women are needed in the struggle coming. The revolutionary vanguard calls to all militant women of the working class to enter the Communist movement, the Workers' Party, to strengthen and cement the forces of labor and to profit from the rich experience that the revolutionary movement affords all who actively participate in the work of the coming revolution.

Women trained in Communism are needed not only for active participation in party work, but also to penetrate every existing organization of working women in order to draw women into the revolutionary movement. A close study of the psychology of women leads to the conviction that a most fruitful means for Communist propaganda can be found in independent women's organizations, launched by Communists, directed by Communists, yet having no organic connection with the Workers' Party. Such an organization can serve as a preparatory school and recruiting center for Communism. A large and successful working women's organization built up by one of the language federations in the last few years is now contemplating joining the Workers' Party.

Of the five million workers organized in the trade unions in the United States, it is estimated that not more than one-quarter of a million are women. According to the Women's Bureau at Washington, women constitute one-third of the working population in the United States. We find that the organized strength of women in trade unions is roughly from 5 to 8 per cent, instead of 33 per cent. It is evident that the prime need of working women is training in organization and the dissemination of knowledge that marriage must not preclude labor organization. The ever larger number of married women compelled to re-enter industry while at the same time carrying on the work of the home should constantly be brought to the attention of working women.

Women's lack of organization experience, their more retiring and timid nature—except in periods of stress—their backwardness to publically express themselves, owing to ages of repression, make the need of an approach hitherto not considered, if we are to win a greater number of women to Communism. It has been found that in mixed elementary study classes of men and women, the women are very reticent in expressing themselves, and that discussions become lively when class work is conducted among women separate from men. This is not the case in advanced mixed classes.

The purpose of an independent women's organization is not to isolate women but to serve as a recruiting station, to get women together by themselves in order to overcome their reticence, to encourage their participation in the daily struggles of labor, to arouse their class consciousness and align them with the revolutionary forces of labor, so they carry on the fight together with their fellow workingmen.

An independent woman's organization based upon the class struggle with rallying slogans and issues taken from the specific conditions existing in localities we seek to organize would serve as a ready bridge to the Workers Party. The plan of work should in great measure be assumed by a Woman's Committee of the W. P., but every encouragement should be given women of promising revolutionary proclivities.

Class Relief should be started at once among working women on behalf of women and children in strike zones and where ever lockouts prevail. In this connection, we can effectively exploit the latent possibilities in Labor Tag Days. Once every month at least, our women should engage in gathering funds for labor wars. The psychological value of continually repeating month after month thruout the country, just one phrase "help the strikers", would be tremendous. The effect of propaganda cannot always be measured in terms of recruits. The creation of a revolutionary psychology among the masses, so woefully lacking in this country, would be greatly stimulated by a labor tag day conducted by women thru a woman's organization. Then the social tendencies of women could very well be utilized as a further means for organization work in that women could readily raise funds thru entertainments and so finance their agitational and educational work.

An independent woman's organization confined solely to Russian relief would be of great value, but necessarily limited in its scope of action. Such an organization could not participate in the labor struggles of the day and we must exploit the labor struggles of the day. A woman's organization therefore must be built upon the broad bases of the class struggle, for active participation in all phases of the daily labor struggles, while at the same time carrying on activity on behalf of Russia.

A Workers' Relief organization of women would serve as a medium for drawing the more enlightened women into active co-operation on behalf of labor and at the same time would enable such women to reap the rich experience labor activity affords. Women trained in such an organization would soon realize that hope is not in peace and reconcilliation of the classes, but rather in the widening and deepening of class conflicts in order to more speedily terminate that conflict by abolishing class rule thru Communism. With such realization, quickened thru participation in labor conflict, women would in greater numbers be drawn into the revolutionary labor ranks and assume responsibilities of the revolutionary vanguard by becoming part of it and so hasten the day of emancipation.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Minneapolis Labor Hears Our Message

SPECIAL TO THE WORKER

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—That the Workers Party is energetically supporting the strike of railroad shopmen was made plain to the strikers of the Twin Cities last week when Ella Reeves Bloor, affectionately known as "Mother" Bloor, addressed eight large meetings of strikers in four days.

In her talk to the strikers "Mother" Bloor drove home the need for closer affiliation between the crafts, such as is provided in the amalgamation plan, which would not leave the shopmen to fight the railroad executives alone, but would bring out the four big brotherhoods and every other railroad worker at the same time.

Such an organization could soon bring the railroad owners to their knees, she declared, but as it is at present the bosses are trying to break up the railroad unions piecemeal.

If they succeed in crushing the shopmen, the brotherhoods will be next, she prophesied. She pointed out that in this, as in all other industrial conflicts, the forces of the state and federal governments were to be found squarely lined up in support of the bosses and that it would, therefore, be futile for the railroad workers to submit their grievances again to the Railroad Labor Board. She urged the strikers to stand firm until they had won a complete victory.

In addition to the strike meetings, "Mother" Bloor held street meetings in the evenings attended by large and attentive audiences. Saturday evening she held a large crowd for two hours, in spite of a drizzling rain, when she spoke on the Russian Revolution.

"Mother" Bloor also addressed the Trades and Labor Assembly and received an ovation when she declared that the unions must get rid of their reactionary leaders and close up their ranks in preparation for a life-and-death struggle with the employers who were solidly organized in a campaign to destroy the unions.

A COMMUNIST UNIVERSITY

MOSCOW.—A Communist university of the west has just been founded at Moscow, the purpose of which will be to train young men from European countries in Communist leadership. To begin with there will be six sections—Jewish, Lettish, Lithuanian, German, Polish and Roumanian.

The school will be a counterpart of the Communist University of the east, in which 600 Asiatics are receiving communistic training. During the period of their study, those in attendance are to be clothed, housed and fed at the expense of the Soviet state.

The chief subjects to be taught are historic materialism, history of the revolution, religion vs. Communism, constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the red army, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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to be held at

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These figures represent the number of WORKER subscriptions received each week for the past four weeks.

Hundreds of readers have helped to "beat last week" in the drive for 25,000 new WORKER readers.

They helped by selling the subscription cards sent them.

They are still helping—they are ordering more cards to sell.

They are still on the job—they are going to make THE WORKER subscription drive a success.

BUT THEY NEED YOUR HELP—you who have not yet helped. To you we want to say this:

If you believe in the class struggle—

If you believe in the workers' right to produce and to keep—

If you believe in workers organizing against the organizations of the Bosses—

If you believe in the fighting policies of THE WORKER—

If you believe this paper serves the interests of the workers—

You will help in this campaign, you will sell subscription cards to every worker you can.

And, you will sell these cards TO-DAY!

Make each week count more. Sell your subscription cards!

Kuzbas Greetings from the Slopes of the Urals to America's Workers

By E. MUUKKONEN

Greetings from the slopes of the Ural Mountains. I have been here about two weeks. There is something doing all the time. First we were putting houses in shape, and then some of us have been taking an inventory of what there is in the factories, which is now almost complete. Engineer Van Hoffen, who designed the River Rouge Plant for Ford, is in charge of the work. This factory is up-to-date, but needs many repairs before it can run full blast.

I have seen machinery here that I never imagined existed. For example a 10,000 h. p. steam engine which turns the heavy railroad rail rolling mills, an 8,000 gas motor which turns the largest generator I have ever seen. Here is machinery from America, Germany, England and Russia, in fact, from all parts of the world. At present there is only one blast furnace and two open hearth ovens in operation.

If anywhere, it is here where you can see what the lack of industrial management and sabotage has done. Machinery is rusting out in the open without cover. Machinery has been smashed, windows broken, and in general everything has been upset. And over all of it is the lack of bread.

Now listen, Comrades! Send us all the working tools you have, that you can spare, if you cannot come yourself. We need all kinds of tools in factories, carpenters tools, electric supplies, and all tools in general use. If you desire to know where to send them, write to the Kuzbas office Room 301, 110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

You may have heard of Russian iron and sheet iron. This is the place where they make it. It is very unusual iron. It does not rust easily here, for instance, you can see iron in the roofs, which is not painted, and which hardly shows a sign of rusting. This is not galvanized tin but ordinary black sheet iron. According to Van Hoffen, this plant can be put to work full force with 3,000 or 4,000 workers, in place of the 6,000 used during the war.

We need all kinds of workers here from lumberjacks to engineers. Men that are in the woods and away from the town have housing accommodation. Any one that wants to take life easy and pick out soft jobs should stay away. But this place, otherwise, offers what they call a "chance" in America. There is nothing to prevent men here from putting their ideas across and doing big jobs. Every one is encouraged to educate themselves to the limit in doing jobs. All the time we are being moved on to more difficult jobs by our engineer.

Nature is about the same here as in Finland, the weather has been very pleasant. We are at present living in a house once occupied by Baron Tauben, who was chief of the factory in the old days. We have a few noted men here, including the ex-president of Red Latvia. He is my ideal of a man. He is a big physical man who is ready and fit for anything. He can do almost everything. He has commanded armies, ran a country, and for all that he can use a shovel when duty calls him.

You can lift your hat to men like him. Wish the best to you all where you are working on overproduction for the boss. We boys are sweating for Soviet Russia, and it does not seem like work to us, in this bright air, so unlike your gloomy shops.

ST. LOUIS.—The Central Trades and Labor Union of this city, by unanimous vote, has instructed its executive board to cooperate with and render all possible support and assistance to the St. Louis branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Our Readers Tell Us—

"THE WORKER is the best radical paper I have seen." This is the opinion of Comrade V. B., of Dover, N. J. Remittance for five subscription cards accompanies the opinion.

"The workers of this city are becoming interested in reading THE WORKER and I think it is the best paper fighting for their interests," writes a bundle agent of Rochester, N. Y.

"Please send me 20 more subscription cards. I believe I can secure 20 more subscribers," writes Comrade J. M., of Pittsburg, Pa.

A few sample copies were sufficient to convince Comrade ——— that THE WORKER is the paper for him and his friends, for he subscribes and sends us a list of names of others to whom to send papers.

"Sold the last of my ten cards," states Comrade M. L., of West Allis, Wisc. This shows it can be—is being done. Are you doing it too?

Six new subscriptions arrived from a comrade at Tacoma, Wash., this week. They come just as fast in Tacoma as in New York—if you just go after them!

Short, but effective is this: "Enclosed in this letter find $8 for 16 subscription cards." It comes from a mining town in Ohio, where WORKER readers value the paper that fights for the miners.

EXCLUDE COMMUNISTS

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia.—The unity of the trade movement of Czechoslovakia has received a severe blow thru the exclusion from the General Federation of Trade unions of the Union of workers in the Chemical Industry, which has a membership of 70,000.

This union has an executive of communists, and because of its avowed desire to have the Czechoslovak trade union movement affiliated with the Red Trade Union International of Moscow, ouster proceedings were started.

This is the second exclusion of a whole organization, that of the woodworkers, as already reported by The Federated Press, having taken place about a month ago.

F. S. R. FRISCO PICNIC

The San Francisco Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia will hold a picnic on August 27th at Lovchen Gardens near Colma, and every worker who has the interests of labor at heart will make an effort to be present. The purpose of the picnic is to raise funds for the purchase of tractors for Russia, and we expect to have a tractor on exhibition at the Gardens on the day of the picnic.

BELLAIRE, OHIO, PICNIC

The City Central Committee, of the Workers Party, will give a picnic August 27th, at Taylor's Grove stop, 23½ Barton and Lansing line.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Pittsburgh in Relief Drive for Miners

The work of the Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference is proceeding satisfactorily, but the terrible distress of the miners who are actually starving has resulted in our being flooded with appeals for help.

Prospective mothers without proper medicine and food, children without sufficient nourishment and fathers going on short rations to spare their children from suffering, is the appeal daily from all over Western Pennsylvania.

We have now sent several truck loads of food into various camps, particularly where the companies were making a special effort to break the strike with the aid of soldiers, and plan to enlarge our work greatly very soon.

This week a truck was taken into the produce yards and merchants contributed free-of-charge 4,500 pounds of substantial food, in the form of potatoes, cabbage, etc.

A new feature of our work is that homes are wanted where they will keep children for two or three weeks, thus saving the parents from the increased suffering another mouth involves. We also want the names of those who can entertain a miner for a week while he is canvassing the city.

Send all food to Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller Street, or International Socialist Lyceum, corner James and Foreland Streets, Nort Side, Pittsburgh, Pa., or phone Bell Phone Grant 9855, or write to J. A. Hamilton, Secretary, Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference, 35 Miller Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Do Not Like Signs

Tom. McLaughlin, the notorious super-Cossack of the state constabulary who invented the illegal pushing of Pennsylvania citizens across the State line into Virginia, has made threats, because of the use the Conference has made of the signs on the food trucks "Bread versus Bullets."

This worthy contends that such a sign incites to riot and demands that the use of them be discontinued.

However, his protest is only giving wider publicity to the idea expressed in the sign.

GRAND PIC-NIC

and

ENTERTAINMENT

of

The Workers Party

of Essex County

on

SUNDAY, AUGUST 27th, 1922

at

Hollywood Park,

MAPLEWOOD

Admission, 35 cents

Take Orange Car in Newark, or Springfield Ave. Car to Maplewood.

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PICNIC

of

Lettish Branch

WORKERS PARTY

SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 10 A. M.

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Proceeds for National Defense Committee, New York Division

INTERNATIONAL MIDSUMMER OUTING

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Defense and Relief of Class-War Prisoners

SUNDAY, AUGUST 20th, AT 10 A. M.

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Elmhurst, Long-Island

DANCING GAMES BUFFET BAZAAR

Fare only 10c. ADMISSION 35c.

Directions: Take Elevated at 57th St. and 2nd Ave., Corona Line. Get off at 25th St. Station. Or: Queensborough Subway to Corona. Get off at 25th St. Station.

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Phone: Stuyvesant 9642.

"The true revolutionist should ever call into action on his side the entire sum of all the forces and factors of political and social discontent."—JAMES CONNOLLY.

Unshaken Again

"American Labor Unshaken" is the heading of a seven-page editorial article by Samuel Gompers in the current issue of his magazine, the American Federationist, reviewing the acts of the recent American Federation of Labor convention at Cincinnati.

Once more he routs the "Communist propagandists," repeating the telegrams received at Cincinnati from Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes and Secretary of the Interior Herbert Hoover, the latter addressing the head of the American Federation as "Honorable Samuel Gompers." These telegrams attacked Soviet Rule in Russia and were for the purpose of impressing the ignorant delegates with the convincing character of the case against the Workers' Republic. Few of the delegates were class conscious enough to realize that this attack was made by partisan capitalist spokesmen. So Gompers' argument was safe from attack.

The editorial also contains a telegram from William English Walling consisting of statements by spokesmen of the Second (Socialist) International attacking Bolshevism.

Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, is also given honorable mention with the repetition of an old attack sponsored by him.

All of which would show once more that Gompers has taken the Yellow Socialists under his guiding protection. He will be greatly disappointed, no doubt, if those terrible "Communist propagandists" appear in larger numbers at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, as they surely will.

"In every branch of her economic life, Russia is showing unmistakable signs of recovery from the chaos which resulted from the European and the civil wars," is a statement contained in the Russian Information and Review, published by the Russian Trade Delegation at London. Hoover and Gompers please take notice.

The Capitalist Line-up

The military at Pittsburgh objects to the use of the slogan, "Bread versus Bullets" on trucks carrying relief in food and clothing to the striking miners.

Yet troops are on strike duty in eleven states according to a report issued August 3rd by the Militia Bureau of the War Department. The states are: Kansas, Alabama, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, North Carolina, Wyoming, New Hampshire, Georgia and Texas.

Since this report was compiled the Indiana National Guard has been called out and martial law was declared August 2nd in coal mining districts of Clay County in that state.

During the past week what the kept press calls "rioting" has resulted in the deaths of four strikers and one company guard. This would indicate that the strike breaker guards are getting good protection from the militia.

The Civil Liberties Bureau reports that three union barber shops of Waycross, Ga., have been closed by the city authorities because of their alleged refusal to serve non-union workers.

It must also be mentioned that injunctions restraining picketing or other union activities deemed to interfere with the operation of the railroads have been granted in eight new cases. In more than a dozen other instances temporary injunctions have been made permanent, or temporary restraining orders were made temporary injunctions.

All of which only adds more convincing testimony to the overwhelming evidence showing that capitalism with all its lackeys is solidly united in the war on the striking coal miners and railroad shopmen.

The Workers' Republic, official organ of the Irish Communist Party, reports that many Communists are fighting with the Republican Army against Churchill's "Free State" Army. Some of these comrades have been taken prisoners and are suffering under conditions as vile as those meted out to our working-class comrades in capitalist prisons thruout the world.

Our Boasted School System

"Don't organize!" "It is un-American!" "It is un-professional!" These and similar pleas are continually made by some of our "best citizens" when the school teachers threaten to organize and affiliate with the labor movement.

Most teachers have remained true to this "pay-triotic" plea with the result that teachers' organizations are few and weak.

The consequences are seen in statistics just issued by the United States Bureau of Education, and being used in the propaganda of the Teachers' Union of New York City.

It is shown that one-third of the public school teachers in cities of 2,500 to 10,000 population receive less than 1,000 per year, one-half of the elementary teachers in these cities receive salaries of $1,097 a year.

The result, of course, is a poor grade of teachers. An example of this is seen in the night grade schools of New York City, attended by foreigners seeking to learn the English language, or, as the publicity of our best 100 per cent organizations set forth, to become "Americanized."

In examinations for teachers for these night grade schools, among 500 candidates so few passed that it was found necessary to lower the passing mark to 49.5 per cent. In spite of that, last February, when the work should have been at its height, there were 300 vacancies.

There are those urging as a solution for this problem that Congress pass a bill that would compel the emigrant to pay for his own education.

We submit, however, that that would not better the wages of school teachers, leaving open, more than ever, the necessity for organization among teachers.

Forcing emigrants to pay for their own education might be a good thing. They would then be able to choose their own teachers. They would not have to depend on the 100 per centers approved by the Luskers. This condition might inspire the workers to organize schools of their own, on the small beginnings already made.

But that would probably be a crime against American "institutions," punishable in ways provided by those most anxious to keep labor in darkness and in ignorance.

Called to the Color

The Saturday Evening Post boasts two and a quarter million copies weekly circulation.

It is a Communist-hating, anti-Bolshevik organ, and as such it fights continually what it fears to be the Red [illegible].

So in the issue of August 12th, it has an article by Eleanor Franklin Egan, under the title of "Called to the Color," in which she says that:

> [illegible]
>
> "There are boys in the United States who would wear the Trotsky helmet, but they are not Americans.
>
> "There are boys in the United States who would march under the red flag . . . but they are not Americans.
>
> "And that is what I am thinking of when I say it is fortunately impossible to imagine a triumph of Bolshevism in the United States."

And the two and a quarter million white collar slaves who buy the Saturday Evening Post each week will read that and pat themselves on their ivory domes not fitted for Trotsky helmets. They will rejoice in their 100 percent Americanism at $10 per week and sleep contentedly in their hall bedrooms.

But the bond of unity between the million miners of America is growing as they continue their fight for daily bread. "Americanism" to them means armed guards, evictions, arrests, prison and starvation.

And the solidarity of the million and more railroad workers is crystallizing in the war against a wage of 23 cents an hour. "Americanism" to them also means the militia and federal troops protecting strikebreakers.

These are the struggles that grow brains that make heads that fit workers' helmets with working class consciousness in the war against exploitation.

Those helmets, insignia of the developing desire for emancipation, will be worn by increased numbers of American boys in the mines and the mills, and on the railroads, who will refuse to give up their lives to the profiteers. They will enlist in the Workers Party for victory under the red flag of Communism.

Dire necessity sounds the call to the color in the working class aspiration for power and freedom.

The Saturday Evening Post, according to habit, talks like a court organ of the puppet they once called the czar of all the Russias in the days before 1917.

It fiddles now as always at the Court of American Dollars.

While labor's struggle grows and paves the way for ultimate triumph.

Under the Red Flag.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

Communism and the Church

The attitude of Communism toward religion is being worked out in practice for the first time in the struggle between the Russian Soviet Republic and the Orthodox Russian or Greek Catholic Church.

This struggle was given considerable notoriety, and caused a great deal of discussion as a result of the requisitioning of church treasures to provide relief for the famine stricken in the Volga Valley.

The Soviet plan for requisitioning church jewels and valuables received the endorsement of Archbishop Yevdokim, of Nijni Novgorod, while it was just as stubbornly opposed by the Patriarch Tikkon.

This division persists in the controversy that is now going on in Russia between the Reformers and the Conservatives, also termed the red clergy and the black clergy.

The Reformers, or red clergy, also labelled by their opponents the "Soviet Clergy," have adopted the name of "The Living Church" for their movement. One of their first acts has been to abolish all restrictions on marriage for bishops and clergymen, thus hoping to bring the clergy into closer contact with the masses.

The Living Church Congress is now being held at Moscow with 150 representatives from 38 of the 50 ecclesiastical provinces into which the Russia of today is divided.

This congress has adopted resolutions endorsing the revolution and the Soviet Government, which it recognizes as the Government of Russia. It now seeks to have the new church supplant the old, or "dead church."

Communism stands for the complete separation of church and state. The close connection between czarism and the orthodox Russian church made this operation especially severe as one of the consequences of the Russian Revolution.

On the other hand, Communism holds that freedom of thought must be guaranteed. Hence the axiom that religion is a private affair.

This does not mean that Communists will not struggle against religion by freedom of argument. It means that the State should support no church organization.

The program of the Russian Communists has been carried out in this respect all over the Workers' Republic and priests of all creeds have been deprived of state subsidy.

The working class and its party are struggling not only for economic freedom but also for the spiritual liberation of the toiling masses.

Economic liberation will be the easier attained the sooner the workers get their brains cleared of all the rubbish with which the exploiters have stuffed them. We have often pointed out how the dominating class straight jackets the minds of the workers thru control of the press, the pulpit and the schools.

Culture for the rich parasites, spiritual subjection for the toiling masses—these are the war cries of the profiteers.

Culture for all, liberation of the mind from the yoke of capital—this is the watchword of the party of the working class, the Workers Party, the party of the Communists.

The world will watch Soviet Russia work out this problem with the same keen interest that the development of every other great effort on its part is viewed.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

All Favor Amalgamation

Now and then THE WORKER receives a communication from a reader which shows up in a concise form a current of thot among the workers which is of vital importanece in the developing phases of the class struggle toward a greater unity in labor ranks.

The following letter from a railroad worker is one of these:

"Enclosed find $2.50 for the subscription cards you sent me. I suppose you think I have been slow about this but just the same I have been working for the cause in a little different line.

"Have been appearing before the striking railroad shop crafts in the interests of a resolution calling upon their officials to call a convention of the sixteen railroad Brotherhoods for the purpose of amalgamation; and say, don't fall over when I tell you that not one union has turned me down. They have not only all adopted the Resolution but are looking to it as the only hope.

"The forces for a United Front of railroad workers are coming together."

The above letter is from a railroad engineer but needs no signature here.

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign.

[illegible]

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign.

The State of Colorado

There are some encouraging features about the kidnapping and deportation of William Z. Foster from Colorado.

It is, first of all, a tribute to the growing strength of organized labor in this state that Adjutant General Pat Hamrock should be forced to spread his propaganda that Foster came to Denver in disguise and registered at his hotel under an assumed name.

The kept press retails at great length how the trained blood hounds of the law, heeding no law, trailed Foster, with great difficulty but, nevertheless, with unerring acumen, to his hotel, and there nabbed him.

Foster has been on a tour to the Pacific Coast. This tour has been widely advertised in THE WORKER, and thruout the militant labor press. The capitalist press has also given Foster considerable notice, a hair-raising story of several columns in the Los Angeles Times, being widely copied over the nation.

There has been nothing secret about Foster's tour. All of his meetings have been made known so far as possible to the masses of the workers, who have been invited to attend and hear his lecture on "The Crisis in the Labor Movement." Foster came to Denver, as he had arrived in a hundred other cities, and registered at an hotel under his own name.

Foster has a message to bring to all the workers and he doesn't intend to hide his light under a bushel basket in doing it. But secrecy and stealth are dear to the hearts of all Hamrocks and he spread his harrowing tales to frighten the timid and prejudice the ignorant.

This incident is also encouraging in that it will help prove to more workers that capitalism doesn't change, it doesn't reform.

The State of Colorado today is still the state of Cripple Creek and Trinidad, of the kidnappings of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, of the savage burning of women and children of the working class, as at Ludlow.

Adjutant General Pat Hamrock was with the fiend Lieutenant Linderfelt when the latter brutally murdered the Greek coal mine leader, Louis Tikas, striking him dead with the butt end of his gun.

Hamrock was in command at Bloody Ludlow. At that time he was a "major." But that was nearly ten years ago. He is now "Adjutant General." The Rockefeller-owned Colorado, of brute capitalist force, has rewarded him handsomely.

He has been thanked and rewarded rather than punished, for the crimes he has committed against the workers.

If a few more thousands of workers in Colorado will learn this lesson of the bitter struggle of capitalism against labor then Foster will not regret the attack that was made upon him.

He will continue the fight he is making to organize the militant workers of this nation for united resistance to the exploiters, for united effort to awaken the backward elements in the labor movement.

Let the many respond.

Let labor's answer to the State of Colorado and its Adjutant General be hundreds of thousands of members for the Trade Union Educational League.

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign.

"No More War!" cry the pacifists who supported the last war. They might add, "Not until the next war."

Northcliffe Passes

Alfred Harmsworth, better known as Lord Northcliffe, owner of The London Times and a hundred other newspapers, is dead.

Thus passes another enemy of Soviet Russia and a bitter opponent of the upward struggle of the working class.

Penniless at 20, a millionaire before he was 30, and later knighted by British imperialism, Northcliffe was an enthusiastic supporter of Lloyd George's policy toward Soviet Russia when the British premier took the stand that he would refuse to "shake hands with murder."

But Lloyd George changed, both in his attitude towards Soviet Russia and in his German policy. Northcliffe thereupon became the premier's uncompromising political foe and supported the French policies to stand by the Versailles Treaty, in the case of Germany, the liquidation of the Czar's debts and the restoration of foreign-owned property, as demands against the Workers' Republic, pressed so hard at both Genoa and the Hague.

Northcliffe's attitude towards organized labor was best shown during the great railway strike of 1919 when he received a communication from the organized workmen in the mechanical departments of his papers saying:

"We wish to enter a strong protest against the treatment meted out to the National Union of Railwaymen in the columns of your press."

Northcliffe replied that, "Rather than be dictated to by anyone or any body of men I will stop publication of these newspapers."

But Northcliffe passes. The power of Soviet Russia grows and the strength of organized labor in Great Britain becomes ever greater.

In these days of rapid development of capitalism, thru the centralization in industry, Northcliffe became the owner of publications valued at $32,000,000. His life provides an interesting study of one phase of never-ending social evolution, nothing more.

Northcliffe during his life time built up a press more powerful than anything that British organized labor was able to create thru all its efforts down thru the centuries.

It has not yet realized the necessity of a powerful press to help fight its battles against its exploiters.

But, labor, in Great Britain and elsewhere, presses ever onward and will in time be the proud possessor of a press that will inspire it to victory against all the forces of capitalism.

President Harding showed himself greatly worried over the comfort of a few passengers stalled in Arizona by the rail strike, and wired the Arizona governor all federal aid possible. The comfort of the millions of women and children in the families of the rail workers never seems to trouble him. But, of course, they are members of the working class.

Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has left for Europe to attend the British Trade Union Congress as fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor. This is the job Gompers gave him at the Cincinnati convention in payment for his anti-radical support. Latest reports from the immigration officials are that Schlesinger's baggage will not be searched for "red" literature.

Labor speeches are feared at Denver, Colo. About the same time that Foster was being kidnapped and run out of this western metropolis, Police Chief Williams and Mayor Bailey were denying a permit for a picnic for the benefit of the striking miners and shopmen, to be held under the auspices of four Denver labor unions, if speeches were made. But the truth will filter thru just the same. Just give it time.

BOLCOMS

Edited by I. D. W. TALMADGE

SPECIAL EDITION OF THE NEW YORK CALL

(Due to the lack of space in the Call, we've been requested to print in this column some of its omitted features. —Editor.)

I. NEWS

(Special to the N. Y. Call, the Times and other labor papers.)

AUTOMAT, New York City.— Gen. Semenoff, Adjutant General Hamrock, the Italian Fascisti, the Ku Kux Klan, the Black Hand and the Pennsylvania State Militia together with the editorial staff of the Call and the rest of the civilized people protest in the name of Socialism, Humanity and Brotherly Love against the unjust maltreatment of the Social Revolutionaries by the Soviet Government.

II. IDIOTORIAL

WE can no longer tolerate it. It is high time for action. Government officials are altogether too lenient and do not fully exercise their powers. A certain group of detestable individuals are getting the best of them. Under the guise of a political party, these members of the Workers' Party are continuously striving for a better government for the working class. They have the audacity of openly criticising such a bona fide organization as our American Labor Party. If they don't like the institutions of our glorious republic why the Hades don't they leave our country while they are still at liberty to do so?! . . .

III. NOTICES

At the last meeting of Local 13, of the A. L. P., it was decided to audit the financial books, when it was learned that the treasurer bought himself a clean collar.

The publishers of the N. Y. Call won't appeal any more for funds to upkeep the paper. They have decided instead to sell electric fans to the Esquimaux; the latter being a much easier way of raising money.

Comrade Hairquit has taken his annual haircut last week. The S. P. Local Greater New York and the Barbers' Union will celebrate the phenomenon by a monstrous banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria.

At least ten Socialists should read this copy of the Special Edition. Keep it in circulation.

DIGITAL AUDIT

"I call it an unwarranted insult," said the Tammany politician angrily.

"Why, what's wrong?" asked his pal in surprise.

"Did you see what that d——able radical did?" roared the Democrat. "He carefully counted each of his fingers after I shook hands with him."

WHO IS WHAT, WHAT IS WHO, AND WHY NOT, IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT FOR THE YEAR 1922

(Momentous historical data carelessly omitted in H. G. Wells' "Outline of History.")

II.

JUMPERS, Samke.—President of the American Federation of Labor, Page to John D. Rockefeller, Social Secretary to J. P. Morgan, and Butler to Judge Gary.

He is a born labor leader, when but a kid he already shepherded a flock of sheep. At the close of the past century, our noted leader was busily engaged in preaching a 100 per cent Americanism to the wild tribes of Africa. After having had such wonderful experience among cannibals, he was finally elected president of the American Separation of Labor. His motto is: "Why be a capitalist when there is more money in the Labor business." At the last Comintern session he was accredited as the "missing link in Darwin's evolution theory."

THE SUBSCRIPTION RECORD TELLS US

Subscriptions received during the first week of the appearance of the Bolcoms

490

Subscriptions received during the second week

754

Subscriptions received during the third week

917

CONGRATULATIONS WELCOME!!

DEDICATED TO COMRADE LLOYD GEORGE

It was a May Day demonstration in London. Throngs of people were witnessing Labor's protest against Capitalism. As a group of Communists passed by carrying a red flag. A Russian worker, watching the paraders, shouted:

"Three cheers for Soviet Russia!"

"Three cheers, hell!" grunted his English neighbor.

"That's right, brother," replied the Russian, "let each one cheer for his own country" . . .

Bolcomsly yours,

IRV.

[illegible]

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. [illegible] [illegible] SATURDAY, [illegible] [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Raid Foster's Chicago Office

Militant Labor Leader Says Attack Was Expected

"It's All Part of the Big Business Attack on Labor", Says Trade Union League Secretary, "Part of Day's Work"

By CARL HAESSLER

Staff Correspondent, The Worker and The Federated Press

CHICAGO.—"There was no incendiary literature in our office. We have made no incitements to violence either in the rail strike or in any other strike."

With this denial William Z. Foster, secretary, Trade Union Educational League, took the ground from under State's Attorney Crowe who ordered a sensational rail on the League's offices Sunday night, August 20, on the pretext that a Michigan Central railway wreck at Gary, Ind., in which the engineer and fireman were both killed, was due to "red propaganda."

In type over an inch high the Chicago Tribune headed its Monday edition with an eight column page one line reading: Wreck Leads to Red Raid.

On page one there was a four column cut showing a private detective and an assistant state's attorney going thru the League files in the office at 118 N. La Salle St., across the street from the Chicago city hall.

A one column cut below depicted Foster with the eyes touched up to make him look like a villain.

In its story the Tribune repeated the Denver lie that Foster entered that city in disguise just preceding his illegal deportation from Colorado by state rangers August 6th.

The Trade Union Educational League has operated peacefully and openly with full announcement of its purpose to further amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, one for each industry.

Its organ, The Labor Herald, has repeatedly outlined the method, namely, that radicals stay within the A. F. of L. unions instead of starting dual organizations and push their program by "boring from within."

"They have raided the painters, the building trades council, the janitors and other unions and our turn had to come," Foster says. "It's all part of the big business attack on labor. When one frameup fails they start on another. It's all in the day's work."

No arrests have been made but "there will be other action," in addition to the raid, the state prosecutor announced.

• • •

Packed House Heard Foster on the Coast

The speeches that William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, made on his tour to the Pacific Coast, got under the skins of the exploiters and their hirelings.

He was kidnaped at Denver, Colo., and deported by Rockefeller's State Rangers, and now the offices of The League have been raided in Chicago, on the eve of the holding of its first national convention.

What did Foster say in those speeches on his tour to the coast and back? We think our readers are interested and therefore publish a report of his meeting at San Francisco, as it appeared in the current issue of "Tom Mooney's Monthly". It is as follows:

• • •

Before a packed house in San Francisco on the night of July 23, Wm. Z. Foster, speaking under the auspices of the local branch of the Trade Union Educational League, told the workers of San Francisco what is wrong with the American labor movement and the cure for the disease.

Foster declared that the American labor movement is facing the strong-

(Continued on Page Three)

Zinoviev Reviews Birth of Communist Parties in Italy, France, Germany

Editor's Note:—Ever since the Communist International was organized the Socialist reformists have sought to argue that the organization of Communist Parties in all the principal countries of the world was an artificial procedure, forced from Moscow. In this article Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, shows how a Communist Party is born out of the actual struggles of the workers, how it is not the work of a single act of a congress meeting on a certain day, but an effort spread sometimes over several years. Zinoviev writes as follows:

• • •

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV

Chairman, Communist International

To the French Communists:

Maxim Gorki has a wonderful story entitled, "The Birth of Man." In it, with remarkable realism and joyous virility, he pictures the birth of a child.

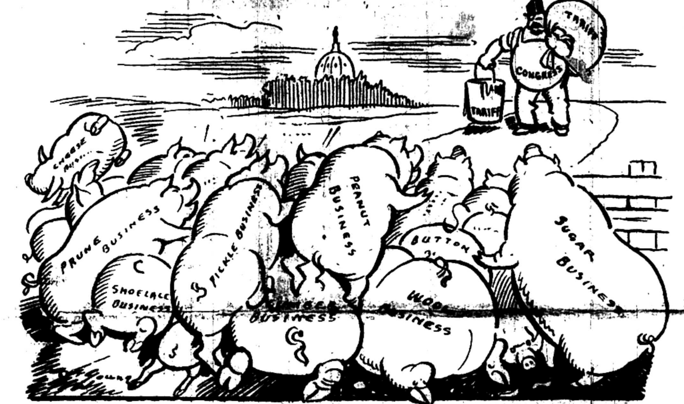
The event takes place on the shores of the sea. The mother is a good and robust woman of the laboring class.

The child is immediately bathed in the briny water of the sea; it is affectionately caressed, and its first cries are heard.

Altogether, it is a perfectly easy and normal delivery, but yet, na-

(Continued on Page Four)

To Each According to His Wants



All the little pets of capitalism are going to be fed up big on the increased profits that will come to them thru the passage by Congress of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Bill. At the same time the whole governmental system, in Washington, and thruout the country, is being used to break the coal and rail strikes and beat down the starvation wage scale of the American working class. This means more profits to capitalism's pet industries, lower wages to the workers. Turn to the last page and read the editorial, "Get the Difference."

International Asks British Labor Aid Mine Strikers Here

MOSCOW.—The executive committee of the Third International publishes an appeal in the newspaper Izvestia asking English labor, particularly the transport workers, dock laborers, and miners, to aid the striking American miners by not loading coal for shipment to the United States.

• • •

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF GREAT BRITAIN URGES BRITISH WORKERS NOT TO SABOTAGE ON AMERICAN WORKERS

In the spirit of the recent appeal to the British workers by the Workers Party to refrain from sending coal to America to defeat the coal strike, the Young Communist League of Great Britain, at its first annual Congress, recently held, passed a resolution calling upon English trade unionists and workers generally to aid the American workers in their fight to maintain a decent standard of living.

The resolution, which includes greetings to the young workers of America, and which was addressed to the Young Workers League in this country is as follows:

"That this first annual Congress of the Young Communist League of Great Britain sends fraternal greetings to the adult and youth workers of America in their present fight against their agressors.

"Further, we call upon the whole organized trade unionists and workers of Britain to refrain from assisting in any way whatever the sabotaging of our American comrades in their heroic fight to maintain their standard of living."

Shattering "Hopes" in Harding

At least just as interesting as President Harding's speech to Congress are the comments made upon it by alleged spokesmen for labor.

Harding has always been anti-labor. He was sincere in his utterances during the war when he urged that workers toil for $1 per day. When a Senator he urged anti-strike legislation, and President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor is now quite right to construe his address to Congress as an attempt to compel men to work under threat of bayonet or jail sentence.

Harding has already done as much during the progress of the coal and rail strikes, and he now urges more power to the railroad "labor" board, champion of the 23 cents an hour wage.

It is therefore rather laughable to watch Gompers' pitiful efforts to salve and scent the blunt declaration of Wall Street's president.

Read the following two paragraphs. In the first Gompers interprets what Harding really means. Then in the second he tries to tell the President he doesn't really mean what he says. Here they are:

> **"The President said in substance that the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board must be made enforceable. That is, and no other construction can be placed upon it, if the Labor Board or any other board of similar functions renders a decision reducing wages further or disposing of conditions pertaining to rights and interests of the workers, they have to go to work, whether they like it or not. And if they refuse, what then? They would go to jail. In other words, the penalty of fine or imprisonment, or both, will be the method of enforcing the decisions**

(Continued on Page Two)

A Three Week's Record of

917—934—1023

New subscriptions received for THE WORKER show what our readers can accomplish in the 25,000 new readers' campaign.

A record to be proud of, say we.

A record to be maintained, we hear our readers answer.

It can be maintained for many weeks, will be maintained until every one of the 25,000 readers are secured if every reader will just do his part.

Sell the subscription cards sent you.

Keep the record UP at the top!

Illinois Big Business Digs up $25,000 to Investigate 'Massacre'

MARION, Ill.—The so-called Herrin massacre in which the fatal shooting of three union coal strikers was followed by a battle which resulted in the killing of 19 strikebreakers and company guards at the strip mine of the Southern Illinois Coal Co., will be investigated by a Williamson county grand jury which is to begin work Aug. 28.

The jury will be instructed by Circuit Judge De Witt T. Hartwell to probe the shooting by company men of the union miners June 21 which started the bloodshed and to inquire into the events that followed.

The coroner's jury of three Herrin business men and three miners found the company, of which William J. Lester, Chicago, is president, directly and indirectly responsible for the deaths and destruction of property.

C. K. McDowell, mine superintendent, who lost his life in the conflict, was named by the jury as the man who had started the affair by the killing of George Henderson, an unarmed union miner.

Lester, when urged by Col. Samuel Hunter, Illinois national guard, to cease operations in order to avoid bloodshed, replied, 'I'll be damned if I will.' He had previously broken his agreement with the union to confine operations to uncovering the veins of coal, but not to load or ship any coal during the strike.

The Illinois chamber of commerce is raising $25,000 to "prove to the world that justice still reigns and that human life is safe in Illinois," to be used to prosecute those believed responsible for the killing of the strikebreakers and company guards.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

Foster in Chicago as Burns' Press Sleuths Hunt Him in Michigan

(Special to The Worker)

CHICAGO. — While "Bill" Burns was conducting his new anti-red activities in Michigan, William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, was in the office of State's Attorney Crowe here.

This nails the hysterical newspaper reports that Burns' sleuths were chasing Foster thru Michigan's woods. The Associated Press sent out the report, for instance, that Foster had commandeered a taxi in his flight thru Michigan's forests, with detectives hot on his trail.

The Chicago Journal, an anti-labor sheet here, on Monday, [illegible] wreck on the Michigan Central Railroad at Gary, Ind., was due to defective equipment.

State's Attorney Crowe, of Chicago, used this wreck as an excuse for his raid, Sunday, on the offices of the Trade Union Educational League, and it was also said to have inspired Burns in his new pursuit of radicals.

• • •

Burns Keeps His "Raids" Secret from Daugherty

"Bill the Detective", whose full name and title is William J. Burns, Chief Investigator of the United States Department of Justice, ably assisted by newspapermen, set out to break the rail and coal strikes, Tuesday, August 22, in his own peculiar fashion.

He didn't want to share any of the glory with his chief, Attorney General Daugherty, so he kept the matter a complete secret, except from the newspapers.

The Washington report, Aug. 22, stated that, "Attorney General Daugherty to-day disavowed official knowledge of the raid on the 'convention of Communists' staged by Federal agents near Bridgeman, Mich.

The United Press news service, that provides The New York Call

Continued on page Two.)

Order Bundle of Next Week's Issue

Next week's issue will contain full accounts of both the First Conference of the Trade Union Educational League and the Second National Convention of the Workers Party.

These important events will take place at Chicago, the scene of the recent raid on the offices of the League. The conference of the League will be held August 26th to 27th, while the convention of the party starts Monday, Aug. 28th.

Bundles of this issue of THE WORKER should be ordered in large quantities for sale and distribution. The workers everywhere will want to know of every action taken by these two militant organizations, one in the industrial and the other in the political struggle of the workers.

Send your order for bundles at 2½ cents per copy to THE WORKER, Room [illegible], 799 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.

CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 2.30 P. M., WEBSTER HALL, 125 EAST 11th STREET

British Plot in Asia Against Soviet Russia Completely Smashed

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

MOSCOW.—The attack started by Enver Pasha on the soviet control of Mohammedan states in Central Asia is now almost at an end. News comes thru of the routing of "a band of 800 insurgents led by Enver himself." This man, who was once commander of all the armies of Turkey, leading them forth against the British empire, is now reduced to leadership of 800 guerillas, bent upon loot.

The band was chased 100 miles and 160 of them were killed. Other bands whom Enver had relied upon are surrendering rapidly. The people's commissar of Bokhara, Faisula Hojaie by name, went out to a group of these bands and promised them immunity if they at once surrendered. Four of the bands came over and put the remainder to flight.

So ends another attempt to raise trouble on the extreme borders of Russia, down near Afghanistan. Enver's old friends in Moscow claim that he must have gone over to British imperialism, his ancient bitter foe, since it is mainly Britain that is interested in preventing Russian penetration in that direction.

Enver's cry against "the robber policy of Russia" met with little response from the peasants in and around Bokhara, to whom Russia had recently given the lands of the deposed emir.

The entire Bokhara district, moreover, had recently rejoiced in the action of the central executive committee of Russia, in establishing four factories in Bokhara, for the manufacture of paper, textiles, leather and soap.

This made the talk of robber Russia fall on rather deaf ears.

• • •

I went down to see Bill Shatoff, formerly known to fame as an I. W. W. in the Colorado coal fields, now the head of the Naphtha Export Co. of Russia, which has $15,000,000 in oil for the European market and $6,000,000 for the Near East market for the next nine months.

But Bill's old principles are still with him, for the company is a government syndicate, with the Russian Soviet republic owning over half the stock and it is selling Russian oil in the markets of the world.

Bill Shatoff has had a spectacular career, tho not more so than that of many other men in Russia. He was chief of police in Petrograd's stormiest days. He was head of Siberian railways. He was general of an army in the Ukraine. He has now returned from a year in the Far Eastern republic and he had a pile of manuscripts two feet deep containing maps and diagrams of mines and mineral resources.

"I've been in most parts of the world," he said, "and I never yet saw a place that could touch Siberia for richness. All Russia, in fact, is just crying for development."

Communists Win Victory Over Socialists in Berlin

BERLIN.—A victory has been won by the communists in the election of Berlin delegates to the coming national convention of Employes in Municipal and State Undertakings.

Of 25 delegates to be elected 20 are members of the Communist party. The swing to the left is said to be due in part to the fact that municipal and state employes are badly paid.

There is also considerable dissatisfaction with the Socialists for not having supported the strike of the electric and gas workers last February. The party joined hands then with other factions in the coalition to suppress the strike.

EVERETT, Wash.—Logging camp blacksmiths have the same aversion to repairing railway cars that shopmen have, it developed when logging companies recently contracted for the repairing of railway rolling stock. The cars are still unrepaired.

BREMERTON, Wash.—Exclusive navy officers didn't like the coming of colored people with a church near their club here. A fire, declared by the fire chief to have been incendiary, burned the colored church to the ground.

Has Debs Changed?

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Since Eugene V. Debs has taken his stand with the Yellow Socialists of the world in the plea for Russia's condemned social (counter) revolutionaries, the question may well be asked, "Has Debs Changed?"

It wasn't always that Debs waxed sentimental over the enemies of the workers. We have never before heard that he was ready to cry "Enough! Enough!" in the attack on capitalism's bulwarks.

It was usually Debs that issued the "Call to Arms" when labor was threatened, when its position was attacked, when victory seemed in the grasp of its enemies. Thus in September, 1914, in an appeal entitled, "THE GUNMEN AND THE MINERS," we find Debs proclaiming:

"The time has come for the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners to levy a special monthly assessment to create a GUNMEN DEFENSE FUND.

"This fund should be sufficient to provide each member with the latest high power rifle, the same as used by the corporation gunmen, and 500 rounds of cartridges.

"In addition to this every district should purchase and equip and man enough Gatling and machine guns to match the equipment of Rockefeller's private army of assassins.

"This suggestion is made advisedly, and I hold myself responsible for every word of it."

• • •

The workers, peasants and soldiers of Soviet Russia did exactly what Debs advised the coal and metal miners of this country to do. For nearly five years they have waged their war. That war still goes on against all enemies, including the social (counter) revolutionaries, 12 of whom have been tried by a working-class court and sentenced to death, the sentence to be carried out unless their party, the Social (Counter) Revolutionary Party, recognizes the victory of the Soviets and ceases its efforts to overthrow it.

The party of the social (counter) revolutionists has not recognized, up to the time of this writing, the victory of Soviet Rule in Russia, and its agents are active against the Workers' Republic in all the capitals of imperialism throut the world.

Yet Debs pleads for the lives of these social (counter) revolutionists, who are just as surely the "private army and assassins" of John D. Rockefeller as any gang of gunmen that ever crimsoned the hills and mountains of West Virginia or Colorado with workers' blood.

Debs pleads for their lives, in his own words, as he would "if they were the vilest criminals on earth, and if they had attempted to assassinate him instead of Lenin his attitude would be the same."

In 1914 Debs told the miners:

"You miners have been forced out on strike, and you have been made the victims of every conceivable method of persecution.

"You have been thrown into foul dungeons, you have been robbed, insulted and treated with contempt; you have seen your wives and babes murdered in cold blood before your eyes.

"You have been thrown into foul dungeons where you have lain for months for daring to voice your protest against these cruel outrages, and many of you are now cold in death with the gaping bullet wounds in your bodies to bear mute testimony to the efficacy of goveenment by gunmen as set up in the mining camps by the master class during the last few years.

"The law does not interfere with the Rockefellers when they set up government by gunmen, and have their private army of man-killers swoop down on a mining camp, turn loose their machine guns, kill without mercy, and leave death, agony and desolation in their wake, and therefore it becomes your solemn duty to arm yourselves in defense of your homes and in driving out these invading assassins, and putting an end to government by gunmen in the United States.

"In a word, the protection the government owes you and fails to provide, you are morally bound to provide for yourselves.

"You have the unquestioned right, under the law, to defend your life and to protect the sanctity of your fireside. FAILING IN EITHER, YOU ARE A COWARD AND A CRAVEN AND UNDESERVING THE NAME OF MAN."

• • •

We repeat, the workers, peasants and solders of Soviet Russia did all of that. Debs cannot say to them, **"You are a coward and a craven and undeserving the name of man."**

Yet what does he really say in attacking the Soviet Court for defending the revolution, and continuing the war against its enemies. The Debs of 1922 says he does not believe in revenge, in capital punishment, in cold-blooded murder, and these brutal passions and atrocious crimes are all the more reprehensible in his eyes when committed in the name of law and justice by Socialists who have for years been denouncing capitalism for these identical infamies.

• • •

Debs told the miners that, even under capitalism, they had the "lawful right" even to slay their assailants. Must the workers become pacifists and non-resistants immediately they have won the mere beginnings of the world social revolution, have achieved victory in only one country?

The social (counter) revolutionaries are merely the scabs, strike-breakers, gunmen, assassins of world imperialism in capitalism's attack on Soviet Russia. Just make the substitution in Debs' article of 1914 and the situation reveals itself. Here are additional Debs' views written eight years ago:

"If the thief or thug attacks you or your wife or child and threatens to take your life, you have a lawful right to defend yourself and your loved ones, even to the extent of slaying the assailant. This right is quite as valid and unimpaired—in fact it is even more inviolate—if the attack is made by a dozen or a hundred, instead of only one.

"Rockefeller's gunmen are simply murderers at large, and you have the same right to kill them when they attack you that you have to kill the burglar who breaks into your house at midnight or the highwayman who holds you up at the point of his pistol.

"Rockefeller's hired assassins have no lawful right that you miners are bound to respect. They are professional man killers, the lowest and vilest on earth. They hire out to break your strike, shoot up your home and kill you, and you should have no more compunction in killing them than if they were so many mad-dogs or rattlesnakes that menaced your homes and your community.

"Recollect that in arming yourselves, as you are bound to do unless you are willing to be forced into abject slavery, you are safely within the spirit and letter of the law."

• • •

And now, what does Debs say? He now declares that, "If we believe in bloodthirsty revenge, in cruel reprisals and savage killings to satisfy our law of ethics, we are even lower than the capitalists and their mercenary hangmen who at least make no pretense of such humane ideals as we profess and shamelessly betray the moment we succeed to power."

Debs called those "cowards and cravens" in 1914, who would not respond to his plea, yet he now charges that the uncompromising stand of Russia's working-class courts betrays "the weakness and fear of the Soviet Government," and says that the carying out of the guilty verdicts against the social (counter) revolutionaries would bring the Soviet Government into contempt all over the world among the people who now give it their allegiance and support. Just who these people are Debs does not state.

Just a few more quotations from Debs' position of 1914 and we are thru. Here they are:

"Let the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners take note that a private army of gunmen is simply a gang of outlaws and butchers and that **they have not a solitary right an honest workingman is bound to respect!**

"Let these unions and all other organized bodies of workers that are militant and not subservient to the masters, declare war to the knife on these lawless and criminal hordes and swear relentless hostility to government by gunmen in the United States.

"Murderers are no less murderers because they are hired by capitalists to kill workingmen than if they were hired by workingmen to kill capitalists.

"Mine guards, so-called, are murderers pure and simple, and are to be dealt with accordingly. The fact that they are in uniform, as in Colorado, makes them even more loathesome and repulsive than the common reptilian breed.

"Let the unions, therefore, arm their members against the gunmen of the corporations, the gangs of criminals, cut-throats, woman-ravishers and baby-burners that have absolutely no lawful right to existence!

"Let organized labor, from one [illegible]

The [illegible] assassination in the United States is the government that is in power at Washington.

This is the government that fawned upon Boris Bakhmetieff, the ambassador of the social (counter) revolutionaries, the party of Kerensky, when Ludwig Martens, Soviet Russia's representative, was deported.

International imperialism, now boasting the social (counter) revolutionaries as staunch allies, maintains its world power thru gunmen and assassination. Against that world power battle all the forces of the world social revolution. In this struggle, surely, Debs would give the workers all the privileges he called upon the members of the Western Federation of Miners and United Mine Workers to exercise in 1914.

But he seems to have changed in the case of Soviet Russia. It is, therefore, asked, "Has Debs Changed?" and further, "If He Has Changed, Why?"

F.S.R. Urges Committee to Examine Charges of Cahan Made in Forward

By HARRY GODFREY

(Staff Writer, Federated Press)

An investigation by a committee of Socialist and labor organizations, or of disinterested individuals, seems likely to be made into the whole matter of the Russian famine relief fund of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The suggestion for an investigation has been made by the New York Call, following the publication of charges by the Jewish Daily Forward that funds collected for famine relief were being used improperly. It was insinuated that some of the funds were diverted to the support of the Workers' party, to Communist publications, and to Communist propaganda.

The Call's demand that the charges be sifted by a committee of investigation suggested that this committee include representatives of the Socialist party, the United Hebrew Trades, the Farmer-Labor party, the Central Trades and Labor council, and a few of the large unions of New York City. To this the Friends of Soviet Russia, in a statement signed by Jacob W. Hartmann, treasurer replied:

"The Friends of Soviet Russia have no information as to the degree of impartiality of these bodies," but proposes instead a committee to examine the Forward charges, to be composed as follows:

Roger N. Baldwin, American Civic Liberties union; Robert Morss Lovett, University of Chicago and the New Republic; Norman Thomas of the Nation; J. B. Collings Wood, a chartered public accountant, and Walter Nelles, attorney. An invitation has been made to all these individuals to conduct the inquiry, according to Hartmann, who says that all but the last named have already accepted.

The Friends of Soviet Russia has denied the charges and the implied charges.

Seattle Times Helps Forward

SEATTLE.—The Seattle Daily Times, reactionary mouthpiece of the lumber interests, must either retract statements that the relief drive of the Friends of Soviet Russia is fraudulent or stand suit for libel.

George F. Vanderveer, head of the Central Labor Council's legal bureau and attorney for the Friends of Soviet Russia, demanded the retraction recently of an editorial in the Times entitled, Imposing on the Gullible.

The suit seems imminent as no reply has yet been received from the Times. The editorial was published on the eve of a campaign in this city to raise money for the purchase of farm tools for Russia. The drive had the indorsement of Mayor E. J. Brown and local club women.

Why Trainmen Quit

CHICAGO.—What can be expected of Illinois troops when they go on strike duty became clear at the Pageant of Progress here thru the accidental fatal shooting of Mrs. Evelyn Tamm.

The anti-aircraft unit, 202nd artillery, aimed its guns at an illuminated airplane up in the sky and managed to hit the excursion steamer Christopher Columbus steaming along on the lake level.

The captain of the boat heard a bullet whiz past his head and Mrs. Tamm, a passenger, was pierced by another, dying in the hospital some hours later.

Train service brotherhood members have refused to work at railroad points where Illinois troops are on strike duty, notably at Joliet, on the ground that their lives were endangered by the presence of militiamen with loaded firearms.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

Gompers certainly enters the ranks of the humorists. It would be a comedy indeed to watch the American Federation of Labor head insisting that a republican or democratic regime at Washington enforce compulsory labor against its idle, parasitic class. Not even the "Socialist" governments of President Ebert, of Germany; of Premier Branting, of Sweden; of President Pilsudski, of Poland; of Premier Benes, of Czecho-Slovakia, etc., etc., could do that. Only the hated Soviets have been guilty of this crime against capitalist institutions.

Thus the Call, mouthpiece for New York "Socialism," on tiptoes, ready to send its editor to the White House with an application for membership in the "Socialist" Party, in reviewing Harding's address, says:

> **"Mr. Harding had the opportunity presented to him to line himself and his administration either with the forces of greed and pelf, OR ELSE WITH THE MASSES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE WHO ARE PAINFULLY STRUGGLING TO GIVE THEMSELVES A BETTER WORLD.**

We repeat to the workers, Harding is an anti-working class president. His address was applauded by both democrats and republicans. It is a rank attempt to deceive to say that Harding had an opportunity to line up with the working people. He missed that opportunity long ago when he joined the Republican party.

But then, the "Socialists" and other "labor leaders" who are this year trying to get the workers to vote for democrats and republicans, no doubt realize they are up against it. They no doubt feel they are at a loss what to say when labor aks why it should vote for those who travel with Harding's bi-partisan gang of labor haters and anti-strike legislators.

Labor stands sorely in need of effective political, as well as industrial action, and it will realize that need thru supporting the organized Communist movement of this country.

Workers! Support your party, the Workers Party, and weld it into the powerful weapon that is needed to fight a winning war for your emancipation. Away with those who would deceive, mislead and betray you.

Having got a big bonus for the profiteers thru the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, the United States Chamber of Commerce will now devote its best efforts to figthing a bonus for the soldiers who helped fight the late war for democracy.

Samuel Gompers, the New York Call and Benjamin Schlesinger have so far failed to protest against the double kidnapping and deportation of William Z. Foster from Colorado and Wyoming. But, then, Colorado and Wyoming are in the "democratic" United States of America, not in working-class Soviet Russia.

It used to be that women teachers were denied the right to marry. Now we find that Northwestern University, at Evanston, Ill., will refuse jobs to men instructors who are married. This university confesses the wages paid the men is not sufficient to permit them to support a family.

The postoffice boasts that 20-year-old, Miss Nina E. Holmes, of Detroit, is able to sort 20,610 letters in eight hours. It would certainly be considered a Communist plot if it were urged that she be in school developing the ability she seems to possess at this early age.

"Awakening Magyars" is the name of the Fascisti of Hungary, similar to the "State Rangers" of Colorado, U. S. A. Their names may be different, but the object is the same, to attempt to put the working class to sleep, forcibly or otherwise, in its struggle for freedom. Let awakening labor turn the tables and show it is on the job.

The official journal of the Teamsters' Union says that, "It costs $2,000 a year to clothe, feed and house an American soldier, just twice as much as before the great war. If it takes that amount to keep a single man fit to fight, how much should be required to feed, clothe and shelter the American workman so that he may be fit to work?" Other labor papers please answer.

How time changes. It is announced that none of states bordering on Soviet Russia has dared refuse the invitation of the Workers' Republic to join in a conference for the mutual limitation of armaments. The invitations have gone out to Latvia, Esthonia, Roumania and Poland and the conference may be held at Moscow, starting September 5th.

The British Communist Party has withdrawn all its candidates for parliament, running in opposition to official Labor Party candidates, as an expression of the sincerity of its desire to maintain solidarity with the organized labor movement. It might be added that the British Labor Party does not endorse old party candidates.

The Railroad "Labor" Board tries to defend its 23 cents an hour wage by claiming it applies to only a few of the railroad workers. E. F. Grable, president of the Maintenance of Waymen's Union, says 100,000 workers are affected. If only one worker were involved, it represents the dehumanizing standard of living that the exploiters would impose upon all workers.

Another convert to industrial unionism is the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. C. J. Hayes, the international president, reports that the conversion took place at the 11th International Convention held recently at St. Paul, Minn. This action is the result of the defeat in the packing house strike last winter. Bitter experience will teach labor the value of solidarity if nothing else can.

The Milwaukee Leader, Victor Berger's paper, is having a difficult time trying to explain to the rest of the "Socialist" press, the New Jersey Leader for instance, that he (Berger) hasn't got a deal on with La Follette, by which La Follette is to be re-elected U. S. Senator and Berger is to go to Congress from the 5th (Milwaukee) district. Perhaps Berger just calls it "a silent understanding."

We take it that President Harding found considerable delight in writing most of his speech to Congress on the coal and rail strikes. But it must have been pretty hard to confess that, "The simple but significant truth was revealed that, except for such coal as comes from the districts worked by non-organized miners, the country is at the mercy of the United Mine Workers." Too bad, Warren, you couldn't say that about the mine barons and their yellow scabs!

Diplomatic circles at Berlin are very much disturbed because the Russian Foreign Commissar, G. V. Chitcherin, has held several conferences with the Japanese ambassador to Germany, Eki Hicki. The Japanese themselves are said to be a little nervous over the arrival of Adolph Joffe, former Soviet Ambassador at Berlin, at Peking as Russia's special envoy to China. Slowly the capitalist nations of the earth admit their defeat at the hands of the Workers' Republic.

Burns Keeps Latest "Raids" Secret from Atty. Gen. Daugherty

(Continued from Page One)

with most of its interpretations of daily events, according to The Call, reported the affair in true Burns' style, as follows:

"Moving with military precision four deputy United States marshals, aided by Sheriff Bridgeman, of Berrien County and 20 deputies, broke up an alleged 'convention of the Communist Party of America' here to-day and arrested 15 of the 'delegates'."

More Burns' atmosphere is provided by the special representative of the United Press at Bridgeman, Mich., as follows:

"The 'meeting' was being held at the Wolfskeel summer resort. The resort stands in a lowland surrounded by four high hills. Two roads rendered impassable, due to heavy rains, permitted the only entrance to the place."

Burns reports that those arrested were: C. E. Ruthenberg, William F. Dunne, W. Reynolds, Max Lerner, Seattle, Wash.; Cyril Lampkin, Detroit; Francis Ashworth, Camden, N. J.; Alex. Vail, Philadelphia; Charles Krumbine, New York; T. R. Sullivan, St. Louis; John Mihelic, Kansas City; E. McMillin, St. Louis; Thomas O'Flaherty, New York; Caleb Harrison, Chicago; C. Nordling, Portland, Ore.; Charles Erickson,

Lawyers in Anti-Red Debauch at American Bar Meeting in Frisco

SAN FRANCISCO.—The convention of the American Bar association had those good old standbys of reaction, Taft, Coolidge, Wickersham and Gov. Allen, as the chief speakers. A telegram was received from Daugherty, asking for a renewed persecution of the "reds."

"Organizations should be established in every state, county and municipality," said Daugherty, to attack those who have been "listening to the teachings of foreign doctrines by unsound advocates who have left countries which their doctrines have destroyed."

Wickersham fulminated against the radicals, Allen praised the strike-breaking industrial relations court of Kansas, Coolidge told how he broke the policemen's strike, and Taft got hysterical about the La Follette amendment to curb the tyrannical power of the supreme court.

In the midst of the festivities the American Women's Independence committee presented a protest against the California criminal syndicalism law. It was tabled.

PRISONERS' BIRTHDAYS

MILWAUKEE.—Birthdays in September of political prisoners still confined in American prisons, are announced by the Workers' National Prison Comfort club, 2923 Chestnut St., as follows:

At Leavenworth, Kan., Box No. 7: Sept. 5, Harry Lloyd, Register No. 13164; Sept. 7, Sam Scarlett, 13114; Sept. 10, Francis Miller, 13135; Sept. 12, Sigfried Stenberg, 13143; Sept. 12, H. Strednick, 13587; Sept. 13, Roy P. Conner, 13564; Sept. 13, Pete DeBernardi, 13565; Sept. 16, Ricardo Flores Magon, 14596.

Cora Meyer, national secretary, invites friends and sympathizers to send birthday postcards to these political prisoners. Money is advisable for gifts. Special attention is called to the case of Roy P. Conner, who has spent more than three years in isolation, under rigid discipline. Communications to Conner should bear the sender's address in case his mailing privileges remain suspended.

The W. N. P. C. C. is nonsectarian and nonpolitical. All work is carried on without compensation. A political prisoner wrote: "Thanks to our friends—religious and economic. Greetings reached us from all directions: California, Washington, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Oklahoma, Texas, New York, New Jersey, and other states, on, before and after the birthday."

HARRISBURG, PA.—The railway brotherhoods and trade unions of this, the capital city of Pennsylvania, announce the organization of the Fraternity Trust Company, a co-operative bank controlled by the workers and operated on the same plan of sharing earnings which has brought such success to the Engineers' Co-operative National Bank of Cleveland, O.

PARIS, France.—Liberation of Badina and six other Communist sailors who participated in the Black Sea mutiny during the war France sought to wage on Russia, has been authorized by a reprieve signed by President Millerand. They must now complete their term of naval service, Engineer-Lieutenant Marty, leader of the mutiny, remains in prison.

Workers Party, Branch Astoria
SUNDAY, AUGUST 27th, 1922
PIC-NIC
at Turn-Verein "Vorwärts" Sommer-Turnplatz
Astoria Avenue, near Third Bridge
25c Admission, which entitles bearer to same amount of Refreshments—Sport and plenty of fun.
DIRECTIONS:—Steinway Ave. Car from 59th St. Bridge, transfer at Flushing Ave. to St. Michael Cemetery; or, Astoria Elevated R. R. from 57th St. and 2nd Ave., N. Y.; or, Astoria Subway from Grand Central Station to Hoyt Ave. Station. Then take Flushing Ave. Car to St. Michael Cemetery, where Bus will meet Car every 30 minutes from 10 A. M. to 3 P. M. to take people to Pic-Nic Grounds.—No Charge for Bus.

Hamrock Plans Arrest of Foster If He Returns to Denver, Colo.

State Ranger Says Warrant Is Not Needed

DENVER, Colo.—If William Z. Foster, head of the Trade Union Educational League, returns to Colorado to address mass meetings, he will be jailed immediately without a warrant, Adjutant General Hamrock has announced.

"This action," Hamrock said, "would give an opportunity to Foster and his associates to make a test case of the arrest."

The assumption on which the otherwise illegal arrest will be made, he explained, is that it is legal to arrest without warrant anyone who the authorities think would "threaten to cause turmoil and strife."

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Injunction Against Hamrock

The announcement of Adjutant General Patrick Hamrock of Colorado that he would arrest William Z. Foster if the latter returns to Denver to address a mass meeting in protest against his recent deportation, is met by the announcement by the American Civil Liberties Union—which is arranging the meeting—that if necessary an injunction will be sought to restrain the adjutant general from interfering with Foster's appearance at the meeting.

In a letter to Carle Whitehead, a Denver attorney representing the Civil Liberties Union, the officers of the Union say:

"You are authorized to take any and all means to prevent interference by the Colorado state rangers with the meeting to protest against the action of Adjutant General Hamrock in deporting Mr. Foster from the state.

"We will challenge every phase of that action in the courts, and we similarly will make any test of the action now threatened by the state authorities.

"There is no authority in law for what they have done or propose to do. We are confident that redress can be secured thru the courts, as well as relief from any interference with the future meeting.

"We are expecting to be joined in this protest in Denver by a large number of citizens of Colorado who feel as we do about the issues involved and who resent the high-handed tactics adopted by the adjutant general and sanctioned by the governor."

• • •

Chooses Most Excellent Enemies

WASHINGTON.—Mary G. Kilbreth, vice-president, Woman Patriot Publishing Co. and identified in Washington as lobbyist against woman suffrage, has joined Samuel Gompers in attacking W. Z. Foster and the Trade Union Educational League. She has issued a public announcement of her discovery that Foster favors affiliation of American labor with the Red Trade Union International, and that the Trade Union Educational League, according to a declaration by Foster in a recent Red Labor International bulletin, likewise favors such affiliation.

Miss Kilbreth, then, under the impression that this is news, proves, by quoting documents, that the Communist party of Russia dominates the Soviet government; also that the Soviet government is in sympathy with the Red Labor International; also that the purposes of the Red Labor International and the Communist party are strictly revolutionary.

ALL ABOARD FOR A GOOD TIME
at the
Grand Outing
of the
Amalgamated Metal Workers of America
at
Cypress Hills Park
SATURDAY, Aug. 26th
FUN FOR YOUNG AND OLD
Bowling Dancing Games
TICKETS 25 Cents
CHILDREN FREE
MILITANT WORKERS JOIN US!
Directions to Park: From New York Train to Broadway and Myrtle Avenue, then change for Ridgewood Train, get off at Wyckoff Avenue, and then take Cypress Hills Car to Park.

For and Against Foster

A number of Denver lawyers were asked by the Denver (Colo.) Express to state their views on the [illegible] of deportation of William Z. Foster. The greater percentage [illegible]. Two statements, for and against Foster, are given below.

AGAINST DEPORTATION

BEN C. HILLIARD—"Such proceedings do not comport with American institutions. In this world of darkness the ideas of any man are worth hearing, at least by those who care to hear them, as long as he does not violate the law. The deportation was absolutely illegal and I think that any court would so hold if the matter were brought before it on a writ of habeas corpus."

FOR DEPORTATION

TYSON S. DINES—"I don't know anything about the circumstances at all. I think any community has the right to rid itself of people who are unsympathetic with or disloyal to its government. Such steps should be taken only under the most careful safeguards, however, or they are likely to result in abuses. If a man is denied the rights of free speech they would have to show me some mighty good reasons for doing so."

Packed House Heard Foster

(Continued from Page One)

est body of organized employers in the world and with the greatest need for solidarity on the industrial and political field, is practically, numerically and structurally more backward than that of any other industrial country, that it has no vision—no goal, that politically it has not awaked to the need of working class political action, that numerically it has only one in 36 unionized, whereas Germany has one out of every five of the population, that structurally it has not yet even awaked to the necessity of industrial unionism and a united front; in short, that the labor movement of this country is bankrupt.

Foster laid the blame, not on the ignorant and corrupt leadership of many unions, but squarely upon the militant workers and their utopian policy of dual unionism.

Unions Crushed and Broken

Foster outlined the critical industrial situation existing at the present time—the Packing House workers crushed, the Textile strike broken, the backbone of the Building Trades smashed in many cities, including San Francisco; the printing trades fighting thruout the country to hold their position, the miners deadlocked in a life and death struggle, with the full force of the military, the police and the government being used against them, 400,000 railroad shopmen on strike against tremendous wage reductions and abolition of hard-won shop-conditions, the wages of the Maintenance of Way men slashed to 23 cents an hour, and with the other railroad organizations facing a like struggle and a like fate due to their lack of solidarity.

Declaring that the crisis is political as well as industrial, Foster cited the abolition and absolute annihilation of the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage, the annulment of the Child Labor Act and the Clayton Act, designed to protect labor, the Coronado decision paving the way to annihilation of the unions thru court action, holding them liable for damages incurred in industrial disputes—in short, the absolute loss of the workers during the past year of all legal machinery for their protection, won by years of hard-fought battles.

The reason for the success of the open-shop drive, Foster declared, lies in the inherent weakness of our political and industrial organizations.

European Workers Quit Capitalism

Comparing the American labor movement with that of Europe Foster said:

"The workers of France, England and Germany have long since learned that they are definitely committed to the abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation. The workers in those countries may differ as to what the new society will be, but they are at least agreed that capitalism must go.

"It is only in the United States that there is still to be found a working class so backward and undeveloped that it still pins its faith in capitalism and strives to make that system bearable. The American labor movement shows a heinous lack of understanding of the true mission of the working class; it lacks social vision and an understanding of what it is fighting for. Originally the European labor movement suffered from most of the evils and weaknesses that afflict the American movement but of late years the European workers have abandoned their outworn system of organization and have progressed far ahead of the American workers.

"Another vital matter in which we are far behind is that of political organization. The workers of other countries have come to clearly understand that the capitalist is their enemy on the political as well as the industrial field, and accordingly they have very developed working class political organizations. But in the United States we are so far behind that we have not yet learned this fundamental lesson. Here as a movement, we are still definitely committed to the old capitalist parties and waste our political strength chasing the rainbow policy of rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies. As a consequence the American working class is a political zero, while all over the rest of the world the labor movement is a powerful factor, always to be reckoned with. In European countries the policy of rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies in a political way was abandoned from 20 to 50 years ago, which represents about the length of time we are behind in this respect.

Our Backward Unions

"As we are backward with our political organizations so we are with our trade unions. Quite generally in the industrial countries of Europe, the principle of industrial unionism is recognized. Even the most conservative labor leaders abroad are frank to recognize that the only effective way for the workers to fight the employers is with industrial unions. Tho craft unions still linger, they are looked upon as relics of the past and the movements are steadily evolving toward the industrial form. But here in the United States, the only important country in the world where such a condition exists we still cling to the principle of craft unionism and this in spite of the fact that our capitalist class is more strongly organized than any other and we have a greater need for industrial unionism than the working class in any other country in the world.

Unions Numerically Weak

"In the matter of numerical strength of our unions, which is a most vital matter, we are also about the tail end of the procession. In most of the industrial countries of the world the great masses of the workers are organized. This is notably the case in Germany and England, the former country has 13,000,000 trade unionists and the later 7,000,000, whereas in the United States we have only a paltry 3,500,000. We have barely organized the fringe of the workers and unless some way is found to stop the open shop drive this small organization is liable to be wiped out.

"The open shop drive and the stripping of the political rights of the workers are the natural results of our lack of social vision, our primitive organization, our antiquated craft unionism and the numerical weakness of our labor organizations.

"It is a supreme crisis and the need of the hour is a concerted drive on the part of the intelligent element among the masses to rouse the latter to a realization of the perils confronting the movement. What is needed above all is for the militants, those who understand what ails labor, to initiate a wide-spreading drive to clarify the aims of the working class, to wake up the masses politically and industrially and to inspire the trade union movement particularly, with a militant spirit and to give it the scientific structure of industrial unionism which will enable it to fight successfully against the exploiters who are seeking to crush it. The fate of the American labor movement depends upon whether or not the militants within its ranks arouse themselves to action."

Russian Trade Office Here

The Russo-German company called "Derutra," organized in Hamburg last year for the purpose of transporting products ordered by Russia abroad, is about to open a New York office to handle its American business, according to Clifford N. Carver, 39 Water Street, a director in the organization who has just returned from a conference of the "Derutra" board in Hamburg and Berlin. The company's plans provide for the transportation, forwarding and warehousing and handling of business between Russia, Germany and the United States especially.

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Foster Goes to Denver to Defy Foes

William Z. Foster is to be the principal speaker at a mass meeting in Denver to challenge his deportation from Colorado at the direction of Adjutant General Pat Hamrock, according to an announcement by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Union declares it will use every means in its power to obtain redress thru the courts for the lawless action of which Foster was the victim. The meeting in Denver will be for the purpose of making a public protest against the action of the Colorado state rangers, and to give an opportunity for a further test of their authority.

Appeal to the Courts

Carle Whitehead, the Denver attorney of the American Civil Liberties Union, has been requested to institute such proceedings in the courts as are possible under the Colorado law, and New York attorneys are contemplating bringing action in the federal courts against Colorado officials implicated.

The Union's announcement, made thru Roger N. Baldwin, director, and Norman M. Thomas, acting chairman, says:

"No more flagrant challenge to the civil rights of a citizen has occurred in recent months than the lawless seizure of William Z. Foster in a Denver hotel on August 6, and his deportation by Colorado state rangers to the Wyoming line.

"Foster has asked us to represent him in securing such redress as is possible. We are interested not only on Foster's behalf, but because this instance is just one in a long series of lawless acts credited to the Colorado state rangers under the direction of Adjutant General Patrick J. Hamrock.

Plan Mass Meeting

"We shall use every means in our power to see that redress is secured thru the courts. We have already instructed our Denver attorney, Carle Whitehead, to proceed in whatever way is possible under the Colorado law, and our New York attorneys are investigating the possibility of bringing suit in the federal courts.

"We are also asking our Denver friends to arrange a mass meeting under the joint auspices of the Civil Liberties Union and interested local organizations in Denver, at which a vigorous protest will be made against the tactics of the state rangers in deporting Foster and also in suppressing the civil rights of strikers and citizens in the coal mining regions of the state.

"We have endeavored to secure action by Gov. Oliver H. Shoup without success. Gov. Shoup repeatedly evades the issues with which we have confronted him. He gives Adjutant General Hamrock and the state rangers practically unlimited power to do whatever they like in the districts they control, tho there has been no declaration of martial law anywhere in Colorado.

"We are also asking Gov. Shoup to guarantee protection to Foster when he next comes to Colorado, and we shall be interested to see his reply. There was not a vestige of right in taking a man from his hotel, transporting him by automobile, holding him in jail overnight, and taking him to an adjoining state next day.

Violated No Law

"We shall also have something to do with the state of Wyoming where the sheriff from Cheyenne cooperated with the Colorado state rangers in taking charge of Foster and conveying him to the eastern border of the state, where he was dumped on the highway six miles from a railroad station.

"The sole issue involved in this incident is the lawless conduct of state officials in seizing a citizen who was lawfully engaged in organizing and educational work of a labor organization. It is not maintained in any quarter that Foster was violating any law or was in any way engaged in unlawful business in Colorado."

Urge General Strike

PAWTUCKET, R. I.—The Pawtucket Central Trades and Labor union, representing 30,000 organized skilled and unskilled workers in the Pawtuxet and Blackstone valleys, calls upon the A. F. of L. to undertake a general strike thruout the United States.

The resolution embodying this action sets forth the combined assaults being made upon labor in all industries, and makes a special reference to the textile strike which has been in progress here since the beginning of the year.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by 115 delegates representing 23 unions. Copies were sent to the press, the railroad brotherhoods and all central labor unions in the country.

[illegible] for the Next Strike

The coal miners are [illegible] back to work. At the [illegible] the [illegible] through which they have just passed.

Let them begin preparing for the next strike by tightening their ties with the workers of other countries.

It was not an accident that only the Communists urged real action during the strike, demanding that British labor refuse to send coal over to this country. Then the Workers Party of America and the Red Trade Union International, the question was repeatedly brought to the attention of British labor.

Last week we gave space to an editorial utterance on this question in the London Herald, the Labor Daily. This week we publish an article that was given a page display in The Communist, the official organ of the British Communist Party.

This article should be read and studied by every worker interested in creating a world united front of all labor for complete triumph over the well-organized forces of the exploiters. "The Communist" says:

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BRITISH UNIONISM AND THE AMERICAN COAL STRIKE

In 1921 the British miners faced a three months' struggle. They were heavily beaten for want of international solidarity. From that time to the present no effort has emanated from either the Miners' International or the Amsterdam International to remedy the defects.

We have persistently appealed for a real international with full sense of international obligations and discipline. Hodges (president of the British miners) and his colleagues have been content to drift—pacifying their consciences with the formula: "National solidarity must precede international solidarity."

Now, in 1922, the British Unions come face to face with the problem of international "scabbing."

Are the miners, the railwaymen, the dockers, the transport workers, going to smash the American mine workers' strike at the bidding of the Government? That is the issue.

For four months the miners of America have battled against great odds. Soldiers have been used in fifteen States. Many miners have been killed. Evictions, court injunctions, armed thugs have been used against them in almost every state.

The miners have fought with a tenacity that has surprised even their own leaders. Great efforts have been made to reach non-union fields. At least 100,000 non-unionists have joined the strike. But the difficulties are enormous. There are entire counties in West Virginia and in Pennsylvania where no union organizer is permitted to enter. The coal companies control the local, state and federal machinery absolutely. They hire the police. They pay the sheriffs. They own all the property in some of these towns. When the Union succeeded in leasing a piece of land in Vintondale, Pennsylvania, they had organizers who tried to enter the town arrested, and even newspaper correspondents were kept out.

"Employers have been ready to meet violence or more often, to anticipate it. They hire and arm their own strike guards, and often equip and pay county sheriffs."

Manchester Guardian Weekly, July 28

Against this kind of opposition the American miners have fought with amazing confidence and solidarity. And now the Capitalist press is in hysterics. Read the headlines: "More British Coal for U. S." "100,000 Tons a Day." "Sharp Rise in Freight Rate. Prices Advanced." "Orders Rapidly Increasing." "70 Ships Chartered for British Coal going to America."

It is an intolerable situation. If there is one thing that trade unionism should have made impossible it is scabbing during a strike. Yet the Daily Herald leader, on Saturday, July 29th, dealing with the U. S. A. Mines is an utter disgrace to a Labor paper.

Listen to it: "But it is useless to clamour idly that something should be done, or to denounce somebody wildly because nothing is being done. For the grim fact is that nothing can be done."

The first part is cowardice; the second is a lie.

Something is being done and the Daily Herald is busy doing it in dispute after dispute. It squirmed and shuffled and preached defeat in the Engineers' lock-out. It covered up the defects of the leaders in the name of peace. And now when the British trade unions are being called upon to function as international scab organizations the Daily Herald paves the way. That is doing something with a vengeance. How the pioneers of the Daily Herald must squirm when they read its pages today.

Such defeatism is not for us.

On Monday, July 31st, 1922, the S. Wales Miners E. C. meets in Cardiff. On Monday, July 31st, the Transport Workers' E. C. meets. Next week the Miners' International meets in Frankfort. The two Executives meeting on Monday can, if they will, pave the way for action to help the miners of America.

Let them convene a joint meeting of the Executive Committees of the Unions involved:—The N. U. R., the A. S. L. E. and F., the Transport Workers, the Dockers, and the E. C. of M. F. G. B. Let them issue a statement to the rank and file explaining the situation. Let them give a clarion call to the miners and transport workers to give a warm reception to the blackleg ships and stop the coal leaving the ports.

Let them meet quickly, prior to the Miners' International, and send a unanimous call to the International Miners to line up for international support to the American miners.

Real internationalism can only come out of the actual struggle and thru actual demonstrations of solidarity. To put off rendering aid because machinery is imperfect may be good enough for a Daily Herald leader writer, but it ought not to do for responsible leaders of labor. It will not do for Mr. Herbert Smith to go to Frankfort and repeat the statement he made at Blackpool. "At the Internatonal Conference at Frankfort next month," he said, "a statement would be made of a kind that would be appreciated—that the mines should be for the nation and not for the millionaires." When you get to Frankfort for Heaven's sake come down to mother earth and be practical.

The strike is not for nationalization— it is to defend the wage rates of the miners. Get down to the job of organizing assistance to this effort. If you don't, if you allow the American miners to be defeated, then rest assured that the miners of Britain and Europe will pay for it. To help the American miners now is to help the British miners too. Defeat the American miners by lack of solidarity and you defeat the British miners also. Refuse to take bold action now and not only do you bring disaster to the American miner, but you will also make it impossible to achieve united international action in the future.

It is up to the British Trade Union leaders to make an effort. Upon their actions now depends the possibility of breaking down the isolation of the workers of America from the workers of Europe. It is up to you now to make a practical step towards uniting the workers of the world.

"AMALGAMATED" ALMANAC

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which recently announced plans for a second bank in Rochester, and which has put into operation a comprehensive financial plan for operating a big concession from the Russian government to establish clothing factories in Moscow and Petrograd, is sending out an illustrated almanac which strikes a new note in union literature.

The almanac with 100 pages contains material covering many subjects of interest to workers. It includes art, literature, poetry, and scientific discussions, in addition to a presentation of union principles and suggestions on the conduct of meetings.

It tells Amalgamated members how to picket peacefully and how to care for babies. It is edited on the assumption that its readers are eager for aspiring thoughts as well as useful information of the organization.

UP IN HARLEM

The Harlem, N. Y., English Branch (17, 18 and 20 A. D.'s) Workers Party, at a meeting held Thursday, Aug. 24th, at 143 East 103rd Street declared that the vacation time is over. Members and those about to become members stand instructed to at once fill their places in the first line trenches.

The Harlem English Branch meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday evening of the month.

The Harlem Young Worker's League Branch meets every Friday evening.

Both Branches meet at 143 East 103rd Street, Workmen's Circle Bldg.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

Ships Made 17 Trips to Soviet Russia with Relief Aid from F.S.R.

Up to July 31, 1922, seventeen ships, containing relief food, machinery and other supplies from workers, have left New York, bound for Soviet Russia. The following is a report of the shipments made by the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee on these 17 vessels.

It must be noted that the Friends of Soviet Russia furnished nearly ninety-seven and one-half per cent (97½ per cent) of the funds for the purchase and forwarding of these goods thru the Federated Committee.

Besides the 17 shipments from New York, ten (10) shipments have been made separately by F. S. R. branches along the Pacific coast. These are listed below at the end, but, due to the shipping papers having been sent abroad for handling, details are not available at the moment of making up this report.

This report does not include relief material forwarded thru the Federated Committee by various other organizations as distinct consignments in their own respective names.

1. S. S. "Margus,"—Sailed Oct. 15, 1921, from New York for Petrograd: $73,402.
2. S. S. "Eltazier"—Sailed Oct. 27, 1921, from New York for Petrograd: $72,450.
3. S. S. "Westport"—Sailed Nov. 22, 1921, from New York for Reval: $42,556.
4. S. S. "Gasconier"—Sailed Nov. 30, 1921, from New York for Reval: $17,548.
5. S. S. "Eastern Coast"—Sailed Dec. 24, 1921, from New York for Reval $95,735.
6. S. S. "Gasconier"—Sailed Jan. 25, 1922, from New York for Reval: $39,555.
7. S. S. "Eastern Cross"—Sailed Jan. 25, 1921, from New York for Reval: $8,648.
8. S. S. "Eastern Star"—Sailed Feb. 2, 1922, from New York for Reval: $20,044.
9. S. S. "Elzasier"—Sailed Feb. 17, 1922, from New York for Reval: $26,685.
10. S. S. "Rockaway Park"—Sailed March 8, 1922, from New York for Reval: $49,740.
11. S. S. "Redondo"—Sailed April 11, 1922, from New York for Reval $87,526.
12. S. S. "Westport"—Sailed Apr. 16, 1922, from New York for Reval: $13,316.
13. S. S. "Belvedere"—Sailed May 8, 1922, from New York for Reval $69,865.
14. S. S. "Latvia"—Sailed May 10, 1922, from New York for Libau. $60,450.
15. S. S. "Polonia"—Sailed May 17, 1922, from New York for Libau.
16. S. S. "Rockaway Park"—Sailed June 27, 1922, from New York for Reval: $7,964.
17. S. S. "Eastern Star"—Sailed July 31, 1922, from New York for Petrograd $39,949

Total, gross value of 17 shipments, $725,433.

Shipments by F. S. R. Branches on Pacific Coast

From San Francisco, Cal.: S. S. "Minnesotan", sailed Dec. 31, 1921: $2,000; S. S. "Virginian," sailed March 17, 1922; S. S. "Texan," sailed April 7, 1922, S. S. "Kentuckian," sailed May 19, 1922.

From Los Angeles, Cal.: S. S. "Minnesotan"—Sailed Feb. 5, 1922: $1,000; S. S. "Floridian," sailed March 15, 1922; S. S. "Alaskan."

From Portland, Ore.: S. S. "Kentuckian," sailed May 10, 1922.

From Vancouver, B. C., Canada. S. S. "Moerdijk," sailed June 13, 1922.

A complete report of shipments from the Pacific coast will be made in the near future. Pacific coast branches remit funds to national office. The above shipments consist of material collected locally, not purchased.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

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WILL YOU sell five 20 week sub cards for THE WORKER?
WILL YOU make the 25,000 readers campaign a success?
WILL YOU help do what must be done?
YOU WILL—sign the blank and mail.
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799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.
Enclosed find $2.50 for which send me five 20 week subscription cards.
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Demonstrate! World Youth Day! Sept. 3

"DOWN WITH CAPITALIST WARS." "DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM." "DOWN WITH SOCIAL PATRIOTISM." "LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION."

These are some of the slogans that will be used by the young workers all over the world when they gather together on September 3rd to celebrate INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY.

In every part of the world the workers will gather, young and old, to voice their protest against a system that is degrading the bodies and poisoning the minds of the masses of youthful toilers thruout the world.

The Fight of the Young

Last year for the first time the American proletarian youth joined with the rest of the young workers in holding demonstrations against the bourgeoisie, and against the social-patriots. Last year for the first time the revolutionary youth of America joined in the fight when they responded to the call of the YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL for a demonstration to celebrate the day when the young workers of Europe rose in a mighty protest against the war after the so-called Socialists betrayed the working class by supporting the capitalist war.

The demonstration this time is not only to fight against the future wars which will follow as an inevitable result of the development of capitalist society, not only to protest against the miserable exploitation of the youthful toilers all over the world, but also to fight against the social-patriots and pacifists who with their cry of democracy mislead the masses of workers, young and old, and make it easier for the master class to drive the workers into submission.

Good List of Speakers

To-day the social-patriots of the world are joining with the bourgeoisie in the cry of justice for those who would destroy the proletarian revolution in Russia. In the name of justice they call upon our Russian comrades who by tireless sacrifice have made and preserved their revolution against the attacks of the combined capitalists of the world, to free the traitors who attempted the lives of the leaders of the revolution and who, with funds given them by the capitalists, attempted to foster counter-revolution in Russia. Against them we will voice our protest, the protest of the American proletarian youth, combined with the protests of the older comrades.

Sunday, September 3, at 1 p. m., the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE OF NEW YORK will hold a Mass Meeting and demonstration at WEBSTER HALL, 11th Str. and Third Ave. Some of the speakers will be ROSE PASTOR STOKES, LUDWIG LORE, MOISSAYE J. OLGIN, RMANUEL ELSTON, M. R. SALZMAN, NAT KAPLAN, AL SCHAAP, and others.

Voice Your Protest

We request all organizations not to arrange any affair that will in any way conflict with this meeting.

We call upon all of the workers in the city and the young workers in particular to join with us in our struggle. We call upon them to come and voice their protest with the rest of the workers the world over against the evils of a system that has brought misery and degradation to the masses of workers.

Remember Sunday, September 3, at 1 p. m. at Webster Hall, 11th St. and Third Ave. Come early and bring your friends.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

Zinoviev Reviews Birth of Communist Parties in Italy, France and Germany

(Continued from page One.)

turally, not without a certain amount of pain.

The delivery of the French Communist Party, altho produced under extremely favorable conditions, is incomparably more painful. I cannot help but think of this when I reflect on what is now happening in our French Party.

All Will End Happily

For, that which is now happening in France, is precisely the birth of the Communist Party. The delivery is rather difficult. But there is ample reason to believe that it will end happily.

Those who are aiding, for the first time, in the birth of a Communist Party, and who do not fully realise the situation, are somewhat fearful of a catastrophe.

Naturally, we are not now speaking of our enemies, who have a definite interest in picturing the present condition of the French Party as the height of chaos and confusion.

But there are even some of our most sincere friends who, seeing merely the surface of things, are sometimes seized with despair.

In this respect, we cannot refrain from the friendly reproval of one of the best militants in the French Party, our friend Vaillant-Couturier.

In an article of July 12, entitled, "The Only Remedy: Organization" in which he calls for organizers to prevent the crumbling of the edifice of the French Party, we believe him to be expressing an exaggerated pessimism.

Birth in France Difficult

Yes, Comrade Vaillant-Couturier! The birth of the Communist Party is infinitely more difficult than that of the child described by Gorki. That is what we must realize, once for all.

Tendencies, groups, fractions, subfractions, insensate combats, personal conflicts, bitter controversies, furious discussions—all this we find in the French Party. But that does not mean that the Party is about to perish or decay.

It has been the same with other Communist Parties, before their definite consolidation. There is therefore no reason for despair in this case. In spite of all, the child will be born; he will grow up and become the terror of his enemies!

But, it will be said, the French Communist Party was born at Tours.

That is not quite true. The Tours congress was the rupture with the avowed social traitors. The majority at Tours wanted to be, but had not yet become Communists.

Towards the end of 1920, when I was at Halle, Comrade Daniel Renoult, representing the majority group of the French Central Committee, came to see me in order to enter into negotiations.

From Wish to Realization

He accepted the greater part of the 21 points—which have now attained worldwide fame—but he firmly insisted that the Party should retain, for a while, its old name; that is to say, that it should not yet call itself a Communist Party.

Renoult, was then right in a certain sense. In fact, if it be desirable that a name should correspond exactly with reality, the French Party should have been called, not a Communist Party, but a Party desirous of becoming Communist.

Between a wish and its realization the road is often long. For example, when, at St. Etienne, the members of the French Party warmly congratulated themselves on having succeeded, for the first time, in organizing a preliminary conference of Communists working within the unions, what did it really mean?

Always the same thing: that the Party wanted to be Communist, but that it had not been so up to that time.

That which in any other party however poorly organized, is considered as the matter of fact process of growth, is for our French Party quite an event, giving occasion for mutual congratulation.

Yet, we repeat, there is no reason whatever for yielding to despair. The first step is the hardest. Comrades, as long as you have a firm and sincere desire to become a Communist Party, you will become such.

Let us remember how the Communist Parties were started and formed in the other great countries

Developments in Germany

At first, the old Social Democracy divided into two parties. On the one side were the Right Social Democrats (Scheidemannists) and on the other, within the limits of one party, the Independents and the Communists.

Then after some time, a new division [illegible], the Communists separated from the Independents. Thus, three parties were formed. Later, at the Halle Congress, the Independents became sub-divided into two equal sections, one of which took its place with the Communists.

And finally, the group adhering to Levy, Däumig, Geyer and consorts left the Communists and returned to the Independents. And it was not until all this had happened that the German Communist Party was definitely formed.

Expectations in Italy

Here, things happened a little differently. The first important split took place along another line of difference. Two parties were formed. But one of them was composed more of the Right than of the Centre. This was the Italian Socialist Party. On the other side, were the Communists.

Now a second split is being prepared; the Centre seems to be disposed to break with the Right and to form a party of its own, similar to the German Independents. So that, instead of a two-party division, we shall also have in Italy a three-party division: the Right, the Centre and the Communists.

A part of the Centre will then pass over to the Communists, and we shall then be able to consider the Italian Communist Party as definitely formed.

Reviews Some Episodes

There were certain defections of groups which took place before all this, both in Germany and Italy. The Spartacus group was formed before the official split in the old German Social Democracy.

In Italy, Mussolini's group—now the Fascisti—broke away from the organization before the first big division in the Italian Party. But these were merely episodes.

The principal divisions were along the following lines: 1. The Centre and the Communists against the Right; 2. the Right and the Centre against the Communists.

The working class movement in France appears to have followed an intermediate path, between those of the Germans and the Italians. The followers of Longuet have joined with the Right against the Communists.

So far the development of the French Party appears to resemble that of the Italian Party. It would appear that [illegible] against the [illegible] of the Right and Centre.

[illegible]

But one [illegible] that this delimitation is not definite. In the heart of the French Communist Party, certain elements—not numerous, it is true, but influential in "high places"—have remained, which are not far removed from the Longuet faction.

One would be blind indeed, if one could not perceive that Raoul Verfeuil or Lafont, for example, are fundamentally very close to the political position of Longuet.

We should not be at all astonished, if we were to hear, in the very near future, that the Centrist elements among the Socialist dissenters, and in the Communist Party itself, have abandoned their respective parties in order to come together and form a third party, Centrist in character, and analogous to that of the German Independents.

We shall not deplore this fact. The Centrist elements which will leave the French Communist Party will not be numerous; and they will be for the most part, intellectuals. The workers will not follow them.

The French Communist Party can but gain by being rid of these elements. If, from any given quantity a negative quantity be deducted, the sum resulting from this operation will represent a quantity superior to the original.

Sees Compact Party

That there are Centrists in the French Party, no one will deny. One must not confuse the Centrists in France with that which we, in this country, call the Centre of the Party. The French Centrists are the Right of the actual Party. But, by the Centre of the Party, we refer to the majority which sincerely desires to become Communist and which, we are convinced, will eventually form, with the Left, a compact Communist Party.

And it is precisely because the French Party is still in the state of "becoming", that it is essential that the Communist kernel show firmness, energy, clearness and cohesion

The least concession to the Right might considerably retard the formation of the French Communist Party, and would deal the French movement a terrible blow.

[illegible] the leaders of the Centre took it into their heads to form a "bloc" with the Right against the Left of the Party—as they did quite recently—it is certain that they would paralyse the French Party for some time, just as Serrati has paralysed the Italian Socialist Party.

[illegible] French Serratis

That is what Comrade Frossard appears to have realized when, in his report on the Moscow conference, he was decided never to play the part of a French Serrati. Nevertheless, that does not mean that other Serratis will not arise in the French Party.

From all we know of the activities of Comrade Daniel Renoult during recent months, we cannot help fearing that if he persists in his errors, he will become a French Serrati.

Let Comrade Renoult not forget that, at the outset of his conflict with the Communist International, Serrati also endeavored to criticise the International from the "Left" point of view.

The logical development of his struggle has compelled Mr. Serrati to gather against the Communist International, the malcontents of every shade, the "Rights" as well as the "Lefts".

Is Serrati's fate so enviable that he can still find imitators? Serrati, who has literally shattered his party, is the fit example to make all comrades who are sincerely devoted to Communism, recoil with horror.

The French Party has not yet rid itself of all its Centrist elements. That is the crux of the real situation in France.

Another fact to be remembered is that anarcho-syndicalist traditions are still extremely virile in France.

Thus we have a species of arc, of which the Centrists form one segment, and the anarcho-syndicalists the other. It is by combatting these two deviatons that we can assuage the birth pangs of the French Communist Party.

Centrism Is Crumbling

The Centrists would not be Centrists if they did not have a foot in each camp. But we, as Communists, should prefer that they frankly join our adversaries.

Centrism as an international tendency in the working class movement, is crumbling before our eyes. Never has this been so obvious as at present.

While the German Independent Party is striving by every means to enter the bourgeois coalition government, and is even prepared, for this purpose, to ally its organization with that of the Right Social Democrats, that is, with the Scheidemannists, a rupture is about to take place in Italy between the Reformists and the Centrists, as the latter still fear open participation in a bourgeois government.

In short, the international working class movement is divided into three currents: the Right, the Centre and Communism. It would be more exact to say: two currents and—one Centrist bog.

Our task as Communists is to keep a hundred leagues away from this Centrist marsh, and to drain it off, if we find the faintest traces of it in our own Party. The Communist International tells you this frankly.

Predicts Mighty French Party

Comrades of the French Party. In your party, there are diseased areas. Do not fear to look the truth in the face, and you will then soon be able to restore your Party to health.

The union of the actual majority (that is to say, of the Centre of the Party, and not of the Centrists) with the Left, will soon save the French Party and set it firmly on the path towards the conquest of the majority of the proletariat. But the vacillation of the Centrists would cause irreparable harm to the Party in a very short time.

The choice is not hard. A few months of collaboration between the Centre and the Left; a few decisive efforts to render impossible our betrayal by the Right; an explanation of the meaning of these happenings to the broad working masses; a little energy and perseverance; and the French Party will definitely become a Communist Party, surmounting, as the German Party has recently done, the final obstacles, and will occupy one of the most honorable places in that great international working class family called the Communist International.

With all our heart, we trust that our French comrades will, as soon as possible, set out along the path which we have indicated.

Anti-Labor Frame-up in Chicago Peters Out as Victims Are Freed

CHICAGO.—Collapse for the time being of the frameup against former building trades council leaders was registered with the jury's report that they could not agree on a verdict on murder conspiracy charges.

Hundreds of labor men had been arrested in spectacular raids following the killing of two policemen by unknown men May 10. Most of the labor men were released in short order.

A grand jury brought indictments against almost a dozen. Some of these were not pressed. Five men were brought to trial.

Two of them Con Shea and Tim Murphy, were freed before the trial ended because of lack of evidence.

The remaining three, Fred Mader, D. J. McCarthy and John Miller, on whose guilt the jury disagreed, will be held for new trial, the prosecution asserts.

Big business had joined with the state and with socalled "reform" organizations to stampede Chicago against organized labor, seizing upon the unexplained murders as a pretext.

TOKIO.—About 60,000 Tokio nurses have completed plans for the formation of a union of nurses to promote their interests.

BARBER WANTS TO KNOW

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—W. E. Polston, a barber of Monett, a divisional point on the Frisco railway, in a recent letter to Attorney General Barrett, wants to know if he can refuse to shave strikebreakers, and if he cannot, if he can demand of the strikebreakers a prohibitive price, thus relieving himself of what he regards as a disagreeable task. The attorney general replied with a printed form stating that his office does not give opinions on matters submitted by individuals.

Brave Fight of I. W. W. in San Quentin Prison

SAN QUENTIN, Cal.—The I. W. W. criminal syndicalism prisoners here are still undergoing punishment, in protest against injustice. The five youngest—Golden, Casey, Mathin, Baker and Wismer—are in solitary. Wismer has been granted a new trial and should be released from prison. Ryan, Hannon, Gaveel, Dunn, Sherman, Olsen, Shoker and Williams are in the dungeons, but not in solitary.

Ramon Sanchez had to give up from extreme weakness, as he is in poor health. Another of the group, James Roe, is over 70, and too weak to undergo the ordeal. With these exceptions, all but five of the criminal syndicalism prisoners are in the dungeons or in solitary.

The movement, which began as a protest against the discriminatory treatment given Gaveel, has become a fixed determination to do no more prison labor; first, because the only "crime" the men have committed is the exercise of their constitutional rights, and they feel they should be regarded solely as political prisoners; and, secondly, because they refuse any longer to scab on organized labor by working on convict contract jobs.

The men have made up their minds to stick, and it is possible that the struggle may be a long one, with serious consequences. It is helping to weaken the criminal syndicalism law.

Two Women Languish in Prison; Judge's Grand Government Still Lives

Last April three women were convicted in New York City of "criminal anarchy" under the law enacted following the assassination of President McKinley more than 20 years ago.

There was every indication, in all three cases, that the women were the victims of a police "frameup."

Their trials were marked throughout by the usual hysterical and inflammatory tactics of the prosecuting officers, and by a scarcely concealed spirit of hostility on the part of the court.

One of the women, Mrs. Tina Jurson, 26 years old, was given a suspended sentence.

The two others were given sentences, respectively, of two years and three months to seven years and one year and six months in prison.

In passing sentence, Judge Louis D. Gibbs took occasion to make a pompous speech attacking the Russian government, and following with a diatribe against the women as two of Russia's outposts here for the "overthrow of the American government in blood and ruins."

Now the attorneys for these women, Walter Nelles and Murray Bernays, have applied to the state supreme court for certificates of reasonable doubt in both cases. Justice Guy, who heard the application was not ready to pass on the matter. But he just couldn't resist the opportunity to get some publicity at the women's expense.

"I haven't any great measure of sympathy for persons who seek to destroy this grand government," he declaimed, while the reporters wielded their pencils furiously to put down every word.

The application will come up on September 8. Meantime both women, Mrs. Minnie Kolnin and Mrs. Anna Leisman, are serving their sentences, still another judge—Edward J. Gavegan, of the supreme court—having refused to issue a stay of execution. Should the certificate of reasonable doubt be issued, both will have new trials.

All three women were convicted for distributing May Day literature last year, and their convictions were based on leaflets which the court permitted to be introduced, in two of the cases, on the unsupported word of police who broke into their apartments in their absence and without warrants, and declared they found the leaflets there. It was admitted that the leaflets were not found on their persons, and the women denied having had the leaflets or ever having seen them before they were produced by the police in court.

The New York Division, National Defense Committee, Nerma Berman, Secretary, 799 Broadway, New York City, is taking care of these cases.

Militarism in Japan

TOKIO.—A soldier, a member of the heavy artillery corps stationed at Maizuro, is reported to have been beaten so savagely by an officer that he died the following day. According to the Nichi Nichi, the man was charged with laziness. The officer is reported to have knocked the man down and then kicked him repeatedly.

MINNEAPOLIS.—The International Union of Bricklayers and Masons, with headquarters in Indianapolis, will establish a bank either in Minneapolis or St. Paul in the near future.

Ostroll Writes of Soviet Steel Town in the Urals

By HARRY OSTROLL

NEDEJDENSKY, Urals, Siberia.—This town in our American Kuzbas concession is a steel town of about 25,000 inhabitants, with fairly nice homes all electrified, surrounded by some woodland and also a river running by. The weather is warm now, the nights being bright, due to the northern lights. There is quite an amount of vegetables and poultry, cows, etc.

The inhabitants are all employed in the steel plant which occupies the central position. It is about 75 acres in extent and before the war produced gigantic steel products, locomotives and large machinery. It is self-sufficient, having also a wire mill and it had a large sawmill cutting enough lumber for shipment to England, but this burned down. It has a fine electric station capable of generating 200,000 horsepower and it generates 66,000 volts for the surrounding mines of coal, iron and copper. It has the finest steel ore found in the world.

We have in our group an engineer that worked for Gary, American Steel, Ford and other American establishments, and he knows every part of a steel plant. The plant at present is run down due to lack of material and lack of organizing leaders. I have seen motors burned out due to overload, while out in the yard hundreds lie new and crated, unopened, as large as 1500 horsepower.

For the next few months I will be very busy, taking a complete survey of the plant. That steel as it flows like water from a well, being molded into gigantic structures, just draws me to it.

Unity in Textile Strike

LAWRENCE, Mass.—Both the United Textile Workers of America and the One Big Union have elected committees to meet in joint conference looking toward concerted action to bring the strike to a successful end. Division in the ranks of the striking operatives is said to have made negotiations with the millowners extremely difficult hitherto.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

Step Up! Let Pawn Shop Pin Victory Medals on You at $3.75 per Pin

Four years ago the Victory medals conferred on American soldiers for conspicuous bravery in the war were priceless. A year ago some of these decorations were found in the possession of men who never were under fire. They could not be bought nor sold—oh, no—but if you asked about them in some of the local pawn shops, you were likely to be met with a request, in a low voice about the particular sort of "deal" you were interested in. Ten dollars, you were likely to have been told, would bring you, for instance, a badge with three bars, St. Mihiel, Meuse, Argonne, Defensive Sector, across a ribbon above the figure of the bronze Victory on the medal.

Now you can buy such a medal in pawn shops for $3.75. The ruling price is $2 for the medal, with $1.75 added for the extra bars. And they are also sold openly.

Where did the pawn shops get them? From ex-service men who were jobless and hungry, and in many instances whose families were hungry.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

TACOMA, Wash.—Senator Miles Poindexter arch-reactionary, campaigning here for reelection, was politely but firmly denied admission to a colored people's church here recently.

"DICTATORSHIP
vs.
DEMOCRACY"
by
Leon Trotzky

Will positively be off the press September 1st.

This book is without question the most valuable book of the revolutionary movement published in America this year. 200 pages.

Cloth $1.00, Paper 50 cents.

Make it your first book of Fall reading.

WORKERS PARTY
799 Broadway, Room 405,
New York City.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Moonlight Picnic and Costume Dance

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2,
ULMER PARK, 25th Avenue,
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Take West End Avenue Coney Island Train

TICKETS, 35 Cents; AT GATE, 50 Cents

TWO ORCHESTRAS, MOVIE STARS, MOTION PICTURES, CONCERT, ARTISTS, PRIZES FOR COSTUMES, REFRESHMENTS.

SHOW YOUR SOLIDARITY!
Come to the
GRAND PICNIC
arranged by
RUSSIAN BRANCHES
WORKERS PARTY
at NIBLO'S GARDEN
3rd Ave., corner 170th St., Bronx
SATURDAY, AUG. 26, at 2 P. M.

Admission 50 Cents

Net proceeds to the special fund for publishing "The Iskra" as a daily paper.

TOOLS AND MACHINERY
CONSTRUCTIVE RELIEF FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

THEY ARE STILL HUNGRY IN SOVIET RUSSIA. The problem of food supply and its production is still acute.

WITH MODERN FARMING MACHINERY SOVIET RUSSIA CAN RAISE ENOUGH FOOD TO FEED THE WORLD.

FACTORIES CANNOT WORK BECAUSE THERE ARE NO MACHINES. FARMS CANNOT OPEERATE BECAUSE THERE ARE NO IMPLEMENTS. CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS PERMIT NO TRADE. THEY WILL GRANT NO CREDITS. THEY WILL MAKE NO LOANS TO SOVIET RUSSIA.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENTS REFUSE TO DO, YOU WORKERS MUST DO.

Help Provide Tools and Machinery, TRACTORS AND PLOUGHS, ENGINES AND PUMPS, for the Workers and Farmers of Russia

TO-DAY! HELP! AT ONCE!

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

Conducted by the
FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
201 West 13th Street New York City.

HELP BUILD UP THE WORLD'S FIRST WORKERS' REPUBLIC

Here is my contribution of $.......... toward relief and reconstruction of Soviet Russia.
Name ....
Address ....
City .... State ....

Read "Soviet Russia," our official organ—$2.50 per year.

News of Workers Party Activities in the City, State and Nation

National Convention Asked to Move Party Offices to Chicago

The many matters taken up for consideration by the various district conventions indicates the great interest being taken in the Second National Convention of the Workers Party, to be held at Chicago, starting Monday, August 28, at the Machinists Hall, 119 So. Ashland Boulevard.

All of the district conventions have elected their full quota of delegates and have acted on questions they feel the convention ought to consider.

THE WORKER has already published the important actions of the District No. 2 convention, embracing New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

Among the actions taken by the convention of District No. 8, held at Chicago, were the following:

Move Headquarters to Chicago

The convention acted favorably on a resolution urged by the Finnish Language Federation asking that the party's headquarters be moved from New York to Chicago. The resolution reads:

"WHEREAS, The national headquarters of the party is now located in the City of New York, which being situated in the extreme eastern point of the jurisdiction of the party is not a logical nor a convenient location for a national headquarters, and

"WHEREAS, The City of Chicago is a more convenient location for the national headquarters, being located in the center of the party jurisdiction and is also a great industrial and commercial center of the United States,

"THEREFORE, Be it resolved, by the Convention assembled, that the national headquarters be moved from the City of New York to the City of Chicago, Illinois."

Resolution on Sunday Schools referred to the National Convention with recommendation to give due consideration to Sunday School work, adopt a uniform policy and encourage the growth of Workers' Sunday Schools.

Resolution on industrial activity referred to National Convention without comment, as follows:

"To broaden the scope of industrial activities of the party so as to include agitation within industrial unions with the view to secure their affiliation with the Red Trade Union International."

Urged that district organizer shall be elected by the District Convention instead of being appointed by the Central Executive Committee.

Strengthen the Party Press

Resolution on party press adopted as follows:

1. Control and management: In the hands of the party, must be exercised by special press committees.
2. Periodic meetings of the editors of the papers with party's press committee.
3. Establish contact of papers with the masses of the workers.
4. Make the papers more agitational and less theoretical in their character.
5. Pledging earnest support to develop daily press in this country.
6. That territorial limits be established for the party press so that they will not be thrown into competition with each other.

Resolution adopted to call attention of national convention that Workers Party has not fulfilled its duty towards the first Workers' Republic, the Soviet Republic of Russia.

In this respect that it has not carried on a systematic campaign for the recognition of and trade relations with Soviet Russia, it has allowed to pass the Genoa and the Hague Conferences without utilizing the occasions for the demonstration of the solidarity of the American working class with the workers of Soviet Russia.

The national convention should instruct the future Central Executive Committee of the party to carry on an extensive campaign for the recognition of and trade relations with Soviet Russia.

Hit Yellow Socialists

Resolution on trial of social-revolutionaries adopted as follows:

"WHEREAS, Soviet Russia has been seriously handicapped by the activities of the counter-revolutionaries, more particularly members of the Social-Revolutionary Party, and

"WHEREAS, Definite evidence obtained from the records of the S. R. Party has disclosed that the S. R. instigated and carried on a campaign of assassinations and destruction, and

"WHEREAS, The Second International and the Socialist Party of America has utilized the trial of the above counter-revolutionaries as a means to sabotage the reconstruction work of Soviet Russia and deliver Soviet Russia back to Czarism,

"THEREFORE, Be it resolved, that we, the District Convention of the Workers Party of America, express our severe condemnation of the hypocritical and dastardly tactics of the yellow socialists organized in the Second International and the Socialist Party of America."

Urge Relief for Miners

Resolution on miners' relief as follows:

"WHEREAS, The West Virginia miners faced with the armed force of the capitalist class including those of state and government, are conducting a brave and valiant fight for the right to organize and secure a decent standard of living, and

"WHEREAS, The fight has been accompanied by brutalities and violence that has resulted in the murder of many miners, the imprisonment of others and the wholesale eviction of their wives and children, and

"WHEREAS, This battle is the battle of the entire working class, whose defeat would mean the retarding of the whole labor movement,

"THEREFORE, we express our admiration of their brave stand and pledge our solidarity with our brave fellow-workers in West Virginia and that we pledge them our financial and active support, and we further call upon the entire labor movement to rally to their aid and stop the brutal and bloody offensive of the employing class."

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Let 25,000 More Readers Learn of Attack on Foster

The publication in last week's WORKER of "Foster's Own Story" of his kidnapping by the henchmen of the Rockefeller steel interests of Colorado and forcible carrying off into the state of Wyoming, an article of first page news value, marks clearly THE WORKER staff's concept of the function of a Communist paper.

Here is an occurence within the class struggle of the utmost significance. Foster, head of the Trade Union Educational League, the left wing organisation within the American Federation of Labor and strongest opponent of the reactionary policies of Samuel Gompers, is kidnapped shortly before a meeting at which he is scheduled to address the organized workers of Denver, many of whom are on strike.

"The Crisis in the American Labor Movement" was to be the subject of Foster's lecture, a lecture he has delivered before scores of well attended meetings of progressive labor union members in the 9,000 miles speaking tour he has just concluded.

Foster shows in this lecture the actual conditions within the American labor movement: why it has failed to stem the tide of dissolution which the organized capitalists have set in against it.

He shows the need of amalgamation in many branches of industry. He shows the need of a change of outlook and policy if organized labor is to march forward to power and victory over its enemies.

A man with such ideas constitutes a menace to capitalist interests, and equally so to the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist class in organized labor's ranks. He is given equal recognition by both as such. Gompers recognizes Foster as an enemy to whom he will give no quarter.

The capitalist class press is loud in its denunciations of the leader of Gompers' opponents. Both have laid out a campaign to destroy the Trade Union Educational League. His shanghaing from the state of Colorado is but one attack in the capitalists war against Foster. It is a step which Gompers and his reactionary satellites in the American Federation of Labor will applaud with glee. In this these two "enemies" become united in a mutual endeavor. And in this are they both revealed as enemies of progressive, forward looking workers.

The capitalist class will show no quarter to Foster. It never forgets the labor man whom it cannot buy, bluff, cajole or assimilate.

The steel corporations of the United States have not forgotten that Foster organized and led the greatest strike of steel workers in this country.

That the Rockefeller steel interests lay behind his recent deportation is in line with the logic of the situation.

These facts are significant. They show the way the wind blows in the camp of labor's enemies. THE WORKER, true to its policy of giving recognition to the most significant events of the class war, gives first page space to Foster's account of the kidnapping.

Every significant trend of the class war, every developing factor that makes for or against the workers' rise to power, will be analyzed, interpretted and explained to our readers.

We ask our readers to help us make our work most effective by securing the readers that make the foundation of success.

THE WORKER campaign for 25,000 readers is rushing along full blast. Hundreds of comrades are co-operating in this effort. Hundreds who have as good an opportunity to secure subscribers have not yet done so. They too, must help. Sell the subscription cards sent you. Do what others are doing—get new readers for THE WORKER. Join the army of builders.

• • •

Here They Come!

"The 25 copies I receive each week are doing good work, and I would not hesitate to pay for them were they twice the price." This comes from a comrade who always pays for every copy whether he sells them all or not.

"At first I had no hope to sell the sub cards (I was in an entirely new field) but I did, as you see, and I shall not let the time pass without I try to get more subs for THE WORKER." From a comrade who has accomplished what some fear to try. His success should be imitated by the timid ones.

"I like THE WORKER better than ever and am letting others read my copy every week. I wish you every success, it is what we want, a paper that tells the truth." The sentiment of a worker who has learned that the best friend of the worker is the workers' own paper, THE WORKER.

"I hope you will be able to make THE WORKER a daily soon," writes a comrade from Portland, Ore., who remits for five sub cards and asks for more. Incidentally, we would say that is the way to make it one.

A comrade who uses one of our subscription lists for stationery writes: "Being under indictment for a little alleged sabotage down in Southern Indiana, and on a sort of probation of my boss here, I don't feel strong enough to circulate this roll of honor." Nevertheless, he renews his subscription and pays for five sub cards. You can't keep a good man down!

Do You Read or Just Drift Along?

Some workers read—and learn—and take their place in the front ranks of the workers' emancipating movement.

Some don't, and remain mentally as well as physically enslaved. Forward looking and thinking workers agree that without knowledge of the character of the forces which are at war in present society no progress can be made toward solving the causes of this war.

These books will help clear your mind on many a knotty problem of the labor movement.

A Communist Trial, Testimony of C. E. Ruthenberg and I. E. Ferguson	$.25
A. B. C. of Communism, Bucharin	.35
Communism and Christianism, Bishop Wm. M. Brown	.25
Class Struggles in America, A. M. Simons	.10
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels	.10
Constitution and Program Workers Party	.10
Constitution of Soviet Russia	.05
Dictatorship vs. Democracy, Trotsky. Paper, 50c; cloth	1.00
Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Kamenev	.05
Is the Russian Revolution a Bourgeois Revolution? Radek	.10
Labor Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia	.25
Program of the Communists, Bucharin	.25
Railroaders' Next Step—Amalgamation Wm. Z. Foster	.25
Revolutionary Crisis in Germany, Italy, England and France, Wm. Z. Foster	.25
The Russian Revolution Wm. Z. Foster	.50
The State and Revolution, Lenin	.25
Theses of the Third Congress of the Communist International	.50

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT WORKERS PARTY
799 Broadway, Room 405 - - - - New York City

Auditor Gives More Proof that Forward's Charges Are False

Because of the important information it contains we make public the following letter written to us by our auditor, J. B. Collings Wood, in connection with the charges and questions in the "Jewish Daily Forward's" editorial of August 1st.

This communication gives further and detailed proof of the unscrupulous manner in which the Jewish daily deliberately neglected the ample opportunities always open to it for a thoro investigation of the facts. Its ferocious attack is clearly revealed as a stupid, malicious attempt to wreck by shameless distortion and cowardly insinuation the important work of economic reconstruction which the F. S. R. is undertaking in the interest of the Soviet Republic.

Will Forward Publish Letter?

We hope that the "Forward" will see fit to publish this letter, if not to open for itself a way to saving its face and making some sort of amends for its disgraceful actions, at least for the sake of the "tens of thousands of individuals," who according to its esteemed Editor are so anxious to have these matters cleared up. Nevertheless, we are not very sanguine in this expectation of common decency on its part, since the worthy "Forward" has already made a very bad beginning by its failure to publish the letter specially addressed to it by our auditor.

The "Jewish Daily Forward" may rest assured, however, that with or without its assent the working class of America will get all the facts and that the class-conscious laboring masses will hold it strictly to account and punish it severely for its treachery to the Soviet Republic.

Auditor's Letter to F. S. R.

To the **Friends of Soviet Russia,**
National Office,
201 West 13th Street,
New York, N. Y.

I have read your translation of an editorial which you state appeared in the "Jewish Daily Forward", New York, Tuesday, August 1st, 1922.

You inform me that it is typical of a series of articles which has appeared in that newspaper recently.

You request that I answer any definite charges it contains against financial statements prepared and certified to by me or against the manner in which the funds raised are expended and disbursed.

My first response was to protect myself and you by addressing a general denial to the Editor of that newspaper, sending copies to the press.

I now submit to you, for publication if you wish, paragraphs quoted from your translation of that article, including each paragraph containing a definite charge, together with my answer thereto.

Quotation: "We have many questions to ask them—questions which hundreds and tens of thousands of individuals wish to put up to them. Unions and individuals who gave them money, when they appealed in the name of those dying from hunger in Russia."

ANSWER.—The definite charge contained in that statement is that tens of thousands of contributors wish to ask questions (presumably with regard to your accounts).

This is the first time I have been informed that such a condition exists among your contributors. During the entire period of your existence certified financial statements have been published monthly. Five minor inquiries were addressed to me and answered satisfactorily to the contributors inquiring.

You inform me that an opportunity, always implied, was specifically extended to the Editor of the "Jewish Daily Forward" to ask information of me before the article dated August 1st was published.

The privilege was not taken advantage of by that Editor, nor have I received any evidence from him that he speaks for any number of your contributors.

QUOTATION:—"We accuse the F.S.R. that a great portion of the money which they collected for the hungry in Russia, is spent by them to subsidize their communist press in America, supposedly under the guise of placing big advertisements."

ANSWER:—The definite charge contained in that statement rests upon three points: (1) What is a "great portion?" (2) What is a subsidy? (3) What is the Communist press?

For the period ending May 31, 1922:

INCOME		$670,158.70
ADVERTISEMENTS (All papers)		
Already published	$11,199.38	
Advances (partly for translation service)	1,468.90	12,668.28

I use these figures in the first instance because they are the latest published figures, August 1, 1922.

The great portion of the money raised, which was used for advertising in ALL papers, is therefore less than 2 per cent to May 31, 1922.

For the period ended June 30, 1922, the total is $16,719.63, which is less [illegible] Worker (formerly Toiler), Pravda, Italian-American Worker, [illegible] Ukrainian, [illegible] Young Workers League.

Class B—Other papers, $12,264.63; Appeal to Reason, Arbeiter Ring, Birth Control Review, Christian Century, Debs' Magazine, Labor Age, Liberator, Messenger, Nation, New Republic, and World Tomorrow.

Any classification is necessarily arbitrary. But probably not all of the papers included in Class A would be called "communist" by the Editor of the "Jewish Daily Forward." And certainly none of the papers included in Class B would be so described.

Class A papers received $4,455.00; very little more than one-half of one per cent of the total income to June 30, 1922, or about one-third of the amounts paid to other papers.

No Class A paper received amounts which by reason of their size or regularity could be defined as a subsidy. Freiheit, a daily, received a total of $1,255.90; Iskra, a weekly, received a total of $1,250 in seven consecutive months; Worker and Toiler a total of $790.00 in six consecutive months, leaving $1,159.10 for the other 13 Class A papers.

(To be continued in next issue.)

Technical Aid's Farewell Party to Tailors' Group

The dream of thousands of class-conscious workers who have been striving for the last few years to help Soviet Russia in her great struggle on her economic front, is slowly, but surely coming true, and is crystallizing into reality.

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, having branches all over the country wherever there is a heart to be found beating in unison with the great Workers' and Peasants' Republic, has for the last year organized various numerous Communes and Cooperatives which have gone to Russia, carrying along with them hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of modern American machinery.

At present the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia is bidding farewell to about 75 of its most devoted members, who, with about $15,000 worth of modern machinery of the needle industry, are soon leaving for Russia.

You will surely not fail to meet your friends, to pass a few of the most interesting hours of your life in their presence, and at the very same time to bid our fore-runners a heartiest farewell.

Doors open at 8.30 P. M. Admission 25 cents. Remember the date and place: Saturday, August 26, at 8.30 P. M., at the Washington Pavilion, 21st Street and Surf Avenue Coney Island.

• • •

KUZBAS FAREWELL

There will be an International Entertainment and Dance, under the auspices of the Finnish Branch of the Kuzbas Organization at the Harlem Casino, Thursday, August 24, at 8.30. The Casino is at 116th Street and Lenox Ave., New York City.

This function is to wish farewell to the members of the Fifth Kuzbas Organization who are bound to the Urals and Kuznetzky Basin to participate in person on Soviet Russia's Economic Front.

All the proceeds, less expenses, will be used for the equipping of the Group. All comrades and fellow workers are requested to attend and give the comrades the send-off they deserve. The party leaves on the S. S. Rotterdam, on August 26. Another party leaves on September 30.

Admission, 40 cents at the door, and 35 cents in advance. Tickets can be obtained at Kuzbas Office, 301-110 West 40th Street, New York City.

• • •

HONOR FOR SEATTLE

SEATTLE.—Seattleskaya Komuna will be the name of some Crimean hamlet, the Technical Aid society has promised local friends. Seattle has contributed a large quota to the Kuzbas project and other Russian industrial ventures.

Local New York Needs Help

All comrades who have any time to spare can serve a good cause by coming to the Local Office, 208 East 12th Street, and help in sending out letters and subscription blanks for the election campaign.—William W. Weinstone, Executive Secretary.

Settle for Your Tickets

The National Defense Committee wishes to thank all the comrades who worked at the picnic, Sunday, August 20. Comrades are requested to settle for tickets as soon as possible. National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 E. 11th St., New York City.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

New York Friends of Soviet Russia Have Big Affair Sept. 2nd

The news of the Moonlight Picnic and Dance to be held in Ulmer Park, September 2nd, under the auspices of the Friends of Soviet Russia is spreading fast. Everywhere the picnic is being talked about as a coming great event. And naturally so. This Moonlight Picnic and Costume Ball will be a unique event, noted for its many attractions and varied program of entertainment.

Heading the program is the famous Clef Club Orchestra, whose services have been engaged so that the picnicers may derive the maximum amount of pleasure from the dancing. Whoever has danced before to the strains of the Clef Club Orchestra will immediately cancel all other engagements for September 2, and purchase a ticket for the picnic.

Next on the program will be a motion-picture called the "Whistle," with William S. Hart in the leading role. Among those present will be a number of prominent movie stars to add brightness to the occasion.

Third on the program will be a special concert of operatic singing, classical dancing and vaudeville sketches. Talented artists have been selected to fill this part of the program.

Late in the night will come the award of prizes for the most original costumes at the picnic, and the lucky winners will be presented with handsome awards.

While all this is going on the hungry and thirsty will be given ample opportunity to refresh themselves at the lunch counter and the bar. The Foodworkers will be in complete control of the "eats" under the general supervision of M Obermeier, and there is no doubt that they will show the greatest solicitude for the appetites of their customers. Admission is only 35 cents. Tickets are on sale at the following stations: Obrana, 360 E. 73rd St.; Hungarian Home, 350 E. 81st St.; Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St.; Toiler Bookshop, 208 E. 12th St.; Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St.; Freiheit, 47 Chrystie St.; Volkszeitung, 15 Spruce St.; Russky Golos, 64 East 7th St.; Neidorf's Bookstore, 1801 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn; Ginsburg's Bookstore, Christopher St., 296 Sackman St. 1347 Boston Road, 455 Grand St., Brooklyn.

Peter Sharp Speaks and Organizes

Peter C. Sharp, of the executive board of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, has been instrumental in organizing a study class to be formed into a branch of the Workers Party, as soon as practicable, in Derby, Conn.

He has also helped to reorganize the Lithuanian Branch in New Britain, Conn. Besides this, he is taking care of his regularly assigned meetings as a speaker every night.

His dates for the week will be as follows: Friday, Aug. 25, Johnstown; 26, Gloversville; 27, Utica; 28, Utica; 29 Syracuse; 30, Oneida; 31, Syracuse; and Sept. 1, Geneva.

INTERNATIONAL
Youth Day Celebration
[illegible] by
WORKERS PARTY
OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.
SEPT. 3rd
THE LABOR LYCEUM
[illegible] St. Paul Street
PETER C. SHARP of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union will be the main speaker.
All Welcome! Admission free!

Striking Shopmen Cheer Plea for Amalgamation

STAMFORD, Conn.—The Central Trades and Labor Council of this city presided at a mass meeting held here to-day to help the striking Federated Shop Crafts.

The speakers for the occasion were two local laborites, and Nat Kaplan, of the Workers Party.

The 500 assembled workers and sympathizers showed unbounded enthusiasm when the speakers denounced the interference of the present administration in the railroad and miners' strikes.

The first speaker pointed out the corruptness of the railroad owners, pointed out their evolution from isolated roads, fighting each other, to the solid combined railroad monopoly of to-day with the four big interests,—Morgan & Co., The National City Bank (Rockefeller), The First National Bank of New York (Baker Group), and Kuhn, Loeb & Co.,—sitting on the Industrial Throne of this country and ruling the destinies of one hundred million people.

He ended up by urging the workers to remain on strike until they have won their wage decision from the U. S. Labor Board and had been guaranteed their seniority rights.

When the Workers Party speaker touched upon the subject of Amalgamation ending up by claiming that the day was very near when not only 400,000 shopmen would go out in an isolated strike, but 1,850,000, all the workers in the railroad industry would stand pat in a united offensive against the corrupted few industrial monarchs that control the transportation system of this country, mighty cheers and applause rang thru the hall.

A resolution addressed to the other railroad unions beseeching them to join the shopmen in a unified strike was then presented and passed unanimously by the audience.

United Labor Council
meets
Every Fourth Wednesday
8 P. M.
81 East 10th Street,
NEW YORK CITY
Phone: Stuyvesant 4501.

INTERNATIONAL
YOUTH DAY
Sunday, Sept. 3, 2.30 P. M.
at
WEBSTER HALL
125 East 11th Street

SPEAKERS:
MOISSAYE J. OLGIN — SADI AMTER
ROSE PASTOR STOKES — NAT KAPLAN
WM. W. WEINSTONE — M. R. SALZMANN
E. ELSTON — J. LOUIS ENGDAHL
AL SCHAAP, Chairman.

A fine musical program has been arranged.
A feature of the meeting will be singing by the Yowl Chorus.

TICKETS 25c — TICKETS 25c

can be procured at any Y. W. L. headquarters, at Freiheit, 47 Christie St.; Worker, 799 Broadway, Toiler Book Shop, 208 East 12th St.

Buy your tickets in advance and avoid the crush at the door!

LOCAL NEW YORK,
YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

BUY! READ! DISTRIBUTE!

ALBA NUOVA

One of our Papers! Official Organ, Italian Federation, Workers Party. Send all communications to Alba Nuova, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

THE WORKER
[illegible]

ONE YEAR [illegible] SIX MONTHS

[illegible]
THE WORKER
[illegible] New York City.

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Managing Editor
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Labor Editor
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager

Published weekly by The Toiler Publishing Association.
Entered as second-class matter September 29, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

Advertising rates upon application.
Phone: Stuyvesant 9682.

Capitalism is sinking into decay; Communism is rising to power.

Let Us Be Horses, Or—

A horse has won recognition at the White House. The wife of the president has contributed $100 to the care of 31-year-old "Clover" in his old age.

In return Mrs. Harding has just been elected an honorary member of the Nyack Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Just to show her interest in animals, especially aged horses. Mrs. Harding not only accepted the honor but enclosed dues of an active member for five years. Such is the tender heart that rules over the executive mansion at Washington, D. C.

We remember, however, that the wives and children of political prisoners, week in and week out, picketted the White House. They walked up and down in the street before the President's home. They were not even invited in for tea, let alone given a hearing.

From this same executive mansion went forth the decree that would crush the rail and mine strikes and condemn millions of women and children, not to mention the strikers themselves, to poverty and misery.

A pension for an old horse is favored but pensions for aged and worn-out wage workers would be greeted as Communistic.

There are two alternatives: either we should all be horses, or else lift that part of the human race domiciled in this country to horse level.

We feel that even this advance is possible for the American working mule known as Henry Dubb. In the meantime it's a horse laugh on us all.

People that travel these days on the scab-patched railroads ought to be arrested for attempted suicide.

Defeat Your Enemies

It is interesting to study the contact that quickly establishes itself between the forces of Yellow Socialism and reaction.

Every attack and "exposure" that the secretary and national executive committee of the Socialist Party launches against the Communist movement is quickly seized upon by the "Bill" Burns' sleuths of the Department of Justice.

When Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, attacks Soviet Russia with an hypocritical plea for the lives of the social (counter) revolutionaries, he is applauded all along the line to Gompers, Hoover and Hughes, if not by Harding himself.

So in the newspaper war started by Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, against the Friends of Soviet Russia. It is being taken up not only by the whole yellow Socialist and labor press, but also by the kept organs of White Guardism.

The revulsion on the part of the workers, however, is all on the side of the organizations and the movements attacked. Labor intuitively senses where its real interests lie.

We therefore, expect an unusual outpouring of the men and women of the working class to the interesting events planned by the New York and Chicago locals of the Friends of Soviet Russia, the former a picnic, Saturday, September 2nd, at Ulmer Park, and the latter an International Athletic Carnival in Chicago's historic Coliseum.

We do not need to repeat that the malice-inspired attacks of the Daily Forward were especially designed to hamper the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia, if possible, to destroy the whole organization.

Let success crown the events planned by the F. S. R. in New York and Chicago, and there will be a considerable damper put upon the Forward's alliance with reaction.

Both these affairs should assume the proportions of gigantic demonstrations, not only against the Forward, but against all the enemies in this country of the Russian Soviet Republic.

The whole capitalist system of production rests upon the robbery and enslavement of the workers.

"To Hell with the Constitution"

The first Vanderbilt coined the phrase "Damn the Public!" when he was urged to take the interests of the people as a whole into consideration in the conduct of his railroads.

The militarists of Colorado, similarly, in their strike-breaking activities have bluntly proclaimed, "To Hell with the Constitution!" when it interferes with their task of kidnapping, deporting or murdering militant workers.

In its issue of August 8, the Denver Express points out that in kidnapping and deporting William Z. Foster, the state and federal constitutions were "Fractured!" in six places by Adjutant General Hamrock and his State Rangers.

While the legalized kidnappers were hurrying Foster out of the state, the Colorado Republican Party was in state convention in Denver. In the political platform adopted this party "points with pride" to the achievements of "our beloved governor," and particularly "cannot too strongly commend" the activities of the State Rangers.

Then, according to The Express, the Republican State Platform takes a long breath—and a gulp—and emits this: "Respect for and obedience to law is encumbent upon every citizen; the enforcement of law is the duty of every public official."

"Adopted at the very moment!" exclaims the Express, "that two State Rangers were illegally abducting a native-born American citizen."

Attorney General Keyes, head of Colorado's legal machinery, ran true the form when he declared that the State Rangers "should bring such men (Foster) to trial rather than be so easy with them as to deport them."

The Attorney General would probably charge Foster with trespassing upon the sacred soil of the State of Colorado, one of the special preserves of John D. Rockefeller for the production of profits. The "Keep Off!" sign goes up when profits are threatened.

We wish the Civil Liberties Union, and its Denver attorney, Carle Whitehead, every good fortune in seeking legal redress for the outrages to which Foster was subjected by the hirelings of great wealth.

But this fight should be made, in Foster's own words, "one more occasion to show the class character of present day society."

This is the way the artist of "The Communist," [illegible] of the British Communist Party, [illegible] Britain ought to co-operate [illegible]

[illegible]

Settling the Rail Strike

The railroad strike, and in some respects the miners' strike, seems to be going from muddle to muddle, as it is claimed little is hoped for from the renewed peace conference in New York City.

"The reports intimating that peace is coming in the railroad strike is all bunk," announces L. F. Loree, president of the Delaware and Hudson, and chairman of the Eastern Railroad Presidents' Conference, dominant figure in the "No Surrender" group on the seniority dispute.

To which Frederick D. Underwood, president of the Erie Railroad, adds that the strike is "gradually dying out."

Against this confident attitude of the railroad executives we find at least two heads of railroad brotherhoods hurrying into the capitalist press to announce that their organizations will not strike in sympathy with the battling shopmen.

Thus the Associated Press heralds to the country that, "There is no danger of the Big Four railroad transportation brotherhoods being drawn into a sympathetic strike, even should negotiations to end the strike of the shop crafts workers fail."

The declaration comes from Warren S. Stone, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and D. B. Robertson president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, that, "There never has been any sympathetic strike nor any considered."

While the only co-operation the striking shopmen get from the American Federation of Labor is a belated appeal for financial aid sent out over the country by Samuel Gompers and his private cabinet.

At the same time the Cleveland agreement for the settlement of the soft coal strike seems to be going down the throats of the coal miners, while negotiations are still on for peace in the anthracite fields.

The shopmen's officials claim to get some degree of comfort out of the settling of the coal strike, claiming that the resumption of coal mining will create such a demand for coal cars that this will automatically force an agreeable ending of the rail strike.

The developments of the week prove the chaos that comes in a workers' struggle as the result of divided labor ranks.

Whether the officials like it or not, the masses of workers will in the future demand greater solidarity between the men who dig coal and the men who run the railroads.

Instead of muddling thru, labor ought to be in a position to make a clean fight with all its forces in line. Then victory becomes a thing assured, not something to be hoped for.

This week, therefore, the center of interest shifts from the brilliant efforts put forth by labor, in spite of many handicaps both in the mines and on the railroads, to the first conference of the Trade Union Educational League at Chicago. Labor's militants are gathering for the first time in this country. Thru their efforts labor will prepare itself for a more militant, and more successful struggle against the well organized capitalists of this country.

Get the Difference

Friday, August 18, was indeed a "Black Friday" for labor, bringing into bold relief the utter helplessness of the American working class in the struggle with its exploiters.

The final touches put that day upon the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Bill by the Senate at Washington were of equal significance with the black reactionary utterances of President Harding on the coal miners' and railroad shopmen's strikes.

Just as the tariff bill was being engineered to passage by the agents of the big profiteers, so the president's message might easily have been written in the publicity departments of either the coal barons or the railroad owners.

Every pet monopoly of big business is favored as usual in the latest tariff bill raid upon the nation's pocket book. Senator Smoot, of Utah, wins his fight for the sugar interests, and Senator Lodge for the shoe and textile interests. Sugar will cost more. The tariff on wool goes higher and clothes will cost more. From apples and ammonium nitrate to zinc, down thru the alphabet, nothing is forgotten.

Thus a new toll is placed by the business bandits, who control at Washington, upon every necessity of life, even upon the cheap enameled kitchen utensils, the best that the workers' household can afford.

It is estimated that the government at Washington, thru increased duties, will collect about $70,000,000 more in revenue under the proposed tariff, while Senator Simmons, who was chairman of the finance committee during the Wilson regime, declares the increased burden upon the American people as a whole, in higher prices, will be between $3,000,000,000 and $3,500,000,000.

It is declared that America's food and clothing bill will be increased $461,021,063 by the duties on sugar, cotton and wool alone.

Government experts give labor the additional cheerful information that the increased tariffs levied on fresh meats, cereals, potatoes and beans will alone amount to an advance of $1,250,000,000 in the cost of living.

The republicans will now go into the congressional campaign with the cry that the high tariff will protect the glorious standard of living of the free-born American worker.

When those campaign speeches are made, however, let the workers remember that on Friday, August 18, when Congress was taking $3,500,000,000 out of the pockets of the many who have little and adding it to the profits of big business, thru increased tariffs on every living necessity; no effort was made to increase the wages of the striking coal miners and railroad shopmen, no step was taken to force the highly protected textile industries of New England to comply with the demands of the textile workers on strike for many, many weeks.

Congress did not move an inch in any direction to increase the wages of a single worker by as much as a solitary penny.

What Congress did do, instead, was to vociferously applaud President Harding's strike-breaking, labor crushing speech, outlining new attacks on the organized labor movement. Congress stands back of the President and the open shoppers in their efforts to smash organized labor and force the workers to accept lower wages, again meaning still more profits for the oppressors of those who toil.

Let the workers study this difference in attitude that Congress takes toward capital and labor.

Let the workers understand that the government at Washington is a capitalist government, organized and perpetuated for the purpose of protecting the profit-taking interests against the demands of labor. This government, therefore, whether it is republican or democratic, does the bidding of the money power, at the same time fighting the demands of the workers.

It is a peculiar fact that the workers of Russia alone have learned this lesson. But they are teaching labor in other countries thru their example.

The [illegible] power of the capitalist class is its strongest weapon in the [illegible] against the [illegible].

The Individual or the System

The "Reward and Punish" Conference for Progressive Political Action is out for the defeat of Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Senator from Massachusetts.

This organization for dividing labor ballots between Republicans and Democrats, by voting for the "friends" and against the "enemies" of the workers in both the Wall Street parties, charges that "Lodge has been chiefly responsible for the calamities that have befallen our great nation."

That is certainly flattering Lodge and he will no doubt doff his high silk hat in acknowledgment of this great tribute.

Yet Hillquit, Oneal, Berger and other "Socialists," so closely identified with this "Progressive Conference," should find it somewhat difficult to approve of this laudation of the successor of Aldrich and Penrose.

Socialism teaches that it is capitalism that oppresses mankind. Lodge is but a small cog in the machinery of the capitalist state. He is the fly on the wheel. He sticks to the wheel, not the wheel to him.

Yet this is the keynote that supports the position of the Progressive Conference, that Lodge is to blame, that Harding is to blame, that Taft is to blame. Defeat Lodge, the individual, and elect a "radical" Republican, like La Follette, and all will be lovely. This hypocritical attack on Lodge continues as follows:

> "For nearly 40 years the people of Massachusetts have been sending Henry Cabot Lodge to Congress. Not because they liked him; not because they trusted him; but because they thought that he would some day, by seniority, reach a position of great political power where he could do something worth while for his state.
>
> "Lodge has now become Republican leader of the Senate. But he rattles around in Nelson Aldrich's shoes like a pea in a pint pot.
>
> "Last year when Boston Commons was filled with unemployed and the Boston navy yard lay idle, the people of Massachusetts petitioned Lodge to have the steamship Leviathan repaired at Boston instead of at a private yard at Newport News at much greater cost to the government. Lodge could not persuade the Harding administration to grant even this small favor. Altho the facts furnished him by the navy yard workers were all on his side, he didn't know how to use them effectively. This incident shows the real caliber of Lodge. As a statesman Lodge is a lemon.
>
> "It is time for Massachusetts to quit wasting her votes on a political liability and send to the Senate a real man who has something in his favor besides a perfect English accent, a beautifully trimmed beard, an aristocratic ancestry and a reputation as literary dilettante."

Lodge may remain in the United States Senate for 40 centuries and he will serve but one master—CAPITALISM.

He will do this because he stands with the Republican party, one of capitalism's pillars in these United States.

Insurgents in the Republican party may come, and insurgents may go, but the organization, the Republican party, goes on supporting the present system of private ownership and private profiteering.

William H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists and renegade Socialist, is one of the luminaries of this "Progressive Conference." Enlightened members of the Machinists' Union will view with disgust the tears Johnston sheds over the fact that the steamship Leviathan was repaired at Newport News, R. I., instead of at Boston, Mass. Are there not union machinists at both places?

It is stated that, "As a statesman, Lodge is lemon." But, in the case of Lodge, as in the cases of all its other "enemies," the Progressive Conference is certainly playing "lemon politics."

Let labor in Massachusetts rally to the call of the Workers Party for Independent Working-Class Political Action. Let them build up a political power of their own to wage war against both the old parties and all their candidates, to carry on an unrelenting struggle against their real enemy, not Lodge nor any other individual, but against the social system that enslaves them, AGAINST CAPITALISM.

If the workers of Massachusetts and other states will learn that lesson during this year's campaign they will have made some progress.

Defeat Lodge, upholder of the capitalist state, but send to Washington a workers' representative demanding the abolition of the capitalist state and the establishment of a Workers' Government.

Help or Hindrance

The revolutionary spirit that is steadily growing in the British labor movement is also thoroly permeating the co-operative movement in the British Isles.

This is shown to some extent in the declaration of Margaret L. Davies, new president of the British Co-operative Union, the national educational federation of the British Co-operative Societies, when she said:

"We are working for no patchwork modifications, for no 'reconciliation of capital and labor,' for no 'infusion of a better spirit' into the old industrial forms. We are laying the foundations of a new industrial civilization. The rallying cry for the whole labor world is the replacement of capitalism by an industrial democracy producing for use."

This statement should take the wind out of the politicians of the British Labor Party and the reactionaries of the British trade unions.

It was heard by 1,600 delegates, representing a membership of 4,426,475 co-operators. These members with their families constitute one-third the population of England.

The old co-operatives pursued the path of reformism and avoided the revolutionary struggle. They held to the idea of a slow growth into "Socialism," without the aid of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Its internationalism was limited to words. With such a policy the revolution is not furthered but impeded by the co-operatives. Instead of accelerating, they hinder revolutionary development.

In the period of a proletarian revolution two problems arise for the proletarian co-operatives; to aid the working masses in the struggles for the conquest of political power, and where such power has already been seized; to assist them in the work of Communist reconstruction.

Only the workers' co-operatives are capable of placing themselves on the side of labor in the struggle against capitalism.

Communists will always find a big field of activity in the co-operative movement, to transform it into an instrument of the revolutionary class struggle.

The co-operative movement in the United States is still practically in its infancy. Wherever it does grow rapidly we find it permeated to a very great extent with bourgeois ideas.

This makes it all the more imperative for the revolutionary workers of this country to enter seriously and actively into this work.

The American co-operative movement must be won for the revolutionary class struggle, just as it is being won in other countries. Otherwise it will act as a brake upon the forward struggle of labor, a hindrance to its progress.

BOLCOMS

Edited by [illegible]

[illegible] TO STAFF CORRESPONDENTS

[illegible]

a) [illegible] demands the [illegible] of the Social Revolutionaries, as these bodies are necessary to [illegible] food for the famine-stricken [illegible].

b) [illegible] arrests Lenin and wants him deported to America as an [illegible] radical and bolshevik.

c) [illegible] Samovar, an Employee of the [illegible] Street Cleaning Department, in an interview with our correspondent, emphatically assured us that the Soviet Government will fall on the first of April, 1921. (This telegram should be printed at least ten times each week. Be sure to change the date each time.)

d) Poor Russian workers are forced to work 25 hours each day to produce ammunition for the bolshevists who are planning to blow up the continent of North America.

(Continued on page 36, col. 9.)

PAGE LEE, HILLQUIT & CO.

First Worker: "How is the American Labor Party getting on?"

Second Ditto: "My nerves" . . .

HOW TO BE A HUNDRED PER CENT AMERICAN?

By Prof. Howe Phoolisch, N.U.T.

(By the joined request of the A. F. of L. and the A. L. P., the Editorial Staff of the Bolcoms has decided to conduct in this column special studies in hundred per cent Americanism. To edit this department we have fortunately secured the able services of Professor Phoolisch, world's greatest authority on Insanity in general and Americanism in particular.—Editor.)

THE TEN BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AMERICANISM

1. Don't think.
2. Never kick about conditions.
3. Always be loyal to your boss.
4. Never read anything besides the funny sheet and the sporting page.
5. Sing three times daily the Star Spangled Banner.
6. If you have nothing to eat, take out the U. S. Constitution and read how free you are.
7. If there's a labor agitator in your shop, don't wait for the boss to fire him. Kick him in the pants.
8. If you're out of a job don't worry. You can always join the Starvation Army.
9. Never join a union.
10. Love, honor and obey thy government officials for it is they who permit you to enjoy the pursuit of happiness and possibility of life.

WHO IS WHAT, WHAT IS WHO, AND WHY NOT, IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, FOR THE YEAR 1922.

(Biographical data of vital importance, highly recommended for study in the Rand School and similar institutions.)

III.

HESQUIT, Morris.—Capitalistic socialist, socialistic capitalist, lying lawyer, lawful liar, etc., etc.

Hesquit is, indeed, very true to his name. He's quit to be a marxian, he's quit to be honest, he's quit to be logical, he's quit to be of any importance in the labor movement. The only thing he hasn't quit as yet is to lie. For this wonderful propensity of his he was made sales-manager of Socialism in this country. He is in the Socialist business a very long time, nearly as long as in the coal business. In fact, he's made Socialism in this country the same color as his coal. It yet remains to be guessed which of the two commodities bring the most profit to him. He is also quite a well known, literateur; author of the check book, steady contributor to the Phone Directory and editor of the fly paper. Besides all that he's quite a famous toreador: he certainly can throw the bull . . . . .

BOLCOMS ENCYCLOPEDIA

(To meet the demands of the growing multitudes of class-conscious workers who can no longer be content with the old fashioned, fallacious definitions found in the existing standard dictionaries and encyclopedias, the Editor-in-Chief of the Bolcoms has revised the old editions and composed a new modern encyclopedia giving present day proletarian conceptions of English words and scientific terms. Extracts from this ultra-beneficial work will be published exclusively in this column.)

WORKER — a thing almost human, having all characteristics of a being except a backbone.

SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY — a brainless creature, extremely reckless with his life but lacking courage to commit self murder.

SOCIALIST—a piece of humanity composed of 75 per cent patriotism, 10 per cent fanaticism, 15 per cent cowardice, plus infinity per cent stupidity and minus one per cent revolutionism and intelligence.

(To be continued.)

Who said it's hard to end up a colyum? All you have to do is write, write, write and all of a sudden stop like this.

IRV.

[illegible]ER

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. [illegible] [illegible] SATURDAY, [illegible] [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Fight the White Terror!

Rally Workers in Struggle Against New Attacks by Political Hirelings of Bosses

Workers Party Pledges Still More Aggressive Support of Striking Coal Miners and Shopmen

PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE WORKERS PARTY

"The intense activity of the Workers Party in upholding and inspiring the striking coal miners and railroad shopmen has led a notorious labor baiting private detective, now at the head of the United States secret service, to attempt to disrupt the Workers Party by arresting individuals of prominence within it," is the charge made by the Executive Committee of the Workers Party in a statement issued from the Party's National Office at 799 Broadway, New York City.

"The arrest of the Party's secretary, C. E. Ruthenberg, and William F. Dunne, labor editor of "The Worker," and other prominent members of the Party just previous to the scheduled holding of a Party National Convention at Chicago, on August 28th, is declared to be a plot of the notorious Wm. J. Burns to discredit and destroy a workers organization which has taken a leading part in supporting the present coal and rail shopmen's strikes.

The postponement of the Party Convention for a period of two weeks is explained in the following statement:

"The intense activity of the Workers Party in upholding and inspiring the striking coal miners and railroad shopmen has led a notorious labor baiting private detective, now at the head of the United States secret service, to attempt to disrupt the Workers Party by arresting individuals of prominence within it. In this there appears to be some confusion of the business interests of Wm. J. Burns' private detective agency with the activities of Wm. J. Burns, Government Agent.

PARTY WILL STAND BY STRIKERS

"The Workers Party will meet this attack — whatever its nature and extent may prove to be—with a still more aggressive support of the striking workers of the railroads and coal mines. A Party of the Working-Class, if it performs its duties at the forefront of the Workers Struggles, must expect such attacks as a matter of course.

"The present great strikes, in the fuel and transportation industries, demonstrating as they do the almost unlimited power of the workers when they act together on a large scale cannot but bring the capitalist class the haunting fear that THE WORKERS WILL NOT PERMANENTLY SUBMIT TO BEING AN EXPLOITED CLASS UNDER THE RULE OF THE CAPITALISTS.

"It is but natural, under the circumstances, to expect the capitalist class, thru its governmental tool, to strike the most vicious blow possible, attended by any amount of fraud necessary, in the attempt to destroy the more advanced organizations of workers, conscious of the need of taking political power into the hands of the working class and thus abolish all exploitation.

"The Workers Party will weather this storm, and many more.

"It will come out stronger than ever and more clearly recognized as the foremost political expression of the working class.

CALL ON ALL WORKERS TO STAND FIRM

"The Workers Party takes this occasion again to call the workers to stand firm against wage cuts and, above all, to resist to the last ditch all efforts to smash the unions by the introduction of the open shop system.

No amount of bluffing with 'Red Raids,' no attacks on militant trade unionists, no sensational newspaper scares can obscure the fact that the workers have victory in their hands in the railroad and coal strikes if they but stand together and do not diminish the scope of these struggles.

CONVENTION WILL BE HELD

"The National Convention of the Workers Party, which was scheduled for August 28, will take place on Monday, September 11th, (a postponement of two weeks). Further particulars will be given in a later announcement.

"The National Executive Committee calls upon all members of the Workers Party, and all workers generally to stand by the Party in this crisis.

"WORKERS! CLOSE THE RANKS!

"DO NOT ALLOW ANOTHER REIGN OF POLICE TERRORISM AGAINST WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS!

"NO MORE WHOLESALE JAILING OF WORKERS!

"NO MORE POLITICAL PRISONERS!

"RALLY TO THE DEFENSE OF YOUR BROTHERS—THE IMPRISONED WORKERS!"

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA.

Foster, Secretary of Trade Union League Says, "We Must Expect to Meet With Some Casualties"

BY WILLIAM F. KRUSE, STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE WORKER

CHICAGO.—At the close of the second session of the national convention of the Trade Union Educational League, held in Chicago last Saturday and Sunday, the hall was invaded by a raiding party of 50 policemen, uniformed and plain-clothes, under the leadership of the notorious "Anarchist Expert" Sergeant McDonough. Everyone present was ordered to remain seated while a search was conducted for persons suspected of taking part in the alleged Michigan "Communist Convention." All whose names were listed, and all non-citizens present were placed under arrest, and taken away in two patrol wagons, backed up to the door. Among the latter class was the entire Canadian delegation.

Fifteen arrests were made in all, the best known among these being Earl R. Browder, associate editor of "The Labor Herald." Among the others arrested were:

Jack Shulman, 35 years old, Winnipeg, Canada.

Martin Van Heck, Grand Rapids, Mich., 41 years old, and a Hollander

John Orozeinen, 42 years old, Astoria, Ore., Finn.

Phil Aronberg, Chicago, Lithuanian.

Jacob Feldmark, 32, Chicago, Pole.

Nathan Greenberg, 27, Chicago, Pole.

J. Harlstein, 30, Chicago, Russian.

Jerry Hadrada, 35, Chicago, Bohemian.

Felix Krasowski, 31, Chicago, Pole.

A. Ovegaard, Chicago, Dane.

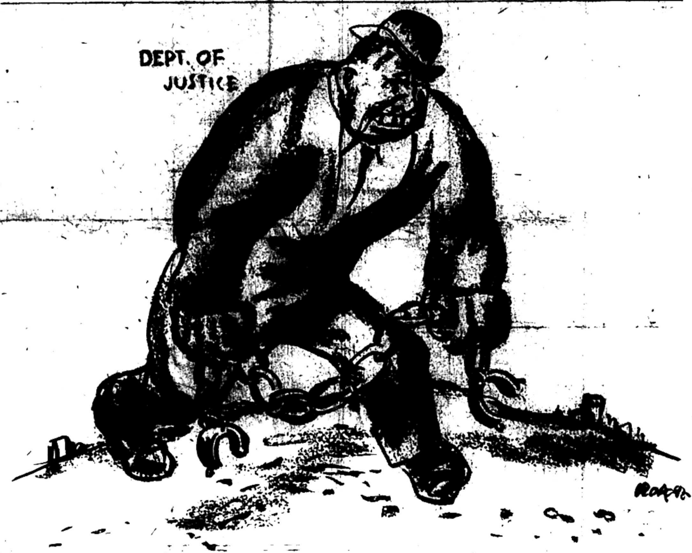
Several of those arrested were merely visitors at the convention.

After the officers had left the hall, William Z. Foster took the floor and announced that the various committees and industrial caucuses would meet that evening as originally planned and the convention would proceed on the morrow.

"In this great struggle we must expect to meet with some casualties," he said, "and it seems as tho the T. U. E. L. is getting its share right at the start."

The sinister threat of police interference hung over the convention from the start. The gathering was

(Continued on Page Three)



"Back to Normalcy"

Many Young Demonstrate on Youth Day

Editor's Note. — We have taken as a fitting contribution for this issue, the accompanying article commemorating International Youth Day, celebrated this year on Sunday, Sept. 3. The New York celebration will be held Sunday afternoon, Sept. 3, 2:30 o'clock, at Webster Hall, 125 E. 11th St. This article was taken from "The International of Youth", official organ of the Young Communist International, and is as follows:

• • •

The pavement echoes the tramp of the young workers. The air resounds with their songs. Curious heads peep from the windows. The whole street, as far as the eye can reach, is full of young proletarians.

(Continued on Page Three)

Jailer Marches Workers Thru City Streets, Chained in Pairs; Regards Them as Wild Beasts

(By The Federated Press)

ST. JOSEPH, Mich.—"What with bootleggers and them there bolsheviks, we got our hands full," said a cop at the local police station as he expanded to newspapermen on his novel duties as jailer of 17 political prisoners. He seemed to regard them as wild beasts. He chained them in pairs to take them on foot thru the streets to the city hall.

C. E. Ruthenberg, national secretary, Workers Party, asked for an early hearing on behalf of himself and 16 other men, held on Michigan state criminal syndicalism charges based on their presence at an alleged secret conference of radicals held in Berrien county Aug. 21.

The syndicalism law is a war hysteria measure put thru the legislature by corporation interests to curb labor and radical activities that were legal under previous law, but obnoxious to them.

The warrants specifically charge conspiracy to violate the law and actual violation as well. A number of warrants have been issued for men and women alleged to have escaped the raiders.

Names under which men are booked are C. E. Ruthenberg, William F. Dunne, Caleb Harrison, Charles Erickson, W. Reynolds, Max Lerner, Cyril Lampkin, Francis Ashworth, Alex Vail, Charles Krumbein, T. R. Sullivan, John Mihelic, Elmer McMillin, Thomas O'Flaherty, C. Nordling.

Stelton School Convention.

The Modern School of Stelton will hold its annual convention Saturday, Sunday and Monday, Sept. 1, 2, 3, at Stelton, N. J.

Bad Engines Cause Wrecks Probe Shows

CHICAGO.—Efforts of the railroads and the government to shift blame for wrecks to the radicals fell flat when the raid on William Z. Foster's offices at the Trade Union Educational league produced no "evidence" of the kind desired.

"In our examination of his papers we find nothing on which charges can be based. We will not issue warrants for his arrest," Asst. State's Atty. McLaughlin said of Foster.

Shows Prejudiced Investigations

"If all the derailments which have been reported to us since the strike had occurred with trains running at 60 miles an hour, the newspapers would have had no room for other news," said J. F. McGrath, vice president, railway employes department, A. F. of L., commenting upon the

(Continued on Page Three)

Foster Meeting in Denver, Sept. 12

September 12th is the date set for the meeting to be addressed by William Z. Foster, at Denver, Colo., in the fight against the kidnapping and deportation of the secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, August 4.

Roger Baldwin reports for the Civil Liberties Union that attempts to find out why Wyoming officials took Foster across that state have been unavailing.

ARRESTED! WHY? COME AND HEAR TRUTH ABOUT CONSPIRACY TO CRUSH LABOR **CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE,** FRIDAY, SEPT. 1st, 8 o'clock P. M.

Jap Miners Wish Labor Victory Here

THE WORKER received a cablegram from the Miners Federation of Japan, July 30th, voicing the solidarity of the Japanese miners with the American coal miners in the struggle they are now carrying on. This cablegram was immediately forwarded to the headquarters of the United Mine Workers at Indianapolis, Ind.

We have now received a letter in confirmation of this cablegram from H. Asoz, general secretary of the Miners Federation of Japan, as follows:

Tokio, July 30th, 1922.

The Editor of The Worker,
799 Broadway, New York City.

Dear Comrade:—We trust that you have kindly transmitted our message to the striking United Mine Workers of America which we cabled to you July 30th inst., and are much obliged to you.

Enclosed you will find our letter to the U. M. W. A. which we ask you to see that they get, and to publish if you see fit.

Yours for the Cause,
The Miners' Federation of Japan,
8 Somei St., Kamikomagome, Tokio
H. Asoz, General Secretary.

The letter to the United Mine Workers of America is as follows:

"Tokio, July 30th, 1922.

"The United Mine Workers of America,

"Our Fellow Workers:—Confirming our cable of July 30th inst., sent to you care of "The Worker" of New York City, we, the Miners' Federation of Japan, support with great symathy and enthusiasm the gigantic fight you are carrying on, hand in hand with the railway workers, against the American mine owners and railroad companies, and most heartily wish your complete victory.

"We take our action as a best expression of the spirit of determined fight with which the working class has to face the world-wide, desperate offensive of the capitalists today. The success of your strike will strengthen both morally and materially not only millions of mine and railway workers of America but tens of millions of those in every other country. The victory of your fight will be hailed by the workers of the whole world as a most hopeful beginning of the working class counter-offensive.

"In view of this and particularly of the fact that the economic and political relations of the United States and Japan call upon the workers of both countries to establish and maintain the closest connection and co-operation, we believe it our class duty to extend a wholehearted support to your heroic struggle.

"Our campaign for the Strike Fund for the American Miners has already been started, and our contribution is expected to reach you soon.

"Wishing you an overwhelming victory, we are

Yours for the International Solidarity,
The Miners' Federation of Japan,
8 Somei St., Kamikomagome, Tokio.
(Signed) H. Asoz, General Secretary.

The original copy of this letter has also been forwarded to the United Mine Workers headquarters at Indianapolis.

Second Congress of Red Trade Unions Postponed

To All Organizations Affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions

Comrades:—Considering the demand of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and of many other organizations, and the vast preparations, also the time necessary to collect material for reports upon the situation of the revolutionary Trade Union Movement of the whole world, the Executive Bureau has resolved to postpone the Second International Congress from Oct. 25 to Nov. 20.

The Executive Bureau begs all organisations to send timely and not later than Sept. 20, detailed reports over the situation of the Trade Unions and their organizations, and to forward propositions for the order of the day in order that we will be able to publish these reports and propositions in time for the Congress.

Simultaneous with the second congress a series of Industrial Union Conferences will take place; therefore it is desirous that delegates of the great Trade Unions should be present also. The rules for delegations are fixed in the statutes.

Thus the Second International Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions will be opened Nov. 20 in Moscow. We beg you not to come too late, for the Congress will begin its work at the fixed date. Fraternally yours,

A. Losowsky, General Secretary.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

EXTRA! Call "Bill" Burns; Tammany Labor Politician Boasts Real Army of 600 Men

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

The news comes that William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, and editor of its official publication, The Labor Herald, has been arrested at Chicago.

Altho Foster had been kidnapped and deported from Colorado, August 6, and the offices of the League had been broken into and ransacked on August 20, the Associated Press on August 21 carried the report that, "Foster was not being sought and no charges were pending against him."

We find a statement in a special dispatch, dated Aug. 22, to the New York Times, that, "State's Attorney Crowe (Chicago) said that no evidence to connect Foster or his organization with rail strike violence was obtained", in the raids.

Similarly the New York Evening Post, August 23, said, "Foster's office was raided Sunday night by State's Attorney Crowe, in what was declared to be a search for illegal action in connection with the railroad shopmen's strike. No evidence against Foster's organization, however, was found".

Then came his arrest. He was thrown into a vile police station cell on Chicago's South Side, while "warrants and extradition papers were awaited," presumably from Michigan.

Foster had committed no violence. The fatal wreck at Gary, Ind., was the result of a defective engine. This is now admitted. The officials of the Michigan Central Railroad, who forced the use of the defective engine should be arrested and forced to trial on a charge of deliberate murder.

But this will not be done. Other defective engines will be used. There will be other wrecks, new ones every day. No strike-breaking, anti-labor railroad officials will have their offices raided. No railroad presidents will be arrested and thrown into jail. They own the government.

Foster did not even preach violence. His speeches were all based on the "Amalgamation" program of the Trade Union Educational League.

That program has been spread broadcast in leaflet form. It has been published in many labor papers.

Let us now call to the attention of that notable anti-labor sleuth William J. Burns, and his boss Attorney General Daugherty, head of the department of justice, a report in the final edition of the Globe (New York) Tuesday August 22 purporting to be the speech of another labor spokesman, this time James P. Holland, of New York City, president of the New York State Federation of Labor.

Holland is a different type of labor official from Foster. He is a Tammany Hall (Democratic) politician. He is an ardent follower of Gompersism.

Holland was addressing the annual Convention of the State Federation of Labor at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. and was criticizing Governor Miller of New York, a republican. Holland attacked the state police and those responsible for sending them to break the street car strike at Buffalo, N. Y., saying:

"When I saw those state police I said to myself that many of our boys had seen service in the army overseas and I told them: If we can shoot over there we can shoot over here.

"So we organized, and we had 600 men armed and ready who could have wiped out those bounty-jumping slackers in the state police, if they hadn't taken them out of Buffalo.

"The American workingmen must take over the government both at Washington and Albany and run it on the basis of labor first.

"Nowadays there are two laws in this country, one for the rich and one for the poor," he continued. "The best illustration of that fact was the release during President Taft's administration from the Atlanta Penitentiary of that gigantic robber, Charles W. Morse. He said he was about to die and had to get out. Well, he isn't dead yet, but he ought to be."

Here is an armed force according to President Holland, of the New York State Federation of Labor, ready to wage civil war against the state police.

"Deport the Bolshevist", declare the immigration officials. "Ship or shoot the radical!" comes from General Leonard Wood, friend of the late Roosevelt, ready to take up his job as president of the Pennsylvania University. "Hang the Communist!" resolves the American Legion. "Arrest, indict, convict, send the red to prison for life" are the orders from the department of justice, followed by a tidal wave of capitalist newspaper editorials in defence of loyal American manhood, and law and order.

No! That previous paragraph is only a dream. It never happened. In the first place, what Holland said hardly got beyond the walls of the convention hall at Poughkeepsie. So far as we know The Globe was the only paper that carried the story.

The Times, slavering organ of the plutocracy was silent. So was The Call, the "Socialist" daily. The Globe, itself, didn't feel called upon to sound the anti-red alarm, but instead carried an editorial insinuating that Holland was suffering from a warm weather malady that it labels "Labor's Midsummer Madness". The editorial is such a gentle spanking of Holland that we publish it in full. Here it is:

"Labor leaders who ordinarily talk and behave as decent and sensible American citizens have been exhibiting dangerous symptoms of midsummer madness in their oratory at Poughkeepsie. James P. Holland, in his presidential address to the State Federation of Labor on Tuesday, set the precedent, and some of his associates have been all too quick to follow the lead.

"Mr. Holland in his less irascible moments is an amiable Tammany politician, complacent enough with the world as he finds it. Yet he had the lack of wit at Poughkeepsie to boast that organized labor had raised an armed force of 600 men to combat the state police on duty in Buffalo. The president of the state federation is quoted as having said: 'We had 600 men armed and ready, who could have wiped out those bounty-jumping slackers in the state police if they hadn't taken them out of Buffalo.'

"Talk of that sort, whatever the provocation, and still more action of that character are the most dangerous enemies the workers of America confront. As a practical man James P. Holland ought to know that an armed rebellion in the United States is an act of lunacy, while as a citizen he ought to be aware that even the contemplation of such action as he described is intolerable. Nothing that the bitterest reactionary could devise would do half the evil to labor unionism."

At press time no news had come that "Bill" Burns and his dime novel detectives, with the aid of the New York bomb squad, the state police, the state militia, the army and the navy, had raided the labor convention at Poughkeepsie on the Hudson, and placed all the delegates under arrest. In fact, the convention transacted all of its business, re-elected Holland, president, and peacefully adjourned.

If there were any sleuths hidden away in the walls, or under the floor or on the roof of the convention hall, listening to further speeches by President Holland, they would have heard him pleading with labor to put its own "friends" into office, these "friends" of course, being Tammany Hall politicians like Holland himself.

Holland believes in the old parties. He helps keep the workers divided into numerous craft units. He is a bulwark of capitalism. He was only against the republican party, and he may become as violent as he pleases, as violent even as Tammany Hall thugs on election day.

Foster did not preach violence, we repeat in contrast. He urged a big idea, the idea of amalgamating many craft unions into big industrial unions closely co-operating with each other. He urged class solidarity and class conscious action, both politically and industrially, on the part of the workers.

Foster not only tried to develop a sentiment for labor unity, but he organized that sentiment for effective action into the Trade Union Educational League, and thus won for himself the title from Adjutant General Pat Hamrock, head of Colorado's coal and iron cossacks, of "The nation's most dangerous radical!"

President Holland is "safe" because when required, he joins the "Luskers", to suppress all radical teachings, in and out of the public schools, because he joins in the attack on the "reds" in the labor movement at all times. He stands with the system.

Foster organizes an intelligent and united resistance to the attacks of big business against the working class.

It is that intelligence that the master class fears. It is appalled at the spectacle of a united working class. And in its blind rage it arrests and throws into prison, if it can, all the Fosters, and tries to break up the organizations the Fosters have brought into existence, and root out the idea the Fosters have planted and caused to grow in the dull and unreceptive brain of backward American labor.

The ruling class, in bringing about the raid on the Trade Union Educational League and the arrest of its secretary, wasn't thinking of the violence growing out of the coal and rail strikes. They could easily find the cause for much of that in the offices of the numerous detective agencies requiring jobs for their hordes of unemployed operatives.

The ruling class, however, was thinking of what might happen to it when the Foster idea had grown sufficiently in the brain of labor to inspire it to take over all power.

Fear paints for the ruling class the picture of its own doom and it throws a Foster into prison to save itself for a little longer.

But the very tyranny of its acts enlists more workers in the growing struggle against it.

[illegible] Loyal Labor of Harding's

President Harding and all his satellites down to the humblest reporter on the New York Times, have been shedding many salty tears over the "loyal" worker who is helping to keep the railroads going in spite of the terrible, Moscow-inspired Bolshevist railroad strike.

Just to give our readers an idea of what these "loyal" workers are like, we publish an article headed "Finks Have Fine Time with Women, Poker and Craps", from The Labor Bulletin, of Kansas City, Kans., August 16, as follows:

* * *

A Bulletin man in company with a reporter for a Kansas City, Mo., morning newspaper, made a round of some of the railroad shops one night last week.

The reporter was in search of a young boy who had left Chicago with a gang of strikebreakers and the parents of the boy had asked the Associated Press to try and find him.

As he had left with a gang of Burlington strikebreakers, that was the first shop visited.

Finks Have Many Names

The Burlington roundhouse, under the Twelfth street viaduct, was easily entered. The reporter told his business, but, as the guard said, many of the finks have three or four aliases, the pair was let in to look the bunch over. They are housed in cars switched near the round house.

In two cars the gang was playing poker, two tables going with plenty of players. In another car two crap tables were in operation. This was in Missouri, where such games are protected by the police. The color line is drawn sharply, for, as the pair were making their way down to another car, the guard said, "No use going in there. That's the burrhead car."

From it came the old cries of "Come, Phoebe!" "Little Joe!" "Ha-a-a, Seben!" They were having a fine time, and evidently they were not of the class that attends the Sunday schools and churches of the better class of colored citizens.

Make Money: Do Nothing

In fact there were no citizens of either Kansas or Missouri in the bunch, with the exception of the foremen who were doing the work.

The Bulletin man struck up an acquaintance with a pleasant, talkative young fellow from South Clark street, Chicago, as were most of the others. "We're having a summer picnic," he said, "making good money and doing nothing. If those working stiffs that quit here only knew it we are doing them a favor. All the railroading we know is riding rattlers. A few days ago one of the bosses put us to heaving coal, but it was too hot and we told him to go shove himself into the lake. So he put the burrheads at the job."

Near the fence, which separates Burlington property from that of the Rock Island, a man was talking to a girl. "They furnish you women, too?" queried The Bulletin man.

"Plenty of Women"

"No more," the young fink said. Then he went on to explain: "At first they did, but the boys got sore. There weren't enough to go around, and they were 50-cent janes at that. But there's plenty up there" he waved his hand in the direction of Cliff Drive and Summit street—"and there's a policeman or two at every house, to see that we're not bothered. That's Allardice over there talking to that skirt and she's his.

"Lives up town and comes down here to see him. She's stuck on him and she's his girl only. He's rough when you pinch in on his property. He's a long pete man, and has done several turns in Joliet. Sometimes, too, he works the scissorbills.

"Give him a lot of good clothes, a good front, you know, and he can act as sanctimonious as a preacher calling on a lady parishioner when her husband is present. It don't pay to fool with his skirts."

The young man, during further conversation, admitted freely that he had done time in the Bridewell and several other prisons. He is a good example of most of the Americans in the bunch, but had a little more education. The rest of the finks outside of what they called the "burrheads" were a cosmopolitan lot. Bohunks, Hunyaks and Dagoes predominated.

Scabs Are Diseased

At the Rock Island shops the pair were not allowed to enter. At the Frisco round house the only ones working were a foreman and two men leisurely engaged in packing a piston.

The foreman explained volubly and the men did the work awkwardly. One of them had syphilitic sores on his mouth and a large one just behind one ear. As the newspaper men left the shops, to go back up town the morning newspaper man remarked:

"If mamma and papa ever find their young son around such places as these we've visited, they'd better send him in a hurry to some syphilitic hospital."

[illegible] Union Joins Struggle Against Repressive Tactics of New White Terror

The American Civil Liberties Union has extended offers of assistance to William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, and others arrested by federal and state authorities as the result of an attack on what is alleged to have been a "Convention of the Communist Party" at Bridgeman, Mich.

The right of the government to make the arrests is challenged, and the Civil Liberties Union protests against "the lawless, repressive tactics of the government in dealing with radicals."

It is maintained that the sole issue involved is one of free speech. The letter to Attorney General Daugherty is signed by Norman Thomas, Roger N. Baldwin and Professor Robert Morse Lovett, and is as follows:

"We note the extensive reports of a raid on what is alleged to be a convention of the Communist party of America held at a resort in the state of Michigan, the raid being conducted by representatives of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

No Overt Act Charged

"According to these reports no offense is charged against the persons arrested except the dissemination of views on political and industrial matters; no overt act is charged. If the reports are correct, the only issue at stake is the right of these persons to organize and discuss in secret a political campaign.

"The Communist movement in the United States is operating an underground organization because it was driven underground by repressive laws and tactics in various states.

"There is no Federal law, as you know, which makes it unlawful for anyone to advocate a Soviet form of government for the United States, or to advocate the overthrow of governments by force or violence.

"There are state laws which penalize the advocacy of violence, and some of these have been construed by the courts to penalize the advocacy of radical political changes by even peaceful methods, as well as to punish mere membership in an association.

Raids Unconstitutional

"We call attention to the fact that these repressive measures in force in many of the states have seriously curtailed our cherished rights of freedom of speech and of the press.

"Whether or not they are sustained by the courts, they are entirely out of harmony with the conception of the authors of the Constitution, that an orderly society rests only upon unrestricted freedom of opinion.

"Their idea and the opinion of the courts, up to within the last few years, was that the government should intervene only where overt acts are committed.

"But nothing even in the restrictive decisions of Federal courts in recent years justifies the Federal government in proceeding in such cases as the raid on the Communist convention. There is no Federal law to support it.

"May we, therefore, ask on what theory the Federal government has acted, under what authority and under whose direction?"

Particular attention is being given by the union to the case of William Z. Foster because it is alleged that "his arrest is in reality an attack on the movement for industrial unionism, which is oposed by powerful interests and cannot be legally attacked itself."

In a letter to Foster the officers of the Civil Liberties Union say:

"This is to offer you formally the services of the American Civil Liberties Union in contesting in the courts the action of the Federal and state authorities in arresting you for alleged participation in a secret Communist convention in Michigan.

Had Right to Be There

"We note the press reports of your denial that you were there or that you were involved in any way.

"That denial does not influence us however. From all the reports we have seen, you or any other citizen had a perfect right to be there and discuss any public matter you liked.

"At the same time we make this offer to you, we offer our aid equally to those who were actually arrested there just as we offer our aid to any person in the United States whose right of freedom of opinion on public matters is attacked in any way, at any time, by any authority whatever.

Non-Violent Program

"We are making this special offer to you because we are so fully advised of your activities in the Trade Union Educational League to create a greater solidarity among the workers of America through the development of industrial unionism. We know that your program does not involve violence in any form, that it is entirely legal.

"It is advocated by some of the most substantial elements in American life outside the labor movement, notably several important religious associations among both Catholic and Protestants.

"If the authorities choose to attack the advocates of this idea, they should logically take into custody the officers of these religious associations in Washington and New York. They are well known and easily reached.

"These considerations show the absurdities of these attacks on you. You are singled out because you have an effective means of putting the idea into operation; the other advocates have not. We are not concerned with the idea itself but solely your right and the right of anyone else to advocate it.

"Our lawyers, our press service and our other facilities are at your disposal without cost to you or your association."

A similar offer of assistance has been made by the Civil Liberties Union to the National Defense Committee, 799 Broadway, New York City, which is the defense organization handling cases of persons alleged to be Communists.

Czecho-Slovaks Vote to Join the Workers Party

The Czecho-Slovak Marxian Federation, by a vote of 582 to 9, has decided to join the Workers Party. It selected its secretary, Charles Kolarik, as delegate to the National Convention of the Workers Party.

This federation was formerly the Bohemian (or Czecho-Slovak) Federation of the Socialist Party. Following the Detroit, Mich., National Convention of the Socialist Party, when the Communist International was definitely repudiated, it voted to withdraw and has since remained independent.

The federation has a daily, the Spravedlnost, in Chicago, in addition to weekly and other publications.

White Hopes Fear French Russian Pact

VIENNA.—Alleged news of an imminent move toward a approchement between France and Russia has reached the Russian counter-revolutionary headquarters in Belgrade, and consternation reigns in the haunts of the "White Hopes". It is regarded as probable that the result will be the swift conclusion of a trade agreement between France and Russia.

Seek Separate Agreement

PARIS.—For some time past influential statesmen inside and outside the chamber of deputies have been pressing for a separate agreement between France and Russia.

PAYING THE BILL

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—The mobilization, movement and maintenance of national guardsmen to satisfy the railroad companies has cost the state of Missouri between $150,000 and $200,000, acording to an estimation by Adj. Gen. Raupp. This is in addition to probably $110,000 of expense which will be borne by the federal government.

THE SAME HERE

MELBOURNE, Australia.—Returned soldiers in Australia point out that in the majority of cases since their return from the war they have been labeled not wanted with the result that they are unable to secure their prewar positions in industry, despite the solemn pledges made to them by employers prior to enlistment.

**Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor**

Decks Cleared for Action

By LUDWIG LORE

The convention of the "2½ International" that was to begin in Karlsbad on September 16, has been peremptorily and definitely postponed. The cable from Vienna gives no reason for this decision. Nevertheless, in the light of recent developments in the Socialist parties of Europe, the answer is not hard to find.

One need but recall the fact that for weeks past the Social-Democratic Party and the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany have been discussing the question of unity.

In Berlin representatives of both sides met in a series of conferences which culminated on July 21st in a meeting that formally considered the question of uniting the two parties.

According to the official communiqué, both parties have been requested as a result of this meeting to take no action, and to keep their organizations intact until the question shall have been definitely settled by the respective party conventions.

Furthermore both sides have been pledged to refrain for the present from indulging, in their meetings, in their newspapers and in the legislative bodies, from the acrimonious attacks that have hitherto been the order of the day.

In short, the two social-democratic parties of Germany have established a sort of "civil peace", in which the Independents must refrain from calling their social-patriot brothers of yesterday and to-morrow traitors and Noske-bloodhounds.

By the same token it has become equally reprehensible to refer to the Independents as "revolutionary phrase-mongers and "big-mouths". So far as it lies in their power the worthies who are arranging this conference would have the world forget that there was such a thing as the fourth of August 1914, would pass over the four years of bloody warfare as if they had never played a role in the socialist movement.

The history of the "2½" has been a history of half-heartedness, of weakness, of failure. Founded, ostensibly, as a revolutionary organization of the working class in opposition to the counter-revolutionary tendency in the social-democratic movements of Europe, its real position became apparent at the very outset.

The really revolutionary elements joined the Third International because the weak-kneed, vacillating helplessness of this "International" of negotiations held out no promise of success as a leader of the masses. Others, who had aligned themselves with one of the parties of the "2½", rather than to join the revolutionary Third, because they believed that only a program of "practical achievements" would sweep the masses before it, soon found that the social-democratic movement was no more reactionary, and certainly much more successful than their own colorless movement, and withdrew to join the parties of the right.

Nor is this coquetry with the Second a new departure. At its last international conference the "2½" plainly indicated the willingness to be swallowed up by its erstwhile opponent.

Kautsky and Longuet have been conducting a systematic campaign in this direction. The vindictive attacks launched by both Internationals against Soviet Russia for its trial of the Socialist Revolutionaries and the fear of a revolutionary uprising of the German working class during the crisis that followed after the Rathenau assassination, served only to cement an understanding that was already firmly established.

Editor [illegible] of the Leipziger Volkszeitung is only a shade more frank than his associates Kautsky and Longuet, when he says in a recent article: "The 2½ International has no longer a mission to fulfill.

"By that I do not mean that the "Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sozialistischer Parteien" (the 2½) had no historical function. During the war and after the war it was needed as a rallying point for the revolutionary parties of the world; but above all its great and lasting achievement was the struggle against the Third International, against the movement that at first fascinated so many European parties, parties that would have joined the Third had it not been for our movement, because they could not be persuaded to join hands with the Second International with its tradition of civil peace and war hysteria".

Paul Faure of the Socialist Party of France, who was at one time known as the Karl Liebknecht of France, because of his uncompromising radicalism and for his bitter opposition to the Second International, recently took a very similar position.

The stand he takes is characteristic of the attitude of the entire 2½. Sentimentally—because they are pacifists and because they still cling to the revolutionary meaningless phrases of the past—they are out of sympathy with the Second International.

But the spirit that dominates their movement and that drives them to join hands with the parties of the Second, in spite of their betrayal of the working class, is their hatred of the Third, is their horror of a proletarian dictatorship, is their fear of a proletarian revolution.

Sept. 12, the Executive Committee of the 2½ International will meet in Frankfort on the Main. Morris Hillquit and Algernon Lee have already left America to represent the Socialist Party of the U. S. there. The outcome of this conference is a foregone conclusion.

It will declare itself in harmony with a unity plan adopted by the Social Democracy of Germany and endorsed by the Independents. It will make open overtures to the Second International, overtures that will be promptly accepted.

The 2½ International, doomed from birth to inanition, will die an infamous death, and not even the Socialist Party of America will shed a tear on its grave. And that is as it should be.

The working class of the world needs clearness—above all else. It must take its stand, either with political reformism and the Second International on the one hand, or with the revolutionary working class, with the Third International, on the other.

The Socialist Party of America has chosen its place. It stands where it belongs—in the Second International, with the counter-revolution.

"The decks are cleared for action!"

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

called to order at the Labor Lyceum by the temporary chairman, J. W. Johnstone, one of the active leaders in the recent packing house strike.

On behalf of the local T. U. E. L. group, which has been serving as provisional national organization committee, he welcomed the delegates. Many were kept away by the railroad strike.

The delegation present, he declared, was representative of the more progressive element of the labor movement, those who understood the causes of the present reactionary policies of the American labor unions, and who were determined to effect a change.

The report of the Credentials Committee subsequently showed a very creditable number of delegates present, and that these came from all parts of the continent, from New York to California and from Canada to Texas.

Liberals Offer Aid

Foster was called upon to report upon the immediate situation confronting the convention. He told of his experiences while being kidnaped by the authorities in Colorado of the midnight raid on his office last Sunday, when a dozen policemen, accompanied by an ever-ready battery of press photographers, spectacularly broke down the door and seized the League records and other property.

This was an attempt to connect the League with the Gary train wreck, but even the capitalist press had to admit that no connection whatever could be shown.

The authorities came along on Wednesday with an army looking for him, this time on the charge that he had attended a meeting somewhere in Michigan.

The entire episode was an attempt to discredit the activity and functions of the Trade Union Educational League, he declared, and it was up to all its members to support this fight.

Already the gage of battle was being taken up by the liberal and radical forces the American Civil Liberties Bureau planning to fight the Colorado case to the limit. A letter just received from the same body and signed by Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas, Robert Morse Lovett and Scott Nearing, pledged similar assistance on the other charges. The letter which evoked tremendous enthusiasm, appears in another column of this issue.

Foster put these facts before the convention so that the delegates would know just exactly what they were up against and that they might take any action they saw fit.

A resolution committee was appointed to draft a statement from the convention on this question, and in the afternoon session the following was passed unanimously.

Resolution of Convention

"The First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League finds itself meeting in an atmosphere of terrorism created by the lawless, brutal and unjustified raids, seizures, arrests, carried out by the police of Illinois apparently in a conspiracy with the officials of other states and with Wm. J. Burns, all of which can only have one purpose, namely to prevent the orderly and fruitful deliberations of the conference.

"We protest with all our power against this naked exhibition of lawless dictatorship of the capitalist lackeys openly used to suppress the class conscious workers, and call these facts to the attention of the trade unionists of America.

"We know that protests to the governing powers are useless, and that only a wide-awake militant trade union movement, which knows its own power and is prepared to use it, can abolish such terrorism and oppression of the workers.

"The First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League declares that it will not allow itself to be turned from its purpose by any such attacks.

"The trade union movement of America is practically leaderless except for the senile and reactionary bureaucracy typified by Samuel Gompers, which is leading the movement backwards.

"The workers of America are awaiting the program of this gathering and this program will be carried to the rank and file by the Trade Union Educational League notwithstanding all attempts at suppression."

Greetings From Britain

Congratulatory messages were received from labor bodies in all parts of the country, many of them unable to send delegates. A message from the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers of Great Britain and Scotland read as follows:

"Best wishes for the success of your national conference. Your movement is in line with the most keen expression of working-class educational life here. Please convey my fraternal greetings to the conference. Fraternally, George Hicks."

And from R. Palm Dutt, Editor of the "Labour Monthly", London, came the word, "Your work is a model to us in this country."

The Canadian delegates gave reports of the progress of the T. U. E. L. in their respective centers. An interesting question of organization detail came up during the afternoon session over whether Canada should be considered an autonomous organization district or whether the various parts of the Dominion should be connected with contiguous districts in the States.

The Canadian delegation itself was divided on this question, and the decision finally went in favor of the former plan.

Report on League Activities

An extended report on the activities of the League from its inception in October, 1920, to the present time was then given by the Secretary. Beginning with finances, he reported that the total receipts for this period were $13,453.37, with expenses of $12,430.41.

The principal part of this income was brought in by the official organ, which had thus far managed to pay the entire operating expenses of the organization.

It was impossible to continue such arrangements much longer, so he asked that a sustaining fund be provided to pay for organization expenses and thus relieve the paper of this burden. The convention concurred in this request.

A plan under which the local League would be bound together in district organizations, and these in turn would make up the national body was also concurred in.

He then branched into an explanation of the evolution and development of the radicals' tactics in the labor movement. Up to 1890 there was practically no tendency toward dual unionism to be discerned.

About that time the radicals began to develop the idea of separating themselves from the mass organization and forming outside unions that were supposed to express the rebel idea better than the old organizations.

The first example of this kind was the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the organization of which resulted in a clash between the contending viewpoints on trade union tactics that eventually helped cause the formation of the Socialist Party. The organization of the A. R. U., the I. W. W., W. I. I. U., the O. B. U., and many others was due to the same.

With but few exceptions the entire radical movement of the United States fell into the same error. The radicals isolated themselves from the mass organizations and banded together in little sects of great "purity" but no power or influence, while the trades unions were neglected and allowed to vegetate and deteriorate for lack of development.

During the course of all these experiments in dualism the idea that this conference represents was gradually finding a certain amount of expression in this country. The first attempt at organizing along this line was seen in 1911 in the formation of "The Syndicalist League of North America", which was strongly under the inspiration of French theory and practice.

This organization brought to the I. W. W. convention in 1911 the appeal that it abandon its existence as a dualist trade organization and adopt the function of a propaganda organization within existing mass bodies. At that time the I. W. W. was weak in membership and finance and this plan was very favorably received both by locals and delegates. The convention, however, took no action. Immediately after, however, the great strikes at Lawrence, Paterson, Little Falls, Akron and other centers gave the theory of dualism such impetus that most of the radical elements flocked back to it.

So the Syndicalist League went its own way, organized fifty locals, conducted a nation-wide tour for Tom Mann, achieved some local successes, but was short-lived. In 1916 an attempt to organize an "Internatioanl Trade Union League", did not get far on account of war conditions. In November, 1920, another start was made and the present gathering was the result.

Vote of Thanks to Gompers

This success, in the face of previous failures, must be credited to an almost miraculous intellectual revolution, almost over night, on the part of the radicals in this country. Whereas a year ago probably 95 per cent were in favor of dualism, today it is the other way around. The reason for this change must be sought in what happened in Europe.

We have been able to learn from the experiences there. The Russian revolution particularly had absolutely changed the point of view of all intelligent radicals about the labor movement.

We have hitherto been too much imbued with the "democratic" idea that everybody must do everything if anything is to be done. We now realize that upon the shoulders of a small percentage falls the work of mapping out a program, of stirring the inert masses to action, of serving as the springs of progress in the labor movement.

The League is definitely on the map, thanks not only to the work of its friends, but also to the attack of its enemies. In this connection Foster suggested that Gompers be given a vote of thanks for his personal assistance in making the work easier.

Prevented Miners' Union Split

The League existed no longer in the world of theory—it is an effective organ of activity. In the mining industry we encountered one of the first problems. Had the Howatt case occurred two years sooner the United Mine Workers would have been split from end to end. As it was the League became active and strongly agitated against a split with the results that we were successful in holding several districts in line. Our voice was raised against the split where a voice really counted.

In the Machinists Union the League was behind Knudson's campaign for the presidency on the issue of amalgamation.

In the printing industry strong groups of the T. U. E. L. are likewise agitating on this issue.

In the garment industries the League has successfully headed off several incipient split movements, while on the railroads an overwhelming majority are even now in favor of amalgamating into one fighting body.

The work of the League was cut out for it and to that work it was applying itself. The leadership of the old unions is intellectually paralyzed. President Gompers died, intellectually, forty years ago. In response to the impetus of the League program the workers would soon put an end to a labor organization scheme where, as in the case of the railroad strike, there are nine men working and seven on strike.

Remember Political Prisoners

Great enthusiasm was shown at the close of Foster's report, and the Canadian delegates reported on conditions in their respective localities. Tom Tippett spoke on behalf of the Federated Press. Reports of the Finance and Organization Committees were adopted substantially as made.

Resolutions were adopted on behalf of political prisoners, especially Sacco and Vanzetti, and Tom Mooney, in support of the relief work for Russia; endorsement of the Russian-American Corporation, and in favor of affiliation with the Red Trade Union International.

A resolution on independent political action showed that the official American Federation of Labor position is really for capitalist political action, while this conference stands for working-class political action.

The resolution on unemployment explained its economic causes, analyzes the world situation, calls upon industry to bear the responsibility for unemployed members, demands that employers' books be opened for inspection, urges grants out of military budgets, and calls for complete workers' control of industry as the final solution.

See Great Future for League

It is expected that the League will be well organized in every industry and industrial center thruout the United States and Canada within the next few months.

All delegates present pledged themselves to help answer the attack of the authorities with the creation of the most militant labor movement ever seen in this country.

Last Week 1023

[illegible] THE WORKER [illegible] WORKER sub cards.

This record can be made every week for many weeks if each reader will but do his part.

Ask the worker next to you to subscribe. Be one of the builders. Get one or more of the next one thousand readers.

This week's record will be announced in our next issue. Watch for it!

Exonerates Strikers

OKLAHOMA CITY.—Other forces and not the railroad strikers were responsible for the burning of the Rock Island bridge three miles south of El Reno, Aug. 17, declared Alva McDonald, United States marshal.

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

in orderly ranks. They carry banners and inscriptions, which flutter merrily in the breeze.

The young workers are on the march!

The bourgeoisie draws back angrily from their windows.

What Do They Mean?

"Young idiots"! What do they mean by marching round here and making such a confounded noise. They ought to be at school!" And, raging, they sit down to their roast chicken and forced vegetables, upset for the remainder of the day.

"They ought to be at school". Yes, they ought to be at school! To learn how they might help mankind. To learn to build machines, how to manage factory and workshop, how oceans are crossed, how nitrogen is taken from the air, how to drive a steam plough, a shaft and learn the courses of the stars. They ought to learn how mankind has studied and conquered Nature, how to make life full and happy, there are all these things to learn what more can any young workers desire?

"They ought to be at school"! What a mockery! Who forces working class parents to set their underfed, underdeveloped children to work at the age of 12 and 13? Who is it forces them into the sweating factory, the muddy fields, the dark mines and the rush and roar of the railways? See them here, marching thru the street. Row upon row of young workers, bearing the marks of toil in factory and workshop, bowed with slavery at the machines. Young wage-slaves, child victims of the murderous economy of Capitalism.

Slogans Puzzle Parents

Their parents watch them as they march. They watch them proudly, admire their discipline and their steady bearing. But as they see their banners, as they hear their slogans, they are puzzled.

Down with the Exploitation of the Young Workers!

Young Workers Unite

Equal Rights in the Trade Unions!

A 6 Hour Day for Young Workers

A Four Week Paid Holiday

So read the banners and inscriptions they carry. They tell of the misery and the suffering of the young workers. But they tell not only of the suffering in the capitalist factory hells.

Down with Militarism!

No More War!

And others tell how these young workers are to fight!

Long Live the Proletarian United Front!

A United Front of Workers, Young and Old!

Prepare for the World Congress of Young Workers

The thoughts of the parents go back to the time when they too were young workers. It was when the workers movement was still young, when the first workers demonstrations marched thru the streets, when the first slogans of the militant working class were heard, when for the first time the workers showed their power. "Down with exploitation," "An eight hour Day," "Inside the Unions," these were the first war cries of the awakening working class movement, which today embraces millions of workers and to-morrow will rule the world.

And just as the first workers demonstration had appeared to them, so now this demonstration of young workers appeared to their fellows who were looking on. The same thoughts came to them. Who could have imagined how great was the number of young workers, who day after day must toil at the machines?

Young Workers on the March

The young workers are on the march.

They show that they have taken their stand and are ready to fight. And the old people who watch, ask them who they are, what they want, and why they are marching in the streets. And the youngsters who are standing by, tell them:

"They are the Proletarian Youth Organizations. Today is the International Day of Youth and in every town, in every country in the world, young workers are marching thru the streets.

In every country in the world, the same slogan rings thru the streets."

"The International Day of Youth."

"Yes, old Comrade, we march thru the streets. You say, you didn't know! That you didn't know of the hundreds of thousands of young workers who are fighting in the international labor movement?"

"There are but few of you who know that young workers are fighting with you, that they are ready to take their stand with you, wherever the fight is hottest.

Stand in One Solid Front

"Today we stand with hundreds of thousands of workers in one solid front. With hundreds of thousands of workers, we are fighting against the bourgeoisie. With millions we shall conquer, and the millions of the working class shall rule the earth.

Do you see the mighty crowd, how they stream along the street. It was not always so. The time was when we were the advance guard of the young proletariat. But today the masses of young workers know that this day, the International Day of Youth, the third of September, is their day.

Curious heads peep from the windows. Crowds assemble at every point on the route.

Clear Goal in Sight

They know, every one that these are the revolutionary youth,—the adult workers, young workers and the raging bourgeoisie. They know that they are solidly organized, that they have a clear goal in sight and that they are ready to fight to gain it.

The bourgeoisie wants servile wage-slaves, many workers and their labor organizations want to keep the young workers away from the working class struggle. Many young workers themselves have not realized that their fate is bound up with that of the entire working class, and that they must march and fight with their fellow workers, and have not joined the ranks of the organized young workers.

But from year to year, the numbers grow. From year to year grows their class consciousness and their determination to free themselves from the exploitation and misery of capitalism.

[illegible] the way [illegible]

Morris Hillquit, [illegible] of the "Socialist" Party, is sailing for Europe [illegible] the 2½ International at Vienna, where pink and yellow are the prevailing colors. Moscow red is [illegible].

If the hot air growing out of the strike discussions in Congress could be piped over the nation, there would be no danger of anyone freezing during the coming winter. We pass the suggestion on to President Harding.

The Illinois Chamber of Commerce has raised $25,000 to help "investigate" the Herrin "massacre" so-called. They say that "Money talks!" Big business is determined to make this latest "investigation" talk at least $25,000 worth on the side of the labor crushing mine owners.

W. S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in his Labor Day Message, asks the workers to, "Lift up your eyes toward our common goal." The only common goal of the railroad brotherhoods nowadays seems to be to scab on the striking railroad shopmen. Some goal!

Many children in England do not go to school because they haven't clothes to wear. The parents of one child sought by the truancy officer wanted to know how they were going to pay for clothes when they had had work only ten days out of a year and nine months. Up to press time we had not heard the answer.

Sammy Gompers' "International Labor News Service" is making 100 per cent use of the attack on the Friends of Soviet Russia by Abraham Cahan, editor of The Jewish Daily Forward. More team work among the yellow reactionaries in the labor movement. Let the workers remember.

A. Bruce Bielaski, formerly chief of the U. S. Bureau of Investigation, who kidnapped himself in Mexico and then "escaped," reports that he saw "the red flag of Bolshevism" in the republic on our northern border. Perhaps the terrible fear that the sight of the red flag inspired in him helped Bielaski make good in his flight.

A million children, between the ages of 10 and 15, are, according to the census returns for 1920, engaged in gainful occupation—a million out of a possible 12,000,000. Truly the capitalist social order, under which we now live, will be known for all time as that period in the world's history when humanity lived upon its young.

White labor in Australia has shown its solidarity with the brown labor of India by protesting against British imperialism's "policy of bloody repression in India," and demanding home rule for India, where "the workers are probably worse off than in any civilized land in the world." That's good news—for labor; bad news—for John Bull.

Even labor in Denver and Colorado remain true to the reaction that prevails in that city and state. It has refused to endorse the resolutions, receiving unanimous support almost everywhere, demanding a general strike in support of the coal miners and railroad shopmen. Does Colorado labor fear to challenge its oppressors, even to the extent of passing a set of resolutions? It looks like it.

Like other politicians, Morris Hillquit, before sailing for Europe, had to announce his political preferences. He said that from among "Ex-Gov. Smith, William Randolph Hearst, or Mayor Hylan—I would say at once that Mr. Smith was by far the most able man." That ought to titillate the reactionaries in the New York State Federation of Labor who are yelling for "Al Smith for Governor" on the Democratic ticket. Of course, Hillquit will vote for the "Socialist" candidate, Cassidy, but he seems to have his reservations.

Thinking labor in this, as in other countries, selects International Labor Day, May 1st, as its holiday. The legalized Labor Day, on the first Monday after the first Sunday in September, is left to reactionary labor. It is, therefore, appropriate that the Santa Clara, Calif., Building Trades Council and the Santa Clara, Calif., Labor Council should invite Governor Stephens, the man who is keeping Mooney, Billings and other workers in prison, as the principal speaker for their Labor Day celebration. But it is to the shame of labor in this California city.

THE DAY OF YOUTH

Our banner waves proudly.
Do you not see it, Brother?
Our call rings out loudly
Do you not hear it, Brother?

For this is our Day,
the day of the youth
Who toil in the mill,
in the mine, at the bench
We toil in the darkness,
in filth and in stench
The greed of our masters,
nothing can quench.

Our frail young shoulders,
wearily bear
The burden of want,
of toil and of care
But heed ye, O Masters!
heed ye, Beware!
For this is our Day,
the Day of the Youth.

Our banner waves proudly.
Do you not see it, Brother?
Our call rings out loudly
Do you not hear it, Brother?

Relief For Strikers

ST. PAUL.—Striking railroad workers will receive about $2,500 from St. Paul unions, officials announced. Milk wagon drivers have appropriated $500 from their treasury and have levied an assessment of $2 on each member, which, it is estimated, will bring in about $1,000 more. The other $1,000 is being given by Contract Machinists No. 459, which has ordered an assessment of one day's pay on each member. A large part of this money will be available immediately as an advance on the collection of the assessment from the union treasury.

[illegible] Central Opera House Friday Night, Sept. 1

Mass meetings of gigantic protest are being arranged thruout the entire nation to arouse the workers to the danger of the latest attacks directed against the more radical of the organized workers of this country.

The demonstration in New York will be held this Friday night, Sept. 1st, at the Central Opera House, 67th St. and Third Ave.

The truth will be told about the conspiracy to crush labor, resulting in the arrest of William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League; C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party; William F. Dunne, labor editor of "The Worker", and many other militant workers.

The list of speakers at this writing includes Roger Baldwin, of the Civil Liberties Union; Nor Thomas, of The Nation; J. L Engdahl, editor of The W Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of Workers' Defense Union; and Biedenkapp.

The mass meeting is under the direction of the National Defense Committee that is already exerting every possible effort to secure bail immediately for those imprisoned and to provide for their legal defense in the Michigan courts.

The fight against this latest outburst of the American White Terror should be met with determined resistance by every forward-looking working man and woman in this country. Let labor in New York City take its stand in the vanguard of this struggle. Turn out to the mass meeting Friday night in overwhelming numbers!

Probe Shows that Bad Engines Caused Wrecks

(Continued from page One)

Michigan Central wreck at Gary, Ind.

"Reports are based upon an investigation made by company detectives and armed guards. An investigation of this kind should have been given over to an impartial body of mechanical experts.

"This wreck does not differ a particle from wrecks reported to us each day from various parts of the country. Such wrecks result directly from the deterioration of equipment which goes on at an increasing rate every day that the strike lasts. It is only when the wreck is serious enough to get into the papers that the real cause is covered over. As a matter of fact it is reported that this very train had experienced engine trouble after it left Detroit.

Many Reports of Wrecks

"Here are a few of the reports that have come to us over the week-end: Chicago, Burlington and Quincy engine No. 5060 jumped the track just west of Brookfield, Mo., on Aug. 15. The wreck was caused by a sharp flange. Missouri, Kansas and Texas engine 854 went on the ground at Waginer, Kan. Missouri Pacific train No. 62 was wrecked at Cole Junction, Mo., as a result of a wheel being loose on a boxcar. The Chesapeake and Ohio reports a derailment at Ashford on the Big Coal River.

"Most of the wrecks reported are due to sharp flanges or defective brakes. Sharp or broken flanges cause an engine or car to ride the rails. It is customary, when qualified inspectors are employed, for them to report such defects. The tires of the engine are then trued up, or the car wheels replaced before the rolling stock is allowed to proceed.

The Locomotive Was Unfit

"The Michigan Central has hastily patched up an explanation to place the blame for the loss of life upon the striking shopmen instead of on the railroad where it belongs.

"This was more easy because the engine crew were killed and so could not give testimony to the defective condition of the locomotive which they were called upon to drive 60 miles an hour.

"No two reports as to the number of spikes "maliciously" withdrawn agree. As a matter of fact it is argued that a long section of track was torn up after the engine left the rails. This is the natural case. Drawn spikes and torn up rails are regularly caused when a heavy engine rides the rails. Altogether to a railroad man, as contrasted with private detectives, the real cause was clearly an unfit locomotive."

Denounce Forward Attack

The Brownsville (Brooklyn, N.Y.) Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia after reading the financial statement of the Friends of Soviet Russia in its organ, "Soviet Russia", denounces the attacks on the Friends of Soviet Russia by the Jewish Daily "Forward" as false and malicious.

The Brownsville Branch renews its support of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 2.30 P. M., WEBSTER HALL, 125 EAST 11th STREET

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The revision of the German indemnity and the question of international indebtedness are two big problems confronting the Paris Allies. This will necessitate a revision of the economic sections of the Versailles Peace. These questions are here reviewed by Karl Radek, one of the best informed Russian Communists on political conditions in Central Europe. He writes:

• • •

By KARL RADEK

The Allies will shortly again be confronted with the question of the revision of the economic sections of the Versailles treaty.

During the peace negotiations, responsible French statesmen in the course of their demands, mentioned sums so tremendous that they actually exceeded the French national treasury deposits.

It appeared as tho they had promised themselves to enrich France out of the proceeds of the German reparation payments.

Demand Impossible Amount

When the Allies finally sent Germany an ultimatum, in the Spring of 1921, the amount of the demands had reached 132 billions of gold marks.

Naturally, this was an impossible amount. It represented one-half of the national assets of Germany, and even if divided into thirty annual payments, could not possibly be procured.

Next came the proposal that Germany should pay two billion gold marks annually, as well as 26 per cent of the value of her total exports.

At that time, May 5, 1921, the dollar equalled 60 marks, thus, the required two billion gold marks equalled about 28 billion paper marks. Germany made the first payments, and German currency began rapidly to fall.

In March of the present year, the Allies reduced the money payment for the year 1922 from two billion gold marks to 720 millions.

But even this amount, reduced by more than half, was worth 51 billion paper marks. At the same time, the hope that foreign credit would be extended was shattered, as the American bankers were not willing to grant any loan unless the economic provisions of the Versailles Treaty were altered.

Mark Plunges Some More

This led to a new downward plunge of the mark: the dollar climbed up to the 349 mark, and, after Rathenau's murder it rose to 540. (Since the writing of this article, the dollar has risen to over 1900 marks.—Ed.)

In June, the 720 million gold marks amounted to 80 billion paper marks instead of 51 billions as in March. Thus we obtain the following pretty results:

When in the early part of the year Germany was subjected to a tribute against which the whole country rebelled, it amounted to 28 billion paper marks. And then, when, a year later, the Allies charitably reduced the sum by more than one-half, the amount of this "diminished" tribute rose to 80 billions.

Germans paid again on the 15th of July. She is not in a condition to pay more.

Under Allied Control

Germany desired a moratorium for three years. Before consenting to grant this respite, the Allies demanded that Germany abandon to them the control of her national finances. Germany assented.

The Allies will have two financial commissioners in Berlin, one will control the income, and the other the expenses of Germany.

And at the same time as the budget is presented to the Reichstag, it must also be submitted to the Entente's financial commissioners, not, of course, to provide them with entertaining reading, but so that they may order alterations.

All the financial supplementary bills of the government, all financial laws, must pass the censorship of the Entente's agents. All statistical data must be given to them.

They have the right of control over the expenses of the governing authorities, and the right to investigate as to whether these expenditures have actually been incurred.

The German governmental press explains proudly that the state of Germany, in spite of all, cannot be compared with that of Turkey, as Turkey was compelled to place a certain portion of her national income at the dispositon of foreign capital. Quite right! Between the position of Turkey and that of Germany there is an important difference.

The highly civilized German people must submit to control over their entire public finances. The German situation is ten times worse than the Turkish.

Worse Than Demand on Turkey

The German government has entered into a compromise which signifies the renunciation of Germany's financial independence, in the hope that they would not only gain a breathing spell in the form of a respite of money payments, but that their submissiveness will aid them to secure international loans which will [illegible]

[illegible]

France [illegible] The French [illegible] has developed such an enormous deficit that not even the carrying out of the German payments would cancel it.

At the outbreak of the war, France was 29.8 billion francs in debt.

Her war expenses amounted to 165 billion francs, of which 27 billions were covered by receipts.

Therefore, France emerged from the war with debts amounting to 170 billions. During the three post-war years, her debt mounted to 330 billion francs. On October 1st, of this year, the French debt to England becomes due, and France should then start to pay her English debt of 584 billion pounds sterling.

Her debt to America amounts to $2,950,000,000, and her debts to Japan are 133,000,000 yen. England demands from France, either that she pay her debt, or that she consent to revise her demands upon Germany and renounce an important part of them.

The French imperialistic press bitterly defends the French position: "We made the greatest sacrifices; yet they demand from us the payment of our debts, and ask that conquered Germany be granted a moratorium into the bargain."

And, altho, according to the Versailles Treaty, France is to receive 52 per cent of the German cash payments, they only have one vote of the four on the Reparations Commission.

The British imperialistic press answers this moan very cold-bloodedly: "Gentlemen, if you have gone bankrupt, be kind enough to state it openly; otherwise, you will be obliged to pay your debts, whether you receive any cash payments from Germany or not."

Poincare Confesses Bankruptcy

The English plan is quite simple. England informs America that she is quite ready to pay her debts to America which, with unpaid interest amount to $4,500,000,000 and only seeks to have them replaced by a consolidated debt. In her policy towards France, England wishes to proceed hand in hand with America.

If France declares herself willing not only to grant a respite to Germany, but also to strike out a part of the German indebtedness, then England will waive her claims for French payments.

And then the American bankers will grant Germany a loan which will serve partly to cover certain German economic needs, and partly to lighten the French financial situation. Mr. Poincare, who reproached Briand for his "softness" and complaisance, had to acknowledge openly the national bankruptcy in his Senate speech on July 29.

"By force of arms", said he, "we can occupy a portion of German territory, and that has great educational importance. We could also get a small amount of goods and paper marks thru this means. All this however, would not suffice to fill up the breach in our budget."

In spite of the inquiries of Senator Jouvenal, Poincare would not say what course he would advise. Poincare's plans, however, may be easily deducted from the official French press.

Seek to Force Germany

Above all, he desires that the Reparations Commission establish that the insolvency of Germany is her own fault, as the German capitalists have no faith in their own finances and have sunk enormous amounts in foreign currency in order to evade payment of taxes. Poincare wishes his decision to be reached, because it will permit him to take forcible measures against Germany, at every favorable opportunity, on the ground of the Versailles Treaty.

Secondly, it will purchase England's renunciation of the French debt at the price of a moratorium only, without a postponement of the German payments.

The British press states that England will by no means renounce the French debt at this price, as England is interested in the economic restoration of Germany, not only as an outlet-market for British goods, but also as a co-worker in Russian reconstruction.

In this way, the revision of the economic clauses of the Versailles Treaty is maturing. It is questionable whether it suits the Allies to permit Germany a breathing spell before it breaks down completely.

Caused Hague Breakdown

In any case, this question will in the near future stand in the foreground of all the problems vexing the Allies, including also the Russian question.

This was one of the causes of the breakdown of the Hague conference. The revision of the Versailles Treaty is of very great importance to Soviet Russia. But of that we shall speak another time.

Municipal elections in Czecho-Slovakia have been postponed though now due. The results in two recent by-elections were: in Deutschbrod out of 4,362 votes recorded the Communists received 1,184; in Goding, out of 6,129, the Communists received 2,371. In each case the Communist vote being more than double that of the next party.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Last week we began the publication of the statement of [illegible] Collins, auditor, for the Friends of Soviet Russia in reply to the [illegible] charges of Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward. Since then the reactionary forces in the United Hebrew Trades, New York City, have succeeded in lining up that organization back of the Forward's [illegible] attack. Detailed proof of how the Forward deliberately misstates a condition, after having been given ample opportunity to get the proof, is shown in the second installment of the auditor's statement as follows:

• • •

What Are Cahan's Wages?

QUOTATION: "We accuse them that other sums of this hard-earned money are spent on wages and trips and meeting expenses for communists, who work for their Communist Party here in America and who utilize these trips and organizations only as an excuse to advance their communist, union-smashing organizations."

ANSWER: There is no evidence that any money is paid to speakers or organizers as wages and expenses except for raising funds for the organization. Wages are from $25 to $40 per week, according to the number of employee's dependents. Expenses consist of transportation, telegrams, postage, etc., and $2 to $3 per diem allowed for extra cost of food and lodging while on the road. Speakers who do not succeed in raising money are dismissed.

The total amount of wages paid to May 31, 1922, is $27,758.09, of which $8,159.70 was paid to speakers and organizers. The period is nearly 10 months.

What does this mean? Twenty-three employees, 16 in the office and 7 traveling for forty weeks at $30 per week would amount to $27,600. That is not a large staff to raise and disburse $670,000 in less than a year.

The facts are, of course, that the number of employees varies according to the amount of office work to be done and the response with which the speakers' appeals are met.

An expenditure for wages equal to about 4 per cent of the income received is very small indeed. The "Jewish Daily Forward" does not mention, nor do I know of, any other organization which makes a national appeal for funds from small contributors which operates upon a smaller percentage of its income for administrative and publicity payroll. Until an unfavorable comparison can be made it is idle to say that $28,000 is a lot of money, because so is $670,000. The Editor's charge that those who receive wages paid do not render full time services to the organization is not justified by any facts brought to my notice or which I have discovered. Furthermore, it is contradicted by a common sense view of the facts.

Does Cahan Fear Truth?

QUOTATION: "We accused them in our first attack that of the hard-earned money, which they are collecting for the hungry, they contribute $1000 monthly to the support of their communist Journal, "Soviet Russia" here in America. This figure should now be increased. They now contribute to this communist organ not $1000, but $1200 per month! and all this from the hunger-money collected for Russia."

ANSWER: The magazine, "Soviet Russia" a semi-monthly, is openly published as the official organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The organization is entitled to have an official organ.

"Soviet Russia" publishes official news of the organization, lists of contributors, certified financial statements, famine news, other Russian news, editorial pronouncements of the organization and appeals for funds. "Soviet Russia" therefore fills the function of official organ.

For the same amount of money the organization could not have launched a new paper to serve its purposes as well as "Soviet Russia".

No one makes any profit out of the official organ. Its accounts are audited by professional public accountants and submitted to me for my information.

The published financial statements of the Friends of Soviet Russia clearly states that the organization subsidizes this magazine.

Contributors know the facts and know the magazine. Many contributors subscribe to the Official Organ, directly or through the organization. Many readers of the magazine send contributions to the organization through the paper.

The expenditure of the subsidy appears to me to be justified and economical.

QUOTATION: "They state in the recent report that fifty and some thousands of dollars are in the "Process of transmission" (that is that they are being sent) to Berlin. In the first report, they state that $411,000 has been transmitted to the Federated Committee for the purchase of goods. Mr. Hartmann stated to a Forward reporter, a day previously, that they ceased sending money to Berlin, that they have used all of the $411,000 for the purchase of goods in this country. Mr. Hartmann's answer disagrees with the recent report."

ANSWER: The following calendar relates the above charges of inconsistency:

1)	To April 30—Sent to Berlin	$14,800
2)	To April 30—Sent to American Federated Russian Relief Committee	411,90[illegible]
3)	In May—Sent to Berlin	40,00[illegible]
4)	In May—Sent to American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee	2,84[illegible]
5)	July 1st—Publication date of April report including (1) and (2).	
6)	Late in July—Dr. Hartmann stated that no more money was being sent to Berlin.	
7)	Late in July—Dr. Hartmann stated that item (2) had been spent in America.	
8)	August 1st—Publication date of May report including: (1) and (3) to Berlin (2) and (4) to American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee	 $54,800 $413,784
9)	August 1st—After reading both reports and hearing Dr. Hartmann's statements (6) and (7) the "Jewish Daily Forward" says in effect: "It is impossible in May to send money to Berlin; in July to decide to send no more; on August 1st to report that money was sent in May; while other money was being spent in America."	

My investigation shows that all these things were done. The published statements correctly reported the transactions, all of which were simple and straightforward.

Furthermore, the economical manner in which the money paid to the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee was expended in America for Russian relief purposes is shown in the financial statements of that committee for the period ended May 31, 1922, published in the official organ, "Soviet Russia", from which the figures are quoted.

Therefore, not only is the definite charge of inconsistency [illegible]cally absurd, but the whole paragraph is written in a manner to suggest that money which in fact was properly expended and accounted for has been loosely handled. This deliberate insinuation is groundless.

(To be continued next week.)

[illegible] so sure of their position, that they will admit of no difference of opinion. This article is as follows:

• • •

By P. STUTSCHKA

We often find, even in Communist papers, protests against class justice in general, and not against bourgeois or feudal class justice.

And we often speak of Right in general instead of speaking of Class Right.

"Advance, you who honor Right and Truth," we hear enthusiastically sung without properly considering what this Right actually means.

It required a political trial to bring all these questions to the fore. I refer to the trial of the Social Revolutionaries.

A tribunal whose president openly declared that it exercised class justice, proletarian class justice!

A tribunal before which deputations of revolutionary workers appeared and pronounced their opinion, not upon the defendants as persons but upon the political party seated in the dock, upon the party calling itself Socialist!

An undisguised class justice whose class character was further intensified by the direct pressure of the proletarian masses.

One group of defenders after the other forsook their posts; first the "Socialists" (Vandervelde and Co.), then the onetime Socialists, Muravyev and his like.

From the lawyers nothing else was to be expected. Legal ideology is bourgeois ideology par excellence. This has been clearly demonstrated by no one else than Frederick Engels (in 1887 in the Neue Zeit in a joint article with Karl Kautsky): "When the Christian Weltanschauung was obliged to depart, the legal or bourgeois Weltanschauung stepped into its place".

And this Weltanschauung dominates not only the lawyers, Socialists and even Communists not excepted, it prevails also in the heads of laymen and even of broad proletarian masses.

What Is Right?

What is Right? Consult the maze of legal writings, search the dictionaries, etc., and you will find the short and concise answer, that there is as yet no general conception of Right, that the legal authorities seek for it in vain.

And I tell you that there cannot be such a conception as long as jurisprudence prates of eternal right and eternal justice, instead of accepting the class standpoint and recognizing the Class Right, "a system, an order of social relations which correspond to the interests of the ruling class and will therefore be maintained by the organized power of the class, the state."

Can bourgeois society openly acknowledge this class right? No it cannot do it, for it would be a recognition, a legalization of the proletarian revolution. The working-class and its ideologists must openly proclaim this, for that is their vital interest.

From this, and from this standpoint only, can we comprehend how it comes that the bourgeois lawyers glorify the murder of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and other Comrades, or are able to treat even the murderers of Ministers, as for instance of Erzberger or Rathenau, with great indulgence, and on the other hand speak of judicial murder when the Soviet government brings to trial the political assassins who kill proletarian leaders and proletarian state functionaries.

Right and Law Are Partial

And we will then be able to appreciate the same views within the ranks of the social-treacherous defenders or perverters of Right.

In one of his early writings, Karl Marx proves that it would be a logical absurdity to speak of impartial judges, because right and law are themselves partial.

To the opposing class all class justice will appear unjust; there is no common understanding. And it is mere hypocrisy to estimate the justice of a sentence according to the outward formalities of the trial. But the whole of bourgeois justice swears by these formalities. These formalities are even in the best instances technical regulations for getting at the evidence and clearing up the question of guilt.

It is not these formalities which will determine whether a sentence is just or unjust, but the true facts and the class conception of Right. And particularly, in the case of the trial of the Russian Social Revolutionaries it is not a question of such formalities. It is an unprecedented historical trial, in which it is not a question of persons but of classes and class groups.

Revolutionary proletarian class justice is not to be comprehended from the bourgeois conception of Right. But that does not by any means imply that this justice is quite undefined, that no law exists for it, but only personal arbitrariness.

No, like every right, proletarian right also finds expression in law, in revolutionary decrees.

But that does not mean a sudden revolution of the consciousness of right in the people. This revolution is a protracted and difficult process. The retreat to the new economic policy which is naturally also a retreat on the legal field has hampered it very considerably.

Reject Appeal to Bourgeois Law

Proletarian class justice also means lawfulness, but only revolutionary lawfulness. It will hear nothing of formal objections on the part of juridical representatives who appeal to the law books of the overthrown bourgeois government and to the bourgeois legal authorities.

And if (what has occurred nowhere else) foreign lawyers as Vandervelde and Liebknecht conferred in French or maintained silence in German, it was not because of linguistic reasons that they failed to be understood, but because they used the language of another class, the bourgeoisie.

It was not class justice that was ~~the objection here~~, but the fact that so-called proletarian representatives defended anti-proletarian class-interests.

It is not a question of a simple legal trial, but of a class struggle before the eyes of the working class of the whole world.

And these labor leaders lend them eyes, not to clearing the minds of the workers but to befogging them with bourgeois legal trickery.

Apart from the great importance of this trial for the cause of the world revolution, it will play an important part in enlightening the working class on the question of class right and class justice.

Urge German Workers' Tribunal

"Up to now we had no Marxist revolutionary conception of right and justice, and jurists, and non-jurists repeated the same old wisdom of lawyer Socialists, which Engels censured as early as 1887.

"With us in Russia, the revolution introduced a certain change in this respect, but it would have been very desirable if this breach should have occurred outside of Russia before the revolution.

"The proletarian slogan is not 'against class right and class justice', but for proletarian right and proletarian justice!

"It would be more correct perhaps if the working class of Germany [illegible]

Going Well; Getting Better

Frank P. Walsh, who gained the enmity of big business as head of the Industrial Relations Commission, has spent three weeks in Soviet Russia and is now returning home via Berlin, the first leg of the journey being made by airplane.

In his statement to the press, Walsh thinks it most important to announce that Premier Nikolai Lenin plans to resume his official duties Sept. 4. This indicates that Lenin's convalescence, during which time he has kept closely in touch with developments in the Workers' Republic and thruout the world, is rapidly coming to an end.

It was almost on the same day, Sept. 6, 1918, four years ago that Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, and president of the Petrograd Soviet, was announcing to a great gathering of workers in the Soviet metropolis, that "Comrade Lenin will live (applause, ovation) to the terror of the enemies of Communism and to the joy of the proletarian Communists."

Zinoviev had just finished stating that he had received a telegram from Lenin himself. He said:

"This telegram was handed in to-day at 1:10 a. m. from the Kremlin. This is, apparently, the first telegram of Comrade Lenin since he began to recover. Comrade Lenin gives us certain official instructions and finishes the telegram with the following words: 'Affairs at the front are going well; I have no doubt that they will go still better.'" Applause.

It was just four years ago that Lenin was recovering from the poisoned bullet wound resulting from the shot fired into his body by a would-be assassin inspired by the terrorist social (counter) revolutionary party.

It was the theory of this party that if enough of the prominent spokesmen of the revolution could be murdered, Soviet Rule would be overthrown. This false theory did not make progress after the assassination of Volodarsky and Uritzky, Petrograd commissars. Lenin survived the would-be assassin's attack, four years ago, and the resultant physical breakdown from which he is only now recovering.

We may use the same words about Lenin and the Bolshevist Revolution, "Affairs are going well. They will go still better," which will be heartily applauded by all aspiring working men and women thruout the world.

On the occasion, then, of Lenin's return to his official duties, Sept. 4, we may well repeat the closing sentences from Zinoviev's speech four years ago when he said:

"On this day when there is such joy in our hearts on the occasion of the convalescence of Comrade Lenin, . . . on this day, if we wish to honor Comrade Lenin and to justify his hopes, we must say to ourselves, 'Let us be at least a little more like Comrade Lenin.'

"Yes, we are endeavoring to be at least a little like this ardent tribune of International Communism, like this greatest worker the Social Revolution has ever known."

[illegible] pass this letter on to the [illegible] the Catholicans and the [illegible] in this country [illegible] protest against the imperialists passing sentence of death and carrying it out by hanging the two young Irishmen who attacked England's butcher, Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson.

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An OPEN LETTER TO MESSRS. ARTHUR HENDERSON, J. RAMSAY MACDONALD AND TOM SHAW

We were deeply astonished to read that a presiding judge in your democratic country denied the accused the right of explaining in court the reasons which prompted them to kill Wilson—declaring that he could not permit the court to be utilised for anarchist propaganda or political manifestations.

We remind you of your efforts to secure guarantees from us for the defence of the liberty of the Socialist-Revolutionary leaders accused of the attempt on Lenin, of the murder of Volodarsky, and of organizing insurrection with foreign money.

We granted them these privileges; but your friends of the Second International tore up the Berlin agreement and closed the doors of the Labor Party to the British Communist workers.

The accused Socialist-Revolutionary terrorists have now for 30 days enjoyed complete liberty in their defence, explaining the reasons for their crimes in extensive speeches.

We know that the British Labor Party leaders were sufficiently brazen at the Labor Party Conference to condemn the terrorist acts of the Irish revolutionists who staked their lives on the struggle for their country's freedom; but we do not know what Privy-Councillor Henderson did to utilize his former influence on the Privy Council to obtain liberty of defence for these two Irishmen.

Altho we deem it inadmissible for a Labor leader to be a Privy Councillor, yet, since your Party has agreed to such an ignominious role, you should also utilize your intimate influence with the Imperial Government to protect the elementary principles of justice. We appeal to you (altho you are not revolutionaries) because you appealed to us to secure pardon for the S. R. Terrorists. We address our appeal to all parties of the Second and Vienna Internationals, demanding that they exert the maximum pressure upon the British Government to obtain a fair trial for the Irish revolutionaries, and to obtain permission for it necessary Communist representatives to plead on their behalf and in the name of millions of workers and peasants.

We guarantee that our representatives will not leave England before the end of the trial, regardless of any hostile manifestations on the part of the imperialists."

Karl Radek, Nikolai Bucharin.

S. T. A. S. R. QUARTERS

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, New York branch, has moved to its new quarters, situated at 231 E. 37th St., New York City.

The local will occupy a five story fire-proof building which is necessitated by the growth of the Society. Its activity has expanded to a large extent and the educational work scheduled for this year covers an extremely interesting curriculum of elementary and applied subjects. Registration of prospective students ~~is being conducted at the above~~ address daily between 6 and 8 P. M.

Note the change of address: 231 E. 37th St., New York City.

Railroaded To Prison

~~ST. CLAIRSVILLE~~, Ohio.—On the evidence of a boy who has been in the reform school and who is a self-confessed liar, twelve farmer jurors in a district where feeling against aliens is running high, have just returned a verdict which will send Dominic Venturato to prison for life for the killing of John I. Major, anti-union coal mine operator. Venturato is one of 13 defendants accused of conspiring to slay Major. He is president of the New Laferty local of the United Mine Workers.

NEW YORK.—Nickolai Mansevich, the Detroit wage-earner held here for deportation because government agents alleged they found radical literature in his home, has had his cash bond increased from $300 to $1000.

TOKIO.—The Laborers' school, started by Bunji Suzuki, president, Japan Federation of Labor, in Tokio 2 years ago, has graduated its first class. There are 47 men, from 15 to 58 years old, in the class, machinists, milkmen, policemen, miners, [illegible] and farmers.

[illegible] Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Chicago Labor Rebuffs Anarchist [illegible] to Enlist It in Yellow Socialist Campaign of Slander Against Russian Soviet Republic

The anarchists have joined hands with the Yellow Socialists in the labor unions in an effort to besmirch the Russian Soviet Republic in the eyes of the American workers.

Following up the attacks of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman on Soviet Rule in Russia, Delegate Leon Green, of the Retail Clerks Union, brought a resolution before the Chicago Federation of Labor seeking to condemn the Russian Soviet Government.

The Voice of Labor, Chicago, says that Delegate Green spoke of his visit to Russia and how he had talked with the peasants and workers and heard the story of their alleged oppression. He went on to describe what he said was happening in Russia.

The delegates, after listening to a reply made to Green, by Delegate Johnstone, unanimously rejected the resolution and accepted the report of the resolution committee which called for non-concurrence.

Delegate Green, in an effort to enlist support for his resolution, says the Voice of Labor, repeated the charges made by the Jewish Daily Forward against the Friends of Soviet Russia.

His statement was so obviously untrue that the delegates refused to take him seriously, but kept demanding, during the course of his speech, that the question be put. Green, realizing that he was in a hopeless minority, told how Jesus Christ once stood alone and "now look at the number of people supporting his ideas," said Green. The delegates who knew Green roared, much to the speaker's discomfiture.

THE WORKER takes this occasion to publish an unanswered letter to Alexander Berkman from a former anarchist. It is as follows:

An Unanswered Letter to Alexander Berkman from a Former Anarchist

Dear Berkman:

Before I leave Moscow for good I should like to see you. We can afford to be frank. You know what I want to discuss. You know that I believe that you are mistaken in your appraisal of the values of the Revolution. You know also that I know what your general view is, as I discussed it with you at a time when I held that same general view myself.

I wrote you from America that I believed that a close study of Lenin's views as to the necessity of an armed workers' dictatorship—a State—would convince you that he is right, and that the inevitable accompaniments of dictatorship—disagreeable as they are—would have to be endured and minimized by any true revolutionist. I told you that I believed that the only way a revolutionist can be an effective factor in the revolution is to participate in that dictatorship.

Only Way to Aid

That the only way a revolutionist can give his strength to the Revolution is as a member of the single gigantic revolutionary group: the Communist Party, Section of the Communist International.

I still believe that if you were to give a clear unbiased mind to this you would be convinced. Whether you will give a clear, unbiased mind to it, is another question. True, for Berkman to lose the flexibility of his mind would be a strange thing; but stranger things than that have happened. Kropotkin lost his. We have to learn to expect such things in the volcano of revolution. Some of the men and women who were best in the early days are found in the later days to be side-tracked in the empty name of a philosophy, while the revolution goes past them under another name. They cling to the old name and to the personalities of old association, and do not recognize the big, teeming world-wide body of the thing they loved and suffered for and which is at last born.

Minor Matters Obscure View

What I am afraid of is that you have gotten so intimately wound about with the personal associations and with concern for the tragic personal dangers of those whom you have loved as revolutionary figures, that your concern for these close-at-hand values will blind you to the great World Revolution that is marching on without you and as I believe, without them.

I know that you look with horror and disappointment upon my comparative unconcern with the fate of the men I knew in the past as revolutionists and who are now threatened with being crushed by the revolution's trend which they oppose.

What Opposition Lost

You will not look out and see that a hundred times as many as they, better men then they, die in a single day of the revolution, and you will not see that their opposition costs the revolution a hundred times as many lives as theirs. I know that they are sincere. So were the Left S.R.'s. So was Kerensky; so was Babushka (Breshkovskaya). For the fate of sincere people I too have regard, but I can only give them a glance or a minute while the revolution is going on, and when the revolution is threatened I cannot even give them that. I know ten times as many as they, who are as sincere as they and who are dying day by day in the revolution. The follies of those first mentioned are costing the lives of the better men—better in the sense that they serve the Revolution better. I am not moralizing: no man is "better" than another in the abstract. One is better than another only for a specific purpose; and during the revolution, the Revolution is the only purpose that I can value things for.

History Has Spoken

And the Revolution, is "Bolshevism." History has written it, and you or any man cannot unwrite it. The world is split into two divisions now, for battle for war. In war, dictatorship wins and nothing else can win. Dictatorship is bad; so are gut-ripping bayonets bad, but dictatorship and bayonets win for one side or the other, and there are only two sides. From now on there can only be dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat, until the bourgeoisie is exterminated as a class. You can call it the "dictatorship of Communist politicians" if you like, and that won't alter the case in the least: the Revolution is going to proceed and the dictatorship of the proletariat is going to exterminate by brute force, and with what you may call "injustice," the property-owning class as a class and all that unconsciously serves the property-owning class by opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When it is all over with, shall you say that you have not taken part in the great final struggle because you did not like the way life decreed that the struggle should be? Or do you imagine that the Revolution is going to take some other form than the

[illegible]

[illegible] Revolution would come [illegible]. They [illegible] subordinated to the humdrum of capitalism to believe that it could be disrupted so soon, and they called you and me, when we said in the "Blast" and elsewhere that the Revolution would burst through the war, wild dreamers. And now that the Revolution in Russia has come, the shortsighted persons accept it as far as it has come, and say, "Also the Russian Revolution has come, that is all there is to it, and, oh, well, we will go on living in a capitalist country." Such people, who see the Russian Revolution only as a revolution in Russia, I can't blame in the least for not liking the form that it has taken. Russia is an armed camp of desperate hardship and brutal discipline, and those who don't know what the fight is for can't be expected to like the camp. They who think it is a place for living can point out many better places for living. And if they sit on the fence, not participating and see the terrible concessions and retreats made, they can find much breath for saying: "Why, what are the sacrifices for?" Some of the concessions made now are almost as bad as Brest-Litovsk. What are they for? They are for the World Revolution.

Not at 3rd Congress

No one can fully know what the fight in Russia is for unless he attended or gave the whole of his brain to the study of the Third Congress of the Communist International. You were not there. The greatest event of revolutionary history, except the October Revolution, took place here in the city where you were, and you did not look upon it. Are you still Berkman? The most important plans laid by men, the vast, the world-wide, concrete arrangements for overthrowing a world-ful of governments, were made. Where was Berkman? The same Berkman who, more nearly than most men, forecasted these events, immersed in the narrow, individual, personal safeties of a small handfull of comrades whose dogmatism has made them run counter to the fabric of the Revolution—too immersed in the otherwise admirable but comparatively petty loyalties to old faction comrades, to give himself to this plan for the overthrow of the world's governments.

Sarcasm vs. Facts

I repeat to you what I said before that it was a crime for you not to participate in that Congress. And I remember what your answer was. Your answer served like a mirror to show just what was the matter. You sarcastically replied in substance, that it appears that the possession of a piece of cardboard from a Communist Party makes a man into a revolutionist now, and nothing else counts, no matter what standing a man has otherwise as a revolutionist. Nothing could show more clearly than this remark of yours, what the trouble is. You seem to approach everything from the intimate-group conception of revolutionary activities with persons vouching for persons on the basis of personal acquaintance with individual autonomy of action and with subjective moral integrity as the criterion of trustworthiness. It would seem as though you had overlooked the fact that the world is in motion now with strange millions functioning. No longer can we be personally acquainted with those with whom we die: subjective integrity does not count by itself; the little intimate groups do not count anymore, and subjective morality alone isn't worth a damn—the thing that counts is whether a man is functioning within the program. And our rough attempt at knowing all the strange millions is by giving cards to those that are functioning within the program. But you come with your old intimate group conception, as though you thought we could rely upon the old basis of verbal vouching, which would no longer serve even for a medium sized village commune. But of course that objection to our technical, card-index way of roughly sorting our adherents is really but a figurative manner of stating your objection to something more fundamental—our whole policy of centralization and non-recognition of any but the single revolutionary organization. Why should not So-and-so, the well known and undoubtedly sincere advocate of revolution, be admitted to participation in the international revolutionary congress? Simply because So-and-so is not going to accept the discipline of the body formed by the Congress, does not accept the fundamental principles upon which it is based, and is not going to work with it in clockwork response to its orders.

Individualism for Capitalism

No, comrade So-and-so insists on his right of independent decision and action. Very well, he automatically shuts himself out of the single, world wide revolutionary organization. The International cannot function in two conflicting ways at once. It cannot have two plans. Loyalty is measured by life-and-death obedience to the single plan, once it is agreed upon, right or wrong. It is not measured by the heart's willingness to what the individual head may think is best for the cause at a given moment. With individual heads doing this we have no organization, no concerted action. You ought to know this. In a strike, is each individual allowed to decide for himself? No, he obeys the decisions of the strike committee. If he does not, he breaks up the strike; or he gets roughly handled by the strikers. The Russian Revolution is a gigantic strike. The Communist International is the same thing projected into world dimensions. It is the biggest revolutionary movement in all history and it bears fair promise of drawing the fight to a conclusion with the crushing of the capitalist governments of the world. It has at last realized the dream of a gigantic, closely coordinated machine of direct action assault upon the capitalist police and troops. And you are not in it. You object to its discipline. Yet its discipline is its very co-ordinated force! Without its discipline it could not exist—no such force could exist.

Freedom for Counter-Revolution

A good sample of "revolutionary individual initiative" is the Kronstadt affair. I have given it a little study since I saw you last. There is no question but that if the Kronstadt affair had not been wiped out, it would have resulted in the downfall of the Soviet Power. There is no doubt that many of the participants who called themselves Anarchists and S. R.'s were sincere in their notions. Subjectively they were doubtless highly moral revolutionists. But objectively it was a filthy counter-revolution. I don't give a damn for the moral values. The counter-revolutionary officers came over from Finland (protected by the Finnish government!), and joined the Anarchists and the S. R.'s and the Mensheviks. The French navy lay outside of the frozen area, waiting for the "Anarchists" (who could compromise enough to associate with Cadet officers) to hold Kronstadt until the ice would break and let the French and British battleships fight for "Soviets without Bolsheviks!" Yes, that is a fine example of free and easy "revolution" without discipline. The fellows that did this crazy thing, killed thousands of the best and youngest and bravest of the soldiers that the Revolution had. And yet there are people who call themselves "Anarchists" and ask me to pity the fellows who were responsible for the Kronstadt affair. Monks that ponder in their cells on the misfortunes of man in general, can pity them; I have no time to pity such men.

Would Kill Revolution

There are people calling themselves "Anarchists" that are now saying that Kronstadt was "the real revolution." If such people were allowed to operate with "free speech" and "free demonstration" within the circle that is held by the bayonets of the Red Army, the revolution would be dead now, and here would reign the "democratic freedom" and pogroms of capitalistic Hungary, with Wrangel, Semenoff, Pilsudski, Harding, Briand and Lloyd George guaranteeing you your "freedom of revolutionary initiative."

Superficialities

I have naturally wanted to impress upon you my views about this, and even went so far as to try to get into contact with you across three thousand miles of sea. Lenin has said the thing better than I, and therefore tried to get you to give your attention to what he had written. I don't believe that you have given any attention to the particular writings that I spoke of. I know that you said, in a perfunctory way, that you read "State and Revolution." But the way you said it was indicative that you read it "a la mode americaine"—that is, by glancing thru it, and your next remark confirmed me in my opinion. What could be more superficial than to speak of the explanation of the revolution's motives by the chief leader of it, as "only books?" And then, to speak of "Life as the better teacher" (in the way that you spoke, i. e. "life as opposed to giving any earnest attention to the revolutionary pamphleteers and leaders in action) is about the extreme of intellectual poverty. There is hardly a boulevard dandy in Moscow that has not seen more of street "life" during the revolution than Lenin has or you, or I.

Means Nothing to Him

That Berkman is letting the Revolution pass by him without mobilizing his every faculty to study the intellectual expression of it, without learning what the theory of the gigantic machine that is running it, is my conviction. That is the tragedy. That you are not giving your hand to help in this machine, is the consequence.

Revolutions Not Friendly

I am often reminded of a passage of your book of prison memoirs, in which you describe your psychological experiences upon emerging from the penitentiary. You were confused, bewildered, and desperately depressed. Then you found out why. It was because the movement that you had known in its infant stage, had grown larger, had spread and grown until you did not readily recognize it, since it had none of its former intimate quality. Now, Berkman, the Revolution that you loved has grown to ten thousand times the size, and again you do not recognize it. Again you look for its small, intimate quality, and the intimate quality is not there. It is no longer a baby at the breast, it is a million-headed giant, which in theory you wanted it to be, but as which, in fact, you cannot recognize it. And you turn aside from it, or unconsciously, unintentionally drive against it. If you fail to recognize it, if you fail to live with it, in it, fighting as a part of it, you lose the only purpose that I know your life has . . . The Revolution can do without you, but you cannot do without the Revolution.

ARRESTED!

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Secretary, Trade Union Educational League,

C. E. RUTHENBERG, National Secretary, Workers Party,

WM. F. DUNNE, Labor Editor of THE WORKER and many other militant workers.

W H Y ?

COME AND HEAR THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CONSPIRACY TO CRUSH LABOR

FRIDAY NIGHT, SEPTEMBER 1st, 8 o'clock

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE

67th Street and Third Avenue

SPEAKERS:—Roger Baldwin, of the Civil Liberties' Union; Norman Thomas, of The Nation; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Workers' Defense Union; J. Louis Engdahl, editor, THE WORKER, and Fred Biedenkapp.

COME EARLY! ADMISSION, 10 CENTS

[illegible]

[illegible] Because we believe they are of this class-conscious element we appeal to them to take part in the present campaign of THE WORKER to increase its circulation among the toiling masses of this country.

After reading a few issues of THE WORKER these new readers can judge of its usefulness to the workers. Its treatment of the present strikes; its advocacy of workers' control of industry; its call for amalgamation into industrial unions of the various antagonistic craft unions; its demand for a UNITED FRONT of labor against the robbers and exploiters is a justifiable reason for requesting the support of every reader.

THE WORKER goes to the workers each week with a clear analysis of labor's position in present capitalistic society. It shows labor as it really is, a tool and victim of an exploiting capitalist class. It shows labor in its titanic struggles for existence under the dictatorship of huge capitalistic combines which control the political state. THE WORKER shows the need of closer amalgamation of labor. It shows how this can be accomplished. It shows what is beyond the present slave existence of the world's millions of workers thru organization and the conquest of power over capitalist interests. THE WORKER shows how this organization of labor can be accomplished, how to take over the power from the present world's rulers and to build with that power a world for the workers.

Our new readers are part of the great army of labor who must accomplish this task. They must help build the new world of the future, the world where Labor alone will rule.

They must build this new world by doing to-day the concrete tasks which draw strength and support to labor's cause. Building THE WORKER is one of these tasks. Increasing its circulation among greater masses of workers, teaching them the meaning of labor's struggles, of the needs and methods of organization into more powerful groups and how to use their combined power to smash the united power of the capitalists is one of these tasks. It can be accomplished only by the workers. To them we must appeal.

Our new readers must help, must join the thousands who are doing this work. Each of them knows other workers who will subscribe. Each can get a number of subscriptions. We ask them all to do so. Many can order and pay in advance for 5 or more 20-week sub cards at 50 cents each. Many can make up lists of subscribers in the places where they work. They should do so. Every one should get one or more subscribers at once. If you are a worker help THE WORKER grow. Get subscribers!

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"I am glad to say that I have sold the five cards sent me. I know THE WORKER is the kind of paper the workers should read. These are all good union men I sold the cards to." W. L., Cincinnati, O.

"Enclosed please find $2.50 for the five cards you have sent me. All but one are striking railway shopmen. This strike is waking up the toilers faster than years of propaganda, and it is up to US to make these fellows understand the requirements of the struggle." N. U., St. Paul.

"I enclose $2.50 for five cards. I hope to be able to send you more soon. All whom I have handed a copy of THE WORKER have agreed that it is the best revolutionary paper they ever read." W. F. Mc., K. C. Mo.

"It is not a big help in the 25,000 campaign to sell only 25 subscription cards, is it? But I hope to make the 25 grow into 125." F. F.

"I sold the five cards—all to members of the Central Labor Council. Here's to greater success." A. N. W., San Jose, Calif.

[illegible]

[illegible] Capitalism can never offer us [illegible]. It cannot use the machinery we have created. The ships we have built are idle in the docks. The marvelous mechanism of modern industry, which is the work of our hands, is in ruin. Capitalism can no longer use it. Capitalism stands in the way of food for the hungry. It starves the creators of all the useful things of life. It turns the machinery of the world into scrap iron. It has brought civilization to ruin. Away with it.—London Communist.

Many Activities of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia

There are being organized under the auspices of the New York branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia the following classes:

1) A class in Russian for beginners, intermediate and advanced.
2) A class in Russian typewriting and stenography.
3) A class in Accounting and Bookkeeping.
4) A class in Commercial Photography and Moving Picture operating.
5) A course in operating and setting up and repairing of tractors and farming machinery, including lectures with picture illustrations on modern scientific farming.

The Society has secured the co-operation of men who know thoroly the practical application of machinery in agriculture. It is expected also to arrange for practical field work, where all the manipulations and the use of various farming machinery will be taught.

The Soviet Government is encouraging the return of re-immigrants in organized Communes to which it assigns big fertile farms in the various parts of the great Workers' Republic. Many Communes have attained splendid results and the letters received from them are full of delight and joy. The tractors and farming machinery brought by these Communes from America have ploughed many thousands of dessiatins of Russian soil, and have laid a strong foundation for the better future of the workmen and peasants of Russia.

6) A class in Radio operating and theory.

In order to organize these classes it is necessary beforehand to know the number of students enrolled. Therefore all those interested should apply at once at the office of the New York branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia at 231 East 37th St.

7) Classes in elementary subjects such as Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, etc., in Russian for the Russian speaking Comrades.

8) Comrade Allan S. Broms will deliver a series of illustrated lectures on General Science. These lectures will be of great interest to the Comrades of the English speaking groups of the S. T. A. S. R. who are already acquainted with the authoritative lectures of Comrade Broms. A fee of 15c will be charged for each lecture as there is an outstanding expense for the stereoscopic projection. We urgently request all those interested to register at once at the office of the New York branch of the S. T. A. S. R. The first lecture will start on or about September 15, 1922.

TRACTOR SCHOOL

Under the auspices of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, a tractor school is being organized to teach the Russian comrades returning to their native land to take up modern farming.

At this school will be given a thoro course in the use of farming machinery and tractors which are promised by the manufacturers having great interest in the Russian market. The course will be conducted by specialists and will last three months. The tuition fee will be $50 per course.

This enterprise is of great importance to all those interested in farming work which is practically the most important impulse to rebuild Russia.

The Central Bureau of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, and all the organizations helping Russia are greatly interested in this important work and have promised their full support.

Comrades who are able, willing, and can help us with their advice and co-operation are requested to communicate with the general secretary, at the headquarters of the New York local at 243 E. 23rd St., New York.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

[illegible] Politicals [illegible] Behind the Bars [illegible] Serve Out Their Terms

WASHINGTON.—"Unless President Harding reverses his present attitude in the matter, the majority of the 76 political prisoners still confined in federal prisons under war-time free-speech convictions will have to serve out their terms of [illegible] and 20 years," says the Joint Amnesty committee in a press statement issued here.

"Virtually all of these men are working men, and their long term sentences constitute a world's record for imprisonments of this character for modern times. The aggregate sentences of these unfortunates run to over 800 years."

The committee refers to the fact, in contrast, that the German spies and agents who were caught red-handed blowing up ships during the war have long ago been set free, and that "scores of big war thieves who looted the government to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars have not even been indicted."

Members of a committee representing some 50 labor, civic and church organizations that recently called on the president and presented to him a mammoth petition on behalf of these prisoners, went away with the impression that all the cases would be reviewed within 60 days under a general policy that all except those who had advocated the overthrow of the government would be released. As there were no prisoners under this category, it was supposed that all must go free. Now however the administration has taken the stand that only the cases of those who personally apply for clemency will be considered. This will leave the majority behind the bars.

A list of political prisoners, with the terms of their sentences and an appeal for help in securing their release has been issued by the committee, whose address is 233 Maryland Bldg, Washington. This publication is entitled Set the Political Prisoners Free.

Plank Heads Connecticut Ticket

The Workers Party of Connecticut in State Convention assembled, in New Haven, Sunday August 27, put up the following slate of officials for the General Elections to take place November 7th: Governor John Plank, Hartford; Lieutenant Governor Otto Buroning, New Haven; Secretary of State Mary Dworkin, Bridgeport; Treasurer, Simon Feldman, Bridgeport; Comptroller, Isidor Spector, New Haven, and U. S. Senator Konrade Losk.

Konrade Losk, treasurer of the State campaign committee stated that they intend to raise a campaign fund by issuing subscription lists. These lists will be issued to all the Workers Party Branches and to all the Trade Unions in Connecticut.

He also stated that they intended to start a gigantic open air campaign thru the state in behalf of the elections.

The securing of signatures for the independent certificate of nomination petitions will be a dominant part of the Party activity during the next two months.

The Party delegates at the convention were assured that the securing of the 3000 signatures necessary for the petitions would be accomplished.

McDonald Heads Jersey Ticket

The state convention of the Workers Party of New Jersey assembled in the Labor Lyceum of Newark Saturday, August 26, nominated the following state officials: Governor, Martin R. McDonald; U. S. Senator, Louis Wolf.

Edward F. Scott, state campaign manager for the Party stated that he intends to start state tours for the two candidates.

Subscription lists issued to all the Workers Party Branches and Labor Unions in New Jersey will be the means of securing a campaign fund.

The Convention was unanimous in its decision to do everything in its power to defeat the purpose of the capitalist parties such as the Democratic and Republican Parties and to show up the parties that claim to represent the workers, such as the Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties.

DANCE IN THE BRONX

The Bronx Campaign Committee of the Workers Party has arranged a dance to be held at Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road, the Bronx, Saturday evening, Oct. 14, the proceeds to be used for the Workers Party Campaign Fund. Admission will be 35 cents in advance and 50 cents at the door.

MINNEAPOLIS.—As one means of raising funds to aid the striking shopmen a series of ball games are on the program of organized labor in the Twin Cities.

BUY! READ! DISTRIBUTE!

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One of our Papers! Official Organ, Italian Federation, Workers Party. Send all communications to Alba Nuova, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

[illegible]

Address all mail and make remittances to
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The division of the organized workers into craft unions is one of the great obstacles to the progress of the workers of this country in the struggle against capitalism.

"Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"

The Russians are doing many things for the first time. Thus they are now exhibiting their goods at a west European fair for the first time since the Soviet regime came into power.

This interesting event is taking place at Koenigsberg, Germany, where a small pavilion is filled with goods from all parts of Russia.

"There are exquisite embroideries, precious stones from the Urals which were polished at the government works at Petrograd, beautiful inlaid boxes, and all kinds of raw goods," reports the correspondent of the New York Evening Post.

Then this correspondent continues to review other exhibits of rugs, furs, hides and an interesting collection of herbs for medicinal purposes.

But what struck him as peculiarly interesting was an exhibit consisting of a frame made of 60 different kinds of wood, with the inscription, "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"

The correspondent failed to recognize in this a reprehensible piece of Bolshevist propaganda. Probably he left that to the European kept press.

There are many things that are being done for the first time by the Soviet regime. But among these efforts we do not find the struggle of Russia's workers to awaken slumbering labor in other lands. From the first day of its inception, and at every opportunity since, Soviet Rule in Russia has sent its appeal broadcast in myriad forms, "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"

The shopmen's strike has revealed that at Greybull, Wyo., 20 families were housed in car bodies. The Burlington Railroad ordered that the rebels be evicted from these tragic substitutes for homes.

The Day of Youth

This country will witness the first celebration of International Youth Day Sunday, September 3rd. Mass meetings and demonstrations for this day have been arranged in all the principal cities of the land under the direction of the Young Workers' League of America.

This is to be a day not so much of celebration as of mobilization for future and greater struggles.

Capitalism recognizes no difference, as between the young and the old, in its terrific assaults to beat down the standard of living of the workers.

It herds the young, as well as the old, into the mines, the mills and the factories to toil cruelly long hours at starvation wages.

The United States Supreme Court declares it constitutional to drive children of tender years out of the schools and into the workshops. The railroad labor board fixes a wage of 23 cents an hour, a pitifully small pittance for even an unmarried young man.

This "Day of Youth," September 3rd, will therefore be an effort on the part of the vanguard among the young workers to arouse and awaken the masses of toiling young men and women in this country, in common with a similar struggle being waged on this day in all the world's great nations.

Let this "Day of Youth" be a day of great preparation against the attacks of capitalism and to win the minds and support of the young to a realization and accomplishment of the tasks before them—the essential and preliminary step to the day of the workers' final struggle for power.

The street carmen of Buffalo, N. Y., have been out on strike for two months. The Chicago carmen won their strike in three days. But the latter went into the fight with a 100 per cent organization. Solidarity wins!

The Herrin Inquiry

The so-called "Herrin Massacre," at Herrin, Ill., June 21st to 22nd, was the cause of many shocks to the exploiters of labor. Other shocks are still due.

After two months' bombardment from the political hirelings of the vested interests from President Harding down, after continuous demands from Chambers of Commerce and Manufacturers' Associations thruout the land, a Special Grand Jury is finally on the job at Herrin, in the language of the New York Times, "to re-establish the supremacy of law and order in Williamson County."

The re-establishment of "law and order" is interpreted to mean the crucifixion of organized labor, in this case the Miners' Union. All the demands for "justice" uttered by the hypocritical yellow press, has been for "justice" for the strike-breakers lured to Herrin by the anti-union mine owners.

The young Circuit Judge of the Herrin district, Dewitt Talmadge Hartwell, delivered the first cold shudder to the kept press and its backers when he told the grand jurymen that there were two sets of killings to be investigated, the murder of the three union miners by strike guards at the Southern Illinois Coal Company plant, June 21, as well as the fate of the scabs.

"This is the first intimation that this feature of the situation would be taken up," wails the New York Times. "It has not been called for in any of the pleas for justice sent out. The union men were killed, it is said, when they approached the mine with a flag of truce."

The court, therefore, paved the way for the grand jury to indict the mine owners and their officials as being responsible for the death of the 19 strike breakers. The coroner's jury has already laid the blame at their door.

It would be fine retribution if the $25,000 fund raised by the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, and the $5,000 that Attorney General Brundage is said to have advanced out of his own funds to push the Herrin investigation, resulted in the indictment of the real criminals, the mine owners, egged on in their labor-crushing, open shop campaign by the United States Steel Corporation.

We believe that that would be the first time "justice" has been given the semblance of a chance in these United States of America.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

[illegible]

The End of [illegible]

When the cost of living [illegible] the workers with formulas for [illegible].

When rents go up and the [illegible] this same press waxes eloquent in [illegible] the resourceful worker who has turned [illegible] his family of nine in a tent on forbidden ground when the owner wasn't looking.

With the price of clothing playing [illegible] with the stars, this press also devotes considerable space telling how the wife of a worker can dress on $20 per year; how the whole family can be clothed for $99.99 during the same period.

The kept press does this because it knows there are [illegible] who believe it, else why do they continue buying and supporting these yellow journals?

The propaganda takes root in the fertile soil of ignorance. The worker is blinded to his own sad state and enlists in the [illegible] of 100 per cent Americans.

Now comes the American Bar Association, however, voicing the fear that the workers are prejudiced against the courts and the constitution, unhappy day. The Committee on American Ideals reported to its recent gathering in San Francisco that:

"Many of our people really believe that the constitution was intended as an aid to the rich and powerful, and that it affords unwarranted immunities to the railroads and other great corporations, and is an instrument of oppression to the poor."

If the masses of the people believe that, they believe correctly, as every honest lawyer knows. But the American Bar Association isn't made up of lawyers who worry about the workers, any more than the kept press worries about the men, women and children of labor getting wholesome food, a decent place to live in and clothes fit to wear.

The property defending American Bar Association members thereupon urge the recommendation of Chief Justice "Bill the Fat" Taft that:

"Every newspaper and magazine establish a 'Department of American Citizenship' to promote faith in the institutions which are functioning so admirably in the interests of the people."

When a coal miner gets shot up by a militiaman, give him a copy of the New York Times with the "Department of American Citizenship" marked with a blue pencil.

When railroad workers are thrown into jail for contempt of court for disobeying some anti-strike injunction, just slip them a few copies of the Saturday Evening Post with a George Horace Lorimer editorial on "Have Faith in Our Institutions."

When radicals are being framed and sent to the gallows, just hand labor one of Arthur Brisbane's full-page lay-outs, cartoon and article, from any of the Hearst Sunday papers, under the glaring headline, "In the Interests of the People." The Hearst paper in San Francisco was among those that screamed the loudest for the blood of Tom Mooney.

The propaganda of the kept press has been powerful. But it is losing its strength. The bringing up of this question in the lawyers' convention is most convincing testimony. Two great labor organizations, that of the miners and railroad shopmen, have conducted nation-wide wars, for the first time in their histories, against Wall Street's attack on the standard of living of their members.

The day is past when the workers can be made to believe that the courts mete out justice to rich and poor alike. They are thru with that illusion. Bitter experience has awakened them. The realities of the everyday struggle constitute too effective an antidote for the chloroform of the kept press, the American Bar Association and similar organizations for the preservation of capitalist oppression. The end of their day is in sight.

More thousands daily join those already awake to the real nature of the struggle that must be waged for the emancipation of the working class everywhere.

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign.

Let the yellow Socialists hurry up and protest against the brutal United States' inspired treatment of revolutionists in Guatamala, where, "Twelve rebels were summarily executed and their heads exhibited to the people as a warning against any further attempts at rebellion." But they won't budge.

Prepare for Real Labor Day

This is the time of year when the reactionary officials of labor are busy sending out their "Labor Day Messages" for the celebration of the legalized Labor Day, Monday, September 4. These are mostly published in the capitalist press.

Altho labor is fighting with its back to the wall on the railroads, and in spite of the fact that the coal mine struggle continues in the anthracite fields, and the textile strike is still on, Samuel Gompers, in his message talks about the "magnificent victory" of the workers.

Gompers says that labor has only accepted an average reduction in wages of five per cent, and the "magnificent victory" consists of the fact that it wasn't much more. The A. F. of L. has lost one million members. According to Gompers' viewpoint, it is lucky it didn't lose two million.

While the reactionary officialdom of labor, therefore, has nothing to congratulate itself upon on Labor Day, this year, the membership of labor may well remember this season, 1922, because it witnessed the holding of the first conference of the Trade Union Educational League.

The gathering of the militant forces of labor, and the drawing up of definite programs for making labor progress, marks a new and brighter epoch in the history of America's working-class movement.

"We are struggling for the perpetuation of our glorious institutions, for the Republic that we love so well," declares Gompers. Did he not have in mind the child-enslaving supreme court, the labor-crushing senate and house of representatives, the labor-hating president and his cabinet, and the army and other forces of the Republic that are hurled against striking labor at every opportunity?

Gompers' particular brand of buncombe will be less and less effective as the workers ally themselves more and more with the definite and upward struggle under the direction of the Trade Union Educational League.

Unceasing effort during the next eight months should result in the building of a powerful Trade Union Educational League upon the foundations laid in Chicago.

Then the working men and women of this country can find real satisfaction in celebrating a real holiday of the workers, International Labor Day, May 1, 1923, in common with the toiling masses thruout the entire world.

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign.

Mayor Lunn, renegade "Socialist," now democratic mayor of Schenectady, N. Y., addressing the state convention of the New York Federation of Labor, declared that "the great labor organizations had steadily refused to be swayed by [illegible]." In the same issue of the New York Times, [illegible] the coal miners and railroad [illegible] nation-wide 'industrial unions' of [illegible]. Lunn and The Times, alike [illegible], ought to get together and compare notes [illegible].

[illegible] of trade [illegible] Washington.

[illegible] Washington was the source of [illegible] anti-Soviet [illegible] of slander and falsehood, [illegible] emanating from Harding's executive mansion, from Hughes' department of state and Hoover's department of the interior, with such aid as they could get from the department of justice, but also from Gompers' offices in the headquarters building of the American Federation of Labor.

The Soviet representative, Martens, was deported, and Bakhmeteff proclaimed as long as was possible, the true spokesman of Russia.

We find that of late Soviet Russia has not been troubling itself very much about the friendship or enmity of this country.

She has [illegible] turned her attention from this hostile western world to the Far East, making her preparations for the approaching Far Eastern conference with China and Japan.

The attitude of Soviet Russia towards China and the other secondary powers in Asia is to be found in an article that has just appeared in Izvestia, official Soviet organ, at Moscow, which declares:

> "We alone are their friends, for we are no longer imperialist, no longer [illegible] policy of aggression that is the [illegible]. The other great powers still pursue the same methods that led to the great European war. However pacific their intentions, they will follow a policy of exploitation which will either reduce such nations as China to servitude or provoke conflicts by mutual rivalry. Russia today is America's greatest rival in China because Young China—new China—realizes that Russia alone does not want to control China, but merely to help her work out her own salvation."

Walter Duranty, in a wireless to the New York Times, says the Soviet policy in China will be the same as that applied so successfully to the Persian problem, when Soviet Russia won Persia away from England. The Bolsheviki said to the Persians:

> "We don't want your territory, and don't wish to abridge your freedom. The money questions between you and Russia we wipe off the slate. The railroad and telegraph lines and other concessions paid for with Russian money we hand over to you unconditionally."

The Far Eastern Conference will be Soviet Russia's answer to Harding's Washington Conference with its Four-Power Treaty for imperialist domination of the Pacific.

It did not need Tchong-huin, ambassador of the Peking (China) government at Moscow, to warn the capitalist world to watch closely the Far Eastern Conference. They will do that without asking.

Soviet Russia is not in love with Japan. But if she can get recognition from and trade relations with Japan, where it is denied by the United States, she will take it.

This does not mean that the workers of this country should cease in their demands upon Washington for definite and favorable action. The developments in the Far East will give them an added argument in their efforts towards this end.

Will the red flag of a Soviet Embassy fly in Tokio before it is raised in Washington, D. C.? The answer is in your hands, Workers of America!

Montgomery, Ward and Co., mail order house, reports a clear profit of $1,241,117 for the past six months. It will make a desperate effort to hide this profit in preparation for its next wage-cutting campaign.

The Negro Worker

We speak of the native Indians as being the wards of the American people, but the Negroes, since the Civil War, have been considered not only as the wards, but as the private property of the Republican Party.

Thus it is reported that 5,000 Knights Templars, colored, just the other day, marched in parade past the White House, where President Harding, republican, reviewed them. On the preceding day a parade of Negro Shriners likewise passed the Washington home of the President, with many bands and dazzling display of uniforms.

President Harding's overwhelming majority in 1920 was swelled by the votes of many Negroes. So the kept press should have been grateful and responded in the usual way. But this didn't happen.

Our correspondent reports that on both occasions no photographs or moving pictures were taken by the camera men stationed at the White House. These spectacles will not be broadcasted to the newspaper readers and movie fans of the land.

The photographers gave the explanation. No newspaper will buy pictures of negro organizations, no matter how interesting they may be. Even the pictures of individual negroes are discriminated against.

One photographer told of the incident of a Chicago Negro securing from the U. S. Treasury the first charter for a Negro bank in the federal reserve system. "We took his picture and offered it to our clients," he said. "My circuit includes one hundred big papers. Not one would touch it."

We urge the Negro workers to study this inconsistency. They will find that the solution is very simple.

The ruling class, with its exploiters and its political parties, is willing to use the Negro for its own purposes. It is willing to accept the Negro vote on election day, it heralds the Negro as an upright American citizen when he is willing to scab during strike times, it gladly transports thousands of Negroes great distances, from the South to the North, to be used in the bitter war upon the workers' standard of living.

But at no time will the exploiting class retreat one inch in its efforts to oppress the Negro workers more ruthlessly than any other labor group. An hypocritical press, secret societies, such as the terroristic Ku Klux Klan, and race prejudice that extends even into the ranks of organized labor, are weapons to keep the Negro in subjection.

The Negro will not solve his problems by organizing into bourgeois fraternal societies and marching in celebration before the Presidential Mansion at Washington. These organizations are of no use to the white worker. They cannot help his black brother.

The Negro worker must cast his lot entirely with the workers of all races and all nationalities. He must enlist with its most advanced section.

The Workers Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for liberation and will help them in their fight for economic, political and social equality.

It will seek to end the policy of discrimination followed by the more conservative elements in the labor unions.

It will endeavor to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the black and white workers, and to weld them into a solid union for the struggle against the capitalists, who oppress and exploit them.

Negroes! Join the Workers Party! Build up your workers' organizations! Unite with all workers, of all races and nationalities, for the victory of the working class!

They say that the United States Steel Corporation has 100,000 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Diary

Sunday—Very quiet day; have been raided only three times.

Monday—Beaten up and arrested; beaten up and released; beaten up and deported.

Tuesday—Arrested on a charge of murder, jailed for felonious assault, tried for grand larceny and imprisoned for bigamy.

Wednesday—Will be kept in jail until some charge is discovered against me.

Thursday—Released. Nothing exciting. Have been deported from four more states to-day.

Friday—10 o'clock, arrested for talking; 11 o'clock, arrested for keeping still.

Saturday—Ain't we got fun? Given a free ride thru five different states; welcomed with open arms, carried by sheriffs and state cossacks; gently escorted from state to state. "My country, 'tis of thee; sweet land of liberty" . . .

OUR COUNTRY'S GREATEST MEN

(With apologies to the word "great")

Woodrow Wilson—who kept us out of war.

Billy Sunday—who keeps us out of Hades.

Pres. Harding—who keeps us out of a job.

Gen. Hamrock—who keeps us out of Colorado.

Lefkowitz & Lee—who keep us out of the A. L. P.

Will Burns—who keeps us out on bail (maybe!).

(Finish the list up yourself and keep me out of jail.)

Who Is What, What Is Who And Why Not, In 1922

IV

Leisinger, Benny (President of the I. L. G. W. U.—Intersocialistic Lying, Gossiping, Wearisome Union.)

Liesinger for his exquisite he-singing has become an important factor in the developement of the pseudo-socialistic industry in this country. He is the industry's head, Gompers's right hand, and Cahansky's pocketbook. He is so loyal to the working class that he'd give the very sleeves off his vest for the movement. Gompers hasn't many such faithful serfs in the Federation, that's why he's sending this one on exhibition to Britain. Benny has a wonderful future in front of him. If he lives ninety-nine more years he'll be a very noted man—noted for his old age.

BOLOGMS ENCYCLOPEDIA

(Independent, irresistible, irrepressible.)

American Labor Party—organization devoted to the practice of boxing, usage of strong epithets and development of vocal strength.

Perpetual Oppositionist—an individual more marxian than Marx himself was.

Damnocrat—three categories of men:
a) one who has money and brains;
b) one who has money and no brains;
c) one who has no money and no brains.

American Federation of Labor—a mutual aid society between capitalists and union leaders.

Q E D

Talking about the coming elections, I like the story about the I. W. W. and the Republican politician.

An I. W. W. was once confronted by a G. O. P. politician who tried to persuade him to vote his ticket.

"I really can't see for the life of me why an intelligent man like you should be a member of the Industrial Workers of the World."

"Well, you see," replied the Wobblie, "my father was clever enough to be an I. W. W., my grandfather was an I. W. W., hence, I'm one."

"That's no reason at all," protested the politician. "Let us for a moment assume that your grandfather and your father were crooks. What would you then be?"

"Oh, in that case I'd be a Republican." . . .

IRV.

BEYOND THE HORIZON

In the highest place of Communist Society, after the disappearance of the enslavement of man caused by his subjection to the principle of the division of labor; when, together with this, the opposition between brain and manual work shall have disappeared; when labor shall have ceased to be a mere means of supporting life and will itself have become one of the first necessities of life; when, with the all-round development of the individual, the productive forces, too, will have grown to maturity, and all the forces of social wealth will be pouring forth in an uninterrupted torrent,—only then will it be possible wholly to pass beyond the narrow horizon of bourgeois laws, and only then will it be possible for Society to inscribe on its banners: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs."—Marx.

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Demand the General Strike!

Flood A. F. of L. Executive Council Now Meeting at Atlantic City With Tidal Wave of Telegrams

Workers of the United States! Demand the General Strike! Insist on the use of this powerful working-class weapon, NOW. Push your laggard leaders into action in the uncompromising war your oppressors have declared against you.

Workers of the United States! Thru the General Strike you must come to aid of your militant brothers, fighting the fight of their lives on the railroads of the nation.

The fight of the railroad shopmen is your fight. The crushing of their organization will be followed by the smashing of your union. If the open shop war of the capitalist dictatorship triumphs in the railroad shops, your job will suffer the next assault of the strikebreaker and the gunman, in or out of uniform, bent on decreasing your wages, lengthening your workday and breaking down hard-won conditions you have established to protect your life and your happiness.

The dictatorship of dollars has spoken thru its judicial tool, Federal Judge James H. Wilkerson, of Chicago.

This judicial tyrant, Wilkerson, was put on the bench as the successor of the late Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who was so profuse in handing out 20-year prison sentences to working-class spokesmen. Landis has a worthy successor in Wilkerson, one who will serve capitalism equally well.

Judge Wilkerson, at the behest of Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, has issued an injunction that puts spikes in the club with which the railroad owners' Harding administration at Washington expects to herd the railroad workers like slaves back to the jobs they left, July 1st, protesting like free men against the dehumanizing conditions the Railroad "Labor" Board was seeking to inflict upon them.

The Wilkerson-Daugherty edict, back of which stands the organized money power of this, the richest nation on earth, seeks to gag, blind, straight-jacket and shackle the railroad workers' struggle.

Efforts to prevent the desertion from the strikers' ranks is forbidden; use of strike funds to feed the sick and the hungry, even women and children, is denied; picketing to inform ignorant workers of the crime of scabbing is under the ban; communication between strikers and their officials is cut off; all publicity of the righteousness of the strikers' cause, thru mass meetings, newspapers and circulars is prohibited, in fact, this judicial decree practically forbids the shopmen continuing their strike against their bosses.

While these simple rights are denied the railroad strikers, no curb is put upon the railroad capitalists. These profiteers in transportation, thru their kept press, are permitted to misrepresent and slander the strikers' cause; they are allowed to recruit their armies of scabs and thugs from the slums of the nation's great cities; thru their strike-breaking agencies, they are given every freedom to lure uninformed, helpless workers, members of the nation's great jobless army, to the work places deserted in protest by their brothers.

In aid of the railroad capitalists, 5,000 [illegible] bloodhounds in human shape as United States Deputy [illegible] track and jail violators of the Wilkerson-Daugherty decree.

The shams of democracy are thrown upon the scrap heap. No attempt is made to hide behind the hypocricy of "representative government." The national congress and the state legislatures are as much ignored as the mouldy and rotting safeguards of "liberty" to be found in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal and State Constitutions. The savage, grinning, self-confident tyranny of America's plutocracy is in the saddle. It rides roughshod, beating down all opposition. Whether it rides for a fall depends upon the solidarity of labor. What is the counter-attack of labor to be?

* * *

Workers of the United States! The solution of this problem is in your hands. No one else is going to solve it for you.

You have allowed your ranks to remain divided. You fight in isolated squads and platoons, not as one united, disciplined army.

The coal miners came out alone on April 1st, just as the textile workers had gone on strike earlier in the year; just as the steel workers came out alone, fought alone and lost because the dollars of the steel trust were better organized, more united.

So on July 1st only seven instead of 16 railroad organizations came out on strike. The others remained on the job to scab.

In the words of William Z. Foster, uttered before the Chicago Federation of Labor only last Sunday, the $25,000-a-year leadership in the railroad unions is continually playing into the hands of the one big union of capitalism.

An increasing number of workers is awakening to the insanity of such defeatists tactics. In their local unions and central labor bodies they have adopted resolutions demanding a General Strike of all labor in the present crisis. They have rushed these demands to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor at Washington.

Samuel Gompers admits that the flood of demands for a general strike during the past two months has been greater than at any time in all the history of American labor.

He has called a meeting of the executive council [illegible] upon the leadership by the mass of workers it is supposed to lead.

The kept press is happy because the workers of this country, organized into the American Federation of Labor, cannot force this central body of theirs to act. The power to act lies in the international unions, they say, and the international unions in even one industry, on the railroads, do not act together.

Mr. Gompers says he is opposed to the General Strike. He declares his position is the same today as it was in 1894, when he led the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to Chicago to help break the strike of the American Railway Union, by preventing its spread to other crafts.

But Mr. Gompers confesses the flood of demands for a General Strike is rising. He has called a meeting of the Executive Council to talk it over. It is for you, the Workers of the United States, to say whether that Executive Council will do more than talk.

* * *

It isn't enough to say that the American Federation of Labor is not organized for the purpose of calling, and that it hasn't the power to call a General Strike of the millions of workers belonging to the organizations affiliated with it.

You, the Workers of the United States, taught by the bitter experiences of the last few years, realize that the loss of the railroaders' fight means your own defeat. You must demand action instead of phrases.

Many an army in battle has been forced to radically re-organize its forces, even to change its leadership in the midst of the struggle, in order to achieve the victory that would otherwise be impossible.

That is the issue before American labor today. The American Dollar Dictatorship has challenged you, the Workers of the United States. It has challenged you to a death struggle. Will you, Workers, go into that struggle to win, or will you suffer ignominious defeat, see your organizations battered and broken, see your columns smashed beyond recuperation for many years?

You want victory for labor in this struggle. You [illegible] organized labor to grow and make greater progress for the working men and women of this country.

* * *

SEND IN YOUR DEMAND!

Then send in your demand, BY TELEGRAM, NOW, for the GENERAL STRIKE OF ALL AMERICAN LABOR, to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, now meeting at the Hotel Ambassador, Atlantic City, N. J.

Do not write, TELEGRAPH. If your organization does not meet during the next few days, send in a demand from the working group in your shop, your factory, your mill, your mine. Get the workers together around their benches, at their work places. Talk this matter over, seriously, deliberately. Get behind this mighty effort.

Mr. Gompers has admitted he has been flooded with demands for a General Strike.

Workers of the United States! Make that flood a tidal wave during this meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

DOWN WITH THE DOLLAR DICTATORSHIP!
FORWARD TO THE GENERAL STRIKE!
HAIL THE UNITY OF ALL LABOR!
HAIL THE VICTORY OF ALL WORKERS!

Demand That All Workers Strike Grows

The demand for a general strike of all labor is not only being heard, but is also being acted on for the first time in the history of labor's struggle in this country.

This growing spirit of solidarity is the result of the "United Front Campaign" waged by the Workers Party for the past six months, even before the coal miners went out on strike April 1st.

The Workers Party appealed first to the railroad workers to come to the assistance of the striking miners and when the rail strike began showed the disastrous policy of some of the railroad organizations going on strike while others remained at work.

"Urge All Labor Strike!" was the headline in the August 12th issue of The Worker, telling of the beginning of the flood of general strike resolutions upon the head-

(Continued on Page Three)

Communist Party Addresses Manifesto to Workers of America Explaining Stand in Struggle Against Barbarous Persecution

THE WORKER has received a "Manifesto of the Communist Party of America" addressed "To the Workers of the United States," explaining the stand of the Communist Party in the struggle against the barbarous persecution to which it is being subjected. The manifesto is as follows:

* * *

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

To the Workers of the United States:

Barbarous persecution is today being directed against Communists and all those whom it suits the Department of Justice to call Communists. In the eyes of the Attorney General, every one who is "red," every one who is a "radical," every one who is class-conscious and takes his part in the class struggle in a conscientious manner, every trade unionist who refuses to betray the interests of the workers, is a Communist.

This is the "legal" basis for the arrest of Ruthenberg, Dunne and their fifteen brother workers at Bridgeman, Michigan. This only is the "legal" basis for the arrest of William Z. Foster.

Turn to Workers of America

It is only on such a "legal" basis that agents of the Department of Justice have arrested fifteen other workers at the convention of the Trade Union Educational League in Chicago.

This always is the only "legal" basis, and is now again the only "legal" basis for the issuance of forty more warrants for the arrest of the workers who are charged with having attended an

(Continued on Page Five)

Dunne and Lambkin Freed on Bail; Seek Release of Others

William F. Dunne, labor editor of The Worker, and Cyril Lambkin, of Detroit, Mich., were the only two among the 15 arrested at Bridgeman, Mich., to have been released on bail as this issue went to press.

Every effort was being made from Detroit, Mich., Chicago and New York City to secure bail for the others.

"The legal defense is well under way," reports Attorney David J. Bentall, of Chicago. "The preliminary hearing will be held September 8."

The court refused to reduce bail, set at $10,000 for each prisoner, until after the preliminary hearing.

Protest meetings are being held or planned in all sections of the country. One of the first of these was held in New York City with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of the Workers' Defense Union; Norman Thomas, editor of The Nation; Roger Baldwin, secretary of the Civil Liberties Union, and J. Louis Engdahl, editor of The Worker, as speakers.

Chicago is planning a big meeting with William Z. Foster and William F. Dunne as the speakers.

The Last of the Invaders

The daily press reports in a few lines, publishing an Associated Press dispatch from Tokio, that the Japanese military evacuation of Siberia is finally being carried out.

Thus does the last of the defeated invaders of the First Workers' Republic take its ignominous departure.

It is significant that Japan, even at the moment that she is withdrawing her troops from Red territory, is planning to meet with the representatives of Soviet Russia and the Red Republic of the Far East, at which the latter will insist on political recognition as well as the opening of trade relations.

The Russo-Japanese negotiations will be carried on at Changchunfu, Siberia, and the workers and peasants of Russia and Siberia will be represented by the same delegation, Adolph Joffe, envoy of the Moscow government, and Jacoby Anson, foreign minister of the Chita government.

Joffe and Anson come from Moscow and Chita, capitols of the social revolution in Europe and Asia, both speaking the aspirations of Soviet Rule.

The kept press is also practically ignoring the fact that France has appointed a special mission, not to "investigate" Soviet Russia, but to negotiate a trade treaty. Thus does Imperialist France, leader of the capitalist war against working-class Russia, also succumb.

Only the United States stands aloof, arrogant and threatening. But, it, too, will be forced to recognize Soviet Russia, thru the achievements of the Russian workers and peasants, if not because of the demand of the American working class.

LONE SOCIETY NOTE:—Hjalmar Branting, "Socialist" premier of Sweden, is "also present" at the third assembly of the League of Nations now meeting at Geneva, Switzerland.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

Ben Gitlow Goes Back to Prison

Thursday, August [illegible], Ben Gitlow was taken to the Tombs, New York City, to continue his sentence — minimum five years, maximum ten years, of which he has served two years. Gitlow has been out on bail about four months and during that period worked untiringly participating in every phase of activity in the Workers Party as well as taking a hand in every fight that faced the workers in the various industries.

He spoke before the striking textile workers, the railroad workers and miners. He had a message for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Cloakmakers, the Furriers and helped considerably to organize a live branch of the Trade Union Educational League in New York.

Readers of THE WORKER will remember his excellent articles on the conventions that he attended of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at Chicago and the Furriers' Union at Philadelphia.

He went back to prison more con-

(Continued on page Two.)

[illegible] in Pawtuxet Valley

For more than seven full months 8,000 cotton mill workers, men and women, and children, have been on strike in the Pawtuxet Valley of Rhode Island. They left their work on January 23, in protest against a 20 per cent wage reduction and the 54-hour week. Barely a year before they had suffered a cut of 12½ per cent.

Under the second big reduction the average wage in the Rhode Island cotton mills would have been $14 a week. The reduction, followed later by cuts in other cotton manufacturing centers of New England, was part of the highly organized effort of the rich mill owners and the bankers behind them to liquidate labor and return to conditions worse than before the war. With a starvation "family wage" and long hours of labor the workers would have been reduced to actual serfdom.

In the city of Lawrence, Mass., some of the struck mills have offered terms which the workers have been able to accept—terms which comprise practical victory for the workers. In the **PAWTUXET VALLEY** the manufacturers have made no offer of any kind; they have rejected all arbitration and all discussion, and seem hell-bent upon crushing their employes down into slavery.

The workers in the Pawtuxet Valley of Rhode Island were on strike for two months before the strike in Lawrence began. These workers were the first to go on strike against the wage cut. If the strike is lost in Pawtuxet Valley any temporary victories that may be won in other centers will be vitiated. The Lawrence settlement involves a revision of wages at the end of the year, and this revision will largely depend on the outcome of the Rhode Island strike.

Last February the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America organized the workers in the Pawtuxet Valley, and has since been conducting the strike. Eleven strike restaurants are now in operation in various mill villages, and many families evicted from company houses have been cared for. Tent colonies have been established.

To carry on this work requires money. To win this strike we shall need the hearty support of all friends of organized labor who recognize the principle involved in this greatest of all textile class struggles. The textile strike is of no less importance than the miners' and the shopmen's strikes, and has been on longer. It is of more importance in one sense, because victory for the textile strikers will give wonderful impetus to organization—something which textile workers have had little of.

Will you answer the call of these poverty-stricken workers — lowest paid of all industries — who have been fighting valiantly for 32 weeks against some of the most powerful corporations in the country? Give all you can! Give at once! Help us disappoint the exploiters who expect to lull us with false hopes and so defeat us in the end. Make victory sure for all the textile strikers! Give!

Make money orders and checks payable to **Amalgamated Textile Workers of America**, 7 East 15th St., New York.

All Measures Bolshevistic

LOS ANGELES.—The Better America Federation is out with a new pamphlet before election attacking all the "democratic" measures.

"We believe that public ownership and public control of business is socialistic and bolshevistic in tendency and can only result in the destruction of personal initiative," is one of its gems.

"Direct legislation is developing in the minds of the people a spirit of dependence on the state that is healthy neither for themselves nor for the government," is another. The direct primary, the initiative, referendum and recall are all assailed.

German "Sociali[illegible] Suppresses Communist Daily for Attacking Monarchists

By LOUIS P. LOCHNER

(European Director, Federated Press)

BERLIN.—A political sensation of considerable magnitude has been furnished the German public by the suppression, for three weeks, beginning August 19, of the Rote Fahne, organ of the Communist party of Germany.

The order was given by the Prussian minister of the interior, Severing, who is a leader in the Majority Socialist party, despite the assurance of the German minister of justice, Dr. Radbruch, given before the Reichstag at the time the law for the defense of the Republic was passed, to the effect, that the law, if passed, would not be applied to parties of the left.

It was signed, moreover, under pressure of the Bavarian government, of all the federated states of Germany, has done more to discredit and permit flagrant violation of the law for the defense of the republic than any other state.

The edict forbidding publication came three weeks after the alleged offense with which the Rote Fahne is charged, was committed.

Hit Bavarian Monarchists

That offense consisted in accusing members of the Bavarian government of treason. It consisted further in publishing an attack of the Communist International at Moscow upon the Socialist party, a number of whose members are in the government.

According to Severing's department, the launching of attacks upon the Majority Socialist party was tantamount to inciting disrespect of Socialist members of the government and therefore of the government itself.

As regards the charge of having violated the law in denouncing members of the Bavarian government as traitors, the Rote Fahne has compiled a number of utterances from Majority and Independent Socialist sources in which these papers used fully as emphatic language regarding the Bavarian government as did the communist paper. Yet none of these was suppressed.

Prediction Comes True

The Rote Fahne therefore draws the conclusion that the real reason for the action was that there is an effort under way to suppress the communist press as such.

Vorwärts, organ of the Majority Socialists, and Freiheit, organ of the Independents, were quick to see the stupidity of the order. Both point out that the communists now have every right to say, "I told you so," since they predicted at the time the law for the defense of the republic was passed, that it would be used against the working class. They also call attention to the fact that the communists now have an excellent theme for agitation among the masses.

Protests from Workers

That their reasoning is correct, may be seen from the fact that on the very day on which the order against the Rote Fahne was made public, eight simultaneous mass meetings were held in Berlin alone, in which protest resolutions were adopted. From a number of factories, too, protests have been sent thru the works councils, the signatures in many cases being one communist, one majority socialist, and one independent.

Gunmen Victimize Scabs, Too

MINOT, N. D.—High wages are being paid to strikebreakers in the railroad shops here. But their enjoyment of it is brief. Having little opportunity of amusing themselves outside the shops because of their unpopularity with the townspeople and fearing collisions with stray bricks that are apt to fall from anonymous windows, they spend their off hours playing poker.

Inasmuch as the railroad gunmen who are guarding the shops are almost invariably the best players, the strike-breakers go to their cots with nothing ahead but more work.

Printers Demand New Trial

BOSTON.—In a message addressed to Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Typographical Union No. 3 of St. Louis pledges the aid of labor in the battle for a new trial for these condemned workers.

What Will the Workers of New York Do for Defense?

Ben Gitlow is back in prison.

Bill Dunne, C. E. Ruthenberg, Tom O'Flaherty, of New York, are held in Michigan.

Minnie Kalnin, Anna Leisman are in Auburn prison.

Paul Manko is at the Criminal Insane Asylum at Dannemora.

Mizher, Paivio and Alonen are in jail.

19 comrades outside New York are being held.

Now is the time to show your colors.

Give! Give for the defense and relief of the boys in jail!

REMEMBER! YOU MAY BE NEXT!

Let the New York Quota speak for itself!

Send contributions to

National Defense Committee, New York Division

Room 405, 80 East 11th St., New York City.

Nerma Berman, Secretary.

Two Mooney Jurors Paid $1,300 Each to Give Death Verdict

SAN FRANCISCO.—That the verdict that was to send Tom Mooney to his death upon the gallows for his activities in behalf of organized labor in San Francisco was in part paid for, is the substance of a charge made by C. Vincent Riccardi, ex-jury fixer, and member of San Francisco's frameup ring.

Riccardi charges that two of the jurors were paid and that the price was in the neighborhood of $1,300.

The two jurors charged by Riccardi with having accepted a bribe to guarantee a death sentence for Tom Mooney were John Barzini, retired vegetable dealer, and William O. Banks, architect.

Demand that All Labor Joins Strike Is Growing

(Continued from page One.)

quarters of the American Federation of Labor at Washington.

The first "General Strike" resolution was adopted by the Central Labor Union of Omaha, Neb., July 12. This resolution was published in full. Every labor union throughout the country was urged to take similar action. And, according to the report of Samuel Gompers, at Washington, the flood has continued to grow and rise.

Recent reports state that striking railroad shopmen of the Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia and Reading Railroads, at Philadelphia, passed resolutions, a copy of which was sent to Samuel Gompers, urging him to aid in calling a general strike as a result of the injunction issued against the shopmen.

Knoxville, Tenn., Heard From

The Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union, comprising all labor unions of the city, demanded that Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, authorize a nation-wide strike vote of all crafts.

Commenting on the action, officials said all labor organizations were threatened if the railroads were allowed to break the shopmen's unions.

Ben Gitlow Has Gone Back to Prison for You

(Continued from Page One)

vinced and more determined that the only position for the class conscious worker is the militant position, the waging of an open battle with the capitalist class.

Judge Brandeis refused to grant a writ of error and referred the matter to the full bench of the Supreme Court of the United States whose next sitting will take place in October.

Should the Supreme Court admit the possibility of an error, then Ben Gitlow will be let out on bail pending the appeal to the Supreme Court. If that fails, he remains in jail.

Ben Gitlow is one of a very small number in the American labor movement who has sacrificed for the movement and is ready to go on sacrificing. It is now the turn of the workers to contribute for his defense and help carry thru the fight to the Supreme Court.

Address all communications and make all contributions payable to the National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, N. Y.

WASHINGTON.—From his cell in San Quentin prison Tom Mooney has sent $10 to aid in the effort of the various civic, religious and labor organizations seeking the release of wartime political prisoners. There are still 76 of these men in federal jails serving aggregate sentences of 800 years under the free speech section of the espionage law, though the law was suspended 18 months ago.

Italian Meeting in Brooklyn

The Italian Branch, Workers Party, will hold a meeting Monday, Sept. 11, at 5.30 p. m., in Amalgamated Temple, 1127 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

[illegible]"

When one of Colorado's junkers, heading the state militia in one of that state's numerous wars upon its workers, was told that he was violating the constitution, state and national, he quickly "met the situation" by declaring, "To Hell with the Constitution."

Colorado still lives up to that reputation in the [illegible] and deportation of William Z. Foster, as is clearly shown by a local lawyer, Carle Whitehead, in a letter to Governor Shoup, in which he and Adjutant General Hamrock are charged with five definite unconstitutional acts. The letter sent to the governor is in part as follows:

Letter to the Governor

"Adj. Gen.' Patrick Hamrock caused William Z. Foster to be 'forcibly run out of Denver and Colorado' and his literature 'confiscated' because he is 'undesirable.' No warrant for search, seizure or arrest was issued.

"The Constitution of the United States provides that 'The right of the people to be secure in their PERSONS, houses, PAPERS and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated: and no warrant shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.' Section 7, Colorado Constitution, gives the same guaranty.

"The Constitution of the United States protects the right of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

"Colorado Constitution, Section 10, provides 'That every person shall be free to speak, write or publish whatever he will on any subject, being responsible for all abuse of that liberty' (responsible in proceeding for libel or slander).

"Colorado Constitution, Section 24, provides 'That the people have the right peaceably to assemble for the common good and to apply to those invested with the powers of government for redress of grievances, by petition or remonstrance.'

"When you and 'General' Hamrock took office, each of you SWORE BEFORE GOD TO SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE STATE OF COLORADO.

"You and your Adjutant General have, for a long time —

"Prevented by armed force peaceable assemblage of the people.

"Prevented by armed force freedom of speech.

"Prevented by armed force the freedom of the press.

"By armed force and without warrant or process of law, have seized men and deprived them of their liberty.

"By armed force and without warrant or process of law have searched persons and their homes, and seized their papers and effects.

"The Declaration of Independence (our first 'fundamental document') declares that 'all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right—it is their duty—to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security.'

"Think it over.

Yours very truly

"CARLE WHITEHEAD."

To all of which the Governor and Adjutant General reply —

"Oh, Hell!"

Because the workers sleep.

British Communist Party Exposes Real Splitters

An important resolution has been passed by the Executive of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The resolution says that the Executive, "having considered the decisions of the Edinburgh Conference of the Labor Party, and recognizing in them an attempt on the part of the bourgeois elements in the Labor Party to eliminate the revolutionary expression of the working class, is determined to combat this attempt and accordingly upholds its policy of claiming affiliation to, and working within, the Labor Party."

For this purpose, as an expression of the sincerity of its wish to maintain solidarity with the organized movement, the Executive has decided to withdraw all candidates running in opposition to official Labor Party candidates; and accordingly has instructed all its members on local Labor parties and similar organizations to resist any attack upon their representative rights as delegates from working class organizations.

[illegible]

Our [illegible] White Terror against the [illegible] of the country.

All [illegible] agreed that the wreck on the Michigan Central [illegible] the death of the engineer and the fireman was due to the use of a defective engine.

Not so the [illegible]. They all [illegible] to the illusion, profitable to them, that strikers had deliberately caused the wreck. Arrests quickly followed, originally 10, then six and now we are told that three striking shopmen are held, Charles Uselis, Joseph Popaunich and Albino Alesso.

The brutal third degree, blows, kicks, curses, the torment of not being allowed to sleep, more foul language, blinding light poured into tired eyes, all the fiendish tortures invented by diabolical minds, all this was used to get the desired "confession."

Even the New York Times is forced to publish the declaration of Paul Glaser, Gary, Ind., attorney, representing the three strikers arrested, that they are innocent, but they had been so abused by the police that they would have admitted anything.

Attorney Glaser told the court that the men arrested had been unmercifully beaten, that the confessions were wrung from them by force and that they would repudiate the confessions. He charged the whole affair with being a frame-up to discredit the shopmen's strike.

But the red herring must be drawn across the trail that leads to those really guilty of the wrecks now daily taking place on the railroads,— the railroad owners. Mr. Daugherty, of the department of justice, and Mr. Burns, of the Burns Detective Agency, can find the real criminals if they will study the Interstate Commerce Commission report, that examination of 4,055 locomotives out of the 60,000 in use discloses defects of one kind or another in 2,456. Out of these 169 were judged unsafe to operate, 992 required immediate attention and 1,295 are "in need of repairs."

But Mr. Daugherty and Mr. Burns do not want to prosecute the real criminals; men of wealth and "financial standing" in the community. They want to make the dear public, if they do not themselves, believe that the railroads have gone Bolshevik. So they arrest foreign-speaking strikers, some of whom no doubt cannot speak English, and get from them fist-made or brass-knuckle produced third degree confessions.

Maud McCreery writes in the Federated Press that George Till, of Buffalo, one of the visitors arrested at the first day's session of the Trade Union Educational League's Conference at Chicago, following his release, said on his return to the conference that the 15 arrested were forced to run a gauntlet, not only of rapid fire questions, but of kicks and blows from about 14 detectives.

Till said that Earl Browder, assistant editor of The Labor Herald, and co-worker with William Z. Foster, with Jack Schulman, of Winnipeg, were beaten and kicked and should be in the hospital.

These are the crimes not only of petty police officers or big profiteers, but of the rotten social system under which we all live, a system that finds its bulwark in the capitalist state that has its headquarters at Washington, D. C.

These crimes should help arouse more workers to the need of replacing that degrading and savagely cruel capitalist state with the emancipating rule of labor, established and maintaining its power thru a dictatorship of the workers in the form of a Soviet Republic.

Workers! Let the agony of labor's martyrs spur you on to greater efforts. It is forward to emancipation under Communism or backward to slavery with the return of barbarism. Let your forward march be your answer to the third degree.

Russia Is Still Hungry

The "Forward" attack upon the Friends of Soviet Russia to the effect that money is being used for other purposes than famine relief in Soviet Russia is a malicious and treacherous piece of work by those who are politically and economically hostile to the Soviet Republic.

Workers' organizations and papers, which attack the Friends of Soviet Russia without reason or proof, are stabbing Soviet Russia in the back and are assisting in the harvest of death in famine and hunger stricken Russia. They but unite with the Civic Federation, the Pierpont Morgan-Samuel Gompers organizations, with Miliukoff and other enemies of Soviet Russia in the U. S.

The "Forward" presents no specific charges, but only insinuations, false accusations and general suspicion. No doubt the Forward has done the Friends of Soviet Russia considerable harm. It impeded the progress of the TOOL DRIVE. In their attempt, however, to destroy the only workers' relief organization for the starving in Soviet Russia, they miserably failed. The workers of America will rally to its support and the workers and peasants of that stricken country will gain in the end.

The Friends of Soviet Russia is the AUTHORIZED workers' famine relief collection agency for America, affiliated with the International Workers' Relief Committee, headquarters in Berlin. The International Relief Committee is mandated by Moscow.

The Friends of Soviet Russia has appointed an impartial committee of five persons well known in the labor movement of the country. This committee will investigate the charges made by the Forward. Additional inquiries may be sent to this committee, addressed to Roger Baldwin, care of the Civic Club, 14 West 12th Street, New York City.

The Investigation Committee consists of the following: Roger N. Baldwin, Chairman; Robert Morss Lovett, Secretary; Norman Thomas, Walter Nelles. Another committee-man is still to be appointed by the Friends of Soviet Russia. J. B. C. Woods, the Friends of Soviet Russia auditor, will act in an advisory capacity.

Affiliated Branches at conferences and regular sessions upon investigating the accusations made by the Forward, passed resolutions strongly condemning the Forward, branding those behind it as enemies of Soviet Russia, and pledging their renewed support in aiding and furthering the relief work of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The stab in the back attack of "The Forward" has been successfully met. It has not alienated a single worker from the supporters of the Friends of Soviet Russia. It has won it many friends. To work, Comrades, to greater efforts.

Soviet Russia is still hungry and needs relief more than ever.

The Cleveland, O., Federationist, that claims to be the local advocate of the American Federation of Labor, asks, "Why should there be such a hatred between capital and labor?" We suggest this question for the agenda of the next Civic Federation Banquet, with Gompers leading the discussion. Rank and file workers will please stay at home where they are needed to fight evictions and deportations, and face the attack of private gunmen, the police, militia and regular army. Perhaps the Cleveland editor would find an answer to his question if he took the place of a shop striker for a few days.

President Harding's "Back to Normalcy" policy is still working in the appointment of Former United States Senator George Sutherland, of Utah, to the U. S. Supreme Court in place of Associate Justice Clarke, resigned. Sutherland is a stone age reactionary of the Reed Smoot school of conservatism and can be depended on to serve the money masters well.

John P. Frey, editor of the Iron Moulders' Journal, in a Labor Day Speech at Herrin, Ill., is reported to have said that the United States Government is the greatest strike breaking agency in the country. Frey is one of Gompers' right hand men, and like Gompers, in spite of their Labor Day speeches, will vote and work to keep that strike breaking agency in power.

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign

We Correct New York Times on Congress of Youth in Mexico City

MEXICO CITY.—On Aug. [illegible] the New York Times printed the following Associated Press dispatch dated Mexico City, Aug. 13: "Foreign bolsheviki are conspicuous at the sessions of the Communist congress for Mexican young men, which opened yesterday with 52 delegates present from all parts of the republic.

"Radicals from Russia, Italy, Argentina, Guatemala, China, Spain and Germany brought greetings to Mexican communists from their respective organizations. The session was opened with the singing of the 'Internationale.' Radicals from North America are keeping in the background.

"The arrest of four well known foreign agitators yesterday is being commented on as evidence that the government is watching the proceedings carefully."

Had the Associated Press reporter been present at the meeting he would have discovered the following facts. The congress was the second annual meeting of the Juventud Communists (Communist Youth), a separate organization from that of the Communist party. "Foreign bolsheviki" were not conspicuous; only two men were present who were not Mexicans, one the delegate from the Communist Youth of Guatemala, the other a Swiss who is the representative in Mexico of the International Organization of Young Communists. There were 19 delegates instead of 52 reported by the A. P.

The police did not arrest "four well known agitators," although El Mundo, an afternoon paper carried a story to that effect the afternoon before. Two of the men mentioned in the El Mundo story as being Argentinians come as delegates to the Young Communist congress are chimerical; the other two exist, but have not been arrested, according to a statement given out at Communist headquarters.

Worker Dies by Inches in Prison While President Harding Is Deliberating

By CARL BRANNIN

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Ed Quigley, I. W. W. political prisoner at Leavenworth, is dying by inches while President Harding deliberately and gravely considers the cases of those prisoners who have applied for executive clemency. Quigley is not among them.

I sat and talked with Quigley in the interview room at the prison. He was bright and cheerful with undimmed spirit. "Oh, I'm going to pull thru," said he. "The trouble with most fellows with T. B. is up here," and he tapped his head. "They give up. Not me, though." Then he coughed and spat into the little tin box consumptive prisoners carry with them for their germ laden sputum.

Quigley is one of the famous silent defense group tried in Sacramento, Cal. after terrible treatment in the overcrowded jail there. He is serving a 10-year sentence. I asked him if he regretted their tactics. "Not at all," was the answer. "With the war time hysteria we were bound to be sent up. We only did the sensible thing."

It may be remembered that some time ago the names of Quigley and Caesar Tabib (another I. W. W. consumptive prisoner) were presented over their protest to the attorney general's office for parole. Their very serious physical condition was emphasized. The final answer was that until they were much sicker than they were then they would have to stay behind the bars.

A friend here who was a political in Leavenworth when these men were first sent up, said: "A year ago Quigley had a fighting chance for his life if he could have been released and gone to the proper climate. I fear it is too late now."

For more than a half hour I visited with Quigley and Ricardo Magon, Mexican revolutionist and political prisoner, whose eyesight is fading with a cataract growth. We would have talked longer, but for Quigley's fits of coughing which made it impossible for him to speak and interfered with the conversation of others in the room. He was led away, his emaciated form racked with the paroxysm.

Seven Years Hard Labor

LONDON, England.—Isaac Jacob Viljoen, one of the leaders of the great strike in the Rand gold fields in South Africa last January, has been sentenced to seven years hard labor by a Special Treason Court in Johannesburg. Eight hundred and forty-nine others are to be tried for treason for their part in the protest against starvation wages which the South African government put down with aeroplanes, tanks and heavy artillery. Eleven thousand in all await trial.

Don't Throw This Paper Away. Pass It on to Your Neighbor

[illegible] Labor's Exploiters

By GEORGE HARDY
(Staff Writer, The Worker)

BERLIN. — The International Miners Congress at Frankfort was a landmark in the history of the International labor movement, but not for what the congress did progressive, for it was the negation of all class action, and merely portrayed the weak and mild class collaborative policy of the Amsterdam Trade Union and the Second Socialist Internationals.

There were approximately 2,000,000 miners represented, and three quarters of the membership composed the Miners Federation of Great Britain and the United Mine Workers of America.

These two organizations, having a majority, should have brought forth some form of international action in aid of the struggling miners of the U. S. A.

Instead we find the collosal betrayal of internationalism in the report of the Standing Orders Committee that, they had resolved to refrain from any form of direct action, to relieve the U. S. Miners, by preventing shipments of coal to America.

Instead they shelter behind the paltry donation of $45,000 which will not keep 2,500 families one week. They evidently are bent upon repeating the defeat of the British Miners Strike in 1921, when 147,000 tons of coal were shipped and carried into Britain by the Transport Workers.

There are now 64 ships in the river Tyne, awaiting cargos of coal, which will assist the enemy in defeating the American Miners.

Hodges Knows — But?

We can conscientiously say that the International Secretary, Frank Hodges, is quite aware of what he is doing, hence our accusation, for he admitted upon the floor of the Congress, that if the American Miners did not succeed in maintaining their conditions, it would be increasingly difficult for the miners of other countries to hold their own against the coal owners.

In other words: he admits the Executive of the Red International of Labor Unions is correct in calling upon the International Working-class to assist the miners of the U. S. A., by all means at their command.

However, like all the "safe and sane" labor leaders, he decides to aid the Steel Trust and the Standard Oil Company rather than speak for what he knows to be necessary to win.

The American Miners' voices will be heard from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in protest against your pious congratulatory resolution. Only Action can help them!

Truce or Class-War — Which?

Apparently Hodges is attempting to introduce his "ten years industrial truce measure" into the international movement—a truce which Bob Smillie correctly calls a "truce of death".

That there is no desire for a rupture with capitalism is evident, for the Congress, while voting a resolution for an international general strike in case of war, refused the French motion to include in the resolution words to make it effective against the attacks of capitalism and for the improvement of general working conditions, by a vote of 86 to 16.

Russian Miners Rejected

The All-Russian Miners Union applied for admission to the International of Miners, but were reminded they were converts of the Third International and the Red International of Labor Unions.

They were told they must accept the statutes and program of the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions. These dividers of labor, say in effect you must abandon your class-position and revolutionary program, to which the miners must reply: "Never! Never!"

If you think the Russian miners will accept your program you are sadly mistaken. These battle-scarred miners from Donetz and the Urals are not going to surrender upon the altar of reformism, after fighting for possession against Denikin and Wrangel for three years.

They will accept co-operation, as an inclusive part of the Miners International, for the purposes of solidarity of action — for a united front against capitalism, which you have shrunk from in this congress, and which you tried to cover up by a resolution to have a committee bring some recommendations for joint action upon miners conditions, next year.

Amsterdam Splits Labor Movement

Hodges attacked the R. I. L. U. in the British Miners Congress and blamed them for the split in the French C. G. T.

The miners of the Red International Labor Union in Britain replied: "Amsterdam is the cause of the split, for they expelled the majority who were aiming at unity." [illegible] like the Russians, the French [illegible] not allow themselves to be [illegible] in the political juggling for [illegible] of Nations. [illegible] is splitting the union should [illegible] to everyone. The Russian Miners want unity; you reject their proposals, like you rejected the C. G. T. Unitaire. You ask the Russian miners to accept "Amsterdam", which is in conformity with your reactionary policy of throwing out of the "International" all who disagree with your reformist tactics.

Just as the International Transport Workers Federation — a subordinate body of "Amsterdam" — threw out the French railwaymen and the Holland transport workers; just as your reformist brothers retreat from the United front, by expelling the largest unions in Czecho-Slovakia; just as the Italian "Amsterdamers" refuse to allow the R. I. L. U. adherents proportionate representation upon the central council of the Alleanza del Lavoro (Union of Labor), so has this international congress sown discord in the miners' ranks by rejecting the Russian Miners, except upon terms of surrender to International Imperialism.

We remind you Hodges of the 118,000 votes for the R. I. L. U. at the last miners congress in Britain, which fell far short of our total strength, owing to the votes being cast as units from each district — South Wales casting a united vote for the Red International.

Retreat Or Advance?

How much progress (?) this reformist International made can be measured by the fact that they accept the "Amsterdam" decisions upon reparations and the Versailles Treaty.

These recent decisions call for modification only. This is an admission that they are favoring one set of capitalists against another, instead of making war upon them jointly.

They tell the German delegates how sorry they are for their condition; knowing the German miners, and workers generally are being bled white, they decide to only ask the capitalist class to modify their bloodsucking policy a little, and concur to support the League of Nations by agreeing with Amsterdam.

The Red International of Labor Unions invites you to action. Make good your resolve to "strike in case of war," right now. Your governments have never ceased war since 1914. Their armies march daily to some battle front.

To the British delegates it is common knowledge that war is on in India and Ireland; it is known to the French that economic war is carried on in occupied areas and in Alsace Lorraine, with capital seizures and expulsions; the Belgians know the army of occupation has been used against the German workers during strikes; the American representatives know of their bloody history and their list of dead in West Virginia, etc., etc., in the war that never ceases — the class-war; they also know of the hundreds of Union men rotting in the prisons of America for the last five years, for their fight on behalf of labor, and every delegate there was acquainted with the smashing blows delivered at their own unions. **Is this not enough war to warrant your resolve for immediate action?** It should be!

R. I. L. U. and Revolutionary Unions

The R. I. L. U. stands for industrial Unionism. It wants all the miners in the world in one fighting international with a revolutionary policy.

We must seek unity and control of the mines by the working class; we must turn them into **Social Property**, instead of the private property of the capitalist class. We will organize every industry upon the basis of commodities produced therein, making class-unionism the rule, instead of the many craft-divisions that now exist we will have one big union of all workers in each country.

Linked up into the fighting class-conscious International of Red Labor Unionism we will be organizing the common will of the workers, coordinated for creative effort. It will be an International that will challenge the imperialistic plunderers with proletarian might. It will not shrink from Action!

The Red International concurs with the French delegates. Action is needed! Let the rank and file of the Miners' International order all treason stopped, whether conscious or otherwise. Let the rank and file of the International Transport Workers refuse to be used as strike-breakers at the behest of their so-called leaders. Force the "Amsterdam International" officials to abandon their present bankrupt policy, and adopt the program of the United Front. Organize to control your own destiny!

Create a real International of Miners!

Join the Red International of Labor Unions!

[illegible] the [illegible] R. I. L. U. was as follows:

THE APPEAL OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE R.I.L.U.

Comrades! The Executive of the Red International of Labor Unions [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] between the miners and capital arise spontaneously [illegible]

[illegible] We all remember the heroic struggle of the English miners who fought for their rights for 13 weeks, and [illegible] from the workers of other [illegible]

The English capitalists were able to break the desperate resistance of the miners with [illegible] from America and the continent.

And the same [illegible] in America. The miners of the Central States have been fighting for four months, beating back the attacks of capital.

No means are too low for the capitalists. They employed strike breakers, [illegible] and even poison gas against the strikers.

The fight of the American miners may also end in defeat if their comrades from other countries do not support them sufficiently.

Dozens of ships are bringing European coal to America, thus minimizing the effects of the strike. In spite of their courage and their endurance, the heroic American miners may be forced under the iron heel of capitalism.

The international solidarity of the capitalists is unfortunately greater than that of the miners.

The only way out, the only hope of breaking the capitalist chains, lies in the close alliance of the miners' unions the world over for the purpose of conducting their class struggle in common.

The task of your Congress is to make of the Miners' International a mighty weapon for the proletarian struggle.

One of the chief conditions for the realization of this task is the formation of an active, closely united Miners' International, including the mine workers of the whole world, and independent of the political position or sympathy of its national members.

The second condition is that the present International shall not content itself with being a mere information bureau, but shall adopt a conscious class policy, conduct the fights of the miners on an international basis and place the interests of the international proletariat above those of the national sections.

Only after you have built a united international front of the miners, will your Congress measure up to its task and be able to oppose the attacks of capital with an unconquerable solidarity.

The R.I.L.U. and its affiliated unions are ready to do all in their power to help create a revolutionary front of the miners, and conduct successfully the fight against the aggressions of capital.

The Executive Committee of the R.I.L.U.
A. LOZOVSKY, General Secretary.

Harding's Loyalists Sure do Get Results

MINNEAPOLIS. — After changing engines 18 times between Kansas City and Minneapolis, passenger train No. 88 on the Rock Island railroad arrived in Minneapolis 10 hours late, according to reports received today at striking shopmen's headquarters. It is asserted by union officials that freight traffic on the Rock Island has been practically abandoned and that freight locomotives are being used to draw passenger engines.

LABOR POLITICIANS CLASH

SEATTLE.—Wires were crossed recently when the local Conference for Progressive Political Action named Phil Tindall, anti-Japanese city councilman, for congress, while the national organization indorsed J. W. Bryan, a former congressman, for the job.

Retraction of its actions by the national body is asked by the local group, composed of conservative trade unionists, the W. C. T. U. and anti-Japanese agitators.

SAN FRANCISCO.—One thousand tear bombs have been received here by Chief of Police O'Brien. It is announced that they will be used "to scatter mobs in case of riots."

[illegible]

SACRAMENTO, Cal. [illegible] Dymond, notorious stool pigeon whose [illegible] automatically railroads I. W. W. members to jail in California to pay for the crimes Dymond himself committed.

Dymond is reluctant to come to Sacramento, as the defense has announced he will be arrested for impersonating an army officer as soon as he shows himself in town.

However, there being no case against the men, the prosecution must have Dymond's perjured testimony, and pressure is being brought to bear on him to give him the necessary nerve by October.

From Our Readers

Miners Struggle in West Virginia

Dear Comrade Editor:—There occurred a little massacre here in a little mining village called Cliftonville, which for some reason has been overlooked by our press.

Cliftonville is located across the river from Martin's Ferry, Ohio. The mine there had been operated by union men, and when the strike occurred the boss asked the men to stay on the job, not to mine coal but to "clean up" the mine. As the latter is permitted by the union, the men complied with the wishes of the boss.

All went well until the miners, having cleaned the stone and other material out of the rooms, were asked to mine coal. Of course, they refused. The boss thereupon attempted to operate the mine with scabs. This was early in July. The miners attempted to persuade the scabs to quit but to no avail.

In order to aid their brothers in West Virginia a couple of hundred union miners from Pennsylvania marched across the line, intending, of course, to use moral suasion to induce the scabs to quit. Then the sheriff of Brooke County (W. Va.), where the mine was located, sent for state police from the Pennsylvania side, and these, together with the sheriff and his posse, fired upon the marching miners, and then—

Well, the miners scattered them. The sheriff was killed, as well as a number of others from both sides. Armed thugs, uniformed and otherwise, were imported from all over the state, and on the following few days wholesale arrests of the miners were made, and to-day 216 are on trial, 78 odd of them charged with murder and the remainder with lesser crimes.

The matter was brought to my attention by the fact that the sheriff of Brooke County, Ohio, came last week to the homes of three miners in Warrenton, Ohio, one of whom is a member of the Workers Party, and arrested them on warrants charging them with complicity in the Cliftonville affair.

This affair looms big in the affairs of the miners of the vicinity, and the trial promises to be an interesting one. The farmers are mostly on the side of the miners.

In St. Clairsville, Ohio, where a riot occurred due to the attempt of operators to run a strip mine with scabs, the principal stockholder of the mine was shot and killed, after which 15 union miners were arrested and placed under charges of murder and manslaughter.

The first of them, Dominick Venturati, the president of the local, was recently convicted of murder in the first degree, altho it was proven in the trial that he could not possibly have been the man who did the deed. The Bellaire, Ohio, comrades are contemplating a gigantic mass demonstration of all the workers in the vicinity to protest against the conviction.

J. W. M.

"Amalgamated" Organizer Beaten

VINELAND, N. J.—An aggravated case of violence occurred here recently in an attempt to stop the strike of clothing workers.

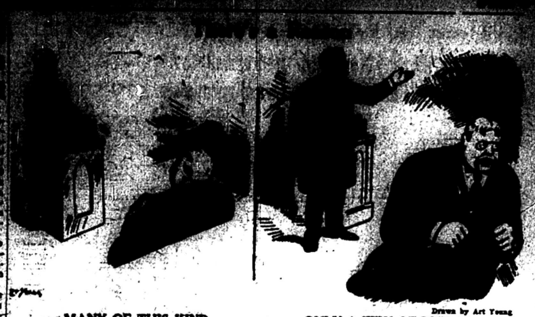
After the receipt of a threatening letter, which he did not take seriously, Forte Velona, organizer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was caught alone in his house, tied to a chair and beaten into unconsciousness.

The receipt of the threatening letter was closely followed by a visit from "prominent citizens," including the president of a local trust company, the president of the chamber of commerce, and an official of the American Legion, who attempted without success to prevail upon Velona to call off the strike or to leave town.

Now Hurricanes and Hailstorms

LONDON.—The assistant chief administrator of the Save the Children Fund in Russia states that a considerable portion of the province of Saratov has been afflicted by hurricanes and hailstorms and much destruction of crops has followed. A deputation of peasants recently declared that at least half the population will starve during the coming winter unless outside help is forthcoming.

Help Get These 25,000 Readers!



Drawn by Art Young

MANY OF THIS KIND

He preaches that the rewards of labor shall be reaped in heaven.

ONLY A FEW OF THIS KIND

He preaches that labor should get a few rewards here on earth.

Metal Workers Urge All Members to Refuse to Perform All Railroad Work

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE AMALGAMATED METAL WORKERS OF AMERICA
TO ALL METAL AND MACHINERY WORKERS

It has been brought to our attention that certain contract machine shops are at this time accepting work from railroads whose shopmen are on strike.

REFUSE TO PERFORM SUCH WORK!

All railroad shopmen in the United States are on strike, not to gain better conditions but to block the efforts of the roads and the United States Railway Labor Board to establish a condition that is in fact Industrial Slavery.

THEIR FIGHT IS OUR FIGHT!

To their everlasting disgrace certain railroad unions, particularly the "Big Four," are running true to "craft union" form by remaining on the job and lending the roads invaluable service toward breaking the shopmen's strike.

Other influential agencies are lined up on the side of the roads in a concerted effort to force the "open shop" upon them, therefore our immediate duty is twofold:

First—Stop work immediately on any and all railroad work.

Second—Point out to all railroad workers with whom you come in contact the necessity of supporting the shopmen, by an immediate stoppage of work, and the necessity of so correcting their form of organization by amalgamating the various crafts, to render impossible such an occurrence in the future.

UNITED WE STAND—DIVIDED WE FALL

While railroad magnates, mine owners and industrial capital generally are rallying to the call of the "open shop"—let labor close its ranks, and unite for the impending struggle; if the shopmen are beaten, we all lose thereby; if they win, we all gain accordingly.

Neither the shopmen nor the miners have taken the offensive, they are merely holding the front line trenches for the American working class against the wage-reducing, organization-busting drive of the employing class. They have hurled their challenge, we have no course other than to accept.

CLOSE YOUR RANKS—STOP ALL RAILROAD WORK.
LET WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY REPLACE CRAFT UNION-SCABBERY.
THEN AND ONLY THEN WILL VICTORY BE OURS
AMALGAMATED METAL WORKERS OF AMERICA

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign.

"The Callous Cruelty of Labor"

The title to this editorial is taken from the heading of an article appearing in the August issue of "Tom Mooney's Monthly." The complete heading is, "Callous Cruelty of Labor Responsible for Continued Incarceration of Prisoners."

That desperate declaration is born of the tireless struggle that has been waged for the past six years for the liberation of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

The "callous cruelty" indictment against organized labor is based upon the following facts contained in this article.

> **"We have asked, we have implored, that the labor movement record its demand for pardons with the chief executive of this State, Governor William D. Stephens, in whose hands rests the freedom or continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings. Altho nearly four months have elapsed since we first made our appeal to the labor movement for action on this one thing, out of the thousands of local unions in this country and the hundreds of local unions in California, our records, as we go to press with this issue, show that only ninety-four local unions, Central bodies, State Federations and International Unions, have heeded our request.**
>
> **Ninety-four organizations! What a crying indictment of the indifference of the labor movement. Why, there are 117 national and international unions alone in this country, and they are made up of thousands upon thousands of local unions and other affiliated organizations. We have sent requests for action to over 900 organizations in California alone and yet thruout the entire United States only ninety-four have responded to our appeal.**
>
> **The Machinists' organization contains over 1200 local unions, the Painters' organization over 900, the Carpenters' over 2500, the United Mine Workers' nearly 4,000. These are but a few of the local unions in the country and to date, at the most critical time in the history of the Mooney-Billings defense, at a time when action will really count, only ninety-four organizations cared enough about their champions to ask for their release.**

It is stated that at least 2,000 local unions are represented on the subscription list of "Tom Mooney's Monthly," an added count in this tragic indictment.

Let the thousands of unions that have not already responded immediately send their protests to Governor Stephens, at Sacramento, Cal., demanding the immediate release of Mooney and Billings. That is the least that can be done.

Never mind your officials. They are too busy keeping the workers divided on the industrial battle field. They ought to, but they have not organized a real effort for the release of these and other class war prisoners.

Many of them do not want Mooney and Billings released. One reason for this may be found in the fact that "Tom Mooney's Monthly" enthusiastically urges that every railroader in the country should read "The Railroaders' Next Step," by William Z. Foster.

We find that Seth Brown, president of the California Federation of Labor, has come out with an endorsement of Governor Stephens for re-election, Mooney case, criminal syndicalist prosecutions and all.

That alone ought to be enough to stir the red blood of every working man and woman, not only in California, but thruout the land.

California labor will have a state convention in October at which time Brown's O. K. of Stephens will receive proper attention. In the meantime let the workers everywhere give Stephens their attention by flooding him with demands for the immediate release of two of the most fearless spokesmen their class has ever known. Do it now!

Do not let it be said that you are guilty of the criminal charge contained in the indictment, "The Callous Cruelty of Labor."

Help get these 25,000 new readers.

$100,000 in One Year Chicago's Contribution for Relief of Russia

The first annual report of the activities and accomplishments of the Chicago F. S. R. brings the news that for the first year ending July 31, 1922, this Branch of the F. S. R. has collected more than $100,000 for the relief of the starving population of Russia.

Activities in San Francisco

The San Francisco local F. S. R. held an entertainment in celebration of the founding of the F. S. R.

A tractor picnic was held at which sufficient funds were raised to complete the purchase of a very good tractor.

Seek More Machinery

The F. S. R. is now in the market for three threshing and four baling machines, which are soon to be sent to Soviet Russia to meet the new requirements of the F. S. R. Agricultural Unit.

It is expected that the Unit will remain in Russia for the spring of 1923, when the F. S. R. will send additional materials for further increased agricultural production.

The Unit is stationed near Vereschag in the Urals and Comrade H. W. Ware is still on the job with his husky North and South Dakotans directing the work. The Unit has an excellent record of accomplishments in agricultural relief.

Food Still Being Sent to Russia

The French Relief Train's contribution of 140 carloads of flour, fats, grain, other foodstuffs, shoes, clothes, tools, etc. and 100 more tons of machinery, tools, motor cars, etc., is on its way to Russia.

HOW WE ARE GOUGED

[illegible]—The greatest range in the prices of watermelons and the heaviest gouging of the public in recent seasons was made known here by a retailer who declared that farmers were getting from 3 to 10 cents each for watermelons which were selling retail at from 75 cents to $2.50. Farmers are receiving $42.50 a carload for melons and paying $40 for freight. This dealer sold large melons retail for 5 cents each, passing the produce on to the public at a reasonable price. Restaurants retailed these melons at 25 cents a slice while retailers generally asked 75 cents each for the melons and pocketed the profit of 1,500 percent or more.

~~White Terror in Lithuania.~~

Fifteen radical papers have been suppressed since 1919 by the Lithuanian government, according to Kova (The Struggle) official organ of the Lithuanian Trade unions published in Shauliai, Lithuania.

Two editors of these suppressed papers, Kurauskas and Eidukevisiene, were imprisoned and are still serving in Kovno.

The radical movement and press are prosecuted under the code of czarist Russia, by which Lithuania's people are still ruled.

The Lithuanian Communist party is illegal and forced to function underground. Many communists are in jail. In order to prevent the workers from joining Lithuanian trade unions (Lietuvos Profesines Sajungas), the clericals organized their own Lithuanian Federation of Labor.

Progress Shakes Russian Church

LONDON. — During an interview in Berlin with a representative of the English "Observer", Tchitcherin spoke of the new democratic movement in the Russian church, "stating emphatically that democracy is triumphing in the most mediaeval and reactionary institution it is possible to conceive. 'The peasants,' he continued, 'are accepting the change of electing from out of their own community their bishops and priests —no longer ineligible for office, except monks — with a satisfaction which is increased by the use of Russian instead of the Slavonic language in the service.'"

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

[illegible] Communist Party [illegible] to the Working Class of the United States

(Continued from Page One)

alleged "secret," "underground," "conspiratorial" convention in Michigan.

Workers of America! We are now turning to you. We want to make it clear to you why we are being persecuted.

The Government, the hordes of spies and stoolpigeons, and the kept press, are howling day and night, "Persecute and crush the Communists; they are a dangerous secret band of conspirators!" The Gompers clique rushes to the rescue of this unholy Trinity. And even the Socialist New York Call and the Forward print documents and evidence to prove that the Communists are an underground party with secret objects and mysterious methods.

Want Workers to Know Everything

Workers of America! We want to make it clear to you why all the Powers that be of American capitalism have solidly lined up against us.

They are persecuting us, not because we are a secret band of conspirators.

The Communist Party of America is not a secret band of plotters. We do not desire to conceal a single one of our objects from the great working class of America. It is an infamous lie that we Communists organize campaigns of bomb throwing, dynamiting and sabotage. On the contrary, we Communists, as all of our manifestoes, books, and press show, are in principle opposed to all such individual actions—instead of action of the masses—not because we want to save the capitalists, but because we know that all such terroristic acts are ineffective and would serve to confuse the working masses, poison public opinion against the workers' cause, and would afford the capitalist government an excuse to proceed against the workers.

We can perfectly well understand how honest, striking workers, embittered by the brutal oppression suffered by them under capitalism, resort to acts of sabotage, and we look upon the persecution of such workers with utmost disdain. But we do not look upon such methods as methods of the Revolution.

Revolutionists Not Bomb Throwers

We are revolutionists and not bomb throwers. We want to destroy the whole building of capitalist society and not the building of some railway station.

We are after the life of the political and economic rule of the bourgeoisie and not after the life of this banker or that government official.

The road to the workers' revolution does not lie in train wrecks and petty dynamiting feats, but in broad huge mass actions that is thru the organized mass movements of the organized workers.

It is base and senseless slander to brand the Communists a small, sinister band in ambush. Foe to face with all the workers of America, we openly declare that we have neither arms nor an armed organization. We know very well that capitalism cannot be abolished without the use of force.

The capitalist magnates will hand over power to the workers only as willingly and as peacefully as the British Crown and Feudal Forces handed it over to the American bourgeoisie in 1776, and as peacefully and as willingly as the Southern slave-owners freed their Negro slaves in the Civil War.

Attack Capitalist Hypocricy

Indeed, we openly proclaim that the industrial and agricultural workers, who, being the vast majority of the population of this country, have a right to establish their own rule, with force if need be, against the rule of the small group of trust magnates and capitalists generally.

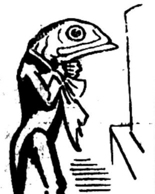
We are for the rule of the workers, we are for huge mass actions, we are for participation of tens of millions of workers in this struggle. Is it not then plain and self-evident that it would be ridiculous and stupid for us even to attempt to achieve all of these in a secret, concealed manner without the knowledge and behind the backs of the millions of workers?

But—this being so, the honest working man may also ask. "Why then is the Communist Party of America an underground party?"

We want to answer this question also. It is true that the Communist Party of America is an underground party. But why? Simply because the capitalist State Powers compel us

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



THE POOR FISH SAYS

He believes in speaking your mind but not in agitation.

Lawyers in Hell!

SAN FRANCISCO.—"Lawyers in Hell" is the fitting title of an article on the recent convention of the American Bar Association in San Francisco, by the Reverend Mercer Green Johnston, of Baltimore. The article recently appeared in an eastern daily.

The Reverend Johnston, in his article, holds that San Francisco well deserves the appellation of "Hell" for its treatment of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

"What possessed the American Bar Association to choose San Francisco as a meeting place this year?" he asks, "for, surely, there isn't a place under the sun where the spirit of law has been so openly and violently outraged, or where it is kept so continuously and so unapologetically in durance vile."

to be an underground party. In many of our states there are "anti-syndicalist" laws, the object of which is, thru imprisonment, deportation, and all sorts of persecutions, to make impossible the open existence of the Communist Party organization. You have here, before you the most brazen example of capitalist hypocrisy.

On the one hand, the capitalist State Powers, thru their own laws make it impossible for us to exist openly, and then on the other hand, these same capitalist State Powers turn round and blame us for being an underground party.

Organized As Open Party

It is not an inherent feature of a Communist party to be underground. In France, in Germany, in Italy, in England, in Czecho-Slovakia, we have Communist Parties with hundreds of thousands of workers in their ranks, whose program is the same as ours, that is, the establishment of working class rule, the abolition of capitalism.

And yet, these parties are not underground; on the contrary, they are able to organize openly, to carry on the most open Communist propaganda in their press, assembly and the legislative bodies.

It is only in the most backward countries, in the countries most apart from the center of the modern world, as in Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Hungary and Finland, that the brutality of the State Powers has condemned the Communist parties to an underground existence.

The Communist Party of America has done everything in its power to organize as an open political party. In 1919 the Communist Party of America was organized as an open party. It is only the brutal persecution that has driven us underground. And today also, we want to do everything in our power that will enable us to participate openly in political life.

Our great aim, revolutionizing the broad masses, the development of huge political mass actions, the enhancement of proletarian class-consciousness, the raising of the working class to be the ruling class, all of these especially, we can only achieve in the great open field. We openly declare and we can convince every sincere worker that the Communist Party of America, despite the fact that it is today an underground party has not carried out a single plan in secret; and is carrying on all of its work, all of its activity in the open.

We are, then, not persecuted because we are a band of conspirators, and not because we are building an underground party. This is all false. The real reasons for this persecution are positively to be found elsewhere.

Why This Persecution!

The real reasons are the following: As a result of the War and the economic crisis, the class struggle of the American workers against the capitalists is developing on an ever larger scale and assuming an ever sharper turn. The offensive of the capitalists seeks, with the aid of their State Powers, to destroy the whole organized labor movement. The open shop movement and the brutal attempts of the Government to destroy the Coal Miners' Union thru the Coronado decision, indicates the real plans of the capitalists.

The workers must defend themselves unless they wish to go down to utter defeat. The big battles of this campaign of self-defense are the miners' and the railroad workers' [illegible] nomic life are [illegible] schemes of the [illegible] must close his [illegible] works and other capitalists must follow suit.

Workers Demand Amalgamation

The railway strike is becoming more and more general. Even the strike of the shopmen alone obstructed traffic. The Interstate Commerce Commission was obliged to notify the Senate that no less than 60 per cent of the 79,000 locomotives in use in the United States were rendered useless for service.

The organized workers of the Big Four are out on strike by the tens of thousands—against the will of the yellow trade union bureaucracy. The Steel Trust, terrified lest the steel workers be drawn into this strike movement, was forced "voluntarily" to raise the wages 20 percent.

The amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions is becoming an even larger factor in the minds of the workers. What has never manifested itself in the history of the American labor movement has already appeared: the idea and the possibility of conducting a General Strike thruout the entire United States.

Coal and railroads, fuel and traffic are in danger—the amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, the idea of the General Strike!

The capitalists of the United States feel that these struggles are shaking the capitalist system to its very depths.

Capitalists Employ Violence

The capitalists of this country cannot crush the millions of striking workers economically; hence they are compelled to employ the Government power, they are applying open, naked violence.

The American courts have issued a whole series of injunctions against the strikers for the protection of capitalist enterprises.

The aim of the Coronado decision is to strike to the heart of organized labor. The police dogs of the Department of Justice are fabricating lies and stories of sabotage to incriminate the workers.

The capitalists do not hesitate to increase the use of violence, even to the point of civil war. The bloody tragedy of Herrin is only a battle in the civil war between the capitalist and the working class of America.

The siege of Joliet is another battle in this big war. An extensive, well-planned campaign of the capitalists is clearly demonstrated by the fact that troops have been used in no less than 15 States.

But the capitalists are not satisfied with this. What has already happened in fifteen States, they intend to enact in all 48 States of the Union. Harding demands dictatorial power, he asks for a law which will hand over the organized workers of this country completely to the powers of the Government.

Harding's message to Congress stated in the hypocritical, juristic language of the capitalist class what Hoover said in all brutality: "If the strike is not settled within a week, we will simply raise the flag and appoint General Pershing to take charge of matters."

The dictatorship of the American capitalists has been changed into an open military dictatorship, owing to the increasing sharpness of the class struggle.

Struggle for Political Power

The mighty executive of the capitalist class—the Government—immediately grasped what the working class has not yet grasped, namely, that every large economic struggle between capital and labor becomes a political struggle—that is, a struggle for political power.

The extensive strike movement of the workers, which up to the present has been on the defensive, has reached the point at which it now faces the whole capitalist State Power. It is quite evident that Harding and his accomplices have determined to destroy the entire strike movement and, if necessary, to accomplish it by drowning the workers in their own blood. Attorney General Daugherty has said quite openly that if the workers do not surrender to the bosses, "the Government will destroy the unions."

Workers of America! This is the heart of the problem. You must understand that the persecutions to which the Communists have been subjected are nothing but the beginning and part and parcel of the persecutions which the whole working class of this country will suffer.

You must understand that the same courts that condemn Communists to prison also issue injunctions against the workers. The same courts that outlawed the Communist party also declared the Child Labor Law unconstitutional. The same Department of Justice that carries on raids against the Communists also sends its spies and rats into the unions, and by means of provocateurs carries out bomb attacks and acts of sabotage, [illegible] and then proclaim them as acts of the working class.

These Happenings not Accidents

The same armed forces that came out of their hiding place in Michigan and attacked the Communists also besieged Joliet and marched out to put down striking workers in fifteen states.

You must understand that the attack on the Communists at Bridgman, Michigan, and the raid on the Trade Union Educational League in Chicago are not things that happen only once in a while. You must understand that Patrick Hamrock who drove Foster out of Colorado is the same man who shot down the wives and children of the miners at Ludlow, Colo.

It is clearly no accident that Attorney General Daughterty one week ordered raids on the Communists, and the next week, by means of the most vicious, far-reaching, drastic injunction ever asked of a federal court in any labor dispute restrained the Railroad Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor from ever "issuing any instructions, public statements or suggestions" to union members regarding the conduct of the strike. The funds of the strike are thus tied up, no money can be used to help the strikers and all picketing and meetings of strikers are banned.

The same capitalists who drove us underground are now trying to drive the trade unionists underground. The same powers of state that have declared us illegal and have forgotten all about democracy, so far as we are concerned, and have denied us the freedom of press, assemblage and speech, the same powers of state which have ruthlessly exercised a dictatorship over us for many years, these same powers are now planning to force the same brutal, naked dictatorship on the whole mass of workers.

Communists Part of Labor

This, and this only, is the meaning of the plan to hand over the mines and the railroads to Harding; this, and this only, is the meaning of the employment of Federal troops; this and this only, is the meaning of the raising of the flag over the mines and railways at this time; and this, and this only, is the meaning of Pershing's entry as a force into the strike arena.

The workers of America must understand that the fate of the working class and the fate of the Communists are inseparable. This is self-evident. The Communists are not a group separate and distinct from the working class. They are an integral part of the working class. The Communists are those workers who are conscious of the fact that in the struggle against the capitalists the workers must fight as a class.

The Communists are among the first to recognize that the workers cannot fight well when they are divided into nearly 150 separate and distinct unions.

The Communists are among the first to protest against the reduction of wages, and the first to agitate against the pauperization of the masses.

Against Capitalist State Power

The Communists are those who maintain that it is insufficient to struggle merely against the individual capitalists or trusts, because the organ of the organized capitalists—the Government—immediately rushes to the aid of the exploiters whenever they are attacked.

It is therefore necessary to wage a political struggle against the whole system of capitalist state power.

The Communists are those who demand that the workers should declare themselves independent of the capitalist political parties. The workers must have their own class party representing the interests of the whole working class.

The Communists are those who wish to substitute for the dictatorship of the trusts the rule of the workers in the interests of all. And neither does the Communist International, the great association of all Communist parties, have any secret, mysterious, "Russian" aims.

At this moment, in the prevailing situation in America, the Communist International (the real International and not the sham International portrayed to you by your enemies) asks that the railroad workers, the miners, and the seamen of England and France should not permit the transportation of scab coal to America.

The Communists are not a [illegible] secret band of conspirators. [illegible] power can only be achieved if the great masses of the workers stand with us.

[illegible] Truth of Communism

Workers! This is only possible when the millions of workers support the Communist program. The essential feature of the Communist program is to convince the majority of the workers of the truth of the ideas of Communism.

We do not have a single point in our whole program which we wish to conceal from the millions of workers. In the first Communist program ever issued, the founders of scientific Communism, Marx and Engels, long ago declared: "The Communists disdain to conceal their aims."

We have nothing to conceal from the workers. We once more appeal to the workers to look upon the persecution of the Communists as a matter concerning all workers as well.

The Communists are today outlawed because the capitalists are planning to outlaw the whole working class. When William Z. Foster was forcibly run out of Colorado, Adjutant General Hamrock declared: "That he did so for the best interests of the State." And he added: "No law was consulted."

Capitalists Break Own Laws

The capitalists break their own laws whenever their interests demand it. If the workers will not defend their advance guard, the persecuted Communists, then the workers, will have to get ready to have the whole working class face the same declaration from the Hamrocks, Hardings, Doughertys, and Pershings that the organized workers must be crushed "for the best interests of the State" —and in this instance also "no law will be consulted."

In the interests of the whole working class, we call upon the American workers:

1. To build thruout the country a United Front against all political persecution.
2. Demand the unrestricted right to organize, strike, and picket.
3. Democracy in fact for all the workers as it is now given to the capitalists—the unrestricted right to freedom of press, assembly and speech.
4. You must wage your struggles more effectively. Demand the amalgamation of your craft unions.
5. You must have a political party of the workers entirely independent of the capitalist parties.
6. Organize a country-wide protest against the slanderous capitalist campaign against your foreign-born brother workers.
7. For the realization of these demands, organize everywhere open protest meetings and demonstrations. Pass resolutions on a national scale. Every union, every labor organization should pass such resolutions of protest.
8. Raise money everywhere to aid the victims of capitalist persecution.

For the united struggle against our common enemy, we are,

Fraternally yours,

The Communist Party of America:
Section of the Communist International.

Labor Day, 1922.

NEW YORK.—The greater number of the striking shirt workers, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have gone back to work in this city, following a clean-cut victory. The strike is still effective against those shops which have not surrendered. The 5 per cent assessment levied against the members who are working is being promptly paid as soon as pay envelopes are opened.

[illegible] Labor Assembly Protests Arrest of Foster, Dunne and Others

[illegible] Minneapolis, Minn.—Trades and Labor Assembly has adopted a resolution dealing with the arrest of William Z. Foster, William F. Dunne and others in which it is charged that they are the victims of labor-hating and labor-baiting detectives reputed to be in the employ of the government.

The resolution follows:

WHEREAS, It appears that certain progressive members of the working class, including W. Z. Foster and William F. Dunne, are being made the victims of attack by certain labor-hating, labor-baiting detectives reputed to be in government employ; and

WHEREAS, such methods as are being used both as regards action by such officers and publicity, as to their actions, are the ever-present methods and tactics of tyranny, and of financial tyrants and exploiters in control of government.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly that we hereby avail ourselves of the empty right that we thought we reserved to ourselves in the constitution "to petition the government for redress of grievances," and hereby petition the President of the United States, and the Department of Justice to assign William J. Burns and his able coterie of thugs to the prosecution of the financial pirates and profiteers who during and since the war has so enriched themselves at the expense of the starving workers and farmers, and to relieve W. Z. Foster, W. F. Dunne and other representatives of the workers of the pleasure of their unscrupulous attentions.

Similar resolutions have been adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor and will be brought before every other central labor body in the land for their consideration.

Injunctions Made to Order

TACOMA, Wash.—The absurdity of asking for a federal injunction restraining strikers when there had been no violence struck even railroad executives here recently. So they organized violence by having one of their blacklegs gently beaten up the night before final arguments were heard before Federal Judge E. E. Cushman. The injunction was granted while striking shopmen were collecting evidence that the attack was a frame-up. There were no witnesses to the alleged beating and the blackleg was not injured.

MINERS PROTEST

Hanna, Wyo., Local Union No. 2335, United Mine Workers, adopted resolutions condemning the kidnapping and deportation of Foster, who addressed this union shortly before his experiences in Colorado.

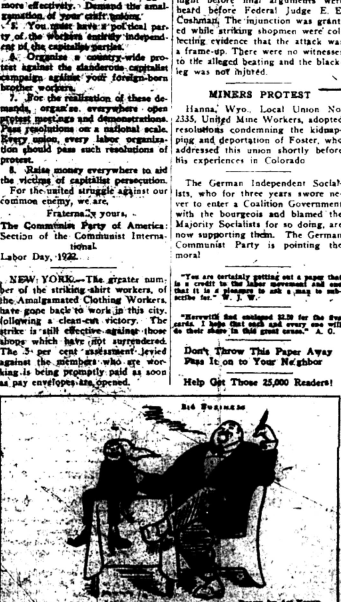
The German Independent Socialists, who for three years swore never to enter a Coalition Government with the bourgeois and blamed the Majority Socialists for so doing, are now supporting them. The German Communist Party is pointing the moral.

"You are certainly getting out a paper that is a credit to the labor movement and one that it is a pleasure to ask a man to subscribe for." W. J. W.

"Herewith find enclosed $2.50 for the five cards. I hope that each and every one will do their share in this great cause." A. O.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!



THE VENTRILOQUIST

(To the Public) [illegible]

[illegible]

Yes, there are great possibilities here, Once things settle, which I hope in the near future, [illegible] for Engineering Practice, well there's [illegible] Unlimited field here; at present I'm [illegible]

A 1,000 H.P. gas engine—a nice toy to [illegible] with! We are using two 100 ton cranes, besides heavy [illegible] and we look like ants, On the side of a mountain.

Yes it's work and real work! and It's a great feeling at the close of day, When you wash your greasy hands, In a can of kerosene, then don a Russian outfit, take a walk to the woods [illegible] full of fragrant and colorful Flowers, and lay down by the running Brook, with a Russian Grammar [illegible]

And just watch the clouds, lazily roll by, Way up above, the pine trees, and the Birds harmoniously chirp.

While you lay there, in the Urals of Russia and dream— Yes, and also Work!

So it is, and I'd like to hear how It's down in your place of civilization.

HARRY OSTROLL,
Nadejdensky Zavod, Ural.

July 18, 1922.

Hartmann Says Friends of Soviet Russia Not Engaged in Communist Propaganda

Dr. Jacob W. Hartmann, treasurer of the Friends of Soviet Russia, has issued a statement declaring that this organization is not engaged in Communist propaganda. It is as follows:

"News items appearing in the morning papers of this date have been brought to my attention, which declare that the arrests of certain persons, designated by these papers as Communists, have led to the finding of evidence connecting the Friends of Soviet Russia with an organization named as 'The Communist Party.'

"I feel constrained to point out that the spreading of such insinuations in the daily press is very unfortunate because of the possible discouragement such statements may give to persons who would be inclined to donate money for the relief activities conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia.

"I should feel obliged to call attention to the incorrectness of any statement of a connection between the Friends of Soviet Russia with what these newspapers call the Communist Party, if only in order to correct an obvious misstatement, but I consider such a misstatement to be doubly unfortunate in view of the harmful effects it may have on the collection of funds by this organization, and therefore hope that the persons—official or other persons—responsible for such declarations will desist from their inhuman and anti-social machinations.

"The relief work conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia is too serious an undertaking to be lightly linked up with organizations accused of conducting political propaganda of any kind."

New York City Sees Big Youth Day Celebration

Enthusiasm filled with promise for the future for the Young Workers League was displayed by the young people, and some grown-ups who attended the celebration of Youth Day, Sunday, Sept. 3, at Webster Hall. Similar successful celebrations were held in other sections of the country.

Among the speakers at Webster Hall were Sadi Amter, J. Louis Engdahl, Nat Kaplan, Al Schaap, Harry Dunchon and Bela Csont. The meeting was visited by a police captain and uniformed officer, but they parted after warning Chairman Schaap to keep the speakers [illegible]

MINNEAPOLIS.—After [illegible]

Fight the [illegible]

[illegible] Total for the campaign [illegible]

There is but one way to fight the bosses—that is by a United Front of class conscious workers.

Knowledge [illegible] is the first need. And to have knowledge workers must read. They must read [illegible]. They must read the [illegible] between the exploiters and the [illegible].

The Worker campaign for [illegible] is ONE method of placing this needed knowledge in the hands of the workers.

Thru the co-operation of hundreds of readers many thousands of new subscriptions have been received within the past few weeks.

We ask you to take this issue of THE WORKER to a fellow worker and ask him to subscribe for 20 weeks for 50 cents.

And when you have this subscription get another. Help in this effort to organize a UNITED FRONT OF LABOR against the bosses.

Fight the bosses, is THE WORKER'S watchword. If you think it is a good slogan join the thousands of workers who are organizing for a fight to the finish with their enemies.

Help spread the knowledge of the methods which will win. Get subscriptions from workers.

20 Weeks for 50 Cents!

[illegible] to Give Facts in Support of Its Charges

Editor's Note:—This week we publish the final installment of the statement of J. B. Collings Wood, auditor for the Friends of Soviet Russia, in reply to the slanders of Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward. In this installment it is shown how Cahan scatters his charges broadcast without any attempt to substantiate them. We feel that the publication of this statement has been of considerable benefit to our readers in helping them to combat this pernicious anti Soviet campaign. Here it is:

Quotation: "The most interesting is the following and to which they do not reply. We have already shown in the Forward with reference to the astounding discrepancy between their report and the words of their accountant. Their report gives the impression that their accounts are for the whole of America, where they have 250 branches. The accountant reports, however, that their accounts are for the general office only, for the maintenance and its expenses. The maintenance and expenses of their 250 branches are not accounted for; and why not? And why does the report give the impression that the general office also includes the expenses of 250 branches?"

Answer: This is another false charge of inconsistency. I answered it in my letter dated August 12th addressed to the Editor of the "Jewish Daily Forward."

First: That I am responsible for the financial statements and the certificate.

Second: That no professional auditor would issue a certificate of approval to be used with statements with which it was in conflict.

Third: That no such conflict exists.

Fourth: That the financial statements are for the national office only and that the national office pays national publicity expenses for the benefit of all offices.

Fifth: That these facts are clearly stated in the financial statements and certificate published.

A perusal of the financial statement shows that it is for the National Office only, but that the National Office spends money for national publicity which helps the locals.

The Auditor's Certificate confirms and emphasizes the fact. There is no contradiction or "discrepancy." All that is needed is a clear mind and a will to understand.

Quotation: "The question then is—what is the income of all these branches and where does the money go to?"

Answer: This is not a charge but a question.

The answer is contained in the Auditor's Certificate.

"Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected."

The Editor's answer is based upon information not at my disposal. It is "Out of these sympathy-collections they (the leftists) take money, which supports their 'business' in this country."

A friend of the organization would bring such information to the attention of its Auditor in order that such a practice might be stopped. Any organization may be robbed. Even a large well organized corporation may be robbed. I do not know of any one robbing the Friends of Soviet Russia. Neither do I know of any political party or group robbing the organization, either from within or from without.

Because the Editor does not bring such information to my attention I shall confine myself to a brief explanation of the relation existing between Locals and the National Office.

National organizations with supporting locals may be formed upon any one of a number of bases, of which I shall discuss two.

In a well established organization having a dues paying membership or a regular list of contributors and regular functions for raising money it is possible for the national office to receive or to record the gross income collected by all locals and for the national office to pay or record all local expenses. When that policy is adopted the national office publishes a consolidated financial statement, showing the gross income and expenses, whether handled by locals or by the national office.

In an organization recently formed or in an organization carrying on local functions of a divergent nature the relation between locals and national office is usually different. In the first place, a consolidation of income and expenses is technically difficult. In the second place, it does not have the same value as in the case of a well established static organization. The relation between locals and national office in such cases is that of local autonomy with responsibility to local contributors and to the national office. In such cases locals receive income and pay expenses and make remittances to the national office out of the net proceeds. The national office then publishes its own accounts incorporating in its income the amount received from locals. That relation between locals and the national office, with that method of accounting, is adopted even by many organizations with dues paying members. Most political parties function in that form. The Socialist Party never issued consolidated financial statements. Most trade unions function in that form. Most national campaigns are conducted in that manner.

The Friends of Soviet Russia is conducted in that manner. Its accounts are therefore kept upon the usual basis for large national organizations and campaigns. What is more important, it is the basis usually adopted by workers' organizations and understood by workers. It would be very difficult for the organization to function in any other manner in view of its sudden growth and the divergent character of its locals. The responsibility is squarely placed upon local contributors of watching their respective locals. At the same time the national office assures every contributor that funds forwarded from locals are economically and honestly handled. Moreover, the national office controls the locals by issuing standardized triplicate receipt books, and receiving reports from locals. The national office also recommends the employment of local professional auditors and the publication of lists of contributors and expenses.

In the case of the large locals these requirements are generally met because a local bookkeeper is employed. In the case of the smaller locals the problem is more difficult because most workers are incapable of keeping books and the employment of a bookkeeper would consume all the income. Therefore, the reports received from many of the smaller locals are very poor.

This problem of bookkeeping and accounting is not peculiar to the Friends of Soviet Russia. Every national campaign faces the same problem. The problem is more difficult to solve in the case of the Friends of Soviet Russia than in some other cases because it is an organization of working people speaking many languages. The organization is not to be condemned for encountering this problem. It should be judged for the manner in which it faces the problem.

Apart from direct steps taken to solve this problem, the Friends of Soviet Russia has taken one big constructive step to make the problem smaller. It is this: The National Office by conducting national publicity for the benefit of locals, without charging the locals for the service, reduces as much as possible the expenses to be paid by locals. In that way local accounting is made simpler and easier to control by local contributors and by the national office. At the same time it has the effect of including in the financial statement of the national office certain expenses by that office for locals. Obviously this practice would not be adopted by an organization seeking to cover up expenses.

I trust that you will find the answers to the charges and questions of the "JEWISH DAILY FORWARD" clear and complete.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) J. B. Collings Wood,
Chartered Accountant.

Arouse the Ex-Soldiers

The reputation of the American Legion has travelled far in the opinion of The New Majority, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, which says in its issue of August 12th:

"An American consul from Italy was commenting on the fascisti, 'the armed, organized, militant capitalists, who are killing and burning to destroy the unions, the Communist and Socialist organizations and even the co-operatives in Italy. Said the consul: 'The fascisti are like your legionnaires.'"

If Burleson were still head of the post-office, Samuel Gompers might invoke the espionage act and have The New Majority suppressed.

It is certainly rude of the Chicago labor organ to throw this monkey wrench into the well-oiled machinery of Gompers' publicity forces that are now spreading considerable propaganda to show the harmonious relations between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion.

It must not be forgotten that the Cincinnati A. F. of L. Convention, in June, went on record endorsing the American Fascisti, and that Gompers was instructed to attend its convention October 16th to 20th, at New Orleans.

In the language of "The Progressive Labor World," of Philadelphia, "The American Federation of Labor and the American Legion are getting along like two peas in a pod," and this approving labor sheet stands for "energetic measures to curtail the activities of the Industrial Workers of the World, opposition to Socialism and Anarchism, Communism and Bolshevism," and "The mutuality of capital and labor, employer and employe."

It is fitting that side-by-side with Gompers on the American Legion platform will sit Ex-Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who won national infamy as an open-shopper thru the wage award that bears his name.

Chicago labor, especially the building trades, knows Landis as an open-shopper, its official organ recognizes the American Legion as the White Guardist organization of this country, and it long ago placed Gompers as an enemy of progress in the labor movement.

The message of friendship that Gompers will carry to the Legionists at New Orleans should be a call to militant labor thruout the land to struggle for more conscious working class action in this country.

Pershing is said to have remarked that Gompers' services in the recent Wall Street war were worth at least an army corp. They may have been worth that much to American imperialism. But the returned soldiers in the ranks of organized labor, as they face strike after strike, wage reductions in rapid succession, and a shattering of working conditions, may well wonder what they were worth to them.

They can make their answer by joining the World War Veterans instead of the American Legion and arousing all soldiers to the real nature of the war that must be waged, not against their brothers in other countries, but against capitalism in their own country.

PROUD OF NEW RIFLE

ST. LOUIS.—Col. C. S. Thornton and other officers of the Missouri national guard watched the demonstration of a new machine gun at the St. Charles, Mo., rifle range. The new gun shoots a 45-caliber automatic pistol bullet at the rate of 1000 a minute. Thornton will make a report to Adjt. Gen. Haupp on the new weapon and it probably will be adopted by the guard.

ANOTHER BLACK STAIN

The "kidnapping" of W. Z. Foster from his room at the Oxford Hotel in Denver, and his subsequent deportation by the emissaries of Pat Hamrock on Sunday night is another indelible stain on the already blackened pages of Colorado history.—Wyoming Weekly Labor Journal.

[illegible] the United Mine Workers of Nova Scotia may also have something to say.

Socialist Party Local at Elkhart, Ind., Quits and Joins Workers Party

ELKHART, IND.—Elkhart Local, Socialist Party, at its last meeting decided officially to secede from the Socialist Party and adopted resolutions providing for affiliation with the Workers Party.

Secretary Ray A. Youngblood has issued a statement of the action taken by the local as follows:

"After 21 years of loyal adherence to the Socialist Party of America the Elkhart Socialist local officially seceded from that organization last evening by the adoption without a dissenting vote of the following resolution:

"'Resolved, that Local Elkhart, Socialist Party of Indiana, secede from the Socialist Party and affiliate with the Workers Party.'

"The Workers Party of America was organized in New York City last December and is an outgrowth of the insurgent left-wing movement in the regular Socialist Party which came to a climax when that organization in 1919 expelled the entire state organizations of Massachusetts and Michigan together with seven language federations, a total of 50,000 members.

"Up until the organization of the Workers Party the left-wing movement was divided into several warring factions. With the achievement of unity the movement had grown rapidly and threatens soon to absorb the entire membership of the old Socialist Party.

"By its program the Workers Party is committed to proletarian dictatorship, sovietism and communism. It will run county and congressional tickets wherever there is sufficient sentiment to warrant.

"The local organization admitted seven new members, bringing the present membership up to 80. Regular meetings are held every Thursday evening in the A. F. of L. hall."

Fifth Group of Workers Leave U. S. for Kuzbas

NEW YORK.—The Rotterdam has sailed with the fifth contingent of American-trained workers on the first leg of their trip to the properties controlled by the Kuzbas organization.

The party numbered 58 and 16 nationalities were represented with Finns, Russians, Americans and Englishmen in the majority. All were equipped with clothing and tools.

Sufficient food is sent to last the workers for a year, in spite of the fact that they are proceeding to a point in Siberia where food conditions are good, according to recent reports.

The party includes families from Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, Seattle, Portland (Ore.), Shenandoah (Pa.), and New York City.

The next Kuzbas party will leave for Russia on Sept. 30, and will not include children as the weather and traveling conditions will be too hard.

Miners, lumber workers, machinists, toolmakers, electricians and others will be welcomed, upon inquiry at the offices at Room 301, 110 W. 40th St., New York City.

During the winter the American Organization is to recruit 2000 highly skilled workers for service in the early spring in Russia, and from all indications this quota will easily be achieved.

White-washing California

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — Five hundred thousand dollars is being raised as a publicity fund for California—to "tell the world what California has and is." This campaign, which is to be nation-wide, is designed to counteract the unfavorable effects of news of terroristic methods used against organized labor here, which has been systematically spread thruout the world in recent months by defenders of labors fundamental rights.

Jobless Take to the Road

LONDON.—The extent of unemployment can be gauged by the increasing number of those on tramp in England at the present time. Last quarter in Yorkshire over 85,000 were admitted to the casual wards, as against 47,000 in the corresponding period last year. A number of these are ex-service men who feel their position keenly.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] to Give Aid to the Revival and Development of Agriculture

The Soviet Government has recently informed Comrade A. A. Heller, representative in this country of the Department of Re-immigration of the Supreme Council of National Economy, that Russia is ready to receive 15,000 returning Russians from America and allocate them on large farms and agricultural estates.

The condition for their admission into Soviet Russia is that they come organized into agricultural groups, communes, or collectives; that they come equipped, at their own expense, with tractors and modern agricultural machinery and implements and that they be self-supporting for at least one year.

The Soviet Government has set aside over eight million acres of rich, arable land—large farms and agricultural estates—for the cultivation by the 15,000 re-immigrated Russians.

This land is situated in desirable sections of Soviet Russia and is near by good water supplies, transportation facilities, and industrial localities.

Immediately upon the receipt of these instructions, Comrade Heller who conducts his work thru the Central Bureau of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia worked out a plan in co-operation with the latter organization whereby 15,000 Russians will be sent to their native land between now and the spring of 1923.

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia has, therefore, launched a campaign thruout the country in all its branches for the organization of Russians desiring to return to aid Soviet Russia in her economic and agricultural revival and development.

Admission to Industrial Groups Only

Soviet Russia is not open to general immigration, even to the natives who wish to return, on account of the unfavorable economic conditions prevailing there at the present time.

With this policy of the Soviet Government, the Russian colony has been in entire accord. Re-immigration has, however, been restricted and so modified that only organized productive industrial and agricultural groups are admitted into the country, because the Soviet Government has recognized the distinctive technical aid that they can bring with them and the extent to which they can be instrumental in raising production of necessaries.

The Russian colony in America, fugitives from the political and economic injustices of the Czarist regime, welcomed the Russian Revolution and the Soviet system of government instituted by the Bolsheviki.

Like the peasants of Russia, they have realized the present Communist government in Soviet Russia is synonymous with the equitable distribution of the land to and its possession by the peasants.

The Russians in this country, able-bodied men and women, steeled in the industrial struggles of the workers in America, almost like one, were bent on returning to their native land and partake in gains of the Revolution.

The war, the blockade, and finally the horrible famine interfered with and prevented this mass movement of "back to their revolutionary Russia."

As a result many of them lost hope of their immediate return and have been waiting for a favorable change in Russia's economic situation.

Now that the ban against admission to Soviet Russia is gradually being lifted and the Soviet Government issues the invitation for organized industrial and agricultural groups to settle there, the Russians in America have again renewed their interests, revived their hopes and are once more flocking to return if the necessary permission is granted.

Additional articles on this plan for the rehabilitation of Soviet Russia's agriculture will appear in future issues of THE WORKER. All inquiries and arrangements may be made at the Central Bureau of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, 110 W. 40th St., New York City, Room 603.

Membership Meeting of S.T.A.S.R.

Sunday Sept. 10, at 3 p. m., there will take place a general membership meeting at the new headquarters of the New York branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, 231 East 37th St., New York (between Second and Third Avenues).

This general membership meeting has for its purpose the decision in regard to the annual convention of the S. T. A. S. R., which has been delayed on account of the expected early return of the delegate of the Society, who is at present in Moscow. There will also be discussed the educational program and the work in which the Society is engaged.

WASHINGTON.—In an open letter, delivered by registered mail to President Harding, 52 members of the I. W. W., serving sentence in Leavenworth penitentiary on war-opinion charges, made it clear why they had refused to file application for individual clemency and why they would continue so to refuse.

ROME, Italy.—This country has hundreds of thousands of inhabitants more than it can support, and must find an outlet for them thru emigration. But where can it send them? Signor de Michelis, Commissioner for Emigration, has just completed a survey of industrial conditions in the principal nations of the world, which discloses that every one of them is overflowing with surplus labor.

The war of 1914 was the most colossal breakdown in history of a system destroyed by its own inherent contradictions.—Trotzky.

[illegible] Chaplin, political prisoner in the federal penitentiary, has "got in bad," in part because of his freedom-breathing poems which have been widely reviewed and read [illegible] of his 20-year term for alleged violation of the war-time espionage act. Chaplin has been put in the second class by Warden W. I. Biddle, and assigned to work in the laundry. This means that he is not allowed to write to his wife or little son or to receive visitors.

ST. LOUIS.—The first Children's Crusade is over. With the return of the last of the wives and children who went to Washington to plead for the release of husbands and fathers who were imprisoned under the espionage act during the war the crusade came to a successful conclusion, in the opinion of Kate Richards O'Hare, leader of the crusade.

WORKERS! Support Workers' Candidates! On With the New York State Campaign!

Candidate for Governor

WILLIAM F. DUNNE—Labor Editor of The Worker
For Governor
LUDWIG LORE—Editor of the N. Y. Volkszeitung
For Lieutenant Governor
GUSTAVE WALTERS—of Gloversville, N. Y.
For Secretary of State
RICHARD J. VERHAGEN—of Schenectady, N. Y.
For Comptroller
FRED SCHUMAN—of Buffalo, N. Y.
For Treasurer
Dr. BERNARD HOFFMAN—of Brooklyn, N. Y.
For State Engineer and Surveyor
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG—of New York City
For United States Senator

The Workers Party of the State of New York calls for your assistance to make this election campaign a time for revolutionary propaganda for the purpose of arousing the workers to the need of

A Solid United Front of All Workers!

To Fight the Open Shop Campaign! To Prevent the Destruction of the Unions! To Stop the Interference of the Government in Strikes! To Maintain the Unemployed at Union Wages! To Teach the Workers that the Emancipation from Capitalism Can Come Only Thru the Establishment of a Workers' Republic in America! The Recognition of, Trade with and Loan to Soviet Russia!

As a working-class organization it must of necessity come to the working class for support; it has no desire to do otherwise. Therefore make an appeal to all your shopmates, fellow-workers and brother unionists, in order that a large fund may be raised to enable us to carry on a campaign for the education and emancipation of the workers.

$5,000 NEEDED AT ONCE!!

DO YOUR SHARE AND DO IT NOW

Fill out this blank and mail it today!

_____________, 1922

Workers Party of America,
New York State Campaign Committee,
80 East 11th St., Room 508, N. Y. C.

Dear Comrades:—

Enclosed find $ _______________ **to be used for the New York State Campaign Fund of the Workers Party for which please send me receipt.**

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Make all checks and money orders payable to
EDWARD LINDGREN, Room 508, 80 E. 11th St., New York, N. Y.

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J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Managing Editor
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Labor Editor
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager.

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"All South Russia Reported in Revolt Against Bolsheviki!" on the first page, fifth column, of the New York Times, August 31, 1922. 'Nuf sed.

All Quiet in Guatemala

An American man-of-war swings at anchor, flying the stars and stripes, in the bay at Guatemala City, Guatemala, Central America.

In the city itself a council of war condemns the leaders of the recent revolt there to death, Salvador Lorenzana, Francisco Lorenzana and Joseph Meza.

This latest revolution is said to have been entirely suppressed. The rebels are said to have fallen into the hands of the government troops.

Rear-Admiral Cole comes ashore from the United States Cruiser Birmingham to pay his respects to the new American Minister, Arthur Geissler.

All is quiet in Guatemala. The peace of the Central American republic is not even disturbed by the arrival of a U. S. "Socialist" Party protest against death being imposed on the rebels.

The double yoke sits tightly upon the oppressed of Central and South America, the yoke of the national bourgeoisie on the one hand, that of the foreign exploiters, the Wall Street imperialists on the other.

It is up to the workers of the United States to say when their brothers to the South will be released from that yoke.

When the workers of the two continents have learned the lesson of, "An injury to one is the concern of all," then freedom for one will mean the freedom of all thru victory over a common enemy.

The conflict between the workers and the capitalists cannot be harmonised or compromised. It can only be ended by abolishing the capitalist system.

The First Arrest at Herrin

The first arrest has been made at Herrin, Ill., and the victim picked is Otis Clark, president of a miners' local in Williamson County. He is chargd with the murder of C. K. McDowell, strip mine superintendent.

There will be no fancy charges of "treason," such as the miners' officials faced in West Virginia. It is going to be plain murder.

Simultaneous with the return of the first indictment, the Illinois miners' officials announced that the miners' union

> **"has already pledged every means at its command to the defense of any and all of its members that may be indicted.**
>
> **"We have a popular appreciation of the magnitude of the forces that have combined to convict our members and we shall leave nothing undone, that will enable us to combat these forces. The very magnitude of the agitation, which is nation-wide for convictions in connection with this trouble, jeopardizes the lives and freedom of innocent men and makes it necessary that the State organization furnishes every possible means of defense for our members, and that we shall do."**

This declaration of the miners' union surprised Attorney General Brundage, if we are to believe his own words. This hypocritical prosecutor declares the miners' union is not being attacked. He must have absent-mindedly forgotten about the $25,000 slush fund raised by the Illinois Chamber of Commerce.

The grand jury hunt goes on. There will be other indictments. We await the first indictment against one of the mine owners, against a scab-procuring agency official, or against a mine company tool.

The New York Police is throwing all beggars into the workhouse because it was learned that one of them lived in a hotel, not a flop house, and was seen to ride in an automobile. But the respectable robbers of Wall Street are still permitted to remain at large, no matter what the amount of their swag may be.

An International Strike-Breaker

We are just beginning to get the details of the International Miners' Union Congress held early in August at Frankfort, Germany.

In another column we publish a special report from George Hardy, well known to American workers, as well as the appeal of the Red Trade Union International.

We wish to add to this the startling revelations of Louis P. Lochner, European director of the Federated Press, charging that Frank Hodges, secretary of the British Miners' Federation, and also secretary of the International, forced the discussion of the American coal strike into a secret session.

The European labor press, therefore, got nothing of the vivid word pictures of the American coal strike and the methods used for breaking it, as portrayed by the two American delegates, John Gay, of Albia, Ia., and William Mitch, of Terre Haute, Ind., secretary-treasurers of their respective districts.

Even the representatives of the labor press were excluded when the American strike came up for consideration, and Lochner reports that every official of the convention whom he interrogated either gave an evasive reply or else tried to shift the responsibility for this queer procedure upon someone else.

The motion for secrecy was made by the reactionary Hodges and was prompted by the fear of the executive committee that the radical delegates might raise the obvious question as to what steps the European miners were prepared to take to prevent the shipment of scab coal to the United States.

Hodges played the Judas' role, willingly no doubt, since all scab coal to the United States originates in British mines.

With such international strike-breakers as Hodges at its head, it is easily understood why this world congress of labor remained silent on the issue of scab coal, as it did later on the question of admitting the Russian Federation of Miners.

The next miners' congress will be held in two years at Prague, Czecho-Slovakia. It is hoped by that time that the miners will have cleansed their ranks of some of the scabs now to be found there.

Nature is taking a hand in the disarmament program. A French dreadnaught hits a rock and goes down in the Mediterranean, and a Japanese cruiser is lost in a typhoon. The kept press couldn't see all the losses on the side of capitalism and so it "reported" the sinking of a Russian destroyer during the Soviet naval manoeuvres in the Baltic.

[illegible]

Do Not Call the Police

The big profiteers are planning a "Billion Dollar Dinner" to be held in New York City, Hotel Astor, October 5.

Not those who will attend the banquet, only those who are sponsoring it have combined fortunes of a billion dollars.

The guest of honor will be United States Senator Reed Smoot, of Utah, and the gathering will celebrate the fact that the sugar clause in the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law, put there by Smoot, will cost the workers of this country just $200,000,000.

This gathering of thieves and robbers, from Charles M. Schwab, of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, to Senator Coleman DuPont, of the DuPont Powder Trust, will not be troubled by the police. They will be permitted to glory in peace in their $200,000,000 swag.

The railroad shopmen might be interested to know that the vice-president of the Dinner Committee is L. F. Loree, president of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad, who has headed the group of railroad executives opposed to a settlement of the strike.

Tickets for the banquet are $10 each. Let us see, at 23 cents an hour, $1.84 cents a day, that makes $11.04 per week for a section hand on Mr. Loree's railroad under the ruling of the Railroad "Labor" Board.

But then, when you are a member of a gang that can steal $200,000,000 and stay out of jail, you can well afford to spend the week's wages of a railroad laborer on one meal. You can, as long as the workers stand for it. So enjoy yourselves while you may.

Investigators or Stimulators?

In spite of the fact that Soviet Russia has been criss-crossed by Hoover agents, under the guise of famine relief workers, for more than a year, the United States government wants to send an expert technical commission to study and report on the economic situation within the First Workers' Republic.

There is cause enough to question the sincerity of this latest move of the Harding-Hughes-Hoover triumvirate at Washington, but Soviet Russia isn't backward about meeting any overtures half way, even from America.

If that little luncheon at Berlin the other day had taken place two or three years ago it would have had greater significance. But Krassin and Tchitcherin, minister of foreign trade and commerce and minister of foreign relations respectively in the Soviet Government, as part of the day's work, talked with U. S. Ambassador Houghton, to Germany, and during that talk America's attitude toward Russia was discussed.

Krassin has now announced from Moscow that if the United States wants to send an economic commission to Russia, then Russia would like to reciprocate and send a similar commission to this country because, as he says, the Russians are very much interested in the study of American economics.

But even the Harding administration at Washington, with its clever Mr. Hoover, must know that the era of investigation is about over in Soviet Russia.

Harding, Hughes and Hoover might get together and study the parting statement of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who has left on another trip to Russia. One hundred tailors, the pick of the organization, are also on their way to Petrograd. Hillman says:

> **"We are not going to Russia as economic investigators as our American capitalists now propose, but we will go there as economic stimulators to set in motion the clothing industry of that great country so that by quantity production we will be able to clothe thousands of Russian men, women and children now in need by winter."**

Thru its Russian-American Industrial Corporation, the men's clothing workers of this country, organized into the "Amalgamated," are rapidly raising their $1,000,000 to help start the clothing factories of Russia going, to stimulate this industry.

Such stimulators also are the Kuzbas project, to open the mines and the mills, the efforts of the Friends of Soviet Russia to aid Russian agriculture, and the many projects of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia.

Soviet Russia doesn't need investigators. But it is sorely in need of stimulators, and she seems to be getting them from among the organized workers of this and other countries. Messrs. Harding, Hughes and Hoover, please read, and learn.

Bonus or Bolshevism

The bonus bill has finally passed the senate. The vote was 47 to 22, with republicans and democrats split both ways, which makes one wonder again why we have two old parties.

It is interesting to note that the bill as passed includes the Simmons proposition, whereby interest from the foreign war loans "will be", says the New York World, utilized in making bonus payments.

That's adding insult to injury. First the senators, who are up for re-election, vote in favor of the bill only after they have made sure that President Harding will veto it. Then they promise to pay the bonus with interest money that the United States is unable to collect from England, France, Belgium, Italy and some of her other allies in the world war.

That double cross ought to make the democracy-winners in the war to end all wars real happy, and peppy enough to go out and smash a couple of strikes before their next breakfast.

At least that is the big argument advanced by Chairman McCumber, of the senate finance committee, in favor of the bonus. McCumber feels that the $5,300,000,000 involved will be well spent by the capitalists of this country to keep the loyalty of the war veterans. Listen to this man McCumber, recently defeated for renomination by the farmers of North Dakota, when he pleads:

> **"The great capitalists of the country, whose fortunes were doubled and trebled and quadrupled during the war, are, thru their medium of speech—the great metropolitan press—whining because they are to be called upon to pay a trifling little tax out of their immense fortunes to meet the compensation due the soldier who made it possible for them to amass and hold their fortunes.**
>
> **"Oh, Mr. President, how shortsighted our avarice and selfishness sometimes makes us. In these times of great unrest, of lawlessness heretofore never heard of, of crime rampant thruout the land, when the sacred rights of life, liberty and property are being denied and defied as never before in the history of our country, to whom in the end must we look for the final arbiter between individual right and mob power—between the supremacy of law on the one hand and the supremacy of anarchy on the other?**
>
> **"We must look to those very boys who stood for their country on the field of battle—who carried the flag and whose comrades died for its honor. Let me tell you, Mr. President, that we will need these boys with their loyalty to country and constitution and the sacred rights declared by the constitution; we will need them more—a thousand times more—than we will need the few dollars we would save by denying them this little element of justice."**

In the first place, that bonus tax will not come out of the treasure hoards of capitalists. It will come out of the sweat and agony of labor that produce all wealth. It will come out of an increase in the cost of living that will be borne by the workers.

Since most of the war veterans are workers, they will only be taking money out of one pocket and putting it into another.

The bonus is not an antidote for Bolshevism, as McCumber hopes. When the bonus fraud is exposed in actual practice, as it will be, there will instead be many Bolshevists in the making, many new recruits in the only army that registers progress for the working class, the labor army struggling for emancipation from the present social system that we call capitalism.

[illegible]

How natural it was of Foster to tear the ground from under the reactionaries by declaring that the Russian revolution particularly had absolutely changed the point of view of all intelligent radicals about the labor movement.

But it doesn't work out that way, bellow the arch-conservatives. Well, let us see. Study the actual record of achievements of the Trade Union Educational League, that Foster points out, "exists no longer in the world of theory" but "is an effective organ of activity."

It is shown that had the Howatt case, in the United Mine Workers' Union, developed two years ago, the miners' union would have been split from end to end. The voice of the League was raised against a split and it was averted. In the garment unions the League has successfully headed off several incipient split movements.

The charges of the reactionaries are but the children of their fondest hopes. They would like to see the Trade Union Educational League raise the cry of "dualism" instead of "amalgamation" because that would help them hide their own crimes against progress.

The Trade Union Educational League is for amalgamation of the craft unions in the different industries. It is for industrial unity, and for complete solidarity of all industrial unions. That is a program of co-operation and victory, ultimately the victory of the most radical workers.

In that victory the reactionaries behold their own doom. They try to forestall defeat by promoting splits on false issues, by expelling radicals, individually and collectively, wherever the forces of progress win a foothold.

Let the workers learn. The Gompers, the Cahans, the Schlesingers and their allies are the real splitters. The Fosters, the Browders, the Johnstones, the Knudsens and those who stand with them, are the real unitarians, the builders, the torch bearers on the highway towards the ultimate victory of the working class.

Every worker interested in the successful struggle of this class should immediately join the Trade Union Educational League and work for the program on which it stands.

Ganna Walska and her new husband, Harold F. McCormick, of the International Harvester Co., Elynor Glyn and others have found the waters at Karlsbad, Czecho-Slovakia, quite rejuvenating. Perhaps these youth giving qualities caused the 2½ International to postpone its congress scheduled for this health resort September 16. It would rather die quietly in the arms of the Second International. Lee and Hillquit, on behalf of the American "Socialist" Party are on the other side to help officiate at the ceremonies.

One of Harding's Clowns

One of the prize clowns of President Harding's cabinet of fools, almost rivalling Attorney General Daugherty, is James J. Davis, his secretary of labor.

Davis has succumbed to the disease known as autobiographitis. He is having his autobiography, the story of his own petty life written by himself, published.

After carefully arguing that beer should be permitted the much oppressed steel worker, to help him work harder, Davis takes up the discussion of Communism. He writes:

> **"Capitalism, as the Communists call it, is an imperfect system. But it is the only system that has banished famine. Under Communism and feudalism there was hunger.**
>
> **"Nature is using Communists, slackers, sick men and fools to undermine the race that has conquered her. The man who says, 'quit work and divide our cake and eat it,' is opening the way for nature to strike suddenly with a famine.**
>
> **"The man who advocates 'one big strike' to destroy our capital is the secret agent of starvation."**

Those labor unionists so anxious to have a secretary of labor in the president's cabinet should pride themselves on the intelligence of the present incumbent.

Since the world has not yet witnessed the existence of a Communist order of society anywhere, it is difficult to understand what Davis means by saying that, "Under Communism there was hunger."

In Soviet Russia at the present time we are far from Communism. All that Russia's workers have now is a proletarian dictatorship in the form of a Soviet Republic that is struggling to bridge the transition period between capitalism and Communism.

The famine in the Volga Valley came, just as many famines had previously come under czarism. Capitalism is directly to blame for the great suffering and tremendous death toll that followed in the wake of the present famine.

Capitalism brought on the great war that robbed Russia's fields of her peasants and sent many millions of them to untimely graves.

Capitalism sent its armies of intervention and counter-revolution across the fertile fields of the Volga Valley, destroying the grain of the good years that would have helped to bridge over the bad years of 1921 and 1922.

In addition, capitalism, its greed for profits, stood in the way of the rest of the world, where there had been tremendous crops, coming to the immediate aid of the Russian peasants.

Capitalism is to blame for all the hunger in the world today. We do not speak alone of the million starving school children in America, nor of the millions of undernourished working men, women and children in this country. It has been left for capitalism, cold-bloodedly and indifferently, to view the tragedy of dying millions when a famine sweeps India, or China, or some other part of the world, in the present case, Russia.

Capitalism is not interested in an international economy that provides for the feeding, housing and clothing of the many. It only asks where can I produce the cheapest and sell the dearest, in order to make the largest possible profits.

When the great masses, who suffer, become aware of that fact thru their actual experiences, they will abolish capitalism and a new social order, Communism, will spread over the world, the sole aim of which will be to house, clothe and feed the many.

Contrary to Mr. Davis, we do not believe that the "one big strike" will destroy capitalism. But it will help. Therefore, contrary to Mr. Davis again, we believe anyone advocating the "one big strike" to be one of the greatest enemies, not a "secret agent" of starvation.

With Daugherty trying to kill the railroad strike with his injunction, and Davis seeking the scalp of Communism with an autobiography, the Harding Circus should play to increased houses. The White House Show should be especially complimented upon its clowns. They are indeed very funny.

Secretary of Labor Davis declared that "no gibbet can be built too high for those who execute such dastardly deeds as the 'deliberate' wrecking of a train recently at Gary, Ind." [illegible] "O. K."

[illegible]

(To all Bank Sharks, Secret Service, Commissioners, Detective Agencies, American Experts, etc., etc.)

To save you, gentlemen, the trouble of paying us an "unexpected visit" some night, the Board of Management and the Editorial Staff of the Bolcoon in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, have voluntarily compiled for your use the following information regarding the Bolcoon:

I. Editorial Staff

Editor-in-Chief ---- I. D. W. Talmadge.
Associate Editor ---- I. De Witt Talmadge.
Managing Editor ---- Irving De Witt Talmadge.
Contributing Editors ---- J. D. Rockefeller, Nicolai Lenin, J. P. Morgan, Leon Trotzky, the late Czar, Karl Marx, and others.

II. Business Staff

Business Manager ---- Irving D. W. Talmadge.
Circulation Manager ---- Irv. De W. Talmadge.

III. Offices

Editorial ------ Third bench, Bryant Park
Business ------------ Fourth bench.

IV. Branches

England ------ Westminster Abbey
Egypt ------ Foot of Great Pyramid
Italy --------- In the Crater of Mt. Vesuvius
North Pole ---- No. 13 Iceberg Ave.
Spain ------------ Imperial Palace
Planet Mars ----------- In Cohen & Murphy's Saloon.

V. Circulation

Net, up-to-date ---- Two (the editor and the printer).

VI. Affiliations

Official Organ of the John D. Rockefeller's Society for the Advocacy of Revolutionary Communism.

VII. Financial Report

(Not to be shown to the Forward)

a) Income (since the first issue) — Subsidy from the A. F. of L., five dollars in Confederate money
b) Expenses — On dinners in honor of Daugherty, Gompers and Burns ---------- 10 cents
c) In the Treasury At the Present Time — Six slightly used toothpicks, a red flag; and three cents in cash or 7,585,993 in Kolchak rubles.

(Signed) I. D. W. Talmadge.

Sworn before me this sixteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord, nineteenhundred and twenty-two.

(Signed) I. M. A. Liar,
(Official seal) Notary Public.

ON TENTH ST. AND SECOND AVENUE

"I envy the Socialist who just delivered that speech."

"Why, I think his speech was exceedingly stupid."

"So do I, but think of his nerve."

FROM A YELLOW LABOR LEADER'S DIARY

Sunday — Played golf with Mr. Dough; ordered the strike to be called off in his plant.

Monday — Urged the sheriff to arrest two radical agitators in my union.

Tuesday — Signed the article, written by the Editor of the Literary Indigestion, entitled "The Betrayal of the Working Class by the Bolshevik Leaders."

Wednesday — Received a little gift from Mr. Robafeller as a compensation for the second cut in his employers' wages.

Thursday — Delivered a lecture on "Labor, the Privileged Class in America."

Friday — For my loyalty and devotion to the working class, I was nominated by Wall St. magnates as candidate for governor.

Saturday — Received my weekly instructions from Wall Street.

Who Is What, What Is Who, And Why Not, In 1922

(The Police Gazette is permitted to reprint this.)

V.

Burns, Kid Fullofbull — Head Defective (also, defective head) of the Unintelligent Intelligence Bureau of the Sacred Secret Service of the Department with Justice.

Kid Fullofbull, although the only thing he ever caught was a cold, is, nonetheless, the world's greatest detective, second only perhaps to Nick Carter and Nat Pinkerton. He's a firm bulliever in Law and Order: laws for others and orders from him. He is the living argument against the scientists who believe that a human being can't exist without brains. In fact, he's one of those boys, what he lacks in brains he makes up in noise. He is so bright he thinks the Tcheka is a Russian bank note. At the present time he's busily engaged in the search for Karl Marx whom he believes guilty for the current strike wave. He has also issued a warrant for the arrest of John Hancock for advocating the overthrow of government by force in his "Declaration of Independence."

Capitalists be at ease! You may rest in peace so long as you have in your defence such a valiant [illegible] as Kid Fullofbull Burns.

[illegible] ORGAN OF REVO[illegible]

Vol. V. No. 241. [illegible] SATURDAY, [illegible] [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Gompers Wars on Militants!

A. F. of L. Executive Council Approves Burns-Daugherty Regime Against Progress in Ranks of Organized Labor

An era of Burns-Daugherty terrorism has been inaugurated within the ranks of organized labor thru the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, meeting at Atlantic City, the New Jersey seaside pleasure resort, endorsing the war launched against labor's militants by Samuel Gompers.

After having spent days in issuing lengthy press statements scoring the Daugherty-Wilkerson injunction against the railroad shopmen, and opposing the white guard tactics of the Harding administration in fighting the working class, the Gompers' regime has about faced and adopted similar infamous policies against the workers in the ranks of its own organization.

Writers for the kept press, with whom Gompers took strolls along the famous boardwalk, giving them ample opportunity to admire the bathing beauties at the famous watering place, had barely intimated that the Executive Council would take up the question of the Trade Union Educational League and its policy of fighting dualism and working within the old unions for desired changes.

When the Executive Council finally delivered its blow in approving Gompers' drastic re-organization of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, in New York City, thereby ousting all the militants, the kept press hardly reported the news.

This policy was faithfully followed by the yellow "Socialist" New York Call.

[illegible] against the New York union will be followed up by similar action whenever required in all of the 666 federal labor unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Provoke the Internationals

Since the A. F. of L. executive council has no jurisdiction over local unions within the various internationals, the executive council merely urged that the international unions adopt a similar course. The declaration of the executive council reads as follows:

"By approving the action, the executive council set at work a principle that will be helpful in rendering ineffective the work of those radical groups working within the trade union movement to destroy its effectiveness.

"In this instance it is found that the organization was no longer confining itself to trade union functions, but was being used by many as a means of getting into the labor movement who have no right to belong to it, and thru this affiliation promote various kinds of personal and other schemes which were rapidly destroying the confidence of the better elements anxious to serve the cause of labor.

"This decision of the executive council, while purely local in its character, is nevertheless of national importance, and it is anticipated that the American Federation of Labor will follow a similar course in all local and federal trade unions that are directly under the control of the American Federation of Labor and which total [illegible].

"Unquestionably this action on the part of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor will prove an incentive for international unions to adopt a similar course, and if put into effect will prove one of the most effective methods of ridding the labor movement of those who are trying to break into and fasten themselves upon the labor

(Continued on page Two.)

Chicago Labor Joins in Fight Against the Michigan "Red Raids"

The Chicago Federation of Labor, by unanimous vote, voiced its opposition to the Michigan "red raids" and pledged its support to those attacked, in resolutions as follows:

Whereas, The arrest of more than a score of men noted for their progressive views and activities in the labor movement on the charge of violating the so-called "Criminal Syndicalist Laws" of Michigan creates a crisis that cannot be ignored by any one concerned in the maintenance of American civil rights or in the struggle of workers for a decent standard of human rights; and

Whereas, The unlawful invasion of a public meeting and the indiscriminate arrest without warrants or due process of law of men and women and the cruel treatment of union men and women by the police is contrary to every principle of American right and justice; and

Whereas, The arrest of Wm. Z. Foster and Earl Browder, members in good standing in recognized trade unions of Chicago, is an outrage and disgrace to every real American, therefore be it

Resolved, By the Chicago Federation of Labor that we protest against these unlawful practices and declare our fullest confidence in these men both as union men and as peaceful citizens.

JUDGE FAVORS STOCKADES

WASHINGTON.—"If the jails of Indiana are not large enough to hold the men who violate these injunctions, then we shall build stockades," Federal Judge Baker, sitting in Judge Anderson's court at Indianapolis, informed J. F. Anderson, vice president, International Association of Machinists, according to Anderson's report here. He was before Judge Baker with several pickets charged with contempt of court of an injunction.

The Michigan Raid

The raid on the Wolfskeel Summer Resort, near Bridgeman, Michigan—two hours ride from Chicago—in which seventeen men were arrested and charged with membership in the Communist Party of America in violation of the criminal syndialism law of that state was not staged by the local authorities.

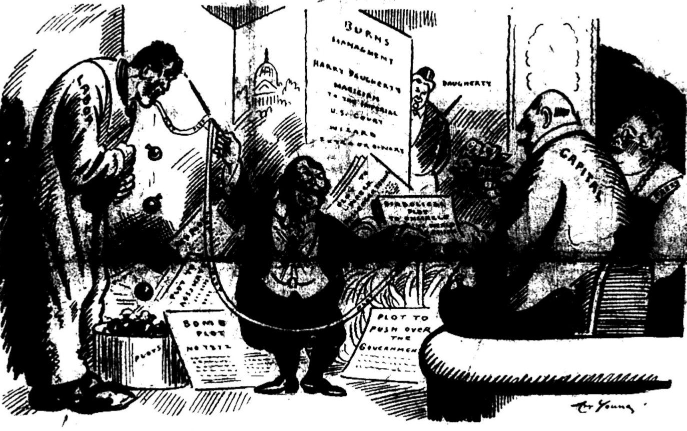
The sheriff's force merely acted as tools for the Department of Justice operatives who planned the entire proceedings.

So far as federal statutes are concerned the Communist Party of America is not an illegal organization for citizens. There is no federal law under which they can be arrested and held. It was necessary, therefore, for the busy Mr. Burns to operate under a state statute which has never been tested in the Michigan courts and under which no arrests have ever been made in that state.

Early Tuesday morning a small army of deputies descended upon the Wolfskeel Resort and with much flourishing of weapons and authority

(Continued on Page Four)

Burns the Wizard



CAPITAL TO HIS LADY:—See how innocent Labor looks, My Dear, as if he didn't know he had all these things concealed on his person.

Workers! You Must Fight for Freedom!

Manifesto of the Workers Party

The American workers are being taught that democracy does not exist in the United States. Freedom of assemblage, freedom of press, freedom of movement in pursuit of happiness, as expressed in the right of association to protect their own interests are rights which belong now to the Chambers of Commerce, to the Ku Klux Klan and other reactionary organizations—but not to the working class.

The great mass of men who do the useful labor of the land are deprived of these rights by the official puppets who administer the government in the interest of "Big Business." Moved by fear of the growing solidarity and power of labor the railroad capitalists and their Washington servants at one stroke abolish all constitutional guarantees of human rights. Government by injunction is established overnight.

This coup d'etat was too sudden and drastic to suit the courage of a certain section of the capitalist class. It may be modified so as to not so frankly set aside all constitutional rights, and camouflage. But the injunction even tho modified, remains a power in the hands of the capitalist class by which to set aside all limitations of the brutal use of its power and to strike the workers into subjection.

The Development of the Capitalist Dictatorship

The old time ideals of freedom have vanished. American political life has become bankrupt.

At the command of the Morgan banking interests the Democratic Party politicians changed the United States into a militarized nation overnight and poured the blood of hundreds of thousands of American Youth into a European War. For this betrayal the democratic politicians were thrown out of office.

(Continued on Page Five)

Workers! Crush the White Terror! Defend the Victims of the Class War!

$110,000 BAIL NEEDED FOR MICHIGAN CASES!

$15,000 BAIL NEEDED FOR PENNSYLVANIA CASES!

$25,000 BAIL NEEDED FOR NEW YORK CASES!

WHAT WILL THE WORKERS OF NEW YORK DO FOR DEFENSE?

HELP RAISE BAIL for Tom O'Flaherty, Caleb Harrison, Noman Tallantire, Joseph Zack, Max Lerner and others.

Cash, bonds or property are acceptable.

DO YOUR SHARE TO DEFEND Bill Dunne, C. E. Ruthenberg, Edward Lindgren and the rest.

REMEMBER OUR OLD CASES:
- Ben Gitlow at Sing Sing.
- Minnie Kalnin, Anna Leisman at Auburn Prison.
- Paul Manko at the Criminal Insane Asylum at Dannemora.
- Mizher, Paivio and Allonen—all in New York State Prisons.

WORKERS and Friends, your duty is to help.

Give! Give! for the defense and relief of the boys in jail!

REMEMBER! YOU MAY BE NEXT!

Fill out this blank and mail at once!

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
New York Division, Room 405, 80 East 11th St., N. Y. City

Dear Comrades: I have property valued $.......................... available for bail. Enclosed please find $.......................... my contribution for the defense of the men and women in jail.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

Phone: Stuyvesant 9642.

Communist International Says Just Verdict Was Returned Against Social Revolutionaries

The manifesto of the Communist International, declaring the guilty verdict returned against the social (counter) revolutionaries to be a "just verdict," has just been received and is published herewith. It calls upon the workers everywhere to overcome the hate that the "Socialists" of the Second and 2½ Internationals are trying to arouse against the Soviet Republic. It is as follows:

TO THE PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES

Workers! The Revolutionary Tribunal has pronounced sentence on the leaders of the counter-revolutionary party, which calls itself the Social Revolutionary Party.

It pronounces the verdict expected by every revolutionary worker who has followed the trial and has a clear picture of the crimes committed by this party.

The Court pronounced them guilty of conspiracy against the First Republic of the Workers and Peasants.

They were pronounced guilty because they incited the murder of the leaders of the workers' movement and tried to hush up their cowardly crimes.

In the interests of the World Revolution, the court pronounced the

(Continued on Page Four)

Frame-up in Sacco Case Is Shattered

By EUGENE LYONS

BOSTON.—The Norfolk County frame-up ring, responsible for the conviction of Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti on a capital charge, stands exposed by one of its own principal tools and victims.

Mrs. Lola R. Andrews, state witness on identification and perhaps the most sensational figure in the famous trial has confessed that her testimony "was in its entirety unqualifiedly false and untrue."

[illegible] Was Forced

Her identification of Sacco, she states, was made "under the intimidating and coercing influences of Michael E. Stewart, Albert L. Brouillard, Harold Williams, and Frederick G. Katzmann." The first two are police officers working under direction of District Attorney Katzmann, and Williams is an Assistant District Attorney.

The detailed affidavit embodying this confession has been filed in the Superior Court at Dedham, Mass., in further support of the motion for a new trial.

Mrs. Andrews was on the witness stand for three days during the trial last year. Because of the dramatic incidents which developed while she testified, the attendant publicity, and the terrific legal battle centering around her she became unquestionably the outstanding prosecution witness.

Her evidence, it was generally con-

(Continued on Page Four.)

Let Him Answer

Will District Attorney Frederick G. Katzmann and his associates please answer this question? The workers of Massachusetts are interested. So are the workers all over the world.

Dear Mr. Katzmann:

First, your witness Louis Pelser told how he was whipped into line against his will. Now your witness Lola Andrews gives in all its sordid detail the story of how she was intimidated by the State into lying against Sacco and Vanzetti.

How do you square these facts with your statements to the jury in the closing argument on the case, as follows?—

"There is some responsibility upon a prosecutor who produces witnesses whose evidence tends to prove murder. He may think well. He should think long, and he should always have his intelligence and his conscience with him before he puts the stamp of approval of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts upon him as a credible witness before he takes the stand seeking to prove the guilt of men and if proven will result in their death." (Vol. 9, p. 3632.)

And—

"And then there is Lola Andrews. I have been in this office, gentlemen, for now more than 11 years. I cannot recall in that long service for the Commonwealth that ever before [illegible] a witness as Lola Andrews." (Vol. 9, p. 3736.)

Respectfully,
THE SACCO-VANZETTI
DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

[illegible] Injunction [illegible] Daugherty [illegible] Against Militants

(Continued from Page One)

movement for the purpose of promoting their personal schemes and thereby ruin the trade union organization."

Like Daugherty Injunction

Thus have Gompers and his Grand Dukes issued their "Daugherty injunction" against the "reds," forbidding all radicals to raise their voices in the ranks of organized labor.

Or perhaps the head of the American Federation of Labor, with his associates, will follow the advice of The Union Reporter, Canton, Ohio, that comes to our desk in a sumptuous Labor Day outfit that looks like a pile of gold dollars.

This "Union Reporter" is so "devoted to the promulgation of unionism and union principles as interpreted by the American Federation of Labor" that it loads up its Special Labor Day Edition with "ads" of banks, public service corporations and old-party political candidates.

This exponent of Gompers' ideas has an editorial entitled "No Room for Radicals in This Country," that is so full of fabrications and misstatements that it is condemned by its own villainy. It declares;

"In this broad land of ours where freedom of action and speech is permitted, even tho "agitators" deny it, there is no room whatsoever for men who deliberately disregard every law and every ounce of honor and self-respect.

"In America there is only room for people with American blood and love of justice and every other thinking person whether he or she be an American born, naturalized or still an alien, ought to be driven from these shores.

"Every honest law abiding man, be he artisan or employer, will agree with us in our utter contempt of those, who are agitating not only radical soviet actions, but who also, to gain their nefarious contemptible ends, incite to murder, arson and every other most despicable un-American action.

"It is beyond our comprehension to see the motives actuating the radical element who have sailed under the colors of the American Federation of Labor in order to obtain recruits in their murder and fire riots. We surely are at a loss to see what benefit the radical element can gain by having its members perpetrate crimes too dastardly to believe they could or would be committed.

"What good can be done by putting obstructions or destructions—on the right of way of railroads and taking, as a toll for their vile and mean desires of revenge, innocent lives? What good can it be for a small coterie of radicals of the most dangerous class in the end, even tho they might by misrepresentation and false teachings obtain additions to their ranks?

"They can never gain a foothold strong enough to change the honorable actions as laid down by the officials of the American Federation of Labor, their allied International Unions and the various Brotherhoods.

"We are strongly in favor of the most drastic measures against every radical and as the present laws are insufficient we suggest that congress take immediate steps to rid this country of all the undesirables."

The "labor" sheet that printed the above boasts of the fact that it is a member of the International Labor News Service, official purveyor of Gompers propaganda.

Its case against the militants in the labor unions is Gompers' case, and it is the case of Attorney-General Daugherty in arguing for his injunction at Chicago against the railroad workers.

Labor Is Moving Ahead

We do not say that the kidnapping and deportation of Foster, and the raiding of the Trade Union Educational League offices and convention were inspired by Gompers. But the Burns' detectives might easily bolster up their case by citing from Gompers' attacks against the militants in the labor unions and by quoting the present action of the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

But, no matter how bitter or how extreme they may be, Gompers' attacks on the militants will have as little effect as Daugherty's assaults against the railroad workers. It is written that labor must make progress, if it would survive, and it is going ahead whether reactionaries of the type of Gompers or Daugherty like it or not.

THOUSANDS WANTED!

Thousands of copies of this issue of THE WORKER will be wanted for distribution.

We are printing extra copies to fill these orders.

Send your order at once.

Get THE WORKER to the workers in your shop.

Price 3½ cents per copy

The General Strike Is Dead! Long Live the General Strike!

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Workers of the United States! You have heard the first call for a General Strike. Its rumblings across the land have awakened in you a sense of new power. It has aroused new fears in the minds of your enemies, those who would keep you in subjection.

You have hurled your demand for the General Strike into the sessions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. There your demand lies buried. But it will rise again, stronger, more insistent.

Your first call, Workers of the United States, for a General Strike in defense of your class, is dead. But there will be newer and greater efforts under the slogan of "Long Live the General Strike!" until the present ruling class shall have crumpled into dust.

Your present officials, Workers of the United States, are opposed to the General Strike. They will always be opposed to it.

• • •

Favor in Order to Betray.

They gave it lip service for a few short moments because they felt the power of your demands. Thus did Kerensky, when the workers and peasants swept the Russian czar off his throne, try to ride the storm of revolution. Thus did Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske for a few brief days side with the upheaval that lost the Kaiser his empire. They favored it to betray it.

So have your leaders betrayed you. The demand for the General Strike came from the most militant, the thinking, far-seeing elements among you.

Gompers and his reactionary associates used your demand, for a few days, to frighten your enemies. Then they threw your demand into the waste basket and continued their alliance with your enemy, the present ruling class.

They made their gesture and they think they have fooled you just as Scheidemann and Ebert believe they will keep the workers of Germany in subjection. But you will not be fooled, the workers of Germany will not be fooled, no more than the workers and peasants of Russia who have dethroned all their bosses, were fooled. It will only take a little longer to win the fight to reach the goal.

• • •

Be Proud! Plan Anew!

Workers! Be proud of your achievements this year! You might have done better had you the right kind of leadership and the proper form of organization. But you will do better, because you will get a real leadership and develop a fighting organization.

First [illegible] great strike of the textile [illegible] New England, a revelation [illegible] working class solidarity.

Then the giant walkout of the 600,000 coal miners, unprecedented in this country in the display of industrial unity.

Then followed the nation-wide down tools movement among the railroad shopmen that nearly swept with it the railroad brotherhoods.

Three times you have assailed the citadels of capitalism in three great industries and you were ready for the great assault, a General Strike, but your leadership held you back because it is yellow and reactionary.

They are trying to interest you to take "impeachment" proceedings against Daugherty, in per capita taxes for the relief of the striking shopmen that will never be collected, specious plans for curtailing the power of the U. S. Supreme Court and "new legislation" for congress to pass and the sacred cows of the Supreme Court to chew to bits.

In Europe the yellow leaders of labor cry, "Anything but the revolution!" while here in the United States we have reached the stage where the same cringing officialdom yells "Anything but the General Strike!"

• • •

No Action Yet Taken

Gompers announced ten days before this writing that the A. F. of L. executive council was being called into session for the purpose of discussing the demand for the General Strike. But, as we go to press, no action has been taken.

James Duncan, first vice president, declared the "General Strike" would only be called as a last resort "in defense of democracy," while every worker knows, if Duncan doesn't, that democracy is dead in the United States of America.

When completely cornered these side-stepping labor spokesmen announce they have "no authority," which is a confession that labor is so crippled thru the form of its organization that it is unable to fight its own battles.

It is because the militants of the Trade Union Educational League would develop the kind of an organization that could carry on a General Strike, that they are being fought by the Gompers' regime.

We had been told that an industry-wide strike of the coal miners was impossible. But it has taken place, even with a backward officialdom forced to win a partial victory.

The strike of the railroad shopmen, involving seven out of the 16 craft unions of railroad workers, gives promise of the day when all labor in the transportation industry will stand together and fight together.

Unity of the capitalists nationally and internationally, will force the workers to parallel the organizations of their bosses whether they like it or not.

The pee-wee mind of a Matthew Woll fights amalgamation in the printing industry. He is head of the photo-engravers, and he fears to associate in one organization with the printers, the pressmen, the stereotypers, the electrotypers, the bookbinders, mailers and even the newsboys, who have shown themselves an important factor in every big newspaper strike.

Similarly this Woll, hater of "reds," carries his isolation tactics into the A. F. of L. executive council. He is typical of the rest.

• • •

The Last Alibi

"Anyway the general strike is a European institution," is the final display of ignorance with which some of these mis-named "labor-leaders" dismiss the subject.

It is true that the workers of Europe, and we might add labor on every other continent with the exception of North America, have developed the General Strike into a more effective weapon than in the United States.

In spite of their officials in league with Germany's industrial kaisers, the German workers have repeatedly invoked the General Strike to crush the restoration attempts of the Monarchists.

The Italian workers bring the General Strike to bear in the struggle against their American Legion, the labor-crushing Fascisti.

The General Strike has proved an effective weapon in Europe and elsewhere, not because the European profiteers and exploiters are different, but because the workers are different. They are more class-conscious and are learning more and more to fight as a class, as a united working class.

The workers of the United States are neither class conscious nor united as a class. As workers, with the exception perhaps of the mining industry, and partially on the railroads, the workers are merely craft conscious.

But this year 1922 has shown that you are waking up, Workers of the United States. You will in the very future, show that the General Strike is also an American labor institution, because capitalism is just the same in this country as it is everywhere else and it must be fought with the same weapon—CLASS SOLIDARITY.

• • •

It Isn't "Respectable"

The last word from Atlantic City is that "the general strike talk has had a very bad effect on the industrial situation."

That was not said by Schwab or Morgan or Rockefeller. But it is credited to the president of an international labor union who adds: "I believe it was a mistake to allow this report to go out."

This "labor leader" no doubt does not consider it respectable for labor to get up off its knees and enjoy the sensation of standing erect.

Against the claim of the "leaders" that "the majority of the workers are not in sympathy" with the proposal for a general strike the militant workers will raise the cry "Organization! Education! Solidarity!" until the workers show by their deeds just where they stand.

Replying to the claim of the "leaders," that "the public should be officially assured at the earliest possible moment that they are not faced with a general strike," we say let the great masses of the people realize they are but a part of the working class and that they should take their stand with it in all its struggles.

The threat of a General Strike will bring the bosses to their knees. The ability of labor to carry out that threat will keep them there.

Labor has responded to the question of the Trade Union Educational League: "Is it to be amalgamation or annihilation?"

It is going to be AMALGAMATION. With amalgamation the general strike weapon gradually evolves into a reality.

Workers of the United States! You will need that General Strike weapon for the bigger struggles ahead. You cannot perfect your organizations for its successful use too soon.

GET BUSY!

FORWARD TO COMPLETE AMALGAMATION OF ALL LABOR!

FORWARD TO THE GENERAL STRIKE!

FORWARD TO THE REVOLUTION AND THE ABOLITION OF CAPITALISM!

[illegible] Against White Terror

What promises to be the greatest protest demonstration held by workers in recent years will take place Friday evening, Sept. 22, at the Central Opera House, on 67th St., between Second and Third Aves.

The workers will give their answer at the huge protest meeting. William Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg, J. Louis Engdahl and Joseph Schlossberg will be the speakers.

The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Emergency Labor Defense Committee.

The workers will come there to voice their indignation against the attempt of the government to crush the Labor Movement.

And that is exactly what Daugherty's injunction against the railroad shopmen and the arrest of prominent radical labor leaders means.

Using as a pretext an alleged secret meeting held at Bridgeman, Mich., Burns' private Detective Agency, shown as the Department of Justice began a series of raids upon working-class organizations. The Trade Union Educational League, the organization of militant labor unionists, led by William Z. Foster, suffered the brunt of the attack of the Department of Justice.

Foster was slapped into jail in Chicago and without even a hearing handed over to the authorities of Michigan. Other union men were dealt with in the same unwarranted manner. The whole business is only a smoke screen to cover up the real intentions of the capitalists. Right after the raids came the injunction against the railroad strikers and Daugherty speaking for the capitalist class openly boasted that the open-shop fight of the employers must conquer.

Philadelphia Is Busy

The Philadelphia Defense Committee is working hard to raise money and bail to help effect the release of Workers Party members recently arrested in Michigan. Several hundred dollars have already been secured and an assessment of $1 per member has been levied on each member in the local.

A Protest Mass Meeting has been arranged for September 20th at the Labor Lyceum, 6th and Brown Sts. Prominent speakers will be present and every effort will be made to arouse the workers against this and other attacks on their rights.

Organize Defense Committee to Fight New War on Labor

(Special to The Worker)

CHICAGO.—The Emergency Labor Defense Committee for the defense of the Michigan defendants and those arrested in connection with that case was formed here Sunday afternoon at a meeting attended by thirty delegates from various labor unions.

Robert M. Buck, editor of The New Majority, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, was elected president and Sam T. Hammersmark chosen secretary-treasurer.

By-laws were adopted which pledges the organization to aid in securing bonds and defense for those who have been arrested in connection with the Michigan prosecutions and others who may be involved from time to time.

The executive committee consists of Murray Loeb, Anton Johannsen, George Stall, Niels Kjar and Lillian Herstein.

The committee has already started an active campaign in Chicago and vicinity in behalf of the accused men and plans to affiliate with a national defense organization that is believed will soon be formed.

BLAME THE I. W. W.

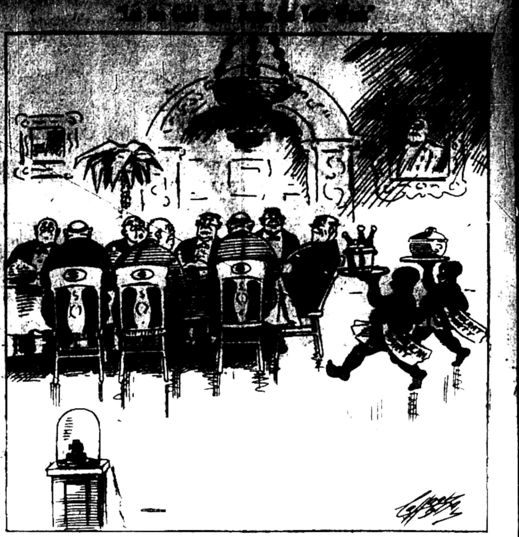
CALEXICO, Cal.—Not content with having framed his own "kidnapping" in order to provide an excuse for intervention in Mexico, Bruce Bielaski, discredited agent of the department of justice, now descends to the depths of blaming that same kidnapping on the I. W. W.

"It was done by I. W. W. members whom Bielaski had had deported to Mexico," asserts Jesus Barcenas, an associate of Bielaski in the frame-up.

HOW COME?

BICKNELL, Ind.—Organized labor celebrated on its own here Labor day. For the first time the workers held aloof from the "friends of labor," asking no business men nor politicians for favors, only recognized representatives of organized labor appeared on their program.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!



But we regret to say that the cartoonist forgot to fasten a few "Socialist," Farmer-Labor and other "Nonpartisan" fleas to the backs of the figures representing the two "old parties."

Stand of the Trade Union Educational League on the Coal and Rail Strikes

The declarations of the recent national conference of the Trade Union Educational League on the coal and rail strikes are as follows:

• • •

THE RAILROAD STRIKE

The Trade Union Educational League expresses its complete solidarity with the striking railroad shopmen. The rail exploiters have no regard whatever for the human needs of the workers. They are animated only by their own greed. They want profits and more profits, regardless of the fact that their insatiable lust for wealth means the enslavement of the great mass of the people. In self-protection the workers must resist the encroachment of the parasitical owning elements. We note with satisfaction that the shopmen are developing a true understanding of the real situation and are defending themselves accordingly.

But we must also point out one great lesson in the present struggle. While the seven shop unions are valiantly battling the united exploiters, nine other organizations, numbering some 1,000,000 members, have remained at work and are helping the companies in their fight against the striking shopmen. This is an inexcusable situation. Nothing but profound stupidity or worse, on the part of the trade union leadership, is responsible. We call upon the nine crafts still at work to rally to the support of their striking brothers, and we urge the railroad workers as a whole to prevent such a sad state of affairs developing again, with part of their number working and the rest striking. This can only be accomplished by merging all the railroad unions into one body. The very life of railroad unionism demands that this be done.

• • •

THE COAL STRIKE

The first National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League congratulates the coal miners on the splendid spirit manifested by them in their recent great strike. Never have the workers of this country risen to greater heights of solidarity, never has the country been made to understand more clearly the debt that it owes to the toilers. Although the struggle has not resulted in a complete victory, at least the violent drive of the "open shoppers" has been checked. This in itself is a no mean accomplishment in these days of black reaction. But this true, now coming to pass, is only temporary. Soon the employers will be on the offensive again. And when the next great struggle develops the miners must be ready to fight even more valiantly than they have this time. By their gallant struggle the coal miners have undoubtedly preserved the whole trade union movement from destruction. Had they been faint-hearted and had they yielded in the battle, the employers, tremendously encouraged thereby, would have raged against all other trade unions until the movement generally was crushed. We hail the battling miners.

Ice Cream to Repair Engines?

BOSTON.—New England railroads are furnishing their strike breakers with ice cream, cigarets, moving picture shows, radio concerts, as well as free board and lodging, the executive board of Boston & Maine striking shopmen asserts in a public statement. The executive board asks why it is that despite this royal treatment the scabs are unable to send out locomotives in good condition.

100 PER CENT

SEATTLE.—An admittedly class conscious paper is soon to be added to local newspapers when the Daily American starts publication. It is opposed to pussyfooting with unionism and is in favor of smashing them, it announced. It will be a tabloid newspaper.

NEW YORK.—Custom Dressmakers' Union No. 80 of the I. L. G. W. U., are making an effort to organize all non-union custom tailoring establishments. Renewals of agreement with those now operating union shops will be effected about Sept. 15.

F. P. Walsh, Ohsol and Hibben in Joint Plea for Russia's Children

CHICAGO.—The American Committe for Relief of Russian Children has received the following cablegram from Samara, Russia, signed by Frank P. Walsh, John G. Ohsol and Paxton Hibben, and sent just after the three had completed a tour of the famine districts;

"Whatever are the results of the Russian harvest, it is clear that the need for feeding and clothing millions of underfed, sick and homeless children is incontestible and compelling. Great hearted America which has already done so much to save Russia cannot now let these little ones die or pass their childhood in misery and want. We apeal for support to the splendid work of the American Committee for Relief of Russian Children, that these children may be enabled to come through the valley of the shadow of death to health at last."

Each of these men went to Russia as a private citizen. Copies of the cablegram are being distributed to those interested in the million cans of milk campaign now under way, in an effort to combat the press reports which would lead the public to believe that the situation in Russia is no longer critical.

With the Young Workers

Some of our comrades have been arrested in the renewed attacks by the capitalist class and government on those having practical and revolutionary opinions. We must defend our comrades and all other industrial and political prisoners.

To have a united front in this work, an Emergency Labor Defense Committee has been organized, composed of working class and liberal organizations in this country.

The Young Workers League of America has affiliated with the Emergency Labor Defense Committee and the N. E. C. has placed a representative on that committee.

Every city and every branch must also elect delegates to the corresponding defense unit. The [illegible] of the Y. W. L. will in most instances elect delegates to the local defense committee. Where there is only one branch in a city that branch must send a delegate to the City Defense Committee. Do this NOW.

In the next issue of the Young Worker will appear a statement by the N. E. C. of the Y. W. L. of A. on the problem of defense. Read this statement carefully and then ACT.

Plan for Liebknecht Day

Get ready for LIEBKNECHT DAY and for the 5th Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic November 7. We shall co-operate with the Workers Party in the celebration of the Anniversary of the Workers Republic.

For Liebknecht Day, another big day for young workers thruout the world, extensive preparations must be made. Now that we have learned better because of I. Y. D. meetings, how to proceed with our work we should be able to have huge demonstrations and meetings for Liebknecht Day Jan. [illegible]

Neglecting the Young

New York city, which has 400,000 illiterates under the age of 21, which has scores of public school buildings condemned again and again as filthy, disease-breeding firetraps, which last year had 300,000 public school pupils on part time or "double session" for want of seats, has re-opened its schools for the fall term with only 16,000 more seats than were provided at the close of school last June. This means that on the "single session" plan these seats will fall 6,000 short of providing even for last year's increase of 22,000 part-time pupils. Even on the "double time" plan, at the very best there still must be 116,000 pupils who can attend school only on part time.

BERKELEY, Cal.—Sixty-five young men and women, citizens of Russia, have entered the University of California as students. They are sent here by the soviet government, and after their training in engineering and other technical lines will return to Russia and the government service there. Their expenses are being paid by the soviet republic.

Crush the White Terror! Protest Mass Meeting! Central Opera House, Friday, September 22nd, 8 P.M.

One Printing Trades Union Great Demand

Editor's Note: The issue "Amalgamation or Annihilation" is being raised at the 67th Convention of the International Typographical Union now meeting at Atlantic City, just as it is being urged in all other gatherings of labor. We are planning to have thoro reports of this convention for THE WORKER. This week we give space to the accompanying tribute to the Typographical Union by Al Smith, in the August issue of The Labor Herald:

* * *

One Union in Printing Trades

By AL SMITH

The printing trades unions have been thru a great struggle. Attacks against their wage standards and hours of labor have been most vicious. Taking the industry as a whole, the workers have suffered setbacks and have been weakened.

The pressmen, stereotypers, electrotypers and bookbinders, have lost half their members, have had to take big reductions in wages, and have failed to hold the 44-hour week.

On the other hand, however, the biggest union in the industry, comprising more than half those organized, the International Typographical Union, has held its membership well, losing less than 10 percent, has held the 44-hour week, and suffered no reductions in wages. This has only been done at the cost of millions of dollars and bitter struggle.

The smaller unions in the industry have suffered heavily. They have paid the price for lack of unity among the printing trades workers. They above all others, should realize by this time that their only hope to protect their interests, and prevent the employers from crushing them, is for them to unite all their forces. One union for the printing trades would be a boon and protection to them.

Strange to say, however, it is the large union, the I. T. U., which is leading the movement at this time for one printing trades union. In spite of the fact that in going alone it fares better than any of the others, it is the first to suggest unity among them all. At the Quebec convention (1921) it passed the following resolution almost unanimously:

"Resolved, That this convention favors the amalgamation of the various printing trades unions, to the end that there be but one union in the printing industry."

This resolution is the most concise statement made of the principle of industrial unity, and is the latest statement of the principle which has animated the progressive elements in the printing trades for many years. There has always been a struggle going on between the advocates of unity and the forces of disruption. Today the movement for one union for the printing trades is gaining much headway because the logic of membership figures, wage-scales, and hours of labor is forcing the issue to a decision. It is amalgamation or annihilation for the smaller unions, as the immediate alternative.

CAPMAKERS' UNION

ST. JOSEPH, Mo. The St. Joseph Cap Co. has withdrawn its demand for a reduction of wages in its controversy with the local of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union. The Western Cap Co. refusing to follow the same course, precipitated a strike in its plant which has been won by the workers. The company was forced to grant increases to such workers as were below the union scale.

NEW TRIAL STARTS

CHARLES TOWN, W. Va.—After considerable delay owing to the inability of many witnesses to pay their traveling expenses to court, the trial of Walter Allen charged with treason in connection with the West Virginia mine war of August, 1921, has begun. The trial is expected to consume several weeks.

Philadelphia
Defense Meeting
Labor Lyceum
6th and Brown Sts.
Wednesday Night, Sept. 20,
8 o'clock.

SPEAKERS
C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary, Workers Party.
Noah London, in Jewish
and others

Under the Auspicies of the
Philadelphia Defense Committee

[illegible]

THE DAILY WORKER
An Organ of Communist Opinion
(LABOR DAY EDITION)
Vol. I. No. 1 Wednesday, Sept. 6, Price, 5 cents

Monster Mass Meeting!

Thousands Participate—Speakers of International Reputation Dwell on Present Situation—Gompers Excoriated—Soviet Russia Cheered

Labor Day, St. Joseph, Mich.

At a mass meeting which packed the new auditorium in Berrien County jail, a remarkable ovation greeted the announcement of Charles Krumbein, well known Chicago labor leader, that the Soviet Republic of Russia was today impregnable after five years of civil war and attacks from the outside by the capitalists of the world.

"The Workers of America," stated Krumbein in a voice hoarse with passion, "are prepared to follow in the footsteps of their comrades in Russia and establish the Soviet Republic of America on the ruins of American Imperialism."

This outburst of Krumbein was cheered by the monstrous gathering until the iron locks rattled on the doors of the cells.

Krumbein further announced that he was instructed by the masses in Chicago to state that if the capitalists wanted war they could have it. As far as they were concerned, they were too proud to fight.

Norman Tallentire, known among the world proletariat as "The Poet Laureate of the Revolution," sang the Internationale, and when the audience was sufficiently recovered he delivered a disquisiton on revolutionary poets which had a quieting effect on the audience. He concluded among loud snores.

The next speaker was T. J. O'Flaherty, who came purposely from Ireland, to partake in the ceremony. We have not space in this issue to do full justice to his eloquent and instructive oration but the next issue of the Daily Worker will carry his speech in full.

Seth Nordling from Sweden and Puget Sound, representing the lumber workers of the Far West spoke with considerable feeling on the revival of class-consciousness among the Swedes in the lumber industry. The Swedes, he stated, were peacefully inclined, but it would not do to goad them into anger. Nordling gazed significantly at MacMillan as he made this statement. The audience took the hint and applauded.

Eugene Bechtold, representing the International Youth, delivered a fiery speech and made particular appeal to the young people among the audience. He stated that on the C. E. C. of the Young Workers' League were some of the best thinkers in the American Labor Movement. Himself and the other members of the C. E. C., he stated with becoming modesty performed a lion's share in bringing the position of the American youth to the attention of the capitalist class.

After smoking a cigarette and answering several impertinent questions he sat down amid cheers.

Max Lerner, the noted Marxian scholar and personal friend of the famous eccentric genius Harry Waton, spoke with dignity on "Karl Marx as I knew him." "Marx," stated Comrade Lerner, "contrary to the general opinion was not a temperance advocate. He drank good whiskey, smoked the best cigars and was not above carrying on a flirtation. However, Marx did not become famous like General Grant because of the brand of whiskey he used. He made his reputation by contributing to posterity an analysis of capitalist society known as "Das Kapital." There are only a few Marxian scholars in Europe and one in America. I hope to give you a more intimate picture of Marx before this course is ended." Professor Lerner was severely quizzed and smoked a heavy cigar a la Marx. He was given a vote of thanks.

The principal oration was delivered by Caleb Harrison of Cleveland, a disciple of Daniel De Leon and formerly one of the leading lights in the Socialist Labor Party. He is now famous as one of the best poker players in Berrien County jail.

Harrison was introduced by Krumbein in the usual way. Harrison needed no introduction and so forth. The speaker proceeded to satirize the present system of society much to the astonishment of Jerry Dillon, the "Fighting Harp" of Chicago. Harrison stated that there was freedom for all in America. Dillon was about to hit the speaker with his wooden leg when the chairman diplomatically winked and Jerry got wise immediately.

The speaker then opened up and delivered a rousing speech which lasted until the large audience had filed out. A collection was taken up to defray the expenses of hiring the hall and paying the fares of the speakers.

Krumbein announced that the collection was 19 cents. He thanked the audience for their patience and liberality. The great event was over.

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HERE WE ARE!

It has been recognized for some time by the forward looking members of the W. P. that a daily paper was a necessary part of the equipment of a revolutionary organization that was making a bold attempt to go to the masses.

Pious hopes were expressed, resolutions were passed and various schemes were concocted but still the daily paper did not appear.

At last a small minority, but a militant minority, tired of the lackadaisical methods of their leaders, took the bull by the horns and decided to launch the "Daily Worker" at this critical juncture in the history of the American Working Class.

This action may draw down on our heads the wrath of would-be leaders who claim an immunity from making mistakes. Our reply to this claim is that it is better to make mistakes than do nothing at all.

Patronize "Worker" Advertisers. No fake ads accepted. Bootleggers must send in cash with copy. Address all communications to Bail, this office.

WAGE SLAVES, ATTENTION!

Spend your vacation with Sheriff Bridgeman among the sand dunes and vineyards of Berrien County.

Finest Cuisine. Hot and cold water—mostly cold—individual toilets—no bugs but cockroaches in abundance. Terms reasonable—can be had on application to Sheriff Bridgeman Berrien County Jail, St. Josephs, Michigan.

INFORMATION WANTED!

An anxious wife and five children await information concerning the whereabouts of Seth Nordling the Portland Lumber King, who deserted her on or about August the 15th. Nordling can be identified by the large bunion on his left foot. He is also very fond of snuff and has the appearance of a mediaeval viking. Liberal award offered. Address X. Y. this office.

BUGS—CON

If it's here—it's funny
Berrien Jail Refrain

Owing to indisposition of the Jail Poet this corner is blank.

BIDS WANTED.

Cities bidding for 1923 Convention are requested to send in with their application a report of conditions in their County Jails. This is important.

LOST AND FOUND COLUMN

LOST between St. Josephs and Detroit, David J. Bentall, Chicago lawyer, who passed himself off as counsel to Red leaders incarcerated in the local jail. When seen last in this vicinity he was wandering aimlessly in the direction of the House of David. If returned in good condition by next Friday, finder will be amply rewarded.

GREAT MILITARY COUP

Seventeen Prisoners taken in Assault on Red stronghold in Berrien County fastness

GENERAL ERICKSON INTERVIEWED

By Bud Reynolds

General Erickson, hero of the Battle of Poitiers, during which he distinguished himself by his bravery, sat in the lobby of the Bodgenon Hotel, smoking a Clown, when your representative sought his opinion on the engagement now known as "the Battle of Bridgeman."

General Erickson stated that the flanking movement carried on under the direction of Major Moflhagen, simultaneously with the frontal attack of General Bridgeman, caught the Reds between two fires. It reminded him of the Second Battle of the Marne, when he, Erickson, with Foch and Pershing conceived the famous encircling movement which sent the Germans Reeling in disorder. The power of the Reds Erickson believes is now definitely broken as their best generals were wounded, killed or taken prisoners.

The operation was considered delicate as the strength of the Reds was unknown to General Spolansky, Commander in Chief of the Washington Division. His Intelligence Department reported enemy concentration in the vicinity of Bridgman, but was unable to locate them by an artillery so he hesitated to sacrifice his men until his airplane division first carried out bombing operations.

His main Flying Squadron arrived rather late and discovered that the big guns had been moved by the Reds under cover of darkness. Light artillery however, could play havoc with his forces if properly placed around the gullies where the Great Headquarters of the Reds was located.

Erickson stated that in his opinion General Spilansky did not display the dash of a real American. He also remarked that the General might properly be accused of neglect in not paying proper attention to the indications of retreat from the enemy camp. His Intelligence department reported a strange cackling after dusk and the flapping of wings, showing that the birds in the neighborhood were disturbed by some unusual activity. It is now believed that the Reds retreated during the night on which the cackling was heard.

SOCIETY COLUMN

Albert Bail, noted Philadelphia turf man and rounder dropped into Berrien County Jail for an indefinite stay. His social affairs are in the hands of Attorney Soakem, his family lawyer.

Bud Reynolds who recently returned from a trip around the world, is held up in St. Josephs, Michigan, owing to complications in the real estate market. He is now the guest of Sheriff Bridgeman.

Charles Erickson, the famous builder, is staying at our best Hotel. It is rumored that he is soliciting a one million dollar contract for the construction of the biggest county jail in the United States. Erickson was recently seen riding in one of Sheriff Bridgeman's machines, revealing a close intimacy with the Berrien County Boss.

[illegible] Strike War Against Great Odds

In entering upon the great struggle just ended, the coal miners faced some terrific handicaps, declares John Dorsey, in an article on the miners' strike in the October issue of The Labor Herald, official organ of the Trade Union Educational League. Other odds against them developed in the course of the fight.

The finances of the union were at a low ebb. Numerous suits and injunctions were being fought in court. Bitter factionalism was tearing the organization.

A strike had been on in Mingo County, West Virginia, for nearly two years, which had developed into civil war. Great unorganized fields were in operation in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Colorado.

Splendid Fighting Spirit

These odds against the workers counted heavily, and were only overcome or offset by the heroic energy and splendid fighting spirit of the rank and file, and some most excellent organizing work in the Connellsville field.

The Connelsville coke region of Pennsylvania, a stronghold of non-unionism operated by the steel trust, was one of the weak spots of the Miners' Union.

The union invaded this field and enrolled scores of thousands of new members here. This new organization, gained early in the strike, grew in power and numbers. It is a permanent addition to the ranks of organized labor. This was one of the best bits of organizing work that has been done. It counted mightily in the growth of the power of the strike.

West Virginia, in spite of the two-year war of Mingo County, also held its own in this strike. Super-human energy must be in these sturdy American miners, for right at the outbreak of the strike, more than 300 of their officers and leaders were dragged away 500 miles, to Charlestown, to stand trial for treason and murder.

Accomplish Wonders in West Va.

Along with them had to go 500 of the most active union men of the coal fields, as witnesses to keep them from being railroaded to the penitentiary.

In spite of the bleeding of the Union of its most vital element, the militants, in this fashion, the West Virginia district accomplished wonders in upholding their end of the strike.

Even in Colorado, where John D. Rockefeller and the Steel Trust go hand in hand, and their vassal, Pat Hamrock of Ludlow infamy, rules the land with Cossacks, rifle, tanks, and tear-gas, the employers did not have a free hand. Only by the most ruthless suppression, by force were the miners prevented from sweeping the fields.

Their organizers were rearrested as fast as they could get out on bail, until all available bonds were exhausted, and then they were held in prison until the strike was over or they agreed to leave the state.

Separate Agreements and "Leaders"

One danger which threatened the strike, was the determined efforts of some "leaders" to bring about separate district agreements, instead of battling it out for a national settlement.

This was particularly true of Frank Farrington, President of District No. 12 in Illinois. How the danger was met and overcome there is a story all by itself. But the separate agreement menace was actually made a reality in one instance, Alabama, and threatened to have disastrous consequences for a time.

It happened this way. A man who was once International President of the Union, John P. White, was put on the pay-roll at an outrageous salary, and sent to Alabama, one of the weakly organized districts.

White was head of the Union at the outbreak of the war, he continued to draw his salary from the miners while he went to Washington to serve the Government at $1 a year.

Then he got a good government job, and was succeeded by Lewis as President of the United Mine Workers of America. But in some way White lost out, so Lewis, for unknown reasons, put him on the job again for the union. White went to Alabama, signed up separate agreements which tied up the miners under an arbitration board whose decisions they were bound to accept, and then resigned to accept the position of—head of the arbitration board!

But in spite of all handicaps, in spite of treachery, the miners of the country as a whole, in bituminous and anthracite fields alike, stood solid without a serious break in their ranks. They emerged from the struggle stronger in numbers than they went in. Their spirit is unbroken. If they have not won a complete victory it is not because they have not earned it.

What Will the Truce Mean?

The temporary settlement has checked the "open shop" drive to some extent and thus far is a victory, but it is only a temporary and very partial one. What will it mean for next spring when the truce ends?

One of the provisions of the truce is the naming of a commission to investigate the conditions of the industry and report a plan of organizing it to guarantee the miners a decent standard of life, without interfering with the bosses' profits.

This commission is to be named by agreement between the Union and the operators, in case of disagreement it is to be named by President Harding.

This "joker" makes it certain that the report of the commission will be adverse to the miners. This year the miners went into battle with the mass of so-called public opinion on their side. Next spring the report of the commission, which is morally sure to be against the miners, will be a powerful factor in swinging "public opinion" against them. On this point the truce is favorable to the bosses and distinctly unfavorable to the miners.

The five month's fight has drained the miners of financial resources. They have no way of recuperating themselves, except their regular wages.

Mine Owners Reimburse Selves

On the other hand the mine bosses are already reimbursing themselves for their losses in the strike in a most princely fashion.

For example, the Chicago Tribune of August 30th, carries the story of a State Fuel Commission, in deciding the price which would be charged for coal, solemnly agreeing that it is perfectly in order for the companies to add $1 per ton to the price to cover the cost of the strike.

To understand this fully, remember that the miner, for his entire labor in producing that ton of coal, gets only 91 cents to $1.10. Every time the returned miners produce a ton of coal they will be putting another dollar into the coffers of the companies which will be used to break the next strike.

Financially, the truce is favorable to the companies and unfavorable to the workers.

The settlement of the bituminous strike carried terms differing from those accepted in the anthracite strike. The former established a truce until April 1st, the latter for one year, or three months beyond the other. This destroys the solidarity which existed between these two branches of the industry in the fight this year.

If the bituminous miners must strike next year, the anthracite workers will have still a three month's contract to fulfill. From the point of view of solidarity the miners have lost an advantage by this truce.

Menace of Coal from Abroad

The Union is faced with bitter persecution in the courts. The Coronado case has laid them open to furious raids upon their funds. The Herrin persecution threatens to command a tremendous amount of the energy and attention of the Union.

All of these drains upon the Union strength have another nine months to get in their work before the issue of a cut in wages comes up again. From this point of view the Union will face a more favorable situation next spring.

In the strike just ended, the importation of coal from abroad was resorted to very late in the struggle and did not grow to very great proportions before the truce.

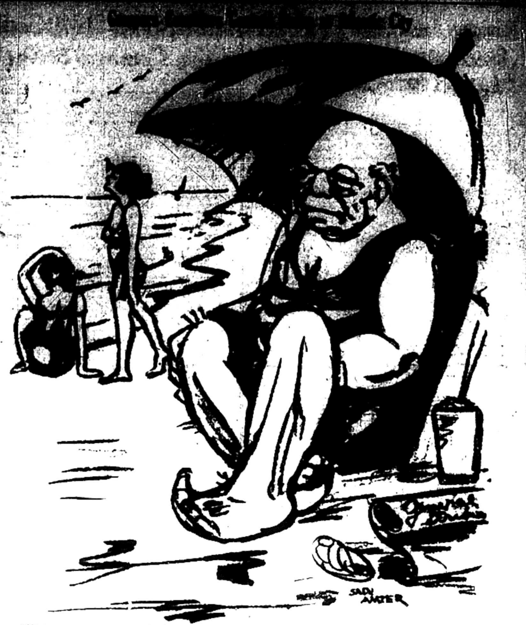
But if the employers decide to cut wages next spring there can be little doubt that the systematic importation of coal from abroad will be one of the well-prepared weapons. This is another factor unfavorable to the miners.

Pettigrew Backs Revolution

"The Russian Revolution is the greatest event of our times. It marks the beginning of the epoch when the working people will assume the task of directing and controlling industry. It blazes a path into this unknown country, where the workers of the world are destined to take from their exploiters the right to control and direct the economic affairs of the community."—From the book by Ex-U. S. Senator R. F. Pettigrew, "Imperial Washington".

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER. KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]



"We're as young as we look, and as old as we feel," Gompers told kept press reporters at the seaside resort, where a national bathing beauty contest coincided with the sessions of the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

An Apologist for Capitalism

The editorial writer of the New York Call has been weeping so much over the fate of social (counter) revolutionaries in Soviet Russia that we had come to the conclusion that his tear ducts had about gone dry.

Frank P. Walsh, noted labor lawyer, however, comes out of the Workers' Republic, and announces that "any government would have condemned" the Social Revolutionaries, which causes this writer to suffer a relapse, in the issue of September 5th. The Call writer hysterically states that, "Soviet officials and trial judges organized mass meetings, spoke at them and assured their audiences that the accused would be convicted. Atrocious as some of the political trials were in this country, government officials and judges did not go that far."

We have just been reading a Federated Press report, Sept. 6th, telling how Attorney General Edward J. Brundage, Illinois, carried his fight against the Illinois miners into a speech at the 23rd Ward Republican Picnic, Chicago. Brundage has $25,000 from the Illinois Chamber of Commerce to carry on his grand jury attack against the Herrin miners.

We remember that every hireling of capital, from President Harding down, has been attacking the Herrin miners who have not even been charged with crime.

Similarly Secretary of Labor Davis in his Labor Day speech, declared that "no gibbet can be built too high for those who execute such dastardly deeds as the 'deliberate' wrecking of a train recently at Gary, Ind.," when all the facts show that the wreck resulted from the use of a defective engine.

We cite these instances to show that capitalist spokesmen do not wait for workers to be arrested, charged with crime and put on trial before beginning their attack. If the memory of the Call's editorial writer is so poor there are those who will remember that workers were tried and convicted in the newspapers and by their judges long before they came to trial, before the war, during the war and since.

It did happen that mass meetings were held during the trial of the social (counter) revolutionaries in Soviet Russia, some of these being gatherings on the anniversary of the assassination of the Soviet commissars Volodarsky and Uritzky. Surely, the spokesmen of the Russian workers addressed these meetings. The Russian workers are peculiar in that they do not invite the kept lawyers of capitalism and anti-working class politicians to address them.

The Russian workers, in the conduct of their proletarian courts, have no apologies to offer.

But the Call, in attacking the Russian workers, inevitably and naturally adopts the role of apologist for capitalist institutions and customs. Playing that part it seems to be very much at home.

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[illegible] Facts Show [illegible] Strength of [illegible] Communists

The Bulgaria that fought in the late war on the side of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, now boasts one of the strongest Communist Parties in Europe, its parliamentary fraction even threatening the majority of the government.

The inspiring facts are given in the report of party secretary, T. Lechanoff, to the party's fourth congress. We take from the report the following:

* * *

On May 20th, 1922, the Communist Party of Bulgaria included 1534 local organizations with a membership of 38,036, as against 1512 organizations with 34.898 members at the end of 1921. This represents an increase of 104 local organizations with 2849 members, between the first of January and the 20th of May 1922.

The Party controls the following organizations:

1—**The General Trade Union Federation**, comprising 19 trade unions with 497 local groups and 29,139 members.

2—**The Central Women's Committee** with 72 local groups and 4200 members, including 1552 working women, 226 housekeepers and 293 women without exact occupation.

3—**The Central Foreigner's Committee**, with 18 sections and 1310 members.

4—**The League of the Bulgarian Communist Youth**, which comprised at the end of 1921, 362 groups with 13,216 members. They are divided into 78 city-groups, with 6831 members and 224 rural groups with 6355 members. Their organ, Mladec (The Young People) appears in an edition of 14,000 copies.

5—**The Communist League of War Invalids and the League of former War Prisoners**, which united at the beginning of the year into the **Union of War Victims**. At the end of 1921 this union had a membership of 4261 members, divided into 105 local organizations. Their organ The War Victim has a circulation of 4,300 copies.

6—**The Group of Communist Engineers** with 52 members.

7—**The Cooperative Society "Osvobojdenie"** (Liberation) which, on the 31st of March 1922, had a membership of 57,000. At the end of 1921 their consumer's division controlled 32 branches and 85 agencies. The publishing division prints all the newspapers, magazines and other publications of the Party. They have over 300 organs, possess headquarters, with a modern printing press equipped with the largest rotary machines in the country. Their construction department possesses a modern sawing mill and a well equipped carpenters shop. They are now working on the construction of a new five-story People's House. The cooperative has close connections with the Russian and American labor movement.

The Party has a representation of 43 members in Parliament. The election of 9 more Communist deputies was declared void by the government so that its majority would not be endangered.

In the local elections of October 2nd, 1921 and of February 19th, 1922, the C. P. B. received 126,464 votes. The party now controls 113 communes and 9 city executives. In a great many other communities it has won a greater or lesser number of offices. Altogether, it has elected 3,623 communal and 315 provincial councillors.

The C. P. B. had to fight in all cases against a coalition of the other parties. All its campaigns have been successful. We need only mention the protest campaign against the burning of the People's House, May 24th, 1921, its campaign for the relief of Russian famine, and not least, its campaign against the Wrangelites in Bulgaria. The propaganda is conducted by the Central Committee which has named a special committee for that purpose.

The Party publishes the following newspapers: Rabotnitchetski Vestnik (Labor Herald) the central organ of the C. P. B. and the General Trade Union Federation with a daily circulation of 25,000, the Selski Vestnik (Rural Herald), a weekly with a circulation of 25,000, the magazine Novo Vremia (New Times), the scientific bi-weekly of the Party, circulation 5800; the Tcherven Smech (Red Laugh) a humoristic weekly, circulation 4000, the Ravenstvo (Equality), weekly organ of the Communist women, circulation 10,000; the Mladec (Young People), a weekly published by the Communist Youth and having a circulation of 14,000; the Osvobojdenie (Liberation), organ of the foreign Communists, which will be published in the near future in 3200 copies; the War Victim, organ of the former soldiers, a bi-weekly with a circulation of 4000; the Zia (Light) published in Turkish for the Bulgarian Turks, 1800 copies; the Novo Svet (New World), organ of the American Communists in Bulgaria, edited in 1000 copies; the Bratstvo (Brotherhood) a magazine for propaganda among Bulgarian Jews; and, finally, the Narodna Armia (People's Army) a weekly for propaganda in the Army.

Outside of this, the C. P. B. published the Bulgarian number of the Communist International; during the year 1921 it also printed 61 books and many pamphlets.

[illegible] Here's First Detailed Story [illegible] Raid

(Continued from Page One)

placed under arrest Caleb Harrison, Ned Reynolds, William F. Dunne, Norman Tallentire, Thomas O'Flaherty, Tom Sullivan, Al. McMillin, John Michelic, C. E. Ruthenberg, Cyril Lambkin, Charles Krumbein, Gene Bechtold, Max Lerner, A. Nordling, Charles Erickson and Charles Ashworth. Erickson was beaten up before the arrested men were taken from the grounds. All were held two days incommunicado during which time they were questioned and third-degree methods used on those who appeared physically weak.

Ashworth was so badly beaten that he was later ordered released by the federal man in charge. Lambkin, Bail and Erickson were also severely beaten and manhandled.

The Berrien county jail was overcrowded; there were not enough bunks or blankets to go around and at this writing some of the prisoners are still sleeping on the concrete floor.

The second or third day the seventeen were taken down in front of the jail, photographed from various angles, while the brave deputies stood on guard with shotguns held in readiness and revolvers bulging in every available pocket.

Later when the defendants were taken over to the city hall to hear the charges read those who got downstairs first were handcuffed until the supply of manacles ran out. The result of this lavish use of the small supply of cuffs was that the smallest and most inoffensive looking of the prisoners were chained to deputies who looked big enough to eat them, while the more husky prisoners simply trailed along with the guards.

Contrary to what might have been expected the spectacle of seventeen reds in captivity aroused but little interest in St. Joseph. Only a handful of boys turned out to see the results of the brain-racking work of the local officialdom in saving the nation with the help of William J. Burns, Spolansky and Goebel—the latter two being Polish Jews and therefore greatly interested in repelling the alien invasion.

Judging from the first attitude of the local sheriff and his deputies they had expected that the arrested men would be friendless aliens on whom their sadistic desires could be satisfied without arousing any great protest from outside. Some little change took place, however, when telegrams of inquiry and sympathy began to arrive, particularly one from the Minneapolis Central Labor Council to William F. Dunne and his fellow-prisoners, stating that the Minneapolis labor movement was with them "to the last ditch."

Bail was fixed at $10,000 each, an exorbitant sum in view of the charge, and altho the prosecutor had intimated to the defendants' attorneys that it would be reduced in most cases, the objection of the federal authorities has so far prevented any reduction. We have here a clear case of a federal espionage system, run by the head of a notorious private detective agency, going outside of its jurisdiction, to help wreak the vengeances of an insane ruling class upon men whose sole crime is activity in the labor movement. A federal prosecutor is at present in St. Joseph assisting the county attorney to prepare the case; if additional evidence is wanted of the gratuitous nature of these prosecutions this appears to furnish it.

The situation appears to be this: That men cannot meet to discuss the problems of the labor movement in America without being hounded by police spies who are nominally government agents but actually the servants of the capitalists of America and as such anxious to convince their masters that they are on the job.

Let us see who these "reds" are who were arrested at a well-known summer resort just previous to the convention of the Workers Party and the conference of the Trade [illegible] Union Educational League in Chicago a few miles away.

All of these are members of [illegible] in the labor movement. They are associates of William Z. Foster whose idea of the [illegible] of the existing trade union movement and the necessity of the radicals staying with it has worked a revolution in the tactics of the militant elements all over the United States. His idea of the amalgamation of the railway unions has gained such a foothold that everywhere the rank and file is calling for and working for industrial unionism despite the opposition of officialdom.

Already a split in the United Mine Workers of America has been prevented because the militants have got the notion of dualism out of their systems, and to-day the outlook for the American labor movement is more hopeful than ever before. The employers are worried at the strong new tendency for unity.

Again, William F. Dunne, former editor of the Butte Bulletin, lately labor editor of The Worker, of New York, was on his way to Butte when arrested with a plan for the organization of the metal miners of the United States which had been worked out by him and Foster.

He was to take charge of the Butte Bulletin once more and again challenge the copper trust in its stronghold.

There are copper mines in Michigan and there is little doubt that the news of Dunne's arrest brought no sorrow to the copper barons in Arizona, Montana or Michigan.

Caleb Harrison, active in the machinists' union; Michelic, another militant machinist from Kansas City. McMillin, organizer for the World War Veterans in St. Louis. Reynolds of the Carpenters' Union of Detroit. Norman Tallentire, carpenter, known for his work on the Mooney defense and in behalf of all worker victims of employers' hatred and greed. Thomas O'Flaherty, longshoreman [illegible] C. E. Ruthenberg [illegible] for his class.

This is the type of men who are now menaced with a sentence of ten years' imprisonment and a $5000 fine for daring to counsel with each other on the burning questions of the labor and revolutionary struggles of the workers.

Without a semblance of reason Michigan warrants were issued for William Z. Foster, Browder and Aronberg. Browder is managing editor of The Labor Herald and of course the powers that prey want Foster for many things. He has never been forgiven for the organization of the steel strike and there is no worker in America today who is more hated and feared than William Z. Foster, the quiet young man who has brought new hope to the militants in the organized labor movement.

The complaint on which these men were arrested charges them with nothing except membership in the Communist Party of America. No acts in violation of any statute are cited; the department of justice seems to merely have taken advantage of the fact that seventeen men were in Michigan at the same time to institute prosecutions under a state war-time measure whose federal counterpart has been repealed.

There is little doubt that these arrests are part of a general campaign of intimidation engineered by the government agents in connection with the railway strike. As a matter of fact this was admitted by Spoliansky in conversation with some of the prisoners in the Berrien county jail. He said: "The Communist Party and the Workers Party are not strong enough to bother about and if [illegible] have happened. [illegible] that he is a [illegible] department of [illegible] and as such enjoys the trust and confidence of those [illegible] in high places, so in this particular matter he can probably be believed. It follows therefore that the Michigan arrests are not an attack on revolutionary suspects but are a deliberate onslaught on the fighting elements in the organized labor movement. More significant than anything else in connection with this matter is the sweeping injunction applied for by Attorney-General Daugherty, restraining the striking shopmen from doing everything except breathing and even prohibiting that in the vicinity of railway property.

For the first time in the industrial history of the United States ordinary trade unionist and the officials of the trade unions find themselves, so far as the oppressive powers of capitalist government are concerned, in exactly the same position as the so-called "reds," whom the governmental agencies and the propagandists of the ruling class have hitherto used as bugaboos with which to scare the worker who did not know that all organization of the workers is anathema to the ruling class at the present stage of capitalist development.

It is out of such occurrences as these that come the phenomena most dreaded by a worried and frightened ruling class—THE UNITED FRONT OF LABOR.

Here in the United States where labor is the least conscious of its mission its scattered forces are being welded together by two forces—the activities of the militants who are the first to feel the heavy hand of the Black Hundreds of imperialism and the oppressive acts of those same Black Hundreds who are unconsciously destroying the very system they try hard to save from the consequences of its follies, inconsistencies and cruelties.

[illegible] Dogs Right [illegible] Courts Will Get [illegible]

(By the Federated Press)

ALBANY, N. Y.—Better be careful how you treat dogs that may annoy you, or you may find yourself in court charged with interfering with an officer of the law. That is the extraordinary—and the first on record—charge made here against Anthony Martino, arrested here near the yards of the West Shore railroad by railroad police who have been guarding strikebreakers.

There had been trouble at the yards in which two rail guards were slightly hurt. A police dog was set to trail men suspected of having fired several shots. The dog snapped at Martino, and Martino, unaware of the dog's sacred mission, threw a brick at it. Forthwith he was arrested and haled into court charged with interfering with an officer (the dog) in the discharge of his duty. The case, it is said, will have an early hearing.

Just Verdict Was Returned Against the Social Revolutionaries

(Continued from Page One)

sentence of death upon all those whose guilt was proven and who furthermore refused to give up the armed struggle against the Soviet Government.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers has approved the sentence and at the same time given the order that the sentence be not carried out.

If the Social Revolutionary Party whose guilt was completely disclosed at the trial gives up its preparations for civil war, ceases to incite armed insurrections, gives up its terroristic and espionage activities and cuts its shameful connection with the capitalist Governments, then their leaders who are in prison will not have one hair of their heads disturbed.

But should the S. R. Party start civil war again and once more resort to arms it alone will seal the warrant of execution against the convicted S. R.s.

Workers of All Countries

The Communist International took an active part in this trial, because everything that concerns the life and death of the Soviet Republic affects you, proletarians of all countries, and the Communist International, the international organization of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

In your name the representatives of the Communist International, Zetkin, Bokanyi and Muna acted as prosecutors.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern gave its opinion to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the leaders of the Soviet Republic, before the final decision.

We affirm our standpoint to the whole international proletariat. We affirm our approval of the Revolutionary Tribunal's verdict.

For the crimes which at the trial were shown to be crimes of the Social Revolutionaries, in a trial which lasted more than two months and in which the accused were allowed more possibilities of defense than are the revolutionary workers in the so-called democratic courts anywhere,—the revolutionary conscience could pronounce no other sentence than that of death.

But the revolutionary Workers' Government is far removed from the bourgeois subservience to the letter of the law.

Knows No Policy of Revenge

It knows no policy of revenge which the bourgeois governments pursue so mercilessly against the revolutionary workers. The revolutionary Workers' Government is led by revolutionary considerations.

For this reason the Executive Committee affirms its solidarity with the All-Russian Soviet Committee, which has ordered the sentence not to be carried out.

The Soviet Government lays the fate of the leaders of the S. R. Party in the hands of such of its leaders who are abroad.

It gives them the possibility of saving the lives of the condemned, by giving up their attempts at counter-revolutionary struggle and provocation of civil war.

Workers!

The leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals are taking advantage of this trial of the S. R. Party to rouse hatred against Soviet Russia.

Together with the bourgeois press they took up the defense of the allies of world counter-revolution, masquerading under the banner of Socialism.

They represent Soviet Russia as a wild beast thirsting for blood. We ask you if there is a government in the world which would commute the death sentence against persons, who in conspiracy with the capitalist governments of other countries, fought to overthrow the Soviet government, stopping at nothing, not even a murder.

The leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals sent defenders to the Moscow trial but recalled them when they became convinced of the terrible crimes of the defendants.

The documents that the Soviet government confiscated from Kerensky, the leader of the S. R.s, prove that it was not in 1918 only during the period of bitter civil war that this party fought against the Workers' Government with allied money, but that even as late as 1921, the S. R. P. organized insurrections against the Soviet Power with the money of the French and Czecho-Slovakian governments and the aid of the Baltic governments and the Polish spy system.

All Reactionaries Exposed

The unmasking of the S. R.s as agents of the world counter-revolution, also unmasks the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals.

After this unmasking and after the Soviet Government has shown that it is not thirsting for the blood of the criminal leaders of the S. R.s, we expect that every worker, irrespective of party, will call to the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals:

"We have had enough of this hate against the Soviet Government. In the name of the proletariat, we forbid you to stand forth as defenders of people who have soiled their hands with the money of capitalistic governments and steeped them in the blood of the Russian workers and peasants."

We are convinced that even the most backward sections of the Second and 2½ Internationals will know enough to say:

"Compel your allies, who are warring against the Soviet Government to break their shameful bonds with the capitalist governments and to stop their criminal preparations for civil war in a country whose desire is Peace, Work and Order."

If the Second and 2½ Internationals would expend one tenth of the energy they have wasted in hatred of Soviet Russia and use it instead to influence the S. R.s not only will the lives of the S. R. leaders be protected, but the lives of many workers and peasants would be spared, who must defend the Soviet Power and the lives of millions of children whom civil war would condemn to starvation.

Workers!

The just sentence pronounced by the Workers and Peasants Republic expresses that which millions of revolutionary workers in Europe have thought and think today, the workers who do not allow themselves to be misled by the lies of the bourgeois press, but see the truth thru the mist of lies and denunciations.

Far away from the idiocy and blood lust of bourgeois government, the Soviet Government, in order to realize the united front with the workers who have not yet freed themselves from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic leaders, has drawn back the sword that was justly suspended over the heads of those guilty of the greatest possible crime against the world revolution.

This it did in the firm conviction that the working-class of the world will not only do everything in its power to restrain the mad S. R. Party from civil war, but that it will use all its energy to help Soviet Russia in its difficult fight against the predatory plans of world capitalism, whose instrument is the S. R. Party.

By helping Soviet Russia, by defending her, you free yourself from the necessity of the terrible fight, in which no one is spared, for our opponents have no mercy for the struggling and suffering masses of workers and peasants.

Danger Not Yet Over

The period of danger for the first Republic of Workers and Peasants has not yet passed.

At the Hague the representatives of world capital demanded that the Russian workers give back to the foreign capitalists factories, workshops and mines.

Soviet Russia, representing the interests of the world proletariat rejected these offers.

World capital will use every means, from financial boycott to financing civil war, to force the capitulation of the Soviet Government.

The Soviet Government will protect the interests of the workers with all its strength.

In this fight it will destroy all its enemies. Do not allow the magnanimity that the Soviet Government has shown the S. R.s to give new hope and new strength to the enemies of Soviet Russia.

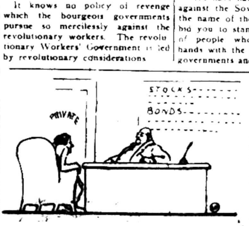
Long live Soviet Russia.

Long live the Revolutionary Tribunal that guards the interests of the world proletariat with a firm hand!

Disarm the enemies of Soviet Russia, the initiators of civil war and terror!

Long live the union of the world proletariat with Soviet Russia, the mighty vanguard of the working class.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.



A Question of Speed

Big Financier: Capital and Labor must come together.

Timid Union Delegate: They are, Sir, at the rate of about 75 miles an hour.

Frame-up in Sacco Case Is Shattered by New Testimony

(Continued from Page One)

ceded, was the cornerstone of the prosecution's case. The defense brought against her five impeaching witnesses, and the District Attorney in his closing argument to the jury made a specially passionate plea for her.

Demanded She Commit Perjury

Thousands who followed the trial remember Mrs. Andrews as the woman who fainted when defense counsel Fred H. Moore attempted to grill her on her past history. She has now revealed in full how the police and the prosecutors used their knowledge of some unsavory chapters in her life to force her to commit perjury.

The affidavit indicates how "the affiant was given to understand that the Commonwealth was in possession of facts relative to the private life of the affiant which the affiant was not desirous of having brought out on the witness stand," and how thru threats based on that knowledge she was "coerced and intimidated."

She cites a specific instance of such coercion. After she had fainted under Attorney Moore's grilling and had been carried out of the court room, she told police officers Stewart and Brouillard "that now they had gotten her into a nice mess and that she, the affiant, did not want to go back on to the witness stand and that thereupon the said Stewart said to the affiant:

"'You do not think we put you on the stand without looking up your history, do you? You have got to

Mrs. Andrews testified at the trial that she had been on the scene of the crime in South Braintree on April 15, 1920 several hours before it took place that she had inquired her way to a factory from a man whom she called from under an automobile for the purpose, and that the man was Sacco. She stuck to this story thru a three-day's grilling despite the evident absurdities and contradictions of her testimony, she now swears, because she was gripped by fear due to the prosecution's threats.

Gripped by Fear

Defense Attorney Moore visited her in reference to the crime and her knowledge of it before the trial. She gave him at that time a statement in which she said that she had been in the neighborhood on the morning of April 15, but that she could not possibly identify anyone. On the stand many months later she repudiated this statement. But now she swears "that the statement made by the affiant to Fred H. Moore previous to trial was given freely and voluntarily and contained a true statement of the facts as best known to the affiant."

It was between the time this state-go back on the stand. You started this thing and now you have got to go through.'"

ment was made and the day she took the stand that the police "put the screws" on Mrs. Andrews. Much of the significance of the story lies in its details. Officers Stewart and Brouillard—the former especially assigned to the Sacco-Vanzetti case by the Governor of Massachusetts—approached her on the question of whether she had seen a car near the murder scene and what she remembered about it. The affidavit reads, "In that connection the affiant then and in the first instance and many times thereafter stated to both officers above named, that she was unable to state whether the said automobile was a Ford car or what kind of car it was."

"Preparing" the Witness

To her surprise they disregarded her claim that she did not even know the looks of the car let alone the men near it, and took her to the County Jail in Dedham, where Nicolo Sacco was then confined. In telling of this visit she corroborates the version the defense has from the beginning claimed to be the true one. She says, "that in this trip around the institution no prisoners were pointed out to the affiant and her attention was directed to no one. That at the conclusion of this trip she was led over the right wing of the jail, as one comes in the front door, and was told by the person accompanying her, to wit, one of the jailers, that she was to look at the man down on the floor below, that he was the man she was there to see."

The affidavit continues thus: "That the affiant looked at this man, and on returning to officers Stewart and Brouillard, who were waiting for her, and getting into the automobile she was asked by said officers whether he was the man that she had seen on April 15, 1920, in response to which question the affiant stated that she was unable to say that she did not know. That thereupon the said officers and both of them repeatedly stated to the affiant in substance and effect, 'You know he is the man you saw' and by their manner and demeanor conveyed to the affiant the impression and idea that she had to confirm that statement."

Repudiates Her Story

Mrs. Andrews also repeats the substance of a conversation with Assistant District Attorney Williams the day before she testified in which she refused to say that she would identify, insisting that she was not positive. Williams shook his finger in the face of the prospective witness and said: "You can put it stronger than that. I know that you can."

That conversation, she states, "was not had in the District Attorney's office in the Dedham Court House, but was had in a private room in which there were two small beds, with the door closed. That the statements of said Williams were delivered in a loud, and authoritative voice and in a manner commanding, coercing and intimidating, and resulted in the affiant becoming confused and uncertain in her statements."

After the recital of other incidents, Mrs. Andrews sums up her confession thus:

"That the purpose of this affidavit in substance and effect is to make it known to the Court that the affiant does now state emphatically that she cannot state that Nicolo Sacco, the defendant in the above entitled action is the man that she saw at South Braintree on April 15, 1920, and that any and all parts of her testimony given in the above entitled cause contrary to this statement are false and untrue and were made under the intimidating and coercing influences of Michael E. Stewart, Albert L. Brouillard, Harold Williams and Frederick G. Katzmann."

Mass of New Testimony Grows

The part of her confession relating to Williams is of particular significance because Williams is the man who, according to the sworn confession of another witness, Louis Pelser, frightened him into making a perjured identification of Sacco.

In addition to the Pelser and Andrews repudiations the motion for a new trial is supported by the expose several weeks ago of state witness Erastus E. Whitney, alias "Goodridge." There is also much other new testimony and more will be filed in the near future.

BERLIN.—No less than 496,000 workers of Germany, under 18, are members of bona fide trade unions, according to a recent census taken by the General Federation of Free Trade Unions.

**Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor**

SELL FIVE CARDS

Help Fight the Bosses

WILL YOU sell five 20 week sub cards for THE WORKER?

**WILL YOU make the 25,000 readers campaign a success?
WILL YOU help do what must be done?
YOU WILL!—sign the blank and mail.**

THE WORKER
799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.

Enclosed find $2.50 for which send me five 20 week subscription cards, to sell to other workers.

Name ....
Address ....
City .... State ....

Convention of Party Is Set for Dec. 25th

The national convention of the Workers Party, that was to have been held in Chicago, starting Monday, August 28, has been postponed to Christmas Day, December 25, the anniversary of the holding of the first convention of the party. The convention may be held in New York City, although this has not been definitely decided as yet.

The postponement of the national convention was made necessary by the arrest of many of the party officials and most active members. It was decided that all energies are needed now for the defense work, and for carrying on the election campaign.

It is planned that the December convention shall be twice as large as the one held a year ago, and that it shall represent a growing organization planning big things in the immediate future.

Build Powerful Party

Every effort will be made to build up a powerful party between now and Dec. 25, in spite of the attacks launched against it.

Four of those arrested in Michigan, William F. Dunne, Cyrus Lambkin, William Reynolds and C. E. Ruthenberg, had been released on bail as this issue was going to press. Alexander Bail, of Philadelphia, had been released on $10,000 bail, but was immediately re-arrested and held for deportation.

The work of raising bail for the remaining 11 in jail at St. Joseph, Mich. is being carried forward as rapidly as possible.

Two arrests have been made in New York City during the past week, that of Edward Lindgren, district organizer for District No. 2 and Joseph Zack. Lindgren was released on $5,000 bail after being held for three days. Zack is still being held in the Tombs.

District Office Raided

Seven husky sleuths made the raid on the district office, 799 Broadway, New York City, the same building occupied by the National Workers Party. Nat Kaplan, assistant organizer, was taken along with Lindgren but released the same day. The district office has issued a statement on the raid and arrest, in part as follows:

"The Bomb Squad of the New York Police Force swooped down upon the District Office and without permit, warrant or any legal rights whatsoever ransacked everything they could lay their hands on.

"Lindgren is charged with being 'A Fugitive from Justice' with having participated in a certain recent Convention of the Communist Party of America in Michigan.

"This charge is utterly false. Comrade Lindgren during the time that this Communist convention was supposed to have been held was doing organization work in New York State, spending most of his time in Jamestown, N. Y.

"This is nothing more than a continuation of the malicious attempts on the part of Labor Baiting Detectives to discredit the Workers Party because of the intense activity it is manifesting in the Railroad Shopmen's Strike and in the Miners' Strike.

"Comrades! In this battle for the attainment of our aims we cannot afford to let up in activity.

"Let us be determined that just because of the terrific persecution of the Capitalist Government we will ever more and more play an active part in the Workers Struggles."

Many Defense Meetings Held

C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party who is out on bail, spoke at a defense meeting in Cleveland Wednesday night. He is scheduled to speak at other defense meetings as follows: Saturday night, Detroit, Mich.; Sunday, Chicago; Philadelphia, Wednesday night, Sept. 20, and Boston, Mass., Sunday, Sept. 24th. Foster will also speak at Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston.

There will be a hearing for all the prisoners at St. Joseph, Mich., Friday, Sept. 15, when the prosecution will be forced to show the evidence on which the defendants are being held.

It was reported on Tuesday that Foster was taken into custody at Chicago by Sheriff Bridgeman of Berrien County, Mich. on a governor's warrant and started in an automobile for St. Joseph.

A fight is being made in Illinois to prevent the extradition of Earl Browder and A. Aronberg arrested at the national conference of the Trade Union Educational League. Extradition of Lindgren and Zack from New York State will also be fought.

Bail Is Still Needed

"Bail is still needed!" is the appeal sent out by the National Defense Committee.

All those able to turn over liberty bonds or cash should get in touch with the committee at Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Workers! You Must Fight for Freedom! Manifesto of the Workers Party

(Continued from page One.)

To all the places of the sugary phrase Democratic hypocrites the enraged voters turned blindly to another set of political leaders—the Republican Party, and placed them in office by the most overwhelming majority vote ever recorded in American history.

With what result?

A still greater betrayal!

The Harding administration has attacked the labor unions with the most amazing viciousness ever known in American political life.

The Labor Movement has been handed over to the mercy of an unscrupulous professional anti-labor detective, the worst in all the history of strike-breaking and labor frame-ups in America. For all practical purposes the United States government has put the notorious William J. Burns in police control of the Labor Movement with orders to destroy it.

The attacks that Labor is now suffering are without parallel outside of the darkest monarchist countries.

Injunctions are issued and arrests and raids are made with complete disregard of anything but the need for destroying the organizations of the working people. They are to be reduced to the position of dumb work animals under the autocratic rule of the capitalists.

The Declaration of Independence? The Bill of Rights? The heritages of the American Revolution? All these are swept away with one illiterate sentence of an attorney general known only for his record of securing pardons for rich criminals.

Idealism in public life has reached the lowest ebb in American history. Public officials are known as the kept men of this or that section of the great capitalist interests.

In ridding itself of the Democratic Party lickspittles of the Morgan Bank, the American people finds itself ruled by the lickspittles of the Standard Oil Trust and the Morgan Bank together. In the last presidential election the only candidate enjoying the slightest respect as a man was one who lay in a prison cell convicted as a criminal.

The Cause of These Changes

There is a reason for this change in American life.

The irreconcilable conflict between the capitalists and the workers has become so bitter that the capitalists are compelled to drop the mask of democracy and to reveal the naked dictatorship of the capitalist class.

The economic results of the great war have been a reduction of the amount of wealth produced. The capitalists are fighting to compel the workers to bear the burden of this reduced production by compelling them to accept lower wages and worse working conditions. The capitalists refuse themselves to bear the burden of sacrifice made necessary by the war.

This has brought into existence the embittered class struggle which is tearing apart American life.

In order to whip the workers into submission in this struggle the big capitalists are using the government to deprive the workers of the right to assemble, to organize, to picket, of free speech and generally of acting together to protect themselves against the vicious attack of the capitalists.

To deprive the workers of these rights, to subject labor into subjection, [illegible] these are the chief functions of the government. Injunctions, industrial courts, the Railroad Labor Board are arms of the government used against the workers. To these are added the police, militia and regular army when necessary. The whole government at Washington and elsewhere is merely a central committee for managing the collective affairs of the capitalist class and fighting the struggle against the workers.

Down with the Old Parties

This use of the government to crush the workers cannot be ended by transferring power from one of the old political parties to another.

The attack on the workers to-day is directed by Republican politicians. The attack of yesterday was directed by Democratic politicians.

Who leads the onslaught against the great railroad strike of 1922?

The Republican, Harding!

Who led the brutal onslaught against the railroad strike of 1894?

The Democrat, President Cleveland.

DOWN WITH THE OLD PARTIES! THEY ARE OWNED BODY AND SOUL BY THE BIG CAPITALISTS.

Political parties that serve the capitalists cannot serve the workers.

If you remove Harding and put a Democrat in his place you will get another Grover Cleveland and the same bullets, death and jail of the Pullman strike of 1894. If you displace Daugherty and his detective, Burns, with Democratic politicians you will get another Mitchell Palmer and another labor-baiting Flynn.

Organize a Mass Political Party of the Workers

The bankrupt American political life can be changed only by the entrance of the working class into the political life of the country.

Only the working class is fitted for the job of cleaning these Augean stables of Daughertyism, Burnsism and Palmerism. Only the working class is interested in preserving the rights of mankind against the tyranny of the great capitalist interests. Only the working class has the heart and the vision to take the lead in the struggle. Only the workers, fighting together with the exploited and harrassed farmers have the overwhelming numbers to win the fight.

To win back the lost liberties of the American people to save the workers from further industrial enslavement and to win a new industrial civilization the working people of this country must organize a mass political party of the working class.

GENERAL STRIKE!

In the present crisis the fate of the Labor Movement is at stake.

It is generally admitted that the injunction granted at Chicago will destroy the labor unions if it is permitted to stand unchallenged.

The working people of this country must answer this attack upon them effectively. From all over the country resolutions are pouring into the American Federation of Labor from millions of plain workers demanding a general strike to save the Labor Movement.

The Labor Union leaders are afraid of the General Strike. They are hesitating to mobilize the power of the whole working class against the capitalist offensive. The general strike is the only effective answer which Labor can make to the attack of the Daugherty injunction.

Every local labor union, every central labor body in the country should demand that the power which the workers can bring to bear in their defense thru a general strike be used to beat back the attack of big business.

The general strike is the only answer to the general injunction.

The conservative and reactionary labor officials do not want to act. They have always been against the general strike.

WORKERS, IT IS YOUR DUTY TO MAKE THEM ACT. BRING THE PRESSURE OF THE RANK AND FILE TO BEAR AND COMPEL THEM TO MOBILIZE ALL THE POWER OF THE WORKERS FOR THIS STRUGGLE.

To preserve the liberties of the workers these liberties must be fought for.

The answer to the general injunction must be the general strike for

FREEDOM TO ORGANIZE!
FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY!
FREEDOM OF THE PRESS!
FREEDOM TO STRIKE!
FREEDOM TO PICKET!
FREEDOM OF SPEECH!

The answer to the strike-breaking government is MORE STRIKE. The answer to union-smashing is UNIONS TOO STRONG TO SMASH.

BUILD A LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL

Persecutions and jailings are weapons which the capitalists do not hesitate to use against the worker. The jails are already being choked with workers of the most advanced way of thinking, the workers who have always agitated for union solidarity and militant tactics on the part of the workers.

In order to terrorize the less militant worker and frighten them into submission, the Government has levelled its attack against the radicals. Thru its spectacular raid on the Communists in Michigan it hoped to break the morale of the workers.

It hoped to destroy the leadership of those workers who are in the forefront of the struggle and who do not hesitate to occupy the positions of danger.

These persecutions directed against Communists are part of the general attack upon Labor. The Communists may be first to go to prison but inevitably there will follow workers from every part of the Labor Movement unless the attack by the capitalists is halted.

The government says that the open shop will be established and that troops will be used. That means that there are bull pens ahead, jailings, prosecutions and all the dirty work that is used as a last resort to break a successful strike.

To meet these prosecutions and jailings a general labor defense council must be organized to carry on the work of defense. This labor defense council should include representatives of every part of the working class and of every group ready to enter the struggle to preserve the freedom of the American people.

To Meet the Present Crisis

The working people of this country are facing the greatest crisis in the history of the last quarter of a century.

If they remain disunited and disorganized they will be beaten down to greater degradation and a poorer standard of living.

The working people have the power to protect themselves, to protect their standard of living, their wives and children, their rights to act as free men and women.

To mobilize their power and beat back the attack of big business they must—

DECLARE A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE DAUGHERTY INJUNCTION!

ORGANIZE A LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL TO PROTECT THE PERSECUTED WORKERS!

ORGANIZE A WORKING-CLASS POLITICAL PARTY TO WREST THE GOVERNMENT OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE CAPITALISTS AND THEIR POLITICAL LACKEYS!

DOWN WITH THE RULE OF BIG BUSINESS!

ALL HAIL TO THE COMING RULE OF THE WORKERS!

THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary.

[illegible]

Young Workers League Accepts Call for the World Youth Congress

Urging all proletarian youth organizations to rally against the impoverishment of the youth, the Young Communist International has issued a call for a World Congress of the toiling youth of the world to be held in the near future.

Practically every revolutionary youth organization in Europe as well as in other parts of the world, has accepted this call. An elaborate agenda for its discussion has been issued by the Y. C. I. The basis for the Congress is the United Front of Labor.

The first point on the agenda is **The examination of the present situation of the young workers.** This is to be one of the most important gatherings of the working youth held in recent years.

The Young Workers League of America has whole-heartedly accepted this call and will participate to the full extent of its organizational capability.

The acceptance of the Y. W. L. is as follows:

"Dear Comrades: The National Executive Committee of the Young Workers League of America in complete accord with the Young Communist International in its call for an International Congress of Proletarian Youth Organizations, accepts the call and will participate in such a Congress. We have already cabled you to this effect and thru our official organ, the 'Young Worker' (August-September issue) have declared our intentions to do our utmost to make this World Congress a success and have therein reprinted your call.

"The importance and necessity of a World Congress to consider the problems laid down in your call should be obvious to any thinking worker.

"In this fight against increasing exploitation, against militarism, against capitalist society and capitalist government, The Young Workers League of America stands shoulder to shoulder with the vanguard of the revolutionary young workers, The Young Communist International.

"For the United Front of Labor!

"For the World Communist Revolution!"

National Executive Committee,
Martin Abern,
(Seal) National Secretary.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Come to the Ukrainian **Mass-Meeting**
Arranged by District Committee Ukrainian Section, Workers Party
SUNDAY, SEPT. 17th, at
Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th St.
SPEAKERS:
J. Louis Engdahl,
Editor "The Worker"
A. Chramoff (in Russian)
M. Witenko (in Ukrainian)
Beginning 1.30 P. M.
Admission free.

Calling "Their" Bluff!

WORKER readers have called the bluff of the tools of Capital whose recent raids upon the class conscious workers have aroused a wave of resentment thruout the organized labor movement.

Determined to fight the bosses successfully, WORKER readers have rallied to our subscription campaign and last week rolled up a higher number of subscriptions than for the two previous weeks.

A total of 490 new subscriptions were received last week. This is the answer of our readers to the capitalists' attack upon the Communists, the Trade Union Educational League and the Workers Party, and the striking shopmen and miners.

For the attacks of the bosses are not confined to "REDS" and "Bolshevists" as witness the Daugherty Injunction against the Railroad strikers. All down the line from Communist to simple trade unionist the capitalist class has launched its terrific offensive backed by the State Powers.

The workers must meet this attack with every atom of its resistance. Communists, trade unionists, radicals, all workers, must form a UNITED FRONT against the enemy. Every inch of ground must be contested. The enemy must be beaten back. The survival of the workers' organizations depends upon this united front and counter offensive.

The workers must support their revolutionary press. The reactionaries in the trade unions must be shown up in the light of publicity. The machinations of the capitalists to beat down the workers must be seen in their true light. The capitalist State must be uncovered. Its hypocritical attitude in the struggle of the workers and capitalists must be made plain to all workers.

We call upon every reader of this paper to make himself a committee of one to agitate and help organize a UNITED FRONT AMONGST HIS FELLOW WORKERS by getting them all to read THE WORKER. Show them copies of this paper. Offer them a 20 week subscription card for 50 cents and see how readily they will take advantage of your offer. Get every worker in your shop, mill or mine to read THE WORKER and you will do more for the workers' cause than anything you can do now.

GET NEW WORKER SUBSCRIPTIONS — 20 WEEKS FOR 50 CENTS!

Probe Body at Work But Call and Forward Still Attack the F.S.R.

In spite of the impartial committee of five persons, well known in the labor movement, invited by the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, now at work investigating the charges against the organization, the Jewish Daily Forward and The New York Call persist in their attacks on the integrity of the F. S. R.

That the charges are false and of malicious intent you are convinced. That the committee will clear the F. S. R. there is no doubt. The hostile motives actuating these enemies of Soviet Russia can however no longer be doubted.

We must accept from now on that The Forward is in the camp of all the other enemies of Soviet Russia. Sympathy and support from The Forward and The New York Call we cannot expect. Rather we must look for the obstacles they will continue to set for all our relief activities.

F. S. R. and Recent Arrests

All statements referring to the recent arrests alleging a connection between the F. S. R. with what the newspapers choose to call the Communist Party are absolutely incorrect.

These false statements have been spread unfortunately with the purpose in view of producing harmful effects for the collection of funds for the starving in Soviet Russia.

The relief work conducted for the F. S. R. is too serious an undertaking to be lightly linked up with organizations accused of conducting political propaganda of any kind.

The spreading of such insinuations in the daily press is very unfortunate because of the discouragement such statements may give to persons who may be inclined to give money for the relief activities of the F. S. R.

False Reports About Famine

Belief is being spread thruout the country that not only is the famine in Soviet Russia over but that no further aid is needed. This is absolutely untrue.

All false reports to the contrary notwithstanding, Soviet Russia is still hungering and is as much if not more in need of the workers' aid than at any time since the famine catastrophe.

Were this not true The American Relief Administration, contrary to its former plans for relinquishing its relief work for Soviet Russia, would not now be concentrating on medical and children's relief thruout Russia, and general relief thruout the whole of the Ukraine. This the A. R. A. is obviously doing with the knowledge that famine conditions in Soviet Russia have but slightly improved.

Must Continue Relief Work

To deal with the Famine effectively and to restore the economic life of Soviet Russia, are indeed, two aspects of the same problem.

For Russia can never become self-supporting again unless her population obtains not only food and clothing to keep them from immediate death, but the tools, the machinery, and the means of transportation, which will enable them to supply their needs from Russian soil and Russian resources.

Distress will continue in Soviet Russia until the workers and peasants there are enabled to stand on their own legs. Constructive relief work only, machinery and technical aid, can subdue the famine and its deep-seated consequences.

The F. S. R. cannot now relax in or abandon its CONSTRUCTIVE workers relief. The F. S. R. has one year of excellent relief work to its credit. Let us make it another one.

National Office Works on New Plans

The National Office is alive to the issues now confronting the organization. It is convinced of the necessity for further constructive relief. We are now working on extensive plans for national drives in the immediate future.

Our special representative-expert sent over to Soviet Russia about two months ago is now on his way back to the U. S. after having made a complete study of the present famine and economic status in Soviet Russia and its newer relief needs.

Within a very short time we shall announce the definite plan for this new phase of relief work.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Shoe Workers Plan Amalgamation

Brooklyn shoe workers will listen to a review of the efforts of the seven independent unions of shoe workers to unite to form what will be known as the Amalgamated Shoe Workers of America at a meeting to be held Friday night, 8 o'clock, at [illegible].

Youth Day at Gardner Mass

The celebration of International Youth Day at Gardner, Mass. was a big success. The program was in English, Finnish and Lithuanian.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

A "Call" to Action! Attend Defense Picnic! on Sunday, Sept. 24th

Indian Summer, or early autumn, is beautiful with its yellows, reds and varied greens. Yet there is a tone of sadness in this beauty. So it is with the Autumn Festival and Barbecue which the New York Division of the National Defense Committee will hold on Sunday, Sept. 24, at Dickert's Park, 4018 Boston Road.

While we are preparing for merry-making at a camp fire, singing, dancing and roasting an ox in good old style, our comrades lie in little cells, full of bugs and vermin, in many jails thruout the country and among them are a goodly number of New Yorkers.

But this is no time for sadness. We must work harder than ever in spite of persecution, to bring about the Dictatorship of the Workers and the consequent jailing of the parasites of the capitalist class.

This is a call to action! Every comrade, friend and sympathizer must get busy spreading tickets everywhere and do all possible to make our picnic on Sunday, Sept. 24, successful enough to net an appreciable sum for the defense and relief of our comrades in jail.

National Defense Committee
New York Division
Norma Berman, Secretary

Many Listen to Open Air Speakers in New York City Campaign

Brownsville, Williamsburg and the Bronx report successful open air meetings. Hundreds of workers come to listen to our Party speakers. Good collections are taken up.

The Campaign Committee of the Bronx is running a dance Saturday, October 14. It will be the first dance of the season at the Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road.

Open air meetings this week will be held at the following places:

Thursday, 8th Avenue and 14th St., Sadie Amter.

Friday, 2nd Avenue and 10th St., Sadie Amter.

8th Avenue and [illegible] St., [illegible] DeLeon, Ray Ragozin.

79th St. and 2nd Avenue, [illegible] Deutsch.

163rd St. and Prospect Ave., [illegible] stone and Nat Kaplan.

Stone and Pitkin Sts., Brooklyn, [illegible]

Union Avenue and South 2nd St., [illegible]

Saturday, 106th St. and Madison Ave., Sadie Amter.

Stone and Pitkin Sts., Brooklyn, Kate Gitlow.

[illegible]

The [illegible] headquarters are open every evening from [illegible] to 10 P. M. [illegible] the petitions. Hundreds of signatures [illegible]. EVERY WORKER [illegible] and sign them [illegible] place the candidates of the Workers Party on the ballot.

Williamsburg, [illegible] and Ten [illegible] St., Brooklyn.

Brownsville, 396 Sackman Street, Brooklyn.

Bronx, 1347 Boston Road, Bronx.

Yorkville, [illegible] East [illegible] St., N. Y.

"DICTATORSHIP
vs
DEMOCRACY"
by
Leon Trotzky

This book is without question the most valuable book of the revolutionary movement published in America this year. 200 pages.

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At Prices Every Worker Can Afford. Here Are Books and Pamphlets Covering Every Phase of the Workers' Struggle for Power. Choose a Number from This List and Learn in Your Spare Hours to Help Your Class Reach the Goal of Emancipation from Wage Slavery

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Wall Street might try to overthrow Soviet Rule in Russia by having Attorney General Daugherty serve an injunction on Lenin or Trotzky. Daugherty is willing to try anything, ONCE.

"Saving" the Russians

Every invasion of Soviet Russia was bolstered up by the excuse that it was an attempt to save the Russian workers and peasants from the bloody grip of the Bolsheviki.

Those American troops at Archangel and Vladivostok, we were told, were to be received with open arms by the anti-Soviet inhabitants, welcoming the Stars and Stripes as the symbol of their salvation.

American intervention in Soviet Russia is long a thing of the past. But the American troops left the Japs in Vladivostok and other parts of the Far Eastern Republic. Now these Japanese "emancipators" are also leaving for home.

We are now told by Walter Duranty, in the New York Times that, "If the Japanese fulfill the promise to evacuate Vladivostok, it already is clear that the White Government of Merkulov, now ruling there with the collaboration of one of Kolchak's generals, Diederich, cannot withstand the Far Eastern Republicans."

In fact, in every place, just as soon as the Japs withdraw, the red troops of the Far Eastern Republic drive out the White Guardists, if they have not already left, and take control.

Thus, to the last, has the claim been supported that anti-Soviet movements lived only as long as they were supported by foreign bayonets.

It is not surprising that during their last days in power in Vladivostok, the Kolchakists should number Americans, Scandinavians, Chinese and other nationals among their victims, in addition to the Russians.

The last of the invaders is leaving Soviet soil. It is promised that the red flag of the Russian-Siberian revolution will soon be flying on the Pacific Ocean.

No wonder that the United States government, as reported by Duranty, is sending Roy Scott Anderson, long American financial minister in Pekin, China, to Moscow, on the invitation of the Soviet Government. Even the most obstinate are beginning to realize the truths of world developments.

The New York Times is certainly persistent. In its issue of September 9th, we find the headlines, "New Odessa Revolt Rumor," "Helsingfors Hears of Fighting in South Russia." Helsingfors, being in Finland, in the north of Europe, must be a pretty good listener, since Odessa is on the other side of the continent. Perhaps it is the altercation between the Turks and Greeks that Helsingfors hears.

Prepare for the Next Battle

The coal miners, first the bituminous and now the anthracite, have gone back to work. After a battle of five months, in which they displayed a solidarity amazing to all and which was the most complete industrial general strike America has ever seen, they have gone into the pits again to produce coal.

The wage scale is to remain the same as before the strike—but only until next spring. As for the six-hour day and other demands of the miners, they have been side-tracked. The miners have not got a settlement, they only have a truce until the present agreement expires in the spring.

The militants who have battled for years in the United Mine Workers of America knew that attempts to reach a settlement would result in a compromise.

Both the mine owners and the union officialdom had good reasons to come together. The coal barons were licked. All indications were that if the union had held out for another month it could have dictated its own terms. And the officials wanted a compromise because nominations for election of officers in the union were due and they needed a platform to run for office on, the platform of "we saved your wage scale for you." The battle brought only a quarter victory.

The one factor which can enable the bosses to cut wages next spring is the unorganized districts. West Virginia, Tennessee, Colorado, Alabama, and other outlying fields, have been neglected by the union for political and other reasons.

The militants among the coal miners claim that if President Lewis would only send the "organizers" who are idling around the hotels in districts already organized 100 per cent, down into these unorganized fields with the word that they would be fired instantly unless they began to show results, the mines of the country would be organized completely before spring.

It is declared that the administration deliberately keeps these districts partly unorganized, so that they will be dependent upon the assistance of the national office. Thus they become obedient voters in the conventions and referendums. Thus, while bureaucrats hold office from one term to another, the miners are the losers.

This vicious system should be broken. The situation next spring will be a serious one, unless the miners close up their ranks, wipe out the weak spots in their organization, and prepare to go into battle again with redoubled vigor and power. The rank and file must get busy in the local unions, in the sub-districts, in the districts, and prepare to swing the ax in the national convention. Action, energetic and intelligent, to force the organization of the unorganized fields, is the crying need of the American coal miners.

But above all, the rank and file must be imbued with a fighting spirit. They must understand that this is just one battle in the great war between the capitalist class and the working class, a war which can end only in the establishment of the workers' power and the complete defeat of capitalism. The idealism and spirit arising from such an understanding will carry the miners to victory.

One of the organizations fighting LaFollette for re-nomination in Wisconsin declared itself to be "against Communism." But the New York Times comes to the aid of LaFollette, declaring that to link him with Communism "indicates an atrophied sense of humor." In fact the Times, with the election over, asks if LaFollette will ever be "likely seriously to impair our institutions." The Wisconsin Socialists can now with safety, having no candidate of their own, go ahead and vote for LaFollette with the blessings of the New York Times.

U. S. Senator LaFollette has many kind words for [illegible] Milwaukee organ, the Wisconsin News, for [illegible] him. LaFollette should not slight Vic Berger's "Socialist" Milwaukee Leader. It also helped.

La Follette, the Red Herring

Among the numerous red herrings being drawn across the path that leads to the realization of the first general strike in this country, is the LaFollette boom for the presidency.

Instead of organizing for a titanic struggle against labor's oppressors now, we see the officials of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City directing labor's eyes to the beautiful prospects of the distant future.

Thus Matthew Woll, of the Photo Engravers' Union, one of Gompers' grand dukes, announced, "I believe LaFollette would rally the forces of labor to his support and sweep the country."

LaFollette refused the presidential nomination of the Farmer-Labor Party in 1920, when this organization still possessed the virility of youth. But LaFollette turned it down when the Farmer-Labor Party Convention refused to accept his platform and swallow his dictates.

Those were the days when LaFollette's senatorial term still had two years to run, and his candidacy in a personally-conducted Farmer-Labor Party campaign might give him considerable and at that time much-needed prestige.

The Wisconsin senator's majority in the recent primaries will certainly revive his hopes of capturing the republican nomination for the presidency in 1924. It is not to be questioned that the so-called Nonpartisan Political Campaign Committee of labor leaders will blindly follow him in this ambition.

We can thus see LaFollette not only being used now as a red herring to direct labor's attention away from a general strike, but during the next two years we can see him being trotted out as an argument against the launching by the organized workers of this country of a real struggle for independent political action of all labor.

Even the "Socialists" followed LaFollette into the republican party in Wisconsin. It is not inconceivable that this "Pied Piper" might also lead these political children of labor into the republican party nationally.

Workers! Beware of the pitfalls that are being prepared for you! Watch out for those who would betray you! Forward to the welding of industrial action thru the general strike, to the building of political power thru independent political action.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

Asia for the Asiatics

Soviet Russia continues to make friends in Asia. A resolution demanding recognition of Soviet Rule in Russia has been introduced in the Chinese parliament at Peking.

This document, that is not inspired by Communist elements, advances three principal reasons in favor of recognition as follows:

> **First, the Soviet Government, now established five years, has made good its claim to be considered as the Government of Russia and that, Russia is China's most important neighbor, and it is essential for the well-being of both countries that they live on friendly terms.**
>
> **Second, the Soviet Government has given practical proofs of friendship by throwing overboard all treaties and agreements forced on China by the Government of the Czar with the purpose and effect of placing Russia in a position of suzerainty over China.**
>
> **Third, the Soviets have shown a willingness to conclude a trade agreement with China on the terms of involving no infringement of the latter's sovereignty and exhibiting no symptoms of political or territorial aggression.**

We might bring it to the attention of Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State at Washington, that the Russian delegation, on its way to the Russo-Japanese conference, was warmly received at Peking, by the Chinese minister of foreign affairs, Wellington Koo.

The Soviet policy of "Asia for Asiatics" is winning the peoples of this continent, especially as they see the Russians granting self-determination to the workers and peasants of Siberia as they have to the workers and peasants of the other republics in the Russian Federation.

Contrast this policy to the Monroe Doctrine of the United States which, while it says "America for the Americans," means "The two Americas for exclusive exploitation by United States' profiteers."

These are new days when new policies are winning. The new Soviet policy in Asia is making headway against the old policy of world imperialism.

Thus the New York Times, unable to attack Soviet policy in Asia, declares that "in her European policy Russia is fumbling between the statecraft of Russian national interests and devotion to the vision of a world social revolution."

We thought that Soviet Russia, at Genoa and at the Hague, has shown conclusively just what her European policy is. It may be summarized in four words, "Against capitalism, for Communism." Which is a world policy that may be translated into "The World for the Workers."

The Blaze in the Near East

American battleships are again being hurried to "protect American lives and property." This time their destination is Smyrna in the Near East, being evacuated by the Greeks in their rout before the advancing Angora Turks.

The American warships are being joined by those of France, Great Britain, Italy and other imperialist nations having "business" in this part of the world.

There is significance in the fact that Karakhan, of the Russian foreign office, at Moscow, has sent a message to the Turkish authorities congratulating them on the Turkish victories and declaring that the Russians shared in the Turkish joy over the defeat of "European imperialism."

To which Reouf Bey, the Turkish nationalist premier, replied that, "The Nationalist government is happy to receive the congratulations of Russia, the first power to offer us a helping hand in our difficulties."

The Greeks have been a pawn in the grip of European imperialism in its efforts to bulwark the Near East against the Soviet advance into Asia. Mustapha Kemal Pasha, heading the Angora Turkish government, has been co-operating with Soviet Rule in Russia ever since the Versailles Treaty tried to divide the Near East between the Paris allies.

The Angora Turkish victories, therefore, are not only a threat to the present Greek government, facing a revolution at home, but to the Allied interests along the Asiatic coast of the Mediterreanean, frantically hanging onto their Versailles mandates.

It is not difficult, therefore, to understand the propaganda of some of our "best capitalists" interested in Near East Relief, that pictures the alleged atrocities of the Turkish army, repeating the fables that have been spread over the world for years.

Thus the Turks can turn only to the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia and ask them to exert pressure on the Greeks to "halt the campaign of atrocities" in the villages the Greeks are evacuating after their defeat at Sakari. The appeal to the Russians declared that the Greeks were systematically burning villages and massacreing the population. It asserted that the Greeks locked all the Moslem inhabitants of the village of Uludyek, near Altoontasha, including the women and children, in the mosque and burned them alive.

But nothing is to be expected from the United States. If its armed forces can passively consent to, in fact abet the killing of women and children of the working class in Colorado, there is no reason to believe that they should do less while "protecting property" in the Near East, where the struggle for liberation from world imperialism continues to blaze.

It Begins to Stink

Those forces of labor that gathered at Chicago and organized the Nonpartisan Political Campaign Committee refused to take a stand for independent political action on the part of the working class.

Instead they decided to associate with the stinking carcasses of the two old political parties. The inevitable result is that this Nonpartisan Committee, like its associates, is also beginning to stink. More workers daily, with their fingers to their noses, are turning away in disgust.

The notorious Governor William D. Stephens of California, in spite of the endorsement of the Nonpartisan Political Campaign Committee of the State Federation of Labor, has been defeated for re-nomination.

We told last week how Seth Brown, president of the State Federation of Labor, had endorsed Governor Stephens. We thought that this was the approval of an individual, but we find that it extended to some local unions, organizations of labor that one moment endorse the fight for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, and the next declare themselves in favor of the man who, more than anyone else, is keeping Mooney and Billings in prison.

Yet what can one expect from organized labor with a leadership that parades under the standard of "nonpartisanship," that refers to Stephens as "Our friend, the governor," this Stephens who sent troops into Needles, Cal., over the protest of the local city officials, to help break the railroad shopmen's strike, this Stephens who enthusiastically urged more stringent additions to the savage California Criminal Syndicalist Law, this Stephens who has refused repeatedly to grant a pardon to Mooney and Billings after the frame-up has been proved 100 per cent.

Let us point out further the activities of the crawling worms in this "nonpartisan" political carcass, contaminated with the same rotten disease that invests the old parties.

Thus we find Hugo Ernst, "Socialist" Party candidate for congressman in the 4th, California District, a la Vic Berger in the 4th, Wisconsin District, telling the workers at a San Francisco railroad shopmen's meeting that the old party congressman, John I. Nolan, candidate for re-election in the 5th, California District, is "as good a man as labor ever had" in such a position. Nolan is chairman of the house labor committee. Funny we haven't heard of Nolan during these exciting strike times. Neither has the "Socialist" Party been heard from, for that matter.

At this same meeting we have Daniel C. Murphy, former president of the Frisco Allied Printing Trades Council and the Central Labor Council, eulogizing Hiram Johnson, U. S. senator, candidate for re-election. Johnson voted for the Esch-Cummins Law, the worst blow ever struck the railroad workers until Daugherty got his injunction from Judge Wilkerson at Chicago.

And last but not least we have another "friend" of the Nonpartisan Political Campaign Committee, Colonel Smith W. Brookhart, republican candidate for U. S. senator from Iowa. He has been charged by his opponents with "radical" associations. He replied to this charge, in a Labor Day speech at Des Moines, Ia., declaring that William H. Johnston, of the Machinists' Union, and H. E. Wills, assistant grand chief of the Engineers Brotherhood, had told him that the Chicago Conference was called "to head off some radicals in the labor movement," that its purpose was "to lead the great solid and reliable part of the labor unions on a sound American platform in the old parties."

The elections are still more than a month away. Before the ballotting is over it is expected that the antics of these "non-partisan" political laborites will have so discredited themselves in the eyes of the workers, that labor will be ready for some real independent working-class political action. The smell of the "non-partisan" carcass grows stronger and stronger.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of safety!" is the rallying cry that Gompers always attaches to the proclamations of his executive council. Does he mean eternal vigilance against the rise of the radicals as his contribution to the safety of capitalism? We will gladly give Gompers space in THE WORKER for an answer.

Praising the Boss

William Randolph Hearst, the publisher, always makes good use in his papers of any kind words that are said about him.

No wonder that he proclaimed in big headlines a resolution said to have been adopted by Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, lauding the publishers' conception of the living wage and tolerable working conditions.

There are labor unions that stoop to the licking of their masters' boots, but this was not expected from the Chicago Printers' Union that has a rather militant record to its credit.

Its bootlicking, however, has been rapidly terminated with the opening of the 67th Convention of the International Typographical Union at Atlantic City, N. J.

Charles N. Smith, third vice-president, officially scored Hearst for locking out the mailers employed on his "Atlanta Georgian" and filling their places with scabs. Thus Hearst follows his usual tactic of adopting different policies in every city where he has a paper.

The Atlantic City convention will be closely watched for development leading to closer affiliation, if not amalgamation of the five printing trades.

One big reason the convention should favor amalgamation is the fact that George L. Berry, the "American Legion" president of the Pressmen's Union, and Matthew Woll, of the Photo Engravers, one of Gompers' henchmen, are against it.

Berry and Woll have sent a joint letter to the convention declaring that, "The proposition for an amalgamation is thoroly impractical and unsound." That ought to be proof enough to the militants in the Typographical Union that they are correct in their position.

And again, while Charles A. Sumner, head of the stereotypers, declared his organization was opposed to surrendering its identity, we find Walter Reddick, president of the Bookbinders, favoring the industrial plan and gracefully surrendering to the inevitable in the following statement:

> **"The printing trades, as well as all organized labor, will inevitably form itself into industrial groups, not as a matter of choice, but thru the irresistible pressure of necessity."**

The compositors have been leading all printing trades workers in the fight to maintain wages, hours and working conditions in the face of the "open shop" drive, and it is now hoped that they will lead the pressmen, the electrotypers and stereotypers, the mailers, the bookbinders, photo-engravers and all other craftsmen in the publishing industry into one united organization.

That is the big work of the convention. It is safe to say that neither William Randolph Hearst, nor any other publisher will encourage the printers in this effort. So let the workers cease bootlicking for every small favor granted them and go after the big things, including complete industrial solidarity in the struggle against their exploiters.

The 47th triennial general convention of the Protestant Episcopal church opens at Portland, Ore., and we are told that a bishop is in attendance with his "gold war decorations," three on his breast and one each on the ends of his black stole. Thus does the church under capitalism proclaim where it stands.

Following their suppression of the Berlin Communist daily, "The Red Flag," the German Social Democrats in power are meeting the Communist high cost of living demonstrations with the policeman's club, as usual.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

BOLCOMS

Edited by I. D. W. TALMADGE

As I sit in my private office trying hard to dig loose something or nothing or anything for the Bolcoms, licit enough so as not to cause our honorable Attorney-General's indignation and as I'm about to give up, my social secretary enters:

"A telegram for you, sir."

Full of anxiety, I tear open the envelope and read:

"Washington, D. C., 2.30 A.M.
"Sept. 23, 1922.
"To the Bolcoms, N. Y. City.
Collec

"Irving De Witt Talmadge. Advise at once where desiring to spend your vacation. Best hotel accommodations can be reserved at following places: Upstate along Hudson in Sing Sing, wonderful scenery; at Leavenworth, latest improvements; or Atlanta Penitentiary, marvelous climate, good service. Take your choice.

"Lovingly,
"Attorney-General's Committee on Recreation for Radicals."

THE GENERAL STRIKE IS NIGH

When the subway guards speak English
When the Sun is shining bright
And the oyster blossoms blossom
In the middle of the night
When the watermelons water
'Neath the blue December sky
And the onions in the garden
Make the eyes of 'tatoes cry
When the Fords cease to rattle
When the price of eats comes down,
When the moon shines in the subway
When I know that blue is brown,
When all these things do happen
And I get the things I like
Then and only then will Sammie Gompers
Call the fateful general strike

BOLCOMS ENCYCLOPEDIA

(No injunction against which has been issued as yet.)

Attorney-General. One who does not believe that it is better to keep silent and be thought a fool than to speak and remove all doubt.

Liberalism. A disease causing weak people to be pro-bolshevik under capitalism and pro-capitalistic under bolshevism.

A Chief Investigator of the Department of Justice. A gink having Jules Verne's imagination and Morvich's intelligence.

THE EASIER WAY

An electric supply concern placed the following advertisement in a restaurant trade paper:

"Don't kill your employees with work. Let one of our Electric Dishwashers do the dirty work."

THE RANK SCHOOL OF SO-CALLED SCIENCE BULLETIN FOR 1922-23

(Unpaid Advertisement)

The Trustees and Faculty beg to inform their prospective students of the following courses planned for the coming semester:

1. Studies in Socialism by Comrade W. J. Burns.
2. American Democracy by Comrade Daugherty.
3. Political Philosophy by Comrade Murphy.
4. Fundamentals of Revolutionary Communism by Comrade Sam Gompers.
5. History of Trade Unionism by Comrade J. P. Morgan.
6. Studies in Political Fiction and Hypocrisy by Comrade M. Hillquit.
7. Marxian Economics by Comrade Judge Gary.
8. Practical English Composition with Emphasis on Journalistic Bluffology by Comrade O'Neal.
9. Public Speaking and the Importance of Keeping Still by Comrade Meyer London.
10. How To Discredit Labor Organizations (talks on past experiences) by Comrade Abe Cahan.

PREPAREDNESS

A rather slim chap, sedately dressed, stepped into a fashionable establishment where arms are sold, an called unto the clerk:

"Let me have a dozen cannon mounted on wheels that carry hundred pound solid balls, 2 gross o Springfield rifles with bayonets o them, and five dozen automatic revolvers."

The clerk thought he had struc a lunatic, but he didn't care whethe he took the cash of a sane man or moron. He wrote out the order an asked:

"Is there anything else you want?"

"Yes, indeed. Let me have a fe dozen daggers, about fifty cutlasse and cavalry sabres, a couple of doze Turkish scimetars, and several claymores. Also some harpoons an spears, a few machine guns, and a dozen or two hand-grenades an bombs. That will be all. Send it al right up to my hotel, C.O.D."

The man presented his card to th clerk, who thanked him for placin such a nice big order.

"I suppose, professor, you're goin on some exploring trip to Africa?"

"Oh, no," laughed the prof. "I' simply going on a lecture tour t Colorado to speak on The Rights o American Citizens and I don't ca to be interrupted by any ignora general."

Yours for proletarian fun,
IRV.

[illegible]ER

[illegible] CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V No. 242. [illegible] Published weekly by The Toiler Publishing Association. Room [illegible], 80 East 11th St., New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

British Imperialism Totters!

Hail Heroic Stand of Soviet Rule in Aid of Oppressed Peoples

Brutal and degrading British imperialism totters. It staked its fortunes in the Near-East on its puppet, King Constantine of Greece, and it has lost.

Today, with Constantinople threatened by the Turkish nationalists, Great Britain, deserted by her allies of the Versailles Peace, rushes fleets and armies to the Dardanelles in vain.

A palsied hand today grips the British Empire's sceptre. The power to enslave, exploit, rob, is going, if not gone.

"The atmosphere is one of impending crisis at home rather than of serious difficulties abroad," exclaims the Pall Mall (London) Gazette, hitherto a strong supporter of the Lloyd George coalition government.

Thruout the country British labor is fiercely expressing repudiation of the Government's belligerent attitude. Labor's protest gatherings against the new war were reported being held everywhere.

Great Britain sent word to all her colonies demanding more human cannon fodder for the "New War."

Canada holds back, Tom Moore, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada declares, "The time has passed when the country should be swept into the war on a single declaration." Newfoundland replies that, "Newfoundland does not want the British Empire to get into another row."

No word comes from Red South Africa where thousands of workers are in prison camps as a result of the strike along the Rand, when British military forces were used to drown in blood the efforts of the workers to better their conditions.

The one power on the horizon in the big flare-up in the Near-East is the Workers and Peasants' Government of Soviet Russia, the friend and ally of the oppressed peoples of Asia.

George Tchitcherin, Soviet commissar of foreign affairs, to the consternation of British imperialists, who have always felt themselves all-powerful, proclaims that the Soviet Republic will stick to the terms of her agreement of March 16, 1921, with Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and the Angora Turkish Government.

Red Russia wants peace. She does [illegible] want war with England over the Dardanelles and Constantinople. Russia wants to carry on her work of reconstruction, recuperation from the famine, the rehabilitation of her industries and her agriculture. But Russia will not give one inch.

Before leaving Berlin for Moscow to attend a special conference on the Turko-Greek war question, Tchitcherin said:

> "Russia will not stand for the allied powers permitting Greek war and troop ships to pass thru the Dardanelles.
>
> "From our point of view, any agreement permitting any of the western powers to control the Bosphorus would be racially, as well as historically, wrong. What has Great Britain or France, 2,000 miles away, got to do with Constantinople? Of course, it is a question that is many centuries old.
>
> "The Crimean war was fought over the same issue, and the war which is now brewing in the Near-East, unless it is prevented by the United States, will be fought over the same question.
>
> "Russia does not want to interfere. Russia wants peace, but unless Great Britain is reasonable and advises Greece to accept the consequences of the defeat in Asia Minor and to prevent a new campaign in Thrace, we cannot promise the United States or the world that another war like that of 1914-1918 will not be started. But I have confidence in the good judgment of the United States. The present war—for war seems almost inevitable—can still be prevented if President Harding interferes."

The Harding administration at Washington declares it has no intention of interfering "in the adjustment of Near-East troubles." It is content to rule over a nation, the bankers of which control the world's gold supply, and the industrial kaisers of which are willing to coin more profits out of new agonies in Europe.

In the meantime the kept press is trying to whip up to blood heat the war fever of the workers. Dr. Barton, chairman of the Near-East Relief, a Christian gentleman, wants to plunge into this new blood bath on the shores of the Mediterranean. He has read the war horrors ably supplied by Anglo-Greek propagandists. The Turks are demanding a commission to investigate atrocities. It would surprise our yellow press of it were shown that the Greeks themselves set fire to Smyrna.

America's workers have nothing to gain by United States' participation in a Near-East war for the preservation of British oil fields in Mesopotamia and the maintenance of England's grip on Constantinople.

Profits made on war munitions sold will go to the profiteers. Food sent abroad to sustain marching armies means higher prices for food in this country.

Let the demands of America's workers be:

NO WAR TO AID BRITISH IMPERIALISM!

NO WAR TO KEEP OPPRESSED NATIONS IN SUBJECTION!

WE WILL FIGHT IN BUT ONE WAR; THE WAR FOR OUR EMANCIPATION!

Across the war shaken world the workers of America greet the heroic stand of the Russian workers and peasants on behalf of oppressed peoples, struggling against their imperialist masters.

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!

HAIL THE LIBERATING SOCIAL REVOLUTION!

Stand by the Fayette Miners!

PROCLAMATION OF THE WORKERS PARTY

Forty-five thousand miners in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, are still out on strike. The mines of Fayette County were unorganized when the strike was declared in April. Previously the rule of the coal barons in Fayette County had been unchallenged.

The fact that Fayette County was non-union and would produce coal while the union miners were out was one of the things depended upon by the coal operators to break the strike.

When Fayette County organized and came out it was hailed as one of the greatest victories of the United Mine Workers.

Thruout the strike the 45,000 men in Fayette County were obliged to meet the most brutal attack the bosses made anywhere in the coal fields. The Sheriff's records show 1,500 evictions in the county. The armed thugs of the coal operators and the state cossacks have been particularly busy in Fayette.

Thru all this brutal oppression and hunger and misery the 45,000 men have stood like a stone wall. Their ranks were unbroken. They refused to be driven back to work and scab on their fellow workers in [illegible]

But when the settlement was made the officials of the United Mine Workers forgot Fayette County—forgot the sacrifice and suffering that the Fayette miners had gone thru in order to help win the strike.

The operators in Fayette County refused to sign the Cleveland agreement. The Hillman Co. which own mines in Fayette and also near Pittsburgh was allowed to sign for the mines outside of Fayette County, but was not compelled to sign for the Fayette County mines also.

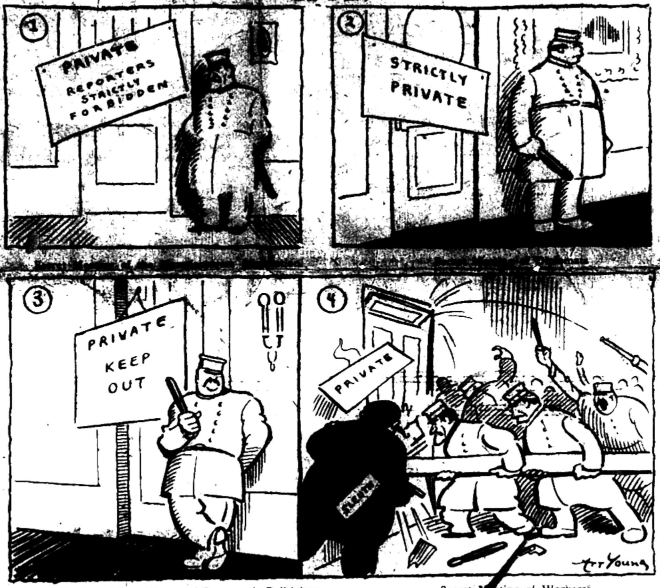
The Fayette County miners are still struggling and starving.

In this crisis all the support of the United Mine Workers should have been thrown to the Fayette Miners. The whole organization should have been called upon to rally to the support of the Fayette County strikers. But the officials in control of the national policies of the United Mine Workers have done nothing.

There have been some vague promises of relief later, but no money, no food, no clothing has been sent to Fayette where the miners are starving and freezing in

(Continued on Page Three)

On Duty



Secret Meeting of Republican and Democratic Politicians

Secret Meeting of Workers*

*NOTE:—Secret or Public don't make any difference

"New Majority", Official Organ, Chicago Federation of Labor, Shows Michigan "Red Raids" Direct Attack on Organized Workers

EDITORIAL NOTE:—The Burns-Daugherty "red raids" last month will not have the same easy time of it that Palmer's "red raids" enjoyed in 1920, declares the New Majority, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and of the Farmer-Labor Party. It points out that the workers are in a different mood this year and that they realize that an attack on the Communist Movement is an attack against them. The New Majority states its position in an editorial as follows:

When the now historic "red" raids of 1920 were made, in which thousands of radicals were thrown into jails, it was at a time when the war hysteria had not yet subsided, and the cry was, "Get the foreign agitators."

At that time the trade union movement showed little response to the calls made upon them for support and defense of the persons arrested. Times were good, work plentiful and wages still high.

To the average worker in shop or factory class warfare meant little and the persecution of radicals seemed something apart.

The recent raids, however, in which more than a score of trade unionists were arrested in Michigan and Illinois, are felt thruout the entire country as a direct attack upon the labor movement as a whole, particularly upon the progressive trade union movement.

Where in 1920 the red raids came and passed with hardly a protest from the unions and no concerted action on their part, the 1922 raids find unions all over the country

(Continued on Page Four)

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Militants in Evidence at Printers Meet

By JEANNETTE D. PEARL

The 67th Annual Convention of the International Typographical Union was opened in the sumptuous Venetian Room of the Hotel Ambassador of Atlantic City, the pleasure city of the world.

President Herrmann, of Atlantic City I. T. U. No. 377, in welcoming the delegates and visitors said:

"I want to welcome you to our beatiful city, the queen of resorts and the play ground of the world. Here is a pleasure producing factory, a gigantic machine where billions of dollars are involved for producing the commodity called pleasure."

Some Atmosphere for Labor

Along the shore of this pleasure city stretches a dazzling illuminated board walk, eight miles in length, upon which sensuous occupants, not workers, glide in some five thousand

(Continued on Page Four)

Debs Joins Defense Committee; Protest Mass Meeting at Boston

(By Telegraph to THE WORKER)

CHICAGO.—Eugene V. Debs, in a letter to William Z. Foster, has accepted the position as one of the members of the National Labor Defense Committee, formed to aid in the defense of the victims of the Michigan raids, and other cases of a similar nature.

In writing from the Elmwood Sanitarium, where his health is being restored, Debs pledges his fullest support to the aid of these victims of capitalist persecution.

• • •

PROTEST MASS MEETING AT BOSTON

BOSTON, Mass.—Great preparations are being made here for the Protest Mass Meeting against the White Terror planned for Sunday afternoon, 2 o'clock, Sept. 24th, at the Paine Memorial Hall.

Both C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, and William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, will be among the speakers. This gathering if expected to duplicate the big meetings already held at Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and other cities.

NEW YORK DEMONSTRATION, OCT. 6th

The New York Demonstration against the Michigan Raids will be held Friday night, Oct. 6, at the Central Opera House, 205 E. 67th St., instead of Sept. 22, as announced. Foster and Ruthenberg will head the list of speakers. Get ready for a great protest gathering!

A New Storm Menaces Europe!

By KARL RADEK

What is now happening in Europe may be characterised as the death-agonies of the Treaty of Versailles. Economic necessity is the cause of the Treaty's breakdown. The victors had decided to treat the wounds which the war inflicted upon western capitalism at the expense of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Russia.

This attempt could not be realized not only because of the frightful havoc caused to Cen-

(Continued on Page 4)

National Defense Demonstration and Autumn Festival! Dickert's Park, Sunday, September 24th

Sensation in Soviet Russia

The first statement of the surprising results achieved by the Friends of Soviet Russia "Agricultural Unit" has just been received from Hal Ware, head of the unit, formerly secretary of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee.

It shows that the F. S. R. unit is creating a sensation in Soviet Russia as the forerunner of many other similar units. Ware reports as follows:

Village of Toikino, Government
of Perm, August 1, 1922.

Executive Committee
Friends of Soviet Russia
New York City.

Dear Comrades:—I am enclosing a letter which will keep you in touch with our progress. Your "Iron Horses" are beating a road to a solution of this problem. Almost all industrial centers have land. With modern farm machinery and a few trained men they can produce enough food to maintain themselves wherever tractor farming is possible.

The American workers thru the agency of the F. S. R. have been first in demonstrating these possibilities.

Some of the American comrades have become so interested in this project they will remain in Russia providing the support of the American workers is continued until the Russian Government takes hold of the plan.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) Hal Ware.

The letter follows:

Toikino, August 1, 1922.

The work is in full swing here: one large field of 500 acres was finished yesterday and the crews are beginning on the second. We have been delayed in organizing two shifts first because the Benzine transport is still confined to those 10 iron barrels and is just sufficient to maintain 15 or 16 tractors in full operation; second because the camp equipment was not sufficient to house a full double crew. Your man arrived with the new tents, and I have issued a request to all villages for young men.

We have at present 19 men in the "Russian Camp" and need 24 more.

We have attracted a great deal of attention and created friendly feelings among the villages for our work. All along the route we have created a sensation and in the village of Otchor held a big demonstration. Every Sunday we have demonstrations here. We have invited a number of villages to come next Sunday and learn about our work. We will serve tea and show pictures, also the tractors in operation.

Numerous requests from small villages for us to plow land for them are coming in. I have decided to plow small areas in two or three villages with one or two of the tractors for propaganda among them. In each case we insist that the land so plowed be used for communal distribution of the product and that land shall not be divided.

Records are being kept upon which other Units may figure with safety. I am enclosing samples of the cards used in recording the work of each man, tractor and tool, which the foreman of each crew fills out daily.

In this Sovkhoz (Soviet Farm) there are 15,000 desiatines. After organization is completed and equipment installed a Unit of 65 men can plow and plant all the land suitable for machine work. In other words, Industrial Combines who control land can become almost entirely independent of the peasantry. By the use of machinery—extra labor will be essential at harvest only.

In spite of the inexperienced operators and unusually trying conditions all machinery has been operating. No serious breakdowns have occurred nor have defective parts been discovered. The work is typical of what other units will encounter and our records of each machine will be of great service.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) Hal Ware.

Relief Exhibition in Berlin.

The exhibition for famine Relief which was held in Berlin during July was visited by thousands of workers and the general public.

Numerous statistical diagrams prepared in Russia showed vividly the extend of the famine in Russia its causes and the relief measures of various organizations. There were exhibited also specimens of "hunger bread" famine relief posters from various countries and objects of art from Russia, carrying embroideries etc.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

There is a [illegible] in the New York Call, September [illegible] in which the [illegible] writer, James Oneal, who is also the spiritual guide of this "Socialist" daily, tearfully confesses to the doubt "whether one man in 1,000 has read a textbook on logic." The showing among women is not mentioned.

We have no doubt been included among the 999, since our article "Has Debs Changed?" that appeared in a recent issue of THE WORKER, is denounced in terrifying terms as "butchering all the accepted rules of logic."

Yet we are not squelched, altho this clever "logician," Oneal, probably feels he has us completely floored.

They say that figures cannot lie, but that liars do often figure. And it must be the same way with these logicians who pride themselves on having pored thru and absorbed the contents of the volumes of Mill, Hamilton, Berkeley and others too numerous to mention. It is easy to corrupt an honest game of craps with loaded dice. So I have noticed that our most boasting logicians are those who deal in "loaded logic" in trying to carry on an honest discussion.

* * *

I cannot claim credit for having been the first to compare the Russian Revolution to a strike, putting the enemies of the revolution whether in Russia, Germany or elsewhere in the same class with the workers' enemies in a strike, on the railroads, in the coal mines, the textile mills, or somewhere else.

That is what James Oneal's hair-splitting mind disagrees with. He says it isn't so. The bomb-throwing, poisoned bullet shooting, paid agents of the Paris imperialist allies masquerading as social revolutionaries, when, in fact, they are counter revolutionaries, should not, says Oneal, be put in the same class with Rockefeller's thugs and assassins in Colorado.

Oneal was moved to an assault upon his typewriter that brought forth more than 2,000 words for The Call's Magazine Section when I asked, "Has Debs Changed?" after pointing out that in Colorado Debs, in an article written 8 years ago had denounced as "a coward and, a craven and undeserving the name of man" any striker who refused to defend his own life and fireside against Rockefeller's Cossacks, while this year he indicts the Russian Communists, guiding spirits in oppressed labor's greatest strike against enslaving capitalism, and finds them guilty of "bloodthirsty revenge, cruel reprisals and savage killings."

When Oneal grandiously exclaims, "What has Debs' advice to workers to strike back at hired thugs got to do with Debs' opposition to capital punishment for anybody for any offense?" we feel Oneal is quite hopeless and are inclined to side with Robert Ingersoll when he said that to reply or argue with a man who has bidden good-bye to his reason is like giving medicine to the dead.

We would have wished that Debs had a better defender. Debs was not troubled with scruples about capital punishment when he urged the miners' union of Colorado to "arm their members against the gunmen of the corporations, the gangs of criminals, cutthroats, woman-ravishers and baby-burners that have absolutely no lawful right to exist." What is it that worries him now, or worries Oneal in his defense?

Suppose the Soviet Government had put the social (counter)-revolutionaries to death when they were caught red-handed at their bloody deeds. Would Debs have approved? Then what power is it that puts the white mantle of virtue over the shoulders of a murderer in a court room?

* * *

I take it that there is a class struggle going on in the world. In this class war I am on the side of the working class, the exploited masses. I try to play my part, as I see it, in the war against capitalism.

It is rather unfortunate for Oneal that he should quote a paragraph from my speech before Kenesaw Mountain Landis, while he was still a judge, before receiving sentence of 20 years' imprisonment. I said:

"What can be said of the prosecution? Coercion, intimidation, misrepresentation and falsification — all that and more is expected as a matter of course. Our trial, therefore, is no disappointment. No ends were too mean, no act too low, if it only lead to a conviction."

That was my indictment of capitalist class justice. I tried to point out to the workers just what they might expect from capitalist courts seeking to defend the capitalist system that must be destroyed.

The Moscow trial was also an example of class justice, but of working class justice defending the social revolution that every true worker is seeking to develop into the world victory of labor.

Oneal says if I favor the Moscow convictions, I must also uphold the convictions of Debs, of the I. W. W. at Centralia, Wash., of Sacco and Vanzetti, of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. How absurd!

It is because I favored the Moscow convictions against the enemies of the Workers' Republic that I take my stand on the side of the victims of capitalist class justice, Debs, the I. W. W., Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings, and all the rest, yes, even the coal miners of Herrin, Illinois, who established their own rule of proletarian justice for one day and meted out capital punishment to some of capitalism's lickspittles.

I can picture Oneal setting himself up as a sort of referee in the grand jury investigation of the mine war, now taking place at Herrin, Ill. He would see to it that "justice" is rendered both the mine workers and the mine owners, and he would plead for "fairness" in a capitalist court.

Of course, Oneal objects when I put all the enemies of the workers, the mine owners at Herrin, and the social (counter)-revolutionaries in or out of Russia, in the same class. But I do it, nevertheless. And I am only interested in the fight of the mine workers against the system that keeps them in slavery and makes "Herrin massacres" inevitable, just as I am only interested in the war of Soviet Rule in Russia against all its enemies.

Oneal cannot conceive of anyone warring on capitalist justice and at the same time taking a stand for a revolutionary working class tribunal, for proletarian justice. That makes it possible for us to understand why it is so easy for Oneal's "Socialist" Party to betray the very principles of Socialism and consort with the enemies of the working class. It is easy to understand why Oneal's "Socialist" Party doesn't repudiate Victor Berger's endorsement of La Follette, in Wisconsin, and similar antics on the part of its candidates in other parts of the country.

* * *

In fact, Oneal, in manipulating his logic, becomes a regular circus juggler. His hypocritical reasoning permits him to profess to be indifferent which ball goes up and which comes down.

Oneal says that if the counter-revolutionary Mensheviks deserve death for murdering Bolsheviks, then the Bolsheviks deserve death for killing Mensheviks. Which means that Oneal is out for "justice" for everybody, the hypocritical, pretense of every capitalist court.

We only remember once that Oneal was ever endowed with the power to judge, to use force in the guise of justice, over others. That was in the spring of 1919 when 60,000 members of the Socialist Party were up for expulsion before the National Executive Committee, of which Oneal was a member. Justice, party precedent, party constitution, even a trial, everything was thrown to the winds by the Oneal-Stedman-Berger dictatorship. Was this because these 60,000 members wanted to compromise with capitalism, wanted to vote the old party tickets, wanted to betray the principles of Socialism? No, it was because these 60,000 members wanted to stand side by side with the Russian Revolution, because they wanted to fight for the revolution in this country, because they were opposed to the Oneal-Stedman-Berger brand of yellow "Socialism", and the Oneals, the Stedmans and the Bergers would not permit any other kind of Socialism to function, even tho the overwhelming majority of the party membership demanded it. Oneal's theories about "justice" were thus put into practice and Oneal took his place with Palmer as a "red raider".

This policy of "purifying" the "Socialist" Party was so successfully carried out that its Yellow Dictatorship did not meet with a single opposing voice at the Cleveland Convention this year.

I merely cite this to expose the Oneal in action as compared to the Oneal that peddles hypocritical phrases about the "conduct of Judge Landis being the last word in equity compared with what the president of the Moscow tribunal and his fellow judges indulged in."

It is fitting that the representatives of Oneal's "Socialist" Party, Hillquit, Lee, Panken, should now be in Europe arranging for the return of the "Socialist" Party to the ranks of the Second International, the international of Scheidemann, whose gang murdered Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, slaughtered thousands of their comrades upon the streets, and sent other tens of thousands to prison for trying to achieve that social revolution in Germany that real Socialism says must come everywhere before the new day dawns.

It is admitted that the Social Revolutionary Party is outlawed in Soviet Russia. It is outlawed because it is an agent of the capitalists of Wall Street, of London, Paris, Rome and Berlin. And the Proletarian Dictatorship in Soviet Russia says that every vestige of capitalism must be destroyed.

Oneal would wish the Social (Counter)-Revolutionary Party legalized in Soviet Russia, so that it could agitate for the constituent assembly where the capitalist and monarchist parties could seek admission and work for the restoration of capitalism and the czardom, just as the Scheidemann-Ebert "Socialists" in Germany, in the Reichstag, co-operate with Stinnes and other industrial and financial capitalists to keep down the Communists, just as Fritz Adler, Austrian "Socialist," helps the oppressors of the impoverished workers in Austria enact their Anti-Communist laws.

Political trials are grotesque when staged by capitalists and Yellow Socialists in favor of things as they are. The trial, conviction and expulsion of thousands of members from the "Socialist" Party, in 1919, under Oneal's spiritual guidance, was certainly the desperate efforts of men who feared arguments and appeals to human reason.

The mask is rapidly dropping from the hypocritical faces of those "Socialists" in this country who profess sympathy for the Russian Revolution, but stab it in the back at every opportunity.

We are not surprised that Oneal's hate for the Communist International should now spread to the Revolution's proletarian courts. Soon he will be standing side by side with Chernoff, the social (counter)-revolutionary in attacking the Soviet Republic and the Bolshevik Revolution.

We asked, "Has Debs Changed?" We do not care to look to Oneal for an answer. We want that answer to come from Debs himself, confident that if there is any doubt about that reply now, that doubt will be removed in the very near future.

[illegible]

(By the Federated Press)

SACRAMENTO, [illegible] the [illegible] has brought [illegible] to me, I [illegible] know that it [illegible] in [illegible] standard of [illegible] and their families.

"I believe [illegible] in a worthy [illegible] the wives of [illegible] fighting for [illegible] them in their struggle."

That is the message of the widow of William [illegible], president, Federated Shop Crafts, who was murdered by a [illegible] on the streets of Sacramento. Labor here held a [illegible] funeral demonstration in [illegible] honor,

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Gala Day and Night at N. D. C. Autumn Festival

Old folks, young folks, each and every one,
Come to the N. D. C. festival, if you want to have some fun;
Check your bag of worries, and your differences at the door,
And you'll see such pretty features as you never saw before.

The Autumn Festival of the National Defense Committee, Sept. 24. Don't forget the date if you are out for a good time. There will be a barbecue, the roasting of frankfurters and marshmallows; a large number of jolly friends gathered round a cozy campfire singing revolutionary songs, recitations, musical concert.

Sounds almost too good to be true, eh? Yet it's going to be true Sept. 24, at Dickert's Old Point Park, 4018 Boston Road, Bronx, New York City.

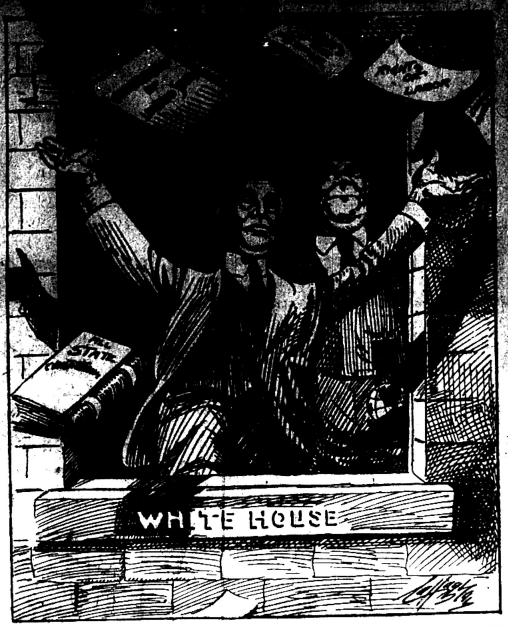
A prize will be awarded for the best dancers on the floor; bring your dancing partners with you; if you forget, one will be furnished you by applying to the committee on the floor. Drinks and refreshments will be served.

A prize will also be given to the champion frankfurter eater and beer drinker of the evening; prizes will also be awarded to the champion runner and bowling artist.

There will be games for children, and a good time for everyone. The festival will commence at 10 o'clock in the forenoon and will wind up in the wee small hours of the morning.

Come and bring your friends along. You have nothing to lose but 35 cents, the price of admission; you have a world of fun to gain. Workers, unite for the Autumn Festival and Barbecue of the National Defense Committee, and let us make this one big, grand, rollicking affair, to be long remembered in the annals of our festivities.

**Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor**



Urge Transport Workers of All Countries to Join in Real International Labor Action

All American workers especially the transport workers of this country, should be intensely interested in the manifesto issued by labor in eight different countries on the forthcoming congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation to be held at Vienna, Austria, October 2nd.

The manifesto comes from the Mid-European Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions with headquarters at Berlin and is as follows:

* * *

To the Transport Workers of All Countries!

Fellow Workers:—The "International Transport Workers' Federation" will convene their regular congress at Vienna on October 2nd with a boasted membership of 3,000,000. What can you expect from this congress? Your hours of toil have been lengthened and your wages slashed below a living standard. Therefore we ask: will it bring more idle talk? Can we expect a sincere attempt at formulating a program of International Action?

The I. T. F. has furnished the answer to these questions by refusing to carry out the resolutions and decisions of the congresses held at Christiania, Amsterdam and Geneva.

They have declared previously for the eight-hour day, and now they associate themselves with the Amsterdam program, which declares for the League of Nations, and whose "Labor Bureau" decides against the eight-hour day in conformity with the resolution passed at their conference at Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

The Eight-Hour Day Is Everywhere Attacked

They also declared for "War Against War" but in every country the leaders of the I. T. F. support their respective governments, and capitalism, which is the root of all wars.

They also decided upon a resolution to relieve the unemployed dockworkers by calling upon the various governments to recuperate commerce. (?) Instead of unemployment decreasing it has increased since they passed this ridiculous resolution.

On the most important question of how to stop international blacklegging between the various countries, by refusing to ship goods intended for use against workers of other nationalities, the I. T. F. has done nothing.

To the workers these congresses are nothing but idle talk and deception.

Simultaneous with the convening of the congress of the I. T. F. on Oct. 2nd, the dockers of Great Britain must suffer a reduction of one shilling a day. And a further reduction has been decided upon for June 1923. This reduction was accepted by the officials of the I. T. F.: Robert Williams, Gosling and Devan are signatories to these attacks upon wages.

Against a reduction of wages upon the Czecho-Slovakian and the French railways, Edo Fimmen, Bidegaray and Brodzki have done nothing.

What have these officials done? What are the international facts? Blacklegging against the American miners!

On Aug. 10th Ernest Bevin, the "leader" of the dockers, wrote to Frank Hodges of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain that it would be a form of "International Blacklegging" to work "three shifts" loading coal for America. But between Aug. 19th and the 26th 150,000 tons of coal have left South Wales for the United States, and two million tons are contracted for by the importers of America.

What was the I. T. F. doing? Nothing! Their silence is sanction to this international blacklegging!

What can we expect from an International which systematically divides the workers and destroys our attempts to create the United Front against the United Bourgeoisie?

The I. T. F. is in the best of terms with the League of Nations and give their support to the Entente, thereby aiding in the political policies of their governments, which enslaves the workers of Central and Western Europe. This Policy means hunger and death to the workers living in countries bearing the burdens of the Treaty of Versailles. This is the policy of the I. T. F.

Just as the capitalist class robs the workers of all they produce, and gives them pennies in return as charity: so the I. T. F. delivers the workers into these miserable conditions.

It was not the I. T. F. officials that hindered the transport of munitions intended for use against Soviet Russia as they claim they did, but it was a spontaneous demand from the rank and file of labor that made this possible. It is not possible to believe that J. H. Thomas would aid the Russian revolution, when he declared against the solidarity and the general strike to aid the British miners. He is on record in open court as being against a workers' revolution. So it is impossible for him to be for revolutionary action internationally.

The I. T. F. officials are proven to be against the workers' interests by their act of expelling from the I. T. F. the Russians, Bulgarians and Finlanders, and by making it impossible for the majority of the French, Dutch, and the great bulk of the Czecho-Slovakians to remain within their ranks.

In Germany, the adherents of the I. T. F. have also expelled the best militants from the organizations, and in Czecho-Slovakia they have split the railwaymen's union. All these organizations have united into an International Propaganda Committee to establish the United Front against the Transport Bosses.

We demand that the "International" of Transport Workers shall unite the All-Transport Workers of the World; we demand that the 8-hour day shall be established internationally and declare for this as an immediate necessity; we demand action in opposition to the attacks upon our already meagre wages; we demand Solidarity as opposed to international blacklegging; and, we further demand that the International of Transport Workers cease its support of the bourgeoisie and the League of Nations.

If these officials of the I. T. F. talk of unity, the transport workers must demand action at every port of the world. We must have international action to fight for a living wage and decent conditions for **we are only an organized force if we are united internationally!**

With best wishes to the International Transport Workers, we remain.

Yours fraternally,

Signed: Russian Railway and Transport Workers Federations.
German Seaman's Union (Schiffahrtsbund).
French Railway Federation.
Czecho-Slovakian Railway Federation,
Dutch Transport Workers' Federation,
Bulgarian Transport Workers' Federation,
Finnish Railway Workers' Federation,
Norwegian Railway, Seamen and Transport Workers' Federations.

P. S.—Owing to distance it was impossible to have the signature of our affiliated Australian Seamen's Union.

NOTICE!

To All Organizations, Comrades and Friends:—Keep the date, Feb. 22-25, open. Do not arrange other affairs. The National Defense Committee will hold its Second Annual Bazaar at the Lyceum, 86th St. and 3rd Ave. Your co-operation is needed!

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

THOUSANDS WANTED!

Thousands of copies of this issue of THE WORKER will be wanted for distribution.

We are printing extra copies to fill these orders.

Send your order at once.

Get THE WORKER to the workers in your shop.

Price 3½ cents per copy.

Crush the White Terror! Protest Mass Meeting! Central Opera House, Friday, October 6th, 8 P.M.

cks War on White Terror

(Special to The Worker)

CHICAGO.—Two thousand five hundred working men and women, in Ashland Auditorium here, donated $2,577.22 to aid the victims of the Michigan raids, and gave overwhelming ovations to all the speakers.

The great gathering cheered William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg for five minutes when they appeared on the platform, and all the speakers were constantly interrupted by outbreaks of applause that forced them to pause until the enthusiasm had subsided and they could continue.

Lillian Herstein, of the Teachers' Federation, acted as chairman in place of Robert M. Buck, editor of the New Majority, who had been unexpectedly called to New York.

Dunne First to Speak

William F. Dunne, the first speaker, told of the raid and linked up the arrests of the Michigan defendants with the widespread campaign of the employers and their governmental tools against all manifestations of working class solidarity.

He pointed out that we were now experiencing the same kind of oppression under the Harding regime that aroused such a storm of resentment against the Wilson administration.

He reminded the audience that while many workers still clung to the idea that democracy was possible in America and many hoped for a return to the good old days when free land made a free country, that the America of today was not the America of yesterday either territorially, economically or politically; that the United States was now the foremost imperialistic power in the world and that all the persecutions of the workers were part and parcel of the manifestations of this new state in capitalistic development.

Foster Tells of Persecution

William Z. Foster followed Dunne and told of the unceasing efforts of the authorities to hamper the work of the Trade Union Educational League, and of the various frame-ups he had been the victim of in his years of work in organizing the wage earners in the lumber woods, the stockyards and the steel industry.

C. E. Ruthenberg, National Secretary of the Workers Party, outlined the history of the Communist Movement in the United States and told of the continuous persecution inflicted on it from its very inception.

He reminded the audience that it is no longer possible for the ruling class to single out small groups of workers for persecution without involving the broad masses of the entire working class.

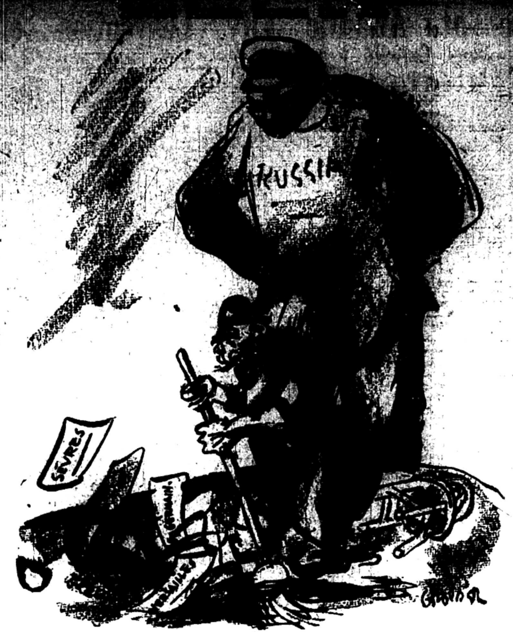
In this particular case striking railwaymen were placed by the agents of the capitalist government in exactly the same position as the Reds insofar as the law was concerned.

Splendid Show of Solidarity

He evoked wild applause when he said that the only answer for which the rulers had any respect was the organized determination of the workers.

Pledge Cards for bonds were passed among the audience and collected as the hall was vacated. The results of these pledges have not yet been tabulated.

No one present at the meeting doubted that the Michigan defendants have the solid backing of the Chicago militants and that a splendid exhibition of solidarity will be given in their defense.



While the Turk Sweeps Away Old Rubbish

Defense Mass Protest Meet Friday, Oct. 6

The railroad strike and the miners' strike are over but the White Terror is not yet over.

The injunction obtained by Daugherty against the railroad strikers was not only directed against the railway men. It was aimed at the heart of organized Labor. It was intended to destroy the unions, to prevent any possible strike in the future.

The workers of this country must once and for all stop the use of injunctions against strikers. They can easily do so if they form one solid front against the capitalist class. The workers of New York will show Daugherty what they think of his injunction at the great Protest Meeting which will be held on Friday, Oct. 6, at the Central Opera House.

This meeting had to be postponed because Foster and Ruthenberg have to appear at a court hearing on September 22nd.

SYDNEY, N. S. Wales.—Birth control is being practiced all over Australia because the workers cannot maintain their families on the wages paid to them, says Judge Piddington, a judicial dignitary in Australia.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

Utilize Labor's Resentment

With the slogan, "Workers! You Must Fight for Freedom!" the Workers Party has addressed another manifesto to the masses urging the necessity of independent political action thru a mass political party of the workers.

Such intelligent expression as we find in the labor press today is all on the side of independent action in place of the "nonpartisan" program of Gompers and the committee created by the Chicago Conference.

The strongest indictment of labor "nonpartisanship" that has come to our attention is to be found in the Cincinnati News, Sept. 1, official organ of International Association of Machinists of Cincinnati, Ohio.

This mouthpiece of the organized machinists flays both the old parties in the following language:

> **The just resentment of the working class against the Republican national administration because of its hostility to labor as manifested anew in the application of Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty for an injunction against the shopmen before Federal Judge Wilkerson, at Chicago should not be diverted to the aid of the so-called "Democratic" party as seems to be the intent of some "leaders" of organized labor.**
>
> **The workers have every reason in the world to be against the so-called "Republican" party, but the same reasons should prompt them to be against the "Democratic" party.**
>
> **The injunction asked for by the Republican Attorney General H. M. Daugherty in the matter of the shopmen is even less drastic than the injunction obtained by the "Democratic" Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer in November, 1919, at Indianapolis, from Federal Judge Anderson against the United Mine Workers of America.**
>
> **Further: The injunction obtained by Republican Daugherty at the instigation of a Republican President, Warren G. Harding, is actually based on the Debs injunction, secured by that "Democratic" Attorney General, Richard Olney, under the "Democratic" administration of Grover Cleveland, in 1893.**
>
> **Just as the injunction gotten by the "Democratic" administration of Woodrow Wilson, was more drastic than the injunction secured by the "Republican" administration of Warren G. Harding, so the "Democratic" administration of Grover Cleveland capped the climax in using Federal troops to break up the strike of the railroad men in 1893, something that Harding has not yet done, altho threatened.**
>
> **There is really nothing strange in the fact that if Harding does at any time use Federal troops in industrial disputes he will find the precedent set by a "Democratic" president, the honorable Grover Cleveland. It should be burned into the memory of every workingman who is now being appealed to to vote the "Democratic" ticket in order to rebuke the Republicans, that it was under a "Democratic" administration that "government by injunction" was instituted and that Grover Cleveland, the "Democrat," marched the standing army of the Federal power into the sovereign state of Illinois over the protest of the governor of Illinois, the sheriff of Cook county and the mayor of Chicago.**
>
> **There is nothing strange in this fact because the real power that committed this outrage was capitalism.**

Similarly "The Advance", official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, says, "Would there were a labor party in this country to which the workers could turn in a crisis like the present one for such action as conditions are now crying for. But there is no such party. Politically, the American workers have voluntarily disfranchised themselves.

"The labor movement alone has the power to inaugurate an effective third party. But that power is still in a state of disuse."

It isn't strange that the Workers Party should stand alone, except for the demands of some trade unions, in urging independent political action for the workers, while labor's so-called "political parties" are making their dickers here and there with republican and democrat political bosses.

The Workers Party only considers the interests of the great mass of the industrial toilers and working farmers. The "Socialist" Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Nonpartisan League and other "nonpartisan" political organizations can only see as far as the night of November's election day.

They are too busy, trying to count the number of jobs they hope they will grab, to make definite plans for utilizing labor's great resentment this year against its exploiters.

Those plans must be developed by the forces of labor enlisted in the Workers Party, that accepts the leadership in this struggle and pushes forward to make the most of the great opportunities now offered for uniting labor's efforts definitely in the direction of its own emancipation.

Labor in Chicago and Minneapolis has taken its stand against the Michigan Raid. Next!

Arrest of Sacco-Vanzetti Prosecutors on Charge of Attempted Murder Demanded

BOSTON.—If the revelations made by Mrs. Lola R. Andrews to the effect that her testimony against Nicola Sacco was false and given under intimidation are sustained, "someone in the district attorney's office at that time ought to be arrested and tried for attempted murder," declares the Boston American in a leading editorial.

The editorial reads in part:

"The confession of the woman who identified Sacco that she lied on the witness stand and that she was frightened into lying by the terrorizing methods of the prosecuting attorney's office is a terrible confession. She is either crazy or someone in the district attorney's office at that time ought to be arrested and tried for attempted murder

"Tom Mooney, the labor leader in San Francisco, barely escaped being murdered by the district attorney's office and a lot of 'big business conspirators.' It was a timely confession and a timely discovery of evidence which saved his life.

"Cowardly prosecuting officers, seeking notoriety at the expense of the helpless, persecuted men of radical opinions everywhere, forgetting that the accepted opinions of to-day were the radical opinions of yesterday, and that the pioneers of reform and progress were always radicals when they first raised their voices."

A Rebel's Appeal

SAN QUENTIN, Cal.—Jim Roe, 70 years old, and crippled with rheumatism, has asked the district defense committee not to carry his case to the supreme court, the appellate court having confirmed his conviction of a criminal syndicalism charge. Roe's "crime" consisted in selling I. W. W. papers, possessing second class mailing privileges thruout the country, on the streets of San Francisco. He feels it would be a waste of money to appeal his case further.

"I would rather see the money spent for publicity for the repeal of the criminal syndicalism law," concludes the appeal of this fine old rebel, "for that would be to the benefit of all of the working class."

# of Michigan Raid Hearing

The hearing in the case of the 20 comrades arrested as a result of the Michigan "red raids" has been postponed to Tuesday, Sept. 26.

William Z. Foster, who was arrested in Chicago last week and taken to Michigan, has been released on bail.

The release of Max Lerner, of Seattle, Wash., district organizer of the Workers Party for the Pacific northwest, has also been secured.

This leaves 12 still in jail, ten of the original 17, and Earl Browder and A. Aronberg, of Chicago, arrested at the national conference of the Trade Union Educational League.

"Efforts should not relax," says C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, who has returned to New York City, from a trip to Chicago, during which he addressed several mass meetings. "We must secure bail from every available source to bring about the release of all the others as soon as possible."

The Labor Defense Council has been organized in Chicago with the Workers Party, Socialist Party, Farmer-Labor Party, Proletarian Party, Trade Union Educational League and quite a number of unions represented.

The national office of the Labor Defense Council has already been established at Room 307, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill., and will spread its activities to every section of the nation. There will even be a branch of the Council in St. Joseph, where the labor militants were thrown into jail, and where 10 are still confined.

One of the local preachers at St. Joseph, Mich., delivered a sermon in which he denounced the arrests, and it is felt there is a beginning of popular resentment against the attack on the workers' organizations.

Workers Party Sends Aid to the Starving Miners of Pennsylvania

(Special to The Worker.)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—In a communication from William Feeney, organizer for District 5, United Mine Workers of America, the Pittsburgh District, to the District Office of the Workers Party, in Pittsburgh, asking them to aid in the relief of the Starving Miners in Fayette County a desperate condition is revealed as the aftermath of the coal strike.

The strike is ostensibly settled but the Fayette County Coal Operators' Association did not sign the Cleveland agreement and 35,000 Miners organized during the strike are staying out and starving with their families rather than go back to work under scab conditons.

So far as can be learned the International Office of the United Mine Workers has done nothing in the way of relief for these men and their familes and the gossip in the district is that John L. Lewis knows that they are opposed to the policies of his administration and that he is content to let the wonderful organizing Campaign conducted by these men and their splendid fight against the Frick interests go for naught rather than have thousands of opposition votes in this territory where there was no organization before the strike for reasons well known to the Lewis administration.

Meanwhile 35,000 miners are standing pat, hoping that relief will come from some source and enable them to continue their fight to victory in this important coking coal district.

Hundreds of these men and their families have been evicted and are living in tents, typhoid feaver is raging and the actual conditions cannot be adequately described.

The Workers Party Relief Committee of Pittsburgh is sending $200 per week into Fayette County but this is only a drop in the bucket.

Thirty children have already been placed in Pittsburgh homes and twenty more are being brought in this week.

It is claimed by the miners that in signing with the Hillman Company, which also operates in Fayette County, for mines near Pittsburgh without forcing a general contract for Fayette County the district board violated the Cleveland agreement and placed the Fayette County diggers at the mercy of the Frick interests.

There is much resentment over the matter and resolutions of protest are being sent to other locals informing them of a conditon to which no publicity has as yet been given by the official labor journals.

Relief must be organized and sent into Fayette County if the wonderful sacrifices made by these men and their families for the long weary month of the strike is to result in the access of 35,000 more fighters to the labor movement, instead of a general demoralization which would make organization in this field impossible for years to come.

tand by Thes Battling Miners

(Continued from Page One)

their tent colonies. There are charges that the officials are sabotaging Fayette; that they are afraid to have these rebels come into the organization; even that money received for relief has not been immediately available.

This is a crisis which requires action by every local union of the United Mine Workers. The rank and file who have won their victory after the splendid struggle of the last five months will not stand for the desertion of the 45,000 miners of Fayette County.

Locals of the United Mine Workers! Call immediate special meetings. Adopt resolutions demanding that the central treasury of the organization be used for immediate relief of the Fayette County strikers. Demand that all the resources of the organization be put behind the struggling and starving workers in Fayette County.

Send relief to them direct. The Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conerence is doing what it can to feed and house them. It will be glad to make your contribution available quickly. Address J. A. Hamilton, Secretary, 35 Milller St., Pittsburgh.

But above all make your officials act. Make your protest in such a mighty volume that they will give the Fayette miners immediate relief.

THE EMERGENCY IS GREAT. ACT QUICKLY OR THE FAYETTE MINERS WILL BE COMPELLED TO SUBMIT BY HUNGER AND COLD.

Central Executive Committee Workers Party of America
C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

Cry for Bread from Union Miners of Fayette County

Resolutions demanding bread to fight the hunger that is gripping their families have been adopted by Local Union No. 5220, United Mine Workers of America, as follows:

"We, the members of Local Union No. 5220, U. M. W. A., at Fayette County, Pa., who struck in response to the invitation of the U. M. W. A. on April 1st, 1922:—

"WHEREAS, The members of this local have suffered 384 evictions, of which 200 have been since the Cleveland Agreement, and

"WHEREAS, The Cleveland Agreement was signed against our wish and special plea that the coke fields should not be left out, and

"WHEREAS, The District Executive Board signed an agreement with the Hillman Company for mines near Pittsburgh, without requiring them to settle for the larger part of their mines in Fayette County and over vigorous protest of Board Member John O'Leary, and

"WHEREAS, Vice-President Fagan and other officials of District 5 have repeatedly promised relief from the Union, and

"WHEREAS, We have more than fulfilled our part of the contract in which all our wishes have been disregarded, suffering evictions, exposure in tent colonies, typhoid fever and other hardships, and

"WHEREAS, The Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference, which has given us limited relief for a number of weeks and provided homes for children from camps in Fayette County, and in whom we have every confidence, informs us that District 5, during the last few weeks, has received several thousand dollars for satisfactory distribution for relief among the miners, which they cannot learn about.

"THEREFORE, We, the undersigned, appeal to the International organization to immediately make an investigation of the distribution of relief by District 5, and ask for immediate help for thousands of members actually starving in Fayette County now."

Louis Zazick, President.
John Zubal, Jr., Financial Secretary.

The Program of the Militants

We have just received our copy of the "National Conference Number" of the Labor Herald, official organ of the Trade Union Educational League.

This issue contains a complete account of the proceedings of the League's first conference, including an illustrated story of the double raid on the league's headquarters and the league's conference.

Thinking workers will also find in this issue the program of the building trades workers, the railroad workers, the metal trades and the needle trades workers, as well as the stand of the league on all the important issues of the day.

There is so much good material, in fact, that every man and woman who labors, and who has a desire to help better the condition of his class, and join in the struggle for its emancipation, should get a copy and study its contents at every opportunity.

The price of the Labor Herald has been reduced to 15 cents per copy, $2.50 per year, thus bringing it within the reach of a larger number of readers. Send all communications to the Labor Herald, 118 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

New efforts to prevent the Spread of Bolshevism are contained in a circular letter addressed to the heads of French universities and high schools by the French minister of education. He urges them all to do nothing to promote the study of Esperanto, as this artificial international language must be regarded as a dangerous tool for the spreading of Bolshevist propaganda. All that is needed now, of course, is a language to safeguard the existence of capitalism. Send your suggestions to the French professor.

It is declared that the Argentine government has sent a message to Congress, asking, in view of the desperate condition of Soviet Russia, authorization to lend the Workers' Republic 5,000,000 pesos (about $4,750,000) to be repaid "when circumstances permit, and without interest." That's too good to be true. We'll wait until that report is confirmed.

Russian workers and peasants are planning 103 great celebrations on the fifth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, Nov. 7, which is also the date of the opening of the fourth world congress of the Communist International at Moscow. Let the workers in the United States plan for similar celebrations in this country.

Hungary of the White Terror has been admitted to the League of Nations, unanimously. No objections from the "Socialists," Branting, Thomas or Vandervelde. Hungarian Socialists are agitating for permission to emigrant Socialists and Liberals to return. No mention is made of Communists.

When an attempt was made to display the Anti-Soviet film, "The Dance of Death," in Berlin, the Communists made such a protest that the picture was discontinued. It wouldn't hurt to have workers in this country take a similar stand under similar circumstances.

Gompers and Daugherty are running neck and neck in their efforts to crush the militants in the labor movement. And there are still a few workers left who help keep Gompers in power, and who vote the republican ticket put up by Daugherty's party.

Ratification Meeting! Help Open Workers Party Campaign!

PARKVIEW PALACE
110th St. and 5th Ave.
Friday Night, Sept. [illegible]

[illegible] War on All Organized Workers

(Continued from page One)

[illegible] and ready to take action on behalf of the labor men now in jail or facing trial.

When the offices of the Trade Union Educational League were raided, the capitalist press blazoned to the world that connections between Foster and the "million dollar wreck" in Gary, Ind., would be established.

When this fell thru, four members of the striking shop crafts were seized and by means of brutal beatings were forced to confess that they had engineered the wreck.

Herrin, Illinois, is the scene of another attempt on the part of the government to establish definitely the fact that the American labor movement is a criminal conspiracy, an outlaw that must be crushed and eliminated from society.

While all over the country efforts have been made to place union labor outside the law, it was not until Sept. 1, that the federal government was so bold as to make its position clear.

In no unmistakable terms Attorney General Daugherty, speaking officially for the United States Government, said:

"I will use the power of the United States Government to prevent labor unions from destroying the open shop."

The Department of Justice made war on Foster and the others, and a few days later declared war against the entire American Labor movement. That the permanent injunction will be granted, no one in the labor movement can doubt.

In a court room Labor's lawyers may not be able to tell Judge Wilkerson why the injunction should not be granted, but the organized labor movement, insulted, goaded beyond limit, exploited and suppressed more than it can bear, may show Daugherty and Wilkerson, Harding and the United States government why it is not advisable to go too far.

Now, more than ever, it is plain that the cause of the victims of Daugherty's raids is the concern of the labor movement and that an attack on a "red" is a covert attack on unionism.

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible]

In such an atmosphere a labor convention takes place, and at the same time and in the same hotel the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was also in session. Was it an accident that the two bodies were meeting simultaneously and under the same roof?

At the conclusion of President [illegible] speech, Rev. McDade offered the invocation and then Deputy Mayor Armand T. Nichols welcomed the delegates on behalf of the city. Handing over to them the key of the city, Mr. Nichols told the delegates that that key also opened his cellar door and assured them that Atlantic City was as wet as the ocean and that if he could be of service, he was at their beck and call.

Then followed the welcome address by Samuel Gompers. "If I could only urge," he said, "upon you and all the citizenship of our Republic the prayer so eloquently presented to us, I think we might rest content for the balance of our existence . . .

More Gompers' Retrospect

"In all our struggles, large or small, of short duration or long periods of time, I can only say to you this, that there never has been a fight or a struggle in which the I. T. U. or any of its locals, or subdivisions, or chapels have ever engaged, but what the struggle was my own, and so far as God has given me the light and the strength I have tried to serve you to the very best of my ability, and that which I have just expressed as desirous and willing of giving service to you and your organization, to your individual membership, is equally true to every worker whether organized or unorganized."

Then Gompers reverted to retrospect: "I have asked myself," he reflected "when was it, at what period of time in the history of man, did the slave owner enter into a [illegible]

"When did [illegible] a large portion of [illegible] order to protect [illegible] What legislation is written in the books of our nation, of our state or our municipalities, advocated and fought for and paid for by moneyed interests and big business? I used the word 'paid' for in regard to high finance and big business because they are so accustomed to buy the legislation they want."

View Bathing Beauties

In the Venetian Room of the Hotel Ambassador, with its subdued tints and muffled atmosphere, the delegates feel the voluptuous languor oozing in from the pleasure factory of the world, and as they viewed in the dim oriental light Sammy's bare breasts gushing forth the milk of human kindness, their dazed senses impel them and they take the harlot to their bosoms. Gompers is the master courtesan of the labor world. He knows the art of deception. He knows how to allure and captivate and non-class conscious workers are his dupes.

They unduly curtailed the first day's session of the Convention so as to permit the delegates to enjoy a frolic upon the million dollar pier and on the second day an early adjournment took place in order to permit delegates to view the Bathing Beauty Contest held in the pool of the same Ambassador Hotel where the union Convention was taking place.

The delegation of the Convention by no means reflected the views of the membership. Representation is not based upon membership, but upon locals. A large local like Chicago with 5,000 members gets but four delegates while some out-of-the-way local having a membership of ten is entitled to one delegate, so that numerically the Convention represents in a greater measure the small locals.

The First Line-up

The first alignment in the Conven- [illegible] tee.

President McParland, who is empowered to name such [illegible], conscious of the [illegible] of such power, fought [illegible], explaining his position as follows:

"I agree with those who say that this power should not reside in the hands of the President. It is an [illegible] of things in any form of procedure that [illegible] from Caesar to Caesar. The President of the I. T. U. is a member of the Executive Council; the Executive Council renders decisions, most of which are unanimous.

"To my mind it is a travesty on justice to vest one of these men with the power of appointing a committee that shall sit upon the legality of their decisions. Reference has been made to the fact that former Presidents have enjoyed this privilege—if it is a privilege—and that it should not be withheld from me. Do not allow yourselves to be swayed by any such argument. The principle of the thing is wrong; regardless of how many years it has existed. It ought to be wiped out."

Lynch Bats for Precedents

James M. Lynch, spokesman for the conservatives, contended that to pass such a motion would destroy an old established precedent, and fought in favor of President McParland appointing such a committee, willingly yielding power unto his most bitter enemy, rather than destroy an old established precedent.

It is the tenacious retention of the "old established" that adds strength to the A. F. of L. leadership. But Lynch had a second motive. He is aspiring to that leadership and hopes himself, some day, to wield that power which he is only lending his foe.

Mr. James M. Lynch held the [illegible] Governor Martin Glynn.

With Glynn's exit from political power, Lynch likewise fell and immediately the politician began to aspire to the position of president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

Lynch's Hat in the Ring

Failing in that, he embarked upon a business career which proved disastrous and is now seeking to assume his former duties of a labor politician. His hat is in the ring for the Presidency of the I. T. U. on the reactionary ticket. Notwithstanding the fact that the honorable brother has not been a brother since 1914, at the time when he received a ten thousand dollar gift from the I. T. U. Convention in Providence, R. I., ostensibly for faithful service rendered to the union, but in reality for rather uncertain purposes connected with finances for the Union Printers' Home, Mr. Lynch now makes an open bid for the Presidency of the I. T. U. by becoming the leading spirit of the reactionary machine.

The Convention delegation, composed of two factions, reactionary and progressive, held preliminary sessions off the Convention floor. The progressives held open forums in which the progressive delegates participated, whereas the reactionary faction met in secret. That faction has a secret oath-bound organization with a ritual and this organization is very powerful and most effective. This secret klux-klan forms a strong link in the machine chain which is directly linked up with capitalist interests to the detriment of labor, so graphically brought in evidence in the betrayal of the railroad shopmen's strike.

Fears for Capitalist State

The proceedings on the convention floor as I viewed them appeared me- [illegible]

A member of the Socialist Labor Party, in pointing out the abuses of secret bound organizations, took occasion to denounce in general terms the evils of secrecy. He pointed out that great danger lurked in all secret undertakings and underground organization and that secrecy was threatening to American institutions and was likely to destroy the American state itself.

The progressive group is not a homogeneous one. It is composed of all shades of opinion and no opinion at all. In the main it is a protest against machine politics and corruption, but it is in that group where real educational work could be made to bring telling results. This group is searching, groping for expression and clarification. This is also the trend among the general membership. The $13,000,000 spent by the A. F. of L. in its fight against the "open shop" and the persistent onslaught of the union smashing campaign are clarifying factors, giving momentum to the political swing toward an independent labor party. The Convention went on record favoring an independent labor party.

Morrison Favors Amalgamation

The A. F. of L. is rewriting some of its history. Conscious of the sentiment favoring amalgamation, Secretary Frank Morrison announced from the platform of the Convention that the A. F. of L. FAVORS amalgamation of international unions, altho the A. F. of L. "has not the power to mandate or instruct" its affiliated bodies to amalgamate. Morrison represents one of the most radical locals in the union. Had he taken any other position it would have been at the risk of being dethroned.

So close upon the heels of the [illegible] of the A. F. of L. [illegible] Woll, Second Vice [illegible] of the A. F. of L. [illegible] opposed to amalgamation and [illegible] in direct conflict with the [illegible] announced by the Secretary. [illegible] characteristic of the A. F. of L. policy is the behavior of these gentlemen. Talk radical and act reactionary. The lesser official [illegible] while the higher official now being groomed for the presidency of the A. F. of L. sways the action.

A resolution of amalgamation adopted last year at the Conven at Quebec, but the executives sa it that it remain a paper resolut

Trot Out Red Scare

A second attempt was made year, another resolution, one teeth in it, was submitted to the C vention and was defeated. This feat was in no small measure due the fact that the sponsor of it, M. Wicks is charged by the officialdom with being a notorious red a working class criminal record, has been many times arrested criminal anarchy charges against government. Much is also made the charge that he is a direct representative of the Communist International.

The A. F. of L. has two migh supports at its disposal. It can invoke the spirit of 100 per Americanism and conjure up fear the reds. In the open caucus, Charles Rouse, President of the N York local, introduced three of supporters and asked the privilege of the floor for them so that they each could testify to their American loyalty and patriotism and so publicly and emphatically deny the charge th the "vacationist" movement of the printers was led by Bolsheviks.

In order to defeat any measure, or discredit any individual, the officialdom resort to the cry of "reds" and at the present time are getting away with it. Is a new approach on the part of militants necessary? That is the sign post of the I. T. U. Convention.

Radek Shows New War Is Menacing Europe

(Continued from Page One)

tral and Eastern Europe as a result of this policy, but also for another reason which the leaders of the victorious capitalist nations do not seem to have understood, in spite of all the economic sermons they have been so good to deliver to us, to the effect that the world forms a single economic unit.

Plundered Germany Cannot Buy

Germany was one of the greatest export markets of England and the United States, which are now compelled to look on how a plundered Germany can no longer buy their products. Lloyd George realized this even before the Treaty of Versailles was signed.

In a memorandum which ex-Prime Minister Nitti, has published in his book **Peaceless Europe**, we warned the Allies of the baleful results which would follow the burdening of Germany with an absurdly enormous debt.

But in spite of the fact that he realized that the Treaty of Versailles would plunge capitalism into chaos, he nevertheless signed the treaty and has not yet found the courage to demand its revision.

Ruined Man Bad Customer

His defense of Germany has always been within the limits of the treaty. This proves not only imbecility on his part, but also that the conflicts within the Entente have blinded him to the ABC of capitalism, namely that a ruined man is a bad customer.

Lloyd George has been fighting France for many years already. Were we to adopt the tone in which the English official press comments on the French policy, we would bring down upon ourselves severe notes of protest. And this fight has gone beyond mere word-conflicts; the cannon's voice is also heard.

The so-called Turko-Greek war is nothing else than an Anglo-French war. The English Government is openly furnishing the Greeks with arms and money, and accuses France of doing the same with the Angora Republic.

But England cannot afford an open break with France, even if the break should not bring about an immediate war on a world scale.

America's position towards France and England is not yet clearly defined.

America supports on the one hand, England's policy towards Germany, and on the other hand, France's policy towards Russia.

The simple fact that in Washington, America did not support England's declaration against the use of submarines in warfare, proves that America has not definitely given up its anti-English policy, and is willing to play up France against England. An old English publicist wrote recently in the Fortnightly Review that Napoleon had never brought about such a military hegemony on the Continent as did the Bloc National.

Tool of English Imperialism

Against Napoleon, England found allies in Russia and Germany. The simple German believed he was fighting for the liberation of his fatherland, when he was actually playing the game of English imperialism against French imperialism.

Today, England herself has destroyed Germany's military power and could not use it as a weapon against France, even if it should now be needed. Imprisoned in the iron circle of French, Polish and Czecho Slovakian armies, Germany, even if she be allowed to make open preparations for war, could never fight France, except with the support of Russia.

But England, hopelessly entangled in the contradiction of her European and her Asiatic policies, thought it in her interest to keep Russia a weak power. She feared that she might meet in a strong Russia an enemy to her robber policy, against the interests and the life of the Mohammedan people.

England's plans were not fully successful, for Russia was not so naive as to believe, like the Germans, that no other motive than the re-establishment of peace actuated England, and was unwilling to become the tool of England.

Ask, "What Next?"

Russia's attitude towards the world crisis is that of an independent great power, concerned primarily with its own interests, which are also the interests of the international working class.

The dissolution of the Entente places England, France and Germany before this question: what next? France may proceed with the occupation of the Ruhr without the support of England. Germany, disappointed in its expectation of English support, may sell out to France and save herself from dismemberment, by agreeing to combine the Ruhr coal with the Alsacian and French ores.

This idea is not so new among the German industrials. They expect in this way to save their mining industry, and hope that their talent for organization may give them a decisive influence on French industries. In any case, the possession of the Ruhr valley would give to France an unparalleled industrial position among the victorious countries of Europe.

The ripening changes in the European politics have a deep, practical interest for Soviet Russia.

France's advance upon the Ruhr, and the participation of Poland in an attack upon Germany would bring a change in the European situation equally important to that resulting from a Franco-German agreement. France would become the greatest economic power in Europe, and constitute an even greater danger to its imperialistic enemies than it does today; it would then become a power disposing of immense economic resources.

The coming events in Central Europe require from Russia a clear and calm estimate of the possible consequences, and combinations of power that may follow.

Russia On Guard

We must remain on our guard on the military field. We have proposed to our neighbors a restriction of armaments, only to receive from Poland the ridiculous answer that this was a task for the League of Nations.

The Baltic nations are protracting the negotiations under various excuses.

The agreement reached before Genoa for a temporary armistice is coming to an end. We have no idea of the intentions of our neighbors.

Citizen Marshall Pilsudski invited Comrade Litvinow to a friendly talk, but this meeting was a pure sham to calm Polish public opinion.

But even if we accept the friendly tendencies of our western neighbors, we must not forget, first that they are dependent upon London and Paris; secondly that Soviet Russia is an Asiatic as well as a European power.

Asia is affected by the decision on the Rhine question. Our army must remain war-ready whether partially demobilized or not. And not only the army, but all Russia be prepared for all events.

The question of crops and industrial work is not only one of stomach, but also a question of the maintenance of the Republic and its international position.

Madness Again in Europe

It is possible that madness may again take hold of Europe. Woe to him who falls unprepared into the hands of the mad ones!

We must call the attention of the masses to the international situation so that we may be ready politically for any eventuality.

It is also possible that a compromise may again be reached, but the compromise will be rotten to the core, and will not endure. A new storm menaces Europe. It is quite possible that it is not preachers' sermons and diplomatic notes only that will play a role in the attempt to kill the Treaty of Versailles.

A whole period of diplomatic attempts to settle the question of the Treaty is behind us.

All these attempts, Washington and Genoa as well as the Hague, have proved to be fiascos of bourgeois pacifism. It is quite possible that the capitalist rulers of Europe may look to cavalry, infantry and artillery rather than to Adam Smith for a solution of the problem.

We must make sure that we can answer this sort of argumentation too.

Debs Pledges Support to Foster in Fight Against Oppressors

(BY FEDERATED PRESS)

CHICAGO.—From a sanitarium, where he is striving to regain strength, Eugene V. Debs pledges support to Wm. Z. Foster in the work of the Trade Union Educational League. Writing to Foster with regard to the Colorado kidnapping, Debs says:

"If I were not confined to a sanitarium under treatment I would at once be with you and tender my services in any way in my power.

"The miserable wretches in Colorado and Wyoming, especially the capitalist hireling who masquerades as the governor of the former state, who so brutally manhandled you in the name of law and order, have sown dragon's teeth from which will spring in due time the warriors of the revolution who will sweep the corrupt system of which they are the servile lackeys from the face of the earth.

"You are to be congratulated, after all, upon the infamous outrages perpetrated upon you in the name of capitalist law and justice, for in these outrages, committed by their liveried hirelings, is revealed the fear of their thieving and brutal masters, and this is the highest compliment they could possibly pay you.

"They know you cannot be bought, bribed or bullied and so they set their dogs at your heels to drive you off their reservation.

"I need not sympathize with you nor bid you be strong, for you have the strength to stand and withstand, and you need no sympathy, and all I have to say is that when I have recovered my strength sufficiently to take up my work again, I shall be with you shoulder to shoulder in your stand for the working class and industrial freedom."

LECTURE ON MEXICO

Comrade Rafael Mallen, who is considered the best authority on the Mexican Labor Movement, will deliver a lecture on the Labor Laws in Mexico.

The lecture will be held under the auspices of the New York branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia at the new headquarters, 231 E. 37th St., New York City, Thursday, Sept. 28, 8 p. m.

Carney Gets New Trial

CHICAGO.—New trial has been granted Jack Carney, editor, Voice of Labor, on federal charges brought when he edited Truth in Duluth. He was arrested in 1919, charged with attempting to dissuade soldiers to go to Russia. Conviction in federal district court has been thrown out by the circuit court of appeals, Carney announces.

10-Day Drive for Defense

By NERMA BERMAN

Secretary, New York Division, National Defense Committee

The New York Division of the National Defense Committee will hold a ten-day drive, beginning Oct. 5th and ending Oct. 15th, to raise funds for defense and relief for the comrades arrested recently in connection with the Michigan and Illinois raids, as well as our old New York cases.

The drive will close with a house-to-house collection on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 14th and 15th respectively—the proceeds of which will go solely for the Michigan cases.

Arrangements are in progress to have headquarters in every section of the city where comrades and friends may call for boxes all thru the drive. The boxes may be used during the week for collection in the shops, offices or meeting places where workers congregate. They have to be turned in on Friday night or Saturday, in exchange for new ones for the house-to-house collection.

Friends and comrades, hundreds of thousands of dollars are needed for bail, tens of thousands of dollars are needed for the defense of the men and women in jails thruout the country. Your help is needed more than ever at this time. Will you distribute lists, stamps, pledge-cards and boxes for the drive? Remember, the ten days from Oct. 5th to 15th are DEFENSE DAYS, and all other activities must be put aside, and no union, fraternal organization, social club should be left unvisited.

If you are a comrade or a friend it is your duty to help.

For material and information get in touch with The National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 E. 11th St.

CANVASSERS WANTED!

Unemployed Party Members who are voters are wanted for canvassing Nominating Petitions in New York State

Apply at once

DISTRICT OFFICE, WORKERS PARTY
Room 508-80 East 11th St., New York City.

Expenses will be paid!

EDWARD LINDGREN, District Organizer.

Tottering Greek Regime Jails Communists and Labor Union Officials

(Special to The Worker)

PIRAEUS, Greece.—Following quickly upon the arrest and imprisonment of Comrade Petsopoulos, accused of high treason, the entire executive committee of the Communist Party and of the General Confederation of Labor has been thrown into prison.

One of the absurd features about the arrests is that the government based its attack on the publication of certain articles in the Communist newspaper "Risospastis" on the war situation, articles that had been passed by the censor.

Following the arrests meetings were immediately called by the Confederation of Electrical Workers and the Seamen's Union to discuss steps to be taken to secure the release of the prisoners.

In a proclamation issued by the General Confederation of Labor it is declared that the Greek Government is seeking to destroy the Communist Party and the labor unions so that it will have complete freedom to put into effect the war program of the imperialist class, which program is ruining the people.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

"Backward" Labor Leaders

By JEANETTE GERSHANICK

"I am glad we are going backward. For a quarter of a century we did business with the railroad executives—I know them all—across the table and this is the only way peace can be maintained and results achieved. We can settle our affairs without any meddling by politicians. A decade ago, when no outside machinery existed that could gum up negotiations and becloud issues, we used to fight across the table, but at night when they were over, we'd go out to dinner together. We are getting back to that now."

No better indictment of the labor leaders of this country could have been drawn up than this statement of W. G. Lee, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. With what joy he welcomes back the days of the past, the days "when I was a boy, we used to—"! Could there be a more obvious misunderstanding of labor conditions than this belief that now labor is again on its way to peace?

While the wheels of progress are moving and the workers are beginning to awaken, the gentlemen, Gompers, Lee, Johnston, etc., are happy to return to the good old days when a small matter such as the lives and welfare of the workers were not allowed to mar the festivities of wining and dining.

It is high time that the workers of America began to analyze the condition of their movement. For a number of years in the 19th century they waxed far ahead of the labor movements of other countries. Then came a period of poor manoevres. They were betrayed and misled. Their radical leaders left them to go out and build new and utopian organizations. The leaders who developed in these forsaken unions rose to power and in due time left thier flocks behind while they entered the political arena or some comfortable economic niche.

There is the story of William B. Wilson, "from miner to secretary of labor; John Hylan, the conductor who became the mayor of America's metropolis; Gompers, the cigar maker who became the hobnobber of capital in the Civic Federation, and at the numerous banquets in Washington, when the workers would be called upon to contribute to the nation's welfare."

There are Mitchell of the Miners and Davis who became secretary of Labor. All these gentlemen continue to claim support of organized labor on the strength of their past economic status.

In looking back ward for guidance in their new problems, they show that they do not understand the new problems they are facing. Their ideas belong to the last century. These men are traitors who presume to be leaders of labor in 1922.

It is this point of view and their support of capitalism which determined their reply to the demand for a general strike. It was relatively easy for these "yellows" to hand labor over to the government during the war. They could shout "patriotism" and get away with it on that score.

But to state now that the general strike is "unpatriotic" and "un-American" is sheer dishonesty. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. by doing so shows its colors once more. It proves that it is bankrupt so far as modern labor tactics in the United States are concerned. To declare that the Executive Council is powerless to call a general strike is a black lie. Have the Johnstons and Gompers only the power to hand labor over to the government and receive it back as vassals? Are they powerless when it comes to asserting labor's right?

Workers, you must discover the answer for yourselves. You must scrutinize the actions of your "keepers", your leaders, a little more closely. If you have become their vassals, their pawns, awake, and throw off these chains for that is the first step to throwing off the yoke of capitalism.

Let us continue in our demands for a general strike when that weapon should be invoked. Let us continue in our demands upon the old unions. Let us transform them from the [illegible] craft unions into modern industrial organizations. Let us take [illegible] from the [illegible] unions that [illegible] to the [illegible] tion, and [illegible] labor [illegible] Times sit up and [illegible]

[illegible] Urged to Help Miners Here

Editor's Note:—"No lack of coal" is the announcement of the New York City subways. Six shiploads in the harbor and more coming, they proclaim. This coal is British coal, mined by British union miners, members of the same World Federation of Miners with which the United Mine Workers of America is affiliated.

We have already published the appeal of the Red International of Labor Unions to the Miners' Federation, urging aid of the American mine strike. This appeal failed.

We then have the Executive Committee of the Communist International issuing an appeal direct "To the Workers of Great Britain," urging them not to mine and transport blackleg coal to the United States. This appeal, dated August 19th, has just been received and may well be considered in preparing for the next American coal strike. It is as follows:

* * *

Workers of Great Britain!

Show your solidarity with the workers of America!

The bitter struggle between the coal miners and the coal barons of America has now been raging for four and a half months. Over 600,000 workers, without distinction of race or language, have been resisting for months all the assaults of the American money kings.

Armies of strike-breakers have been called into service; military units have been mobilized in fifteen states; and a multitude of provocateurs have been set in motion. But all this has failed to break the solidarity of the miners or to force them back to slaves' working conditions.

Their heroic resistance has begun to bear fruit. The coal reserves which the capitalists had piled up for the struggle have given out. American industry is beginning to gasp for breath, and the American exploiters are faced with a great defeat.

The British capitalists know very well that the defeat of the American coal barons will signify their own defeat as well, and the strengthening of British labor. They have immediately realized their class interests, and they are hurrying to the aid of the hard-pressed mine owners of America. They are loading whole fleets with coal and sending them to the United States. Every cargo of coal which enters the harbors of North America during the strike strengthens the forces of the capitalists and robs the fighting workers of the successes which they have so far gained in the struggle.

There is danger that the struggle which our proletarian brothers have been carrying on with such unexampled endurance will be defeated by the international solidarity of the capitalists!

This danger must be met by the international solidarity of the workers!

The International Congress of the coal miners which met in Frankfort should have brought about this solidarity. But it remained true to the spirit animating the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and it did not dare to apply the only effective means, namely, the tying-up of the coal export to America. Thus, the Amsterdammers have shown once again, that they do not want to fight the capitalist class in earnest. They have left the American strikers in the lurch.

This desertion has weakened the fighting front of the American miners. Unless the British workers step into the breach by resolute action they will be partly responsible for their defeat.

It is your turn! You must understand that every shipment of coal leaving for America is a stab in the back of the workers struggling there! You must realize that you are performing strike-breaking service, and supporting the capitalist oppressors, if you do not put a stop to the loading and shipment of coal for America!

The defeat of the American workers will react upon you. The reduction of wages in America will prompt the British coal capitalists to launch another attack upon your wage standards with the cry that they cannot compete with cheap American coal.

But if you show your solidarity now, if you meet the united front of Capital with the united front of Labor you will increase the fighting power of the American miners and help them on to victory. And you will also share the fruits of the victory with our American fellow workers.

Therefore we call upon you:

Hasten to the aid of the American strikers!

Refuse to perform strike-breaking service for the capitalists!

Load no blackleg coal for America!

Long live the solidarity of the British and American workers!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, August 19th, 1922.

[illegible] Power

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

The National Convention of the party, which was to have been held in Chicago August [illegible], will be held in New York City beginning Dec. [illegible]

The immediate reason for the postponement of the convention, was, as you know, the arrest of the executive secretary, a number of District Organizers and other active party workers as part of the campaign of terrorism which the capitalists are waging against the workers in connection with the great strike battles which have shaken the country during recent months.

The first decision was to postpone the National Convention for two weeks, in the hope that those suffering under the persecution of the ruling class could be quickly released and take their places in the ranks of the party.

The party, however, finds itself face to face with this situation:

During the next month or two we must mobilize all our forces for defense work. We must raise tens of thousands of dollars for bail so that all our comrades can be freed and carry on their party work during the period in which their cases are pending. We must raise thousands of dollars for the expenses of the defense.

Only six weeks remain before the November elections. We must nominate candidates and carry on campaigns wherever possible, so as to establish our party as a political force.

This work will require all the energies of our organization. A convention in the midst of such a period in which all the energies of the party are required for the tasks before it, would distract attention from this work and absorb the time of comrades whose efforts must be given to carrying thru this work successfully.

There is also the great political reason for postponement, that by December the present great industrial struggle will be over, the lessons of this struggle will be clear and we will be able to base our new policies upon the developments which this struggle has brought to the American labor movement.

The period from now until December will be a period of preparation. The convention must and will be a greater demonstration of the strength of our party.

Let us take up the immediate tasks of the party with enthusiasm and courage. Let us build more strongly than ever during the coming months, and make the December convention a demonstration of the power of our movement.

The Fight Is Still On!

EDITOR'S NOTE:—In conjunction with the extracts from the speech of Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, on the internal policies of the Russian Communist Party, we publish the resolution on this question adopted by the All-Russian Communist Party Congress. It is as follows:

* * *

The resolution reports, after a year of the new economic policy, the differences existing in the ranks of the enemies of the Soviet Republic:

"The Cadet Party has divided into a right and a left, and has formed two centres abroad. The tendency of the Smena Vekh is manifested in certain bourgeois circles; the Church is divided and the divisions have had incalculable consequences; the Mensheviki are divided into groups and sub-groups; the left S.R.'s have split into two groups and an extreme right has been formed by Kerenski, Minor, Bounakov; among the Mensheviki, the Zaria group has been formed abroad, a non-partisan Social Democratic group has been formed in Russia and a left formation can be observed. The student circles in Russia and in emigration are divided; even the old white generals cannot agree among themselves. These are a few of the symptoms of the weakening of our enemies."

But on the other hand a year of the new economic policy has revealed to us new dangers. The anti-Soviet parties are taking advantage of their legality and are attempting to penetrate into the Soviets, in the hope of transforming them little by little into democratic bourgeois institutions. These parties draw their recruits not only from the old intellectual and bourgeois circles, but also from the new bourgeoisie.

The first year of the new economic policy coinciding with the famine, the strengthening of the world reaction, and the demands for capitalist restoration presented to Russia at the Hague and at Genoa by the Entente, encouraged the work of the counter-revolutionaries. In 1921, the intrigues of the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee (Formed of notables from the old regime) were the commencement of the counter revolutionary campaign by the so-called non-partisan intellectual circles. At the Pan-Russian Medical Conference, at the agricultural and rural cooperative conferences, the same elements manifested their counter-revolutionary spirit.

At the introduction of the new economic policy, the Mensheviki and S. R.s hoped for an evolution from Communism to bourgeois democracy and for a coalition policy. They were disappointed. Furthermore, the leaders of these parties display an unexampled stubbornness, and criticize the policy of the Communist Party from the point of view of the October Revolution, representing themselves as the sole defenders of the demands formulated by the working masses at the outbreak of the revolution. But the years of revolution have given the mass of workers too realist an education for them to have any success by these methods. We can only find here a justified tribute to the power of our slogans. In proportion as the principles of the October Revolution are practically realized, the workers see more and more the treason of the Mensheviki and the S. R.s.

But these parties try to take every advantage of all possibilities offered them by legality. The congresses of any kind of organization give them the opportunity to act.

AUTUMN DANCE
Arranged by BRONX CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, Workers Party, at WORKERS HALL, 1347 Boston Road, The Bronx, SATURDAY EVE., OCT. 14th.
Admission 25 cents in advance. At door, 35 cents.
Profits go to the Campaign Fund.
Tickets on sale at Local Office, Workers Party, 208 E. 12th St., and at National Office, Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway.

The anti-Soviet parties are exploiting the co-operatives, to whose resurrection and economic strengthening, the C.P. should pay the greatest attention. But the C.P. is bound to admit that the co-operatives may become one of the bases of counter revolution. At the All-Russian conference of rural co-operatives, two tendencies disputed for the majority, the constitutional monarchists and the S.-R.'s. Recently an analogous situation revealed itself in the Artisans' Co-operative.

The anti-Soviet elements are attempting to use the higher educational institutions as tribunes for counter revolutionary propaganda.

They are attempting to penetrate into the Soviets and the executive committees of the rural Soviets.

The tendency of the Smena Vekh, positive inasmuch as it consists of intellectuals accepting the revolution, embraces bourgeois restoration elements who think that political concessions will follow the economic concessions, and that we will thus return to bourgeois democracy.

Revolution Still in Danger

The preceding assigns to the Russian Communist Party the following tasks:

The workers and peasants must be reminded that the revolution is still in danger; that international and the anti-Soviet elements in Russia are holding themselves ready, and that these elements wish to overthrow the Soviet Power.

The Party must devote its attention to those institutions where the counter-revolutionary forces have been most active in the course of the last few months, cooperative institutions, the trade unions (principally those whose composition is not purely proletarian) education, the youth education movement, libraries, etc.

The Party must encourage the differentiation in the anti-Soviet ranks, and facilitate the evolution of those who desire to participate in the economic rebirth of Workers' and Peasants' Russia. As for those non-party elements who are a feature of the social transformation, they should be systematically supported. The Party should improve and intensify its educational work. It must oppose bourgeois influence by an intensified propaganda, especially in the country. It must develop its scientific work of the Communist concepts (Socialist Academy, Communist Universities, conquest of University chairs etc.), it must give due attention to journalism.

On the other hand the Soviet Power must not renounce its repressive measures with regard to the Mensheviki, the S. R.s and the "non-partisan" bourgeois democracy.

[illegible] 20 weeks for 50 cents.

Militant Voice from "The Tombs" Tells of Labor Fight in Courts

Joseph Zack, arrested in New York City, and held for extradition to Michigan, as a result of the nation-wide persecution of militant workers following the Michigan "red raids," has written the accompanying letter to the readers of THE WORKER:

State Jail, The Tombs,
New York City, Sept. 13, 1922.

Dear Comrades:—To-day it is a week since I came into this cage. No sunshine gets into the cell except second hand. The air is putrid. The stench produced by about 500 people has not a sufficient escape.

Wednesday they let us out into the court yard of the prison. What a difference! The sun was shining bright and altho the chimneys of the manufacturing buildings all around spout all their dirty fumes produced by the worst of coal over the place, yet it was a relief.

See Sunshine Once Each Week

The yard is surrounded by high walls, with doors bolted with a bunch of steel bars and locks, and every fifteen yards there is a cop. They let us out once a week, so I am in this cage for six days again, with no sunshine but putrid air.

I made a checker board to kill time. But my partner in the cage is a typical bonehead of the Yankee variety, who was charged with grand larceny. So he loses even if I give him four stones ahead. Hence he does not like to play and the game is uninteresting.

I lost seven pounds in weight, of which I am glad. Hope it stops after two more weeks and I hope I'll have some hair left when I come out as I don't want to die a bachelor.

Those with experience around here say that Sing Sing is a great place compared with this dump. The other day "Brother-in-Christ" Geegan of the Bomb Squad, together with some higher illustrious luminaries of the local and federal inquisition—what hypocrisy to call that a department of justice!—came to speak to me in private.

They proposed a bargain to me according to which I could save my skin and be rewarded if I accepted. Then things would become sweet and sugary for me the rest of my life.

I refused to be closeted with them or talk to them about treason to my cause, so they assured me that penitentiary and deportation are the things I'll get and they'll see to it that I do.

Indeed they were very nasty yesterday in court, after having adjourned the case three times to gain time, they wanted a fourth adjournment. My lawyer, Joseph Brodsky, put our case well by saying:

"The gentlemen from the police read a story in the newspapers about a meeting of radicals in Michigan. This meeting was raided. Immediately they arrested every leader of reputation of the radical labor movement under suspicion that he was there, altho they know that nothing was done or accomplished at that meeting, hence nothing illegal could have been committed. But they picked up them then and kept them in the dump."

Brodsky demanded a dismissal. The judge said that even if he would dismiss the case I would be immediately re-arrested before I left the building. Brodsky said he wants it done in order to show the "people" what "justice" means in the case of labor men.

In order to give the District Attorney time to dismiss his no account case, the judge delayed action for several hours; then they went thru the procedure of re-arresting me in court and drawing up a new complant, that is, the same complaint with a new title.

The judge allowed one week's time to get their case in shape against me. Next Thursday I am to appear again. Brodsky says he will try to get me out on a Habeas Corpus. I personally believe the Government has a hard case even on the Michigan group as no actual overt illegal act was committed. A mere meeting of radicals to organize, at which not even a program or resolution was adopted, is not sufficient to convict them. As to me having been arrested without evidence or cause on the streets of New York, they have no case at all. I believe the committee ought to hasten the trial instead of prolonging this situation by tying up things.

I tried to get some books and they referred me to the priest; can't bring any in from outside, only clothes. The movement is dearer than ever to me now that I am personally and physically suffering for it.

Long Live the Militant Party!

Joseph Zack.

[illegible]

[illegible] Organized labor will solidify its ranks and refuse to be defeated.

This fighting spirit must be encouraged. It must be educated. It must be trained. It must be moulded so that its energies are not lost, but directed in a manner which will win.

The workers have no time, money or energy to waste in this struggle which the bosses have forced upon them. They must conserve their forces, their strength and use their class war weapons with intelligence.

The attacks of the bosses will continue. They will forge new weapons against the workers. New forms of governmental oppression, threats and intimidation will be launched against us.

Every available power of the capitalist government which is the tool of the capitalist class, will be set in motion against the workers. The class war will continue with unabated fury.

Union smashing, the use of injunctions, soldiers, gun-men and the selling out of the workers by their reactionary union officials will continue.

We, the workers, must form a solid unit against these attacks. We must organize TO FIGHT. We must organize in unions which WILL WIN. And, above all, we must establish a WORKERS' PRESS which will combat the lies of the capitalists' press; which will tell the truth to the workers about this struggle and which will teach them the methods and the means of WINNING the battle for life and power.

"THE WORKER" is determined to fulfill its mission as a weapon in this class war. It has fought and will continue to fight for the workers in every struggle in which they engage. THE WORKERS ARE ALWAYS RIGHT, is our motto. The workers are always right BECAUSE WAGE-SLAVERY AND EXPLOITATION ARE ALWAYS WRONG—against the workers' interests. With that ringing slogan we enter every political and economic struggle in which the workers engage.

We call upon every WORKER reader to stand by us in this, our common fight. We call upon you to give your concrete assistance in this common struggle. YOU can help our work of organization, education and agitation.

You can get WORKER subscriptions among your fellow workers. Our campaign for 25,000 new readers has brought many thousands of worker readers.

Thousands more will become readers too, if you will go after them. Success in the workers' struggles depends upon accomplishing concrete tasks: YOU CAN HELP BEST BY GETTING SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Get WORKER Subscriptions, 20 Weeks for 50 Cents!

Ratification Meeting, Workers Party, Park View Palace, Sept. 29

The campaign of the Workers Party is on in full swing. In every section of New York thousands of workers are listening to party speakers presenting the issues of the campaign. These issues are such that all workers can rally around them and form one solid united front of Labor against the Capitalists.

To fight the open-shop campaign, to prevent the destruction of the unions, to stop the government from interfering in strikes, and to recognize Soviet Russia are the issues of the great masses of toilers as well as of the Workers Party.

A great Ratification Meeting where all these issues will be explained by the candidates of the Workers Party will be held Friday evening September 29th at Park View Palace, 110th St. and 5th Ave. The speakers will be: William F. Dunne, Labor Editor of **The Worker**, candidate for Governor; Ludwig Lore, Editor of the N. Y. Volks-Zeitung, candidate for Lieutenant Governor; Alexander Trachtenberg, candidate for United States Senator; and J. Louis Engdahl, candidate for Congress.

AUTUMN FESTIVAL
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 24th
at 10 A. M.
Dickert's Park
4018 Boston Road, Bronx
CAMP-FIRE SINGING
DANCING GAMES BOWLING
Admission 35 Cents
Tickets may be obtained at
Office of
National Defense Committee
NEW YORK DIVISION
Room 405, 80 East 11th Street.
Directions: Take Second or Third Avenue Elevated to 129th Street. Change to Westchester and Boston Railroad to Dyre Avenue Station, or take Subway to East 180th Street Station and there take Westchester and Boston Railroad to Dyre Avenue Local trains only.

EVEN THE POOREST HELP

MEXICO CITY.—Over 100 pesos ($50) was collected for Russian relief thru a dance held by the Communist party and the Young Communists of Mexico City. Several hundred of the city's poorest people gathered in the dilapidated old convent which the tenants' union recently entered and appropriated as its general headquarters and as a shelter for its members who have been evicted for nonpayment of rent. The dance was held in what used to be the chapel of the convent. In place of the former altar are large red banners and a huge portrait of Karl Marx. The chapel was decorated with red streamers and paper flowers.

Worcester, Mass., Shows Way to Build Bigger Party

One of the outstanding circumstances of the present campaign of **The Worker** for 25,000 new readers is the action taken by Local Worcester, Mass.

A letter received a few days ago from Comrade H. S. Bloomfield, Local Organizer, opens with the following enthusiasm producing paragraph: "I am sending you enclosed a check for $35. This is to cover the list of 70 names of **Worker** subscribers attached."

Comrade Bloomfield then goes on to say that the local comrades are determined to see that **The Worker** reaches the hands of Worcester workers. As one means of accomplishing this $35 was contributed toward sending the paper to these 70 names.

The local has outlined a complete plan for work calculated to bring all **Worker** readers in closer touch with the Workers Party and eventually into its membership.

An organizer will visit every **Worker** subscriber armed with books, pamphlets, membership application cards and an urgent invitation to join the Party. Renewal subscriptions will be taken at the same time.

The idea that arises to our mind is this: If Local Worcester can do this then every Local can also do it. Local Worcester is doing it and accomplishing results. Your Local can do as much. We recommend this plan to all District Organizers and Locals. Intensive organization work of this character is what builds the Party. Put your Local behind a plan of this kind and build the Workers Party.

MOSCOW.—The All-Russian Central Union of Cooperative Societies has commenced distribution of its products throut Europe. Preference is given to cooperative societies of other countries, any surplus they cannot handle being sold to private firms. The society has opened an exhibit at the Konigsberg (Germany) fair.

[illegible] in Washington Election

SEATTLE.—Advocates of independent working class political action in this state are pointing out the plight of nonpartisan political policy advocates as a proof of the weakness of the A. F. of L. official policies.

One week before the primary election William Short, president of the State Federation of Labor, broke with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and urged the nomination of George Lamping, a local politician, for U. S. senator. The C. P. P. A. had previously indorsed Mrs. Frances C. Axtell of Bellingham, a club woman of indefinite progressive ideas. Both Lamping and Mrs. Axtell ran in the Republican primaries.

Farmer-Labor party forces saw confirmation of their views in the results which showed Senator Miles Poindexter renominated despite progressive opposition. They centered their forces before the primaries in supporting their own candidates on the independent ticket. James A. Duncan, secretary, Central Labor council, was nominated and will oppose Poindexter and G. C. Dill, a Democrat, in the finals.

Great Celebration of Fifth Anniversary of Russian Federated Soviet Republic

The Italian Branches of the Workers Party, New York District, are arranging a monster labor celebration of the greatest revolutionary event in all the history of the world: **The Fifth Anniversary of the Triumph of the Russian Revolution, for Friday, Nov. 3, at 7.30 P. M., in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place.**

Various prominent speakers of international reputation will address the workers about the historic event in various languages.

The proceeds of the evening will go to the support of "Alba Nuova," the Italian official organ of the Workers Party.

A one-act play appropriate for the occasion will follow and opera selections will be rendered by real artists.

Social dancing and revolutionary songs will close the celebration.

New York comrades of all the languages groups are requested to co-operate with the Italian comrades in selling tickets, attending and do everything possible to make it a success. General admission 50 cents.

Tickets may be obtained at the Workers Party General Office, 799 Broadway, Room 405.

Those wishing to help may report at any time until 7 P. M. at the above place.

Second World Convention Communist Ido Federation

The convention was held in Dessau, Germany. The K. I. F. I. (Komunista Ido-Federuro Internaciona) was organized last year in Vienna, Austria at the international convention of the Emancipanta Stelo (Revolutionary Idists).

K. I. F. I. has now sections in Germany, Czecho Slovakia, Russia, France, Austria, Luxembourg, Bulgaria, Switzerland and Mexico. Eight countries had sent delegates, the others sent written reports.

The Workers' International Russian Relief Commission sent a representative, Comrade Milter, who delivered a public lecture in Ido about the relief by the workers to Russia.

The delegates stated that in every section of the Third International the movement for Ido recommended by the "Study Commission for the Adoption of an International Language in the Third International," is making great progress. The Communist Party and the Red Federation of Gymnastical Unions in Czecho-Slovakia and the Communist Party of Mexico have officially adopted Ido. Other parties are studying the problem.

The National Office of the American Section of the Emancipanta Stelo is 7616 Tioga St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

"DICTATORSHIP vs. DEMOCRACY"
by
Leon Trotzky
This book is without question the most valuable book of the revolutionary movement published in America this year. 200 pages.
Cloth $1.00, Paper 50 cents.
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WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Labor Editor
ROBERT MINOR, [illegible]
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager

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[illegible] Russia has [illegible] the United States that she is not in need of any [illegible] from this country, but that she will [illegible] into negotiations for the [illegible] of official relations between the [illegible]. Now it is Washington's move.

The Struggle for Constantinople

Soviet Russia has taken an active part in the war between the Turkish nationalists and the Greeks by challenging the allied occupation of Constantinople.

This challenge has taken the form of a strong note to the British High Commissioner in the Turkish capital, protesting against allied control of the city and straits "irrespective of and injurious to the rights of Turkey, Russia, the Ukraine and Georgia, who are vitally interested in free communication between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean."

The note went to the British, because it is the British who are the most eager supporters of the Greeks in their war against the Turks, it is the British who have the biggest stake in Constantinople, Soviet Russia's Southern outlet to the sea, and the half-way station on the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railroad, the high road from Central Europe to the East that threatens British interests in Asia.

Russia has always been and still is deeply interested in the disposition of Constantinople. But the policies of the czardom and those of Soviet Rule differ greatly. The czarists sought to capture Constantinople and subject the Turkish nation to their rule, whereas the new Russia stands for the self-determination of the Turkish peoples, just as they do for the peoples of all other nations.

It is probable that Soviet Russia's determination not to be bottled up in the Black Sea will result in Great Britain inviting her representatives to attend the approaching Near-East Conference to be held at Venice, Italy.

British imperialism is having plenty of holes shot thru it these days and not the least of its troubles is the stirring among the peoples of Egypt, aroused by the success of the Turks.

The great war is not yet over. The robber peace of Versailles did not settle it. It will not be settled until it is settled right, by the workers of Europe, in co-operation with those of the rest of the world, on the basis laid down by the Russian Revolution of "No annexations, no indemnities and the self-determination of all peoples."

Between 75,000 to 80,000 persons are killed annually by industrial and street accidents in the United States. This country lost only 56,000 killed, or dead from wounds or disease in the world war. Then they talk so much of a bonus for the ex-soldiers. Better get busy about a bonus for the soldiers of industry.

A 20th Century Heresy Trial

There have been great heresy trials in the church in the past. We are going to have another in the Episcopal Church of this country if the reactionaries succeed in their plans for driving the Right Rev. William Montgomery Brown, of Galion, Ohio, retired Bishop of Arkansas, out of the church. It is to take place in this the 20th Century.

To cover up the paralysis of their own brains, and as an effort to dodge a real trial, we find some of the Episcopal churchmen advancing the ridiculous claim, so often put forward against heretics, "that Bishop Brown is considered by many of the Bishops to be mentally unbalanced."

The main charge against Bishop Brown is that he wrote a book called "Communism and Christianism". It was expected that the Episcopal clergy would be opposed to it. But they have never refuted its declarations, although they have all been sent copies and asked to do so.

Bishop Brown's book carries on the front cover the statement, "Banish Gods from the Skies and Capitalists from the Earth". There are the crossed Soviet hammer and sickle with the rising sun as a background.

This book, that the Episcopal Church would place on the Index Expurgatorius, and no doubt condemn the writer to eternal damnation, is "Gratefully dedicated to the Proletariat from whom Bishop and Mrs. Brown are sprung, and to whose unrequited labors (not to the good providence of a divinity) they owe their wealth, leisure and opportunities."

We find on another page of this book that Bishop Brown had the temerity to give circulation to that quotation on religion by Karl Marx that includes the sentence, "Religion is the opium of the people."

The Episcopal Church charges against Bishop Brown declare that "we condemn and denounce said work 'Communism and Christianity', as not only unscriptural, and without warrant and justification, but contrary to the history and traditions of the Church and calculated to spread heresy among the unthinking and the ignorant and as also being inimical to good government and a patriotic love of country, for all of which the Church has ever stood."

The newspapers state that the "discussion of the case will be behind closed doors" which is in keeping with past heresy trials in the church.

It has been our pleasure to meet with and talk to both Bishop and Mrs. Brown. We have found them both to be most lovable. It was on the threshold of old age that Bishop Brown won a new youth by forsaking the capitalist teachings of the orthodox church and started out, with his wife as an earnest supporter and co-worker, "to make the world safe for Industrial Communism."

The only disturbance that this heresy trial will bring about is a fluctuation in the sale of the book under discussion. This will no doubt show a rapid upward trend.

It is reported that exercises were held Saturday, September 16, celebrating the 135th anniversary of the adoption of the United States Constitution. We didn't think it customary to celebrate birthday anniversaries after death. We urge a campaign compelling 100 per cent Americans to permit the constitution with its bill of rights, the Declaration of Independence and the sayings of Jefferson and Franklin to rest in peace. If anyone would celebrate let them scatter a few flowers over the graves of these dead American institutions and let it go at that. More than that is blasphemy.

[illegible]

[illegible] on the [illegible] of the Trade Union Educational League [illegible] on the League's National Conference, and the [illegible] score of labor's militants in Michigan.

This was shown in part by the resolutions [illegible] by the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly and the Chicago Federation of Labor. These have already been published in full by The Worker.

The organized workers of Minneapolis, in addition to voting their sympathy, also provided $1,000 of the $10,000 bail that was raised to secure the release of William F. Dunne.

The motion to deposit the money towards Dunne's bail was made by Alderman I. G. Scott. It was supported by [illegible] Stevens, organizer for the assembly; J. O. Johnson, of the carpenters, also an organizer for the assembly; R. D. Cramer, editor of the Labor Review; R. S. Wiggin, assistant city attorney, and others.

"The interests that placed Dunne in jail knew his power," said Cramer. "That's why they want to keep him there."

Cramer's plea for the Scott motion was followed by that of Johnson, who said Dunne and Foster were two of the biggest men in the labor movement.

Minneapolis labor also arranged for the holding of a Tag Day, 50 per cent to go to the striking shopmen and 50 per cent to the men arrested in Michigan.

The fight against this latest attack on the labor movement will be carried to the country under the direction of the Emergency Labor Defense Committee, of which Robert M. Buck, editor of "The New Majority", official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, is the chairman.

It is the duty of every working man and woman in the country to get behind this committee and help it carry on its work.

The Burns-Daugherty-Wilkerson outfit must be put on the defensive in this struggle. Workers! Forward in the offensive against your oppressors!

Workers! You must fight for freedom!

The Benevolence of British Rule

The crushing defeat of the Greeks by the Turkish nationalists is a body blow for British imperialism in the Near East.

It is in this part of the world that the crucifying benevolence of British rule displays itself to good advantage, altho not much different than the brand exhibited everywhere else that the sun shines upon the earth.

The British cabinet in London has approved the policies of Sir Percy Cox, in Mesopotamia, where revolt is simmering among the mandated Mesopotamians, just as it boils in India, Ireland, Egypt and other nations oppressed in the name of the Versailles Peace, and making the world safe against Bolshevism.

Sir Cox declares he will use force if necessary to stuff the British brand of benevolence down the throats of the Mesopotamians.

Recently Sir Cox paid a visit to the British-made King Feisul. When the British High Commissioner was about to enter the Royal residence, an "extremist" shouted, "Down with the Mandate," to express his opposition to British domination.

Using this incident as a pretext, and declaring that he must uphold the majesty of the might of Britain, Sir Cox had arrested and removed from Bagdad, Ja'afar Abu Timman, the ex-Minister of Commerce, and a number of other nationalist statesmen. He suppressed "temporarily" the Moderate and Nationalist parties. He ordered two Bagdad newspapers, Mufid and Rafidan, shut down and their editors arrested. All this merely by way of "warning" as to what would happen to the entire population if they did not heed it.

British rule in Mesopotamia is merely repeating its oppressive tactics in every other part of the British Empire where the population refuses to bow to receive imperialism's yoke. But because this smouldering rebellion prevails in all sections of the British Empire, it is possible for the Turkish nationalists to snap their fingers in the face of the Versailles Peace and its mandates, and march on towards Constantinople.

The London Daily Herald notes that Great Britain has already spent $1,750,000,000 to bolster up the adventures of War Minister Churchill in Mesopotamia, the land of oil. All of this must be paid out of the pockets of the British workers. It is to be wondered how long they will stand for it. It is time that the workers in England were joining the peoples of the oppressed nationalities against their common enemy-British imperialism.

Separate agreements mean a divided working class.

When the Enemy Laughs

President Harding and his political claquers at Washington, not to mention the money masters in Wall Street, must be laughing uproariously at the antics of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its closing session at Atlantic City's luxurious Hotel Ambassador.

Organized labor's war council, thrusting aside the general strike it was called to consider, has decided on Sunday, October 1, for demonstrations demanding impeachment proceedings against Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty and Federal Judge J. H. Wilkerson, of Chicago.

Daugherty and Wilkerson will not be impeached, but even if they were, Harding and his political gangsters can smilingly reply, "We've got many more Daughertys and Wilkersons we can appoint to the same jobs."

The A. F. of L. executive council refused to consider the general strike, or any form of industrial action that would be a blow at the whole capitalist system, therefore effective action. Instead it urges ineffective Don Quixote assaults upon individuals, that only result in running labor up blind alleys, getting it nowhere.

The big exploiters were panic stricken by the terrific assaults this year of the textile workers, the miners, the railroad shopmen. They have been in deadly fear of the general strike demands pouring in for several months upon the headquarters of the A. F. of L. But threats of impeachment only leaves them splitting their sides with boisterous mirth.

Similarly these labor spokesmen took their stand on political action this year, against independent working-class effort, for rewarding and punishing individuals among the candidates of the two old parties. Gompers and his reactionists even turned their backs upon the job-hunting Socialist Farmer-Labor Party Coalition in New York State. Thus, by electing a few "friendly" democrats and republicans, the A. F. of L. officialdom announces that it hopes "no legislation of a reactionary type will be able to get thru the next congress."

Thus the old order in the American labor movement comes thru this eventful year, 1922, without having learned anything, industrially or politically. It repeats the same old slogans, clings to the same outworn policies. There is no response to the upsurge that is so evident among the masses of organized labor.

The necessity for a new leadership was never so apparent. Let all militant workers hesitate, not a minute longer, but get into the Trade Union Educational League and help agitate for and win the new deal that is absolutely necessary if labor is to hold its own and make progress against its oppressors.

[illegible]

THE DEMORALIZATION OF GERMANY AND [illegible] OF AUSTRIA [illegible] THE [illegible] OF EUROPE.

[illegible]

May we suggest for the perusal of some of our "Socialist" and "labor" contemporaries, among them The Call, edited by Oneal, Ervin and Co., and the American Federationist, sponsored by that noted anti-Bolshevik, Samuel Gompers, all of whom so bitterly denounce Soviet Rule, an additional statement by Holmes as follows:

> Conditions of thought and opinion seemed to be perfectly free. I came and went, talked and argued, criticised and questioned, without the slightest [illegible]. I met [illegible] men and women who were not Communists, who told me why. Critics and opponents of the Government were [illegible] more than once, and they made no concealment of their views.

We would suggest that every traveler to Europe be compelled to spend a couple of weeks in visiting Soviet Russia. This would include Hillquit, Lee, Panken, Block, and other "representative Socialists," who, like most other European travelers carefully dodge the Workers' Republic in their journeys.

Of course, that suggestion will not be carried out. But if it could be put into force, we feel that there would be a greatly enlarged and much more sympathetic understanding of Soviet Russia than we find at the present time.

Mexican workers conducted a one-day general strike in sympathy with the striking railroad shopmen of the United States. But the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor decided that for the workers of this country to call a one-day general strike on their own behalf would be "un-American," which translated reads that Gompers' Americanism means slavery for the working class.

A Paul Revere Rescue

The Socialist Party national executive committee met over the week-end at Philadelphia, instead of its neighboring pleasure resort, Atlantic City, so popular with labor "leaders."

It issued a belated statement on Daugherty's injunction against the railroad shopmen, and tried to smash the attempted united front of the workers of Rhode Island.

The drive for united and independent working-class political action on the part of labor in Rhode Island, mostly textile workers who have been on strike for months, was coming to a climax with a mass convention on Sunday, at Providence, R. I.

The Socialist Party executive committee-men, meeting on Saturday at Philadelphia, heard that Socialist Party members were planning to participate. They executed a rapid Paul Revere rescue, and the party members were saved from the terrible Communists.

Otto Branstetter, national secretary of the "Socialist" Party, issued a statement declaring that his party is opposed to "recognizing the Workers Party in any manner, shape or form.

Nevertheless, the delegates went ahead and held their convention without the "Socialists," adopted a platform, selected their candidates and inaugurated an enthusiastic campaign.

On the same day the Socialist Party went thru another marriage with the Farmer-Laborites, this time in Connecticut.

The Workers Party is too radical, is the "Socialist" complaint. It is a Communist organization. It is controlled by Moscow.

But it is getting more and more evident that that is the leadership and inspiration the workers of this country are looking for. The "Socialist" Party is vainly trying to maintain an existence where there is no place for it, between the reformist Farmer-Labor Party and the revolutionary Workers Party.

It is going into its last political campaign as the tail to the kite of labor reformism. And the indications are that the kite is not averse to sloughing off its tail.

The officialdom of the American Federation of Labor announces it has "neither the right nor the power to call or advise a general strike." Perhaps the workers will so organize their forces that they will have the right and the power to fight as a unit industrially. It is up to them.

Capitalism Protects Its Own

The grand jury investigation into the "massacre" at Herrin, Illinois, is on again. The jurors just had to take a rest after returning 58 indictments against 57 union coal miners and their sympathyzers.

The fraud of the investigation inspired by $25,000 contributed by the Illinois Chamber of Commerce is daily becoming more apparent.

Evidently the grand jurors have been troubled by their own conscience for they have issued another statement declaring they "will investigate the deaths (they should have said the murders) of the union coal miners in the same thoro manner that we are now investigating the death of the non-union men."

The fact remains, however, that the real criminal, William J. Lester, the mine owner, who herded strike breakers from Chicago to Herrin, in an effort to operate a scab mine, has not been molested.

This criminal walks abroad, shrouded in the sanctity that the possession of dollars gives him. He is "respectable" in the eyes of the system, and can do no wrong.

It remains for the workers of the nation, in this case, as in the case of Mooney and Billings, of Sacco and Vanzetti, to say whether labor shall mount the scaffold, or whether would-be labor crushers shall pay the penalty of their bloody deeds.

Capitalism protects its own. How about labor?

Harriet Stanton Blatch is back from Europe. She says she asked Karl Kautsky, anti-Bolshevist, if Germany would not have joined in the Russian revolt had she [illegible] the Versailles treaty and the aftermath. Kautsky, who [illegible] against Communism, replied, "Perhaps, but we have at least kept our people fed." This was supposed, [illegible], to be a slam at Soviet rule in Russia. But what does Kautsky mean, "Fed" with bread riots in Germany every day? Perhaps he means fed up on betrayals by the traitor "Socialists."

[illegible]

[illegible] Executive Council Meeting

([illegible] for the Bolcoms; quoting or reprinting prohibited; copyright applied for)

1. Political Prisoners

Whereas, every principle of freedom and humanity is being threatened by the ever increasing multitudes of bolshevicks, and

Whereas, the state forces are too limited to combat them and the jails are pretty well filled, therefore be it

Resolved, that we call upon the trade unions of America to contribute liberally towards the construction of more jails and the maintenance of adequate military and police forces. Unanimously Adopted.

2. Soviet Russia

Whereas, the officials of the Soviet Government do not belong to the A. F. of L., and

Whereas, they openly criticise and oppose the tactics of our august organization, therefore be it

Resolved, that this Conference goes on record as denouncing the pro-capitalistic labor-hating government of Russia. Adopted.

3. Beauty Contest

Whereas, a national bathing beauty contest is taking place at the present time in Atlantic City, and in view of its vital importance to the labor movement, therefore be it

Resolved, that this meeting be adjourned until after the contest.

Adopted.

4. Attorney-General Daughterty

Whereas, he has always shown himself to be a true lover of democracy, and

Whereas, he has proven himself to be an even greater lover of the principles advocated by the A. F. of L., as demonstrated by his recent injunction, therefore be it

Resolved, that Attorney-General Daugherty be elected honorary member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. Adopted.

5. The Bolcoms

Whereas, the press is the biggest force in control of public opinion, and

Whereas, the Bolcoms, the biggest power in the press, has always given us the maximum amount of publicity, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Executive Council, assembled in this conference, sends its warmest greetings to the Bolcoms and calls upon the workers of the entire world to assist them in all possible ways. Adopted.

Science Under Capitalism

A harrassed professor, in order to make ends meet, decided to take up manual labor. So he visited a large building operation, and said nervously to a red-faced man with a diamond horse-shoe in his necktie:

"I am—ahem—an ex-college professor, and I would like to know if you could take me on here as a bricklayer?"

The red-faced man gave a derisive snort.

"Bricklayer? I should say not!" he said. "We may start you as an architect, though, and let you work your way up!"

Signs of Autumn

Levys begin to fail.

The Call starts a new campaign for money.

Landlords begin asking for a raise.

Tammany politicians start buying cigars.

The price on coal and clothing goes up.

Hearst becomes sympathetic with the working class.

Political candidates quit betting on races and start attending church.

Times correspondents start telling us that the Soviet Government will fall before the winter.

Socialist orators begin telling us how humanity can be saved by electing them for the assembly.

Congressmen return to Washington after their vacation to continue their vacation.

Alas, Autumn is best!

You Can't Fool a Secret-Service Man!

A labor agitator during the course of his address at a meeting in a Western mining camp expressed the belief that "the attorney-general is the biggest boob living."

One of Burns' faithfuls present there, immediately stopped the meeting and placed the orator under arrest.

"You have no right to arrest me!" protested the speaker. "I didn't specify which attorney-general I had in mind. Perhaps I meant the Attorney-General of Canada or Australia?"

"You can't pull that stuff on me!" replied the bull. "I know which Attorney-General is the biggest boob living." . . . .

"Hubby dear, stop writing, supper is ready."

"But, wife, dear, I've got to finish the Bolcoms."

"I, I said quit writing!"

"But" . . .

[illegible]

"All right, dear, I'm coming!"

[illegible]

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 243. [illegible] SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1922 Published weekly by The Toiler Publishing Association. Room 405, 80 East 11th St., New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

Fayette Miners' Brave Fight

Officials Expose Tyranny of Pennsylvania Coal Barons

We are in the fight to help the 45,000 battling coal miners of Fayette County, Pa., the vanguard of the recent coal miners' strike, deserted by the miners' international union in the hour of the Cleveland settlement with the mine owners. The Fayette miners, some of the best fighters in the working class of this nation, will win if the militants come to their support. If this copy of THE WORKER gets into a coal mine camp, let the local miners' union send in its help to John O'Leary, West Brownsville, Pa. Let it send in a demand to the National Office, United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind., demanding that it rush aid these miners, that it not basely continue its desertion of them in this, the greatest hour of their need. Let the locals of all labor unions also rally to the support of these miners. This week this fight is reviewed by two officials of the miners' union as follows:

* * *

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

(Special to The Worker)

CHICAGO, Ill.—The conditions revealed in a statement sent out by William Feeney, National Organizer for the United Mine Workers, and now stationed in the Connellsville, Pa., coke district, dealing with the plight of the miners and their families in that locality are so horrible as to challenge belief.

Nothing but the cold facts are given in the statement below but these alone are enough to make the flesh creep. One thing Feeney's statement does not state for obvious reasons, but anyone with even a scant knowledge of the politics played in the United Mine Workers of America cannot but suspect the astounding truth that the lives of these men, women and children are being played with by the Lewis administration because they are not of the proper political complexion.

These forty-five thousand men struck when there were but another forty-five thousand organized in the Pennsylvania bituminous field.

These men formerly unorganized because a certain faction did [illegible] tion by fighting the powerful Frick interests to a standstill in the coking coal fields on which the existence of the steel industry depends.

Such a demand must go up from the militants in labors ranks that the Lewis administration will be forced from very shame to aid these heroes of industry to win the victory for which they fought so well.

Feeney's statement follows:

"When the history of the great coal strike of 1922 is fairly written there will be outstanding as one of the greatest elements that contributed toward bringing together the warring factions and that will be the tenacious struggle that has been going on in the Connellsville coke region.

"No other factor aided so much in the victory of the miners as did the 50,000 non-union miners who laid down their tools, joined the United Mine Workers of America and steadfastly refused to be coerced into accepting a few crumbs from the hands of those who for years had owned them body and soul.

"These 50,000 men realized that the success of the union miners meant their success.

"They knew that the operators in both union and non-union fields were a unit and that if they continued to work their condition would grow intolerable.

"They realized that they worked in the mines for 23 cents a ton when the union men were receiving 73 cents, thus causing the shutting down for many months of the union mines while the non-union mines produced cheap coal.

"The solid phalanx presented by the men, women and children of the Connellsville coke region expressed an indomitable and independent spirit hard to conceive of.

"Thousands have been thrown from their homes and their goods dumped upon the public highways,

(Continued on Page Three)

Help Fight Daugherty Injunction at Protest Mass Meetings, Sunday

MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY

To the Workers of America:

The American Federation of Labor has set aside Sunday, Oct. 1, for the holding of mass meetings thruout the country in protest against the Daugherty injunction and government interference with the railroad strike.

Not much more than this could be expected from the A. F. of L. Bureaucrats. The situation called for a general strike, for an expression of the mass power of the workers. But the [illegible] answer of the A. F. of L. is mass meetings.

[illegible] participate in these meetings and to convert them into aggressive expressions of the revolutionary labor movement.

Federal Judge Wilkerson, at Chicago, has granted Attorney General Daugherty the sought for injunction, nation-wide in effect, restraining officials of the Federated Railway Shop Crafts from every possible act that might aid in carrying on their struggle.

Every request made by Daugherty is granted. Every contention of the lawyers for the workers is rejected. One of the most drastic and sweeping capitalist edicts comes to life to be used as a weapon against labor.

This diabolical court order restricts the activities of 270 officers and the 400,000 members of the six shop crafts belonging to the Railway Employes Department of the American Federation of Labor.

These facts must be brought before all the workers. Only by intelligent understanding will it be possible for all the workers to secure that united action, in spite of their reactionary leadership, that is now denied them.

Rally to the slogans:

Down with Government by Injunction!

Demand Freedom of Speech and Assemblage for All Workers and Their Organizations!

Down with the Authority of the Courts to Issue Injunctions!

Repeal the Anti-Syndicalist and Sedition Laws!

Down with the Boss-Owned Unions!

Hail to Independent Working Class Political Action.

Hail the General Strike!

Hail the Victory of the Workers!

WORKERS PARTY,
C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary.

Constantine Gone! Next?

King Constantine, the puppet of the Paris Allies on the throne of Greece, has lost his job. He resigned (abdicated) before he was thrown out.

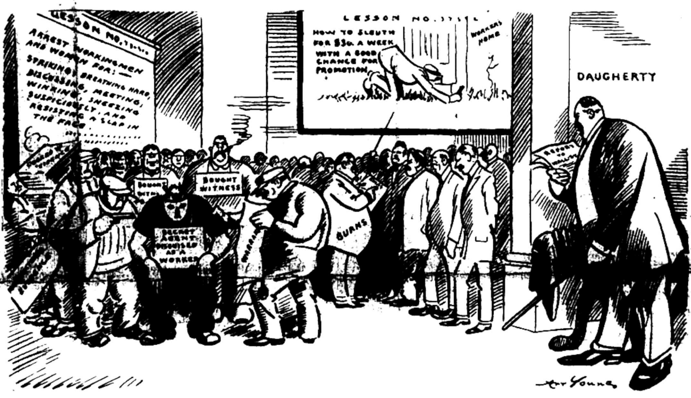
This news, expected daily, came across the Atlantic on Wednesday, as Soviet Russia, in a note addressed to England, France, Italy, Greece, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and Egypt, proposed an immediate conference designed to find a solution to the Near East situation.

The developments in the Near East follow all the predictions made in the columns of THE WORKER.

The Russian note reiterates that the Workers' Republic will refuse to recognize any decisions to which she is not a party.

This puts new meaning into the stiffened attitude of the Angora Turkish Government in its demands against the Allied Entente, headed by frenzied Great Britain.

Just what forces will take power as a result of the revolution in Greece we cannot say at this writing. The indications are that the Turkish Sultan, Mohammed VI, will follow in the path of Constantine.


LESSON NO. [illegible]
ARREST WORKINGMEN AND WOMEN FOR:— STRIKING, BREATHING HARD, DISCUSSING, MEETING, WINKING, SNEEZING SUSPICIOUSLY, AND RESISTING A SLAP IN THE FACE
LESSON NO. [illegible]
HOW TO SLEUTH FOR $30 A WEEK WITH A GOOD CHANCE FOR PROMOTION
WORKERS HOME
DAUGHERTY
BOUGHT WITNESS
BOUGHT WITNESS
SECRET AGENT DISGUISED AS A WORKER
BURNS
Art Young

The Department of Justice Training School

Use Trick to Keep Raid Victims in Jail

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Special to THE WORKER

CHICAGO.—The Department of Justice again showed the bitterness with which the prosecution of the Michigan defendants is being carried on when after a postponement of the preliminary hearing until October 17th was agreed upon the prosecution informed the defense that after the hearing nothing but Berrien County real estate or cash would be accepted as security for bonds.

The obvious impossibility of securing Berrien county real estate makes certain that the defendants will have to await trial in jail if the almost prohibitive sum of 10,000 dollars cash cannot be furnished for each of the accused.

The court has been accepting Michigan real estate outside of the county up to date, but the new ruling adds a staggering burden to the defense.

* * *

C. E. Ruthenberg and William Z. Foster were the speakers at a mass meeting Friday night at Toledo, Ohio, at the Labor Temple.

The Toledo workers are proceeding with the organization of a local

(Continued on Page Three)

The Communist movement is gaining strength thruout Japan. The newly-formed Communist Party has succeeded in winning over the majority of the revolutionary trade unions to its side. The Communist germ has even worked its way into the army, soldiers and officers, it is reported, being arrested en masse. The Japanese Gompers, Ki-Sa-Tome, was recently expelled from the Japanese Federation of Labor.

The pre-revolutionary Russian Embassy building in Berlin is now under the control of the Soviet representative. Grand Duchess Xenia, a sister of the late Nicholas Romanoff, is claiming the building as having been the personal property of her lamented brother.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Communist Party Issues Survey of the Present Political Situation in America

THE WORKER has received a Manifesto of the Communist Party of America, being a "Survey of the Present Political Situation in America." It is addressed "To the Workers of the United States," and is as follows:

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

To the Workers of the United States:

1. Since the publication of the Labor Day Manifesto of the Communist Party of America there have been various changes in the industrial and political situation.

The strikes have practically come to an end: the coal strike is over in nearly all districts and the railroad strike is being settled.

A sweeping injunction was issued against the railroad workers by a Chicago court at the request of Attorney General Daugherty, startling the capitalist press and the majority of the railroad barons themselves because of its ridiculously drastic provisions.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor met and made far-reaching decisions. Primary elections have taken place in several

(Continued on Page Four)

Foster Calls Railroad Shopmen's Strike Piteous Debacle of Craft Unionism

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Secretary, Trade Union Educational League.

Written especially for the Labor Herald (October) and released for simultaneous publication in THE WORKER

For years past, but particularly since the advent of the Trade Union Educational League, railroad militants have declared again and again that the present system of 16 separate railroad organizations was incapable of putting up a winning fight against the highly organized companies, and we have demanded a general amalgamation of all the unions into one body.

The shopmen's strike has given the most overwhelming demonstration of the soundness of our contentions. The whole thing has been a piteous debacle of craft unionism.

The companies have played the various organizations against each other just as they have seen fit, forcing some into the strike and keeping others at work scabbing, exactly as they desired.

Unionism Suffers Enormously

Consequently railroad unionism has suffered enormously all around, if it has not actually been dealt a mortal blow.

The shopmen's strike, evidencing as it did the deplorable lack of solidarity between the railroad trades, is an unanswerable argument for industrial unionism thru [illegible] tion.

Seven unions on strik[illegible] at work. The shopmen's [illegible]ions battling valiantly in f[illegible] terrific odds to bring the railroads to a halt, and the other unions faithfully help the companies to keep the roads in operation. What a pitiful exhibition of working class stupidity.

Who can defend such a condition? No one. Yet it was exactly the state of affairs that was bound to develop, and the leaders, who have consistently fought every get-together movement between the organizations, deliberately walked right into it.

It was the logical and inevitable climax of their contemptible craft policy of each union for itself and the devil take the hindmost.

Some Traitors Unmasked

As the great shopmen's strike began the rank and file of the railroad workers generally were stirred to the depths and wanted to make common cause in the fight.

They seemed to realize instinctively that the interest of all were directly at stake.

Never in the history of American railroading was there such a splendid spirit of solidarity developed, never such a pure realization that the welfare of all railroad workers, skilled and unskilled, is bound up together.

The stage was all set for the most tremendous strike in history, for a movement that would have been gloriously victorious and that would have dealt a heavy blow at the very foundations of capitalism.

But the leaders of the nine non-striking unions ruined it. They betrayed their members into the hands of the companies. They compromised the whole fight. They robbed the workers of victory. They are traitors to the working class.

Many Acts of Stupidity

In the great strike there have been so many acts of stupidity committed, so much betrayal of the workers' interests by the leaders that one hardly knows which to single out for mention.

Consider for example the attitude of Grable, President of the Maintenance of Way Workers. Could anything be more contemptible?

There was his organization, made up for the most part of unskilled, undisciplined, and unstrategically situated workers.

Anyone with the brain of a twelve-year-old child could see that its in-

(Continued on Page Four)

Ratification Meeting! Help Open Workers Party Campaign!

PARKVIEW PALACE
110th St. and 5th Ave.
Friday Night, Sept. [illegible]

Big New York Mass Meeting to Fight Raid

Under the auspices of the National Labor Defense Council a great meeting to protest against the White Terror will be held Friday evening, October 6th, at the Central Opera House, 67th Street and Third Ave.

The attempts of the government to crush the labor movement has not stopped with the ending of the strikes.

In Michigan a score of militant union men have been arrested because of their activities in the railroad and miners' strikes.

In Herrin union miners are indicted for murder. The Attorney General of Illinois, spurred on by a relentless Chamber of Commerce, is exerting every effort to place the blame of the Herrin massacres on the union men. Dozens of union miners are in danger of being hung or imprisoned for life.

In West Virginia union men have been sentenced to long prison terms for insisting on their right to organize. The capitalists call that right "treason".

Judge Wilkerson, Daugherty's darling, has continued the injunction against the railroad strikers.

And the A. F. of L. is silent. The leaders mumble "general strike" and then get scared of the phrase and proceed to apologize to the capitalist class for ever mentioning such a thing. They call for mass meetings to protest against the injunction, but the meetings are never held. All vain and empty gestures!

To expect the officials of the A. F. of L. to rally the workers to fight against the capitalist attacks is to expect the impossible. The class-conscious workers themselves must organize demonstrations to protest against the high-handed methods of the Harding administration.

A group of prominent labor leaders of Chicago have taken the initiative in organizing the Labor Defense Council for the purpose of rallying the workers to defend their interests on all fronts. A great meeting was held under its auspices at Chicago where over twenty-five hundred dollars were collected.

All over the United States branches of the Labor Defense Council are springing up. The meeting on Friday, October 6th, will mark the official launching of the Labor Defense Council in New York and no class-conscious worker can fail, under any circumstances to be present at that meeting.

Gompers' American Legion Not in Much Favor Among the Workers of Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — At the last regular meeting of the Minneapolis Trades' and Labor Assembly a communication was read from the A. F. of L., requesting that "a committee be appointed to confer with the Local Officers of the American Legion on matters in which the two bodies are interested and for the mutual advantage of all."

It was moved and seconded that the Assembly concur in the request and "instruct committee to try and uncover the wolf in sheep's clothing." An amendment was offered that Assembly "notify President Gompers of the A. F. of L. that we can not co-operate with the American Legion in this city." After a general discussion the previous question was called for and carried. President Myers of the Assembly ruled the amendment out of order and the motion was lost. It was then moved and seconded that the entire matter be laid on the table until the first meeting in December, the motion to table being carried.

Delegate Scott, who is also Secretary of the local branch of the Trade Union Educational League, reported that the recent tag day netted $1,220, which would be divided 50 per cent to the striking shopmen and 50 per cent for the brothers in jail at St. Joseph, Mich.

"YOUNG WORKER" IS OUT

The October issue of the "Young Worker," organ of the Young Workers' League of America, is now out and may be obtained on all stands or at the office, 799 Broadway.

A powerful cartoon by Ellis embellishes the front page. Besides the regular editorials and branch news there are excellent articles by Jack Carney, Martin Abern, Edgar Hart and Harry Young of the Y. C. L. of Great Britain. The price of this fine little paper is ten cents.

When the boys' and girls' organization of the French Communist movement decided on a Sunday demonstration, to proclaim their solidarity with their German brothers and sisters, the police got on the job in a hurry and broke it up.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

An Invasion of Russia Welcomed

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

I have heard the story of the latest invasion of Soviet Russia, the successful invasion of America's "Iron Horses."

We all know how American capitalist intervention, backed by the billions of the United States treasury at Washington and the [illegible] life-blood of workers carrying the Stars and Stripes, FAILED at Archangel, in North Russia, at Vladivostok, in Eastern Siberia. It was defeated!

This is a story of VICTORY! The peaceful victory of the pennies, the nickels, the dimes, and also of the dollars, of American working men, women and children, coined into "IRON HORSES," into the TRACTORS taken to the Workers' Republic by the first Agricultural Unit of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Mrs. Cris Ware has come back from the slopes of the Urals carrying this tale of triumph to us from the other side of the world.

Her face beams with the light of achievements won as she shows her calloused hands, for she was cook, laundress and nurse to the men, chauffeur and tractor demonstrator as well as driver of one of these IRON HORSES, when men failed in numbers.

When she speaks her words sparkle with the promise of conquests to come, and kindle within you more than ever the desire to cooperate to the last ounce of your strength with the revolution of the Russian Workers and Peasants.

I first saw Mrs. Ware when she was acting as secretary of the American Federated Famine Relief Committee, the purchasing agent of the Friends of Soviet Russia and other famine relief organizations.

That was in the early days of the famine when millions were starving. The job seemed too big, but the workers of America, organized into the F. S. R., stood by their task as a year swept past on the calendar.

Hal Ware, who became the secretary of the American Federated Committee, succeeding his wife, last winter began planning for and organizing this TRACTOR UNIT.

The call was sent out by the F. S. R. for funds for "IRON HORSES" to help win new victories in Soviet Russia, real victories, to help conquer the famine. The funds came. The tractors were purchased, the best product of American working class ingenuity. The huskiest and most able of the farmers of the great grain-growing Northwest were enlisted.

All was ready in the spring, from the mighty "IRON HORSES" themselves, 20 of them, to the smallest peg to hold in place the tents, against the mountain winds of the Urals, the tents that were to be the homes of these pioneers of modern agricultural methods in the vanguard nation of the world.

This new venture, seeking new worlds to conquer, crossed eastward, instead of westward, over the Atlantic, left ship at Libau, and went inland on 17 freight cars across Latvia into Moscow and then on to Perm.

Hot boxes claimed three of the freight cars that were left behind in Latvia, while the remainder of the expedition proceeded on its way farther into the East.

Finally these 20th century argonauts arrived at their destination, Vereschagino, a small railroad town just west of Perm, on July 3. This is a market town consisting of a bazaar of two rows of little booths and three rows of log houses.

For 13 days these pioneers, Charlie Heck, one of the original organizers of the Nonpartisan League of farmers, with Otto Anstrom, Andy Erickson, "Big George" Iverson and "Little John" Schallenberger, all undaunted farmers of the Nonpartisan League, Mickey Millings, an Irish-American farmer, "Big John" Pluchuk, a Russian-American farmer, and Hal Ware, American farmer, worked in the village of Vereschagino assembling these 20 tractors before the eyes of the intensely interested and wondering peasants.

Sure, they were hungry for food. The famine still had its grip upon their stomachs. But their minds were also hungry for knowledge, for new ideas, hungry with the desire for the new machinery that is emancipating them from slaving and endless toil.

There are many Communists among these peasants. The young people are all growing up as Communists. The older people all tell of their years in the movement. Vereschagino is proud of its Communist veteran of 30 years' activity.

As one "IRON HORSE" after another grew and grew to completion in one long row, Indian file along the railroad siding, there was no end to the questions of these Russian farmers.

The Americans saw the plows of the Russians, sad contrivances, pulled by horse or man. When the Russian peasant follows his plow he is on all fours almost as much as his horse or oxen, the handles are built so low. No one knows why there are no long handles on these plows, so that the Russian peasant, like the American farmer, can follow his plow walking erect.

Hal Ware, of the TRACTOR UNIT, wanted to help the Russians contrive something better for the horse-drawn plow. But these Russians, having seen and watched these tractors, wanted nothing more of four-legged horses and plows that must be followed on foot. They wanted "IRON HORSES," and many of them, so quickly does a new idea take hold, even of the mind of a Russian peasant, whom we were told is dull and ignorant.

Nine students were assigned to the UNIT from the agricultural college at Moscow, but these were mostly students from the old regime. They sabotaged the work of assembling, they loafed on the job. They had to be watched. They left the screws loose, the bolts were not tightened. They were sent back to Moscow, all except two, who were converted by their enthusiasm for this new order on the farm lands of Red Russia. Workers from Perm, and from the coal mines and from surrounding villages took the places of those who were "fired."

There were three days of waiting at Vereschagino for fuel. These were days of restlessness for the Americans who wanted to get to work turning furrows of Soviet soil with plows from the United States of America. Yet no moment was wasted. During this time a demonstration was arranged. Comrade Cris Ware demonstrated a tractor to the peasant women and one of the "boys" demonstrated to the men.

Finally all was ready. The parade of tractors rolled up into town. Each one carried a red flag with the three letters, in Russian, F. S. R. It was a coincident that this also meant "Federated Soviet Republic," to the peasants, who felt that their own government was thus coming to their aid.

Mrs. Ware had made those red flags, the white letters created out of strips torn from a petticoat, discarding in donning the khaki breeches of a tractor mechanic. She had made these letters working by candle light at one end of the coal car she called home in this Workers' Republic. She explained that the coal dust was clean compared to the human filth that could not be fought because imperialist intervention deprived the Russian workers and peasants of soap, disinfectants and other means of sanitation.

Thus the procession moved over 50 miles of Russian roads thru villages that had never seen an automobile. At Achor the largest village, the peasants had gathered together from near and far to welcome this new American invasion.

There were speeches galore, by the village president, by Hal Ware, also by presidents of nearby villages, by a peasant woman and by Cris Ware.

There were similar greetings on a smaller scale at all the villages, those peasant villages that dotted the road almost every mile, beautiful villages with clean homes, flowers of many colors at the windows, flocks of birds flitting about their own bird houses, children playing, calves, goats, colts, newborn pigs and sheep to restore the flocks and herds swept away by the famine. There is little meat to be had. Nothing is killed. Everything is growing with the new crop.

The Russian road is a series of deep narrow ruts. The tractors in this procession alternated, the first keeping its heavy wheels on one rut, the second tractor keeping its wheels in the other. The last two tractors were equipped with road drags made out of old railroad ties. Thus the road for these 75 versts travelled were left smoothed and levelled to the great joy of the peasants.

After travelling two days and a night the tractor unit arrived at Toikino Sovhoxz and set up camp, with army tents and camp cots.

The plows and the harrows were made ready, and on July 31 the first furrow was turned. Let this date be put down in history.

Mrs. Ware left on her return to the United States, 22 days later, Aug. 21. At that time 1,000 desiatines (2,700 acres) had been plowed, harrowed and prepared for the fall rye seeding.

Thus is Soviet Russia being made safe for the revolution. There is a good crop this year. The Russian peasants and workers will not starve.

Yet they must be helped, with more "IRON HORSES" to reap a greater harvest next year. Russia must become the bread basket, the granery of the world revolution.

Russia must not only feed itself, it must be able to give a helping hand to the workers of Central Europe, starving in the grip of the Paris Allies. She must and will come to the aid of the workers in other lands, hungering and at the mercy of their own capitalist exploiters.

America's "IRON HORSES" are winning victories against old methods of agriculture in Red Russia. The workers in the cities will be fed and win new conquests over their industrial problems. Soviet Russia will rise triumphant over all her difficulties.

She will thus become an inspiration to the workers of all countries who will rise against their oppressors and spread the rule of labor everywhere.

Attend Party Ratification This Friday

Workers! The party that represents your interest; the party that fights with you, shoulder to shoulder, in everyone of your struggles; the party that is composed of the most militant, the most class-conscious workers; the party that constantly keeps before the working class the ideal of emancipation of the workers from the slavery of capitalism thru the establishment of a Workers' Republic is the WORKERS PARTY.

The Workers Party is in the election campaign not for the purpose of catching votes, and putting lawyers into office but in order to clarify the issues confronting the working class at the present moment.

Workers! Come to the ratification meeting at Parkview Palace, 110th St. and Fifth Ave., Friday, Sept. 29, at 8 P. M., and hear the candidates of the Workers Party explain the issues of the campaign.

File Petition in New Jersey for Workers Party State Ticket

Petitions for the Workers Party state ticket in New Jersey were filed on Saturday, Sept. 23, naming Martin R. McDonald, for governor; Louis F. Wolf, for United States senator.

Tours have been arranged for both of the candidates thruout all sections of the state.

Work of gathering the names on the petitions in Connecticut and New York is on in full swing.

All comrades that wish to volunteer for the work of gathering signatures on the nominating petitions should get in touch immediately with the District Office, Workers Party, Room 508, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Chicago Labor Fights Foe of Amalgamation Found In Its Ranks

CHICAGO — John Fitzpatrick will succeed himself as president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, having been renominated without opposition. Ed Nockels, secretary, was similarly complimented, as were all present officers except Oscar Nelson, vice-president, who is opposed by Ben F. Ferris. Nelson led the opposition on the local federation floor against the socalled Foster union amalgamation resolution, which was twice passed by overwhelming votes.

The federation, in regular meeting unanimously adopted resolutions protesting against the "unlawful invasion" of the Trade Union Educational League conference and the arrests of William Z. Foster and Earl Browder on Michigan criminal syndicalism charges.

Another resolution pledging support to the striking rail shopmen and denouncing the Daugherty "open shop" resolution as outrageous was unanimously adopted.

Dungeon and Solitary Fail to Break Spirit of Wobblies in Prison

SAN QUENTIN, Cal. — The protest strike of the criminal syndicalism prisoners here continues, with men constantly transferred from the dungeon to solitary, and vice versa.

(The chief difference is that in solitary the men have two meals a day, in the dungeon only bread and water.)

At latest advices, Wismer, Golden, and Martin are in solitary; Ryan, Casey, Dunn, Olsen, Shocker, Williams, Sherman and Gaveel in the dungeons.

Gaveel, on whose account the whole movement started, has been on bread and water in the vile conditions of the "hole" ever since July 17, with the exception of four days in solitary.

John Hannon has been taken out and put in the hospital; he contracted an eye disease from the dust in the jute mill and owing to the chloride of lime fumes in the dungeon it has become worse until he has lost the sight of one eye.

The men claim they are being moved about from solitary to dungeon and back in an effort to destroy their health and morale. The first object is being accomplished, but their spirit is stronger than ever.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

THE DAILY WORKER

Vol. I, No. II — [illegible] — Price 5 cents

Missing Attorney Located

Charles E. Ruthenberg Released on Bail

ST. JOSEPH, Mich. (Secret Service Department to The Daily Worker): DAVID J. BENTALL, attorney for radicals recently arrested in Berrien County, who mysteriously disappeared after visiting the jail in which the notorious leaders are incarcerated, dramatically made his appearance at the county jail yesterday when his friends had given up all hopes for his recovery.

When Bentall was last seen in this vicinity it was noted that he went in the direction of the House of David. That institution was searched by the Cheka but no trace of him could be found.

An "ad" was inserted in the Worker offering a substantial reward for information concerning his whereabouts. On the following day Bentall showed up.

Our advertising solicitor grilled Bentall and learned that he first heard of the anxiety which his absence created when he picked up a copy of the **Worker** in Kalamazoo Michigan. —Moral — Advertise in **The Worker!**

Banquet for Ruthenberg

BERRIEN COUNTY JAIL, Sept. 6.—Charles E. Ruthenberg, national Secretary of the W. P. of America, was today released on bond in the sum of $10,000 pending trial on a charge of violation of the Criminal Syndicalist Law of State of Michigan with sixteen other alleged radicals. His friends in St. Joseph gave a banquet in honor of his release.

Lambkin in Detroit

An ovation was tendered to Cyril Lambkin by the Detroit Federation of Labor on the occasion of his release from prison. Support was pledged to his imprisoned comrades. Lambkin wired the editor of the **Daily Worker** informing him that Detroit was solidly behind our comrades. Lambkin shares the leadership of the Detroit movement with Comrade Reynolds, now residing in Berrien County.

GREAT COCKROACH HUNT

Thousands Are Slaughtered

General Krumbein Distinguishes himself—Nordling seriously wounded—Enemy Finally Routed—Commander Harrison Receives Baton

COUNTY JAIL. — A sanguinary engagement took place in the county jail yesterday between the Red Forces under Commander Harrison and the State Militia of Michigan led by General Mohawk, chief of the cockroaches.

The Red Forces entered the jail two weeks ago and spent the time since consolidating their positions. They made friendly overtures to the cockroach brigade, even offering them a share of booty when they took possession of the County jail.

The cockroaches, however had secretly allied themselves with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and were preparing to oust the Reds from the jail. With this end in view their chief, Mohawk, stole out of prison and mobilized the downstairs cockroach brigade and set the time for the concerted attack on the Reds. The time was set at 12.01 yesterday.

General Krumbein of the Red Intelligence Department scented danger in the cocky attitude of the enemy and notified Commander Harrison. The latter dispatched Bail to watch Mohawk who was seen prowling in the vicinity of General Headquarters.

Bail heard a mysterious noise in the air flue of Camp 13 and on investigation found Mohawk armed to the teeth and surrounded by half a million cockroaches. Bail immediately signalled the Commander who ordered out two pieces of artillery.

Harrison placed the guns so that the cockroaches were caught between an enfilading fire. Caught off their guard they didn't have a chance. Nordling led the attack on Chief Mohawk who in desperation threw a can of mush at the battling Swede. The latter was knocked unconscious and carried to the hospital. It is expected he will recover.

Chief Mohawk was put thru the Third Degree by Major Sullivan. He confessed his perfidy and was promptly executed in front of his demoralized forces.

Their morale broken, the cockroaches fled in disorderly retreat with the red forces hot in pursuit. Poison gas, tear gas and liquid fire was used to good effect with the result that when the smoke of the battle cleared up, 1,500,000 cockroaches lay dead on the field.

This engagement disposes of the only obstacle to the onward march of the Reds. General Harrison, when interviewed by your reporter, stated that he intended to eat his Christmas dinner in Washington.

The Reds are jubilant over their victory. Telegrams of congratulations were received from Trotsky, of the Soviet Army of Russia, and from Kemal Pasha, Turkish leader.

READ THE DAILY WORKER!

EDITORIALS

DAILY WORKER

Issued daily except Sunday
Published by Committee of
THIRTEEN IN BERRIEN COUNTY JAIL

The editor hereby notifies all concerned that he refuses to accept responsibility for unavailable manuscript submitted for publication.

RATES

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Etiquette

The editor of this paper is not a highbrow or a crank on good manners. He is proud to consider himself of the people by the people and with the people. Still he confesses to a feeling of disquiet over the tendency on the part of the Berrien Jail Commune to conduct themselves in a manner that is, to put it mildly, lacking in decency not to mention comradeship.

Recently the Commissary Department purchased twelve cakes of soap for the general use of the commune. A reasonable time was allowed for the consumption of this soap. However, sooner than expected the soap supply exhausted.

Suspicion was aroused, so the commissary department assigned Detective MacMillan to search the bunks while the occupants were down at the beach. The soap was discovered in General ....'s bunk.

This calls for prompt disciplinary action. The General must be given to understand that the dictatorship is not yet here. An example must be made.

Dunne Speaks in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Labor Day. — William F. Dunne, Labor Editor of **The Worker**, was the principal speaker at the great Labor Day demonstration in this city. A collection was taken up for the defense of the political prisoners arrested in Berrien County, Mich., and a resolution passed protesting against their arrest.

Message From Voice of Labor

The business manager of the Voice of Labor has communicated with Charles Krumbein, business manager of the "DAILY WORKER," requesting that his paper be placed on our exchange list.

Federated Press Heard From

The Federated Press has requested us to subscribe to the service of that famous news agency. The request is given consideration by the business manager.

Jim Larkin Goes Back to Jail

Jim Larkin, Irish Labor Leader, returned to Sing Sing prison, New York state, to serve the remainder of his five year term. He was accompanied by Ben Gitlow.

Lenin to Address Congress

MOSCOW, S. 2.—Nikolai Lenin is rapidly recovering from his illness and will address the next Congress of the Russian C. P.

Short Items of Interest

Reynolds is still in Berrien County.

MacMillan has purchased one dozen eggs.

Clowns are popular in the jail—they are plenty, therefore cheap.

Norman Tallentire is working on a new sonnet. It is rumored that he is deeply in love. With what we do not know.

COMIC SECTION

THE GRAECO—TURKISH WAR

Our military expert, General Erickson, analyzes Greek disaster—International Consequences.

By General Erickson, Hero of the 2nd Battle of the Marne.

BULLETIN

Special to The Daily Worker

CONSTANTINOPLE, Sept. 6. — General Tricoupis, formerly of Fruit Dealers' Association of New York, the new Greek Commander-in-chief, was captured at Alashehr, Asia Minor, today by the Turks with his son and three aids.

GREEK ARMY IN RETREAT BEFORE VICTORIOUS TURKS

ANGORA, Turkey, Sept. 6.—It is just a matter of a few days now that the victorious Turkish nationalists will have what is left of Gen. Tricoupis, the new commander in chief in Asia Minor driven into the Mediterranean Sea.

Latest advices reaching me state that only about one fourth of the retreating Greeks will reach the sea as organized fighting units. The Turks' advance since the offensive was launched ten days ago is stated to be more than 130 miles which experts here say is one of the fastest advances in all the history of wars. (Barring the class war.)

MOSCOW, Sept. 7.—M. Karahan is congratulating Mustapha Kemal Pasha on his victory in breaking the Greeks' drive on Turks.

[illegible]

THE WORKER has just received an acknowledgment from President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, of the greetings forwarded from the Miners' Federation of Japan.

The Japanese mine workers, first thru a cablegram, dated July 30th, and then thru a confirming letter written on the same day, sent their greetings to the striking American coal miners, and stated they were raising a fund in support of the strike here.

The letter received from **President** Lewis is as follows:

Sterling Hotel,
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.,
September 5, 1922.

Mr. J. Louis Engdahl,
Editor, The Worker,
799 Broadway, N. Y. City.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This will acknowledge receipt of your favor of August 29th, transmitting copy of a letter which you had just received from the General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Japan, expressive of the sympathy of the mine workers of that nation with the United Mine Workers of America in the great struggle in which we have been engaged for the past five months.

In appreciation of this expression I am writing General Secretary Aso, acknowledging receipt of his letter and advising him of the successful termination of our great struggle in its major aspects.

I enclose herewith copy of the communication which I am forwarding.

With appreciation of your courtesy in transmitting to me the letter from Mr. Aso, I am

Sincerely yours,
John L. Lewis, President.

The greetings to the Japanese miners is as follows:

Sterling Hotel,
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.,
September 6, 1922.

To the Mine Workers of Japan:

Greetings:

On behalf of the organized mine workers of America, I reply to the splendid words of greeting transmitted in your letter of July 30th, which has just reached me. The sentiments expressed are indeed an inspiration to our people, and I am happy to convey to you that our great struggle in all of its major aspects is coming to a successful conclusion.

Some 400,000 of our members in the bituminous coal fields of the country have returned to work under a satisfactory agreement negotiated at Cleveland, Ohio, on August 15th. We have just completed the negotiation of an agreement for the mine workers employed in the anthracite coal mines of the country, numbering some 155,000, and it is highly probable that within a few days the men in this particular field will also have returned to their employment.

The agreements in question maintain the rates of wages which were previously paid and carry with them other satisfactory provisions. Taking into consideration the widespread economic conditions of the most adverse nature, together with the unfavorable influences which were arrayed against us, the United Mine Workers of America has accomplished a signal victory and has demonstrated the cohesion and loyalty of its members in this great conflict.

May the mine workers of Japan be inspired by our success to a degree which will enable them to fight their own battles with a greater determination which will make for their material welfare.

Fraternally yours,
John L. Lewis, President
United Mine Workers of America.

Utah for Amalgamation

OGDEN, Utah — The Utah State Federation of Labor, meeting here in state convention, adopted the "Chicago resolution," which indorses the amalgamation of craft unions into a single industrial union for each industry and calls upon the executive council, A. F. of L., to call a conference of international unions for arranging steps toward the amalgamation.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

"A COMMUNIST TRIAL"

The arrests at Bridgeman, Mich. of leaders of the radical wing of the American labor movement has centered attention upon the Communists. "A Communist Trial," which contains the testimony of C. E. Ruthenberg and address of I. E. Ferguson to the jury before which they were tried for Criminal Syndicalism will help you to understand the causes which has led up to the Bridgeman arrests.

ORDER A COPY!
25 Cents
Find out what Communism
Order of
WORKERS PARTY,
Room 405, 799 Broadway
New York City

Miners Fight Should Rouse All Workers

(Continued from Page One)

after many years of faithful service to the companies for which they worked.

"Women and children have been grossly insulted by hired thugs, and beaten and thrown into jail on a mere pretext.

"Five men have been inhumanly murdered and their murderers allowed to go free thru the gross injustice of the corporation owned court.

"This struggle is still going on and the miners of the Connellsville coke region are suffering untold hardships in a conflict that means so much to them and their families.

"There is no pity shown by the coal owners in this region toward women and children.

"Only last week Mrs. Mary Popson, a widow with nine children, Joseph, Paul, Anna, Elizabeth, Margaret, Helen, Edward, Francis and John, seven of them under sixteen years of age, whose husband was killed in the explosion at the Gates mines, February 2, 1922, when the lives of 24 miners was snuffed out, was served with a notice to vacate. The following is a copy of the eviction notice served Sept. 11, 1922:

Gates mine, Sept. 11, 1922.

To — Mary Popson
(widow of Joe Popson).

You are hereby notified that the H. C. Frick coke company has terminated the tenancy heretofore existing by which you are the tenant of house number 47 at Gates mine, in Germantownship, Fayette County, Penna, and you are hereby notified to quit and surrender possession of the said house and premises on the eleventh day of October, 1922.

(Signed)
H. C. Frick Coal Company
By S. W. Brown, Sup't.

"Mrs. Popson's two oldest boys, who are strikers, were ordered from the vicinity of the house under penalty of being brutally treated by gunmen. Daily reports come of evictions under inhuman conditions. Tents have been erected for many, but with winter approaching these are inadequate for the homeless.

"It is a herculean task to care for these 50,000 miners and their families. National board member, John O'Leary; National organizer William Feeney, and sub-district board members Will Hynes, who are in charge of the strike, are being continually besieged for assistance. They have planned to have barracks erected in time to care for a large number during the winter. Consignments of tents continue to arrive, but not in sufficient quantities to relieve the conditions.

When it is considered that there are 170,000 children in the field who need food, clothing and shoes, besides the men and women some idea of the task confronting the three men in charge may be gained.

"Appeals have been sent all over the country for assistance, and upon this depends the very existence of the struggling men and women of the Connellsville coak regions.

"(Signed) William Feeney,
International Organizer
United Mine Workers."

Surely there is enough misery caused by a brutal system and brutal private ownership of the coal industry described in the above to move the hearts of thousands to give until it hurts in aid of these men, women and children who unassisted now hold the first line trenches in the nation-wide struggle against oppression.

Frisco Machinists Protest

SAN FRANCISCO.—The machinists' union of this city has adopted resolutions protesting against the arrest of William Z. Foster, on a charge of violating the Michigan criminal syndicalism law, as "a part of the program of the combined anti-union labor forces of this country to crush organized labor and its leaders, especially those who would meet capital's attack by a solid labor front."

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill.—Two local dentists have advertised that they will furnish free dental service to railroad workers and their families during the present strike. Presentation of the strikers' union card is necessary to secure free treatment.

THANKSGIVING FESTIVAL & DANCE

The Local Office of the Workers Party, New York, will hold a dance on Thanksgiving eve, November 28th, at the LABOR LYCEUM, 86th St & 3rd Ave.

All branches, federations and sympathetic organizations are requested not to arrange any affairs on that date.

Stand By the Fayette Miners!

In last week's issue, THE WORKER published the proclamation of the Workers Party, "STAND BY THE FAYETTE MINERS!" It also gave space to the resolution of Local Union No. [illegible], calling for help for the "thousands of members actually starving in Fayette County, Pa., now."

The Fayette County, Pa., miners are holding one of the outposts of the United Mine Workers' organization. They must be supported at all costs. The situation is further set forth in the following statement:

* * *

By WILLIAM HYNES

Board Member, Sub-District 4, District 5, U. M. W. of A.

The sixth month of the great coal strike in the Connellsville coke region finds the miners stand solid, but fighting with their backs to the wall and with a spirit that can never be broken and must be seen to be appreciated.

More than 30,000 of these miners marched in the Labor Day Parade, Sept. 4, in Uniontown, county seat of Fayette County, where for thirty years there was never a meeting of union miners previous to April 1, 1922.

In this great coal field with a seam of coal from seven to ten feet thick, these miners have been at the mercy of the men who owned the mines and in every strike that the miners of District No. 5 have been forced to engage in, they have been compelled to sit in their homes and watch this great stream of coal flow down the Monongahela river and by rail on each side of the river, on its way to market to break their strike and threaten the very life of their union.

For two years the miners of District No. 5 have had very little work, while the coke region was working and the non-union men were loading coal for 23 cents a ton.

On April 1, 1922, the miners of the coke region, 45,000 strong, laid down their tools with their fellow miners and joined the U. M. W. of A. About 4,000 families have been evicted and these miners bought their own tents. Men have been killed and jailed and mistreated.

As I write this, their furniture is piled on the fields all over Fayette County. They are sleeping out tonight with their families with the sky for a roof in this rich coal field where they have worked for 30 years to make millionaires and produced the coal that made industrial civilization possible.

No gamer or nobler bunch of men ever lived. Their strike saved this union beyond the shadow of a doubt. They have paid their debt.

They must have help right away. The U. M. W. of A. and the American labor movement must act quickly to save these noble men and women and save them from the iron heel of the steel companies.

Let every Local in the U. M. W. of A. send money if you have to borrow it. This is your fight. Don't wait until it is too late. It will be a crime if you do.

Help now to bring victory to the best bunch of fighters that ever told a tyrant to go to H—l. Send all money to John O'Leary, West Brownsville, Pa.

Pass This Resolution at Your Mass Meeting, Sunday, Oct. 1, Protesting Against Daugherty-Wilkerson Tyranny

Here is the resolution that should be passed at every workers' protest gathering held Sunday, Oct. 1, to condemn the Daugherty-Wilkerson Injunction issued against the striking railroad shopmen:

* * *

The American working people, who were told during the war that they were fighting for "democracy" and a better life, find themselves face to face with the most ruthless attack upon the rights supposedly guaranteed to them and all other people in this country, and upon their standard of living, in the history of this country.

For over two years the employers of labor have waged an aggressive campaign to cut down the wages of the workers and to destroy the labor unions. Union after union has had to fight a life and death struggle for existence; wages have been reduced, hours of labor lengthened, the conditions of life of the workers in place of being improved, have become worse.

In the bitter struggle which has resulted from the resistance of the working people against the attempt of the employers to compel them to work for starvation wages and longer hours the workers have found that their enemy was not only the employers.

The government of the United States, the local and state governments, which the working people have been taught to believe are a "government of the people, for the people and by the people" have been proven to be instruments thru which the bosses break up the workers' organization and compel them to accept wage-cuts and a lower standard of living.

In every big strike, beginning with the miners' strike and steel strike of 1919 down to the present time, the bosses have called the government to their aid and thru courts, injunctions, and even soldiers, have tried to make the workers accept worse industrial slavery which the bosses are trying to force upon them.

These attacks upon the labor movement and the right to organize and strike have found their culmination in that act of tyranny, the Daugherty Injunction. If the Daugherty Injunction is allowed to stand as the law of this country the rights of labor are at an end.

The Daugherty Injunction declares the strike of the Railway Shopmen a conspiracy and the court has enjoined the right of the shopmen to freely assemble and discuss their grievances. It has taken from them the right of free speech. It has denied them the right of a free press. It has denied them the right to use their funds in support of their members. It has denied them the right to act together to protect their interests.

No greater act of tyranny can be found in American history than the brutal trampling upon all the rights of labor expressed in the Daugherty Injunction.

We, the workers of ....

....

in mass meeting assembled declare our determination to resist this trampling upon the right of the workers in order that the bosses may destroy their unions, cut down their wages and increase their hours of labor, with all our power.

We call upon all the working people of this country to unite for the struggle against these acts of aggression and for the freedom of labor.

We declare that all labor organizations, industrial and political, must unite against the tyranny of the bosses. We pledge our support to the organization of a Labor Defense Council to resist this and other attacks upon the labor movement.

We declare that the time has come when no workingman or woman can longer support the old political parties which use the governmental power to commit these acts of tyranny against the workers. We declare that labor must organize for independent, working class political action thru a party of labor fighting the battles of labor.

We declare that labor must not hesitate to use its organized power to resist tyranny and that the answer to the general injunction—the Daugherty injunction—is the General Strike.

Down With Industrial Courts!

Down With Government by Injunction!

Build the Political Party of Labor!

Hail to the General Strike!

Down with the Injunction Tyranny!

Fight for the Freedom of the Workers!

10-Day Drive in Fight for Men in Jail

October 5th to October 15th

Preparations for the Ten-Days' Drive for funds for bail and defense for the fighters of the class war arrested in connection with the Michigan raids, Kowalski and the defense of the old New York State cases are in full swing.

Every section of New York is being organized to carry on the work effectively. Committees will visit unions, fraternal organizations and clubs and present to them the problem, point out their relation to those in jail and the duty every class-conscious worker owes to the men and women who dare expose the capitalist system.

The Drive will begin October 5th. Headquarters will be open every night in every section of the city where comrades and friends can secure lists, stamps, pledge cards and boxes for the House-to-House Collection on Saturday and Sunday, October 14th and 15th.

These may be used for collection purposes in the shop, union hall and any other available places during the week. They must, however, be exchanged for new ones for the House-to-House Collection on Saturday and Sunday. On Friday, October 6, Foster and Ruthenberg will speak at the Central Opera House and launch a branch of the National Labor Defense Council in New York.

Friends and comrades are urged to devote as much time as possible to the Drive. Give at least a few hours, if that is all you can spare. Below is a list of the stations that will be open every night during the Drive. (More to be announced later.)

Downtown and Lower West Side will have the following stations: 431 East 6th St.; 208 East 12th St.; 201 West 13th St.

Yorkville: 222 E. 71st St., Oct. 5th to Oct. 13; 350 E. 81st St., Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 14th and 15th.

Harlem: 143 East 103rd St.

Bronx: 1347 Boston Road.

Williamsburg, Brooklyn: Empire Hall, 46 Ten Eyck St.

Boro Park: 1302—40th St., Brooklyn.

Brownsville: 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn.

There are thousands of pieces of literature that are ready for distribution between now and the opening of the Drive. Volunteers are needed! Get busy and come for material to the National Defense Committee, New York Division, 80 E. 11th St., Room 405, Nerma Berman, Secretary.

Remember, the success or failure of this campaign depends on you! All we ask is ten days of good hard work for defense and relief of the men and women in jail.

Sleuths Pay Visit to New York Greek Branch of the Workers Party

Department of Justice agents, evidently fearing that the Greek workers were not cheering lustily enough in support of King Constantine's war on the Turks, paid a visit to the headquarters of the Greek Branch, Workers Party, 793 Second Ave., New York City, a few days ago.

The sleuths were accompanied by a Greek interpreter. They didn't like some of the pictures that adorned the walls of the Greek workers' headquarters, and they were startled to find a copy of "Proletarian Revolution," by Lenin and Trotzky.

The headquarters boasts an excellent library, that the sleuths looked over carefully, and it is also the offices of the Greek weekly, the Voice of the Worker. The sleuths left without appropriating any literature, but promised to call again.

SAN FRANCISCO.—Lodge 890 of this city and Lodge 802 of Oakland, both of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, have indursed the "Minneapolis plan" of amalgamation of the craft unions of railway employes into a single industrial union.

Volunteers!

Volunteers needed for the Ten Day Drive.

Clerical work, visiting organizations, distributing literature and for the House to House Collection.

If you can spare any time do so and report to:

National Defense Committee,
New York Division,
Room 405, 80 E. 11th Street
(Corner Broadway).
Nerma Berman, Sec'y.

The Hypocrisy of Giving

In a recent gathering of the assembly of the League of Nations, Lord Balfour, speaking for the British government, said it was willing to give another $500,000 towards the relief of the famine stricken in Soviet Russia, if other governments would help also.

Let us see what Great Britain has done. During August to October, 1921, we find Lloyd George repeatedly referring to the Russian famine as "a question of common humanity . . . we will do all in our power . . . a matter of pity and humanity . . ."

The first help came in December, 1921, under pressure of the left and the Labor Party, $450,000, not in cash, but in old war materials, mostly dental instruments, dentists' chairs, medicine, etc., etc., ad nauseum, it was this gift of second hand junk that Lord Balfour probably referred to as the first "$500,000."

Similarly in France, in October, 1920, the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution voting six million francs for Russian Relief. Until May, 1922, practically nothing had be done. Until March no one had even entered into negotiations with any relief organization. Some canned goods have been promised the Russians but most of this still remains in France.

The same indictment applies to Italy where the Fascisti have actually suppressed the voluntary collections on the part of the Communist and Socialist relief organizations.

Less hypocritical, however, have been the countries that promised nothing and gave nothing, or very little: Belgium, Finland, Spain, the South American countries, Australia, except for Queensland, Portugal.

We wish to pillory before history those governments which not only have done nothing to relieve the famine, but have actually suppressed all voluntary collections and measures of relief (especially, of course, those of workers' organizations) and have confiscated the collections,—Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Japan take first place; Jugo-Slavia seems to have relented in its antagonistic attitude only a short time ago.

But in "democratic" Germany too, have police and government organs competed in paralyzing the relief action, preventing and confiscating collections. We need only mention Lubeck, Pommern, and the decisions of magistrates against relief permissions, as in Frankfort and in the Rhineland.

Thus has the great Russian famine, the most devastating in the history of the world, unmasked the hypocrisy of the capitalist nations.

They spend billions for the destruction of life, Great Britain masses her army and navy in the Dardanelles for the new war; France maintains the largest military establishment in the world, for the destruction of life. That is capitalism—death and destruction. On this ruin rises the structure of Communism, bringing with it the liberation of all mankind.

Western Imperialism Loses in Asia Minor

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Stripped of all such hysteria as that which results in reports that the Turks burnt Smyrna (after they had captured it) the story of the Greek debacle in the Near East, followed by the frantic and futile efforts of the English imperialists to rally their late allies for a new world war, means just one thing and that is the end of Western imperialism in Asia Minor and in all probability in Asia itself.

The Turkish nationalists will get Constantinople, not because France has backed the Turks as against the Greek proteges of Great Britain and finds herself committed to their further support but because the whole Mohammedan world is aflame—French and British possessions alike.

Back of all stands the power of Soviet Russia—the greatest power in the world today—looked upon by all the eastern peoples as their savior and protector from the oppression of the capitalist nations of Western Europe. The map of Eastern Europe and of Asia has been redrawn by the victorious march of the Turkish Nationalists and never again will a western power dictate to the brown and yellow men of that continent. Soviet Russia has her outlet to the warm waters of the Mediterranean by her treaty with the Turks and their victory has plugged the hole in her frontier thru which a hostile army might drive. The little Balkan nations, hostile to Soviet Russia by reason of Anglo-French persuasion know better now than to attempt to wage a war which would be nothing less than national suicide in view of the events of the last few weeks.

Great Britain is driven to bluster when she thinks of seething India, but she can only bluster. The full extent of her strength was shown when her colonies remained cold in the face of the peril the empire faced as voiced by Downing Street. France and Italy refused their aid and once more the eternal rivalries between capitalist nations (pointed out time and time again by the Third International), have worked for the destruction of what effectiveness is left in the dying body of European imperialism.

For those who for one reason or another pride themselves on the arrogance with which imperialism as represented by Great Britain has dealt with the subject nations and second class powers it must come as a severe shock to witness the humbling of the imperial pride of the Churchills and Georges. The working masses of the world can be deceived no longer by the futile phrases of diplomats and Britain's diplomacy (once the greatest in the world), is found to be what all capitalist diplomacy is when not backed by bayonets—a miserable display of senile weakness.

It is from the military men and not from the diplomats that we get the truth about the Turkish victory and its far-reaching consequences. Let us listen to General Townshend—the hero of Kut-el-Amara, who was captured by the Turks during the world war and who knows them as few Europeans do.

"We had better make peace with Mustapha Kemal while we can," says this soldier of British imperialism, according to dispatches. Continuing he said:

"My God, what madness to treat the near east situation as the powers are doing. We have no business in Constantinople, and the sooner we get out the better.

"If something is not done we are threatened with a holy war. The entire Mohammedan world would rise against us and menace the existence of the British empire.

"Mustapha Kemal can take Constantinople. If he does I would not be surprised to see the bolsheviki march to Constantinople to help the Turks. Then we would have another world war.

"The Kemalists have a big, well disciplined army—I would rather not say how many.

"We can have peace with the Turks. I talked to Kemal and he outlined the conditions. I forwarded the memorandum to Mr. Lloyd George. The Turks want independence of territories where the Turkish population predominates and will guarantee freedom of the Dardanelles.

"We had better settle while we can. I know what is in the minds of the Turks and I warn of the consequences. A holy war would set the whole east aflame, from Turkey to India—and remember Russia. Didn't I see the soviet officers in Angora aiding the Kemalists? That is worth reflection."

The inevitable has happened. The hostility of the Western European powers toward Russia, whose friendship with the so-called backward nations of Asia has been fully demonstrated, has solidified the Asiatic peoples and has set up a wall of resistance to the encroachments of European imperialism that cannot be broken by the bankrupt Western nations whose people are sick and tired of war and the more disastrous peace the finance capitalists and militarists forced upon a war-torn continent.

Unless the European junkers are insane enough to risk certain defeat in one mad military struggle with the rising powers of the East the Turkish victory means much to the workers of Europe and Soviet Russia. It means a new era of peace and production with Russia showing the way to a world of workers willing to follow a leadership that holds out hope of rescue from the welter of starvation, misery and disease into which a dying capitalism has plunged those who followed its will-o'-the-whisp.

BOSTON.—Erastus C. Whitney, the twice-convicted felon who under the alias of Carlos E. Goodridge was used by the State against Nicola Sacco in the famous labor trial at Dedham, Mass., was arrested in Augusta, Maine, following the exposure of his identity by the Sacco-Vanzetti defense. It was revealed by independent investigators of the Boston Herald.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

The Legal Trick to Keep Michigan Raid Victims Behind Bars

(Continued from Page One)

branch of the National Labor Defense Council.

Other places at which meetings will be are as follows: Saturday, Sept. 30, Cleveland; Sunday, Oct. 1, Youngstown, O.; Sunday, Oct. 1, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Monday, Oct. 2, Buffalo, N. Y.; Tuesday, Oct. 3, Rochester, N. Y.; Thursday, Oct. 5, Philadelphia, Pa.; Friday, Oct. 6, New York City; Sunday, Oct. 8, Boston, Mass.

Foster will speak at all of these meetings. Ruthenberg will speak at all the meetings with the exception of those planned for Philadelphia and Boston, where he has already spoken on the defense question.

Information received at the National Office, Workers Party, is to the effect that the mayor of Youngstown, Ohio, has put a ban on the Foster-Ruthenberg meeting. The local workers are fighting his edict.

Nine prisoners are still being held in spite of all efforts to get them bailed. These are: Caleb Harrison, Norman Tallentire, Thomas O'Flaherty, A. Mihilec, Charles Krumbein, Charles Erickson, Eugene Bechtold, Philip Aronberg, T. S. Sullivan, Elmer McMillan and Seth Nordling.

Those now out on bail are William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Chicago; C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland, O.; William F. Dunne, New York; Cyril Lambkin and William Reynolds, Detroit; Alex Bail, Philadelphia; Max Lerner, Seattle, Wash.

Francis Ashworth, Camden, arrested at the entrance of the alleged gathering place and so badly beaten that he was placed in hospital for two days, has been set free and the charges dropped after he was compelled to sign a statement that he would not bring suit for damages against those responsible if he should be permanently injured.

Browder's bail was reduced to $5,000 from the $10,000 set for the others after the judge learned that Browder's mother had died in Kansas City and that there was just time for Browder to get there in time for the funeral. Bail money was supplied by the Chicago Teachers' union, which put up $2,400 cash and pledged $8,000 liberty bonds.

Browder furnished the climax of the recent mass meeting held by the National Labor Defense Committee in Chicago. He was released from the Berrien County Jail just in time to get to Chicago and reach the meeting hall as Ruthenberg was making the closing address.

Browder's spectacular appearance resulted in his being called upon for a speech. Browder said that he was late in reaching Chicago because Daugherty's injunction could not run the train he was on.

"The trains are regularly late now, thanks to Wilkerson and Daugherty," he said. "The raids are the result of the unexplained solidarity of the labor movement in its struggles of the past few months.

"We must not lay down on the job now. Our duty is to get into this fight with more vigor than we have ever before been able to command."

Lithuanian Workers Aid Comrades Arrested in Michigan and Chicago

By MARGARET UNDJUS

It is just one week since the branches of the Lithuanian Section, Workers Party, have been urged to come to the rescue of our comrades arrested in connection with the Michigan raid. Here is the beginning of the results.

The Zeigler, Ill., comrades who have been out on strike for many months having no money of their own, but convinced that only the workers will support our comrades persecuted by the ruling class, loaned money from their friends and sent in a contribution of $20. There are only about twelve members in the Zeigler, Ill., branch. The W. Frankfort, Ill., branch contributed $23. The Binghamton, N. Y., branch just started its work and already collected over $20.

All members in the Lithuanian branches of District VIII are to give one day's wages. The district organizer has already collected over $200 from the branches.

If all of the comrades will display a spirit like that of the Lithuanian comrades, the ruling class in America will not succeed in breaking the back of the organizations taking the lead in the class struggle of the American proletariat.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Crush the White Terror! Protest Mass Meeting! Central Opera House, Friday, October 6th, 8 P.M.

Pick up Scabs on the Chicago Slave Market to Help Break Strike

By ALFRED FRANKLIN
(For The Federated Press)

CHICAGO.—A solid block of employment agencies for strike breakers has been created on Canal St., between Madison and Monroe Sts. They are, in the main, saloons and restaurants turned temporarily into offices. Dirty and sick looking men line the sidewalks and a policeman keeps them moving.

Offered Job as Scab

Here I came as a laborer looking for a job. At the Freeland agency, 6 So. Canal St., I was offered a job in railway shops anywhere in the northwest at 38 cents an hour. I was to be a shop laborer. Had I told him I was a machinist or a cook I could have shipped just as easily, as I saw others doing. Clapp & Riley, 12 So. Canal, had jobs for trackmen near Peoria, and offered me one at $3.50 a day.

At the Western Labor Agency, 24 So. Canal, I saw an example of the work of these agencies. They roped in a drunk who was so far gone he was probably not conscious of his actions, signed him up and shipped him off. The Western offered me trackwork at $3.50 a day in Iowa or Michigan. The agent at the Craig agency, at 32 So. Canal St., informed me, "I ain't taking nobody but experienced railroad men." Needless to say, his place was empty. The Erie agency, 40 So. Canal, wanted no unskilled labor.

All Make Big Promises

The agents are hardboiled men with brass vocal cords that can be heard hawking jobs a long way off. The principal qualification to getting a job is to tell your name to the agent so he can write it down, and then you are hired as a mechanic or a repairman, a cook or a boilermaker.

The signs all over the place tell the promises of the railroads. "Car repairers and car carpenters for Chicago & Alton, 63 cents an hour, 30 cents bonus," is typical. They offer eight and nine-hour days. The Northwestern railroad makes itself virtuous by advertising "Wages as prescribed by U. S. Labor Board," while other roads advertise that they give the worker a square deal, and their wage promises run up to $6 a day.

Advertise for Foreigners

Says the Wabash, "Mechanics, boilermakers, electricians, car repairers, car inspectors and helpers. Diningcar service, nice new clean bed, best working conditions, railroad fare free, ship tonight. Lifetime job if you want it. Come in and talk it over." The Elgin, Joliet & Eastern exhibits a number of pictures of the barracks their men live in. They have all the home comforts of an up-to-date jail. Many advertise for foreigners. There are signs in Spanish to allure Mexicans. The Illinois Steel Co. shows an enticing menu of its restaurant as an inducement to immigrants.

The street is a dirty, sordid place, filled with dirty, hungry, inefficient looking human things, and the cries of the agents hawking jobs. It symbolizes the "American plan" of the corporations and Attorney General Daugherty.

Baldwin Locomotive Co. Sends Engines to Russia in Spite of Washington

(By The Federated Press)

WASHINGTON. — Because it cannot tolerate the idea of an equal exchange of courtesies with Russia, the state department's scheme for sending a technical commission of inquiry into the soviet republic has been abandoned before it was fairly born.

Moscow was willing to receive the American delegation and to let them look at anything in the Russian industrial and economic situation that might excite their interest, but it asked for the equal privilege of sending a commission of engineers and other technical men to the United States to look into our business conditions. The department then dropped the discussion.

Nevertheless, trade with Russia goes forward indirectly, in spite of the state department's private war against the Russian government and people. It is disclosed, for example, that the Baldwin locomotive works has delivered to Moscow a large shipment of modern locomotives, paid for in gold, after the state department, thru its Russian division—then in charge of Arthur Bullard—had brusquely assured the lawyers in the transaction that no such shipment would be permitted.

Reason given by Bullard were that Russia might use these locomotives for military purposes, and that the United States was interested in protecting Poland against possible Russian attacks.

The lawyers were discouraged, but the Baldwin firm shipped the locomotives thru an agent—said to have been Swedish—and made a big profit on the transaction.

Foster Calls Railroad Shopmen's Strike Piteous Debacle of Craft Unionism

(Continued from Page One)

terest lay in making common cause with the shopmen, that it could not possibly win by going alone.

Yet what did Grable do? With the wages of his men cut to starvation levels he went cringing to the Railroad Labor Board seeking to trade on the struggle of the shopmen, offering to sell the integrity of his union for the sake of a few cents per hour increase.

And on the strength of a promise of consideration he abandoned the embattled shopmen and went over to the side of the companies. Who can doubt the ultimate ruinous effects of such tactics even upon Grable's own union?

Pay the Price of Treason

If the companies can smash the powerful shopmen's organizations it will not be long until by a mere gesture they wipe out the Maintenance of Way men. As the price of this treason the trackmen's organization will probably be destroyed. Unions cannot survive by crawling to the employers and betraying each other.

Their very breath of life is to make an intelligent fight together. And this Grable ingloriously failed to permit his union to do when he deserted the shopmen in the midst of the battle.

If the Maintenance of Way men, under Grable's leadership, committed craft betrayal, so did the Railway Clerks, headed by Fitzgerald.

This union, similarly situated as the trackmen, in that it is made up of inexperienced and undisciplined members, had every possible reason to win in the fight. It, too, had had its wages slashed by the Railroad Labor Board.

But, like the Maintenance of Way, it was pulled out of the fight in the crisis.

Its leadership quite evidently is proceeding upon the fatal theory that the way for the railroad unions to defeat the militant and ruthless railroad corporations is thru a policy of lickspittle subserviency, rather than one of determined and intelligent struggle.

Should the shopmen be crushed we may depend upon it that the clerks' organization will be speedily swept aside also.

The railroads have nothing but contempt for such conduct as that of the clerks' leaders in this strike. They make use of labor treason and then crush the organizations guilty of it.

Fitzgerald is also to be condemned for his open opposition to amalgamation. At the recent convention of his union in Dallas the body went on record for a complete amalgamation of all the railroad unions and instructed Fitzgerald and the other executive officers to seek to bring it about.

He betrayed this trust at the A. F. of L. convention in Cincinnati, where his delegation not only made no fight for amalgamation, but did not even vote for their own resolution on the subject, which they had been instructed by the Dallas convention to introduce into the A. F. of L. convention.

And now Fitzgerald is writing around the country denouncing as enemies of his organization those who dare to work in accordance with the mandates of the Dallas convention by advocating amalgamation.

Lee At His Old Tricks

For many years past whenever there has been any signs of an awakening on the part of railroad workers, Bill Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, has always been on hand to club them back into insensibility again.

Nor has the shopmen's strike been an exception. Lee has done his utmost to facilitate the fight of the companies.

He has acted faithfully his usual role of auxiliary to the railroad owners by fighting back every semblance of solidarity on the part of his organizations' membership.

No less than the other non-striking trades, the Brotherhood men in the train service have felt the warmest sympathy for the striking shop mechanics.

Almost unanimously they realized that the latter were making their fight, that if the shopmen's unions were destroyed their own will be doomed.

A tremendous strike sentiment developed among them. At least one prominent official, Stone of the Engineers, showed some understanding of the situation.

Stone Yields to Men

Altho not bringing his powerful organization directly into the fight as should have been done, he yielded to the spirit of the men to some extent by instructing them not to directly scab on the mechanics by making repairs, and by conceding to them the right to strike where conditions of work were dangerous either because of defective equipment of the presence of armed guards.

These were small enough concessions, but the rank and file of the train service men seized upon them with avidity. Strike movements developed here and there all over the country in strategic railroad centers.

The employing class became intensely alarmed. It looked as tho the railroad workers, triumphing over the primitive policies of craft unionism, were actually going to strike in a body and really tie up the transportation system of the country.

But just then, when victory seemed assured, Lee, loyal servitor of the companies, took a hand and arbitrarily ordered his men back to work.

This effectively checked the budding general strike movement and left the valiant shopmen to make the fight alone against the combined power of the companies and the nine non-striking unions.

Lee had added one more act of treason to his long and unsavory record.

A Battling Rank and File

The one relieving feature of the great shopmen's strike is the wonderful spirit being shown by the strikers.

Seldom have a body of rebellious workers been more harassed than they, and never have any stood up better under persecution.

The shopmen's struggle will go down in labor history as the most militant fight ever waged by the American working class up till this time.

It is an inspiration to all who one day hope to see the workers strike the shackles from their limbs and become freemen.

Of all the difficulties faced by the strikers there were few except of Organized Labor's own making.

Chief of these was the incompetent leadership of railroad unionism in general. Had the high-paid officialdom been worth its salt the workers would have been lined up in such a solid phalanx as to convince the companies from the beginning that their ranks were unbreakable.

But as it was, with the leaders keeping the unions apart from each other and thereby destroying all possibility of united action, the companies were directly encouraged to go ahead with the fight.

They knew that they could depend upon at least half of the organized workers to stay on the job and to co-operate with the scabs in keeping the roads in operation.

Leadership Obstacle to Victory

The greatest obstacle that the shopmen had to contend with in the strike was the leadership of the railroad unions.

This was so utterly unfitted for the situation as to make the fight an almost impossible one.

Another towering handicap against the workers winning the strike was the raw attitude of opposition assumed by the Government and the courts everywhere.

Troops were sent any place any time that the companies wanted them to overawe the strikers; injunctions were issued by the score all over the country and the railroad property everywhere plastered white with them.

The crowning infamy of this anti-union campaign was the Wilkerson injunction outlawing at one blow 400,000 peaceful strikers. All of which official tyranny is to be blamed upon no one but Labor itself.

For many years Mr. Gompers, backed by weak-kneed henchmen, has forced upon the labor movement his absurd political policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, and he has fought down every attempt to found an independent working-class political party.

The result is that the working class has been reduced to a political zero. The governmental power has passed directly into the hands of the great employers.

And who can blame them for using in the shopmen's strike this power which a reactionary labor leadership has given them? The shopmen have paid a bitter price for the A. F. of L. leadership's political stupidity.

Recruit Giant Army of Scabs

Still another obstacle of tremendous importance that the shopmen had to contend against was the gigantic armies of scabs recruited by the companies. Never has the country seen the like before.

Scabs by hundreds of thousands were gathered from the ends of the country and thrown into the railroad shops to take the places of the strikers. It was a veritable deluge of rats.

And for this condition, when the employers can so easily assemble such multitudes of strikebreakers, Organized Labor itself must take the blame.

Because of the sterile leadership of Mr. Gompers and the coterie of reactionaries gathered around him; because they have desperately and successfully resisted every effort to modernize the labor movement and to make it capable of combating a militant capitalism, the big industries of the country have remained unorganized.

They are great reservoirs of industrial rats, perpetuated by our leadership's desperate clinging to an obsolete craft unionism. In the great shopmen's struggle the employers simply drew upon these reservoirs.

The enormous armies of scabs used in the strike, like the craft betrayal and the raw opposition of the government and courts, were but shameful monuments to the incapacity of the Gompers regime to lead American Labor.

The Work Before Us

As the Labor Herald goes to press a settlement is being negotiated on a number of the roads, including the Baltimore & Ohio, New York Central Lines, Chicago & Northwestern, etc., while the strike is going ahead on the rest, which make up at least three-fourths of the total mileage in the country.

Such a partial settlement bodes no good for the railroad shopmen. Even if it can be widened out and made to include great numbers of railroads that are yet refusing to adopt it, it will mark a long step backward for the organizations.

Almost certainly many of the larger and more strategically situated systems will be lost to the shop unions.

The mere fact that such a settlement has to be entered into is a defeat in itself. It would have been entirely unnecessary had the many unions understood to stand together in a united front. Then a clean-cut national settlement covering all the trades and all the roads could have been secured. More, victory could have been won without a strike at all. But we will revert back to the strike settlement in later issues of the Labor Herald.

In the meantime in addition to bending every effort towards winning the strike, we must go ahead more determinedly than ever with our campaign for a general amalgamation of all the railroad unions.

Must Consolidate Organizations

This is the solemn duty of every militant in the railroad industry. Only by consolidating our organizations into one can we prevent a repetition of the disastrous mistakes made in the shopmen's strike.

Already the overwhelming mass of the rank and file of railroad workers are convinced of the necessity for amalgamation.

What must be done now is to crystallize this sentiment into definite action. The boycott of our union journals must be broken and the subject of amalgamation discussed in their columns.

Active steps must be taken to get all the unions to call a general amalgamation convention.

If we will do these things; if we will profit by the experiences of the shopmen and bring all our organizations under one head, then the great struggle of the past three months will well repay the bitter suffering and heartrending effort that it cost.

Let us make a reality of the long-dreamed of industrial union of all railroad men.

Communist Party Issues Survey of the Present Political Situation in America

(Continued from page 1)

states. These events and the development of the industrial and political situation generally have shown that our analysis of these events was correct. Two features stand out in this development: the workers of America stand before bitter struggles, since only a truce has been agreed upon between them and their exploiters; but, on the other hand, the workers are manifesting great determination to meet these struggles and fight them out to the end.

2. One of the significant events was the meeting of the Executive Council of the A. F. L. The Council meeting was called at a time of keen struggle; the railroad workers were on strike and the Daugherty injunction was in force.

Large numbers of workers in all parts of the country had demanded that the A. F. of L. call a General Strike in support of the striking shopmen. More than 200 central labor bodies had sent resolutions to this effect to the Executive Council which denied its power even "to advise a general strike."

Despite Gompers' flamboyant statements immediately after the issuance of the Daugherty injunction, in which he glibly spoke of a General Strike, at the Council meeting he declared himself against the General Strike. The Council even denounced a twenty-four hour strike as "un-American."

3. The Executive Council also took a decided stand against the formation of an independent labor party. Continuing its policy of "rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies," the Federation's Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee in endorsing certain capitalist candidates, promised organised labor that labor's active part had "brought about the nomination of a considerable number of true and tried believers in democracy and government by the people and for the people."

These are the same promises that are made to the workers at each election, which have brought the workers to that pass in the United States that they now witness the government in all its branches acting openly in behalf of the capitalists against the workers.

4. The Executive Council also confirmed the expulsion of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union of New York, for alleged radical activities.

The Council denounced the "borers from within" and promised similar action wherever and whenever radical workers show themselves.

The head of another union, who hitherto has been regarded as progressive, William H. Johnston of the International Association of Machinists, has also declared war on the radicals in his union.

At a time when solidarity and unity of labor's ranks should be fostered, in order that the fight against the employers may be conducted with concentrated energy, the A. F. of L. acts to split the ranks of the workers.

5. The Executive Council also decided that nation-wide demonstrations should be held on October 1, in protest against the Daugherty injunction and in support of the then striking shopmen.

The Council requested that resolutions be passed and sent to the Executive Offices of the A. F. of L. and to members of Congress.

It is obvious that this is all that the Council intends doing in this crisis. How seriously even this decision is taken may be gleaned from the fact that the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City, which was to hold the largest and most important demonstration on that day, has left the matter in the hands of its Executive Committee—which means its sabotage if not complete rejection.

Wherever such demonstrations are held, Communists must turn out en masse. They must induce all radical and progressive workers to be present, to offer and pass resolutions demanding militant action on the part of the organized workers in defense of their rights and interests.

6. The termination or partial termination of the railway shopmen's strike signifies a defeat of the open shop movement on the part of the employers.

Using the reduction of wages as the excuse for a fight against the shopmen, their real intention was to break up the unions, since they know that the shopmen would not accept a cut in wages without a strike.

In coming to an agreement with the workers, they have been compelled to recognise the union, even though they refused to make a national agreement.

They were forced to make this agreement first because of the heroic fight that the shopmen waged—a fight against the worst odds that the workers of this country have faced, from the brutal attacks of the capitalists, their thugs, gunmen and guards, to the courts and federal troops.

On the other hand, altho the open shop movement did not win, the workers lost all of their concrete demands. During the course of the strike, they made counter-demands, none of which, however, was granted in the settlement.

The grave matter of seniority, which acted as a stumbling-block in the negotiations between the workers and the capitalists, was left unsettled.

Several roads completely ignored this provision, it obviously being left to their discretion whether the strikers will be restored with full rights of seniority or be reinstated as new men.

This defeat of the workers, in the loss of their demands, was due to the treachery of the labor leaders, to the refusal of organized labor to stand by them with something more than words, but particularly to the Railroad Brotherhoods showing complete lack of solidarity.

This solidarity and unity of action must be prepared and built up if the workers are not to be defeated in all future battles.

7. National defense is the reason generally given to the gullible "public" for the maintenance of a standing army. Many months ago, General Pershing worked out a plan whereby an army of 3,000,000 would be available within a very short period. Since the standing army was reduced to 115,000 by act of Congress, there has been considerable criticism.

The convention of the Military Order of the World War, which was attended by generals and high officers of the American army, was told the real reason for the existence of a standing army.

In addition to criticizing the manner in which army matters are conducted, so that, as Major-General Reilly of New York stated, "if things continue to go on as they have been recently, we can expect to see Miss Jane Adams as President at the White House and William Z. Foster as Vice-President or Secretary of War," we are told that a minimum of 150,000 men and 13,000 officers is required to safeguard the country. Not to protect the country from external enemies, but from "disorders within."

"If there had been trouble during the recent coal and rail strikes, we should not have had sufficient men to guard the bridges and culverts," stated Major Gen. Harries, Commander-in-Chief of the Military Order of the World War. This frank declaration requires no comment.

8. The United Front idea as advocated by the three Internationals at the Berlin conference, which was speedily betrayed by the Second International with the Social-Democrats of Germany at its head, was recently again betrayed by the Socialist Party of America.

In Rhode Island, the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party and some labor unions decided a few months ago to conduct a united campaign during the coming elections, in order that labor's vote might not be split up. A common program and action had been determined; candidates were nominated.

After this agreement had been reached, the National Executive Committee of the S. P., true to form, withdrew the members of the S. P. who had been nominated on the joint ticket and refused to co-operate. In doing so, it denounced the Workers Party.

Thus, once more, the Socialists break the united front of the working class, in this way acting as the henchmen of capitalism. The workers and socialists of Rhode Island, and of the whole country, will doubtless learn the lessons of this new treachery of the S. P.

9. The recent elections and primaries that have been held reveal positive tendencies that Communists must account with. The most striking feature is the vast and intense radicalization of the farmers, workers and petty-bourgeois elements in the country.

The usual opposition that confronts every administration this time was one with a definite radical tendency. A ferment is progressing in the Republican Party. Not only do we find large numbers of Republicans entering the Democratic ranks—as took place in the Maine elections in which the Democrats won 3,000 votes, while the Republicans lost more than 30,000—; not only has a powerful left wing within the Republican Party been formed,—witness the landslide in favor of La Follette, who, although a Republican, fought the Administration on all its important measures; but we find also the formation of a Progressive Party with a radical program.

A Progressive Party has been formed before in America. It is a product of conditions in America that have not yet matured. The demand for a change has become insistent. The farmers, especially of the Non-Partisan League, have already demonstrated their will to change and are lending great impetus to the general demand for the protection of the rights of the workers of the country.

The workers, furthermore, also are voicing a demand for independent political action. The betrayal of the capitalist parties has become apparent. The futility of the Gompers policy of endorsing "good" men was emphasized during the recent labor struggles. The necessity of having labor represented in legislative and executive offices is gaining round. Up to the present, many large bodies of workers have endorsed independent political action, the more prominent being the "Big Four" railroad brotherhoods, the Rail Crafts of the A. F. of L., the United Mine Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Association of Machinists, the Women's Trade Union League, the Chicago, Tennessee and Pennsylvania State Federations of Labor. Recently the International Typographical Union endorsed such action, and will advocate the formation of an independen labor party at the next A. F. of L. convention.

Even the fake "Labor Party" organized in New York City by the Socialist Party and the Farmer Labor Party for the coming election campaign, is a manifestation of the demand for independent labor action in the political field. It is obvious, however, that a real Labor Party would regard election campaigns as but one feature, a secondary feature, of its tasks.

10. With this labor momentum behind the idea of a Labor Party, the conference which is to be held in Chicago in December becomes one of the most important events in the life of labor in America. Should a genuine Labor Party be formed of these organized labor bodies, a new factor of great vigor and tremendous possibilities would enter the American political arena.

Communists must prepare to meet the eventualities of this conference—whether such a party be regarded as an advantage or a drawback to the Communist movement. Should a Labor Party result, it will represent an organization of more than 1,500,000 workers acting on class lines. The potentialities of this mass organization are gigantic.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA
Section of the Communist International
September 28, 1922

The Coming World Revolution

When Trotsky granted an interview to various foreign correspondents in Moscow, the representative of the Giornale d'Italia, asked Trotsky whether he believed in the imminent outbreak of the world revolution. Trotsky replied:

• • •

By LEON TROTZKY

I hope to be able to answer this great and complicated question in the course of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. Here I will merely mention one thing. It goes without saying that I believe the social revolution to be inevitable. Its date and its form, however, depend to a large extend on the attitude of the ruling classes and their governments. Thruout the last year the European governments have unwittingly done their utmost to accelerate the outbreak of the revolution and to intensify its vigor. The world situation can in a schematic manner be summarized thus: the recent imperialist war was proof of the utter impotence of capitalism to develop mankind any further, while at the critical hour the working class has shown itself incapable of taking over the heritage of the bourgeoisie.

SEATTLE.—If pressure is put on congress to attempt to run the railroads with an armed force, all organized labor will resist to the utmost any efforts to legalize involuntary servitude, striking shop crafts here announced.

Technical Aid Society Plans Special Opening for New Headquarters

The New York branch of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia is giving a special opening entertainment. An elaborate program is in preparation.

We heartily invite all our numerous friends and sympathizers to be with us on this special occasion. We are sure that everyone will get his money's worth and will extend to our organization great help and encouragement.

This special affair will take place on Saturday, Sept. 30, at 8 P. M., at our new headquarters, 231 E. 37th Street New York.

Music, singing, dancing, buffet and special Russian "tchay" and Moscovit "pirojky."

Will you miss this opportunity? Of course, not!

Short addresses on the activities and aims of the S. T. A. S. R. by A. A. Heller, Allan S. Broms, representing the Friends of Soviet Russia, George Halonen, representing Soviet Korellia, J. Louis Engdahl, representing the Workers' Party, and P. Antoniuk and A. Chramov, of the Central Bureau of the S. T. A. S. R.

Attention! Baltimore Workers!

Local 51, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has arranged a great mass meeting for Sunday, Oct. 8, 2 p. m., at the Brith Sholom Hall, 1012 East Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md., to protest against the savagery of the Fascisti. Among the speakers will be Arturo Giovannitti, Frank Bellanca, G. Artoni and Alberto De Luca.

Workers! Come in masses to protest against the Italian White Guards.

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WILL YOU make the 25,000 readers campaign a success?
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799 Broadway, Room 405, New York City.

Enclosed find $2.50 for which send me five 20 week subscription cards, to sell to other workers.

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Michigan Labor Shows Militant Spirit in State Convention Resolutions

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE
(Special to The Worker.)

CHICAGO. — Two resolutions were passed by the Michigan State Federation of Labor with one dissenting vote that indicate the militant turn taken by the rank and file of the organized workers.

The first resolution dealing with the raids and arrests of labor men in Berrien County, Mich., by the agents of the Department of Justice is as follows:

"Resolution on constitutional rights adopted by the Michigan Federation of Labor at convention at Battle Creek, Sept. 19 to 22, 1922.

"Whereas, the constitutional right of free assemblage was denied trade unionists by their recent arrest and incarceration at Bridgeman, Mich., and

"Whereas, they were brutally beaten and abused, humiliated by being treated as hardened criminals and paraded hand-cuffed under armed guard before the people of Bridgeman, denied the right to communicate with friends and held under prohibitive bail, and

"Whereas, such treatment was purposely premeditated for the purpose of prejudicing the residents of Bridgeman, twelve of whom will later serve as jurors in their cases, against those held in custody, and

"Whereas, the whole farcical proceeding is a campaign of the Burns Detective Agency to shake down the credulous employers, and

"Whereas, it is manifestly unfair to saddle the enormous expense on the trial of these people on the citizens of Berrien County, and

"Whereas, no possible good can come of their persecution under wartime legislation, therefore

"Be it resolved, that the Michigan State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, appeal to the governor and prosecutor to nolle prosse these cases."

The other resolution demands the repeal of the criminal syndicalism law which Wm. Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg, William Dunne and the others are charged with violating. This resolution we give below.

"Resolution for repeal of the criminal syndicalist law.

"Whereas, the Federal Government has repealed its war-time legislation, and

"Whereas, the criminal syndicalist law of the state of Michigan is war-time legislation, which denies the inalienable right of free speech, free press and free assemblage to the workers, and

"Whereas there have been no convictions under this law and it is held over the heads of the workers to harrass, embarrass and intimidate anyone who champions the cause of labor, therefore be it

"Resolved, that the Michigan State Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, call upon the incoming legislature to repeal the criminal syndicalist law, and be it further

"Resolved, that the executive board of the Michigan State Federation of Labor be instructed to use its best efforts to have this law repealed."

Greed

Broad continents grew green beneath an April sun,
The yellow harvest came when the August days were done;
Unnumbered bales of fleecy wool were stored away;
The coals were brought from out the ancient terrene gray.
Enough for all, but Greed said "Wait,
Till I am paid no child shall eat,
No worthless script shall pay the bill,
But gold, good gold shall fill my till!
These things that nature gives so free
Were only made to fatten me;
I work my will while nations pray,
There are no laws that I obey
'Tis profits due to me I claim,
If any are wronged I'm not to blame
I own the earth and always have,
Let Charity apply her salve.
I have the right to get and save
Let humanitarians rant and rave.
There is no Justice, she is dead
And they who prate of her are "red."
I claim what is a sacred right,
For me, the Nations clash and fight.
I hate the Brotherhood of man,
And always have since time began.
I live on profits, interest, rent,
(The trinity whom hell hath sent)
So what care I though children die
There'll be more children by and by."

—Charles E. Wheelock.

"DICTATORSHIP
vs.
DEMOCRACY"
by
Leon Trotzky

This book is without question the most valuable book of the revolutionary movement published in America this year. 200 pages.

Cloth, $1.00, Paper 50 cents.

Make it your first book of Fall reading.

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799 Broadway, Room 405,
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Make These Four Weeks Count!

Make Every Week Red Letter Week in "Sub" Campaign

The next four weeks, ending October 25th, must be made "red letter" weeks in THE WORKER subscription campaign.

The present "20 weeks for 50 cents" subscription campaign will close on the above date. NO SUBSCRIPTION WILL BE RECEIVED AT THIS RATE AFTER THAT DATE.

This means that every comrade and WORKER reader must sell all cards they hold by that date if possible. All unsold cards remaining in hand after that date must be returned to THE WORKER office.

And now, to make the next four weeks count the biggest! This is what all comrades must do. This is the job before us. When we look about us in the shops and mills we realise that there are many thousands of workers who would become readers of THE WORKER if they were encouraged to become so.

Our job is to do the encouraging, that is, show them copies of THE WORKER, ask them to subscribe, see that they sign up on sub card or sub blank. Until this is done in every shop where there is a WORKER reader, some one is not doing all he or she can and should do for the revolutionary movement.

On October 25th THE WORKER will launch another subscription campaign. It will be a different campaign than the present one. It will comprise a book and subscription offer that will interest every subscription agent as well as every subscriber. It will be a campaign which will mean the placing of many thousands of copies of Communist books in the hands of workers who have not heretofore read such books. But we are not going to tell you all the secrets now.

What you as well as we are interested in right now is to make these next four weeks count bigger than any in this campaign. To do so you must see that your Party Branch and Local works 100 per cent for subscriptions. Every meeting must be used to get subscriptions. Every Party member not a subscriber must subscribe. Every Party member must sell subscription cards in his place of employment. Every effort to place THE WORKER in the hands of workers must be made.

The slogan of all WORKER readers must be "I'll make the next four weeks count big in this campaign." And then DO IT!

325 Subscriptions were received last week.

GET MORE THIS WEEK! MAKE EVERY WEEK COUNT!

Capt. Robert Fay, of the late Imperial German Secret Service, has been turned loose and smuggled out of the country, with the permission of President Harding, but hundreds of labor prisoners still lie rotting in the steel cells of practically every prison of any size in the country. The dead arm of German imperialism is more powerful in Washington than the protest of labor, because dollar rule recognizes its international kinship.

We pass along the appeal of the oppressed workers and peasants of Haiti that Americans do not subscribe to a $14,000,000 issue of bonds forced upon the islanders by United States financiers. The "loan" is being handled by Lee, Higginson and Co. of New York City. Boycott it! If the Haitians ever come into their own the chances are they'll never pay it. And they ought not to.

The American Committee for Armenian Independence is urging that the state department at Washington urge the imperialist powers to create an "Independent Armenia." We beg to notify the Armenian Committee that there is an independent Armenian Soviet Republic, that is on harmonious relations with all its neighbors. Thank you.

The Standard Oil Trust admits it pays to be busted. Since it was smashed by the governments during the reign of "William the Fat" Taft, in 1911, it has distributed more than $1,000,000,000 to stockholders in the form of dividends. The exact amount is $1,010,703,594.

If there is any more fighting to be done by the United States in aid of British imperialism, we are afraid it will have to be done by the much abused "flappers." The boys who battled for democracy are exhausted fighting for the bonus and need a rest.

In passing let us note that the Soviet Passenger Airplanes in the Moscow-Berlin service, carry the Soviet emblem, the crossed hammer and sickle, on their right wings. Just a tip to the German workers.

Workers! Help crush the White Terror! Help defend the victims of the Class War

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It turned out to be a boner instead of a bonus.

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS IN NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, Sept. 28, 79th St. and 1st Ave., Goldstone.
Friday, Sept. 29, 2nd Ave. and 10th St., Deutsch, Brower.
8th Ave. and 14th St., Baum.
110th St. and 5th Ave., Gitlow.
Intervale and Wilkins Aves., DeLeon.
Grand and Roebling Sts., Brooklyn, Ragozen.
Dumont and Williams Sts., Brooklyn, Mallen.
Saturday, Sept. 30, 114th St. and 5th Ave., Baum.
Havemeyer and Grand Sts., Ext. Brooklyn, Amter.
13th Ave. and 42nd St., Brooklyn, Goldstone.

Next Week's Meetings.

Downtown: Monday: Rutgers Square; Friday: 2nd Ave. and 10th St.

West Side. Tuesday: 8th Ave. and 46th St.; Saturday: 8th Ave. and 25th St.

Yorkville: Monday: 86th St. and 3rd Ave.; Thursday: 79th St. and First Ave.; Saturday: 72nd St. and 1st Ave.

Harlem: Monday: 112th St. and Lenox Ave. and 114th St. and 5th Ave.; Wednesday: 102nd and Madison and 106th and Madison Ave.; Friday: 110th St. and 5th Ave. and 114th St. and 5th Ave.; Saturday: 111th St. and Lenox Ave. and 110th St. and 5th Ave.

Bronx: Tuesday: 163rd St. and Prospect and Friday: Intervale and Wilkins.

Williamsburg: Monday: Graham and Varet; Wednesday: Union and South Second, and Saturday: Havemeyer and Grand Street Extension.

Brownsville: Monday: Chester and Pitkin; Tuesday: Saratoga and St. Marks; Wednesday: Christopher and Riverdale; Thursday: Sutter and Pennsylvania; Friday: Dumont and Williams, and Saturday: Pitkin and Stone.

MEETINGS AT BOSTON

Open air meetings have been arranged by the Workers Party, Boston, Mass., as follows

Monday—Mattapan, corner of Woodrow and Blue Hill Aves. Speakers: Adler, Miller and Marks.

Tuesday—Hyde Square, Jamaica Plain. Speakers: McCarty, Nason, Cantor and Powers. Also corner Lawrence and Blue Hill Aves. Speakers: Kassner, Levy and Miller.

Wednesday—So. Boston, corner D St. and Broadway. Speakers: McCarty, Lacy and Powers. Also at West End, Merrimac Sq. Speakers: Adler, Cutinsky and Cantor.

Friday—Roxbury Crossing. Speakers: Powers, Marks and Nason.

Saturday—South End, cor. Harrison Ave and Davis St. Speakers, Adler, Levy and Miller. Also Pemberton Sq. Speakers: Kraska; Nason, McCarty. Also at Lynn, Mass. Speakers Adler, Cantor and Lacy.

LEIPSIC, Germany.—One hundred thousand workers joined in a three-day labor athletic meet. A coöperative clothing corporation has taken over the old Saxon military uniform factory.

EL CENTRO, Cal.—The trial of Roscoe Thurman for criminal syndicalism will be held here Oct. 2. Thurman was arrested several months ago and has been out on bail.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

Lithuanian Section of Workers Party Fights Reactionary Decree

BY [illegible]

Prior to the great Russian Revolution, the Lithuanian people were groaned under the iron heel of the czaristic regime. They were persecuted by the "nagaika" of the czar's Cossacks. With the establishment of Soviet Rule in Russia, Lithuania acquired its independence.

The present Lithuania is governed by the most conservative reactionaries, the Roman Catholic Church which functions politically thru the Christian Democratic Party.

The big land owners and the petty bourgeoise in Lithuania are reaping big profits. But the condition of the working class is heart-rending. Peasants having just enough land on which to support their families, must pay enormous taxes to the government.

The condition of the workers in the cities is deplorable. Wages are exceptionally low and the cost of living is high. Labor unions are persecuted: To strike is to violate the law. Labor leaders are court-martialled and sentenced to long prison terms at hard labor. Labor publications are suppressed. In the last three years 15 different labor publications were forced to suspend publication by order from the government. The Lithuanian labor periodicals published in the United States are barred from Lithuania by the Lithuanian government as illegal papers. The Communist Party is an illegal organization in Lithuania. Its members are court-martialled and shot.

It is worth mentioning that there are seven so-called Social-Democrats in the Constituent Assembly of Lithuania. These seven "Socialists" not only vote for all measures against the Communists but also betray the working class of Lithuania by the traitorous position they take while in the Constituent Assembly.

The Lithuanian petty czars are not satisfied with plundering the workers in Lithuania only.

On June 9, 1922, the Constituent Assembly of Lithuania issued a decree according to which all Lithuanian citizens residing in foreign countries must register not later than December 9, 1922, and pay a registration fee the amount of which will be determined by the respective representative of Lithuania in the different countries. One who fails to register or pay the fee by December 9, will forfeit Lithuanian citizenship, and all his property and land that he may own in Lithuania will be confiscated by the government.

Lithuanians residing in the United States and intending to leave for Lithuania this year will have to pay a registration fee of $15. Others will have to pay $10 and $5 every year thereafter.

This decree created an antagonism toward the Lithuanian government among the Lithuanian workers in the United States. Voices of protest are being heard even from the ranks of the nationalist and Catholic workers.

The Lithuanian Section of the Workers' Party is fanning this flame of protest against the paying of the fee. It endeavors to reach the mass of Lithuanian workers in the United States with messages and slogans of the Workers' Party by taking advantage of this opportunity. It will arrange protest mass meetings jointly with the nationalist groups (liberals) in order to get in contact with the mass of Lithuanian workers it could not otherwise reach. (The Lithuanian nationalists are striving for the control of the government in Lithuania, therefore they oppose every action of the present clerical government provided, that such opposition does not tend to lessen the patriotism of the Lithuanian workers.)

Altho the majority of the Lithuanian workers in the United States may register because they are under the influence of the Catholic priests who are agitating for the registration, nevertheless they are opposed to paying the fee and will come to our mass meetings when we raise such slogans as:

Down with the registration!

Away with your bloody hands from the pockets of the workers of the U. S.!

Not a cent to the government that is torturing our brothers and sisters in Lithuania!

The Lithuanian Section of the Workers' Party published the first leaflets urging the Lithuanian workers not to register and not to pay the fee.

The leaflet unmasks the Lithuanian government as an enemy of the working class and urges the Lithuanian workers to contribute to the relief of their fellow-workmen, political prisoners who are in the hell-holes of the Lithuanian prisons, rather than give their money to the Lithuanian government.

This leaflet is circulated by the various Lithuanian organizations. These organizations are sending in their contributions for the printing of more of these leaflets.

**Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor**

[illegible]

[illegible] Soviet Embassy at Berlin replies to this decision by stating that all the members of the central executive committee of the Social Revolutionary Party under sentence are still alive.

But the "Socialist" press, including the Call and the Forward, that has developed its anti-Communist propaganda to the base level of the "Brass Check" press, will not publish this denial.

Estimates of Russian Harvest Is Call for Continued Relief Aid

It is estimated that the six cereal crops of the Ukraine and Russia harvested this year will be in the neighborhood of 39,250,000 tons, compared with 26,789,000 in 1921, with 28,966,000 in 1920 and with 65,930,000 tons in 1916.

The prediction is made that on the basis of the estimated crop of 1922, deducting the amount required for seed, animal consumption and reserves, a living provision for the Russian population is barely made possible.

Even on the assumption of efficient distribution, the food provisions will be on a much restricted scale.

Since the number of horses and cattle had in 1920 decreased some 25 per cent from 1916 and since the reduction of the two ensuing years was very large—more than 50 per cent—the farmers must be assisted with working animals, with seed and with tractors and ploughs, unless the harvest of 1923 is to fall necessarily below that of 1922.

Relief to Continue

The agricultural and industrial situation in Soviet Russia to-day, in spite of the general improvement over last fall and this spring, is such that requires the continuation, intensification and development of the efforts of the relief organizations hitherto assisting in the fight against the famine. The following must be continued:

(a) the shipment of winter seed, agricultural machinery, implements and live stock;

(b) the furnishing of sufficient quantities of foodstuffs for certain regions and groups of the population, such as children and the sick, whose nourishment can only be considered assured in case of an exceptionally favorable harvest.

The famine relief requires, however, a further extension for the complete elimination of the catastrophal misery thru the shipment of

a) Medicaments and equipment for hospitals, children homes, schools and institutes for technical education.

b) Tools and material necessary for the recommencement of home work and local workers' associations and co-operatives.

Broms S. T. A. S. R. Lectures

Allan S. Broms will give a series of lectures for the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia starting Thursday, Oct. 5, at the new headquarters, 231 E. 37th St. The subject will be, "Economic Classes and Educational Ideals." Other lectures and their dates are as follows:

Oct. 12. The Pragmatism of Modern Industry;
Oct. 19. The Master Key Truth's, the Ideal Content.
Nov. 2. The Class Perversion of Research,
Nov. 9. The Asset of Inherent Interest;
Nov. 16. Child Study and the Organic Education;
Nov. 23: The Modern Method, Project Education,
Nov. 30: The Impulse of Workmanship; and
Dec. 7: Education and To-Morrow.

While the above lectures will not be illustrated thruout, there will be introduced frequent stereopticon illustrations in the latter part of the course to render the discussion clearer and more vivid.

Help Get Those 25,000 Readers!

AUTUMN DANCE
Arranged by BRONX CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, Workers Party, at WORKERS HALL, 1347 Boston Road, The Bronx, SATURDAY EVE., OCT. 14th.
Admission 25 cents in advance.
At door, 35 cents.
Profits go to the Campaign Fund.
Tickets on sale at Local Office, Workers Party, 208 E. 12th St., and at National Office, Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway.

[illegible] Worcester, Mass., [illegible]

Workingmen and Women of Worcester, Mass.! The products of your own creation are known and used in every corner of the world. Your Machinery, Tools, Looms, Carpets, Leather Goods, Hardware, Grinding Wheels, Electric and Steam Cars, Wrenches, Steel and Wire Goods, and countless other products are made possible by your toil.

When Graton and Knight's factories were closed tight by the Leather Workers' strike, leather ceased to be tanned and converted into the various kinds of leather goods. When Whittall's men struck, not a carpet or rug was made.

All the power in the world is in your hands, Workingmen and Women; yet, when one inquires as to the condition of labor in Worcester, the reply is most shocking.

In spite of the power of labor to run or stop the wheels of industry, the most tyrannical organization of the Industrial Lords, The Metal Trades Association, holds Worcester completely in its grip, and with the aid of the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, Kiwanis Club, and other associations of the Master Class, the workers of Worcester are kept divided.

Why the Bosses are so well organized, Don Tulloch, Head of the local Metal Trades Association well knows. The boss is organized because he KNOWS that in union is strength.

Likewise, the unions and other workingmen's organizations function in the interests of Labor. As an individual, you are helpless—a powerful organization of labor is all-powerful.

In looking back about 20 years and following the development of Worcester, we see that the workingclass population has increased by leaps and bounds, and the conditions of the worker are getting from bad to worse day by day.

On the other hand, we find that the population of the owning class has not increased in proportion to that of the workingclass, and what is more, they are commencing to decrease. Only a few years ago, "The Boston American" ran a series of articles under the title, "Who Owns Worcester? Ask Dewey, He Knows!"

We see every day how the industries in Worcester are being concentrated into fewer hands and formed into trusts as witness the growth of the Spencer-Wickwire Steel Corporation, the merging of the local banks and Trust companies, etc. The Bosses are girding themselves for the final struggle with labor, even the newspapers have consolidated as did the two local anti-labor sheets, "The Telegram" and "Gazette."

"The Rich Are Getting Richer and The Poor Are Getting Poorer." But what is to be done? The Workers Party of America offers you the solution and the Workers Party of Worcester asks you local workers to make the first step toward solving this problem. We ask you to do either one or two of these things: Join any union of your trade or calling, and Join the Workers Party of Worcester.

You should join the union because most of your time (if you're lucky to have a job) is spent in trying to eke out a bare existence. The shop is your daily life's concern. Just as you demand a voice and vote in the running of the country, still more emphatic should your voice be in the running of industry in which you toil away your whole life.

You should join the Workers Party because it is the only expression of the true interests of the Working class. Everywhere and always, the Workers Party voices the hopes and aspirations of the laboring masses and carries forward the banner of working class solidarity.

The Workers Party fights both on the industrial and political field for the class it represents—The Working Class. Our tasks are manifold, and we call you workingmen and women to come join the ranks of enlightened labor.

Don't put off for some other time, but come up and listen in on the discussions and the study-classes on topics of vital interest to you as a worker.

To better understand each other we have various language speaking branches and clubs. If you speak English, we want you to come up to the American branch where you will be cordially welcomed.

Any information you may seek will be given you. The American branch conducts its meetings and educational classes **every Saturday night at 8 o'clock, at rooms 224 and 225 Day Building, 4 Walnut Street, corner of Main Street.** On Sunday afternoons The Workers Party of Worcester conducts its open air meetings on the rear steps of the City Hall, on the Commons, at 1.30 o'clock, with good speakers.

At the Workers Party club rooms you will find just the kind of comrades you will want to associate with. Let's get together, brother workers, and put Worcester on the Labor Movement Map.

**H. S. Bloomfield, City Organizer,
WORKERS PARTY OF WORCESTER, MASS.**

U. S. Deputy Marshal Caught Placing Bomb

WASHINGTON.—That a U. S. deputy marshal was caught redhanded while placing a bomb near the Santa Fe shops at San Bernardino, Calif., is charged by H. D. Pendleton, of the strikers' publicity committee at that point. He reports that strike pickets, watching the man, insisted that [illegible] they go with them and dig up the parcel the man had concealed, which proved to be a bomb. Previously a number of harmless explosions near the shops had been blamed on the strikers. Now the Santa Fe management and the U. S. marshal are declared by the strike committee to be trying to hush up the scandal of the deputy's exposure. No arrest appears thus far to have been made.

RIVERSIDE, Cal.—John Hollis, alleged I. W. W. organizer, is serving 90 days in the county jail here, having been arrested when he tried to rent a room for the night in Indio. He had just finished a similar sentence in El Centro because of his labor activities, and the district defense committee is investigating charges that Hollis is being persecuted by the authorities of southern California. Letters to the justice of the peace who sentenced him have gone unanswered.

PHILADELPHIA.—That a new famine or at least a continuance of the old one is now a fact in more than half of the 18 volosts in the American fed territory in Russia is the statement issued by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers). Feeding on a famine scale will have to continue thruout the coming winter. There is no other way of saving the population.

SAN QUENTIN, Cal.—The strike of the I. W. W. prisoners here is over for the present, and the men have won their point. The jute mill is closed, ostensibly for repairs, and all the men who have been serving time in the dungeons and in solitary are out, and at work, some outside the walls. They will stand firm on the point at chief issue and if later they are ordered to the jute mill again they are all ready to return to the bread and water and the unspeakable sanitary conditons of "the hole."

With the present wage scale expiring on October 1, negotiations have been begun between the International Longshoremen's Union and a standing committee of managing agents representing 38 operators of Shipping Board vessels for a renewal of the agreement.

ABERDEEN, S. D.—Conscription of labor is being practiced openly in Brown county. It is part of the drive to hold wages down. Men who follow the harvests must either go to work at the set wage or be deported by the county authorities.

NEEDLES, Cal.—Mayor Kennedy has sent a telegram of protest to Governor Stephens against the sending of state troops to this town because of the railroad strike. The mayor states that no soldiers are needed or wanted.

Fear Radical Legislation

ST. LOUIS.—A group of open shop employers of this city have organized among themselves a legislative committee to see that no radical measures are enacted by the next session of the Missouri legislature.

The Soviet Government has issued a decree concerning copyright, stating that the Government has the right to claim all written matter of great importance as State property. Russian publishers are permitted to do what they like with the works of foreign authors.

SAN FRANCISCO.—A group of liberals will make a final appeal to Governor Stephens before his term is finished to perform several progressive acts, one of which will be the pardon of Richard Ford and Irving Suhr, serving life sentences in Folsom because of the Wheatland hop riots in 1913. It is felt that Stephens, conservative as he is, is less reactionary than either Richardson or Woolwine, one of whom will be the next governor, and that there is hope of his granting such a request.

CHICAGO SOVIET SCHOOL

The autumn semester at the Chicago Soviet School will open Monday, Sept. 25. Instructions will be given in the following subjects: Russian to foreigners, English to beginners, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, drawing, automobile mechanics tractors, agriculture, etc. There may also be opened classes in dramatic art, journalism and public speaking. Those who wish to join any class or classes may register every evening at the School, 1417 N. Hoyne Ave.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Remember 10-Day Drive for Class War Prisoners Oct 5th, thru the 15th. Help in the House-to-House Collection, Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 14th and 15th.

THE WORKER
(Formerly The Toiler)

ONE YEAR $2.00 | Bundle Rates [illegible] per Hundred | SIX MONTHS [illegible]

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Phone: Stuyvesant 9642.

President Harding has signed the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Bill. Now watch the cost of living go up.

$25,000 Worth of Indictments

The Illinois Chamber of Commerce has got its $25,000 worth of indictments at Herrin, Ill. Acting thru its tool, Attorney General Brundage, it has secured charges against 214 workers, not one indictment being returned against a mine owner or any of his retinue.

The total result of this direct attack on the Illinois miners' union is 44 murder indictments, 58 for conspiracy to murder, 58 for rioting and 54 for assault with intent to commit murder.

It is typical of this prosecution that Brundage took the occasion to launch an attack against Governor Small, of Illinois, belonging to a different faction of the Republican party. Brundage no doubt is using this opportunity to launch his own "big business" candidacy for governor.

The best that this prostitute grand jury could do was to include in its report a mild slap at the mine owners for bringing in scabs and thugs, monopolizing the public highways and killing three union miners, the immediate causes of the struggle that came later.

No effort was made by the grand jury to investigate the charge that the United States Steel Corporation stood back of the owner of the Lester Strip Mine, aiding him in his war for the open shop. No move was made against the scab herding employment agencies. All this was not included in the "bought and paid for" jury investigation.

The result is that the mine owners and their lackeys will continue to profiteer at the expense of the people and to exploit the workers. Their families will be kept in luxury.

At the same time we cannot forget that all but four of the 26 workers already under arrest are fathers. Two others are the sole support of young orphan brothers and sisters. Four of the indicted men were supporting widowed mothers.

Fifty children nightly go to their slumbers suffering the absence of fathers or brothers. Thus early do these children experience the struggles of the miners' union. They will not forget. It will make them firmer in the faith as they grow up. The Illinois Chamber of Commerce bought 214 indictments with its $25,000, but at the same time it is giving to the labor movement a host of good fighters for the big struggle for the abolition of all bosses and the emancipation of all who suffer and toil.

The divided "Socialists" in Germany unite to keep capitalism in power and continue their fight against Communism. But this will drive the masses of the workers into the Communist Party.

Give the Turks Constantinople

Organized British labor, which came to the aid of its capitalism in the war against Central Europe, is having a hard time trying to find itself as a result of Turkish Nationalist victories over the Greeks.

Yet the Daily Herald, now the official organ of the British trade unions, reaches the same conclusion as the Russian Soviet Republic, "Let the Turks have Constantinople." They come to that goal, however, along very different roads.

The Russian Communists knew that the czardom would never give Constantinople to the Turks. In fact, the old Russia fought the Turks for possession of Constantinople, and was opposed in that struggle by Great Britain. The English wanted the Russians bottled up in the Black Sea. English imperialism backed the Turk and all Christendom rang with the British cry, "The Russians shall not have Constantinople."

Following the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia we find the Russian Communists putting their program into effect, and pledging their support to the Turks in their claims to Constantinople, which results in England now opposing both Soviet Russia and Turkey.

The London Daily Herald (Labor) does not use the demand of "Constantinople to the Turks" as a slogan for an aggressive attack upon British Imperialism. It rather urges it as a protection for British rule, to get it out of "the muddle in the Near East."

"Clearly the order ought to be sent out that no men shall be landed from our ships," warns The Daily Herald, fearful evidently for British supremacy. "To help the Greeks would not only be futile, it would inflame the irritation of our Moslem fellow-subjects in India and elsewhere. We must not take sides at all now, and we must admit that there is nothing for it but to let the Turks have Constantinople as before."

This was written while the Kemalist cavalry was still knocking at the gates of Smyrna. Since then the British Trade Union Congress has met and considered the war peril. Its delegation has waited on Premier Lloyd George and has been assured that the Empire is safe.

J. H. Thomas, supreme jingo of the late war and one of the betrayers of British Labor's Triple Alliance, member of the delegation to the prime minister, feels humiliated because the British Empire had to send out a hurry-up plea for help to its colonies. Thomas declared:

"To me that appeal was humiliating because it presupposed, contrary to fact and all experience, that if there was any real danger to the empire, if the menace was so grave as they anticipated, they had not exhausted their call to the people at home."

The jingo politicians of the British Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party parliamentary faction betray themselves as loyal to British imperialism.

The masses of the British workers must still put a leadership in power that will place British labor on the side of the oppressed nationalities in all the colonies of the Empire, for the overthrow of British imperialist rule.

Then, and then only, will British labor be able to carry out its claim that it stands for "self-determination in its broadest and best sense," now merely empty words issuing from the mouth of the labor misleader, Thomas.

Rote Fahne, official organ of the German Communists, devotes one page each week to workers' athletics. More than a million German workers are now organized in athletic clubs that are strictly of a working-class nature. The workers of America still prefer to hand over their money to baseball kings, prize-fight promoters and other professional sport profiteers.

[illegible]

Debs Is Eager to Help

Eugene V. Debs, from the sanitarium where he is regaining his health, has written William Z. Foster that "when I have recovered my strength sufficiently to take up my work again I shall be with you shoulder to shoulder in your stand for the working class and industrial freedom."

That pledge of support from Debs came after Foster had been deported from Colorado and Wyoming, and the offices of the Trade Union Educational League, in Chicago, had been raided.

Debs has now made good on his pledge by accepting a position as one of the members of the National Labor Defense Committee, that will put up the battle for the victims of the Michigan raids, and similar persecutions of workers and working-class organizations.

Debs will find a great field of activity for his efforts in the struggle for labor's prisoners. It is hoped that in time, in the very near future, an appeal can be made to all labor to put up a concerted struggle for all the prisoners, and those spokesmen of labor facing court prosecution.

The Atlantic City gathering of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declared that the 24-hour strike is un-American. It is declared that radical labor organizations and militants in the labor movement are also un-American. It would, therefore, not be out of order to invoke an un-American institution in aid of those charged with un-Americanism.

The first effort at a general strike was linked with the name of Debs and the American Railway Union, nearly thirty years ago. It would be fitting that Debs, today, should raise the standard for a 24-hour strike for the release of all the Class War prisoners, from Ford and Suhr, who have now served nearly ten years in a California bastille, to the latest victims taken in the Michigan "red raids."

This is a big fight. A big effort will win. Stop all industry for one day and we believe affrighted capitalism will speedily release its victims.

The annual conference of the British Communist Party will take place starting Saturday, October 7. The British Communists expect to discuss all subjects that are in such disfavor with the Harding-Daugherty-Burns regime in this country.

Aliens—Good and Bad

If the alien workers in this country wish to escape the persecution of the Department of Justice and be looked upon as equal to the standard set by our sound native citizenry all they have to do is to support one of the capitalist parties.

This thought is suggested by the following item culled from the columns of the Daily News of Chicago:

> At a nonpartisan meeting of editors of Foreign Language Newspapers, held at Hotel LaSalle Sunday, the candidacy of John R. Palandech for a member of the county board, on the republican ticket, was indorsed. The following comittee was appointed to conduct Mr. Palandech's campaign: Hector Durante of the L'Italia, Miles Geringer of the Bohemian Svornost, G. Boberg of Swedish Tribune, P. S. Lambros of Greek Star, Philip Asyoki of Polish Zgoda, Isaac Schapiro of Jewish Record, F. S. Anderson of Daily Skandinaven, L. H. Lund of Norwegian Polkvennen, J. J. van Pernis of Hollandish Onze Toekomst, John I. Bagdziunas of Lithuanian Press, Louis Nagy of Magyar Tribune, Dr. Paul Newy of Assyrian American Liberator, J. Novak of Slovenian Voice, Paul Tomi of Roumanian Herald, C. Salopoulos of Greek Soloniki, I. F. Lupis of Croatian Herald, J. Chudatsik of Slovak Daily, and V. Kersch of Free Russia.

It will be noted that this gathering of foreign language-speaking politicians met in the LaSalle, one of Chicago's exclusive hotels, and that it was not bothered by the bomb squad.

It was certainly a cosmopolitan crowd and only for its servile support of one of the political machines of patriotic American capitalism would undoubtedly have been raided to the accompaniment of lurid headlines emphasizing the menace of the alien hordes that are over-running our shores—which hordes continue to publish newspapers in their own tongues and do not even trouble to learn the language of the great-hearted nation that gives the haven, etc., etc., ad nauseam.

As long as the alien worker is content to accept the servitude to which American capitalism condemns him he is allowed to do as he pleases within the narrow margin which it gives him.

Let him throw off the leadership of those of his own race who profit from his ignorance and his fears and he becomes the target for every stoolpigeon and cheap, notoriety seeking prosecutor in this land.

Moral: Be good (for nothing) and you will be happy in America.

J. O. Bentall, editor of The Truth, now at Leavenworth Prison as a war political, was one of 600 recently called before the parole board. Some were granted paroles. Bentall was not. If he had been a murderer or a thief it would have been different.

When the Thieves Laugh

It is pointed out that Ali Fethi Bey, Turkish Kemalist envoy to Western European Governments, claims everything possible was done by the Turks to settle Near-East problems peacefully.

Fethi Bey was in London and sought an interview with Lloyd George but was refused. British foreign office officials, says the Kemalist envoy, laughed when he suggested that unless peace could be arranged quickly the Kemalists would turn the Greeks out of Asia Minor.

We then have it, on the authority of the Associated Press, that the Kemalist diplomat told the British officials soberly:

"I am sorry that you have laughed. Turkey has lost 2,000,000 of her people by war and there are too many orphans for us to join in the laughing at the idea of another war. I feel very sad."

The Greeks have been driven out of Asia Minor. But at what cost! Let every agony be laid at the door of that greatest of all thieves, British Imperialism.

The British diplomats have now been forced to agree to the peace conference that the Turks demanded.

Similarly, we find Soviet Russia regretting that the capitalist United States refused to take seriously her demand for an interchange of economic missions.

The Washington diplomats and the kept press laughed to think that the Russians should have the audacity to counter America's demands for an investigating tour of the Workers' Republic.

Izvestia, official publication of the Soviet Government, points out that the United States is now better acquainted with Russian affairs than any other goverment.

Soviet Russia is making rapid progress on the road to complete recuperation. It will not be long, we believe, before the diplomats and their bosses in this country will be down on their knees begging for some of the Russian trade that is rapidly going to other countries.

The thieving capitalists of the world, in this and other countries, have had their laughs. But the exploited workers and oppressed peoples are everywhere rising against them. The old saying is again very appropriate, "He who laughs last laughs best."

The impeachment proceedings against Attorney General Daugherty have been put off until after the election. Anything to save a few much needed votes for the republican candidates.

An Attack on All Labor

"[illegible]" is the title of a pamphlet that comes to our desk telling "The Truth About Centralia," including the sworn [illegible] who declare that the convicted men are [illegible].

This pamphlet by Walker C. Smith is sent out by the Northwest [illegible] Defense Committee, P. O. Box [illegible], Seattle, Wash.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, Box 37, Hanover Station, Boston, Mass., sends us a press service including the editorial of the Boston American, that says if the latest revelations in that case, as published recently in THE WORKER, are true, [illegible] in the district attorney's office ought to be arrested and tried for attempted murder."

The Mooney Defense Committee continues on the job at San Francisco, altho it seems that it must have knocked away every prop of the prosecution that succeeded in sending Tom Mooney and Warren Billings to prison for life instead of to the gallows.

California labor also continues the battle demanding the release by Governor Stephens of Richard Ford and Irving Suhr, serving life sentences as a result of the outbreak among the Wheatland hop picking slaves in 1913.

And while these efforts go on, the National Labor Defense Council is organized to combat the instigators of the recent "red raids" in Michigan and Chicago.

Truly we live in a land of no compromise in the class struggle. Let that fact burn itself into the mind of every working man and woman in this country.

In the Centralia pamphlet we find a line by Ernest Crosby that reads, "Woe to the cause that hath not passed thru a prison!"

Which brings from us the response, "Woe to the working class that does not recognize as its own the cause that goes thru prison for its sake."

We believe that even the American working class, rousing from its stupor brought on by an overdose of 100 percent Americanism, is becoming conscious of the fact that its emancipation is to be found at the end of the road that passes thru prison hells. This is so because the present ruling class, like all its predecessors, is able to legalize its campaigns of murder and suppression against the working class.

Let every worker study the words of The New Majority, official organ of Chicago's militant toilers, that:

"Now, more than ever, it is plain that the cause of the victims of Daugherty's raids is the concern of the labor movement and that an attack on a 'red' is a covert attack on unionism."

Having grasped the full meaning of these words let every worker act accordingly.

The republican congress has been very kind to the "poor" millionaires. It has abolished the excess profits levy, which means that a plutocrat like Henry Ford, will pay only $16,000,000 in Federal taxes instead of $50,000,000 as in 1921. Henry can thus add $34,000,000 to his "savings account" this year from this source alone. At the same time the Harding administration forced workers to remain on strike, which meant into the hands of the loan sharks, at 3½ percent per month for loans of a paltry $300 and under. If you don't like this system then join the Workers Party and help abolish it.

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

In the Grip of the Loan Sharks

The "loan shark" business is thriving. It is being operated on a huge scale. It is organized nationally, like all other exploiters' efforts, under the name of American Industrial Lenders' Association with 421 members thruout the United States doing a business annually of $140,000,000 affecting 300,000 persons.

Because of all these attributes indicating success the "loan shark" has become "respectable," and when he meets in convention assembled with his fellow "loan sharks" at the luxurious Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, he is welcomed by none other than a special representative of the Merchants' Association of New York.

The main topic of discussion among these money lenders was how to handle the big amount of business that had come to them because of the big strikes this year of the miners, the textile workers and railroad shopmen.

They talked about workers' poverty, not prosperity. They didn't wax eloquent over the number of workers having savings bank deposits, Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, because they knew different. They gloated over the fact that millions of workers were dangerously near the poverty mark, and when strikes are declared the number of worker-debtors greatly increases.

They were happy that this condition made it possible for them to charge 3½ percent interest per month, whereas when workers put their savings into banks they get only 3 percent per year. The worker, when he wishes to use the bankers' money is charged more than 12 times as much as when he magnanimously allows the banker to use his money. And the worker wants the money to buy the necessities of life, whereas the banker uses it in "financial transactions" to make more money.

This is only one condition that will stimulate the growth of huge workers' co-operative banks, quite a number of which are already in existence. It will be the duty of those organizations to help finance workers, as well as workers' organizations during strikes as well as peace times.

Not only the handling but the possession of huge sums of money will tend to keep workers' organizations enslaved by reactionary ideas. Thus we find a high official of the British co-operatives accepting knighthood from England's king.

We find the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, with its bank at Cleveland, Ohio, that showed assets at the close of business on August 29, 1922, of $17,547,402.35, refusing to send its members into the strike with the railroad shopmen.

This should not cause the Communists, however, to oppose the co-operative, whether it is a bank or some other enterprise. It should result in making every Communist all the more anxious and eager to transform the co-operative into an instrument of the revolutionary class struggle.

Hundreds of thousands of workers, a majority of them no doubt the best fighters in the ranks of organized labor, are now in the grip of the money lenders. These workers have lost all because they have stood at the head of the workers' struggle.

These hundreds of thousands can be freed from the tentacles of the "loan sharks" thru the aid that can be given them by workers' co-operative banks.

Labor unions, that have gone bankrupt because of some strike, can be placed on their feet, financially, with the least possible difficulty. Usually these are the most revolutionary unions in the labor movement.

All thinking workers, therefore, should be interested in fighting the millionaire "loan sharks" and help fortify the labor unions with workers' co-operative banks. At the same time, however, no effort should be spared to win the entire co-operative movement away from its bourgeois elements and develop it into an effective factor in the revolutionary struggle of labor.

It is to the discredit of labor that an appeal must be made at this late date by Plebs, a revolutionary magazine, for funds to restore the neglected grave of Karl Marx, in Highgate Cemetery, London, England. It is declared the sum of five pounds ($25) is required immediately to restore the lettering of the inscription on the headstone and to put the grave in order, and an annual sum of 30 shillings for its permanent care. If our British comrades cannot attend to this small undertaking, surely we shall come to their rescue.

BOLCOMS

Edited by I. D. W. TALMADGE

AN OPEN LETTER TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL DAUGHERTY

Dear Fellow-Worker:—Shaken with sorrow and blinded with tears, we've read of the campaign for your impeachment. What ungrateful creatures we mortals be?! After all these years of faithful service to humanity and to the working class in particular this is the gratitude you get. Yours is not the only case in history. All great thinkers and idealists were unappreciated in their age; it took hundreds of years to esteem their greatness. Similarly, posterity alone will be able to favorably estimate the full worth of your injunctions. Only they will comprehensively conceive your profound love for the proletariat. Only they will thoroughly realize how purely altruistic all your legislative measures were. As Confucius once said: "Chop suey chamain gefilte fish andsomorebull" — we don't know how good a man is until he's dead. That, of course, does not imply that you should commit self-murder. With Spinoza, Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Hegel and Spencer dead, we can't afford to lose you too. Console yourself, your career is not ruined yet. We are with you! Should you be impeached don't let that worry your intellectual little head. You can always depend upon a job as errand boy at the Worker office!

Afaketionately yours,
Editorial Staff of the BOLCOMS.

INTELLIGENCE TEST FOR SECRET SERVICE MEN

All defeated political candidates, unemployed socialists, and financially embarrassed union officials desiring employment with the department of Justice are requested to take the following exam.:

1. Are the following terms synonymous: hog and socialist; politician and charlatan; idiot and Attorney-General?
2. In what year did Karl Marx win the heavyweight championship?
3. Is Marxism a disease or the name of a patented medicine?
4. Differentiate if possible between lunatic and detective; Tammany Hall and the A. L. P.; the Call and the Times.
5. Underline the best way of convincing a radical: blackjack, night stick, or club.
6. Of what baseball team is Leon Trotzky pitcher?
7. Name the books, if any, that you've read excluding the 'Phone book, check book and the bank book.
8. Specify what knowledge you have of communism, syndicalism or anarchism; if none take exam for "bolshevik expert."
9. Write list of jails and penitentiaries you have resided at.
10. Specify experiences you've had in blackmail, murder, or quote any other instance showing your ability to be a secret-service man.

ANSWERS FOR THE ANXIOUS

(Personal but not confidential.)

Politician.—We don't know the exact amount paid by the Amer. Labor Party for votes. Call up a Wall Street broker for the latest market price.

Editor of "Daily Worker."—Would like to get a job as sporting editor of your paper.

N. U. T.—Your poem, "Why Do I Live?" received. The only reason you do live is because you've sent us that poem by mail.

W. J. Burns.—Hurry up with that 10,000 word confession—we need material for the Bolcoms.

Hillquit.—Glad you're having a nice time. If there's no bathing beauty contest at Carlsbad, please hold convention at Atlantic City.

Hearst.—Can't print your editorial in the Bolcoms; it's too radical for us.

Rockefeller.—Received your check for $100,000. Will forward it immediately to the treasurer of the Communist Party.

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Gentlemen:—We have hereby drawn up a list of measures which we deem highly indispensible for the progress in combating radicalism in this country and for the general welfare of our democracy.

1. Suppression of the Bible, the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence for their un-Americanism.
2. Immediate arrest of President Harding, Gen. Hamrock, Attorney-General Daugherty and W. J. Burns as constant readers of Communist literature.
3. Discontinuation of "Jack Daw's Adventures" in the New York Call for its ultra-revolutionary spirit.
4. Extradition of Mayor Hylan to Canarsie for wearing a red tie to City Hall.
5. Imprisonment of all bootleggers for being soviet (so wet) . . .

AIN'T IT THE MOSQUITO'S THUMB-NAIL?! . .

A young humorous aspirant entered our office the other day, and handed us a specimen of his efforts.

"Have you submitted this poem to any Socialist publication?" we inquired.

"No, sir."

"Then where the devil did you get that black eye?"

IRV.

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 244. [illegible] SATURDAY, [illegible] 1922 [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Big Victories for Free Speech

Workers Batter Down Opposition to Anti-Raid Meetings in Steel-Owned Cities of Pittsburgh and Youngstown

Red Raiders Fail to Get Ed Lindgren

Michigan's red raiders met de[illegible] in their second effort before Governor Miller to have Edward I. Lindgren, New York City, Organizer, District No. 2, Workers Party, extradited to the western state.

After the second hearing in the executive chambers at Albany, on Monday, Gov. Miller rejected the demand of the Michigan authorities that they be allowed to take Lindgren back with them to [illegible] alleged convention of the Communist Party at Bridgeman.

In a last effort to win the decision of Governor Miller, the prosecution charged that all Lindgren's witnesses were radical and therefore not reliable.

Governor Miller said regarding this testimony, that it was only natural that Lindgren's friends should be radicals and that the additional testimony of the prosecution carried no weight at all.

"The question," Miller said: "is to decide whether Lindgren is a fugitive from justice and only hard facts will be accepted as testimony."

District Attorney Roland, of Albany, representing the Michigan authorities, said, in summing up the case for the prosecution, "I will not

(Continued on Page Five)

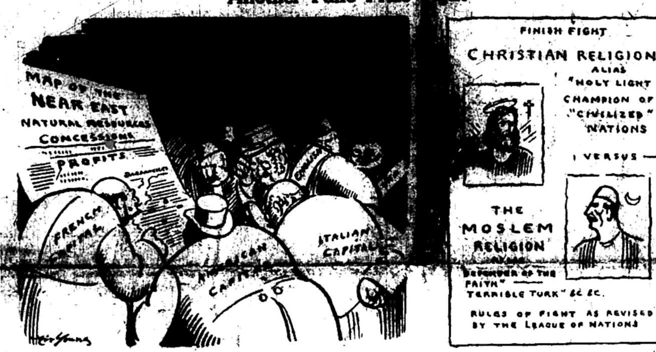
HOW ABOUT YOU?

Have you got a National Defense Subscription list? What are you doing for the Ten-Day Drive for the men and women in jail? Get a box for the House-to-House Collection Saturday and Sunday, October 14th and 15th.

Stelton School Exhibition

The Modern School at Stelton, New Jersey, a school for the children of the workers, is announcing an exhibition of children's art to be held at the Civic Club, 14 West 12th St., New York City, from Oct. 8th to Oct. 21st. Those interested in child education are extended an invitation to attend any day or evening. Admission free.

Another Fake Prize Fight


MAP OF THE NEAR EAST
NATURAL RESOURCES
CONCESSIONS
PROFITS
FRENCH CAPITAL
ITALIAN CAPITAL
FINISH FIGHT
CHRISTIAN RELIGION ALIAS "HOLY LIGHT CHAMPION OF "CIVILIZED" NATIONS
VERSUS
THE MOSLEM RELIGION ALIAS "DEFENDER OF THE FAITH" "TERRIBLE TURK" &c &c.
RULES OF FIGHT AS REVISED BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The big bosses privately planning another fight.

As it will be advertised.

Three More Released From St. Joseph Jail While Nine Remain

T. R. Sullivan, Caleb Harrison and Charles Krumbein, who have been in the county jail at St. Joseph, Mich., for the five weeks since the "red raid" at Bridgeman, have now been released on bail.

Sullivan immediately returned to his headquarters at St. Louis to take up his work as District Organizer of the Workers Party. Harrison went back to Cleveland to resume his work there, and Krumbein enters party activity again at Chicago.

The release of these three men still leaves nine of the prisoners at St. Joseph. Of these it is expected that Thomas O'Flaherty and Phillip Aronberg will be released within a few days.

Bail is still required for the remaining seven men, including Seth Nordling, of Portland, Ore.; Norman Tallentire, Eugene McMillen, A. Mihillis, Charles Erickson, Eugene Bechtold and Joseph Zack.

Treachery of Labor Bureaucrats Is Unmasked in Appeal for United Battlefront in Germany

The Communist International has issued the accompanying manifesto showing that not only the Scheidemann Social-Democrats in Germany, but also the Independent "Socialists," thru their actions, have proved themselves the aides of the Monarchistic reaction. The case against the labor bureaucrats in Germany is so clear that even the most ignorant worker can understand it, if he will but read. Here it is:—

* * *

**TO THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!
TO THE GERMAN WORKERS!**

Events are taking place in Germany which not only make severe demands upon the German proletariat, but which require the greatest attention and closest interest of the workers of all countries.

Philip Scheidemann, the leader of the German Social Democracy, the man whose name is indissolubly connected with the betrayal of that same Social-Democracy, wrote recently in the Vorwärts:

"As on the 4th of August 1914, Germany has come to a turning point in its history."

And this time the German Social-Democracy and with it the Second International, again break down.

Once more they reveal themselves as the parties which shamelessly betray the interests of the working class.

They crippled international Socialism for years when, in 1914, they

(Continued on Page Four)

Help get those 25,000 new readers.

Events in Near East Very Instructive to the World's Workers

By ARTHUR ROSENBURG

Written Especially for the International Press Correspondence and THE WORKER

Present events in Turkey are instructive to the world proletariat, because they prove the absolute futility of the peace making of 1919.

And yet 1919 still continues to exercise a serious influence upon the mind of the proletariat. Quite apart from the fulfillment policy of the German Social Democrats, 1919 created the League of Nations.

The League of Nations is intimately connected with the Amsterdam Trade Union International; and the whole policy of capitalist reconstruction which the workers are forced to support,—this Evangel of Reform Socialism,—is the spirit of 1919.

The workers should therefore attentively read the telegrams reporting the battles in Smyrna and the commotion in Athens.

For what is falling in Athens is not

Continued on page Two.)

Foster and Ruthenberg Are Cheered at Huge Gatherings

William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, and C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, both out on bail following arrest incidental to the Michigan and Chicago raids, battered their way eastwards during the past week speaking in every city where they had been scheduled to appear.

Definite declarations had been made by the steel trust-owned city officials of both Youngstown, Ohio, and Pittsburgh, Pa., that Foster and Ruthenberg would not be allowed to speak.

One of the local capitalist sheets at Youngstown told the whole story in a headline, "FOSTER CAN'T STOP IN CITY—Mayor Tells Police Chief Not to Let Scheduled Speaker Get Off Train."

But the local party workers and their sympathizers in these two cities stood by their guns. Every threat of the officials was countered with new demands that the meetings be permitted.

Foster and Ruthenberg, therefore, come to the Central Opera House, in New York City, for their meeting Friday night, with a 100 per cent record against the allies of the Burns-Daugherty regime at Washington.

The determination of the opposition to the meetings planned in aid of the defense of the raid victims is shown in an early [illegible] by Mayor W. G. [illegible], of Youngstown, Ohio, notorious for its succesful efforts in suppressing radical workers. He said:

"W. Z. Foster will not be permitted to speak in Youngstown. Not only will we refuse to let him speak here, but I have given orders to Chief of Police James Watkins to watch for his arrival, put him on a train as soon as he lands and tell him to get out of the city.

"I do this because Foster is a dangerous radical. If we want radical speeches in Youngstown we have enough speakers of that kind already in the city. We do not need to import any. Foster has already caused enough trouble in Youngstown. He will not be permitted to stop here again."

Mayor Executes Retreat.

The mayor was forced to make a complete retreat from this position as the result of pressure brought to bear by the organized workers.

Great interest was aroused as the result of press notoriety and an enthusiastic audience greeted Foster on his return to this steel city after an absence of three years.

In his speech Foster predicted that another steel strike would come and that the steel workers then would have an organization that would win.

Placards on Walls

Placards were tacked to the walls and stage sides which bore the following words: "The workers want Foster to organize the steel workers." "Down with government by injunction." "Repeal the anti-syndicalist and sedition laws." "Down

Continued on page Two.)

Seven Organizations of Shoe Workers Unite in Amalgamated Union

By S. ZARCHIN

Special to the Worker

BOSTON, Mass.—The Shoe Workers' Amalgamation Convention is in session here with 100 delegates present representing seven independent unions, the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, the United Shoe Workers of America, Allied Shoe Workers' Union, Children's Shoe Workers of New York; Amalgamated Shoe Workers of New York, Shoe Pattern Makers' Union and Edge Makers' Union of Salem, Mass.

There is also a delegation of a newly organized body of Chelsea, Mass., Shoe Workers, which has decided to join the new united organization that will hereafter be known as the Amalgamated Shoe Workers of America.

A committee has been chosen to secure historic Faneuil Hall for Friday night for a big mass meeting of shoe workers to celebrate the united front established among the workers in the shoe industry.

The Elore, Hungarian organ of the Workers Party, has been endorsed as the mouthpiece of the Hungarian shoe workers.

The convention will move, for one day, to Haverhill, Mass., upon the invitation of the Haverhill shoe workers. The convention may last a week.

Organized Labor Is Now Demanding Industrial Unionism

By EARL R. BROWDER

Associate Editor, The Labor Herald.

Written especially for The Labor Herald (October) and released for simultaneous publication in The Worker.

When a few months ago the Trade Union Educational League launched its campaign for amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions not even the most optimistic could have foreseen the tremendous response on the part of Organized Labor.

The situation is more than ripe for industrial unionism, and the workers realize that readily when the program of the League is laid before them.

State federations, city central bodies, local unions, independent unions, and international craft unions galore have gone on record for amalgamation since our campaign started.

It has been a veritable landslide towards consolidation of the workers' ranks.

The State Federations Act

The amalgamation movement has gone particularly strong among the state federations. Almost every one of them that has met since the inauguration of the campaign has gone on record in favor of industrial unionism thru amalgamation.

The movement has taken on such impetus that it has run far beyond the immediate membership of the League. Consequently many organizations may have adopted the proposition without our getting to hear of it.

So far reports have come into our office from League militants of seven important state federations that have endorsed amalgamation. These are Washington, Wisconsin, Indiana, Nebraska, Utah, Michigan and Minnesota.

Long one of the most progressive state federations in the country, the Washington State Federation of Labor went on record at its recent convention in Bremerton in favor of consolidating all the craft unions in the respective industries.

This was due primarily to the activity of militant League members. Shortly afterward the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, another progressive body of long standing, also adopted a similar resolution at its regular convention.

And now comes the Indiana State Federation of Labor and does the same thing at its convention, which was held early in September in Marion, Indiana.

The amalgamation resolution was submitted by the Indiana State Conference of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America.

The Only Way Out

It declared "the only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers thru the amalgamation of the various crafts so that there will only remain one union for each industry."

The reactionaries fought the proposition, submitting a minority committee report against it.

But after a sharp fight they were defeated, and the majority, for amalgamation, report was adopted.

Not to be outdone by its five sister Federations in other states, the Nebraska State Federation of Labor also adopted the amalgamation plan at its convention in the early part of September.

Again the reactionaries, supporters of Sam Gompers, were on hand to block progress, but to no avail.

The proposition was adopted unanimously, except for one vote. One of the resolves reads:

"That the Nebraska State Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, hereby urge the American Federation of Labor and the various international unions in each industry into conference for the purpose of devising ways and means of so amalgamating the unions that there will

(Continued on Page Four)

Crush the White Terror! Protest Mass Meeting! Central Opera House, Friday, October 6th, 8 P.M.

SPEAKERS: FOSTER, RUTHENBERG, BALDWIN, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, ENGDAHL.—PLACE: 67th STREET, NEAR THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

[illegible] Campaign of Activity

After the recent congress of the International Workers' Relief, a conference of all bourgeois relief bodies and representatives of governments that had sent famine relief to Soviet Russia, was held. In this conference the delegates to the IWRC constituted the "left."

It was presided over by Krestinsk, finance minister of Soviet Russia. This conference (at which Red Cross societies from various countries, Nansen's Committee, other bourgeois relief organizations and governmental representatives reported) also decided that contributions for famine relief must continue and that relief which aimed at economic reconstruction was preferable.

A commission of five went into immediate session after the adjournment of the IWRC congress. The concrete results to date are these:

1.—The International Corporation has been organized. The People's Commissaries of Soviet Russia has guaranteed a three million dollar loan to be issued by this corporation, with interest at five per cent, repayable in ten years in gold.

2.—Permission has been granted the FSR to organize an American corporation based upon the concessions of the IWRC, which are: (a) Three estates in Kazan; (b) Estates in Chelabinsk and Moscow; (c) Agricultural undertakings in the Urals and elsewhere (this includes our agricultural unit at Perm); (d) Industrial factories and technical workshops in Moscow and Petrograd, shoe factory in Moscow, repair establishments in Moscow and Petrograd, cooperage in Kazan, soap factory in Petrograd; (e) Forest concessions in Kazan (giving employment to 3,000 workers); (f) Fisheries in Astrakhan and Tsaritsin (employing 15,000 workers when fully equipped; (g) Exploitation of the motion picture film monopody; (h) Participation in the exploitation of the manganese mines in the Black Sea district as soon as arrangements with regard to these are completed with the Soviet Government.—(NOTE: Whereas a corporation organized for the purpose of assisting Soviet Russia in economic reconstruction, namely, the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, already has been formed, the FSR intends making its concessions contract and the contracts of this corporation the property of one corporation, namely of that above named and has decided to campaign jointly with the RAIC for the sale of stock in America.)

3.—Campaign for the support of the thousands of orphans and homeless children, resulting from the famine. Individuals, families, unions, other organizations and groups will be solicited to adopt one or more orphans at a cost of $2.00 per month per child, plus an initial cost of $5.00 per child to be used to provide the children's homes with linen, clothes, medicines, books, cooking utensils, etc.

4.—Food drafts, which will enable individuals, unions and other organizations to provide food to needy Soviet Government workers, unions and individuals in Soviet Russia. Price per draft $2.50.

5.—Shipment of $15,000 worth of toys, woodenware, artistically carved and decorative wooden utensils, embroideries, has reached the FSR. It is intended to encourage a steady importation of these Russian home products. FSR conferences will be requested to open shops to organize bazaars from time to time, to dispose of these articles.

6.—Art films, which Russia's first artists, such as Gorki, have helped to produce, are being shipped to the FSR. We have the monopoly for America for their distribution and sale. FSR conferences should make inquiries to ascertain what authority is necessary to show these films under FSR direction in the cities in which we have FSR conferences.

7.—Also the International Workers' Relief Commission is engaged in import and export. There are now stored in Germany many shiploads of flax, awaiting buyers. An immense quantity of pig iron has just been exported from Soviet Russia by the IWRC and sold to a French steel corporation. The IWRC offers for sale thousands upon thousands of feet of logs, felled by woodsmen at Kazan. The exportation of caviar, cured and salt fish is already taking place.

We feel assured that every friend of Soviet Russia will see in the above activities of the International Workers Relief Committee (in which the FSR must take part) work sufficient to keep him warm, now that the chilly days are here. We must again marshall our forces, permeate workers' homes and workers organizations, tell them of Soviet Russia's needs and problems, inculcate class solidarity, inspire them to act in support of their class brothers in Russia.

Debs [illegible]

[illegible] a political [illegible] ruling classes. He carried [illegible] one ex-prisoner talking about another. Haessler tells of a little [illegible] Edith Chaplin, the heroic wife of [illegible] now serving a 20-year sentence at Leavenworth. [illegible] in the capitalist war [illegible] at the Leavenworth Prison. So it is [illegible] for Debs at the home of [illegible] Chaplin, the revolutionary poet [illegible]

Debs is convalescing in a Chicago suburb near the Chaplin home, and most of the friends came out from the big city on the shores of Lake Michigan.

Seymour Stedman, the Chicago "Socialist" lawyer, famous for his share in expelling foreign language and state organizations from the Socialist Party in 1919, and later on for his "Red Raid" on the Communist House of the Masses in Detroit, Mich., was there. Stedman was one of the lawyers defending Debs at his Cleveland trial.

Stedman made a short talk at this gathering at the Chaplin home and argued that, in Debs case, the United States Supreme Court might have reversed the "guilty" jury verdict if it had not interpreted opposition to the war as OBSTRUCTION.

Then one of those irrepressible young Reds, according to Haessler's report, broke in with, "But opposition without obstruction is piffle."

"Exactly," was Deb's swift assent, we are told.

Which shows that Debs still stands by his revolutionary phrases with at least a demand for revolutionary action, while the "Socialist" Party, thru its actions and spokesmen puts aside both phrases and action. While Debs still calls himself a Socialist, it is difficult to reach any other conclusion than that the breach between Debs and the "Socialist" Party continually widens.

Debs has repeatedly endorsed the Friends of Soviet Russia. The "Socialist" Party and its press has attempted to cripple the F.S.R. from the beginning and lately launched against a malicious fake exposure.

Debs is enlisted as a member of the executive committee of the Labor Defense Council. This organization will have to defend the victims of the Michigan raids, militant workers that the "Socialist" Party officialdom and press have helped, to the utmost of their petty strivings to betray into the hungry grip of the Burns-Daugherty department of justice.

In this connection it might be well to point out that altho Debs protested the sentences meted out to the social (counter) revolutionaries in Soviet Russia, nevertheless, he approached his conclusions from an entirely different viewpoint than the spokesmen of the Socialist Party.

Debs admitted that the indictment of the social (counter) revolutionaries was complete. Debs did not defend the acts of these betrayers.

It is different with James Oneal, in the New York Call, Sept. 10, when he took up much valuable space to justify the Social (Counter) Revolutionary Party. Only the shell of a party remains with its counter-revolutionary cliques in the different capitols of Europe and here in the United States. Most of its previous worth while members have either gone over to or become ardent sympathizers with the Communist cause.

The Social (Counter) Revolutionary Party is outlawed because of the crimes it has committed and, contrary to Oneal, the Russian Communists were not compelled to go back to 1917 to make out a case.

Oneal would probably like to forget that his social (counter) revolutionary friends are faced with new evidence, showing that as late as June 1921 they were in the pay of French imperialism.

In the statments recently published by the foreign delegation of the social revolutionaries, and by Kerensky and Brushvit representing the Administrative Center, these worthies swear themselves black and blue that no money was ever received by them from the allies, points out Karl Radek, in the International Press Correspondence, Aug. 30, 1922, recently arrived in this country.

Brushvit and Kerensky were indeed very careful in their statements, says Radek. They declared that they did in fact receive moneys, but that these moneys were "of Russian origin." But Kerensky lied. Kerensky had evidently forgotten about a letter that fell into the hands of the Russian Soviet Government, a photographic reproduction of which was given out by the International Press Correspondence. It reads:

(Translation)

Ministry for Foreign Affairs,
Political and Commercial Dept.

Mr. President:—In reference to your request for a money advance, I am informed by Mr. Berthelet, with whom you have already discussed this matter, that the president of the council deeply regrets not to be able to advance such a large sum, for the manner in which the French budget is voted does not permit a large sum to be expended for a definite item, without the previous sanction of parliament. Moreover, I believe that the General Secretary will answer you directly on the various questions which you have addressed to him.

Permit me, sir, to assure you of my highest esteem and sincerest respect.

(Signature illegible.)

Radek then goes on to point out the meaning of this document, addressed to Avksentiev, the dearest comrade of Kerensky in the Administrative Center, the man from whom the Administrative Center received 500,000 francs in cash, between February and June, 1921.

This document proves: Firstly, that Avksentiev had already received various sums of money from the French Foreign Offices, for otherwise, he would not write as if the request were a matter of course.

Secondly, this document proves that in June, 1921, Avksentiev asked the French government for a large sum of money.

Thirdly, this document shows that the sum in question was to come from French pockets (not only thru French hands), for otherwise it would not have been necessary for this money to be drawn from the French budget. Such are the contents of this document found in the archives of the Social (Counter) Revolutionary Administrative Center in Paris.

Radek urges that the whole world see this document which is nothing less than the prostitution certificate of Messers Avksentiev and Kerensky, Tchernov and Co.

It was this Tchernov that cabled to Eugene V. Debs from Berlin, urging him to raise his voice on behalf of the worthless lives of the convicted social (counter) revolutionaries.

From now on the Social (Counter) Revolutionary Party is branded as the courtesan of French imperialism, charge our Rusian comrades. No denial will help them any more.

The Second and the 2½ "Socialist" Internationals are to be congratulated on their support of such an aggregation. The New York Call and the American "Socialist" Party are no doubt content with these associations.

When Frank P. Walsh returned to this country from Soviet Russia he brought with him the news that the social (counter) revolutionaries had received $25,000 from Boris Bahkmetiev, the Kerensky social revolutionary "ambassador" in this country, to help them foment the Kronstadt revolt against Soviet Rule.

Oneal points out that many social (counter) revolutionaries had suffered exile under the czar, had gone to prison and to death for the cause.

We can remember not so long ago when the "Socialist" Party stood squarely against selling its body and soul to the old political parties. But it is not now above prostituting itself at the beck and call of these handmaidens of capitalism.

How times do change. Oneal knows that the social revolutionary party that was in Russia is now basking in the favor of French imperialism, just as the American "Socialist" Party is reclining in the lap of the Republican Party, in Wisconsin, and elsewhere. Oneal likes it well enough to defend it. We do not believe this condition is to the liking of Eugene V. Debs. That is why we believe there is developing the case of "Debs vs. the Socialist Party," that has not yet come to a verdict.

"Might Is Right"

By Jack McCarthy

If these toiling slaves
And slumbering knaves
Awake from their mental slumber
And see the light,
They would unite
To rend their chains asunder.

While You're content,
You will be sent,
To struggle in the byway.
Then forward fight,
With right and might,
To make freedom's path a highway.

So join today,
This gallant fray,
And lend your strength and number
To end this hell,
Of slum and cell,
Of blood and war and plunder.

Volunteers!

Volunteers needed for the Ten Day Drive.

Clerical work, visiting organizations, distributing literature and for the House to House Collection.

If you can spare any time do so and report to:

National Defense Committee,
New York Division,
Room 405, 80 E. 11th Street
(Corner Broadway),
Nerma Berman, Sec'y.

New York Plans Drive

The Miners' Relief Committee, located at 208 East 12th Street, announces that it is ready to receive contributions for the 45,000 starving miners of Fayette County, Pennsylvania. The Committee, which up till now has been engaged chiefly in relief work for the starving miners of West Virginia, will start a drive for the benefit of Pennsylvania miners and their families. All contributions should be sent to Louis Gruss, Secretary, Miners' Relief Committee, 208 East 12th Street, New York City. Money received by the Committee will be immediately turned over to the United Mine Workers in the Pennsylvania District.

[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

only the Government of the lanky King Tino, who in the shadow of the Acropolis, wished to imitate his brother-in-law, Kaiser Wilhelm, but the structure of illusions created in 1919.

The great illusion regarding the solution of the Orient problem, as it was attempted three years ago, consisted in the fact that the people of the Near East were regarded as stupid enough to permit themselves to be enslaved by the Anglo-Grecian Banking Kings.

English capitalism in the East has peculiar connections. For many decades intimate connections existed between British, Indian, Oriental-Jewish, and Greek banking and commercial houses.

A close chain of capitalist combinations stretches from Bombay over Bagdad and Alexandria, over Smyrna and Athens to London and Manchester.

At the central point of these combinations there stand two families: the Indo-Jewish family of Sassoon, which occupies a preeminent position in the commercial and banking business of the East, and the Anglicised Greek family of Rallis.

Both are multi-millionaire families. The house of Sassoon stands in the closest relationship to the English dynasty and to the most influential London politicians. The house of Rallis is through its connections as mighty in Athens as in London. The actual ones who were defeated in the fighting in Smyrna are not Lloyd George and Constantine, but Sassoon and Rallis.

Wish Access to Mespot

It was hoped by means of the Greek offensive policy to win the whole of Asia Minor. Then direct access would be [illegible] to Mesopotamia.

There existed the Arabian comic-opera kingdom of [illegible]k, but the real ruler in Bagdad [illegible]t King Feisul, but the English [illegible]eum Trust, i. e. the House of [illegible]

And via B[illegible] ring could be linked to Ind[illegible] for the moment there sits [illegible] Reading as Viceroy of the King [illegible] England. But Lord Reading was [illegible]rmerly known to the world as the great capitalist Rufus Isaacs.

The English capitalists pursued far reaching plans in the district captured by Greece. Petroleum concessions in Macedonia followed the establishing of banks in Asia Minor.

Then came the Council of the Ottoman Debt with its seat in Constantinople. This is the committee of foreign creditors who had lent money to the Sultan's Government, and received Turkey's revenues as security.

The Council of the Ottoman Debt is at present under English control. And if it had had its way the peasants of Asia Minor would have had to pay the debts of their Sultan down to the last farthing.

Refuse to Pay Debts

Things turned out otherwise however. In Angora and Asia Minor was formed the National Turkish Government of Kemal Pasha, which, up to now, has refused all payment to the Council.

Whilst the Greek army was given over more and more to the conviction that it was only there in order to win fresh millions of profits for a limited clique of Anglo-Grecian capitalists the morale of the Turkish army was essentially different.

The Government of Kemal Pasha is by no means a Communist Government. But it embodies the resistance of the masses of the Turkish people against the capitalist robbers of the West.

The concession treaty which Kemal Pasha concluded with the French capitalists in order to split the front of the Entente, leaves the right of self-determination of Turkey, both politically and economically, undisturbed. The Turk, who fought against his debt enslavement has now beaten the Greek slaves of capital.

Kemal Pasha is at present the undisputed master of Asia Minor. But the Turks are not satisfied with this. The National Government of Angora demands the surrender of Constantinople and the return of the European province of Thrace with Adrianople.

The English must, willy-nilly, bury the hope of capturing Asia Minor, but they will sacrifice everything to retain the important position of Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

English Oriental Policy Bankrupt

The French capitalists, on their side, will also do everything in their power to manoeuver the English out of Constantinople. The position of Lloyd George's Ministry is extremely endangered through the bankruptcy of its oriental policy.

The English capitalists are determined to retain Constantinople. But it is very questionable as to what power there is at present behind this will. But should the Turkish troops come to Europe again (even if the English retain certain privileges in the Dardanelles) the effects for the Balkans would be incalculable.

The Cinderella of the Balkan States at present, is Bulgaria, whose governing circles, in all the crises of the last decade, have managed to back the wrong horse with unfailing certainty. If the Turkish Army again occupies Adrianople, Bulgaria will find in it a protection in her rear. The Macedonian question will then again come up, and Bulgarian nationalism will mobilize the "suppressed brethren" against the alien domination of Greece and Jugoslavia.

The real solution of the Balkan question will only be brought about by the victory of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution in all the Balkan countries. The revolutionizing of the East has no doubt been accelerated by the recent Turkish victories.

In Athens the capitalist and military clique which up to now had control of the helm of state is breaking down under the burden of its responsibilities. The cruelly persecuted Communist Party of Greece now stands before the masses as the only body which correctly judged the course of development. How far the left movement will develop in Athens, cannot be predicted.

The radicalization of Greece will also strengthen the revolutionary wing of the Bulgarian workers and peasants. Under the new circumstances it will be more and more difficult for the governing cliques in Roumania and Jugoslavia to maintain the white terror.

Hence the stimulating influence which the Turkish victories exercise on the rebellious peoples in the whole of the Orient. In Egypt as well as in Palestine and Mesopotamia the opposition against England is growing.

In India, after a long period of apathy, a new uprising of the revolutionary movement is noticeable [illegible] the last few weeks.

The Orient is no longer as beautifully cut up into spheres of influence as it was in 1919. It was [illegible] easy matter to draw the map of the Treaty of Sevres.

But the human beings whom every stroke on the map affected, offered resistance. The national movement of the Orientals bids fair to erase the lines of Sevres. The lines of Versailles will likewise fade when the resistance of the bartered proletarian masses of central Europe sets [illegible] with full force.

[illegible] Rally in Support of Victims of Michigan Raids

[illegible] Labor Defense Council launched to fight for the [illegible] Michigan "Red" raid and to carry on a [illegible] workers' rights is meeting with [illegible] from all elements of the labor movement. This is [illegible] meetings which W. Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg [illegible] during the last week. The audiences which have greeted the speakers have not been made up only of the radical element, but in each city there has been a goodly number of progressive trade unionists. These trade unionists have not only attended the meetings but have shown their willingness to become members of local groups of the Labor Defense Council.

Toledo Hears Foster's Story

In Toledo an audience which filled the Labor Temple was on hand. Sprinkled thru this audience was a goodly number of trade union officials of the city.

Foster drew a picture of the way craft unionism worked in the example of seven railroad unions on strike while nine unions remained at work which drove home the lesson.

He pointed out that it was because the "reds" were fighting against such conditions in the labor movement that the effort was being made to railroad them to prison.

Ruthenberg told the story of the organization of the Communist Party and its participation in the industrial conflicts of 1919 and 1922 and the resulting attacks upon the movement. The audience contributed $104 for the defense fund. The work of organizing a local branch of the Labor Defense Council is under way.

Most Enthusiasm at Cleveland

The Cleveland meeting was held under the auspices of the local Labor Defense Council, which has already been provisionally organized.

The meeting was held in the B. L. E. Auditorium which was filled by the largest and most enthusiastic audience of the tour so far.

Foster took advantage of the fact that he was speaking in the twelve story building which is the headquarters of the most conservative of the railroad unions to outline the program of amalgamation of the railroad unions.

"What would you think," he asked, "of an army which sent its infantry into battle while the cavalry and artillery, the air service and other branches stayed out? And then when the infantry had got 'leaned up' sent in the cavalry to fight alone and get its licking?

"That is what we are doing on the railroads. We are sending in our men in single divisions to fight the whole power of the enemy. When we learn some common sense we will send in our whole army at one time. We will make one army, one big industrial union of the workers in each industry and then a tin-horn politician like Daugherty won't dare have an injunction issued against us."

Ruthenberg's appeal for a united front thru the Labor Defense Council met enthusiastic endorsement.

"The answer to the Michigan raids and the Daugherty injunction must be a united stand by labor to make real the right of free speech, free press and freedom of assemblage, the right to organize and strike in the only way that these rights can become a reality for the worker, thru the organized power of labor."

David S. Williams of North Church presided at the meeting. The audience contributed $447 to the defense fund in addition to paying 25 cents admission.

Pittsburgh Hates Foster

Pittsburgh does not love Foster. The memory of the great steel strike is still to fresh in the minds of the steel bosses. The Pittsburgh police first decided that Foster could not speak in the city but backed up when they saw there was going to be a fight.

A good crowd came out to the Labor Lyceum, the only hall which could be secured for the meeting. The defense contribution amounted to $280. After the meeting the local branch of the Labor Defense Council was organized through the election of a provisional executive committee which will issue a general call to the labor bodies of the city. On this committee are three or four of the most active members of the Pittsburgh Federation of Labor.

Youngstown Mayor Backs Down

The mayor of Youngstown prohibited the defense meeting in that city, but Wallace Metcalfe, acting in the name of the Labor Defense Council and the Civil Liberties Union, stirred up such a hornets' nest of protest that the mayor was compelled to back down.

Metcalfe lined up behind him the Private Soldier organization, the Central Labor Body and the liberal forces of the city and demanded to know whether the mayor was bigger than the constitution. The result of the advertising given the meeting was one of the biggest meetings held in Youngstown in recent years.

The Central Labor Union had planned a meeting in the afternoon to protest against the Daugherty injunction but called off the meeting and decided to support the Foster-Ruthenberg meeting. This brought many of the union men of the city to the meeting.

Foster recalled some of the incidents of the steel strike. Most of those in the audience were steel workers. Foster's suggestion that the time was coming when there would be a new campaign of organization in the steel mills and that the the next strike would not be lost was received with cheers.

"When the next strike in the steel industry comes," he said, "we will be organized to win. We will have united with the miners so that there will be no coal for scab mills, and with the railroad men, so there will be no trains to bring in raw material or take out finished goods. That is the kind of unionism which will win."

By a unanimous rising vote the audience adopted the Workers Party resolution calling for a Labor Defense Council, the General Strike and independent working-class political action thru a working-class political party.

Undoubtedly Youngstown will have one of the strongest local groups of the Labor Defense Council, organization of which is already under way.

The Youngstown audience contributed $170 to the defense fund, to which there was added $50 collected by the workers in the nearby town of Girard and added to the collection.

Two Steel-Owned Cities Hear About the Raids

(Continued from Page One)

with the authority of the courts to issue injunctions." "Demand freedom of speech and assemblage for all workers and their organizations."

Foster's introduction, which followed an address by Ruthenberg, was the signal for prolonged applause. He said in part:

"This is the first time I have spoken here since before the beginning of the steel strike. We gave the steel barons a great fight in 1919 but that will be nothing compared to the fight we will give them again.

"We lost the strike because the steel barons were too strong for us. During the time it was in effect in the United States they killed 22 men and threw into jail 20,000. When next we tie up the steel plants with a strike we will have with us the miners and the railroad men.

"If a strike of the steel workers, miners and railroad workers does not win we will then arrange for a strike of the entire working class. If Campbell had his way this meeting would not have been held. When we came here before we could not hold meetings in East Youngstown.

"We have been told that the men arrested in Michigan were holding an under-ground and under-cover meeting. If it was a secret assemblage it is only proof of the fact that free speech no longer prevails in America.

Big Meeting in Pittsburgh

Foster and Ruthenberg addressed a huge gathering in Pittsburgh in spite of the fact that Safety Director George W. McCandless had declared that if they attempted to speak they would be arrested.

Local workers carried their appeal from the safety director, who has outlawed Workers Party meetings during the past year, to Mayor W. A. Magee. The mayor finally weakened and vetoed the decision of his safety director and allowed the meeting.

Police and secret service sleuths were scattered in and around the Labor Lyceum, where the meeting was held.

This Week!

William Z. Foster and C. E. R[illegible] thenberg ought to be given the [illegible] ception of their lives when they [illegible] out on the platform at the C[illegible] Opera House, 47th St., near [illegible] Ave., this Friday evening.

They have come east covering [illegible] ficult ground in the working [illegible] struggle. They spoke at meetings in the big steel towns of P[illegible] and Youngstown, after these gatherings had been forbidden.

It should be unnecessary to re[illegible] to the workers of New York the [illegible] mendous demonstration held in Chi[illegible] cago, Sept. 17.

One way to measure the spirit [illegible] the Chicago meeting is to state th[illegible] the collection raised in aid of [illegible] victims of the Michigan and Chi[illegible] raids netted $2,596.70 for defense.

This collection was taken up by Jack Carney, the militant editor of the Voice of Labor, and must be recorded as an extraordinary achievement.

One of the magnificent responses to Carney's appeal came from the local branches of the Czecho-Slovak Federation that recently affiliated with the Workers Party. Watch Chicago and follow its example.

• • •

LET'S SEE WHO IS CRAZY?

The Portland Conference of the Episcopal Church quickly dropped the question of ousting Bishop William Montgomery Brown.

Bishop Brown isn't willing to let the matter rest here. He has written the House of Bishops stating that "According to the Arkansas Gazette the movement looking towards my trial and deposition has failed, and according to the Oregonian its failure is due to your belief that my mental condition is such as to prevent me from being held responsible for the heretical representations of the booklet 'Communism and Christianism.'"

Bishop Brown then continues as follows:

"On the one hand, I can not consistently blame you for this conviction, because during the many years of my active ministry, I would have entertained it towards any one among you who had left, as I have, the orthodox way and traveled as far in the heterodox one.

"On the other hand, you cannot blame my human nature being what it is for feeling that the real reason for stopping the movement is your inability to frame charges from the booklet and to proceed against me with them without discrediting your own orthodoxy more than my heterodoxy.

"But to make sure that I am not in error as to this feeling, I will offer and hereby do offer, myself to the House of Bishops for a thorogoing mental examination by the Professors of Psychology in Yale, Columbia and John Hopkins Universities. They are not personally known to me but I am willing to trust them.

"If you accept this challenge and arrange for the examination, it should take place at Galion; for, in the present condition of my health I could not go to one of the universities for it and have strength enough left for the requisite sittings.

"If the members of the House of Bishops will place themselves on record as believing the representations of the Bible, literally interpreted, concerning the creation of Adam and Eve, the planting of the Garden of Eden, the fall of Adam and Eve and its effects, the birth of Jesus, his death and descent into hell, his resurrection and ascension into heaven, and his second coming to raise all deceased men, women and children from the dead and to judge and send them to heaven or hell, I will resign and do hereby agree to resign my seat in the House.

"If you do not accept the first of these offers, I shall ask that you should not reflect upon my mental condition in public or private, but rather appoint a competent artist to illustrate the situation with a picture of a big, barking, snapping dog and a little curling, bristling porcupine with these explanatory inscriptions: (1) under the dog—"The House of Bishops," and (2) under the porcupine—"Bishop Brown," and (3) under the picture—"Nothing that can safely be taken hold of."

We await developments.

JOHANNESBURG, S. Africa.—[illegible] J. Brown, a Communist, was sentenced to five months at hard labor on a charge of inciting to violence. His alleged offense consisted [illegible] warning an audience in the town ha[illegible] to be prepared for violence on the part of the authorities.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD REA[illegible] THIS COPY OF THE WORKE[illegible] KEEP IT IN CIRCULATIO[illegible]

…vention of …od Workers …ss Advance

The second convention of the International Workers in the Amalgamated Food Industries was held Sept. 30, and Oct. 1, in the Hotel Workers Hall, 133 West 51st Street, New York City.

Since its formation in 1920 the organization has grown from 12 locals and branches with a combined membership of about 8,000 to 22 locals and branches with a total membership of 12,000. The organization was established thru the amalgamation of the Federation of Hotel and Restaurant Workers with the Journeymen Bakers organization of Greater New York, an independent organization.

The initial convention, however, clearly defined the purpose of the new organization to be the uniting of all workers in the food industry irrespective of crafts and trades, into one industrial organization.

This line has consistantly been adhered to since the inception of the organization. Attempts have been made time and again to draw other workers in other lines in the food industry into the organization. Owing mostly to the great "back to normalcy" movement, conducted by the employing interests, progress in these lines has not been as rapid as might have been desired, but already butcher and slaughterhouse workers, Maccaroni makers and others have been added to the list of food workers trades represented in the organization.

It is significant, that during a period of such widespread and disastrous industrial depression and reaction as the one just past, under which many of the most powerful organizations went down to almost complete disaster, the new organization was able not only to increase and consolidate its membership, but also to repulse almost all attacks of the employing interests, against the wage standards and the working conditions enjoyed by its members since the inauguration of the organization.

The financial report of the general secretary showed that the finances of the organization are on a sound basis, altho considerable expenses had to be made for organizing, defense and other purposes.

The convention decided to change the name of the organization to The Amalgamate Food Workers and gave instructions to its executive board to establish affiliation with the International Food Workers Federation in Zurich, Switzerland.

The delegate sent by the United Labor Council to the Second Congress of the Red Trade Union International in Moscow received credentials from the Convention to represent the Food Workers and the delegates instructions from the United Labor Council were approved and indorsed.

Several changes to the constitution were made by the convention all of which will have to be sanctioned by the members before they become law.

An urgent appeal made by Comrade Fred Biedenkapp for financial aid in the Sacco-Vanzetti defense case was granted without much discussion and on a collection taken up among the 45 delegates $55.00 were added to the donation.

In a resolution the release of all political and class war prisoners was demanded and the organization pledged to assist in any movement to attain this end.

Changes in the constitution include the raising of the P. C. Tax to the general organization to 25c per month and the elimination of the [illegible]00 annual assessment for the official organ.

In a resolution presented by the Chicago Hotel Workers branch, the organization pledges itself to the amalgamation of all food workers into one industrial organization under progressive leadership.

It reads as follows:

"Whereas, the ravages wrought by the "open shop" campaign have made it imperative that the workers of the respective industries consolidate their forces so as to create a [illegible] front against the enemy [illegible], and

"Whereas, the need for solidarity in the food industry is one that must result in a determined and decisive action, therefore be it

"Resolved, that this National Convention of the Amalgamated Food Workers endorses the general principles of amalgamation and instructs its National Executive Officers to initiate an intensified campaign of education, looking towards the fusion of all existing organizations in the food industries into one industrial union under progressive leadership."

CONCERT AND BALL
Harlem Russian Branch W.P.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7th
8 P. M., at
EDUCATIONAL CENTER
622 East 106th St.
ADMISSION 35 CENTS
Come — Brings Friends — Enjoy Yourselves

THE DAILY WORKER

[illegible]

Vol. I, No. 3 September 24, 1922 Price [illegible]

Michigan Labor Endorses Amalgamation

Demands Repeal of Criminal Syndicalism Law—Daugherty Flagged

(Special to Daily Worker)

Battle Creek, Mich.—Michigan labor in Convention assembled hurled its defiance in the teeth of Attorney-General Daugherty, head of the Department of Injustice, when resolutions were unanimously adopted denouncing the raid on labor unionists in Berrien County, Michigan, demanding the repeal of the State Criminal Syndicalism Law under which those labor leaders are held and with only one dissenting vote passed a resolution favoring the amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions.

This movement which is fostered by William Z. Foster has gotten under the hide of Samuel Gompers, the "Old Man of the Sea," who has kept his seat in the back of the American Labor for almost half a century.

The identity of the troglodyte who cast the solitary vote against the "amalgamation" resolution is not known to the editorial staff of the **DAILY WORKER** at this time.

We feel, however, that his name will be enshrined in the pages of history with specimens of animal life that have persisted in living after all excuses for their existance had passed.

Perhaps he is a candidate for the presidency of the A. F. of L. to succeed the "Old Man of the Sea." At any rate he is what is known in Gaelic as a Rara Avis,—in other words "Michiganer."

The political prisoners in Bergien County jail appreciate the stand taken by the Michigan Federation of Labor, a stand which is in harmony with the progressive movement among the rank and file of organized labor in every part of the country.

That the labor movement notes with growing concern the fact that the capitalists and their servants in high places make no fine distinctions between labor leaders who conduct their activity along strictly trade union lines and those who combine political with trade union activity is a significant indication of the growing spirit of class consciousness among the American Workers.

Gompers may fume and his Grand Dukes from the Crown Prince Matthew Woll to the oldest barnacle on the rusty bottom of his Sinking Ship—may rage over the insurgent movement among the workers, against the Trade Union Educational League and against Foster in particular, but the **"DAILY WORKER"**, with the largest circulation of any English daily communist organ in the United States pledges itself to fight the separation of the workers on the industrial field and press the issue of amalgamation until the workers are brought to see the fact that united on the industrial and political fields they can bring about a condition under which they can establish themselves in power under the Workers' Soviet Republic of America.

EDITORIALS

DAILY WORKER
Official Organ of the Political Prisoners in Berrien County Jail
Published daily and sometimes on Sunday

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Owing to congestion in our bank, rubles and marks are not acceptable until further notice. By order of Chas. Krumbein, Bus. Mgr.

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MUTINY QUELLED

An attempted coup d'etat on the part of a small und unrepresentative fraction of the committee which publishes this organ of undiluted communism was nipped in the bud when Elmer MacMillan, the leader of the revolt was placed in solitary confinement for two days and his first lieutenant Bud Reynolds dishonorably discharged from the County Jail.

The other malcontent Gene Bechtold did not take an active part in the fighting that took place when his two comrades attempted to kidnap the editor.

He was dealt with leniently for this reason. His daily allowance of coffee was limited to three quarts.

Details of the revolt will be found on another page. Suffice it to say here, that the present administration will not tolerate any interference from demagogues who pretend to speak for the rank and file. If the rank and file need to voice their feelings they can do so thru the columns of the Daily Worker.

The fate of these misguided comrades should serve as a lesson to others who may desire power without passing thru the probation period to test their fitness.

FOREIGN SECTION
TURKS CUT LOOSE

World War Threatened; Ireland and Russia May be Involved; Greece Fried in Her Own Fat; John Bull Bellowing With Rage; Holly War Threatened; Insurrection in Sultan's Harem Spreads.

(By Federated Press)

CONSTANTINOPLE.— Another world war, deadlier than the last, threatens to devour what was left of civilization when the dove of peace replaced Mars on the gory battlefields of Europe on November 11, 1918.

This time the slogan will not be "Make the World Safe for Democracy" but "Save Christianity from the Terrible Turk!" England as usual leads the movement for salvation.

England is mobilizing all her fighting forces, even Miss Gorey Booth, Commander-in-Chief of the American Section of the Salvation Army was ordered to report at once to headquarters in London.

Kemal Pasha and his armies are chasing the Greeks, but the latter are moving so rapidly that the Turks can barely see their dust in the distance. Telegrams of congratulations were received at Turkish headquarters from the Soviet Foreign minister and from Eamonn De Valera, President of the Irish Republic. Chicherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, notified Kemal Pasha that he would send him a train load of paper rubles if necessary, but the latter replied that he had not yet exhausted his supply of note paper.

De Valera offered Kemal an option on the next crop of Irish policemen. Kemal thanked him for his kind offer but replied that he did not care just now to risk complications with the United States government.

The good will of Ireland and Russia has raised the morale of the Turks considerably. It is generally believed here that a military economic agreement between these powers is as good as concluded.

The motto of the Irish is "The Best Way to Prepare for Peace is to be always at war." They have fought now for nearly 800 years against England and apparently they are only beginning to like it.

If Ireland threatened to stop fighting just now it is feared that in the present state of nervousness from which Europe is suffering a world cataclysm would result.

Such a rupture with tradition would not alone embarrass the Friends of Irish Freedom in America but would also strike terror into the heart of England.

The latter would fear that Ireland found a new weapon, more dangerous than any hitherto known and might prove deadlier in peace than in war.

The Greeks were heartened by the Mire Lundon resolution calling on Harding to offer mediation in the Tufco-Greco mutual annihilation game. The Sultan has issued orders to the Turkish voters in America to support the Anti-Saloon League in the next election, thus punishing Milwaukee, the only remaining stronghold of the Socialist Party in America.

The revolution in the Sultan's harem is spreading rapidly. The eunuchs have organized and accuse the Sultan of retaining his youth at their expense. They marched to the Sultan's throne carrying banners bearing the Legends "No more glands for the Sultan."

It is rumored that Bolshevist propaganda is back of this attack on the Sultan as part of their attempt to break up the home and destroy religion.

In the meantime moving picture operators are trying to "shoot" the Greek Army but only succeed in snapping a cloud of dust. The Greeks are preparing a proclamation calling on the Ku Klux Klan and the Mormon church to rally their forces against the Turks and save the world from lawlessness and polygamy.

NOTICE TO OUR PATRONS

A. Bail, our former advertising manager has resigned his position to accept an offer from a Philadelphia daily of international repute. We wish Mr. Bail success. He was a painstaking employee and during his short term of service on the staff of the Daily Worker achieved splendid results. Even his name was an inspiration, for what word sounds sweeter to the ear of a prisoner than the magic word "Bail". His place cannot easily be filled.—Charles Krumbein, Bus. Mgr.

By TOM TIPPETT

(Federated Press Correspondent)

HERRIN, Ill.—Constant [illegible] comment, lying feature stories, incendiary cartoons and parrot editorials in the commercial press against Williamson County, steadily kept up since the bloodshed at the Lester strip mine near here June 22 is having an inflammatory result equal only to the late wartime hysteria which was brought about by the same machinery.

Residents here deplore the false light in which they have been placed before the reading public, but those who have ventured away from home have felt the effect of the poison propaganda in another way.

A member of the local cooks and waiters' union writing from Pueblo, Colo., says: "If you want to keep out of jail don't leave the county. I got three days in the lockup here after my union card revealed the fact that I had come from Herrin."

A banker here had the automobile name plate which bore the name Herrin, Ill., battered into an unreadable condition in front of the Statler hotel, St. Louis. Another resident, while automobiling outside the county, got his car stuck in the mud. A nearby farm was appealed to for help. The driver of the muleteam, sent to rescue the submerged car, upon approaching it, saw the word Herrin printed on the name plate, turned tail and fled.

A colored member of the Culp miners' local union had the same reception when he entered the colored section of St. Louis and was introduced as a miner "from Herrin." In relating the incident to me the miner said, "They backed away from me as though they expected me to explode."

Residents here bitterly resent the almost invariable omission in metropolitan press accounts of the mine trouble, of the fact that two union men were murdered in cold blood by imported gunmen 24 hours before the alleged massacre occurred.

Amalgamation!

Defeating the opponents of "Amalgamation", the delegates to the recent convention of the Indiana State Federation of Labor adopted resolutions demanding the solidarity of all labor so essential for the welfare of the toiling masses. The resolution was submitted by the State Conference of the Painters' Union. The extract from the minutes showing the action of the convention is as follows

Resolution on Amalgamation

The Committee on Organization had referred to it the following resolution

"To the Officers and Delegates of the Indiana State Federation of Labor:

"Whereas, The strikes of the miners, railroad shop crafts and textile workers have proven that the employers thruout the nation are solidly united by identity of interest and welfare which leaves no room for divided action, and in conjunction they are being supported by the government, the courts, and public press in any union-destroying act they want to engage in, and

Whereas, The employers are making a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out various crafts and forcing them to struggle to maintain their organization, and

Whereas, The unions split up in various crafts are unable to make a united resistance against the employers, hence are separately defeated and forced to accept reductions in wages and lower their standard of living, and

Whereas, The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers thru amalgamation of the various crafts so that there will only remain one union for each industry, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Indiana State Federation of Labor call upon all local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. to take steps to bring about amalgamation by instructing their International, state and central organizations to call a conference of their respective bodies to bring about this required solidarity that is so essential for the welfare of the toiling masses, and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to all State Federations, Internationals and the A. F. of L.

Fraternally submitted by the Indiana State Conference Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America.

Signed:

CARL MULLEN, President.
F. H. DETRICH, Sec'y.-Treas.
Chas. Donald, Thomas Moore, Percy Head, C. C. Mayes, A. J. Shaffer, L. A. Barth, Resolutions Com.

The majority of the committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, and the minority, Charles Donald and Thomas Moore, recommended non-concurrence.

The minority report was defeated after some discussion, and the majority report of the committee adopted.

[illegible]

[illegible]: "There's a lot of agitation against the government going on here and it's got to be stopped."

Just Words, Words, Words

Conservative labor officials in Great Britain have let loose a blare of oratory and a storm of manifestoes against the threatened war in the Near East. The Labor Herald, now the official organ of the British labor unions, proclaims, "Not a man, not a gun, not a ship!" across the top of its first page, issue of Sept. 19.

So was it before hell broke loose over Europe in the summer days of 1914, sweeping these same labor officials into the flames. These officials have not learned, or will not learn, probably both.

Thus Arthur Henderson, most franctic of the jingoes in 1914, now makes a speech at the opening of a new labor hall at Wimbledon, England, and utters words as follows:

> "The latest steps demanding that the Turks withdraw from the neutral zone are not calculated to lessen the tension in the Near East.
>
> "At any moment the British troops may find themselves under orders to expel the Turks, and this would kindle the flames of war likely to set the whole Moslem world ablaze. This would precipitate a calamity as dreadful as the great war.
>
> "I fear it must be said that the war party in the cabinet has gained the upper hand. The policy now pursued is inconsistent with the spirit of the recent note of the Allies to Kemal, and the government's duty is to avoid any action likely to provoke a conflict.
>
> "WE SHALL OPPOSE BY ALL MEANS WITHIN OUR POWER THE WAR THAT IS NOW THREATENED."

Henderson admits that the disturbing factor is the presence of British troops in the Dardanelles, where they have no business from labor's point of view. Then why doesn't British labor demand the withdrawal of these troops instead of making hypocritical anti-war speeches.

Australian labor is getting nearer reality thru issuing a manifesto denouncing the attitude of Premier Hughes (Labor) on the Near East question, and threatening a general strike in the event of war, so as to prevent the manufacture of munitions or the transport of troops.

It must ruffle the feelings of labor conservatives in England to hear of this action by the workers in one of the Empire's most important colonies, especially in protest against the "labor" premier who sent Australia's workers into the war in 1917, and served the King loyally thruout the conflict.

All that Turkey wants is what Great Britain has confessed she ought to have. Then let British labor call a general strike and stop all industry until the troops are ordered home. If this doesn't help, then let British labor take over all power and run the country itself, and itself order the troops back to England.

Instead of talking anti-war let British labor act anti-war. And let those conservative officials of British labor who talk about winning the government in the next election, show that labor has a mailed fist to smash in the face of the present government NOW.

La Guardia, regular republican nominee for congress in the 20th (New York) District, has discovered the issue as between himself and Karlin, the "Socialist" candidate. La Guardia says: "Mr. Karlin is a conservative running on a radical ticket. I am a radical running on a conservative ticket." And they are going to have a debate to fight it out. No wonder the voters sometimes get so dizzy they can't find the polling booth. La Guardia has not attempted to compare himself to the candidates of the Workers Party, or "steal" any of its Communist principles.

Washington has decided to keep out of England's troubles in the Near East by sending a squadron of twelve destroyers to the troubled waters of the Mediterranean. It will be remembered that the Spanish-American war was fanned into flames with the slogan of "Remember the Maine," the battleship Maine having been blown up in Havana (Cuba) Harbor, where it had gone to "protect American interests."

Henry Ford announces that he is going to invest his profits to make more work for the workers. But he forgot to add, more profits for Henry Ford. The workers work harder and Ford grows richer, until the time that the workers decide to quit working for Ford and begin working for themselves. Labor shouldn't force Ford to worry about how best to re-invest his profits.

A conference of delegates of the Red International of Labor Unions for the London, England, district recently adopted resolutions demanding the release of all class war prisoners in America and South Africa, the two spots in the English-speaking world where the reactionists are making their most bitter attacks on labor.

Great Britain seems to be having an awful time trying to postpone the war in the Near East. We say "postpone," because British imperialism shows no inclination to wipe out the causes of war in the Mediterranean.

The British Labor Party is still issuing "statements" on the war danger in the Near East. But, as usual, nothing definite is done to halt such a calamity with the mailed fist of the organized British working class.

The number of stockholders in the United States Steel Corporation has decreased by 3,205 during the last three months. The little fellows must be selling out to raise funds to keep body and soul together.

Dr. Josiah H. Penniman, acting provost of the University of Pennsylvania, endorses college education for the masses. But he carefully steers shy of any suggestions as to how this is to be accomplished.

U. S. Senator William E. Borah, addressing the Chicago Press Club recently, demanded U. S. recognition of the Russian Soviet Republic. It still sounds like a voice in the wilderness. But Borah should at least be given credit for keeping at it.

We have another recruit for the army that feels all Europe [illegible]. Not Europe, but imperialism in Europe, is tottering to [illegible]. Ex-King Constantine now professes to [illegible]. That's what makes ex-King Constantine feel so badly.

Great Britain has already recognized the new Greek king. It is taken for granted that the Greek revolution didn't even dent capitalism locally.

Ex-King Constantine of Greece is now Prince [illegible]. It beats all how royalty sticks by its titles. But it is to be hoped the revolution in Greece develops into more than a fluke.

France and England are getting ready to swallow their pride and invite Soviet Russia to the Dardanelles Peace Conference. Another victory for Soviet diplomacy.

…ebraska Labor Ta… Stand for Amalga… at State Conventio…

(By The Federated Press)

OMAHA.—Except for one dissenting vote the Nebraska State Federation of Labor in convention here unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that craft unions be amalgamated into industrial unions, one for each industry. The Nebraska resolution follows substantially the one adopted by the Minnesota and Wisconsin state federations at their conventions.

It reads: "Whereas, The employers are solidly united in an effort to crush all Labor Unions in America, as shown by their present attempt to break up the organizations of the workers in the railroad shop crafts and by their successful destruction of the packing house workers' unions; and

"Whereas, The present organizations of the workers on a craft basis tends to keep the forces of labor divided so that we cannot exert our full power in defense of our rights; and

"Whereas, The employers are supported by the full power of the government, including the courts, injunction judges and troops in their efforts to impose a slavery standard of living upon the American workers;

"Therefore, Be it Resolved: That the Nebraska State Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby urge the American Federation of Labor and the various international unions to call all the unions in each industry into conference for the purpose of devising ways and means of so amalgamating the unions that there will remain but one union for each industry."

Message from Miners in Vanguard of the Struggle

In spite of injunctions, in spite of the Chamber of Commerce's (capitalists' union) effort to bring about "justice" for themselves by indicting mine workers for crimes provoked by the bosses and committed by the bosses, in spite of the capitalist broadcasting a nation-wide cry, calling on all those who fight for their rights and true justice "un-American" and "Red," the spirit of workers everywhere surges up from the depths of misery and oppression.

Here is part of a letter from a striking miner which, in spite of general depression, shows that undaunted spirit that will lead the workers to victory, and the exploiters to their doom.

The letter is in part as follows:

"I wish to inform you that the Workers Party Local South Zeigler, Illinois is getting on fine.

"Our members have just gone thru a five-months-strike and they have assessed themselves with their first pay, which is to be used for the defense of the comrades arrested at the Michigan Raid.

"The Miners Union at its last district convention voted 1 per cent of its total earnings for defending miners indicted for the Herrin Massacre.

"Local Union No. 992 has already two of its members indicted.

"Our Local Union No. 992, called a general meeting for nomination of international and state officers. John L. Lewis didn't even get a single vote in Zeigler and Frank Farrington only got one from our Local, which has a membership of 1100.

"We send you, comrades, fraternal greetings from battling miners in the for front of the class struggle, at Southern Illinois."

HELP IN THE
Ten-Day Drive
October 5th thru October 15th
House-to-House Collection
Saturday, October 14th, and
Sunday, October 15th
TO DEFEND THE
Champions of La…
FOSTER,
DUNNE,
RUTHENBERG,
HARRISON,
O'FLAHE…
and others arrested in con… tion with the Michigan …
Help the N. Y. State C…
BEN GITLOW,
ANNA LEISMAN,
MINNIE KALNI…
MANKO and oth…
Volunteers report to
Nat'l Defense C…
(New York Divisi…)
Room 405, 80 East 11th …
New York City.

[illegible]

Understanding the need of amalgamation, the Federation adopted a straight amalgamation resolution calling for the complete industrialization of the whole labor movement. Copies were ordered sent to all affiliated organizations.

The Fight in Minnesota

Important as the foregoing victories for amalgamation were, they pale beside that one at the convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor held in Crookston in the latter part of July.

Organized Labor thruout the State knew that the proposition was going to come up. Hence both reactionaries and progressives mustered in force at the Convention.

Sam Gompers had his henchmen there to see to it that nothing was done that might modernize the labor movement.

Defenders of his reactionary principles were Secretary-Treasurer Hays of the Typographical Union, President Manning of the Label Trades Department, and Organizer Paul Smith.

Chief among the fighters for amalgamation were the militants from Minneapolis and St. Paul, and the shopmen's delegates from the various railroad centers.

From the beginning of the Convention the gathering quivered with expectancy anent the coming struggle over amalgamation. And when finally the resolution came before the house the battle began in earnest.

They Paint It "Red"

The reactionaries, following out their usual tactics, tried to discredit the proposition by smearing it all over with "red."

Organizer Smith, in particular, viciously assailed the project as the work of the Trade Union Educational League, and threw against it all the thunder of the American Federation of Labor. But it did him little good, and the reactionaries who lined up with him.

The amalgamationists were able to so completely carry the Convention that when the aye vote on the resolution was taken it fairly shook the building.

And it shook all the fight out of the reactionaries, because not a single one dared to vote against it. It was a victory to cheer the heart of every militant worker and to give him renewed faith in the labor movement. The last part of the resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas, the manifest solution for this problem is to develop a united front of the workers in each industry by the organization of industrial unions having full jurisdiction over all crafts employed in any industry; and

"Whereas, this change involves serious re-arrangements of the workers along new lines, a process of national education must be carried on in order that interested unions may effect this transformation voluntarily, and without contention or friction, therefore be it

"Resolved, by the 40th Convention of the State Federation of Labor, [illegible] developing a method of [illegible] this change.

The Michigan State Federation of Labor adopted the amalgamation plan, in Battle Creek, Sept. 21, at its convention. The vote was almost unanimous, only two delegates voting against it. The resolution was the one known as the Chicago Resolution, and calls for the complete industrialization of the labor movement. That makes seven State Federations that have endorsed the resolution in the past three months.

Central Councils for Amalgamation

If the state federations are awake to the necessities for amalgamation in this hour of bitter crisis for the labor movement, the central labor councils are no less keen to realize that Labor must consolidate its forces if it is to withstand the crushing drive of the employers.

Several score of them have endorsed amalgamation since the League's campaign began, including Minneapolis, Omaha, Milwaukee, Chicago, Lincoln, Joliet, St. Paul, Seattle, Tacoma, Belleville, Sioux City, Council Bluffs, Ogden, Salt Lake, etc., etc.

The biggest fight with the reactionaries was had in Chicago at the very opening of the campaign.

The amalgamationists presented a resolution, which has since been adopted in whole or in part by labor bodies all over the country. The reactionaries fought this resolution tooth and nail. But their efforts availed nothing, because it was adopted by a vote of 114 to 37.

This alarmed the reactionaries exceedingly and they declared they would clean up on the "reds" at the next meeting of the Federation. When this came about the assemblage was packed to the doors and the battle began.

It was not long until it was seen that the craft unionists were overwhelmingly beaten. So evident was their downfall that the crowd did not wait for the vote, which this time went 103 for amalgamation to 14 against it.

Alarmed still more by this renewed defeat, the reactionaries made another attempt to defeat the amalgamationists.

Mr. Gompers himself came to Chicago, denounced the Federation, the League, and amalgamation generally.

His supporters immediately got into action and it was quite evident that they were determined to reorganize the Federation and to seize control of it.

But prudence stayed their hand from such rash action. The amalgamation sentiment was too strong for them, many of the largest and most influential trade unions in the city voting hearty endorsement of it.

The Chicago labor movement as a whole went squarely on record for industrial unionism in the industries generally.

Among the Independent Unions

One of the most remarkable features of the League's amalgamation campaign is the favorable response [illegible] and they are [illegible] movement.

No industry has suffered more from dual unionism than the textile industry. Now, however, the many unions are awakening to the folly of warring upon each other and are proposing a general consolidation all around.

One of the first steps in this inevitable merging of the many textile union fragments was the formation of the American Federation of Textile Operatives, which joined together several of them.

Likewise in the boot and shoe industry, another that has been cursed with secessionism, the amalgamation tendency in it is showing strongly since the League began its propaganda.

In a convention held in Boston in the early part of June, this year, several of the independent unions joined forces and called themselves the Amalgamated Shoe Workers of America.

In this industry, too, the goal, ever becoming clearer to the workers, is a complete consolidation of all the existing unions.

The old time policy of constant splitting away and warring to the knife against each other is a thing of the past. The new idea of solidarity, as presented by the League, is the dominant program.

Another striking illustration of the spread of amalgamation sentiment is the project on foot between the American Federation of Railroad Workers and the United Association of Railway Employees.

The first of these organizations was the old-time International Association of Car Workers, which seceded from the A. F. of L. many years ago, and the second was an outcome of the so-called "outlaw" railroad strike of 1920.

These two organizations are now in negotiations with each other looking towards a fusion.

Undoubtedly it will be consummated. This movement has been directly influenced by the general amalgamation propaganda carried on by the League.

So far the two organizations, which in the past have been noted for their bitter hostility towards the old unions, have not yet become reconciled to an amalgamation with the railroad craft unions. But this will soon come, as the amalgamation program gains ground in the railroad industry generally.

The **Montreal Labor World** recently reported another consolidation movement that has been greatly stimulated by the League's activity.

This is an amalgamation of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and the International Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks. Conferences will be held between the executives of these organizations as soon as the strike difficulties in the United States are over.

The elimination, by amalgamation, of the first of these two unions will [illegible] trades are to [illegible] any organization at all.

A number of years ago the Machinists' Union awoke to this need and went on record for a general amalgamation of the metal trades unions. But because of the unresponsiveness of the other organizations and the prosperity brought about by the war period, the agitation was dropped.

The League, however, has succeeded in reviving it again. In his whirlwind campaign for International President of the I. A. of M. Wm. Ross Knudsen stirred the whole organization to the imperative need for amalgamation. Consequently the militants everywhere are demanding it. Even the official journal of the Machinists' Union has been compelled to make propaganda for the plan.

A stumbling block in the way of all progressive movements in the metal trades in the past was the Molders' Union.

The League has aroused this old-fogey-ridden organization also. Just now its militants are making a big issue of amalgamation for the whole metal trades.

A referendum is now being taken on the subject of "Shall there be an amalgamation of metal trades national and international unions, thereby forming an industrial organization of all metal workers of the nation?"

As never before the live spirits among the Molders are determined and organized to modernize and industrialize their organization. It is safe to prophesy that the amalgamation movement in the metal trades will soon take on such size and impetus as to be irresistible.

In the clothing trades the League's influence for amalgamation is strong and unquestioned. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have officially endorsed the proposition, and the Needle Trades Section of the T. U. E. L. is fighting to make it prevail in the other organizations of the industry.

Tremendous headway is being made in the various clothing centers, and one union for the needle trades may be confidently looked forward to as an achievement of the near future.

The International Typographical Union is the standard bearer for amalgamation in the printing trades.

At its Quebec Convention a year ago it declared for one union in the industry. The League militants in all the printing organizations are agitating to realize this program.

Likewise they are seeing to it that the officials of the I. T. U. are kept moving in the spirit of the Quebec resolution.

The Bookbinders' Union has already been won over to the proposition. The chief obstacles now are the personal interests of Matthew Woll, President of the Photo Engravers' Union, and George Berry, President of the Pressmens' Union, two prize reactionaries.

Amalgamation and the Trade Union Educational League are living movements in the printing industry. [illegible] not only the railroad trades, but of the craft unions in all other industries as well.

Likewise the coming together in one union of the Engineers and Firemen is symptomatic of the rapid spread of amalgamation sentiment.

But the real amalgamation movement has centered around the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee of which Otto Mangerin is Secretary.

This Body adopted a comprehensive and scientific plan of amalgamation and scattered it broadcast among the many thousand local railroad unions, asking their endorsement.

The response was overwhelming. Many hundreds of locals, of all crafts, have declared their support to the project of joining the 16 standard railroad unions into one united organization.

It is safe to say that an overwhelming majority of the rank and file of railroad workers are now in favor of amalgamation.

The big job is to register this sentiment in concrete achievement, and the Minnesota Shop Crafts Legislative Committee has dedicated itself to this task.

Steps are now being taken to publish an amalgamation bulletin, which will carry the message of solidarity to railroad workers everywhere. In addition, amalgamation committees will be organized in all the principal railroad centers so as to intensify and crystallize the already existing sentiment.

Before long amalgamation will be an actual achievement in the railroad industry, despite the active opposition of the Gompers type of labor leaders.

From the foregoing necessarily brief sketch of the amalgamation movement that has developed since the League started its work, it is strikingly evident that the American labor movement is ready for industrial unionism.

A curious illustration of this fact, and a typical example of the materialistic viewpoint our labor leaders hold towards the unions, is the case of a certain wellknown President of an International Union, who recently said to a group of his organizers, "Save your money, boys, amalgamation's coming." And the one thing needed to make it come is a determined effort on the part of the Trade Union Educational League militants.

In these critical days for Labor the worker who has not put his union on record for amalgamation is asleep at the switch.

By that very fact he proves his inefficiency as a militant rebel. Amalgamation is the great issue now before the American labor movement. To the League belongs the credit.

Treachery of Bureaucrats Unmasked in Appeal for United Front in Germany

(Continued from Page One)

decided to take their place alongside of the German bourgeoisie, of German imperialism.

The result of this action was to destroy the belief of the international working class in Socialism, in the international solidarity of the proletariat which allowed itself to be driven from one battlefield to the other, to be butchered like cattle.

Thanks to the policy of the Social Democracy, the bourgeoisie was able to fight the war to an end, shedding seas of blood, without any revolt on the part of the proletarian masses.

German Workers Misled

Then came peace, a peace of iniquity, a peace of exploitation, a peace which keeps the world armed to the teeth, ready for a new war.

And the German working class, weakened and misled by the Social Democrats, was not even capable of etaining the power which had fallen nto its hands without a struggle.

It could not resist the bourgeoisie, ltho the latter was weak and disoranized.

Once again the Scheidemanns have elped the bourgeoisie. They have ganized White Guards to shoot down the vanguard of the German proletariat, so the German bourgeoisie might be able to erect its power anew upon their corpses.

Just as during the war, the Social Democracy excused its criminal tactics on the ground of the necessity to protect German Independence, without which there can be no Democracy and no progress of the working class.

Similarly they stabbed the November Revolution in the back on the ground that it was necessary to suppress all attempts at a proletarian dictatorship, which "only leads to misery and slavery", while the Republic and Democracy represent the smooth roads to Socialism.

They have made a god of their bourgeois democracy, this excellent instrument of capitalistic exploitation, this democracy under which millions of workers in France and in America lead a life of slavery; they have sacrificed on its altars the most elemental interests of the proletariat.

Betray Republic to Monarchists

And now we see the German Social Democracy ready to betray its bourgeois Republic into the hands of the monarchist, Hohenzollern Restoration.

It has prepared this action thru three years that followed the overthrow of the November Revolution.

It has prepared it when it left unpunished the criminal German officer caste.

It has prepared it when it did not dare make any change in the system of oppression of the imperial bureaucracy.

It has prepared it when it threw the masses of the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of the counter-revolution, by making them the prey of Big Capital.

It has prepared it when it left the organizers of the Kapp-Putsch go scott-free, and threw the revolutionary workers into prison.

It has prepared it when it suppressed the spontaneous movement of the proletariat after the murder of Erzberger.

And now this preparatory work is ended: The German Social Democracy capitulated before the monarchists, who, after they had shaken the Government so rudely by the assassination of Rathenau, now dart a direct attack upon the Republic.

Surrender Their Demands

And this happens after the whole German proletariat, in a rousing protest, shouted "Enough!" to the murderous monarchists.

This happens after the workers had forced the leaders of the Social Democracy and the Trade Unions to formulate their minimum demands:—a special law against the monarchists, which would break up their murder organizations, curb the monarchistic propaganda, cleanse the republican administration and army of the monarchists.

Yesterday, they put up and signed their demands, together with the Communists. Twice they have led out the workers in great demonstrations thruout Germany as proof that they were willing to fight for their demands. And what happened? How did they keep their solemn promises?

At the same time that they were prattling about a united front, and the Communists had renounced all separate action, they were negotiating behind the scenes with the bourgeoisie, so-called democratic parties and surrendered half their demands!

They have made the Protective Laws into a farce, till they lost all effectiveness! They have not freed our revolutionary fighters, still languishing in prisons!

Cowardice Gives Reaction Courage

They have refused to exile the members of the old dynasties, even when they openly and cynically advocated the overthrow of the Republic!

They have refused to direct the Extraordinary Laws against the monarchists, and, most important of all, they have refused to chase from the police and the army the monarchistic scoundrels who reign there!

Furthermore, they have helped to create an Extraordinary Law which monarchistic judges will be able to apply against the revolutionary workers fighting for the transformation of the bourgeois republic into a proletarian one.

Their cowardice has given the counter-revolution such courage, that an openly monarchistic party—the financier of the monarchistic reaction—Stinnes' Party dares to demand admission into the Government.

The monarchists have the audacity to defy the Republic from the grave of one of its ministers whom they have murdered.

The monarchist counter-revolution entrenched in Bavaria, has already passed from the defensive to the offensive.

It openly declares war against the national government, and declares null and void the Laws for the Protection of the Republic.

Executes Cowardly Retreat

The German Government again retreats before these provocations without a fight.

The bureaucracy of the Social Democracy and of the trade unions, after calling upon the workers to defeat this monarchistic counter-revolution, now hushes up its cowardly retreat.

The German Social Democrats and the German trade union leaders have demonstrated thereby that they are not able to defend even the bourgeois democracy, this limited field of the class struggle, to say nothing of having it fight for Socialism.

This cowardly behaviour of the Social Democrats and of the trade union leaders will bring about the overthrow of the German bourgeois Republic, unless the working-class arises to the defense of its interests.

And at this moment, when the Social Democracy fails in its duty not only as a Socialistic, but even as a purely democratic party, at this moment, the Independent Socialists are laying down their arms!

This party, in whose program we read: "Proletarian Dictatorship and Soviet Republic," this party which has declared a thousand times that the interests of the working-class against the bourgeoisie can be defended by the class-war only; which has stigmatized a thousand times the coalition policy of the Social Democrats; this party declares itself ready to enter into a bourgeois coalition.

The protection of the bourgeois democracy,—that is the excuse of the Independent Social Democrats for their betrayal of the cause.

The ink with which they wrote this excuse is not yet dry, and already this policy bears its fruits. It has helped the reaction in the Reichstag to defeat the Extraordinary Laws which were to protect the Republic against the monarchists.

A block, including all shades of politicians from Helfferich to Crispien and Dittmann, is being formed to prevent the passage of the Extra- [illegible] every.

[illegible] in Treachery

The Majority Socialists belong to the Second International, the Independent Socialists to the 2½ International.

Just as on the 4th of August, Haase, the later founder of the Independent Social Democracy, and Kautsky, its chief theoretician, adopted the same policy as the Scheidemanns and the Eberts, and betrayed the proletariat; just as in November 1918, these same Independents and Social-Democrats, betrayed the November Revolution to the bourgeoisie.

To crown their treacherous work they united again now, at this deciding turning point in the history of the German proletariat.

When the monarchy of the Hohenzollerns, when the savage rule of capital and militarism will have been restored again, the Moor will have done his work; the Moor can then die.

The bourgeoisie will throw them out of the Government; and this glorious era when the workers will be bound hand and foot, and the "liberators of the people," the Social Democrats, will protest with hollow phrases against the rule of capital which they themselves have helped to restore, these magnificent times will return.

The Second and 2½ Internationals, the heroes of Amsterdam, accompany this tragedy with their clownish dancing. They promise their help to the cowardly German Social Democrats of both shades and to the trade union bureaucrats.

When the Scheidemanns and the Dittmanns are forced to flee the country by monarchistic, anti-Socialistic laws, Henderson in London, and Renaudel in Paris, will receive them with open arms.

In its proclamation of July 23rd, the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation pronounced its blessings upon the Second and 2½ Internationals.

The Unashamed Internationals

For the salvation of Europe these heroes recommend propaganda for the League of Nations, a tearful appeal to the rich uncle in America, that he remit France's and England's war debts, so that they, in turn, will be pleased to reduce their extortions, and plunder Germany not wholly, but only half or three quarters.

These three Internationals are not ashamed to call upon you, workers, to become propagandists for the Entente bourgeoisie.

At the Conference of the Executives of the three political Internationals, the speakers of the 2½ International united with the Communists against the Treaty of Versailles.

And now they call upon you, together with the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals, to make propaganda for Lloyd George.

Working men and women!

If you allow these demagogues to mislead you in this struggle in remembrance of a better past, and in the name of order and discipline, then you are lost!

The German Communists knew very well that this bourgeois Republic was not a proletarian weapon, but in spite of this, they were the only ones to call upon you for an effective defense of the Republic because they see that it gives them at least a certain freedom of movement in their fight for the Soviet Dictatorship of the proletariat, for Socialism.

Communists Not Betrayers

They have undertaken no separate action as long as they had the least hope that the Social Democrats and the trade union bureaucrats would be willing to fight for their demands.

The Communists to not intend to take part in the betrayal of the German proletariat into the hands of the monarchist reaction.

And today, again, before it is too late, we tell you: You must act yourselves! You must do everything to force your leaders to refuse the coalition with the bourgeoisie, to dissolve the Reichstag, to begin the fight for a workers' government.

If this does not succeed, cast aside your leaders, and act without them; for should the capitalistic, monarchistic reaction triumph, it is you who will suffer, you, upon whom the white terror of the monarchistic murderers will wreak its vengeance, in the government, in the factories, and in the workshops.

The betrayal of your leaders makes your struggle very difficult. The Social Democrats and the trade union bureaucrats still control the most important positions in the letarian organizations, and use influence to sabotage your stru

In Bavaria, the reaction is ducting its work openly. The vernment, the Social Democratic trade union leaders give, are givi way before them.

The international counter-revol tion has begun its offensive. Reparations Commission has nam two financial controllers to super tend the income and expenses of German government; the gover ment submits. The Social Dem cratic and trade union leaders help government, police, militar and justice to plunder you accordi to the dictates of the finance contro lers of the Entente.

Working men and women!

The foreign and native capitalis are able to rob you, to squeeze last drop of blood from your bodie because you have not united to o tain the control of the finances the bourgeois state and the mea of production of the capitalists f the welfare of the working class!

Faced with Fate of Austrians

Prices are rising by leaps an bounds; the fate of the Austria worker awaits you if you do n unite in a solid front, to overthro the monarchistic reaction, to ove throw the profiteering bourgeoi and the treacherous party and tra union bureaucrats who have betray you every time you have accepte their words as the truth.

The Communist Party of German and the Communist Internation alone, have proved that they we ready to lead you in the class w and to the victory of the revolutio ary proletariat.

Show those of your leaders wh have forgotten their duty, that th German proletariat is not a herd o cattle which they can drive back int the monarchist stables!

Your leaders have betrayed yo because they fear the war with th bourgeoisie. Teach them to fear th working class, which has finally los its patience with the traitors!

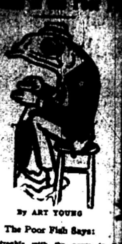
Down with the Coalition Govern ment!

Down with the Social Democrati lackeys of the monarchy!

Long live the fight for the Workers Government!

Long live the united battlefront o the revolutionary working class!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

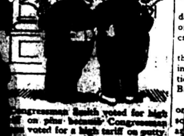


By ART YOUNG

The Poor Fish Says:

The trouble with the negro is that when he gets a little education he thi he's just as good as a white man.

OU SCRATCH MY BACK—
ND I'LL SCRATCH YOURS



ongressman Smith voted for high ff on pins because Congressman voted for a high tariff on putty.

Along the Picket Line

THE WORKER has received a letter from the Shopmen's Picket Line which shows how Workers Party members take the lead in the struggles of the workers with the Bosses. It reads as follows:

"I am renewing my subscription but with a little more time in which to dispose of the five 20 week cards sent me. I am one of the striking shopmen and have been busy on the picket line since July. I have also been busy in our union and am the one who put over the plan for amalgamation which is advocated by the Trade Union Educational League, which we adopted.

"I was appointed captain of the pickets at the Pullman shops and believe me, we have been busy. The men in the shops are waking up and are seeing things differently than before the strike. They are grumbling and cussing their mis-leaders, especially Gompers."—K. A.

Anna Louise Strong in Attempt to Explain the Red Economic Retreat

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

(Federated Press Correspondent)

MOSCOW. — When the Communist government of Russia announced last year a retreat from communism to state capitalism, many of us common folks were perplexed by the term.

Just exactly what did state capitalism mean? The epigram of communist: "It means capitalism controlled by the state, instead of the state controlled by capitalism," was clearer but hardly explanatory. A page of advertisements in the journal Economic Life furnishes better answer.

Economic Life is one of the thr chief daily papers of Russia. others are Isvestia, organ of the gov ernment, and Pravda, organ of communist party, which keeps up running fire of criticism on all per sons in official life, sparing no but keeping all reminded of str party standards.

Economic Life is the organ of Council of Labor and Defense, highest economic power in Ru Among the advertisements noted it are those of the All-Russian operative Society of London, only agent of the Russian delegat in England; the government paper trust; the rubber trust Moscow; the Moscow department transport and the state auto facto Of special interest is the adver ment of the health department sanitariums in the Crimea, whe besides the patients sent by the co missariat of health, there is room several hundred paying patients.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD RE
THIS COPY OF THE WORK
KEEP IT IN CIRCULAT

[illegible] to Put Lindgren in Jail in Michigan

(Continued from page One.)

place [illegible] credence in the word of a radical. Such persons, who seek to tear down the government are not reliable and their testimony should be disregarded."

Miller Rebukes Prosecutor

In answer to this statement Governor Miller severely rebuked Roland saying, "Such an attitude and such a method of administering the laws of this land are more effective than all the Communists in the country in tearing down the government of these United States."

The governor decided that Michigan had not produced enough testimony to have the extradition papers signed and he therefore denied their motion.

Brodsky said after the hearing that the Michigan authorities represented by Deputy Sheriff Cribbe, were so confident of the extradition of Lindgren that they had already bought his ticket back to that state.

Lindgren was arrested in his office on Sept. 7, without a warrant, and taken to police headquarters. He was finger printed and photographed before being brought before a police magistrate. After spending three days in jail he was released in $5000 bail.

Lindgren's hearing on the question of extraditing him to Michigan first came before Governor Miller, Sept. 26. The only question before the governor to decide being whether Lindgren was in Michigan on August 19 and 20, the time of the holding of the alleged Communist Party Convention, and whether he was now a fugitive from justice.

The prosecution was represented by District Attorney Rowan, at Albany, Detective Joseph Spolansky, "specialist in radical cases" for the department of justice.

Detective Spolansky told of being "lost" in the Michigan woods, August 18th, while hunting for the alleged Communist Party convention. The following day, August 19th, he claims he stumbled upon it in the woods near Bridgeman, in Berrien County, Mich. He claims that he saw Lindgren in the gathering.

Lindgren was represented by Attorney Joseph R. Brodsky, of Hale, Nelles and Shorr, and Spolansky was found to be a very unwilling witness under cross examination. He admitted that he had viewed the alleged Communist gathering for only five or eight minutes from a distance of about 50 feet, the gathering consisting of about 80 people. Spolansky admitted that these 80 people, when he saw them, were walking about, talking and discussing among themselves, nevertheless, he contended he was able to identify Lindgren as one of those present.

Spolansky admitted the first and only previous time he had seen Lindgren was three years before at the Chicago Convention in 1919. The detective admitted he had been a member of the Socialist Party for 3½ years and that he had been a sleuth for the Department of Justice for five years.

The only other witness for the prosecution was Detective Val Carroll, of the New York "Bomb Squad" who testified that when Lindgren was arraigned, Lindgren casually stated that he was in Michigan, and stated that he had previously arrested Lindgren in New York.

Under cross examination Detective Carroll admitted that Lindgren had always been non-committal when under arrest, that he would make no statement. He admitted that when Lindgren was arrested he was told of the charge against him, and that when they asked if he was in Michigan, Lindgren made no reply.

It was two days after his arrest that the detective claimed Lindgren casually admitted "Yes I was in Michigan."

The defense then produced Lindgren, who stated that he had left New York City August 14, for Shaffer's Farm, at Asheville, N. Y. He said he stopped at the Farm from August 15th to August 22nd. On the latter date he read in a Buffalo newspaper of the Michigan raid, and read of the predicted raids on the conventions of the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League. On August 23 he went to Chicago to get in touch with conditions there. He denied he was a delegate or attended any convention in Michigan.

Lindgren offered as witnesses to prove he had been at Asheville, N. Y., Fruit R. Shaffer, owner of the farm where he was staying, Willard C. Bennett, the hired man, who testified he saw Lindgren every day, Albert Shaffer, Fruit's brother, George Reader a neighbor and Miss Rose Spagnier a school teacher spending her vacation at the Shaffer farm.

No attempt had been made by the prosecution to bring to Albany the numerous witnesses that were taken to Illinois to secure the extradition of William Z. Foster. Deputy Sheriff Cribbe had come on alone with Detective Spolansky.

Joseph Zack, who has been in The Tombs since his arrest here several weeks ago, has waived extradition and was taken to St. Joseph, Mich., last Friday.

[illegible] Stand and Fight!

EDITOR'S NOTE:—[illegible] THE WORKER [illegible] as follows:

We Must Stand and Fight!

COMRADES:—Never in the history of the American labor movement have the workers faced a more bitter struggle. Never have we faced a more important struggle.

Twenty of our comrades have been made the victims of new "Red Raids." Twenty of our comrades, because they are militant leaders, because they are dangerous to capitalism, face long prison terms.

The labor movement of America stands to lose some of its ablest and most trusted leaders. In the conviction and imprisonment of these men organized labor faces a terrible loss.

If the Mooney case was of such importance that the jailing of Mooney and Billings has created an issue in this country which has remained acute for six years, if the Sacco-Vanzetti case has been able to stir not only workers of this country but of the entire world to action, the Michigan Red Raid case must shake this country to its very foundations, and inspire the American labor movement to take such steps as will make it impossible that William Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg, William F. Dunne, and the other valiant fighters for labor should rot in the capitalist jails.

"TO INSPIRE THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT TO ACTION." That is the task of the American Labor Militants. That and to give to the defendants the best legal defense that can be procured.

Where there has been one protest meeting held for Mooney or Sacco and Vanzetti, we must have a dozen,—in every city and town—the workers must be led to voice their protest and their determination that THIS THING SHALL NOT BE. Where hundreds of leaflets have been issued for Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti we must print thousands and hundred of thousands to tell the workers about the attack that is being made on them.

Where hundreds of dollars have been raised in other labor defense cases we must raise thousands. The issue never was so clearly before us,—ARE LABOR MILITANTS TO HAVE THE FULL PROTECTION OF THEIR CLASS? If they are it is the militants that must take the lead, it is the militants that must sacrifice, it is the militants that must take action, must give to the mass of the workers their inspiring example.

Thru the co-operation of THE WORKER this letter is being sent to you because we believe that you are a militant.

We believe that you are willing to sacrifice and able to inspire and lead other workers.

Give what you can, all you can, towards the defense of these comrades. Head your list. Then take it out to the workers with whom you meet. Lead them and inspire them for the defense of these comrades and themselves. Make them know that

WE MUST STAND AND FIGHT!

Fraternally yours,
LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL.
Room 307, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Moritz J. Loeb, Secretary.

Local New York Opens Campaign at Meeting, Big and Enthusiastic

Local New York opened the campaign with a successful meeting in Park View Palace. The hall was filled to capacity and the audience was enthusiastic.

"The Workers Party," said Comrade Meissave J. Olgin, "does not believe that the working class will solve its problems by merely putting a slip in the ballot box. In order to abolish capitalist slavery the workers will have to displace the capitalist government with a Workers' Republic."

Comrade Engdahl spoke about the persecution which the active members of the Workers Party have to endure because of their activities among the workers.

Comrade Lore told the audience that while Sam Gompers was merely threatening a general strike the Workers Party as soon as it will win the majority of the workers over to its side will carry that threat into life.

Celebrate 5th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution with Concert and Mass Meeting

In honor of the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution Local New York has arranged a concert and mass meeting for Sunday afternoon, Nov. 5th, at the Yorkville Casino, 86th St. near Third Ave.

In addition to speakers a splendid program has been arranged for the meeting. There will be an International Chorus, composed of Finnish, Lettish, Lithuanian, Russian, Ukrainian and Jewish singers. There will be Russian dancing and an orchestra playing Russian music.

John Reed Memorial Meeting

Tuesday evening, Oct. 17, a meeting will be held at the Park View Palace, 110th St. and 5th Ave. to honor the memory of John Reed who died in Russia while fighting for the Proletarian Revolution.

Once John Reed came into the Communist movement, attracted to it by the Russian Revolution, he devoted his whole life to the movement. Full of energy, fearless and aggressive he typified the ideal fighter for the cause of the proletariat. Speakers who knew John Reed intimately will speak of his life and deeds.

Thanksgiving Eve Dance

The finest dance the Workers Party has held since its birth will be held at The Lyceum, 86th St. and Third Ave., Thanksgiving Eve. An orchestra has been engaged which can give satisfaction to all comrades no matter what they like in the dancing line, from the Russian Polka Mazura to the latest American "Jazz". Tickets are already out and can be had from all the branches and from the Local Office. They are only fifty cents apiece.

FINNISH BRANCH HELPS

The Finnish Branch of the Workers Party of Brooklyn has collected $183.86 for defense and relief of the comrades in jail. Of this amount $104.36 was collected at their picnic held on Sunday, September 17th. A special committee of three was elected to do defense work among the comrades and friends in the Finnish colony. Success to them! Who'll be next to follow their example.

V. K. from Baden, Illinois, sends in $10 to the New York Division of the National Defense Committee and receives honorable mention. It is your turn next now!

Opening of the Russian Institute of Technology

Under the auspices of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, Monday, Oct. 9, there will take place the grand opening of the Russian Institute of Technology.

The first division to be opened comprises the school of Agricultural Technique where the use of modern farming machinery and scientific farming will be taught.

An elaborate program will be presented for this special occasion. Comrade Allen S. Broms will preside. The following will speak: Comrades Joseph Bergson and M. J. Olgin of the Freiheit, F. P. Wilga of the Central Bureau of the S. T. A. S. R. Comrade Zaustinsky, educational Director of the School.

A very interesting musical program will be given by Comrades Florence G. Asworth and Modilevskaya. Admission free. All requested to come.

• • •

On October 16, a class in commercial photography is to be started at the new headquarters of S. T. A. S. R. All interested should register at the secretary's office, 231 East 37th Street, N. Y. City.

• • •

Classes in Russian have already started. All interested should register as soon as possible. Inquire at the secretary's office.

BRONX WORKERS PARTY BALL IS POSTPONED

The Ball of Oct. 14th, arranged by the Bronx Section, Workers Party, that was to have been held at Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road, has been indefinitely postponed due to the Shop Delegates' League having their ball the same evening at London's Casino, 3d Ave. and 172d St. Tickets sold for the Workers Party affair with 25c. additional (the difference in price) will be honored at the door of the Shop Delegates' Ball.

[illegible] Nov. 7

TO ALL PARTY BRANCHES AND MEMBERS:

COMRADES:—

November 7th will be the 5th Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia.

For five years the Workers and Peasants of Russia have withstood the attack of all the forces of counter-revolution. Counter-revolutionary armies have battered against the stone wall of the Red Army only to find themselves destroyed. The blockade and famine have not been able to break the iron will of the Russian Proletariat for victory. World Capitalism has brought all its power into play in the effort to destroy Soviet Russia—and has failed.

When we celebrate the anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia this year we are celebrating a victory which can no longer be questioned. We know that capitalism cannot now destroy what the Russian Workers and Peasants have won. Capitalism is weaker and the Soviet Republic stronger. This is a victory for the workers everywhere in the World as well as for the Russian Workers and Peasants, for the Soviet Republic is the inspiration and rallying point of the workers of the world.

This year, too, there will open in Moscow on the Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution the 4th Congress of the Communist International, the fighting organization of the World Proletariat, and in celebrating the anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution we also celebrate the opening of the Fourth Congress.

Comrades, we must make the celebration of November 7th this year the greatest celebration in the history of the movement. Every party unit must participate. We must arrange a celebration in every city and town in which we have a party organization. Where there is a city central committee, it will take the lead and arrange the celebration. In such places in which there is only one branch this branch must arrange a celebration. Whether a branch has five members or there is a city central committee with thousands of members in the Party there must be a celebration on November 7th this year.

The National Organization will mobilize all the speakers in the Party for November 7th, but even though a speaker is not available a celebration can be held. A concert or some other form of celebration must take its place. In order that every meeting may hear the messages our speakers and writers deliver the National Office will secure brief addresses from the leading comrades in the movement and if possible from the leaders of the Russian Revolution, which will be translated into various languages and sent to the branches to be read at the meetings on November 7th. Thus all those in attendance will hear the addresses of William Z. Foster, William F. Dunne, J. Louis Engdahl, Ludwig Lore, Robert Minor and others.

Prepare now, Comrades. Secure your hall. Make your arrangements.

HELP BUILD THE PARTY THRU THESE CELEBRATIONS

The most effective help we can give the Russian Workers and Peasants in their future struggles is thru building up our Party, the Party that has the same ideals and is fighting to reach the same goal which the Russia workers have won.

This year we will combine with the celebration of the victory of the Russian Workers a PARTY BUILDING CAMPAIGN. In order to make our Party stronger we must send out speakers and organizers. We must carry on a wide-spread campaign to reach the thousands of workers who will join the party if we can reach them and tell them about our program.

To carry thru such a campaign a "BUILD THE PARTY FUND" is being created. This fund will be used for literature and organizers to add new members to the Party—to build a stronger more powerful, better organized Party.

This is how the fund is to be created. We are having manufactured 25,000 flag pins to be used in the celebration of November 7th. These pins will consist of a red flag 1½ inch by 1 inch with a pin as flagstaff. The words "5th Anniversary Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic" printed on them in silver. These pins are not to be sold. At every celebration thruout the length and breadth of the land we will take a collection for the "BUILD THE PARTY FND". We will ask each person present at these celebrations to donate FIFTY CENTS to the "BUILD THE PARTY FUND". Each person making the contribution will receive the flag pin as a mark of appreciation.

Comrades, prepare now for the celebration, prepare now to make the "BUILD THE PARTY CAMPAIGN" a success. Samples of the pins and orderblank for the number required for your celebration will be sent you soon, with more information. Start doing your part of the work now. We are working.

Fraternally yours,
C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary.

[illegible] October [illegible] Union Organizer.

Paivio Is Back in the Fight After More Than Three Years in Prison

Carl Paivio, a Finnish Comrade convicted November, 1919, has completed the minimum of a 3 to 10 year sentence and was released Monday, Oct. 2, from Great Meadows Prison, Comstock, N. Y.

More than two years of his prison term he served at Auburn Prison, an old, wornout jail, filthy and rotting, with vermin, roaches and rats. He served three years and one month in all.

The confinement to a few feet of space, to a dirty hole called a cell, the actual separation from everything one holds dear, the movement, friends, comrades; the agony of having a beastly specimen of the human race, in the form of a guard, in constant watch over you, all these things did not affect the spirit of Carl Paivio who has returned to join the militant faction of the Labor Movement and do his share of the work, determined more than ever to achieve Victory.

Paivio's crime was being a member of the editorial committee of "Class Struggle", a Finnish magazine. Gus Allonen, charged with the same offense against capitalism in this country will be released Oct. 14.

HELLER RESIGNS

It has been announced at the office of Comrade A. A. Heller, Representative of Supreme Council of National Economy, of Soviet Russia, that his request for release from this position has been granted. The office at 110 West 40 St., was closed Oct. 1st, and all inquiries about industrial and agricultural immigration to Soviet Russia should be addressed to the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, at Room 603, 110 West 40th St., New York City.

Comrade Heller received the following letter from the Department of Industrial Immigration of the S. C. N. E. under date of Sept. 4, 1922.

"Dear Comrade Heller: In answer to the letter of August 3, beg to advise you that we received all your telegrams and we requested you by telegram to retain your position. But since you insisted we agree to your request. We still hope you will continue to help us with your advice in the matter of Industrial Immigration.

"We have worked out a definite plan for the extension of this work. We shall in the future turn over all the work in connection with the organization of groups to the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, while the legal part of this work, namely the signing of permits, etc., will be turned over to Comrade Recht.

"We are applying new energy to this work and hope that after all the preliminary difficulties have been overcome, we shall be able to proceed on a much larger scale. We ask you again, Comrade Heller, to give us the benefit of your advice from time to time.

Comradely greetings,
O. Boldwin, Manager
Department of Industrial
Immigration."

[illegible] OCTOBER 14-15

[illegible] is requested enthusiastically in the drive for defense and relief of our comrades in jail.

Every comrade is needed for work. Report at once at the following stations nearest your home any evening during the drive, and you will be assigned your territory:

DOWNTOWN: 47 Chrystie St., 308 East 12th St., 431 East 6th St., 126 East 24th St.
YORKVILLE: 350 East 81st St., 222 East 71st St.
FINNISH STATION: Finnish Co-operative Hall, 5th Ave. and 125th St.
BRONX: Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road.
BORO PARK: 1200 40th St.
LOWER WEST SIDE: 201 West 13th St.; Unity House, 155 Lexington Ave. (only Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 14 and 15).
HARLEM: 143 East 103d St.
GREEK STATION: 793 2nd Av.
BROOKLYN: Empire Hall, 46 Ten Eyck St.
BROWNSVILLE: 229 Sackman.

Comrades, the comrades in jail have gone there fighting your battles, and it is up to you to get them out. Do your duty. Get your friends and sympathizers to help. Do not fail to report for the drive, especially for the house-to-house collection, Saturday and Sunday, October 14th and 15th.

For any information concerning the drive report to the National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 East 11th St., Nerma Berman, Secretary (Phone Stuyvesant 9642.)

With the Young Workers

Y. W. L. Gets Invitation From Y. C. I. To Send Congress Delegate

An invitation has been accorded to an observer of the Young Workers' League of America by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to attend the coming world congress of the Y. C. I.

They express the hope that the Y. W. L. will be able to have some one present to represent it at the world congress, for, they say it would be of vital interest and benefit to the organized revolutionary youth of America.

The National Executive Committee of the Y. W. L., realizing the benefits that would accrue to their organization by having such observer at the congress of the Y. C. I. is striving to raise funds for this purpose.

Just recently several thousand "Observer Fund Blanks" were printed and distributed to the Y. W. L. branches thruout the country. Funds are already coming in. Some of the older comrades are aiding in raising the requisit amount for the financing of this trip.

MILWAUKEE. — Workers of Milwaukee in a joint mass meeting and parade entered the tool and machinery drive being conducted on a nationwide scale by the Friends of Soviet Russia. The parade was led by a band of the Musicians' union followed by a troop of small children.

Workers! Crush the White Terror! Defend the Victims of the Class War!

$90,000 BAIL NEEDED FOR MICHIGAN CASES!

$15,000 BAIL NEEDED FOR PENNSYLVANIA CASES!

$20,000 BAIL NEEDED FOR NEW YORK CASES!

WHAT WILL THE WORKERS OF NEW YORK DO FOR DEFENSE?

HELP RAISE BAIL for Tom O'Flaherty, Noman Tallantire, Joseph Zack and others.

Cash, bonds or property are acceptable.

DO YOUR SHARE TO DEFEND Bill Dunne, C. E. Ruthenberg, Caleb Harrison and the rest.

REMEMBER OUR OLD CASES:

Ben Gitlow at Sing Sing.
Minnie Kalnin, Anna Leisman at Auburn Prison.
Paul Manko at the Criminal Insane Asylum at Dannemora.
Mizher and Allonen—all in New York State Prisons.

WORKERS and Friends, your duty is to help.

Give! Give! for the defense and relief of the boys in jail!

REMEMBER! YOU MAY BE NEXT!

Fill out this blank and mail at once!
NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
New York Division, Room 405, 80 East 11th St., N. Y. City

Dear Comrades: I have property valued $.................... available for bail. Enclosed please find $.................... my contribution for the defense of the men and women in jail.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

Phone: Stuyvesant 9642.

[illegible] Take $10,000,000 Worth of Machinery With Them

Editor's Note: Here is the second article telling of the campaign of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia to send 15,000 Russians back to their native land and locate them on large farms and agricultural estates. This article shows that the plan calls for the transportation of $10,000,000 worth of agricultural machinery to Soviet Russia. It is as follows:

• • •

Fifteen thousand Russians will constitute at least 200 agricultural groups or communes, each of which will be equipped with about $50,000 worth of modern tractors, other agricultural implements and accessories, and manned by capable organizers and agricultural experts.

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia is proceeding with immediate organization of these groups. Delegates from different parts of the country are arriving to make inquiries and arrangements.

As it is planned to accomplish the task of sending over all the 15,000 people by Spring of 1923, delegates representing each group or commune are to precede their constituents and will go to Soviet Russia sometime in the Fall or Winter to conclude the preliminaries and make preparations for the reception of their groups early in the Spring.

Thus every commune will be ready for the Spring 1923 ploughing season and the production of bread, so vital to a country hungry and famine-stricken.

Why Machinery Is Needed

This project as announced by the Central Bureau of the S. T. A. S. R. is a step in the right direction and is in line with the new constructive phase of relief that the workers of America and the Friends of Soviet Russia are undertaking for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

The famine relief immediate aid—bread and charity—served to alleviate the hunger and famine conditions in the stricken provinces.

It did not, however, strike at the roots of famine and hunger in Russia, it cannot prevent a recurrence of like famine sufferings.

The consequences of the famine are without their parallel in the depletion, destruction and the chaos wrought to the productive forces of Soviet Russia.

During this period of acute hunger and starvation it is obvious that the vitality of the Russian workers and peasants has become undermined and the surviving population has been left in a weakened state unable to do the work usually performed by able-bodied and well-fed individuals.

Live Stock Is Slaughtered

Horses and oxen, their live stock were slaughtered and greatly reduced in number far below the requirements for normal agricultural production.

The farms, the primitive agricultural equipment, the crooked stick plough are worn out and in dilapidated condition. They present a picture of devastation.

Everywhere there is a great scarcity of the most commonplaces of agricultural and industrial machinery—too inadequate for the immediate needs of the communities.

Farms cannot operate because there are no implements, factories cannot work because there are no machines.

Russia needs tractors, ploughs, reapers, binder trucks, pumps, engines—modern large scale farming and industrial machinery.

These can eradicate the evils of hunger and famine, can rebuild the economic apparatus of the country, and develop the rich natural resources, the tremendous quantities of coal, oil, iron, gold and platinum.

What the capitalist governments refuse to do, the worker must do. These 15,000 returning Russians, equipped with the proper farming machinery mark the beginning of this new phase of constructive relief work for Soviet Russia. Tools and machinery will save and build up Soviet Russia.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

"DICTATORSHIP vs. DEMOCRACY"

by

Leon Trotzky

This book is without question the most valuable book of the revolutionary movement published in America this year. 200 pages.

Cloth $1.00, Paper 50 cents. [illegible] book of Fall [illegible]

WORKERS PARTY
799 Broadway, Room 405,
New York City.

[illegible]
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, [illegible]
ROBERT MINOR, [illegible]
ART YOUNG, [illegible]
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager.

Published weekly by The Toiler Publishing Association.
Entered as second-class matter September 29, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

Advertising rates upon application.
Phone: Stuyvesant 2652.

The Latest—"The Sentinels"

Massachusetts is just now going thru the pangs of giving birth to another radical-baiting organization, this one to be known as "The Sentinels of the Republic."

It is ostensibly organized, according to announcement, "to combat radicalism and work for the preservation of the principles of the Federal Constitution."

We take it that it will work for the preservation of those constitutional principles that are the greatest aids to an untrammelled capitalism. It will raise the slogan of "state's rights," which was the principle that caused the United States Supreme Court to declare the anti-child labor law unconstitutional and to outlaw other legislation favorable to labor.

Having announced its intention of "fighting radicalism," this organization, will no doubt, forget all about the constitutional provisions defending the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage. In this work it will be ably inspired by such labor haters as Nicholas Murray Butler, head of Columbia University, who enjoyed himself during the war by expelling dissenting students and professors, and Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois, who tried to use his millions to buy the delegates to the republican presidential nominating convention in 1920.

The springing up of this organization, sponsored by a large list of capitalism's most prominent spokesmen, is surely an indication of the growing strength of radicalism among the workers of this country.

It is a reflection of the fear that is aroused in the seats of reaction by labor's increasing understanding of those revolutionary principles that it must invoke in the struggle for its own emancipation.

We welcome this organization to the arena of the class struggle in the United States. We greet them with that worn out but not discarded phrase, "the more the merrier."

Isadora Duncan Astonished

Isadora Duncan, the dancer, was due for two surprises when she tried to land, Sunday, in her native country, the United States of America.

She was astonished not only that she should be detained by the immigration officials, because she had been in Soviet Russia and taken unto herself a Russian husband, but she was also quite bewildered to learn that the American government had no sympathy with revolutions.

"I thought that our great country was started by a revolution in which my great-grandfather, General William Duncan, played a part," is the very naive way in which she puts it, which should be proof enough that she intends to mix in "No politics, no propaganda" as she claims, during her stay in this country.

If Miss Duncan had come as a Communist propagandist, as some of the immigration officials no doubt fear, she would have understood how easy it is for the government at Washington to look with favor upon the Revolutionary War, of 1776, in this country and still be opposed to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

That Miss Duncan has some of the spirit of the rebel is shown when she declares that, "They may keep my body from entering America, but they cannot keep out my spirit," and states that there are 20,000 young girls all over the country dancing the classic dances she created twenty years ago.

No doubt the immigration officials can discover disguised Bolshevist propaganda even in these classic dancing lessons, and see in them the death agonies of capitalism's last dance.

It is that fear alone that can explain the refusal to permit Miss Duncan to land. Perhaps the immigration officials will get back somewhere near normal in a few days and allow Miss Duncan to go ashore and keep her engagements under the flag that is not yet red, but still red, white and blue, pretty much blue in fact when such dangerous persons as Miss Duncan arrive from the other side with the free air of the First Workers' Republic still exhaling from their lungs.

* * *

THE LATEST.—As predicted above Isadora Duncan was found to be free of any taint of Communism and allowed to enter the U. S. A.

Gompers' Demonstrations

We have carefully perused the papers of Monday morning for reports of Gompers' anti-Daugherty demonstrations on Sunday, October 1st.

These demonstrations were the sop thrown to the workers who had raised a demand for a general strike to combat the open shop drive of the bosses.

The New York Call, we notice, publishes a column report, with a first-page lead, of a speech made by its editor at Harrisburg, Pa., in which the anti-Daugherty drive is not mentioned. It does carry a third-page report of a resolution adopted at a meeting in Philadelphia. The New York Times reports a meeting at Washington, D. C., addressed by Samuel Gompers, himself. That is all.

"There will be no back-down by organized labor in its fight for the impeachment of Mr. Daugherty," Gompers told his Washington audience.

Yet the call for the demonstrations was a back-down in itself. Great gatherings grow out of the developing militant mood of the masses. The executive council of the American Federation of Labor, meeting at Atlantic City, threw a wet blanket over the fighting spirits of the workers, and then expected them to enthuse over mass meetings addressed by conservatives.

Instead of the promised Madison Square Garden gathering in New York City, October 1, there will be a meeting Thursday, October 5, in Beethoven Hall, 210 Fifth St., a small auditorium, at which Gompers is announced as one of the speakers.

The most successful mass meeting on Sunday, October 1, was that addressed in Chicago by Senator William E. Borah and others demanding the release of the class war prisoners and the recognition of the Soviet republic.

The workers recognize that these are issues used in an effort to awaken them. Gompers' hysteria over the proposed impeachment of Daugherty is only an effort to draw a red herring across the path of labor's progress, to chloroform labor and prevent it from taking more radical action. And chloroformed workers do not make mass meetings.

[illegible] organ of the British Communist Party. But it [illegible] to appeal only for the $25 necessary to put the grave in condition and 30 shillings annually to keep it so.

We learn thru the Voice of Labor, Chicago, that that lovable heretic Bishop William Montgomery Brown, of Galion, Ohio, has already offered to bear the cost of restoring Marx's grave.

The Plebs League of Great Britain has pledged itself to attend to the upkeep of the grave.

But why stop here? We feel that something more fitting than a small headstone should mark the last resting placing of this greatest philosopher of the working class.

Capitalism takes care of its own. Paris boasts her Tomb of Napoleon. The Tomb of General Grant graces Riverside Drive in New York City. Recently an elaborate memorial to Abraham Lincoln was dedicated at Washington, D. C. Similarly everywhere else.

Why should not the workers honor the last resting places of those who have fought and sacrificed for them. Pilgrims from many lands, by the thousands, annually visit the grave of Marx. Those thousands should leave Marx's grave with a fitting impression upon their minds.

THE WORKER believes that the workers of all countries would like to join in erecting a fitting Marx Memorial. The Communists, the true desciples of this spokesman of labor, should take the lead in this effort, should direct it.

THE WORKER is willing to launch such an effort. But before taking any steps in this direction we would like to get the opinions of our readers. What are your wishes in this matter? What do you think about it? What do you think should be done? We want to hear from you. Write your opinions to The Editor, THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Can't Delay the Fatal Hour

The Peace Treaties of the year 1919 prove to be of short durability. The decisions of the Berlin Congress of 1815, laid down the lines of European politics and economy for at least the life of one generation.

The peace decisions of 1648 which concluded the Thirty Years War in Europe held good for a century. The Peace of 1871 exercised its effects for at least half a century. The Treaties of 1919 were surrounded with a solemnity the like of which is to be sought.

The era of national division was finally brought to a close, and the new era of the League of Nations was to lead humanity to higher aims.

The group of victors who dictated the peace, the Entente plus America, was the mightiest group of powers in world history. They were to see to it that the treaties remained unbroken.

And what was to be seen on the opposite side? Some political heaps of misery, as Ebert-Germany, German-Austria, the Sultan's Government, etc., and then, a vague something.—Soviet Russia.

What has now become of the promises of 1919? A collapse along the whole line. The powerful condition of the victors is wrecked. America has broken away from the Entente. And within the Entente itself, the only point of agreement is that each agrees to differ.

No serious statesman believes any more in the Treaties of 1919. The Treaty of Versailles has become a piece of folly, and the Peace of Sèvres lies shattered at the feet of its signatories. The remaining treaties will share the same fate.

What is the explanation of the difference between the fate which has befallen the Treaties of 1919 as compared with the durability of the decisions of 1815 and 1871?

The earlier Peace Congresses were meetings of growing capitalist nations. The Treaties of 1815 and 1871 marked the stages in which capitalist society progressed.

So long as the products of diplomacy remained in harmony with the economic growth of the ruling class, they were durable. The Treaties of 1919, on the other hand, were an attempt to heal by artificial prescriptions the sickness of world capitalism. As the sickness is incurable the medicaments are of no avail.

The heroes of 1919, the mournful Professor Wilson, the narrow minded Clemenceau and the Parliamentary weather-cock Lloyd George, are not in a position to delay the fatal hour of capitalist society.

The Drive for Defense

As this issue of THE WORKER reaches its readers, there should be in the hands of each subscriber a letter from the Labor Defense Council containing a subscription list for the Defense Fund in the Michigan red cases.

We cannot too strongly urge our readers to rally 100 per cent to the support of the Labor Defense Council.

This organization, only a few weeks old, has already begun making its force felt. Local Labor Defense Councils are springing spontaneously in every part of the country.

THE WORKER urges its readers to support these defense conferences wherever organized and to take the initiative in towns where no local defense council has been started.

Naturally, in order to carry on the legal defense of the 29 comrades who are to be tried in Michigan and to conduct the necessary widespread publicity campaign the Labor Defense Council must have a large campaign fund.

The militants in the labor movement are the ones who can secure this fund, both by giving money themselves and urging others to give. We believe that the Michigan red raids' fund drive should be the most important ever conducted in the American labor movement.

Union labor has shown by the article in the "New Majority," published in THE WORKER, issue of Sept. 23rd; by the resolutions adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, by the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Council and by the Michigan State Federation of Labor that it understands these raids are not an attack on a few isolated revolutionists, but are a direct onslought on the entire trade union movement.

The record of the labor activities of the defendants and their high stand in the labor movement, makes quite evident that they are being tried because they are militant labor leaders and as such are dangerous to the employing class. The Mooney case was of exactly the same nature. All that is changed is the time, the place and the victims.

One element that enters into the affair is profoundly different. The Mooney case was directed at organized labor in San Francisco, the Michigan red raid is directed at the entire American labor movement and as such is of far greater importance.

The Mooney case has been an issue in America for six years. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were raised to keep Mooney from the gallows and to secure his release. Thousands of dollars are yet to be raised.

If the Michigan case is to be put before the American workers, the defense and the publicity must be conducted on a large scale.

The more quickly the American working class swings into action, the more dramatically will the forces of organized labor be thrown into the struggle on behalf of the Michigan victims.

We call our readers to action! Action immediately and generously! We know your spirit! We know you will respond!

[illegible] Red Russia

[illegible] the Worker's Republic [illegible] military service. All male [illegible] subject to call.

It is stated that the first class, under the new decree,—boys reaching 20 on January 1st—will be called to the colors some time next year.

The big fact about these first red conscripts is that they have lived thru the first five years of the Bolshevik revolution that took place when they were but 15 years of age. During the most formative period of their lives, when new ideas implant themselves most deeply upon youthful minds, these boys have seen world imperialism and the overthrown czardom attempting to smash the Soviet Regime.

These boys have passed thru the fire. With the famine conquered and reconstruction in industry and agriculture becoming daily more effective, these boys will realize the great future that the struggle for Communism, and its realization, holds forth for them.

With an army of a million such boys at its right hand, the Soviet Regime will have nothing more to fear from imperialist intervention. Diplomats in all capitalist countries will adopt the slogan of "Watch Your Step!" on the Russian question. The armies of Finland, Latvia, Poland, Esthonia, Roumania, and other countries that have been used as jumping off places for attacks on Red Russia, will be kept more in leash.

Under the czardom every soldier was a military slave; under Soviet Rule he is a free and equal defender of the rule of the workers and peasants. Under the czardom the vast majority of soldiers were illiterate, unable to read and write. Under Soviet Rule the Red Army, under Leon Trotzky, has become 100 per cent literate. Every soldier knows how to read and write. He knows why he is a soldier, why he must fight if he is called upon to do so, with the result that discipline becomes a voluntary matter.

The world social revolution is winning the support of a mighty factor for its success in the training of one million Communist youngsters in Soviet Russia each year, resulting gradually in the maintenance of all Russia's vast man power as trained reservists for the defense of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Republic they have established.

Communists are not champions of conscription. They would much prefer getting along without standing armies. But Soviet Rule has been forced into adopting conscription by the sabre rattling diplomats of capitalism at Genoa and The Hague, where the question of disarmament was ruled out of the discussion.

If capitalism refuses to disarm, Soviet Rule must be prepared to defend itself. Soviet Rule will, because it must, maintain its Red Armies until disappearing capitalism is no longer able, anywhere upon the face of the earth, to offer effective resistance to the onrushing forces of Communism.

We hail the red conscripts of the Soviet Republic. May they grow in numbers and in ability to struggle for the establishment of the new Communist world upon the ashes of capitalism.

The kept press of this country is ready to beat the toms-toms of war immediately the signal is given. It has more war correspondents at Constantinople than the press of any other country.

Picking Candidates for the Voters

The New York political situation, as it confronts the voters preliminary to the November elections, is typical of that thruout the nation.

Candidates have been hand-picked for the voters that still choose to follow the old political parties, where reaction is in the saddle.

Governor Nathan L. Miller, the puppet of "the interests," is re-nominated unanimously by the republican boss-controlled delegates.

"Charlie" Murphy, chief of Tammany Hall, selects "Al" Smith as the democratic candidate for governor, and the delegates approve, automatically, while William Randolph Hearst is left to nurse his private ambitions in solitude.

Not to be outdone by the old parties we find that the bosses of the Farmer-Labor Party and the "Socialist" Party have developed an artificial "united front" and have Edward F. Cassidy as their American Labor Party candidate on a platform of pink radicalism, guaranteed to be absolutely harmless.

The money power is not worried whether Miller or Smith is elected, and the two old parties fear the combination labor reform party so little that they refuse to throw off their masks and fuse in those districts where labor has previously shown some political strength.

The American Labor Party showed the hypocricy of its united front pretensions when it rejected the Workers Party, and thus continued the political division of the workers. For this the "Socialist" bosses are directly responsible, in this as in many other states.

Confronted with this condition the Workers Party was compelled to nominate its own candidate, William F. Dunne, and put forward its own platform. Since his nomination Dunne has been arrested by the anti-red Burns-Daugherty forces of the Department of Justice. His crime is espousing a revolutionary labor program. He spent several weeks in a jail at St. Joseph, Mich., before being released on bail. With others he is now awaiting trial.

This political situation in New York State should make it as clear as day to the workers where their support should go.

The republican and democratic parties are the political organizations of the present ruling class. The labor reform parties are tolerated by the exploiters now in power. Only the Workers Party and its candidates are hated and feared by the political and industrial czars.

The profiteers see in the Communist principles espoused by the Workers Party the threat to their own existence, the approach of their own day of doom.

This fact, so apparent to any worker who thinks, must and will awaken new masses of unthinking workers this year as never before.

Workers! Realize the political situation this year! You will then determine that your interests demand your support of the Workers Party and its candidates. Once convinced help spread that determination to others.

An anonymous author in the Berlin Staatsbuerger-Zeitung, a conservative monarchist paper, claims that the late kaiser, if born a worker, would have been an ordinary tramp. He claims that the late German kaiser suffered from a form of dementia known as psychopathia vagans. This accounts for the late Kaiser Bill spreading so much propaganda about his being the earthly representative of God on high. He had to create the feeling that he was different from the average man. Now that he has been unmasked, "Bill" Hohenzollern might win back his royal dignity by becoming "King of the Hoboes of Holland." There is only one obstacle. The hoboes might object.

Jacob Panken, the "only Socialist judge in New York City," is back from a four-month's tour of Europe telling us that the German workers, thru a general strike, will kick a Bavarian king off his throne in November. But if the Bavarian workers try to establish a Soviet Republic on the heels of such a victory, the "Socialist" president at Berlin will send his army to drown it in blood. Panken didn't tell us that in giving out his only half-witted interview.

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Question: What would [illegible] suggest as the best remedy for [illegible] shevism?

The Answers:

O. T. Kwist, Socialist candid[illegible] "The only way to save our dem[illegible] racy from Bolshevism would be [illegible] elect a socialist majority in Congre[illegible] and to appoint comrade Stedman [illegible] attorney-general."

Mrs. U. MacMee Sick, socie[illegible] lady: "The flapper is the cause of [illegible] all. Abolish short skirts and [illegible] problem is solved."

R. U. Dippy, banker: "The wor[illegible] er is enjoying too much liberty. [illegible] best remedy for Bolshevism is [illegible] abolish his right to vote."

Gen. Bolvan, Russian noblema[illegible] "To do away with Bolshevism [illegible] must kill all the bolsheviks and th[illegible] Jews; then establish one big in[illegible] national republic with Gen. Se[illegible] noff as king.

Dr. I. M. Ill: "Bolshevism is bu[illegible] disease. To cure it, force worke[illegible] to drink two bottles of castor [illegible] after each meal."

Howe Phoolisch, defective: "It [illegible] those d———able bolsheviks wh[illegible] are the cause of Bolshevism. [illegible] long ocean journey with a shipwre[illegible] will make any bolshevik safe for so[illegible] ciety.

VERY ENCOURAGING!!

Visitor in Insane Asylum: "And who is this wild creature?"

Attendant: "Oh, this one is a very sad case! He was a comics editor on a labor paper and got that way trying to think up some funny stuff."

(Please bear the above in mind kind readers, while reading the Bolcoms.—Editor.)

This Copy of the Bolcoms will be Read by — — —

A secret service man in search for sedition.

A Socialist candidate looking for knocks.

A militant worker waiting for his next in a beauty parlor

A college professor studying diseases of the brain

A young worker seated next to a flapper in the subway

A rebel wife waiting with a roll pin late at night for her husband to come home

Press agents for Gompers Burns and Daugherty.

A union leader suffering from insomnia.

Myself looking for typographical errors (almost an insinuation).

GIVE US TIME

(Dedicated to O. U. R. C. E. N., S. O. R. S.)

First Worker: "I don't think the Bolcoms are much of a success."

Second Ditto: "How come?"

First Worker: "Well, they haven't been suppressed yet" . . .

NEWS ITEMS IN 1950

Daugherty calls off the injunction.

Congress passes the Bonus Bill.

The New York Call becomes a newspaper.

Burns secures the 10,000 word confession.

Housewives' strike a failure due to scabbing.

Bolcoms have paid circulation of a hundred million.

Communist Party holds convention at the Capitol.

Lloyd George threatens "war by wireless" to planet Mars,

Gompers sends from "heaven" thru spiritualistic medium a protest to Soviet Russia.

The editor of the Bolcoms is elected president of the United States.

TO OUR READERS.

Please note

I

Altho the editor of the Bolcoms has bought himself a new tie, the price of the paper remains unchanged.

II

Watch for the early appearance of the Daily Bolcoms from one of the New York jails.

III

On the first of July our Xmas issue of the Bolcoms will be ready. Every reader will receive with each copy a handsome picture of some of our colored fellow workers unloading a car of coal on a dark night.

IV

Whereas, a man can never tell when he's going to die.

And Whereas, we don't believe in taking chances,

Therefore, our readers are requested to kindly pay up their subscriptions NOW!

Just a Frank Chat with the Reader

I have this much space yet left and I have no idea of how to fill it in. Everything went along smoothly till I reached this part of the colyum—then, all of a sudden, the typewriter stopped. I finally realized I was short of ideas. I have nothing to write about. My Muse has evidently deserted me. I must be suffering of, what is known by colyum hounds as "columnistic influenza" — lack of themes.

Perhaps I ought to write something about my mother-in-law; but then again, not being tired of life as yet I hardly deem it advisable. For obvious reasons.

I also dare not write that our radical trade union representative to Britain has suddenly become mute; or that a well known socialist went into the bootlegging business to raise money for his campaign.

Hence, there's but one alternative left and that is to shut up. I will . . .

Bolcomsly yours, **IRV.**

[illegible]R

[illegible]

[illegible] V. No. [illegible] SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1922 [illegible] Price 5 Cents

Exposes the Third Degree

Lambkin Tells of Brutalities Following Arrest in Michigan Raid

(Special to The Worker and the Federated Press)

DETROIT.—Third degree methods used by federal operatives on the labor men arrested in the Michigan red raid on the night of August 21st are set forth in an affidavit sworn to by Cyril Lambkin, Detroit, one of those maltreated in the county jail at St. Joseph and since released on $10,000 bail. The affidavit, to be forwarded to Gov. Groesbeck with a demand for investigation of jail conditions and practices in Berrien county reads in part:

"I, Cyril Lambkin, being first duly sworn, depose and say as follows: "I am a citizen of the United States, and have been a resident of the state of Michigan for nearly ten years. I am a public accountant by profession.

"On the 22nd day of August, 1922, at Bridgman, Mich., I was arrested by a group of men led by one whose name I subsequently ascertained to be Spolansky.

(Spolansky is a department of justice stool pigeon who has passed himself off at various times as a member of the Socialist and other radical parties.)

"The following day, Aug. 23, while, confined in Berrien County jail, Spolansky personally called me downstairs to the sheriff's office in the rear on the ground floor. While passing thru a doorway, before a single question was asked of me, I was struck a blow on the right hip by some one whose name I do not know. The first night it pained so that I was unable to sleep. After this blow was struck and while in pain and apprehension, I was pushed into an adjoining room and ordered by Spolansky to take off my glasses.

"I found myself alone among five or six federal agents or deputies who immediately began firing questions at me. I answered all formal questions, but in view of the treatment I had already received, I stated that I must decline to answer any other questions except in the presence of an attorney. I was thereupon slapped in the face by one whom I believe to be Mr. Wolf, and flung about 10 feet clear into the next room, where I landed prostrate on the floor. Then I was ordered to rise. I found myself unable to do so. Mr. Wolf then pulled me by my hair, attempting in this manner to raise me from the floor.

"When I was again upon my feet Mr. Spolansky gratuitously informed me that this was really no beating at all, but that soon a certain Sergt. McDonough would get a hold of me and I would then know what it meant to be really beaten. He also advised me to remember that I was not in Detroit, but in a farm county and that a nice farmer jury would be fixed which would positively convict me. He said that I would be sent up for five years. I was then sent back to the cell. At no time did I offer any resistance."

Lambkin also swears that he could not get his traveling bag when released on bail, the deputy sheriff saying that the federal agent would have to be seen, although the men arrested are being held under state criminal syndicalism charges.

In Italy the Fascisti (White Guards) have formed a "Union", the "Confederazione Italiana Sindicati Economi", which claims about 200,000 membership. At least four-fifths of its membership have been roped in by compulsion; in Emilia, Mantua, Lemellina and other parts peasants being flogged or starved into joining.

"THE WORKER"
Will Celebrate
Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic
EIGHT-PAGE EDITION

SPECIAL ARTICLES
by
Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary, Trade Union Educational League
C. B. Ruthenberg, Secretary, Workers Party
Robert Minor
Moissaye J. Olgin, Editor "The Freiheit"
Ludwig Lore, Editor "Volkszeitung"
J. Louis Engdahl, Editor "The Worker"
William F. Dunne, Labor Editor "The Worker"

SPECIAL CARTOONS
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We Want to Print a Quarter Million Copies of This Special Anniversary Number

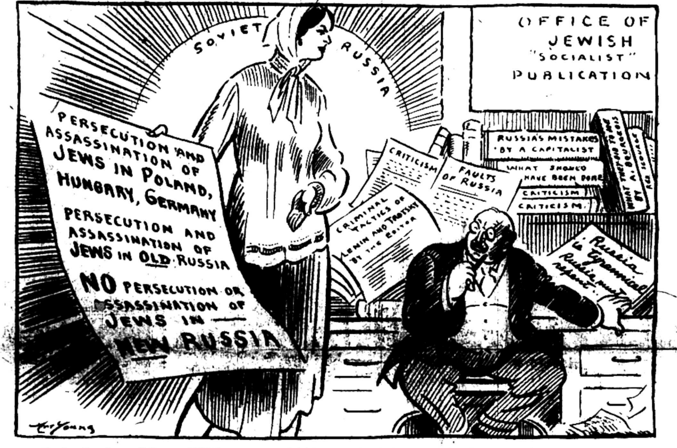
Order Your Bundle At Once

This Special Anniversary Number will be dated November 4th

Orders must reach "The Worker" office by Oct. 25th.

All Workers Party Locals should order bundles of this number for sale and distribution. All comrades can help by selling a bundle in the places where they work. Get on the job.

Price, three and a half cents per copy.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NO PERSECUTION OR ASSASSINATION OF JEWS IN NEW RUSSIA
CRITICISM
FAULTS OF RUSSIA
CRIMINAL TACTICS OF LENIN AND TROTSKY BY THE EDITOR
RUSSIA'S MISTAKES BY A CAPITALIST
WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE
CRITICISM
CRITICISM
WHAT THEY DID TO ME BY A BOURGEOIS
Russia is Tyrannical, Russia... report
Art Young

Soviet Russia to Editor:—"While you are criticising me for being tyrannical," please remember these facts.

Storm Brews on Railroads After Strike

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE
(Special to the Worker.)

CHICAGO.—It is impossible to say what "The Railroaders' Next Step" will be, but if the comments and statements made by the well-informed officials and members of local unions of railway workers here in Chicago are any guide, the railroaders' next step will be a monster movement of minor officials and rank and file in protest against the separate settlement engineered by Bert Jewell, head of the railway employees department of the American Federation of Labor, and presidents of International unions.

It will be remembered that at the historic meeting of system chairmen and other officials held in Chicago where the Jewell plan of a separate settlement, was first broached, tremendous sentiment developed against any such move, and it was only after a series of prolonged and exciting sessions that the separate settlement was finally accepted by a majority vote of the delegates present.

In conversations that I have had with many railroaders here in Chicago, who are active in their local union, the claim is made by all that the Jewell plan of a separate settlement, which only a handful of railway managers had agreed to, was put across in the conference of system chairmen by the use of methods which are now described as "underhanded."

It is said that a favorable vote was procured only after Jewell and other officials had taken most of the system chairmen aside and assured them, one by one, that their particular road had agreed to the settlement, under pledge of secrecy.

Consequently the charge is now openly made that by these fraudulent representations, favorable vote was secured from system chairmen who were bitterly opposed to a separate settlement embracing less than a majority of all principal railway lines.

The demoralization caused in the ranks of the strikers by this separate settlement with a few roads, the lack of any concrete gains in the settlement, making it hard to hold the men on lines that have not settled, has created a tempest in the ranks of the duespaying members that Jewell and the other officials will find it hard to weather.

The disastrous consequences of divided organizations and an ignorant and cowardly leadership were never more clearly seen. It is not hard to find railwaymen who say that such leadership is more of a menace to the railway workers than all the Daugherty injunctions.

The sentiment and the demand for amalgamation was never stronger than today, when for the first time the railway men realize what division means against the united front of the employing class.

The effects of this sentiment and the opinion of the rank and file were clearly shown at the convention of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way men now being held in Detroit, for the amalgamation resolution carried by a four to one vote despite all efforts of the reactionary element.

After the vote was taken, the disgruntled and discredited Grable, president of the organization, who ordered his men to stay at work despite a 97 per cent vote for a strike, made the statement that the vote was proof "that Foster was running the organization."

William Z. Foster and the Trade Union Educational League have done splendid work in pointing out defects of existing labor organizations and suggesting the obvious remedy of industrial unionism, but it is the cold facts of the economic and political situation, the wholesale outlawing of union activities, the cowardice and lack of foresight of the officialdom, the feeling that the only salvation for the workers is a solid front of the working class against the capitalist class that is really responsible for the trend towards solidarity that is running like a red thread thru all working class organization today.

Militant Miners of Western Pennsylvania Launch Fight on Reactionary Leadership

The militant coal miners of District 5 (Western Pennsylvania), United Mine Workers of America, have started a campaign with a definite platform and a full list of candidates, for the stated purposes of cleaning up the district and making it "what it should be—the greatest group of coal miners in the United States."

The platform which was unanimously adopted at a conference of the Pittsburgh Progressive Miners' Group, Sept. 24, 1922, opposes dual unionism, attacks the "much-vaunted labor statesmanship" of the administration of the international union under the presidency of John L. Lewis, raises the slogan of "National Agreements Only," urges an alliance between the miners and railroad workers, demands the reinstatement of the Kansas miners, calls for an aggressive organization campaign and declares for immediate relief for the miners' families in the Connollsville Coke Region.

The platform in full with list of candidates is as follows:

* * *

Platform of the Progressive Miners of District No. 5, United Mine Workers of America:

The Progressive Miners' Group of District 5, U. M. W. A., flatly opposes dual unionism and insists that all honest miners must stay in the organization and work together to clean up the district and make it what it should be—the greatest group of coal miners in the United States.

To this end we call upon the miners of District 5 to rally to the support of the group which has had the courage to launch a real campaign to rid the district of the reactionary leadership whose policies have brought disgrace and scandal on District 5 and to inaugurate a progressive program so that we may become a real fighting organization for the benefit of the men who dig coal.

We announce a definite national and district program which we

(Continued on Page Four.)

Emissaries of the International Transport Workers' Convention at Vienna, Austria, are coming to the United States in an effort to induce American transportation workers, including railroadmen and seamen, to join the international body.

Members of the Former Communist Labor Party Still Before the Courts

CHICAGO.—Flaying the "short-sighted" enforcement against William Bross Lloyd and 17 other former Communist Labor Party members of the Illinois criminal syndicalism act, State Supreme Justice Orrin Carter, in his minority opinion, declared that "the people cannot fail to believe that they are deprived of rights and will be certain to become discontented.

"Had this law been in force parts of Lincoln's first inaugural address could have been suppressed from publication, the Declaration of Independence could be held seditious under the provisions of this law and forbidden to be read publicly; the second president of this nation could have been prosecuted criminally under this law when he asserted the right of a nation to kill a tyrant in cases of necessity and President Jefferson would have been liable when he said: 'I hold a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical.'"

Lloyd and his co-defendants, who face prison terms for membership in the now defunct party and for opinions and beliefs held by them,

(Continued on Page Three)

Bosses Failed to Use Gary Train Wreck in Frame-up against Labor

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We are this week publishing all the facts exposing the attempt of the railroad owners and their political hirelings to use the Michigan Central train wreck at Gary, Ind., as an excuse for another frame-up against organized labor. This time William Z. Foster and other officials of the Trade Union Educational League, were to be the victims, even as Mooney and Billings had been sent to prison in California, and Sacco and Vanzetti, in Massachusetts. Here are the facts in the frame-up that failed.

* * *

By MORITZ J. LOEB
Secretary, Labor Defence Council.
Written especially for the Labor Herald (October) and released for simultaneous publication in The Worker

On Sunday morning, August 20, a Michigan Central train was wrecked at Gary and two men lost their lives. All signs indicate that the smashup was caused by faulty equipment, arising out of the shopmen's strike.

But it would never suit the company's interests to allow the fact to be made known. The thing had to be covered up, and quickly.

Hence, immediately the wreck was metamorphosed into the result of a diabolical plot of the strikers and their friends, and the police started out to "get" some one for it.

As usual with them, the question of guilt or innocence was a minor issue. The main thing was to land some one at once, regardless of the methods used or the frame-up necessary.

The first move was made that same night, when the office of the Trade Union Educational League was broken open and robbed, in an attempt to frame-up on Foster.

But this was such a palpable fraud that, realizing it could not get by, the police dropped it, altho not before the newspapers had broadcasted the most libelous charges. New stories and new arrests were demanded by the interests of the railroad company, in order to keep the public mind properly occupied.

They were quickly forthcoming in the ensnarement and arrest of Joseph Pop[illegible], Charles Uselius, John Petrovsky, James Pavletich, and Alvenio Alessio upon the accusation of the latter, an acknowledged stool pigeon. The world was treated to the most lurid stories of union plots, confessions, and all the trimmings of the typical frame-up.

The Police Get "Confessions"

In the long and brutal history of the frame-up in America, there is none more sickeningly bestial than the case of Popovitch, Uselius, and Petrovsky.

The so-called confessions came as the result of four days of torture, the nature of which can only be hinted at.

When Attorney Paul Glaser, of Gary, took charge of their defense, he found these three men in a serious condition.

Doctors were called in to examine them, including Dr. H. M. Hosmer, C. W. Yarrington, Ira Miltimore, and Olga Feinberg, all well known and reputable physicians. Petrovsky's back and hips were a mass of bruises, his legs beaten, hands bruised, shoulder injured, the back of his skull battered, and an eye blackened.

Uselius had been tortured in an unnameable fashion, and in addition he was injured internally, and found bleeding from the ears.

Popovitch was a mass of contusions, especially over the head and face.

All had been beaten by rubber pipes, in addition to the special "civilized" tortures, a description of which is prohibited by the postal laws against obscenity. Pavletich had also been beaten, but before the examination was released by the police.

(Continued on Page Four)

JOIN in the HOUSE-to-HOUSE COLLECTION for DEFENSE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, OCT. 14-15

[illegible] Cleveland Tailors [illegible] Raid Victims

Widespread interest and concern aroused in the labor movement by the organization of the Labor Defense Council to defend Wm. Z. Foster, Earl Browder, C. E. Ruthenberg, Wm. F. Dunne, Caleb Harrison, and other victims of the Michigan Red Raids is evidenced by the resolutions of protest against these persecutions that are being adopted by various organized labor bodies.

The Central Labor Council of Milwaukee is one of the many central labor bodies recently passing such resolution.

The latest protest and promise of support of the Labor Defense Council has come from Local Union 162, Journeymen Tailors Union of America, Cleveland, Ohio.

It reads as follows:

"**Whereas**, The big strikes that took place last summer as a result of the employers open shop drive the trade unions come thru sadly shaken but practically intact. The employers and their allies, including the Administration at Washington, failed to break the backbone of the labor movement, but they have arrested hundreds of militant workers charged with crimes of violence growing out of disorders instigated by the employers' and their henchmen, and

"**Whereas**, The Department of Justice at Washington in an effort to draw attention from the outrageous manner that Department was used against the workers and in behalf of the railroad and mine barons has repeated the nefarious raids of the forgotten Mitchell E. Palmer and is now attempting to railroad twenty-two men to jail in Michigan, and

"**Whereas**, These twenty-two men arrested on the charge of violating the Criminal Syndicalist Law of Michigan have committed no other crime than working to further strengthen the labor movement thru amalgamation of the existing craft unions, therefore be it

"**Resolved**, That the Journeymen Tailors Union, Local 162, of Cleveland, Ohio, in meeting assembled hereby heartily endorses the Labor Defense Council recently formed in Chicago to raise funds to legally defend all workers arrested as a result of their activity in behalf of organized labor, and be it further

"**Resolved**, That we will assist in the formation of a Labor Defense Council in Cleveland, and recommend that our international Officers urge our Brother Tailors in all other locals of our International to do likewise, and that said Resolution be forwarded to our National Office for publication in our official journal, "The Tailor."

"Respectfully submitted
"By Local 162 J. T. U. of A.
Cleveland, O.
H. W. Bone, Chairman
Max I. Silinsky, Secretary

The Resolution adopted by the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council reads:

"**Whereas**, During the past few months Wm. Z. Foster and others associated with him in the Trade Union Educational League, have had to suffer from unlawful and brutal persecution and vandalism at the hands of State cossacks, police authorities, private detectives and the subsidized press, and

"**Whereas**, Brother Foster is now held for trial in Michigan on trumped up charges, and

"**Whereas**, Brother Foster has neither by act or word violated any law of the land and these acts of official terrorism are evidently designed for the purpose of discouraging him and those associated with him from continuing their work in a perfectly legitimate educational movement, and

"**Whereas**, The law breaking acts of these so-called officers of the law make a mockery of the Constitution and of law and go far to prove the assertions so often made recently, that many of these officers are more concerned with serving the special interests of Big Business than they are with the enforcing of law, and

"**Whereas**, If this condition is allowed to continue, it will soon mean the brutal and forcible suppression of any and all opinions which do not happen to coincide with those held by the exploiters and their minions, therefore, be it

"**Resolved**, The Milwaukee Federated Trades Council protests against these persecutions and that it urges all friends of fair play to come to the assistance of Brother Foster, morally as well as financially, so that he may properly defend himself against the trumped up charges, and that he may free himself and again be in a position to combat these sinister forces effectively."

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Eugene V. Debs has decided that his place "in the future as in the past is in the Socialist Party," a party that is not "what I should like to see it."

Debs' statement would have had some interest had it been issued on the day they took him to prison in April, 1919, when the divisions in the Socialist Party were coming to the surface.

The statement has little interest now except to show that Debs still fails to realize that labor has been moving forward during the past three years. Debs cannot understand why the workers are organizing new battle lines to offer a more effective front to the enemy.

Debs will begin to make up for the last three years when he gets out over the country and develops contact with the workers.

He will then come to the same conclusion that so many tens of thousands, once members of the Socialist Party, have reached at varying times during the past three years, that the Socialist Party cannot be made a revolutionary working class party.

It is said of Serrati, the Italian Socialist, that he admitted making the mistake of his life when he broke with the Communist International. Serrati is now trying to mend that mistake by bringing what he can of the Italian Socialist Party into the International of the Social Revolution.

Debs is still at the parting of the ways. The statement he has just issued shows he is turning to the right instead of to the left. Whether he follows that road remains to be seen.

Debs' statement lacks the ring of the declaration he made when accepting the candidacy for president in 1920. At that time he threw it into the teeth of the notification committee that:

"I have always been a radical, never more so than now. I have never feared becoming too radical. I do fear becoming too conservative!"

We wonder at times, in reading what Debs has to say now whether that fear of becoming conservative has left him.

Debs makes an error, right at the beginning of his statement, by declaring that the Socialist Party was intact up to the Convention of September, 1919. Is he so unfamiliar with the history of the party that year as not to know that the National Executive Committee, with its Oneals, Stedmans and Goebels, had already smashed the party months before thru the expulsion of more than half the party membership. This happened in the weeks following Debs going to prison in April. If this is a sample of Debs' clearness on party developments during the past three years then some of his statements become comprehensible.

Debs says he has no heart for factional warfare and he will not engage in it. That has been Debs's weakness from the beginning in the revolutionary movement. He has made the speeches and written the articles, giving the party a tinge of red, while the Bergers and the Hillquits have controlled the party, written its programs and manifestoes and directed the machinery.

So the Bergers and the Hillquits who sneer at Moscow and maliciously attack the Soviet Government will permit Debs to express his sympathy for the Russian Revolution while he is still a member of their church if he will refrain from interfering with the party machinery and stick to his speech-making and article-writing. Berger Hillquit and Co. have no use for Debs except to use him. And they have been doing that to the limit during the past three years.

It is of course a truism to say that all organizations make mistakes. But that is no reason for joining one organization and not another. The customary thing to do is to investigate the fundamental principles upon which these organizations stand. The "Socialist" Party has deserted all fundamental "Socialist" principles, or whatever fundamentals it professed. The Communist movement in this as in other countries is building solidly on bedrock fundamentals. There is the difference that Debs will not attempt to explain away.

Debs will learn in time that it is impossible to make the Socialist Party revolutionary because it is running in the other direction.

It is quite naive of him to say that the Communist movement is seeking to build a revolutionary party of the same material, the same ultimate aims, the same Comrades, that are at the disposal of the Socialist Party, by "merely adopting another name and marching under another banner."

The "Socialist" Party today is welcome to what membership it has, willing to march under its yellow standards. This is not the same membership, not the same material that has enlisted in the Communist movement these past three years. And if Debs can see no difference between the ultimate aims of Soviet Rule in Russia, and Ebert-Socialist Rule in Germany, then arguments and explanations are hopeless.

"Drive out the Communists!" was the slogan of the "Socialist" Party officialdom for two years, from the expulsions in 1919, to the Detroit Convention, in June 1921, showing at least that the Bergers and the Hillquits knew that all the party members were not cast in the same mould. Debs will learn.

Debs seems to think that the building up of another party under another name as "the true political expression of the class struggle" would be followed by another "melancholy failure," such as is now charged against the Socialist Party.

If such a philosophy of despair had been adopted by our Russian comrades, there would never have been a Bolshevik revolution and no Russian Soviet Republic. Social and economic change presupposed new organisms, and it ill-becomes Debs to lament the passing of the 25-year-old Socialist Party, this Debs who would wipe out all craft unions, for instance, and establish huge industrial unions in their place.

The Communist International was organized to write "Victory" where the Second "Socialist" International wrote "Failure" in 1914, and the same difference is the chasm that separates Communist from "Socialist" organizations in all countries. It isn't a matter of sentiment. It is a question of facing the facts of the working class struggle for power.

We warn Debs, if he intends to remain in the "Socialist" Party, not to have any kindly feelings of comradeship for the members of the Workers Party, or he may have a trial for heresy on his hands.

Debs has always made a rallying cry of "industrial unionism." It was 15 years ago, in 1907, when Debs had less respect for the skilled forms of organization that he helped organize the Industrial Workers of the World.

Now he pleads to the "Socialist" Party to "stand staunchly for the industrial organization of the workers." Well, where does the "Socialist" Party stand? The "Socialist" spokesman today in the trade union movement is Benjamin Schlesinger president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, president of the Jewish Daily Forward Association and most ardent supporter of the New York Call.

In the last convention of his union Schlesinger fought the drive of Workers Party members for amalgamation of all the needle trades. He won with his "Socialist" support.

The big drive for industrial unionism in this country is being made by the Trade Union Educational League. The "Socialist" press gives it no support.

Debs will find that the "Socialist" Party has drifted so close to the craft loving reactionary officialdom of American Labor that it will give no support to any propaganda for industrial unionism nor support any militant action among the workers.

While Debs wrote that the question of international affiliation should not be decided at this time, Hillquit and Panken and Block were deciding it for him by arranging for the return of the "Socialist" Party to the Second International. In this respect Debs is still speaking in the forgot-

[illegible] as it is the "Socialist" Party in this country at the present time. Debs may write and ask his former fellow-convict, Joseph Coldwell, how the "Socialists", under instructions from their national executive committee bolted the "United Front" in Rhode Island. He cannot be ignorant of the role played by the "Socialist" Party in fighting admission of the Workers Party to united action in New York City. The kind of united front the present "Socialist" leadership favors is the kind offered by Wall Street's republican party in Wisconsin, that the Bergers and Hillquits are quick to grab and approve. At least we have heard no objections from Hillquit.

Debs says he has reserved for the last the "infinitely important question of the Russian Revolution", to which I have given my enthusiastic allegiance from its inception and to which I now pledge my unqualified support".

Of course, the best and practically the only support that Debs can give the Russian Revolution is to get out of the Socialist Party, join the Workers Party and take his place in the Communist movement in this country.

We read from the pen of Debs that, "I have said that Lenin as the incarnation of the Russian revolution is the greatest thing that came out of the world war and that is still my positive conviction".

And then we turn to the issue of "Justice", official organ, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Oct. 6, page 7, where appears an interview with Pres. Schlesinger upon his return from England where he went as fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the British Trade Union Congress. The "Socialist", Schlesinger, bought that delegateship by supporting Gompers and attacking Soviet Russia at the Cincinnati Convention of the A. F. of L. last June. Now he says

"As regards Gompers, he is, it seems to me, appreciated more in England than in America. He is being spoken of there, as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, labor leader in the world."

No doubt when Debs and Schlesinger meet, as they will, Schlesinger will be ready with the same Judas' kiss that he gave Lenin in Moscow, when he won him his way into the Soviet Republic. The tragedy will consist in Debs accepting it without revulsion shaking his every fibre. The "Socialist" Schlesinger has chosen as between Lenin and Gompers. Debs must still make his break a clean one.

Debs says, "The Soviet Government is the beginning of the self-government of the people thruout the world"

Schlesinger says in the words of Gompers and they have the "Amen!" of the bosses of the "Socialist" Party "I spoke to the most prominent leaders of the English labor movement. None of them has, of course, a good word to say about Communism or Bolshevism and they speak of the Russian Government (the Soviet Government) with scorn, but they are all of the opinion that the best way to get rid of the clique of usurpers and grafters which rules and terrorizes Russia today is to recognize it and open up Russia to the whole world"

Debs will find the Socialist Party no bed of roses. When he gets good and tired of the thorn pricks of the betrayers of Socialism, the revolutionary struggle of the workers organized into the Communist movement will still be beckoning to him.

**Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor**

[illegible]

By WILLIAM F. [illegible]

Sir Phillip Gibbs has abandoned the [illegible] and holy position he took in his two books—"Now It Can Be Told" and "More That Can Be Told"—written when the war [illegible] subsided.

In an article, published in the Chicago Daily News, October 7, this one time crusader against war calls upon all Christian peoples to come to the assistance of the British Empire [illegible] this champion of civilization to stem the rising tide of Eastern [illegible].

For studied and consummate hypocrisy [illegible] seeking to equal this article has been seen since the piping times of the world war when the liar came into his own.

For instance; Sir Phillip says that "Western ideas and desires cannot be maintained in Palestine, Egypt and India except by authority ultimately backed by armed force acting as police." Then we come to the meat in the cocoanut as follows:

It is upon Great Britain, above all, that the burden of authority falls most heavily, because of her immense guardianship of the east. It is not an exaggeration to say that the British are the main bulwark of the world against the rising tide of color menacing the white races. It is certain, too, that for trade interests and economic life England stands for a peaceful reorganization and settlement of Europe, and is an arbitrator between the defeated peoples of the great war and their victors, with little chance to acquire much love on either side.

Great Britain's "immense guardianship of the east" is a neat Gibbsianism for the blood and terror with which Britain has enforced her rule over conquered territories and subject peoples.

Little things like the Amritsar massacre and the death of millions thru preventable famine are of course only regrettable incidents inseparable from the sacrifices necessary for a great nation which takes up the burden of saving other nations from themselves with the salvation bringing in a net profit.

As for the last sentence of the quotation above in which the British Empire is pictured as the saviour of the oppressed peoples of Europe we will let the answer be made by the miasmatic vapors arising from the territories where the workers have been slaughtered and their protests drowned in blood spilled by British cannon, British rifles and British bayonets. There has not been a single instance of bloodshed in Europe beginning with the Irish murderfest, continuing with the dozens of wars upon the suffering Russian people and ending with the Greek debacle that British money has not financed and British imperialists watched with interest proportionate to the sum invested.

There is, however, a plaintive as well as a hypocritical note in the plea made by Sir Phillip. Speaking of the possibilities raised by the unexpected victory of the Turkish Nationalists he says:

If this is only the beginning of extensive military operations costing much blood as well as money, the British peoples may be asked to bear impossible burdens and may decide that it is better to shelve some of their responsibilities. What will happen then to Europe and to white civilization? It is the British people who guaranteed the German banks so that Belgium should get her reparations payments and Germany be saved from a financial breakdown which would have ruined France. Must Great Britain always take these risks alone?

It can be said in answer to this pitiful wail that there is an alternative for the British imperialists. They can abandon their policy of conquest in the East or the Near East. If they do not they will stand alone. They can no longer rally their colonials for imperialistic adventures and the workers at home are strangely cold when asked to die for the empire.

The danger to Christian civilization, the possibility of its passing forever raises no tremors along the spine of the Europeans who have but to view their own shattered nations bearing mute testimony to the handiwork of the rulers of the Christian world. A civilization whose crowning achievement is four and one-half years of war, a toll of millions slaughtered and a continent left in misery makes but a weak appeal to its victims of all nationalities, colors and creeds. The question of further bloodshed to save such a civilization is being answered in the negative by those to whom such as Sir Phillip appeals.

The British Empire as well as other great exploiting combinations rests on the bayonets held in the hands of those who are exploited. When they refuse, as the British people themselves are refusing today, to be sacrificed in the interests of their rulers the end of empire is in sight and no specious pleas of those who like Sir Phillip fight with their pens alone, can prevent the disintegration of a system which has dug its own grave.

New York Relief for Pennsylvania Miners in Money and Clothes

Money, food and clothes are needed immediately for the relief of the 45,000 coal miners of Fayette County, Pa. The Miners' Relief Committee, located at 208 East 12th Street, New York City, will receive clothes and money for the Fayette miners. Bring or send all money and clothes to the Miners' Relief Committee, 208 East 12th St.

Debs Urges that Labor Defense Council Widen Plans and Activities

CHICAGO.—**Eugene V. Debs**, convalescing at Elmhurst Sanitarium near this city, has thrown himself whole-heartedly into the work of the labor defense council, organized to defend victims of the Michigan Red Raids. In a letter to Moritz Loeb secretary of the Labor Defense Council, enclosing a five dollar check for the defense he says

"Elmhurst Ill. Oct 4 1922

"Dear Comrade Loeb Your circular letter of the 3rd with enclosures is at hand and the report of the Labor Defense Council has my entire approval. I cannot help much in my present situation, but I am none the less interested in all that is done in behalf of the class war prisoners or all others who are under arrest or indictment for serving the working class.

"I wish to suggest to the Council that its plans and activities be so broadened as to embrace Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti as well as all prisoners of opinion including those in California and Texas and all those in Michigan, New York and other states indicted under the outrageous "criminal syndicalism" gag act. In a way, the Labor Defense Council should pledge itself to defend every man and woman in prison or under arrest or indictment or out on bail for fighting for the working class, regardless of its affiliation or non-affiliation, and not to cease its labors until the last of them has been liberated and the infamous laws under which they have been prosecuted are wiped out of existance. You are at liberty to publish this letter if the Council so desires. You will find my check for $5 enclosed.

"Yours fraternally,
"Eugene V. Debs"

O'Fallon, Ill., Miners Help

The coal miners of O'Fallon, Ill., report that Local No. 705, United Mine Workers, has sent $100 for the relief of the Fayette County, Pa., coal miners. They have also levied a 25 cent assessment.

"This is to be continued until those miners in Pennsylvania have whipped their bosses and the strike is won," writes our correspondent. "We have 600 members in our local.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

This Week!

"Let not thine left hand know what thine right hand doeth," is as close as we can get to a certain biblical saying, that we believe applies to The New York Call.

We say this after reading The Call's report of the dinner tendered Captain Paxton Hibbon upon his return from Soviet Rusia. The Call quotes Hibbon as saying that:

"I want to say one word about such infamous attacks on honest relief work as was made here last spring by the New York Times. People who thus attack relief organizations on political grounds cause the death of thousands of innocent people by withholding from them help that would let them live.

"The wildest revolutionary bomb thrower of nihilist days was a piker in wholesale slaughter beside these lunatics of self-styled patriotism to whom the deaths of a thousand little children are nothing if they can but blacken the character of some one who does not agree with them."

The only effective relief work by a working class organization in this country has been carried on by the Friends of Soviet Russia.

It seems that in publishing the above The Call has forgotten that its attacks, and the attacks of its Jewish counterpart, The Forward, have been more infamous and more malicious than those in "The Times" since such attacks are expected from the kept organs of capitalism but not so much from newspapers that call themselves "labor" and "Socialist".

We hope The Call will recognize that Hibben's indictment is levelled as much against it as against The Times and confess itself guilty, as it is of "the death of a thousand little children".

In order to be consistent The Call should establish a harmonious policy between its news and editorial departments censor such bitter attacks against itself as that made by Hibben. Or perhaps its editorial writer will again seek to rise to the occasion and explain Hibben's indictment away with a few thousand well chosen words in logical array.

* * *

Urges Housecleaning

One of our readers sends in a clipping from the Boston Transcript showing that John P. Frey editor of the official organ of the International Moulders' Union, has written the Transcript editor complimenting him on the articles by R. M. Whitney entitled, "The Reds in America."

"As a member of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, I am extremely interested to note that a so-called "labor leader" can place such implicit trust in the integrity of one of the worst labor-hating capitalist sheets in the eastern part of the United States," he writes.

"In view of the attitude of the Transcript on such matters as the Boston building trades lockout in 1921, the miners strike and the railroad strike that an editor of a labor journal can express such faith in that capitalist paper clearly shows that the moulders need a new editor.

"If Brother Frey does not know the character of the Transcript his ignorance surely disqualifies him as a spokesman for labor. And if he does possess that knowledge his crime is all the greater since he is knowingly giving aid and comfort to labor's enemies. In either case the evidence warrants a little housecleaning on the part of our brother unionists."

Frey is a good henchman of Gompers. Frey knows the Transcript. That is sufficient to show that Frey would rather consort with labor's enemies than see labor make progress. That he should be forced out of the labor movement there can be no question. The sooner the better.

* * *

Bakhmetiev Back Again

Boris Bakhmetiev ambassador to the United States for the social and other Russian counter revolutionaries, who had such favor with the "Socialist" Party is back again.

He is said to have returned from his meetings with the Anti Sovietists in Paris, with a complete plan for the overthrow of Soviet Rule in Russia. He is expected to put this plan before Secretary of State Hughes in a few days.

In the meantime he remains in hiding fearing the pursuit of U. S. Senator Borah, who is looking for him.

Bakhmetiev might spend some of his dull moments under cover getting pointers from Morris Hillquit and Ben Schlesinger on how to kill Communism in Europe. They claim to have the secret formula.

* * *

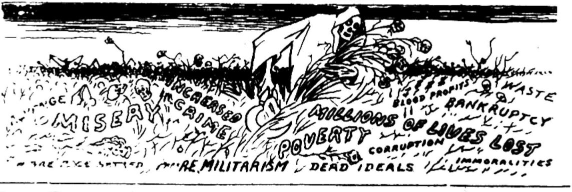
The law for the defense of the German republic is used to oppress Communists whenever they raise their voices for the workers. But when the monarchist Cardinal Faulhaber of Bavaria, violently attacks the revolution of 1918, no move is made against him. That is the kind of "collaboration" between "Socialists" and anti-working class elements that Morris Hillquit favors as the road to "Socialist" Party victory.

"Dictatorship" Is Necessary

"The dictatorship is necessary because it is a case, not of partial changes, but of the very existence of the bourgeoisie. No agreement is possible on this ground. Only force can be the deciding factor. The dictatorship of the proletariat does not exclude, of course, either separate agreements, or considerable concessions, especially in connection with the lower middle class and the peasantry. But the proletariat can only conclude these agreements after having gained possession of the apparatus of power, and having guaranteed to itself the possibility of independently deciding on what points to yield and on which to stand firm, in the interestes of the general Socialist task."

Leon Trotsky, in "Dictatorship vs. Democracy," published by the Workers Party. Price, paper 50 cents, cloth, $1.00. 200 pages.

The Harvest of the World War
SHALL WE HAVE ANOTHER?



WORKERS! Come to the John Reed Memorial Meeting

at PARK PALACE, 110th St. and 5th Ave., TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 17. Speakers: CAPTAIN PAXTON HIBBEN, ARTURO GIOVANITTI, FRED BIEDENKAPP, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYN

[illegible] Labor Hears Foster Defense Talk

(Special to The Worker)

BOSTON, Mass.—More than a thousand men and women packed Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, to the doors last Sunday to hear Wm. Z. Foster, secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union Educational League, tell of his kidnapping by state rangers in Colorado, and his subsequent arrest in connection with the alleged Communist convention at Bridgeman, Mich.

After the mass meeting the Boston Branch of the Labor Defense Council was organized with representatives from ten central and local trade union bodies, including the Boston Central Union, Painters' District Council, Cloakmakers' Joint Board, Brotherhood of Electrical Engineers, Local 962; Carpenters, Locals 51 and 157; Painters and Decorators, Local 11; United Leather Workers, Local 32; Waistmakers, Local 49; and Marine Transport Workers.

Delegates from the Trade Union Educational League, the League for Democratic Control, Independent Workmen's Circle, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, and branches of the Workers Party and Young Workers League were also present.

The mass meeting was attended by a large number of union men, many of them C. L. U. delegates, attracted by Foster's reputation as a union organizer and by the fight that had taken place on the floor of the central body when they voted to participate.

Many unions sent representatives without credentials to observe the proceedings and report back, and a great number of others have had no opportunity to meet since the call was issued.

By all indications many more trade unions, locals, and fraternal organizations will be regularly represented at the next meeting of the council, next Sunday afternoon at Paine Hall, Appleton St., at 5 p. m.

The proceedings were marked by great enthusiasm, the delegates manifesting an eagerness to get to work at once raising funds for the release of the arrested Communists at Bridgeman and elsewhere.

The executive committee was instructed to endeavor to arrange a meeting for Senator William E. Borah. The officers elected were as follows: Chairman, J. Francis Mullen; Secretary, George E. Powers; Treasurer, John D. Williams; Finance Committee, Annie E. Malloy, S. De Lapp and John F. Nason; Executive Committee, Mrs. E. Glendower Evans, Michael Flaherty, J. Schneider, Loretta Baker, M. Wolfman, J. Berson, H. J. Canter, A. F. Konikow, Anna E. David, J. Karras, Ida Katz, R. Goldberg, N. J. Weiner, James Robinson.

Organize in New York City

Plans are being pushed for the organization of the New York Labor Defense Council at a meeting to be held Friday night, Oct. 27, at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St.

This gathering will be addressed by prominent trade unionists. All trade unions and political and fraternal organizations of labor are urged to send their delegates to this meeting. Do not wait to have your organization visited. That should not be necessary.

* * *

Detroit to Hear Foster

DETROIT.—William Z. Foster, secretary, Trade Union Educational League, will be the first speaker at the newly organized Detroit Labor Forum, which opens its winter season at the House of the Masses, Sunday, Oct. 15. John Taylor, president, Detroit Federation of Labor, is the permanent chairman of the forum which will hold sessions every Sunday. Five delegates from the Detroit federation are on the forum board.

* * * *

TOLEDO.—A labor defense council is being organized here to assist in the defense of the labor men arrested in the Michigan red raid of Aug. 21 and cited for preliminary hearing at St. Joseph, Mich., Oct. 17.

"DICTATORSHIP
vs.
DEMOCRACY"
by
Leon Trotzky

This book is without question the most valuable book of the revolutionary movement published in America this year. 200 pages.

Cloth $1.00, Paper 50 cents.

Make it your first book of Fall reading.

WORKERS PARTY
799 Broadway, Room 405,
New York City.

[illegible] By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

More Slaves Needed

Secretary of Labor Davis, the bootblack of the Harding administration, has seen the light. The scales have fallen from his eyes. Probably thru the effective utterances or acts of Elbert H. Gary.

It was only a short time ago that Mr. Davis held that the foundations of the republic were menaced by the flood of aliens that threatened to deluge our shores. He was highly in favor of the three per cent immigration law which practically excluded inhabitants of the war torn European nations.

Lately, however, he has put on a new record, being probably influenced in this by the difficulty which has been encountered in securing strike-breakers by some of his sponsors during the past summer, and now contends that this country and its industries need more sturdy European stock for unskilled and partly skilled laborers.

Mr. Davis does not favor unrestricted immigration by any means. If one can judge from his recent statements what he wants to do is to secure as many foreign born workers as possible who would first be given some sort of a blood test to discover if they hold or have ever held any radical ideas pertaining to the relationship between employer and employee.

Mr. Davis is not concerned over the welfare of the workers now in America. If millions of Aliens who would not be susceptible to economic pressure, oppressive working conditions, or anything but employing-class education could be secured, Mr. Davis would be perfectly willing to admit them in in a body.

In this he expresses the attitude of the employing class of America whose desire for cheap labor will undoubtedly soon overcome their fear of any radical ideas that might be imported with the foreign-born slaves of American capitalism.

The Burden upon Labor

All members of the Executive Committee of the Greek Communist Party and the Greek General Confederation of Labor have been arrested and charged with treason.

The basis of the charge is the publication of certain articles denouncing the Greece-Turkish war and urging the workers to cease fighting for their exploiters.

The central committee of the Confederation of Labor in issuing a public protest against the arrests, has again denounced the war as an imperialist massacre in which the workers and peasants of Greece have no interest.

In every land where the people are dragged to the shambles by their rulers in pursuit of some imperialistic objective, the same tale is heard.

We are accustomed to think of Greece as a nation where the workers are entirely under the heel of the imperialists and more or less willingly allow themselves to be used in satisfying the ambitions of the Greek capitalist class; yet we find that the only effective protest coming from any section of the Greek population is that of the workers.

So it is in every other country. Pacifists, liberals, all those who hate and fear bloodshed "per se" pass pious resolutions denouncing war, but never do anything to end it.

They support an economic system that makes war inevitable, while the revolutionary workers try to end war the only way it can be ended—by the overthrow of the system that breeds it.

No matter how backward the country, no matter how powerful its capitalist class, no matter how feeble the working-class organizations, in times of crisis when the war mongers are beating the tom-toms, it is upon the working class and its revolutionary vanguard that the burden falls of challenging the imperialist murderers no matter what the cost.

True to the traditions of the valiant working-class fighters the world over, the Greek workers have thus challenged their masters and are now paying the penalty that must be paid until the world's working class knows better its danger and its mission.

Proving the Relationship

The recent conviction of William Allen for treason, in Charles Town, West Virginia, in connection with the march of the miners driven to desperation by the continued atrocities of the private armies of the coal barons, raises some interesting questions.

William Blizzard, the first defendant to be tried on the treason charge, was acquitted in the same community after being tried before Judge Woods, who also presided in the Allen case. I was present at the Blizzard trial and if a community was ever in sympathy with an accused man it was Charles Town in the Blizzard case.

Judge Woods was the personification of an impartial judge and administered the affairs of the court in a manner that earned him the respect of persons like myself who hold strong opinions concerning the functions of judges and courts under capitalism.

When Blizzard was freed he was tendered an ovation by the citizens of Charles Town. There was real rejoicing because of the verdict of "not guilty."

But from the outcome of the Allen trial and the reports of those who attended it, it is quite evident that a striking change has taken place in Charles Town and in the attitude of Judge Woods. The selection of the jury was a travesty on justice. Judge Woods allowed men who admitted prejudice against unions to serve in a case where not only an individual but a labor organization was on trial. So biased was he, according to the testimony of witnesses, that the defense attorneys became discouraged and ceased to object to obvious violations of the legal rights of the accused. The people of Charles Town seem to have approved of the attitude of the judge and jury and to have become willing tools of the coal barons of the state where before it was a source of local pride to take the part of the under dog.

The question is: What caused this change?

Only one answer is possible. In the Blizzard case the coal operators furnished the money for the expenses of the prosecution and the lawyers who did the prosecuting.

They were unsuccessful in this particular case and everything points to the conclusion that a whole community has been corrupted to obtain a conviction in the Allen case.

What the pressure was that they brought to bear on Judge Woods it is impossible to say but there are few men in public life who cannot be "reached" in one way or another and the carrion-hunters of the employing class of America know only too well how to manage these little affairs.

That the corruption in this instance has been on a wholesale scale is proved by the complete change of front in the little American city of Charles Town and the surrounding vicinity.

The coal operators in West Virginia, themselves merely the agents of the Morgan interests, are playing for big stakes. With the United Mine Workers of America branded as a treasonable organization in West Virginia, the way is paved for civil suits that will bankrupt the union.

The acquittal of Blizzard has simply spurred the coal operators on to greater efforts. They are now demonstrating to the workers of West Virginia and of the United States what can be done with our boasted impartial judiciary when a ruthless band of exploiters really want to use it for their own ends.

The conviction of Allen, the coal miner, shows conclusively that treason to the industrial and financial lords of the United States can be punished by the mandate of the courts and it therefore follows as day follows night that industry, finance and government are one and the same thing in the United States of America.

[illegible] Celebrate Nov. 7th

Every party unit of the Workers Party should be at work making preparations for the biggest celebration of Nov. 7th, the anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic in Russia, that has been held in this country.

Nov. 7th this year is not only to evidence the joy of the workers of this country that the Republic of the Workers and Peasants has withstood all the forces that the enemy could bring against it, but is to mark the beginning of a mighty effort to build up the organization of the workers in this country which is fighting for the establishment of a Soviet Republic in the United States.

Every party speaker is to be mobilized for the celebration. Where speakers cannot be made available written addresses will be sent out for use at the meetings. A special edition of the party newspapers will be issued to commemorate the day.

The immediate task of each party organization is to organize a committee, engage a hall and make the other preparations necessary.

Comrades, let us show the strength of our movement in the Nov. 7th celebration.

Let us make these celebrations cover the length and the breadth of the land, as our party organization does. Let the word go forth on Nov. 7th that in Maine and California, in Minnesota and Alabama alike there are men and women who are inspired by the great victory and courage of the workers and peasants of Russia and who are building here a powerful organization of the vanguard of the working-class movement, which will win freedom from exploitation and oppression for the workers of this country.

C. E. Ruthenberg,
Executive Secretary.

Persecute and Deport Communists in Japan Just as in the U. S. A.

By GERTRUDE HAESSLER
Staff Correspondent, Federated Press and The Worker

TOKIO.—In connection with the alleged Communist plot in Osaka, Ivan Kozlov, a Russian of American education, has been deported. His wife and two children, left behind, are being hounded by the police.

A party of judges and procurators raided the homes of Socialists in Tokio, while seven men were arrested in Osaka for spreading Communistic doctrines among the soldiers.

The strike of the Kobe-Osaka tram employees resulted in the workers receiving an increase in wages, and as a consequence other strikes of tram workers are threatened. More than 300 workers in the Toshin Rubber Co. plant at Kobe are on strike. Nearly 3,000 employees of the Godo Spinning Co. at Osaka are out. There are also strikes among the cotton workers, the lighters' union, and in the zinc plating industry.

Land disputes among tenant farmers have resulted in a lower valuation of real estate. The police are watchful of a plan to celebrate the rice riots of five years ago. Japanese workers are stirring themselves to collect funds for Russian relief, pointing out that labor in Japan has not been represented in this work.

Japan has promised to evacuate Manchuria. Three regiments of artillery in Chita have been disbanded. A naval officer reports that most of the Japanese firms in Vladivostok are preparing to leave when the troops are withdrawn.

Russian Workers in Protest for British Victims in So. Africa

TO THE WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA:

The All-Russian Trades Union Congress conveys its heartfelt greetings to the workers of South Africa, upon whom has fallen the revenge of the English capitalists for their rising against their exploiters.

The Congress protests against the death sentences passed upon the leaders of the strike in South Africa, and joins in the protest of the International Proletariat against the outrageous execution of bourgeois justice.

Signed: The Presidium of the Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress.

RELIEF STILL NEEDED

PHILADEPHIA.—The American Friends Service committee (Quakers) are making another appeal for clothing to be distributed in Russia by their working unit there. They are informed that this year's harvest is in many localities a failure and that there will not be sufficient food for more than 50 percent of the people, but clothing is almost as necessary as food.

[illegible]

We congratulate the Progressive Miners' Group of District 5 Western Pennsylvania on the platform they have issued for the struggle they have launched and the spirit with which they go forward into battle. Victory will surely find a resting place upon their standards.

This platform is published on another page of this issue. This Miners' Group also announces that it will issue a series of eight articles to give publicity to their cause.

It is promised that these eight articles will give the story of one of the greatest labor struggles that has ever taken place in the United States. We believe it and will gladly give space to them.

The introduction to these articles charges that the most corrupt district of the United Mine Workers of America is known as "District Five" with headquarters in Pittsburgh.

It is charged that the reason for its corruption is the fact that more of the coal mined here is used by great corporations than in any other district in the United States.

The United States Steel Corporation and other steel manufacturers are the chief consumers. Due to large scale production and consumption the proportionate profit on this coal is greater than in any other part of the United States. The supremacy of Pittsburgh as a steel center rests upon this margin of profit. Therefore, the steel magnates can afford to spend more money for corruption than any other group of coal operators in the country.

For twenty years the rebels in this district have made the mistake of getting a little group of Americans together and trying to beat the corrupt machine. This year a definite plan has been mapped out. There is no secret about it. The fight is in the open.

A ticket representative of the foreigners as well as the Americans has been put up for the district elections in an organized manner.

A platform has been adopted in an organized manner, and while the men on the ticket are the very best that can be secured and would do credit to the movement anywhere, the platform is put above men.

A special campaign will be carried on among the foreigners who comprise 90 per cent of the membership in this district at the present time.

The machine is so rattled that it hasn't put out a slate as yet. There is only one possible way of defeating our ticket at the election in December declares the miners' committee, and that is to steal the vote.

The Progressive Group recognizes this fact and is preparing to defeat "the gang" in spite of their old game of stealing elections.

The Pittsburgh miners say they need the support of every coal miner in the nation. If you are a coal miner, and if you know anyone in District No. 5, write them and tell them you are watching the fight there and you will help in every way you can.

The platform and ticket of the Pittsburgh miners is published on another page. Read it and circulate it wherever there is a coal miner interested in building an invincible United Mine Workers of America.

The Defeat of English Capitalism

Before the honorable authors of the Treaty of Versailles meet again, not to pull their hair in despair, but to proceed with their work, the Treaty of Versailles will probably have been annulled in all its parts by the force of events.

The Red Army had begun this liquidation of the Treaty when it cut with its bayonets the noose prepared for the Russian Revolution. The golden dollars of the United States, poured upon the Treaty, have continued the process. The United States has broken England's control of the seas.

Mark Sullivan, the historian of the Washington Conference, declared truly that no one had ever sunk as many English ships as Secretary of State Hughes, and that, without any naval combat.

As for the reparations part of the Versailles program, neither dollars nor bayonets were necessary to tear it up. Since the purpose of this program was to force Germany to pay, it is destroyed by the very fact that Germany has no dollars.

The only question is to know whether the reparations problem will be solved before or after the fall of bourgeois society in Germany.

And now we see the absolute failure of the Treaty of Versailles in the Near East. The victory of the Turks is a defeat for England.

There is nothing platonic in Mr. Lloyd George's friendship for the millionaire Basile Zakharow. Mr. Basile Zakharov, of the Firm of Vickers and Co. (war ammunitions), and the principal financial supporter of the Greek Government, had been able to lend this Government the handsome sum of $20.000.000 to conduct the present war. This financier is one of the binding agents between Greek and English capitalism.

Greek capitalism represents the interests of England in the Near East, and the conflict between Mr. Venizelos and the late King Constantine was really the conflict of French and English capitalism.

Mr. Venizelos is the agent of Schneider and Co. of the Creusot Works and the Bank L'Union of Paris. Ex-King Tino was bound by Basile Zakharov to the firm of Vickers and Co. and the British Trade Corporation.

The defeat of the Greek forces, then, is a defeat of English capitalism.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

We Communists know that a general strike will not bring the working class to Communism.

After every strike the workers find themselves still under capitalism faced with the necessity of conducting further strikes against the system.

While we recognize the limitations of all strikes and even of a general strike, we realize that the strike is the only weapon that the working class can use against capitalism.

It is a demonstration of the mass power of the working class and thru the mass strike the workers will become conscious of their power as a class and, when a revolutionary situation arises, if the working class movement is directed by a revolutionary leadership, the workers can pass beyond a general strike to the seizure of political power, the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Only then will the working class have freed themselves from capitalism and face the future as masters of their own destiny.

By this one revolutionary act they will have abolished capitalism, the basis of class war, and the future will be in their hands.

Then and then only will the workers be in a position to reconstruct society and to lay the foundation stones of Communist civilisation.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Appeal to Russia

Russian Federated Soviet Republic.

Comrades.—The scheming of the profit-hungry imperialists of England, France, and Italy in the Near East have brought upon the workers of Greece and Turkey untold suffering.

The conflict between Greece and Turkey, in which tens of thousands are losing their lives and bloodshed and destruction is turning the land into a shambles is the result of the scheming of English, French and Italian imperialists who are seeking to secure new fields of exploitation to satisfy their lusts for profit at the expense of the people of the Near East.

It is from this profit-hungry imperialism that the workers and peasants of Russia have freed themselves.

It is to Soviet Russia that the workers and peasants of Turkey and Greece alike must look for that guidance which will help them to end the rule of Allied Imperialism in the Near East and to establish the free Soviet Republic of the Workers and Peasants thruout the world.

We pledge our support to the Government of the Workers and Peasants of Russia anew and urge that the Soviet Republic do all within its power to end the rule of Allied Imperialism and to free the workers and peasants of Greece and Turkey from the misery and suffering which this Allied Imperialism has brought upon them.

**Greek Federation, Workers Party.
Turkish Branches, Workers Party.
Endorsed by Central Executive Committee, Workers Party of America,
C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Sec'y.**

T.U.E.L. Program for Amalgamation of Needle Trade Unions

Amalgamation, rather than federation, for the unions in the needle trades, was advocated in the report submitted by Delegate Wortis of the Needle Trades section and adopted by the Trade Union Educational League at its recent convention in this city.

"The problems and interests of the workers in the needle trades are so closely bound together that there is absolutely no reason for the existence of more than one union in the industry and a crying need exists for our amalgamation into one powerful organization that can better protect and further our interests," reads the report.

Contending that the present local unions are largely political clubs and more or less lifeless, the report urges the adoption of the shop delegate system. It says: "To establish a closer bond between the shop and the union, to arouse the initiative and individual activity of the rank and file, to transfer the power from the hands of the paid officers into those of the workers in the shops, and to abolish not only the local but the craft division—the present system must be changed and the shop delegate system established in its place. With the shop as the basic unit of the organization, the union will be conducted and controlled by the rank and file."

The report opposes piece work and standards of production which, in its opinion, tend to the same end. It advocates the establishment of employment bureaus, such as are conducted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, as a means of eliminating the competition for jobs.

As a step toward the shop delegate system, it advises the election of shop chairmen to act in an advisory capacity to the present unions, and it repudiates the use of the injunction on the part of unions as tending to confuse the workers and to weaken their fight against the use of the injunction on the part of employers.

C. L. P. Members in Court

(Continued from Page One)

altho no illegal acts were alleged against them have been given to Nov. 1st to carry their appeal to the U. S. supreme court.

On Trial in California

OAKLAND, Cal.—The joint trial of members of the former Communist Labor Party on criminal syndicalism charges opened here before Superior Judge Samuels Oct. 4th. Of the original defendants John C. Taylor has served a term in San Quentin and been released. John C. Weiler is still in prison. Edra Smith has escaped to Russia where he is in the service of the Soviet Government. Charlotte Anita Whitney is out on bail pending decision by the United States Supreme Court on her conviction. C. A. Tobey, Jr. will be tried later on a separate charge and the present defendants are: C. A. Ragsdale, J. F. Reed, C. H. Snyder (formerly editor of The World), C. A. Tobey, Sr., and James H. Dolsen, associate editor of Labor Unity, who is acting as spokesman for the five. Aside from this they will have no attorney. Dolsen's case has already been tried separately with a hung jury but he is now obliged to be retried with the four others.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

of THE WORKER published weekly at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1922, State of New York, County of Manhattan.

Before me, a Notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Elmer T. Allison, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE WORKER and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Toiler Publishing Association, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City; Editor, J. Louis Engdahl, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City; Managing Editor, J. Louis Engdahl, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City; Business Manager, Elmer T. Allison, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

The Toiler Publishing Association 3 persons

2. That the owners are: The Toiler Publishing Association—three persons: Elmer T. Allison, President, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.; Elizabeth Bertram, Treasurer, 2602 Kingston Road, Cleveland, Ohio; Walter F. Bronstrup, Secretary, 1264 Walnut Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ELMER T. ALLISON,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1922.

CAROL WEISS KING,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1923.)

[illegible] "Jury" [illegible] the "Socialists"

"E. A." writes in the International Press Correspondence that new indignant protests may be expected from all shades of "Socialists" against the "Red Terror" as the result of the trial of the Esthonian Mission, sent to Russia by the social-democratic government of Esthonia, but which engaged in speculation, theft and spying as part of its activities. He writes:

* * *

The democratic, yea, Social-Democratic Esthonian Republic maintains in Russia a numerous diplomatic and consular delegation, enjoying extra-territorial rights and corresponding with the home government by means of diplomatic couriers. But the Esthonian Republic has not followed in vain the lessons which international spies and speculators installed in Reval to watch for a possible weakening of red Petrograd, have been giving it for years. During the last week of July and the first days of August a characteristic trial has taken place before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Fifty defendants were brought before the proletarian court on charges of espionage for Esthonia (that is to say, the Entente), thefts, export of precious objects to Esthonia, traffic in alcohol and narcotics, etc.

The diplomatic baggage of the incoming Esthonian diplomats was laden primarily with alcohol and instructions to spies, and carried back regularly military documents, miniatures, jewels, art works, furs, and even valuable icons, hidden from the requisitions made for the benefit of the famine sufferers.

The Esthonian Mission recruited its agents among the employees and petty officials of the army and navy, and the petty bourgeois who hate the new regime from the bottom of their hearts, and are rather tired of leading a miserable existence.

It exploited those who laid claim to Esthonian nationality. It even found a few victims among some vague adherents of the Communist Party.

The Esthonian spy-system paid in foreign currency and food products, very poorly, of course, ferociously exploiting the misery of the poor devils whom they were sending to a possible death.

Its recruiting agent A. Wessart, has been condemned to death together with several defendants convicted of delivering various secret documents of the army and the navy, among them the plan of action of the Red Navy for the coming year. But the principal leaders remain in security in Esthonia.

What lessons can we draw from this scandalous trial which has revealed to Red Russia the sordid undercurrent of corruption, treason, deceit which reigns in the diplomacy of this petty Baltic "democracy"? It proves what dangers of corruption lie in the neighborhood of bourgeois states however insignificant in power.

And we are certain that this verdict of the Revolutionary Tribunal of Petrograd will again rouse the indignant protests of "Socialists" of all shades against the "Red Terror."

Yellow "Socialist" Police in Berlin Jail Beggar Who Plays Revolutionary Tunes

BERLIN.—If you are a soldier who fought and bled for the fatherland and were incapacitated for productive work, if to eke out a meager existence you turn beggar and go from house to house with a hurdy-gurdy, and if your hand organ reels off revolutionary songs instead of the Wacht am Rhein—then you may be arrested by the Berlin police and given the option of a 300 mark fine or three days in the city cooler.

That is what happened to a wounded German soldier the other day. He had neglected to obtain a permit from the magistrate for furnishing music and was picked up by the police. Ordinarily he would have been dismissed by the judge with the reminder that he must obtain the permit without further delay.

In the case of this patriot, however, the police magistrate found a condition of affairs which precluded mercy. As the judgment reads: "An aggravating circumstance of your case is the fact that you played pieces for the most part that are calculated to excite the people." Hence the fine of 300 marks, which to a poor street beggar seems a young fortune.

WHAT DOES THE WORKERS PARTY WANT?

It wants to see the working class freed from exploitation; it wants to see capitalism abolished, and industry, together with every public service and source of wealth, in the hands of Labor. It believes that only the working class has got the sense of social solidarity and collective responsibility which is required to eliminate the criminal waste of energy and wealth we see all round us, and use them in the interests of society as a whole.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

(Continued [illegible])

[illegible] 1. The policy of [illegible] Lewis and the International officers in ignoring the instructions of the International Convention in the settlements which they made at Philadelphia and Cleveland are a great betrayal of the rank and file.

In accepting the terms of the anthracite operators thru two of the most notorious corporation lawyers and lackeys of capitalism, United States Senators Pepper and Reed, and in signing an agreement which expires in August, 1923, instead of April 1st, Lewis has guaranteed the capitalists of America a generous supply of coal, while the soft coal miners will likely be on strike.

This is not the much-vaunted labor statesmanship we have heard so much about, but the rankest kind of fakery. The strength of the present strike lay in the fact that for the first time in history Anthracite and Soft Coal miners struck at the same time.

As a result the coal shortage was so serious that in another month the operators could have been made to yield all the demands insisted upon by the International Convention. Yet at the eleventh hour and fifty-ninth moment the rank and file were grossly betrayed.

There can be no doubt that if these contracts had been submitted by referendum to the rank and file, in the way that was provided by the Convention, that they would have been overwhelmingly rejected.

Many miners are still bewildered by the atmosphere surrounding the sudden Cleveland Agreement which deserted the coke field miners and left them unto the mercy of, the United States Steel Corporation.

The fact is that the rumblings of the insurgent movement in the U. M. W. A. were becoming so loud that the International officers were afraid to have the nomination papers for the coming election sent out with an unsettled strike on their hands.

Because of this cowardice they [illegible] the coming election.

2. NATIONAL AGREEMENTS ONLY.—The cry for district agreements is founded upon the desire to divide the workers. If the system of one district striking while the rest are working is re-established, the power of the U. M. W. A. will be destroyed.

The union officials who echo the demand of the bosses for district agreements, as many did during the strike, are agents of the operators and traitors to our cause.

In the early days agreements were made between individual operators and local unions, then by sub-districts, next by interdistricts, and finally a national settlement arrived at. All this was progress in the right direction. To retreat now from the principle of national agreements would be a step backward.

3. ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE MINERS AND THE RAILROAD WORKERS.—There must be created a real fighting alliance between the men who dig coal and those who haul it.

This must not be a weak affiliation like the present arrangement, which produces merely an exchange of friendly telegrams. The miners and the railroad workers must join forces for united action in strikes.

4. RE-INSTATEMENT OF KANSAS MINERS.—The suicidal policy followed in destroying the autonomy of District Fourteen which resulted in the imprisonment of Alexander Howat and the victimizing of thousands of our loyal brothers, is an outrage. We demand the re-instatement of the Kansas miners with full rights and privileges.

5. AGGRESSIVE ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN.—Plans must immediately be laid to bring into the organization the great army of non-union miners. One-third of the miners in the United States are outside the union.

[illegible] in the principles involved.

Had the administration really wanted it, all the miners in the country could easily have been organized during the war time. This condition must end. With the possibility of another strike in April, the non-union fields must be immediately organized.

Problems Confronting District

In the light of this national policy in the past it is not strange that the forty-five thousand (45,000) miners, their wives, and one hundred and seventy thousand (170,000) children of the Connellsville coke region can get no satisfactory promises as to definite relief altho they are still on strike against a part of the most powerful trust in the United States. But for them, the strike in Western Pennsylvania would have been a failure.

The U. M. W. A., which invited these men to strike and signed the Cleveland Agreement against their wishes, is under obligation to send immediate relief to these starving brothers. We pledge ourselves to do all in our power to send help to these men and invite all locals to immediately send their contributions DIRECTLY to these miners.

1. ELECTION OF ORGANIZERS BY THE RANK AND FILE IN DISTRICT FIVE.—At present the big staff of field workers are appointed by the administration, with the result that they are in large part simply an electioneering machine. They spend most of their time running around the district playing politics and seeking to develop sentiment to support the administration. The "pay-roll" in the U. M. W. A. must be abolished. In District Two they have already realized the value [illegible] violation of the Cleveland Agreement and must be cancelled.

We appeal to the locals of District Five to call a special district convention in Pittsburgh at once to compel the cancellation of this contract and to take steps to raise money thruout the United States for relief of the Connellsville coke field miners.

3. REDUCTION OF SALARIES.—One cause of the trouble between the leaders and the members is the great difference in income. If the salaries of officials were more nearly equal to the wages of the working miners the officials would see things more from the miner's viewpoint. For this reason the officers can be more useful to the membership if their salaries are reduced to a reasonable figure.

We, therefore, demand the reduction of salaries of district officers and advocate payment of salaries not to exceed $240 a month and legitimate expenses.

We further demand that the present custom of reporting lump sum expense accounts in the semi-annual financial reports be discontinued, and that henceforth all expenses of all officers and employees be itemized, so that the membership may know what becomes of their hard earned money.

We pledge ourselves to work for the amendment of the district constitution at the next regular district convention in accordance with this policy.

4. THE DEFENSE FUND.—Whereas, several years ago a Defense Fund was authorized by the district organization into which it is alleged about Three Million ($3,000,000.00) Dollars was paid and since it is charged there has not been an honest accounting of this fund; and further, since the Connellsville field has ex- [illegible] in sympathy with the progressive platform shall be [illegible].

Realizing that such a program, as outlined, can only be executed by a group of tried, honest and fearless men who bind themselves together for this purpose, we, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to run for the offices opposite our names and fight to the last ditch for the fulfillment of this platform:

President—Thomas Myerscough
Lawrence, Pa.
Vice President—Michael W. Brajdich
L. U. 3251, Wyano, Pa.
Secretary-Treasurer—Thomas Ray
L. U. 1973, McDonald, Pa.
Auditor—Tony Rosena
L. U. 1124, Van Voorhis, Pa.
Auditor—August Arnal
L. U. 1724, Houston, Pa.
Teller—Jno. Usnich
L. U. 5085, Coverdale, Pa.
Teller—Joseph Mantino
L. U. 3257, Wyano, Pa.
Teller—Robert Baird Raccoon, Pa.

Sub-District Board Members:

1st Sub-District—George Felisky
L. U. 3814, Burgettstown, Pa.
2nd Sub-District—Peter Messoch
L. U. 4561, Houston, Pa.
3rd Sub-District—Charles E. Shaw
L. U. 2398, Van Voorhis, Pa.
4th Sub-District—Frank Leithold
L. U. 2396, Fayette City, Pa.
5th Sub-District—Frank J. Indof
L. U. 2352, Smithton, Pa.
7th Sub-District—R. T. Henderson
L. U. 1230, Parnassus, Pa.

Locals should immediately endorse this progressive ticket from top to bottom by sending in the nominations to District Five headquarters immediately.

Adopted unanimously at the conference of the Pittsburgh Progressive Miners Group, September 24, 1922.

For further information communicate with Thomas Ray, MacDonald, Pa.

Bosses Failed to Use Gary Train Wreck in Frame-up against Labor

(Continued from page One.)

lice, and taken by a friend to a Chicago hospital.

Even Alessio, the stool pigeon, had been beaten. All this was the work of Chicago and Gary police. Thus had the "confessions" been procured.

The irony of the situation is that these men had never been in Gary until they were taken there by the police after their arrest.

A mass of evidence is available to this effect, while against them is only the unsupported word of a confessed stool pigeon, and their own repudiated "confession," obtained by torture.

The police simply went out among the strikers of Chicago, picked out a few foreigners who looked least able to defend themselves, hung the story of the "detective" upon them, and forced them to confess to committing a crime in a town which they had never seen.

Alessio, the Stool Pigeon

The "detective" in the case is the typical degenerate type which furnishes most of the stool pigeons.

According to his own statement, published in the Gary Post Tribune, he has had a long career in the game. He claims that he joined the I. W. W. in Boston, during the 1912 Lawrence strike, while in the pay of the chief of police. Later, during the war, he was employed by the Department of Justice at Buffalo, to work among the Italians under the name of Tony Ross. Part of the time he was connected with the Army Intelligence Bureau.

According to his own story, when the railroad strike threatened he applied to a man named Cook, in the Fort Dearborn Hotel, Chicago, for a job as stool pigeon.

Cook, who is supposed to have been hiring men for such purposes for the New York Central, questioned him as to his qualifications. When Alessio told him his record, Cook immediately hired him at the rate of $85.00 and expenses every two weeks.

Of course, Alessio, like all others of his ilk, had to earn his money. So, four days after the Gary wreck occurred, he turned up with the story that certain men, known to him by their first names, such as Joe, Jim and John, had met him in a union meeting and proposed that they all go wreck a train.

He agreed, according to his tale, went with them to Gary, and acted as a lookout while the others tore up the rails. On August 24, as a result of this story, Joe Popovitch was arrested. Uselius and Petrovsky followed on August 25 and 27. Finally the stool pigeon himself was arrested.

Uselius was the first to break down under the torture, because he was the victim of the most horrible and unmentionable crimes committed during the "third degree."

He agreed to the story the police told him to confess to. Then they put him in a cell with Popovitch, after beating the latter and telling him that he too would get the same as Uselius. In this way they got the same story from Popovitch, and later also from Petrovsky.

James Pavletich, another of the accused, was likewise tortured into confessing, but for some reason the police got his story mixed up so badly that it did not fit into the other three, and he was turned loose.

Up to this point the stool pigeon, Alessio, had been "in good" with the police. But now that they had the confessions of the others, they demanded more from him. When Alessio refused to confess to what they wanted, they beat him up, too, and threatened him with death.

This caused him to acknowledge his detective connections, as published in the Post Tribune. Then he demanded that his employers get him out, and pay him his current stool pigeon wages.

The Trade Unions Aroused

From the beginning the unions have had a keen realization of the sinister forces at work in connection with the Gary wreck.

They knew at once that the employers' cry of a "wreck plot" was a dastardly subterfuge to discredit the workers and their strike.

In the first stage of the frame-up, when the cloud of suspicion was still hanging over the League, Vice-President McGrath of the Railway Employees' Department, came out with a statement showing clearly that the smash-up was due to defective railroad equipment.

And when the second stage of the frame-up developed, namely the torture-wrung confessions from Popovitch, Uselius and Petrovsky, the organized workers quickly became interested in that.

No sooner had Attorney Paul Glaser made his big exposure of the torture-chambers of the Crown Point, Indiana, jail where the confessions were extorted, than the shop unions and other labor organizations became active.

Determined that the outraged foreign workers be given a square deal, they called a great mass meeting in the benighted city of Gary, and invited the mayor to come down and explain to them how such outrages could happen.

The mayor came, but his lame excuses did not pacify the aroused union men. They hissed him, and howled him off the platform, telling him not to come back before a gathering of Gary citizens, until he had dismissed policeman Connelly, whom they believed to be personally responsible for the outrages.

Organized labor in the whole Calumet district is deeply stirred over the case.

It is determined that these three humble workers shall not be railroaded to the gallows. Should their case ever come to trial it will unquestionably be one of the hardest-fought in recent years.

Frame-up System Must Go

Notwithstanding the complete exposure which has been made of the terrible barbarity practiced upon Popovitch, Uselius, and Petrovsky, the entire lack of evidence against them, and the complete alibi which they have established, the Michigan Central Railroad and the police are going ahead with the case. They still hold the men, and threaten an indictment in the near future.

The exploiters and their lackeys are making good their original pronouncement, that they will use every possible resource to convict the "plotters" and to punish them to the full limit of the law. They are determined to hang these men at all costs. Consistency, if nothing else, now demands it.

Is it not time that Organized Labor called a halt to the frame-up gang? Things have reached the point now, were no labor man is safe. The unscrupulous employers, with the connivance of their unsavory agents, "put away" any union man hateful to them.

The penitentiaries are already too full of labor militants, perjured into jail: Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings in California, Jacob Dolla in Pennsylvania, and Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts, are only a few of the martyred many.

The insidious and treacherous frame-up, now a recognized weapon of the employers in the labor struggle, is doing more than almost any other influence to shatter the faith of the workers in the established governmental institutions.

It is a menacing danger to the liberties of the people. Labor must stop the frame-up. Popovitch, Uselius, and Petrovsky, must be released.

The militants must stir the labor movement from end to end to see that justice is done to these workers, and that the framing plotters are balked in their deadly designs.

More than that, Organized Labor must bring to book the police and higher-ups responsible for this criminal outrage, and make them pay the proper penalties. An aroused working class must defeat the Gary frame-up.

Official Hypocrisy

By ISRAEL AMTER

The difference between a monarchy and a republic, we have always been given to understand, is that the monarchical system is expressive of the will of a single God-ordained individual, while the republic expresses the will of the "people."

True, many a monarchy is more liberal than a republic; true, again, many a republic uses more lying and subterfuge, in order to blind the people.

Some constitutional monarchies are more like tyrannies. On the other hand, in those countries of Europe in which the Socialists have great influence, or dominant power, they have become masters of hypocrisy and violence as well. Germany, star of the Social-Democrats, Lithuania, Poland, with the brave Socialist Pilsudski at its head, Sweden with the Socialist Premier Branting, Holland, home of Troelstra, Belgium, where Vandervelde plies his trade—all of these countries are applying most oppressive measures against the workers—in particular against the Communists and radicals.

America, to be sure, where the "people" rule, is free from such oppression! Here we are frank and outspoken. Men are honest—the government is "our" government, subject to "our" will, expressing "our" wishes.

Masters in hypocrisy, in times such as we are passing thru, when workers do not know from one day to the other what their status is, one wonders at the brazenness of our officials.

Thus, Secretary of Labor Davis, the millionaire running the department of labor, informed the Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shopmen that President Harding "believes that the railroad worker is of such importance in the national existence that his wages and the conditions under which he works should be such as to make his employment so attractive that strikes will . . impossible."

The Railway Labor Board, composed of the labor group, the railroad group and the "public", recently rejected a two-cent an hour increase of wages for 400,000 maintenance of way men!

The men are now earning between 23 and 35 cents an hour!

President Grable of the Maintenance of Way Men, demanded 40 cents an hour minimum, merely as a living wage. The government Railway Board holds them to 23 to 35 cents an hour, as a "saving wage" and in order to "make employment so attractive that strikes will be impossible!"

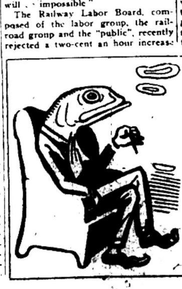
"There is everywhere a disposition to scrutinize, to question, to examine minutely into social and economic institutions, to interrogate methods of human integration and procedure which have been so long accepted as to have seemed axiomatic. **We shall gain nothing by charging that this spirit proceeds from malvolence and testifies a disordered state of mind. We ought to recognize that it largely represents a sincere wish to improve conditions. History teaches that blind effort to obstruct such movements has often produced momentary disaster, but never prevented ultimate advance.** The world is too old, and ought to be too wise, to resort to such tactics now. Rather, its best intelligence should be given to open-minded cooperation in every earnest project of inquiry and analysis which looks to the general betterment." (Bold type ours.)

Thus, the president of the United States to the president of the American Bankers' Association.

In the meantime, scores of radicals and revolutionists, who have dared to inquire into the nature of our institutions and to explain to the workers of this country the results of their inquiries, are rotting in the prisons and federal penitentiaries, tortured by the employees of Mr. Harding's administration. In the meantime, Mr. Daugherty, the President's Attorney General, breaks up meetings of peaceful workers, raids conventions of militant trade unionists, uses a posse to arrest a group of Communists, and everywhere is tracking down revolutionists, who make it their business to "question, to examine minutely into social and economic institutions" and pronounce them what they are: institutions in the hands of the capitalists for suppressing the working class.

Men have such ideas not "from malevolence" nor does it testify a disordered state of mind", altho prison wardens apply every form of torture and torment in order to drive their radical prisoners mad. Despite the Presidents' pathos, government agencies, the press, the schools and church are proclaiming the malice of the revolutionists and their "sinister efforts to change conditions."

More than one million workers—miners, shopmen and textile workers—questioned the righteousness of American conditions. They condemned the misery that they were degraded to. Their question took the form of a strike which the government used every "blind effort to obstruct". Altho the President should have been "too old and ought to be too wise to resort to such tactics now," he followed the methods of his predecessors and sent troops into the strike regions to make the workers understand that "to inquire minutely into social and economic institutions," is a crime in America. Federal troops were sent to Mingo County to aid the governor of West Virginia in denying miners that State "protection against the thugs and mine guards in the employ of the coal magnates. Troops were sent into 15 States during the coal strike, to prevent the miners from realizing a "sincere wish to improve conditions", conditions which denied them work and brought starvation to tens of thousands. Troops were sent to Pawtucket Valley, Rhode Island, where the textile workers bravely fought against industrial slavery. Troops were sent to Newport, Ky., where steel workers demanded a living wage. Just as the Socialist Ebert did in Germany, when the railroad workers demanded living conditions; just as Lloyd George did in England when the miners demanded full-time work and a living wage; just as Wilson did, when the miners threatened a strike to obtain



Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG

The Poor Fish Says:

It's all right to organize, but not to belong to the unions. He says he would approve of unions if they would only stop antagonizing the best people.

[illegible] "good" [illegible] social institutions."

To cap it all, Attorney General Daugherty, the armed agent of the [illegible] administration, obtained an injunction against the railway shopmen that is a travesty on American citizenship. During the war, treaties between nations became scraps of paper. At the present stage of struggle between labor and capital in America, "constitutionally guaranteed" rights of the workers are given the protection that the Colonel of the Colorado National Guard gave the striking miners at Ludlow, when, exclaiming "to hell with the constitution", he ordered his troops forward, against them.

Workers, in America and elsewhere, have no rights. They may work, if they can procure a job and agree on terms with their employers: they have no right to a job. They have no right to organize and to strike; these rights belong only to the capitalists, who have organized into tremendous trusts and banking concerns, and still possess the right to close down their factories at will and lock out their workers who do too much "questioning" and "examining". Workers have no right to meet freely and discuss matters of importance to them: the right of free speech, free press and assemblage belongs only to the capitalists, who may meet in conspiracy to rob the workers, to overthrow an administration to invade a foreign country (Haiti, Santo Domingo, Mexico).

Obviously, what our capitalists, presidents, governors and the "better classes" resent, is not that the workers "scrutinize, question and examine minutely". That is a perfectly harmless procedure that even the capitalists indulge in. What they object to, is the workers taking action to remove the obstacles to "general betterment". They object to workers organizing to demand a larger, a more decent share of what they produce; to demand human conditions of work. They object to anything that will enable the workers one day to become the masters of their own lives by a changed form of society. They object to anything that will deprive them—the capitalists—of their power, which is quite natural.

But let us cast off this shell of official hypocrisy. The capitalists thru the government, with the president at its head, may obstruct the movement of the workers to obtain control, and such obstruction may produce "momentary disaster"—disaster to the working class. But, we agree with the President it will "never prevent ultimate advance".

The farce of "liberty" in "democratic" America in the face of tyranny almost unsurpassed anywhere in the world, is teaching the American working class. Official hypocrisy, thy words are golden! The workers are learning therefrom.

Communist International Urges Greater Efforts in Co-operative Movement

In confirmation of the decision of the Third World Congress of the Communist International with regard to the organization of the co-operative section of the Communist International the Executive Committee states that in most countries the committees for organizing the activities of the Communists in the co-operative movement have done nothing and that in many countries this work is only carried on in a sporadic and unorganized manner. It therefore decides:

For the purpose of fighting the social treacherous elements in the co-operative movement co-operative committees must be formed by all central committees of the Communist Parties which will be charged with the following tasks:

1—To assemble and organize all the comrades working in the co-operative movement, to keep a record of the comrades engaged in this work and to mobilize them by means of party discipline, etc.

2—To maintain thru the Central Committees a permanent connection with the co-operative section of the Communist International in order to obtain from it general instructions and to inform the section on the progress in the respective countries.

3—The next task of the co-operative sections in the various Central Committees is to prepare for the convocation of an International Conference of Communist Co-operators a week previous to the opening of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International.

More Amalgamated Plans

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is considering a project to publish each year "at least two big and real good books of immediate interest to Amalgamated members and their families—books of the size that are sold in the market at from two to three dollars." The subscription price for both books, in case the plan is adopted, will be one dollar.

A referendum vote of the members of the organization who will subscribe in advance is under consideration as to the kind of books which shall be published.

School teachers in Berlin, Germany, may now criticize adversely the acts of princes and kings. That is going some for a government with a "Socialist" president.

New Groups Join Workers Party Ranks

The movement toward building in the United States one powerful, revolutionary political party of the workers received a new impetus in the affiliation of a number of new groups with the Workers Party recently.

As announced recently the Czecho-Slovak Federation, with a membership of 1,000 recently joined the Party. The Scandinavian Federation is now voting on the question of affiliation.

The latest group to come into the Party is the United Toilers. Arrangements are now under way for the amalgamation of this organization with the Workers Party.

The following exchange of letters preceded the election of sub-committees which are now arranging the details:

Invitation To The United Toilers

New York City, Oct. 7, 1922.

The United Toilers of America
83 E. 4th St.
New York, N. Y.

Comrades:—In view of the general world situation as it affects the Communist movement, we deem it advisable to use our offices for the purpose of endeavoring to achieve complete unity of all those organizations in the United States working in harmony with the spirit of the Third International. Therefore, we extend you an invitation to unite with us in the common struggle against capitalism and against those servants of capitalism masquerading as representatives of the working class in the ranks of the yellow Socialist Party and similar organizations.

The unity of the Majority Socialists of Germany is a prelude to the amalgamation of the Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationale in order to consolidate the forces of the Social Patriots and Centrists against the Third Internationale. In the United States the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor has joined hands with its former enemies, the leaders of the Socialist Party for the purpose of fighting the rising tide of Communism.

The Struggle of the whole world-reaction against the Communist movement is assuming a particularly virulent form in the labor movement of the United States and demands a complete consolidation of our forces at the earliest possible moment.

For these reasons alone, aside from the tremendous advantage to be gained in every field of endeavor, unity of revolutionary forces is essential.

Our Second Convention is to be held in December in this City and it is advisable that we immediately consolidate our forces so that all who become members may have representation in the convention. It is imperative that the combined ability of the Communist movement in this country be applied to questions confronting the working class.

Believing this will receive your immediate consideration, we are

Fraternally
C. E. Ruthenberg
Executive Secretary

The United Toilers' Reply

The Workers Party of America
799 Broadway, Room 405
New York, N. Y.

Comrades:—Your communication regarding unity of "all those organizations in the United States working in harmony with the spirit of the Third International" received, and we note with pleasure your commendable efforts to secure the consolidation of such forces.

We agree that conditions for such unity of our forces are more than ripe. We shall immediately proceed to act in accord with your invitation. A committee of five from the United Toilers of America will be selected to meet with a like committee from the Workers Party and endeavor to work out details for complete organic unity of our forces, provided that arrangement is satisfactory to you.

We have noted for some time the sinister line-up of the forces of reaction in the labor movement against, not only the Third International, but against every progressive tendency in the entire movement. Every utterance from the camp of the reaction in this country is added evidence of the necessity for closing the Communist ranks. The treacherous clique now controlling the A. F. of L. machine is making overtures to every variety of yellow socialist in order to consolidate all reactionary forces against the militants in the A. F. of L. and in the entire labor movement.

It is a matter of simple duty for all who hold the interests of the workers sacred, all who hold the revolutionary ideal, to brush aside their small differences and unite.

We are ready to accept your invitation.

Our committee will be held in readiness to meet a committee of your organization at your convenience.

Fraternally yours,
United Toilers of America.

What Are You Doing for the Defense of Comrades in Jail?

The Ten-Day Drive for Defense is on. Every section of the city is humming with activity. Comrades, friends and friendly organizations are responding generously.

Posters, lists, pledge cards and boxes have reached every station. Committees are visiting unions. Bakery Workers, Local No. 164, take the credit of being the first trade union in New York City to loan $500 for bail and contribute $100 for defense of our comrades in jail. Every union should follow suit.

The English and Jewish Branches of Brownsville, Brooklyn, began the Drive by pledging $100. Branches of the Young Workers League have offered their help as well as their willingness to secure volunteers for the House-to-House Collection.

J. Burstein made a collection in his shop. He is a cloakmaker and brought in $7.00 to the office. The Young Workers League—the Jewish Circle of Brownsville, made a collection at its last meeting and gave $10.65.

This is only the beginning. We are confident to receive equal results and even better ones as the Drive goes on. However, this is a reminder for friends and comrades everywhere to do their share of work in the Drive especially in the House-to-House Collection Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 14th and 15th. The Collection can bring in thousands of dollars, if we get sufficient workers to go out with boxes.

Remember it is your duty to take a box and get at least one friend to do the same. The box should reach your shop, office, or factory.

Restaurants, stores and homes should be visited in every neighborhood of the city. Do your share for Defense and the Ten-Day Drive will be a success. For any information inquire National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 East 11th Street, Nerma Berman, Secretary, Telephon Stuyvesant 9642.

Hillquit Returns from Europe

About a year ago the editor of the "Socialist" Daily Forward (Jewish) came back home from Europe and announced that, "Communism is dead!" on the other side of the Atlantic.

Altho the year has passed by we see that Communism must still be pretty much alive in Europe since returning "Socialists" are still in the business of trying to kill it.

Morris Hillquit, international secretary of the "Socialist" Party, comes back home after six weeks and tells the faithful that

"Communism is a spent force. It is dying out."

Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Samuel Gompers' delegate to the British Trade Union Congress, proclaims that

"Their (the Communists) role is all but played out."

This is manufactured propaganda to keep up the morale of the dwindling numbers of the "Socialist" party. It can have no other purpose.

Even the casual reader of the daily press—the capitalist press at that—can glean the fact that the Communist movement has achieved another smashing victory in Europe—in winning over the majority of the Italian Socialist Party for the Communist International.

Hillquit hurried home before this catastrophe to the European Social Democracy took place. He admits he saw the storm coming.

Hillquit's greatest crimes are the crimes of omission. He forgot to tell the faithful that in Thuringia, in Southern Germany, the Communists have just increased their vote 25 per cent, while the "Socialists" got a decrease of 32 per cent.

He forgot to report that in Alsace-Lorraine the first Communist has been elected to parliament.

He forgot to state that in the by-elections in Czecho-Slovakia the Communists have shown gains of 12 places, while the "Socialists" have lost six places.

In lieu of these facts, Hillquit tries to tell us what the issue is that divided the Italian Socialist Party. He said:

"The so-called concentrationalists, under the leadership of Fillipe Turati claims that the reason the election victories of the Italian workers haven't done them any good is because the Socialist Party under Serrati was not ready to make use of its great power in the interests of the workers to collaborate with the bourgeoisie.

"The other faction led by G. M. Serrati, the Maximalist faction, believes that nothing can be done until the workers have all the power and then they will institute the dictatorship of the proletariat. To all intents and purposes they are Communists."

Hillquit, of course, in Italy as in Germany throws his lot in with the "Socialist" collaborators with capitalism and hopes for the best. Hillquit doesn't know, but he has his hopes. Listen:

"I don't know how the Socialist Europe will happen," says Hillquit. "It may be that there will be election victories, giving the Socialists the majorities in different countries. That will be one way. In others capitalism may abdicate. In the face of the fearful problems now before Europe, that isn't at all impossible. In others there may be some sort of struggle. But no matter how it comes, the next thing in sight is a Socialist Europe, and that alone can save the world from utter and complete collapse."

Hillquit's days in Germany seem to have been spent in vain. He says the "Socialists" there are enthusiastic and that Scheidemann and Noske are out. He forgot to show how the German Social-Democracy (United) is the lackey of Stinnes and other industrial Kaisers, how these "Socialists" join with Stinnes to lengthen the workday to help "produce" for capitalism. While Scheidemann and Noske are under eclipse right now there are plenty of other Scheidemanns and Noskes among the German "Socialists."

Hillquit didn't attempt to show that the one task of European "Socialists," from Pilsudski in Poland, to the Hendersons in England, and the Turatis in Italy, is to combat the social revolution.

The Hungarian White Terrorist Horthys will laugh at Hillquit's theory of the peaceful abdication of capitalism.

The "Socialist" supporters of the German military machine are to-day winking their eyes as medals are being pinned on those brave German soldiers who aided the Finnish white terror drown in blood the victory of the Finnish workers following the Red Revolution in the spring of 1918. These decorations are given by the present White Finnish Government. These German "Socialists" will smile at Hillquit's "election victories." They will also smile as they remember the butchery they committed in the murder of the Bavarian Soviet Republic.

Capitalism will never quit as long as there are workers supporting the traitor "social-democracy" in aid of it. When the workers turn to Communism in large enough numbers, as they will, then capitalism will fall and the traitor "Socialists" will go down with it.

There were those who professed to be horror-stricken that the Communist International should single out Hillquit and point to him as representing a tendency that was not wanted in the International.

That was in the days when Hillquit was still calling the League of Nations "the Black International" and denouncing the traitors of the Second International.

Hillquit's definite stand with the traitor "Socialists" of Europe shows how correct the Communist International was in its first estimate of him.

It is the duty of those workers who have listened to Hillquit's sugary phrases in the past to decide now whether they will continue to stand with him and other "Socialists" in support of capitalism, or whether they will join the Communist movement in its struggle for the abolition of capitalist wage slavery.

The Biggest Ball of the Season

Dance & Novelty Ball

given by

WORKERS PARTY

Local Greater New York

at the

THE LYCEUM

201 E. 86th St., near 3rd Ave.

THANKSGIVING EVE

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 29

8 p. m.

Admission 50c, incl. wardrobe.

Meeting in Brownsville

J. Louis Engdahl, editor of "The Worker", will speak on "What Constitutes Revolutionary Working Class Action", at the meeting Sunday, Oct. 15, 8 p. m., 296 Sackman St., under the auspices of the Brownsville, Brooklyn, Branch of the Workers Party.

Demand Howatt Be Reinstated

Local Union No. 3257, Wyane, Pa., has adopted a resolution demanding the reinstatement of former District No. 14 (Kansas), including Alexander Howatt and August Dorchy with all their rights and privilegs.

[illegible] at Park Palace on Tuesday, Oct. 17th

An impressive meeting will be held by Local New York, Workers Party, to honor the memory of John Reed who died in Russia while fighting in the ranks of the proletariat. The meeting will be held Tuesday, evening, Oct. 17, at the Park Palace, 110th St. and 5th Ave.

The speakers will be Captain Paxton Hibben, who has just returned from Russia, Arturo Giovanitti, of the Italian Chamber of Labor, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Fred Biedenkapp of the Workers Defense Union. All the speakers were intimately acquainted with John Reed and are well qualified to speak about him.

John Reed will remain one of the outstanding figures in the history of the revolutionary movement in America. Possessed of a keen sense of justice he instinctively took the side of the oppressed and used the powers of his pen in behalf of the working class. The war and the Russian Revolution made a full revolutionist out of him and he threw himself heart and soul into the revolutionary movement. He was a leading figure in the left-wing movement of the Socialist Party and after the split became the leader of the Communist Labor Party. He returned to Russia and there took an active part in the Revolution and died fighting in the front ranks of the proletariat.

The revolutionary workers of New York will not fail to come to the meeting and honor the memory of America's foremost revolutionary fighter.

Campaign of Workers Party Sees Drive for 5 Congress Candidates

The Campaign of the Workers Party in New York is entering on its last lap. In order to make a more intense campaign it was decided to confine our efforts to five Congressional districts, the 12th and 20th of Manhattan, the 23rd of Bronx and the 7th and 10th of Brooklyn. This will give us an opportunity to make the most use of our available forces.

That the Workers Party has found support amongst the labor unions is evident from the contributions that are coming in for the campaign. The Italian Dress and Waist Makers' Union of the International Ladies' Garment Workers sent in a check of fifty dollars. In the letter that Comrade Antonini wrote to the Local he declares that the Italian workers feel sure that they "are endorsing an Organization which is the real interpreter of the working class." The Amalgamated Knit Goods Workers' Union, the Window Cleaners' Union, Local 8, and the Amalgamated Metal Workers have sent in their contributions and endorsement of the Workers Party.

Special Meeting of C. C. C.

The City Central Committee of New York will hold a special meeting, Saturday, Oct. 14, 7 P. M. sharp, for the purpose of electing a new Executive Committee of the Local.

Due to ill health Comrade Wm. W. Weinstone, Executive Secretary of the Local, has resigned and Comrade Edward Lindgren has been appointed in his place until a new one is elected. Every member of the City Central Committee must be at the meeting in time.

French Ask for Affiliation

At a meeting of the Christopher, Ill., Branch of the French Federation of the Socialist Party, held Oct. 1, at which nearly 200 members of that organization were represented a resolution was adopted calling upon the Executive Committee of the Federation to submit the question of affiliation with the Workers Party of America to a referendum vote of the membership.

In the discussion it was urged that the Workers Party is bringing together all the revolutionary working class organizations in the United States and that every working class group which accepts the principles of the Communist International should affiliate with it.

The Christopher branch will keep up an aggressive agitation to bring about unity with the Workers Party.

With Our Russian Press

In connection with the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic, there will be a special issue of "Rabochy Listok", the Russian monthly published at Room 307, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

There will be an entertainment Saturday, Oct. 28, for the benefit of the Russian weekly, "Iskra", at the Emmett Memorial Hall, Taylor and Ogden Aves., Chicago, Ill.

SAN FRANCISCO.—The soldiers at the Presidio army post here are being questioned concerning their railroad experience. Over 200 have served in some capacity on the railroads. It is understood that these soldiers will be used as scabs if the Big Four Brotherhoods go out.

The "Socialist" Bankers and Hillquit

By JAY LOVESTONE

Twelve thousand strong of America's financial wizards have just closed their sessions in New York. They were of course devoting themselves to the interests of the workers, or at least to a consideration of these interests. The work of these economic solons is leaving milestones of progress in its wake. Witness the plan regarding the cancellation of debts. The wisdom of our charitable captains of finance is being applauded far and wide. But let's stop to look into this fountain of wisdom.

Where does this wisdom come from? Well, how should we know where bankers get their wisdom? We have a hunch as to where they get their money. But as to their wisdom, we plead guilty to the charge of first degree ignorance. However let's not despair. The New York Call, official mouthpiece of the decadent "Socialist" Party, has come to our rescue. According to The Call, Oct. 5, "The Bankers Debt Plan is an Old Socialist Plank."

At first sight, we blush to confess that we were not surprised at the "Socialist" organ charging the bankers with stealing planks from their platform. Years ago the "Socialist" Party charged the bankers with stealing money from the workers. Today, with 1922 about to bid us good-bye, the Socialist Party thunders over the bankers stealing planks from their platform. What is this but another milestone of progress for the Socialist Party? A milestone comparable in importance perhaps only to the milestones left in the wake of the bankers convention?

The unsurpassed and unsurpassable Hillquit, more indomitable than ever from a recent sea trip and hand-clasping melee with Scheidemann and Noske and their whole entourage of the hangmen of the proletariat, affords us many a gem of Socialist banking.

Says Hillquit: "It is a sign of progress that the bankers are demanding a reduction of European debts, even if it is merely a partial cancellation they ask for and even if it is two years after the Socialist Party demanded it."

We agree. It is a sign of progress for the Socialist Party when, as the Call says, "the bankers of America assembled in national convention," indorse at least one portion of the Socialist Party program. Especially is this a sign of momentous progress when we consider that it is a mass convention—12,000 bankers—that has given this endorsement.

The enthusiastic "Socialists" should garner hope from this endorsement. Who can be so foolhardy as even to dare compare the value of this endorsement with the endorsement of the thousands of poor workers the Socialist platform received in 1917? It is precisely this kind of progress that the Socialist Party has been making since it expelled over 50,000 revolutionary workers from its ranks.

As a good business Socialist Hillquit must now feel highly satisfied and say to himself "Well, a fair exchange is no robbery."

Apparently this is the first principle of Marxian economics as found in the program of the Socialist Party and as endorsed by 12,000 American bankers in national convention assembled. In the political Bradstreet of the Socialist Party any working man will find smeared over every page that it is a milestone of progress for a Party proudly calling itself a party of the working class to have portions of its program endorsed by the most notorious crew of financial pirates ever assembled in one spot.

Catching the bankers stealing the debt plank of the Socialist Party program of 1920 is indeed another feather in the political cap of Hillquit. And the support of the labor-lynching crew led by Loree of The Association of Railway Executives, and Lamont, a partner of J. P. Morgan and Co., must be most encouraging for the bankrupt "saviours" of the American working-class.

Hillquit regrets that the bankers are two years late in accepting this plank, yet he is a faithful adherent of that golden rule of common sense: "Better late than never." Apropos of this Hillquit said rather proudly: "The bankers request for a scaling down comes some what belatedly, but it is a healthy sign that they are realizing that they can't collect a cent." That is all. Here we have it. Common and business sense—all in a nut's shell.

Mr. Hillquit did not find it necessary to comment on the cancellation of the debts charged to the Russian workers by France. These are debts to be paid for services rendered to the Czar in financing his pogroms and Bloody Sundays.

Perhaps Mr. Hillquit's silence is due to the fact that France is the cradle of his beloved bourgeois democracy. Nor do we find in this interview a word from America's newly-arrived wizard of finance, number 12,001, as to the real significance of the epidemic of charity now ravaging our bankers. The fact of the matter is: Our progressive and charitable bankers have not ever advocated and do not now advocate a reduction or cancellation of debts due them—debts for the collection of which American workers died on the battlefields of Europe and debts the payment of which can be made only in the blood and toil of the European workers.

It is only the debts due to the United States government that our "Socialist" bankers are advocating cancelled. Our American bankers, being good business men, are well aware of the fact that unless these debts are cancelled, they stand little chance of collecting the money they themselves put up on the Allies.

This we submit is the Socialism the American bankers are advancing. And this is the progressive sign Hillquit and the Socialist Party are applauding!

The bankers are looking for the best way out of the awful mess in which they find themselves. In trying to bolster up the falling props of their collapsing system they are anxious to reduce or cancel debts not due to them.

This strategy the Socialist Party calls Progress. Oh Progress, what crimes are committed in thy name!

Show $16,251.01 Collected in One Year for Defense

Organizations, friends and comrades who have contributed in any way to the work of the New York Division of the National Defense Committee will be glad to scan the report issued by our Auditing Committee and note the results obtained for a period of one year—July 1, 1921, to June 30, 1922.

During this time $16,251.01 have been collected. The expense of running the office and incidentals have been held down to a minimum as the report indicates.

The major part of the income has been used for defense of the New York State cases.

The report below speaks for itself and we urge our friends and comrades to study it carefully.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
New York Division

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
Covering Period Between July 1, 1921, to June 30, 1922

Balance in hands of Treasurer		$999.91
INCOME RECEIVED:		
Donations from individuals and collections	$3890.34	
Trade Unions	340.40	
Branches of Workmen's Circles	85.30	
Workmen's Sick and Death Ben. Fund (Branches)	105.50	
Miscellaneous Organizations	473.13	
Loans	1550.00	
National Office, ac. Secretarial salaries	137.25	
Entertainments & meetings	9468.07	16,251.01
		$17,250.92
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Relief to Prisoners and families	$4277.71	
Legal charges and bail premiums	6263.22	
Expenses and outlays on entertainments and meetings	2948.33	
Advertising	498.30	
Salaries (Secretary)	775.00	
Stationery, printing, postage, office supplies	331.25	
Refunds due from period before 7-1-'21	150.00	
Refunds on old Bail	520.00	
Returned loans (this period)	1500.00	
Contributions to other Defense Organizations	110.00	
Petty Cash (in hands of Secretary	25.00	$17,398.81
DEFICIT (due to Treasurer)		$147.89
Petty Cash on hand		25.00

The foregoing statement is a result of careful checking of books and vouchers of the treasurer, which were found to be in good condition and accurate. Acknowledged by the Auditing Committee this 2nd day of October, 1922.

Signed: Rose Engelbourg, Max Hagen and Peter Soukup.

Defense Meeting in Newark

An enthusiastic audience at the Labor Lyceum, Newark, N. J., listened to Bruce Rogers and J. Louis Engdahl tell the story of the new attacks being launched against the militant workers of this country. The collection brought in $62. The meeting was under the direction of the Essex County Branches, Workers Party.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED for House-to-House Collection

Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 14th and 15th,

FOR DEFENSE AND RELIEF OF COMRADES IN JAIL.

GET YOUR BOX at one of the stations below:

Downtown:
47 Chrystie St.
208 East 12th St.
431 East 6th St.
124 East 24th St.
Yorkville:
350 East 81st St.
222 East 71st St.
Finnish Station:
Finnish Co-operative Hall, 5th Avenue and 125th St.
Bronx:
Workers' Hall, 1347 Boston Rd.
Boro Park:
1302 40th St.
Lower West Side:
201 West 13th St.
Unity House—135 Lexington Ave.
Harlem:
143 East 103rd St.
Greek Station:
793 Second Avenue
Brooklyn:
Empire Hall, 46 Ten Eyck St.
Brownsville:
296 Sackman St.

With the Young Workers

YOUNG WORKER DRIVE

In order to put the Young Worker, official organ, Young Workers League, on its feet financially, the National Executive Committee is making ready for a Young Worker sustaining fund drive. The drive will be in charge of the Business Manager, H. Gannes. The comrades have been lax in paying for their bundles of Young Workers and in getting subscriptions. So we must find means of keeping the YOUNG WORKER ALIVE.

The Young Worker Drive will begin December First. Get ready to push this drive and to help the Young Worker—you Young Worker. Meanwhile—pay up what wou owe for the Young Worker, and get subscriptions.

YCI OBSERVER FUND:

Speed up your collections for the YCI Observer Fund. Send in the money as fast as you fill the lists. The Observer must leave very soon. So hurry in your money quickly.

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION:

Work together with the Workers Party in celebrating the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Workers Republic, November 7th. That is the big day of all workers everywhere. Help make it the hugest success ever achieved by the revolutionary workers of America.

WORLD WAR VETERANS:

The World War Veterans has proved itself to be a working class ex-soldiers organization, and as such deserving of the support of all working class labor and political bodies. The Young Workers League should do all it can to aid the World War Veterans as its answer to the scab American Legion. Therefore the National Executive Committee requests all members of the Young Workers League who are veterans of the war to join the World War Veterans, and asks all members, not veterans, to join the Auxiliary of the World War Veterans.

A NEW PAMPHLET:

A new pamphlet is on hand. It is an excellent work of 16 pages, primarily addressed to all adult workers. It is entitled "A Word to All Adult Workers" and it explains to the adult workers the position of the young in relation to the adults. It should accomplish much toward advancing the movement of the youth. All branches should prepare for its distribution as it will soon be sent out.

With Our Readers

OFF TO PETROGRAD

Editor, The Worker:—On Oct. 4th, on the steamship Esthonia a group of ten workmen left New York for Petrograd where they will join their comrades of the Lettish Workers' Co-operative of Petrograd.

Among them were millwrights, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors and cooks. Supplies that went with them for the co-operative's use were valued at between six and seven thousand dollars. Also some of their household goods they took along.

Bidding good-bye to their American comrades they said: "No matter what difficulties and obstacles we may encounter on our way over, and despite the warnings of frightened or envious friends and malicious tongues we shall let nothing deter us from reaching our goal which is Petrograd. It has been our desire for a long time to set out for Petrograd and extend a helping hand to the upbuilding of Soviet Russia."

The present New York local office of the Petrograd Lettish Workers' Co-operative is at 110 West 40th St., Room 301, New York, N. Y., Ed. Tabban, Secretary.—K. Stradin.

Win Fight to Speak on Streets in Jersey City

Judge McCarthy, of the Court of Common Pleas, Jersey City, has overruled the decision of the lower courts in imposing a fine of $10 against Martin R. McDonald, now candidate of the Workers' Party for governor of New Jersey.

McDonald was arrested with John W. Marshall while speaking at an open-air meeting at Central Ave. and Lincoln St., Jersey City, it being charged that they didn't have a permit. Judge Lee S. Sullivan in criminal court fined MvDonald $10. It was found that there was no ordinance demanding that speakers have a permit, and Judge McCarthy ruled that the charge of loitering and unlawful assembly did not hold.

Attorney Joseph R. Brodsky, of Hale, Nelles & Shorr, appeared for McCarthy.

BALTIMORE.—"The imprisonment of the I. W. W. in Leavenworth penitentiary," says the Voice of the People, a liberal weekly, "is still a crying evil in our commonwealth."

[illegible]
(Formerly The Toiler)

ONE YEAR [illegible] | Bundle Rates [illegible] per Hundred | SIX MONTHS [illegible]

Address all mail and make remittances to
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Four Social-Democrats and three National Socialists have joined the five-party coalition cabinet to help keep capitalism alive in Czecho-Slovakia.

Solidarity Among the Bankers

Frank A. Munsey, the millionaire magazine and newspaper publisher, told the American Bankers' Association in convention in New York City, that there are no longer any big outstanding issues between the Republican and Democratic parties.

In a lengthy address he urged the consolidation of the two old parties, to meet "force with force, organization with organization" in the war upon rising radicalism. The bankers liked his speech so much that they decided to publish it in pamphlet form and spread it broadcast over the country.

Munsey is just repeating what intelligent workers have known for many years. He even admits that the sole task of these two agents of capitalism is to create artificial differences, "to work up issues, without which they would cease to exist as political parties."

Munsey believes that such a united party, combining the conservatives of the South with the reactionaries of the North, would hold the balance of power against the radicals. Munsey doesn't distinctly state what he means by "radical," but he includes in his "conservative" party all who think alike "as concerns property rights," meaning all who support the capitalist system.

There can be but one opponent of property rights and that is an independent working-class political party fighting for human rights, warring against the capitalist system and all its inherent evils.

Munsey includes among the symptoms indicating the coming change the amassing of great fortunes, the spirit of unrest, the spirit of Bolshevism and the demand for the shorter workday.

We must give Munsey credit for plain speaking. What he intimates he wants is a capitalist class party and a working class party, the only two real divisions in present-day society. The boasted middle class is disappearing. In any event, in any crisis, its members always take their stand with one or the other of these classes as circumstances dictate. Almost without exception it is on the side of capitalist reaction.

The consolidation of the two old parties cannot come too soon. Labor can hasten it by showing the same class-consciousness as their exploiters and hurrying the consolidation of their own political forces for independent class action.

The Workers Party calls upon all organized labor to consider the class solidarity displayed by the organized bankers, and to develop in their own ranks the same class unity.

Now that the Stillman divorce case has been settled, the columns are cleared in the capitalist press for the next scandal "among our best families."

"Me und Godt"

Governor Nathan Miller, of New York, in his campaign for reelection reminds us of the late German kaiser in that he calls God to his aid when lacking in argument. With "Bill" Hohenzollern, in his palmy days, it was "Me und Godt," while in New York State we may expect a lot of "Me and God" from Miller in this fall's campaign.

Thus Governor Miller declared at Poughkeepsie the other day that it is not the function of the State to "make life comfortable," that God intended it to "be a struggle" and that it was the function of the state to maintain equal opportunity for all.

That was not intended for the comic sections of the Sunday papers, or for a funny dialogue in a vaudeville show. That is serious republican party political thinking in the year 1922, A. D.

We take it that Governor Miller already has the support of the parasitic few who have been made comfortable by the capitalist state, whether in the hands of republicans or democrats.

Governor Miller needs the votes of the uncomfortable many, those who are compelled to struggle, every day in the year, Sunday most often included, and every year of their lives. It would not be wise, therefore, to blame the misery of the multitudes on the republican administration, either at Albany or at Washington, and so God is the victim, he is made the goat, he intended it should be that way, according to Governor Miller.

That reminds us of that other appeal to the skies by that sterling republican, William Howard Taft, now Chief Justice the Fat head of the United States Supreme Court. When asked how the unemployment question was to be solved, he replied, "God only knows!"

If the candidates and spokesmen of the old parties still intend to stick up in the heavens, there are indications that the masses are getting down to earth. The strikes of the miners, railroad shopmen and the textile workers indicate that labor is developing a "HERE AND NOW!" philosophy.

The American workers are giving more and more thought to the ideas of the Russian revolution. They want to know what this Communism means, and why so many Russian workers and peasants are willing to sacrifice so much to achieve its victory over the forces of reaction.

The workers will learn and they will reply to Governor Miller that it is the function of society to make life comfortable, which means only to build for a better and a more perfect civilization.

The workers will learn and they will reply to Governor Miller that if all join in contributing toward the common well-being, then work becomes a pleasure. No one will then be compelled to struggle, in the sense that we now use the word, because the idle rich and the jobless poor—the great standing army of the unemployed—will unite to lift the heavy burden of labor from the shoulders of the sweating, agonizing, exploited wage workers.

It is rather peculiar that God should have foresaken Wilhelm Hohenzollern in his greatest hour of need. Perhaps he will play the same trick on Governor Miller on election day. Let us hope, at any rate, that Miller's speeches will cause thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of workers to desert the republican ranks and result in their enlisting under the standards of the Workers Party, to help it wage its struggle for Communism, that will make the well being of the many its affair, that will make of life an uplifting joy and not a crushing struggle.

The British Labor Party has called for the resignation of the Lloyd George government and the holding of new elections on the issue of no war in the Near East. The premier is meeting the situation by planning to [illegible] the country.

[illegible] the workers wonder why they only [illegible] in reading the kept press.

Landis Gets Mobbed

Kenesaw Mountain Landis, erstwhile federal judge, now commissioner of baseball at $50,000 per year, felt the heavy hand of the mob at the Polo Grounds during the world's series in New York City the other day. Landis has not yet given out an interview on how it felt.

Landis has hitherto been the inciter of mob spirit, not the victim of it. He showed himself an adept at this art during America's participation in the world war. On every occasion he incited opposition to those opposed to the war, and to Germans luckless enough to be living in this country during the war.

He showed his adroitness during the I. W. W. trial when he even led William D. Haywood into thinking the "wobblies" were getting a fair trial. He then cashed in, however, on the mob spirit born of the war when he dealt out 20-year sentences wholesale, with other long terms of imprisonment, sentences that are still keeping scores of workers in prison. Other war objectors were given similar treatment.

It was Landis that mustered what mob spirit could be aroused in favor of the open shop in support of his "Landis Award" that meant the smashing of every building trades union in Chicago.

This mob leadership was food for Landis' vanity. He loved it. He was happy in the columns of publicity it brought him in the kept press.

But this New York City baseball mob, cheated of an extra inning in a tie game, was no respecter of persons. It did not recognize its own. It mobbed one of its recognized leaders. In the words of the New York Times, "Five thousand fans hurled jeers and insults at the high commissioner of baseball," who, "After attempting to pacify the crowd, had to be escorted from the Polo Grounds under the protection of a cordon of police."

Landis is a quick thinker. He is resourceful. The mob must be satisfied. He therefore ordered that all the day's receipts be turned over to the fund for disabled soldiers, and to New York charities.

Landis, the inciter of mobs, didn't add a single cent of his own $50,000 salary to that contribution, a great part of which came out of the pockets of the players, helpless pawns in the profiteering game of organized baseball.

Landis may have made a run for home instead of a home run when the baseball mob got after him, but he came back strong the next day on the front pages of the kept press, at the expense of others, as usual.

The three Trans-Caucasian Republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan are demanding seats at the Turco-Greek peace conference for the settlement of the Dardanelles problem. The Paris allies had better hurry or they may have some more Soviet Republics to deal with.

"Socony" Distributes $150,000,000

"Socony" is short for Standard Oil Co. of New York, one of the selling names of the Standard Oil Trust, just as the National Biscuit Co. is made famous by that cracker, untouched in the making by human hands, "Nabisco."

While the coal miners had to conduct a long strike to maintain their wages, under capitalism's claim that labor had to be deflated, we find that the stockholders in "Socony," holding $75,000,000 worth of stock, are planning to distribute a matter of $150,000,000 among themselves.

Wall Street calls this "cutting a melon." It sure is a rich, ripe, juicy melon for those who hold stock in the Standard Oil Co. of New York, that is doing just as good if not a better business than the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, or any other tentacle of the John D. Rockefeller's oil trust.

The techincal term for this procedure is "declaring a stock dividend," in this case of 200 per cent. It is much better to declare stock dividends than it is to distribute this money in profits, because excess profits may be taxed, but not so stock dividends that are holy and must be kept free of any such taint as that inflicted by taxation.

The Standard Oil Co. of New York hasn't had a stock distribution since June, 1913, when it enjoyed a 400 per cent dividend. For every $1 that "John D." or his friends had invested in "Socony," they put just $4 more into their pockets. They have plenty of pockets, because the poor Dubbs who buy gasoline, or any of its by-products pay almost any price asked without protest.

The $150,000,000 distributed now by the New York tentacle of Rockefeller's oil business includes the war profits saved up, deducting the regular annual dividends as usual, of course. But why wait until now to make this distribution? The reason is very obvious.

All the little fellows, the small stockholders, many wage earners among them, that own a few shares of Standard Oil stock, have no doubt been forced to sell out because of the hard times that have liquidated their savings, their liberty bonds and their war savings stamps.

In last week's issue of THE WORKER we pointed out that the number of stockholders in the Steel Trust had decreased by 3,205 during the last three months.

The fool workers who thought that they were going to rival "John D." in the oil business by "taking an interest" in the Oil Trust to the extent of a few shares will now wake up and see how they were swindled, how the big fellows bought up their isolated shares and then voted themselves $2 for every $1 they had in stock.

This form of highway robbery is perfectly "respectable" and absolutely safe, and the heads of the Standard Oil Co. of New York like it so much that they are already planning to spread their net for a bigger haul next time. The par value of "Socony" stock is going to be reduced from $100 to $25. It will be easier for the poverty stricken "public" to buy $25 shares than $100 shares. So more suckers will be roped in, they call them "lambs" in Wall Street. And during the next "hard times," when the Kings of Standard Oil get ready to declare another stock dividend, the "lambs" will be sheared. They will be gently deprived of their stock because they must sell to get the dollars needed to pay for food, rent and clothing, and then, the Millionaire stock holders will divide the new stock among themselves.

This is a process that is going on in all industries. It results in the control of industry falling into fewer and fewer hands. It creates a larger and larger class of penniless wage workers interested ultimately in only one thing, the breaking of the shackles that bind them. The capitalist system thus makes enemies for itself. When those enemy workers become numerous enough and act intelligently enough, then they will unite for the creation of a social system that will liberate them from this system that plunders and exploits them to the last penny. They will unite in the struggle for the realization of Communism upon the ashes of this nightmare, called capitalism.

Communists are being attacked by the "Socialists" in the Ruhr (Germany) mining district because they protest against the coal miners working overtime for German and French industrial kaisers. The "Socialists" are having a hard time explaining their championship of long hours and overtime work. The workers don't seem to get excited over the plea that it is all for the capitalist republic.

Boost for the 25,000 Readers' Campaign.

[illegible] $500,000,000

That body of self-sacrificing American citizens known as the Army Ordnance Association is still at work.

This crowd of bankers, lawyers, manufacturers and business men never noticed that there was held the Washington Disarmament Conference. They are going right ahead "preparing" for the next war.

In connection with their annual meeting at Aberdeen, Md., recently there were demonstrations, reports the Associated Press, of "Shells and tractors that seem to think for themselves and other postwar marvels of ordnance development."

There were shells with fuses that withhold their detonation until they touch the cloth of an airplane wing.

There were projectiles of 2,000 pounds the fuses of which wait until 16 inches of armor steel has been penetrated before they explode their destructive charges.

There were flares with sufficient power to light a whole field of action below for 6 or 7 minutes with a glare equivalent to that of 10,000 ordinary electric bulbs.

This Army Ordnance Association, that is displaying all these preparations for the next "Human Slaughter House" is a mobilization of former dollar-a-year men, headed by Benedict Crowell, former Assistant Secretary of War.

We discover that the "pay-triotic" inspiration that keeps them awake nights is the fact that the war department's appropriation has been increased from $377,246,944 to $814,000,000. There is an increase of almost half a billion dollars to be captured in army contracts.

That is "Pay-triotism" at $500,0000,000; a mere matter of $5 more each in taxes upon the heads of every man, woman and child in the land.

The "pay-trioteers" like it. They grow fat on it. How about you?

In the Wake of the Strike

It is getting to be the customary thing for the militants in labor conventions to score telling victories.

Thus the "insurgents" among the 1,600 delegates attending the convention of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers outvoted the conservatives four to one and secured the adoption of a resolution declaring for amalgamation into one body of all railroad workers.

The conservatives charge the "reds" with being responsible for their downfall. One of the spokesmen for this group is quoted as follows:

> **"Adoption of these resolutions means beyond the shadow of a doubt that emissaries of Soviet Russia or of the I. W. W. are secretly sitting in this hall, disguised as loyal men, and this convention needs no further proof that the affairs of this body, for the time being at least, are under the influence of William Z. Foster, known wherever labor is organized, as ultra-radical."**

The report was even sent out that Foster was in Detroit when, in fact, it was well known that he was touring the east, making speeches in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other cities for the Labor Defense Council. But that is easy for the kept press. If it can put Foster in Michigan when he is in Chicago, why not in Detroit, when he is in New York.

We offer the suggestion that the big vote that was rolled up for amalgamation was the direct result of Grable's sabotage of the railroad crafts that went on strike.

The $25,000 president of the Maintenance of Way Men was bribed into keeping the members of his union at work with the promise of the Railroad Labor Board for a two cent increase in wages, from 23 to 25 cents an hour. So he kept the men at work, altho they had voted overwhelmingly to join the strike.

There is good timber among these maintenance of way workers and they want to stand with their fellow workers on the railroads in all future struggles. They want to be joined so closely with other railroad labor that no mere president can split their ranks in the future and throw victory into the lap of the railroad owners.

The militants in other railroad crafts should be cheered by the stand of the maintenance of way men. The demand for amalgamation grows. Soon labor will, because it must, stand united in one solid array on the railroads.

Entering the Universities

This is the time of year when the universities are filling up for the academic season 1922-23. The one outstanding fact, in Soviet Russia as well as capitalist America, is that there isn't room for all who seek a higher education.

But how differently Russia and America meet the situation. Gold is the key that opens the doors to an American university. Money talks here as elsewhere. Millions of the sons and daughters of workers are barred from an education because they "cannot afford it."

No real effort is made, not even in the state universities, to adequately take care of all comers. A long waiting list is an excuse to increase rates.

In Soviet Russia, too, the number of students desiring admission is much greater than the facilities can take care of. But in the Workers' Republic, even under the new economic policy, money can only buy from five to 10 per cent of the places in the universities, and these are won as the result of stiff entrance examinations. Practically all of the places are filled by the various trade unions, Communist Party locals or government departments.

Such students, springing directly from the ranks of the workers, receive not only their tuition fees, but also free lodging and food in a university commune, and a small sum of money for incidental expenses.

In time Soviet Russia will have sufficient accommodations for all her students and will then be in a position to develop a real working-class culture. The workers' universities will be open to all who really wish to study.

In capitalist America the same conditions that now prevail will continue. University life will more and more be used to furnish a social environment for the sons and daughters of the idle rich. The mental training given in the universities, as in the high schools and grammar schools, with the accommodations offered, will continue to be typical of the bankrupt capitalist system under which we live and suffer.

The working men and women of this country will not achieve a real education until they have established their own Soviet Rule. The entrance door to the university worth while is the working-class revolution that abolishes capitalism and sweeps on to the building of a Communist Society.

"Democracy" As It Is

> **"The capitalist bourgeois calculates," 'while I have in my hands lands, factories, workshops, banks: while—and this is most important of all—I retain control of the army, the apparatus of democracy, however you construct it, will remain obedient to my will . . . . . I will corrupt, deceive and terrorize the more privileged or the more backward of the proletariat itself. By means of these measures, I shall not allow the vanguard of the working class to gain the ear of the majority of the working class, while the necessary weapons of mastery and terrorism remain in my hands.'**
>
> **"To this the revolutionary proletariat replies: 'consequently, the first condition of salvation is to tear the weapons of domination out of the hands of the bourgeoisie. It is hopeless to think of a peaceful arrival to power while the bourgeoisie retains in its hands all the apparatus of power. Three times over hopeless is the idea of coming to power [illegible]**

[illegible] "Democracy," [illegible] paper, [illegible]

BOLCOMS

Edited by I. D. W. TALMADGE

TO OUR NEIGHBOR "THE WORKER"

Dear Colleague:—Our attention has been called to an editorial which appeared in the last issue of your publication. It is entitled, "A Monument for Marx" and describes the grave condition of the resting place of the greatest philosopher of the working class.

We fully agree with you that the workers of all countries should join in erecting a fitting Marx Memorial; yet, we don't believe that it should be done immediately.

It is well known that our pecuniary status isn't any too bright. Consequently, we must make only such expenditures as are of immediate importance. Therefore, may we not suggest that the drive for a Marx Monument be postponed until after we succeed in raising enough money for a wedding gift to Ex-Kaiser Bill.

Fraternally yours,
The Bolcoms.

THE LATEST:

The A. F. of L. is also against a Marx Memorial. "Being a truly proletarian organization," stated one of their officials, "we can't donate any money to erect a monument for a man who left so great a "capital."

ALEMAN VIC

S. P.: "We need some votes."
Vic: "Don't Worry, I'll get 'em."
$. P.: "How?"
Vic: "Buy 'em."
$. P.: "But we have no money. How are you going to buy them?"
Vic: "That's easy. I'll SELL the workers to the Republicans." T. L.

MANIFESTO OF THE BOLCOMS

To the Workers of America:—

At last that for which we have strived, prayed and hoped all these days has now been realized! It is no longer a wild utopian dream. It has finally become a reality. In these sad days of reaction, it is one of the greatest consolations for the American working class. How happy will our foreign comrades be when they'll learn of it. How unfortunate it is that Marx, Liebknecht, Rose Luxemburg and the others didn't live to witness it! What a tremendous encouragement this is for the new and old workers in our movement. How much better will we now be able to fight our class enemies! It has poured new vitality into our veins. No longer will we fear oppression and jails, we can now endure most anything. Workers of America, cheer up! Don't worry any more about the high cost of living, unemployment, or strikes, rejoice instead!

Hail the Greatest Victory of the Working Class. THE GIANTS WON THE WORLD SERIES!!!...

Bolcomsly yours,
THE BOLCOMS.

SOCIETY FOR PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

Bulletin No. 13

All labor papers kindly reprint!

A South African ape has disappeared last week from the Bronx Zoological Garden. Authorities believe that it has found shelter in a near by house. A thoro inspection of all premises within a ten mile radius will be conducted during the next few days. To avoid MISTAKES it is requested that brother Gompers stay away from the Bronx until the monkey is found.

NOTICE

A "Worker" will be given free for ten cents to any reader whose constructive imagination is so eccentrically developed that he can present a rational excuse to my wife for my coming home late Saturday night. Editor.

Who Is What, What Is Who And Why Not, In 1922

VI

Dog-Hearty, H. M.—Attorney and General Nuisance.

He was born when very young a child of his parents. From early boyhood he showed tendencies for officialism—he never went to school unless accompanied by a truant officer. He always was very industrious; in fact, his friends claim that he was the most industrious sleeper they've ever known. After he got married he worked very hard—opening his wife's pay envelopes. Later on for some altruistic service that he performed, he got a contract from a judge to work several years for the government, as a star boarder of a Southern penitentiary. When the jails became more and more crowded and every cell was needed for radicals, brother Dog-Hearty was transferred from the penitentiary to the cabinet. No one ever knew how great a statesman he was until he admitted it himself. He's quite an authority on political science; he has made a thorough study of Marxism from the pages of the Police Gazette. He always proved himself to be a loyal friend to Labor. His heart was breaking when he saw the sad condition of the trade unions in this country. He couldn't endure their suffering so he decided to enjoin them. Although as a child he was never dry, he's lately become also a very prominent prohibitionist. His fame is so great that we find his name mentioned three times in one of our leading national magazines. So far during his time he's made but two important errors: that of being born and that of remaining alive. . . . . —Ivy.

THE WORKER
AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION
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Ohio Won for Amalgamation

Big Federation, Hitherto Reactionary, Joins Eight Other State Labor Organizations in Giant Struggle for Unity of All Workers

Workers Party, in Spite of Burns-Daugherty Raids that Sent Most Active Officials to Jail, Plans Big Campaign for November Elections

Altho many of its most active officials were swept into jail at St. Joseph, Mich., as a result of the Burns-Daugherty raids, and kept there during the most important opening weeks of this fall's campaign, the Workers Party is exerting every effort to make a big showing at the polls on Election Day, Tuesday, Nov. 7.

This week the platform of the party is being spread to the workers of the nation thru millions of leaflets. It is also being published in full in all the party publications. Numerous speakers have been secured, who will be routed thru all the important districts.

C. E. Ruthenberg, national secretary, is directing the campaign from the party headquarters in New York City. Caleb Harrison, after being released on bail, returned to Cleveland, O., to resume work in this district. Charles Krumbein, in the Chicago district, and T. R. Sullivan, in the St. Louis district, who were also recently released on bail, are back in their offices directing party campaign work. The same is true of Max Lerner, for the Seattle, Wash., district.

Their work was broken up somewhat [illegible] this week because of their [illegible] forced to appear at the court [illegible]

Edward Lindgren, district organiser for New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, was arrested in his office in New York City as a fugitive from justice, and held for the Michigan authorities.

When extradition hearings came on before Governor Miller, at Albany, one secret service sleuth alone testified he saw Lindgren at the alleged Communist Convention in Michigan.

Governor Miller thereupon turned down Michigan's demand for Lindgren and now Magistrate Moses R. Ryttenberg, on motion of Assistant District Attorney Thomas A. Aurelio, has dismissed all charges against Lindgren in Jefferson Market Court, New York City.

All this persecution came at the time when the work of filing petitions for candidates in the three states had to be attended to, when the petty obstructions raised by old party election officials had to be combatted and overcome.

In New York City's 12th Congressional District, Ben Gitlow, who has been returned to Sing Sing Prison, was the party's candidate for Congress. His name was ruled off the ballot by the election commissioners and J. Louis Engdahl, editor of THE WORKER, has been nominated instead.

The Workers Party platform in full for this year's campaign is as follows:

• • •

Platform of the Workers Party

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION, TUESDAY, NOV 7th, 1922

The workers of the United States face a crisis. Government by injunction, government by naked violence has become the order of the day. The constitutional rights of the workers have been swept aside completely in the vicious effort of the capitalists to grind down the workers to a bitterer industrial slavery.

Step by step, after the war, the capitalists deprived the workers of all the gains made by labor during the war. Wages have been mercilessly reduced, hours of work increased. Millions of men were thrown out of work to beg and scrape in order to keep alive. A nation-wide open-shop campaign was launched in order to destroy the labor unions of the country. Strikes and lockouts have followed one upon the other in the workers' struggle to defend their organizations and to maintain endurable living conditions.

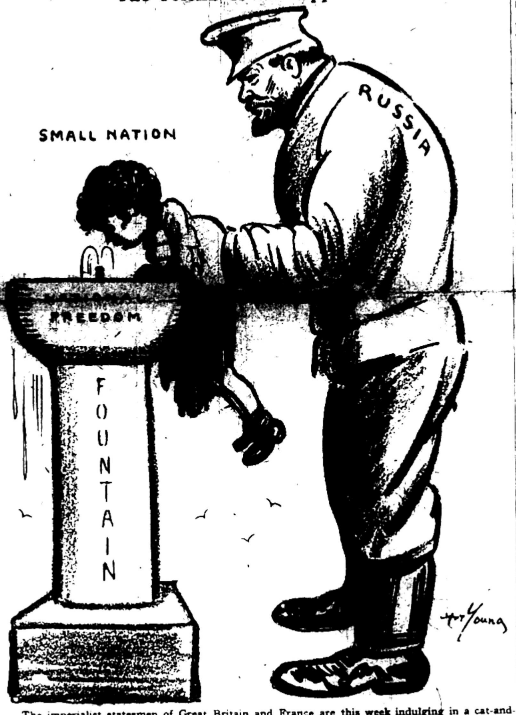
For decades the American capitalists have maintained spies, guards, gunmen and even paid deputy-sheriffs to provoke trouble among the workers in time of strikes. They have stirred up one section of the working class against the other, natives against aliens, white against black, organized against unorganized

Thru their agents the big trusts have not hesitated to resort to bomb plots, train wrecks and lay the responsibility at the door of the workers. They have kept Mooney in prison. Only the protest of the workers all over the world have saved Sacco and Vanzetti from death.

The American Legion, Ku Klux Klan, Vigilantes and Sentinels of the Republic are maintained by the American capitalist class to terrorize the workers and working class organizations. The raids on the strikers' meetings

(Continued on page Two.)

The Friend of the Oppressed



The imperialist statesmen of Great Britain and France are this week indulging in a cat-and-dog-fight to decide, "Who stopped the war." Lloyd George says he did. The French say they did. And all the time they know it was Soviet Russia's stand on behalf of the small nations of the Near East that chained the war dogs in their kennels in London and Paris. A new war in the Near East might result in a Soviet Turkey, a Soviet Persia, a Soviet Mesopotamia and a Soviet Anatolia, side by side with the Soviet Republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaidjan, and so the imperialists have temporarily adopted the slogan, "Stop and think!"

New Complaint Filed in Michigan Case

(Special to The Worker)

COURT HOUSE, ST. JOSEPH, Mich., Oct. 17.—A new complaint was filed today by the prosecution in the case of Wm. Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg, Caleb Harrison, Wm. F. Dunne and others charged with violation of the Michigan State Criminal Syndicalism Law.

The conspiracy charge, contained in the original complaint was drop

(Continued on Page Two)

The growing demand in the ranks of organized labor for amalgamation of the forces of the workers is sweeping eastwards.

This is shown conclusively in the decided stand for amalgamation taken by the Ohio State Federation of Labor, in annual convention at Canton.

The convention went on record as favoring not only the amalgamation of the 16 railroad shop craft organizations, but also demanded the organization of all labor along industrial lines.

The disapproval of these resolutions by the organization committee found a voice on the floor of the convention thru only Adolph Kummer, of Cincinnati, chairman of the committee, and Henry Raisse, of Cleveland.

This action by Ohio labor makes the Ohio State Federation of Labor the ninth to endorse the amalgamation program of the Trade Union Educational League. It came almost simultaneously with the endorsement of this program by the big convention of the Maintenance of Waymen at Detroit, Mich. And this was accompanied by the news that the South Dakota Federation of Labor had adopted amalgamation resolutions introduced by Delegate Carl Anderson, of Sioux Falls. South Dakota edged out Ohio for eighth place among the growing number of state labor organizations taking their stand for amalgamation.

The seven other state federation conventions that have endorsed the amalgamation program are Washington, Wisconsin, Indiana, Nebraska, Utah, Michigan and Minnesota.

The Ohio Federation also passed a resolution unanimously demanding the impeachment of Attorney General Daugherty and his removal from office, and an investigation of whether Judge Wilkerson, at Chicago, had not exceeded his authority in granting Daugherty's plea for an injunction against the shopmen.

The Ohio Federation refused to give an endorsement to Vic Donahey, Democratic candidate for governor, an endorsement already granted by Gompers' non-partisan committee, and by the four rail brotherhoods.

The full report of the convention's proceedings as received from the special representative of THE WORKER, is as follows:

Here's the Complete Report

The 39th annual convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor met in Canton, Ohio, Oct 9th. The convention hall was an immense auditorium capable of seating many thousands.

A large oil painting of the late Wm. B. McKinley, former president of the United States, overlooked the assembly. That in this immense auditorium was almost lost. The voices of the delegates could hardly be heard because of the poor acoustics producing a reverberation thruout the immense hall that created an effect almost uncanny.

The selection of a hall of this character for such small delegation is just a sample of the intellectual magnitude of those who arranged it. In these surroundings for four weary days the delegates impatiently sat and listened to asinine stupid speeches to the effect of what a wonderful fellow the worker is and how much they all love him and what they are all going to do for him by and by.

On the second day, one little thing of interest occurred. A representative of the Workers Health Bureau appeared before the convention and made a talk on occupational diseases that afflict the workers in various industries, and quoted some very valuable figures on the actual conditions the workers are suffering under in modern industry.

Until the fourth day, on which a resolution, bearing on the question of light wine and beer, was introduced by a favorable report from the committee, there was practically no dis

(Continued on Page Four)

NEXT!

State federations of labor have adopted amalgamation resolutions as follows:

Indiana
Michigan
Minnesota
Nebraska
Ohio
South Dakota
Utah
Washington
Wisconsin

To this list of State federations must be added the action taken by the Detroit Convention of the Maintenance of Way Men.

Who Is Next?

Judge Rules It Immaterial if Anti-Laborists Are on Jury to Try Communists

OAKLAND, Cal.—How fair a trial the five communist defendants being tried here for criminal syndicalism are going to have was indicated on the first day of the trial when Judge Samuels informed C. H. Dolsen, who is acting as attorney for himself and his fellow-defendants, that if he did not change his line of questioning prospective jurors the judge would do the questioning himself.

Dolsen asked talesmen whether they or any of their families belonged to anti-labor or militarist organizations. These questions Samuels pronounced "immaterial and incompetent."

Fire Fighters for Amalgamation

TULSA, Okla.—The fire fighters' international convention, representing 20,000 unionists, went on record here for amalgamation of trade unions under the Foster plan.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Amalgamation's Tidal Wave Sweeps Away Dynasty of Reactionary Union Officials

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The first dynasty of international union officials has fallen.

The Maintenance of Way Employes in convention at Detroit, Mich., with something like 1,500 delegates in attendance, have not only put their organization unmistakably on record for amalgamation and industrial unionism, but as a guarantee of the sincere purpose behind their resolutions, adopted practically unanimously, have made a thoro cleaning of the officialdom of their organization.

President Grable of odoriferous memory in connection with the railway strike has been defeated by a rank and file convention in so decisive a manner and on an issue so clean-cut as to show conclusively that the membership was fighting no mere insurgent movement, but was committed to the program of amalgamation.

Into the discard with Grable went his henchmen. The momentum which the movement gathered after its first victory in the elections is shown by the fact that while Grable in the first test of strength was defeated by something over three thousand majority by the amalgamation candidate; Pegg, the international secretary, was beaten by 54,000 majority. Had there been another election that day there is little doubt but that the administration candidates would have received only their own votes.

From the first day of the convention the rank and file delegates found themselves facing the most bitter opposition on the part of the machine. Not only once, but four times delegates were forced to reiterate their stand on amalgamation.

The administration forces finding the sentiment for industrial unionism and the resentment against the betrayal of the other railway workers too strong to combat openly with any prospect of success, resorted to the usual tactics of a desperate official. The reactionaries tried to get contradictory decisions from the convention on the amalgamation question so that an excuse for inactivity during the ensuing year could be had.

Some of these attempts were successful—for a short time! Always, however, the rank and file delegates recognized their mistakes, reconsidered the question and drove another nail into the coffin of officialdom.

While the debate was raging, a squad of ten uniformed policemen invaded the hall, one after another. No one apparently knew the reason for their presence there until an investigation committee had been appointed by the convention to discover why a peaceable assemblage of workingmen was being hounded by minions of the law.

In the minutes of the convention is found this paragraph:

"Mr. Keller: For the information of those who are interested in the presence of the policemen, I want to say that your committee on the advice of the policemen in front, went to the 9th precinct on John R. Street, and the inspector there informed us that there had been a request for ten policemen to be sent to this hall; that they were expecting trouble."

This revelation of the fact that the officialdom had appealed to and were using the officers of the law in an attempt to intimidate the rank and file delegates only deepened the resentment of the men who were there to "clean house" in their organization.

To show the sentiment that existed in the convention in Detroit, Mich., I quote from the minutes of the convention as follows:

(The following resolution had been submitted by Lodge No. 1738.)

"Resolved, that we favor the amalgamation of the sixteen standard railroad unions into one organization covering the entire railroad industry and that we call upon our general officers to take the necessary steps so that a joint convention of all these

(Continued on Page Four.)

[illegible] in Bail Bonds [illegible] Until Nov. 27

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] and the defendants after waiving preliminary hearing are now bound over to the circuit court on four counts, charging (1) distributing literature advocating sabotage and crime as a means for accomplishing political and industrial reform, (2) advocating the general strike as a means of accomplishing political or industrial reform, (3) assembling as members of the communist party of America, which is defined in the complaint as a party advocating violence, and (4) belonging to the communist party of America.

The conspiracy charge, under the Michigan statute carried with it a penalty of only 90 days in the county jail, and it was probably for this reason, as well as the difficulty of proving conspiracy, that this count was dropped.

Conspiracy under Michigan statute is only a misdemeanor and as the original complaint charged a felony to wit, violation of the criminal syndicalism law, the defendants would have had to be tried by a justice of the peace and in the circuit court respectively, an impossible procedure under the Michigan law.

The bonds of the defendants have not yet been reduced, but a petition for the reduction of bail will be heard in the circuit court next Monday.

All respondents out on bail will be permitted to renew their present bail bonds, and present sureties will be accepted until Nov. 27, the day set for the arraignment in the circuit court of Berrien county.

The strenuous opposition of defense attorneys Seth Wesselius, of Grand Rapids, and David J. Bentall, of Chicago, in which they charged the prosecution with gross unfairness resulted in the present bonds of those defendants now out on bail being allowed to stand.

Last night the little town of St. Joseph was swarming with operatives of the department of justice who from all appearances have taken complete charge of the Berrien county jail, St. Joseph city hall, in which is located the local chamber of commerce, and the general administration of justice in Berrien county. Burger, legal expert of the department of justice from Washington, D. C. was present giving the local prosecutors the benefit of his advice and counsel. The attorney general of the state of Michigan was also present.

If one wishes to see the defendants still confined in the Berrien county jail, admission must be secured thru operatives of the department of justice who are stationed there continually.

The St. Joseph Herald tonight devotes much of its space to recent developments in the case, and publishes in full the new complaint in which about fifty new names of individuals are mentioned for whom warrants have been issued.

• • •

Washington Is Silent.

(By The Federated Press.)

NEW YORK.—Efforts to discover by what authority the department of justice directed federal agents to conduct the raid and prepare evidence against the communists seized at Bridgeman, Mich., in August and now held for trial under the state criminal syndicalism act have been unsuccessful, the American Civil Liberties Union announces, after correspondence with the attorney general. The organization protested to the attorney general against the department's participation when there is no federal statute authorizing them to make arrests under state laws, and when the appropriations granted to the department cover only the enforcement of federal laws.

Following a rather surly letter from an assistant attorney general refusing to account for its actions, the Civil Liberties Union wrote again, but the department has ignored this letter. It says:

"We receive with surprise your suggestion that it is not the right of any citizen to be informed as to whether or not officers of the federal government are acting outside of the scope of their functions authorized by law."

The Civil Liberties Union is preparing to raise the issue of the participation of the department of justice in this raid at the hearings in Congress in December which will be held on the impeachment resolution brought against the attorney general.

We Live in a "Free Country"

DAVENPORT, Ia.—Federal Judge Martin J. Wade, who sentenced Kate Richards O'Hare to the penitentiary for a speech made during war time, said in an address in this city "There never was a government in the world having the guarantees of freedom of speech, of the press, and of worship that now exists in America today." Then, in the same breath, in referring to Borah's plea for amnesty, he said: "This senator favored the release of Eugene Debs from prison and his utterance was warmly applauded by 5000 people. Debs ought to be in prison now."

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS CO[illegible] THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The Platform of The Workers Party

(Continued from Page One)

in Mingo County, West Virginia and at Herrin, Ill., the raid on the convention of the Trade Union Educational League, and on the alleged Communist convention at Bridgeman, Michigan, show what regard the capitalists have for the rights of the workers.

When the workers make a courageous resistance to the capitalist assault upon their standard of living and their organisations the capitalists call in the government to beat them into submission.

Government Acts Against Workers

During the recent great strikes, the coal, railroad and textile strikes, which involved more than a million men and threatened to tie up the country, the government openly used its power to defeat the workers. Injunctions were issued by the score forbidding strike activities. State troops were freely used to terrorize the struggling workers. What the United States Government did in Mingo County, West Virginia when it sent federal troops to put down the workers struggling to establish the rights to organize, was done by the government on a national scale.

Thru industrial court legislation, the workers are robbed of the right to strike to protect their interests; thru the Coronado decision of the Supreme Court, the unions are to be destroyed by levying enormous sums as damages caused by strikes.

The Daugherty injunction robbed the workers of all their fundamental and constitutional rights with one sweep of the pen of a puppet judge acting for the employers. The right to strike and picket are taken away from the workers. The rights of free speech, free press and freedom of assemblage are denied them. Government by injunction and violence, the government with the hypocritical mask of "democracy" torn from its face—acting the open agents of the railroad kings, the coal barons and industrial magnates has become a fact in the United States.

The "Democratic" government of the United States pretending to stand for "all the people" in practice puts all its resources at the disposal of the greedy capitalists.

Bleeding the Workers

The workers are again to be bled of billions of dollars as a result of an outrageous tariff. Hundreds of millions are being demanded by ship owners as subsidies but not a penny was available to aid the 5,000,000 unemployed who were denied the opportunity to earn a living last winter. Not a penny could be found to pay a bonus to the soldiers who risked their lives and received a pittance in wages while the capitalists amassed enormous profits. A million and a half children still work in the factories and on the fields of the United States for whom there is no protection because an organ of the capitalist government, the Supreme Court, declares child labor laws unconstitutional.

The open service of the capitalists and brutal attack upon the workers of the Republican Harding Administration is not to be distinguished from the same actions of the Democratic Wilson Administration. The Wilson Administration used the injunction and federal troops against the steel workers and miners of 1919. The Cleveland Administration shot down the railroad workers in 1894. Altho administrations may change from one capitalist party to another, the government is always the tool of the capitalists used to beat down the workers.

Urge Labor Organize Politically

The workers of the United States must organize their strength in a political party of their own which will fight in their interest against the capitalists. This party can have no other goal than to take from the capitalists the political power which the capitalists now use to oppress the workers and to use that power to secure for the workers all those things they need in order to live—the land, the mine, mills and factories, the railroads and other means of distribution.

Wall Street now controls the government of the United States and uses it against the workers. Against the dictatorship of the financial kings and industrial magnates the workers must establish a dictatorship of the workers. The Democratic and Republican parties are the instruments thru which the capitalist dictatorship expresses itself. A vote for either of these parties means a vote to continue the dictatorship of Wall Street.

"Socialists" Deceive Workers

The Socialist Party misleads the workers thru its efforts to make them believe that the road to freedom lies thru petty reforms achieved thru the existing legislative bodies. No program of merely electing candidates to public offices will free the workers from the oppression and exploitation of the capitalists. The Socialist program is a program of electing candidates and legislative reforms. They deny the need of the use of the mass power of the workers in their struggles for freedom. In endeavoring to make the workers believe that they can win their freedom thru adherence to such a program, the Socialists are deceiving and betraying the workers.

IMPORTANT NOTICE!

Members of the Workers Party who are delegates to the Labor Defense Conference which will be held Friday evening, October 27th, 8 P. M., at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, must report at 6:30 P. M., Friday evening, Oct. 27th, 208 E. 12th Street, New York City.

The Workers Party declares that the workers will free themselves from the exploitation and oppression which is their lot under the existing system of industries thru the use of their mass power. This power must be used to end the existing dictatorship of the capitalists by establishing the workers rule thru a workers government. It is only after the workers dictatorship is established in place of the dictatorship of the capitalists that the working class will be able to enforce those changes which will end the capitalist system.

The Workers Party calls upon the workers, the farm laborers and farmers, all of whom are exploited by the capitalists to organize their power and fight for the establishment of a working class government.

Demands of the Workers

In nominating its candidates it does so in order to carry on propaganda to unite the exploited for the realization of the goal of a working class government using its power against the capitalist and for the workers. Its candidates, if elected to office will carry on a similar campaign from the legislative halls of the capitalist government.

In order to strengthen the position of the workers as a class the Workers Party proposes as the slogan of the immediate struggles the following:

The workers must demand:

1. **The unrestricted right to organize, strike and picket.** The right of organization is not questioned in the case of the capitalists who have formed trusts, syndicates and every manner of manufacturers' and bankers associations. This right also the workers must have. Without the right to strike and picket and to carry on all trade union activities, trade unionism becomes a mockery.

2. **The unrestricted right of free speech, free press and free assemblage.** The workers must assert their constitutional rights, which have been suspended in the reign of capitalist terror at present ruling the country.

3. **The abrogation of government by injunction.** The capitalists shall be granted no injunctions during labor struggles restricting labor activities.

4. **The abolition of anti-syndicalist laws.** Laws of this nature are not intended to protect the government from violent assaults, but merely as an excuse to suppress all militant labor organizations.

5. **Prohibition of the use of guards, gunmen, deputy sheriffs, militia or federal troops in labor struggles.** Violence in strikes is provoked by the presence of troops and guards. To preserve peace in labor disputes, the strikers shall deputize men from among their own ranks.

6. **The abolition of all industrial court laws.** The purpose of such laws and institutions is to take away from the workers the right to strike. There is no such thing as an "impartial" court, hence submission to a court of this nature is to stultify the labor movement.

7. **Removal of anti-alien and alien-restriction laws.** The foreign born are the most oppressed section of the working class of America. Imported in large numbers by the trusts to defeat the labor movement, the foreign-born are the major elements in some of the key-industries. Every obstacle is put in their way to becoming citizens, in order that these oppressed people naturally more radical, may not become the supporters of a radical party.

8. **Abolition of secret anti-labor organizations.** The capitalists maintain such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, and other extra-legal though open bodies, such as the Vigilantes, Security League, Sentinels of the Republic, to destroy militant and radical labor organizations. These organizations terrorize and use violence against labor bodies for the purpose of breaking them up.

9. **Protection of the lives and civil rights of the Negroes.** Lynching has become an established American institution. The American Negro is disfranchised in many States. This situation is a crying disgrace to the working class.

10. **Abolition of child labor.** A million and a half children of school age are at work, while adults are unable to obtain employment. The exploitation of child labor must cease at once.

11. **A bonus for ex-soldiers and unemployed workers.** The government professess to be unable to raise the money necessary to pay the bonus to ex-service men while granting extravagant sums to the capitalist railroad and ship owners. The soldiers should continue the fight for the bonus. They should demand four-fold compensation for the wages they lost during the war. The workers who could not be given work during the unemployment crisis should be paid union wages for the time out of work.

12. **Trade relations with and recognition of Soviet Russia.** Soviet Russia is a country of the workers. [illegible] have already [illegible] the Soviet Regime as the government of the workers and [illegible] of Russia.

13. **Withdrawal of [illegible] from Haiti, Santo Domingo and Porto Rico and Nicaragua.** The last two-named countries were seized by military force during the war. Without heeding the wishes of the inhabitants of these countries, the American government has maintained troops and a military dictatorship there in the interests of the banks, big sugar and tobacco interests. The troops must be withdrawn and military dictatorship ended at once.

14. **Non-intervention in the Near-East affairs.** The peoples of the Near-East are demanding the withdrawal of the imperialistic forces of the Great Powers. In the Near-East countries, there are rich oil fields, which are being competed for by British, French, Italian and American interests. The American workers should demand that there be no interference in Near-East affairs, since such intervention will merely denote war.

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary.

Lerner Speaks at St. Louis

ST. LOUIS.—Max Lerner, Seattle, one of the victims of the Michigan red raid of Aug. 21, spoke before the first public mass meeting of a series planned by the St. Louis branch of the National Labor Defense Council in behalf of the defendants in the Michigan cases.

"Most of the men arrested in the raid are American-born citizens," Lerner said, "and the department of justice will hardly be able to broadcast thru the capitalist press the cry, 'Here is a band of foreign reds shipped to this country by the Russian government to overthrow the United States government by force.'"

T. R. Sullivan, St. Louis, also a defendant in the Michigan cases, presided over the meeting. Sunday, Oct. 22, at 8 o'clock, Jack Carney, editor, The Voice of Labor, will address a mass meeting under the auspices of the local defense council. The subject will be "The Michigan Raids."

The local council is canvassing St. Louis for possible persons willing to assist in providing bail for the men who are still in jail. A representative of the council visited Kansas City this week. Chas. Blome, Molders' Local 59, is temporary chairman of the local council.

[illegible] Maintenance of Way Men Costs Grable His Job as President

By H. M. WICKS

E. F. Grable, of Detroit, was overthrown as grand president of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers at the convention of that organization last week. His defeat was clearly a revolt against his shameful betrayal of the rank and file last July, when the strike of the shopmen was called.

After an overwhelming vote in favor of a strike against the wage-cuts imposed upon a number of railway unions by the United States Labor Board the Grand Lodge of the Maintenance Men, headed by Grable, ordered the 400,000 members to remain at work.

The men felt keenly the position of union scabs in which they had been placed by their traitorous officers and immediately started the agitation against Grable that resulted in his removal from office.

This is the first case on record in the American labor movement where repudiation of a traitorous official followed so closely the exposure of his perfidy. The case of Grable was unique. He was not so much a conscious traitor as hundreds of other reactionary officials of labor, but he was primarily the victim of his own ignorance.

Elevated to the head of a great labor organization from the ranks of the workers he lost all sense of perspective when his duties brought him into contact with the high salaried and sleek flunkies of the capitalist class who served upon the Labor Board and other organizations maintained for the purpose of holding labor in subjection.

When considering his case we are forcibly reminded of the saying of Victor Hugo: "A nod from a lord is a feast for a fool".

Suffering from the blighting and paralysing effects of a bourgeois psychology, he soon forgot his life as a worker and fell an easy victim to the flattery of the mortal enemies of the working class.

While the great newspapers thruout the nation praised his act of betrayal as an example of efficient leadership of labor, the militant workers everywhere denounced him and declared that he should be eliminated at the first opportunity. The opportunity was soon to come with the convention of the organization and he has now retired to the ranks where he will soon be forgotten, even by those who used him against his own rank and file.

The new president of the Maintenance of Way Men's organization is F. H. Fljozdal, of Dauphin, Manitoba, who upon announcement of his election issued a statement to the effect that immediately upon assuming office he would make an appeal to the Labor Board "setting forth the need of the maintenance men for higher wages and improved working conditions". The new president is practically an unknown quantity in the labor movement, altho he has served a number of years as a vice president of the organization.

The secretary of the organization, S. J. Pegg, was also defeated for re-election by Elmer T. Milliman, of Mount Morris, N. Y., because of his action in supporting Grable in the betrayal of the membership.

Shortly before the result of the election for President was known Grable sent a telegram to the Labor Board appealing to them to grant a larger increase than the two cents announced to all classes of workers in the brotherhood for fear that "loyal members of our brotherhood may adopt extreme tactics, fostered by questionable leaders, to remedy their just grievances of long standing".

Since his appeal to the membership had failed, Grable hoped to publicly discredit his successor, but only succeeded in discrediting himself still more in the eyes of the membership of his organization. To be branded as a "questionable" leader of labor by such an inferiority and unconscious servant of capitalism as Grable will be interpreted by militant labor as a compliment to the new president of the way men's organization.

The rank and file of the membership in the other unions in the railroad industry, particularly the "Big Four" Brotherhoods should follow the example of the maintenance of way men's convention and act quickly and decisively to eliminate their reactionary and traitorous officials and substitute therefore a leadership that will create effective forms of organization to meet the assaults of the capitalist class.

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THE WORKER

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This Week

ALL ARE NOT BLIND

In listing the things which in his opinion must be done to save Europe from its present economic chaos, Senator T. H. Caraway of Arkansas, just returned from a sojourn in Europe, gives first place to the need of immediate recognition of Soviet Russia. "So long as America withholds recognition," he says, "the stability of the world cannot be assured."

He should pass on these views to the White House.

An Artist Sees Lenin

Oscar Cesare, an artist for the New York Times, has been traveling over Europe sketching prominent statesmen. These sketches have been reproduced in the Magazine Section of the Sunday Times, where they have been the object of some comment.

It was not until Cesare paid a visit to Nikolai Lenin, in the Kremlin, at Moscow, that the artist got on the first page, not with his sketch, but with the story of his visit to the most prominent guide of the destinies of the Soviet Regime.

We are most interested in Cesare's declaration that:

"Lenin is not only right back on the job, but is as fit as a fiddle. I watched him for the best part of an hour, and if he is a sick man, I never saw a well one".

Cesare said he told Lenin that he had been in Moscow two months and that he had been much struck "by the order of the city, the cheerful faces of the people and the busy work of painting and repairing everywhere".

The artist compared Lenin with Lloyd George saying:

"Lenin seemed much simpler than Lloyd George. When I sketched the latter at Genoa he spoke cleverly and epigramatically, as if wishing to make an impression. There is none of that with Lenin".

We shall anxiously await the appearance of Cesare's sketch of Lenin.

Importing the Revolution

Now that Burns and Daugherty once more claim they have killed the revolution in the United States, the Woman Patriot, Washington, D. C., foe of feminism and Bolshevism, has come forward with a warning against the importation of revolution.

It hangs its tale of woe on the permission granted Jean Longuet to enter the country for a lecture tour. It mixes Longuet with Trotzky, Kollontay and Isadora Duncan in the following excitable words:

"Surely our government will not repeat with Jean Longuet the monumental blunder made with Leon Trotzky, who was allowed to come to the United States and edit undisturbed the revolutionary Novy Mir and conduct unmolested a lecture campaign to overthrow what he called 'this damned, rotten, capitalist Government.' (Overman committee hearing, page 7, Feb. 11, 1919.)

"The two American agitation tours of Alexandra Kollontay, key woman of the Russian revolution, were no less disastrous. Under the auspices of the German Language Federation of the Socialist Party, she addressed more than one hundred pacifist demonstrations from New York to San Francisco in 1916 and 1917. She came avowedly to tear women out of their indifference and wake up their sleeping emotions and political passions."

"Only a few days ago Isadora Duncan arrived here directly from Moscow, and, despite the effort of the Department of Justice to prevent her entrance into the United States, she is now dancing and talking for a union between the red blood of Russia and the red blood of America, as she flaunts a flaming red robe before her listeners. (See New York Evening Telegram, Oct. 8, 1922.) means literally nothing less than importation of revolution."

The women patriots are no doubt so far gone by this time that it will not help them when Longuet disowns Trotzky and Kollontay, and perhaps Isadora Duncan also, upon his arrival.

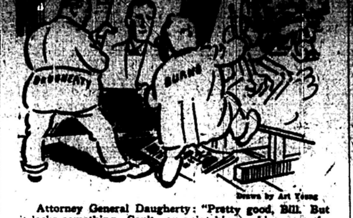
Branstetter? That's All!

We reprint in this column this week a short statement that appears in the current issue of "The Voice of Labor", Chicago, as follows:

"Otto Branstetter, national secretary of the Socialist Party, is afraid to come out in the open and challenge the arrested men in the Michigan case. Instead, he crawls around to the unions and pursues the same policy that his predecessor, Adolph Germer, pursued against Tom Mooney. Only a man qualified for the position of national secretary of the Socialist Party would stoop so low.

"It is charged by Branstetter that all funds raised to defend the arrested men in Michigan will go towards building up an underground movement to "destroy the labor movement." We invite the attention of Eugene V. Debs to the statement made by his alleged comrade. It is significant to note that when the various unions recognize the necessity of standing behind the Michigan defendants that the national secretary of the Socialist Party should deem it necessary to stand alongside of Daugherty, W. J. Burns and other noted anti-laborites.

"We hardly think it worth while to spoil your reading appetite by mentioning the name of Branstetter. We just want to keep the record straight. That is all!"



Drawn by Art Young

Attorney General Daugherty: "Pretty good, Bill. But it lacks something. Can't you paint him pushing over the Government—and get a little more red into the beard?"

[illegible] Forward on the F.S.R.

After two months of study, the investigating committee of five which probed the charges of irregularity made against the Friends of Soviet Russia by the Jewish Daily Forward has made its findings public. In a long and detailed report the committee deals with every one of the accusations specifically, reaching this conclusion:

"We have no evidence of the diversion of funds into other channels. There was no showing of extravagance or of irregularities which offer any ground for real criticism."

The attack on the relief organization was made by the Jewish publication editorially early in August. The outstanding charge was that funds collected for relief were used for political propaganda. The organization denied this and all other charges emphatically, and designated a group of men whose integrity is unquestioned by any of the parties to the controversy to investigate all the records of the F. S. R. The committee consisted of Roger N. Baldwin, chairman, of the American Civil Liberties Union; Robert Morss Lovett of **The New Republic**; Timothy Healy of the Stationery Firemen's Union; Norman M. Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy; and Walter Nelles, attorney.

It is this committee which now has rendered a report. It is signed by all but Mr. Nelles, who refrained because one of his law partners has recently been employed as counsel for the F. S. R. He concurs, however, in all the findings of fact.

As typical of the charges and the facts revealed by the impartial investigation may be cited the accusation that funds collected for relief were used to subsidize communist papers. The committee and its own certified accountant found that of the total of $16,719.63 spent in advertising (an expenditure amply justified by the results) less than $5,000 went to publications of a communist bias.

"It seems to the committee natural," the report reads, "that the Friends of Soviet Russia should have distributed its advertising as it has, in view of the people whom it is endeavoring to reach with its appeal for funds. The organization considered that the liberals and the radical working-class groups were those most likely to help, and placed their advertising accordingly. The committee does not know what discriminations may have been made among the foreign-language papers, but they were unimportant. It is perfectly clear that no communist paper was subsidized by advertising and that the communist press as a whole received but a small and proportionate share of the total amount spent in advertising."

Summarizing the result of its work on the whole issue of diversion of money and communist propaganda, the committee states as follows:

"In general the committee finds that the charges are not borne out by the facts, although it is perfectly clear to any one who looks at the letterheads of the Friends of Soviet Russia that it is pro-soviet and controlled by members of the Workers Party. But it must be remembered that the organization is committed by its very name to the Soviet regime in Russia. The nature of the Friends of Soviet Russia has been so clear all along that any one who objected to giving to an organization friendly to the Russian Government could easily have gotten the facts. Those who gave should not now criticize its motives. Its work has been conducted with real and single-minded devotion to the cause of famine relief."

In regard to insinuations made by detractors of the Friends of Soviet Russia on the ground of extravagance in its conduct of business, the investigators found that the charges "are not borne out by the examination of the facts." The committee went further, however, and made a comparative study of the costs of raising funds and distributing foods, revealing that the F. S. R. overhead was "not high compared with other Russian relief organizations."

After discussing in detail specific charges of irregularity, the committee reaches this judgment:

"The charges of irregularities are, as the facts above show, due to misunderstandings of the complicated business of the organization and have no basis in fact. The committee is convinced that the business practices of the organization are considerably above the average, and that not as much ground for criticism can be found as with the average organization making public appeals for funds. Mr. Chase, in commenting on the methods of auditing and reporting, says: "I would like to state that Mr. Woods' published reports dealing with the finances of the Friends of Soviet Russia have set a new high level in the technique of report writing. I know of no other charitable or relief organization the country over which is furnished with statements of a like character and excellence."

"The committee was impressed with the soundness of Mr Chase's observation after going over the reports published in "Soviet Russia", and having in mind the reports of most such organizations."

The committee does take exception to the fact that in their free time many of the organizers for the F S R engaged in political controversy. It admits however, that the difficulty of controlling the actions of employees in the hours when they are not working is almost insuperable.

Because of the standing of the members of the committee in the labor and progressive movements of the country, the report has great weight and may be counted upon to dispel the misunderstandings caused by attacks which have interfered with obtaining aid for the workers and peasants in Soviet Russia. The organization is launching two big drives worthy of whole-hearted cooperation by American workers; one for the support of destitute Russian orphans, the other for the sale of shares in the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

In transmitting the report to the F S R the chairman of the committee, Roger N Baldwin, says in part

"The committee asks me to say that it will be glad to continue in service if necessary to answer any further criticisms which may be made as a result of the publication of the report. It will be glad to meet any of the critics in conference and to explain further any matter which they may feel is inadequately covered."

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In the World of Books

By MAX SCHACHTMAN

ONE OF OURS, by WILLA CATHER $2.50. A. A. Knopf.

On his father's farm in an Arkansas town, Claude Wheeler grows up constantly groping painfully for the secret of Life. He fails, however, to make himself understood to any one, except, perhaps, to his sympathetic mother. Home, college, Mrs. Erlich, David Gerhardt, all seem, at first, to offer an answer to his quest: all are rejected or lost. His marriage to Enid Royce—a unique combination of Hedda Gabler and Agnes Lanens—is the last blunder. On an impulse he joins the army. He is shot in an engagement in France just as he acquires a faint gleam of power, a momentary mastery of men. Tho his death is a stroke of irony, it is an evasion. One wishes that the logical end were attained: his return to the disillusion which he was spared.

This searching of the American soul which is being done by the literati is not new, but it is socially significant. It is significant because it represents a desire to gauge the effects of our environment—neurotic, crassly materialistic, uncultured—on the individual and the mass. The answers vary from the agnosticism of Dreiser to the bitter satire of Sinclair Lewis, from the irony of Mrs. Wharton to the sympathetic semi-pessimism of Miss Cather. The historian of the future will draw on these books for a conception of the social and intellectual life of bourgeois America, as Taine did in his history of English literature.

EARLY CIVILIZATION, by ALEXANDER A. GOLDENWEISER. A. A. Knopf. $3.50.

To those unfortunate people who are unable to give up their time to research among primitive folk there remains the, what seems to me, more interesting, and certainly less fatiguing, vicarious experience and pleasure obtained in reading a book like this one of Dr. Goldenweiser's.

There are not many subjects more absorbing than this delving into the customs, the beliefs, the general life and industry and art of little-known peoples, or more stimulating than the speculations and theories of the sociologists and anthropolists.

Despite the necessarily scant material which the subject offers, Dr. Goldenweiser describes five typical primitive communities and proceeds with enlightening chapters on early industry, art, religion, social organization. He ends with critical expositions and analyses of the theories of Spencer, Frazer, Wundt, Durkheim, Levy-Bruhl and Freud. There is a fine concluding chapter and a bibliography, and the introduction should be read by, or to, all apologists for Imperialism, the chanters of the "White Man's Burden."

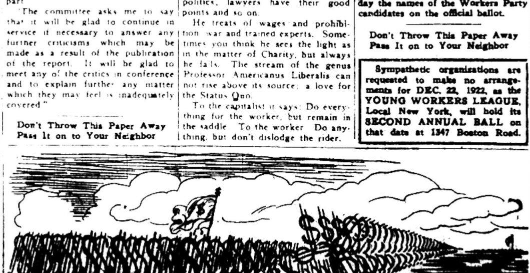
The author sadly neglects the economic factor. This book is not recommended as, nor is it, a Marxian analysis, it is interesting and instructive.

THE SOCIAL TREND, by EDW. A. ROSS The Century Co. $1.75.

Prof. Ross calculates all problems from the Liberal meridian. The high birth rate of migrating Asiatics, the moral physical and intellectual degeneration of rural communities are causes for alarm, women can purify politics, lawyers have their good points and so on.

He treats of wages and prohibition, war and trained experts. Sometimes you think he sees the light as in the matter of Charity, but always he fails. The stream of the genus Professor Americanus Liberalis can not rise above its source: a love for the Status Quo.

To the capitalist it says: Do everything for the worker, but remain in the saddle. To the worker: Do anything, but don't dislodge the rider.



The Grand Army of Politics

Drawn by Art Young

[illegible] have supported the West Virginia coal miners in their struggle. The letter accompanying the check reads as follows:

New York City, N. Y., Oct. 14, 1922
J. A. Hamilton,
35 Miller St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Comrade:—Enclosed you will find a check for $500, this being the first response of the workers of New York City to the cry for help sent out by the starving miners of Fayette County. We can well imagine what these brave miners have to struggle against, and we shall bend every effort to help them in their fight. We have only just begun to work, but we feel sure that class-conscious workers here in New York City will respond in the same generous spirit as in the case of the West Virginia miners.

Please acknowledge check by sending me an official receipt.

Fraternally yours,
Louis Gruss,
Secretary,
Miners' Relief Committee.

Workers Party Congress and State Candidates in N. Y., N. J. and Connecticut

Among the state and congressional candidates of the Workers Party in the three states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut are the following:

NEW YORK STATE

Governor: William F. Dunne.
Lieutenant-Governor: Ludwig Lore.
Secretary of State: Gustave Walters.
Comptroller: Richard J. Verhagan.
Treasurer: Frederick Shuman.
Attorney-General: Rose Weiss.
State Engineer and Surveyor: Dr. Bemcil Hoffman.
United States Senator: Alexander Trachtenberg.
For Congress, 7th District: Iago Goldston.
For Congress, 10th District: James P. Cannon.
For Congress, 12th District: J. Louis Engdahl.
For Congress, 20th District: Jacob B. Salutsky.
For Congress, 23rd District: Luigi Antonini.

All the congressional candidates will appear on the official ballot but those on the state ticket will not. Party members and sympathizers should do everything in their power to have their friends write in the names of the state candidates on the ballot on election day in the space provided for that purpose. If they cannot write in all the names they must see to that the name of William F. Dunne, the party candidate for Governor, is written in.

NEW JERSEY STATE

Governor: Martin R. McDonald.
United States Senator: Louis F Wolf

These names will be found on the official ballot; all party members will see to it that they and their friends cast a vote for these candidates.

CONNECTICUT STATE

Governor: John Blanck.
Lieutenant-Governor: Otto Bruening
Secretary of State: Mary Dworkin
Treasurer: Simon Feldman
Comptroller: Isador Spector.
United States Senator: Konrad Loski

Because of corrupt practices on the part of several of the town clerks in the state who refused to return petitions which had been given to them to certify, the names of the Workers Party candidates will not appear on the official ballot. **Workers of Connecticut voice your protest against the action of these capitalist hirelings by writing in on election day the names of the Workers Party candidates on the official ballot.**

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Sympathetic organizations are requested to make no arrangements for DEC. 22, 1922, as the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE, Local New York, will hold its SECOND ANNUAL BALL on that date at 1347 Boston Road.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] To many a deluded workingman Gary will at least seem charitable.

But let us not leap to conclusions before we think. Let us think this matter over a bit and we may be able to penetrate Gary's semblance of charity.

The old Judge is no fool. He is not of the type that seeks to invent new reasons for old expedients. He is content with giving us no other reason for this outburst of generosity than the old, staid reason given by the divine Baron, land baron, coal barons, and oil barons; namely, that to them "the welfare of humanity is of the first and highest consideration."

Gary is a level-headed business man of the first order and is an old-timer at the game. He knows that it pays to rob in wholesale and give in retail. And at this game there is none better than the United States Steel Trust!

With the Twelve-Hour day a commonplace and the right to organize dead in the industry, the United States Steel Corporation can very well afford to be charitable. The Steel Trust must resort to such "welfare" investments to blind the workers and to kill their movements of protest with kindness.

Yet, why the voluntary increase in wages? Especially, how does it come about that the defeated, unorganized steel workers are given a raise in wages at a time when the highly organized miners were fighting with their backs to the wall to hold their own, and the powerful railway unions were going down in defeat?

The Steel Industry

During the war the steel industry was mainly devoted to meeting war needs. As a result, its production fell down badly in many lines of construction and equipment. The period after the war brought us into the general business slump and iron and steel production were cut down still more. This shortage is today particularly evident in the building industry and certain railroad construction work. The dearth of houses and railroad cars has made itself severely felt in the exorbitant claim of rent on the pay envelope of the worker and in general demoralization of the railway system.

Sooner or later this shortage was to be made good. It is now being made good. But to make good a shortage in industry workers are needed. Hence, the present revival in the steel industry. Supplying this steel shortage is in large measure responsible for the increased demand for workers.

The genral business depression had scattered the steel workers. Then came the wave of emigration sending them back to Europe by the thousands. The usual source augmenting steel labor shortage—immigration—was no longer available because of the existing restrictive legislation.

The acuteness of the shortage of men was temporarily allayed by the mine strike. First, the mine strike produced a slackening in the demand for steel. Besides, during the strike, many miners turned to the steel mills for work. With the settlement of the coal strike the miners deserted the steel mills. Moreover, the resumption of coal mining stimulated the demand for steel. The railway strike had a paralyzing effect upon business in general and transportation in particular. The steel industry was not immune from this paralysis. As the end of the rail strike was drawing near the steel trust was faced with an unimpeded demand. To meet this demand adequately the steel corporation issued a call for more workers, and issued it effectively—the increase in wages.

Another reason for the Steel Trust's hurried voluntary wage increase is the fear of a new strike following on the heels of the revival of its industry. There is talk in the American Federation of Labor of waging a strong campaign of organization among the 250,000 workers in the metalliferous mines.

This is more than talk, for the metal miners in the West are now out of the stage of talk and are ACTUALLY ORGANIZING. These metalliferous mines are basic to the steel industry. A strong organization of these miners would undoubtedly tend to stimulate the desire for organization amongst the steel workers. To Gary the wage advance is an attempt to insure himself against the recurrence of a strike of the proportions of 1919.

Steel Business Takes Big Jump

The revival of the steel industry has to date reached about 70 per cent capacity. Gary is already meeting difficulties in recruiting his labor forces. In the last monthly report of the United States Steel Corporation we find that its business has taken a big jump. On Sept. the 30th its unfilled orders were 741,502 tons greater than on August 31st. There are today on the books of this corporation unfilled orders amounting to 6,691,607 tons. And according to the [illegible] Wall Street Journal of October the 16th the forecast of steel business is steadily rising. Railroad and construction purchases form a very large proportion of the orders.

Steel is king today. The revival of the steel industry is having its effect on other industries. The cement industry, the independent steel concerns, and the textile industries, are following the example of the Steel Trust in raising wages.

Is This Wage Advance Permanent?

At this point it is pertinent to ask: Is this wage increase permanent? Will it affect the whole industrial situation to the extent of bringing in its wake a new wave of prosperity? In answer to these questions the September Bulletin of the National City Bank says: "With regard to the industrial situation as a whole and for the long run, this advance of wages in the iron and steel industry cannot be regarded as a favorable or a helpful development. **It is rather one of the spasmodic and temporary movements characteristic of a time of general unsettlement, such as the war occasioned."** (Bold Face mine.) In order to balance the wage increase on its books and in order to make up for the recent period of depression, the Steel Trust has begun a campaign of price raising. On October the First the price of steel rails was advanced three dollars per ton. The Steel Trust is preparing to amass fabulous profits whilst the amassing is good. In the meanwhile, we should not forget that **even after the twenty per cent increase, the average pay for a ten-hour day in the steel mills will be only $3.60.**

From our experience with the Steel Corporation we can very safely deduce that the wage increase will not be permanent. As soon as the prosperity spurt is over, the present starvation wages of $3.60 per day will be branded exhorbitant. We will again hear the cry of high wages being responsible for high prices in the steel industry. The press will again be flooded with heart-rending stories of the terrible losses suffered by the "People's Trust." Our sycophantic editors will deliver sermons, acres and acres of them, on the need for deflation—of the workers' pay.

Bookkeeping in Steel Making

The Steel Trust is perhaps the largest employer in the world. It is the biggest open-shop industry in the country and has the blackest record of plunder and oppression. Its notorious history is replete with exploitation and theft of the vilest order. We need but cite the letter sent to Judge Gary by former Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. Williams. In this letter Mr. Williams proved on the basis of the Steel Trust's own reports the following

(1) The Steel Trust, in one year, charged $100,000,000 to operating expenses, maintenance, repairs, etc in order to hide its real profits and cut down its taxation bill

(2) Besides disposing of these profits by such juggling of accounts the Steel Trust, on Dec 31st 1919 carried on its books $200,000,000 to the credit of "depletion depreciation, and replacement of funds." This huge sum was unexpended and available for use by the corporation whenever it felt that it needed it

(3) From March 31st 1915 to Dec 31st 1919 the Trusts net surplus, after payment of interest, dividends, and excess profits tax, and after putting aside enormous reserve funds for possible future contingencies, was increased by more than $400,000,000, according to the Trusts own official report.

(4) The Steel Trust has made a practice of hiding millions of profits in depreciation and similar funds.

(5) The Trust would be able even to double wages, lower prices, and still pay dividends.

In the light of this history of the Steel Trust we can easily understand the present mangificent raising of the common laborer's wages to a little over $20 per week for a ten-hour day. We can also understand the advance in price of steel. Last but not least we should be prepared very soon to hear Gary crying to the Gods about his poverty and the need for slashing the wages of his highly overpaid workers in the interests of "the welfare of humanity".

The STEEL INDUSTRY is the greatest SCAB INDUSTRY in the world! In the steel industry we find the most wretched working conditions. The steel workers are most ruthlessly oppressed. A twelve hour-day for the privilege of renting a wretched company shack is the steel workers lot. The Steel Trust owns his school, his press, and even his God.

Temporary wage increases cannot help the steel workers. Only organization can free them. The steel workers need for a union is greater than ever. The time for an extensive campaign of unionization is here. **The Steel Workers of America must prepare for a struggle to throw off the shackles of the most orpressive tyranny of capitalism. Too long has the dictatorship of the Garys, Morgans and Rockefellers remained unchallenged. Their day of reckoning is long over due. There can be but one answer of the workers—ORGANIZATION!**

[illegible] workers organization [illegible] Amalgamated Shoe W [illegible] the following resolution [illegible] Michigan arrests was

RESOLUTION ON [illegible] CENT MICHIGAN A

Whereas, Thru brute [illegible] constitutional right of fr [illegible] blage has been denied [illegible] trade unionists, including [illegible] Foster, by their recent arre [illegible] the jailing of most of [illegible] Bridgman, Mich., And

Whereas, These, our [illegible] workers fighting the same [illegible] and opposed by the same [illegible] ing class as ourselves, were [illegible] abused, humiliated as though [illegible] ened criminals and paraded [illegible] cuffed under armed guards be [illegible] the people of Bridgman, denied [illegible] communicate with friends, [illegible] violation of the Constitution, [illegible] under prohibitive bail. And

Whereas, This treatment, pu [illegible] posely premeditated, and in the in [illegible] terest of the employing class, [illegible] done solely to prejudice the [illegible] dents of Bridgman, twelve [illegible] whom will later serve as jurors [illegible] this case. And

Whereas, This criminal, th [illegible] farcical proceeding was stag [illegible] the notorious Burns De [illegible] Agency, that they might [illegible] effectively "Shake Down" [illegible] credulous employers. And

Whereas, No possible good [illegible] come from the persecution [illegible] these, or other workingmen [illegible] Wartime legislation, now use [illegible] terrorize the workers. There [illegible] be it

Resolved, By the Amalga [illegible] Shoeworkers of America, in [illegible] tional convention assembled [illegible] Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, [illegible] we enter our vigorous [illegible] against this outrage again [illegible] constitutional rights of the [illegible] ers, and we call upon the [illegible] nor, and the prosecuting at [illegible] as officials of the state of Mich [illegible] gan, to uphold the law by [illegible] prossing these cases at once, [illegible] be it further

Resolved, That we call [illegible] ganized labor in America [illegible] to the defense of these [illegible] militant workers whose [illegible] is their devotion to the [illegible] class.

The convention repres [illegible] thing more than 100,000 [illegible] ers thruout the whole [illegible] constitution was worked out [illegible] rangements made for the ele [illegible] officers. There will be a pre [illegible] secretary-treasurer and a [illegible] council composed of nine [illegible] er one from each of the nine [illegible] established by the constitution [illegible] nomination for officers will [illegible] Nov. 10, and the election will be [illegible] Dec. 15. The next convention [illegible] be held in Philadelphia.

The immediate objects of the [illegible] will be to recure a five day [illegible] and an eight hour day. The con [illegible] tion is opposed to arbitration [illegible] will endeavor to settle disputes [illegible] conciliation and considers the [illegible] as a last resort.

What appeared the first few [illegible] as a deadlock over the questio [illegible] autonomy was finally overcome [illegible] the ranks of the shoe workers [illegible] ified, with the single exceptio [illegible] the United Boot and Shoe Worke [illegible] of America affiliated with the Ame [illegible] ican Federation of Labor.

* * *

Strike at Posner's Shoe Shop

The workers of Dr. Posner's [illegible] factory are on strike once more [illegible] began with the lasting departm [illegible] on a minor question that the [illegible] ployer should not take in learners [illegible] his will. An opinion even justified [illegible] the employers' union, namely, [illegible] American Protective Association, [illegible] spark was but necessary to explo [illegible] the overloaded patience of Dr. Po [illegible] ner's workers.

Conditions in the shop were [illegible] that no human being could en [illegible] even with the assistance of a tra [illegible] bosses' union. The workers wer [illegible] all times on the verge of striking [illegible] only a cruel system of spying [illegible] dividing the workers into nation [illegible] ties, and agitating to the Ital [illegible] against the Jews and the [illegible] against the Italians, whereby [illegible] possible for Dr. Posner to ma [illegible] the horrible conditions.

Protest Mass Meeting Held

The Workers Party held a [illegible] meeting Sunday Oct. 15, [illegible] Francisco, protesting against [illegible] trial of the five members [illegible] former Communist Labor [illegible] James H Dolsen, one of the [illegible] fendants, was the main speaker

The meeting also registe [illegible] protest against the raids in Mic [illegible] and Chicago, and demanded [illegible] peal of all criminal syndical [illegible] anti-labor laws in the United

The five defendants in the [illegible] Oakland, Calif., are J. E. [illegible] E. Snyder, James Dolsen, [illegible] Ragsdale and C. A. Tobey, [illegible] in 1919 in a police raid on the [illegible] munists' hall in Oakland.

Celebration at San Fran

The 5th Anniversary of the [illegible] sian Workers' Soviet Republic [illegible] be celebrated by the workers of [illegible] Francisco at California Hall, [illegible] and Turk Sts., Tuesday [illegible] 7. There will be good [illegible] an elaborate program [illegible] dancing. Fifty per cent [illegible] fits will go for the "Tool [illegible] Soviet Russia.

[illegible] of Its [illegible] Defense Council

following letter is addressed workers' organizations,—in- unions, social and fraternal tions, the press, and political in New York City:

and Brothers:—Your attention called to the following resolution the Chicago Federation of Labor, demning the Chicago and Mi- raids:

"Resolution of Protest Passed Unanimously by the Chicago Federation of Labor, Sept. 3, 1922.

"Whereas, The arrest of more a score of men noted for their gressive views and activities in labor movement on the charge violating the so-called "Criminal Syndicalist Lawr" of Michigan ates a crisis that cannot be ignored by any one concerned in the maintenance of American civil hts or in the struggle of workfor a decend standard of human ghts; and

"Whereas, The unlawful invasion of a public meeting and the indiscriminate arrest without warrants or due process of law of men and women and the cruel treatment of union men and women by the police is contrary to every principle of American right and justice; and

"Whereas, The arrest of William Z. Foster and Earl Browder, members in good standing in recognized trade unions of Chicago, is an outage and disgrace to every real American; therefore be it

"Resolved, By the Chicago Federation of Labor that we protest against these unlawful practices and declare our fullest confidence in these men both as union men and as peaceful citizens."

The Labor Defense Council has formed by Organized Labor in cago, Minneapolis, Boston, Pittsh and other large cities. Its first will be the defense of these trade unionists.

On Friday evening, Oct. 27th, at m., organized labor will hold speech conference to hear the of these dastardly infringeon our rights, and to prepare further action. The meeting will d at Beethoven Hall, 210 East New York City. You are o send two delegates to this nt conference. Prominent unionists will speak.

Fraternally yours,
BERT MILLER,
Provisional Sec'y.

• • •

Call On All Unions to Help

The Minneapolis Trades and La- Assembly, after endorsing the bor Defense Council, launched by ious labor organizations to assist 20 workers arrested in Berrien ty, Michigan, August 21, by ts of the Department of Justice f the county for alleged viola- of the Michigan criminal synlism law, has also sent a letter ll affiliated unions urging them end delegates to the meetings of Minneapolis branch of the nal council.

E. Keas, organizer of the Minpolis council, reports that steps under way to organize local ls in St. Paul, Duluth, Superior d other Northwest centers.

ROBINS SAYS HE KNOWS

opening the big meeting at Aurium Theatre, Chicago, at which ator Borah of Idaho demanded dom for political prisoners and immediate recognition of Soviet sia, Col. Raymond Robins, who sided, himself made a forceful for American recognition of the viet Government.

"We know," he said in part, "that Soviet Government is the de cto government of the Russian ple. We know that for nearly years that Government has held er and holds it still and with e certain grip this afternoon than any other hour. We know that Soviet Government of Russia as raised the greatest armies in urope, has put down insurrections d survived the greatest famine of odern times. We know that the cil of the People's Commissars he oldest Executive Cabinet in world."

fter enlarging on the economic fits that would accrue to Amer workers from a resumption of d with Russia, Col. Robins ad-

e are weary of propaganda lies liars and tired of the blind and d policy of secret war against a e six thousand miles away . . . re sick of our government used as a stalking horse and on agency for the imperialists old world."

Lloyd George Speaks

ier Lloyd George made a at Manchester, England, the day, but he spoke about everybut what he was supposed to bout.

didn't tell his audience whether ld bring on an election, resign it the result of the conservative tion in November.

every good politician he d he never wanted the job of r, and he would like to quit t is up to the workers at the t elections to give him his

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[illegible]

organizations (or as many as possible) can be assembled to put this amalgamation into effect."

The resolution committee reported that "It does not concur on account of believing it has the appearance of the One Big Union." Again quoting from the minutes:

"Mr. Miller: (310) I move for the adoption of that resolution.

"Grand President: For the information of the brother in the rear, the committee made a motion for the adoption of its report, not on the resolution. It was seconded and the motion was announced. Let us get this clear.

"Mr. Miller: (310) I make a motion that we adopt the resolution.

"No. (487) I second that motion.

"Grand President: It has been regularly moved and seconded—

"A delegate: I want the support of One Big Union so that our men can band together.

"A delegate: I am in favor of the One Big Union,—when we are all members of the One Big Union,—and we can go down to the Labor Board and say, 'We are all one hundred per cent agreed on a strike'—let me tell you we will get justice—when we can get a man to go down and represent all the workers in the United States—they will listen to us.

"Mr. Dunn: I want a moment to tell you about this Big Union business—it's such a lie—do we want the barbers and the waiters in our union—don't we want to have a union of railroad workers only—Let the railroad workers have one big union just as the United Mine Workers have one big organization.

"Grand President: The adoption of the resolution has been called for—all in favor show by the usual raising of hands. Contraries. NONE. Motion carried. (Applause.)"

[illegible] submitted [illegible] tion, the same as the one [illegible] with the further provision [illegible] that copies should be sent to the Grand President, General Chairman, Assistant Chairman, The State Federation at Washington, and the American Federation of Labor. The resolution committee reported as follows:

"Committee does not concur as it is not in line with craft organization."

The following debate, again indicating the inflexible purpose of the rank and file delegates, took place:

"Mr. Hemingway: I move for the adoption of the resolution.

"A delegate: I second the motion.

"Grand President: It has been regularly moved and seconded that the resolution be adopted—all in favor signify.

"Mr. Dunn: (913) (Mr. Dunn appears—perusual of the minutes shows—to have been one of the floor leaders of the administration. He did what he could, but his arguments had but little effect, yet I give them in full to show the tactics used by the machine, and the fact that they made no impression whatever upon the rank and file delegates.) I didn't expect that the question of amalgamation would come up this afternoon. I am not prepared as I would like to have been—my papers are in my room—papers in connection with so-called amalgamation—I have considerable knowledge on this question, but I would say this: I have a whole lot of knowledge in connection with this One Big Union stuff. I want to say further that I believe that every delegate here wants to know the truth, about this so called amalgamation, for it plans for the destruction of bonified labor organization in America.

"Chorus of delegates: **Sit down!**

"Dunn: Give me an opportunity [illegible] every man who is interested in the trade union movement in America to please give me a chance—that you all may know the treachery of this amalgamation plan which is brought up here. I have it from the lips of the conscientious objector who signed his name to the amalgamation circular—issued on the first of July—he spent two years in prison as a conscientious objector—I have it from his lips about this one big union plan, and I will ask you to give me an opportunity to show you plain that it means destruction.

"A delegate: Move that the resolution be adopted.

"A delegate: I second it.

"Grand President: It has been regularly moved and seconded that the resolution be adopted—all in favor show by the usual raising of hands.

Contrary. None.

Motion carried.

Resolution No. 64 called for "Cooperation between the various railway unions." It was evidently one of the resolutions that by passing, the administration hoped, to get a divided decision on the amalgamation question, but the rank and file delegates were watching. The committee moved the adoption of this innocuous resolution, and then the delegate from No. 310 rose and said:

"We have already adopted three resolutions on amalgamation, what's the idea of bringing this up? I am opposed to the resolution.

"No. 914: (An administration henchman) I am quite satisfied, Mr. President, that it will not be necessary for me to rise to this floor to [illegible] We are for co-operation, but we are not for the One Big Union.

"Grand President: Vote the resolution down or approve them is the privilege of the floor, and get the results desired by the delegates.

"Mr. Carroll: Yesterday we adopted a resolution approving the amalgamation of the sixteen standard railway organizations, and as this body has already gone on record favoring amalgamation of the sixteen standard railway organizations into one—I submit to you that this one is out of order.

"Grand President: The chair feels that this resolution is in perfect order subject to the action of this convention, either to approve or not approve.

"Lodge 1071: Just for information—is it not a fact the first resolution, Mr. President, yesterday—Mr. President wasn't it signed by the Grand President—. Will the record show that?

"A delegate: Is this for cooperation on amalgamation?

"Grand President: That can be seen by the records, Brother. Delegate, proceed.

"Mr. Hemingway: Does the chair consider if this resolution was passed that it would conflict with the one that was passed yesterday?

"Grand President: No, I do not.

"A delegate: Can I have a reading of the resolution that was passed yesterday on the question of amalgamation?

"Grand President: All this is in- [illegible] Law and Order, and I believe it is the intention of the delegates [illegible] people at home to be orderly. Since I have been here I have noticed that there are a good many of the delegates who are not representing the people back home. I want all those at least whose hearts are right. I want you men to open up your eyes, and to open your ears, and to open up your hearts to the constitutional rights and give me the closest attention that you can, every one of you. I don't know that I will ever address you on a matter that is so close to my heart—the matter of placing you right in the way of the trade union movement in America. The way of law and order and constitutional proceeding. I look into your faces, men and women, and I believe it is the desire, as I stated that most of you want this organization conducted along constitutional lines, for that reason—

"Chorus of delegates: **Sit down!**

"Grand President: Your time is up, Brother.

"Delegates: Question. Question.

"Grand President: We will vote on the motion—all those in favor of the adoption of that resolution, show by the usual raising of hands.

Contraries—all.

Motion tabled.

It was in this manner that all thru the convention the delegates thwarted the attempts of the administration machine to befog the issue.

Resolutions demanding the freedom of political prisoners and separate resolutions, dealing with the Mooney case and urging all dele-

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[illegible] amalgamation committed to the same [illegible] policy [illegible], but the number of officials was decreased, the salary of the international president reduced from $15,000 per year to $8,400; the wages of executive-board members cut from $25 per day to $15, and the vice-president's salary reduced in proportion. The headquarters of the organization will be moved from Detroit to either Chicago or St. Louis.

The defeat suffered by the reactionaries at Detroit is the first real intimation to the trade union bureaucracy that the amalgamation movement consists of something more than sentiment and resolutions. The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes is numbered among the five largest unions in the American Federation of Labor. The victory won by the amalgamationists in that organization will give new hope and enthusiasm to the other railway workers; and will have a far-reaching effect on the whole American labor movement. It is the most significant occurence for a decade, so far as the labor movement is concerned.

There is much scurrying around and calling of conferences in the headquarters of international unions since the Detroit convention. The continual adoption by state federations of amalgamation resolutions by overwhelming majorities is now seen to be the result of a new movement that has taken a firm hold on the hearts and minds of the intelligent workers in the organized labor movement.

More than one international officer today is echoing the statement made by one of them recently at a conference of union heads and organizers: **"Save your money, boys, amalgamation is coming!"**

Win Ohio Federation of Labor for Amalgamation; Takes 9th Place After So. Dakota

(Continued from Page One)

cussion whatsoever except from the platform, and that could hardly be called either discussion or oratory. The resolution on light wine and beer was carried by an overwhelming majority. Late in the evening Resolution 27 was reported by the committee on organization for non-concurrence. A couple of delegates who no doubt represented the rank and file, timidly rose up to defend it, with the result that within a very few minutes the convention was boiling with excitement, especially after one delegate asked the secretary of the Committee on Organization if a like recommendation to non-concur would be made on Resolution No. 57, which was much more comprehensive.

This delegate was told very shortly that the same recommendation would be meted out to Resolution No. 57.

This caused a sensation and the hour of adjournment drawing near the officers of the federation took full advantage of that situation and adjourned the convention in the midst of the discussion until the next morning.

An attempt had been made earlier in the day to make the election of officers the order of business at 10 o'clock the next morning. This was defeated on motion of one of the progressives in the convention.

After adjournment and thru the night frantic efforts were made to block the passage of Resolutions 27 and 57, so that when the convention reconvened on the morning of Friday the 13th, the fakirs were very confident of defeating these resolutions.

The day previous the storm of approval of the principle of amalgamation arising amongst the rank and file delegates of the convention so took the fakirs by surprise that not one of them dared take the floor.

However, on Friday morning Adolph Kummer, president of the Cincinnati Labor Union and chairman of the Committee on Organization which recommended non-concurrence on Resolution No. 27, arose to speak in support of the Committee's recommendation.

He stated that he was not going to exert himself; however, before he got fairly well started his voice reverberated thru the immense auditorium like the bellowing of a bull telling the delegates that the American Federation of Labor had ruled that they were already on record with a policy covering this proposition.

He of course referred to the decrepit resolution of 1905, and intimating that it was not the function of the state convention to tell the American Federation of Labor or its affiliated international unions what to do.

However, his remarks were received as noise, and immediately upon his sitting down half a dozen delegates were on the floor in support of the resolution and against the recommendation of the committee.

The miners, printers, and machinists reiterated their stand of the previous afternoon, and shortly afterwards the convention by a large majority turned down the report of the Committee to non-concur, and by a similar majority endorsed Res. No. 27. Afew resolutions of no great importance were then introduced, reported on favorably and passed without any discussion. After which in an air of tenseness and expectancy, the following Res. No. 57 was read by the Secretary of Committee on Organization with the recommendation to non-concur.

Inasmuch as the real discussion and fight had developed on Res. No. 27. A few resolutions of no spoke in favor of No. 27 mentioned that they were for No. 57 as being the real thing, the discussion in favor of it when it was actually introduced was of a mild character. However one of the higher men of the machine was forced to take the floor in defending the Committee's report.

He was obviously scared in doing so, but no doubt had to do the bidding of the old guard. His remarks were received as being humorous and very shortly the convention by a tremendous majority again turned down the recommendation of the committee on motion by the same majority approved the resolution.

In view of the fact that the Ohio State Federation of Labor is one of the most conservative and reactionary in the United States, this action is very significant because it comes from the rank and file.

The leadership of the Ohio State Federation of Labor is absolutely dead insofar as mental leadership is concerned. The one issue that had at all any interest for the rank and file delegates, and which was continually played up by the officers and speakers who appeared before the convention, was Workmen's Compensation. This is, of course, a vital matter in the lives of the workers of Ohio, and the fakirs have seized upon it as being an issue that is more or less harmless and at the same time gives them a continual topic of conversation and creates the idea that they are achieving something.

From the action of this convention, it is apparent that the rank and file of the workers composing the unions affiliated with the Ohio State Federation of Labor are not going to be satisfied with all this talk about Workmen's Compensation, especially in view of the fact that they have to be crippled or lose their lives to get the benefit of it.

The workers of Ohio like every other state in the Union are absolutely upon their toes demanding some real attempts be made to bring the warring crafts together, so that they can present a united front against the onslaughts of the highly organized employers.

The Socialist Party and the Second and 2½ Internationals

By ISRAEL AMTER

One year ago, the Socialist Party declared it to be its supreme task to build up an organization, which, once its powers were collected, could then consider the matter of international affiliation.

It is true that to have affiliated with any international organization would have meant merely to add the ciphers of a practically non-existent organization to a list of membership.

It was surely the task of the "S. P." to build up its organization; but how could any working class organization really reconstruct its forces when it abjured international relations, which alone will enable a labor organization to exist and fight! Similarly to the American Federation of Labor, the "S. P." decided to remain aloof from "international complications," and build up the revolution alone.

The last convention of the "S. P." however, recognized the untenability of such an attitude. The matter of relations was reconsidered and a desire to affiliate with the 2½ International expressed. Good friends Hillquit, Lee and Panken were despatched to the conference of the 2½ International in Vienna to join up the party with that body. And thus the "S. P." of America became an integral part of the 2½ International with good friends Hillquit and Lee on the Executive Committee of that august body.

But alas and alack! The "S. P." wanted to be a real revolutionary party. It did not want to have anything to do with the reactionaries—with the yellows who betrayed the masses. No! The "S. P." had held up the banner of opposition to the war, and, altho Berger had bought Liberty Bonds, London had continually failed to vote against the War Budget, Lee had voted for a memorial arch to American soldiers who shot down Russian workers who defended their Soviet Republic, altho the Party had done nothing to resist the war except to expel those who demanded that it act and not talk so much—still the party was a "revolutionary" party.

When Kerensky took office, the "S. P." was jubilant. When Kerensky went out and the workers under the Bolsheviki took power, the "S. P." hesitated, became critical—it had not been done in the orthodox socialist fashion—a la "S. P." of America.

When the war broke out, the "S. P." first criticised, then excused the Social-Democrats of Germany for their betrayal of the working masses. The "S. P." excused the socialists of every country for becoming nationalists of the rankest order and outdoing their capitalist masters in patriotism.

But what living worker could excuse the criminal conduct of the German Social-Democratic leaders, who handed over the party, body and soul, to German militarism! What living worker would excuse the active co-operation of the socialists of Belgium and France who entered the governments of their masters and carried on the most intense war activity? The ten million dead are the accusers of these betrayers of the working class!

Vandervelde, royal minister of Belgium, Troelstra, aide to Her Majesty, Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, Branting, Premier of Sweden; the socialist cooperation in France; the honors had been too great for the socialists of the world. They succumbed in the embrace of working-class prostitution to capitalist desires!

When the German revolution occurred, the Socialists again jubilated. At last a socialist party would succeed to power, to rule in the orthodox socialist fashion, according to the books! The socialists of Germany did rule; a socialist president acting for and in behalf of the capitalists of Germany! Ebert and Stinnes, the eight-hour day for the workers and unlimited control and profits for the capitalists! The German workers began to see the betrayal of the revolution. Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Mehring! Leaders of the workers who began to rebel against the conditions that the socialists were imposing upon them in behalf of the capitalists! Ever worse conditions resulted, more exploitation under the lash of the socialist-bourgeois government with a socialist president and a socialist minister of war! Ebert, Noske, Scheidemann! These names represent the most hateful that the workers of any country can conceive.

The murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg by the socialist butchers who sat in governmental office was followed by the shooting down of thousands of striking workers in the streets of Berlin, in Saxony and Bavaria. Ever greater tyranny, more exploitation in behalf of capitalist profit, and to-day the workers of Germany stand face to face with the probable loss of the eight-hour day, the last relic of the "revolution" that the socialists brought them.

And the socialists of Italy! Betrayers of the uprising in 1920! Since then, one of their leaders, Mussolini, has become the head of the Fascisti, the Ku Klux Klan of Italy, killing the workers, destroying their buildings and plants and disrupting their organizations. The socialists of Poland, with Pilsudski at their head, who accepted French gold to make war on the Russian Soviet Government. A single line of treachery to the working class of the world!

The Social-Democrats of Germany, to be sure, belong to the Second International—in fact they are the leading spirits of that body. The Independent Socialists of Germany, the Independent Labor Party of England, the Socialists of France and the Social-Democrats of Austria are far more "revolutionary." They belong to the Second-and-a-Half International. They believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it must come ever so mildly, sweetly, with as little disturbance to the present order of things as possible. They are sympathetic to Soviet Russia, without promoting any action in support of her. The grand vacillators whom time was bound to eliminate!

And time is eliminating them. Kautsky, Bernstein, Crispien and Breitscheid, "theorists" and "revolutionists" of the 2½ International, have clasped hands with the butchers of Berlin, Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske! The Social-Democrats and Independents have united into the United Social-Democratic Party of Germany. This is but the prelude to the unity of the Second and the Second-and-a-Half International!

Thus, thru affiliation to the 2½ International, the Socialists of America will return to the fold of the Second International. The murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the slaughter of the German workers, yes, even the betrayal of the eight-hour day w... be forgiven. In the name of unity—for the war and against the war—for the dictatorship (the official stand of the 2½ International), against the dictatorship (the American Socialists and the German Social-Democrats)! What are the odds? The war has been over long enough for the workers to forget.

But the workers will not forget. The call of the Third International is reaching the workers. Unity of the 2nd and the 2½ International reveals the ferment that this call has caused. Neither the 2nd nor the 2½ International can stand alone. The capitalist governments recognize that the 2nd International is the best support of the counter-revolution. Thru the bodies affiliated to the 2nd International and thru the Amsterdam Trade Union International, which stands in close relation to it, the capitalists have built up power in Europe since the war.

The workers who have had faith in these two Internationals, and especially the American workers who still believe in the Socialist Party will at last have their eyes opened. The murderers of the working class, royal ministers and premiers are hardly fit leaders for the workers. Ebert, Scheidemann, Hillquit, Schlesinger, Kautsky, Adler, Noske, Lee, Pilsudski, Bernstein, Daszinski—what lovely company!

The Communists of America welcome this unity of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals and congratulate the leaders of the Socialist Party on their open embrace of the counter-revolution.

Tobacco Workers Hold Meeting.

An enthusiastic meeting was held by the Amalgamated Tobacco Workers Tuesday night at Manhattan Lyceum. Plans are being cansidered for the holding of an inter-shop convention to develop the organization drive.

Among the speakers Tuesday night were Henrie Havidon, chairman of the executive board, Secretary-Treasurer Sam Sussman, J. Louis Engdahl, editor of The Worker, Carlo Tresca, in Italian, and Pedro Esteve, in Spanish.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The American Legion Meets

The annual bacchanal known as the convention of the American Legion is being held in New Orleans. And New Orleans is trying to live up to the reputation established last year by Kansas City, where booze ran like water and where the revelry never ceased.

Mayor Andrew J. McShane told the visitors on the opening day that the city was theirs, "the French quarter, new New Orleans and everything." The only thing missing was the gambling halls and the saloons. The gamblers declared that they were too patriotic to accept Legion money and would remain closed for a week. From newspaper reports the Legion delegates and visitors brought their own gambling paraphernalia, consisting mostly of dice, as crap games were in full blast in the lobbies and on the mezzanine floors of the principal hotels.

The saloons were closed by a federal court order procured by the prohibition commissioner for reasons we are not familiar with, unless it was to arouse the particular ire of labor-skate George L. Berry, vice-president of the Legion and who also befouls with his vile presence the chair of president of the Pressmen's Union. This odious specimen, who was convicted of embezzling funds from his own union and who by fraud and trickery retained his job as head of the union after he had been defeated by referendum vote, was called upon to respond to the address of welcome and declared that the Legion had been insulted by the Federal authorities who were responsible for the injunction that closed the booze parlors.

Berry is a candidate for the presidency of the Legion and defends booze in order to secure votes. Samuel Gompers, another booze champion, is also to appear before the convention very soon in order to propagandize an alliance between his reactionary machine and the Legion.

It will be remembered that at the Cincinnati convention of the A. F. of L. both Gompers and Berry made overtures to the Legion for an alliance.

There is a sinister motive behind this move of the A. F. of L. officialdom that will bear the closest scrutiny by the rank and file of labor. It does not require profound knowledge of history to perceive in this rapprochement a conspiracy to launch the American fascisti in order to crush the growing militancy in the labor movement.

The widespread agitation in the labor movement in favor of more militant measures against the exploiters of labor has alarmed Gompers and his reactionary aggregation, so he reaches forth his palsied hand to grasp the bloody fist of the American White Guard, whose whole career has been one of criminality against labor.

In a letter addressed "to all legionnaires" and published in the official program of the convention the old buzzard suggests a "soldier-labor alliance," which in reality means an alliance of the officer-controlled Legion with the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. against the labor movement of the nation.

Wolfe Lindenfeld has fallen upon evil days in Warsaw, Poland, where he is supposed to have given the representatives of Detective "Bill" Burns a 10,000 word confession on the Wall Street explosion. Wolfe has now been arrested charged with obtaining $900 from unsuspecting persons for whom he promised to get American passport vises. Burns should at least school his pupils to keep out of the toils of the law even if they cannot refrain from the enjoyable pastime of law-breaking.

[illegible] Decision Before [illegible] Two Internationals

We have now received the order of business, or the agenda, of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, which opens in Moscow, Nov. 7th, and of the Second World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The big subjects that will come up for consideration and some of the more prominent speakers who will discuss them are as follows:

For the Communist International

1. Report of the Executive and the Further Tactics of the C. I. Speaker: Zinoviev.

2. Five Years Russian Revolution and Perspectives of the World Revolution. Speakers: Lenin, Trotzky; Clara Zetkin, Germany; Cachin, France; Roland-Holst, Holland; Bela Kun, Hungary.

3. The Offensive of Capitalism. Speakers: Radek, Tom Mann, Great Britain; Zapotocky, Czecho-Slovakia. A special report on Fascism: Bordiga, Italy.

4. The struggle Against the Versailles Treaty and the Tasks of the Communist Parties. Speakers: Frossard and Vaillant-Couturier, France; MacManus and Newbold, Great Britain; Smeral, Czecho-Slovakia; Kolarov, Balkan Federation.

5. The Trade Union Question. Speakers: Losovsky, Russia; Brandler, Germany; Tomasi, France.

6. The Agrarian Question. Speakers: Varga, Hungary; Renoult, France; Theodorovitch, Russia; Kostzeva and Markhlevsky, Poland; Markovic, Jugoslavia.

7. The Eastern and the Colonial Questions. Speakers: Katayama, Japan; Roy, India; van Ravesteyn, Holland.

8. Educational Work. Speakers: Hoernle, Germany; Krupskaya, Russia; Barbusse, France; Roland-Holst, Holland; Kuusinen, Finland.

9. The Situation in the French Party after the Paris Convention. Speakers: Frossard and Souvarine, France.

10. Program of the C. I. and of its Various Parties. Speakers: Bukharin and Thalheimer. The Bureau of the Section: Zinoviev, Trotzky, Radek, Varga, Starsky, Strasser, Austria; Smeral, Czecho-Slovakia; Kabaktchief, Bulgaria; Bordiga, Italy; Frossard, France; Sheflo, Norway; Katayama, Japan.

11. The Young Communist International. Speakers: Volny, Schueler, Germany.

12. Report of the Cooperative Section.

13. Report of the Women's Secretariat. Speaker: Clara Zetkin.

14. Organization of the Information Service of the C. I. Speaker: Paul Louis, France. Members of the Commission: Radek, Varga; Gramsci, Italy; Meyer, Germany; Alpári, Hungary; Kohn, Ukraine; Preobrashensky and Minkin, Russia.

15. The Seat of the Executive and Election of the President of the C. I.

16. Organization of the Work of the Executive.

For the 2nd Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions

1. Report of Secretary Losowsky.

2. Offensive of Capital and the United Proletarian Front: Monatte, Foster and Walcher.

3. The Red International of Labor Unions and the Communist International: Brandler, Repossi, Monmousseau and Nin.

4. The question of Organization: Losowsky, Hais and Lian.

5. Splitting the Unions by Amsterdam and the fight for the United Labor Movement: Rosmer, Heckert and Pawlik.

6. The high cost of Living and Unemployment: Pollitt and Melnitschansky.

7. The fight against imperialism and militarism: Jaquemotte, Vecchi and Semard.

8. The Trade Unions in colonial and half-colonial countries: Tom Mann and Kunitare Ande.

9. Elections.

FIGHTING THE GAG

An appeal to over 800 lawyers associated with the American Civil Liberties Union to take free of charge any and all cases arising under the clauses of the injunction against the railway shopmen which restrict freedom of speech, press and assembly has been sent out by the officers of that organization.

The Union has already offered aid directly to each of the persons so far arrested under these clauses, and will supply bail, defense funds and organized support wherever practicable.

LOS ANGELES—Harry Clayton, Roy Leonard and Lawrence Gross will be tried here for criminal syndicalism Oct. 31. Attempt of the court to postpone the trial till Jan. 4, keeping the defendants in jail in the meanwhile, was frustrated by the defense. Claude Erwin, arrested recently in Long Beach will probably be tried at the same time.

Lectures in Brownsville.

The Brownsville Branch of the Workers Party opened its winter lecture course last Sunday night with its hall at 296 Sackman st. crowded. J. Louis Engdahl, editor of The Worker, spoke on "What Constitutes Revolutionary Working Class Action".

THE DAILY WORKER

SECTION OF "THE WORKER"

An Organ of Communist Opinion

Vol. V. No. 346. October 28, 1922 Price 5 cents

White Uprising Crushed

Attempt to Kidnap People's Commissar Failed—Major Sullivan Nonchalantly Smoked Cigar During Engagement—Ruling Triumvirate.—Harrison, Krumbein, O'Flaherty Victorious—Testimonial from the Masses—Malcontents Crushed

By SETH NORDLING

The flames of discontent fostered by MacMillan, Reynolds and Bechtold flamed into open revolt on the date of publication of the first issue of the Daily Worker.

While the proletariat rejoiced over the new weapon added to its arsenal the forces of disorder seized on the occasion to make a last desperate attempt to overthrow the dictatorship and establish their fake democracy on its ruins.

While the editor was taking an afternoon nap and the strident voices of newsboys selling the Worker would be heard in the streets a band of terrorists led by MacMillan raided his office, seized him and attempted to rush him into a dungeon and hold him for ransom.

They almost succeeded. Most of the administration forces were asleep, but Major Sullivan was unexpectedly awake. As he walked back and forth the Rue de Bathtub, smoking a cigar, he saw the editor struggling in the arms of three desperadoes. Without dropping his cigar he sounded the alarm and blocked their path. Like Horatius on the bridge he shouted, "Thou shall not pass."

He held his ground until Generals Harrison and Krumbein brought up the reserves. From then on the result of the battle was not in doubt.

The contestants on both sides fought bravely, but justice triumphed, as it always does, ("in the movies") and Reynolds and MacMillan were taken prisoners. They were both seriously wounded.

Reynolds was banished from the jail and MacMillan put in irons. Bechtold fled but was discovered hiding on the roof. He renounced his former colleagues and is now released on parole.

Major Sullivan lost a collar button during the encounter and the collision of O'Flaherty's nasal appendage with the lighted end of a cigar gave that organ a rummy appearance. In behalf of the masses Erickson, Mihelic and Tallentire denounced the rebels and pledged their loyalty to the administration.

TEMPERAMENTAL POET ATTEMPTS SUICIDE

The inmates of the jail were thrown into a state of excitement this morning on hearing muffled roars from the cell occupied by Norman Tallentire, poet and poker sharp.

Jake Shakerautoky, of Ukrainia, his next door neighbor, burst open the door of the cell from which the mysterious sounds issued and found its occupant at the point of death with a heavy horse blanket wrapped around his neck.

After he was released from the blanket, he seized a milk bottle and rushed out into the corridor shouting, "Damn those poker sharps, this is no place for a minister's son."

It was learned that he lost $3 at the poker game the previous evening. Caleb Harrison who was the heaviest winner kept his cell bolted.

According to Tallentire's statement to the **Daily Worker** representative he was the victim of a gang of confidence men who unknown to him used a deck of cards containing four jokers.

The joke was on Tallentire. He is now confined to his cell, the victim of nervous hysteria. All dangerous weapons were removed from his reach. The jail physician has barrell all free verse poetry (?) from the jail while the patient is convalescing.

POSITIONS WANTED

I am a young man with a promising future and would consider a position of trust with a flourishing business concern preferably advertising. Best reference. I am a first class checker player and can swing a vicious joker in a poker game. I smoke the best cigars, I can borrow from my friends which indicates that I have common sense and good judgment. For reference see C. Harrison. Reply to B. V. D., Room 2, Berrien County Jail.

STOP! LOOK! LISTEN!

Do not make any date for October 25th. The movies are interesting, so is the poker game, but you cannot afford to miss an evening with Caleb Harrison speaking on the subject "The Shimmy and its influence on the late Democratic Administration." You are requested to be in your seat at 8 P. M. sharp. Show your indictment at the door.

EAT UNTIL YOU BUST

This is the motto of the Berrien Jail Beanery under the management of Charlie Doan. Doan's cooking cures rheumatism, kidney trouble, indigestion, piles, chillblains and bunions. Prices within reach of all. Address—Fourth door from the Bathtub, Berrien County Jail.

FOR SALE:—A second hand halo in good condition indispensable to labor leaders without a jail record. For further particulars write to Jack Carney, c. o. Voice of Labor, 2003 N. California Ave., Chicago, Ill.

EDITORIALS

DAILY WORKER

Official Organ of the Political Prisoners in Berrien County Jail

Published daily and sometimes on Sunday

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Great International Sporting Event Ended—Angora Bearcat Beats Greek Banana—Poincare, Lloyd George and Lenin Referees

By BILL DUNNE

ANGORA (by wireless). Since I fought Pug Nosed Kelly, champion bruiser of the Anaconda Mining Company, in 1908, I have witnessed many ring battles but never have I eyed a more interesting fistic encounter than that which was staged in the great amphitheater in Asia Minor between Kemal Pasha known as the Angora Bear cat and General Avoirdupois, the famous Greek Banana.

Betting on the fight was indulged in freely on an international scale with the odds in favor of Kemal Pasha.

Lenin bet his precious volume of Das Kapital on Kemal, Lloyd George recklessly bet Thrace and all the Balkans on the Greek while Poincare bet the French American debt on the fighting Turk.

Eamon De Valera was willing to bet Belfast on the Turks but this was turned down by the Musselman who thought De Valera was trying to put something over on them. They did not want any more trouble.

The battle opened with the Greek landing an uppercut under Kemal's mustache. The Turks squinted and countered with a kick in the shins which severely skinned the Banana. John Bull shouted "Good" but Lenin hit him on the head with Theses on Tactics. This ended John's interference. It was Kemal's round.

The second round opened with the Greek Banana reading a proclamation accusing the Turks of murdering 120,000 Greeks. Kemal did not move an eyelid and surprised the fans by kicking the Greek half way across Asia Minor. Kemal's round.

The Third round. It was no longer a fight it was slaughter. John Bull protested against the violation of the Marquis of Queensberry rules, threatened to call out the American army and organize a caucus against Lenin and Kemal. Lenin simply said, "Damn your caucuses, go right ahead." The Greek could not leave his corner. John Bull claimed his foot slipped therefore he was entitled to the decision. France and Russia put up a united front and John surrendered. The battle was over. The Angora Bear Cat was victorious.

John Bull promptly paid his bets. He turned over Thrace and other Greek possessions to the Turk. The gate receipts go to Russia, France gets Kemal's gloves as a compensation for the loss of the lightweight championship of the World to Battling Ski. Everybody is fairly satisfied but the Greeks.

LERNER DASHES AWAY

While Max Lerner was delivering a lecture on "How to determine the value of a commodity" in which he used Erickson as a standard of value, a deputy sheriff shouted, "Lerner, get your hat and coat." Max in his haste to leave us, mistook the cuspidor for a hat, one of Bechtold's socks for a necktie, dropped his lighted cigar on Krumbein's foot and decamped with the paper which was purchased for the next issue of the Daily Worker.

Lerner travelled so fast that he was back to where he started from within half an hour. At the rate he travelled he should have made a round trip of the world by now and be back in Berrien County for the hearing on the 26th.

[illegible] Celebration at Lexington Opera House

The 5th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the opening of the 4th World Congress of the Communist International will be celebrated by the workers of New York, Tuesday, Nov. 7, Election Night, at the Lexington Opera House, 67th St. and Third Ave.

The intentions were to hold the celebration at the smaller Yorkville Casino, Sunday, Nov. 5th. The "Freiheit", however, planned to hold a celebration Nov. 7th and to avoid confusion and possible conflict it was decided to combine the two and hold one grand demonstration at the Lexington Opera House, Tuesday evening, Nov. 7th.

The combined celebration under the auspices of Local New York, Workers Party, and the "Freiheit" will be the greatest celebration of the Russian Revolution ever held in this country. What lends additional interest to this year's celebration is the fact that the 4th World Congress of the Communist International opens on Nov. 7th. Had the Madison Square Garden been available for that day the celebration would have been there. As it is the Lexington Opera House which can accommodate about 4000 people will have to suffice.

In addition to prominent speakers delivering addresses, famous artists will perform. Sonia Ra'in will sing Russian and Ukrainian Folksongs. The Mandolin Orchestra of the Workmen's Circle will play. An International Chorus composed of Ukrainian, Finnish, Lettish, Lithuanian, and German singers will sing revolutionary songs.

Tickets will be 50 and 75 cents. All Nov. 5th tickets for the Yorkville Casino that were paid for can be exchanged if the additional sum is paid in. Tickets can be exchanged at the Local Office, 208 East 12th St.

Gitlow Disqualified in 12th District; Engdahl to Run Instead

Ben Gitlow, who is now in Sing Sing serving out his term to which he was sentenced because of his activities in the labor movement, was disqualified by the Board of Elections from running as candidate in the 12th Congressional District.

J. Louis Engdahl will make the race instead.

The campaign in that district promised to be an interesting and exciting one as the Workers Party has a great deal of support among the workers living there.

The fight will be between the opportunism of the yellow Socialist Party typified by Meyer London and the revolutionary working class principles of the Workers Party expressed by Comrade Engdahl.

Educational Activities of Local New York to Start in November

The educational committee of the Local has outlined a comprehensive plan for the educational work in New York. The best part about the plan is that it will be carried out.

A central school for all party members and for all workers will begin functioning in November. M. J. Olgin is to give a 25-session course in Marxian Economics. Ludwig Lore, a 12 session course in the European Labor and Socialist Movement. Benj. Glassberg is to give a 12-session course in American Social and Industrial History. Classes will be arranged in other subjects as soon as competent instructors will be obtained.

Local to Hold Dance Thanksgiving Eve., Wednesday, Nov. 29th

The lighter part of the activities of the Local are not forgotten. A Dance and Novelty Ball has been arranged for Thanksgiving Eve, Wednesday, Nov. 29th, at the Lyceum, 86th St. and Third Ave.

Comrade Blankfield who is chairman of the Entertainment Committee is an expert in arranging affairs and let no party member or sympathizer who wants to have a rousing good time make any arrangements for Thanksgiving Eve except to come to the Workers Party Dance.

Italian Branches in Campaign

A city-wide campaign has been inaugurated by the Italian Branches of the Workers Party thruout greater New York. The committee in charge has already obtained the co-operation of several well-known speakers. Outdoor meetings will be held in all Italian districts.

The following candidates and speakers will appear: Luigi Antonini, General Secretary of the Waist Makers' Union, Local 89, and candidate for Congressman in the Bronx; Frank Bellanca, Editor of Il Lavoro, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Tina Cacici, Organizer A. C. W. of A.; Salvatore Iarossi, candidate for Assemblyman for the second Assembly district; Ignazio Camarda, National Secretary Italian Federation of the Workers Party; Giovanni Sala, organizer A. C. W. of A., and Ettore Frisina, campaign manager.

The campaign got under way with a huge open air rally Monday night at 187th St. and Camberling Ave. Fully 1,000 workers listened to Frank Bellanca, J. Louis Engdahl, Ettore Frisina, A. Presi and A. Di Biasi.

[illegible] approaches the fifth anniversary of the revolution that brought her into being, assured of her place as a world power among the nations.

The Turkish successes have had something to do with stripping the Paris Allies of their diplomatic and military offensive. But the biggest factor making of Soviet Rule a power demanding recognition, is the rapid economic recovery of the First Workers' Republic.

If Soviet Russia were in need of alms from capitalism she would not have rejected the Urquhart Concession for opening the Ural mines.

Instead she uses this concession as a weapon to force British recognition and to secure a seat at the conference for the settlement of the Near East question, where she will demand freedom of commercial navigation thru the Dardanelles.

"We are not making threats and are not rattling the sword," is the way George Tchitcherin, Soviet Foreign Minister, puts it. "But we do insist upon proper consideration in all questions relating to the Near East, particularly the commercial freedom of the straits."

The Soviet spokesmen point out that Russia has recovered and is a world power to be reckoned with. Russians believe that the action of the Allies in blockading the straits, thereby cutting off trade from southern Soviet ports, "while we are striving to reestablish our economics by our means despite the failure of Genoa and the Hague conferences to help us, is very unjust, and we will act accordingly."

The Berlin Communist daily, Rote Fahne (Red Flag), in commenting on Moscow's refusal to ratify the Urquhart pact, says: "Without complete recognition of the Soviet Republic there will be no more business contracts or concessions. Soviet Russia has power to force capitalist states into recognition."

Workers thruout the world will greet Soviet Russia in thunder tones as the sixth year of Soviet Rule dawns. They see in its growing power, as confessed by retreat after retreat on the part of capitalist forces, the approaching day of their own deliverance.

The Work Goes On

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The latest stunt of the department of justice, the Michigan red raid, in which William Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg and 18 others were arrested and charged with violation of the Michigan criminal syndicalist law, does not seem to be having the effect anticipated by those staunch defenders of American liberties—Attorney General Daugherty and William J. Burns.

The Locomotive Engineers Journal, official organ of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in its issue of October 19th makes the following comment headed "Daugherty's Palmeresques":

"William Z. Foster and his Trade Union Educational League have been getting a little more than their share of the brunt of official idiocy. Evidently feeling some alarm at the progress of the league, the powers-that-be seem to be determined to crush it or its leading spirit. Their first stunt, running Foster out of Denver on August 6th at the order of Adjutant General Hamrock, who boasted that "no law need be consulted", has been followed by equal intelligence and sagacity. Following a train wreck on August 20th at Gary, Ind., the league's headquarters were raided for evidence to connect it up with the wreck, and so for as one could tell from newspaper accounts, the evidence was overwhelming. This mischievous maligning of Foster was smeared over by the retraction of the charges made against him appearing on inside and obscure pages of a few dailies.

Another attempt to "get" the league came on August 22d, with the arrest of more than a score of alleged communists in the Michigan woods, gathered there at a supposed convention. Foster was sought as a runaway criminal violator of the Michigan anti-syndicalism act, and is now held under $10,000.00 bond in Michigan, altho official evidence now proves that he was in Chicago at the time of the so-called illegal meeting. The first annual convention of the Trade Union Educational League held in Chicago late in August was treated to another raid, Palmeresque style, when the audience was combed for participants in the alleged communist convention in Michigan.

"If Attorney General Daugherty wants to make a national martyr out of Foster, and spread his teachings from one end of the continent to the other, he has chosen the most direct road. If what Mr. Foster teaches is false, then the less said about it the better, for folly soon succumbs to a natural death. But if what he propounds is economic truth, then all the persecutions from Pilate to Palmer cannot suppress it. Perhaps Attorney General Daugherty, like his predecessor, sees red things at night. If so, we suggest that he retire to a nerve sanitarium, or else begin prosecution of the war fraud grafters for a change."

• • •

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, at their recent convention held in Detroit seem also to have taken the action of the agents of American capitalism with reverse English. At this gathering, despite the fevered protests of President Grable, the delegates by something like 4 to 1 adopted a resolution for amalgamation of the sixteen railway organizations—the program sponsored by the Trade Union Educational League headed by Foster.

The Michigan case has aroused new interest in the program of the League and it is becoming the ordinary thing for labor bodies to endorse the amalgamation plan and select committees of action to further it.

Nothing like this has been witnessed before in the American labor movement. It is beginning to look like the liberties of a score of militant workers is a small price to pay for the awakening of the rank and file of organized labor in the United States.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Local Greater New York Prepares for Big Dance On Eve of Thanksgiving

The Workers Party, Local Greater New York, is arranging one of the biggest affairs since it was organized. It has secured the large Lyceum, 3rd Ave. and 86th St. for THANKSGIVING EVE. A first class orchestra will insure the comrades good music for dancing.

The committee had great success with selling tickets to members of various unions. It is comparatively easy. You just have to tell them it is the Workers Party running the Dance, and the rest is easy. There are hundreds of sympathizers who will be glad to come if only notified of the affair. The admission is reasonable. 50 cents per ticket.

Every comrade ought to see that this dance is made a big success. Every one must be on the job from now on selling tickets. Some branches took 500 tickets. Every comrade must come and try to bring some of his friends with him. If this is done we can be sure of a big financial return.

This will be the BIGGEST BALL OF THE SEASON.

Latest Victims of Capitalist Persecution

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	C. E. RUTHENBERG
EARL R. BROWDER	CYRIL LAMBKIN
CHARLES KRUMBEIN	WILLIAM F. DUNNE
NORMAN TALLENTIRE	CALEB HARRISON
T. J. O'FLAHERTY	T. R. SULLIVAN
CHARLES ERICKSON	WILLIAM REYNOLDS
ALEX BAIL	MAX LERNER
SETH NORDLING	PHILIP ARONBERG
EUGENE BECHTOLD	ELMER McMILLAN
JOHN MIHELIC	JOSEPH ZACK

These active trade unionists, arrested in the Michigan "Red Raids" by Burns-Daugherty agents, face long prison terms under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism law.

THEY MUST BE DEFENDED
THEY MUST HAVE THE FULL PROTECTION OF THEIR CLASS.

The arrests and prosecution of these men are the challenge of the capitalist class to us.

Our enemies challenge us with the destruction of our labor organizations.

They challenge us with the sacrifice of our most active labor militants.

WE MUST ANSWER BY RALLYING ALL OUR FORCES.
WE MUST ANSWER WITH ALL OUR RESOURCES FOR DEFENSE AND COUNTER ATTACK.

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL

Federation of Labor Bldg., 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
National Executive Committee

ROGER N. BALDWIN	EUGENE V. DEBS
DENNIS E. BATT	MAX S. HAYES
ROBERT M. BUCK	MORITZ J. LOEB

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

Co-operating with Committee of the defendants
EARL R. BROWDER, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, C. E. RUTHENBERG.

William Z. Foster, National Secretary.

This is part of my answer to the latest capitalist attack

I enclose $.............. for the defense of those prosecuted under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Law.

Name ....

Address ....

Send remittances and make checks payable to

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL,
166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

(The Worker, Oct. 28, 1922)

[illegible] Defeat the [illegible]

By MARGARET UND[illegible]

In most of the larger cities of this country, throngs of Lithuanian workers assemble in mass meetings to protest against the enactment of the proposed Johnson bill (The Registration and Naturalization Act). These mass meetings are held by the combined efforts of all Lithuanian workers' organizations. Resolutions of protest against the enactment of the bill are being adopted by unanimous vote.

The Lithuanian workers realize that the main purpose of the Johnson bill is to keep the working class of America divided by creating antagonism between the American born and the foreign born workers. The only chance to defeat this bill is the combined action of the workers of the United States, therefore the Lithuanian workers should not only call mass meetings by the joint effort of the Lithuanian organizations, but should bend their energies in influencing all working class organizations in their city to participate in the calling of such mass meetings.

In New York City two mass meetings were held under the joint auspices of 19 various Lithuanian organizations. In Chicago a great mass meeting was called jointly by 44 organizations. In the smaller cities similar mass meetings were held with good results.

PICTURES OF RUSSIA

Twenty thousand feet of motion picture film has been brought back to the United States from Russia and Siberia and will be released and exhibited soon thruout the country. The films, made by the Ziegfeld Siberian and Russian camera party, K. Ziegfeld, jr., and Frank Zu[illegible] will depict many phases of present day life in Russia and the industrial districts of Siberia which are being developed by the Kuzbas Organization, with special reference to Siberia and the Urals and the stupendous agricultural and industrial resources and possibilities of the latter.

LEAGUE AT WARREN, O.

A Young Workers League has been organized in Warren, O. We hold Educational meetings two times a month and business meetings two times a month.

Oct. 28. The first entertainment by the Young Workers League with a program of speeches, recitations, songs, and Finnish Folk Dance at Woodman Hall, 15½ Main St., at 8 P. M. Admission 25c. Dancing afterwards.

LEIPZIG, Germany.—Twenty men wearing German military shirts invaded a moving picture near here and at the point of their revolvers confiscated a propaganda film against the Soviet Government. They all made a successful getaway and their identity is unknown.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

[illegible]

Address all mail and make remittances to
THE WORKER
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J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Managing Editor
WILLIAM F. DUNNE, Labor Editor
ROBERT MINOR, Cartoonist
ART YOUNG, Cartoonist
ELMER T. ALLISON, Business Manager.

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The William Morris Choir of Glasgow, Scotland, refuses to sing "God Save the King," claiming it is "sanguinary nonsense." Do we hear that this is another anti-British plot prepared in Moscow?

Mustn't Make the Government Dance

If Ellis Island had any fears for Isadora Duncan, she seems to have lost them during the enthusiastic receptions she received at her Carnegie Hall performances in New York City.

At the conclusion of the fourth and last of her appearances, the New York Times tells us, she "wrapped herself in an enormous red flag and won a truly Soviet burst of applause," and that in spite of the anti-red flag law in New York State.

Miss Duncan has been making speeches after her dancing and on this occasion she is reported as saying:

"I was asked at Ellis Island if I came here to overthrow the government. I told them, 'No!' but that I would like to teach the government to dance. I want to teach the children, not to dance up here before rich, overfed people, but to have a new idea of life."

Miss Duncan also appealed for funds for the children of Moscow, which should bring down upon her the wrath of Herbert Hoover, who claims to have a monopoly of such activities.

Perhaps, if Miss Duncan gets her new idea of life into the heads of a sufficiently large number of children, they will in their turn, as they grow up, make this government dance, dance out of existence.

Miss Duncan is planning to appear at Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles. We advise her to be careful of the anti-syndicalist laws of these states. No doubt the Burns' sleuth-hounds are camping on her trail. Miss Duncan may dance. But she must not try to make the government dance.

The standing army of the unemployed in Great Britain still registers 5,000,000 working men and women. No wonder Lloyd George was willing to risk a war with the Turks in the Near East. Anything to get the hungry millions to forget their misery as they are prepared for new agonies.

The Drive for Independent Action

Large groups of workers in increasing numbers are showing that they are not content to await the results of the November elections before declaring for independent political action of the working class.

Thus the New York Typographical Union, No. 6, or "Big Six" as it is called, on the eve of the election, declares that non-partisan political action has proved a flat failure. It was this Gompers' non-partisan action that was endorsed by the Chicago Conference, last February, and that comes up for consideration at the new conference called for December, after the elections.

It is well for all workers to consider the resolution as adopted by the big organization of the New York printers which reads:

> **"Whereas the sixty-seventh annual convention of the International Typographical Union, held at Atlantic City, having placed itself on record in favor of the formation of a political labor party;**
>
> **"Be it resolved, That New York Typographical Union No. 6, in regular meeting assembled, heartily approves of such action, believing that recent experience points clearly to the absolute necessity of such a course, non-partisan political action having proved a flat failure as well as having a strong tendency to lower the quality of leadership in American labor unionism."**

The theory of the Chicago Conference last winter was to give the Gompers' "reward and punish" idea a try-out at the November elections. This "try-out" has already resulted in considerable demoralization in labor's ranks, some of labor's officials being bought up by the Republican party, others by the Democratic party.

The action of the printers, and of other labor unions, already indicates that the Chicago Conference at its first meeting adopted a wrong policy, that it must revise its stand in favor of effective, independent political action of labor at the December gathering.

"The Red Army and Navy have completed their first manoeuvres," and I am very much satisfied," are words reported to have come from the lips of Leon Trotzky, Soviet War Minister. Which is the best kind of warning to the Allied imperialists to keep "Hands Off!" Soviet Russia.

Who Will Bleed for Gasoline?

The big brother of the Standard Oil Group, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, has announced a stock dividend of 400 per cent. This doubles the stock dividend of 200 per cent declared by "Socony," the Standard Oil Co. of New York.

This means that the stockholders owning the present $110,000,000 capitalization, will see their stock inflated to about $500,000,000 while 4,600,000 shares, value $115,000,000, "will be held in the treasury to meet the needs of the company as they arise."

It is declared that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is $52,000,000 richer as the result of this financial manoeuver that has sent Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey stock from $145 to $241 per share in a year. John D., Jr., owns 452,000 shares in this oil trust tentacle.

The strength of the Standard Oil Trust can well be judged thru its ability to divide among its stockholders such great amassed wealth. It is doing this after distributing 20 per cent dividends, or $5 a year on each $25 par value share.

This is the world power that reaches its greedy tentacles out into every corner of the world, that has its fingers in the oil wells of Mexico, and foments trouble there, as well as dabbling in the oil situation in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Persia, and other countries of the Near East, where the struggle for oil threatens to develop into a new world war.

We may well ask, as we witness the growing power of the Standard Oil Trust, if the workers are ready to bleed for John D.'s oil and gasoline. They must be ready, if they allow John D.'s oil monopoly to live, to give of their blood in war that John D. may have new sources of production, that he may find and hold new markets to exploit. "Coal and iron" brought on the last war. "Oil!" will bring on the next.

This Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey is the largest of the tentacles of the old Standard Oil Trust that the government at Washington "busted."

Where the old oil trust was all body, we find that the present octopus, like every good octopus has sprouted long arms. The [illegible] of great wealth, is the Carter Oil Co. [illegible] the Standard Oil Co. of Louisiana, [illegible] the Standard of Bolivia. It has [illegible] control which were incorporated in France, Holland, [illegible] Denmark, Germany, Canada, Roumania, and Italy, aside from companies which were incorporated in various states of this country.

So the possibilities that the Oil Trust offers for getting you into trouble on its behalf are almost limitless.

The offspring, or subsidiaries of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, are also healthy and growing. Two of these especially, the Humble Oil Co. of Texas, and the Imperial Oil Co. of Canada are said to be in good condition to declare stock dividends.

"Wall Street is inclined to believe," says the New York Times, "that further distributions thruout the Standard Oil group are now in order."

So just watch the Standard Oil octopus stretch itself. The Standard of New Jersey stock dividend makes the fourth this year. We have already told about the 200 per cent dividend of the Standard of New York. The Standard of California has announced a distribution of 100 per cent, and the Standard of Kentucky of 33⅓ per cent, small pickings beside the New Jersey showing.

It is these huge profits from the private ownership of oil and gasoline, of coal and iron, and other natural resources and the big basic industries, that rule in Washington, that dictate legislation and force declarations of war, wars to be fought by the workers for the dollars of their exploiters.

If you do not want to bleed for John D.'s gasoline wake up and join other workers in taking over all power in this and other countries, so that national and trust barriers will be swept away, and resources developed and industries operated for the common welfare and not for the sole purpose of pouring a golden stream of wealth into the lap of an idle, parasitic class.

Capitalism, the present social system, declares its dividends in gild edged stock certificates. Communism, the new social system, that is coming rapidly on the heels of passing capitalism, will declare its dividends in human happiness, in the laughter of merry-making children; for grown-ups the joy that comes from living a full life.

The Coming Election in England

An election is approaching in England. The date hasn't been decided as yet but the campaign speeches are already being made, and all sides are jockeying for position.

Austen Chamberlain, conservative leader, in a speech at Birmingham, declared the struggle to be one of "Coalition vs. Labor," and he is out in defense of the "coalition" and Lloyd George rule.

Chamberlain sounds the note of warning that the Labor Party, a coalition of all labor's forces, may win a majority of the seats in parliament if the anti-labor forces are divided. He declares:

> **"And if thru our discussions and our differences the Labor Party obtains a majority, heavy will be the responsibility of those who have contributed to the result because they could not take a broad view of national obligations at a moment of national danger. (Cheers.)**
>
> **"I venture to warn you that if this happens it will not be the moderates of the Labor Party who will prevail. Direct action, which a strong national Government has been able to defeat, will triumph over a Government in which the leaders, as Clynes himself complains or explains, are not allowed to lead but must take their instructions in every crisis from the concourse or mass meeting."**

With these threats Chamberlain works to develop a united front of the unionist (conservative) and liberal parties. It was this coalition that put the Lloyd George government into power, and has kept it in power when the war premiers of all the other Paris allies have lost their jobs and been forgotten, and the rulers in the central empires have been hurled from their thrones.

It is announced that the Labor Party will contest 400 seats. The Communist Party has withdrawn its candidates where the Labor Party is in the field, and will support the candidates of labor's united front.

"A general election is imminent," announces the Daily Herald, Labor. "The flowing tide is with labor, and if it is taken by the men and women workers thruout the country it will lead to a great electoral triumph."

If British labor wins this triumph, it is hoped that the men and women workers, who are now appealed to for their votes, will proceed to cleanse their ranks of social patriots of the type of Clynes, Henderson and Thomas, who fear to take their inspiration from the masses. Having won the majority let labor proceed to the erection of its own Soviet rule for the complete liquidation of British capitalism.

Capitalism Knows Its Enemies

Telegraphic communications between Morris Hillquit, of the "Socialist" Party, and Secretary of State Hughes, at Washington, give us the information that Jean Longuet, French "Socialist," is free to come to the United States for his lecture tour under "Socialist" auspices.

For weeks the "Socialist" forces have been very much chagrined that a spokesman for their "100 per cent American" party should be denied admission.

Now that everything has been beautifully arranged, The Call proudly announces that "the admission of Longuet means that the (Harding) administration is disposed to get rid of such of its Wilsonian heritages as it can without offense to its right wing bigots."

That certainly sounds reassuring with the Burns-Daugherty raids in Michigan and Chicago, and the Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen, but a thing of yesterday.

Among those who attacked Longuet's entrance to the United States was Miss Mary G. Kilbreth, of the Woman Patriot, at Washington, who charged that Longuet once said:

"We absolutely unite in supporting our Russian comrades. We are fighting with all our strength against the miserable efforts of Paris and London to destroy the first great Socialist government the world has ever seen."

But Longuet has changed. He now attacks Soviet Russia. He is in the same class with Hillquit, Berger and Schlesinger. He has changed, just as the Socialist Party and The Call have changed from the days of 1917, when the Russian Revolution took place, almost in the same hours that the United States entered the world war.

It is these betrayers of Socialism who have changed. The Harding administration hasn't changed. The Republican party hasn't changed. Harding and the Republican party are just as adamant against revolutionary working-class action as Wilson and the democratic ever were.

But the Harding administration knows that the Socialist party, The Call and Longuet have changed, that they are harmless. Longuet is admitted as Burns puts a double cordon of sleuths around the U. S. A. to prevent any spokesmen of the Communist International or the Red International of Labor Unions from entering the country. Capitalism knows its friends and it also recognizes its enemies.

Governor Allen, of Kansas, is giving up his strike-breaking activities long enough to fight the introduction of H. G. Wells' "Outline of History," as a text book at the Kansas State Normal School. It is declared the book "hits at religion." Allen claims he is going to protect old institutions, even at the cost of calling out the militia. In the meantime more copies of Wells' "Outline of History" are being sold than ever before.

[illegible] Michigan raid [illegible]

[illegible] of the workers.

[illegible] Walsh as the defender, will be an historic one. It will go to the depths of the titanic clash between capital and labor in this country this year. Unwilling witnesses will be compelled to disclose the great forces that are in hiding, but which are directing the attack on Foster, Browder, Ruthenberg, Dunne and the others arrested.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., J. Ogden Armour, and a host of other big capitalists, still remember the searching painful cross-examination that they were compelled to undergo at Walsh's hands when the latter presided over the deliberations of the Industrial Relations Commission.

Labor unionists recall the splendid service that Mr. Walsh rendered the stockyard workers, the Colorado and Kansas miners and the workers everywhere in their fight against the organized exploiters of the nation.

He will conduct the defense not so much as a legal case coming to him as a part of his work but as a challenge to organized labor to defend itself against the vicious attacks of the bosses.

Berrien County will be the scene of one of the greatest legal battles ever fought in the courts of America. It will be one in which the campaign of the employers will be exposed to the public and the sordid game they are playing shown up in its true light. In such a task Labor Defense Council could not have selected a better champion than Frank P. Walsh.

Every possible weapon must be placed in Walsh's hands to help him carry on this fight. For this purpose funds are needed. Every reader of THE WORKER has received a contribution list to gather in the contribution of the workers everywhere.

Put this contribution list at work and keep it busy. If you have no list get in touch immediately with the Labor Defense Council, Room 307, Federation Bldg., 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

United States Senator Borah was given as one of the founders of the "American Sentinels." But when Borah came out for the political prisoners and for recognition of the Russian Government, he found "the Sentinels" fighting him. Borah is having a hard time co-ordinating his progressive views with his reactionary affiliations.

The Race to Electrify

The use of electricity is probably more common in the United States at the present time than in any other nation. In the Russia of the Soviets it is just beginning to have its day.

Yet there is developing what will be a very interesting race to see which nation makes the most progress in the use of this "white coal"; Soviet Russia, struggling to provide the workers and peasants with the latest form of power without profits accruing to itself, or the Capitalist United States, where great power trusts sell electricity as a means to declare dividends and enrich their already bloated stockholders.

Great plans are announced for the development of electric power in the United States. Frank E. Watts, New York, editor of the Electric Record, told the annual convention of the National Association of Electrical Contractors and Dealers, at Cincinnati, Ohio, that within the next six years 300 billion dollars would be spent on additional electrification.

This was music to the ears of these contractors and dealers. They no doubt immediately began to figure how much in profits that would mean to them.

Mr. Watts said, eight million homes are now wired in America, and that half of the remaining six million would be wired during the next few years. More profits, profits that will prevent those three million homes from being wired.

It was declared that $750,000,000 had been spent during the past year in new development of central power stations, that $4,000,000,000 would be spent during the next six years.

It is claimed that for every dollar the central power stations spent in development other people who make use of this service expend in buying motors, home appliance, etc., etc., an average of $80, every dollar of which carries its burden of profiteering.

That looks like a formidable lead for the Workers' Republic to overcome. But we believe the workers and peasants will do it.

They will do it because the whole plan of electrifying Soviet Russia is in the hands of the workers' government. That means that the plan to electrify is a centralized, national plan that is not crippled with the demand for stock dividends. It will be a national service, not a national hold-up. The workers' government will give something while here in the capitalist United States the government allows the power profiteers to take all they can get and, as the popular saying has it, "a little bit more."

Soviet Russia announced her plans for electrification several years ago. It was one of her first ambitions, halted by civil war, intervention, famine and plague.

The drive to electrify is now on, however, to make this white power drive all trains and ships, furnish light during the hours of darkness, not only in the offices of Lenin in the Kremlin, Moscow, but in the hut of the lowliest peasant on the slopes of the Urals or within the Arctic Circle; to put a phone at every fireside, electric stoves in every kitchen, electric lights on every highway, and electric power into the driving of every plow and other farm implement tilling the soil, planting the crops and reaping the harvests of food, for man and animal, in the Soviet Republic.

All Soviet Russia is developing the great desire to harness the white magic. The workers and peasants look to their government as an instrument to realize their dream of turning magicians and directing this great force to lift toil from their own shoulders.

American workers and farmers would also like to turn magicians to make the waterfalls, the rivers and the tides labor for them. But capitalism stands in between. Electric power flows thru wires, just as blood flows thru human veins, to make the wheels of industry turn that Wall Street may fill its golden chests with profits.

That is why Soviet Russia will be completely electrified before the capitalist United States. Russia of the workers and peasants will win the race to electrify, because the workers and peasants are accomplishing this task for themselves and not for the profiteers. And the workers of America, always proud to win, will ask why they lost. And in the day that the blame is laid at the door of the profiteers, the days of capitalism on this side of the Atlantic will be numbered, and the struggle for the new society—for Communism—will be on even here with the earnestness that always crowns its efforts with victory.

The big issue in the New Jersey campaign is whether the dry candidates really did drink wine at a "political banquet." And all that the New York Call can see in the very important convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, that voted for amalgamation, is found in the headline, Oct. 13, "OHIO LABOR FOR BEER."

Reports are now coming in that the anti-Soviet forces at Vladivostok have surrendered to the Red Army of the Siberian Republic. This comes on the heels of repeated "White" victories. Just as in the days of Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenitch, and all the other "white" hopes of the yesteryears.

[illegible]

Edited by [illegible]

CAMPAIGN ISSUES

(To show our broad-mindedness we have permitted the capitalist parties to print in our columns reasons why the workers should vote their particular ticket.—Editor.)

DEMOCRATS:—

Every worker should vote a straight Democratic ticket because the Republicans have been proven time and again to be as crooked as a cork screw. They are but a gang of thieves, robbers and scoundrels, and the American Labor Party is just as bad as they are.

REPUBLICANS:—

It is needless to say that the Democrats are high way robbers, crooks, charlatans and grafters—you all know that and therefore it is up to you to vote a straight Republican ticket. As for the American Labor Party it's but a miniature Democratic Party.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY:

The old parties are hypocritic, corrupt, dishonest and crooked. They have always been and forever will reamin that way. Hence it is up to the workers to annihilate them and vote a straight American Labor Party ticket.

OUR REPLY:—

We fully agree with ALL of you, dear friends. Each and everyone of your above statements is correct.

"GOMPERS HITS PRESIDENT AS FOE OF LABOR"—HEARST HEADLINE

Its Interpretation by Easembay

"Now you stop it," said short Semke as he "hit" tall Warry with a chicken feather "You ought to spank the rail executives with the big stick instead of issuing injunctions against the poor striking workers. Had you done that it would enable me to brag that it was done thru my influence, as a progressive labor leader. But I know I can't say that, therefore I hit you. (Don't laugh, someone might see us.) Really, Warry, your injunction is not "right". Though the workers are dumb yet some of them may think. Those damned red radicals are after them every day trying to put some common sense into their craniums. Something very terrible might happen to me if I do not hit you . . . . at least in a newspaper headline" . . . .

"Labor and Capital must go hand in hand," agreed Warry.

To the tune of "United we stand, divided we fall," Samke and Warry marched off happily hand in hand. "Nevertheless, if you'll run for president next time, I'll again indorse you as Labor's Liberator and Friend said Semke and smiled on . . . .

Answers for the Anxious

(Personal, but not confidential)

Politician — We don't know the exact amount paid by the A. L. P. for votes. Call up a Wall Street broker for the latest market price.

Daily Worker.—Would like to get a job as Sporting Editor of your paper.

N. U. T. — Your poem, "Why Do I Live?" received. The only reason why you do live is because you sent us that poem by mail.

Daugherty — Needn't worry about impeachment, we need an office boy at The Worker office.

THINGS WE NEVER READ IN THE FORWARD

New groups join the Workers Party ranks.

Soviet Russia denounces the American Socialist Party.

The circulation of the Forward and the Call are gradually decreasing.

The communist movement thruout the world is getting stronger and stronger.

The outlook for the American Labor Party in the coming elections is anything but bright.

Due to the strike of the milkmen we won't accept any advertisements from scab concerns.

DOINGS OF THE JEWISH BRANCH OF THE KU KLUX

Beg Pardon—As the Bolcoms were going to press it was discovered that someones mysterious hand, fearing the sensational exposures which were to be revealed under the above caption, stole our material. Detective Abe Cahan is investigating the case for us. More about it anon.

Kukluxly yours,
IRV.

P. S. My sincerest thanks to the numerous correspondents for their contributions. They will all be published in due time. Hereafter a 10 week subscription to the WORKER will be given free each month for the best contribution. Get busy!

ANSWERS HIGH PRIEST

"But, in that case, in what do your tactics differ from the tactics of Czarism?" we are asked by the high priests of Liberalism and Kautskianism.

You do not understand this, holy men? We shall explain to you. The terrorism of Czarism was directed against the workers. The police of Czarism throttled the workers who were fighting for the Socialist order. Our Extra-Ordinary Commissions shoot [illegible] who are striving to restore the capitalist order. Do you grasp this distinction? [illegible] it is quite sufficient. [illegible]

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 247. [illegible] SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1922 [illegible] Room 405, 799 [illegible] New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

FIVE YEARS OF VICTORY!

Russia, the Victor; Germany, the Victim, on the Fifth Anniversary of the Soviets, Nov. 7, 1922

Workers of America! Study carefully the conditions of the two nations, "RUSSIA, THE VICTOR" over allied capitalism, and "GERMANY, THE VICTM" of the Versailles Peace, on the Fifth Anniversary of the First Workers' Republic, in the accompanying declarations:

• • •

Cyril Brown, in a Berlin wireless to the New York Times, Oct. 23, states that "Chancellor Wirth this morning startled political circles by submitting for discussion at a Cabinet Council the question whether in view of the utter collapse of the mark Germany ought not to declare general reparation bankruptcy and default in payment in kind as well as in cash. He recently reiterated the popular slogan, 'FIRST BREAD, THEN REPARATIONS.'"

Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, told the Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress recently that, "The international position of the Soviet Republic is now stronger than ever. The First Workers' Republic has become an independent world power. The German Republic has declared to us that, under the oppression of the Treaty of Versailles, she stands on the verge of an abyss, and requested that we make this known to the Russian people!

International Capital Is Sinking Into Ruins! The Future Belongs to Us!

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV, Chairman of the Third (Communist) International

In what condition does the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution find the country? The international position of the First Workers' Republic is stronger than ever. We can say this without fear of exaggeration. The Soviet Republic has become an independent world power. Even if we look only at the foreign events of the past weeks, we cannot fail to see that the international political position of our country has been strengthened. A few weeks ago the German Republic, headed by a bourgeois-menshevik coalition government, declared to us that Germany under the oppression of the Treaty of Versailles stood on the verge of an abyss, and requested that we make this known to the Russian people. This as well as other facts prove clearly how greatly our [illegible] has grown in the field [illegible] politics. The [illegible] with Japan [illegible]

The Versailles Treaty is cracking, and every day deals it fresh blows. The crisis in the East sharpens daily. No one can speak of a World Revolution which will be victorious only in Europe. It will only be a World Revolution when the hundreds of millions of the East rise against their oppressors. And as the revolt grows in the East, so does the importance of our country in the eyes of the Eastern peoples. It is therefore no exaggeration when we say that the international political posi-

(Continued on Page Six)

Greetings! Victors!

This issue of THE WORKER is our Special Fifth Soviet Anniversary Edition. It is the first time that THE WORKER, established Feb. 2, 1922, only nine months ago, has had an opportunity to spread the anniversary greetings of the First Workers' [illegible]

On behalf of all our readers and sympathizers, THE WORKER sends its message of cheer to the victorious workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic, the only nation that has come victorious out of the great world war.

It is our only regret that this issue of our paper is not able to carry the words of our spokesmen to all the millions of toiling men and women of the United States, to give to them all its message of encouragement, and to arouse in them all an unconquerable desire to achieve their own victory over the black forces of capitalist reaction.

• • •

But the workers of America, today, are watching Raymond Poincare, premier of France, bitterest enemy of the Soviets, now humbly sending his emissary in the person of Edouard Herriot, the "radical Socialist" mayor of Lyons, to Russia, to plead for the opening of commercial relations.

Among the worst attacks levelled against the Workers' Republic by the world imperialist press have been those of the Paris Temps that now says:

> "To have a European policy we (France) must henceforth take account of Russia. Since the beginning of 1922 Russia has made her diplomatic re-entry into Europe."

It was only a few weeks ago, on Oct. 6th, that this same Paris Temps, in dealing with the participation of Soviet Russia in the Near East Conference, declared that:

> "The Government of Moscow is not recognized by the powers. It does not conform to the laws which control the relations between nations, and in consequence it would be difficult indeed to permit its representation at an international conference which would imply its recognition without its having fulfilled those conditions indispensable to recognition."

• • •

And in the wake of the Temps follows the Matin, nationalist organ, with an apology for the attacks of Imperialist France on Russian Soviet Rule, declaring that the real reason for the Russian desertion of the Allied cause was that the French government in 1918 refused to give its moral and material support to the army of Lenin and Trotsky. Clemenceau, who is soon to visit the United States, was that time head of the French government.

By this the Matin is no doubt trying to convey to the minds of its readers the idea that French Imperialism has fallen in love with Soviet Russia, trying to hide the fact that Moscow stands triumphant over Paris, preparing another crushing blow for West European capitalism.

• • •

Of great significance, too, is the fact that during this anniversary season the Red Army of the Republic of the Far East (Siberia), supported by Soviet Russia, is marching back into Vladivostok, so that Soviet Rule now stretches toward three oceans, the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Arctic.

The Japanese soldiers are withdrawing to the islands of the Mikado and taking with them the last White Guards of the Versailles Allies.

All of which prompts the New York Times, the American counterpart of the Paris Temps, to open up a campaign for the recognition of the Chita (Far Eastern Republic) Government, in spite of its "dubious relations with Moscow."

> "But there seems to be no doubt," continues The Times, editorially, Oct. 24, under the heading, "Russia and Vladivostok," "that it is the de facto government in its own territories, and that it is fulfilling the functions of government as satisfactorily as could be expected."

It then concludes:

> "A decision of this question (of recognition) must rest on careful balancing of all the factors involved, but it seems time to take it up once more for renewed and careful consideration."

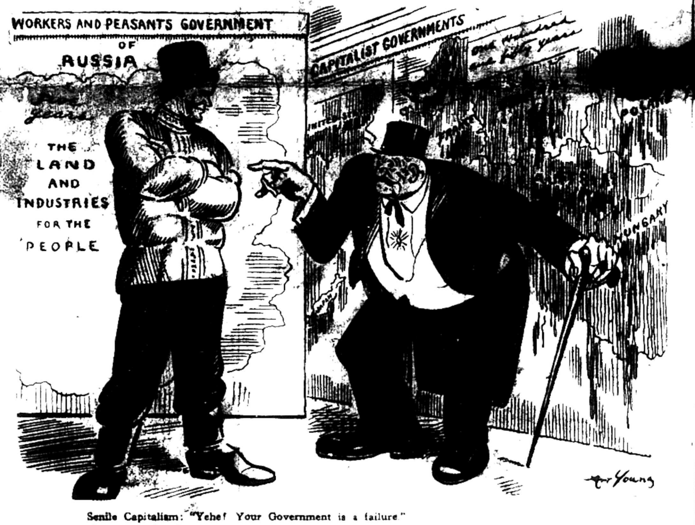
• • •

Imperialist France, watching her crippled and despairing victim, Germany, falling into the arms of Soviet Russia, is knocking, bag in hand, at the front door of the Workers' Republic. The United States, fearing that her oriental rival, Japan, will get favorable trade concessions, is urged by The Times to get busy hammering at the back door of Soviet Rule, in far off Vladivostok.

In the meantime, not only Soviet Russia, but the Soviet Republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, have been invited to co-operate in the settlement of the problem of "The Straits" (Dardanelles), at the Near East Peace Conference called to assemble at Lausanne, Switzerland, Nov. 13.

We cannot help but repeat again the words of Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, that "International Capital is sinking into ruins! The future belongs to us!"

A Difference of Opinion


WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA
five years
THE LAND AND INDUSTRIES FOR THE PEOPLE
CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS
one hundred and fifty years
POLAND
HUNGARY
Art Young

Senile Capitalism: "Yehe! Your Government is a failure."
Young Russia: "And you call yours a success!"

WORKERS! Forward to Freedom with Soviet Russia

PROCLAMATION BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES:

On November 7th the Workers and Peasants of Russia and the Workers and Peasants everywhere in the world will celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia.

For FIVE YEARS Soviet Russia has withstood all the attacks of its enemies. It has beaten down the attack of counter-revolutionary armies—Kolchak, Denikin, Judenich, Wrangel—the Red

(Continued on Page Seven)

"In Fifteen Minutes the Revolution Will Be Over"

declared Miliukov in March
1917

"The Bolshevist Government Cannot Live a Month"

exclaimed the imperialist
wise men and yellow heroes
in unison in November, 1917
and then
followed
The International Food
Blocade
The Counter-revolution,
Civil War, Assassination
The Imperial Ring of Fire
War — North, South, East,
and West
Hunger, Famine, Ignorance,
Disease
Industrial Chaos, Sabotage,
Trade Boycott
and yet

The Russian Soviet Republic lives stronger than ever. Workers, hail the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, celebrate the triumph of the Workers Soviet Republic.

Help circulate this issue of THE WORKER
Price: 3½ cents per copy.
Rush in your orders to THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

5th Year, Nov. 7, 1917, Celebration of Russian Revolution and Opening of 4th Congress Communist International, Nov. 7, 1922, 5th Year

SPEAKERS: M. J. Olgin, C. E. Ruthenberg, A. [illegible] and others.—MUSICAL PROGRAM: Sonia Radin in Folk Songs, [illegible] Orchestra of Workmen's Circle, International Chorus in Revolutionary Songs

LEXINGTON OPERA HOUSE, 51st Street and Lexington Avenue, TUESDAY, November 7th, 8 P. M.

# of Jewish "Forward" ...news Vicious Attack on ...ief Work for Soviet Russia

...the report of the impartial investigating committee, that inquired into the charges ...by Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily "Forward," against the Friends of Soviet ...was revealed a couple of weeks ago, we thought it would silence Cahan and his whole ...of traducers of the men and women who have been conducting relief work in the United ...since appeals for help first came out of Russia.

The report was such a crushing refutation of the malignant charges emanating from this ...of Socialist Party malice that it was almost inconceivable that anyone would have the audac- ...to again question the motives of this organization.

But Abraham Cahan, desperate in face of the threat from the ranks of the militant workers that will eventually result in his exposure before his own readers as an enemy of the working class, does not dare admit that out of mendacity he conceived the infamous charges against the Friends of Soviet Russia in an effort to buttress his tottering political prestige. Since he does not dare openly oppose the personnel of the committee, which consisted of Roger N. Baldwin, chairman, of the American Civil Liberties Union; Robert Morss Lovett of the New Republic; Timothy Healy, of the Stationery Firemen's Union; Norman M. Thomas, of the League for Industrial Democracy; and Walter Nelles, attorney, he deliberately perverts their report and claims that it justifies his vile insinuations.

In a harangue that was reproduced in English in that organ of reaction, known as the New York Call, Cahan again refers to the Communists as union-breakers, thereby repeating the propaganda of Gompers and the entire retinue of the reactionary officialdom of the American labor movement. According to Cahan the entire labor movement protested against the selection of this investigation committee by the Friends of Soviet Russia, declaring that it is an unheard of thing for a defendant to appoint a "jury" to decide its own case. Cahan holds the notion that he, as a bitter enemy of Soviet Russia and of the Communist movement, should be permitted to select jurors from the camp [illegible] yellow Socialist Party [illegible] lies could be verified [illegible] committee, and thus [illegible] brain contortions [illegible] order to twist a d[illegible] tion of his infamy into an apparent vindication of his charges.

Cahan's Lie Nailed By Kalinin

In the screed published in the New York Call, Cahan makes the statement that:

"We still charge the Friends of Soviet Russia have been collecting money under false pretenses. They advertised broadcast that they were collecting funds for the starving people of Russia, whereas the funds they collected have largely been used for the building up of the Communist movement in this country and for breaking up the very unions that have contributed so generously to their funds."

At the very moment Cahan, thru his own publication the "Forward" and its twin in infamy, the English daily of the Socialist Party, the Call, were hurling their last venomous diatribe against the Friends of Soviet Russia, the president of Russia, M. Kalinin, was sending a message of congratulation to the Friends of Soviet Russia for the tens of thousands of lives of workers and their children that had been saved by the hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of goods that had been shipped to the famine region for relief. The facsimile of the telegram appears on this page, with a translation which gives the lie to the assertion of the enemies of the relief work that funds collected are being used for Communist propaganda.

Cahan charges that all the 41 organizers engaged by the Friends of Soviet Russia were members of the Workers Party. He then adds that they were also members of nuclei in labor unions, "every one of whom was known to be working for the destruction of the Cloak Makers' Union, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, of the Furriers' Union, the Railroad Unions, the Miners' Unions and all the other radical unions, and of the Socialist Party."

When he accuses any class conscious worker, who possesses an elementary understanding of the history of the revolutionary movement and the infamous role of the Socialist Party of America in that movement, of desiring to destroy it he is stating a fact that will never be denied by any member of the Workers Party. But when he includes labor unions in the list with the Socialist Party he is defaming every labor organization in the United States and endeavoring to enlist their support in order to rescue the discredited Party of which he is a member. It is the duty of every militant to do all in his power to destroy the Socialist Party as an enemy of the working class, and it is also to the interest of every worker to endeavor to defend and strengthen the labor unions in order to develop them into more efficient organs of resistance against capitalism. The charge that the Communists are enemies of the organized labor movement originates from the reactionary officialdom of labor who well understand the significance of the amalgamation propaganda being conducted thruout the entire movement and which heralds the decline of this same leadership. Like all reactionary labor fakirs, Cahan interprets an attack upon himself and his treacherous policies as an attack upon the entire labor movement. It is a part and parcel of their inordinate egotism to visualize themselves as the entire labor movement.

"Defending" the Amalgamated

It is amusing to see Cahan pretending to defend the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, considering his recent performance at the convention of that organization where he tried to indulge in some of his customary political shysterism and was promptly rebuked by Sidney Hillman, president of that organization. Since that time Cahan has endeavored to use the nefarious machinations of his clique to crush the Amalgamated, but has miserably failed. Instead of wrecking the Amalgamated, the members of that organization who are wise to his game have started a backfire against his sinister propaganda that in the end will wreck Cahan.

In another part of the screed Cahan wrote against the F. S. R. he declares that some of the funds might have been diverted for the printing and distribution of a leaflet "attacking the honesty and integrity of the officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers." The leaflet referred to is one that attacked the honesty and integrity of a few minor officials who are members of the Socialist Party and who were using the Cahan tactics of endeavoring to create dissention in the ranks of the entire organization. Cahan tried to convey the idea that an attack had been directed from Communist sources against the entire organization, when as a matter of fact it was simply an exposure of the trickery of some of Cahan's own satellites.

The principal reasons for Cahan's attack upon the Friends of Soviet Russia and other radicals, aside from his hatred of Russia and the desire indelibly implanted in his yellow heart to see capitalism re-established in that nation, is a frantic effort to recover his waning influence among the Jewish workers in the needle trades of the United States. His influence in the Amalgamated has practically vanished, while among a considerable proportion the rank and file of the International Ladies' Garment Workers his very name is held in contempt. His insane desire to throttle the rising tide of militancy and to defend the most reactionary traditions of the American Federation of Labor has started Ca- [illegible] ganizers are all members of the Workers Party, it is stated in the report of the investigating committee that they are all either members or sympathizers. But the report goes on to state that:

"There is no evidence offered to show that any of the organizers of the Friends of Soviet Russia did not faithfully discharge his duties in collecting funds for famine relief and turning in all such funds to the organization. There is no evidence that any of them diverted such funds collected for famine relief to political purposes."

It is hardly logical to presume that an organization endeavoring to aid the famine sufferers of Russia would employ avowed enemies of Soviet Russia and its policies, such as the hangers-on of the Jewish Forward and other capitalistic rags. It would undoubtedly have been more to Cahan's liking if Mr. Samuel Gompers had been permitted to appoint the organizers of the Friends of Soviet Russia, with the approval of the editorial staff of the "Forward". But since the famine relief work is a serious matter, the officials of the Friends of Soviet Russia took the necessary precautions to assure themselves that the people they paid to carry on the relief work would be sympathetic with the starving population of the famine districts. To have done otherwise would have been criminal folly and would have played directly into the hands of the Gomperses and Cahans so that the relief work would have been sabotaged from within.

Perverting the Report

Another piece of studied mendacity on the part of Cahan is his assertion that the report vindicates his charge that funds were used to purchase advertising space in Communist papers in order to subsidize these publications. He deliberately distorts the report of the committee to read "an undue proportion of the advertising has gone to the [illegible] Communists)." When in reality it stated just the opposite. The exact words of the report were:

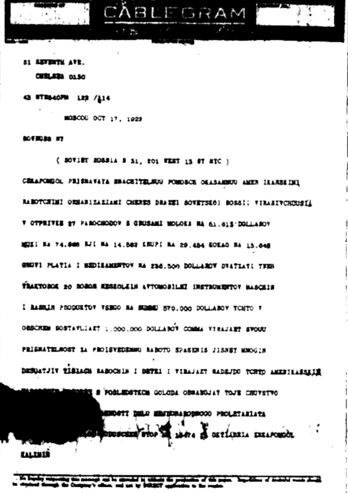
"The Committee has been furnished with a list of all papers in which the organization has carried paid advertisements, together with the amounts and dates of payments. The total amount spent for advertising in periodicals up to June 30 is $16,719.63, which seems to the Committee a moderate amount as related to other expenditures. That covered a period of eleven months and averaged therefore, $1,519.16 a month. It is obvious that that is not enough, even at best, to subsidize more than a few small papers. As a matter of fact it was distributed over 27 papers, of which 14 were published in English and 13 in foreign languages. Out of 27 papers in which advertisements appeared 6 are liberal, religious or labor periodicals without political connections, 4 are socialist and 17 are Communist or have Communist tendencies. By that we do not necessarily mean that they are organs of the Communist Party, but that their obvious political and economic basis is Communist.

"Judging by the number of Communist papers in this list it would appear that an undue proportion of the advertising had gone to them, but an examination of the cost of advertising in the various papers shows that they received less than $5,000 of the total of $17,000 spent in advertising. The largest amounts went to non-political, liberal, labor and religious periodicals, printed in English."

Thus is clearly revealed the trickery of the contemptible scoundrel, Cahan, who will sink to the lowest depths of depravity in order to strike a blow at the vanguard of the working class.

The report of the Committee has goaded him to fury because it has exposed him as an unprincipled prevaricator, an enemy of Soviet Russia and the working class of the United States and a servant of capitalism, deserving of nothing but the eternal execration of intelligent workers.

President of Soviet Republic Sends Cablegram that Nails Lies of Cahan and Other Enemies of the Workers



CABLEGRAM

51 SEVENTH AVE.
CHELSEA 0130

43 STBS40FN 122 /114

MOSCOU OCT 17, 1922

SOVRUSS NY

(SOVIET RUSSIA B 31, 201 WEST 13 ST NYC)

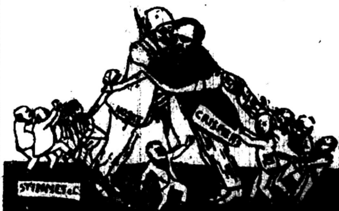
CEKAPOMGOL PRISNAVAYA SNACHITELNUU POMOSCH OKASANNUU AMERIKANSKIMI
RABOTCHIMI ORGANIZAZIAMI CHEREZ DRUZEI SOVETSKOI ROSSII VIRASIVCHUUSIA
V OTPRAVKE 27 PAROCHODOV S GRUSAMI MOLOKA NA 51.613 DOLLAROV
MUKI NA 74.868 RJI NA 14.582 KRUPI NA 29.454 KOKAO NA 13.648
OBUVI PLATIA I MEDIKAMENTOV NA 236.500 DOLLAROV DVATZATI TREE
TRAKTOROV 20 BORON NESSOLKIH AVTOMOBILEI INSTRUMENTOV MASCHIN
I RASNIH PRODUKTOV VSEGO NA SUMMU 570.000 DOLLAROV TCHTO V
OBSCHEM SOSTAVLIAET 1.000.000 DOLLAROV COMMA VIRAJAET SVOUU
PRISNATELNOST ZA PROISVEDENNU RABOTU SPASENIA JISNEY MNOGIH
DESIATKOV TISIACH RABOCHIH I DETEI I VIRAJAET NADEJDU TCHTO AMERIKANSKIE
[illegible] S POSLEDSTVIEM GOLODA OBNARUJAT TOJE CHUVSTVO
[illegible]NOSTI DELU MEJDUNARODNOGO PROLETARIATA
[illegible]BUDUSCHEE STOP [illegible] OKTIABRIA ZEKAPOMGOL
KALININ

The translation of the above cablegram is as follows:

"Sekapamgel, acknowledging the important help rendered by the American workers' organizations thru the Friends of Soviet Russia, which expressed itself in twenty-seven ship loads, totaling one million dollars, and consisting of $51,613 worth of milk, $74,868 worth of flour, $14,582 worth of rye, $29,454 worth of grits, $13,648 worth of cocoa, $236,000 worth of shoes, clothes and medicine, also twenty tractors, twenty harrows, several automobiles, tools, machines and many other articles, worth together $570,000—expresses its gratitude for this work which saved tens of thousands of workers' and children's lives and hopes that American workers fighting the results of famine will manifest the same spirit of solidarity and devotion to the cause of the international proletariat in its fight for a bright future."

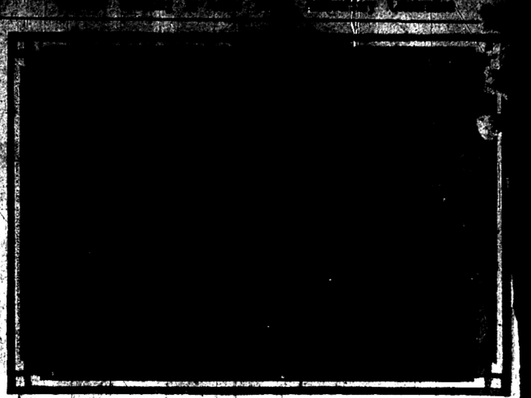
(Signed) KALININ

Italian View of German "Socialist" Unity



The above cartoon appeared in L'Ordine Nuovo, the daily organ of the Italian Communist Party, published at Turin, Italy.

It shows Noske, the bloody butcher of the Majority "Socialists," embracing Crispien, the Independent "Socialist." Hanging on the coat tails of the former are Stinnes & Co., with an array of German industrial kaisers and monarchists, while behind the latter are found Levi and other Communist renegades, who discovered the German Communist Party to be too revolutionary and too much working class for them.



Gregory Zinoviev, the president of the Communist International, is here seen addressing a great throng in Moscow in last year's Soviet Anniversary. On his left stands Karl Radek, editor of Pravda, official organ of the Russian Communist Party.

The Russian Revolution and the American Communist Mov

By C. E. RUTHENBERG, Secretary of the Workers Party

It was the Russian Revolution — the Bolshevik Revolution of November 7, 1917 — wl created the American Communist Movement. There had been a left wing in the Socialist Pa for a decade or more. Its existence was manifested in dissatisfaction and criticism of the official policies of the S. P. This left wing had no clear conception of what was wrong with the program of the Socialist Party. It was against the reformist policy of the party and demanded a revolutionary pro- [illegible] it was never clear as to the principles which were to be embodied in the "revolutionary program."

In 1912 this left wing supported Haywood and the I. W. W. It emphasized the importance of industrial organization—industrial unionism— in achieving the emancipation of the workers. This emphasis on industrial organization expressed itself in the literature of the movement of that time in such pamphlets as "Industrial Socialism" by Haywood and Bohn, "The New Socialist" by Robert Rives Lamont, "Labor Union Socialism and Socialist Labor Unionism" by Robert Rives Lamont.

The answer of the Hillquit-Berger machine to this movement was the adoption of the famous, or rather infamous, article 11, section 6 of the S. P. Constitution, defining political action as the participation in election campaigns and in the work of the legislative bodies of the capitalist government, and prohibiting the advocacy of sabotage or violence — after the manner of the criminal syndicalist laws of today. The result of the adoption of this constitutional provision was that some forty or fifty thousand members were driven out of the Socialist Party and the left wing movement and the "new Socialism" disappeared from the party.

The St. Louis Convention of the S. P. was another manifestation of the existence of left wing sentiment in the S. P. To St. Louis there came an overwhelming number of delegates who were determined that the party go on record in uncompromising opposition to the war which the United States had just entered. They were clear and determined however only on the one point. Having gained that point in the adoption of the St. Louis Manifesto they permitted the Hillquit-Berger machine to remain in control of the party—to sabotage and make ineffective the decision of the convention in regard to the war.

It was the Bolshevik victory—the November Revolution—which transformed those vague left wing gropings within the Socialist Party into a definite movement with a clear-cut program.

No sooner was the icy grip of the censorship, which during the war stilled all expressions, somewhat shaken—after the signing of the armistice—than there swept thru the Socialist Party the demand that the party program be revised in harmony with the lessons of the Russian Revolution.

The principles underlying the Bolshevik policies and determining their actions had long ago been expressed by Marx. Many Socialists in this country had studied these principles and endeavored to have them expressed in the party program. But not many understood these principles. Their full meaning was whittled away by interpretation.

Experience was required, the application of these principles in actual life, in order that they might become the basis of a proletarian movement which clearly grasped them and founded its policies and tactics upon them.

Marx had said that in the development of the proletariat we could trace "more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where the war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the fondation for the sway of the proletariat." He had said that "There lies between the capitalist and communist society a period of revolutionary transformation of one into the other. This period has a corresponding political period of transition, during which the State can be nothing else than a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Bolsheviki acted upon these principles. They mobilized the mass power of the workers and peasants and established the sway of the proletariat. The government which they established is a "dictatorship of the Proletariat."

For half a century the words of Marx had been read and accepted. But not until after the Proletarian Revolution in Russia did the principles laid down by Marx become a dynamic force guiding and directing the tactics of the proletarian movement.

The Communist Movement in the United States—just as elsewhere the world, owes its existence clarity of purpose to the splendid monstration of the correctness o principles laid down by Karl given by the Russian workers in th victory on November 7, 1917 and in scores of great victories which th Proletarian Dictatorship has wo since that time.

Without the Russian Revolution there would have been no Communist Movement in the United States. There would have been no clear grasp of the guiding principles which will lead the workers to victory and their emancipation. In celebration of the 5th Anniversary of the victory of the Russian workers we should not only have in our minds the determination, the will, the courage, the willingness to suffer for their cause which has thus far maintained the power of the Soviets, but also the contribution they have made to our cause in showing us the road we must travel to win our victory and establish the proletarian sway in the United States.

Order a Bundle of This Issue! Spread Message of Soviet Rule!

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

SOVIET RUSSIA SPEAKS—
AND THE ONE WORD IT UTTERS IS—
"ORPHANS"

ANOTHER CALL FOR RELIEF goes out to you from Soviet Russia.

THE CUMULATIVE CATASTROPHES that have assailed this workers' republic—war, blockade, famine—have left hundreds of thousands of children homeless, starving, in broken health.

FATHERS WHO WENT TO DEFEND the Soviet Government against the Kolchaks, Denikins and Wrangels never returned.

AND THEN CAME THE FAMINE, and parents, giving the last crust of bread to their children, went in search of food and never returned.

THE PROBLEM THIS HAS CREATED IN RUSSIA IS COLOSSAL! Hundreds of thousands of the coming generation, future heritors of the Russian Revolution, are threatened with extinction.

THE WALL STREETS OF THE WORLD DON'T CARE! Billionaires and millionaires look on and shrug their shoulders. Soviet Russia is their foe.

BUT WE, AMERICAN WORKERS AND FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, DO CARE! Upon us rests a heavy responsibility. Soviet Russia must live. It is an outpost in the battle of the workers for freedom.

IF SOVIET RUSSIA IS TO LIVE, ITS CHILDREN MUST LIVE. The future is built upon children. It becomes our duty to adopt thousands of these orphans, to give them homes and food and care.

TO THIS TASK WE ASK YOU TO GIVE TIME AND MONEY. First: Adopt an orphan yourself. Second: Get other individuals and families to adopt an orphan. Third: Get your labor union, your fraternal, social, benefit organization to adopt a group of orphans. To work at once.

POOR, LONESOME, HUNGRY LITTLE CHILDREN PLEAD WITH YOU FOR COMFORTING ARMS AND A BITE TO EAT—YOUR DOLLARS WILL WORK WONDERS, AND WE PLEAD WITH YOU TO PUT YOUR DOLLARS TO WORK IN THIS GREAT CAUSE!

PLAN: Soviet Russia will give the buildings for Children's Homes. In many cases these buildings will be the homes of the former nobility. Soviet Russia is helping mightily. Hundreds of homes are already in operation. But Soviet Russia needs help. The plan is to outfit homes to contain one hundred children each. Ten such homes will constitute a children's colony. Each colony will have one hospital. The cost per child to outfit homes is $5. The maintenance cost per child is $2 per month. Help all you can. Give what you can.

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
201 West 13th Street
New York City

Friends of Soviet Russia 201 West 13th Street, New York City
Enclosed find the sum of $.............. to be used to equip homes for Russian orphans. I promise to pay the sum of $.............. per month for their care.
NAME ....
ADDRESS ....
CITY .... (11-7-22)

Workers! Celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic, November 7th

By ALEXANDER B[illegible]

Five years ago the [illegible] capitalists and [illegible] the [illegible] the life of Russia, which [illegible] throughout the world and for a moment set the whole of Europe aflame, had been prepared by decades of oppression.

It was the accumulated hatred and anger of millions of exploited workers and peasants that exploded sky-high in the memorable days of November, 1917,—the proletarian dictatorship came into existence.

The revolt of the masses was inevitable. There was in those days no power on earth to keep the enraged millions in submission any longer. The fall of the Kerensky government could not possibly be prevented. It had to come down with a crash by the weight of its own follies. But the coming into existence of a new government, an orderly government of workers and peasants, was not so inevitable.

History knows of many struggles and revolts of the masses resulting in mere change of political form and not of social substance. The working class had risen time and again against capitalist exploitation and misrule. But never had he consciously challenged capitalist domination in the State, the only exception being the Paris Commune. And even there the workers had to lose because they possessed no clear conception as to how they were going to establish their own rule—establish and maintain it.

Yes, to maintain it, that was the problem. On looking back over the five years of the Russian Revolution, the question that comes most frequently into one's mind is, how did they manage to exist? How did they succeed to retain power in the face of the united opposition of the entire capitalist world?

Of course, the laboring masses of Russia fought splendidly. Their self-sacrificing devotion and class solidarity is beyond praise. No working class had ever stood up for its rights more courageously or manifested a wider vision of its own class-needs as well as the needs of the human race as a whole.

But after all this is admitted, the question still remains, why the Russian working class and not the German or English? Surely the German workers were no less oppressed and betrayed than the Russians. And as to training in the class-struggle, surely, the workers of Germany had a much longer and richer history of organized struggles than the workers of Russia. And yet?

There is a good deal that the workers of the world can learn from the Russian Revolution. But there is one outstanding lesson that every worker must take to heart, and that is the Russian Communist Party. In fact without a thoro appreciation of this lesson no understanding of the Russian Revolution is possible. The moment you leave the Communist Party of Russia out of consideration, the workers Republic and its successful existence for five long and difficult years becomes a miracle that can be explained only by invoking the power of supernatural forces.

We speak of the Soviets as the backbone of the Revolution. And it is true. It is also true that the Soviets, that is the historical form of working class rule, have not been invented by the Communists. The working masses themselves, in the course of their organized struggles against czarism, as early as 1905, created the Soviets. But it was the Communist Party, at that time the Bolshevist faction of the Social-Democratic Labor Party, that discerned in this rough creation of the revolutionary masses, the beginnings of the new proletarian State. It was this Bolshevist faction, known since 1918 as the Communist Party of Russia, that was first to realize the immense potentialities of the Soviets, not only as a weapon in the proletarian struggle for power but also as an instrument of working class rule, in fact, as the only instrument for the abolition of capitalism.

We also speak of the Red Army as the main defender of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, which is undoubtedly correct. But when you stop to think of how this army came into existence, how it was organized, trained and led into battle, why, it is the Communist Party of Russia again. It not only conceived the idea, but it actually realized it thru its organizers, instructors, educators and propagandists.

Leadership, that's what the Communist Party of Russia supplied—true revolutionary working class leadership. It was the brain and nerve-center of the Russian Revolution. It supplied policy and inspiration, direction and organization. In a word, it was this Party that made the Revolution possible.

But who is it? What's the stuff it's made of? The capitalist press tells us a good deal, in its own fashion and style, about Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Radek, but very little about the hundreds of thousands of workingmen and workingwomen that make up the Communist Party of Russia.

It is a workers party, consisting of the most advanced, militant and determined trade-unionists of Russia. Every conscious and militant trade-unionist in Russia belongs to the Party, because the Party is looked upon as the directing center of all the various struggles of the laboring masses. Every worker, who thinks as a worker and is conscious of his class-interests finds his place in the ranks of the Communist Party.

That's why the Party is strong and powerful, that's why it maintains itself in power despite the intrigues, opposition and attacks of all the labor-haters and reactionaries of the world.

In celebrating the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic let us take to heart its biggest and most important lesson. Let us remember that the first indispensable condition for the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism is a strong political party of the class-conscious and militant workers.

Order a Bundle of This Issue!
Spread Message of Soviet Rule!

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

A Fifth A

8 inches wide. Zinc line cut

By M[illegible]
Assistant Secreta[illegible]

Certainly not since the [illegible] has the labor movement been so stirred and outraged by a government attack on the militants as it is now over the Michigan Red Raids.

The labor movement generally recognizes that the militants are always greatly exposed to the onslaughts of the employers.

That is why the workers in a trade so often rally behind a fellow-worker who has been outlawed in his shop because of his determined labor activity. Even the unthinking "class-unconscious" workers instinctively realize that the militants must have their full protection.

That is the reason why the Michigan "Red Raid" cases have attracted such instant nation-wide attention, and such unanimous support from every element of the labor movement. The movement realizes that the raids and the cases which arise out of them are not mere attacks on isolated radicals or "foreign agitators," as the capitalist press would have it understood, but a determined blow at some of the most outstanding militants in the American labor movement.

Just as workers in a shop support those who have been the most outstanding and courageous in the dealings with the boss, so labor in America is now rallying to the support of William Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg and the others of the Michigan case, who have been conspicuously in the forefront of the battle against the employing class.

Labor in America is largely instinctive rather than conscious in this support. That condition points to a very definite task on the part of the class-conscious workers—to crystallize and make expressive this wholesome reaction of the workers and to rally them to a conscious stand behind these most recent victims of capitalist oppression. "GIVE THE MICHIGAN RED RAID VICTIMS THE FULL PROTECTION OF THEIR CLASS"

. . . Such is the slogan and the aim of the Labor Defense Council.

Where the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Republic found the American workers in the midst of a wonderful and inspiringly successful task of rallying to the support of the Russian famine sufferers, the fifth anniversary brings them to still another task—to rally to the support of their own labor militants.

"GIVE THE LABOR MILITANTS THE FULL PROTECTION OF THEIR CLASS."

FROM MARX AND ENGELS

Intelligent workers will seek the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the change in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another.

• • •

The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes in character in proportion as material production is changed?

• • •

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

• • •

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation.

[illegible]

The 5,000 members of the Workers Party in District Two, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, are rallying around the standard of the first Workers' Republic on this the fifth anniversary of its existance.

Celebrations and meetings are being organized on a wholesale scale. By this method a direct challenge is hurled in the face of American Capitalism, a challenge that shouts in its loudest voice: "The militant element of the American Working class believes in this new power on earth, a Workers' Government."

Meetings, with time, place and speakers, have been arranged as follows

Friday, Nov. 3, Paterson, H. M. Wicks
Sunday, Nov. 5, at 3 P. M.—Bridgeport, Bruce Rogers;
Sunday, Nov. 5, at 8 P. M.—Binghamton, J. Louis Engdahl;
Tuesday, Nov. 7, at 8 P. M.—Rochester, Benjamin Glassberg,
Tuesday, Nov. 7, at 8 P. M.—New Haven, Elmer T. Allison and Norma Berman
Sunday, Nov. 12, at 3 P. M.—Hartford, J. Louis Engdahl,
Tuesday, Nov. 7—Elizabeth, Ray Ragosin.
Tuesday, Nov. 7—Newark, Mrs. Sadi Amter and Harris Ratner

Workers regardless of political differences are urged to combine into one Unite Front and help make these celebrations successful.

Additional Celebrations Planned

Other celebrations planned, with places, dates and speakers, are as follows

New York City, C. E. Ruthenberg, M. J. Olgin—Nov. 7,
Philadelphia, Ludwig Lore, Noah London, Antonio Presi—Nov. 7;
Providence, C. E. Ruthenberg—Nov. 3,
Worcester, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 5;
Springfield, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 5;
Gardner, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 6,
Lawrence, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 7;
Boston, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 12;
Norwood, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 12;
Lynn, Mass., G. E. Powers—Nov. 5;
Quincy, Mass., J. J. Resnick—Nov. 7;
Peabody, Mass., Jack McCarthy—Nov. 7;
Maynard, Mass., R. J. Zelms—Nov. 7;
Norwood, Mass., J. F. Nason, R. J. Zelms—Nov. 12;
Detroit, Jack Carney—Nov. 5;
Joliet, Ill., Jack Carney—Nov. 12;
Milwaukee, W. Z. Foster—Nov. 5;
Chicago, W. Z. Foster—Nov. 7;
Brooklyn, C. E. Ruthenberg—Nov. 10

[illegible]orporations

[illegible]nders of capitalism, when [illegible]se, is the claim that the [illegible]ses and continue to exist. [illegible]o the nation to heed their [illegible]timent against the striking shop men, altho at that very time they were slicing rich dividend melons on practically every road in the nation.

One of the greatest backers of the drive to smash organized labor is the Standard Oil combination. Its paid publicity agents use the time-worn arguments concerning the approaching bankruptcy of capital if the demands of the workers are met. The propaganda of these valets of the corporations appears in the news pages in the front sections of the metropolitan papers, but when we turn to the financial pages there is an entirely different story. So far this year five of the poverty-stricken subsidiaries of the Standard Oil monopoly have declared enormous stock dividends. In addition to the dividends declared by the Standard Oil Company of Kentucky and of California, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey declared a 400 per cent dividend, the New York concern 200 per cent and this week two of the largest branches, the Ohio Standard Oil and the Vacuum Oil Company declared 300 per cent stock dividends each.

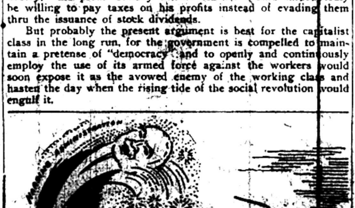
In case of the two latter concerns each of them had a surplus of $45,000,000, which was issued as stock dividends. The original stock was only $15,000,000, therefore the stock issued now totals $60,000,000. In the case of the Vacuum Oil Company there is an additional ten million unissued capital stock in the treasury of the company.

Thus hundreds of millions of dollars in surplus flows into the Standard Oil Trust, and the Rockefellers, in order to evade federal taxes, place the profits in stock dividends, which are non-taxable. So greedy are they that they devise schemes of escaping responsibility of financing their own government. They place the burden of supporting the capitalist government at Washington upon the shoulders of the smaller capitalists, the petty shop keepers, the small property owners and farmers who own the property upon which they live.

The taxes the greedy money barons evade paying on their stupendous incomes alone would enable them to substantially increase the wages of their millions of slaves in industry. Should the taxes actually be paid it would be of no concern to the worker, except to the extent that it strengthened the government, which, as at present constituted, is his enemy.

Probably John D. Jr., who is head of the Oil Trust, feels that it is perfectly legitimate for him to evade taxes to the government, as it is the business of the government to defend the interests of his class at all times, which he imagines it sometimes fails to do, considering the fact that millions of dollars per year must be spent by the labor hating financial and industrial magnates of the nation in order to maintain armies of private thugs and gunmen. If the government would agree to furnish all the armed force necessary in order to establish the "American Plan in Industry," the pious Sunday school teacher would undoubtedly be willing to pay taxes on his profits instead of evading them thru the issuance of stock dividends.

But probably the present argument is best for the capitalist class in the long run, for the government is compelled to maintain a pretense of "democracy" and to openly and continuously employ the use of its armed force against the workers would soon expose it as the avowed enemy of the working class and hasten the day when the rising tide of the social revolution would engulf it.



[illegible] when they have [illegible] the present task of [illegible] year of the party—[illegible]ment of real unity [illegible] American working [illegible]ments drawing their [illegible] from the Russian [illegible] and accepting the leadership of the Communist International in the world-wide onslaught against capitalism.

The first convention of the Workers Party, Dec. 24-26, 1921, in New York City, was a Unity Convention, and the desire for unity voiced at that time is now a fact, that is also a promise of great work to be accomplished before we prepare to celebrate the next anniversary of the victory of our Ruscian comrades over their oppressors.

During its first year the Workers Party received its baptismal fire in the giant struggles of the textile workers, the coal miners and the railroad shopmen. It is as a direct result of our participation in these great industrial upheavals that we come to this years' Soviet Anniversary with many of our most active officials in the hungry clutches of capitalist justice, some still in jail, all facing relentless prosecution in the courts of the master class.

The Workers Party, having developed unity in its own ranks, inspired the workers to greater solidarity in their economic battles and for this it has already felt the sting of capitalism's lash that always descends upon thinking and aspiring workers, fighting for the liberation of their class.

Today, the Workers Party, more effectively than ever before, wages the open struggle for Communism in this country. It carries on the fight for the amalgamation of isolated craft unions into huge, militant industrial unions, co-operating together as one, big organized working class marching forward in a single huge array and not in scattered units. It develops the political struggle of the workers that must in time result in the triumph of Soviet Rule, the liquidation of capitalism and the development of a Communist Society on this continent in harmony with similar efforts on the part of the militant workers in other lands.

To all this we renew our pledge as we stretch our hands across the seas on this Fifth Soviet Anniversary.

For the first time in the history of the American labor movement, this year the cry of the "labor lieutenants of capitalism" has gone up against "The Reds" in the national conventions of the trade unions.

In the gathering of the American Federation of Labor, at Cincinnati, [illegible] the betrayers of Socialism joined for the first time with labor's worst reactionaries in attacks on the First Workers Republic, the Communist International, the Red International of Labor Unions, and the economic and political programs of the Workers Party.

It is true, our forces were weak and not well prepared to meet this bitter and well prepared onslaught of capitalism's henchmen in America's central body of labor.

But the tide of revolt against reaction is rising. This is seen in the adoption within a few months by ten state federations of labor of resolutions demanding amalgamation of the workers' scattered forces.

Under the urge of the Workers Party forces there will develop in a very short time a powerful, well-knit left wing of labor in the trade union movement.

It was this year at Cleveland, Ohio, that the "Socialist" betrayers in power at the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union were forced to unmask completely in their fight against the militants. And what a hideous face that unmasking revealed. Schlesinger, Hillquit, Cahan, and all the rest of the "Socialists" who had fawned upon the Russian Revolution and proclaimed their sympathy for the First Workers' Republic, stood forth stark naked as cheap tools of black reaction, Judasses all, jangling each his 30 pieces of silver.

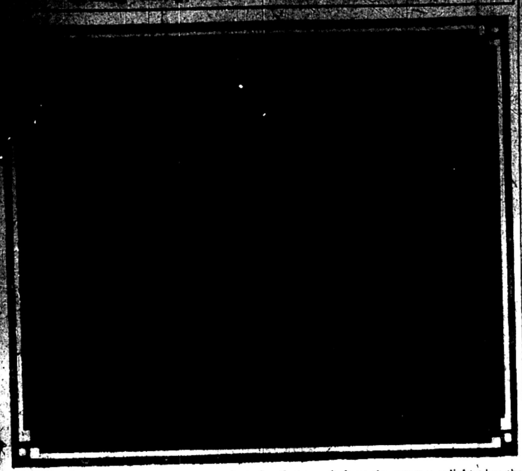
These yellow forces of betrayal were routed at the historic convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, at Chicago, where the Russian American Industrial Corporation was organized to help rehabilitate Soviet Russia's shattered clothing industry.

This same traitor element, however, won a temporary victory at the convention of the Workmen's Circle, the Jewish fraternal society that wields a powerful influence in the working class movement.

It was out of this struggle that our Jewish daily, the Freiheit, was launched to become a power, facing not only the bitter assault of Abraham Cahan's Jewish Daily Forward, but also the continuous attack of the English "Socialist" daily, The New York Call. This fight will inevitably bring an English Communist Daily into existence.

These things are mentioned here at this time, so that the Workers Party, on the Fifth Anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, may be judged by

(Continued on Page Seven)



Soviet Rule in Russia has propaganda trains that travel about the country enlightening the workers and peasants as to the plans, the hopes and aspirations of the Workers' Government at Moscow. This picture shows literature being unloaded from a propaganda train, the sides of which are used to carry their message to the masses.

AFTER FIVE YEARS!

By H. M. WICKS

FIVE YEARS, reckoned as the mere passing of time, is a trivial event in the recorded history of mankind. So slow, so imperceptible is the development of society year after year and generation after generation, that there have been very few generations in all history whose privilege it was to live in the transition period from the death of an old society to the birth of a new one.

At such times the even tenor of the social movement seems interrupted by periods of violence wherein all institutions, built up thru years of effort, are shattered along with the traditions that made them sacred. To the sentimentalist and the dabbler in history, who only perceives the movements and the transitions, a period of revolution seems the sum total of abominations, heralding the end of the world. The trained Historical Materialist looks beneath the surface and views the things that move. He is never a victim of the bewilderment that grips the mind and paralyzes the action of those who view the historical process as the result of the predetermined action of great men or who imagine that behind the social movement there is some beneficent force that leads us steadily toward the goal of a perfect society. Historical Materialism teaches us to discern in the constant development of the economic forces of society the gradual formation of the forces of revolution. It was Karl Marx, the theoretical founder of the modern Socialist movement, who gave to the proletariat the mighty weapon that enables us to not only "understand history better than it was ever understood before but to make history better than it was ever made before."

Marx discovered that the cause of historical development is to be found in the changes which take place in the sphere of production. In carrying on production men are forced to enter into certain relations with each other; these relations correspond to definite stages in the development of the machinery with which they work. The sum of all these productive forces forms the basis of society, determining the character of all the political religious and other social institutions. As the productive forces continue in their development they outgrow the old legality, they come in conflict with the systems of law religion and morality that have been created thru a long period of time. The old forms no longer serve to aid the development of the forces of production, but become fetters upon those forces. Then ensues a period known as the social revolution, when a considerable portion of society, that portion that suffers because of the anachronism existing between the obsolete institutions of society and the material forces of production constituting a definite class, rises in revolt against the class that derives benefits from the old order and who endeavor to perpetuate their favorable position. That is why we declare that the history of society is a history of class struggles. The class that strives to defend the old institutions always falls before the onslaughts of the revolutionary class at such a time and their society is supplanted by a society which responds to the demands of the economic forces and yields to a steady development of these forces.

Five years ago the class-conscious proletariat of Russia initiated such a period of social revolution. In the midst of an imperialist orgy of bloodshed wherein millions of workers were being sacrificed to the mighty moloch of war, the workers of Russia arose to the Bolshevist demand for an immediate social revolution and overthrew the last remnant of capitalist political power. The crimson emblem of the Social Revolution of this century floated defiantly to the breeze. From the camps of all the world's imperialists arose a chorus of calumny and vituperation against those who had accomplished the Russian Revolution, thereby initiating the World Revolution.

We, who live to-day are in a transition period where the old society gives way to the new. In all previous revolutions the ideological forms under which the revolutionists fought were exaggerations of the reality they were striving for while the Proletarian Revolution of to-day is fully conscious of its mission. Armed with effective weapons from the arsenal of critical Communism it proceeds to the methodical undermining of the gigantic superstructure of capitalism knowing that history is on the side of the Revolution.

By the calendar these past five years have been no longer than any previous five years but in the history of the working class they will forever stand out as the greatest of all. During those years the servile armies of numerous military adventurers in the pay of German and Allied Imperialism have attempted to crush the revolution, only to meet their deserved doom before the resistance of the Red Army, that from a straggling group of volunteer Communists, untrained in the art of war, has grown until to-day it defies the whole world of capitalism.

While credit is due the valiant Red Army for defending the Revolution with arms, and while the record of its heroism is already indelibly imprinted upon the history of the working class, we, the class-conscious workers in other countries, should not forget the debt we owe to another factor in the revolution that, in its own way on another field of action, has fought heroic battles against enemies just as relentless as those that fought in the armies of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and Wrangel.

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of the
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J. B. SALUTSKY,
DR. J. OHSOL, member of the Second Duma and only recently returned from a visit of several months to Russia.
LUDWIG LORE.

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* * *

The Third International has fought the flunkies of Imperialism, disguised as labor leaders, of the Second the Second-and-a-Half and the Amsterdam Internationals and while all our comrades thruout the world praise the Red Army for its matchless heroism let us not forget the struggles of the International against the Scheidemanns, the Vandervelds, the Kautskys, the Longuets, the Eberts, the Noskes and the Hillquits, who used their peculiar talents in the interest of capitalism in a series of efforts to throttle the workers' movement toward emancipation.

The close of the World war was pregnant with danger to the capitalist class of all Europe. The attitude of the working class in Germany and Italy was menacing to the aspirations of the ruling class. England and France did not dare attempt to move against the Russian Revolution with their armies because of the fear of arousing the spirit of revolt in their own working class. Even in the United States and Canada the reflex of the Russian Revolution was felt. For a few months it seemed that the class struggle would blaze into a white heat in every capitalist country on earth.

After the blood bath the revolutionary workers of Germany received at the hands of the Social-Democratic government and later the debacle of the seizure of the factories by the militant proletariat of Italy, the reformist socialists of the world, who had hastened to the defense of their Imperialist masters, found fertile soil for their venom. The betrayers of the proletariat in 1914 again came to the rescue of the assassins of the workers in 1918-20.

The social-patriots, the "heroes" of the Second International, created the illusion after the war that class antagonisms were being softened; that the Road to Power for the workers lay in a gradual, peaceful, evolutionary advance. The workers, war-weary almost to the point of complete exhaustion, fell under the spell of the necromancy of these fakirs who conjured up phantoms of the dead past as trappings for their living perfidy. These detestable lackeys of capitalism had the immeasurable audacity to again proclaim themselves the leaders of the struggling workers and for a time they achieved their purpose. A revival of the International of the Great Betrayal was achieved and it enabled the international brigands of capitalism to retrench themselves against the onslaughts of the masses, who had been aroused to fury in the months following the close of the War.

This manoeuvering on the part of the social-traitors made imperative the immediate organization of the Third International in order to create a revolutionary world movement based upon the experiences of the War and the Revolution that would ensure complete independence of action against all enemies of the proletariat. The organization and perpetuation of the Third International is the achievement of the Revolution that is of vital importance to the working class of all other countries. It enabled us to definitely break with the traitors to labor and establish a movement that would lead the masses in the path [illegible] in the spirit of that movement, even though in some "democratic" countries we cannot openly affiliate with it because of oppressive laws making such affiliation a crime.

The division between the "right" and the "left" is now clear in the labor movement. At the outbreak of the next World war the centrist and right leaders, standing alone, will expose themselves in their true colors by comparison with the Third International, and will alienate the masses from their standards. The oppressed and exploited millions will then understand, thru experience, that the only section of the labor movement that will not fail them in a crisis is the Communist International.

But the Third International does not wait until the next catastrophe of capitalism in order to expose the treachery of these pretenders of the Second, the Second-and-a-Half, and the Amsterdam International of Labor Unions. At this time, when terrific blows are falling against labor thruout the entire world the Third International issues a demand for unity of action against capitalism for the achievement of the most pressing needs of the workers and is met with flat refusal from the capitalist hirelings. This contemptible action exposes Vandervelde, Henderson, Longuet and Adler and their cliques as opponents of effective working class action, therefore as traitors to the working class. The Communist International is forcing the social-traitors to expose themselves even now as deserving nothing but the undying contempt of all class-conscious workers.

* * *

There is a dialectic connection between the Russian Revolution and the Third International so that it is impossible to separate one from the other, especially in the realm of theory. The theory of the Communist International is based upon the experience of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. And the Russian Revolution is Marxism applied to life. Without the knowledge of the theoretical works of Karl Marx and his collaborators and successors possessed by the leaders of the Russian revolution it is quite certain it would long ago have been shattered in its perilous course.

Had the leaders of the victorious proletariat been less informed in the principles of Marxism they might have fallen prey to the sophistry of those pseudo-Marxists who visualized the constituent assembly as the instrument thru which could be realized the emancipation of the working class. But they were familiar with the lessons the great teacher of the proletariat derived from the experience of the Paris Commune, lessons long forgotten by the reformers and parliamentary traders of the International of ineffable infamy. The two lessons of the Commune that were never forgotten by the leaders of the Russian Bolsheviki were that the proletariat cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery of capitalism and wield it for its own purpose and that the new form of state must be fundamentally different from the old in order to serve the working class in its task of destroying the foundations of capitalist society.

With their understanding of the scientific interpretation of history they are actually making history better than it was ever made before. To these intrepid revolutionists the mission of the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalism is clear.

It is hardly necessary to repeat the assertion that is becoming a banality to the effect that the Russian Soviet government cannot be overthrown either from within or without. Neither Europe nor all the world can conquer Bolshevism, but Bolshevism will inevitably conquer the rest of the world because the inexorable march of society is toward the downfall of capitalism and the rise of Communism.

SOVIET RUSSIA, GREETINGS!

Five years have passed since the eventful days of November 1917. Overnight as it were Russia had become a country of the people and by the people in the truest sense of this term. The Bolshevik Revolution abolished the ruling class, composed in Russia, as elsewhere, of the so-called elite, the chosen of God or Capital—and by the same gesture abolished class lines, the millions of ruled having become the rulers. The military struggles of the Revolution seem to be over; and the struggle for economic reconstruction is on; this struggle is slower, more tedious, demands endless patience and perseverance. But the Russian people, generous, creative, intelligent will overcome the economic obstacles as they have overcome the military; and the Communist State in Russia, emerging slowly from these struggles, will serve as a model for the rest of the world.

A. A. Heller,
Former American Representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy of Soviet Russia.

[illegible] of Five Years of Vict[illegible]

([illegible] One)

[illegible] that international capital still hopes to force its robber conditions upon us.

Opposes Moves for Enslavement

However difficult our economic situation may be, however badly we may need a resumption of relations with international capital, the Soviet Republic is already strong enough not to enter into an agreement which purposes her enslavement and her plundering.

Turning to the inner condition, we may say that the crop did not disappoint the hopes of the country. We may hope that the question of bread may soon be put in the background. This does not mean that all the difficulties of nourishing the country are over. In many important regions, as in the Don Valley, the question of providing food still plays an important rôle. Improvement proceeds but slowly, but nevertheless, may be noted.

The present situation may be characterized shortly in a sentence: The capitalist countries are going down slowly into ruin, while the Soviet Republic, slowly, but surely, is returning to health. I believe that this sentence suffices to characterize the present condition. When we told the workers a year ago that the conditions would improve, many workers remained sceptical. This has changed. The position of the Communists has improved, the confidence of the politically unorganized masses in the Communists is growing. All workers have become convinced that improvement is possible, a fact that improvement has already begun.

Demand Increased Production

The relation between the betterment of the workers' living conditions and the increase of production has never been so apparent as today. All thru the Revolution we have preached to the masses the necessity of increased production in a Workers' Republic. We insisted upon this under most difficult conditions, under such conditions that the worker, depressed by his excessive burdens, lost his faith in the cause.

Today, our propaganda for increased production is finding re- [illegible] trusts, realizes clearly that an increase of wages can only be brought about by an increase of production, and with the help of the trade unions.

That is why we must combat the spread of that idea which we find even in trade union circles: "The economists carry the responsibility for the industry; they control the factories and the shops, and therefore the increase of productivity lies in their hands." This is not the case, and it is self-evident that our Congress can adopt no such point of view; it is self-evident that increased production in a Workers' and Peasants' Republic depends upon the trade unions. And I repeat it, never were the trade unions in a better position for that purpose.

Must Avoid All Friction

Another exaggeration of which many of our comrades active in industry are guilty, is that they refused to reveal to the trade unions all the facts concerning production. This is naturally not the standpoint of our Party. This error must be opposed. The decision of the Party that there can be no business secret for the progressive workers organized in the trade unions, that is, for the responsible organs of the trade unions, must also be well-known to you. The closest cooperation of economic and trade union organs is necessary and all friction must be avoided.

The reconstruction of our economic system requires years, demands that we judge our situation clearly, as Comrade Lenin justly insists. However, we may say that even if the situation of some of our industries is still very bad, even borders on catastrophe in some cases, we have nevertheless, made a step forward and are on our way to recovery.

When, two years ago the question of transforming the trade unions into free associations, and the transformation of industry upon a commercial basis were brought up, there was no lack of prophets who predicted the destruction of the trade union movement and with it, of our Party.

Prophecy of Split Fails

They said that the transition to the new economic policy w[illegible] result in an irreparable split in [illegible] Communist Party of Russia, in ci[illegible] war within the Party, and in the [illegible] age of our Party to the side of [illegible] bourgeoisie.

Over a year has passed since [illegible] introduction of the new econ[illegible] policy. This is not much. But [illegible] know and we see that all the dang[illegible] which could arise therefrom have al[illegible] ready been overcome.

And we have the right and th[illegible] duty to tell the working class re[illegible] presented by the All-Russian Con[illegible] gress of Trade Unions that the Com[illegible] munist Party of Russia today is [illegible] stronger, more united party tha[illegible] two years ago.

The Communist Party of Russi[illegible] has been able to accomplish [illegible] gigantic work of education, organization and discipline.

The trade unions have gained [illegible] much greater influence than they had before. They have become an organization which maintains the closest connection with the working masses and enjoys a very great sympathy among the non-partisan workers.

The Schools of Communism

The trade unions are the schools of Communism and reconstruction of the non-partisan workers. The trade unions have not separated themselves from the masses. The trade unions have not degenerated, nor have they changed their political physiognomy.

They are the same red revolutionary proletarian trade unions they were many years ago. Therefore, let our enemies rejoice as they will, let them say what they will, we answer just this:

The most difficult period is already behind us. One or two more good crops and we are saved. International capital is sinking into ruin. We, on the other hand, slowly but surely are going forward. The future belongs to us.

Machinists for Amalgamation

Cleveland, Ohio, Machinists Lodge No. 584 with a membership of railroad machinists has unanimously adopted the amalgamation plan.

This lodge has over 500 members and has hitherto been known as a most reactionary organization, refusing to allow any discussion of amalgamation to come up on the floor. Elmer P. Beich, Kenneth Young and Tony Wehevek were put on an amalgamation committee to handle this matter.

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THE WORKER

799 Broadway, Room 405
NEW YORK CITY

The Workers Party and the Elections on Tuesday, November 7th

Battle Plot to Bar Party from Ballot

Edward Lindgren, Workers Party organizer for New York, announces that every possible effort will be made to force the Board of Elections to put the name of J. Louis Engdahl, editor of The Worker, on the ballot as candidate for congress in the 12th District (New York's East Side).

The fight will be carried into the county court with the filing of mandamus proceedings against the Board of Elections by Attorney Joseph R. Brodsky, of Hale, Nelles and Sherr, on Wednesday.

The original candidate of the Workers Party was Benjamin Gitlow. When he was nominated he had been recently released from Sing Sing Prison. A later action of the courts returned Gitlow to prison.

A petition with 1,900 names had been filed on behalf of Gitlow before time expired on Oct. 10. The Board of Elections, according to law, had three days in which to rule on Gitlow's petition, the time expiring Oct. 13.

It was not until Oct. 16th, however, that the Board of Elections sent out its notification that Gitlow's name had been ruled from the ballot because he was not considered qualified, not being a citizen, since he had been convicted of a crime and was then serving his sentene.

The letter bearing the notification carried the post office stamp of 7 P. M., Oct. 16th, so that it was impossible to receive the notification and file the certificate of vacancy on that day, the final day for filing such a certificate. The certificate, however, was filed the following day. It was then thrown out. The fight in the courts is now being carried on to force the Board of Elections to recognize the certificate of vacancy bearing the name of J. Louis Engdahl, the filing of which was delayed purely thru the trickery of the election board itself.

Among the state and congressional candidates of the Workers Party in the three states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut are the following:

NEW YORK STATE

Governor: William F. Dunne.
Lieutenant-Governor: Ludwig Lore.
Secretary of State: Gustave Walters.
Comptroller: Richard J. Verhagan.
Treasurer: Frederick Shuman.
Attorney-General: Rose Weiss.
State Engineer and Surveyor: Dr. Bemcil Hoffman.
United States Senator: Alexander Trachtenberg.
For Congress 7th District: Iago Goldstein.
For Congress 10th District: James P. Cannon.
For Congress 12th District: J. Louis Engdahl.
For Congress 20th District: Jacob B. Salutsky.
For Congress 23rd District: Luigi Antonini.

All the congressional candidates will appear on the official ballot with the possible exception of Engdahl.

NEW JERSEY STATE

Governor: Martin R. McDonald.
United States Senator: Louis F. Wolf.

There names will be found on the official ballot; all party members will see to it that they and their friends cast a vote for these candidates.

CONNECTICUT STATE

Governor: John Blanck.
Lieutenant-Governor: Otto Bruening.
Secretary of State: Mary Dworkin.
Treasurer: Simon Feldman.
Comptroller: Isador Spector.
United States Senator: Konrad Loski.

IN STATE OF WASHINGTON

For U. S. Senator: Frans Bostrom.

IN STATE OF CALIFORNIA

For Governor: W. G. C. Turner.
For U. S. Senator: Nestor Mattson.
For Congress (7th Dist.): A. E. Albright.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The Party and the Elections

Election campaigns are an important part of the work of the Workers Party. Election campaigns are not the most important work which the party has to engage in, but it is one of the major tasks of the party to place candidates upon the ballot, to carry on campaigns of propaganda and education in connection with the voting, to secure the support of the masses for its candidates. Voting for candidates who represent its class interests is a primary form of the education of the workers.

What has the party achieved in this respect during its first nine months of existence?

It cannot be said that our achievement is great. We have not been able to build during these first nine months of existence the machinery to enable us to function generally in the coming elections. We have been able to make nominations in only a few states. We have only made the beginning, given an earnest of our intention to make our Party a factor in the elections, and thru that and our work on the general political field a powerful factor in the political life of the country.

In four states we will have state tickets on the ballot—California, Washington, New Jersey and Connecticut. In a half dozen other places we will have local candidates.

That is not a very creditable showing. It tells us that we must carry on a campaign among our own membership both in regard to the necessity and importance of participation in the elections and in the methods of placing our candidates on the ballot.

If our achievement in placing our own candidates on the ballot is not great, at least our party has shown itself capable of meeting difficult situations and keeping in the forefront as the guiding principle of its tactics the fundamental end it is seeking politically—to educate the workers to function as a class politically.

This is shown in the decision of the party in regard to the Illinois elections, where the party will call upon the workers to support the Farmer-Labor Party and in its action in regard to the Birmingham situation, where J. P. Walker, Chairman of the Railroad Shopmen's Strike Committee, a member of the Workers Party, is a candidate, with the consent of the party, on the ticket of the Social-Democratic League.

In both these instances the party decision was based upon the fundamental principle that independent political action by the workers must be encouraged by the party even tho it is not yet class action politically by the workers.

Even the limited participation of the party in the election campaigns makes this election unique in the history of the United States. For the first time a party frankly Communist in its ideals will ask the support of the workers at the polls. That is a step forward. It is the beginning of the road of progress that will bring the day when Communism will boldly enter the political arena to challenge its enemy, capitalism, to a trial of strength in the struggle for political power.

Workers Party Sends Greetings to Russia on Fifth Anniversary

(Continued from Page Five)

the friends it has won and the enemies it has made.

Altho the Workers Party continues to fight its battles for Communism in the open, it yields no quarter to the capitalist foe, nor does it receive those petty favors from its political and industrial opponents that always go with efforts to maintain a purely legalistic and constitutionalist existence, bulwarked by submissiveness. The Workers Party prides itself that no capitalist or "Socialist" editor has ever found any of its acts worthy of praise and commendation.

We do not bend our heads to the charge that we have foreign language speaking workers in our midst. Instead we stand erect and cry "Shame!" to all English-speaking workers that the beginnings of the struggle for their emancipation must come thru the sacrifices of men and women workers who have but recently come to these shores.

The Workers Party accepts the facts and conditions as they are. It glories in every new recruit gathered to its fold, no matter of what color, race, nationality or religion, citizen or alien. Upon the foundation of Communist theory and practice we build our struggle for the conquest of American capitalism. In the words of Karl Liebknecht, "The future belongs to us!" not only in Germany, or Russia, or in the United States, but in every other land as well.

To our comrades in Soviet Russia, the entire membership of the Workers Party, and its growing host of sympathizers, this aniversary day, Nov. 7, 1922, sends its fraternal greetings and declares, "We are with you for the International Social Revolution, for Soviet Rule in all nations, for a Communist Society thruout all the world."

**Order a Bundle of This Issue!
Spread Message of Soviet Rule!**

New York City FSR to Offer Trip to Soviet Russia via the Films

The big night of all your nights with the films will be the night upon which the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York City division, will virtually "take you to Russia."

Eleven "events" films, chronicling recent happenings in Soviet Russia, films showing the celebration of May 1st in Moscow and Petrograd, films showing the confiscation of church treasures for the famine stricken; films which will take you to Perm and give you a close up of the 20 F. S. R. tractors at work upon a big Russian agricultural estate; and a five reel film entitled "Russia in the Shadows" which will be the feature of the evening, setting forth the old regime, the Kerensky revolution, the historic Nov. 7th, imperialist intervention and the defense, the famine, refugees fleeing, American workers sending relief, ships leaving, old and new methods of agriculture—this will constitute the program. The only fear the F. S. R. has is that it may not be possible to crowd all these reels into one evening. If not, then two nights of motion pictures will be your treat.

The date and place has not been ascertained as yet. But preparations are going forward and you are asked to keep your eyes open for the announcement.

For the "Alba Nuova"!

The Italian weekly of the Workers Party will celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution at Arlington Hall, Friday night, Nov. 3rd.

For this memorable occasion the entertainment committee has arranged an elaborate program, which no doubt will meet with the approval, not only of the Italian element but of all the other members and sympathizers of our movement.

The evening will begin with a one-act drama entitled: "Roppresaglia" (Reprisal) which will be performed for the first time in America.

The next number will open with a vocal concert sung by Hazel Simonson, Soprano, and Pietro Soldano, Baritone, which will include:

"Prologue" from Pagliacci—Leoncavallo.

"Toreador Song" from Carmen—Bizet.

"Ritorna Vincitor" (Aida)—Verdi.

"Suicidio" (Gioconda)—Ponchielli and other operatic and popular selections.

The third part will be dedicated to modern classical dances, interpreted by the now famous "Morton Dancers."

The fourth number will be presented by the celebrated violinist, Giuseppe Adami.

The ball of course will be the closing event of the evening. Tickets can be bought at the national office of the Workers Party or from the branches. The price is only 50 cents.

Party Fight Invades the Solid South

This congressional campaign is witnessing an invasion of the Solid South by the forces of the Workers Party in the election at Birmingham, Alabama, known in the industrial world as "The Pittsburgh of the South," because it is a great coal and steel district and railroad center.

J. P. Walker, chairman of the Railroad Shopmen's Strike Committee, member of the Workers Party, is the candidate for sheriff in this citadel of capitalism, and the workers are rallying about him as a class, determined to put their spokesman into the sheriff's office, so that this weapon will never again be used against them.

The election manifesto issued in support of the candidacy of J. P. Walker, is a call for the support of the Workers Party Program and reads as follows:

**Vote For Workers Party Program!
J. P. Walker For Sheriff!**

Workers of Birmingham! You have an opportunity in this fall's campaign to place your own representative in the important office of Sheriff, Jefferson County.

In the position so long occupied by tools of the bosses, you have the power on Election Day, Nov. 7th, to place a representative of the workers in the one political office that is used more than any other as a club to beat you into submission in your every effort to increase your standard of living, better your working conditions, shorten your workday and secure a higher wage.

Walker will serve the workers. The old party candidates as you all know serve only the bosses and the profiteers.

J. P. Walker, Chairman of the Railroad Shopmen's Strike Committee, is your candidate. As workers you should work and vote to elect him.

Due to the election laws the name of J. P. Walker appears on the ballot as the candidate of the Socialist Party. When nominated, however, Walker owed his allegiance, as at the present time, to the **Workers Party of America**.

The nominations were made by the Social Democratic League, which affiliated with the Socialist Party and decided to use its ticket to meet the legal requirements demanded to get on the ballot.

It is felt that these facts should be made known generally to all working class voters so that they may exercise the right of franchise with a complete understanding of the situation.

All workers will therefore know that J. P. Walker is not making this campaign as an individual. He is not campaigning on the platform of the Socialist Party. He does stand squarely upon and is urging the principles of the **Workers Party**, that seeks to centralize and direct the struggle of the laboring masses against the powerfully centralized opposition of their exploiters.

The Workers Party courageously takes its place in the vanguard of the American working class to lead it in the struggle for the abolition of capitalism.

Workers! You see the members of your class about you robbed and kept in virtual slavery by the powerful, profiteering owners of the coal and steel industry. You behold the farmers on the land, even as you, plucked and plundered by the profiteers.

The Workers Party claims that no lasting improvement of the conditions of the workers or farmers under capitalism is possible. More than ever before, hunger and want are rife in the ranks of labor.

Every effort on the part of the workers, to better their conditions, as in the strikes of the coal miners and the railroad shopmen, is met with merciless suppression by the master class.

The capitalist government of your city, county and state, as everywhere, openly fight the battles of the employers.

J. P. Walker, candidate for sheriff, asks for support on a program expressing the interests of the workers. Vote for him on Election Day, Tuesday, November 7th. Join the Workers Party and help in building a powerful, class party of the workers to fight your battles in future elections. Aid the struggle for your emancipation from wage slavery.

Mass Meeting at Trenton, N. J.

All readers of **The Worker** in Trenton and vicinity and all Party members and sympathizers in general are invited to attend a mass meeting under the auspices of Local Trenton, Workers Party, at Arcade Hall, 15 East State St., 8 p. m., Sunday Oct. 29th.

H. F. Simpson, District Organizer, Third District, Workers Party, will address the meeting on General Party Problems and Tactics. All party members must attend without fail and bring friends.

Where Do We Stand?

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

Two members of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party have recently published articles in which there is, in one case, a veiled suggestion that, as a result of the raid at Bridgman, Mich., the Workers Party has met with some organization injury, and in the other the open charge that the Michigan raid has caused fear in the party membership and is responsible for the fact that the party has not been as successful as it otherwise might have been in placing its candidates on the ballot in the November election.

What has happened to us? Where do we stand? Is our party stronger or weaker than before Bridgman? These questions require a definite answer in view of the articles in question and it is not difficult to give the answer when one has more than a long distance acquaintance with the party organization and its work.

* * *

The first of these articles appears in the October "Liberator" and the author is J. B. Salutsky. Significantly enough, the article is entitled "Labor Liquidates Revolution"!

If Comrade Salutsky is of the opinion that "revolution" has been liquidated in the United States by the events of the past six or seven months it is not at all surprising that he is also pessimistic about the progress of the Workers Party during recent months.

The fighting spirit shown by the rank and file of the labor movement in the miners strike and the railway shopmen strike, their attitude toward the bosses and toward the government, shows a nearer approach to a revolutionary spirit than has existed in the recent history of the working class of the United States. For the first time a large number of A. F. of L. organizations have gone on record for the mobilization of the whole organized labor movement—for a general strike—to help fight the battles of workers on strike, and we are told that labor has liquidated revolution!

The demand for a general strike, the wide-spread demand by international unions belonging to the A. F. of L. and outside of that body for the labor party indicate that labor in the United States rather than liquidating revolution is making the first weak, tentative steps on the road that will carry it on to revolution. Labor is gaining its first stray glimpses of the fact that the enemy is not only the boss, that the struggle cannot be carried on thru strikes over wages and working conditions alone—it talks seriously about a strike AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT and of a labor party to put labor in control of the government. No, labor has not "liquidated revolution" in the United States. If it has not yet realized the necessity of revolution it has at least begun to move in the direction that leads to revolution.

Comrade Salutsky ignores all this and bases his thesis of liquidation of revolution on the attitude and actions of the officialdom of the labor movement. His treatment of the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League in relation to the arrests made at Bridgman, Mich., is of the same character.

Who created the Workers Party, Comrade Salutsky? You? You have contributed something but would it have been in existence thru your efforts and those who hold your views if you stood alone? It is the "romanticist" in attacking whom you rush to the aid of the powers-that-be, that contributed most to the building of this organization in the open, to fight in the open.

And if there is a new development in the trade union movement of this country, if solid results are being attained, if there is at last hope that the organization form and policies of the trade union movement in this country will be changed, who formulated the policy and laid the foundation for this work? You, or those you delight in calling "romanticists"?

Those men and women, Comrade Salutsky, who initiated this work, who can claim credit for it which you can not claim, can be better trusted to see that the work prospers in the future than you who try to ridicule and malign them at a time when they are meeting the hardest blows of the enemy—not only their enemy but the enemy of the whole working class.

* * *

The second article, we assume by Comrade Lore, in the form of the "Wochen-Rundschau" in the October 15th issue of the "Volkszeitung" makes more specific statements and is therefore possibe to meet the issue raised in a more definite form.

Comrade Lore in discussing the situation of the Workers Party in relation to the nomination of candidates in the November elections, assigns the Michigan "Red" raid as the reason for the failure of the party to get its candidates on the ticket in many places. Specifically, Comrade Lore charges, that the Michigan raid intimidated the party membership thru fear of general arrests, and, that the raids came at a time when the whole energy of the party should have been put into preparation for the elections and the diversion of the party energies into defense work made it impossible to do the election work.

Both these statements are incorrect. They are of the same superficial character as the judgment that revolution has been liquidated at a time when the first signs of a movement toward revolutionary action are appearing among the masses of the workers.

As to the first point, the intimidation of the party membership thru the "red" raid, it simply does not exist. The writer has been in most of the large cities in which there are strong party organizations since the Michigan raid. Nowhere was there any indication that the morale or fighting spirit of our party membership had been lowered by the arrest of the men at Bridgman. Rather the reverse, the Michigan raid had stirred the party out of a state of lethargy. Large and enthusiastic meetings were being held. The party membership was roused for action and in a fighting spirit.

Examining the question from a broader viewpoint, the viewpoint of our progress in establishing contact with the organized workers in the trade unions, the Michigan raid has resulted in an advance, in a direct benefit for the party. In most of the large industrial cities our party was, before the raid, still completely isolated from the organized workers in the trade union movement. Thru the organization of the Labor Defense Council our party members have been brought into close contact with the progressive elements in the trade unions and are standing shoulder to shoulder with them in a common struggle. We have achieved thru the defense of the victims of the Michigan raid what we had been unable to achieve thru our previous eight months work.

When before in the history of our movement have central bodies and state federations of labor concerned themselves with the defense of Communists? They have concerned themselves with the victims of the Michigan raids. They are taking part in their defense. Our party is no longer isolated. Such a step forward for our party is almost worth the personal suffering and sacrifice that the prosecution in Michigan may mean for the men arrested. The outcome of the Michigan raid in its larger aspect, is not, as Comrade Lore argues, something detrimental for our party but a distinct advance.

If the Michigan raid is not responsible for the failure to become a factor in the election campaign this year as Comrade Lore argues what then are the factors which explain this failure? These factors are two in number, one of an organizational character and the other a failure on the part of the leadership of the party.

The first of these factors is the character of the membership of our organization. It is perhaps a minor factor, but it had its influence in making the party impotent so far as the elections are concerned. Citizenship is one of the fundamental requirements for functioning politically in these election campaigns. Even citizenship in itself is not enough for a member of foreign extraction altho he may have become a citizen is still under a handicap in the circulation of petitions and the securing of the necessary signatures to place candidates upon the ballot.

Our party membership, as it exists at present is probably seventy-five per cent incompetent to carry on the work necessary to make nominations and place candidates upon the ballot. It is incompetent to perform the work because so many members are not citizens, because those who are citizens have the handicap of language to overcome and because it is a membership as yet largely untrained in work in connection with election campaigns. These are the organization facts which explain our lack of success in getting on the ballot, not intimidation of our membership and absorption of its energies on account of the Michigan raid.

All that has been said above, however, sinks into insignificance in comparison with the failure of the political leadership of the party during the past nine months. An organization grows only in the process of struggle. A party can become a political factor only by participation in the political life of the country. That participation does not consist of waiting until the period of an election campaign arrives and then endeavoring to place candidates upon the ballot. It consists of taking up every political question which arises, formulating the party position and actually propagating the party views.

The trouble with our party during the last nine months has been that it has largely kept itself aloof from the actualities of the political life of the country. What was our policy on the question of unemployment and how strongly did we advocate it. What did we have to say about the open shop campaign. What little we did relates to these questions. What was our position on the soldiers' bonus. What did we have to say to the working masses on the question of the new tariff. These and a dozen other questions where the realities of the political life of the country. It is only by proceeding from the beginning of these actual issues of the political life of the country that we can win political leadership that we can become a political party.

If we wish to search out the reason why we are approaching the November election with candidates on the ticket in only a few states we must find the primary reason in our failure to give the party political leadership.

For the failure of the party to function politically Comrade Lore and Salutsky as well as every other member of the Central Executive Committee is responsible.

If we had "mixed in" aggressively, if we had taken stands on every political question, if we had made our voices heard on every question, the momentum of such political action would have carried us into the election campaign in such a way that we would have overcome all the other difficulties in our way. Thus and thus alone can we or will we become a political party. If we wish to remedy the condition which has made us impotent this year we must face this failure of our leadership and not endeavor to hide it thru such political near-sightedness as shown by Comrades Lore and Salutsky in their articles.

Workers! Forward with Soviet Russia!

(Continued from page One.)

Army has swept them all away. It has withstood the blockade. It has withstood famine and hunger.

Never in the history of the world has a people withstood such attacks as have been levelled at the Workers and Peasants of Russia, who stood firm and emerged from the struggle victorious.

On this Fifth Anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic in Russia, workingmen and women all over the world will join with the Workers and Peasants in celebrating their victory. When the sun rises on November 7th in Soviet Russia there will rise like a wave covering the earth the mass meetings and demonstrations of the workers who celebrate with the Russian Workers and Peasants. This wave will spread north and south and will not end its sweep until it has encircled the world.

We workers of the United States, particularly those workers who have thus far not joined in the celebration of the victory of the Russian Workers and Peasants, may well ask ourselves what the Workers and Peasants of Russia celebrate and why it is that the workers everywhere in the world are inspired by their victory.

The Workers and Peasants of Russia celebrate on November 7th, and the Workers and Peasants everywhere in the world celebrate with them, because in Russia there is no longer danger that capitalism can destroy civilization. Capitalism has done its worst. The Workers and Peasants of Russia have won. They have established a Soviet Republic—a Dictatorship of the Workers. The power is in their hands. They are rebuilding their social order.

No matter what hardship the Workers and Peasants of Russia have faced or what hardships they may still face, they know this: In Russia the foundation of a new social order has been laid. In Russia the new social order is being built, the new social order which will bring peace, well-being and happiness to all mankind.

Workers of the United States! Join with the Russian Workers and Peasants in their celebration. Join with them not only in celebration of their victory, but make November 7th the beginning of a new struggle that will also bring victory for us—for the workers and working farmers of the United States.

To achieve that victory we, the workers and working farmers, must unite in powerful organizations of our own. We must forever refuse to politically support the parties of our exploiters and oppressors. The Republican and Democratic parties are the parties of our enemies. We must unite politically in powerful industrial organizations of our class.

With such weapons of struggle we can meet our enemy in the battles of the present, we can assert the right of the workers now and we can go forward until we establish the power politically of the workers and working farmers in the United States as it has been established in Russia.

When we have achieved that we, too, will have a November 7th to celebrate. We, too, will have rescued civilization from capitalism. We, too, can lay the foundation and build a better social system—a social system which will insure peace, happiness and well-being to us.

Hail to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic!
Hail to Workers' Rule in Russia!
Hail to the coming day of the rule of the workers of the United States!

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

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Of the 620 members of the French Chamber of Deputies, 140 are reputed to be millionaires. And French "Socialists" are still trying to excuse co-operation with this gang during the world war.

The Difficult Tasks Ahead

This year's celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic is a call to rally for the greater and more difficult tasks ahead.

In addressing a vast gathering of young Communists in Moscow the other day Leon Trotzky told his youthful audience that, "In the years just past your elders could fight and die for Our Revolution, BUT TO-DAY YOUR TASK IS NO LESS DIFFICULT THAN OURS."

If Trotzky could say that for the Russian Workers' Republic, where Soviet Rule has now remained dominant for five years, then his words have an even greater application in all other countries, especially in the backward United States.

Trotzky's Fifth Anniversary message to the boys and the girls of Soviet Russia, and we pass it on to the revolutionary youth of America, is:—

"You must work, set your teeth in the cruel granite of education and hold it fast until you master it, for only by education, your education, can we hold what we have won."

Trotzky showed the young people how the capitalists have been and still are cleverly enlisting on their side trained specialists who ought to be in the ranks of the workers.

"It is a heavy and difficult burden I put on you," Trotzky told the young people, "but you are young and strong and able to bear the burdens as we bore them, we who labored and suffered that you might be free."

The revolutionary youth of America must learn thru the experiences of the Russian workers, that it isn't sufficient to be trained and skilled agitators for Communism. In addition to being the active and most intelligent leaders of the workers in the struggle for their emancipation every revolutionist must be an able industrial expert, able to combat the sabotage of the specialist who casts his lot with the capitalist in the hour of working-class victory."

Inspired by the enthusiasm aroused by the Fifth Anniversary of Russian Soviet Rule let old and young alike strive for that education that will give irresistible strength to the social revolution the world over and bring complete victory to its standards in the face of capitalism's most stubborn resistance.

They are beginning to open the barrels in the British campaign. The London Daily Mail estimates that the Coalition - Liberal machine backing Lloyd George has a fund of $15,000,000. That ought to make the mouths of our own old party "statesmen" water.

Some "Socialist" Law and Order

Daniel W. Hoan, the "Socialist" mayor of Milwaukee, Wisc., and one of the political puppets of Victor Berger, has launched a dud against the Ku Klux Klan in the form of a defense of the "proper officers of the goverment." Hoan also threatens the Ku Klux Klan with the same fate that he claims befell what he pleases to call "the attempt of the Communists to organize an underground government."

Hoan need not threaten the Ku Klux Klan. It is not in danger. As an embryo American Fascisti it is entirely safe under American capitalist institutions.

The Ku Klux Klan, even tho it has what it calls an "Invisible Empire," is not seeking "to transfer the government from its officers," to its own organization. Newspaper reporters are usually invited to its gatherings, it openly conducts political campaigns on behalf of old party candidates.

What is this "law and order," however, for which "Socialist" Mayor Hoan proudly claims that Milwaukee "stands first among all the cities in the world."

Hoan probably refers to the arrests meted out to "soap box" speakers who last summer sought to carry the militant message of labor to the workers of that city.

Hoan probably refers to the attacks on Communists and members of the Industrial Workers of the World, no less bitter in "Socialist" Milwaukee than in other cities where old party administrations are in power.

Hoan probably refers to the frame-up by the "Socialist" District Attorney Zabel of Italian workers charged with and placed on trial and convicted in the local courts for being Anarchists.

Perhaps Hoan also refers to the "law and order" Milwaukee methods that the Wisconsin section of the "Socialist" Party, under Berger, Melms, Seidel and himself brought to the aid of the Stedmans, the Hillquits and the Oneals to hold the party for the reactionary minority against the growing militant majority, in 1919.

Hoan is right. Milwaukee needs no Ku Klux Klan. The "Socialists" have already pre-empted any place the Koo Koos might fill.

Hoan is wrong as usual about the Communists. No Communist is seeking to organize an "underground government," and Hoan knows it.

Communists will carry on their fight in the open. But when they are attacked by the black forces of reaction, including the "Socialists," they will not surrender their principles. They will rather resort to secret propaganda to carry their emancipating message to the masses.

When the Communist forces become strong enough to establish their government, in the form of Soviet Rule to usher in the Communist era, there will no longer be any necessity to refrain from meeting all the powers of reaction in the open, even tho the reactionists will be ably supported by the betrayers of Socialism.

Hoan knows the American Soviet Government, the government of the Communists, when it comes, will be an open government. Hoan merely gives added testimony to his betrayal of labor by trying to throw sand in the eyes of the workers by confusing the Soviet Rule that is to be with the so-called "Invisible Empire" of his Koo Koo friends. But it wont work. The workers will get wise. Hoan's attack is a welcome aid to increasing their wisdom.

Why this partiality? The New York "Socialist" Call gives first page seven-column headlines to the campaign of the British Labor Party, while the election of Friedrich Ebert, "Socialist," president of Germany, for three years more gets five lines on page seven. Surely The Call isn't that much ashamed of "Socialist" rule in Germany.

[illegible] had their spokesmen really in power.

The "Hard-Boiled" Bosses

But one campaign speech, it is claimed, will come from the lips of Attorney General Daugherty in this campaign, and that has already been delivered at Canton, Ohio.

It is unnecessary to state that the head of Harding's department of Justice devoted that speech to a defense of his war on the striking railroad shop men. He used the injunction, he claims, to rescue the country from the "grip of civil war."

It is significant that Daugherty ascribed some of the blame not only to the "radicalism and character" of prominent labor leaders, but also to "hard-boiled" railway executives.

It is not in our memory that any of the "hard-boiled" railroad bosses, like Cuyler, Atterbury and Loree, were hailed into court, that they had their railroads served with injunctions, that they were threatened in any way. But then, in coming before the working-class voters, Daugherty must develop the semblance of "fairness."

Daugherty forgot, in his speech, to make any mention of his chief anti-labor aid, William J. Burns, detective par-excellance. Labor points out that Attorney General Wickersham, in 1912, in a letter to the reactionary President Taft, was forced to brand Burns as a jury fixer, that a pardon had to be granted to a man convicted by a jury fixed by the Burns Detective Agency.

In his speech at Canton, Daugherty failed to show that any of the 53,000 prosecutions terminated by his department involved convictions of those guilty of war graft, profiteering and fraud. All of the famous 17,000 affidavits secured by the Burns-Daugherty forces to support their injunction plea were secured by these same Burns' detectives from the strike-breaking scum recruited by the railroad owners against the organized workers fighting to maintain their sinking standard of living.

Daugherty's campaign speech is but a replica of the utterances of other old party politicians, an hypocritical effort to convince awakened labor that it is getting equal treatment with the bosses at the hands of the capitalist state.

But the workers know that the "hard-boiled" bosses rule in every branch of the government, even as they rule industry, and they are making increasing use of that knowledge by intelligent action against their oppressors. The "hard-boiled" bosses will develop "hard-boiled," instead of chicken-hearted and submissive workers, and in the struggle for supremacy that will ensue there will be but one outcome, the victory of the workers over the bosses and all their Hardings and Daughertys.

After the Russian Revolution

Armed with the permission of both the capitalist governments of Europe and the United States, Jean Longuet, French "Socialist," is coming to lecture the American workers on ten different subjects. We note that the subject of one of his discourses will be "After the Russian Revolution."

Now that Longuet has been given the permission of Washington and Paris to travel and talk, it is not expected that he will tell us why his French government has been ousting Communists of other countries, attending the French Party Congress these past few days.

Franz Dahlen, director of the German Communist organ, the Rote Fahne, was taken in charge by the police and put on a train bound for the Belgian frontier.

Tom Bell, fraternal delegate of the British Communist Party, was expelled from the country, a similar fate being meted out to Hungarian and Italian fraternal delegates. The reports state that the representative of the Communist International managed to make his appeal to the congress, but do not say whether he also was driven out of the country.

Perhaps Longuet will tell us the why of this difference between the treatment he received and that meted out to the Communists.

Perhaps Longuet will tell us, on behalf of his "Socialist" friends in Germany, why Communists are thrown into prison by the score and monarchists allowed to go free, as the result of clashes at a demonstration, why the editors of the Communist daily, the Rote Fahne, are arrested while monarchist editors are allowed to carry on their fight against labor unmolested.

All of this ought to be a part of Longuet's lecture, "After the Russian Revolution." It should be so because the capitalists and their "Socialist" allies in Germany and France, fear that this same Russian Revolution will penetrate to their countries. Therefore, all Communists must be hounded, and jailed, and occasionally conveniently put out of the way, as in the case of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and others.

Perhaps Longuet will say something about these things. Our guess is that he wont. Because if he did it would be a confession of guilt, involving him in the crimes of capitalism against the real spokesmen of oppressed labor.

Why Not Investigate "The Forward"

Abe Cahan is editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, a New York Socialist paper. Abe Cahan and his paper are anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Russia. Abe Cahan hates to see famine relief sent to Soviet Russia, he hates to see American workers buy shares of stock for the regeneration of Russia, he hates to see food and clothes sent to Russia's orphans.

Because he hates all this he attacked the Friends of Soviet Russia. The Friends of Soviet Russia had scored a huge success. It had sent almost a million dollars worth of food, clothes and tools to Russia. Its overhead for this million in relief was far below that of charitable and bourgeois relief organizations. Abe Cahan knew that the vital spot of any public relief organization is its finances. Abe Cahan charged that the FSR had misappropriated money. Abe Cahan did this to discourage contributions to the FSR. Abe Cahan did not recommend any other organization to which contributions for Russian relief should be made.

And because of this Abe Cahan stands guilty of the number of deaths that may occur as a result of his unfounded attack.

By the way, what has Abe Cahan done to relieve the famine in Russia? We know his brain is wrong, but was his heart compassionate, did he show sympathy?

Abe Cahan did lean towards Hoover's American Relief Administration, but he never made a campaign in the interests of the ARA. The Socialist party did campaign for relief funds for Russia, got together with the New York Call a total of about $15,000, but Abe Cahan did not help, did not even help his own party, mind you.

We have been told that while Soviet Russia suffered most, Abe Cahan did make an independent appeal for relief funds thru his paper. This appeal is supposed to have netted about $2,000. It is said, that he never made a full report of the receipts, that a registered auditor never gave him a clean bill and it is rumored that he can not prove that he issued receipts for the money he received.

Suppose we would now call for an investigating committee to investigate misappropriation of funds by the Jewish Daily Forward? Suppose that we would now charge that funds had been misused. We wonder how Abe Cahan would like it!

M. Kalinin is President of Soviet Russia. The Friends of Soviet Russia has just received a cablegram from Kalinin, commending its work. An organization that can get an O.K. from Kalinin need pay no attention to Abe Cahan.

They Are Throwing Boomerangs

It must be conceded that the speaking campaign of Governor Nathan Miller, of New York, for re-election, is a brilliant effort on behalf of capitalism. And because he is a straight-out capitalist spokesman, Miller usually comes clean on class struggle issues.

He told the railroad workers of Hornell, N. Y., who had been beaten up by the state police, when they were on strike, that, "I do not intend that any Herrin Massacre shall occur in this state so long as I am governor."

And in the same hour that he was saying these words the organized workers of Illinois were gathered in state convention denouncing the capitalist misrule, for which Governor Miller stands and that makes Herrin Massacres inevitable.

The governor of New York opposes every measure beneficial to labor, and stands with the Attorney General Brundage-Chamber of Commerce dictatorship in Illinois that is attempting to send to the gallows scores of coal miners in the Herrin mining district.

When Miller and all his capitalist gang, from President Harding down to the cheapest Tammany ward healer, attack the workers as guilty of the Herrin Massacre, they are throwing a boomerang that will return to plague and torment them.

If the Republican and Democratic politicians, with their masters in Wall street, want to make of the Herrin Massacre a national issue, as their acts and utterances indicate, the working class is ready, to take up the fight, blow for blow.

American capitalism threw a boomerang in the Mooney case and it came back carrying the aroused protest of labor in all sections of the world.

The bosses threw another boomerang in the Sacco-Vanzetti case and it came back loaded with the dynamite of universal working-class condemnation.

The railroad owners, thru Attorney General Daugherty, hurled a boomerang in the form of an injunction against the shopmen, and it came back blistering the whole Republican administration.

Entrenched dollars launched another boomerang against "The Reds," in the form of raids in Michigan and Chicago, and it is returning to taunt the profiteers with the growing protest of new, and hitherto inert, masses of workers.

The Herrin boomerang is the most dangerous to capitalism. It involves the largest and most closely knit labor organization in this country—the United Mine Workers of America. The Herrin incident was an open fight between strongly organized workers on the other hand and the arrogant mine owners and their hirelings on the other. And the workers won.

Herrin was not a repetition of Virden, Ill., where years ago, in the youth of the Illinois miners' union, the mine owners' assassins murdered striking and defenseless workers in cold blood. No mine owners then, as at Herrin now, were indicted and put on trial for murder.

From 1883 to the close of the year 1921, the delegates to the Illinois Federation of Labor were told, 5,113 coal miners had been reported killed in Illinois mines. The guilty mine owners, who have fought all safety legislation that would have prevented many of these deaths, have never been troubled by "capitalist justice."

We challenge every old party politician and candidate, like Governor Miller, of New York, to make of the Herrin "Massacre" an issue in this campaign.

No other issue would draw so clearly the class-struggle lines between capital and labor. The workers would understand on which side they belong, an understanding that would not so easily develop out of sham battles over the tariff, the bonus, the Volstead act vs. wine and beer, in addition to those minor skirmishes that so delight the heart of the old party politicians and the petty reformers.

The fight is on. Let the struggle grow until labor comes into its own. Capitalism has sponsored the "fist to face" policy, but it will be the face of capital that will unsuccessfully meet the onslaught of the hardened fist of labor.

The Struggle for Respectability

Now that Lloyd George has resigned as prime minister of the British Empire and the parliamentary elections are rapidly approaching, we find the politicians of the Labor Party carrying on a struggle for respectability, which is merely one form of the plea for votes.

"We are often referred to as Bolsheviks," complains Arthur Henderson, secretary of the Labor Party, himself a member of parliament, "whereas," he continues, "we are not members of the Communist Party. We were tarred with this in the 1918 elections. As a matter of fact there has never been any effort or chance for a labor revolution in England. Besides we are a duly organized, constitutional party."

Henderson then goes on to testify as to the respectability of the 400 candidates the Labor Party has to offer. He says that among them are to be found "lawyers, doctors, generals, pastors, writers, bankers, teachers and journalists. It is a common error to believe our membership is limited to manual workers. Many of our members are intellectual workers who want honest pay for their services."

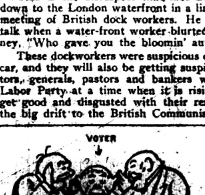
Judging from Henderson's statement it is quite a crime in the eyes of the politicians of the Laor Party to be an ordinary worker, not to be among the honor roll that he mentions: Norman Angell, author and lecturer; Rev. Gordon Lang, General C. B. Thomson, one of the British military staff at the Versailles Peace Conference; G. M. Gillett, banker; Charles Diamond, editor of the Catholic Herald of London; Dr. Hadon Guest, Russian Famine Relief Worker, and Fenner Brockway, editor.

Considering these declarations by Henderson, one can easily understand the value of the Communist tactic in England to support the Labor Party in its political aspirations. Let this "respectable labor" aggregation once get into power and the masses of disrespectable workers will soon realize the mistake they have made.

The inevitable struggle of the British Labor Party for "respectability," for constitutional standing, for being considered non-Bolshevik, will rapidly alienate the support of the masses who care nothing, in the last analysis for respectability, who ultimately achieve a very disrespectable revolution, in that it fails to respect the niceties of capitalist ethics and manners.

This is the disrespect that met Ben Tillett, when he came down to the London waterfront in a limousine to address a mass meeting of British dock workers. He had not gotten far in his talk when a water-front worker blurted out in his peculiar Cockney, "Who gave you the bloomin' automobile, anyway?"

These dockworkers were suspicious of Tillett and his expensive car, and they will also be getting suspicious of the lawyers, doctors, generals, pastors and bankers who are flocking into the Labor Party at a time when it is rising to power. When they get good and disgusted with their respectable spokesmen then the big drift to the British Communist Party will begin.



BOTH RIGHT

Democratic Party:
"He is deceiving you!"
Republican Party:
"He is deceiving you!"

BOLCOMS

Edited by J. D. W. TALMADGE

GREETINGS TO THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

Love and kisses to the Soviet Government! Have send my photograph to Russia as a token of my profound devotion to the Revolution.—Lovingly, Sammie Gompers.

Hail to the Soviet Revolution! No longer need we rob to make a living. Since the establishment of the Soviet government we make a great deal more money by keeping this country safe for demockracy.—Faithfully, The Bomb Squad.

Have set November seventh as the date for my wedding, to enable both working class victories to be celebrated simultaneously.—Fraternally, Kaiser Bill.

Greetings to the Soviet Government! Have a fine line of injunctions for export. If in need of any, kindly have me in mind. Will mail catalogue upon request.—At your services, Harry Daugherty.

Cheers to the Soviet Government! Just found out that it's better to be an ordinary commissar in a stable Soviet republic than a Premier for the bourgeosie.—Unhappily yours, Lloyd George.

Long live the Soviet Government! The lies about it have made me famous.—Apologetically, Abe Cahan.

Sincerest congratulations to Soviet Russia! Will welcome remunerations for the free publicity given that government.—Affectionately, Bill Burns.

THE SOVIET REVOLUTION IN FIGURES

(Important statistical data gathered from the 1917–1922 issues of the New York Times.)

Grand total of Russians killed by the Tcheka	257,963,781
Lenin fatally shot	1576 times
Stabbed or drowned	1243 times
Hanged or choked	1809 times
Died naturally	1313 times
Arrested by Trotzky	6543 times
Soviet Government was overthrown	9765 times
Trotzky was eaten alive by Lenin	6547 times
Committed suicide	3243 times
Russia was sold by Bolsheviks to Germany	897,654,321 times

ADDITIONAL DATA

(Gathered by the Research Department of the Bolcoms.)

Total number of lies printed about Soviet Russia	50 trillion and 27
Percentage of truth in news from Russia	.1 10000000000000%
Number of Capitalistic papers who printed the truth about Soviet Russia	—.00001
Number of Socialist papers supporting the Soviet government	minus infinity.

(The 27 lies by capitalist papers and the rest by the Forward.)

"AFTER READING MY CALL"

Not By Harriot Stanton Blatch

It's a good thing the name of the paper appears on each page of the Call. At times after reading a news story or editorial we get confused and think it's the Times.

Brother Karsner well chose the title for his colyum. He sure enough is "here and there and everywhere" but with the revolutionary movement.

We never knew his colyum was facetious until he inserted his photograph in the caption. Funny how some people are inconsiderate of the feelings of their readers.

It hardly compliments the editorial writers of the Call, if the publishers must specify in one inch type which one is the editorial.

"What Call Readers Think" was righteously discontinued. It was preposterous, any one who is a reader of the Call consequently does not think.

Due credit must be given the Call for its sporting page. It's the most prolix in the city. It contains everything from socialist debates to divorce proceedings.

AN EAST BROADWAY TRAGEDY

(Taken from life)

Abie Forwardsky, the Editor-in-Cheese of the Backward, was in high spirits. He had just handed in a fiery editorial about the Friends of Soviet Russia and seemed exceptionally pleased with his work. It was what he considered a masterpiece of socialistic journalism. He bitterly denounced in it the F. of S. R. for their pro-bolshevik policy and called upon the workers of America not to extend any aid to Russia until the Soviet Government dissolves that organization and appoints the Backward to function in its place.

He read it over three times and felt more satisfied each time. His ecstasy reached unbounded extremes. In his imagination he vividly portrayed himself as the Messiah of the American working class. In his fancy he already saw the destruction of the Friends of Soviet Russia, the gradual death of the Workers Party and the entire Communist movement annihilated as a consequence of his editorial. Then he pictured himself as the head of a yellow labor government in this country; leaders of Soviet Russia coming before him to beg forgiveness for their misdeeds — —

"Say, Abe, you'll have to kill that editorial. A cable just came from Kalinin denying all the charges you've made in the editorial against the Friends."

"That damned bolshevik! I wish he was on East Broadway, I'd [illegible] him how to ruin my entire [illegible]

Significance of the Russian Revolution to the Trade Unionists of the World

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Secretary, Trade Union Educational League.

Aside from its great inspirational force, perhaps the greatest importance of the Russian Revolution to unionists generally, is the fact that it has made clear as daylight the function of the trade unions, both in bringing about the revolution and in reconstructing society upon a proletarian basis.

Before the Russian Revolution these vital matters, particularly the question of organizing the new society, were entirely a matter of speculation. But that great event lifted them from the realm of philosophy into that of definite knowledge.

In pre-revolutionary days the most militant type of labor unionist, the syndicalist, believed that the reorganization of society was a comparatively simple matter, and that their unions without the aid of a state could take direct charge of industry and carry on production and the social process generally.

But the Russian Revolution has shown the unsoundness of this conception. Production has proved a much more complicated and difficult process than had been supposed In the great Russian upheaval the labor unions have been unable to master the industries, and have to call to their assistance the bourgeois technical experts This is an unpleasant fact but one which realistic revolutionaries must reckon with.

And not only have the unions been unable to operate industry by themselves. but the whole syndicalist conception of a purely industrial social mechanism has proved unworkable By the force of circumstances impossible to avoid, the workers have been compelled, in spite of themselves, to create a political state with all its organs of repression in order to achieve communism

Another most important lesson taught trade unionists by the Russian Revolution is the great significance of the small minority of militants in the big mass of the workers

Before the revolution, the syndicalist theory of the militant minority had some inkling of this matter but it remained for the great events in Russia to make it really clear

Whereas, the syndicalists with their indefinite conception of the power of the active workers when organized together extended the theory only to the trade unions, the Russian Revolution showed that in the newly born society these organized militants were the heart and soul of, not only the trade unions, but also of every social institution

The Russian Communist Party with its nuclei of active workers effectively controlling the state, the army, the trade unions, the industries, the schools, etc., in the face of a practically non revolutionary population, is a living demonstration of the tremendous, and hitherto practically unsuspected power of a few clear headed brave spirits working among the mass in a united and determined manner

This revelation of the power of the militants is particularly valuable in the present struggle being carried on all over the world by the trade unions. The Russian Revolution has made the militants consider seriously the fact that the fate of all working-class institutions rests in their hands. And it has shown them clearly how to organize together in order to effectively perform their historic task as the life giving element in the labor movement.

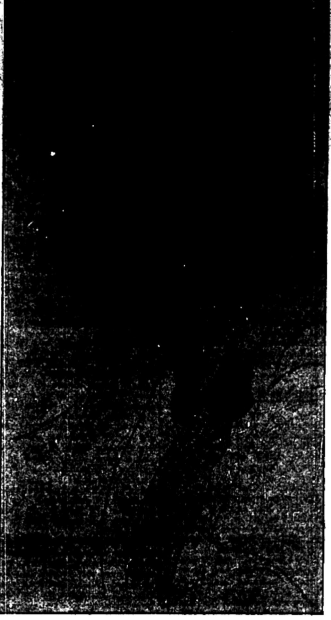
It has taught the militants that they must not be dismayed by their fewness in numbers but must boldly penetrate the great organized mass and by their intelligent organization control it.

The recognition of this fact has brought a revolution in the tactics of American trade union radicals. It has heartened them to enter the conservative trade unions and shown them the way to develop these hitherto impossible organizations into revolutionary activity, in making clear the true functions of the trade unions in the revolution and in demonstrating the importance and power of the organized militants.

Order a Bundle of This Issue!
Spread Message of Soviet Rule!

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

He's Back on the Job at Moscow as Head of First Workers' Republic



NIKOLAI LENIN

TO MOSCOW! .... By Jack Carney

The world war brought to our attention the pleas of those nations suffering under the yoke of a foreign power. Whether it be the Irish, Egyptians, Haitians, Filipinos or the Hindus, they all demanded the right to govern themselves.

The development of present day society is toward world domination. The United States, France and England fight today for control of other regions far removed from their own. The expansion of industry drives them forth, to seek new markets, new fields of raw materials, etc. So the world witnesses the bloody struggles such as the world war in which over 9,000,000 lost their lives and 30,000,000 were wounded. These struggles are unavoidable, the pacifist to the contrary, so long as the present system operates. They are the product of the system.

In these struggles the contending nations use all the arts of modern diplomacy. They "free" nations as they "freed" Rumania (1880), Serbia (1878), Bulgaria (1908) and Ireland (1921). When they can use these nations as tools in their fights they grant them "independence." How free is Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria or any of the oppressed nationalities? What measure of freedom does Finland, Latvia and Esthonia enjoy?

Yet, strange as it may seem, there are nations today, oppressed nationalities of former days, who enjoy a measure of freedom not enjoyed by even the workers of the United States, or any other capitalist nation. We refer to Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. These nations are watched over by Soviet Russia. Let any imperialist army enter any of these nations with a view to exploiting them and the forces of the Red Army will march forward and defend them. For Soviet Russia stands for the overthrow of the present system and the establishment of the only system that will make possible independence of nations—Communism. Fighting its own battle against the combined forces of world imperialism it always assists those who are fighting imperialism as witnessed in the aid given to the Turkish troops

Oppressed nationalities must turn towards Moscow and away from Washington. The United States will willingly recognize an Irish Republic if it is given the opportunity of utilizing Ireland as a base from which to attack England.

Soviet Russia calls upon the Irish working class and the British working class to unite their forces and overthrow their common enemy—the British ruling class As each nation finds itself rid of its ruling class it will unite with Moscow, and the greater the number of victories the more weakened world imperialism becomes

No hope for oppressed nationalities is to be expected from the imperialists. Paris, London and New York stand for capitalist exploitation and oppression. Moscow stands for the overthrow of imperialism and the inauguration of the Federated Soviet Republics of the World.

The recognition of the foregoing facts will make the task of oppressed nationalities that much lighter. On the other hand the failure to recognize them means starvation and bloody slaughter, to be constantly utilized as pawns in the bloody games of the imperialists, as Greece is. Moscow offers the only road worthwhile traveling nay, it is the road you have to travel. Why hesitate?

Olgin in Brownsville

This Sunday, Oct. 29, Comrade M. J. Olgin, of the "Freiheit," will speak at the Forum of the Brownsville Branch, Workers Party, on Sackman Street and Pitkin Ave. The subject is: "Social Forces In Russian Literature."

Good Memories in Bulgaria

By W. F. D.

The workers and peasants of Bulgaria have good memories. They have held a referendum vote on the question of trial and punishment for the men who dragged them into the European war, and all indications point to an overwhelming majority for the trial.

It will not be the ordinary procedure which usually results in the whitewashing of the guilty parties, for provision is made for setting up a people's court which will supersede the ordinary legal tribunals.

There has not been a revolution in Bulgaria yet, but the workers and peasants feel that they can take power as soon as the menace of Allied militarism passes. The trial of the rulers whose hands are stained with the blood of the Bulgarian masses will be a preliminary incident to the passing of the power to the workers and peasants' government, and it establishes a precedent which will cause others than the Bulgarian rulers to tremble.

Murdering millions for profit is due to become a dangerous pastime in a shorter time than many apologists of the present system think.

The Bulgarians may be a bit backward and crude when compared to our civilized state, but their good intentions are shown by the fact that it is the rulers who are to be tried.

NEXT!

[illegible] federations of labor have adopted amalgamation resolutions as follows:

Colorado
[illegible]
Michigan
Minnesota
Nebraska
Ohio
Oregon
South Dakota
Utah
Washington
Wisconsin

The additions during the past week are the state federations of Colorado and Oregon.

Who Is Next?

Oregon Labor in Support of Unity Drive

COLORADO 11TH STATE TO VOTE FOR AMALGAMATION

TRINIDAD, Colo.—By voting for consolidating the craft unions into industrial unions, the Colorado State Federation of Labor, in convention here, went on record as the 11th state body within four months to indorse amalgamation.

• • •

Led by Otto R. Hartwig, its president, the Oregon State Federation of Labor, in session at Salem, Ore., adopted the Portland Central Labor body's resolution for amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, one for each industry

According to the count of **The Worker**, this makes the tenth state federation of labor to adopt amalgamation resolutions

In the Oregon convention an amendment was passed explaining that the industrial unionism endorsed is the type represented by industrially organized unions within the American Federation of Labor, and not those like the I. W. W. and the O. B. U. With this amendment which was satisfactory to all the delegates, Hartwig, who is rated as a conservative in labor circles, took the floor for the resolution.

We reported last week that Amalgamation resolutions had been adopted by the South Dakota Federation of Labor. We are this week able to publish the text of these resolutions. They are as follows:

Resolutions of South Dakota Labor

Whereas, We have been taught by experience that the trade union movement dividing the workers working in the same industry into several different craft unions, have proved to be an absolute failure in protecting the interests of the workers, which has been so convincingly proven by the events of the last few years of industrial struggle, and

Whereas, This form of organization tends to divide the workers instead of uniting them, thereby fostering a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against others in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in the struggles that may arise between the employing class and the working class; and

Whereas, Each international union seeking only to protect its own craft, ignoring the vital necessity of solidarity among all of the workers, feeling that should lay nearest to the heart of every working man; and

Whereas, We hold that an injury to one is an injury to all, therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention of the State Federation of South Dakota, go on record endorsing the principle of organizing all the workers working in the same industry into one industrial union in each industrial department; and be it further

Resolved, That the State Federation seek to establish a uniform wage scale for each trade over the whole state, uniform working hours, and other working conditions.

Too Many Officers

Whereas, It is absolutely too expensive, and unnecessary to maintain so many international officers in each industrial department, therefore be it

Resolved, That the State Federation of South Dakota in convention assembled, expresses as its opinion that the different international organizations should be consolidated into one international organization of each industrial department, and we further express as our view that the international officers should be nominated and elected by a referendum vote of the entire membership.

NEW YORK.—If the water power of the state of New York were properly utilized, 500 steam locomotives, now in daily use would not be needed, and the 15,000 coal cars that now haul to New York could be used for other needed purposes, says Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz, "electrical wizard".

Order a Bundle of This Issue!
Spread Message of Soviet Rule!

All Adherents of Red International of Labor Unions Greet Russian Revolution

By EARL BROWDER, Associate Editor, The Labor Herald

The Red International of Labor Unions was born out of the Russian Revolution. It is therefore fitting that its second congress is being held, like the first, in Moscow, and that it is immediately after the Fifth Anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Government. Nowhere else on the face of the globe could the revolutionary workers have come together in congress to form their organization except in Soviet Russia.

That country, one-sixth of the earth's surface, is the only spot where the police agents of the capitalist class do not hound and persecute all workers who do not bow to their will and accept their rule as ordained by Almighty God. But Russia is ruled by the workers and it was in Moscow that the international workers, the Red International of Labor Unions, found the protection necessary to establish its organization. There is, therefore, the closest bond of solidarity between the Red International and the Soviet Government of Russian workers and peasants.

The Russian Revolution, child of the working-class movement of the world, has in its turn, thus, been the father of the Red International in this sense as the protector and inspirer of its birth. Of this fact every revolutionary worker is proud.

The slanderers of the Russian revolution, both its open capitalistic enemies and the covert enemies, the renegade revolutionists, make use of this to lie about the Red International, and accuse it of being but a mask tool for the Russian Communists

This is a malicious slander which only the simple-minded listen to. It is significant that all the so-called working-class organizations which have so attacked the Red International have also become the avowed enemies of the Russian Revolution.

They thus expose themselves as the I. W. W. in America and the syndicalists in Germany have done as the enemies not simply of the Red International, but of the entire proletarian revolution They are either blinded by fanatical dogma or they are yellow hearted cowards crawling for the favors of their capitalistic overlords

Yes the Russian Revolution and the Red International are one in their spirit and goal, both expressions of the working class movement the movement toward the World Revolution And in the Red International, kin of the Russian Revolution, all workers even the misguided ones, who slander it find welcome and protection.

The trade unionists all over the world are coming quickly to know these facts. Even in America, long considered the hopeless prey of Gompersism, the Red International of Labor Unions is finding thousands of new friends each week, all the healthy elements in the labor movement, those who stood by Soviet Russia thru all her trials as friends have also instinctively sensed that the Red International was their own organization expressing their own hopes and needs their own aspirations.

If the progress of the Red International in America continues at the pace of the past year America will soon be one of the solid constituent parts of this great working class organization.

All adherents of the Red International of Labor Unions will receive the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution with rejoicing.

The revolutionary unionists of America and of the world look to Soviet Russia as the hope and promise in a world which otherwise offers nothing but bitter struggle against capitalist slavery, and each succeeding anniversary will see the first workers' republic stronger, not alone in the growing strength of its proletarian industry and government, but also in the growing spirit of the trade unionists of the Red International of Labor Unions, the fighting line against the capitalist system all over the world.

Organize Labor Defense Council at Beethoven Hall Meeting this Friday Night

Abraham Brownstein, manager of the New York Joint Board of the Furriers' Union, and J. M. Budish, editor of the official organ of the United, Hat and Cap Makers, will speak at the organization meeting of the New York Conference of the Labor Defense Council, Friday night, Oct. 27, 8 P. M., at Beethoven Hall, 270 E. 5th St., New York City.

Every labor union local and individual branches of workers' political and fraternal organizations should send two delegates each.

Sympathetic organizations are requested to make no arrangements for DEC. 2, 1922, as the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE, Local New York, will hold its SECOND ANNUAL BALL on that day at 1347 Boston Road.

Long Live The Revolution of The Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!

November 1917 **November 1922**

(The first official announcement after the Revolution)

Отъ Военно-Революціоннаго Комитета при Петроградскомъ Совѣтѣ Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ.

Къ Гражданамъ Россіи.

Временное Правительство низложено. Государственная власть перешла въ руки органа Петроградскаго Совѣта Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ Военно-Революціоннаго Комитета, стоящаго во главѣ Петроградскаго пролетаріата и гарнизона.

Дѣло, за которое боролся народъ: немедленное предложеніе демократическаго мира, отмѣна помѣщичьей собственности на землю, рабочій контроль надъ производствомъ, созданіе Совѣтскаго Правительства — это дѣло обезпечено.

ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТЪ РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ РАБОЧИХЪ, СОЛДАТЪ И КРЕСТЬЯНЪ!

Военно-Революціонный Комитетъ
при Петроградскомъ Совѣтѣ
Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ.

25 октября 1917 г. 10 ч. утра.

(Translation of the above Russian original

FROM THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS AND SOLDIERS DEPUTIES

To the Citizens of the Russian Republic

The Provisional Government has been overthrown. The sovereign authority has passed to the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of Military Revolutionary Committee, which is at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and the garrisons.

The cause for which the people has been fighting: immediate proposal of democratic peace, repeal of freehold land properties, the workers' control over production, the forming of the Government of Soviets—is guaranteed.

Long live the revolution of the workers, soldiers and peasants!

MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE
OF PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES

October 28th, 1917

Workers! Celebrate The 5th Anniversary of The Russian Soviet Republic
November 7th, 1922.

A Brain Contortion

At the last regular meeting of Typographical Union No. 6, of New York, a resolution in favor of the formation of an independent political party of labor was adopted. In publishing a report of the adoption of the resolution the New York Call, organ of American Menshevism, declared the adoption of such a resolution was a boost for Edward F. Cassidy, Socialist and Farmer-Labor Party nominee for governor

As a matter of fact the resolution adopted by "Big Six" had nothing to do with the present campaign and not by any stretch of the imagination can it be construed as a boost for Cassidy or any other candidate of any Party

The resolution simply urges the members of the union to support the Executive Council of the International Typographical Union in its efforts to aid other groups of union leaders in the formation of a political party of labor at a convention to be held in December in Chicago.

It is no more an endorsement of Cassidy and the Socialist Party than it is an endorsement of Bill Dunne and the Workers Party, and not any brain contortion of the half-wits who comprise the so-called editorial staff of that yellow rag can alter the plain fact in the case.

If "Big Six" had intended to endorse the Socialist Party candidate, who is a member of that union, it would have done so without any equivocation. If the Socialist Party members of "Big Six" thought they could jam thru an endorsement of the muddle-headed Cassidy and the petty-bourgeois platform of that creation of political tricksters, known as the American Labor Party, they would have done so long ago. They did not dare attempt it for it would have exposed how puny their influence really is in that organization, after years of agitation.

There are militant members of "Big Six" who are anxiously awaiting the time when the Socialist Party openly solicits the endorsement of that organization so that they can tell the membership of the whole infamous record of that alleged party of "democracy."

They will explain the brand of "democracy" used in 1919 when the executive committee of that party refused to surrender their offices to their duly elected successors and expelled some sixty thousand members who voted against them in order to retain their power at the head of the organization and how later in the same year they used the police force of the city of Chicago to forcibly evict duly elected delegates to the national convention of the party when it was evident that the majority of the convention was against them.

Let this aggregation of fakirs seek endorsement of any important section of the printing trades and we will guarantee that they will never attempt it again.

About a year ago they tried to separate Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 from a thousand dollars to launch a twin whelp of the New York Call in that city, but they met with a disaster that knocked them blind and senseless.

Since then the mere mention of the Socialist Party in that union has provoked sardonic laughter.—H. M. W.

Order a Bundle of This Issue! **Spread Message of Soviet Rule!**

[illegible] Russia has just been made public. It indicates that the Corporation, organized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the F.S.R. are in complete agreement. Russia's future, both groups point out, depends in large measure upon the restoration of its economic life.

Fred G. Biedenkapp, one of the best known figures in the labor movement of the east, will direct the R.A.I.C. work for the F.S.R. The sale of shares of stock in the corporation will be one of his chief objects in an extended tour for the Friends of Soviet Russia beginning Nov. 1st.

The invitation to the F.S.R., signed by Jacob Potofsky, secretary-treasurer of the corporation reads as follows:

Letter from Amalgamated

"We wish to obtain your aid and co-operation in a matter touching the ideals for which your movement was organized. It is the project for the participation of all workers of America in the economic reconstruction of Russia.

"The immense results of your efforts for famine relief should command the admiration of all. We do not wish in the least to diminish that form of relief work.

"But as you know, donations of food cannot permanently solve the economic distress of the new Russian Republic. You have shown your appreciation of this fact by widening your efforts to include the sending of agricultural machinery so as to provide against further famine in the coming year. This phase of the work is ever growing larger.

"Recognizing that action by Labor might help break the deadlock between the international bankers and the Russian Soviet Government, and would afford some measure of economic relief, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America took the initiative. At its Biennial Convention last May, in Chicago, at the instance of President Hillman, who visited Russia last year and obtained a very favorable concession, the Amalgamated authorized the formation of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation and subscribed out of its treasury for Fifty Thousand Dollars worth of stock.

"The Russian-American Industrial Corporation has since been chartered under the laws of the State of Delaware with a capitalization of a million dollars, in shares of ten dollars each.

"This Corporation now invites you, as well as all other labor and fraternal organizations to join hands in the drive to sell the Million Dollars of stock for the industrial reconstruction of Russia. We believe it is your duty, as friends of Russia, to extend whatever help may be in your power and we are confident that you will lend your full co-operation in this great task which is holding out so much hope to Russia."

The F. S. R. Accepts

The acceptance by the F.S.R. reads:

"Receipt of your communication of October 10th, inviting our aid and co-operation in your project to secure the aid and the interest of American workers for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia, is hereby acknowledged.

"We enthusiastically accept this invitation and promise you our best and most earnest efforts in the campaign you now have under way to sell one million dollars' worth of stock for the laudable purpose of Russia's regeneration.

"That donations of food cannot permanently solve the economic distress of this first Workers' Republic is admitted, and yet we feel it our duty to answer the call for food and clothes and medicaments for the tens of thousands of Russia's orphans robbed of their parents by the serious famine of last winter. This call, just received by us, we feel sure will touch the hearts of all sympathetic Americans.

However, assisting in economic reconstruction does [illegible] permanent and lasting relief. Having realized this from the very start of our work, not only did we send to Soviet Russia the agricultural unit of twenty-one tractors and accessories referred to by you in your letter, but the International Workers' Relief Committee, at its Third World Congress last July, organized an International Workers' Corporation in Berlin which, upon a program similar to yours, is now interesting the workers of all countries in aiding Soviet Russia fundamentally by helping in the restoration of its economic life.

"This International Corporation is now floating a workers' loan of three million dollars, interest at five per cent, repayment in gold being guaranteed by the Soviet Government of Russia. The Friends of Soviet Russia is organically affiliated with the International Workers' Relief Committee and is therefore vitally interested in the success of this loan. A cablegram received recently from this International Corporation reads in part: "Soviet Government offers International Workers' Relief Committee reconstruction of steel industry with coal and iron concessions. Large capital necessary. Coalition of workers' relief organizations under International Workers' Relief Committee essential. This new decision of the Soviet Government an unparalleled opportunity."

"The national executive committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia has decided not to distract attention from your splendid efforts by injecting, at this time, the project of the International Workers' Corporation. But our organization sincerely hopes that at a very early date such unity of your project and our projects may be effected as will make it possible for us jointly to offer to all American workers' organizations and sympathizers the privilege of participating in one gigantic undertaking for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

"Until such unity of effort is attained, we shall give you our most energetic assistance. It gives us deep satisfaction to cooperate in a work such as that undertaken by the Russian-American Industrial Corporation with a labor union as progressive and humanitarian as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. We would suggest to you that special efforts should be made to make plain that all labor unions and other working class organizations are equally welcome in this enterprise.

"Again, greetings and best wishes for the success of your corporation, for indeed, in the great task you have undertaken you are holding out much hope to Soviet Russia, yes, and to the workers of the world.

"Very fraternally yours,
"Friends of Soviet Russia."

[illegible] were too paralyzed with fear to follow others, huddled like rats in the safety pits, were buried alive."

CHICAGO.—The library work of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in this city is being extended. Sylvia Friedberg, formerly with the Chicago public library, has been engaged to take charge of the work. Additional books are being bought for the union's library, and it is planned to make it a circulating department of the Chicago public library.

Socialist Party Consistency

Recently one of the editors of "The Messenger," a Socialist publication appealing to the colored race in America, declared that one Marcus Garvey should be deported from the country after serving a prison sentence for alleged flim-flamming of certain gullible members of his race with a project for establishing an independent negro nation somewhere in Africa.

Thus, while the Socialist Party professes to be horrified at the spectacle of wholesale deportations by the government of the United States, one of its prominent members advocates deportation for his political and racial enemy. While Garvey has undoubtedly been guilty of infringing upon the ignorance of fellow-members of his race and should be treated the same as any other grafter, it is hardly becoming an alleged radical to advocate deportation for him or anyone else.

To advocate deportation for Garvey places these Socialist Party members in Garvey's class.

The jealousy of Garvey probably arises from the fact that Garvey is able to market his brand of hoakum at a good price, while A. Philip Randolph, who is at present a candidate for secretary of state on the Socialist ticket, and one Chandler Owen, his associate editor on "The Messenger," have not yet learned all the tricks of the delicate art of gold-bricking the public.

While Garvey may be guilty of imposing a colossal fake upon gullible members of his race, he is certainly not any greater criminal than those who try to organize them into the yellow Socialist Party on the pretense that support of such an aggregation of fakirs will ever result in improving their own miserable condition.

To be consistent they should also advocate the deportation of the entire Socialist Party for the crime of operating a con game.

[illegible]

The history of the [illegible] District 5 [illegible] revealed in District 5 the characteristics that reached their full bloom in District 14 when Alexander Howat and his comrades were outlawed.

In 1914 an effort was made to organize the Allegheny Valley because it was recognized by the rank and file in the Monongahela Valley that it was necessary to organize the non-union fields if the district was to amount to anything. This attempt never got seriously beyond an abortive effort to organize the mine at Harwick, Pa.

In 1916 a bigger and more successful campaign to organize this section took place. It was at this time that a certain labor newspaperman who had gotten into the coal game as a small operator made his debut. It was no less a person than A. R. Hamilton, better known to the members of the U. M. W. of A. far and wide, as "Al" Hamilton.

All the circumstances seem to indicate that Hamilton was more than favorable to an organization of certain mines in the Allegheny Valley. He had a few mines in Butler County but the organization campaign was so handled by Van Bitner that Hamilton's mines were not organized with the result he was able to compete with union mines on a non-union basis.

Once when the organization enthusiasm of the miners began to spread towards Butler County, Van Bitner who was in New York negotiating with the operators at the time wired to organizers in charge to withdraw from certain camps where they were working. His instructions were disregarded and the camps were organized.

In spite of the fact that Hamilton escaped without having to sign with the union the Executive Board of District Five following the strike of 1916 adopted a resolution thanking Hamilton for his services in "helping win the strike." Could anything be more brazen than to thank a non-union operator for his "help" in organizing a field in which he was personally benefitted? Van Bitner can be credited for this manipulation. At the present time Hamilton mines in Butler County are operating "open shop."

Shortly after this strike of 1916, Harry Kinlock of the Valley Camp Coal Company at Valley Camp, Pa., in a large public meeting openly charged that Van Bitner had offered to sell out the strike for $5,000. WE CHALLENGE VAN BITNER TO DENY THIS CHARGE.

This is only a little glimpse of the terrible corruption that exists in District 5 which has undoubtedly turned out more clever reactionaries than any other district in the country.

News of Progressive Ticket Spreads

All thru District Five the news of the Progressive Ticket is spreading like wildfire. The glad news that every nationality and element is represented is also traveling with great rapidity.

The nomination blanks have been sent out and it is important that every possible local should immediately endorse the ticket and send the nomination into the district headquarters.

DO NOT ENDORSE THE TICKET AS A WHOLE BUT NOMINATE EACH OF THE CANDIDATES SEPARATELY AND SO RECORD THIS ON THE MINUTES OF THE LOCAL.

THE CORRECT TICKET!

To make sure read this ticket over and be sure the following nominees are put up for the following offices:

The Full and Official Slate of the Progressive Miners Group of District Five, U. M. W. A., to be voted for at the Election held Dec. 12th, is as follows:

President—Thomas Myerscough, Local Union 4561, Lawrence.
Vice President—Michael W. Brajdich, Local Union 3257, Wyano.
Secretary-Treasurer—Thomas Ray, Local Union 1973, McDonald.
Auditor—Tony Rosens, Local Union 2396, Van Voorhis.
Auditor—August Arnal, Local Union 1724, Houston.
Teller—John Usnick, Local Union 5085, Coverdale.
Teller—D. P. Taucher, Local Union 3257, Wyano.
Teller—D. P. Taucher, Local Union 3600, Burgettstown.
International Board Member—W. A. Guiler, Local Union 593, Charleroi.

SUB-DISTRICT BOARD MEMBERS

First:—Robert Baird, Local Union 1089, Racoon.
Second:—Peter Messock, Local Union 4561, Houston.
Third:—Charles E. Shaw, Local Union 2396, Van Voorhis.
Fourth:—Frank Leithold, Local Union 2396, Fayette City.
Fifth:—Frank J. Indof, Local Union 2353, Smithton.
Sixth:—James P. Hickey, Local Union 1188, Kaylor.
Seventh:—R. T. Henderson, Local Union 1230, Parnassus.

Every local at the first meeting following the receipt of this notice should endorse the district slate and the sub-district Board Member nominee of their sub-district. Fill out the nomination papers and send it in to District Five Headquarters immediately.

At the same time notify Thomas Ray, McDonald, Pa., of the action of your local, giving data of meeting, etc., so that we may be able to check up on the nominations.

W. A. GUILER, L.U. 593, U.M.W.A.
THOMAS MYERSCOUGH, L. U. 4561, U.M.W.A.
FRANK J. INDOF, L. U. 2353, U.M.W.A.
Publicity Committee, Progressive Miners Group, District Five, U.M.W.A.

Gompers and the Russian Revolution

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Revolutionary Russia has resisted the attacks of the armies of imperialism launched against her workers and peasants; she has weathered the internal strife fomented jointly by foreign governments and the reactionary elements of her own population; she has survived one of the greatest famines of history; the blockade by capitalist nations robbed her of medicine antiseptics and anaesthetics and allowed disease to ravage her people.

A terrible but a glorious five years and the Russian revolution still stands and inspires the workers of the world while capitalism, her enemy, grows rapidly weaker.

Bitterest of all enemies of the Russian revolution have been the capitalists of America and—the officialdom of the American labor movement headed by Samuel Gompers. There is no blacker blot on the pages of the history of American labor than the consistent efforts made by Samuel Gompers and his henchmen to out-Herod Herod in slaying the sturdy child of the world revolution that was born in darkest Russia on November 7, 1917.

Samuel Gompers took his cue from his master and mentor—Woodrow Wilson—the man who sold the workers of this nation into bloody slavery to the finance-capitalists of America after he had lulled them to sleep with fair phrases. Woodrow Wilson used his mighty influence to plunge the workers of this nation into the European blood-feast at the command of the House of Morgan and to this greedy crew Samuel Gompers turned over the organized labor movement of the United States to do with as they chose.

Since the time of the Root mission to Russia when James Duncan, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor urged patronage of the union label to the Russian workers who stood over the corpse of Russian capitalism with arms in their hands, the policy of labor officialdom has been just as stupid but has become more and more a reflex of the attitude of the most brutal tendencies of American capitalism.

Officially, as president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers has hailed with joy every new attempt to overthrow the workers government of Russia by force of arms. Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch and Wrangel have all received his blessing. He was persona grata at the headquarters of the adventurer Bakhmeteff—the protege and spoiled darling of the blackest reactionaries of America. The voice of Samuel Gompers has been raised with that of Herbert Hoover, the New York Times and every other foe of the workers at home and abroad in denunciation of the Russian Revolution and Russian revolutionaries. The only victory of the workers in history is to him only something on which to vent his spleen.

The terrible famine brought on by drought with its horrible consequences, intensified by the blockade did not soften his heart, he saw in it exactly what the imperialists saw—something that would weaken the resistance of the Russian workers and leave them an easy prey to the vultures of world imperialism who hovered on the borders of their country.

Samuel Gompers has repeated all the monstrous lies with which the press has slandered the Russian Revolution and he has clung to and reiterated these fabrications long after they had been discredited by the logic of events and discarded by their authors.

At the Montreal convention of the A. F. of L. he used his influence for the adoption of a resolution denouncing the Russian Revolution that for sheer falsehood, utter reaction and display of abysmal ignorance places the officialdom of the labor movement of America side by side with imperialists of the type of Winston Churchill, Poincare, Lloyd George and Elihu Root. At the Cincinnati Convention—the Gompers machine had to mobilize all its [illegible] revolutionary Russian workers and their government.

History has already assigned a place to Samuel Gompers. It is a pitiful one as always happens when an individual with stolen authority places himself in opposition to a historical process. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor by grace of the ignorance of the American workers will not be remembered for long. In the brief interval in which his name will be mentioned in connection with the Russian Revolution it will be greeted with an undertone of curses beneath the cheers that rise to heaven for those whom he reviled.

The Russian Revolution is in its [illegible] before it and the workers it [illegible] a wondrous future. Samuel Gompers, with the capitalist [illegible] he has defended, are in the throes of senile decay. The stage is being set by history for new scenes, whose meaning the mind of Gompers and those he represents, cannot understand.

On the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution the intelligent workers know that the senile viciousness of an individual or a system cannot stop the advent of world communism of which the Russian Revolution is the forerunner. It is for this that Communists, the world over, work, go to jail and die while Samuel Gompers and his ilk are petted by the enemies of the working class. It is well. In the struggle each finds his place. Gompers has found his. Few envy him now. None will envy him when the bright-eyed children in a communist society read of the inglorious role he played in the struggle that won a world for the workers.

Harlem Study Classes

Systematic study courses in Marxism have been undertaken by the Harlem English Branch of the Workers Party and the Young Workers' League, and a limited number of additional students can be admitted to all the classes.

The comrades in that district declare they have evolved a good method of extending the party educational work, and are enthusiastic over their prospects of effective work this coming winter.

Their elementary class in process of formation is taking up the study of the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels: "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" by Engels; "The A. B. C. of Communism" by Bucharin; and the "Communist Program" by Bucharin.

An intermediate class meets on Monday nights and Saturday afternoons from 4 to 6, and includes as textbooks "The Origin of the Family" by Frederick Engels; "The State and Revolution" by N. Lenin; and "Wage Labor and Capital" and "Value, Price and Profit" by Karl Marx.

There is an advanced class announced for students with some understanding of economics and history, which still has about five vacancies, that will study "Capital" and other works by the founders of the theoretical movement of the modern working class.

Julius Godkind, 133 East 97th St., is the educational director of the English Harlem Branches, and says he is willing to answer all inquiries concerning the classes and their work.

Help from Southern Illinois

T. R. Sullivan, district organizer for District No. 10, St. Louis, Mo., announces that resolutions bearing on the situation in Fayette County, Pa., have been adopted by local unions of the United Mine Workers and contributions made as follows:

Local 992, Zeigler, Ill.	$100
" 4096, Zeigler, Ill.	200
" 755, Staunton, Ill.	50
" 3703, Dowell, Ill., 25 cent assessment from 500 members	
" 3676, Christopher, Ill.	
" 3613, Valier	
" 4630, Belleville, Ill.	50
Sub Dist. No. 7 of Dist. No. 12	

England Goes to an Election

With the conservatives temporarily in the saddle, usurping the place vacated by the Lloyd George ministry, Great Britain goes to an election Wednesday, Nov. 15. The new parliament is called to assemble Monday, Nov. 20.

This speed would knock dead an ordinary American politician, who plans presidential campaigns a couple of years ahead, while a congress elected in November doesn't meet in regular session until December, 13 months later.

Workers thruout the world will watch the election campaign in Great Britain and its result at the ballot box, since England will be the seat of reaction in the days to come, with Premier Poincare of France bending to the demands for the opening of commercial relations with Soviet Russia.

[illegible]

By WM. F. KRUSE

We glory in our privilege to celebrate this Nov. 7th the fifth anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic.

The establishment of a working class government by the Russian workers [illegible] light of hope to the revolutionary movement of the world [illegible] taking new courage from the victory of their comrades in what was, till then, considered the most hopeless country in the revolutionary cause, rallied to the red banner of the Third International. The issue between reformism and revolution became clear and unmistakable. The working masses moved steadily left. Thruout the world resounded the rumbling of proletarian uprising.

The International General Staff of capitalist imperialism was fully conscious of this new menace to its continued rule. With every means at its disposal it sought to crush out the life of the new proletarian state before it inspired the workers of all other nations to act likewise on their own behalf.

The armies and navies of almost every capitalist nation on earth were hurled against Russia and her sister soviet states. American and Japanese, English and German, French and Czech, to mention only a few, snapped and bayed at the Russian workers hard at the erection of an industrial democracy where they had demolished the structure of Tsar and capitalist. Not only were these measures ineffective in a military sense, but they created a worldwide sympathy for the Russians who were attacked, a sympathy not expressed merely in resolutions and other abstract forms, but taking on a very concrete, practical phase. Thus in England, Italy and even in the United States we found workers refusing to load ships with cargoes intended for anti-Soviet use. The imperialists very wisely withdrew this exciting form of counter-revolutionary activity.

Their next weapon was the military, financial and moral support of "loyal" and "decent" Russians in their efforts to overthrow the Soviet State. Labels count for nothing, least of all to capitalists seeking to effect their ends. Monarchist or Menshevik, Kolchak or Kerensky,—it was all the same if only the workers' power could be overthrown. But the only effect of this activity was to more clearly expose to the workers both in Russia and thruout the world at large, the naked realities of the class struggle and the need for a 100 per cent control of all the powers of the State as the weapon by which their enemy could be held in subjection.

The blockade, first of products, and then when this became dangerous in the face of worldwide workers' protest, the blockade of credits, hampered Russia's work of reconstruction, but could not defeat the Revolution.

Failing in all these offensive meas[illegible] was the capitalists have fallen back upon a defensive propaganda whose sole purpose is to prevent the spread of Communism beyond the Russian border lines. The frankly reactionary papers, such as, for instance, The Wall Street Journal, have very little value in work of this kind.

This is a battle for the adherence of the working class mind of the world. The closer a newspaper, a pulpit, a lecture forum, a public speaker or author is to the working class ear, the more valuable he is to the capitalist class when put to use at counter-revolutionary propaganda. And in this connection, just as the laborite reformists are the last, most effective bulwark of capitalism against the rising tide of proletarian revolution, so in propaganda work the most effective counter-revolutionist is he who can sugarcoat his poison with radical phrases, who can cloak his present activity with a "past" more or less friendly to the workers' cause.

The most dangerous enemies of working class freedom to-day are some of the "friends, but—" of Soviet Russia. In this class are those who love Russia so much that they desire to replace the present workers' administration with one of politician hirelings of Entente imperialism. There are also those who love the Russian "people" so dearly that they concoct a whole tissue of falsehood with which to slander the only effective working class pro-Russian relief organization in this country, the F. S. R. They love the Revolution so arduously that they spread every capitalist charge of "tyranny," "bloodshed," etc., among the very forces that to a man, should be giving their utmost and best to the cause of the Russian, and thereby, world revolution. The expose of these Judases is a task that they themselves have added to the burdens of those loyal to the workers' fight, but is one whose importance prohibits its being shirked.

On the fifth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution we renew our pledge:—full service to the workers' cause and no quarter to its enemy, no matter what the banner under which he fights.

DANCE AT CLEVELAND!

Given by the Workingwomen's Educational League, SUNDAY Eve., Nov. 5th, Eight O'clock, at the Talmud Torah Hall, 2491 East 55th

Fifty per cent of the proceeds to the suffering people of Soviet R sia, Remainder for permanent Str Fund.

ROSENTHAL'S ORCHESTRA

Admission 25 cents.

Rule or Ruin

The fixed policy of the Jewish Daily Forward, as far as the needle trades are concerned, seems to be to rule or ruin any organization whose policy it cannot dictate. Its latest attempt at political trickery was its action in endeavoring to magnify a local issue arising out of elections to the joint board of New York City into a national issue that would embroil the General Office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The Socialist Party opposition to the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated is in control of the New York Joint Board. This joint board is tainted with all the reactionary virus of the reformist Socialist politicians who follow in the wake of the Cahan-Hillquit combination. The opposition to this board is under the leadership of a group known as the Shop Delegates' League, which has a practical program for bettering the structural organization of the Amalgamated thru legitimate channels. Its weapons are agitation and education in order to convince a majority of the membership of the correctness of its principles.

As the elections just concluded were approaching, the slimy political crooks in charge of the destinies of the Socialist Party henchmen realized that their creatures on the joint board were likely to suffer defeat on a clean-cut issue of the program of the Shop Delegates' League as opposed to the reactionary tendencies prevailing in the local officialdom. So the "Forward," the Jewish organ of the Socialist Party, distorted the charges and counter-charges incident to a heated political campaign in a desperat effort to create the idea that sinister forces were endeavoring t undermine the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Th is typical of the Jesuit tactics of Cahan and his crew: accusin others of the very crimes he himself is guilty of committing. Th English-speaking organ of the Socialist Party, the Daily Ca which is merely a cheap vest-pocket edition of the "Forward" a pearing in the pigeon-English language of Oneal and his ass ciates, quoted with great gusto the diatribes of the "Forward" the effect that "persons who are trying to wreck the organizatio have issued anonymous circulars against the officials of the Ama gamated Clothing Workers," and then indulged in the tirade the "Forward" to the effect that these "secret groups" were know and would be punished, etc. The opposition was not working th "secret groups," but in the open, under the name of the Leag and the leaders of the League are well known to all officials a most members.

The animus that prompts such political manoeuvering on t part of the Socialist Party organs is of long standing, but w fanned into intense fury by the reception that the fakir, Caha received at the last convention of the Amalgamated, held in C cago, which he attempted a vitriolic assault upon the "leftist which acted as a boomerang against him.

The latest assault upon the so-called "leftists" was merel crude attempt to create a breach between the General O of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and their best suppor in order to divide their forces for the benefit of the Socialist Pa

To the credit of the officials of the Amalgamated and the o sition to the Joint Board this wrecking expedition met with di failure, and the real militants in the City of New York will c tinue their work upon the principles they have enunciated. [illegible] the Socialist Party, the Jewish "Forward" and its English pocket edition, the "Call," are pilloried before the world as t to the working class, who will resort to any contemptible t order to gain their ends.

AN ORGAN OF [illegible]

Vol. V No. [illegible] | [illegible] | SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1922 | [illegible] | THE WORKER [illegible] New York, N. Y. | Price [illegible]

Jury Ends Burns' Frame-Up

Big Problems Before Congress of Communist International

Attack on Labor Planned Under Cover of Michigan Central Wreck Repudiated thru Freeing of Prisoners Held at Gary, Ind.

Thru its refusal to indict John Petrowski and Joseph Popovich, the county grand jury at Gary, Indiana, has sung the final requiem over the attempted Burns' frame-up against labor growing out of the Michigan Central Railroad wreck last August.

The two men, Petrowski and Popovich, still suffering from and bearing the scars of the brutal third degree to which they were subjected, have finally been released from jail.

It was under cover of this frame-up that the Burns-Daugherty terrorists launched their raids in Chicago and Michigan, as a result of which 20 arrests were made of William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League; C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, and other active and militant spokesmen of labor.

It was with the aid of the general hysteria they hope to arouse thru this frame-up that the Burns-Daugherty outfit planned to enforce their Wilkerson injunction against the striking railroad shopmen to the limit, if necessary to call out the army to make it effective.

It is very interesting to note that the kept press, that spread itself for columns in printing weird stories, first about the Michigan wreck, then the alleged "confessions," then the raids in Chicago and Michigan, then about the Wilkerson injunction, is now silent as the tomb when the grand jury at Gary, Ind., finally [illegible]

In the minds of the great mass of newspaper readers, the Michigan Central wreck, due to a broken down engine, is still a "red plot", as the kept press intends they should believe.

Mob Spirit Still Lives

What mob spirit Burns and Daugherty, therefore, were able to bring to life still lives except where it has ben scotched by the thinking section of the labor press.

One of the prisoners, Charles Usellis, is still being held, but it is predicted that he, too, will soon be released. The only testimony against him is the statement of a Burns-Daugherty stool pigeon who claims he heard Usellis declare that the train should be wrecked. Of course, it is easy for stool pigeons to "hear" anything that government lawyers and sleuths want them to hear.

Michigan Trial Will Proceed

In spite of the failure of the Burns-Daugherty frame-up the preparations for the trial of the 20 militants arrested in Michigan still goes on, as reported in another column by Thomas O'Flaherty, one of the prisoners just released on bail from the Berrien County jail, at St. Joseph, Michigan.

While the Burns-Daugherty department of Justice lynching program is carried forward the workers are enlisting more and more under the standards of the Labor Defense Council.

There should be a branch of the Council in every city of the country. Get in touch with the Labor Defense Council, Federation Building, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

[illegible] Sees Victory [illegible] Amalgamation [illegible] Illinois Federation

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The Illinois Federation of Labor failed to endorse amalgamation at its recent convention in Rockford by a vote of 119 to 148. To the faint-hearted who see in every temporary set-back a disaster this will bring great gobs of gloom, but an analysis of the personnel of the convention and the existing situation in Illinois shows that the amalgamationists scored a very decisive victory.

Delegates from the coal-miners' unions were conspicuous by their absence. The prolonged struggle of last summer has depleted their treasuries; they have the Herrin affair on their hands together with dozens of minor cases and they feel the need of husbanding every dollar. They could not afford to send their usual large delegation and it was largely this circumstance that gave the reactionaries a temporary majority.

From Chicago the Teamsters' Union—famed for the bitter opposition of their officialdom to anything progressive—had sent 36 delegates who were paid $25 per day. Here was the "majority" that defeated the amalgamation resolution. The favorable action of the Ohio State Federation of Labor on the amalgamation resolution—totally unexpected by the machine politicians served as a warning to the reactionary element in Illinois. They prepared for

(Continued on Page Three)

Last Call
For Soviet Russia Anniversary Issue of The Worker

We have a few hundred copies of last week's issue, the 5th Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Revolution Issue on hand. This issue is still good for meetings held within the next few days. Orders should be sent in immediately. If you have not ordered a bundle of this issue, do so at once. It is 8 pages and should be read by every worker in your city.

Order now! 3½ cents per copy.

THE WORKER,
Room 405, 799 Broadway.

Stereotypers Wake Up

From the Labor Herald

The progressive minority in the International Stereotypers' Union, weary of autocratic methods by their officials, have selected a ticket and are contesting the elections with the old officialdom.

The progressive ticket follows:

For President—George L. Riley, Pittsburgh Stereotypers' Union No. 56;

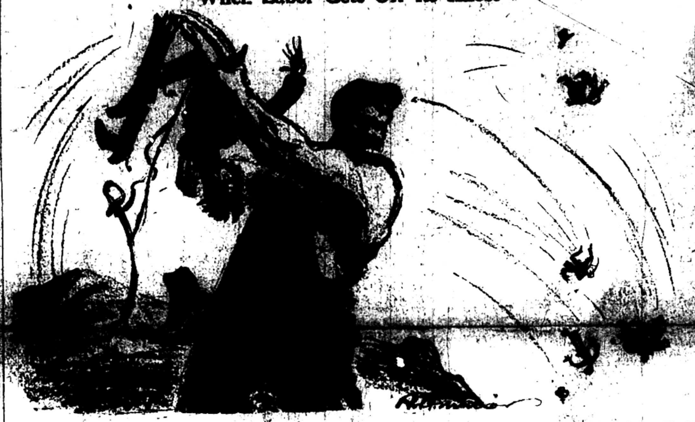
For Vice-President—Harry Perkins, Toronto Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union No. 21:

For Secretary-Treasurer—Fred K. Russell, Cleveland Stereotypers' Union No. 22;

For Finisher Member of Board—Elmer E. Young, Washington Electrotypers' Union No. 17;

For Molder Member of Board—J. Harry Johnson, Philadelphia Electrotypers' Union No. 72.

When Labor Gets Off Its Knees



The Communist International is the power that will destroy the rule of kings, imperialists and capitalists. The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International opens in Moscow, Soviet Russia, Nov. 7, on the day of the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic. Workers! Celebrate the Fifth Year of Workers' Rule in Soviet Russia!

Workers! Eight Raid Victims Still Being Held in Michigan Jail

By THOMAS O'FLAHERTY

Eight Communist victims of the pernicious activities of William J. Burns—Attorney General Daugherty's chief stool pigeon—are still behind the bars in the Berrien County, Michigan, jail.

Owing to the fact that only cash or Liberty Bonds is accepted as bail, the task of raising $10,000 for each of the prisoners is a difficult one.

It is believed in St. Joseph, Mich., that but for the interference of the Federal authorities, local officials would fix the bail at from two to three thousand in each case.

But William J. Burns wanted his pound of flesh and all attempts to lower the bail were strenuously opposed. In order to inject some anti-Communist spirit into the citizens of the County who appear to have taken the raid quite coolly, Allan B. Myers, the "indictment expert" of the Department of Justice, delivered a lecture before the local Rotary Club on "The Menace of Communism".

He hawked around a portfolio labelled "Transcript". No doubt this contained the hokum that Mr. Whitney of Harvard University passed off on the Boston Transcript as "evidence" of red activity and for which we assume he got paid at so much per yard.

The citizens of Berrien County are not exactly tickled to death over the prospect of paying their hard earned money in order to provide the fink Burns with a Roman holiday.

They are grumbling audibly over the heavy cost which the prosecution of so many radicals will entail.

(Continued on page Two.)

The Red Army is again in Vladivostok. Soviet Rule again flies the Red Flag on the shores of the Pacific. In the words of Lenin, "The war is over." World imperialism has confessed its defeat and withdrawn its last soldier from Soviet soil. Dare it plan another attack?

After all the labor skates had told us that Albert Beveridge, Republican candidate for U. S. senator from Indiana was a real radical, now comes the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and boosts the candidacy of ex-Governor Ralston. More evidence of the chaos resulting from labor's efforts to follow the Gompers' nonpartisan political policy.

White Guard Poland seems to be following in the footsteps of Germany, all parties of the "Socialists" and reactionists uniting for the re-election of the "Socialist," Marshall Joseph Pilsudski. The Communist Party, in Poland, as in the United States, has been driven underground. Whenever Polish Communists are elected, they are immediately arrested and thrown into prison, with "Socialist" consent.

Lenin Expresses Gratitude to the Friends of Soviet Russia for Work of Tractor Unit

NEW YORK.—The full text of a letter from Nicolai Lenin to the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., has been transmitted to the organization by cablegram. The fact that such a letter had been written was reported recently.

Lenin expresses "deepest gratitude in the name of the Republic" for the work of the tractor unit sent by the F. S. R. He also advises that he will recommend to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee that the tractor farm made possible by the American workers should be officially recognized as a model for the rest of the country.

His letter reads:

"Dear Comrades: I have just now made special inquiries from the Executive Committee of the Province of Perm about the work of the members of your organization, headed by Harold Ware, in the tractor group in the district of Perm on the Toikino estate, and have received gratifying information which has been published in our newspapers.

"In spite of all the difficulties, particularly on account of the distance of the place of work from the center and also of Kolchak's destruction during the civil war, you have gained such success as should be acknowledged. I express my deep gratitude and request you to publish this in the newspapers of your organization and also, if possible, in the other newspapers in the United States.

"I am putting before the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee the question of recognizing this estate as a model and of giving it special help in its reconstruction work as well as providing it with benzine, metals and other materials which are necessary for organizing a repair work-shop.

"Once more I express my deepest gratitude in the name of the Republic and I request you not to forget that no other kind of assistance is so important and opportune for us as the work carried out by you.—NICOLAI LENIN."

Confessed Baiter of "Reds" on Communist Laborite Jury Panel

BULLETIN!

OAKLAND, Calif.—The jury in the Communist Labor Party trial here has just been accepted by both sides and has been sworn in. Nine women and three men constitute the jury. Two alternates are now in the process of, being selected.

• • •

By HAROLD [illegible]ANFORD
(Special to The Worker)

OAKLAND, California.—After ten years of careful study of the judicial system in this state, I have come to the conclusion that a worker can not hope to get a fair trial in California.

Haven't I witnessed the shameless conviction of Ford and Suhr, victims of greedy agricultural exploiters and their judicial hirelings?

Haven't I witnessed the Mooney frame-up and the continued resistance of the officialdom of this state to a righting of a wrong done an innocent man?

Haven't I seen the railroading of over 30 clean-cut idealistic "Wobblies" to prison on evidence so unreliable and remote to the case at issue that it could not possibly hold water in any but an anti-working class case?

But it took the rawness of the methods used to send five Communists to jail here to make me come to this decision: A worker can not possibly hope for a fair and impartial trial in California where issues are involved between capital and labor.

On October 5th, five Communist Laborites, J. A. [illegible], James H. Dolsen, J. G. Reed, J. E. Snyder, and C. A. Tobey, went to trial in Judge [illegible]'s court here on charges

(Continued on Page Two)

Militants of World Meet in Red Russia

NOTE:—We are planning to give to our readers the best possible reports of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, called to meet at Moscow, Soviet Russia, Tuesday Nov. 7th. In addition to the reports and special articles sent out by the International Press Correspondence, THE WORKER will have its own writers and reporters at the congress's press tables. This week we publish an article sent out by the International Press Correspondence, written by Ernst Meyer, who is already in Moscow. It reviews some of the big problems to come before the congress and is as follows:

By ERNST MEYER

The Fourth World Congress has as one of its first items on the agenda, the subject "Five Years of Russian Revolution and Perspectives of the World Revolution"

The Fourth World Congress will not merely review the five years of Russian Revolution, but during the whole of the deliberations it will consider and estimate the results and experiences in Soviet Russia, and will have to draw further conclusions therefrom for the activity of the Communists.

The struggle of the Russian workers to capture the power of the state was not easy. Still more difficult was it for the Russian peasants and workers to maintain the possesion of the state power.

The struggles have been victorious. The Soviet power both from the military point of view and the point of view of foreign politics is more consolidated than ever. The difficulties which the proletarian state has yet to overcome on the road to Communism are enormous.

In Central Europe too, whose social foundations were greatly shaken during the autumn days of 1918, the revolutionary struggle has not so quickly succeeded as the Communists of all countries expected.

While in the first years following the conclusion of the imperialist peace, the Communists immediately took up the fight for the ultimate aim, the conquest of the state power, the Communists of all countries which are still capitalist, have now set up the so-called proximate aims, which are intelligible to the working masses and which are calculated to gather the whole working class under the banner of Communism and the struggle for which must immediately become a struggle for the attainment of the final goal.

The Fourth World Congress will have to test and examine all these experiences in Soviet Russia and in the capitalist world.

This necessity for self-understanding also finds expression in that the discussion of an international program as well as of the programs of the various sections of the Communist International has been placed upon the agenda of the World Congress.

It is true, no final decision will be reached upon the international program, as the preparatory work is not sufficiently advanced.

But the reports to be delivered and the work of the [illegible] Sections will form a good basis for further [illegible]

(Continued on Page Three)

Nov. 7, Celebrate Fifth Anniversary, Russian Revolution, Lexington Opera House, 57th Street and Lexington Ave. Nov. 7

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] the most of their [illegible] as it is Daugherty's [illegible] if it is part of their [illegible] to put workers in jail they [illegible] see any reason why they should shoulder the cost.

[illegible] the County Supervisors passed resolutions calling on the Federal Government to come across with some hard cash, and share in the cost as well as the honor of the famous "red raid". They have also enlisted the aid of Senator Newberry. While it is believed that the Federal Government cannot very well announce from the housetops that it had contributed to the State Prosecutor's war chest, still in view of Harry Daugherty's past history a little thing like a Federal law should not prove an unsurmountable obstacle.

It is also true that the farmers of Berrien County have troubles of their own. They have good land no doubt; also good crops. But what do these blessings amount to when they are robbed by the commission houses. While you pay a good price for apples in the fruit stores tons of pears, apples and other fruit are rotting all over the county. The same is true of the fishing industry. Sometimes a fruit grower after sending a consignment to a commission house in Chicago received a bill for transportation in return instead of a check. Yet they are expected to consider the prosecution of twenty workers their patriotic duty, and they are expected to pay for its privilege. Is it any wonder that they are thinking seriously of Johnson's famous remark about "patriotism being the last refuge of a scoundrel." William J. Burns depends on that brand of patriotism to influence the jury which is expected to bring in a verdict of guilty when we are tried for violating the Anti-Syndicalist Act of the State of Michigan.

While the Berrien County prosecutor claims to have received communications from labor leaders urging him to go ahead and prosecute us, my experience since my release two weeks ago has convinced me that the great majority of the organized workers are heart and soul with us in our fight against the tools of capitalism. I have addressed union meetings in Chicago and everywhere the feeling was evident that the Michigan raid was part and parcel of the gigantic conspiracy on the part of the capitalists of America thru their executive committee, the government, to crush the labor movement out of existence and in order to do that most effectively they sought to first get rid of the militants.

But this raid proved a boomerang. Formerly when a worker was labelled "Communist" it was enough to scare the rank and file of organized labor away. Now the situation is different. The workers know that the communists are the most militant members of organized labor and while Samuel Gompers sits on the sands of Atlantic City beach admiring the dimpled beauties or reviews an American Legion parade in New Orleans cheek by jowl with the notorious Judge Landis and indulging in insane nonsense about the "brotherhood of capital and labor" the communists are thrown in jail by the judicial satellites like Landis simply because they are fighting for the rights of the workers. The workers are now realizing this and that is the reason why organized labor is rallying to the support of the Labor Defense Council to an extent never before experienced in the defense of Communists against the capitalist terror.

[illegible] in the nation's capital city. They are now sending their pickets after President Harding, wherever he may be found, and on Armistice Day, Nov. 11, a general assault is planned on the White House.

This was my fifth trip to Washington in five years. First, in 1917, I went to protest, with others, in the days of Postmaster General Burleson, against the barring of labor papers from the mails and the withdrawal of their second class mailing privileges. In 1920 and 1921, I was with those delegations that went to the White House and the houses of congress, to demand the release of Eugene V. Debs and the other class war prisoners. Towards the end of 1922, I went to Washington and spoke for the Friends of Soviet Russia under the nose of its bitterest enemy, Herbert Hoover, and now I have journeyed again to American capitalism's political citadel to urge, almost on Attorney General Daugherty's own doorsteps, the organization of a branch of the Labor Defense Council, to help fight the arrests growing out of the Michigan and Chicago raids.

In Washington, today, they are doing this disrespectable thing, sending pickets against the president. In the early days of the war no pickets troubled the president, Wilson, or the postmaster general, Burleson, or the attorney general, Palmer, about "free speech, free press, free assemblage."

When the armistice came, with the exhaustion of the imperialist armies in Europe, the feeling grew that good manners would win clemency from the White House for those who had transgressed capitalism's war time laws. But later on, in the days following Debs' release, to picket or not to picket, became a burning issue among the amnesty forces. It is not now an issue. All respectable means have been tried to get the last of the war prisoners, mostly members of the Industrial Workers of the World, out of the Leavenworth, Kans., Bastille. Disrespectable pickets, keeping up the fight after the departure of the Childrens' Crusade, are in the saddle and pushing the fight.

I went with the amnesty pickets to the Chevy Chase Club, in Maryland, just over the District of Columbia line. It is here that the President of the United States of America, Warren Gamaliel Harding of Marion, Ohio, "crushed by the burdens of state," plays golf every afternoon from two to five o'clock. I can just imagine the great wail that would go up from our biggest capitalists, and small ones too, and all their press, if the workers would knock off work from two to five every afternoon and still draw pay.

The flag of the Chevy Chase Club, at the top of a huge flag pole, is brilliant red, marred only by three letters in black, "C. C. C."

I remarked to the pickets as we waited for the president to finish his game, that that might just as well read "Communist Country Club." The air out here was fresh and clean, there were plenty of huge trees and wide stretches of grass, just the thing for the tired men, women and children of labor on a holiday.

The presidential party came with the sundown and the cool air of an approaching autumn evening in two huge limousines, among the many hurrying back to the city with their golf players, government officials, politicians, [illegible] army officers, navy officers, diplomats of foreign countries, a regular procession of capitalist notables.

The pickets stood with their banners where the road to the club branches off from the turnpike. As the presidential limousine swept past, its occupants looked back and read the wording on the amnesty banners. The "Golf Ball" president saw and read, glared and glared again, then pulled his golf cap down over his eyes as the car disappeared down the highway.

The pickets folded their banners and took a street car back to the city. The next day I saw them at the gates to the White House. There they are found at noon every day. Sunday they picketed the Calvary Baptist Church, the president's church, whither he wends his way on Sabbath mornings to give sightseers an opportunity to behold him. It was here the Childrens' Crusade was denied admission.

President Harding said some time ago that he wanted 60 days to review the cases of the war time prisoners. That time has long since expired. The pickets are in dead earnest with their drive, they have flung "manners" to the wind, they have become disrespectable, even to the president of the United States, who is very much angered with them, as he has often intimated.

I came to the conclusion that this disrespectability was giving the lie to the professions of liberals and reformers that war time persecution was passing, that in Harding's own phraseology "We are returning to normalcy." The difference is that some one else is being hit. Instead of "Socialists" we have Communists in prison, or going to prison. In addition to new raids and trials of members of the Industrial Workers of the World, in Oregon, California, and other states, we have 434 members of the United Mine Workers indicted at Herrin, Ill., and hundreds more facing trial in West Virginia, Ohio, and elsewhere.

Coal miners from Somerset County, Pa., have been walking as pickets before the sumptuous Fifth Ave., New York City, home of their boss, E. J. Berwind, of the Berwind-White Coal Co., that has the contract for supplying coal to the New York subways.

Let this picketting idea grow. Let the workers in every industry picket the homes of their bosses, carrying banners displaying their demands and voicing their grievances. They will get a look, if nothing else, at the palaces they have made possible.

Let all the shops and mines, and factories in the land be surrounded with pickets displaying to the millions of workers when they go to their jobs and when they leave, banners containing labor's slogans growing out of the raids in Michigan and Chicago, and the fight for the class war prisoners everywhere, for Mooney and Billings, for Sacco and Vanzetti, and all the rest.

Let pickets carrying banners with similar slogans be stationed before every bank and other financial institution, to flaunt in the face of capitalism's golden fortresses the demands of awakening labor.

Mind you, this will not abate the persecution of labor one bit. Armistice Day, Nov. 7, 1922, is supposed to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the ending of the world war, but the war is not yet ended, because the war was an imperialist war and there is a Soviet Republic in the world and working men and women of many nations are fighting as they must to shake off wage slavery's shackles.

There is no armistice in the class struggle, and can be none, until the Communist era wipes out all classes for all time.

Until that time the gradual awakening of labor increases the intensity of the struggle with the exploiters. Let the picket lines grow. Let the workers get a good look at the homes they will take, the industries they will own, the financial institutions their Soviet Rule will operate as long as they are needed.

This will be so because capitalism will reply to labor's protest, first weak and scattered as now, later manifesting itself in huge strikes and demonstrations, with greater persecution. Then will come the hour when labor, tired of futile protest, feeling its chains too heavy, the oppression it suffers too galling, will crush the last form of slavery of the ages into the dust and assume all power.

No wonder Harding sits tormented in the White House. The pickets at his doorstep are breeding the disrespect for power, this time of the capitalist system, that goes before its fall.

And they, the upholders of this crumbling social system, will still maintain the fiction that Nov. 11, 1922, is an Armistic Day, because they do not want to face their day of doom.

Standard Oil Stock of No Value

By WILLIAM F. KRUSE

This is not the soap box statement of some Communist agitator but a formal declaration by the Secretary of the Treasury, A. W. Mellon, in a letter to Congressman James A. Frear, of Wisconsin, who had called the Secretary's attention to the 400 per cent stock dividend declared by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

The stock dividend is the method by which big corporations hide their real profits and at the same time increase the mountain of fake securities on which tender-hearted judges order the wage-slaves to sweat out dividends.

The Congressman was not interested in this phase of the matter, but he did think they were skinning Uncle Sam out of millions in income taxes, thereby cutting down the size of the faithful "pork barrel," best friend of the solon seeking re-election.

But Mr. Mellon set him straight. The Standard Oil would not sabotage its own government. The stockholders, who more than doubled their fortunes in this stock over night, really were no richer than they had been!

Says Mr. Mellon: "Taking, for illustration, the case of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, to which you refer, the holder of its stock, after he has received these new certificates or shares, has altogether no more than he had before, and therefore, so far as the holder is concerned, there is no income to tax." And then he quotes a court decision, a Supreme Court decision, to back himself up. Every stockholder agrees with him also.

The Secretary is really right, even if holders of S. O. did get rich on this declaration. All that the stockholders ever had in their scraps of pretty printed paper, was a claim to a certain proportion of what was wrung from the wage-slaves as long as they will tolerate this form of exploitation.

We have often maintained that the stocks and bonds of the rich men are worth to the world only their value in scrap paper. We accept the corroboration of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the Supreme Court. It will be a happy day for the entire working class when it likewise takes the same view and makes its opinion effective by sweeping out the Mellons and the Supreme Court together with their owners, the stockholders of the Standard Oil.

They have no more when they receive four times as much as what they had, says Mellon. Four times one is four, which is more than one. But four times nothing is nothing—therefore the stockholders had nothing to start with. An enlightened American working class will have no trouble meeting this price.

The Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Union, as a direct outcome of the "open shop" campaign and the recent street car strike, has voted to establish a co-operative labor bank.

(Continued from Page One)

of criminal syndicalism of three years' standing. They [illegible] without counsel and announced that they would conduct their own defense.

After one week of grueling jury examination, the regular criminal panel of 30 veniremen was exhausted and a special panel of 40 talesmen was ordered by the court. Ten of these were immediately excused by the consent of the prosecution and defense for various reasons, leaving 30 to be examined.

Early in the examination of the special venire, it became evident that the matter of picking special veniremen was nothing less than a "family affair" of the staff and officials connected with the sheriff's and district attorney's office.

Out of a panel of 30 that by law was to be selected by personal service from the body of a county of more than 300,000 inhabitants, 15 were relatives and friends of the district attorney's and sheriff's staff and were served with summons over the telephone. One was a confessed baiter of "Reds" operating in Seattle and Los Angeles. Three were deputy sheriffs and guards in the local shipyards. One was a substitute matron from the county jail. The rest had interests so obviously prejudicial to the defense that they were removed for cause or were peremptorily challenged by the defense.

Can it be possible that it was just a co-incident that half of the special veniremen drawn from a body of over 300,000 were personal friends and relatives of those interested in the conviction of the defendants? Can it be just a co-incident that not one of the whole special venire of 30 talesmen were acceptible to the defense? We'll let one of the defendants answer for us.

Time and time again James H. Dolsen, defendant and chief counsel for the defense, rose from his seat and thundered his protest at the whole dirty affair.

"Do I understand his Honor considers the defendants are receiving a fair trial when an obviously handpicked venire is brought into this court for us to pick a fair and impartial jury from? I challenge this jury panel summoned over the telephone from among the relatives and friends of those that would railroad us to the penitentiary. I challenge anyone to prosecute us that can not live up to the laws themselves. I ask that this entire panel be ruled out because of irregularities found in the selection of talesmen. The law provides that special venires be selected from the body of the county by personal summons and by no other way. It does not provide that the district attorney and sheriff make it a little "family affair" between themselves by telephoning their friends and relatives for service. If we are to be railroaded to jail, we would much prefer it being done from less interested sources."

At this Wade Snook, popularly known among the professional fraternity as Snooky Ookums, jumped up and said, "The district attorney's office had nothing to do with this or any other panel. The selection of the jury panel lies solely with the sheriff. If you do not like whom he picks, the law provides ways and means for removing them. This is at your disposal, gentlemen!"

During the fight between the defendants and prosecutors, the judge looked thoroly agitated. He sat fingering different objects on his desk and made no effort to stop the flow of oratory. After the points at issue were put up to him he ruled. That no matter how irregular the venire was drawn, the law gives no precedent for the disqualification of it on the points issued. He ruled that the defense is protected from unjust jurors by 35 peremptory challenges and unlimited challenges for cause.

"At all times this court will protect your rights and will see that they are not abused. Now, proceed, gentlemen," and with this offer of protection he smiled his sweetest.

"Do I understand that the sheriff can legally serve jury summons over the telephone to his relatives and friends. I wish a ruling on that point now!" said Dolsen in another burst of oratory.

"I would rather not answer that at this time," answered the judge, "I would have to look up the law on that point." At this the defense dropped the matter as hopeless.

On Thursday afternoon, Oct. 19, the judge admitted all the charges of the defense when he ordered another special venire, when all but three talesmen of the old one was challenged. Said the judge in part, "I want the sheriff's office to strictly understand that I want this venire to be drawn from the body of the county by personal service only". In this statement there was a strong intimation that he would not tolerate another "family group" of the "vicious circle," a name given to a little group of city and county officials related to one another by bonds much thicker than water.

One of the deliberate plants on the jury was F. F. Farmer, residing at the Elk's club, who served under Joe Warren, former chief of police of Seattle, in the capacity of labor and "Red" baiter.

A comrade from Los Angeles pointed him out to me some days before his official expose as a private "dick" and a special operative for the "M. & M." of Los Angeles.

Farmer soon saw that he stood no chance of serving on the jury, and upon being called to the box delivered to the court this "oration": "I hold the defendants guilty of the crime charged. Any one who would lower our flag and hoist a red one in its place should be sent to jail and kept there. I have no use for any one who would stand for this wonderful government of opportunity being overthrown. I have helped Joe Warren of Seattle raid and break up their underground organization of conspiracy against the government, and I could not give them a fair trial."

It will take at least three weeks to select the jury, of which two and a half weeks are already consumed. By Oct. 23, the jury ought to be selected and the trial begun. The trial will be a long one lasting from six to eight weeks. The prosecution intends to use two weeks, if not less in presenting their case, while the defense will use from four to six weeks depending on the amount of literature introduced. As the prosecution reads only portions of books, the defense has threatened to read their entire contents, and from the amount of stuff introduced in the preceding cases the mere reading of literature will consume a week.

The defense is doing notably well in this case. Only one of the defendants has had any legal training. Dolsen took a [illegible] of legal work in the Northwestern Law School.

James H. Dolsen, J. A. Ragsdale, and J. G. Reed are members of the Workers Party and are being supported in this trial by the National Defense Committee of District 13. Tobey and Snyder are backed by the Civil Rights Association of Alameda County.

[illegible]

On the other hand the indomitable determination of our Russian comrades has served as an inspiration to hundreds of thousands of working-men and working-women.

Consciously some, unconsciously others, they were spurred by its proletarian appeal to more energetic and more uncompromising resistance to their oppressors.

Greater and more important than all of these, however is its influence on the class-conscious labor movement of the world. Here is its real and lasting achievement, an achievement that will last no matter what the fate of the Russian Revolution itself may be.

The effect that the Russian upheaval has upon the outside world will depend directly upon the power that Russia will develop, upon the degree to which Russia becomes a world power, upon the measure in which it succeeds in carrying out its program of industrial socialization.

Its service to the Socialist movement, however, is an accomplished fact, and nothing that may occur will remove the imprint that the courage, the unswerving devotion of the leaders of the Russian Revolution has left upon the revolutionary labor movement.

Before 1914 the Socialist movement of the world, mass movement though it had become, had reached a stage where further growth was out of the question. Especially was this true in Germany, where the Social Democratic Party was fast becoming the strongest party in the nation. As a great river that has its source far up in the mountains, and comes tearing down its steep slopes in a rushing, roaring torrent that carries everything before it, finally reaches level plains, with rich fertile lands, flowing slowly and still more slowly until it enters into the sea, almost choked by the mass of debris and rubbish that it collects, so the socialist movement, after a youth of unequalled revolutionary fervor, inspired by the Paris Commune, fighting its way against the terror-stricken reaction of an awakening industrial bourgeoisie, growing and deepening in spite of oppression and Bismarckian exception laws, finally reached the great fertile plains of legitimate political activity. There came the time when its influence, like the waters of the great river, became a blessing to the working class. Its influence brought social legislation and succeeded even in establishing a certain amount of political freedom in the countries where it was the strongest. But it had long ago lost all resemblance to the roaring mountain torrent that could have eaten its way into the very vitals of the granite mountains of established society.

When the war broke out, the socialist movement in Europe reached the maximum of its usefulness. It had become a slow and sluggish stream, laden down with a ballast of political considerations, of diplomatic manoeuvres, of great unwieldy organizations, and of a stolid bureaucracy. And like the great stream it had lost its own identity in the ocean of reaction into which it flowed when party after party united hands with Imperialism in the name of the fatherland.

Here the Russian Revolution did its great and most significant work. True, it tore these big socialist parties asunder. But only in order to give a new impetus to the revolutionary labor movement. It divided those who were ready to learn and to live from the others who were too deeply immersed in the seas of opportunistic politics to find their way back. Like a great watershed that rises up out of the earth, driven up by some overwhelming force beneath its surface, it divided this stream, turning a part of the river into a new channel, giving it once more the force and driving power of earlier days, leaving the other behind to seep away into the sandy earth, doomed to stagnation.

We all remember the old joke about the 57 varieties of Socialism. We all resented it, and yet, in our heart of hearts, we felt its justification. The Socialist Movement had become, the world over, the rallying place for elements of the most varied shades of political opinion. Like the Irishman, the Socialist was, over and above all else, "agin' the government." Just what form this opposition took, and just what interpretation the prospective member, or even the candidate upon the Socialist ticket put upon its program, was of little or no concern. Single taxers and pacifists, opportunists and impossibilists, parlor socialists and anarchists, these, and all other conceivable shades of "radicalism" from the palest pink to the goriest red,—they all found a ready refuge there. It was less concerned with unity of principle than with unity of membership. It condemned the man who insisted upon a clean-cut statement of revolutionary, proletarian class aims, and welcomed with open arms him who would attract new voters and new members even if his principles were more than doubtful. There were, it is true, desultory discussions on fundamentals. The perennial question as to the methods to be adopted by Socialists to gain power received the perennial evasive reply. Kautsky wrote thesis on the "Road to Power", and our theoretical organs published long and learned dissertations on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the meaning of bourgeois democracy, and on the "Self-determination of Nations." But these articles were read only by the very few who had the time and the interest to concern themselves with these abstract problems. In the life of the movement itself they played no role whatsoever.

Almost from the first day the November Revolution shook the socialist movement out of this gentle apathy. What yesterday had been an academic question, of interest only to the small group of intellectuals whom the party membership more or less despised, became a burning question of the day. Almost over night our party-membership learned to discuss the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dusty copies of Marx's Capital, and the Communist Manifesto were brought out of their hiding places to back up arguments pro and con. Our membership here in America, many of them for the first time, was made to realize the international character of the socialist movement. They became familiar with the names of men and women in other countries, and with the positions that they represented.

More important than that the Russian Revolution put into practice, for the first time in the history of the world, the teachings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and of the many others who had spoken and written after them. It gave life and spirit to what had been dead. And in so doing it created a movement of the working class that lives, and will live, because it draws life and energy from a living, pulsating reality.

The Russian Revolution has made mistakes. But they were mistakes that bore bitter fruit, and by them our movement grew and learned. The Russian Revolution became our leader, our teacher. But like a wise teacher, who grows and broadens his own powers from daily contact with his charges, it too will seek, above all, to stand at the head of an international movement that will think and act clearly and understandingly and wisely, not because it follows its leaders in blind and worshiping devotion, but because it realizes that they are human beings, with a tremendous experience, with wonderful foresight and deep understanding, but human beings nevertheless, who like themselves, must live to learn, if the onward movement of the working class is to carry the world forward to industrial freedom.

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This Week!

Captain Hibben Talks

In a recent issue we published in [illegible] a letter from one of our [illegible] denouncing John P. Frey, editor of the Moulders' Journal, for endorsing the so-called exposure of "The Reds in America" appearing in The Boston Transcript and other capitalist dailies.

Captain Paxton Hibben, one of the most earnest and consistent workers for Russian Famine Relief, gives added testimony to the veracity of this attack in a suit filed for $100,000 damages against The Transcript. In commenting on this damage suit the New Republic says:

"Captain Paxton Hibben replies to charges made in an article entitled The Reds in America, appearing in various newspapers, as follows: 'That I am or ever have been a red, am raising or ever have attempted to raise money for the support of the Soviet Government of Russia, the Russian army, or for any other purpose whatever except for purely humanitarian relief work as well as the bulk of the remainder of the article in question are absolutely and unqualifiedly false. That I was ever a paid propagandist for the Greek royalists, for example, is absolutely false. It is characteristic of the whole article that it states that I copied confidential papers and documents while employed in the Consulate in Brazil, and had to assume a careful disguise in escaping from the country. I was never in Brazil in my life, never employed in a Consulate in my life, and never assumed a disguise to do anything whatsoever.' Captain Hibben has sued the Boston Transcript, one of the newspapers in which the article appeared, for $100,000."

That is the kind of stuff, however, that reactionary labor leaders of the type of Gompers, Frey and Schlesinger, and the Hillquit-Cahan-Berger "Socialists" seize upon in their efforts to discredit, if they can, the Communists in this country. Any lie, even if found in some sheet of the capitalist class, is good enough to hang a Communist. The indications are, however, that, given a little more rope, these enemies of labor progress will hang themselves.

Issues Second Denial

Later Hibben was forced to issue another denial as follows:

It is characteristic of the puerility of the articles entitled "The Reds in America" that Part XI published in the Boston Transcript on Oct. 21 should reveal as a great secret the arrangement which I consummated in Russia this summer whereby the Russian Red Cross would be empowered to act as agent for Russian musical, theatrical and dramatic artists desirous of coming to the United States, a part of the proceeds of the contracts thus made thru the Russian Red Cross going to famine relief.

The text of the certificate published in the Transcript was given out by me in Moscow to the Associated Press, the United Press and all the American correspondents. There was nothing secret about it.

It is equally characteristic of these articles that the writer is evidently unaware that the "B. Krassin" who signs the certificate in question is not Leonid Krassin, the Russian Commissar for Foreign Trade, but is on the contrary chairman of the Dramatic Artists Special Committee of the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee and has no relation whatever with the Communist Party in Russia or elsewhere.

The statement that 33⅓% of the earnings of Russian dramatic or musical artists in the United States go to the Russian Government is as fantastic as most of the material in these articles. It had merely been suggested that 10 per cent of such earnings go to famine relief.

The statement given as "authoritative" by the Transcript, that money raised in this way is used "for propaganda of the Communist movement" is unqualifiedly false—as is the greater part of the articles in question. The strange jumble of ignorance and prejudice in these articles renders them unworthy the attention of any serious person.

Paxton Hibben is Secretary of the Russian Red Cross Commission in America.

Isadora Duncan Shocks Boston

Miss Isadora Duncan has shocked Boston, famed for its beans and brains, by her appearance, after her dances, in a brilliant red robe, during which she makes a short speech about Soviet Russia, even daring to make an appeal for funds to relieve the famine stricken children of the Workers' Republic.

"Bostonians are afraid of the truth," declared Miss Duncan, saying that she sought the emancipation of women from the hide-bound conventions of New England puritanism.

The New York Times says that many Bostonians were shocked by Miss Duncan's "radical addresses" and left the hall. Wonder where those Bostonians will go when the workers take over power in Boston and make all the speeches. It will be a bad day for the socially elite of Boston's exclusive "Back Bay District" when their hide-bound conventions are discarded and they are forced to go to work under Workers Republic.

[illegible] rk to Back abor's Fight

[illegible] evening, Oct. 27, a meeting of delegates of organized labor [illegible] was held at Beethoven Hall, East 5th St., to protest against unwarranted infringements of the [illegible] of the freedom of speech, [illegible] and assemblage in the recent [illegible] of prominent trade unionists in Michigan and Chicago.

Joe Manley, of the Structural Iron Workers, told of the progress being made by Foster's idea of amalgamation, relating how state federation after state federation is being won over. It is for this reason, he said, Foster and his colleagues are being hounded. He pointed out that if labor allows these men to be "picked off" no labor man in America will be safe in the future.

In a stirring address J. M. Budish, editor of the Headgear Worker, official organ of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers Union, pointed out that Foster was breaking no law, that he was keeping well within the rights guaranteed the people by the Constitution of the United States.

In fact he was making statements which were far less radical than those uttered by former President Wilson in his "New Freedom" or by political leaders on the floor of legislative bodies. He and his colleagues are being attacked because they favor a certain type of organization in order to control the economic forces about them. They want freedom to organize for a decent standard of living, not freedom to starve.

J. B. Salutsky, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, then arose to address the audience. He showed that Foster had never been punished for publishing his little book on Syndicalism. But as soon as he began to work for a definite program of action that meant the growth and progress of the labor movement, he became immediately the prey of the employing class and was charged with violating the Criminal Syndicalist Laws of Michigan.

The body then adopted the following resolution of protest against the infamous Michigan raids:—

WHEREAS, the arrest of more than a score of men noted for their progressive views and activities in the labor movement on the charge of violating the so-called "Criminal Syndicalist Laws" of Michigan creates a crisis that cannot be ignored by any one concerned in the maintenance of American civil rights or the struggle of the workers for a decent standard of human rights,

WHEREAS, the unlawful invasion of a public meeting and the indiscriminate arrest without warrants or due process of the law of men and women and the cruel treatment of union men and women by the police is contrary to every principle of American rights and justice,

WHEREAS the arrest of William Z. Foster, William F. Dunne, Earl Browder and other members in good standing in recognized trade unions, is an outrage and a disgrace to every real American, therefore,

RESOLVED, by the delegates of the many labor unions here present that we protest against these unlawful practices, and be it further

RESOLVED that the delegates so assembled call upon all labor bodies and all organizations who are interested in preserving our sacred rights of freedom of speech, press and assembage to support both morally and financially the LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL in its efforts to free these men.

The body then proceeded to organize a permanent LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL to work unceasingly for the freedom of the arrested men.

The following bodies were represented: International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Local 89, Local 3, Local 9, Local 25, and the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union, the Joint Board of Children's Dress, Bathrobe and Housedressmakers' Union, Joint Board of the Millinery and Ladies Straw Hat Workers Union representing Locals 2, 24, 42, 43, 50 and [illegible] the Fancy Leather Goods Workers Union, Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union Local 169, the International Workers in the Amalgamated Food Industries, Amalgamated Textile Trimming Workers of America, Teachers Union of New York, Amalgamated Knitgoods Workers Union Joint Board, Amalgamated [illegible] Workers, Window Cleaners Protective Union, Workingmen's National Co-operative Society, Workmen's Circle, Arbeiter Ring Branches 634, 297, 635, 11, 99, 338, [illegible], 224, and 2 delegates from the Workers Party and the Young Workers League, also the Ladies Waistmakers Union, Local 25 and the International Workers in the Amalgamated Food Industries, Bakers Local 164, Amalgamated Lithographers Union No. 1, Brotherhood of Painters and Paperhangers Local Union 280, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America, Local 49, National Defense Committee of New York, Left Poale Zion of New York, and the Workmen's Circle Branch 620.

Cases of Halapy and Jeffries Expose Black Reaction's Rule in Pittsburgh Miners' Union

[illegible]

The Halapy Case

Michael Halapy of [illegible], [illegible] both with the district and the national organization of the miners, has started two suits in court here against the district officials. One of these suits is for reinstatement in the organization as a member.

While we hold no brief for Halapy, the decision in his case does have a bearing on the campaign here for the reason that the evidence of fraud in various ways which he produces in court is making it embarassing to the "machine" in its fight on the progressive miners who are fighting from a different viewpoint than Halapy and are appealing entirely to the membership to accomplish their aims.

Twice Halapy has been "expelled" from the organization. The first time he claims he did not know it until long after it is supposed to have been done. He claims it was done entirely by fraud and that he was not credited with the payment of dues which he had really paid.

This occurred in 1920 when Halapy was candidate for district president. His nomination for this office was declared void because he "was not a member of the organization."

After the time had passed for voting upon him as a candidate he was again allowed to pay dues into the organization. In this manner he was eliminated as a candidate. In spite of this Halapy was seated without question as a delegate to the international convention.

Recently he instituted a suit against the present and recent officers of District Five demanding an accounting of the famous "$3,000,000 fund," which seems to have vanished into thin air altho it was intended for relief in just such strikes as now exist in Fayette County.

Following the instituting of this suit Halapy was expelled from the organization for failure to confine his efforts for an accounting to the inside of the organization.

While we are not discussing the propriety of Halapy's course, this latter suit is so sensational in its charges that every miner in the district is deeply interested in the case. For instance Halapy makes the allegation in his petition that $40,000 was taken from this fund and loaned to a coal company to carry on its business.

Halapy's expulsions are an example of the autocratic manner in which the district has been ruled for many years.

The Jeffries Case

The expulsion of Jeffries is a case on point.

In 1916 there was a checkweighman at a mine near Charleroi by the name of Jeffries who decided to run for district president. Immediately the "machine" got busy.

A little while afterwards the company refused to permit Jeffries to act as checkweighman and would give him no employment whatever in the mines. The district officials refused to do anything to get him work.

After Jeffries had been out of work some time a party on the "pay roll" visited him and suggested that the only way for him to keep the wolf from the door was to take advantage of the boom then on at the Donora steel mills.

While the Donora mills were non-union there had never been any attempt to organize them and Jeffries thought nothing strange of the suggestion and sought and secured employment in the Donora mills.

A few weeks afterwards the same "friend" called again. Jeffries inquired what progress had been made in adjusting his case with the coal company and was immediately informed that nothing had been done because he had gone to work in a "scab" mill and therefore was no longer a member of the union and therefore his candidacy for district president was ended.

This is one of several examples of how dangerous individuals are eliminated from the district organization.

"Individual" Campaigns

All previous movements for changing the conditions in District Five have been more or less individualistic and this has been their weakness. The present campaign is entirely free from this fault. It is an organized movement of representative miners from different parts of the district to bring about a complete change in an organized way so that the mass of the members can control the movement in every way and no individual will be able to divert the benefit of the movement to himself.

The nominees who have agreed to run for the various offices opposite their names are:

The Full and Official Slate of the Progressive Miners Group of District Five, U. M. W. A., to be voted on at the Election held Dec. 12th, is as follows:

President—Thomas Myerscough, Local Union 4561, Lawrence.

Vice President—Michael W. Brajdich, Local Union 3257, Wyano.

Secretary-Treasurer—Thomas Ray, Local Union 1973, McDonald.

Auditor—Tony Rosena, Local Union 2398, Van Voorhis.

Auditor—August Arnal, Local Union 1724, Houston.

Teller—John Usnick, Local Union 5085, Coverdale.

Teller—D. P. Taucher, Local Union 3257, Wyano.

Teller—D. P. Taucher, Local Union 3600, Burgettstown.

International Board Member—W. A. Guiler, Local Union 593, Charleroi.

SUB-DISTRICT BOARD MEMBERS

First:—Robert Baird, Local Union 1089, Raccoon.

Second:—Peter Messock, Local Union 4561, Houston.

Third:—Charles E. Shaw, Local Union 2398, Van Voorhis.

Fourth:—Frank Leithold, Local Union 2396, Fayette City.

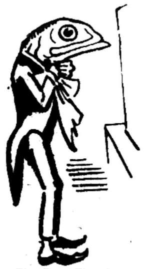
Fifth:—Frank J. Indof, Local Union 2353, Smithton.

Sixth:—James P. Hickey, Local Union 1188, Kaylor.

Seventh:—R. T. Henderson, Local Union 1230, Parnassus.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



The Poor Fish Says:
"God will provide." But at the same time he feels that the best planks in political platforms are those that promise to reduce the cost of living.

Candidates of Workers Party in New Jersey Speak at Linden Rally

Martin R. McDonald, candidate for Governor on the Workers Party ticket in New Jersey and Louis F. Wolf, candidate for U. S. Senator, spoke at a campaign meeting in Linden, N. J., on Oct. 26th.

Edward P. Scott, state campaign manager of the Workers Party, presided. The fourth speaker of the evening was Nat Kaplan, Assistant Organizer in District Two of the Party. The audience was enthusiastic.

McDonald, the first speaker of the evening, made a clear issue when he stated that it was not merely votes that the Workers Party was after, but that it entered the Gubernatorial race for the chief purpose of organizing the workers politically and for the further purpose of using Workers Party Candidates, when elected, to show up the true form of the capitalist government.

Wolf showed up the two old party gubernatorial candidates, Joseph S. Frelinghuysen, Republican, and Edward I. Edwards, Democrat.

He stated that these two old parties were but the tools in the hands of the New Jersey Bankers and Capitalists, that their only idea of solving the world industrial crisis was to give New Jersey back its beer and to do away with the terrible scourge of prohibition.

Nat Kaplan gave a short history of the work the Workers Party had been doing in this state and ended by outlining the immediate demands of the Workers Party in the coming election.

What a Difference

OAKLAND, Cal.—Kathryn Miller, University of California student and daughter of a wealthy ice cream king, has completed a two-day "perfectly lovely" jail sentence for speeding at 40 miles an hour thru the city streets. Miss Miller had special food, a special room and all kinds of attention, sympathy and publicity. This is the same jail the conditions of which nearly killed Anita Whitney when she had to stay there pending her conviction for criminal syndicalism.

[illegible] State Federation

(Continued from page One.)

[illegible] well as in deed.

With their delegates absent, with but one or two spokesmen present, with a convention packed against them and a machine fighting for its life, with Matthew Woll, the Crown Prince of the Gompers dynasty, hovering in the background, with Oscar Nelson, the Chicago henchman of Gompers, present and directing the fight of the standpatters, the fact that the amalgamation resolution was defeated by but 29 votes shows that under normal conditions the sentiment for amalgamation is strong enough to win by an overwhelming majority—provided there is organization of that sentiment.

It should be remembered also that the official leadership of the Illinois Federation of Labor is much more able than that usually found in such bodies. Victor Olander, secretary of the federation, made an intelligent fight against the resolution. He knows enough about the constitution and program of the radicals to make an effective speech in the absence of a well-organized opposition. Lillian Herstein, of the Teachers' Federation, made a brilliant fight for the resolution, but contrary to the condition that usually prevails, the reactionary element had the biggest battery of speakers. With their organization this was enough for them to win.

I have made the statement several times that the Trade Union Educational League and its supporters must expect the opposition to reform its broken lines after a succession of such defeats as it has suffered in the last few weeks and make further progress temporarily more difficult. This has already occurred. The officialdom of both international unions and state federations has been swept off their feet by the unlooked for crystallisation of the sentiment for greater solidarity and disgust with the "do nothing" policy of the trade union leadership.

Officialdom has become accustomed to seeing similar movements die thru lack of sustained interest and a common policy on which the rank and file could unite. To-day the labor fakirs realize that they face something different than the usual sporadic and spasmodic movements they have had to exert but little effort to defeat in the past. Industrial unionism is something more than a phrase to hundreds of thousands of union men and women in the present critical condition of the labor movement and for the first time the movement shows indictions of organizational sense. By "organizational sense" I mean that the militants for once seem to realize that something more than mere dependence upon the righteousness of their cause is necessary for victory.

At the Illinois convention of the federation this organization was lacking, however. Defeat was the result, but it is more than probable that the value of the lesson will not be lost and that at the next convention Illinois will take its place with the solid dozen of other federations that show unmistakably that so far as the dues-paying membership is concerned the time is ripe for welding the scattered units of the American labor movement into a real weapon of the workingclass in the United States.

There is no great rejoicing in reactionary labor circles over the outcome in Rockford. It is felt that a margin of 29 votes in a packed convention where the real labor movement of this state was not represented only gives the officialdom a short breathing spell and is no indication of the final outcome of the struggle.

It is also known and commented on that as part of the heritage of dualism many of the most progressive unions in Illinois are not affiliated with the state federation. A campaign to bring them in is already under way. Apathy will not be allowed to win for reaction the next time.

Activity, being "on the job" at all times, is the only thing necessary for the success of the amalgamation program. The defeat in Illinois has brought this lesson home.

WHAT LINCOLN FORGOT

Democracy, said Abraham Lincoln, is "Government of the people, for the people, by the people." In a class society there are two kinds of people, workers and capitalists. He forgot to specify which.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship by the workers, for the workers, against their class enemies, the capitalist and his adherents.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the organization of the advance guard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of crushing the oppressors.—Lenin.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

This picture shows Lenin addressing a Soviet Anniversary Celebration Throng in Moscow from an improvised platform. War Commissar Trotsky can be seen standing below at Lenin's left waiting his turn. Many gatherings of this nature are being planned for Moscow's anniversary celebration this year.

Big Problems Before Congress of Communist International

(Continued from page One.)

cussions in the Communist circles of all countries.

The report of Comrade Zinoviev upon the activity of the Executive and the further tactics of the Communist International will at the same time provide the opportunity of deciding the much debated question of the transition demands or proximate aims.

Altho the resistance against the tactics of the united front and against the proximate demands set up by the Communist International has been reduced within the Italian and French Parties and in the smaller groups of the German Party, only the authoritative decision of a World Congress will finally close the discussion upon this topic.

At the same time, every Party and every Party group will be pledged by this decision to carry out loyally and with all their energy the tactics of the united front in their own country.

The necessity for fighting with closed ranks, will have to be particularly pointed out in the reports on the offensive of capital and the struggle against the Versailles Peace in connection with the home and foreign politics.

The transition demands arising out of this struggle against the capitalist offensive and the Versailles Peace can in a generalized form find a place in an international program of the Communist International.

The formulation of such demands does not mean that these demands will be actually reached in the prescribed form but only that these demands must be the rallying point for the struggle of the broad masses.

The struggle for one of these demands is sufficient to roll up the whole front of the class struggle and lead to the realization of the Soviet Dictatorship.

The question of the tactics of the united front which stands for discussion along with the report of the Executive is therefore immediately connected with the program question.

The question of the tactic of the united front and the program question mutually complete each other as practical and theoretical sides of the same problem: by what means and under what slogans will the Communists of all countries most rapidly and most successfully arrive at their goal—the realization of Communism.

The Second International, before, during and after the war, set reformist work and revolutionary work against each other, giving preference to successful reformist work and abandoning all revolutionary work.

The practice of all the Menshevik and Social Democratic Parties show that the renunciation of revolutionary work also has hindered the improvement of the living conditions of the working class.

Reform work is only successful when it is connected in a revolutionary spirit and when it leads immediately to revolutionary struggles.

How little the formulation of the concrete, proximate demands has converted the Communist International into a reformist International, is shown by the ever-widening chasm between the Communist International and the Second and 2½ Internationals.

The efforts of the Communist International at the Berlin Conference to form a proletarian united front and to organize a proletarian world congress were answered by the Second and 2½ Internationals with increased fury against the Communists.

Nothing is more disagreeable to the Mensheviki and Social Reformists than the fact that the Communists stand up most energetically for the daily needs of the workers.

Theoretical debates upon the advantages of the proletarian dictatorship or of bourgeois democracy are perhaps welcomed by them.

But as soon as they are faced with concrete facts, and are summoned to a struggle against the enemies of the working class, they get into a rage and seek by means of abusive campaigns against the Communists to confuse the working class and to isolate the Communists who are forcing them into the struggle.

In Germany, for example, the trade union bureaucracy, the Independents and the Social Democrats, directly after the movement following the murder of Rathenau issued the slogan "have nothing to do with the Communists", because the tactics of the Communists during this movement were more dangerous to the Social Democrats than if the K P D had been isolated.

The campaign now being conducted in Germany by the trade union bureaucracy for the expulsion of the Communists is also a proof of how dangerous the trade union tactics of the German Communists have become to these trade union leaders who are so friendly to the employers.

If the World Congress deals this time with the trade union question it will in the first place have to confirm the tactic of remaining within the trade unions and of carrying on the revolutionary work there.

In so far as the trade union bureaucracy, systematically excludes the Communists, the World Congress will have to discuss the appropriate measures of defence, for it is clear that the Communists cannot stand idly by and watch the systematic splitting of the trade unions, but all such measures must be calculated to unite those who have been excluded.

In addition to these most important problems, the World Congress will have to discuss a number of problems which relate to separate practical questions. Besides the oriental and colonial questions and the agrarian question which have already been discussed at the international congresses the World Congress will discuss the education question which occupies a special item on the agenda.

The report upon the work among the youth will not be a mere report but it will exhaustively deal with the difficulties and problems that have arisen in the youth movement as a consequence of the changing situation.

The interest which the Communist International constantly has for the Women's question is shown by the fact that at this congress there will again be delivered a special report upon the position of the work amongst the women.

The great importance of the Co-operative movement will also find expression in a report upon this question connected with a report upon the International Cooperative Conference.

Finally the congress will bear witness to the universal interest of the working class in the proletarian famine relief for Soviet Russia in a report upon the Famine Relief for Soviet Russia.

The Communist International regards its conferences not as parades which merely have outward effects but as days of serious work of self-examination and understanding over the future struggle.

The Communist International does not shrink from openly discussing the weaknesses of individual parties. As in the past year many of the failings of the Communist Parties were openly dealt with, so this time the World Congress will have as a special item on the agenda to devote itself to the question of the French Party which has [illegible] many critical symptoms.

The Communists know no sensitiveness. They regard every pronouncement even when they lead to critical conclusions as brotherly assistance. They accept every decision of the whole International in the spirit of proletarian solidarity and discipline, both of which are indispensable in order to be able victoriously to overthrow our mighty antagonist, the bourgeoisie, and along with it its allies, the Social Democrats.

HARTMANN RESIGNS

The Friends of Soviet Russia has announced the resignation of Jacob W. Hartmann as treasurer of the organization. Dr. Hartmann was preparing to retire from his various activities in the service of the F. S. R. at the time the Jewish Daily Forward launched its attack upon the organization. He consented at that time to retain his position until the Investigation Committee of Five should have done its work.

Alice S. Broms, who has been active in the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia since its inception, is the new treasurer.

Lithuanian Branches Celebrate

The Chicago branches are arranging great mass meetings and extended invitations to various working-class organizations to participate. (There are about 40 such organizations in Chicago.)

The Brooklyn, N. Y. branch (the largest branch in the Federation), is to hold a great mass meeting, at New Plaza Hall, Grand and Havemeyer Sts.

Many branches in the mining districts are arranging mass meetings and musical evenings.

Branches in the New England States will celebrate jointly with the Russian comrades.

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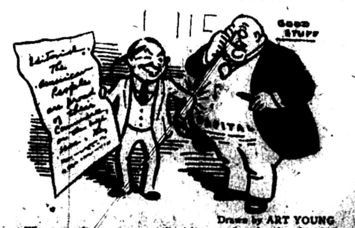
Editorial. The American People are bound [illegible]
GOOD STUFF
CAPITAL

Drawn by ART YOUNG

When an editor writes an editorial expressing the thought of the "American People" [illegible]

[illegible] Workers to [illegible] Farmer-Labor

[illegible] addressed to the [illegible] of the State of Illinois, the [illegible] Executive Committee of the [illegible] Party calls upon the work[illegible] the state to vote for the candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party [illegible] coming elections.

[illegible] manifesto declares that since [illegible] Workers Party had been unable [illegible] its candidates upon the ballot [illegible] could not do otherwise than to [illegible] the workers to support a party [illegible] expressed independent political [illegible] on the part of the workers.

The manifesto, which is followed by the Congressional Program of the party, reads as follows:

To the Workers and Working Farmers of the State of Illinois:

On November 7th, many of you will have an opportunity to express your preferences for candidates for political office to the various legislative and executive bodies of your cities and states. The Workers Party of America deems it its duty to address to [illegible] word of advice on the various political parties that will claim your vote and support in the coming elections.

[illegible] Workers Party of America is [illegible] political party of the class conscious and militant workers of America, organized to abolish the present [illegible] of capitalist oppression, thru the formation of a Workers Republic.

As a political party, the Workers Party participates in elections, national as well as municipal and state. Also, in these coming elections the Workers Party appears before the working class of America with a complete and definite program of action claiming for itself and its candidates the working class vote and working class support. In short, the Workers Party of America stands before the workers of America as their political party, distinct and separate from all other political parties.

Unfortunately, the Workers Party and its candidates will not be on the ballot in a number of cities and states in these coming elections. Illinois is one of them, which means that in your state the workers will be denied the opportunity in the coming elections to stand by the Workers Party and thru this demonstrate your opposition to the rule of capitalism and your willingness to struggle for its abolition.

This happens thru no fault of ours. Our state and local organizations in Illinois have done all in their power to place the Workers Party ticket on the ballot. But the recent governmental attacks and persecutions, which fell so heavily upon the struggling workers of America, have also had their effect upon activities of the Workers Party.

The government would not forgive our party its consistent and energetic agitation among the miners to stick it out and fight to the end. The government, and all the forces of reaction in this country, have been particularly enraged by the splendid and successful campaign for amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions carried on by members of our Party; and all over the country, and particularly in your state of Illinois. Enemies of labor began to feel uneasy about these activities of the Workers Party, and the government, which is ever on guard to protect capitalist comfort and security, obligingly cooked up a frame-up against the most active workers of our Party. Thus, the Workers Party was prevented from placing a number of its candidates on the election ballot.

Notwithstanding this fact the Workers Party participates in this election campaign on its own program pointing out to the workers the lessons of their recent struggles and calling upon them to join and support the Workers Party in the struggles yet to come.

However, as far as this particular election is concerned, there is on the ballot of Illinois a ticket of candidates which the Workers Party considers it its duty to support, since it has no ticket of its own on the ballot.

We refer to the candidates of the Farmer Labor Party of Illinois. It is the desire of the Workers Party that the working class vote in Illinois be given to the Farmer Labor Party.

In thus advising the workers of Illinois, we assume responsibility neither for the program of the Farmer Labor Party, nor for its candidates. We must tell you frankly that the Farmer Labor Party, as at present constituted and led, is not the sort of a political party of the working class that can lead the workers struggle for political power and against capitalism.

The Farmer Labor Party is as yet very far from realizing that the class struggle is a political struggle, a struggle for power which must terminate the miseries of capitalist misrule, in the workers themselves taking over the powers of state and instituting a Workers Republic.

The Farmer Labor Party is still suffering from those illusions of "democracy", which make it so easy for a handful of industrial and financial magnates to keep in subjection tens of millions of workers and working farmers. The Farmer Labor Party has got to learn a great deal yet from the bitter experience of its own struggles before it can qualify for a real militant leadership in the class struggle.

However, the labor organizations of Illinois that constitute and support the F. L. P. are on the right road. Despite the bitter opposition and vicious intrigues of all the reactionaries and capitalist lieutenants in the labor movement, led by Sam Gompers, their labor organizations of Illinois that constitute the F. L. P. have started out on the road of independent political action by labor which will inevitably bring them to the adoption of the program and methods of struggle that the Workers Party stands for.

We see in the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois a distinction from the Farmer-Labor Party of New York, which is nothing more than an attempt of bankrupt Socialist Party politicians to play politics at the expense of the workers.

A sincere effort of honest trade union men, workers and working farmers to break away from the domination of the capitalistic parties and to create a political party of, by and for the worker. Knowing as we do that the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois is the staunchest champion of the idea of independent political action in the ranks of organized labor in America, an idea, which is the backbone of our own Party, we cannot but greet and encourage every sincere attempt made in this direction, by the labor organizations of Illinois.

It is because of this, when we find ourselves in Illinois with no ticket on the ballot, we say to the workers of Illinois "vote for the candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party." By doing so you are encouraging independent political action by labor in Illinois, but you are also lending your support to the honest and more progressive elements in the American Federation of Labor as against the reactionary bureaucrats of the Gompers machine.

The coming election as well as elections in general are but an incident in the class struggle. The big task of the working class is the organization and mobilization of all its forces for the final struggle for power. This is the main aim of the Workers Party. We, therefore, call on you, workers of Illinois, to join the Workers Party and assist in the building of a revolutionary party capable to lead in the fight for power.

[illegible]

[illegible] your holiday:

Nov. 7th, the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic.

Nov. 9th, the Fourth Anniversary of the German "Socialist" Republic.

Nov. 11th, the Fourth Anniversary of the ending of the imperialist war.

Just to help you, the workers of America, decide, we quote from an article by Paxton Hibben, executive secretary of the American Committee for the Relief of Russian children, as follows:

"Russia is the only country in Continental Europe today that is going forward. The others are going backward, or at least standing still. In Russia alone is there hope of better times and a real and permanent prosperity."

Workers! Pick your holiday and celebrate.

Why We Celebrate the Russian Revolution

By ROBERT MINOR

The first capitalists herded the street waifs into filthy cellars, where the children, as young as six years, were worked under the whip and the club from 16 to 18 hours a day. They died rapidly of [illegible] and exhaustion, and were buried in the factory yard, to make way for fresh-caught waifs, who were whipped and goaded in turn through their shortened lives. Thus was founded the beginning of the wealth and power of the modern Capitalist Class.

The first labor movement was a whispered conspiracy between death-tired men and women, working thru day and night hours that were limited only in measure of a foreman's ability to keep them awake with a whip.

The first labor unionists were punished by being branded with a red-hot iron, by having their ears cut off, or by death. The labor movement has always been a crime, in the eyes of the rich, who make the law.

But the "crime" continued, and could not be stamped out. The labor movement grew, and became the only rift of light in the lives of the millions who toil under wage slavery. The Capitalists grew, also, in power.

The filthy cellar-workshop gave way to the towering bee-hive factory; the foreman with a whip gave way to the modern Capitalist State with armies of policemen, soldiers, strike-breakers and provocators. The branding iron gave way to the blacklist, and death with a club gave way to unemployment.

You know the story. The strike; the long watching and waiting in hunger; the strike-breakers; the clubbing; the gunmen's fire; death or jailing; defeat, or a pitiful victory, and the return to slavery more or less the same. You know the long story of the capitalist with a whip, now grown into the more subtle and powerful Capitalist State; the courts now granting "injunctions" or "construing laws" on the basis of the same "legal" principles upon which they once clipped ears or decreed the branding iron. You know the story of the "frame-up"; you know the story generally of the workingman "in court."

In short, you know the story of the Class Struggle. The labor movement, from a whispered conspiracy between two or three half-dead slaves in a cellar-factory, has grown to many millions strong. By a century and a half of fighting, of lying in jail, of dying under fire or on the gallows, the labor movement has forced its way into being half-"legalized."

That is, it is "legalized" as long as it remains half-dormant. The Capitalist State no longer tries to jail or shoot to death the labor movement, as long as the labor movement does nothing that might win.

Only when it moves, when it gets into actions that are broad enough and militant enough to WIN, does the Capitalist State, thru its Daugherties and Burnses, call out the troops to fire. At other times it is safer to let it lie half dormant, and to flatter and bribe its leaders.

But the labor movement continues. The struggle goes on, and must go on; because the quarrel is there. The capitalist with the whip is still there; the poverty, the hunger and unemployment come; so the fight comes, again and again, and more and more.

The fight cannot end until the quarrel ends. The fight cannot end while the capitalist with the whip — now the Capitalist State with armed force — stands over millions toiling in misery to give ease to a wealthy class. The fight cannot end until the quarrel ends.

And all of a sudden there's a strike in Petrograd. It's a General Strike. It spreads like fire over a prairie. THE WORKERS WIN! This time, no longer do the gunmen shoot down the people successfully. The people — the working people — win the battle. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY THE WORKERS SEIZE THE WHIP FROM THE HAND OF THE CAPITALIST. For the first time, the labor movement wins. The STRIKE wins, because, for the first time, the strike reaches to seize the whip, instead of trying to dodge it.

The whip is an army and a navy, the brutish power of government. The whip is turned for the first time against the enemy of the workers; the capitalist class is beaten to its knees, whimpering, groaning, crying and still furtively hoping for a chance to stab in the back — but beaten. For the first time a "strike" is completely won.

That is why we celebrate the Russian Revolution.

That is why all class-conscious workers will celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Our Candidates

NEW YORK STATE

Governor William F. Dunne.
Lieutenant-Governor Ludwig Lore.
Secretary of State Gustave Walters.
Comptroller Richard J. Verhagan.
Treasurer Frederick Shuman.
Attorney-General Rose Weiss.
State Engineer and Surveyor: Dr. Bemeil Hoffman.
United States Senator Alexander Trachtenberg.
For Congress 7th District Iago Goldstein.
For Congress, 10th District James P. Cannon.
For Congress, 12th District: J. Louis Engdahl.
For Congress, 20th District Jacob B. Salutsky.
For Congress, 23rd District Luigi Antonini.

NEW JERSEY STATE

Governor Martin R. McDonald.
United States Senator: Louis F. Wolf.

There names will be found on the official ballot; all party members will see to it that they and their friends cast a vote for these candidates.

CONNECTICUT STATE

Governor: John Blanck.
Lieutenant-Governor: Otto Bruening.
Secretary of State: Mary Dworkin.
Treasurer: Simon Feldman.
Comptroller: Isador Spector.
United States Senator: Konrad Loski.

IN STATE OF WASHINGTON

For U. S. Senator: Frans Bostrom.

IN STATE OF CALIFORNIA

For Governor: W. G. C. Turner.
For U. S. Senator: Nestor Mattson.
For Congress (7th Dist.): A. E. Albright.

Industrialize Meat Industry

SOUTH OMAHA.—Craft unions of cattle butchers, sheep butchers, mechanics, hog butchers, casing workers and other locals in the packing house industry have joined with Local 602 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen for a single industrial union in Omaha.

[illegible] All Metal Unions

"In the small, [illegible] machine shop of early days, the machinists' union functioned fairly well," reads the report of the metal trades section, as presented by Delegate Knudsen at the national conference of the Trades Union Educational League. "Around the corner was the blacksmith's shop and in it the members of the blacksmiths' union, and down by the river bank stood the small foundry employing members of the molders' union. As long as this condition existed the various craft unions functioned effectively and were ideal and logical.

"But now things have changed fundamentally. The machine shop in its growth has added one department after another, first a drafting room, then a foundry, and as the industrial development advanced there followed in quick succession a boiler shop, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, pattern shop, making of the former primitive machine shop a gigantic institution, the modern metal industry."

The report lists over 30 trades now included in the metal industry, running from structural iron workers to jewelry workers. It gives as the total of men employed in the industry 4,476,137. The report says of them: "These millions of workers are not organized, because we are so blind that we have not yet constructed our metal trades unions so that they can be organized. Once united, this tremendous mass would have such enormous strength that they could soon put an end forever to the damnable conditions under which metal trades workers as a class live."

The report suggests that there be six departments to an industrial union of metal workers, steel workers, machinery and engine builders, shipbuilders, automobile constructors, shop crafts on the railroads, and jewelry and small instrument workers.

Against the argument that this would split the crafts, the report argues that the metal workers on the railroads, for example, would be members of the metal workers' union, but would still be affiliated with the railroad unions, paying part of their dues into both organizations. It cites the amalgamation in the German Metal Workers' Union, and shows that a multitude of insurance and fraternal features attaching to the former separate unions had been handled without difficulty.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Winter's Here—Begin to Read Up!

You've been wanting to "read up." Been laying your plans, perhaps have selected the book titles which you wished most to dig into at the first opportunity. Now that Winter is approaching, the season gives you this privilege. Long evenings call for reading, study, books. To fill the demand we knew was coming, and to encourage every worker reader to secure the books most necessary to his completer education of working class problems, we have decided to make a few book premium offers.

Take a glance at the advertisement opposite. Premium number one describes how you may secure the latest book on Russia in the transition period between capitalism and complete Communism. It is a book written from first hand knowledge by Comrade Heller, who the Soviet Government commissioned to act as its representative in this country. Your knowledge of Russia will be deficient without this book.

Trotsky, Chief of Russia's Red Army, has written many books, but his "Dictatorship vs. Democracy" is acknowledged his masterpiece. Working class problems of fundamental importance are dealt with here in true scientific style. You will appreciate this book.

Premium number three comprises a number of booklets, some of which are brand new and each and all most necessary, interesting and instructive. Space will not allow us to tell of the good in each of them. You will enjoy each and since they are to be obtained at a saving in money, you will want the ones which you have not read.

Now, then! These books are offered to every reader of THE WORKER and to every new subscriber until January 1st. All YOU have to do to get one of these books is to subscribe, if you are not a reader, or renew your subscription if you are one now, remit the amount for the premium of your choice and you will have it by return mail. Remember—The Worker wants 15,000 renewals and 15,000 new readers by January 1st. Will you be one of them? Will you help get some others of these 30,000?

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] Harry, Friend of Labor

By [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

This is "Injunction Harry," who says he is a "sincere friend," who "will not deceive you" (addressing the laborers directly in Canton, Ohio, as the newspapers inform us). "Your principal trouble lies and your greatest danger is in the radicalism and character of some of your most prominent leaders." (By which he no doubt meant Sam Gompers, Matthew Woll, Grable and Lee!)

"Your security lies in the Constitution of the United States and in the laws of the United States. . . . There is no quarrel between labor and the Government."

Glad to hear it! We remember that the Constitution "guarantees" certain rights to the people—even the workers. It "guarantees" the right of free speech, free press and free assemblage. Yes, it guarantees it—and with one swoop, the Attorney General of the United States, "Injunction Harry", with the aid of a capitalist lackey, who calls himself a federal judge, destroyed those rights and tore the Constitution of the United States into bits! He, the popular upholder of law and order, the defender of the rights of the people!

We are so pleased to hear that there was no "quarrel between labor and the government." Who asked for the injunction, anyway? Did the railroad executives? They did not. They were astonished at the injunction and amazed at its provisions. They declared that, if the government of the United States had kept its hands off, they would have beaten the shopmen and the question would have been settled for all time, as far as they were concerned. But the government interfered—because it was obvious that there was a "quarrel between labor and the government"—not the government as an employer—but the government, the capitalist government, as an agent and tool of the ruling class of this country—the financial and industrial kings of Wall Street.

There was and there will continue to be a quarrel between labor and the government, until there is a government of the workers, which will act as the agent and in the interest of the workers.

Injunction Harry is truly the friend of labor. His own words confirm it. Thus further: "The injunction is the most humane, the most charitable and the most prompt and effective civil proceeding known in law."

O, you misled workers, misled by that red revolutionist, Samuel Gompers! What are you constantly storming about? Don't you know that injunctions are secured against you because the "friends of labor" love you so much? Don't you know that when you talk of a strike to get a raise in wages from, say, 23 cents an hour, which is what the Maintenance of Way men get, the bosses get out an injunction against you out of "humanity" and "charity"—because they love you so much? Don't you know that when they get an injunction preventing you from meeting, from picketing, from using the press as it is supposed to be used—in your interests—when the bosses stop all your activities,—they do so because it is a "most humane", a "most charitable" act? Don't you know that when they establish an Industrial Court, as in Kansas, which is a general prohibition of all the aims for which a union exists, they do so because, like Injunction Harry, they are the "friends of labor"?

It worked this time, Harry. You won. In spite of the two hundred (or more) General Strike resolutions that the American Federation of Labor received from central labor bodies and local unions, the yellow officials of the A. F. of L. backed down and helped you and the government tear up the Constitution of the United States, which "guarantees" the workers their rights.

But the workers won't stand for that all the time. The idea of amalgamation has taken hold of them. The Maintenance of Way men, whose union officials sold out the strike for two cents an hour, and the Railway Clerks have gone on record for amalgamation. The idea of amalgamating the sixteen craft unions in the railway industry is rapidly gaining ground. The Railway industry will contain one industrial union in the near future. There is one union in the [illegible] tion. Unity of action of the [illegible] and railroad workers is [illegible]. The workers are [illegible] that they must conduct their [illegible] tics, their general union work [illegible] their strikes with closed ranks. [illegible] are forced to do this, or go to [illegible]. United action on the part of the capitalists make this a life and [illegible] issue for the unions. So some day the unions will pay no heed to Injunction Harry and his injunctions; they will sweep Samuel Gomp[illegible] his feet, and go into a General [illegible] that was so generously advocated during the last strikes.

If they do, however, Injunction Harry, the "sincere friend who will not deceive you", tells us what will happen. Yes, boys, here it comes.

"Another step the Government could have taken was to have called out Federal troops."

There you have it from the mou[illegible] of the Attorney General him[illegible]. Federal troops are the next step, [illegible] as they used them in Mingo County, in Indiana during the steel strike in 1919, and in the railroad strike in 1894. Whenever the task becomes too big for the injunction wield[illegible] they call in the Major General of the army. He knows what to do.

This is not past history. Injunction Harry tells us that "I would under the same circumstances, do the same thing again." Governor Mill[illegible] of New York, speaking in Hornel[illegible] New York, where the shopmen [illegible] been on strike, said the same thing. This is what governors, presid[illegible] and attorney generals do—and [illegible] do: it is part of their jobs as offic[illegible] of a capitalist government.

So, the workers will have to defe[illegible] the Constitution of the United States or at least that part of it which "guarantees" their "rights"—against Injunction Harry and the Federal troops.

The workers' rights are worth [illegible]

Don't Act Crazy! Organize!

ST. LOUIS.—"It is a well known fact among people in charge of insane asylums that insane people never organize," says a circular sent out by President Chas. Blome, Molders' Local 59. "They may be given the rottenest kind of food; individually they will eat it or leave it alone, as they feel about it. But get together and collectively protest—never! They are crazy, that's why. Unorganized molders and coremak[illegible] ers, let us not conduct ourselves [illegible] crazy people do."

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THE WORKER

799 Broadway, Room 405 — NEW YORK CITY

rate on is Tuesday ovember 7th

Five years and still going strong. That sums up the heroic sacrifice and devotion to principle of the Russian workers. Against the combined onslaughts of the robber nations of the world, the workers of Russia still stand, solid as a rock, beckoning workers of other nations to follow on.

"The Soviet government will soon fall," was the cry of the capitalist class, re-echoed by every social-patriot and labor-fakir in the world.

First, they could not last one month, then two months was predicted as the limit of their endurance, then it would surely fall in six months, and so on. Yet, today, after five years of war, famine, pestilence and every form of human agony, it stands as the greatest power in all the world. The fact that it is a power to be reckoned with is dawning upon the Allies.

The First Workers' Republic—the most tremendous achievement in all history—is an achievement that thrills the heart of every class conscious worker.

To celebrate this glorious achievement, a monster celebration will be held on Tuesday evening, November 7th, at the Lexington Opera House, 51st St. and Lexington Ave. at 8.15 sharp.

The speakers for the occasion will be C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, who will speak in English, M. J. Olgin in Jewish and A. Chramoff in Russian.

There has also been an excellent musical program arranged for the occasion, which is as follows:

Opening by International Chorus of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Finnish, Lettish and German singers, who will sing "The Internationale" and "The Red Flag," the entire audience joining in the choruses.

Mandolin Orchestra of Workmen's Circle, composed of 45 pieces, in artistic selections.

Sonia Radina will render a Revolutionary Folk Song.

Vladimir Graffman, Russian Violin Virtuoso, will play the "Sovenir de Moscow" by Vieniavsky and a "Slavonic Dance" by Dvorak and Kreisler. This artist has appeared in concert with some of the leading symphony orchestras of this country and Europe and has received the highest praise for his work from leading musical critics.

As the program is long and varied the fact must be emphasized that we will begin at 8.15 p. m. regardless of how many are present at that time.

Other meetings with time, place and speakers have been arranged as follows:

Friday, Nov. [illegible] Paterson, H. M. Wicks.
Sunday, Nov. 5 at [illegible] P. M.—Bridgeport, Bruce Rogers.
Sunday, Nov. 5 at 8 P. M.—Binghamton, J. Louis Engdahl.
Tuesday, Nov. 7 at 8 P. M.—Rochester, Benjamin Glassberg.
Tuesday, Nov. 7 at 8 P. M.—New Haven, Elmer T. Allison and Norma Berman.
Sunday, Nov. 12 at 3 P. M.—Hartford, J. Louis Engdahl.
Tuesday, Nov. 7—Elizabeth, Ray Ragosin.
Tuesday, Nov. 7—Newark, Mrs. Sadi Amter and Harris Ratner.
Philadelphia, Ludwig Lore, Noah London, Antoine Press—Nov. 7.
Providence, R. I., C. E. Ruthenberg—Nov. 3.
Worcester, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 5.
Springfield, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 5.
Gardner, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 6.
Lawrence, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 7.
Boston, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 12.
Norwood, Mass., H. M. Wicks—Nov. 12.
Lynn, Mass., [illegible] E. Powers—Nov. 5.
Quincy, Mass., [illegible] Resnick—Nov. 7.
Peabody, Mass., Jack McCarthy—Nov. 7.
Maynard, Mass., R. [illegible] Zelms—Nov. 7.
Norwood, Mass., J. F. Nason, R. J. Zelms—Nov. 12.
Detroit, Jack Carney—Nov. 5.
Joliet, Ill., Jack Carney—Nov. 12.
Milwaukee, W. Z. Foster—Nov. 5.
Chicago, W. Z. Foster—Nov. 7.
Brooklyn, Finnish Hall, 764 40th St., C. E. Ruthenberg and J. Louis Engdahl—Nov. 10.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

SOVIET ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
Labor Lyceum, 704 So. 14th St.,
NEWARK, N. J.
Tuesday, November 7th, 8 P. M.
Speakers: Kate Amter, English.
Russian Speakers: A. Chramoff and Harris Katwer.
Hungarian, German and Lithuanian Singing Societies will sing.
Admission Free.

The Non-Partisan Policy

The Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City has issued the report of its "nonpartisan" committee on the various political parties. It is declared as the honest opinion of this committee that the platform of the Democratic party does most to conserve the interests of labor and that it utters a pledge for its advancement in more definite terms than any of the other political platforms.

How ridiculous this report seems in the light of recent statements made by Frank A. Munsey and Nicholas Murray Butler, prominent spokesmen of the Republican Party, who urged amalgamation of the two leading parties, because there was little or no difference between them, and because it was necessary to combine them against the common enemy—Labor.

In other words, these two leading exponents of capitalist party policies recognize the need for separate unity of the two classes on the political field—the employing class and the employed. The nonpartisan committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City does not.

It is also absolutely irrefutable that the platforms of all political parties were not examined before the report was issued, in spite of the fact that such platforms were submitted.

The "nonpartisan" committee still attempts to deceive the workers into placing their reliance upon one or the other of the two parties, supported by the ready instruments of the employing class. We do not need to search far into our memory to find the proof of this. Under the Harding Republican regime, the Daugherty injunction was issued against the railroad workers. Under the Wilson Democratic regime the Lever Law was turned against the miners. Under the Cleveland Democratic administration the infamous injunction was issued against Debs, serving as a precedent for the present injunction. Under the Republican Administration we had Daugherty. Under the Democratic rule the reactionary Palmer. Did Labor benefit in any way by the change?

In another part of its report this "nonpartisan" committee endorses Ansorge, a Republican. This man failed to vote for the La Follette Seamen's Law. He voted for the railroads in the Winslow Railroad Refund Bill, enabling the railroads to loot the U. S. Treasury of $500,000,000. He voted against the farmers in the Farm Export (War Finance Corporation) Law and for the Profiteers in the Income Tax Law for Surtax Rates on incomes of millionaires. And last but not least, our "friend" Ansorge opposed the investigation of the War Tax Frauds.

It is needless to show, point by point, the history of the men whom this committee endorses. Not only do they fail actively to attempt to get legislation favorable to labor, but they have actually gone on record as opposed to legislation favored by labor.

There is but one sane attitude toward this question. Labor must have its own party, working for and supported by its own strength. Independent political action is the need of the hour and any such insane proposition as proposed by the New York Central Trades and Labor Council should be held up to scorn and ridicule in every labor organization in that it appears.

We Go Off the Ballot

That it is easy for the capitalist courts and old party politicians to develop legal technicalities to drive working class opponents off the ballot is again shown in the experience of the Workers Party in the 12th (New York) District. The excuse of legality is not even resorted to.

Ben Gitlow was the candidate of the Workers' League for mayor of New York City, at the November 1921 elections. To be sure he was in prison. But his case was up on appeal. It was held that it was not a question of whether or not his name should go on the ballot, but whether he would be installed in office if elected. And the Workers' League was willing to take its chance on Gitlow's conviction being thrown out by the higher courts, or his being pardoned before the time came to assume office.

But the courts couldn't see it that way. After the supreme court ruled that Gitlow's name should go on the ballot, the appellate court ruled it off, and it went off.

This summer when the Workers Party was picking its candidates, after the Farmer-Labor Party and the Socialist Party had rejected the proffer of a united front, it was decided to select Ben Gitlow as candidate for Congress in the 12th (New York) District, where Meyer London is the Socialist candidate. Gitlow was at liberty and it was not beyond reason to believe that his conviction would be reversed.

In any case it was not the duty of the election commissioners to put Gitlow's name off the ballot. Congress usually decides the eligibility of its own members, as in the case of Victor Berger, Socialist from Milwaukee, elected but not seated.

But it seems there is a difference between Communist and "Socialist" convicts, and Gitlow's name was thrown off the ballot. When the name of J. Louis Engdahl, editor of THE WORKER, was substituted to fill the vacancy that was thrown out also as the election commissioners claimed no vacancy existed to be filled.

The old party election officials confessed they had no basis for throwing Gitlow's name off the ballot last year when they went before the state legislature in the winter and secured the passage of a law barring "convicts" from the ballot. This will not operate against the pickpockets and thugs of Tammany Hall nor the more respectable criminals of the Republican party.

The Workers Party can meet this assault by solidifying its forces and developing sufficient power to expose to all labor these crimes of capitalist "democracy." When the shams have been swept away the struggle between capital and labor will get down to fundamental class issues.

Hunting an Issue

The Liberals and Conservatives in England are having the same difficult time finding an issue for their election campaign that confronts the Democrats and Republicans in this country. One is inclined to agree with Lloyd George that it was a crime to break up the coalition of the two parties upholding capitalism.

Since our own laborites and liberals have been so keen in referring to the British example, let them view this campaign in England as they urge a liberal before a labor party in this country.

There are a few laborites lending an ear to the plea of the Forty-Eighters and Co. for the organization of a Liberal Party since, they claim, the apparent failure of the Farmer-Labor Party indicates that independent political action on the part of labor is premature. But the English example teaches us that such a Liberal Party, always a deception in times of civil peace, becomes an open ally of reaction when capitalism is threatened by aroused labor.

Even milk-and-water labor reformism has failed to create an issue in the British campaign. Frank Hodges, secretary of the Miners' Federation, weeps to think that the demand for a capital levy to redeem the war debt should meet with the opposition of the capitalist politicians. Hodges urges that even Premier Bonar Law is in favor of the capital levy. It reminds us of our own Morris Hillquit claiming that the American Bankers' Association had stolen the Socialist demand for the cancellation of war debts.

American labor stands in need of independent political action. But it must fearlessly draw the issue as between the capitalists and the workers, otherwise every political struggle will be but a repetition of the muddling and confusion that we see in Great Britain to-day, and not much better than the chaos in which labor in this country finds itself enmeshed in this campaign.

End capitalist misrule is a demand that will force the exploiters into action and enthuse all workers to unite for the struggle against their common oppressors.

[illegible]

The Jewish press in New York has been especially agitated by the controversy centering around the report of the Investigating Committee of Five which probed the charges against the F. S. R. The "Forward", as author of the charges, of course barks violently at the mention of the report since it clears the F. S. R. It has been careful, naturally, not to print the report in full, limiting itself to misquotation. The "Freiheit", on the other hand, has defended the report.

It is interesting to observe the attitude of the Jewish dailies not directly concerned in the controversy, since that is a fair test of what comparatively impartial observers make of the business. The Jewish "News" ran this headline over the story: "Forward Frame-up Fails Miserably." And the Jewish "Day" ran this: "Committee Declares Forward's Charges against the Friends of Soviet Russia without Foundation."

The Day also carried a longer discussion of the subject by P. Kalamini, of its staff. It reads in part as follows:

"After some thought I came to this conclusion: Whereas, the Freiheit reports the findings of the committee, to the effect that the investigation had found no proof whatever which throws any suspicion on the F. S. R.; and whereas, the Day gave the news without any coloring at all, and also stated that the committee had found nothing which sustains the charges; and whereas the Forward gave none of the findings of fact at all, merely scolding and evincing a powerful desire to drown the truth in words—

"I decided that the Forward had once more fallen into a swamp and that its palpitations were only a sign that it is trying to escape.

"And generally, why have I been thinking so hard? The whole question is senseless. For the Forward—and truth! They don't go together, my dear readers."

In the World of Books

By MAX SCHACHTMAN

AGAINST THE GRAIN (A REBOURS). By J. K. Huysmans. Lieber & Lewis.

To the Duc des Esseintes most of the literature of his time, the end of the nineteenth century was dull and sycophantly venal to the bourgeoisie, which was vulgar and stupid; he saw thru the hypocrisies and the tediousness of his aristocratic relatives and of the young "intellectuals"; he despised women with monastic ferocity and wearied of the hair-splitting of religion; he was quite indifferent to the woes and struggles of the proletariat. The Duc is of course a mere figure upon which the author wraps the garments of pessimism, of intense individualism.

Huysmans, a dyspeptic by nature and a misogynist and individualist by development, wrote a jewelled prose which was of literary kin to that of Flaubert, Baudelaire, Anatole France, Oscar Wilde, Aubrey Beardsley and Edgar Saltus. In "A Rebours" Huysmans describes a young aesthete who runs away from the stupidity of the world and secludes himself in a house which he fits out in a wondrous manner. He surrounds himself with rare foods and wines, rare flowers and still rarer books. He lives by nerve reactions and sense stimulants. His artificial life makes him sick in body, mind and soul and the resultant breakdown obliges him to leave his refuge reluctantly.

This book is as good a picture of Huysman's ideas and criticisms as any. He admired Baudelaire's detachment from the mass (altho the latter once fought on the right side of the barricades of the Commune of '48); he sincerely doubted and held aloof from all democratic governments; he loved and immersed himself in beautiful things, which were the only things worth while in this stupid, futile world. He loved the Ivory Tower into which he had retired. . . .

We, too, are pessimistic about our present existence. It is futile, stupid and dull. The workers are not so cultured as they could be; their lives are drab, monotonous and taken up with procuring bread and butter; there is no time or possibility for Cezanne or Conrad or Hauptmann. But we do not run away to Ivory Towers. We desire and work for a world where all may enjoy these and others; where they will read Huysmans, too; where Life will not be, as Thomas Hardy wrote,

A senseless school, where we must give
Our lives that we may learn to live!
A dolt is he who memorizes
Lessons that leave no time for prizes.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Come to the CONCERT and HOUSE-WARMING in Brownsville, SATURDAY night, Nov. 4, at the new headquarters of Brownsville Branch, Workers Party, 1844 Pitkin Ave., near Sackman Street. Admission, 25 cents.

The People Elect the Government

The election and naturalization laws of the state of Connecticut is a neat piece of lawyer's handiwork compiled by the Secretary of State.

Altho it specifically states on page 243, Chapter 18, Section 1, that a party designation shall be printed on any ballot label for a voting machine or upon any ballot at any election, if three weeks prior to an election, a nominating petition signed by a number of qualified voters, equal to one percentum of the votes cast for the same office at the last preceding election, is filed with the Secretary of State and that this petition shall be submitted to the town clerk of the town, in which the signers reside at least seven days prior to the filing of the same with the Secretary of State.

Yet we find that when the town clerk in Bridgeport, Conn., refused to return the Workers Party petition, three weeks prior to the general election, Tuesday, Oct. 17th, the day specified for the filing of the same with the Secretary of State, that there was no law in all the dusty volumes compiled by the Connecticut Legislature that we could use as a means of prosecution against this town clerk.

In other words, unless a law is enacted penalizing a town clerk who refuses to return a petition, on the day specified for the filing of the same with a higher unit, that a party such as the Workers Party, even if it secures the signature of every voter in Connecticut, will be at the complete mercy of the local town clerks.

This should put a slump in the old-time hundred percenter's argument, "that it is the people who elect the government."

Upton Sinclair, Socialist Candidate for U. S. Senator from California, Takes Journey Into Realm of Economics and Meets with Disaster!

By H. M. WICKS

That publicity-seeking novelist and ornament of the decrepit Socialist Party, Mr. Upton Sinclair, is candidate for United States Senator from the state of California. Following the precedent established by aspiring politicians nominated on the old party tickets, the distinguished novelist issued a statement to his party wherein he set forth the salient points in his platform. This statement was duly published in a recent Sunday magazine section of the New York Call. As a horrible example of distorted economics it is on a par with the historical erudition of Mr. James Oneal, the editorial writer for the Call.

The dominant issue in the political world to-day, according to Upton, is the question of the Money Trust, therefore he unsheaths the sword of the crusader and dramatically assaults the citadel of this moloch with what must seem to his puerile mind new and devastating economic theories.

As we look about us we observe the "people" of this nation groaning under the heavy burdens imposed by this insatiable monster. For years they have suffered thusly and have never been able to devise a method of escape from their unrequited slavery. But from this date hence—from the publication of the economic treatise of Upton—they need no longer suffer if they will but hark to the voice of their gallant savior. There have been other attempts to solve the problem of exploitation. Benjamin Franklin, William Petty, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx have attempted to solve the problem but it remained for the one and only, the original, modest, retiring Upton Sinclair to show them all the error of their ways by discovering and proclaiming an economic law that they all either missed or ignored or ridiculed.

Simple Solution

Witness the superlative wisdom of this modern economist:

"* * the people * * should follow the example of the masters of the Money Trust who use their credit to buy the key industries of the country. Let the people buy these industries and use them to break instead of making monopoly.

"It is my program that the American people shall establish a national bank also public banks in every state and city of the country and that these public banks shall invite the people to deposit their savings where they will be protected by the entire credit of the people and that the savings so deposited shall be used as a basis of credit issues to finance the public purchase of the railroads, the coal mines, the steel mills, the packing houses and the other great industries upon which we all depend."

How simple! All the workers have to do is to save their money, place it in public banks and issue credits to purchase the industries from the present owners.

This astounding drivel is published by the New York Call as the official declaration of the most noted member of the Socialist Party of America.

A knowledge of the A B C of Marxian economics would have prevented such an exhibition of appalling ignorance. The understanding of simple surplus value explodes the childish notion that it is of any advantage to the working class to endeavor to save its money in the hopes of some day rising to the position of the capitalist class. The argument of Upton Sinclair, the renowned socialist, is precisely the argument of the publicity agents of the American Bankers Association. The "people"—that evanescent metaphysical entity—are admonished to practice thrift by placing their money in banks that have the support of the federal government, thru the Federal Reserve system. But even the slightest understanding of economics is sufficient to convince a worker that the last thing the bankers really desire is that all the people of the nation should save their money.

Putting Money to Work

The advocates of thrift dwell at length upon the advisability of "putting money to work" so that it will draw interest. Let us imagine, for the sake of argument, that every person who works for a living would be able to save a few thousand dollars. Since interest is income without labor and since labor is the one thing that creates value, who would produce the surplus to pay the interest on this money? Money alone does not create additional wealth; it does not multiply like rabbits. If every one saved money and expected to draw interest on it, no one would draw interest, industries would stop because no one could be induced to work, human society would first stagnate, then perish from the earth. We are sure that neither Upton nor the bankers desire such a fate for humanity.

In case this argument could be disposed of by Socialist Party sophistry to the effect that no such thing is contemplated, and that out of malice we have reduced Upton's argument to absurdity, we will record another objection that will further show the futility of such an alleged program.

The basis of capitalist exploitation is the surplus value extracted from the working class in the process of production. The working class receive about one-fourth of the value of the product of its toil in the form of wages, the other three-fourths go into the hands of the capitalist class. Mr. Sinclair imagines that the class obtaining the one-fourth will be able to save enough money out of it to come, after deducting necessary living expenses, to purchase the three-fourths that is being created for the capitalist class. Any school child who has graduated from the kindergarten could not fail to detect the obvious absurdity of such a proposition.

There is a third very valid objection to accepting the economics of this petty bourgeois dilettante and that is the fact well known to all economists since the time of John Stuart Mill that wages paid at any given time in any capitalist country on earth are determined by what is considered absolutely necessary for the working class to subsist on. The worker sells his labor power upon the market the same as all other commodities are sold. And like all other commodities the value of that labor power is determined by the amount of labor time necessary to reproduce it. In the case of the one commodity the worker has to sell, its value is determined by the labor time necessary to produce the food, clothing and shelter that he requires to subsist on from day to day and to support an average family. Like other commodities it is subject also to the law of supply and demand. In exceptional cases of labor shortage the wages of the laborer may be a little above their value (a trifle more than the value of the food, clothing and shelter necessary to exist); in other cases wages fall temporarily below the value of labor power, but on an average the worker receives in wages the full value of his labor power.

Saving Would Lower Wages

Now let us imagine that the working class, as a whole, decides to save a certain amount of its wages by depriving itself of some of the things it is accustomed to enjoying. In other words the workers would voluntarily lower their standard of living in order to save a few dollars. What would be the result? The most noticeable result would be a closing down of certain industries formerly engaged in producing commodities for the consumption of the workers. The closing of the industries would result in unemployment of a certain part of the working class. Soon the savings of the unemployed workers would vanish and they would clamor at the factory gates for jobs. For a time they might demand the wages they had received before and which [illegible] saving money. [illegible] the downward trend [illegible] to the level of the lower [illegible] living that the workers [illegible] tarily imposed upon them.

If [illegible] against Sinclair's [illegible] omics, either one of which annihilates his contention, did [illegible] ist and the working class could devise a method of saving its money and use it as finance capital in modern production, still it would [illegible] produce the results anticipated [illegible] this "socialist" declaration. [illegible] money would meet the fate of the investments of all the small fry [illegible] the bourgeois world and [illegible] financial oligarchy, to [illegible] entrench itself by [illegible] vestors under its absolute domination.

"High Finance"

Since Mr. Sinclair is totally ignorant of the merest rudiments of economics it is absurd to expect him to know anything about the ramifications of modern finance capital. Were he familiar with this highest development of capitalism he would know that even though the workers could amass a far greater amount of money than that possessed today by the capitalist class—an obvious impossibility—still they would be at the mercy of the great money combines.

When we consider the fact that one concern, by manipulation of finances, with the investment of a million dollars can control tens of millions of small investments, we can easily detect the childishness of the eminent novelist's proposals from this view point. One "mother concern" or basic concern in modern industry may be capitalized at a million dollars. The House of Morgan may control fifty-one per cent of the stock of this concern. This concern creates a "daughter" concern and issues stock to the extent of two million dollars, taking fifty one per cent of the stock into the control of the original "mother" concern. In turn another concern that we will designate as the "granddaughter" concern is created and controlled by the two million dollar "daughter" concern. So we see that only two steps from the original concern an investment of half a million dollars can control a total of four million in investments of smaller stockholders. This process can be continued until a half million dollar investment in the hands of the financial oligarchy may easily and frequently does, control fifty or a hundred millions invested by the small fry of the [illegible] class.

Of course the argument may be put forth that the stockholders could have a voice in controlling their own stock, but a knowledge of modern capitalism would dispel this notion. The large stockholders are always the directors and the small stockholders never have an opportunity to take part in stockholders meetings. As a matter of fact the arguments of the distinguished socialist advising the workers to enter the game of capitalist imperialism for the purpose of outwitting the other fellow is basically the identical argument of the railroad magnates when they present figures proving that they have thousands of small stockholders who are vitally interested in the continued prosperity of the roads. This petty bourgeois opportunistic argument is one of the devices used by the financial barons to strengthen their own hands.

Sinclair Is No Bolshevik

In certain quarters Upton Sinclair is considered a good writer of fiction. To write fiction requires a mind susceptible to hallucinations and valuable as such mental disorders may be to successful novelists and poets they are worse than useless when one enters the realm of economics where facts, not fancies, prevail.

In order that no one may mistake him for a Bolshevik, Mr. Sinclair hastens to assure his readers that his proposal for the solution for the ills of society is a program that offers the "quickest and safest" method of escape from exploitation. "We do not want a violent revolution in this country, we do not want to disorganize production, we do not want to slide into civil strife and disorder."

We are quite certain that the working class that follows the program of Upton will successfully avoid any revolution, violent or otherwise. We would not be so optimistic as to hope that following his advice would not lead to disorganization and disorder—the disorder that would afflict society if it should sink into complete idiocy. But since there is little likelihood of the inhabitants of the nation meeting with such widespread mental disaster, we will continue to insist that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved thru the social revolution and not by chasing the phantoms originating in the disordered mind of a two-for-a-cent scribbler.

Sympathetic organizations are requested to make no arrangements for DEC. 2, 1922, as the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE Local New York, will hold its SECOND ANNUAL BALL on that date at 1347 Boston

[illegible] members of the board a long time to find that word [illegible] in the dictionary, which means flowing or sweetened [illegible] honey.

That is about as close as the workers will get to the sweet [illegible] of life, to enjoy the charge that "a living wage" for them is a honeyed phrase.

Instead the labor board has decided for a "just and reasonable" wage, which means minimum pay of 25 cents an hour for common labor on the railroads, $2 per day, $12 for the full six-day week.

It is certain that the big families of the common laborers on the railroads will not find much joy coming into their lives on the fleeting wings of these wages.

But the labor board has fought off the "living wage," which, it claims, "if carried to its legitimate conclusion, would wreck every railroad in the United States; and, if extended to other industries, would carry them into communistic ruin."

That is the way the "public" and the railroad groups on the labor board feel about it. By "ruin" they mean that the workers will take in wages that might go to the railroad owners in profits. Surely the workers will not be frightened by this "communistic ruin" that acts as a nightmare for the money-controlled members of the labor board.

Twenty-five cents an hour is not a "just and reasonable" wage, whatever the meaning of that deceiving phrase. It is a starvation wage that will drive railroad labor into greater rebellions than the strike just past. The capitalist spokesmen on the labor board claim the "living wage" would increase the railroad payroll by $1,249,390,994 annually. It is a pity, of course, that that should go into the pockets of the workers rather than into the bank accounts of parasitic stockholders.

But these railroad millionaires may soon discover that they will not only lose that billion, but that it will be possible for labor to invoke some more "communistic ruin" for capitalism by taking over all industry, including the railroads, and tearing up these gilt-edged stock certificates as so much waste paper.

There is "communistic ruin" ahead, but for capitalists only. That threat should not be feared by intelligent workers. It should be "mellifluous phraseology" to their receptive ears.

Governor Allen, of Kansas, of industrial court infamy, has decided to brook no competition and has ordered all Ku Klux Klaners driven out of the state. Now let the workers finish the job by giving the governor his passports.

Then What Is Debs?

We are told by David Karsner, author of "Debs: His Authorized Life and Letters," that Eugene V. Debs made a resolution in his early years "not to ever write a book." Karsner does not tell us why Debs reached this decision, but we find that he is trying to help Debs out by giving us another book, this one to be called "Talks with Debs in Terre Haute." It is appearing first in serial form in the New York Call.

If Karsner is seeking to shed a new light on Debs, as he claims, we hope that his efforts will bear some fruit. But we find that even a reading of the preface leaves us in considerable confusion. Karsner says of Debs:

> **"He is not a revolutionist in the material sense that Karl Marx was one, nor a spiritualist in the ethereal sense in which Saint Francis appeared."**

Thus being indicted as neither a material revolutionist nor an ethereal spiritualist, Karsner makes these declarations in rapid succession:

> **"I believe the spirit of Debs transcends every political inference that has held his attention during his 40 years of active public life. His interests are spiritual and humanitarian.**
>
> **"The world has known Debs as an orator pleading a political cause and as a labor agitator appealing for industrial democracy. I hope this book may be one of the means of introducing him as a man whose interests are as wide and diversified as life itself. Not on my account have I moored him to any political orthodoxy or dogma."**

Surely the "Socialist" effort that confines itself to capturing votes on election day and fighting Communists in the labor unions is a narrow field in which to confine any discussion of Debs.

But since when did the Socialism of Karl Marx, that is inspiring the Communist struggle in all nations, cease to be as "wide and diversified as life itself"? It is surely a "Socialist" confession of failure to admit that the world social revolution, for which real Socialism joins hands with Communism, is mere "political orthodoxy" and "dogma."

It seems that Debs' biographer has lost sight of the vision of the social revolution, affecting as it will the smallest, as well as the greatest, human effort and aspiration, in his closer affiliations with a traitor "Socialist" Party rapidly retreating into the arms of black reaction.

One gets the feeling that this biographer protests too much about his spiritualisms, humanisms and idealisms, especially when he makes the assertion that Debs' "idealism led him into the Socialist movement."

The facts as we remember them are that the mailed fist of capitalist justice put Debs into a jail at Woodstock, Ill., as one part of reaction's attack on the American Railway Union. Debs went to jail an adherent of old party politics. In jail Debs studied the classics of Karl Marx and other recognized Socialist writers, with their Karsner despised "orthodoxy" and "dogma."

For 28 years we have believed that it was this persecution and this study that opened Debs' eyes to the true nature of capitalism and converted him to Socialism.

All of which leads us to believe that Karsner's peculiar brand of hysteria rather than a desire to reproduce facts has produced a biography that will cause all well-informed readers to ask "Then what is Debs?"

The Communists of Milan, Italy, are organizing a Red Guard to protect the Communist administration in case the party is victorious in the approaching elections. That's putting the fist behind the ballot. The Fascisti will not like that.

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The German Republic will have been in [illegible] years on Nov. 9, 1922. It was on Nov. 9, 1918, [illegible] mann-Ebert-Haase "Socialist" ministry [illegible] overthrow of the Kaiser, and Ebert has been the "Socialist" president of the German Republic during most of the time since.

The "Socialist," Friedrich Ebert, is president today and will continue in office at least until 1925, by the consent of all parties, excepting the Communist Party.

Yet the workers thruout the world are not celebrating the anniversary of the German "Socialist" revolution. Their eyes are all on the Fifth Anniversary, Nov. 7, of the Soviet (Communist) Revolution in the Russia of the workers and peasants.

All the news that comes out of Germany is that the "Socialist" traitors, the anti-Communists, the Majority Socialists (Social Democrats) and the Independent Socialists have united as they should and are celebrating their marriage in true traitor style.

• • •

One of the first acts of these "United" Socialists of Germany was to reject the offer of Gregory Zinoviev, on behalf of the Communist International, to exchange the Social (Counter) Revolutionary leader, Timofeyev, for Max Hoeltz, now serving a life sentence in "Socialist" Germany for the part he played in the March uprising of 1921.

The Vorwaerts, official organ of the Scheidemann-Ebert German "Socialists," declares that this is a governmental and not a party matter, and that the Russians ought to act thru their diplomatic representative, Ambassador Krestinski, and thru the German foreign office.

This is either a startling confession of impotence on the part of the German "Socialists," or it is a rank betrayal of their bosom anti-Communist conspirator, Timofeyev, heralded over the world by the "Socialist" press as a suicide and a martyr, it being claimed that he had been driven to his death by Bolshevik persecution.

• • •

Zinoviev in a statement to the Central Committee of the German Communist Party declares that all German Communists must know that the story of the suicide or the attempted suicide of Timofeyev is one of the usual lies invented by the people who have been living on nothing but lies for the last few years.

It is declared, on the other hand, that the German and Russian Communists are fully aware of the terrible state of Max Hoeltz in a German "Socialist" prison.

To the German Communists, Zinoviev declares:

> "COMRADES! In order to save from a slow death this true champion of the proletarian revolution, Max Hoeltz, who is being tortured in a bourgeois-menshevik German prison, the presidium of the Comintern (Communist International) empowers you,—
>
> "Publicly to propose to the German Social Democracy to exchange Max Hoeltz for Citizen Timofeyev."

Zinoviev charges that the "United" Social Democracy of the Second and 2½ Internationals "have, of course, sufficient influence with the German Coalition government to secure this. On our part we are certain that the Soviet Government will agree to the exchange."

The fact that Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, and not a Soviet official, is able to offer Timofeyev in exchange for Hoeltz, shows how closely the Soviet Government and the Comintern are working together. It is this failure of the German "Socialists" to identify the struggle of the German workers with the battle of labor against capitalism thruout the entire world that is their greatest crime. Instead they have chosen, and will continue to serve as lackeys of the capitalists and monarchists of their own and other countries.

• • •

It is well to remember on this Fourth Anniversary of the German Republic some of the crimes of these "United" Socialists. It was the government of the Social-Democratic parties of Germany, the Majority Socialists and the Independents, the Scheidemann-Ebert-Haase ministry in power from Nov. 9, to Dec. 29, 1918, that repeatedly, under the direction of Scheidemann and Wells, ordered the troops to shoot down the workers in the streets and arrested the executive of the Berlin Workers' Council.

It was the Social-Democratic Government in power from Dec. 29, 1918, to Feb. 13, 1919, that drove from power the workers' mayor, Eichhorn, of Berlin, murdered seven workers' members of the Reichstag, and gave to revolutionary history the infamous figure of Noske, who drowned labor's uprisings and protests in rivers of blood, including the assassination of Liebknecht and Luxembourg, and the murder of Comrades Loewsky, Marx, Jordan and Milkert while being transferred to a prison in the forest of Tegel.

Then came the first coalition government, of the Social-Democratic Party with the Center (Catholic) Party, from Feb. 1919, to June 20, 1919, that renewed the Bismarckian rule of blood and iron, slaughtering workers, imprisoning workers, torturing them in prison, and using the troops to beat down hunger riots in the name of "Socialist" democracy.

The White Terror grew under the Second Coalition Government of the Social-Democrats, the Center and the Democratic Parties, from July 19, 1919, to March 26, 1920, when workers demonstrating before the Reichstag Buildings saw 43 of their comrades slain and 103 wounded by the troops ordered out against them, followed by the reactionary Kappist revolt.

Then followed the Third Coalition Government of the Social-Democrats and the Center Party, that won infamy thru its attack on the coal miners of the Ruhr Valley. In the Ruhr, in Thuringia, in Central Germany, in Saxony, the workers' movement, resulting from the call to a general strike, issued by the government itself against the uprising of Kapp, is crushed in blood with the aid of those very reactionary troops against which the Democratic and the Social-Democratic Government had called the workers to action.

Then there came the Fehrenbach Government, without official Social-Democratic participation, but which would never have been established without their assistance, from June 26, 1920, to May 4, 1921. It followed in the footsteps of its predecessors, crushing strikes with ruthless brutalities, accompanied by wholesale assassinations of working-class prisoners, drumhead court martials, open warfare against labor in the streets, as for instance the killing of 11 and wounding of 22 workers in the funeral procession of Comrade Hoffman, murdered by the "Socialist" police at Flensburg. We might also mention the murder of Comrade Sylt, head of the Berlin electrical workers' union, by the Berlin police under the direction of Noske's successor, the "Socialist" Richter.

Last of all we present the Fourth Coalition Government of the Social-Democrats, the Democratic Party and the Center, from May 11, 1921, up to the present time. Under this regime the "Socialist" policehead, Richter, strives to excel his predecessor, Noske, in causing blood to flow, whether it is the blood of workers in a Young Communist Demonstration at Charlottenburg (Berlin), or the blood of working-class women and children in a protest gathering of housewives complaining against the high cost of living. It was under this regime that the "March Uprising" took place, as a result of which Max Hoeltz and many other workers were sent to prison at hard labor for life.

• • •

This is the dictatorship of murder and assassination that the "United" Socialists of Germany continue to support and endorse. Against the Soviet Regime they spread the false story of the suicide of their bloody-handed brother in crime against labor, the Social (Counter) Revolutionary Timofeyev.

Like all guilty assassins the German "Socialists" try to hide behind the skirts of others, in this case the "Ebert Government," asking the Russian Communists to address it thru their Berlin ambassador.

What a spectacle! German "Socialists" cowering like slaves at the feet of German capitalists, a slavery into which they have sold themselves, the price being the lives of and unstinted sacrifices by large numbers of workers in the Communist section of the German working class.

This is the bloody dictatorship that the Scheidemanns, the Longuets, the Hendersons, the Hillquits and the Bergers interpret as winning Socialism by "PEACEFUL EVOLUTION."

This is the murderous anti-labor rule that so satisfies the industrial

[illegible] 1917 [illegible] only under the [illegible] in Germany, supported by the Majority and the Independent [illegible].

Let all workers study and compare and decide the road along which they should go to win their emancipation.

Fascisti in Forced March

The Italian Fascisti are attempting a forced march towards a military dictatorship. They originally announced they were not satisfied with six places in the new ministry. They wanted all power and they were going to try to get it as a result of the approaching elections.

As this issue went to press, however, Benito Mussolini, head of the Fascisti, had motored to Rome in the private car of King Victor Emanuel, where, after being received like a conqueror of old, he announced his cabinet made up of seven Fascisti, five Nationalists, one Democrat, and one Catholic Party member.

Thus the Fascisti assume responsibility for the government, while the traitor "Socialists," who have been preaching collaboration, have been left out in the cold.

All the press reports coming out of Italy are undoubtedly censored. Little is said about the activity of the Communists, except that there have been numerous clashes between them and the Fascisti in a large number of towns.

There is also the hint let out that the Mussolini government may outlaw the Communist Party, a proceeding that would be in harmony with its dictatorial methods.

At present the Fascisti have only 35 seats out of 535 in the Chamber of Deputies, an insignificant number. In preparation for the elections they have launched a war against proportional representation, which gives all parties a representation near their voting strength.

The Fascisti are in agreement with our American capitalist statesmen against proportional representation that would give even small radical and revolutionary parties spokesmen in congress even tho they failed to carry a single congressional district.

The Italian Fascisti are no doubt rushing their plans because of the recent congress of the Italian Socialist Party, at which the majority voted to join with the Italian Communist Party under the leadership of the Communist International.

It is now the task of the Italian Communist Party to assemble the shattered forces of the working class betrayed by reformists willing to co-operate with the capitalist profiteers. It is charged that under the blows dealt by the "Socialist" betrayers the membership of the trade unions fell from 2,500,000 to 500,000 during the past 18 months.

The question is whether the Communist forces will be able to rally the workers to renewed struggles before the Fascisti gather sufficient strength to build their military dictatorship, on the basis of their present power and victory in the approaching elections, and usher in an era of white guard terrorism in government and industry. The actions of the Fascisti indicate they feel they have not much time to lose. Every American worker who is not bereft of reason will hope for the quick recovery of the Italian working class and its early victory over its capitalist oppressors. The forced march of the Fascisti must and will be halted.

Crocodile Tears and Soft Soap

We had wanted to say something about the championship by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of the eight-hour day and of the fight of the coal miners of Somerset County, Pennsylvania. But what was the use attacking a religious hypocrite safe in his fortress built of money bags, profits wrung from enslaved labor in oil fields, coal mines, on the railroads and a host of other basic industries.

But now comes Mr. David Hirshfield, New York City Commissioner of Accounts, and says some of the things we have been thinking as follows:

> **"Mr. Rockefeller is shedding crocodile tears and pouring out sympathy upon the poor miners of Somerset County. He has given them his moral support, whereas, if he cared to, he could end this strike over night. Mr. Rockefeller has sufficient money in the banks and sufficient influence, financial and otherwise, to accomplish this without any trouble."**

Mr. Hirshfield is head of a New York Committee conducting hearings at Windber, Pa., in the heart of the Somerset County coal fields that supply fuel for the New York subways. He had listened, with his fellow committeemen, to the age-long stories of illegal acts committed by the coal and iron police, of false weights by which miners are cheated out of their earnings, of wholesale evictions from company-owned houses and of company stores where miners were forced to trade.

It is easy for the Hirshfield Committee to lend receptive and seemingly sympathetic ears to the stories of the coal miners. They are far away from home and have no direct responsibilities.

But when they return to New York City these committeemen will fit back into the old party city administration that rules in the city hall that gets its inspiration from the dollars owned by Rockefeller and his fellow-capitalists.

In the next great strike in New York City, Hirshfield and all his associates, as always, will stand back of the club that is wielded against labor.

The religious training of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., causes him to shed the "crocodile tears" of sanctimonious sympathy, just as Hirshfield's political upbringing results in his spreading the soft soap of a politician in Somerset County. But this does not alter the fact that they are peas in the same capitalist pod. Let the workers vote a curse upon both their houses.

The Labor Frame-Up Again

This time it is the miners on trial at Wellsville, W. Va., charged with participation in the Cliftonville battle on July 17th, wherein a sheriff named Duvall lost his life. The first victim is John Kaminski, a 19-year-old boy, and the prosecution is resorting to all the time-worn trickery of the labor frame-up artists.

The odious Burns detectives are on the job and sending their stool pigeons into the jails with the imprisoned men, where they remain a few days and then sign affidavits to the effect that the imprisoned miners have admitted their guilt. The trial is proceeding in a district absolutely dominated by union-hating concerns.

In addition to the reactionary proclivities of the authorities and the dominant interests of the county, the worst forms of vice exist with the full knowledge of everyone. So flagrant was the bootlegging in the county that Duvall, the sheriff, at the time of his death, was under a number of indictments for malfeasance in office for receiving bribes from whiskey distillers and gamblers in the district. His deputies were recruited from this element and were responsible for the battle of Cliftonville.

Thus in West Virginia, as elsewhere in the United States, the workers are confronted with a combination of thugs, finks, scabs, spies, extorters, murderers, pickpockets and other criminal elements, all parading under the banners of capitalist "law and order."

(Special to the Bolcoms via [illegible])

HELLTOWN, Hades, Nov. [illegible], 1922.—Hades is all aglow! These are indeed hot days for us [illegible] citizens of this region. Our Socialist party has scored the greatest victory since its birth. The entire administration of Helluva State is a hundred per cent Socialist. Nicholas Romanoff, their candidate for governor, polled fifty times as many votes as his closest opponent. Bismarck was almost unanimously elected to Lieutenant Governorship. Among the others elected to office are the following men of universal repute:

Nero — Judge of Widows' and Orphans' Court;
Roosevelt — State Hot Air Engineer;
Kolchack — Secretary of Labor;
Rasputin — Commissioner of Women's Affairs.

This stupendous success of the Socialist Party is interpreted by leading economists here, as a protest against the present high cost of ice.

National Executive Committee of the S. P. extends thru the Bolcoms a cordial invitation to all socialists (Communists excluded) of the Earth and other planets to come here and help them form a true Socialist government in Hades. It is anticipated in political circles here, that the leaders of the American Socialist Party having heard of our tremendous victory will be only too glad to grasp this opportunity and go to Hell . . .

(The second message from Hades will be published in an early issue of the Bolcoms.)

True, Indeed!

Society is rotten,
Eaten up by pelf —
Stand from under, comrades,
'Tis falling off itself!—D. D.

Little Talks About Ourselves

(Personal, but not confidential)

In reply to the hundreds of thousands of letters that I receive daily from my fair readers inquiring about my private self, I have drawn up the following affidavit which I hope will satisfy the ladies' curiosity, save postage and lessen some of the work of my private secretary. Therefore, be it known that:

I. My name in full is Irving De Witt Talmadge, and not I Don't Work Talmadge.

II. Proud to say I'm single and don't ever intend to get married while conscious. Nevertheless, any young lady over ninety having a million dollars to burn will find me a good match.

III. My summer residence is up state in the Sing Sing Hotel while my winters I usually spend in Bryant Park.

IV. I am not Norma Talmadge's son, brother or father; yet, we are related. We have the same ancestors: Adam and Eve.

V. My total income from all my estates together with the honorarium for editing the Bolcoms amount to over ten thousand dollars per . . . . . haps.

VI. Have been educated at every jail in the country. Expect to take up a post-graduate course in Sing Sing as soon as Dean Burns will find room for me.

VII. Unfortunately am prohibited by the Health Department to mail any of my photographs. A remarkable portrait of myself can be found though, on exhibition at the world's greatest art gallery in the Tombs Building.

VIII. The above seven groups represent replies to 99 per cent of the questions I'm asked, the rest of the queries modesty does not permit me to answer. For additional information consult the police record or apply to brother W. J. Burns.

(Signed) I. D. W. Talmadge.

Sworn before me this eleventh day of November, in the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and twenty-two.

(Signed) I. M. A. Liar.
(Official seal) Notary Public.

The Entire Editorial Staff of the Bolcoms Will Be There

Sir: — Comrades Lenin, W. J. Burns, L. Trotzky, Harry Daugherty, etc., have sent in for tickets to the Workers Party Ball to be held on Thanksgiving Eve., Nov. 29, at The Lyceum, 3rd Ave. and 86th St. From what I gather tho, none will appear. They fear that if Trotzky and Lenin come first, Burns and Daugherty will be out of luck, or to put it better, out of a job. If vice versa, well you can figure it out yourself. At any rate there are only 10,000 tickets printed and I advise your readers to get them at once.

Bolcomaly yours,
Nat [illegible],
Chairman [illegible] Com.
Viva La [illegible]!

Fond Mother: "My daughter [illegible] fluently every modern language."

Suitor: "Does she also speak Esperanto?"

F. M.: "Just like a native."

* * *

P. S. That combination [illegible] Got busy!

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 249. [illegible] SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1922 [illegible]

Forward to the Labor Party!

American Workers Join Labor Thruout World in Celebrating Fifth Anniversary of Russian Revolution

The November 7th Elections are over. Labor is slowly awakening to a realization of the fact that Gompers' "nonpartisan" policy has again betrayed it into the swamps of [illegible] and reaction. The Workers Party, in this new crisis, raises the call for united and independent working-class political action on the part of all workers. Read the statement on this page. Study it. Then join the forward march for the conquest of all power by the workers.

Great Masses Hear Story of Soviet Rule

Hundreds of thousands of workers in the United States, Tuesday, Nov. 7th, blended their cheers with those of labor thruout the world, in celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of Soviet Rule in the Russia of the workers and peasants.

Reports coming from all sections of the country, at press time, tell of overflow throngs everywhere at the hundreds of demonstrations held under the direction of the Workers Party.

[illegible] from Russia

In Soviet Russia the sixth year of [illegible]

In Soviet Russia Nikolai Lenin returns to his post of command, after a victorious struggle against death itself.

In Soviet Russia the Communist International has opened its sessions and is planning the world battle of labor.

All this was reflected in the great gatherings here, attended by new thousands of workers who have passed thru this year's great industrial wars in the coal mines, textile mills, and on the railroads.

The black depression left by the false leadership of labor in the congressional campaign was in part lifted by the tremendous encouragement growing out of the Soviet Anniversary celebrations that came on the same day with the elections.

Week of Celebration

In New York City overflow meetings were held in the streets outside the packed Lexington Opera House. The same story was repeated in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco and a hundred other spots from the At-

Continued on page Two.)

Special Labor Party Edition

THE WORKER will issue a special "Labor Party Edition," to be dated Saturday, Dec. 9th, for general distribution among workers everywhere. This edition will be ready for mass meetings to be held in all sections of the country, Dec. 10, to bring pressure to bear upon the Chicago Conference, Dec. 11, when the question of independent working class political action will be up for discussion and decision. This issue will carry articles stating the position of the Workers Party. Send all orders for bundles at 3½ cents a copy to THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Workers Party Announces Stand for Formation of Labor Party

The declaration of the Workers Party, taking a stand in favor of the formation of a Labor Party, is as follows:

The Workers Party and the Labor Party

The Workers Party favors the formation of a Labor Party—a working-class political party independent of and opposed to all capitalist political parties. Our Party will make every effort to hasten the formation of such a party and to effect the admittance of our Party into it.

A real Labor Party can be formed only by the Labor Unions. A political mass party in America is possible only with their support. The Socialist Party failed to become a mass Party because it was not rooted in the Labor Unions.

The initiative for the formation of a Labor Party must come from the Unions. For that reason we are against the caricature of a Labor Party which was proclaimed in New York by the Socialist Party and the local leaders of the Farmer-Labor Party, which, tho it may poll a substantial vote in the coming election cannot be the basis for permanent independent political action by Labor.

A Labor Party is an inevitable outcome of the [illegible] of the capitalist class which resulted from the economic crisis, make it necessary for the workers to defend themselves politically. The changes in the wages of the skilled and unskilled workers which have brought them nearer the same level and nearer the same conditions of life during and since the war, the taking away of the privilege of the "aristocracy" of Labor by the capitalist power, the assimilation of the foreign-born, the organization of the alien workers as militant trade unionists, have for the first time in the history of the American Labor Movement produced a uniformity of the working class. Such uniformity makes possible now, for the first time, the formation of a Labor Party embracing large masses of the American Working Class.

The notorious "Non-Partisan" policy of Gompers is bankrupt. This policy of "Rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor" (within the capitalist parties) could not protect the working class from the abrogation of all labor laws. It could not protect the workers from being robbed of the right of free speech, free press and free assemblage, the right to organize, strike and picket, nor from the infamous fact of government by injunction. The maintainance of even a minimum of these rights require constant aggressive political struggles by the workers as a class.

Only the formation of a Labor Party independent of all capitalist parties will make the present struggles of the working class effective.

This Labor Party must have a class program. In all previous third parties, the agricultural and middle class elements have been the leaders, while the workers have been merely an appendage. This time the leadership must be in the hands of the workers, the farm laborers, and the working farmers who do not exploit labor.

The movement for the formation of a Labor Party is the expression of the awakening class consciousness of the American Workers, and the Labor Party itself will be the [illegible] Our Party is interested in becoming a section of the Labor Party so as not to be isolated from this big mass movement of the workers.

Our stand in favor of the Labor Party does not mean that we will give up the Workers Party. The Workers Party will continue to exist as an autonomous section of the Labor Party with the right to carry on its educational propaganda inside and outside of the Labor Party, while at the same time supporting the campaigns and other struggles of the Labor Party. We are convinced that the affiliation of the Workers Party to a Labor Party will aid the Workers Party to develop into a mass party. In fact only by raising the political activity of the Workers Party to the highest potentiality will we be able to work inside of the Labor Party.

The movement for amalgamation of the craft unions must be supplemented by the movement for independent political action by the workers. We must state clearly to the workers that altho amalgamation has become a matter of life and death to the trade union movement, nevertheless the amalgamation of unions will not suffice in the present fight in which the state power directed against the labor movement is now concentrated to an extremely high degree.

The slogan of the American Labor Movement must be, Amalgamation and a Labor Party.

We welcome the fact that a Labor conference will be held in Chicago on December 11th to consider the matter of independent political action of Labor. We know that many of those participating in the conference are still imbued with discredited notions of political bargaining and trading with the capitalist parties and as yet lack the clarity of vision and the determination necessary for the organization of a labor party; nevertheless, we hope and desire that the

Continued on page Two.)

Big Campaign in Drive for Labor Party

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party has declared itself in favor of the formation of a Labor Party by the labor unions in which will be included all the existing political organizations of the workers of this country.

The resolution endorsing the formation of a Labor Party declares,

"The military centralization of power of the Government of the United States which was brought about by the war, and the offensive of the capitalist class which resulted from the economic crisis, [illegible] make it possible to organize a Labor Party in the United States today, which will include the working masses of this country," the resolution states.

"The changes in the wages of the skilled and unskilled workers which have brought them nearer to the same level and nearer to the same conditions of life during and since the war, the taking of the privileges of the 'aristocracy of labor' by the capitalist power, the assimilation of the foreign born, the organization of the alien workers as militant trade unionists, have for the first time in the history of the American Labor Movement produced a uniformity of the working class. Such uniformity makes possible now, for the first time, the foundation of a Labor Party embracing large masses of the American Working Class."

Two Million Workers Endorse Move

Facts before the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party at the time the resolution was under consideration showed that two million American trade unionists are on record in favor of independent political action by the workers of this country.

At the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Chicago, last February of this year, eighteen international unions of the A. F. of L. together with the railroad unions were represented. Since the end of the war a whole series of State Federations of Labor have gone on record for an independent political party for labor. The United Mine Workers of America, with over a half million members, has endorsed the formation of a Labor Party. Recently the Printers' Convention came out in favor of the same action. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union has committed itself to the Labor Party.

New Conditions Produce Movement

The fact that over two million organized workers have endorsed the

(Continued on Page Two)

Workers Party Fraternal Delegates Attend Fourth Congress of Communist International

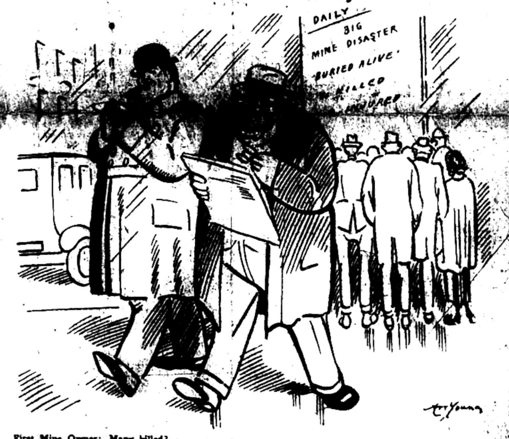
The Workers Party of America is represented at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, which opened in Petrograd, Soviet Russia, Sunday, and is now under way in Moscow, by three fraternal delegates. These delegates are Alexander Trachtenberg, Max Bedacht and James Cartwright.

The Workers Party has from its organization carried on its work in harmony with the principles of the Communist International, but up to this time has had no direct contact with the International.

The sending of fraternal delegates to the Fourth Congress marks a step toward closer relations of the party with the leadership of the Communist International. Previous to the sending of these delegates the Workers Party was not definitely on record as to its international affiliation, altho its sympathies were well known.

The new relations established between the Communist International and the Workers Party will establish in the American Labor Movement an open political movement, giving fraternal support to the principles of the Communist International, something which has not existed in this country since the Communist Party was driven underground in 1919.

The Risks of Industry



First Mine Owner: Many killed?
Second Mine Owner: Oh, a few. But these working stiffs have got to learn to run great risks—just as we risk our investments.

NEWS NOTE:—The death toll in the Reilly mine disaster at Spangler, Pa., has been fixed at 78, with 33 injured. The Miners' Union Hall has been turned into a temporary morgue.

Workers in Garment Trades Celebrate Rule of Labor in Russia

One of the first huge Soviet Anniversary Demonstrations was held Friday night, Nov. 3, at the Amalgamated Temple of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Brooklyn.

The thousands of members of the New York locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who sought

(Continued on Page Two)

Scandinavian Socialist Federation Now Joins Forces with the Workers Party

By a referendum vote which closed Nov. 1, the United Scandinavian Socialist Federation has affiliated with the Workers Party. Beginning this month the Federation will function as a unit of the Workers Party.

The United Scandinavian Federation was organized when the Scandinavian Socialist Federation and the same federation of the Socialist Labor Party united some months ago. The united federation has [illegible] members.

The action of the Scandinavian Federations follows that of the Czecho-Slovak Federation which affiliated with the party a month ago. A referendum for the affiliation of the Slovak Federation, which is distinct from the Czecho-Slovak Federation, is now pending. There is also a movement in the French Socialist Federation for affiliation with the Workers Party.

These developments indicate the fact that the Workers Party is fulfilling its mission in combining all the revolutionary organizations in the United States in one unified centralized party of the workers.

Zinoviev Tells How Lenin Returns to His Post of Command

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV, [illegible] of the Communist International and Life-long friend of Lenin

[illegible] mass meeting of the work[illegible] unfailingly overwhelmed [illegible] concerning the state [illegible] of Comrade Lenin, and the [illegible] of the recovery of the man [illegible] the popular masses of the [illegible] country in the world have [illegible] confidence. [illegible] knows that Vladimir Illitch Lenin can work as do few men. But he understands also how to rest. His work is in general methodical and ordered even in times of highest tension. His rest is simple. Lenin, like most strong characters, loves nature. He spends almost all his periods of rest outdoors.

The comrades who have lived with Vladimir Illitch in the vast solitudes of Siberia have discovered in him an enthusiastic tourist. The most [illegible] daily labor did not prevent him from making excursions dozens of versts from his residence in Siberia.

In Switzerland, where Vladimir Illitch lived for a long time, there are few places which he did not visit either on foot or by bicycle. He is more familiar with the vicinity of Geneva than many a Swiss. Before the historical schism in the Russian Social-Democratic Party which divided it into menshevik and bolshevik factions, Lenin journeyed into the mountains to prepare his plan of work and action amid peaceful surroundings.

After the defeat of the Revolution of 1905 Vladimir Illitch spent several weeks in Kuokolla, a small Finnish railway station not far from Petrograd, where a number of the militant leaders of our party gathered around him. There, too, he took advantage of all his moments of leisure to enjoy the sea and Finnish [illegible].

Following that, he returned to Geneva, then went to Paris, and from there to Cracow. At Paris, he invited us more than once to pleasant outings in the vicinity.

In Galicia, Vladimir Illitch passed four months in the little village of [illegible]. There his custom was to take frequent walks in the neighboring mountains. He often [illegible] us to take long bicycle trips as far as Hungary. Lenin loved to take [illegible] comrades along with him on his trips. His greatest [illegible] was [illegible] mountain climbing. Thanks to him, daily baths taken in the cold mountain streams were enforced until the beginning of winter upon all members of that colony of Russian exiles. Kamenev, who often tried to avoid them, drew upon himself the worst rebukes. [illegible] In winter we would go skating in Cracow. After reading thru the newspapers from Petrograd we would debate questions of vital importance to our party while skating.

Upon his return to Russia after the Revolution of 1917, Vladimir Illitch availed himself of all opportunities to make excursions into the neighboring country of Petrograd. He was [illegible] at the time of the [illegible] 1917. The Central Committee, [illegible] the importance of the [illegible] went to fetch him [illegible]

Some time after [illegible] spent almost three [illegible] Illitch in a [illegible] far from [illegible]

Continued on page Two.)

Subscribe for "THE WORKER!" Read Communist Literature! See Our Offer on Page [illegible]

[illegible] of [illegible] Russia

(Continued from page One)

[illegible] the Pacific and between the [illegible] borders.

[illegible] gatherings held on Nov. 7th [illegible] merely the climax of mass meetings held on Sunday and other days [illegible] and other meetings planned [illegible] rest of the week, as announced [illegible] last two issues of THE WORKER.

New York's great demonstration [illegible] Lexington Opera House was [illegible] by C. E. Ruthenberg, [illegible] of the Workers Party; M. [illegible] editor of the Freiheit, Jewish [illegible] organ of the Workers [illegible] Edward Lindgren, Organizer [illegible] District 2, as chairman, and A. [illegible] in Russian. Ruthenberg [illegible] in part as follows:

[illegible] Struggle for Power

"[illegible] the time came to celebrate [illegible] anniversary of the Russian [illegible] Revolution the world [illegible] still in the grip of the Imperialist [illegible] and the blight of that war made [illegible] sible for the workers to express their joy; when the second anniversary came World Capitalism had welded its iron ring around the Soviet Republic and the workes and peasants of Russia were in the midst of the struggle against counter-revolution; when the third anniversary came Soviet Russia had just passed thru the Polish war and was fighting against the counter-revolutionary army of Wrangel in the south; the fourth anniversary marked the coming of a more insidious enemy — famine and hunger were aboad in Russia and the workers and peasants were passing thru their darkest days.

"Today, in celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution we celebrate with a Soviet Russia that has conquered counter-revolution, that has broken the blockade, that has overcome famine, that has hurled all its enemies from the land and extended its border to those of old Russie, we celebrate a Soviet Russia that stands unconquerable, that no enemy can overcome, that will go forward until it realizes the full free Communist society which means peace, happiness and well-being for all the people of Russia and which will bring that peace and well-being to all people of the world."

Russians Fought Bravely

Ruthenberg then reviewed the struggles against exploitation and oppression which had been fought thru the ages, of which he said the Proletarian Revolution was the final phase and fruition, and continued:

"There is one aspect of the achievement of the Russian workers and peasants that will only be fully appreciated by the historian of the future.

"If we study the pages on which are told all the past history of our race we will not find thereon a story of such heroism as that which the Russian workers and peasants have manifested during these past five years.

"For nearly five years the whole capitalist world has thrown all its power against Soviet Russia. Counter-revolutionary general after general has hurled armies against the workers and peasants — Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel—with the help of English war munitions with the help of American gold, have tried to destroy the government of the workers.

Fight With Same Spirit

"Soviet Russia, after three years of Imperialist war, which sapped all its resources still mobilized the resources to beat them back. It was not an easy thing to do. It was not an easy victory.

"Never have a people suffered and sacrificed as the Russian workers and peasants have suffered and sacrificed in order to win that victory. Counter-revolution was accompanied and followed by the blockade.

"And when counter-revolution was overcome, when the blockade was broken, then came famine to still more test the spirit of those splendid fighters who have held aloft the banner of the proletariat in Soviet Russia.

"The workes and peasants have triumphed over all these: they have fought and won, and in winning their victory they have written the most heroic pages of the world's history, pages which in the future will be read as telling the story of enthusiasm, courage, endurance to achieve a great victory for mankind such as the world has never seen before. Let us fight for the same cause in the same spirit and we, too will win our goal."

Other meetings with time, place and speakers, have been arranged as follows:

Sunday, Nov. 12, at 3 P. M. — Hartford, J. Louis Engdahl;
Boston, Mass., H. M. Wicks — Nov. 12;
Norwood, Mass., J. F. Nason, R. J. Zelms, and H. M. Wicks—Nov. 12;
Joliet, Ill., Jack Carney — Nov. 12;
Brooklyn, Finnish Hall, 764 40th St., C. E. Ruthenberg and J. Louis Engdahl — Nov. 10.

[illegible] WORKERS SHOULD READ [illegible] COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

[illegible] A. E. Martin and Julia Poyntz.

The statement reads in part:

"Capitalism seeks vainly [illegible] new ways to extricate itself from the swamp in which it is sunk hopelessly, while Soviet Russia strengthens itself more and more despite the blockade and civil wars. The international solidarity of the working class has defeated the famine and now begins to reconstruct Russia. We call upon all workers of the world to persevere in the task already so well begun. Economic help for Russia means proletarian reconstruction.

"How often did you not tremble for Russia! It resisted all the tempests. It cannot perish. Its rehabilitation depends upon you. We ask the workers of the world to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution by donating a day's wages for the benefit of reconstruction of Russia. This united effort to rebuild a proletarian country knows no difference in recognition of value—the penny and the dollar mean the same in terms of international solidarity. The donations in honor of the anniversary will be delivered to Russia in the form of machines and tools. The Russian machines and Russian tools are the tools and machines of the international working class.

"Be generous! Hail to the red reconstruction in Russia!"

Force and Violence

By ISRAEL AMTER

"I take a solemn oath that either the Government of the country must be given peacefully to the Fascisti or we will take it by force." Thus spoke Bennito Mussolini, leader of the Fascisti, and ex-socialist. "It will be the duty of the Fascisti to restore its (the Cabinet's) legality by themselves seizing the Government." These were the words of Bianchi, Secretary of the Fascisti.

The occasion was the first convention of the Fascisti of Italy, just held at Naples, which was attended by 50,000 civilian delegates and 40,000 FASCISTI ON "A WAR FOOTING." Only a short time before, the Fascisti had invaded Trent, which is part of the territory ceded to Italy by the Treaty of Versailles.

The Fascisti are a super-governmental body, which altho disavowed by the Government, nevertheless "more often than not, merely does the work that the Government dare not do", as the New York Times puts it. The work of the Fascisti is to kill off "dangerous" labor leaders, storm and burn clubs and labor headquarters and generally break up all labor organizations.

They have repeatedly challenged the Government, and even threatened to occupy Rome under a military dictatorship. "General elections must take place in December. If the Government will not do this, the Fascisti will do it." In these elections the Fascisti demand a majority of the seats, regardless of the outcome. Should they not obtain the Government "legally", they openly state that they will seize it by violence.

In 1917, the Russian Bolsheviki, supported by the soldiers, workers and peasants of Russia, overthrew, practically without bloodshed, the corrupt, degenerate Kerensky Government which succeeded to power upon the removal of the Romanoffs and set up a Government of the Workers and Peasants. For this they were charged with being usurpers and exponents of force and violence. Immediately they were repudiated by the "constitutionally" organized capitalist governments of the world and a military campaign launched against them on all fronts and within the frontiers with the aid of foreign gold, foreign munitions and supplies and foreign troops including American.

Slander condemnation distortion and lies were hurled at the Soviet Government it became a pariah among the nations. All the capitalist governments—and even the socialist-bourgeois Government of Germany—refused to deal with it and instituted a starvation blockade against the country, to supplement the military invasion for bringing Soviet Russia to submission.

The Ku Klux Klan, sections of the American Legion the American Defense Society etc. are organized bodies similar to the Fascisti of Italy, exercising a censorship over the United States and making physical attacks on individuals and organizations without governmental molestation. State and municipal authorities make raids and attacks without regard to law or constitution. Foster is run out of Colorado. 200 I. W. W. are deported from Portland Ore. Negroes are lynched in the South: conventions of trade unionists and militants are raided. A Daugherty injunction, which is practically a declaration of war on organized labor and is followed by the threat of the use of federal troops in case of widespread strikes—all of this happens in America—at times at the instigation of the authorities and very often under their direct orders.

Why does the Government of the United States not demand a cessation of this "unconstitutional" uncivilized activity on the part of the Fascisti and the abrogation of their program of force and violence? Why does the Government of the United States not refuse to deal with the Hungarian Government, which is almost as black as that of the Romanoffs was? Why did the Government of the United States not protest against the shooting down of miners in South Africa? Why does the Government of the United States not break off diplomatic relations with Poland, Esthonia and Finland, which have used the most brutal, repressive measures against the workers?

Why do the Fascisti gain the admiration of the "better classes" for their daring and strategy? Why is the Ku Klux Klan, which was supposed to have been stamped out by Attorney General Daugherty, allowed to continue its work openly, and even to participate in elections?

Why this condemnation of the Russian Soviet Government and this hatred of it?

"Given an army of its own, such as the Italian middle and upper classes have developed in the Fascisti, the bourgeoisie of any country need never fear the success of general strikes. By reason of superior leadership, superior freedom of action and resources, an armed bourgeoisie can always win." (New York Times.)

This is why the Fascisti are lauded and the Ku Klux Klan and American Legion are encouraged to follow their example. These organizations are for the suppression of the working class, for smashing working class organizations, breaking their strikes and killing off their leaders. Force and violence are their natural and necessary weapons.

"MORE OFTEN THAN NOT THEY MERELY DO WHAT THE GOVERNMENT DARE NOT DO."

"It is clear, therefore, that force and violence as such are not condemned in the United States. It depends entirely on who uses it and in whose interest it is employed.

In the hands of the Mingo County miners demanding their constitutional rights, in the hands of Ludlow Colo. miners who try to protect themselves from the greedy coal barons and the Colorado State militia, of the members of the I. W. W. at Centralia, Wash. who defended their hall against the ruffians of the American Legion; of the miners and their wives in Kansas who are robbed of their livelihood by an army of scabs and gunmen of miners in Herrin who are provoked to violent defense by attacks of the cowardly mine guards in the service of the coal operators of the Russian workers and peasants who put an end to a dissolute, rotten regime of the czarists and capitalists and established a Government of their own in the hands of the workers, for the promotion and protection of working class rights and interests, force and violence is a crime.

The actions of the Fascisti have provoked the workers of Italy to form a Workers Guard to protect themselves and their organizations. Milan, which has a workers government is forming a Red Guard to shield it from the lawless bands of the Fascisti. In Germany where the "Orgesch," "Sipo" and "Technical Aid" as the various "Black Hundred" organizations of the reactionaries are called, carry on their depradations the workers have their military groups for self-defense.

No doubt in the course of time, the organized labor movement of America will be driven, in sheerest self defense to the adoption of some similar measures.

Workers Party Calls on Labor to Stand Alone

(Continued from Page One)

greater interests of the organized working class may be victorious in that conference and that it will lead to the formation of a Labor Party in opposition to the Gompers "Non-partisan policy."

We will work to achieve this end and to this end we must demand that our Party be represented at the Chicago conference.

We must mobilize all the forces of our Party to work effectively for the formation of a Labor Party by the labor unions.

We must start a wide spread campaign in all trade unions and working class organizations for the idea of a Labor Party and for the affiliation of such organizations with it.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE WORKERS
PARTY OF AMERICA
C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary.

[illegible] Political Activities

(Continued from Page One)

formation of a Labor Party is not merely a chance circumstance, in the eyes of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party. Such a movement has its roots in the circumstances affecting the life of the workers of this country and the committee finds the explanation of this movement in the concentration of power at Washington and the open, unashamed use of that power against the organized workers by the employers.

The fact of the bankruptcy of Gompers "non-partisan" policy as shown by the Daugherty injunction against the shopmen is another factor in the big movement for the Labor Party.

Plan Wide-Spread Campaign

The Workers Party will organize a wide-spread campaign in favor of the Labor Party, but it will be a campaign of education only. In its declaration for the Labor Party the Central Executive Committee of the party says that "A real Labor Party can be formed only by the Labor Unions. A political mass party in America is possible only with their support."

This declaration will be the guide of the Workers Party in its campaign for the Labor Party. The unions must take the lead. They must organize the labor party. The work of the Workers Party will be to crystallize sentiment in favor of the Labor Party in those unions which are not already on record in favor of the Labor Party.

Toward this end the Workers Party will issue a pamphlet "Why a Labor Party?" in which the case for the formation of such a party will be presented. It will also issue leaflets for general distribution.

This campaign is to begin with the mobilization of the members of the Workers Party itself. This will be done thru a series of party meetings in all parts of the country, at which there will be a thoro discussion of the question so that every member of the party will understand the basis for the party's actions.

Big Move Forward

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party considers the movement toward a labor party the biggest development in the American Labor Movement in the last decade or two.

The crystallization of the sentiment for such a party in the organization of the Labor Party will be the greatest step toward the building of a class movement of labor to fight the capitalists in this country which has yet taken place.

It will be in fact the beginning of a real labor movement—a labor movement which will give to the workers of this country such power in shaping future economic and political developments as the workers of most European countries are already wielding.

Sutherland Starts His Court Record with an Attack on Communists

One of the first acts of the reactionary Associated Justice Sutherland, recently apointed to the United States Supreme Court bench by President Harding, was to deny the application of William Bross Lloyd and 17 other members of the former Communist Labor Party for a writ of error, which would bring to the supreme court for review their conviction in Illinois on the charge of conspiracy to violate the state sedition law of 1919.

These convictions grew out of the "Red Raids" of January, 1920. William S. Forrest, counsel for the convicted Communists, refused to state whether he would ask the full court, after it assembles Nov. 13, for permission to appeal the cases.

Echoes of Jewell's "Victory"

From all over the country come reports of the shameful betrayal of the shopmen in their recent heroic struggle against the combined forces of the railroad magnates and the United States government, the political tool of the capitalist class.

The aftermath of the strike has hit the shop strikers of Aurora, Illinois, particularly hard. There were 1,790 scabs imported as strike breakers, and all of them are still on the job, while the strikers are still walking the streets, facing a winter of privation and suffering for themselves and families, while Bert M. Jewell, and other labor fakirs who arranged the betrayal of the shop workers still draw their exhorbitant salaries and enjoy other benefits of capitalist society incident to their services as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

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[illegible] Elections

[illegible] 253. In the [illegible] but 215 were elected, while [illegible] of their 480 nominees.

These municipal elections were conducted by the workers under the banner of the Labor Party. While the Labor Party does not countenance officially the affiliation of the Communist Party, many local Communist branches co-operate with the local branches of the Labor Party. This resulted in many Communists being candidates on the Labor Party ticket. We will be compelled to wait on the mails for information as to whether any of these were elected.

The reports at hand indicate that there were but two parties in the field, the combined conservatives against the laborites, so that it may well be that, altho a fewer number of its candidates were elected, the Labor Party cast an increased vote.

Everywhere labor faced fusion on the part of its capitalist political enemies, especially in those boroughs where the labor councillors had given extensive aid to the unemployed. In Poplar, where the whole town council, headed by George Lansbury, editor of the Labor Herald, went to jail in the fight to help the jobless, the election struggle was especially bitter. But the workers still held the borough council of Poplar, along with those of Battersea, Bermondsey and Woolwich, other London industrial centers.

These borough elections in England marked a big step forward for British labor, because they resulted in drawing the line more clearly than ever between the struggle for property rights on the one hand, and the battle for the human rights of the workers on the other. This result was brought about in great measure thru energetic Communist participation.

The poor steel trust. Judge Gary confessed to the Federal Trade Commission that it was out of the question to talk about wage reductions, the wages of the steel slaves were down as far as they could be pushed now and keep anyone working in the industry. That is certainly an admission from Gary. And the Trade Commission loses an opportunity to follow in the footsteps of the Railroad Labor Board.

Having lost his throne the ex-Kaiser of Germany has taken unto himself a second wife. Perhaps this will help him get an increased pension from the "Socialist" government at Berlin.

Six fishing steamers belonging to Belgian workers' co-operatives now fly the red flag on the North Sea. Help build the co-operative movement.

Mr. Burns Misses "The Robots"

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

There is one form of the Communist invasion of these shores that "the Great Detective," William J. Burns, and Attorney General Daugherty's department of justice have passed up altogether.

Far be it from us to act as informer, or to bring about a new "Red Raid," but we feel that no opportunity should be lost to let every worker know that it is worth while going to see "R. U. R." now being produced by the Theater Guild at the Garrick Theater, 65 W. 35th St., a few steps from Broadway.

I want to warn the Burn's sleuths in advance that all the characters speak perfect English, that no red flag is to be seen anywhere and that the word "Communism" is not uttered once during the entire performance.

But when "Rossum's Universal Robots," the Robots being workers finally break their chains thruout the world, and win all power thru a revolution, the fat, corpulent person in the seat behind me leaned over to his neighbor and whispered quite audibly, "That means we go to work." And there came to me the slogan of the Russian Revolution, "Work or Starve!"

This is being written on the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and I am reminded that this play, "Rossum's Universal Robots" would not have been possible but for the victory of the Russian workers and peasants, so closely does it follow the experiences of the Bolshevik struggle for power.

This play comes from the pen of Karel Capek, a name short enough to deceive the Burns' sleuths on the trail of a foreign accent. Capek is a Communist. He lives in Czecho-Slovakia, formerly Bohemia, one of the new nations established by the Versailles peace, but which boasts one of the world's strongest Communist organizations.

"Rossom's Universal Robots" is allegorical in style. We are taken to a mythical island and put down in the central office of a great plant for the manufacture of Robots according to the Rossum's formula. The Robots are workers without souls, without desires for the better things of life, they do not smile, cannot weep; they have only qualities that make of them efficient mechanical workmen. The demand for this type of workers, factory born, grows thruout the world; they make good soldiers as well as cogs in industry; they displace workers everywhere. Rossom's "Universal Robots" become as staple an article as Portland Universal Cement.

What is this Czecho-Slovakian Communist driving at? Isn't he just trying to picture what is actually taking place with the development of capitalism? Do we not see in the steel mills, down in the mines, in the great textile factories, everywhere in industry, the crushing of human beings into a mould that permits them only to develop into good and obedient wage slaves. Doesn't the kept press yell at them, the pulpit preach at them, the schools train them to become but a part of the industrial machine? The standing armies of modern militarism are merely aggregations of so many Robots taught to have no wills of their own, disciplined to obey only their commanding officers.

But Dr. Gall, head of the Physiological and Experimental Department of R. U. R., experimented too much with the Robots, in trying to improve upon Rossom's Formula. The result was that the Robots developed aspirations resulting in a class consciousness of their own. They did all the work of the world, carried all the burdens of humanity upon their shoulders, and so decided they should rule the world.

So, also under the growing oppression of developing capitalism the divine spark of protest among the massed workers continues to burn until it flames into open revolt, an old system dies, a new social system is born.

Capek doesn't enter into a discussion of violence versus democracy. When the Robots get ready they just take everything, wiping out all opposition offered them.

In the Robots' Revolution the formula for manufacturing Robots is destroyed, and the Robots face the inevitability of their own extinction thru their inability to manufacture more of their kind. The old social order is unable to help them. As Capek pictures one powerful scene after another upon the stage one can easily visualize capitalism thru the Paris Allies, at Genoa and the Hague, frantically trying to solve the "Russian Problem."

We are also reminded of the appeals of the Russian workers, coming to Lenin and asking him to run their factories, how to develop industry under the Soviets. And Lenin answers them that that is their task, that they must learn that for themselves.

So thru two lovers, a young Robot and a beautiful Robotess, the blooming into reality of the new social order is pictured in the developing emotions of workers who have learned to smile and weep, workers endowed with laughter and anger, conscious of their own power to aspire and create.

Capek's reasoning, cutting as sharply as the scalpel in the operating room, will not please the liberal mind that likes nothing so much as to indulge in aimless wanderings. It will prove annihilating to "Socialists" who profess a love for "peaceful evolution" out of capitalism.

In our opinion, Capek has been successful in putting the Communist Program for the rise of the world's workers to power upon the stage. Capek's play, first a reigning success in Prague, capital city of Czecho-Slovakia, is now being translated into a multitude of languages, even into the English. The pity is, however, that the high prices will prevent workers, even most radical workers, from seeing it and profiting by its message. While we congratulate the Theater Guild on this first production of its Fifth Season, let us hope that the workers themselves will soon have magnificent theaters of their own where they can offer such productions to great masses of their own class, instead of permitting their minds to be poisoned by the commercialized and brain-destroying movies, the best they can now afford.

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Zinoviev Tells How Lenin Returns to His High Post of Command

(Continued from page One.)

being tracked. Kerenski, Tseretelli, the entire provisional government ordered a search for the dangerous "agent of Germany". Lenin will affirm that we are not at all exaggerating. Well! his desire to go for a walk, or to get together a fishing party sometimes proved stronger than all considerations of prudence.

During the five years of the existence of the Soviet regime, and particularly during the first four, Vladimir Illitch had no opportunity to take the least rest. Last summer serious illness forced him to give up his daily work. When I saw him, recently, however, I was surprised at the fact that Vladimir Illitch, "who reads almost no newspapers", was remarkably well-posted on events of any importance, and held opinions "of a man badly informed" so suited to the present need that the directing departments of our party soon agreed to them.

Vladimir Illitch is returning to activity after a long convalescence. The world will see how much the "first-hand" reports on the illness of Lenin spread broadcast by all our opponents, from the monarchists to the mensheviks and S R.'s were worth.

During the two weeks of 1918, when, seriously wounded he struggled against death Vladimir Illitch won more popularity than at any other time in his life. Whoever attends our mass meetings today, whoever has seen how the Russian working people, even non partisans, follow the illness and recovery of Lenin, will be deeply convinced that this crisis in health, and the invidious counter-revolutionary activities of which it has been the outcome, has only strengthened, more than was expected in 1918, the affection which the masses of Russia bear to Vladimir Illitch.

How pitiable appear today all the sordid, petty intrigues of Milioukov, of Tchernov, of Dan whose newspapers published on "the hopeless condition" of Lenin so many articles expressing malicious joy in each line!

How ridiculous these people appear again in publishing information on the "crisis in our party" and the "struggle for power" amongst us!

Milioukov has printed numerous articles in his Paris daily on the health of Lenin written as if they were medical diagnoses. Such chosen morsels from this collection deserve to be preserved in the literature of humor.

In its entirety, the campaign of false news and lies conducted by the bourgeois press at the time of the illness of Lenin summarizes all the campaigns of this kind directed against the power of the Soviets.

His convalescence over the captain returns to his post of command. The entire crew of the great ship from the first to the last man will retake courage. I do not exaggerate. Our entire party and with it the best elements of the Russian workers and peasants, will heartily cheer the return of Vladimir Illitch to his daily tasks. The class conscious workers of all countries will rejoice with us at this new defeat of our enemies.

Needle Trades Celebrate

(Continued from Page One)

admission, could not all be accomodated, making an overflow meeting necessary.

Among the speakers were Joseph Schlossberg secretary, and J. B. Salutsky, educational director. The gathering sent a cable to Russia, greeting the Russian workers who "dared to defy the armed world of enemies from within and without and fought to a successful conclusion the battle of the working class."

Italian Workers Greet Soviet Rule

Luigi Antonini, general secretary of the Italian Dress and Waist Makers' Union, Local 89, and a candidate of the Workers Party for congress in the recent elections, on behalf of the Italian workers in the garment industry, sent a cable to Nikolai Lenin, expressing their gratification on his recovery, and acclaiming the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

The message, which was adopted at a mass meeting of the Italian dress and waist makers, read as follows:

"Italian Dress Makers' Union rejoicing over your recovery, acclaim the Fifth Anniversary of the glorious Soviet Revolution, pledging unwavering support to Russian reconstruction and hailing the coming triumph of the world proletariat."

Local 89 is affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the heads of which, especially the president, Benjamin Schlesinger, conduct an unceasing attack on the Russian Soviet Government.

Celebration at Paterson, N. J.

J. Louis Engdahl, Editor of The Worker, and Nat Kaplan, Assistant District Two Organizer, of the party addressed a joint Russian Revolution Celebration and Election Meeting at Paterson, N. J., Friday, Oct. 3.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your [illegible]

ht Agains
iners' Plan

[illegible] announcement has come from the headquarters of the United Mine Workers of America at Indianapolis to the effect that a special assessment has been levied upon the members of the organization for the purpose of creating a fund of at least $2,000,000.

Concurrent with this announcement comes the report from all coal fields that production is being speeded up to the limit and that next spring will again witness a surplus, so that the fight, so miserably compromised by Lewis & Co. when they betrayed the strike of the miners by signing the Cleveland agreement, may be continued with added fury after next April 1, therefore the $2,000,000 will be needed.

There are still 73,000 union miners on strike against non-union conditions in various fields thruout the jurisdiction and it is not thought likely that the officialdom of the United Mine Workers will risk another strike in the Spring, even tho the already miserable wages of the miners are cut.

It is pointed out by militants that the Cleveland pact binds, by implication, the union to accept agreements upon the basis of the fake "fact-finding committee" to be established by the miners and owners.

At the same time Lewis makes the announcement that he is the sole candidate in the field for president of the union during the next two years, and that the same is true of the vice-president, Phil Murray.

From the camp of the miners' officialdom also comes the report that Alexander Howatt has been finally eliminated from the organization and that his followers in the district have been deposed, which means that the henchmen of the Lewis machine have at last succeeded, with the co-operation of the infamous Governor Henry J. Allen, in temporarily crushing the militants of the Kansas District.

Tools of the Lewis machine are also busy stirring up dissension in the ranks of the Oklahoma miners in order to eliminate some enemies of the Lewis machine in that district.

Meanwhile the militants in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and scattered groups in many other places are preparing to resist any wage-cut.

Harlem Classes Growing

Work under auspices of English Harlem Branch of the Workers Party and the Young Workers League exceeding expectations.

The two classes originally organized by the English Harlem Branches of the Workers Party and the Young Workers League have grown to four and the membership of each has become so large that it has become necessary to rent a regular class room and to make a small charge to the students to cover the rent expenses.

So many people from all sections of the city are constantly coming to the classes, that the instructors are finding it difficult to maintain their schedules on account of the constant reviews that are necessitated by the coming of new students. It has been decided therefor, to make an additional general registration of new applicants after which no further members for the established classes will be accepted. The educational program is as follows

ELEMENTARY CLASS
Dr. Kessler, Instructor.
Time not yet definitely established.
Subjects—
1—Communist Manifesto.
2—Socialism, Utopian and Scientific—Engels.
3—Socialism—Science to Action—Radek.
4—A B C of Communism—Bucharin.
5—Communist Program—Bucharin.

INTERMEDIATE CLASSES
Monday Class—Julius Codkind, Instructor.
Sunday 4 P. M. Class—Fanny, Jacobs, Instructor.
Subjects—
1—Origin of the Family—Engels.
2—State and Revolution—Lenin.
3—Wage Labor and Capital—Marx.
4—Value, Price and Profit—Marx.

ADVANCED CLASS
Wednesday Nights.
Co-operative Study Class for advanced students only.
Subject—"Capital" by Marx.

It has been definitely decided to make the final registration for these classes on the coming Saturday evening, Nov. 11, at 7 to 7.30 P. M. Comrade Codkind will be at the Workmen's Circle Building, 143 E. 103 St., where applicants for membership in the classes will be registered and assigned to classes. Provided that there are sufficient applicants, a fifth class will be organized.

The charge to students in these classes will be forty cents per month payable monthly in advance. The funds divided will be used to pay rentals for the classes, and any surplus that may accrue will be used to buy literature or subscriptions to The Worker for the students.

For further information, call at the above time and place, or write J. Codkind, 133 E. 97 St., Educational Director of the English Harlem Branches of the Workers Party and Young Workers' League.

[illegible] Jean Longuet, traitor to the social revolution in France, is here championing their pet cause, the League of Nations.

Longuet, who spoke against the war in faint whispers and then, in the French chamber of deputies, voted the war credits with the rest of the jingoes, espoused the cause of the unhappy child of the Versailles Peace, at the opening meeting of his American tour at Boston.

The New York Call, Socialist daily, that is sponsoring Longuet's tour, reports him as having expressed the hope that "the United States will enter the League of Nations and give it an impetus in the right direction."

This Longuet, who flirted for a time with the world revolutionary movement, but who finally delivered himself into the fold of the worst social patriots in the French labor movement, tells us thru the "Socialist" Call that he has "considerable faith in the League of Nations."

Longuet's utterances, presumably endorsed by the "Socialist" Party, thru its official daily organ, shows how far the Hillquits and the Bergers have retreated during the last three years. In September, 1919, even after the "Socialist" Party had broken with its Communist elements, it went on record in the manifesto of that year declaring that:

> **"To strengthen their precarious rule of violence and reaction the triumphant representatives of Allied capitalism have created an executive committee of their governments which they have the insolence to parade under the counterfeit label of a League of Nations.**
>
> **"The true aim of this alliance of capitalist powers is to safeguard their plunder, to bully and dominate the weak nations, to crush proletarian governments, and to thwart everywhere the movements of the working class.**
>
> **"The so-called League of Nations is the CAPITALIST BLACK INTERNATIONAL against the rise of the working class. It is the CONSCIOUS alliance of the capitalists of all nations against the workers of all nations."**

The League of Nations is the same—the same Black International. The Longuets, Hillquits and Bergers, when they turned their backs upon the Communist International—the Red International—fell into its lap. In the days of the armistice, four years ago, Longuet was supposed to be "radical." But when the Committee for the Third International was organized within the French Socialist Party, Longuet, as editor of La Populaire, turned his guns against Souvarine, Loriot and other French Communists, at the same time, however, proclaiming his hatred of the Second International. When the crisis came at the Tours Congress of the French Socialist Party, with the organization of the French Communist Party, Longuet joined the rest of the traitors of the Second International, Thomas, Renaudel and Co., and there he remains today a helpless prisoner of social patriotism, without influence.

It is this specimen of vacillation and outspoken agent of the "Black International" that the "Socialist" Party is presenting to the workers of America, who threw the League of Nations into the scrap heap, so far as this country was concerned, in the 1920 elections.

Longuet and the "Socialist" Party display their complete depravity by trying to make capital out of the fact that Longuet is a grandson of Karl Marx. Why make Karl Marx any more responsible for the treason of his grandson than he is for the desertion of Socialism by the "Socialist" Parties of this and other countries?

Impeach Daugherty!

By JAY LOVESTONE

"Civil War in America," "America saved from Reds." These are gems culled from the recent campaign speeches of Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty.

The other day the Attorney General took a trip to Ohio to deliver a blow in behalf of Harding's still-born "normalcy."

Daugherty rid himself of a vicious tirade against the workers of America. He was particularly bitter against the shopmen. He roundly condemned the rail strikers as law-breakers and vociferously boasted of his great services in behalf of law and order.

Mr. Daugherty is particularly sure that he must convince the people of his being an eternally vigilant guardian of the law.

We Communists are not blind to the fact that the capitalist system of law is a skillfully codified set of rules and regulations for the maintenance of private property and the perpetuation of wage-slavery.

We agree with Marx that no genuine social reforms are ever realized thru the weakness of the strong. It is only the strength of the weak that can bring into life such changes.

We do not delude ourselves as to the probability of an overdose of advantages that the capitalist law can bring to the workers.

But it makes us chuckle with glee to see the agents of the capitalists pose as saviors of the law at a time when, compelled by new conditions, they violate the very laws they have themselves made. Hypocrisy is truly the badge of the lickspittles of oppression and tyranny. By this standard Daugherty is at once the most brazen lickspittle of the capitalists and the most loud-mouthed "defender" of the law. The record of this sworn enemy of the workers affords proof aplenty that he himself is one of the worst violators of the law.

Were it not for the fact that the whole judiciary is an outright capitalist class institution this apostle of "law and order" would long ago have been lodged behind prison bars.

Attorney General—Lawbreaker!

Harding's choice of Daugherty as Attorney General raised a storm of protest in many quarters. His name had long been odious to many people because of the infamous cheap role he played in securing a pardon for Morse, at the price of $25,000. But, Harding, like Gompers, believes in the policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies". Daugherty was an old loyal friend of Gamaliel, the First Chief of our land. So the storm of protest blew over and Daugherty became Guardian-Angel of the Peace—Attorney General.

As Attorney General, Daugherty is dutybound to defend our homes and hearths from law-breakers. His record to-date is one of criminal neglect of duty. More than that. It is one of the most gross and flagrant violations of the law on his own part. All Daugherty has done to-date is to prosecute and hound workmen.

His attack on the communists and his dastardly manoeuvre to have the State of Michigan hand out 760 years in jail to peaceful workingmen was a prelude to and a deliberately planned part of the infamous injunction against the railway workers.

As defender of the peace, Daugherty protected private gunmen engaged in terrorizing workmen who were struggling for the right to earn a living.

His agents, in co-operation with the notorious Illinois Manufacturers' Association, have launched an energetic campaign to murder 434 workers charged with the crime of self-defense against the coal operators' thugs and gunmen at Herrin.

Mr. Daugherty's department has, in the past year, cost well over the $12,000,000 annually allotted to it by the Federal budget. Because of his feverish anti-strike activity, he was compelled to seek another half million from Congress.

Mr. Daugherty himself has boasted that he has spent over $1,500,000 in foisting the damnable injunction on the American workers and in delivering the last death stab to the constitution. He has, according to his own plea before his Judge Wilkerson, organized an army of over 5,000 marshals, armed men, to safeguard the hides of the scabs and the profits of Atterbury, DeWitt Cuyler, Loree and Company.

These 5,000 armed men were the special army put at the disposal of the Monarchs of industry and finance by the Republican United States Government, thru the imperial ukase of the Attorney General.

Mr. Daugherty used his office openly to oppress the workers and help the capitalists. As the shopmen's strike became more effective and cut in heavily on the dividends Daugherty proclaimed his now—famous Open Scab Shop Oath—his injunction.

Crimes of Daugherty

Representative Keller, of Minnesota, has introduced a bill for the impeachment of Daugherty on the following grounds:

1) He has failed to prosecute cases under the Anti-Trust Law against New York Contractors and material men.

2) He has failed to prosecute notorious violators of the Volstead Act.

3) He has called upon a Federal Judge to grant an injunction in utter violation of the Constitution, in that it aims at a complete denial of the rights of free speech, press, and assembly.

These are most serious charges. If Mr. Daugherty has never been worthy of anything before in his life he is now worthy of a speedy impeachment.

He is worthy of more than that. He is worthy of a speedy and severe jail sentence.

The impeachment proceedings **have been delayed for political reasons by the Republicans. They did not dare to air the charges against their Mr. Daugherty on the eve of Election. This event might open the eyes of many workers. More Congressional and Senatorial Heads would go. And things are not moving too smoothly for the Government that now sits in power at Washington, D. C.**

11,000 Railway Unions Plan an Amalgamation Conference in Chicago

(By Federated Press)

ST. PAUL.—11,000 local railway unions have been sent a call to attend a national railroad amalgamation conference to be held in Chicago, Dec. 9. The call is issued by O. H. Wangerin, secretary, National Committee to Amalgamate the 16 Standard Railroad Organizations, with headquarters at 411 Dakota Bldg., 54 W. 7th St., St. Paul.

The call reads in part: "The time has now come when the railroad men of the United States and Canada are ready to amalgamate the many unions into one mighty organization. On July 1, 1922, our committee submitted for approval of the 11,000 railroad local unions the method of amalgamation since famous as the Minnesota plan. This plan, with its departmentalized form, gives the fullest protection to the separate craft interests, yet at the same time unites the entire body of railroad workers in unbreakable solidarity. The response in favor of the plan has been overwhelming.

"The shopmen's strike, with its tragic spectacle of nine unions working while seven are striking, makes amalgamation more imperative than ever. To stop secessionism and devise a method of consolidating all unions as speedy as possible is the big problem for this conference to solve. The conference will also deal constructively with the closely related problems of amalgamation and strengthening the metal trades generally.

"All local unions or local and system federations are entitled to two delegates each. Bring credentials with you and notify the secretary (Wangerin) in advance. All lodges are requested to contribute $2 to the conference fund.

"Brothers, beware of dual unionism."

British Workers Protest American Persecutions

The Party Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain, held during the month of October, adopted the following resolution on the prosecution of radicals by the American government:

"The Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain expresses its sympathy with the members of the Workers Party, the Industrial Workers of the World and the Trade Union Educational League in the United States, now under arrest or serving prison sentences for their loyalty to the interests of the working class.

"The Communist Party also protests against the attempt now being made to send Nicola Sacco and Bartholomeo Vanzetti to the electric chair on a trumped-up charge of murder, but in reality as a punishment for their activities in organizing Italian workers in the United States, and against the continued imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, who were convicted of murder on perjured testimony as a result of their excellent work in the trade union movement on the Pacific Coast.

"The party calls upon the organized workers of Great Britain to arrange demonstrations against the capitalist barbarities now being perpetrated in darkest America.

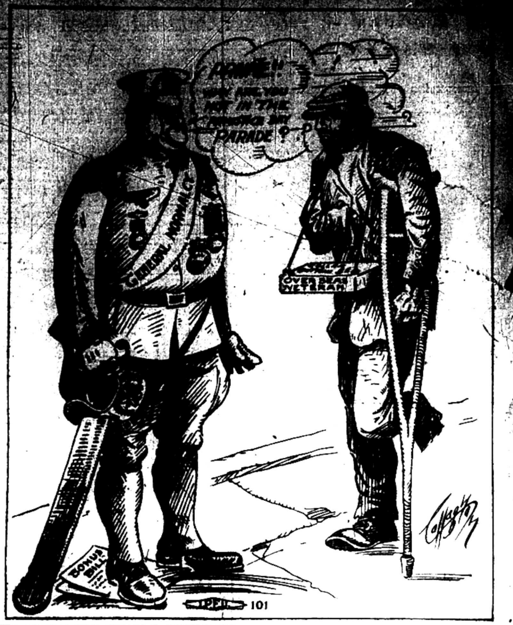
"The Conference instructs its secretary to forward a copy of the resolution to the President of the United States and the American Ambassador in London."

Concert and Vecherinka

Saturday evening, Nov. 11, a grand concert and vecherinka will be given at the newly decorated and beautifully illuminated Kremlin Hall, 231 East 37th Street. The affair is being given under the auspices of the Yorkville Educational League and the proceeds will be devoted to workers' education.

C. C. C. MEETS

The next meeting of the City Central Committee will be held at John Reed Hall, 208 E. 12th St., Saturday, Nov. 11, at 8 P. M. sharp.



Fourth Installment of Series of Articles Issued by Publicity Committee, Progressive Miners' Group, District 5 (Pittsburgh), U. M. W. of A.

Pittsburgh Coal Miners Work to Rid Their Union Elections of Whiskey and Money

The organization of the Allegheny Valley in spite of Van Bitner and his desperate efforts to check organization was an achievement worthy of note. The miners of this valley are among the most progressive in Western Pennsylvania.

Yet John H. Walker insists that his defeat the last time he ran for International President was the direct result of the corrupt manipulations of the votes in the Allegheny Valley locals. The report of the vote seemed to show that new locals in this valley voted their entire strength for John P. White. This seems to contradict the claim that these miners are progressive.

HONEST MINERS PASSIVE

The reason such a condition was possible in the Allegheny Valley at the time of Walker's defeat was the same reason that district progressives have been beaten in the past — indifference of the honest voters. The honest English speaking miners were so disgusted with the corrupt tactics of the booze hounds that they made no organized effort to stop the corruption. All they did was to talk about it. **This year the progressive miners group is not going to just talk about this corruption, it is going to stop it!**

Foreign Miners in the Dark

In the past most of the foreign born miners were left in the dark. Practically none of them were ever nominated for any office, and the result was that they had little interest in the election. They didn't understand what the issues were. They felt that two gangs of Americans were fighting with each other for office.

So when they came up to vote the corrupt American official of the local would hand the foreign born worker a ballot and tell him to vote it that way. Many times such a member would vote as he was told because no one else took any interest in them. This year it is different.

Every radical and language element is fairly represented on the ticket and it is the duty of the active spirits in the various language groups to immediately get busy with their fellows and points the fact that this ticket is an organized movement standing on a definite platform and that it is moving forward with consistent, uniform step presenting a united front to the corrupt reactionaries who have bribed and corrupted for many, many years.

Examples of Corruption

Innumerable examples could be offered of the most brazen corruption in this district. In this article we will offer only the case of some Alleghany Valley locals in the election of 1920.

At Brackenridge and Natrona where two mines were organized many years ago, the Company refused to recognize the union. The miners who had joined the union therefore drifted away to seek employment elsewhere. Notwithstanding this fact the district tellers continued to count the full number of votes for the slated candidates that were organized in the beginning.

On making an investigation of the voting done at these two mines in 1920 the radicals found 26 men receiving strike benefits, showing that this number was all that were entitled to vote at that election. Yet when the returns were made over four hundred votes were counted for the machine slate favored in 1920.

Courage Necessary for Clean-up

If the miners of this district imagine they are going to win this fight without any effort they are badly mistaken. While the overwhelming majority of the miners in this district are progressive and if all their votes are counted they will win 5 to 1.

But they need not expect men who systematically peddled booze in previous elections to corrupt the voters and brazenly stole votes and padded the returns not by hundreds but by thousands are going to quietly submit to being removed from power.

The officials of District 5 have a Kingdom beside which the smaller kingdoms of ancient times were insignificant. If, as claimed in a court suit now pending, they accomplished the vanishing trick with almost $3,000,000 in the defense fund, they are men with no small amount of influence and power.

When certain progressives made a tour of investigation after the election of 1920 they were told numerous tales of officers of the District who peddled whiskey in a touring car on election day and gave it to tellers of local unions in the Allegheny Valley. They also met men who admitted they were given money to corrupt the miners who voted in the election.

If the "gang" would go this far in 1920 how much further will they go this year when they are desperately fighting against certain defeat. If there is any possible way for them to bribe or steal their way thru there is nothing they will not do.

We undoubtedly have the votes, but the big fight now is to see they are honestly counted and every honest miner in District 5 must decide now to make sacrifices now. Whiskey and money must be driven out of this election campaign in every form and an honest election guaranteed the members of District 5.

Thomas Myerscough,
L. U. 4561, U. M. W. of A.
W. A. Guiler,
L. U. 593, U. M. W. of A.
Frank J. Indof,
L. U. 2353, U. M. W. of A.
Publicity Committee,
Progressive Miners Group,
District Five, U. M. W. of A.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Evicted Coal Miners Picket Home of Boss in New York City

By HARRY GODFREY

NEW YORK.—Fifth Avenue—Upper Fifth Avenue—the home of wealth and splendor, of idleness and fashion, of marble halls and marble hearts—has been having just a glimpse into one of the sources of its opulence. Upper Fifth Avenue, from its sumptuously draped windows, from its high-powered automobiles and from its cold eyes, for two hours looked upon two coal miners from the coal fields of Somerset county, Pennsylvania. Upper Fifth Avenue, too, gazed upon a placard the miners carried, reading:

JUST LOOKING
At E. J. Berwind's House
We, his Evicted Miners,
Have to Live in Tents,
And Chicken Coops

SUBWAY COAL DIGGERS
SIX MONTHS ON STRIKE

E. J. Berwind, who lives at the corner of Fifth Avenue and East Sixty-fourth Street, is the president of the Berwind-White Coal Co. The miners who walked back and forth in front of his palatial home, Joseph Kopchek and Michael Fazeks, have been in the employ of the Berwind-White Co. for more than ten years, and never have seen their boss. If per chance they thought they might get a glimpse of him entering or leaving his home, they were disappointed. Berwind encountered, at his downtown office a day or two before, some of the pickets who were stationed there, and he sputtered and stalked angrily away.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Workers' School

WORKERS PARTY
LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK

Commences Nov. 13 with the following program
(8:00 to 10 P. M.)

MONDAY—M. J. Olgin: Marxian Economics, Capital, Vol. 1. At Freiheit Hall, 47 Chrystie St.

TUESDAY—B. Glassberg: Social and Economic Forces in American History. At John Reed Hall, 208 E. 12th St.

WEDNESDAY—L. Lore: European History of Socialist and Labor Movements. At John Reed Hall, 208 E. 12th St.

Local Office, 208 E. 12th St., Room 10, is now open for registration any day between 10 [illegible] 9 P. M.

[illegible] in West

By [illegible] DeFORD

[illegible], Cal.—The prosecution in the trial of the five com[illegible] here has offered in testimony [illegible] of William Z. Foster's "Syn[illegible]," bearing marks which show [illegible] it was introduced formerly in [illegible] trial of Anita Whitney.

It is claimed by the police that this book was seized at Communist Labor party headquarters in 1919.

Police Inspector William E. Kyle, who led the raid in which the defendants were arrested in 1919, was asked by James F. Dolsen, one of the defendants, if it was not true that he had received two copies of this book from the United States Steel corporation, and had planted one at Communist Labor headquarters and one in Miss Whitney's home. The judge refused to allow the question to be answered.

"We found a large part of the literature we seized not in violation of the law," Kyle stated, "but we took it so as to mess the organization up. We wanted to force them to cease their propaganda."

The defense forced Kyle to acknowledge that files of The World, Socialist party weekly, dating back to 1911, had been seized without search warrants and burned without court order; also that most of the magazines and papers seized were at the time openly on sale on newsstands in Oakland and San Francisco, and that one of them, The Liberator, the Oakland police had been enjoined by court order from interfering with.

John G. Taylor, formerly state secretary, Socialist party, later state secretary, Communist Labor party, and twice Socialist candidate for mayor of Oakland, who is out on parole from San Quentin on a criminal syndicalism charge, was subponead by the prosecution, but made a boomerang witness.

The district attorney tried to force him to state that the communists had endorsed the I. W. W., but he vehemently denied this, stating that the national convention had several times refused such an indorsement, while praising the heroic anti-war stand of the organization.

Meanwhile the stoolpigeons, Coutts and Dimond, and the state's new find — first used in Sacramento — W. E. Townsend, are waiting in court, ready to testify if the prosecution can find someone to connect the communists with I. W. W. So far no one has been found to perjure himself in this regard, and so the familiar tales of burnt haystacks and copper nails, recited in all former criminal syndicalism trials, have not been heard.

Taylor's testimony further showed that the raid had been marked by great brutality, one man being pushed thru a glass door. The judge refused to allow Dolsen to bring out the fact that there was blood on the floor after the raid but a good deal of evidence of the police cruelty got across.

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Wm. Z. Foster, Editor.

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118 No. La Salle Street,
Chicago, Ill.

[illegible] by Mrs. Margaret Sanger

By H. M. WICKS

[illegible] Marxists who have been thinking all these years [illegible] society are inherent in the system of capitalist [illegible] Mrs. Margaret Sanger, apostle of Malthus and [illegible]

Mrs. Sanger has just returned from Japan, where she discussed the question of "population" before sundry audiences of the yellow race. At her first appearance since returning which occurred the other night in Carnegie Hall, New York City, she blandly informed her audience that the situation in Japan today is similar to that of Germany in 1910.

The German nation and not the clash of imperialistic interests was responsible for the world war for the simple reason that it did not practice birth control. It foolishly permitted its population to expand to such an extent that war was inevitable. Witness the profound historical insight of the birth control champion:

"* * * With a limited territory the high birth rate in Germany increased the density of the population so that there arose a cry for expansion, for new colonies, for new territories, for 'a place in the sun.' And national expansion, based on potential overpopulation, breeds militarism and the machinery of war."

Japan, according to Mrs. Sanger, is in the same condition today that Germany was before the late war and, altho Japan may send her surplus population out of the country the problem would not be solved for "the disease would break out in some other part of the world."

The birth control advocates, in their zeal to propagate their doctrine, resort to the methods of religionists and proclaim that their particular nostrum will cure all the ills of mankind. To a very limited extent and among certain strata of society the advocacy of birth control is of value, but to attempt to explain militarism and war as the result of failure to embrace the doctrines of Malthus is to indulge in absurdities.

If anyone imagines that the "first step toward international peace has been taken because birth control has now triumphantly girdled the globe," the facts of history will soon dispel that notion and whoever fails to perceive that war clouds are lowering over the Island of Japan is totally incompetent to discuss the question of war and peace.

How It Would Work In Japan

Tho half the population of Japan were to emigrate and spread over the face of the earth and tho every woman in that nation practiced birth control for the next decade it would not change the development of industry in that nation, it would not change the course of history and the inevitable clash of imperialistic interests over the partitioning of China; in fact it would not alter anything except the birth rate and the population.

An understanding of the fundamental law of population would be of immense value to the birth controllers and prevent them making fools of themselves when they venture beyond their narrow specialty. Marxists have long known that every system of wealth production has its own laws of population, which are compatible with the demands of its productive forces, and we know that if the Japanese followed the advice of the birth controllers and depopulated their nation, they would be forced to offer inducements to foreigners to enter the country and help carry on production, just as the capitalist class of the United States offered inducements to Europeans to emigrate to this country to satisfy the demands of an industry that increased a hundred-fold faster than human beings could reproduce.

As a horrible example of a nation ignoring birth control Mrs. Sanger pointed out China and declared that "If anyone wishes to refute the Malthusian theory it is worth while, before wasting his time, to take a trip to China, for there the population question with all the horrors that Malthus depicted is vindicated."

She then depicts the squalor poverty and ignorance of the Chinese, but she says nothing of the pillaging of certain sections of China by British, French, Japanese and to some extent Americans which deprives the teeming millions of that nation of their means of subsistence.

Confuting Parson Malthus

Evidently Mrs. Sanger imagines the Malthusian doctrine stands on a rock as impregnable as Marxism for she has admonished us not to waste our time trying to refute the Malthusian theory.

The doctrine of Malthus, briefly stated, is that the population increases much faster than the means of subsistence increases. Malthus lived at the close of the Eighteenth century and his principal work bears the date of 1789. He was a Christian minister of the Protestant faith who lived in England and he entered the ranks of writers on economic subjects with his "Essay on Population." This work is considered the bible of the birth controllers, their "scientific foundation" upon which is reared their whole theory of overpopulation. Altho the work attained a certain vogue among the ill-informed at the time of its publication it was completely riddled by the leading economists of the day. Many years later it was stigmatized by Karl Marx (Capital, Vol. 1, footnote beginning p. 675) as "nothing more than a schoolboyish, superficial plagiary of DeFoe, Sir James Steuart, Townsend, Franklin, Wallace, etc., and does not contain a single sentence thought out by himself."

Thus the modern birth controllers, while boasting of their knowledge of history, economics and ethics, hark back to the ignorant pulpit-pounder, Malthus, unaware of the fact that what is now accepted as a profound scientific discovery in certain uneducated circles has been exploded for over a hundred years.

Malthus, himself, as charged by Marx, pilfered the works of his superiors and perverted them to conform to his pre-conceived errors, but his plagiarism has been further distorted by the soft-headed females and fat-headed males who conduct the birth control propaganda in the United States.

Depleting the Population

If the depletion of the population of the world were the solution for all our ills it seems that we ought now to be near a Malthusian paradise, considering the fact that the war destroyed millions upon millions of the young manhood of the world, thereby effectively reducing the population of this generation and future generations for some decades to come. Instead of solving our problems, those problems are intensified. If there were nothing else in all history to refute the Doctrine of Malthus it seems to us this fact alone would be sufficient.

As to the contention that the population increases faster than the productive forces and that the world is over-populated, we only need consider the fact that scientific agriculturists have estimated that the state of Texas alone, properly cultivated, can produce enough food for the entire population of the world.

When we consider the fact that millions of former productive workers were taken from their places of toil and placed in the armies of the world for a period of five years, that other millions were engaged in the manufacture of war materials and that sufficient food and clothing was produced by a minority of the workers for all humanity we have another crushing refutation of the Malthusian theory.

As a matter of fact, birth control will never solve anything except the problem of an individual mother who desires to limit the number of her offspring, and for Mrs. Sanger to endeavor to magnify her sentimentalism for disseminating this information among women into an elaborate system affecting world politics and to try to vindicate her position by an appeal to the thoroly discredited and almost forgotten Malthus will never gain her the serious consideration of informed people.

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In the World of Books

By MAX SCHACHTMAN

One of the many counts on which we indict the capitalist system of production and distribution is its appalling inefficiency; and Stuart Chase in his brochure "The Challenge of Waste" (The League for Industrial Democracy) very ably marshals all the evidence for the prosecution. Capitalism's inability to satisfy the most elemental needs of the vast mass of working people was never so manifest as it is today. The conclusions drawn by Chase are, from the nature of the pamphlet, weak, but it is well worth ten cents to all propagandists, if only for the incontestable facts it presents.

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LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
WORKERS PARTY
799 Broadway, Room 405
New York City.

[illegible] the Crazy [illegible] and the [illegible] Bottomley

NOTE.—We have been fortunate in securing several articles from one of the most prominent of British writers, R. W. Postgate. These articles bear on the present political situation in England. The present campaign will not witness the antics of two of British capitalism's kept editors, Bottomley and Northcliffe; one in prison, the other gone to his grave. In the accompanying article Postgate tells of the stagnation in the ranks of British labor, due to the betrayal of its leadership, and then shows the kind of spokesmen that the imperialists and capitalists place in control of their press. Postgate writes as follows:

* * *

By R. W. POSTGATE

Prominent Contributor to British Communist Press

The main events in the history of this last month or so in England have, as usual, concerned the capitalist class.

There is no labor history in England now. The defeat of the English working-class, which has begun by Sir Thomas' (Secretary of British Railwaymen's Union) action on "Black Friday," (collapse of Triple Alliance) has not stimulated trade unionists to renewed activity.

They have not reorganized their antiquated machinery or expelled their discredited leaders. They have simply fallen back into apathy.

Here and there, as in the building trades, we find a knot of more enlightened leaders proposing some long overdue reconstruction.

The rank and file acquiesces; but it acquiesces equally easily in the attacks made by Mr. J. H. Thomas upon his opponents and in his defense of his conduct on Black Friday. Union officials act more and more in the void; the rank and file barely listens or attends to them, and the membership of all unions falls each month.

We are forced, therefore, to be content to chronicle the internal history of the capitalist world. The most remarkable event here has been the disappearance of the two political leaders, who, next to Sir Lloyd George, counted for the most in Great Britain—Lord Northcliffe and Sir Horatio Bottomley—the disappearance of these two men is bound to have an enormous effect on British polities; we have indeed scarcely had time to readjust our views of the political prospects.

* * *

Let us take Northcliffe first. Northcliffe's original name was Alfred Harmsworth. He started in a very small way. His first success was with a paper called Answers, and the only thing that made it a success was a puzzle which a man brought in one day, and which Harmsworth saw had money in it. This first victory set the type for all the rest of the Harmsworth successes. Harmsworth never did anything himself. He could tell a competent man at once, and in his early days he had a good eye for what was popular. Cheap encyclopedias, eating wholewheat bread, growing sweet peas—such were the subjects in which he rightly imagined the British working and middle classes could be interested. For the carrying out of these plans and the administration of his primals as soon as he had money, he had a simple plan. He would fix on someone who was obviously competent; ask him what he wanted, to leave his present post; offer him much more than he asked; and then leave him absolutely to himself. Harmsworth never, in his best days, interfered with his employes. He left them to do his work for him, knowing that he had not the brains himself.

By these means he made himself far and away the most powerful newspaper owner in the country. The figures given of the newspapers he owned vary, but it is certain that they were more than 400. Of these, the **Daily Mail** had at his death a daily circulation approaching two million copies. The **Times**, another of his papers, probably has more real influence than any other single journal in the world. He not only made himself a Viscount but made the Government give titles to every member of his numerous family, and even to his mere friends. His power as a politician was shown during the war, when he decided that Sir Asquith must go, and Lloyd George take his place. It was no intrigue of Sir Lloyd George that won that victory; it was the Northcliffe Press. Lloyd George is a Northcliffe-made man. Part of his power came from the fact that he represented no interest but himself, and the general interest of capitalism. The Berrys, for example, another great newspaper group, represent coal and steel and their papers are run in those interests. The **Manchester Guardian** is the magnificent mouthpiece of the cotton trade. Northcliffe was never tied to any particular interest.

* * *

Now he is dead. It is an open secret that before his death he was not entirely in his right mind. He had for some time been suspected of megalomania. He used to collect Napoleonic relics and sign his letters with a great flourishing "N". He gave up his old practice of letting the competent man do his work; interfered in internal affairs of his newspapers; suddenly promoted raw recruits to positions of highest authority. "You never know when he will make the office-boy editor" was the complaint of a Carmelite House man. Finally, the Times articles on Germany, and certain details of his private behavior—about which there are the most phantastic stories—left no room for doubt, and he was put under treatment.

What cannot be settled ever is how long he was mad. The man who was read and followed by millions of Englishmen of the working and middle classes, whose policy was for years the main directing policy of Great Britain, was—not to put too fine a point upon it—crazy. Not, I suppose, since the last days of the Spanish empire has there been anything parallel to it.

* * *

The other great press magnate who has passed from among us is Sir Horatio Bottomley—not dead but gone to quod, as the poet says. Bottomley, whose reputation was rather on the decline, has been sentenced to prison for seven years for defrauding small investors of some millions of dollars.

Bottomley, who himself encouraged the story that he was the bastard of Charles Bradlaugh, was known before 1914 only as a shady financier who had just escaped jail. The war gave him his chance. He publicly announced that his soul had been "purged of dross", that he was convinced that Jesus Christ was on the side of the English, and that henceforth he would lead a clean life. We have his secretary's word for it that he did keep off women—for about a week. (Wine he never could do without.) After this reformation, he became in all seriousness the moral teacher of the British worker and middle-class man. He comforted those who lost relatives in the war, telling them that Heaven had told him that their cause was just and the dead were waiting for them above. "I heard a voice from Heaven, saying to me: Write!" he began his article. ("That's the slush to give them" he added privately to his secretary.) Lacking the most elementary political sense he based his articles solely on the extremest optimism, the most violent jingoism, and the pettiest German-baiting. Personalities interested him—his articles and notes proved Ramsay MacDonald a bastard, suggested "a sound spanking" for a girl who fed German prisoners, demanded that conscientious objectors be tortured—but policy was the thing he knew nothing of. Nevertheless, his meetings were crowded. At high rates, he packed recruiting halls, and got men for the army. Men and women wept at his peroration on "the gentle figure of the Prince of Peace, pointing the way to Bethlehem", which he would deliver when his fee was $500, or at the peroration delivered for an even higher figure, which consisted of a poem of his own called "Why Is the Red Blood Flowing?" to the tune of **"After the Ball Is Over."** Northcliffe's following was uncertain. He never knew how far his readers would support him, or how many read his papers in spite of his policy. Bottomley never had those doubts. The 3,000,000 readers of **John Bull** were his devoted followers. They were a Bottomley army. They would always do as he told them, mob the people whom he indicated.

* * *

Therefore, when Bottomley entered Parliament after the war he had not only an organized group behind him, but large sympathies within the ranks of the ordinary M. Ps. The 1919 session was called "Bottomley's Parliament". The **Observer**, perhaps the best informed Conservative Sunday paper, noted only a year ago that the Premiership lay between Bottomley and Lloyd George.

The end came suddenly. Bottomley, it is known, had offended a number of financial interests. His own position was far from secure. Somebody helped a man called Bigland, a discarded tool of his, to defend a libel suit Bottomley was silly enough to bring.

Once given the chance, Bigland recited in Court a few of the meaner thefts and frauds that Bottomley had been guilty of. No defense was possible; some millions of money had vanished, nearly all the property of poor men. His secretary estimated the grand total of Bottomley's life thefts at sixty million dollars—all gone. The Public Prosecutor took up the case. Bottomley fought it to the last, but it is over now.

* * *

And so "Good Bye!" to our two greatest political leaders—one mad, one a sneak-thief. The British governing class has had some great leaders. The Earl of Chatham, Charles James Fox, the Duke of Wellington, Disraeli, Sir Gladstone—this not despicable line ends in Alfred Harmsworth and Horatio Bottomley. British Capitalism is very near its end; it is ripe to stinking.

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A magazine issued every month presenting the latest and most reliable and significant news regarding the Russian Soviet Republic and its struggle for the self-determination "guaranteed" proclaimed at Versailles.

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Aid for Reconstruction Work in Russia Planned by New York Conference

Organizations in New York and vicinity which are interested in providing relief for Soviet Russia and assistance in the work of reconstruction now going on in the workers' republic have been asked to send two delegates each to a conference called by the Local New York Friends of Soviet Russia. The conference is scheduled to take place at 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, Nov. 12, Room 16 Labor Temple 243 East 84th Street.

The work of the conference, as outlined by the appeal for delegates, will consist of three main divisions. First, there will be given and discussed a report of the Local's activities during the past year. Second, a complete report will be given of the Berlin Conference and international working class efforts to aid Russia. Third, plans will be laid for another year of intense work for Russia.

The response to the appeal to date, the Local office states, has been gratifying. Among those who have already sent in credentials are A. F. of L. unions, independent labor groups, workmen's circles and others. In its invitation of organization the New York F. S. R. calls attention to the pressing needs of immediate help in Russia.

The undertaking for which plans must be made by the forthcom[illegible] conference includes the nation-[illegible] campaign for the adoption of Ru[illegible] orphans. It is reported that al[illegible] a million boys and girls in Russia and the Ukraine are homeless and doomed to extermination unless [illegible] arrives from abroad. "Adoption" of tens of thousands of these, thru providing funds for their upkeep in Children's Homes, will be aimed at by the New York branch of the national organization.

The conference will also take up the question of effective co-operation with the Russian-American Industrial Corporation in its sale of stock. This fits in with the plans for aid in the Soviet Republic's efforts to rehabilitate and modernize industry. The corporation was started by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. An arrangement has been entered into between the corporation and the Friends of Soviet Russia for co-operation.

The conference will also take up ways and means of converting Russian handicraft products which have arrived here into funds for the support of destitute children.

The Local and national organizations urge all those who have the question of Russian relief and reconstruction at heart to take steps to assure representation at the conference. Individuals are urged to bring the matter up at their union branch or lodge meetings.

DRAWING IN THE YOUNG

In the Freeman, Nov. 1st, is an interesting letter on the Bulgarian Communist movement by R. H. Markham.

He describes a parade of young communists coming "down the street, behind a vociferously jubilant drum and gorgeous red flag of imposing dimensions... They are all marching with the precision and vehemence of trained soldiers. A young official of some kind, also scarlet clad, keeps them in perfect formation. Every one is smiling and happy. They are all as erect as royal guards and as eager as spirited horses. The drum beats, the flag waves and down the street they go, triumphantly singing.... They utterly disregard or even hate their national flag. That's awful, isn't it?... But it's vehemently liberating, emancipating and exhilarating... When you find a group of twenty, thirty, or fifty thousand men who are willing before all the world, before policemen and soldiers, ministers and kings, to trample and to spread to the win[illegible] a great red international emble[illegible] then you have a stupendous fo[illegible] which is able to rend empires and draw a great many people into i[illegible]

Don't Throw This Paper Aw[illegible]
Pass It on to Your Neighb[illegible]

ct Close to Labor, Aim of British C. P.

NOTE:—Workers thruout the United States who hope for the creation of a real Labor Party in this country will be interested in the accompanying report of the recent congress of the British Communist Party, by Walter Stoecker, fraternal delegate from the German Communist Party. It may be stated, this congress was held in London, in a public meeting hall, without the interference of the local police or the King's royal sleuths. Our report is as follows:

* * *

By WALTER STOECKER

LONDON.—As the German Communist Party represents the direct continuation of the revolutionary movement which existed before the war under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg, so the present Communist Party of Great Britain is also the successor of the old Marxist "Social Democratic Party", which later became the "British Socialist Party" and which before the war was the only political organization which consciously and clearly represented the principles of Socialism.

This old Marxist Party however, did not understand how to come into actual and close connections with the working class and to obtain a strong influence over the proletariat.

The annual conference of the English Communists which took place in October in London, has shown that the present Communist Party has taken over the good Marxist theories of the old Social Democratic Party —supplemented in the meanwhile by the experiences of the Russian Revolution—while it does not intend to fall into the tactical errors which for decades hindered the former party from becoming a real proletarian mass party.

It is true that this same tendency which consciously limits itself to purely theoretical propaganda, also existed in the present Communist Party.

It shows itself in the anti-parliamentary tendency and in the great aversion to working with, and in the Labor Party.

And the young Communist Party which came into existence in August 1920 thru the fusion of the British Socialist Party with the Socialist Labor Party, particularly strong in Scotland, and several smaller groups, had a great deal of work during the first two years to overcome these tendencies.

The conference which has just ended has shown that this work is practically completed, and that the Party has succeeded in convincing almost all these "left elements"—and they were for the most part good and excellent revolutionary comrades—of the necessity of a real Marxist revolutionary policy.

The decisions of the present conference clearly show that the present tactics will not only be theoretically recognized but will be carried out in practice by the overwhelming majority of the Party. The Party is thereby more practically consolidated and has obtained a firm basis from which it can successfully work. Thus the first preliminary condition has been established in England for the creation of a Communist mass movement.

That there is in the meanwhile a certain amount of resistance in the Party is shown by the debate on the tactics of the United Front which has particular difficulties in England on account of the peculiar conditions and relationships of the labor movement in that country.

In England there are no political party organizations such as we have on the Continent. The working class is politically organized in the Labor Party which in its composition consists of trade union organizations and of the smaller Independent Labor Party, the Fabian Society and individual members. The Labor Party which originally was an altogether vague product has developed more and more into the political organization of the English working class which is today almost entirely in the hands of the reformist leaders.

If the Communist Party wishes to gain influence over the proletarian masses, then it must work within the Labor Party. There were long disputes in the Communist Party over the question of affiliation to the Labor Party but the opposition to this affiliation is becoming continually weaker.

At the present London Conference it came to an exhaustive debate upon this question. Happily however, the decision of the Central Committee which newly affirmed the tactics of affiliation, was finally adopted by 80 votes against 10. The opposition thereupon expressly and independently declared their acquiescence in this decision and promised to direct their political work to this end. The arguments of these comrades were very weak and mostly of a purely sentimental character. The decisive paragraph of the accepted resolution states:

(5) The Communist Party claiming to be the vanguard of the fighting working class can only fulfill its mission by constant contact with the workers organizations and constant participation in the workers' struggle against the forces of capitalism.

To this end it declares its readiness to support the Labor Party in every act of resistance against capitalist oppression; proclaims its solidarity with the whole working class organized in that body, and demands its right to affiliate as an integral part of the working class movement whilst maintaining at the same time its own independent and revolutionary point of view based on the unassailable principles of Communism.

While the Communists work in the local organizations of the Labor Party, often with great success for the aims of Communism, the Labor Party as a whole has up till now refused the affiliation of the Communist Party as it did at its last conference in Edinburgh.

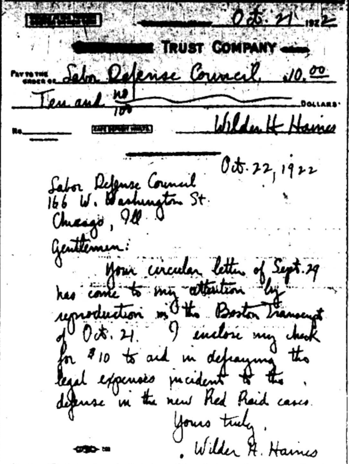
As the leaders of the Labor Party refused this affiliation of the Communists for the reason (among others) that they ran their own candidates at parliamentary elections in opposition to the Labor Party, the Central Committee decided, as an expression of its earnest desire to link up with the organized labor movement, to withdraw all candidates who are standing in opposition to official candidates of the Labor Party.

This decision which is to be traced to the peculiar English electoral system, naturally means a great sacrifice for our comrades, so much the more as many candidates of the Labor Party are scarcely to be distinguished from liberal capitalists.

As they have however succeeded in a whole series of local organizations of the Labor Party in getting Communists adopted as official candidates of the Labor Party this decision does not imply any shutting out of the Communists from the new Parliament or the Municipal bodies.

Notwithstanding the opposition at the conference against this decision was fairly strong. The decision was finally approved by 55 votes against 25.

Labor [illegible] Boston Transcript Helps Increase Funds of the Defense Council



Oct. 21 1922

[redacted] TRUST COMPANY

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Labor Defense Council $10.00

Ten and no/100 DOLLARS

No.

Wilder H. Haines

Oct. 22, 1922

Labor Defense Council
166 W. Washington St.
Chicago, Ill.

Gentlemen:

Your circular letter of Sept. 29 has come to my attention by reproduction in the Boston Transcript of Oct. 21. I enclose my check for $10 to aid in defraying the legal expenses incident to the defense in the new Red Raid cases.

Yours truly,
Wilder H. Haines

In the "Reds in America" feature of the Boston Transcript, issue of Oct 21st, the following paragraph occurs dealing with the activities of the Labor Defense Council.

"One of the first things done by the organization was the appointment of a publicity department to flood the daily newspapers of the country with propaganda for the movement. Press releases were issued and sent broadcast. MUCH OF THE MATERIAL THUS FURNISHED WAS PRINTED IN REPUTABLE NEWSPAPERS IGNORANT OF THE FACT THAT THEY WERE PRINTING APPEALS FOR A MOVEMENT AIMED AT THE OVERTHROW OF THE COUNTRY." (Emphasis ours.)

The management of the Boston Transcript, from which the Brahmans of the Back Bay District get their mental nourishment, would never believe that even their own beloved and respected journal had fallen into the same "trap" of which they so vehemently warn others.

The photographic copies of a letter and check displayed above are proof, however, that even the Boston Transcript and its staff of enthusiastic red-baiters are doing their bit for the "movement" they denounce so bitterly.

The Labor Defense Council has nothing but a feeling of kindness for the decrepit Transcript and its one regret is that its circulation is not larger. It has not only graciously given the Labor Defense Council access to all its readers and increased the normal circulation of its literature by several thousand but it is also paying a good price to a needy Harvard professor, one R. M. Whitney, for material that the Labor Defense Council and all other organizations mentioned in the series would gladly furnish free of charge.

In assisting the impecunious employees of "Fair Harvard" the Transcript is doing much for culture in America and in giving publicity to the Michigan case it is aiding the victims of this culture.

Could anything be fairer?

ORGANIZATIONS WORKERS

William Z. Foster

and twenty other trade unionists are being railroaded to JAIL

MONEY and BONDS

will set them free

—Send this blank with your contribution—

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL, 80 E. 11th St., NEW YORK CITY

Here is my contribution of .... dollars for the defense of the Michigan cases

Name..

Address..

Next Local Conference Friday, Nov. 24, Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St

Y. W. L. to Celebrate Liebknecht Day, Jan. 21

January 21 has been set aside by the International Committee of the Young Communist League for the celebration of Liebknecht Day, as a day for celebration and commemoration of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg.

The Young Workers' League will arrange nation wide demonstrations on that day. All branches of the Workers Party are requested to cooperate in making these demonstrations a success.

Branches of the party are requested by the C. E. C. not to arrange any other meetings on Liebknecht Day. In those localities where there are no branches of the Young Workers' League the party branches should arrange the celebrations and should use them to make a special appeal to the youth and for the upbuilding of the Young Workers' League.

The National Office of the Young Workers' League is preparing folders, buttons and a special edition of the "Young Worker" for use in connection with the celebration. Orders for these materials should be sent to the Young Workers' League, 2517 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

[illegible] headquarters of the [illegible] Branch, Workers Party, [illegible] Ave., on the subject: "Where the Pendulum of History is Swinging."

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Educational Drive in Bronx for Open Forum and "THE WORKER"

The first big house-to-house campaign for The Worker and The Workers' Hall Open Forum will take place Nov. 24-25. Back issues of The Worker and a neat folder announcing English, Jewish and Russian lectures will be distributed. This drive will continue on Dec. 2-3.

The lectures in English will take place Sunday Evenings, starting Dec. 3rd, with Comrade Salvatore Iarossi, organizer, Italian Workers' Federation as speaker on "The Fascisti and The Italian Situation." The English Branch, Workers Party, and Young Workers' League conduct their lectures jointly. The Jewish and Russian lectures and dates will be announced later.

This drive will mean that every worker in The Bronx will get the lecture announcements and a copy of The Worker. To do this every member of Workers Party and The Young Workers' League of The Bronx should get on the job not only "to go to the masses," but have the masses come to us!"

* * *

The Young Worker for November is now out and is, as usual, filled with excellent articles written by some of the keenest young men in the young communist movement of America. Put a copy, which may be obtained from any member of the Young Workers League, into the hands of a young worker of your acquaintance and you will be surprised at the result. The price of a single copy is ten cent, and a subscription for a year is $1. Address the Young Workers League, 2517 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Just [illegible] magnificent work accomplished by Sidney Hillman, president of [illegible] Workers' Republic re-establish its clothing industry, we find The New York Times, Nov. 5, giving Gompers' hired man, Benjamin Schlesinger, the president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, nearly two columns of space to attack Russian Soviet Rule.

Schlesinger's latest convulsion is timely as counter-revolutionary propaganda, and quite as useful to the enemies of the Russian workers and peasants as Abraham Cahan's attack on the Friends of Soviet Russia.

When Gompers sent the head of the International Ladies' Garment Workers to Great Britain, as fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress, he did not give him instructions to investigate conditions in Soviet Russia for himself.

Instead we find that Schlesinger gathered a lot of anti-Bolshevik gossip in England to the effect that British labor had been "sobered by its contemplation of four years of Bolshevist rule." This information was forthcoming from such anti-Communists and Bolshevik haters as Henderson, Thomas, Bondfield, Brailsford and Snowden, who claim that they favor recognition of the Soviet Government by imperialist England because that will mean the downfall of the Communists. Schlesinger joins in this hope.

The rest of Schlesinger's hemorrhage is a mere rehash of the usual anti-Soviet propaganda that would never find space in such a kept sheet as The Times, if it did not fit into the anti-labor policy of this capitalist organ.

In the meantime Hillman is at work in Moscow, having secured a subscription for the Russian American Industrial Corporation from Lenin himself, with the promise, "You can rely on me to help you." In addition to the clothing concession granted the R. A. I. C., Hillman is also developing relations between the Industrial Bank at Moscow, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Bank in Chicago.

An increasing number of American workers are taking their stand with Hillman, who goes to Soviet Russia to help as a representative of labor, not as a thieving capitalist.

Schlesinger remains at home to give comfort in this country to these same thieving capitalists, but in doing so he is helping to open the eyes of new masses of workers to the crimes committed by reactionary labor officials.

Labor is marching forward with Hillman, in increased numbers. These same hosts of toilers are turning their backs on Schlesinger and Gompers, and betrayers of their kind that have the stamp of Judas upon them so big that no thinking and honest worker can fail to see it.

Perhaps the French government will now give a little more consideration to the demands for the release of Andre Marty, elected for the third time to the Paris Municipal Council. Marty was chief mechanic in the French navy when he led the mutiny of French sailors in the Black Sea, refusing to fire on Odessa in the undeclared war on Soviet Russia. All of the mutineers have been released with the exception of Marty.

"As regards the use of none but legal means, any means and all means might be made illegal by act of parliament, and such pledge therefore is passive obedience."—J. FINTAIN LALOR.

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THE WORKER

799 Broadway, Room 405 NEW YORK CITY

A [illegible]

The [illegible] than it was a year ago, according to a statement just issued by Edo Fimmen, secretary of the Amsterdam International. This reactionary champion of the Versailles Peace and the League of Nations, blames the Communists of France and the Fascisti of Italy for the deplorable conditions in these two countries.

Like Gompers, Lewis, Jewell and other reactionary leaders in this country, with whom we are familiar, the leader of the Amsterdam International blames every [illegible] his own organization for the deplorable condition of the world labor movement. Since the notorious alliance of the Amsterdam International and the ruling class of France, England and Italy is known to all the world, it is not difficult for intelligent members of the working class to determine who are responsible for the splits in the labor movement.

The Communists are today and have always been in favor of a united front of the working class against the capitalist class, but unity has so far been effectively blocked by Fimmen and his cohorts. At the same time the Amsterdammers were using all their power to prevent a united front with the Red Trade Union International, they were collaborating with the capitalist class. It is they who are responsible for the deplorable condition of the working class in Europe and the world today, and they cannot shift the record of their guilt upon the shoulders of the Communists.

Now that the Fascisti is the present government of Italy the Amsterdammers will conclude alliances with Mussolini and his cabinet and play the part of informers upon their Communist enemies just as Sam Gompers and his crew in the United States furnish the police of our own capitalist government with information upon which to base arrests of militants.

* * *

GOMPERS SECRET MISSION

Samuel Gompers president of the American Federation of Labor, is reported to have visited Cincinnati recently for a conference with state and local labor officials on "the general problems confronting organized labor." The nature of his mission is a profound secret.

When we consider the fact that the Ohio State Federation of Labor only recently went on record in favor of amalgamation it is not difficult to imagine the nature of Gompers' visit. Altho the American Federation of Labor has used its influence at various times to bring about amalgamation of kindred trades in an industry it is quite likely that his henchmen of the type of Matthew Woll and George L. Berry becoming alarmed at the spread of the amalgamation idea have insisted that Gompers make use of his power to stem the rising tide of revolt that threatens to engulf the craft union movement and create an effective fighting force for American labor.

Instead of discussing general problems confronting the organized labor movement we venture to assert that Gompers was interested in the problems confronting his own personal machine and endeavoring to persuade the officials of the Ohio State Federation of Labor to sabotage the amalgamation movement in the interest of harmony in the official family of the A. F. of L.

* * *

NONPARTISAN CHAOS

Some genius for truth telling ought to be put on the job gathering the facts as to the chaos created everywhere by Gompers' nonpartisan policy so ably abetted by the stand of the Chicago Conference last winter. [illegible]

Gompers' American Federation of Labor committee supported Senator Atlee Pomerene for re-election in Ohio while the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers urged support for his opponent, Simon D. Fess.

In the 12th New York Congressional District the New York Central Trades and Labor Council endorsed both the Tammany Hall candidate, Samuel Dickstein, and Meyer London, the combination Farmer-Labor and Socialist candidate, giving preference to the former. The Workers Party candidate, Ben Gitlow, in this district, was thrown off the ballot because he had been sent to prison on account of his loyalty to labor.

Several instances of this brand of nonpartisanship have already been pointed out in these columns. They should all be registered as labor's crimes against itself. Perhaps by the time the labor conference gathers in Chicago in December, labor will have decided to quit attacking itself and to turn its guns against the common enemy, capitalism. Let those guns be directed by working class political action independent of and opposed to all capitalist political parties.

* * *

John D. Rockefeller, jr., congratulates the country that "it is not paying tribute to a foreign oil corporation because of the development and successful management perfected by the Standard Oil Company." Who ever would have suspected John D., jr. was a humorist?

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The E[illegible] Is Over

[illegible] this issue of THE WORKER reaches its readers [illegible] of the 1922 congressional elections will have become [illegible] page in American labor's history.

[illegible] will take many workers a long time to learn its lessons. [illegible] should be studied by labor everywhere in preparation [illegible] Political Conference to be held in Chicago, Dec. 11th.

[illegible] is one thing that labor didn't have in this election, [illegible] that labor ought to have had, and that is a Labor [illegible] all the political forces of the toiling men and women [illegible] for independent political action by the workers [illegible] the capitalist parties.

[illegible] have just been reading the pitiful efforts of The Labor [Record] of Youngstown, Ohio, to swallow the decision of the Legis[lative] Committee of the American Federation of Labor demand[ing] support for Representative John G. Cooper, of Youngstown, [Re]publican candidate for re-election.

Organized labor opposed the re-election of Cooper in 1920. [illegible] had taken a stand against the strike of the steel workers, [as] old party politicians always do during times of industrial strife. Cooper denounced the effort to secure better conditions for the [st]eel workers. He was on the side of Judge Gary and Wall Street. [He] upheld the 12-hour day and steel trust autocracy.

Yet Gompers' committee endorsed him for re-election, again showing that the charges, that Gompers used every possible means to stab the steel strike in the back, were not without some foundation.

Thus The Labor Record falls in line with Gompers' endorsement and urges support of this labor foe, "regardless of recommendation of the central bodies in the district."

The Labor Record claims to be published under the ownership and direction of The United Labor Congress of Mahoning County, and the Trumbull County Central Labor Union and affiliated locals, that attacked Cooper and supported the democratic candidate, William Kilpatrick, of Warren.

It seems, therefore, that there was one thing Gompers' "reward and punish" policy forgot to accomplish during the recent campaign. That was to appoint a lunacy commission to secure even bug-house unity among those wobbling labor unions, labor editors and labor officials that still maintained their capitalist political affiliations.

Such chaos and stupidity should convict itself. The Workers Party shows the way out in the declaration to the December Conference at Chicago that is published on another page. Let every worker that reads it, bring it up for instant and decisive approval in his labor union.

Trade between Soviet Russia and Great Britain is growing. No fewer than 15 ships with cargoes from the Workers' Republic—mostly of lumber, flax and skins—arrived in British ports during the first week in October. Among them were four Soviet-owned ships. No wonder American merchants are getting restless.

Turks Indulge in After-thought

Rafet Pasha, the new governor of Constantinople, after a conference with the Allied generals last Saturday afternoon, by way of an after-thought, told the spokesmen of imperialism about him:

"I must inform your Excellencies that since noon the Constantinople Government no longer exists, and I have assumed the governorship."

Thus did the "Angora Bolsheviki," as they are known to the reactionaries in Constantinople, carry out a bloodless revolution and take over the capital city of the Turks.

It is significant that the deposed Sultan immediately turned to the Allied police for "protection," and that the Allied Extraordinary Council has refused the Angora demand for the Allied military evacuation of Constantinople. Events in the immediate future will tell whether the Paris Allies will support Turkish White Guard elements in a civil war against the Angora government as they did in Soviet Russia. This is not at all improbable

The overthrow of the Sultan, the repudiation of debts contracted during the past two years by the old Turkish government and the practical repudiation of the Mudania armistice will no doubt result immediately in complete unity between the Versailles imperialists.

The governments at Paris and London, where they differed in support of the Angora Turks and the Greeks, will now get together against the common danger that, in the words of Rifaat Bey, Court Chamberlain to the late Sultan, has placed Turkey "on [th]e road to sovietization."

The Associated Press declares that monarchist and reactionary circles in Turkey interpret this most recent step of the Angora Government as "a triumph for the Bolshevist policy in the Near East and a prelude to the sovietization of Turkey."

It is difficult to predict just how far Turkey will go toward Soviet Rule, but it has had an example set for it already by the Soviet Republics on its borders in Armenia, Azerbaidjan and Georgia.

When the French supported the cause of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Angora Government, the Paris diplomats no doubt thought they had hitched the revolutionary aspirations of the Turkish peasants to the yoke of French imperialism intriguing against English imperialism and plotting against the rise of Soviet Power in the Near East. But recent events would indicate that there are just as clever diplomats in the Angora Government of the Turkish workers and peasants, as there are in the imperialist government that sits in the Quai d'Orsay at Paris.

Workers thruout the world will watch the developments centering about Constantinople during the next few days and weeks with intense interest.

Bakers' Union, No. 24, San Francisco, Calif., has voted $100 for the defense of the workers arrested in the Michigan raids. There was not a dissenting vote. That ought to put a lot of labor unions on their mettle.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

Just as the reformist "Socialists" [illegible] the back of the revolutionary action of the Italian workers, in the [illegible] of the metal industry, in the summer of 1920, making possible the present dictatorship of the Fascisti, so the labor reactionaries in this country are helping to create a military rule under a mob of American "black shirts".

We have already pointed out the part played by Samuel Gompers, at the American Legion gathering in New Orleans, in seeking a "soldier-labor alliance".

George L. Berry, international president of the printing pressmen, one of the swivel chair patriots of the war, and consequently an enthusiastic legionnaire, gives voice to some ideas that Gompers is probably too cowardly to utter. Berry urges war upon the militants among the workers in this country, under cover of an "Anti-Russian Alliance of the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion and the Associations of Commerce", in language as follows:

> **"We are too free in America to permit expressions by individuals of favor of the principles of the soviet government. Such expression is scientific propaganda for undermining the government of this country. It is carried on with the intention of stirring up revolution. In a republic revolution is the only method within the hands of the soviets for taking over the reins of government.**
>
> **"The American Legion has proved itself a powerful factor in upsetting the designs of the revolutionists. It is the logical antidote. Working hand in hand with the Federation of Labor it can more readily accomplish these ends. Both are evolutionary organizations and therefore opposed to revolution. The end could be even more easily reached by the entrance into the alliance of the associations of commerce. Such a combination would bring together the toilers, the property owners and the men who fought for the protection of the rights of the one and the holdings of the other class."**

These views were given wide circulation by the kept press of New Orleans during the Legion's convention. They appeared parallel with the much exploited phrase of the late judge, Landis, "Paste him one for me". This is the Landis who sent the members of the Industrial Workers of the World behind the bars at Leavenworth, Kan., prison, where many of them still remain today. He said:

> **"If an American Legionnaire runs across anyone running for a political office who had not been active in the world war, then such a legionnaire should paste him one for me."**

In the Gompers-Berry-Landis outfit, therefore, we find a combination of capitalist and labor-betraying interests that makes an American Fascisti possibe.

If the workers of the United States do not want their ranks broken as they have been in Italy, under the blows of the King's government, the Fascisti terror and the traitorship of their own reactionary leaders, then let them wipe out this tendency now manifesting itself in their midst. There should be no more place in the labor movement for men of the type of Gompers and Berry, than there is for a Rockefeller or a Judge Gary.

• • •

The Minnesota Daily Star, published at Minneapolis, the organ of the wage workers and farmers of the northwest, while it believes that what is transpiring in Italy is "potentially possible in every country in the world today", and feels that **"the process of secret and open mob organization has advanced to an alarming extent in America", nevertheless, it does not see the part played by renegade officials in this movement.**

The Star claims to be "devoted to the freedom of the press and liberty of public opinion" and feels that there is an opportunity, for a legal majority, exercising these rights, to win power and democratize industry in this country. It declares that:

"It is significant that these mob movements (the fascisti) all support reactionary principles. It is fair to assume that they represent the early preparation of the American plutocracy to resist and overthrow representative government should the legal majority attempt by constitutional means to democratize the financial and industrial systems it controls."

• • •

The Star sees the danger. The Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly was among the first to come to the aid of the victims of the Michigan raids. The railroad workers of Minnesota are leading the drive for amalgamation of the railway unions. Thus there is hope that when the real struggle comes, as come it must, that Minnnesota labor will fight for its own against the American Fascisti, whether in the disguise of the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, or some other counter-revolutionary organization, or a combination of all of them.

Let all American labor prepare for the struggle against any attempt at Fascisti rule in this country.

Bonar Law Explains

When Bonar Law accepted the premiership of the conservatives in England he was forced to give an excuse for the break with the liberals. Why separate the forces of these twin capitalist parties? Prime Minister Bonar Law gave the answer at Leeds, England, the other day. He argued frankly that the coalition was broken up to help confuse the workers.

The same arguments that Mr. Bonar Law advances for the maintenance of a conservative and liberal party in England, may also be put forward for the existence of two capitalist parties in this country. He says:

"To have tried to keep a party representing everything opposed to labor (the coalition) against the Labor Party and nothing else, was the one way of making the Labor Party strong, because it would have been the only alternative government. But the working men who are not Socialists now have their choice of two parties, instead of having to choose between one and those supposed to represent them."

This is only another way of saying that either one of the two capitalist parties is sufficiently strong to defeat the workers' political party. No coalition is necessary at present.

Lloyd George, however, is forced to advance the hypocrisies of liberalism and charges that his policies are opposed to tory reaction as well as Socialist revolution. When the British politicians speak of "Socialism" they do not mean the compromises of Henderson, Clynes, MacDonald and the rest whom they do not fear. It is the gradual upsurge from the masses threatening the capitalist state that holds them aghast, and drives them to appeal for strength against Socialism and its attack upon capital. But Lloyd George comforts himself with the feeling that the workers will not be able to muster sufficient support this year for their "semi-revolutionary program".

Yet it is under the Lloyd George (coalition) government, as he confessess himself, that the producers have been driven into unemployment—millions of them, that the workers have been forced to use up their savings, that the unemployment funds of the labor unions have been dried up, that even the little trinkets and other valuables in the homes of the toilers have gone into the pawnshops.

The greatest achievement the workers of Great Britain can accomplish in the approaching elections is to show sufficient strength to drive the capitalist parties, the conservatives and liberals, into a coalition that will hold the capitalist forces together until they are swept away forever. That would be an achievement worthy of emulation by labor in this country.

Five Years Old

Success and Failure

Big business is successful. Little business is a failure. The rich corporations are showing increased earnings, more collosal profits. The small merchant or factory-owner is going into the bankruptcy courts. All this can be shown almost daily on the financial pages of the kept press.

There were only 1,600 business failures in the United States during the month of October. We say "only," because this is 200 less than for October, 1921, altho, with this exception, it was the greatest number of bankrupts registered for any October during the last 12 years.

The failures must have all been among the "little fellows," among what is commonly known as the "cockroach" businessmen.

All those 1,600 bankrupts could muster only $18,966,295 in assets, an average of about $10,000—the price of a good automobile, such as the war-rich buy off-hand.

The liabilities of these 1,600 failures totalled only $36,941,884, or an average of little more than $20,000, the price of an ordinary cottage in the country.

What a spectacle these regiments of bankrupts present; small business men, upholders of capitalism, who thought they could compete in the struggle with the giant trusts.

How puny the struggles of this middle-class business element seems when we compare with its pitiful failures the masses of wealth distributed by the Standard Oil Co. Against the liabilities of $36,941,884 of these 1,600 bankrupts let us place the surplus distributed this fall by a few tentacles of the oil octopus as follows: Standard Oil of New Jersey, $592,021,632; Standard Oil of Indiana, $143,222,710; Prairie Oil and Gas Co., $86,796,851; Ohio Oil Co., $72,806,626; Vacuum Oil Co., $62,664,918; Atlantic Refining Co., $61,709,049; Standard Oil Co. of Ohio, $17,344,463; Standard Oil Co. of Kansas, $6,768,408; Solar Refining Co., the last of the lot, with of course only $4,608,550.

The total loot thus gathered thru the exploitation of large masses of workers in the oil industry amounts to more than a billion dollars—to be exact, $1,047,943,189.00.

We do not remember that the oil trust has granted any substantial increase in wages to its sweated slaves. To be sure, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has been shedding sanctimonious, crocodile Sunday-School tears over the coal miners in Somerset County, Pa., and reading a sermon on the eight-hour day. But that is all.

On the other hand we read that the oil trust isn't happy and contented. It has advanced the price of oil ten cents; see the New York Times, Thursday, Nov. 2nd. It is out to make a richer hawl, since its robbery campaign isn't challenged.

At the same time the United States Steel Corporation announces net earnings of $27,468,339 for the quarter ended Sept. 30, 1922, compared to the earnings of $18,918,058 for the corresponding quarter last year. The steel trust earned nearly $10,000,000 more this year than last year in spite of the strikes affecting the coal and coke regions, and the railroads. And the steel trust announced an advance of $3 a ton in the price of standard steel rails that went into effect on Oct. 1, using as an excuse the recent small advances in wages granted its helpless and unorganized serfs. No challenge is raised against it domination.

When the United States Steel Corporation was first launched with a billion dollars capitalization, the nation held its breath. But now, according to the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 17, the total valuation of the Standard Oil Co., at present market prices, is nearly four times that amount—$3,750,000,000. And they are both getting fatter and fatter.

Thus the big corporations grow bigger and richer as they feed on the thousands of failures of little business, and profit thru the division among the workers, the result of labor's inability to unite and fight in its own cause.

Yet there is failure even in the success of big business. With the growth of the monster combinations, industry will become more centralized, and the workers will be thrown together in greater and greater masses, inevitably forcing the development of huge, industrial unions closely co-operating with each other. It will then need only the aroused intelligence and united effort of the workers to take over industry and proceed under Soviet Rule thru that transition period that leads from capitalism to communism.

While workers continually struggle to build up their own organizations, to develop their own mass intelligence, they are not troubled by the great profits of the masters, or by the thousands of failures among the would-be masters of industry.

Even in the darkest hours of their struggle the workers can be cheered by the fact that capitalism sows the seed of its own destruction, and that the future belongs to them.

Spread Communist Literature

The revolutionary struggles of the workers in various nations are developing everywhere a tremendous Communist literature.

This is especially true in Soviet Russia, in Germany, in France, in Italy, in Austria and Bulgaria. In addition to newspapers, daily and weekly, magazines and pamphlets, a large number of books are coming from the worker-controlled presses in these countries.

Only in the English-speaking countries, in Great Britain and her important possessions, Canada, South Africa and Australia, and in the United States, do we have a scarcity of good Communist literature. There is but one reason for this. We have not, as yet, developed a demand for it.

You will find, on another page, a plan developed by THE WORKER, not only for increasing its own army of readers, but also for winning new students of our Communist literature. This plan should win the enthusiastic support of every reader of THE WORKER.

This season of the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, heralding the dawn of the sixth year of Soviet Rule in Russia, should inspire us all to renewed activity. The task of the social revoltion in the United States today is to agitate for, educate for and organize for Communism. Help THE WORKER become a powerful weapon in that struggle. Help the Workers Party develop an awakening Communist literature for this country, that will arouse the masses to intelligent action against their oppressors. Create the demand for that literature and it will be forthcoming automatically.

Charles Ashleigh, convicted with the I. W. W., sent to the Leavenworth, Kans., prison, later released and deported to England, has just been denied admission to India, altho a British subject, where he went to report the truth about conditions in this British dependency. Ashleigh wishes it known to the comrades in this country that he is still in the world struggle for emancipation from political and economic servitude.

[illegible]

A PETITION TO THE [illegible] WORLD CONGRESS [illegible] THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Dear Comrades:—We, the [Ed]itorial Staff of the Bolcoms, in the name and by authority of the [illegible] million of our readers, take the liberty of suggesting the following [illegible] for your consideration:

1. Gold medals be awarded [illegible] Daugherty, Burns and Harding for their loyal services to the Communist movement.
2. An itemized financial report of the Comintern be submitted for inspection to the Forward.
3. Demand the reinstatement of Lloyd George to premiership.
4. A million gold rubles be appropriated to subsidize the Fascisti and Ku Klux movements.
5. Appoint Abe Cahan as the dictator of the Communist Party of America.
6. To raise a fund for the support of the ex-Big Four.
7. To invite the Kaiser and his wife to spend their honeymoon in Russia.
8. To make the BOLCOMS the official organ of the COMINTERN.

Editorial Strategy.

Due to the infinite number of contributions that we receive from our fellow aspirants to literary fame, the Editorial Staff of the Bolcoms decided to mimeograph ten millions of the following "diplomatic" rejection slips:

"Most Intellectual and Greatest of All Men:—

We have been very fortunate, indeed, to receive thy wonderful manuscript which we have read and reread with infinite delight. Never have we revelled in all our life a masterpiece so divine and beautiful. As we look thru the pages of literary history we find no work superior enough to compare with thine. Were we to publish it, it would create a furore in literary circles and no doubt would revolutionize the entire art. Men like Euripedes, Shakespeare, Tolstoy, London and others would be thrown off from their high pedestals of fame. Posterity would no longer respect the Kants, Ingersolls, Hegels and Spencers. Therefore, we poor foolish editors of the Bolcoms, taking pity on the aforementioned men are compelled with tears, to return thy heavenly manuscript and doing so beg thy pardon a hundred thousand times."—Irv.

WE'LL SAY SO.

Friend—"Does editing a colyum pay?"

Ourselves—"It's funny if it does".

The advertisements are strictly in accord with the editorial policy: everything but the truth. The only thing truthful in the paper so far is the date . . .

Boy, Page the Arizona Gazette!

To the Editor:—We have read in the esteemed Arizona Gazette that you, reds, are going to overthow, one of these days, our democratic government and establish a Soviet monarchy. To do so, this herald of intellectuality claims, it will be necessary for you to employ a large army of police, all which will have nice soft jobs and an unparalleled opportunity to graft large sums of money from our poor millionaires.

Now, my dear Mr. Editor of the Bolcoms, we're out of work at present and knowing what a tremendous influence you have in the matter, we beg of you to accept our application for one of these soft jobs. We always worked hard and never got much pay for it. We've never been on the police force but we are of Irish descent. For reference write to the Editor of the Gazette.

Yours for a greater Bolcoms.

W. A. H. & Co.

Dear W. A. H.—Your application is accepted. We hereby christen you, the "Chief Soviet of Arizona. Your salary will be $10,000 and three millionaires per week. Be ready to start work on the 13th. All others desiring similar employment are requested to apply to the Arizona Gazette, our authoritative official organ in the West. We grasp this opportunity to extend our sincerest gratitude to this publication for the publicity it has given us. We have send comrade Lenin to Phoenix to thank personally the editors for us.

SPECIAL EXTRA!!
ANOTHER BIG CONTRIB CONTEST!

At a joint conference of the Board of Management and the Editorial Staff of the Bolcoms, it was unanimously decided to offer two prizes each month to our correspondents. The Board of Management insisted that $10,000 be awarded for the best contribution per month but the Editorial Staff objected on the grounds that so insignificant a prize would not arouse enough interest in the contest. It was finally agreed to give Trotsky's "Dictatorship vs. Democracy" for the best contrib this month and an oil painting of brother Gompers in a bathing suit for the worst one. Contestants needn't furnish credentials as to sanity. Every one is eligible: socialists, lunatics, secret-service men, ex-premiers, defeated political candidates, fascisti, etc. This month's prizes will be awarded on the 15th of December. Hurry up!

We can't think of a last line
It's worse'n a goshdarn shame;
The writer is a joke himself
So we'll simply sign his name:
IRV.

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

V. No. 250. Subscription Rates: One year, $2.00; six months, $1.00; Foreign, $3.00; Bundle rates, $3.50 per 100. SATURDAY, [illegible] 25, 1922. Published weekly by The Toiler Publishing Association. Room 405, 80 East 11th St., New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

Labor Party Demand Grows!

Trade Union Educational League Says Time Is Over-Ripe for Workers to Take Stand for Class Political Action

Free Speech Only issue in Michigan

The American Civil Liberties Union has issued a statement attacking the federal secret service for its participation in the prosecution of William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg and others under the Michigan criminal syndicalist law.

The statement asserts that "there is not a single issue in the case except those of free speech and freedom of assembly."

The cases are the result of a raid last August on a secret meeting of communists at Bridgman, Mich., by [illegible] federal and local Chicago de[illegible]. Foster and several of the [illegible] on $10,000 bail bonds [illegible] trial Nov. 27th.

[illegible] case in Michigan differs from [illegible] prosecutions of the Commun[illegible] because it is in fact a national, [illegible] a "state case", reads the Civil L[illegible] Union statement, which is [illegible] by Harry F. Ward, chairman, [illegible] N. Baldwin director and Al[illegible] De Silver, associate director.

"It is an attempt by the federal se[illegible] service under color of 'assisting' [illegible] Michigan authorities in enforcing a local statute to stamp out com[illegible] doctrines by jailing practically all the officers and active organizers of the communist movement in the United States.

"The federal government acted [illegible] state officers, having no federal [illegible] to support any action. The names [illegible] half a dozen federal agents who [illegible] are known. The press [illegible] at the time said the raid was [illegible] on order of Wm. J. Burns head [illegible] the federal secret service. It is [illegible], therefore, that this is an effort to destroy a political movement which ought to be allowed to operate like others, in the open but which the federal government itself forced underground in 1920 by the Palmer raids, followed by wholesale deportations of aliens and the trials of several scores of citizens in Illinois, New York and California.

Freedom of speech and assemblage [illegible] recognized as the single issue in [illegible] case and it is pointed out that [illegible] is no evidence of any actual or [illegible] overt act.

[illegible] evidence against the defend[illegible] consist principally of two bar[illegible] of convention records, reports [illegible] personal correspondence found [illegible] in the grounds of the meeting [illegible] by the raiders. The defense of [illegible] case will be the constitutional

(Continued on Page Two)

[illegible] Labor Party Edition

THE WORKER will issue a [illegible] "Labor Party Edition," to be dated Saturday, Dec. 9th, [illegible] general distribution among [illegible] everywhere. This edi[illegible] will be ready for mass meet[illegible] to be held in all sections of [illegible] country, Dec. 10, to bring [illegible] to bear upon the Chi[illegible] Conference, Dec. 11, when [illegible] question of independent [illegible] class political action will [illegible] for discussion and decision. [illegible] will carry articles stat[illegible] position of the Workers [illegible] Send all orders for [illegible] at 3½ cents a copy to [illegible] WORKER, Room 405, 799 [illegible], New York City.

All Forces of Labor on Political Field Must Be United, Position Taken by the National Committee of Militant Workers

Declaring that there must be no exclusion of any group or groups, the National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League has issued a manifesto to the workers generally and to labor's political conference, to be held in Chicago, Dec. 11, demanding the organization of a Labor Party "to unite in common action all the forces of labor on the political field." The manifesto in full, as it will appear officially in the December issue of The Labor Herald, the League's monthly magazine, is as follows:

• • • •

TIME OVER-RIPE FOR LABOR PARTY

Labor in the United States, industrial and agricultural, must have its own political party, uniting all its forces against the organized power of the capitalist class.

The workers in this country must organize to wage the class war upon the political as well as the industrial field. Recognizing this need, the Trade Union Educational League, in its first National Conference, August 26-27, 1922, "unequivocally condemned the Gompers political policy as fatal to the success of the trade union movement, and called upon the workers of America to take the necessary steps for engaging in a militant campaign of independent working-class political action." The time is over-ripe for a general Labor Party.

LABOR'S POLITICAL WEAKNESS

The American labor movement is alone among the important countries of the world, in having no party of its own. In all other countries, industrially developed, it is no longer a debatable question as to whether or not the workers should organize politically on class lines. This is universally understood, and is taken for granted by the workers. Their political differences are only as to what kind of a working-class party they must have, whether it shall be Reformist Labor, Socialist, Syndicalist, or Communist.

Only in America do we find a labor movement so undeveloped, so unconscious of itself, so infantile in its political conception, that it has not yet learned this fundamental lesson. It is still dragging along in the rut of the obsolete policy of "rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies."

This primitive and outworn political method of the American labor movement has reduced it to political impotence. It has practically dis

(Continued on Page Four)

General Membership Meeting, Dec. 3rd!

Sunday, December 3rd, 1 P. M., at Casino Mansion, 85 E. 4th St., a general membership meeting of the Workers Party will be held for the purpose of discussing our attitude towards the formation of a Labor Party.

Only good standing members admitted. Good standing members are those who are less than three months in arrears.

Every Progressive and Militant Labor Union Should Adopt This Resolution

The National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League has endorsed the formation of a Labor Party, to include the labor unions and all working-class political organizations as well as the farmers and farm laborers.

On Dec. 11th there will be held at Chicago a meeting of representatives of organized labor, farmers organizations and various political groups. This is the time for every union that desires that American labor build a political organization to fight its battles to exert its influence to achieve that end. Adopt the following resolution proposed to the unions by the Trade Union Educational League. Elect delegates to the Chicago Conference:

"Whereas, the political policy of Mr. Gompers, of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies," has resulted in the complete political helplessness of Labor, and in the power of Government remaining completely in the hands of the capitalist class, as is witnessed by continuous official outrages against the labor movement, outstanding among which are the recent knocking-out of the Child Labor Act by the Supreme Court, the Daugherty injunction against the striking shopmen, the complete terrorization of the striking miners, railroad and textile workers and the use of troops against them; and

"Whereas, the accumulating experience of Governmental activity as a strike-breaking agency, and as an instrument of the employers in the "open shop" drive, together with the recognition that Gompers' policy of "non-partisan" political action has hitched Labor as a tail to the capitalist political kites — all are forcing the labor movement to the necessity of forming a Labor Party, and

"Whereas, we recognize that only thru a strong party of its own, with a working-class program and the ideal of a working-class republic, can the labor movement combat the forces of capitalists effectively, therefore be it

"RESOLVED, that this organization endorses the formation of a Labor Party, to include trade unions and working-class political parties, thereby uniting all the political forces of the labor movement into one solid front against the capitalist class, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that our officials stand instructed to assist in every possible way in bringing such a party into existence, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that this organization elect delegates to attend the conference for Progressive Political Action, which will take place in Chicago, Dec. 11th.

Longuet Has No Message for Workers

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

The name of Karl Marx was applauded at the meeting Sunday night at Carnegie Hall in honor of his grandson, Jean Longuet, but that is all there was of Marxian ideas connected with this meeting.

The meeting illustrated once more the bankruptcy of the Socialist Party and its leaders. It proved again that the Second International, toward which both the party of Hillquit, the chairman of the meeting, and the party of Longuet are drifting, has lost every vestige of working class character and becomes a hotbed of [illegible]

Hillquit, as chairman, extended greetings to Longuet. His speech, supposedly expressing greeting from one working class group to another, was merely a repetition of the Wilsonian phrases about our interdependence with Europe. There was no suggestion of class solidarity, that the workers of the world must unite against their exploiters. There was no suggestion that the American workers and French workers must fight side by side against all exploiters of labor, merely the sentimental humanitarian appeal.

Longuet did no better. He rehashed the history of the Stockholm conference, the efforts of the workers of Europe to get together at Zimmerwald and Kienthal,—but said nothing about the achievement of that goal in the organization of the Third International.

The worst, however, came in his discussion of the refusal of the sailors of the French Black Sea to fire upon the red flag of Soviet Russia at Odessa. He linked this up with the fact that the French Chamber of Deputies had not declared war against Soviet Russia! In the hands of Longuet this heroic act of class solidarity on the part of the Black Sea Fleet sailors derived its inspiration, not from the refusal of a working class group refusing to shoot down their working class brothers of another country, not from the common aspiration of the French sailors and the Russian workers for the Proletarian Revolution, but because the bourgeois formalities of a declaration of war had not been complied with.

There was something else beside the Marxian principles which were taboo at this meeting to greet the grandson of Karl Marx—that was any reference to the first successful struggle to apply those principles. The Proletarian Revolution in Russia did not exist for any of the speakers at this meeting and Longuets subject was "Europe after the War" but in Longuet's Europe after the War there was no Proletarian Revolution which for five years had kept the whole pack of imperialist nations at bay. Hillquit knew nothing about Soviet Russia. Longuet talked about the co-operation of the English, French an German workers, but not with Soviet Russia—not with the workers and peasants of the first proletarian state.

One slip there was. Longuet illustrated the falling value of European currency by a reference to Genoa and accidentally mentioned the name of Chicherin. The applause, even in the smug, middle class audience he was addressing probably startled him. But he didn't offend again.

[redacted]

Prison in Steel Czardom Yields Support for Fight Against Michigan Attack

The struggle on the part of the workingclass to free itself from the growing oppression of the employers and escape from the intolerable social conditions which threaten the lives of millions, has not been fought and will not be fought without some members of the movement paying the price.

Behind the grim gray walls of federal and state penitentiaries lie the victims of the brutal ferocity of the employing class. To many of them a prison sentence amounts to a living death—and yet from out of one of the penitentiaries in the East —a bastille of the Steel Trust— comes a response to an appeal from the Labor Defense Council.

How the appeal penetrated the walls of a penitentiary we do not know. Neither did we expect that from such a place would funds be obtained to defend those arrested in Michigan. Yet from out of this penitentiary comes a list of names signed to a donation of $35 to the Labor Defense Council.

When the appeal was made to the

(Continued on page Two.)

Standard Oil Trust Wrecked the Lloyd George Government

This issue of THE WORKER goes to press as the voters of Great Britain are casting their ballots in the parliamentary elections called with the downfall of the Lloyd George government last month. The accompanying article shows that the American Standard Oil Trust played a big role in wrecking the Lloyd George government, and that it will have a big influence on the acts of any new government that comes to power. R. W. Postgate, the British Communist, writes as follows:

• • •

By R. W. POSTGATE

Editor of the Communist, Official Publication of the British Communist Party.

The last of the war-time Premiers has gone. All the "men that won the war"—Orlando, Clemenceau, Venizelos, Wilson—had preceded him, but it seemed as tho he would stay for ever. Yet, now that it has come, the fall of Lloyd George has excited much less surprise than the fall of Carpentier. The general feeling was, on receipt of the news, that he had held on so long that he must have gone soon anyway.

But the mere fact that people were tired of him, and that the governing classes were probably a little sick of "always Lloyd George" is not a good enough explanation. None of the Conservative politicians who are disputing for his place have anything like his ability to mislead and delude the electorate. Lloyd George is unequalled in that respect, and yet he has been unceremoniously dismissed.

He has been dismissed because he has been defeated, and the power that defeated him was, ultimately, the United States. The hand of the

(Continued on Page Three)

[illegible]s Meeting! December 8, Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th St., SUBJECT: "Formation of the Labor Party" SPEAKERS: Ruthenberg, Lore and Others

[illegible] Halts C. L. P. Trial in West

By M. A. DeFORD

(Federated Press Correspondent)

OAKLAND, Cal.—The trial of the five former Communist Labor party members for criminal syndicalism has been indefinitely postponed by the illness of J. E. Snyder, one of the defendants, who is believed to be suffering from pneumonia. Snyder was for a long time editor of The World and later of The Western Worker.

Before the postponement all the old warhorses of criminal syndicalism trials in California had had their day on the stand, Coutts and Dimond; Joe Arata, with his feet allegedly burned with lime by the wicked wobblies; Hudson, who swore better men's liberty away at Chicago, and the new find, Townsend, was about ready to go on.

All this in spite of the fact, proved over and over again, that the Communist Labor party had never indorsed the I. W. W. or been affiliated with it—quite irrespective also of the perjury of the horror tales which are these witnesses' stock in trade.

The five defendants have issued a public letter to all trade unions and

ruled by Judge Samuels and the prosecution has placed on the stand in the trial of Dolsen and his associates for criminal syndicalism those old war horses of stool pigeondom Elbert Coutts and Jack Dimond

The jury was treated to the usual lurid story of the criminal careers of these two confessed highway robbers — for whom many men are already suffering at San Quentin, with the prospect of many more to follow

While men who committed the crimes have testified on the witness stand that they own large estates and enjoy good incomes but are "too busy testifying in criminal syndicalism trials" to settle down and enjoy the leisure their perjury has earned.

CONVENTION NOTICE!

City Central Committees and unaffiliated branches of the Workers Party, District No. 2, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, are requested to note that the District Convention will be held at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th Street, New York City, on Sunday, Dec 17. Convention will open 10 A. M. All members of the party in District No. 2, are taxed 50 cents per member in order to defray the expenses of the District Convention and of the Delegates to the National Convention from this district. This tax must be paid by all members to their branch Financial Secretary, who will turn it over to the Secretary of the City Central Committee or the District Office without delay. Members employed and not paying the tax will not be considered in good standing.—Edward Lindgren, District Organizer.

[illegible] Remarkable Development

[illegible]

The Cleveland agreement was signed in August, and in spite of the fact that the international leaders knew at that time they were not going to sign up the Fayette Field they made no effort worth talking about to raise any relief for the Fayette, Pa., Field.

The situation was allowed to drag along without any information being given to the men. Even William Feeny and John O'Leary, in actual charge of the coke field sub-district, who had to meet the committees of the men every day, stalled and failed to stir up things until a representative of the Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference toured the coke fields against Feeny's wishes and by leaving resolutions in various locals directed the spirit of revolt against the International for failure to raise a great fund to relieve the 45,000 miners in Fayette County.

Feeny denounced these resolutions as disruptive, but within two weeks he turned about and began a campaign against the Pittsburgh Office of District Five for failure to give adequate relief.

The reason for his switch was because the rising tide of indignation against the neglect of Fayette County threatened to swamp the Lewis machine, and Feeny, as a loyal

able the early part of December, the result being that the sub-district under Feeny's control will have the threat of facing starvation over its head unless they vote the way Feeny orders. The history of District Five shows only too well how such situations can be manipulated but if Feeny thinks the progressive miners are going to permit the corrupt methods used in the past he is badly mistaken.

Feeney A Candidate

The second unusual development in the local situation is the announcement made by William Feeny, International Organizer and strong Lewis adherent who has had a falling out with Fagan, Hargest and Company that he will run for president in the district

To those who are not acquainted with this gentleman and his record, Feeny has the reputation of being a pseudo-radical. Since Feeny has decided to oppose the Progressives at the last minute it will be necessary for us in future articles to tell the truth about this man who is one of the most devoted supporters of Lewis and the Cleveland agreement

Any man who at this late day comes out against the Progressive Miners' Group is a traitor to the miners of District 5 and will be treated as such.

Pass the word along to miners of all language groups to support this ticket and start a new day in the U M. W. of A.

Publicity Committee District 5
Wm. Guiler
Thos. Myerscough,
Frank J. Indof.

Workers! Hear FOSTER!

William Z. Foster, National Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League will be present at the next regular monthly meeting of the Greater New York Branch of the Trade Union Educational League, Sunday, Nov. 19th, 7.30 P. M., at the Labor Temple, 84th St. and 2nd Avenue, Room 4.

Reports will be made by the industrial sections of the progress of their work. Foster will tell of the remarkable success of the League in the Amalgamation campaign conducted thruout the country.

Joseph Manley, Organizer of the Eastern District, will report on further work planned for this Branch.

All groups of the League are requested to have delegates present ready to report on their work

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toys, as a souvenir to make them feel good, to remind them that they helped the Russian workers in their struggle.

The women in Bridgeport not only pledged themselves to adopt a home for 30 orphans but to help vigorously in reconstruction of Russia by selling the shares of the R. A. I. C. at $10.00 per share.

Working men and women who believe in human kindness should follow the example of the Bridgeport women

Organize yourself in F. S. R. Branches. Help feed and shelter Russian orphans and rebuild Russia so that they will not need any financial assistance in the future

Adopt a child! Adopt a home for the Russian orphans!

$150.00 in advance and $60.00 monthly will adopt a home for 30 children. It means shelter and food for 30 orphaned children

$5.00 in advance and $2.00 monthly will adopt one child. However everybody can contribute from 50c up.

The reconstruction in Russia is as important. You can help reconstruct Russia by buying one or more shares at $10.00 a share, and by selling these shares to your friends, relatives and fellow workers on the job.

The shares pay dividends and are guaranteed. You can lose nothing but you can help reconstruct Russia so that Russia will not need in the future your financial help.

All together working men and working women! We will help!

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

[illegible] to His Defamers

William F. Dunne, who is now touring the western states for the Labor Defense Council, has issued a statement from Seattle, Wash., in reply to the charges of Ku Klux Klan membership made against him, first in "The Reds in America" articles in the Boston Transcript, and later by Abraham Cahan's Jewish Daily Forward, and other "Socialist" sheets. Dunne writes:

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Since the arrest of myself and 19 others, August 21, in St. Joseph, Mich., on a charge of violation of the criminal syndicalism law of that state, wide use has been made by the yellow "Socialist" press of a photographic copy, originally published in the Boston Transcript, of what purports to be a receipt for $10.00 issued to me by a branch of the Ku Klux Klan of Bakersfield.

Without going into the ethics of the use of material furnished by department of justice agents to the capitalist press, by papers calling themselves "socialist," in an attempt to destroy my character and standing in the labor movement, I will state first:

That the alleged receipt is not a membership receipt in the Ku Klux Klan.

Secondly: That I was never at any time in my life, in a town or city named Bakersfield.

Thirdly: That on the date mentioned in the alleged receipt I was in New York City as dozens of persons can testify

Fourthly: That the alleged receipt was given me as a souvenir by Mr. Charles Sweeney, special writer for the New York World who was the first writer to expose the Ku Klux Klan, thru the medium of six articles published in the New York World. He made an exhaustive investigation of the organization, the findings of which were contained in the articles mentioned

At my residence in New York one evening, the exact date of which I do not now recall, but which can be easily ascertained, Mr. Sweeney entertained Mrs Dunne, myself and a small party of friends with an account of his investigation of the K. K. K., and ended up by presenting to me and others present souvenir receipts made out in his handwriting and signed with some name that occurred to him at the moment. They were issued from a book of blank receipts he had, I assume, acquired in the course of his investigation

Mr. Sweeney is known to his many friends as a devout Roman Catholic and will hardly be accused of membership in the K. K. K. even by the yellow "socialist" press which has for purely political reasons endeavored to slander and defame me

The damage done is so far as I am concerned irreparable. It is probably useless to expect a denial from the press of an organization that has placed itself on a lower plane than that of the capitalist class in an endeavor to hamper the defense of men who are being victimized by the department of justice and other agencies of the employers and who face years in prison for their activities in the working class movement.

As soon as I return to New York, however libel suits will be instituted against every paper which has charged me with membership in the Ku Klux Klan, and in this instance I have not the slightest scruple in using the capitalist courts in an attempt to force a retraction. Any monetary compensation that may be secured will be donated to the various defense bodies now working for the release of class-war prisoners.

Lecture under the Auspices of the S. T. A. S. R., by Dr. Ohsol

Engineers, Draftsmen, Surveyors!

Russia today is largely an immense engineering and industrial problem, engaging the attention of the world to a hitherto unheard of extent.

The field it presents to the technical men is so large that it can not be overestimated and the possibilities of the individual is limited only by his own abilities

"To Russia!" may be the slogan of the engineer tomorrow. Why not get acquainted with it now?

For your information and enlightenment Dr. J. G. Ohsol, member of the Second Duma, who has recently returned from Russia and who has made an exhaustive study of the Industrial Developments over there, will deliver a lecture on "The Trend of Recent Industrial Developments in Russia."

The lecture will be held under the auspices of the Engineering Section of the S. T. A. S. R., at 231 E. 37th St., on Friday, November 17th, at 8 P. M.

All those interested are cordially invited. Admission free.

Russian New Year's Eve. Ball

Harlem Russian Branch of the Workers Party will give a Concert and Ball New Year's Eve., at Harlem Casino, 116th St. and Lenox Ave. Branches of the Workers Party should get tickets any evening at 143 E. 103rd St., at the Club Rooms of the Russian Branch

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[illegible] Party Fund

[illegible]

to sell them and to turn the proceeds as well as the general proceeds of their collections over to the National Office for the "Build the Party Fund". 21,000 of the flag pins were distributed to the branches.

The "Worker" will publish from week to week the roll of honor of the branches which have contributed to the "Build the Party Fund". The branches which have made their returns thus far are the following:

J. Raney, Trumansburg, N. Y., 50c; Finnish Federation, [illegible]; Finnish Branch, [illegible]; [illegible] Branch, Red Granite, Wisc., [illegible]; [illegible] New Castle, Pa., [illegible]; Wm. [illegible], Lowell, Mass., [illegible]; Finnish Branch, Fort Bragg, Cal., [illegible]; Mrs. Kingery, Spokane, Wash., 50c; [illegible], Houston, Texas, [illegible]; J. [illegible], [illegible], N. H., [illegible]; [illegible], Norwich, Conn., [illegible]; Finnish Branch, Keene, N. H., [illegible]; So. Slavic Branch, Ambridge, Pa., [illegible]; Jewish Branch, Boston, Mass., [illegible]; Gilbert Ragar, Dowell, Ill., $23.50; City Central [illegible]; [illegible] New York, [illegible]; [illegible] Omaha, Nebr., [illegible]; [illegible] Detroit, Mich., [illegible]; [illegible] Portland, Ore., [illegible]; [illegible] Wisc., [illegible]; [illegible] Milwaukee, Wisc., [illegible]; [illegible] Racine, Wisc., [illegible]; A. Phillips, Springfield, Mass., [illegible]; [illegible], Youngstown, Ohio, [illegible]; Finnish Branch, [illegible], Pa., [illegible]; Finnish Branch, [illegible], Pa., [illegible]; [illegible], Nashua, N. H., [illegible]; [illegible], Chicago, Ill., [illegible]; Brooklyn Finnish Branch, [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible], Pa., [illegible].—Total [illegible].

The "Build the Party Fund" should reach the $10,000.00 mark when all the reports are in. Branches should send in their reports as quickly as possible.

The Campaign for the Labor Party

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party has placed the Workers Party squarely on record in favor of the organization of a Labor Party, and for a campaign to secure the admission of the Workers Party to this Labor Party.

The formation of a Labor Party with the support of the labor unions will be the greatest step in advance American labor has made. It will mean that the workers of this country have at least recognized that they have interests as a class which are seperate and distinct from the interests of the capitalists. It will be a great step forward in that development which will bring revolutionary struggles of the American workers against their exploiters.

The whole party membership must carry on a campaign among the workers generally for the organization of a Labor Party.

Every party member must thoroly familiarize himself with the reasons for the party policy. The whole party membership must be instructed on the basic question underlying the organization of the Labor Party

The Party Campaign!

1. The resolution of the C. E. C. has been printed and there is a large enough supply so that each member will receive a copy. Branches of the party are instructed to take up the discussion of this resolution at the next branch meeting. If there is no immediate meeting, a special meeting should be called for that purpose.

2. Wherever there are a number of branches and a City Central Committee exists, the City Central Committee should call a meeting of all the members in the city to be held after the branches have had an opportunity to discuss the resolution and thoroly discuss the question of the Labor Party.

The Campaign Outside the Party

1. Party members who are members of unions should bring up the question of the Labor Party and the Conference, Dec. 11, and secure the adoption of a resolution endorsing the organization of the Labor Party and to have their union send a delegate to the Dec 11th Conference. The same policy should be followed in other working class organizations in which we have members.

2. On Sunday Dec. 10th every City Central Committee should hold a mass meeting in favor of the organization of a Labor Party. Special attention should be given to informing the unions about this mass meeting and to inviting them to join in the arrangements for same, and to be represented by speakers and to have their members attend. The National Office will mobilize all the party speakers for this date and will supply speakers wherever possible. The arrangements for these mass meetings should proceed at once so that the meetings can be well advertised. Each such meeting should adopt a resolution in favor of the Labor Party and wire that resolution to the Chicago Conference which meets December 11th

Branches and City Central Committees should send a report about their meeting and the action taken to the party press for publication.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

The New Russia!

READ

"INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL IN SOVIET RUSSIA"

by A. A. HELLER

recently American Representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy of Soviet Russia, who made first hand investigations of Russia's new Economic Policy during several months stay in Russia. He refutes the charges that Sovietism has returned to capitalism.

Price $1.50
12 chapters, 240 pages, cloth bound.
With introduction by Charles P. Steinmetz.
WORKERS PARTY
799 Brodaway, New York City.

Free Speach Only Issue in Michigan

(Continued from Page One)

right of free speech and free assembly, and if necessary, the Michigan criminal syndicalist law will be tested in the United States Supreme Court. Meanwhile, public opinion is asked to try the issues "for the effect they may have on similar prosecutions elsewhere, and on the state of mind which encourages repressive measures."

A special organization known as the Labor Defense Council, with offices at 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, has charge of the defense work, and a general appeal is being issued for funds. It is estimated that the case will cost at least $100,000. "The American Civil Liberties Union", the statement concludes, "endorses this special defense work and urges all its friends to contribute liberally to the fund, and to aid in other ways when requested. This is the most important single national trial involving civil liberties with which we have been concerned since the big I. W. W. conspiracy trials under the Espionage Act. Any further information can be obtained by addressing us or the office in Chicago given above."

Echoes of the Celebrations

The National Office of the Workers Party is in receipt of a check for $112.50 as a result of the Russian Anniversary Celebration meeting held by the Cleveland (Ohio) Finnish Branch on Nov. 7th

Flag Pins to the amount of $105.50 were sold. The hall was packed to the doors and enthusiasm ran high as speakers together with a splendid musical program rendered the meeting one of the best held in this Branch.

F. S. R. Meeting in Philadelphia

Roger N. Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn of the Workers Defense Union, will be among the speakers at a mass meeting in Philadelphia, Friday evening, November 24 at Labor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown Streets, under auspices of the local conference of the Friends of Soviet Russia. It is expected that there will be a big turnout as a demonstration of sympathy with Soviet Russia on the part of workers in Philadelphia.

Baldwin was chairman of the committee of five which recently made a thoro investigation of the accounts of the Friends of Soviet Russia and reported that the charges of the irregularities were without foundation. He will discuss the findings of the comittee in his address at this gathering.

The purpose of the gathering is primarily to stimulate interest in the further work for the relief of the destitute in Russia. Allen Broms, treasurer of the F. S. R., will also address the meeting.

Metal Workers' Annual Gathering

After having safely thru two years of industrial depression parried the blows of the Open Shoppers, the **Amalgamated Metal Workers of America** are now preparing to celebrate their annual re-union by a **Gala Celebration, in the shape of a Barn Dance and Entertainment,** to be held Friday, Nov. 24, at 8 P. M.

LOOK! LOOK!

THANKSGIVING EVE!

Dance and Novelty Ball under the Auspices of Workers Party, Local Greater New York, at the Lyceum, 86th St. and 3rd Ave. Forget everything that evening and give THANKS that you have a Workers Party able to provide such a magnificent novelty. Everybody come! Big time! Tickets on sale at Workers Party Office, 208 E. 12th St., and all branches.

[illegible] Defense Fu[illegible] Contributi[illegible]

(Continued from Page One)

prisoners the comrade who [illegible] was taken off his feet at the [illegible] of the response. He declares [illegible] was the easiest collection [illegible] ever taken. "I did not have [illegible] any explanation," he writes, "[illegible] that it was to keep 'Reds' [illegible] jail was enough for them to [illegible] away their last dollars."

Some of the donators are [illegible] of the Steel Trust imprisoned [illegible] cause of their activities during [illegible] steel strike. Yet, tho they have [illegible] in prison for nearly three years, [illegible] write, "that they are studying [illegible] to penetrate the conservative [illegible] of mind of the great Ameri[illegible] masses, so that they may be [illegible] greater assistance in the final [illegible] tory." They further declare [illegible] "they are confident that the [illegible] rank and file of the American la[illegible] movement will not let their adva[illegible] guard rot in the capitalist jails [illegible] America."

If the arrests made in Michi[illegible] have demonstrated one thing mo[illegible] than another, it is that, whether [illegible] within the walls of a penitentiary [illegible] the factory, the workers are reali[illegible] ing that the issue in Michigan is [illegible] a personal one, but one that con[illegible] cerns, and vitally so, the entire workingclass.

Shall labor march forward to th[illegible] goal of its endeavors without fear, [illegible] having its front ranks continuall[illegible] broken by the brutal and illeg[illegible] raids of a Daugherty or must [illegible] forever witness the filling of priso[illegible] cells with the best fighters of th[illegible] movement? As to what labor reply will be will depend upon th[illegible] support accorded the men arreste[illegible] in Michigan.

A united front of labor behind th[illegible] defense of the Michigan men wi[illegible] demonstrate to Daugherty that th[illegible] time for frame-ups has long sinc[illegible] past and that labor is alive and aler[illegible] to the conspiracy hatched in th[illegible] various chambers of commerce an[illegible] carried out by willing tools who oc[illegible] cupy government positions.

The following is a list of thos[illegible] who donated the $35 sent from th[illegible] State Penitentiary of ------- for ob[illegible] vious reasons their real names ar[illegible] not disclosed:

Charles H., $2; Kid James, $2; [illegible] Reds, $1; Old Man Burns, $1; Big [illegible] $1; Dutchman, $1; Virtuoso, $1; [illegible] $1; Sympathizer, $1; [illegible] Sherty, $2; The Victim, $2; Irish [illegible] $1; The Lifer, $1; Short Timer, $1; [illegible] tiary Stew, $1; The Pauper, $1; [illegible] Irishman, $1; Sunday Hamburger, $2; [illegible] Will Provide, $3; Shoemaker, $1; [illegible] Dago, $4.

Penitentiary, Oct. 19th, 192[illegible]

"Dear Comrades:—Here is a voi[illegible] from the living dead in the ------ Penitentiary as a reply to your ap[illegible] peal for relief for the twenty (20[illegible] persecuted comrades in the Michiga[illegible] "Red Raids" and with them th[illegible] whole of the American labor move[illegible] ment

"This comrades is a voice fro[illegible] people not directly involved in th[illegible] persecutions of the American labo[illegible] movement. But, it nevertheless [illegible] an expression of bitter and uncom[illegible] promising protest against the op[illegible] pression of a class that is the pr[illegible] ducer of all the riches of our [illegible] called civilized world. It is also [illegible] bitter and determined protest again[illegible] the pinkertonian system and judic[illegible] oligarchy of America. For th[illegible] like no other class of people, k[illegible] what a frame-up is, and how it [illegible] made. Many of them have sacrifice[illegible] their commissaries, and smokes, an[illegible] one of them had sold his outsid[illegible] shoes in order to be able to con[illegible] tribute to what he called a 'd ------ good cause."

"Comrades, we are not expressin[illegible] here our own thoughts (for we'v[illegible] got more than that to say), w[illegible] merely give the exact feelings of th[illegible] majority of contributors as it w[illegible] expressed to us. But what we w[illegible] say here is this.

"Comrades, never in the history [illegible] our civilization have the gre[illegible] masses followed their true leade[illegible] with such an impetus and confiden[illegible] in the struggle for industrial libe[illegible] tion, as they do now. They ha[illegible] been fooled too long and now th[illegible] at last realize that it is not th[illegible] boss and not the Union paid offic[illegible] of Gompers' type that will lead th[illegible] to victory, but that it is the s[illegible] sacrificing militant radical (of wh[illegible] they had an idea just not very lo[illegible] ago as a creature with horns) th[illegible] will bring them to victory. Y[illegible] comrades, we are confident that [illegible] great rank and file of the Amer[illegible] labor movement will not let t[illegible] advance guard rot in the capita[illegible] jails of America.

"Keep up your good spirits, c[illegible] rades, the struggle may be hard [illegible] long, but the victory is yours.

"Yours for the release of all [illegible] tical and industrial prisoners [illegible] America, and for the abolishme[illegible] the wage slave system thruout [illegible] whole world. Committ[illegible]

Workers' Party Bra[illegible]
in ------ Penitentia[illegible]

TEN WORKERS SHOULD [illegible] THIS COPY OF THE WO[illegible] KEEP IT IN CIRCUL[illegible]

Don't Throw This Pa[illegible] Pass It on to Your Ne[illegible]

[illegible] Against Ohio Miners

[illegible] is being exerted in the [illegible]eastern part of Ohio and in the [illegible] part of West Virginia a[illegible] of the working class. More [illegible] still in that the workers of the [illegible] of the nation know little about [illegible] struggle.

Every conceivable form of terror has been continuously used against the union miners of that district. There the blackest of black reaction reigns supreme; the black damp that periodically leaves countless corpses in its wake in the bowels of the earth from which the miners extract the wealth that enables their masters to live in idleness is no more terrifying than the bestiality of the scum of the earth recruited in the mine owners' private armies to keep the workers in a continual state of terror above ground.

Shrapnel, machine guns mounted on armored trains, ambuscades, every horror known to warfare has been used against these miners of Ohio and West Virginia, but has failed to break their spirit of unionism.

The military terror has now been reinforced by the judicial terror—the two supplement each other and to date there have been a total of 631 union coal miners of that region indicted for murder and conspiracy.

The reason for this combined judicial and military assault is the determination to destroy the influence of the United Mine Workers of America in that section of the country. So intense was the hatred aroused against the murderous gunmen who devastated the region for years that new tactics on the part of the mine owners had to be created. Now they clothe their murders in the trappings of the courts. Fake trials are held, with perjured witnesses, bought and paid for judges and juries, and miners are railroaded to the penitentiary wholesale.

Life Sentences Meted Out

At St. Clairsville, Ohio, several miners' trials have been held and two of the miners are now facing life sentences in the state penitentiary on a charge of murder. The trial was typical of such procedure—farcical in the extreme.

One of those receiving a life sentence is Dominik Venturato, president of one of the largest locals in District No. 6. He is an Italian and has considerable influence among his countrymen in the mines. The mine owners and other exploiters of labor offered misleading inducements to the workers of Europe to inveigle them into coming to this country and entering the industries as wage-slaves, but the moment they display intelligence enough to organize in their own interests and endeavour to secure some of the things that had been promised them, they then become victims of capitalist hatred against those who produce its wealth.

The cases grew out of the death of a scab during the strike of last summer. A mass meeting was held in the town of New Laferty, Ohio, and in some sort of drunken brawl a strikebreaker was killed and Venturato was arrested and charged with the crime. His trial and conviction soon followed. Dan Agosti was also convicted of the crime and sentenced to a life term.

Preparations are being rushed to bring the others arrested to trial on similar charges and under similar conditions with the object in view of imprisoning every active member of the union in order to turn the coal fields into nests of scabs.

A defense committee has been organized for these victims and all organizations and individuals who desire to contribute to the defense of the workers can do so by sending their contributions to the Miners' Defense Committee, Room 301, Miners Temple, Bellaire, Ohio.

An interesting booklet covering the history of the cases to date has been issued and can be obtained upon request.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

MEMBERS YORKVILLE SECTION WORKERS PARTY.

Attention!—A General Section Meeting of the Yorkville Section will be held SATURDAY, Nov. [illegible], at 8 P. M., in the HUNGARIAN WORKERS HOUSE, [illegible] E. 81st St. All members of the Hungarian, German, Austrian, Czecho-Slovakian, Esthonian and English Branches are urged to attend this meeting.

Questions of vital importance to the Party and the Section will be taken up for discussion.

Do not fail to attend this most important Section Meeting!

Watch for notice of Mass Meeting for Dec. 5th in next week's "Worker."—All Labor Unions in Yorkville are invited to send Delegates to this meeting.

[illegible] to [illegible] at Chicago, Saturday, Dec. 9

Eleven thousand local railway unions have just been invited to send delegates to the National Railway Amalgamation Conference to be held in Chicago, Dec. 9, the first announcement of which appeared in THE WORKER last week.

This week we are able to publish the complete call as sent out by the National Committee to Amalgamate the 16 standard railroad organizations from its offices, 511 Dakota Bldg. 84 W. 7th St., St. Paul, Minn. It is as follows:

TO ALL RAILROAD LOCAL UNIONS.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The time has now come when the railroad men of the United States and Canada are ready to amalgamate the many unions into one mighty organization. On July 1, 1922, our committee submitted for approval to 11,000 railroad local unions the method of amalgamation, [illegible] the Minnesota Plan. This plan, with its [illegible] the entire body of railroad workers in [illegible] in favor of the plan has been overwhelming. Thousands of local unions, hundreds of local federations, dozens of system federations, and two international organizations (Railway Clerks and Maintenance of Way) have endorsed and adopted the plan. At least 80 per cent of all railroad workers are now definitely in favor of amalgamation. And the movement has spread to other industries, for eleven State Federations of Labor: Ohio, Washington, Utah, Nebraska, Colorado, Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, Oregon, South Dakota, and Indiana, have also, in the same period, declared practically unanimously for complete amalgamation in all industries. Never has the country seen such a tremendous drive for solidarity.

The Shopmen's strike, with its tragic spectacle of nine unions working while seven are striking, makes amalgamation more imperative than ever. We railroad men are confronted with the alternative of consolidation or destruction. Therefore, the National Committee to Amalgamate the Sixteen Standard Railroad Organizations, recognizing the need of the situation and the widespread demand for definite action on amalgamation, is hereby calling a NATIONAL RAILROAD AMALGAMATION CONFERENCE, to take place in the North Side Turner Hall, 820 North Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Saturday, December 9th, at 9:00 A. M., and continuing on Sunday, December 10th, 1922. This National Conference will devise ways and means not only to win the railroad unions completely for amalgamation, but also to bring about their actual consolidation into one body. It is by no means a dual move. To stop secessionism and devise a method of consolidating all unions as speedily as possible is the big problem for this Conference to solve. The Conference will also deal constructively with the closely related problems of amalgamation and strengthening the metal trades generally. All local unions, or local and system federations are entitled to two delegates each. Bring credentials with you, and also notify the undersigned in advance. In order to finance the Conference, all lodges are requested to contribute $2.00 each to the Conference Fund.

Brothers, beware of dual unionism! Be on your guard against those who advocate secession as the cure of our unions' weakness. That's the way to ruin. We must not quit our old unions. We must draw all the unions together, consolidate them, amalgamate them. That is the way to progress. Federation has outlived its usefulness, amalgamation is now an indispensable necessity. The only effective answer to the "Open Shoppers" is complete consolidation of all railroad labor's forces. It is either amalgamation or annihilation. Railroad Labor is now in retreat. The NATIONAL RAILROAD AMALGAMATION CONFERENCE in Chicago will mark the point when it again launches a victorious offensive. Act on this matter at your next meeting, if necessary call a special meeting. Elect your delegates! Send in your $2.00 contribution! Come to the Conference at all costs!

Fraternally yours,

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,

By O. H. Wangerin, Secretary-Treasurer.

Industrial Court Is Doomed, Says Kansas Governor-Elect

By H. M. W.

With the passing of the unspeakably contemptible Henry J. Allen, governor of Kansas, who has been striving for prestige among the flunkeys of capitalism as the labor-hater par excellence, goes also his pet device against labor, the industrial court law.

The new governor-elect of Kansas, Jonathan M. Davis, in his first statement to the press declared that: "The first thing I intend to do as Governor is to bring about the repeal of the industrial court law."

In opposition to the bombastic speeches made by Henry J. Allen before various manufacturers' associations and chambers of commerce in praise of this law, the governor-elect declares that the "court has been unfair and unjust and there is no place for it in Kansas. There have been only a few cases before it and none of them has been settled satisfactorily."

Most of the incoming legislature, elected at the November general election, have also expressed opinions which show their contempt for this obnoxious law.

A Victory for Labor

While the denunciation of the law and the determination to repeal it comes from a person elected on the Democratic ticket, its destruction is essentially a labor victory and due solely to the militant struggle against its enforcement carried on by Alexander Howatt and his associates in the miners' union of that district.

The heroic defiance of the mandates of this creature, who has come to be known far and wide as Czar Henry Allen of Kansas, on the part of the miners of the Kansas district is one of the bright spots in the history of labor in America and confirms our conviction that the working class of this nation, when forced to the wall, will fight to the bitter end against despotism even though it be enthroned under the specious plea of "law and order."

The law was framed by Allen with the connivance of that other notoriety seeking bootlicker of capitalism, William Allen White of the Empire Gazette, at the behest of the mine owners for the purpose of destroying the United Mine Workers of that district.

On the strength of the passage and attempted enforcement of the Industrial Court Law, Governor Allen was endeavoring to become a national political figure with the hope of eventually achieving a presidential nomination on the Republican ticket. The Republican campaign in Kansas was made upon the defense of this anti-labor law while the Democrats, realizing that any political organization appealing to the Kansas voters on the basis of opposition to that law would win, conducted their campaign against Allen and his pet law.

The absence of a labor party in Kansas left the miners no choice and the only way they could repudiate the industrial court law was by supporting the other capitalist party.

That the law will be repealed is a foregone conclusion and it will also serve to put a damper upon other labor haters who have attempted to emulate the example of Henry J. Allen.

John L. Lewis Affected

In the desperate struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction in the United Mine Workers of America the repeal of this law will also be felt, inasmuch as it will release Alexander Howatt from the clutches of that court and enable him to continue his fight against John L. Lewis.

Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers, and Allen, the corporation governor of Kansas, worked hand in hand in order to send their mutual enemy Alexander Howatt to jail.

Although Howatt and his associates have been expelled from the miners' union by Lewis and Co., and although the reactionary machine has only recently announced the reorganization of the Kansas district, it is certain that the fight to reinstate Howatt will be resumed with renewed vigor. After disposing of Allen it now becomes the task of the Kansas miners and their sympathizers thruout the jurisdiction of the union to dispose of Lewis and his sinister influence in the labor movement, so that he can no longer use his power to aid a capitalist governor of a state to send a true representative of the working class to jail for fighting to preserve his union from destruction.

Necessity of a Labor Party

Because the law is to be repealed by a Democratic governor and legislative body it should not blind the Kansas workers to the fact that the new governor will also represent the capitalist class and that he will use oppressive measures against the workers in case they engage in a militant struggle against the exploiters of labor. As far as the two parties are concerned there is absolutely no difference between them in relation to the working class.

In Kansas, as elsewhere, the workers must organize politically for the purpose of presenting their demands as a class and of exposing to ever larger numbers of the more backward masses, those not yet organized, the true character of the capitalist government as the enemy of the working class and organizing for the final conquest of capitalism—which is also a political struggle.

ATTENTION!

Comrades and their friends have an excellent opportunity to enjoy themselves at a CONCERT and BALL, SATURDAY, Nov. 18, at WORKERS' HALL, 1347 Boston Road (3rd Ave. 'L' to 169th Street).—Arranged by BRONX SECTION WORKERS PARTY.—Excellent Musical Program.—Admission, 50 cents.

——Doors open at 8 P. M.——

Joint Board Aids R.A.I.C.

Shop chairmen and members of the Ladies' Dress and Waist Makers and Embroidery Workers' Union of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, are asked by Secretary-Treasurer M. K. Mackoff to call at the offices of the Joint Board for subscription cards to the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, so that every member of the organization may have the opportunity to own at least a share of stock.

The Joint Board of the Union has already subscribed $1,000 for this purpose, $500 of which has just been paid. A meeting of shop chairmen also enthusiastically approved the proposition of soliciting individual subscriptions from the rank and file.

Secretary-Treasurer M. K. Mackoff points out that recent cables from Sidney Hillman, in Moscow, assure stockholders in the corporation eight per cent minimum dividend, as well as a guarantee of their investment by the Soviet Government. The new subscription cards, with stamps, make it possible for subscribers to pay for their $10 shares in instalments of $1 at a time. The use of these cards in Chicago and elsewhere have greatly increased the number of individual subscribers.

The appeal to members of the Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers follows:

To All Members of the Ladies' Dress and Waist Makers' and Embroidery Workers' Union

Sisters, Brothers:—We appeal to you on behalf of an enterprise which is characterized by impartial observers as the outstanding constructive venture in a generation.

The name of the enterprise is the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, its aim is—active and constructive aid in the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia. It's a novel undertaking, entirely unlike what we have been doing or helping to do in years, since Russia has become the experimental laboratory of social reconstruction. It well merits attention, the attention of every militant worker in the country.

The famine situation in Russia called for immediate relief and response to that call necessarily took the shape of getting donations and contributions in kind. That situation is nearly or pretty nearly over.

The problem of the day, in so far as Russia is concerned, is industrial rehabilitation. Its railways must be rebuilt, industry revived, if Russia is to survive, as she will.

Industrial credit is wanted, but the manipulators of money and industrial credit, the international bankers and the imperial magnates of capitalism won't help Russia. They would be willing to support the body of Russia, to buy it, if they were permitted to strangle its soul, the working-class government.

So the workers of the world are asked to step in, to take a hand in the matter and do for Soviet Russia what the "other side" wouldn't do, and for good reasons.

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation was organized for just this purpose—to get together whatever spare means the workers, friends of Soviet Russia, have, and invest it in Soviet Russia, in the operation of its industry, its business—for an idealistic purpose.

To attain this end, vital to the continued growth of the Workers' Government in Russia the Russian-American Industrial Corporation has obtained a most favorable concession to operate the textile and clothing industry in Russia, in partnership with the Supreme Council of National Economy of the Soviet Government, provided American Labor will supply sufficient operating capital. The Soviet Government guarantees the capital invested and a minimum dividend of eight per cent.

A number of large factories already established and operating at full speed are turned over to the corporation of the American Workers, and a Million Dollars is wanted to supply additional equipment and certain raw materials.

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation, chartered under the laws of the state of Delaware and recognized in formal agreement by the Soviet Government, issued 100,000 shares at $10 each, which are now offered to all progressive and labor organizations, to workers and friends of Workers' Russia.

The R.-A. I. C. has the original backing of the men's clothing workers, the Amalgamated having gone as far as to subscribe over $200,000 of the Million Dollars. But it is not an exclusive Amalgamated affair. It is the affair of the entire Labor Movement. It has the unqualified approval of all groups and divisions of labor. Many locals of our own international have subscribed liberally to the stock of the Corporation. Our Joint Board invested $1,000 in it. We now place the proposition before you, members of the union, so that you do what you can individually.

Remember it is no donation that we ask. It is an investment of a part of your savings that is called for. A great and powerful country, rich in natural resources, calls for your aid which will help others and do yourselves good. Your investment is safe with Russia backing it and American labor and liberals actively helping it.

Will you respond to the call?

You, members of the Dress, Waist and Embroidery Workers' Union have always been the vanguard of progressive and militant labor. You never spared your energies, your lives when necessary. You will not stand aside when the purpose is of world significance and the way to achieve it—so easy. "Buy a share for yourself and sell one to some-one else," should be your slogan during the campaign for the R.-A. I. C.

Dress, Waist Makers, and Embroidery Workers, do your duty, answer the call of our millions of fellow workers across the waters battling the cause of all honest, toiling men and women. They are battling for a world that will be owned and managed by all and for all, a world worth living in and for,

Joint Board

Ladies' Dress and Waist Makers' Union I. L. G. W. U.

M. K. Mackoff, Sec'y-Treasurer.

P. S. For those who cannot pay all in cash a plan of instalment has been devised. Apply to our office or shop-chairmen.

The following letter was sent by Secretary-Treasurer Potofsky of the **R.-A. I. C. in acknowledgement of the $500 payment.**

November 8, 1922.

Mr. M. K. Mackoff,
Joint Board, Waist and
Dressmakers' Union,
16 West 21st Street,
New York City.

My dear Mackoff:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your check for $500.00 on account of 100 shares of stock in the Russian American Industrial Corporation, voted by the Joint Board of the Ladies Waist and Dressmakers' Union.

Needless to say, we are pleased and encouraged by the interest shown in the rehabilitation of Russia by a branch of our sister organization. We feel that the membership of your organization has an interest identical with our own in the economic reconstruction of that great country, and that is moved by the same feeling of sympathy and understanding to do all in its power to be of real help.

The RAIC is a medium for such assistance, and we trust that you and your officers will not relax in your efforts so well begun.

We shall mail you certificates of stock as soon as Mr. Hillman returns from Russia, which will be in about two weeks.

Fraternally yours,

J. S. POTOFSKY,

Secretary-Treasurer."

Packages to Russia

(By F. S. R. Press Service)

The national office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York, has just received a cablegram of great interest to those who have friends and relatives in Russia and others who wish to send packages to to Soviet territory. It came in answer to an inquiry about customs charges on such relief packages, and reads:

"According to a decree of the Central Executive Committee issued on November 2nd, relief packages received here up to December 31st addressed to workmen and middle employes are permitted to enter free. On others there is a duty of fifty percent. Contents of packages will be examined; must correspond with the list of necessary commodities and must not contain many objects of the same kind.

(Signed) Leo Kamenev,

Chairman, All-Russian C. E. C."

Daugherty: "Somebody ought to [illegible]"
Harding: "I have [illegible] if they will agree to obey the law."

Why Lloyd George Fell

(Continued from page One.)

United States did not appear openly in the Near East disaster, but it was a United States influence that defeated him as sure as rain comes from clouds.

It is fairly generally known that there has been a conflict between France and England over the question of Turkey. The dividing up of the Near East had given Britain Mesopotamia and France, Syria. To the North of Mesopotamia very near to the dangerous foothills of the highlands of Asia Minor, was Mosul, reputed to be one of the richest single oilfields of the whole world. To the north of Syria was Cilicia, a flat land at the foot of the Taurus mountains, of no economic value but essential for the defence of Syria. Very little while had passed before the French troops in Cilicia found themselves in great difficulties with the Turkish irregular troops, who had been disregarded and had no allies but the Russians. It looked very likely that General Gouraud and his troops might be seriously involved, and it was clear that France had either to come to an arrangement with the Turks or set out to conquer the whole of Asia. France took the former course, and came to an agreement with the Turks—the Angora Pact.

But the Angora Pact was more than an agreement safeguarding the Syrian frontier. It committed France to large support of the Turks with arms and munitions. That is to say, it committed her to waging war through the agency of the Turks—with her ally Britain. For it was well known who was the Turks' real enemy. Islam's worst oppressor has always been Great Britain. The Union Jack flies over Cairo, Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Bagdad, Delhi and Constantinople, and there is little question who has seized most of the old lands of the Caliphs. The Turks made no secret of their intention to seize Constantinople, which was for all practical purposes in British hands. Why should France set this dog on at Great Britain?

The answer is that it was not France that did this but America. During the war, and right up till 1921, British oil interests had been predominant in France. Amicable arrangements were made throughout the war concerning the fate of the Mosul oilfields, and France consented to their practical seizure to the British oil interests, Shell. Shell Oil controlled at least one large French bank and one newspaper. It had a representative in most of the shifting French cabinets and had two minor companies of its own in France under French names. In most of this Sir Basil Zaharoff acted as agent.

In 1920-21 this period came to an abrupt end. France no longer continued to be docilely led by Shell Oil. The great American trust, Standard Oil, took the place of Shell. It too took over a large bank, ran its own newspaper, started subsidiary companies. Odds might have been equal, if it had not been for certain political considerations which gave Standard Oil the victory. The various quarrels continually occuring over all Europe had made French politicians quite anxious to teach Britain a lesson. On top of this the United States government gave France clearly to understand that no financial assistance or accomodation whatever would be forthcoming from across the Atlantic until Standard Oil was definitely given first place in all French oil concerns.

Therefore, the Angora Pact handed to France not merely the exploitation of all Turkish railways etc., but in a secret Annex, all oil deposits in Turkish territory, present or future. That meant that Standard Oil would have any oilfields that Kemal Pasha could recover. Therefore the Turks were sent out to fight the British and their servants, armed with the best munitions that French factories could provide.

Standard Oil looked to Mosul first but Kemal Pasha looked to Constantinople. He intended to recover Turkey's position in Europe before he struck south and east. His armies, therefore, marched west. Here they came into conflict with the Greeks, and behind the Greeks were the British. The British ever since 1918 have been in effective occupation of the Straits, and for all the "internationalization" of them [illegible]hey will not leave. They dare [illegible]. The opening of the Panama Canal and the growth of the United States Navy have made the High Seas [illegible] of a British lake. The Atlantic [illegible] the Pacific are not in British [illegible] any more. Britain has to think of the narrow seas. Most of her possessions lie in Asia and Africa, on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and the way to them lies thru the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean. This sea route has become the spinal cord of the British Empire. Now, look at a map of the Mediterranean and just observe how the Straits and Constantinople lie on its flank. In the hands of a hostile power—such as an ally of Russia or America—they are poised like an axe ready to descend and sever the British lines of communication. From the Dardanelles ships can dart out and withdraw again, and make the Gibraltar-Port Said route impossible.

Britain took the Straits for herself, therefore, and sheltered behind her satellite power, Greece. But she occupied them with a relatively small force. This was because Mr. Lloyd George was much under the influence of Sir Basil Zaharoff, who is a Greek. Greek merchants, also, have for very many years held in England a position far higher than would be expected. He believed them when they told him that the Turks were useless guerilla troops and the Greek army could eat them up. Therefore he did not send more troops to Constantinople.

That was Sir Lloyd George's first blunder.

His second blunder caused his fall. He was unceremoniously booted out after it, because is was a gross and monstrous military error and one which has seriously injured the position of British capitalism in the East. It was the occupation of Chanak. Practically no notice has been taken of this in the daily press, so it is worthwhile considering it a little more in detail. Why the occupation of Chanak meant disaster will only be clear if these remarks are read in connection with a map.

In order to hold a narrow stretch of sea like the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, it is necessary to control the land for a considerable distance on either side. In the old days naval power was enough, but with aeroplanes and long range artillery to fight, it is not. To control the Dardanelles, the British must control Constantinople, the Gallipoli peninsula and a good half of Thrace on one side; on the other a broad strip of territory along the Dardanelles, and the coast facing the Bosphorus.

In the face of the approaching Turkish forces, Lloyd George did the wrong thing. He did not care to reinforce the Straits enormously and concentrate there an army that the Turks dare not fight. What he did was to send a small and insufficient reinforcement into Chanak, a place on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.

The arrival of this force at Chanak gave the Turks all they wanted. Mustapha Kemal of course poured in his troops in enormous numbers. They occupied the heights above Chanak, the positions around it, the shore below it. They occupied or commanded the rest of the forty mile shores of the Dardanelles. Chanak was immediately a hostage in their hands, while as for holding the Dardanelles, the occupation of it "was like holding the front door of a house on which a number of large ground floor French windows stood wide open to the gardens on every side". When the British delegates arrived, the Turks said in effect: "If you do not give us what we want, we shall attack Chanak. Our new campaign will be celebrated by the defeat and wholesale surrender of the largest British force in these regions. How do you think that news will be celebrated in Constantinople, Cairo, Bagdad and Delhi?"

The British answer, in effect, was "What will you take?" And they took Thrace and Constantinople and all that Turkey had lost in the war in this area. And therefore the British task of holding the Straits for herself is thirty times more difficult.

That is the story of how Mr. Bedford, of Standard Oil, scored his first point over Sir Basil Zaharoff, of Shell, and of why Mr. Lloyd George left Downing Street suddenly after seven years of power.

Subscribe for "THE WORKER"! Read Communist Literature! See Our Offer on Page Five!

[illegible] to Aid Children of Soviet Russia

(By F. S. R. Press Service)

The extent of destitution among the children of Russia would be in[illegible]able, were the causes of the appalling situation less well known. Those who have watched the catastrophic assaults upon Russia during the last five years—the attacks of subsidized brigands, the blockade of international greed, the terrible famine—learn without surprise that literally hundreds of thousands of children are orphaned, starving, broken in health, doomed to extermination unless help arrives quickly from the outside. Estimates indicate that there are 600,000 orphans in Russia and 400,000 in Ukraine.

Details Gruesome Tragedies

Everywhere in Russia, but especially in the regions devastated by the famine scourge, there are hordes of starving children. The graphic descriptions of their condition and sufferings there is no need to repeat here. The details are too gruesome, unearthly in their tragedy.

Everywhere in Russia little children wander like lost souls, the only hope for life being in the generosity of the workers in other lands. Their fathers have fallen in defending the workers' republic against the Wrangels and Denikins of the world; killed in many instances by American bullets! Or they have died of hunger rather than eat the crust of bread which might save their children's lives.

To meet this situation the International Workers Aid has decided to establish Children's Homes in Russia, equipped to care for and educate the new generation of Russians. Several such Homes are already in existence, supported by the German and Dutch workers. Despite inadequate provisions in many places, these Homes are wonderful oases of happiness for the Russian children in a desert of misery. More such Homes, if started soon, will obviate a great deal of suffering.

Drive for F. S. R. Home

The Friends of Soviet Russia, as the American branch of the international relief body, is conducting a campaign for the adoption of Russian orphans. The Soviet Government has set aside many buildings, some of them the former residences of the nobility, to be used in the care of children. But these houses cannot be used until the necessary equipment is available, until regular donations to keep the homes running have been assured.

The F. S. R. in its drive aims to reach every working man and woman in the United States and Canada with this message: "Your contribution, no matter how small, is not negligible. It takes so little money to keep a boy or girl alive that your mite will save the life of at least one orphan. Two dollars will provide food and clothes, a home and an education for a Russian child for a whole month!"

The appeal of the F. S. R. is directed not only to individuals but also to organizations. Labor unions and other working class groups, women's organizations, children's clubs and other groups are asked to adopt as many children as their treasury can stand. It is expected that some of the larger organizations will adopt hundreds outright. As large an initial donation as possible to go toward equipping a Home and monthly payments of $2 for each orphan adopted—these are the forms which help should take.

Named After Martyrs Here

Homes equipped and supported by American contributions will be named after heroes and martyrs of the American labor movement.

In undertaking the work, the Friends of Soviet Russia and the international relief body of which it is part are conscious of the fact that fruits of the Russian Revolution will be lost unless the new generation is brought up healthy in body and mind. The children of today must be saved from death, and from what is worse—a crippled, stunted life due to bad conditions.

All contributions and inquiries should be addressed to the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th St., New York.

Plan Big Work for F.S.R. in New York

A season of intensive activities in New York in aid of Soviet Russia is assured following a well-attended and enthusiastic conference of the New York Local of the Friends of Soviet Russia, held in the Labor Temple at 84th Street. More than 130 accredited representatives of labor, political and fraternal organizations in the city were present and laid plans for the work of the coming months. Twenty-eight Workmen's Circles, 12 unions, two Socialist Party branches, numerous Workers' Party branches and other groups were represented.

A more detailed report of F.S.R. work will appear in our next issue.

Time Is Over-Ripe for Class Political Action

(Continued from Page One)

franchised the working class. In the matters of Government our labor movement has but the slightest influence. Labor, for example, is almost completely lacking in representation in the various legislative bodies. Those few nondescript "card men," the boast of the "nonpartisan" advocates, are often even more corrupt and treacherous than the capitalist politicians themselves. In the local, state and national legislative assemblies, Labor is almost totally unrepresented. The whole law-making and law-enforcing mechanism is in the hands of the enemy, who do as they please with it. Gompers' policy has resulted in wiping out Labor as a political factor.

That this is so is made strikingly clear if we compare our condition with the position of Labor in European political life. There, where the workers have organized their political power along class lines, Organized Labor is a great political factor. In Germany the various workers' parties control 42 percent of the members of the national legislative assembly, in Austria 38 percent, Czecho-Slovakia 36 percent, Belgium 35 percent, Denmark 34 percent, Italy and Bulgaria 25 percent, Norway, Holland, and Switzerland 22 percent. In Great Britain the Labor Party will challenge the domination of the capitalist parties in the next election. The workers of Europe are a definite political power.

SUPPRESSION FROM WITHOUT, CORRUPTION WITHIN

The political weakness of Labor is realized in the naked Governmental suppression of strikes, annulling of labor protection laws, limitation of free speech, and assemblage, etc. In the field of protective legislation this country hopelessly lags behind, due to our political impotence. Mr. Gompers gave testimony to this in 1909, when, returning from Europe, he said:

"We are in the United States, not less than two decades behind many European countries in the protection of life, health, and limb of the workers. We are behind England 10 years. We are behind Germany 20 years."

Since this judgment was rendered our relative position in respect to all political aspects of the labor movement has become more unfavorable. During the past dozen years, and especially since the war, European Labor has made political gains of great importance, but we have gone backward steadily. While European workers have been wresting concession after concession from the capitalists, our movement in America has been stripped by the capitalist powers of many of our most fundamental rights.

There has been a veritable flood of anti-syndicalist laws, under which hundreds of labor militants have been sent to prison on charges not of criminal actions, but of opinions, for terms the savagery of which has shocked the world. The right of assembly has become little more than a privilege dependent upon the good will of the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, or corrupt local officials. Esch-Cummins laws, industrial courts, and the injunction have literally hamstrung the labor unions in their most vital point: the right to strike. Popular representation in legislative assemblies has been violated, by refusing to seat workers' representatives regularly elected while millionaires openly purchase seats in Congress.

Gompers' "great achievement," the Clayton Amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust law, has been used but only against Labor. The Seaman's Act and the Child Labor Law have been knocked out. In the Coronado Case the trade union treasuries were opened to raids by the capitalists. The Daugherty injunction, outlawing 400,000 railroad men, is only the latest of a long line of acts of oppression and usurpation, testifying to the political incompetence of official Labor's policy.

More serious, however, than even the unprecedented suppression of the workers' rights, has been the [illegible] their [illegible] resulting from the Gompers policy. Our trade unions have been opened to every political crook posing as a "friend" of Labor. These parasites on the working class have then become the source of corruption in the leadership of the unions. Cold cash paid in hand for endorsements as "friends" of Labor, has created almost a regular profession among certain labor officials, of delivering the labor vote. This has, in turn, become the source of industrial corruption, for it is but a step from such political betrayal to industrial betrayal; it is an easy transition from delivering the labor vote according to capitalist wishes, to delivering a strike vote for the same reasons. Capitalist political parties in the trade unions have been the most prolific source of corruption.

Most stultifying of all of the effects of the "nonpartisan" policy of Gompers, has been that upon the mass of the trade union membership.

It has checked the intellectual development of the entire labor movement, and smothered the growth of class consciousness. The whole capitalistic point of view is injected with poisonous effect into the labor movement as the direct result of accepting capitalist parties as the political expression of the workers.

Almost the same social concepts, with their inevitable consequences, are expressed by our labor papers and leaders as by the capitalist press and capitalist officials. The inevitable result is a united front of capitalist press and Government with the labor press and officialdom, against every movement tending to give the workers a clear understanding of their class position in society. These capitalist chains binding the brains of the workers and keeping them in slavery, can only be broken when the workers are organized politically as a class.

Workers Waking Up at Last

The crushing drive of the "open shop" campaign is shaking the workers into some recognition of the facts above cited. The open co-operation of all the capitalist parties in this assault upon Labor with the accompanying armies of gunmen, troops, industrial courts, injunctions, prisons, raids, murders, capitalist financing of the processes of "justice," and the resulting demoralization and weakening of the entire trade union movement has finally cracked the hard shell imposed upon the American movement by the Gompers bureaucracy. A political awakening is taking place.

Undoubtedly one of the big factors in bringing about the new attitude on the part of Labor has been the centralization of power in the capitalist Government which has dramatized and brought into bold relief those facts of class-government which were hitherto obscured in the intricacies of 48 different State governments. In the period following the war the economic problems of the capitalist class have forced it to deal with Labor more and more on a national scale and use the Federal Government for suppression where theretofore [illegible] Labor. The unscrupulous use of the centralized state power by the capitalists has awakened the workers as no other factor has done.

One of the most significant evidences that this is so, is seen in the disintegration of the capitalist party lines. For several years it has become a common thing to see the Republican and Democratic machines unite against candidates of various workers' or farmers' groups. This is now being followed by frank public acknowledgment on the part of prominent and influential members of both, that there is no vital difference between the capitalist parties; the more militant capitalist politicians are urging the amalgamation of their twin parties, because they sense the inevitable coming of the Labor Party into the field, and they fear it.

The old political line-up in America is practically gone, and the clear headed, both among the capitalists and the workers, are announcing the fac.

The Conference for Political Action

The movement for a Labor Party has been favorably received in the ranks of Organized Labor, sweeping thru the unions with particular force in the past year or so. The sixteen railroad unions are committed to the idea, as are the miners, the typographers, the clothing workers, innumerable city central bodies, State Federations, farmers' organizations, and liberal groups all over the country. The movement found a timid expression in the Conference for Progressive Political Action which met in Chicago early in 1922, and which has called a second national conference to be held in December.

The pioneer work in this movement, as in many other things came from the Chicago Federation of Labor. This organization was the initiator of the Farmer-Labor-Party, the first attempt to give expression to the trade unions on the political field. The practical success of the party has been far outstripped by its moral influence which has undoubtedly been a large factor in bringing to a definite expression the movement for working class action on the political field.

The Chicago Conference for political action above mentioned was a distinct disappointment to those who hoped for the immediate formation of an inclusive Labor Party. There were too many feet on the soft-pedal, too much timidity and hesitation, a lack of any clear-cut objective. This spirit of "do-little" was especially evident in the fact that not one thought it advisable to point out the chief obstacle to the formation of a real party of Labor. That obstacle is Gompers. A prime fault of the Conference was that no one raised a voice to point out this fact. The next Conference, with the impetus of a year's development, should get a new spirit into the work. It should positively and definitively commit itself to the formation of a Labor Party, and prepare to fight the reactionary forces which threaten the success of such a move.

What Kind of a Party?

The problem of what kind of a party should or could be created at this time is of vital importance. There are some general requirements which can be stated. The Labor Party must be definitely rooted in the economic needs of the workers, it must be a party of the working class, yet it must be broad and inclusive enough to take in all the various political parties and groupings of Labor. The first is essential to its existence—past history of third parties in American politics has surely demonstrated clearly enough that a miscellaneous collection of people with a grievance is not a basis upon which a permanent party can be founded. The rock of working class interests is the only possible basis for a powerful new party in America. On the other hand it must make every effort to bring into its confines all the existing working-class parties. Not only must there be no exclusion of any group or groups, but there must be a positive effort to unite in common action all the forces of Labor on the political field. A political United Front of Labor against the capitalists is the need. Anything short of this will not meet the historical situation.

Such a united front in the Labor Party means that existing political groupings must be permitted to retain their identity, subject only to the requirements of common action of all groups so united in seizing the political power from the capitalist parties. Such retention of identity by the component groups of the Labor Party is not in the nature of a concession to prejudice, to organization patriotism, or bowing to an insuperbable obstacle. It is a desirable thing that a Labor Party shall not be a homogeneous mass. The conflict of ideas, certain to come from contact with each other by definite groups within such a Party, will be the most positive guarantee against stagnation and sterility. The health of the Labor Party demands that unions, groups, and parties, entering into the federated Labor Party, shall continue their own organization identities [illegible]

The Workers Must Dominate

In order to mobilize all the potential strength of the Labor Party, it is necessary that it make provision for including the exploited small-farming class along with the industrial workers. But the actual workers, being the only class whose interests give them a clear-cut line of action at all times, must dominate the party. The working class is the revolutionary element, it is the element which gives the dynamic energy which alone can create a party capable of coping with capitalism. It must be a Labor Party in fact as well as name.

This means that it must have the backing of the trade unions. The trade unions are the only possible basis for a successful Labor Party. Not alone must such a party have its roots there, but it should be organized on the initiative of the unions. The historic mistake of the Socialist Party in this country, the fact which largely accounts for the decline of that organization, is that it did not recognize this fundamental truth. It thought that it could recruit its strength from the miscellaneous citizenry. But only on the solid rock of the industrially organized masses can a powerful political party be created in America. The power of all Labor Parties in Europe is directly to be measured by the backing given by the trade unions. The only workers' Government, the Soviet Republic, has its roots solidly in the trade unions; when the Labor Party of England takes over power there, the trade unions will be the source of its strength. To "Left" and "Right" parties alike, the trade unions are fundamental.

Class Program Indispensable

In addition to being working-class in membership, the Labor Party program must be working-class in spirit and form. It would be a calamity to attempt, as was done at the Political Conference last spring, to warm over a batch of discarded middle-class phrases and substitute them for a radical and searching analysis of the workers class position in society and a clear-cut solution for their problems.

The supreme task of the December Conference is to form a general Labor Party. Its program, to be of working-class character, should challenge capitalism, and hold up the ideal of a workers' society. This would tend to free the workers' minds from capitalistic methods of thinking, from capitalist concepts, and capitalist prejudices. A program with such a basis would be fit for a party determined to engage in struggle with the powers of capitalism at every point, and substitute in their place the power of the organized workers.

A militant Labor Party must be, essentially, a party of battle. All of those proximate things, "immediate demands," which do not necessarily threaten capitalism itself, must still be set forth as goals to be won by the power of the organized masses, not by compromise and class collaboration. Only in this manner can the Labor Party gather greater and greater strength, and bring closer its inevitable goal of the workers' society. Only in this way can it avoid the corruption and decay which surely comes from collaboration with capitalism.

Bureaucracy Must Be Defeated

Even as in the proposals for amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions, the movement for the Labor Party will have to fight and defeat the reactionary officialdom.

Indeed, not the least value of the Labor Party movement, which is gaining such headway, will be the lining up of the progressive forces, timid though some may be, against the black reactionaries of the type of Gompers and his Crown Prince, Matthew Woll. A good fight for the Labor Party will also help the amalgamation movement, just as the amalgamation movement is going to give power and vigor to the Labor Party itself. The two movements are closely related and mutually assist each other. Gompers' political policy of rewarding his capitalist friends, is one of the props upholding the bureaucratic structure of his machine in the trade unions. Let us join hands in knocking it out from under him.

All Local Leagues, and all members and sympathizers, should immediately throw all their power back of the demand of a Labor Party. Every possible voice should be raised, in the local unions, in the city central bodies, in the district councils, state federations and International Unions. Resolutions should be presented and thoroly discussed. The reasons for a Labor Party should be made clear; the form which it should take should be discussed, the character of its membership and its program should be well debated. The movement for a Labor Party should be shown as related to the movement for the amalgamation of the craft unions,—the one for a United Front of the workers on the political field as the other is on the industrial field. Intelligent political action is as necessary as intelligent industrial action.

Big, strong unions are not enough; the workers must also have a big, strong party.

Let Labor's voice be heard demanding a Labor Party. Our work, as League militants, is to see that the demand is as loud, firm, and definite as possible. We must carry the battle to the reactionaries, and put every one of them on record. We must throw all our strength toward the uniting of Labor's forces, politically and industrially; this means that we must relentlessly fight against all those who block the path of progress. The reactionary officialdom must be made to understand that the day of their policies is gone; they must fall in line or be swept aside by the march of history. We must remove the calamitous disgrace of our present status, the only great labor movement of the world without its own political party.

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THE WORKER and a number of progressive and radical foreign language papers have arranged subscription Club Offers which will be of great advantage to workers who read these languages.

The advantage is set forth in the reduced subscription price quoted below. Additional language papers are joining THE WORKER in this Club Offer. Workers reading these languages are urged to take advantage of this Club Offer and thus save considerable on the regular subscription price of each paper.

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The F. S. R. Army of 50,000 AND THE R. A. I. C.

There are 50,000 in the FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA (FSR) army. There are tens of thousands more friends of Soviet Russia than this. But to now we have found 50,000 comrades and sympathizers who will, if given a duty, make a conscientious attempt to perform it.

The RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION (RAIC), organized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has issued an invitation to the FSR to assist it in a campaign to sell a million dollars' worth of stock, the proceeds from such sales to be used to aid in the regeneration of Russia.

Not only has the RAIC invited the FSR, but the RAIC invites every labor union, all workers' organizations to assist in the economic reconstruction of the first Workers' Republic.

The FSR has accepted this invitation. It has accepted it in the name of our 50,000 FSR army.

And now, let us "SUPPOSE" for a single minute. Suppose every member of the FSR army would buy a share of RAIC stock at $10. Suppose in addition every member of the FSR army would obligate himself to sell a share of RAIC stock. And suppose also that every member of the FSR army who is also a member of a labor union, would induce his union to buy a BLOCK OF STOCK out of the money in the union treasury.

Figure it up for yourself, friends. It looks to us as if the RAIC would have to increase its capital stock to TWO MILLION in order to get us all in, if what we "SUPPOSE" would be what we would DO.

We know that there are among us a few with a bit of a balance in the bank. And then we also have the poor, the poorer and the poorest in our 50,000 army. But there's a way for everyone to buy a share. Those who can afford to buy several shares of RAIC stock should do that. Those who can buy one share and remit the full $10 at once, should do that. Those who cannot do this can remit one dollar and pay the balance in instalments.

AND EVERYONE IN THE ARMY CAN SELL A SHARE. AND EVERY UNION MAN IN THE ARMY CAN ARISE AT THE NEXT MEETING OF HIS UNION AND SAY: "I MAKE THE FOLLOWING MOTION—THAT THIS UNION PURCHASE A BLOCK OF STOCK IN THE RAIC."

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Big Educational Drive in Bronx, Nov. 25--26th, Many Volunteers Wanted

All comrades and sympathizers who want to have a wide-awake class conscious, working class in The Bronx should come up Saturday and Sunday Nov. 25th and 26th, to help distribute free copies of The Worker and folders announcing the lectures in the Workers' Hall. Drive will continue on Dec. 2nd and 3rd.

No collections, no talking, just handing out this educational propaganda from house-to-house. Everybody ought to get on the job. The Workers' Hall must become the educational centre of The Bronx. Lectures are being arranged in English, Jewish and Russian. They must be advertised. Not only thru the press, but better still the lecture announcements will be put in the hands of as many workers as we can reach. Here is the way: House-To-House Campaign. Don't forget, Nov. 25th and 26th. Come up and do your bit. Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road.

O Yes! Dec. 3rd. The English Branch of The Bronx and The Young Workers League start their lecture series with Comrade Salvatore Iarossi, Organizer, Italian Workers Federation, speaking on "The Fascisti and The Italian Situation."

Successful Anniversary Meetings in New England

A series of very successful meetings were held in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut during the past two weeks. Most of the meetings were celebrations of the Fifth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

Comrade H. M. Wicks spoke at most of the meetings and concluded the tour last Sunday in Boston and vicinity. In the afternoon he spoke to a crowded house in Paine Memorial Hall in Boston and in the evening in Norwood, a Boston suburb. The Boston meeting was one of the best meetings that has been held in that city since the old days of 1919, when mass meetings drew thousands of people. From all indications the movement in that part of the country is definitely on the up-grade.

In Worcester and Springfield there were also good celebrations. A meeting was held in the heart of the district where the textile strike occurred last Spring and Summer and where a labor ticket was in the field. The Providence comrades are the moving factor in this movement and have the confidence of the masses of workers there.

Comrade J. Louis Engdahl addressed a meeting in Stamford, Conn., Friday evening and was the principal speaker at a large and enthusiastic celebration in Hartford, Sunday afternoon. Bruce Rogers also spoke at a large anniversary celebration held at Bridgeport, Conn., Sunday afternoon. Rogers spoke Saturday night at Brooklyn, New York.

Comrade Thomas J. O'Flaherty is in the district for a few dates and good meetings are anticipated by the comrades who are enthusiastic over the upward trend of the movement in their section of the country.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

THE 1922 ELECTIONS!

Finance Capital Rebukes Harding Administration for Policy of Isolation—Labor Fakirs' Class Policy Is Vindicated—Socialist-Farmer-Labor Debacle—Johnson, Borah and Other "Radicals" Enemies of Labor—A Forecast of the Future

By H. M. WICKS

The election of Nov. 7 is so bewildering to the editors of both the avowed capitalist and alleged Socialist press that volumes of contradictory explanations for the rebuke to the Harding administration have been published, and not anywhere has there appeared anything approaching a correct estimation of the situation.

The New York Call, organ of the "Socialist" Party, suffers from the same mental incapacity to understand the powerful economic forces at work in the major parties of the nation as do the World and the Times.

Just as Cassidy, the candidate of the Socialist Party for governor of New York State, persisted in blandly informing his audiences that there was no difference between the two old parties before the election, the Call today repeats the inanity.

Everyone in the revolutionary movement who can claim to be a Marxian understands that the Republican Party, since its inception in the middle of the last century, has represented the interests of the manufacturing capitalists and that the Democratic Party since 1912 has been the party of the finance capitalists.

The traditional policy of the Republican Party has been to protect the interests of the manufacturers in the United States against foreign competition by raising tariff walls. This policy of the Republican Party, from 1856 until 1896, was based upon the protection of the "infant industries" of the nation. The past year has seen a recrudescense of the tariff activities of the Republican Party, but not for the purpose of protecting infant industries. Those industries have grown to giant size. The new tariff is to shut out the cheap goods that are being produced by the oppressed workers in the vanquished countries; it is to protect the manufacturing capitalists of the United States and is an effort to isolate this nation from the rest of the world. An impossible thing from the Marxian viewpoint

The Two Imperialisms

Opposed to the Republican policy of isolation in the interest of the manufacturing capitalists is the Democratic policy of entering into relations with other nations of the world for the purpose of defending the interests of the American bankers in the arena of World Imperialism.

Certain muddleheads may interpose an objection to our contention and declare that it was the Republican Party, under McKinley in 1898 that waged the imperialist struggle against Spain, thereby initiating the stage of American Imperialism. In reply to such an argument we contend that there have been many changes since 1898 and that the Imperialism of today is not the Imperialism that annexed Cuba and the Philippines. The Imperialism originating in the Spanish-American War was what is known as colonial imperialism, a thing quite compatible with the interests of industrial capitalists, as is proved in this case by the fact that the war was fought in the interests of the Havemeyer Sugar Trust and the American Tobacco Trust. The Imperialism of to-day is usurious imperialism, or the Imperialism of finance capital. It is this latter type of Imperialism that the Democratic Party of Woodrow Wilson and his successors represent, while the Republican Party remains the representative of the industrial capitalists

The Republican Party came into power in 1921 on the wave of reaction against the Wilsonian policy of entering the League of Nations. The intellectual weapons used by the Republican Party during its Presidential campaign were created by such representatives of the small manufacturer as Senators Johnson of California, La Follette of Wisconsin and Borah of Idaho.

Elbert H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation, selected Harding as the candidate on the industrial capitalists' ticket. Gary wanted to keep American capital within the confines of this country and its possessions as he knew full well that the export of enormous sums of capital to a foreign country will develop that country, but that it also has a tendency to cause industrial stagnation in the exporting country.

The House of Morgan, on the other hand, which controlled the Wilson administration and the Democratic Party, altho heavily interested in United States Steel, has far greater interests involved in World Imperialism. It can afford to force curtailment of production in American industries, but it cannot afford to risk its enormous loans to the Allies and its other European and Asiatic investments.

The Revolt Against Harding

The recent election was a distinct gain for the finance capitalists of the United States. Usually about four years pass before the reaction from a new governmental policy develops but the total failure of the government and of capitalism to stabilize conditions caused a wave of resentment to sweep the country.

The farmers felt they were being victimized because of the fall in prices of their produce and the high cost of the commodities they purchased. The new tariff was used to create the idea among the farmers that they had been legislated against. The vicious policy of the Harding administration against organized labor also caused repudiation of the administration. The International bankers and their candidates on the Democratic ticket took full advantage of the situation, with the result that in some of the principal strongholds of Republicanism heretofore, the administration forces were swept from power under a veritable avalanche of votes.

This election is by no means evidence of the fact that the voters have endorsed the policies of the Democratic Party in place of the Republican Party. It is simply a revolt against the party in power, a revolt inspired by widespread discontent among great masses of the population. It is the same condition that created the seven million majority for Harding in 1920. The voters are neither convinced Republicans nor convinced Democrats; and the working class least of all. The workers, dominated as yet by capitalist ideology, swing from one old party to the other in order to express their disapproval of the conditions of life imposed upon them.

Another factor in the election was the booze question. Large strata of the population have become disgusted with the hypocritical meddling of a gang of self-appointed ecclesiastical moral censors with the result that in most states candidates who opposed the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution easily defeated their less courageous opponents.

Newberryism

Newberryism also plagued the Republican Party, and the bankers of Wall Street, backing the Democratic candidates, lost no opportunity to lambast the Republican majority that seated the Michigan political crook after he had been convicted of buying an election.

So desperate was the plight of the administration that the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, was sent on a speaking tour in a futile effort to whitewash Newberry and his own actions in defending the Michigan senator who occupied a seat at Washington that cost him $250,000.

Certain elements of the population of these enlightened United States object to the deliberate spending of $250,000 in one state to buy votes and even tho President Harding intervened to save Newberry from expulsion from the Senate and altho Mr. Hughes, at the behest of Harding, prepared an elaborate defense of Newberry that enabled him to retain his seat, the voters of the state of Michigan defeated the Republican candidate on this very question and no other

Buying votes outright is an obsolete practice in most parts of the country, being reserved almost entirely to New York, Chicago, Buffalo, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco and one or two other machine-controlled places. But the buying is handled by a political machine of wide ramifications making it difficult to trace, while Newberry used his personal wealth in his anxiety to achieve a place at the Old Men's Home in Washington

The "Radicals"

In addition to Democrats replacing many Republicans there is also a group of so-called radicals elected on the Republican ticket. These men are the representatives of the petty business interests, that haven't enough vitality to create a party of their own so they support the "insurgents" of the Republican Party. Great rejoicing rises from the camp of the supporters of the farm bloc and a number of labor leaders also acclaim the election a victory for their policy because of the victory of this insurgent bloc

La Follette of Wisconsin is most conspicuous among this group and he is merely a minion of the petty shopkeepers and small farmers of his state and a clever politician who knows how to keep a personal machine intact that will ensure his reelection. He was a pacifist during the war because of his large constituency of German sympathisers, and he is unalterably opposed to any person or organization that recognizes the fact that a class struggle exists. Senator Borah of Idaho is a notorious labor-hater who would use any methods to crush organized labor. Hiram Johnson of California is one of the most bitter enemies of labor that ever sought public office, a self-seeking demagogue and the one individual more than any other who is responsible for Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings remaining in San Quentin penitentiary in California, after it is known to all the world that they are innocent and were convicted on perjured testimony. Governor Stephens, who succeeded Johnson as governor of California, is a satellite of the insurgent senator and would have pardoned Mooney at a word from Johnson. Not less contemptible was the attitude of Johnson toward the imprisonment of Ford and Suhr, also victims of California frame-ups, who have spent nearly ten years behind prison bars in that state for their service to the working class. These enemies of labor are described by the Socialist Daily Call as "men of independent outlook and social vision." But then not much can be expected of the Socialist Party in New York, considering the fact that the So- [illegible] Party in New York [illegible] Farmer-Labor Party of New York, formed the American Labor Party, and nominated their candidates for office. Tuesday's election resulted in the combined forces of the Socialists and Farmer-Laborites polling a much smaller vote than had been previously polled by the Socialist Party alone.

The American Labor Party of the State of New York was not in a position to reach the masses of the working class, but those that it did reach did not support it for the simple reason that there was no difference between the campaign of the Socialists and that of the Democrats. Cassidy, the Socialist candidate, devoted his time to alternately berating Smith, the Democratic nominee, and Miller, the Republican incumbent, and at the same time declaring that the Socialist Party was not contemplating revolutionary measures in case it won the election. He told his audiences that there was no difference between the two old parties and the voters evidently thought he should have also included the Socialist Party in that category.

The Socialist Party is a "stinking carrion" that is being dragged around by its creators, Hillquit, Oneal, Berger & Co., and they are becoming weary of their burden and are desperately hoping that some sort of party — any party — will be created that will enable them to gracefully dispose of the carcass. Apparently no one wants the thing and they haven't the decency to bury it, so they keep insisting that it is alive despite its obvious decay

The Leaders of Labor

Gompers and his reactionary crew in control of the American Federation of Labor machine have issued statements to the effect that the elections are a vindication of the old policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." This flunkey of capitalist imperialism, who used the Federation as an auxiliary to the House of Morgan, which was the United States government, during the war, gloats over the Democratic victories and calls them a triumph for labor conveniently ignoring the action of Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic administration in relation to the threatened mine strike of 1920 and the wholesale murders of workingmen, women and children in hundreds of strikes under the Wilson regime

The Gompers policy has been of tremendous value to the old party politicians and has prevented the organization of a labor party for at least two decades. He professes to be neutral as between the Republican and Democratic Parties, but in most cases he defends the Democratic Party. In New York State labor supported A. Smith and the Tammany Democratic ticket and the "labor leaders" made speeches and devoted columns of space in the labor press in praise of this aggregation of political highwaymen, in spite of the fact that Smith, as governor of New York, used the state constabulary, an aggregation of murderous cossacks, to slaughter men in the great steel strike in Lackawanna in 1919.

Some of the European reactionaries in the labor movement evade the political struggle of labor by pleading that they are neutral as between the Communist parties and capitalist parties, but the Gompers policy is even worse than that of the traitors to labor on the other side of the ocean. He openly expresses his hatred of independent political action on the part of labor and indulges in the vilest vituperation against Communists

The Chicago Conference

Some of the leaders who participated in the farcical conference for political action held in Chicago last February are also declaring that this election is a vindication of the Gompers policy. Labor can expect a number of leaders to appear at the coming December conference and endeavor to block the organization of a labor party by reaffirming the vicious policy adopted in February.

A number of International Unions, State Labor organizatons and Central Labor bodies are attending the conference for the purpose of trying to launch a labor party, based upon class lines. Such a proposition will be hotly contested by such reactionaries as Johnston of the machinists union, whose actions last February led many to believe he was simply baiting those members of organised labor who favored independent political action in order to betray them into following the Gompers policy.

The International Typographical Union is on record in favor of the establishment of a labor party at the December conference and its officers and delegates are bound by the mandate of the Atlantic City Convention to fight for the launching of such a party, irrespective of the attitude of other delegates.

In order to prepare for future struggles on the political field every militant in the labor movement should use his greatest efforts to force the immediate creation of a genuine labor party, and not the miserable caricature that evolved from the Socialist-Farmer-Labor Conference in New York City.

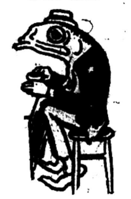
Must Eliminate Adventurers

The labor party must be organized by the labor unions and such odious political adventurers as Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger and the rest of the misleaders of labor in the Socialist Party must be eliminated. A party that burdens itself with these discredited creatures assumes a tremendous handicap to start with and the party of labor cannot afford to assume responsibility before the organized workers of this country for the long record of criminal betrayal by the Socialist Party.

Militants everywhere should strive to create sentiment for such a party and should take a leading part in formulating its policies so that a mass party of labor can be created. At the same time it is imperative that a party based upon the principles of the proletarian revolution be maintained and strengthened for the purpose of convincing the mass of workers that will be attracted to such a mass party that the solution for the ills of the present day lies along the path of revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG



The Poor Fish Says:

Reforming the world has been tried thousands of times without success.

Join the Workers Party

Representatives of the Workers Party are sitting today as fraternal delegates to the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International. They are bringing to this great gathering of the militant spokesmen of labor the world over reports on the activities of enlightened labor in this country, functioning thru the Workers Party, still in its birth year.

These are days of international action, both on the part of the workers and their exploiters, and the Workers Party draws its inspiration from and gives its adherence to the Communist International, the driving force behind the developing world social revolution.

Our delegates will return to us. Reports will be made to the party membership on the discussions and actions of the Communist International with which every member must become acquainted.

The workers of the United States will play an increasingly important part in the international struggle. To function effectively they must not only work thru their labor unions, for unity in the economic struggle, but they must develop power politically thru the Workers Party, the militant vanguard in the workers' fight for power

Workers' organizations that have hitherto held aloof from direct contact with the Workers Party are now joining following referendums of their memberships. We have reported lately the affiliation with the party of the Scandinavian and Czecho-Slovak federations, formerly affiliated with the Socialist Party.

Large masses of the English-speaking workers must be reached and brought into the Workers Party during the next few months. Many will come in voluntarily. Others will be reached thru campaigns of education and organization. Let everyone join this effort. We must build a powerful party before the hour comes for the gathering of the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International next year. You must help! You can always get any information you want from the National Office, Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Union Men and All Workers,
ATTENTION!

The Brownsville Section of the Workers Party invites delegates of labor unions and all progressive union men and women to attend a mass meeting of workers to be held at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman St., Tuesday, December 5, at 8 P. M. Speakers will be present who will discuss the question of a LABOR PARTY in the United States. All workers are invited. Admission is free. Come and discuss with other workers the question of the formation of a party of labor, the most pressing political labor question at this time.

United Polish Federation Establishes Bureau in National Office

The consolidation of the Polish Federation of the Workers Party with the Alliance of the Polish Workers has been completed. By action of the former Bureau of the Workers Party the federation headquarters have been moved to New York and the secretary of the Federation Comrade W. Kulcsycki will have offices in the National Headquarters. Through this consolidation some seven hundred new members come into the Workers Party.

All communications in regard to the work of the Polish Federation should be addressed to W. Kulcsycki Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City

Have You Read These Books?

Have you read the latest book on Russia, "Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia," by [illegible] A. A. Heller, [illegible] Russia's new economic policies [illegible] and which is puzzling capitalist governments the world over? Have you [illegible] "Dictatorship vs. Democracy," Trotsky's masterpiece of polemic writing? Have you read Foster's new [illegible] pamphlet, "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement"? These are the three newest products of the revolutionary movement in this country. You should read them, you should know what's between the covers of these three books.

You should know what's between the covers of each of the books which are listed below, which THE WORKER is offering as premiums to its readers and to new subscribers. Read over the list, send in your renewal or new subscription, tell us which book you wish, enclose the price indicated—we will do the rest.

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(Saturday and Sunday)
at WORKERS HALL
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BRONX SECTION, WORKERS PARTY AND YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE.

(Drive continued on December 2nd and 3rd.)

Branch 3, Young Workers League, Announces Educational Program

The Downtown English Branch of the Young Workers League, one of the most active branches in the city, has arranged an elaborate educational program for the coming season.

A class in the "ABC of Communism" will begin Sunday, Nov. 19, and will be held thereafter every Sunday at 7:00 P. M. Comrade Ray Ragozin, one of the best liked of our Communist teachers, will be the instructor.

The branch meets every Sunday evening, 47 Chrystie St. Fine programs have already been arranged for the coming meetings. At the meeting of Nov. 19, there will be a reading and a discussion on "The Social Significance of the Works of Bernard Shaw."

At the meeting of Nov. 26, Mrs. C. S. Ware, who has recently returned from Russia, where she worked with the American Agricultural Unit, will deliver a talk on "Present conditions in Soviet Russia."

For succeeding meetings, prominent speakers have been obtained. Watch the "WORKER" for further announcements. Admission to all classes and lectures are free.

"SOVIET RUSSIA"
Official Organ Of
Friends of Soviet Russia

A magazine issued twice a month presenting the latest most reliable and significant news regarding the Russian Soviet Republic and its struggle for the self-determination "guarantee" proclaimed at Versailles

Among the features of the [illegible] issue, now ready, highly illustrated, will be the following:

"The Middle Classes in the Russian Revolution" by Victor Serge.

"Women in Soviet Russia", a social study of absorbing interest by [illegible] M. Wells.

"Art Treasures under the Soviets" by Francis Boucher.

An Interview With Isadora Duncan.

Russian News in brief.

Book Reviews and many other interesting things.

Can you as a reader of "THE WORKER" afford to be without this magazine?

Subscription Rates:

[illegible]

While the [illegible] wiped out [illegible] Allied victory [illegible] to them, we have the German workers still kneeling in [illegible] fashion before the Versailles peace.

German labor is being kicked in the face by its own exploiters as well as by foreign capitalist governments because it did not [illegible] footsteps of Russian labor, on Nov. 9, 1918, when the [illegible] from his throne.

Against the slogan of Stinnes, the German Rockefeller, of [illegible] production," the "United Socialists" make their feeble ap[illegible] the Versailles Peace and its fake provision for a universal [illegible] hour day. Instead of repudiating all reparations, the results [illegible] not brought on by the working class, the "United So[illegible]" beg their own capitalist, Stinnes, to live up to a forgotten [illegible] of the Versailles Peace.

The fourth anniversary of the German Republic was thus a [illegible] and forgotten thing because capitalism still rules in Ger[illegible] with the support and connivance of the "United Socialists."

[illegible] Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, [illegible] making his report to the Fourth World Congress now in ses[illegible] at Moscow, declared that the possibilities for the spread of [illegible] world social revolution seemed most hopeful in Germany.

Let us hope that Zinoviev's prophecy of working class victory in Germany may soon be fulfilled. Surely the nationalist spirit that inspires the Turkish workers and peasants to daring against the Paris Allies is not stronger than the class-consciousness of the oppressed wage slaves that wiped out Kaiserism but did not prove strong enough to press forward, four years ago, to complete victory. Let the German workers show, however, and that soon, how much they have learned during these four years. Their first step will be a complete repudiation of, not an appeal to the Peace of Versailles.

Postpone Lausanne Conference

Altho the British and French diplomats have been intensely anxious to get the Turkish representatives into a conference room at Lausanne, Switzerland, it developed that their own differences were so great that the "peace talk" had to be postponed a week, from the 13th to the 20th.

In the meantime Great Britain is making much of her magnanimity toward Angora rule in Turkey, referred to by the Associated Press correspondent as "exhaustless patience and moderation."

Mind you, this patience manifests itself in such altruistic acts as the withdrawal of British censorship over the Turkish press, and the abolition of Allied supervision over Turkish telegraph lines. How grateful the Turks should be for this moderating British tyranny. But the Turks are not thankful. They continue to press their claims that the British generals and their armies clear out of Turkish territory. These Turkish workers and peasants, who recently ordered the Sultan into the discard, are getting almost as objectionable as the Russian bolsheviks.

These Turks are even making the startling demand upon foreign lands that they withdraw their missions, that if they desire to send anyone to the Near East that they send technical experts and not religious propagandists. Perhaps the Turks have come to the conclusion that Standard Oil domination of the Near East goes hand in hand with capitalist support of hordes of missionaries poured into the country to save the souls of the Turks for the next world, while they are being robbed of their earthly possessions in this life.

The imperialist rivalry that caused France for a time to support the Turks, and the British to aid Greece may be ironed out during the coming week, resulting in a united imperialist front against Turkey. Then again they may not. In any event the salvation of the Turkish peasants and workers lies in but one direction, an aggressive advance against all their capitalist oppressors, both within and without, and this will no doubt be the position of their representatives when the Lausanne Conference finally gets under way.

Powder Trust Profits

The American Powder Trust, the E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co., that supplied "more than one-half of the powder used by the allies" during the world war to blow Germans, Hungarians, Austrians, Bulgarians and Turks into eternity, hasn't had its profits interfered with by Harding's Washington Conference for the limitation of armaments.

Following in the footsteps of the Standard Oil Trust, the Powder Octopus has declared a 50 per cent stock dividend in the form of 200,000 shares of a par value of $100 each.

Under the promise of this increased ability to exploit labor in the powder industry, the price of du Pont shares on the New York Stock Exchange have gone up in price during the last six months from $115 to $169.25 per share. This is a gift of more than $50 on each share to stockholders in du Pont powder.

The Powder Trust has been built up out of 100 different corporations thru acquisition of their capital stocks. Its great profits have enabled it to expand into other fields of exploitation thru the du Pont American Industries Co., that is the largest individual stockholder in the General Motors Corporation, the automobile trust, that was also well fed by the war.

The Powder Trust slaves in Delaware have not only been content to turn out these huge profits for their masters, but they have also kept T. Coleman du Pont, the powder senator, in the United States senate, commonly known as "The Millionaire's Club."

It is even proudly announced that 3,342 employes of this corporation hold stock in it, probably a share or two each. This small holding has no significance in directing the affairs of the industry.

When these facts are considered one begins to realize the great work of education and organization that must be carried on to build up a real labor movement in this country. Centralization of power in the hands of great capitalists in the oil and powder industries must and will develop powerful and centralized organizations of the workers.

Capitalism in the powder industry, as in all other industries, is going thru that evolutionary development that will finally blow itself out of existence.

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By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

"Political Expediency"

We are told that most of the "leaders" of the farmers and workers, who again espoused the cause of "nonpartisanship" this year, operated thru the republican and democratic parties purely as a "matter of expediency."

It was an affair of "expediency" that resulted in Berger, the "Socialist," trading with LaFollette, the republican in Wisconsin. We might inject that while both LaFollette and Berger were elected, the "Socialist" candidate in the second Milwaukee district was defeated by a "LaFollette Republican."

It was "political expediency" that caused Socialist traitors thruout the world to favor the war when it broke in 1914, that resulted in their voting war credits, that inveigled them into the war cabinets to preserve "civil peace" so that the slaughter might continue without internal disruption, that is even now causing them to retreat before the onslaughts of capitalism's offensive in order to maintain their sacred "legalistic" existence, clothed with a comfortable respectability.

"Political expediency" is the alibi of a traitor. It is a sweet sounding phrase that is none the less poisonous in rendering labor powerless in the historical struggle for its own emancipation. The champion of "political expediency" is the servant of the capitalist class.

It was because it refused to admit the slaves of "political expediency" to its ranks, that the Communist International won the lasting hatred and enmity of Socialism's renegades everywhere.

The Communist movement will continue to fight as it has fought against any effort to use "political expediency" to chloroform effective working class action. Workers! Watch the "leader" who talks about "political expediency."

* * *

Third Party or Labor Party

Politicians who claim to speak for "labor," and who fail to utilize their consciences in making their claims, are busy studying the results of the elections, Nov. 7.

They are adepts at claiming "victories," here, there and everywhere, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Montana, Oklahoma, Nebraska, with a few other states and localities thrown in.

The American working class is endowed with a host of political soothsayers. Gompers, labor's chief political mendicant, as usual, claims a victory for his "reward and punish" beggary. Johnston, head of the machinists, who traveled fast from the Socialist Party, thru the Farmer-Labor Party, to placing last February's Chicago Political Conference as a tail to Gompers' political kite, is also claiming "victory" in the form of the election of two "progressive Democrats" in place of Pomerene and Hitchcock. The railroad brotherhoods play a lone game to protect their own special interests. The Nonpartisan Leaguers, living up to their name, play the game from every angle, from an endorsement of La Follette in Wisconsin, running candidates of their own in the old-party primaries, both or either, to open espousal of the cause of the Farmer-Labor Party, as in Minnesota. It is in the midst of this chaos that the Farmer-Labor and the Socialist Parties have been lost, even as children in the wilderness.

Something will come out of this confusion. This something must be a Labor Party, uniting all the political forces of labor on a class program, and not a "Third Party" that can only be a "Liberal Party," standing on some vacillating platform espousing a doddering labor liberalism, a duplicate of British Lloyd George liberalism. Gompers and Johnston and the Brotherhood chiefs will be for such a "Third Party" before they will be for a Labor Party. More than that, we believe they would espouse the organization of a "Third Party" of fugitives from the old parties and labor reactionaries, to defeat a real working-class Labor Party.

There is, therefore, a bitter and hard struggle ahead to achieve independent political action on the part of America's workers. We believe there are increasing masses of workers who feel the necessity for organization of labor's forces along these lines. The immediate task, therefore, becomes one of intensive effort to bring the sentiment of these masses to bear upon Labor's Political Conference to be held in Chicago, starting Dec. 11.

The "Third Party" idea must be crushed in the ranks of America's working class. The fight for a class Labor Party must win.

* * *

The Balance of Power

It isn't an accident that results in the New York World (Democrat) and the New York Call (Socialist), displaying similar headlines on the second "morning after" the recent elections.

The World says: "Radicals Capture Balance of Power in New Congress," while the Call claims: "Insurgents to Hold Whip Hand in New Congress," which, first of all, would indicate that the Pulitzer World brand of "democracy" isn't much different than that espoused by the Ervin editorship of The Call.

It is this same editorship that stands aghast at the Communist slogan of "All Power to the Workers" and bewails the creation of a Proletarian Dictatorship to break and destroy all capitalist resistance.

Both the World and the Call build their theories on the assumption that a half dozen "radicals" in the Senate or the House of Representatives in the national Congress at Washington will hold the balance of power between the Republican and Democratic parties.

This after The Call went thru the campaign under the pretense that there was no difference between Republicans and Democrats, except in Wisconsin and a few other places, while we were doubly assured of this fact by such bulwarks of reaction as Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University and apostle of the Civic Federation, and Frank Munsey, millionaire publisher and steel trust stockholder.

But the real test comes in the roll calls in Congress that show that Republicans and Democrats are never divided by party lines. The old-party representatives merely divide according to the economic interests they represent, best seen in the vote on the tariff. There is no difference between the Lodge who speaks for a high tariff to protect New England textile profiteers, or a Hiram Johnson who pleads for protection for the California fruit trust.

The Communist movement alone develops the demand for an unrelenting struggle between the workers and their exploiters.

While the reformist "Socialist" and the befuddled laborite raise the chimerical "balance of power" idea, seeking to delude the workers into believing that they have won something by electing some individual, who is "radical" before the election, the Communist urges class unity politically on the part of the workers. In taking this stand **the Workers Party alone holds up the standard for effective working-class political action that recognizes no balance of power, that struggles today, and every day, until complete victory is achieved, for all power for the workers.**

Every member of the next Congress is definitely committed against the workers' struggle for power, not excepting the "Socialist," Victor L. Berger, who is so much in love with the "balance of power" that keeps capitalism enthroned in Germany, that he loses no opportunity to attack the rule of the workers and peasants in Soviet Russia.

If the Political Conference to be held in Chicago, in December, would make progress for American labor, then it must place its heel upon the neck of the "balance of power" idea.

[illegible] making a budget [illegible] from running an automobile [illegible] He hated [illegible] pianolas and [illegible] that could not afford them.

There are four planks to Mr. Rockefeller's creed. They constitute the fundamentals of good citizenship. Here they are:

1. Work.
2. Practice economy and thrift.
3. Show respect for authority and law.
4. Show reverence for things that are sacred.

Eight hours a day is a "normal working day" and should be practiced by everyone, though six hours is out of the question, and is to be avoided as a thing that is childish and puerile.

As an illustration of economy and thrift he describes his father advising his workmen to use thirty-eight drops of solder to seal a can of oil, instead of thirty-nine, thereby saving $50,000 a year. He gave the entire credit for the saving to his father, ignoring the fact that the ingenuity of the workmen had something to do with the saving.

But as to work, and the practice of those other capitalist virtues, thrift and frugality, we would not have chosen Mr. Rockefeller as an authority upon them. There has never been a moment in his life that he was compelled to work to earn his living. The unpaid labor of countless hundreds of thousands of wage-slaves has made it possible for John D., Jr., and the balance of his parasitic family to live in idleness and intone solemn platitudes to Sunday School classes, knowing full well that his stupid utterances would be published by the army of pen prostitutes who furnish the alleged news for the capitalist press.

Respect for authority and law is also a virtue that the ruling class likes to impress upon the minds of the workers. John D., Jr., has such profound respect for law and order that whenever it does not suit him he simply buys a part of the state government and it does as he orders. His profound respect for constituted authority was shown in Ludlow, Colo., on April 20, 1914, when his bought and paid for thugs and gun-men in the uniforms of the Colorado State Militia burned alive eleven children and two women for the crime of having working people as their husbands and fathers.

This hideous, blood-streaked, psalm-singing, Sunday-school teaching, baby-burning apostle of wage-slavery also adds that we should have reverence for things sacred and holy.

Since his assassination of women and children at Ludlow is proof of the fact that he does not hold sacred the lives of innocent children; since wholesale murder is one of the methods used by this paragon of capitalist virtue to squeeze dividends out of the working class, the only logical conclusion to be drawn is that the one thing held sacred by him and his kind is the one god that is worshipped by all his class, the national god of the United States, of England, of France, of Japan and every other capitalist nation—the Great God Capital.

He wants us to show respect for authority and law—so long as it is his law. We are good citizens so long as we offer incantations to the things that are sacred and holy to him.

That is his code—the code of capitalism.

Opposed to this is the revolutionary concept of the Communist who holds in contempt all the laws of Rockefeller and his class; that profanes all that he holds sacred, but that will eventually force him to give a living example of the first principle of the creed he so glibly espouses—WORK— or starve.

The Price of Your "WORKER"

The subscription price of THE WORKER is five cents per copy, $2 per year. We would like our readers to consider that fact for just a few moments.

We feel that there isn't a single reader of THE WORKER who does not realize that his paper is worth many times that price.

The contents of one issue of the paper are fully equal in importance and value to what is to be found in the best of workers' pamphlets sold for 25 cents a copy, and compares well in value with many pamphlets offered at 50 cents.

Every week THE WORKER comes with its message from the pens of the best writers and illustrations from the most able artists in the world Communist movement. It reproduces the best things written by Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Radek, Tchitcherin, Kamenev, in Soviet Russia, as well as the interesting contributions of Communists of other lands.

Every development of the working class struggle in the United States is faithfully reported and interpreted from the militant standpoint. The labor movement in this country has produced no better writers than Foster, Browder, Dunne, Wicks, Minor, Olgin, Amter, Kruse, Lore, Lovestone and a host of others.

Our task is to impress upon hundreds of thousands of intellectually-hungry working men and women the real value of THE WORKER. Once persuaded that our paper is the inspiration and the guide they need in their daily struggles, they will become our loyal adherents.

But this missionary work must be carried on by those already numbered in our circle of readers. You must help! You will help! To make your task easier THE WORKER is offering an especially attractive proposition that will be found on Page Five. Look for it! Help put it across!

Purifying the Judges

The judges of the plutocratic court system in this country are going to be purified under the direction of the American Bar Association, the one big capitalist lawyers' union. The aim is toward more respectability. Chief Justice William Howard Taft, nicknamed "Bill the Fat," head of the U. S. Supreme Court, is leading this drive to remove the judiciary still further from the contaminating influences of the masses.

An improvised code of ethics is to be drawn up. No judge is to be allowed to do anything foolish, to wit: suspending a sentence on a man if the man would mow his lawn, ordering a child to be publicly spanked before him, sentencing a man to sleep in the stable with his horses, etc., etc., great judicial crimes actually cited on the first page of the New York Times, Nov. 14.

Taft may stop children from being spanked in public but his recent decision continues to drive new millions of children into the factories to have their lives there crushed out of them by enslaving toil.

Taft may stop courts sending men to sleep with horses but these same courts show no intention of weakening their drive against thinking workers everywhere, filling the prisons with them, both thru federal and state prosecutions.

Labor will not forget the crimes of Judge Wilkerson and Attorney General Daugherty because some loony judge is prevented from sentencing some victim to mow his lawn.

Taft's campaign to purify capitalist justice should be the last step needed to wreck the faith of the entire working class in the capitalist judicial system. For that reason we wish this bloated capitalist clown all success.

Gompers' outfit in control of the New York State Federation of Labor is congratulating itself over the election of the Tammany democrat, "Al" Smith, as governor. It was none other than the "Socialist," Morris Hillquit, who, when leaving for Europe last summer, gave it as his opinion that Smith was a "good man." Are we to understand that the police club has been sheathed in New York State. We are willing to wait for the next strike to decide, to prove that Smith is anti-labor.

Jean Longuet is here telling us about the "peoples" of the nations. The labor politicians are telling us all about the poor "voters." We wonder if they have ever heard that there is an element in society known as the "workers," constituting the working class. "Peoples" and "voters" are delusive terms used by traitors and renegades.

[illegible]

"PRIMITIVE COMMUNI

A primitive communist c[illegible] of families is to be establi[illegible] Fort William, Ont., according [illegible] Federated Press Dispatch, w[illegible] adds that "The members are to [illegible] all their resources and mak[illegible] equal division of the product."

The naivete of the correspon[illegible] is amusing to one who has even [illegible] slightest understanding of the [illegible] velopment of human society. [illegible] man beings cannot arbitrarily [illegible] back to primitive communism [illegible] the simple reason that they [illegible] not destroy the achievements of [illegible] ages upon ages that have pass[illegible] since that was the dominant syst[illegible] of production.

Many fraudulent efforts have be[illegible] made that were labelled Communi[illegible] but for the most part have be[illegible] communities of religious fanatics [illegible] money-making schemes like the Ru[illegible] kin colony or Job Harriman's [illegible] venture in high finance when [illegible] launched the Llano Del Rano [illegible] California and separated some lov[illegible] able but gullible "comrades" from their hard-earned coin by promisi[illegible] them an easy road to escape the di[illegible] advantages of capitalism.

The only Communism that can exist to-day in civilized nations is that Communism that will be erected upon the ruins of capitalism.

* * *

The Freedom of the Freeman

Apropos of William Morris and John Ruskin, Mr. Van Wyck Brooks argues fervidly for a single tax in his column in the Freeman, of Nov. 8th. They, says he, like everyone else but the editors of the Freeman, never knew the simple economic fundamental that access to the land will free man, not only spiritually, but bodily.

Let us suppose that every man has acquired access to his bit of land. Who, then, will work at producing all the modern immense machines and tools necessary for the cultivation of the soil? Who, then, will build the houses necessary for shelter of the human race? Who, then, will print magazines, including the Freeman? Who, then, will do the work in the steel mills, mines, shops, factories, stores and so on?

The answer is No one. Every one will work his little bit of land, access to which according to Mr. Brooks, is the Alpha and Omega of human subsistence. Perhaps, he advocates a return to a peasant stage of production, for that is the logical result of single tax tracked down.

The truth is that Henry George desired only the abolition of rent on improved land; whereas Marx attacked the entire trinity of evils: Rent, Profit and Interest. With one reservation George accepted Capitalism. His theories are so contradictory that they would require an issue of the Worker to refute them all!

* * *

One Price! One Price!

It was down in the heart of New York's jammed East Side, where Orchard Street leaves Canal Street and loses itself among push carts, improvised fruit stands, squirming humanity, plunging auto trucks, all walled in on two sides by rows of decrepit stores of all kinds and descriptions.

"Two cents, three for a nickel!" yells the overlord of a pushcart, close against the curb in a continuous stream of English and Yiddish, judiciously intermixed.

Women, old women, grandmothers, mothers, girls, little children, run their hands thru the rotting pears, almost black from decay, and very mushy. A hand finds one, or two, or three less rotten than the rest, the nickel is forthcoming, and the bearer hurries away to some sick child or invalid mother, happy at the opportunity of making some dreary life more cheerful.

"Three cents, two for a nickel!" yells the man at the next pushcart, who sells oranges and more fruit, handled by many hands, is fingered, kept or thrown back according to the degree of softness, meaning rottenness, that responds to the eager and anxious touch.

Down the block the keeper of a real fruit store, not a pushcart peddler argues with a prospective customer, over the sale of other oranges, a little better grade.

"One price, three cents, one price," says the haughty merchant.

"Two for a nickel," counters the mother in Yiddish, who only has a nickel, and two little children she would very much like to give an orange treat.

"One price! One price!" is hurl[illegible] back into her face.

And she departs.

It is the price of capitalism, "On[illegible] Price!" the price that brings in it[illegible] toll of profits, enough to make th[illegible] business worth while, enough t[illegible] keep this parasite social system in power.

The day will come when those mothers at the bottom will protest against feeding their children rotten fruit, the leavings after the bette[illegible] fruit has been reserved for thos[illegible] able to pay higher prices.

These, mothers, with their m[illegible] folks, and children, too, will t[illegible] against this rotten social system, a[illegible] destroy it.

They will establish a new p[illegible] upon the things of life; the price [illegible] brings sunshine, laughter, happ[illegible] into the lives of all.

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] EXPRESSION

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Get Ready for War!

Clemenceau, Anti-Soviet War Premier of France, Here Pleading With Bankers for New Blood Bath

LET LABOR REPLY, "NO MORE IMPERIALIST WARS!"

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

I sat for an hour and a half with a battery of 100 newspaper reporters in the orchestra pit of the great Metropolitan Opera House in New York City, listening to an old man, Georges Clemenceau, of more than 80 years, French militarist and imperialist, who was France's war premier.

And on the stage with him, and out beyond and up for half a dozen tiers and balconies, sat thousands of bankers and their retinue, the select of Wall Street's financial circles and the [illegible] of the Money Power.

And always at his side Thomas W. Lamont, of the Banking House of Morgan; Colonel E. M. House, who whispered the words of Wall Street into the ears of Woodrow Wilson while he was president, and General "Jack" Pershing, who led the troops of the U. S. A. into Mexico for the oil interests, and into France for the Wall Street financiers.

And as the many words fell from the lips of this white-haired man, I could see them all shaping themselves into four big words, "GET READY FOR WAR!" and the new blood-bath that this spokesman of capitalism meant, so far as I could see, was a new blow against the Russian Soviet Republic.

He is clever, is this old man, in spite of the fact that he has a low forehead like a gorilla, clever and cunning, so you do not wonder they have given him the name of the thing they call "The Tiger."

And because he is clever and cunning, this aged, doddering old man, typifying in every syllable he utters the dying struggle of a passing social order, doesn't call directly for war against Soviet Russia. He raises the bogey of [illegible] German militarism, keeping [illegible] the effigies of Hindenburg and Ludendorff before his audience, rattles the dried bones of the German invasion of Belgium, claims that the Krupps are making more and more guns, and then declares dramatically:

"It is not within your power to live happy, contented and wealthy in America if you know that much of the rest of the world is suffering, that some of it is covered with blood, with want and with pestilence."

* * *

And the next morning I saw in all the capitalist press that Clemenceau had come to plead for America's "heart and soul".

To be sure, they were right. The Metropolitan Opera House for the occasion had been turned into a golden temple of American finance capital, and Clemenceau was worshipping at its shrine. And he knew that the "heart and soul" of the American money power is in its pocket book.

* * *

This Clemenceau, pleader for capitalism against rising Communism, was as deceitful as a diplomat in building his case. He did not tell his audience that the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia had been urging peace ever since their revolution, five years ago, that they had urged it again and again, at Genoa, The Hague and now at Lausanne. He did not say that it was always French militarism in support of all the border states on Soviet Russia's frontier, in support of Yudenitch, Wrangel, Denikin and the rest, that Imperialist France had poured forth the wealth produced by her workers.

After working up his audience to the point of tearful sympathy for bankrupt, commercially-broken, morale-shaken France, he asked:

"Need anyone fear France?"

"Yes, yes!" came a cry from the third balcony.

"Throw him out, throw him out", came in a chorus from the bankers in the main floor of the big opera house, and from the tiers of boxes.

And the police quickly administered what is known on New York's "Bowery" as "the bum's rush", the victim of which soon found himself on the hard pavement of the street outside, and Clemenceau continued.

The war premier of France himself got back to earth again by addressing an eulogy to Ignatz Paderewski, who ruled for a short time as president of the French resurrected and buttressed Poland. The pianist, who

(Continued on Page Two)

[illegible]

By FRANK P. WALSH

Soviet Russia is the strongest government in Europe today, with the best title to live. The Russian worker is better paid, fed, housed and clothed than he ever has been before, and production in all lines is increasing by leaps and bounds. The workers there feel much better off than Germany, for they are living their own lives and are in a position to flout whatever the other governments in Europe tell them to do. We are the only government left which has not recognized the Soviet Republic, and we will wake up some fine day to find that we have lost the best customer in Europe.

Newbold Goes to Parliament as Communist

J. T. Walton Newbold, candidate of the British Communist Party, was sent to parliament in the recent elections for the Motherwell-Wishaw Division of Lanarkshire, Scotland. This is the division that has one of the best fighting traditions in all Britain, having first sent Keir Hardie, foe of capitalist wars and advocate of labor internationalism, to the House of Commons.

It was the workers in the Motherwell and Wishaw branches that led the fight inside the Independent Labor Party for affiliation with the Communist International.

Newbold was a candidate from this same district in 1918, while still a member of the Independent Labor Party. This year Newbold was opposed by three candidates, a National Liberal (Lloyd George); a Free Liberal (Asquith), and a freak Conservative (Orangeman).

The British Communist Party also had a second candidate, Willie Gallacher, in Dundee, Scotland, where Winston Churchill, one of Soviet Russia's bitterest foes in the last British government, was defeated. During the campaign Gallacher declared:

"If I go (to parliament) I will do what is humanly possible to help break the power of capitalism by forcing all class issues to the front right in their own institutions, thus preparing the way for the revolutionary struggle for power for the working class."

And again:

"I come before you as a Communist and as a member of the Communist Party. The militant forces of the workers of the world are gathering under the banner of the Communist International. Only thru the international solidarity of the working class can the power of the capitalist imperialist be broken forever."

This district elects two candidates. E. D. Morel was the regular Labor Party candidate, and the Communists sought to develop a campaign to win both seats and send both Morel and Gallacher to parliament, winning Dundee for the workers.

The returns indicate that Morel was elected. Gallacher was defeated for the other place. Churchill ran fourth.

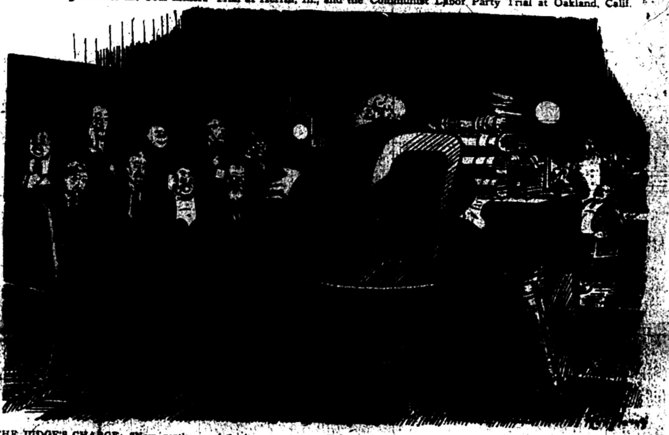
Shapurji Saklatvala, Communist, elected as the Labor Party candidate from North Battersea, London, according to the Communist, official organ of the British Communist Party, "combines in his person the aspirations of labor and Communism, but by virtue of his kinship the hopes of the toiling millions of India. Saklatvala personifies the internationalism of the great proletarian battle for emancipation."

Workers! Attend Meeting of Labor Defense Council! W. Z. Foster Will Speak

The next local conference of the LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL will be held Friday evening, Nov. 24 at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St William Z. Foster will speak.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

In Recognition of the Coal Miners' Trial at Herrin, Ill., and the Communist Labor Party Trial at Oakland, Calif.



THE JUDGE'S CHARGE: "Now, gentlemen of the jury, you are to decide on the defendants' guilt or innocence beyond a reasonable doubt. A reasonable doubt is a doubt that is not unreasonable. What is reason? Reason is the application of jurisprudence to the body politic, so that the sacred and time-honored rights of the best people may remain inviolate. (Juror No. 3 has a rush of reason to the head and calls for a drink of water.) If you are satisfied that the defendants with wilful intent conspired to overthrow, deface, undermine, climb up, lean against, crack, bend, push or otherwise transmogrify the pillars of our glorious government you are to bring in a verdict of guilty."

Communists Enter Joliet, Ill., Prison

After a fight extending over two years the Communists who were convicted of state sedition in Illinois for organizing the Communist Labor Party have entered the walls of the state prison to serve indeterminate sentences of from one to five years.

Ludwig Lore, editor of the New York Volkszeitung; Wm. Bross Lloyd, Edgar Owens, Jack Carney, editor of the Voice of Labor, in Chicago, Charles Krumbein, Arthur Proctor, and twelve others are now added to the list of Communist political prisoners in the United States.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Here Is Proposed Program for Workers Party; It Will Be Presented to Convention Dec. 25th

To All Party Branches and Party Members:

Under the provisions of the constitution of the party the agenda of the national convention is to be submitted to the party members for discussion during the period of the election of delegates.

In compliance with this decision the Central Executive Committee has prepared a new program and resolution covering other points on the agenda.

The proposed program appears below in full. Other resolutions will appear in subsequent issues of THE WORKER.

Every party member should read these documents carefully in order to be able to discuss them in the party units when delegates to the party conventions are instructed.

Fraternally yours,

C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary, Workers Party.

PROGRAM OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

The Capitalist World, which in 1914 boasted of its great wealth, of its gigantic powers of production, of its smoothly running system of business, of the power and security of its government, is sinking into decay.

Hundreds of billions of wealth have been destroyed by the great war. The financial structure of many European countries is nearing the point of collapse. Industries produce haltingly or have come to a stop altogether. The Capitalist Governments try one trick after the other to maintain their power in the face of the wrath of the suffering masses.

The victorious and vanquished countries of the world war present a picture that is different only in the degree of the suffering and misery

(Continued on Page Two)

Select Jurors for First of Herrin Trials

By McALLISTER COLEMAN

(Federated Press Correspondent)

MARION, Ill.—The selection of the jurors for the first of the Herrin trials is fast resolving itself into a lineup of opposing economic forces in Williamson county. So rapidly was the first panel depleted, that Judge Hartwell sent out four bailiffs to bring in more talesmen of "approved integrity." On the sixth day of the trial only four jurors, three farmers and a union miner have been found satisfactory to both sides.

Both sides enter exhaustively into the attitude of the prospective juror towards union labor, the right of men to organize and bargain collectively and his feelings in regard to strike breakers. The prosecution has several times used the term "scab." Such questions as "Is he a member of your local?" "Have you contributed thru checkoff to the fund for the defense?" are frequently put to miners by the prosecution.

The farmers of Williamson county have been told by their local ministers, the press and interested parties that the good name of Williamson will be destroyed unless the miners on trial are convicted, and many of them show an eagerness to serve on the jury that belies their statements that they have formed no opinions on the case.

The sum of $50,000 has been finally raised by the Illinois Chamber of Commerce and the campaign among business men and bankers to help finance the state prosecution of the miners ended Nov. 20.

Capitalist Class Justice!

Brundage, Political Crook and Hireling of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce Making Desperate Effort to Legally Lynch Heroes of Herrin, While Blacksmith's Union Tries In Vain to Bring Murderers of Hammond, Ind., Workers to Trial.

By H. M. WICKS

The ruling class of the United States, blind with fury at the record of heroism written into labor history by the miners of Herrin, Ill., last June, when they fought against the outrages perpetrated against themselves their wives and children by a gang of nameless degenerates recruited from private detective agencies and scab-herding employment agencies operating in Chicago's West Side red light district, is using every means at its disposal to destroy these heroes of the working class.

The instrument used to achieve this purpose is the office of the Attorney General of the State of Illinois. The creature who occupies that office, Brundage by name, is a notorious

(Continued on Page 4)

Circulate this

LABOR PARTY LITERATURE

[illegible] Manifesto of the Trade Union Educational League:

A POLITICAL PARTY FOR LABOR

[illegible] the National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League

A four-page leaflet. Prices: 100, 50 cents; 1,000, $4.50

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This pamphlet contains a scientific study of the third party movement in this country, their growth and failure. It will tell you why a Labor Party can be organized now and the economic conditions which enable it to succeed, even as the Republican party succeeded.

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[illegible] Workers Party, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City

[illegible] Time! Wednesday Night, Thanksgiving Eve Dance and Novelty Ball! Auspices Local Greater New York, Workers Party, LYCEUM, 3rd AVENUE and 86th STREET, Come [illegible]

[illegible]z Is [illegible]holder [illegible]e R.A.I.C.

[illegible] P. Steinmetz is among the [illegible] additions to a growing list of [illegible] Americans who have [illegible] shares of stock in the Rus[illegible]-American Industrial Corpora-[illegible]

He subscribed for ten shares after an enthusiastic meeting had been held in Schenectady, the electrical wizard's home, at which Fred Biedenkapp, R. A. I. C. director for the Friends of Soviet Russia, explained the undertaking.

Steinmetz's name has the company of such other prominent endorsers of the plan to rebuild the textile industry in Russia as Eugene V. Debs, Frank P. Walsh, Jane Addams, Prof. Harry Dana, Elsie Clews Parsons, Lillian D. Wald, Charles W. Erwin.

President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who has just left Russia, has concluded an agreement whereby American investors in the corporation are guaranteed a minimum of eight per cent dividends, and also the full payment of principal by the Soviet Government. All steps have been taken toward cutting down overhead expenses and making the enterprise successful both for the Russian workers in the factories and the American workers who are investing. Practically every International in the labor movement of the United States and Canada is represented among the purchasers of stock.

For the accomodation of individuals who wish to buy shares but cannot pay the entire ten dollars, which is the amount of one share, at once, arrangements have been made for payment in instalments. Shares should be bought from, and arrangements made directly with, the corporation, 31 Union Square, New York.

Kruse and Wicks Address Laundry Workers, Dec. 4th

William F. Kruse and H. M. Wicks will be the principal speakers at an organization meeting of Shirt Ironers' Union, Local 280, International Laundry Workers' Union, Monday, December 4, 1 P. M., at 66 East 106th Street.

All unorganized workers are urged to take advantage of this meeting and get into the organization at the reduced initiation fee of $1. This is the last day to take advantage of this offer. Workers! Help build a strong organization in this industry.

PETROGRAD. — While official France continues to oppose recognition of the Russian soviet republic, French industrial groups continue making business deals with Russia. The latest case in point is that of a French syndicate leasing the Perun factory, a concern engaged in the manufacture of oxygen.

What Language Do You Read?

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Address: THE WORKER,
799 Broadway, New York City.

[illegible] action at Labor's Conference in Cleveland, Dec 11, the Trade Union Educational League declared there were "too many feet on the soft pedal" at the conference last February in Chicago.

There are even now many indications that a multitude of feet are already seeking a place on the soft pedal that will make an effort to permeate the Dec. 11th conference with the same "timidity and hesitation" that characterized its predecessor of last winter.

Not the least of these indications is the conference called by Senator La Follette and other old-party "progressives" for Dec. 1, at Washington, just one week before the Cleveland gathering. La Follette has been careful to invite all the "labor leaders" who are directing the Cleveland political conference, even including some "Socialists."

La Follette and Co., many of the members of which have been re-elected to six years more in office, intend to continue to work in the old parties. They have no use even for a "Third Party," except to use its possibilities as a threat against the reactionaries at the throttles of the Republican and Democratic machines. Absolutely nothing can be expected from them in aid of a class Labor Party.

The American La Follette is an imitation of the British Lloyd George. Let labor remember that the progressive, pro-labor La Follette, in the opposition, as he is today, becomes the anti-labor, strike breaking Lloyd George in power, using all the forces of the capitalist state to crush the workers, as was the case in the strikes of the British Triple Alliance, the railroaders and the coal miners. Borah, in Idaho, became the prosecutor of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, of the Western Federation of Miners, while Johnson, in California, keeps Mooney, Billings, Ford and Suhr in prison and winks at the most extreme so-called state anti-syndicalist law in the nation.

Lloyd George leaned on British labor for years. After he had served the purpose of British reaction during the war and thru the Peace of Versailles, he was given the boot by the conservatives, and what was to be expected but that he should again make overtures to the British Labor Party with its 142 votes. But British labor is thru with its La Follettes, its Borahs, its Johnsons. It is standing on its own feet.

Let American labor depose those leaders in its drive for class political action, who insist on flirting with La Follette's Dec. 1st conference. The timid and hesitating feet must be kicked off the soft pedal in order to produce a militant labor symphony instead of the chaos of sound that the workers now create politically without any resulting benefit to themselves.

Labor must strike the shackles of the old political parties completely from its limbs and build its own class Labor Party, in the words of the Trade Union Educational League manifesto, "uniting all labor's forces against the organized power of the capitalist class."

Get Ready for War!

(Continued from Page One)

has now deserted Poland, and is back on the concert stage, sat in the box nearest the stage on Clemenceau's right, surrounded by gorgeously clad women, smiling his reply to Clemenceau's complimentary remarks.

Clemenceau stressed that he had told Lloyd George of England, before 1914, that the war would come. He then told how France had suffered, 20,000 factories destroyed, 90 per cent of her cotton, her linen, her steel industries wrecked.

"We have lost men, we have no money, our reparations haven't been paid", he complained. "It is doubtful if Germany can pay. If she does we won't even get half that the Versailles Treaty promised."

"If France knew three years ago what she knows now", said Clemenceu again, "she would not have consented to an armistice until her armies were in Berlin," and again the bankers who have their debts to collect from France applauded vociferously.

Then Clemenceau kept the eyes of his audience on Germany, asking:

"Do you know that they are manufacturing cannons by the hundreds, that they are making machinery everywhere. The German taxpayer pays, I think, $13, let's say $14,—the French $43. And what are they preparing?

"I tell you plainly, as I told Lloyd George before the war, they are preparing war again. Don't you see what is going on? (More Applause.) Don't you read the papers? Why haven't you heard of the treaty between the Turks and the Germans and the Russians. Look at all this manufacturing that is going on in Germany. Now, I say, that General Ludendorff and Hindenburg are preparing war, civil war to crush the German democracy, if they can.

"Have you forgotten what the Prussians did after Jena, how with 50,000 men they brought Napoleon down? Now it is the same game. It is written, nobody can deny it."

The French, with the British and President Wilson in this country, showed how little they cared for democracy when they allowed the Russian Bolsheviki to face the Kaiser's General Hoffman alone at Brest Litovsk.

If Clemenceau were honest, and no capitalist politician is expected to be, he would have whittled down his speech to the question, "Have you heard of the Rapallo treaty between the Russians and Germans?"

Then he could have talked a little more frankly about his frontier on the Rhine, the next frontier against the westward sweep of the working class revolution.

"We have been guaranteed a good frontier," pleaded this old man, Clemenceau, and he meant capitalism's frontier as well as France's frontier on the Rhine. He continued "England promised it. We haven't received it."

Clemenceau argued that the "New Europe" of the Versailles Peace, depends upon France adding, "And I would say upon America."

Which is without doubt the reason for Clemenceau's coming to America under the bankers' auspices organized into the "Council of Foreign Relations", numbering among its members such 100 per cent American financiers as Otto H. Kahn, Paul M. Warburg, W. W. Atterbury, George Barr Baker, T. Coleman du Pont, the powder king, Robert Goelet, John Hays Hammond, Thomas W. Lamont, Henry Morgenthau, Charles H. Sabin, Mortimer L. Schiff, E. R. A. Seligman, and a host of others, all of whom the chairman announced "hold no office of profit under any government." They are too busy using the government as their instrument. They want the United States government to forgive France her debts so that France may pay her private debts to these bankers.

Clemenceau's requests almost demands might be summed up as follows:

1. There is going to be another war. The United States can't keep out of it. She must be prepared for it.

2. France is broke. She cannot pay her debts to the United States, not now. Of course, she will pay, perhaps, some time, but the United States, rich, must not press France poor. It was France that made the collection of her debts against Soviet Russia an excuse for waging war against the Workers' Republic.

3. France is capitalism's frontier. The United States and Great Britain must help her hold that frontier.

4. The United States must threaten the German workers into paying the reparations demanded by French imperialism, even by supporting France in her seizure of the Ruhr coal and iron industrial district beyond the Rhine. It must do this even at the expense of curtailing its own "economic imperialism" as a result of which the United States is capturing markets that France is unable to go after on account of the breakdown of her industries.

This war-hungry Clemenceau declared, "I do not see how war will ever be prevented among men."

He is in America, and will tour many cities urging:

"GET READY FOR WAR!"

Let the workers of the United States and France join with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia in declaring:

"No more imperialist wars!"

The "Tiger" of France

By H. M. WICKS

Georges Clemenceau, the atavism who became war premier of France, is in the United States and is being wined and dined by our plutocratic nabobs. He declares he comes to defend the League of Nations, not as the representative of any country, but as an individual. He further asserts that he wants to convince the people of the United States that France is not militaristic.

Like our own Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau, the hireling of French Imperialism, even as Wilson was the hireling of American Imperialism, ruminates about the League, entirely oblivious to the fact that history these past four years has destroyed all that there ever was to the League of Nations except the treaty provisions, which were declared inseparable from the League, but which to-day exist without it. There is one thing, however, that must exist if the provisions of the [illegible] treaty to which all the [illegible] Big Four—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando—were [illegible] orators, are to be carried out and that is French militarism.

This old man, the most ancient and the most venomous of the Big Four, journeys to these shores in order to convince the people of America that black is white; that Militarism in France spells Peace for Europe; and to indulge in other sophistry calculated to appeal to the unthinking in this nation.

It is said that Poincaré, present Premier of France, time-server for the Foundry Trust, was not pleased with Clemenceau's visit to this country. Poincaré should not object to his predecessor, who, in the interest of French Imperialism, shared responsibility for formulating the policies that are to-day the motivating force of the French government. The contemptible treaty was written for the specific purpose of permanently enslaving those parts of Germany that are rich in raw materials needed by the Schneider-Creusot concern. The only way to enslave them is through maintaining a standing army, under the shabby pretext of enforcing the Treaty and endeavoring to collect the reparations.

The last thing that Clemencean Poincaré and the other French imperialists desire is that Germany shall ever be in a position to pay off the reparations.

This creature who has represented every ruling class of France the past half century is nicknamed the "Tiger" by the truckling prostitutes of the capitalist press, but never in all his odious existence has he evinced the slightest personal courage. When a young man, at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, he evaded military service by sneaking into some governmental office where his safety was assured. His greed and avarice for personal power is so monstrous that it has few equals in modern history. In this respect he stands with Roosevelt, Wilson and Lloyd George. A miserable hireling of capitalism whose very name will be synonymous with the cowardice, viciousness and violence of this stage of decadent capitalism.

It is significant that Clemenceau has been in constant association with Col. House, of the House of Morgan, who was the real President of the United States during most of the Wilson administration. He is also entertained by Thomas W. Lamont and other representatives of American finance capital. There are interests in common between American and French finance capital and since Woodrow Wilson collapsed at the outset of his pilgrimage thru America to spread the gospel of World Imperialism, as typified by the League, old man Clemenceau is brought over as a substitute attraction. Clemenceau is the megaphone thru which finance capital speaks to the American public.

History will hold Clemenceau, Wilson and the other gladiators of Imperialism responsible for the heaps of corpses that cover Europe to-day, no matter how many trips they make to various countries throughout the world in their efforts to explain their part in the wholesale assassination of the working class dupes who fought in the Imperialist war.

From the soil drenched with the blood of the working class will arise the social revolution, hurling from power the capitalist imperialists and their doddering representatives of the Clemenceau type.

[illegible] organ of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Reports of Fourth World Congress of Communist International on the Way

We deplore the fact that we have been unable, as yet, to publish any of the reports of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International.

However, we have just received the speech of Leon Trotzky, recently delivered on the eve of the assembling of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, wherein he declares that a revolution in the United States would be most advantageous to the world movement, because this country, economically, is in the most advantageous position and would be able to continue indefinitely in spite of any blockade imposed upon it by capitalist nations.

In a remarkable review of the world situation he emphasizes the necessity for constant propaganda in order to win over the working masses of all countries.

Next week we shall publish Trotzky's speech in full and such other reports as we are able to obtain. Our aim is to keep our readers informed on important happenings everywhere and particularly in relation to our movement, and our readers can rest assured that no effort will be spared to furnish them the information of importance as quickly as possible.

[illegible] White House as President of the United States.

Brundage has been charged by the governor of the State of Illinois, himself a political crook connected with the notorious Thompson machine in Chicago, with using the state funds in playing a game of political chicanery in an effort to advance his own interests.

Since the state fund at the disposal of the attorney general had been exhausted in the game of crooked politics, there were no funds with which to serve the interests of the Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Association of that state, so it became necessary for the Chamber of Commerce to appeal for a special fund so that the Attorney General could employ an army of mercenaries to frame up evidence against the men of Herrin who electrified the organized working class of this nation by resisting the murderous assaults of the scab-herding thugs.

Anti-Labor Propaganda Used

Every avenue of publicity was used by the capitalist class of the nation in order to arouse sentiment against the miners of Herrin. They were depicted by every organ of the manufacturers from coast to coast and from Canada to the Gulf as beasts who should be exterminated.

Even the "scab shop" President of the United States, elevated to his position by Elbert H. Gary of the United States Steel corporation, addressed Congress on the strike situation and indulged in the most venomous diatribe against labor that ever fell from the lips of a human being. This pompous ignoramus, who was selected by Gary because he was a total mental blank, a creature who never had an idea worth repeating and whose thinking is done for him by more intelligent, but obscure, servants of capitalism, branded the heroes of Herrin butchers, murderers and criminals before a grand jury indictment had been returned against them.

Other servile creatures who grovel in the mire before their capitalist masters, even as does Harding, added their quota of lies against the Herrin miners. The Illinois Chamber of Commerce eagerly seized upon these statements and heralded them to the capitalist class of the country, at the same time making an appeal for a slush fund to "investigate" the Herrin mine war. When a Chamber of Commerce wants to bribe perjurers and to hire a gang of detectives to frame up evidence against labor they conceal their real motives by calling their contemplated frame-up an "investigation".

Attorney General Brundage, as the representative of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, altho drawing part of his salary from the State government, announced that he wanted a "real" investigation of the Herrin affair. His idea of a real inquiry is one that will indict the whole population of that district for retaining a spark of manhood.

Want a Blood Atonement

The Chamber of Commerce and the employing class of the United States are not so much concerned about investigating the real cause of the Herrin mine war as they are determined to make an example of the miners of Herrin. The one thing on earth that is detestable to the capitalist bloodsuckers of labor is a slave that refuses to be docile under every oppressive measure capitalism attempts to impose upon him.

Capitalism is shouting for a blood atonement from the miners of Herrin in order to terrorize the balance of the working class of the nation so that they will never attempt to emulate the heroism of the sturdy miners at Herrin who refused to permit the thugs, gunmen, pimps, porch climbers, pick-pockets, procurers, recruited by a private detective agency, hatched in a dive in Chicago, to overrun the district, rape their wives and daughters and commit murder with impunity.

Capitalism wants to impress upon the working class that the most heinous of all crimes is to resist the terror of capitalism.

"Our citizens visiting elsewhere have been compelled to hang their heads in shame," wails a circular sent out by the Illinois Chamber of Commerce. They mean the members of their organization are compelled to hang their heads in shame before other capitalists in the United States because something went wrong with the rule of the masters for a day in Herrin, Illinois. Instead of the workers being slaughtered, these miners defended themselves and the ruling class of Illinois is ashamed because it has not, as yet, been able to wreak its vengeance upon those magnificent men who proved to the workers of the United States and of the world that they can and will defend themselves.

Workers May Strike in Illinois

The workers, who are citizens of Illinois, do not hold their heads in [illegible] class is exterminated from the face of the earth.

The real reason for the lugubrious wail from the Chamber of Commerce of Illinois, the real reason for the [illegible] that hovers over them is because they fear Herrin may be repeated elsewhere.

The workers everywhere are watching developments in Herrin. They view with sardonic smiles the attempts of the Attorney General of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce to get a jury that will suit his purpose and convict the miners who have been indicted on the perjured testimony of stool pigeons. Particularly are the workers of the state of Illinois watching developments and the sentiment is spreading like wildfire thruout the state for a general strike in case the Chamber of Commerce secures convictions at Herrin.

Altho every Union has contracts with employers the officials of many Chicago unions openly declare that in case of a conviction secured by the Chamber of Commerce hireling, Brundage, they will not be able to hold the membership in line and that they have no inclination to do so anyway.

Such sentiment augurs well for the future of the labor movement in that section of the country and all militants should take advantage of that situation in order to crystalize the militant sentiment against the Herrin persecutions into action.

Another Farcical Trial

In the summer of 1919, during the steel strike, four blacksmiths were murdered in cold blood at Hammond, Indiana, by private guards of the Standard Steel Car Wheel concern and city police of Hammond. These men were part of a small group of pickets that had been stationed by their union near the entrance of the concern for the purpose of peaceful picketing. The employers saw a number of their prospective scabs stop and talk to the union men with the result that they were having a great deal of difficulty obtaining slaves.

One morning the police and private thugs opened fire upon the unarmed pickets without a moment's warning. Twenty were severely wounded and four men fell dead. The writer of this article was in Hammond in less than two hours after the tragedy and verified the fact that every one of the dead men had been shot in the back. When the guards and police drew their guns the pickets started to run, as they had been threatened with death unless they stopped picketing. There has never been a more coldblooded murder in the annals of the labor movement in America. Yet not one of the murderers was arrested until months afterwards, when the blacksmith's union started a legal battle and charged the police and the other thugs with murder.

After over three years a legal fight is being staged in Federal Judge Anderson's court in Indianapolis in an effort to at least force the Standard Steel Car company to pay the families of the dead men enough to enable them to exist for a short time. The Blacksmith's union has raised a defense fund to prosecute the cases.

No President of the United States has branded the murderers on the Hammond police force for what they are and there have been no demands from the Chambers of Commerce for a searching "investigation" of the murders of these four workers.

The Standard Steel Car concern is controlled by the Mellon interests, Wall Street and some large bankers in other parts of the country. Perhaps Secretary of the Treasury Mellon could enlighten the country newspaper publisher, Mr. Harding, regarding the slaughter of the workers at Hammond and prove to the satisfaction of the head of the capitalist government of these United States that the system of private guards is a fine thing so long as it functions as it did in Hammond, but that in cases like Herrin it should be supplemented by the United States Army, an institution Harding threatened to use against the rail strikers.

Herrin and Hammond furnish excellent contrasts and it does not require a great deal of intelligence to get a true perspective of the [illegible] in which capitalist class justice functions.

The wives and other dependents of the men murdered in Hammond may never get a penny of the Mellon millions, and the working class has no recourse in those cases. The workers are dead who were on the firing line in Hammond.

But in Herrin there are only three of the miners dead; killed unarmed by the thugs the day before the thugs themselves were annihilated. The others are alive and the workers of the State of Illinois and the United States must see to it that they remain alive in spite of the chorus of calumny that arises from the fetid throats of the buzzards in the White House and in the Chambers of Commerce of the nation.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

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Address: THE WORKER,
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"Appeal to Reason" Passes

The Federated Press carrie obituary notice of "The Appeal Reason", Girard, Kansas, with comment that, "It never recov from its dubious pro-war stand."

We know of no tears that w shed, except perhaps among so-called "Socialists". The "Ap Army" quit when Louis Kopelin Emanuel Haldeman-Julius turned sheet over to the jingoes during war, just as any army deserts w it is betrayed by its leaders.

Wayland made of "The Appe a propaganda organ with a w appeal. Warren increased its circul tion thru one sensation after another always carrying a thread of milit labor activity, and a million copies came from the presses each week.

But then the Social-Democratic League inaugurated its jingo regime in "The Appeal" office. The Spargo and Russell pro-war propaganda crept more and more into its columns. Carl D. Thompson carried on an at ack against the Socialist St. Lo Anti-War Stand. W. J. Ghent foug he Bolsheviki, denouncing Trots and Lenin as pro-German. Then th government sent the Spargo-Kope in-Russell mission to Europe to hel keep the European workers faithful o allied imperialism.

From then on matters went from bad to worse for "The Appeal". It is now dead. In the present crisis, however, we find the entire Socialist Party press and organization imitating, in these days, the stand of "The Appeal" in the war days. No wonder the same fate awaits it.

"Six Characters in Search of an Author", at Princess

Reviewed by BRUCE ROGERS

Bright radicals and others believ the Theatre to possess fundame potentialities should see this play the Princess Theater, West 39th Persons of less agile mentali might just as well stay away for th won't get it at all. The first name however, will find this worth missin several other shows to see.

An author creates six characters; a Father, a castaway Mother in mourning for the father of her bas tard children, a legitimate Son, a prostitute Step-daughter, herself il legitimate, a Boy and a Little Girl also born to the Mother out of legal wedlock.

He then conceives for them a situa tion of intense dramatic conflict, but in afterthought concludes that the conventional stage in both its direc tion and interpretation is inadequate to his creations, and so gives up the project without writing their par The situation, or plot, however, re mains and the lineless characters go wandering about in search of an author to write them, and of a man ager and actors to present them.

Finding a theater they intrude themselves upon a stock company at rehearsal of a less worthy play by the author who had created but abandoned them, and demand to be presented to the public.

The curtain has risen upon the un set stage and the action follows sustaining excellently,—on the whole —two separate conflicts at the sa time. The six characters must de velop their own highly intense situ tions of a play within a play, at the same time contend with the sta director and the sophisticated acto in whom they are to be cast, a delivering Pirondello's smashing mon at Theater folk who "give th public what it wants".

It may be unusual in New York be kindly disposed toward a pla but we ourselves will be more co fortable if we bear in mind that least four of the parts are thus involved, and beyond the usually set for a good actor.

New York Party Activiti

The City Central Committee ing, Local Greater New York, W ers Party, will be held on Satu November 25th, 8 P. M., at th Reed Hall, 208 East 12th St.

There will be a general me ship meeting at the Casino Ma 85 East 4th St., on Sunday, D ber 3rd, at 1 P. M., for the of discussing the question "Formation of a Labor Party. Branches are also requ proceed with some speed election of delegates to Convention to be held in th Temple, December 10th, at 1

Don't Throw This Pap Pass it on to a New

[illegible] in [illegible]ovinces of [illegible]oviet Russia

NOTE:—This is the first of a series of articles by A. C. Freeman which will be published in THE WORKER from time to time. Freeman is travelling thru Europe and is planning to spend some time in Soviet Russia. In this article he tells about the revolution among the peasants in the provinces as follows:

By A. C. FREEMAN

It is a favorite delusion of counter-revolutionist writers in America that the Soviet power has no real strength outside of the cities. The peasant villages, including the majority of the Russian population, are supposed to lie quite outside the orbit of its influence. This theory may be consoling to disappointed backers of Kolchak, Denikin and Co.; but it does not stand up under the slightest contact with Russian realities.

I recently paid a visit to the Friends of Soviet Russia tractor colony which is operating in the province of Perm. One of the first things to be seen after getting off at the nearest railroad station, sixty miles away, is a huge wooden monument, decorated with pictures of Marx, Lenin, Liebknecht and other Russian and foreign revolutionists. Near the monument is a great common grave, where the bodies of the workers and peasants who fell in the struggle against the counter-revolutionist leader, Kolchak, are buried. The grave has a rough wooden covering, with the inscription: "Eternal Glory to Those Who Fell in the Struggle for Communism." There are similar monuments and graves in all the towns and larger villages throut this region, which was the scene of desperate fighting in the spring of 1919, as may be seen from the deep trenches which are now being ploughed up and sowed with grain by the help of the tractors which the American workers sent to their Russian comrades.

The Soviet organization reaches down to the smallest villages; and it is a very live and conscious expression of the will of the peasants. On the road from the railroad station to the camp I stopped at a peasant's house in a small village. It was a typical peasant's home, a one-story log dwelling with ikons on the wall; and the old farmer who lived there with his wife was certainly not a Communist. Having learned from Mr. Bertrand Russell that the whole Soviet system had been reduced to a nullity and a farce by the Communist dictatorship, I asked the peasant whether there was a soviet in his village. He replied that there was and that it managed all the local affairs of the community. He went on to say that the elections were carried on without any kind of compulsion, and that the villagers were free to elect Communists or not as they chose. And he added: "We are a free people." This last remark showed the sad lack of the educating and enlightening influence of The New York Times and similar American journals.

To anyone who travels thru Russia at the present time the idea that the Communists are holding down the masses of the people at the point of the bayonet must seem a grotesque fiction. The Soviet power relies on influence and persuasion, rather than on force for its successful functioning. The best proof of this is the fact that Nonpartisans often outnumber the Communists, both in Soviets and in trade union meetings. Even where they are in a minority, however, the Communists almost always carry their program thru. This is due to their discipline, their organization and their ability to put forward practical solutions for the problems of reconstruction which are the only subjects of absorbing interest to the Russian people today.

I met a typical Communist on the Soviet farm which is now being developed with the American farm machinery sent by the Friends of Soviet Russia. He was a Ural miner; and he had spent several years in prison under the Czar. He had helped to organize the miners in battalions to fight Kolchak. After Kolchak was overthrown he fought on one revolutionary front after another—against Denikin, against Wrangel, against the Poles, against Makhno.

Now he is working night and day to develop the farm, so that the Ki[illegible] Kop miners may have more bread and produce more coal. I found him full of enthusiasm, of hopes and plans for Russia's future, now that the menace of war and blockade had been removed. He outlined schemes for building a miners' rest home in the beautiful grounds of an old monastery, for piping the water of a stream near the monastery to homes in the neighborhood. He saw visions of peasant Russia lifted out of its ignorance and dirt and poverty by schools, tractors and electrification. It is men like this comrade, who fought for the Revolution and are now working for it, who offer the surest guarantee that the workers and peasants who lie buried in common graves throut the Ural country have not died in vain.

[illegible] Should Adopt This Resolution

The National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League has endorsed the formation of a Labor Party, to include the labor unions and all working-class political organizations as well as the farmers and farm laborers.

On Dec. 11th there will be held at Cleveland a meeting of representatives of organized labor, farmers' organizations and various political groups. This is the time for every union that desires that American labor build a political organization to fight its battles to exert its influence to achieve that end. Adopt the following resolution proposed to the unions by the Trade Union Educational League. Elect delegates to the Cleveland Conference:

"Whereas, the political policy of Mr. Gompers of 'rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies,' has resulted in the complete political helplessness of Labor, and in the power of Government remaining completely in the hands of the capitalist class, as is witnessed by countless official outrages against the labor movement, outstanding among which are the recent knocking-out of the Child Labor Act by the Supreme Court, the Daugherty injunction against the striking shopmen, the complete terrorization of the striking miners, railroad and textile workers and the use of troops against them; and

"Whereas, the accumulating experience of Governmental activity as a strike-breaking agency, and as an instrument of the employers in the 'open shop' drive, together with the recognition that Gompers' policy of 'non-partisan' political action has hitched Labor as a tail to the capitalist political kites—all are forcing the labor movement to the necessity of forming a Labor Party, and

"Whereas, we recognize that only thru a strong party of its own, with a working-class program and the ideal of a working-class republic, can the labor movement combat the forces of capitalism effectively, therefore be it

"RESOLVED, that this organization endorses the formation of a Labor Party, to include trade unions and working-class political parties, thereby uniting all the political forces of the labor movement into one solid front against the capitalist class, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that our officials stand instructed to assist in every possible way in bringing such a party into existence, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that this organization elect delegates to attend the conference for Progressive Political Action, which will take place in Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 11th.

Sixth Installment of the Series of Articles Issued by Publicity Committee, Progressive Miners' Group, District 5 (Pittsburgh), U. M. W. of A.

Reactionary "Machines" Unite in War on Western Pennsylvania's Militant Coal Miners

The Progressive Miners of District Five (Pittsburgh) have driven the "machine" to desperation. Both wings of the "machine" are exhausting every effort to sidetrack the "progressives." It is important that the miners and their friends distinctly understand what we mean by the two wings, for if they don't understand they may be misled.

Strange as it may seem there is a "Phil" Murray faction solidly entrenched in the District Headquarters in Pittsburgh, comprising Acting President Fagan, Secretary-Treasurer Hargest, et al., and the Lewis faction comprising International Board Member John O'Leary, William Feeny and William Hines.

Between these two groups there has recently been a bitter fight for the chief control, but the Lewis faction has been compelled to accept the "leavings" at Brownsville.

This crowd, particularly Feeny, had staked everything on running for District President, thinking that he could "plump" the Fayette field vote for himself and due to the disgust of the miners in the old organized district get a large vote on the strength of an unjustified reputation as a pseudo-radical.

He hoped to bolster this reputation by the open support and with the help of William Hines, who claims to be a "socialist," as he is regarded as a "radical" among superficial people who have no class-consciousness, no realization of the real nature of the struggle between the operators and the miners.

Acting as an understudy to Hines is a "socialist" union carpenter of Brownsville, "Bob" Norman, and a renegade industrialist who seemed to have been sincere in the days gone gone by, "Peggy" Delbarre.

These latter two have acted for months as "volunteer organizers" out of the Brownsville headquarters and taking their orders from Feeny. Delbarre was defeated for the secretaryship of the State Federation of Labor at the last convention, and it is not beyond the realm of probability he has been promised something good if he could deliver the "radical" miners' vote in this election.

It is vital for the progressive miners to get the correct measure of these men at this time because they are the ones whom the machine now relies upon to save the day. Their reputation as "radicals" is to be used to fool the progressives as we will show later in this article.

Feeny has announced himself as a candidate for district president making the election a three-cornered affair between the Murray, Lewis and Progressive groups—the progressives standing on a straight class-conscious platform while the Feeny crowd pretend to be "reformers" and the Gagan group admitting they are reactionary.

Before Feeny knew the progressives were to have a ticket in the field he started to lay the foundation for a campaign for himself by calling a rump convention of part of the locals of the district at Charleroi on September 24th. At that meeting his denunciation of the Fagan crowd was extreme although he resented any criticism of Lewis. The same afternoon Hines and Delbarre posing as "comrades" appeared unexpectedly in the midst of a progressive meeting in Pittsburgh and there asked to be heard. Hines' denunciation of Fagan and his regime was so extreme that one of the progressive group suggested that he be put upon the progressive ticket for International Board Member. The experienced heads refused to agree to this. Before leaving Hines and Delbarre tried to extort a promise that the progressives would not put up a ticket. However, the progressives, after these renegades had left, adopted a clean-cut platform and nominated a slate strictly on organized lines. This platform and slate were printed and distributed at the door of the next meeting of the Feeny forces in Pittsburgh on October 1st. This coup by the progressives forced the hand of the Feeny "reformers." Feeny who had been heralded as the speaker who would take the lid off of the district office was very tame. Fagan and Hargest were prominent in the meeting. The same William Hines who had denounced Fagan and Company so vigorously the Sunday before took the floor and sanctimoniously announced that while there may have been mistakes he was sure that no official of the U. M. W. of A. was guilty of intentional wrong. The value of this meeting lay in the fact that many miners who really thought Hines was honest were disillusioned by his conduct.

It was very evident that when the life of the machine was threatened by real militants the two crowds would unite to save the day. This opened the eyes of hundreds of miners who are now busy educating the men in the camps to the fact that Feeny and Fagan are tarred with the same stick—craft union politics instead of real industrial solidarity. They believe in the union for the officials and not for the rank and file and their own conduct is proving this.

Norman and Delbarre Try to "Reach" Myerscough and Ray

That Norman and Delbarre have degenerated into labor politicians of the cheaper class is revealed by their effort to get Myerscough and Ray, who are running for president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, on the progressive ticket and were former friends of these renegades to desert their positions of trust at the last minute.

A week ago Norman who was carefully picked for the job by the Feeny forces wrote to Ray and asked for an appointment to talk things over. Myerscough and Ray met Norman by appointment and found he had brought Delbarre along for company. The meeting was on Nov. 16th.

They began by telling the progressives they had no chance to win altho they had come clear from Brownsville to tell them. They advised them to withdraw from the ticket immediately and that Myerscough should run for secretary-treasurer on a Feeny ticket. They still claimed that Feeny was fighting to "reform" the district. They were distinctly informed that Feeny's record shows him as part of the machine and a willing tool of John L. Lewis.

These politicians who had come as friends then employed characteristic craft union methods. They whispered, "Do you know that your nominee for International Board Member, William Guiler, had a long conference with 'Pat' Fagan about the eighth of November? You know what that means."

With such methods they tried to split the progressives by planting the poison of suspicion in the minds of their colleagues. Myerscough and Ray having had years of experience in this district with such methods of the "machine" were not trapped and refused to withdraw. Then these "friends" showed their teeth. They said, "Well, you got the nomination at Vesta 4 (one of the largest mines in Western Pennsylvania), but you won't get the votes, for you know who the officers are. Feeny will get the votes."

This is a declaration of war. There will be no compromise. On Nov. 18th the progressive candidates held a conference, exchanged all the slimy stories that the two reactionary wings of the machine are circulating, renewed their pledge of confidence in each other and announced that they would all stand solidly on their platform to the end.

They all agreed that the miners will probably witness the greatest mud-slinging campaign of lies that has ever disgraced an election in District 5. The machine will stop at nothing to blacken the character and reputation of the progressive leaders.

The miners must be prepared to hear the most damnable lies about these men. **Believe nothing until it is proven.** The heads of the progressive ticket have known each other for years and no lies will split the movement. The lies already circulated have only solidified the progressives and will prove a boomerang to the machine.

The machine is trying to call the progressives a "dual" movement, but the name will not stick, for the progressives' platform distinctly denounces dualism in every form. The progressives of District 5 are going to lick the machine inside the organization. Every local must conduct itself strictly within the letter of the district constitution, no matter how hard it may be, and nothing can defeat us.

William Guiler, Thomas Myerscough and Thomas Ray, Publicity Committee, Progressive Miners of District 5, U. M. W. of A.

Browder Likes THE WORKER

"I have been following THE WORKER with much interest, and want to say that I think it has become the best weekly paper that the movement has produced in the English language."—EARL R. BROWDER, Associate Editor, The Labor Herald.

ORGANIZATIONS WORKERS

William Z. Foster

and twenty other trade unionists

are being railroaded to JAIL

MONEY and BONDS

will set them free

Send this blank with your contribution

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL, 80 E. 11th St., NEW YORK CITY.

Here is my contribution of............dollars for the defense of the Michigan cases.

Name..

Address..

Next Local Conference Friday, Nov. 24, Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St.

AN INTERVIEW WITH LENIN

(By F. S. R. Press Service)

After an hour's visit with Lenin during his recent illness, L. Kamenev gave to the press a tabloid account of his interview. Several statements in it are of special interest to American readers. Under the caption "What was Lenin interested in?" Kamenev lists, among other things, the following:

"The American Senator Borah;

"Mr. Hoover's position with regard to the forthcoming elections in America.

"A complete account of the work of the American Relief Administration.

And under the headline, "What did Lenin praise?" Kamenev gives this:

"The American comrades, the twenty tractors which have arrived in the province of Perm for demonstrating mechanical methods in agriculture, and the peasants of Perm, who, in remarkably rapid time, repaired the execrable roads and made it possible to get the excellent American tractors thru to their destination."

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[illegible] the London Daily Herald [illegible] to the British parliament, declares that Premier Mussolini of Italy has been forced to alter his aggressive [illegible] policy, especially against Jugo-Slavia, because the Standard Oil Trust, in the words of the American Ambassador Washburn Child, "is giving quite a lot of trouble to the opening up of the Adriatic and the Balkan markets."

Ambassador Child told Mussolini, as it is reported, that Standard Oil isn't going to allow a bunch of Fascisti to disturb its efforts to widen its market.

Mussolini, in giving in so readily, no doubt had in mind the fate of Lloyd George, late premier in London. There was a time when British oil interests dominated in France. But that day is no more. Standard Oil has taken its place. So that when it is claimed that France supported the Turks against the Greeks, it must be remembered that Standard Oil stood back of the French, with its profit hunger greedily viewing the Near East oil fields. When the Turks routed the Greeks, British oil interests lost and Lloyd George quit his job, leaving the Standard Oil to press for further gains. This was all pointed out in detail in the article by R. W. Postgate, in last week's issue of THE WORKER.

While this is taking place on the other side of the Atlantic, we find the Mexican Congress putting up the battle of its life against interference by American oil interests with the passage of legislation relating to the petroleum industry. It is again significant that this interference took the form of notes directed by George T. Summerlin, the American Charge d'Affaires, to Alberto Pani, the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The American oil interests raise the usual howl that the Mexicans are trying to "tax us out of existence," and they work thru their U. S. government.

The Mexicans reply with a general broadside against Washington's entire imperial policy, citing the occupation of Vera Cruz, Pershing's expedition, Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua.

It is even urged that Mexico invite the Central and South American countries not to accept the invitation to the American Conference at Washington, D. C., Dec. 4, claiming that there "they would lose part of their liberties."

It does seem as if there is more battle against American capitalism to be found among the workers and peasants of Mexico than is manifest in the ranks of American labor itself. Let the wage slaves on this side of the Rio Grande learn that they are as much the victims of Standard Oil as Mexican, British, French or Italian labor, or the workers and the peasants of the Near East, and they will have laid the basis for bigger struggles for ultimate emancipation from the oil and all other profiteers.

Harding and Daugherty Murder Ricardo F. Magon

By H. M. WICKS

Warren G. Harding and Harry M. Daugherty murdered Ricardo Flores Magon in Leavenworth Prison on November 21, 1922. His jailer was Woodrow Wilson who now sits in doddering imbecility and whines about the glory of his past criminality. The crime of Magon consisted of having sufficient intelligence and courage to tell the truth about the war in his Spanish newspaper, "Regeneracion." For that he was seized and sentenced to twenty-one years in Leavenworth. He died in the fifth year of his imprisonment.

After all civilized nations on earth have released their political prisoners, incarcerated as the result of expression of opinion during the World War, in these United States of America, in this pseudo-democracy, Warren G. Harding, President of the nation by grace of Elbert H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation and the jail-bird lawyer, corporation flunkey, ward-heeling, political shyster and wire-puller for grafting bankers, Harry M. Daugherty, still murder innocent men in prison and conspire to send more men to the dungeons of American capitalism for advocating the abolition of the infamous government that a nation groans under to-day.

Warren G. Harding knew that Magon was on the verge of death, yet he refused to lift his hand that this martyr to labor might once more feel the unwalled earth beneath his feet, once more stand beneath the sun by day and the stars by night—not in the United States, but in what was once known as Barbarous Mexico. Exiled by Diaz, the despot of Mexico, Magon came to the United States only to be murdered by those hideous, lying, foul, distraught, blood-streaked, bastardized descendants of an insatiable capitalism, Warren G. Harding and his twin in infamy, Harry M. Daugherty.

Daugherty, the creature who is said to have reviewed the case of Magin, declared that the health of this courageous Mexican was good and that he was standing the tortures of prison life well; but added that those who repented might be released. Repent for what? What product of a disordered brain is this that asks decent men to repent for having the courage to speak the truth that cowards dare not speak? Such insects as Charles W. Morse, the banker-crook whom Daugherty rescued from jail will repent in order to resume their business of picking pockets, but men of the type of Magon never repent.

What about the stories of the ignorant and lying prison physicians that declared at the behest of Daugherty that Magon was healthy? His dead body today answers that piece of hypocrisy.

Only recently the labor movement of Mexico, representing a half million organized workers sent a plea for the release of Magon; President Obregon of Mexico interceded on his behalf. But the fact that labor desired the release of Magon was one more reason why the labor hating administration at Washington was determined to keep him behind the walls of Leavenworth. When some capitalist adventurer, endeavoring to extort profits from the peons of Mexico, is held in prison by Mexicans Washington roars threats of armed intervention, but when representatives of the working class of Mexico dare cross the Rio Grande this fake democracy murders them in cold blood.

As Magon died, the victim of the blood-lust of the unspeakable Daugherty, other representatives of the working class enter the bastile of capitalism at Joliet, Illinois, for the crime of organizing a political party aimed to emancipate the wage-slaves of America. And at the same time the government exerts its efforts to prosecute and jail seventeen more members of the working class in a Michigan dungeon. Even though the espionage act is no longer operating to jail men for expressions of opinion, the various state governments with "criminal syndicalist" laws are being used by the government to continue the wholesale reign of terror instituted against labor during the war.

Magon is dead. His murder is one more stone in the monument that testifies to the infamy of this administration. But the militant workers of the United States should from this moment hence exert every ounce of energy to see to it that those prisoners now rotting in capitalist dungeons are released and that the vicious persecution of other workers cease.

The only way to pay tribute to the memory of the martyred Magon is to carry on such a terrific campaign against Harding and Daugherty and the things they represent that they will not dare keep the prison doors closed upon our comrades in the struggle.

Let every worker know the story of the murdered Magon!

Down with the tyranny of the Harding-Daugherty combination!

These savage prison murders must cease!

First "Foster Parent" to Orphan in Red Russia

(By FSR. Press Service)

George Hoffmann, 221 S. Main Street, Pratt, Kansas, has the distinction of being the first American "foster parent" to a Russian orphan. In response to the appeal for the adoption of destitute Russian children by workers in America, launched recently by the Friends of Soviet Russia, he has adopted one boy and one girl.

His letter to the organization reads in part:

"If there are more boys than girls to be adopted, I will take two boys and one girl for which I will send you $3 more next month. I understand that it costs $5 to adopt a child and $2 monthly to keep it. Kindly let me know if this is correct."

It is correct—and congratulations!

[illegible] Boss[illegible] Own Th[illegible]

By J. LOUIS [illegible]

". . . to take into their own [illegible] the direction and control . . ."

These are courageous words [illegible] en by the workers in any [illegible] profession. But they are [illegible] steeped in courage coming from [illegible] organized actors.

I have taken those words from the announcement of the "Equity Players," who have taken over the Forty-Eighth Street Theater, New York City, for a year, bouncing the stage profiteers, at least in so far as this theater is concerned. The complete sentence, telling of the significance of the launching of the "Equity Players," reads:

"It is an event, first of all, of historic note in dramatic art, marking the beginning of concerted, intelligent effort on the part of the actors to take into their own hands the direction and control of their profession—that profession so worthy of distinction and artistic freedom."

"Equity Players" is an advance step in the evolution of the actors' efforts to direct and control their profession. They laid the basis for this activity during their strike three years ago, when they won out in their struggle "to enforce their right to organize, to choose their own spokesmen, to have a voice in framing the conditions under which they would work." It was out of this strike that there grew the Actors' Equity Association, that gave the lie to the charge that "actors would not stick together." This actors' union, with its 12,000 members, the largest organization of actors the world has ever known, is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and it is this organized strength that makes it possible for the actors to take over a theater in the heart of New York's "White Light" District and manage it for themselves.

"Equity Players, Inc.," got under way last May when 40 actors and actresses subscribed $130,000 for the purpose of launching this long cherished project of many members of the Actors' Equity Association.

When it is said that the "Equity Players" has a "complete organization," that means that they have a play reading committee, that is continually on the lookout for suitable productions, "the better class of dramatic material, which at present may be lying fallow because of the lack of a clear-sighted discoverer, or because of the lack of artistic courage to offer it to the public, or, indeed, of a lack of an organized audience."

Thru the hands of one of these play readers there goes each week an average of 15 play manuscripts.

"What chance has the manuscript of a radical or revolutionary play?" I asked one of these play readers.

"The same chance as any other," I was told, with the addition, "We would have been glad to put on 'R. U. R.' that is now being produced by the Theater Guild."

"This must be the means," I concluded, "by which the working class of this country will find its expression thru the drama, uncensored by the big combinations of theatrical managers and producers, who exploit the stage and the actors for what profit there is in it."

If the actors are successful in running one theater in New York City, why not take over others; if they are successful in one city, why not in many cities?

In this respect it might be stated that the Actors' Equity Association, among its other duties, looks after stranded companies wherever possible, thus falling into the role of manager. We cite the instance of a company practically abandoned by its management in Chicago. The Actors' Equity Association took charge, kept the performance running three weeks longer, paid the actors their wages in full and their return fare to New York City, in addition to all other expenses, including royalties to the author and 72 per cent of the back salary due the actors before Equity took charge.

Under these conditions we cannot but predict that a great future lies before the Equity Players established at the Forty-Eighth Street Theater. Their first production was "Malvaloca," a modern Spanish play first presented at Madrid in April, 1912. It was greeted with enthusiasm as presented for the first time in America by Equity Players during October.

A modern American play, "Hospitality," by Leon Cunningham, is now receiving a gratifying reception. It will be followed by "Why Not?" by Jesse Lynch Williams.

May we hope that with the rapid development of Equity Players there will soon come the time when at least one theater in New York City, directed and controlled by the actors, will have as an "organized audience," men and women workers, who want to learn as well as to be amused when they go to the theater. All workers can help build in this direction by supporting the Equity Players and the Actors' Equity Association in their present venture.

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Program [illegible]

(Continued from Page Four)

And above the House the Senate and the President stands the Supreme Court which can nullify laws which [illegible] unite in passing.

The character of the Constitution as a document intended to protect the Bankers and Industrial Magnates of this Country has been made clear in many decisions under its provisions. Child Labor laws, laws regulating hours of labor, and protecting the life and health of the workers, and minimum wage laws have been declared void. A weapon to strike down organized labor has been found in its courts as shown in the Coronado decision.

In addition to the protection which the Constitution gives to the Coal Barons, Railroad Kings, and the Industrial and Financial Lords, Millions of workers are disfranchised in this country thru naturalization laws. Hundreds of thousands of citizens cannot vote because of residential qualifications which thru the necessity of earning a living make it impossible for them to comply with.

The capitalists control thousands of newspapers thru which they shape the ideas of the masses in their interest; they control the schools, the colleges, the pulpit, the moving-picture theatre, all of which are part of the machinery thru which the capitalists shape the minds of the workers.

When it serves their purpose the capitalists do not hesitate to expel members of the legislative bodies elected by working class votes. This was done in the case of the Socialist members of the Cleveland City Council and a member of the School Board of that City. These elected representatives of the workers were expelled in violation of all law to stifle their protests against the imperialist war. The expulsion of the Socialist Assemblymen of New York State is a case of similar character.

Under these conditions to talk of "Democracy" is to throw sand into the eyes of the workers. The much-talked of "American Democracy" is a fraud. Such formal democracy as is written into the Constitution and the Laws of the Country is camouflaged to hide the real character of the rule of the capitalist.

While recognizing the impossibility of the workers winning their emancipation thru use of the machinery of the existing government, the Workers Party realized the importance of election campaigns in developing the political consciousness of the working class. The first step toward revolutionary political action by the working class must be made thru independent political action by the workers in election campaigns. The Workers Party will therefore participate in election campaigns and use them for propaganda and agitation to develop the political consciousness of the workers.

It will endeavor to rally the workers to use their power to make real the rights which the fraudulent American Democracy denies them. It will use them to carry on the struggle for the right of Labor to create a revolutionary political party and for such an organization to function openly in the political life of the country.

The Workers Party will also nominate its candidates and enter into election campaigns to expose the fraudulent character of capitalist democracy and to carry on the propaganda for a working class Soviet government. It will use the election campaigns to rally the workers for mass political demands upon the Capitalist State. Its candidates when elected to office will use their offices for the same purpose.

Labor Unions

The division of the organized workers into craft unions is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the workers in this country against capitalism.

During the past two years organized labor has been dealt many heavy blows by the employers, who are bent on destroying or at least weakening so as to make ineffective the organization of the workers. In spite of this desperate struggle, each craft has fought alone. There has been no united resistance, no solid united front against the Industrial magnates, who are striving to reduce the wages and make worse the working conditions of the workers. The example of the seven railroad shop unions striking while nine other railroad unions continued to serve the Railroad Kings and help them [illegible] the striking workers is but one [illegible] example of [illegible] conditions in the ranks of organized labor in this country.

In addition to the weakness of the craft form of organization the labor unions suffer from a fundamental error of policy. In place of waging a class struggle to free themselves from the grip of the capitalists they have pursued the policy of attempting to come to an agreement with the capitalists on the basis of a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

No such compromise with capitalism can be permanent. The hunger of the capitalists for greater profits drives them to seek to lower the standard of living of the workers when they have the upper hand. On the other hand when the workers are in a strong position their need and their desire for more of the good things they produce results in greater demands upon the capitalists.

The gain of the workers during the war time scarcity of labor and their present losses indicate the futility of the hope that the class struggle can be settled thru a compromise.

The Labor Unions must be revolutionized; they must be won for the class struggle against capitalism; they must be inspired with a new solidarity and united to fight a common battle. The existing craft unions must be amalgamated and powerful industrial unions created in each industry. The reactionary official bureaucracy of the unions must be supplanted by the shop delegate system.

The Workers Party declares one of its chief immediate tasks to be to inspire in the labor unions a revolutionary purpose and to unite them in a mass movement of uncompromising struggle against capitalism. It will use all the resources at its command to educate the organized workers to an understanding of the necessity of amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions.

This end cannot be achieved if the revolutionary workers leave the existing unions to form feeble dual organizations. The work of transforming the labor unions must be carried on inside of the existing unions. The members of the Workers Party will [illegible] powerful [illegible] workers [illegible].

The Workers Party declares its support of the Red Labor International and adopts as its program for the struggle within the Unions the theses of the Red Labor International on the American Labor Unions.

The Working Farmer and Farm Laborer

The struggle of the farm laborers is the same struggle in which the industrial workers are engaged. It is a struggle against those who exploit them thru low wages and hard working conditions. The Workers Party will seek to organize the farm laborers into unions of agricultural workers and to unite them with their brothers in the industrial centers for the common struggle against capitalism.

While the exploitation of the working farmer is not so apparent, he suffers in the grip of the same enemy who robs the industrial workers of the cities. The bank which holds the mortgage on his land, the railroad which transports his product, the grain elevator or the commission house which he must use in marketing his product represent the tentacles of the same capitalist system which is robbing the industrial workers.

The interests of the working farmers and farm laborers are linked together with those of the exploited industrial workers and it is the aim of the Workers Party to arouse the working farmer and farm laborer to a consciousness of this and to unite them with the industrial workers in a common struggle against their common exploiter.

The Negro Worker

The Negro workers of this country are exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than any other group. The history of the Southern Negro is the history of brutal terrorism, of persecution and murder.

During the war tens of thousands [illegible] the South [illegible] the Negro workers.

Altho the influx of Negro workers in the Northern industrial centers has laid the foundation for a mass movement of Negroes who are industrial workers the anti-Negro policy of organized labor has made it impossible to organize these industrial workers. The Negro has despaired of aid from organized labor and he has been driven either into the camp of the enemies of labor, or has been compelled to develop purely racial aims.

The Workers Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for liberation and will help them in their fight for economic, political and educational equality. It will seek to end the policy of discrimination followed by the labor unions. It will endeavor to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the black and white workers and to weld them into a solid union for the struggle against the capitalists who exploit and oppress them.

Soviets, or Workers' Councils

The experience of the workers in the struggle against capitalism has proven that the workers cannot take over the ready-made machinery of the capitalist government and use this machinery to build up a Communist society. The form of organization of the existing government, its constitutional basis, its laws, the bureaucracy which has been built up over a century cannot be used by the workers. They are all of a character to aid the capitalists in the struggle against the workers and cannot be transformed into instruments of struggle of the workers against the capitalists.

The workers' revolution in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, the revolutionary struggles in Germany, all show that the Soviets or Workers' Councils, are [illegible] in the factories and labor unions. [illegible] councils which [illegible] arise in the case of a great strike embracing all the workers of a city. The local councils are federated in state or district councils and these in a national council, or Soviet, which is the supreme organ of the working class government. The Soviets carry on both the legislative and administrative work of the working class government.

The Workers Party will carry on propaganda to bring to the workers an understanding of the necessity of supplanting the existing capitalist government with a Soviet Government.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The existing capitalist government is a dictatorship of the capitalists. Today in the United States a comparatively small group of financial and industrial kings with headquarters in Wall Street control the government of the United States, of the states and municipalities. Thru the capitalist government this group of financial and industrial kings enforce their will upon the thirty million workers and their families.

While part of the workers are granted the hollow mockery of voting they find that whether they vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate, in time of struggle the governmental power is always on the side of the financial and industrial kings.

The Soviet Government of the workers, will, because of the same necessity—the necessity of suppressing the capitalists—be a dictatorship of the workers. The government expressing the will of the thirty million workers will openly use its power in the interest of the workers and against the capitalists.

The Goal of the Proletarian Dictatorship

It will be the task of the government of the thirty million workers of this country to take from the cap- [illegible] the management of the industries by the workers.

Thru the establishment of this Communist system of industry the exploitation and oppression of the workers will be ended. As the power of the capitalists in industry wanes and Communism is established the struggle between the classes will disappear and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will become unnecessary and will cease to function. The government will become an instrument for administration of industry and the full, free Communist society will come into being.

The International

The Workers Party accepts the principle that the class struggle for the emancipation of the working class is an international struggle. The workers of Russia have been obliged to fight against the whole capitalist world in order to maintain their Soviet Government and to win the opportunity of rebuilding their system of production on a Communist basis. In this struggle they have had the support of the enlightened workers of every country.

The future struggles against capitalism will take the same character. In order to win the final victory in the struggle against world capitalism the working class of the world must be united under one leadership.

The leadership in the international struggle which inspires hope in the hearts of the workers of the world and arouses fear in the capitalists of every country is the leadership of the Communist International.

The Workers Party declares its sympathy with the principles of the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International.

It rallies to the call "**WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.**"

Resume C. L. P. Trial at Oakland, Calif., As Defense Presents Case

OAKLAND, Cal.—The trial of J. [illegible] Dolsen and four other Communists has been resumed, and the defense is about to begin. The state called as its last witness its new stool pigeon, W. E. Townsend, former I. W. W., who told again his wild story, denied by the U. S. department of agriculture, of the havoc he wrought during the war. Under cross-examination he admitted that he had acted as a stool pigeon several years ago in Portland, being planted in jail to try to get damaging information from some wobblies who were imprisoned there. In this he was unsuccessful. When questioned by Dolsen as to his frequent desertions from the army and navy, Townsend boasted that he had "got all that fixed."

Against the protest of the defense, the judge allowed to be read into the testimony the statements of the present defendants when defense witnesses at the trial of Anita Whitney, acknowledging membership in the Communist Labor party.

Dolsen objected on the ground that this forced the defendants to testify against themselves, which they have the right to refuse to do; but the judge overruled the objection.

This city, scene of the trial for political heresy of five Communists, is no place for anyone with unpopular opinions.

During the Armistice Day parade, an unknown man on the sidewalk failed to remove his hat in reverence as the flag passed by.

Austin Page, a police officer standing near, ordered the man to display the proper religious sentiments. The stranger refused, whereupon Page knocked his hat down over his eyes. The crowd then joined in, and decided to lynch the blasphemer.

Finally a riot call was turned in, and it took a squad of policemen to secure order. In the midst of the fracas the recalcitrant stranger disappeared—with his hat still on his head.

DECEMBER "LIBERATOR"

Just look at these titles and see who has written for the 48-page December number of the "Liberator":

"Russia's Embattled Liberators"—Eugene Debs.
"We Want a Labor Party"—Robert Minor.
"Babbitt and My Russian Friend"—[illegible]
"Toward Amalgamation"—Stanley Boone.
"Let's Have Some Liberty"—Edward Pyle.
"A Look at the Elections"—C. E. Ruthenberg.
[illegible] Bernard Shaw on Russia.

Besides these unsurpassed articles which will appear in the "Liberator," there are cartoons, drawings, editorials, book reviews, poems and pictures galore—all helping to make the "Liberator" the best ever.

Harding, Daugherty, Burns and KKK

Governor Parker of Louisiana recently journeyed to the White House at Washington to lay certain facts regarding the criminal activity of a secret conspiratorial society known as the Ku Klux Klan before the President of the United States, Attorney General Daugherty and Chief of the Investigation Bureau of the Department of Justice, Wm. J. Burns.

This triumvirate, the stupid Harding, the assinine and arrogant Daugherty and the labor-hating head of a private detective agency, decided that the government should not interfere with the operations of the Koo Koos. This aggregation of degenerates meets in secret, conceals its depraved features beneath masks, indulges in wholesale terror, including murder, branding and horsewhipping, and conspires to bring the powers of government under its control. Yet the Harding administration does not consider their activity menacing. Washington winks at the Ku Klux Klan just as Rome permitted the growth of the Italian Fascisti, and Berlin the monarchist activities of the Bavarian Orgesch.

But when a group of workingmen gather for a conference in the state of Michigan the United States government steps in and arrests them and proceeds to prosecute them as criminal conspirators under the state laws. There is no record of murder and wholesale rapine against the Communists who are being persecuted by the government of the United States under the laws of the State of Michigan, but still Daugherty and Burns spend hundreds of thousands of dollars and use an army of spies against these workers, while the Koo-Koos enter into a secret conspiracy against all who do not agree with their bigotry and endeavor to accomplish their aims thru violence alone, and the government does not act.

Yet, in face of this evidence of class hatred on the part of the United States government there still remain workers so unenlightened as to believe that we live under a democracy that should be defended.

One of the reasons for the inaction of the government against the Koo-Koos is that this organization is an avowed opponent of unionism and of the aspirations of the working class in general. Threats have been made by this aggregation of cowards and murderers against organized labor. But organized labor is preparing for the first sign of anti-union activity by the Klan that takes on the menacing form of attacking union headquarters and is preparing to resist.

If the government permits this gang of reptiles to engage in wholesale lawlessness the working class has but one recourse when attacked by the Klan and that is to exterminate the first hooded snake that attempts to attack a labor headquarters or any gathering of workers.—H. M. W.

If Cassidy, Socialist-Farmer-Labor candidate for governor, got 61,917 votes in New York City; and Steinmetz, candidate for state engineer, got 205,808 votes, how many ballots were cast for Socialism? Books by Marx, Engels and Liebknecht offered for best answers.

BRONX OPEN FORUM
(Auspices English Branch W. P. and Y. W. L.)
ANNOUNCES ITS FIRST LECTURE
SALVATORE IAROSSI
Organiser
ITALIAN FEDERATION OF THE WORKERS PARTY
on the
"FASCISTI"
(and the Italian Situation).
Sunday Evening, Dec. 3rd, at 8 P. M.,
at WORKERS' HALL, 1347 Boston Road.
COMING LECTURES BY H. M. WICKS, PAXTON HIBBEN, ALEXANDER BITTELMAN, C. E. RUTHENBERG, and others.

COMRADES! SPEND YOUR SUNDAY EVENING
at the BRONX WORKERS HALL.
ADMISSION 15 CENTS — SPLENDID MUSICAL PROGRAM

In the World of Books

By MAX SCHACHTMAN

One would think that a war which killed, maimed and drove mad millions of men, devastated entire countries and did more general catastrophic mischief than a dozen other wars put together, would call forth a literature of enormous proportions. Instead, there is a tendency to "forget it," to refer to it as "the late unpleasantness."

John Kenneth Turner's "Shall It Be Again" (B. W. Huebsch) is a tremendously important addition to the books of Dos Passos, Will Irwin, a handful of others, and the few pamphlets which constitute the only literature of any merit written here.

In his book he comes to the only possible conclusion that "the truth is that there was not a particle of democracy about our war, either in the way it was achieved, in the way it was conducted, in the distribution of its burdens, in the fighting organization itself, in its real motives, in the manner of making peace, or in its fruits, either at home or abroad; that we quarreled with Germany, went to war, and negotiated peace, purely in the interest and at the direction of high finance, and at all stages to the prejudice of the general welfare." And he proves this in no uncertain or answerable manner.

His indictment of Wilson's hypocrisies and lies is perfect and complete. But when he accuses Wilson of having drawn the country into the war single-handedly, he is most naive. He redeems himself, however, when he writes that "the changing phases of the Wilson diplomacy . . . unertingly followed the changing interests of Wall Street."

He is weakest when he discusses a remedy. Tho, in the very last paragraphs, he says that wars can be avoided "by the institution of a new social order based upon economic equality," the general impression created is that he favors the old liberal panacea of "good and better" governments.

Our system of producing, distributing and exchanging commodities causes a periodic surplus. Thru its enormous wastes and luxuries Capitalism tries to consume this surplus but is finally forced to compete with rival "countries" for markets. This inevitably leads to wars. Nothing but the abolition of the original evil Capitalism, can obviate wars. This is, as Van Wyck Brooks would say, a simple economic fundamental.

Mr. Turner gives the war-mongers their due. Even Sam Gompers gets his. As a mere collection of facts the book is a masterpiece and no one can talk with even the least authority on the war without having read this excellent expose of our miserable imperialist ventures, not only in Europe, but those still going on in Haiti, San Domingo and the rest of Wall Street's colonial empire.

Class War Armistice for Thanksgiving Eve Ball

"Armistice declared in the Class War".

The Workers Party, battling continually for the emancipation of the workers from the miseries of capitalism, has declared an armistice, but for one night only.

This night will be Wednesday, Nov. 29, and the articles will be signed at "The Lyceum", 86th Street and 3rd Ave., where the **WORKERS' ARMY** will gather to enjoy the festivities arranged by Local Greater New York of the Workers Party.

Acrobatic performances, jazz dancing, fox trotting and singing will be some of the things which will add zest to the entertainment.

Tickets entitling the purchaser to participate in the entire program can be purchased at the Local Party Office, 208 East 12th St., and all branches of the party for the sum of 50 cents. No additional price will be charged for taking care of your wardrobe.

Remember the day and date. Wednesday, Nov. 29. Place: The Lyceum, 86th Street and 3rd Avenue at 8 P.M.

Lecture Course Arranged by Local New York, Workers Party

Local New York, Workers Party, has arranged a course of ten lectures on "The State, in Theory and Practice," by Dr. I. Goldstone, to be given at the John Reed Hall, 208 E. 12th St., New York City, Wednesday night of each week, commencing Wednesday, Nov. 29th. Dr. Goldstone needs no introduction to the radical public. He has been affiliated with the Revolutionary Movement of this country for many years past, and has spoken and lectured on occasions too numerous to mention. The fee for the entire course will be $1. This course substitutes the course of lectures which Comrade Ludwig Lore was to have delivered. Those who have registered and paid their fees for the Lore course, will be given credit, should they desire to take Dr. Goldstein's course. You can register for this course at Party Headquarters, 208 East 12th Street, any evening during the week.

SECOND ANNUAL BALL

The New York Local of the Y. W. L., as a climax to the big organization drive which is now drawing to a successful close, will hold its second annual ball, December 2, at the Workers' Hall, 1347 Boston Road.

The international character of our organization will be adequately portrayed by the comrades present. The various Italian, Hungarian, Finnish and other language branches will be down in full force. An enjoyable time is assured all present as, beside the regular dancing, a fine entertainment has been arranged.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Western Pennsylvania News

FRED H. MERRICK,
Organizer, District Five
Workers Party of America
35 Miller Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Bell Phone, Grant 9855

District Ball Dec. 1st

The first Annual Ball of District Five will be held at Duquesne Garden, Craig and Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Friday eve., Dec. 1st.

Duquesne Garden is a splendid place for a ball. One of the largest dancing floors in Pennsylvania in first class condition and capable of accomodating about 1000 dancers.

The famous Maggio Orchestra has been secured. Come and make this first district ball an unqualified success. Admission, including tax, 55 cents.

* * *

Dear "Comrade" Bill Adams and the Burns Detective Agency

"Bill" Adams, the old "Socialist" war horse of the Pittsburgh district who has been trusted implicitly by the radicals but has been acting queerly for some time back has been caught with the goods.

Due to his long membership in the Socialist Party and his perennial candidacy for various offices he had secured a speaking acquaintance with practically every radical in the Pittsburgh district. For several years he made daily trips from Pittsburgh to McKeesport, passing thru the intervening industrial towns and selling the Call. He acquired quite a list of names by this means. He has since discontinued this due to the falling off of interest in the Call among its readers, many of whom said the paper was too spineless.

Recently a group of radicals to whom the Workers Party appealed got together and organized a branch. Shortly after Scott Nearing came to McKeesport and lectured to about sixty people in a spacious school auditorium. At this meeting "Bill" met a member of the new branch. Said he, "The Workers Party is a bunch of disrupters." Now it happens that dear old "Bill" is known as the prize harmonizer among those who do not know him. In fact he is always talking harmony in public a la Debs but dropping the insinuating double meaning words of poison to individuals.

On this occasion "Bill" who denounces disruption proceeded to cause as much disruption as he could. He approached a member of the new branch and said:

"You better keep away from the Workers Party. I was up to the Burns Detective Agency's office the other day and they told me they have the name of every member of the Workers Party."

The result was that this member became frightened and withdrew from the branch. The other members got busy and determined to show Adams and his kind that detectives and spies cannot destroy the branch. No doubt this "socialist war-horse" feels very happy over the result he accomplished in this particular case but we predict that Adams will shortly find a more congenial climate in California where he spent last winter when the radicals here learn of his close acquaintance with the Burns Detective Agency.

Open Forum Begins in Bronx

The Workers Party and the Young Workers League of the Bronx have joined forces to create an open forum. A splendid series of lectures is being arranged and the best speakers of the Workers Party are being secured for the forum. The first lecture, Dec. 3, will be on the "Fascisti and the Italian Situation", by Salvatore Jarrossi, national organizer of the Italian Federation of the Workers Party.

Future lectures will be by H. M. Wicks on "The Labor Party" and Paxton Hibben on "Has Russia Abandoned Communism?"

The forum is held every Sunday evening at 8 P. M. at Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road.

F. S. R. Bazaar at Toledo

The Toledo, Ohio, Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia will hold a bazaar at the Union Hall, 2748 La Grange St., Toledo, Ohio, Sunday, November 26, at 2 P. M. Toys from Russia will be sold at this Bazaar. Proceeds of this Bazaar will be sent in full to F. S. R. national office.

The Greek Federation

All communications for the Greek Federation and their organ "The Voice of the Worker" should be sent to their new address, 629—6th Ave., New York City.

Seven-Day Bazaar for Russia's Orphans New York, Dec. 18-24

A seven-day Bazaar, the biggest labor undertaking of its kind in recent years, for the benefit of destitute Russian orphans, will be held in the week preceding Christmas, Dec. 18 to 24 inclusive, at the Lyceum, 201 East 86th Street. It will be run in conjunction with a Russian Handicraft Exposition, comprising a large portion of the 30,000 articles of peasant skill recently arrived in America. The program for the week as planned by Local New York of the F. S. R., under whose auspices it is being run, includes a rich variety of entertainment, music and novelty features.

ass Meeting! December 8, Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th St., SUBJECT: "Formation of the Labor Pa SPEAKERS: Ruthenberg, Olgin and Ot

England Refuge of [illegible]

Mohammed VI, Sultan of Turkey, [illegible] workers and peasants of [illegible] Constantinople on a British warship. [illegible] the footsteps of King Constantine, of Greece, [illegible] when his Greek army was kicked out of Asia Minor.

It is [illegible] that Great Britain has been the traditional refuge of deposed sovereigns. Napoleon, more than a hundred years ago, like the Sultan now, found safety in flight on a British ship. It is [illegible] that the late kaiser even considered giving himself up to the British.

British protection of the Turkish sultan is a confession that Great Britain's support of Greek armies was merely to aid them in a war on the Turkish workers and peasants, that England has no differences with Turkish capitalists, bankers and landlords.

In hustling the deposed Sultan out of Constantinople the British were worrying more about themselves than about their suppliant tool. By keeping the ex-Sultan under their protection the British hope to set him up somewhere else than in Constantinople as the spiritual chief of all Mohammedans, if not the temporal ruler of Turkey. In this way the British expect to quiet discontent among the Mohammedan subjects in Egypt, India, Mesopotamia and other subject colonies.

But even the last of Sultans in Great Britain's embrace will not blind the Mohammedans to the nature of their real struggle against British imperialism. The oppressed nations everywhere, in common with the subject working classes in all capitalist nations, are having their eyes opened by the developing war of slave against master. The last of the Sultans is gone, another defeat for British capitalism, another retreat of world imperialism.

Dance Among the Kitchen Pans

When Isadora Duncan came to the United States she told the New York immigration authorities that she was "not in politics," not even in Soviet Russia, and after stating her case very strenuously she finally got into the country of her birth, the United States of America.

"I want everybody to dance and sing and be happy. That is my idea of Communism," she told her "farewell" audience at Carnegie Hall, New York City, and she took up a collection, in true Communist style, after her performance, to help finance her school in Moscow, Soviet Russia.

Miss Duncan isn't interested in training children for stage dancing. She says she hates the stage. She wants everybody to dance, to get joy into their lives, to dance, as she puts it, "even among the kitchen pans."

And she had to go to Soviet Russia to realize her ideals, to develop a school with Soviet aid and thru the co-operation of Lunacharsky, commissar of education. But her spirit isn't bounded by the confines of a nation, it isn't limited by narrow patriotism, she expresses it in the word "Internationale."

While the drama reflects the struggle for Communist ideals on the stage thru the Theater Guild production of "R. U. R." at the Frazee Theater, Isadora Duncan, in five performances in New York City, and others elsewhere, preached her gospel of mass joy from the dancing stage to audiences she addressed as "Comrades!", audiences that responded with vociferous applause, an expression of their keen delight and overflowing appreciation.

But this joy will never come until capitalism has been swept away, until child labor and other barbaric outgrowths of wage slavery have become hideous, historic memories, until the mind as well as the body have been liberated by the new Communist order.

Then, too, the happiness of the children will continue to live when these boys and girls as men and women go forth, with the urge of music and the dance in their souls, to do the useful work of a social system that gives first place to those who labor—"even among the kitchen pans."

Renewed Depression in 1923

It is admitted that we are approaching the winter with less unemployment than last year. The jobless army that tramps the streets of the nation's industrial centers is not as great now as it was in 1921.

But we are assured by no less an authority than John Moody, expert on economics and finance, in an address to the Chicago Association of Commerce, that we are faced with another depression, that "reaction from the present revival is not many months ahead of us, and while the first few months of 1923 may be relatively prosperous, we may run into a renewed period of deflation before the end of 1923."

Altho the United States is the "richest" nation in the world, the gold, the industries, the resources are in the hands of the few. The worker who receives 23 cents an hour in wages does not make a good purchaser of commodities. When labor does not get even a "living wage" it has little with which to buy and keep industry going. Thus the home market is at a minimum.

Moody feels that Europe will not be able to pay, that "not in the lifetime of the son of the youngest man in this room will Germany be able to pay the indemnities demanded of her, nor will France or Italy be able to make full settlement with the United States." That means that the workers will continue to pay "taxes" on Liberty Bond issues and other war debts, in addition to keeping a spendthrift capitalist government going, instead of using this money to purchase family necessities. This also reduces purchasing power.

The high tariff wall, aided by the high price of the American dollar in all foreign countries, also makes it impossible for other countries to buy or sell here. Instead of purchasing raw products here, Europe is compelled to turn elsewhere, especially to Soviet Russia. Therefore, American ships lie idle in the nation's ports.

Thus, with the greatest industrial machine in the world, with untold resources of raw materials, the American working class faces another jobless crisis, another period of extreme suffering and misery.

This will be so for the one reason that the workers permit the nation's industrial machine and its resources to remain in the hands of the big capitalists. Let labor think this over. While it is thinking, let it also watch—watch the workers and peasants in Soviet Russia.

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[illegible]

By J. [illegible]

We have heard no cry from the British conservatives, [illegible] in the recent elections, for any election reform [illegible] make democracy under capitalism more effective. That is easily understood. If even the rudiments of proportional representation were in force in Great Britain the Bonar Law conservatives would have faced a minority of 127 against the other parties, instead of enjoying a majority of about 80 as at present.

These facts become apparent with the totalling of the votes showing that the ballots were cast as follows: Conservatives, 5,361,830; Labor, 4,225,823; Asquith Liberals, 1,542,109; others 343,890. If each party were represented according to votes cast there would be 207, instead of 346 conservatives; 163, instead of 142 labor members; 99 Asquith Liberals, 59 National (Lloyd George) Liberals and 13 Independents.

Proportional representation is in force in Italy, and is a stumbling block for the Mussolini military dictatorship. Thus Mussolini proposes that this little obstacle be wiped out, and that the party receiving the highest number of votes be given three-fifths of the members of the Italian parliament. This is practically what the British conservatives got without proportional representation. It is what the anti-labor forces get with the rise of the working class to power, thru the unification of capitalism's separate political forces, conservative and liberal in England, republican and democratic in the United States.

* * *

When labor becomes strong enough to threaten the capitalist state it is then that capitalism throws off all the shams of democracy. In the words of Mussolini, addressing both branches of the Italian parliament:

> "I am today performing in this hall what is an act of purely formal deference toward you and for which I do not seek your thanks. Italy has given herself a Government OUTSIDE, ABOVE AND AGAINST ANY DESIGNATION BY PARLIAMENT. Now I affirm that REVOLUTION HAS ITS RIGHTS and I add that I am here in order to defend and make the most of the Black Shirts' Revolution by inserting it intimately as a force tending toward development, progress and equilibrium in the history of the nation.
>
> "With 300,000 youths perfectly armed and ready for anything, I might have punished the enemies of the Fascismo. I might have bivouacked my troops in this very hall. I MIGHT HAVE CLOSED PARLIAMENT AND RULED WITH A PURELY FASCISTI GOVERNMENT. I say I might have done these things, but—AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT—I have not wished to do them."

Under this threat the obedient political slaves of Italian capitalism in the Chamber of Deputies voted their confidence in Dictator Mussolini, 306-116, thus placing, in the words of the Associated Press, the "seal of legality upon a movement which three weeks ago was considered by the then ruling authorities as rebellion and revolution."

"This chamber is dead and embalmed," laments Turati, the "coalitionist Socialist," to which Mussolini replied, "Petty resentment because I wouldn't let you in the government."

* * *

Thus does the mask of democracy fall from the grinning face of capitalist oppression, revealing parliamentarism as a word-feast to which labor is invited when it is weak, but admittance to which it is denied when it becomes strong and powerful. In the Polish elections just held, in spite of the strong Communist movement in Poland, but two Communists were permitted election. Most of the others are in prison, in exile, or dead.

Before the recent elections the British Communists asked, "Why Bother About Parliaments?" and they answered their own question by declaring that the Communist Party runs candidates for parliament:

> "Firstly: Because the Boss Class will use Parliament to give a show of fair play and legality to every act of dictatorial repression against the workers until the workers rob them of that pretence by taking Parliament away from them. Every working-class candidate elected who is man enough to protest against and expose these atrocities can use the very authority of his position as member of Parliament to expose the fraud and humbug of Parliament itself—to show the immorality concealed behind the Law and the brutality and class-savagery camouflaged as government impartiality.
>
> "This is especially important in the case of strikes and lock-outs, and here a vote for a workers candidate—provided it be the vote of a man who means to back his vote with deeds of determination—is a challenge to the dictatorship of the Big Boss class.
>
> "Secondly the Communist Party takes part in elections in order to put the whole issue to a practical test.
>
> "The majority of the workers at present 'believe in' Parliament and see no necessity for the disciplined, planned and purposeful struggle which will be necessary if they are ever to be freed. To cure them of this illusion is impossible without a practical test. Therefore the Communist Party promotes candidatures, and urges the support of others of such a character as will test definitely the question whether Parliament can be used as an instrument of working-class emancipation or whether it must be scrapped as an instrument designed for oppression and capable of nothing else."

Developments in all capitalist countries are furnishing the workers with rich experiences gained thru the electoral campaigns and thru parliamentary activities.

More and more they understand why the Russian Communists disbanded the Constituent Assembly, in the words of Mussolini, as one of the "rights of the revolution."

The workers learn better daily why they must erect their Soviet Rule for the conquest of all power on the wreckage of capitalism's institutions, especially of capitalism's parliaments. Mussolini will prove a good teacher in Italy. He has his imitation in every land.

The Tom Mooney Defense Committee, thru its press service, feels elated over the election of the Democratic candidate for governor of California, Friend W. Richardson, hoping that "under his regime Mooney and Billings and other innocent unionists now confined in California prisons will be given justice." The Mooney Committee classifies U. S. Senator Hiram Johnson as a reactionary, pointing out that his machine suffered a heavy setback in the governorship fight, in spite of the support of reactionary labor leaders. Johnson is one of those listed with the organizers of a possible "Third Party" as an antidote for a Labor Party. Watch him.

You can't keep a trust down for long. J. Ogden Armour, the Chicago hog butcher, is in Washington and telling Attorney General Daugherty that Armour & Co. want to take over some of the other tentacles of the meat industry into a $500,000,000 food trust. Daugherty will surely be willing to permit this for a bribe, commonly known as a fee. It is declared similar overtures are coming from the steel industry.

American Legionnaires are getting first lessons on how to ape the Italian Fascisti. Edward Cosci spoke before the Tiger Post No. 23, American Legion, New York, recently on the "Fascisti Triumph in Italy." Perhaps the American Legion and the Italian Fascisti can reach an agreement for an exchange of lecturers as a development of Fascisti internationalism.

"Two is company, three is a crowd," claims our contemporary, the Wall Street Journal, in referring to the political situation. This spokesman of greed, of course, wants the field for the two old parties. But when the two united old parties are opposed by a solid labor party, even then the country will be too small for them. The united old parties will have to go.

"Nine corporations increase dividends or pay extra ones," says a New York Times headline, Nov. 16. In the same issue we find another headline, "Woman Trains Dog to Steal Meat." But the corporations, of course, will be allowed to retain their loot, while the woman and her dog go to jail. Moral: It never pays to steal on a small scale.

The U. S. Shipping Board has decided to pay the impoverished Standard Oil Co. 50 cents per barrel in excess of the price paid last year. The Oil Trust will provide 17,000,000 barrels in all, thus pocketing a handsome sum totalling $8,500,000 to prevent "John D." from starving to death.

[illegible] that now was the time for the United States to recognize the Far Eastern Republic as the de facto government of Siberia. That would help American manufacturers in their drive for Siberian trade in competition with the Japs.

But now amid the trickling of tears, we hear the sobs of The Times, deploring the return of the Far Eastern Republic to the Soviet fold so that "the red flag of the world revolution rules from the Baltic to the Pacific." And far be it from The Times, speaking for the Wall Street bankers, to urge recognition of Soviet Russia, or any member of the Soviet Federation, that is so inconsiderate and undignified in its dealings with capitalists.

We take it that the term, "Read It and Weep," is but a turn on that exhortation in the game of craps, "Read 'Em and Weep." The Times, in common with the "statesmen" of Washington, and diplomats in Paris, London and Rome, rolled their dice in the world game of politics, no less than the darkie crapshooter rolls his. But they all came up of the same kind, defeats for Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Wrangel, defeats for world imperialism, victories for Soviet Rule, and the capitalist diplomats of the Versailles Peace and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk have, as a result, all done their share of weeping.

Now when the editorial writer of The Times reads that Soviet Siberia will be added to Soviet Russia, Soviet Ukraine, Soviet Karelia, Soviet Georgia, Soviet Azerbaidjan and Soviet Armenia, he weeps some more. In the meantime the Washington diplomats and statesmen put on poker faces and await further distressing developments as best they can.

The Soviets and the Turks

From the rather sympathetic cables of Walter Duranty from Moscow to the New York Times we gather that the Isvestia, official organ of the Soviet Government, has served notice on the Turkish Nationalist Government not to oppress Turkish Communists. An article in the Isvestia is reported as saying that:

> "The Russian working class regards Turkish Communists and Turkish workers as its comrades. It shares their joys and sorrows. The Russian proletariat cannot sit cold-bloodedly watching the harsh oppression of its comrades in a country which it has already helped and is ready to help in the future in its struggle against the carnivores of the imperialist world.
>
> "Not only the Russian Communist Party, but all Russian workers and peasants, hotly protest against this unacceptable situation, in which the Turkish bourgeoisie oppresses the Turkish Communists and the proletariat.
>
> "In the interests of the existing friendly alliance between the two peoples the Angora government must once and for all abandon this policy of systematic oppression of Turkish Communists."

This can be interpreted as a Soviet invitation to the Turkish workers' and peasants' government, to oust all bourgeois elements, to get rid of the Kerenskys, the Scheidemanns and the Hendersons and establish their own Soviet Rule. Until the Turkish proletariat establishes its own dictatorship it can be expected that there will be counter-revolutionary persecution of Communists wherever possible.

It has come to our notice that the head of only one nation, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, spokesman for the Angora Turkish Nationalist Government, has greeted the Russian Soviet Government on its fifth anniversary, in the following felicitous message:

> "The Soviet Revolution overturned the old regime and inaugurated a new era, one of the principal features of which has been the establishment of a Russo-Turkish friendship which I am convinced will grow stronger and stronger."

No such message of friendship has been received by Soviet Russia from the "Socialist" President, Friedrich Ebert, of Germany, nor the "Socialist premiers" of other lands.

It is safe to assert that every firm stand of the Turkish workers' government against its internal and foreign enemies is prompted by the inspiration that comes from Soviet Russia's example.

Kemal Pasha and the Angora Government may be sympathetic with Soviet Rule in Russia, but they cannot declare their complete solidarity with it until they have wiped out the last bit of influence of Sultan, capitalist and landlord from their own midst. We join with the workers thruout the world in hoping this day will not be long in coming.

British Labor Moving Up

When the British reactionaries had used the Lloyd George coalition government for all that it was worth, they kicked it into the discard and forced the elections of Wednesday, Nov. 15. How well they played their cards is shown by the fact that they won 346 seats in the new parliament, a majority of from 80 to 85 over all parties, the greatest conservative victory since Benjamin Disraeli swept into power in 1874 with 352 conservative votes.

But altho the conservatives have won a great victory, altho Lloyd George and his liberals have been completely ditched, British reaction faces 142 spokesmen of labor in the next parliament, nearly double the 75 labor members in the last parliament.

This labor block, as a result of the struggles thru which the British working class has passed these last few years, will be more cohesive, more of a unit in action, than any previous parliamentary group speaking for the workers.

All of labor's "old guard," with the exception of Arthur Henderson, widely advertised as a possible "labor premier," have been elected, including MacDonald, Clynes, Snowden, Webb, Wilson, Tillett, Jowett and Thomas. Much cannot be expected from these, long alien to any symptoms of labor militancy. It was they who forced into the program of the Labor Party the traitor declaration that:

"Labor's program is the best bulwark against violent upheaval and class war. Democratic government can be made effective in this country without bloodshed or violence. Labor's policy is to bring about a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth by constitutional means. This is neither Bolshevism nor Communism, but common sense and justice. This is labor's alternative, to reaction and revolution."

That is the declaration of the Scheidemannists of Great Britain, who are more responsible than the labor reactionists of any other country for the revival of the Second (Socialist) International, and the war of the Amsterdam Trade Union International against Communists in all countries.

But among these 142 labor members there are sure to develop young militants who will rise with the tide of revolution. It is they who will make developments in the House of Commons worth watching.

There will be two Communists in the next British parliament. J. T. Walton Newbold has been elected from the Motherwell Division of Lanarkshire as a candidate of the British Communist Party. S. Saklatvala, altho a Communist, was nominated as a Labor Party candidate and elected from Battersea, a working-class section of London. Saklatvala is a Parsee of Delhi, Ind., but has been living in England since 1903. He defeated his Lloyd Georgian opponent, 11,311 to 9,296.

The biggest feature of the British elections is that it strengthened both labor and reaction at the expense of the liberals, thus developing a greater class cleavage. British labor is making progress because it is gradually building a united front against its enemies. Let American labor learn this lesson.

[illegible]
of the grave. Never was
Reaper so near to hand. I
keep you in suspense any
Here's everything that h
read and weep:

It was about two o'clock
night. I was all alone in
working hard trying to
something for the Bolcoms
were but six hours left be
paper goes to press and I
feel somewhat uneasy. I c
eyes in deep meditation—wh
a sudden (steady your nerv
the lights went out! I hear
of breaking glass!!! Then
were lit again and I found
paper pinned with a dagger
desk. I choke back a cry
and read:

"My dear Mr. Talmadge:

"Having heard from very
tic sources that your fo
shortly be in need of an u
for your funeral, I hereby
pleasure of introducing m
you. I am the most fashion
aristocratic funeral directo
city. Guarantee satisfactory
None of my patrons ever co
neither will you. My slogan
piness in Every Box." As
chiefly concerned in the
please see to it that your f
no one else but me.

"Yours very truly,

"I. PLANTT

"Up-to-date Un

I hardly got thru reading
in marched 13 masked men,
rying a club and a Forward
sight of the Forward my h
clammy with cold perspi
but dimly recall what to
after that, I only remember
of them pulled out a long p
and started to read off all
against capitalism, the Ku K
the Forward, the A. F. of L
ra. In vain I've begged o
take pity on all my sw
wives and children; he wo
ten to me. As soon as he
his companions tied all the
together into a rope;
around my neck and were
bid me farewell when a tri
ter saved me from the fate
have been mine. Just the
gods, just then I got sore
and woke up to discover to
disappointment that THE
ER had gone to press th
before . . .

Ode to the American Labo

Hush, dear old A. L.
don't you cry;
You'll elect an assem-
blyman, by and by!

Rather Serious

Large national banking i
in need of presidents, or co
with over a million capital i
treasurers have a wonderf
tunity to secure a very goo
either of the above position
Editor-in-Chief of the Bo
out of work at present.

Weather Forecast

(With apologies to the
Weather Bureau and t

IN EUROPE—Strong
winds shifting from East to

IN THE FORWARD—
high percentage of humidit
ity and hot air . . .

IN THE A. F. OF L.—
stormy.

IN THE SOCIALIST
Cloudy; no sunshine.

IN THE YELLOW
Nasty. Rain of lies.

IN ENGLISH PO
CIRCLES—Cyclone, cloud
earthquake.

IN THE CALL—Total
—an eclipse of the Sun.

AMONG THE FASCIST
Constant brainstorms.

IN THE REPUBLICAN
—Thunders and lightning.

IN THE BOLCOMS—
and "Moonshine."

Let Murphy Answer

"Daddy, is there a D
Party in heaven?"

"No, my child."

"So if you wanna vote fo
mocrats must you go to

**On With The Dance, Le
Uncen**

Thanksgiving Eve we
burden of our high and mi
lay aside the quill and
scissors, blue pencil and
and with our better
wend our way to—THE
ERS' PARTY BALL.

The Staff expects
the Bolcoms residing
dred miles from New York
this Terpsichorean Revel
Young ladies are
their dances with Ye Ed
[illegible]

AN ORGAN OF [illegible]

nifesto of the Workers Party [illegible] America's Toilers [illegible]

Organize the Party of Labor

orkers! Organize the Party of Labor!
anifesto of the Workers Party of America:

e working people of this country stand before an important decision. They must decide whether they will continue to support the political parties of their enemies and exploiters, the Republican and Democratic parties, or whether they will create a labor party which will carry political struggles of the workers against these parties.

many years the working people of this country have divided strength between the Republican and Democratic parties. Thru they have placed first one and then the other of these parties [illegible]

result has always been the same for the workers. Whether one other of the old parties have been in office the machinery of the [illegible] has been used against the workers and to help the railroad the coal barons and trust magnates.

is has been particularly true since the war. During the war there up in this country a powerful centralised government at Washington. It is this centralized governmental power which is now being against the workers when they try to secure better wages and working conditions from their employers.

he coal strike and the steel strike of 1919 the Washington government mobilized all its power, from injunctions to soldiers, against the in order to beat them into submission to the terms of the employers. [illegible] industrial struggles of the past two years the federal government thrown its strength behind the open shoppers in their effort [illegible] living wage cannot be paid to the workers by the railroads. In the coal strike the Washington government participated actively struggle against the workers. In a half a dozen states soldiers called out by the governors in order to help the coal barons enforce scab shop and starvation wages in the mining industry.

The fight of the railway workers for a living wage and to maintain unions is the most striking example of how completely the government of the United States is an instrument of the capitalists to keep down wages and to smash the unions. [illegible] the Railroad Labor Board, created by the government [illegible] the workers on the railroads. Twice it has forced wage cuts upon the railroad workers. Its rulings have been such as to [illegible] In the shopmen's strike it did all within its power to destroy the workers' organization. The Coronado case decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is another instance showing how openly the capitalists use the governmental power against the workers. The Daugherty injunction issued during the shopmen's strike is conclusive proof that [illegible] the government is ready to take from the workers every right in order to help the bosses enforce their wage-cuts and to destroy the workers' organization.

The Daugherty injunction denied the shopmen the right of free speech. It denied them the right of a free press. It denied them the right of free assemblage. It denied them the right to organize. It denied them the right to use funds which they had paid into the treasury of their unions in the fight against the wage-cut and the effort to destroy their unions. Every page of the history of the last few years shows that the government of the United States is an instrument of the railroad kings, coal barons and trust magnates which they use to fight and rob the workers. The government is not only used in the [illegible] of the capitalists in the direct struggles against the workers, but to put thru such capitalist grabs as the new tariff and the ship subsidy bill. It is used to safeguard the investments of the international bankers as in the case of the rape of Haiti and Santo Domingo.

Are the workers of the United States to continue to use their political power to [illegible] cannot afford to pay a living wage and to enforce their decisions? Do they want more Daugherty injunctions, more Coronado decisions? Do they want to find injunctions and soldiers lined up against them every time they try to secure better wages and working conditions?

Nearly two million organized American workers have declared that they want a party of labor to fight the political battles of labor. The United Mine Workers of America, the sixteen railroad unions, the Typographical union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have declared for independent political action by labor.

The representatives of these organizations will meet in Cleveland on December 11th together with representatives of the former organizations and the existing political parties of labor.

Workers of the United States! Demand that this Conference for Progressive Political action create a labor party. Some of the leaders of this conference are opposed to the organization of a labor party. They desire that labor shall continue to be the tail of the political parties of their enemies and exploiters. They wish to continue to "reward their friends and punish their enemies" in the Republican and Democratic parties, only to find in time of struggle between the workers and the bosses that they have only enemies in the government. Some of these leaders wish to make labor the tail of a party of small business men led by the La Follette and Borah and other middle class leaders.

Workers of the United States! The road of progress for the workers is thru a labor party. Only a party founded by the labor unions and dominated by labor can succeed. The future belongs to labor. The struggle of the future in the United States will be between a Labor Party and a party of big business. In England the Labor Party has become the second party in the country standing in opposition to the party of the English capitalists. That is the road American workers must travel.

Workers of the United States! You must use your political strength! Refuse to support the parties of your enemies! Refuse to permit your political power to be wasted in another "progressive" party! Demand the organization of a Labor Party!

You can compel the Conference for Progressive Political Action to [illegible] its readiness to become a part of the Labor Party as an autonomous body. It is ready to co-operate with the organized workers to create a mass political organization to fight the battles of labor.

FORWARD TO THE LABOR PARTY!
FORWARD TO THE RULE OF LABOR!

Workers Party of America, C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

he Workers Party Grows!

By C. E. RUTHENBERG, Secretary, Workers Party

The apportionment of delegates to the National Convention of the Workers Party of America, to be in New York City, beginning December 24th, the progress made by the Party during the four months.

The apportionment of delegates for the convention for August 20th was based upon the dues payments for the months of March, April, May and June. This tabulation of dues payments showed an average membership of 8,319 which paid dues for this period.

The apportionment of delegates to the convention be held in December is based upon the dues payments for the succeeding four months, July, August, September and October. For these four months the average dues payments were 12,394.

Contrasting the figures for these to succeeding months period shows an increase in the membership of the Workers Party of 50 per cent for the period. This increase was achieved in spite of fact that many of the Party organizers and speakers including the national secretary, were arrested in Bridgman raid and could not give their attention Party duties for from two to six weeks. The increase also is proof that the Workers Party organization cannot be intimidated by government raids and persecutions.

The figures above, however, do not tell the whole story of Party growth. For the months of October the dues payments to the Party reached 14,556. The October figures do not include dues payments from the majority of the members of the Czecho-Slovak Federation, none from the Scandinavian Federation and United Toilers. These organizations have come into the Party since, and their dues payments will first begin to show in the membership figures for November. It is a conservative estimate to place the dues paying membership of the Party at 20,000 at the present time.

The distribution of the Party membership by districts and the delegates apportioned is as follows:

No. 1, Boston, 2,031, 8; No. 2, New York, 3,175, 13; No. 3, Philadelphia, 411, 2; No. 5, Pittsburgh, 707, 3; No. 6, Cleveland, 1,160, 5; No. 7, Detroit, 656, 3; No. 8, Chicago, 1,242, 5; No. 9, Minneapolis, 1,470, 6; No. 10, St. Louis, 381, 2; No. 12, Seattle, 445, 2; No. 13, San Francisco, 498, 2; Unorganized, 218, 1. Total average membership, 12,394; total number of delegates, 52.

The membership figures above show a solid progress which should be an encouragement to every Party member and to every man and woman who is interested in building up a strong revolutionary organization of the workers of this country.

Big Meetings to Hear About Labor Party

This Special Labor Party Edition of THE WORKER will be distributed by the tens of thousands at mass meetings, in shops and from house to house to bring working class sentiment to bear upon the political conference to be held at Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 11.

Hundreds of thousands of leaflets carrying the manifesto of the National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League on "A Political Party for Labor," are also being distributed before the Cleveland gathering.

The pamphlet issued by the Workers Party, "For a Labor Party," showing why a labor party can be organized now, is also meeting with a great reception.

Some of the larger mass meetings that have already been arranged for the days preceding and on the day of the conference at Cleveland are as follows:

Cleveland, Dec. 10, 2.30 P. M., Bricklayers' Assembly Hall, 21st St., near Prospect Ave. Speakers: C. E. Ruthenberg, Fred H. Merrick and Caleb Harrison.

New York City, Friday night, Dec. 8, 8 P. M., Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th St. Speakers: C. E. Ruthenberg, Alexander Bittleman and M. J. Olgin.

Chicago, Sunday, Dec. 10. Place to be announced next week. Speakers: William Z. Foster and others.

Boston, Dec. 10, Paine Memorial Hall, 2.30 P. M. Speaker: J. Louis Engdahl.

Minneapolis: Sunday, Dec. 10, 2.30. Speaker: Earl Browder.

Pittsburg is arranging a meeting. Time and place will be announced next week.

The question of "The Labor Party" is being discussed by the various sections, branches and city central

(Continued on Page Two)

American Labor! You Have Slept Too Long!

EUROPEAN WORKER

By Courtesy of [illegible]

fluence the Masses Before izing Power, Trotzky Tells est-European Communists

NOTE.—An able review of world conditions confronting the Communist Parties in different countries is given by Leon Trotzky, head of Russia's Red Army, in a speech to the officials of the Russian Party on the eve of the assembling of the Fourth Congress Communist International at Moscow. A complete copy of this surveying the problems confronting the delegates to the Fourth has been received by THE WORKER. Because of its historic we publish it in full as follows:

By LEON TROTZKY

An anniversary is of course, purely an item in the calendar, events do not occur according to the calendar. The fifth of the Soviet Power constitutes no land mark de- the end of an historical period, the less so in our revolu- epoch when everything is undergoing a process of change. ertheless, every intelligent person and particularly every Communist strive to consider intelligently the recent past, and to analyze the situation presented by this formal date in the calendar, the fifth of the Soviet Power, and of the fourth congress of the Communist International.

had the opportunity of being present at a session of a factory the Party. Here a comrade put the question to me: "In which

(Continued on Page Six)

Spread This Issue of "The Worker" Among Toilers by Thousands

Spread this issue of THE WORKER among the toilers of this country. It tells the great need for a real Labor Party. In the Manifesto of the Workers Party, in articles by Ruthenberg, Amter, Lovestone, Engdahl and others, and in the powerful cartoon on this page, the need for a class Labor Party is brought home to the workers. Bundles of this issue should be ordered for distribution at your Labor Party Mass Meetings, at your union gatherings, in your shop and factory, mill and mine. Bundles of this issue may be had for 3½ cents per copy. Order from THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

ss Meeting! December 8, Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th St., SUBJECT: "Formation of the Labor Pa SPEAKERS: [illegible], Ruthenberg, Og

[illegible] Trial Date Jan. 15

(Special to The Worker)

ST. JOSEPH, Mich.—Two more of the Michigan raid victims are to be released on bail, leaving eight still in jail, according to a statement issued here by C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary, Workers Party, himself one of the defendants.

Philip Arenberg, member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, of Chicago, has already had bail provided for him, while bail is also expected for John Mibelic, member of the Machinists' Union, of Kansas City, Mo.

The drive for bail for those remaining in jail will be continued with renewed vigor.

At the hearing Monday, Nov. 27, when William Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg and the 19 other defendants pleaded not guilty to alleged violation of the Michigan syndicalist law, the trial date was set for Jan. 15.

The motion for the return of papers seized illegally was filed and set for argument Jan. 2.

Attorney O. L. Schmidt, in charge of the prosecution, announced papers ordering the extradition of 55 other delegates and visitors, who, it is claimed, escaped from the alleged convention of the Communist Party at Bridgeman, Mich., shortly before the raid will be drawn up immediately.

U. S. Supreme Court to Hear Arguments in the Ben Gitlow Case

The Supreme Court of the United States has granted a writ of error in the Ben Gitlow case. It means that the constitutionality of the Criminal Anarchy Law of the State of New York, punishing doctrine as doctrine, irrespective of overt acts, will be fully considered. Should it be proved that the law is unconstitutional, it will not only affect the seven New York State cases but will serve as a precedent for the 35 states where similar statutes, masquerading as criminal syndicalism laws, are in existence.

The question then becomes one of national significance. Workers have been subjected to many varieties of persecution within the last five years in many states thruout the country. The prosecutions have not stopped, by any means. In fact, they are increasing constantly.

The appeal of the Ben Gitlow case to the United States Supreme Court carries with it an issue of tremendous import. Every effort must be made to give a flawless presentation in briefs as well as arguments. This means expert legal help and counsel. Funds are badly needed. Any person or persons, labor or fraternal organizations interested in wiping out this reactionary legislation—from our state records should send contributions to: The National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 E. 11th Street, New York City, and help this organization to carry thru the fight.

Canadian Railroads Greet Newbold

WINNIPEG. — Congratulations were sent to J. T. Walton Newbold, newly-elected communist member of the British parliament for the Motherwell division, Scotland, by a group of Winnipeg railroaders. The cablegram read as follows:

"Congratulations, workers of Motherwell. News of election of Newbold hailed with keen satisfaction. You have won honorable distinction. Greetings from some railroad workers of Winnipeg."

Newbold was stopped at the doors of the house of commons by a policeman who refused to believe that he had been elected a member because he did not wear a silk hat and the conventional parliamentary clothes. In his first speech he referred to the king's ceremonial procession in opening parliament as a tomfool show on which too much money had been spent while unemployed were starving. He also praised Oliver Cromwell's manner of dealing with kings.

Progress in West Virginia

The recent West Virginia State Federation of Labor convention at Charleston was the most constructive ever held in this state. A resolution was unanimously adopted demanding the immediate recognition of Soviet Russia, and a loan from the United States of one billion dollars to Soviet Russia to buy farm machinery. This resolution was introduced by A. W. McComis, of Wyatt, and Lawson McMillion, of Rivesville. The resolution passed almost without debate.

The hard fight the West Virginia workers have gone thru for many years, and especially the last year, has opened their eyes, and the workers of this little mountain state are going forward, from now on. Nothing short of the Workers Party will satisfy them.

[illegible] Be Duped by This Buncomb!

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

All indications are that the champions of a class Labor Party will be compelled to battle a tidal wave of "reward and punish" sentiment at the Conference for Progressive Political Action, to be held at Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 11th.

The elements that have carried the Socialist Party, Farmer-Labor Party, Nonpartisan League and practically every other working class political effort, with the single exception of the WORKERS PARTY, into the Gompers' camp, are puffed to the point of bursting by their interpretation of the results of the recent election.

"Election Marks an Epoch; Trade Union Policy Succeeds," boldly announces the official weekly news service, Nov. 18, of the American Federation of Labor, yet the next senate will contain but one Farmer-Labor Party member, and the next house of representatives but one Socialist, and one Farmer-Laborite. The British Labor Party having elected 142 members to parliament, is less jubilant than the Gompers' organ.

Gompers claims 24 "friends" among the Senators, and 156 "friends" among the Representatives, including on his list some of the worst enemies of labor, like Johnson, of California; Beveridge, of Indiana, and their kind. But there are still those that can be fooled by this buncomb.

"Reaction Is Routed by Votes of Farmers and Workers," proclaims "Labor," the official organ of the Sixteen Associated Recognised Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, published at Washington, D. C.

From the Pacific Coast comes the assuring headline in the "West Side Union," Taft, Calif., "Labor Won! It Was a Knockout."

This crooked mental twist, that makes a labor "victory" out of the election of old party candidates, seems to have dominated the gathering of the National Committee of the Political Action Conference recently held in Washington.

There has been little publicity about this National Committee meeting, but Morris Hillquit announces thru the New York Call that, "a possible method of action will be the holding of state conventions to determine what method to employ, the permanent national body to support the ticket in each state selected.

In the same breath Hillquit declares that, "The Socialist delegates (to Cleveland) will contend in that conference for the formation of a national party of labor independent of the two old parties, and repudiating the idea of capturing nominations on old party tickets for men deemed favorable to labor."

Yet the Socialist Party, either thru its organization or its press, makes hardly a move to awaken the masses to the need of a class Labor Party. It seems to follow in the wake of anything that is offered.

Hillquit's "possible method of action" is no doubt the one decided on by the National Committee, and the one that it will urge at Cleveland. It is the policy of chaos that will have to be defeated if progress is to be made for a class Labor Party in the United States.

The fight will be the harder since those in power have seen fit to transfer the conference from Chicago to Cleveland. The Illinois city is the home of the militant Chicago Federation of Labor. Such an atmosphere might disturb the tranquility of those who want to make progress by standing still or slipping backward. The calm, conservative surroundings of the Ohio metropolis, home of the railroad brotherhoods, is no doubt more to their liking.

But, no matter where the conference is held, or under what conditions, the battle for a class Labor Party must be made, and will be made.

Workers! Bring up this matter in your labor unions. Send your demand for independent class political action to the Cleveland Conference. Send a demand from your shop, from your factory, from your mine, from your mill.

It is not what the leaders will, but what the masses demand, that wins in the end. Forward for a Labor Party and a greater and more successful struggle for political power.

• • •

New Jolt for Those Asleep

If the appointment of the railway lawyer, Pierce Butler, of St. Paul, Minn., by President Harding to the Supreme Court bench will shake the faith of a few more workers in the capitalist politicians, it will have served some good purpose.

It must surely have given a sad jolt to those republicans and democrats who think they are "progressive" and had visions of firing the next congress with something more than talk.

President Harding has put Taft, Sutherland and now Butler, into the Supreme Court, than which there could not possibly be a holy trinity of lawyers more reactionary.

If any forward ideas manage to seep thru the next congress, they will be quickly hit on the head by this wrecking crew togged in judicial ermine. How then will the labor "nonpartisans," who urge voting of old party tickets, make their explanation to the workers? They will no doubt offer some new palliative.

It will be left to the Communists to explain to the workers that the trouble is not with congress, the supreme court, or the presidency. Their enemy is the capitalist state. This must be swept away to make place for labor's own rule.

We do not believe that either Butler or La Follette on the supreme court bench would make much difference in the long run. We oppose Butler for the Supreme Court because it gives us an opportunity to show the workers the type of lash wielders the wage slave system places over them. And any man or woman who stands with either one of the old parties helps perpetuate that slave system.

Let the delegates bear this in mind as they make their way to labor's political conference to be held in Cleveland, Dec. 11th.

Tests made on its trial trip of a Russian locomotive manufactured entirely in a Soviet shop and of locomotives delivered by German shops showed Locomotive Works are being restored. Can't you hear the Russian workers proclaiming, "Watch out! Here we come!"

Sentiment for Class Labor Party Grows Among the Anthracite Miners, Says Kennedy

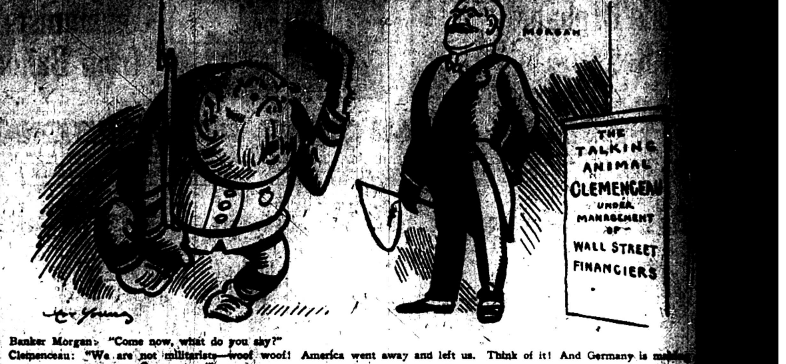
"The sentiment for a Labor Party is rapidly growing among the great masses of the anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania," declares Thomas Kennedy, president, District No. 7 (Pennsylvania Anthracite), in a statement to THE WORKER.

Kennedy came to New York the other day to speak at a mass meeting to discuss the subject of "Coal."

He told THE WORKER that the international convention of the United Mine Workers is on record for independent labor political action, and that this ought to be the stand of the mine workers' delegation at the Cleveland Conference.

Coal Miners! Watch your delegates at Cleveland!

[illegible]ormance


MORGAN
THE TALKING ANIMAL CLEMENCEAU UNDER MANAGEMENT OF WALL STREET FINANCIERS

Banker Morgan: "Come now, what do you say?"
Clemenceau: "We are not militarists—woof woof! America went away and left us. Think of it! And Germany is making cannons—Grrr-rrrump!"

Cahan's Supporters in Chicago Try to Knife Soviet Relief Campaign

A group of reactionaries in control of the Jewish Workmen's Circles thru membership on the Chicago City Central Committee of that organization are endeavoring to extend the disruptive work of Abe Cahan and the Jewish Daily Forward. That these enemies of labor and apostles of capitalist reaction are still playing their filthy game is evidenced by a "resolution" to the effect that the Friends of Soviet Russia should submit their books to "a committee elected by the labor movement."

They entirely ignore the fact that an impartial committee has already branded Abe Cahan a liar and an unprincipled traducer of decent men and women who are devoting their time to the aid of Russia, instead of licking the boots of the supporters of Kolchak, Denikin, Pilsudski, Wrangel, the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries who tried to crush the working class revolution in Russia and re-establish capitalism after the manner of the Jewish Daily Forward.

As far as the Chicago labor movement is concerned it will be easy to get a committee from the Chicago Federation of Labor that would verify the findings of the New York committee, which ought to be sufficient to silence the tirade of abuse against the Friends of Soviet Russia in Chicago.

But not even that would silence these creatures who do the dirty work for the capitalist class that their regular prostitutes shrink from attempting. Just as the French military mission in Russia had to go to the camp of the Social Revolutionaries to find human whelps so devoid of decency that they would burn railroad bridges and put glass in flour to destroy the lives of the starving children of Russia, so the capitalist class of the United States has to appeal to the Socialist Party publications to do the work that the descendants of Harrison Grey Otis would refuse to do.

Big Mass Meetings to Hear About Labor Party

(Continued from Page One)

committees of the Workers Party, in order that the party members may be able to carry on their work more intelligently among the masses of the workers.

The party drive in the unions, to secure the sending of labor union delegates to the Cleveland Conference, pledged to the Labor Party, is meeting with great success.

The resolutions of the Trade Union Educational League, that should be adopted by every labor union in the country and forwarded to the National Committee for Progressive Political Action, Engineers Building, Cleveland, Ohio, appear on another page.

Bundles of this issue of THE WORKER may be secured at the rate of 3½ cents per copy. Send orders to THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Russian Handiwork Exhibition

A unique selection of woodcraft products, the handiwork of Russian peasants and children, is on exhibition this week at the Civic Club, 14 West 12th Street. The objects on display are a fraction of the shipment which arrived here recently and which is being sold throut the country for the benefit of the famine orphans in Russia and the Ukraine.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

"Bethlehem," The Ark of Clemenceau

Georges Clemenceau has started his American pilgrimage for the purpose of enlisting the United States in the Triple Entente—France, England and the U. S. A.—to wage new war against the rising Russian Soviet Power, that the French "Tiger" claims is allied with the Germans and the Turks.

Like Noah of old, he has a great mission,—this time to save the capitalist world—and he travels in a famous ark, than which there is no equal anywhere, the private car of Charles M. Schwab, head of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

Schwab's car was christened "Bethlehem" and still bears that name as Clemenceau's ark to help preserve the present social order.

But Schwab didn't christen his luxurious metal palace on wheels after Bethlehem, of Judea, the birthplace of Jesus of Nazareth, the man of peace. He named it after Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the capital city of Schwab's kingdom of coal and steel, a human cess pool where capitalism runs riot amid all its vices, wage slavery in its worst forms, prostitution, crime, drunkeness, in humanity completely debauched.

Clemenceau, the man of war, with mouth dripping blood, as Senator Borah described him, will enjoy the "Bethlehem" more when he sees the city after which it is named.

Schwab will tell Clemenceau about the great profits taken by the munitions manufacturing steel industry out of the last war, and discuss with him the possibilities for greater profits out of the next blood-letting.

Vicente Blasco Ibanez, in his "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse," pictures "War" as riding a dashing steed. He had not seen Clemenceau, typifying war no less, riding the steel horse, Schwab's private car, "Bethlehem," with its sumptuous observation drawing room, inviting dining room, comfortable sleeping compartment and elaborate kitchen, ready to prepare any food.

If the workers of the United States knew the real significance of Clemenceau's war propaganda tour, they would meet this war chariot, "Bethlehem," with its cunning, diabolical rider in every city, town and hamlet thru which it passes, in great demonstrations, demanding, "NO MORE IMPERIALIST WARS." More than that, there wouldn't be workers blind enough to run the engine that hauls the Ark of Clemenceau. Workers! Strive toward that goal!

The Irish Executions

By THOMAS J. O'FLAHERTY

When the Irish Free State was accepted as a solution of the Irish question by Collins and Griffith we predicted that these men and their tools would take the place of the Black and Tans in enforcing British Imperialism on the Irish people. It has come to pass. A few days ago four young Irishmen went down to death before a firing squad composed of members of the Free State Army under the instructions of the Irish officials of the Free State.

These men who did the shooting were Irishmen. The men they murdered were Irishmen. And they murdered them in order to maintain the reign of British Imperialism in Ireland.

Where is the Irish Labor Party? What is the famous Irish Transport Workers' Union doing while these atrocities are being perpetrated? The Irish Labor Party led by the yellow charlatans who posed as revolutionists has by its cowardly silence condoned the murders. The Irish Transport Workers' Union in the grip of the whiskered faker, William O'Brien, the clodhopper, Tom Foran, who claims that "prosperity reigns in Ireland" and that other blatherskite, Cathal Shannon, who goes around with a volume of "Das Kapital" under his arm and talks of a Soviet Republic. These bogus revolutionists are too busy nursing the approximately $500,000 in the union treasury to raise a finger in defense of human liberty.

How long are the militant elements in the Irish labor movement going to tolerate such betrayers in their midst? What a change from the glorious days of Connolly and Larkin to the crawling creatures who today pose as leaders of the Irish working class!

The German republic was "quiet" on the fourth anniversary of its revolution, Nov. 9, and capitalism still lives in the land of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske.

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In the World of Books

By MAY SHACHTMAN

In the welter of cheap platitudes and pious hopes which is the food dispensed to the American working class by the publications of Sam Gompers' machine; amid the senile dronings of age-old formulas and panaceas by the American labor bureaucracy and its servile supporters, the Trade Union Educational League is the one clear note, the one ray of light, the one organization of firm hand and eye that is able to lead the workers out of what William Z. Foster, in his latest pamphlet, calls "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement."

Foster is not a cloister theorist weaving a web of fine, distant possibilities or draughting utopian blue prints like Father Hagerty's famous "Wheel of Fortune." He combines a knowledge of the economics and the theory of industrial development of Marx, and a similar knowledge of the history of American and foreign labor movements, with a remarkable ability for practical mass organization work as exemplified in the packing house strike, the steel strike and the organization of the T. U. E. L.

In his latest pamphlet he shows the absolute insolvency of the A. F. of L. in the face of the gigantic growth of capitalism, the World War, the Russian Revolution, the drive for the Open Shop and the dozens of other developments which have the A. F. of L. not only retarded, but actually on the retreat. Without any sentimental regrets he places the blame for American Labor's comparative backwardness where it belongs—not with the reactionaries so much as with the radicals themselves, more specifically the dual unionists of every variety. Foster does not leave us hanging in the air of destructive criticism, but brings us to the solid earth of the practical program advocated by the T. U. E. L.

Hitherto we have fed American Labor with heavy theoretical tracts, which, while absolutely necessary, did not include works on specifically "American" conditions. They were exclusively translations of Russian, German, French or Italian books. Let us hope that this book by Foster will inaugurate a flood of "100% American" pamphlets. If a million copies of Foster's book, which is a masterpiece of labor pamphleteering, were sold to the American working class and read by them, we would confidently predict an intellectual revolution of unparalleled proportions. The pamphlet is sold for 25 cents or 15 cents in bundles of ten or more. Have you ordered your bundle? Address: Workers Party, 799 Broadway, New York City.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER. KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION.

Do Not Forget Our Comrades in Prison

Comrades, if you want any information regarding the comrades in Joliet, Illinois, Berrien County, [illegible] and Cook County, Illinois, [illegible]

If you want to send them [illegible] papers, magazines or letters;

If you can help financially and [illegible] your friends to help provide [illegible] these comrades;

Write to the:

PRISON COMFORT CLUB
Room 307, 116 Washington [illegible]
Chicago, Ill.

Name ....

Address ....

What can you do ....

Contribution ....

[illegible] Spirit [illegible] Orphans [illegible] Red Russia

[illegible] cents pays for a meal for a [illegible] girl in Soviet Russia. One [illegible] destitute little children will [illegible] this Christmas thru the [illegible] the United States and Canada [illegible] Cent Meal Certificates gotten [illegible] the Friends of Soviet Russia. [illegible] members of the F. S. R. and [illegible] sympathisers of Soviet Russia [illegible] upon to sell these certi[illegible]. There is no one who will [illegible] a dime when he or she [illegible] that it will provide a meal [illegible] child who otherwise must go [illegible] eating.

[illegible] idea is so simple that it needs [illegible] explanation. It merely needs for [illegible] individual to order one or [illegible] books of Certificates, each con[illegible] 50 meal tickets; and for every [illegible] to order as many as it [illegible] handle.

[illegible] Christmas appeal is a strong [illegible] and should be utilised to bring [illegible] to little ones who must die un[illegible] food is obtained quickly.

Let These Figures Speak

[illegible] Friends of Soviet Russia Confer[illegible] have sent into the national of[illegible] the following sums of $100 or [illegible] between Oct. 1 and Nov. 15: [illegible], Ohio, $122.21; Baltimore, [illegible], $100; Boston, Mass., $150; De[illegible], Mich., $510; Endicott, N. Y., [illegible]; Far Rockaway, N. Y., $184.50; Grand Rapids, Mich., $125; Hart[illegible], Conn., $500; Los Angeles, Cal., [illegible]; Moolin, Ill., $236.38; Pitts[illegible], Pa., $125;, Rockford, Ill., [illegible]; Seattle, Wash., $200; To[illegible], Ont., Canada, $3,000; Zeigler, Ill., $100.

"Soviet Russia" in New Form

Beginning with the new year, "Soviet Russia" will be published as "Soviet Russia Pictorial." It will be issued in larger form—approximately the dimensions of "Collier's Magazine"—no less than 16 pages, and appearing monthly instead of fortnightly as heretofore.

"The word "Pictorial" in the new title is the key to the change. A major part of the magazine will be given over to pictures, of events and people and places in Soviet Russia. It will provide a graphic survey of [illegible] affairs, telling the story in [illegible] that experience has taught [illegible] most effectively — thru [illegible].

[illegible] policy of the get-up will at all [illegible] be flexible enough to permit [illegible] magazine in its new form to be[illegible] a thoroly live, vital, appealing [illegible] publication, with new features all the [illegible] and interesting regular depart[illegible].

[illegible] Film Released by F. S. R.

A large shipment of moving pictures, including some of the most interesting Russian material ever filmed has been received by the Friends of Soviet Russia from abroad, and will be exhibited in working class centers all over the United States and Canada.

The pictures are supplied by the International Workers' Aid, with headquarters in Berlin, and all proceeds from their distribution will go toward the Orphans' Relief fund.

[illegible] R. Conferences Renew Activities

The revival of F. S. R. activities thru the United States and Canada has been great.

In cities and towns everywhere the call for vigorous action in behalf of the 600,000 homeless orphans in Russia and 400,000 in the Ukraine, and in support of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation has been answered in various ways. Mass meetings, Russian Teas, Bazaars, the showing of F. S. R. movies — these are some of the methods used to arouse interest and to raise funds.

The Forward Attacks Condemned

Resolutions condemning the efforts of the Jewish Daily Forward and other anti-Soviet groups to disrupt the activities of the F. S. R. are still pouring into the national office. There is one before us, for instance, from the Scranton, Pa., Conference of the F. S. R., expresseing full confidence in the organization and labeling the Forward in no uncertain manner.

Relief Packages to Russia

Following the announcement that the Friends of Soviet Russia is making an effort to obtain the release of [illegible] relief packages sent to Rus[illegible] but held up on account of duty charges, the office has received numerous applications for help. As [illegible] papers printed only a fragment of the announcement, a number of misapprehensions about this work [illegible] gained ground. The Friends of Soviet Russia wishes to call attention to these facts.

[illegible] That it refers only to packages [illegible] thru the Post Office. It cannot [illegible] trace packages sent thru [illegible] agencies.

[illegible] That it can give no guarantee [illegible] success in obtaining the delivery [illegible] duty of all packages. A [illegible] deal depends on the time when [illegible] was made.

[illegible] That a regular application [illegible] must be filled out, giving such [illegible] as it calls for. The ap[illegible] is sent by us upon request.

[illegible] Throw This Paper Away [illegible] It on to Your Neighbor

Shall They Stay in [illegible]

By THOMAS J. O'FLAHERTY

Of the Communists who were arrested and indicted as a result of the Michigan raid on August 21st, [illegible] are still locked up in Berrien County Jail owing to our inability to raise bail for them. For over three months these comrades are confined in a congested stuffy prison without room to exercise outside of the narrow space between their cells; without fresh air except what comes in thru the bars of the jail windows.

Excepting the three occasions on which they were taken to Court these comrades have not seen the sky above them since August 21st. They are watched over constantly by agents of the Department of Justice. Their mail is censored. They are allowed to read only what passes the scrutiny of their jailers and the monotony of prison life is broken only by a visit every Sunday from a local psalm singing preacher and rare—very rare—visits from friends.

These comrades are not serving a prison sentence. They are simply awaiting trial. If Attorney General Daugherty's tools succeed in convicting them, the time they have already spent in prison will not be deducted from their sentence. Can it be possible that we are going to allow them to remain in jail until their cases come up for trial? What are we doing to raise bail for them? It is time we should get busy and do something.

What can be done? Let me tell you what was done and is being done in one city—the City of Detroit. As soon as news of the arrests reached that city the comrades got busy and elected a special defense secretary for each branch of the Workers Party. This comrade was charged with the responsibility of raising bail and funds for legal defense. As a result of this practical method the sum of $15,000 was raised in two weeks for bail and to date they have collected in addition $1,500 for defense.

The members were urged to loan their savings to the defense committee, the money to be used for bail. And they responded generously. One worker went to the bank and took out $2,000—all he possessed—and turned it over to the Committee. He said that his conscience would trouble him if he allowed this money to stay in the bank while his comrades were in a conjested, stuffy jail. What Detroit has done other cities and districts can do.

Appeal to your comrades to loan their savings so that our eight prisoners in Berrien County jail can be released. They deserve your confidence and your support. It has been their lot to fall into the clutches of the enemy. They are standing the test bravely. Are you willing to LOAN a few dollars so that they can come out into the open while they await trial?

Comrades, are we going to allow these victims of capitalist oppression to remain in those narrow unhealthy cells without doing everything in our power to get them out. The Sheriff offers them consolation by telling them that they will eat their Christmas dinner in jail. Let us get out of the apathy that seems to have gripped us. These comrades do not complain. They know they are class war prisoners. But every revolutionary worker who has a sense of duty must, at once, make up his mind that he owes a duty to these rebels. Get to work at once and raise a sufficient amount of bail to secure their release. You cannot shirk this obligation.

THE LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL, ROOM 307—166 W. WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO, ILL., IS CONDUCTING THE DEFENSE AND RAISING BAIL FOR THESE MEN. GIVE IT YOUR HELP.

Fourth World Congress of the Communist International Opens in Red Petrograd; Greeted by Great Multitudes of Workers

By Radio to Imprecorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to
THE WORKER

PETROGRAD, Nov. 4.—On Nov. 3, the delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International left Moscow for Petrograd where the Congress was to open. The Company of Honor, the Comintern Regiment, gave them an imposing welcome. Then followed speeches by the delegates from Germany, Russia, England, France and America. The road to Petrograd was festively decorated; flags were hung at all stations.

Petrograd itself made an elevating impression. An immense crowd of people had gathered for the arrival of the delegates. Thousands upon thousands of working men and women, members of the Red Army and the Red Navy, squadrons of Cavalry. The International pealed forth in all languages.

Comrade Yevdokimov greeted the delegates in the name of the Petrograd Communist Party. He declared that with the aid of the world proletariat Russia was becoming a great power. All interior and outer enemies are vanquished. Soviet Russia remained the outpost of the world revolution. Comrade Bozern, member of the newly elected Petrograd Soviet, wished the Congress success in its work. He hoped after another five years to be able to greet in Petrograd the delegates of the World Soviet Republics.

Comrade Heckert replied heartily in the name of the delegates. He declared Soviet Russia to be the guiding star of the world proletariat. The workers of the world must, like the Russian workers, vanquish their class enemies.

Comrade Lunatcharsky then spoke on the future of the proletariat. After him, Clara Zetkin, at the wis[illegible] of the clamouring working masse[illegible] mounted the speaker's tribune. Sh[illegible] declared that the minutes in whic[illegible] she had been able to be present he[illegible] to-day were alone worth a life-lon[illegible] fight for the revolution.

The delegations were then greet[illegible] by the Red Cavalry Gene[illegible] Budenny. He pledged himself [illegible] hold on high the flag of the R[illegible] Army until the final victory of [illegible] world revolution.

The delegations then repaired [illegible] the Smolny, at one time the hea[illegible] quarters of the Nov. 7th Revolutio[illegible] Here too they were given a mo[illegible] hearty reception. In the afterno[illegible] eighty meetings took place in [illegible] workshops, factories, institutes, b[illegible] racks of Petrograd, Kronstadt a[illegible] Gadchina. Everywhere the de[illegible] gates spoke. Everywhere masses [illegible] workers and soldiers; everywh[illegible] the same enthusiasm.

The manoeuvres of the Kronst[illegible] Red Fleet offered an overwhelmi[illegible] sight.

Comrades Serrati, Thalheim[illegible] Kun and Souvarine spoke in [illegible] Communist Universities. Se[illegible] spoke for affiliation to the Communist International. The workers bombarded the delegates with questions over the situation of the workers' movement in the various countries.

In the evening a women's meeting was held, with Comrade Zetkin participating.

A festival performance in the Petrograd theatre concluded the day.

Co[illegible] from Ballot

The Communists were prevented from taking any part in the recent elections in Latvia because of the arrest of their principal spokesmen.

The German Vorwaerts, organ of the United Socialists, is happy over the election of 30 members of the Lettish Social Democratic Labor Party and six Right Socialists, giving the Lettish "Socialists" 36 members out of a parliament with 100 members.

In elections to the Swedish provincial councils the Communists advanced from 21 to 31 members. The Left Wing Socialists have united with the Branting (Government) Social Democrats and together they increased from 322 to 346. The Swedish Liberals lost most heavily.

Altho it is claimed that the Peasant Party made gains in Bulgaria, the Communist Party appears to have held its own. Otto Wels, the German Scheidemannist, recently visited Bulgaria and won the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party for the Second (Socialist) International.

It is reported that Dr. Markovich, Communist member of the Jugoslav National Assembly, who had fled to Austria following the issuing of a warrant for his arrest for sedition, recently recrossed the border near Laibach, where he was seized by the police.

Norway is said to be following in the footsteps of Germany in providing for a system of shop councils covering all public and private plants. It is admitted this is a result of the growth of the Communist Party of Norway with 100,000 dues paying members in a population of 2,750,000. The Norwegian Communists publish 35 newspapers with a total circulation of 125,000.

Enlarged Executive of C. I. Opens Sessions, Zinoviev Is Chairman

By Radio to Imprecorr (Berlin) and forwarded by Mail to "The Worker"

MOSCOW, Nov. 2.—Under the chairmanship of Comrades Gregory Zinoviev and Clara Zetkin, the sessions of the enlarged executive committee of the Communist International were opened today with a speech of welcome from its chairman, Comrade Zinoviev.

The delegates that have arrived up to now are distributed as follows: From Germany 21, France 9, Italy 16, Czecho-Slovakia 7, South Africa 1, America 6, Argentina 2, Australia 2, Belgium 1, Bulgaria 2, China 1, Denmark 2, Egypt 1, England 5, Esthonia 1, Georgia 1, India 1, Java 1, Jugoslavia 1, Canada 2, Lettland 3, Norway 5, Austria 2, Poland 5, Roumania 1, Russia 75, Sweden 1, Switzerland 3, Angora-Turkey 1, Constantinople-Turkey 2, Turkestan 3, Hungary 6 and Japan 4.

The Youth International and the R. I. L. U. are represented by 20 delegates each.

Comrade Zinoviev informed the session that the chair proposed to telegraph to the French comrades Cachin and Frossard inviting them to take part in the Enlarged Executive Session as well as in the Congress. The Enlarged Executive agreed to this proposal and sent a telegraphic invitation to the two French comrades.

Comrade Zinoviev further announced that five representatives of the Italian Socialist Party and three members of the Czechish opposition whose exclusion had not been confirmed by the Presidium and would be laid before the Congress, will take part in the proceedings with an advisory vote.

The delegations were divided into five groups. The first group representing 45 votes, the second group with 9 countries 30 votes, the third group with 8 countries 20 votes, the fourth group with 14 countries 10 votes, and the fifth group with 9 countries 5 votes.

In addition to Zinoviev representing Russia it is proposed to allow the following countries to be represented in the Congress Presidium:—Germany, France, Italy, The Balkans, Czecho-Slovakia, Japan, England, America, Scandinavia and Poland.

The standing orders for the congress were adopted unanimously. The agenda was supplemented by the addition of the Italian, Czechish and Norwegian questions.

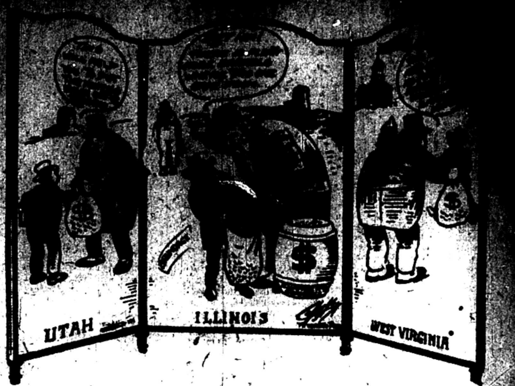
The delegates travel tomorrow to Petrograd where the formal opening of the Congress takes place.

MUST HAVE IT

DEAR COMRADES: "Enclosed find check for the amount of $2.00, which is a renewal of my subscription for one year to THE WORKER which I cannot do without even for one week."

Comradely
C. ABRAHAM,
New York City.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor



Always on the job against the Workers.

Fourth Congress of C. I. Pays Tribute to Those Who Died for the Revolution

By Radio to Imprecorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to
THE WORKER

PETROGRAD, Nov. 6.—This morning the Fourth Congress of the Communist International paid tribute to the memory of the victims of the Russian Revolution. The place where those who died for the Revolution are buried, is adorned with red and black flags. Wreaths were laid on the graves of the victims to the accompaniment of salvos by the artillery.

Clara Zetkin in an impressive speech referred to the victims in Russia, Hungary and Munich (Bavaria) who fell under the flag of Bolshevism. She declared that we remember the victims not with sunken but with unfurled flags.

After this solemn commemoration came the march of the Petrograd proletariat to the Uritzky Square, where in 1905 the masses of peaceful demonstrators were shot down. In endless procession working men and working women, the youth, students of all faculties, party organizations, members of the Red Army and Navy and aviators passed the tribune of the Congress delegates amid deafening cheers for the world revolution, the Communist International and the solidarity of the proletariat.

The passing procession lasted three hours. In spite of torrents of rain the greatest enthusiasm prevailed among all the participants. This evening the opening session of the IV. World Congress takes place.

The Workers Party and the Labor Party

By C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Secretary, Workers Party

The question has arisen in the party whether the organization of a labor party means that the Workers Party becomes unnecessary and is to be liquidated.

It is of the greatest importance that every party member and the workers generally be given a clear and definite answer to this question. In order to make such an answer it is necessary to examine the reasons why the party has adopted the policy of supporting the organization of a labor party and of endeavoring to become part of the labor party.

Fundamentally the party policy is based upon a study of the economic and political developments in this country. It is the conclusion of the Central Executive Committee of the party that centralization of the state power in the Federal government, the open use of that power against the workers in every strike of any magnitude, the levelling process in the ranks of the workers which has made their status more nearly alike, the limitation on immigration which is developing a more homogenous working class, are factors which compel and make possible the organization of a labor party in the United States. As Communists, whose policies are based upon the economic and political realities of a given situation, we cannot oppose a development which the facts of the life of the workers themselves is bringing.

Even if opposition were not futile in the face of the facts which are bringing the labor party, it would not be desirable. The establishment of a labor party representative of the trade union movement of this country and having the support of millions of organized workers would be the greatest stride forward in the history of the American working-class.

Since opposition to the movement for a labor party would be futile because of the economic forces behind it — an anti-Communist policy — and because it would mean fighting an advance by the working masses, the question which must be answered is, what is the best policy to pursue in order that the labor party, when organized, will help develop the revolutionary working class movement of which the Workers Party is the leader?

In answering this question our policy in the trade unions offers an analogy which points to the right road for us to travel. It is the Communist policy as formulated by the Communist International and as practiced by the Communists in every country, to remain in the trade unions and there to carry on the struggle for industrial unionism and for a more militant and revolutionary unionism. In this country the Trade Union Educational League is conducting the struggle for such a unionism. The Trade Union Educational League is an organization within the trade union movement. Its slogans are, stay in the unions, fight in the unions for amalgamation, for industrial unionism, for a more militant unionism.

This policy is based upon the more fundamental Communist conception that the Communists must stay with the masses in their struggles. They must fight with them. They must not separate themselves from the mass of the workers but constantly carry on the struggle in close contact with the masses and thus develop more revolutionary action. This does not mean that Communists may not take a position in opposition to the desires of the mass of the workers when those desires are of a counter-revolutionary character. But as already shown, the organization of a labor party, far from being a step backward will be the greatest step forward in the life of the American workers.

The policy which we pursue in the trade unions to carry out our policy there is the same policy which the Central Executive Committee proposes shall be pursued in relation to the coming labor party. We must become part of it. We must work with the workers who go into the labor party. We must carry on our work of educating them to a clearer understanding of the class struggle and the tactics which must be pursued for the workers to win that struggle in close contact with them, as part of the labor party.

In what has been written above the answer to the question whether the Workers Party is to be liquidated when the labor party is organized already appears. If the Communists are to carry on a work of education in the labor party, if they are to be the driving force which will constantly push the labor party along the road of more revolutionary action, then they must be a closely united, well organized party within the labor party.

The Workers Party not only cannot be liquidated, but it must be strengthened. It must become more powerful. It must be a better disciplined organization. Its members must have a deeper understanding, a better education as Communists. Only a strong, powerful, disciplined party with an educated, understanding membership can play the part in the labor party which the Workers Party is destined to play.

The Workers Party must publish newspapers, it must publish leaflets and pamphlets and books. It must develop programs and slogans of action, it must lead the labor party into action. Inside of the labor party it must intensify its activities a hundredfold in order that it may inspire the mass of the workers in the labor party with its Communist understanding and purpose. Our part in the labor party is to make it the Workers Party—a Communist party, not to give up the Workers Party for the labor party.

How ridiculous the suggestion is that the Workers Party will not be needed when the labor party is organized is also made clear by what has happened in the trade union movement in this country. There the Trade Union Educational League has been specifically organized to carry on work in the trade unions analogous to the work which the Workers Party must carry on in the labor party. The Trade Union Educational League will be no longer needed when the trade unions become militant, revolutionary, industrial unions and just so the Workers Party will be no longer needed when the labor party becomes what the Workers Party is—a communist party.

Our slogan must be: "For a Labor Party!" But at the same time "For a stronger, more powerful, better disciplined Workers Party!"

Transvaluation of Values

When I was a patriot, saluting the blood-stained flag as it went by, I was one of the employed, and people say I saw.

But, since I studied, and became an idealist, I am out of work, and altho I see red, people claim that I am blind.—Edward J. Irwine.

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Recent Revolutionary Changes in American Politics

In this pamphlet is contained the first scientific study of the conditions which make possible the organization of a Labor Party in the United States today.

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Why the Greenback Party, the Knights of Labor and the Populist Party failed?
Do you know the changes that have taken place in the Government of the United States each time it has gone to war?
Do you know what has happened in regard to centralization of the government since the last war?
What effects has the war and the period since had upon the working class?
Why are the conditions ripe for the organization of a Labor Party?
Why will a Labor Party succeed whereas all but one of the third parties of the past failed.
What similarity in regard to its economic foundation will there be between the Labor Party and the Republican Party at the time of its birth?

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WORKERS PARTY
[illegible] Broadway New York [illegible]

[illegible]

By JAY LOVESTONE

[illegible]

The Special Session

The dejected pilot of the sinking Republican ship, Gamaliel Harding, [illegible] this wreck and announced, even before the storm, that a special session of Congress would be called. The workers should not get lost philosophizing over the lessons of the Election.

They should forthwith prepare to bring up their heaviest artillery against the sinister plans likely to be put over by this repudiated collection of political bootleggers.

Unless the most powerfully organized pressure of the workers is brought to bear on this Holy Synod of the Bishops of Wall Street, the American workers will be robbed of hundreds of millions of dollars and will be chained still more helplessly to the chariot of their capitalist exploiters.

Rumor has it that Gamaliel the First is ready to talk business with some of his opponents in the House. The political winds seem to blow in the direction of a deal to give the Shipping Trust a bonus of hundreds of millions, in return for some form of crippled, mal-adjusted compensation for the ex-soldiers.

Whether this deal is put over or not remains to be seen, but one thing is certain: the workers must organize politically to put an end to the orgy of bonuses for capitalists.

Thru the infamous Esch-Cummins Act the Railroad Trust was handed millions and now the Shipping Barons are preparing to romp off with their pile of swag.

First we were given a white elephant in the shape of a fleet of wooden ships, the jokes of the high seas.

Then we sold these ships to the same gentry, that charged us exorbitant prices, at one-fortieth the price we paid them.

Now, in the words of the United States Chamber of Commerce, we must put the American flag on the ocean and the best way to do that is to pave the world's vast stretches of water with the dollars of American workers.

The Ship Subsidy Bill is one of the boldest attempts to loot the national treasury. Alongside of it, the old Railway grabs, the Dollar-a-Year Swindlers, and the Teapot Oil Dome Theft sink into insignificance.

United States Government—Strikebreaker

But the workers must not only pay bonuses to capitalists. They must also face a new campaign of capitalist oppression. The United States Government is planning to serve more openly and effectively as a strikebreaking agency of the big capitalists in their offensive which will be resumed with intensified vigor as soon as this spurt of prosperity bids us farewell. For instance the Kellogg Bill, the Dyer Bill the Nelson Bill, and the Hoch and Edmonds Bills.

The Kellogg Bill (S. 1943) aims to put some of Harding's promises to Labor into effect. The repudiated Senator's bill provides "for the better protection of aliens and the enforcement of their treaty rights"

This bill was born when the workers rose in defense against strikebreakers, some of whom happened to be foreigners at Herrin Ill.

This law gives the Federal courts the power to pass upon cases in which aliens are involved. It is another step in the direction of centralizing and strengthening the capitalist state powers. According to the Constitution such cases come within the police powers of the various States. But what is the Constitution when the supreme law of capitalism—the right to exploit the workers—is interfered with?

Section 4 of this bill authorizes the President to employ the marshalls of the United States and their deputies to enforce this law. The Bill goes further. It expressly authorizes the President to use the Army and Navy for this end.

Thus, if a scab happens to be an alien, the Government, pretending to be his protector, will hurl its full military and naval might against the strikers. Where this legal pretext does not exist, aliens might be deliberately hired to afford this excuse for employing the military and naval forces against the workers. This is legalizing strikebreaking by the United States Government on a national scale.

From the Herrin incident the Government has learned that the local courts may sometimes be too near the people. Therefore, such cases are to be turned over to the Federal Courts whose judges are appointed and who are immune to popular influence.

This bill to protect strikebreakers is supplemented by the Edmonds Bill (H. R. 12344) providing "for the deportation of aliens who participate in riotous gatherings' and for other purposes". This is simple. When an alien is a scab he is to be protected. When he is a striker he is to be hounded, subjected to a Third Degree, and then deported.

Even in the Anti-Lynching Bill of Representative Dyer (H. R. 13) there is a section aimed at the workers. This clause gives the Federal Courts the power to try State cases against people charged with rioting. The bill gives the Federal courts jurisdiction over cases of rioting which the State Governments are satisfied not to try after investigation. "Rioting" occurs most frequently when armed guards and private gunmen interfere with the workers' right to live. In considering the fact that this bill aims to secure Federal jurisdiction over industrial disputes we must not overlook the fact that it is next to impossible for the poor man to make a defense in the Federal courts because of the high cost of litigation in these citadels of capitalist injustice.

Senator Nelson in his (S. 3917 and S. 3918) puts the finishing touches on these slavery acts. This High Priest of Capitalist Tyranny seeks to amend the Federal laws so as to make the "summoning of witnesses in civil cases generally the same as that with respect to the "summoning of witnesses in civil cases under the anti-trust acts."

This means that the Federal judiciary will be further strengthened thru being given the power legally to kidnap from the States persons charged with the violation of the law. Under this law a miner charged with the violation of some statute in Pennsylvania might be kidnapped to be handed a dose of justice from His Majesty Wilkerson in Illinois. Attorney General Daugherty has been particularly anxious to have this bill passed. It is fully in line with his union-smashing injunction policies.

Finally we have the bill of Representative Hoch, now called "Hoch the Kaiser", of Kansas. He has introduced a bill (H. R. 12581) to create a Board of Railroad Adjustment whose findings shall be final. This Board is to "determine the justness and reasonableness of wages, hours of labor, working conditions or rules and practices." This bill forbids any union from doing anything which might be construed as interfering with the orders of the Board. These are some of the additional "teeth" Harding has wanted to put into the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act of 1920. It completely robs the rail workers of the right to strike.

What Shall The Workers Do?

The capitalists are desperate. They are forging new chains for the workers. They are strengthening the hand of their centralized organ of oppression—the National Government. Enraged by the heroic resistance of the miners, the textile workers, and the railway men they are bent upon using the State powers more ruthlessly and more speedily. The workers must be crushed. Their unions must be smashed.

It is obvious that our daily struggles are taking on a more and more openly political character. The most sacred of Constitutional scruples have gone to the winds. THE FIGHT TODAY IS A POLITICAL FIGHT. The workers must organize themselves to meet the new attack. They must organize themselves POLITICALLY. And the first step in any effective resistance on the part of the workers lies in their organizing AN INDEPENDENT Working CLASS Political PARTY—A LABOR PARTY.

Loyal Support

THE WORKER acknowledges the receipt of

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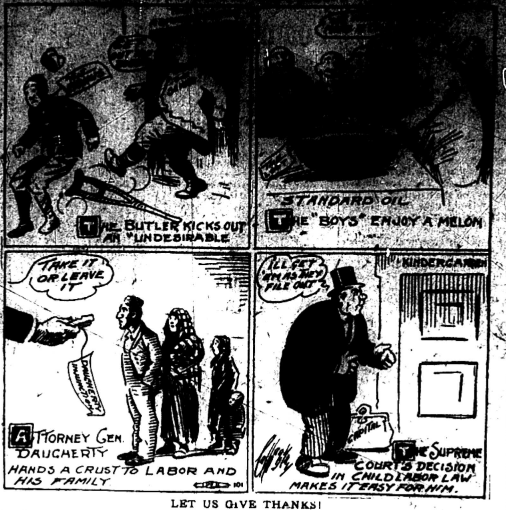
as a donation from the Lithuanian Branch Workers Party of [illegible].

"To help THE WORKER become a DAILY," writes the Branch Secretary, [illegible]. More letters like this with like remittances and the wish can be made a fact.


THE BUTLER KICKS OUT AN "UNDESIRABLE"
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I'LL GET 'EM AS THEY FILE OUT
KINDERGARTEN
CAPITAL
THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION IN CHILD LABOR LAW MAKES IT EASY FOR HIM.

LET US GIVE THANKS!

Fiasco of Fake Labor Party in New York

By ISRAEL AMTER

The fake Labor Party in New York went down in a smashing defeat on November 7th. This party, made up of Socialists and Farmer-Laborites, received a vote far smaller than that cast for the Socialists in 1920 and less than that polled in the off-year of 1921. In 1920, when Debs ran as presidential candidate, the party received 131,956 votes in New York City; in 1921, the mayoralty candidate received 83,209 votes. In 1922, the COMBINED party polled only 62,435 votes, which is nearly 70,000 behind 1920 and more than 20,000 behind 1921. Surely there was never a better year for the concentration of sentiment on REAL labor issues than this year. And yet the combined party completely failed!

In 1916, the Socialist Party polled nearly 1,000,000 votes. That was a year of enthusiasm—in the midst of war in Europe, when the necessity of the revolutionary workers of America standing firm began to crystallize. In 1920, after the party had committed treason, had failed to keep its resolutions and had expelled the revolutionists; and after women's suffrage had become a fact, so that the vote should have DOUBLED, the vote remained practically stationary.

In 1921, in the midst of the worst wave of unemployment that the country has experienced, the vote decreased again; and this year, after the worst labor struggles that the American workers have passed thru and after the most brutal manifestation of force, violence and contempt for law and rights of the workers by the government the Socialist Party combined with the Farmer Labor Party of New York suffered another extensive decrease in support by the workers.

What are the reasons for the fiasco of the Labor Party?

The initial reason is the nature of one of its components the Socialist Party, its aims and program.

The second reason is the composition of the Labor Party.

The third reason is the purpose embodied in the formation of this Labor Party.

The Socialist Party was the predominating element in the Labor Party. Organized as a revolutionary party, this party to-day is utterly discredited in the eyes of the workers. It is useless to go into the history of betrayals by the leaders of the S. P. The diminution of votes cast for the party is adequate testimony to the vanishing faith the workers have in this party. As a talking machine, it vies with the other capitalist parties in making promises, thus lulling the workers to sleep, instead of awaking their fighting spirit. It is a party made up chiefly of lawyers, doctors, journalists and petty shop keepers, whose aims are all petty bourgeois. Reforms under the present system, with the capitalist as the overlord!

A large part of the working class is beginning to recognize the necessity of modern forms of organization. They are demanding a transformation of their craft unions into industrial unions. The reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor is against this transformation—for obvious reasons. It will diminish their power. It will reduce the number of jobs. It will mean a change of form in order to increase efficiency — and to increase the fighting power of the organization. Sam Gompers is against it.

For 16 years, the American Federation of Labor has pursued the fateful policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies" of labor. As a result, the workers to-day face the worst form of military autocracy in America! This may be regarded as either the reward or punishment of labor for its stupid policy. The A. F. of L. officials, with their non-partisan political policy have kept the workers from independent political action, which alone has any outlook of affording the workers relief or protection from the assaults of the capitalist class. And if ever before, the workers needed protection of this kind, not only against the employers, but also against the government which has functioned openly in favor of the capitalists, it was this year. On Sept. 1, when Daugherty procured his infamous injunction, Sam Gompers recognized it — so did the Socialist Party. But then the merry game of "rewarding and punishing" went on.

How ludicrous this game may become may be seen in the Ohio campaign. The American Federation of Labor "rewarded" Senator Pomerene with its endorsement. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers "put its money" on Simon Fess. A splendid spectacle of organized labor fighting against organized labor for the election, in either case, of a capitalist senator! Each organization called the candidate endorsed by the other organization an "enemy of labor." Fess, the "enemy" assailed by the A. F. of L., won out.

Sam Gompers is against an independent Labor Party—and hence against the Labor Party that "also ran" in New York. He took pains to go to New York to procure the endorsement of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly for the Democratic ticket. Not a member of the Socialist Party or a [illegible] Labor Party dared to oppose him. Sam Gompers strewed a few "endorsements", which quieted the animosity of the Socialists. He endorsed Meyer London—and also his Democratic opponent. He scattered a few more "endorsements" — and peace reigned in the camp of the Socialists.

The rank and file of the A. F. of L. is in revolt against the officialdom of the organization. Large international bodies, state federations of labor and central labor bodies have come out for amalgamation—against which Gompers thundered in Chicago. International labor organizations will assemble Dec. 11th in Cleveland to discuss the question of independent political action by the workers—against which Gompers has hurled all his anger.

The Socialist Party, supposedly representing the revolutionary, the advanced workers of the country, had not a word to say against Gompers and his clique nor against his treacherous policy of keeping the workers from action. Just as the S. P. curried the favor of the Socialist officials at the head of the independent and progressive unions—and lost the confidence of the rank and file, so today it is also catering to the favor of the reactionary, yellow bureaucracy at the head of the A. F. of L. and cannot gain any support from the rank and file of the A. F. of L. A few endorsements silenced them. Gompers, Hillquit, Schlesinger—who can tell the difference today?

The second reason for the fiasco of the Labor Party was its composition. The Labor Party was composed of the Socialist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party and a few labor unions. The initiative in its formation was taken by the political parties. The Socialist Party membership in New York is very small. The Farmer-Labor Party has practically no membership at all in New York. It is made up of a few self-styled leaders, who are hypocritical and ignoran-

[redacted]

[illegible] (In Connecticut the Socialist Party withdrew from united action with the Workers Party and the Farmer Labor Party—the F. L. P. being far more progressive in Connecticut than in New York. In Chicago, the Workers Party supported the Farmer Labor Party, which is a party rooted in organized labor. The stand of the F. L. P. of New York is repudiated by the national organization of that party.)

The third reason for the fiasco of the Labor Party was the purpose for which the party was formed. As shown in the figures given at the beginning of this article, the vote of the Socialist Party is steadily declining. Its membership has sunk to about 6,000. Its composition is no longer working class. If the S. P. was to live any longer, some lawyer's trick would have to be used to give it at least "apparent" strength. A combination with another "party" (the handful of members of the F. L. P.) and the addition of a few trade unions would do. The Workers Party had to be excluded, since it would not give up the right of criticising the Labor Party, even if it supported it!

But the trick failed! The workers of New York had the healthy instinct of refusing to have faith in a party of politicians, who "hogged" the nominations and made the same "promises"—if not a few more and bigger ones—which it knew very well it could not fulfill. For are not the workers of Milwaukee, the "stronghold of Socialism," suffering from the same reaction that holds the whole country in its grip? Has the "socialistic" regime of Milwaukee freed them from the tyranny of the injunction, of the Coronado decision, of the Daugherty injunction, of the repudiation of the "living wage"? The workers repudiated the Labor Party because it was a miscarriage! It did not grow out of the needs of the labor movement: it was a product of scheming politicians, who thought in this way to "come back."

The failure of this fake Labor Party may be used to discredit the idea of a Labor Party. There is not the slightest doubt that the labor movement of America needs a Labor Party, if the trade unions are to survive the reactionary attacks of the big capitalists, of Wall Street and the government. Large unions, such as the United Mine Workers, the Big Four Brotherhoods, the Railway Section of the A. F. of L., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Association of Machinists, the International Typographical Union, the Women's Trade Union League, and central labor bodies have recognized this need, [illegible] will send their delegates to the conference to be held in Cleveland, on December 11th, to discuss the question of a Labor Party.

The trade unions of this country must organize the Labor Party. It must represent the needs of organized labor. It must be a fighting organization, with a militant working class program. The party must also embrace the fighting farmers and working class political parties. It must be a United Front originating in the cardinal needs of the struggle that is taking place in the United States between the workers and small and tenant farmers on the one hand, and Wall Street and the Federal government on the other.

The fake Labor Party in New York has served its purpose. It has shown the workers what they should NOT do. The workers recognized the fake, and refused to support it. It is not to be expected that the politicians of the "labor party" have learned their lesson. Theirs is but to scheme and to plot.

Cleveland is the next goal of the organized labor movement. A REAL Party of Labor must be formed there.

Spread This Issue of THE WORKER

This enlarged issue of THE WORKER should be spread by the tens of thousands among the workers, carrying to them our message for the organization of a Labor Party at the Cleveland Conference, Dec. 10. A large edition of this issue will be printed so that all orders can be filled immediately. Order a bundle for your "Labor Party" Mass Meetings or for distribution in your shop. Send orders to THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

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WORKERS PARTY

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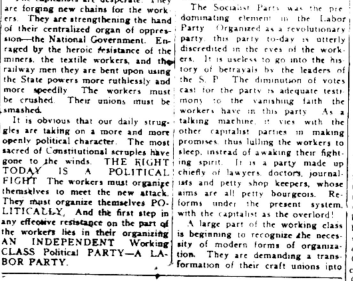
Exhibit of New Russian Art

BERLIN.—The first exhibition of Russian art since the outbreak of the war was opened here under the auspices of the International Workers Aid and of the Berlin representatives of the Russian Commissariat for Public Education and Art. Consisting almost entirely of works since the Revolution, the exhibition has attracted wide attention. The comment in art circles is consistently enthusiastic and there is much in the collection that in its daring and force and freedom is symbolic of the revolution.



A Real Labor Party Will Sweep Clean

Where Do You Stand?

ARE YOU FOR AMERICA UNDER THE RULE OF BURNS AND DAUGHERTY?

ARE YOU FOR THE GOVERNMENT BY STOOL PIGEONS AND SECRET SERVICE AGENTS?

• • •

ARE YOU FOR FREE SPEECH AND FREE ASSEMBLAGE OR ARE YOU FOR COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF THE THOUGHTS AND ACTS OF THE WORKERS TO THE WILL OF THE STEEL TRUST, THE RAILROADS AND THE COAL BARONS?

• • •

UNDER THE MICHIGAN CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAW, IN THEIR PROSECUTION OF WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, C. E. RUTHENBERG, WILLIAM F. DUNNE, AND SEVENTEEN OTHER MILITANT TRADE UNIONISTS, THE BURNS-DAUGHERTY ANTI-LABOR OUTFIT HAVE TAKEN ACTION.

WHAT ACTION HAVE YOU TAKEN? INACTIVITY IMPLIES YOUR AGREEMENT WITH THE ANTI-LABOR CAMPAIGN.

ACTIVITY MEANS THAT YOU WILL SUPPORT THE "LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL" WHICH IS CARRYING ON THE LEGAL DEFENSE OF THE TWENTY LABOR MILITANTS NOW BEING PROSECUTED IN BERRIEN COUNTY UNDER THE MICHIGAN CRIMINAL SYNDICALIST LAW.

Labor Defense Council

Federation of Labor Bldg.
166 West Washington Street,
CHICAGO, ILL.

FRANK P. WALSH,
Chief Counsel

Nat'l Executive Committee,

Roger N. Baldwin, Norman B. Barr, Dennis E. Batt, Eugene J. Brock, Robert M. Buck, John C. Clay, Lenetta M. Cooper, R. D. Cramer, Eugene V. Debs, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Max S. Hayes, John Haynes Holmes, Moritz J. Loeb, John A. Ryan, Hulet M. Wells.

Make your answer here!

Here is evidence of my stand and my activity.

I enclose $............ for the defense of those prosecuted under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalist Law.

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Address ....

Send remittances and make checks payable to Labor Defense Council 166 West Washington Street Chicago, Ill.

Co-operating with Committee of the Defendants:

[illegible] E. Bowder, William Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg

[illegible] War [illegible] to H[illegible]

John J. (Black Jack) Per[illegible] started on a Western cam[illegible] Bolshevism under the [illegible] the American Defense [illegible]. His first address was sche[illegible] Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. [illegible] dates: St. Louis, Dec. 4; [illegible] Dec. 6.

[illegible] of the American forces in [illegible] following in the western [illegible] of the French militarist, [illegible] will receive a shock [illegible] reaches Minneapolis to [illegible] first speech. For the World [illegible] Veterans have notified the Min[illegible] Pershing Reception Com[illegible] that the members of this or[illegible] will refuse to join in [illegible] the man they hold guilty of [illegible] murder of many Amer[illegible] soldiers in France. The declin[illegible] of the veterans is as follows:

Minneapolis, Minn. [illegible]
Mr. J. H. [illegible]
Senior Vice-President, Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association,
Minneapolis, Minn.

My dear Mr. [illegible]: Your communication of the 22nd inst. received, together with admission tickets to the reception to be accorded General John J. Pershing in this city, Nov. 28th, 1922.

To merely offer my declination and that of the members of the World War Veterans to participate in the above mentioned reception, would leave much room for speculation as to the motive for such declination. I propose therefore, to make it clear to those who may be interested that there are "obligations" to which the World War Veterans bow and abide by—same making it impossible for us to participate in any sort of a gathering purposed to do honor to a man [illegible] of the soldiers and whose acts while he commanded the A. E. F. were responsible for avoidable hardships and deaths. This man, General John J. Pershing, I hold responsible for the condition of my many "buddies" who are at this writing confined in tubercular and insane asylums thruout the country and whose bodies and minds have been broken beyond recuperation.

Would our dead "buddies" if it were possible for them to speak, advise us to honor a man who is responsible to a great degree for many of their premature deaths? It is generally known, for instance, that the Great General was ready to sacrifice 125,000, or so, men to take St. Mihiel. I wonder what personal risk the General would have taken for possession of St. Mihiel? Almost any ex-service [illegible]

[illegible] to the Great General [illegible] efficiency [illegible] an attempt to save their lives." You will note the General speaks of efficiency [illegible] disposed of this by merely [illegible] of the men who served under General Pershing: "How much of the efficiency of the A. E. F. can be attributed to the General's ingenuity or efforts? Any ex-service man with a horse-sense foundation knows the answer.

In the Argonne battle hundreds of wounded men lay on the field of battle for, in some cases, forty-eight and fifty hours, some bleeding to death, others dying of exposure and lack of care. The many army doctors have often admitted that many [illegible] contrary to the orders of the Great General.

The General has attempted to justify himself by saying that sentiment has no room in war. In his justification he is using the language of super generalship, but is he a Super-General? An amateur, I claim; what experience did the General have in handling big armies before the World War? The Mexican Expedition, which at no time operated as a unit under one head, in fact the occasion was a farce from beginning to end. Did this experience fortify the General's ability to a point of efficiency, making him capable of com[illegible] to military affairs and a desire to expend their efforts for greater accomplishments and lesser losses.

Would our dead "buddies"—and those that congest the tubercular and insane asylums not condemn us for honoring a man who knew of the Armistice at seven o'clock on the morning of November 11th, 1918 and who permitted the fighting to go on until eleven o'clock the same day, causing thousands upon thousands to be killed and wounded needlessly? In one division alone, approximately six [illegible]

Concluding permit me to [illegible] of the efficiency [illegible] above that the World War Veterans for whom I have the honor to speak, are morally obligated to our "buddies" who fell and to those who are broken in body and mind. Our obligation demands of us not to honor but repudiate General John J. Pershing, whose inhuman [illegible] manifests itself in many little [illegible] crosses that shouldn't be there, and unspeakable suffering in the [illegible] hospitals. To honor the General is to be traitor to our dead "buddies."

Sincerely yours,
JACK BRADON,
National President, World War Veterans, Inc.

[illegible] Defense Seeks [illegible] than Fair Words [illegible] Mich. Governor

[illegible] the first memorable conference [illegible] Labor Defense Council of [illegible] York, held on October 27, a [illegible] protest was voiced by the [illegible] of organized labor, against [illegible] warranted and unconstitutional [illegible] of twenty active trade union[illegible] including William Z. Foster, of [illegible] Trade Union Educational League, [illegible] C. E. Ruthenberg, National Sec[illegible] of the Workers Party of [illegible]. A copy of the protest was [illegible] mailed to Governor [illegible] of Michigan, who sent the [illegible] reply:

[illegible] will acknowledge the receipt [illegible] Governor Groesbeck of your let[illegible] a copy of a resolution adopt[illegible] the Labor Defense Council en[illegible]. The Governor directs me to [illegible] you for your courtesy in send[illegible] a copy of this resolution and to [illegible] you that he has little sym[illegible] with any effort to suppress [illegible] speech." Signed by Rolph Duff, [illegible] to the Governor.

[illegible] we heartily indorse the Gov[illegible] indictment of any infringe[illegible] of our rights as Americans, [illegible] demands more concrete evi[illegible] of his stand upon this ques[illegible]. If he is a firm upholder of the [illegible] guarantees of freedom [illegible] freedom of press and free[illegible] assemblage, he should imme[illegible] request the Michigan Depart[illegible] Justice to cease its persecu[illegible] arrested men in order that [illegible] might be immediately released.

[illegible] WORKERS SHOULD READ [illegible] COPY OF THE WORKER; [illegible] IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] Throw This Paper Away [illegible] It on to Your Neighbor

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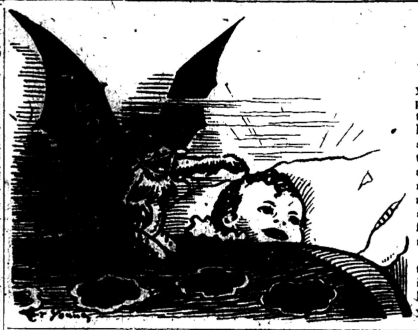

A JOKE ON CHILDHOOD

The joke is on you, Baby. They put you here with talent for music, literature, art, and science, yes and talent for goodness and play. But they make you spend most of your time scheming and fighting for the necessities of life.

I don't like to tell you, Baby, but it's a joke from Hell and it's on you.—Art Young.

Seventh Installment of the Series of Articles Issued by Publicity Committee, Progressive Miners' Group, District 5 (Pittsburgh), U. M. W. of A.

Feeny Quits to Help Reaction Unite in Bitter Fight Against the Progressive Coal Miners

That the analysis that the Progressives made of the "radicals" who operate out of the Brownsville office was right has been proven this week. The reader will remember that we pointed out that Feeny, O'Leary and Hines belonged to the Lewis machine and that if the Progressive ticket became really dangerous to the machine, Feeny as a faithful tool of the "gang" would withdraw from his candidacy for district presidency to avoid splitting the conservative vote tho all three of these gentlemen had vigorously denounced the very men they are now supporting.

This is just what has happened. A pow wow has been held and it has been decided already that the Progressives may defeat the "machine" so Feeny has announced his withdrawal from the race. This occurred a few days after socialist renegades "Bob" Norman and Peggy Delbarre made unsuccessful attempts to persuade or scare Myerscough and Ray to withdraw at Feeny's instigation.

REAL BATTLE BEGINS

The Progressives are to be congratulated that so soon they have been able to clear the atmosphere, eliminate all hypocrites and reduce the fight to a straight plain issue between the notorious Fagan machine and the Progressives. As part of the trade made between the "left" and "right" wing of the machine International Board Member John O'Leary is to run for re-election to be supported by Fagan.

Altho O'Leary has been working with Feeny in the coke fields and has always had Feeny's support he is one of the most brazenly reactionary officials in the whole country. He led the fight to put Howat and the Kansas miners where they are.

Howat has just sent several thousand letters into District Five in which he says: "President Gibbons and Vice-President Fagan of District 5, and O'Leary, Dalrymple and Steele, International Board Members of Districts 5, 21 and 25, along with practically all other officials in the four above named districts, were extremely bitter in their denunciation of the expelled miners of our district. They deliberately misrepresented the facts to the miners of their districts. They tried to impress them with the idea that I and others were trying to disrupt the organization, and that they were the real Saviors of the Labor Movement, and that it was necessary that I and several thousand others should be kicked out so that they, with their wonderful knowledge and influence, might be able to save it from destruction; while the real facts are, I was fighting for the United Mine Workers of America before such upstarts and many others who were instrumental in kicking us out knew anything about the organization." (Signed) Alexander Howat.

Over Howat's own signature we have the unqualified condemnation of O'Leary as one of the active leaders against Howat. Delegates from this district to International Conventions well know the unfair tactics employed by O'Leary and the threats made personally to delegates who dared to vote for Howat. Does O'Leary dare to deny these charges?

O'Leary's Position on Fayette County Settlement

One might suppose from the fact that O'Leary was in charge of the Fayette County coke fields and public statements he had made, that he was opposed to the Cleveland settlement in so far as it made no provision for the care of the coke fields. The miners thru the coke fields were led to believe when O'Leary came home to join Feeny in the handling of the Fayette sub district that he was opposed to leaving out these miners. He deliberately allowed this impression to grow. But the Progressives have made such use of it that its effect is being felt in Indianapolis and O'Leary got instructions from Lewis to openly defend the settlement. So on Sunday, November 19th, at New Kensington, at a mass meeting O'Leary publicly stated that at first at Cleveland he **"was bitter against a settlement leaving out the Fayette coke region, but the "forces" at Cleveland convinced him he was wrong."**

Will O'Leary go into Fayette County and make this statement? Will he go among the barefoot children living in tents and shacks in Fayette County at the present moment and say this? No, a thousand times no. New Kensington is a long way from Fayette County and O'Leary was not figuring on the Fayette miners hearing his speech.

Will O'Leary explain why he did not come back from Cleveland and said nothing about a deliberate agreement made in Cleveland to leave out the coke fields which were in his care? Will he explain why he made no serious move to raise relief for these miners until the Pittsburgh Miners Relief had stirred up protest against his maladministration in September?

Watch for Booze and Mud

We have definite information that the "Machine" plans a gigantic campaign of booze and mud slinging in the closing days of the campaign. The booze has already made its appearance and will increase in geometric ratio as we approach election day December 12th, when it will become an avalanche. Only last Sunday members of the Progressive group were deliberately invited by prominent conservative candidates to join them in booze parties and were refused. **Any candidate or progressive miner who at a time such as this indulges at any time or place in intoxication is a traitor to the miners and workers of this district and will be treated as such. We know efforts will be made to get miners drunk under incriminating circumstances. Leave liquor alone. We are in the midst of the greatest miners' fight in the history of District Five. Do your part.**

We also know that sensational lies are to be printed and circulated broadcast at the last minute against candidates on the Progressive ticket.

There will [illegible] chance to answer them. You know the Progressive candidates and you have read their platform. You know men do not run on such a platform who are dishonest. What does the "machine" offer? Nothing. **Therefore when they circulate their lies at the last minute do not listen. Tell them to publish them in time for replies. Vote the straight Progressive Ticket from top to bottom.**

We know that Feeney and others are to publish sensational articles at the last minute in the Mine Workers' Journal. Miners who believe in fair play will not be stampeded by anything of this kind and will refuse to vote against the Progressive Ticket because of lies published by the booze hounds.

Revised Ticket

Naturally in a campaign such as the present one it was impossible that the entire Progressive ticket as originally planned should get on the union ballot at the end of two months of bitter fighting. For this reason certain minor revisions of the Progressive Ticket have been necessary. It is really remarkable how well the original ticket has stood up. Below is the correct Progressive Miners' Ticket which you should vote. Cut it out and take it with you to the election.

Organize now a Committee of Progressives in every Local Union who shall act as watchers to see that the correct count is made and the Secretary properly registers the count and mails it. Keep a record with witnesses of the vote cast and mail it the night of the election to Thomas Ray, Secretary, McDonald.

REMEMBER THE TRUMP CARD OF THE "MACHINE" IS "STEAL THE VOTES". If you allow them to steal the votes that is your fault.

Progressive Miners' Ticket to be voted in District Five, December 12

President—Thomas Myerscough
Local Union 4561, Lawrence
Vice President—Michael W. Brajdich
L. U. 3257, Wyano, Pa.
Secretary-Treasurer—Thomas Ray
L. U. 1973, McDonald, Pa.
Auditor—Tony Rosena
L. U. 2398, Van Voorhis, Pa.
Auditor—August Arual
L. U. 1724, Houston, Pa.
Teller—John Usnich
L. U. 5085, Coverdale, Pa.
Teller—Joseph Mantino
L. U. 3257, Wyano, Pa.
Teller—Robert Baird
L. U. 1089, Raccoon, Pa.

International Board Member

William Guiler, Local Union 593, Charleroi.

Sub-District Board Members:

1st Sub-District—W. C. Smith
McDonald, Pa.
2nd Sub-District—Peter Messoch
L. U. 4561, Houston, Pa.
4th Sub-District—James Oates
L. U. 4546, Charleroi, Pa.
5th Sub-District—Frank J. Indof
L. U. 2353, Smithton, Pa.
6th Sub-District—James P. Hickey
Local Union 1188, Kaylor
7th Sub-District—Max J. Tomayko
Russelton

(Signed) William Guiler, Thomas Myerscough and Frank J. Indof, Publicity Committee, Progressive Miners of District 5, U. M. W. of A.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

What Bosses Think of Railroad Strike

By WILLIAM F. KRUSE

One of the basic tenets of military strategy is to find out what the enemy wants you to do—and then do the opposite. Organized labor should take this tactic to heart in waging the class war. Had it done so in the recent coal and railroad battles the results would have been much more satisfactory to the workers.

It is not hard to learn what the masters want us to do. Merely by reading their own press, published for circulation among their own class and its satellites, we can easily learn what kind of unions we should belong to, what kind of leaders they should follow, and what kind of tactics they should pursue. We should learn the desires of the enemy—and give him the opposite.

Thus the current "Scribner's," in a lengthy review of "The Financial Situation," gives an illuminating account of the master-class view of recent happenings in the labor movement. The poor Dubb on the street does not associate labor union affairs with "The Financial Situation," but the banker and his editors know better. Only a few excerpts can be given here.

"In America, the five month's coal strike had so far curtailed supplies that even the country's steel and iron manufacturing plants, with unfilled orders on their books 40 per cent greater than a few months before, had been forced for lack of fuel to reduce by one-fifth its daily production of steel, and to blow out more than one-fourth of its active iron foundries. At a moment when hope for a settlement of that industrial dispute was coming into sight, the strike of the railway shop mechanics against the wage reduction by the Railway Labor Board had so far excited the feelings of operating railway forces that trainmen began to quit their duty, sometimes leaving a trainload of transcontinental passengers half way across the Western desert. The possibility of a general railway strike began to appeal to uneasy imaginations; occasionally predictions would be heard of enforced closing down of productive industry, of five or ten million laborers cut of work, of government seizure of the railroads, or a 'social revolution.'"

"That there was a radical element in the union membership, which was ready to resort to disorder, and which might have welcomed the complete upsetting of the industrial and social structure, has been manifest ever since 1918. This has made 'labor union politics,' the formal action on leaders and policies, a focus of contest and manoeuvre quite as active as the conflict of political parties at Washington.

"Nevertheless, conservatism has prevailed whenever the real test came. The bituminous coal strike was settled. The head of the railway trainmen's brotherhood ordered the men to return to work immediately. When the four brotherhoods of railway operating forces intervened to mediate the shopmen's strike they stated positively that no idea of a general railway strike had at any time been entertained."

One can almost hear the writer's sigh of relief over this happy ending. The workers had the plutes on the run. Between the miners and the shopmen a situation was developing in which profits might be pinched. A general walk-out of all railway workers would have resulted in a general tie-up of industry and possible aggressive action against the bosses on the part of the millions thrown out of work. The fighting spirit was in the rank and file of the railroaders, but the leaders "stated positively that no idea of a general railway strike had at any time been entertained," and "ordered the men to return to work immediately."

But this is by no means the end of the story. That will be written only when the workers, thru absolute control of their own government have put an end to the class war by abolishing its cause, the private ownership of industry for the exploitation of labor.

The railroaders do not relish being made scabs by their leaders. One union head, Grable, the President of the Maintenance of Way Workers, has already been told by his rank and file, "to return to work immediately"—in the section gang for all the delegates cared, but not in union office.

Let the writers on "The Financial Situation" write one thing into their hats. The year 1922 marks the last time that the American railroader permitted his leaders to make him haul scab coal in scab engines guarded by uniformed scabs under the orders of a strike-breaking Federal government.

Those "brotherhood heads," by whom the "idea of a general strike," (or any other for the past thirty years for that matter), "had never been entertained"—they are headed for the scrap heap.

When the bugle blows for the next battle we hope there will not be sixteen little armies to be beaten up one at a time—the Amalgamation program, fostered by the Trade Union Educational League is winning such wide-spread support that there should be but one army of railroad workers to go into battle as one man.

Strengthened further by an alliance with the miners and all other transport workers and supported by a solidly organized mass of all workers, the finish of that next battle will mark a great step nearer the final victory for the American working class.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

YOWLS PLAN ACTIVI[illegible]

Circle 6, Y. W. L. of N. Y. opened its winter activity with a discussion on "Youth in the Labor Movement" led by Peter Sharp. The Circle has reorganized and will now hold meetings every Sunday at 143 E. 103 St. Mauricio Massarano, recently from Italy, will speak on the Fascisti, on Dec. 3; Jean Felshine will speak on the Crisis in the French Communist Party, on Dec. 10; and every Sunday thereafter prominent speakers will address the Circle, among them being the comrades Mrs C. S. Ware, H. M. Wicks, Bruce Rogers, J. Louis Engdahl and others. A class on elementary economics is being held every Friday by one of the best Marxist teachers in the city. In addition, an international revolutionary chorus is being formed Dec. 3. For further information, address Anthony H. Harfield, 114 E. 109 St.

West Side English Branch

The regular business meeting of the branch will be held Dec. 1st, 133 West 51st St. (Amalgamated Food Workers' Hall) Comrade Manley will give a short talk on "The Industrial Work of the Party." Members are urged to be on time as the meeting will commence promptly at 8.30 p. m. J. F. Maguire, Branch Organizer

BETTER AND BETTER

"THE WORKER is getting better and better and counteracts all the capitalist propaganda. It brings to light the working class position on all economic and political questions and serves a useful and essential purpose."—Sam Hahn, Madison, Wisc.

ONE MILLION ORPHANS!
ONE MILLION DIMES!
ONE MILLION DINNERS!

This Christmas!

Just the same as other children, or you or I
THE ORPHANS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

MUST EAT
OR DIE!!!

THERE THEY ARE, a million hungry little tots. They have never in all their little lives had a meal such as you enjoy EVERY day.

WE WANT TO FILL their plates HEAPING FULL this Christmas. We want to give them so much to eat that they will for once feel COMFORTABLE.

THE PROBLEM WHICH the famine, the blockade, allied attempts at counter-revolution has created is colossal. One million of the coming generation, future heritors of the Russian revolution, are threatened.

IF SOVIET RUSSIA is to live, its children must live. The future is built upon children. Active spirits are needed, the kind that will not only give of their own means, but who will also request others to give.

HOW MANY CHRISTMAS DINNERS will you help to provide for these hungry little waifs? How many will be your guests this Christmas Day?

ENTER INTO THE SPIRIT of this task at once. Visit every one you know. Tell them the story of Soviet Russia and its orphans.

JOIN US IN A NATION-WIDE COLLECTION OF
ONE MILLION DIMES
for one million meals for one million hungry orphans.

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
201 West 13th Street,
NEW YORK CITY.

Adopt an Orphan

Pledge yourself to pay $2.00 each month for the care of one of Russia's million orphans.—Square yourself with your conscience by feeling assured that there is one needy child in Soviet Russia that eats every time you eat.

Just write today and say:
Friends of Soviet Russia,
201 W. 13th Street,
NEW YORK CITY.
Here are my dimes totalling
$.......... with which to
buy .... Christmas dinners for Russia's hungry orphans. I shall collect dimes from all my friends and make another remittance soon.
Name ....
Address ....

WE SUGGEST: Write for a coupon book. Fifty coupons [illegible] Each coupon sells for ten cents. [illegible] will buy one Christmas dinner [illegible] meals, for one of these needy children.

[illegible] that from this point of view the revolution would be most advantageous in the United States. This country is, in the economic sense the most independent country. Agriculture and industry so balance each other, that the country would be able in the event of a savage blockade to carry on a perfectly independent economic life. In addition it is the most wealthy country in the world and has at its disposal the best industrial technique and almost half of the world's gold supply.

If, therefore, the proletariat of this country were to capture power, the material foundations, the organizatory and technical prerequisites for the establishment of Socialism would be extremely favorable.

The second country in line is Great Britain. But Russia, tho she does not occupy the last position in this respect (because there is also Asia and Africa), she at any rate occupies the last position within the borders of Eurppe.

Yet, if we examine the actual state of affairs, we are compelled to say, that the political pre-requisites in this most powerful and leading capitalist country, that is, the prerequisites for the creation of an appropriate class party are lacking the most.

In our country history began to unfold the scroll of evolution, and we were compelled during these five years to labor at Socialist construction in the economically backward country, under the continued domination of capital, which was deadly hostile to us, in the economically advanced capitalist states.

This is a fundamental fact, and from this arose the terrible bitterness of our civil war.

Lessons of the Russian Revolution

If we wish to speak of the lessons of the Russian Revolution, we must in the first place mention with pride our Party, which gave the most magnificent example to the proletarians of all countries, of how to fight for power and how the conquered power is to be defended by most stringent measures—with the help of the hardest, most merciless dictatorship if need be—hesitating before no step that will destroy the bourgeois hypocrisy, when it is a question of retaining the state power in the hands of the proletariat.

The workers of all countries must in the next few years learn from the teachings of the Russian Revolution. Whether we have or have not made mistakes in the civil war (of course, one can find mistakes if one seeks), we have left the classical part of our revolutionary activity behind us.

As to our economic activity we often spoke of mistakes which necessitated concessions,—the one great concession called the New Economic Policy.

The fact that at first we advanced steadily forward, then retreated, and are now digging ourselves in in definite positions, confuses the perspective, not only of our enemies, but also of many of our friends.

Journalists who are well disposed [illegible] American city, and they ask what guarantee is there that we Communists will make a halt on the road of concessions and lead the development in the direction of Communism and not in that of capitalism?

Upon superficial observation it would appear as if the Socialist gains of the first period were now in some way disappearing automatically and as if there were no evidence of those forces which are capable of holding them fast.

But Comrades, the question can be reversed. Let us forget for a moment that previously we proceeded along the way of so-called War Communism and then went back to our present position. Let us compare the present position with the position on October 25th (Nov. 7, new calendar), 1917.

If our foreign friends and the comrades of Europe and America ask us this question, then we can reply as follows: The railways, mines, factories, workshops and a very great portion of the land was at that time in the hands of private owners. To-day, all the railways, the overwhelming majority, or at least all important factories and workshops, all valuable mineral resources are in the hands of the State, in which the working class governs, supported by the mass of the peasants. That is the result which we see after five years of our rule. We advanced and we retreated, but the result is that [illegible] tive. How do you picture to yourselves the process of nationalizing the means of production and the process of organizing Socialism?

Our teachers in all our old books, and we too in our own books, repeatedly said and wrote, that the working class, after taking over the state power, would carry out the process of nationalization step by step, beginning with the most essential means of production. Does this rule remain in force to-day? Most certainly.

At the fourth congress which will consider the Communist program, the question whether, the working class, when it takes over power, in England or France, shall destroy the organization apparatus of the technical means of commerce and set in its place a universal method of accounting, must be answered in the negative.

The working class must employ the bourgeois methods of payment, of calculation, the methods of the exchanges, of the banks, and only gradually, in accordance with its technical strength and capacity, pass to a Socialist economic system.

In this lies the greatest difference between the Russian proletarian revolution and the future proletarian revolution, for example in America. [illegible] revolution took the bourgeoisie by surprise.

We not only disarmed the bourgeoisie before the 25th of October and in the night from the 25th to the 26th, but in the three years after the 25th of October.

The bourgeoisie, the land owners, and the officers only saw the real situation after the 25th of October and began a war against us with the aid of European capital. In Europe this process is going on quite differently than with us. In Europe the organization and arming of the counter-revolutionary forces—side by side with the preparation of the Communist parties for this struggle—is now going on, and the struggle will be much harder,—not after, but before the 25th of October (Nov. 7).

•

Of course, Socialism receives its practical as well as theoretical justification when it is able to furnish labor power for a greater quantity of products to satisfy its social needs than capitalism was able to. And it is a fact that Soviet Russia is one of the poorest countries.

The French representatives at Genoa impudently reproached us with the assertion that Europe had nothing to learn from us, as Russia was [illegible] year 1917. That is out of the question.

But this is the price we paid for the revolution. Not a single revolution has been carried out without a reduction of the economic level of the country, and the bourgeois conservative historian Taine asserts that eight years after the great French Revolution, the French people were much poorer than before the Revolution. And that is true.

Hence, we see in our country, for the time being, more capitalist ruin than Socialist construction. The time elapsed is still too short. We must emphasize this once more at the fourth congress of the Communist International.

The five years which were devoted to the task of replacing Capitalism by Socialism, the greatest historical revolution, when we began to build up Socialism in the most backward country (while the great French Revolution broke out in the most advanced country on the continent, which stood higher than all the remaining states except England) could not suffice to bring about the necessary modifications of our social life.

These, comrades, are the conclusions, which we, in the name of our Party, shall present to the 4th congress, and there we shall have to ask our European and American comrades and also ourselves, what is the position and the prospects for the development of the European [illegible] and America!

The European Com[illegible] Win Over the Working [illegible]

We now ask, whether [illegible] and world capitalism is [illegible] whether it is still capable of [illegible] During the year 1920, the [illegible] economic system passed thru a terrible crisis. Such a crisis [illegible] precedented in the history of capitalism. This crisis began in the [illegible] part of 1920, extended thruout the whole of Europe, and in the [illegible] half of 1921 reached an [illegible] depth and intensity.

The Third Congress met just at the time when the crisis [illegible] thruout the world, when in America there were about 5 to 6 millions, and in England about 2 million [illegible] ployed.

Many comrades were of the opinion that this was the last and [illegible] crisis which would lead to the collapse of the capitalist system and to the proletarian revolution, to civil war and the conquest of power. The tactics of the March days in Germany arose out of such psychology.

Many lively debates raged round this question, not only among the European comrades, but in our own ranks. And now the Communist International is issuing as an official document the economic report of Comrade Varga, which is based on the fact that the period of prosperity

(Continued on Page Seven)

Comrades of the Jewish Federation!

Stand by the Party!

STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS PARTY

A faction of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Federation is endeavoring to disrupt the Jewish Federation and to bring disorganization into the ranks of the Party.

This faction, led by Olgin, Hoffman, Wishnak and others, who were entrusted with important places in the Party organization, has become drunk because of the power which the Party membership has permitted them to wield. After months of violation of Party discipline this group has openly defied the authority of the highest Party authority and issued a call for a convention of the Jewish Federation after the Administrative Council of the Party had set the date for the convention of the Federation.

The Administrative Council of the Party submits this statement of facts of the situation to the Party, and particularly to the members of the Jewish Federation, so that these disruptionists, who are trying to break up the Jewish Federation, may be rebuked and put in their places by the members of the Federation.

• • •

PARTY UNITY FIRST

In all its dealings with the faction of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Federation which is now endeavoring to disrupt the Federation, the Central Executive Committee of the Party has placed the unity of the Party first. It has repeatedly reconsidered its decisions and endeavored to come to an agreement with this faction rather than use its disciplinary power and suspend the faction which broke the discipline of the Party.

The Central Executive Committee has maintained this policy, because it hoped that the faction which was defying the discipline of the Party would come to its senses and not carry its criminal policy to the point of creating a split in the Jewish Federation.

The time for splits in the revolutionary movement in this country is past. The Workers Party from its beginning has been a movement for unification, for bringing together all those workers who are ready to work in harmony with the leadership of the Communist International, into one powerful centralized, disciplined party. The Party has made great progress in achieving this end. At the outset it secured affiliation with the party of many of these groups and it had added more. Only recently the Czechoslovak and Scandinavian Federations and the United Toilers have joined the Party. The Party has grown in strength and power. It is on the road to become a powerful factor in the life of the American workers.

This progress seems not to the liking of the disruptionist group in the Executive Committee of the Jewish Federation. Because this little group cannot have its own way it has set out to destroy the Jewish Federation. This group of disruptionists is out to destroy the "Freiheit." It must know that its tactics can have no other result. In order that the "Freiheit" may live it must have a united Federation behind it. It must have a united party supporting it. Yet this faction has not hesitated to create a situation which may disrupt the Federation and bring disorganization into this branch of the Party. Such is their loyalty to the revolutionary movement, such is their loyalty to the Communist International, that to achieve their own petty ends they do not hesitate to destroy the instruments which build the movement and support the Communist International.

• • •

CITY CONVENTION, DEC. 10

The City Convention of Local Greater New York will be held Sunday, Dec. 10th, at 10 A. M., at Labor Temple, 2[illegible] E. 84th St.

Before a Party Convention

These tactics are adopted by this faction at a time when a convention of the Workers Party is only six or seven weeks off. They call a convention of the Jewish Federation **before the Party convention.** In place of waiting for the Party, as a whole, to speak they call a convention of the Federation before the Party convention and endeavor to intimidate the Party convention by their threat of disruption if they cannot have their way.

• • •

The Open Communist Party

In order to have an issue on which to hang their factional purpose, this disruptionist group has raised the issue of an open communist party. They declare that they desire to make the Workers Party an open communist party but they show by all their actions that they are unfit to be members of a communist party.

A communist party which is not a centralized, disciplined organization is not worthy of the name. One of the fundamental principles which the Communist International has laid down as the basis of a communist party is that it has a centralized authority that between conventions of the party the central executive committee shall have supreme authority.

What do these pseudo-Communists these phrase-Communists say on this point. In their manifesto they mouth the phrases of Communism. They speak of a centralized, disciplined Communist party, but they argue "the Central Executive Committee has no power over the executive committee of the Federation . . ."

That is the kind of Communists they are! No Communists at all but centrists who use the phrases of Communism but do not understand and never can understand the principles of Communism.

The Central Executive Committee has known that it had to deal with men who were Centrists and not Communists in this group, which is now trying to disrupt the Jewish Federation. They were permitted to become part of the Workers Party at the time of its formation for the sake of the following of Jewish workers who still supported them, to whom the Central Executive Committee desired to show by the actual developments of the workers' struggle that they could not be trusted.

These Centrists, the Olgins and Hoffmans, etc., have shown by their methods of conducting the struggles of the Workers Party that they are not Communists. They have never given whole-hearted support to the policies of the Communist International in the "Freiheit"—the failure to uphold the United Front policy of the Communist International is only one instance. In June the C. E. C. of the Party was obliged to sharply call the editor of the "Freiheit" to account and lay down stringent instructions in regard to the attitude of the "Freiheit" toward the Communist International because of the scandalous condition which existed of a Workers Party paper which was sabotaging the policies of the Communist International.

General Membership Meeting, Dec. 3rd!

Sunday, December 3rd, 1 P. M., at Casino Mansion, 85 E. 4th St., a general membership meeting of the Workers Party will be held for the purpose of discussing our attitude towards the formation of a Labor Party.

Only good standing members admitted. Good standing members are those who are less than three months in arrears. The discussion will be led by C. E. Ruthenberg.

The fight these Centrists have conducted against the yellow Socialist daily "The Forward" has not been a Communist struggle but a Centrist fight for clean, literary journalism against dirty, vulgar journalism. Their fight in the labor unions have consisted of attacks on the personal morals and integrity of reactionary leaders rather than a struggle to have the unions work in harmony with Communist principles.

The Party has tolerated these centrists—is still ready to tolerate them in the organization—because their tactics and policies must be exposed in the process of the struggle in order that the workers may realize their true character. But the Party will not permit them to mislead any part of the organization thru their centrist tactics. That would mean that the Workers Party would never be a communist party; but would soon be lost in the quagmire of centrist irresolution and decay.

These Centrists expose themselves as centrists in their very method of endeavoring to establish an open communist party. A communist party is not created by calling it by the name "Communist Party." It is created by its work. The Central Executive Committee is of the opinion that the Workers Party is now a communist party—that in its newly established fraternal relations with the Communist International, that by its tactics in the struggle in this country, by the new program which the C. E. C. has proposed to the coming convention of the Party there is established beyond any challenge that our Party is fighting for, and loyal to the principles of Communism as formulated by the Communist International.

The Communist Party of America

The Centrist disruptionists have singled out for their attack the Communist Party of America.

In the character of this attack they again expose themselves as Centrists, as men who have no understanding of Communist principles or who wilfully ignore facts in order that they may make an argument.

The Communist Party of America was organized at an open convention in 1919. It, together with the Communist Labor Party, organized at the same time, declared as their purpose to openly advocate the principles of the Communist International in the United States and to become the American Section of the Communist International. At the time of their organization these two parties had sixty thousand members.

The programs of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party of 1919 endeavored to remain within the bounds of bourgeois legality in stating the principles of Communism. While revolutionary in their implications they were conservative in their statements. But this availed these parties not at all.

The history of the brutal persecution and repression directed against these organizations, the deportations and jailings must be known to the Olgins, Hoffmans and other centrists. These men were at that time attacking the Communist movement in the columns of the "yellow" Forward. These men must know that within a few days twenty members of the Communist Labor Party are being sent to prison in Illinois. They must know that six other former members of that Party are on trial in California. They must know that twenty members of the Communist Party were arrested in August at Bridgeman, Mich. If they know these things they know that the reason the American Section of the Communist International, the Communist Party of America, is an underground organization is because of the brutal repression and prosecution by the capitalist governmental officers.

The Communist Party of America has declared that it is not an inherent feature of a Communist party to be an underground organization. It has declared that it is only bitter necessity which compels it to exist as an underground organization. It has declared that it will do everything within its power to participate openly in the political life of the country.

If the centrist disruptionists really desired an open communist party in place of paper declarations, they would direct their energies to creating the conditions which would enable the Communist Party of America, American Section of the Communist International to live in the open and work in the open. That end can only be achieved thru building a great mass movement of the workers, under the leadership of the Workers Party which thru its power can prevent the government from using repressive measures to destroy the Communist Party of America. That is the task which the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party has set for itself. The Workers Party is a communist party, but it cannot become the Communist Party of America, the American Section of the Communist International, as long as the Communist Party is compelled to exist underground. It is the task of the Workers Party to create those conditions which will enable the Communist Party of America to exist openly, to fight and work openly. In achieving that end the C. E. C. asks the loyal co-operation of every Party member.

Facts About the Controversy

The controversy in the Jewish Federation which the centrist disruptionists are trying to turn into a split arose out of the following situation.

By agreement, at the time of the organization of the Jewish Federation, the two groups which united were to be equally represented on the Executive Committe of the Federation until the convention. When this equal division of representation was disturbed the C. E. C. of the Party ordered the Executive Committee to restore it by accepting two new representatives of the former A. L. A. group.

The C. E. C. of the Party did not endeavor to change the situation which had existed. It did not endeavor to do violence to the agreement to which the centrist disruptionists point as the source of their rights. It endeavored to maintain that agreement.

The centrist disruptionists refused to carry out the decision of the C. E. C. They openly violated Party discipline in refusing to carry out a decision of the C. E. C. They had gained an advantage by an organization trick. They knew they could not hope to win in an open struggle over Communist principles so they

CONVENTION NOTICE!

City Central Committees and unaffiliated branches of the Workers Party, District No. 2, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, are requested to note that the District Convention will be held at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th Street, New York City, on Sunday, Dec. 17. Convention will open 10 A. M. All members of the party in District No. 2, are taxed 50 cents per member in order to defray the expenses of the District Convention and of the Delegates to the National Convention from this district. This tax must be paid by all members to their branch Financial Secretary, who will turn it over to the Secretary of the City Central Committee or the District Office without delay. Members employed and not paying the tax will not be considered in good standing.—Edward Lindgren, District Organizer.

hung on to their little advantage for dear life.

The C. E. C. did not act arbitrarily, as it had a right to do, and expel these violators of Party discipline from the Party. It desired to prevent conflict and disruption in the Jewish Federation. It elected a committee to discuss the situation with the centrist faction of the federation executive committee.

No agreement could be reached, however. The C. E. C. thereupon made the following decision:

1. That a convention of the Jewish Federation be held during the first week of January.
2. That until the convention a committee of ten, made up of five representatives from each side should conduct the work of the Federation. This committee also to arrange the convention.

The Convention was called within eight weeks. Each side was to be equally represented during the period until the convention. Did the disruptionists accept this proposal which gave them equal rights and equal opportunity to win control of the Federation thru winning a majority of the convention delegates?

Their answer was to call a convention in December, to deny the authority of the C. E. C., to trample upon Party discipline. And these men talk about being Communists and about a disciplined party!

• • •

Defend the Jewish Federation

Comrades of the Jewish Federation, the Administrative Council calls upon you to defend the unity of your Federation, to save the "Freiheit," to prevent disorganization in our Party. We call upon you to teach these centrist disruptionists what it really means to be a Communist.

Three New York Branches of your Federation have already spoken, by a vote of 51 to 19 in the Down Town Branch, 48 to 29 in Bronx Branch and 30 to 1 in the Brownsville Branch the action of the C. E. C. has been upheld and the Branches have been demanding the removal of the Executive Commitee of the Federation. Let every Branch adopt a similar resolution. Teach these centrist disruptionists their places.

Decisions of Administrative Council

The Administrative Council of the Party has made the following decision which every Party Branch is bound to carry out:

1. That the Administrative Council takes charge of the affairs of the Jewish Federation and arranges the Convention. The convention called by the faction of the Executive Committee is declared not a convention of the Jewish Federation of the Workers Party.

2. That all property of the Jewish Federation, including the "Freiheit" is taken over by the Administrative Council until a new [illegible] elected by the Convention of the Jewish Federation.

3. That the Administrative Council immediately elects a secretary to take charge of the affairs of the Jewish Federation under the direction of the Administrative Council.

4. That all Jewish Branches are instructed to make all payments for stamps and other Party supplies and to make all settlements on account of the "Freiheit" thru the secretary appointed by the Administrative Council.

While the Administrative Council does not recognize the convention called by the centrist disruptionists as a convention of the Jewish Federation it proposes that the Jewish Branches teach these disruptionists a lesson at their own convention.

As the vote of the New York Branches already shows the Jewish Federation is overwhelmingly against disruption of the Federation thru the methods of the centrists. The Administrative Council of the Party, therefore, directs each Branch, which approves of the position of the Central Executive Committee and which wishes to put down the disruptionists and save the "Freiheit," to take the following action:

1. To adopt a resolution declaring the December Convention not a convention of the Jewish Federation.
2. To adopt a resolution denouncing the action of Olgin, Hoffman, Wishnak, Salzman, Siegel, Poll[illegible] and Juditch, and also, demanding their expulsion from the Party.
3. To elect delegates to the December convention called by the disruptionists, notifying the Executive Secretary of the Party of their election. The delegates to hold themselves in readiness for further instructions from the Administrative Council.

Comrades of the Jewish Federation! The issue is clear. Is our Party a party worthy of the name Communist? Is it a party of discipline? Can a group of centrist disruptionists mislead our members and destroy our solidarity?

Comrades! Let us give these centrist disruptionists an example of the Communist spirit. Let us show them what discipline and solidarity mean.—Down with disruption! Down with centrism in our Party! Hail to Communism! Hail to discipline and solidarity! Uphold the unity of the Federation and of the Party!

Administrative Council,
Workers Party,
C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Sec'y.

CHRISTMAS EVE DANC[illegible]

A good time to all is promis[illegible] the Entertainment and Dance [illegible] by the Young Workers L[illegible] Bronx Branch, Christmas Eve, [illegible] 24, 1347 Boston Road.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD [illegible] THIS COPY OF THE WO[illegible] KEEP IT IN CIRCULA[illegible]

Grand Reception and Ball
of the
HOTEL & RESTAURANT WORKERS
(Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers)
DECEMBER 4, 8 P. M.
at
PALM GARDEN
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An opportunity to see the finest talent of the Broadway Cabarets. Bits from "So This Is Paris," now at the Moulin Rouge, by courtesy of Mr. Wm. Arnold. Other Houses will also oblige with presentations.—Tombola.
Tickets 50 cents
Auspices International Catering Workers' Club.

Bronx Open F[illegible]
(Auspices English Branch [illegible] and Y. W. L.)
Announces Its First L[illegible]
SALVATORE [illegible]
Organizer Italian Federation [illegible] the Workers Party
on the
"FASCISTI"
(and the Italian [illegible])
THIS SUNDAY EVE[illegible]
December 3rd, at 8 [illegible]
at WORKERS' HALL
1347 Boston Road
COMING LECTURE
By Cris Ware, [illegible]
Agricultural [illegible]
SUBJECT: [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] the second half of 1921 and [illegible] the first half of 1922. [illegible] Third World Congress the [illegible] Communist Party with its [illegible] occupied the central [illegible] discussion. The International was compelled to issue new [illegible] and to declare that the task [illegible] European Communists did not [illegible] capturing power to-day or [illegible] but in winning the majority of the working class and in [illegible] the political preliminaries [illegible] seizure of power. The German section is making very good [illegible] this lesson.

[illegible] France we are politically in a [illegible] more backward position than Germany. I am speaking of the Communist Party itself. This is [illegible] by the French Communist [illegible]—altho in a smaller scale—re[illegible] the March errors of the German Party.

The International [illegible] in general a [illegible] beautiful thing and the instruction of one party thru another is [illegible] an invaluable thing. But we [illegible] say that each section of the working class possesses the tendency [illegible] each error upon its own back. [illegible] International can only help in [illegible] direction that fewer scars re[illegible] on these backs, but history [illegible] proceed without some scars.

[illegible] saw this recently in France at [illegible] port of Havre, where the C. G. T. U., the federation of the revolutionary trade unions which is in close connection with the Communist Party, called the working class to the general strike after the shooting of three insurgent workers. [illegible] strike.

If in Germany (in March), a quarter, a fifth or a sixth of the working class responded to the call for a general strike, in France a still smaller fragment of the French proletariat participated in the general strike.

And if we read the reports of this affair in the French papers and how it was arranged we are compelled to perceive how young and inexperienced the Communist parties of Western Europe are.

At the Fourth Congress, the French section will appear as an inwardly disunited party just as the German Communist party appeared at the Third Congress. At that time the Communist International played an important rôle in restoring the unity of the Party, and contributed very much to the capacity of its leadership. I believe that the French Communist Party is in the same stage as the German party was in the early part of last year.

The situation in Italy is still more acute. In September, 1920, the Communist wing separated from the old Socialist Party, about a third of the old Socialist Party. The old Socialist Party, i. e. the Centre and the Right continued to exist.

Under the attacks of the bourgeoisie who placed the executive power in the hands of the Fascisti, the reformists marched more and more to the right and sought to enter the government. This led to a breach with the so-called Right wing of the Socialist Party, the Serrati group.

The Serrati-Party decided at its [illegible] Communist International. [illegible] Fourth Congress: [illegible] Party and the Serrati-Party, which after a long detour wishes again to enter the Communist International. The majority of this party are without doubt striving after real revolutionary work.

A word with regard to England. The Communist Party there is still a successful agitation and propaganda organization and not a party which is able to assemble the masses behind it. But in England the circumstances are becoming continually more favorable for us, not only within the limits of the Communist Party, but with the whole working class.

Lloyd George's Gift to the Soviet Government

To-day we received a telegram announcing the resignation of Lloyd George. His was the only government that was older than our own (laughter). It is evident that of all governments we are the most firmly established. That is a charming present from Lloyd George to our anniversary in order not to grieve us (laughter).

In France the policy of the Bloc National with Poincaré at the head, resembles the policy of Lloyd George and differs in nothing from it, altho the German journalist Harden said to me to-day that the policy of Lloyd George and the policy of Poincaré differed as the heavens from the earth, and that while Lloyd George enjoyed a great popularity in Russia, Poincaré was [illegible] wider perspectives for our Communist sections.

But, comrades, all these underlying facts of which I speak arise from the one fact that we in Europe are still in the period of preparing the inner organization of the Communist parties, in the period of struggle for influence over the working masses.

This means that we, the Soviet Republic, must give to the Communist Parties of Europe one, two or three years for work of preparation, and this preparatory work is much harder than with us, because there, the enemy is much more clever and rational; in all European countries we see the formation of counter-revolutionary Fascisti bands, which was not the case with us. Fascism has ceased to be a purely Italian phenomenon. It is spreading in all countries.

In Germany it is the Orgesch and those bands which only change their sign boards. In France, Fascism appears under the sign of Royalism. In France there is a Royalist Party headed by Leon Daudet, the son of the writer Alphonse Daudet. This [illegible]

Parallel with this runs the long drawn-out process of our Socialist organization, of our Socialist construction, and for this reason we must turn from temporary method of existence to a more permanent mode of life and from haphazard work to systematic, methodical work.

We must change from our absolute generality—in which I am in entire agreement with Comrade Bucharin—to specialization, to perfecting our knowledge in all spheres, and we must strongly combat that type which arose during these five years, that is, the type that looks on at things from the outside and knows everything better than anyone else.

I lived a year in Vienna as an emigrant and there I have heard the word which I found in no other language: "Kiebitz".

Keep this word in your mind, you need it. This word means a man who, when he sees two men playing chess, cannot resist sitting beside them; he always knows what is the best move; but when he begins to play himself, he loses after the first move. And we see this sort of thing [illegible] the ranks of our own party from the young generation.

The Education of Our Youth Is a Vital Question for the Party

It is difficult to imagine the new generation, which has grown up within the frame of the consolidated Soviet Power, anywhere else than in the frame of the Soviets. The new generation seeks our leadership, groups itself about the various societies and has an appetite for culture. The party can mould this generation as it will.

This is not a piece of rhetoric. I assert that the question of the education of the young is a vital question for our Party.

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International where we shall again consider the international situation, we will reassert that we stand firmly upon our feet, and we were able to do so first, because we have learned to manage and manœuvre the Soviet apparatus, and secondly, because we learned and are [illegible] Soviet Russia.

The rise of the proletarian power in Germany—and history apparently will unravel the threads from Russia over Germany to the West—faces us with tasks which extend far beyond the limits of our own interior reconstruction.

For the solution of these tasks it is necessary to rejuvenate our Party, to create a mighty reserve of youth. And when we shall repeat to the Communist Parties: "Before you European Communists seize power you must go to the masses, you must learn to correct your faults, you must learn to influence the masses!" then we must say to our own Party: "Before us we have a young Party which we must retain in our hands for the maintenance of our Soviet citadel, until the proletarian revolution extends to Europe and then thruout the whole world."

THE LABOR HERALD
Call at Book Shop or Industrial Department, 208 E 12th St., for your December issue of the
LABOR HERALD

Concerning Communism

For five years the question of Communism has been before the entire world as the one vital problem of the age. Communism is by far the greatest force that emerged from the throes of the World War, and it is destined to be the most enduring force, because its mission upon the stage of history is to clear away the wreckage of capitalism and establish a higher form of social organization that will enable mankind to definitely abandon exploitation of man by man and write FINIS to the history of human slavery.

As we look about us, we view the capitalist world in its death throes. The statesmen of the gigantic imperialist governments of the world try desperately to overcome the destructive forces created by the very system which they defend. All of them appear immeasurably small in the face of the gigantic tasks they have unconsciously imposed upon themselves; the attempt to stem the tide of history.

But history, a creation of mankind that controls mankind, moves forward entirely oblivious of the fate [illegible] virtues of that capitalist fiction [illegible] by the pedagogical sycophants who interpret events according to the prejudices of the dominant class in society. The failure of the statesmen of today to bring order into the capitalist world is not due to the shortcomings of their statesmanship, but to the fact that the society they seek to defend has fulfilled its mission in the progress of mankind and its continued existence is a distinct detriment to society.

It was the task of capitalism to create a higher form of social organization than the system that preceded it. Its rise to power was achieved thru a whole series of revolutions, beginning in the middle of the Fourteenth century and culminating in its triumph during the great French Revolution at the close of the Eighteenth century. Its mission was the centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labor, a step in advance in human progress that transcends the achievement of all previous systems of society.

But the heyday of capitalism is passed and today it can only prolong its existence thru devastating the human race. From a constructive force it has become a destructive force, leaving in its path nothing but misery, oppression, slavery, famine, pestilence and every form of human degradation.

Whenever any stage of society reaches its period of decline, when it becomes a fetter upon production, the class that suffers thru its continued existence creates a movement of revolt. Under the feudal system it was the rising capitalist class that was revolutionary; today the revolutionary class is the working class. And just as capitalism superseded feudalism, so Communism, the revolutionary movement of the modern working class, will overthrow capitalism and clear the way for the human race to advance to further conquests of nature.

While there are points of similarity between the Revolution of this Century and revolutions of past centuries, inasmuch as they all brought a new class to power, the Communist revolution is different from all previous revolutions, because there is no class below the working class for it to exploit after its victory, therefore the triumph of Communism means at the same time the end of all class struggles and the complete subjugation of all social forces to the control of man.

Altho other revolutions marked distinct steps in advance, the working class revolution will be the most far-reaching movement of them all, for it means liberty in the fullest sense of the word for all mankind. Its beneficial effects upon society cannot possibly be estimated, but we do know that it will destroy every barrier that makes one human being dependent upon another, for the simple reason that everyone, within the confines of society, will have equal opportunity with every other person.

The only people who could not gain thru the establishment of Communism is the capitalist class. Instead of being able to live in idleness off the wealth created by the working class, they would be compelled to become useful members of society and participate in social labor enough to produce their own sustenance. There are many reasons for the capitalist class opposition to a system of society that would take from them their parasitic life of ease, but there is no valid reason why any member of the working class should be opposed to Communism and the Proletarian revolution.

A remarkable instance of revolutionary devotion to the working class was given recently by a worker just before he was put to death by the White Terror in Jugoslavia. Alije Aliagic was sentenced to die, and his last thought before his execution was of the starving orphans in Soviet Russia. He called an attorney and made arrangements that his clothes and other worldly belongings should be sold and the proceeds donated toward a Children's Home in Russia.

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THE WORKER,
BROADWAY NEW YORK CITY.

Western Pennsylvania News

FRED H. MERRICK,
Organizer, District Five
Workers Party of America
35 Miller Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Bell Phone, Grant 9855

On to Political Conference

The Pittsburgh progressives intend to give William H. Johnston their answer to his effort to defeat the move for a real labor party when he changed the meeting place from Chicago to Cleveland. The word has gone out thru Western Pennsylvania. Take it up in your local union and even if you have to pay your own expenses arrange to go as a delegate from your union to Cleveland to the Conference for Progressive Political Action, there to help launch a Labor Party. There is no reason why a hundred delegates should not go from the Pittsburgh District. For further information get in touch with this headquarters. Get on the band wagon and join the historic throng who take the great constructive step towards independent political action for the workers in the U. S. BE SURE TO GET CREDENTIALS FROM YOUR LOCAL UNION.

Adam's "Popularity" Grows

An "old friend" of "Comrade" Adams not connected with the Workers Party but who "found him out" in the Socialist Party ordered a hundred copies of the WORKER as soon as he read the story of Adam's treachery in McKeesport and plans to make a personal distribution among mutual acquaintances. Thus the "chickens come home to roost" even after many years. Also other reports are now reaching us that Adams has been going around among members of the Workers Party and the T. U. E. L. making flattering remarks about the W. P. and Foster to fool the "reds" and then when he finds a sympathizer he whispers his poison "in confidence as a friend."

C. L. U. Recognizes Soviet Russia

Awake you cynics! Pittsburgh's famous C. L. U. has "recognized" Soviet Russia. This hot bed of reaction at its last meeting actually did it. On motion of Jane W. Tait of the Office Workers Union and seconded by Rostrom of the Sheet Metal Workers the C. L. U. went on record as favoring recognition of the Soviet Government. However, when Delegate Tait advocated instructing the Executive Committee to arrange a mass meeting the camel's back was broken. A member of the Executive Committee actually stated publicly on the floor that he was in favor of recognizing Soviet Russia—BUT, evidently the young lady who made the motion never had any experience in arranging mass meetings under the auspices of the august body or she would not make such a motion and he for one refused to sponsor a fizzle.

Workers Party Election Returns

Despite the terrible handicaps under which the Workers Party launched its ticket in Pennsylvania this year the names of eight comrades were printed on the ballot in three legislative districts and one state senatorial.

While the official compilation of votes has not yet been completed, some splendid surprises have already developed. In one precinct of the Third Ward Pittsburgh, Workers Party polled four votes, Democrats 2 and S. P. 2. At Raccoon, a mining town in Washington County, every vote in the town, 26, were cast for Comrades Ray and Strong, the legislative candidates.

Concerning Upton Sinclair

A letter from Sarah F. J. Linn, of Birmingham, Ala., and a reply:

Birmingham, Ala., Nov. 8, 1922.

To the Editor of the Worker:

Dear Comrade:—Will you please allow me to enter a friendly protest against some of the bitterness in the article by Comrade Wicks against Upton Sinclair. The splendid protest and exposure of the futility of Sinclair's proposed effort to undermine the strongholds of capitalist power is greatly weakened by the contemptuous quarrelling with Sinclair's personality.

Upton Sinclair is hated most cordially by our own enemies. His books, The Jungle, King Coal, The Money Changers, The Brass Check have been like pillars of fire to enlighten thousands of minds that would otherwise be still completely in the dark regarding the plague-spots of capitalism. I mention only the books that I have been able to get and read. There are others that I am sure have done equally good work for us.

The capitalist press sneeringly accuses him of publicity-seeking. Isn't it a little awkward for us to carry on an attack started by them? Doesn't every one who hopes to do any good work for humanity require publicity? How can any of us agitators and propagandists afford to sneer at "publicity seeking"?

A great number of our former comrades are today confined and misled by the traitors who have taken charge of the old Socialist Party. Sinclair is among them, with Debs, and who knows how many more? I believe Sinclair is honestly striving to serve the cause of working class emancipation; but the War, the confused babel of testimony regarding Russia, and worst of all, the influence of smiling traitors who flatter them as they do Debs also, have so confused his judgment that he is now totally unfitted for further leadership. Nevertheless we ought surely to be level-headed enough to remember kindly the good work he has done in the past and rather grieve than rail at him for having fallen by the wayside. Indeed he may yet come to his senses and stand with us shoulder to shoulder in the front lines.

Your comrade,
Sarah F. J. Linn.

Wicks Replies As Follows:

While I welcome the criticism of Comrade Linn I cannot agree with her conclusion regarding Upton Sinclair. Because the capitalist press of the nation perceive that he is and has always been a publicity-seeker, it by no means follows that we should declare that he is not guilty of the charge. His reputation was established in the days of muckraking by his publication of his first work "The Jungle". He mucked the packers just as Lincoln Steffens exposed rotten city administrations thruout the nation and Charles Edward Russell held the railroads, their watered stock and interlocking directorates up to public scorn. The reason he is better known than the other gladiators of that period of frenzied journalism, is because he made a greater nuisance of himself by eternally shrieking about the nation-wide conspiracy to silence him, when as a matter of fact no one cared anything about him. His books would never induce anyone to become a revolutionist but might cause them to seek the camp of the petty bourgeois reformists and indulge in futile and foolish talk about manipulating the money system in order to achieve the emancipation of the workers without a revolution.

One of his recent books "The Brass Check", while it exposes certain practices of capitalist newspapers, is far more valuable for the light it sheds upon Upton. It is one long tale of woe about this saintly and gullible scribbler who is constantly being deceived by the villains of the capitalist press. A chapter or more is devoted to Arthur Brisbane and the Hearst publications, yet at this time that same avaricious combination of yellow journalism is booming Sinclair's latest novel, "They Call Me Carpenter" as one of the great works of the age. By the method of reasoning used by Comrade Linn in defense of Upton when he is attacked by the capitalist press, he should now be roundly condemned because the press praises him as a genius.

Even granting that his work was ever of value to the revolutionary movement, which we deny, his defection is not of recent date. During the World War he was a howling jingo and denounced as pro-German the pacifist program of the Socialist Party. Now that the War is over he again asserts his admirable courage by aligning himself with that organ of reaction.

If we class the leaders of the Socialist Party as traitors, let us not forget that Sinclair is precisely such a leader and belongs in the same category with Hillquit and Berger as enemies of the working class.

As to Eugene V. Debs, I hold no brief for him. He has served the cause well for many years, but so did Breshkovskaya (the Grandmother of the Russian Revolution) in her time, but she is now the enemy of the working class. Neither Debs or Sinclair is misled, but have deliberately chosen to align themselves with the forces of reaction and against the vanguard of the working class. As revolutionists we must warn the working class against the pitfalls in their path whether they are dug by a Debs, a Berger or a Sinclair.

Furthermore, I personally dislike the objection to my calling Upton by his right names: a self-seeker, a careerist, a fakir and charlatan. A much better man than Upton can ever hope to become was not spared the merciless denunciation of Trotsky. That man was Karl Kautsky. The names Lenin called the German pedant must have been exceedingly offensive to his former supporters who still suffered from the bourgeois delusion of being polite to ones enemies and to confine debates to impersonal things and shield the infamy of the individual.

My object was not only to ridicule Upton's brain contortion, but to hold him up to personal contumely as an enemy of the working class.

As for hoping that he will stand shoulder to shoulder with us, I sincerely hope the time will never come that we abandon our principles to the extent that we become one of his numerous havens. I deny that he has fallen by the wayside. He never was anything but a nuisance in the movement and the Socialist Party has sufficiently degenerated to furnish him a comportable berth for the present. I am sure that if Comrade Linn had followed his record so closely as we have she would not bother about us calling his names.

H. M. Wicks.

"SOVIET RUSSIA"
A Fortnightly Magazine
Official Organ of
Friends of Soviet Russia

Contains most reliable and significant news of Russia. Tells what the workers and peasants have done towards re-establishing the life of the country, fighting the famine and restoring the productive processes.

The next issue of Dec. 1st will contain among other notable features the following:

Soviet Russia Enters The Sixth Year, by Karl Radek
The "Discarded" Communism in Russia, by J. Larin
The Tide Turns in Russia, by A. C. Freeman
The Oriental Woman in Russia, by Hulet M. Wells,
Russian News In Brief, and many other interesting things.

Can you — as a reader of THE WORKER — afford longer to be without this magazine?

. . .

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Postpone Goldstone's Lectures.

Dr Goldstone will commence his course of lectures on "The State in Theory and Practice" Wednesday, Dec. 6th, instead of Nov. 29th, as announced.

Classes in English

The local also begs to announce that commencing with the first week in January, a course of lectures will be given on English to Foreigners, Friday night of each week, at Party headquarters. Admission to the entire course will be $2. Registration is now open.

Olgin's Classes in English

M. J. Olgin will continue his classes on Monday night of each week at 47 Chrystie St. His course will be given in English.

Cris Ware to Speak

December 10, Cris Ware, who has just returned from a tour of Soviet Russia will give an interesting talk on the work of the American Agricultural Unit that was highly praised by Comrade Lenin, and also a general survey of conditions thruout Soviet Russia. Bronx Open Forum, Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road, 8 P. M.

Circulate this
LABOR PARTY LITERATURE
The Manifesto of the Trade Union Educational League:
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By the National Committee of the Trade Union Educational League
A four-page leaflet. Prices: 100, 50 cents; 1,000, $4.50

The Labor Party pamphlet, 48 pages:
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This pamphlet contains a scientific study of the third party movements in this country, their growth and failure. It will tell you why a Labor Party can be organized now and the economic conditions which will enable it to succeed, even as the Republican party succeeded.
Prices: Single copies, 10c each; 25 copies, 7½c each; 50 copies, 7c each; 100 copies, 6c each
CASH MUST BE SENT WITH ORDERS
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[illegible] participate [illegible]

[illegible] MacDonald, [illegible] of the Second (Socialist) In[illegible] the labor bloc by [illegible] on the constitutional character of the Labor [illegible] repeating the charge of being a "Bolshevik."

[illegible] younger and more militant spokesmen of the Labor Party, [illegible] proceeded to smash parliament's tranquil atmosphere. [illegible] from the Clyde shipyards, declaring the present order [illegible] was doomed. He denounced the display of wealth [illegible] House of Lords, while workers with their families were [illegible] ejected from their homes in Glasgow, scenes he had re[illegible] witnessed before coming to London.

"Better spend a little less money on Tomfool shows," warned [illegible]bold, Communist, but his remarks were promptly ruled out [illegible] order. Newbold pointed out that the government's hostile at[illegible] toward the jobless carried out all Communist predictions.

The opening of the British parliament, as we predicted, showed that the labor politicians, MacDonald, Clynes, Thomas and Co., will be content to seek sops from the conservative government, while the new members, as yet untouched by the soporific powers of parliamentarism, will give real cause for the fear of Lord Birkenhead, dreading the increase of labor representation in the Commons, with consequences no one knew where they might stop.

It is time for American labor to create the same fear in congress at Washington. This can only be done by sending a few hundred congressmen to the nation's capital, supported by an uncompromising labor militancy arrayed in a class Labor Party demanding an end of the profiteers and their social system of robbery and plunder. It is time to raise labor's slogan, "Forward to 1924!" with all forces united for effective action politically as well as industrially.

An Era of Greater Trusts

Great mergers of industrial corporations are being promised in rapid succession. We are told that the consolidation of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, giving it an output second only to that of the United States Steel Corporation, was consummated within a month. It was only a few months ago that Charles M. Schwab's "Bethlehem" took over the Lackawanna Steel Company.

It is rather significant that President Eugene G. Grace, of the Midvale, announces that "no opposition" to the consolidation is expected from the Attorney General's office," meaning, of course Mr. Daugherty, at Washington.

The combination of the Bethlehem and the Midvale would indicate that attempts at "trust busting" are ended at least in so far as the Harding administration is concerned, that the country is entering upon an era of the formation of new trusts.

That the "Big Five" packers in Chicago did not give up hope when they were prevented from combining some years ago is seen by the recent visit of Mr. J. Ogden Armour to Washington, to discuss the taking over by Armour and Co., of some of the other meat trust tentacles.

Claiming innocence of any attempt at amalgamation, the great woolen and cotton interests have formed an alliance under the direction of the Consolidated Textile Company, with William M. Wood as director-general and chairman of the board. Wood will be remembered as the head of the Woolen Trust that has waged terrific wars against the workers in New England, notably at Lawrence, Mass.

It is not to be doubted that trustitis will rapidly spread to other industries, thus developing the power of the exploiters not only to better control and increase prices, but to build a greater united front of entrenched greed against the growing demands of the workers, weakened in the pressing of those demands thru division into numerous, petty craft unions. May the era of new trusts inaugurate an epoch of great industrial unions of the workers.

Cuno, Bonar Law, Mussolini

New governments in the capitalist nations of Germany, Italy and Great Britain made their entree upon the shifting stage of world events during the past week. They confront various prospects of "getting the hook" and being jerked into oblivion.

Chancellor Dr. Wilhelm Cuno, the German capitalist, selected by Germany's "Socialist" President Ebert, was first denounced by the German United Socialists as the "overseer of Stinnes," and then embraced by them. The Communists alone fought and will continue to fight the "nonpartisan" Cuno outfit to the last. Cuno promises efforts to float a huge loan in the United States. He evidently is not aware of the fact that Wall Street has never developed a reputation for charitable giving.

The Mussolini Dictatorship in Italy is also having its money troubles. The Communists and Socialists stood against giving the Fascisti government complete power in all matters pertaining to bureaucratic and financial reforms until Dec. 31, 1923. The workers, no doubt, have no objection to Mussolini battling with capitalist finances, but they do oppose military rule for more than a year. Even the "Socialist," Modigliani, whom Mussolini refused to take into his cabinet, gave his feeble addition to the united labor protest, complaining about the haste in closing the discussion.

Bonar Law has gotten the British parliament under way in support of his government without a hitch, altho opposed by a united Labor and Communist opposition. Blood already bespatters its early days with the sending of more Rand strikers in South Africa to the gallows, while a firing squad pours bullets into the living flesh of Erskine Childers, called the "brains" back of the Irish civil war against British tyranny.

During the celebrations of the 5th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution in the Soviet Republic, it was often said in jest that it was kind of the Lloyd George Government, in England, to retire at the time it did, thus enabling Soviet Rule in Russia to truly claim to be the oldest government in Europe. No one today dares contradict that Russian Soviet Rule rests on a firm foundation. But everyone admits that the whirling top governments of Cuno, Bonar Law and Mussolini may any day lose their momentum and topple over. The social revolution has become a stable factor in the world. Capitalism is shakier than ever.

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By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

We are told by Lawrence Hills, correspondent of the New York Herald at the so-called Lausanne "Peace Conference," that "The greatest struggle here is over oil." This bears out the contention of THE WORKER that the war between the Turks and the Greeks is more an economic struggle of British against Standard Oil dominated French interests.

Thus we find the New York World declaring that, "In the interests of open diplomacy it would be a most excellent thing if the state department would make clear just what are its relations to the ambitions of the Standard Oil Co. in the Near East."

It should not be very difficult for The World, with its vast system for gathering information, to find out just what is Harding's oil policy. It will find that Harding's policy is the Standard Oil Trust's policy.

* * *

The British at Lausanne are pushing for oil concessions in the Mosul District, not troubling about national boundaries, in fact agreeing that Mosul be detached from the present British mandate Irak (Mesopotamia) and turned over to Turkey. But the Turkish government would derive little or no benefit in cash out of the British proposition, so it is cool toward these overtures.

It seems that the Standard Oil Trust is more in favor with the present Turkish government, since it is back of concessions granted by the old Turkish government to Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, United States Navy (retired) in 1910, by the provisions of which the present Angora government would participate 50 per cent in the profits of the exploitation of the Mosul oil district.

Thus while Richard Washburn Child, U. S. Ambassador to Rome, acts as American observer at Lausanne, he is also the direct spokesmen of the Standard Oil Trust seeking new fields of exploitation.

* * *

The anxiety and eagerness with which Standard Oil eggs on the Harding Administration to activity in its behalf can well be judged by the fact that oil consumption in the United States exceeds the supply, in spite of the fact that this country is the world's greatest producer of petroleum.

Statistics for the month of October, issued by the United States Geological Survey, show that during this month domestic production totalled 47,255,000 barrels, while imports amounted to 1,524,355 barrels, a grand total of 48,779,355 barrels of this liquid wealth. The estimated consumption of oil during October was 52,269,000 barrels, showing that the demand during the month exceeded the supply by 3,498,645 barrels. The statistics show that altho production is increasing, nevertheless consumption is more than keeping pace with it, hence the world scramble for oil.

While the United States is the world's greatest petroleum producer, having aggregated 5,902,051,000 barrels, or 62.1 per cent, during the 65-year period, 1857-1921; we find that Russia came second supplying 1,933,171,000 barrels, or 20.3 per cent, while Mexico came third with 7.7 per cent of the world's total production of 9,511,997,000 barrels.

* * *

The Standard Oil Co. of California, in its current Bulletin, has an article headed "A World Game," that tells of the Standard Oil Trust's world quest for petroleum, giving us the gratuitous information that it is "well worth the cost."

The bulletin says that where California previously had to go beyond the state for her supply of oil, she now has an overproduction that is being sent in big oil tankers to all points of the compass. It then proceeds:

> "Altho California's supply now exceeds local demand, this may be no more than a momentary phase, as such things go, and the quest for new oil goes on without cessation. This company, for example, is searching in the far places of the world for new oilfields—in the Philippines, Alaska, Ecuador, Colombia and the Argentine, as well as in Montana and Texas. It is indeed a world game, and costly, BUT WELL WORTH THE COST."

* * *

Since most of the Russian oil fields are around the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, the Soviet Republic becomes doubly interested in its outlet to the world thru the Dardanelles, the control of which rivals oil for attention by the "peace conference."

The mass of voters in the United States, in casting their ballots for Harding in 1920, are supposed to have decided against Wilson's League of Nations, against "entangling alliances" with European capitalism. But while the Government at Washington holds aloof from actual participation at Genoa, the Hague and now at Lausanne, American economic imperialism is busy everywhere. Ambassador Child becomes the office boy of Standard Oil in Washington's latest version of "dollar diplomacy." If Standard Oil cannot get what it wants in the Near East, it will easily find the basis for new wars to enable American workers to fight for what it wants.

* * *

Thus, while Wilson's oil diplomacy merely took us over the Rio Grande into Mexico, we now confront the fact that Harding's oil diplomacy has carried us into the midst of European imperialist intrigues.

Workers of America! Do you want to fight new wars for Standard Oil? Or will you seize power in this country, and join with workers' governments in other nations to end economic rivalries and wars for all time. It is for you to decide.

The Federated Press reports that thousands of men are being sought by New York City employment agencies to work in the hard coal mines of Pennsylvania—but the men must not be Americans. The agencies are advertising for Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Magyars and Scandinavians. The mine owners probably figure it is cheaper to have the friends of the miners far away when these frequent explosions take place killing many. It will then be more difficult to collect a price for the blood on the coal.

The Standard Oil Co. of Kansas, not to be outdone by the other tentacles of the Standard Oil Octopus, has declared an extra cash dividend of $3 per share in addition to the quarterly dividend. Other tentacles are planning to do the same. If we are not mistaken it was in Kansas that oil workers were sent to prison for seeking to better the conditions of labor in the oil industry.

The Communist International now in session at Moscow is taking steps to combat the Fascisti wave that is rising in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and other countries as well as in the United States. Since the capitalist governments everywhere are winking an eye at the growth of the Fascisti, it behooves the workers of all lands to join in the anti-Fascisti front to protect their interests.

Profiteers are no recognizers of persons. An effort is being made to exploit the 200 demi-wives of the fugitive ex-Sultan Mohammed VI, of Turkey, by touring them thru Europe and America. A New York beauty purveyor is also bidding for their services against the Parisian impresario. Perhaps the wives will divide their forces and seek to exploit the exploiters.

When Debs in his Chicago speech sought to support his statement that the ruling class, in fear, are enacting laws to suppress free speech and free press, he cited Illinois, Michigan and California, where Communists are going to trial or to prison. Perhaps Debs, when he finds time, will tell us why no "Socialists" are going to prison in these days of capitalist tyranny.

The Russian monarchist emigres have decided to move their headquarters from Berlin to Paris, feeling that the Bolshevists are getting too strong in the German capital. It looks as if they were the camp followers of the westward retreat of capitalism.

[illegible] universal republic is just as sure [illegible] in his declaration that he means that the [illegible] will be established by the "dictatorship [illegible] in the form of Soviet Rule. And this includes the United States. Otherwise his remarks have no meaning.

If we are correct, how uncomfortable the Hillquits, Bergers, Stedmans, and Branstetters, et al, must feel with this heretic in their ranks, "poisoning the minds of the few remaining party members and sympathizers with Communist ideas."

Hillquit has always opposed "Sovietism," probably not as bitterly, but more cleverly and just as effectively as his Schlesingers, and Ervins and Cahans. Berger has fought the idea of Soviet rule, putting the Russian Bolsheviks in the same category with the members of what he terms the "Wall Street Soviet." The party secretary, Branstetter, was guilty of an intellectual atrocity that sought to show the American form of government more democratic than Russian Soviet Rule. In various court cases Stedman has warned capitalist judges of the danger of Soviet rule.

These must be sleepless nights indeed for "Socialist" Party leaders. Perhaps they will not be as anxious, as they thought, to send Debs on the road to preach Soviet doctrines. Or are they confident that their red-raiding, heresy-hunting powers will in time drill Debs into the counter-revolutionary goose step. If Debs wants to remain in good standing in the "Socialist" Party, we warn him not to be as careless as his remarks show him to have been in his Chicago speech.

World Strike Frightens Gompers

Samuel Gompers, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, has notified the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) that it cannot participate in the international labor anti-war conference called for The Hague, Dec. 10.

It is planned to discuss at the Hague the question of a world strike of labor to prevent war, and even such a discussion has Gompers scared stiff.

Gompers knows that the Amsterdamers, headed by the Englishman, the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M. P., who betrayed the Triple Alliance in his own country, are not in earnest about their call for a general strike. Such a strike was voted by the Second (Socialist) International at its congress, in Copenhagen, Denmark, 1910, and at Basle, Switzerland, 1912.

Nothing came of this action, however, because the yellow leaders of the Second (Socialist) International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International oppose every effort to create the kind of a world labor movement necessary to conduct an international strike. This was seen by their war against the Communists in the recent world congresses of the Transport Workers and the Miners, especially at the latter congress where the German, French and British coal miners even refused to dig scab coal to break the strike of the American coal miners.

The conference at The Hague, Dec. 10, will be a pacifist gesture on the part of traitor leaders who feel they must make some sort of militant pretence to keep the organized workers enslaved to their domination. Gompers will have nothing to do with this conference because he is a nationalist jingo, who has not even been forced to make this gesture by the slumbering workers in the ranks of American organized labor.

In the meantime preparations are going forward for the gathering of the Second Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions at Moscow, which struggles for the realization of effective solidarity and action among the world's workers, and in which American labor will be well represented.

The Red International is organized for action; the Amsterdam International is organized for speeches and resolutions, while the American Federation of Labor is organized along the line of narrow nationalism inspired by a chauvinism that makes it a stranger to international working class unity. The workers of this country have a great deal to say as to how long that condition is to continue. Let them speak.

Miss Rockefeller and Elk Basin

Out in Elk Basin, Wyoming, there is a working-class family that can this week view itself in a picture in the Literary Digest. It shows father and son in overalls, mother and three daughters in calico, and we are told that this is "A typical Elk Basin Family in front of its tar-paper shack."

In New York City the other morning, Miss Abby Rockefeller called early for her copy of "The Times," and read on Page 21, a full column report headed "Miss Rockefeller Makes Her Debut."

Languishing lazily in the midst of the fragrance of freshly cut flowers and inhaling the tantalizing scents of rich perfumes, Miss Rockefeller was not troubled by the noisome fumes of the faraway Elk Basin Oil Field, where the slaves of Standard Oil toil under the lash of necessity, "twelve hours a day and seven days a week, with no overtime pay," in order that "the richest society girl in America" might make of her coming out a brilliant occasion.

Abby is a granddaughter of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., the original "John D." and of the late United States Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, spokesman for entrenched special privilege while he was in the senate.

Abby is the daughter of the sanctimonious John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who leads a Bible Class in a New York church on Sundays, while the Oil Trust serfs out over the nation, and the world, toil the seven-day week to make him and his richer and richer.

The nameless Elk Basin, Wyoming, family had its picture taken because John D., Jr., recently had a twitch of conscience, something of which the first "John D." was never guilty, and issued a press statement opposing the seven-day week. Now that the chorus of applause from the kept press has died down, the conditions remain the same for the workers, the Oil Trust divides a few hundred million dollars more in stock dividends, while a nation of deluded working-class dubbs really console themselves into believing they have had something handed down to them from on high.

After issuing his statement "John D., Jr." had to repair to the Battle Creek Sanitarium, in Michigan, to rest up, and he just got home to New York City in time to head the receiving line at his daughter's formal introduction to society, and to have his poor nerves soothed by the violin of Mischa Elman, and the piano of Josef Bonime, the artists who performed in the musicale arranged for the occasion. It's a best bet that the Elk Basin, Wyoming, family never even heard Elman on a phonograph record.

But the ears of "John D. Jr.," and there is also a "John D. III," will again hear the disconcerting voice of discontent ascending from the slave pits in the oil fields.

The Lord of Standard Oil will then issue more sermons from the Mount of 26 Wall Street, and if the workers do not take their chloroform peacefully they will get the militia and the federal troops as they did in Colorado, and elsewhere.

But labor will in time come of age, even as the daughters of the rich. Its brain will grow to manhood, and it will stand on its own feet, and they will not be feet of clay. In that day the "John D's." will not have to go to sanitariums to recuperate. They will be put to performing health-producing labor. But no worker in all the land will be robbed of all the joys of living by the 12-hour day and the 7-day week.

There is a time coming when all labor will have its own "coming out," when it will come out of enslaving capitalism, and go forward into emancipating Communism. And in that time all the sanctimony of "John D., Jr." will avail him and his class nothing.

REVOLUTION IN AM

[illegible]

(Special for the Bolsons. All [illegible] lutionary rights reserved [illegible] license [illegible] expressly prohibited)

At last it happened! In [illegible] the Burnses and the Dan[illegible] gardless of Gompers and [illegible] contrary to the desires of [illegible] ward and the Call it yet [illegible] and only two weeks after the [illegible] mendous victory of the Dem[illegible]

A revolution in America! Wh[illegible] an inspiring bit of news! H[illegible] pleasing it is to feel that our [illegible] have not been in vain!! We w[illegible] "philosophize" the matter any [illegible] ther, here's the despatch as [illegible] reached our radiofun two minu[illegible] ago:

"Without a single drop of blood being shed, one of the greatest revo[illegible] lutions in history has taken place about ten o'clock last night in New York City. No signs of a rebellion were to be noticed during the day. At nine o'clock everything was still in its normal state. Within an hour the militant workers have captured the state and proclaimed a dictator[illegible] ship. At eleven the revolution was an established fact. No opposition was forthcoming. We went to sleep peacefully, some of us, tho, with the bitter disappointment that the revolution has taken place...... but on the stage of the Frazee Theatre where R. U. R. is being present[illegible] ed." — —

He's No Robot, Indeed

Boss (to worker digging in a ditch): "Come on there, why don't you work?"

Worker: "I can't, boss — I'm too tired."

Boss: "Too tired, eh? But if you could lay your hands on me, you'd bury me five fathoms deep!"

Worker: "Oh, that would be a different matter" . . . B. N. F.

The Call Points the Way

In order that the Call may successfully compete with the News and the Evening Journal, we make the following timely suggestions:

1. Cut out "The Reflections of the Call" because [illegible] not reflect, in its place [illegible] column entitled "The Last [illegible] Mohicans" by Charles E[illegible] sole survivor and upholder of Je[illegible] sonian Democracy.
2. A column entitled "Wha[illegible] Know about Marxism" by Ja[illegible] Oneal. This column to be le[illegible] blank . . .
3. A debate conducted by Mose[illegible] Oppenheimer: "Resolved, that [illegible] continue to afflict mortals by my articles. I will take the negative [illegible] defy anyone to take the affirm[illegible]
4. A column entitled "How I [illegible] formed on the Communists" by [illegible] M. Feigenbaum and Otto Brans[illegible] ter.
5. The following special articles: "How to Get a Trip to Europe" by Ben Schlesinger; "How to Emu[illegible] Tammany Hall" by the N. Y. Joint Board of the Amalgamated.
6. "After Reading My Call" by Abraham Cahan. The posses[illegible] "my" is more appropriate in the [illegible] of Cahan ever since the Call bec[illegible] the English edition of the Forw[illegible]
7. A Russian Information Bu[illegible] under the triune conductorship [illegible] Gompers, Cahan and Bakhmeti[illegible]
8. An Anti-Amalgamation De[illegible] partment under joint direction [illegible] Matthew Woll and ex-presid[illegible] Grable.
9. A Beauty Department for shop girls and stenographers under [illegible] editorship of George Goebel.
10. On the Golf Links for [illegible] employed workers.
11. Change the name of Kar[illegible] daily balderdash to "Neither H[illegible] Nor There Nor Anywhere El[illegible] This caption will be an excell[illegible] symbol for the entire policy of [illegible] Call itself.

When all these novelties have be[illegible] inaugurated, the editorial [illegible] should write to Debs asking him [illegible] recommend the workers to sup[illegible] the Call for its "staunch stand [illegible] principles," etc., etc.

Max Schach[illegible]

Practical Economics

It was a hobo meeting [illegible] Bowery. Smiling Joe just [illegible] with his "speech" and the [illegible] open for questions.

"Say, Joe, can you explain [illegible] simple way the difference between Capital and Labor?" interr[illegible] one.

"Easy enough," replied the orat[illegible] "If you'd lend me five dollars[illegible] Capital. If you'd try to get it ba[illegible] —that's Labor."

We're Really Too Modest to [illegible] This One

Who is it, pray, that will not [illegible]
By voice — or, better, by [illegible]
That day by day, in every [illegible]
The Bolsons are getting [illegible]

P. S. Send that prize by [illegible]

TEN WORKERS SHOULD [illegible] THIS COPY OF [illegible] KEEP IT [illegible]

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] EXPRESSION
[illegible] SATURDAY [illegible] Price [illegible]

All Eyes on Cleveland!

Workers! Watch for Treason at Labor's Political Conference!

This is being written as delegates from all parts of the land are speeding towards Cleveland, Ohio, to attend the sessions of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, Dec. 11. All indications show that an effort at betrayal of labor's interests is afoot. An attempt will be made to deliver the Conference into the hands of Sam Gompers and his reactionary "reward and punish" political policy. Every ounce of strength must be rallied against this move. Workers! Turn the eyes of all labor on Cleveland during the next few days. Watch for treason at this Labor Conference. Those who would lead you into the camps of the Wall Street political parties are your enemies. Show them that you are on the job. Wire your demand for an independent party of labor opposing all capitalist parties. Send the demand of your labor union, your shop, your factory, your mill, your mine. **WIRE IT TO-DAY TO THE SECRETARY, CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION, ENGINEERS' BUILDING, ST. CLAIR AND ONTARIO, CLEVELAND, OHIO. DO NOT FAIL!**

emand for abor Party Is Growing

Encouraging returns from all sections of the country are coming in showing the widespread demand upon the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action for the organization of a Labor Party to give [illegible] to the parties of Capitalism.

The New Majority, official organ [illegible] the Chicago Federation of Labor, [illegible] taken a stand for independent [illegible]itical action, declaring that if the [illegible]eland Conference is to be only [illegible] of the Gompers' "reward and [illegible] policy, then [illegible] organizations should [illegible].

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The job was beautifully finished at the Senator Robert M. La Follette-personally-conducted meeting of the so-called "People's Legislative Service," at Washington, D. C., during the week-end of the Thanksgiving holidays.

The only question that remains is whether the delegates at Cleveland, Ohio, next week will take the chloroform, go to sleep and allow the present magnificent opportunity for the formation of a Labor Party, independent of and opposed to all the capitalist political parties, to pass them by without taking advantage of it.

There was enough hot air poured into the anti-Labor Party steam roller at La Follette's Thanksgiving Party in the ballroom of Washington's rather sumptuous City Club to give it power to flatten out almost any opposition, but this should only test and not break the courage of the militants at Cleveland.

It couldn't have been an accident, a mere coincidence, that La Follette's gathering came just one week before labor's conference. It was more than an accident that the great powers in labor's conference were in attendance at the Wisconsin senator's conclave, urging a "Go slow!" and "Stick in the old parties!" program.

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Russia has 10 votes, while the remaining parties—comprising England, the United States, Poland, the Ukraine, Norway, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Sweden, Finland, Japan, Spain, Roumania, Lettland, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Ireland, Georgia, Australia and the Argentine,—2 votes each.

The following countries have advisory votes: China, India, Lithuania, Hungary, Esthonia, Denmark, Persia, Turkey, South Africa, Java, Canada, Portugal, Roumania, Mexico, Brazil and Armenia.

Three comrades were appointed to examine the mandates; this committee was later enlarged to seven members.

The invitations to the Fourth World Congress have been responded to in a [illegible] extent than formerly. [illegible]

[illegible]

ABOR PARTY ASS MEETING

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8, 8 P. M. [illegible]
MANHATTAN LYCEUM, [illegible]
Subject: "The Formation of the Labor Party" [illegible]

[illegible]

AN ORGAN OF [illegible] EXPRESSION

V. No. 253. [illegible] SATURDAY, DECEMBER [illegible] [illegible] Price 5 C[illegible]

All Eyes on Cleveland!

Workers! Watch for Treason at Labor's Political Conference!

This is being written as delegates from all parts of the land are speeding towards Cleveland, Ohio, to attend the sessions of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, Dec. 11. All indications show that an effort [illegible] betrayal of labor's interests is afoot. An attempt will be made to deliver [illegible] Conference into the hands of Sam Gompers and his reactionary "reward and punish" political policy. Every ounce of strength must be rallied against this move. Workers! Turn the eyes of all labor on Cleveland during the next few days. Watch for treason at this Labor Conference. Those who would lead you into the camps of the Wall Street political parties are your enemies. Show them that you are on the job. Wire your demand for an independent party of labor opposing all capitalist parties. Send the demand of your labor union, your shop, your factory, your mill, your mine. WIRE IT TO-DAY TO THE SECRETARY, CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION, ENGINEERS' BUILDING, ST. CLAIR AND ONTARIO, CLEVELAND, OHIO. DO NOT FAIL!

* * *

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The following countries have advisory votes: China, India, Lithuania, Hungary, Esthonia, Denmark, Persia, Turkey, South Africa, Java, Canada, Portugal, Roumania, Mexico, Brazil and Armenia.

Three comrades were appointed to examine the mandates; this committee was later enlarged to seven members.

The invitations to the Fourth World Congress have been responded to in a larger extent than formerly. [illegible] delegates in all had been summoned. [illegible] delegates were summoned from Germany; [illegible] were reported and 21 have already appeared. From France 20 were invited; [illegible] were reported and [illegible] have already appeared. Italy [illegible], 16 already appeared [illegible] with deciding votes and [illegible] comrades of the Italian Socialist Party with advisory votes). Czecho-Slovakia [illegible] already appeared. South Africa 1, 1 appeared. America 10, [illegible] appeared. Argentine 2, 2 appeared. Armenia 1 delegate. [illegible] Australia 2, 2 appeared. [illegible] 1 delegate. [illegible] Republic 1. Belgium [illegible], 1 appeared. [illegible] [illegible], 1 appeared. [illegible] China [illegible], 1 appeared. [illegible]

[illegible]

Comrade [illegible] a number of [illegible] tomorrow or the day after.

Comrade Cachin and [illegible] the French [illegible] party [illegible] The Chair [illegible] telegram to [illegible] inviting them to [illegible] the Fourth World Congress [illegible]

([illegible])

[illegible]ABOR PARTY [illegible]ASS MEETING

FRIDAY, DEC[illegible]BER [illegible]
MANHATTAN LY[illegible]
Subject: "The Form[illegible] of the Labor [illegible]

[illegible]

By ISRAEL AMTER

"A MAN IS TOTALLY BLIND TO POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THIS COUNTRY WHO DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS PRACTICALLY A POLITICAL REVOLUTION ON."

* * *

[illegible] A REVOLT IS ON IN THE WORKING CLASS AND IN THE OLD CAPITALIST PARTIES. The Republican Party, with its more than usually reactionary leadership, has created [illegible] of irreconcilable rebels, [illegible] the party, its principles and tactics. La Follette, Borah, Johnson, France, Ladd, Norris, have been leading a fight against the administration not for personal reasons, but as representatives of a movement that is to be found in every State of the Union.

The election of a new group of progressives, Brookhart of Iowa, who is called a Bolshevik, against whom President Harding's father who, although a Republican, conducted a campaign in favor of the Democratic nominee; Howell, the "radical progressive" of Nebraska, Shipstead of Minnesota, and Dill of Washington, indicates a ferment within the capitalist parties. The election of Walton, nominee of the farmers and labor unions, as governor of Oklahoma, and of Wheeler in Montana, is a weather vane of political conditions in the United States. "There are deep but powerful undercurrents of political thought and resentment growing out of the war," as Senator Hitchcock, the defeated senator of Nebraska has stated. These resentments are manifesting themselves inside the old capitalist parties as well as in the ranks of the workers.

A new line-up is required. The standpatters in both capitalist parties are close together. "Wetness" and "dryness" penetrate both parties. For lack of other "issues," in some instances this was made THE "issue" of the campaign. For as Frank A. Munsey said before the Bankers' Convention, it is "their (the Republican and Democratic Party's) business to differ, **to create differences, to work up issues, without which they would cease to exist as political parties."** (Bold-face ours.) By artificially raising issues, by refusing to cooperate, because there is "not a sufficient margin of safety to justify them in taking chances," the two parties have been playing a political game.

It is growing clearer that the differences between the two capitalist parties are very slight. The Federalist Party, which in 1789 was for a highly centralized government found their opponents in the Republicans, who were for State rights. But it was the Democrats (the direct political offspring of the Republicans), who, in 1917, gave the United States the most centralized form of government that the country has known! During the last labor struggles, resentment was called forth against the Republican administration. Harding used troops against the coal miners, he threatened the "full force of the Government" against the railroad strikers. Wilson, the Democrat, used troops against the steel strikers in 1919, and threatened the miners and railroad workers with martial law in 1920. Harding has his bulldogs Daugherty and Burns. Wilson had his Palmer and Flynn.

If, as the New York American states, the "election cast no shadows on the spirit of optimism as to the business outlook," it is a clear indication that the "issues" raised by the two parties are **deliberate creations with no basis in fact.**

Meanwhile, the "deep but powerful undercurrents of political thought and resentment" are producing their effects. "While this political jockeying for the two capitalist parties has been going on," continued Mr. Munsey, "since the great old issues disappeared, a new issue has developed that now divides all America into two political camps. They are the radical camp and the conservative camp. Some day, and **not a very distant day at that** these two groups will evolve into organized political parties with names that signify what they stand for. . . . The salvation of our present situation would be a liberal conservative party, numerically strong enough to hold the balance of power against the radical forces. . . . I can see nothing so important to this nation as would be the welding together in a great solid unit of all our citizens who think alike as concerns **constitutional government**, who think alike as concerns **property rights**, who think alike as concerns the **institutions of our Government.** . . . The conservative people of the South naturally belong with and should line up with the conservative people of the North.

"Against this party would be formed a radical party which would reflect the changes that have taken place in our political life, changes that have been insidious, revolutionary. . . . The amassing of great fortunes, general prosperity, organized labor, the spirit of unrest, the spirit of Bolshevism, the demand for short working hours—these are the questions agitating the great masses of workers and farmers and finding their reflection in the radical wing of the two capitalist parties, the Non-Partisan League, the Farmer Labor Party and the demand for independent political action by the workers."

Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War under Wilson, and Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, agree that the "overwhelming majority of Republicans and Democrats are in substantial agreement on all fundamentals."

Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labor under Taft, states: "Both parties show signs of disintegration. Issues are obscured; party lines are fading; . . . We have a tariff compromise, a "bonus fiasco, a ship-subsidy program with the position of both parties undefined. We have no party policy to govern our relations to Russia, to Mexico, to Haiti. Neither party takes a stand on constitutional guarantees, or the release of war prisoners."

In short, party lines are breaking down. A disintegration is taking place—and at the same time a coalesion. **The conservatives of both parties are coming closer together, while the progressives and radicals are beginning to seek points of contact and of action.**

The People's Legislative Service, an organization of the progressives, called a conference in Washington on December 1st and 2d. Meeting behind closed doors, a group of senators and congressmen, governors, labor leaders and men and women prominent in public life, decided that the time was not yet ripe for the formation of a third party. The disintegration of the two parties is not yet complete. Made up of Republicans and Democrats, the group decided to continue their work of "boring from within" until the year 1924, and then to take a decisive step.

This is the correct attitude for progressives and radicals. These petty-bourgeois reformers realize that mere opposition will not suffice. Unless they can build up a party on principle, they are bound to fail. All that they for the present will attempt to do, is to fight for reforms they plan to capture the Republican Party as the party within which their forces are strongest. Their immediate line of action is to block all reactionary legislation, to defeat the Harding administration and thus fall heir to the power of the Republican regime. In two years' time they expect to complete this work: either the Republican Party will succumb to their assaults or they will launch their own party.

The elections, with their steady dissolution of the capitalist parties, were of special significance to the working class. The American Federation of Labor has for sixteen years followed a policy of endorsing certain candidates and discountenancing others. This has been the policy since 1906. The results, however, up to 1920 were so woeful that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. issued a statement in February 1920, to the effect that labor is "scorned by Congress, ridiculed and misrepresented by many members."

Nevertheless, advocating a continuation of this non-partisan policy in 1922 the A. F. of L. endorsed a large number of candidates belonging to both capitalist parties and to the Farmer-Labor Party and these candidates were elected. Samuel Gompers asserted that organized labor was responsible for the election of 24 senators and 156 representatives. According to the same report, several gubernatorial candidates owed their election to the efforts of the A. F. of L., among them being the Governor of New York.

The *1922* elections were a sweeping reaction to the conservatism and stand-pattism of Harding, just as there was a swing in 1920 from the betrayal of Wilson and his failure to keep any of his "promises." This reaction would have taken place whether the A. F. of L. advocated its particular policy or not. It was a revolt against conditions, a revolt that did not need organization. Senator Walsh, Democratic Leader of Massachusetts, does not give credit to the Democratic Party for

[illegible] the [illegible] Democrats and Farmer-Laborites.

On December 11 the Conference for Progressive Political Action will take place in Cleveland. This is to be a conference of workers and farmers to determine future political action by the genuine producers in the country. A number of labor organizations pledged to the formation of a Labor Party will be represented at this conference. The United Mine Workers of America, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Typographical Union, several State Federations of Labor and central labor bodies and the Non-Partisan League are pledged to the formation of a Labor Party.

Several of the prominent leaders of the Railroad Brotherhoods and of the Railway Craft Division of the A. F. of L., who will be in Cleveland, also participated in the Washington Conference of the People's Legislative Service. Samuel Gompers was present—Gompers, the bitter enemy of independent action by the workers—also William H. Johnston and Warren S. Stone, two men supposedly committed to independent political action. These men, too, have abandoned the idea of independent action this year, blinded by the seeming victory of November 7. Two years more they will continue the baneful policy of rewarding and punishing till the last ditch is reached. Dazzled by the oratory of La Follette and his fiery advocacy of the "rights of the people," they will place at his disposal the votes of 1,500,000 workers and nominate him for president—if possible as candidate of the Republican Party, the party he has chosen to conquer.

This is wilful sabotage of the idea of independent political action by the WORKERS! It is an attempt to block an independent Labor Party. It means a line-up of petty-bourgeois forces and of labor leaders to keep the workers and small farmers from expressing themselves politically. **It means a continuance of trafficking with workers' votes instead of building up a political power of the working class.**

There will be a bitter fight at Cleveland. The advocates of a Labor Party to be founded at once against the Gomperses, the Johnstons and the Stones, **the obstructers of workers' aspirations, the conscious and unconscious tools of the capitalists in preventing the workers from finding political expression!** The workers may be hamstrung once more, but only after a valiant fight.

No matter how the conference turns out, Cleveland will make the question of a Labor Party **the issue** before the workers of this country, especially as far as organized labor is concerned. The progressive and radical workers will **add the slogan** of a Labor Party to that of amalgamation, and on these two issues the organized labor movement of this country will have to **take sides.** Trade union leaders will demonstrate by their stand **whether they** are for the workers or **against** them.

For the Workers Party the situation will not be changed. The Workers Party will continue its propaganda for a Labor Party with undiminished vigor. It will take these issues deep into the working class and prove to the workers that not the Communists but the reactionary leaders are the enemies of the labor movement. It will prove they are sabotaging the rise of the workers and keeping them in the train of the capitalist parties, **in order to boom a petty-bourgeois reformer as presidential candidate.**

Bazaar Volunteers Meet!

Russian Bazaar Volunteers' Meeting in Casino Hall, 85 East 4th St. Dec. 11, at 8 o'clock

The fifth evening of the big six-day Russian bazaar, Friday, Dec. 22, will be the occasion of a first-class concert arranged by the eminent composer and pianist, I. Arnstein. Mr. Arnstein himself will appear on the program, and a number of other interesting musical offerings will be made under his direction.

Longuet Challenged to Debate

Jean Longuet, French Socialist, who is touring the United States for the New York Call, Socialist daily, has been challenged to debate by the Workers Party on the question of the Communist International.

Since Longuet was so recently anxious to debate Georges Clemenceau, the former French premier now conducting a militarist propaganda tour of this country, but was refused, it is expected that he will take advantage of this opportunity to debate a representative of the Workers Party. The challenge issued by C. E. Ruthenberg, of the Workers Party, to the manager of Longuet's tour is as follows:

The Challenge to Longuet

I am advised by Wm. Z. Foster, the Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League that you have sent him a wire suggesting that he debate Jean Longuet on the subject "Resolved, that the Russian attitude toward International Socialism is conducive to Socialist Unity" but that Comrade Foster, owing to other engagements is unable to accept your proposal.

I am authorized by the Administrative Council of the Workers Party to submit to you the challenge of our organization for a debate between Jean Longuet and a representative of our Party on the subject "Resolved that the workers of every country should support and follow the leadership of the Communist International."

If you are prepared to make arrangements for such a debate I will be glad to have you call or send a representative to see me to arrange the details.

[illegible]

[illegible] U.M.W.of A.

These lines are the last [illegible] read before the great election day among the miners of District Five (Pittsburgh), U.M.W.of A., Dec. 12th and every consecutive indication is both from direct reports and the frantic efforts of the whole payroll of the district of both factions that the Progressive Ticket is going to sweep the district like a prairie fire and defeat the corrupt machine by a vote of three to one.

All the efforts of the militants are now concentrated on preventing the crooks and booze hounds from stealing the election as has been done so often before.

$100.00 REWARD!

Due to corrupt methods used in past elections in District Five and the indications of similar tactics in the present campaign and having come, thru my experience as secretary of the Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference to take a deep interest in the welfare of the miners, I HEREBY OFFER A REWARD OF $100.00 for any information leading to the conviction of any person guilty of bribing miners in the approaching election in District Five, U. M. W. of A. December 12, 1922, whether by the use of money, liquor or any other means.

(Signed) J. A. HAMILTON.

The secretary of the Pittsburgh Miners' Food Relief Conference thru the past few months having come into intimate contact with thousands of miners and having learned of the customary corruption in past elections has offered a reward of $100 for information that will result in the conviction of any one guilty of bribery in the approaching election.

However the miners must not rely on this as sufficient protection. Every single local must organize a strong arm committee with as many husky men as possible that will stand by and see that the votes are properly counted and take a copy of the vote in each local and mail it that night to Thomas Ray at McDonald, Pa., giving the number of the local union and the complete vote as tabulated by the secretary. THIS IS IMPERATIVE.

Feeny at Blythedale

Never in all the numerous fights in District Five have the conservatives ever before "trailed" the Progressives. This time the "gang" is following the Progressives around at their meetings with their biggest and ablest guns and a crew of booze hounds to act as rowdies.

Sunday, Dec. 3, there was a widely advertised meeting of the Progressives at Blythedale near McKeesport. This camp was picked as one of the strongholds of the "gang." Yet the whole Brownsville office felt it necessary to come fifty miles to the attacks of the Progressives. For once the "gang" had to sit in the audience and listen to scathing criticisms of their conduct and wait until their denouncers were thru before they could be heard.

John O'Leary, International Board Member whom Alexander Howat denounces as one of the most reactionary officials in the U. M. W. of A.; his coke field colleague William Feeny, a rank defender of the Lewis machine and the starvation of the Fayette County fields thru the Cleveland agreement; William Hines, renegade Socialist, "Peggy" Delbarre, former "red", all this force turned out in full to the Blythedale meeting. Their arguments were simply personal attacks and half hearted attempts to justify the Cleveland Agreement, the Hillman Contract and the desertion of the Fayette miners by the International.

In one instance in particular they got a drubbing altho O'Leary and Feeny are both considered orators and the peers of any debaters in the whole international organization.

Michael J. Brajdich, a Croatian and the vice-presidential candidate on the Progressive ticket made a speech in his native tongue. The "gang" thought they had a mark and began their attack. Brajdich replied in English and gave the personal history of his critics showing their unsavory record in the labor movement to the intense delight of the miners.

The meeting was a great triumph for the Progressives in a former stronghold of the machine.

Watch for Roorbacks

The miners may expect all sorts of personal attacks to be circulated against the candidates at the last minute both in printed circulars and by word of mouth. They should answer these attacks by a straight vote for the Progressive ticket. Charges circulated at the last minute are not worthy of consideration.

The Ticket to Vote

Below is the correct ticket to vote. Take it with you on election day. If in doubt ask one of the Progressives about it. Be sure your vote is counted the way you vote it:

President, Thomas Myerscough, L. U. [illegible], Lawrence.

Vice-President, Michael W. Brajdich, L. U. 137, Wynne.

[illegible] DUTY [illegible] WORK TO YOU IS TO WATCH THE ELECTION IN YOUR LOCAL UNION AND REPORT THE EXACT VOTE IMMEDIATELY TO THOMAS RAY, McDONALD.

William [illegible], Thomas Myerscough and Frank J. [illegible], Publicity Committee, Progressive Miners, Group of District Five, U. M. W. A.

Play Shows Actors Work Best Without Managers

By NANCY MARKOFF

Do workers work best for personal gain or for a cause which they believe in and of which they are a part? If you wish to form an opinion go to the Equity 48th Street Theatre and see the actors themselves producing a play without managers and under the direct control of their union, the Actor's Equity Association. Every member of the cast must be a member of the union in good standing. The following is an application blank issued by the union:

"Only members of Equity, members in good standing, will be assigned parts. We want the member who is most suited to the cast to work in this company, regardless of where he may be at the moment, and so you are asked to fill out this information blank and mail it to Equity Players' Casting Department, Forty-eighth St., New York City."

I was rather interested to learn from actual observation how this venture was working out. So I went to the 48th St. Theatre and saw "Hospitality," the play now being produced by the Equity players.

Most of the actors were familiar to me. I have seen them starred in other plays. I have always regarded them good actors. But as I sat viewing their acting here, I felt that there was something more than perfection of role that permeated their acting.

I recalled to my mind the actors' struggle against their managers of a few years ago, which led to the formation of their union. The actors have felt the yoke of the managers' greed weigh heavier and heavier upon them. If the managers insist upon making life intolerable for them the actors decided the only way to force them to terms was by showing them that they and not the managers make the theatre what it is.

In order to give all an opportunity to see plays at a minimum cost they have reduced the seats in the 2nd balcony to fifty cents and for students there is a Tuesday matinee when these seats are 25 cents.

New York Window Cleaners in Stand for Labor Party

Resolutions in favor of a Labor Party have been adopted by the Window Cleaners' Protective Union, Local No. 8, New York City, as follows:

Whereas, the political policy of Mr. Gompers of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies," has resulted in the complete political helplessness of Labor, and is the power of Government remaining completely in the hands of the capitalist class, as is witnessed by continuous official outrages against the labor movement, outstanding among which are the recent knocking out of the Child Labor Act by the Supreme Court, the Daugherty Injunction against the striking shopmen, the complete terrorisation of the striking miners, railroad and textile workers and the use of troops against them; and

Whereas, the accumulating experience of Governmental activity as a strike-breaking agency, and as an instrument of the employers in the "open shop" drive, together with the recognition that Gompers' policy of "non-partisan" political action has hitched labor to the tail of the capitalist political kites, all are forcing the labor movement to the necessity of forming a Labor Party, and

Whereas, we recognize that only thru a strong party of its own, with a working-class program and the ideal of a working-class republic, can the labor movement combat the forces of capitalism effectively, therefore be it

Resolved, that this organization endorses the formation of a Labor Party, to include trade unions and working-class political parties, thereby uniting all the political forces of the labor movement into one solid front against the capitalist class, and be it further

Resolved, that our officials stand instructed to assist in every way possible in bringing such a party into existence, and be it further

Resolved, that this organization elect delegates to attend the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which will take place in Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 11th, 1922.

THE WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible]

[illegible] Conference for Progressive Political Action to be held in Cleveland coming Monday, is to be another [illegible] of foul trickery such as the [illegible] at Chicago last February, when William H. Johnston and his [illegible] behind closed doors, organized the first conference. The charges that Johnston is playing the game of Gompers and sabotaging the desire of the rank and file of labor for a labor party seem vindicated on the eve of the second conference.

That there is a spontaneous demand on the part of the rank and file of organized labor for the creation of an independent labor party is apparent to all who are in touch with the labor movement in this country. The mere mention of the desirability of a labor party evokes boundless enthusiasm in union meetings. And this is as it should be. The vicious assaults upon labor by the capitalist government at Washington has exposed both the Democrat and Republican Parties as the implacable enemies of the working class. On every hand there is irrefutable evidence that the objective condition is here for the creation of a labor party and that the subjective condition also exists among large numbers of organized workers.

The labor fakirs who comprise the Gompers regime feel the tremendous pressure of the rank and file for independent political action, thru the creation of a party of labor and controlled by labor, so they contrive, as ever, to thwart the will of the workers of America. Matthew Woll, the crown prince of the Gompers' dynasty eulogizes the traditional treachery of "reward your friends and punish your enemies," while William H. Johnston, another ornament of that dynasty, indulges in a stilted gesture calculated to turn into abortive channels the desire of the rank and file for decisive political action.

Crushing the Rank and File

When the announcement of the December conference was made, all the militant members of organized labor determined to take advantage of it for the purpose of creating a real party of labor in America. The largest and most powerful labor bodies were enlisted in support of the proposition. At the September convention of the International Typographical Union at Atlantic City, that organization went on record in favor of the organization of a labor party and voted to participate in the December conference. The militants appealed to their local unions to back up the International and to send delegates. Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, with a membership of over five thousand, endorsed the proposed conference and selected delegates to attend. Soon a communication came from William H. Johnston to the effect that local unions were not to be represented, and the further astounding information that the International Union was only entitled to three delegates, in spite of the fact that the organization has a membership of 80,000.

On the other hand we learn that the fake Socialist Party, represented on the executive committee by the shyster lawyer, Hillquit, is to have seven delegates. The Socialist Party political crooks and fakirs, who represent nothing but a gang of half-baked petty bourgeois morons, has more than twice as many representatives as the International Typographical Union, a legitimate labor organization of half a century's standing in this country.

Why Local Unions Are Barred

Johnston is frank, if nothing else. He says: "Consideration was given to the question of having representatives from local unions and it was the consensus of opinion that if local unions were invited to send delegates the gathering would be so large it would be unwieldy."

We see here revealed the true purpose of the committee of charlatans who determined the representation. The gathering may become too unwieldy! Too unwieldy for what? Are these gentlemen afraid of the voice of the rank and file?

That is precisely the reason representation is to be restricted so that the delegation can be handled like putty in the hands of the political labor fakirs who are playing the Gompers game.

There is not the slightest that the outcome of the confer will be a reaffirmation of the Go pers policy of treachery and betray al of labor and that the recent gen eral elections will be held to hav vindicated the monstrous perfidy o the Gompers clique.

William H. Johnston and his co laborators are being used by old ma Gompers for the purpose of prevent ing the organization of a real labo party.

It is now up to the rank and fi of labor to force the Internation Unions to call a conference for th organization of a genuine labor pa ty and to insist that representative from local unions, men and wome from the rank and file of labor, b there to ensure its successful launc ing. This must be accomplished spite of and against the trickery the traitors to labor in control of th Cleveland conference.

Also there is a task impose upo the members of the International A sociation of Machinists; that task to eliminate Johnston as a factor i the labor movement and send hi into the ranks of the capitalist clas where his flunkeyism can be properl appreciated.

Flowers From Washington

The Dolomite mine explosion Birmingham, Ala., Nov 22, in whi 88 victims perished, is one more wi ness to the insanity of working in mine without a union card and uni inspection to enforce at least the safeguards required by capitalist

The Birmingham district has Bittner to thank for this trag following on the utter demorali tion of the union after the Alaba strike.

However, the injured who have sweet consolation from masters in Washington. "A h bouquet of flowers" was sent all way from Washington, from the S. Coal Commission for each side.

So it's all right after all!

S. F. J. L., Birmingham.

* * *

The Brave Gun-Toters

That sweet nest of gentlemen here to strike down the rema strikers in the shopmen's dile are still distinguishing themselv their courage in the presence armed workers. More arrests been made under cover of dar with no casualties to the brave toters.

S. F. J. L.

Exhibition of Woodcraft by Russian Peasants and Chi

And First private showing of R sian film "Russia thru the Sha ows," Monday, Dec 11; Exhi tion all day. Film, 8 p. m.

The Exhibition will include a complete selection from arrived 50,000 handicraft articles th has as yet been made in Ameri There will be an amazing variety dolls, toys, decorative produc household objects, fabrics, enamel, and other things in color and most of it glorio primitive.

"Russia thru the Shadows" i seven-reel news film. Except portion showing famine relief act ities in America, the pictures taken in Russia. It gives the of Russia during the last five in actual scenes.

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The forming of mountains,
Of volcanic fountains,
The time when our earth was a sun,
Of earthquakes that grumbled,
And shivered and rumbled,
In the days before Man was begun.—

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[illegible] by the Central Executive [illegible] Workers Party).

[illegible] the acceptance by the [illegible] York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of [illegible] General Executive Board's plan [illegible] reorganization the right socialist [illegible] have resigned from office. [illegible] resignation as a unit is evident[illegible] desperate attempt to prevent the [illegible] of the reorganization plan [illegible] the demoralization their po[illegible] have caused makes imperative [illegible] the last act of the contemptible [illegible] carried on by this element [illegible] the object of stemming the ris[illegible] tide of Left Wing sentiment in [illegible] union.

With conscious sophistry, these bureaucrats have given "the demoralizing activities of the left wing" as the reason for their desertion of their posts. There is nothing surprising in this jesuitism of the petty bureaucrats but they fail in their attempt to place the responsibility upon the left wing group for the disorganization prevailing in the New York local.

These reactionaries who have just quit under fire have been in complete control of the N. Y. local. Their standpat policies, their utter inability to lead a militant organization such as the Amalgamated has resulted in the complete breakdown of the organization machinery entrusted to them. In the last election they were repudiated by the membership. Only by the use of terroristic tactics and the falsification of the returns were they able to secure a majority count.

They retained office in the face of the bitter opposition of the militant membership and the antagonism to their continuance in power has resulted in a decrease in the dues payments. This inevitable result of bureaucratic attempts to rule or ruin is laid at the door of the left wing in a last effort to befog the real issue in the fight. Discovering that their machine domination is repudiated by the membership and faced with a reorganization that will strengthen the union and weaken the influence of the reactionaries, they have now resigned in a body with the hope of paralyzing the administrative machinery of the organization.

It is wholly untrue that the Left Wing block has ever adopted the tactic of non-payment of dues or urged such an entirely negative and fruitless policy upon the membership. The Left Wing has been trying to break the power of the bureaucrats in order to strengthen the union. They are the backbone of the union and they have opposed and will oppose in the future all reactionary elements whose attempts to control always result in sapping the fighting strength of the organization.

It is for this reason that the Left Wing stands for a complete reorganization on the basis of the Shop Delegates System.

The Workers Party warns all comrades in the unions not to be provoked by the slanders of the right socialists into raising the slogan of non-payment of dues and thus appealing to those groups who are in the union only because they have to be. Keep up the fight for a structural change in the union machinery.

Keep up the fight against the treacherous and cowardly right-wingers.

Struggle to win over the union membership to amalgamation and the shop delegates system, to the need for a militant leadership in order to prevent defeat by the militant bosses.

Work at all times against the demoralizing and disorganizing tactics of the right wing.

The Workers Party feels sure that the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated will deal effectively with the deserters who have added an attempt at paralyzing the union to their other sins of omission and commission. All comrades should work unceasingly to clean up the mess left by this yellow gang.

Workers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union!

Support the militant elements in your union.

Support the movements for amalgamation of the needle trades and the shop delegates system.

Do not be fooled by the yellow bureaucrats. By their resignation they have publicly acknowledged their incapacity for leadership and responsibility in your progressive union.

Bronx Open Forum
(Auspices English Branch W. P. and Y. W. L.)
announces the following Lectures:

Dec. 10th, CRIS WARE
Member F. S. R. Agricultural Unit in Russia
on "HELPING THE RUSSIAN PEASANTS"

Dec. 17th, H. M. WICKS
Delegate from the Typographical Union to the Cleveland Conference on
"The Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action."

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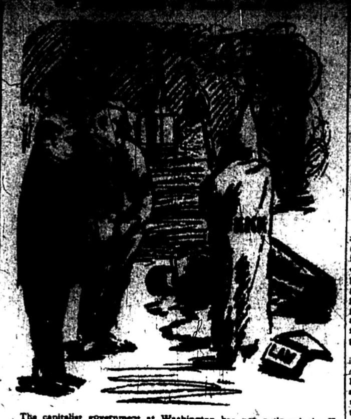


The capitalist government at Washington has not outlawed the Ku Klux Klan, a secret organization for combatting radicalism among the workers, because this American Fascisti is one of the best aids of reaction.

A Splendid Opportunity

(Continued from Page One)

as "a great piece of constructive statesmanship". Karl Radek has pointed out that this movement on the part of American labor may be the means at last of breaking down the boycott which the great capitalists of the world have been trying to starve out the new social order of Russia. Premier Lenin insisted on showing his approval of the new corporation by buying two shares of stock from Hillman.

The Russian-American Industrial Corporation has already raised about $300,000 of the first million dollars of capital which was guaranteed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and sent out a blanket invitation to all labor organizations, individual members and sympathizers with labor to join in the purchase of stock. A drive for selling the first million in stock at $10 a share will now be started. The only restriction is that a dominant interest in the corporation must be retained in the hands of workers' organizations.

Because of the terrible shortage of clothing in Russia, where the Winter cold is expected to take a heavy toll of life and suffering the corporation has been assigned the first task of manufacturing clothing on a huge scale according to the latest American methods, and this made it especially appropriate that the Clothing Workers should take the lead in the scheme. However under the contract with the Soviet Government the corporation is expected to go into various other industries taking up textile manufactures very shortly. Therefore not only clothing workers but every trade and their labor organizations are equally welcome in the huge undertaking.

The fact that the Russian government was willing to permit this corporation of its friends to have certain import and export rights led to an interesting problem. It developed that enormous profits could be made by EXPORTING goods from Russia, the estimate being a 400 per cent profit. This was a great temptation for Hillman's financial advisor who wanted immediately to switch from the difficult task of supplying Russia with clothes to the more easy business of stripping Russia of her remaining goods to be sold in the foreign market. This financial advisor was Mr. Wm. O. Thompson, former president of the N. K. Fairbanks Co. and the American Cotton Oil Co.

Hillman steadfastly refused to change from the plan of manufacturing clothing for the Russian people, being of the opinion that the primary purpose of the workers in investing in this company is not to make enormous profits but to help the Russian people by building up their industries to a self-sustaining basis. It was an irreconcilable disagreement, Thompson insisting on looking at it purely from the viewpoint of a "business man" and Hillman insisting on looking at it as a member of the labor movement pointing out that the guaranteed eight per cent profit was sufficient to assure a prosperous business that would benefit the Russian people as well as the stockholders. Thereupon Thompson quit the project and gave an interview to the New York Tribune in which he withdrew his name from the enterprise. Altho Mr. Thompson has later cabled repudiating the spirit of the Tribune interview, which he says was distorted by "the reporter's frantic imagination", nevertheless it is an incident deserving careful analysis.

When Mr. Thompson reached Russia he was disturbed to see the way the Russian workers run their industries, and disturbed again over Hillman's unwillingness to take the highest profits in sight without regard to the Russian workers' interests. He decided that purchase of stock in the Russian-American Industrial Corporation would not be a good investment unless the Soviet Government gives up the attempt to socialize the industries—that is, unless it gives up the purpose of the revolution.

Mr. Thompson as quoted in the Tribune (tho he says his words were distorted) is very much confused. At first he is afraid that investors "stand a good chance to lose their money" but later he admits that if the project should fail the investors could get their money back but says that he fears they "would have to wait for it four years."

Confronted with the fact that the enormous wealth of Russia became security in guaranteeing the labor corporation's investment and 8 per cent return, he said: "Concerning the eight per cent profit guaranty given Mr. Hillman by the Soviet Government, there is no doubt that the Government can pay it but whether it will is the big question."

Mr. Thompson has lost his nerve. He has fallen for the old emigrees' theory. It's an adjustable theory, that the Bolshevik government is bound to fail but since it does not fail it can't be trusted anyway. Mr. Thompson's fears are not one particle different from the hopes of the grand-dukes, countesses and ex-capitalists from Russia who are now begging drinks around the cafes of Berlin and Paris while they wait for the Bolshevik government to fall "next week". I have personally had the amusing experience of listening to this theory from the lips of a cousin of the Czar in a Berlin hotel in 1919. It is merely a total inability to believe in the possibility for a new order of society to succeed.

Can the Soviet Government effectively guarantee an investment? This question can only mean a repetition of the old wheeze "Is the Soviet Government going to fall?" Our own opinion is that if there were any danger of the failure or downfall of the first effort in the world's history to socialize industry, such a danger should be the signal for every worker to redouble the effort to supply Russia with the needed machinery. But is there any danger?

Of course there is a chance that Russia may go down, just as there is a chance that all Europe may go down, or even that America may go down. But anyone who applies his intelligence to reading the news knows that among the governments of Continental Europe, Soviet Russia alone is fast extending and solidifying its power while every other government is rapidly going down a decline.

[illegible] go back to Central Europe and French [illegible] without a [illegible] a direction which [illegible] to a condition [illegible] cial organization can keep industry and life going except the Soviet form, with the expropriation of private industry by the people.

Soviet Russia on the Ascendancy

Political power and solidarity in a Nation are only a reflection of economic solutions. Russia has far from completed the solution of her economic problems, but she has proven that a Soviet form of organization can hold a Nation together and keep its industrial life going after it had been reduced to a condition of ruin so complete that no other social form can hold it together.

Russia had been defeated, broken into fragments and economically destroyed by the war. Its frontiers had shrunken into a little circle around Petrograd and Moscow besieged by the armies of a dozen Nations. Yet the social power that was generated by the Soviet social form was vital enough to push back these frontiers to the Arctic Ocean in the North, to the Black Sea and the Transcaucasia in the South, strong enough to wear down the Japanese military power and to stretch its rule across five thousand miles to the Pacific. Yes, while the French bankers squabble four years unsuccessfully to reach the left bank of the Rhine a hundred miles away, the Soviet Power advances five thousand miles to the left bank of the Pacific. Meanwhile the decaying political system of the West—representing a decaying economic system—lets the prizes of the World War in the Dardanelles slip from its fingers, into the hands of an ally of Soviet Russia, a pupil of Moscow.

The vitality of the Soviet Power rests upon an economic basis. No abstract notion without economic basis could have swept this mighty tide across two continents. This power of social organization which the Bolsheviks have found is a power without which Nations cannot hold together. And we repeat that it is based upon a special form of economic organization.

Bolsheviks as Organizers

Not only is this basically an economic force, but it is an organizing force. It has organized armies better than any professional army-organizers, and out of material that no other force could handle. It wrested by force out of the hands of Kolchak and Wrangel human herds which it re-organized into iron battalions. It has disorganized every army that has been sent against it, and when these have not been quickly withdrawn from contact with it it has captured and re-organized them with a stronger discipline.

In short the Bolsheviks of Russia have organized in a superior form everything that has come into their hands.

But the Bolsheviks have never come into possession of a complete industrial system. Old Russia had only a partial industrial system which was absolutely dependent upon imported machine equipment and supplies. It was a system which never could run under a blockade. And this fragment of an industrial system was practically destroyed by the War. France is now complaining that she cannot live without help. Clemenceau begs compassion of the world for "France's twenty thousand destroyed industries." All the industrial system that Russia had, was destroyed. Soviet Russia quite naturally asks that her friends lend help in importing and establishing a self-sustaining industrial system.

American capitalists generally, with the encouragement of the U. S. Government, refuse to supply this equipment and organization. Why? The only reason given is that Russia hasn't got this equipment and organization! We hold this is an excellent reason for capitalists that want to strangle Russia, but that it is a better reason for the workers to redouble their efforts thru the Russia-American Industrial Corporation to supply Russia with machines, materials and industrial skill. We can't expect Mr. Thompson to understand this. It is a philosophy which, generally speaking, is impossible to the class of which Mr. Thompson and Mr. Clemenceau are spokesmen. A cat will be a cat and a fish will be a fish, nobody can persuade a cat to love a cool river nor a fish to love a warm corner by the stove. One must as a general rule live in the Labor movement to understand this philosophy. We think Hillman understands it better than Thompson.

The Russian Soviet Government is better able to keep any promises it now makes than any other government in Europe. Very nearly admitting this, Mr. Thompson says that "whether it will is the big question".

And here the matter reaches the point of ridiculousness. A mighty government representing a new order is born into the world and has undisputed possession of one-sixth of the Earth's land surface. "The one remaining obstacle to its existence is the boycott of capitalists who will not supply it with industrial machinery. The Soviet Government appeals over the heads of the capitalists, asking the workers of the world to break the boycott by supplying industrial machinery as friend to friend in partnership. The Soviet Government gives its promise to the outside workers that every dollar will be guaranteed and likewise it guarantees to pay a minimum return of eight per cent on the investment. Leave aside all questions of honor; leave aside the fact that the sole support of the Soviet Government rests in the ~~respect and confidence~~ and friendship of the working class. "Business men" could not generally understand anything of that. But what kind of folly would it be if the Russians failed to keep such a promise?

But Mr. Thompson is afraid that if we supply industrial machinery to Russia the Soviet Government "can easily cripple the industry, should it so desire, by prohibiting the importation of sewing machine needles"—!!

For our part, we say to the American Labor movement and to all sympathizers and liberals—BUY STOCK IN THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION! The first Workers' Republic asks for your help. As the mightiest power in Europe it guarantees the funds that you put into a partnership with it.

Lenin Congratulates "Technical Aid"

The Central Bureau of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia (S. T. A. S. R.) has received the following message from Nikolai Lenin, Premier of Soviet Russia.

Dear Comrades:—Our newspapers have carried unusually favorable reports concerning the work of members of your society on Soviet agricultural estates in the district of Kirsanoff, state of Tambow; likewise in the Migayew district in the state of Odessa and the work of the group of miners in the Donets Basin.

In spite of the gigantic difficulties in their way, especially on account of the disaster wrought to the country during the period of civil war, you have attained successes which are extraordinary.

I hasten to express to you my deep gratitude with the request to have this published in the official organ of your society and, if possible, in the general press of the United States as well.

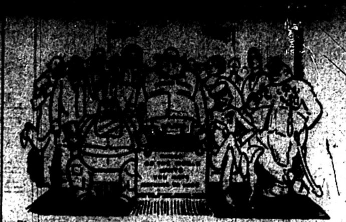
I am requesting the presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to have your communes exhibited as models and to lend them special and extraordinary assistance for the successful development of their work.

Once more, in the name of our republic, I express to you my sincere appreciation and request that you bear in mind that your aid for the cultivation of our land with tractor machinery is for us especially timely and important.

I take pleasure in congratulating you on your plans for the organization of 200 agricultural communes.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars,
Lenin.

This message was the highest mark of distinction which the Society has so far received from Russia. It will imbue its members with a fervent desire to develop the work of the Society to the largest extent possible. It will inspire them for the most energetic pursuit of their task which is to organize the re-immigration of many thousands of workers united in agricultural communes.



Sixty monarchist delegates met at Munich, Bavaria, Germany, recently to form a permanent organization.

International Mask Ball Finale of N. Y. FSR Bazaar

A big international masquerade ball will wind up the six-day bazaar on behalf of the starving Russian children the week before Christmas, the committee on arrangements has announced.

The bazaar is being run in connection with an exhibition of peasant art products at the Lyceum, 201 E. 86th St., Dec. 18 to 23 inclusive, under the auspices of Local New York, F. S. R.

The ball is only one of the features of the week, as there will be music and a special program every evening. Talent of the first calibre has already been engaged. All of it, however, is planned to reach the climax of entertainment in a last evening of music, dancing, costumes, during which the beautiful woodcraft articles made by Russian children and peasants will continue to be sold.

THE BUILD THE PARTY FUND

The "Build the Party Fund," raised Nov. 7, is still growing. Here are the Branches which have reported since the last statement:

Last Week's Total, $2761.48.—Geo. Kirkens, Racine, Wisc., 21.50; Finnish Branch, Portland, Ore., $15.00; J. A. Hardy, Orient., Ill., $23; Boston, CCC, $50; Finnish Branch, Rock Island, Ill., $35.50; CCC, Milwaukee, Wisc. $33; A. Nieni, Fairport, Ohio, $42; V. Koski, Brule, Wisc., $10.50; Chicago, CCC, $16.50; Finnish Branch, Daisytown, Pa., $30.50; J. H. Buttrick, Springfield, Ill., $12.50; G. Blozan, Spokane, Wash., $45; V. Gerulch, Christopher, Ill., $10; G. [illegible] Storck, Lorain, Ohio, $21.50; J. Nauchychek, Kenosha, Wisc. $8.50; Russian Branch, Ansonia, Conn., $40; Finnish Branch, Ashtabula, Ohio, $7.25; Finnish Branch, Ashby, Mass., $10; Finnish Branch, Chicago, Ill., $50.50; Finnish Branch, Wilton, N. H., $6.05; Finnish Branch, Ashburnaham, Mass., $4.55; Finnish Branch, Cloquet, Minn., $27; Finnish Branch, Hanna, Wyo., $67.50; Finnish Branch, So. Range, Mich., $[illegible]; Finnish Branch, Herman, Mich., $16.00; Finnish Branch, Eureka, Cal., $30.45; Finnish Branch, Clinton, Ind., $8.75; Finnish Branch, Temple, Maine, $[illegible]; Lithuanian Branch, Chicago, Ill., $[illegible]; Hungarian Federation, New York, $[illegible]; Hungarian Branch, Detroit, $[illegible]; Zeigler, Ill., Branch, $[illegible]; J. [illegible], Trenton, N. J., $[illegible]; F. [illegible], Bellaire, Ohio, $[illegible]; Finnish Branch, Hancock, Mich., $[illegible]; V. Koski, Brule, Wisc., $[illegible].—Total, $[illegible]

Appeal for Comrades Who Are Still in Jail by One Who Is Out

St. Joseph, Mich., Nov. 27, 1922.

Dear Comrades: Today after our arraignment in the Circuit Court and after the other comrades had left this little town, I had the unusual opportunity of spending more than a half hour with the seven comrades who are still in jail, with no official present to mar our visit.

Tallentire, Nordling, McMillin, Mihelic, Bechtol, Ericksen, and Zack who is still kept isolated from the others, I have seen them all. THEY ARE ALL THINNER AND PALER than when I saw them last, and while their spirits were apparently good, nine-tenths of their conversation with me consisted of the possibilities of their release.

They cannot be blamed for the fact that the interest in their release is their paramount interest. Tho they may honestly deny it, this interest is greater than even their interest in our movement. Tho they may fight desperately against this trait, they cannot subdue it. More than three months of the monotony of jail without fresh air and sunshine, except on the two occasions when taken to court, and without the forgetfulness of self and confinement which work in a penitentiary affords, is bound to have an effect.

A friend of mine, a pacifist who served a year in Leavenworth, once told me that the worst effect of being in jail is the great prominence which food, baths, and other comforts assume. They get to be out of all proportion to the rest of the things in life. Many maintain that prison leaves a permanent stamp upon the person. Optimists deny this but admit that it takes years to recover from this condition.

We cannot permit any comrades to be stamped with such a curse. We must be impressed with the immediate necessity for securing their release.

I was fortunate enough to be released within one week of my arrest. Today in the presence of the comrades still in jail a strange feeling of guilt pervaded my whole being, guilt that I am free and they are still confined. There is no reason for this guilty feeling and yet perhaps I have not done enough. At any rate this feeling gradually was transformed into a resolution to go out once more and work ceaselessly until the remaining comrades are out of jail.

Comrades, we must get them out and at once. A concerted effort must be made again. Here is what Detroit has done. The movement in Detroit is not of great magnitude. Yet we have raised ten thousand dollars, thru the party alone, besides $5000 loans from liberals. WE DID THIS BY HAVING EACH BRANCH ELECT A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO CANVASS THE MEMBERS FOR LOANS FOR THE BAIL FUND. The committee went to work and the comrades responded loyally. The loans ranged from $10.00 to several hundred dollars, many comrades turning over every cent of their savings.

Such action can be taken by other cities. I have no doubt that the comrades everywhere will respond. No member of the party who has some savings or personal credit has done his duty unless he has loaned at least half of it for bail purposes.

Comrades, forward to the task of releasing our comrades before the prison effects are permanently stamped upon their character.

Yours for an immediate response,
CYRIL LAMBKIN.

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Lenin [illegible] Congress of the [illegible]

(Continued from [illegible])

He requested the Session of the Enlarged Executive to confirm the telegram sent to Comrades Cachin [illegible] Frossard.

Clara Zetkin proposed in the name of the German Delegation that the telegram be at once confirmed [illegible] the demands in the telegram were so obvious a nature that no further debate was necessary. The sending of the telegram was agreed to by the session.

Comrade Eberlein: The Chair proposes to the Session of the Enlarged Executive that the voting in the plenary sessions of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International be so arranged that the delegations will be divided into five groups. The first group with [illegible] votes, the second group with 30 votes, the third group 20, fourth group 10, and the fifth group 5.

The Communist Parties shall be divided as follows:

1. the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, the Youth International and the R. I. L. U.; altogether 7 delegations with 315 votes.

2nd group with 30 votes each:—the Communist Parties of England, the United States, Poland, the Ukraine, Japan, Norway, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria and Finland;—9 delegations, 270 votes.

3rd group with 20 votes each, the Communist Parties of Spain, Roumania, Sweden, Lettland, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Belgium; 8 delegations with 160 votes.

4th group with 10 votes each:—the Communist Parties of Greece, China, India, Ireland, Aserbaidshan, Georgia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Denmark, Persia, Turkey, Australia and Argentina, together 14 delegations with 140 votes.

5th group with 5 votes each:—the Communist Parties of South Africa, Java, Canada, Chili, Uruguay, Brazil, Mexico and Armenia, together 9 delegations with 45 votes.

There are also delegations with advisory votes from the countries in which a consolidated Communist Party does not yet exist, for Khiva, Bukhara, Mongolia, Iceland, Corea, Fiume, Palestine and for those countries whose delegates have not yet arrived.

There are therefore 47 countries in all with voting rights invited to the Congress. We propose to assign to these 920 votes.

Comrade Zinoviev further announces that some other comrades were especially invited to the Congress. These are representatives of the Italian Socialist Party and 3 comrades representing the opposition expelled from the Communist Party in Czecho-Slovakia. The Executive had decided to lay the matter before the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International. These comrades will be permitted to take part in the Congress with advisory votes in all questions. Likewise the comrades from the Italian Socialist Party.

Upon the motion of Comrade Bukharin this proposal was unanimously accepted.

Comrade Eberlein acquainted the Enlarged Executive with the standing orders. The time for speakers delivering reports was fixed at one hour and a half hour for discussion. Speakers reporting on the same matter are granted the same length of time. Votes would be taken if demanded by five delegations with deciding votes. Voting would take place by the elected representative of each delegation giving the votes. The standing orders were unanimously accepted without further discussion. The Presidium is to consist of 13 members: Comrade Zinoviev as chairman, two other Russian comrades and one representative each from the parties of Germany, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, the Balkans, Japan, England, the United States, Scandinavia and Poland. Comrade Eberlein announces that special secretaries were appointed for the various delegations and the Communist International. The opening of the World Congress will take place on Sunday in Petrograd. The delegations will go to Petrograd on the 3rd of November where over 200 meetings will take place in which the delegates will speak. On the second day the opening session of the Congress will take place and on the third day a joint session of the delegates of the World Congress with the newly elected Petrograd Soviet.

After the agenda proposed by the Executive (with the addition of the Italian, Czecho-Slovakian and Norwegian questions) is confirmed, the first session of the Enlarged Executive will be adjourned.

AVOWAL

I'd not give room for an em[illegible]
I'd hold my road from a king;
For a triple crown I'd not lie [illegible]
But this is a different thing—
I would not fight with powers of [illegible]
Sentries pass them thru
Draw bridge let fall—
We're ahead of all:
We dreamers whose dreams [illegible]
true.

—[illegible]

Don't Throw This [illegible]
Pass It on to Your [illegible]

[illegible] would think that the labor [illegible] a mountain of alleged political [illegible], would bring forth [illegible] more than a mouse. But [illegible] so. These old party politicians, [illegible] in the words of Senator-elect [illegible] K. Wheeler, of Montana, [illegible] supposed to possess "intestinal stamina," gave us but a flyspeck [illegible] the broad pathway of human progress in the shape of the "report of the committee on the direct primary."

The report urged the universal primaries for all candidates, and the direct election of the president.

These election reform proposals brought on the battle of the conference. The issue was, shall the candidates of all the parties appear on the same primary ballot, or shall each party have a separate ballot. To advance the sacred principles of "nonpartisanship," it was urged that all candidates of all parties, in the primaries, must appear on the same ballot.

"Horrors, no!" exclaimed Edward Keating, former congressman from Colorado, but now registered as manager of "Labor," the railroad brotherhood's weekly published in Washington. He was chairman and reporter for the primaries' committee.

"That would be moving too fast to urge that", he argued. We must be sensible".

The proposition of the committee was that all voters in the primaries be given ballots for all parties. The voter then marks one ballot, only, and destroys the rest, and no one knows how he has voted, "as in Wisconsin".

Prisoners Get Hearing

"If we get that we are doing mighty well", declared Keating, turning to La Follette, acting as chairman.

"Yes, yes," chimed La Lollette. [illegible]

[illegible] Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, suffrage militant, a delegate, tried to get Howe's resolutions committee to report a resolution demanding amnesty for political prisoners.

"But that is not within the province of this committee", was the answer she had received.

Evidently nothing was within the province of this committee except to report a soft soap resolution applauding the work of La Follette's "People's Legislative Service" during the past two years. I understand that the committee even refused to entertain a resolution for the national ownership of the railroads.

But as the gavel was about to fall for adjournment, Mrs. Scott moved her amnesty resolution for adoption from the floor. La Follette managed to maintain his senatorial dignity and calm in the face of this insurrection, and the resolution was allowed to be adopted without discussion. It was like pulling a bad tooth.

While he was still beaming his satisfaction over the day's "brilliant" accomplishments, I tried to get La Follette's views on a Labor Party.

"When do you think we will have a real political party of the workers and farmers in this country?" I asked.

"That is something you can't get by the mere passage of a resolution", he replied. "Those things come, you don't know just how. They seem to be ordained", and he looked upwards, rather self-satisfied.

"God ordains them", I suggseted, by way of encouragement.

"Yes, yes. God ordains it", he replied, happy at the suggestion.

"You see", he continued, "we must make haste slowly. We cannot move too fast", and I remembered Keating and his antagonism to the one-ballot primary. "We must make haste slowly, but none the less surely. If we had brought up the issue of the Third Party here, the conference would have broken up immediately"

[illegible] second party or a third party.

Johnston Has An Aim

Johnston seemed to be horror-stricken at the idea of anyone considering an independent political party for labor at this time.

"Why", he said, "we won more in the last election thru the old parties than had ever been achieved thru a third party."

"Yes, I have studied the British Labor Party", he continued, as if launching forth on a set speech. "But conditions are different in England. There you have a united, cohesive working class. You can travel from one end of the country to the other in a day. Here conditions are different. This is a big country, with different conditions. The workers here speak so many different languages", and much more to the same effect.

It was not very long before that, that Senator-elect Lynn J. Frazier, of North Dakota, former Nonpartisan League governor, had been arguing that the interests of the workers in the city and the farmers on the land were identical, that the fight of the west was the fight of the east.

I put my question to Frazier.

"Well", he said, "we will know more in six or eight months. It all depends on the developments".

"What developments do you mean?" I asked.

Frazier Hopes for Square Deal

"Well", he replied, "if the farmers do not get a square deal. If conditions do not improve for the workers and farmers".

I couldn't get a direct reply from Frazier as to whether there was not a big element in the Nonpartisan League clamoring for a party of the workers and farmers independent of the old parties.

Frazier had made probably the most direct speech of the conference. He pictured the farmers of [illegible]

[illegible] Congressman-elect J. H. Sinclair of North Dakota, spoke on credits, joining the previous speakers in declaring the Wall Street money power had the workers and farmers by the throats. Senator-elect Smith W. Brookhart, brought the same news from Iowa, considered one of the richest farming states in the nation.

Gompers, in the grip of old age, tottered his way up to the platform, when his turn came, and in a doddering speech, eulogized La Follette, and all the speakers preceding him, and then had his secretary read his address while he sat nearby smoking his inevitable cigar. He cut a pitiful figure.

George W. Norris, touted as a "radical" senator from Nebraska, in fact a protege of Senator Hiram W. Johnson, of California, who dodged voting on Newberry's expulsion because it might hurt his presidential aspirations among the business interests, solemnly annihilated the electoral college in his speech.

Congressman James J. Frear, of Wisconsin, banged away at stock dividends, charging that Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, heavily interested in the Gulf Oil Co., cut the first melon in the form of a stock dividend, so he couldn't naturally object to Standard Oil and other great corporations doing the same.

Frear Sees Red

"That's why they put him there," interjected an elderly woman sitting in the front row, and evidently not an invited delegate.

"I've heard that statement before," replied Frear, heatedly, adding, "and I know the kind of people it comes from," in that tone of voice that says, "Ah, you're a red. You can't fool me."

[illegible] by the inevitable [illegible].

He turned to La Follette and didn't know if the senator from his own state would approve of this move, since LaFollette had a reputation as a trust buster, but "regulation" was the remedy.

The conference might then and there have turned into a debate on trust busting vs. trust regulating, but it didn't. It maintained its unity to the last.

Back in Wisconsin they have commissions to regulate everything, from boxing matches to railroads, and it is peculiar that the "interests" concerned, never the workers or the farmers, are in control of these commissions, as the railroad workers quickly learned about the Railroad Labor Board.

Gompers was the only labor official who uttered a word during the morning and afternoon sessions of the conferences. All the others sat quiet and silent.

Some Blue Ribbon Exhibits

There was a banquet in the evening, at which the winners in the recent elections, like blue ribbon exhibits, sat at the speakers' table again, not a single spokesmen for labor.

There was a strange contrast at this banquet board; Keating, the toastmaster; La Follette, Howe and other veterans of the Washington atmosphere being dolled out in evening dress, correct to the nth degree, while the westerners, in the words of Wheeler, were wearing "the only suit they had". Frazier, Brookhart, Shipstead, Wheeler, all wore the same clothes in which they had come to Washington and had worn thruout the day. Toastmaster Keating tried to joke this incongruity away, but [illegible]

[illegible] W. T. Rawleigh, of Freeport, Illinois, [illegible] and then donated $1,000. Then each of the railroad brotherhood chiefs, [illegible] of $1,000 each. [illegible] as if those labor officials were not sure of the election pledges of these republicans and democrats, that they had to place the seal of the almighty dollar upon them.

Thus the uprising of the workers and farmers at the polls last month is being harnessed to the purposes of a few politicians in the old parties. Senator-elect Shipstead, of Minnesota, elected on a Farmer-Labor Party ticket, the only speaker not elected as a republican or democrat, did not speak during the conference. He made a few remarks at the banquet.

He said that his election had been won at a great cost. He said it came as the result of an era of jobless, impoverished workers and bankrupt, landless farmers. And he alone was elected on a ticket independent of the capitalist political parties.

The workers and farmers of this country are entitled to a bigger return on their protest-provoking misery.

Johnston, and Stone, and Robertson, and Howe, and the rest, with the high-sounding words of the politicians, LaFollette, Norris, Blaine, Keating, Frear and others, sounding in their ears, will go to Cleveland next week to keep the workers and farmers from winning the reward they are entitled to—a Labor Party.

Perhaps, as Frazier infers, they will have to suffer some more before they sweep aside the old party politicians and the backward labor officials, and carry out a successful uprising in their own midst.

Thus the American Federation of [illegible]

[illegible] Congressman-elect Sinclair, of North Dakota, thinks that the tendencies showing the development of a party of the workers and farmers. He thinks the election of Shipstead in Minnesota is an [illegible] tion.

LaFollette Presents an O

If the delegates at Cleveland successfully combat the in[illegible] that would chloroform labor with happy memories of the last elec[illegible] then they may be able to make p[illegible] ress. The seeming magic invoke[illegible] LaFollette and his evening dres[illegible] rade of politicians is a threat to [illegible] bor's progress politically. LaFoll[illegible] & Co. constitute a stumbling [illegible] for labor. The workers and farm[illegible] cannot depend on them for aid [illegible] building a party of the robbed [illegible] exploited.

LaFollette and his following [illegible] merely tinkerers, tinkering away [illegible] an effort to keep the rotten and si[illegible] ing capitalist ship of state af[illegible] They tinker, and tinker, and ti[illegible] and will continue to tinker to [illegible] end.

If Frazier, Brookhart, Shipst[illegible] Wheeler and the others who [illegible] coming out of the west, beyond [illegible] Mississippi River, follow in th[illegible] footsteps, they will become equal[illegible] useless in the struggle for power [illegible] the workers and farmers.

The lesson of LaFollette's gath[illegible] ing is that the militants must [illegible] harder than ever at the Clevel[illegible] Conference for a real Labor Par[illegible] The break must be made with the o[illegible] parties. It must be a clean brea[illegible] The discontent growing out of th[illegible] misery and despair of the masses o[illegible] toilers, in the cities and on the lan[illegible] demands it. LaFollette's Conference couldn't see that. The Clevela[illegible] Conference must be compelled to se[illegible] and act.

Edgar Owens, Back from Prison, Urges Great Need of Support for Prisoners

Here is part of a letter sent to the secretary of the New York Division of the National Defense Committee by Edgar Owens immediately after his release from the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet. It reads:

"The New York Division has surely done great work. I shall always be proud in the knowledge that I could be associated in the work with such a splendid bunch of comrades. Their work will go down in the history of our movement as something very much worth while. When dissension was rampant elsewhere everybody seemed able to unite in the defense work. And this was a mark of merit that deserves the highest commendation.

"Please tell the comrades for me of my warm regard for them. If I have to go to prison I would ask for nothing more than to have such a group on the outside, watching every move of the enemy, and ever ready to take advantage of any situation that might come up. I know now what prison relief really means. I have eaten prison food, and worn prison clothes and know now what it means to be able to draw on an account to secure those little variations from the regular prison fare and routine. I spent many months in defense work, but it took those 10 days inside to learn and fully appreciate what our defense work means for those on the inside."

This is one more proof of the value of the defense work. We must go on more actively than ever not only to meet our present needs but to build a staunch, active defense guard to meet any attacks of our enemy the Capitalist Class.

The New York Division of the National Defense Committee will maintain its reputation and will expand provided it can enlist all its friends in every one of its undertakings.

On Feb. 22-25 the Second Annual Bazaar will take place at the Lyceum, 86th St. and 3rd Ave. You are urged to begin preparing articles —embroidery articles, sewing things, painting, decorating, etc., in short, making anything at all that will sell at our bazaar.

If you cannot send articles send cash for the purchase of same. Send contributions to: National Defense Committee, New York Division, 80 East 11th Street, Nerma Berman, Secretary.

Famine Situation in the Ukraine

The need for relief in Soviet Ukraine is in many respects greater this year than last, the most recent reports indicate. An official statement issued by the Ukrainian consular office in Berlin expresses regrets that falsely optimistic forecasts should have been spread.

The New York Call Knifes Russia

By JOHN DI GREGORIO

We have often heard of the laudable initiative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (the independent union of men's tailors) to collect a million dollars in America, thru a stock company known as the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, for the purpose of buying weaving and sewing machines and materials and to send them to Russia, there to be utilized jointly with the proper clothing organization in the operation of factories furnished by the Russian Government.

The yellow socialists, who hate the Soviet Government more than the capitalists themselves, have tried to discredit that initiative and to make it fail, just as they have tried to defame and destroy every other undertaking of assistance to Russia.

Their newspapers, like the FORWARD, THE N. Y. CALL, JUSTICE of the International Ladies Garment Workers (the women's tailors union affiliated with the A. F. of L.) and others, have left no means untried in order to attain their vile purpose.

True to form, a few days ago The N. Y. Call did something that reveals the vicious, jesuitic soul of the socialists of America. Saturday, November 25th, it reproduced, on its front page, an article taken from the arch-reactionary New York Tribune, in which a William O. Thompson heretofore financial adviser to the R. A. I. C., with a series of arguments that betrayed his preference for the capitalist system, was reported as warning his friends against the Russian venture of the Amalgamated not because he found fault with its fundamental plan, but because, after being in Russia a little while with President Hillman, had no faith "in the intentions and in the policies of the Russian Soviet Government".

Among other things Mr. Thompson is reported as saying that without any doubt the Soviet Government can pay the promised eight per cent dividend to the shareholders of the R. A. I. C., but whether it will pay it is a big question. In other words, he impugns the intentions of Russia, raises a big cloud of doubt and runs away from the subject.

And in this strain of eel-like argumentation of approving and knocking goes on for three long columns, leaving in the end a great confusion and distrust in the mind of the reader.

It is useless and beside the point to quarrel with Mr Thompson. He was engaged by the R. A. I. C. as an adviser in financial matters, and, as such, was taken by Mr. Hillman to Russia to make the final partnership arrangements with the Russian Government. It is no surprise that the Russian way of thinking at this time and the positive demonstration of the unselfish and therefore unbusiness-like intentions of Mr. Hillman must have disconcerted him and caused him to express his dissatisfaction on his return to Berlin.

That was natural. But why should the N. Y. Call without waiting for Hillman to reach the U. S. where he was due to arrive any day rush to pick up such insidious capitalist propaganda and publish it immediately, capped by a two-column heading, reading: "A. C. W. RUSSIAN VENTURE IS FAILURE", unless it be to emulate its reactionary confrere and do as much damage as possible before an explanation could be given?

The purpose is evident to do harm to Russia, to discredit those who are giving Russia a helping hand, to ruin the enterprise of the Amalgamated. In this attack one can see the hand of the Forward's evil genius, the man who will try to wreck any organization he can not control, as he wrecked, with the help of other dictatorial die-hards, the Socialist Party when the fraudulent socialists of the old guard could no longer control its membership. The unfortunate scribes of the N. Y. Call must do the bidding of Mr. Cahan, for the latter furnishes the sinews of war, and without his consent the N. Y. Call could not exist.

Likewise, Justice, being under the control of another of Cahan's creatures, Benjamin Schlesinger, the Socialist who constantly votes for Sam Gompers, has found opportunities to deride and antagonize the initiative of the Amalgamated.

The workers in this part of the country should know more about Mr. Cahan and his associates in mischief raising. It is they who in the last few months have created that feeling of enmity and bitterness among the members of the Amalgamated that has been almost fatal to that organization.

One wishes that it could be fully known how Mr. Cahan has been foiled in his attempts to influence the Amalgamated at the last Convention and before, how he has been rebuked and rebuffed for trying to have his antagonists expelled from that Union. Perhaps we would hear a true story along the lines of the spurious one told by the President of the International about the Red emissary whom he "threw out" of his office.

The N. Y. Call must have received a lot of protests about its "innocent" attack and most "inoffensive" publication and in order to show itself in lamb's clothes the next day, with jesuitic blandness, tried to excuse itself by affecting anger at the N. Y. Tribune. Among other things it had the effrontery to say "Moreover, it is rather peculiar that this attack in a hostile newspaper should be timed to appear just when Sidney Hillman was on the high seas and unable to give an explanation or reply. This may be a coincidence, but it looks like an unfair blow struck from behind."

Such cynicism and mystification takes one's breath away.

Yes, bunch of yellow jesuits, it is an unfair, disloyal, and cold-blooded blow struck from behind, and your crocodile tears and affectations do not save you. You knew it was an unfair blow and you helped with glee make it reach vital organs!

Fortunately, however, the intelligent workers have understood that fully well. They will not be swayed by this base act of vindictiveness and will have more faith than ever in every enterprise intended to redeem Russia. They will continue to support the Russian-American Industrial Corporation to the limit of their ability. They do not care about returns in the form of dividends or otherwise; they are happy to give their savings for the purpose of furnishing the Russian brothers with the means necessary to cover their naked bodies, and to help the Soviet Government to better satisfy the needs of the Russian population, so that it might become stronger thereby.

SIX-DAY
BAZAAR
Dec. 18-23 inclusive
The Lyceum
201 East 86th Street

Watch for further Announcements

LOCAL NEW YORK, F. S. R.
201 West 13th Street

Class in State and Revolution and Wage Labor and Capital

The English Harlem Branches of the Workers Party and Y. W. L. announce that their Monday Class will take up the Study of the State and Revolution and Wage Labor and Capital at its next session.

This Class has just completed a Study of the Origin of the Family, by Engels, and it will conclude the season's work with the study of Value, Price and Profit.

The Class meets Mondays, at 8.30 P. M. sharp at the W. C. Building, 143 East 103rd St. Registrations have been re-opened for the next few sessions.

Classes in the Bronx

Bronx Branch, Workers School is giving a three-session course in Communism, as follows: Tuesday Evening, Communist Manifesto; Thursday Evening, Value, Price and Profit, The People's Marx; Sunday Afternoon, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.

These classes are held under the auspices of the Bronx Branches of the Workers Party and the Young Workers League. All are invited. Admission is free.

Harding's Triumph! The Birth of a Budget!

By C. S. WARE

$50,000,000!
Saved by Harding's new Budget!
And yet the Department of Justice gets an increase!
More spending money for the Saviours of Democracy, Daugherty, Burns & Co.!

It is interesting to note that this $50,000,000 decrease in expenditures does not interfere with an increase of 26 per cent in the expenses of the Department of State—American Imperialism can safely rely upon its Government to meet its ever increasing demands—its petty cash account will not be cut—"our" foreign interests will not be neglected.

Another increase, calculated to mislead the unwary, is that of 30 per cent in the appropriation for the Department of Agriculture. VOTE THE REPUBLICAN TICKET—OH YE FARMERS—A Republican Secretary of Agriculture admits that your taxes have gone from 9.8 per cent in 1913 to 33 per cent last year, with your farm prices below pre-war level and all other commodities 50—100 per cent above—BACK TO NORMALCY, but all will be well.—The Department of Agriculture has had a budget increase of 30 per cent—what for? A Moratorium on mortgages shouldered by the Government—? Scarcely! The increase can easily be accounted for in the vast sum turned over by the Federal Reserve Banks at a maximum rate of 5½ per cent, to the Banks in their districts. These banks in turn grant loans to deserving farmers at interest rates ranging in many cases as high as 30 per cent. This "grant" to the farmers is merely another form of Bonus to the capitalists—charged—it is, true—in the political ledger—for votes from Farmers.

As for the decreases—there is the much heralded slash in the navy—a decrease in budget of .4 per cent and the terrific decrease in the War Department of 5 per cent. The greatest reduction in departmental budgets interestingly enough—is to be found in the budget of the DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. Consistent with the policy which has raised the Daugherty-Burns budget from 12½ millions in 1921 to 15½ millions in 1922, to 18½ millions in 1923, the economical Harding administration has **CUT THE BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR 17 PER CENT.** And WHY NOT? With the Child Labor Laws unconstitutional there is no longer any need to safeguard working conditions for children—and with a Department of Justice having at hand the military and judiciary powers of the country to COERCE labor, why should a department be supported whose function is remedial as against the Government policy of repression.

But while this Harding budget is still receiving loud applause and the administration receiving bouquets for its economy and its saving of "our" money may we ask who profited by the repeal of the Excess Profits and Surtax Acts? And how about that Fordney-McCumber Tariff which is going to cost every American home $100.— and what about that other prize capitalist economist—Mr. Mellon—guardian of the Treasury—and the $1,500,000,000 untaxed stock dividends thru which the Standard Oil alone will get away with about $900,000,000 free from taxation. Where are all the millions of dollars Mr. Daugherty was going to fine the trusts—The cases are quashed—Where are the millions he was going to collect from the war fraud plunderers—perhaps Mr. Daugherty knows—. MR. HARDING HAS SAVED $50,000,000! HOW MUCH HAVE MR. MELLON AND MR. DAUGHERTY COST?

Meanwhile watch for the SPECIAL APPROPRIATIONS. Last Spring Mr. Daugherty picked an extra plum of $500,000 Watch for the Pork Barrel bills—those same old rivers and harbors and public buildings again—. Watch for Army and Navy special hand outs—petted Pershings pleading for preparedness and Denby wants a navy second to none. In the words of a headline from our learned contemporary THE NEW YORK TIMES "NO HARDING VACATION YET" we echo—no—not yet.

MOSCOW. The first big radio telephone station in Russia, built by Russian workers and engineers out of Russian materials, is already in operation. It is able to transmit a distance of 3,000 versts, and should reach in clear weather as far as Japan.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Fourth Communist Congress Reports

To Readers of Russian Language

"Isvestia," the Russian daily, published in Moscow, is giving daily reports of the speeches and proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International now being held. Issues containing the speeches of Zinoviev, Lenin, the American and other [illegible] delegates are on hand and later issues being received daily.

Subscription price per month (30 copies) $2.00. Single copies 10c.

Order of [illegible], 208 E. 12th St.
New York City

Eastern Pennsylvania New

Delaware, Maryland, Washington, D. C.

Workers Party, District No. 3
J. POWELL, Special Organizer

A Chain of Mass Meetings

The District No. 3 Committee [illegible] touring Comrade Thomas J. O'Flaherty thru the District. The subject of his lectures will be: "The Great Need for a Labor Party in America." Mass Meetings will be held as follows: Dec. 10, Trenton, N. J.; 11, Philadelphia, Pa.; 12, Camden, N. J.; 13, Chester, Pa.; 14, Wilmington, Del.; 15 Baltimore, Md.; 16, Washington, D. C.; 17, Baltimore, Md.; 18, Reading, Pa.; 19, Minersville, Pa.; 20, Mahanoy City; 21, Wilkes Barre; 22, Plymouth or Nanticoke, Pa.; 23, Scranton, Pa.

Here the tour will end. But at the same time a Lithuanian-Russian speaking organizer will start in as follows: Dec. 16, Easton, Pa.; 17-18, Bethlehem, Pa.; and beginning Tuesday, Dec. 19, at Minersville, Pa., will cover the rest of the District together with the English-speaking organizer.

Leaflets in all necessary languages are printed by the District Office and sent to all points, where the meetings will be held. Comrades, see that all your Branches do their duty and distribute the advertising matter well. Cover all labor union and fraternal organization meetings, and don't overlook all other possibilities of advertising the meetings.

* * *

United Toilers are Joining Us

The District Office has just received the pleasant news that all United Toilers' branches in Scranton, Pa., have joined the Workers Party. Similar reports have come also from other cities. But there are still quite a few branches in the mining section of this district, which do not see the necessity for [illegible] Nevertheless, our slogan [illegible] One Party, One Program, One Discipline for All the revolutionary [illegible] tion of the American working [illegible]

The K[illegible] in France

PARIS.—Oeuvre, a labor [illegible] calls attention to the fact [illegible] French members of the Inter[illegible] Federation of Postal, Telegraph [illegible] Telegraph Employes were [illegible] by Paul Laffont, undersecretary [illegible] state for postal and telegraph [illegible] ministration, to go to Germany [illegible] attend the convention. It [illegible] publishes the following comment [illegible] parallel columns:

1914	1922
William Hohenzollern forbids participation by the German postal employes in the congress of the federation in London.	"Poincaré" Paul L[illegible] bid [illegible] by the postal [illegible] in the [illegible] of the [illegible] in [illegible]

[illegible] Will
Survive

ber issue of THE LIB[illegible] is a triumph not only of journalism, but of the will. After a year of financial which reduced the quality of tion and continually threat with destruction, it emerges ble and beautiful than ever, once more to those high stan which have made it one of the revolutionary publications in [illegible]

of the revival of the Liberator btedly due to the stiffening political backbone. Altho it ported the Third Internation the Workers' Party from the ing, there has for a long time lack of editorial comment has diluted its power and influ as a revolutionary organ.

the December issue seems to a turning point. Several pages witty comments on the out events of the past month given its pages that tone of which originally endeared it intellectual advance guard of proletariat.

outstanding article of the is Robert Minor's "We Want a Party"—which is an unusu clear analysis of American con and an eloquent appeal to the kers to organize an effective in ment for obtaining "physical con and ideological domination of country."

fifth anniversary of the Russ Revolution is commented upon ernard Shaw in a brief and brill article, while Eugene V. Debs tes a paean of praise center about the idea that "the Russian olution whatever may be its ulti fate, its final outcome and re will stand forth in perspective be chronicled in history as the and most luminous and far ing achievement in all the an mankind."

en survey of the elections by Ruthenberg, Edward Pyle's de ation of the imprisonment of and women for their political Stanley Boone's chronicle of national convention of the Main nce of Way Employes, and Karl hold's exposure of the attempt West Virginia coal operators to oad Frank Feeney to the gal completes the Liberator's brill series of political articles.

December issue is not less le for its art and literature. The and blue cover by Frank Walts is ling in its beauty, and the inside he magazine is lit up with draw and caricatures by Lydia Gib Robert Minor, William Gropper, o Gellert, Adolph Dehn, J. J. les, and Art Young. The poems Louis Untermeyer, Jean Starr Un meyer, and Simon Felshin are of usually high rank; while Floyd penetrating review of BAB ads a series of discussions on which make the Liberator as inguished in literature as it is in olutionary politics. This impres is strengthened by SANTA RIANOVA, a story by Eugene s, remarkable for the clarity of observations of life in a small town and for the lyric qual of its style.

the December number is a sam of what the Liberator will be we may indeed expect a pub of a very high order, which at once as a powerful rev weapon and as an artistic

Open Forum

English Branch W. P. and Y. W. L.)

Announces Its First Lecture

ALVATORE IAROSSI

Italian Federation of the Workers Party

on the

"FASCISTI"

(and the Italian Situation)

SUNDAY EVENING,

ember 3rd, at 8 P. M.,

WORKERS' HALL,

1347 Boston Road.

OMING LECTURE

Ware, member F. S. R.

ral Unit in Russia.

"Helping the Russian December 10th.

Spend Your Sunday at the Bronx Workers

Admission 15 cents.—

Musical Program

[illegible]

Administrative Council Outlines Negotiations with Jewish Bureau, States Present Position

In response to a resolution of the German Bureau of the Workers Party asking that the Party Central Executive Committee make further efforts to settle the controversy in the Jewish Federation, the Administrative Council has sent the following letter to the German Bureau, outlining the negotiations which took place and the present attitude of the Administrative Council as follows:

• • •

New York City, N. Y., Dec. 1, 1922

Louis F. Wolf, Executive Secretary, German Federation, 15 Spruce St., New York City.

Dear Comrade Wolf:—The Administrative Council of the Party directs me to make the following reply to your letter of November 27th in which you express your regret at the threatened split in the Jewish Federation and recommend the reopening of negotiations between the C. E. C. and the Bureau of the Jewish Federation offering your good offices in achieving this end:

After the publication of the manifesto of the Bureau of the Jewish Federation attacking the C. E. C. of the Party and refusing to submit to the discipline of the C. E. C., the Administrative Council of the Party immediately drafted a reply which was adopted by the Administrative Council on November 16th After the adoption of this manifesto, thru the good offices of Comrade Lore, a meeting was arranged between the Executive Secretary of the Party and Comrades Olgin, Wishnak, and London representing the Jewish Federation Bureau in an effort to arrange a settlement of the controversy.

At the opening of this meeting at which Comrade Lore was present, Comrade Lore stated to the representatives of the Jewish Bureau that the fundamental condition to any settlement of the controversy was the acceptance of the decision of the C. E. C. that the even division of representation in the Jewish Bureau be restored, that is, that the Jewish Bureau submit to the discipline of the C. E. C.

It was with the understanding that the representatives of the Jewish Bureau accepted this fundamental condition that the negotiations continued.

During the discussion at the meeting in question, which was held on Friday, Nov. 17th, the Executive Secretary of the Party outlined the conditions which he believed could be agreed upon as a basis of settlement of the controversy. After considerable discussion it was agreed that these conditions would be put in definite form and submitted to the representatives of the Jewish Bureau at another meeting on November 18th. Comrades Wishnak and London appeared as the representatives of the Jewish Bureau. The Executive Secretary of the Party submitted to the representatives of the Bureau the following proposals for settlement of the controversy:

1. That the Administrative Council would endorse the convention called for December 16th thus making it the regular convention of the Jewish Section of the Party.

2. That elections of delegates to this council would be thru district conventions, as provided by the Party constitution, or, if the Jewish Bureau preferred, thru branches with the understanding that branches having less than an average of ten members as shown by dues payments for the months of July, August, September and October would not be entitled to voting delegates but to fraternal delegates. Branches having from ten to twenty-five members would be entitled to one delegate and an additional delegate for each additional twenty-five members or major fraction thereof.

3. That the discussion of the question of an open Communist Party be continued in order to insure equal opportunity of both sides to present its views. A committee consisting of Olgin, Bittleman and Ruthenberg be created which would have control of the discussion so far as the amount of space allowed and the order of appearance of articles was concerned but not as to the contents of the articles.

4. That the 50-50 division of representation of the Bureau of the Federation be restored at once.

5. That there be transferred to the Party a 50 per cent ownership of the "Freiheit".

6. That in case either side desired to send speakers to appear before the branches to present its viewpoint that this should be granted by the other side with the understanding that the opposite side also have the same privilege.

In view of the fact that the manifesto of the Administrative Council was being withheld from publication while these negotiations were pending it had been made a condition of the continuance of the negotiations that the representatives of the Bureau must accept or reject the terms proposed at the meeting on Saturday, November 18th. These terms were presented to Comrades Wishnak and London at this meeting and were accepted by them subject to the ratification of the Jewish Bureau. It was the understanding that the Bureau would meet on Monday, November 20th, and act upon these terms.

On Tuesday, Nov. 21st, Comrades Wishnak and London called at the office of the Party and informed the National Secretary that the Bureau had accepted the terms above outlined with the exception of the provision as to the 50 per cent division of the strength of the Bureau. From the statement made to the Executive Secretary it appeared that there was no question as to the other points proposed in the agreement but only as to the restoration of the 50 per cent division of representation on the Bureau.

The Executive Secretary informed the representatives of the Bureau that this point could not be conceded. Comrade London thereupon appealed to the Executive Secretary to make further efforts to have a concession made on this point. The conference was dissolved without any definite decision.

On Wednesday, Nov. 22, the Executive Secretary called Comrades Olgin, Wishnak, London and Salzman to his office and informed them that upon further consideration and in order to avoid any further controversy the condition as to the 50-50 representation on the Bureau had been withdrawn and that in its place a Convention Committee of five from each group was to be created, (this being the alternative proposal of the Jewish Bureau) and the Bureau to continue to function. This concession on the part of the Executive Secretary removed the only point still subject to controversy as stated by the representatives of the Bureau at the previous conference, but immediately upon this point being [illegible] to the matter of election. The conference dissolved with the understanding that the Bureau of the Federation would meet that evening and give its answer the next day, the four representatives to meet the Executive Secretary at his office on the next day.

On Thursday, the day following, the Executive Secretary received a letter signed by Olgin, Wishnak and London stating that the Bureau of the Federation rejected the proposed method of election of delegates and rejected the condition that the 50 per cent ownership of the "Freiheit" be transferred to the Party.

It was only after these extended negotiations with the representatives of the Jewish Bureau in which the representatives of the C. E. C. of the Party made every possible concession in order to avoid a conflict that the decision of the Administrative Council made a week before it was carried into effect thru the publication of the manifesto which has been adopted on November 18th. We feel certain that the Comrades of the German Bureau will see, from the above statement that the Administrative Council and its representatives in negotiations did not wish to precipitate the present controversy but made every possible concession, even concessions which involved acceptance of violation of Party discipline before taking final action to enforce its decision.

In spite of the fact that the history of the previous negotiations with the Bureau of the Jewish Federation as outlined above show even bad faith on the part of the representatives of the Bureau the Administration Council stands ready at the present time to entertain any definite proposals for the settlement of the controversy, and if the German Bureau can obtain such proposals they will receive earnest consideration from the Administrative Council.

The Administrative Council agrees with the Executive Committee of the German Bureau that any action within the Party at this time threatening the unity of the Party is a crime against the revolutionary movement in this country. It is quite certain that the history of the negotiations as outlined above prove that the Administrative Council of the Party has not been guilty of such action and that if there is a controversy which may bring about a split in the Jewish Federation the Bureau of that Federation must thereupon shoulder the responsibility for this condition.

With fraternal greetings,

C. E. Ruthenberg,

Executive Secretary.

Greater New York Party Convention

The city convention of the Workers Party, Local Greater New York, will be held Sunday, Dec. 10, at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., 10 a. m. Delegates will not be seated without credentials. To date but five branches have sent in their credentials. We must have these before the convention opens. So hustle them along.

Among the Magazines

"Soviet Russia" Changes Form

"Soviet Russia," official organ of the **Friends of Soviet Russia,** will begin the new year with a change in form and substance, but not in spirit and policy. It is being greatly enlarged and with the January issue it will contain unpublished pictures of Russian life, which will give a graphic history of Russia in pictorial form.

The change is made in order to develop a greater and more popular circulation than the magazine has hitherto been able to get. Besides the pictorial review, it will print articles, official documents, a Book Review department and what is called, in American journals, "Human Interest" stories.

Now more than ever, with the barrage of lies about Russia still being maintained, it is necessary for every worker to be fully acquainted with developments in the first proletarian republic in the world. The magazine sells for 20 cents and may be obtained on news stands or from the National Office, Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York City.

• • •

"Young Worker" Out!

The December issue of the **Young Worker,** official organ of the Young Workers' League, is now on sale and contains, as usual, excellent articles, all written by members of the League.

One article in particular by Oliver Carlson is well-worth reading. Its sixteen pages are packed with material of importance to any young worker. It can be obtained for 10 cents from any member of the League or from the "The Young Worker", 2517 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Glassberg in Brownsville

Benjamin Glassberg, educational director of the Workers Party, will lecture coming Sunday, Dec. 10th, on the subject: "Social Forces and Political Parties in the United States." The lecture takes place at our headquarters, 1844 Pitkin Ave. Bring all your friends with you.

New York C. C. C. Meeting

The regular City Central Committee meeting will be held Saturday, Dec. 9, at John Reed Hall, 208 E. 12th St., 3 p. m. The last meeting of the C. C. C. was a whopping success. So all come and make this one better.

[illegible]

[illegible] Gompers. In addition to praising Sammy, Schlesinger imitates him which in some circles is considered the highest form of worship.

In four pages of billingsgate appearing in the "Labor Age", Schlesinger airs his infantile opinions about the British labor movement and the opinion British labor leaders have of the American movement.

"Due to the attitude of British Labor with regard to our American labor movement, there exists a notion in the minds of some people here that the English workers treat the American labor movement lightly or with contempt and that they regard Gompers as a reactionary. * * * Gompers, it seems to me, is appreciated even more in England than in America."

Schlesinger further adds that Gompers "is being spoken of there as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, labor leader in the world."

Evidently Interviewed Leaders Only

Evidently Schlesinger obtained his information exclusively from the yellow leaders of the Tom Shaw and Phil Snowden type, social patriots and hirelings of the same Allied Imperialism at whose shrine Gompers offers oblations and incantations and from whence he derives his inspiration as a leader of American labor!

The vast majority of British labor at least has sense enough to support a labor party, deficient as it is, instead of permitting itself to be delivered into the shambles of capitalism thru a policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies in the camp of the old parties. Those class conscious members of British labor also remember the trips made to England by Gompers, at the behest of the United States government under Woodrow Wilson, to plead the holy cause of the House of Morgan in the late World war. They have not forgotten the grovelling of this old buzzard, this hireling of Wall Street, this ornament of the Civic Federation, who sold out the American labor movement in a World crisis and delivered it bag and baggage into the bloody clutches of the war lords of American Imperialism. Furthermore, British Labor will not ignore the fact that even now Gompers is trying to play a tin whistle on the Clemenceau Band wagon, which is exclusively a Morgan attraction in this country today.

Concerning Soviet Russia

Being a part of the Gompers dynasty the report of Schlesinger would be incomplete unless it contained the customary measure of mendacity concerning Soviet Russia.

"They speak now in Europe in working class circles of Communism and Bolshevism with a bitter smile on their lips." Then we learn who "they" are that thus speak. They are "the most prominent leaders of the English labor movement," those same leaders stigmatized as enemies of the working class by the Communists of the world, particularly the Hendersons, Shaws and Snowdens. We are told by Schlesinger that during the sessions of the British Trade Union Congress Tom Shaw, in speaking on a resolution demanding withdrawal of Japanese troops from Siberia blandly asked:

"If it is not right for Japan to keep its soldiers in Siberia, why is it right for the Soviet Government to keep an army of occupation in Georgia?"

The slimy Schlesinger then adds: "You should have heard the applause that came from the 700 delegates in reply to this question, to appreciate what the English workers think of the present day Russian regime."

Neither Schlesinger, nor Tom Shaw, nor Henderson, nor J. Ramsey McDonald, nor the two Snowdens, blacklegs and adventurers all, had the common proletarian honesty to inform the assembled delegates that the Red Army of Soviet Russia entered Georgia to defend the working class from the massacre of the White Terror of Allied Imperialism, while the Japanese troops in Siberia were there for the purpose of crushing the aspirations of the working class. They did not mention the fact that under three years of Menshevik rule in Georgia the White Guard armies, financed by the Allies, made a slaughter-house of the nation and that every effort of the workers to rise was crushed in new rivers of blood drawn from their battered and bleeding bodies. No, not one word of truth concerning these atrocities, these monstrous crimes against the working class! Not one word of the unrestrained joy with which the entrance of the Red Army was hailed by all except the Menshevik hirelings of Allied Imperialism.

Tom Shaw and Mrs. Snowden

Tom Shaw will be remembered as the creature who presided at the Berlin conference of the Three Internationals last Spring when the effort was made on the part of the Communist International to create a united front against the sledge hammer blows capitalism everywhere was delivering against the working class.

That conference was sabotaged by Shaw and the heroes of the Second International, who, instead of solidifying the ranks of the workers, spent their time defending the interests of capitalist imperialism in Georgia and denouncing the Russian government for the presence of the Red Army in that territory.

The reports on Georgia were obtained from the wife of Philip Snowden, a petty-bourgeois hag who visited that land as a press agent of British Imperialism and who wrote certain observations, as false as they were silly, against the Soviet government, but who was taken seriously by the British labor fakirs. After every resource of the capitalist press of Britain had been exhausted in an effort to destroy Soviet power in Georgia the laborites were called upon to carry on the poison propaganda that their regular prostitutes shrank from in abhorrence.

Mr. Philip Snowden, the kept man of Mrs. Snowden, also has opinions upon Russia. Philip thinks that Russia "should be admitted into the family of civilized nations" and that the Bolsheviki will thereby lose their power. Just what motive lies beneath this cerebration of Snowden is not clear at this time. It is interesting to note his classification of civilized nations. Belgium with its Congo, Britain with its seething millons under the Iron Heel, France with its Colonial infamies, the United States with Haiti and Santo Domingo, are civilized nations, all. And Phil Snowden and J. Ramsey MacDonald and Tom Shaw and Sam Gompers and all the other men servants and maid servants of capitalism could assist in the civilizing process. The husband of Mrs. Snowden, reechoes her slogans: "Let us enter Russia and conduct an impartial investigation so we can exchange views and bring the present situation there to an end."

Such drivel is the basest hypocrisy. Neither Mrs. Snowden, her husband, nor any of the other political labor adventurers have any intention of [illegible] them into accepting the yoke of capitalist slavery.

British Labor Has Not Spoken

British labor has not yet spoken regarding its attitude toward Soviet Russia, but when it does speak it will not be thru the medium of the gallant leaders Schlesinger consorted with, but thru its true representatives, those militants who are upholding the banner of the Proletarian Revolution in the Communist Party of Great Britain, which became a factor in British politics at the last election.

As to Schlesinger, his record in his own organization is too contemptible to require much comment. He displays his great love for proletarian democracy by using his personal political machine that controls the International Ladies' Garment Workers to expel regularly elected delegates from his own packed conventions in order to maintain control of the organization.

Since Gompers did a little press agent stunt for Schlesinger, at the Cleveland convention, it was no more than proper that the yellow socialist, Schlesinger, should return the favor by boosting Gompers' European stock.

The time is not far distant when the class conscious workers of both England and the United States will rise and eliminate the parasites that thrive upon the betrayal of the labor movement and join hands with the valiant fighters of Soviet Russia in an indomitable International of Labor that will write finis to the history of the age-long struggle of labor against its enemies within and without the labor movement.

Now that Schlesinger is back on the job fighting the working class, it is up to the working class in his own organization to put him on the toboggan and head him toward the oblivion he so justly deserves.

Wicks at Bronx Forum

H. M. Wicks will lecture on the "Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action", Dec. 17, 8 P. M., Bronx Open Forum, Workers Hall, 1347 Boston Road.

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Disloyalty and Treason

Judging by the [illegible] statements he issues from time to time, Ben W. Hooper, chairman, must feel the [illegible] grip of death closing upon his United States Railroad Labor Board.

Hooper admits that part of his job is reading a large number of labor papers, and he confesses that nothing is [illegible] by these papers that might stir up distrust and hostility among the people.

This champion of 23-cents-an-hour wages does not realize that he has helped spread discontent among underpaid common labor on the railroads by his own criminal wage edicts, supposed to be the best judgment of an "impartial chairman." He weeps as follows:

> "The pernicious doctrine that the courts are dominated by the rich and powerful is fed to an element of people who, by reason of [illegible] and highly sensitized class-consciousness, are peculiarly susceptible to its [illegible] influence.
>
> "When a man becomes thoroly saturated with this distrust of the courts he is no longer a good American citizen. His mind is [illegible] with dark suspicions and he nurses a [illegible] against his government. He is converted into a fit instrument of disloyalty and treason."

It is Hooper and his crew, with their Daugherty injunctions, who really convince the workers that the rich own the courts. The worker comes to realize that the government isn't his government, but that it is the instrument of the mine owners, the railroad owners, and the property of the owners of other indutries, to oppose and suppress his struggle for happiness for himself and his family.

The workers may be disloyal to that government, they may be traitors to it. But then they are loyal and true to themselves and to those they love.

Jack Jones Loses His Temper

We predicted recently that among the 142 labor members of the British parliament, some would not be worried by the dignity of that capitalist institution.

Jack Jones, from the working class London East Side, the other day, so successfully tweeked the nose of "order" in the House of Commons, that he was ordered by the chairman to leave.

"Oh, you dirty dogs!" Jack Jones is said to have exclaimed when the King's members urged a salary of $500 a week to be paid by the British government to the ex-Sultan of Turkey, recently escaped on a British warship from Constantinople to Malta.

Jones had in mind the measly pittances granted the millions of British jobless, and added:

"Give the Sultan 18 bob a week, with a shilling for each of his wives!" and the august parliamentarians of all parties were in an uproar of laughter.

Jones came back to his seat in the House of Commons the next day and made an apology that should be memorized by all future labor members-elect. It was, according to the cables, as follows:

> "In the course of yesterday's proceedings I lost my temper—the only thing I had to lose (Laughter). During that time I used certain language which I believe is considered unparliamentary. It is dockers' English. As I happen to represent a constituency on the east side of London, mostly inhabited by casual laborers, I thought I was using the kind of language they would have expressed under the circumstances."

It is refreshing to hear a workers' representative, in a parliament, insisting on speaking the language of those who elected them. If all the elected members of the British Labor Party will do that in Bonar Law's parliament they may accomplish something for the British workers. But we fear that parliamentary dignity sits as heavily upon the brows of the MacDonalds and Thomases as it does upon the stern visage of the royal chairman of the House of Commons.

British labor, in the last election, put new blood with the old into parliament. It will do better next time by displacing all its reactionaries with eager militants, anxious for the final struggle against king and parliament.

La Follette for President

It is reported that some one foolishly said once upon a time, "I would rather be right than be president." That sounds good on paper or in a speech, but it could better read, "I will do anything to become president."

That applies with equal emphasis to Robert Marion La Follette, U. S. senator from Wisconsin, just as much as it does to Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho; to Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, or any other "progressive" or reactionary aspirant for presidential honors in 1924.

These three are Republicans, but, like the "progressive" governor, Hunt, Democrat, of Arizona, they join in the general slogan, "Work thru my party!" meaning either the Republican or Democratic party.

There was an uprising among the voters at the November elections. The workers and farmers, suffering from unemployment or plundered by the bankers and grain speculators, forced into gigantic strikes or faced with manipulated prices, revolted as best they could. They struck blindly thru the old parties.

One cannot blame La Follette for trying to ride that protest with his presidential aspirations. Or Borah, or Johnson, either. The crime is on the heads of those labor spokesmen who fight the efforts of the workers to build a political machine of their own.

It reminds us of Scheidemann, Legien and Co., in the days of the overthrow of the kaiser, selling the possibilities of a Soviet Revolution for the promise of a universal eight-hour day and other slight concessions from capitalism. So now these chosen of the workers and the farmers are selling the possibilities of a real Labor Party for doubtful support on behalf of some labor legislation, with $3,000 checks as a bonus thrown in by the railroad brotherhoods. It will be remembered that the brotherhoods remained at work when the shopmen went on strike last summer. They sought special favors from the railroads then; they will want special favors from the politicians now; favors that will militate against the interests of the less favored, less skilled, not so well organized railroad workers.

These labor spokesmen have shown that they are willing, even to permit La Follette to nurse his presidential aspirations, if he will occasionally place his "People's Legislative Service," with its varied assortment of senators and congressmen, at their disposal.

These "labor officials" seem to have forgotten about "Teddy" Roosevelt and his "Bull Moosers" who went on a rampage in 1912, two years after the revolt against Taft-Republican rule in the congressional elections of 1910. Roosevelt ten years ago wanted to capture the republican party, even as La Follette is now framing his plans for 1924. And these labor heads are now trailing in La Follette's wake, never learning thru past experience.

If the workers and farmers are content to see the [illegible] born of their agony thus sold over the bargain counter, they will remain silent. If they really wish to redress their wrongs, they will make progress by building a political power of their own, a Labor Party of the exploited in industry and on the land.

The Cleveland Conference will show whether the workers and farmers want to be led into the political shambles of a La Follette, an American edition of Great Britain's Lloyd George, or whether they are ready to emerge from the present chaos and make the clear, uncompromising, class voice of the exploited heard in the halls of congress at Washington. Against the alluring cry of the leaders, "La Follette for President!" let the masses of labor raise the slogan, "All power to the workers thru the workers," and make progress now thru organizing a Labor Party.

[illegible]
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Clipping Wings at Lausanne

We had been told for several days by the kept press of an irreparable break between Soviet Russia and Angora Turkey at the Lausanne "Peace Conference." This little house of cards, built up by capitalism's clever journalists, is now wrecked at one blow by Lord Curzon, foreign minister for the British, who laments that the Turks are really hiding behind the Russians' skirts.

No doubt the propaganda writers feel that if Turkey could only be separated from Soviet Russia, they could conduct a more peaceful struggle for the oil fields of the Near East.

Great Britain, the "strongest naval power," doesn't like the position of Soviet Russia on "The Straits." Tchitcherin defined this position by declaring that there shall be freedom of commerce, but the Dardanelles and Bosphorus must be closed to all warships, except those of Turkey, and the Turks shall have the right to fortify the shores of the straits as she pleases.

Of course the British consider this a black outrage against her warships that have roamed the waters of the world and pillaged and ravaged as they pleased. The fleets of the capitalist Allies would be barred from attacking the red republic along its whole southern front. There would be no more attacks on Red Odessa, or other Russian ports on the Black Sea, no more than a Russian Red Fleet would sail down Lake Michigan and attack Chicago.

When the Turks smashed the Greek armies in Anatolia, British imperialism suffered a setback. And of course her statesmen now object to "the strongest naval power" having its wings clipped a little more at Lausanne. But the clipping will go on because increased masses of workers everywhere will rally to the support of the Russian program to bring peace and happiness to the peoples of the world.

The imperialist diplomats are learning a little bit more of the rather difficult and unpleasant lessons the Russian delegates tried to teach them at Genoa and The Hague.

Another Outpost Held

Labor holds fast to another outpost in the struggle against its capitalist enemies, as a result of the decision forced from the U. S. Supreme Court granting a writ of error in the case of Ben Gitlow, sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for alleged violation of New York State's (1902) criminal anarchy statute.

One of the first results of this victory will be Gitlow's release on bail from the Sing Sing Prison for the second time since he began serving his sentence.

Gitlow was first released with Ruthenberg, Ferguson, Winitzky and Larkin last spring. He immediately gave his best efforts toward building the Workers Party, then only a few months old, toward strengthening the Communist movement in this country. This work was cut short by his return to prison.

Gitlow serves the movement in prison or at liberty. But his great gifts as speaker, organizer and writer demand that he be active in our cause "on the outside." All comrades will hail with joy Gitlow's return to activity in our ranks.

The struggle will be waged with increased intensity to have the infamous criminal anarchy law declared unconstitutional, in its attempts to curtail freedom of discussion, by the highest court in the land, so that Gitlow will not be compelled to return to capitalism's bastille, so that the prison gates may be forced open for others still held because of their loyalty to labor, for crimes they have committed only against the exploiters and parasites.

Since the so-called criminal syndicalist laws of 35 states are based upon the New York "anarchy" statute, a victory in the Supreme Court in the Gitlow case means a smashing blow against this anti-labor legislation in every big industrial center in the country. We are holding a valuable outpost in the Gitlow case. We must continue to hold it and make new advances in the courts of our oppressors. You can help by sending your contributions to the organization that is putting up this fight, the National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 East 11th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Harding Seeing It Thru

The Harding administration has put thru the ship subsidy bill to stuff $1,000,000,000 into the pockets of the big shipping interests during the next ten years. Four democrats joined the republicans in this successful raid on the national treasury. This big business victory has been achieved after decades of scheming by the best brains to be found among our great financial and political freebooters.

Capitalism's kept press will not refer to this bit of burglary as threatening "communistic ruin." It will merely result, they will claim, in providing a "living profit" for the shipping trust.

It is only when an occasional altruist urges the expenditure of a few dollars for free breakfasts for starving school children that the nation's holy institutions suddenly become endangered.

Never has Congress ever considered subsidizing the hunger-line wages of millions of America's workers. The billion dollars to the shipping trust will not increase by one cent the wages of those who take ships down to the sea.

Federal aid and the paternalism of a capitalist government are only extended to the railroad and shipping profiteers. A precedent has been established, in the passage of the ship subsidy bill, for the subsidizing of other pet industries that manage to buy up a sufficient number of members of the senate and house of representatives.

We are assured that the senate, in the case of the ship subsidy, will uphold the vote of the house of representatives. We have no doubt about it. The money power owns the congress now in session and will make it dance to any tune it chooses to play. The same will be true, probably to a slightly lesser extent, but just as true of the next congress. This condition will not be changed materially until the workers speak thru an embattled Labor Party, ready to offer war on all fronts to capitalism and all its coterie of robbers and plunderers.

The delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action, to be held at Cleveland, Dec. 11, who oppose the organization of the Labor Party will be guilty of the greatest crime ever committed against the working class of this country.

Harding is seeing it thru for capitalism. Labor must begin a real drive to get thru with capitalism!

The Workers Party the Vanguard

It is [illegible] that the Workers Party is leading the lone fight for independent political action on the part of the workers and farmers. Neither the Socialist Party nor the Farmer-Labor Party [illegible] expression of the exploited masses, has made any appreciable effort to arouse interest in this problem.

The press of the Socialist Party has remained practically silent on this issue, from which we infer that the party is willing to accept any crumbs that may come its way from the Cleveland Conference table.

We appreciate, however, a belated editorial expression of The New Majority, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, espousing the cause of independent political action, and denouncing the Conference for Progressive Political Action for sending its agents into Minnesota, before the recent election in an effort to persuade the workers and farmers of that state to operate thru the Democratic party, rather than thru their Farmer-Labor Party. It declares:

> "Everyone has known that the conference was indifferent to independent political action by labor and the farmers, but in this case it went out [illegible] to put the kibosh on independent political action, by trying to persuade the Minnesota farmers and city workers from leaving old-party tactics.
>
> "The election demonstrated that the people are ready to move politically, if only unfaltering leadership is offered. It is time to act and act like men. It is time to quit pussyfooting. It is the day for development of the workers' own party, independent political action, and to have done with truckling to the crooked Republican and Democratic parties is the only program that will interest the workers.
>
> "If the National Conference for Political Action is to be only a rival to the A. F. of L. nonpartisan political policy it will die out, as all dual organizations should. If the conference wants to accomplish something it will have to come out with a clear-cut program for independent political action for city and country workers thru a party of their own."

This declaration of the official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor is an invitation to watch for traitors at the Cleveland Conference. He commits treason who raises his voice for further worker and farmer activity within either or both of the Wall Street parties, the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Keep your eyes on Cleveland!

A Lesson in Class Justice

They are trying to write finis on the murder mystery growing out of the killing of the Rev. Edward Wheeler Hall and Mrs. Eleanor R. Mills, at New Brunswick, N. J.

This double murder tore aside the thin veil of bourgeois respectability that hides the under-cover lives of those who parade as paragons of virtue in church, in business, in politics, as "law and order" upholders of the present social system.

After months of investigation, during which the finger of suspicion pointed steadily in several directions, we find no arrests, no one in prison, with the single exception of the half-wit, Raymond Schneider, charged with perjury in that he is alleged to have falsely accused Clifford Hayes of the murder. No such charges have been brought against Mrs. Jane Gibson, "the pig woman," accuser of Mrs. Hall.

How different everything would have been, had this been a labor case, involving a struggle between a big corporation and its slaves. Then Mrs. Hall, the wife of the murdered rector who died with his pretty choir singer, would have been another Mrs. Rena Mooney, on trial for murder. Then Mrs. Hall's brothers, repeatedly charged with the crime, would have been just another Tom Mooney, another Warren K. Billings.

Clifford Hayes was not a labor agitator fighting for the rights of the workers. So they started a public tag day to secure funds for his defense the minute he was arrested, but the plans had hardly been completed before he was released. How different from the cases of Sacco and Vanzetti, in Massachusetts; of Ford and Suhr, in California, and many others elsewhere, victims of the frame-up that needs not the truth, but manufactures lies to convict.

Instead of spending months and years in prison and going to trial charged with murder as Rena Mooney was forced to do in California, Mrs. Hall is planning a trip to Europe. It pays for the individual, of course, to be respectable, to have money, to stand in with the community, to control its officials, its press. But that never advanced the interests of the masses of those who suffer. Trying to do that is a crime, the crime for which hundreds of forward-looking workers are paying the penalty today. The Hall-Mills murder mystery should furnish the workers an excellent lesson in class justice, the justice meted out to those who uphold the system, the justice invoked against those who struggle for something better.

A Family Quarrel Over Oil

We have often marvelled at the expert marksmanship of Samuel Untermeyer, millionaire lawyer, as a hunter for publicity. Not since the days of "Teddy" Roosevelt has anyone knocked down so many newspaper columns of space.

Untermeyer's present performance as attorney for the heirs of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid, of Turkey, in their fight for control of a billion dollars' worth of oil lands in Mesopotamia, is indeed entertaining.

We had been worrying about the 150 Circassian beauties of the late Sultan's harem, about the twenty princes and princesses of the royal blood, not to mention hundred eunuchs and other human decorations of the Sultandom that was. But we have ceased to worry. Untermeyer is on the job. This modern David has even taken up cudgels against the 20th Century Goliath, the Standard Oil Trust, for the honor of and in financial support of the harem ladies.

Incidentally we are let a little further on the inside of the relations between the Standard Oil Trust and the Harding administration at Washington, in promoting the interests of John D. Rockefeller in the Near East. The oil trust says it is "unpatriotic" to charge, as Untermeyer and Morgenthau have done, that the Harding-Hughes open door policy in the Near East means backing Standard Oil. It is claimed by "26 Broadway," New York City, Standard Oil headquarters, that the open door is maintained with the understanding that all the "citizens of the United States have equal opportunity to engage in commercial pursuits to develop the natural resources of the mandated territories."

Of course the Standard Oil Trust doesn't expect the 110,000,000 citizens of the United States to go into the oil business in Mesopotamia. But "John D." and his gang want the millions of this country to believe that "equal opportunity" exists. If the millions do believe that, they make much better wage slaves at home.

We can only hope that the workers and peasants of the Near East countries will tie the can to both the claims of Untermeyer's sultanic progeny, and to the Harding-Standard Oil [illegible]. We feel they are beginning to realize that these natural resources belong to them, that they will take them and exploit them for their own benefit.

Of course, if the Near East workers and peasants should take over Standard Oil properties, General "Black Jack" Pershing might be sent across the Atlantic again at the head of an army, even as he went into Mexico. Then it would be time for American workers to speak. That time may come sooner than most of us expect. Get ready!

[illegible]

Answers to Our Corres

BURNS.—Your subscription
The Worker received. Thanks
complimenting the Bolcom

CAHAN.—What's the matte
Don't you feel well? You have
dug up any lies about the Commu
ists for the last few days!

DAUGHERTY.—No, the Depa
ment of Justice is not allowed
send delegates to the Fourth Co
gress of the Third International.

ERVIN. — Congratulations! T
Call is the only labor paper in t
world that printed the full biograp
of Battling Siki. Keep up the go
work!

TROTZKY.—The American L
gion wishes to know whether yo
be willing to tour the States
them advocating Hundred Per C
Americanism. Reply at once.

HARDING.—Sorry, old top,
you can't run for re-election on
Workers Party ticket. Try the S.

LONGUET.—How could y
Jean? How could you?! Clem
ceau left France, you left France
now who's going to protect the p
capitalists out there? Who is
ing to attack the French Comm
ists now that both of you are g
How could you, Jean? How c
you?!...

MUSSOLINI.—No, we w
jealous a bit if you'll make Ab
han a honorary member of the
cisti...

LLOYD GEORGE.—Cheer
Your career isn't ruined yet.
extraordinary opportunity is aw
ing you in America—the Soci
Party is in need of candidates
the next election.

LENIN.—We have just rece
from you the 36 submarines,
battleships, 13 airplanes and 6,0
bombs. We are awaiting p
for the rest of the ammunition
the two million troops. Send a
few billion dollars for propag
Keep everything a secret.

THINGS WE'RE YET TO SEE

[illegible]

SEVEN NEW WONDERS OF THE

[illegible]

SOLVE YOUR
GIFT PROBLE
[illegible]

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

Vol. V. No. 254. [illegible] SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1922 [illegible] New York, N. Y. Price 5 Cents

No Labor Party Yet!

Workers Party Barred, Old Partyites Rule at Cleveland; Railroad Amalgamation Progress at Chicago

Launch New Drive for the Labor Party

The Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action has met and adjourned. The fight is now to acquaint the workers with the developments at the gathering in the Ohio metropolis.

This campaign will be started under the slogan of "Know Your Enemies" at a mass meeting to be held Saturday night, Dec. 16, 8 P. M., at the Park Palace, 6 West 111th St. near 5th Ave.

The delegates of the Workers Party will make their report on the Cleveland Conference at this mass meeting. Among these will be C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the party, William F. Dunne, whose story of the conference appears in this issue; and Ludwig Lore, editor of the Volkszeitung. J. Louis Engdahl will act as chairman.

The struggle for a Labor Party has just begun. The line has been drawn as between whose in favor and those opposed to it, among the officialdom of labor.

In the ranks of labor itself there is a unanimity in favor of the Labor Party. This was shown at the large number of mass meetings held under the auspices of the Workers Party in all sections of the country during the few days immediately preceding the Cleveland Conference.

An excellent spirit was shown at all these gatherings. The New York meeting was held Friday night at the Manhattan Lyceum with C. E. Ruthenberg, William F. Dunne, J. Louis Engdahl, C. S. Ware and N. T. Herbst as speakers.

The delegates spoke at a big mass meeting held in Cleveland Sunday afternoon. Reports of big gatherings also come from Chicago.

Engdahl addressed the enthusiastic Boston meeting Sunday afternoon at Paine Memorial Hall. Last Thursday night he spoke for the Auto Workers' Union on the Labor Party and unanimous resolutions were adopted in favor of independent political action and forwarded to Cleveland and to the International officials of the union.

Start the new drive Saturday night at the Park Palace. Come out to this mass meeting. Bring other workers with you.

THIS ISSUE IS No. 254

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Refuse Seats to Communists, Independent Political Action Defeated by Vote of 62 to 52

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE
(Special to THE WORKER.)

CLEVELAND.—Recommending that the delegates of the Workers Party be not seated on the ground that the principles of their organization were not in conformity with the declaration of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, the Credential Committee of the Conference, aided by William H. Johnston, chairman, succeeded in side-tracking this issue without its coming to a vote.

As soon as Edward Keating, reporting for the Credential Committee, had finished his last sentence, Johnston said: "Is there objection? There being none, the report is adopted."

Robert D. Cramer, of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, was on his feet moving that the delegates be seated as the words left Johnston's lips.

It was promptly ruled out of order by the chairman who heaved a sigh of relief, in company with the rest of the right-wing elements who are here to prevent anything in the nature of independent working-class political action.

The delegates from local unions, over whom a controversy arose, were seated after all who were suspected of membership in the Workers Party had been carefully weeded out.

Pending the report of the Resolution Committee the reports of minor committees were heard. There was much discussion on the report of the Committee on Organization.

Debate arose over a recommendation of the committee empowering the

(Continued on Page Two)

Lenin Recalls Days when United States and Japan Agreed to Support Koltchak

NOTE:—This week we publish the speech of Nikolai Lenin before the fourth session of the All-Russian Executive Committee, on the eve of the assembling of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. The news of the Fourth C. I. Congress is now beginning to arrive and as much of this will be published each week as space permits. It will be found this week on Page Four. Lenin's speech is as follows:

* * *

By NIKOLAI LENIN

Comrades! Permit me to utter a few words of greeting. Above all, our first greetings must naturally be for the Red Army, which has again just shown its heroism, and has cleared, by the occupation of Vladivostok, the whole region of the Far Eastern Republic allied to the Soviet Republic.

I am confident of speaking in the names of all when I say that we greet this fresh deed of heroism on the part of the Red Army most joyfully, the more so because it has brought us a decided step nearer to the end of the war. It has thrown the last forces of the White Guards into the sea. (Applause).

I believe that the Red Army has freed us for a long time from any possible repetition of the White Guard attacks on Soviet Russia, or on the republics which are, directly or indirectly, allied to us.

At the same time I must not forget to mention, if I do not wish to be guilty of unseemly boasting, that here not only the heroism and power of

(Continued on Page 4)

Local New York Plans Celebration for Delegates to Workers Party Convention

Plans are being rapidly completed for the Second Annual Convention of the Workers Party, Dec. 24-26, at the New York Labor Temple in East 84th St.

One of the big events of the gathering will be the reception, concert and banquet to be given the delegates at the close of the convention, Tuesday night, Dec. 26, at the Yorkville Casino.

What a year to look back upon for the revolutionary working class of this country! A year of concrete results, of marked achievements, of progress. The events of this year will long be remembered by all the militant workers of the United States. It will round out the first year of the existence of the Workers Party.

No history of the labor movement of this country can be written with-

(Continued on Page Two)

Our Labor Program vs. "Progressive" Program

Next week THE WORKER will publish the program forced upon the Cleveland Conference by the reactionary labor elements doing the dirty work of the Gompers-LaFollette outfit, and with it the Labor Program offered to the Conference by the delegates of the Workers Party. The workers must be given an opportunity to compare these two documents. Order a bundle of this issue for general distribution. Address: The Worker, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Jury Selected, First Trial of Herrin Coal Miners Has Started

By McALLISTER COLEMAN
Federated Press Staff Correspondent

MARION, Ill.—The jury for the first of the Herrin trials has been finally selected after a month of examination of talesmen. One coal miner and 11 farmers will decide the fate of the five union miners charged with the murder of Howard Hoffman, a nonunion worker killed in the Herrin cemetery last June. The jurors are [illegible], Henry [illegible], Samuel Watkins, W. H. Davison, James Weaver, Hiram H. McMillan, George Craig, E. S. Webb, Charley McInturf, Nathan Pendland, Avery Grear and George Cox, who is the lone miner. The average age of the jury is 44 years.

Judge Dewitt T. Hartwell said that the case would be conducted in perfect order "if he had to have ten times as many bailiffs as he has now." He stated that he would permit no expressions from the spectators of sympathy for or antagonism to the defendants. He then adjourned court until Wednesday, Dec. 15, when both sides will make their opening statements and the taking of evidence will begin.

Jap Fascisti Launch New Drive Against Red Ideas

By GERTRUDE HAESSLER.
Federated Press Staff Correspondent

TOKIO.—The Association for the Prevention of the Red Doctrine has formally launched another anti-red campaign in Japan. Great quantities of handbills, inviting the general public to join in the drive, were distributed.

This campaign is deemed necessary because of the alleged spread of "dangerous thought" among the troops just withdrawn from Siberia. There have been numerous comments in the Japanese newspapers recently about the spread of bolshevism thruout the Siberian army of occupation.

The inspector-general of military education has a different view of the matter. "Some of the men are doubtless partly converted to bolshevist ideas," he says. "They were originally white radishes, but have been somewhat reddened on the surface by living in Russia for a time. Give them a bath at home and the original color will return immediately."

336 Rail Delegates in All Branches of Industry Advance in Spite of Reactionary Threats

By THOMAS J. O'FLAHERTY
(Special to THE WORKER)

CHICAGO.—The conference of the International Committee for the Amalgamation of the Sixteen Standard Railroad Organizations closed here with the election of a National Committee to carry on the work for amalgamation and the re-election of G. H. Kennedy, chairman; Roy H. Woods, vice-chairman, and O. H. Wangerin, secretary-treasurer.

The three officers are from St. Paul, Minn. There were 336 delegates from every branch of the railroad industry in the United States and Canada at the conference and 75 fraternal delegates.

Members of the Big Four Brotherhoods were there in spite of the hostility of their Grand Chiefs.

The machinists' shopmen and maintenance-of-way men were there strong. Most of the delegates were veterans in the trade union movement.

The speeches were good and sounded the note of the class struggle. It was a conference of the most militant fighters in the American trade union movement, men who came direct from their jobs.

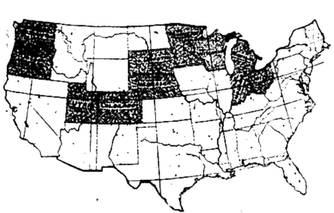
G. H. Kennedy opened the proceedings Saturday, Dec. 9. In a short talk he explained the purpose of the conference to join all the Railroad Brotherhoods into one departmentalized industrial organization. He warned against dual unionism and secession, and declared this was the most progressive body of railroad workers that ever met in the United States.

(Continued on Page Two)

The Growing Whirlwind

Eleven state federations of labor have declared for amalgamation of all craft unions according to industries.

These states spread from the Pacific Coast in the West, to Ohio in the East, a distance of 2,500 miles. They include a population of 23,000,000, or more than 21 per cent of the nation's total. They spread over an area of 758,000 square miles, or more than 25 per cent of all the country. This triumphal uprising of the spirit of solidarity among the workers is shown on the map below, the amalgamation states being shaded:



This was achieved during the amalgamation drive of the Trade Union Educational League, from June to October, this year. The urge for industrial unionism as against craft unionsm, is manifesting itself, not only thru the state federations, but wherever labor gathers to discuss the struggle against its exploiters.

It will continue to grow because labor must develop and strengthen its fighting machine, to wage successful combat against the giant forces of oppression opposed to it.

"Amalgamation or annihilation!" is the slogan of the Trade Union Educational League. Labor is declaring for amalgamation. It will thus save itself from annihilation.

Five Still in St. Joseph, Mich., Jail

Elmer McMillen, of St. Louis, and John Mihelic, of Kansas City, two of the defendants in the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism case have been released on bail from the Berrien County Jail. Five of the twenty defendants are still held in the jail at St. Joseph, Michigan, under bail of $10,000.00 each. They are: Norman Tallentire, San Francisco; Joseph Zack, New York; Seth Nordling, Portland, Ore.; and Eugene Bechtold and Charles Erickson of Chicago. These men have now been in jail for more than ten weeks, the excessive bail demanded by the court having made it extremely difficult to secure the necessary bonds.

In spite of the fact that $82,500.00 has been deposited in cash and Liberty Bonds and $65,000 has been scheduled in Michigan property to secure the release of the fifteen defendants now released on bail, the court has denied all efforts made toward securing a reduction in the [illegible] demands so that the five now held might be released.

Evidence of the extremely bad conditions under which the five remaining defendants still confined, are held, is given by Elmer McMillen.

McMillen was arrested on August 22nd, was in perfect physical condition. Suffering from the conditions in the Berrien County Jail, due to inadequate quarters, to filth and bad ventilation, McMillen contracted a pernicious skin disease which has covered practically his entire body with scab like looking patches. Since his release he has been examined by skin specialists and his disease pronounced as psoriasis which is incurable.

McMillen reports that Tallentire is now showing indications of contracting the same disease and states that if he is not released shortly to enable him to secure medical treatment, he will very possibly become incurable also.

The Labor Defense Council is exerting every possible effort to secure the funds necessary for the release of the remaining defendants, cash, Liberty Bonds or other negotiable securities are solicited by the Labor Defense Council as loans to be repaid in full as soon as the case is disposed of. All those who can help in this matter are urged to communicate with the National Office of the Labor Defense Council at 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, or New York Office, Room 434, 80 E. 11th St., New York City.

Stephens Turns Down Mooney

SAN FRANCISCO.—That nothing will be done by Governor William D. Stephens to free Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings before he retires from office, is the gist of two letters made public today by the Mooney defense committee.

Workers Party Delegates Show Politicians Dictated Against Labor's Interests at Cleveland Conference

Statement of Workers Party

Cleveland, O., Dec. 12, 1922.

The Action of the Conference in barring the Workers Party and the Young Workers League was dictated by the group in this Convention [illegible] to use the new movement on the part of labor and the [illegible] to advance their own political [illegible] at the sacrifice of [illegible] of labor. [illegible] known to these leaders that the Workers Party and the Young Workers League would strengthen that faction in the Conference which demands the organization of the Labor Party which would make a clear cut fight in the interest of the industrial workers and farmers.

The policy of rewarding the friends of labor and punishing its enemies—that is, working thru the old party primaries—means easier advancement to public office for the leaders of the conference than thru a labor party; and these leaders want office not a party to fight for the workers and farmers.

The move of railroading this decision thru the Convention without giving an opportunity to the delegates to express their view as was done by President Johnston shows how desperate these leaders are to keep the Workers Party and the Young Workers League, which stand for the Labor Party, out of the Conference.

The charge against the Workers Party of antagonism to the Constitution and the flag comes with ill grace from a group which itself has declared for numerous amendments to the Constitution, and even for a Constitutional Convention to revise that document completely and whose avowed idol, Senator La Follette, has been attacked as un-American and opposed to that Constitution.

The action of the Socialist leaders who aided and abetted the exclusion of the Workers Party on such grounds after years of similar attack on the Socialist Party shows how low that organization has fallen and how it is willing to prostitute itself in order to gain favor.

The Workers Party stands for the up-building of a mass political organization of the workers and the working farmers in the form of a Labor Party. The organization of a Labor Party has the endorsement of a large proportion of the rank and file of the trade unionists and farm organizations whose representatives sit in this Convention. All the preparations seem to have been made to betray the desires of the members of these unions and farm organizations. Such betrayal however will not be for long. These members will have their way. Daugherty injunctions, Railroad Labor Boards, wage [illegible] in strikes and exploitation of the farmers are driving them to organize for independent political action. In spite of the Johnstons, Keatings and other misleaders, they will yet organize the Labor Party and in that Party, the Workers Party will find its place.

SIGNED: William F. Dunne, Caleb Harrison, Ludwig Lore and C. E. Ruthenberg, for the Workers Party; Harry Gannes, for the Young Workers League.

LABOR! KNOW YOUR ENEMIES!

COME OUT!
MASS MEETING

Hear the Truth About Cleveland Conference

Park Palace, 111th Street & 5th Ave.
SATURDAY, December 16, 8 P. M.
Speakers: Ruthenberg, Dunne, Lore. Chairman: [illegible]

[illegible] State Federations and [illegible] bodies protested that the [illegible] levied upon them were [illegible] inasmuch as the expense [illegible]ponsibility for carrying on the [illegible] was largely shared by [illegible] in their respective localities.

[illegible] attitude of the Right Wing on [illegible] matter of working from within [illegible] old-line parties was challenged [illegible] this point by Edward Nockels, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, representing the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois.

He told the organization committee and the conference that the Chicago Federation of Labor would assess its membership for the support of a Labor Party, but that it would contribute not one cent to the support of an organization which fooled with the internal politics of the Democrat and Republican Parties.

The Nomination Committee recommended and received at the end of the conference, the endorsement of the following as members of the National Committee:

Warren S. Stone, of the Locomo- [illegible] J. G. Brown, of the Farmer-Labor Party, George H. Griffith of the Non-Partisan League, "All-Ja" Daily, South Dakota; H. F. Samuels, Idaho, John F. Beer, of the Nonpartisan League; Dorman, of the Nonpartisan League, Benjamin Schlesinger, of International Ladies Garment Workers; James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, D. B. Robertson, of the Locomotive Firemen; Frederick C. Howe, Alice Lorraine Daly, Basil Manly, J. B. Laughlin, and Benjamin C. Marsh.

While waiting for the Resolution Committee to report the convention was addressed by a delegate from Oklahoma, B. B. Laughlin, president of the Oklahoma Farm Labor Union, who was introduced as "A Dirt Farmer."

He announced that being "A Dirt Farmer" he felt rather out of place in such a gathering and I could not blame him. There were very few farmers or wage earners at this conference.

But there is a great plenty of politicians, high salaried labor leaders and any number of persons who have an ax to grind, and who see in this [illegible] ly increasing and that all the farms were mortgaged at a rate of interest that absorbed every cent of surplus income.

One was forced to wonder why he hoped for relief from a conference that demonstrates beyond doubt, its real intention to strangle any militant political movement of the farmers and workers.

Burton K. Wheeler, Senator-elect from Montana, also addressed the Conference. He told of the activity of the spies of the corporations and detectives, of the Burns and other agencies in the labor movement of Montana, and warned the delegates present that most of the danger of disruption was from the activities of these individuals inside their organizations.

It is quite evident from his remarks that he is not going to get along well with the Burns-Daugherty Department of Justice in Washington, D. C.

Another indication of the sentiment for a Labor Party among the rank and file of the delegates came when Chairman Johnston, indulging [illegible] in this conference the fact that a party of workers and farmers had elected a United States [illegible] against the combined [illegible] of the reactionary forces of Minnesota.

The resolutions committee, having at last been dug out of its hiding place, Keating as chairman, prefacing the report with an elaborate explanation of how and why it was what it was proceeded to read a program, into which had been combined the thirteen resolutions submitted, that left the delegates who are here for something real gasping for breath.

The program as Keating stated was designed to meet with the approval of the least progressive of the doubtful progressives from the ranks of the Republican and Democratic parties whom this conference claims credit for electing.

The planks consist of demands for things so overgrown with respectability that not the slightest ground for the accusation of radicalism upon the part of the conference can be found.

This, to the right-wing elements [illegible] proposed [illegible] the cost of farm commodities and raise the price for the farmer.

Congress is also asked to end the [illegible] of the Supreme Court. The inheritance taxes are to be raised, the maternity law is to be passed and a bonus is to be paid the world war veterans out of the sums raised by a tax on excess profits.

This last provision caused much discussion in the program and resolution committee because it was said to show a "Socialistic tendency" and it was with fear and trembling that the committee made this recommendation from the platform.

It was at this point that Robert M. Buck, of Chicago, editor of the New Majority, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, disturbed the harmony of the conference by making a minority report in the form of a motion that the committee be instructed to read the thirteen resolutions they had voted to withhold from the conference and announce their action on them. The [illegible]

In the debate that ensued Norman Thomas, of The Nation, mentioned the astounding fact that nothing had been said in the program about child labor, the burning question of coal, the restoration of our stolen civil liberties or amnesty for political prisoners.

Morris Hillquit, taking up the role of harmonizer that he had played thruout the conference, came forward with the proposal that these matters and the program be referred to the incoming National Executive with instructions to incorporate them in that document.

In a speech, by far the most definite yet made by him here, he plainly showed his disgust with the elements he is associated with in this conference.

He asked the pointed question as to what kind of a conference, supposedly political, could convene, adopt a program and adjourn without dealing with fundamental questions such as these.

The committee had no reply to [illegible] But the Farmer-Labor[illegible] and their sympathizers [illegible] long in bringing the issue. The program was adopted [illegible] of the conference [illegible] in the evening and the "Labor [illegible] was voted down, 64 to 52.

The program committee [illegible] it had a two to one [illegible] against independent politi[illegible] and so far as any real result[illegible] labor movement of this co[illegible] concerned the conference [illegible] to do what many expected [illegible]

As "Ed" Nockels says, [illegible] ference is setting up a dual [illegible] ment for inside rewarding of fri[illegible] and punishing enemies.

"I am oposed to dualism [illegible] this is all that can be expect[illegible] this body we might as well [illegible] our friends and punish our [illegible] along with Gompers and be reg[illegible]

It is hinted here that the Far[illegible] Labor party will call a National [illegible]bor Conference to establish a La[illegible] Party in the very near futu[illegible] contrary to the procedure at [illegible] gathering intends to make its [illegible] directly to the rank and file [illegible] labor and farmer organization[illegible]

Ruthenberg Raises Demand for Seating the Four Delegates of the Workers Party

(The First Day's Proceedings)

Speaking with a dramatic intensity that brought a new note into the routine discussions of the conference, red-haired Robly D. Cramer, editor of the Minneapolis Labor Review, representing the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly here threw a bomb shell into the ranks of officialdom that is trying to strangle a Labor Party movement, when he rose and defended the Workers Party in answer to a wild and irresponsible attack made upon it by Edwin Keating of the National Committee for the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

The credential committee had finished its report without mentioning the Workers Party. C. H. Ruthenberg rose from the floor and asked why no disposition had been made of credentials of the Workers Party delegates.

J. G. Brown, president of the Farmer Labor Party of Illinois and secretary of the credential committee, replied that no credentials had been received from the Workers Party. While Ruthenberg was informing him that credentials had been filed with the committee for four delegates, Keating, with a wild look in his eyes, dashed to the front of the platform and announced, seemingly on his own volition, that "The matter might as well be settled here. He said: "Let us decide it now. If this party has the brazen effrontery to present credentials to this convention this committee should not receive the credentials because this convention does not want representatives of the so called Workers Party."

"Dennis Batt, representing the Detroit Federation of Labor then rose and raising a point of information, inquired on what grounds Keating based his statement concerning the wishes of the convention. Keating, apparently believing that the conference and the well filled gallery would burst into wild applause at his utterances, replied that the Workers Party was an un-American organization. This patriotic utterance brought forth boohs, catcalls and hisses in place of the expected applause. With somewhat lessened confidence Keating went on and charged that the activities of the Workers Party were disruptive; that they worked in the interest of the employers and that it had no place in a gathering that he graced with his presence. These remarks were made in a dead silence. The assemblage being more or less amazed at the display of ignorance on the part of one of the high salaried employees of the Progressive Political movement.

Workers Party Defended

It was then that Cramer arose and said:

"In view of the attack that has been made on the Workers Party, it will only be justice to tell this convention that in the city of Minneapolis the Workers Party has not been a disruptive force. It has worked in concert with the political ambitions of labor in the last campaign and its work in the labor movement has been that of education for harmony and not for disruption.

"If this is to be a conference for progressive political action representing the trade unionist of Minneapolis, I certainly hope that it will not take the same attitude in regard to the Workers Party that the department of justice and William J. Burns are taking.

"There is only one question to be decided here. That is: is this a Workers Party, made up of workers—working men and working women—working people. I don't think there can be any question about that. The very fact of the persecution that this organization has suffered at the hands of the very department that has tied up the finances of the railway organizations marks it a working class organization. The very persecution by the department of justice and William J. Burns should be sufficient credential for them to sit here. That should not be overlooked."

He was frequently interrupted by applause from all quarters of the house showing conclusively that the delegates thoroly disapproved of the language of the department of justice, and other red-baiters, used by Keating. The matter of seating the Workers Party delegates was referred back to the credentials committee.

After adjournment, the Workers Party and the delegates of the Young Workers League appeared before the credentials committee and discovered that the missing credentials had mysteriously appeared. Short statements on the position of the Workers Party were made to the credentials committee by the delegation and the matter will come before the conference tomorrow.

Oppose Local Union Delegates

Another controversy arose in the afternoon session over the seating of delegates from Local unions. The majority report of the credential committee recommended that delegates from local unions be not seated. The minority report was submitted by delegates Brown and Brocks and was adopted by the convention on motion of Max Hayes, representing the Typographical Union. This matter was also referred back to the credentials committee and as the majority report was defeated by a two to one vote, it is probable that these delegates will be seated.

The convention was opened by William H. Johnston, international president of the Machinists Union. He read a speech which showed a labored attempt to avoid a mention of anything that would offend the respectable elements to which the right wing of the conference makes its appeal. It was filled with such phrases as "predatory interests," "privileged groups," "corporate rule," "welfare of the people," "public interest," and had as its high note a demand for "exact and equal justice for all," whatever that means. It was a frank appeal for the support of middle class and lower middle class elements. There was absolutely no indication in the entire speech of any understanding of the tremendous changes that are taking place in the industrial and political life of the nation.

Forget Class Struggle

As a proof that no sign of the class struggle is to be allowed to creep into the campaigns of the right wing of this conference, it lacks nothing. Johnston aroused no enthusiasm except when he claimed credit for the conference for the defeat of all reactionaries and the success of all liberals and progressives in the recent election.

It is openly announced by the right wing group that all attempts to establish a Labor Party at this time will be strangled. They are definitely committed to the "reward and punish" policy despite their seeming differences with the Gompers machine.

More than that, the attitude of the Socialist party delegation here seems to indicate that most of these differences have been adjusted and that no real fight for a Labor Party will be made by them. On the other hand the delegates representing the Farmer-Labor Party declare that this issue will be fought out here and that they are going to use all their influence to swing the conference for independent political action based on a party organized in the unions and organizations of the farmers.

Paper Organizations Recognized

There are many organizations seated here that exist only on paper, such as Single Tax Leagues, Jewish Poale Zion, the League for Industrial Democracy and various legislative committees and other bodies which merely furnish votes against the clear cut working class political action.

The fact that representatives of these paper organizations are seated, while the Workers Party with a dues-paying membership of 20,000 is denied admission, shows that the right wing element with whom the Socialist Party delegates are aligned are not interested in strengthening the political movement of the workers. One hundred and forty-three delegates have been seated. More are expected tomorrow and the bulk of the representation, the roster shows is from railway organizations.

Cleveland "S. P." Mass Meeting Turns Out to Be Big Fizzle

On the eve of the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, the Socialist Party, which is playing the Johnston-Gompers game, tried to impress the delegates from the labor unions with their wide influence among the masses, so they held a "mass meeting" with all the shining lights of the Party present. The principal speakers were Hillquit, Berger, Maurer and others.

The masses responded to the number of about 250, and half a hundred of those were Workers Party members that came out to witness the fizzle.

Evidently the deplorable showing of this discredited and decrepit party had no effect upon those in charge of the Conference, for seven representatives of the Socialist Party were seated, while International Unions representing tens and hundreds of thousands were only entitled to three delegates.

No wonder the "S. P." is trying to become the tail end of any sort of organization as an excuse to hide from the contempt of the working class of the nation.

THE LABOR HERALD
Call at Book Shop or Industrial Department, 208 E 12th St., for your December issue of the
LABOR HERALD

— MEET THE DELEGATES —
at the
BANQUET
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WORKERS PARTY, LOCAL NEW YORK
to delegates
National Convention
WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
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TUESDAY, DEC. 26th, 7 P. M.
Admission by Reservation only $2.00 the person
Concert — Dinner — Speeches — Singing. General Admission, 50c.

Threats Are Ignored by Rail Rebels

(Continued from Page One)

After the reports of the rules committee, the conference moved with precision. The steam roller methods were not in evidence.

The chairman, Kennedy, was decidedly successful in keeping everybody in good humor and allowed plenty of leeway for discussion.

He remarked that the boys had a good deal on their chests that they wanted to get off. The secretary, O. H. Wangerin reported on the work accomplished and made recommendations all of which were adopted.

All locals represented were called on to contribute $2 per month to the national committee, large locals to give as much more as possible.

George Lawson, fraternal delegate from the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, addressed the conference during the afternoon session of the first day.

He urged the necessity of the delegates informing themselves thoroly about the amalgamation proposition so that they could stand up against opposition.

Denounce Reactionary Officials

Resolutions were adopted denouncing the Grand Lodge officers for issuing false statements about the amalgamation movement.

Stone, of the Engineers, and Johnston, of the Machinists, warned the members against the conference, telling them that their policy was one of disruption. Both officials were invited to come to the conference and learn the truth. They did not come but Stone sent a letter declining invitation saying he thoroly understood why they wished legitimate unions to be represented at the conference and wished it clearly understood he would have nothing to do with it. Mr. Johnston did not even reply to the communication.

No Dual Unionism

A resolution was passed denouncing dual unionism which leaves reactionaries in the saddle and give the workers nothing but glittering phrases. Members were urged to stay in their unions.

Resolutions were passed condemning the unfairness of the Brotherhood official organ for not allowing its use to the members for discussion of their problems.

The Amalgamation Advocate was endorsed as the official organ of the National Committee. Local Unions were urged to affiliate with Central Bodies and State Federations.

Another resolution "Lets fight—not talk" embodied a plan to tour speakers and arrange mass meetings.

The Minnesota plan for amalgamation was endorsed. It provides for departmentalized industrial unions.

A resolution was passed urging the International Unions to bring about a united industrial front, one union for each industry.

Dennis Batt, editor of the Detroit Labor News spoke.

He urged more constructive activity and less railing at officials. The crafts system had outlived its usefulness he declared. The time was ripe for industrial unionism thru amalgamation.

W. R. Donovan, of the Pullman porters, spoke on the Negro question, warning the delegates that unless they took the Negro workers into consideration they would find them used against them in strikes. He was elected to the national committee.

W. Bailey, of Buffalo, a veteran in the trade union movement and a delegate also addressed the conference from the platform.

Foster Addresses Conference

William Z. Foster, a delegate from the railway carmen, spoke on the dangers and pitfals confronting the movement in his usual convincing manner.

He told how the steel workers were let down by the International Union officials and defeated the splendid organizing campaign among the slaves in this industry. His speech was loudly applauded.

A telegram was received from the Mexican railway workers sending greetings. The conference adjourned leaving the calling of the next conference to the decision of the committee.

The conference is a vindication of the policy of the Trade Union Educational League. It is a challenge to the employing class and to the reactionary officials of the trade unions. And it is by all means the greatest piece of work that has ever been done for the revolutionizing of the American labor movement.

Under "Revolver Democracy"

America's kept press is registering another triumph for "democracy and civilization" this week in reporting the Fascisti victory in the municipal elections at Milan, Italy.

"Milan Overthrows Regime of Radicals," proclaims the American Fascisti organ, the New York Times.

To be sure, on the side of the military dictatorship of Mussolini stood the entire power of the armed state, in addition to the militarized Fascisti, parading the streets and threatening and even murdering the workers with revolvers, bombs and clubs.

Against this rule of "blood and iron" the workers pitted their courage to stand by their class. Their headquarters ruined by the Fascisti pillagers, their organizations prevented from meeting by the black terror, their newspapers crippled, the Communist movement declared illegal and its press outlawed, the workers displayed a wonderful power of resistance.

When the Communists were victorious at the last municipal elections, in 1921, the workers cast 73,000 votes. Even The Times admits that in the elections this week the workers of Milan cast a total of 65,000 votes against the 85,500 ballots received by the Mussolini "Constitutional bloc," which includes 10,000 Catholic votes not cast in 1921, since the Catholic Party abstained from voting last year.

If the Italian workers can thus hold their own in the first struggles with the Fascisti "revolver democracy," then we can easily and safely predict the early doom of Mussolini rule.

Salutsky—a Communist?

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

J. B. Salutsky sat on the Conference for Progressive Political Action as a delegate from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

J. B. Salutsky is a member of the Workers Party and a member of the Central Executive Committee of that party.

On Monday afternoon, after C. E. Ruthenberg had demanded a report from the credentials committee on the credentials of the Workers Party Edward Keating, editor of "Labor" made a vicious attack on the Workers Party, charging that it was being financed by the employers.

Salutsky remained silent.

R. D. Cramer, of the Minneapolis Trade and Labor Assembly, not a member of the Workers Party, rose to his feet to defend the Workers Party, telling of its part in the Minneapolis labor movement.

Salutsky remained silent.

On Tuesday morning Ludwig Lore and C. E. Ruthenberg went to Salutsky and in the name of the C[illegible] Executive Committee of the W[illegible] Party demanded that he [illegible] favor of the Workers Party [illegible] floor of the convention.

On Tuesday morning the cre[illegible] committee of the Conference [illegible]ed against seating of the W[illegible] Party delegates because "the [illegible]ciples of this organization are [illegible] harmony with those of this co[illegible]ence."

The chairman asked whether [illegible] was any objection to the accep[illegible] of the report.

Salutsky remained silent.

R. D. Cramer, of Minneapolis, [illegible] and moved that the report be [illegible] concurred in.

All that was necessary to [illegible]itate a contest on the issue of [illegible]tance of the Workers Party [illegible] quite possibly would have res[illegible] a favorable vote was a strong [illegible]ing to Cramer's motion—a second [illegible] the motion.

Salutsky remained silent.

Let the party judge him.

This Christmas Act for Liberty

THE TIME IS RIPE FOR ACTION
Act for the liberation of the twenty defendants in the Michigan cases.

• • •

Their conviction will mean a terrible blow at organized labor and civil liberties,
THE MICHIGAN CASES HAVE PLACED FREE SPEECH ON TRIAL IN AMERICA
With the twenty in jail, free speech is dead.

• • •

Their acquittal will mean a stunning blow at reaction, at all the forces of repression.
THE MICHIGAN CASES HAVE PLACED CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAWS ON TRIAL.
With the twenty free, criminal syndicalism laws are rendered impotent.

• • •

HERE'S THE ISSUE TO FIGHT THIS CHRISTMAS:

ONE	OR	THE OTHER
FREE SPEECH	OR	CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAWS
TWENTY MILITANTS FIGHTING LABOR'S STRUGGLES	OR	TWENTY MILITANTS IN MICHIGAN PRISONS

THIS CHRISTMAS ACT FOR LIBERTY
GIVE FOR THE DEFENSE IN MICHIGAN
HELP IN THE CHRISTMAS CAMPAIGN,

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL
Federation of Labor Bldg.,
166 West Washington Street,
Chicago, Ill.

New York Local Office, Labor Defense Council
Room 404, 80 E. 11th Street,
New York City, N. Y.

Enclosed is $............ for The Christmas Campaign. Send me .... Christmas appeal lists with which I will collect funds from others.

Name ....

Street ....

City ....

Complete Plans for th[illegible] Second Convention [illegible] the Workers Party

(Continued from Page One)

out paying due credit to the role [illegible] Workers' Party played, its influ[illegible] and its results. Adversity and [illegible]cess were side by side during its [illegible] but active year.

It has definitely established [illegible] in the labor movement of the Uni[illegible] States. Day by day the advan[illegible] class-conscious workers rally [illegible] program. Its ranks are being [illegible] by the vanguard of the strug[illegible] proletariat.

The Second National Conv[illegible] of the Workers' Party will bri[illegible] egates from every section [illegible] country. These comrades will [illegible]resent the rank and file of the [illegible]bers throuout the United States. They will review past history that the party made and set to work making new plans for the coming year. Plans that will be the result of a year of battle against the enemy. They will be plans that will insure great[illegible] fighting results, better manoeuvre[illegible] and new tactics.

After their work the Local Gre[illegible] New York has arranged a fitting [illegible]ception for the delegates and [illegible] comrades. We want to start [illegible] year's work with enthusiasm [illegible]termination. We want to [illegible]gether and talk and sing and [illegible] before going into battle. And [illegible] concert not by mere musicia[illegible] by artists, and a dinner will be given on the last day of the Convention, Dec. 26, at the Yorkville Casino. We will have that large hall all [illegible]selves to stay as long as [illegible] singing revolutionary songs and [illegible]ing merry.

On account of the great [illegible] for reservations the commi[illegible]cided to sell tickets only to [illegible] calling for same and paying [illegible] they get them. Tickets [illegible]tively not be sold at the door.

Only five hundred reserv[illegible] arranged for and you alone [illegible] to blame if you are not th[illegible] come, first served. You [illegible] will NOT get any tickets.

You must get them at [illegible] following listed stations: [illegible] 47 Christie St.; [illegible] Spruce St.; Local Office, [illegible] St.; Bronx Headquarters, [illegible]ton Road; Yorkville Casino, [illegible] and 3rd Ave.; Laisve, [illegible] Lorimer Sts., Brooklyn; [illegible] Daily News, 502 E. 11th St.

SAN FRANCISCO. [illegible] clothing, shoes, tools and [illegible]terial have been sent [illegible] the steamship "Alaskan" [illegible] branch of the Friends of [illegible]sia.

[illegible] a time when Japan and [illegible] States signed an agreement [illegible]. This [illegible] that many of us [illegible] And [illegible] situation did once exist. [illegible] we have attained a point [illegible] such agreements have become [illegible]possibility, and where Japan's [illegible] power has not prevented her [illegible] actually fulfilling this engagement, [illegible] it is thanks to our diplomacy. [illegible] the near future our diplomacy [illegible] again be confronted by a task [illegible] enormous importance, a task in[illegible] important interests for us. [illegible] thinking of the conference on [illegible] Near East convened by England [illegible] Lausanne Nov. 13.

I am fully convinced that our diplomacy will be able to maintain its authority equally well on this occasion, and will efficiently defend the interests of all allied republics and of the R. S. F. S. R.

In any case we shall make it our endeavor to reveal to the masses what are the real obstacles, and in what degree these run counter not only to the justifiable desires and endeavours of our state, but of all states interested in the question of the Straits.

With regard to foreign politics I limit myself to these brief remarks, and pass on to the discussion of your activity.

I believe that we have attained most important successes, altho at a [illegible] laws, which you have already accepted: the Labor Code.

It is a tremendous victory for the Soviet power that precisely now, when all governments are arming against the working class, that we can present ourselves with such a code of laws, establishing the fundamentals of labor legislation, as for instance, the eight hour day.

We must reckon with the fact of the states in which a mad capitalist competition is raging, where there are millions and tens of millions of unemployed, where the capitalists are organizing mighty capitalist federations and preparing to attack the working class, our land is the most backward of all, our productive powers are the least developed, and we have the least idea how to work.

This is perhaps an unpleasant truth, but it has to be admitted. But I believe that precisely because we do not seek to veil such facts with fine phrases and official explanations, but admit them candidly, we need not fear to mount the tribune and declare that we have expended more energy than any other state on the removal of these deficiencies, and that we are doing our utmost to overtake the other states with a speed which they do not in the least imagine.

But naturally the speed is not fantastic, we require some years of stubborn work to attain this aim. Nothing can be done in a day. We have had five years of experience, [illegible] the future also.

Nobody amongst us believes in a fantastic speed of change, but we can believe in a possible speed, a speed surpassing the tempo of any other historical period of evolution; and when the movement is led by a really revolutionary party, such a speed is an unqualified possibility.

I now come to the problem of the ground law. As you are aware, our first laws immediately after the revolution contained regulations respecting land which, tho not quite technically perfect, nor perhaps juridically so, none the less contained all essentials, all that was of unqualified necessity for the peasant, and ensured his alliance with the working class.

And even if the law which you have now accepted proves to require improvement in this or that regard, we shall be able to carry out these corrections without any special difficulty, just as you have accepted improvements in the code of criminal law at this session.

The land, the living question for the majority, of the population, the peasantry, is for us a fundamental question. In this respect we are far advanced that the Russian peasant knows that not only do we set no brake on proposals towards the alteration of old laws, but we accept these most favorably.

You have also dealt with such questions as the civil code of laws and the general regulations for litigation. In the policy which you [illegible] interests of the broad [illegible] of the population, are the most important.

Here it has also been our endeavor to draw a line of limitation between the justifiable satisfaction of the needs of every citizen living under the new economic policy, and the abuses of the new economic policy, which are law in all other countries, but whose legalization we decline.

It remains for the future to show in how far the corrections which you have just made with this intention, and which you approve, will succeed in their object.

In any case, we do not bind our hands in any way. Should daily experience show that there are abuses upon which we had not calculated, we shall take immediate steps for their removal.

In this respect, as you are aware, such rapidity of legislation is unfortunately unknown in other states. We shall see if the near future will not force these powers to try and keep up with Russia in this respect.

We must also accord some attention to the equally important question of the provincial Soviet congresses and government executive committees. All former systems, legislatures, and constitutions left this question unanswered. It was thought that in the provinces everything would take its old course. We, on the other hand, are convinced that if our revolution has been able to attain many successes, this is solely because we had the power in the provinces in our hands, and because [illegible]

When the [illegible] 1917 was [illegible] success that in the [illegible] 1918 we believed the war [illegible], though in reality it was just beginning in its worst form, that of civil war (in reality the peace concluded at that time with Germany that did not collapse until the autumn, in every way gratified those elements among the Allies who resented our peace with Germany)—when as I say, the revolution was able to carry out its work with such rapidity, this was due to the fact that we have always counted upon the peasant population, and have opened new vistas of activity to them; we always expected from the provinces that enthusiasm, which imparted perseverance and speed to our revolution.

I am aware that at that time the provinces went thru troublous times. We were much occupied by the relations of the provinces to the centre, and I will not assert that we were always able to carry out our task in the most ideal manner. The general level of our culture could not permit us to even dream of an ideal solution. But we have the right to assert that we have carried out our task with greater uprightness, truth, and perseverance, than any other state.

I must soon conclude. I shall only touch upon one more question, one of the greatest interest to me, and which should be of interest to you also, tho it is not contained either in the agenda or in the inquiries. This is the question of our [illegible] — as you see yet a comparatively new question.

In 1918 we had a census taken of the state apparatus in Moscow. The result showed that there were 231,000 state and Soviet employees in Moscow (including the central state employees and the Moscow municipal employees). Recently, in October, 1922, we undertook a [illegible], convinced that our distended apparatus had shrunk. The resultant figure was 243,000. This is the result of all our reductions.

This example shows the need of further studies and comparisons. At that time, in the year 1918, as we undertook the census in the first heat of reform, we were not yet in a position to reduce the figures to anything sensible. The civil war left us no leisure whatever for this. We hope that it will now be done.

We are fully convinced that our state apparatus, which suffers from many defects, which is considerably more than twice as large as it need be, which often works against and not for us—we need not be afraid to utter this truth from the tribune of the highest legislative body of our republic—will be improved. Its improvement will require much work and capability.

A start has already been made in the serious consideration of the nature of these improvements, but at present it is only a start, a few articles, some local investigations.

If we all go away from here with fixed resolve to devote much more attention to these questions than we have done, if we are firmly resolved to speed [illegible] battle, if we really get to [illegible] apparatus and work for [illegible] improvement, it will be a [illegible] step forward, and afford [illegible] for our success.

We must have the courage to admit that our apparatus is [illegible] The best workers under[illegible] most difficult tasks alike in [illegible] and bourgeois admi[illegible] spheres, and as a rule they [illegible] their work wrongly.

But all the same they have [illegible]stood how to correct themselves [illegible] how to work. The present rela[illegible] between these—perhaps only a [illegible] brave individuals—and the hun[illegible] who only sit and sabotage or [illegible] sabotage, and lose themselves [illegible] their red tape, these relations [illegible] suffocating our living cause in a [illegible]byrinth of red tape.

We must get thoroly to the bo[illegible]tom of this matter, as we have [illegible] yet succeeded in doing. Years [illegible] years will have to pass over, [illegible] years and years we shall have [illegible] learn, for the cultural level of [illegible] workers is very low, and it is [illegible]ceedingly difficult for the workers [illegible] undertake the work of producti[illegible] new to them. But our sole relian[illegible] is upon the uprightness and enth[illegible]siasm of the workers. Years [illegible] years must pass befor the improv[illegible]ment of our state apparatus can [illegible] realized.

I am convinced that if you [illegible] further devote your powers to [illegible] same activity as has actuated you [illegible] the present session, we must inev[illegible]ably arrive at the very best resul[illegible]

C.I. Executive Report Given by Zinoviev

By Radio to Imprekorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to "The Worker"

Moscow, Nov. 10.—**Morning Session.** The session is opened by Kolarov. A number of commissions are appointed, for the French, Italian, Czecho-Slovakian, American, Jugoslavian, Spanish and Negro questions.

Zinoviev then begins his speech, in which he reports on the work of the Executive during the past year, and draws broad outlines for the future tactics of the Comintern.

The Third Congress was followed by a sharp offensive on the part of capitalism along the whole line. The workers suffered many defeats. Russia too had to undergo a terrible time of famine, a fact utilized by the Mensheviki slandering the Soviet Government.

The Comintern has been accused of being a tool in the hands of Soviet Russia. The Second International is however the tool employed by the bourgeoisie against Soviet Russia. Clynes of the English Labor Party and of the General Labor Union, is with Urqhart, and fights on the other side of the barricade.

The working class has taken up a defensive attitude. Therefore our tactics are: go to the masses. Hence the slogan of the united front.

Difficulties in France

Our first great international campaign for the united front did not pass off without great disturbances on the part of the various sections. The greater the masses that leave other parties to join ours, the more difficult is the process of clarification.

Our tactics encountered difficulties in France, in part also in Italy. There is still a lack of proletarian discipline. If this is the case in the preparatory actions, how will it be when days of real fighting come?

Last year the German party lived thru a severe crisis, but has come thru it well, thanks to the aid of the Comintern. Today the German party is one of the firmest and politically clearest sections.

The German and Czecho-Slovakian parties have carried out the tactics of the united front best. They have perhaps not always shown the face of the Party openly enough, but they have maintained the freedom of communist agitation and criticism.

The courses taken by the last railway strike and the shop steward movement in Germany are exemplary for the united front tactics. The German party emerges from this movement with renewed strength.

Altho the number of members has not increased to any great extent, it nevertheless possesses more members today than the Bolsheviki when they seized power. Rapid revolutionary development is the case in Germany. Hence the importance of having a good party there in that country.

French Labor on Defensive

In France the Communist Party is passing thru severe birth pangs. The French proletariat is at present on the defensive. The French party does not yet understand how to lead the workers unitedly to battle. In France the struggle must be better prepared. The French party is still of the opinion that economic struggles are no part of party work.

The 21 points are now being con[illegible] anew. Despite this, the French press is still very far from carrying out even the first of these 21 conditions.

There are three tendencies in the French party: right, left, and centre. There are still reformist elements remaining in the centre. These must disappear. The left has made many mistakes, but it is the only fraction which has really fought for the tactics of the Comintern. Our sympathy is with this fraction.

There are good working elements in the centre and in the Renoult group. We are willing to meet these half way. The negotiations with all the tendencies justify the confident hope that the French party will retain its unity. We must however criticize its faults with all severity.

Italian S. P. Aided Fascisti

The events in the Italian labor movement, constitute an educational example for the whole International. The conflict between the Italian Socialist Party and the Comintern did not arise out of the question of immediate seizure of power; all that was required of the Italian Socialists was to exclude the agents of the bourgeoisie from their ranks, and thus to set their hands free for carrying out revolutionary actions.

The guilt of having cleared the path for Fascism lies at the door of the Italian Socialist Party. Our tactics at Leghorn have proved correct. The workers belonging to the Italian Socialist Party will have to learn that when reformism is granted an inch, it takes a mile.

Save Honor of Italian Labor

The Comintern has also had differences with the Communist Party of Italy. The Italian communists have saved the honor of the proletariat. Remains of anti-parliamentarism still exist in the party. The united front tactics have not been quite thoroly carried out. The slogan of a workers' government came too late. Candid criticism has to be exercised here, too. The Communist Party of Italy is one of the best fighting troops of the International.

The United Communist Party in Czecho-Slovakia came into existence after the Third Congress, various fractions combining.

The party has committed great sins of omission in trade union questions, and that at a time when it already had the support of the majority of organized labor. The united front tactics have been carried out in an exemplary manner. Successful result: the disintegration of the National Socialist fraction.

The Czech party had differences with the Executive regarding the expulsion of the so-called left. The attitude of the Executive does not signify that it considers the left to be in the right or that it intends to support the left politically.

The Executive is, however, of the opinion that expulsion is too severe a punishment for the breach of discipline committed by these comrades. We condemn the breach of discipline committed by these comrades. We condemn the breach of discipline which is not to be compared with that of Levi. For the Czech opposition does not consist of traitors. It must however maintain discipline.

Expulsion from the party is only permitted as a last resort. In our opinion it was resorted to too soon in this case. If the opposition cannot maintain discipline, there is of course no room for it in our ranks.

The Party in Norway

In Norway the Trade Unions form the basis of the party. No individual membership exists here.

The name of the central organ is still the Social Democrat. Articles against us may be found in this paper. Vestiges of syndicalism are still to be found among many communist workmen. Time must be left for evolution, that the social democratic residues be finally swept away.

In Poland the party is illegal, but at the same time a mass party. Here there have also been differences between the party and the Executive, on the subject of the agrarian and nationality question. The Comintern is in favor of the neutralization of the peasantry. The Polish party is not yet sufficiently elastic.

In Roumania the party holds faithfully to the International, despite much persecution. In Jugoslavia the party is also exposed to great difficulties thru persecution. The labor movement however shows signs of revival.

In England development is slow. England is not a country of great political organizations. The lack of revolutionary experience in England is a cause of great difficulty to our party there.

In Austria the party is making progress.

In Hungary the party movement is suffering greatly thru fraction quarrels. The Fourth Congress must put an end to these. This is of special importance, as the labor movement is increasing its influence in Hungary.

In Japan a communist party has been formed.

In India we have success to record.

For Centralized World Power

We have also groups in Egypt, Persia, China. This is of the greatest importance for our fight against world imperialism.

The Profintern also reports good results, and these will be even better in the near future. The Amsterdam fraction contemplates a split. We must use our influence towards creating unity in the trade union movement. We must however take measures against the expulsions. When the Amsterdam fraction causes split, we must issue the slogan of unity.

The Cooperative movement, also shows favorable progress.

The Communist Youth movement requires new methods if it is to make greater advance.

This is the report of our activity. We have made many mistakes, and await severe criticism. But then united action! We must become a centralized world organization!

Lenin Sends Hearty Greeting to Communist International in Session at Petrograd

COMRADE LENIN'S LETTER TO THE CONGRESS

1. **To Comrade Zinoviev, Petrograd, for the IV. World Congress of the Communist International.**
2. **To the Petrograd Soviets, the delegates of the Workers, Peasants and Red Soldiers.**

I exceedingly regret that I cannot be present at the first session of the Congress and that I can only greet you by letter. In spite of the enormous difficulties in the way of the various Communist Parties, the Communist International is growing and is becoming ever stronger. The chief task consists, as hitherto, in winning the majority of the workers. And we will fulfill this task in spite of everything.

The fusion of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals has brought great advantage for the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Fewer illusions and less deception,—and this is always favorable for the working class.

To the Petrograd workers and their newly elected Soviets who are now receiving the IV. Congress of the Communist International in their city I send my best wishes and warmest greetings. The Petrograd proletariat will also be one of the first on the economic front.

We have heard with joy of the commencement of the economic rebirth of Petrograd.

In reply to your invitation to come to Petrograd, let me say that I hope to come to you in the very near future.

The Soviet Power is celebrating its fifth anniversary in Russia. It stands firmer now than ever before. The civil war is ended. The first economic successes are already in sight. Soviet Russia is highly proud of being able to help the workers of the whole world in their hard struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The victory will be ours!

Long live the Communist International!

November 4th, 1922.

Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin.

Russian Handicraft Bazaar Opens Monday, Dec. 18th, at Lyceum

A number of brilliant artists will appear on the opening night of the Russian Handicraft Exhibition and Bazaar arranged by Local New York of the Friends of Soviet Russia for Dec. 18-23, at the Lyceum, 201 E. 86th St.

The bazaar is being run in connection with an exhibition of peasant art products to be sold for the benefit of the destitute orphans in Russia, the entire proceeds of the bazaar to be used in maintaining hundreds of orphans.

The concert on Monday, Dec. 18, has been arranged by Vera Smirnova, the famous Russian singer, who will herself appear in striking costumes, singing Russian and gipsy folksongs. With her will appear a prominent accordion player and an 11 year old boy dancer whose names will be announced later. On the same evening will also appear Irving Korenman, a pianist, a graduate of the Conservatory of Music in Kharkov, who has played in the principal cities in Russia. All of these artists have donated their services for the benefit of the Russian orphans.

A similar program of entertainment has been prepared for every evening except Saturday, Dec. 23, when there will be an International Masque Ball.

The committee on arrangements announces that on Monday, the 18th, the Lyceum will not be open to visitors during the daytime, as it will be necessary to install the booths and make all other preparations for this gigantic undertaking. Beginning with Tuesday, the Lyceum will be open every day at 9 A. M. and close late at night. Volunteer typists are needed at the Local Office 201 West 13th St., to help out in the work.

Red Moscow Receives 4th C.I. Congress

By Radio to Imprekorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to "The Worker"

MOSCOW, Nov. 7.—At 9 o'clock on a beautiful autumn morning, the delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International arrived in Moscow, coming from Petrograd.

The city is richly flagged, the houses festively decorated.

The streets are filled with soldiers of the Red Army, columns of armed proletarians, and processions of demonstrating workers.

At 11 o'clock there was an army review in the Red Square, where Comrade Trotzky addressed a speech to the army, the workers, and the participators in the Congress. He said:

"On this anniversary of the Soviet Republic it is with Germany alone that the republic holds normal relations. All the other great powers have not yet recognized the Soviet government 'de jure.'

"But the working class of all other countries recognizes and fraternally supports the Soviet power. The bourgeois powers are holding back their recognition, for they still hope that even in Russia capitalism will return.

Await World Revolution

"But they wait in vain. Soviet Russia will hold out, and patiently await the development of the world revolution. The Russian workers, the army, and the peasantry, are united, and work in common for the realization of Socialism.

"Soviet Russia's readiness for peace is proved by the disarmament conference held with the neighboring states. Russia wants peace; it is prepared to reduce its Red Army to one half, indeed to a tenth. Lloyd George declared that he would look quietly on and see who would be taken on board the vessel named the 'League of Nations.'

"He has looked quietly on until he himself has gone overboard and fallen into the water. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, still stands firmly. The proof is thus established, that the Soviet power is no mere episode, but an historical fact."

Comrade Trotzky then greeted the Fourth World Congress in the name of the Soviet Republic, the Red Army, and the Red Fleet.

Play the International

The conclusion of Trotzky's speech was the signal for a tremendous storm of applause. The International was then played by eleven bands, and the great square re-echoed under the mighty tones of the international war song . . . . . .

During this part of the demonstration not only the masses of the participators in the celebration bared their heads, but also the representatives of the diplomatic corps who were present.

Short addresses were then given by Henriett (France), Kolaroff (Bulgaria), and Katayama (Japan).

This was followed by the march past of the Red Army and of the armed workers' columns. The workers of Moscow followed these marching past in two broad columns and bearing with them thousands of standards and flags. Many successful caricatures and symbolic models were carried in these mighty processions.

Revolutionary songs resounded during the whole procession. Enthusiastic cheers were given before the tribunes of the delegates, for the leaders of the Russian revolution, for the Comintern, and for the Fourth World Congress.

Many of the delegates mounted in a captive balloon, and thus obtained an overwhelming survey of festively decorated Moscow with its magnificent buildings. All the main streets were filled with demonstrating masses. No fewer than thirty aeroplanes circled above the Red Square.

All Workers Out

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the streets were still filled with masses of the people streaming towards the Red Square. An unending stream of singing human beings, poured over the wide square. The whole atmosphere was filled with enthusiasm. Not only the communists were there, but the entire proletariat of Moscow.

Evening comes. The Red Square is illuminated. Thousands of red stars shed their light on the multitude. The streets and many of the houses are festively lit up.

The stream ebbs away but slowly.

To-morrow the Fourth Congress will commence its session.

Workers' Defense Union Is Raising Xmas Fund

The season of peace and good will is almost with us. But still hundreds of political prisoners are in federal and state prisons with no hope of release.

One favor capitalism grants her prisoners is a little respite at Christmas from the murderous discipline of the remainder of the year, then a few gifts are permitted to be sent to these men.

Workers are not sentimental about a season the spirit of which is made a mockery of by the very existence of prisons but it is only then that they are permitted to pledge thrir devotion and solidarity to those on the inside.

The Workers' Defense Union is raising a special Christmas Fund to see that all the politicals in every prison get some sort of a Christmas gift. This is the fifth year the defense union has raised Christmas funds and because there are more workers inside this year than ever before they have set out to raise $2,000, which will be just sufficient to assure every man an adequate expression of love and solidarity.

Will you send a contribution quickly? The time is short, act at once. Send contributions to the Christmas Fund of the Workers' Defense Union, 81 East 10th St., New York City.

Debs Helps Russian Orphans

Eugene V. Debs has laid the cornerstone—metaphorically speaking—of a colony of Children's Homes in Russia bearing his name. In response to the appeal for the saving of Russian orphans made by the Friends of Soviet Russia, he has sent a donation of $10 and a letter expressing his enthusiastic endorsement of the work.

Don't Throw This Paper Away. Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Kamenev Sees C.I. at Head of World Labor

By Radio to Imprekorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to "The Worke[illegible]"

MOSCOW, Nov 7.—This eveni[illegible] there took place in the Big Theatr[illegible] a joint session of the All-Russia[illegible] Executive and the Moscow Work[illegible]ers' organizations with the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. The Congress was mo[illegible] enthusiastically greeted by the fou[illegible] thousand people present.

Comrade Kamenev opened the session. He emphasized the fact that Soviet Russia as well as the Communist International is the fighting organization of the world proletariat. The Soviet Power united Russia from Archangel to Batum and from Petrograd to Vladivostock. The Communist International is growing while capitalism is preparing its own grave.

Italians Fight Fascism

Kalinin points out the improvement of the position of the Russian working class.

Zinoviev declares that Soviet Russia has never been as strong as she is at present. The sympathy and support of the non-party elements is growing visibly. Since the demonstration during the S.R. Trial up to the present day a powerful influx of the non-party elements into the communist organizations is noticeable.

Bordiga (Italy) states that the Italian communists will fight Fascism with the methods of Fascism.

A declaration of Berron (France) that the French communists are united and convinced of the necessity of creating a strong communist party is supported by all the French delegates and enthusiastically received by all present.

A delegation of Moscow workers presents the Congress with an artistically executed statue of Lenin. Other factory committees present Lenin with statues of Marx and Engels.

Smeral (Czecho-Slovakia), congratulates the Russian proletariat on the mighty economic achievements of the Soviet Power and promises that the Czecho-Slovakian communists will do everything to hinder the Italian Fascisti from uniting with the South German reaction.

Polish Party Grows

Kolaroff (Bulgaria), points out that the soldiers of the Wrangel army in Bulgaria are turning their backs on the counter-revolution.

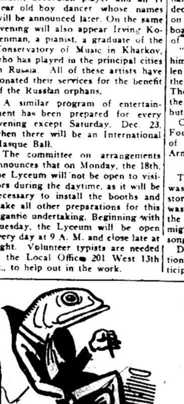
Valetzky (Poland): The Com[illegible]munist Party of Poland is [illegible] in strength in spite of the [illegible] terror prevailing.

The following comrades [illegible] speak: Webb (England), [illegible] (Turkey) and Schüler for the [illegible] International. Radek descri[illegible] progress of the Communist [illegible]national.

Comrade Clara Zetkin exp[illegible] the thanks of the women to the [illegible]sian proletariat and the Red Arm[illegible] for the sacrifices made by th[illegible] Mensheviks and the Social [illegible]tionaries prophesied the downfall [illegible] the Soviet Power within [illegible] months. Today, on the fifth [illegible]versary of the Revolution, [illegible] stronger than ever. The world [illegible]letariat will follow the R[illegible] ample and overthrow capital[illegible]

With a moving speech by [illegible] the memorable session is clo[illegible]

TEN WORKERS SHOUL[illegible] THIS COPY OF THE [illegible] KEEP IT IN CIRCU[illegible]



Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG

The Poor Fish Says: The elections prove that people are never satisfied.

By H. M. WICKS

[illegible] again he assailed labor during the rail strike, and last Friday.

[illegible] before Congress, the [illegible] part was that which [illegible] organized labor. [illegible] he attempted to palliate the farmers who [illegible] their contempt of the [illegible] administration by supporting its enemies at the last election, but he proposed nothing definite. Likewise he twaddled about the [illegible] of rail mileage, but said nothing tangible that can be used as a basis for legislation. But when he came to the discussion of the working class he was perfectly clear and left nothing to the imagination.

Anti-Strike Tribunal

The President prefaced his anti-strike proposals with the assertion that the strikes of last summer and fall were useless and that there was no excuse for their beginning and no justification for their continuation. The distress of the farmer was caused by the strikes, blandly declared Harding, evidently hoping by such sophistry to break up the farmer-labor combination that proved so disastrous to his machine the first Tuesday of November, when many of the Old Guard went down to defeat. The trick may work and it may not work; at any rate it can do no harm to try it. After all, the farmers and workers that can be bamboozled into supporting the so-called liberals in place of the standpatters do not display a degree of intelligence sufficient to cause the experienced politicians who guide the destiny of the present administration a great deal of anxiety.

The insufficiency of power vested in the labor board renders that body ineffective, says Harding. Therefore more effective measures must be adopted in order to spare the public "even the threat of discontinued service" on the railroads.

The President further ruminates to the effect that neither the group of men on the Labor Board representing capital or those representing labor can serve impartially; that the only ones who can serve impartially are the three who represent the "public." So the Presidential proposal is to abolish the Labor Board and empower the Interstate Commerce Commission to create a labor committee for the purpose of deciding disputes dealing with wages and working conditions.

Labor Must Prepare to Fight

Never before has a President of the United States gone so far in his insatiable hatred of labor. This latest proposal of Harding is the most vicious, the most contemptible and the most menacing proposal that has even been made by a high public official and could only have emanated from the disordered brains of the satraps of Elbert H. Gary and other apostles of the "open shop."

This proposal of Harding is evidence of the fact that the ruling class of the United States is going to attempt by legislation and the use of all the powers of government to achieve the victory over labor that the militant vigilance of the working class prevented in the great strike wave that swept the nation for the greater part of this year.

We can get an idea of the type of labor branch of the Interstate Commerce Commission that would be created should the Harding recommendations be carried into effect. He would probably take some of the "lame ducks" of last November—some of the defeated Senators like New of Indiana or Poindexter of Washington—and place them on the government pay roll where they could use their power to reduce labor in America to the level of Chinese coolies.

So menacing are these proposals of Harding that labor must be constantly on the alert to detect the first move toward their consummation. The day that such a proposal is introduced in Congress should be the signal for the rallying of the forces of labor preparatory to hurling defiance at the United States government if the hirelings of capitalism seriously attempt to place such a law upon the statute books. Such a law would reduce the American working class to a level far lower than any slavery the world has ever seen. It would mean conscription of labor in the industries for the benefit of the plundering plutocrats and the complete extermination of every labor organization within the confines of this nation.

Decisive Action Counts

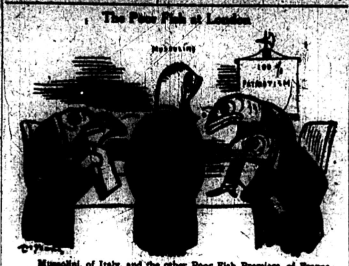
In case such a proposal is ever considered seriously by this or any other Congress the organized workers of this nation must be prepared to act quickly and decisively against the government. The only answer to this culmination of the criminal career of Warren G. Harding and his unspeakably vile administration is a general strike that will paralyze every railroad, every mine, mill and factory in the United States.

Harding is the reptile that boasts of his desire to put teeth in labor laws. Very well, let him put teeth in the Interstate Commerce Commission that will enable it to enforce industrial conscription and labor will rise in its might and knock those teeth down its throat.

There is the ever-present danger of such laws as long as capitalism lasts, and the militants in the labor movement should spare no effort to create such a supreme contempt on the part of the rank and file of the workers for this servile government of capitalism that the mere mention of industrial conscription, under any guise whatsoever, will cause an industrial and political earthquake that will shake the ruling class and its institutions to its very foundation.

If the pompous ignoramus in the White House thinks he can challenge labor with impunity he is doomed to a rude awakening, for the working class of today is not the meek, supine slave class of a few years past and every day that passes sees that working class becoming more militant, until finally the day will come that labor will take control of its own destiny, in spite of all the vapid ravings emanating from the heads of the present government.

The Poor Fish at London



Mussolini, of Italy, and the other Poor Fish Premiers, of France, of Great Britain, of Belgium, and the other capitalist allies, meeting in London, have agreed to disagree and struck out for home waters.

The Italian Poor Fish, as depicted above by Art Young, made the final plea, urging quick action on the slender bait offered by Germany. He said:

"Delay is a serious matter. Within the next three weeks Germany will have added another 200,000,000,000 to her paper money, the European exchanges will go down and all nations will be sadly disillusioned."

Poor Fish Mussolini surely worries about what the small fry back home will do when he returns without the bacon.

With the Young Workers

Prepare Y. W. L. Observer Tour on Young Communist Congress

Thru strenuous efforts on the part of the Young Workers League membership, sufficient money has been raised to send an observer of the Y. W. L. to the Third Congress of the Young Communist International, recently concluded at Moscow.

Tho definite word has not been received by the national office of the League, no doubt the comrade representing the Young Workers League is on his way back to this country to report on the proceedings of the congress, as well as on conditions of the young workers in Europe.

A call has been sent out by the national office of the Y. W. L. for funds with which to tour the observer so that all the branches of the Y. W. L. possible might have the opportunity of getting a report of the International Congress at first hand.

The Observer will begin his tour in the Eastern cities and then on thru Ohio to Chicago. Later plans will be made for a trip to the Western sections of the League so that these comrades who are handicapped by distance might avail themselves of a talk by the comrade who represented us at the Third Y. C. I. Congress.

Workers Party branches can also arrange meetings for the Young Workers League representative, as no doubt this will offer an opportunity for the adult comrades to schedule some live meetings.

Definite information as to the route of the Y. W. L. Observer can be obtained from the National Office of the Young Workers League at 2517 Fullerton Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

* * *

Goetz Meeting at Cleveland

The Young Workers League of Cleveland, Ohio, is energetically campaigning for the success of the lecture of Alfred Goetz, National Organizer of the Y. W. L., which will be held in Cleveland, Tuesday Evening, Dec. 19, 8 o'clock, at 1400 E. 55th St., third floor, just above the headquarters of the W. P. Tickets 15c. The place is just one block south of St. Clair Ave., at E. 55th St. A. E. Bertram, 2602 Kingston Rd.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER: KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

Don't Forget Prisoners at Holiday Time

By NERMA BERMAN

Secretary New York Branch National Defense Committee

The intelligent worker appreciates the beauty, graciousness and gentility of the spirit of mutual "give and take" of the Christmas and New Year's season. He experiences the most generous impulses and finest sentiments.

A society that denies expression of the noblest thoughts to a class, the greater part of its population—the workers—is inferior and consequently must be changed fundamentally and completely. The class-conscious workers are the impetus for revolutionary organization which will do everything possible to exterminate the parasites—the capitalist class—who swim in abundance.

In the United States, the revolutionary movement is still in its infancy, yet the wealth mongers are shrewd enough to recognize the most militant workers as their enemies and incarcerate them in miserable holes and dungeons scattered thruout the country. Communists are considered the most dangerous element in the class struggle. The list below contains the names of communists and their adrresses in the many jails of this "libetty-loving" land.

Minnie Kalnin, Anna Leisman and Ignats Misher, at the Auburn Prison, 135 State St., Auburn, New York.

Paul Manko, Dannemora State Prison, Dannemora, New York.

Ben Gitlow, Sing Sing State Prison 354 Hunter St., Ossining, New York.

Engelbert Preis, Deportee, Room 206, Ellis Island, New York.

Joseph Kowalski, No. 14882, U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia.

Israel Blankenstein and Joe Martinowich, at Western Penitentiary, Pittsburgh, Pa.

J. O. Bentall, U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kans.

Gene Bechtold, Charles Erickson, Seth Nordling, Norman Tallentire and Joseph Zack, St. Joseph County Jail, St. Joseph Mich.

These workers have fought most valiantly for the change which will lead to knowledge, beauty and power for all and revolutionists and their friends ought to pay tribute to the class war victims even at the cost of sacrifice to themselves. Send packages, sweets, fruit and tobacco. Favors allowed only during the holidays to the prisoners. Many workers cannot afford to send packages. Well they can send cards of greetings and in the meantime strain every effort for the establishment of the Workers' Republic.

SAN QUENTIN, Cal.—"The boys all send their best wishes and regards to the boys in Herrin," is the message dispatched from here by the political prisoners, most of them victims of the California criminal syndicalism law. "I believe that I know one of the Herrin boys who was in the service," one political declared.

Don't Forget the
ENTERTAINMENT and BALL
given by
The Young Workers' League,
Bronx Branch
at WORKERS' HALL
1347 Boston Road
Third Ave. "L" to 169th Street
DEC. 24th, XMAS EVE

[illegible] Investigated

(By The Federated Press)

Three times the American Civil Liberties Union has called upon William J. Burns, head of the government spy system, to tell why federal agents were involved in the arrest and prosecution of the Communists at Bridgman, Mich. Twice there have been evasive and reluctant replies. Then Burns, in an interview published, was quoted as saying:

"There is an organization at the present time in New York called the American Civil Liberties Union, that is seeking to investigate us in order to determine why we had men at Bridgman, Mich.", and adding that this is one of the "difficulties" the department of investigation experiences in "curbing radical activities."

This Burns statement has evoked a third demand from the Civil Liberties Union upon Burns for a real explanation of the activities of his men in a state case.

"The charge against the men who were arrested in the raid at Bridgman," says the Civil Liberties Union's letter, "in which agents of the department of justice participated, is, so far as we are aware, that holding radical opinions, they had the temerity to meet together to discuss them. Such conduct violates no law of the United States and the charge was lodged under a state statute.

"We inquired why federal appropriations were thus being used to repress radical opinion which violates no federal law. After a number of evasive replies from the department—not signed by you but bearing your initials—we were at last told that the men arrested at Bridgman were under surveillance by federal officers for some other supposed federal offense. We then inquired why agents of the department of justice were assisting in the preparations of the cases for trial. To this you again made, not a direct, but an evasive answer.

"We believe it imperative to the end that the public retain confidence in the department of justice, that you make an unequivocal statement about this matter. If, as you say, the charges in the Bridgman case do not involve any violation of federal statutes, federal agents should either be withdrawn from the case, or their presence in it should be explained."

* * *

All contributions for and communications concerning the Michigan defense should be addressed to:

National Office, Labor Defense Council, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

New York Local Office, Labor Defense Council, Room 434, 80 East 11th St., New York City.

Letter from Lenin to the International Workers Aid

(By F. S. R. Press Service)

Economic assistance by the class conscious workers of the world is the essential need of Soviet Russia at this time, Premier Lenin says in a letter to Willy Munzenberg, secretary of the International Workers Aid. The text of the letter, which is especially interesting in view of the campaign for the sale of stock in the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, has been transmitted by cable to the Friends of Soviet Russia. It reads:

"Dear Comrade Munzenberg: Referring to your report at the Congress of the Communist International I feel urged to point out in a few words the importance of this work. The famine relief activity of the international working class has helped Soviet Russia tremendously to survive the hard days of last year's famine.

Now it is important to heal the wounds which were inflicted by the famine; and first of all to provide for the many thousands of orphaned children and rehabilitate agriculture and industry, which were greatly damaged by the famine. In this respect, too, the brotherly assistance of the international working class has done its share. The International Tractor Colony at Perm, the agricultural and industrial enterprises of the International Workers Aid, the agricultural groups of the Technical Aid Society of America, the floating of the first proletarian loan for Soviet Russia thru the Workers Aid are gratifying beginnings of the fraternal help of the workers in the economic rebuilding of Soviet Russia.

"The action for economic aid which has been so well begun by the International Workers' Aid should be strongly furthered by the workers of the whole world. Besides continual strong political pressure upon the governments of the bourgeois countries with the demand for recognition of the Soviet Government, a broad activity for economic aid by the world proletariat is at present the best and most practical assistance to Soviet Russia in her economic war against the imperialist concerns, and the best support in the socialist construction of its economy.—Vladimir Uljanov Lenin."

Insects Unmask Capitalism and Fight World War All Over Again in New York Theater

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

I have never met Mr. William A. Brady, the theatrical producer, who is offering "The World We Live In" at Jolson's 59th Street Theater. But when I do, and I hope to, I am going to ask him, first of all, how it happened that he dared to [illegible] production of the two brothers, Josef and Karel Capek, Czech Communists.

It is not difficult for Karel's allegory, "R. U. R." the Theater Guild offering at the Frazee Theater, to pass muster with the various strata of our present social order. Various interpretations can be placed upon it, according to inclination. But this joint effort of the two Communist brothers is such a powerful, direct jab at capitalism that Brady must have considered twice before violating the "sanctity of the theater" with this heresy to things as they are.

To be sure the Kapek brothers erect their camouflage. But it is a thin veil of pretense easily penetrated. "The Insect Comedy," the sub-title used, may be acceptable to those who recognize the evils of the present criminal social system and are happy to see it unmasked thru the antics of insects, from butterflies and crickets, to beetles and ants, upon the stage. But it is apt to be a cruel revelation to believers in "the present situation," as Thorstein Veblen, the economist, calls it.

When the curtain goes up we are at once fascinated by the tremendous assurance of Robert Edeson, as "The Vagrant," that the whole universe revolves about him. Man could have no greater conviction of his own individual importance.

But this exalted self-satisfaction takes its quick fall as "The Vagrant" sees duplicated in the struggles of insects, the ambitions of humans.

The Capek brothers sugarcoat their pill. First the butterflies, with their loves and matings. It is a beautiful bit of staging, lavish and provocative of languor, extremely well done and very well acted.

Then the coating falls away and we are confronted by the beetles. The male and female beetle, husband and wife, roll their "pile," their "treasure," their "all" upon the stage, to be sure only a "ball of manure," but in their dialogue they give us a shattering attack on capitalist civilization's whole propaganda to "Save and Have."

I had never known crickets to be as attractive as these male and female crickets about to establish their honeymoon flat in a hole made vacant by another cricket family gobbled up by the more powerful and carnivorous fly. But this honeymoon couple, with all their ambitions for the future, are struck down in their happy youth by this same Ichneumon Fly, who seeks delicacies for its offspring, even as rich and powerful humans prey upon the young of the working class to gorge and beautify their own.

Thus we are carried to the most powerful part of the play, into the ant realm, "The largest Ant State, a world power, the largest democracy," where "all must obey, all must work," duplicating the phraseology of great capitalism's statesmen and its press.

The ants are shown toiling, sweating under a speed-up system that should rouse the envy of the Chicago packers, with their moving, killing and cutting beds, that give labor no instant of rest. It should make Henry Ford jealous, in spite of the perfection of his moving belt and overhead conveyor system that keeps his slaves everlastingly on the go. First the blind ant counts, "One, two, three four," but then it is discovered that work will proceed faster, if the count is "One, two, four," and "One, two, four," it becomes.

But, the Ant State is sourrounded by enemies. "We defeated the black ants," "and starved out the russets," proudly proclaim the military and industrial chiefs of the Ant State. "And subjugated the greys." "Only the yellows are left." "We must starve out the Yellows." "We must starve out all."

But, the Ant State still faces war in the interests of race, industrial interests, colonial interests, world interests, for:—

"Our ants are the most peaceful ants, a nation of peace. . . They only wish for world peace."

But, amid the clang of industry and the lowering clouds of approaching hostilities, the aspirations of the Ant State find words in:

"When we rule over the world we shall conquer time . . . We must quicken the pace, the pace of output . . . Every moment must be quickened, shortened, reckoned out, to an instant, to a hundredth of an instant."

All this and much more comes in short, terse expressions from the lash wielders, the pace makers. An ant worker falls dead in his tracks. The corpse is hustled off with the same efficiency and speed.

"We are a nation of peace. Peace means work. And work means strength. And strength means war!"

Thus the hypocritical pretenses of capitalism are crumpled up, one by one, as the Ant State sends its armies to war against the Yellow Ants because, "We still need a new bit of the world, a bit of the world from the birch tree to the pine tree, and a road between two blades of grass."

Thus the final exultation:

"War! . . War at last!" exclaims the military dictator, as if happily quenching his thirst with human blood, as he prays on bended knees for victory. "At last a war that is forced on us. To arms!"

The Capek brothers leave out no details. There is the kept journalist, the war worker and bond salesman, all cleverly worked into the general massive scheme.

There is a fitting epilogue, "Life and Death," where the smoke of battle has drifted out. A woman is bringing the baby of her sister to be christened, with the hope that it will be luckier than the generation that has gone before it.

The epilogue breathes the conviction of the Communist Capek brothers that humanity will be luckier and happier under the Communism that is coming than it is under Capitalism that still holds most of the world in its slipping grip.

* * *

Pershing, Harding, Morgan, Rockefeller, Schwab and their whole retinue of bloody parasites should see this brilliant Brady production of the Capek masterpiece. THE WORKER has secured a number of coupons providing for a 50 percent reduction in prices. We know that our readers will not object if we include the above with them in the invitation to make use of these coupons. Address: The Worker, Room 405, 799 Broadway, N. Y. C.

[illegible] Tour

Tentative arrangements [illegible] made for extensive [illegible] agitational work among [illegible] unions of District No. [illegible] New York, New Jersey and [illegible].

Next week Comrade H. M. [illegible] will fill several dates in [illegible] beginning at Hartford, and [illegible] the first of the year will [illegible] tire state of New York [illegible] auspices of the Trade Union [illegible] tional League.

Comrades thruout the state [illegible] take advantage of this tour [illegible] to reach as many members of [illegible] ized labor as possible. [illegible] Wicks is one of the best [illegible] speakers in the American [illegible] movement and knows the [illegible] labor from years of experience. [illegible] ability as an orator is too well [illegible] to need comment here and with [illegible] proper advertising this tour can [illegible] made a singular success for our movement.

Next week a complete list of the dates in New York State will be published.

LOS ANGELES.—Renewed persecutions of radicals in this city are inaugurated by a grand jury indictment of 26 persons for criminal syndicalism. The indictment is "secret" and no names are made public, but it is claimed that six men are already under arrest and held incommunicado. Bail in each case is $5,000.

BRONX OPEN FORUM
Auspices Eng. Branch Workers Party and Y. W. L.
DECEMBER 17th, 1922
H. M. WICKS
on
The Labor Party and
the Cleveland Conference
at
Workers' Hall, 1347 Boston Road
SUNDAY EVENING at 8 P. M.
Musical Program . . . Admission [illegible]

Russia's Orphans

They Are Knocking At Your Door

DO YOU HEAR?

THEN SAY, "COME IN!"

Children of "The Friends of Soviet Russia Children's Home No. 2" at Zarizyn, Russia: Alexandra Bitjuskaya, age 6; Jakob Judin, age [illegible]; Marie Pjanizyna, age 6; Pelageja Saratowzewa, age 7; Viktor Schlechljannikow, age 6; Jakob Makarow, age 6; Pelageja Swistowa, age 5; Michael Grigorjew, age 5; Leo Joffe, age 6; Samuel Gorkin, age 6; Klaudija Letwitzina, age 6; Anastasija Kondraschewa, age [illegible]; Antonio Larina, age 6; Alexandra Ledowskaya, age 7; Taisea Swetlischewa, age 7; Soja Simischewa, age 6; Ljubow Charkowskaya, age 7; Taisea Kusmina, age 8; Paul Gonjkow, age 6; Peter Swesdin, age [illegible].

AND THERE'S Marianna Wassilitskaya, 11 years old, her father and mother were of the intelligencia. And Walerjan Pospeloff, age [illegible], whose father was a Soviet official. And Anastasija Smolenskaya, age 7, daughter of a teacher. And Victor Lasareff, age 10, son of a Red Army soldier.

There Are a Million Orphans in Soviet Russia!! How Many Will Be Your Guests This Christmas Day?

A MILLION PLAINTIVE LITTLE VOICES plead with you for food. A million sorrowing little hearts beat expectantly. It's a long cry from Soviet Russia, yet all sympathetic hearts will hear.

THE WORLD KNOWS RUSSIA and the world knows Russia's needs. Russia knows her children and knows their worth. And Russia is helping her utmost. But the "world of money" persists in a credit blockade. And little graves grow more numerous day by day.

BUT THERE IS STILL HOPE. A million children ask for life's fulfillment. Their starved faces are turned to us in America. They should have care and someone's comforting arms, a bit of the warmth of your room. Yet what they need AT ONCE is FOOD. And so the call goes forth for

A Million Dimes for a Million Christmas Dinners

YOU'LL NOT LET MONEY REST IN YOUR POCKET WHILE RUSSIA'S ORPHANS STARVE!
AND A MILLION HUNGRY ORPHANS ECHO—"WILL YOU?"

National Office
THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
201 West 13th Street, New York City.

FRIENDS ATTENTION

We have given you two duties to perform. We ask all true friends of Soviet Russia to give both of these duties their time and earnest attention.

1. SECURE PLEDGES FOR THE ADOPTION AND SUPPORT OF RUSSIA'S ORPHANS. You were sent [illegible] lists for this purpose. This is your steady work.
2. SELL THE MEAL CERTIFICATES SENT YOU TO PROVIDE CHRISTMAS DINNERS FOR RUSSIA'S ORPHANS. This is your holiday-season duty.

He helps most at this time who helps quickly.

Friends of Soviet Russia,
201 West 13th Street,
New York City.

Here are dimes, totalling $........
.... with which to buy
.... Christmas dinners for Russia's hungry orphans.
I shall collect dimes from my friends and remit again.

Name ....
Address ....
....

[illegible] when Japan and [illegible] signed an agreement [illegible] that many of us [illegible] have attained a point [illegible] agreements have become [illegible] and where Japan's [illegible] power has not prevented her [illegible] fulfilling this engagement, it is thanks to our diplomacy. [illegible] near future our diplomacy [illegible] be confronted by a task [illegible] importance, a task in[illegible] important interests for us. [illegible] thinking of the conference on [illegible] Near East convened by England [illegible] Lausanne Nov. 13.

[illegible] fully convinced that our diplomacy will be able to maintain its authority equally well on this occasion, and will efficiently defend the interests of all allied republics and of the R. S. F. S. R.

In any case we shall make it our endeavor to reveal to the masses what are the real obstacles, and in what degree these run counter not only to the justifiable desires and endeavours of our state, but of all states interested in the question of the Straits.

With regard to foreign politics I limit myself to these brief remarks, and pass on to the discussion of your activity.

I believe that we have attained most important successes, altho at a [illegible] all: the Labor Code.

It is a tremendous victory for the Soviet power that precisely now, when all governments are [illegible] against the working class, that we can present ourselves with such a code of laws, establishing the fundamentals of labor legislation, as for instance, the eight hour day.

We must reckon with the fact of the states in which a mad capitalist competition is raging, where there are millions and tens of millions of unemployed, where the capitalists are organizing mighty capitalist federations and preparing to attack the working class, our land is the most backward of all, our productive powers are the least developed, and we have the least idea how to work.

This is perhaps an unpleasant truth, but it has to be admitted. But I believe that precisely because we do not seek to veil such facts with fine phrases and official explanations, but admit them candidly, we need not fear to mount the tribune and declare that we have expended more energy than any other state on the removal of these deficiencies, and that we are doing our utmost to overtake the other states with a speed which they do not in the least imagine.

But naturally the speed is not fantastic, we require some years of stubborn work to attain this aim. Nothing can be done in a day. We have had five years of experience, [illegible]

Nobody amongst us believes in a fantastic speed of change, but we do believe in a [illegible] speed, in a speed surpassing the [illegible] of any other historical period of evolution; and when the movement is led by a really revolutionary party, such a speed is an unqualified possibility.

I now come to the problem of the ground law. As you are aware, our first laws immediately after the revolution contained regulations respecting land which, tho not quite technically perfect, nor perhaps juridically so, none the less contained all essentials, all that was of unqualified necessity for the peasant, and ensured his alliance with the working class.

And even if the law which you have now accepted proves to require improvement in this or that regard, we shall be able to carry out these corrections without any special difficulty, just as you have accepted improvements in the code of criminal law at this session.

The land, the living question for the majority, of the population, the peasantry, is for us a fundamental question. In this respect we are far advanced that the Russian peasant knows that not only do we set no brake on proposals towards the alteration of old laws, but we accept these most favorably.

You have also dealt with such questions as the civil code of laws and the general regulations for litigation. In the policy which you [illegible]

[illegible] has also been the endeavor to draw a line of distinction between the justifiable satisfaction of the needs of every citizen living under the new economic policy, and the abuses of the new economic policy, which are law in all other countries, but whose legalization we decline.

It remains for the future to show in how far the corrections which you have just made with this intention, and which you approve, will succeed in their object.

In any case, we do not bind our hands in any way. Should daily experience show that there are abuses upon which we had not calculated, we shall take immediate steps for their removal.

In this respect, as you are aware, such rapidity of legislation is unfortunately unknown in other states. We shall see if the near future will not force these powers to try and keep up with Russia in this respect.

We must also accord some attention to the equally important question of the provincial Soviet congresses and government executive committees. All former systems, legislatures, and constitutions left this question unanswered. It was thought that in the provinces everything would take its old course. We, on the other hand, are convinced that if our revolution has been able to attain many successes, this is solely because we had the power in the provinces in our hands, and because [illegible] with Germany [illegible] until the autumn, in every way gratified those elements among the Allies who resented our peace with Germany)—when as I say, the revolution was able to carry out its work with such rapidity, this was due to the fact that we have always counted upon the peasant population, and have opened new vistas of activity to them; we always expected from the provinces that enthusiasm, which imparted perseverance and speed to our revolution.

I am aware that at that time the provinces went thru troublous times. We were much occupied by the relations of the provinces to the centre, and I will not assert that we were always able to carry out our task in the most ideal manner. The general level of our culture could not permit us to even dream of an ideal solution. But we have the right to assert that we have carried out our task with greater uprightness, truth, and perseverance, than any other state.

I must soon conclude. I shall only touch upon one more question, one of the greatest interest to me, and which should be of interest to you also, tho it is not contained either in the agenda or in the inquiries. This is the question of our [illegible] apparatus [illegible] yet [illegible] new question.

In 1918 we had a census taken of the state apparatus in Moscow. The result showed that there were 231,000 state and Soviet employees in Moscow (including the central state employees and the Moscow municipal employees). Recently, in October, 1922, we undertook a recount, convinced that our distended apparatus had shrunk. The resultant figure was 243,000. This is the result of all our reductions.

This example shows the need of further studies and comparisons. At that time, in the year 1918, as we undertook the census in the first heat of reform, we were not yet in a position to reduce the figures to anything sensible. The civil war left us no leisure whatever for this. We hope that it will now be done.

We are fully convinced that our state apparatus, which suffers from many defects, which is considerably more than twice as large as it need be, which often works against and not for us—we need not be afraid to utter this truth from the tribune of the highest legislative body of our republic—will be improved. Its improvement will require much work and capability.

A start has already been made in the serious consideration of the nature of these improvements, but at present it is only a start, a few articles, some local investigations.

If we all go away from here with fixed resolve to devote much more attention to these questions than we have done, if we are firmly resolved to spend less time at [illegible] bustle, if we really get to [illegible] apparatus and work for [illegible] improvement, it will be [illegible] step forward, and afford [illegible] for our success.

We must have the courage [illegible] that our apparatus is [illegible] The best workers under[illegible] most difficult tasks alike in [illegible] and bourgeois admin[illegible] spheres, and as a rule they [illegible] their work wrongly.

But all the same they have [illegible] stood how to correct themselv how to work. The present rel between these—perhaps only [illegible] brave individuals—and the [illegible] who only sit and sabotage or sabotage, and lose themselv their red tape, these relations suffocating our living cause in a byrinth of red tape.

We must get thoroly to the tom of this matter, as we have yet succeeded in doing. Years years will have to pass over, years and years we shall have learn, for the cultural level of workers is very low, and it is ceedingly difficult for the workers undertake the work of producti new to them. But our sole reli is upon the uprightness and ent siasm of the workers. Years years must pass befor the impro ment of our state apparatus can realized.

I am convinced that if you further devote your powers to same activity as has actuated you the present session, we must inev ably arrive at the very best resu

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C.I. Executive Report Given by Zinoviev

By Radio to Imprekorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to "The Worker"

Moscow, Nov. 10.—**Morning Session.** The session is opened by Kolarov. A number of commissions are appointed, for the French, Italian, Czecho-Slovakian, American, Jugoslavian, Spanish and Negro questions.

Zinoviev then begins his speech, in which he reports on the work of the Executive during the past year, and draws broad outlines for the future tactics of the Comintern.

The Third Congress was followed by a sharp offensive on the part of capitalism along the whole line. The workers suffered many defeats. Russia too had to undergo a terrible time of famine, a fact utilized by the Mensheviki slandering the Soviet Government.

The Comintern has been accused of being a tool in the hands of Soviet Russia. The Second International is however the tool employed by the bourgeoisie against Soviet Russia. Clynes of the English Labor Party and of the General Labor Union, is with Urqhart, and fights on the other side of the barricade.

The working class has taken up a defensive attitude. Therefore our tactics are: go to the masses. Hence the slogan of the united front.

Difficulties in France

Our first great international campaign for the united front did not pass off without great disturbances on the part of the various sections. The greater the masses that leave other parties to join ours, the more difficult is the process of clarification.

Our tactics encountered difficulties in France, in part also in Italy. There is still a lack of proletarian discipline. If this is the case in the preparatory actions, how will it be when days of real fighting come?

Last year the German party lived thru a severe crisis, but has come thru it well, thanks to the aid of the Comintern. Today the German party is one of the firmest and politically clearest sections.

The German and Czecho-Slovakian parties have carried out the tactics of the united front best. They have perhaps not always shown the face of the Party openly enough, but they have maintained the freedom of communist agitation and criticism.

The courses taken by the last railway strike and the shop steward movement in Germany are exemplary for the united front tactics. The German party emerges from this movement with renewed strength.

Altho the number of members has not increased to any great extent, it nevertheless possesses more members today than the Bolsheviki when they seized power. Rapid revolutionary development is the case in Germany. Hence the importance of having a good party there in that country.

French Labor on Defensive

In France the Communist Party is passing thru severe birth pangs. The French proletariat is at present on the defensive. The French party does not yet understand how to lead the workers unitedly to battle. In France the struggle must be better prepared. The French party is still of the opinion that economic struggles are no part of party work.

The 21 points are now being confirmed anew. Despite this, the French press is still very far from carrying out even the first of these 21 conditions.

There are three tendencies in the French party: right, left, and centre. There are still reformist elements remaining in the centre. These must disappear. The left has made many mistakes, but it is the only fraction which has really fought for the tactics of the Comintern. Our sympathy is with this fraction.

There are good working elements in the centre and in the Renoult group. We are willing to meet these half way. The negotiations with all the tendencies justify the confident hope that the French party will retain its unity. We must however criticize its faults with all severity.

Italian S. P. Aided Fascisti

The events in the Italian labor movement constitute an educational example for the whole International. The conflict between the Italian Socialist Party and the Comintern did not arise out of the question of immediate seizure of power; all that was required of the Italian Socialists was to exclude the agents of the bourgeoisie from their ranks, and thus to set their hands free for carrying out revolutionary actions.

The guilt of having cleared the path for Fascism lies at the door of the Italian Socialist Party. Our tactics at Leghorn have proved correct. The workers belonging to the Italian Socialist Party will have to learn that when reformism is granted an inch, it takes a mile.

Save Honor of Italian Labor

The Comintern has also had differences with the Communist Party of Italy. The Italian communists have saved the honor of the proletariat. Remains of anti-parliamentarism still exist in the party. The united front tactics have not been quite thoroly carried out. The slogan of a workers' government came too late. Candid criticism has to be exercised here, too. The Communist Party of Italy is one of the best fighting troops of the International.

The United Communist Party in Czecho-Slovakia came into existence after the Third Congress, various fractions combining.

The party has committed great sins of omission in trade union questions, and that at a time when it already had the support of the majority of organized labor. The united front tactics have been carried out in an exemplary manner. Successful result: the disintegration of the National Socialist fraction.

The Czech party had differences with the Executive regarding the expulsion of the so-called left. The attitude of the Executive does not signify that it considers the left to be in the right or that it intends to support the left politically.

The Executive is, however, of the opinion that expulsion is too severe a punishment for the breach of discipline committed by these comrades. We condemn the breach of discipline committed by these comrades. We condemn the breach of discipline which is not to be compared with that of Levi. For the Czech opposition does not consist of traitors. It must however maintain discipline.

Expulsion from the party is only permitted as a last resort. In our opinion it was resorted to too soon in this case. If the opposition cannot maintain discipline, there is of course no room for it in our ranks.

The Party in Norway

In Norway the Trade Unions form the basis of the party. No individual membership exists here.

The name of the central organ is still the Social Democrat. Articles against us may be found in this paper. Vestiges of syndicalism are still to be found among many communist workmen. Time must be left for evolution, that the social democratic residues be finally swept away.

In Poland the party is illegal, but at the same time a mass party. Here there have also been differences between the party and the Executive, on the subject of the agrarian and nationality question. The Comintern is in favor of the neutralization of the peasantry. The Polish party is not yet sufficiently elastic.

In Roumania the party holds faithfully to the International, despite much persecution. In Jugoslavia the party is also exposed to great difficulties thru persecution. The labor movement however shows signs of revival.

In England development is slow. England is not a country of great political organizations. The lack of revolutionary experience in England is a cause of great difficulty to our party there.

In Austria the party is making progress.

In Hungary the party movement is suffering greatly thru fraction quarrels. The Fourth Congress must put an end to these. This is of special importance, as the labor movement is increasing its influence in Hungary.

In Japan a communist party has been formed. In India we have success to record.

For Centralized World Power

We have also groups in Egypt, Persia, China. This is of the greatest importance for our fight against world imperialism.

The Profintern also reports good results, and these will be even better in the near future. The Amsterdam fraction contemplates a split. We must use our influence towards creating unity in the trade union movement. We must however take measures against the expulsions. When the Amsterdam fraction causes split, we must issue the slogan of unity.

The Cooperative movement also shows favorable progress.

The Communist Youth movement requires new methods if it is to make greater advance.

This is the report of our activity. We have made many mistakes, and await severe criticism. But then united action! We must become a centralized world organization!

Lenin Sends Hearty Greeting to Communist International in Session at Petrograd

COMRADE LENIN'S LETTER TO THE CONGRESS

1. **To Comrade Zinoviev, Petrograd, for the IV. World Congress of the Communist International.**
2. **To the Petrograd Soviets, the delegates of the Workers, Peasants and Red Soldiers.**

I exceedingly regret that I cannot be present at the first session of the Congress and that I can only greet you by letter. In spite of the enormous difficulties in the way of the various Communist Parties, the Communist International is growing and is becoming ever stronger. The chief task consists, as hitherto, in winning the majority of the workers. And we will fulfill this task in spite of everything.

The fusion of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals has brought great advantage for the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Fewer illusions and less deception,—and this is always favorable for the working class.

To the Petrograd workers and their newly elected Soviets who are now receiving the IV. Congress of the Communist International in their city I send my best wishes and warmest greetings. The Petrograd proletariat will also be one of the first on the economic front.

We have heard with joy of the commencement of the economic rebirth of Petrograd.

In reply to your invitation to come to Petrograd, let me say that I hope to come to you in the very near future.

The Soviet Power is celebrating its fifth anniversary in Russia. It stands firmer now than ever before. The civil war is ended. The first economic successes are already in sight. Soviet Russia is highly proud of being able to help the workers of the whole world in their hard struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The victory will be ours!

Long live the Communist International!

November 4th, 1922.

Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin.

Russian Handicraft Bazaar Opens Monday, Dec. 18th, at Lyceum

A number of brilliant artists will appear on the opening night of the Russian Handicraft Exhibition and Bazaar arranged by Local New York of the Friends of Soviet Russia for Dec. 18-23, at the Lyceum, 201 E. 86th St.

The bazaar is being run in connection with an exhibition of peasant art products to be sold for the benefit of the destitute orphans in Russia, the entire proceeds of the bazaar to be used in maintaining hundreds of orphans.

The concert on Monday, Dec. 18, has been arranged by Vera Smirnova, the famous Russian singer, who will herself appear in striking costumes, singing Russian and gipsy folksongs. With her will appear a prominent accordion player and an 11 year old boy dancer whose names will be announced later. On the same evening will also appear Irving Korenman, a pianist, a graduate of the Conservatory of Music in Kharkov, who has played in the principal cities in Russia. All of these artists have donated their services for the benefit of the Russian orphans.

A similar program of entertainmem has been prepared for every evening except Saturday, Dec. 23, when there will be an International Masque Ball.

The committee on arrangements announces that on Monday, the 18th, the Lyceum will not be open to visitors during the daytime, as it will be necessary to install the booths and make all other preparations for this gigantic undertaking. Beginning with Tuesday, the Lyceum will be open every day at 9 A. M. and close late at night. Volunteer typists are needed at the Local Office 201 West 13th St., to help out in the work.

Red Moscow Receives 4th C.I. Congress

By Radio to Imprekorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to "The Worker"

MOSCOW, Nov. 7.—At 9 o'clock on a beautiful autumn morning, the delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International arrived in Moscow, coming from Petrograd.

The city is richly flagged, the houses festively decorated.

The streets are filled with soldiers of the Red Army, columns of armed proletarians, and processions of demonstrating workers.

At 11 o'clock there was an army review in the Red Square, where Comrade Trotzky addressed a speech to the army, the workers, and the participators in the Congress. He said:

"On this anniversary of the Soviet Republic it is with Germany alone that the republic holds normal relations. All the other great powers have not yet recognized the Soviet government 'de jure.'

"But the working class of all other countries recognizes and fraternally supports the Soviet power. The bourgeois powers are holding back their recognition, for they still hope that even in Russia capitalism will return.

Await World Revolution

"But they wait in vain. Soviet Russia will hold out, and patiently await the development of the world revolution. The Russian workers, the army, and the peasantry, are united, and work in common for the realization of Socialism.

"Soviet Russia's readiness for peace is proved by the disarmament conference held with the neighboring states. Russia wants peace; it is prepared to reduce its Red Army to one half, indeed to a tenth. Lloyd George declared that he would look quietly on and see who would be taken on board the vessel named the 'League of Nations.'

"He has looked quietly on until he himself has gone overboard and fallen into the water. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, still stands firmly. The proof is thus established, that the Soviet power is no mere episode, but an historical fact."

Comrade Trotzky then greeted the Fourth World Congress in the name of the Soviet Republic, the Red Army, and the Red Fleet.

Play the International

The conclusion of Trotzky's speech was the signal for a tremendous storm of applause. The International was then played by eleven bands, and the great square re-echoed under the mighty tones of the international war song . . . . .

During this part of the demonstration not only the masses of the participators in the celebration bared their heads, but also the representatives of the diplomatic corps who were present.

Short addresses were then given by Henriett (France), Kolaroff (Bulgaria), and Katayama (Japan).

This was followed by the march past of the Red Army and of the armed workers' columns. The workers of Moscow followed these marching past in two broad columns and bearing with them thousands of standards and flags. Many successful caricatures and symbolic models were carried in these mighty processions.

Revolutionary songs resounded during the whole procession. Enthusiastic cheers were given before the tribunes of the delegates, for the leaders of the Russian revolution, for the Comintern, and for the Fourth World Congress.

Many of the delegates mounted in a captive balloon, and thus obtained an overwhelming survey of festively decorated Moscow with its magnificent buildings. All the main streets were filled with demonstrating masses. No fewer than thirty aeroplanes circled above the Red Square.

All Workers Out

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the streets were still filled with masses of the people streaming towards the Red Square. An unending stream of singing human beings, poured over the wide square. The whole atmosphere was filled with enthusiasm. Not only the communists were there, but the entire proletariat of Moscow.

Evening comes. The Red Square is illuminated. Thousands of red stars shed their light on the multitude. The streets and many of the houses are festively lit up.

The stream ebbs away but slowly. To-morrow the Fourth Congress will commence its session.

Workers' Defense Union Is Raising Xmas Fund

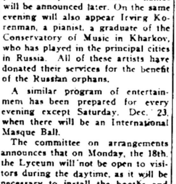
The season of peace and good will is almost with us. But still hundreds of political prisoners are in federal and state prisons with no hope of release.

One favor capitalism grants her prisoners is a little respite at Christmas from the murderous discipline of the remainder of the year, then a few gifts are permitted to be sent to these men.

Workers are not sentimental about a season the spirit of which is made a mockery of by the very existence of prisons but it is only then that they are permitted to pledge their devotion and solidarity to those on the inside.

The Workers' Defense Union is raising a special Christmas Fund to see that all the politicals in every prison get some sort of a Christmas gift. This is the fifth year the defense union has raised Christmas funds and because there are more workers inside this year than ever before they have set out to raise $6,000, which will be just sufficient to assure every man an adequate expression of love and solidarity.

Will you send a contribution quickly? The time is short, act at once. Send contributions to the Christmas Fund of the Workers' Defense Union, 81 East 10th St., New York City.



Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG

The Poor Fish Says:

The elections prove that people are never satisfied.

Debs Helps Russian Orphans

Eugene V. Debs has laid the cornerstone—metaphorically speaking—of a colony of Children's Homes in Russia bearing his name. In response to the appeal for the saving of Russian orphans made by the Friends of Soviet Russia, he has sent a donation of $10 and a letter expressing his enthusiastic endorsement of the work.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Kamenev Sees C.I. at Head of World Labor

By Radio to Imprekorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to "The Worke

MOSCOW, Nov 7.—This eve there took place in the Big Thea a joint session of the All-Russ Executive and the Moscow Workers' organizations with the Fou Congress of the Communist Inte national. The Congress was mo enthusiastically greeted by the four thousand people present.

Comrade Kamenev opened the session. He emphasized the fact that Soviet Russia as well as the Communist International is the fighting organization of the world proletariat. The Soviet Power united Russia from Archangel to Batum and from Petrograd to Vladivostock. The Communist International is growing while capitalism is preparing its own grave.

Italians Fight Fascism

Kalinin points out the improvement of the position of the Russian working class.

Zinoviev declares that Soviet Russia has never been as strong as she is at present. The sympathy and support of the non-party elements is growing visibly. Since the demonstration during the S.R. Trial up to the present day a powerful influx of the non-party elements into the communist organizations is noticeable.

Bordiga (Italy) states that the Italian communists will fight Fascism with the methods of Fascism.

A declaration of Berron (France) that the French communists are united and convinced of the necessity of creating a strong communist party is supported by all the French delegates and enthusiastically received by all present.

A delegation of Moscow workers presents the Congress with an artistically executed statue of Lenin. Other factory committees present Lenin with statues of Marx and Engels.

Smeral (Czecho-Slovakia), congratulates the Russian proletariat on the mighty economic achievements of the Soviet Power and promises that the Czecho-Slovakian communists will do everything to hinder the Italian Fascisti from uniting with the South German reaction.

Polish Party Grows

Kolaroff (Bulgaria), points out that the soldiers of the Wrangel army in Bulgaria are turning their backs on the counter-revolution.

Valetzky (Poland): The Communist Party of Poland is growing in strength in spite of the unb[illegible] terror prevailing.

The following comrades [illegible] speak: Webb (England), [illegible] (Turkey) and Schüller for the [illegible] International. Radek describ[illegible] progress of the Communist [illegible] national.

Comrade Clara Zetkin [illegible] the thanks of the women to the [illegible] sian proletariat and the Red [illegible] for the sacrifices made by them. [illegible] Menshevikis and the Social [illegible] tionaries prophesied the [illegible] the Soviet Power within [illegible] months. Today, on the [illegible] versary of the Revolution, [illegible] stronger than ever. The world [illegible] letariat will follow the [illegible] ample and overthrow capi[illegible]

With a moving speech by [illegible] the memorable session is [illegible]

TEN WORKERS SHOU THIS COPY OF THE W KEEP IT IN CIRC

Drive Defense

Defense Council with at 166 W. Washington New York Office, 80 E. 11th St., has launch- wide Christmas drive for of the twenty labor mili- prosecuted under Michi- Criminal Syndicalism Law. on the tremendous senti- the railroading of Wm. C. E. Ruthenberg and other defendants now being under the Michigan State Syndicalism law which is the entire labor and liberal of the country, it is pre- that this Christmas drive will in the building up of a de- fund and public sentiment will make it impossible for the to secure a conviction.

literature of the Defense which is being distributed in points out that on Christ- twenty centuries ago the a humble carpenter was born to the world the message of hood of men. It continues to of how on Christmas day in the little band of Pilgrims was a community where all escape persecution for their and how one hundred and years later the American army Forge was suffering untold in order to make possible of the free.

yet after all these years of for freedom" the Defense statement continues, "on day in the year 1922 twen- will be on trial for their The statement is signed by -six Americans prominent in and the liberal movement Roger N. Baldwin, direc- the American Civil Liberties Eugene V. Debs, John Hay Holmes of the Community of New York, Francis Fisher formerly United States Dis- Attorney of Philadelphia and John A. Ryan, director of Action Department of the Catholic Welfare Council. operating with the national or- of the Labor Defense are more than a hundred Labor Defense Councils and of Central Labor bodies, local progressive organizations the country.

—A DEFINITION

Editor of The Worker.

COMRADE:—May 1, thru columns, invite definitions of COMMUNISM. The fol- conditions are to be observ-

The definition must be the writer's own, and his name must be signed to it;

It must not exceed twenty-five words;

must be in the hands of the undersigned not later than January 1, 1923.

persons will be asked to as judges, and the definition they decide upon as the best receive as a prize a copy of 's book, "Dictatorship vs. racy." With the permission editor this prize definition will shed in THE WORKER.

Hayes, Wellesley, Mass.

Meeting of Society for Aid to Soviet Russia.

Dec. 17, at 2 P. M., at the of the New York 231 East 37th St., there will a general membership of the STASR., which will one of the milestones in the of this remarkably growing On the order of the the election of delegates to the Annual Convention, STASR.

Convention in Newark

Workers' Esperanto Convention held Dec. 31, at "Newark La- ceum," Newark, N. J., at 10 A. All known Esperanto have been invited. all communications to laborista- Centro, 247 E. New York, N. Y.

[illegible] Join New York Local, Workers Party; Increase of One-Third

By C. E. WARE

At the city convention of the Workers Party, Local Greater New York, held last Sunday, Dec. [illegible], the Executive Secretary reported that the membership figures for the Local today stand at [illegible] as against [illegible] five months ago.

The 72 delegates representing 46 branches, [illegible] the recognition of the Russian [illegible] with an enthusiastic and unanimous vote and instructed its delegates to the NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA to urge the incoming Central Executive Committee to carry on in Trade Unions and all working class organizations an active campaign for the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States.

The convention stated its absolute repudiation of Gompers' political policy for nonpartisanship of labor in politics and in no uncertain terms convicted the Government of being an instrument of the employers in the "open shop drive". It denounced the Daugherty injunction but recognized that state power in the hands of the capitalist class means the use of force and violence in the form of the injunction and militia, against the working class.

A resolution endorsing the formation of a Labor Party which shall consist of **"Trade unions and working class organizations and political parties"** was unanimously adopted and forwarded as the expression of the convention to the Conference for Progressive Political Action taking place the following day in Cleveland.

Support the R. A. I. C.

THE RUSSIAN - AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION —formed on the initiative of the AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA—to aid in the industrial reconstruction of Russia, was pledged the active co-operation of the Local and all branches and members of the local were urged to push the stock selling campaign of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

It was pointed out that the Socialist party, consistent with its policy of sabotage against the Russian Government, has not only failed to give its support to the splendid aim of this Corporation but has even featured adverse reports concerning it.

Every Branch should at once take steps to carry out the decision of the Convention and assure the success of the campaign of the R. A. I. C.

Political Prisoners

Regarding POLITICAL AND CLASS WAR PRISONERS the Convention reaffirmed its stand for amnesty and called for support of the National Defense committee and active co-operation of every branch and member with the new Labor Defense Council, which in a resolution receiving the unanimous support of the convention, was hailed as the beginning of a movement from which a General Working Class Defense organization should develop.

Work in the Trade Unions

The work of the Industrial Department was discussed at great length. The position of the Party with regard to AMALGAMATION, and the work to be carried on in the LABOR UNIONS was accepted as stated in the following resolutions:

"Recognizing the industrial form of organization as the necessary step to be adopted in the struggle of the masses against the master class;

"We therefore favor Amalgamation of the existing Unions industrially and we call upon all our members within the Unions to support every movement tending towards Amalgamation."

Regarding the unions the convention stated that:

"Since there are many organisations labor organizations in the various industries such as Clothing, Food, Metals, Textile and Shoes, and the position of the Workers Party towards these unions and the work of our members in them, has been misrepresented, our members in all Independent and A. F. of L. unions are instructed actively to support the program of the Trade Union Educational League and its organization of minority rank and file groups in Independent and A. F. of L. unions so that they shall carry on a campaign of education and agitation for the amalgamation of the various unions, Independent and A. F. of L., into one industrial union for each industry."

The Trade Union Educational League and its official organ the Labor Herald were endorsed as the expression of the militant workers in the labor movement and every member of the Local Greater New York was instructed to carry out the decision of the Workers Party and become members of the T. U. E. L.

Discipline

The breach of discipline of the former members of the Jewish Bureau was settled as far as the local was concerned by the adoption, 56 to 4, of a resolution condemning those members for their action and calling upon the N. E. C. of the Workers Party to take drastic action against them.

The convention was treated to the inevitable exhibition of demagoguery by two delegates who took the floor in opposition to the majority recommendation on a resolution on the Communist International.

After a terrific mental effort on the part of its opponents and a little logic in its support, the majority resolution was passed by a vote of 57 to 1; the resolution adopted by the convention being as follows:

"The Communist International"

WHEREAS, The Workers Party accepts the principle that the class struggle for the emancipation of the working class is an international struggle, and

WHEREAS, The leadership in the International struggle which inspires hope in the hearts of Workers of the world and arous ar in the capitalists of every country is the leadership of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL;

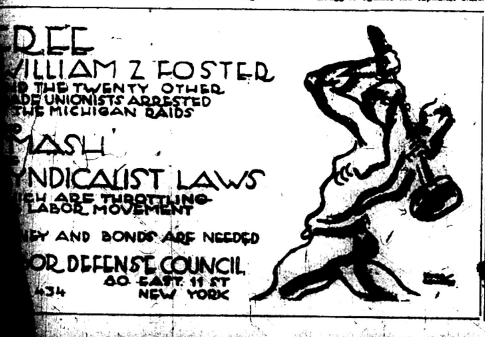
THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the city convention of Local Greater New York of the Workers Party of America, declares its sympathy with the principles of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of national groups, under the inspiration and leadership of the Communist International and on the question of affiliation of the Workers Party of America with the Communist International, that we accept the ruling of the Communist International.

After discussion and minor changes several other resolutions were then adopted.

Recognizing the importance of a concrete educational program the committee on education brought in specific recommendations regarding the holding of classes, lectures, open forums, subjects on which courses should be given and the form of work be taken up in the language branches. This splendid report received the enthusiastic support of the entire convention. It is to be hoped that the Local and its branches will put this program into effect at once.

Following the acceptance of the program as proposed in the WORKER of Dec. 2nd, delegates were elected to the DISTRICT CONVENTION TO TAKE PLACE SUNDAY, DEC. 17th, and the convention adjourned.

If the interest and active participation of the delegates in the convention is followed by similar activity on the part of each and every member this year should see Local New York become the force in the working class movement that a revolutionary party must become if it is to lead the workers in their daily struggles against the capitalist class.



[illegible]

The eyes of all the members of the Workers Party and progressives thruout the labor movement of this section are fastened on the election in District 5, United Mine Workers of America, held Dec. 12th, thruout the district. On the result of this election many things turn. If the Progressive Ticket polls a majority of the votes in this district it will be a feat little sort of miraculous. The "machine" has unlimited resources and the backing of the international. An army of organizers using all the tricks of the professional "payroller" rushed about the fields circulating lies about the candidates and doing everything in their power to confuse the issue.

There is no question but that the Progressive Ticket polled an overwhelming majority. The trouble is that the district constitution is full of jokers. The votes are counted at the district headquarters by the enemies of the Progressives. Every effort will be made to secure an honest count but it is not certain yet what tricks the "machine" will employ.

Eight days are allowed after election before the ballots have to be in and then the tellers may count at their leisure. The rank and file promise however to make it hot for the machine if the vote is not honestly handled this time.

Two things have figured prominently in this campaign. First the signing of the Cleveland Agreement which abandoned the Fayette miners. Second the delay by Feeny, O'Leary and the International in giving adequate relief to the Fayette miners after they had been abandoned by the International and the District. Never was there a more brazen betrayal and right valiantly have the Progressives employed it. The educational campaign in this election has been worth all the sacrifice made.

Book Review

BY H. M. WICKS.

Industrial Revival in Soviet Russia, by A. A. Heller. Published by Thomas Seltzer, New York.

Here is a book of the first magnitude about Russia; the Russia that is struggling with economic forces and bringing these forces under the control of the revolution and in order to perpetuate the revolution.

Many authors, representing every shade of opinion, have told stories of Communist activity in Moscow and Petrograd, but it remained for the present author to go into the towns, peasant villages and industrial communities and depict the Communist struggles taking place there. At least this is the first book of the type that has appeared in the English language and it fulfills a long-felt want.

The book is written in narrative form, recounting the personal experiences of the author in his travels over thousands of miles of Russia. One cannot but envy him his experience when reading of the manner in which he observed Communism penetrate even the remotest sections of the vast territory that was for so long the symbol of cultural and political darkness. Everywhere, we are told, appear reminders of the revolution; at every railroad station, in every place where people gather is the revolution. The revolutionary slogans "The hammer of the workman and the plow of the peasant will conquer economic ruin" and "Efficient labor is the surety of our victory" abound everywhere.

We never thought it possible to write the story of economic reconstruction in the same fascinating manner that one might write of the stirring days of the first movement of the revolution, but this author has proved that it is possible by this work of his.

There is no intelligent worker who will not be intensely interested in the success of ordinary workmen and peasants at the head of industrial enterprises. The chapters dealing with the reorganization of industry is a complete refutation of the myth that the capitalists are the "brains" of industry and that the workers cannot dispense with them without courting disaster.

Of particular interest to trade unionists is the chapter dealing with the transition from war to peace, wherein the conflicting views of Lenin, Trotzky, Shliapnikov, are set forth concerning the role of the unions in the period of readjusting the industrial life of Russia. That chapter alone makes the book invaluable for every workingman who is active in his labor organization and at the same time furnishes basis for refutation of the charges of reactionaries against Soviet Russia in its attitude toward labor unions.

Through 241 pages we see the new society arise from the revolutionary struggle and at the conclusion we are reminded of the statement of someone to the effect that every person is capable of writing at least one book. We do not know whether Comrade Heller has written or will write more, but this one is enough for one man, anyway.

Don't Throw This Paper Away Pass It on to Your Neighbor

[illegible]

Workers Party Declaration on Soviet Russia

[illegible]

The Russian Proletarian Revolution in November, 1917 [illegible] world. Following out a program that became clear in 1914 when the World War broke out; that gained in clearness in March, 1917, when the czar was dethroned and Kerensky became the leader of Russia; and that became inevitable in November, 1917, when disillusioned and desperate, the Russian workers and peasants demanded "peace and bread", the Russian Bolsheviki took the lead and demonstrated the method and way to proletarian emancipation. Leadership, determination and a plan of action in the interests of the workers and peasants as against the capitalist class and all of its institutions—these three things sealed the Russian working class revolution.

And all over the world, the workers by their support or antagonism evidenced their revolutionary or counter-revolutionary spirit and understanding.

The ranks of the workers divided. Even opponents of the War could not understand or accept a class war culminating in a proletarian class government. Filled with the humbug of "democracy"—that delusion of the capitalist system—they demanded of the proletarian government **more** "democracy" in the midst of a capitalist world that openly and shamelessly tramples on all "democracy".

The Russian workers well understood this "democracy". They knew that capitalist "democracy" was a fraud—as much a fraud in "free, democratic" America as in czaristic Russia. Acting on a doctrine that was early enunciated by James Madison, President of the United States, that the "first object of government" is the protection of the faculties of men, "from which the rights of property originate", the Russian workers and peasants instituted a government vesting all rights in the working class, and protecting them in these rights. It became one of the "first objects" of this government to suppress the class that hitherto had possessed these rights—the capitalist class—and that assuredly would wage war against the working class for the restitution of these rights.

Hence, unfalteringly and true to the historical mission of the working class, the Russian Soviets, the workers' organs of power, summoned to action by the Russian Bolsheviki, assumed control and established a Government of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers. A proletarian dictatorship thru a Soviet Government was established—a government using the organized force of the working class, the civil and military power, in defense of the working class and its government.

The Socialists, the great betrayers of the working class in 1914, faced a similar problem in 1918. In November, 1918, the German workers had to decide between a proletarian revolution and a capitalist republic. Acting for the German workers, peasants and soldiers, the German Social-Democracy misled them and betrayed the revolution. It made a pact with the German capitalists. It sold out the revolution and put Stinnes on the throne of Germany. It was 1914, truly, that determined who were the friends and who were the enemies of the working class.

After November, 1917, the Russian workers were obliged to fight for four years against capitalist machinations to destroy their working class government. For four years they made the greatest sacrifices, they faced the greatest dangers, they turned from the pressing task of building up their country to the defense of the Revolution, which was the achievement of so many decades of suffering. Capitalist intrigue within, supported by foreign troops, foreign supplies and foreign gold; a blockade and war conducted against them by the capitalist world; industrial disorganization and technical sabotage—for four years, the Russian workers faced these enemies, while their Red Armies were at the front, fighting, bleeding and dying in order that the Revolution might be preserved.

Despite all this intrigue, Soviet Russia offered peace to the world. Soviet Russia wanted peace in order to rebuild the factories, railroads and bridges that were demolished by the civil war. She wanted peace to reopen the mines and cultivate the fields that were destroyed by the counter-revolutionary armies of Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel. But peace was not given her: the capitalists of the world were determined that this first attempt of the workers to rule should be blasted.

But Soviet Russia won—no steel could penetrate the steel in the hearts of the soldiers of the Red Armies. Soviet Russia was victorious on the twenty-six fronts on which her armies fought.

Then, in 1921, came the draught with its harrowing, decimating consequences. Whole families were killed by hunger. Entire villages migrated and fled from the scourge. Disease and disaster invaded the country. Soviet Russia passed thru a year of horror that well might have spent her energy. But Soviet Russia was not to be conquered. A century of suffering and deprivation had prepared the Russian workers even for this trial.

Two other factors helped Soviet Russia in these struggles. The capitalist world stands before dissolution. Since the War, every capitalist country has passed thru a period of overproduction, underconsumption and devastating unemployment. Capitalist reconstruction has been a mockery—the workers of Europe are slowly breaking down under the lash of hunger. The international capitalists extracted billions of profit from the miseries and horrors of the War. These billions must be invested. Raw material for the promotion of industry must be found. Soviet Russia and Asia Minor represent the best fields of exploitation. Capitalist greed is stronger even than capitalist intrigue. Hence, one by one the capitalists have sought concessions and rights of exploitation from the Soviet Government. They have done so, despite the fact that the big capitalist governments either refuse to recognize the Soviet Government, or give it only formal recognition. For the capitalists well know that recognition of the Soviet Government will strengthen the workers' confidence in workers' rule and destroy the ridiculous tales about the Workers' Government that have been maliciously circulated about the world.

The people of Asia and Africa are under the domination of the Big Powers. India, Asia Minor, China, Egypt—all of them are primarily agricultural countries similar to Russia under the czars. **The workers and peasants of these countries have suffered much and are suffering today from brutal, vicious exploitation and inhuman treatment at the hands of** the hirelings in the employ of capitalist regimes. They have seen what the workers and peasants of Russia have accomplished, how they overthrew the rule of the master and established a government of their own.

The Near East, the prey of all the capitalist powers, has looked to Soviet Russia for support. And Soviet Russia, the Government of the Workers and Peasants, has given them the aid that workers always give to persecuted peoples. Soviet Russia stands behind Turkey against the assaults and designs of the capitalist world. The mighty strength of Soviet Russia, gathered during the five years of war of defense against the capitalist governments, has made the Soviet Government the dictator of policy in the Near East. In Siberia, also, Soviet diplomacy has forced the Japanese troops to evacuate the country, so that the Soviet power and influence now extend to the Pacific. Capitalism has suffered new defeats at the hands of the workers.

But the workers of the world still have a tremendous task. For five years especially the revolutionary workers have stood by Soviet Russia in her struggles, and have warded off many a disastrous blow. Two major tasks now stand before them.

1. The workers must help Soviet Russia reconstruct the country. Factories and mines, mills and railroads cannot operate because of the want of machinery. Raw material cannot be transported because the railroads lack rolling stock. Starvation has attacked sections of the country because food could not be transferred from one territory to the other. The capitalists hesitate to invest their surplus billions in Soviet Russia, since they will be subject to laws made by workers and peasants. They know that building up the country will strengthen the Soviet Regime. Hence the workers must invest their savings in Soviet Russia; they must become partners in the big enterprise of building up the country and putting the millions to work.

2. The workers must demand more than ever before, that Soviet Russia be recognized, and that trade relations with her be opened. The American revolutionists of 1776 stated that it is the right of any people to determine the kind of government under which they will live. It is the right of the Russian people to live unmolested by foreign capitalist intrigue under the government of their choosing. By five years of support, despite all attempts to thwart their purpose, the Russian workers and peasants have shown their determination to maintain the form of government that they adopted on November 7, 1917. It is the duty of the workers of the world to support them irrespective of whether they approve of the soviet form of government or not.

It is the task of the revolutionists to agitate and demonstrate in favor of Soviet Russia. In America it is a very important task to carry on this campaign of enlightenment owing to the hostile attitude of the government. Large sections of the American working class also are against Soviet Russia, owing to the slanderous propaganda that has been conducted against her. The reactionary leaders at present at the head of the American Federation of Labor, have misinformed and misled the workers. The malicious propaganda of part of the yellow Socialist press, with the Forward and the N. Y. Call at their front, together with the vicious lying agitation of such renegades as Schlesinger and Hillquit, makes it the imperative duty of all revolutionists to carry the truth to the workers, in order to establish a united front of the workers against imperialistic chicanery. The Workers Party, therefore, will regard it as one of its most important duties to wage an energetic propaganda and agitational campaign in behalf of Soviet Russia for reconstruction, recognition and non-interference in Russian affairs.

MARY MARCY DIES

CHICAGO.—Mary E. Marcy died Dec. 8 following accidental taking of a dose of poison at her home. She had been much pleased the last month by the growing popularity of her latest book, Rhymes of Early Jungle Folk, a book of verse for children. Additional orders by book stores had shown that the book was a success as a Christmas gift for children, thus carrying out her dream of carrying her ideas in simple form into the minds of the coming generation.

Wicks to Lecture in Bronx

A report on the results of "The Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action" will be given by H. M. Wicks under the auspices of the Bronx Open Forum, Sunday, Dec. 17, 8 P. M., at 1347 Boston Road.

The action of the conference is of great interest to the working class of America and no one is better able to narrate the manoevres at the conference than Comrade Wicks. There will be an excellent musical program. An admission fee of 15 cents will be charged.

ENTERTAINMENT AND BALL
for the benefit of the
"The Voice of The Worker"
Greek Weekly
(Official Organ of the Greek Federation of the Workers Party)
PALM GARDEN
50th Street between Lexington and 3rd Ave.
Thursday, Dec. 14th, 8:30 p. m.
Drama: "POOR MEN'S COUNTRY"
By [illegible]
"Revolutionary Dramatic Dance"
By Mrs. [illegible] and Miss [illegible]
MUSIC AND DANCE
Tickets, [illegible]
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HELP US TO BUILD A GREEK PRESS FOR OUR PARTY
Under auspices of
GREEK BRANCH OF THE WORKERS PARTY.

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inclusive
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[illegible] Trails Great Britain

[illegible] Ambassador Child, speaking for the American government, [illegible] been given a day off as errand boy for Standard Oil [illegible] has placed this country directly in support of [illegible] on the question of the Dardanelles and the Bos- [illegible]

[illegible] stand taken by Child, is a direct somersault for the United [illegible] If warships are to follow merchantmen into the Black [illegible] shouldn't warships follow merchantmen into the Great [illegible] or is one policy admissible for aggression against Soviet [illegible] and to be rejected for defense at home?

The question of navalizing the Great Lakes was settled by the United States and Great Britain by keeping warships off these waters, by neutralizing the lakes.

Now the United States backs Great Britain by declaring that all capitalist nations have a right to decide the question of navalizing the Black Sea, and of course the joint imperialist decision is that all capitalist nations have a right to send their murder machines into the peaceful waters of the Soviet Republic to threaten workers' rule, under the pretense that the Black Sea is an "international highway."

This duplicity is characteristic of the developing imperialist diplomacy of the United States.

"We propose peace to you, and you propose war against us," Tchitcherin, for Russia, told Curzon, for England.

Curzon would not be in a position to make his threats, and plan for new wars against Russia, if his near-bankrupt government was not supported by Washington.

Thus, says the New York Times, "this country at once takes again its place in European affairs."

By "this country," the Times, of course, means the diplomats at Washington and the money changers of Wall Street.

The workers are taking a different view of the situation. Let American labor, in co-operation with British labor, unite now against both their imperialist governments and silence this new threat of war against the rule of their comrades in Red Russia. Labor must and will have the last word, and it will announce the triumph of the workers over their oppressors.

Progressives Progress Backwards

This deals with that group of democrats and republicans in congress who delight in calling themselves "progressives."

Wheeler, of Montana, of course, denies he is either a "progressive," or a "radical." Radicals, he says, want to change the government. He feels he is a conservative. He wants things to remain as they are. Worse than that. He wants to go backwards, 150 years, back to "The Constitution!" and "The Declaration of Independence!" Shipsted, of Minnesota, and others sing the same tune.

LaFollette, of Wisconsin, supposed to be the leader of the progressives, makes progress by trying to push us back to the days of the stage coach and "the village blacksmith."

LaFollette is "agin the trusts," just like Roosevelt before him. He is fighting the proposed Armour-Morris merger of meat packing interests. He wants to fill the nation with competing packing houses, just as we once had a lot of stage coach lines and village blacksmith shops, instead of the national transportation system and trustified steel industry of today.

LaFollette thinks this will help the farmers. And Owen, of Oklahoma, Norris, of Nebraska, and others cry "Amen!"

LaFollette thinks all these competing packing houses will offer the farmers higher prices for their pigs and cattle, for their grain, for their poultry, for their dairy products. And there are a lot of farmers who believe that what LaFollette says is the truth and they follow him. And there is the tragedy.

LaFollette tries to make progress by going backwards. But the forces of evolution make progress, aided occasionally by revolution, by going forward. We are living in an era of greater trusts, not of trust busting. La Follette is 20 years late. Roosevelt and trust busting had their day a score of years ago.

This is not the day for the farmers, or the industrial workers, to be misled by a reactionary program, even when advanced by progressives, for busting the trusts in banks, steel, food, transportation, oil, or any other industrial or financial combination.

This is the day for wiping out private ownership in trustified industry, and its political expression,—the capitalist state. It is the day for advancing to the workers' state, for dispossessing capitalism and ushering in Communism—ownership by all.

Has Schlesinger Been Silenced?'

We have before us "The Advance," official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and "Justice," official organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

The spokesman for the "Amalgamated" is filled to the brim with accounts of the triumphal return of Sidney Hillman from Soviet Russia, and his report of the work of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

Where Benjamin Schlesinger, head of the "International," has been extremely active in attacking and villifying the great undertaking of the "Amalgamated," we find in this issue of "Justice" not one single word, either for or against.

This at a time when a few words from Schlesinger, according to his usual style, might help bolster up the morale of the weakening attack on the First Workers' Republic. Schlesinger will surely be compelled to answer to Gompers for this delinquency.

Hillman is back. He will tour the country for the R. A. I. C. He will bring the truth to the workers of this country, the truth that will silence forever the villainous calumniators of Soviet Rule who parade as "Socialists" and "spokesmen for labor." It looks as if Schlesinger is among the first to choke upon his own lies.

William Jennings Bryan has endorsed La Follette's group in congress. We knew that someone would come forward to hang crepe on this "progressive" miscarriage.

ONE YEAR [illegible]

Address all mail and communications to
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Pershing Tries to Mop 'em Up

General John J. (Black Jack) Pershing has been on an expedition thru the middle west in an effort to "mop up the reds." In Chicago he had the zealous support of Brig.-Gen. Charles G. (Hell and Maria)-Dawes, who is a banker during business hours.

In fact, "Black Jack's" speech at Chicago was his Armageddon, as he evidently thought. The hero of the oil expedition into Mexico, attacked Governor Small, of Illinois, for his release of Lloyd, Lore, Owens and other Communists. He delivered a broadside against the Herrin coal miners. He again annihilated the Communist convention at Bridgeman, Mich. He predicted war in the Near East and the Far East.

All in all, when he got thru, the representatives of "Chicago's military, commercial, industrial, patriotic and other civic organizations" present, were ready to exhaust themselves in any form of "patriotic service."

Some yelled, "Impeach Small!" The New York Herald reported that one woman wanted to take the Illinois governor "by the nape of the neck and drag him thru the streets until the wind was out of him."

Pershing spoke for the Chicago Association of Commerce, that helped raise $50,000 to "save civilization" in Illinois against the Herrin coal miners, and he announced he is ready to be behind any new armies of deluded workers who will go forth blindly, a la in France, to save "world civilization" once more, this time from the terrible Russians and the Turks. In his own language:

"The Near East is seething with revolution. Altho we desire peace it is not difficult to imagine ourselves again forced into a conflict, as we were in 1917, IN THE DEFENSE OF CIVILIZATION."

Pershing's speech would have made a greater hit during the hectic days of the late war. Now it works like a dud. The bankers, the parasites, the profiteers applaud him. The great masses of labor are silent, or voice their protest when occasion offers.

Increased numbers of workers in this country, and in other lands, are being arrayed in opposition to Pershing's brand of "civilization," with its degrading child labor, its dehumanizing exploitation of men and women wage slaves, its recurring slaughter and maiming of millions in new wars.

Pershing failed to mop up "the reds," and those who sympathize with them, on his recent trip, because it is getting impossible for American capitalism to sell another war to American labor. Against Pershing's "civilization," the workers of all lands are more and more studying the "new civilization," the civilization that is being offered by the Russian Soviet Revolution.

This Capitalist Chaos

London and Lausanne are witnessing the twin failures of the capitalist allies to bring "law and order" out of the world chaos created by the recent war.

The conference at London has broken up. The British imperialists fear the workers of their own country, representing the second political power in the land, and they tremblingly refuse to back French imperialism in its aims to take over the Ruhr, the rich German industrial district.

Thus no basis has been found for the Brussels Conference planned for the near future, at which the Germans were to sit in at their own funeral and help determine the disposition of the corpse.

The Christmas season approaches and the British will not forgive the French their debts, because the United States will not do likewise, and the French refuse to make commensurate concessions to the bankrupt Germans. The debt and reparations problems thus remain as hopeless as ever.

In spite of the fact that the Russian delegates are having as difficult a time breaking into the various "private conferences" at Lausanne, as the Workers Party delegates had in getting a hearing in the Labor Party Conference, at Cleveland, nevertheless, Tchitcherin and his comrades are holding the center of the stage at the Swiss mountain resort.

England is willing to pay almost any price to win the French against the Turks, which means also against the Russians, and this is given as the reason for the British proposal to cancel the French debts. England put her stakes in the Near East on Greece and lost. It now seems as if the French are determined to make the British pay the biggest possible price for a united capitalist front.

In the meantime the New York Times, Dec. 12, gives a column of space to an article with the headline: "Red Army Called Finest in World; German Traveler Says Russia Could Muster 6,000,000 to 'Walk Thru Europe'."

Soviet Russia does not want to walk her Red Army thru Europe or any other part of the world. She wants peace. But she is strong enough to defend herself at home, and powerful enough to insist on her rights abroad.

The chaos within the world capitalist structure is shaking it to pieces without any aid from the outside. That was the story of Genoa and The Hague. It is the story of London and Lausanne.

[illegible] Arbitration

Many [illegible] have been duped into having their differences [illegible] arbitrated.

While [illegible] arbitration, however, the coal miners have allowed [illegible] to be weakened by district settlements. This folly is now being felt in the negotiations for a new settlement to take the place of the present agreement that expires March 31.

The coal operators have a clever proposal. They say to the miners, let us settle by districts. Then disputes remaining unsettled shall be submitted to a national arbitration board appointed by the President.

This means that the mine owners could, thru dilatory tactics, practically force the entire wage question to settlement by a Harding packed board of arbitrators. It was "arbitration" thru the Railroad "Labor" Board, with its members representing the bosses and "the public," that forced the recent railroad strike.

The anthracite miners got their fill of arbitration in 1920, when they were asked by President Wilson to refer their differences with the mine owners to the United States Anthracite Coal Commission.

This commission, in making its decision, disregarded all the testimony submitted by the mine workers. Its findings were opposed to the expert advice of its own neutral economic advisers. It, therefore, fixed wages far below accepted living standards.

Arbitration never settled anything. It is a trap into which traitor labor officials lead their memberships. The owners of industry and government spokesmen have never shown any desire to throw prices and profits into the hopper of arbitration. Only the wages and conditions of labor are to be compromised by arbitration.

The coal miners must never again place the weapon of arbitration in the hands of the mine owners. Neither is the proposal of the miners' officials, led by President Lewis, satisfactory. They urge the old plan of settlement on the basis of an agreement in the central competitive field, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania.

The mining industry extends to all sections of the country. Any settlement reached should include all the miners, just as any strike declaration should call 100 percent of all coal diggers to the industrial battle line.

Miners! Oppose arbitration! Favor the general strike of all coal miners! Demand the national agreement for the whole mining industry!

That must be your stand now, and you must stand by it to pave the way for a victory in the struggle that the bosses will force upon you in the spring.

Why This New Outburst?

We are asked by large numbers of our readers to explain the latest outburst against "The Reds in the United States," this time led by Frank A. Munsey's New York Herald.

These daily articles cannot be classified as news, since The Boston Transcript and a string of other kept sheets only recently covered practically the same ground in an extensive broadside. They must, therefore, be considered as propaganda, capitalist propaganda against the rising Communist movement in this country.

Of course, the "Socialist" press, like the New York Call, that believes the war mania is giving way to a return to "peaceful democracy," interprets this new attack as merely a hangover of that orgy of "red baiting" that originated with the Palmer regime under Wilson, and that has come down to us under Daugherty and Burns. We cannot look backward with "The Call." We must look forward to the future struggles of the workers of this country.

Munsey is one of those who urges unity of the two capitalist parties. He sees the rising party of labor. Others see it. They do not want it. But they know it is coming. And they are going to fight it. And they know that the American Communist movement, thru the Workers Party, is carrying on the only militant agitation for political unity of America's workers against their oppressors. So Munsey must discredit the Workers Party, and it is against the Workers Party that most of his propaganda campaign is directed.

It is significant that the Wall Street Journal, organ of great finance, devotes considerable space to a review of all these alleged anti-red revelations under the heading, "Reds Are Active in American Propaganda." Wall Street is interested in plundering labor thru profiteering industry. It isn't looking backward with the "Socialist" Call, to the war days of Palmer and Wilson. It is looking ahead, with those who sponsor it, to the days when the great amalgamation campaign of the Trade Union Educational League will result in greater and more effective struggles of solidified labor against concentrated capital.

To be sure, the capitalist propaganda against "The Reds in America" will help Burns and Daugherty fight the impeachment proceedings against Harding's attorney general. But this can be only a lesser motif.

The slogan, "Amalgamation and a Labor Party," of American militant labor, raised thru the Trade Union Educational League and the Workers Party, is stirring the workers to action. But it is also provoking an angry howling among labor's enemies.

The attacks of the present and the past against labor's militants are as nothing compared to those that are coming. The broadsides of Munsey's Herald and its counterparts thruout the land are useful in that they give us an opportunity to reply. They demand more than ever that we build up great propaganda organs of our own to reply with broadsides of our own. We must not only strengthen the press that we have. We must create a daily Communist press to reach the masses who may today be misled and prejudiced by malicious falsehood, even by admitted facts cleverly turned into misrepresentations for a purpose.

Karl Liebknecht said, "The future belongs to us." But it is only by struggling in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht that we make ourselves worthy of the future that is destined to be ours.

Hello, dear reader! I [illegible] didn't recognize the BOL[illegible] day. Well, how do you [illegible] exquisite heading design? [illegible] that sketch above is not a [illegible] species; honestly not—[illegible] himself! Now, girls, ain't he [illegible] pajamas?! We were offered [illegible] sand dollars by Rudolph [illegible] not to publish this portrait. [illegible] couldn't think of any better [illegible] to offer our readers, hence [illegible] siognomy in the caption. [illegible] this sketch does not give [illegible] to our beauty, yet it is the second best representation of our countenance, the first one is in Rogue's Gallery. For obvious reasons, we won['t] say anything more about the caption but if the WORKER loses its second class mail privilege—you'll know the reason why . . . . .

Welcome to Our Shores

We grasp this opportunity to extend hearty greetings to our honorable newcomers: Iliodor, the crazy monk; Wolfe Linde, the popular fiction writer; and the thirty-seven apes brought to our zoo. We sincerely recommend Mayor Hylan to turn over the keys of the city to them. With Clemenceau, Longuet and the above respectful guests here, all we need now is Lloyd George and [illegible] circus is complete . . . . .

Normalcy

No work
Oppression
Red raids
Malnutrition
Autocracy
Labor injunctions
Child labor
Yanking radicals.

We Don't Even Get That Much

The following anonymous co[illegible] was found in our mail box. A sea[illegible] ing party has been organized to [illegible] its author. Certain clues point in [illegible] direction of a stenog. We assure [illegible] readers that we'll have very [illegible] mercy for her.—Ed.

QUESTION: What is the di[illegible] ence between the Editor of the [illegible] coms and Winston Spencer Churc[illegible]

ANSWER: Winney gets a [illegible] for writing one article and Ed de[illegible] coms writes a 1000 articles for [illegible] dollar.

Our Pictorial Section

The BOLCOMS have been [illegible] ate in securing an exclusive [illegible] photograph of brother Go[illegible] brains. Here it be:

BOLCOMS CLUB

All natural born jokesmiths, h[illegible] ists, comedians, "kibitzers," et[illegible] terested in forming a Bolcom[illegible] are requested to communicate [illegible] the Editor of this column.

Yes, What's the Use?!

Profiteers take all you can [illegible] A. F. of L. prevents you from ma[illegible] more. Conscience keeps yo[illegible] stealing.

—So what's the use?! [illegible]

—Bol[illegible]

EXPOSED!!

No, not by the New York Her[illegible] the Forward or the Boston Tr[illegible] cript, not even by one of Burns' [illegible] fuls. This great revelation was [illegible] by no one else but our private [illegible] retary last Saturday.

"Doesn't the word, BOLCO[illegible] stand for Bolsheviki Comics?" [illegible] queried.

OUR ADVERTISING DE[illegible]

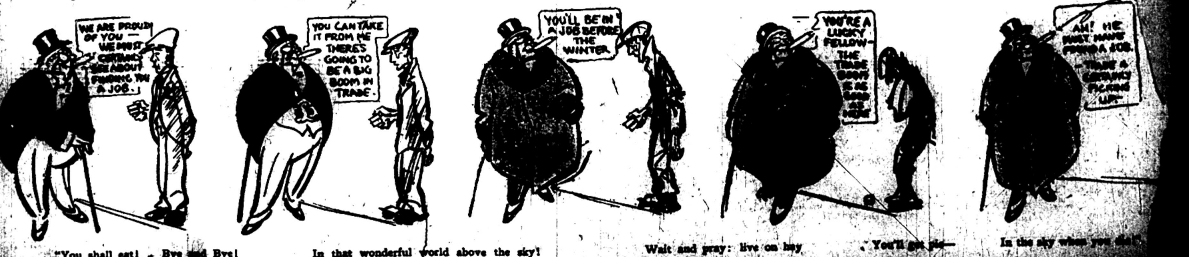
WANTED.—Democratic slo[illegible] for the next war. Liberal remunera[illegible] tions. Write: League of Nations [illegible] the Lausanne Conference.

PERSONAL.—$5,000 will be [illegible] to any fiction writer for the best [illegible] thousand word confession on [illegible] Wall Street explosion. Write [illegible] Windy Lindy, Literary Manager [illegible] the Burned Datektive Agency.

Bolcomsly, IR[illegible]

P.S. How about some contr[illegible] As Doc Coue might say—Day by [illegible] in every way they're getting fewer and fewer.

They Tell the Workers, "Fight for Your Country!" They Sure Would Be Sorry if the Workers Fought for It and W[illegible]


WE ARE PROUD OF YOU — WE MUST CERTAINLY SEE ABOUT FINDING YOU A JOB.
YOU CAN TAKE IT FROM ME THERE'S GOING TO BE A BIG BOOM IN TRADE.
YOU'LL BE IN A JOB BEFORE THE WINTER
YOU'RE A LUCKY FELLOW— THE TRADE BOOM IS AS GOOD AS HERE
AH! HE MUST HAVE FOUND A JOB. TRADE IS CERTAINLY PICKING UP.

"You shall eat! Bye and Bye! In that wonderful world above the sky! Wait and pray: live on hay, You'll get pie— In the sky when you die."

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY [illegible] EXPRESSION

[illegible] SATURDAY, DECEMBER [illegible], 1922 [illegible]

abor Party Must Be Forme

nifesto on the Cleveland Conference by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Part

The Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action is at an end and the hopes of labor have again been betrayed. This conference was the outcome of the movement among the indu workers and farmers for independent political action. The industrial workers and farmers have, during the years since the war, received heavy blows from the government. They have learn from their experiences that the government is an instrument thru which the capitalists protect and advance their interests and which they use to fight against the workers and farmers.

The farmers have learned to know this from the legislation by the government which has made worse the exploitation from which they suffer. The industrial worker has learned it thru injunctions, court decisions, railroad labor boards and soldiers, used against them in their struggles to maintain a decent standard of living.

The result of these experiences is that millions of industrial workers and farmers have voiced their demand for a political party which would fight their battles. They demanded a party representing the interests of the industrial workers and farmers to carry on their political struggles against the old political parties and against the employers and exploiters. This desire of the industrial workers and farmers was betrayed by a group of reactionary leaders who sat in the Cleveland Conference.

STRUGGLE AT CLEVELAND

The struggle in the Cleveland Conference was between a group of reactionary trade union officials aided by the Socialist Party, who wish to continue the policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor" on the Republican and Democratic tickets and the [illegible] industrial workers for an aggressive, militant political party of labor.

The representatives of the railroad unions were against the labor party. The representatives of the organizations of the well-to-do farmers did not want a labor party. The Socialist Party used its strength in the convention against the labor party.

This bloc played the part of the betrayers of the aspirations of the industrial workers in the Cleveland Conference. They organized a machine to control the conference. They used all the parliamentary tricks to gain their end. Thru W. H. Johnston, President of the Machinist's Union, who was chairman of the conference, they headed off every effort to make the conference the means of realizing the fighting political organization which will fight labor's political battles.

These reactionary labor leaders do not want a labor party. The road to public office is easier thru political deals such as the policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor" on the old party ticket leaves open. They betrayed the interests of the exploited industrial workers and farmers in order to advance their political fortunes.

This group of leaders had participated in the La Follette conference in Washington and they want to make the movement for independent political action by the industrial workers and farmers the tail to the kite of the ambition of La Follette, Borah and other so-called "progressives."

Industrial workers and farmers of the United States! You cannot win relief from the exploitation by the banks, the railroads, the coal barons and industrial magnates thru another "progressive" movement. The La Follette-Borah "progressive" group does not represent the interest of the exploited farmer and industrial workers. It represents the interest of the middle-class, of the well-to-do farmers [illegible] It is a backward, reactionary group because it advocates policies which mean an effort to go backward economically in place of forward.

Should the group which betrayed the industrial workers and farmers at Cleveland gain power it would quickly become as great an enemy of the exploited industrial workers and farmers as the servants of the capitalists who now carry on the government machine in the interest of the capitalists. All these "progressives" want of the industrial workers and farmers is to use them as the means of gaining power—and then they will betray them!

The Socialist Betrayal

Even greater than the betrayal by the Johnston-Stone-Keating "progressive" group at Cleveland was the betrayal of the industrial workers and farmers by the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party claims to be a working class political organization. The Socialist Party claims that it is for independent political action by the industrial workers and farmers. In the past the Socialist Party has appealed to the workers and farmers to suport it because it represents their class interests.

At the Cleveland Conference the Socialist Party representatives aligned themselves with the reactionary trade union leaders who were fighting the idea of a labor party. Morris Hillquit was the lieutenant of W. H. Johnston, chairman of the conference, in heading off everything which would help the advocates of the labor party.

The Socialist representatives sat

(Continued on Page Three)

sco Labor rty Going o Action

[illegible] ALLEN dePORD
[illegible] Press Correspondent)

[illegible] FRANCISCO.—What may [illegible] nucleus of a radical Labor [illegible] has been born here in a con[illegible] of union and radical groups. [illegible] participating were the Work[illegible] Party and the Socialist Party, [illegible] irreconcilable enemies, the [illegible] Labor Party, the Rank and [illegible] Federation of Workers, the [illegible] Educational Society, the [illegible] Sick and Death Benefit [illegible] Circle, the Labor [illegible] War Veterans, and the fol[illegible] unions: Waiters, machinists, [illegible] carmen, carpenters, cooks, [illegible] clerks, cigarmakers, struc[illegible] iron workers, lithographers, [illegible] garment workers, tailors, mill[illegible], waitresses. Officially these [illegible] all belong to the Central La[illegible] Council, which is strongly op[illegible] to the new move; but each [illegible] influential delegates to the [illegible] front conference.

[illegible] meeting nominated George [illegible] Kidwell, secretary, bakery drivers' [illegible], to fill the place left vacant by [illegible] death of Congressman John I. [illegible] Conservative labor is boost[illegible] Nolan's widow for the place. [illegible] meeting also formulated 14 [illegible] as campaign issues. The most [illegible] was a resolution for the [illegible] of an American Labor [illegible]

[illegible] others included abolition of [illegible] in labor disputes; gov[illegible] relief of the unemployed; [illegible] constitutional amendment abolish[illegible] child labor; repeal of the Esch-[illegible] law; socialization of the [illegible] of production and distri[illegible]; unabridged right of collect[illegible] bargaining and opposition to the [illegible] plan and to compulsory [illegible]; impeachment of Daugh[illegible] and investigation of war graft [illegible] of Harding's use of troops in [illegible]; abolition of the power of [illegible] courts to declare legislation un[illegible]; a soldiers' bonus; re[illegible] of Russia and of Mexico; [illegible] of political prisoners; a [illegible] to precede declaration of [illegible] and restoration of the rights

(Continued on Page Four)

ext Week!

[illegible] have just received the offi[illegible] English translation of the [illegible] famous address by Niko[illegible] before the Fourth Con[illegible] of the Communist Interna[illegible] on "Five Years of Russian [illegible] and the Prospects of [illegible] World Revolution." This [illegible] will appear in full in next [illegible] issue of "THE WORK-[illegible] This issue must, therefore, [illegible] the widest possible cir[illegible], since Lenin deals with a [illegible] that should be of vital [illegible] to every American [illegible], as well as to those who [illegible] under capitalism in other

"There Is No Salvation for Capitalism", Declares Zinoviev to 4th C. I. Congress

NOTE:—This week's news of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International concerns the report of the Executive for the past year, rendered by Gregory Zinoviev, its chairman, the discussion of the report by the delegates, the concluding words of Zinoviev, and the final adoption of the report by the congress. It is as follows:

* * *

By Radio to Imprekorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to "The Worker."

MOSCOW, Nov. 10.—Gregory Zinoviev delivers the second part of his speech on the tactics of the Communist International. He points out that:

Taken as a whole, the economic world situation since the Third Congress confirms our theses of last year. A temporary economic improvement may be noted in America, Japan, England, France and other countries. This does not in the least alter the actual fact of the decay of capitalism in Europe. The crises nowadays are not merely periodical. THERE IS NO SALVATION FOR CAPITALISM.

The objective position is revolutionary. In international politics the contentions become more and more acute. The Entente is falling to pieces

(Continued on Page Four.)

Big Drive to Amalgamate Workers Is On

CHICAGO.—The Chicago committee for the Amalgamation of the Metal and Railroad Industries has been formed as a delegate body from the interested unions.

Peter Jensen, chairman, system federation, Chicago switching district, heads the committee, which will endeavor by mass meetings and agitation in the locals to crystallize the amalgamation sentiment.

[illegible] Workers Party [illegible] Sunday, Labor Temple

C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, will call the Second National Convention of the Workers Party to order promptly at 10 o'clock Sunday morning, Dec. 24, in the main auditorium of the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St.

The convention will continue thru Monday and Tuesday, coming to an end with the celebration and banquet planned by Local New York, to be held at the Yorkville Casino, Third Ave. and 86th St., Tuesday night, beginning at 7 o'clock.

All the convention preliminaries have been arranged by the party's central executive committee, so that no delay is expected in getting the convention down to real work.

The report of the Central Executive Committee by the Executive Secretary will be the first important matter to come before the convention.

The opening of the convention will find about 70 delegates in their seats; 52 delegates regularly representing the various districts into which the nation is divided; three fraternal delegates of the Young Workers League, and 16 fraternal delegates representing the 16 different foreign language sections of the party.

Take Liberties With Constitution

(Federated Press Correspondent)

TUCSON, Ariz.—The late awakening of the business men of this section to the "menace of the reds" was indicated in a talk before the Rotary club by William Blair, district governor, Kiwanis club, in which he urged that the Rotarians and Kiwanians co-operate to overcome the radical tendencies of the times. These, he declares, are bolshevistic and have a tendency to extremes. Liberties are being taken with the constitution of the United States, he said.

New "Labor Party" Drive Launched

The new drive for the Labor Party was launched at the meeting held in New York City at Park Palace, 110th Street, at which three of the Workers Party delegates to Cleveland, C. E. Ruthenberg, William F. Dunne and Ludwig Lore were the speakers. J. Louis Engdahl acted as chairman. Similar meetings will be held in all sections of the country.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Robbed of Power Over Zeigler, Ill., Coal Miners' Union, Mine Owners' City Officials Beat Up and Deport Workers Party Organizer

NOTE:—T. R. Sullivan, Workers Party organizer for District 10, which includes Southern Illinois, with headquarters at St. Louis, Mo., graphically relates in the accompanying article his personal experiences with the mine owners' city officials at Zeigler, Ill. Sullivan was one of the party organizers active in Illinois during the coal strike, and was only released very recently from the jail at St. Joseph, Mich., where he was confined with 20 others following the Michigan raids. He writes as follows:

* * *

By T. R. SULLIVAN
Organizer, District 10, Workers Party

While holding a membership meeting with all the comrades in Zeigler, Illinois, at the [illegible] Hall, [illegible] Nov. 14, for the purpose of talking over with the [illegible] Workers Party [illegible] Labor Party and the [illegible] work of the [illegible] my face, "Well, what about it?"

I stated that I was willing to give him any information which he might desire.

The Mayor replied then, "I don't need any ---- information from a -- ---------------- like you."

Along with the Mayor and myself there was in the basement room where this "interview" took place a

(Continued on Page Five)

THIS ISSUE IS No. 255

LOOK AT YOUR ADDRESS LABEL! If the number appearing on your address label is the same as above, your subscription expires with this issue. Watch your expiration number. Renew your subscription before it expires.

Celebrate First Year!

Tuesday night, Dec. 26, at the Yorkville Casino, 3rd Ave. and 86th St., the greatest party event ever held in New York will take place.

On that date the Second National Convention of the Workers Party of America will finish its work and all the delegates from every part of the Country will gather to celebrate the progress made by the Party during its first year. The reception is arranged by the Workers Party, Local New York. It has a double purpose inasmuch as it will also be a farewell to some of the comrades who will soon leave to stand trial in Michigan.

The banquet will be given in the Grand Ball room of the Casino. There are only 500 reservations and the demand exceeds all expectations. A dinner of eight courses will be served and the program consists of rich musical numbers. There will be mass singing of revolutionary songs and speeches will be made by all the prominent delegates from over the country.

An important offering will be a series of classical dances by Comrades Vera Stepanian and Minna Maso, both of The Morton Dancers, well known to all lovers of interpretive dancing.

Comrades are advised to secure their reservations early as there will be no tickets sold at the door. They are for sale at the Freiheit, 47 Chrystie St., Volkszeitung, 15 Spruce St., Local New York, 208 E. 12th St., and all other party offices. GET YOUR TICKET NOW!

A Labor Program vs. a "Progressive Program"

The program adopted by the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action shows how completely the middle-class "progressive" elements dominated that conference and how far the conference is from expressing the interests of labor. In contrast with it stands the proposed "Program of the Labor Party" presented to the delegates by the Workers Party. Here is the program adopted:

Do You Want This?

The repeal of the Esch-Cummins railroad law and operation of the railroads for the benefit of the people.

The public control of water power in the interest of the people.

The direct election of the President and Vice-President by the people and extension of direct primary laws in all States.

Action by Congress to end the practice of courts of declaring legislation unconstitutional.

Enactment of the Norris-Sinclair Consumers and Financing Corporation bill, designed to increase prices farmers receive and reduce prices consumers pay for the farm products, and the creation of an independent system of food producers' credits.

Increased tax rates on large incomes and inheritances and payment of a soldiers' bonus by restoring the tax on excess profits.

Legislation providing minimum essential standards of employment for women, equality for women and men, while improving existing political social and industrial standards, and State action to insure maximum benefit of Federal maternity and infancy acts.

Or Will You Demand This?

The "Labor Party Program" offered by the Workers Party delegates was as follows:

Proposed Labor Party Program
Submitted by the Workers Party

In the declaration of Independence, a document underlying the institutions of this country, it was laid down as a principle that all men are endowed with certain inalienable

(Continued on Page Two)

Herrin Trial Keeps Bought Press Busy

By CARL HAESSLE[illegible]
(Federated Press Correspo[illegible]

CHICAGO.—How up-to-date [illegible] labor journalism contrives to [illegible] judice public opinion against [illegible] men on trial without making defini[illegible] charges was demonstrated by a [illegible] in the Chicago Tribune of Dec. 1[illegible] credited to the Associated Press.

An extra fine finish was put on [illegible] game in a signed story from [illegible] Ill., by Philip Kinsley in the Tribune [illegible] to the effect that if any [illegible] witnesses were slain for testify[illegible] against the union miner defendants in the Herrin mine war case now being tried there, ten miners would be killed in revenge by a secret organization of farmers in Williamson anh Johnson counties.

The story, for which there was no foundation in any occurrences at the trial, was protected in the usual manner by an array of "it was said" and "was reported".

The impression gained by casual readers of the story was that witnesses for the prosecution, which is being financed to the extent of $50,000 by the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, are in danger of their lives if they say anything adverse to the union miners on trial. But this impression was not substantiated by any definite evidence.

* * *

DEFENSE INNING SOON
By McAlister Coleman

MARION, Ill.—Arrival of witnesses for the defense in the Herrin mine war murder trials was taken as indication that the prosecution would soon rest its case against Otis Clark, Bert Grace, Leva Mann, Joe Sarnaghi and Peter Hiller, union miners whose case was called first of the 7[illegible] indicted by the special grand jury.

Some Very Interesting Side-Lights Turned on Cleveland Conference

Israel Amter has written [illegible] "Side-Lights on the Cleve[illegible] Conference" that will appear [illegible] next week's issue of "THE WORKER." These side[illegible] turn the full glare of publicity [illegible] some of the dark corners of [illegible] conference not revealed by [illegible] vious articles. "THE WOR[illegible] ER," that prides itself on [illegible] already waged the biggest [illegible] of any single publication [illegible] Labor Party, will continue [illegible] struggle. We ask the help [illegible] readers by ordering bundles [illegible] "THE WORKER" and [illegible] uting them among the wo[illegible] wherever possible.

Don't Throw This Paper [illegible]
Pass It on to Your Neighbo[illegible]

reet Delegates to Second onvention, Workers Party

Concert and Banquet

TUESDAY NIGHT, December 2[illegible] Yorkville Casino, 3rd Ave. & 86t

[illegible] fortunes for themselves while [illegible] the millions of industrial [illegible] and farmers even a "living [illegible]

[illegible] government of the United [illegible] is an instrument of these ex[illegible] which they use to uphold [illegible] strengthen their system of ex[illegible] and oppression. Whether [illegible] Republican or Democratic party [illegible] power the government is equally [illegible] to the wishes of the ex[illegible]. A Democratic administra[illegible] hurled the country into the bloody shambles of the World War [illegible] investments and profits [illegible] the American bankers and in[illegible] magnates. A Republican administration passes tariff bills and [illegible] subsidy legislation and is pre[illegible] for new wars in the interest of the same group of exploiters.

The power of the government is openly used by the exploiting class [illegible] secure opportunities for profitable [illegible] in foreign lands and to [illegible] these investments. Haiti, [illegible] Domingo and Nicaragua have [illegible] robbed of their independence [illegible] the government of the United

[illegible] the imperialist adventures of the American bankers and financial lords. Imperialism turned Europe into a shambles from 1914 to 1918 in which ten million lives and hundreds of billions of wealth were destroyed. In spite of the League of Nations which was to end war, in spite of the Washington Conference treaties, imperialism is threatening the world with another orgy of bloodshed and destruction, and in this new imperialist struggle the government of the United States is playing the most aggressive part.

It is in the struggle against the wage-workers, against the workers in the labor unions, however, that the government has shown most clearly that it is a government of the exploiters, fighting the battles of the exploiting class against the oppressed and exploited workers.

Government injunctions have been issued against organized labor by the scores in the great industrial struggles since the end of the war. A federal judge tried to destroy the United Mine Workers by declaring it an outlaw organization. The Daugherty injunction, which still stands as the law of the land, swept away all the rights of the railway shopmen, free speech, free press, freedom of assemblage, the right to organize, the right

[illegible]

Federal soldiers were used against the miners of West Virginia. Federal troops were used to help beat the mine workers and steel workers into submission in the strikes of 1919. State militia sprang to arms in aid of the exploiters in many states in the great industrial struggles of 1922. Private armies of armed guards are maintained by the employers. Frame-ups against militant workers are regularly used to railroad such workers to prison.

These facts prove that the government of the United States, under both Republican and Democratic administrations, is virtually a dictatorship of Wall Street, of the bankers, railroad kings, coal barons and industrial magnates to maintain the system of oppression and exploitation under which the wage-workers and farmers suffer. The only answer which the wage-workers and farmers can make to this dictatorship which upholds capitalist robbery and oppression, is to organize their political power independent of the capitalist parties and to enter the struggle to wrest political power from the hands of their exploiters.

The Labor Party enters the political arena as the expression of the

[illegible] the Constitution provisions which they hoped would forever protect the interests of their class.

A majority of the people of the United States cannot change the Constitution. The Constitution contains a series of checks and balances which are intended to make it impossible for a majority antagonistic to the ruling class to make its will effective. The members of the House of Representatives are elected every two years, the President every four years, the members of the Senate every six years, so that a complete change of the government can only be made thru elections spread over six years. The Senate has a veto over the decisions of the House, the President can veto the actions of both bodies, and over and above the House, Senate and President stands the Supreme Court which can nullify laws which all three unite in passing.

Millions of workers are disfranchised thru naturalization laws. Hundreds of thousands of citizens cannot vote because of residential qualifications which fall most heavily upon workers who must move from

[illegible] Under these conditions to talk of "democracy" is to throw sand in the eyes of the workers. [illegible] "American Democracy" is a fraud. Such formal democracy as is written into the Constitution and the laws of the country is camouflage to hide the real character of the rule of the capitalists.

The Labor Party will support such measures as the direct election of the president, the abolition of the senate and the veto power of the president and the ending of the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional. It realizes, however, that such measures cannot change the essential character of the government as an instrument of the exploiters for use against the workers. In order that the government may become an instrument of the workers' struggles against their exploiters the whole machinery of the existing government must be replaced by organs of government springing out of the workers' organizations.

INDUSTRIAL

To strengthen the workers in their struggle for better wages and working conditions the Labor Party will carry on the fight for legislation to prevent the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes; to prohibit the use of troops during strikes; for the abolition of all industrial courts and government boards to regulate wages

[illegible] service in the army during the World War.

POLITICAL

The Labor Party will work for the restoration of the unrestricted right of freedom of speech, press and assemblage. Toward this end it will seek to repeal all so-called criminal syndicalism and sedition laws. It will seek to liberalize the naturalization laws and to abolish residential qualification of the suffrage.

The Labor Party will exert all its strength against the militarism which seeks to build up a great military and naval establishment in this country. The Washington agreement is already a scrap of paper. The building of other than battleships is continuing at an increasing rate. Proposals for increase of the army, for new conscription laws, for building air force are continually emanating from the agents of the exploiters in the government. Against this and the enormous bureaucracy and spy system maintained by the federal government the Labor Party will fight with all its power.

The Labor Party declares itself against the restriction of immigration and against the registration of aliens. Such registration can only be the basis of persecution of the alien workers.

[illegible] to these industries.

AGRICULTURAL

To secure relief for the [illegible] from the exploiters who [illegible] them of what they produce the [illegible] bor Party proposes the [illegible] nationalization of all storage, [illegible] portation and marketing [illegible] the revision of the banking [illegible] as to provide for the widest [illegible] the farmers thru government [illegible] without interest. The national[illegible] of the farm machinery [illegible] which is part of the economi[illegible] gram of the Labor Party, [illegible] bring relief to the farmers.

Such measures of relief as the [illegible] bor Party is able to win for [illegible] dustrial workers and farmer[illegible] only preparatory to the time [illegible] the Workers' Republic will [illegible] the means of production and dis[illegible] tion from the hands of the [illegible] and bring these into collective [illegible] ership and under the managem[illegible] the organized industrial and [illegible] tural producers. The Labor [illegible] will mobilize all the strength [illegible] exploited class to achieve this [illegible] It pledges itself to continue [illegible] struggle against the existing [illegible] of exploitation until the new [illegible] order has come into being.

Chicago Labor Hits Socialists, Renews Its Fight for Labor Party

By EARL R. BROWDER

Editor, The Labor Herald

CHICAGO.—The Chicago Federation of Labor is not going along with any such scab, dual organization to the Gompers' policies of the American Federation of Labor as the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, declared [illegible] John Fitzpatrick, on reporting to the federation on what happened in the gathering at the [illegible] metropolis.

"How the Socialists can do so is beyond my understanding. We were willing to go into conference with all other groups to try to work out a common understanding and common direction but when in Cleveland they definitely adopted a constitution which follows the Non-Partisan plan of working with the Republican and Democratic parties they became scab and dual to Sam Gompers.

"The Chicago Federation will have nothing to do with such a policy. If we have to go along that reactionary path we will be regular and go with the A. F. of L. But we are not weakening in our position that there must be definitely a Workers' Political Party. We are going right ahead".

Secretary Edward N. Nockels also reported and told about the methods of control used by the political fakers. They controlled the committees by appointment and then refused to report out resolutions. Even in the A. F. of L., this kind of method is not used. They at least report out a substitute resolution for those they do not like.

He told about James Oneal, Socialist, voting in committee to not report out the resolution for a Labor Party on the grounds that the time was not ripe for independent political action.

This was received with laughter and boos by the delegates of the Federation.

The gathering which was a regular meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor enthusiastically supported the attitude of their delegates who represented the Farmer-Labor party [illegible] Cleveland.

When a Socialist tried to defend the idea that a Labor Party was impossible of success, he received a [illegible] reception.

The Chicago Federation demonstrated that the movement for a Labor Party is going right ahead and that the sabotage of the reactionary officials in alliance with the Socialist Party will not be allowed to stop the work which has been begun.

When Workers Party members, delegates to the Federation, spoke of their party's suport to the Labor Party movement and pledged continued energetic activity they were received with applause.

Demand Recognition of Soviet Rule

A mass meeting to demand recognition of Soviet Russia will be held in New York City, at the Lexington Opera House, Jan. 7. Among the speakers will be Frank P. Walsh, [illegible] and Capt. Paxton [illegible] all recently returned from [illegible] and Dudley Field Malone [illegible] and Jerome T. [illegible]

Vote for Labor Party Divided Conference at Cleveland Into "Lefts" and "Rights"

NOTE:—This is the concluding article by William F. Dunne on the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland. It tells of the debate and vote on the resolution calling for the organization of a Labor Party. It arrived too late for publication in last week's issue.

• • •

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

The Conference for Progressive Political Action defeated the Labor Party resolution introduced by Robert M. Buck, of Chicago, by a vote of 52 to 64, after a stormy session lasting over three hours. This, the closing session of the Conference, was an entire reversal of the apathy that has marked this gathering.

Debate on the Labor Party resolution split the Conference into very definite Right and Left Wing groups. The Socialist Party delegates took no part in the discussion, not a single one of them took the floor.

James Oneal, their representative on the resolution committee, voted against the Labor Party resolution in committee despite the fact that "The New York Call," previous to the Conference, had stated the position of the Socialist Party delegation as being for clear-cut, independent political action by the farmers and workers.

Revelations made on the floor during the debate, and statements by committee members proved that thruout the entire Conference, Socialist Party delegates played with the most reactionary wing of the Conference, such as the officers of international unions and others opposing the labor party.

The ablest speech of the evening was made by R. D. Cramer, of Minneapolis, who pointed out that previous attempts at independent political action have failed because they did not represent the class interests of the groups who launched them.

He showed that the tendency at this time is to force alignment of exploiters and producers around their economic interests.

He pointed out the fact that entering the primaries of the old Parties, and running candidates under their banner resulted only in befogging the minds of the workers, and retarding working class organization.

Norman Thomas, of "The Nation," Robert M. Buck and John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor put up a splendid fight for the resolution. Fitzpatrick pointed out the fact that thru the Democrat and Republican Parties the interests behind them had succeeded in brutalizing a large proportion of the population. He produced figures to show the extent of mental and physical defectiveness among the wage earners as a result of the unchallenged rule by these groups.

Principal opposition to the resolution on the floor came from the officials of the railway unions. B. M. Jewel, president of the railway department of the American Federation of Labor, based his argument on the fact that the railwaymen wanted something now. He did not explain how the program of the majority would bring immediate relief when its most harmless provision would require at least two years to enact.

The closing session clearly showed that the militant groups of the wage earners and farmers want a political party of their own and that the inertia of men in official positions is the chief obstacle in the way.

Considerable light was thrown on the attitude of the farmers and workers in the Northwest thru two communications which were read during the discussion. One was from the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the other was from the Non-Partisan League of that State. Both communications stated that the organizations had sent no delegates to the Conference because they felt that the Conference was committed to a line of action they believed hopeless. This, with the surprising strength developed by the Labor Party supporters in the closing session of the Conference, leaves no doubt that very soon the sentiment for independent political action by the producers will crystalize into action.

James Oneal read a statement on behalf of the Socialist Party delegation repudiating the assertions made by Edward Keating relative to the Workers Party being un-American, etc. The statement said the Socialist Party was not opposed to seating the Workers Party for this reason, but that they believed it to be a disruptive force. The delegates present were challenged to deny that the Workers Party was disruptive. Jack Brandon, representing the World War Veterans took up the challenge and was punished for his temerity by being denied the floor for the rest of the evening.

A fight was made by the Left Wing to get the other resolutions, such as those demanding recognition of Soviet Russia, amnesty for political prisoners, before the Conference, but all these matters were referred to the National Committee for action.

The most radical action on the part of the Conference was the taking up of a collection just before adjournment to help defray expenses. In this one thing, at least, the Conference adopted the tactics of the Workers Party.

The really important results of the Conference were obtained entirely against the wishes of its dominant group. They are: first, placing the Workers Party on the map as one of the most important factors in political life of the wage earner and farmers; second, isolating the Socialist Party from the militant trade union elements and definitely aligning it with officialdom on the political, as well as the industrial field; third, it showed that only by artificial methods and brazen trickery has the launching of a party representing the class interests of the toilers in industry and on the farms been delayed.

Xmas Present for
"THE WORKER"
"Here's a Christmas present, $10 for THE WORKER. I wish you a merry Christmas."
John Slezak. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Comrade C. S. Ware at Yorkville

Wednesday, Dec. 27, Comrade C. S. Ware, who has just returned from a tour of Soviet Russia, will give an interesting talk on the work of the American Agricultural Unit, and also a general survey of conditions thruout Soviet Russia. Wednesday, Dec. 27, 8 P. M., sharp, Hungarian Workingmen's Home, 350 E. 81st St. Come early. Come all and bring your friends. Yorkville Branch, Workers Party.

It's Here, Seven Reel Movie Film That Shows Russia Thru the Shadows

By WILLILAM F. KRUSE

The seven reel motion picture, "Russia Thru the Shadows," presented by the Friends of Soviet Russia as an aid in its campaign for the Russian Orphans' School-Homes, was given a private showing at the Civic Club.

Two hundred representatives of the press, and of organizations sympathetic toward the Russian cause, attended this showing.

The film was enthusiastically received and a glorious success is predicted for it when its road dates begin.

The first of these was at South Bend, Ind., Dec. 19-20, in connection with a three-day bazaar that enlisted the support of the entire city.

The film begins with the Czar's regime, flashing some fine world war pictures in which the conscript army is shown in action. The overthrow of the Czar and the Kerensky government follows, great mass demonstrations move across the screen, the Bolsheviks are shown at work to bring order out of chaos.

The second part shows the armies of intervention moving across the mountains and their defeat by the Red Army. The famine area is shown in harrowing detail, followed by the gloriously successful relief work and agricultural reconstruction.

Applications for the showing of the film have been received from all parts of the country and as fast as censorship provisions are complied with the picture will be routed. Some slight objection was raised against a few of the "labor titles" by the New York censors but no change in the film was demanded. One complete set of film will be sent to Canada where interest in relief activity is every bit as high as in the States.

Anyone interested in getting this picture shown should communicate at once with the Pictorial Department, Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th Street, New York.

Amalgamation in Great Britain

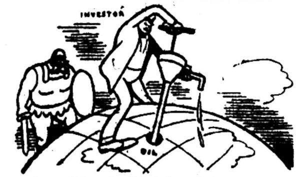
The Daily Herald, London, reports that, by overwhelming majorities, the members of the National Union of General Workers, the National Amalgamated Union of Labor, and the Municipal Employes' Association have decided to amalgamate. It is claimed that this amalgamation will create the biggest labor union in the world. The organizations in question have Will Thorne, J. N. Bell and P. J. Jevenan as secretaries, the first two being members of the British Parliament, elected by the Labor Party.

What Happened at Cleveland?

Wm. F. Dunne, Labor Editor of THE WORKER, will give an intimate report on the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, Friday, Dec. 29, at the Amalgamated Foodworkers' Hall, 133 W. 51st St., at the regular meeting of the West Side Branch, Workers Party. All members of the Workers Party are invited to attend and hear of the Holy Alliance consummated between the "S. P." and the Gompers' machine. Comrade Dunne was a delegate from the Workers Party but was not seated. Admission is free.

[illegible] KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

CONCESSIONS IN THE NEAR EAST



Where the oil is, look out for war.

Protecting Morgan's Billions

America went into the world-war to collect the billions that J. Pierpont Morgan and Co. with other banking interests had loaned privately to the Paris allies during the three war years 1914-1917.

The United States government is now called upon to loan a billion and a half dollars to Germany. This is only another move to help Morgan, to safeguard his loans in France. Morgan has been to Washington to talk the matter over with Hughes and Harding. The German ambassador, Wiedfelt, himself a capitalist, has been in New York in conference with Morgan.

Communists have been urging the extension of credits to Soviet Russia. Then why not favor a loan to Germany?

Communists know that every cent extended in credits to the Workers' Republic will be used to reconstruct its industry and agriculture and develop its vast natural resources.

A reconstructed Russia would send a vast stream of foodstuffs and raw materials into Western Europe, the only salvation from the chaos produced by the recent universal slaughter.

A billion and a half dollars to Germany would not benefit the masses of the German people. That loan would be passed on immediately to France, and she would use it to maintain her great military machine, also to pay off her debts to the House of Morgan. Wall Street's financial overlord joins the heads of the governments in the United States, Great Britain and Italy in considering French imperialism gone insane in its desire to occupy the Ruhr, the German industrial, coal and iron district. They all see, what France is blind to, that French invasion of the Ruhr would complete the chaos in Germany, and reflect itself in the wrecking of the French financial fabric.

American workers will not get enthusiastic about a billion and a half dollars taken out of the fruits of their labors and turned over to Stinnes, Cuno and Co., in Germany, in league with Morgan and the bankers of London, Paris and Rome, to keep not only the workers of Germany, but of all the world in continued subjection to a "stabilized" capitalism.

Let America's toiling men and women, therefore, increase their demands for a loan and credits to Soviet Russia. Let them oppose this Christmas gift to Morgan and the bankers of Europe to strengthen their oppression of labor everywhere. Soviet Russia alone can really save Europe and set civilization on the road to new and greater achievements for the happiness and welfare of mankind.

Marcel Cachin and Vaillant-Couturier, French Communists, have been sentenced to pay fines of 2,000 francs and to six months imprisonment for publishing an anti-conscription article in the Communist paper, Le Conscrit. They are both members of the French chamber of deputies, and are supposed to be immune from punishment on that account. But little things like that are not supposed to stand in the way where Communists are concerned.

Among the numerous gatherings held in Moscow incidental to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International was the participation by representatives of 14 countries in the [illegible] co-operative societies. The report of [illegible] Co-operative [illegible] in Soviet Russia. This should inspire the workers of all countries to greater co-operative efforts.

"Labor Betrayed Again" [illegible]

It is interesting to [illegible]

What Langu[illegible] Do You Read?

THE WORKER and a [illegible] of Foreign language WORKE[illegible] papers have combined in a [illegible] Subscription Offer to their [illegible] ers which give a consid[illegible] saving to them. If you read [illegible] of these languages, you [illegible] subscribe for the papers [illegible] below.

THE WORKER
Six page English Weekly
Regular price $2.00 per year
In combination with the [illegible] lowing:

ROVNOST LUDU
Slovak, 8 pages, twice[illegible]
Regular price $3.00 per [illegible]
Both papers, one year, [illegible]

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Both papers, $3.35 per year

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Six page Yiddish Daily
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Twice a week Lithuanian [illegible]
Regular price $3.00 per year
Both papers, one year, [illegible]

"RADNIK"
Croatian (Jugo-Slav.) Weekly
Regular price $3.00 per year
Both papers, one year, [illegible]

"PANVOR"
Armenian Weekly (tempora[illegible]
Regular price $4.00 for 10[illegible]
$2.00 per year
Both papers, one year, [illegible]

"ALBA NUOVA"
Italian Weekly
Regular price $2.00 per year
Both papers, one year, [illegible]

"UUS ILM"
Esthonian Weekly
Regular price [illegible] per [illegible]
Both papers, one year, [illegible]

Address: THE WORKER
799 Broadway, New York

The New R[illegible]

READ
"INDUSTRIAL REV[illegible] IN SOVIET RUSS[illegible]"
by A. A. HELLER

[illegible]

Price $1.[illegible]

[illegible]

...Thick Vein Coal Producers Association in Fayette County refused to sign.

N. Y. Call, Dec. 14, p. 3

• • •

above is a sample of the kind propaganda that the militant have to face. Altho the constitution specifically provides the counting of the ballots shall Wednesday the Pittsburgh papers spread the lie all over papers within 24 hours after the ballot had been cast. Now the "Socialist" daily, rehashes it.

Progressive Miners Win

almost overwhelming odds progressive miners have carried election in District Five. Realistic propaganda was necessary them steal the election, District headquarters released fabulous of victory a whole week before they have a right to count the or before the ballots have to their office. Why? Because know they must steal the election to win and they want to justify position in advance.

night (Dec. 16th) absolutely authentic reports from 58 representative locals of all kinds including very hostile locals show leading over Fagan by votes out of 8,172. The vote is 4,947, Fagan 3,215. many locals are yet to be from, there is every indication the vote will run just about in proportion thruout the district.

Gross Frauds Practised

figures are in spite of the that gross frauds were practised election. Already the Progressive Miners have numerous reports local secretaries or local who are carrying election around in their pockets instead of sending them to district quarters. In other locals the were deliberately changed and locals received no ballots. All things are to be attended to by Progressives in the due course of. However, it is necessary to investigations at once and get information together to make a on the frauds practised.

Money is needed to make this fight. dates on the progressive ticket miles and miles without protection from the weather this election. They deprived families and risked their jobs, have gone as far as they can. It is now up to the sympathizers in other parts of the States to rush funds to these to enable them to properly the evidence that is being gathered to compel the crooks to submit expressed will of the rank and Send your contributions to J. Hamilton, Secretary of the Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference, 35 Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., and distinctly that the money is to to fight frauds in the present Act quickly.

How District Five Helps

Call claims that District Five supporting miners on strike Fayette County section."

doesn't the Call tell the facts? only acted after they were by the Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference. Feeny failed to get he could get it. When J. President of Local 5215, went on strike in April 1922. He was evicted April has lived in a tent ever the first miner evicted in County. Yet on two occasions he came to Pittsburgh clothing for miners from Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference tent was raided at Feeny's in the hope of getting letters could be misrepresented to membership and drive him out of district because he is too radical Feeny.

day President Fagan took Herald among the miners of and used the picture famous "Bread vs. Bullets" to scare them into voting "Bolsheviks."

Throw This Paper Away on to Your Neighbor

Longuet Still with Us Making Cheap, Bombastic Attacks Against Communism

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Georges Clemenceau, apostle of human slaughter, has returned to his "dear France," where he was premier during the war.

But Jean Longuet remains for a little while longer as a barrage against the alliance of America's workers with rising Communism in Soviet Russia.

And Albert Thomas, the French "Socialist" munitions minister during the war, who is now the labor expert of the League of Nations, the Black International, has arrived and is sojourning in our midst. Surely these are all "respectable men".

Clemenceau raised the horror of a Russian - German - Turkish alliance against the capitalist allies. Longuet, under American "Socialist" auspices, attacks the Communist International. Thomas would smother revolutionary labor aspirations with false hopes for a universal eight-hour day. What a trinity! What a bulwark for things as they are.

I went to hear Longuet speak to workers in Brooklyn on "Russia and World Socialism". What I heard was a cheap attack on Communism, no reason and much fury.

Longuet has lost the enthusiasm I beheld in him 12 years ago at the Copenhagen (1910) Congress of the Second International, its last gathering before the war. He seemed to have lost the faith he once had. He speaks like an aged college professor droning an old lecture, listless, unconvincing.

The Communists have gone over to the Fascisti in Italy, he charged. The Russians tried to stab us in the back at the Conference of the three Internationals at Berlin. Look at the rule they established with the bayonets of the Red Army in Georgia. Thus he continued. No discussion of fundamental divisions between the revolutionary Socialism of the Communists, and the traitor "Socialism" of the Second International. Merely a clap-trap assault. Just a fogging of issues.

Longuet is not important except that, parading as the grandson of Karl Marx, he has won the ear of a few American workers.

I heard Scott Nearing in a Rand School Lecture repeat the same silly attack on the Italian Communists.

And now comes Joseph W. Sharts, the "Socialist Party" of Ohio, editor of the Miami Valley (Dayton) Socialist and chimes in with this anti-Communist chorus to the tune of, "scratch an ultra-radical under the skin and you will find a lieutenant of the bourgeoisie", referring especially to the Italians.

Longuet gave no facts in support of his charge. He was too busy piling up charges to offer any supporting testimony. He had two meetings the same night and couldn't answer questions.

Scott Nearing was cornered, however. His defense of his charge was that labor unions that had formerly supported the Communists had now gone over to the Fascisti, that the mob that might have supported the Communist "dictatorship" was now supporting the Mussolini "dictatorship". No mention of a single Communist of any prominence having deserted to the Fascisti.

It is admitted that some elements of the Italian labor unions have given way under the Fascisti terror. But these are not the Communist elements. No union under Communist control has gone Fascisti. The Italian Communist Party stands as the only bulwark opposing Fascism. It has recently been reinforced by the majority of the Italian Socialist Party, headed by Serrati, editor of the party organ, Avanti, applying for affiliation with the Communist International.

The alliance of the Serrati Socialist elements in the Italian Confederation of Labor with the Communists is giving the forces inspired by the Red International of Labor Unions the whip hand in Italy's central labor body. It is in this crisis that the Right Wing Socialists go cap in hand to the Fascisti fake labor unions and urge co-operation and fusion to combat the Communists. Thus we have the alliance between D'Aragona, the traitor Socialist, and Rossini, the anti-Communist I. W. W. from the United States who is now general secretary of the Fascisti labor unions.

These "Socialists", Longuet, Nearing, Sharts, fail to mention that Italy's military dictator, Mussolini, is a former member of the Italian Socialist Party, that he never belonged to the Italian Communist Party. They fail to state that the Italian Socialists of the Second International, Turati, D'Aragona & Co., sought to join the Mussolini-Fascisti Dictatorship but were refused admission to the government.

It is Communist strength alone that challenges Fascisti rule in Italy and the workers of all countries will learn this in spite of the "Socialist" smoke screen attack.

He Was Stabbed in the Back

Longuet says he was stabbed in the back by the Russian Communists at the Berlin Conference. This was his way of saying that the Russians merely wanted a world united front with other working class elements so that they could convert workers still enlisted under "Socialist" standards to Communism.

This is a confession by Longuet of Socialist inability to get Communist workers to desert their cause for yellow Socialism. Hillquit made a similar confession when he led the fight to keep the delegates of the Workers Party out of the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action. Communists are anxious to make their appeal to the masses. "Socialists" are trying to maintain an unscalable wall around the membership and support they still retain. That is why the Communists are not afraid to urge the united front; why the "Socialists" fear it.

Similarly Longuet's frantic appeal for the Mensheviks of Georgia, who maintained their rule for a little while with the aid of the bayonets of the Paris allies. Longuet has not yet found out, what all the Versailles imperialists have discovered, that the oppressed nations everywhere, especially in the Near East, recognize Soviet Russia as their friend, and that that is why the Soviet Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan stand solid as a rock for the Red Rule of Communism and show no desire for the Yellow Rule of the Second International "Socialists." Longuet again confesses the hopelessness of his position by resurrecting the ghost of Menshevik Rule in Georgia that was played with and rattled for a time by MacDonald and the Snowdens in England, and by Kautsky, in Germany, Kautsky who is now urging "Socialist" participation in the government of the Industrial Kaiser Stinnes.

Longuet came to the United States with no real message for the American workers. His meetings have aroused no enthusiasm for the brand of "Socialism" he has espoused in common with the American "Socialist" Party. He will leave these shores leaving no regrets behind him.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

Labor Defense Council Report

Charles Krumbein, District Organizer, District No. 8, reports that the general defense fund already raised by the Labor Defense Council totals $20,000 nationally, of which about $5,000 was raised within the district, with headquarters in Chicago.

Of this $5,000 about $3,000 was contributed by members of the Workers Party, 30 per cent of the members responding to the day's pay appeal.

Of the $90,000 cash and Liberty Bond bail raised nationally for the victims of the Michigan raids, about $40,000 was furnished by this district.

Local Labor Defense Councils are functioning in Chicago, Ill., Milwaukee and Racine, Wisc. The comrades of Lake County, Ind., are also on the job and doing good work.

TEN WORKERS SHOULD READ THIS COPY OF THE WORKER; KEEP IT IN CIRCULATION

[illegible] Labor Party

(Continued from Page One)

[illegible] labor party. Morris Hillquit, as chairman of the organization committee submitted the report calling for a form of organization which excluded the labor party. James Oneal, another Socialist delegate voted against the resolution calling for the formation of a labor party when it was before the resolutions committee.

In the final session of the conference the Socialist delegates introduced a statement declaring that they were not against the Workers Party delegates because they were "un-American and against the flag", but because they did not believe in the method of democracy—the Socialists apologizing for American democracy after their experience at Albany when their representatives were thrown out of the state legislature because they were Socialists!

Industrial workers and farmers of the United States! The Socialist parties everywhere have shown themselves to be betrayers of the workers. Kerensky betrayed the Russian workers. Scheidemann betrayed the workers of Germany. In Italy the Fascisti rule the workers thru violence and bloodshed because of a Socialist betrayal in time of crisis. The American Socialists, the Hillquits and Bergers do not wait for the time of revolutionary struggle for their betrayals. They betray the workers at the first sign of independent action by the industrial workers and farmers, as in the Cleveland Conference!

The Fight for the Labor Party

The struggle for the formation of a labor party in the Cleveland Conference was carried on by the Farmer - Labor Party delegates, the delegates from the Chicago Federation of Labor and other central labor bodies and state federations, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers delegates and by the Workers Party delegates.

The Workers Party delegates were refused seats in the conference by the Johnston-Keating-Hillquit machine. It was known to this anti-labor party bloc that the Workers Party delegates would carry on an aggressive fight for a labor party, that its delegates would begin the fight at the opening of the conference and fight every inch of the way to the end of the conference.

Such a fight might have won the day even in this conference dominated by the Johnston-Hillquit machine. Thru such a fight many delegates who were uncertain of the right policies for the conference to pursue could have been won for the labor party. The delegates from the United Mine Workers, who played no important part in the conference, might have been compelled to take an open stand for the policy which their organization has endorsed. The delegates from some of the farmers organizations would have been brought into line.

But the reactionary machine knew the danger. They knew that if the Workers Party delegation sat in the convention they might lose in their effort to make the conference a tail to the LaFollette movement. They first tried to bar the Workers Party delegates by dodging the issue thru not reporting their credentials and when forced to take a stand Chairman Johnston railroaded a decision of the credentials committee to bar them without giving the delegates a chance to act on the question.

Altho the Workers Party delegates were barred, their influence upon the conference was not eliminated. The Workers Party literature voicing the demands of the industrial workers and farmers for a labor party was in the hands of the delegates. The Workers Party program for a labor party was presented to the delegates to contrast against the ridiculous "progressive" legislative program adopted by the betrayers of the labor party.

The Labor Party Will Come

Industrial workers and farmers of the United States! The struggle at Cleveland was only the first skirmish in the battle for the Labor Party.

The life experiences of the industrial workers and farmers which have aroused the demand for independent political action will make the demand louder. The use of the governmental power against the workers and farmers will yet arouse such a powerful movement for the labor party that it will sweep all the [illegible]

[illegible] labor party.

The Workers Party calls upon the farmers to place their organizations on record for the labor party, for independent political action of the farmers and industrial workers against their common exploiters.

Industrial workers and farmers! The labor party is a milestone on the road to better things for the industrial workers and farmers. The labor party must be formed if the struggle against those who amass great fortunes out of the labor of farmers and industrial workers is to be won.

The past political movements of the industrial workers and farmers have been lost in the mire of "progressivism." This time labor must build its own party for a winning struggle against its enemy.

Forward to the Labor Party!

Down with "progressivism" and the betrayers of labor!

Forward to the Workers' Republic and the Rule of Labor!

Central Executive Committee
Workers Party of America,
C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Sec'y.

Jewish Federation United

Statement to the Party by the Administrative Council

Comrades:—Thru negotiations between the Bureau of the Jewish Federation prior to the opening of the convention of the federation an agreement was reached for the future conduct of the work of the Federation.

This agreement provided for the following:

1. Recognition of the convention of December 16th as the regular convention of the Jewish Federation.

2. The election by the convention of a bureau to consist of an equal number of representatives of each group in the Federation. The C. E. C. of the party to elect an additional member of the bureau. The convention to elect alternates for each group who are to take their places as vacancies occur. No member of the bureau is to be removed except for a violation of party principles or discipline.

3. The Bureau of the Federation to transfer the ownership of the "Freiheit" to the Central Executive Committee as soon as one daily and one weekly is transferred to party ownership by other federations.

4. The Federation Convention and the new Bureau of the Federation to pass a resolution declaring its duty to submit to the discipline of the Central Executive Committee of the party.

This settlement of the controversy was approved by the convention of the Federation and the Jewish Federation comes out of the controversy a united body.

All party members and particularly all members of the Jewish Federation are informed of this settlement of the controversy so that their future action will be in harmony with this agreement and settlement.

The Jewish Federation has passed thru a crisis safely.

The party has avoided a split in one of its units.

Both the party and federation will go forward in the work stronger than ever.

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL,
Workers Party of America,
C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Sec'y.

INTO THE LIMELIGHT

By Harry Godfrey

A talented Russian dancer came to the United States not long ago. She danced wonderfully. But New York paid no attention to her. Somebody sent her to a press agent.

"How did you escape from the Bolsheviks?" the press agent asked.

"I didn't," she said. "I just came."

"Yes, you did," he insisted. "The Bolsheviks burned your home, stole your money, murdered your husband, insulted you, and threw you into a dungeon for six months. Then you bribed your jailer, escaped, suffered untold hardships, disguised yourself as a coal heaver, and finally got to the land of freedom."

The next day her picture was in the paper, her name in electric lights on Broadway, and her salary trebled.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

[illegible] This female comrade, active in building a stro[illegible] branch of the Workers Party, was not a [illegible] the Machinists' Lodge. Yet he had got on good [illegible] many of its members and paved the way for a welco[illegible] Workers Party speakers.

Not only that but this comrade sees that a bundle [illegible] WORKER is distributed at every meeting. This work [illegible] sult in more members for the party, more subscrib[illegible] paper. And may we add that a strong organization of [illegible] Union Educational League is coming into existence [illegible] dustrial center.

The moral of these lines is that the few have power [illegible] they act intelligently and perform their tasks energetically [illegible] comrade can build for a powerful movement in his town, [illegible] union, or in his shop. Do not be too timid to stand alone [illegible] to work alone. Then you will soon have many others with [illegible] This day is the best time to join the ranks of the few who [illegible] the little things today that become the big events of tomorrow.

Hiram Johnson—"Progressive"

By MAX SHACHTMAN

William J. Burns is one of the most labor-hating government officials of national notoriety. So reactionary is he that even Sam Gompers, who is not very much noted for even a spark of liberalism, is becoming [illegible] in accusing him of most of the crimes in the decalogue before the Ju[illegible] Committee hearings for impeaching the boss of Burns, Harry Daugherty, attorney general.

Yet, in spite of this, at the Dec. 13th hearing before the committee, the man who sprang to the defense and gave a "glowing endorsement" of Burns's character and ability" was none other than the sterling "liberal", the confirmed "progressive", the, in reality, cheap politician and reactionary, Hiram Johnson, Senator from California.

Thru some incomprehensible, tortured logic, Johnson has acquired a sort of fame as a liberal and his defense of the radical-baiter, Burns naturally occasions some surprise in certain circles. But to those who know even the bare outline of his career, there is nothing to be surprised at in his latest outburst, which is but a sequence to his former acts.

Elected in 1910 as Governor on an anti-Southern Pacific R. R. platform, he soon managed to reconcile his petty reform program with the ever-increasing reaction in his state, as exemplified by the dastardly sentence of Ford and Suhr for "participation" in the 1913 Wheatland riots. Johnson could easily have pardoned them, but he gave the pitiful excuse that the I. W. W. had sent him threatening letters.

Later, when Stephens became Governor of California, and Johnson was in the Senate, the latter, who controlled Stephens perfectly, uttered no word against the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings, that classic of injustice to labor's own and the vilest frame-up that ever disgraced a nation; nor did he say a word against the Criminal Syndicalism Act or against the imprisonment of its many victims.

All this in spite of the acknowledged fact that a single nod or an apprehensive cough by Johnson to Stephen would have got the instantaneous release of every one of the sacrifices to the Juggernaut of Capitalism.

This is the very same Johnson who with his fellow-Republicans, LaFollette, Borah and Capper, is haunted by the ambition to grace the White House in 1925. Indeed, he was put off at the last Republican convention only by the nomination of the intellectual nonentity from the backwoods of Ohio.

This is the Johnson who is the darling of the ultra-reactionary "M. & M." or the Merchants and Manufacturers organization of California, which is seeking to break the backbone of the labor movement in that state and which has him as its direct representative in the National legislature, where, during the debates over the most indecent tariff in American history, he fought for the protection of the precious native, "infant industries", the California prune, the almond, lemon, bean, pear, etc., etc.

This is Hiram Johnson—"PROGRESSIVE!!"

TAFT, Cal.—Nineteen men have been arrested here in a raid on supposed I. W. W. headquarters and brought to Bakersfield, where they are in jail on charges of criminal syndicalism.

With the Young Workers

Yowls Organize at Providence

The Young Workers' League of Providence, R. I., has re-organized and is making preparations to carry on its activities during the coming winter. The following officers were elected: Organizer, Louis Nardillio; Secretary, Ralph Kominsky; Financial Secretary, Wilma Newberg; Treasurer, August Nagel; Educational Manager, Nathan Lyons; Entertainment Manager, Rose D'Andreas; Music Manager, Joseph Nardillio; Athletic Manager, Joseph Hyman; Dramatic Manager, Albert Innochillio; Librarian, Albert Olson.

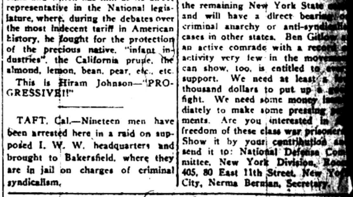
The officers were installed by Comrade Joseph M. Coldwell, of the Workers Party, who gave them a few words of advice and encouragement. After the meeting refreshments were served and the comrades enjoyed themselves with dancing and singing.

The League starts with a membership of 40, and has several good comrades in their membership who will work to make it 100. Their meeting place is at 141 Benefit St., every Sunday night at eight o'clock sharp. All visiting comrades are invited to come to the meetings whenever they are in Providence.

Gitlow, Out on Bail, Is Back in the Fight

Ben Gitlow is out on bail. Recently a writ of error was granted by the Supreme Court of the United States but no bail was allowed. The attorneys took the matter up and finally, Dec. 13, the bail was fixed at $7500, and Ben is back in the fight.

Friends and comrades, the question involved here is more than the freedom of one individual. It will [illegible] the remaining New York State [illegible] and will have a direct bearing [illegible] criminal anarchy or anti-syndicalism cases in other states. Ben Gitlow [illegible] an active comrade with a record of activity very few in the movement can show, too, is entitled to every support. We need at least a [illegible] thousand dollars to put up a good fight. We need some money immediately to make some pressing payments. Are you interested in the freedom of these class war prisoners? Show it by your contribution and send it to: National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 East 11th Street, New York City, Nerma Berman, Secretary.



"THE LIBERATOR" Announces Its Annual Costume Ball, Friday, March 2, 1923, At [illegible] 14th St. [illegible]

[illegible] many, where the movement [illegible] perhaps adopted other forms. Its [illegible] is however the same. Aus[illegible] position is also a blow against [illegible] democracy. In Czecho[illegible] the prospects are similar. [illegible] are however transition pe[illegible]. It is the duty of the commun[illegible] to prepare the illegal [illegible]. Such periods are no sign of a [illegible] in the world revolution. On the contrary, the effect is objectively [illegible] revolutionising. The path de[illegible] by the world revolution is not a straight line.

[illegible] there will be a world war.

On the other hand we see Soviet Russia strong as never before. The new economic policy is much more than a mere episode. It has not been caused merely by the economic weakness of Russia and the political weakness of the world proletariat but is founded on important relations of forces between the Russian proletariat and the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. Other countries, even those farthest on the road of evolution, will have to adopt similar measures for neutralizing the small farmer and the petty bourgeois. The capitalist equilibrium is destroyed. The colonies are in the midst of wars of liberation. In the Near East the crisis is within view. But at the same moment the star of Soviet Russia rises higher and higher.

The capitalist offensive is an international phenomenon. The workers are beginning to counter this offensive with increasing energy. One of the most important events within the labor movement is the union of the 2, and 2½ Internationals. In actual[illegible] means two things: first the [illegible] of the white terror against the communist parties; secondly an increased splitting up of the proletarian forces.

It is not by accident that in capitalist states leading positions are held by one-time Social Democrats of the Second International; Mussolini, Pilsudski, Ebert.

We are fighting for the unity of the trade unions. Regarded historically, reformism is losing the ground from beneath its feet. The influence of Communism increases more and more in the trade unions. Before the reformists leave the trade unions, they shatter these to pieces. Their conduct is such that we might think they were acting on the orders of the bourgeoisie. They are determined that we find the trade unions in ruins. The workers have established their great organizations at the cost of great struggles.

The trade unions are the sole effective weapon possessed by the proletariat. The reformists destroy this weapon. Schisms in the trade unions signify an immense weakening for the workers struggling for freedom.

In the present situation the division of the trade unions is a crime; perhaps a greater crime than treason in [illegible] yet been realised. The united front is no episode in our struggle, but [illegible]

In the present situation the [illegible] is the sole support of the bourgeoisie.

To win the majority of the proletariat is to decide our victory. Many are the successes already to be ascribed to the united front. It was necessary to create communist parties, even at the price of division. We must win the majority. It is our task to save the trade unions.

In our own ranks the united front tactics encounter no difficulties. The one-time opponents of the united front tactics now reply: "We join the united front." Those who want to help the workers must bring about a united front in political and economic actions alike.

The united front does not signify the creation or maintenance of election blocs; neither does it mean amalgamation with Social Democratic organisations. We should rather cut off our right hands than lend such an interpretation to the slogan of the united front.

[illegible] The united front tactics are being applied for in almost every country.

The question of a workers' government only comes in question in countries where the comparative forces permit of the government being taken over.

The workers' government is the concrete application of the united front; it will only be possible to realise it in exceptional cases. The workers' government is not an essential organic period of transition; it does not displace the dictatorship and cannot avoid the sufferings of civil war. The communist groups in the factories and workshops, and among the shop stewards, constitute the criterion for the influence of the Communist Party.

A party which does not know how to bring about a shop steward movement does not know how to actuate great mass movements either. Under present conditions we have to demand unqualified discipline.

[illegible] Revolutions, however, are not only made by following examples, but when circumstances urge revolution. The Russian workers have suffered much. Other workers will have an easier task; they will meet with the support of the sixth part of the globe. We must never forget to emphasize that the way to victory leads thru suffering. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Discussion on Report of Executive

Vajtauer, of the Czecho-Slovakian opposition, holds a polemical speech against Zinoviev's assumption that the attitude taken by the Czecho-Slovakian party has been exemplary in the question of the united front. The party has made many mistakes. Does Zinoviev wish to conceal them? The Czecho-Slovakian opposition has not committed any breach of discipline. Its measures were perhaps necessary to save the party.

Meyer (Germany) approves of the measures taken by the Executive. He declares himself against the Czecho-Slovakian opposition, and welcomes [illegible] and misery. The Russian [illegible] prove the contrary. [illegible] are being led [illegible] It is our duty to put an end [illegible] legend.

Ruth Fischer maintains [illegible] Third Congress shares the [illegible] the formation of the Levi [illegible] fault of the united front [illegible] that it attaches too much [illegible] to negotiations with the heads [illegible] the Rathenau campaign the [illegible] not show its real countenance [illegible] Fourth Congress must free [illegible] ternational from opportunism.

Neurath (Czecho-Slovakia) [illegible] old opposition in Czecho[illegible] fought against Smeral's tactic[illegible] delay. Smeral submitted [illegible] since then worked loyally [illegible] party. The new opposition is [illegible] of principle. It maintains the [illegible] ral aims at becoming a mi[illegible] makes an un-Marxian demand [illegible] speaker reads a few spec[illegible] these demands, to the general [illegible] ment of the delegates of the [illegible] gress). At the national con[illegible]

(Continued on Page Five)

Duncan Will Attend N. Y. FSR Bazaar

Isadora Duncan, whose career since her return from Russia recently has been so full of drama, will be present at the big Russian bazaar and exposition of handicraft on the last night, Dec. 23, at the Lyceum, 201 East 86th Street. Her presence will add distinction to the masquerade ball scheduled for that evening. Many other individuals whose sympathy for the first Workers' Republic is well known, will attend the grand closing of the six-day bazaar.

Isadora Duncan will be among the judges who will distribute handsome prizes to the best costumes and masks of the evening. It is expected that there will be as colorful a display of the beautiful and the bizarre in costuming as New York has never witnessed.

Feodor Chaliapin was also expected, but he has written his regrets that he will be out of New York at the time. He expresses himself as completely in harmony with the undertaking and hopeful of its success.

"I am sorry to have to inform the friends of my beloved country," he writes, "that I am unfortunately unable to take part in the generous endeavor to help my brothers."

The bazaar opened on Monday with a large attendance which may be taken as a sure sign that great numbers will attend thruout the week. As there will be a new program every evening, those who attend once can be counted upon to come again.

An inspiring selection of handicraft, including carved wood, painting, lacquer work, embroidery and other arts, was tastefully displayed in characteristically Russian settings. Color, riotously free color, was evident everywhere. The goods themselves, the booths, decorated with original paintings and posters made by the Society for Technical Aid under high class professional direction, the native Russian, Ukrainian and Karelian costumes worn by the committee, the decorations of stage and hall, the costumes of the artists who presented a magnificent entertainment program—color was supreme everywhere.

The crowds readily caught and contributed to the spirit of the occasion. There was no straggling in at late hours, long before eight o'clock the floor was covered with shoppers and merrymakers. Much interest was displayed in the low-priced ingenious toys, while the more expensive silver work, confiscated by the Soviet Government from the shops that had hitherto catered to royalty, also found admiring purchasers.

The local comrades had expected success at the bazaar, but the extent of the patronage and the splendid spirit shown by both committee workers and patrons exceeded their fondest hopes. All proceeds go to benefit the school-homes provided by the F. S. R. thru the International Workers' Relief Committee for the million Russian orphans left as the heritage of war and famine.

INTERNATIONAL MASS MEETING
to protest against the
FASCISTI OUTRAGES IN ITALY
will be held
Sunday, Dec. 31, 1922, at 2 P.M.
in STUYVESANT CASINO, 142 Second Ave., N. Y. City.
C. E. RUTHENBERG, Secretary, Workers Party, and ARTURO GIOVANNITTI will speak in English.
MATTEO SIRACUSA and FRANK BELLANCA will speak in Italian.
Admission, 10 Cents.

Workers Party Committee Collects Over $9,000 for Starving West Virginia Miners; Drive on to Aid Destitute in Pennsylvania

Toward the end of June, 1922, Lawrence Dwyer, of the United Mine Workers, came to New York in behalf of the striking West Virginia miners.

It was Mr. Dwyer's intention to line up organized labor in New York behind the starving miners of West Virginia. The condition prevailing in Beckley was particularly bad as eviction and starvation were threatening to break the brave resistance of the miners to the ruthless coal companies.

Mr. Dwyer, or "Peggy," as he is called, went to the Central Trades and Labor Council, where the response to his appeal was a resolution of "moral" support. This resolution did not, however, feed the starving families back home.

Local New York of the Workers Party, appreciating the gravity of the situation and the need for immediate assistance, sent out a call for a united front of all working-class organizations to support the West Virginia miners.

This proposal of a united front was coldly turned down by the bosses of the C. T. & L. C., who staged a little conference of their own from which the Workers Party was excluded. "Peggy" Dwyer made every effort to bring about the united front, but to no avail. Kehoe and his gang would not listen to it. The conference met and passed more resolutions. What it accomplished in the way of real relief work no one knows. It is rumored that the C. T. & L. C. has collected over $300,000 for the miners.

John Gatherum, Secretary of Dist. No. 29 of the U. M. W., which is in West Virginia, recently sent a letter to the Secretary of the Miners' Relief Committee in which he stated that he had never received this money from the C. T. & L. C. nor was he informed of the receipt of this vast sum by the National Headquarters of the U. M. W. of N. A. The question naturally arises: What was done with this money, if it was actually raised?

Not in the least discouraged by the refusal of the C. T. & L. C. to join in a united front the Workers Party organized a Miners' Relief Committee of which Mr. Dwyer became a member. The Committee immediately got busy and began to canvass individuals, unions and other organizations for funds.

A Tag Day was run (the Jewish Daily Forward urged the public not to contribute), subscription lists were sent out, affairs were held, a mass meeting with miners from West Virginia as the main speakers was arranged, and every means was employed to raise funds. During the period of its activity the committee collected more than $9,000, of which $8,225 has already been sent to West Virginia. The total amount spent in raising this money is about 4 per cent of the total, so that about 95 per cent will go for relief. This expense is for publicity, advertising, printing, rent of halls, office supplies, etc. No salary was paid.

When one compares the verbose resolutions of the C. T. & L. C. and the S. P. with the actual work done by them he should bear in mind what John Gatherum said at a meeting in New York, viz., that the Miners' Relief Committee was the only organization on which he could depend for any steady support.

The Committee is still receiving contributions and intends to continue with its work. It is now raising funds for the relief of the 45,000 miners of Fayette County, Pa.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

"I have examined the accounts of the Miners' Relief Committee from the date of organization, June 23, to September 30, 1922, a period of three months. Any contributor who did not receive both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment should communicate with me. In my opinion, the statement herewith appended, marked "A," is drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions of the Committee for the period.

(Signed) J. B. Collings Woods,
Chartered Accountant.

30 Nassau Street,
New York, Oct. 6, 1922.

Miners' Relief Committee
208 East 12th St., N. Y. City.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
from date of organization, June 23, to Sept. 30, 1922

INCOME received:—		
Gross amount receipts numbers 1 to 779		$6,998.32
Less deduction from income Counterfeit coin (Tag Day)	.50	
Rec. No. 427, issued for repaid loan	25.00	25.50
		$6,973.22
PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSE:—		
Newspaper advertising	$126.00	
Circulars and posters	51.50	
Organization supplies	43.50	
Postage	57.50	
Rent of halls	35.00	313.50
INCOME, less cost of raising same		$6,659.72
Business Office expenses:—		
Stationery and Printing	$59.25	
Wages, bookkeeper	63.00	122.25
BALANCE available for relief		$6,537.47
Of which there has been remitted		
To United Mine Workers of America, Dist. No. 29		6,200.00
Leaving a Balance on Hand of		$337.47
Represented by:—		
Cash in Bank	$165.48	
Petty Cash	25.00	
Advance to other organization	150.00	
	$340.48	
Less amount awaiting definite instructions	3.01	337.47
In addition to the funds raised and remitted by this Committee the Committee's activities resulted in the direct remittance of the following amounts to Dist. No. 29:—		
Bakers' Local No. 1		$500.00
Bakers' Local Union No. 164		225.00
Plasterers' and Cement Finishers Union, N. Y.		1,300.00
Total		$2,025.00

Our Subscription List No. 760 has been reported as having been turned over to the Jewish Daily Forward with $33.40 collected thereon.

LOUIS GRUSS, Secretary,
Miners' Relief Committee, 208 E. 12th St.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS, JUNE 23, 1922, to SEPTEMBER 30, 1922

Finnish Br., W. P., $24; R. Feingold, $5; Williamsburgh Br., W. P., $1.60; B. Fells, $1; W. C., Br. No. 673, $10; Carl Hennig, $25; W. C., Br. No. 630, $7.35; Workmen's F. F. Ins. Co., $10; Coney Island Br., W. P., $5.00; W. C., Br. No. 361, $10; R. Hapostich, $2; Harlem Russ. Br., W. P., $15.40; Carl Hennig, $3; W. C., Br. 675, $7; Finnish Br., W. P., $42; Butcher Local No. 174, $37.25; Employes of Ruguff, $6.55; W. C., Br. No. 306, $2; Max B. Bogatin Co., $16; Yorkville Br., W. P., $15; Clara Fox, $4.61; A. L. D. L. 22, $8.25; Inside Iron and Bronze Workers, $27; Employes M. J. Costume, $22.59; Max S. Bogatin Co., $5; Joint Waist and Dressmakers, $700; Wholesale Upholsterers, Local No. 76, $12; Czecho-Slovak Br., W. P., $4; E. Scher, $5; Sonia Chalkind, $8.50; Bronx Section, Tag Day, $91.04; W. C. 406, $5; Katonah School, N. Y., $40; Bronx Section, W. P., $8.00; F. Berg, $1.80; Bronx Section, W. P., $21.63; Boro Pk. Br., W. P., $5; L. Stubach, $4; Mrs. Golan, $7.12; Sonia Krufsin, $36.57; F. Berg, $2.50; W. C. 636, $2; R. Satz, $5; W. S. and Death Benefit, $20; United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners, $100; M. Robinson, $1; Bronx Section, W. P., $31.12; Unemployment Council, $10; Ridgewood Br., W. P., $20.23; Ridgewood Br., W. P., $38.30; Workmen's Mutual Aid, $15; Independent Butchers' No. 174, $150.60; Amal. Metal W. No. 35, $10; Mr. Pellegrino, $2; Yorkville Br., W. P., $30.25; Czecho-Slovak Br., W. P., $15; L. M. P. T., $22.25; Bushwick Germ. Br., W. P., $16; Hung. Br., W. P., $26.75; Paul Barich, $3; V. V. Edelweiss, $25; Lettish Br., W. P., $2; Window Cleaners Union, Br., W. P., $4; Lettish Br., W. P., $22; [illegible]; Beethoven Hall Meeting, $89.60; Max Bauch, $1; W. C., No. 362, $5; Finnish Fed., $31.55; R. Baskin, $1; W. C., Br. 236, $5; Arbeiter Kinder Ver., $10; Lettish Br., W. P., $30; A. Kanowsky, C. L., $25; W. C., Br. 586, $10; Hebrew Benev. Ass'n, $25; Upholsterers' Local No. 75, $22; Antonia Wechsler, $8; Lith. Wom. Progr. All., $22.36; Micrometer Lodge No. 1, $35; Micrometer Lodge No. 1, $25; Coney Island Br., W. P., $50; Aaronson, Levy, Inc., $1; Hotelworkers, $87.35; M. Grano, $12; J. M. Galgan, $3; Lettish Br., W. P., $25.75; W. C., Br. 417, $1; J. Petschen, $17.75; L. Villas, $2; A. Freidenfeld, $36.50; W. C., Br. 315, $16; Germ. Br., D. T. W. P., $8.50; U. A. A. and V. W. No. 38, $15; J. Jevelevich, $70; Laubner, $6.25; M. Kohlhepp, $12.30; Germ. Br., D. T. W. P., $5.40; Micrometer Lodge No. 1, $83.90 V. V. Edelweiss, $25; J. Pollak, $2; Mrs. Th. Hermann, $5; Journeymen Bakers [illegible]urgh Br., W. P., $76.12; Brownsville Section, No. 1, $41; Mrs. W. Herzog, $2; Williams[illegible] $388.34; W. F. Dunne, $16.14; L. Orenstein, $2.10; D. T. W. P., $146.00; C. Langert, $9.06; F. Berg, $40.30; Intern. Carp. No. 1, $20; Yorkville Section, W. P., $126.14; Harlem Russian Br., $5.81; C. Feller, $5; Harlem Section, W. P., $200.05; Finnish Br., $22.27; Lettish Br., $242.06; R. Morgan, $19.07; Finnish W. C. R., $100; Williamsburg Br., W. P., $30.06; Bronx Section, W. P., $186.06; S. H. Babcock, $5; G. W. Holgate, $7; Progr. Women of C. L., $81.91; Harlem Section, W. P., $10.13; West Side Section, W. P., $109.20; E. Dasheff, $3; J. Berlank, $1.25; W. S. B. C., $5; Local No. 2, A. M. W., $17.50; Czecho-Slovak Br., W. P., $5; Czecho-Slovak Br., W. P., $3; Williamsburgh Br., W. P., $10.82; Ship Coll., J. Milaus, $277; Amal. Clothing Workers, No. 54, $100; W. C. Br. 272, $5; Brownsville Section, W. P., $11.36; Williamsburgh Br., $3.23; Finnish Br. So. Brooklyn, $161.82; Boro Pk. Br., W. P., $40; Independent Butchers 214, $20; W. C. Br. 4, $10; S. Villas, $2; U. A. A. and V. W. No. 49, $42.50; A. Streiker, $10; J. Kohlhepp, $1.70; Amal. Lithographers, $10; Die Freiheit (W. C. Br.), $71; Steinfeld, $31.75; Silvan, $2; M. Schiffner, $2; D. Miller, $10.13; Wilmington Br., W. P., $6.50; Lith. Br., Yonkers, $1; Hudson Co. Germ. Br., $75; W. P., Br. Yorkville, $11.30; W. P., Branch Yorkville, $36.50; Yorkville Br., W. P., $5; Yorkville Br., W. P., $1; Paterson, N. J., $417.70; Lith. Wom. Progr. All., $41.05; Ukrainian W. S. Br., $70.29 I. B. Ballin, $8.50; A. Kanowsky, $31.50; I. B. Ballin, $22.60; W. P., National Office, $10.50; Spanish Br., W. P., $15.50; C. L. Progr. Women, $4.50; Lith. Br., Mass. $6.64; W. C. Br. 636, $4; W. P. Dist. No. 8, $10.44; Binghamton, N. Y., $16.50; United Lith. Soc., $76.32; Bakery and Conf. No. 22, $120; Micrometer Lodge No. 1, $19.50; Wm. Kalvels, $10; Lith. Wom. Progr. All., $5; M. Sporer, $1.50; Yorkville Germ. Br., $32.35; W. C. Br. 553, $5; Yorkville Br., W. P., $4; V. V. Edelweiss, $38.75; W. P., Polish Br. No. 12, $9.00; U. A. A. and V. W. 348, $26.05; Lith. Br., W. P., $2; Yaruuk, $3.55; J. Brayer, $7; Micrometer Lodge, $6; Young Workers' League, Finnish Branch, $45.60.

Class-War Theories

By KARL MARX

"As far as I am concerned, I cannot arrogate to myself the honor of having discovered the existence of the classes in modern society or their struggles with one another. Middle-class historians had long before me described the historical development of this strife of the classes, and the middle-class political economists stated the economic autonomy of the classes.

"I have but added as a new contribution (1) that the existence of classes is bound up with certain historical struggles in the development of production; (2) that the class struggle leads necessarily to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship is itself but the transition of the abolition of all classes and to the creation of a society of free and equal citizens."

Railway Clerks for Amalgamation

F. H. Gross, secretary-treasurer, Southern Railway System Board, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, signs the following statement appearing in the official organ of the union, The Railway Clerk: "At a recent meeting of the Southern Railway System Board of Adjustment, a resolution was adopted concurring in the action of the Dallas Convention in the matter of amalgamation, and requesting the Grand President to use his good offices in bringing about amalgamation with such other Brotherhoods as are favorable to the plan."

Educating the Rail Clerks

"The Railway Clerk," official organ of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, carries a page editorial in its December issue in favor of amalgamation. The article is headed, "Isolation, Co-operation, Amalgamation?"

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

The Militant Railroaders

The Conference called by the National Committee for the Amalgamation of the Sixteen Standard Railroad Organizations, held in Chicago, Dec. 9-10, was successful beyond the hopes of the most optimistic and enthusiastic militant in the left wing of the trade union movement of this country.

This was the conference that had frightened the politicians and labor officialdom to hurriedly transfer their Conference for Progressive Political Action from Chicago to Cleveland, Dec. 11-12. While the politicians were slipping backward in Cleveland, and doing their best to sabotage the organization of a Labor Party, the gathering of the advance guard of the railroad workers at Chicago was pushing ahead with greater confidence and speed than has ever been displayed by a similar assemblage of American labor.

For once at last we had radical workers at a convention who, while having the final emancipation of the workers from wage slavery as their goal, kept their feet on the solid earth. The leading spirits knew where they were going and they had knowledge of the way to reach the goal. They were trained and practical progressives with many years of dearly bought experience behind them.

These 441 delegates gathered at Chicago displayed a rebellious mood against the reactionary officials of their international unions, but they did not allow their emotions to run away with their good judgment. They did not spend their time railing against crooked and scheming leaders. They took steps to get rid of these officials.

The workers affiliated with the 16 railroad organizations, in general with all organized labor in the United States, may now feel that they have at last begun to grapple seriously with the problem of revolutionizing the trade union movement. The success of the Chicago Conference gives encouragement to greater hopes for similar gatherings of workers in other industries in the days that are not very far ahead.

J. Pierpont Morgan is back from Europe. Watch your pockets.

When the British jobless gained admission to the lobbies of the House of Commons and began singing "The Red Flag," they were ousted by the police. They would have fared no better at the hands of "Flag and Constitution" Keating, at Johnston's Cleveland Conference for "Progressive" Political Action.

After the "kept press" had been assured by the first day's proceedings at Cleveland that the Workers Party delegates would not be seated, the news of the gathering was pushed on the inside pages. The conference had ceased to be "dangerous" to the interests that prey on labor. It had confessed it would not disturb the established order.

Munsey's New York Herald has been interviewing representatives of different tendencies in congress trying to discover wherein they differ. The conclusion drawn in the headline is, "Inquiry in Congress Shows Old Parties Similar in Views." Munsey will begin to note differences, however, immediately the workers begin to speak in congress thru a Labor Party.

"Bill" Burns, Daugherty's prize detective, says that "the reds" are making it difficult for him in this country by establishing schools teaching Communism. Well, "Bill" is a pretty good teacher himself when it comes to teaching the workers how little they can expect from the government at Washington.

The New York Herald assures us that, "No one in the East who has the money to buy coal need suffer from the cold because of coal shortage." We were all aware of that. What Mr. Frank A. Munsey, the steel millionaire, should tell us thru his paper, is what we are to do when we have no money. That would be worth while discussing.

"The Call" is printing a series of articles on Germany that starts out with the claim that the Communists are among the "internal foes of Germany". That ought to endear this "Socialist" sheet a little more to the reactionary officials of American labor, but not to the great rank and file of the thinking workers of this country. Communism is the best friend the workers of Germany have in their present hour of trial.

Our latest impressions gained from reading the kept press reports of the Lausanne "Peace Conference" is that when a capitalist diplomat says something it is a "statesmanlike declaration on behalf of all mankind," but when a spokesman for Soviet Russia gets in a few words of truth it is "Bolshevik propaganda." But most newspaper readers have become accustomed to getting the truth by transposition. So it is becoming easier to nail a kept press falsehood.

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New Plays by C Play by Ernst T to be Presented

Communism will continue to [illegible] an increasing influence upon [illegible] American people who attend the [illegible] ater, that is, if they attend the [illegible] theaters.

The Theater Guild, that is [illegible] us "R. U. R.," the play by Karel [illegible] pek, the Czech Communist, is [illegible] ning to put on "Masse-Mensch" [illegible] Ernst Toller, the German Com[illegible] ist, who is also the author of [illegible] Maschinenstürmer" (The Mac[illegible] Breakers).

Toller wrote both of his [illegible] while confined in the fortress-pri[illegible] Niederschonenfeld for his parti[illegible] tion in the revolutionary uprising [illegible] Germany. "Masse-Mensch" was [illegible] ten in October, 1919, followed [illegible] "Die Maschinenstürmer," written [illegible] the winter of 1920-21.

All Germany has joined in the [illegible] mand for amnesty for the gifted [illegible] wright. A special drive was made [illegible] win his liberation for a day to [illegible] the first performance of his own [illegible] But all in vain. The Ebert-St[illegible] regime in Germany wouldn't think [illegible] it.

The Theater Guild continues [illegible] present "R. U. R." at the F[illegible] Theater. Its new play at the G[illegible] rick, starting Christmas night, [illegible] called, "The Tidings Brought [illegible] Mary." Last year's success, "The Hairy Ape," is making a big hit [illegible] the road.

We are told that William A. Brady, who is putting on the play by the Capek Brothers, "The World W[illegible] Live In," at Jolson's Theater, is [illegible] ning to get two additional plays [illegible] the Czechs. It is said that one [illegible] them is a dramatization of Sir [illegible] Haggard's "She," while the other [illegible] borrowed from Jules Verne, [illegible] story of a new continent that [illegible] in the middle of the ocean, a con[illegible] nent whose inhabitants are far in [illegible] vance of our present civilization.

Brady seems to be encouraged by his success with "The World W[illegible] Live In," sufficiently to engage [illegible] new ventures with the production [illegible] of Communist writers.

The next production of the [illegible] in their own theater and under [illegible] own management, "The [illegible] Players," will be Jesse Lynch [illegible] liams's "Why Not," starting [illegible] mas night in the 48th St. theater.

Frisco Labor Forces in Political United F

(Continued from Page One)

of freedom of speech and as[illegible] blage.

At a further ratification [illegible] speakers appeared from both [illegible] Workers Party (W. G. C. [illegible] recently candidate for [illegible] and the Socialist Party (H[illegible] candidate for congress [illegible] at the late election, and [illegible] mer). Kidwell also spoke. [illegible] Nolan, one of the men [illegible] Mooney and Billings, was [illegible] A third meeting, under the [illegible] of the Workers Party, was [illegible] by Cameron King of the [illegible] Party, and editor of its [illegible] World, and by James H. [illegible] ing editor of Labor Unity, [illegible] the Workers Party.

There are many [illegible] antagonistic elements in [illegible] combine, but enthusiasm [illegible] high, and if Kidwell can [illegible] or can even make a good [illegible] congress, a real Labor [illegible] grow out of it.

The chief feeling in San [illegible] seems to be that "anything [illegible] pen." Not since the [illegible] the Rank and File [illegible] Workers has so excit[illegible] occurred in local labor [illegible] not since the split in [illegible] Party in 1919 [illegible]

[illegible] (Spain) points out that [illegible] Party had successfully [illegible] tactics of the united front [illegible] economic and political fields. [illegible] government was only [illegible] illusion.

[illegible] (Poland): The Communist tactics were to win the [illegible] the Communist parties; [illegible] for any sort of milk and [illegible] concoction. He enumerates [illegible] of the united front [illegible] of the opinion that the [illegible] must not issue slogans [illegible] maneuvering, they must [illegible] demands.

[illegible] (Bulgaria): The activity [illegible] Federation left much [illegible]. The united front tac[illegible] been successfully employed.

[illegible] Katayama (Japan): The young Japanese Communist Party has propagated the united front with good results on the political and economic fields. The workers of the East desire the establishment of the united front with the Western proletariat.

Rakosi (Hungary) points out that the Executive had acted rightly in the Hungarian question. There must be an end to these scandalous faction fights.

Vuyovitch speaking in the name of the Youth: The Communist Youth not only accepts the united front in theory but carries it out in practice.

Malakka (Java) describes the revolutionary movement in the East. The boycott movement which had been carried out, altho it was not Communist, nevertheless brought revolutionary results. Pan-Islamism is also playing a revolutionary part.

Concluding Words of Zinoviev

There are several kinds of Labor Governments. Every bourgeois government is a capitalist bourgeois government, but not every labor gov- [illegible] must support such a government from time to time.

A second type of labor government is the Social Democratic Government which must eventually be supported by us provisionally.

A third type is the coalition government of Social Democrats, Trade Unions and Communists. This can become the starting point of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fourth type, the real Labor Government, is only a pseudonym for the dictatorship.

Every labor government can become the transition point for the dictatorship. It is not the form but the political content that counts. The most important thing is: the bourgeoisie will not willingly resign its privileges. Therefore the overthrow of the bourgeoisie must be first brought about.

With the erection of the labor government two things are to be distin- [illegible] civil war.

The opportunist danger is very great.

Ruth Fischer complains that the Third Congress failed to deal with the Levi group as it deserved. But at the time some of the best elements of the German Communist Party were in this group. It was necessary to isolate Levi in order to save these elements of his group for the party. This has been done.

The Executive had also criticised the errors of the Rathenau action. The united front without the possibility of independent propaganda is suicidal. It was right to fight the monarchists but not to awaken illu- [illegible] Duret. If Duret has erred and wishes to atone for his mistakes, so much the better. His argument that the tactics of the united front are only possible in Germany where we are confronted with strong Social Democratic Parties is not correct. It is much easier to unfold the movement among large unorganized masses, where the revolutionary initiative has greater success. Duret was right when he pointed out the danger of a split. A portion will come to us. We shall submit to them not twenty-one but forty-two conditions.

Bordiga asks what criterion there is for testing whether the majority is with us. There are many criteria. It is not a question of embracing the [illegible] The opposition must either submit or it will have the whole International against it.

Domski claims that the tactics of the united front are not correct for Poland. But it is precisely in Poland where the Polish Socialist Party displays the signboard of a labor government that the united front tactics have good prospects of success. At the time when the Red Army was marching on Warsaw, Domski was against military assistance. That was nationalism in disguise. If the bourgeoisie mutually assist each other with arms, the workers can also do the same. It makes no difference whether it is the Hungarian, Polish, [illegible] (Sustained applause.)

Before the vote on the resolution Duret, Souvarine and Dormoy, in the name of the fractions, declare [illegible] they will vote for the resolution of the Executive to prove their [illegible] to the Communist International.

The resolution expresses full approval of the actions of the Executive and declares the decisions of the Executive, reached in the interval between the 3rd and 4th Congresses [illegible] be binding, and their infringement [illegible] breach of discipline. The strict execution of the 21 points is demanded.

The resolution is adopted by the Congress, the Italian majority abstaining from voting.

[illegible] Established [illegible] Work of [illegible] No. 2 Convention

By H. M. WICKS

[illegible] convention of District No. 2 of [illegible] Party, New York, New [illegible] Connecticut, was held in [illegible] City, Sunday. The 37 [illegible] in attendance were unani[illegible] the opinion that it was a [illegible] in the development of the [illegible]. There was a distinct absence [illegible] recriminations that character[illegible] gatherings of this sort; [illegible] for the most part efficient [illegible] and the delegates dis[illegible] determination to carry on [illegible] work among the masses [illegible] workers to the exclu[illegible] bickerings.

[illegible] to the report of the Dis[illegible] Ed. Lindgren, Com[illegible] is increasing every[illegible] the district.

[illegible] for Labor Party

[illegible] the many resolutions re[illegible] by the Resolutions Committee [illegible] most significant was that [illegible] the determination of the [illegible] continue its propaganda for [illegible] of a Labor Party that [illegible] trade unions and political [illegible] of the working [illegible] spite of the monstrous be[illegible] the rank and file of labor by [illegible] labor tricksters in con[illegible] the recent Cleveland Confer[illegible] Progressive Political Action.

[illegible] resolutions deals with the [illegible] of Soviet Russia, endorse[illegible] the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, the Friends of [illegible] Russia, and special work [illegible] working women.

[illegible] to the above there was [illegible] resolution denouncing the [illegible] Legion, Ku Klux Klan [illegible] organizations likely to be[illegible] Fascisti movement in Amer[illegible]

[illegible] press received special [illegible], and the opinion of all [illegible] present was that every ef[illegible] be put forth to establish [illegible] daily not later than La[illegible] next year. Better con[illegible] language daily press [illegible] by most of those [illegible] the party press.

[illegible] Communist Party

[illegible] resolution that developed [illegible] division was the one [illegible] the question of an open [illegible] Party in America, which [illegible] by a delegate from [illegible] J., on instructions of [illegible] The debate on this ques[illegible] about three hours and [illegible] of the problem were [illegible]

[illegible] there was clearly [illegible] bitter antagonism to the [illegible] of Communism. [illegible] delegates who claimed to [illegible] Communist Party, but [illegible] charged with merely de[illegible] construction of the existing [illegible] Party of America, de[illegible] the official Party of the [illegible] International in this [illegible] a "Red Ku Klux Klan," [illegible] his total unfitness [illegible] be a Communist. An[illegible] demanded to know [illegible] of the Communist [illegible] in the open work[illegible] masses, instead of hid[illegible] of the well known [illegible] agents of the corpora[illegible] Attorney-General of the [illegible] and the unspeakable [illegible] are combing the coun[illegible] place these men be[illegible] and hold them un[illegible] bail in the county [illegible] Mich.

[illegible] the others who op[illegible] of an under[illegible] we are glad to record [illegible] did not support [illegible] Communists in the [illegible]

[illegible] tion emphasized the fact that an open Communist Party could not exist at this time in the United States because the working class was not yet under Communist influence so that the Party could defy the power of the state. The comrade from Paterson who was compelled by his local to introduce the resolution expressed his personal opposition to it and declared that altho he voted for it, it was only because he obeyed the discipline of his local. The resolution was defeated by a vote of 31 to 4, two of the delegates not voting.

Industrial Activity Increasing

The report of the industrial organizer showed a marked increase on the part of the membership in relation to the trade union activity. In every branch and local industrial organizers are being selected and a complete survey of our membership is being taken in order to apportion the industrial tasks to those capable of participating in such work.

The Trade Union Educational League was endorsed as the one organization that is unifying the left elements in the labor movement in the country and all members were instructed to affiliate with the League and support it actively in every way.

The Industrial Organizer is touring the District and will coordinate the work so that every blow against the reaction in the labor movement in the country and for the creation of more effective forms of organization will count.

Question of the Third International

On the question of the Communist International, it was declared that the Workers Party is a fraternal affiliation of the Third, whose leadership we accept and further declares that the Communist International is the one movement that inspires hope in the heart of the working class and fear in the heart of the capitalist class of the world.

Election of Delegates

In addition to electing a new District Executive Committee, the convention elected delegates to the National Convention of the Workers Party as follows: Ludwig Lore, H. M. Wicks, C. E. Ruthenberg, William F. Dunne, Elmer T. Allison, Alexander Bittleman, Hays, Kemmel, G. Ashkenousi, B. Lipschitz, Edward Lindgren, J. Louis Engdahl and M. J. Olgin.

Push the Labor Defense Council Christmas Drive

"ON CHRISTMAS DAY IN THE YEAR 1922 WE GIVE TO PROTECT AMERICAN LIBERTY."

"WE GIVE TO PRESERVE OUR IDEALS OF FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS AND FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLAGE."

"WE GIVE TO DEFEND THE VICTIMS OF THE MICHIGAN RED RAIDS WHO ARE BEARING THE BRUNT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL LIBERTY."

That is the slogan that echoes and re-echoes thruout the length and breadth of the United States in answer to the Christmas appeal that has been issued by the Labor Defense Council thru its national office in Chicago and thru each of the one hundred local Labor Defense Councils located in one hundred principal cities in all parts of the country.

The Labor Defense Council Christmas Drive, begun last week, is made in a determined effort to raise the funds necessary for the defense of William Z. Foster and nineteen other victims of the raids which took place in Bridgman, Mich. These men are now scheduled to go to trial at St. Joseph, Mich., Jan. 15. The Christmas Drive exploiting the Christmas spirit is scheduled so as to have all possible funds on hand by the time the case begins with which to give to the defendants the best possible legal defense that can be provided and to create the best possible local conditions under which to try the case.

THE WORKER wishes at this time to make an official endorsement of the work of the Labor Defense Council and to urge each of its readers to support to the utmost the defense activity. There is no single issue before the American working class of more importance. There is infinitely more than free speech involved, infinitely more than the liberty of the twenty defendants at stake. It is true that on the result of this case depends in large part the measure of free speech which is to be allowed to militant workers in Michigan and in the United States as a whole. It is true that on the results of this case depends the freedom of twenty of the best militants in the American labor movement.

But there are far greater issues at stake than Free Speech in the abstract or freedom for even the best of militants. THE RESULTS OF THE MICHIGAN CASE WILL DETERMINE IN LARGE PART WHETHER THE LABOR MOVEMENT WILL BE ALLOWED TO MOVE FORWARD COMPARATIVELY FREE FROM THE GUERILLA WARFARE THAT IS BEING WAGED ON IT BY BURNS-DAUGHERTY ANTI-LABOR AGENCY AND ITS HOST OF GUNMEN MANNED DETECTIVE AGENCIES, OR WHETHER WEST VIRGINIA AND THE STEEL CORPORATION OWNED COMMUNITIES IN PENNSYLVANIA ARE TO SERVE AS A MODEL UPON WHICH THE REST OF THE UNITED STATES WILL BASE THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY OF LABOR.

The issue cannot but be clear to all readers of papers such as ours. Is this the time for comparative peaceful development of the labor movement or are Red Raid Days made infamous by A. Mitchell Palmer in 1919-1920 to be made a permanent every-day feature of American life, with its positive resultant of bitter class struggle and open violent warfare? The results of the Michigan case will have definite and immediate bearing on this issue. A conviction in Michigan cannot but have tremendous effect in encouraging the labor-haters to still further depredations on the labor movement. An acquittal in Michigan can call a halt to the campaign which has put hundreds of the best men of labor behind prison bars.

PUSH THE LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL CHRISTMAS DRIVE, IS OUR CHRISTMAS GREETING TO OUR READERS. It is our readers and the readers of similar papers who can put the drive across, who can secure an acquittal for the twenty men on trial. Literature for this drive can be secured from LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL, 166 W. WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO, ILL., and from local Labor Defense Councils. New York Office, Room 434, 80 East 11th St.

BUILD THE PARTY FUND

The "Build the Party Fund," raised Nov. 7, is still growing. Here are the Branches which have reported since the last statement:

Last Week's Total, $1,6[illegible].58.—CCC of Worcester, Mass., $43.10; Finnish Branch, Red Granite, Wisc., $10; Canton, Ohio, Branch, $19.50; Hartford, Conn., Branch, $46.50; Ansonia, Conn., Branch, $15; Passaic, New Jersey, Branch, $18.21; So. Slavic Branch, Bessemer, Pa., $12.30; So. Slavic Branch, Mulkeytown, Ill., $25; So. Slavic Branch, Neefs, Ohio, $20; So. Slavic Branch, Woodlawn, Pa., $27.03; So. Slavic Branch, Los Angeles, Calif., $26.90; So. Slavic Branch, Lowsville, W. Va., $[illegible]; So. Slavic Branch, Detroit, Mich., $35; So. Slavic Branch, Chicago, Ill., $2; M. Paulauskas, Aurora, Ill., $2.50; CCC of Norwood, Mass., $14; Lithuanian Branch, Lewiston, Me., $[illegible]; Lithuanian Branch, Moline, Ill., $15; Lithuanian Branch, Worcester, Mass., $6; Lithuanian Branch, W. Bayonne, N. J., $[illegible]; Lithuanian Branch, Frankfort, Ill., $[illegible]; Lithuanian Branch, S. Boston, Mass., $7.50; [illegible], Hammond, Ill., $[illegible]; Finnish Branch, Milford, N. H., $[illegible]; So. Slavic Branch, Joliet, Ill., $[illegible]; W. F. Jackman, Indianapolis, Ind., $[illegible]; [illegible] No. [illegible], $[illegible]. Total, $[illegible].

Robbed of Power, Mine Owners' Tools Attack Workers Party Speaker

(Continued from Page One)

great big hulk of a fellow just like the sheriff of one of the old western bad men towns. This person I soon discovered was the Chief of Police. Both he and the Mayor were more than a little drunk.

The Chief of Police had a small-sized cannon in his hand, and together with the Mayor began backing me toward the wall. At the same time both of them demanding to know why I was organizing those damn foreigners against the officials of the local union.

When I tried to explain to them that I was not attacking the local officials whom I did not even know by name, they shoved me up against the wall and began to curse and revile me at the top of their voices.

In the midst of this uproar, three or four other policemen came in with drawn guns. The Mayor then proceeded to beat me up with his fists, finally drawing his automatic threatening to shoot me.

While the Mayor was "doing his bit" a couple of the policemen stood with their guns barrel in hand, ready to crack my skull if I made any effort to defend myself.

I asked to be allowed to go back upstairs, and the Mayor replied, "If you get out of this town alive, you'll be lucky." He then ordered the police to run me out of town. I then asked to be allowed to get my hat and coat. They answered to this last request, with a loud laugh on the part of the upholders of "law and order" together with numerous shoves, kicks, pulls, as they got me out into the street. My back was badly sprained during this ejection.

Immediately we were out in the street one of the policemen fired a shot partly to scare me, because it was pitch dark, and partly to keep the crowd inside the hall from attempting to follow us.

The Mayor then ordered that I be driven down to the river and thrown in, and that if I tried to get back to shore I should be shot.

Then with many shovings, kickings, and unlimited verbal abuse, I was driven thru the mud and underbrush in pitchy darkness to the bank of the river.

Upon reaching the bank of the river there was a consultation between the Mayor and the Chief of Police, and another person, during which they at length decided that they were going a bit too strong.

After this conference they decided that they would take me to the railroad tracks and drive me out of town. Then with more mistreatment and soaking wet from head to foot I was "conducted" back over the same road towards town.

It was while on the way back from the river that I heard the voice of some one who I am quite sure is not on the police force at Zeigler. This person was talking to the Mayor in a rather superior fashion about some people mistaking "liberty for licence" and under the privileges to all Americans seeking to instill insidious propaganda into the foreigners against American institutions. Mayor Hogan took the "hint" and developed the idea immediately to take me down thru town to the city Drug Store where the American Miners congregated in the evening.

The purpose of this exhibition as considerably explained to me by his "Honor" was to turn me over to the American Miners. "They'll hang you when I tell them what you are doing down here." This was the Mayor's version of what would happen. There were other versions such as, "They'll tar and feather him," etc.

Once more I heard the voice of the "mysterious stranger" in conversation with the Mayor. I could not make but what he was saying except a word occasionally. These disconnected words and phrases indicated that the conversation was about some recent developments in the old local No. 992, U. M. W. of A. The Mayor summing up the whole matter said, "We ought to take.......... ......, and ...., and tie them with this ...., (The latter being myself) and hang them together.

When we reached the Drug Store the Mayor went inside, called the American Miners out in front. He then explained to them that I was stirring up "those damn foreigners to fight the local union," and much more of the same kind of stuff, winding up with a very broad invitation to the twelve or fifteen American Miners to take me and do as they pleased with me.

Whenever I tried to answer any of the misstatements, not to mention the purposeful lies of "His Honor," I received a punch or a kick from some of the policemen, who were standing about me with their guns still in their hands.

The Mayor was greatly disappointed when upon his invitation the American Miners stood indifferent to everything that he had said. They just stood there, looked at the Mayor and looked at me, but said nothing.

When the Mayor saw that they were not going to respond, he ordered the police to run me out of town over the railroad, informing me that "You better not show your face around here again, or you'll get shot on sight."

The police then took me out to the railroad tracks, the edge of town, and after repeating Mayor Hogan's warning told me to keep on going. Then to emphasize what they and the Mayor had said, they fired two shots after me, one of which just missed my head.

I have just learned that the men whose names the Mayor mentioned with my own stating that in his opinion we should all three be tied together and hung, are men active in the local union and who have lately defeated the Mayor in his continued efforts to use the local union as a means to his further political advancement.

Mayor Hogan has been so completely exposed before the members of the local union as an enemy of the workers, that he cannot take the floor to speak without the members in the union hooting him down.

The reason for the attack upon me lies in the above fact, that Mayor Hogan and those represented by the "mysterious stranger" above referred—perhaps the mine manager; perhaps the local business men's representative, have completely lost control of the local union which means a great deal in a mining town.

Nov.-Dec. "Liberator"

The Liberator, Nov.-Dec. number, much enlarged, has changed its policy somewhat in so far as it now publishes more articles of a political nature in consonance with the policy of the Workers Party.

This does not of course, exclude the other features for which the Liberator is noted all over the world. There are cartoons by Gropper, Minor, Art Young, Gellert, Adolph Dehn, Lydia Gibson; the usual excellent book reviews and fine poetry and articles. It may be obtained for 30 cents on news stands or from the office, 80 E. 11th St., New York City.

N. Y. C. C. C. Meets

The City Central Committee, Local New York, meets at John Reed Hall, [illegible] E. 12th St., Saturday, Dec. 23, at 8 P. M. All delegates are requested [illegible]

Laundry Workers' Concert and Ball

The grand concert and ball of the United Laundry Workers of America [illegible] Saturday, Dec. 30, at the [illegible]

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"INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL IN SOVIET RUSSIA," a new and highly interesting book of 240 pages of first hand information regarding Russia to-day since the adoption of the "NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES." By comrade A. A. Heller. The [illegible] charge you $1.50 for this book.

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

WORKERS PARTY

799 Broadway [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] will be the American Fascisti of tomorrow.

Colonel Alvin Owsley, commander of the American Legion, [illegible] assures these skeptics that, "The American Legion stands ready to protect our country's institutions and ideals as the Fascisti deals with the destructionists who menace Italy".

Of course, the "institutions" that Owsley's American (Fascisti) Legion will protect, are the institutions of capitalism, the "ideals" of the present wage slave system, of profiteering and plundering at the expense of the helpless many.

The important thing right now is that this White Guard of the class struggle days to come is receiving the support of prominent officials of labor, and politicians who lean on labor.

Gompers and Berry were shining stars at the New Orleans Convention of the American Legion. Gompers and Berry sat in at the La Follette Conference of "Progressives" at Washington, republicans and democrats, who raise no protest against the Legion threat of a Fascisti Military Dictatorship for the United States. These politicians at Washington prepared the chloroform that put the Cleveland conference to sleep.

In the recent elections in Italy we saw that the politicians of all parties, except the parties of the workers, were with Mussolini and his Fascisti. Let the workers of America remember that labor politicians and labor officials of today, who refuse to join in the development of the workers' political power thru the organization of a Labor Party, are the best agents of Owsley's Legionnaires. Workers! They are your enemies! Watch them! Fight them! You lose with them! You will win without them!

An anti-Bolshevist by the name of Zinoviev was put under arrest by Mussolini's Italian Fascisti because he had a name like that of the chairman of the Communist International. It was only with some difficulty that he quieted the fears of the White Guardists and won his release.

The Truth Isn't in Them

We note in the New York Globe, Dec. 18, a headline typical of the new campaign of falsehood against Soviet Russia. It says, "Russia Starves, But Prepares to Export Huge Grain Cargoes."

The headline appears over two items, one with a Moscow and the other with a White Plains, N. Y., date line. The Moscow item tells of plans to export grain from Russian Black Sea ports, especially Odessa. The White Plains item records the plea made by David A. Brown, recently returned from Soviet Russia, for $100,000,000 from congress at Washington to be turned over to the American Relief Administration to be used in purchasing ploughs, tractors and seed to help reconstruct Russian agriculture. Nowhere is there any mention of any facts that might form a basis for the expression "Russia Starves."

To be sure Russia is still hungry, very hungry. If there are any spots where famine still prevails the Soviet government knows all about it, and it does not seek to hide them.

But the peasants as well as the Soviet Government know that in order to re-establish Russian agriculture, ploughs, tractors and other farm implements, with seeds of many kinds, must be imported. Russian industry has not been sufficiently re-established to meet this need. Capitalist governments and foreign bankers and industrialists will not extend loans or credits. So the Russian peasants must do the best they can,—pull their belts another notch tighter, sell some of their grain in foreign lands and thus secure funds with which to buy the agricultural machinery they need.

The Russian peasants did not reject the food Hoover sent thru the American Relief Administration. If Brown can persuade congress to send $100,000,000 worth of ploughs and tractors in support of their war on hunger, they will welcome the aid.

But they will always remember that it was the "Friends of Soviet Russia" that not only rushed the first relief to fight the famine more than a year ago, but also sent the first tractor unit into the Volga Valley to help liquidate the famine, and to teach the Russian peasantry how to lighten their burdens for all time thru the use of the latest types of agricultural machinery.

Foreign capitalists may also extend credits to Soviet Russia, but the workers in the cities will always remember that aid came to them first thru such workers' organizations as the Russian-American Industrial Corporation launched by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

It is not to be expected that the kept press will give any credit to these efforts to aid Russia. It is understood that they will lie about them. It will do this because the truth is not in them when recording the developments of the workers' struggle for power.

The Japanese Labor Association, of Hawaii, has filed a statement with the Federal Labor Investigation Commission declaring that this U. S. dependency is a "sugar kingdom" ruled politically and economically by a few sugar capitalists. If it will bring any comfort to the Jap sugar workers in Hawaii, we might say that there are a lot of such kingdoms in this country, coal, iron, steel, copper, lumber kingdoms. That is the way capitalism rules.

[illegible]
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The Standard Oil Company has given up its plans to exploit the oil resources of Czecho-Slovakia. It has not been able, it says, to make the "proper arrangements" with the government. No doubt the Czecho-Slovakians wouldn't agree to 300 per cent stock dividends.

"Labor" War Premier Falls

It has taken the Australian labor movement eight years to shake itself loose from Premier W. M. Hughes. But it has finally accomplished the task and Hughes goes the way of Lloyd George.

When the war started, Hughes was the labor premier of Australia. He turned jingo like the "Socialists" of Europe, and did his utmost to send the youth of Australia to the trenches in France to fight the battles of the British king against the German kaiser.

He managed to remain in the saddle until the present elections in which he appeared under Nationalist banners, supported by all the forces of jingo reaction.

The results of the elections to the federal house of representatives show the following: Labor Party, 34; Nationalists, 27; Country Party and Liberals, 14. In the last house the Labor Party had only 24 members, the Nationalists, 39, and the Country-Liberals, 17. The Labor Party has also made big gains in the elections to the senate.

While the Labor Party does not have a clear majority, it rises, nevertheless, as a greater and more solidified power, divorced from its nationalistic and compromising influences. It will be heard from in the days to come.

While British diplomats at Lausanne are voicing pious protests against alleged Turkish atrocities in the Near East, three more workers are [illegible] to death in South Africa for participation in the miners' strike on the Rand. They died singing "The Red Flag."

Pawns of the Capitalist Allies

Bonar Law in the British House of Commons refuses increased doles to the unemployed. He pleads inability to pay off the U. S. debts until France, Belgium and Italy pay. Bankrupt France insists on Germany paying, because she must have the money. Italy is on the verge of financial ruin.

Yet these capitalist allies, Great Britain, France and Italy, unwilling to discuss disarmament at Genoa and The Hague, have now denied their pawns, the states bordering on Soviet Russia, the right to conclude a disarmament agreement with the Workers' Republic.

Chitcherin for Soviet Russia, frankly announces that Moscow wants to disband her army and spend all possible funds for reconstruction. Perhaps Finland, Poland, Latvia, Esthonia and Roumania would like to do the same.

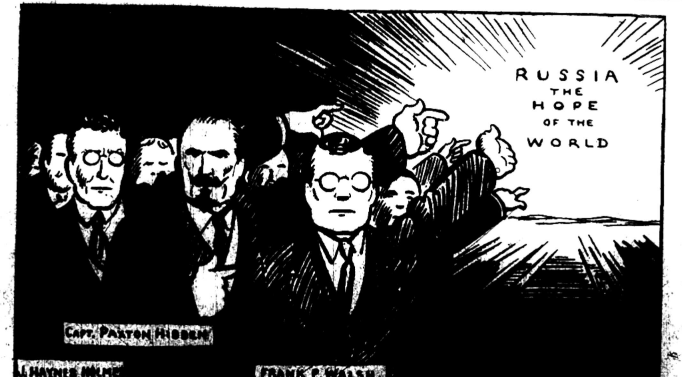
But the capitalist allies must have their buffer states against rising Communism. Germany must be surrounded by a ring of small nations dependent on the Paris imperialists. The war dogs that were kicked out of Soviet Russia must, nevertheless, be kept barking away from neighboring frontiers. So the Moscow Conference between the representatives of Russia and border countries failed to reach definite disarmament proposals.

The workers of the capitalist countries will continue to suffer under the burden of armaments, in spite of Harding's Washington Conference whose child the Five-Power Naval Treaty, has not yet been recognized by either France or Italy. And the United States, thru the General Board of the Navy, is planning to spend $400,000,000 for new warships. That means $4 more for war from every man, woman and child in the land.

Capitalism needs armaments, great navies, huge armies to bolster itself up a little longer.

Workers! End wars! End armaments! Crush capitalism! Usher in the rule of the workers everywhere in harmony with the victorious struggle and high aspirations of your Russian brothers and comrades.

Altho Harding, Hughes and Hoover are still opposing recognition of Soviet Russia, the United States with Turkey, Greece, England, Italy and other countries sent 333 ships to Russian Black Sea ports from January to August. Perhaps the republican administration at Washington will some day wake up to the fact that trade can get along without the flag.



When their voices [illegible] they say:—
FRANK P. WALSH: "Soviet Russia is the strongest government in Europe today, with the best title to live."
PAXTON HIBBEN: "The workers of Soviet Russia are the only workers with a government of the workers, by the workers and for the workers in the world."
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES: "Russia seems the brightest spot of Europe. It is the one place where the future seems a thing of hope and not of dread and terror."

[illegible] Victories

The [illegible], a news agency, quotes Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, to the effect that:

"I know of no political achievement in any country that surpassed the accomplishment of American labor in the campaign just closed."

That makes Gompers' self-proclaimed victory, Nov. 7, 1922, greater even than the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of five years before. Of course, according to Gompers, the recent election of 142 labor members to the British parliament was a mere wheeze.

It is this sort of shallow bombast that is intended to capture some workers in this country. Not a single "Socialist" spoke against it at the Cleveland Conference. James Oneal, the logician if not the magician of the "Socialist" Party voted for just that when he cast his ballot against the Labor Party at Cleveland.

"Parliamentary authority comparable to that in the hands of British labor today can only be gained by breaking away from the present policies of the American Federation of Labor".

Even MacDonald, wedded to the reformist policies of the Second (Socialist) International, sees the futility of chasing rainbows among the capitalist political organizations. British labor graduated from that stage of political impotency 20 years ago. Perhaps the "Socialists", Hillquit, Oneal, Berger and the rest, feel that it will take as long for labor in this country to make the advance achieved by British labor, and so they sit on Gompers' doorstep catching at any crumbs that may come their way.

But the workers of the United States will move ahead, rapidly, because they must, and develop that political strength that will make the pretensions of Gompers and his "Socialists" the forgotten things of the hazy past.

The fight for the American Labor Party has only just begun, but it is making encouraging headway everywhere. Get into the fight for the Labor Party.

"Windy" Linde has blown in from Warsaw. But they are holding him at Ellis Island. Still no sign of that 10,000-word confession of the Wall Street explosion. Perhaps Burns has rushed "Windy" back to the U. S. A. as a star witness for Daugherty in the impeachment proceedings now pending against the attorney general. Who knows?

Xmas Gifts for the Workers

This is the gift-giving season again. It is taken for granted that the gift-giver is welcome. But is this always true?

The capitalist gives the worker low wages, unemployment or long days of intensive labor, unbearable conditions of toil, high prices for all the necessities of life, high prices for food, high rents, high cost of clothes. The worker must be glad to get these gifts for he continues to accept them, sometimes even gladly.

When the worker rebels, the capitalist bears other gifts to those who labor, thru his city, state and national governments, the policemen's club, the state cossacks, the federal troops, Daugherty injunctions, with an occasional Supreme Court decision, Railroad "Labor" Board decree, or Esch-Cummins Law. And the worker accepts them because he submits to them with only an occasional whimper.

Then there comes the Communist. He offers the worker a gift—pointing him the road to power and his own emancipation from all the evils of the present system—the greatest gift of all time.

Communism, thru the delegates of the Workers Party at Cleveland, offered to labor new power thru the class organization of its political power. But the gift was rejected and the gift-bearers expelled. At least no great protest from the masses has been heard against the reactionary Cleveland decisions.

Communism, thru the militants in the labor unions, offers the workers amalgamation, unified organizations for aggressive, winning struggles against their exploiters. But the labor masses still continue to pass this gift by. With few exceptions they still stick to those officials and forms of organizations the kept press of their masters classify as loyal and lawful, to flag and constitution and country.

But there are many and growing indications that the workers are adopting a changing attitude toward the gift-bearers.

The railroad amalgamation conference at Chicago, as well as the terror with which the dictators of the Cleveland political gathering received the delegates of the Workers Party, augurs well for future developments.

The ferment is at work. This holiday season the workers are thinking more than ever upon the gifts offered them, by frantic capitalism, by the growing forces of Communism.

In the hour that labor rejects the hideous offerings of the present savage social order, and accepts Communism, in that hour shall labor receive its greatest gift—FREEDOM.

Our Second Convention

THE WORKER extends sincerest greetings to the delegates assembling for the Second National Convention of the Workers Party.

It joins the party membership thruout the nation in earnest hopes for great accomplishments by this gathering in developing the strength of our movement in all the activities of the American working class.

In one short year the Workers Party has taken its place as a big factor in the struggle of American labor. It has been active in the epoch-making conflicts waged this year for the first time on a national scale by the coal miners and the railroad workers.

It showed itself at Cleveland the only organization of labor definitely and aggressively fighting for an amalgamation of the workers' political power in a Labor Party opposed to the parties of capitalism.

It is the largest independent political unit of the American working class, neither the "Socialist" Party nor the Farmer-Labor Party being able to claim near as many as the 20,000 dues-paying members enrolled in its ranks.

The Workers Party holds its second convention with its international relations definitely established in its fraternal affiliation with the Communist International.

The Workers Party is growing on all fronts because American labor is learning more and more that it is a necessary and vital weapon in the war on capitalism. The party membership, and with it all party activities, is growing. The army of readers of the party's various publications in many languages is rapidly increasing.

It was the difficult task of the first convention of the Workers Party to create an organization for the waging of the open struggle for Communism in spite of the black reaction that then prevailed, that still prevails in these United States.

It is the equally difficult task of the second convention of the Workers Party to definitely determine the developing tactics of the past year thru which the Communist movement has opened an approach to the great masses of the American working class.

We are confident that the second convention will accomplish this task fully as well the first convention performed its duty. Thus, with the opening of the new year, the Workers Party will proceed to greater achievements, to the making of greater progress, toward the day that will mark the passing of an old social system—capitalism—that will herald the dawn of the new social [illegible]

The Bolcoms [illegible]
For A Merry X[illegible]
All our readers [illegible]
Our colleagues on the [illegible]
The comrades in jail [illegible]
Fellow-communists [illegible]
world.
May The Bolcoms Also [illegible]
Of Christmas Joy [illegible]
The Fascisti,
Ku Klux Klan,
White Guards, etc.
AMEN!

**To the Second Con[illegible]
Workers Party**

Greetings dear comrades! [illegible] torial Staff of the Bol[illegible] you. In the name of our [illegible] readers we beg of you [illegible] following measures:—

1. A resolution of con[illegible] the death of the Socialist Part[illegible] working class organization.

2. A resolution of protest [illegible] deportation of Windy Lindy [illegible] ought to be imprisoned for [illegible]

3. A vote of thanks to the [illegible] tials' Committee of the Pro[illegible] Political Action Conference [illegible] ring the Workers Party [illegible] It compliments us to know [illegible] yellow union leaders are ag[illegible]

4. Resolution approving th[illegible] gamation of the KuKlux, the [illegible] ican Legion and the Socialist [illegible] with the Fascisti.

5. A resolution appealing [illegible] Communists to support the F[illegible] and the Call for their untiring [illegible] in killing the American So[illegible] Party.

Gompers Seriously Ill

A grave calamity has befallen [illegible] labor movement this Christmas [illegible] ports have just reached our [illegible] that brother Gompers is serious[illegible] There is little hope for his rec[illegible] In addition to his chronic [illegible] feebleness, he is now suffering [illegible] a nervous breakdown. He [illegible] a severe attack when informed [illegible] there is no Santy Claus.

Que Dites-Vous, Monsieur L[illegible]

We have received via our [illegible] ritualistic medium the fo[illegible] message from Karl Marx:

"To the Readers of the Bolco[illegible]

"Heartbroken and dis[illegible] I'm sending this message [illegible] feel it is my solemn duty [illegible] to the working class move[illegible] is of you, workers, to whom I [illegible] dicated my entire life and [illegible] hope will soon be emancipa[illegible] my teachings, that I beg fo[illegible] for a slight unforeseen err[illegible] part. I hope you will not [illegible] too harshly as it is not fully [illegible] I beg of you in the name [illegible] Cause to forgive me for gettin[illegible] ried. I really didn't expect L[illegible] to be my grandson.

"Apologetically, Karl M[illegible]

THE BOLSHEVICK [illegible]

Behold the bolshevick! He [illegible] a dark brown Prince Albert, has [illegible] black hair, a red beard, and [illegible] green eyes. He is busy poring [illegible] a letter from the international [illegible] structing him what buildings to [illegible] up. His main worries are wh[illegible] kill next. His time is mostly occ[illegible] in making bombs. He eats dog[illegible] and drinks the blood of dead c[illegible] ists. Behold the bolshevick [illegible] exists in the moving pictures, [illegible] supplements and dime novels; [illegible] the bolshevick as the newspa[illegible] capitalists and the governme[illegible] us to believe he is; behold [illegible] shevick as he is not!

OUR CHRISTMAS GI[illegible]

The Board of Manageme[illegible] Bolcoms have decided to [illegible] following people with [illegible] gifts —

To Daugherty—A steams[illegible] to Russia.
To Mussolini—Kaiser Bills Me[illegible]
To Gen. Pershing—"Dictators[illegible] Democracy" by Leon Trot[illegible]
To Gompers—honorary mem[illegible] to the Socialist Party.
To William Jennings Bry[illegible] of Scotch whiskey.
To Burns—a year's subs[illegible] the Bolcoms.
To Pres. Harding—Old R[illegible] of laws.
To J. D. Rockefeller—M[illegible] ital".
To Longuet—a violin [illegible] chin a rest.

Our Queer Queries De[illegible]

Dear Irv.:—We've been [illegible] in class "How long can [illegible] without brains?" Can you [illegible] us on the matter? —Bar[illegible]

Ans.:—President Hard[illegible] fifty.

BOY, PAGE WIL[illegible]

During the occupati[illegible] by the Allies, a bea[illegible] American officer found [illegible] ed Japanese soldier [illegible] Russian woman.

"What are you hitting [illegible] for?" he demanded.

"To make the world [illegible] mocracy!" was the pr[illegible]

W U X T [illegible]

As the Bolcoms wer[illegible] to press, the followin[illegible] was received from the [illegible] nationale:

"Workers of Am[illegible] [illegible]